1577.

THE Firſte volume of the *Chronicles of England, Scotlande,* and Irelande.

CONTEYNING,

The deſcription and Chronicles of England, from the firſt inhabiting vnto the conqueſt.

The deſcription and Chronicles of Scotland, from the firſt originall of the Scottes nation, till the yeare of our Lorde. 1571.

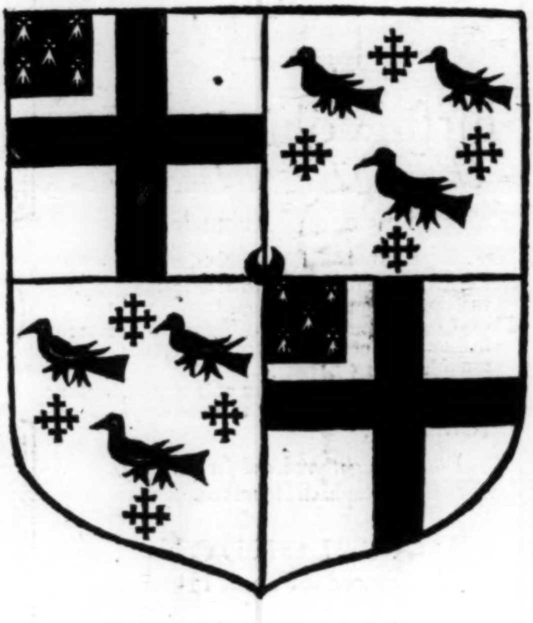
The deſcription and Chronicles of Yrelande, likewiſe from the firſt originall of that Nation, vntill the yeare. 1547.

Faithfully gathered and ſet forth, by
Raphaell Holinſhed.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted for Iohn Hunne.

God ſaue the Queene.

6.10.9



TO THE RIGHT Honorable and his ſingular good Lorde,

Sir VVilliam Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of
the moſt noble order of the Garter, Lord high Treaſou-
rer of England, Maiſter of the Courtes of Wardes and
Lyueries, and one of the Queenes Maieſties
priuie Counſell.

C*Onſidering with my ſelfe, right Honorable and my ſingular good Lorde, how ready (no doubt) many wil be to accuſe me of vayne preſumptiō, for enterpriſing to deale in this ſo weighty a worke, and ſo farre aboue my reache to accompliſh: I haue thought good to aduertiſe your Honour, by what occaſion I was firſt induced to vndertake the ſame, although the cauſe that moued mee thereto, hath (in parte) ere this, bene ſignified vnto your good Lordſhippe.*

Where as therfore, that worthie Citizen Reginald VVolfe *late Printer to the Queenes Maieſtie, a man well knowen and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publiſh an vniuerſall Coſmographie of the whole worlde, and therewith alſo certaine perticular Hiſtories of euery knowen nation, amongſt other whome he purpoſed to vſe for performance of his entent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hande the collection of thoſe Hiſtories, and hauing proceeded ſo far in the ſame, as little wanted to the accompliſhment of that long promiſed worke, it pleaſed God to call him to his mercie, after xxv. yeares trauell ſpent therein, ſo that by his vntimely deceaſſe, no hope remayned to ſee that performed, whiche we had ſo long trauayled aboute: thoſe yet whome he left in truſt to diſpoſe his things after his* *departure hence, wiſhing to the benefite of others, that ſome fruite might follow of that whereabout he had imployed ſo long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the ſame, whiche although I was ready to do, ſo farre as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to anſwere that truſt which the deceaſſed repoſed in me, to ſee it brought to ſome perfection: yet when the volume grewe ſo great, as they that were to defray the charges for the Impreſſion, were not willing to go through with the whole, they reſolued firſt to publiſhe the Hiſtories of Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande, with their deſcriptions, whiche deſcriptions, bycauſe they were not in ſuch readineſſe, as thoſe of forreyn countreys, they were enforced to vſe the helpe of other better able to do it than I.*

William Hariſon, and Richard Stanyhurſt.

Moreouer, the Chartes wherein Maiſter VVolfe *ſpent a greate parte of his time, were not founde ſo complete as wee wiſhed: and againe, vnderſtanding of the great charges and notable enterprice of that worthie Gentleman maiſter Thomas Sackeforde in procuring the Chartes of the ſeuerall prouinces of this Realme to be ſette forth, wee are in hope that in tyme he will deliniate this whole lande ſo perfectly, as ſhal be comparable or beyonde any deliniation heretofore made of any other region, and therefore leaue that to his well deſerued prayſe. If any well willer will imitate him in ſo prayſe worthie a worke for the two other regions, we will be gladde to further his endeuour with all the helpes we may.*

The Hiſtories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greateſt parte with Maiſter VVolfe *in his life time, to his liking, who procured me ſo many helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was lothe to omit any thing that might encreace the Readers knowledge, whiche cauſeth the booke to grow ſo great. But receyuing them by partes, and at ſeuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the mater than to the apt penning, I haue not ſo orderly diſpoſed them, as otherwiſe I ought, chooſing rather to* *want order, than to defraude the Reader of that whiche for his further vnderſtanding might ſeeme to ſatisfie his expectation. I therefore moſte humbly beſeeche your Honour to accept theſe Chronicles of Englande vnder your protection, and according to your wiſedome and accuſtomed benignitie to beare with my faultes, the rather bicauſe you were euer ſo eſpeciall good Lord to* Maiſter VVolfe, *to whome I was ſingularly beholden, and in whoſe name I humbly preſente this rude worke vnto you, beſeeching God, that as he hath made you an inſtrument to aduaunce his truth, ſo it may pleaſe him to increace his good giftes in you to his glorie, the furtheraunce of the Queenes Maieſties ſeruice, and comforte of all hir faithfull and louing ſubiectes.*

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde,
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE PREFACE
to the Reader.

I*T is dangerous (gẽtle* Reader) to range in ſo large a fielde as I haue here vndertaken, vvhile ſo many ſundry men in diuers things may be able to controll mee, and many excellent vvittes of our countrey (as vvell or better occupied I hope) are able herein to ſurpaſſe me: but ſeing the beſte able do ſeeme to neglect it, let me (though leaſt able) craue pardon to put thẽ in minde not to forget their natiue coũtreis praiſe (vvhich is theyr dutie) the encouragement of theyr vvorthie countrie men, by elders aduauncements and the dauntyng of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to vvhiche ende I take Chronicles and Hiſtories ought chiefly to be vvritten. My labour may ſhevv mine vttermoſt good vvill, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of faultfinders diſpenſatiõ till they be more fully enfourmed. It is too commõ that the leaſt able are readieſt to finde fault in maters of leaſt vveight, and therfore I eſteeme the leſſe of their carping, but humbly beſeech the ſkilfull to ſupplie my vvant, and to haue care of their dutie: and eyther to amend that vvherin I haue fayled, or be content vvith this mine endeuour. For it may pleaſe them to conſider, that no one can be eye vvitneſſe to all that is vvritten vvithin our time, much leſſe to thoſe things vvhiche happened in former times, and therefore muſt be content vvith reportes of others. Therein I haue bene ſo careful, that I haue ſpared no paynes or helpe of frendes to ſearch out either vvritten or printed auncient Authours, or to enquire of moderne eye vvitneſſes, for the true ſetting dovvne of that vvhiche I haue here deliuered: but I finde ſuch vvant in vvriters for the neceſſary knovvledge of things done in times paſt, and lacke of meane to obtayne ſufficient inſtructions by reporters of the time preſent, and herevvith the vvorthie exploytes of our countrey men ſo many, that it greeueth me I coulde not leaue the ſame to poſteritie (as I vviſhed) to their vvel deſerued praiſe. But I haue here imperted vvhat I could learne, and craue that it may be takẽ in good part. My ſpeech is playne, vvithout any Rethoricall ſhevve of Eloquence, hauing rather a regarde to ſimple truth, than to decking vvordes. I vviſhe I had bene furniſhed vvith ſo perfect inſtructions, and ſo many good gifts, that I might haue pleaſed all kindes of men, but that ſame being ſo rare a thing in any one of the beſt, I beſeech thee (gentle Reader) not to looke for it in me the meaneſt.

But novv for thy further inſtruction to vnderſtand the courſe of theſe my labors. Firſt cõcerning the Hiſtorie of Englãd, as I haue collected the ſame out of many and ſundry Authours, in vvhome vvhat contrarietie, negligence, and raſhneſſe, ſomtime is founde in their reportes, I leaue to the diſcretion of thoſe that haue peruſed theyr vvorkes : for my parte, I haue in things doubtfull rather choſen to ſhevve the diuerſitie of their vvritings, than by ouer ruling them, and vſing a peremptory cenſure, to frame them to agree to my liking : leauing it neuertheleſſe to eche mans iudgement, to controlle thē as he ſeeth cauſe. If ſome vvhere I ſhevv my fancie vvhat I thinke, and that the ſame diſlyke them, I craue pardon, ſpecially if by probable reaſons or playner matter to be produced, they can ſhevv mine errour, vpō knovvledge vvhereof I ſhalbe ready to reforme it accordingly. VVhere I do beginne the Hiſtorie from the firſt inhabitation of this Iſle, I looke not to content eche mans opinion concerning the originall of them that firſt peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters ſo vncertayne, if I can not ſufficiently content my ſelfe (as in deede I cannot) I knovve not hovv I ſhould ſatisfie others. That vvhiche ſeemeth to me moſt likely, I haue noted, beſeeching the learned (as I truſt they vvill) in ſuch pointes of doubtfull antiquities to beare vvith my skill. Sith for ought I knovv, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but ſtill they are in controuerſie about it: *Et adhuc ſub iudice lis eſt.* VVell hovv ſoeuer it came firſt to be inhabited, likely it is that at the firſt the vvhole Iſle vvas vnder one Prince and Gouernour, though aftervvardes, and long peraduenture before the Romaines ſet any foote vvithin it, the Monarchie thereof vvas broken, euen vvhen the multitude of the inhabitants grevv to bee great, and ambition entred amongſt them, vvhich hath brought ſo many good policies and ſtates to ruyne and decay.

The Romaines hauing ones got poſſeſsion of the continent that faceth this Iſle, coulde not reſt (as it appeareth) till they had brought the ſame alſo vnder theyr ſubiection: and the ſooner doubtleſſe, by reaſon of the factions amongſt the Princes of the lande, vvhiche the Romaynes (through their accuſtomed skill) coulde turne very vvell to their moſte aduauntage. They poſſeſſed it almoſte fiue hundreth yeares, and longer might haue done, if eyther their inſufferable tiranny had not taken avvay from them the loue of the people, aſvvell here as elſvvhere, either that their ciuill diſcorde aboute the chopping and chaunging of their Emperours, had not ſo vveakened the forces of their Empire, that they vvere not able to defende the ſame againſt the impreſsion of barbarous nations. But as vvee may coniecture by that vvhiche is founde in Hiſtories, aboute that tyme, in vvhiche the Romaine Empire beganne to decline, this lande ſtoode in very vveake ſtate: being ſpoyled of the more parte of all hir able menne, vvhiche vvere ledde avvay into forreine regions, to ſupplie the Romayne armies: and likevviſe perhaps of all neceſſarie armour, vveapon, and treaſure: vvhiche being perceyued of the Saxons, after they vvere receiued into the Ile to ayde the Britons againſt the Scottes and Pictes, then inuading the ſame, miniſtred to them occaſion to attempt the ſeconde conqueſt, vvhiche at length they brought to paſſe, to the ouerthrovv not onely of the Brittiſh dominion, but alſo to the ſubuerſion of the Chriſtian religion, here in this lande: vvhiche chanced as appeareth by Gildas, for the vvicked ſinnes and vnthankefulneſſe of the inhabitants tovvardes God, the chiefe occaſions and cauſes of the tranſmutations of kingdomes, *Nam propter peccata, regna tranſmutantur à gente in gentem.* The Saxons obteyning poſſeſsion of the lande, gouerned the ſame being deuided into ſundry kingdomes, and hauing once ſubdued the Brytons, or at the leaſt vviſe remoued them out of the moſt parte of the Iſle into odde corners and mountaynes, fell at diuiſion among themſelues, and oftentimes vvith vvarre purſued eche other, ſo as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the Kings grovv to any great puiſſance, eyther to moue vvarres abroade, or ſufficiently to defende themſelues againſt forreyne forces at home: as manifeſtly vvas perceyued, vvhen the Danes and other the Northeaſterne people, being then of great puyſſance by ſea, beganne miſerably to afflict this lande: at the firſt inuading as it vvere but onely the coaſtes and countreys lying neare to the ſea, but aftervvardes vvith mayne armies, they entred into the middle partes of the lande: and although the Engliſhe people at length came vnder one King, and by that meanes vvere the better able to reſiſt the enimies, yet at length thoſe Danes ſubdued the vvhole, and had poſſeſsiō thereof for a time, although not long, but that the crovvne returned againe to thoſe of the Saxon line: till ſhortly after by the inſolent dealings of the gouernours, a deuiſion vvas made betvvixt the King and his people, through iuſte puniſhmente decreed by the prouidence of the Almightie, determining for their ſinnes and contempt of his lavves, to deliuer them into the handes of a ſtranger, and thereupon vvhen ſpite and enuie had brought the title in doubte, to vvhom the right in ſucceſsion appertyned, the Conquerour entred, and they remayned a pray to him and his: vvho plucked all the heades and chiefe in authoritie, ſo cleare-ly vp by the rootes, as fevve or none of them in the ende vvas lefte to ſtande vp againſt him. And herevvith altering the vvhole ſtate, hee planted lavves and ordinaunces as ſtoode moſte for his auayle and ſuretie, vvhich being after qualified vvith more milde and gentle lavves, tooke ſuche effect, that the ſtate hath euer ſithence continued vvhole and vnbroken by vviſe and politike gouernement, although diſquieted, ſometime by ciuill diſſention, to the ruyne commonly of the firſte mouers, as by the ſequele of the hiſtorie ye may ſee.

For the Hiſtorie of Scotlande, I haue for the more parte followed Hector Boece, Iohannes Maior, and Iouan, Ferreri Piemonteſe, ſo farre as they haue continued it, interlaced ſometimes vvith other Authours, as Houeden, Fourdon and ſuch like, although not often, bicauſe I meante rather to deliuer vvhat I founde in their ovvne Hiſtories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterprice to their ovvne countrey men: ſo that vvhat ſoeuer ye reade in the ſame, conſider that a Scottiſhman vvritte it, and an Engliſh man hath but onely tranſlated it into our language, referring the Reader to the Engliſh Hiſtorie, in all maters betvvixte vs and them, to be confronted therevvith as he ſeeth cauſe. For the continuation thereof I vſed the like order, in ſuche copies and notes as Maiſter VVolſe in his life time procured me, ſauing that in theſe laſte yeares I haue inſerted ſome notes, as concerned matters of vvarre betvvixte vs and the Scottes, bicauſe I gotte them not till that parte of the Engliſh Hiſtorie vvas paſte the preſſe.

For Irelande I haue ſhevved in mine Epiſtle Dedicatorie in vvhat ſorte, and by vvhat helpes I haue proceeded therein, onely this I forgotte, to ſignifie that Giraldus Cambrenſis, and Flatsbury, I had not till that parte of the Booke vvas vnder the preſſe, and ſo being conſtreyned to make poſte haſte, coulde not exemplifie out of them all that I vviſhed, neither yet diſpoſe it ſo orderly as had bene conuenient, nor penne it vvith ſo apte vvordes as might ſatisfie either my ſelfe, or thoſe to vvhoſe vevve it is novv like to come. And by reaſon of the like haſte made in the Impreſſion, vvhere I vvas determined to haue tranſpoſed the moſte parte of that vvhiche in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie I had noted, concerning the Conqueſte of Irelande by Henry the ſeconde out of Houeden and others, I had not time thereto, and ſo haue lefte it there remayning, vvhere I firſte noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Iriſhe Hiſtories, bicauſe the ſame commeth there vvell inough in place, as to thoſe that ſhall vouchſafe to turne the Booke it may appeare.

For the computation of the yeares of the vvorlde, I hadde by Maiſter VVoulſes aduiſe follovved Functius, but after his deceaſſe Maiſter VVilliam Hariſon made mee partaker of a Chronologie, vvhiche hee had gathered and compiled vvith moſte exquiſite diligence, follovvyng Gerardus Mercator, and other late Chronologers, and his ovvne obſeruations, according to the vvhiche I haue reformed the ſame. As for the yeares of our Lorde, and the Kings, I haue ſette them dovvne accordyng to ſuche Authours as ſeeme to bee of beſte credite in that behalfe, as I doubte not but to the learned and skilfull in Hiſtories, it ſhal appeare: Moreouer, this the Reader hath to conſider, that I do beginne the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lorde, vvhiche is the ſureſt order in my fantaſie that can bee follovved.

For the names of perſons, tovvnes and places, as I haue bene diligent to reforme the errours of other (vvhich are to be aſcribed more to the imperfect copies thã to the Authours) ſo may it be that I haue ſome vvhere committed the like faultes, either by negligence or vvant of skill to reſtore them to their full integritie as I vviſhed, but vvhat I haue performed aſvvell in that behalfe, as others, the skilful Reader ſhall eaſily perceyue, and vvithal cõſider (I truſt) vvhat trauel I haue beſtovved to his behofe in theſe tvvo volumes, crauing onely, that in recompence thereof, he vvill iudge the beſt, and to make a frendly cõſtruction of my meanings, vvhere ought may ſeeme to haue eſcaped, either my penne or the Printers preſſe, othervviſe than vve could haue vviſhed for his better ſatiſfaction. Many things being taken out as they lie in Authours may be thought to giue offence in time preſent, vvhiche referred to the time paſt vvhen the Authour vvritte, are not onely tollerable but alſo allovvable. Therefore good Reader I beſeech thee to vvay the cauſes and circumſtances of ſuch faultes and imperfections, and conſider that the like may creepe into a far leſſe volume than this, and ſhevv me ſo much fauour as hath bene ſhevved to others in like cauſes: and ſithẽce I haue done my good vvil, accept the ſame, as I vvith a free and thãkful minde do offer it thee, ſo ſhall I thinke my labour vvell beſtovved. For the other Hiſtories vvhiche are already collected, if it pleaſe God to giue abilitie, ſhall in time come to light, vvith ſome ſuch briefe deſcriptions of the forreyn regions, vvhereof they treate, as may the better ſuffiſe to the Readers contentation, and vnderſtanding of the maters conteyned in the ſame Hiſtories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I ceaſſe further to trouble thy pacience, vviſhing to thee (gentle Reader) ſo much profite, as by reading may be had, and as great cõfort as Goddes holy ſpirite may endue thee vvith.

FINIS.

¶ The names of the Authours from whome this *Hiſtorie of England is collected.*

A.

AElius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Aſſerius Meneuenſis.
Alfridus Beuerlacenſis.
Aeneas Siluius Senenſis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimowth, with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiſcopus Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz.
Alexander Neuill.
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbienſis.
Amianus Marcellinus:
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilaume Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarū per Iacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricenſis.
Aurea Hiſtoria.

B.

BIblia Sacra.
Beda venerabilis.
Beroſus.
Brian Tuke knight.
Blondus Forliuienſis.
Berdmondſey, a Regeſter booke belonging to that houſe.

C.

CAeſars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicarum.
Chronica de Dunſtable, a booke of Annales belõging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an hiſtorie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by ſome Northernman, as ſome ſuppoſe named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belongyng to that houſe.
Chronica de Teukesbury.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chronique de Flandres, publiſhed by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Hiſtorie & Chronique de Flandres, by the ſame Sauage.
Couper.
Cuſpinianus.
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockeſden a regiſter booke belonging to a houſe of that name in Staffordſhire.

D.

DIodorus Siculus.
Dion Caſſius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

EDmerus.
Euſebius.
Eutropius.
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir conteyning much good matter for the vnderſtanding of the ſtate of this realme in hir time, wherein hir prayſe is not pretermitted, and ſo hath obteyned by reaſon thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monſtrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmond Campion.

F.

FAbian.
Froiſſart.
Franciſcus Tarapha.
Franciſcus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiſcus Siracuſanus.
Floriacenſis Vigorinenſis.

G.

GViciardini Franciſco. Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutenſis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrenſis.
Guilielmus Malmeſburienſis.
Galfridus Vinſauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgenſis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Giſburnenſis.
Geruaſius Dorobernenſis.
Geruaſius Tilberienſis.
Guilielmus Gemeticenſis de ducibus Normania.
Guilielmus Riſbanger.
Guilielmus Lambert.
Georgius Lillie.

Guilamme Paradin.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonenſis.
Humfrey Lhuyd.
Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.
Hector Bœce.   *Hiſtorie Daniou.*
Hiſtoira Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicles.   *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Herodianus.

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus.   *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price, knight.   *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus.   *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Bury.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius.   *Iohãnes Capgraue.*
Iohannes Fourden.   *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a Pamphlet of the warres in Scotlande, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remayned there.
Iohn Foxe.   *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected Summarie, I haue ben not only ayded, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient wryters, and neceſſarie regiſter Bookes of his, which he hath lente me out of his owne Librarie.
Ioſephus.

L.

Liber conſtitutionum London.
Lucan.   *Lelius Giraldus.*

M.

Marianus Scotus.
Matheus Paris.
Matheus VVeſtmonaſter. aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſieur de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panagericis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus.   *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Oroſius Dorobernenſis.
Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.
Otho Phriſingenſis.

P.

Pauſanias.   *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunnius.   *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philippe de Cumeins, aliàs Mõſieur de Argenton.
Polidor Vergil.   *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina.   *Philippe Melancton.*
Peucerus.
Pomponius Mela.

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polichronicon.   *Radulfus niger.*
Radulfus Coggheſhall.
Regiſter of the Garter.
Recordes of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell.   *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto.   *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus.
Recordes and rolles diuers.

S.

Strabo.   *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
Sidon Apollinaris.   *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Trebellius Pollio.   *Thomas More knight.*
Thomas Spotte.   *Thomas VValſingham.*
Titus Liuius Patauienſis.
Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſijs de vita Henrici. 5.
Thomas Lanquet.   *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry.   *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More.   *Tripartita Hiſtoria.*

V.

Vulcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

VV.

VVhethamſteed, a learned man, ſometime Abbot of S. Albons, a Chronicler.
VVilliam Harriſon.
VVilliã Patten of the expeditiõ into Scotlãd. 1574.
VVilliam Procter of VViattes rebellion.

Beſides theſe diuers other Bookes and Treatiſes of Hiſtoricall mater I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the Authours beyng vtterly vnknowen.

FINIS.

AN HISTORICALL DEſcription of the Iſlande of Britayne, with a briefe rehearſall of the nature and qualities of the people of Englande, and of all ſuch commodities as are to be founde in the ſame.

In the firſt Booke of the Deſcription of Britayne, theſe Chapters are contayned that enſue.

1. Of the ſcituation and quantitie of the Iſle of Britayne.
2. Of the auncient names of this Iſlande.
3. What ſundry nations haue dwelled in this countrey.
4. Whether it be likely that euer there were any Gyants inhabiting in this Iſlande.
5. Of the generall language vſed ſometime in Brytaine.
6. Into howe many kingdomes at once this Iſle hath bene deuided.
7. Of the auncient religion vſed in Brytaine, from the firſt comming of Samothes, before the conuerſion of the ſame vnto the faith of Chriſt.
8. Of the number and names of ſuch Salt Iſlandes as lye diſperſed rounde about vpon the coaſt of Brytaine.
9. Of the ryſing and falles of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames as deſcende into the ſea, without alteration of their names, & firſt of thoſe that lye betweene the Thames and the Sauerne.
10. Of the Sauerne ſtreame, and ſuch falles of ryuers as go into the Sea betweene it and the Humber.
11. Of ſuch riuers as fall into the ſea, betwene Humber & the Thames.
12. Of the fower high waies ſometime made in Brytaine by the Princes of this lande.
13. Of the ayre and ſoyle of the country.
14. Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Brytons.
15. How Brytaine grew at the firſt to be deuided into three porcions.
16. That notwithſtanding the former particion made by Brute, vnto his children, the ſouereinety of the whole Iſlande, remained ſtyll to the Prince of *Lhoegres* and his poſteritie after him.
17. Of the Wall ſometime builded for a particion betweene Englande and the Pictes.

AN HISTORICALL DE-scription of the Iland of Britayne, with a briefe re-hersall of the nature and qualities of the people of Englande, and of all such com-modities as are to be founde in the same.

The first booke of the description of [illegible], [illegible] contents [illegible].

1. Of the diuision and quantitie of the Isle of Britayne.
2. Of the auncient names of this Ilande.
3. What sundrie nations haue dwelled in this countrey.
4. Whether it be likely that euer there were any Gyants inhabiting in this Ilande.
5. Of the generall [illegible] in Brytaine.
6. Into how many kingdomes or [illegible] this Ile hath [illegible].
7. Of the [illegible] religion vsed in Brytaine from the first comming [illegible] the conuersion of the same vnto the faith of Christ.
8. Of the number and names of [illegible] Ilandes [illegible] to be seene about the coast of Brytaine.
9. Of the [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] defende [illegible] the Sea, [illegible] that liue betweene [illegible] and the [illegible].
10. Of the auncient [illegible] and [illegible] into the Sea betweene [illegible] the Humber.
11. Of [illegible] the Humber [illegible] the Thames.
12. Of the foure high wayes sometime made in Brytaine by the Princes of this Ilande.
13. Of the ayre and soyle of the countrey.
14. Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.
15. How Brytaine at the first [illegible] perceions.
16. That none [illegible] the [illegible] whole Ilande, remained [illegible].
17. Of the [illegible] betweene Englande and [illegible].

To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good Lord and *maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord warden of* **the cinque Portes, and Baron of Cobham, all** increaſe of the feare and knowledge of God, firme obedience towarde his Prince, infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable renowme here in this worlde, and in the worlde to come, lyfe euerlaſting.

HAVING had iuſt occaſion, Right Honourable, to remayne in London, during the tyme of Midſomer terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlye required of diuers my friends, to ſet downe ſome briefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe thinges, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I had then in hande, I was at the firſt very loth to yeelde to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelfe vnable for want of witte and iudgement, ſo ſodainly and with ſuch ſpeede to take ſuch a charge vppon me: ſecondly, bycauſe the dealing therin might prooue an impechement vnto mine owne Treatize: and finallye for that I had giuen ouer all ſtudy of hyſtories, as iudging the tyme ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderaunce vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function whereunto I am called in the myniſtery. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe coulde ſerue to put by this trauaile, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I woulde ſpende ſuch voyde time as I had to ſpare, whyleſt I ſhoulde be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhoulde ſtande in lieu of a deſcription of my Country. For their partes alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helpes as they coulde purchaſe, and thus with hope of good although no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hande withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my bookes and I were parted by fourtie myles in ſonder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hillarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, & yet farre greater then the Printers haſte woulde ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtayned herein was by ſuch commentaries as Leland *had collected ſometime of the ſtate of Britaine, bookes vtterly mangled, defaced with wet, and weather, and finally imperfite through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondly, I gate ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlettes, from ſundrie places and ſhires of Englande, but ſo diſcordaunt nowe and then amongeſt themſelues, eſpecially in the names and courſes of riuers and ſcituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them, then to penne the whole diſcourſe of ſuch pointes as they contayned: the thirde ayde did grow by conference with diuers, eyther at the table or ſecretly alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherein they impugned eche other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet forth the truth abſolutely, or ſuch things in deede as were moſt likely to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our country, in ſpeaking whereof, yf I ſhoulde make account of the ſucceſſe, and extraordinary comming by ſundrie treatizes not ſuppoſed to be extaunt, I ſhoulde but ſeeme to pronounce more then may well be ſayde with modeſtie, and ſay farder of my ſelfe then this Treatize can beare witneſſe of. Howbeit, I referre not this ſucceſſe wholly vnto my purpoſe in this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe cromes as it were fell out very well in the framing of this Pamphlete. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honour regarde the ſubſtaunce of that which is here declared, I muſt needes confeſſe that it is none of mine: but if your Lordſhippe haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein,*

herein, that I may boldely clayme and chalenge for myne owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraude me of that reproche, which is due vnto me, for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter, comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or picked wordes, neither regarded to handle this Treatize in ſuch preciſe order and methode as many other woulde: thinking it ſufficient, truely & plainly to ſet forth ſuch things as I minded to intreate of, rather then with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre, neither cōmendable in a writer nor profitable to the reader. How other affayres troubled me in the writing hereof many know, & peraduenture the ſlackeneſſe shewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, & for the reaſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatize of mine, will prooue a ſpurre to others, better learned in more skilfull maner to handle the ſelfe ſame argument. As for faultes eſcaped herein as there are diuers, I muſt needes confeſſe, both in the penning and printing, ſo I haue to craue pardon of your Honour, & of all the learned readers. For ſuch was my shortneſſe of time allowed in the writing, & ſo great the ſpeede made in the Printing, that I could ſeldome with any deliberation peruſe, or almoſt with any iudgement delibemte exactly vpon ſuch notes as were to be inſerted. Sometimes in deede their leyſure gaue me libertie, but that I applyed in following my vocation, many times their expedition abridged my peruſall, and by this later it came to paſſe, that moſt of this booke was no ſooner penned then printed, neither well conceyued before it came to writing. But it is now to late to excuſe the maner of doing. It is poſſible that your Honour will miſlyke hereof, for that I haue not by myne owne trauaile and eyeſight viewed ſuch thinges, as I doe here intreate of. In deede I muſt needes confeſſe that except it were from the pariſh where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent, or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxforde and Cambridge where I haue beene brought vp, I neuer trauailed 40. miles in all my lyfe, neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe thinges, I vſe their authorities, who haue performed in their perſons whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offence at my rashe and recbleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendure of the protection thereof vnto your Lordships handes. But when I conſider the ſingular affectiō that your Ho. doth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauaile to ſet forth ſuch things as lye hidden of their countries, without regarde of fine & eloquent handling, & therinto do weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden duetie and gratefull minde to ſuch a one as hath ſo many and ſundrie wayes profited and preferred me, that otherwiſe can make no recompence, I can not but cut of all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and thervpon exhibite it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in any wyſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnauncie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularly to deſcribe this Iſle of Britaine, ſo I hope the learned and godly will beare withall and reforme with charity where I do treade amiſſe. As for the curious, & ſuch as can rather euill fauouredly eſpy then skilfully correct an errour, & ſooner carpe at another mans doings then publish any thing of their owne, keping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the cōmon ſort) I force not what they ſay hereof, for whether it doe pleaſe or diſpeaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauaile in the gratification of your Honour, & ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauaile, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatize, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompence, & large guerdon of my labours. The Almighty God preſerue your Lordship in cōtinuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Lady your wyfe, your Honours children, whome God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue & learning, and the reſt of reformed familie vnto whome I wiſh farder increaſe of his holy ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his worde, augmentation of honour, & finally an earneſt zeale to follow his commaundements.

Your Lordſhips humble ſeruant,
and houſhold Chaplein. W. H.

¶ Of the ſcituation and quantitie of the Iſle of Britayne.

Cap.1.

ow Br- aine lyeth rom the mayne.

BRITANIA, or Britaine as we nowe terme it in our Engliſhe tongue, is an Iſle lying in the Ocean ſea, directly againſt that part of Fraunce, which conteyneth Picardie, Normandie, and therto the greateſt part of little Britaine, called in time paſt Armorica of the ſcituation thereof vpon the ſea coaſt, and before ſuch time as a companie of Britons (eyther led ouer by ſome of the Romayne Emperours, or flying thither from the tyrannie of ſuch as oppreſſed them here in this Iſlande) did ſettle themſelues there, & called it Britaine, after the name of their owne country, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Irelande vpon the Weſt ſide, on the North the mayne ſea, euen vnto Thule and the Hyperboreans, and on the Eaſt ſide alſo the Germaine Ocean, by which we paſſe daily thorowe by the trade of merchandiſe, not only into yͤ low countries of Belgie, but alſo into Germanie, Frizelande, Denmarke, and Norway, carying from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all ſuch neceſſarie commodities as the ſeuerall Countries doe yéelde: thorow which meanes, and beſides common amitie cōſerued, traffike is maintayned, and the neceſſitie of eche party abundantly relieued.

The longitude and atitude of this Iſle.

It contayneth in longitude taken by the middeſt of the Region 19. degrées exactly: and in latitude 53. degrées, and 30. min. after the opinions of thoſe that haue diligently obſerued the ſame in our dayes, and the faithfull report of ſuch writers, as haue left notice therof vnto vs, in their learned treatiſes to be perpetually remembred. Howbeit wheras ſome in ſetting downe of theſe two lines, haue ſéemed to vary about the placing of the ſame, eche of them diuerſly remembring the names of ſundrie Cities and townes, wherby they affirme thē to haue their ſeueral courſes: for my part I haue thought good to procéede ſomewhat after another ſort, that is, by deuiding the lateſt and beſt Cardes eche way into two equall partes, (ſo neare as I can poſſibly bring the ſame to paſſe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerleil and Newcaſtell vpon Tyne (whoſe lōgeſt day conſiſteth of 16. houres, 48. minuts) & for the longitude, Newbery, Warwicke, Sheffeld, Skiptō, &c. which dealing in mine opinion, is moſt eaſie & indifferent, and lykelieſt meane to come by the certayne ſtanding and ſcituation of our Iſlande.

Longeſt day.

The compaſſe of Britaine.

In lyke maner it hath in breadth from the Piere or poynt of Douer, vnto the fartheſt part of Cornewall weſtwardes 320. myles: from thence agayne vnto the poynt of Cathneſſe by the Iriſhe ſea, 800. Whereby Polidore and other doe gather that the circuite of the whole Iſlande of Britaine is 1720. myles, which is full 280. leſſe than Cæſar doth ſette downe, except there be ſome difference betwéene the Romaine and Britiſhe myles, whereof heafter I maye make ſome farther conference.

The forme

The forme and facion of this Iſle is lyke vnto a Triangle, Baſtarde ſworde, Wedge, or Parteſant, being broadeſt in the South part, and gathering ſtill narrower and narrower, till it come to the fartheſt poynt of Cathneſſe Northwarde where it is narroweſt of all, and there endeth in maner of a Promontorie, which is not aboue 30. myles ouer, as dayly experience doth confirme.

The diſtance frō the mayne.

The ſhorteſt & moſt vſuall cut that we haue out of our Iſland to the maine, is from Douer (the fartheſt part of Kent eaſtward) vnto Calice in Picardie, where the breadth of the ſea is not aboue 30. myles. Which courſe as it is now frequented and vſed for the moſt cōmon & ſafe paſſage of ſuch as come into our cōtrie out of Fraunce and diuers other Realmes, ſo it hath not bene vnknowne of olde time vnto the Romaynes, who for the moſt part vſed theſe two hauens for their paſſage and repaſſage to and fro, although we finde that nowe and then, diuers of them came alſo from Bullen and landed at Sandwiche, or ſome other places of the coaſt, as to auoyde the force of the wynde and weather, that often moleſted them in theſe narrowe ſeas, beſt liked for their ſafegardes. Betwéene the part of Hollande alſo, which lyeth nere the mouth of the Rhene, and this our Iſlande, are 900. furlonges, as Soſimus ſayeth, beſide diuers other writers, which being conuerted into Engliſhe myles, doe yéelde one hundred and twelue, and foure odde furlongs, whereby the iuſt diſtaunce of Britayne from that part of the mayne alſo, doth certainly appeare to be much leſſe than the common Mappes of our Countrie haue hitherto ſet downe.

Lib.4.

Of the auncient names of this Iſlande.

Cap.2.

Dis, Samothes.

IN the diligent peruſal of their treatiſes that haue written of the ſtate of this our Iſlande, I finde that at the firſt it ſéemed to be a percel of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwyſe called Samothes, one of the ſonnes of Ia-

Neptunus. Amphitrite Albion.

The firſt conqueſt of Britaine.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

phet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long time called Samothea. Afterwarde in proceſſe of tyme when as deſire of rule began to take holde in the myndes of men, & ech Prince endeuored to enlarge his owne dominiōs: Albion the ſonne of Neptune ſurnamed Mareoticus (whoſe mother alſo was called Amphitrite) hearing of the commodities of the Countrie, and plentifulneſſe of ſoyle here, made a voyage ouer, & finding the thing not onely correſpondent vnto, but alſo farre ſurmounting the report that went of this Iſlande, it was not long after ere he inuaded ẏ ſame by force of armes, brought it to his ſubiection, and finally chaunged the name therof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did fall into vtter forgetfulneſſe. And thus was this Iſland bereft at one time both of hir auncient name, and alſo of hir lawfull ſucceſſion of Princes deſcended of the lyne of Iaphet, vnder whome it had continued by the ſpace of 341. yeres and ix. Princes, as by the Hiſtorie folowing ſhall eaſily appeare.

Neptune God of the ſea.

The manner of dreſſinge of ſhippes in olde time.

To ſpeake ſomewhat alſo of Neptune, (ſith I haue made mention of him in this place) it ſhall not be impertinent. You ſhal vnderſtand therefore that for his excellent knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation, he was reputed the moſt ſkilful Prince that liued in his time. And therefore, and likewyſe for his courage and boldneſſe in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his deceaſe honoured as a god, and the protection of ſuch as trauayled by ſea committed to his charge. So rude alſo was ẏ making of ſhippes wherewith to ſayle in his tyme, that for lacke of better experience to calke and trimme the ſame after they were builded, they vſed to nayle them ouer with rawe hydes, and with ſuch a kinde of Nauie: firſt Samothes, and then Albion arriued in this Iſlande.

Leſtrigo.

Neptune had xxxiij. ſonnes.

But to proceede, when the ſayde Albion had gouerned here in this Countrie by the ſpace of vij. yeares, it came to paſſe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the ſayd Hercules paſſed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italy, and vpō this occaſion (as I gather amōg the writers) not vnworthy to be remembred. It happened in tyme of Lucus king of the Celtes, that Leſtrigo and his iſſue (whō Oſyris his grandfather had placed ouer the Ianigenes) dyd exerciſe great tyrannie, not onely ouer his owne kingdome, but alſo in moleſtation of ſuch Princes as inhabited rounde about him in moſt intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in theſe his doinges by Neptune his father, who truſted greatly to leaue his xxxiij. ſonnes ſettled in the mightieſt kingdomes of the worlde, as men of whom he had already conceyued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foote into any Region whatſoeuer, it woulde not be long ere they did by ſome meanes or other, not onelye eſtabliſhe their ſeates, but alſo increaſe their limites to the better maintenance of themſelues and their poſteritie for euermore. To be ſhort therefore, after the Gyantes, and great Princes, or mightie men of the world had conſpired and ſlaine the aforeſayd Oſyris: Hercules his ſonne, ſurnamed Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaymed open warres agaynſt them all, and going from place to place, he ceaſed not to ſpoyle their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them that fell into his handes. Finally, hauing among other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spayne, and vnderſtanding that Leſtrigo & his ſonnes did yet remayne in Italie, he directed his voyage into thoſe parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celtes in his waye, he remayned for a ſeaſon with Lucus the king of that Countrie, where he alſo maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a ſonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whome in my Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large. In the meane time Albion vnderſtanding howe Hercules intended to make warres agaynſt his brother Leſtrigo, he thought it good to ſtop him that tyde, and therefore ſending for hys brother Bergion, out of the Orchades (where he alſo reygned as ſupreme Lorde and gouernour) they ioyned their powers, & ſayled ouer into Fraunce. Being arriued there, it was not long ere they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Rhodanus, where happened a cruell conflicte betweene them, in which Hercules and hys men were lyke to haue loſt the daye, for that they were in maner weryed with lōg warres, and their munition ſore waſted in the laſt voiage that he had made for Spaine. Herevppon Hercules perceyuing the courages of his ſouldiours ſomewhat to abate, & ſeeing the want of munition likely to be the cauſe of his fatall day and preſent ouerthrowe at hande, it came ſodenly into his mynde to will eche of them to defende himſelfe by throwing of ſtones at hys enimie, wherof there lay great ſtore then ſcattered in the place. The policie was no ſooner publiſhed than put in execution, whereby they ſo preuayled in thende, that Hercules wan the fielde, their enemies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both ſlayne, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine ridde of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celtes deliuered frō an vſurper (that daily incroched vpon him alſo euen in his owne kingdome on that ſide) and

Ianigen
the po
ty of
lying in
Italy.

Lomni
Gerion

Galath

Galat

Bergi

Pompon
us Læt

Albion ſlayne.

Leſtrigo greatly weakened by the ſlaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in lyke ſort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who in déede was none other but Oſyris) is feygned to throw downe ſtones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defence of Hercules his ſon: which came ſo thick vpon them as if great drops of raine or hayle ſhould haue deſcended from aboue, no man well knowing which waye to turne him from their violence, they came ſo faſt and with ſo great a ſtrength.

t rayned
ones.

But to go forwarde, albeit that Albion and his power were thus diſcomfited and ſlayne, yet the name that he gaue vnto thys Iſlande dyed not, but ſtill remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing here in the 1127, before Chriſt, and 2840. after the creation, not onely chaunged it into Britayne (after it had bene called Albion, by the ſpace of 595. yeares) but to declare his ſoueraigntie ouer the reaſt of the Iſlandes alſo that are about the ſame, he called them all after the ſame maner, ſo that Albion was ſayde in tyme to be Britanniarum inſula maxima, that is, the greateſt of thoſe Iſles that bare the name of Britayne.

It is altogither impertinent to diſcuſſe whether Hercules came into thys Iſlande after the death of Albion, or not, althoughe that by an auncient monument ſéene of late, and the Cape of Hartland in the Weſt countrie, called Promontorium Herculis in olde tyme, diuers of our Brytiſhe wryters doe gather great likelyhoode that he ſhoulde alſo be here. But ſyth hys preſence or abſence maketh nothing wyth the alteration of the name of this our Region and Countrie, I paſſe it ouer as not incident to my purpoſe. Neyther will I ſpend any time in the determination, whether Brittayne hath bene ſometyme a percell of the mayne, althoughe it ſhoulde well ſéeme ſo to haue bene, bycauſe that before the generall floudde of Noah, we doe not reade of Iſlandes. As for the ſpéedie and timely inhabitation thereof, this is myne opinion, that it was inhabited ſhortly after the diuiſion of the earth: For I reade that wherevch Captayne and his company had their portions aſſigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole earth among hys poſteritie, they neuer ceaſed to trauayle and ſearch out the vttermoſt boundes of the ſame, vntill they founde out their parts allotted, and had ſéene and vewed the limites thereof, euen vnto the very poles. It ſhall ſuffice therefore only to haue touched theſe things in this manner a farre of, and in returning to our purpoſe, to procéede with the reaſt concerning the denomination of our Iſland, which was knowen vnto moſt of the Gréekes for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to ſay the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies: notwithſtanding that Brute, as I haue ſayde, had chaunged the ſame into Britayne, manye hundred yeares before.

Hercules
n Bri=
ayne.

romonto-
ium Her-
ulis.

Do. Marius
Niger, cō-
ment. de
Britannia.
Cap. 2.

Theophi-
us Antio-
chenus ad
Autolicum.

After Brutus I doe not find that any man attempted to chaunge it agayne, vntill the tyme that one Valentinius a rebell, in the dayes of Valentinianus and Valens endeuored to reygne there, and thereuppon as Ierome ſayth, procured it to be called Valentia. The lyke alſo dyd Theodoſius in the remembraunce of the two aforeſayde Emperours, as Marcellinus ſaith, but as neyther of theſe tooke anye holde among the common ſort, ſo it retayned ſtil the name of Britaine, vntill the reygne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of grace, gaue forth an eſpeciall Edict, dated at Wyncheſter, that it ſhoulde be called Angles land, or Angellandt, for which in our time we doe pronounce it England. And this is all, right Honourable, that I haue to ſay, touching the ſeuerall names of this Iſlande, vtterly miſlyking in the meane ſeaſon their deuiſes, which make Hengiſt the only parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicauſe his aunceſtours deſcended from the Angles (one of the ſeauen Nations that came wyth the Saxons into Britayne, for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germaynes, Switchers, Norwegiens, &c. and all comprehended vnder yͤ name of Saxons, bicauſe of Hengiſt the Saxon & his cōpany that firſt aryued here before any of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie & preheminēce in manner of this whole Iſlande, called the ſame after the name of his Countrie from whence his originall came, neyther Hengiſt, neyther any Quéene named Angla, neyther whatſoeuer deriuation ab angulo, as from a corner of the worlde bearing ſwaye, or hauing ought to doe at all in that behalfe.

Valentia.

In ſupplemento, Euſebij. lib 28.

Angellādt or Angles land.

Only Saxons arriued here at the firſt with Hengiſt.

What ſundry Nations haue inhabited in this Iſlande. Cap. 13.

AS fewe or no Nations can iuſtly boaſte themſelues to haue continued ſithence their countrie was firſt repleniſhed, wythout any myxture, more or leſſe, wyth other people, no more can this our Iſlande, whoſe manifolde commodities haue oft allured ſundry Princes and famous captaynes of the world to conquere and ſubdue the ſame vnto theyr owne ſubiection. Many ſorts of people there-

No Nation voide of myxture, more or leſſe.

Samothe-ans.

Chemmi-nites.

Britaines

foꝛe haue comen hither and ſettled thēſelues here in thys Iſle, and firſt of all other a percell of the image and poſteritie of Iapheth, bꝛought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in proceſſe of tyme, and after they had indifferently replenyſhed and furnyſhed this Iſlande with people (which was done in the ſpace of 335. yeares) Albion the Gyaunt afoꝛe mencioned repayꝛed hither with a companye of his owne race pꝛoceeding from Cham, and not onely ſubdued the ſame to his owne dominion, but bꝛought all ſuch in lyke ſoꝛt as he found here of the lyne of Iaphet, into miſerable ſeruitude and thꝛaldome. After hym alſo, and wythin leſſe than ſixe hundꝛed yeares came Bꝛute with a great traine of the poſteritie of the diſperſed Troianes in 324. ſhyppes: who rendꝛing the lyke curteſie vnto the Chemminites as they had done befoꝛe vnto the ſeede of Iaphet, bꝛought them alſo wholye vnder his rule and gouernaunce, and diuided the whole lande among ſuch Pꝛinces and Captaynes as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Romaines.

From hencefoꝛth I doe not finde any ſound repoꝛt of other natiō, whatſoeuer that ſhuld aduenture hither to dwell, vntill the Romane Emperours ſubdued it to their dominion, ſauing of a fewe Galles; (and thoſe peraduenture of Belgie) who firſt comming ouer to robbe and pilfer vpon the coaſtes, did afterwarde plant themſelues foꝛ altogither neare vnto the ſea, and there buylded ſundꝛy cities and townes which they named after thoſe of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. But after the comming of the Romaynes, it is harde to ſay with how many ſoꝛtes of people we were dayly peſtered, almoſt in euery ſteede. Foꝛ as they planted their foꝛwoꝛne Legions in the moſt fertile places of the Realme, and where they might beſt lye foꝛ the ſafegarde of their conqueſtes: ſo their armies did commonly conſiſt of many ſoꝛts of people, and were as I may call them, a confuſed mixture of all other coūtries. Howbeit, I thinke it beſt, bicauſe they did all beare the tytle of Romaynes, to retayne onely that name foꝛ them all, albeit they were wofull gueſtes to this our Iſlande: ſith that wyth them cāme in all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all ryot and exceſſe of behauioꝛ, which their Legions bꝛought hyther from eche coꝛner of their dominions, foꝛ there was no pꝛouince vnder them from whence they had not ſeruitours.

Scottes Pictes.

How and when the Scottes ſhould arriue here out of Irelande, and from whence the Pictes ſhoulde come vnto vs, as yet it is vncertaine. Foꝛ although their hiſtoꝛies doe carrie great countenance of their antiquitie and continuance in this Iſlande: yet (to ſay freely what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue ſtollē in hither, not much befoꝛe the Saxons, than that they ſhould haue bene ſo long here, as from the one hundꝛeth yeare after Chꝛiſt. Reynulph Higden is of the opinion that the Pictes did come into this Iſland in the days of Seuerus, and that Fulgentius their captayne was bꝛother to Martia, the mother of Baſsianus. He addeth furthermoꝛe howe the Pictes foꝛſooke Baſsianus, and held with Carauſius, who gaue thē a poꝛtion of Scotlande to inhabite, and thus wꝛyteth he. But if Herodian be well reade, you ſhal find that ẏ Pictes were ſettled in thys Iſle, befoꝛe the time of Seuerus, & yet not ſo ſoone as that Tacicus can make any mention of thē in the cōqueſt that Agricola his father in law made of ẏ Noꝛth parts of this Iſland. Neyther doe I reade of the Scots oꝛ Pictes befoꝛe the time of Antoninus Verus, in the begynning of whoſe thirde yere (which concurred with the xvij. of Lucius king of Bꝛitaine) they inuaded thys South part of the Iſle, and were reduced to obedience by Trebellius the Legate. Certes the tyme of Samothes and Albion haue ſome likely limitation, and ſo we maye gather of the cōming in of Bꝛute. The voyage that Cæſar made likewyſe is certainely knowne to fall out in the 54. befoꝛe the birth of Chꝛiſt. In lyke ſoꝛt that the Saxons arryued here in the 449. The Danes, and with them the Gothes, Vandales, Noꝛwegians, &c. in the 791. Finally the Noꝛmans in 1066. And Flemminges in the tyme of Henry the firſt (although they came not in by conqueſt, but vppon their humble ſute had a place in Wales aſsigned them to inhabite in, by king Henry then reigning, after the dꝛowning of their countrie) it is eaſie to be pꝛoued.

Li.4.

But when the Pictes and Scottes ſhould enter, neither doe our hyſtoꝛies make any repoꝛt, neyther their owne agree among thēſelues by manye hundꝛeth yeares. Wherefoꝛe as the tyme of their arriuall here is not to be founde out, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to gyue notice that they are but ſtrangers, and ſuch as by obſcure inuaſion haue neſtled in thys Iſlande.

Saxons

The Saxons became firſt acquainted with thys Iſle, by meanes of the pyracie which they daily pꝛactiſed vpon our coaſtes (after they had once begonne to aduenture themſelues alſo vpon the ſeas, thereby to ſeeke out moꝛe wealth then was nowe to begotten in theſe weſt partes of the mayne, which they & their neighboꝛs had alreadie ſpoyled in moſt lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durſt preſume to inhabite in this Iſland, vntill they were ſent for by Vortiger to ſerue him in his warres agaynſt ẏ Pictes & Scottes, after that the Romaines had giuen vs ouer, & left vs wholy to our owne defence & regiment. Being therefore comen in thrée bottomes or kéeles, & in ſhort time eſpiyng the ydle & negligent behauiour of ẏ Brytons and fertilitie of our ſoyle, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conqueſt of ſuch as they came to ayde and ſuccour. Hereupon alſo they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater nūbers of their countrymen with their wyues and children into this region, ſo that within a whyle they began to moleſt the homelings (for ſo I finde ẏ word Indigena, to be engliſhed in an old bóke that I haue, wherin Aduena is tranſlated alſo an homeling) and ceaſed not from time to time to cōtinue their purpoſe, vntill they had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, or at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of our coūtry, the Britons in the meane ſeaſon being driuen eyther into Wales & Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iſlande to ſéeke newe inhabitations.

apes.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that ſuccéeded) came at the firſt onely to pilfer & robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end being let in by the Welchmen or Brytons to reuenge them vpon the Saxons, they no leſſe plagued the one then the other, their friendes, then their aduerſaries, ſéeking by all meanes poſſible, to eſtabliſh themſelues in the ſure poſſeſſiō of Brytayne. But ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that they proſpered not long in their deuiſe, for ſo great was their lordlineſſe, their crueltie, and inſatiable deſire of riches, beſide their deteſtable abuſing of chaſt matrones, & young virgines (whoſe huſbandes and parentes were daily inforced to become their drudges and ſlaues whyleſt they ſate at home and fed like Drone bées of the ſwéet of their trauayle & labours) that God I ſay would not ſuffer thē to continue any while ouer vs, but when he ſaw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie, as it were to breath vs, thereby to ſée whether this his ſharpe ſcourge coulde haue moued vs to repentaunce and amendement of our lewde and ſinnefull liues, or not. But whē no ſigne therof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vexe vs, I meane the Normans, a people of whom it is worthily doubted, whether they were more harde and cruell to our countrymen then the Danes, or more heauye and intollerable to our Iſlande then the Saxons or Romaynes, yet ſuch was our lotte, in theſe dayes by the deuine appointed order, that we muſt néedes obey, ſuch as the Lorde dyd ſet ouer vs, & ſo much the rather, for that all power to reſiſt was vtterly taken from vs, and our armes made ſo weake and féeble, that they were not now able to remoue the importable loade of the Normanes from our ſurburdened ſhoulders: And this onely I ſay agayne, bycauſe we refuſed grace offred in time and woulde not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs ſo fauourably vnto him.

The Normans.

Thus we ſée howe from time to time this Iſlande hath not onely bene a praye, but as it were a common receptacle for ſtraungers, the naturall homelinges being ſtill cut ſhorter and ſhorter, as I ſayde before, till in the ende they came not onely to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in tyme alſo verie like vtterly to haue ben extinguiſhed. For had not king Edward ſurnamed the ſainct in his time after grieuous warres, made vppon them (wherein Earle Harald, ſonne to Godwine & after king of Englande was his generall) permitted the remnaunt of their women to ioyne in maryage with the Engliſhmen (when the moſt part of their huſbandes & male children were ſlayne with the ſworde) it coulde not haue bene otherwyſe choſen, but their whole race muſt néedes haue ſuſtayned the vttermoſt confuſion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterly haue periſhed.

Whether it be likely that there were euer any Gyaunts inhabiting in this Iſle or not. Cap. 4.

Beſides theſe aforeſayde nations, which haue crept as you haue hearde into our Iſlande, we reade of ſundry Gyaunts that ſhoulde inhabite here, which report as it is not altogither incredible, ſith the poſterities of diuers princes were called by ẏ name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſéemeth ſo ſtraunge a rehearſall, that for the ſame onely they ſuſpect the credite of our whole hyſtorie and reiect it as a fable, vnworthy to be read. For this cauſe therefore I haue nowe taken vpon me to make thys briefe diſcourſe inſuing, therby to proue, that the opiniō of Gyaunts is not altogither grounded vpon vayne & fabulous narrations, inuented only to delite the eares of the hearers with the report of marueilous things. But that there haue bene ſuch men in déede, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather * highe towers then mortall men, although their poſterities are now conſumed, and their monſtruous races vtterly worne out of knowledge.

* Eſay.30. verſ.25.

I doe not meane herin to diſpute, whether this name was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, then for their greateneſſe of bodie, or whether the worde Gygas dooeth onelye ſignifie Indigenas, or homelinges, borne in the lande or not, neyther whother all men were of like quantitie in ſtature and farre more greater in olde tyme then at this preſent they be, and yet abſolutely I denie neyther of theſe, ſith very probable reaſons may be brought for eche of thẽ, but eſpecially the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorityes of ſundrie auncient writers, who make diuers of Noble race, equall to the Gyauntes in ſtrength, and manhoode, and yet doe not gyue the ſame name vnto them, bycauſe their quarels were iuſt, and commonly taken in hande, for defence of the oppreſſed. Example hereof, alſo we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe wreſtling declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomacke, ſuch alſo was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterly vanquiſhed by the ſayde Hercules, yet if he did eftſoones returne agayne into his kingdome, he furthw̃ recouered his force, returned & helde Hercules tacke, till he gate at the laſt betwéene him & home, ſo cutting of the farder hope of the reſtoring of his army, and killing finally his aduerſarie in the field. The like doe our hiſtories report of Corineus and Gomagot, who fought a combate hande to hande, till one of them was ſlayne, & yet for all this no man reputeth Corineus for a Gyaunt. But ſith I ſaye it is not my purpoſe to ſtande vppon theſe pointes, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them, and where as alſo I might haue procéeded in ſuch order, that I ſhoulde firſt ſet downe by many circumſtances, whether any Gyauntes were, then whether they were of ſuch huge & incredible ſtature, as the authours doe remember, and finally whether any of them haue béene in this our ylande or not, I proteſt playnly that my minde is not nowe bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generally to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie that there haue bene mightye men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, as by particular examples ſhalbe manifeſtly confirmed without yͤ obſeruation of any methode, or ſuch diuiſiõ in the rehearſal hereof as ſound order doth requre.

Antheus.

Corineus.
Gomagot.

Moſes the Prophet of the Lord, writing of the ſtate of things before the flood hath theſe wordes in his booke of generations. In theſe daies ſaith he, there were Giãts vpõ yͤ erth, Beroſus, alſo the Chalde, writeth that néere vnto Libanus there was a city called Onon (which I take to be Henoch, builded ſomtime by Cham) wherein Gyauntes dyd inhabit, who truſting to the ſtrength and hugeneſſe of their bodies, dyd verye great oppreſſion and miſchiefe in the worlde. The Hebrues called them generally by the name of Enach peraduenture of Henoch the ſonne of Cain, frõ whom that peſtilẽt race at the firſt deſcẽded.

Geneſis
Cap.6.
ver.4.

Anti.li.1.

And of theſe mõſters alſo ſome families remained vnto the time of Moſes, in compariſon of whom the children of Iſraell confeſſed themſelues to be but Graſhoppers, which is one noble teſtimonie that the word Gygas or Enach is ſo well taken for a man of huge ſtature, as for an homeborne childe, wicked tyraunt, and oppreſſour of the people.

Nu.ca
verſ.
34.

Furthermore, there is mention made alſo of Og, ſometyme king of Baſan, who was the laſt of the race of the Gyaunts, that was left in the lande of promiſe to be ouercome by the Iſraelites, whoſe bedde was afterwarde ſhewed for a woonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) and conteyned 9. cubites in length and 4. in bredth, which cubites I take to be geometricall, that is, eache one ſixe of the ſmaller, as dyd thoſe alſo whereof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme.

Deut.
verſ.
Og
Baſa

In the firſt of Samuell you ſhall reade of Goliath a philiſtine, the weight of whoſe Caberde or iacke was of fiue hundreth ſicles, or ſo many ounces, that is, 312. pounde after the rate of a ſicle to an ounce, his ſpeare was like a weauers beame, the onelye head whereof weighed 600. ounces of yron, or 37. pounde and a halfe engliſh, his height alſo was meaſured at 6. cubites and an hande bredth, all which do importe that he was a notable Gyaunt, and a man of great ſtrength to weare ſuch an armour & beweld ſo heauy a launce.

Ca
ver.4
Goli

In the ſecond of Samuell, I finde report of 4. Gyaunts borne in Geth, of which the third was like vnto Goliath, & the fourth had 24. fingers and toes, whereby it is euident, that the generation of Gyaunts were not extinguiſhed in Paleſtine, vntill the tyme of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floude, nor vtterly conſumed in Og, as ſome of our expoſitours woulde haue it.

Cap.
ver.16.
17.&c.

Now to come vnto our chriſten writers, for although the authorities already alleged out of the worde, are ſufficient to confirme my purpoſe at the full, yet will I not let to ſet downe ſuch other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelye to the ende that the reader ſhall not thinke the name of Gyaunts, with their quantities, and other circumſtaunces, mentioned in the ſcriptures, rather to haue ſome miſticall interpretation, depending vpon them, then that the ſence of the text in this behalfe is to be taken ſimple as it lyeth.

ciuitate
lib.15.
p.9.

annes
ccatius.

S.Auguſtine noteth how he ſaw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduiſement & pronounced in the ende that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or any other mans that lyued in his tyme. The like hereof alſo doeth John Bocaſe ſet downe, in the 48. Chapter of his fiſt booke, ſaying that in ẏ caue of a moũtayne, not farre from Drepanum, (a towne of Sicilia) the body of an excéeding high Gyaunt was diſcouered, thrée of whoſe téeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into Engliſh poiſe, doth yéelde 8. pounde and 4. ounces, after twelue ounces to the pounde.

t. Weſt-
on.

annes
land.
lſſeus.

Geruaſius
lberien-

The bodye of Pallas was founde in Italy, in the yeare of grace. 1038. and being meaſured it conteined 20. foote in lẽgth, this Pallas was cõpanion with Æneas. There was a carcaſe alſo laid bare in England vpõ the ſhore, (where the beating of the ſea had waſhed away ẏ yearth from the ſtone wherein it lay) & when it was taken vp, it conteined, 50. foote in meaſure, as our hiſtories doe reporte. The lyke was ſéene in Wales, in the yeare. 1087. of 14. foote. I 1 Perth moreouer a village in Scotlande another was taken vp, which to this day they ſhewe in a Church, vnder the name of little John, being alſo 14. foote in length as diuers doe affirme which haue beholden the ſame. In the yeare of grace. 1475. the bodye of Tulliola daughter vnto Cicero, was taken vp and found higher by not a fewe féete then the common ſorte of women liuing in thoſe dayes. Geruaſius Tilberienſis, hedde Marſhall to the King of Arles writeth, in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho. 4. howe that at Iſoretum, in the ſuburbes of Paris, he ſawe the bodye of a man that was twentye foote long, beſide the heade and necke, which was miſſing and not founde, the owner hauing peraduenture bene beheadded for ſome notable treſpaſſe committed in times paſt.

homas
liot.

A carkaſſe was taken vp at Iuye Church nere Saliſburye but of late to ſpeake of, almoſt 14 foote long.

eland.

In Gilleſland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Moore, ſixe miles by Eaſt from Carleill, a coffin of ſtone was founde, and therein the bones of a man, of more then incredible greatnes.

ichard
rafton.

Richarde Grafton, in his Manuell telleth of one whoſe ſhinne bone conteined ſixe foote, & his ſcul ſo great that it was able to receiue 5. peckes of wheate, wherefore by coniecturall ſymmetrye of theſe partes, his bodye muſt néedes be of 28. foote, or rather more, if it were diligently diſcuſſed.

lueſter
yraldus.

Conſtans
fama Ga-
lorum.

The body of king Arthur being found in the yere 1189. was two foote higher than any man that came to behold ẏ ſame, finally the carcas of William conquerour was ſéene not many yeares ſince, in the Citie of Cane, twelue ynches longer, by ẏ iudgment of ſuch as ſaw it, thã any man which dwelled in the countrey, all which teſtimonies I note togither bicauſe they procéede from Chriſtian writers, from whome nothing ſhoulde bée farther or more diſtant, then of ſet purpoſe to lie, & féede the world with Fables. Nowe it reſteth furthermore ẏ I ſet downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had allwayes great regarde of their credit, and ſo ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto poſteritie, leaſt in going about otherwiſe to reape renowme and praiſe, they doe procure vnto themſelues in the ende nothing elſe but méere contempt and infamy: for my part I will touch rare thinges, and ſuch as to my ſelfe doe ſéeme almoſt incredible: howbeitas I find them, ſo I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerye Author beare hys owne burden, and euery Oxe his bundle.

In vitâ Ser-
torij de
Antheo.

Plutarche telleth howe Sertorius being in Libia, néere vnto the ſtréetes of Maroco, cauſed the Sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened, for heareing by cõmon report that the ſaide Gyaunt lay buryed there, whoſe corps was 50. cubits long at the leaſt, he was ſo far of frõ crediting the ſame, that he would not beleue it, vntil he ſaw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforeſaid prince did reſt. To be ſhort therefore, he cauſed his ſouldiers to caſt downe the hil made ſomtime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome, after the meaſure thereof taken, he ſawe it manifeſtly, to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more then the people made accompt of.

Philoſtrate

Philoſtrate in Heroices ſayth, how he ſawe the body of a Gyant 30. cubits in length, alſo the carkaſſe of another of 22. and the thirde, of 12.

Lib.7.

Plinie telleth of an Earthquake at Creta, which diſcouered the body of a Gyant, which was 46. cubits in length after the Romaine ſtanderde, and by dyuers ſuppoſed to be the bodye of Orion or Ætion.

Trallianus.

Trallianus writeth howe the Athenienſes digging on a time in the grounde to laye the foundatiõ of their new walles in the dayes of an Emperour, did finde the bones of Macroſyris in a coffin of harde ſtone, of 10. cubites in length after the accompt of the Romaine cubite, which was then a foote and an halfe & not much diffrence from halfe a yarde of our meaſure nowe in Englande. In the time of Hadriane themperour the body of a Gyaunt was takẽ vp at Meſſana conteining 20. foote in length, & hauing a double row of téeth, yet ſtanding whole in his chaps, In Dalmatia, manye graues were ſhaken open with an earthquake, in one of which aboue the reſt, a carcaſſe was found whoſe ribbe conteined 16. elles, after the Romaine meaſure, wherby ẏ whole body was iudged to be 64. ſith ẏ lōgeſt rib is cōmonly about ẏ fourth part of a man, as ſome Simmetriciēs affirme, Arrhianꝰ ſaith that in the time of Alexander the bodies of ẏ Aſianes were generally of huge ſtature, and commonly of 5. cubits, ſuch was the height of Porus of Inde, whome Alexander vanquiſhed and ouerthrew in battaile. Suidas ſpeaketh in like maner of Ganges, killed likewiſe by the ſayd prince, who farre exceeded Porus for he was 10. cubits lōg. But of al theſe this one example ſhall paſſe, which I doe reade alſo in Trallianus & he ſetteth downe in forme and manner following.

A mouth of 16. foote wide.

In the daies of Tiberius themperor ſaith he a corps was left bare or layde open after an erthquake of which eche tooth cōteined 12. ynches ouer at ẏ leſt, now forasmuch as in ſuch as bee full mouthed eche chap hath 16. teeth at the leaſt, which is 32. in ẏ whole, needes muſt the wydeneſſe of this mannes chappes be ſixteene foote, and the opening of his lippes 10. A large mouth in mine opinion and not to feede with Ladies of my time, beſides that if occaſion ſerued, it was able to receiue the whole bodye of a man, I meane of ſuch as flouriſh in our daies. Whē this carcaſſe was thus founde, euery man marueyled at it and good cauſe why, a meſſenger alſo was ſente vnto Tiberius themperour to know his pleaſure, whether he wold haue the ſame brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbade them, willing his Legate not to remoue the deade out of his reſting place, but rather to ſende him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gaue the ſame to a cunning workeman, commanding him to ſhape a carcaſſe of light matter, after the proporcion of the tooth, that at the leaſt by ſuch meanes he might ſatiſfie his curious minde, and the fantaſies of ſuch as are delited with newes.

A coūterfeite made of a monſtrous carcaſſe by one tooth taken out of ẏ head.

This man was more fauorable to this mōſter then our papiſts were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in peeces to make money of thē.

To be ſhort whē the ymage was once made and ſet vp an end, it appeared rather an huge colloſſy then the true repreſentation of the carcaſſe of a man, and when it had ſtande in Rome vntill the people were wearye of it and thorowly ſatiſfied with the ſight thereof, he cauſed it to bee broken all to peeces, and the tooth ſent againe to the carcaſſe from whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligently, & in any wiſe not to diſmēber the corps, nor from thenceforth to bee ſo hardie as to open the ſepulchre any more. I could rehearſe many mo examples of the bodies of ſuch men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus Cooper, and other, but theſe here ſhall ſuffiſe to proue my purpoſe with all. I might tell you in like ſorte of the ſtone which Turnus threwe at Æneas, which was ſuch as that 12. choſen and picked men

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*)

Vis vnita fortior e
eadem
perſa.

were not able to ſturre and remoue out of the place, but I paſſe it ouer, & diuers of the like, concluding that theſe huge blockes were ordeined and created by God: firſt for a teſtimonie vnto vs, of his power and myght, ſecondly for a confirmation that hugeneſſe of bodye is not to be accompted, of as a part of our felicitie, ſith they which poſſeſſed ẏ ſame, were not onely tyrauntes, doltyſh, and euyll men, but alſo oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake and feeble. Finally they were ſuch in deede as in whome the Lorde delited not, according to the ſaying of the Prophet Baruch.

Cap.3.

Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt ſtatura magna, ſcientes bellum, hos non elegit dominus, neque illis viam diſciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam nō habuerunt ſapientiam, interierunt propter ſuam inſipientiam. &c.

There were the Gyants, famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature & ſo expert in warre. Thoſe did not the Lorde chooſe neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them. But they were deſtroied, becauſe they had no wiſedome, and periſhed through their owne fooliſhneſſe.

Of the generall Language vſed from time to time in Britaine.

Chap. 5.

Bryti

Small differen betwe brittiſh & Celtike languag

What language came firſt wyth Samothes & afterwarde with Albion, & the Gyants of his cōpanie, it is hearde for me to determine, ſith nothing of ſound credit remayneth in writing which maye reſolue vs in the truth hereof, yet of ſo much are we certeine, that the ſpeach of ẏ auncient Britons, and of the Celtes had great affinitie one with another, ſo that they were either all one, or at the leaſt wyſe ſuch as eyther nation wyth ſmal helpe of interpreters might vnderſtand other, and readily diſcerne what the ſpeaker did meane.

Britti corrupt by the L tine and Saxon ſpeaches.

The Brittiſh tongue doth yet remayne in that part of the Iſlande, which is nowe called Wales, whether the Britons were driuē after the Saxons had made a full conqueſt of the other, which we nowe call Englande, although the priſtinate integritie therof be not a little diminiſhed by mixture of the Latine & Saxon ſpeaches, howbeit, many poeſies and writings, (in making whereof that nation hath euermore excelled) are yet extant in my time, whereby ſome difference betweene the aunciēt & preſent language, may eaſily be diſcerned, notwithſtanding that amōg all theſe there is nothing to be founde, which can ſet downe any ſounde teſtimonie of their owne originall, in remembraunce whereof, their Bardes & cunning men haue bene moſt ſlacke and negligent. It is a ſpeache in mine opiniō much ſauouring of that, which was ſometime vſed in Grecia, and learned by the reliques of the Troyanes, whyleſt they were captiue there, but how ſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, after it came once ouer into this Iſlande, ſure it is, that it could neuer be extinguiſhed for all the attēpts that the Romains, Saxons, Normans, and Engliſhmen coulde make againſt that nation, in any maner of wyſe.

he Bri=
ns deli=
nt in pe=
grees.

Petigrees & genealogies alſo the Welche Brytons haue plentie in their owne tongue, inſomuch that many of them can readily deriue the ſame, eyther from Brute or ſome of his bande, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troyanes, and ſo forth vnto Noah without any maner of ſtoppe, but as I know not what credite is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, ſo I dare not abſolutely impugne their aſſertions, ſith that in times paſt all nations (learning it no dout of the Hebrues) did very ſolemnely preſerue the Cataloges of their diſcent, thereby eyther to ſhew themſelues of auncient and noble race, or elſe to be diſcended from ſome one of the goddes.

atine.

Next vnto the Brittiſhe ſpeache, the latine tongue was brought in by the Romaines, whereof I will not ſay much, bycauſe there are few which be not ſkilfull in yͤ ſame. Howbeit as the ſpeache it ſelfe is eaſie and delectable, ſo hath it peruerted the names of the auncient ryuers, regions, and cities of Britayne in ſuch wyſe, that in theſe our dayes their olde Brittiſh denominations are quite growen out of memorie, and thoſe of the new latine, left as moſt incertayne. This remayneth alſo vnto my tyme, borowed from the Romaynes that all our deedes, euidences, charters, and writinges of recorde, are ſet downe in the latine tongue, and therevnto the copies and courtrolles, and proceſſes of courtes and leetes regiſtred in the ſame.

he Sa=
n tong.

The thirde language apparauntly knowen is the Scythian or highe Dutche, brought in at the firſt by the Saxons, an hard and rough kinde of ſpeach god wotte, when our nation was brought firſt into acquaintance withall, but now chaunged with vs into a farre more fine and eaſie kind of vtteraunce, and ſo poliſhed and helped with new and milder wordes that it is to be aduouched howe there is no one ſpeache vnder the ſonne ſpoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of wordes, copie of phraſes, or figures or floures of eloquence, thē hath our Engliſhe tongue, although ſome haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, then talke like men, becauſe the moſt of our wordes (as they doe in deede) incline vnto one ſyllable.

The Frenche tong.

After the Saxon tongue came the Normā or Frenche language, ouer into our countrey, and therein were our lawes written for a lōg tyme, our children alſo were by an eſpeciall decree taught firſt to ſpeake the ſame, and all to exile the Engliſhe and Brittiſhe ſpeaches out of the coūtry, but in vaine, for in the time of king Edwarde the firſt, and towarde the latter ende of his reigne, the Frenche it ſelfe ceaſed to be ſpoken generally, and then beganne the Engliſhe to recouer and growe in more eſtimation then before, notwithſtāding that amōg our artificers, yͤ moſt part of their implements & tooles reteine ſtil their French denominatiōs to theſe our daies, as the language it ſelf, is vſed likewiſe in ſūdry courts, bookes and matters of law, wherof here is no place to make any farder rehearſall. Afterward alſo, by the diligent trauelle of Geffray Chauſer, and Iohn Gowre in the time of Richard the ſecond, & after thē of Iohn Scogā, & Iohn Lydgate monke of Berry, our tong was brought to an excellent paſſe, notwithſtanding that it neuer came, vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Queene Elizabeth, wherein many excellent writers haue fully accompliſhed the ornature of the ſame, to their great prayſe and immortall commēdation. But as this excellencie of the Engliſh tongue is founde in one, and the ſouth part of this Iſlande, ſo in Wales the greateſt nōber as I ſayde retayne ſtill their owne auncient language, that of the North part of the ſayd countrey, being leſſe corrupted then the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne eſtimation and iudgement.

The Corniſh tōgue.

The Corniſh and Deuonſhire men, haue a ſpeach in like ſorte of their owne, and ſuch as hath in deede more affinity with the Armoricane tongue, then I can well diſcuſſe of, yet in mine opiniō they are both but a corrupted kinde of Brittiſh, albeit ſo farre degenerating in theſe dayes, that if eyther of them do meete wyth a Welch man, they are not able at the firſt to vnderſtand one another, except here and there in ſome odde wordes, without the helpe of interpretours. And no marueile in mine opinion that the Brittiſh of Cornewall is thus corrupted, ſith the Welch tong that is ſpoken in the north and ſouth part of Wales, doth differ ſo much in it ſelfe as the Engliſh vſed in Scotlande, doth from that which is ſpoken among vs here in this ſide of the Iſlande, as I haue ſaide already.

Scottiſhe engliſh.

The Scottiſh engliſhe is much broader and leſſe pleaſaunt in vtterance, then ours, becauſe that nation hath not hitherto indeuoured to bring the ſame to any perfit order, and yet it is ſuch in maner, as Engliſhmen themſelues doe ſpeake, for the moſt part beyonde the Trent, whether the aforeſayde amendement of our language, hath not as yet very much extended it ſelfe.

Thus we ſée how that vnder the dominion of the kinge of Englande, and in the ſouth partes of the realme, we haue thrée ſeuerall tongues, that is to ſay, Engliſh, Bryttiſh, & Corniſh, and euen ſo many are in Scotland, if you accempt the Engliſhe ſpeach for one: notwithſtanding that for bredth and quantitie of the Region, it be ſomewhat leſſe to ſée to then the other. For in the North part of the Region, where the wilde Scottes, otherwyſe called the Redſhankes, or Rough fóted Scottes (bycauſe they go bare fóted & clad in mantels ouer their ſaffron ſhirtes after the Iriſhe maner) doe inhabite, they ſpeake góod Iriſhe, whereby they ſhew their originall to haue in times paſt bene fetched out of Irelande.

The wilde Scottes.

Redſhāks. Rough foted Scots.

Iriſh ſpeche.

In the Iſles of the Orcades, or Orkeney, as they now call them, and ſuch coaſtes of Britaine as doe abutte vpon the ſame, the Gottiſh or Dainſh ſpeach is altogither in vſe, by reaſon as I take it, that the princes of Norway helde thoſe Iſlandes ſo long vnder their ſubiection, albeit they were otherwyſe reputed, rather to belong vnto Irelande, bycauſe that the very ſoyle of them is enemie to poyſon, as ſome write, although for my part I had neuer experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought góod to ſpeake of theſe fiue languages nowe vſually ſpoken within the limites of our Iſlande.

Into how many kingdomes the Iſle of Britaine hath bene deuided at once in olde time. Cap.6.

Britaine at the firſt one entier kingdome.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the firſt the whole Iſlande was ruled by one onely prince, and ſo continued from time to time, vntill ciuile diſcorde, grounded vpon ambitions deſire to reigne, cauſed the ſame to be gouerned by diuers. And this I meane ſo wel of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race and poſterity. Howbeit as it is incerteine, into how many regions it was ſeuered after the firſt particion, ſo it is moſt ſure that this latter diſturbed eſtate of regiment, continued in the ſame, not onely vntill the time of Cæſar, but alſo in maner vnto the dayes of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an ende, and the Romaynes full poſſeſſiō of this Iſlande, who gouerned it by Legates after the maner of a prouince. It ſhould ſeme alſo ỷ within a whyle after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought thoſe 4. Princes that vſurped in his tyme to obedience, then extinguiſhed their titles, and ſuch partition as they had made of the Iſlande among thēſelues) eche great citie had hir frédome and ſeuerall kinde of regiment, proper vnto hir ſelfe, beſide a large circuite of the country appertinent vnto the ſame, wherin were ſundrye other cities alſo of leſſe name, which ought homage & all ſubiection vnto the greater ſorte. And to ſay truth hereof, it came to paſſe, that eache region, whereinto this Iſlande was than deuided, tóke his name of ſome one of theſe as many appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was ſo called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whoſe Territories, contayned all Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertforde ſhire, euen as the iuriſdictiō of the Biſhop of London is now extēded, for the ouerſight of ſuch things as belong vnto the Church. Eche of the gouernours alſo of theſe regions, called themſelues kings, and thereunto eyther of them dayly made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limites. But foraſmuch as I am not able to ſaye howe many dyd chalenge this authoritie at once, and howe long they reigned ouer their ſeuerall portions, I will paſſe ouer theſe auncient times, and come néerer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yere of Chriſt, wherof we haue more certayne notice, & at which ſeaſon there is euident proofe, that there were 12. or 13. kinges reigning in this Iſlande.

Wales
uided
thrée kin
domes.

We finde therefore for the firſt, howe that Wales had hir thrée ſeuerall kingdomes, although that portion of the Iſlande extended in thoſe dayes no farder thē about 200. miles in length, & one hundred in bredth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne & Dée, of which two ſtreames this doth fall into the Iriſh ſea at Cheſter, the other into the mayne Oceane, betwixt Somerſetſhire and Southwales, as their ſeuerall courſes doe witneſſe more at large.

In the beginning it was deuided into two kingdomes onely, that is to ſay, Venedotia, winhed.

Gwinhed, and Demetia, for which we now vſe moſt commonlye the names of South and North Wales, but in proceſſe of tyme a thirde ſprange vp in the verye middeſt betwéene them both, which from thenceforth was called Powyſy, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter.

Venedotia. nglesey. rfon. erio= eth. trad= luyd or egenia.

The firſt of theſe thrée, being called as I ſayd Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus, Iouius ſaith Malſabrene, for he deuideth wales alſo into thrée regions, of whiche he calleth yͤ firſt Dumbera, the ſeconde Berfrona, & the third Malſabrene) lyeth directly ouer againſt yͤ Iſle of Angleſey. It containeth 4. regions, of which the ſayde Iſland is the firſt, & whereof in the chapter inſuing I wil intreate more at large. The ſeconde is called Arfon, and ſituate betwéene two ryuers, the Segwy & the Conwy: The thirde is Merioneth, & as it is ſeuered from Arfon by the Conwy, ſo is it ſeparated from Tegenia, (otherwyſe called Stradcluyd & Igenia the fourth regiõ) by the riuer Cluda. Finally the limits alſo of thys latter: are extended alſo, euen vnto the Dée it ſelfe, and of theſe 4. Regions, conſiſteth the kingdome of Venedotia, wherof in times paſt the region of the Canges was not the ſmalleſt portion.

owiſy. angor.

The kingdome of Powiſy, laſt of all erected, as I ſayde, hath on the north ſide Gwinhed on the Eaſt (from Cheſter to Hereforde, or rather the Deane foreſt) Englande: on the ſouth and weſt the ryuer Wy, and very highe hilles, whereby it is notablye ſeuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being Shropſhyre, that nowe is inhabited with mére Engliſh, and where, in olde time the kinges of Powyſy dyd dwell and holde their pallaces. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not farre from Holt caſtell, vpon eache ſide of the riuer, as the chanell nowe runneth, ſtode ſometime the famous Monaſtery of Bãgor, whyleſt the abated glory of the Britons, yet remayned vnextinguiſhed, & herin were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned ſort dyd preache the Goſpell, and the vnlearned laboured with their hands, therby to mainteyne themſelues, and to ſuſtaine their preachers. This Region was in lyke ſort deuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailroſſe, the other retayned ſtill hir olde denomination, & of theſe the firſt lay by ſouth, and the latter by north of the Sauerne, whereof let this ſuffice, ſith mine intent is not as nowe to make any preciſe deſcriptiõ, of the particulars of Wales, but onely to ſhewe, howe thoſe regions laye, which ſometime were knowen to be gouerned in that countrey.

Demetia.

The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, ſometime knowen for the region of the Syllures, whereunto I alſo am perſwaded, that the Ordolukes lay in the Eaſt part thereof, and extended their region, euen vnto the Sauerne: but howſoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir ſouth, the Iriſh ſea on hir weſt partes, on the eaſt the Sauerne only, and by North the land of Powyſy, whereof I ſpake of late.

Of this region alſo Caermarden, which the olde writers call Maridunum, was the chiefe pallace, vntill at the laſt thorowe forren and ciuill inuaſions of enimies, that the Princes thereof were conſtrayned to remoue theyr courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and ſituate neuertheleſſe vppon the ſame ryuer Tewye whereon Cairmarden ſtandeth) where it is farre better defended with high hilles, thicke woddes, craggy rockes, and déepe mariſes. In this region alſo lyeth Pembroke ſhyre, whoſe fawcons haue bene in olde time very much regarded, and there in likewyſe is Milforde hauen, whereof the Welch wyſards doe dreame ſtraunge toyes, which they beléeue, ſhall one daye come to paſſe.

Pictland. Scotland. Pictes. Scottes.

That Scotlande had in theſe dayes two Kingdomes, (beſides that of the Orchades) wherof the one conſiſted of the Pictes, & was called Pightland or Pictlande, the other of the Scottiſh race, & named Scotland: I hope no wiſe man will readily denie. The whole regiõ or portion of the Iſle beyonde the Scottiſh ſea alſo was ſo diuided that yͤ Pictes lay on the Eaſt ſide, and the Scots, on the Weſt, eche of them being ſeuered from other, eyther by huge hilles or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the South into the north betwéene them: Wherefore the caſe being ſo playne, I will ſay no more of theſe two but procéede in order wyth the rehearſall of the reſt of the particular kingdoms of this our ſouth part of yͤ Ile, limiting out yͤ ſame by ſhyres as they now lye, ſo nere as I cã, for otherwiſe it ſhalbe impoſſible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likelieſt quantities of theſe their ſeuerall portions.

Kẽt Henghiſt.

The firſt of theſe kingdomes therfore was begonne in Kent by Henghiſt in the 456. of Chriſt, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent: and as the limites thereof extended it ſelf no farther then the ſayde countie (yͤ chiefe Citie whereof was Dorobernia or Canterbury) ſo it endured well nere by the ſpace of 400. yeares, before it was made an Earledome, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the Weſt Saxons, Athelſtane his ſonne, being yͤ firſt Earle or heretoche of the ſame. Maiſter

Lambert in his hyſtorie of Kent doth gather, by very probable coniectures, that this part of the Iſlande was firſt inhabited, by Samothes, and afterwarde by Albion: but howſoeuer that caſe ſtandeth, ſure it is that it hath bene the onely dore, whereby the Romaines and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conqueſt of the region. And as this cannot be denyed, ſo it was the onelye place by which the knowledge of Chriſt was firſt brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of ſaluation, and from the darkneſſe of miſty errour, true conuerts vnto the light, & bright beames of the ſhining truth, to our eternall benefit, and endleſſe comforts hereafter.

Southſex.
Ella.

The ſecond Kingdome conteined only Suſſex & a part of Surrey, which Ella the Saxon firſt helde: who alſo erected his chiefe pallace at Chicheſter, whē he had deſtroied Andredſwalde in the 492. of Chriſt, and after it had continued by the ſpace of 232. yeares, it ceaſed being the very leaſt Kingdome of all the reſt, which were founded in this yle after the comming of the Saxons.

Eſſex.
Erkenwin.

The third regiment was of the Eaſt Saxons, or Trinobātes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwyne, whoſe chiefe ſeate was in Londō (or Colcheſter) & cōteined whole Eſſex, & part of Herfordſhyre. It indured alſo much about the pricke of 303. yeres, & was diuided frō that of the Eaſt angles onely by the riuer Stour, as Houeden & other doe report, & ſo it continueth ſeperated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the ſayde riuer be growne very ſmall, and not of ſuch greatnes as it hath bene in times paſt, by reaſon that our Country men make ſmall accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horſe & cart to be the leſſe chargeable waye. But herein how far they are deceyued, I will elſewhere make manifeſt declaration.

Weſtſax.

Cerdÿc.

The fourth kingdome was of ẏ Weſt Saxons, and ſo called bycauſe it lay in the Weſt part of the realme, as that of Eſſex did in the Eaſt, of Suſſex and South. It began in the yeare of grace 519. vnder Cerdic, & indured vntil the comming of ẏ Normanes, including Wiltſhyre, Barkeſhyre, Dorſet, Southampton, Sūmerſetſhyre Gloſterſhyre, ſome part of Deuonſhyre (which the Brytons occupied not) Cornewal and the reſt of Surrey, as the beſt authours do ſet downe. The chiefe Citie of this Kingdome alſo was Wincheſter, except my memory doe fayle me.

Brēnicia, alias Northumberland, Ida.

The fiſt Kingdome beganne vnder Ida, in the 548. of Chriſt being called now Northūberland becauſe it laye by North of the riuer Humber, it conteined all that region which as it ſhoulde ſeeme, was in time paſt eyther wholly apperteining to ẏ Brigants, or whereof the ſayde Brigants, did poſſeſſe the greater part. The chiefe Citie of the ſame in like maner was Yorke, as Leyland and other doe ſet downe, who adde thereto that it extended frō the humber vnto the Scottiſh ſea.

Deira,
Ella.

Afterwarde in the yeare of grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yeelded vp all hys portion, which laye betweene humber and the Tine vnto his Brother Ella (according to their Fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberlande, but reteyning the reſt ſtil vnto his owne vſe, he diminiſhed not his title, but wrote himſelf as before king of al Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeres, it was reunited againe, & ſo continued vntill Alfrede vnited the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. after the birth of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

Eaſtang
Offa,a q
offeling

The 7. kingdome, called of the Eaſtangles began at Norwitch in the 561. after Chriſt, vnder Offa, of whom they were lōg time after called Offelings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cābridgeſhyre, & Ely, & cōtinuing 228. yeres it flouriſhed only 35. yeres in perfite eſtate of Liberte, the reaſt being conſumed vnder the trybute and vaſſallage of the merciās, who had ẏ ſouereigntye thereof, & helde it with great honour. Some take this region to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeelde to their aſſertions, I meane it of Lelande, himſelfe, whoſe helpe I vſe altogither in theſe collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not reſolued, that he doth iudge aright.

Mercia.
Creodda.

The 8. and laſt was that of Mercia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatneſſe of circuit, exceeded all the reaſt. It tooke the name eyther of Meare the Saxon word, becauſe the limits of moſt of the other kingdomes abutted vpō the ſame, or elſe for that the lawes of Mercia, were firſt vſed in that part of the Ilande. But as the later is but a meere coniecture of ſome, ſo it began vnder Creodda, in ẏ 585. and indured well nere 300. yeres, before it was vnited to that of the Weſt Saxons by Alfrede, then reigning in the kingdome. Before him the Danes had gotten holde thereof, and placed one Ceolulphe an Ideote in the ſame, but as he was ſone reiected for his folly, ſo it was not long after ere the ſayde Alfrede annexed it to his kingdome.

Limits
Mercia.

The limites of the Mertian dominiōs, conteined Lincolne, Northamptō, Cheſter, Darby, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington Rutlande, Oxforde, Buckingham, Worceſter, Bedforde ſhyres, and the greateſt part of Shropſhyre (which the Welch occupied not) Lancaſter, Gloceſter, Herceford (alias Hurchforde)

forde) Warwike and Hertforde ſhyres, the reſt of whoſe territories were holden by ſuch princes of other kingdomes thorow force as bordered vpō the ſame. And thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorye of the aforeſaid kingdomes, not omitting in yͤ meane time ſomewhat here to remember of the diuiſion of the Iſland alſo into Prouinces, as the Romaines ſeuered it whiles they remayned in theſe parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue fullye diſcharged whatſoeuer is promiſed in the title of this Chapter.

itannia ima.

lentia.

itannia unda.

auia Ceienſis.

axima eſarien-

The Romaines therefore hauing obteined the poſſeſſion of this Iſland, deuided the ſame at yͤ laſt into fiue Prouinces. The firſt wherof was named Britānia prima, & conteined the eaſt part of England (as ſome doe gather) frō yͤ Trent vnto yͤ Twede. The ſecond was called Valentia, & included the Weſt ſide as they note it, frō Lirpole vnto Cokermouth. The thirde hight Britannia ſecunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laye Southwardes, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was ſurnamed Flauia Ceſarienſis: and conteyned all the countrey which remayned betwéene Douer & the Sauerne, I meane by ſouth of the Thames, and whereunto in lyke ſort, Cornewall and Wales were orderly aſſigned. The fift and laſt part was then named Maxima Ceſarienſis, now Scotland. The moſt barren of all the reaſt, & yet not vnſought out of the Romaines, bicauſe of the great plentie of fiſhe and foule, fine Alabaſtar and harde Marble, that are ingendred and to be had in the ſame, for furniture of houſholde and curious buylding, wherein they much delited.

Of the auncient Religion vſed in this Iſland, from the comming of Samothes vnto the conuerſion of the ſame vnto the faith of Chriſt.

Cap 8.

amothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt and ſo long as the poſteritie of Iaphet onelye, reigned in this Iſlande, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, was exerciſed among the Britains. And although peraduenture in proceſſe of time, either thorow curioſitie, or negligence (yͤ onely corrupters of true pietie and godlyneſſe) it might a little decay, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre excéeded the beſt of that which afterwarde came in with Albion, and his Chemminites, as maye be gathered by vewe of the ſuperſticious rites, which Cham and hys ſucceſſours dyd plant in other countries, yet to be found in Authors.

Magus.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death whē he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide thys which concerned the true honoring of God, I can not eaſily ſaye, but that it ſhoulde bée naturall Philoſophie, and Aſtrology (wherby his diſciples, gathered a kinde of foreknowledge of thinges to come) the verye vſe of the worde Magus, among the Perſians doth yéeld no incerteine teſtimony.

Sarron.

Samothei. Semnothei.

In lyke maner, it ſhoulde ſéeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſayde Magus, diligentlye followed the ſteppes of hys father, & thereto opened Schooles of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celtes and Britaines, whereby ſuch as were his Auditours, grewe to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that aſwell the Sarronides as the Magi, (otherwiſe called Maguſei) & Druydes, were generally called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothies ſtil among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his de magia, doth confeſſe, and calling them Galles, hée addeth therunto that they firſt brought the knowledge of Letters, and good learning vnto the Gréekes.

Druiyus,

Druiyus the ſonne of Sarron (as a ſcholler of his fathers owne teaching) ſéemed to be exquiſite in all thinges, that pertayned vnto the deuine or humaine knowledge: and therfore I may ſafely pronounce, that he excelled not onely in the ſkill of Philoſophie: and the Quadriuialles, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept & preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundry precepts, and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celtes were reſerued very religiouſly, and had in great eſtimation among ſuch as ſought vnto them.

Corrupters of religion.

Howe and in what order this Prince left the ſtate of religiō, I meane for thoſe publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not reade: howbeit this is moſt certayne that after he dyed, the purity of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaye, for ſuch is the nature of man that it will not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by additiō or ſubſtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop & chaunge withal frō time to time, that there is nothing of more difficulty, for ſuch as doe come after thē, then to find out the puritie of the originall and reſtore the ſame againe vnto hir former perfection.

Cæſar.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercyfull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godly, and iuſt as an vpright Iudge, in puniſhing of the wicked. That the ſecrets of mans hart are not vnknowen, and only knowen to him, and that as the worlde and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, ſo ſhall all things likewiſe haue an end, when he ſhal ſee his time. He taught them alſo howe to obſerue the courſes of ẏ heauens, and motions of the planetes, to finde out the true quantities of the celeſtiall bodyes, and thereto the compaſſe of the earth, and hidden natures of thinges contayned in the ſame. But alas this integritie continued not long among his ſucceſſours, for vnto the immortality of the ſoule, they added, that after death it went in to another bodye, the ſeconde or ſuccedent, being allwayes, eyther more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deſerued by his merites, whyleſt he liued here on earth. For ſaid they (of whō Pythagoras alſo had, and taught this errour,) if the ſoule appertayned at ẏ firſt to a king, & he in this eſtate did not leade his lyfe worthie of this calling, it ſhould after his deceaſe be ſhut vp in ẏ bodie of a ſlaue, begger, cocke, Owle, Dogge, Ape, Horſe, Aſſe, Worme, or Monſter, there to remaine as in a place of purgation & puniſhmēt, for a certaine periode of time. Beſide this, it ſhould peraduenture ſuſtaine often tranſlation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doinges here on earth, till it ſhould finally be purified, and reſtored againe to an other humaine bodie, wherein if it behaued it ſelfe more orderly then at the firſt: after the next death, it ſhoulde be preferred, eyther to the bodie of a king, or other great eſtate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation, or reuolution of our ſoules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer ſtande ſtil, nor long yeeld one repreſentatiō and figure. They brought in alſo the worſhipping of many goddes, and their ſeuerall ſacrifices, they honoured likewyſe the Oke, wheron the Miſtle groweth, and daily deuiſed infinitie other toyes, (for errour is neuer aſſured of hir owne doinges) wherof neyther Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them any preſcription.

Strabo.li.4.
Socion.lib. ſucceſſ.
Cicero diuinat.1.

Plinius.lib. 16.cap.vltimo.

Oke honored wheron miſtle did grow, & ſo doe our ſorcerers euen to this day thinking ſome ſpirits to deale about the ſame, for hidden treſure.

These things are partly touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophraſt, Ariſtotle, and partly alſo by Cæſar, and other authours of later time, who for the moſt part do cōfeſſe, ẏ the chiefe ſchoole of the Druydes was holden here in Britaine, whether the Druydes alſo themſelues, that dwelt amōg the Galles, woulde often reſorte to come by the more ſkill, and ſure vnderſtanding of the miſteries of that doctrine.

Eſtimation of the

Druy
or Dru
prieſt

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to ſaye the truth, generally in all places where the Druyſh religion was frequented, ſuch was theſtimatiō of the Prieſtes of this profeſſion, that there was little or nothing done without their ſkilfull aduiſe, no not in ciuill cauſes, pertayning to the regiment of the common wealth and countrey. They had the charge alſo of all ſacrifices, publicke and priuate, they interpreted Oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men, that hearde thē with great diligence, as they taught, frō time to time.

Immu
ty of th
clergy
ter bu
Idolat
then
der the
goſpel.

Touching their perſons alſo, they were exempt from all temporal ſeruices, impoſitiōs, tributes, and exerciſe of the warres, which immunitie cauſed the greater companies of Schollers to flocke vnto thē, from all places & learne their trades. Of theſe likewiſe, ſome remayned with them ſeuen, eyght, tenne, or twelue yeares, ſtill learning the ſecretes of thoſe vnwritten myſteries by heart, which were to be had amongſt them, and commonly pronounced in verſes. And this policie, as I take it, they vſed onely to preſerue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might eaſye haue fallen, if any bookes thereof had happened into the handes of the commō ſorte. It helped alſo not a little in ẏ exerciſe of their memories, whereunto bookes are vtter enemies, inſomuch as he that was ſkilfull in the Druyſh religion, would not let readily to rehearſe many hundredes of verſes, and not to fayle in one tytle, in the whole proceſſe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religiō, ſo in ciuill affaires, hiſtorical Treatiſes, & ſetting downe of lawes, they vſed like order and letters almoſt with the Grecians, wherby it is eaſy to be ſeene, that they retayned this kinde of writing frō Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this yland hath not beene voyde of letters and learned men, euen ſith it was firſt inhabited.

Bardus.

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his ſonne, and fiſt king of the Celtes ſucceeded not onely ouer the ſayde kingdome, but alſo in his fathers vertues, whereby it is very likely, that the winding and wrapping vp of the ſayde Religion, after the afore remembred ſorte into Verſe, was firſt deuyſed by hym, for he was an excellent Poet, and no leſſe indued with a ſingular ſkil in the practiſe and ſpeculatiō of Muſicke, of which two many ſuppoſe him to be the very author and beginner, although vniuſtly, ſith both Poetry & Song, was in vſe before the floude, as was alſo the Harpe and Pype, which Iubal inuented and coulde neuer be performed without great ſkil in muſicke. But to proceede, as the

Gene.4. verſ.21.

the chiefe eſtimation of the Druydes remained in the ende among the Britons only, for their knowledge in religion, ſo dyd the ſame of the Bardes for their excellēt ſkill in muſike, and Heroicall kind of ſong, which at the firſt contayned only the high miſteries of their religion. There was little difference alſo betweene them and the Druydes, till they ſo farre degenerated from their firſt inſtitutiō, that they became to be minſtrels at feaſtes, droncken meetings, and abhominable ſacrifices of the Idols: where they ſang moſt commonly no diuinitie as before, but the noble actes of valiaunt princes and fabulous narratiōs, of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my tyme this fonde vſage, and therto the very name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguiſhed amōg the Britons of Wales, where they call their Poetes & Muſicions Barthes, as they doe alſo in Irelande. There is moreouer an Iſlande appertinent to the region of Venedotia, wherinto the Bardes of old time vſed to reſorte, as out of the waye into a ſolitarie place, there to write and learne their ſonges by hearte, and meditate vppon ſuch matters, as belonged to their practiſes. And of theſe Lucane in his firſt booke writeth thus, among other the like ſayinges well towarde the latter ende alſo ſaying.

e Bar-
dege-
rate.

cane.
.1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremq; ſiniſtrum
Sacrorum Druydæ, poſitis repetiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſſe Deos, & cæli numina vobis,
Aut ſolis neſcire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas erebi ſedes, ditiſq; profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ, canitis ſi cognita, vitæ
Mors media eſt. certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud vrget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæq; capaces
Mortis: & ignauum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we ſee as in a glaſſe the ſtate of religion, for a tyme after the firſt inhabitacion of this Iſlande, but howe long it continued in ſuch ſoundneſſe, as the originall authors left it, in good ſoth I cā not ſay, yet this is moſt certaine, that after a time when Albion arriued here, the religion earſt imbraced, fell into great decaye, for wheras Iaphet and Samothes with their childrē taught nothing elſe then ſuch doctrine as they had learned of Noah: ſo Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his diſciples vtterly renouncing to followe their ſteps, gaue their mindes wholly to ſeduce, and leade their hearers hedlong vnto all error. Wherby his poſteritie not only corrupted this our Iſlande, with moſt filthie trades and practiſes, but alſo all mankinde, generally where they became with vicious life, and moſt vngodly behauiour.

What doctrine Chā and his diſciples taught.

For from Cham and his ſucceſſours, proceeded at the firſt all ſorcery, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull luſt, without reſpect of ſexe, age, conſanguinitie, or kinde: as braunches from an odious & abhominable roote, or ſtreames deriued from moſt filthye and ſtinking puddles. Howbeit, and notwithſtanding all theſe his manifolde lewdneſſes, ſuch was the folly of his Egiptians (where he firſt reigned and taught) that whileſt he lyued they alone had him in great eſtimation, (whereas other Nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickedneſſe, calling hym Chemeſenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onely builded a Citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but alſo after his deth reputed him for a god, calling the higheſt of the ſeuen Planets after his name, as they dyd the next beneath it after Oſyris hys ſonne, whome they likewiſe honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

Chemeſenua.
Chemmyn.
Chā made a god.

Tranſlatiō of mortall men, men into heauē how it began.

Certes it was a cuſtome in Egypt of olde time, & generally in vſe, (whē any of their famous worthy Princes dyed) to aſcrybe ſome forme or other of the ſtarres vnto his perſō, to thend his name might neuer weare out of memory. And this they called their tranſlation in heauen, ſo that he which had any ſtarres or forme of ſtarres, dedicated vnto him, was properlye ſayde to haue place amonge the goddes. A toye much lyke to the Catalogue of Romiſhe ſaintes, (although the one was written in the celeſtiall orbes, the other in ſheepe ſkinnes, and verye brickle paper) but yet ſo eſteemed that euery Prince woulde oft hazard & attempt the vttermoſt aduentures, thereby to winne ſuch fame in his life, that after his death, he myght by merit haue ſuch place in heauen, among the ſhining ſtarres.

Thus we ſee how Idolatry and honoring of the ſtarres was bredde and hatched at the firſt, which in proceſſe of tyme came alſo into Britaine, as dyd the names of Saturne, & Iupiter &c. as ſhall appeare hereafter. And here ſith I haue already ſomewhat digreſſed from my matter. I will go a little furder, & ſhewe forth the originall vſe of the worde Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c. whereby your honor ſhall ſee yet more into the errours of the Gentiles, and not onely that, but one poynt alſo, of the roote of all the confuſion, that is to be found among the auncient hiſtories.

It

Which were properly called, Saturni. Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

It was generallye vſed for a fewe yeres after the particion of the yearth, (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yere after floude,) that the beginners of ſuch kingdomes as were then erected ſhoulde be called Saturni. Hereby then it came to paſſe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and ſo forth other of other places.

Their eldeſt Sonnes alſo that ſucceeded them, were called Ioues, & their nephewes or ſonnes ſonnes, that reigned in yͤ thirde place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euery kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter & Hercules of hir owne, and not from anye other.

In lyke ſort they had ſuch another order among their daughters, whom they marryed as yet commonlye vnto their brethren (God himſelfe permitting the ſame vnto them for a time) as before the floude, to the ende the earth might be thorowly repleniſhed, and the ſooner furniſhed with inhabitantes, in euery part therof. The ſiſter therefore & wife of euery Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Iſis, or Io. Beyonde theſe alſo there was no latter Harolde that woulde indeuour to deriue the petigree of any Prince, or Potentate, but ſuppoſed his duety to be ſufficiently perfourmed, when he had brought it orderly vnto ſome Saturne or other, whereat he might ceaſe, and ſhut vp all his trauelle. They had likewiſe this opinion grounded amongeſt them, that Heauen an Earth were onelye parentes vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themſelues did meane, ſith theſe donominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne,* Pater Deorum, & ſuch like, were onely aſcribed vnto Noah: as Terra, (*the Yearth*) Veſta Aretia, *the Moone,* Mater deorum and other the lyke were vnto Tydea his wife, ſo that hereby we ſee, how Saturne is reputed in euery Nation for theyr oldeſt god, or firſt Prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the thirde: & therefore ſith theſe names were diſperſed in the beginning ouer all, it is no marueyle that there is ſuch confuſion in auncient hiſtories, and the doings of one of them ſo mixed with another, that it is now impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them in ſunder. Thys haue I ſpoken, to the ende that all men maye ſee what gods the Paganes honored, and thereby what religion the poſterity of Cham, did bring euer into Britaine. For vntill their cõming, it is not likely that any groſſe Idolatry or ſuperſticion, did enter in among vs, as deifying of mortall men, honoring of the Starres, and erectiõ of huge Images, beſide ſorcery, witchcraft, and ſuch lyke, whereof the Chemminites are worthilye called the Autors. Neyther were theſe errors any thing amended, by the cõming in of Brute, who no doubt added ſuch deuiſes vnto yͤ ſame, as he and his company had learned before in Grecia, from whence alſo he brought, Helenus, the ſonne of Priamus, a man of exceeding age, and made him his Prieſt and biſhop, thorowout the newe conqueſt, that he had achieued in Britaine.

Iſis, Io and Iuno all one.

Celum.
Ogyges.
Sol.
Paterdeorum.
Tydea.
Veſta.
Terra.
Luna.
Aretia.
Deorum mater.

Fu
wh
By
lea
relig

After Brute, Idolatry and ſuperſticiõ ſtill increaſed more & more among vs, inſomuch that beſide the Druiyſh and Bardike ceremonies, and thoſe alſo that came in with Albion and Brute: our countrymen eyther brought hither frõ abroad, or daily inuented at home, new religion, and rites, whereby it came to paſſe that in the ſtead of the only & immortal God (of whome Samothes and his poſteritie dyd preache in times paſt) now they honoured the ſayde Samothes himſelfe vnder the name of Dis: likewiſe Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana, and diuers other. In lieu moreouer of ſheepe and oxen, they offred mankind alſo vnto ſome of them, killing their offendours, pryſoners, & oft ſuch ſtraungers as came from farre vnto them, by ſhutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge Images, made of wicker, or other matter: and then ſetting all on fire togither, they not onely conſumed the miſerable creatures to aſhes, but alſo reputed it to be the moſt acceptable ſacrifice that coulde be made vnto their Idols. Huge tẽples in like ſorte were builded vnto them, ſo that in the time of Lucius, when the light of ſaluatiõ began ſtrongly to ſhine in Britaine, thorowe the preaching of the Goſpell, the chriſtians diſcouered 25. Flamines or Idole churches, beſide three Arche Flamines, whoſe Prieſts were then as our Archebiſhops are nowe, in that they had ſuperiour charge of all the reſt, who were reputed as inferiours, and ſubiect to their iuriſdiction in caſes of religion, and ſuperſticious ceremonies.

Dis
mot
ma
Go

Prol. l
cenſis

Hitherto you haue heard of the time, wherin Idolatrie reigned and blinded the heartes of ſuch as dwelled in this Iſlande. Nowe let vs ſee the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell, after the death and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour. And euen here will I beginne with an Allegation of Theodorete, whereupon ſome repoſe great aſſurance (conceyuing yet more hope therein by the wordes of Sophronius) that Paule the Apoſtle ſhoulde preache the worde of ſaluatiõ here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie, which fell as I doe reade in the 57. of Chriſt. But ſith I cãnot verifie yͤ ſame by the wordes of Theodorete, to be ſpoken more of Paule then Peter, or the reaſt, I will paſſe ouer this coniecture, and deale with o-

Theo
Soph
us.

ther things, wherof we haue more certeinty.

That one Ioſephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apoſtles, his ſepulchre yet in Aualon, nowe called Gleſſenburg or Glaſtenbury, and Epitaph affixed thereunto is proofe ſufficient. Howbeit ſith theſe things are not of cōpetent force to perſwade all men, I will adde in few, what I haue read elſewere of his arriual here. Firſt of al therfore you ſhall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Chriſt, when the perſecution began vnder Nero, at which time Phillip and diuers of the godly being in Fraunce (whether he came with other chriſtians, after they had ſowed the word of God in Scythia, by yͤ ſpace of nyne yares) ſeuered themſelues in ſunder to make the better ſhift for their owne ſafegarde, and yet not otherwyſe then that by their flight, the Goſpell myght haue furtheraunce. Hereby then it came to paſſe, that the ſayde Phillip vpō good deliberation dyd ſende Ioſephus ouer, & with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and miniſter the Sacramentes there according to the rites of the Churches of Aſia and Græce, from whence they came not long before vnto the country of the Galles. And this is the effect in a litle rowme, of that which I haue reade at large in ſundrye writers, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the fayth before this ſixtiefoure of Chriſt. Howbeit whereas ſome write that they lyued, & dwelled in Britaine, it can not as yet take anye abſolute holde in my iudgement, but rather that they were Baptized and remayned, eyther in Rome, or elſewhere. And of this ſorte I ſuppoſe Claudia Ruffina the wyfe of Pudens to be one, who was a Brittiſh Lady in dæde, and not only excellent in the Græke & Latine tongues, but alſo with hir huſbande highly commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuerſation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he dyd write hys ſeconde Epiſtle vnto Timothy. Of this Lady moreouer Martial ſpeaketh in reioyſing that his Poeſies were read alſo in Britaine, and chiefly by hir meanes, who vſed to cull out the fineſt of his Epigrammes and ſende them to hir friends for tokens, ſaying, after this maner as himſelfe doth ſet it downe.

ephus.

llip.
culphus
.2.lib.2.
.4.
nnius.
cepho-
lib.2.
.40.

udia
ffina
ittiſh
dge.

Tim.4.

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus.

Furthermore making mentiō of hir, and hir iſſue he addeth theſe wordes.

11.Epig.

Claudia ceruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plæbis habet,
Quale decus formę: Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam.
Dij bene, quod ſancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quot ſperat, generos, quotq́ puella Nurus
Sic placeat ſuperis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et ſemper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir thrée children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Nouatus, who after the deth of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia,) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceaſed not from time to time to miniſter vnto the Saincts. But to leaue this impertinēt diſcourſe, and procede with my purpoſe.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of grace 141. and time of Hadriane themperour) that nine Schollers or Clarkes of Grantha or Granta, nowe Cambridge, were Baptized in Britaine, & became Preachers of the Goſpell there, but whether Taurinus Biſhop, or Elder ouer the congregatiō at Yorke (who as Vincentius ſayth, was executed about this time for his fayth) were one of thē or not, as yet I doe not certeinly finde. Diuers other alſo imbraced the religion of Chriſt very zealouſly. Howbeit all this notwithſtanding, the glad tidings of the Goſpel had neuer frée & open paſſage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the very enemies of the worde, became the apparant meanes (contrarie to their owne mindes) to haue it ſet forth amongſt vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decrée, that the Chriſtian religion ſhoulde euery where be aboliſhed, Lucius the king (whoſe ſyrname is nowe periſhed) toke aduiſe of his counſell what was beſt to be done, & wrought in this behalfe. And this dyd Lucius bycauſe he thought it impoſſible for man to lyue long without any religion at all. Finally finding his nobility and ſubiects vtter enemies to the Romaine deuotion (for yͭ they made ſo many gods as themſelues liſted & ſome to haue the regiment euen of their dyrt and dung) & therunto being pricked forwards by ſuch chriſtians, as were conuerſant about him, to chuſe the ſeruice of the true God, that liueth for euer, rather then the ſlauiſh ſeruitude of any pagane Idole: he fully reſolued with himſelf in the ende, to receyue & imbrace the Goſpel. He ſent alſo two of his learned chriſtians and greateſt Philoſophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then Biſhop there in the 177. of Chriſt not to promiſe any ſubiectiō to his ſée, which then was not required, but to ſaie with ſuch as were pricked in minde, Actes 2. verſ. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres*, I meane that they were ſent to be perfectly inſtructed, and with farder commiſſion, to make earneſt requeſt vnto hym and the congregation there, that a competent number of Preachers might be ſent ouer from thence, by whoſe diligent ad-

Lib. 10. cap. 17.
Taurinus.

This is contrary to yͤ common talk of our Atheiſtes who ſay let vs liue here in welth, credite & authoritie vpon earth, & let God take heauen and his religion to himſelfe to do withall what he liſteth.

Lucius openeth his eares to good counſell, as one deſirous to ſerue God & not preferre the worlde.

uſſe and trauayle, the foundation of the Goſpell might ſurely be layde ouer all his kingdome, according to his minde.

The purpoſe of Lucius opened vnto ẏ cōgregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

When Eleutherus vnderſtoode theſe things, he reioyced not a litle, for the great goodneſſe which the Lord had ſhewed vpō this our Iſle & countrie. Afterwardes calling the brethren togither, they agréed to ordayne, euen thoſe two for Byſhoppes, whome Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finally making generall prayer vnto God and earneſt ſupplication for the good ſucceſſe of theſe men, they ſent them home agayne, with no ſmall charge, that they ſhould be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their cuſtody.

The firſt of theſe was called Eluanus a man borne in the Iſle of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder thoſe godly Paſtours and their Diſciples, whom Phillip ſent ouer at the firſt for the conuerſion of the Brytons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto ſurnamed Belga, bycauſe he was of ẏ towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trayned vp alſo in one ſchoole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their hory ages, and men of ſuch grauititie and godlineſſe, that Eleutherus ſuppoſed none more worthy to ſupport this charge, then they: after whoſe comming home alſo, it was not long ere Lucius and all his houſholde with diuers of the nobility were Baptized, beſide infinity numbers of the common people, which daily reſorted vnto them and voluntarily renounced all their Idolatry and Paganiſme.

A zealous prince maketh ſeruēt ſubiects.

In the meane time Eleutherus hearing of the ſucceſſe of theſe learned Doctours & ſuppoſing with himſelf that they two only could not ſuffice to ſupporte ſo great a burden as ſhoulde concerne the conuerſion of the whole Iſlande. He directed ouer vnto them in the yeare inſuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus,) Aaron and diuers other godly Preachers, as fellow labourers to trauayle wyth them in the Vineyarde of the Lord. Theſe men therfore after their comming hyther, conſulted wyth the other, and forthwith they wholly conſented to make a diuiſion of thys Iſlande amongſt themſelues, appoynting what percel eche Preacher ſhold take, ẏ with the more profite and eaſe of the people, and ſomewhat leſſe traueyle for themſelues: the Doctrine of the Goſpell might be preached and receaued In this diſtribution alſo, they ordayned that there ſhould be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chiefe Elder and Byſhop, for that preſent time. Another at Yorke whether they appoynted Theodoſius. And the thirde at Caerlheon vpon the ryuer Vſke, (which thrée cities had before time béene Archeflamines) to the end that the coūtries rounde about might haue indifferent acceſſe vnto thoſe places, and therewith all vnderſtande for certeintie, whether to reſort for reſolution, if after their conuerſion they ſhoulde happen to doubt of any thing.

Faganus.
Dinauus.
Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir alias. Niger

3. Chiefe Biſhops in Britain

Theonus.
Theodoſius

London.
yorke.
Caerlheon

Britai
firſt P
uince t
receyue
Goſpel
genera

Thus became Britaine the firſt Prouince, that generally receyued the faith, and where the Goſpell was fréely preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit although that Lucius and hys princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with gréedineſſe, yet was not ẏ ſucceſſe therof, eyther ſo vniuerſal, that all men beléeued at the firſt: ẏ ſecurity ſo great, as that no perſecution was to be feared from the Romaine empyre after his deceaſe: or the procéeding of the king ſo ſeuere, as ẏ he inforced any man by publicke authoritie to forſake and relinquiſh his Paganiſme: but only this fréedom was enioyed, that who ſo woulde become a chriſtian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profeſſe the Goſpel, in whoſe teſtimonie, if néede had béene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he woulde haue ſhed alſo his bloude, as dyd his Nece Emerita, who beyng conſtant aboue the common ſort of women, refuſed not after his deceaſe by fire, to yéelde hir ſelfe to death as a ſwéete ſmelling ſacrifice in the noſtrels of the Lorde, beyonde the ſea in Fraunce.

Emerit
néece t
Lucius.

Lucius
deth
to Ro

The fayth of Chriſt being thus planted in this Iſlande in the 177. after Chriſt and Faganus and Dinaw with the reſt ſent ouer frō Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to paſſe in the thirde yeare of the Goſpell receyued, that Lucius did ſende agayne to Eleutherus the Byſhop, requiring that he might haue ſome briefe Epitome of the order of diſcipline then vſed in the Churche. For he well conſidered that as it auayleth little to plant a coſtly Vineyarde, except it afterwarde be cheriſhed, kept in good order, and ſuch things as annoy, daily remooued from the ſame: ſo after Baptiſme and entraunce into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of chriſtians, except we doe walke continually in the ſpirite, & haue ſuch things as offende apparantly, corrected by ſeuere diſcipline. For otherwiſe it will come to paſſe, ẏ the wéedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will ſo quickly abounde in vs that they will in the ende choke vp the good ſéede ſowen in our mindes, & eyther inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickedneſſe with déeper ſecurity then before, or elſe to become méere Atheiſtes, which is a great deale worſe.

Ro.1.

For this cauſe therefore dyd Lucius ſende to Rome, the ſeconde tyme for a copie of ſuch

politicke

The wiſedome of Eleutherus

politicke orders as were then vſed there, in their regiment of the Church. But Eleutherus conſidering wᵗ himſelfe, how that al nations are not of like condition, & therfore thoſe conſtitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and ſeing alſo that beſide the worde no rites and orders can long continue, or be ſo perfect in all points, but that as time ſerueth, they wil requyre alteration: He thought it beſt not to lay any more vpon the neckes of the newe conuerts of Britaine as yet, then chriſt & his Apoſtles had already ſet downe vnto al men. In returning therefore his meſſengers, he ſent letters by them vnto Lucius and hys nobilitie, dated in the Conſulſhips of Commodus and Veſpronius, wherein he tolde them that Chriſt had left ſufficient order in ẏ ſcriptures for the gouernement of his Church already in his worde, and not for that only, but alſo for the regimēt of his whole kingdome, if he woulde ſubmit himſelfe, to yelde & follow that rule. The Epiſtle it ſelfe is partly extaunt, and partly periſhed: yet ſuch as it is, and as I haue faithfullye tranſlated it out of ſundry copies, I doe deliuer it euen here, to the ende I will not defraude the reader of anye thing that may turne to his commoditie, in the hyſtorie of our nation.

Epiſtle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

You requyre of vs the Romaine ordināces and therto the ſtatutes of the Emperours to
,, be ſent ouer vnto you, and which you deſire
,, to practiſe and put in vre within your realme
,, and kingdome. The Romaine lawes & thoſe
,, of Emperours we may eftſones reproue,
,, but thoſe of God, can neuer be founde fault
,, withall. You haue receyued of late thorowe
,, Gods mercy in the realme of Britaine the law and fayth of Chriſt, you haue with you both volumes of the Scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace and the Counſel of your realme take you a law, and by that law thorowe Gods ſufferaunce rule your kingdome, for you are Gods Vicar in your owne realme, as the royall Prophete ſayth. The earth is the Lordes, and all that is therin; the cōpaſſe of the worlde, & they that dwell therein. Agayne thou haſt loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherfore God, euen thy God hath anoynted thée with oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. And agayne, according to the ſaying of the ſame Prophete. Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, and thy iuſtice vnto the kings ſonne. The kings ſonnes are the chriſtian people and flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue, & continue in peace within your kingdome. ⋆ The Goſpell ſaith, as the Henne gathereth hir chickens vnder hir winges, ſo doth the king hys people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be deuided you ought to gather into concorde and peace, to call them to the fayth and lawe of Chriſt, and to hys ſacred Church: to cheriſh and mainteyne, to rule alſo and gouerne them, defending eache of them from ſuch as woulde doe them wrong, and kéeping them from the malice of ſuch as be their enemies. ⋆ Wo vnto the natiō whoſe king is a childe, & whoſe princes ryſe vp earely to banket & féede, which is ſpoken not of a prince, that is within age, but of a prince that is become a childe, thorowe folly, ſinne and vnſtedfaſtneſſe, of whome the Prophete ſaith, the bloudthyrſty and deceitful men ſhall not lyue forth halfe their dayes. ⋆ By féeding alſo I vnderſtande glouttonie, by glouttonie, luſt, and by luſt all wickedneſſe, and ſinne, according to the ſaying of Salomon the king. Wyſedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth wyth a man that is ſubiect vnto ſinne. A king hath hys name of ruling, and not of the poſſeſſion of his realme, you ſhalbe a king whyleſt you rule well, but if you doe otherwyſe, the name of a king ſhall not remayne wyth you, but you ſhal vtterly forgo it, which God forbid. The Almyghty God graunt you ſo to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with hym for euer, whoſe Vicare (or Vicegerent) you are within your aforeſayd kingdome. Who with the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt. &c.

Pſal.24.

Pſal.45.

Pſal.71.

Ecclesiastes. 10.

Pſal.55.

Hitherto out of the Epiſtle that Eleutherus ſent vnto Lucius, whereby many pretty obſeruations are to be collected, if time and place would ſerue to ſtande thereon.

After theſe dayes, alſo the number of ſuch as were ordeined to ſaluation, increaſed dayly more and more, wherby as in other places of the worlde, the worde of God had good ſucceſſe in Brytaine, in time of peace, and in heate of perſecutiō, there were no ſmal number of Martyrs that ſuffered for the ſame, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, becauſe of theyr Noble parentage.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce hys kingdome, and afterwarde become a Biſhop and Preacher of the Goſpell: but to thend theſe that holde his opinion may once vnderſtande the botome of their errors. I wyll ſet downe the matter at large whereby they may ſée (if they liſt to looke) how farre they haue bene deceiued.

I finde that Chlorus had by Helena thrée ſonnes, (beſide one daughter called Emerita) of which the name of the firſt is periſhed, the ſeconde was called Lucion, and the thyrde

Chlorus had thrée ſonnes, and a daughter by Helena.

Conſtantine, that afterwarde was Emperour of Rome, by the election of the Soldiers. Now it happened that Lucion by meanes of a quarrell, that grew betwéene him & this Elder brother did kil his ſaid brother, eyther by a fray, or by ſome other meanes, wherupon his father exiled him out of Briton, & apointed him from thenceforth to remayne in Fraunce. Lucion (or as ſome cal him alſo Lucius) being thus brought into worldly ſorrowe, had now good leiſure to meditate vpō Heauen, who before in his proſperity peraduēture, had neuer regard of hell. Finally he fel ſo far into ẏ cōſideratiō of his eſtate, ẏ at the laſt he renounced his Paganiſme, and firſt became a chriſtian, then an Elder, and laſt of all a Byſhop in the Church of Chriſt. He erected alſo, a place of prayer wherin to ſerue the liuing God, which after ſundrye alterations, came in proceſſe of tyme, to be an Abbay, and is ſtill called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the firſt founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anye ſuch houſe in thoſe partes.

Lucion becommeth a chriſtien.

Lucion a Biſhop.

In this alſo he & diuers other of hys friends, continued their times, in great contemplation and prayer, and from hence were tranſlated as occaſion ſerued, vnto ſondrye eccleſiaſticall promotiōs in the time of Conſtatine his brother, ſo that euen by this ſhort narration it is now eaſy to ſée that Lucius the kyng and Lucion the ſonne of Chlorus, were diſtinct perſons. Herevnto Hermānus Schedelius, addeth alſo howe he went into Rhetia, and nere vnto the citie Auguſta, cōuerted the Curienſes, vnto ẏ faith of Chriſt, & there likewiſe lyeth buryed in the ſame towne, where his feaſt is holden vpon the thirde daye of December, as may redily be confirmed. That Schedelius erreth not herin alſo, the aunciēt monumēts of the ſaide Abbaye, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I ſaye, doe yeelde ſufficient teſtimonye, beſide an Hymne made in his commendation, intituled Gaude lucionū &c. But for more of this you may reſort vnto Bouchet, in his firſt booke, & fift chapter of the Annales of Aquiteine, who maketh the king of Britaine Grandfather to this Luciō. The ſaid Schedelius in like ſort ſetteth down, that his Siſter was Martyred in Trinecaſtell, nere vnto the place where the ſayde Lucion dwelled, wherby it appeareth in lyke ſorte, that ſhe was not ſiſter to Lucius kyng of Briteine, of which prince Alexander Necham in his moſt excellent treatiſe de ſapiencie Diuina ſetteth downe this Diſtichon.

Hermānus. Schedeli⁹.

Feſtum Lucionis.

Iohn Bouches.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux lucius eſſe
Fertur, qui rexit Mœnia Brute tua.

But as eche Riuer the farder it runneth from the heade, the more it is increaſed, by ſmall riuelettes, and corrupted with filthie puddles, and ſtinking gutters, that diſcend into the ſame: ſo the puritye of the Goſpell, preached here in Briteine, in proceſſe of time became firſt of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and moſt execrable hereſy, both of them being firſt brought in at once, by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauailed thorow Fraunce, Italy, Egypt, Syria, and the Eaſterlye regyons of the worlde: was there at the laſt made an Elder or Biſhop, by ſome of the Monkes, vnto whoſe profeſſion he had not long before addicted himſelfe. Finally returning home againe, he dyd not onely erect an houſe of his owne order, at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dée, but alſo ſowed the peſtiferus ſéede of his hereticall prauities, ouer all this Iſland, whereby he ſeduced great numbers of the Brytons, teaching them to preferre their owne merites, before ẏ frée mercy of God, in Ieſus Chriſt his ſon.

Hereſy, Monaſtic life bro into B taine at one tim by Pelagius. Bango

Thus we ſée how newe deuiſes or orders of religion, and hereſie came in together. I coulde ſhew alſo what Cometes, and ſtrange ſignes appeared in Brytayne, much about the ſame time, the like of which with dyuers other, haue béene perceiued alſo from time to time, ſithence the death of Pelagius at the entrance of any newe kinde of religion into this Ile of Brytaine. But I paſſe them ouer, only for that I woulde not ſéeme in my tractation of Antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehearſall of any newe inconueniences.

To procéede therefore with my purpoſe after theſe, there followed in lyke ſort, ſundrye other kindes of monaſticall life, as Anachorites, (or Ancres) Heremites, Cyrillines & Benedictines, albeit, that onely the heremiticall profeſſion was allowed of in Bryteine, vntill the comming of Benedict Biſcop, who erected the firſt houſe of Benedictines, that euer was hearde of in this Ile. They alſo bare his name, and were ſo well liked of all men, ẏ there were few or no blacke monks in this Ile, but of his order. So faſt alſo did theſe humaine deuiſes proſper after his time, that at their ſuppreſſion in England & Wales only, there were founde 440. religious houſes at the leaſt, whereunto if you adde of thoſe few ẏ are yet ſtanding in Scotland, you ſhal ſone ſée what nūbers of theſe dennes of ſpirituall robbers were maintained here in Brytaine. As touching Pelagius the firſt Heretike that euer was bredde in this Iſle (notably knowen) and parent of Monachiſme, it is certaine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of ſinguler learning, déepe iudgement, and ſuch a one, as vppon whome for his great gift in teaching and ſtrictneſſe

Anachorites. Heremite Cyrilline Benedic nes.

Monkes and Her mites o allowed in Bri- taine. The nu ber of re gious h ſes in E glande their d lution.

of lyfe, no ſmall peece of the hope & expectation of the people did depend. But what is wiſdome of the fleſh, without the feare and true knowledge of God, and what is learning except it be handemaide to veritye and ſounde iudgement. Wherfore euen of this man, wee maye ſee it verifyed that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after. Of the corruption of his time, when all things were meaſured by witte and worldlye pollicye, rather then by the ſcriptures or Guidaunce of the ſpirit. Better it is ſaith hee, to heare a rude and ſimple Ideote preach the truth, without apparaunce of ſkill & learned eloquence, then a profounde Clearke to ſet forth error, with great ſhewe of learning, & boaſt of filed vtterance. Theſe follies of Pelagius, were blaſed abroade about the 400. of Chriſt, & from thenceforth how his number of Monkes increaſed on the one ſide, & his doctrine on the other, there is almoſt no reader that is vnſkilfull & ignorant.

Roger Bacon his ſaying of ẏ preachers f his time who were ẏ beſt law= ers & the worſt Di= uines.

This alſo is certaine, that within the ſpace of 200. yeres and odde, there were more then 2100. monkes gathered togither in his houſe, whoſe trades notwithſtanding the errors of founder, (who taught ſuch an eſtimation of merite and bodily exerciſe, as Paule calleth it) as therby he ſought not onely to impugne, but alſo preuent grace, which was in deede the originall occaſion of the erection of hys houſe) were yet farre better and more godly, then all thoſe religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the profeſſours lyued to themſelues, their wombes and the licencious fruition of thoſe partes, that are beneath the belly. For theſe laboured cōtinuallye for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier, and for the better maintenance, of ſuch as were their appoynted Preachers. Their liues alſo were correſpondent to their doctrine, ſo that herein onelye they ſeemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deedes, & that they had no warrant out of the worde for their ſuccor & defēce, but were ſuch a plant, as the heauenly father had not planted, and therefore no meruaile, though afterwarde they were rayſed by the rootes.

More thē 100 mon= es in the Colledge Abbay Bangor

But as Pelagius and his adherentes, had a tyme to infecte the Church of Chriſt in the Britaine, ſo the lyuing GOD hath had a ſeaſon to purge the ſame, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, ſith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and ſuch like leaning vnto the monaſticall trades, did not ſomuch cōdemne the generall errors of Pellagius, one way as maintayne the ſame, or as euill opiniōs another. For as Patricke ſeemed to like well of ẏ honoring of the dead, ſo Germanus being in Britaine erected a chappel to S. Albane, wherein Lupus played, as Palladius vpheld, the ſtrictneſſe of life, in monaſticall profeſſion to the vttermoſt of his power. Wherfore God purged his houſe, rather by taking away ẏ wicked, and pompous ſcholemaiſters of errour, out of this lyfe: hoping that by ſuch meanes, his people woulde haue giuen eare to the godly that remained. But when thys hys practyſe coulde take no place, & the ſheepe of his paſture woulde receiue no wholeſome admonition, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let thē runne on headlong from one iniquitie to another, inſomuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, wherby it was to be ſeene, how they fell from the truth into hereſye, & from one hereſy ſtill into another, till at the laſt they were drowned altogither, in the pitte of error, digged vp by Antichriſt, as welles that holde no water, which notwithſtanding to their followers ſeemed to be moſt ſounde doctrine, and ciſternes of liuing water, to ſuch as imbraced the ſame.

ermanus, upus, Pal- dius, Pa- icius.

Seuerus Sulpitius in vita patricij.

Auguſtine ẏ Monke,

This Auguſtine after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in deede from Paganiſme, but as the Prouerb ſayth, bringing them out of Goddes bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them wyth no leſſe hurtfull ſuperſticion, then they did knowe before: for beſide the only name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate Idolatrye, he taught them nothing at all, but rather I ſay made an exchange, from groſſe to ſubtill trecherie, from open to ſecret Idolatry, and frō the name of Paganes, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for theyr ſoules health, and the ſtabliſhment of hys monachiſme, of which kynde of profeſſion, the holye Scriptures of God can in no wyſe allowe. But what cared he ſith he got the great fiſh for which he did caſt his hoke, & ſo great was the fiſhe that he caught in the end, that within the ſpace of 1000 yeres, & leſſe it deuoured the fourth parte and more, of the beſt ſoyle of the Iſlande, which was whollye beſtowed vpon his monkes, and other religious broodes, ẏ were hatched ſince his time.

Auguſtine.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hande, in the ſouth parte of Albion, the Meates, Pictes, and Caledoniens, which lye beyonde the Scottiſh ſea, receiued alſo the preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders, as aduentured thither daily, and not without great ſucceſſe, and increaſe of perfit godlyneſſe, in that parte of the Ile. Certes this proſperous attempt, paſſed all mens expectatiō, for that theſe nations were in thoſe dayes reputed wild ſauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftye, then well minded people, (as the wilde Iriſh are in my

Meates. Pictes, Caledonie

time) and ſuch were they to ſay the truth, in déede, as neyther the ſugred curteſye, nor ſharpe ſwordes of the Romaines, coulde reſtreyne from their naturall fury or bring to any order. For this cauſe alſo in the end yͤ Romaine Emperours did vtterly caſt them of as an vnprofitable, brutiſhe, and vntameable nation, & by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companye from the milde and ciuill portion.

Scotlande conuerted to yͤ fayth of Chriſt.

This conuerſion of the north parts, fell out in the firſt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after yͤ death of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion contynued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of their Paſtors and Byſhops (after the vſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iſland) tyll the Romaine ſhepehearde ſought them out, and founde the meanes to pull them vnto him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countreymen, whereby in in the ende he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done already in England: and in ſtéede of the ſame did furniſh it vp, with thoſe of his pontificall Sie, although there was great contention, and no leſſe bloudſhed made amongſt them, before it coulde be brought to paſſe, as by the Hyſtories, of both nations yet extaunt is eaſye to be ſéene.

Palladius.

The firſt attempt of the Biſh. of Rome to bring Scotlande vnder hys obedience.

In the time of Cœleſtine Biſhop of Rome, one Palladius, a Grecian borne, (to whome Cyrill wrote hys Dialogue, de adoratione in ſpiritu) & ſometime diſciple to Iohn the 24. Biſhop of Ieruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Brytaine, there to ſuppreſſe the Pellagien hereſye, which not a little moleſted the Orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſayd opiniō there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotlande, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but after he had trauailed ſomewhat in confutation of the Pelagiens in thoſe partes, he ſhoulde eaſilye perſwade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rytes of the church of Rome, as he woulde faine haue done beforehande in the ſouth. But as Faſtidius Biſhop of Londō, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here, ſo dyd the Scottiſh Prelates withſtande him here alſo, in this behalfe: howbeit becauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, & the great gift which he had in the vayne of pleaſaunt perſwaſion, (whereby he drewe the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his Harpe, and Hercules ſuch as hearde him by his tongue,) they had hym in great admiration, & are nowe contented (& the rather alſo for that he came frō Rome,) to take him for their chiefe Apoſtle, recording from hys comming vnto them, as from the fayth receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of theyr Hiſtory doth very well confirme.

Faſtidius Biſhop of London.

Pallad accom for the poſtle o Scott

Thus wée ſée what religion hath from time to time béene receiued in this Iſlande, and howe and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our country. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was ouerſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames, and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it daily waxed worſe & worſe, till that it pleaſed God to reſtore the preaching of his Goſpell againe in our dayes, whereby the man of ſinne is nowe openly reuealed, and the puritye of the worde once agayne brought to light, to the vtter ouerthrowe of Sathan, and his Popiſh adherentes that honour him day and night.

Of the number and names of ſuch ſalt Iſlands, as lye diſperſed rounde about vppon the coaſt of Brytaine.

Cap.8.

THere are néere vnto, or not verye farre from the coaſts of Brytaine many faire Ilandes, whereof Irelande with hir neighbors, (not here hādled) ſéeme to be the chiefe. But of yͤ reaſt, ſome are much larger or leſſe then other, diuers in lyke ſort enuironed continually with the ſalt ſea, (whereof I purpoſe onely to intreate, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the floude) & other finally be clipped partely by the freſh, and partly by the ſalt water, or by the freſhe alone, whereof I may ſpeake afterwarde.

Of theſe ſalt Ilandes, (for ſo I call them that are enuyroned with the Ocean waues) ſome are fruitefull in Wood, Corne, Wildefoule, and paſture grounde for Cattel, albeit that manye of them be accounted barren becauſe they are only repleniſhed with conies & thoſe of ſundry collors, (cheriſhed of purpoſe by the owners, for their ſkinnes carcaſes, and prouyſion of houſholde,) wythout eyther man, or woman, otherwiſe inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greateſt number of theſe Ilandes, haue Townes and pariſhe Churches, within theyr ſeuerall precinctes, ſome mo, ſome leſſe: and beſide all thys, are ſo inriched with commodities, that they haue pleaſant hauens, freſhe ſpringes, great ſtore of fiſhe, and plentye of Cattell, whereby the inhabitants doe reape no ſmall aduantage. How many they are in nūber I cānot as yet détermine, bycauſe myne informations are not ſo fully ſet down, as the promiſes of ſome on the ſide, & myne expectation on the other, did erect vnto. Howbeit, ẏ firſt of al there are certeine which lie neere togither, as it were by heaps & cluſters, I hope [illegible] man will redily deny. Of theſe alſo thoſe called ẏ Neſiadæ, Inſulæ Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ, nowe ẏ Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lying beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundred fourtye & ſeauen, (eche of them, bearing graſſe) beſides ſhelfes, and ſhallowes. In like ſort the company of the Hebrides are another which are ſayd to be 43. ſituate vpon the weſt ſide of this Iland, betweene Ireland and Scotland, and of which there are ſome, that repute Angleſey, Mona Cæſaris, & other lying betweene them to be percell, in theyr corrupted iudgement. The thirde cluſter or bunche, conſiſteth of thoſe, that are called the Orchades, and theſe lye vpon the Northweſt point of Scotlande being 31. in number, as for the reaſt they lye ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as theyr courſes ſhall come about.

Neſiadæ.
Inſule.
Scylurum.
Sileuſtræ.
Syllanæ.
Sorlingæ
Sylley.
Hebrides.
Hebudes.
Meuanie.
Orchades.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpoſe, De inſulis Britanniæ, as Cæſar doth confeſſe. the lyke alſo maye be ſeene by Plutarche who nameth one Demetrius, a Brytaine that ſhoulde ſet forth an exact treatiſe of eche of them in order, but ſith thoſe bookes are now peryſhed, and the moſt of the ſayde Iſlandes remaine vtterly vnknowne, euen to our owne ſelues. I meane God willyng to ſet downe ſo many of them with their commodities, as I doe either knowe by Leland, or am otherwyſe inſtructed of, by ſuch as are of credite. Herein alſo I will touch at large ſuch as are moſt famous, and brieflye paſſe ouer thoſe that are obſcure and vnknowen, making myne entraunce at the Thames mouth, and directing thys imagined courſe, (for I neuer ſailed it), by ẏ ſouth part of the Iland, into ẏ Weſt. Frõ thence in lyke ſort, I will proceede into the North, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide into ẏ fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I wil ſtrike ſayle, & ſafely be ſet a ſhore, that haue often in this voyage wanted water, but oftner beene ſet a grounde, eſpeciallye on the Scottiſh ſide.

In beginning therfore, with ſuch as lye in the mouth of the aforeſayde Riuer, I muſt needes paſſe by the Hoo, whiche is not an Iſlande but (if I may giue ſuch peeces a new name) a bylande, bycauſe we may paſſe thyther from the maine Iſle, by an Iſthums or ſtricklande, that is to ſay by lande, without anye veſſell, at the full Sea, or any horſe at the ebbe. It lyeth betweene Clyffe and the midway, that goeth alõg by Rocheſter. Next vnto this we haue the Greane wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Iſle ſuppoſed to be foure myles in length, and two in bredth. Then come we to Shepey, which conteineth ſeauen myles in length, and three in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborowe, and a Parke, beſide foure Townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Eaſtchurch, the thyrde Warden, & the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoyle being thorowly fed with ſheepe, verye well wodded, and, as I here belonging to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his his inheritaunce. It lyeth thirteene myles by water from Rocheſter, but the Caſtle is fifteene, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Iſlandes, whereof the one is called Elmeſy, and the more eaſterly Hertoſye. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lathe of Scraie, notwithſtanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuerſham, and Shepey retaineth one eſpecyall Baily of hir owne.

Hoo.
Greane.
Shepey.
Elmeſey.
Hertſey.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculuers, (or territorie belonging in tyme paſt to one Raculphus, who erected an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there,) vnto a litle Iſland, in the ſtoure mouth. Herevpon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which is rather a bylande then an yland. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue contayned 600. families, which are all one with Hidelandes * Plowghlandes, Carrucates or Temewares. He addeth alſo ẏ it is deuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantſume, which is about three furlongs brode, & to be paſſed ouer in two places onely.

Stureſey.
Thanet.

But whereas Polidore ſayeth, the Tenet is nyne myles in length & not much leſſe in bredth, it is nowe reconed that it hath not much aboue ſeuẽ myles from Nordtmuth to Sandwiche, & foure in bredth, frõ the Stoure to Margate, or from the South to the North, the circuit of ẏ whole being 17, or 18. as Leylãd alſo noteth. This Ilãd hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, & yet otherwiſe it is very fruitfull, and beſide that, it wanteth fewe other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſayde to be found there. Herin alſo dyd Auguſtine the Monke firſt arriue when he came to conuert the Saxons, & afterward in proceſſe of tyme, ſundry religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoyle much bettered (as ẏ ſuperſticiors ſuppoſed) by ſteps of that holy man & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this tyme 10. Pariſh churches at the leaſt in ẏ Iſle of Thanet, as S.Nicholas, Birchingtõ S.Iohns, Wood, or Woodchurch, S.Peters, S.Laurẽs, Mowntõ or Monketon, Minſter, S.Gyles and all Saincts, wherof M. Lambert hath written at large in his deſcription of Kent, & placed the ſame in lath the of S.Augu-

* In Lincolneſhire the worde hyde or hidelande, was neuer in vſe in olde time as in other places but for hide they vſed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and theſe were of no leſſe compaſſe then an hidelande. Ex Hugone le blanc, Monacho petroburgenſi.

ſtine and hundred of Kingeſlow as may eaſily be ſeene to him that will peruſe it.

Rutupium,

Sometyme Rutupium (or as Beda calleth it Reptaceſter) ſtode alſo in this Iſlande, but now thorowe alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is ſhut quite out and annexed to the maine. It is called in theſe dales Richeborow and as it ſhoulde ſeeme buylded vpon an indifferent ſoyle, or highe grounde. The large brickes alſo yet to be ſeene there, in the ruinous walles, declare eyther the Romayne or the old Brittiſh workemanſhyp. But as time decayeth all things, ſo Rutupium is now become deſolate, & out of the duſt therof Sandwiche produced, which ſtãdeth a full mile from the place, where Reptaceſter ſtoode.

The olde writers affirme, how Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent, did holde his pallace in this towne, and yet none of his coyne hath hitherto beene founde there, as is dayly that of the Romaynes, whereof many peeces of ſiluer and gold, ſo wel as of braſſe, copper, and other mettal haue often bene ſhewed vnto me. It ſhoulde appeare in lyke ſorte that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout, was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome doe not a little confirme by theſe wordes of Lucane, to be red in his ſixt booke, ſoone after the beginning.

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinaq; littora feruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Brittannos.

The laſt verſe of one copie and firſt of another.

Or when the wãdering Seas or Kentiſh coaſts doe worke, and Calidons of Brittiſhe bloude, the troubled waues beguyle. Meaning in like ſorte by the latter the coaſte neere Andredeſwalde, which in time paſt was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forreſt, as Leland alſo confirmeth. But as it is not my minde to deale any thing curiouſly in theſe by matters, ſo in returning againe to my purpoſe, & taking my iorney toward the Wight, I muſt needs paſſe by Seleſey, which ſometime as it ſhould ſeeme hath ben a noble yland, but now a Bylãd or Peninſula, wherin the chiefe Sie of the Byſhop of Chicheſter was holden by the ſpace of 329. yeres, & vnder 20. Biſhops.

Seleſey.

Thorne.

Next vnto this, we come vnto thoſe that lye betweene the Wight and the mayne lande, of which the moſt eaſterly is called Thorne, & to ſay truth, yͤ very leaſt of al that are to be founde in that knotte. Being paſt the Thorne we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger then the Thorne, and wherein one towne is ſcituate of the ſame denominatiõ beſide another, whoſe name I remember not. By weſt alſo of the Haling lieth the Port (the greateſt of the three already mencioned) & in this ſtandeth Portſmouth and Kingſteed, whereof alſo our Lelande, ſayeth thus. Port Iſle is cut frõ the ſhore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about three myles aboue Portſmouth & goeth vp two myles or more by moriſhe grounde to a place called Portbridge, which is two myles frõ Portſmouth. The breaketh there out another Creke frõ the maine ſea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almoſt to Portbridge, and thence is the ground diſſeuered, ſo that Portſmouth ſtãdeth in a corner of this Iſle, which Iſland is in length ſixe myles, and three myles in bredth, very good for graſſe & corne, not without ſome wood, and here and there incloſure. Beſide this there is alſo another Iſlãd north northweſt of port yle, which is now ſo worne and waſhed awaye with the working of the ſea, that at the ſpring tides it is wholly couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finally being paſt all theſe, & in compaſſing this goulfe, we come by an other, which lyeth North of Hirſt caſtell, and ſoutheaſt of Kaie hauen, whereof I finde nothing worthy to be noted, ſauing that it wanteth wood as Ptolomie affirmeth in hys Geographicall tables of all thoſe Iſlands, which enuironne our Albion.

Haling.

Port.

Wight. Guidh.

The Wight it ſelfe is called in latine Vectis, but in the Brytiſh ſpeach Guidh, that is to ſay eeſe or eaſie to be ſeene. It lieth diſtãt from the ſouth ſhore of Britaine (where it is fardeſt of) by fiue myles & a halfe, but where it commeth neereſt, not paſſing a thouſande paces, and this at the cut ouer betwene Hirſt caſtell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitauntes doe report. It contayneth in length twentie myles, and in bredth tenne, it hath alſo the North poole eleuated by 50. degrees and 27. minutes, & is onely 18. degrees in diſtaunce, and 50. odde minutes, from the Weſt point as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the deſcription of Ptolomie, and ſuch as followe his aſſertions in the ſame. In forme, it repreſenteth almoſt an egge, and ſo well is it inhabited with meere Engliſh at this preſent, that there are thirtie ſixe Townes, Villages and Caſtels to be founde therin, beſide 27. Pariſh churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parſons, the reaſt eyther ſuch poore Vicares or Curates, as the liuings left are able to ſuſtayne. The names of the Pariſhes in the Wight are theſe.

1. Newport, a chap.	
2. Cairſbroſie.	v.
3. Northwood.	
4. Arriun.	v.
5. Goddeſhill.	v.
6. Whytwell.	
7. S. Laurence.	p.
8. Nighton.	p.
9. Brading.	v.
10. Newchurch.	v.
11. S. Helene.	v.
12. Pauerland.	p.
13. Calborne.	p.
14. Bonechurch.	p.
15. Motteſton.	

P. ſig
eth Par
nages,
Vicar

15. Motteſton.	p.	21. Chale.	p.
16. Yarmouth.	p.	22. Kingſton.	p.
17. Thorley.	v.	23. Shorwell.	p.
18. Shalflete.	v.	24. Gatcombe.	p.
19. Whippinghã.	p.	25. Broſe.	
20. Wotton.	p.	26. Bryxton.	p.
		27. Beniſted.	p.

It belongeth for temporall Iuriſdiction to the countie of Hamſhire, but in ſpirituall caſes, it yeeldeth obediēce to the Sée of Chicheſter, whereof it is a Deanerie. As for the ſoyle of the whole Iſland, it is very fruitful; for notwithſtanding that the ſhore of it ſelfe be very full of rockes and craggy cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, paſture, medow grounde, wildefoule, fiſh, freſh riuers, and pleaſant woddes, wherby the inhabitants may lyue in eaſe and welfare. It was firſt ruled by a ſeuerall king, and afterwarde wonne from the Britons by Veſpaſian the Legate, at ſuch tyme as he made a voyage into the Weſt country. In proceſſe of tyme alſo it was gotten frō the Romaines by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reſerued the ſouereingtie of that Iſle to himſelfe, and his ſucceſſours. After Ceadwalla, Wolfride the Parricide was the firſt Saxon Prince, that aduentured into the Wight, whether he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Weſt ſaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the ende compelled hym to flye into this place for ſuccour, as did alſo king Iohn, in the rebellious ſturre of his Barons, practiſed by the clargie: the ſayd Iſlād being as then in poſſeſſiō of the Fortes as ſome doe write that haue handled it of purpoſe. The firſt Earle of this Iſlande that I doe read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun who maryed for his ſeconde wife, the daughter of William le Groſſe Earle of Awmarle, but he dying without iſſue by this Lady, ſhe was maryed ẏ ſecond time to Earle Mawndeuile, and thirdlye to William de Fortes, who finyſhed Skipton Caſtell, which hys wyues father had begunne about the time of king Richard ẏ firſt. Hereby it came to paſſe alſo, ẏ the fortes were Erles of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonſhyre a long time, till the Lady Elizabeth Fortes ſole heire to all thoſe poſſeſſions came to age, with whō king Edward the thirde ſo preuayled thorow money and fayre wordes, that he gate the poſſeſſion of the Wight wholly into his handes. After we be paſt the Wight, we go forwarde and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Iſle, called Brunt Keyſi, in which was ſometime a Pariſhe church, and yet a chappell at this preſent as I here. There are alſo two other Iſles but I know not their names.

Portland.

We haue after we are paſſed by theſe another Iſle, alſo vpō the coaſt named Portland not farre from Waymouth a prety fertile péece though wout woode, of 10. myles in circuite, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, & yet are there about 80. houſholdes in it. There is alſo but one ſtréete of houſes therin, the reaſt are diſperſed, howbeit they belong all to one Pariſhe Church, whereas in time paſt there were two within the compaſſe of the ſame. There is alſo a Caſtell of the kings, who is Lord of the Iſle, although the biſhop of Wincheſter be patrone of the Church, the perſonage whereof is the faireſt houſe in al the péece. The people there are excellent ſlingers of ſtones, which feate they vſe for the defence of their Iſlande, and yet otherwiſe very couetous. And wheras in tyme paſt they lyued onely by fiſhing, now they fall to tillage, their fire bote is brought out of the wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cowdung, dryed in the ſonne: for there is I ſay no wood in ẏ Iſle, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would ſome growe there, no doubt if they were willing to plant it, although the ſoyle lye very bleake & open. It is not long ſince this was vnited to the mayne, and likely ere long to be cut of againe. Being paſt thys we rayſe another, alſo in the mouth of the Gowy, betwene Colſforde & Lime, of which for the ſmalneſſe therof I make no great accompt. Wherfore giuing ouer to intreate anye farder of it I caſt about to Gerſey, and Gerneſey, which Iſles with their appurtenaunces appertayned in tymes paſt to the Dukes of Normandye, but now they remayne to our Quéene, as percell of Hamſhyre and belonging to hir Crowne, by meanes of a compoſition made, betwéene king Iohn of England, & the king of Fraunce, when the Dominions of the ſaid Prince began ſo faſt to decreaſe, as Thomas Sulmo ſayth.

Gerſey. Garneſey.

Gerſey.

Of theſe two, Gerſey is the greateſt, as an Iſlād hauing 30. miles in cōpas, as moſt men doe cōiecture. There are likewiſe in the ſame twelue Pariſh Churches, wyth a Colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebendes. It is diſtaunt from Gerneſey full 21. myles, or thereaboutes. In this latter alſo, there haue bene in times paſt, fiue religious houſes and nyne Caſtelles, howbeit in theſe dayes there is but one Pariſh church left ſtanding in the ſame. There are alſo certayne other ſmall Iſlands, which Henry the ſecond in his Donation calleth Inſuletas (beſide very many rocks) wherof one called S.Heleries (wherein ſometyme was a Monaſtery) is faſt vpon Gerſey, another is named ẏ Cornet, which hath a Caſtell

Gerneſey.

S.Hereſt.

Cornet.

not

Serke.

not paſſing an arrow ſhote frõ Gerſey. The Serke alſo is betweene both, which is is ſixe myles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Iſthmus or Stricklande, wherein was a religious houſe, and therewith all great ſtore of conyes.

Brehoc.
Gytho.
Herme.

There is alſo the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure myles in compaſſe, and therein was ſometyme a Chanonry, that afterwarde was conuerted into an houſe of Franciſcanes. There are two other likewyſe neere vnto that of S. Helerie of whoſe names I haue no notice. There is alſo the rockye, Iſle, of Burhow, but nowe the Iſle of Rattes (ſo called of the huge plentie of Rattes that are founde there, though otherwiſe it be repleniſhed with infinite ſtore of Conyes, betweene whome and the Rattes, as I coniecture thoſe which we call Turkie conies are oftentimes produced among thoſe few houſes that are to be ſeene in thys Iland. Beſide this there is moreouer the Iſle of Alderney a very pretie Plot, about ſeuen miles in compaſſe, wherein a Prieſt not long ſince did find a coffin of ſtone, in which lay yͤ body of and huge Gyaunt, whoſe fore teeth were ſo bygge as a mans fiſt, as Lelande doth report.

Burho als. the Iſle of Rattes.

Alderney.

Certes this to me is no maruelle at al, ſith I haue read of greater, and mencioned them already in the beginning of thys booke. Such a one, alſo haue they in Spayne, whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Chriſtophers tooth, but it was one of his eye teeth, if Lodouicus Viues ſay true, who went hither to offer vnto yͤ ſame. S. Auguſt writeth in like ſorte, of ſuch another founde vpõ the coſt of Vtica, and thereby not onely gathered that all men were not onely farre greater then they be now, but alſo the Giaunts farre exceeding the huge ſtature of the hygheſt of them all. Homere complayneth that men in hys time were but Dwarfes in compariſon of ſuch as lyued in the warres of Troy. See his fift Iliade, where he ſpeaketh of Diomedes & how he threw a ſtone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to ſturre) & therewith did hit hym on the thighe & ouerthrowe him. Virgile alſo noteth no leſſe, but Iuuenall brieflye comprehendeth all thys in his 15. Satyra, where he ſayth.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæſita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domeſtica ſeditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali ſe Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percuſſit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: ſed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis diſſimiles, & noſtro tempore natæ.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decreſcebat Homero.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Æn. 12.

Terra malos homines nunc educat, atq; puſillos,
Ergo Deus quicunq; aſpexit, ridet & odit.

But to returne agayne vnto the Iſle of Alderney frõ whence I haue digreſſed. Herein alſo is a pretie towne with a Pariſh church, great plentie of Corne, Cattell, Conyes, and wildefoule, whereby the inhabitauntes doe reape much gayne and commoditie, onelye wood is theyr want, which they otherwyſe ſupply. The language alſo of ſuch as dwel in theſe Iſles, is Frenche, but the attire of thoſe yͭ liued in Gerneſey & Gerſey, vntil the time of King Henry the eyght, was al after the Iriſh guyſe. The Iſle of Gerneſey alſo was ſore ſpoyled by the Frenche 1371. & left ſo deſolate that onely one caſtell remained therein vntouched.

Beyonde thys and neere vnto the coaſt of Englande (for theſe doe lye about the verye middeſt of the Brittiſh ſea) we haue one Iſlande called the Bruch or the Bruchſey, lying about two myles from Poole, whether men ſayle from the Fromouth, & wherin is nought elſe, but an olde Chappell, without other houſing.

Bruchſe

Next to this alſo are certaine rocks, which ſome take for Iſles, as Illeſtõ rocke nere vnto Peritorie, Horeſtan Iſle a myle from Peritorie by South, Blacke rocke Iſle, Southeaſt from Perytorie toward Teygnemouth, and alſo Cheſter, otherwyſe called Plegymudham: but howe (to ſaye truth) or where this latter lieth, I cãnot make report, as yet, & ſith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make ſeparation of them.

Moun Iſlande

From hence the next Iſle is called Mount Iſland, otherwiſe Mowtland, ſcituate ouer againſt Lough, about two myles from the ſhore, and well neere, three myles in compaſſe. This Iſland hath no inhabitants, but onely the Warrenner & his dogge, who looketh vnto the Conies there: notwithſtanding that vpõ the coaſt therof in time of the yere, great ſtore of Pylchardes is taken, and caryed from thence into many places of our coũtrey. It hath alſo a freſh Well comming out of the rockes, which is worthy to be noted in ſo ſmall a cõpaſſe of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as ſome call it, there is an other little Iſlande of about eight Acres of grounde called S. Nicholas Iſle, and midwaye betweene Falmouth, and Dudman, (a certayne Promontorie) is ſuch another named the Grefe, wherein is great ſtore of Gulles & ſea foule. As for Inis Prynin, it lyeth within the Baye about three myles from Lizardes, & contayneth not aboue two Acres of groũd,

S. Nichol Iſlande

Greeſe.
Inis. Pr

from

ount.
. Mi=
haell.

from which Neſwlyn is not farre diſtaunt, & wherein is a poore fiſher towne and a fayre Welſpring, whereof as yet no writer hath made mention. After theſe (omitting Pendenant in ẏ point of Falmouth hauē) we came at laſt to ſaint Michaels mount, whereof I finde this deſcription readye to my handes in Lelande. The compaſſe of the roote of the Moūt of ſaint Michael is not much more then halfe a myle, and of this the South part is paſturable and breedeth Conyes, the reſidue high and rocky. In the North ſide thereof alſo is a Garden, with certayne houſes and ſhoppes for fiſhermen. Furthermore, the way to the Mountaine lieth at the North ſide, and is frequented from halfe ebbe to halfe floud, the entraunce beginning at the foote of the Hyll, & ſo aſcending by ſteps and greces weſtward, firſt, and then Eaſtward to the vtterward of the Church. Within the ſame ward alſo is a Court ſtrongly walled, wherin on the ſouthſide is a Chappell of S. Michaell, and in the Eaſtſide another of our Lady. Many times a man maye come to the hill on foote. On the North Northweſt ſide hereof alſo, is a Piere for botes and ſhips, and in the baye betwixt the Mount & Penſantz are ſeene at the lowe water marke, diuers rootes and ſtubbes of trees, beſide hewen ſtone, ſometimes of dores and windowes, which are perceyued in the inner part of the Bay, and import that there hath not onely beene buylding, but alſo firme ground there, whereas the Salt water doth now rule & beare the maſtery. Beyond this is an other litle Iſle, called S. Clemēts Iſle, of a Chappell there dedicated to that Saint. It hath a litle beyond it, Mowſhole, which is not touched in any Card. As for Mowſhole it ſelf it is a towne of the maine, called in Corniſh port Enis, that is, portus inſule, & in tinne workes neere vnto the ſame, there hath bene founde of late, ſpeare heddes, battaile axes, & ſwords of Copper, wrapped vp in linnen and ſcarſely hurt with ruſt or other hinderance. Certes the ſea hath won very much in this corner of our Iſlande, but chiefly betweene Mowſhole Penſardes.

S. Cle=
ments.

Hauing thus paſſed ouer very neere all ſuch Iſles, as lye vppon the ſouth coaſt of Brytaine, and nowe being come vnto the weſt part of our cōtry, a ſodeyne Pirry catcheth holde of vs (as it did before, when we went to Gerſy) and caryeth vs yet more weſterlye amōg the flattes of Sylly. Such force doth the ſoutheaſt winde often ſhowe vpon poore traueylers in thoſe parties, as the ſouth & ſouthweſt, doth vpon ſtraungers againſt the Brytiſh coaſt, that are not ſkilfull of our rodes, and herborowes. Howbeit ſuch was our ſucceſſe in this voyage, that we feared no rockes, (more then did king Athelſtane, when he ſubdued thē) nor any tempeſt of weather in thoſe parties, that coulde annoy our paſſage. Peruſing therefore the perilles whereinto we were pitifully plonged: we founde the Syllane Iſlandes (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spanyardes) to lye diſtaunt from the poynt of Cornewall, about three or foure houres ſayling, or twentie Engliſhe miles, as ſome men doe account it. There are of theſe as I ſayde, to the number of one hundreth forty ſeauen in ſight, whereof eche one is greater or leſſe then other, and moſt of them ſometime inhabited, howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatneſſe & commodities, exceede all the reaſt. Therto (if you reſpect their poſition) they are ſituate in manner of a circle, or ring, hauing an huge lake, or portion of the ſea in the middeſt of them, which is not without perill, to ſuch as with ſmall aduiſement enter into the ſame. Certes it paſſeth my cunning, either to name or to deſcribe all theſe one hundreth fourtie ſeauen according to their eſtate, neither haue I had any information of them, more then I haue gathered by Leyland, or gotten out of a Mappe of their deſcriptiō, which I had, ſome tyme of Reynolde Wolfe: wherefore omitting as it were all the ragges, and ſuch as are not worthy to haue any time ſpent about their particular deſcriptions, I will only touch the greateſt and thoſe that ly togither, (as I ſaid) in maner of a roundell.

King Athelſtane hauing ſubdued the Syllane Iſles, builded a Colledge of Prieſts at S. Burien, in perfourmance of his vowe, made whē he enterpriſed this voyage, for his ſafe returne.

S. Maries Iſle.

The firſt and greateſt of theſe therefore, called S. Maries Iſle, is about fiue miles ouer, or nyne myles in compaſſe. Therein alſo is a pariſhe Church, and a poore Towne belonging thereto, of threeſcore houſholdes, beſide a caſtel, plētie of Corne, Conies, wilde Swannes, Puffens, Gulles, Cranes, & other kindes of Foule, in great abundāce. This fertile Ilād being thus viewed, we ſailed ſouthwardes by the horman rocke, & S. Maries ſounde vnto Agnus Iſle, which is ſixe myles ouer, & hath in lyke ſorte one Towne or Pariſhe within the ſame of fiue or ſixe houſholdes, beſide no ſmall ſtore of Hogs, & Conies, of ſundry colours, very profitable to theyr owners. It is not long ſince this Iſle was left deſolate, for whē ẏ inhabitāts therof, returned frō a feaſt holden in S. Maries Iſle, they were al drowned and not one perſon left aliue. There are alſo two other ſmall Iſlandes, betweene this & the Annot, whereof I finde nothing worthy relation, for as both of them ioyned together are not comparable, to the ſayde Annot for greatneſſe and circuite, ſo they want both Hogges and Connies, whereof Annot hath great

Agnus Iſle.

Annot.

Minwiſand.
Smithy ſounde.
Suartigan.
Rouſuian.
Rouſuiar.
Cregwin.

great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwiſand, from whence we paſſe by the Smithy ſound, (leauing three little Iſlandes on the left hande, vnto the Suartigan Iſlande, then to Rouſuian, Rouſuiar, and the Cregwin, which ſeauen are for ẏ moſt part, repleniſhed with Conies only, and wilde Carlike, but voyde of woode, and other commodities, ſauyng of a ſhort kinde of graſſe, or here or there ſome firzes whereon their Conies doe feede.

Moncarthat.
Inis Welſeck.
Suethiall.
Rat Iſland.
Anwall.
Brier.

Leauing therefore theſe deſert peeces, wee incline a little towarde the northweſt, where we ſtumble or runne vppon, Moncarthat, Inis Welſeck, & Suethial. We came in like ſort vnto Ratte Iſlande (wherein are ſo many monſtrous Rattes, that if horſes, or other beaſts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence, they are ſure to be deuoured and eaten vp, without all hope of recouerye) the Anwall and the Brier, Iſlandes in lyke ſorte voyde of all good furniture, Conies only excepted, & that the Brier (wherein is a village, Caſtell, & pariſh Church) bringeth forth no leſſe ſtore of Hogges, and wyldefoule, then Ratte Iſland doth of Rats, whereof I greatly marueyle.

Ruſco.
Inis widdõ,
Round. Iſlande.
S.Lides.
Notho.
Auing.
Tyan.
S.Martines
Knolworth.
Sniuilliuer.
Menwethã
Vollis. 1.
Surwihe.
Volils.2.
Arthurs Ile
Guinliuer.
Nenech.
Gothrois.
wil
ſwin
Sylley.

By north of the Brier, lyeth the Ruſco, which hath a Labell or Bylande ſtretching out toward the ſouthweſt, called Inis widdon. This Ruſco is verye neere ſo great as that of S.Maries, It hath moreouer an hold, & a Pariſh within it, beſide great ſtore of Conies and wildefoule, whereof they make much gayne in due tyme of the yeare. Next vnto thys wee come to the Rounde Iſland, then to S.Lides Iſland, (wherin is a Pariſh church, dedicated to that ſaint) the Notho, the Auing, (one of thẽ being ſituate by ſouth of another) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iſlande, furnyſhed with a Pariſh Church, & no ſmall plenty of Conies as I here. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Iſle, betwixt which & S. Maries, are tenne other, ſmaller, which reach out of the northeaſt into the ſouthweſt, as Knolworth Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis.1. Surwihe, Vollis.2. Arthurs Iſland, Guiuiliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whoſe qualities are dyuers: howbeit as no one of theſe, is to be accounted great in compariſon of the other, ſo they al yeelde a ſhort graſſe, meete for ſheepe and Conies, as doe alſo the reaſt. In the greater Iſles likewiſe, (whoſe names are commonlye ſuch as thoſe of the Townes, or Churches ſtanding in the ſame) there are as I here ſundrye lakes, and thoſe neuer without great plentye of wildefoule, ſo that the Iſles of Sylly, are ſuppoſed to be no leſſe beneficiall to their Lordes, then anye other whatſoeuer, within the compaſſe of our Iſle, or neere vnto our coaſtes. In ſome of them alſo are wilde ſwine. And as theſe Iſles are ſuppoſed to be a notable ſafegard to the coaſt of Cornewall, ſo in dyuers of them great ſtore of tinne, is to be founde. There is in like maner ſuch plenty of fiſhe taken among theſe ſame, that beſide the feeding of their ſwine wyth all, a man ſhall haue more there for a peny, then in London for ten Grotes: Howbeit their chiefe cõmodity is made by Reigh, which they dry and cutte in peeces, and carying it ouer into litle Britayne, they exchange it there, for Salt, Canuas, readye Money, or other Marchaundiſe which they doe ſtande in neede of. A like trade haue ſome of them alſo, with Buckehorne or dryed Whityng, as I here: but ſith the Authour of this report, did not flatly auouch it, I paſſe ouer that fiſhe as not in ſeaſon at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richeſt and moſt wealthy Iſles of Sylley, frõ whence we muſt direct our courſe eaſtwardes, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, & then go backe againe vnto the weſt poynt of Wales, cõtinuing ſtill our voyage along vpon the weſt coaſt of Brytaine, till we come to the Soluey where at the kingdomes part, and from which forth on we muſt touch ſuch Iſlandes, as lye vpon the weſt and northſhore, till we be come againe vnto the Scottiſh ſea, and to our owne dominions.

Helen
Priam
Pendin

From the poynt of Cornewall therefore, or Promõtory of Helenus, (ſo called, as ſome think, becauſe Helenus the ſon of Priamꝰ lyeth buried there, except ẏ ſea haue waſhed away his ſepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Iſlandes at all that I do knowe or here of, but one lytle Byland, Cape or Peninſula, which is not to be reconed of in this place. And yet ſith I haue made mention of it, you ſhall vnderſtande, that it is called Pendinas, and beſide ẏ the compaſſe thereof is not aboue a myle, this is to be remembred farder how there ſtãdeth a Pharos or light therein, for ſhippes which ſayle by thoſe coaſts in the night. There is alſo at the very poynt of the ſayde Pendinas, a chappell of S.Nicholas, beſide the church of S.Ia, an Iriſh woman Sainct. It belõged of late to the Lorde Brooke, but nowe as I geſſe the Lorde Mountioy enioyeth it. There is alſo a Blockhouſe, and a peere in the eaſt ſide thereof, but the peere is ſore choked with ſande, as is the whole ſhore furthermore frõ S.Ies vnto S.Carantokes, inſomuch that the greateſt parte of thys Bylande is nowe couered with ſandes, which the ſea caſteth vp, & this calamity hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares.

There are alſo two Rockes neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common ſort doe repute and take for Iſles: wherefore as one deſirous to note all, I thinke it not beſt that theſe ſhould be omitted, but to procéede. Whē we be come farder, I meane vnto ẏ Sauerne mouth, we méete the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of theyr formes.

It ſhoulde ſéeme by ſome that they are not worthy to be placed among Iſlands: yet other ſome are of the opinion, that they are not altogyther ſo baſe, as to bée reputed amongſt flattes or rockes: but whatſoeuer they be, this is ſure that they oft annoye ſuch Paſſengers and Marchauntes as paſſe, and repaſſe vpon that riuer. Neyther doe I reade of any other Iſles which lye by eaſt of theſe ſame onely the Barri and Dunwen: the firſt of which is ſo called of one Barroc, a religious man as Gyraldus ſaith. And here in is a rock, ſtanding at the very entraunce of the clyffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the ſide, wherunto if a mā do lay his eare, he ſhal here a noyſe, as if ſmithes did worke at the forge, ſometimes blowing wyth theyr Bellowes, & ſometimes ſtriking and clinking with Hammers, whereof many men haue great wonder and marueyle. It is about a mile in compaſſe, ſcituate ouer againſt Aberbarry, and hath a chappel in it.

Dunwen, is ſo called of a Churche dedicated to a Welch woman ſaint, called Dunwen, that ſtandeth there. It lyeth more then two miles from Henroſſer, ryght againſt Neuen, and hath within it two fayre mylles, and great ſtore of conies, and if the ſande increaſe ſo faſt herafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnyted to the mayne, within a ſhort ſeaſon. Beyond theſe & toward the coaſt of Southwales, lye two other Iſlandes, larger in quantitie, then the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a Pariſhe Church wyth a ſpire ſtéeple, and a prety towne belonging to the county of Pembroke, and iuriſdiction of S. Dauid in Wales. Lelande ſuppoſeth the ruines that are founde there in, to haue béene of an olde priorye ſometimes called Lille, which was a celle belonging to the Monaſterye of S. Dogmaell, but of this I can ſaye nothing. The other hyght Londy, wherein is alſo a village or towne, and of thys Ilande the Parſon of the ſayde towne, is not onelye the captaine, but hath thereto weife, diſtreſſe, and all other commodities belonging to the ſame. It is little aboue ſixtéene myles, from the coaſt of wales, and yet it ſerueth as I am informed Lord and king in Deuonſhyre. Moreouer in thys Ilande is great plentie of ſhéepe, but more of conies, and therewithall of very fine and ſhort graſſe, for their better féede and paſtureage. And albeit that there be not ſcaſlie fourtie houſholdes in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge ſtones (alreadye prouided) may kéepe of thouſandes of theyr enemies, becauſe it is not poſſible for any aduerſaries to aſſayle them, but onelye at one place, and wyth a moſt daungerous entrance.

Schalmey.
Schoncold.

Scalmey the greater and the leſſe lye northweſt of Milforde hauen a good way. They belong both to the king, but are not inhabited, bicauſe they be ſo often ſpoiled with pirates. Schoncold Iſle ioineth vnto great Scalmey, & is bygger then it, onely a paſſage for ſhippes parteth them wherby they are ſuppoſed to be one, Leland noteth thē to lie in Milford hauē.

Limen or Ramſey.

Greſholm

Limen as Ptolomy calleth it, is ſcituate ouer againſt S. Dauides in wales, where vnto we muſt nedes come, after we be paſt another litle one, which ſomemen do call Greſholme, In a late Mappe I finde this Limen to be called in Engliſhe Ramſey: Lelande alſo confirmeth the ſame, and I cannot learne more thereof, then that it is much greater than any of the other laſt mencioned, (ſithence I deſcribed the holmes) and for temporall iuriſdiction, a member of Penbrokſhire, as it is vnto S. Dauides, for matters concerning ẏ church. Lelande in his Commentaries of Englande Lib. 8 ſayeth that it contayned thrée Iſlettes, where of the Biſhop of S. Dauids is owner of the greateſt, but ẏ Chanter of S. Dauids claymeth the ſecond, as the Archedeacon of Cairmaiden doth the thirde. And in theſe is very excellent paſture for ſhéepe, and horſes, but not for other horned beaſts, which lacke their vpper téeth, by nature (whoſe ſubſtaunce is cōuerted into the nouriſhmēt of their hornes) and therefore cannot byte ſo low. Next vnto this Iſle we came to Mawr, an Iſland in the mouth of Mawr, ſcant a bow ſhote ouer, and enuironned at the low water with freſh, but at the high Salt, & here alſo is excellent catching of Heringes.

Mawr.

After this procéeding on ſtil with our courſe, we fetched a compaſſe, going out of the north towarde the weſt, and then turning agains (as the coaſt of the country leadeth) vntill we ſayled full ſouth, leauing the ſhore ſtill on our right hande, vntyll we came vnto a couple of yles, which lye vpō the mouth of the Soch, one of them being diſtaunt, as we geſſed a myle from the other, and neyther of them of anye greatneſſe, almoſt worthy to remembred. The firſt that we came vnto is called Tudfal and therin is a Church, but without any Pariſhioners, except they be ſhéepe and Conies. The quantitie therof alſo is not much aboue,

Tudfall.

fyue

Penthlin.

Bardeſey.

ſixe acres of grounde, meaſured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, or Myrach, ſcituate in maner betwixt Tudfall, or Tuidall and the ſhore, ⁊ herin is very good paſture for horſes, whereof as I take it that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Bardeſey, an Iſlande lying ouer againſt the Southweſt poynt or Promontorie of Northwales, and whether the reaſt of the Monkes of Bangor dyd flye to ſaue themſelues, when their fellowes were ſlayne by the Saxon Princes in the quarell of Auguſtine the monke, and the Citie of Caerleon or Cheſter, raced to the grounde. Ptolomie calleth this Iſland, Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein alſo is a pariſh church, as the report goeth. Frō hence wée caſt about gathering ſtill towarde the Northeaſt, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod a notable rocke ſituate ouer againſt yͤ mouth of the Leuenni, wherin ſtandeth a ſtrong hold or fortreſſe, or elſe ſome Towne or Village. Certes we could no well diſcerne whether of both it was, becauſe the winde blew harde at Southweſt, the morning was miſtie and our mariners doubting ſome flats to be couched not farre from thence, haſted away vnto Angleſey, whether we went a pace, wyth a redy winde, euen at our owne deſire.

Angleſey cut from wales by working of the ſea.

Angleſey.

This Iſlande (which Tacitus miſtaketh, no doubt for Mona Cerſaris) is ſcituate about two myles from the ſhore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius geſſeth that it was in time paſt ioyned to the continent, or maine of our Iſle, and only cut of by working of the Oceane, as Sicilia peraduenture was frō Italy by the violence of the Leuant: thereby alſo as he ſayth the inhabitants were conſtrayned at the firſt to make a bridge ouer into the ſame, till the breach waxed ſo great, that no ſuch paſſage could any longer be mainteyned, but as theſe things doe eyther not touche my purpoſe at all, or make ſmally with the preſent deſcription of this Iſle: ſo (in comming to my matter) Angleſey is founde to be full ſo great as the Wight, ⁊ nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmounting it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruitefulneſſe of ſoile by manye an hundred folde. In olde time it was reputed and taken for the common granerie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Italy for their prouiſion of Corne. In lyke maner the Welchmen themſelues called it the mother of theyr country, for giuing their mindes wholly to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterly neglected tyllage, as men that leaned wholly to the fertilitie of this Iſlande for their Corne, from whence they neuer fayled to receyue cōtinuall abundaunce. It contayned moreouer ſo manye townes welnéere, as there be daies in a yere, which ſome conuerting into Cantredes haue accompted but for thrée, as Gyraldus ſayeth. Howbeit as there haue béene I ſay 363. townes in Angleſey, ſo now a great part of yͤ reconing is vtterly ſhronke, ⁊ ſo farre gone to decay, yͭ the very ruines of theē are vnneth to be ſéene: and yet it ſéemeth to be méetely wel inhabited. Lelande noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundredes in compariſon to that they were in tyme paſt, addeth ſo farre as I remember that there are ſixe of them in Angleſey, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbelliō, Torkalin, and Tindaither: herevnto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in olde time, vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, ⁊ that therin at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the Southweſt ſide of the Iſle, the kinges of Gwinhed helde euermore their pallaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that the kinges of northwales, were for a lōg time, called kings of Aberfraw, as yͤ Welchmē named yͤ kings of England kinges of London, till better inſtruction dyd bring them farder knowledge.

There are in Angleſey many townes and villages, whoſe names as yet I can not orderly attayne vnto: wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall of ſo many as we viewed in ſayling about the coaſtes, and otherwyſe hearde report of by ſuch as I haue talked with all. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which ryſeth at Northeaſt aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. myles at yͤ leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmō, Eliā, Almwoch, Burric (wherby runneth a rill into a creke) Cornew, Holyhed, (ſtanding in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Gadwaladar, of all which, the two latter ſtande, as it were in a nuke, betwéene the Geuenni water, ⁊ the Fraw, wherupō Aberfraw is ſcituate. Within the Iland, we hard only of Gefni afore mētioned, of Griſtial ſtāding vpō yͤ ſame water of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy ⁊ Bodedrin, but of all theſe the chiefe is nowe Beaumarais, which was buylded ſometyme by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a ſtrong Caſtell about the yeare 1295. to kepe that lande in quiet. There are alſo as Leland ſayth 31. Pariſhe churches beſide 69. chappelles, that is 100. in all: but hereof I can ſay litle, for lacke of iuſt inſtruction. In tymes paſt, the people of this Iſle vſed not to ſeuerall their groundes, but now they digge ſtony hillockes and with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much lyke to thoſe of Deuonſhyre, ſith they want hedges, fire bote, and houſebote, or to ſaye at one worde, timber ⁊ trées. As for wine, it is ſo plentifull & good cheape there moſt commonly as in London, thorowe the great recourſe of marchaunts frō France, Spaine, and Italy vnto the aforeſayde Iſlande. The fleſhe likewyſe of ſuch Cattell as is bredde there, is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent paſture, & ſo much was it eſtéemed by the Romaines in tyme paſt, ẏ Collumella did not onely commende & preferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the emperours thēſelues alſo cauſed there prouiſion to be made for nete out of Angleſey to féede vppon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent béefe. It taketh the name of Angles & Eye, which is to meane the Iſle of Engliſhmen, bycauſe they wan it in the conquerours tyme, vnder the leading of Hugh Earle of Cheſter, & Hugh of Shreweſbury. The Welchmē cal it Tiremone, and herein likewyſe is a Promontorie or Bylande, called Holly hed, (which hath in tyme paſt bene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke, that dwelled in that place) frō whence the readyeſt paſſage is commonly had out of Northwales to get ouer into Irelande. The Britons named it Enylſnach, or holy Iſle of the number of carkaſes of holy men, which they ſuppoſe to haue béene buryed there. But herein I marueyle not a little what women had offended, that they myght not come thither, or at the leaſt wyſe returne from thence without ſome notable reproche. And nowe to conclude with the deſcription of the whole Iſlande, this I will adde moreouer vnto hir cōmodities, that as there are the beſt milſtones of white, redde, blewe, and gréene gréetes, (eſpecially in Tindaithin,) ſo there is great gaines to begotten by fiſhing, rounde about this Iſle, if the people there coulde vſe the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hande. And as for temporall regimēt it apparteyneth to the countye of Cairnaruon, ſo in ſpirituall caſes it belongeth to the Byſhopricke of Bangor. This is finally to be noted moreouer of Angleſey, that ſundry earthen pottes are often founde there of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vſe of other nations, which turned the brimmes vpwardes, whereof let this ſuffice.

y head,
Cair
y.

lſnach,
y Iſle.

Hauing thus deſcrybed Angleſey, it reaſteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuite about the ſame, we mette with other little Iſlettes, of which one lyeth Northweſt therof almoſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that paſſeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Iſle of Birdes in olde time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is ẏ Iſle of Porpaſſes. It hath to name likewiſe Yſteriſd, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the ſecond lying by North eaſt, ouer againſt the Hillary point, called Ynis Ligod. that is to ſay, the Iſle of Miſe, and of theſe two this latter is the ſmalleſt, neyther of thē both beyng of anye greatneſſe to ſpeake of. Ynis Seriall or Preſtholme, lieth ouer againſt Penmon, or the point called the hed of Mon, where I founde a towne (as I tolde you) of the ſame denominatiō. Ptolomy nameth not this Iſlande, whereof I marueyle. It is percell of Flintſhyre, and of the iuriſdiction of S. Apſah, and in fertilitie of ſoyle, and bréede of Cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Angleſey hir mother: although that for quantitie of groūd it come infinitely ſhort thereof, & be nothing cōparable vnto it. The laſt Iſland vpon ẏ coſt of Wales, hauing now left Angleſey, is called Credine, & although it lye not properly within the compaſſe of my deſcription, yet I will not let to touch it by the waye, ſith the cauſey thither from Denbighlande, is commonly ouerflowen. It is partly made an Iſland by the Conwey & partly by the ſea. But to procéede, when we had viewed this place, we paſſed forth without finding any mo Iſles to my remembraunce, vntill we came to the Cape of Iſle Brée, or Hilbery & poynt of Wyrale, which is an Iſlande at the full ſea, a quarter of a myle from the lande, and foure fadame déepe, as ſhippes boyes haue oft ſounded, but at a lowe water, a man may go ouer on the ſande. The Ile of it ſelf is very ſandy a mile in compaſſe, & well ſtored with Conies, thither alſo went a ſort of ſuperſticious foles in tymes paſt, in pylgrimage, to our Ladye of Hilbery by whoſe offrings a Cell of Monkes there, which belonged to Cheſter, were cheriſhed and maintayned.

r.
l.
omaid.

Yſteriſd.
Adros.
Lygod.

Seriall.
Preſtholne

Credine.

Hilbery.

The next Iſland vppon the coaſt of England is man, which the Welchmen doe commonly call Manaw. It lieth vnder 53. degrées of Latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrées and 40. minutes, abutting on the North ſide vpō S. Nimans in Scotland, Furneſſels on the Eaſt, Preſtholme & Angleſey on the South, and Ulſther in Ireland on the Weſt. It is greater then Angleſey by a thirde part, and there are two riuers in the ſame, whoſe heddes doe ioyne ſo néere, that they doe ſéeme in maner to part the Iſle in twaine. Some of our auncient writers call it Eubonia and other Meuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scottiſh hiſtories, the Meuaniæ are thoſe Iſles which we now call the Hebrides or Hebudes (whereof William Malmeſbery Lib. 1. de regibus, will haue Angleſey to be one) wherfore it ſéemeth that a number of

Man is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, as this tha is the laſt, of the Hebrides, and Hector Boethus noteth a difference betwéene them of 300. miles.

Eubonia.
Meuania.

our late wryters aſcrybing the ſayde name vnto Mona, haue not béene a little deceaued. In this Iſlande were ſome time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the Weſt halfe, & the reaſt in the other. But nowe thorow ioyning houſe to houſe, and lande to land, (a cõmon plague & canker, which wil eate vp al, if prouiſion be not made in tyme to withſtande this miſchiefe) that number is halfe diminiſhed, and yet many of the riche inhabiters want roume & wote not howe & where to beſtow themſelues, to their quiet contentatiõs. Certes this impedimẽt groweth not be reaſon that men were greater in body, then they haue béene in tyme paſt, but onlye for ẏ their inſatiable deſire of inlarging their priuate poſſeſſions increaſeth ſtill vpon them, & will doe more, except they be reſtrayned: but to returne to our purpoſe. The kings of Scotlande had this Iſlande vnder their dominiõ, almoſt from their firſt arriual in this Iſland, and as Beda ſayeth till Edwine king of the Northumbers wanne it from them and vnited it to his kingdome. Hereof alſo I coulde bring better teſtimonie, for we finde that the kings of Scotlande, did not only giue lawes to ſuch as dwelled there, but alſo from tyme to tyme, appoint ſuch Byſhoppes as ſhoulde exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Iuriſdictiõ in ẏ ſame. Finally how, after ſundry ſales bargains and cõtracts of Matrimony for I reade ẏ Williã Scroupe the kings Vicechamberleyne, did buy this Iſle and crowne therof of the Lord Wil. Montacute Earle of Sarum) it came vnto ẏ aunceſtours of the Earles of Darby, who haue béene cõmonly ſayd to be kings of Man, the hyſtorie folowing as I ſuppoſe ſhal more at large declare. Gyraldus noteth how there was contention ſometyme betwéene the kings of Englande, and Irelande, for the ryght of this Iſlande, but in the ende when by a cõpromiſſe the tryall of the matter was referred to the liues or deathes of ſuch venemous Wormes as ſhoulde be brought into the ſame, and it was founde, that they dyed not at all, as the lyke doe in Irelande, ſentence paſſed with the kyng of Englande, and ſo he retayned the Iſlande. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, & whether any ſuch thing was done at all or not, ſure it is that the people of the ſayde Iſle, were much giuen to Witchcraft, and Sorcerie (which they learned of the Scottes a people greatly bent to that horrible practiſe) inſomuch that theyr women, woulde oftentimes ſell winde to the mariners incloſed vnder certayne knots of thréede, with this iniunction, that they which bought the ſame, ſhoulde for a great gale vndoe manye, and for the leſſe a ſmaller number. The ſtature of the men & alſo fertilitie of this Iſlande are much commended & for the latter ſuppoſed verye néere to be equall with that of Angleſey, in all commodities.

Cronica Tinemuthi.

Tal

in m

There are alſo theſe townes therin, as they come now to my remẽbrance, Ruſhen Dunglaſſe, Holme towne S.Brids, Bala Cury (ẏ byſhops houſe) S.Mich. S.Andrew, kirk chriſt, kirk Louel. S.Machees, kirke Santã, Pala ſalla, kirk S. Mary, kirk Cõcane, kirk Malu, & Home. But of all theſe Ruſhen with ẏ caſtel is the ſtrõgeſt. It is alſo in recompẽce of the common want of wood, indued wyth ſundry prety waters, as firſt of all the burne that ryſſeth in northſide of warchill botomes, & branching out by ſouthweſt of kirke Santan, it ſéemeth to cut of a great part of the eaſtſide thereof, from the reſidue of that Iſland. From thoſe hylles alſo (but of the ſouth halfe) commeth the Home and Homey, by a towne of the ſame name, in the verry mouth whereof, lieth the Pile, afore mencioned. They haue alſo the Bala paſſing by Bala cury, on the weſtſide, and the Rame on the north, whoſe fall is named Rameſey hauen as I doe reade in Chronicles.

Riuer

There are moreouer ſundry great hylles therein as that wherupõ S.Mathees ſtandeth, in the northeaſt parte of the Iſle, a parcell whereof commeth flat ſouth, betwéene kirke Louell, and kirke Mary, yéelding out of their botomes the water Bala, whereof I ſpake before. Beſide theſe and well toward the ſouth part of the Iſle, I finde the warchilles, which are extended almoſt, from the weſt coaſt ouerthwart vnto the borne ſtreame. It hath alſo ſundrye hauens, as Ramſey hauen, by north, Laxam hauen, by eaſt, Port Iris, by ſouthweſt, Port Home, and Port Michell, by weſt. In lyke ſort there are diuers Iſlettes annexed to the ſame, as the Calf of man on the ſouth, the Pile on the weſt, and finallye S.Michelles Iſle, in the Gulf called Ranoths way, in the eaſt. Moreouer the ſhéepe of thys countrye are excéeding huge, wel woolled, and their tayles of ſuch greatneſſe as is almoſt incredible. In lyke ſorte theyr hogges are in maner monſtruous. They haue furthermore great ſtore of Barnacles, bréeding vpõ their coaſts, (but yet not ſo great ſtore as in Ireland) and thoſe (as there alſo) of olde ſhippes. Ores, Maſtes, and ſuch putryfied pytched ſtufe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that ſhore. Howbeit neyther the inhabytantes of thys Iſle, nor yet of Ireland can redily ſaye whether they be fiſh or fleſhe, for although the religious there vſed to eate thẽ as fiſhe, yet elſewhere, ſome haue béene troubled, for eating them in times prohibited, as Heretikes, and Lollardes. Looke the [illegible] Ireland [illegible] fol.

Hilles

Hauen

Callf

The p

S.Miche

les Iſle

Sheepe.

Hogges.

Barnac

Barnac

neyther

fiſhe,n

fleſhe.

There

ſhop of
an.

There hath ſometime béene, and yet is a Byſhop of this Iſle, who at the firſt was called Epiſcopus Sodorenſis, when ỹ iuriſdiction of all ỹ Hebrides belõged vnto him. Wheras now he ỷ is Byſhop there, is but a Biſhops ſhadow, for albeit ỷ he beare ỹ name of Byſhop of Man, yet haue ỹ Earles of Darby, as it is ſuppoſed, al ỹ profite of his Sie, (ſauing that they allowe him a little ſomewhat for a flouriſh) notwithſtãding that they be hys patrons and haue hys nomination to that Sie. It is ſubiect to the Byſhoppe of Yorke alſo, for ſpirituall Iuriſdiction, & in time of Henry the ſeconde had a king, as Houeden ſaith, whoſe name was Cuthrede vnto whome Viuianus ỹ Cardinall came as Legate. 1177. but ſith I can neyther come by the names, nor ſucceſſions of thoſe Princes that reigned there, I ſurceſſe to ſpeake any more of them, and alſo of the Iſle it ſelfe, whereof this may ſuffiſe.

atrone
Man.

After we haue in thus wiſe deſcribed the Iſle of Man, with hyr commodities, we returned eaſt wardes back againe vnto ỹ point of Ramſhed, where we founde to the number of ſixe Iſlettes of one ſorte and other, whereof the firſt greateſt and moſt eaſterly, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as wée geſſed about fiue myles from the ſouth into ỹ north, and betwéene the ſame and the maine lande lie two little ones, whoſe names I find not in anye writer ſo farre, as I remember. The fourth is called ỹ Fouldra, and being ſcituate ſoutheaſt of the firſt, it hath a prety pile or blockhouſe therin, which the inhabitaunts name the Pile of Fouldray. By eaſt thereof in lyke ſort lye the Fola and the Roa, plottes of no great compaſſe, and yet of al theſe ſixe, the firſt and Foweldra are the fayreſt and moſt fruitefull. From hence we went by Rauenglaſſe point, where lieth an Iſland of the ſame denomination, as Reginalde Wolfe hath noted in his great Carde, not yet finiſhed, nor lykely to be publiſhed. He noteth alſo two other Iſlettes, betwéene the ſame & the mayne lande, but Lelande ſpeaketh nothing of them, (to my remembrance,) neyther anye other Carde, as yet ſet forth of England: and thus much of the Iſlands that lie vpon our ſhore.

auey.

uldra.
la.
a.

auen-
aſſe.

Hauing ſo exactlye as to me is poſſible, ſet downe the names & poſitions of ſuch Iſles as are to be found vpõ the coaſtes of ỹ Quéenes maieſties dominions. Nowe it reſteth ỷ we procéede orderly wyth thoſe ỷ are ſéene to lye vpõ the coaſt of Scotland, that is to ſay, in the Iriſh, the Deucalidon & the Germaines ſeas: But before we come at theſe, there are diuers other to be touched, which are ſcituate betwéene the nuke of Galloway, & the Frith of Solue, whoſe names I find not as yet ſet downe by any writer, neyther is their number greate. Wherefore ſith I may not doe in this their deſcriptiõ what I would, I muſt be contented to doe therein what I may, and to ridde my hands of the one, that I may the ſooner come vnto, and be dealing with the other. The firſt of theſe therefore, lyeth ouer agaynſt Dundrenaw, ſomewhat towarde the mouth of the ſtreame, that goeth vnto Clankaire. The ſecond is ſcituate in ỹ Dée, wherein Trief Caſtell ſtandeth: by weſt whereof lyeth S. Mary Iſle, which is ouer againſt Whitherne, or as we nowe call it Witherne, of which in our Engliſhe hyſtories we haue oft mention vnder the name of Candida Caſa, whereof the learned are not ignoraunt.

Trief.
S. Mary Iſle.

Beyonds theſe are two other lying togither, as it were in the mouth of the loweſt docke, & from thence we paſſed directly rounde about, the aforeſayde nuke, vnto Dumbritton fryth, where we finde alſo nine or tenne Iſlandes, of dyuers quantities, wherof Ailze, or Aliza, is the firſt, & wherein is great plentye of the Solãd foule, Cinuary the ſecond, Bure the thirde, Marnoch the fourth, Pladua the fift, Lanlach the ſixt, Arren or Botha, the ſeauenth, Sauday the eyght, and Olr the ninth: but of all theſe, one or two are only accounted famous, that is Arren the greateſt of all, wherin ſtandeth a towne of the ſame name, and Bure the next, in which Roſa is ſcituate: the reaſt are eyther vtterly barren, or not very commodious, except for fowle to ſuch as owe the ſame. By this time alſo are we come to the poynt of Cantyre, which is not paſſing fiftene or ſixtene myles, diſtaunt from the coaſt of Irelande, ſo that next vnto theſe afore remẽbred (and when we haue fetched in the aforeſaid poynt) we come vnto the Hebrides, which are reconned to be thrée and fourtie, in number, beſides the flattes and ſhallowes as I haue earſt affirmed in the beginning of thys chapter.

15. Myles betwéene Cantyre & the coaſt of Deſmond.

Of theſe aforeſayd Iſlands, I finde dyuers to be 30. myles, ſome twelue other more or leſſe quantity, but Sky Mula Iona, & Ila, are the greateſt, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Certes it is impoſſible for me, being a méere Engliſhman voyde of helpe & of ſmall reading, to diſcuſſe the controuerſies that are mooued among the learned, touching the Meuainæ & the Hebrides, wherefore ſith I am not able to deale ſo déepely with that matter, I will firſt ſhewe what Iſlandes doe lye vpon the weſt coaſtes of Scotlande betwéene Cantyre and Andermouth heade, giuing out onelye the names of the leaſt (ſith I know nothing els of their commodities and greatneſſe) and then proceding with the reaſt as they doe lie in order. Firſt of all therfore and ouer againſt Kiltan, (for I will go by the ſhore) we haue Karay, then Gegay, S. Machare, and hys neighbour, Langa, Suinnay, Dunqu, Corſey Leawing, Cewil, Nawell, Caerbery, Liſmore, & Muke, which lyeth at the very point, of Andermouth, ouer againſt Mere, fourtene in all. From hence going weſtwarde, wee come to the Terry and the Coll, and then entring in among the reaſt, by Carndeburge, Ulwaye, or Dronſay, Colauſay, & Iona minor we come at the laſt to Scarbo, Corebricken, Youell, al which thus mencioned, of the leaſt are counted yͤ greateſt, & yet there are ſundry other, of whoſe names I haue no knowledge. In thys tracte alſo, there are yet three to intreate of, as Ila, Iona & Mula, of which the firſt is one of the moſt, that hath not bene leaſt accounted of.

Ila.

It is not much aboue 30 myles in length, & twenty in breadth, & yet it is an exceding riche plot of grounde very plenteous of corne, but more ful of mettals, which were eaſie to be obteyned, if either the people were induſtrious, or the ſoyle yeeldable of woode to fine and trye out the ſame.

Iona.

Iona was ſometime called Columkill, In fame and eſtimation, nothing inferiour to any of the other, although in length it exceede little aboue twentie myles, and in breadth, 10. for by reaſon of a famous Abbie ſomtime buylded there by Fergus the ſeconde, it hath bene countenaunced out by the ſepulchres of ſo many kings, as deceaſed in Scotlãd, after the ſayde Fergus, vntil the tyme of Malcoline Cammor, who by buylding another Abbey, at Dunfermeling, gaue occaſion to hys ſucceſſours to be interred there.

[illegible] olio.100.

[illegible] folio .57.

Mula.

Mula is a ryght noble Iſle, repleniſhed wyth dyuers and ſundry townes, and caſtels, as are alſo the other two, albeit their names at thys tyme be not at hand & ready. This yet is worth the noting in this Iſlande aboue all the reſt, that it hath a pleaſant ſpring, ariſing two myles in diſtaunce from the ſhore, wherin are certayne lyttle egges founde, much like vnto indifferent Pearles, both for colour and bryghtneſſe, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egges being carried by violence of yͤ freſh water, vnto the ſalt, are there within the ſpace of 12, houres conuerted into great ſhelles, which I take to be the mother pearle except I be deceyned. And thus much briefly of the ſeauen and twentye greateſt Iſles, lying within the aforeſayde compaſſe, being driuen of force to omitte the leſſer onely, for that I neyther fynd theyr names, among the Scottiſhe writers, neyther to ſaye the truth directlye vnderſtande howe manye be flattes, and howe manye be couered with graſſe: To proceede therefore by north of Andermouth we haue Egge, Ron, Cãnay, Flad, Tranneſſe, (where is a caſtell,) Trant, Altauecke, another Flad, Rona, and Scalpa, beſide ſundrye ſmaller, whoſe names I doe not knowe, & all theſe doe enuyron the greateſt of all, called Sky, in which are dyuers townes, as Aye, S. Johns, Dunwegen, and S. Nicholas, beſide other, and thereunto ſundry lakes, and freſhe ſtreames, and thoſe not withoute great abundaunce of Samon and ſundry other fiſhe, whereby the inhabitaunts of thoſe partes doe reape no ſmall aduauntage. Furthermore & by weſt of theſe lye diuers other percels alſo of this number, of which, if you looke to here an orderly reporte you ſhall vnderſtande that I will beginne at the moſt ſoutherly of them, and ſo proceede, with eche one in order, ſo well as my knowledg doth ſerue me. Firſt of al therfore, there are foure little Iſlandes, of which one called Erth, another Scail are yͤ greateſt. Next vnto theſe and directly towarde the north lyeth Baway, then S. Peters Iſle, in the eaſt ſide, whereof are three ſmall ones, whoſe names I haue not yet learned. Next of al is the Euſt or Hirtha, which ſeemeth by certaine riuers, to be deuided into four partes; of which the the firſt hath a towne called S. Columbanes in yͤ north ſide thereof, yͤ ſecond another dedicated to S. Mary, & the fourth (for I find nothing of yͤ third) one named after S. Patricke, by weſt wherof, lyeth yet a leſſe, not greatly frequẽted of any. By north of this alſo are 3. other, of lyke quantity, and then followeth Lewis, ſcituate in the Deucalidon ſea, ouer againſt the Roſſe, and called Thule, by Tacitus, wherein are many lakes, and very prettye Villages, as lake Erwyn, lake Unſalſago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoye, Noys, S. Colombane, Radmach &c. About thys are alſo diuers other Iſles, of leſſe quãtitye found, as Scalpay, Ilen, Schent, Barray the more, Barraye the leſſe, S. Kylder, & other of ſmaller reputation, wherof the moſt parte are voyde of culture and inhabitantes, and therefore not worthye to be remembred here. This finallye is left to be ſayd of theſe Iſles, that albeit Leuiſſa, be the greateſt of them, and conteyning threeſcore myles, in length, and thirtie in breadth, yet Hirtha, or Hirth, is the moſt famous, for the ſheepe which are there bredde, and is therefore called Shepy of the wylde Iryſhe. Certes, the ſtature of theſe ſheepe is greater and higher, thẽ of any fallowe deere, their tailes hanging downe to the grounde, and their hornes longer & thicker then thoſe of any Bugle. Unto

thys

Skye.

Erth.
Scail
Baw
S.P
Iſle.
Hirth
Euſt.

Lewi
calle
Thule
Tacit
with
bette
thor
then
name
glesey
na.

thys Iſlande alſo in the Moneth of Iune, (when the ſeas be moſt calme) there commeth a Prieſt out of Lewiſſa, & minyſtreth the ſacramẽt of Baptiſme to all ſuch childrẽ as haue beene borne there, and the Iſlandes about ſith that moneth in the yeare paſſed. This being done, and his appointed number of Maſſes ſaide, he receyueth the tythes of all theyr commodities, and then returneth home againe the ſame way he came.

na.

Rona the laſt of the Hebrides, is dyſtant, as I ſaide, about fouretie mile from the Orchades, and one hundredth and thirtye, from the Promontorye of Dungiſbe. The coaſt of thys Iſle is dayly replentiſhed with Seale, and Porpaſſe, which are eyther ſo tame, or ſo fierce, that they abaſh not at the ſight of ſuch as looke vpon them, neyther make they any haſte to flye out of theyr preſence. Aboue the Hirth alſo is another Iſlande, though not inhabited, wherin is a certeine kind of wilde beaſte, not much different frõ the figure of a ſheepe, but ſo wilde that it will not eaſilye be tamed. For theyr grynning alſo they are reputed to be a kynde of baſtarde Tyger. As for theyr heaire it is betweene the wooll of a ſheepe, and heaire of a goate, ſomewhat reſembling eche, ſhacked, and yet abſolutely like vnto neyther of both.

eShot Iſles

There are alſo other Iſles, an hundreth myles beyond the Orchades, towarde eaſt northeaſt, and ſubiect to ſcotlande, wherin is neyther corne, nor anye vſe of fleſh, although they haue ſtore of ſundrye ſortes of cattell amongſt them. But in ſtead of bread, they drie a kinde of fiſhe, which they beate in morters to powder, and bake it in theyr Ouens, vntill it be harde and drye. Theyr fewell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſhe yeeldeth that is taken on theyr coaſtes, and yet they lyue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great peece of theyr happyneſſe to bee ſo farre diſtaunt from the wicked auarice, & cruell dealings of the world. As for theyr ryches and commodities, they al conſiſt in the ſkinnes of beſtes, as of Oxẽ, Sheepe, Gotes, Marternes, and ſuch like, wherof they make great reconing. Herin alſo they are lyke vnto ẏ Hirthiens, in ẏ at one time of the yeare, there commeth a prieſt vnto them, out of the Orchades (vnto which Iuriſdiction they doe belong) who Baptiſeth all ſuch children, as haue bene borne among them, ſith he laſt arriued: and hauing afterward remained there for a few dayes, he taketh his tythes of them (which they prouide & pay with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſhe, for of other commodities pay they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voyage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iſles alſo is great plẽty of fine Amber to be had; which is produced by the working of the ſea, vpon thoſe coaſtes: howbeit, after what name theſe Iſles be called particulerly and how many there be of them in all, the Scottes themſelues are eyther ignoraunt, or not ſo diligent, as to make any conſtant mention.

Orchades.

The Orchades, lie partly in the Germaine, and partly in the Calidon ſeas, ouer agaynſt the poynt of Dunghilby, beyng in number, thirtie one of name, & belonging to ẏ crowne of Scotlande, as are the reaſt whereof here tofore I haue made report, ſince we croſſed ouer the mouth of the Solueie ſtreame, to come into this countrye. Certes the people of theſe Iſlands are of goodly ſtature, tall, verye comelye, healthfull, of long lyfe, great ſtrength, and moſt whyte coulour: and yet they feede moſt vpon fiſhe onely, ſith the cold is ſo extreeme in thoſe parts, that the ground bringeth forth but ſmal ſtore of Wheate, & in maner very litle or no fewell at al, to warme them in the winter. Otes they haue verye plentifull, but greater ſtore of Barly, wherof they make a nappye kinde of drinke, and ſuch in deede, as will verye readilye cauſe a ſtrãger to forget himſelf. Howbeit this may be vnto vs, a in lieu of a myracle, ẏ although theyr drinke be neuer ſo ſtrong, & they themſelues ſo immeaſurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it ſhal not eaſily be ſeene, that there is any drunckarde among them, either frantike, or madde mã, dolt, or natural foole, meete to were a cockeſcomb. In like ſort they want venemous beaſtes, chiefly ſuch as doe delyte in hotter ſoile. Theyr Ewes alſo are ſo full of increaſe, that ſome doe vſuallye bring foorth two; three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anclings (which are ſuch as bring foorth but one at once) rather to be barren then kept for any gaine. As for wyld and tame fowles, they haue ſuch plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to theyr ſoyle, then a benefite to their tables. There is alſo a Biſhop of the Orchades, who hath his Sie, in Pomonia the chiefe of al the Iſlands, wherin alſo are two ſtrong caſtelles, and ſuch hath been the ſuperſticion of the people here, that there is almoſt no one of them, that hath not one church at the leaſt dedicated to the mother of Chriſt. Finallye there is little vſe of Phiſicke in theſe quarters, leſſe ſtore of Eles, and leaſt of frogges. As for ẏ horſes that are bred amongſt them, they are commonlye not much greater then Aſſes, and yet to labour and trauaile, a man ſhall finde very fewe elſewhere, able to come neere, much leſſe to matche with them, in holding out their labours.

From the Orchades vntill we come ſouthwardes to the Scarre, which lyeth in Buquham neſſe, I finde no mention of any Iſle ſcituate vpon that coaſt, neyther greatly from thence, vntill we come at the forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, wherein we paſſe by ſeuen or eyght ſuch as they be, of which the firſt called the May, the ſeconde Baas and Garwy, the third doe ſéeme to be inhabited. From theſe alſo holding on our courſe towarde England, we paſſe by another yle, wherin Faux caſtell ſtandeth, and this ſo farre as my ſkill ſerueth is the laſt Iland of the Scottiſh ſide, in compaſſing whereof I am not able to diſcerne, whether their flattes and ſhallowes, number of Ilandes without name, confuſion of ſcituation, lacke of true deſcriptiõ, or mine owne ignoraunce hath troubled me moſt. No marueyle therefore that I haue béene ſo oft on ground, among them. But moſt ioyful am I ẏ am come home againe: & although not by ẏ Thames mouth into my natiue citie (whiche taketh his name of Troye) yet into ẏ Engliſhe dominion where good entertaynement is much more franke and copious, and better harborow, wherein to reſt my wery bones, & eaſily refreſhe my wetherbeaten carkaſe.

Lindeſfarne or holy Iland

Farne.

Puffins.

S. Cuthbertes foules.

The firſt Iland therfore, which commeth to our ſight, after we paſſed Barwyc, is that which was ſometime called Lindefarne, but now Holly Ilande, and contayneth 8. myles a place much honoured among our Monaſticall writers, bycauſe diuers monkes & Heremites dyd ſpende theyr times therein. There was alſo the Byſhoppes Sée of Lindefarne, for a long ſeaſon, which afterwarde was trãſlated to Dunelme or Durham. Next vnto this is the Iſle of Farne, and herein is a place of defence ſo farre as I remember, & ſo great ſtore of Egges layed there by diuers kindes of Wildfoule in time of the yere, that a man ſhall hardly runne for a wager on the plaine groũd without the breach of many before his race be finiſhed. About Farne alſo lie certayne yles greater then Farne it ſelf, but voyde of inhabitaunts & in theſe alſo is great ſtore of Puffins, graie as Duckes, and without couloured fethers, ſauing that they haue a white ring round about their neckes. There is moreouer another Birde, which the people call ſainct Cuthbertes foules, a very tame and gentle creature, and eaſie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iſlãd, ſo called bycauſe it lyeth ouer agaynſt the fall of cocke water. And here is a vayne of meane ſeacole, which the people digge out of the ſhore at the low water. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coſt of Norfolke I ſaw no mo Ilands. Being therefore paſt S. Edmonds point, we ſaw a litle Iſle ouer againſt the fall of the water that commeth frõ Holkham, and likewyſe an other ouer againſt the Clay, before we came at Waburne hope: the thirde alſo in Yarmouth ryuer ouer agaynſt Bradwell a towne in low or little England, whereof alſo I muſt néedes ſay ſomewhat, bycauſe it is in maner an Iſland, and as I geſſe eyther hath béene or may be one, for the brodeſt place of the Strictlande that leadeth to the ſame, it little aboue a quarter of a myle, which againſt the raging waues of the ſea, can make but ſmal reſiſtence. Litle England or low Englande therefore is about 8. miles in length and foure in bredth, very well repleniſhed with townes, as Friſtan, Burgh caſtel, Olton, Flixtõ, Leſtoft, Guntõ, Blundſton, Corton, Lownd, Aſheby, Horton, Belton, Bradwel, & Gorleſton, and beſide this it is very fruitfull and indued with all commodities. Going forwarde from hence, by the Eſton neſſe (almoſt an Iſlande,) I ſawe a ſmall percell cut from the maine in Orforde hauen, ẏ Langerſtone in Orwell mouth, two péeces or Iſlettes at Cattywade Bridge, thẽ caſting about vnto ẏ Colne, we beholde Merſey which is a pretie Iſlande, well furniſhed with wood. It was ſomtime a great receptacle for the Danes, when they inuaded Englande, howbeit at this preſent it hath beſide two decaied Blockhouſes, two Pariſh churches of wich one is called Eaſt Merſey, the other weſt Merſey & both vnder the Archdeacon of Colcheſter as percell of his iuriſdictiõ. Fowlneſſe is an Iſle voyde of wood, & yet wel repleniſhed with very good graſſe for nette and ſhéepe, whereof the inhabitaunts haue great plentie: there is alſo a Pariſh church, and albeit that it ſtande ſomewhat diſtaunt from the ſhore, yet at a dead low water a man ryde thereto if he be ſkilfull of the Cawſie.

Litle
land.

Mer

Fou

In Maldon water are in lyke ſorte thrée Iſlands, enuironned with the ſalt ſtreames, as S. Oſithes, Northey and another (after a merſhe) that beareth no name ſo far as I remember. On the right hand alſo as we went toward the ſea againe, we ſaw Ramſey Iſle, or rather a Peninſula or Bylande, and likewyſe the Key, in which is a Chappell of S. Peter. And then coaſting vpõ the mouth of ẏ Bourne, we ſaw ẏ Wallot Iſle & his mates, wherof two lye by Eaſt of Wallot, and the forth is Foulneſſe, excepte I be deceyued, for here my memorye fayleth me, on the one ſide and information on the other, I meane cõcerning ẏ placing of foulneſſe. But to procéede, after this and being entered into the Thames mouth, I finde no Ilande of anye name,

Oſy.
Nor

Ram

Key.

name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no minde to entreate, more then of Crowland, Merſland, Ely, and the reaſt, that are framed by the Ouze and Auon (two noble riuers herafter to be deſcribed) ſith I touch only thoſe that are enuironed with the ſea, or ſalt water round about, as wee maye ſee in the Cantway Iles, which ſome doe liken to an Ipocraſe bag, ſome to a vice, ſcrew, or wine ſieue, bycauſe they are very ſmall at the eaſt end, and large at weſt. The ſalte riuers alſo that croſſe the ſame doe ſo ſeperate the one of them frõ the other, that they reſemble the ſlope courſe of the cutting part of a ſcrew or gimlet, in very perfite maner, if a man doe imagine himſelfe to looke downe from the top of the maſt uppon them. Betweene theſe, moreouer and the Leighe towne lyeth another little Ile, whoſe name is to me vnknowen. Certes I woulde haue gone to lande and viewed theſe perceles as they lay, but forasmuch as a Perry of winde (ſcarſe cõparable to the makerell gale wherof Iohn Aucher, one of the beſt ſeames that England euer bredde, was wont to talke) caught holde of our ſayles, and carryed vs forth the right way toward London, I coulde not tary to ſee what thinges were thereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilandes, and ſo much may well ſuffice.

Of the ryſing and falles of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames, as deſcende into the ſea without alteration of their names, and firſt of thoſe that lye betweene the Thames and the Sauerne. Cap. 9.

HAuing as you haue ſeene attempted to ſet downe a full diſcourſe of all the Ilandes, that are ſcituate vppon the coaſt of Britayne, and finding the ſucceſſe not correſpondent to myne intent, it hath cauſed me ſomewhat to reſtrayne my purpoſe in thys deſcription of our riuers. For whereas I entended at the firſt to haue written at large, of the number, ſcituation, names, quantities, Townes, Villages, Caſtles, Mountaynes, Freſh waters, Plaſhes, or Lakes, Salt waters, and other commodities of the aforeſayd Iles, myne expectation of information from all partes of Englande, was ſo deceyued in the ende, that I was fayne at laſt, onelye to leane to that which I knewe my ſelfe eyther by reading or ſuch other helpe as I had already purchaſed and gotten of the ſame. And euen ſo it happeneth alſo in this my tractatiõ of waters, of whoſe heads, courſes, lẽgth, bredth, depth of Chanell (for burden) ebbes, flowinges, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect deſcriptiõ. But now for want of inſtruction, which hath beene largelye promiſed, and ſlackly perfourmed, and other ſodayne and iniurious denyall of helpe voluntarily offred, without occaſion gyuen on my part, I muſt needes content my ſelf with ſuch obſeruations as I haue eyther obtayned by myne owne experience, or gathered frõ tyme to tyme out of other mens writings: whereby the full diſcourſe of the whole is vtterly cut of, and in ſteede of the ſame a mangled rehearſall of the reſidue, ſet downe and left in memorie. Wherefore I beſeech your Honour to pardon this imperfection and rudeneſſe of my labour, which notwithſtanding is not altogither in vayne, ſith my errors may proue a ſpurre vnto the better ſkilled, eyther to correct, or inlarge where occaſion ſerueth, or at the leaſt wiſe to take in hande a more abſolute peece of worke as better direction ſhall encorage them thereto. The entraunce and beginning of euery thing is the hardeſt, and hee that beginneth well hath atchieued halfe hys purpoſe. The Iſe my Lorde is broken, and from henceforth it will be more eaſie for ſuch as ſhall come after to wade through with the reaſt, ſith facile eſt inuentis addere, and to continue and finiſhe, is not ſo great a matter in building, as to attempt and laye the foundation or platforme of any noble peece of workmanſhippe, though it be but rudely handled. But to my purpoſe as I began at yͤ Thames in my deſcription of Ilandes, ſo will I now do the like with that of riuers: making mine entrie at the ſayde ryuer it ſelfe, which hath his heade or beginning out of the ſide of an hyll, ſtanding in the playnes of Cotteſwolde, about one mile from Tetbury neere vnto the Foſſe (an hygh waye ſo called of olde) where it was ſometyme named Iſis or the Ouſe, although dyuers doe ignoraũtlye call it the Thames, euen there, rather of a foliſhe cuſtome then of anye ſkill, bycauſe they eyther neglect or vtterly are ignoraunt, how it was named at the firſt. From hence it runneth directly toward the eaſt, where it meeteth with the Cyrne or Churne, (a brooke called in latin Corinium) whereof Cyrnecester towne by which it commeth doth take the name. From hence it haſteth to Creekelade (alias Crekanford) Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, & Euſham (receiuing by the way an infinit ſort of ſmall ſtreames, brookes, beckes, waters, & rundelles) & here on this ſide of the towne deuiding it ſelfe into two courſes, of which the one goeth ſtrayght to Botley, and Hinkſey, the other by Godſtow, a village not farre of. This latter ſpreadeth it ſelfe alſo for a whyle

Thameſis.

Corinium.

into ſundry ſmaller braunches, which runne not farre eare they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundry pleaſaunt meadowes, it paſſeth at length by Oxeforde, where it méeteth with the Charwell, and a little from whence the originall branches doe ioyne agayne and go togither by Abbandune (or Abington, as we call it,) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo néere the Towne as it doth now, till a braunch thereof was led thyther from the mayne ſtreame, through the induſtrie of the monkes as (beſide the teſtimonie of olde recordes thereof yet extant to be ſéene) by the decay of Dorcheſter it ſelf, ſomtime the commō thorowfare from Wales, and the Weſt countrey to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to bée ſéene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter and ſo to Thame, where ioyning with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe, (whereof Ouſeney at Oxeforde is producted) and frō thēceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingforde and ſo to Reading, which ſome of the number of Bridges there doe call Pontium, albeit that the Engliſhe name doe procéede rather from Rhe, or Rée the Saxon word for a water courſe or riuer which may be ſéene in Ouerée or Sutherey, for ouer the Rée or South of the Rhe as the ſkilfull can coniecture. But howſoeuer that matter ſtandeth after it hath paſſed by Reading, and there receyued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lye Weſt of Marleborough, and then the Thetis, commonly called the Tyde that commeth from the Thetiſforde; it hyeth to Sudlington, or Maydenheade, and ſo to Wyndleſhore (or Windſore) Eaton & then to Chertſey, where Erkenwalde Biſhoppe of London, ſomtime buylded a religious Houſe, as I doe reade, From Chertſeye it haſteth dyrectlye vnto Stanes, and receyuing an other ſtreame by the waye, called the Cole, (whereupon Colbroke ſtandeth) it goeth by Kingſtone Shene Sion, and Brentforde, where it méeteth the Brane or the Brene, another Brooke diſcending from Edgeworth whoſe name ſignifieth a Frogge, in the Brittiſh ſpeache. Vppon thys alſo Sir Iohn Thimne, had ſometyme a ſtately houſe wyth marueylous prouiſion to incloſe and retayne ſuch fiſhe as ſhoulde come about the ſame. From Brentforde it paſſeth by Mortlach, Putney, Fulham, Batterſey, Chelſey, Lambeth, and ſo to London. Finallye going from thence vnto the ſea, it taketh the Lée wyth it by the waye vpon the Coaſt of Eſſex, and the Darnt vpō Kentſide, which riſeth néere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Derntforde, whereunto the Cray falleth: And laſt of all the Medway a notable ryuer, (in mine opinion) which watereth all the South, and South weſt part of Kent, and whoſe deſcription is not to be omitted in his place.

Charwell.

Some write that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ran before betwene Iuerſey and Culenham

If Oxford it ſelfe be not to bée called Ouſeford thereof.

Pontium.

S. Mary ouer Rhée.

Kenet.

Thetis.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.

Cray.

Thus we ſée the whole tract and courſe of yͤ Thames by whoſe head and fall, it is euident that the length thereof is at the leaſt, one hundreth and eighty miles, if it be meaſured by yͤ iourneyes of the land. And as it is in courſe, the longeſt of the thrée famous riuers of thys Iſle, ſo it is nothing inferiour vnto them, in abundance of all kinde of fiſhe, whereof it is harde to ſay, which of them haue eyther moſt plentie, or greateſt varietie, if the circumſtāces be duely weighed. What ſhould I ſpeake of the fat and ſwéete Samons, dayly taken in this ſtreame, & that in ſuch plentye, as no ryuer in Europa, is able to excéede it; but what ſtore alſo of Barbelles, Troutes, Cheuins, Pearches, Smeltes, Breames, Roches, Daces, Gudgins, Floūders, Shrimps, Eles, &c. are commōly to be had therein, I referre me to them, that knowe the ſame by experience. And albeit it ſéemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in ſundrye wiſe, of theſe hir large commodities, by the inſaciable auarice of yͤ fiſhermen, yet this famous ryuer cōplayneth of no wante, but the more it loſeth at one tyme, the more it yéeldeth at another. Onely in Carpes it ſéemeth to bée ſcant, ſith it is not long ſince that kynde of fiſhe was brought ouer into Englande, and but of late to ſpeake of, into this ſtreame by the violent rage of ſundry Landfloudes, that brake open the heades and dammes of dyuers Gentlemens pondes, by which meanes it became pertaker alſo of this ſaid commoditie, whereof earſt it had no portion that I coulde euer heare of.

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Furthermore the ſayde riuer floweth and filleth all his chānels twyſe in the daye and night, that is in euery 12. houres once, & thys ebbing and flowing, holdeth on for the ſpace of ſeauentye miles, within the mayne lande: the ſtreame or tyde, being alwayes hygheſt at Londō, when the Mone doth exactly touch the northeaſt and ſouth or weſt pointes, of the heauens, of which one is viſible, the other vnder the earth, and not ſubiect to our ſight.

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Theſe tydes alſo differ in their tymes eche one comming latter then other, by ſo manye mynutes as paſſe ere the reuolucion and naturall courſe of the heauens doe reduce, and bring about the ſayde Plannet, vnto thoſe hir former places: whereby the common difference betwéene one tyde and another, is founde to conſiſt of twentye foure mynutes, which wāteth but twelue of an whole houre, in

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This order of flowing likewiſe is parpetuall, except rough winds doe happen to checke the ſtreame in hir comming, or elſe ſome other occaſion, put by the ordinary courſe of the Northen ſeas, which fyll the ſayde ryuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe doe happen eft among, I referre me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it. For ſometime the huge wind kepeth back a great part of the floudde, whereby the tyde is differred (though neuer altogyther put by) and ſometyme there happen thrée or foure tydes in one naturall daye, whereof the vnſkilful do deſcant many things. I would here make mencion of ſundry bridges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chiefly to be cõmended, for it is manner a continuall Stréete, well repleniſhed with large and ſtatelye houſes on both ſides, & ſcituate vpon twentie Arches, whereof eche one is made of excellent frée ſquared ſtone, euery of theym being thréeſcore fote in height, and full twentie in diſtaunce one from another.

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In lyke maner I coulde intreat of the infinite number of ſwannes dayly to be ſéene vpon thys riuer, the two thouſand Whirries and ſmall bots, whereby thrée thouſand poore watermen are maintained, through the cariage and recariage, of ſuch perſons as paſſe, or repaſſe, from tyme to tyme vppon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tyde botes, tiltbotes & barges, which eyther carry paſſengers, or bryng neceſſary prouiſion, from all quarters of Oxfordſhyre, Barkeſhyre, Buckinghamſhyre, Bedfordeſhyre, Herforde ſhyre, Mydellſex, Eſſex, Surry and Kent, vnto the Citie of London. But forſomuch as theſe thynges are to be repeated againe in the particuler diſcription of London, annexed to thys Carde. I ſuceſſe at this tyme to ſpeake any more of them as alſo of the ryuer it ſelf, wherefore let thys ſuffyſe.

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Next vnto the Thames we haue the midway water, which falleth into the mayne ſea at Shepey. It ariſeth Warde forreſt in Suſſex, and when it is come ſo farre as Whethelin towne, it méeteth a little by north thereof, with the Done, which deſcendeth from Waterdon forreſt, and from whence they go on togyther, as one by Aſhehirſt, where hauing receyued alſo the ſeconde brooke, it haſteth to Pẽſherſt, & there carrieth with all the Eden, that commeth from Lingfielde parke. After thys it goeth into the South eaſt parte of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the north weſt ſyde, and an other lyttle ſtreame that commeth from the hylles, betwéene Peuenbury and Horſemon, on the ſouth eſt. From thence alſo & not farre from Palling it receiueth the Theiſe (a pretye ſtreame that ariſeth about Theiſe Hirſt) and afterwarde the Gran or crane, which hauing hys heads not farre from Cranbrooke, and méeting with ſundry other reuellettes by the way, whereof one braunche of Theiſe is the laſt, (for it parteth at the Twiſt, and includeth a pretty Iſlande) doth ioyne with the ſaid Medway, a litle aboue Palding, & then with the Lowſe. Finally at Maidſtone, it méeteth wyth another brooke, whoſe name I knowe not, and then paſſeth by Allington, Dutton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckeſtane, Roſchester, Chattham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, Kingſferry, and falleth into the maine ſea, betwene Shepey and the Grane.

Midway.

Dunus.

Frethus.

Theiſe.

Grane alias Cranus.

Some ſaye that it is called mydway water because it falleth into the ſea mydway, betwéene the north foreland and London: yet ſome not hauing anye ſuch conſideration, doe name it the Medow ſtreame, whereof I thought good alſo to leaue this ſhort admonition.

After the Midway whoſe diſcription I haue partely gathered out of the Leland, and partly out of Maiſter Lamberts perambulatõ of Kẽt, we haue ẏ Stoure that riſeth at Kingeſwode which is fourtéene or fiftéene myles, frõ Canterbury. This riuer paſſeth by Aſheforde, Wie, Nackington, Canterbury, Fordiſh, Standiſh, and Sturemouth, where it receyueth another ryuer, which hath 3. braunches, whereof one called Bredge goeth by Biſhips bourne, the other named Wyham, beginneth about Adham, and the thirde (nameleſſe) rũneth by Staple to Wingham. Afterwarde our Stoure or Sture parteth it ſelfe in twaine, and in ſuch wyſe that one arme thereof goeth towarde the North, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the Northmouth of Stoure, the other runneth Southeaſt warde vp to Rycheborow & ſo to Sandwiche, from whence it goeth Northeaſt agayne & falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this latter tract is called the hauen of Sandwiche and peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth downe thither, after the diuiſiõ of the Stoure, may be the ſame, which Beda calleth Wantſome, but as I cãnot vndo this knot at will, ſo this is certaine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other parteth & cutteth the Tenet from the maine lande of Kent, wherby it is left for an Iſland and ſo repleniſhed with townes, as I haue notified before, in ẏ chapter that ſpeaketh of our Iſlandes.

Sturius

Nailburne water alſo as I heare about Cantwarbiry, but I wote not wherabout.

Wantſome.

There are other little Brookes, which fall into the Stoure of which Lelande ſpeaketh, as Fiſhpoole becke, that aryſeth in Stonehirſtwood and meeteth with it foure myles from Canterbury: an other beginneth at Chiſelet, ⁊ goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leylande ſaieth, the thirde iſſueth out of the grounde at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſome time paſt held his pallace ⁊) runneth to Sãdwich hauen, as the ſayde Author reporteth, ⁊ the fourth called Bridge water that ryſeth by S. Marie Burne church, ⁊ meeteth with Canterbury water at Stourmouth: alſo Wyham that ryſeth aboue Wyham, and falleth into Bredge water at, Dudmyll, or Wenderton: but ſith they are eyther obſcure or nameleſſe ⁊ there to not reſeruing there names till they come at the ſea, I paſſe them ouer as not to be touched here. From hence vnto Douer I finde no ſtreame by reaſon of the Clyffes, that enuironne the ſayde coaſt: howbeit vpon the South ſide of Douer there is a pretie freſh ryuer, whoſe head aryſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure myles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Brittiſhe tongue is a common name for all waters. And thereof alſo it is lykely that the towne and Caſtell of Douer dyd ſometyme take the name. From hence we go towarde the Camber, (omitting paraduenture here and there ſundrye ſmall Creekes, ⁊ Beckes, by the way) whereabouts the Rother, a noble riuer falleth into ẏ ſea. This Rother hath his head in Suſſex not far from Argas hill neere to Waterden foreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and ſo forth by Newendon vnto Matthamferry, where it deuided it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one braunche thereof goeth to Appledour (where it meeteth wᵗ the Bily that ryſeth about Bilſington) the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine percell of grounde called Oxney, which in times paſt was reputed as a percell of Suſſex, but now vpon ſome occaſion or other, it is annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finally with the Becke, which commeth from Beckley, ſo that the plot wherein Rye ſtandeth, is in maner a Bylande or Peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Lelande and moſt men are of the opinion that this ryuer ſhoulde be called the Limene, howbeit in our time it is knowen by none other name, then the Rother or Appledour water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Dour.

Parentheſis

Rother.

Bily.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the Weſt ſide of Rye hauen, and in viewing the iſſues that fal into the ſame, I meete firſt of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one Chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſayde Port. The firſt therefore that falleth into it, deſcendeth from Beckley or thereabouts, as I take it, the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, and ſoone after ioyning withall, they holde on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the Weſterly ſide of Rye. The third ſtreame commeth from the North, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Munfield, ſo it runneth betweene Seſcamb and Waclington neere vnto Bread, taking another rill with all that ryſeth as I heare not very farre from Weſtfield. There is likewyſe a fourth that groweth of two heades, betweene Iclingham and Pet, ⁊ going by Winchelſey it meeteth withall about Rye hauen, ſo that Winchelſey ſtandeth enuironned on three partes with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a myle by Southweſt of Haſtinges or therabouts, is called Æſtus or Aſten, and riſing not farre from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea, as I heare by Eaſt of Hollington. Bulnerhithe is but a creeke as I remember ſerued with no backewater, and ſo I heare of Codding or olde hauen, wherfore I meane not to touche them.

Æſtus.

Bulner hithe.

Into Peuenſey hauen diuers waters doe reſort, ⁊ of theſe that which entereth into the ſame on the Eaſt ſide ryſeth out from two heades, whereof the moſt eaſterly is called Aſhe, the next vnto it the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſheburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſheburne water as I reade. The ſeconde that commeth thereinto ryſeth alſo of two heades, whereof the one is ſo many miles from Boreham, the other not farre from the Parke eaſt of Hellingſtowne, and both of thẽ cõcurring Southweſt of Hirſtmowſen, they direct their courſe toward Peuẽſey (beneath which they meete wyth an other ryſing at Foyngton) and thence go in one chanell for a myle or more, tyll they fall togither into the Peuenſey hauen.

Peuenſ

Aſhe Burne.

The Cuckmer iſſueth out at ſeuerall places, and hereof the more eaſterly braunch cõmeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Biſhoppes wood, and meeting beneath Halling they runne in one bottome by Micham Arlington, Wellington, olde Frithſtan and ſo into the ſea.

Cucom

Vnto the water that cõmeth out at Newhauen ſundry Brookes ⁊ Riuerettes doe reſorte, but the chiefe head ryſeth towarde the Weſt ſomewhat betweene Etchinſorde and Shepley as I here. The firſt water therfore

Iſis niſi lor.

that falleth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide, iſſueth out of the grounde about Wertwood, & running from thence by Langhtō and Ripe, on the Weſt ſide, it falleth into the aforeſayd ryuer beneath Forle and Glyme, or three myles lower then Lewys, if the other buttal lyke you not. The next hervnto hath his head in Argas hill, the thirde deſcendeth frō Aſhedon forreſt, and ioyning with the laſt mentioned, they croſſe the maine ryuer a little beneath Iſefield. The fourth water commeth from Aſhedon forreſt by Horſted Caines (or Muſceſtate Caines) and falleth into the ſame, lykewyſe Eaſt of Linfield. Certes I am deceyued if this ryuer be not called Iſis, after it is paſt Iſefield. The fift ryſeth about Stonelgate, and meeteth alſo wyth the maine ſtreame aboue Linfield, & theſe are knowen to lye vpon the right hande as we rowed vp the ryuer. On the other ſide are onely two, whereof the firſt hath his originall neere vnto Wenefield, and holding on his courſe towarde the Eaſt, it meeteth with his maiſter betweene Newicke and Iſefield, or Ifield as ſome reade it. The laſt of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like ſort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, and the reſt in one chanell by Barcham, Hamſey, Malling, Lewys, Piddingburne, and ſo forth into the maine ſea.

The next ryuer that we came vnto Weſt of Brighthemſton is the Sore, which notwithſtanding I finde to be called Brember water, in the auncient Mappe of Marton Colledge in Oxforde: but in ſuch ſorte (as I take it) as the Rother is called Appledour ſtreame, bycauſe of the ſayd towne that ſtandeth therevpon. But to proceede, it is a pleaſaunt water, and thereto if you conſider the ſcituation of his armes, and braunches from the higher groundes, very much reſembling a fower ſtringed whip. Whet about the head of this riuer is, or which of theſe braunches may ſafely be called Sora, from the riſing, in good ſooth I can not ſay, for after we had paſſed nyne or tenne myles thereon vp into the lande, ſodainly the croſſe waters ſtopped vs, ſo that we were inforced to turne either eaſt or weſt, for directly forth ryght we had no way to go. The firſt arme on the ryght hand as we went, ryſeth out of a Parke by South of Alborne, and going on for a certayne ſpace toward the Northweſt, it turneth ſouthward betweene Shermonbury and Twinham, and ſoone after meeteth with ẏ Bymar, not much South from Shermonbury, whence they run togither almoſt two myles, till they fall into the Sore. That on the Weſtſide deſcendeth from about Billingeſhirſt, & going towarde the eaſt, it croſſeth wͭ the fourth (which ryſeth a little by Weſt of Chacam) eaſt from Pulborow, and ſo they run as one into the Sore, that after this cōfluence haſteth it ſelf ſouthwarde by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and ere long into the Ocean.

The Aron (of which beſide Arundel towne the Caſtell and the valey, wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in Engliſh) is a goodly water and thereto increaſed with no ſmall number of excellent & pleaſaunt brookes. It ſpringeth vp of two heades, whereof one deſcendeth from the North not farre from Gretham, & going by Lis, meeteth with the next ſtreame, as I geſſe about Dourſford houſe. The ſecond riſeth by Weſt from the hilles that lye towarde the ryſing of the ſunne from Eaſtmaine and runneth by Peterſfield. The thirde commeth from Beryton warde and ioyneth with the ſecond betweene Peterſfield and Dourſforde, after which cōfluence they go togither in one chanell ſtill toward the Eaſt, (taking a rill with them that commeth betweene Fernehirſt and S.Lukes Chappell, ſouthweſt of Linchemere & meting with it Eaſt of Loddeſworth as I doe reade, and lykewyſe ſundrye other in one Chanell beneath Sopham) to Waltham, Bury, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington forde, Climping (all on the Weſt ſide,) and ſo into the ſea. Hauing thus deſcribed the weſt ſide of Arun, let vs doe the lyke with the other in ſuch ſorte as we beſt may. The firſt riuer that we come vnto therfore on the Eaſt ſide, and alſo the ſeconde riſe at ſundry places in S. Leonards forreſt, and ioyning a lyttle aboue Horſham, they mete with the thirde, which commeth from Ifield Parke, not verye farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one ryſeth in Witley Parke, the other by weſt, neere vnto Heſelmeere chappell, and meeting by weſt of Dourſfeld, they vnyte themſelues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I ſpake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingeſhirſt. The laſt water commeth from the hilles aboue Linchemeere, and runneth weſt and South, and paſſing betwene Billingſhirſt and Stopham it commeth vnto the channell laſt mencioned, & ſo into the Arun, beneath Stopham, without anye farder increaſe, at the leaſt that I doe here of.

Aruntus.

· Burne hath his iſſue in a Parke, neere Aldingburne (or rather a litle aboue ẏ ſame toward the North, as I haue ſince beene informed,) and running by the bottomes toward the ſouth, it falleth into the ſea betweene north Berſlete and Fleſham.

Burne.

Eryn. Eryn riſeth of ſundry heddes, by eaſt of Erynley and directing his courſe toward the ſunne ryſing, it penniſulateth Seleſey, and falleth into the Ocean betwéene Seleſey towne on the ſouthweſt & Pagham at north weſt.

Delus. Del ſpringeth about Benderton, & thence running betwéene midle Lauaunt and Eaſt Lauaunt, it goeth by weſt of Weſt Hampnet, by eaſt of Chicheſter, or Weſt of Rumbaldeſdowne, and afterwarde by Fiſhburne, where it méeteth with a ril comming North weſt from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) and then running thus in one ſtreame towarde the ſea, it méeteth with another rillet comming by Northe of Boſham and ſo into Auant gulf by Eaſt of Thorney Iſland.

Racunus. The Racon riſeth by eaſt of Racton or Racodunum and cõming by Chidham, it falleth into the ſea, Northeſt of Thorney aforeſayde.

Emill. The Emill commeth firſt betwéene Racton and Stanſted then downe to Emilſworth or Emmeſworth, and ſo vnto the Ocean, ſeparating Suſſex from Hãpſhyre almoſt from the very head.

Hauing in this maner paſſed along the coaſtes of Suſſex. The next water that I remẽber, ryſeth by eaſt of the forreſt of Eſtbyry, from whence it goeth by Southwyc, Weſt Burhunt, Farham, and ſo into the gulfe almoſt full South.

Badunus. forté. Then come we to Bedenham Créeke (ſo called of a village ſtanding thereby,) the mouth whereof lyeth almoſt directly agaynſt Porcheſter Caſtell, which is ſcituate about 3. miles by water from Porteſmouth towne, as Lelande doth report. Then go we within halfe a myle farder to Forten Créeke, which eyther gyueth or taketh name of a village harde by. After this we come to Oſterpoole Lake, a great Créeke, which goeth vp by weſt into the land, and lyeth not far from a rounde tower of ſtone, from whence alſo there goeth a chaine, to another Tower on the eaſt ſide directly ouer againſt it, whereby the entraunce of great veſſels into that part maye be at pleaſure reſtrayned.

Forten.

Oſterpole.

From hence wée goe further to Tichefeld water, that riſeth about Eſtmaine park, ten or twelue myles by northeaſt or there about from Tichfeld. From Eſtmaine it goeth (parting the forreſtes of Waltham, and Eaſtbery by the waye) to Wicham or Wicomb, a prety market towne and large thorowfare, where alſo the water ſeperateth it ſelfe into two armelettes, and goyng vnder two bridges of woode, commeth ere long agayne vnto one Chanell. From hence it goeth thrée or foure myles farder, to a bridge of tymber by Maiſter Writhoſeleyes houſe, (leauing Tichfelde towne on the right ſide) & a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridg whether the ſea floweth as hir natural courſe inforceth. Finally within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, wherunto diuers ſtreames reſort as you ſhal heare hereafter.

Tichefield.

Ham After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelriſh créeke, whoſe fall is betwéene S. Andrewes caſtell, and Hoke. It riſeth about Shidford in waltham forreſt, and when it is paſt Croke bridge, it méeteth with another brooke, which riſeth not farre frõ Biſhoppes Waltham, out of ſundry ſpringes in the high way, to Wincheſter, from whence it paſſeth as I ſayde by Biſhoppes Waltham, then to Budeley or Botley, and ſo ioyning with the Hamble, they runne togither by Prowlingſworth, Upton, Bruſill, Hamble towne, and ſo into the ſea.

South- hampt Now come we to the hauẽ of ſouth Hampton, which I will briefely deſcribe ſo neare as I can poſſibly. The bredth or entry of the mouth herof, as I take it, is by eſtimatiõ two miles from ſhore to ſhore. At the weſt poynt therof alſo is a ſtrong caſtell lately builded which is rightly named Caldſhore, but now Calwſhot, I wote not by what occaſion. On ẏ eaſt ſide thereof alſo, is a place called Hoke (afore mẽtioned) or Hamell hoke, wherin are not aboue thrée or foure fiſhers houſes, not worthy to be remembred. This hauen ſhooteth vp on the weſt ſide by the ſpace of ſeauen miles, vntill it come to Hamptõ towne, ſtanding on the other ſide, where it is by eſtimation a mile from lande to lande. Thence it goeth vp further about thrée myles to Redbridge ſtill ebbing and flowing thither, and one myle farther, ſo farre as my memorye doeth ſerue mée. Nowe it reſteth that I deſcribe the Alreſforde ſtreame, which I will procéede withall in this order following.

Alreſ The Alreſforde beginneth of diuers faire ſprings, about a mile or more fro Alreſford, or Alforde as it is now called, & ſoone after reſorting to one bottome, they becomee a brode lake, which for the moſt part is called Alford pond. Afterwarde returning againe to a narrowe chanell, it goeth thorow a ſtone bridge at the ende of Alforde towne, (leauing the towne it ſelfe on the left hand) toward Hichingſtocke thrée myles of, but ere it commeth there, it receiueth two rylles in one bottome, wherof one commeth frõ the Forreſt in maner at hande, and by northweſt of olde Alreſforde, the other from Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewetton, Aberſtone,

ſtone &c. vntill we méete with the ſayd water beneath Alreſford towne. Being paſt Ichinſtocke, it commeth by Abington to Eaſton village, and ſo to Worthy, where it beginneth to braunch, and eche arme ſpreadeth it ſelfe one to other, that reſorteth to Hide, and the lower ſoyleth by Eaſt of Wincheſter, and there ſeruing ẏ ſtréetes, the cloſe of S. Maries, Wolueſey, and the new Colledge with plentifull ſupply of their water. But in this meane while the great ſtreame commeth from Wharwel by the eaſt ſide, and ſo to S. Elizabeths Colledge, where it doth alſo parte in twayne, enuironing the ſayd houſe in moſt pleaſable maner. After this it goeth towarde S. Croſſes, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand, then to Twyford (a myle lower) where it gathereth agayne into one bottome, and goeth fiue miles farder to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall, on the eaſt ſide, and ſo into the ſalt creeke that leadeth downe to the hauen.

Otter.

On the other ſide of Southampton, there reſorteth into this hauen alſo, both the Teſt and the Stockebridge water in one bottome, whereof I finde this large deſcription inſuing.

The very head of the Stocke water, is ſuppoſed to bée ſomewhere about Baſing ſtoke, or Church Ockley, and going from thence betwene Ouerton & Steuenton, it commeth at laſt by Lauerſtocke and Whitchurch, and ſone after receyuing a brooke, by Northweſt called the Bourne (diſcending from S. Mary Bourne, ſoutheaſt from Hurſtborne) it procedeth by Long paroch and the Woode, till it méets with the Cranburne, on the eaſt ſide (a prety riueret ryſing about Michelmerſh and going by Fullington, Barton, and ſo to Cranburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneth which it méeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increaſed ere it come there by another brooke, whoſe name I doe not knowe. This Andeuer ſtreame, ryſeth in Cubbaſhire foreſt, not far by north from Andeuer towne & going to vpper Clatford, ere it touch there it receyueth the Rill of which I ſpake before, which ryſing alſo néere vnto Anport, goeth to Monketon, to Abbateſham, the Andeuer, and both as I ſaid vnto the Teſt beneth Horwel, whereof I ſpake euen nowe. Theſe ſtreames being thus brought into one botom, it runneth toward the South, vnder Stockbridge, & ſone after diuiding it ſelfe in twayne, one braunch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a litle beneath méeteth wyth a Ryll, that commeth from by Weſt of S. Annes hyll, and goeth by Eaſt of vpper Wallop, Weſt of nether Wallop, by Bucholt Forreſt, Broughton, and called as I haue béene informed ẏ Wallop, but nowe it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth thorow the Parke, by North weſt of Kings Somborne, and vniting themſelues againe, they go forth by Mottesfont, and receiue the Teſt, a prety water ryſing in Clarendon Parke, that goeth by Weſt Deane, and Eaſt Deane, ſo to Motteſhunt, and finally to the aforeſayde water, which from thence forth is called the Teſte, euen vnto the Sea. This I procede. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kings bridge, then to Rumſey, Longbridge, and beneath the ſame receiueth a water courſe of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherfield, the other from the newe Forreſt, and ioyning in Wadely Park, they beate vpon the Teſte, not very farre from Nurſeling. From thence the Teſt goeth vnder a prety bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long ere it fall into the hauen.

Walopius

Teſte.

The next riuer that runneth into this porte, ſpringeth in the new Forreſt, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not paſſing one mile, by weſt of the fall of Teſt. From hence caſting about againe into the maine ſea, and leauing Calds ſhore Caſtle on the ryght hande, wee directed our courſe towarde the Southweſt, but to Beaulieu hauen whereinto the Miney deſcendeth.

Eling.

The Miney ryſeth not farre from Miniſteed a Village in the north part of the newe Forreſt, and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the ſea ſouthweſt, as I take it, of Exbury, a Village ſtanding vpon the ſhore.

Miney.

Beyng paſt the Miney, wee croſſed the Limen, whoſe heade is in the very heart of the newe Forreſt, and running South weſt of Lindhyrſt and the Parke, it goeth by Eaſt of Brokenhirſt, Weſt of Bulder, and finally into the Sea South and by Eaſt of Limington.

Limen.

The next fall that we paſſed by is nameleſſe, except it be called Bure, & as it deſcendeth from the newe Forreſt, ſo the next vnto it hight Mile, as I haue hearde in Engliſhe. Certes the head thereof, is alſo in the ſouthweſt part of the ſaid Forreſt, and the fall not far from Milforde bridge, beyonde the which I finde a narrow going or ſtrickland leading from the poynte to Hirſt Caſtle, which ſtandeth into the Sea, as if it hung by a thred from the mayne of the Ilande, ready to be waſhed away, by the continuall and dayly beating of the waues.

Bure.

Milis.

The next riuer that we came vnto of any name is the Auon, which ryſeth by northeaſt, and not far from Wolfe hall, in Wilſhire. The firſt notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is

Auon.

is at Vphauen, thence foure myles farder, it goeth to little Ambreſbury, and there is another bridge, from thēce to Woodford village ſtanding at the right hand bank, and Newtō village on the left. The Biſhops of Sarum had a proper Manour place at Woodforde, which Biſhoppe Shaxton pulled downe altogither, bicauſe it was ſomewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fiſherto bridge, to Cranebridge old Saliſbury, new Saliſbury, & finally to Harnham, which is a ſtately bridge of ſtone, of ſixe arches at the leaſt. There is at the weſt ende of the ſayde bridge, a little Iland, that lyeth betwixt this and another bridge of foure pretty arches, and vnder this latter runneth a good round ſtreame, which as I take it, is a brāch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, and ſoone after it reuniteth it ſelfe agayne: or elſe that Wilton water hath there his entry into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. Frō Harncham bridge it goeth to Downton, that is about foure miles, and ſo much in like ſort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Chriſtes church Twinham fiue myles, and ſtrayght into the ſea.

Poole.

The next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whoſe mouth vpon the ſhore, by South weſt in a bay of three miles of, is a poore fiſher towne, called Sandwiche, where we ſawe a peere and a little freſh broke. The very vtter part of ſaint Adelmes poynt, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another bay lyeth weſt Lyllewoorth, where as I heare is ſome profitable herborow for ſhips. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it ſtandeth almoſt as an Iſle in the hauen. The hauen it ſelfe alſo if a man ſhoulde meaſure it by the circuite, wanteth little of twenty mile, as I did gueſſe by the viewe.

Way.

Waiemouth, or as ſome doe call it Wylemouth, is coūted twenty miles from Poole, & ÿ head of this riuer riſeth not full foure miles aboue the hauen, by northweſt at Vpſill in the ſide of a great hill. There is a little barre of ſande at the hauen mouth, & a great arme of ÿ ſea runneth vp by the right hand, and ſcant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the ſhore, is a right goodly and warlike caſtle made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme rūneth vp alſo farder by a myle as in a baye, to a point of land wher a paſſage is into Portlād, by a little courſe of pibble ſande. It goeth vp alſo from the ſayd paſſage vnto Abbateſbury about ſeuen miles of, where a little freſhe rōdell reſorteth to the ſea. And ſomwhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Cheſill lying northweſt, which ſtretcheth vp from thēce about ſeuē miles, as a maine narrow bank, by a right line vnto the ſoutheſt, and there abutteth vpō Portlande ſcant a quarter of a mile aboue ÿ Newcaſtle there. The nature of this banke is ſuch, that ſo oft as the winde bloweth vehemently at ſoutheaſt, ſo often the ſea beateth in and loſing the banke ſweepeth thorowe it: ſo that if this winde ſhoulde blowe from that corner any long tyme togyther, Portlande ſhoulde be left an Ilande as it hath bene before. But as the ſoutheaſt winde doth appaire this banke, ſo a northweſt doth barre it vp agayne. It is pretty to note of the Moonet of Waimouth which lieth directly againſt Milton on the other ſide, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of ſmall bredth, that a rope is commonly tied frō one ſide of the ſhore to an other, whereby the ferry men doe guide their botes without any helpe of Ores. But to proceede wyth our purpoſe. Into the mouth of this riuer doe ſhips often come for ſuccour, & being paſt the ſame, we meete with ÿ fal of a water neere to S. Catherins chappel as we ſailed by ÿ Shingle, which came downe frō Litton by Chilcomb, and thence we went to Brutepoꝛt water that ariſeth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemiſter, from whence it goeth to Parnham, Netherbury, Melplaſh, & ſo to Brutepoꝛt, & afterwarde into ÿ ſea, taking in ſundry waters wt al by the way, wherof in my next treatiſe God willing I meane as of diuers other to make a particuler rehearſall. Leuing the Brudeport, we paſſed by Saint Gabriell, & beholding Charemouth Beacon a far of, we directed our courſe toward ÿ ſame, but ere we came there, we behelde the fall of

Char

Chare, which is a pretye water. It ryſeth about three miles aboue Charemouth by north in a parke of the kinges called Marſhewod.

Bu

Next vnto this is the Buddle, which cōmeth about three miles by north of Lyme from the hilles, fleeting vpon rocky ſoyle, and ſo falleth into the ſea.

Axe.

Beyond this is the Axe whoſe iſſue at thys preſent is harde vnder the rootes of Winter cliffes, and the poyntes thereof beyng almoſt a myle in ſunder, the moſt weſterlye of them called Berewood, lyeth within halfe a mile of Seton, but the other towarde the eaſt, is called Whitecliffe, wherof I haue ſpoken already. This riuer riſeth a mile northeſt frō Bemiſter a market Towne, in Dorſet ſhyre, at a place called Axe knoll, (longing to Sir Giles Strangwayes) in a moore hanging on the ſide of an hill. And from thence it runneth to the ruines of an old Abbay called Fordes, about foure or fiue miles from thence, (where it ſeemeth to be a particion betweene Sommerſethyre and Deuon) then vnto Axe Minſter in Deuonſhyre, and ſo thorowe the Towne it ſelfe, wherein a great ſlaughter was made of Danes in Athelſtanes tyme, at Bruneſdon fielde or rather Brunnedon as I read, and whereof I finde thys annotation, in an olde French Chronicle.

,, In the time of Athelſtane, ẏ greateſt Nauie
,, that euer aduentured into thys Iſlande, arri-
,, ued at Seton in Deuonſhyre, beyng repleni-
,, ſhed with Aliens that ſought the conqueſt
,, of this Iſland, but Athelſtane mette & encoū-
,, tred with them in the fielde, where he ouer-
,, threwe 6000. of his aforeſayde enimyes.
,, Not one of them alſo that remayned alyue,
,, eſcaped from the battell wythout ſome dead-
,, lye or very grieuous wound. In this conflicte
,, moreouer were ſlaine fiue kings, which were
,, enterred in the Church yard of Are minſter,
,, and of the part of the king of Englande were
,, kylled eyght Earles of the chiefe of hys no-
,, bilitye, and they alſo buryed in the Church-
,, yarde aforeſayde. Herevnto it addeth howe
,, the Byſhop of Shyreburne was in like ſort
,, ſlaine in thys battell, that began at Brune-
,, dune neére to Colyton, and indured euen to
,, Are minſter, which then was called Brun-
,, bery or Brunburg. The ſame day that this
,, thyng happened the ſunne loſt hys light, and
,, ſo continued without any bryghtneſſe, vntyll
,, the ſetting of that Planet, though otherwyſe
,, the ſeaſon was cléere and nothing clowdye.

But to procéede after our riuer hath paſſed thorow Areminſter towne, it goeth to ẏ bridg thereby (where ſone after it receiueth the the Artey, ſometyme a raging water) and finally to Are mouth Towne, frõ whence after it hath as it were played it ſelfe, in the pleaſant botomes, by the ſpace of a quarter of a myle, it goeth vnder White cliffe and ſo into the ſea, where it is called Arebaye, and thus is that ryuer deſcribed.

As for the hauen which in times paſt as I haue hearde, hath béene at Sidmouth (ſo called of Sidde a ryllet that runeth therto) and likewyſe at Seton. I paſſe it ouer, ſith nowe there is none at al. Yet hath there bene ſometyme a notable one, albeit that at this preſent betwene the two poyntes of the olde hauen, there lyeth a mightie barre of pibble ſtones, in the verye mouth of it, and the ryuer Are is driuẽ to the very eaſt point of ẏ hauẽ called White clyffe. Therat alſo a very little gull goeth into the ſea, whether ſmall fiſherbotes doe oft reſort for ſuccour. The men of Seton beganne of late to ſtake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue chaunged the courſe of the Are, and (almoſt in the myddle of the old hauen) to haue trenched thorow the Cheſill, therby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine ſea, but I here of none effect that this attempt dyd come vnto.

Coly.

From Seton weſtwarde lyeth Colyton, about two myles by weſt Northweſt, whereof ryſeth the ryuer Coly, which goyng by the aforeſaide towne, paſſeth by Colecomb parke, and afterwarde falleth betwéene Are brydge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

Otterey.

Leauing the Coly we come ſone after to Ottery hauen, whoſe heade riſeth at Ottery fiue myles aboue Mohuns Ottery or Ottery Flemming flat North. From hence it goeth to Upoter, Mohuns Ottery, Hunitõ, Veniton bridge, S. Mary Otterey, Newton bridge Ottermouth and ſo into the ſea. On the weſt ſide of this hauen is Budeley almoſt directly againſt Otterton. It is eaſie to be ſéene alſo, that within leſſe then. 100. yeares, ſhips did vſe this hauẽ, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeley hauen of Budeley towne, other Salterne port, of a little creke comming out of the mayne hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time paſt béene a towne of greater eſtimation.

Ex.

From Otterey mouth we ſailed vp to Exmouth ſo called of the riuer Exe, which moũteth in Exmore, at a place called Execroſſe thrée myles by Northeaſt, and from thence goeth by Exford where it is a rill or ſmall water: then to Tiuerton twelue miles from the head, thence to Therberton Cowley, and next of al to Exceſter receauing in the meane time the Simõs bath water, which riſeth by Northweſt of Simons bath bridge (fower myles from Exford:) and is in Sommer time ſo ſhalowe that a man maye eaſily paſſe ouer it, but in winter it rageth oft, and is very déepe and daungerous. As touching the hauen alſo I remember well that there lieth vpon the very Weſt point of the ſame a barren ſande and in the Weſt Northweſt goeth a little creke a mile or thereabout into the land which ſome call Kentõ creke. I haue herd that the Burgeſes of Exceſter indeuoured to make the hauen to come vp to Exceſter it ſelfe, but whether they brought it to paſſe or no as yet I doe not know, this is certaine that in times paſt the ſhippes came vp no nearer then Apſham, which is a prety townelet on the ſhore fower myles vpper into the hauen.

Simmings Bath.

Kenton.

Teigne.

Beyonde Exceſter hauen mouth 4. myles or there about I came to the Teigne mouth which ebbeth and floweth ſo farre as Newton. The head of this riuer is 20. myles from the ſea, and it riſeth in Dartmore at a place by northweſt called Teigne head. Frõ hence alſo it goeth to Iagford bridge, Clifford bridg Bridford bridge, Chidley bridge, Teigne bridge, Newton buſhelles, beneath which it

Leman.

Aller.

receaueth the Leman water, and alſo Aller brooke, which riſeth thrée miles of, as Leland hath ſet down, who writeth moreouer of this hauen in ſort as followeth. The very vtter weſt point of the land, at ẏ mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a very high redde cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the poles, a lowe ſandie grounde eyther caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of ẏ Teigne, or elſe throwen vp from the ſhore by the rage of winde and water. This ſande occupyeth now a great quantitie of the ground betwene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teigne mouth towne, which towne ſurnamed Regis, hath in time paſt béene ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the Frenche.

Tor.

Were.

Water hed

Neſſe creke.

Gaunſton

From Teigne mouth we came to Tor bay, wherof the weſt point is called Byry, and the eaſt Perritory, betwene which is litle aboue foure miles. From Torre baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſixe myles where (ſayth Leland) I marked diuers thinges. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hilly point, called Downeſend & betwixt Downeſende, and a pointlet named Wereford, is a litle baye. Were it ſelfe in like ſorte is not full a myle from Downeſend vpwarde into the hauen. Kingeſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond bay. Somwhat moreouer aboue Kingeſwere towne goeth a litle Creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called water head, & this is a very fitte place for veſſells to be made in. In like ſort half a mile beyond this into ẏ land ward, goeth another longer créeke, & aboue that alſo a greater thẽ either of theſe called Gawnſtõ, whoſe hed is here not half a mile frõ ẏ maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof as it runneth in Tor bay.

Dart or Darmour.

Humberton.

The riuer of Dart, commeth out of Dartmore fiftene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a very large plot, and ſuch another wild moriſh and forreſtye grounde as Exmore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is very ſwift, & thorow occaſion of Tinworkes whereby it paſſeth, it carieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning frõ Plimmouth. In the valley alſo betwéene Corneworthy & Aſhepremptõ, runneth a brooke called Humberton or Herburne. This water commeth out of a Welſpring, & ſo running about two myles, it paſſeth thorow a ſtone bridge called Roſt, two myles from Totneſſe. Frõ thence moreouer, after it hath gone other two miles it commeth to Bow bridge, and there falleth into a ſaltwater créeke, which gathereth into the lande out of the hauen of Dartmouth. This créeke at the head breaketh for a little way into two armes, whereof the one goeth vp to Bow bridge, and receyueth Humberton water (as I ſaide) ẏ other toward Corneworthy frõ whence vnto Dartmouth, is about foure myles. Finally about halfe a mile aboue Dartmouth towne, there is another Créeke going out of the maine ſtreame called Olde mill créeke, ſo farre as I can learne by the rumor of the countrey.

About ſeuen myles by weſt ſouthweſt frõ Dartmouth lyeth Saltcomb hauen, ſomewhat barred: & not much aboue the heade of it is Arme hauen, the backewater whereof commeth vnder Puy & Armington bridges, and ſo vnto the ſea at this place, which is full of flattes and rockes, ſo that no ſhippe commeth thither in any tempeſt, except it be forced thereto, thorowe the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperate hazarde of the fearefull mariners. King Phillip of Caſtile loſt two ſhippes here in the dayes of king Henry the ſeuenth, when he was dryuen to lande in the Weſt coũtrey by rage of weather. Vnto Armouth alſo commeth the Awne water, after it hath paſſed by Eaſt Brenton and Gare bridges, and not farre from the fall of this, lyeth the Pawlme mouth ſo called of a ryuer whych cõmeth thither frõ Le bridg to Palme bridg, & falleth into the ſea, about 4. miles by ſouth eaſt, frõ the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth.

Being come to the Plimmoth, I finde that the mouth of the goulfe wherin the ſhips of this towne doe ride, is walled on eche ſide and chained ouer in ẏ time of neceſſitie. On ẏ ſouth ſide of the hauẽ alſo is a blockhouſe vpõ a rocky hill, & vpõ the eaſt ſide of this & Thamar hauen, lyeth the Mill baye creke, ẏ ſtone creke, Caine Créeke, Shilſtõ créeke (which is two myles of length and wheron ſtandeth a Mill) Buddocks créeke, and laſt of al, Tamertaue créeke, ſo called bycauſe of the concourſe of the Taue & Tamar waters there. Torrey brooke falleth lykewyſe into Plym, but wherabouts as now, I haue forgotten. Finally vpon the weſt ſide of the hauen, is a notable créeke alſo entering into the lande a myle or more from the hauen, which being viewed, I went and behelde Thamar hauen on the weſt ſide wherof, I noted theſe crekes.

Firſt of all about two myles aboue Aſhe I ſawe the principall arme of Thamar it ſelfe. Certes it riſeth about thrée myles by Northeaſt from Hartland, & goeth vp into the land about tenne myles from that place: thence it haſteth to Calſtock bridge, whether it almoſt continually ebbeth and floweth, verye great veſſels cõming likewyſe within a mile therof vnto Morleham, which is not aboue three myles from Tauiſtocke as I reade. Betwixt Thamar ſtreame, and Aſhe: I marked farder more ſayeth Lelande other three creekes alſo deſcending, which brake vp into the lande, whereof the firſt lyeth by Northweſt, the ſeconde weſt northweſt, the thirde plaine weſt, entering into the country aboue half a mile, and ſcarſely a myle lower, I peruſed in like maner the Liuer creeke, that goeth vp to S. Germains ward. This creeke lyeth 3. myles from the maine ſtreame of Thamar hauen, and riſing in an hill aboue Launſton, it goeth thorow the towne within the walles. In the botome alſo of the Suburbe, is an other named Aterey, which ryſeth aleuen myles of by weſt towarde Bodmin, wherinto runneth a Rill comming thorow a wood before it maketh a confluens with the firſt, in deſcending towarde the hauen. Then breaketh in an other creeke called S. Iohns, or S. Anthonies Rode, and at the very mouth about S. Nicholas Iſle falleth in the laſt, which goeth vp to Milbrooke, two myles into the lande from the maine hauen. From hence we ſayled farder towarde the weſt (leauing ſalt Aſhe and Seton rillets) and came to the mouth of a riuer called Low, wherein Samons are often founde, & yet is it drie commonly at halfe ebbe. On eche ſyde of the entrye thereof ſtandeth alſo a towne, whereof the one is called eaſt Low the other weſt Low, and this is a pretie market towne. A bridge finally of twelue arches doth leade from the one to the other.

The next fall after we be paſt one little nameleſſe creeke, that lyeth by the waye, is Poulpyr water, whereinto commeth a little brooke. Then meete we with Fawey hauen, whoſe riuer ryſeth at Fawy More (about two myles from Camilforde by South, and ſixetene miles from Fawy towne) in a very quaue mire on the ſide of an Hill. Frõ hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobhã bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Reſprin bridge, and Loſtwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little brooke, and neere thereunto parteth it ſelfe in twaine. Of theſe two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of ſtone, the other to another of timber, & ſoone after ioyning againe, the maine riuer goeth to Saint Gwinnowes, from thẽce alſo the point of S. Gwinnowes wood, which is about half a mile from thence, except my memorie doe fayle me. Here goeth in a Salt creeke halfe a mile on the eaſt ſide of the hauen, and at the heade of it, is a bridge called Lerine bridge. The creeke it ſelf in like maner bearing the ſame denomination. From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill, or creeke, is about halfe a mile and lower on the eaſt ſide of the ſayd hauen it goeth vp alſo not aboue a mile & an half into the lande. From Caracs creeke to Poulmorland a myle, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the heade it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmoreland to Bodnecke village halfe a mile where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonly to Fawey. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a creeke goeth vp not fully 1000. paces into the lande) a mile, thence to Poulruan, a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching again yͤ tower on Fawey ſide, betwene which, as I doe here, a chaine hath ſome times bene ſtretched, & likely inough for the hauẽ there is hardly two bowſhotte ouer. The very point of lande at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this Hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but nowe Panuche croſſe. It ſhal not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreate of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Corniſh Cõwhath and being ſcituate on the Northſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rocky hill being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memory deceyue me.

In yͤ myddle of this creke was a cell of S. Cyret in an Iſlet longing ſometime to Mountegew a priory.

Cõwhath.

The renowne of Fawy roſe by yͤ wars vnder King Edward yͤ firſt, Edward the third, & Henry the fifth, partly by feates of armes & partly by plaine pyracy. Finally yͤ townſmẽ feeling themſelues ſomewhat at eaſe & ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to marchandize, and ſo they proſpered in this their newe deuiſe, that as they trauelled into al places, ſo marchauntes from all countries made reſort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding riche. The ſhippes of Fawy ſailing on a time by Rhy and Winchelſey in yͤ time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutly to vale any bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to do by the Portgreues or rules of thoſe townes. Herevpon the Rie and Winchelſie men, made out vppon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardly were they intertained by the Fawy Pyrates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderaunce. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediately vpon this bickering, that in token of their victory ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding Ripiers, as they called them in mockery, they altered their armes and compounded for newe, wherein the ſcutchion of Rie and Winchelſey is quartered, with theirs & beſide this yͤ Foiens were called the gallantes of Fawy, whereof they not a litle reioyced, and more peraduenture then for ſome greater booty. And thus much of

Gallantes of Fey or Fawy.

Fawy towne wherin we ſée what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witteleſſe and raſhe aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſhe vp this our voyage, we wil leaue the Falwmouth and go forward on our iourney. Being therefore paſte this hauen, we come to Pennarth which is 2. myles by weſt therof, and ſcituate on the eaſt ſide of Trewardith Baie, called by Leland Arctoum or Vrctou͂ Promontoriu͂ except his writings do deceiue me. Frõ hence we came to the blacke head, then to Pentoren a myle farder, and here iſſueth out a pretye ryuer that commeth by Saint Auſtelles, about two myles and an halfe from thence, which runneth vnder Auſtell bridge & vnder the Weſt ſide of the hill whereon the poore towne of S. Auſtelles ſtãdeth. Thence we ſailed to Chappell land, then to Dudman, to Pennare, and Sainct Antonies point, which is thrée myles from Pennar point, where we make our entrance into the Falamouth hauen, whoſe deſcription I borowe of Leland and worde for worde will here inſert the ſame.

Auſtell brooke.

Fala.

The very point (ſaith he) of the hauẽ mouth (being an hill whereon the Kyng hath buylded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a myle in compaſſe, almoſt enuironned with the ſea, and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall maſtry to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauẽ a myle and an halfe, and betwixt this and M. Killigrewes houſe, one great arme of the hauen rũneth vp to Penrine towne, which is 3. miles from the very entry of Falemouth hauen, and two good myles from Penfuſis. Moreouer there is Leuine Priſclo betwixte S. Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſande, but to procéede. The firſt creke or arme that caſteth on the Northweſt ſide of Falemouth hauen goeth vp to Perin, and at thende it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſenith i. viridis indꝰ, yͤ grene neſt, or wagmeer at Penrin: the other to ſaint Gluuias the pariſhe Church of Penrine. In like ſorte out of eche ſide of Penrine creke, breaketh an arme or euer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtande alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue béene ſet in the creke at Penrine a litle lower then the wharfe where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth betwixte the point of Trefuſis and the point of Keſtronget is Milor creke, which goeth vp a myle into the land and by the churche is a good rode for ſhippes. The nexte creke beyonde the point of Keſtronget wood is called Keſtronget which goyng two myles vp into the maine breaketh into two armes. In lyke order betwixte Keſtronget and the creke of Trury be two crekes one called S. Feokes, the other Sainct Caie, nexte vnto which is Trury creke that goeth vp about two myles crekyng from the principall ſtreame, & breaketh within half a myle of Trury, caſting in a braunche Weſtward euen harde by Newham wood. This creke of Trury is deuided into two partes before the towne of Trury, and eche of them hauing a brooke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trury ſtandeth betwixte them both. In like ſorte Kenwen ſtreate is ſeuered frõ the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtréete by eaſt with the other. Out of the body alſo of Trury creke breaketh another eaſtwarde a myle from Trury, and goeth vp a myle and an halfe to Treſilian bridge of ſtone. At the very entry and mouth of this creke is a rode of ſhippes called Maples rode and here faught not long ſince. 18. ſhippes of Spaniſhe marchauntes with 4. ſhippes of warre of Depe, but the Spanierdes draue the Frenchemen all into this harborowe. A myle and an halfe aboue the mouth of Trury creke, is another named Lhan Moran of S. Morans church at hãd. This creke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two myles aboue Moran creke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a myle higher is the towne of Tregowy where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala ryuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a myle or more weſt of Roche hyll & goeth by Graund pount where I ſawe a bridge of ſtone.

Leuine.

Milor.

This Graund pount is four miles frõ Roche hill and two litle myles from Tregowy, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. Frõ Tregowy to paſſe downe by the body of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanyhorne pill or creke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a myle, and as I remember it goeth vp halfe a myle from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanyhorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſande about a myle way of 40. acres or thereabout (as a Peninſula) called Ardeue rauter. As for the water or creke that rũneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a myle vp into the land, and the creke that hemmeth in this Peninſula, of both doth ſéeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the Weſt creke of this Peninſula, to S. Iuſtes creke is foure miles or more. In like maner from S. Iuſtes pill or creke (for both ſignifie one thing) to Sainct Mawes creke is a myle and a halfe, and the point betwéen them both is called Pendinas.

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The creke of Saint Mawes goeth vp a two myles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſides that it ebbeth and floweth ſo far, there is a mylle driuen with a freſhe creke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downewarde to the hauen, is a creke in manner of a poole, whereon is a myll alſo that grindeth with the tyde. And a myle beneath that on the ſouth ſide entreth a creke (about halfe a myle into the countrey) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandye banke, and another myle yet lower, is a another litle crekelet: but howe ſoeuer theſe crekes doe runne, certaine it is that ẏ bankes of them that belong to Fala are maruelouſly well wodded, and hitherto Leland, whoſe wordes I dare not alter for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen, therfore (as it were a quarter of a myle beyonde Arwennach Maſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a litle hauen which ranne vp betwéene two hilles, but it was barred, wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with any backe freſhe water or not. From hence we went by Polwitherall creke (parted into two armes) then to ẏ Polpenrith whereunto a reueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thẽce, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of ẏ hauen at the laſt, whether the creke reſorteth about thrée myles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Care and Mogun bridges, doe fall in one botome as Lelande hath reported. Unto this hauen alſo repayreth the Penkeſſell, the Callous ẏ Chellow, & the Gilling, although this latter lyeth againſt Saint Mawnons on the hether ſide hard without the hauen mouth if I haue done aright. For ſo motheatẽ, mouldye, and rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, and beſide that, his annotatiõs are ſuch and ſo confounded as no man can in maner picke out any ſence from them by a leafe together, wherfore I thinke that he diſperſed & made his notes intricate of ſet purpoſe, or elſe he was loth that any man ſhould eaſily come by that knowledge by readyng, which he with his great charge and no leſſe traueile attained vnto by experience.

Lopole is two myles in length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of ſand that ones in thrée or foure yeares, what by weight of the freſhe water and working of the Sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noyſe, but ſoone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the ſuperfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of Trout and Ele) draineth out thorow the ſandy barre into the open Sea. Certes if this barre coulde alwayes be kept open, it would make a goodly hauen, vp vnto Hayleſton towne, where coynage of tinne is alſo vſed, as at Truro and Loſtwithiell, for the Quéenes aduauntage. From this place I doe not remember that I founde any more falles or hauens, tyll we paſſed rounde about the cape, and came vnto the Haile, which is a pretye riuer, riſing from foure principall heds or brokes, wherof one ſpringeth by ſouth another by ſouthweſt, the thirde by ſoutheaſt, and the fourth by Northeaſt. Alſo we ſaw S. Perins créeke, Crantocke and Rialton, of Heyles Leland ſpeaketh ſomewhat in his collections out of the life of S. Breaca, where he noteth that it is ſpoyled by ſand comming from the Tinne workes. The next great fall of water & greateſt of all that is to be founde on the North ſide of Cornwall, is at Paddeſtow, whether ẏ Alaune reſorteth. Of ſome it is nowe called Dunmere, but in olde time it hight commonly Alaunus. Into this ſtreame runne diuers other as the Carneſey (by eaſt) thrée myles lower then Woodbridge: ẏ Laine (which riſeth two myles aboue S. Eſſe by northeaſt, and falleth into Alaune likewiſe about Woodbridge) the Bodmin water, beſide another that commeth from ſouthweſt, and goeth in Alane two myles beneath this confluence on the ſame ſide aboue Woodbridge: and finallye the laſt which deſcendeth out of the hilles from ſoutheaſt, and ioyneth with the ſaid riuer two myles aboue Padſtow, as I doe finde by reading. In one place Leland ſaith how he cannot well tell whereabout this riuer doth iſſue out of the grounde, but in an other he ſayth thus of it. The Alane is euidently ſéene to paſſe thorow Wod or Wadbridge at lowe water, and the firſt bridge of name that it rũneth vnder is called Helham, the next, Dunmere bridge, & the third Wadbridge, which is foure myles lower, and the loweſt in déede, that is to be founde on this ſtreame. From Padſtow alſo they ſaile full weſt vnto Waterford in Ireland. There are likewiſe two Rockes which lye in the eaſt ſide of the hauen, ſecretely hidden at full Sea, as two pads in the ſtraw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Leland ſuppoſeth this ryuer to be the ſame Camblan, where Arthur fought his laſt and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that doe eare the grounde there, doe oft plowe vp bones of a large ſize, and great ſtore of armour, or els it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romanes had ſome field (or Caſtra) thereabout, for not long ſince and in the remembraunce of man, a braſſe pot ful of Romane coyne was found there, as I haue

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Looke th' historie o
England fol. 134

Depe-hatch.
Cunilus.

oftē herde. Next vnto this is the Deepe hatch & thē the Cunilus alias Portiſſec & Portguin waters, and vpon the Northſide of this creke ſtandeth Tintagell or Dundagiell caſtell, almoſt enuironned in manner of an Iſland. After this and being paſt Tredwy, we come vnto the Taw mouth, whoſe heade riſeth in Exmore ſoutheaſt from Barſtable, which is a towne fiue myles diſtaunt from the hauens mouth.

Taw.
Turrege.

It receueth alſo yͤ water of Turrege, which riſeth 3. miles by northeaſt frō Harteland in a moore euen hard by yͤ principall hed of Thamar. This Thurege commeth firſt to Kiſſington bridge, thence to Pulford bridge, Wadforde bridge, Deepeforde bridge, the South and weſt bridges of Thorington, to Budford bridge, (which hath 24. arches, and an olde chappel builded thereon vnto the virgin Mary, at the farder end) then two miles lower it falleth into the Thaue, and finallye into the Sauerne ſea, by the hauen mouth.

The entrie of the hauen of Thaw is barred wyth ſande and very daungerous, and from the pointe of the hauen mouthe to cutte ouer to Hartey point, is about ſixe or ſeuen miles, a pretie brooke alſo falleth into the ſaid hauen, from the hilles aboue Barſtable, by Eaſt, & going by the Priory.

Mineus.
Durus.

But to proceede from hence we goe to the Minheued or Mine mouth, whoſe backwater entreth into it, after it be come from Minheued and Portloch. Then came we to Dour or Dournſteir fall, whether commeth a rill, next of all to Clyffe Chappell, where the people honoured an Image of our Ladye with much ſuperſtition, thence two myles to Orcharde, to Comb three myles, and next of all vnto the Iuel, a famous ryuer, which deſcendeth by Bradfielde then by Clyfton (within a quarter of a myle whereof the Shireburn & the Milbrooke waters doe meete, of which the firſt ryſeth in Blackmore, the other three myle from thence in Milbrooke parke) from Clyfton to Euill a proper market towne in Somerſetſhyre, thre myles or thereabout from Shireburn: from Euell to Ilcheſter by the bridge three myles (taking withall the Cokar, that ryſeth weſt of Cokar, and after three myles gate falleth into the Iuell) frō Ilcheſter to Michelborowe, leauing Athelney ſomewhat diſtaunt on the left ſide, then to Lamburne, to Bridge north, Bridge water, and after a time into the Sauerne mouth. Certes it is thought to ryſe in Milbery parke, or ſomewhere elſe not farre from Shireburne, but the chiefe heade thereof commeth from Coſkomb.

Iuel.
Shirburn
Milbrooke.
Cokar.
Are.

When we are paſt this we come vnto the Are, which runneth by Are towne, and ſo continueth his courſe braunching in thende, and leauing a fayre Iſlande as it were in the very fal, partly enuironned wͭ the maine ſea, & partly wyth this riuer. There is moreouer a towne eaſt of this Iſland called in old time Cherin, but now Uphil. Next vnto this is the Stowey mouth ſerued with a backewater, called Stowey, which ryſeth in the hylles not farre of, and after it hath touched at Stow, it falleth into the ſea, which is ſeuē miles frō that place. There are two brookes furthermore that fal into the ſea, after they haue paſſed betweene Stow and S. Andrewes, & the thirde runneth not farre from Willington, ryſing by South, but ſithence they are onely tryfling rilles and nameleſſe, I thinke it not good to ſtande any longer about them. Thus are we come at laſt vnto the Auon, which not farre from his originall, doth enuironne and almoſt make an Iſland of the towne of Malmeſbyry, from thence it goeth vnder Maleforde and Caſway bridges, to Choppenham, Bradford, Bath, Briſtow (flowing two miles aboue that citie) and ſoone after into the Sauerne, from whence it neuer returneth without mixture of Salt water. In this ſort haue I finiſhed one part of my Deſcription of the ryuers & ſtreames falling into the ſea, which ſhould haue beene a far more perfite, and exact peece of worke, if I had beene ſo vprightlye dealt withall in mine informations as I ment to deale preciſely in ſetting downe the ſame, but ſith the matter is ſo fallen out, that I cannot doe as I woulde herein, I muſt be contented to performe what I maye, hoping in time to peruſe and poliſhe it againe that nowe is left rude and without any diligence ſhewed, or order vſed at all therein.

Of the Sauerne ſtreame and ſuch falles of ryuers as go into the ſea, betweene it and the Humber. Cap. 10.

THE Sauerne deuideth Englande or that part of the Iſland, which ſometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, ſo called of Camber, the ſecond ſonne of Brute, as our hyſtories doe report. But nowe it height Wales of the Germaine worde Walſhe, wherby that nation doth vſe to call all ſtrangers without reſpect of countrie. It tooke the name of a certaine Lady, called Habren, baſe daughter of Locrinus begotten vpon Eſtrildes daughter to Humber king of Scythia, that ſometime inuaded this Iſlande and was ouerthrowne here, in the dayes of this Locrinus as ſhall be ſhewed at hande. For after the death of Locrinus, it came to paſſe that Guendolena his wyfe ruled the kingdome in the noneage of hir ſonne, and then getting the ſaide Eſtruldis and Habren hir daughter into hir handes, ſhe drowned the both in this ryuer. And in perpetual remembraunce of hir huſbandes diſloyaltie towardes hir, ſhe cauſed the ſtreame to be called Habren of the young Ladye, for which the Romaines in proceſſe of tyme for readineſſe, & mildeneſſe of pronunciation wrate Sabrina, and we at this time doe pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the ſayde Abren alſo I finde theſe verſes inſuing:

In fluuium precipitatur Abren;
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne, it ſpringeth from the high mountaines of ſouth Wales, called in Welche Plim Limmon in latine Plinmonis, in Engliſhe the Blacke mountaines, & out of the ſame head with the Wye, where it hath in Latitude as ſome geſſe 52. degrees and 10. minutes, and in longitude 15. and 50. From hence it runneth to Caer Lews (famous in name, but in deede a poore throwfaire from Mahencliffe) then to Landilas, to Newton (or Trenewith) to Arthiſtle, to Leueden, then within a myle of Mountegomery to the Welche poole, thence wythin half a mile of Pontibery Colledge to Shrowſbury, and ſo to bridge North, receyuing ſundry brokes and waters by the way, of which the Cerlon or Serlo ſeemeth to be the greateſt, and whereby the chanell thereof is not a little increaſed. From Bridgenorth it enclineth toward ẏ ſouth vnto Worceſter, whereabout it receyueth other ſtreames, as the Teme on the Weſt halfe a myle beneath Worceſter, not farre from Powike Milles. And another in the Eaſt, comming frō Stafforde, and ſo holding one towarde Gloceſter, meeteth with the Auon not farre from Theokeſbury, and from whence they come both as one to Gloceſter, as mine informacion doth ſerue me. Here gathering agayne ſomewhat toward the weſt, it paſſeth by weſt of Deane, where it meteth with the Wy, which is none of the leaſt famous of all thoſe that mixe thē ſelues wyth Sauerne. Being alſo greatlye enlarged with the Wylow or Wiſinghe (another great ſtreate ſtreame increaſed by the Geuenni, and another) it goeth vnto the Holmes, where after it hath mette in the meane ſeaſon with ſundry other brokes, it falleth into the maine ſea, betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and ſhalbe called the Sauerne ſea, ſo long as Sauerne ryuer doth hold and keepe hir name. But as the ſaid ſtreame in length of courſe bounty of water and depth of chanell commeth farre behinde the Thames, ſo for other commodities as trade of marchandiſe, plentie of drinke, and ſtore of all kinde of fiſh, as Salmon, Troute, Breames, Pikerell, Tenche, Perche, &c. it is nothing at al inferiour or behinde to the Thames. Finally there is nothing to be miſliked in this ryuer but the [illegible] in many places to the weather, whereby many perils oft ouertake ſuche as [illegible] in ſmall veſſels on the ſame.

The Sauerne being thus deſcribed, I hope ſufficiently [illegible] information will ſtretch of the ſame, it reſteth that I go forwardes with the names of thoſe that lye vpon the coaſt of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferry, lying betweene Auſt in Gloceſterſhyre, to a village on the farder banke of Sauerne, not farre frō Tenedarcis Chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wy, which ferry is about thre myles ouer (ſayth Leland) or elſe my memorie doth faile me.

Wy mouth

This ryuer Guy or Wy beginneth as I ſayde before on the ſide of the hilles, where the Sauerne doth ariſe, and paſſing thorowe Wenceland, doth fall into the Sauerne beneath Chepſto at the aforeſayde place.

Guy alias wy.

Lelande writing of this ryuer ſayeth thus, the Wy goeth thorowe all Herefordſhyre by Bradwarden Caſtell (belonging to Syr Richarde Vehan) & ſo to Herefordе eaſt, thence eyght myles to Roſſe a market towne in Herefordſhyre, and in this ryuer be Umbers otherwyſe called graylinges.

Umber a fiſhe onely in the wy.

Next vnto this is the Aberwiſh, or Wyſke whereon Carleon ſtandeth ſometime, called Cheſter. This riuer ryſeth in the blacke mountaines, tenne myles aboue Brechnock towarde Cairmardine, and runneth thorow the great and litle forreſt of Brechnoch, then it goeth by Redwin bridge, to Breckenock, Penkithly, Creghoell, Abergeuenni, Uſke, Carleon, Newporte, and ſo vnto the ſea, taking withall the Ebowith. This Ebowith is a riuelet ryſing flat North, in a mountaine of high Wenſlande, and going ſtreight from thence into Diffrin Serowy vale, it falleth into the Uſke or Wiſke, a myle and a halfe beneath Newporte, from whence likewyſe it is vnto the hauen mouth of Wiſke about half a mile more. But to procede without Wiſke. Certes this riuer is famous and vpon ſome partes of the lower bankes eſpecially about Carleon is much Romaine Coyne found, of all maner of ſortes, as men eare and digge the grounde. Furthermore this ſtreame is one of the greateſt in Southwales and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Carleon, as they did in the time of the Romaines if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them.

wiſke.

Ebowith.

Neuertheleſſe bigge botes come thereto. It is eyght Welche or twelue Engliſhe myles from Chepſtow or Strigull, and of ſome thought to be in Bace Wencelande, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this ryuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockſhyre, as Renni is to midle Wenceland and Glamorganſhyre.

Remenei, or Remni.

Riſca.

The next riuer vnto Vſke or Wiſke is called Remenei or Kenni, whoſe heade is thrée or foure myles aboue Egglwis Tider Wap Hoell (otherwyſe called Fanum Theodori, or the Church of Theodorus) whence come manye ſprings, & taking one botome, the water is called Kayach. It is alſo augmented with the Riſca broke, comming vnto it out of a Paroche called Egglwis Ilan, and then altogither named Riſca. Thence running thorowe Bedwes Paroche, it is called Kenny or Kemeny and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Sauerne. The fall therof alſo is not aboue ſixe myles from the ryuer Wiſke. Although that for ſhippes it be nothing commodious. It is more ouer a limite betwéene the Silures and Glamorganſhyre.

Taffe.

Lhay.

Rodeney vaur, Rodeny vehan.

From the mouth of Kenni, to the mouth of Taffe are two myles. Thys ryuer is the greateſt in all Glamorganſhyre, and the citie Taffe it ſelfe of good countenaunce, ſith it is endued with the Cathedrall ſea of a Biſhop. The head of this water cōmeth downe from Wooddy hilles, and often bringeth ſuch logges and bodyes of trées withal frō thence, that they fruſh the bridge in péeces, but for as much as it is made of tymber, it is repayred with leſſe coſt, whereas if it were of harde ſtone all the countrie thereabouts would not be able to amende it. Into this ſtreame alſo falleth Lhay, which deſcendeth (but more eaſterly) from the ſame hilles and it méeteth with all beneath Landaffe, that ſtandeth almoſt euen at the verye confluence, and thus ſayeth Lhoyd, but Lelande noteth it otherwyſe. In like ſorte the Taffe receyueth the Rodney Vaur, and Rodeney Vehan, in one botome, which ſpring in the Lordſhip of Glin Rodeney within two miles togither. Of theſe alſo the Rodeney Vaur ryſeth by Northweſt in a great high rocke, called Driſſiog. Rodeney Vehan iſſueth a myle aboue caſtell Noſe (by northweſt alſo) but néerer towarde Myſken Lordſhip, ſo that the Rodney Vaur head and ſtreame lieth more weſt vp into Wales. As for Caſtell Noſe, it is but a highe ſtonye Cragge in the toppe of a hil: but to procéede. Rodeney Vaur runneth vnder a bridge of wood a myle from Penriſe, then to Ponte Kemmeis two myles lower, and a little beneath is the confluence. There be alſo two ſmall bridges on Rodeney Vehan of wood, whereof the firſt is agaynſt Penriſe thrée quarters of a myle of, the other a little aboue the confluēce right againſt the bridg on Rodney Vaur. There is a bridg of wood alſo vpō the whole ſtreame two myles beneath the ſayde confluence, called Pont Newith, and a quarter of a mile from the place where it goeth into Taffe.

Lhay.

Thaw

Scylly.

Barry.

This
ſwent 10
yeres
for 10.l.

Com ky

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

Neth.

From Taffe to Lay mouth or Ele ryuer a mile, from Lhay mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the Weſt poynt of it) to the mouth of Thawan ryuer (from whence is a cōmon paſſage ouer vnto Minehened in Somerſetſhyre of ſeuentene myles) are about ſeuen Welche myles, which are counted after this maner. A myle and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scylley Hauenet, (a prettie ſuccour for ſhippes) whoſe heade is in Wenno paroche two myles & a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilley mouth to Aber Barry a mile, and thither commeth a little ryll of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a myle of in playne grounde by Northeaſt, & right againſt the fall of this becke lyeth Barry Iſlande a ſlight ſhotte from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a myle aboue Aber Barry is the mouth of Come kydy, which ryſeth flat north frō the place where it goeth into ẏ Sauerne & ſerueth oft for herbor vnto ſea farers. Thēce to the mouth of Thawan are 3. myles, wherevnto ſhippes may come at will. Two myles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whether a little rill reſorteth from LanIltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure myles, that is a myle to S. Dynothes Caſtell, and thrée myles further. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the lande at a place, called Lhes Broimith, or Skyrpton, about foure myles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur alias Gur thrée miles. Then come they in proceſſe of tyme vnto the Kenſike or Colbroke ryuer which is no great thing, ſith it ryſeth not aboue 3. myles frō the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two myles, and herein doe ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſéeke herborow. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lyeth Northeaſt is called Auon Vaur, the other that lyeth Northweſt Auon Vehā. They méete togither at Lhanuoy Hēgle, about two myles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two myles alſo from the ſea. From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplettes almoſt to the towne of Neth frō the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſ-

ſeth

Tauy.
Lochar.
Vandres.
endraith
aur Ve-
aith Ve-
s.

ſed the ſame we come vnto the Tauy, which deſcendeth from the aforeſayd hilles and falleth into the Sea by Eaſt of Swanſey. Beyng paſt this wee come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth and then glyding by the Wormes head, we paſſed to the Vandreſmouth, whereof I finde this deſcription following in Lelande. Both Vendraith, Vaur & Vēdraith Vehan, ryſe in a peece of Carmardineſhyre, called Iſſekenen, that is to ſay, the lowe quarter about Kennen ryuer, and betwixt the heades of theſe two hilles, is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a greeniſh coulour, whereof the inhabitauntes make theyr Lime. The name of the hyll that Vendraith Vaur ryſeth in, is called Mennith Vaur, and therein is a poole as in a moriſh ground, named Lhintegowen, where ẏ principall ſpring is, & thys hyll is eight or nyne myles frō Kidwelli. The hyll that Vendraith Vehan ſpringeth out of, is called Mennith Vehan, & thys water commeth by Kydwelly towne. But about three or foure myles, eare it come thyther, it receyueth a brooke, called Treſgyrth the courſe whereof is little aboue a myle from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue tucking milles and three Corne milles vppon it. At the heade of this brooke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as for the brooke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be founde in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Vendraith Vaur, you ſhall finde great plentye of Seacoles. There is a great hole by heade of Vendraith Vehan, where men vſe to enter into vaultes of great compaſſe, and it is ſayde, that they may go one way vnder the grounde to Wormes head, and another waye to Cairkennen caſtell, which is three myles or more vnto the lande. But how true theſe things are it is not in me to determine, yet this is certaine, that there is very good Hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vehā. There are dyuers printes of the paſſage of certaine Wormes alſo in the Caue, at the head of Vēdraith Vehan, as the inhabitants doe fable, but I neuer heard of any man that ſaw any Worme there, and yet it is beleeued that many Wormes are there.

Tow, or Towy.

Being paſt this, we came to the Abertowy or mouth of the Towy. This riuer ryſeth in the mountaines of Elinith foure myles by ſouth from Lintiue in a moriſh grounde, 24. miles from Carmardyn and in a forreſt called Biſhops forreſt midway betwixt Landwybreuy & Landanuery caſtell. For fiſh this is much better in mine opinion, thē the Taw or Taſſe, whoſe head breadeth no fiſhe, but if any be caſt into it, they turne vp their bellies and die out of hande. Into this riuer alſo falleth one called Guthrike, not farre frō Landouery towne, which is two and twentye myle frō the head of Towy. In like ſort the Kenen ryuer falleth into the Towy about Landilouaur, which is two miles higher vpō Towy, thē Dineuur caſtel & the whole courſe of this water is not aboue three myles. The Brane (another ryuer alſo) after it hath run from the head by the ſpace of 12 myles doth come hard by the foote of Landonuery caſtel, and taking with it the Euery, they fall togither into the Towy, a little beneath the Caſtell. Thys Euery runneth through the middeſt of Landanuery towne. Beneath Lādanuery in like ſorte another brooke called Marleis, falleth into the Towy, and foure myles beneath the ſame two other, of which the one is called Nonneis. Foure miles alſo from Abermarleis or the place where Towy & Marleis doe meete (towarde Carmardine) runneth the riuer Duleſſe, which ſoone after falleth alſo into Towy. Furthermore 2. miles beneath the fall of Duleſſe, there is another, and three or foure myles beyonde this, is the ſeconde Duleſſe, & eache of them after other fall into the ſaide ryuer, but this latter about Driſlan Caſtell, as Lelande hath deſcrybed thē. Proceeding yet further ſtill toward Carmardine, our ſayde ſtreame goeth by Landiſtupham Caſtell, and alſo into the ſea, about three myles beyonde Driſlan Caſtell. Alſo he confeſſeth moreouer, that he ſawe the fall of Cothey, a fayre ryuer, into the ſayd ſtreame, & this was within foure myles of Carmardine, wherof I ſpake before. The Cothey riſeth three myles frō Landanbreui vnder the hulke of Blaine Icorne, which is a narrowe paſſage, and therein marueylous heapes of ſtones.

Guthrige.
Kenen.
Brane.
Euery.
Nonneis.
Cothey.

The next riuer we came vnto vpon the coſt is called Taue, whoſe head runneth alſo from the blacke mountaines at a place three miles from Cardigan called Preſſelen, thence it goeth by Saint Clares, and as it haſteth toward the ſea, it taketh the ryuer Gowe with it, which riſeth at Blaincowen two myles or more aboue the bridge. Then the Duddery ryuer, and Barthkinni ſtreame, Venny & Morlais. Next of all come we to Milford hauen, wherunto two ryuers direct their courſe from the Northeaſt called Dugledu or the two ſwordes and betweene them both is a hil which they cal alſo Cultiell (that is to ſay) the knyfe, wereof riſeth a merry tale of a welchman that lying in this place abroode all night in the colde weather, he was demaunded of his hoſteſſe (where he did breake his faſte) the

Taue.
Gowe.
Duddery.
Barthkinni.
Morlais.
Dugledu.
Cultiell.

next morrowe) at what Inne he laye in the
night precedent, bycauſe he came ſo ſoone to
hir houſe ere any of hir maydes were vp. Oh
good hoſteſſe (quod he) be contented I laye to
night in a daungerous eſtate for I ſlepte be-
tweene two ſwordes with a long knife at my
hart, meaning in deede that he lay betweene
theſe two ryuers, and his breaſt towards the
South neere to the heade of Caltlell. But to
paſſe ouer theſe ieſtes, here Leland ſpeaketh
Gwyly. of a ryuer called Gwyly, but where it ryſeth
or falleth he maketh no certaine report: wher-
fore it is requiſite that I proceede according
to my purpoſe. Beyng therfore paſſe this ha-
uen and point of Demetia in caſting aboute
the coaſte we come to Saint Dewies, or S.
S. Dewy or Dauid all one. Dauyds land, which I reade to be ſeperated
from the reſt of the countrey much after this
manner, although I graunt that there maye
be an dare diuers other litle creekes, betwixt
Newgale and Saint Dauys head, & betwixt
S. Dauys and Fyſchard, beſide thoſe that
are here mencioned out of a Regiſter of that
houſe.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S.
Newgall. Dauys land beginneth at Newgall, a creeke
ſerued with a backe freſhe water. Howbeit
there is a Baye before this creeke betwixt it
and Milford. From hence about foure miles
Saluach. is Saluache creeke, otherwiſe called Saue-
rach, whether ſome freſhe water reſorteth: ẏ
mouth alſo thereof is a good reſcue for Ba-
lingers as it (I meane the regiſter) ſayth.
Portclais. Thence go we to Portclais 3. myles where
Alen. is a litle portlet, whether the Alen that com-
meth thorowe Sainte Dewies cloſe doth
runne.

It lyeth a myle ſouthweſt frō S. Dewies,
Saint Stinans Chappell alſo is betweene
Portmaw Portclais, and Portmaw. The next is Porte
Maw. Maw, where I founde a great eſtuary into
Pendwy. the lande. The Pendwy halfe a mile from ẏ:
Lanuchā. Land Vchan is 3. myles frō Pendwy, where
Tredine. is a ſalt creeke, then to Tredine three myles,
Langſids. where is another creeke to Langunda, foure
miles, and another creeke is there in like ſort
Fiſchard. where fyſher men catche Herring. Here alſo
the Gwerne riuer deuideth Penbidianc from
Fiſcherdine Keinmeis land. Frō Langunda
Gwerne. to Fiſchard at the Gwerne mouth 4. myles,
& here is a portlet or hauenet alſo for ſhippes.
and thus much of Saint Dauids lande. Be-
ſides this alſo Leland in a third booke talketh
of Linnes and Pooles, but for as much as my
purpoſe is not to ſpeake of Lakes & Lhinnes,
I paſſe them ouer as haſting to the Teify, in
latine Tibius, which is the nexte ryuer that
ſerueth for my purpoſe.

Teyfy. The Teyfy therfore is a right noble ryuer,
as anye in Wales, fraught with delicate
Samons, and herein onely of all the ryuers Ca
in Englande is the Caſtor or Beuer to bee Eng
founde. It aryſeth foure myles from Strat-
fleur out of a Poole called Lhintiue, lying on
the Weſt ſide of the blacke mountaines (as
the Sauerne doth ſpring out from by eaſt of
them) & holding on with the ordinary courſe,
it commeth at laſte to Stradfleur, where it Fleur.
meeteth with a brooket called the Fleure or
Flete. Frō hence it proceedeth on vnto Tre-
garon, Bruy, Landfur, Glydois, Budhair,
Emlin, Kilgarran, & ſo to Cardigon, which
ſtandeth on the farder ſide as we go towarde
the foreſaid ryuer from by ſouth. Certes this
ryuer which we nowe diſcribe, goeth in man-
ner plaine Weſt, till we come within ſyxe
myles of Cairmardine, and then returneth
toward the North, ſo goyng on till it come at
Abertiwy, or Aberteify, as it is moſt cōmon-
ly called. It deuideth Pembroke from Car-
digan or Ceretticanſhere, as Leland ſetteth it
downe.

Beyng paſſe the Tewe or Teify we came
to Aberayron, ſo called of the ryuer Ayron Ayr
which there falleth into the Maine, 3. myles
beneath Lanclere. It ryſeth alſo in a moun-
taine, percel of the blacke hilles, by a chappel
called Blaine Penial, belonging to Landwy
Breul, but it is in Cardigon ſhire ouer Tiue
and aboute three or foure myles from Tiue
banckes. Next vnto this as I remember we
paſſed by Aberarth where was a pretye Arth.
ſtreamelet & ſome ſlender harborow. And thē
we came to another water which falleth into
ẏ ſea beneath Kiſthide (neither of them being Ris.
of any great length from their heades) and ſo
vnto Aberyſtwith which yſſueth in a marſhe yſtwith
called Blaine Wythe (ſo farre as I remem-
ber) and runneth about 13. or 14. myles tyll it
come at laſt into the ſea. It taketh withal by
the waye alſo firſt the Meleuen and then the Melen
Rhedhol, a ryuer nothing inferiour vnto Redol.
Yſtwith it ſelfe, with whome it maketh his
confluence aboue Badarne, and in a large bo-
tome goeth ſoone after into the ſea.

Hence we went vnto the Wy whoſe heade wy.
commeth from the ſouth part of Snowdony
by Mowdhewy Mathan laith, and in this his
courſe moreouer he ſeemeth to parte Northe
Wales and South Wales in ſunder. It is
called in latine Deuus, in Welſhe Dyfy, but
how it came to be called Wy in good ſoothe it
is not found. It receyueth alſo the Alen which
cōmeth from the vpper part of Cormeryſt-
with in Cardigonſhyre, out of the blaine, and
taketh alſo with it the Clardwyn, a brooke yſ-
ſuing about a myle from Cragnawlin and
as it holdeth on the courſe it receyueth the

Clardwy which ſpringeth vp halfe a myle from the Clarone head (another gullet likewiſe falling from ẏ Rocky hilles into Clardwy) and ſo goyng together foure miles farder they fall into the Allen. Finally after all theſe haue as it were played together in one or moe bottomes among the pleaſant Meadowes and lower groundes, by the ſpace of ſixe myles, vnder ẏ name of Alen, they beate at the laſt vpon the Wy and accompany him directly vnto the Ocean.

After this we paſſed by Aberho, ſo named of the Riuer Ho, that falleth therein to the ſea and commeth thether from ẏ Alpes or hilles of Snowdony. From hence we ſayled by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like ſorte from Snowdony, and taketh diuers Ryuers with him whoſe names I doe not know. Then vnto ẏ Artro a brooke deſcending from thoſe hilles alſo, and falling into the ſea a myle aboue the Harleche. Next of al we behold the Gleſſe Linne that parteth Caernaruon from Merioneth ſhyre, and ſo came vnto Traith Vehan, betwixte which two, and Traith Mawr rinneth a litle brooke thorowe the wharfe of Traith Mawr at the low water as I read. Theſe 2 Traiths are ẏ mouthes of two faire ſtreames, whereof the moſt Southerly is called Mawy, the other Ferles, eche of them I ſaye deriuing his originall water from Snowdony, as diuers other brookes haue done already before them. Of theſe alſo ẏ firſt paſſeth by diuers lakes, although I doe not well knowe the names of anye one of them. From Traithmawr to Thrychet are three myles, where alſo is a little rill ſerued with ſundrye waters. Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretye brooke diſcending frõ Madryn hilles. Then caſting about toward the ſouth (as the coaſt lyeth) we ſawe the Aberſoch or mouth of the Soch ryuer vppon our right handes, in the mouthe whereof lye two Iſlandes, of which the more Northerly is called Tudfall and the other Penryn as Leland did obſerue. After this, goyng about by the point we come to Daron Ryuer, whereuppon ſtandeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile frõ the ſhore betwixt Aberdarõ and Vortigernes vale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a heade and entreth at both endes: Thẽ come we to Venni brooke which runneth by Treuenni, and is about 12. myles of from Aberdaron. Then iij. miles of to Eglwis Epiſtle, whether commeth a little brooke or rill from Gwortheren Rocke, which ſome call Vortigernes Vale. From hence alſo 3. myles further, we come to Lhanhelerion and then foure myles to Cluniock, and finally to Clunioch Vaur Aruon, where is a little rillet, & a myle or more farder is another that goeth to the mayne ſea. Here in following Lelande as I doe for the moſt part in all this Treatize where he keepeth any order at all (for his notes, are ſo diſperſed in his Cõmẽtaries ẏ one of them is ſometimes is 6.8. or 20. leaues from another, and many of them penned after a contrarye ſort) I finde theſe wordes. There is a brooke beyonde Aberlevenni goyng by it ſelfe into the ſea: there be alſo two brookes betweene Gurnwy or Gwyrfay and Skeuerneck, as Golaid and Semare Poole: Sowther creeke alſo is the verye pointe of Abermenley, by which notes as I finde not what he ſaith, ſo the remembraunce of them may helpe better againſt the next publication of this booke: to proceede therefore in ſuch order as I may.

awr.
tro.
awy.
erles,
richet.
rke.
och.
aron.
euenni.

Golaide.
Semerpole.
Sother.
Menley.

Leuenni is a great brooke ryſing 4. mile aboue the place, where it falleth into the ſea, Leuen brooke cõmeth into the ſea two miles aboue Skeuernocke: Skeuernocke a little brooke ſixe myles aboue Aberlaint. Aud Gurnay commeth thorowe pontnewith bridge, and after into Meney at South Crock, two myles of Cladwant brooke, and ryſing three myles from thence it commeth thorow the towne bridge of Carnaruon and goeth by it ſelfe into Meney arme, ſo that Carnaruon ſtandeth betweene two riuers. Botes alſo do come to Cadwan. The name of Abermeney is not paſſing a myle aboue Carnaruon, and yet ſome cal it Meney, til you come to Poultell. Then come we to Cair Arfon or Cairnaruon, Gwiniwith mirith (or horſe brooke) two myles from Moylethon, and it ryſeth at a well ſo called full a myle from thence. Moylethon is a bowe ſhotte from Aberpowle, frõ whence ferry botes go to the Termone or Angleſy. Aberpowle runneth three myles into the lande, and hath his head foure myles beyonde Bangor in Meney ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Meney. Aber Gegeyne commeth out of a mountaine a myle aboue, and Bangar (thorow which a rillet called Torronnẽ hath his courſe) almoſt a myle aboue it. Aber Ogwine is two miles aboue ẏ. It ryſeth at Tale linne Ogwine poole fiue myles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withow. Aber Auon is two myles aboue Aberogwene, and it ryſeth in a Poole called Lin man Auon three myles of. Auon Lan var Vehan ryſeth in a mountaine thereby, and goeth into the ſea 2. miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three myles aboue Conwey, which ryſing in the mountaines a myle of, goeth by it ſelfe into Meney ſalt arme. On the ſaide ſhore alſo lyeth Penmaine, and this brooke doth runne

Leuen.
Skeuernocke.
Cladwant
Coute.
Gegyne.
Torronnen.
Ogwine.
Auon.
Lanuar Vehan.
Duegeuelth.

betwixte Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine
Vechan. It ryſeth about 3. myles from Penmaclon
hilles which lye aboute 60. myles
from Conwey abbaie nowe diſſolued. On the
Northe and Weſt of this ryuer ſtandeth the
towne of Conwey, which taketh his name
therof. This riuer receaueth yͤ Lhigwy a pretty
ſtreame that commeth from by weſt & ioineth
with al a little aboue the Riſt but on the
Lighwy. Weſt bancke. The Lighwy alſo taketh another
with him that commeth from by ſouth.
Gele. After this we come to the Gele whereon Abergele
ſtandeth, and it runneth thorowe the
Cangerith in vnto the Roſe or Ros and next
of all to the mouth of a great hauen, wherinto
Cluda. to the Clude which cōmeth from the ſouth,
Elwy. and the Elwy that deſcendeth from yͤ Weſt,
doe emptie their chanelles, & betwixte which
two the pontificall ſea of Bangor is ſcituate
verye pleaſantly and not farre of from the
Alode. point. Into Elwy runneth the Alode deſcending
from Lhin Alode eyght myles from
Denbighe and goyng by Lhan Sannan, it
falleth into the Elwy in Lhan Heueth pariſh
which is ſixe myles aboue Saint Aſaph. Lelād
calleth it Aleth. Into Clude alſo runneth
Clue doch Clue Doch foure miles lower by water then
Ruthine towne: on the Weſt ſide likewyſe
Vſtrate. the Vſtrate, that commeth within halfe a
myle by ſouth of Denbighe and goeth into
Clude almoſt againſt Denbighe towne. Frō
hence to my remembraunce, and before we
Dea. come to Aber Dee or the mouth of the Dee I
finde no Riuer of any countenaunce, wherefore
I will haſt forth to the deſcription of that
ſtreame. It ryſeth of ſundy heades ſouthweſt
from Lintegy or Lin Tegnis, in the countie
of Penthlin wherevnto within a while they
reſort and direct their courſes, and there ioyning
in one Channell, it commeth almoſt by
Bala a poore market towne. Then going ſtil
by the ſide of Pale it paſſeth to Berwin,
where it meeteth with a rill, afterwardes to
Corwen a little by Southweſt wherof, it receaueth
Alwyn. the Alwyn a noble ſtreame which
commeth from the Northweſt out of a Lyn
lying on the other ſyde of yͤ ſame hilles wherin
the Alode riſeth, and not onely taketh ſundery
ryuerets and rilles withall as it goeth,
but alſo runneth with great ſwiftneſſe tyll it
be ioyned with the ſame. From Corwen it
goeth to Gellon, and a fewe myles beneath
Kyriog. Gelion it meeteth with the Kyriog, then the
Alin. Wrerham rill, and finally the Alyn whoſe
crinkeling ſtreames diſcende from a Lin in
the Stradlin hilles, and goyng firſt North
eaſt vnto Mold or Gwidgruc, thē ſouthward
vnto Cargurle, and finally againe into the
Northeaſt, it ſtayeth not tyll it come at the
Dee, where it meeteth about halfe a myle or more frō the Holt with the aforeſaide riuer. Hauing therfore receiued this water it continueth the courſe vnto Cheſter it ſelfe, and frō thence into the Iryſh ſea as experience hath cōfirmed. What other ryuers do fal into this ſtreame it ſhal be ſhewed in the ſecond booke. In yͤ meane time hauing a good gale of wind blowing from the South weſt, we came to Lyr poole whether the Wyuer on the ſouthe about Frodſham & the Merſey on the north, doe fall, in thunburdening of their channels. Wiuer water runneth among the Wiches, and Marſey departeth Cheſter and Lancaſhyre in ſunder.

From hence alſo we go by Wegam, or Dugeles: and nexte of all vnto the Ribell, which almoſt doth enuyronne Preſton in Anderneſſe. It ryſeth in Rybbes dale about Salley Aabbye, and from thence goeth to Salley and a lyttle beneath Salley it receiueth the Calder that cōmeth by Whaley, and then the Oder. After thys, we come to the Wire, which ryſeth eyght or tenne miles from Garſton, out of the Hylles on the ryght hande, and commeth by greene Hawghe a pretye Caſtell, belonging to the Earles of Darby, and more then halfe a myle of to Garſton in Anderneſſe. It ebbeth and floweth alſo, three myles beneath Garſtone, and at the Chappell of Alhallowes (tenne myles frō Garſton) it goeth into the Sea. After thys we come to Coker that maketh no great courſe ere we come to the Sandes, by Cockerham Vyllage, where they make Salt out of the Sandes, by often wetting, and dreauing the water from thence into a Pyt, they ſeeth it, as at the Wiche. &c. Then to Cowder ryll, & ſo to the Lane or Lune, that giueth name to Lancaſter, where much Romaine money is founde.

Of thys ryuer you ſhall reade more in the ſeconde Booke. Next vnto it alſo is the Kery, halfe a mile beyond Warton, where the rich Kitſon was borne. It ryſeth out of the hylles not farre of, and falleth into the ſalte water at Luneſandes. From thence we come to Bythe water, which ryſeth not farre from Bytham Towne and Parke, in the Hilles whereabout are great numbers of goates. It is a prettye ryuer, and by all lykelyhoode reſorteth vnto Ken ſands. Ken ryſeth at Ken more, in a Poole of a myle compaſſe, verye well ſtored wyth fyſhe, the head whereof (as all the Barromy of Kendal) is in Weſtmerlande. It is alſo eyght myles from Kendall, in the waye to Perith, and the courſe thereof is to Newbridge, Barley, Staueley hamlet, Bowſtone, Burne ſyde bridges, to Kendall, Leuen bridge. &c. into the ſea, receiuing the Sprout ryuer into it, a myle aboue Fremegate bridge. Next vnto this is ẏ Charte whether a freſhe water commeth, as doth another to Conny heade ſandes.

Then come wée to Duddon or Dodon hauen, whether a freſhe brooke alſo reſorteth, & foure myles from hence was Furneſſe Abbay vp into the mountaines. Then ſayled we to the Eſke, wherevnto commeth a brooke from Croſmere, then to the Calder ſerued alſo wyth a backe freſhe water: then (going about by S. Bées) to the Wy or Ferne, to to Deruent, the Lug or Luy, and finallye to Solney, which parteth England & Scotland.

Hauing thus gone throwe the ryuers of Englande, nowe it reſteth that wée procéede with thoſe which are to bée founde vppon the Scottyſhe ſhore, in ſuch order as we beſt maye, vntill we haue fetched a compaſſe about the ſame, and come vnto Barwijcke, whence afterwarde it ſhall be eaſye for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did ſet forwarde in the beginning of oure voiage.

The fyrſte ryuer that I mette wythall on the Scottiſh coaſt, is the Eſke, after I came paſte the Solney which hath his heade in the Cheuiote Hylles runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the Sea at Borow on the ſands. Thys Eſke hauing receiued the Ewys falleth into the Solney fyrſt at Atterith. After thys I paſſed ouer a lyttle créeke from Kyrthell, and ſo to Anand, whereof the valleye Anandale doth ſéeme to take ẏ name. There is alſo the Nyde, whereof commeth Nidſdale, the Ken, the Dee, the Craie, and the Bladnecke, and al theſe beſides dyuers other ſmal rylles of leſſe name doe lye vpon the ſouth coaſt of Galloway. On the north ſide alſo we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Caſſile Dune, the Burwin, the Clude, (wherevpon ſometyme ſtoode the famous citie of Alcluyde, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourgleſſe, and the Lame. From hence in lyke manner, wée came vnto the Leuind mouth, wherunto the Blake on the ſouthweſt and the Lomunde lake, with his fleting Iſles and fiſh without finnes, (yet very holeſome) doth ſéeme to make hys iſſue. Thys lake of Lomund in calme wheather, ryſeth ſometimes ſo high and ſwelleth with ſuch terrible Billowes, that it cauſeth the beſt Marriners of Scotlande to abyde the leyſure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoyſe vp ſayles, on hie. The like is ſéene in windye weather, but much more perillous: There are certeine Iſles alſo in the ſame, which moue and remoue, oftentymes by force of the water, but one of them eſpeciallye, which otherwyſe is very fruitefull for paſturage of Cattel. Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage the Longe, the Goyle, & the Heke, which for the exceeding greatneſſe of theire heades are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinſey, the Forelande, the Carbat, the Lean, and the Abyr, wherevnto the Spanley, the Loyne, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zeſe doe fall; there is alſo the Sell, the Zord the Dwyn, the Newiſſe, the Orne, the Lang, the Drun, the Hew, the Brun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, ẏ Neſſe, the Herre, the Con, ẏ Glaſſe the Maur, the Ardall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairſoke which two latter lye a lyttle by weſt of the Orchades, and are properly called ryuers; bicauſe they iſſue onely from ſpringes, but moſt of the other lakes, bicauſe they come from Linnes, & and huge pooles, or ſuch lowe bottomes, fedde with ſpringes, as ſéeme to haue no acceſſe, but onelye receſſe of waters, whereof there be many in Scotlande. But to procéede hauyng once paſt Dungiſby heade in Cathneſſe, we ſhall ere long come to ẏ mouth of the Wiſſe, a pretty ſtreame, comming by ſouth of the Mountaynes called the Maydens pappes. Then to the Browre, the Clyn, the Twyne, (wherevnto commeth thrée ryuers, the Shyn, the Sillan, & Carew) the Neſſe which beſide the plenty of Samon founde therein is neuer frozen, nor ſuffereth yſe to remaine therein that is caſt into the poole. From thence wée come vnto the Narding, the Fynderne, the Spaie, (which receiueth the Uine,) ẏ Fitch, the Buliche, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Boghe, from whence we ſayle, vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and ſo to the Downe, and Dée: which two ſtreames bring forth the greateſt Samons, that are to be had in Scotland, and moſt plentye of the ſame. Then to the North Eſke where into the Eſmond runneth aboue Brechin, the Southe Eſke, then the Louen and the Taie, which is the fyneſt Ryuer for water that is in all Scotland, and wherevnto moſt Ryuers and lakes doe runne. As Farlake, Yrth, Goure, Loiche, Camach, Lynell, Loyon, Irewer, Erne, and diuers other beſides ſmall rylles which I did neuer loke vppon. Then is there the lake Londors vppon whoſe mouth Saint Andrewes doth ſtande; the Lake Lewin vnto whoſe ſtreame two other Lakes haue recourſe in Fiſland, and then the Fyrth or Fortha, which ſome doe call the Scottiſh ſea, and with the Ryuer laſte mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fiſe, the ſaide Fortha beyng full of Oyſters and all kindes of huge fyſhe that vſe

Leue.
Long.
Goyle.
Heke.
Robinſey.
Forlan.
Carbat.
Lean.
Abyr.
Arke.
Zeſe.
Sell.
Zord.
Dwyn.
Newiſſe.
Orne.
Lang.
Drun.
Hew.
Brun.
Kile.
Dowr.
Faro.
Neſſe.
Herre.
Con.
Glaſſe.
Maur.
Ardall.
Feſſe.
Calder.
wiſſe.
Browre.
Clyn.
Twine.
Shin
Syllan.
Carew.
Neſſe.
Narding.
Spaie.
Downe.
Dée.
Eſke.

to lye in the déepe. How many waters runne into the Fryth, it is not in my power iuſtlye to declare, yet are there both Ryuers, Rilles, and Lakes that fall into the ſame, as Clack, Alon, Dune, Kery, Cambell, Cumet, Tere, Man, Torkeſon, Roſhan, Muſhell, Blene, and dyuers other which I call by theſe names, partly after information, and partly of ſuch townes as are néere vnto their heds. Finally when we are paſte the Hay then are we come vnto the Twede and ſone after into England againe.

Clack.
Alon.
Dune.
Kery.
Cambell.
Cumet.
Tere.
Man.
Torkeſan.
Roſham.
Muſſell.
Blene.
Twede.

The Twede is a noble riuer and the limes or bounde betwéene England and Scotland, whereby thoſe two kingdomes are nowe diuided in ſunder. It riſeth about Drimlar in Euſdale (or rather out of a faire Wel as Leland ſaith ſtanding in the moſſe of an hill called Airſtane, or Harcſtan in Twede dale 16. miles from Pibble) and ſo comming by Pibble, Lander, Drybiwgh, Ielſe, Warke, Norham and Hagarſtone, it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwyc as I heare: Thus ſaith Leland, but I not contented with this ſo ſhorte a diſcourſe of ſo long a Ryuer and briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame, will adde ſomewhat more of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſhe ſide, and rehearſall of ſuche Ryuers as fall into the ſame. Cōming therfore to Ridam, it receyueth betwéene that & Carham a becke which deſcendeth from the hilles that lye by Weſt of Windram. Going alſo from Rydam by Longbridgeham (on the Scottiſhe ſide) and to Carham, it haſteth immediately to Warke caſtell on the Engliſhe, and by Spylaw on the other ſide, then to Cornewall, Cald ſtreame, and Tillemouth where it receiueth ſundry waters in one botome which is called the Till, & whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand. Certes there is no head of any Ryuer that is named Till, but the yſſue of the fardeſt water that commeth hereinto, ryſeth not farre from ẏ head of Vſwaie in the Cheuiote hilles, where it is called Bromis. From thence it goeth to Hartſide Ingram Brantō, Crawley, Hedgeley, Beuely, Bewyc, and Bewyc, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by Weſt and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons, and ſo they go as one with the Bromiſhe, by Chatton to Fowbrey (where they croſſe the third water falling downe by North from Howborne by Heſel bridg) thence to Woller, there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hal, & runneth by Hardley, Whereley, and ẏ reſt aforeremembred, wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increaſed, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede.

Tyll.

Bromis.

The Till paſſing therefore by Weteland and Dedington, méeteth ſone after with a fayre ſtreame comming from by Southweſt, which moſt men call the Bowbent or Bobent. It riſeth on the Weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence haſteth to Hattons beneath the which it ioyneth from by ſoutheaſt with the Hellerborne, and then goeth to Pudſton, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by North of Newton Kyrke, and betwéene it and Weſt Newton, it taketh in another water cōming from the Cheuiote hils by Heth poole, and from thenceforth runneth on without any farder increaſe, by Copland Cuart and ſo into the Till. The Till for his part in lyke ſorte after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcaſtell, Catall caſtell Heaton and North of Tilmouthe into the Twede, or by Weſt of Weſell, excepte my memorie doe faile me. After this alſo our aforeſaid water of Twede deſcendeth to Groſtehughe, the Newbiggins, Norham caſtell, Ford, Lmigridge, and croſſing the Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwicke and ſo into the Ocean, leauing ſo much Engliſhe ground on the Northweſt ſide as lyeth in manner of a triangle betwéene Cawmilles, Barwijc and Lammeton, which is two myles and an halfe euery waye, or not much more excepte I be deceiued. Beyng paſt this noble ſtreame, we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowſden by Barington. Then by the ſecond which ariſeth betwéene Middleton and Detcham and runneth by Eſkill and the Roſſe. Next of all to Warnemouth of whoſe back water I read as foloweth. The Warne or Gwerne ryſeth Southweſt of Crokelaw, and goyng by Warneford, Bradford, Spindleſtone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and ſo falleth into the Ocean after it hath runne almoſt nine myles from the heade within the lande. From Warnemouth, we ſayled by Bamborow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betwéene Bedwell and Newton: The firſt water that ſerueth this iſſue, riſeth aboue Carleton from the foote of an hill which ſéemeth to part the head of this & that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton, Tonley, Dorford, Brunton and Tuggell, and finally into the ſea as to his courſe appertaineth. From this water we went by Dunſtanbugh vnto the Aile or Alne mouth which is ſerued with a pretty riueret called Alne, the heade whereof riſeth in the hilles weſt of Alnham towne. From thence alſo it runneth by Ryle, Ryle, Eſlington, and Whittingham where it croſſeth a rill comming

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ning from by ſouth, and beneath the ſame, the ſecond that deſcendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewyſe the thirde that riſeth at Newton and runneth by Edingham caſtell and Lemmaton, (all on the Southeaſt ſide or right hande,) and ſo paſſeth on farder till it méete with the fourth comming from aboue Shipley from by North, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewyc and then to Denwyc, receyuing there a rillet from by South and a rill from by Northe, and thence goyng on to Bilton, betwéene Ailmouth towne and Woddon, it ſwepeth into the Ocean.

ket.

The Cocket is a goodly ryuer, the head alſo thereof is in the rootes of Kembleſpeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteſide, & there méeting wyth the Uſwaye (which deſcendeth from the North,) it goeth a little farder to Linbridge, & there receyueth the Ridley by ſouth weſt. It ioineth alſo ere long with the Rydlande, which commeth in north, by Bilſtone, and then hyeth to Sharpeton, to Harbotle, where it croſſeth the Pardop water, by ſouth, then to Woodhouſe, to Bickerton, to Coſſons, Newton, and running a pace towarde Whitton Towre, it taketh a Brooke with all that commeth in northweſt of Alneham, néere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, Ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Throrton, and ſone after uniteth it ſelf with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethbury, or Whitton Towre, to Haly, to Brinkehorne, Welden, Elihaw, Felton, (receiuing thereabout the Fareſley brooke, that goeth by wintring by ſouth eaſt, & Sheldike water, that goeth by Haſon, to Brainſaughe by north) & from thence to Morricke caſtell, and ſo into the Sea.

There is furthermore a litle fall, betwéene Hawkeſlaw & Dunrith, which ryſeth about Stokes wood, goeth by eaſt Cheuington, and Whittington caſtell, & afterwarde into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretye brooke ryſing weſt of Eſpley, frõ whence it goeth to Tritlington, Ugham, Linton, and ere long in the Sea.

nſbeck.

Wanſbecke is farre greater then the Lune. It iſſueth up weſt and by north, of weſt Whelpington, thence it runneth to kyrke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Here it méeteth with a water running frõ about Farnelaw, by yͤ grange, and Hartborne on the north, and then goyng from Angerton, it runneth by Moſeden to Mitforth, and there in lyke maner croſſeth yͤ Font, which iſſuing out of the ground about new Biggin, goeth by Nonney kyrke, Witton caſtel, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, & ſo into yͤ Wanſbecke, which runneth in lyke maner from Mitforde to Morpeth caſtell, (within two myles whereof, it ebbeth & floweth) the newe Chappell, Bottle caſtel, Shepwaſhe, and ſo into the ſea, thrée myles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

ont, alias
ont.

Blithe.

Blithe water ryſeth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belſe, Ogle, and receyuing the brooket that cõmeth by the Dillingtons and Barwijc on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the déepe Ocean.

Hartley.

Hartley ſtreamelet ryſeth in Wéteſlade parioche, goeth by Halliwell, and at Hartley towne yéeldeth to the Sea.

North. Tine

Shele.

Reade.

Shillington.

3. Burnes

The Tine ryſeth of two heades, whereof yͤ called north Tine, is the firſt that followeth to be deſcribed. It ſpringeth up aboue Belkirke in the hylles, and thence goeth to Butterhalwghe, (where it receiueth the Shele) thence to Cragſheles, Leapeliſh, Shilburne, Parro, Smalburne, Elis, Greneſted Hellaſide, Billingham, and at Reaſdmouth, taketh in the Reade, and in the meane time ſundrye other rilles, comming from by north & ſouth, whereof I haue no knowledge, neyther anye regarde to write, bycauſe they are obſure, ſmal, and without denominations. After this confluence it paſſeth to Léehall, to Carehouſe (croſſing Shillingtõ rill by weſt) another alſo beneath thys on the ſame ſide, made by the confluence of Workes burne, and Myddle burne, at Roſeburne, beſyde yͤ third aboue, & Symons burnẽ beneath Sheperhaſe, then to S. Oſmondes, to Wall, to Ackam, and ſo into ſouth Tine, beneath Accam, & northweſt as I doe wene of Hexam.

Tine. S.

Eſgyll.

Alent

Gilders becke.

Knare.

The South Tine ariſeth in the Cheuiote hilles, and eare it hath gone farre from the head it méeteth with Eſgyll on the eaſt, and another rill on the Weſt, and ſo going by the houſes toward Awſten moore, it ioyneth with Schud from by weſt, and ſone after with the Alent from by Eaſt aboue Lowbiere. From Lowbſer it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kyrke Haugh (croſſing yͤ gilders Becke) to Thornhope, where it is inlarged wyth a water on eache ſide, to Williams Stone, and almoſt at Knareſdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherſtone angle. At Fetherſtone angle lykewiſe it méeteth wyth harley water, by South weſt, another a lytle beneath from ſoutheaſt, and thence when it commeth to Byllester caſtell, it caryeth another with all from by weſt, after which confluence it goeth to Harltweſell, Unthanke, Wilmoteſwijc, receiuing one ryl by yͤ way, and another there from the ſouth, as it doth the third from Bradly hall by north, and the Alon by the ſouth, whereby his greatneſſe is not a little augmented. From Willymotſwyke, it goeth to Lees, Haddonbridge, Woodhall, Owmers, Wherneby, Coſtely, and ſo by Warden (ſoone after receyuing the North Tine) thē to Herham, & Dillan, croſſing two waters by the waye, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, another lower then the ſame from Riſing ouer againſt Bucell. From Dillā it goeth to Eltingham, Prudo, Willam (and there it méeteth furthermore with a beck that goeth betwéene Benwell and Redhoughe) then to Repon, Blaydon, and next of all with the Derwent, from by ſouth which riſeth alſo about Kneden of two heades, and goyng by Acton Aſpertheles Berneford ſide, Ebcheſter, Blackehall, and Willington, finally falleth into the Tine beneath Redhughe and before it come to Newcaſtell, from whence alſo the Tine goeth by Fellin, Hedburne, Jello, Sheles and ſo into the ſea.

Derwent.

The Were riſeth of thrée heades, in Kelloppeſlaw hill, whereof the moſt ſoutherly is called Burdop, the middlemoſt Wallop and the Northerlieſt Kellop, which vniting themſelues about S. Johns Chappell, or a little by Weſt thereof, their confluence runneth thorow Stanhope parke, by eaſt Yare, and ſo to Froſterley. Here it receiueth thrée rilles frō the North in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhop, another weſt of Woodcroſt Hall, and the third at Froſterley afore mencioned, Howbeit a little beneath theſe, I finde yet a fourth on the ſouthe ſide, which deſcendeth from ſouthweſt by Bolliop, Byſhopſley, Milhouſes, and Landew, as I haue béene informed. Beyng therefore vnited al wͭ the Were, this ſtreame goeth on to Walſingham there taking in the Waſcropburne, beſide another at Bradley, the thyrde at Harpley Hall, (and theſe on the Northſide,) and the fourth betwéene Witton and Wittō caſtel called Bedburne cōming by Hamſterley wherby this riuer doth now ware very great. Going therefore frō hence, it haſteth to Byſhops Akelande, Newfield, and Willington. But néere vnto this place alſo and ſomewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were croſſeth one broke from ſoutheaſt by Het & Cordale, and two other from by northweſt in one botome, whereof the firſt commeth from Aſhe by Langley, yͤ other from Beare parke, and ſo méeting beneath Kelley with the other they fall both as one into the Were betwéene Sunderland, and Burnall. From hence our Ryuer goeth to Howghwell, Shirkeley, olde Dureſme (and there taking in the Piddingbroke by Northeaſt) it goeth to Dureſme, Finkeley Harbarhouſe, Lumley Caſtell, (where it méeteth with the Pilis, whoſe heds are vnited betwéene Pelton and Whitwell) and from thence to Lampton, the Bedwiks, Vfferton, Furd, and ſo into the ſea betwéene Sunderland and Munkermouth.

Were.
Burdop.
Wallop.
Kellop.
Waſcrop.
Bedburne
Piddingbroke.

Beyng thus paſſed the Tine, and ere we come at the mouth of the Theſe almoſt by 2. myles, we méete with a prettye fall, which groweth by a Ryuer that is increaſed with two waters, whereof one riſeth by northweſt at Moretōs, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton, the other at Dawlton: goyng by Breerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finally ioyning within two miles of the ſea, they make a pretty portlet but I know not of what ſecurity.

The Theſe riſeth in the blacke lowes, aboue two myles flat weſt of the ſoutherlye head of Were called Burdop, and thēce runneth thorow Tildale foreſt: and taking in the Langdon water from northweſt it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to New Biggin, & ſo to Middleton. Here it receyueth by weſt of eche of theſe a Rill comming from by North, (of which the laſt is called Hude) & likewiſe the Lune by ſouthweſt, that riſeth at thrée ſeuerall places, whereof the firſt is in the borders of Weſtmerland and there called Arnegyll becke, the ſecond more ſoutherly, named Lune becke, and the thirde by ſouth, at Bandor Skath hill, and méeting all aboue Arnegill houſe, they runne together in one botome to Lathekyrke bridge, and then into the Theſe. Hauing therefore mette with theſe, it runneth to Mickelton (and there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth Rumbald kirke (croſſing there alſo one Rill and the Bander broke) and then goyng to Morewood hagge, & Morewood parke, til it come to Bernards caſtle. Here alſo it receyueth a water cōmyng eaſt of Rere croſſe, frō the ſpittle in Stāmore by Crag almoſt ſouthweſt, and being vnited wͭ the Theſe, it goth by Stratford, Egleſdon, Rokeſby, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Ouington, and betwene Barfurth, & Gainfurth: meteth with another Rill, that commeth from Langley foreſt, betwene Raby caſtle and Standorpe. But to procéede, the Theſe beyng paſt Ramforth, it runneth betwene Perſore & Cliffe, and in the way to Croftes bridge, taketh in yͤ Skerne a pretye water which riſeth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fiſhburne, Bradbury, Preſton and Darlington: and finally méeting with the Cocke becke, it falleth into the Theſe beneath Stapleton, before it come at Croftes bridge. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunſley, Midleton row, Newſham, Yarne (croſſing a broke frō Leuen bridge) to Yarwicke Preſton, Thorne Abbaie and Arſham, which ſtandeth on the South

Southeaſt ſide of the riuer betwene the falles of two waters: whereof one deſcendeth from weſt Hartburne, the other from Stillington. From Acham finally it goeth to Bellaſis Midleburgh, and ſo into the ſea.

Next of all we came vnto the high Cliffe water, which riſing aboue Hutton, goeth by Giſborow, & there receiueth another ſtream comming from by ſouth eaſt, and then continuyng in his courſe, it is not long ere it fal into the ſea.

The next is the Sealing water, which deſcendeth from Sealing towne, from whence we come to the Molemouth, not farre from whoſe hed ſtandeth Molgraue caſtle: then to Sandford creke, & next of all to Eſke mouth, which riſeth aboue Danby wood, and ſo goeth to Caſtleton, there méeting by the way with another Rill comming from about Weſterdale by Danby, and ſo they goe on together by Armar and Thwatecaſtle (till they ioyne with another water aboue Glaſdale chappel) thence to new Biggin, taking yet another broke with them, running from Godlande warde, (and likewiſe the Ibur) and ſo goe on without any further increaſe by Buſworth, ere long into the ſea.

There is alſo a creke on eche ſide of Robin Whoods bay, of whoſe names and courſes, I haue no ſkil ſauing that Fillingale the towne doth ſtand betwene them both.

There is another not farre from Scarborow, on the North ſide called the Harwod broke. It runneth thorow Harwode Dale by Cloughton, Buniſton, and ſone after méting with another Rill on the ſouthweſt, they runne as one into the Ocean ſea.

From Scarborow to Bridlington by Flāborow hed, we met with no more falles. This water therfore that we ſaw at Bridlington, riſeth at Duggleby, from whence it goeth to Kirby, Helperthorpe, Butterwyke, Boithorp, Foxhole, (where it falleth into the ground & riſeth vp againe at Rudſton) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and ſo into the Ocean.

Being come about yͤ Spurne hed, I méete ere long with a riuer that riſeth ſhort of Wilherſey, and goeth by Fodringham, and Wiſted: from thence, to another that commeth by Roſſe, Halſham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riſeth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Eſterwyke, Heddon, and ſo into the Humber. The 4. ſpringeth ſhort of Sprotteley, goeth by Wytton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will deſcribe alſo here, and then croſſe ouer vnto the ſoutherly ſhore. The furdeſt head of Hull water riſeth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lowthorpe creke, and ſo to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with ſondry waters, whereof one falleth in on the Northeaſt ſide, comming from about Liſſet, the ſecond on the Northweſt banke frō Nafferton: the third from Emmeſwell & Kirkeburne, (for it hath two heds, which ioyne beneath little Dryfeld) and the 4. which falleth into the ſame: ſo that theſe two latter come vnto yͤ maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Ratteſey to Goodalehouſe, & thē taking in a water from Horneſie Mere, it goeth on thorowe Beuerley medowes, by Warron, Stoneferry, Hull, and finally into the Humber. Of the Rill that falleth into this water from South netherwyke by Skyrlow, and the two Rilles that come from Cockingham and Wolnerton, I ſaye no more, ſith it is inough to name them in their order.

¶Of ſuch Riuers as fall into the Sea, betweene Humber to the Thames.

Cap. xj.

Humber.

THere is no ryuer called Humber from the heade, wherfore that which we now call Humber, hath the ſame denomination no hygher then the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beſide Leland, ſundry auncyent writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of yͤ ſea, & although it be properly to be called Ouze, euen to the Noke beneth Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber, of Humbrus a King of yͤ Scithiens, who inuaded this Iſle in yͤ time of Locrinus, thinking to make himſelfe the Monarch of yͤ ſame. But as God hath frō time to time ſingularly prouyded of the benefite of Briteine, ſo in this buſines it came to paſſe, that Humber was put to flight, his men ſlaine, & furthermore whileſt he attempted to ſaue hymſelfe by haſting to hys ſhippes, ſuch was the preſſe of his nobilitye that followed him into his owne veſſell, and the rage of weather, which haſtened on his fatall daye, that both he & they were drowned in that arme: And thys is the onelye cauſe wherefore it hath béene called Humber, as our wryters ſaye, and whereof I finde theſe verſes.

Dum fugit obſtat ei flumen, ſubmergitur illic,
Deque ſuo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

Thys ryuer in olde time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was yͤ portion of Albanactus, the yongeſt ſon of Brute. But ſithence that time yͤ limits of Lhoegres haue bene ſo inlarged, firſt by yͤ proweſſe of yͤ Romains, then by yͤ conqueſts of Engliſh, yͤ at thys preſent day yͤ Twede on the one ſide, and the Solwe on the other, are taken for the principall boundes, betwéene vs and thoſe of Scotlād. In deſcribing therfore of the Humber, I muſt néede deſcribe the Ouze, & in laying forth the courſe of the Ouze, I ſhal hardly eſcape the noting of thoſe ſtreames at large, that fall into the ſame: howbeit ſith I haue of purpoſe appointed a chapter for theſe and the lyke, the next booke, I will here onely ſpeake of the Ouze, and ſay therof as followeth.

Ure alias Ouze, or Iſis.

The Ure therefore ryſeth in the fardeſt partes of all Richmondeſhyre, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, towarde the weſt fourtéene myles beyonde Mydleham. Being therefore iſſued out of the grounde, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawhouſe, Butterſide, Aſkebridge (which Lelād calleth the Aſcaran, and sayth therof & the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bridges) thē to Aſkarth, thorowe Wanleſſe Parke, Wenſeley bridg, (made two hundred yeares ſince, by Alwyn, Parſon of Winſlaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danby, Geruiſe Abbay, Clifton and Maſham. When it is come to Maſham, it receyueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it dyd the wile, from very déepe ſcarry rockes, before at Aſkaran) and dyuers other wild rilles not worthy to be remēbred. From Maſham, it haſteth vnto Tanfielde (taking in by the waye, a ryll by Southweſt) then to another Tanfielde, to Newton hall, and northbridge at the hither ende of Rippon, and ſo to Huickes bridge. But ere it come there it méeteth with ẏ Skel, which being incorporate with ẏ ſame, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow & ſone after receyueth ẏ Swale. Here ſayth Lelande, I am brought into no little ſtreight, what to coniecture of the méeting of Iſis & Ure, for ſome ſay ẏ the Iſis & the Ure doe méete at Borowbridge, which to me doth ſeme to be very vnlikely, ſith Iſurium taketh his denominatiō of Iſis & Vro, for it is often ſéene that the leſſe ryuers doe mingle theyr names with ẏ greater, as in the Thameſis & other is eaſie to be found. Neyther is there any more menciō of the Ure after his paſſage vnder Borowbrige, but onelye of Iſis & the Ouze in theſe dayes, although in olde tyme it helde vnto Yorke it ſelfe, which of the Ure is truely called Urewic, (or Yorke ſhorte) or elſe my perſwaſion doth fayle me. I haue red alſo Ewerwic and Yorwijc. But to procéede, & leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe. Frō Borowbridge, ẏ Ouze goeth to Aldbrough (& receiuing ẏ Swale by ẏ way) to Aldworke, taking in Uſourne water, frō the ſouthweſt then to Linton vpon Ouze, to Newton vpō Ouze, & to Munketun, méeting wᵗ the Nydde ere long, and ſo going withall to the Readhouſes, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Foulefurth, Middlethorp, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Kelſete, Welſhall, Barleby, Selby, Turnamhall, Skurthall, Hokelathe, Hoke, Saundhall, Redneſſe, Whitegifte, Ulet, Blacketoft, Foreflete, Brownflete, & ſo into Humber. And thus do I deſcribe the Ouze. Now beyng entred into ẏ Humber ſtreame, toward ẏ ſea againe, I will begin with the Ancolme, and ſo go along vpon the coaſt of Lincolneſhire tyll I come to Boſton in ſuch order as inſueth.

Burne.

Wile.

Skell.

Swale.

Ancolme, a goodlye water ryſeth Eaſt of Mercate Raſing, & frō thence goeth by middle Raſing. Then receiuing a ſhort ryll from by ſouth, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waye, till it come to Wingall, north eaſt, where alſo it méeteth with another brooke, frō Uſelby that commeth thither, by Ureſby, and ſouth Kelſey. After this confluence alſo it goeth by Cadney (taking in the two rylles in one botome, that deſcende from Howſham, and north Kelſey,) and thence to Newſted, Glanford, Wardeley, Thorneham, Appleby, Horſlow, north Ferriby, and ſo into the ſea.

Beyng paſt Ancolme, we go about the Neſſe and ſo to the fall of the water, which commeth from Keleby, by Cotham Abbaye, Nercham Abbaie, Thorneton, & leauing Coxhyll by weſt, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another brooke comming from Fleting all along by Stallingburne. Thē croſſed we Grymſby gullet which iſſuing aboue Ereby cōmeth to Laſeby, the two Cotes, and then into the ſea. After thys we paſſed by a nother Portelet, whoſe backwater, deſcendeth from Waleſby by Alheby, Briggeſley, Wathe, and Towney, and finally to the next iſſue, before we came at Saltflete which braunching at the laſt, leaueth a prety Iſlande wherein Comſholme Uillage ſtandeth. This water ryſeth ſhort as I here of Tathewel, frō whence it goeth to Rathby, Hallington, Elkington, Lowth, Kidrington, Auingham, & then braunching aboue North Somerto[illegible], one arme méeteth with the ſea, by Grauethorp, ẏ other by north of ſomercote.

Saltflet water hath but a ſhort courſe for riſing among the Cockeringtons, it cōmeth to the ſea, at Saltflete hauen, howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it ryſeth as I take it in Calwthorpe paroche, and deſcendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the weſt myddle and eaſt Saltfletes, and ſo into the Oceane. The water that ryſeth aboue Ormeſby & Orby, goeth to Cawſby, Swaby Abbaie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tottle, Witherne, Stane, and north eaſt of Thetilthorpe into the maine ſea.

Maplethorpe water ryſeth at Chareſthorp and going by Markeley, Folethorpe, & Truthorpe, it is not long ere it méete wͭ the German Ocean, then come we to yͤ iſſue yͭ commeth frō aboue Hotoft, & thence to Mumby chappel, whether yͤ water cōming frō Clarby, Willowby, and Slouthby (and whereinto another ryll falleth) doth runne, as there to doe homage vnto their Lorde, & Soueraigne. As for Ingolde mil créeke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire brooke, which as I heare, doth riſe at Tetforde, and thence goeth by Somerby, Bagenderby Aſhwardby Sawſthorpe, Partney, Aſheby, yͤ Stepings, Thorpe Croft, and ſo into the Sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betwéene S. Maries and Ahallowes by Wainflete town, and treading the pathe of his predeceſſors, empiteth hys chanell to the maintenaunce of the Sea.

Now come I to the courſe of the Wytham, a famous riuer, wherof goeth the bye word, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed.

Ancolme ele, and Wytham pike,
Search all England, and find not the like.

Lelande calleth it Lindis, diuers the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe, except my memory do faile me. It riſeth amōg the Witthams, in the edge of Lincolnſhire, and as I take it in Southwickā paroche, frō whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Eaſton, Birkeſtoke, Paunton, and Paunton, Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a Rill from by ſouthweſt, as I here. From Grantham it runneth to Man-Thorpe, Belton, & Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from Northeaſt, it procedeth farther ſouthweſtwarde by Mareſton, toward Foſton, (there alſo taking in a brooke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Sydbrooke,) it haſteth to Dodington, Claypole, Barmeby, Beckingham, Stapleford, Baſſingham, Thurſby, and beneth Auburgh, croſſeth a water that commeth from Stagilthorpe by Somerton caſtle. After this confluence alſo, our Wytham goeth ſtil forth on his way, to the Hickhams, Bolthā, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe. But ere it come there, it maketh certain pooles (wherof one is called Swan poole) and ſone after deuiding it ſelfe into armes, they runne both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, eche of them hauing a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe through the principall ſtrete: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fiſher botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer méeteth, with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great floudes, veſſelles may come from the Trentes ſide to Lincoln. For betwene Torkſey where it beginneth, & Lincoln citie where it endeth, are not aboue vij. miles, as Lelande hath remembred. Biſhop Atwater began to clenſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels frō Trent to Lincoln in his time, but ſith he died before it was performed, there hath no man bene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame followyng, from Lincoln to Boſtō, is 50. miles by water, but if you mind to ferry, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are 4. common places where men are ferried ouer, as Short ferry 5. miles from Lincolne: Taterſall fery, 8. miles frō Short fery: Dogdike fery a mile, Langreth fery, 5. miles, and ſo many finally to Boſton.

Foſſe dike.

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis, when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewaſh, Waſſingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſondry riuers in one chanell, wherby his greatneſſe is very much increaſed. Frō this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a Rill (deſcendyng from betwene Sotby and Randby, and goyng by Haſton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Taterſall caſtle, taking vp there in like ſort thre ſmall Rilles by the way, wherof I haue ſmall notice as yet, and therfore I referre thē vnto the next Treatiſe, wherin God willing many things ſhal be more plainly ſet downe, that are here but obſcurely touched, and ſome errors corrected, that for want of informatiō, in due tyme haue ſpedily paſſed my handes. Finally, being paſt Taterſall, and Dogdike fery, the Wytham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer, now let vs ſée what we may do with the Wiland, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe euen as it was deliuered me, with onely one note added out of Leland, and another had of Chriſtopher Saxton of Wakefield, by whoſe frendly helpe I haue filed many things in this that were erſt but roughly handled, and more then rudely forged.

Being paſſed Boſton hauen, we come ſtreight waye to the fall of Wyland. This ſtreame ryſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betwéene Boſworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Fédingworth, Merſon, Bubberhā, Truſſell, Herborowe, (receyuing there the Bray, which cōmeth frō Braybrooke caſtle) to Bowton, Weſton, Wiland, Aſhely, Speaburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, (where a riueret called lyttle Eye méeteth wyth it) commyng from eaſt Norton by Alexton, Stocke,

Wyland.

Bray.

Warke.
Brooke water.
Whitnell.
New dreane.
South.
Writhlake.
Sheepes eye.

Stocke, Faſton, and dry ſtocke. From Calwcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerley, Duddington, Colly weſton, Eſton, and there ioyneth with the thirde called Warke, not farre from Ketton, which commeth from Lye by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Luffenham. &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanforde (croſſing the Brooke water, and Whitenelbecke, both in one bottom) and from Stanforde by Talington, Marſey to Mercate Deping, Crowland (where it almoſt méeteth with ẏ Auon) then to Spalding, Waplād, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of this Wyland, addeth theſe words which I will not omitte, ſith in mine opinion they are worthy to be noted, for better conſideratiō to be had in the ſayd water and his courſe. The Wyland ſayth he, goyng by Crowlande, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two brāches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stowe: the other named ẏ South into Wiſbeche. Thys latter alſo parteth it ſelfe to two myles from Crowlande, and ſendeth a ryll called Writhlake by Thorney, where it méeteth wyth an arme of the Nene, that cōmeth from Peter borow, and holdeth courſe with ẏ brode ſtreame, till it be come to Murho, ſixe myles from Wyſbech, where it falleth into the ſouth. Out of the ſouth in lyke ſort falleth another arme called Shéepes eye, and at Hopclode (which is fourtéene myles, from Linne) did fal into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, wherupō the inhabitants ſuſtaine many grieuous floudes, bycauſe the mouth is ſtaunched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea: hetherto Leland. Of the courſe of this ryuer alſo from Stanford, I note thys furthermore out of another writing in my time. Beyng paſt Staunton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghley Uffington, Tallingtō, Magey, Deping, eaſt Déeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it braunchetḥ into two armes, wherof that which goeth to Singleſole, receyueth the the Nene out of Cambridge ſhyre, and then going by Doweſdale, Trekenhole, and wynding at laſt to Wiſbiche, it goeth by Liuerington, S. Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme haſteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe Bretherhouſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth ẏ Baſtō dreane, Longtoft dreane, Déeping dreane, & thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking with all on the right hand ſondry other dreanes, and thus farre he.

Au
Ne
Vedo
Floru
Bugin

Next of all when we are paſt theſe, we cōme to another fall of water into ẏ Waſh, which deſcendeth directly from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Hollande: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importāce, I paſſe from thence, as haſting to the Nene, of both, the more noble riuer. The next therfore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwyſe called Nene, which the author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth 4. miles aboue Northampton in Nene Mere, where it riſeth out of two heades, which ioyne about Northampton. Of this riuer the city & countrie beareth the name, although we now pronoūce Hāpton for Auondune, which error is cōmitted alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſily ſée. In another place Lelād deſcribeth ẏ ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auō riſeth in Nene mere field, and goyng by Oundale and Peterborow, it deuideth it ſelfe into thre armes, wherof one goeth to Horney, another to Wiſbich, the third to Ramſey: and afterward beyng vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not very farre from Linne. Finally, the diſcent of theſe waters, leaue here a great ſort of Ilandes, wherof Ely, Crowland, and Merſland, are the chiefe: Hetherto Lelande. Howbeit, becauſe neither of theſe deſcriptiōs touch the courſe of this riuer at the full. I wil ſet downe the third, which ſhal ſupply whatſoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore ariſing in Nenemere field, is encreaſed with many Rilles before it come at Northhampton, and one aboue Kings thorpe, from whēce it goeth to Dallington, & ſo to Northhamptō, where it receiueth the Wedon, and here I will ſtay, till I haue deſcribed this riuer. The Wedon therfore riſeth at Fauleſſe in maiſter Knightlies pooles and in Badby plaſhes alſo, are certaine ſprings that reſort vnto this ſtreame. Fauleſſe pooles, are a mile from Charcton, where the head of Chare ryuer is ẏ rūneth to Banbery. There is but an hill called Albery hil betwene ẏ heds of theſe two riuers. From the ſaid hill therefore, the Wedon directeth his courſe to Badby Newenham, Euerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiueth the Florus (a prety water riſing of foure heds, wherof the one is at Dauentry, another at Watford, the third, at long Buck, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then paſſeth on to Heyford, Kiſlingbury, Upton, and ſo to Northampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finally by the way, the Bugbroke water at Heyford, Patſhall water nere Kiſlingbery, and finally, Preſton water beneath Upton, which running from Preſtō by Wotton, méeteth at the laſt with Milton Rill, and ſo fal into Auon. Now to reſume the tractation of our Auon. Frō Northhampton therfore, it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitſtone, Dodington and

Willingborow, where we muſt ſtay a while, for betwene Willingborow and Highā Ferries, it receiueth a pretty water comming frō about Kilmarſhe, which goyng by Ardingworth, Dailborow, Ruſheton, Newtō, Caddington, Boughton, Warketon, Ketteryng, Berton, and Burton, meeteth there wyth Rothewel water, which cummeth weſt of Kettering to Yiſham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon. Beyng therfore paſt Burton, our maine ſtreame goeth to Highā Ferris, Artleborow, Ringſted, Woodford, and (meeting therby with Tranford Rill) to Thrarſton, north wherof it ioyneth alſo with the Delcy water, that commeth frō Sudborowe and Lowicke, to olde Wnkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Toke, (where it taketh in the Liueden Becke) and ſo to Oundell Cotterſtocke, Tanſoner, and betwene Cothering and Warmington, receyueth the Corby water, which riſing at Corby, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwyke. Fineſhed, Arethorpe, Newton, Cothering, & ſo into the Auon. After this, the ſaid Auon goeth to Elton, Waſſington, Perwell, Sutton, Caſtor, Allertō, and ſo to Peterborow, where it deuideth it ſelfe into ſundry armes, & thoſe into ſeuerall braunches amōg the Fennes & medowes, not poſſible almoſt to be numbred, before it meete with the ſea on the oneſide of the countrey, & fal into the Ouze on the other.

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orby.

The Ouze, which Leland calleth the third Iſis, falleth into the ſea betwene Merland and Downeham. The chief hed of this riuer ariſeth nere vnto Stanes, from whence it rōneth to Brackley (ſometyme a noble towne in Northampton ſhire, but now ſcarcely a good village) and there taking in on the left hande one water comming from the parke betwene Syſam and Aſwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinwelton) and another on the right frō Imley, it goeth on by Weſtbury, Fulwell, Water ſtretford, Buckinghā and Berton, beneath which towne the Eryn falleth into it, whereof I finde this ſhort deſcription to be inſerted here. The Eryn riſeth not farre from Hardwijc in Northamptonſhire, from hence it goeth by Heth, Erinford, Godderington, Thynford, Steple cladō, and ere it come at Padbiry, meeteth with the Garan brooke deſcending from Garanburgh, and ſo they go together by Padbiry till they fall into the Ouze, which carieth them after the confluence, to Thorneton bridge (where they croſſe another fall of water commyng from Whitlewood foreſt by Luffeld, Leckamſted and Foſcot) and ſo to Beachāptō, Culuerton, Stony ſtratford and Woluertō. Here the Ouze meeteth with a water (called as Lelande coniectureth, ẏ Vere or Were,) on the left hand as you go downeward that cōmeth betwene Wedon and Werenham in Northamptonſhire & goeth by Towceſter, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluertō and Hauerſham, into ẏ foreſaid Ouze, which goeth alſo frō hence to Newporte paganell, where in like ſort I muſt ſtay a while till I haue deſcribed another water, named the Cle, by whoſe iſſue the ſayd ſtreame is not a little increaſed. This riuer riſeth in the very confines betwene Buckinghā and Bedford ſhires, not far from Whippeſnade, and goyng on toward the northweſt, by Eaton and Layton, it commeth to Lincholade, where it entreth wholy into Buckinghamſhire, and ſo goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fenny ſtratford, Simpſon, Walton and Midletō, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, & ſo goeth on till it meete with ẏ Ouze neere vnto Newport, as I haue ſaid. Being vnited therefore we ſet forward from the ſayde towne, and followe thys noble ryuer, to Lathbirye, Thuringham, Filgraue, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfelde on the one ſide, and Turuey on the other, till it come at length to Bedforde, after many windleſſes, & then meeteth with another ſtreame, which is increaſed with ſo manye waters, that I was inforced to ſtaye here alſo, and vewe theyr ſeuerall courſes, from the higheſt ſteple in Bedforde, whence (or peraduenture otherwyſe) I noted the ſame as followeth. Certes on the eaſt ſide where I begane thys ſpeculation, I ſawe one that came from Potton, and mette withal neere Becliſwade: another that grewe of two waters, whereof one deſcended frō Baldocke, the other frō Hitchin, which ioyned beneath Arleſey, and thence went to Langforde and Edworth. The third which I behelde had in lyke ſort two heades, whereof one is not farre from Woode ende, the other from Woburne (or Howburne) & ioyning about Milwike, they go to Flytton, (where they receiue Anill Brooke) and ſo by Chiphil, and Chickſande, they come to Shafforde, from whence taking the aforeſayde Langford water with them, they go forth by Becliſwade, Sandy, Blunham, & neere vnto Themiſford are vnited to the Ouze, & now to our purpoſe againe. After this ẏ Ouze, goeth by Berkeforde, to Wimeringhā, (meetyng there with the Wareſley becke) and ſo runneth to S. Neotes (or S. Nedes) to Parſton, Offordes, Godmancheſter, Huntingdon, Wilton, S. Iues, Hollywell, and Erith, receyuing in the meane tyme the Stow, nere vnto little Parton, and likewiſe the Ellen, & the Cinmor, in one chanell a litle by weſt of Hun-

ſis.3.

ila.

melus.

rin.

aran.

Verus.

Cle alias Claius.

Saw.

These riſe not far frō Michelborow, and one of thē in Higham parke.

Verus or ẏ were,

Stoucus.

Helenus.
Elmerus.

Riuelus.

Granta.

Huntingdon. Finallye the maine ſtreame ſpeading abroade into the Fennes, I cannot tell into howe many braunches, neyther how manye Iſlettes, are inforced by the ſame, but thys is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it ſelfe with raunging a while about the pleaſant bottomes and lower groundes, it méeteth with the Granta, frõ whence it goeth with a ſwift courſe, vnto Downehã. Betwen it alſo and the Auõ, are large ſundry Mores, or plaſhes by ſouthweſt of Peterborow wherof Whittleſey méere, and Ramſey méere, (whereinto the Riuell falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wyſton, and great Riuelley) are ſayde to be greateſt. Of all the ryuers that runne into this ſtreame, that called Granta is the moſt noble and excellent, which I will deſcribe euen in his place, notwithſtanding that I had earſt appoynted it vnto my ſeconde booke, but foraſmuch as a deſcription of Ouze and Granta, were delyuered me togyther, I will for his ſake that gaue them me, not ſeperate thẽ nowe in ſunder. The very fardeſt heade and originall of thys ryuer is in Henham, a large Parke belonging to the Earle of Suſſex, wherin as the Townesmen ſay, are foure ſprings that run foure ſundry wayes into the maine Sea. Lelande ſought not the courſe of thys water, aboue Newport ponde, & therefore in his Comentaries vpõ the ſong of yͤ ſwan, he writeth thereof after this maner inſuing. But here before I enter into his diſcourſe, I muſt giue you warning, how D. Iohn Caius the learned Phiſition, and ſome other are of the opiniõ, that this ryuer comming from Newport, is properlye to bée called the Rhée, but I may not ſo eaſily diſcent frõ Leland, whoſe iudgement in my mynde is by a great deale the more likely, harken therefore what he ſayth.

Bu

Rhé

The heade of Grantha or Granta, is in yͤ pond at Newport, a towne of the eaſt Saxons, which going in a bottome beſide yͤ ſame, receyueth a pretye ryll, which in the myddeſt thereof doeth driue a mil and deſcendeth from Wickin Bonhaunt, that ſtandeth not far from thence. Being paſt Newport, it goeth a long in the lower grounde vntill it come to Broke Waldẽ, weſt of Chipping Waldẽ, (now Saffron walden) harde by the Lorde Awdleis place, where of late the ryght honorable Lorde Phillip Earle of Surrey, with his houſholde dyd ſoiourne, and ſometyme ſtoode an Abbaie, of Benedictine Monkes, before theyr generall ſuppreſſion. From Awdley end it goeth to Littleburſe, the leſſe and greater Cheſterfordes, Ycaldune, Hincſtone, Seoſton or Sawſon, and néere vnto Shaleforde receyueth the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleforde: and ſo going forwarde it commeth at the laſt to Trompington, which is a myle from Cambridge. But ere it come altogyther to Trompington, it méeteth wyth the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but other yͤ Rhée, (a cõmon name to all waters in the Saxon ſpeache,) whereof I finde thys deſcription, to be touched by the waye. The Rhée ryſeth ſhort of Aſhwell, in Hertforde ſhyre, and paſſing vnder the brigde betwéene Gylden Mordon and Downton, and leauing Cadlow on the weſt ſide (as I remẽber) it goeth toward Crawdẽ, Malton, Barrington, Haſelingfeld, and ſo into Granta, taking ſundry Rylles with him from ſouth, & ſouthweſt, as Wendy water ſouth weſt of Crawden, Whaddõ broke ſouthweſt of Orwel, Mildred becke ſouthweſt of Malton, and finally yͤ which goeth by Fulmere & Forton, & falleth into the ſame betwéene Barringtõ, and Harleſton, or Harſon as they call it.

Stu

Bul

Nowe to procéede with our Granta, from Crompingtõ on the one ſide, and Grantceſter on the other, it haſteth to Cambridge warde, taking the Burne with it by the way, which deſcendeth from a caſtell of the ſame denomination, wherein the Picotes, & Peuerelles ſometime did inhabite. Thence it goeth by ſundrye Colledges in Cambridge, as the Quéenes Colledge, the Kings Colledge, Clare Hall, Trinity Colledge, S. Iohns. &c. vnto the high bridge of Cãbridge, & betwene the towne and the Caſtell to Cheſterton, and receyuing by & by the Doure, or Sture, (at whoſe bridge, yͤ moſt famous Mart in Englande is yearely holden & kept. Frõ Cheſtertõ it goeth to Ditton, Miltõ, & ere long méeting with two rylles (from Bottcſham and Wilberhã, in one bottome) it rũneth to Horningſey and water Beche: and finallye here ioyning with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Denny, and ſo forth into the Ouze, fiftéene myles from Cambridge, as Leland hath ſet downe. And thus much of the thirde Iſis or Ouze, out of the aforeſayde Authour, whereunto I haue not onelye added ſomewhat of mine owne Experience, but alſo of other mens notes, whoſe diligent obſeruation of the courſe of thys ryuer, hath not a little helped mée in the diſcription of the ſame. Nowe it reſteth that we come nerer vnto the coaſt of Norfolke, and ſet forth ſuch waters as we paſſe by vppon the ſame, wherin I will deale ſo preciſelye as I maye, and ſo farre will I trauaile therein as I hope ſhall content euen the curious reader, or if any fault be made, it ſhall not be ſo great, but that after ſome trauayle in the finding, it ſhall with eaſe be corrected.

urne.

ale.

The firſt ryuer yͤ therfore we come vnto after we be paſt the confluence of Granta, & the Ouze, and within the iuriſdiction of Norfolke, is called the Burne. This ſtreame ryſeth not very farre from Burne Bradfeld aboue the greater Wheltham, and from thence it goeth to Nawnton, Bury, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Geneueſa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeforde, Iclingham, and to Mildenhall, a litle beneath which it méeteth with the Dale water, that ſpringeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Aſheby, Moulton, (a benefice as the report goeth not very well prouided for) to Kenforde, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the laſt not farre from Iſelham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Ouze. With yͤ Burne alſo there ioyneth a water comming from about Lydgate, a little beneath Iſelham, and not very farre from Mildenhall.

unus.

The Dune heade and ryſing of Wauenhey are not much in ſunder, for as it is ſuppoſed they are both not farre diſtaunt from the bridge betwéene Lopham and Ford, wherby yͤ one runneth eaſt & the other weſt, as I haue béene enformed. The Dune goeth firſt of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, and to Kinets hall, where it méeteth with a water, cōming out of a lake ſhorte of Banham (goyng by Quiddenham, Herling, Gaſthorpe) and ſo forth on both in one channell, they runne to Ewſton. Here they méete in lyke ſort, wyth another deſcending from two heads, wherof the one is néere vnto Pakenham, the other to Taueſtocke, as I here. Certes theſe heads ioyne aboue Ileſworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whēce they go to Ixworth, Thorp, Berdwel, Hunnington, Fakenham, and ſo into the Dune at Ewſton as I ſayde. Frō hence alſo they haſtē vnto Downeham, which of this riuer doth ſéeme to borowe his name. South rée ryl, I paſſe ouer as not worthy the deſcription, bicauſe it is ſo ſmall.

adunus
rè.

Next vnto thys ryuer on the ſouth ſide is the Braden, or Bradunus, which ryſeth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, ſouth Peckenham, Kiſſingham, Bedney, Langforde, Igbor, Minforde, northolde, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgy, and ſo into the Ouze.

nus.

The néereſt vnto thys is another which riſeth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Maſſingham, Newton, the caſtel acre, Acres, Nerbor, Pentney, Wrōgey, Roughton, Weſtchurch, & ſo to Linne, as ſo doth alſo another by north of this which commeth from the eaſt hylles by Congeham, Grymſton, Bawſey, Gaywood, whereof let this ſuffiſe, and now giue eare to the reaſt ſith I am paſt the Ouze.

ngimus.

Riſing.

Ingell.

Beyng paſt the mouth or fall of the Ouze, we méete next of al with the riſing chaſe water which deſcendeth from two heds, & alſo yͤ Ingel that commeth from about Snetſham; From hence we go by the point of ſ. Edmōd, and ſo hold on our courſe, till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the ſea by ſouth from Waterden, and goyng betwéene the Crakes to Burneham thorp, and Burnham Norton, it ſtriketh at the laſt into the ſea, eaſt of Burnham Norton, a mile at yͤ leſt, except my coniecture doe faile me. The Glow or Glowy, riſeth not farre from Baconſthorp, in the hundred of Tunſted, and goyng by and by into Holt hūdred, it paſſeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnſford, Blackney, Clare, and ſo in the ſea receiuing there at hand alſo a Rill by eaſt, which deſcendeth from the hils lyſing betwene Killing town and Wayburne.

Glouius.

Wantſume

The Wantſume riſeth in Northfolke at Galeſend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Caterſend, Downton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Penſthorpe, Kieburg, Ellingham, and Billingeſford. And here it receyueth two waters in one bottom, of which the firſt goeth by Stanfeld and Betteley, the other, by Wandling and Greſſonhall, and ſo run on eche his owne way, till they méete at Hoondlington, ſouthweſt of Billingeſforde with the Wantſume. From hence they go altogether to Below, Iyng, Weſton, and Moreton, but ere it come to Moreton, it méeteth with the Yowke, which (iſſuyng about Yerham) goeth by Matteſhall and Barrow. After this the ſayd Wantſume goeth on by Ringland, and ſo to Norwich the pontificall ſée of the Biſhop, to whom that iuriſdictiō appertaineth. Beneath Norwich alſo it receyueth two waters in one chanell, which I wil ſeuerally deſcribe according to their courſes, noting their confluēce to be at Birtley, within two myles of Norwich, except myne annotation deceiue me. The firſt of theſe hath two heds, wherof one mounteth vp ſouth weſt of Whinborow, goeth by Gerneſton, & is the very Hiere or Yare that drowneth the name of Wantſume, ſo ſone as he méeteth withal. The other hed riſeth at Wode in Mitforde hundred, and (after confluence with the Hiere at Caſton) goyng by Brandon, Bixton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefeld (not farre from Birtly as I ſayd) doth méete with his companion, which is the ſecond to be deſcribed as followeth. It hath two heads alſo that méete northweſt of Therſtane, and hereof the one

Yocus.

Hierus
Gerne.

commeth from Findon hal, by Wrenninghã from about Wotton; by Hemnal, Fretton, Stretton, and Caſborow, till they ioyne at Therſton, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therſton therfore they go together in one to Newton, Shoteſham, Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Bixeley, Lakenham and Crowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume beneath Norwich which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere Yare or Gare therfore proceding in his voiage, as it wer to ſalute his grãdame the Oceane, goeth from thence by Paſwyc, Surlingham, Claxton and Yardley: and here it méeteth agayne with another Riueret deſcending from about Shoteſham, to Thirſtane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and ſo into Gare or Yare, wherof Yardley the town receyueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burghe caſtle méeteth Wauen. with the Wauen hey, and ſo into the ſea. Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which riſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton, Bureſdune, Corpeſtey, Marington, Blekeling, Bure, Aleſham, Bramptõ, Burtõ, Horſted, Wrexhã bridge, Horning, Raneworth (and beneath Baſtewyc receyueth the Thurinus Thurine which riſeth aboue Roleſby) then to Oby, Clypſby, (there alſo receiuing another from Filby) Rimham, Caſtor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. Wauen. The Wauenhey afore mencioned, riſeth on the South ſide of Briſingham, and is a limite betwene Northfolke and Suffolke, goyng therfore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Oxe, it méeteth with the Eie whiche riſeth nere Ockolde, or betwéene it and Braiſworthe, and goeth on by Brome, Oxe, and ſo into the Waue[illegible]y. From thẽce alſo our Wauency, runneth by Sylam, Brodiſh, Nedam, Harleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungey, Shéepemedow, Barſham, Beckles, Alby, and at Whiteacre as I here it parteth in twaine, or elſe receyuing Milforde water, which is the moſt likely, it goeth along by Somerley, Hormingfléete, S. Olaues, (there receyuing Fritha. the Friſtan broke, out of low or little Englande) Friſtan and Burge caſtell, where it méeteth wyth the Hiere, and from thenceforth accompanieth it as I ſayd vnto the ſea.

Willingham water commeth by Henſted Einus. Einſted, or Eniſtate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Keſland.

Cokelus. The Cokell ryſeth ſouth ſouth weſt, of Cokeley Towne, in Blythe hundred, and néere vnto Haſtelworth, it méeteth with the ryll, that commeth from Wiſſet, and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Bliborowe, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen, betwéene Roydon, and Walderſwicke. A little ryll runneth alſo thereinto from Eſton, by Sowolde, and another from Dunwiche, by Walderſwijke, and hereby it wanteth lyttle that Eſton Neſſe, is not cut of and made a prety Iſlande.

The Forde ryſeth at Yoxford, and going Fo by Forderley, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Myſméere créeke.

Into the Oreforde hauen, falleth one wa- Oru ter comming from Aldborowe warde, by a narrowe paſſage, frõ the north into the ſouth. us. By weſt whereof (when we are paſt a lyttle Iſle) it receyueth the ſeconde, deſcending frõ betwéene Talingſton, and Framingham, in Fro Plomes hundred: which comming at laſt to Marleforde, méeteth wyth a ryll ſouth weſt of Farncham called the Gleme, (that com- Glem meth by Rendelſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it taketh another wyth all at Snapeſbridge, comming from Carleton, by Saxmundham, Sternefielde, and Snape. Then going to Iken (where it méeteth wyth Iken the thirde ryll at the weſt ſide) it fetcheth a Ike. compaſſe by Sudburne eaſt of Orforde, and ſo into the hauen. Next vnto thys by weſt of Orforde, there runneth vp another créeke by Butley, whereinto the waters comming frõ Celleſforde, and from the Ike, doe runne both in one botome, and thus much of Orforde hauen.

The Deue ryſeth in Debenham, in the Deu hundred of Herteſméere, and from thence goeth to Mickeforde, Winſton, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto ſtill créeping towarde the ſouth: but then going in maner full ſouth, it runneth néere vnto Aſhe, Rendleſham, Ufforde, Melton, and Woodebridge, beneth which, it receiueth on the weſt ſide, a water cõming of two heades, whereof one is by north from Oteley, and the other by ſouth from Henly, which ioyning weſt of Mertelſham, go vnto the ſayde towne, and ſo into the Deue, eaſt of Mertelſham, aboueſayd. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfielde and Henley, and méeteing ſone Clarus after with Brightwell broke, it haſteth into ẏ maine ſea, leauing Badwſey on the eaſt where the fall therof is called Bawdſey hauen.

Ure ryſeth not farre from Bacton, in Urus. Herteſméere hundred, and thence deſcendeth into Stowe hundred by Gippyng Newton, Dagworth, Stowe, (beneath whiche it méeteth with a water comming from Ratleſden, by one houſe,) and ſo goyng on to Nedeham, (thorowe Boſméere and Claydon hundredes) to Blakenham, Bramforde, Ypſwiche, (receyuing beneath Stoke, which lyeth ouer againſt Ypſwiche, the Chatſham water, that goeth by Welſted, & ſo into ÿ Ure, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous déepe & large pitte, whereof ſome Marryners ſaye that they coulde neuer fynde the bottome, and therefore calling it a Well, and ioyning the name of the ryuer withall, it commeth to paſſe that ÿ hauen there, is called Urewel, for which in theſe daies we doe pronounce it Orwell. Into thys Hauen alſo the Sture or Stoure, hath ready paſſage, which remaineth in thys treatize next of all to be deſcribed.

The Sture or Stoure, parteth Eſſex from Suffolke, as Houeden ſaith, and experience cōfirmeth. It ariſeth in Suffolk, out of a lake néere vnto a towne called Stourmére. For albeit there come two rylles vnto the ſame, whereof the one deſcendeth from Thyrlo, the Wratinges and Ketton, the other from Horſhed parke, by Hauerill &c. Yet in ſomer tyme they are often drye, ſo that they cannot be ſayde to be parpetuall heads, vnto the aforeſayde ryuer. The Stoure therefore ryſeth at Stoure mare, which is a poole contayning twentie acres of ground at the leaſt, the one ſide whereof is full of Alders, the other of réede, wherein the great ſtore of fiſhe there bredde, is not a little ſuccoured. From thys mére, alſo it goeth to Bathorne brydge, to Stocke clare, Cawndiſh, Pentlo, Melforde, Foxerth, Bureſley, Sudbury, Bures, Borſted, Stoke Naylande, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, eaſt Barforde, Brampton, and to Catwade bridge, where it falleth into the ſea, receiuyng in the meane time ſundry brokes and rylles not here omytted at all. For on Eſſex ſide, it hath one from Hemſted, which goeth by Bumſted, and Birdbroke: another ryſing ſhorte of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchamp, Brundon, and falleth into the ſame at Badlington, weſt of Sudbury: and the thirde that glydeth by Horkeſley, and méeteth withal weſt of Borſted. On the north or vpon Suffolke ſide, it receyueth one deſcending frō Caſtledge, by Bradley, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The ſeconde deſcendeth from Poſling field, & ioyneth therewith eaſt of Clare. The thyrde aryſeth of two heades, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Riſby hundred, and ioyning about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borſted, Stanſted, and north of Foxerth, falleth into Stour. The fourth iſſueth from betwéene the Wallingfelds, and goeth by Edwardſtone, Borſted, Alington, Polſted, Stoke, and ſo at ſouth Borſted falleth into the ſame. The fift ryſeth North Weſt of Cockefielde, and goeth to Cockefielde, Lauenham, Brimſley, Milding, and receyuing Kettle Baſton water ſouthweſt of Cheilſworth (and likewiſe the Breton that commeth from Brettenham, by Hitcheham & Biſſeton ſtreat on the ſouth eaſt of the ſame towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadley, Lainham, Shelly, Higham, and ſo into the Sture. The ſixt is a lyttle ryll deſcending ſouthweſt from Chappell. The ſeuenth ryſeth betwéene Chappel, & Bentley, and going betwéene Tatingſton, and Whetſtede, Holbroke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and frō thence is neuer harde of.

Kettle baſton.

As for Oeley Orill, that ryſeth betwéene Oeley, and Wikes Parkes, and goeth vnder Ramſey brydge, and ſo into the Stoure, on Eſſex ſide, weſt of Harwiche, and eaſt of Rée Iſle, I paſſe it ouer becauſe it is but a ril and not of any greatneſſe, although I ſéeke to remember manye tymes, euen the very ſmalleſt.

Oeley.

Next vnto this, wée come to another that runneth South of Beamont by Moſſe, and falleth into the Sea about the middeſt of the Bay, betwixt Harwich and the Naze.

Moſſe.

Betwixt the Naze alſo and the mouth of Colne, is another Ryll which riſeth at little Bentley, and thence goeth to Tendryng thorpe, thorow Clacton parke by great Holland, and eaſt of little Holland, into the déepe ſea.

Claco.

The Colne hath thrée heds, whereof one is at Ouington that goeth by Tilbery, and eaſt of Peldam, falleth into the chiefe head, which ryſeth about Redgewell in Eſſex, frō whence it goeth to Peldam Henningham, &c. The third falleth in South of Peldam into Colne, and being once mette all in one chanell: the Colne goeth as I ſayde, to Henninghā Halſted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colcheſter, and ſo into the ſea at Brickleſey. It ſéemeth here, that when ÿ ſea entreth betwéene the points of Bradwell and S. Anthonies, it deuydeth it ſelfe into two armes, wherof one goeth toward Colcheſter the other toward Maldon. Into the Colne or Colunus (whereof Lelande thinketh Colcheſter to take hys name, and not a Colonia Romanorum) doe run many ſalt créekes beneth Fingering ho, whoſe names ſith I doe not knowe, nor whether they be ſerued with any backwaters or not, I gyue ouer to intreat any farther of theyr poſitions. Into that of Malden runneth many faire waters, whereof I will ſay ſo much as I knowe to be true by experience.

Colunus,

There is a prety water that beginneth nere vnto Clymbache or Wimbech church in Eſſex (the very limits of Dunmow Deanery) which runneth directly frō thence vnto Radwinter, (a parcell of your Lordſhips poſſeſſyons in thoſe parts) and within thrée quarters of a mile of the aforeſaid church. By the way alſo it is increaſed with ſundry prety ſprings whereof Pantwell is the chiefe, and to ſay the truth, hath manye a leaſing fathered on the ſame: there is likewiſe another in a paſture belonging to the graunge, now belongyng to Henry Browne Eſquier, ſoiournyng thervpon. The third, commeth out of the yarde of one of your Lordſhips Manour there, called Radwinter hall. The fourth, frō Iohn Cockſwettes houſe, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, méeteth with yͤ Owin, on the northweſt ende of Ferraunts meade, ſoutheaſt of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honors fauorable prefermēt. **Froſhwell.** The next is named Froſhwel, and of this Spring doth the whole Hundred beare the name, and alſo the Ryuer it ſelfe whereinto it falleth (from by north) ſo far as I remember. Certes, all theſe ſauing yͤ firſt and ſecond, are within your Lordſhips towne aforeſayd. The ſtreame therfore running frō hence (and now called Froſhwell, of Froſhe, which ſignifieth a frog) haſteth immediately vnto olde Sandford, then thorow new Sandforde parke, and afterward with full ſtreame to Shalford, Bocking, Stiſted, Paſwyc, and ſo to blackwater, where the name of Froſhwel ceaſeth, the water being from henceforth as I here, called Blackwater, vntyll it come to Maldon. From Blackwater therefore it goeth to Coxall, Eaſterforde, Braxſted and Wickham, where it méeteth wyth the Barus, **Barus.** and ſo goyng togyther, deſcende to Heybridge, and finally into the ſaltwater aforeſayde. As for the Barus, it ryſeth in a ſtately parke of Eſſex called Bardfeld, belonging to the crowne, from whence it goeth to olde Salyng, Braintrée (receyuing a ryllet by waye comming from Raine, blacke Notley, white Notley, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the blacke water beneath Braxſted, on the ſouth.

Chelmer. Beſide thys, the ſayde ryuer receyueth alſo the Chelme or Chelmer, which aryſeth in Wymbeche aforeſayde, where it hath two heads: whereof the one is not farre from Brodockes (where Thomas Wiſeman Eſquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams, and ioyning ere long in one Chanell, they hye them toward Tharſted, meting in the way alſo with a Ryll commyng from Boyton ende. Beyng paſt Tharſted, it goeth by Tiltey, and ſone after receyueth one Ril **Lindis.** which ryſeth on the north ſide of Lindſell, and falleth into yͤ Chelmer by north eaſt at Tiltey aforeſayde, and another comming from ſouthweſt, and ryſing ſoutheaſt from Lindſel at moche Eiſton. From thence then holding on ſtyll wyth the courſe, it goeth to Moche Dunmowe, little Dunmow, Felſted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, & ſo to Chelmereſforde. Here vppon the ſouth ſide I finde the iſſue of a water that riſeth 5. miles or thereaboutes, ſouth and by weſt of the ſayde towne, from whence it goeth to Munaſing Butteſbury (there receiuyng a Rill from by weſt) to Ingat ſtone, Marget Inge, Wilforde bridge Writtle bridge, and ſo to Chelmereſforde, (croſſing alſo yͤ ſecond water that deſcendeth from Roxforde ſouthweſt of Writtle by the way) whereof let this ſuffice. From hence the Chelmer goeth directly towarde Mauldon by Badow, Owting, Wodhamwater, Byly, and ſo to Blackwater northweſt of Maldon, receyuing neuertheleſſe ere it come fullye thither a becke alſo that goeth frō Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and ſo into Blackwater (whereof I ſpake before) as Maldon waters, doth a ryll from by ſouth ouer againſt S. Oſithes, and alſo another by Bradwell.

The Burne, ryſeth ſomewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, ſouth Fambridge, Kirkeſhot fery, and ſo to Foulneſſe: & as this is the ſhort courſe of that ryuer, ſo it brauncheth, and the ſouth arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneth Pakeſham, doth méete by South, wyth the ſayde arme, and ſo finiſhe vp his courſe, as we doe our voyage alſo about the coaſt of Englande.

Thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames as fall into the Ocean according to my purpoſe, although not in ſo preciſe an order and maner of handling, as I might, if information promyſed had bene accordingly performed: howbeit, thys wyll I ſay of that which is already done, that from the hauen of Southampton, by ſouth vnto the Twede, that parteth England and ſcotland, by north (if you go backward contrary to the courſe of my deſcription) you ſhall finde it ſo exacte, as beſide a fewe bye ryuers to be touched hereafter, you ſhall not néede to vſe any further aduiſe for the finding and falles of yͤ aforeſayd ſtreames. For ſuch hath béene my helpe and conference wyth other men about theſe, that I dare pronounce them to be perfite and exact. In the reaſt I followed Leland in maner worde for worde, what he hath ſayd therefore of them, that haue I examplyfied & publiſhed herein. Such was his dealing alſo in hys bookes, that he ſought not to be curious and preciſe in thoſe deſcriptions that he made, but thought it ſufficient to ſay ſomwhat, and more of thinges then any mā had done before hym. In the next booke therfore, I will in thrée chapiters run ouer theſe matters agayne, and as I haue already borowed ſomewhat of the ſame, in ſettyng downe ſuch braunches as fal into the mayne ſtreames at large, ſo will I there agayne remember ſuch great riuers as I haue here eyther omitted, or not ſo orderly handled as their dignities do require. In reading therefore of the one, refuſe not I beſéeche your honor withall, to haue conference with the other, for what this wanteth, that other ſhall ſupply, and ẏ which is briefly touched in this, ſhal there be opened at large, the onely occaſion of this deuiſion growyng vpon hope of inſtruction to come in tyme, whereof when I had moſt néede, and the leſe vnder the preſſe, I was left deſtitute and without hope of all reliefe. It is poſſible, that ſome curious head may finde carpyng worke inough in ẏ courſes of theſe ſtreames, but if ſuch a one wyll enterpriſe the lyke, and try what one man can doe by reading onely, (for I ſayled about my country within the compaſſe of my ſtudy) & therunto remember how many wais, through many mens iudgementes, and what number of occaſions may ſerue here and there, to inforce the writer to miſtake his Pamphlets, quarters, townes, entraunces, &c. I doe not doubt but it woulde trouble his brayn, although now peraduēture in table talke, he can find many things, as he doth that ſitteth at home among Ladies and Gentlewomen, and will talke and take order for matters abroad that are to be done in the field, where he neuer ſhewed his face. Unto the learned therfore, I yeld correctiō of mine errors onely, and as I confeſſe that ſome vnknowne vnto me, may and haue eſcaped my handes, ſo by their gentle and brotherly admonition, they ſhall be the ſooner amended. Furthermore, this I haue alſo to remember that in the courſes of our ſtreames, I regard not ſo much to name ẏ very town or church, as the limites of the paroche, and therefore if I ſay it goeth by ſuch a towne, I thinke my duety diſcharged, if I hitte vpon any part or parcel of the paroche. This alſo hath not a litle troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of many townes and villages, of which I haue noted ſome one man in the deſcription of a riuer to write it two or thrée maner of wayes, whereby I was inforced to chuſe one (at aduenture moſt commonly) that ſéemed the likelieſt in myne opinion & iudgement: but inough of this and theſe things for this preſent.

¶ *Of the foure hyghe wayes ſometyme made in Brytaine, by the Princes of thys Lande.*

Chap. 12.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon Originall, doe affirme that this diuiſiō of waies whereof we now intreate, ſhould apperteine to ſuch Princes of that Nation, as reigned here, ſith the Romaines gaue vs ouer. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquity of theſe ſtréetes it ſelfe ſhal eaſily declare, whereof ſome percelles after a ſorte are alſo ſet downe by Antoninus, and thoſe that haue written of the ſeuerall iourneyes from hence to Rome, although peraduenture not in ſo directe an order, as they were at the firſt eſtabliſhed. For my parte if it were not that I deſire to be ſhort in this behalfe, I could with ſuch notes as I haue already collected for that purpoſe, make a large confutation of diuers of theyr opinions cōcerning theſe paſſages, but ſith I haue ſpent more time in ẏ tractatiō of the riuers, then was allotted vnto me, I will omit at this time to diſcourſe of theſe things as I would, and ſay what I may for the better knowledg of their courſes, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all, I finde that Dunwallon King of Britayne, about 483. yeares before ẏ birth of our ſauior Ieſus Chriſt, ſeing the ſubiectes of his Realme, to be in ſundry wyſe oppreſſed by théeues and robbers, as they traueiled to and fro, and being willing (ſo much as in him laye) to redreſſe theſe inconueniences, cauſed his whole kingdome to be ſurueyed, and then commaunding foure principall wayes to be made, which ſhoulde leade ſuch as traueyled into all partes thereof, from ſea to ſea, he gaue ſundry large priuileges vnto the ſame, whereby they became ſafe, and verye much frequented. And as he had regarde herein, to the ſecuritie of hys Subiectes, ſo he made ſharp lawes, grounded vpō Iuſtice, for ẏ ſuppreſſion of ſuch wicked mēbers as did offer violence to any trauayler, that ſhould be met wyth al or found within the limites of thoſe paſſages. How by what partes of this Iſland theſe wayes were conueighed at the firſt, it is not ſo wholy left in memory, but that ſome queſtion is moued among the learned, concerning theyr auncient courſes, howbeit ſuch is the ſhadowe remaining hitherto of theyr extenſions, that if not at this preſent perfectly yet hereafter it is not impoſſible but that they maye be founde out, and left certaine vnto poſteritye. It ſéemeth by Galfride, that the ſayd Dunwallon did limite out thoſe wayes by dooles and markes, which beyng in ſhort tyme altered by the auarice of ſuch irreligious perſons as dwelt nere and incroched vpon the ſame (a fault yet iuſtly to bée found almoſt in euery place) and queſtiõ moued for their boundes before Bellinus hys ſonne, he to auoyde all further controuerſie that might from thenceforth inſue, cauſed the ſame to be paued with hard ſtone, of 18. foote in bredth, and 10. foote in depth, and in the botome thereof huge flint ſtones alſo to be pitched, leſt the earth in tyme ſhould ſwalow vp his workmanſhip, & the higher ground ouergrow their riſing creſts. He indued thẽ alſo wͭ larger priuiledges thẽ before, proteſting that if any man whoſoeuer ſhoulde preſume to infringe his peace, & violate the lawes of hys kingdome in anye maner of wiſe néere vnto or vpon thoſe wayes, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch puniſhmẽt without all hope to eſcape (by frendſhip or mercy(as by yͤ ſtatutes of his realme lately prouided in thoſe caſes, are due vnto yͤ offenders: The names of theſe foure wayes are the Foſſe, the Gwethelin, or Watling, the Ermyng, and the Ichenild.

Foſſe.

The Foſſe goeth not directly, but ſlopewiſe ouer the greateſt part of this Iland, begynnyng at Dotneſſe or Totneſſe in Deuõſhire, where Brute ſometymes landed (or as Ranulphus ſayeth) which is more likely at the point of Cornwall though the eldeſt writers do ſéeme to note the contrary. From hence it goeth thorow the middle of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire, and commeth to Briſtow, from whence it runneth manifeſtly to Sodbery market, Tetbury, and ſo forth holdeth on as you go almoſt to yͤ midde way betwene Glouceſter and Cirneceſter (where the wood faileth, and the Champeigne country appeareth toward Cotteſwald) ſtreight as a lyne vntill you come to Cirneceſter it ſelf. Some hold opinion that the way which lyeth from Cirneceſter to Bathe, ſhoulde be the very Foſſe, and that betwixt Cirneceſter & Glouceſter, to be another of the 4. wayes made by the Britons: but auncient report grounded vpon great likelyhoode, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the wayes croſſed eche other in this part of the realme, and of this mynd is Leland alſo, who learned it of an Abbote of Cirneceſter that ſhewed great likelyhoode in ſome recordes therof: but to procéede. From Cirneceſter, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrey, Leirceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watling ſtreate, where by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfrede of Beuerley, who extendeth it vnto Catheneſſe in Scotland) it is ſayde to haue an ende.

The Watling ſtréete beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth thorow the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the midſt of yͤ city) vnto Verolamium or Werlamceſter, now S. Albons, where in yͤ yeare of grace 1531 the courſe thereof was found by a mã that digged for grauel wherewith to mende the highway. It was in this place 18. foote brode, and about 10. foote déepe, and ſtoned in the botome as afore, and peraduenture alſo on the toppe, but theſe are gone, and the reſt remayneth equall in moſt places with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thether in cartes 2000. yeares paſſed, remayned there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrõg, as if it had bene digged out of yͤ natural place where it grew not many yeares before. Frõ hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauyng it on the weſt ſide, and a little by ſouth of this place, where the Priory ſtoode, is a long thorow fare vpon the ſayd ſtréete, méetely well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this, it not onely becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugby, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamforde, and ſo forth by the weſt of Marton, which is a myle from Torkeſey.

Here by the waye I muſt touche the opinion of a traueyler of my tyme, who noteth the ſayde ſtreate to go another waye, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, & ſo go on to Binforde bridge, Wibtoft, the highe croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it maye be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrye in ſuch ſort as hée deſcribeth, but that yͤ Watling ſtreat ſhould paſſe by Atherſtõ, I can not as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelye that thrée ſeuerall wayes myght méete at Alderwaye (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſayd towne, dyd take his name of all thrée wayes, as Aldermary churche in London, did of all thrée Maryes vnto whome it hath béene dedicated, but that the Watling ſtreate ſhoulde be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waye, nowe to returne agayne to Leland, and other mens collections. The next tydings that we here of the Watlyng ſtreate is, that it goeth thorowe the Parke at Pomfret, as the common voyce of the country confirmeth: thẽce it paſſeth haſtily ouer Caſtelford bridg, to Aberford, (which is fiue myles from thence, & where are moſt manifeſt tokens of thys waye and his broad creſt)to Yorke,to Witherby, & then to Borowbrig, where on the left hand therof ſtood certain monumentes, or Pyramides of ſtone, ſometyme placed there by the Romaines. Theſe ſtones(ſayth Leland) ſtande 8 myles weſt from Bowis,& almoſt weſt from Richmonde a little thorowe fare called maydencaſtel ſcituate vpon the ſide of this ſtreat, and here is one of thoſe Pyramides or great roundo heapes, which is thrée ſcore féete cõpaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities , and on the very top of eche of them are ſharp ſtones of a yard in length, but the greateſt of all is eightéene féete hyghe at the leaſt, from the grounde to the verye head. He addeth moreouer howe they ſtande on an hyll : in the edge of Stanes moore , and are as boundes betwéene Richmonde ſhyre, and Weſtmerland. But to procéed this ſtreat lying a myle from Gilling , and two myles from Richmonde commeth on from Borowbrigge,to Catericke eightéene myles,that is twelue to Leuing,and ſixe to Catericke;then eleuen myles to Gretey , or Gritto, fyue myles to Bottles,eight myles to Burghe on Stanes moore,foure myles from Appleby, & fiue to Browham , where the ſayde ſtreate commeth thorowe Winfoll parke, and ouer the bridge, on Eymouth and Loder,and leauing Perith, a quarter of a myle or more,on the weſt ſide of it,goeth to Carleil ſeuentéene myles from Browham , which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hetherto it appeareth euidently, but going from hence into Scotlande, I heare no more of it,vntill I come to Cathneſſe,which is two hundred and thirtye myles or thereabouts, out of Englande.

rning
ete.

The Erning ſtreate, which ſome call the Lelme,ſtretcheth out of the eaſt,as they ſaye into the ſoutheaſt,ẏ is, from Meneuia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southãpton,wherby it is ſomewhat lykely in déede that theſe two wayes,I meane the Foſſe, and the Erning, ſhoulde méete about Cirneceſter, as it commeth from Gloceſter , according to the opinion conceyued of them in that countrye. Of thys way I finde no more written , and therefore I can ſaye no more of it,except I ſhoulde indeuour to dryue awaye the tyme, in alleadging what other men ſaye thereof, whoſe mindes doe ſo farre diſagrée one from another, as they doe all from a truth , and therefore I gyue them ouer, as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

enilde.

The Ikenild or Rikenild, begã ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirneceſter,then to Worceſter,Wicomb,Brimmiſcham, Lichfield, Darby, Cheſterfield, and croſſing the Watlingſtréete ſomewhere in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched forth in the ende vnto ẏ mouth ẏ of Tine,where it ended at ẏ maine ſea, as moſt men doe confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorow the kingdome of the Icenes : for albeit that Lelande and other followyng him doe ſéeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke & Suffolke, yet in myne opinion that cannot wel be done; ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laye nere vnto the Sylures, and as I geſſe, eyther in Stafford and Worceſter, or in both, except my coniecture do fayl me. The author of the booke entituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, doth call this ſtréete the Lelme:but as herein he is deceyued,ſo haue I delt withal ſo faythfully as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions,yet not denying but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof, I muſt leaue to other men ẏ be better lerned then I.

Of the ayre and ſoyle of Britaine.

Chap. 13.

The ayre for the moſt part thorowout the Iſland is ſuch,as by reaſon in maner of continuall cloudes, is reputed to be groſſe & nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the mayne. Howbeit as they which affirme theſe things, haue onely reſpect to the impediment or hinderaunce of the ſunne beames,by the interpoſitiõ of the cloudes & oft ingroſſed ayre: ſo experience teacheth vs that it is no leſſe pure, holſome,and commodious, then is that of other countries,and as Cæſar hymſelfe hereto addeth, much more temperate in ſommer, then that of the Galles, from whome he aduentured hither. Neyther is theyr any thing found in the ayre of our Regiõ, that is not vſually ſéene amongſt other nations lying beyond the ſeas. Wherfore, we muſt nedes cõfeſſe,that the ſcituation of our Iſland for benefite of the heauens is nothing inferiour to that of any country of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder the open firmament.

The ſoyle of Brytaine is ſuch , as by the teſtimonies and reportes, both of the olde & newe writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as nowe inhabite the ſame, is verye fruitefull, but yet more inclined to the féeding & graſing of the cattell, then profitable for tyllage, & bearing of corn,by reaſon wherof the country is wonderfully repleniſhed wyth Neat, & al kind of cattell:and ſuch ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euery place, that ẏ fourth part of the land is ſcarcely manured for the prouiſion and maintenãce of grayne. Certes,this fruitfulnes was not vnknowen vnto the Britens rons long before Cæſars time, which was the cauſe wherefore our predeceſſors liuyng in thoſe dayes in maner neglected Tillage, and lyued by feedyng and graſing onely. The graſiers themſelues alſo then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whoſe cuſtom was to deuide the ground amongſt them, and eche one not to depart from the place where his lot lay, till by eating vp of the countrey about him, he was inforced to remoue further and ſeeke for better paſture, and this was the brittiſh cuſtome at the firſt. It hath bene cõmonly reported that the ground of Wales is neyther ſo fruitful as that of England, neither the ſoyle of Scotland ſo bountifull as that of Wales, which is true if it be taken for the moſt part: otherwiſe, there is ſo good grounde in ſome partes of Wales, as is in England, albeit ẏ beſt of Scotland be ſcarcely comparable to the beſt of eyther of both. Howbeit as the bounty of the Scottiſh doth fayle in ſome reſpect, ſo doeth it ſurmount in other, God and nature hauyng not appointed all countries to yeld forth lyke commodities.

Plenty of riuers.

There are alſo in this Iſland great plenty of freſh riuers & ſtreames, as you haue heard already, and theſe thorowly fraught wyth all kyndes of delicate fiſh, accuſtomed to be foũd in riuers.

Hilles.

The whole Iſle likewyſe, is very full of hilles, of which ſome, though not very many, are of excedyng heigth, and diuers extendyng themſelues very farre from the beginnyng as wee may ſee by Shooters hill, which riſing eaſt of London, & not very far from the Thames runneth along the ſouth ſide of the Iſland weſtward, vntill it come to Cornwall. Lyke vnto theſe alſo are the crowdõ hils, which from the peke do run into the borders of Scotlande. What ſhoulde I ſpeake of the cheuiot hils which run xx. miles in length: of the blacke mountains in Wales which go from to miles at the leſt in length, of the Grames in Scotlande, and of our Chiltren, which are 18. myles at the leſt, from one end of them to the other, of all which, ſome are very well repleniſhed with wood, notwithſtandyng that the moſt part yelde a ſweete ſhort graſſe, profitable for ſheep, wherin albeit that they of Scotland doe ſomewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardly recompẽſed not onely with plenty of quarries, (and thoſe of ſondry kindes of marble hard ſtone, and fine alabaſter) but alſo rich mines of mettal, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter.

Windes.

In this Iſlande likewyſe the wyndes are commonly more ſtronge and fierce, then in anye other places of the maine, and that is often ſeene vpon the naked hilles, which are not garded with trees to beare it of. That grieuous incõuenience alſo inforceth our, Nobility, gentry, and comminaltie, to build their houſes in the valeis, leauing the high groundes vnto their corne and cattell, leaſt the cold and ſtormy blaſtes of winter ſhould breede the greater anoyance, wheras in other Regions eche one deſireth to ſet his houſe aloft on the hyll, not onely to be ſene a farre of, and caſt forth their beames of ſtately & curious workemãſhip into euery quarter of the country, but alſo (in whote habitations) for coldenſſe ſake of the ayre, ſith the heate is neuer ſo vehement on the hill top as in the valey, becauſe the reuerberation of the ſunne beame, eyther reacheth not ſo farre as the higheſt, or elſe becõmeth not ſo ſtrong, when it is reflected to the lower mountayne.

But to leaue our Buyldinges, vnto the purpoſed place (which notwithſtanding haue verye muche increaſed, I meane for curioſitye and coſte, in Englande, Wales, and Scotland, within theſe fewe yeares) and to returne to the ſoyle againe. Certainelye it is euen now in theſe our dayes growne to bee muche more fruitefull, then it hath bene in times paſt. The cauſe is for that our countreimen are growne to be more paynefull, ſkilful and carefull thorowe recompence of gayne, then heretofore they haue beene, inſomuch that my Synchroni or time felowes, can reap at thys preſent great commoditye in a lyttle roume, whereas of late yeares, a great compaſſe hath yeelded but ſmall profite, and thys onely thorowe the ydle and negligent occupatiõ of ſuch, as mannured and had the ſame in occupying. I myght ſette downe examples out of all the partes of thys Iſlande, that is to ſay, manye out of Englande, moe out of Scotlande, but moſt of all out of Wales, in which two laſt rehearſed, verye little other foode and lyuelyhoode was woont to be looked for beſide fleſhe more then the ſoyle of it ſelfe, and the cow gaue, the people in ẏ meane tyme lyuing idelly, diſſolutely & by picking and ſtealing one frõ another, all which vices are nowe for the moſt part relinquiſhed, ſo that ech nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before tyme.

The paſture of thys Iſlande is accordyng to the nature & ſcituation of the ſoyle, whereby in moſt places it is plentifull, verye fine batable, and ſuch as eyther fatteth our cattel with ſpeede, or yeeldeth great abundaunce of mylke and creame, whereof the yelloweſt butter, and fineſt cheeſe are made. But where the blewe claye aboundeth (which hardelye drinketh vppe the winters water in long ſeaſon) there the graſſe is ſpeary, rough, and very apte for buſhes, by which occaſion, it becommeth nothing ſo profitable to the owner. The beſt paſture ground of all Englande, is in Wales, and of all the paſture in Wales, that of Cardigan is the chiefe. I ſpeake of that which is to be founde in the mountaines there, where the hundreth part of the graſſe growing is not eaten, but ſuffered to rotte on the grounde, whereby the ſoyle becommeth matted, and dyuers Bogges and quicke mores made wyth all in long continuance, bycauſe all the cattle in the countrey are not able to eate it downe.

Our medowes are either bottomes (whereof we haue great ſtore, and thoſe very large bycauſe our ſoyle is hilly) or elſe lande meades. The firſt of them, are yearely and often ouerflowen by the ryſing of ſuch ſtreames as paſſe thorowe the ſame, or violent falles of lande waters, that dyſcende from the hylles about them. The other are ſeldome or neuer ouerflowen, & that is the cauſe wherefore their graſſe is ſhorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholſome, and batable, ſith the haye of our lowe meddowes is not onely full of ſandy cinder, which breedeth ſundry diſeaſes in our cattell, but alſo more rowty, foggy, & full of flagges, and therefore not ſo profitable for ſtouer and forrage as ẏ higher meades be. The differēce furthermore in theyr commodities is great, for whereas in our lande meddowes we haue not often aboue one good loade of haye in an acre of ground, in lowe meaddowes we haue ſometimes three, but commonly aboue two, as experience hath oft confirmed.

The yelde of our corne grounde, is alſo much after thys rate following, thorowe out the lande (if you pleaſe to make an eſtimate thereof by the acre) in common and indifferent yeares, wherein eche acre of Whete well tilled and dreſſed will yelde commonly twentie buſhelles, an acre of Barlie 32. buſhels, of Otes and ſuch lyke, fiue quarters, which proportion is notwythſtanding oft abated, towarde the north, as it is often ſurmounted in the ſouth. Of mixed corne, as peaſon, and beanes, ſowē togither, Tares & Otes (which they call bulmong,) Rie and Wheate, here is no place to ſpeake, yet theyr yelde is neuertheleſſe much after this proportiō, as I haue often marked.

The cattel which we breede are commonly ſuch as for greatneſſe of bone, ſweteneſſe of fleſh, & other benefits to be reaped by ẏ ſame, giue place vnto none other, as may appeare firſt by our Oxen, whoſe largeneſſe, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are ſuch, as none of any other nation, do commonly or may eaſily exceede them. Our ſheepe likewiſe for good taſte of fleſhe, quantitie of lymmes, fineſſe of fleece, & abundance of increaſe, (for in many places they bring forth two or thre at an eaning) giue no place vnto any, more then do our Goates, who in like ſort do follow the ſame order, and our Deare come not behind. As for our Conies, I haue ſene them ſo fat in ſome ſoiles, eſpecially about Meal & Diſnege that the greace of one being weighed, hath peyſed very neare ſixe or 7. ounces, all which benefites we firſt referre to the grace & goodneſſe of God, and next of all vnto the bountye of our ſoyle, which he hath ſo plentifullye indued with ſo ample & large cōmodities. But as I meane to intreate of theſe thinges more largely herafter, ſo will I touch in this place one benefite which our country wanteth, and that is wyne, the fault whereof is not in our ſoyle, but the negligence of our country men (eſpecially of the ſouth partes) who doe not inure the ſame to this commoditie, which by reaſon of long diſcontinuance, is nowe become vnapt to beare any Grapes, eyther in the fielde or ſeuerall vineyardes: Yet of late time ſome haue aſſayed to deale for wine, but ſithe that lyquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bene founde more harde then that which is brought from beyonde the ſea, and the coſt of planting and keping thereof ſo chargeable, that they maye buye it farre better cheape from other Countries: they haue geuen ouer theyr enterpriſes, wythout any conſideration, that as in all other thinges, ſo neither the grounde it ſelfe in the beginninge, nor ſucceſſe of their trauaile can anſwere their expectation at the firſt, vntyll ſuch time as the ſoyle be brought as it were into acquaintance with this cōmoditie, and that prouiſion may be made, for the more eaſineſſe of charge, to be employed vpon the ſame. If it be true that where wine doth laſt and endure well, there it will grow no worſe, I muſe not a little wherefore the planting of vines ſhould be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growen in this Iland heretofore, both the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equally to vs, the Galles and Spaniardes, is one ſufficient teſtimony. And that it did grow here, the olde notes of tythes for wine, that yet remaine in the accomptes of ſome perſons and vicars in Kent, beſides the recordes of ſundrye ſutes, commenced in diuers eccleſiaſticall courtes, both in Kent and Surrey: alſo the incloſed parcelles almoſt in euery Abbaye, yet called the vineyardes, maye be a notable proofe. Wel how ſoeuer our ſoyle is not to be blamed, as though our heightes were ſo exceding ſhort, that

Meal and diſnege.

Wine.

that the moone which is Lady of moyſture, & chiefe riper of this liquor, cannot in any wiſe ſhine long ynough vpō the ſame, a very merry toy, & fable worthy to be ſuppreſſed.

Wad and Madder ſometime in Englande.

The time hath béene that Wad and Madder, haue béene (next vnto our Tin & Wolles) the chiefe commodities & Marchaundize of this realme: I fynde alſo that Rape oyle hath béene made within this lande, but nowe our ſoyle wyll beare neither of theſe, not for that the ground is not able ſo to doe, but that we are neclygent and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buye the ſame of others thē take any paine to plant thē here at home.

Rape oyle.

Flaxe.

The like I may ſay of flaxe, which by lawe ought to be ſowen in euery country towne in Englande, more or leſſe, but I ſee no ſucceſſe of yͤ good & wholſome eſtatute, ſith it is rather contempteouſly reiected then otherwiſe dutifully kept.

Number. Alteratiō. Diſpenſation. Example of ſuperiours.

Some ſay that our great numbers of lawes, whereby it is impoſſible for any man to auoyde theyr tranſgreſſion, is one great cauſe of our negligence in this behalfe. Other affirme that the often alteration of our ordinaunces do bréed this general cōtempt of al good lawes, which after Ariſtotle doth ſeme to carye ſome reaſon withall. But very many let not to ſaye, that facility in diſpenſatiō with them, and manifeſt breche of the ſame in the Superiours, are yͤ greateſt cauſes why the inferiours regarde no good order, beyng allwayes ready to offende without any ſuch facultie one way, as they are to preſume vpon the example of the higher powers another. But as in theſe thinges I haue no ſkyll, ſo ſome wiſhe that fewer licences for the priuate commoditie, but of a fewe, were graunted: & this they ſay, not that they denie yͤ execution of the prerogatiue royall, but woulde wyth all theyr hearts that it might be made a grieuous offence, for any man by féed fryndeſhip or otherwiſe, to procure oughtes of the Prince, (who is not acquainted wyth the botome of the eſtate of common thinges) that may bée preiudiciall to the weale publike of his country.

Erthes.

If it were requiſite that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundry kindes of moulde, as yͤ cleyy or clay, whereof are ſundry ſortes, red, blew, black & white: alſo the red or white ſandy, the lomye, roſelly, grauelly, chalky or blacke: I could ſay that there are ſo many diuers vaines in Brytaine, as elſe where in any quarter of lyke quantitie in yͤ world. Howbeit this I muſt néedes cōfeſſe that the ſandy and cleyy doe beare the greateſt ſway, but yͤ clay moſt of all, as hath béene, and yet is alwaies ſéene and felt thorowe plenty & dearth of corne. For if this latter doe yéelde hir full increaſe, then is there generall plenty, where as if it fayle then haue we ſcarcity, according to the olde rude verſe, ſet downe of england, but to be vnderſtanded of the whole Ilande, as experience doth confirme.

When the ſande doth ſerue the clay,
Then may we ſing well away,
But when the clay doth ſerue the ſand
Then is it mery with England.

I might here intreate alſo of the famous vales in Englande, of which one is called the Vale of white horſe, another of Coueſham, noted to be twelue or thirtéene miles in compaſſe, the third of Ailesbury yͤ goeth by Tame the rote of Chilterne hils, & ſo to Donſtable, Newport panell, ſtony Stratford, Buckingham, Briſtane parke, &c. And likewiſe of the fourth of Whithart, or Blackemore, in Dorſetſhire, and alſo the Marſhwood vale, but forasmuch as I knowe not well their ſeuerall limites, I giue ouer to go any farder in their deſcription at this time. In like ſort it ſhould not be amyſſe to ſpeake of our fennes & other pleaſant bottomes, which are not onely indued with excellent ryuers & great ſtore of fine fodder, for neat and horſes in time of yͤ yere, (whereby they are excéeding benificiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe & quantity in ground. For ſome of our Fennes are well knowen to be eyther 10, 12, 16, 20, or 30 miles in length, that of the Gyrwis yet paſſing al the reaſt, which is ful 60. as I haue often read. Finally I might diſcourſe in like order of the large commons, laide out heretofore by the Lordes of the ſoyles for yͤ benefite of ſuch poore, as inhabite within yͤ compaſſes of their manours, but as the tractatiō of them belongeth rather to the ſeconde boke, ſo I meane not at thys preſent to deale wythall, reſeruing the ſame wholly vnto the due place whileſt I go forwarde with the reaſt.

Of the generall conſtitution of the bodyes of the Brytaines. Cap. 14.

THoſe that are brédde in this Ilande are men for the moſt part of a good complexion, tall of ſtature, ſtrong in body, white of colour, and thereto of great boldeneſſe and courage in yͤ warres. For ſuch hath béene the eſtimation of engliſh ſouldiers from time to time, ſince our Ile hath béene knowne vnto the Romaines, that whereſoeuer they haue ſerued in forrein countries, the chiefe bruntes of ſeruice haue béene reſerued for them. Of their conqueſtes and bloudy battailes wonne in Fraunce, Germany, and Scotlande, our hiſtories are full: and where they haue béene ouercome, the victors themſelues confeſſed their victories to haue ben ſo dearely bought, that they woulde not gladly couete to ouercome often, after ſuch difficult mater. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betwene Engliſhmen and Scottes, for albeit that the Scottes haue béene often and very grieuouſly ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhood on their partes, but through ẏ mercy of God ſhewed on vs, and his iuſtice vpon them, ſith they alwaies haue begun the quarels and offred vs mére iniurie with great deſpite and crueltie. Leland noting ſomewhat of the cõſtitution of our bodies, ſayeth theſe wordes, the Britaines are whyte in coulour, & ſtrong of body, as people inhabiting nére the north, and farre from the Equinoctiall line, where contrariewyſe ſuch as dwell towarde the courſe of the ſunne, are leſſe of ſtature, weaker of body, more fearfull by nature, blacker in coulour, and ſome ſo blacke in déede as anye Crow or Rauen, thus ſayeth he. Howbeit, as theſe men doe come behinde vs in conſtitution of bodie, ſo in Pregnancie of witte, nimbleneſſe of lymmes, and polliticke inuentions, they generally excéede vs: notwithſtãding that otherwiſe theſe giftes of theirs doe often degenerate, into mére ſubtiltie, inſtabilitie, vnfaithfulneſſe and crueltie. We therfore dwelling nére the North, are commonly taken by forrein Hyſtoriographers and others, to be men of great ſtrength and little policie, much courage and ſmall ſhift: & thus doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in hys hiſtory. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countrymen coulde neuer compaſſe to doe ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen, (not without great wiſedome, and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in Fraunce. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſorte, he doth in mine opinion increaſe our commendation, for if it be a vertue to deale vprightly with ſingleneſſe of minde: ſincerely and plainly, without any ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealinges, then are our countreymen to be accompted vertuous. But if it be a vice to coulour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe and hollow behauiour, with a cloke of pollicie, amitie and wiſedome, then are Comineus and his companie to be reputed vicious. How theſe latter pointes take holde in Italy, I meane not to diſcuſſe, how they are daily practized in many places of the maine, and he accompted moſt wyſe and pollitike, that can moſt of all diſſemble, here is no place iuſtly to determine, (neyther woulde I wiſhe my countrymen to learne any ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of Fraunce, coulde ſay, Qui neſcit diſsimulare, neſcit regnare, their owne hyſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. But to procéede with our purpoſe. With vs ſome doe liue an hundred yeares, very many vnto fower ſcore: as for thrée ſcore, it is taken but for our entraunce into age, ſo that in Britain, no man is ſayde to were old til he draw vnto thre ſcore. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as thinges appartayning to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not béene ſéene in any Region ſo many carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britain: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwyſe ſuch as remayne vnburied by foure or fiue dayes togither are eaſie to be knowen and diſcerned by their friendes and kinred, wheras Tacitus and other complaine of ſundry nations, ſaying, that their bodies are tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ, that within certaine houres the wife ſhall hardely knowe hir huſbande, the mother hir ſonne, or one friende another, after their liues be ended. I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generally of our women, whoſe beautie commonly excéedeth the faireſt [illegible] thoſe of the maine, their comlynes of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs ẏ come ouer vnto vs from beyonde the ſea. I coulde make report likewyſe of the naturall vices & vertues of all thoſe ẏ are borne within thys Ilande, but as the tractation thereof craueth a better head then mine to ſet it forth, ſo I will giue place to other men, that liſt to take the ſame in hand. Thus much therfore of the conſtitutions of our bodies, and ſo much may ſuffice.

How Britayne grew at the firſt to be deuided into three portions.

Chap. 1.

After the commyng of Brutus into this Iſland (which was as you haue red in the aforeſayd treatize, about the yere of ẏ world, 2840 or 1127 before ẏ incarnation of Chriſt) he made a general ſuruey of the whole Iſlãd from ſide to ſide, by ſuch meanes to view and ſearch out not onely the limites and boundes of his dominions, but alſo what commodities this new atchieued conqueſt might yeld vnto hys people. Furthermore, findyng out at the laſt alſo a couenable place wherein to erect a citie, he began there euen ẏ very ſame, which at this day is called London, namyng it Trenouanton, in remembraunce of olde Troye, from whence hys aunceſters procéeded, & for which the Romaines pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welchmen doe call it ſtill Trenewith. This city was builded as ſome write, much about the tenth yeare of his raigne, ſo ẏ he lyued not aboue 15. yeares

after

Locrine.

Loegria.

Camber.
Cambria.

Albanact.

after he had finiſhed ẏ ſame. But of ẏ reſt of hys other actes attempted and done, before or after the erection of this city, I finde no certayne report, more then that when he had raigned in this Iſland after his arriuall by the ſpace of 24. yeares, he finiſhed his dayes at Trenouanton aforeſayde, beyng in hys young and floriſhyng age, where at his carcaſe was honorably interred. As for the maner of hys death, I finde as yet no mention therof among ſuch writers as are extant. I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grieuous woundes receyued in hys warres agaynſt ſuch as withſtood him from tyme to tyme in this Iſlande, and therefore I can ſay nothing of that matter. Herein onely all agrée, that duryng the tyme of his languiſhing paynes, he made a diſpoſition of his whole kyngdome, deuiding it into thrée partes or portions, according to the nūber of his ſonnes then liuing, whereof the oldeſt excéeded not 28. yeres of age, as my coniecture giueth me. To the eldeſt therefore, whoſe name was Locrine, he gaue the greateſt and beſt Region of all the reſt, whiche of hym to this day is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language Englande, of ſuch Engliſh Saxons as made conqueſt of the ſame. This portiō alſo is included on the ſouth with the Brittiſh ſea, on the eaſt wyth the Germaine Ocean, on the north wyth the Humber, and on the weſt with the Iriſh ſea, and the riuers Dée and Sauerne, wherof in the general deſcription of this Iſland, I haue ſpoken more at large. To Camber his ſecōd ſonne, he aſſigned all that lyeth beyonde the Sauerne and Dée towarde the weſt, (whiche parcel in theſe dayes conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with ſondry Iſlandes adiacent to the ſame, the whole beyng in maner cut of and ſeperated from England or Loegria by the ſaid ſtreames, wherby it ſéemeth almoſt Peninſula, or a bye land, if you reſpect the ſmall hilly portion of ground that lyeth indifferently betwene their maine courſes or ſuch branches at the leaſt as run and fall into them. The Welchmen or Brytons call it by the auncient name ſtill vnto this day, but we Engliſhmen terme it Wales, which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time paſt did vſe the word Walſhe in ſuch ſort as we do ſtraunge: for as we cal all thoſe ſtraungers that are not of our nation, ſo dyd they name them Walſhe which were not of their countrey. The third and laſt part of the Iſland he allotted vnto Albanacte hys youngeſt ſonne (for he had but thrée in all, as I haue ſayd before) whoſe portion ſéemed for circuite to be more large, then that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatneſſe wyth the dominions of Locrinus: But if you haue regard to the ſeuerall commodities that are to be reaped by eche, you ſhal find them to be not much diſcrepaunt or differing one from another: for what ſo euer the firſt and ſecond haue in plenty of corne, fine graſſe, and large cattell. This latter wanteth not in excéedyng ſtore of fiſhe, rich mettall, quarries of ſtone, and aboundaunce of wylde foule: ſo that in myne opinion, there coulde not be a more equall particion then this made by Brute, and after the aforeſayd maner. This later parcel at the firſt, toke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a ſmall portion onely of the Region (beyng vnder the regiment of a Duke) reteyneth the ſayd denomination, the reaſt beyng called Scotlande, of certayne Scottes that came ouer from Ireland to inhabite in thoſe quarters. It is deuided from Locgres alſo by the Humber, ſo that Albania as Brute left it, conteyned all the north part of the Iſland that is to be foūd beyond the aforeſayd ſtreame, vnto the point of Catheneſſe. To conclude, Brute hauyng deuided hys kingdome after this maner, and therin contentyng himſelfe as it were wyth the general title of the whole, it was not lōg after ere he ended his life, and being ſolemnly interred at his new city by his thrée children, they parted eche from other, and toke poſſeſſion of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeres fell agayn into the handes of Locrinus as to the chiefe Lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was ſlayne by Humber kyng of the Scithiēs, and left none iſſue behynde hym to ſuccéede hym in that kyngdome.

That notwithſtanding the former diuiſion made by Brute vnto his children, the ſoueraigntie of the whole Iſlande remained ſtill to the prince of Lhoegres and his poſteritie after him.

Chap.xvj.

IT is poſſible that ſome of the Scottiſh nation reading the former chapter will take offence with me for meaning ẏ the principalitie of the North partes of this Iſle, hath alwayes belonged to the kinges of Lhoegres. For whoſe more ample ſatiſfaction in this behalfe, I will here ſet downe therfore a diſcourſe therof at large, written by diuers, and nowe finally brought into one Treatiſe, ſufficient as I thinke to ſatiſfie the reaſonable, although not halfe ynough peraduenture to content a wrangling minde, ſith there is or at the leaſt wyſe hath béene nothing more odious amōg ſome, then to heare that the king of England hath oughtes to doe in Scotland. How their Hiſtoriographers haue attempted to ſhape a coloured excuſe to auoyde ſo manifeſt a tytle, all men maye ſée that reade their bookes indifferently, whereunto I doe referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of myne herein, more then onely the collection of a number of fragmentes togither, wherein chiefly I haue vſed the helpe of Nicholas Adams, who wrate thereof of ſet purpoſe to king Edward the ſixt, as Leland dyd the lyke to king Henry the eyght, John Harding vnto Edwarde the fourth, beſide thrée other, whereof the firſt dedicated hys Treatiſe to Henry the fourth, the ſeconde to Edwarde the thirde, and the thirde to Edwarde the firſt, as their writinges yet extant doe abundantly beare witneſſe. The tytle alſo that Lelande giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne handes, beginneth in this maner. These remembraunces follo”wing are found in Chronicles authorized re”maining in diuers monaſteries both in Eng”lande and Scotlande, by which it is euident”ly knowen & ſhewed, that the kinges of En”gland haue had, and nowe ought to haue the ”ſoueraigneſſe ouer Scotlande, wyth the ho”mage and fealtie of the kings their reigning ”from time to time. Herevnto you haue heard ”already what diuiſiõ Brute made of this Iſlande not long before his death, whereof eche of his childrẽ ſo ſone as he was enterred toke ſeiſure and poſſeſſion: Howbeit after two yeres it happened that Albanact was ſlayne, wherevpon Locrinus and Camber rayſed their powers reuenged his death, and finally the ſayde Locrinus, made an entraunce vpõ Albania, ſeyzed it into his owne handes (as exchcated wholly vnto himſelfe) without yéelding any part therof vnto his brother Camber, who made no clayme nor title vnto any portion of the ſame. Herby then ſayth Adams it euidently appeareth that the entier ſeignorie ouer Albania conſiſted in Locrinus, according to which example lyke lawe among brethren euer ſince hath continued, in preferring the eldeſt brother to the onely benefite of the collaterall aſſencion from the yongeſt, aſwell in Scotlande as in Englande vnto this daye.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to ſay the ſonne of Mempris, ſonne of Madan, ſonne of the ſame Locrine, buylded in Albania the caſtle of Maydens nowe called Edenbrough: and the Caſtle of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottiſh Hector Boethius confeſſeth: wherby it moſt euidently appeareth that our Ebranke was then thereof ſeaſed.

This Ebranke reigned in the ſame ſtate ouer thẽ a long time, after whoſe death Albania as annexed to the empire of the Britaines, deſcended to the onely king of Britons, vntill the diſcent to the two ſiſters ſonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the ſayde Ebranke, who brotherly vpõ the firſt example deuided ẏ realme. Morgã had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania: but ſhortly after Morgan the elder brother pondering in hys hed, the loue to his brother with the loue to a kingdome, excluded nature & gaue place to ambition, and therupõ denouncing warre, death miſerably ended hys life (as the rewarde of his vntruth) wherby Conedage obtayned the whole Empire of all Britaine, in which ſtate he remayned during his naturall lyfe.

From him the ſame lineally deſcended to the onelye king of Britons, vntill after the reigne of Gorbodian, who had iſſue two ſons, Ferres, and Porres: This Porres requyring lyke diuiſion of the lande, affirming the former particions to be rather of lawe then fauour, was by the handes of his elder brother, both of his lyfe and hoped kingdome bereued at once: wherevpon their vnnaturall mother vſing hir natural malice, for the deth of hir one ſonne, without regard of the loſing of both, miſerably ſlew the other.

Cloten by all writers aſwell Scottiſhe as other, was the next inheritour to the whole Empire, but lacking power (the only meane in thoſe dayes to obtayne right) he was contented to deuide the ſame among thrée of his kinſmen, ſo that Scater had Albania. But after the death this Cloten his ſonne Dunuallo Mulmutius made warre vpon theſe thrée kinges, and at laſt ouercame them, and ſo recouered the whole dominion, in token of which victorie, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the very firſt that was worne among the kinges of this nation. This Dunuallo erected temples, wherein the people ſhoulde aſſemble for prayer, to which temples he gaue benefite of Sanctuarie: he made the lawe for wager of battaile, in caſes of murder and felonie, whereby a thiefe that lyued and made his art of fighting, ſhoulde for his purgation fight wyth the true man, which he had robbed: but he beléeued that the Goddes (for then they ſuppoſed many) would by myracle aſſigne victorie to the innocent partie. The priuileges of which firſt lawe & benefite of the latter, aſwell in Scotlande as in Englande, be enioyed to this day few cauſes by late poſitiue lawes among vs excepted, wherein the benefite of wager of battaile is expelled: by which obedience to hys

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lawes, it doth manifeſtly appeare, that thys Dunuallo was then ſeaſed of Albania nowe called Scotland: This Dunuallo reigned in thys eſtate ouer them many yeares. Beline & Brenne the ſonnes of this Dunuallo, dyd after theyr fathers death, fauourably deuide the land betwéene them: ſo that Beline had Logres, and Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a ſubiect) without the conſent of his elder brother and Lord, aduentured to marry with the daughter of the king of Denmarke: Beline ſeaſed Albania into his owne handes, and thereuppon cauſed the notable wayes priuileged by Dunuallons Lawes to be newly wrought by mens handes, which for the length was from the furder part of Cornewall, vnto the the ſea by North Cathnes in Scotland: & for religion in thoſe daies, he cõſtituted miniſters called Archeflamines in their functions moſt like the authoritie of Biſhoppes at this daye, the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and whoſe power extẽded to ỹ vttermoſt bondes of Albany, wherby lykewyſe appeareth that it was then within his dominion. After his death the whole Iſle was enioyed by the onlye kings of Britaine, vntill the tyme of Vigenius and Perydurus lineall heires from the ſayde Belyne who fauourably made particion, ſo that Vigenius had all the land from Humber ſouth, and Perydurus from thence North all Albania. This Vigenius died, and Perydurus ſuruiued, and thereby obtayned the whole, from whome the ſame quietly diſcended, and was by his poſteritie accordingly enioyed, vnto the reigne of king Coell, of that name the firſt. In hys tyme an obſcure nation by moſt writers ſuppoſed Scithians, paſſed by ſeas from Irelande, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: againſt whome this Coell aſſembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell thẽ, one Fergus in the night diſguiſed, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traiterouſly ſlew him. This Fergus was therefore in reward of ſuch vertue made there King, whereupon they ſat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotlande, and themſelues Scottes: from the beginning of the worlde, foure thouſande and ſixe hundred and ſeuentéene yeares, which by iuſt computacion and confeſſion of all their owne wryters, is ſixe hundred yeares lacking tenne, after that Brutus had reigned ouer ỹ whole Iſland, the ſame land being enioyed by him and his poſteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie diſcentes of the kinges of Britaine. Certes this intruſion into a land ſo many hundred yeares before inhabited, and by ſo many diſcẽts of kings quietly enioyed, is the beſt tytle that all their owne writers alledge for them. This Fergus hereupõ immediately did deuyde Albania alſo amõg his Capitaines and their people: whereby it moſt euidently appeareth that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe wherof, the ſame particion ſhall followe.

After the Scottiſhe accompt.

The landes of Cathnes lying againſt Orknay, betwéene Dummeſbey and the Water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capitaine and his people. The landes betwéene the Water of Thane and Nes, nowe called Roſſe, lying in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Lochte, were giuen to Lucorke, another Capitaine and his people. The landes betwéene Spay and Nes, from the Almaine ſeas to the Ireland Seas, now called Murray land, were giuẽ to one Warroche and his people. The lande of Thalis now called Boyn Aynze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The landes of Marr Badezenoche, & Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martache and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles & mountaynes thereof, lying from Mar to the Irelande ſeas, were giuen to Capitaine Nonaunce and his people. The landes of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capitaine & his people. The landes of Strabraun, and Brawdawane lying Weſt from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones and Epiuithes two Capitaynes. The landes of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a Capitaine. The landes of Linnor & Clidiſdale, were allotted to Lolgona a captaine. The landes of Silaria now called Kile, Carrike and Cunyngham, were giuen to Siluriche another Capitaine. The landes of Brigance nowe called Gallowaie, were giuen to the compaignie called Brigandes, which as their beſt meyne, were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterwarde expulſed the Britons from Annandale in Albany, whereby it is confeſſed to be before inhabited by Britons. The reſidue of the lande now called Scotland, that is to ſay: Meirnis, Angus, Steremõde, Gowry, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwode, Lougthian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the remenant Dales, and the Sherifdome, of Berwicke were then enioyed by a nacion mingeled in marriage wyth Britons, and in their obedience whoſe capitaine called Berynger, buylded the caſtle & towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, and theſe people were called Pictes, vppon whome by the death of this Coell, theſe Scottes had oportunitie tanſtie to vſe warre, whereof they ceaſed not, vntill ſuch time as it pleaſed God to appoint an other Coil king of Britōs, agaynſt whoſe name, albeit they hoped for a like victory to ẏ firſt, yet he preuayled and ceaſed not his war, vntill theſe Scottes were vtterly expulſed out of all the boundes of Britayne, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troubleſome raigne of Sicill kyng of Britones, which was the xij. king after this Coil. During all which tyme the countrey was reenhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill diſcord of this realme, betwene this Sycill and his brother Blede to their beſt aduauntage, arriued agayne in Albania, & there made one Reuther theyr king.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sicill kyng of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new kyng dyed, and Thereus ſucceeded agaynſt whom the warre of Britones ceaſed not, vntill he freely ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the ſaid Sicill king of Britones at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where ſhortly after the tenth yeare of his raigne he dyed. Fynnane brother of Ioſine ſucceded by their election to the kingdom of Scottes, who ſhortly after compelled by the warres of the ſame Sicill, declared hymſelfe ſubiect, and for the better aſſuraunce of his fayth and obeiſaunce to the kyng of Britons, deliuered his ſonne Durſtus into the handes of this Sicill: who fanteſyng ẏ child and hopyng by his owne ſucceſſion to alter their ſubtiltie (I will not ſay duplicitie) maried hym in the ende to Agaſia hys owne daughter.

This Durſtus was their next kyng, but for that he had maried a Briton woman, (though ſhe was a kynges daughter) the Scots hated hym for the ſame cauſe, for which they ought rather to haue liked hym the better, and therfore not onely traiterouſly ſlewe hym: but further to declare the ende of theyr malice, diſhenherited as much as in them was, the iſſues of the ſame Durſtus and Agaſia. Whervpon new warre ſprong betwene them and vs, which ceaſed not vntill they were contented to receyue Edeir to theyr kyng, the next in bloude then liuyng, diſcended from Durſtus and Agaſia, and thereby the bloud of Britons of the parte of the mother, was reſtored to the crowne of Albania, ſo that nature whoſe law is immutable, cauſed this band of loue to hold. For ſhortly after this Edeir attended vpon Caſſibelane king of Britons, for the repulſe of Iulius Cæſar, as their owne author Boetius confeſſeth. Who commaunded the ſame as his ſubiect, but Iulius Cæſar after his third arriual by treaſon of Androgeus, preuayled agaynſt the Britons, and thereupon purſued this Edeir into Scotland, and as hymſelfe ſayth in his Commentaries, ſubdued all the Iſle of Britayne, which, though the liuyng Scottes deny, yet their dead writers confeſſe that he came beyond Callender wode, and caſt downe Camelon, the principall city of Pictes, and in token of this victory not farre from Carron, builded a round Temple of ſtone, which remayned in ſome perfection vnto the raigne of our king Edwarde called the firſt after the Conqueſt, by whome it was ſubuerted, but the monument therof remayneth to thys day.

Marius the ſon of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his tyme one Rodericke a Scythian, with a great rable of needy ſouldiours, came to the water of Frithe in Scotland, which is an arme of the ſea, deuidyng Pentland from Fiffe, againſt whome thys Marius aſſembled a power, by whiche he ſlew this Rodericke, and diſcomfited his people in Weſtmerland: but to thoſe that remained in lyfe, he gaue the countrey of Cathenes in Scotlande, which proueth it to be within hys owne dominion.

Coill the ſonne of this Marius, had iſſue Lucius, counted the firſt chriſtian king of this nacion: he conuerted the three Archflamines of this land into Biſhoprikes, and ordeyned biſhops vnto eche of them. The firſt remained at London, and his power extended from the fartheſt part of Cornewall, to Humber water, the ſecond remayned at Yorke, and hys power ſtretched from Humber to ẏ fartheſt part of all Scotland. The third remayned at Caerleõ vpõ the riuer of Uſke in Glamorgan in Wales, and his power extended frõ Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, & turned their names to Archbiſhops, the one to remayne at Canterbury, the other at Yorke: yet they confeſſe that he of Yorke had iuriſdiction through all Scotland, eyther of which is ſufficient to proue Scotlãd to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus by birth a Romaine, but in bloud a Briton, and the lineall heire of the body of Androgius, ſon of Lud, and Nephwe of Caſſibelaine, was ſhortly after Emperour and king of Britons, in whoſe tyme the people to whom his aunceſter Marius gaue the land of Cathenes in Scotland, conſpired with the Scottes and receyued them from the Iles into Scotland. But hereupon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and matyng with their fayth and falſe hartes together, droue them all out of the mayne lande into Iles, the vttermoſt boundes of all great Britayne. But notwithſtanding this glorious victory, the

Britons conſidering their ſeruitude to the Romaines, impoſed by treaſon of Androgeus, aunceſter to this Seuerus began to hate hym, whome yet they had no tyme to loue, & who in their defence and ſuretie, had ſlayne of the Scottes and their confederates in one battaile xxx. thouſandes: but ſuch was the cõſideration of the common ſort in thoſe dayes, whoſe malice no tyme could deminiſhe, nor iuſt deſert appeaſe.

Antoninus Baſſianus born of a Britõ womã, and Geta borne by a Romayn woman, were the ſonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrary voyces of their people, contended for the crown. Few Britones helde with Baſſianus, fewer Romaynes with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the ende Geta was ſlayne, and Baſſianus remayned Emperor, againſt whom Carauſius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scottes, Pichtes, and Scithians, the countrey of Cathenes in Scotland, which they after inhabited, wherby appeareth hys ſeiſon therof.

Coill diſcended of the bloude of auncient kinges of this land, was ſhortly after kyng of the Britons, whoſe onely daughter & heire called Helene, was maried vnto Conſtantius a Romaine, who daunted the rebellion of all partes of great Britayne, and after the death of this Coill, was in ẏ right of his wife kyng thereof, and raigned in his ſtate ouer them 13. or 14. yeares.

Conſtantine the ſonne of thys Conſtance, and Helen, was next King of Britons by the ryght of hys mother, who paſſing to Rome, to receyue the Empyre thereof, deputed one Octauius king of wales & Duke of the Gwiſſes, (which ſome expounde to be afterwardes called weſt Saxons) to haue the gouernemẽt of thys dominion. But abuſing the kinges innocent goodneſſe, thys Octauius defrauded thys truſte, and toke vpon himſelfe the Crowne, for which traytorye albeit he was once vanquiſhed by Leonine Traheron, vncle to Conſtantine: yet after the death of thys Traheron, he preuayled agayne and reigned ouer all Briteygne. Conſtantine beyng nowe Emperour, ſent to Maximius his kinſeman hether to deſtroy the ſame Octauius, whom in ſingular battail diſcomfited Octauius, whereupon thys Maximius aſwel by the conſent of great Cõſtãtine, as by the election of all the Brytons, for that he was a Bryton in bloude, was made King of Bryteigne. This Maximius made war vpon the Scottes and Scythians within al Bryteygne, and ceaſſed not vntill he had ſlayne Eugenius theyr King, & expulſed and dryuen them out of the whole boundes of Briteygne. Finally he inhabited al Scotland with Britons, no man, woman nor child of the Scottiſh natiõ, ſuffred to remain within it, which as theyr Hector Boecius ſaith, was for theyr rebellion, & rebelliõ properly could it not be, except they had beene ſubiectes. He ſuffered the Pichtes alſo to remaine his ſubiects, who made ſolemne othes to hym after, neuer to erect any peculiar King of theyr owne natiõ, but to remaine vnder the olde Empyre, of the onely kyng of Brytons.

About xlv. yeres after this (beyng long time after the death of this Maximius) wyth the helpe of Gouuan or Gonan and Melga, the Scottes newly arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the ſecond of that name to be their kyng. But becauſe they were before baniſhed the continent land, they crowned him kyng of their auenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of Marble, the yeare of our Lord, CCCC.xxj. as they wryte.

Maximian ſonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to kyng Coil, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall ſucceſſion next kyng of Britons. But to appeaſe ẏ malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who alſo claimed ẏ kingdõ, he maried Othilia eldeſt daughter of Dionothus, and afterward aſſembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Galloway, Mers, Annandale, Pentlande, Carrike, Kyll, and Cuningham, and in battaile ſlew both this Fergus then kyng of Scottes, and Durſtus the king of Pichtes, & exiled all their people, out of the continent land: wherupon the few number of Scottes then remaynyng on liue, went to Argila, and made Eugenius their kyng.

When this Maximian had thus obteyned quietnes in Britain, he departed wyth hys coſin Conã Meriadocke into Armorica, where they ſubdued the kyng, and depopulated the countrey, which he gaue to Conan his coſin, to be afterward inhabited by Britons by the name of Britayne the leſſer: and hereof this realme toke name of Britayne the greate, which name by conſent of forreine writers, it kepeth vnto this day.

After the death of Maximian, diſſention beyng betwene the nobles of great Britayne, the Scottes ſwarmed together again, and came to the wall of Adrian, where thys realme being deuided in many factions, they ouercame one. And hereupon their Hector Boetius, (as an henne that for laying of one egge, will make a great cakelyng) ſolemnly triumphing of a conqueſt before the victory, alleageth that herebye the Britons were made tributaries to the Scottes. And yet he confeſſeth that they wonne no more land, by that ſuppoſed conqueſt, but the ſame porcion betwene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before, was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleued, that ſuch a broken nacion as the Scottes at that tyme were returning from baniſhment within foure yeres before, and ſince in battaile loſing both theyr kinges, and the great number of theyr beſt men, to be thus able to make a conqueſt of great Britayne, & very vnlikely if they had cõquered it, they woulde haue left the whote ſunne of the Eaſt partes, to dwell in the cold ſnow of Scotlãd. Incredible it is, that if they had cõquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in caſes of conqueſt behoueth. And it is beyonde all beliefe, that great Britayne or any other countrey, ſhoulde be woon without the comming of any enimy into it, as they did not, but taried at the ſame wall of Adrian. But what néede I ſpeake of theſe defences, when the ſame Boetius ſcantly truſteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he ſayeth that Galfride and ſundry other autentike writers, diuerſlye vary frõ this part of his ſtory, wherein his owne thought accuſeth his conſcience of vntruth: Herein alſo, he further forgetting how it behoueth a lyer to be myndefull of his aſſertion in the fourth chapiter next followyng, wholly bewrayeth hymſelfe, ſaying that the confederate kinges of Scottes and Pictes, vpon ciuill warres betwene the Britons which then was folowyng, hoped ſhortly to enioy all the lande of great Britayne, from beyond Humber vnto the freſh ſea, which hope had bene vayne, and not leſſe then voyde, if it had bene their owne by any conqueſt before.

Conſtantine of little Britayne, deſcended from Conan king thereof, coſine of Brutes bloud to thys Maximian, & his nereſt heyre was next king of Britayne, he immediately purſued the Scots with warres, & ſhortly in battaile ſlue their kyng Dongard, in the firſt yeare of his raygne, whereby he recouered Scotlande out of their handes, and tooke all the holdes thereof into hys owne cuſtody.

Vortiger ſhortly after obteined the crowne of Britayne, againſt whome the Scottes newly rebelled: for yͤ repreſſing wherof (miſtruſting the Britons, to hate hym for ſundry cauſes, as one that to auoyd the ſmoke, doth oft fall into yͤ fire) receyued Hengeſt a Saxõ, and a greate number of his coũtrimen, with whom & a few Britons, he entered ſcotland and ouercame them, whereupon they tooke the Iſles, which are theyr common refuge. He gaue alſo much of Scotlande, as Galloway, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with ſundry other landes to thys Hengeſt and his people to inhabite, which they did accordinglye. But when thys Hengeſt in proceſſe of tyme, thirſted after the whole kingdome, he was baniſhed, and yet afterwarde beyng reſtored, he conſpired with the ſcottes againſt Aurilambroſe the ſonne of Conſtantine, the iuſt inheritour of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs both were recompenſed togither, for hée was taken priſoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Brytayne, and his heade for his traitory, ſtriken of at the cõmandement of Aurilambros. In the fielde the ſcottes were vanquiſhed: but Occa the ſonne of Hengeſt was receiued to mercye, to whome and his people this Aurilambroſe gaue the countrye of Galloway in ſcotlande, for which they became his Subiectes: And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe in his handes.

Some thinke the Seymors to come from this man by lineal diſcẽt.

Vter called alſo Pendragon, brother to Aurilambros was next king of yͤ Britons, againſt whome, theſe ſworne Saxons newe forſworne ſubiectes (confederate wyth the Scottes) newely rebelled: but by his power aſſembled againſt thẽ in Galloway in Scotlande, they were diſcomfited, and Albania againe recouered into his handes.

Arthur the ſonne of this Vter begotten before the marriage, but lawfully borne, in matrimony ſuccéded next to yͤ crowne of great Britayne, whoſe noble actes, though manye vulgare fables haue rather feigned, then commended: yet al the ſcottiſh writers confeſſe, that he ſubdued great Britayne, & made it tributary to him, & ouercame the Saxons then ſcattered as farre as Cathenes in ſcotland: and in all theſe warres againſt them, he had the ſeruice and obeyſance of ſcottes and Pictes. But at the laſt ſettyng their féete in the guilfull paths of their predeceſſours, they rebelled, & beſieged the city of Yorke, Howel king of the leſſe Britayne, coſin to king Arthur, being therin. But he with an hoſte came thither and dyſcomfited the Scottes, chaſed them into a marſhe, and beſieged them there ſo lõg, that they were almoſt famiſhed: vntyll the biſhoppes, Abbotes, and men of religion (for as much as they were chriſtened people) beſought hym to take thẽ to his mercy and grace, and to graunt them a portion of the ſame countrey to dwell in vnder euerlaſting ſubiection. Vppon this he tooke them to hys grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were ſworne hys ſubiectes and liegemẽ: he ordeyned his kinſmã Anguiſan to be their king & gouernor, Vrian king of Iſlãd, & Murefrẽce king of Orkney. He made an Archbiſhoppe of Yorke alſo, whoſe authoritie exten-

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ded through all Scotland.

Finally, the ſaid kyng Arthur holding his royall feaſt at Cairleon, had there all ẏ kings that were ſubiectes vnto hym, among the which, Anguſian the ſayd king of Scots did his due ſeruice for the realme of Scotlande, and bare kyng Arthurs ſworde afore hym.

Malgo ſhortly after ſucceded in the whole kingdō of great Britaine, who vpō new reſiſtaunce, newly ſubdued Ireland, Iſlande, the Orchads, Norway & Denmarke, & made Ethelfrede a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfrede by the ſword obteyned at the handes of the wilfull inhabitantes, and continued true ſubiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan ſucceded in the kingdom of great Britayne, who in defence of his ſubiectes the ſcottes, made warre vppon this Ethelfrede, but at the laſt they agreed, and Cadwan vpō their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfrede, which he therupon ſubdued and enioyed: but afterward in the raigne of Cadwallo that next ſucceded in great Britaine, he rebelled, whereupon the ſame Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treaſon reſeized the country into his owne handes, and hauyng with hym all the Viceroyes of Saxōs which then inhabited here as hys ſubiectes, in ſinguler battaile ſlew the ſame Ethelfrede.

Oſwald was ſhortly after by Cadwallōs gift made kyng of Bernicia, and he as ſubiect to Cadwallo, and by his commaundemēt diſcomfited the Scottes and Pictes, and ſubdued all Scotland. Oſwy the brother of thys Oſwald, was by the lyke gift of Cadwallo, made next kyng of Bernicia, and he by lyke commaundement newely ſubdued the ſcots and Pictes, and held them in that obeyſaunce to this Cadwallo, during xxviij. yeres. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchy of great Britayne, hauing all the vij. kynges therof, as well Saxōs as others his ſubiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from tyme to tyme greatly increaſed, yet were they alwayes either at the firſt expelled, or els made tributary to the onely kinges of Britons for the tyme being, as all their owne writers confeſſe.

Cadwallader was next kyng of the whole great Britayne, he raigned xij. yeres ouer al the kinges thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: & then vpon the lamentable death of hys ſubiectes, which dyed of ſundry diſeaſes innumerably, he departed into litle Britaine. His ſonne and coſin Iuor and Iue, being expulſed out of england alſo by the Saxones, went into Wales, where among the Britōs they and their poſteritie remayned Princes. Vpon this great alteracion, & warres being through the whole dominion betwene Britons and Saxons, the Scottes thought tyme to ſlip the coller of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then kyng of Fraunce eſtabliſhing it, in this wyſe.

1. The iniury of Engliſhmen done to any of theſe people, ſhall be perpetually holden common to both.

2. When Frenchmen be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Scottes ſhall ſend their army in defence of Fraunce, ſo that they be ſupported with mony and victuals of Fraunce.

3. When Scottes be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Frenchmen ſhall come vpon theyr owne expences, to their ſupport.

4. None of theſe people ſhall take peace or truce with Engliſhmen, without the aduiſe of other. &c.

Many diſputable opinions may be had of warre, without the prayſing of it, as onely admittible by inforced neceſſitie, and to bee vſed for peace ſake onely, where here ẏ Scots ſought warre for the loue of warre only. For their league giueth no benefite to thēſelues, either in free traffique of their owne commodities, or benefite of the French, or other priuiledge to the people of both: what diſcōmoditie riſeth by loſing the entercourſe and exchāge of our cōmodities (being in neceſſaries more aboundant then Fraunce,) ẏ ſcots feele and we perfectly know. What ruine of theyr townes, deſtruction of countries, ſlaughter of both peoples, haue by reaſon of this bloudy league chaunced, the hiſtories be lamentable to reade, & horrible among chriſtian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increaſe according to their ſeede, for as they did hereby ſowe diſſention, ſo did they ſhortly after reape a bloudy ſlaughter. For Alpine theyr kyng poſſeſſing a light mynde that would be loſt with a little wynde, hoped by this league ſhortly to ſubdue all great Britayne, and to that ende not onely rebelled in his own kingdome, but alſo vſurped vpon the kingdome of Pictes, wherupon Edwine king of england, made one Brudeus king of Pictes, whom he ſent into Scotlād with a great power, where in battail he toke this Alpine king of Scots priſoner, and diſcomfited his people: and this Alpine beyng their king found ſubiect and rebell, his hed was ſtrikē of at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this day called Paſalpine, that is to ſay, the hed of Alpine. And this was the firſt effecte of theyr Frenche league.

Oſbright king of england, with Ella hys

ſubiect, and a great number of Bꝛitons and Saxons ſhoꝛtly after, foꝛ that the Scots had of thē ſelues elected a new king, entred Scotland, and ceaſſed not his warre againſt them, vntil their king and people fled into the Iles, with whom at the laſt vpon their ſubmiſſion, peace was made in this wyſe.

" The water of Frith ſhalbe March betwene
" Scots and engliſhmē in the eaſt partes, and
" ſhalbe named the ſcottiſh ſea.
" The water of Cluide to Dumbꝛiton, ſhal be
" March in the weſt partes betwene the Scots
" and Bꝛitones. This caſtle was befoꝛe called
" Alcluide and now Dumbꝛiton, that is to ſay,
" the caſtle of Bꝛitons.

So the Bꝛitons had all the landes frō Sterlyng to the Ireland ſeas, and from the water of Frithe and Cluide, to Cumber, with all ẏ ſtrengthes and commodities therof, and the engliſhmen had ẏ landes betwéene Sterlyng and Noꝛthumberlande. Thus was Cluide March, betwene ſcots and Bꝛitones on the one ſide, and the water of Frithe named the Scottiſh ſea, Marche betwene them and engliſhmē on the other ſide, and Sterlyng common March to thꝛée people, Bꝛitons, Engliſhmen, and Scottes, and king Oſbꝛight had the Caſtle of Sterlyng, where firſt he cauſed to be coyned Sterlyng mony. The Engliſh mē alſo builded a bꝛidge of ſtone, foꝛ paſſage ouer the water of Frith, in the middes wherof they made a croſſe, vnder which were wꝛitten theſe verſes.

Nic
Ada

I am free March, as paſſengers may ken,
To Scottes, to Britons, and to Engliſhmen.

Not many yeres after this, Hinguar ⁊ Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and ſlew Conſtantine, whom Oſbꝛight had befoꝛe made kyng: whereupon Edulfe oꝛ Ethelwulfe then kyng of englād, aſſembled his power againſt Hinguar and Hubba, ⁊ in one battaile ſlue them both, but ſuch of their people as woulde remayne and become chꝛiſtians, he ſuffered to tary, the reſt he baniſhed oꝛ put to death. &c.

ome.

This Ethelwulf graunted the Peter péers, of which albeit Peter and Paule had little néede and leſſe right: yet the payment therof continued in this realm euer after vntil now of late yeres, but the Scottes euer ſince vnto this day, haue, and yet do pay it, by reaſon of that graunt, which pꝛoueth them to be then vnder his obeyſaunce.

Aluerede oꝛ Alfrede ſuccéeded in the kyngdome of England, and reigned nobly ouer the whole monarchie of great Bꝛitayne: he made lawes, that perſons excommunicated ſhould be diſabled to ſue oꝛ clayme any pꝛopertie, which law Gregour whom this Aluerede had made king of Scottes obeyed, and the ſame law as well in Scotlād as in England is holden to this day, which alſo pꝛoueth hym to be high loꝛd of Scotland.

Thys Aluerede conſtreyned Gregour king of Scots alſo, to bꝛeake the league with Fraunce, foꝛ generally he concluded wyth hym, and ſerued hym in all his warres, as well agaynſt Danes as others, not reſeruing oꝛ making any exceptiō of the foꝛmer league with Fraunce.

The ſayd Aluerede, after the death of Gregour, had the lyke ſeruice and obeyſaunce of Donald king of Scottes wyth fiue thouſand hoꝛſemen, againſt one Gurmonde a Dane that then infeſted the realme, and this Donald dyed in this faith and obeiſaunce wyth Aluerede.

Edward the firſt of that name called Chifod ſonne of this Aluerede ſuccéeded next kyng of englād, againſt whom Sithꝛic a Dane ⁊ the Scottes conſpired: but they were ſubdued, and Conſtantine their kyng bꝛought to obeiſance. He held the realme of ſcotland alſo of kyng Edwarde, and thys doth Marian their owne country man a Scotte confeſſe: beſide Roger Houeden, ⁊ Williā of Malmeſbury.

In the yere of our Loꝛd 923. the ſame king Edward was Pꝛeſident and gouernoꝛ of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes and Bꝛitones.

King Athelſtane in like ſoꝛt cōquered ſcotland, and as he lay in his tentes beſide Yoꝛke whyleſt the warres laſted, the king of Scots ſayned hymſelfe to be a minſtrel, and harped befoꝛe him onely to eſpy his oꝛdinaunce ⁊ his people. But beyng as their wꝛiters confeſſe, coꝛrupted with money, he ſold his fayth ⁊ falſe hart together to the Danes, and ayded them againſt king Athelſtane at ſondꝛy times. Howbeit he met wyth their vntruthes at Bꝛoningfield in the weſt countrey, as is mentioned in the 9. chapter of the firſt booke of thys deſcription, where hée diſcomfited the Danes, and ſlew Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scottes: in which battaile, the Scottes confeſſe themſelues to haue loſt moꝛe people then were remembꝛed in any age befoꝛe. Then Athelſtane ſolowing hys good lucke, went throughout all ſcotland and wholy ſubdued it, and being in poſſeſſion therof, gaue land there lying in Annādale by his déede, the copy wherof doth followe.

I kyng Athelſtane, giues vnto Paulan, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and therto witnes Mauld my wyfe.

By which courſe woꝛdes, not onely appeareth ẏ plaine ſimplicitie of mens doinges in thoſe dayes: but alſo a ful pꝛoofe that he was then ſeized of Scotlande.

At the laſt alſo he receyued homage of Malcolme king of Scottes, but for that he coulde not be reſtored to his whole kingdome, he entered into Religion, and there ſhortely after dyed.

Then Athelſtane for his better aſſuraunce of that countrey there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelye conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph, ſonne of Conſtantine the thirde, to be called prince of Scotlande, to whome he gaue much of Scotlande: and for this, Malcolme did homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund brother of Athelſtane ſucceeded next king of Englande to whome this Indulph then kyng of Scottes not only dyd homage, but alſo ſerued him wyth ten thouſand Scottes, for the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of Englande.

Edred or Eldred, brother to thys Edmund ſucceeded next king of Englande, he not onelye receyued the homage of Iriſe then kyng of Scottes, but alſo the homage of all the Barons of Scotlande.

Some re=ferre this to an Ed=ward.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, brother of Athelſtane being nowe of full age, was next kyng of England: he reigned onely ouer the whole Monarchie of great Britaine, and receyued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotlande, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

Thys Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrey of Louthian in Scotland, which was before ſeized into the handes of Oſbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He enioined this Keneth their king alſo once in euery yere at certaine principall feaſtes (whereat the king dyd vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into Englande for the making of lawes, which in thoſe daies was done by yͤ noble mē or peres according to the order of France at this day, To which end he allowed alſo ſundry lodgings in England, to him & his ſucceſſours, whereat to lye & refreſhe themſelues in their iourneyes, and finally a peece of ground lying beſide the newe palace of Weſtminſter, vpon which this Keneth buylded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was enioyed vntill the reigne of King Henry the ſeconde, in whoſe tyme vpon the rebelliō of William thē king of Scottes, it was reſumed into the king of Englands handes. The houſe is decayed, but the grounde where it ſtoode is called Scotlande to this day.

Moreouer Edgar made this lawe, that no man ſhoulde ſucceede to his patrimonie or inheritaunce holden by knightes ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yeares, bycauſe by intendement vnder that age, he ſhoulde not be able in perſon to ſerue hys king and countrey according to the tenour of his deede and the cōdition of his purchaſe. This lawe was receyued by the ſame Keneth in Scotlande, and aſwell there as in Englande is obſerued to this day, which proueth alſo that Scotlande was then vnder hys obeyſaunce.

In the yeare of our Lorde 974. Kinalde king of Scottes, & Malcolin king of Cumbreland, Macon king of Man, and the Iſles, Dunenall king of ſouthwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of wales, Iacob or Iames of Galloway, and Iukill of weſtmerlande, did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the morow going by water to yͤ monaſtery of ſ. Iohns to ſeruice and returning home againe, yͤ ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge & ſtiering the ſame vpon the water of Dee, made the ſayd kings to rowe yͤ barge, ſaying that his ſucceſſors might well be ioyefull to haue the prerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperioritie of ſo many mightie princes to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward the ſonne of this Edgar was next king of Englande, in whoſe tyme this Keneth kyng of Scots cauſed Malcolme prince of Scotlande to be poyſoned, wherupon king Edwarde made warre agaynſt him, which ceaſſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receyue him for prince of Scotlande whome king Edward woulde appoint: herevpon Edwarde proclaymed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotlande, who immediately came into Englande and there dyd homage vnto the ſame King Edwarde.

Ethelred brother of thys Edwarde ſucceeded next ouer Englande, againſt whome Swayn kyng of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots: But ſhortly after this Malcolme ſorowfully ſubmitted himſelf into the defence of Ethelred, who conſidering how that which coulde not be amended muſt only be repented, benignelye receyued him, by helpe of whoſe ſeruice at laſt Ethelred recouered hys realme againe out of the handes of Swayn, and reigned ouer the whole Monarchy eyght & thirtie yeares.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide ſonne of this Ethelred was next king England, in whoſe tyme Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much crueltie, but at laſt he marryed w Emme ſometime wyfe vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund: which Emme as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the

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gre and after mutuall battaile to the other, procured ſuch amitie betweene them in the ende, that Edmonde was contented to deuide the realme with Canutus, & keeping to himſelfe all England on this ſide Humber, gaue all the reaſt beyond Humber with the ſeigniorie of Scotlande to this Canutus: wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scottes after a little cuſtomable reſiſtence, dyd homage to the ſame Canutus for kingdome of Scotlād, and thus the ſayde Canutus helde the ſame ouer of this Edmond king of Englande by the lyke ſeruices.

This Canutus in memorie of his victorie and glorie of his ſeignorie ouer the Scottes, commaunded this Malcolme their king, to buylde a Church in Buchquhan in Scotland (where a fielde betwéene him and them was fought) to be dedicate to Olauus patrone of Norway and Denmarke, which Church was by the ſame Malcolme accordingly perfourmed.

Edwarde called the confeſſour ſonne of Etheldred and brother to Edmond Ironſide, was afterward king of england. He toke frō Malcolme king of Scottes his lyfe and hys kingdome, and made Malcolme ſonne to the king of Cumberlande and Northumberland king of Scottes, who dyd him homage and fealtie.

Thys Edwarde peruſed the olde lawes of the realme, and ſomewhat added to ſome of them, as to the lawe of Edgar for the wardſhippe of the landes vntyll the heire ſhoulde accompliſhe the age of one & twentie yeares, he added that the marryage of ſuch heire, ſhoulde alſo belong to the Lorde of whom the ſame lande was holden.

Alſo that euery woman marrying a frée man, ſhoulde notwithſtanding ſhe had no children by that huſbande, enioye the thirde part of his inheritaunce during hir lyfe, with many other lawes which the ſame Malcolme king of Scottes obeyed. And which aſwel by them in Scotlande as by vs in Englande be obſerued to this day, and directly prooueth the whole to be then vnder his obeyſaunce.

By reaſon of this law Malcolme the ſonne of Duncane next inheritour to the crowne of Scotlande being within age, was by the nobles of Scotlande deliuered as warde to the cuſtodie of this king Edwarde, during whoſe minoritie one Makebeth a Scot trayterouſly vſurped the crowne of Scotland, againſt whom this king Edward made warre in which the ſaid Makebeth was ouercome and ſlayne, wherevpon ẏ ſaid Malcolme was crowned king of Scottes at Stone, in the viij. yere of the reigne of this king Edward.

Thys Malcolme by tenour of the ſayde newe lawe of wardſhip was marryed vnto Margaret the daughter of Edwarde, ſonne of Edmond Ironſide and Agatha, by the diſpoſition of the ſame king Edwarde, and at his ful age dyd homage to this king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland.

Moreouer Edwarde of Englande, hauing no iſſue of his body, and miſtruſting that Harolde the ſonne of Godwyn deſcended of the daughter of Harolde Harefote the Dane woulde vſurpe the crowne, if he ſhould leaue it to his coſin Edgar Etheling (being then within age) and partly by the petition of his ſubiectes, who before had ſworne neuer to receiue any kings ouer them of the Daniſh nation, did by his ſubſtācial wil in writing as all our clergy writers affirme, deuiſe the crowne of great Britaine vnto William then duke of Normandie and to his heires, conſtituting him his heire teſtamentarie. Alſo there was proximitie in bloude betwéene thē for Emme daughter of Richarde duke of Normandye was wife vnto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was ſonne of Robert, ſonne of Richarde, brother of the whole bloud to the ſame Emme: whereby appeareth that this William was heire by tytle and not by conqueſt, albeit that partly to extinguiſh the miſtruſt of other tytles and partely for the glory of hys victory, he challenged in the ende, the name of a conquerour, & hath bene ſo written euer ſithens his arriuall.

This king William called the conquerour ſuppoſed not his conqueſt perfite, tyll he had lykewyſe ſubdued ẏ Scots, wherfore to bring the Scottes to iuſt obeyſaunce after hys Coronation as heire teſtamentary to Edward the Confeſſour, he entred Scotland, where after a little reſiſtance made by the Scottes, the ſayde Malcolme then their king did homage to hym at Abirnethy in Scotlande for the kingdome of Scotlande, as to hys ſuperiour alſo by meane of conqueſt.

William ſurnamed Rufus ſonne of thys William called the conquerour, ſucceded next to the crowne of England, to whom the ſayde Malcolme king of Scottes dyd like homage for the kingdome of Scotland. But afterwarde he rebelled and was by this William Rufus ſlayne in the fielde, where vpon the Scottiſhmen dyd choſe one Donald or Donwal to be theyr kyng. But this Williā Rufus, depoſed hym and created Dunkane ſonne of Malcolme to be theyr king, who dyd like homage to him: finally this Duncā was ſlayne by the Scottes & Dunwall reſtored, who once agayne by this Wylliam Rufus was depoſed, and Edgar ſonne of Malcolme & brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him made theyr king, who dyd lyke homage for Scotlande to this William Rufus.

Henry called Beauclerke the ſon of William, called the conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to the crowne of England, to whome the ſame Edgar kyng of Scottes dyd homage for Scotland. This Henry Beauclerke married Mawde the daughter of Malcolme king of Scottes, and by hir had iſſue Mawde afterwarde empreſſe. Alexandre the ſonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawde, was next king of Scottes, he dyd lyke homage for the kingdome of Scotlande to this Henry the firſt.

Mawde called the empreſſe daughter and heire to this Henry Beauclerke and Mawde hys wyfe, receiued homage of Dauid brother to hir and to this Alexandre next king of Scottes, before all the temporall men of Englande for the kyngdome of Scotlande.

Thys Mawde the empreſſe gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Voldoſius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberlande. And herein their euaſion appeareth, by which they allege that their kinges homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon: for this Dauid was ye firſt that of their kinges was Earle of Huntingdon, which was ſince all the homages of their kinges before recited, and at the time of thys marryage, and long after the ſayde Alexander his brother was king of Scots: doing the homage aforeſayde to Henry Bewclerke.

1136. In the yeare of our Lorde 1136. and firſte yeare of the reigne of king Stephen, the ſaid Dauid king of Scottes, being required to doe his homage, refuſed it, for as much as he had done homage to Mawde the empreſſe before tyme, notwithſtanding the ſonne of the ſayde Dauid dyd homage to king Stephane.

Henry called Fitz emprice, the ſon of Mawd the emprice daughter of Mawde, daughter of Malcolme king of Scottes, was next king of England. He receyued homage for Scotland of Malcolme, ſonne of Henry, ſonne of the ſayd Dauyd their laſt king, which Malcolme after thys homage, attended vpon the ſame kyng Henry in his warres agaynſt Lewys then king of Fraunce: whereby appeareth that their Frenche league was neuer renued after the laſt diuiſiō of their countrey by Oſbright king of Englande. But after theſe warres finiſhed with the Frenche king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotlande rebelled: whereuppon, king Henry immediatelye ſeized Huntingdon, and Northumberland into hys owne handes by confiſcation, & made warres vpon him in Scotland, during which the ſame Malcolme dyed without iſſue of hys bodie.

William brother of thys Malcolme was next kyng of Scottes, he wyth all the nobles of Scotland, (which could not be now for any earledome) did homage to the ſonne of thys king Henry the ſecond, wyth a reſeruation of the duetie to king Henry the ſeconde, hys father: alſo the earledome of Huntingdon was as ye haue hearde before thys, forfaited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after reſtored to the crowne of Scotlande.

Thys William king of Scottes, did afterwarde attend vpon the ſame king Henry the ſeconde in his warres in Normandie againſt the Frenche kyng, notwithſtanding theyr Frenche league, and then dyd him homage for Scotlande, and thereupon was licenſed to depart home in Scotlande, where immediately he moued cruell warre in Northumberlande againſt the ſame king Henry being yet in Normandy. But God toke the defence of king Henries parte, and deliuered the ſame William kyng of Scottes into the handes of a fewe Engliſhmen, who brought him priſoner to kyng Henry into Normandie, in the tenth yeare of hys reigne. But at the laſt at the ſuite of Dauid his brother, Richarde Biſhop of ſ. Andrewes and other Biſhoppes and Lordes, he was put to this fine for the amendement of his treſpaſſe, to paye tenne thouſande pounde ſterling, and to ſurrender all hys tytle of the earledome of Huntingdō, Cumberland, and Northumberland, into the handes of thys kyng Henry: which he did in all thinges accordingly, ſealing hys charters thereof with the great ſeale of Scotlande and ſignettes of hys nobilitie, wherein it was alſo compriſed that hée and his ſucceſſours, ſhould hold the realme of Scotland of the king of Englande and his ſucceſſours for euer. And hereupon he once again dyd homage to the ſame king Henry, which nowe coulde not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the ryght whereof was alrealdie by hym ſurrēdred. And for the better aſſurāce of this faith alſo, the ſtrengthes of Berwick, Edenbrough, Roxbrough and Striueling were deliuered into the handes of our king Henry of Englande which their owne writers confeſſe: but Hector Boetius ſaieth that this treſpaſſe was amended by fine of twentie thouſande poundes ſterling, & that the earledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberlande were deliuered as Morgage into the handes of king Henry vntill other tenne thouſande poundes ſterling ſhoulde be to him payd, but though that were true, yet proueth he not the that money was payde, nor the lande otherwiſe redéemed, or euer after came to any Scottiſhe kinges handes. And thus is appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdō was neuer occaſion of the homages of the Scottiſhe kinges to the kinges of Englande eyther before this tyme or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I red this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus that liued in theſe, and was as I take it cōfeſſor to king Henry. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henry for yͤ kingdome of Scotlande and is ſent home againe, hys Biſhops alſo did promiſe to doe the lyke, to the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, and to acknowledge themſelues to be of his prouince & iuriſdictiō. By vertue alſo of this compoſition the ſayde Robert ſayth, that Rex Angliæ dabat honores, Epiſcopatus, Abbatias & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel ſaltem eius conſilio dabantur, that is, the king of England gaue, Honors, Biſhopricks, Abbatſhips, & other dignities in Scotland, or at the leaſtwyſe they were not giuen without his aduiſe and counſell.

At this tyme Alexander biſhop of Rome (ſuppoſed to haue general iuriſdiction eccleſiaſticall thorough Chriſtendome) conferred the whole clergy of Scotland, according to the olde lawes, vnder the iuriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185. in the month of Auguſt at Cairleil. Roulande Talnante lord of Galway, did homage and fealty to the ſaid king Henry with all that held of hym.

In the 22. yeare of the raigne of king Henry the 2. Gilbert ſonne of Ferguſe prince of Galway, did homage and fealtie to the ſayd king Henry, and left Duncan his ſonne in hoſtage for conſeruation of peace.

Richard ſurnamed Cœur de Lyon, ſonne of this Henry was next king of england, to whō the ſame William king of Scottes dyd homage at Caunterbury for the kyngdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken priſoner by the Duke of Oſtrich, for whoſe redemptiō the whole realme was taxed at great ſummes of money, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a ſubiect) was contributory, and payed two M. markes ſterlyng.

In the yere of our Lord 1199. John kyng of england, ſent to William king of Scottes to come & do his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the ſame yeare, and did his homage there vpon an hill in the preſence of Hubert, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and of all the people there aſſembled, and there was ſworne vpon the croſſe of the ſaid Hubert: Alſo he graunted by his charter confirmed, that he ſhould haue the mariage of Alexander hys ſonne, as hys liegeman, alwayes to hold of the king of england: promiſing moreouer that he the ſayde king William & his ſonne Alexander ſhould kepe and hold faith and allegeance to Henry ſonne of the ſayd king John, as to their chiefe Lord againſt all maner of men.

Alſo where as William king of Scots had put John Biſhoppe of ſ. Andrewe out of his Biſhopricke, Pope Clemente wrote to Henry kyng of englande, that he ſhoulde moue and induce the ſame William, and if néede were requyre by hys Royall power compell hym to leaue his rancour agaynſt yͤ ſayd Biſhop and ſuffer him to haue, and occupye his ſayde Biſhopricke againe.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1216. and fiue and twenty of yͤ reign of king Henry, ſonne to king John, the ſame king Henry and the Quéene were at Yorke at yͤ feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe for the ſolemnization of a marryage made in the feaſt of ſ. Stephane the Martir the ſame yeare, betwéene Alexander king of Scottes, & Margarete the kings daughter, and there the ſayde Alexander dyd homage to Henry king of Englande.

In Buls of diuers Popes were admoniſtions geuē to the kings of Scottes, that they ſhould obſerue & truly kéepe all ſuch appointments, as had ben made betwéene the kings of england and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland ſhould holde the realme of Scotlande of the kings of englande vpon payne of curſe and interditing.

After the deathe of Alexander kyng of Scottes, Alexander his ſonne beyng nyne yeres of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in warde to king Henry the 3. and by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered to him, During whoſe minoritie king Henry gouerned Scotland, and to ſubdue a commocion in this realme, vſed the ayde of v. M. Scottiſhmen, but king Henry dyed during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reaſon and law was reſpited vntil his full age of xxj. yeares.

Edward the firſt after the conqueſt, ſonne of this Henry, was next king of england, immediately after whoſe coronation, Alexāder king of Scottes, being then of ful age did homage to hym for Scotlande at Weſtminſter, ſwearyng as all the reaſt did after this maner.

I.D.N. king of Scottes ſhalbe true and faithfull vnto you Lorde E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and ſuperior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of lyfe and limme, and worldly honour againſt all mē, faithfully I ſhall knowledge and ſhall doe you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdom of Scotland aforeſayde, as God me ſo helpe and theſe holy Euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scottes died, leauing one only daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanygo, ſonne to Magnus king of Norway, which daughter alſo ſhortly after died, leauyng one onely daughter her heire, of the age of two yeares, whoſe cuſtody and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confeſſour, belonged to Edward the firſt: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were cōmaunded by our king Edward to ſend into Norway, to conuey this yong Quéene into England to him, whom he entended to haue maried to his ſōne Edward: and ſo to haue made a perfite vnion betwéene bothe Realmes. Hereuppon their nobles at that tyme conſidering the ſame tranquillitie, that many of them haue ſithens refuſed, ſtoode not vpon ſhiftes and delayes of minoritie nor contēpt, but moſt gladly conſented, and therupon ſent two noble men of Scotlande into Norway, for hir to be brought to this king Edwarde, but ſhe died before their comming thither, & therefore they required nothing but to enioye the lawful liberties that they had quietly poſſeſſed in the laſt king Alexander his tyme.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were deſtitute of any heire to the crown from this Alexander their laſt king, at which time this Edwarde diſcended from the bodye of Mawde daughter of Malcolme, ſometyme king of Scottes, beyng then in the greateſt broile of his warres with Fraunce, mynded not to take the poſſeſſion of that kingdome in his own right, but was contented to eſtabliſh Balioll to be king therof, the weake title betwene him, Bruſe, & Haſtings, being by the humble peticion of all the realme of Scotland committed to the determination of this king Edward, wherin by autentique writing they confeſſed the ſuperioritie of the realme, to remaine in king Edward, ſealed with the ſeales of iiij. Biſhops vij. earles, and xij. barons of Scotland, & which ſhortly after was by the whole aſſent of ẏ thrée eſtates of Scotland, in their ſolemne Parliament confeſſed and enacted accordingly, as moſt euidently doth appeare.

The Balioll in this wiſe made kyng of Scotlād, did immediately make hys homage and fealty at Newcaſtle vpon ſaint Steuens day (as did likewiſe all the Lordes of Scotland, eche one ſetting his hand to the compoſition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdom of Scotland: but ſhortly after defrauding the benigne goodneſſe of this king Edward, he rebelled, and did very much hurt in englande: Hereupon king Edward inuaded Scotland, ſeaſed into his hāds the greater part of the countrey, and toke all the ſtrengthes thereof, whereuppon Baliol king of Scottes came vnto king Edwarde at Mauntroſſe in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there reſigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and intereſt to the ſame, into the handes of this kyng Edward, and therfore made his Charter in writyng, dated and ſealed the fourth yeare of his raigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotlande alſo repayred to Barwike, and did homage & fealtie to king Edwarde, there becōmyng his ſubiectes. For the better aſſurance of whoſe othes alſo, king Edward kept all the ſtrengths & holdes of Scotland in his owne handes, and hereupon all their lawes, proceſſe, all iudgement, all giftes of aſſiſes and others, paſſed vnder the name and autoritie of king Edwarde. Lelande touching the ſame rehearſall, writeth thereof in this maner.

In the yere of our lord 1295. the ſame John king of Scottes, contrary to his faith and alleageaunce, rebelled againſt king Edward, and came into england, and burnt and ſlew without all modeſty and mercy. Whereupon king Edwarde with a great hoſte went to Newcaſtle vppon Tine, paſſed the water of Twéede, and beſieged Barwike, and gote it. Alſo he wan the caſtell of Dunbar, & there were ſlaine at this brunt 15700. Scots. Then he procéeded further, and gate the Caſtle of Rokeſborow, and the caſtle of Edēborough, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people herried all the lande.

In the meane ſeaſon, ẏ ſayd king John of Scots conſidering ẏ he was not of power to wᵗſtand ẏ ſaid king Edward ſent his letters and beſought him of treatie and peace, which king Edward benignly graunted, and ſent to him againe that he ſhould come to the towne of Brethin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland wᵗ him. The king of england ſet thither Antony Beke, biſhop of Durhā, with his royall power to conclude the ſaide treatice: and there it was agréed that ẏ ſaid John and all the Scottes ſhould vtterly ſubmitte thēſelues to the kings will, & to the end ẏ ſaid ſubmiſſiō ſhould be performed accordingly, ẏ king of Scottes laid his ſonne in hoſtage and pledge. There alſo he made his letters ſealed with the common ſeale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his ſimplenes & great offence done to his lord king Edward of englande, by his full power & free will, yelded vp all the lande of Scotland, with all the people & homage of the ſame. Then ẏ ſaid king Edward went forth to ſee the mountaines, and vnderſtandyng that all was in quyete and peace, he turned to ẏ Abbey of Stone of Chanons regular, where he toke the ſtone called the Regall of Scotland, vpō which the kings of Scotland were wont to ſitte, at the time of their coronations for a throne, and ſent it to the Abbey of Weſtminſter, commaundyng to make a chaire thereof for the prieſtes that ſhould ſing maſſe at the high altare: which chaire was made, and ſtandeth yet there at this day.

In the yere of our Lord 1296. the king held his Parliament at Barwike: and there he toke homage ſingularly of all the lordes and nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memory of the ſame, they made their letters patentes ſealed with their ſeales, & thē the king of england made William Warreine earle of Surrey and Southſare, Lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Creſſingham treaſorer, and William Ormeſby iuſtice of Scotland, and forthwith ſent king Iohn to the tower of London, and Iohn Comyn, and the earle Badenauth, the erle of Bohan & other lordes into england to diuers places on this ſyde of the Trent.

And after that in the yere of our lord, 1297 at the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the kyng called before him the ſayd Iohn king of Scottes, although he had committed hym to warde: and ſaide that he would burne or deſtroy their caſtels, townes & landes, if he were not recompenced for hys coſtes & damages ſuſtained in the warres, but king Iohn & the other that were in warde, aunſwered that they had nothing, ſith their liues, their deathes, and goods were in his handes. The king vpon that aunſwer moued with pity, graunted them their liues, ſo that they would doe their homage & make their othe ſolemnly at the high altar (in the church of the Abbey of Weſtminſter) vpon the Euchariſt, that they and euery of thē ſhould holde and kepe true fayth, obedience, and allegiaunce to the ſaid king Edward and his heires kinges of englande for euer. And where the ſaid king of Scots ſaw the kinges banner of england diſplayed, he and all hys ſhould draw there vnto. And that neyther he nor any of his from thenceforth ſhould beare armes againſt the king of england or any of his bloud. Finally, the king rewarding wyth great giftes the ſayd king Iohn & his lordes, ſuffered them to departe. But they went into Scotland alway imagining (notwithſtādig this their ſubmiſſiō) how they might oppreſſe king Edward and diſturbe his realme. The Scottes ſent alſo to the king of Fraunce for ſuccour and helpe, who ſent them ſhippes to Barwike furniſhed with men of armes, the king of england then beyng in Flaunders.

In the yeare of our lord 1298. the king wēt into Scotland with a great hoſt, and ẏ Scots alſo aſſembled in great number, but the king faught with them at Fawkirke on S. Mary Magdalenes daye, where were ſlayne lx. M. Scots, and William Walleys that was their captayne fled, who beyng taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, and quartered at London.

After this the Scottes rebelled agayne, and all ẏ lordes of Scotland choſe Robert Bruis to be king, except only Iohn Cōmyn earle of Carrike, who would not conſent thereto because of his othe made to ẏ king of england. Wherefore Robert Bruis * ſlewe hym at Dumfriſe, and the ſame Robert Bruis was crowned at Schone Abbay. Hereupon the king of england aſſembled a great hoſte, and rode thorough all Scotland, and diſcomfited Robert Bruis, and ſlue viij. M. Scottes, and toke the moſt part of all the lordes of Scotlande, putting the temporall lordes to death becauſe they were forſworne.

*This was done, vpon the 29. of Ian. 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan ſonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who frō the beginning of his reigne enioyed Scotlād peaceably, doing in all thinges as is aboue ſayde of king Edwarde his father, vntill toward the latter ende of his reigne, about which time thys Robert Bruſe conſpired againſt him & with the helpe of a few forſworn Scottes, forſwore himſelfe king of Scottes. Hereupon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaſter and many other Lords made warre vpō him about the feaſt of Mary magdalene, the ſayde Bruſe and hys partakers being already accurſed by the Pope for breaking the truce that he had eſtabliſhed betwixt thē. But being infortunate in his firſt warres againſt him, he ſuffered Edwarde the ſonne Baliol to proclaime himſelf king of Scottes, and neuertheleſſe held forth his warres againſt Bruſe, before the ending of which he dyed, as I reade.

Edwarde borne at Windſore ſonne of Edward ẏ ſecond was next king of england at ẏ age of fiftene yeares, in whoſe minoritie the Scots practiſed with Iſabell mother to this Edwarde and wyth Roger Mortymer earle of the March to haue their homages releaſed, whoſe good will therin they obtayned, ſo that for the ſame releaſe they ſhoulde pay to thys king Edward thirtie thouſand poundes ſterling in thrée yeares next following, that is to ſay, tenne thouſand pounde ſterling yearely. But bicauſe the nobilitie & commons of this realme woulde not by parliament conſent vnto it their king being within age; the ſame releaſe procéeded not, albeit the Scottes ceaſed not their practiſes with thys Quéene and Earle. But before thoſe thrée yeres in which their money (if ẏ bargaine had taken place) ſhoulde haue béene payed were expired, our king Edwarde inuaded Scotlande and ceaſed not the warre vntill Dauid the ſonne of Robert le Bruſe then by their election king of ſcotlande abſolutelye ſubmytted hymſelfe vnto hym. But for that the ſayde Dauid Bruſe had before by practiſe of the Quéene and the Earle of Marche, marryed Iane the ſiſter of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his ſiſter, was contented to giue the realme of ſcotlande to this Dauid Bruſe, & to the heires that ſhoulde be begotten of the body of the ſayde Iane (ſauing the reuerſion and meane homages to this king Edwarde and to his owne children) wherewith the ſame Dauid Bruſe was right well contented, and therevpon immediately made his homage for ſcotlande vnto him.

Howbeit ſhortly after cauſeleſſe conceyuing cauſe of diſpleaſure, this Dauid procured to diſolue this ſame eſtate taily, and thervpon not onely rebelled in ſcotlande, but alſo inuaded englande, whyleſt king Edwarde was occupyed about hys warres in France. But this Dauid was not onely expelled englãd in thend, but alſo thinking no place a ſufficient defence to his vntrueth, of his owne accorde fled out of ſcotlãd: wherby the cõtreis of Annandale, Gallaway, Mars, Teuydale, Twedale, and Ethrike were ſeaſed into the king of englandes handes, and new Marches ſet betwéene englande and ſcotland at Cockburnes pathe and Sowtry hedge, which whẽ this Dauid wẽt about to recouer againe, his power was diſcomfited, and himſelf by a few engliſhmen taken and brought into englande where he remayned pryſoner eleuen yeres.

Duryng thys tyme, kyng Edwarde enioyed Scotlande peaceably, and then at the contemplacion and wery ſuite of his ſorowfull ſiſter wyfe of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to reſtore him to the kingdome of Scotlande, wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid ſhoulde paye to king Edward the ſomme of one hundred thouſande markes ſterling, and thereto deſtroy all his holdes and fortreſſes ſtanding agaynſt the engliſh borders, & further aſſure the crowne of ſcotland to the children of this kyng Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodye, all which thinges he dyd accordingly. And for the better aſſurance of his obeiſance alſo, he afterward deliuered into the hãds of king Edward ſundry noble men of ſcotlãd in this behalf as his pledges. And this is the effect of the hiſtory of Dauid, touching his dealings: now let vs ſée what was done by Edwarde Bailioll, whereof our Chronicles doe make report as followeth.

In ẏ yere of our lord 1326. Edward ẏ third king of england was crowned at Weſtminſter, and in the 5. yere of his reigne Edward Bailiol right heire to ẏ kingdome of ſcotlãd came in & claymed it as due to him. Sundry lordes and gentlemen alſo, which had title to diuers landes there, either by themſelues, or by their wiues did ẏ like, wherupõ the ſayde Bailiol & they went into ſcotland by ſea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000. Engliſhmen, diſcomfited 10000. Scottes, and ſlewe 1200. and thẽ went forth to Dunfermeline, where the ſcots aſſembled againſt them with 40000. men, and in the feaſt of ſ. Laurence, at a place called Gaſtmore (or otherwyſe Gladmore) were ſlaine v. Erles, xiij. Barons, a hundred and thrée ſcore knightes, two M. men of armes, and many other, in all xl. M. and there were ſlaine on the engliſh part but xiij. perſons only.

In the eight yere of the raign of kyng Edward, he aſſembled a great hoſte and came to Barwike vpon Twéede, & laid ſiege thereto To him alſo came Edward Bailiol king of ſcots, wᵗ a great power to ſtrength & aide him againſt the ſcottes who came out of ſcotland in foure battailes well armed and arayed.

Edwarde kyng of england, and Edwarde king of ſcottes, apparelled their people either of them in foure battailes: and vppon Halidon hyll, beſide Barwike, met theſe two hoſtes, and there were diſcomfited of ẏ ſcots, xxv. M. and vij. C. whereof were ſlayne vij. erles, a thouſand and thrée hundred knightes and gentlemen. This victory done, the kyng returned to Barwike, and the towne wyth the caſtell were yelded vp vnto him.

In the eyght yeare of the reigne of king Edward of englande, Edward Bailiol kyng of ſcottes came to Newcaſtell vpon tine and dyd homage.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1346. Dauid Bruys by exhortacion of the king of France rebelled, and came into england with a great hoſte vnto Neuilles croſſe: But the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke with diuers temporall men, fought wͭ him and the ſaid king of ſcots was takē, and William earle Duglas & Morriſe earle of Strathorne were brought to Londō, & many other Lordes ſlayne, which wyth Dauid dyd homage to Edward king of england.

And in the thirtie yere of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lorde 1355. the ſcottes wanne the towne of Barwicke, but not the Caſtell. Hereupon the king came thither wͭ a great hoſte, and anone the towne was yelden without any reſiſtance.

Edwarde Bailiol, conſidering that God dyd ſo many marueylous & gracious thinges for kyng Edwarde, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of ſcotland to king Edwarde of england at Rokeſborough, by his letters patents.

And anon after the king of england, in preſence of all his Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe kyng there of the realme of ſcotlande, and ordayned all thinges to hys intent, and ſo came ouer in englande.

Richarde the ſonne of Edward, called the blacke prince, ſonne of this kyng Edward, was next king of Englande, who for that the ſayde Jane, the wyfe of the ſayde king Dauyd of Scotland was deceaſed without iſſue, and being enformed how the Scottes deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitacion of this inheritance touching yͤ crowne of ſcotland, made forthwith war againſt thē, wherin he brent Edēbrough, ſpoyled all their countrey, tooke all their holdes, and maintained continually warre againſt them vnto his death, which was Anno domi. M.CCC. xcix.

Henry the fourth of that name was next kyng of englande, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, & ceaſſed not vntyll Robert king of ſcots (the third of yͤ name) reſigned hys crowne by appointment of this kyng Henry, and deliuered hys ſonne James beyng then of the age of nyne yeares, into his handes to remayne at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour Lord, according to the olde lawes of king Edwarde the confeſſour. All this was done Anno dom. M. CCCC.iiij. which was within fiue yeares after the death of kyng Richarde: This Henry the fourth reigned in this ſtate ouer them foureteene years.

Henry the fift of that name ſonne to thys king Henry the fourth was next king of england. He made warres againſt yͤ french king, in all which this James then king of ſcottes attended vpon him as vpon his ſuperior lord, with a conuenient number of ſcots, notwithſtanding their league with fraunce. But this Henry reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fully accompliſhed the age of one and twentye yeares) was by reaſon and lawe reſpited. Finallye the ſayd James wyth dyuers other lordes attended vpon the corpes of the ſayde ſaide Henry vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie apperteyned.

Henry the ſixt, the ſonne of this Henry the fift, was next king of englande to whome the ſeignorie of ſcotlande and cuſtodye of thys James by right lawe and reaſon diſcended, marryed the ſame James king of ſcottes to Jane daughter of John earle of Sommerſet, at S. Mary ouer Iſe in ſouthwarke, and tooke for the value of thys marryage, the ſumme of one hundreth thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of ſcottes at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henry the ſixt, for the kingdome of ſcotland at Wyndſore, in the moneth of January.

Since which tyme vnto the dayes of king Henry the ſeauenth, graundfather to our ſouereigne lord that now is, albeit this realme hath beene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnmeete tyme neither lawe nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of any ryght: yet did king Edwarde the fourth next king of englande by preparation of warre againſt the ſcottes in the latter ende of hys reigne, ſufficiently by al lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſoueraigne lorde king Henry the eight, exceeded not the number of xxvij yeares, about which tyme the impediment of our clayme of the ſcottes part, chaunced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one & twentie yeres. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelf to make homage, ſo was the ſame by like reaſō an impediment to yͤ king of this realme to demaunde any, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſayde king Henry the eyght, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeres, & thus much for this matter.

Of the wall ſometime buylded for a particion betweene Englande and the Pictes.

Cap. 17.

Hauing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of england, vnto the ſcottiſh kingdome, I haue nowe thought good to adde hereunto the deſcription of the wall that was in times paſt, a limite vnto both the ſayde regions, & therefore to be touched in this firſt booke as generallye apperteinent vnto the eſtate, of the whole Iſlande.

The firſt beginner of the Picts wal

The firſt author and beginner therefore of this wall was Hadriane the emperour, who as Ælius Spartianus ſayth, erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, to deuide the barbarous Brytons from the more ciuile ſort, which thẽ were generally called by the name of Romaines.

The finiſher of the wall.

After hys tyme Seuerus the emperour cõming againe into this Iſle, (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumultes here begun, after ẏ death of Lucius) amongſt other thinges he finiſhed the wall that Hadriane had begunne and extended it euen vnto the the weſt ſea, that earſt went no farder then foure ſcore myles, from the eaſt part of the Ocean, as I haue noted already. It is worthy ẏ noting how that in thys voyage he loſt 50000. men in the ſcottiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderaunce ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlye to extinguiſh theyr memory from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in déede, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth howe that the percell of the wall, which was left by Hadriane, and finiſhed by this prince, conteyned two & thirtye miles, whereby the bredth of this Iſland there, and length of the wall conteyneth onlye 112. miles, as maye be gathered by hys wordes, but chiefly for the length of the wall Spartianus who touchting by it among other thinges ſaieth of Seuerus as followeth, Brittaniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finẽ Oceani muniuit, that is, he fortified Brytaine (which is one of the chiefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Iſle, that reached on both ſides euen to the very Ocean.

The wall goeth not ſtreight by a line but in and out in many places.

The ſtuffe of the wal

That this wal of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell nere therunto in their buildinges is triall ſufficient. Hereby in lyke ſorte it commeth to paſſe, that where the ſoile about it is leaſt inhabited, there is moſt mention of the ſayde wall, which was wroughte of ſquared ſtone, as vnto this day may euidently be confirmed. Howbeit this Wall was not the onelye partition betwene theſe two kingdomes, ſith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus did make beyond the ſame, of Turffe, which neuertheleſſe was often throwen downe by the ſcottes, and eftſones repayred againe vntill it was geuen ouer and relinquiſhed altogether. The like mudde wal hath bene ſéene alſo within the wall about an arrow ſhot from that of ſtone, but how farre it went, as yet I cannot finde, this onely remayneth certaine, that the wall made by Hadrian and Seuerus was ditched with a notable ditch, and a rampire made theron in ſuch wiſe, that the ſcottiſh aduerſary had much adoe to enter & ſcale the ſame in his aſſaults. Betwixt Thirlewal, and the Northe Tine, are alſo in the waſte groundes, manye parcelles of that walle yet ſtanding, wherof the common people doe babble many thinges. Beginning therefore with the courſe thereof, from the weſt ſea, I finde that it runneth frõ Bolneſſe to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewiſe from thence within halfe a mile of Caerleil, and leſſe on the north ſide, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terreby a village about a myle from Caerleil, then thorow the Barrony of Linſtocke, and Gilleſland, on the north ſide of the riuer Irding or Arding, & a quarter of a mile from the Abbey of Leuercoſt. Then 3. myles aboue Leuercoſt, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultroſe becke (which deuideth Gilleſland in Cumberlande, from ſouth Tindale in Northũberland) it goeth to Thirlwall caſtle, thẽ to the Wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to [illegible]wenſheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuoren) tower, to Walwyc, and ſo ouer ſouth Tine, to Cockely tower, Portgate, Halton ſheles, Wincheſter, Rutcheſter, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcaſtle, where it is thought that ſ. Nicholas churche ſtandeth on the ſame. Howbeit, Leland ſayth, that it goeth within a myle of Newcaſtle, and thẽ crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Walleſende, ſo called becauſe the aforeſaid wall did ende at the ſame place. And thus much I read of the Pictiſh wal. As for the Romaine coyne that is often found in the courſe thereof, the curious brickes about the ſame nere vnto Carleil, beſide the excellent Cornellines and other coſtlye ſtones already entailled for Seales oftentymes takẽ vp in thoſe quarters, I paſſe thẽ ouer as not incidẽt to my purpoſe. In like maner I wold gladly alſo haue ſet downe the courſe of Offaes ditch: but foraſmuch as ẏ tractatiõ therof is not to be referred to this place, becauſe it is not a thing generall to ẏ whole Iſland, I omitte to ſpeake of that alſo. Yet thus much will I note here by the reporte of one (who ſaith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dée to Kyrnaburgh hill thorow Treuelach forreſt, by eaſt af Crekith, Cauch hil, Mountgomery caſtle, the new caſtle and Diſcoid, & hauing brought it hitherto, either loſt it, or ſought after it no further, & ſo much of ſuch thinges as concerne the generall eſtate of the whole Iſland.

Two other wals.

The ſecond Booke, of the hyſtoricall deſcription of Britaine, conteyning theſe chapters folowing.

1. Of riuers and waters that loſe their names before they come at the ſea, & firſt of thoſe betwene the Thames and Seuerne.
2. Of ſuch riuers as fall into the greater afore mentioned betwene Seuerne, & the Humber.
3. Of thoſe that fall into the maine riuers, betwene Humber and the Thames.
4. Of the particion of England into ſhyres and counties.
5. Of the number of Byſhoprickes in England.
6. Of our Vniuerſities.
7. Of cities & townes.
8. Of caſtels & holdes.
9. Of pallaces belonging to the prince.
10. Of the maner of buylding and furniture.
11. Of fayres and markets.
12. Of armour & munition.
13. Of the nauy of England.
14. Of Bathes & hote Welles.
15. Of parkes and warrens.
16. Of woodes & marriſes.
17. Of antiquities found.
18. Of the marueyles of England.

Of ryuers and waters that loſe their names before they come at the ſea.

Cap. 1.

I Haue in the former Treatiſe made report almoſt of the greateſt riuers in Englande, wherewith our ſeafaring men are very well acquainted, not only by reaſon of their notable iſſues into the Sea, but alſo for the oftē herborow & paſſage, which they haue by diuers of them farre vp into the countrey. Now therefore will I proceede with the deſcriptiō of ſuch as are yet in parte vntouched, and whereby the chanels and courſes of the firſt are not a little increaſed. In execution whereof I will not omitte to reiterate the deſcription of thoſe maine riuers, that are not already perfitely ſet downe, neyther the inſertion of ſuch as earſt I had no knowledge of. And as I firſt beganne with the Thames in that booke, ſo will I nowe make mine entraunce with ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame, not letting any one eſcape, wherein a man in the Summer ſeaſon may wet hys horſe foote vp to the fetelockes.

How and where this riuer iſſueth out of the grounde, I haue before ſet downe, affirming the place to be within a myle of Tetbury, where of ſome doe vtterly miſlike, bycauſe that ryll in ſommer now and then is oft ſo drie, that there is little or no water at all ſeene running in the ſame. For this cauſe therefore many affirme the very head of Iſis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confounde it with the head of the Cyrne or Chyrne, called in latine Corinium, that riſeth aboue Coberley. For my part I folowe Lelande, as he doeth the Monke of Malmeſbury, that wrate the hyſtorie entituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pronounced wyth Lelande: although that at this preſent that courſe be very ſmal, and choked vp as I here with mowldes. Proceeding therefore from the head, it firſt of all receyueth the Kemble water called the Cone, which ryſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerford, & accompanyeth ÿ Thames vnto Canes, Aſhtō Canes & [illegible], vntill they meete with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Conus.

The Chyrne is a faire water, ryſing out of the grounde aboue Coberley. From whence it runneth to Cowley, Colleſbourne, Randcombe, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Grekelade. Theſe three waters beyng thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth by Grekelade, beneath which towne it receyueth the Rhe, deſcending from Clocombe, [illegible] ſent, Redburne, [illegible], and at the fall into Iſis [illegible] runneth [illegible] forreſt. Next of all one Iſis meeteth with the Amney on the left hande, which comming from aboue Holy rode Amney, runneth by Downe Amney, and finally into the Iſis a little aboue Iſey. In lyke ſorte I reade of another that meeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſey alſo, which ſo farre as I can call to remembraunce, commeth from about Depfield, and falleth ſo into the Iſis, that they runne as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedly and without help, but that in this voyage, the maine ſtreame doth take one water that deſcendeth from [illegible], goeth alſo by Stratton toward Seuinghampton, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rilles by the way, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wanbrey, as I haue bene informed.

Corinium.

Rhe.

Amney.

The Colne is a fayre riuer ryſing by north neere to Withington, and from thence goeth to Shipton, Compton Abdale, [illegible], Farneworth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Wynſton, Bybery, Colne S. Aldwins, Quenington, Fayreford, and weſt of Lechlade into the maine Iſis, which beneath on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I haue this remembraunce. The Iſis being

Colneius.

once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a broke from ſoutheaſt that mounteth about Aſhebyry and receyuing a ryll from by weſt, (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo deuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Ingleſham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleaſant Iſlande produced, whereof let thys ſuffiſe.

Lenis.

Beyng paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to S. Iohns bridge, & thereabout méeteth wyth ỹ Leche, on the left hande. This broke whereof Lechlade taketh the name (a towne whervnto one péece of an olde Vniuerſity is aſcribed, which it dyd neuer poſſeſſe; more then Crekelade did the other) ryſeth eaſt of Hampnet, frõ whence it goeth to Northlech, Eſſeton, Anleſworth, eaſt Leche, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon and ſo into the Iſis. From hence thys famous water goeth by Reſkot toward Radcote bridge, (taking in the rill that riſeth in an odde péece of Barkeſhyre, and runneth by Langford) & being paſt ỹ ſaid bridge, (now notable thorowe a conſpiracye, made there ſometimes by ſundrye Barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long eare it croſſe two other waters, both of thẽ deſcending from another odde parcell of the ſaide countie, whereof I haue this note gyuen me for my further information. There are two falles of water into Iſis, beneath Radcote bridge, whereof the one commeth from Shilton, in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarkefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame piece and runneth by Briſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receyuyng an armelet from the firſt that break of at Blackeburton, it is not long ere they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretye Iland. After theſe confluences, the main courſe of the ſtreame, haſteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioyneth with the Winruſh.

Winruſh.

The Winruſh ryſeth aboue Shyreburne, in Gloceſterſhyre, frõ whence it goeth to Winruſh, and comming by Barringtõ, Burford, Widbroke, Swinbeck caſtel, Witney, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it méeteth wyth the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stantõ, Hartingcourt and Enſham, betwéene which and Caſſenton, it receyueth as Lelande calleth it the Bruerne water.

Briwerus

It ryſeth aboue Limington, and going to Nortõn in the Marſhe, and thorowe a patche of Worceſter ſhire vnto Euenlode, betwene it and the foure ſhyre ſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the Long and the little Comptons. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne, it taketh in the Rolrichs water, that iſſueth at two heades, in ỹ hilles that lie by weſt of little Rolriche, and ioyne aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thẽce alſo it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shiptõ vnderwood, Aſcot, Short hamton, Chorlebury, Cornebury parke, Stonfielde, Longcombe, and ſouth eaſt of Wodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Enſtone, and goeth to Cyddington, Glympton, Wotton (wher it is increaſed wyth a rill (that runneth thether frõ Steple Barton, by the Béechin trée) Wodſtocke, Blaydon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſayde Enys runneth to Caſſentõ and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth frõ hence to Oxforde, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſently to be deſcribed.

Comus.

The heade of Charwell is in northampton ſhyre, where it ryſeth out of a little poole, by Charleton village, ſeauen miles aboue Banberye northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo faſt at the verye ſurge, that it groweth into a pretye ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Sone after alſo it taketh in taketh in a rillet called ỹ Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide, but foraſmuch as it ryſeth by Winceſter, ỹ whole courſe thereof is aboue foure myles, and therefore cannot be great. A friende of myne proſecuiting the reaſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth.

Before the Charwell commeth into Oxforde ſhyre, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a lyttle aboue Edgecote, & ſo dyſcending toward Wardington, it méeteth with another comming from by northweſt, betwéene Wardington & Cropredy. At Banburye alſo it méeteth wyth the Come (which falleth from Fenny Cõton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by Kings Sutton, not farre from Ayne, it receiueth the diſcharge of dyuers rylletes, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The ſayde water therefore ingendred of ſo many brokelettes, conſiſteth chiefly of two, whereof the moſt ſoutherly called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords, and carying a few blind rilles withall, doth méete with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a myle of Charwell. That other as I coniecture, is increaſed of thrée waters, whereof eache one hath his ſeuerall name, the firſt of them therfore, height Cude, which comming betwéene Epwell and the Lée by Toddington, ioyneth about Broughton with the ſeconde that runneth from Horneto, named Ornis, as I geſſe. The laſt falleth into the Cude by Cudelake, beneath Broughton and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwel in Warwyckſhyre, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbroke, [illegible]ſhake. The third water that mæteth with our Charwell beneath [illegible] commeth from a [illegible] Coughton, and after this is the [illegible] or [illegible] that riſeth north of Michael Tew, [illegible] the laſt of all is the riuer [illegible] whoſe hed [illegible] [illegible] whence it goeth by [illegible] to [illegible] Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Iſlip, and ſo into Charwell, [illegible] and Water [illegible] and the eaſt bridge of Oxford by Magdalene colledge, and ſo beneath the ſouth bridge into our foreſayd Iſis.

In deſcribing this ryuer, this one thing right notable is come vnto my mynde, touching the centre and nauell, as it were of England. Certes there is an hilly plotte of grounde in Helledon pariſhe, not farre from Dauentrie, where a man may ſtande & behold the heds of thrée notable ryuers, whoſe waters, and thoſe of ſuch as fall into them, do aboundantly ſerue the greateſt parte of England, on this ſide of the Humber: the firſt of theſe waters is the Charwel, already deſcribed. The ſecond is the Leme that goeth weſtward into the fourth Auon: and the third is the head of the Nene or firſt Auon (I ſuppoſe) of whoſe courſe [illegible] mention; and therefore you [illegible] behold in the ſame how they [illegible] coaſt the countrey; and alſo my ſelfe by compaſſes how this plot lyeth in reſpect of all the reſt, contrary to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middeſt of our countrey. But to go forward with my deſcription of the Ouze, which being paſt Oxford goeth to Iffley, Kennington, Sandforde, Rodley, Newnham, and ſo to Abington, without increaſe, where it receyueth the Oche, otherwyſe called the Coche, a little beneth S. Helenes, which runneth thither of two brookets as I take it, whereof one cõmeth from Compton, out of the vale and weſt of the hill of the White horſe, the other from Kinges Letcombe and Wantage in Barkſhire, and in one chanell entreth into the ſame, vpõ the right ſide of his courſe. From Abington likewyſe (taking the Arun withall ſouthweſt of Sutto courtney) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Cliftõ, Wittenham the leſſe, and beneth Dorcheſter, taketh in the Tame water, from whence the Iſis loſeth the preheminence of the whole denomination of this ryuer, and is contented to imparte the ſame with the Tame, ſo that by the coniunction of theſe two waters, Thameſis is produced, & that name continued euen vnto the ſea.

Thame ryuer ryſeth in the eaſterly partes of Chilterne hils, towards Penley parke, at a towne called Tring weſt of the ſaide park, which is .xiii. myles from the ſtone bridge, that is betwene Querendon and Apleſburye (after the courſe of the water) as Lelãd hath ſet downe. Running therfore by long Merſtõ and Puttenham, Bucket and Bearton, it receyueth ſone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwicke, and ere long an other on the other ſide, that riſeth aboue Wyndouer in the Chilterne, and paſſyng by Halton, Weſton, Turrill, Broughton, and Apleſbury, it falleth into the Tame, weſt of the ſayd towne, except my memory doe faile me. From this confluence, then the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherſley, Notley Abbey, and commeth almoſt to Tame, it receyueth one water from ſoutheaſt aboue the ſayd towne, and another alſo from the ſame quarter beneath the towne, ſo that Tame ſtandeth enuironed vpon thrée ſides, with thrée ſeuerall waters, as may be eaſily ſéene. The firſt of theſe commeth from the Chilterne eaſt of Belon or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton Horſenden, Kingſey, Towſey, and ſo into the Tame. The other deſcendeth alſo from the Chilterne, and goyng by Chinner, Crowell, Sydenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they procéede together as one, by Shabbington, Rycote parke, Dracote, Waterſtoke, Milton, Cuddeſdon, and Chiſelton. Here alſo it taketh in another water from by eaſt, whoſe hed commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the way from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weſton (and méetyng beneth Cuxham with Watlington ryll) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and ſo into the Thame. Frõ hence our ſtreame of Thame runneth to Newentõ, Drayton, Dorcheſter (ſometyme a Byſhops ſée and a noble city) and ſo into the Thames, which haſteth in lyke ſorte to Benſington, Crowmarſhe or Wallingford, where it receyueth the Blaue, deſcendyng from Blauebury, now Blewbery as I learn. Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingforde, ſituate in the vale of white horſe that rũneth a long therby. Frõ hẽce it goeth by Newenham, Northſtoke, Southſtoke, Goring, Baſilden, Pangburne, where it méeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamſtede Norrys, runneth by Frizelham, Bucklebury, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarſh, & Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwene Mapledorham and Purley to Cauerſham, and Cauerſham manour, and a little

Thame.

Dorchester

Blauius.

beneath receyueth the Kenet that commeth therinto from Readyng.

Cenethus.

The Kenet ryſeth aboue Ouerton, v. or vi. myles weſt of Marleborow, or Marlingborow as ſome call it, and then goyng by Fyfeld, Clatford, Maulon, and Preſhute, vnto Marlebury, it holdeth on in lyke order to Ramſbury, and northweſt of litle Cote, taketh in a water by north deſcending from ẏ hils aboue Alburne chaſe, weſt of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little cote, Charnham ſtreete, and beneth Charnham ſtreete, it croſſeth the Bedwin, which (taking ẏ Chalkburn ril withal) cõmeth frõ great Bedwyne, & at Hũgerford alſo, two other in one botom ſomewhat beneth the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinbury, Hamſted marſhall, Cuhurne, Newbery, and beneath thys towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that cõmeth by Iſbury, Egerſton, the Shefords, Weſtford, Borford, Denington Caſtle, and Shaw. From Newbery it goeth to Thatchã, Wolhampton, Aldermaſton, a little aboue which village, it receyueth the Alburne, an other broke increaſed wt ſundry rilles, & thus goyng on to Padworth, Oſton, and Michael, it commeth at laſt to Readyng, where as I ſayd it ioyneth with the Thames, and ſo they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the eaſt ſide receyue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the ſouth, as by his courſe appeareth.

Bedweyne. Chalkeburne.

Lamburne

Alburnus.

Lodunus.

The Loddon ryſeth in Hamſhire betwene weſt Shirburne, and Wootton, towarde the ſouthweſt, afterwarde directyng his courſe toward the northweſt, thorowe the vine, it paſſeth at the laſt by Bramley, and thorow a piece of Wiltſhire to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauyng a patch of Wiltſhire on the right hande, as I haue bene informed. This Loddon not farre from Turges towne, receyueth two waters in one botome, whereof the weſterly called Baſingwater, commeth from Baſingſtoke, and thorow a parke vnto the aforeſaid place. The other deſcendeth of two heds, from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes Newenham, Rotherwyc, and ere it come at Hartly, ioyneth with the Baſing water, from whẽce they goe togyther to Turges, where they meete with the Loddon, as I haue ſayd alredy. The next ſtreame toward the ſouth is called Ditford broke. It ryſeth not farre from Upton, goeth by Gruell and beneath Wharnborow caſtle, receyueth the Ikell (cõmyng from a parke of the ſame denomination) frõ whence they go togither by Maddingley vnto Swalowfield, and ſo into the Loddon. In this voyage alſo, the Loddon meeteth with the Elwy or Eluey that commeth from Alderſhare, not farre by weſt of Euerſley: and about Eluetham, likewyſe with another cõming from Dogmanſfield, named ẏ Deche, and alſo the third not inferior to the reſt, comyng from Crũ, whoſe head is in Surrey, and goyng by Aſhe, becommeth a limite, firſt betwene Surrey & Hamſhire, then betwene Hamſhire and Barkeſhire, and paſſing by Aſhe, Frymley, blackewater, Perley, & Finchamſted, it ioyneth at laſt with the [illegible] before it come at Swalowfield. Concurrens therfore with our Loddon, hauing receiued all theſe waters, and after this laſt confluence with thẽ now beyng come to Loddon bridge, it paſſeth on by a part of Wiltſhire to Twiforde, then to Wargraue, and ſo into the Thames that now is meruelouſly increaſed and growne vnto triple greatneſſe to that it was at Oxford. Being therfore paſt Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Harſependen or Hardyng, then to Henley vpon Thames, where ſometyme a great ril voydeth it ſelfe in the ſame. Then to Remẽham, Greneland (goyng all this way from Shiplake iuſt north, and now turnyng eaſtwardes agayne) by Medenham, Hurley, Bycham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the leſſe, it meeteth with a broke ſone after, that conſiſteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Wiſe, ryſeth about weſt Wickham out of one of the Chiltern hils, and goeth frõ thence to eaſt Wickham or high Wickham, a prety market towne. The other named Higden, deſcendeth alſo from thoſe mountaynes, but a myle beneath weſt Wickham, and ioynyng both in one at ẏ laſt in the weſt ende of eaſt wickham town, they go togyther to Woburn, Hedſor, and ſo into ẏ Thames. Some call it the Tide and that word do I vſe in my former treatiſe, but to procede. After this confluence, our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topley, Maydenhead (aliâs Sudlington) Bray, Dorney, Clure, new Windſore, (takyng in neuertheleſſe, at Eaton by ẏ way, the Burne which riſeth out of a More, and commeth thither by Burneham) olde Windſor, Wrayborow, and a little by eaſt therof, doth croſſe the Cole, whereof I finde this ſhort deſcription enſuyng.

Diris vadum.

Ikelus.

Elueius.

The Cole riſeth neere vnto Flamſted, frõ whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Mighels, S. Albons, Aldẽham, Watford, and ſo by More to Richemanſworth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which this Cole is the firſt. The ſecond called Gadus, riſeth not farre from Asheridge, an houſe or pallace belongyng to the prince. From whence it runneth to great Gaddeſden, Hemſted, betwene kinges Langley, and Abbots Langley, then to Hunters, and Caſhew bridges, and ſo to Richmanſworth, receyuing by the way a rill comming from Albury by northweſt, to Northchurch, Barkehamſted, and beneath Hemſtede ioyning with the ſame. The laſt commeth in at northweſt from aboue Cheſham, by Cheſham it ſelfe, then by Cheſham Boys, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheynies, Sarret and Richemanſworthe, and ſo going on all in one Chanell, vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vxbridge, where it taketh in the Miſſenden water, from northweſt, which riſing aboue Miſſenden the greater, goeth by Miſſenden the leſſe, Hagnondeſham (now Hammerſhã) the Wache, Chalfhunt Gyles, Chalfhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vxbridge as I ſayd. Soone after this our Cole doth parte it ſelfe into two braunches, neuer to ioyne agayne before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorow the goodly medowes ſtreight to Colbroke, the other vnto two milles, a myle and a halfe eaſt of Colbroke in the way to London, leauyng an Ilande betwene them of no ſmall ſize and quantitie.

cles.

Beyng paſt the Cole, we come to the fal of the Vindeles, which riſeth by northweſt nere vnto Bagſhot, frõ whence it goeth to Windleſham, Chobham, and meetyng wyth a Brocket commyng weſtward from Biſley, they run togyther toward Cherteſey, where when they haue met with a ſmall rill riſyng north of Bagnyng hill in Windleſoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on ẏ north eaſt ſide of Cherteſey. When we were come beyonde this water, it was not long ere we came vnto another on the ſame ſide, that fell into the Thames betwene Shepperton on the one ſide, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waye.

us.

The Wele or the Waye riſing by weſt, cõmeth from Olſted, and ſoone after taking the Hedley broke with all (which riſeth in Wulmere forreſt, and goeth by Hedley & Frenſham) paſſeth by Bentley, Farnham, Alton, Wayberley, Elſted, and ſo to Pepper Harrow, where it ioyneth with the Churesby water, which commeth not farre of from a village of the ſame denomination. From hence alſo it goeth to Godalmyng, and then toward Shawford, but ere it come there, it croſſeth Cranly becke, which riſing ſomewhere about ẏ edge of Suſſex ſhort of Ridgewyc, goeth by Vachery parke, Knoll, Cranly, Bramley, Wonarſhe, & ſo into the Way. From hence then our ryuer goeth to Shawford (and ſoone after meeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Sheire, Albury, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Wokyng, and at Newarke parke ſide, taketh in a broke that ryſeth of two heds, whereof one doth ſpring betwene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and ſo runeth thorow Henley parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioynyng in one, they go forth into Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Byfler, Wayſtede, Oteland, and ſo into the Thames.

resby.

wley.

Abbinger.

Frõ Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunbury, weſt Moulſey, Hampton, and ere it come at Hampton courte on the north ſide, and eaſt Moulſey on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which gyueth name vnto the two townes that ſtande on eche ſide of the place, where it falleth into our ſtreame. It ryſeth in Word forreſt, & going by Burſtow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, conteyning a ſmall courſe from two ſeuerall heds, whereof one is alſo in the forreſt aforenamed, the other runneth from Weburſt wode, and comming by Ifeld, meeteth with the firſt aboue Horley, and ſo run on in one chanell, I ſay, till they ioyne with the Moule water, whereof I ſpake before. After this confluence, in lyke ſorte, it is not long ere the Moule take in another from by North, which commeth from about Weſham on the one ſide, and another on the other runnyng by Ocley and Capell, and whereinto alſo a braunch or rill commeth from a wood on the northweſt part. Finally, beyng thus encreaſed with theſe many rilles, it goeth by eaſt Becheworth, weſt Becheworth, and ouer agaynſt the Swalow on the ſide of Drake hil, takyng in another that commeth thither frõ Wotton by Darkyng and Milton, it runneth to Micklehem, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Aſhire parke, eaſt Moulſey, and ſo into the Thames, which after this connexion goeth on to Kingſton, and there alſo meeteth wyth another beck, riſing at Ewell ſouth of Nonſuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by ẏ olde parke, then to Mauldon, and ſo to Kingſton towne. The Thames in lyke maner beyng paſt Kingſton, goeth by Tuddington, Peterſham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receyueth a water on the northweſt ſide, which commyng from about Harrow on the hill, and by weſt of the ſame, goeth by Hayes, Harlington, Felthan, and Thiſtleworth into the Thames.

Molis.

Moulsey

Sunbury,

Hampton,

The next fall of water is at Sion, nere vnto new Brainford, ſo that it iſſueth into the Thames betwene them both. This water is

Brane.

called Brane, that is in the Brittiſh tong (as Leland ſaith) a frogge. It riſeth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingeſbiry, Twiford, Periuall, Hanwell, and Auſterley. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brētford, Mortlach, Cheſwyc, Barnelmes, Fulham and Putney, beneth which townes it croſſed a becke from Wandleſworth, that ryſeth at Wodmans turne, and goyng by Eaſthalton, méeteth another comming from Croydon by Bedington, and ſo goyng on to Mitcham, Marton Abbey & Wandleſworth, it is not long ere it fall into the Thames.

Mariburn Next vnto this is the Maryburne rill on the other ſide, which commeth in by Saynt James, ſo that by this tyme we haue eyther brought the Thames, or the Thames conueighed vs to London, where we reſted for a ſeaſon to take viewe of the ſeuerall tydes there, of which ech one differeth frō other, by 24. minuts, that is 48. in an whole day, as I haue noted afore, except the wether alter thē. Beyng paſt London, and in the way toward the ſea: the firſt water that it méeteth withal, is on Kent ſide, weſt of Grenewich, whoſe hed is in Bromley pariſh, and goyng from thence to Lewſham, it taketh in a water frō by eaſt, & ſo directeth hys courſe forth right vnto the Thames.

Lé. The next water that it méeteth withall, is on Eſſex ſide, almoſt agaynſt Wolwiche, and that is the Lée, whoſe hed riſeth ſhorte of Kempton in Hertfordſhire, 4. myles ſouth eaſt of Luton, and goyng thorowe a péece of Brokehall park (leauing Wodhall park, on the north, and Hatfield on the ſouth, with an other park adioyning) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But ere it come ther, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) riſing at northweſt in Brodewater hundred frō aboue Welwin, northeaſt of Digeſwell, & going to Hartingfeld bury, wher the ſaid cōfluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneth Hatfield alſo it receyueth the Beane (as I geſſe) commyng from Borwod by Benington, Aſton, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increaſe from aboue Ware, which deſcēdeth frō two heds: whereof the greateſt commeth from Barkeway in Edwinſtre hundred, the other from Sandon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneth little Hornemeade, they goe togither by Pulcherchurche, or Puckriche, Stonden, Thunderydge, Wadeſmill, Benghow and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on tyll it come at Ware, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadhā, thorow a péece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſayde towne. From hence alſo they go as one to olde Stanſtede called le veil, braunchyng in ſuch wyſe ere it come there, that it runneth thorow the towne in ſundry places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbots Stanſted, beneath which it méeteth wyth the Stoure, well as I remember, of Roydon. This Sture riſeth at Wenden lofes, from whence it goeth to Langley, Clauering, Berden Manhuden, & Byrcheanger (where it receyueth a ryll commyng from Elſingham & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hyeth on to biſhoppes Stortford, Sabrichworth, and beneath this town, croſſeth with another frō the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield Brodock, Shiryng, Harlo, and ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they goe togither to Eſtwyc, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. Theſe thinges beyng thus perfourmed, the Lée runneth on beneth Hoddeſdon, Broxburne, Wormley, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower then Wormely it ſelfe, but yet within the paroche, and is called Wormeley locke. It runneth alſo by Cheſton Nunry, and out of this a little beneath the ſayde houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, bicauſe it deuideth Eſſex and Hartford ſhires in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Frithey, this lake runneth not but at great floudes, and méeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeſdich, half a myle from his firſt breaking out, and half myle lower at Marſh point, ioyneth agayne with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Manly bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpō that ryuer) vppon Waltham cauſey, and halfe a myle lower then Manly bridge at the corner of Ramney meade, it méeteth with the kinges ſtreame, and principal courſe of Luy or Lée, as it is commonly called. The ſecond principall arme breaketh out of the kynges ſtreame at Hallyfielde halfe a myle lower then Cheſton Nunnery, and ſo to the fullyng mill and two bridges by weſt of the kynges ſtreame, whereinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Malkinſhelf, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton and Harfordſhire men ſay, do ſay that the kings ſtreame at Waltham, doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter do plead their liberties to holde vnto S. Maulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of yͤ kinges ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, thrée quarters of a myle aboue Waltham, and ſo goeth to the corne myll in Waltham, and then to yͤ kings

ſtreame

Marran.

Beane.

ſtreame agayne, a little beneath the kynges bridge. From hence the Lée runneth on till it come to Stretforde Langthorne, where it brauncheth partly of it ſelfe, and partly by mans induſtry for mils. Howbeit herein the dealyng of Alfrede ſometyme king of England, was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtandyng the Danes to be gotten vp wyth their ſhips into the countrey, there to kil and ſlay, by the conduct of this ryuer: he in the meane tyme before they could returne, dyd ſo mightely weaken the mayne chanell by drawyng great numbers of trenches from the ſame, that when they purpoſed to come back, there was nothyng ſo much water left as the ſhips dyd draw, wherfore beſing ſet on ground, they were ſone fired, and the aduerſaries ouercome. Finally beyng paſt Weſtham, it is not long ere it fal into ÿ Thames. One thyng I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfrede, builded Hartford towne vpon it, in the yeare of grace 912. at which tyme alſo he had Witham a town in Eſſex in hande as hys ſiſter called Aelflede repayred Oxford and London, and all this 4. yeres before the buildyng of Maldon. But concernyng our ryuer it is noted, that he buylded Hertford or Herudford betwene 3. waters, that is, the Lée, the Benefuth, and Memmaran, but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe dayes, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Beningtō, and Benghow, which if it be ſo, then muſt the Memmaran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwel, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in tyme paſt right well be called Marranfield, for of lyke inuerſion of names I could ſhew many examples.

Beyng paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576. with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Eſſex ſide in lyke maner, and not very farre (for 4. myles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water ryſeth at little Canfielde, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Rodyng, Eythorpe Roding, Ledon Rodyng, White Rodyng, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelley, high Ongar, and Cheppyng Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Matchyng and high Lauer, and takyng another rill withall commyng from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioyne I ſay with the Rhodō, after which confluēce, Leland coniectureth that ÿ ſtreame is called Iuel: for my part, I wote not what to ſay of it, but hereof I am ſure that ÿ whole courſe beyng paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanford riuers, Theydon mounte, Heybridge, Chigwell, Wanſford bridge, Ilforde bridge, Barkyng and ſo into the Thames.

Darwent. The Darwent meeteth with our ſayde Thames vpon Kentes ſide, two myles and more beneth Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or thereaboutes, as I haue bene informed by Chriſtofer Saxtons Card late made of the ſame, and all the ſeuerall ſhyres of England at the infinite charges of ſir Thomas Sackeforde knight, and maiſter of the requeſtes, whoſe zeale vnto his countrey herein I can not but remember, and ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, and ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe ryuers doe run. Would to God hys plats were once finiſhed. But to procéede. The Darwent I ſay, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titſey toward Braſted, and receiuyng on eche ſide of that towne (and ſeueral bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Nockhold, Shorchā, Kinſford, Horton, Darnehith, Dartford or Derwentford, and there takyng in the Cray on the left hand that commeth from Orpington by Mary Cray, Powles Cray, North Cray, and Crayforde, it is not long ere it fall into the Thames.

miles:

Craye.

The next water that falleth into the Thames, is weſt of the Wanny Iles, a rill of no great fame, neyther long courſe, for riſing about Caringham, it runneth not many miles eaſt & by ſouth, ere it fall into ÿ mouth of this riuer, which I doe now deſcribe.

The chiefe hed of this ſtreame, ryſeth in Word forreſt, ſouthweſt of Eaſtgreneſted, & goyng by Hartfield and Whetelin, it receiueth a rill from the ſecond hed, that commeth in from ſouth eaſt, and eyther from the north ſide of Argas hill, or at the leſt wiſe out of the ſouth part of Waterdon forreſt, as Saxton hath ſet it downe. After this confluence it is not long ere it take in another by weſt, from Cowden warde, and the third aboue Penſherſt, growing frō two heds, wherof one is in Byngfield parke, the other weſt of Crawherſt, and ioyning aboue Edonbridge, it doth fall into the Medway beneth Heuer towne, & Chiddingſtone. From Penhirſt our mayne ſtreame haſteth to Lygh, Tunbridge, & Twidley, and beneth the towne, it croſſeth a water from North, whereof one hed is at the Mote, another at Wrotcham, the thirde at weſt Peckham, and likewyſe an other from ſouth eaſt, that runneth eaſt of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the Theſe, whoſe forked hed is at Tiſehirſt, which deſcendyng downe toward the north, taketh in not far frō Scotny a broke

Medeuius. This riuer is deſcribed alredy, but here with more diligence, better helpe, and after their opinion that accompt it not to fall into the ſea but into ÿ Thames.

Garunus.
Cranus.

a broke out of the northſide of Waterdē foreſt, whoſe name I find not except it be the Dour. After this confluence our ryuer goeth to Goldhirſt, and commyng to the Twiſt, it braunchcth in ſuch wyſe that one parte of it runneth into Midwaye, another into the Garan or rather Cranebroke, if my coniecture be any thyng. The Garan as Leland calleth it, or the Crane as I do take it, riſeth nere to Cranebroke, and goyng by Siſſinghirſt, it receyueth ere long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Charde by Smerdon & Hedcorn, croſſing two rils by the way from by north, Hedcorne it ſelfe ſtanding betwene thē both. Finally, the Garan or Crane méetyng with the Midway ſouth of Yallyng, they on ẏ one ſide, and the Theſe on the other, leaue a prety Iſland in the midſt, of foure miles in lēgth and two miles in bredth, wherin is ſome hilly ſoyle, but neyther towne nor village, ſo far as I remember. From Yalling forward, the Midway goeth to weſt Farlegh, eaſt Farlegh, and ere it come at Maidſtone, it entertayneth a rill that riſeth ſhort of Ienham, & goeth by Ledes and Otterinden. Being paſt Maidſtone, the Midway runneth by Allington, Snodland, Hallyng, Cuckſtane, Rocheſter, Chatham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, and ſone after braunching, it embraceth ẏ Grene at hys fall, as his two heds do Aſhdon foreſt, that lyeth betwene them both. I would haue ſpoken of one creke that cōmeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Halſto by S. Maries, but ſithe I vnderſtand not with what backewaters they be ſerued, I let them paſſe as not ſkilfull of their courſes. And thus much of the riuers that fal into the Thames, wherin I haue done what I may, but not what I would for myne owne ſatiſfaction, till I came from the hed to Lechelade.

Auon 2.

Being paſſed the Thames and hauing as I thinke ſufficiently in my former treatiſe deſcribed all ſuch waters as are to be found betwéene the Stoure in Kent, & Auon in Wiltſhire, it reſteth that I procéede with this ryuer, and here ſupply many thinges that I before omitted, although not by mine owne ouerſight ſo much as by the abuſe of ſuch as ſhoulde haue better preſerued the pamphlets to be inſerted. Certes this Auon is a goodly riuer ryſing as I ſayde before néere vnto Wolfe hall, although he that will ſéeke more ſcrupulouſlye for the head in déede, muſt looke for the ſame about the borders of the forreſt of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it wer embraced betwene ẏ firſt armes therof, as I haue bene enformed. Theſe heds alſo do make a confluence by eaſt of Martinſhall hill, and weſt of Wootton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powſey, Manningfield Abbey, Manningfielde croſſe, & beneth Newington taketh in one rill weſt from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riſeth alſo weſt of Alcanninges, and runneth into the ſame by Patney, Merden, Wilford, Charleton, and Ruſſiſal. Beyng therfore paſt Newington, it goeth to Vphauen (wherof Leland ſpeaketh) to Cheſilbury, Cumpton, Ablington, little Almſbury, Darntford, Woodford, olde Saliſbury, and ſo to newe Saliſburye, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northweſt, and another frō north eaſt, which two I wyll firſt deſcribe, leauyng the Auon at Saliſbury. The firſt of theſe is called the Wilugh, and riſeth among the Deuerels, and runnyng thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward byſhops ſtraw, taking in one rill by weſt, and another from Vpton by Werminſter at northweſt. From biſhops ſtraw it goeth to Nortō, Vpton, Badhampton, Steplyngford, and Stapleford, where it méeteth with the Winterbury water from by north, deſcending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it haſteth to Wiſhford, Newtō, Chilhampton, Wilton, and thither cōmeth a water vnto it from ſouthweſt, which ryſeth of two heds aboue Ouerdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcaſtle, to Tiſbury, and there receiueth a water on eche ſide, whereof one cōmeth from Funthill, the other from two iſſues (of which one riſeth at Auſty, the other at Swaſlodiſe) and ſo keping on ſtill with his courſe, our Wilugh runneth next next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberſtocke, Southburcombe, Wilton, (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nadder water) Weſtharnam Saliſbury and Eaſtharnam, and this is the race of Wilugh. The other is a naked arme or ſtreame without any braunches. It riſeth aboue Collingburne Kingſton in the hils, and thence goeth to Collingburne, the Tidworthes (wherof ẏ more ſoutherly is in Wiltſhire) Shipton, Cholderton, Newton, Toney, Idmerſon, Porton, the Winterburnes, Lauerſtock, and ſo into Auon eaſt of Sariſbury. And thus is the confluence made of the aforeſayd waters, with thys our ſecond Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes broke) a myle beneth Harneham bridge, whoſe head is fiue miles from Sarum, and thrée myles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Lelande doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue hys due recourſe alſo, at thys place into the aforeſayde riuer. Certes it is a pretye broke, and riſeth ſixe miles from Shafteſbury,

bury, and in the way toward Saliſbury in a botom on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knights and Fennyſtratford to Homington, that is about 12. myles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Homington beneth Odſtocke, goeth into the Auon a mile lower then Harnham bridge, except he forget himſelfe. This Harneham whereof I now entreate, was ſometime a pretty village before the erection of new Saliſbury, & had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in ſteade of this church there is onely a barne ſtanding in a very low meade on the northſide of S. Michels hoſpitall. The cauſe of the relinquiſhing of it was the moiſtneſſe of the ſoile, very oft ouerflowen. And whereas the kinges high way lay ſometyme through Wilton, licence was obteyned of the kyng & biſhop of Saliſbury, to remoue that paſſage vnto new Saliſbury alſo, & vpō this occaſion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchaunge of the way alſo olde Saliſbury fel into vtter decay, and Wilton which was before the hed towne of the ſhire, and furniſhed with 12. paroche churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of ſmall reputation. Howbeit this was not the onelye cauſe of the ruine of olde Saliſbury, ſith I read of two other, whereof the firſt was a ſalue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out that the townſmen wanted water in olde Saliſbury, it is flat otherwiſe, ſith that hill is very plentifully ſerued with ſpringes and wels of very ſwéete water. The truth of ẏ matter therfore is this. In the tyme of ciuill warres, the ſouldiors of the caſtle and Chanons of olde Sarum fell at oddes, in ſo much that after often brawles, they fell at laſt to ſad blowes. It happened therfore in a Rogation wéeke that the clergy goyng in ſolemne proceſſion, a cōtrouerſie fell betwene them about certayne walkes and limites, which the one ſide claymed and the other denied. Such alſo was the whote entertainement on eche part, that at the laſt the Caſtellanes eſpying their tyme, gate betwene the clergy and the towne, and ſo coyled them as they returned homewardes, ẏ they feared any more to gange about their boundes for ẏ yere. Hereupon the people miſſing their bellychere (for they were wont to haue bāketting at euery ſtatiō, a thing practiſed by the religious in old tyme wherewith to linke in the cōmons vnto them) they conceyued forthwith a deadly hatred againſt the Caſtellanes, but not beyng able to cope with them by force of armes, they conſulted with their biſhop, and he with them ſo effectually, that it was not long ere they, I meane the Chanons, began a church vpō a péece of their owne ground, pretending to ſerue God there in better ſafetie, and with farre more quietneſſe then they could do before. The people alſo ſeyng the diligence of the chanons, and reputyng their harmes for their owne inconueniences, were as earneſt on the other ſide to be nere vnto theſe prelates, and therfore euery man brought hys houſe vnto that place. & thus became old Sarum in few yeres vtterly deſolate, and new Saliſbury rayſed vp in ſtede therof, to the great decay alſo of Harneham and Wilton, whereof I ſpake of late. Now to returne agayne from whence I thus digreſſed. Our Auon therefore departyng from Saliſbury, goeth by Bretforde, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mencioned by the way, it goeth by Stanley, Dunketon, Craiſforde, Burgate, Fordyng bridge, Ringwood, Auon, Chriſtes church, and finally into the ſea. But ere it come all there, and a litle beneth Chriſts church, it croſſeth the Stoure, or Sture, a very faire ſtream, whoſe courſe is ſuch as may not be lefte vntouched. It ryſeth of ſixe heds, whereof thre lie on the north ſide of the Parke at Sturton within the pale, the other thre without the parke, and of this riuer the towne and Barony of Sturton doth take his name as I geſſe, for except my memory be to much faile me, the ſaid Sturton giueth the ſixe heds of the ſaid water in hys armes, but to procede. After theſe braunches are conioyned in one bottome, it goeth to long Layne mill, Silton, Milton, and beneth Gillingham receyueth a water that deſcendeth from Mere. Thence ẏ Sture goeth to Bugley, Stoure, Weſtbury bridge, Stowerprouoſt, and ere long taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton, & Moreland, and ſo to Stapleford, vii. miles from Wickhampton, paſſing in the ſayde voyage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, & ſone after croſſeth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth in Blackmore vale, and goeth by biſhops Caundell, the ſecond in the hils ſouth of Pulham, and ſo runneth to Lidlinch: the third water riſeth nere Ibberton, and goyng by Fiſehed to Lidlington, and there meting with the Lidden, they receiue the blackewater a-[illegible] Bagborne, and ſo go into the Stour. After this the Stoure runneth on to Stourton minſter, Fifleford, Hammond (and ſone after taking in one water that commeth frō Hargraue by Weſt Orcharde, and a ſeconde frō Fontmill) it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweſton, Knighton, Brianſton,

ones
ped by
nging

holy
ſtiſt.

New Saliſbury begunne.

Sturus.

Cale.

Lidden.
Deuilis.

Iber.
Black-water.

Blandford, Carleton, and croſsing ere long a rill that riſeth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launſton, Munkton, Taunſton, Tarrant, it procéedeth forth by Shepwyc, and by and by receyuing an other brooke on the right hand (that riſeth about Strickeland, and goeth by Quarleſton, Whitchurch, Anderſtõ & Winterburne) it haſteth forward to Stoureminſter, Berforde lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, aliâs Twinburne minſter, whether commeth a water called Alen (from Knoltõ, Wikehãpton, Craumbridge, Hinton, Barnſley) which hath two heds, wherof one ryſeth ſhort of Wodcotes, and eaſt of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munkton aboue S. Giles Wimburne, and goyng thence to S. Gyles Aſheley, it taketh in the Horton beck, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finally, méetyng with the Terig aboue Knoltõ, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stour, which goeth to the Canfordes, Preſton, Kingſton, Perley, and Polneſt. But ere it come at Polneſt, it taketh in two brookes in one bottom, wherof one commeth frõ Wodland parke by Holt parke and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondeſham, Uertwod, and Mannington, & ioyning about S. Leonardes, they go to Hornbridge, and ſo into Stoure. After which confluence, the ſayd Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and ſo into Auon, leauyng Chriſtes church aboue the méetyng of the ſayde waters, as I haue ſayd before.

This ſtoure aboundeth with pike, perche, roche, dace, Gudgeon and eles.

Burne.

Hauyng in this manner paſſed Chriſtes church hed, we come to the fall of the Born, which is a little brooke runnyng frõ Stourefeld heath, without braunches, and not touched in my former voiage for want of knowledge, and information therof in tyme.

When we had left the Burns behynde vs, we entred Pole hauen, now far better knowen vnto me then it was at the firſt. Goyng therfore into the ſame, betwene the north and the ſouth pointes, to ſée what waters wer there, we left Brunkeſey Iſland and the caſtle on the left hand within the ſaid pointes, and paſſing about by Pole, and leauing that Creke, becauſe it hath no freſh, we came by Holton and Keſworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the ſouth waters. The north ſtreame hight Piddle as I heare. It riſeth about Alton, and goeth from thére to Piddle trentch hed Piddle hinton, Walterſtow, and ere it come at Birſtã, receiueth Deuils brooke that cõmeth thither from Brugham, and Melcombe by Deuliſh town. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Aſhe piddle, Turners piddle (takyng in ere it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Midleton, Milburne and Biere) then to Hide, and ſo into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus ſpeaketh, except I be deceyued. The ſouth water is properly called Frome for Frame. It riſeth nere vnto Euerſhot, and going down by Fromequintain, Chelmington, and Catſtocke, it receyueth there a rill from beſide Rowſham, and Wrarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newtõ, where it méeteth with the Owke, that riſeth eyther two miles aboue Hokeparke at Kenforde, or in the great ponde within Hoke parke, and goyng by the Tollardes, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, and ſo go as one from thẽce to Fromevauchurch, Crokeway, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth nere vnto the ſame a rill frõ aboue Upſidlyng by S. Nicholas Sidlyng, and Grimſton. From hence it goeth on by Stratton & Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it croſſeth the Silley, aliâs Mintern and Cherne brookes both in one chanell: wherof the firſt riſeth in vpper Cherne pariſh, the other at Minterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forſton, Godmanſton, and aboue Charneminſter into Frome. In ẏ meane time alſo our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Ilande aboue Charneminſter, and ioyning agayne néere Dorcheſter, it goeth by Dorcheſter, & Forthington, but ere it come at Beckington, it méeteth with an other Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinſtow, Heringſtow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without any further increaſe as yet to Beckington, Kinghton, Tinkleton, Morton, Woll, Bindon, Stoke, and beneath Stoke, receiueth ẏ iſſue of the Luckeforde lake, from whence alſo it paſſeth by Eaſtholme, Warham, and ſo into the Bay. From this fall, we went about the arne point by Slepe, where we ſaw a little creke, then by Owre, where we behelde an other, and then commyng againe toward the entraunce by S. Helens, and Furley caſtell, we went abroade into the maine, and founde our ſelues at liberty.

Piddle.

Deuils.

When we were paſt Pole hauen, we left the handfaſt point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at laſt to Lughport hauen, wherby and alſo the Luckeforde lake, all this portion of ground laſt remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninſula, and called the Iſle of Burbecke, wherin is góod ſtore of alam. In lyke ſort goyng ſtill weſterly, we came to Sutton pointes, where is a créeke. Then vnto Way or Wiſemouth, by kinges Welcombe, whereinto when we were entred, we ſaw thrée falles, whereof the firſt and greateſt commeth from Upwey by Bradwey, and Radypoll, receiuyng afterward the ſecond that ran from eaſt Cheſterell, and likewiſe the third that maketh the grounde betwéene Weymouth and Smalmouth paſſage almoſt an Iſlande. Goyng by Portland and the point therof, called ẏ Raſe, we ſayled along by the Shingle, till we came by S. Katherines chappel, where we ſaw the fal of a water that came downe from Blackden Beaconward, by Porteſham and Abbotesbury. Thence we went to another that fell into the ſea, néere Byrton, and deſcended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bride or Brute porte, a prety hauen and the ryuer it ſelfe ſerued with ſundry waters. It riſeth as I ſayd before, halfe a myle or more aboue Bemiſter, and ſo goeth from Bemiſter to Netherbury by Parneham, then to Melplaſhe, and to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by eaſt in one chanel, of which one ryſeth eaſt of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Poreſtoke, and Milton, the other at Askerwell, & runneth by Longlether. From hence alſo our Bride goyng toward the ſea, taketh the Simen on the weſt that commeth by Simenſburge into the ſame, the whole ſtreame ſone after fallyng into the ſea, and leauyng a prety hauenet.

The next porte is the Chare, ſerued wyth two rilles in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The chiefe hed of this riuer is as Leland ſayth in Marſhewode parke, and commeth downe by Whitchurch: the other runneth by weſt of Wotton, and méetyng beneth Charemouth towne, as I ſaid, doth fall into the ſea.

Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, and is alredy deſcribed vnder ẏ ſame denomination. Certes, there is no hauẽ here that I coulde ſée, but a quarter of a mile by weſt ſouthweſt of ẏ towne, is a great and coſtly Jutty in the ſea for ſuccour of ſhippes. The towne is diſtaunt from Colyton, about 5. miles, and here we ended our voyage from the Auon, which conteyneth the whole coſt of Dorceſter, or Dorcetſhire, ſo that next we muſt enter into Somerſet Countie, and ſée what waters are there.

The firſt water that we méete with all in Somerſetſhire is ẏ Are, which riſeth as you haue heard, not far from Bemiſter, and to ſay it more preciſely nere vnto Cheddington in Dorſetſhire, from whence it runneth to Moſterne, Feborow, Clarton, Weyforde bridge, Winſham fourde, and receiuing one rill from the eaſt by Hawkechurch, and ſone after another comming from northweſt by Churchſtoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminſter, beneath which it croſſeth the Yare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitſtaunton, Yarecomb, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a broke from by ſouth, that runneth by Dalwod) and ſo into the Are. From hence our Are goth to Drake, Muſbury, Cullyford, but ere it come altogither at Culliford, it méeteth wt a water ẏ riſeth aboue Cotlei, & goeth frõ thẽce by Widworthy, Cullitõ, & there receiuing a rill alſo procéedeth on after ẏ cõfluẽce aboue Culliford bridge into the Are, & ſo frõ thence hold on together into ẏ maine ſea.

yart aliâs Yerty.

By weſt of Berewoorth point lieth a creke ſerued ſo farre as I remember, with a freſhe water that commeth from the hils ſouth of Southley to Branſcombe.

Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither cõmeth a freſhwater by S. Maries from the ſayd hils that goeth from S. Maries aforeſaid, to Sidbury, and betwene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine ſea.

Sid.

By weſt of Auterton point alſo lyeth another hauen, and thither commeth a prety riueret, whoſe hed is in the Blackpendon hils, and commeth downe firſt by Upoter, then by a parke ſide to mohuns Autre, Munketõ, Homyton, Buckewell, and north of Autry receiueth a rill called Tale, that riſeth north weſt of Brodenbury in a wodde, and from whence it runneth by Pehembury, Uinnitõ, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwene Cadbe and Autry, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeley and ſo into the ſea. This riuer is afore deſcribed vnder the name of Otterey, as Leland left it vnto me: now will I caſt about the Start point that I may come to Exe.

Autri aliâs Otterey.

Tale.

The Exe riſeth in Exemore in Somerſetſhire (as I ſaid before out of Leland) and goeth from thence to Exeford, Winſford, and Exton where it receiueth a water cõming from Cutcombe by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the ſouth, til it méete with a prety brok, riſing northeaſt of Whettel (goyng by Brunton regis) increaſed at the leſt with thrée rilles which come all from by north. Theſe beyng once met, this water runneth on by weſt of the beacon that beareth ẏ name of Haddon, and ſone after taketh in the Barle that receiueth in like ſort ẏ Done at Hawkebridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méete with the Exe, almoſt in the very confines betwene Dorſet and Somerſet ſhires. Beyng paſt this coniunction our Exe, paſſeth betwene Brushford and Murbath, and then to

Exe.

Barley.

Done aliâs Done ſtroke.

Exe bridge, where it taketh in as I heare a water by Weaſt, from Eaſt Anſye, and after thys likewyſe another on eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Dirfordes and Haunton, the other called Woodburne, ſomewhat by eaſt of Okeforde. From theſe meetinges it goeth to Caue & thorough ẏ foreſt and woodes to Hatherland and Waſhfields vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water, that ryſeth aboue Alhebrittle, and commeth downe by Hockworthy vpper Loman, and ſo to Tiuerton that ſtandeth almoſt euen in the very cōfluēce. Some cal this Lomūd the Simming brooke or Sunninges bathe. After this our Exe, goeth to Bickley, Theuerten (takyng in a rill by weſt) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it ioyneth with the Columbe, that riſeth of one heade, northeaſt of Clary Haydon, and of another ſouth of Shildō, and meeting beneath Columbe ſtocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there croſſing a rill that commeth by Aſhforde, it runneth ſouth to Woode, More haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe Iohn, Horham, and ioyning as I ſayde wyth the Exe at Braford it paſſeth vnder but one bridge, ere it meete wyth another water by weſt, growyng of the Forten and Cryde waters, except it bee ſo that I doe iudge amiſſe. The Cride riſeth aboue Wolleſworthy, and neere vnto Vpton, after it is paſt Dewrich, croſſeth a rill from beteewne Puggill and Stockley by Stocke engliſh, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford where it meeteth with the Forten, whereof one braunche commeth by Caldbrook, the other from S. Mary Tedburne, and ioyning aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride (which ere long alſo receiueth another from by north, cōming by Stockley & Combe) then betwene Haine and Newton Sires to Pines and ſo into the Exe which ſtayeth not vntill it come to Exceſter. From Exceſter it runneth to Were there takyng in a rill from by weſt, and another lower by Exeminſter, next of all vnto Toppeſham, beneath which towne the Cliue entereth therinto, which riſing about Plymtree, goeth by Clift Haydon, Clift Laurence, Brode Clift, Honiton, Soutō, biſhops Clift, S. Mary Clyſt, Clyſt S. George, & then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Notwel Court, Limſtō and Ponderham caſtle. Here as I here, it taketh in the Ken (or Kenton brooke, as Leland calleth it) commyng from Holcombe Parke, by Dunſdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and ſo into Exe hauen, at whoſe mouth lye certaine rockes, which they call the chekeſtones, except I be deceiued.

Woodburn.

Lomnnd or Simming.

Columb.

Cride.
Forten.

Clinus.

Ken.

The next fal, wherof Leland ſayth nothing at all, commeth by Aſhecombe and Duliſh, and hath hys hed in the hils therby.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came vnto, and it is a goodly port. The hed of this water is alredy touched in my firſt boke to be in Dartmore among the Gidley hilles. From whence it goeth to Gydley towne, Teignton drue, where it receyueth the Crokerne commyng from by north, and likewiſe another weſt of Fulford parke. Thē it goeth to Dufford, Bridforde, Kirſlow, Chidley, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receyueth the Bouy whoſe courſe is to north Bouy, Lilley, and Bouytracy. Thence it runneth to kinges Teingneton, taking in Eidis a brooke beneath Preſton that cōmeth from Edeford by the way, and whē it is paſt this confluence, at Kings Teigneton, it croſſeth the Leman which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Buſhels, and ſone after the Aller that riſeth betwene Danbury and Warog well, afterward fallyng into the ſea by biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignemouth towne.

From hence we goe ſtill ſouthwardes (as we haue done long alredy by ſouthweſt) by Worthſtone, and finding thre or foure ſmal crekes betwene Worthſtone rocke and the Biry point, we go furder to Mewſtone rock, and ſo into Dartmouth hauen, whereinto ſundry waters haue their direct courſes.

The riuer of Darnt commeth out of Darntmore, xv. myles aboue Totneſſe (as I ſaid before) from whence it goeth to Bucklande Hole, and ſone after taking in the Aſheburn water on the one ſide that runneth frō Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on eche ſide, paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke, meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Roſt bridge, two miles aboue Totneſſe, or as an other ſayeth, by Ratter, Harberton, Haineſford, and Aſprempton into Darnt, which ere long alſo commeth to Cornworthy, Greneway, Ditſham, Darntmouth, betwene the Caſtels, and ſo into the ſea.

From hence we went by Stokefleming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this bay by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directly weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauē. Certes this port hath very little freſh water commyng vnto it, yet the hed of ſuch as it is, ryſeth

ſeth nere Buckland, and goeth to Dodbrok, which ſtandeth betwene two créekes. Thẽce it hieth to Charelton, where it taketh in a ril whoſe hed commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finally, it hath another créeke that runneth vp by Ilton, and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe hed is ſo nere the bay laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a ſory peninſula, as I haue heard it ſayd.

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe hed is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Diptford wod, Loddewel, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Michels borow.

Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stowford, Iuy bridge, Armington bridge, Fléete, Orcharton and Owenewell.

Yalme goeth by Cornewod, Slade, Strachley, Yalmeton, Collaton, and Newton ferrey.

Being paſt theſe Portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a very buſie péece to deſcribe, becauſe of the number of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes, yet will I doe what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

The Plimme or Plym, is the very ſame water that gyueth name vnto Plimpton towne. It ryſeth in the hilles eaſt of Cornwood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of thrée miles to Newenham after it be iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſoone after into the Stour, which Stour aryſeth northweſt of Shepiſtour, and goeth from thence to Meuichurch, Bele, Shauo Bickley, & ſo to Eſtone where taking in the Plym, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plymme, vntill it go paſt Plymmouth and fall into the hauen South eſt of Plymmouth aforeſayde. Plymmouth it ſelf ſtandeth betwéene two créekes, not ſerued wyth anye backewater, therefore paſſing ouer theſe two, we enter into the Thamar that dischargeth it ſelfe into the aforeſaid hauẽ, going therfore by that ſtreame which for the moſt part parteth Deuonſhire from Cornewall, the firſt riuer that I met withall on the eſt ſide is called Tauy, the hed whereof is amõg the mountaines foure miles aboue Péeters Tauy, beneath which it méeteth with another water from by weſt, ſo that theſe two waters include Marye Tauye, betwéene them though nothing nére the confluence. From hence the Taue or Tauy runneth to Tauiſtocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by weſt, and another aboue north Buckland whoſe head is in Dartmore, and commeth thereunto by Sandforde and Harrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamer, by north Buckland, Monks Buckland, Beare, and Lamerton Folly. Hauing thus diſpatched the Tauy. The next that falleth in on the eſt ſide vpwardes is the Lidde, which ryſing in the hilles aboue Lidforde, runneth downe by Curryton and Siddenham, and ſo to Lidſtone, aboue which it receyueth the Truſhell brooke, which riſing north eaſt of Brediſton, goeth by Truſholton to Haine, where it receyueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanſwyke, and after the confluence runneth to Liſton, and frõ thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this riſeth ſomewhere about Clawell or Helwell, and goyng by Virginſton, runneth on by S. Giles without any increaſe vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all is Talketh in two brokes not much diſtant in ſunder, whereof the one commeth in by Clawton, the other from Holſworthy, and both eaſt of Tamerton, which ſtandeth on the further banke, and other ſide of the Thamar, & weſt northweſt of Leacote, except the quarter be deceiued.

Touching the Thamar it ſelfe, it riſeth in Deuonſhire, about thrée miles northeaſt of Hartland, and in maner ſo cutteth ouer the whole weſt countrey betwene ſea and ſea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninſula. Being therfore deſcended from the hed, by a tract of vj. myles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancraſe well, Bridge Rowel, Tamerton, Cutcrone, Lawencote, Boyton, & Werrington, where it meteth wyth a water on the weſt ſide called Artey, that riſeth ſhort of Jacobſtow. Two miles in like ſort from this confluence, we met with the Kenſey, whoſe hed is ſhort of Warpeſton, by ſouth eaſt, frõ whence it goeth by Trenigles, Tremone, Treſmure, Treton, Launſton, and ſo into the Thamar that runneth frõ hence by Lowſheston vnto Bradſton, and goyng on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from ſouth Pitherwyn, and by Leland. Beneath Dunterton alſo it croſſeth the Enian. This ryuer riſeth at Dauidſton, and directeth his race by S. Clethir, Lanceaſt, and Treuaſk firſt, and then vnder ſundry bridges, vntill it méete with the Thamar. From hence alſo the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calſtocke bridge, Calſtocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there aboutes takyng in a créeke aboue Landilip) and runnyng on from thence, halſeth toward Saltaſhe, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Bromwelly hill,

Lidde.

Truſhell.

Core.

Thamar.

Artey.

Kenſey.

Enian.

Liuer.

hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by eaſt (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wottõ, Blaſſommyng, S. Erne, and beneth this village croſſeth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, S. Germaines and Sheuiocke. But to procéede after the confluence, it goeth betwéene Erly & Fro. Maſtine caſtle, and ſone after taking in a rill from by north, that paſſeth weſt of ſ. Steuens, it is not long ere it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbroke créeke) goeth on by Edgecomb, and betwene ſ. Mighels Iſle and Rodden pointe into the maine ſea. And thus haue I finiſhed the deſcriptiõ of Plimmouth water, and all ſuch falles as are betwéene Mewſton rocke on the eaſt ſide, & the Ráms hed on the other.

Sutton. After this we procéeded on with our iourney toward the weſt, and paſſing by Longſtone, we came ſone after to Sothan baie, where we croſſed the Secton water, whoſe hed is about Liſcard, and his courſe by Mynheniet, Chaſtrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and ſo into the ſea.

Low. Then came we to Lowe, and going in betwéene it and Mount Iſle, we finde that it had a braunched courſe, and there to the confluence aboue Lowe. The chiefe heade riſeth in yͤ hils, as it were two miles aboue Saine, and going by that towne, it ceaſeth not to continue his courſe, eaſt of Dulos, til it come a little about Low, where it croſſeth and ioyneth with the Brodoke water that runneth frõ Brodokes by Trewargo, & ſo into yͤ ſea. Nexte vnto theſe are two other rils before we come at Faw, or Fawy, whereof in my former treatiſe, I made ſome ſmall intreaty.

Fawy. Foy or Fawy riuer riſeth in Fawy more, on ſide of an hill, from whence it runneth by certayne bridges, till it méete with the Glin water

Glyn. weſt of Glyn towne, which riſing aboue Temple, and meting with a rill that cometh in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Reſprin from by eaſt. After this confluẽce then, it goeth to Reſprin bridge, Leſtermẽ caſtle, Loſtwithiel bridge, Pill, ſ. Kingtons, ſ. Winnow, and Golant, and here alſo receiueth the Lerine water out

Lerinus. of a parke, that taketh his way into the main ſtreame by Byconke, Tethe, and the fining houſe. Beyng thus vnited, it procéedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or créeke from aboue it on the one ſide, and another beneath it ſouth of Halling on the other, of which two this latter is the longeſt of courſe, ſith it runneth thrée good myles before it come at the Foy, and thus much had I to adde vnto the deſcription of the ſayd Fawy conteined in my former treatiſe. I might haue touched the créeke that lyeth betwéene Bnaurland and blackbottle pointes ere I came at Foye or Fawy, but ſith it is ſerued only with the ſalt, I make ſmall account to ſpeake of it. But to procéede, entering finally into the baie commonly called Trewardith baie, which lyeth into the land betwene the Canuaſſe and the blacke head pointe, we ſawe the fall of two ſmall brokes, not one very far diſtant from another. The firſt of them entring weſt of Trewardith, the other eaſt of ſ. Blayes and both directly agaynſt Cutmarder rocke, except I miſtake my compaſſe. Neyther of them are of any great courſe, and the longeſt not full thrée miles and an halfe, wherefore ſith they are neither braunched nor of any great quantity, what ſhould I make long harueſt of a little corne, and ſpende more tyme then may well be ſpared about them.

When we wer paſt the blackhed, we came to Auſtell broke, which is increaſed with a water that commeth from aboue Mewan, & within a myle after the confluence they fall into the ſea at Pentowen, from whence we went by the black rocke, and about the Dudman pointe, till we came to Chare baies, where falleth in a pretty water, whoſe hed is two miles aboue ſ. Tues. There we went by here & there a méere ſalt créeke, til we paſſed yͤ gray rocke, in Gwinderath baie, & ſ. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauẽ, to the former deſcription whereof, I wil adde another here, whereby the firſt ſhal be more plain and eaſie.

The Fala riſeth a little by north of Penuenton towne, and going weſtwarde, til it come downwardes toward ſ. Dioniſe, it goeth frõ thence to Melader, ſ. Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Cornely, Tregue, Moran, Tregũnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force, and this is the courſe of Fala. But leſt I ſhould ſeme to omit thoſe créekes that are betwene this and S. Antonies point, I will go a little backe again, and fetch in ſo many of them as come now to my remẽbraunce. Entring therefore into yͤ port, we haue a créeke that runneth vp by ſ. Antonies toward ſ. Gereus, then another that goeth into the lande by eaſt of ſ. Maries caſtle, with a forked hed, paſſing in the meane time by a great rocke, that lieth in the very midſt of the hauen, in maner of the thirde poynt of a Triangle, betwéene S. Maryes caſtle and pendinant. Thence we caſt about by the ſayde caſtle, and came by another créeke, that falleth in by eaſt, then the ſecond aboue ſ. Juſtus, the third at Ardeuora, the fourth at

Kilan,

Allan, and hauing as it were viſited all theſe in order, we come backe againe about by Tregomnian, and then goyng vpward betweene it and Taluerne, til we come to Fentangolan, we founde the confluence of two great creekes beneath S. Clementes, whereof one hath a freſh water comming downe by S. Merther, ŷ other another frõ Truro, increaſed wt ſundry braũches, though not one of thẽ of any greatneſſe, and therfore vnworthy to be handled. Polewhole ſtandeth vpon the hed almoſt of the moſt eaſterly of them. S. Kenwen and Truro ſtand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by weſt, frõ certaine hils: as for the fift and ſixt, as they be little creekes and no freſh, ſo haue I leſſe language and talke to ſpend about them. Of S. Caie, and S. Feokes creekes, I ſpake inough before, the towne of S. Feoke ſtandyng betwen thẽ both. That alſo called after ŷ ſaint, riſing aboue Perãnarwothill, and comming thence by Myrklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeaſt of Milor, which ſtandeth vpon the point betwene it & Milor creeke. Milor creek (for Lelãd did kepe no order in their deſcription) is next Reſtronguet. Some call it Milorpole, from whence we went by Croſdis point, and there found an other great fall frõ Perin, which beyng braunched in the toppe hath Perin towne almoſt in the very confluence. Thus leauyng Falahauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, then profitable for ſeafaring men without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtreight ſouthweſt to Helford hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Wreeke (where is a confluence of two ſmall rilles whereof that ryll conſiſteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receyueth a rill on the north ſide from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence, it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Oceane. Beneath this alſo is another rill commyng from S. Mawnen by whoſe courſe, and another ſuch againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into ŷ ſea by Winniton, all Menage is left almoſt in maner of an Iland. From hence we go ſouth to ŷ Pinnacle point, then ſouthweſt to Lyſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannacke pointes, beyonde which we muſt haue the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Menage and goeth into ŷ ſea by Mellan on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton, is the Cary water that ryſeth ſhort of Magan, and toucheth with the weſtern ſouth of Pengwenian point.

From hence we ſayled to the Lowmouth which ſome call Lopole, becauſe it is narrower at the fall into the ſea, then it is beneath the ſea alſo ſwelleth. It riſeth aboue S. Sethians, and commyng downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Helſton or Helſtun, from whence onely it is called Lo, but betwene Helſton & the hed, men call it commonly Cohor. Here Leland omittyng a great number of waters betwene this and the landes end, and ſo forth about the point vnto the Hayle, as you may ſee in my former treatiſe, I thinke it good ſo far as to me is poſſible, to ſupply his want in this place, although I confeſſe that I cannot do it ſo exactly as I would. Beyng therefore paſſed the Lo, I came to another water that deſcendeth without any increaſe from Crowan by Synney, whoſe whole courſe is not aboue 3. myles in all. Then goyng by the Cudden point, we entred the mountes Bay, and goyng ſtreight north (leauing ſaint Mighels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lyd, which riſing ſhort of Lelandmacke, deſcendeth by Lugenam, and ſo into the ſea. Certes the courſe of theſe waters can not be long, ſith in this very place, the bredth of lãd is not aboue foure miles, and not more then fiue at the very landes ende. There is alſo a rill eaſt of Marquiey, and Guluall, and another weſt of the ſame hard at hand, and likewiſe the third eaſt of Penſance, and not a full quarter of a myle from the ſecond, ſouthweſt of Penſance, alſo lieth the fourth that commeth from Maddarne wardes by Newlyn, from whence goyng ſouthweſt out of the Baye by Mowſhole Ile, that lyeth ſouth of Mowſhole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remelde and Lamorey point. Truly the one hed thereof commeth frõ by weſt of Sancrede, the other by from weſt of an hill that ſtandeth betwene them both, and ioyning about Remels, it is not long ere they ſalute their grandame. After this and before we come at Roſecaſtle, there are two other creekes, whereof one is called Boſkenow, that riſeth ſouth of S. Burians, and an other ſomewhat longer then the reſt that riſeth by weſt of the aforeſayd towne, whereby it is to be noted, that our cardes made heretofore doe appoint S. Burians to be at the very landes ende of Cornwall, but experience now teacheth vs that it commeth not neere the landes end by three miles. This latter rill alſo is the laſt that I do read of on the ſouth ſide, and likewiſe on the weſt, and many rill we haue ſaue at S. Ies baye, which is full 3. myles from the landes ende, or Pyelan Ile eaſtward, and rather more if you reckon to the mouth of the Haile, which lieth in the very middeſt and higheſt part of the bay of the ſaide. The ſoile alſo is very hilly here, as for S. Ies towne, it is almoſt (as I ſayd) a Ilande, and yet

Cohor.

Synney.

Lyd.

Pyelan yle.

yet is it well watred with ſundry rilles that come from thoſe hils vnto the ſame.

Haile.

Clowart.

The Haile riſeth in ſuch maner, and from ſo many heds, as I haue before deſcribed out of Leland. Howbeit, I will adde ſomewhat more vnto it for the benefite of my readers. Certes, the chiefe hed of Haile riſeth by weſt of Godalſin hils, and goyng downe toward ſ.Erthes, it receyueth the ſecond and beſt of the other thrée rilles from Godalſin towne: Finally, commyng to ſ.Erthes, and ſo vnto the maine bay, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guymer, ſouth of Phelacke which hath two heds, the ſayd village ſtandyng directly betwixt them both.

Caine.

Luggam.

S.Pirãs créeke.

Crantock.

Padſtowe.

The Caine ryſeth ſoutheaſt of Caineburn towne, a myle and more, from whence it goeth without encreaſe by weſt of Gwethian, and ſo into the ſea weſt of Mara Darway. From hence we coaſted about the point, and left the bay till we came to a water that ryſeth of two heds from thoſe hils that lye by ſouth of the ſame: one of them alſo runneth by ſ.Uni, another by Redreuth, and méetyng within a myle they fall into the Oceane, beneath Luggam or Luggan. A myle and a halfe from this fall we come vnto an other ſmall rill, and likewyſe two other créekes betwixt which the towne of ſ.Agnes ſtãdeth, and likewyſe the fourth halfe a mile beyond the moſt eaſterly of theſe, whoſe head is almoſt thrée myles within the land, in a town called ſ.Alyn. Thẽce going by the Pancoch, and weſt of ſ.Piran in the Sande, we finde a courſe of thrée myles and more from the hed, and hauyng a forcked braunch, the partes do méete at weſt aboue ſ.Hybbard, and ſo go into the ſea. I take this to be ſ.Piranes créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whoſe hed is at Guſwarth, from whence it goeth to Treriſe, and ſone after takyng in a rill, from by weſt it runneth into the ſea eaſt of ſ.Carantakes. Beyonde this is an other créeke that ryſeth aboue little ſ.Colan, and goeth by leſſe ſ.Columb, and eaſt & by north hereof, commeth down one more, whoſe hed is almoſt ſouth of the nine ſtones, and goyng from thence to great ſ.Columbes, it paſſeth by Lanherne, and ſo into the ſea. S.Merons créeke is but a little one, ryſing weſt of Padſtow, and fallyng in almoſt ouer againſt the Gull rocke. Then turning betwene the point and the blacke rock, we entred into Padſtow hauen, whoſe waters remayne next of all to be deſcribed.

Alen.

Enyam.

The Alane ryſeth flat eaſt from the hauen mouth of Padſtow, well néere eight or nyne myles, about Dauidſton, néere vnto which the Enyam alſo iſſueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Goyng therfore from hence it paſſeth to Camelford, ſ.Aduen, ſ.Bernards, (both Corniſh ſaintes) and ſone after receyueth a rill at northeaſt deſcending frõ Roughters hil. Thence it goeth to Bliſeland, & Helham, the firſt bridge of name that ſtandeth vpon Alyn. Ere long alſo it taketh in one ryll by ſouth from Bodman, another from ſ.Laurence, the third by weſt of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them excedyng the courſe of thrée miles, and all by ſouth. From hence it goeth towarde Igleſale warde, and there receyueth a water on the eaſt ſide, which cõmeth about two miles from aboue ſ.Teath, by Michelſton, ſ.Tychoe, ſ.Maben (two Corniſh patrones) and finally ſouth of Igleſall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by ſ.Breaca to Wodbridge. Here about I finde that into our Aleyn or Alen, there ſhould fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carnſey, the other Layne, and commyng in the end to the full notice of the matter, I ſée them to iſſue on ſeuerall ſides beneth Wodbridge almoſt directly the one againſt ẏ other. That which deſcendeth from northweſt, and riſeth about ſ.Kew, is named Carneſey as I heare, the other that commeth in on the ſouthweſt banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to riſe two miles aboue ſ.Eſſe, but how ſo euer this matter ſtandeth, there are two other créekes on eche ſide alſo beneth theſe as Pethike créek, and Minner créeke, ſo called of two Corniſh ſaintes (for that ſoyle bred many) wherewith I finiſh the deſcription of Alen, or as ſome call it Dunmere, and other Padſtow water.

Beyng paſt Padſtow hauen, and after we had gone thrée myles, we came to Portgwin a poore fiſher towne, where I finde a broke and a pére. Then I came to Portiſſer two myles further, and founde there a broke & pére, and ſome ſuccour for fiſher botes. Next of all vnto a broke that ran from ſouth eaſt, directly north into the Seuern ſea, and within halfe a myle of the ſame lay a great blacke rocke lyke an Iſlande. From this water to Treuenni is about a myle, where the paroch church is dedicated to ſ.Symphorian, and in which paroch alſo Tintagel caſtle ſtandeth, which is a thyng inexpugnable for the ſituation, and would be made with little reparations one of the ſtrongeſt things in England. For it ſtandeth on a great high terrible crag enuironned with the ſea. There is a chappell yet ſtandyng in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to ſ.Ulet, Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a myle in ſunder. The next créeke is called Boſſinni, which is a myle frõ Tintagell, and to the ſame Treuenny water reſorteth, tegh, and ſo they goe to the ſea betwene two hils, whereof that on the one ſide lyeth out like a cape, and maketh the faſhion of an hauenet or pẽere, whether ſhiplets doe often tymes reſort for ſuccour. A Prince of late dayes toke vpon him to make this hauen at this place, but in vayne. There lie alſo two black rockes as Iſlets at the weſt northweſt point or ſide of this creke, the one (leauyng but a little gut betwene them) lyinge within the other, and in theſe by all likelyhode is great ſtore of gulles. I cannot tell whether this be the water that runneth by Bolcaſtle or not, but if it be not, then haue I this deſcription of the latter.

Bolcaſtle creke that lyeth eaſt of Tintagel, is but a ſmall thyng running at the moſt not aboue two myles into the land, yet it paſſeth by foure townes, whereof the firſt is called Leſnewth, the ſeconde S. Iuliet, the third, Minſter, and the fourth Bolcaſtle or Bothcaſtle as ſome men doe pronounce it.

castle.

In Bede bay, I find the Bedewater, whoſe chiefe hed is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Bedham. And there alſo it croſſeth another whoſe hed is eaſt of Mary Wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolſton and Whaleſborow, and thence to the ſea betwene Efford and Plough hill. And thus much of ÿ waters that lie betwene the poynt of Cornwall, and the Hartland hed vpon the northſide of Cornwall. Now let vs do the lyke with thoſe that remayne of Deuonſhire, whereof the ſaid Hartland is the very firſt point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therfore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barſtable bar, and ſo into the Hauen, wherinto two principall ſtreames do perpetually vnburden their chanels.

ncels.

The firſt and more weſterly of theſe is called Ocus, whoſe hed is not farre weſt of the hed of Darnt, & both in Darntmore. Riſing therefore in the aforeſayd place, it runneth northweſt to Snorton, and ſo to Okehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with another water commyng from ſoutheaſt, and riſeth not much weſt from the hed of Tawe. From hence it goeth to Stowe Erborne, Munke Okington, and Iddeſley, where it taketh in the Tamrige a very prety ſtreamlet, whoſe iſſue is not full a mile by eaſt from the hed of Thamar. Commyng therfore by weſt and eaſt Putforde, Bulworthy, Wockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from eche ſide of Bradworthy by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, and ſo to Thornebiry, where metyng with another forked water (whereof one hed commyng from Dunſland, ioyneth with the other north of Cockebiry) it goeth with ſpede into the Tamrige water. After this confluence it runneth on to Shepewaſh (by weſt whereof falleth in the Bucklād water frō by north) thence to high Hampton, and ſo Haytherlay, north whereof it taketh in a rill frō by ſouth, and endeth his race at Iddeſley, by ioynyng with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus haſteth to Dowland, and betwene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by eaſt, as it doth another betwene Doulton and Marton frō by weſt, and ſo proceeding on with his courſe, it commeth eaſt of Torrington the leſſe, and taking in a water at eaſt, that runneth from thrée heds (by Wolly parke) betwene which Combe and Roughborow are ſituate, it deſcendeth to Torrington the more, and meting with the Langtrée water on the one ſide, and the Ware broke on the other, it procéedeth to Bedford, croſſing a rill by the way that commeth vnto it betwene Annary and Litham. From Bedford bridge it goeth without any increaſe to Weſtley, Northam, Appledour, and ſo into the hauen.

mridge.

Buckland.

Langtrée.

Were or Ware.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, and hath moſt rils deſcendyng into hys chanell. Howbeit by theſe two is all the hart of Deuonſhire well watered on the northſide of ÿ Mores. The Taw riſeth directly at ſouthweſt of Chawley, and north of the head of Darnt. From thence alſo it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bathe, North tauton, Asheridge, Colridge, and ſone after receiueth the Bowmill créeke, whereof one hed riſeth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meting beneth biſhops Morchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue bene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by ſouth whereof, it méeteth with a ril comming down of two heds from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawley. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Moulebray water conſiſting of two in one chanell, whereof the Mol doth ryſe aboue north Moulton, and cōmyng to Moulton, receiueth another rill running frō Molland, and ſone after the ſecond that growing by two brokes (ÿ hed of one beyng at Knawſton, and of the other weſt of Crokeham, and both vniting themſelues beneath Mariſton) doth fal into the ſame ere long alſo, and ſo go together till it croſſe the Bray, which (beyng the ſecond of the two that maketh the Moulbray) riſeth at Bray, commeth by Buckland and ſouth of Holtwod doth make his confluence with Taw. Beyng paſt the wode, it goeth

Taw.

Bowmill.

Moule-bray.

Bray.

eth on to Biſhops Tawton, Barſtable, ſometyme a pretye walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thyng and much in decaye, ſith that the ſuburbes thereof, are greater then it ſelfe. I ſuppoſe that the name of this towne in the Brittiſh ſpeache, was Abertaw, bicauſe it ſtood toward the mouth of Taw, and Abertawe pronounced ſhort as I geſſe, ſoundeth Berne. As for Staple it is an addition for the market, and therfore hath nothyng to doe in the proper name of the towne. King Athelſtane is taken here for the chiefe principall giuer of the towne, this is alſo worthy to be noted hereof, that the houſes there are of ſtone, as are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceede with our purpoſe. Beneath this Towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, and another at eaſt Downe, whereof this deſcendyng by Stoke ryuers, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themſelues within three myles of Berſtaple. Soone after alſo it taketh in another that deſcendeth from Bittenden by Aſheford, and the laſt of all eaſt of S. Anthonies Chappell, named the Doneham, bicauſe one hed is at weſt Downe, and the other at Dune, both of them meetyng weſt of Aſhe. And thus is Taw deſcribed, which is no great water nor quick ſtreame as may appeare in Low water mark at Berſtable, yet is it a pretty riueret. This alſo is worthy to be noted thereof, that it receiueth no brokes from by weſt, whereof I would ſomewhat merueile, if Turridge were not at hand.

Doneham.

Beyng paſt the Taw, Cride bay and Bugpoint alias Bagpoint, we go by Morts baye, Mortſtone, alias Mortſtone, and then toward the northeaſt, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & ſo to Combe marton, where at (I meane eche of them) are ſundry creekes of ſaltwater, but not ſerued with any freſh, that I as yet do heare of. Marry there is betwene Martinhow and Trentowe, a creeke that hath a backewater, which deſcendeth frō Parracombe (ſo farre as I call to mynd named Parradine becke) but the greteſt of all is betwene Linton and Comiſbery called Ore, which riſeth in Somerſetſhire in Exmore, (eaſt of Porlocke, more then a myle) and goyng by Ore, falleth into the ſea betwene Linton & Comiſbery, ſo that the whole race therof, amounteth in & out to an 8. miles as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finiſhed ŷ diſcourſe of the waters of Deuonſhire, whoſe bredth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the checkſtones in the mouth of Exe, on the ſouth ſide of the Ile, is 38. miles or vnder 40. and ſo much likewyſe is it frō Plimmouth to Hartland point, bicauſe by weſt part there it runneth but 46. miles, whereas the broadeſt part of Cornewall doth want three myles of [illegible]

Paradine.

Orus.

The bredth of Deuonſhire & Cornewal.

Beyng paſt the aforeſaid limites of the countrie we came to Porlocke bay, whether commeth a water called Ocke, that deſcendeth from Stokepero church and ſo to Porlocke, without increaſe. Thence to Dunſter by a water which runneth from about Cutcombe, and Tymbercombe and Dunkerie, then to a water that runneth weſt of Olde Cliffe, leauyng a parke on the weſt ſide, next of all to Williton water, whoſe one hed commeth from the Quantock hils ſouth of Bickneller by Weſtquantocke head, and almoſt at Doniford receiueth the Williton becke, the Quantocke brooke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddingtō water, ŷ goeth by Holford, Alfoxton, & afterward into the ſea.

From hence we go by Stowfall pointe, to Stert pointe, where two noble riuers doe make their confluence, which I will ſeuerally deſcribe, as to my purpoſe appertayneth.

The firſt of theſe is called the Iuell. It riſeth aboue Oburne, and at Shireburne receyueth a water whereof Leland ſaith thus. There are ſeuen ſpringes in an hill called the ſeuen ſiſters, northeaſt frō Shireburne, which gather into one botom & come into ŷ Mere. Another brooke likewiſe commeth by Heydō frō Pulham well three myles from thence by flat eaſt, betwene the parke and the Mere full ſo great as the ſtreame of the Mere and ioynyng at the loweſt mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long ere it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on toward Glaſen Bradford, and ere it come there, taketh in a forked rill from by ſouth, deſcending from about weſt Chelbury and Chetnall in Dorſetſhire, beneth which towne ŷ other hed falleth into the ſame, ſo that they run ſouth by Bearhaggard & Thornford (til they meet with the Iuell) & ſo to Cliſton, Euil, Trent, Mutforde, Aſhinton, and eaſt of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade that runneth from Parlington by north Cadbiry, and ſoone after croſſing a rill alſo from by eaſt, that cōmeth frō Blackeford by Compton, it haſteth to ſouth Cadbiry, Sparkford, Queenes Camel, weſt Camell, & ſo into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilcheſter, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and ere it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go any further. The firſt of all theſe riſeth ſoutheaſt betwene the Parets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Merriot taketh in a brooke from the eaſt, which conſiſteth of

Cade.

Parret.

of two courſes vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one deſcendeth from Pen by Haſilbury, the other from aboue the thrée Chenocks, as I doe vnderſtand. From hence alſo they goe as one with the Parret water, toward ſouth Pederton (takyng in at eaſt a becke cõming from Hamden hil) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorney bridge, & Muchelney where it méeteth with the ſeconde called Il or Ilus, whoſe hed is aboue Chellington, & comming down frõ thẽce by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a ril that runneth by Chafcomb and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilminſter on the eaſt ſide, it méeteth with another from by Eaſt, deſcendyng from aboute Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it croſſeth yͤ Ilton water by weſt) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioyneth with a rillet that riſeth by weſt at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbots Ily, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after ſome mens opinion, the Iuell looſeth hys name, and is called Parret, but this coniecture cannot holde, ſithe in the olde writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the ſea. Neuertheleſſe, how ſo euer this matter ſtandeth, beyng paſt Langport, it goeth by Awber toward ſ. Antonies, where it méeteth with the Tone next of all to be deſcribed. The Tone iſſueth at Clatworthy, and goeth by weſt of Wiuelſcombe, to Stawley, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water commyng from Sanford Combe, Elworthy, Brunte Rafe, Myluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Helebridge and there below meteth with one water that runneth by Halwſe, Hethforde and Norton, then another frõ Crokeham by biſhops Slediard, and the third and fourth at Tawnton, that deſcendeth from Kingſton by north, and another by ſouth that ryſeth about Pidminſter, and thus is the Tone increaſed, which goeth from Taunton to Riſton, Creche, Northcurry, Ling, and ſo by Anthony into yͤ Iuell, that after this confluence méeteth ere long with the Chare, a prety riuer that commeth by eaſt from Northborow, by Carletõ, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham Andry more, Audry, and Michelſborow. From whence goyng on betwene Quéenes moore and North moore, it receyueth one brooke called Peder from by ſouthweſt, that runneth thorough Pederton parke and Northmoore, and likewyſe another that paſſeth by Durley, ere it doe come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directly northweſt, and then turnyng flat weſt, it goeth northwardes towards the ſea, takyng in two waters by the way, whereof one runneth by Coripole and Cannington, and beareth yͤ name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receyuyng the Brier before it come at Start point, they fal as one into the Ocean, whereof let this ſuffice for the deſcription of the Iuel, whoſe ſtreame doth water al the weſt part of Somerſetſhire and leaue it very fruitfull.

Cãmingtõ

Brier.

The Brier, Bruer, or Bréer, ryſeth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood foreſt, and commeth downe by Bruecombe, Bruham, and Bruton. The other which Lelãd nameth Mellos, is northeaſt of Staffordell towne, & goyng by the ſame, it runneth by Redlinche, to Wike where it meteth with the other hed, and thence go on as one to Awnſford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis frõ by north that ryſeth nere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfordes, Baſborow wood, the Torhil, Pont perilous bridg (wherinto they fable that Arthur beyng wounded to death did throw Calybur hys ſword) by Glaſſenbury and ſo into the Méere. Beſide this riuer there are two other alſo that fall into the ſaid Méere, whereof the one called Soway commeth from Créechurch parke, & Pulton by Hartlack bridge, the other named Cos or the Coſcombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which eaſt of Wyke taketh in a water commyng from Welles) by Wyke, Gedney, and ſo into the Méere. Finally, returning all into one chanell it runneth to Burtlehouſe, and ſoone after deuiding it ſelfe, one arme goeth by Baſtian aliâs Brent bridge, to High bridge, leauyng Hunteſpill a market towne by South weſt, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes paſſage, and ſo into the ſea, leauing a faire Iſland wherin beſide Brentmarſh are 7. or 8. townes, whereof Vphill is none, which is contrary to my former aſſertion, and herein therfore not onely the ſame, but alſo an other errour in the name of this riuer is worthy to be redreſſed, beſide a third touching the courſe of the ſaid Are, which brauncheth not ſo low, but rather runneth into the braunche of Brier that lyeth moſt eaſterly, as experience by the eie of him that of ſet purpoſe hath of late ridden to view it, doth manifeſtly confirme. Now as touching the water that commeth from Wels, which falleth as I ſaid into yͤ Coſcomb water on the right hand of the Cawſey. You ſhall vnderſtand that as many ſprings are in Wels, ſo the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which ryſeth in a medow plat not farre from the eaſt ende of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coſcomb, in ſuch place as I haue noted.

Brier.

Lelãd wryteth yͤ firſt Brieuelus & the ſeconde Mellodun* or yͤ Milton water.

Dulis.

Soway.

Cos.

Milton. Golafer. Leland ſpeaketh of the Milton and Golafer waters, which ſhould fall likewyſe into the Brier, but whether thoſe be they wherof the one ryſeth aboue Staffordell, and in the diſcent runneth by Shipton, Pitcomb, and ſo to Awnſford on the one ſide, as the other doth riſe betwene Batcomb and Upton noble on the other halfe: or vnto whether of them eyther of theſe names are ſeuerally to be attributed, as yet I do not read.

Axe.2. The Cheder brooke, driueth.12. milles within a quarter of a myle of his heade. The ſecond Axe iſſueth out of Owky hole, from whence it goeth by Owky towne, afterward meeting with the Cheder brook that commeth from the Cheder rocks, it runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compaſſe into the northeaſt braunch of the aforeſayde riuer laſt deſcribed, betwene Rokes bridge and Hebbes paſſage, as I haue bene informed.

Bane. From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, northeſt of Woodſpring, whoſe hed is about Banwel parke, or els in Smaldon wood. Then to another, and to the third, called Artro, which riſeth about Litton, and Artro. goyng by the Artroes, Ubbey, Perrybridge (receiuyng a rill ere it come thether from by ſouth) beneth Cungeſbiry, or as I learne betwene Kingſton and Laurens Wike it meeteth with the ſea.

Sotteſpill. Sotteſpill water ryſeth betwene Cheueley and Naileſey, howbeit it hath no encreaſe before it come into the ſea at Sotteſpill, more then the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certaine towne neere to the fall therof. It ryſeth ſoutheaſt of Cleueden Barrow, goeth by Burton Naileſey, and ſo vnto Cleuedon.

Auon.3. The Auon commonly called the third Auon is a goodly water, and growen to be very famous by ſondry occaſions, to be particularly touched in our deſcriptiõ of Briſtowe. It ryſeth in the very edge of Tetbury, and goeth by long Newtõ to Brokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmſbury, where it receiueth two waters, that is to ſay, one from by weſt cõming by Foxeley, and Bromleham, which rũneth ſo neere to the Auon in the weſt ſuburbe of Malmeſbury, that the towne thereby is almoſt made an Iſland. Another from Okeſey parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Gareſden. After this confluence it haſteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the ſoutheaſt, till it meete with a water comming from ſouth weſt (betwene Hullauington and Bradfield) by Aſton: and ſoone after with another at the northſide from Bynall by Wootton Baſſet (thorow the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bridges) and after yͤ cõfluẽce to Dauntſey, Segar, Sutton, Chriſtmalford, Auon, Calwaies houſe, & then to weſt Tetherton. Beneth this towne alſo it taketh in a water increaſed by two brokes, wherof one cõming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitley houſe and Bramble, (and there receiuyng another that commeth by Calne) paſſeth on by Stanley into the Auon, which from thẽceforth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Coſham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melſham, and ere it come at Whaddon, croſſeth two other in one chanell, wherof one riſeth about Brumham houſe, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and frõ thence runneth to Potterne wood, Crekewood, Worton, Maſton, Bucklington, and ioyning with the other aboue Lytleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforeſayd into the maine ſtreame, wherof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and ſouth weſt of that towne meeteth with the Were that cõmeth from Upton by Dilton, Brooke parke (there croſſing a ril from Weſtbiry vnder yͤ plane) then to north Bradley, Trubridge, and ſo into Auon that goeth from thence to Bradford, and within a myle or there about, before it come at Freſhford, it meteth with yͤ Frome, whoſe deſcription doth inſue.

The Frome ryſeth in the eaſt part of Mẽdip hils, and from thence rũneth by Aſtwike, yͤ Cole pits, Lye vnder Mendippe, Whateley, Elmeſbridge, and ſoone after taketh in the Nonney water, comming from Nonney caſtle, thẽce to Walles & Orcharley bridge, where it receiueth a prety brooke deſcending from Frome Selwoode weſt of Brackley, increaſed with ſundry rils, wherof two come out of Selwood foreſt (and one of them from the Fratry) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningſham, and the fourth from Coſley. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farley caſtle, Borde and Freſh foord, and taking in the Silling brooke falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and eaſt of Freſhford. From thence goyng beneath Stoke, it receyueth on the left hande a water commyng from ſouthweſt, increaſed by ſundry brookes, whereof one commeth frõ Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Eſton, Midſommer Norton, by Welſton, Rodſtocke, Wrigleton, Foſcot, and Wellow (and there takyng in a rill from Phillips Norton, it goeth) by Clauerton to Hampton, & there it meeteth wyth another water commyng from Barthforde, whoſe hed is at Littleton, from whence it rũneth by weſt Kineton to Caſtle comb (where it ioyneth with a rill riſing by north from Litleton drue) and thence commeth ſouth to

Slaughtenford, Haſelbury, Box, Baithford, and ſo into the Auon, which turnyng playne weſt haſteth to Baithwyke, and (méeting wͭ another in his paſſage from Coldaſton) to Bathe the Ciuertons and Coſton. Here alſo it taketh in a rill by the way from Markeſbiry by Wilmerton and Newton, and then goyng on to Sawford, it méeteth with one rill ſone after weſt of Northſtocke, called Swinford, and another by Bittō, from Durhain by Wike, and ſo procéedeth ſtil holding on his way to Cainſham, where it croſſeth the Chute, which iſſueth at Winford, and goeth by biſhops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue commyng from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, and ſo into Auon. The Auon likewyſe after all theſe confluences goeth to Briſelton, and ſo to Briſtow, beneath which it receyueth a rill on eche ſide, (whereof one commeth from aboute Stoke lodge in Glouceſter ſhire, beyng a faire water and running by Acton, Framptō, Hambroch, Stapleton, and thorow Briſtow, the other by ſouth from Dundrey hill & towne, by Biſport and Bedminſter) and ſo diſcending yet lower, goeth to Rawnehain paſſage & Clyfton, then by S. Vincentes rocke and Lale, next of all to Crocampill, and finally into the ſea, whether all waters by nature do reſort.

Beſide this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderley brok, which in ſome auncient recordes is alſo called Auon, and runneth by Barkeley. In like maner he talketh of Dowreſley becke, whoſe principal hed is in Dowreſley towne, howbeit he ſaith no thing of it more, then that it ſerueth ſundry tucking lacking milles, & goeth by Cortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauern. Finally, making mention of an excellent quarrey of hard ſtone about Doureſley, he telleth of the Cortworth becke that runneth within a flight ſhot of Barkeley towne, and falleth on the left hande into Sauerne marches, taking withall the Alderley or Auon, except I miſtake his meanyng, which may ſone be done among his confuſed notes.

Of the Sauerne, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame, as alſo of other, whereby the reſt afore mencioned, are increaſed before we come to the Humber.

Chap. 2.

The Sauerne ſpringeth from the hyghe mountaines of ſouthwales, as I haue before remembred, and runnyng frō thence, the firſt water that it receiueth of any name, is called Dulas, which commeth therinto on the ſouth ſide, & ſouth weſt of Lan Idlos. It riſeth as it ſhould ſéeme of diuers heds in the edge of Radnorſhire, and taking in ſundry ſmall rils, it méeteth at the laſt with yͤ Brueham broke, and ſo they go togither till they fal into the Sauerne. Beneth lan Idlos likewiſe it taketh in the Clewdoghe from north weſt, produced by the influence of foure prety brokes, wherof one is called Bacho, another Dungum (commyng out of lin Glaſlin) the third Lhoid riſing in lin Begilin, & the moſt ſoutherly Bigga. After which confluēce our Sauerne procéedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landyman, taking in by the way on the eaſt ſide the Couine, thence to Cairſuſe caſtle, where it méeteth with the Carnon and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforeſaid fortreſſe. After this it croſſeth the Hawes, on the north halfe beneth Aberhawes, next of all the Duleſſe, that riſeth in the edge of Radnorſhire, and meteth with it before it come at Newton, otherwiſe called Trenewith, as I finde in Brittiſhe language. Being paſt Newton, it runneth forth by Landilouarne, and ſo forth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whoſe hed is in yͤ edge of Radnor alſo, and therto his paſſage by Kery and Lanmereywig. After this alſo it procéedeth further till it méete with the Kenlet or the Camalet (which taketh in alſo yͤ Tate or Cadbrokewater, ryſing out of the hilles a myle from Biſhops towne) the whole courſe therof beyng about ſeuen miles from the hed as I haue often heard. Of this alſo I find two deſcriptions, wherof one I borrow out of Leland, who ſaith that it is a prety broke runnyng in the vale by Mountgomery, and commyng within halfe a myle of the place where Chirbiry priory ſtood, it falleth into yͤ ſauern, about a mile from thence. Of the rils ſaith he that run from the hils thorow Mountgomery, which are a myle from the Sauern ſhore, & likewiſe of the Lan Idlos broke that meteth withall within foure miles of the hed, I ſpeake not but thinke it ſufficient to touche thoſe of ſome eſtimation, onely leauing yͤ reſt to ſuch as may hereafter deale with thinges more particularly, as time and trauaile may reueale the truth vnto them, and hitherto Lelande whoſe wordes I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddom, Bried, Church-Stocke, Chirbiry, Walcote and Winſbiry, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton and Landbrouy toward Meluerley, & there it méeteth with ſundry waters in one chanell, wherof the one called the Tanet, is a very prety water (wherinto the Peuerey

Brueham.
Clewdogh
Bacho.
Dungum.
Lhoid.
Bigga.
Couine.
Carnon.
Taran.
Hawes.
Duleſſe.2.
Mule.
Kenlet.
Camalet.
Tate.
Laindlos.
Tanet.

Peuery or Murnewy
Auerney.

uerey or Murnewy doth fall, which deſcẽdeth from the hils by weſt of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Fillin) the other Auerny, and ioyning beneath Abertannoth or aboue Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long ere they meete with the Mordant brooke, and there looſe their names ſo ſoone as they ioyne and mixe their waters with it. The hed of ẏ Mordant iſſueth out of Lanuerdan hils, where diuers ſay that the paroche church of croſſe Oſwald or Oſweſter ſometimes ſtood. Certes, Oſweſter is 13. miles northweſt frõ Shrewſbury, and conteyneth a myle within the walles. It hath in like ſort foure ſuburbs or great ſtreetes, of whiche one is called Stratlan, another Wullibo, the third Beterich (wherin are 140. barnes ſtandyng on a row belonging to the cittizens or burgeſſes) and the fourth named the black gate ſtreete, in which are 30. barnes mainteyned for corn and hay. There is alſo a brooke running thorough the towne by the croſſe, comming frõ Simons well, a bowe ſhot without the wall, and goyng vnder ẏ ſame betwene Thorowgate and Newgate, it runneth alſo vnder the blacke gate. There is an other in lyke ſort ouer whoſe courſe the Baderikes or Beterich gate ſtandeth, and therfore called Bederich brooke. The third paſſeth by the Willigate or Newgate, and theſe fall altogether with the croſſe brooke, a myle lower by ſouth into the Mordant that runneth (as I ſayd) by Oſweſter. From hence alſo it goeth to Mordant towne, and betweene Landbreuy & Meluerley doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall ſtreame goeth to Sheauerdon caſtle, Mountford, and Bicton chappell, and here it receiueth a water on the left hande, that riſeth of two heds, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Elliſmere, and ioynyng betweene Woodhouſes and Bagley, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Haltõ, Teddeſmer, Roiton, Baſchurch, Walford, Grafton, Mitton, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leyton, Barwijc, Upper Roſſall, Shelton, and ſo to Shrewſbury, where it croſſeth the Mele water, whoſe head as I heare, is ſayd to bee in Weſton.

Mordaunt

Simons
becke.

Bederiche.

Mele.

Haberley.

The Mele therfore riſing at Weſton, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aſton Pigot, Weſtley, Aſterley, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberley water, that cõmeth downe by Ponteſford and Aunſton. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Newenham, and Crokemele (there taking in a ril on ẏ other ſide that deſcendeth by Weſbury & Stretton) & thence goyng on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulley, Bracemele and Shrewſbury, it falleth as I ſayd, into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne haſteth to Uffington, Preſton, and betweene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire ſtream and worthy to be well handled if it lay in me to performe it. This riuer riſeth in a Mere beſide Welbridge park, neere vnto Tern Mere village in Staffordſhire. Frõ whence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales croſſeth with a water commyng from aboute Adbaſton, (where M. Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: ſo that the Terne on the one ſide, and this brooke on the other, do incloſe a great part of Blore heth, where a noble battaile was ſoetime purpoſed betweene king Henry the vj. and ẏ Duke of Yorke, but it wanted execution. But to proceede after this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge, & ere long takyng in a ril from Sandford by Blechley, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croſſeth with a brooke that ryſeth about Brinton, and goyng by Higham, Morton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilſon, Pickſtocke, Keinton, Tibberton and Bolas, it ioyneth with the ſaid Terne not far from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it meteth with another brooke, that commeth from Chaltwen Aſton, by Newport, Longford, Aldney, and ſo thorow the Wilde moore to Kineſley and Sleepe, and finally into the Terne, which haſteth from thence to Eſton bridge, and nere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cumber meere lake, and commyng to Meuerley croſſeth a rill from Colemere by Leniall. Thence it goeth to Horton, and (ioyning with another rill beneth Noonelay that commeth from Midle) runneth on to Wem, Aſton (there croſſing a rill beneth Lacon hall from Preeſward) and ſo to Lee, Weſford, Stanton, Morton, Shabree, Paynton, Rode, Rodington, and then into Terne that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Newton, Barwyc, Accham, & ſo into ẏ Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewſbery as I weene. Thus haue I deſcribed the Terne in ſuche wyſe as my ſimple ſkill is able to performe. Now it reſteth that I proceede on as I may, with the Sauerne ſtreame with which after this former confluence it goth vnto Rorater, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton (where it ioyneth with the Euerne that riſeth from Frodeſleyward, by Withial Pitchford) Creſſedge, Garneſton, Leighton, and betweene the two Bildaſſes croſſeth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and ſo goeth on to Browſley and Hord parke, where it uniteth it ſelfe with another broke to be deſcribed in this place whileſt the Sauerne reſt, and recreate it ſelfe here among the pleaſaunt bottomes.

This water ryſeth aboue Longcaſtle, and ere it haue run any great diſtaunce from the hed, it meeteth with a rill commyng by Shiriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Royton, & there croſſing another from Woodhouſes, cōmyng by Haughton and Euelin, it proceedeth to Beckebiry and Higford, and not omitting here to croſſe yͤ Worſe that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole, it paſſeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Ringleford, and ſo into Sauerne, ſomewhat aboue Bridgenorth except myne information deceiue me. From Bridgenorth our Sauerne deſcendeth to Woodbury, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbroke beneath Eaton (that riſeth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Moruil and Undertō) it runneth by Didmanſton, Hempton, Aueley, and beneath in the way to Bargate, croſſeth with a broke commyng from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingſley, and Highley, which beyng admitted, it holdeth on to Areley, Cyarnewood parke, Hawbache, and Dowleſſe. Here alſo it meeteth with the Dowleſſe water, a pretye broke iſſuyng out of Cle hils in Shropſhire, which are 3. myles from Ludlow, and running thorow Clebiry park in Wire forreſt, and takyng with all the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not very far from Bewdley. But to proceede. From Bewdley our Sauerne haſteth directly to Ribford, Areley and Redſton, and here it meeteth with a water called Stoure, deſcending from Eley, or out of the pondes of Hales owen in Worceſter ſhire, where it receyueth one rill from yͤ left hand, and an other from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water ere long running from Sturton caſtle) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Ouerley and Kydorminſter, aboue which it croſſeth one brokelet that commeth thyther by churche hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lyeth an odde peece of Staffordſhire included, and alſo the Cle hill. From hence the aforeſayde Sauerne haſteth by Redſton to Shrawley, and aboue this towne receyueth the Aſteley water, as beneath the ſame it doth an other. From Witley thē it goeth on to Holt caſtle, and ſo to Grimley, taking in therabout with the Dour, and Sulway waters, whereof this riſeth at Chadſwyc, and runneth by Stoke priory, & Droitwiche, the other aboue Chaddeſley, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worceſter, in olde tyme called Cair Brangon, or Cair Frangon, where it meeteth with the Tiber, or Tibertō water on the right hand aboue that city, and beneath it neere vnto Polwyc with yͤ Temde, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe before I proceede or goe any further wyth the Sauerne.

Tiber.

The Temde or as ſome name it yͤ Tame, riſeth vp in Radnorſhire out of the Melēnith hils, and ſoone after hys iſſue, meeting with a water from Withal, it runneth to Begeldy, Lanuerwaterden, and ſo to Knighton, which is v. or vj. miles as I heare from hys originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standiſh, and croſſyng a rill that commeth from betwene the parkes, named Clude (and is a bound of Radnorſhire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuardē, where it meeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun both in one chanell, of which I find theſe deſcriptions here followyng worde for worde in Lelande. The Bardwell or Barfield riſeth aboue new chappel, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditche of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun iſſueth out of the ground betweene Lhan Uehan and Maiſton, and going on by Bucton, Cluncaſtle, Clundon, Purſlaw, and Clunbiry, it croſſeth with a broke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence goyng forth by Clunbury, Brome, Abcot and Marlow, it meeteth with the Bardwell, and ſo into the Temde, not very farre from Temderton. I ſuppoſe that Lelād calleth the Bardewell by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it becauſe I am not ſure of it. After theſe confluences therfore our Temde, goeth by Trippleton, Downton, Burrington, and Bromefield, where it meeteth with the Oney, which is an indifferent ſtreame, and increaſed with ſundry waters, wherof I ſay as followeth. The firſt of all is called the Bow. It riſeth as I learne in the hilles betweene Hiſſington and Shelue, and from thence cōmeth down by Lindley and Hardwyc, where it croſſeth the Warren that iſſueth out of the ground about Rotly chappell, and runneth by Adſton and Wentnor. After the confluence alſo goyng on by Choulton and Cheynies, it taketh in the Queney and Strabroke both in one chanell, wherof the firſt riſeth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons till it paſſe by Fellanton. The ſeconde mounteth about Longuill, & goeth by Ruſhebury, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaſter, from whence it is not long ere it fal into the Queny, and ſo by Stratford into the Oney, which hath borne that name ſithens the confluence of the Bow and Warrē at Hardwyc, wher-

Temde.

Clude.

Berfielde.

Clun.

Owke.

Oney.

Bow.

Warren.

Queney & Strabrok.

Somergil.

Corue.

Ladwiche.

Rhe.

Lang-herne.

of I ſpake before. Finally, the Oney which ſome call the Somergill beyng thus increaſed, it runneth on to Hawford chappel, Newtō, Oneybury, Bromfield, & ſo into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde beyng thus brought to Ludlow, meeteth with yͤ Corue which commeth thorowe Cornedale frō aboue Brocton by Morehouſes, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath takyng in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brancoſt caſtle, goeth on to Corſham caſtle, and there croſſing another from ſ. Margarets Clee, it hyeth to Stanton Lacy, and ſo likewyſe to Ludlow. From Ludlow in lyke ſort it goeth to Ludford, the Aſhefordes, little Hereford, Burrington and at Burfford vniteth it ſelfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneth Milburne ſtoke, from betweene Browne, Cleehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middelton, Henley, Ladwich, Conam, and ſo into Temde, which beneth Temdbury receyueth another rill on the other ſide, and the ſecond on yͤ left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hounde, Nene, Clebiry, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temd goeth by Aſthā, Lingridge, Shelley Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and croſſing a water that commeth from yͤ Sapies) to Knightwyc and Bradwaies. Here about againe it intertaineth a rill that deſcendeth from aboute Kidbury on the right hand, and goeth by Collomathern, Credeley, Aufrike, and ſo into Temd, and then proceedyng forwarde the ſaid ſtreame, renneth to Braunforde, & ere long (taking in the Langherne that ryſeth about Martley, and paſſeth by Kengewyc) it goeth to Powyc, and ſo into the Sauerne before it come at Wickeceſter. Thus haue I brought all ſuch ſtreames before me that fall into the Sauerne, from the hed, vntill I come to Powyc, whereof as you may eaſily perceiue the Temde, is the moſt excellent. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the reſt of the diſcourſe intended concernyng this our riuer. Certes, frō Powyc mils which are about halfe a myle beneath Worceſter, yͤ Sauerne runneth on to Kempſey and Cleueld, whence after it hath croſſed a brooke commyng from Cowley, it haſteth firſt to Stoke, and ſo to Vpton, but ere it come there, it drowneth another fall deſcendyng from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore parke, and ſoone after the third growyng by two braunches, whereof one commeth alſo from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendock and Longdon. After theſe confluences in lyke ſort, it runneth to Buſhelley, & Tewkeſbiry, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be deſcribed, before I proceed any further in my diſcourſe of Sauerne.

The Auon riſeth at Nauesby in the borders of Northhampton ſhire, a little ſide hād of Gilleſborow, and foote of the hils whereon Nauebey ſtandeth, and euē out of the church yard of the ſayde village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Staunforde, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugby, by north whereof it croſſeth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kymcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colſford. From thence alſo it goeth to Newbold, Wolſton, Kuington, & betwene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sowe is a prety water cōming from aboue Calendon to Whitley, & ſoone after meeting with a riueret from Couentry, which ſome doe call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton where it taketh in a rill called Kynel, as I haue red from Kenellworth, frō whence it runneth to Stonley, and ſo into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon procedeth on to Stonley Abbey, Aſhehow, Miluerton, Edmonds cote, and a pace to Warwijc. But ere it come there, it meeteth from ſouth eaſt with two waters in one chanell, whereof the leaſt commeth to Marton from biſhops Itchington, by Herburbiry and Thorpe, where it croſſeth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that deſcendeth from about Helladon, or neere vnto Catesby in Northampton ſhire, and goyng by Duecote, Braunſton, Lemington and Merton, it ioyneth with the other, and then go from thence together vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and ſo into the Auon as I gaue notice before. At Warwycke alſo the Auon taketh in a water runnyng northweſt from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there croſſing another from Shirburne, it paſſeth forth to biſhops Hampton, meting finally with the third, frō Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlcote. After this laſt reherſed confluence, it haſteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and thē to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riſeth aboue Cherington, and whoſe courſe from thence is ſuch, as that beyng once paſt the head, it goeth by Weſton, and ere long croſſing a water from Campden, hangyng Aſton, and Todnam, it runneth to Barcheſton, Aldermaſton, Clifford, and ſo into the Auon. From hence then the ſayd Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and beyng parted from the ſaid towne, ere it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arrow or Aur, which riſing in the blacke hils in Worceſter ſhire, commeth by Alchurche, Beley parke, Ypſley, Studley, & thẽ taking in another ril called Alne, out of Fecknam foreſt, & going by Cowghtõ park, it haſteth to Alceſter, Arrow, Ragley, Wheteley, Bouington, Stãdford, & ſo into Auõ, which after this cõiunctiõ goeth to Wffentõ, & thẽ to Eueſholm: But ere it come there it receyueth two waters in one Chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth about Willerſey, yͤ other néere to Buckland, and ioyning beneath Badſey, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor brooke before it come to Eueſholme. Beyng paſt Eueſholme it croſſeth yͤ Wincell, which ryſing out of the hilles ſomewhere about Sudley, runneth two myles farther to Winchelcome, and Gretton, and taking in a ryll by the waye from Hayles, procéedeth on (going within one quarter of a myle of Hayles Abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receyuing there the laſt on the ryght hande alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, whẽ it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hamptõ, or as ſome do write it Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charlton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbury wike, & almoſt at Perſore bridge, méeteth with a braunched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one heade is at Alberton, an other at Pidle. Frõ Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſoone after carrying a brooke withall diſcending from Fakenham, by Bradley, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowley, Churchehill, Pibletõ, Beſſeforde and Deſſeforde, it fléeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Mitton, & Tewkeſbiry, where it ioyneth with the Sauerne.

ne.
udor.
ncẽlus.
idle.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtande that from Tewkeſbiry it goeth to Derehirſt, thẽ how paſſage, and ſoone after receyuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, & Nortõ, it runneth to Aſhelworth, Sainthirſt, & here it parteth it ſelf till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelf againe. But in the meane time yͤ eaſterly brãuch receyueth a forked chanell, whereof one heade is not farre from Leke hãpton, the other about Witcõb, frõ whẽce it goeth to Brockworth. The other braunche or arme, taketh in the Leaden that cõmeth down by Preſtõ, Dimmock, Pantley vper Leadon, Leadon court and there taking in one rill, that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it frõ Tainton by Rudforde, it falleth into the ſayde braunche on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter. The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it méeteth wyth a little ryll on the ryght hande, and thence holdyng on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth Longney to Framilode, it receyueth ere it come at this latter the Strowd brooke, which riſing not farre from Syde, goeth by Maſſade, Edgeworth Frampton Strowde, and receyuing there a water that commeth from Panneſwijc Lodge, by Piteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſequteth hys voyage to Stone houſe, Eſlington, whyte Myſen, and ſo toward Framilode where the ſayde Strowde doth fall into the Sauerne. After the fall of Strowde, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and ſoone after receyuing a water on eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Wley by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackney and Catcombe, it goeth forth tyll it méete with another water, on eche ſyde, whereof that on thengliſhe halfe is forked, ſo that one heade thereof is to be founde about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthy, they runne by Stone and Barkeley Caſtell, and ſo into the Sauerne. That on yͤ welch halfe is named Newarne, which commeth from the foreſt of Deane, and ſo into the Sauerne.

hilus.
den.
Strowd.
Newarne.

The next ryuer that falleth into the ſayde ſtreame is the Wie, or Guy, whoſe deſcription I haue not ſo exactly as I would wiſh, & therfore I muſt be contented to ſet it down as I may, the like alſo muſt I doe wᵗ the reſt of thoſe of wales, becauſe mine information faileth me, without all hope of redreſſe.

Wy or Guy.

The Guy therefore ryſeth out of yͤ blacke mountaines of wales, in Radnor ſhire & cõming by Lhãgerik, & Riadargoy it receiueth one ryll from northeaſt by ſ. Harmon, & another from the weſt called Darnoll. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthel, and in the way betwixte Riadar and Lanuthell, it ioyneth wyth the Elland (whoſe heade is néere to Comeryſtwith) & taketh likewiſe into him the Clardwen that deuideth for a ſeaſon Radnor ſhire from Brecknoch. From Lhanuthel it goeth weſt of Diſſart, where it receyueth yͤ Ithan, a riuer riſing aboue Lhantbiſter, and from whence it runneth to Landwy, and Lanbaderne bawr. Beneath this alſo it croſſeth a water on eche ſide, whereof that on the ryght hand conſiſteth of the Duleſſe, and the Cluedoch, after their confluence, other the hight Lomaron whoſe heade is aboue Lanthangle. After theſe confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in ſtraunge maner, till it come to Diſſart, (taking in the Hawy on the left ſide ere it come there) and then into yͤ Wy, which

Darnol.
Elland.
Clardwẽ.
Ithan.
Dulesse.
Cluedoch.
Lomaron.
Hawy.

Yrwon.
Weuery.
Duleſſe.
Comarch.
Duleſſe.
Dehon.
Edwy.
Machawy.
Leuenni.

directeth his courſe to Bealt, aliâs Lhanuear where it receyueth the Yrwon, a notable ſtreame, and inlarged by ſondry faire waters, as the Weuerey, the Dulas, and the Comarch on the one ſide, and likewiſe an other Dvleſſe, beſide ſondry ſmall rils on the other. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth where it croſſeth the Dehon on the one ſide, then to Aberedwy, and there receyueth the Edwy on the other, and after that the Machawey that runneth by Caſtle pain, and ſo going on méeteth in proceſſe of tyme with the Leuēni, wherof Leland in his commentaryes, doth write as here inſueth.

Euer.
Euery.
Brennich.
Trufrin.
Duleſſe.
Lug.
wadel.

The Leuenni, otherwiſe called the Euer or Euery, is a faire ſtreame riſing in Welche Talgarth hard by Blain Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknock Mere, which is two miles long, and a myle brode, and where mē fiſh in Vniligneis or botes of one péece, as they doe in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure myles from Brechnoch. Finally bringing great ſtore of Red ſande withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall iſſue at Mennith gader, and is encreaſed with the Truffrin) it falleth into yͤ Wie aboue Gleſſebyry thrée miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelye fall of this broke is named Aberleuenni. Being come to Haie (a pretye towne where much Romaine coine is found, which the people call Iewes money) it méeteth with the Duleſſe that cōmeth alſo from the Atterell by Kerſop, and from thence goeth to Clifford caſtel, the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Brobery, Monington, Byforde, Bridgeſalers, Eaton, Brynton and Herefords, where it méeteth with a water ryſing ſhorte of Wormeſley, and goeth by Maunſell, Lacy, Brinſop, Credmill, Stretton and Huntington, and ſone after into the Wye, beſide a little ryll that runneth betwene them both euen into Herefords towne. From hence in lyke ſorte the Wye haſteth to Rotheras church, Hamptō, and Mordeford, where it taketh in ſundrye waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luy is the principall, and next of all to be deſcribed before I go any furder with yͤ courſe of the Wye, whereinto it diſchargeth the chanell. It ryſeth as I reade, harde by Melenith neare to a chappell of our Ladye of Pylale, from whence it goeth to Kineton, Titley, Stanbach, Staunton, Pembridge, Areſlande, Storbach, Euington, Bryarley, beneath which it croſſeth the Wadele, comming from new Radnor, Harton, olde Radnor, Naſh, and hereabout méeting with an other running by Weſton hall, to Monacht, Fulbroke, Preſton (a market towne) and ſo to Byton, where ioyning with yͤ Wadel, they run on as one to ouer Lée, Aiminſter, Kingeſlande, Eiton, and Leon Minſter (or Lemiſter) taking in the Oney by the waye, before we come at the towne. At Lemiſter it ſelfe in like ſort thrée waters doe méete, and almoſt enuironne the towne, that is to ſay, the Lug, the Pinfulley or Pinſell (a ryueret ryſing at Kingeſlande two myles from Lemiſter) and the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mountaines. From Lemiſter the Lug or Luy goeth on to Eton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, whereof one heade is betwéene Hatfield and Buckleton, an other neare vnto Marſton, & méeting both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwyc, Lugwardine, & Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromey or frome a pretie water, and worthy to be remembred. It ryſeth aboue Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe to Bromeyarde, Auenbury, Frome caſtell, Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water (called Acton, or Loden as I take it) comming from aboue Byſhoppes Grendon, by Pencomb, Cowarne, Stoke Lacy, Cowarne, and Engleton, it (I meane Frome) goeth on to Parkeley, Dormington, and Longwarde, and ſo into the Lug, which runneth furthwith to Mordford or Morthford, & ſo into the Wye, vnto whoſe deſcription I nowe returne agayne. Being come therefore vnto Mordforde, it goeth to Hamlacy, Ballinghā, Capull regis (where it receyueth a water called Treſke, from Berche by Treſke) Fawley, Brokanton, Howe capull, Inkeſton, Foy, Brampton, Briſtowe, Wilton Caſtell, the Roſſe (and there a rill from Biſhoppes Opton by Budhall,) Wereferde, Ham, Glewſton, Godderiche, (here in lyke ſort méeting with another that commeth from Ecleſwall, by Peniard Caſtell and Coughton) to Welche Bicknor, Engliſhe Bicknor, Hunteſham & Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gaynar water that cōmeth from Birche, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſing the Garran broke, that ryſeth in Gregwood ſixe myles from Monemouth by Norweſt, theſe two doe runne as one, to Marſton, Whitchurch and ſo into the Wye, which goeth from thence to Dirton and Monemouth, where I will ſtay a whyle till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

The Mona ryſeth in the foreſt of Hene, twentie myles from Monemouth by weſt in Ciriſlande, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall,

wall, after it hath runne a good diſtaunce frō the head, it receyueth the Elkon on the one ſide, and the Eſkill or Heſgill on the other: but firſt of all this laſt remembred that commeth thither by Lanihengle, Eſkill and the olde Court. As for the other it commeth frō aboue Knedoch by Landuehans churche, and this is all that I can ſay of theſe two. After theſe confluences therfore, the Mona goeth to Cluedoch, & taking in the Hodny that rūneth by fine Capell, Lantony abbay, Stāton, Michaell churche, it haſteth on to Walderſton, Landſilio, and then ioyneth wyth the Dour, that ryſeth a little aboue Dourſton, which is ſixe miles aboue Dour abbay, ſo that it runneth thorow the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurche, Northampton, Newcourt, Dour, and beneath Dour taketh in the Duleſſe, from Lanueſhengle, by Harleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and eare long the Wormeſbecke from aboue Keuernal by Didley, Deuerox, Workebridge and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech churche, Griſmonde, Cardway, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire and ſo to Monemouth, where it meeteth wyth the Wye.

The Guy or Wye therfore being increaſed with thus many brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with ẏ Trolly becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferry and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanihangell, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Wonaſtow, Troy and ſo into Wye, that runneth alſo by Wies wood chaſe, taking in there the Elwy that cōmeth from aboue Landelwy by Langowen, Lanniſſen, Penclaſe, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforeſayde ſtreame, the Wye directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbay, Chepſtowe and ſo into the ſea, leauing the Treacle (a Chappell ſtanding on a rocke) on the left hande betweene it and Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lyeth ſouth of Betteſly. Next vnto the Wye, I finde a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Thence paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogy, which ryſeh ſhort of Trogy caſtell, & runneth towarde the ſea, by Landnair, Dewſton, Calycot and ſo into the Ocean.

The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by Sainct Brides, north and by weſt of Denny Iſlande, which lieth midway betwene that Fall & Porſhot point, and before I touche at Goldcleffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſhe brooke, whoſe heade is aboue Landueigo, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, & thorowe the more to Witſton.

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The Vſke or Wiſke, in latin Oſca riſeth in ſuch ſort as I haue already deſcribed, & running in proceſſe of tyme, by Trecaſtell, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hande before it come to Ridburne chappell. Going alſo frō thence toward Dennock, it croſſeth the Senney on the ſame ſide, (which riſeth aboue capel Senney) next of all the Camblas, and at Abbraine the Brane, or the Bremich whoſe head is three miles from Brecknock, and running by Lanihengle, it meeteth I ſay with the Vſke, about Mayſter Awbries Maner. Beneath Aber Yſker, it receyueth the Yſker, which riſeth aboue Martir Kinoch and commeth by Battell chappell, and goyng from thence by Lanſpythed, and Newton, it runneth in the ende to Brecknocke, where it taketh in the Hodney on the one ſide, whoſe head is in Blaine Hodney, and commyng downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanihāgle, & Landiulog it meeteth with the Vſke at Breknocke townes ende, which of the fall of this water, was ſometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewiſe it receyueth ẏ Tertarith that ryſeth among the Bane hylles, fyue myles from Brecknoch and commeth likewiſe into the very ſubburbes of ẏ towne beneath Trenewith, or newe Troy wherby it taketh the courſe.

Vſke.
Craie.
Senny.
Camblas.
Brane.
Yſker.
Hodney.
Tertarith.

After theſe confluēces, the Vſke proceedeth on towarde Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whoſe heade is in the rootes of Menuchdenny hil, and paſſage by Cantreſſe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethley caſtell, Lanſanfreid Landetty, Langonider, & ſoone after receyuing the Riangall (which riſeth about the hill whereon Dynas Caſtell ſtandeth, and runneth by Lanyhangle and Tretoure) it paſſeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerigkhowell, to Langroyny, and there croſſeth the Groyny brooke, that diſcendeth from Monegather Arthur hill, by Peter Church, as I finde. When the Vſke is paſt this brooke, it taketh in three other ſhort rils, from by ſeuth with in a little diſtance, whereof the firſt hight Cledoch Vaur, the ſeconde Fydan, & the thirde Cledochvehan. Of theſe alſo the laſt falleth in neere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vſke runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Geuenni water from by north (that riſeth ſhort of Bettus Chappell) & ſo goeth on to Hardwike, beneath which it croſſeth three nameles

Kynuricke
Riangall.
Groyni.
Cledoch-vaur.
Fidan.
Cledoch-vehan.
Geuenni.

Geuenni.

Birthin.

Cairuſke ſtandeth on one ſide of Uſe, and Carliõ on the other, but Cair vſke by diuers miles farder into the land.

rilles on the right hande before it come at Lanihangle vpon Uſke, of whoſe courſes I know not any more then that they are not of any length nor the chanel of ſufficient greatnes ſeuerally to entreate of. Betweene Kemmeys and Troſtrey it meeteth with ſuch an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Cair-Uſke or Brenbigei, but eare it come there, it receyueth the Birthin on the right hande, which is a pretie water deſcending from two heades, whereof the firſt is north weſt of Manyhylot, as the other is of Lanyhangle & Pentmorell. Next vnto this it ioyneth with the Elwy aboue Lanbadocke, whoſe heade is Eaſt of Penciaſe, and running weſtwardes by Penciaſe, Lanniſſen, Langowen (and beneath Landewy taking in a broket from Ragland caſtell, that commeth downe thither by Raglande parke) it bendeth ſouthweſt vntill it come at the Uſke, which crinckling toward the South meeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthey chappell, wherof the firſt lyeth on the right hande, and the other on the left. Frõ Marthelly it haſteth to Kemmeys, and eare it come at Carleon, taketh in two waters on the ryght hande, of which the firſt commeth downe betweene Landgwy & Landgweth, & by Lhan Henoch, without any farder increaſe: but the other is a more beautifull ſtreame, called Auon, and thus deſcribed as I finde it among my pamphlettes.

Auon.

The Auon ryſeth in the hilles that ſeeme to part Monemouth and Breckenock ſhires in ſunder; and running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receyueth a water from by ſouth almoſt of equall courſe, & from that quarter of the countrie and in proceſſe of time, another little one frõ the ſame ſide, eare it come to Lanyhangle, from whence it goeth to Gwennocke & Penroſe, and ſo in Uſe before it go by Carleon. Being paſt Carlion it runneth to Cryndy, where M. Harbert dwelleth, and there carying another brooke withall, that deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth furth to Newport (in Welch caſtel Newith) and from thence into the ſea taking the Ebowith water withall, whoſe race I deſcribed in my firſt booke, but hauing nowe more intelligence of his courſe, I will ones againe deale with it in this manner as I reade it. The Ebowith riſeth in yͤ very edge of Monemouth ſhyre, aboue Blainegwent, and comming downe by Lanheleth and Tumberlow hyll (croſſing a ryll, from North eaſt by the way) it taketh in therabout yͤ Serowy, that runneth by Treſtrent, and is of leſſe race hitherto, then the Ebowith, and frõ that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riſley, Rocheſton caſtell, next of all thorowe a parke, and ſo to Grenefeld caſtell, and is not long ere it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I doe finde in the county, which beareth the name of Monemouth, & was in olde time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowy.

The Remeney or as ſome corruptly call it the Nonney is a goodly water, and from the head a march betweene Monemouth & Glamorgan ſhires. It receyueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuers ſmal beckes, whereof three are betweene the riſing & Brathetere chappell, the fourth commeth in by Capel Gledis, the fift from betweene the Faldray and Lanvabor, the ſixt and ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eyght ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe, from chappell Martin: after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mabley and Romeney, and ere long croſſing a becke at North eaſt, that commeth by Lanyſſen, and Rathe it falleth ſoone after into the Sauerne, Sea, but ſee more of this in my former Treatize.

The Taffe riſeth among the woddy hilles, that lye weſt, and by north of Menuchdeny hill, and going downe to Capell Nanty, it taketh in a ryllet from by weſt, & afterward another from by eaſt, comming by Morlais caſtell, called Taffe vehan (as the former is named Taffe vaur) ſo that Menuch hill doth lye betweene theſe two heades, and therto is an hill of no ſmal height and greatneſſe. Being ioyned they go on to Martyr Tiduill as one, & ſo proceede til they meete with Cunnõ, (or rather Kenon, tenne myles from Clauth conſtable, a faire Brooke running to Aberdare, and after that with the Rodney, before deſcribed) whereinto the Cledungh falleth, a myle from Ketgowghe & an halfe, on yͤ weſt ſide, after which confluence it haſteth to the ſea without any farder increaſe, by Caſtell Coche, Whitchurche, Landaffe, and Cardiffe, as I geſſe.

The Lay ryſeth in the hylles aboue Lantriſſent (for all the regyon is very hillye.) From whence comming by Lantriſſent, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder ſ. Brides, Lhannihangel, Leckwith, Lãdowgh, Cogampyll, and ſo into the ſea, without anye manner increaſe by anye rylles at all ſauing the Dunelais, which ryſeth foure myles from his fall, eaſt northeaſt, & meeteth withall a little more then a quarter of a myle from Pont Uelim Uaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoide that commeth from Glinne Rodeney, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell.

Leauing the Laie which ſome call Elaye, and paſſing the Pennarth baie, that lyeth betwéene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke pointes, we left Scilley Iſlet (which lyeth in the mouth of Scilley hauen before deſcribed) and came vnto the Barry whoſe heade is aboue wrinſton caſtell, and from whence hée runneth by Deinſpowis, Cadorton, Barry and ſo into the ſea.

Thawan is the next ſtreame (ſauing Come Kidy touched afore) nowe to be deſcribed. It ryſeth of two headlettes aboue Lanſannan, and thence goeth to Cowbridge, Lanblethian, Landoghe, Beanpére, Flymiſton, Gyſſton, and betwéene the eaſt and the weſt Aberthawan into the Sauerne Sea. But ere it come all there it receyueth a brooke called Kenlan, or Barnlan, or Kenſer, on the Eaſtſyde, whoſe heade is eaſt of Bolſton, and commyng by Charnelhoyde, Lhancaruan, and Lhancadle, it falleth into the former aboue eyther of the Thawans, Lelande ſayth, that Kenſan hath two heades whereof the more Northerly called Brane, lieth in Lueniſthan, & runneth ſeauen myles before it méete wyth the other. Leauyng this water we ſayled on, caſting about the naſhe point, omytting two or thrée waters whereof I haue made mencion in my former treatiſe by the way, becauſe I haue nothing more to adde vnto their deſcriptions, except it be that the Colhow taketh in a rill frõ Lan Iltruit, of whoſe courſe (to ſaye the truth) I haue no manner knowledge.

The Ogur or Gur, which ſome falſely call Ogmur, is a welfaire ſtreame, (as we were wont to ſaye in our olde engliſhe) whoſe head is in the ſame hilles, where the Rodeneis are to be founde, but much more weſterlye, and running a long courſe ere it come to any village, it goeth at the length beneth Languineuere, to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to newe caſtell, and Marthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wenny, halfe a mile from Ogor caſtell on the eaſt banke. It ryſeth fiue or ſixe miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at laſt by Lanharne, it croſſeth a ryll ere long from northeaſt, and the confluence paſſeth forth by Coitchurch, Ogor caſtell, and ſo into the Ogor. Lelande wryting of the waters that fall into thys Ogor ſayth thus. Into the Ogur alſo reſorteth the Garrow two myles aboue Lanſanfride bridge, deſcending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore ſayeth hée another called Leuenny ryſing in the Paroch of Glin Corug, at Northweſt, and then running two myles lower, vniteth it ſelfe with the Corug brooke, a little ſhort thing & worthie no longer ſpeach. From this confluence the Leuenni goeth ſeuen myles farder ere it méete with the Ogor on the weſt ſide, at Lanſanfride, two myles aboue Penbolt, and ſo farre Lelande. Next vnto the Ogur, is the Kenſig water, that commeth downe by the Pyle and Kenſige caſtell, and being paſt the ſame we croſſe the Margan rill, where Sir Edwarde Manſell dwelt, and ſo vnto Auon, which hauing two heades as is ſaid, the more eaſterly of them commeth downe by Hanodaport chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and ſo into the ſea. From hence we went along by the Cole pittes to the mouth of the Neth.

Kenſig.

Margan.

Auon.

Neth.

The Neth is a faire water, ryſing of fiue heades, whereof the more eaſterlye named Nethvehan riſeth not farre from the head of the Kemnon, and comming downe to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethvaur, a litle aboue the towne, which riſing not farre ſoutheaſt of the head of Tauy, receiueth ẏ Trangarth, the Meltay and the Hepſay (all which are accompted, as members of his heade) in one chanell about a myle or more before it ioyne with Nethvehan. After thoſe confluences, the maine ſtreame runneth in and out by ſundry myles till it mette with the Duleſſe, whoſe head is aboue Chappel Krenaunt. Thence it goeth to Cador towne, or betwéene it and Lamultyde, then to Nethtowne, and beneath the ſame receiuing the Cledoch, that rũneth by Kelebebilch, and alſo Neth abbay where M. Crumwell dwelleth, it goeth on by Coitfranke forreſt, Nethwood, Bryton ferry and ſo into the ſea.

Nethuchã.

Neth Uaur.

Traugarth.

Meltay.

Hepſay.

Duleſſe.

Cledoch.

The Tauy (for I paſſe ouer the Crimline becke, becauſe I want his deſcription) riſeth in the thickeſt of the blacke mountaines, and comming downe weſt of Calwen chappell, it receyueth on the eaſt banke a ryll, named Coiell, that runneth thither by Coiteburne chappell, and beyng thus vnited the chanell paſſeth forth by Iſtragunles, and then méeting with the Turche, or Torche water that commeth from the foote of the blacke mountaine, it runneth to Langoge, Lanſamlet, S. Iohns, Swanſey, and ſo into the Baie. Being paſt this we come by another litle fal, whoſe water runneth thrée or foure myles, ere it come into Swanſey Baie, but without name. Thence going about by Oyſtermout caſtell & Mumbles point, we go forth toward the ſouthweſt, by Pennarth point, tyll wée come to Illſton water, whoſe head is not far within the lande, and yet a rill or two doth fall into the ſame. Then caſtyng about by Orwiche point, wée go enwarde there by and ſayling flat north by the Holme, and S.

Tauy.

Coilus.

Torche.

Illſton.

Ken-

Lochar.
Amone.
Comwilly.
Morlais.
Lhu.
Burray.
Lheddy.
Duleſſe.
wandres.

Bennettes chappell and then North eaſt by Whitforde point, we went at length to the Lochar, or Loghor, or as Lhoyd nameth it the Lychwr. It ryſeth aboue Gwenwy chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amone that entereth thereinto frō northeaſt. Being paſt Bettus it paſſeth by Laneddy, Arthelas bridge, and ouer againſt Landilo Talabout, it croſſeth from by weſt the Combwily and afterwarde the Morlais aboue Langnarche on the ſame ſide. Then comming to Loghor caſtell, it taketh in on the eaſt ſide, the Lhu whoſe courſe is not aboue fiue myles, and thence loſing the name of Lochar, it is called Burray as I geſſe vntill it come to the ſea. From this water we paſſed by Bachannis Iſle, to the Aberlheddy water, whoſe heade being aboue Prenacrois, it paſſeth by Lhanelthey & thence into the ſea. Then went we to the Duleſſe, thence by the Pembray and Calicoit pointes, till we came about to the Wandres or Wendraith mouth, whoſe deſcription is ſufficiently ſet downe in the former Treatize, and therfore but in vaine to be repeated here, except I might adde ſomewhat thereunto therby to make it more perfite.

Towy.
Trauſnāt
Tothe.
Peſcotter.
Brane.
Gutherijc.
Duleſſe.
Morlais.
Modwy.
Cledoch.

The Towy ryſing in ſuch ſorte and place as I haue ſayde, parteth Brecknocke from Cardigon ſhyre, for a certaine ſeaſon, till it come by the water of Trauſnant (that falleth thereinto from by eaſt,) vnto Pylin Capell, and ſo to Iſtrodeſine where it méeteth with the Tothée that commeth thether from Lhinuerwin where it ryſeth and ſo thorowe Reſcoth forreſt, till it vnite it ſelfe with the Peſcotter, which moũting out of the ground in thedge of Cardigan ſhyre, runneth along as a limite and marche vnto the ſame, till it ioyne with the Tothée, & both come togither beneath Iſtrodeſine into Towy. After this confluence it cōmeth to Lhanuair Awbrey, Lonyhowell and Landouery, and here it receyueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt is called Brane, the other Gutherijc (which lyeth more ſoutherly of the two) & fall as I ſayd into Towy beneath Landouerey, which rūneth on till it méete with the firſt Duleſſe that goeth by Lanurdy, then with the Marlais, & theſe on the Northweſt. But a litle lower it taketh in many waters in one chanell beneath Langadocke, called Modewy from by eaſt, whereof I haue thys aduertiſement. The Modewy or as ſome pronounce it Motheny, ryſeth of two heades, which ioyning aboue Lanyhangle, yͤ ſtreame runneth on till it mette with the Cledoch on the left hande, procéeding alſo farder toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawthey whoſe two heades deſcende frō the blacke mountaines or eaſt edge of Carmardineſhyre, as mine information leadeth me. After this confluence the ſeconde Duleſſe doth méete with the Towy (whoſe head is in the hilles aboue Talthogay abbay) then comming downe by Landilouaur, Dineſar caſtell, and Golden groue, it receyueth the thirde Duleſſe, from by north that commeth in by Driſlan caſtell and after that the Cothey, whoſe race is ſomewhat long and therfore his deſcription not vtterly to be paſſed ouer. Not farre from the head (whoſe place is alreadie ſet downe) and ſomewhat beneath Lanapinſent chappell, it taketh in the Turchebecke, that runneth thither from Lanacroyes. Thence it goeth to Lanſawell, Abergorlech, Breghuangothy, Lannigrod and ſo into Towy, which haſting forwarde by chappell Dewy, receyueth the Rauelthy, from by north, then the Gwily frō northweſt, whoſe head is aboue Lany Pinſent, & race by Canwell, Elwert, Comewyly, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwyly, the Towy goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanygang, then to Lanſtephan, ſ. Iſmaeles and ſo into the ſea.

Next vnto the Towy is the Taue, whoſe head is in the blacke mountaines as is aforeſayde, at the rotes of Wrenni baur hill in Pembrokeſhyre, from whence it runneth by Lanunrieach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Duddery from ſouthweſt, out of the ſame countie by Lanbederuelfray, it goeth to Egleſware chappell, beneath which it croſſeth the Marlais by North that runneth by Lanbedy & Whitlande. Thence méeting with one rill (called Wenni as I take it) that commeth thorow Cardith forreſt on the one ſide, & the Cayre on the other that runneth into it weſt of Landowror, it haſteth to S. Clares where it taketh in the Karthkynny, or Barthkinni, as Leland calleth it, & the Gow both in one chanell, of which the firſt ryſeth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilſant and Langynnyn, the other iſſueth out of the grounde aboue Trologh Bettus, by Mydrim, & ioyning with the former a little aboue ſ. Clares they runne into the Taue, and from thence to Lanyhangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finally the Gowē ſtreame, which comming likewyſe from the blacke mountaines goeth by Ebbernant, and ſo into the Taue, who directeth his courſe, by Lacharne caſtell and then into the ſea.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a ſmall thing ryſing aboue Crugwair, and going into the ſea, at Argwaire. Then paſſed we by another comming out of Rath forreſt called Coit Rathe, the water it ſelfe riſing ſhort of Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeſton rocke, we came to Tenby or Dynbechy Piſcod, and paſſing into the Port betwéene the caſtell and S. Catherines rocke, we founde it ſerued with two little backewaters, of ſo ſmal continuance, that they are not worthye of any farder talke to be ſpent in their deſcriptions. After this we paſſed betwéene Londy and an other Iſlet or rock lying by northweſt of the ſame, to Ludſop point, and ſo to Abertrewent, where I founde a ſilly freſhe water, that ryſeth a myle or thereabout within the lande. Fro thence we went ſouthwards by Brode hauen, til we came to S. Gowans point. Then gathering weſt & by North before we came at Shepe Iſlande, we founde another freſhe water, that riſeth ſhort of Ryriog Maharen, and running ſouth of Uggarſton, Windmill hill, or betwéene it and Caſtell Marton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat weſt all the way, till it come at the Oceane. The Shepe Iſle not afore deſcribed is but a little plot, lying at the very point of the Bay before we came at yͤ Blockhouſe, which ſtandeth northweſt the ſame at the very entrie into Milforde hauen vpon the eaſt ſide. By north of Shepe Iſle & betwéene it and the Stacke rocke (which lyeth in the very middeſt of the hauen) at another point is Rat Iſle, yet ſmaller than the former. Being therefore paſſed theſe, we caſt about towarde the northweſt, by the Popton and Pennar, till wée come to the Pennar mouth, out of which the ſalt water iſſueth that in maner enuironneth Pembroke. Fro this (omitting ſundry ſalt créekes on both ſides of the hauen) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanel aboue whoſe confluence, Williamſton parke ſtandeth, & whereof one (a méere ſalt courſe,) incloſeth thrée partes of Carew caſtell. The other ryſing néere unto Coit Rath forreſt is a freſhe, and going by Geffraiſton, Creſwel and Lawrenny, it leaueth the Sparck on the ſouth ſide, and goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two ſwordes afore mencioned whoſe courſes I finde deſcribed in this order. The Clethy ryſeth at the foote of Wrenny vaur hill and comming downe to Monachlogge, Langelman, Lannokeuen, and Egremond, it receyueth a rill from by northweſt before it come at Lanhaddon caſtell. Carelong alſo it taketh in another on the eaſt ſide from Narbarth caſtell, by Robeſton, they going by Cunaſton, Slebach, Picton caſtell, at Riſe caſtell poynt weſt of Coit Kaules (as I haue béene informed) it méeteth with the other ſworde, named Dugledy wherof I reade as followeth. The hed of the Dugledy, is ſomewhere at northweſt, betwéene S. Laurences and S. Dugwels; from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, and taking in a rill by the waye from Camroſe at the weſt, it goeth to Hauerford weſt, and there uniteth it ſelfe with a water, which peraduenture, is the ſame that Leland called Gwyly. Certes it riſeth about Walton, and comming by S. Leonardes chappel and Pendergaſt, it falleth, I ſay into the Dugledy, ouer againſt the towne of Hauerforde, or Harforde weſt, but in Welch Hulforde as [illegible] it is named. Beneath Harforde it taketh in another water from northweſt, whoſe head is ſhort of S. Margarettes chappell, and entrance betwéene Harraldſton, and Harforde, which Harraldſtone yet reteyneth the name of Harralde the ſucceſſour of Edwarde the Confeſſour, as ſome call him, who was a grieuous mall vnto the Britons that [illegible] in the time of the ſayde Edwarde, as I haue noted already. The Coitkil commeth into the Dugledy beneath Bolſton, with a ſtreight courſe from by North, of thrée or foure myles, after whoſe vnion with the aforeſayde water, they runne on as one till they méete with the Clethy, taking out by the waye ſundry ſalt créekes as the maine chanell doth from thenceforth vntill it paſſe the Sandy hauen, the Dale rode (where a ſilly freſh rill commeth of ſmall value) and be come about agayne into the large Oceane. Hauing thus ſhewed the courſes of thoſe fewe freſh waters that come into Milforde hauen, we caſt about by the Blockehouſe and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Iſle, that lyeth betwéene [illegible] and the Wilocke point; and directly ouer agaynſt it Stockholme Iſland, that is ſcituate farder of into the ſea [illegible] toward the ſouthweſt [illegible] full halfe as great as the [illegible]. [illegible] Midland Iſle [illegible] directly weſt, in the midland [illegible] full ſo great as the Gateholme.

The Greſholme lyeth [illegible] whence if you ſayle thitherwards on the ſouth ſide [illegible] paſſe by the newſtone [illegible] you muſt leaue the Maydenſtone on your left hande. Whereunto if you note well the ſituation of theſe Iſlandes already named, and conferre them with the Ramſey and S. Dauids land, you ſhall finde them to produce as it were two dangerous pointes, including the Wild [illegible], wherein (notwithſtanding the great-

Dugledy.

Gwyly.

Coitkil,

Gateholme Iſle.

Stocke=holme Iſle

Midlande Iſle.

Greſholme

greatneſſe) are 1000. petilles, and no freſhe Brookes for me to deale withall. Thus hauing doubled the Willocke point, we entred yet into the Baie, to ſee what Iſles were there againſt the nexte publication of thys booke, if it maye pleaſe God to graunt me lyfe to ſee it printed once againe, eyther by it ſelfe or otherwiſe.

S. Brides Iſlande.

First of all therefore I ſawe S. Brides Iſlande, a very little patche of grounde, neere the lande, before I came at Galtrop rode. From thence we went aboute by the little hauen, Dolnach Hauen, Caruay Hauen, Whitelace rocke, Carnbuddy, and Carnay Bayes, Portclais, and ſo into the ſounde betweene Ramſey and the point. In thys ſounde lykewiſe is a little Iſle, almoſt annexed to the maine, but in the middeſt thereof is a rocke called the horſe (a myle and more by north of Ribby rocke, that lyeth ſouth eaſt of Ramſey) and more infortunate then tenne of Seianes coltes, but thanked be God I neuer came on his back. Thence paſſing by S. Stephens baie, and Whiteſande baie, we ſaluted the Biſhop and his Clarkes, as they went in Proceſſion on oure left ſyde (beyng lothe to take any ſalted holy water at their handes) and came at laſt to the point called S. Dauids head. From whence we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wee came ouer againſt S. Catherins, where goyng northwardes by the brode hauen, and the Stromblos heade, we ſayled thence northeaſt, and by north, to Langlas head, then eaſt ſouth by the Cow and calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hande, and ſo coaſted ouer to Abergwin or Fiſcarde, where we founde a freſhe water named Gwin, or Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in manner directly out of the eaſt into the Weſt, vntill it come within a myle of the aforeſayde Towne. It ryſeth flat north of the perſely hill, from whence it goeth by Pont bain, Lauerellwoch, Lanchar, Landilonait, and ſo to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I doe read both. Frõ Abergwin, we caſt about by Dynas heade, till we come to the fall of Newerne, where Newport ſtandeth. The head of thys ryuer is aboue Capell Nanigwyn, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but eare it come at Kylgwin, it taketh in a little water that ryſeth ſhort of Weny vaur, & thence go forth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I dyd ſtumble on, wherein lyeth a little Iſlande ouer againſt the north point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teiſy, whereof I haue ſpoken ſomewhat in my former treatiſe; but ſith it ſuffiſeth not for the for the full knowledge of the courſe of thys ſtreame, I wyll ſupply the want euen here in ſuch order as inſueth.

A ſorte of dangerous rockes lying on a row vpon the weſt ende of ſouthwals called the biſhop and his clarkes

Gwerne.

Neuerne.

Teiſy or Tiue.

The Teiſy or Tiue ryſeth in Lintiue as is aforeſayde, and after it hath runne from thence a little ſpace, it receyueth a brooke frõ ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant and then after the confluence runneth on to Strabflour Abbaie, beneath which it meeteth with the Myricke water (that ryſeth aboue Stradmyrich) and ſoone after with the Landurch, (both from the northweſt) and finally the Bromis aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt as Leland hath ſet down. Neere to Landwybreuy alſo it croſſeth the Brennige by eaſt, & then goeth to Landuair, Cledoghe, Kellan, & ſoone after taking in the Matherne from by Eaſt that parteth Cardigan partely from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe ẏ Dulas aboue Lanbedder, (which ryſeth aboue Langybby, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northweſt, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lampbair, beneath which it croſſeth the Grauelth, thence to Pẽcarocke, Lanibether, Lanlonyn, Lanyhangle, and Landiſſel, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethor, which cõmeth down thither by Lantiſſiued chappell, Lanfraine, and finaly Landiſſell from by north as I doe heare. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Lanhuny, Alloyne, Bangor, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcaſtell, ere long taking in the Kery from by north, whoſe heade is not farre from that of Clethor, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as diſcend into the ſame. For weſt of Capel Kenõ, two becks in one chanell doe fall into it, although they be nameleſſe, and but of a lyttle length. Beneth Tredwair, alſo croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finally meeting wyth the Teiſy, they runne as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire, from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met wyth ẏ Matherne) and ſo forth on till they ioyne with the Cheach which ryſing aboue Chapple Euan, doth part Carmardine and Brecknocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teiſy. Frõ this confluence, and being ſtill a limite vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Mariſerdiue, and ſo to Cardigan, taking in one rill from by north and two on the ſouth weſt ſide, but afterwarde none at all, before it come to the ſea.

Ayron ryſyng as is aforeſayde aboue Blain Penial, runneth on by Lamberwod, by Llangytho, Tregegaron hill, Treuilian, and ſone after taking in a ryll from by ſouth it rũneth by Iſtrade, Kylkenen, Lanicharin, and finally into the Sea, croſſyng by the way the Bidder broke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the ſame, betwéene Lanychayrin, and Henvenney.

The Arth is no great thing, neyther of any any long courſe, yet it ryſeth thrée or foure myles or more within the lande ſlopewiſe, & cōming by Lambadern, & Creuceglois, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Aberarth. The Ris or rather the Werey, ryſeth of two heades, aboue whoſe cōfluence ſtandeth a town, named Lanyhangle, Redrod, & from whence it goeth by Lanygruthen to Lariſted, and ſo into the Ocean.

The Yſtwith ryſeth in the blacke mounteynes, aboue Comerſtwith from whence it runneth certeine myles, vntill it come vnto Yſpitty, Iſtwith, Lananon, Lanyler, Lan Nachairne, and ſo into the ſea taking withal the Ridall or Redhell not far from the ſhore, whereof I haue this diſcription. The Ridall ryſeth in the toppe of Plimlymmon hyll out of a lake named Lin Ridal, from whence going towarde Spitty Kinwen, it croſſeth one water on the north, and another beneath it on the ſoutheaſt, and ſo goth on by Lanbeder vaur, till it come to Aberiſtwith, the Iſtwith and ſo into the Ocean.

The Salique broke deſcendeth in like ſorte from the blackmounteines, and going Ummaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogyrthar, it receyueth the Maſſalique, and from thence goeth into the ſea.

The Lery ryſeth toward the lower ground of the blacke hylles, and going by Lanhangle caſtell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeaſt into the Ocean. Thus haue I brought me ſelfe out of Cardigon ſhire, vnto the Wy, that ſéemeth for a certeine ſpace to be marche betwéene the ſame and Merionneth, & here wᵗ alſo I ende with the deſcription of ſouthwales, and likewiſe of all that region remayning, whereof I haue no farder knowledge, more then is alreadye ſet downe in my firſt boke, ſith thoſe yͭ promiſed helpe herein haue vtterlye deceyued me. Yet thus much will I note of ſuch waters as fall into the ſayde riuer on the ſouth ſide, that aboue Mathanlaith it croſſeth the Dowlaſſe Du and Dowlaſſe Ruen both in a chanell, whoſe heades lye by weſt of yͤ Kuolwadian hill. Beneath the ſayde towne likewiſe I fynde the Leuennaunt, which hauing two heades, the more ſoutherly of them is Limes betwéene Radnor ſhire & Mōemoth. After theſe it croſſeth the Eynon, the Kinuer, and the Cledour, and thus farre for wales I ſaie againe, ſith for the reſt I yéelde vnto a non plus, vntill I come to yͤ Dée, of whoſe courſe I haue ſome informatiō, (after it hath receyued yͤ Byriog & the Morlais, both in one bottome,) on the ſouth ſide of Chirke caſtell, but not from the very head for want of information. Hauing therfore, mette with the aforeſayde water, the De procéedeth to Beſtocke, Orton Madocke, Orton bridge and Bangor, where the ſlaughter of monkes was made, or not far of from thence, and of which Monaſterie I find this note inſuing. Their abbaye of Bangor ſtode ſometime in Engliſhe Maylor, by hyther and ſouth of the riuer Dée. It is nowe ploughed ground where that houſe ſtode, by the ſpace of a Welch myle (which reacheth vnto a myle and an halfe Engliſhe) and to thys daye the tillers of the ſoyle there, doe plowe vp bones as they ſaye of thoſe monks that were ſlaine in the quarell of Auguſtine, and wythin the memorie of man, ſome of them were taken vp in their rotten wédes, which were much lyke vnto thoſe of our late monkes, as Lelād doth ſet it down, yet Eraſmus is of the opinion, that the apparel of the Benedictine monkes, was ſuch as moſt men did were at their firſt inſtitutiō. But to procéede, thys Abbaye ſtode in a fayre valley, and in thoſe tymes the ryuer ranne harde by it. The compaſſe thereof lykewiſe, was as yͤ circuite of a walled Towne, and to this daye two of the the gates may eaſily be diſcerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lying by north, the other Port Clais, ſcituate vpō the ſouth. But yͤ Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth thorow yͤ very middeſt of the houſe betwixt thoſe two gates, the one of them being at the leſt a full halfe myle frō the other. As for the ſquared ſtone that is founde hereabout, and the Romaine coine, there is no ſuch neceſſity, of the rehearſell thereof, but that I maye paſſe it ouer without any farther mencion.

The ſcituation of the monaſtery of Bangor.

The Dée therefore beyng paſt Bangor, goeth to Wrothenbury, and there receyueth ſundry waters into one chanell, wherof the chiefe ryſeth néere to Blackmere (a maner pertayning to the Earle of Shreweſbury) from whence it goeth to Whitechurch, Duſacre hall, and ſone after taketh in a ryll that diſcendeth from Coiſley, after which cōfluence, it runneth on by nether Durtwiche, to Olde caſtell, Callarne, and ere long croſſeth two other waters in one channell alſo, whereof one runneth by Penly chapell, another from Hawmere, and ioyning at Emberhall, they go from thence to Worthenbury, and ſo into the Dée, which by and by vniteth it ſelfe with another at Shockebridge that commeth in from Ridding. Thence it runneth betwéene Holt caſtell, and Farne, and ere it come to Alford two waters commyng

Alen.

Gowy.

ming out of Wales doe ioyne withal, wherof the one is named Alin and deſcendeth by Grafforde, Marfforde, Cragwilly and Alen towne, the other goeth by Pewforde & Potton. Beneath Alford towne end likewiſe the Dée receyueth the Gowy, whoſe heade is at Pecforten at two ſeuerall places, and after the confluence goeth by Beſton caſtell, & Beſton towne: thence to Tréerton and Hakeſly where it deuideth it ſelfe, so that one arme runneth by Totnall, Gowburne (where M. Venables lyeth) Lée hall and beneath Alford againe into the other braunche of the ryuer Dée, which goeth in the meane time by Stapleforde, Hocknell plat, Plemſtow, & a litle aboue Thorneton croſſeth a water that commeth from Cheſter, and goeth to Thornetõ by the Baites, Charletõ, Blackford, Crowton, and Stoke, whereby Wyrall is cut frõ the maine of Englande and left as a very Iſlande. Finally our Dée goeth from Alforde to Eaton hall, Eccleſton, Huntungdon hall, Boughton and ſo by Cheſter towne into the hauen adioyning, and thus much of the Dée, which receyueth in like ſort the Alen mencioned euen now wherof I gaue ſome notice in the former Treatize, and I haue found more ſithens that time in Leland which I will not here omitte, to ſet downe worde for word as I reade it in his Commentaries. One of the greateſt riuers, ſaith he, that falleth into this ſtreame, (meaning Dée) is named Alen. It ryſeth in a pole called Lin Alen, and goeth from thence by Lanteglan, Lan Armon, Lanueris, Moleſdale, and at Hiſpalin rũneth into the grounde for a certaine ſpace, about a quarter of a mile in length, and there after it is ryſen againe with a great vehemencie, becommeth a marche betwéene Moleldale (a Lordſhip full of very fine riuerets, called in Welche Stradalyn) and Flint, for a fiue miles grounde. From thence going thorow Horedale, Bromefielde aliâs Maylor & Camridge, halfe a myle beneath Holt, it falleth into the Dée, which hath the beſt Trowtes in England. Beſide this it receyueth alſo the Rue Dedoch, which commeth downe within a quarter of a myle of Wrexam, & méeteth wythall a myle aboue Holt, a verye pretie ſtreame, and ſuch a one in déede as bréedeth the ſame Trowt, for which the Dée is commended. The Abon falleth into ẏ Dée, within a myle of Ruabon churche. I had almoſt forgotten (ſaith the ſayde Authour) to ſpeake of the Terig otherwiſe named Auon Terig, which being almoſt ſo great as the Alen, cõmeth thorow a péece of Yale Lordſhip into Moleſdale, and ſo into Alin. I ouer paſſe alſo the Howne that commeth by the ſouth ende of Moleſdale towne, and ſoone after into this water. Alſo the Brone, deſcending frõ Reginalds tower, & after thrée quarters of a myle lykewyſe into the Alen. Finally the Wyral which ryſeth within leſſe then a quarter of a myle of Cheſter, & falleth into Dée at Flockers brooke, without the north gate, wherein is a Docke called Port pole for great ſhips to ride at a ſpring tyde. Hitherto Lelande, whoſe ſayings herein ſhal not periſh, becauſe they may be profitably vſed in the next publication of this booke, yf it euer happen to be liked and come thereto.

Alen.

Beſt Trowtes in Dée
Rue Dedoch.

Abon.

Terig.

Howne.

Being paſt the Dée we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, then the which I reade of no riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe ſo many windleſſes and crincklinges, before it come at the ſea. It ryſeth in Buckle hilles, which lye betwene Ridley & Buckle towns, and ſoone after making a lake of a myle and more in length called Ridley pole, it rũneth by Ridley to Chalmõdly. Thence it goeth to Wrenbury where it taketh in a water out of a moore that commeth from Marbury: and beneath Sanford bridge the Combrus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallye the thirde that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerſlaw, then betwéene Shenton and Atherly parkes, and ſo into the Wiuer, which watereth all the weſt part of England, and is no leſſe notable then the fift Auon or thirde Ouze, whereof I haue ſpoken already. After theſe confluences it haſteth alſo to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton croſſeth the Betley water, that runneth by Duddington, Widdenbery and ſo by Barderton into the aforeſayde ſtreame. Thence it goeth to Nantwiche, but eare it come at Marchforde bridge, it méeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke, as I geſſe cõming from Caluerley warde, and likewiſe beneth the ſayde bridge, with the Lée and the Wulvarne both in one chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth at Weſton, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer rũneth on to Minchion and Cardeſwijc, and the next water that falleth into it is the Aſhe, (which paſſeth by Darnall Graunge,) and afterwarde going to Warke, the vale Royall, and Eaton, it commeth finally to Northwiche where it receyueth the Dane, to be deſcribed as followeth. The Dane riſeth in the very edges of Cheſter, Darbyſhyre, and Staffordſhyre, and comming by Wharneforde, Swithamley and Bolley, is a limite betwéene Stafforde and Darby ſhyres, almoſt euen from the very head, which is in Marwell foreſt. It is not long alſo ere it met with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the cõfluence goeth to Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming frõ the edge of the countie by Morton to Sandbach croſſeth another that deſcendeth from Churche Cawlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham (ioyning alſo beneath Midlewiſh with the Croco or Croxtõ, the ſecond great water, whoſe head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruerton as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one to the Dane, at Croxſton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boſtocke, Dauenham, Shebruch, Shurlach and at Northwiche into the aforeſayd Wyuer. After this confluence the Wyuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like ſort receiueth two brokes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Alloſtocke, by Holme and Laſtocke, the other from beyonde Birtles mill, by Chelforde (where it taketh in a rill, called Piuerey) thence to ouer Peuer, Holforde & there croſſing the Waterleſſe broke (growing of two beckes and ioyning at nether Tabley) it goeth forth to Winſhambridge, and then meeting with the other, after this confluẽce they proceede till they come almoſt at Barneton, where the ſaide chanell ioyneth with a pretie water running thorow two Lakes, whereof the greateſt lyeth betweene Comberbach, Rudworth, & Marbury. But to go forwarde with the courſe of the maine riuer. After theſe cõfluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer againſt which towne, on yͤ other ſide it meeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington, alſo the ſecond going by Norley, and Critton, finallye the thirde ſoone after from Kimſley, and then proceedeth on in his paſſage, by Aſhcton chappell, Frodeſham, Rockeſauage, and ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I doe finde of the Wyuer, whoſe influences might haue beene more largely ſet downe, yf mine inſtructions had beene more amplye deliuered, yet this I hope maye ſuffice for his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

elocke.

oco.

iuerey.

terleſſe

The Merſey riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouſe, and taking ſundrie rilles withal by the waye, it becommeth the confines betweene Cheſter and Darbyſhyres. Going alſo toward Goitehal, it meeteth with a faire broke increaſed by ſundrye waters, called Goyte, whereof I finde this ſhort and briefe deſcription. The Goyte riſeth not far frõ the Shire meere hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their original) that parteth Darbyſhire and Cheſteſhyres in ſunder, and thence commeth downe to Goyte howſes, Ouertõ, Taxhall, Shawcroſſe, and at Weybridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall the Set that riſeth aboue Therſethall and rũneth by Ouerſette. After this confluence alſo the Merſey goeth to Goyte hall, and at Stortford towne meeteth with the Tame, which deuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhyres in ſunder, and whoſe heade is in the very edge of Yorkeſhyre, from whence it goeth Southwarde to Sadleworth Firth, then to Muklehirſt, Staly hall, Aſhton Vnderline, Dunkenfeld, Denton, Rediſh, and ſo at Stockeford or Stopford into the Merſey ſtreame, which paſſeth forth in like ſort to Doddeſbyry, receyuing a broke by the waye that commeth from Lime parke, by Bromhall parke and Chedley. From Doddeſbury it proceedeth to Northen, Aſhton, Aiſton, Flixton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his deſcription is not to be omitted before I doe go forward any farder with the Merſey. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waye to Aytenfielde it taketh in a water from Haſlden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandleſham, Bury, and aboue Ratcliffe ioyneth with yͤ Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the next vnto it beneath Radcliffe, bycauſe I woulde not haue ſo manye endes at once in hande wherewith to trouble my readers.

erſey.

it.

Frith.

Set.

Tame.

Irwell.

Ræus, or Rache.

Beyng therfore paſt theſe two, our Irwel goeth on to Cliſton, Hollande, Edgecroft, Strang wayes, and to Mancheſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Yrke, that runneth thereinto by Royton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeley. Beneath Mancheſter alſo it meeteth with the Medlocke that cõmeth thyther frõ the north eaſt ſide of Oldham, & betweene Clayton and Garret Halles, and ſo betweene two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwel going forward to Woodſall, Whicleſwike, Eclos, Barton, & Deuelhom, it falleth neere vnto Flixton, into the water of Merſey, where I will ſtaye a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake before.

Lelande ſpeaketh of of the Corue water aboute Mancheſter, but I knowe nothing of his courſe.

Yrke.

Medlocke.

The Rache conſiſteth of ſundrye waters, whereof eche one in a maner hath a proper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelf, which ryſeth among the blacke ſtony hilles, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and beyng paſt Clegge, receyueth the Beyle, that commeth thither by Myluernaw chappell. After thys confluence alſo, it meeteth with a rill neere vnto Rachedale, and ſoone after with the Sprotton water, and then the Sud-

Rache.

Weile.

Sprotton.

Sudley.

Sudley broke, whereby his chanell is not a litle increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe.

Bradſha.

walmeſley.

The ſecond ſtreame is called Bradſha. It ryſeth of two heades, aboue Turetõ church, whence it runneth to Bradſha, and ere long taking in the Walmeſley becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the More. From hence (receyuing a water that commeth from the rootes of Rauenpike, hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the more, and ſo into Bradſha water, which taketh his way to Leuermore, Farnworth, Leuerleſſe, and finally into the Irwell which I before deſcribed, and whereof I finde theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt.

Yrke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meete with the Merſey, do loſe their name.

Gles.

Bollein broke.

Birkin.

Mar.

Nowe therefore to reſume our Merſey you ſhall vnderſtande that after his confluence with the Irwel, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth yͤ Gles, or Gleſbroke water, increaſed wyth ſundrye armes whereof one commeth from Lodward, an other from aboue Houghton, the thyrde from Hulton Parcke, and the fourth from Shakerley; and beyng all vnited neere vnto Leighe, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling greene into yͤ ſwift Merſey. After this increaſe the ſaide ſtreame in lyke ſort runneth to Rigſton, & there admytteth the Bollein broke water into his ſocietie, which riſing neere yͤ Chamber in Marwell Foreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Marfield, Bollington, Preſtbyry, and Newton, where it taketh in a water cõming frõ about Pot Chappell, which runneth frõ thence by Adlington, Woodforde, Wymſley Ryngey, and Aſhley, there receyuing the Byrkin broke that commeth from betwene Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberly, and ſoone after the Marus or Mar, that cõmeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſtorne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer againſt Kirton beneth Croſforde bridge into the Merſey water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that meeteth with all neere Lym before it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bruche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a broke that commeth from Par by Browſey, Bradley and Saukey on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it rũneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bolde, and ſoone after the Grundiche water on the other ſide, that paſſeth by Preſton, and Dareſbyry. Finallye our Merſey goyng by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepoole Hauen, when it is paſt Runcorne. And thus much of the Merſey, comparable to the Wyuer, and of no leſſe fame then moſt ryuers of thys Iſlande.

Beyng paſt theſe two we come next of all to the Tarbocke water that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding any mo tyll we be paſt all Wyrall, out of Leirpoole hauen, and from the blacke rockes, that lye vpon the north point of the aforeſayd Iſland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freſh ryſing not farre into the lande, commeth to Feſton, and ſoone after receiuing another on the ryght hand, that paſſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no more before it come at the ſea. Neyther finde I any other falles till I meete with the mouth of the Yarrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one Chanell as I take it.

The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rauenſpike hilles and ere long commeth by Andertonford to Worthington, & ſo (takyng in two or three rylles by the waye) to Wigẽ, where it receyueth two waters in on chanel, of which one commeth in ſouth from Bryn Parke, the other from northeaſt. Being paſt thys it receyueth one on the north ſide from Standiſhe, and another by ſouth from Hollond, & then goeth on towarde Rufford chappell taking the Taude with all, that diſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth thorow Lathan Parke, belonging as I here vnto the Earle of Darby. It meeteth alſo on the ſame ſide, with Merton meere water, in which meere is an Iſlande called Netholme, and when it is paſt the hanging bridge, it is not long ere it fall into the Yarrowe.

The Yarowe ryſeth of two heades, whereof the ſecond is called Bagen broke, & making a confluence beneath Helby woode, it goeth on to Burghe, Egleſton, Crofton, and then ioyneth next of all with the Duggleſſe, after which confluence, the maine ſtreame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, How, Heſket, and ſo into the ſea. Lelande wryting of yͤ Yarow, ſaith thus of the ſame, ſo farre as I now remember. Into the Dugleſſe alſo runneth the Yarrow, which commeth wythin a myle or thereabout, of Chorleton towne, that parteth Leland ſhire, frõ Darby ſhire, vnder the foote of Chorle alſo I finde a ryll, named Ceorle, and about a myle and an half frõ thence a notable quarrey of ſtones whereof the inhatants doe make a great boſt and priſe, and hetherto Leland.

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The Rybell as concerning his heade is ſufficiētly touched already in my firſt booke. Beyng therefore come to Giſborne, it goeth to Sawley or Salley, Chatburne, Clitherow caſtell, & beneath Mitton, méeteth with the Odder, which ryſeth not farre from the croſſe of grete, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, & Stony hirſt, it falleth ere long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble hath not gone farre, but it méeteth with the Calder. Thys brooke ryſeth aboue Holme church, goeth by Cowley and Burneley, (where it receiueth a trifeling rill)thence to Higham, and ere long croſſing one water that commeth from Wicoler, by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle brooke that runneth by Newe church, in the Piddle: it méeteth with ẏ Calder, which paſſeth forth to Paniam, & thence (receyuing a becke on the other ſide)it runneth on to Altham, and ſo to Martholme, where the Henburne brooke, doth ioyne withall, that goeth by Akingtō chappell, Church, Dunkinhalghe, Riſhton, and ſo into ẏ Chalder as I haue ſayde before. The Chalder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade (where M. Nowell dwelleth) to Whalley, and ſoone after into Ribell, that goeth from this confluence to Saliſbury hal, Ribcheſter, Oſbaſton, Sambury, Keuerden, Law, Ribles bridge, and then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth into the ſea.

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nocke

The Darwent deuideth Lelande ſhire from Anderneſſe, and it ryſeth by eaſt aboue Darwent chappel, and ſoone after vniting it ſelfe with the Blackeburne, & Rodleſworth water, it goeth thorowe Howghton Parke, by Howghton towne, to Walton hall, and ſo into the Ribell. As for the Sannocke brooke, it ryſeth ſomewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lée hall, and ſo into Ribell: and here is all that I haue to ſay of this ryuer.

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The Wire ryſeth eight or ten miles from Garſtan, out of an hill in Wireſdale, from whence it runneth by Shireſhed chappell, & then going by Wadland, Garſtan, & Ryrkelande hall, it firſt receyueth the ſeconde Calder, that commeth down by Edmerſey chappell, then another chanel increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe before I procéede with the Wire. I ſuppoſe that the firſt water is called Plympton brooke. It riſeth ſouth of Goſner, and cōmeth by Cawforde hall, and eare long receyuing the Barton becke, it procéedeth forward till it ioyneth with the Brooke rill, that cōmeth by Claughton hall where M. Broke hales doth lie, and ſo thorow Merſco foreſt. After this confluēce the Plime or Plimton water méeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire which paſſeth forth to Mighel church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton croſſeth the Skipton, that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finally into the ſea, according to his nature.

Skipton.

Cokar.
Cowdar.
Lune.

Beyng paſt the fall of the Wire, wée coaſted vppe by the ſalt cotes to Coker mouth, whoſe ſhortneſſe of courſe deſerueth no diſcriptiō. The next is Cowdar, which cōming out of Wire dale (as I take it) is not increaſed with any other waters, more then Coker, and therefore I wyll rydde my handes thereof ſo much the ſooner. But beyng paſt theſe twoo, I came to a notable ryuer called the Lune, whoſe courſe doth reaſt to be deſcribed as followeth, & whereof I haue two deſcriptions, the firſt being ſet down by Leland as M. More, of Catherine hall in Cambridge, deliuered it vnto him: the next I exhabite as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paynes as he ſayth to ſearche out and view the ſame, but very lately to ſpeake of. The Lune ſaith M. More riſeth at Croſſehoe, in Dent dale, in the edges of Richmonde ſhire out of thrée ~~heades. North alſo from~~ Dentdale, is Garſdale, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar dale, where likewiſe is a brooke méeting with Garſdale water, ſo that a little lower they go as one into Dentdale becke, which is the ryuer that afterwarde is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verye often noted it. Beſide theſe waters alſo before mencioned, it receyueth at the foote of Sebbar dale, a great brooke which cōmeth out of ẏ Worth, betwéene Weſtmerlande and Richmonde ſhires, which taking with him the aforeſaide chanelles, doth runne ſeauen myles ere it come to Dentdale foote. From hence it entereth into Lanſdale, corruptlye ſo called peraduenture for Luneſdale, and runneth therin eyght or nyne myles ſouthwarde, and in this dale is Kyrby. Hetherto M. More (as Leland hath exemplified that percell of his letters) but mine other note wryteth hereof in thys maner. Burbecke water ryſeth at Wuſtall heade, by weſt, and going by Wuſtall foote to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that deſcendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foote, and ſo to Tybary, where it méeteth with foure rylles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beſides Orton, another from betwéene Raſebecke and Sunbiggin: the thirde and fourth from eche ſide of Langdale,

Burbecke
Breder.

Barrow.
Dent.
Gretey.
wenny.
Hinburne.
Rheburne

dale, and after the generall confluēce made, goeth towarde Reundſwathe aboue which it vniteth it ſelfe with the Barow. Thence it runneth to Howgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killingtō, beneth which it méeteth with a water comming from the Morvill hilles, and afterwarde croſſing the Dent broke (that runneth thither from Dent towne) beneath Sebbor, they continue their courſe as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burborne chappell, where it taketh in an other rill comming from by eaſt, then to Kyrby Lanſdale, and aboue Whittenton, croſſeth a broke comming from the Countie ſtone, by Burros, and ſone after beneath Tunſtal the Gretey, which deſcēding from about Ingelborow hill paſſeth by Twyſelton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton & neare Thurlande caſtell toucheth finally with the Lune, which braunchethand ſone after vniteth it ſelfe againe. After this alſo it goeth on towarde New parke, & receyueth the Wenny, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riſeth north of the croſſe of Grete, and going by Benthams and Robertes hill, aboue Wray taketh in the Rheburne that riſeth north of Wulſcragge. After thys confluence alſo aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaſter, Excliffe, Awcliffe, Sodday, Orton, and ſo into the ſea. Thus haue you both the deſcriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleaſure for I am ſworne to neyther of them both.

Docker.
Kery.

The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the ſame that Lelande doth call the Kery, it ryſeth north of Docker towne, and going by Warlwyc hall, it is not increaſed before it come at the ſea.

Spꝛota.
Ken.

Being paſt this we finde a forked arme of the ſea called Kenſandes: into the firſt of which diuers waters doe runne in one chanell, as it were from foure principal heades, one of them comming from Grarrig hall, another from by weſt of Whinfielde, & ioyning with ŷ firſt on the eaſt ſide of Skelmere parke. The third called Sprot or Sprota ryſeth at Sloddale, and commeth downe by weſt of Skelmer parke, ſo that theſe two brokes haue the aforeſayde parke betwéene them, and fall into the fourth eaſt of Barneſide, not very farre in ſunder. The fourth or laſt called Ken, cōmeth frō Kentmeres ſide, and going to Stauelop it taketh in a rill frō Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehed parke by eaſt, it paſſeth by Barneſide, to Kendall, Helſton, Sigathe, Siggeſwyc, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and ſo into the ſea. Certes this Ken is a prettie déepe riuer, & yet not ſafely to be aduentured vpō with Botes and Balingers by reaſon of rolling ſtones, and other huge ſubſtaunces that oft annoy & trouble the middeſt of the chanell there. The other péece of ŷ forked arme, is called Winſtar, ŷ head wherof is aboue Winſtar chappell, and going downe almoſt by Carpmanſell, and Netherſlake, it is not long eare it fall into the ſea.

The Winander water ryſeth about Dunbalraſe ſtenes, from whence it goeth to Langridge, where it maketh a méere: thē to Ambleſide, and taking in eare it come there, two rilles on the left hande, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh as I take it the greateſt méere, or freſhe water in Englande, for as I reade it is well neare ten myles in length. Therinto alſo doe thrée or foure waters come, whereby the quantity thereof is not a little increaſed: finally comming to one ſmal chanell aboue Newbridge, it is not long eare it fall into the ſea.

On the weſt ſide of the point alſo commeth another thorow Furneſſe felles, and frō the hilles by north thereof, which eare long making another Lake not farre from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge ende, in a narrow chanell, paſſeth forth by Cowlton & Sparke bridge, and ſo into the ſea. There is in like ſorte a water called the Foſſe, that ryſeth neare vnto Arneſide, and Tillerthwates, & goeth forth by Griſdale, Saterthwate, Ruſlande, Powbridge, Bowth, & ſo falleth with the Winander water into the maine ſea.

Hauing paſſed the Leuen or Conyſandes or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Lew which riſeth at Lewike chappell, & falleth into the ſea beſide Plumpton. The Rawther deſcending out of lowe Furneſſe hath two heades, whereof one commeth frō Pennyton, the other by Vlmerſtone abbay, and ioyning both in one chanell, they haſten into the ſea whither all waters direct theyr voyage. Then come we to another rill ſouthweſt of Aldingham, deſcending by Glaiſton caſtell, and likewyſe the fourth that ryſeth neare Lyndell, and running by Dawltō caſtell and Furneſſe abbay, not farre from the Barrow heade, it falleth into the ſea ouer againſt Wauey and Wauey chappell, except myne aduertiſementes miſleade me.

The Dodon cōmeth frō the Shire ſtone hill bottome, & going by Blackhil, Southwake S. Iohns, Vlſay parke, and Broughton, it falleth into the ſaltwater, betwéene Kyrby and Mallum caſtell, and thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglaſſe point.

Comming to Rauenglaſſe, I finde harde

by the towne a water comming from two heades, and both of them in Lakes or Poles, wherof one iſſueth out of Denock meere, & is called Denock water, the other named Eſke from Eſke pole, which runneth by Eſkedale, Dalegarth, and ſoone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Mawburthwate, & Rauēglaſſe falleth into the ſea. On the other ſide of Rauenglaſſe alſo cōmeth the Mite brooke, from Myterdale as I reade.

nocke.
ke.
ite.

Then finde we another which commeth from the hylles, and at the fyrſt is forked, but ſoone after making a Lake, they gather againe into a ſmaller chanell: finally meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the ſea at Carleton ſoutheaſt, as I weene of Orig.

renge.

The Cander or as Lelande nameth it the Calder, commeth out of Copeland Forreſt, by Cander, Sellefielde and ſo into the ſea. Then come we to Euer water deſcending out of a pole aboue Coſwalohow, and thence going by Euerdale, it croſſeth a water from Arladon, and afterward proceedeth to Egremond, S. Iohns, and taking in another ryll from Hide, it is not long ere it meeteth with the ſea. The next fall is at Moreſby, wherof I haue no ſkill. Frō thence therefore we caſt about by ſ. Bees to Derwentſet hauē, whoſe water is truely written Dargwent, or Deruent. It riſeth in the hilles about Borrodale, from whence it goeth to the Graunge, thēce into a Lake, in which are certaine Iſlandes, and ſo to Keſwijc where it falleth into the Burſemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like ſort the Burthmere water, riſing among the hils goeth to Tegburtheſworth, Forneſide, S. Iohns and Threlcote: and there meeting with a water from Griſdale, by Wakethwate, called Griſe, it runneth to Burneſſe, Keſwijck and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keſwijc in like ſorte it goeth to Thorneſwate (& there making a plaſh) to Armanſwate, Iſel, Huthwate and Cokermouth, & here it receyueth the Cokar, which riſing among the hilles, commeth by Lowſewater, Brakenthwate, Lorton and ſo to Cokarmouth towne, frō whēce it haſteth to Bridgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire on the ſouth ſide that rūneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behindeit, & entreth in the ſea. Leland ſayth that the Wire is a creeke, where ſhippes lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take hys name thereof. But to proceede, the Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſby Harby, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hande comming by Torpenny it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarby, Byrthy, Dereham & ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh waters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by Warton, Raby, Cotes, & ſo into the maine, taking in a ril withall from by ſouth, called Croco that cōmeth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The ſecond is named Wampole brooke, and this riſeth of two heades, whereof one is about Cardew, thence in lyke ſorte, it goeth to Thureſby, Croſton, Diwton, Gamleſby, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kyrby into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an Eſtuary, whether three notable ryuers doe reſorte, (and this is named the Solney mouth) but of all, the firſt exceedeth which is called Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth followe here at hande.

ander.
argwent
urthmere.
riſe.
okar.
ire.
lmus.
Croco.
Wamus.

The Eden deſcendeth as I heare from the hilles in Athelſtane moore at the foote of Huſſiat Moruell hill where Swale alſo riſeth and ſoutheaſt of Mallerſtang forreſt. Frō thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerſtāg towne, Pendragon caſtell, Wharton hall, Netby, Hartley caſtell, Kyrkeby Stephen, and eare it come at great Muſgraue it receiueth three waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, bycauſe it commeth from the derne and elinge mountaines by a towne of the ſame denomination, the other is named Bellow and deſcendeth frō the eaſt mountaines by Sowarſby, and theſe two on the northeaſt: the thirde falleth from Rauenſtandale, by Newbyggin, Smardale, Soulby, Blaterne and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop and taking in the Orne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Moreton becke on the other, it haſteth to Appleby, thence to Cowlby where it croſſeth the Driebecke, thence to Bolton, and Kyrby, and there meeting with the Trowt becke and beneath the ſame with the Liuenet, (whereinto falleth an other water frō Thurenly meeting wyth all beneath Clebron) it runneth finally into Eden. After the confluences alſo the Eden paſſeth to Temple, and ſoone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Horneby where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed yͤ water that meeteth withall neere the aforeſayde place, called the Wiſe.

Eden.
Helbecke.
Bellow.
Orne.
Moreton.
Driebecke.
Trowt becke.
Liuenet.
Milburne
Blincorne
Wiſe.

This water commeth out of a Lake, which is fedde with ſixe rilles wherof one is called the Marke, and neare the fall therof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name: the ſeconde hight Harteſop, & runneth frō Harteſhop hall by Depedale: the thirde is Paterdale rill: the fourth Glent Roden, the fift

Marke.
Hartſep.
Paterdale.
Roden.

Glenkguin.

Loder.

Glenkwent, but the ſixth runneth into the ſayde lake, ſouth of Dowthwate. Afterward when this lake cometh toward Pole towne, it runneth into a ſmall chanell, and going by Barton, Dalamaine, it taketh in a rill by the waye from Daker caſtell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Poneworth, and ſoone after meeteth wyth a prety brooke, called Loder, comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and here a ril, then by Helton, and there another, thence to Aſkham, Clifton, and ſo ioining with the other called Vlſe, they go to Brougham caſtel, Nine churches, Horneby, and ſo into Eden, taking in a ryll as it goeth that commeth downe from Pencath. Beyng paſt Hornby our Eden runneth to Langunby and ſoone after receiuing a ryll that commeth from two heades, and ioyning beneath Wingſel, it haſteth to Laſenby, then to kirke Oſwalde, (on eche ſide whereof commeth in a ril from by eaſt) thence to Nommey, & there a ryl, Anſtable, Cotehyll, Corby caſtel. Wetherall, Newby, where I wyll ſtaye till I haue deſcribed the Irding, and ſuch waters as fall into the ſame before I go to Carleill.

Irding.

Terne.

Pultroſe.

Cambocke

Gilly.

Pedar alias, Logus.

Bruferth.

The Irding ryſeth in a Moore in the borders of Tindale, neere vnto horſe hed Crag, where it is called Terne becke vntil it come to Spycrag hill, that deuideth northumberland and Gilleſland in ſunder, from whence it is named Irding. Beyng therefore come to Ouerhal, it receiueth the Pultroſe becke, by eaſt, and thence goeth on to Ouerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercoſt, and Caſtelſteade, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kyrke Cambocke, Aſkerton caſtel, Walton, and ſo into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newby, and ſo into Eden. But a litle before it come there, it croſſeth with the Gilly that commeth by Tankin, and ſoone after falleth into it. After theſe confluences, our Eden goeth to Linſtocke caſtell, (and here it enterteyneth a brooke, comming from Cote hill warde by Aglionby) thẽ vnto Carleill, which is almoſt enuironed wyth foure waters. For beſide yͤ Eden it receyueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from ſouth eaſt. This Peder ryſeth in the hiles ſouthweſt of Penruddock, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Graſtocke caſtell, Cateley and Kenderſidehall, and then taking in a water from Vnthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrell way, Newbiggin, Carleton, & ſo into Eden, northeaſt of Caerleill. But on the north ſide the Bruferth brooke doth ſwiftely make hys entraunce running by Leuerdale, Scalby caſtell, and Houſedon as I am informed. The thirde is named Candan, (if not Deua after Lelande) which ryſing about the Skidlow hilles, runneth to Moſedale, Calobecke Warnell, Saberham, Roſe Caſtell, Dawſton, Brounſton, Harrington, and weſt of Cairleill falleth into Eden, which goyng from thence by Grimſdale, Kyrke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the ſea beneath the Rowcliffe caſtell. And thus much of the Eden, which Lelande neuertheleſſe deſcribeth, after another ſort, whoſe wordes I will not let to ſet downe here in this place, as I finde them in his commentaries.

Vlſe

ter L

Lo

Aym

Dac

Deua.

Wala.

The Eden after it hath runne a prety ſpace from his head, meeteth in time with the Vlſe water, which is a great brooke in Weſtmerlande, and ryſing aboue Maredale, a myle weſt of Loder; it commeth by the late diſſolued houſe of Shappe Priory, three myles frõ Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes thys ſtreame within halfe a myle of the head, becommeth a great lake for two myles courſe, and afterwarde waxing narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent botome. The ſayde Eden in lyke ſort receyueth the Aymote about three myles beneath Brougham caſtell and into the ſame Aymote, falleth the Dacor becke (already touched) which riſeth by north weſt in Materdale hilles, foure myles aboue Dacor caſtell, and then goyng thorowe Dacor Parke, it runneth by eaſt a good myle lower into Eymote, a lyttle beneath Delamaine, which ſtandeth on the left ſide of Dacor. In one of his bookes alſo he ſayeth, how Carleill ſtandeth betweene two ſtreames, that is to ſaye the Deua, which cõmeth thether from by ſouthweſt, and alſo the Logus that diſcendeth frõ the ſouth eaſt. He addeth moreouer howe the Deua, in times paſt was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of theſe two, Lugiballia for Caerleill hath beene deriued. &c. And thus much out of Lelande, but where it had the cauſe of this hys coniecture as yet I haue not reade. Of thys am I certeine that I vſe the names of moſt ryuers here and elſe where deſcribed, accorcordingly as they are called in my time, although I omitte not to ſpeake here and there of ſuch as are more auncient, where iuſt occaſion mooueth me to remember them, for yͤ better vnderſtãding of our hiſtories, as they doe come to hande.

Leuen.

Lamf

Eſke.

Tom

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the ſea in one chanel, and with them the Lamforde and the Eſke, the laſt confluence beyng not a full myle from the mayne ſea. The white & black Leuen, ioyning therefore aboue Buckneſſe, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, & at Tomunt

rſop.
ydde.

water méeteth with the Eſke. In lyke ſorte the Hyrſop ioyning with the Lydde out of Scotland at Hyrſop fote, running by Stangerdike ſide, Harlow, Hath water, & takyng in the Eſke aboue the Mote, it loſeth the former name, and is called Eſke, vntill it come to the ſea.

Hauing in this maner finiſhed the deſcription of the courſes of moſt of the ryuers lying vpon the weſt coaſt of our countrey: now it reſteth that wée cut ouer vnto the weſt ſide of the ſame, and as it were call backe vnto mynde, the moſt notable of ſuch as wée erſt omitted, vntill we come at the Humber, and from thence vnto the Thames.

wede.
ill.
romis.
renniche

Firſt of all therfore as touching ẏ Twede, this I haue to note, that the olde and auncient name of the Till that falleth into ẏ ſame is not Bromis, from the heade as ſome doe nowe call it, (and I following their aſſertions haue ſet downe) but rather Brenniche, & beſide that Lelande is of the ſame opinion. I finde howe the kingdome of Brenicia, toke denomination of thys water, and that only therof it was called Brenicia, or Brennich, and vpon none other occaſion.

In my tractatiõ alſo of ẏ Tine, I reſerued the courſes of one or two waters vnto this boke of purpoſe, but ſithens the impreſſiõ of the ſame, I haue found the names & courſes of ſundrye other, which I will alſo deliuer in this place, after I haue touched the Alen or Alon, and one or two more which I appointed hether, becauſe that at the firſt I vnderſtode but little of them.

ſt Alen.
ſt Alen

The Alen or Alon, hath two heades wherof one is called eaſt Alen, ẏ other weſt Alen. The firſt of them riſeth ſouth eaſt of Sibton Sheles, and going by Simdorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by eaſt: After which confluence it runneth to Newſhele, Allington, Caddon, Olde towne, and in hys waye to Stauertpele, méeteth with the weſt Alen. The Weſt Alen ryſeth in the hilles aboue Wheteley ſhéeles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Owſton, & taking in a rill thereaboutes, it procéedeth on to Permandby, and croſſing there another ril in lyke maner from by Weſt, it goeth to Whitefielde, and ioyning ſone after with ẏ eaſt Alen, they run as one to Stauert poole, Plankforde, and ſo into the Tine.

dde.
elhop.

Into the north Tine likewiſe falleth the Ridde, at Riddeſmouth. It riſeth within thrée myles of the Scottiſhe marſhe, as Lelande ſaith & commeth thorowe Riddeſdale whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth howe it ryſeth in the rootes of the Carter, & Redſquire hylles, and ere it hath gone farre from the heade, it taketh in the Spelhop frõ the north and the Cheſlop on the ſouth, beſide ſundrye other wild ryles nameleſſe and obſcure, and therfore not worthy to be remembred here. After it hath paſſed Otterburne, it goeth to the medow Howgh, Wodburne, Riſingham, Leame, and ſo into the Tine, a little lower, then Belindgeham, which ſtandeth ſomewhat alofe from north Tine, and is as I take it ten myles at the leaſt aboue the towne of Herham. Beneath ẏ confluence in like ſort of both the Tines, ſtandeth Corbridge, a towne ſometime inhabited by the Romaines, and about twelue myles from Newcaſtell, and hereby doth the Corue run, that méeteth ere long with the Tine. Not far of alſo is a place called Colcheſter, wherby Lelande geſſeth that the name of ẏ broke ſhould rather be Cole then Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is very lykely, for in the lyfe of S. Oſwyn (otherwiſe a féeble authoritie) the worde Colbridge is alwaies vſed for Corbridg, wherof I thought good to leaue this ſhort aduertiſement, and hetherto of part of my former reſeruatiõs. Now it reſteth that I touch ẏ names of a few riuers & beckes togither as Lelande hath left them, whoſe order and courſes may peraduenture hereafter be better knowne then they are to me at this preſent, for lacke of ſound inſtruction. The Deuilles broke, he ſuppoſeth to be called Dill, of a town not far of that is commonly called Dilſtan, wherby ẏ Tine doth runne. As the Darwent alſo doth fall into ẏ Tine, beneth Blaidon, ſo doe ſundry brokes into the Darwent in two chanels, as Blackburne, which goeth into Horſlop burne, as Horſlop doth into Darwent, on the eaſt ſide, and on the other banke the Hawkeſburne, that rũneth into Roueſlop, as Roueſlop doth finally into Darwent, which is ſayde to ryſe of two heades, whereof one is néere Knedon, the other at Kidlamhope, and after the confluence, going to Hunſterworth, Blaunchelande, Acton, Aſpersheles, Blackehedley, Panſheales, Newlande, Darwent cote (by by north eaſt whereof commeth in a ryll on the other ſide) Spen, Gibſide, Hollinſide, Swalwel, and ſo into the Tine. In like ſorte Lelande ſpeaketh of a water called Hedley, that ſhould fall into the Tine, whoſe heade is at Skildrawe, from whence it runneth to Uptthelde, Lamſley, Rauenſworth towne, Rauenſworth caſtell, Redhughe, and ſo into Tine, Southweſt of Newcaſtel, but he omitteth wickham broke (he ſayth) becauſe it ryſeth ſhort of the towne, and is but a little rill. Finally ẏ Themis doth fal into Tine a mile or ther about aboue Getiſhead, & not very far

Cheſlop.
Corue.
Dill.
Darwent.
Blackeburne.
Horſlop.
Roueſlop.
alias Ridlamhope.
Hedley.
wickham.
Themis.

beneth Rauenſworth caſtell, riſing ten miles by ſouth into the land, as Lelande hath likewiſe ſet downe.

were.

Ptolomy wryting of the Were, calleth it Vedra, a ryuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous Prieſt, who was brought vp in a monaſtery ẏ ſtood vpon his bankes. It receiueth ſaith Lelande the Derneſſe, whereinto the Brome alſo doth emptie his chanell, that ryſeth aboue Repare parke, as I haue béene informed. In lyke ſorte I fynde howe it admitteth lykewyſe the Coue, that commeth from Lancheſter, which is ſixe myles higher then Cheſter in the Streate, and then goeth to Cheſter it ſelfe, whereabout it méeteth with the Hedley. Finally the Gawndeleſſe, that ryſeth ſixe myles by weſt of Akelande caſtell, and running by the ſouth ſide thereof paſſeth by weſt Akeland S. Helenes Akelande, ſ. Andrewes Akeland, Biſhops Akeland and eare long into the Were, and thus much of waters omitted in ẏ Tine & Were.

Derneſſe.
Brome.
Coue.
Hedley.
Gaundeleſſe.

Theſe.

Lelande writing of the Theſe, repeateth the names of ſundry riuerets, whereof in the former Treatize I haue made no mencion at all, notwithſtanding ẏ ſome of their courſes may perhaps be touched in the ſame, as the Thuriſgill whoſe heade is not farre frõ the Spittle that I do reade of in Stanmore. The Grettey commeth by Barningham & Mortham and falleth into the Theſe aboue Croftes bridge. The Dare or Dere runneth by Darlington, & likewiſe into the Theſe aboue the aforeſayd bridge. As for the Wiſke it commeth thereinto from by ſouth vnder Wiſke bridge, Danby, Northalberton, and eare long alſo into a greater ſtreame, which going a little lower vnder an other bridge doth runne by one chanell into the aforeſayd ryuer before it come at the Theſe. And theſe are the brookes that I haue obſerued ſith the impreſſion of my firſt booke in Leland, thoſe that followe I referred hither of purpoſe.

Thureſgil
Grettey.
Dare.
wiſke.

Thorpe. alias Leuend.

The Thorpe, riſeth of ſundry heads, whereof one is abone Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and ſo to Stokeſley. The ſeconde hath two braunches, and ſo placed that Kildale ſtandeth betwéene them both: finally méeting beneath Eaſby they go by Eaton and likewiſe vnto Stokeſley. The laſt hath alſo two braunches, whereof one commeth from Ingleſby, and méeteth with the ſeconde beneath Broughton, & going from thẽce to Stokeſley they mete with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fal into it ſomewhat beneath the ſame. From hence it goeth to Ridley and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Miltõ, Hilton, Ingleſby & ſo into the Theſe, betwéene Yarne and Barwijc, whereof I made mention before although I neither named it, nor ſhewed ẏ deſcriptiõ. Some cal it not Thorpe but the Leuend brooke, or Leuen water, and thus much of ſome of the waters eyther omitted or not fullye touched in the former Treatize.

Crawthorne.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the maine riuers betweene Humber and the Thames. Cap. 3.

Ouz.

The courſe of the Ouze is alreadie ſet forth in the firſt booke of this deſcription & ſo exactely as I hope that I ſhall not néede to adde any more thereunto at this time. Wherefore I will deale onely with ſuch as fall into the ſame, ymagining a voyage frõ the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come néere to the heade of Theſe, and ſo ſouthwardes about againe by the bottome of the hilly ſoyle vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffelde, Scroby, and the very ſouth point of Humber mouth, wherby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, and leaue I doubt not ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads & courſes.

The courſe of the Hul is already deſcribed, yet here I will not let to inſert Lelandes deſcription of the ſame, and that more for thoſe odde notes which he hath ſet down in the proceſſe of his matter, then that I thincke his dealing herein to be more exacte then myne, if ſo much may be ſayde without all cauſe of offence. The Hulne (ſaieth he) riſeth of thrée ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not farre from Dryfielde, nowe a ſmall village ſixtéene myles frõ Hull. Certes it hath béene a goodly towne, and therein was the pallace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of Sepulture of a noble Saxon king, whoſe name I now remember not although his Tõbe remaine for ought that I do know to the contrarie, with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Neare vnto this towne alſo is the Danefielde, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſéene ouer their bones and carkaſſes. The ſecond head ſaith he is at Eſtburne, and the thirde at Emmeſwell, and méeting altogither not farre from Dryfielde, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſayde alreadie. From hence alſo it goeth thorowe Beuerley medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hande (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerley towne, & méeting thereabout alſo with the Cottinghã becke comming frõ Weſtwood by the way, it haſteth to Kingſton vpon Hulne, and ſo into the Humber without any maner impechement.

olney.
elflete.

The Fowlney riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Seton, Williams bridge, and ſone after ſpreading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelflete, goeth by Cane Cawſey to Browneflete and ſo into the Ouze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilbertes dike, Scalby chappell, Blacketoft and ſo into the aforeſayde Ouze, leauing a very pretie Iſlande, which is a percel as I here of Walding fen more, though otherwyſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

rwent.
nford.
irihut-
n.
ambeck
e.
coll.
uen.
ſtey.
ckering

The Darwent ryſeth in the hilles that lye weſt of Robin Whodes baie, or two myles aboue Ayton bridge, weſt of Scarborow as Lelande ſayth: and eare it hath runne farre from the head, it receyueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioyne withall about Langdale ende. Thence they go togyther to Brorey and at Hackneſſe take in an other water comming from about Silſey. Afterwarde it commeth to Ayton, then to Haybridge, and there croſſeth the Kenforde that deſcendeth from Roberteſton. After this alſo it goeth on to Potterſbrumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the thirde yet lower, on the fader bancke, that deſcendeth from Brumpton. From theſe confluences, it runneth to Fowlbridge, Arbridge, Peldingham bridge, and ſo to Cotehouſe, receyuing by the way many waters. Lelande reconing vp the names of the ſeuerall brookes, numbreth them confuſedly after his accuſtomed order. The Darwent ſaith he receyueth diuers ſtreames as the Shyrihutton. The ſeconde is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell, (ſo called tanquã à centum fontibus, or multitude of Springes that ryſe about the ſame) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blacke mores, paſſeth by Riuers abbay, taking in the Ricoll on the left hande, then the Seuen, the Coſtey and Pickering brooke. The Seuen alſo ſayeth he riſeth in the ſide of Blackmore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure myles frõ Pickering, and about a myle aboue a certayne bridge ouer Rie goeth into yͤ Streame. The Coſtey in like ſorte ſpringeth in yͤ very edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two myles beneath Pickering, about Kyrby minſter. Finally Pickering water ariſeth in Blackemore, and halfe a myle beneath Pickering falleth into Coſtey, meting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other ſmall rill or two of whoſe names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Lelande, but in mine opiniõ it had béene far better to haue deſcribed them thus. Of thoſe waters that fal into the Darwent beneath Cotehouſe, the firſt commeth from Swenton, the ſeconde from Ebberſtõ, the thirde from Ollerſton, the fourth from Thornetõ, and Pickering, and the fift on the other ſide that commeth thither from Wintringham, for ſo ſhoulde he haue dealt in better order, & rid his hands of them with more expeditiõ, referring the reaſt alſo vnto their proper places. But to procéede after myne owne maner. Being paſt Cotehouſe, & eare the Darwent come at Wickham, it croſſeth the Rie, which riſeth of two heades, and ioyning weſt of Locton they run thorow Glanſby parke. Finally receyuing the Coſtey it méeteth at the laſt with an other ſtreame increaſed by the falles of ſixe waters & more, eare it come into yͤ Darwent. The moſt eaſterly of theſe is called Seuen, & ryſeth as is aforeſayde in Blackemore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Murton, Normanby, Newſounde, How & ſo into the Rie. The ſeconde named Dou hath his original likewiſe in Blackemore, and deſcẽding by Raſmore, Keldon and Edſton, (where it receyueth the Hodge becke, that commeth by Berneſdale, Kirkedale, and Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in firſt the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, & whereof Ridall as ſome think (but falſly) doth ſéeme to take the name. Then Feſſe, which ryſeth aboue Biliſdale chappell, & méeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go togyther vnder the Rie bridge, to Riuis abbaye, and thence (after it hath croſſed a becke from the weſt) thorowe a parke of the Earle of Rutlandes to Newton, Muniton, and ſo to Sawton, or Sawlton, as I doe finde it written: Here alſo it taketh in the Holbecke brooke, that commeth thither from by weſt by Gylling caſtell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Braby, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and ſo into the Darwent, which from thẽce doth run to Wickhã. Being paſt Wickhã, it meteth with a water that cõmeth thereinto from Grynſton to Settrington at ſoutheaſt, and thence it goeth on to Malton & Malton, Sutton, Wellam, Furby, & Kirkham, receyuing by yͤ way one rill on the one ſide and another on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdſall, that other frõ Coniſthorpe. From Kyrkeham it goeth to Crãburne and Owſham bridge, (croſſing by the way an other brooke comming from S. Edwardes gore, by Faſton) then to Aldby, Buttercram,

Pocklington.
Rie.
Coſtey.
Seuen.
Doue or Doue.
Hodgebecke.
Ricoll.
Feſſe.
Holbecke.

tercram (alias Butterham) bridg, Stamford bridg, Kerby bridg, Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wreſill, Babthorpe & ſo into yͤ Ouze, wherwith I finiſhe the deſcription of the Derwent, ſauing that I haue to let you vnderſtand how Leland heard that an arme ran ſometime from the hed of Darwent alſo to Scarborow till ſuch time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did ſhalder & ſo choke vp his courſe.

Foſſe.

The Foſſe (a ſlow ſtream yet able to beare a good veſſell) ryſeth in Nemore Calaterio, or among the woddy hilles now called Galters forreſt, and in his deſcent frõ the higher ground, he leaueth Crake caſtel, on his weſt ſide: thence he goeth by Marton abbay, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erſwijc, Huntingdon, and at Yorke into the Ouze.

Kile.

The Kile ryſeth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hyll, Ruſkell parke, Awne, Tollerton, and ſo into the Ouze about Newton vpon Ouze.

Swale.

The Swale is a ryght noble ryuer. It riſeth in the hilles aboue Kyrkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret houſe, Crackepot, Whiteſide, and neere vnto Halen, taketh in the Barney water,

Barney.

which commeth from the north eaſt. Thence it goeth by Harcaſide to Keth (where it meeteth with the Arcley) and ſo to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by ſouth: & in the way to Thorpe, the Mariſke becke, or peraduẽture Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that diſcendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmonde, Eaſby and Brunton. Here by North it entertayneth two or three waters in one chanell, called Rauenſwathe water, whereof the two fardeſt doe ioyne not far from the Dawltons, & ſo go by Rauenſwath, Hartforth, Gilling, & at Skeby meete wyth the thirde, comming from Richmonde Beaconwarde. By weſt alſo of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, runnyng from Reſdale, and beyng paſt Brunton, it goeth to Caterijc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kyrkeby, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderby Steple, and before it come vnto Gatenby, it meeteth wͭ yͤ Bedall brooke, alias Leminges becke, that cõmeth weſt of Kellirby, by Cũſtable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenby lykewiſe it goeth to Malwby, and at Brakenbyry, receiueth the Wiſke, which is a great water, ryſing betweene two parkes aboue Swanby in one place, and ſoutheaſt of Mountgrace Abbaie in another, and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betweene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Byrtby, Huttõ Coniers, Danby, Wijc, Yafford, Warlaby, and taking in there a ryll from Brunton, by Aluerton, it proceedeth to Otteringtõ, Newley, Kyrby Wiſke, Newſon, and Blackenbury, there meeting as I ſayde with the Swale, that runneth from thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Ranyton, and aboue Eldmyre, meeteth with ſundrye other rylles in one botome, whereof the northweſterley is called Cawdebec; the ſouth Eaſterly Kebecke, which ioyne eaſt of Thornton moore, and ſo go to Thorneton in the ſtreate, Kiluington, Thruſke, Solwerby, Graſtwijc, and ſoone after croſſing another growing of the myxture of the Willow, and likewyſe of the Cuckwolde beckes, which ioyne aboue Brideforth, and running on till it come almoſt at Dalton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one by Thornton bridge, Mitton vpon Swale, and ſo into the Ouze.

Arcley.
Holgate.

Mariſke becke.

Rauenſwathe.

Rhe.

Bedall alias Leming.

Wiſke.

The Skell ryſeth out of the weſt two myles from Fountaines Abbay, and commeth as Lelande ſayth with a fayre courſe by the one ſide of Rippon, as the Vre doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof ſtoode the famous Abbaie called Fountaines, ſomuch renoumed for the luſty monkes that dwelled in the ſame. It receiueth alſo the Lauer water, (which ryſeth three myles from Kyrby, and meeteth withall neere vnto Rippon) and finally falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon Towne, and almoſt midde waye betweene the North and Huicke bridges.

The Nidde ryſeth among thoſe hilles that lye by weſt northweſt of Gnarreſborowe, fyue myles aboue Pakeley bridge, & going in ſhort proceſſe of time by Weſt houſes, Lodg houſes, Woodhall, Newehouſes, Midleſmore, Raunſgill, Cowthouſe, Gowthwall, Bureley, Brymham, Hampeſwale, & ſoone after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence, by Bylton parke, Gnareſbridge, Waſhforde, Cathall, Willeſthorp, Munketon, or Nonniocke, and ſo into the Ouze, fourteene miles beneath Gnareſborow, beyng increaſed by the waye wyth very fewe or no waters of any countenance. Lelande hauing ſaid thus much of yͤ Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to ſay, the Couer & the Burne, which doe fal likewiſe into the Vre or Ouze, but as he ſayth little of the ſame, ſo among all my Pampheletes, I can gather no more of them, then that the firſt ryſeth ſixe myles aboue Couerham by weſt, and falleth into yͤ

Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two myles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it ryſeth at More hylles, and falleth into the ſayde ryuer a lyttle beneth Maſſham bridge, and ſo much of theſe two.

The Wharffe or Gwerfe, ryſeth aboue Vghterſhaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Raſemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniſtō in Kettlewell, and here it méeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappel, by Arnecliffe, & ioyning withal north eaſt of Kilneſey crag, it paſſeth ouer by the lower groundes to Gyrſington, and receyuing a ryll there alſo from Treſſelde parke, it procéedeth on to Brunſall brydge. Furthermore at Appletrewyke, it méeteth wyth a ryll from by north, & thence goeth to Barden Towre, Bolton, Beth and Milley hall, where it croſſeth a rill comming frō by weſt. Thence to Addinghā, taking in there alſo a another from by weſt, and ſo to Ikeley, and receyuing ere long another by north from Denton hall, it haſteth to Weſton Vauaſour, Oteley, and Letheley where it taketh in the Padſide, & the Waſhburne, both in one ſtreame from Lyndley ward, and thence to Caſley chappell, & there it croſſeth one from by north, & another ere long from by ſouth, and ſo to Pardwode caſtell, Kereby, Wodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherby, Thorpatche, Newton, Tadcaſter, and when it hath receyued the Cockebecke from ſouthweſt, that goth by Barwyp, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grymſton, it runneth to Erton, Kyrby Wharf, Vſkel, Kither Nunapleton, and ſo into the Ouze, beneath Cawod, a caſtell belonging to the Arche biſhop of Yorke, where he vſeth oft to lye when he refreſheth himſelfe, with chaunge of ayre & ſhift of habitation, for the auoiding of ſuch infection as maye otherwiſe engender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation, and aiering of his houſe.

harſe
as
werſe.

adſide.
aſhburn.

ocke=
cke.

The Air ryſeth out of a Lake, South of Darnbrooke, wherin as I here is none other fiſh, but red Trowt, & Perche. Leland ſaith it riſeth néere vnto Ortō in Crauen, wherfore the oddes is but litle. It goeth therfore from thence to Mawlam, Hamlithe, Kyrby Moldale, Calton hall, Areton, and ſo forth tyll it come almoſt to Gargraue, there croſſing the Otterburne water on the weſt, & the Winterburne on the north, which at Flaſby, receiueth a ryll from Helton as I here. Being paſt Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eſhton, Elſwode, and ſo forth on, firſt receyuig a brooke from ſouthweſt, (wherof one braunch commeth by Marton, the other by Thornet, which méete about Broughton) then another from northeaſt, that runneth by Skipton caſtell. After this confluence it haſteth to Newe biggin, Bradley, and Kildwyke, by ſouth eaſt whereof, it méeteth with one water from Malwis, and Gluſburne or Glukeſburne, called Glyke, another lykewyſe a lytle beneath from Seton, beſide two rylles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Keddleſdē, & ouer againſt this towne the Lacocke and the Worth doe méete withall in one chanell, as the Moreton water doth on the north, although it be ſomewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Kiſheforth hall, & ſo to Bungley, where it taketh a ryll from Denholme parke to Shipeley, & there croſſing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradley, it goeth to Caluerley, to Chriſtall, and ſo to Léedes, where one water runneth thereinto, by north from Wettlewode, and two other from by ſouth in one chanell, whereof the firſt hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudſey chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farneſley hall. The other lykewiſe hath two heades, whereof one is aboue Morley, the other cōmeth from Domingley, and méeting with the firſt not far ſouth weſt of Léedes, they fall both into the Aire, and ſo runne with the ſame to Swillington, & there taking in ẏ Roodwel becke ſouth of the bridg, it procéedeth to Ollerton, Caſtelforde, Brotherton and Ferribridge there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontifract which ryſeth of diuers heads, wherof one is among ẏ cole pits. Thēce to Beall, Berkin, Kellingtō, middle Hodleſey, Tēplehirſt, Gowldall, Snathe, Rawcliffe, Newlande, Army, and ſo into the Ouze wyth an indifferent courſe. Of all the ryuers in the North, Lelande (in ſo many ot hys bookes as I haue ſéene) ſayth leaſt of this. Mine annotations alſo are very ſlender in the particular waters whereby it is increaſed: wherfore I was compelled of neceſſity to conclude euen thus with the deſcription of the ſame, & had ſo left it in déede if I had not receyued one other note more to adde vnto it (euen when the leafe was at the Preſſe) which ſaith as followeth in maner worde for worde.

r.

tter=
rne.
nter=
rne.

Glyke.

Lacocke.
Worth.
Moreton.

Redwell.
Went.

There is a noble water that falleth into Aire, whoſe heade as I take it is about Stāforde. From whence it goeth to Creſton chapell, to Lingfield, and there about receyuing one ryll, néere Elfrabright bridge, and alſo the Hebden by northweſt, it goeth to Brearley hall, and ſo taking in the thirde by north it procéedeth on eaſtwarde by Sorſby bridge chappell, (and there a ryll from ſouthweſt)

Hebden.

and

Chalde.

and ſo to Coppeley hall. Beneath this place I finde alſo that it receyueth one ryll from Hallyfare, which ryſeth of two heades, & two other from ſouthweſt, of which one commeth by Bareſlande, and Stanelande in one chanell, as I reade, ſo that after this confluence the aforeſayd water goeth on toward Colwforde bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the ſame on the North ſide, ſo beneath that bridge, there falleth into it a prety arme increaſed by ſundry waters comming from by ſouth, as from Marſheden chappell, from Holmeſworth chappell, and Kyrke Heton, eche one growyng of ſundrie heades, whereof I woulde ſay more, if I had more intelligēce of their ſeuerall gates and paſſages. But to procéede from Colwford bridge it runneth to Munfeld, & receiuing ere long one ryll from Leuerſage hall, and another from Burſhall by Deweſburye, it goeth on North eaſt of Thornehul, ſouth of Horbyry thornes, & therabout croſſyng one ryll from by ſouth from Woller by newe Milner Damme, and ſoone after another from northweſt, called Chald, ryſing in the Peke hilles, whereon Wakefielde ſtandeth, and likewiſe the thirde from ſouth eaſt, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newelande, Altoftes, and fynally into the Aire, weſt of Caſtelworth, as I learne. What yͤ name of this ryuer ſhould be as yet I here not, and therefore no merueile that I doe not ſet it downe, yet is it poſſible ſuch as dwell thereabout are not ignoraunt thereof, but what is that to me, if I be not pertaker of their knowledge. It ſhal ſuffiſe therefore thus farre to haue ſhewed the courſe thereof, and as for the name I paſſe it ouer vntill another time.

Trent.

Foulbrook

Sow.

Penk.

Blith.

Tame.

The Trent is one of the moſt excellent ryuers in the lande, and increaſed wyth ſo many waters, as for that onely cauſe it may bée compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the ſeconde Ouze, whoſe courſe I haue lately deſcribed. It ryſeth of two heads which ioyne beneath Norton in the moore, & from thence goeth to Hiltō Abbay, Bucknel church, and aboue Stoke, receyueth in the foule brooke water, which commeth thyther from Tunſtall, by Shelton, and finally making a confluence they go to Hanflete, where they méete wyth another on the ſame ſide, that diſcendeth frō Newcaſtell vnder Line, which Lelande taketh to bée the very Trent it ſelfe, ſaying, that it ryſeth in the hylles aboue Newcaſtell, as maye be ſéene by hys commentaryes. But to procéede. At Trentham or not farre from thence, it croſſeth a riueret from northeaſt, whoſe name I know not, & thence goyng to Stone Aſton, Stoke Burſton, the Sandons and Weſton, a little aboue Shubburne and Hawood, it receyueth the Sowe, a great chanell increaſed wyth ſundry waters, which I will here deſcribe, leauyng the Trent at Shubburne, tyll I come backe agayne. The Sowe diſcendeth from the hylles, aboue Whytemoore chapell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalforde ioyneth wyth another by northeaſt that commeth from Byſhoppes Offeley, Egleſhal, Cheſby, Rauntō. After thys confluence alſo, it runneth by Bridgeforde, Tillington, and Stafforde, beneath which Towne, it croſſeth the Penke becke, that ryſeth aboue Migleton, & Berewood, and aboue Penke bridge, vniteth it ſelf with another comming frō Knightley ward, by Gnaſhall church, Eaton, and ſo goyng forth as one, it is not long ere they fall into Sow, after they haue paſſed Draiton, Dunſtan, Acton, and Banſwiche, where looſing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them, doe ioyne wyth the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the ſoutherly bank. From Shubburne yͤ Trent goeth on, to lytle Harwoode, (méeting by the way one ryll at Ouſley bridge, and another ſouth of Riddleſley) thence by Hawkſhery, Maneſtane, Ridware and ſo towarde Yoxhall, where I muſt ſtaye a whyle to conſider of other waters, wherewith I mete in this voiage. Of theſe therfore the leſſer commeth in by ſouth frō Farwall, the other from by weſt, a fayre ſtreame, and increaſed with two brookes, whereof the firſt ryſeth in Nedewoode foreſt, northeaſt of Haggarſley parke, wherinto falleth another weſt of Hamſted Ridware, called Blythe, which ryſeth among the hylles in Whateley moore, aboue Weſton Cony and thence goyng to the ſame Towne, it commeth to Careſwel Drulcote, alias Dracote, Painſley Gratwitch, Grymley, Aldmaſton, Hamſted Ridware, and finally into the Trent, directly weſt of Yoxhall, which runneth alſo from thence, and leauing kinges Bromley, in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton, and Lichefielde on the ryght, goeth ſtreight waye to Catton, where it méeteth wyth the Tame, whoſe courſe I deſcribe as followeth. It riſeth in Staffordſhyre (as I remēber) not farre from Petteſhall, & goeth foorth by Hamſted, towarde Pyrihall and Brimichams Aſton, taking in by the way a rill on eache ſide, whereof the firſt groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Typton, the other from Aldbury, and ſo rūning as one by Wedbury till they fall into the ſame. The latter commeth from Wolſhall and ioyneth with it on the left hande. After this and when it is paſt the aforeſayd places, it croſſeth in like ſort a rill frõ Smethikewarde: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhe, and thence thorow the parke, at Parke hal by Watercote croſſing ſmally the Cole, whoſe heade is in the forreſt by Kingeſnortõ wood, and hath this courſe, whereof I nowe giue notice. It riſeth as I ſayde in the forreſt by Kingeſnorton wood, ⁊ going by Pareley and Kingeſhirſt, it meeteth betweene that ⁊ the parke, with a water running betweene Helmedon and Sheldon. Thence it paſſeth on to Coleſhull, by eaſt whereof it ioyneth with a brooke, mounting ſouthweſt of Solyhull called Blithe, which going by Henwood and Barſton, croſſeth on eche ſide of temple Balſhall a rill, whereof one cõmeth thorow the Queenes parke or chaſe that lyeth by Weſt of Kenelworth, and the other by Kenelworth caſtell it ſelfe, from about Haſely parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, ⁊ the Packingtons and ſo to Coleſhull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little farder vniteth it ſelf with the Burne, on the one ſide, (whereinto runneth a water comming frõ Anſley on the eaſt) ⁊ ſoone after on ẏ other doth fal into ẏ Tame. That which ſome call the Rhee, Leland nameth the Brimichã water, whoſe head as I heare is aboue Norſfield, ſo that his courſe ſhoulde be by Kingeſnortõ, Bremicham, Budſton hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Tame it ſelf, that runneth after theſe confluences on by Lee, Kingeſbyry parke, ⁊ going by eaſt, of Drayton Baſſet Parke to Falkeſley Bridge, it meeteth with another water, called Burne alſo comming from Hammerwich churche, by Cheſterforde, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north ſide of Drayton, Baſſet parke, whereof I ſpake before. From hence our Thame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Ancre by eaſt, whoſe deſcription I had in this maner deliuered vnto me. It riſeth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherley and Atherſtone. Ere long alſo it taketh in a water frõ northeaſt, which commeth by Hugleſcote, Shapton, Cunſtõ, Twicroſſe (vniting it ſelf with a water from Boſworth) Ratcliffe and ſo into Ancre: which after this confluence paſſeth by Whittendõ, Crindõ, Polleſworth Armington, Tamworth and ſo into Tame, that haſteth to Hopwaſh, Cõberford hall, Telford, ⁊ ſoone after croſſing a rill that ryſeth ſhorte of Swinfelde hall, and commeth by Feſſyrike, it runneth not farre from Croxhall, and ſo to Catton, there about receyuing his laſt increaſe not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Meſe, ⁊ it riſeth in the great parke that lyeth betweene Worthington, ⁊ Smethike, from whence alſo it goeth by Aſheby de la ſouche Packington, Meſham ⁊ Stretton, ⁊ therabout croſſing a ril about Netherſale Graunge, from Ouerſale by eaſt, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxal, into the Thame and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Reptõ. Leland writing of this riuer as I earſt noted ſaith therof in this wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham brooke, which ryſeth foure or fiue myles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worceſterſhyre, and goeth into the aforeſayde water a myle aboue Crudworth bridge. Certes ſayth he this Bremicham is a towne maintayned chiefly by ſmithes, as Naylers, Cutlers, Edgetoole forgers, Lorimers or Bitmakers, which haue their yron out of Stafforde, and Warwike ſhyres, and coles alſo out of the firſt countie, ⁊ hitherto Leland. Nowe to reſume the Trent, which being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there croſſing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it rũneth to Stapenell, Winſhull, Wightmere, and Newtõ, Souche, where it receyueth two chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed a part. The firſt of theſe is called the Dow or Doue. It ryſeth about the three ſhyres meere, ⁊ is as it were Limes betweene Stafforde and Darbyſhyres vntill it come at the Trent. Deſcending therfore from the head, it goeth by Erles Booth, Pilſbury Graung, Hartington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Himſington Graunge, and aboue Thorpe receyueth the Manifolde water, ſo called bycauſe of ẏ ſundrie crinckling rils that it receyueth ⁊ turnagaines that it ſelfe ſheweth before it come at the Dow. Riſing therefore not farre from Are edge croſſe, (in the bottome therely) it runneth from thence to Longnore, Shene, Warſlow Chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton alſo it taketh in the Hanſby water, that commeth out of Blackemore hilles to Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground, and afterwarde mounting againe is receyued into the Manifold north of Throwley as I heare, which goeth from thence to Ilam ⁊ aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Dowe. Hauing therefore mette togither after this maner, the Dow proceedeth on to Maplington, beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending from Brallingtõ by Fenny Bentley, and another ſomewhat lower that commeth from Hocſton hall by Hognaſton and Aſheburne, and then going to Matterfielde,

Narbury,

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Meſe.
Dow.
Manifold.
Hanſley.

Churne.
Dunſmere
yendor.
Aula Canuti.
Aſhenhirſt
Teine.
Vttoyeter or Vnceſter.
Darwent.
Neue.
Burbrooke

Narbury,Ellaſton, Rawſton, Rowceſter, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to be deſcribed before I go any farder. It riſeth a good wale aboue Delacraſſe abbay, and comming thither by Hellesby wood, it taketh in the Dunſmeere betweene Harracraſſe, and Leike. Thence it goeth to the Walgraunge, and a little beneath receyueth ẏ Pendor, that commeth frō aboue Harton, thence tō Chedleton, & hauing croſſed the Aſhenhirſt brooke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypſton, Froghall, Below hill, Alton caſtell, Preſtwood & at Rowceſter falleth into the Dow, which eare long alſo receyueth a rill from Crowſden, and then going to Eton meeteth firſt with the Teine that commeth thither from each ſide of Chedley by Teinetwone, Bramhirſt and Stranehill. Secondly with the Vnceſter or Vttoyeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Sidbery, Cawltō, it croſſeth a brooke from Sidmiſter colledge, by Saperton. From this confluence in lyke ſorte it paſſeth forth, to Tilbery caſtel, Marſton and at Edgerton, meeteth with the water that commeth from Pelderſley by Longforde (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and ſo to Hilton. Theſe waters being thus ioyned and many endes brought into one, the Dow it ſelfe falleth eare long, lykewyſe into the Trent, aboue Newton Souche: ſo that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwardes with his courſe, and betweene Willington and Reptō meeteth with two waters on ſundry ſides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington ryſeth neere Dawbery Lyes, & runneth by Truſſely and Aſhe: the other that entreth aboue Repton deſcendeth from Harteſburne, ſo that the Trent being paſt theſe haſteth to Twiforde, Ingleby, Staunton, Weſton, Newton, and Aſton, eare long alſo meeting with the Darwent, next of all to be diſpatched. The Darwent riſeth plaine weſt neere vnto the edge of Darbyſhyre, aboue Blackewell a market towne, and from the heade runneth to the new chappell within a few miles after it be riſen. Frō hence moreouer it goeth by Howden houſe, Darwent chappel, Yorkeſhyre bridge, and at Witham bridge doth croſſe the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newſtole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope, (croſſing there one rill frō Caſtelton, another from Bradwell, & the thirde at Hatherſage, from ſtony ridge hill) and ſo goeth on to Padley, Stockehall, receyuing a rill by the way from by weſt, to Stony Midleton, and Baſlow, and hauing here taken in the Burbrooke on the one ſide, and another from Halſop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowſeley, where it is increaſed with the Wye comming from by weſt, & alſo a rill on the eaſt, a little higher, but I will deſcribe the Wye before I go any farder.

Wye.
Wyle.

The Wye ryſeth aboue Burſton well, and there is increaſed with the Hawkeſhow, and the Wyle brooke, whoſe heades are alſo farder diſtaunt from the edge of Darbyſhyre, then that of Wye, and races ſomewhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wyle, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbaye ſtoode, the other is farder of by weſt, about Wilebecke towne, and finally ioyning in one they runne to Cuckney village, where receiuing a beck that commeth downe from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles farder, there taking in the ſeconde rill, and ſo reſort to Rufforde, or the Man becke: Vnto this alſo do other two rils repaire, whereof the one goeth thorowe & the other harde by Maunſfield, of which two alſo this latter ryſeth weſt about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipſton (three myles lower) and ſo likewiſe to Rufforde, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter. In the meane tyme to returne againe to the Wye. From Burſton well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouſes, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receyueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Ouerhaddon, and the Bradforde both in one bottome after they be ioyned in one, at Alport, & this is the firſt great water that our Derwent doth meete withall. Being therfore paſt the Rowſleies, the ſayde Derwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darley in the peke, Wenſley, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeſt, as it doth another at Crūforde that goeth by Boteſhall. From Matlocke, it proceedeth to Watſton, or Watſond, Well bridge, Alderwaſh and ioyneth with an other ſtreame called Amber comming in from by North by Amber bridge, whoſe deſcription ſhall inſue, in this wiſe as I finde it. The heade of Amber is aboue Edleſton hal, or as Leland ſaith eaſt of Cheſterfielde, and comming from thence by Midleton, to Ogſton hall, it taketh with al another brooke, deſcending from Hardwijc woode, by Alton and Stretton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfelde, and aboue Dale bridge, meeteth with a brooke running from Hucknallwarde to Shirelande parke ſide (there croſſing the Moreton Becke) & ſo to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfelde, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and ſo into Darwent, takyng the water withall that diſcendeth from Swanſwyc by Pentridge, as Leland doth remẽber. From this confluence likewiſe it runneth to Belper, where it meeteth with a ryll comming from Morley parke: thence to Makeney, and at Duffelde, receyueth the Eglesburne, which ryſeth about Wirkeſworth or Oreſworth but in ẏ ſame pariſh out of a rock & commeth in by Turnedicho. From Duffeld, it paſſeth to Bradſall, Darley Abbaie, and at Darby Towne, taketh in a ryll comming from Mirkaſton, by Weſton vnderwoode, Kidleſton, and Merton.

If a man ſhoulde ſaye that Darwent ryuer giueth name to Darby towne, he ſhould not well knowe howe euerye one woulde take it, and thereby he might happen to offende ſome. In the meane tyme I beleeue it, let other iudge as pleaſeth them, ſithe my coniecture can preiudice none: to proceede therfore. From Darby it runneth on by Aluaſton, Ambaſton, the Wellos, and ſo into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawley, & north of Thrumpton taketh in the Sore, a fayre ſtreame and not worthy to be ouerpaſſed.

It ryſeth in Leiceſter ſhyre aboue Wigton & thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton, taketh in a ryll that commeth by Downton and Broughton Aſtley. Thence to Marleborowe and before it come to Elſton croſſeth another on the ſame ſide (diſcending by Burton, Glen, Winſtowe, Kilby and Blabye) then to Leirceſter towne, Belgraue, Burſtall, Wanlippe, & ere it come at Cuſſington or Coſſton, croſſeth the Eye, which riſeth aboue Bramſton, goeth by Knawſtow, Somerby, Pickewell, Whiteſonden, & beneath (a little) receyueth a ryll on the ryght hande from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleforde, and ſoone after croſſing a brooke from aboue Sprorton, Coſon, Garthrope and Sarby, it runneth to Wiuerby, Brentingby, and ere it come at Milton, meeteth with two other ſmal rils, from the right hand wherof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnolde, & Waltham in the woulde, the other from Skaleforde warde, & from Melton goeth by Siſonby, there meeting with another from northeaſt oueragainſt Kirby Hellars, after which tyme ẏ name of Eye is changed into Wark, or Wrke, and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence alſo it goeth to Aſterby, Radgale, Haby, Truſſington, Ratcliffe, and ſoone after croſſeth ſundry waters not very farre in ſunder, whereof one commeth from Queſton, by Twiforde, Aſhby and Gadeſby, another from Loſeby, by Baggraue, and Crawſton, and ioining with ẏ firſt at Quennyhow, it is not long ere they fall into the Warke. The ſeconde runneth from Engarſby, by Barkeley, and Siſon. But the thirde and greateſt of the three, is a chanell increaſed with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton, by Burton, Kylby, Foſton and Blaby, the other from Downton, by Broughton, and Aſtley, and meeting with the thirde from Sapcoth, and ſtony Staunton, they run togyther by Narborow, and ſoone after ioyning aboue Elſtõ, wyth the firſt of the three, they go as one by Elſton to Leirceſter, Belgraue, Wanlippe, and aboue Cuſſington, doe fall into ẏ Wark and ſoone after into the Soure. The Soure, in lyke ſorte goyng from thence to mounte Sorrel, & taking in another brooke ſouthweſt from Leirceſter forreſt, by Glenfield, Auſty, Thurcaſton and Rodeley, ioyneth wyth the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewoode forreſt, and goeth by Bradegate and Swythlande) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanforde, there alſo taking in one ryll out of Notingham ſhyre, by north eaſt, and ſoone after another from ſouthweſt, comming from Braceden to Shepeſheued, Garrington and Dighely grauing, and likewiſe the thirde, from Worthington, by Diſworth, long Whitton, & Wathorne. Fynally after theſe confluences, it haſteth to Sutton, Kingſton, and Ratcliſe, and ſo into the Trent.

These things being thus brought togither, and we nowe reſuming the diſcourſe of the ſame riuer. It doth after his meeting wyth the Soure, proceede withal to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwaſh, which ryſeth about Kyrby, and thence goeth to Selſton, Wanſby, Codnor caſtell, Eſtwoode, and croſſyng a water from Beual, runneth to Coſhal Trowel (& there taking in another rill comming from Henor, by Shypeley) it proceedeth on to Stapleforde, long Eaton, and ſo into the Trent. This beyng done it goeth to Clifton, and ere it come at Wilforde, it meeteth with a brooke that paſſeth from Staunton, by Bõny and Rodington, and thence to Notinghã, where it croſſeth the Line, which ryſeth aboue Newſted, and paſſyng by Papplewyc, Hucknall, Baſforde, Radforde and Linton, nexte of all to Thorpe and Farmdon, where it braunceth and maketh an Iſland, and into the ſmaller of them goeth a brooke frõ Beuer caſtell, which riſing betweene eaſt Well & Eaton in Leirceſter is called the Dene, & from thence runneth by Bramſton to Kniptón,

Erwaſhe.

Dene.

Snite.

ton, & beneth Knipton meeteth with a brooke that commeth by weſt of Croxton, & thence holdeth on wͭ his courſe, betweene Willeſthorp & Beuer caſtel aforſaid, & ſo to Botteſworth, Normantō, Killington, Shilton there receyuing the Snite frō by ſouth (whoſe head is neere Clauſton, and courſe from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orſton, and Flarcborow) and ere long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke caſtel, and ſo to Winthorpe, where the braunches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme, to Cromwell (and ſoone after taking in a brooke comming frō Bilſthorpe, by Kerſal, Cawnton, Norwel & Willowby) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Iſle, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a ſtreame one eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Morehouſe by Weſton, and Greſthorp, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Boſthorpe. From hence lykewyſe it paſſeth to Clifton, Newtō, Kettlethorpe, Torkeſey, Knath, Gainſborow, Waltrith, Stockwith, and leauing Axholme on the left hande, it taketh with all Hogdike water, out of the Iſle, and ſo goeth forth to Wildſworth, Eaſtferrye, Fruſworth, Burringham Gummeis, Hirburghe, Burton, Walcote, & at Ankerbury into the Humber, receiuing the Downe with by the way, which for his nobleneſſe is not to be ouerpaſſed.

Done alias Donne.

Cowley.

Rother.

Iber.

Bramptō.

The Done therfore riſeth in Yorkeſhire among the Pekehils, & hauing receiued a water cōming by Ingbirchworth goth to Penniſtō, which is foure myles frō the hed, then by Oxſpring, to Thurgoland, and ſoone after (ioining by the way with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, & Hondeſhelfe) it meeteth with another comming frō Bowſterſtō chapell. Then goeth it by Waddeſley wood to Waddeſley bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfelde water. Then paſſeth it to Crokes, and ſo to Sheffelde caſtell, (by eaſt whereof it receyueth a brooke from by ſouth that commeth thorowe Sheffeldpark.) Thence it proceedeth to Weſtford bridg, Brikſie bridg & ſouthweſt of Timſley receyueth the Cowley ſtreame, that runneth by Ecclefeld. Next of al it goeth to Rotherhā where it meeteth with yͤ Rother a goodly water, whoſe head is in Darbyſhyre, about Pilſley, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doley, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfielde churche, Wingerworth, & Forelande hall twelue myles from Rotheram, to Cheſterforde, where it meeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanel. Thence it runneth to Toptom caſtell, & ere long croſſing one water comming from Dronefelde by Whittington on the one ſide, and the ſeconde from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth thorowe Staley parke, and ere long meeteth with the Crawley becke, whereof I finde this note. The Crawley ryſeth not far from Hardwike, and going by Staneſby and Woodhouſe, it receiueth aboue Netherthorpe, one water on the one ſide comming from the olde parke, and another from Barleborowe hill on the other, that runneth not far from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewyſe they run as one into the Rother, which haſteth from thence to Eckington (there croſſing a ryll that runneth by Byrley hill) and ſo to Kilmarſhe, in the confines of Darby ſhire, where it taketh in the Gunna from by eaſt, thence to Boughton, vniting it ſelfe thereabout wyth another by weſt from Gledles, called Meſebrooke, which deuydeth Yorkeſhyre from Darby ſhyre, and ſo runneth to Treton, Whiſton, there taking in a ryll frō Aſton and ſo to Rotheram, where it meeteth wyth the Donne, & from whence our Done haſteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Merburge, there takyng in the Darne, which I wyll next deſcribe, and ſtaye with the Done, vntil I haue finiſhed the ſame. It ryſeth at Combworth and ſo commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton warde, where it croſſeth a water that runneth from Gunthwake Hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heades. From hence it goeth to Burton graunge, then to Drar, where it toucheth wyth a water from ſouthweſt & then goeth to Derfielde & Goldthorpe, but ere it come to Sprotborowe, it vniteth it ſelfe with a faire ryuer, increaſed by dyuers waters, before it come at yͤ Done, & whereinto it falleth as I here northeaſt of Merburghe. After this confluence lykewyſe the Done goeth by Sprotborowe, to Warneſworth, Doncaſter, Wheatley (there meeting wyth the Hampall creeke on the northeaſt ſide, which ryſeth eaſt of Kyrby) thence to Sandal, Kyrke Sandall, Branwith ferry Stanford, Fiſhelake, and ſo to Thnorne, or Thurne, where it croſſeth the Idle (whoſe deſcription followeth) & finally into Trent, & ſo into the Humber. But before I deale with the deſcription of the Idle, I will adde ſomewhat of the Rume which is a fayre water: for although the deſcription thereof be not ſo exactly deliuered me as I looked for, yet ſuch as it is I wyll ſet downe, conferring it wyth Lelandes booke and helping their defecte ſo much as to mee is poſſible. It ryſeth by ſouth of Maunſfielde, fyue myles from Rumforde abbaye, & when the ſtreame commeth neere the abbay, it caſteth it ſelfe abroade and maketh a fayre lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrowe chanell, and ſo goeth on to Rumford village, carying the Budbye and the Gerberton waters wyth all. From thence & with a méetely long courſe, it goeth to Bawtry or Wautrye, a market towne in Nottingham ſhyre, fiue myles from Doncaſter, and ſo into the Trent. Beneth Rumford alſo commeth in the Gyrt, which goeth vnto Southwel mylles, & ſo into the Trent. Nowe as concerning our Idle. The Idle ryſeth at Sutton in Aſhfelde, from whence it runneth to Maunſfelde, Clypſton and Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riſeth in the forreſt, one myle north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughforde abbaye, tyll it come at Allerton. The forreſters call thys Man becke, whereof Lelande alſo ſpeaketh, who deſcribeth it in thismaner. Man brooke ryſeth ſome where about Linthirſt woode, from whence it goeth to Bilſthorpe, and ſo to Allerton. But to procéede the Idle hauing taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomſall, by Boughton, and Perlethorpe but ere it come there, it méeteth the Meding Mayden, or Midding brooke, which ryſing about Teuerſall, goeth to Pleaſley, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warſop, Budley, Thureſby, Bothomſall & ſo into the Idle. After thys it procéedeth to Houghton, weſt Draiton, but ere it touche at Graunſton or Gaunſton, it taketh in the Wily, which commeth from Clowne, to Creſwell, Holbecke, Woodhouſe Wilebecke, Normanton, Elſley, Graunſtõ, and ſo into the Idle. Beyng thus increaſed the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordſal, Retforde, Bollam, Tilney, Matterſey abbaye, & ſo to Bawtry, where it méeteth another frõ the ſhire Okes, that ryſeth aboue Geytford, paſſeth on to Workſop (or Radfurth) Oſberton, Bilby, and Blythe, there vniting it ſelf wyth thrée rylles in one botome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwel to Carleton, and ſo thorowe a parke to Blithe towne, another from by weſt Furbecke thrée myles and ſo to Blithe, but the thirde out of ẏ white water néer to Blithe, and there being vnited they paſſe on to Scroby, and ſo into the Idle. From hence it runneth on to Miſſen, to Sadlers bridge, & next of all to Santoft, where it méeteth with the Sandbecke, which ryſing not farre from Sandbecke towne, paſſeth by Tickhill, Roſington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, & one myle ſouth of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it méeteth with the Done, & ſo with it to Crowley. Finally enuironning the Iſle of Axeholme, it goeth to Garthorpe, Focorby, and ſo into the Trent. Leland wryting of the Wily, Wile or Giwily, as ſome wryte it, ſaith thus thereof. The Wile hath two heades, whereof one is not far aboue the place where Wilbecke abbaie ſtoode, the other ryſeth farder of by weſt aboue Welbecke, or Wilebecke Towne: finally ioyning in one, they runne to Cuckeney village, where croſſing a becke that commeth in frõ by weſt, it holdeth on two myles farder, there taking in the ſeconde ryll, and ſo reſort to Rufforde. To thys ryuer likewiſe ſaith he do two other waters repaire, whereof ẏ one goeth hard by Maunſfeld (riſing foure myles from thence by weſt) & then commeth thrée myles lower vnto Rufford, the other ſo far as I remember goeth quite thorowe the towne. Hauing thus finiſhed ẏ courſe of the Trent, & ſuch notable waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame. I find none of any coũtenance omitted before I come to Lindis or Witham, where I haue to make ſupplie of foure or fiue as followeth, albeit that their courſes be not of any quantitie in compariſon of thoſe, whereof I ſpake in the Trent. Into Witham therefore from by north and ſeuen myles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the heade whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Reſby, Stainton, and at Bullington méeteth with a water on each ſide, whereof one commeth from Haytõ and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewyſe beneath Byrlinges with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and ioining all in one ſoone after, it is not long ere it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more hearde of. There is alſo a brooke by ſouthweſt, that commeth from Kyrby to Cateley, Billingai[illegible], and the ferry. At Taterſall it méeteth with the Bane, which ryſeth aboue Burghe, and néere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanygod, Hemmingſby, Bamburghe, Fillington, Horne caſtell (where it croſſeth a rill from Belcheworth) Thorneton, Marton, Halton, Kyrkeby, Comſby, Taterſall and ſo to Dogdike ferry. Aboue Boſton, likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſeby by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickney, Sibbeſey and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe doe finally come ſundry brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſby runneth on to Wrightbold where it caſteth one arme into Holly well water. Thence it haſteth towarde Donnington, receyuing foure brookes by the waye, whereof the firſt commeth from Milthorp, the ſecond from Fokingham, called Bollingbrowe or

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Sempringham water, the thirde frō Bridge ende, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwardes the maine ſtreame is founde to runne by Kyrton holme, and ſo into the Witham. Into the Wylande likewyſe falleth the Hallywell, which ryſeth of a ſpryng that runneth towarde the eaſt from Halywell to Oneby, Eſonden, Gretforde, and ſo to Catbridge, where it receyueth another ryſing at Witham and Weſt of Manthorpe, and the ſeconde comming from Laund, and ſo runne from thence togither to Willeſthorp & Catbridge, and then into the Hallywell, which after theſe confluences, goeth to Tetforde, & Caſtcote, where it meeteth with a Drayne, comming from Bourne, and ſo thorowe the Fennes to Pinchebeck, Surflete, and Foſdike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in yͤ mouth of the waſhe as I haue beene aduertiſed. And thus much of the ſmaller brookes, wherby the greater are augmented, ouer all the realme of Englande. Certes I would if it had beene poſſible, haue dealt more orderly in their deſcriptions, but ſith many occaſiōs hindered my purpoſe, that which I haue done I hope ſhall ſuffice for this time, ſith here after I may happen to take farder trauaile herein, & bring the whole diſcourſe to ſome more perfite order, as better inſtruction and good acceptation of that which is done alreadie ſhall encourage me thereto.

Of the deuiſion of Englande as it is now generally named into Shyres

Cap. 4.

Trinobantes.
Ordolukes.
Tegenes.
Silures.
Brigantes.
Cankes.
Canges.

Alfride brought Englande into ſhires which the Britons diuided by Cantredes and the Saxons by famillies.

IN reading of auncient writters as Cæſar Tacitus and others, we finde mention of ſundrie regions to haue beene ſometyme in this Iſlande, as of the Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Icenes, Brigantes, Cāges, and Kentiſhmen and ſuch like, but ſith the ſeuerall places where moſt of them laye, are not perfitelye knowne vnto the learned of theſe dayes, I doe not meane to pronounce my iudgement alſo vpō ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo dooing I ſhoulde but increaſe coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader frō the more probable, intangle him in the ende with ſuch as are of leſſe value & nothing ſo lykely to be true, as thoſe which other men haue ſet downe before me. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to begin with ſuch a ground, as from whence ſome better certaintie of thinges may be deriued, and that is with the eſtate of our Iſlande in the time of Alfrede, who firſt deuided England into ſhyres, whiche before his tyme, and ſithence the cōming of the Saxons, was limited out by familes and hydelandes, as Wales hath alſo beene by hundreds of townes, which then were called Cantredes, as olde recorde doth witneſſe. Into how many ſhyres the ſayde Alfrede did firſt make this particion of the Iſlande, it is not yet founde out, howbeit if my coniecture be any thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eyght and thirtie, ſith we finde by no good author that aboue fifteene haue bene added by any of his ſucceſſours, ſith the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhyres, or ſhares, he deuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, & hundredes into tithinges, or denaries, as diuers haue written, and M. Lambert following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaying almoſt after this manner in his deſcription of Kent. The Danes (ſaith he) both before, and in the time of king Alfrede, had flocked by the ſea coaſtes of this Iſlande in great numbers, ſometimes waſting and ſpoiling with ſworde and fire, whereſoeuer they might arriue, & ſometime taking great booties with thē to their ſhips, without dooing any farder hurt, or domage to the countrey. Thys inconuenience continuing for manye yeares togither, cauſed our huſbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion and hardneſſe to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the lyke pillage, as practiſing to followe the Danes in theſe theyr theftes and robberies. And the better to cloake their miſchiefe withall, they feigned thēſelues to be Daniſh Pyrates, and woulde ſometime come alande in one port, and ſometime in an other, driuing dayly great ſpoyles as the Danes had done vnto their ſhips before them. The good king Alfrede therfore (who had marueylouſly traueyled in repulſing the barbarous Danes) eſpying this out rage, & thinking it no leſſe the part of a politicke prince to roote out the noyſome ſubiect, then to holde out the forren aduerſarie: by the aduice of his nobilitie, and thexample of Moſes (who followed the counſell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) deuided the whole realme into certaine partes or ſectiōs, which (of the Saxon worde, Schyran, ſignifying to cut) he termed ſhires or as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or portions, and appointed ouer euery ſuch one ſhire an Erle or Alderman or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the ſame. Theſe ſhyres alſo he brake into leſſer partes, wherof ſome were called lathes, of the worde Gelathian, which is to aſſemble togither, other hundredes for that they coined iuriſdiction ouer an hundred pledges, & other tithinges, bycauſe there were in eache of them to the number of tenne perſons, whereof euery one frõ time to time was ſuretie for others good abearing. He prouided alſo that euery man ſhoulde procure himſelfe to be receyued into ſome tithing, to the ende, that if any were founde of ſo ſmall and baſe a credite that no man woulde become pledge or ſuretie for him, he ſhoulde forthwith be committed to priſon, leſt otherwiſe he might happen to do more harme abroade. Hitherto M. Lambert, by whoſe wordes we may gather very much of the ſtate of this Iſlande in the time of Alfride, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who chaunged the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that very little of the olde regiment remayned more then the bare names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent) ſo that in theſe dayes it is hard to ſet downe any great certainty of things as they ſtode in Alfrides time, more then is remembred, & touched at this preſent. Some as it were rouing at ẏ name Lath, affirme that they were certen circuites in euery county or ſhyre, conteyning an appoynted number of townes, whoſe inhabitauntes alwayes aſſembled to know and vnderſtande of matters touching their portions, in to ſome one appoynted place or other within their limites, eſpecially whyleſt the cauſes were ſuch as required not the ayde or aſſiſtaunce of the whole countye. Of theſe Lathes alſo (as they ſaye) ſome ſhyres had more ſome leſſe, as they were of greatneſſe. And M. Lãbert ſeemeth to be of the opinion that the lets of our tyme (wherein theſe pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the worde Free burghe) doe yeelde ſome ſhadow of that politike inſtitutiõ of Alfrede: but ſith my ſkill is ſo ſmall in theſe caſes that I dare, not iudge any thing at all as of myne owne knowledge, I will not ſette downe any thing more then I read, and reading no more of lathes, my next talke ſhal be of hundredes. The hundrede, and the wapentake is all one, and by this diuiſion not a name appertynent to a ſette number of townes (for then all hundrede ſhoulde be of equall quantitie) but a limited iuriſdiction, within the compaſſe whereof were an hundred perſons called pledges, or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which eache one was bounde for other good abering, and laudable behauiour in the cõmon welth of the realme. The chiefe man lykewyſe of euerie Denarie or Tithing was in thoſe dayes called a tithing man in latine Decurio, but now in moſt places a borſholder as in Kent, where euery tithing is more ouer named a Burrow, although that in the Weſt countrie he be ſtill called a Tithing man, and his circuit a Tithing as haue hearde at large. I reade further more, and it is partly afore noted, that the ſayde Alfride cauſed eache man of free condicion (for the better maintenaunce of his peace) to be aſcribed into ſome hundred by placing himſelfe in one Denarie or other, where he might alwayes haue ſuch as ſhould ſweare or ſaye vppon their certen knowledge for his honeſt behauiour and ciuile conuerſation if it ſhould happen at any time, that his credite ſhould come in queſtion. In like ſort, I gather out of Leland and other, that if any ſmal matter did fall out worthie to be diſcuſſed, the Tithing man or borſholder (now officers at the cõmandement of ẏ Conſtable) ſhould decide the ſame in their Letes, where as the greateſt cauſes were referred to the Hundredes, the greater to the Lathes, and the greateſt of all to the ſhire daies, where the Earles or Aldermen dyd ſet themſelues, and make finall endes of the ſame, according vnto Iuſtice. For this purpoſe likewiſe in euery Hundred were 12. men choſen of good age and wiſedome, and thoſe ſworne to gyue their ſentences without reſpect of perſon, and in this maner, as they gather were thinges handeled in thoſe daies. In my tyme there are found to be in Englande 40. ſhyres, and likewiſe 13. in Wales, and theſe latter erected of late yeres, by King Henry ẏ eyght, who made the Brytõs or Welchmẽ, equall in all reſpectes vnto the Engliſhe, and brought to paſſe, that both nations ſhould indifferently be gouerned by one law, which in times paſt were ordred by diuers, & thoſe far deſcrepant, & diſagreyng one wyth an other, as by the ſeuerall view of ẏ ſame, is yet eaſy to be deſerned. The names of the ſhyres in England are theſe whereof the firſt 10. lie betwene the Brittiſh ſea and the Thames.

Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fourtie ſhyres in Englande thirtene in wales.

Kent.
Suſſex.
Surrey.
Hampſhyre.
Barkeſhyre.
Wilſhyre.
Dorſet ſhyre.
Somerſet.
Deuon.
Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the north ſide of the Thames, & betwene the ſame & the riuer Trent, which paſſeth thorowe the middeſt of Englande as Polidore ſayth 16. other ſhires, whereof fiue lye towarde the eaſt, the reſt towarde the weſt, more into the middeſt of the countrye.

Eſſex.
Middleſex.
Hartfordſhire.
Suffolke.
Norfolke.
Cambridge ſhyre.
Bedforde.
Huntingdon.

Buckingham.
Oxford.
Northampton.
Rutland.
Lewceſterſhire.
Nottingham ſhyre.
Warwicke.
Lincolne.

We haue 6. alſo that haue there place weſtward towardes wales, whoſe names inſue.

Gloceſter.
Hereford.
Worceſter.
Shropeſhire.
Stafford.
Cheſterſhire.

And theſe are the 32. ſhires which lie by ſouth of the Trent. Beyonde the ſame ryuer we haue in lyke ſort other 8. as

Darby.
Yorke.
Lancaſter.
Comberlande.
Weſtmerland.
Richemonde.
Durham.
Northumberland.

So that in the portiõ ſometime called Lhoegres, there are nowe fourtie ſhyres. In Wales furthermore are 13. whereof 7. are in ſouth Wales.

Cardigan, or
Cereticon.
Penmoroke, or
Penbroke.
Caermardine.
Glamorgan.
Monemuth.
Breckenocke.
Radnor.

In Northwales likewiſe are 6. that is to ſay

Angleſey.
Carnaruon.
Merioneth.
Denbighe.
Flint.
Montgomery.

Odde parcelles of ſhyres.

Which being added to thoſe of Englãd yéeld 53. ſhires or coũties, ſo ẏ vnder the Quéenes Maieſty are ſo many Counties, whereby it is eaſily diſcerned, that hir power farre excéedeth that of Offa, who of olde time was highelye honoured for that he had ſo much of Brytaine vnder hys ſubiection as afterwarde conteined 39. ſhyres, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before.

Thys is moreouer to be noted in our deuiſion of ſhyres, that they bée not allwayes counted or laid togither in one percel, whereof I haue great marueyle. But ſith the occaſion hath growen as I take it either by Priuyledge or ſome lyke occaſion, it is better breyefelye to ſet downe howe ſome of theſe partes lye then to ſpende the tyme in ſéeking a iuſt cauſe of thys their odde diuiſion. Firſt therfore I note that in the part of Buckingham ſhyre betwéene Amondeſham, and Beconſfelde, there is a péece of Hartforde ſhyre to be founde, enuironed rounde about wyth the countye of Buckingham, and yet thys patche is not aboue thrée myles in length & two in breadth at the verye moſt. In Barkeſhyre alſo betwéene Ruſcombe and Okingham is a péece of Wilſhyre, one myle in breadth and foure myles in length, whereof one ſide lyeth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamton ſhyre directlye ouer againſt Luffelde a towne in Buckingham ſhyre, I fynde a percell of Oxforde ſhyre not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

With Oxford ſhyre diuers doe participat in ſo much that a péece of Gloceſter ſhyre, lyeth halfe in Warwicke ſhyre and halfe in Oxforde ſhyre, not very farre from Hornton. Such another patche is there, of Gloceſter ſhyre not farre from long Compton, but lying in Oxforde countye: and alſo a péece of Worceſter ſhire, dyrectly betwéene it and Gloceſter ſhyre: Gloceſter hath ẏ third péece vpon the North ſide of the Winruſhe néere Falbrocke, as Barkeſhyre hath one percell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verye edge of Gloceſterſhyre: Lykewyſe an other in Oxforde ſhyre, not verye farre from Burford: and the thirde ouer agaynſt Lache lade, which is parted from the mayne countye of Barkeſhyre by a lyttle ſtrake of Oxford ſhyre. Who woulde thinke that two Fragmentes of Wilſhyre were to be ſéene in Barkeſhyre vpon the Loden, and the ryuer that falleth into it: whereof and the lyke ſith there are verye manye, I thinke góod to gyue thys briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlye gone thorowe wyth them al, yet theſe maye ſuffice to giue notice of thys thinge, whereof moſt readers as I perſwade my ſelfe are ignorant. But to procéede with our purpoſe, ouer eache of theſe ſhyres in time of neceſſity is a ſeuerall Léeftenant choſen vnder the Princes, who beyng a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the tyme beyng in many caſes which doth cõcerne his office: otherwyſe it is gouerned by a Shirife, who is reſident & dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame coũty, whom they call a Vicount, in reſpect of ẏ Erle (or as they called him in time paſt the Alderman) that beareth his name of the Countye, although it be ſeldome ſéene in Englande, that the Earle hath any great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughtes to doe in the County whereof he taketh hy's name, more then is allowed to him, thorowe his perſonall reſiauns, if he happen to dwell and bée reſident in the ſame. In the election alſo of theſe Mageſtrates, dyue[illegible]able Perſons as well for wealth as wiſdome, are named by the commons, at a tyme and place appointed for theyr choyſe, whoſe names beyng delyuered to the Prince, he forthwyth pricketh ſome ſuche one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he cõmitteth the charge of the county, and who hereupon is Shirife of that ſhyre, for one whole yeare, or vntill another be choſen. The Shirife alſo hath his vnder Shirife that ruleth &

holdeth the ſhyre courtes, & law daies vnder hym, vpon ſufficient caution, vnto the high Shirife for hys true execution of Juſtice, and yelding of accompt, when he ſhall be thervnto called. There are likewyſe vnder him certayne Bayliffes, whoſe office is to ſerue & returne ſuch writtes & proceſſes as are directed vnto thē frō the high Shirife, to make ſeazure of the goodes and cattelles, and arreſt the bodyes of ſuch as doe offende, preſenting eyther their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſtwyſe taking ſufficient bonde, or other aſſuraunce of them for theyr due apperance at an appointed tyme, when ye Shirife by order of law ought to preſent them to the Judges according to his charge. In euerye hundred alſo are one or moe high conſtables according to the quātity of the ſame, who receyuing writtes and iniunctions from the high Shirife vnder his ſeale, doe forthwith charge the pety conſtables of euery towne, with in their limites, with the execution of ye ſame.

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In eche countye likewiſe, are ſundrye law dayes holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome retaine the olde Saxon name, and are called Motelaghe. They haue alſo an other called the Shirifes turne, which they holde twyſe in their times, in euery hundred, and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft aryſe amongſt the inferior ſorte of people, are hard and determined. They haue finally their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the Juſtices and Gentlemen of the countrey, and twiſe in the yeare Gaile deliuerye, at which time the Judges ride about in theyr circuites, into euerye ſeuerall countye (where the nobilitye and Gentlemen wyth the Juſtices there reſiaunt aſſociate them) and myniſter the lawes of the realme, wyth great ſolemnity and Juſtice. Howbeit in doing of theſe things, they retayne ſtill the the olde order of the lande, in vſe before the conqueſt, for they cōmit the full examination of al cauſes there to be heard, to ye cōſideratiō of 12. ſober graue, & wiſe men, choſen out of ye ſame countye (which number they call an enqueſt) and of theſe inqueſts there are more or leſſe impaniled at euery aſſize as the nūber of caſes there to be handled, doth craue and require (albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuers to cōſider of) & when they haue to their vttermoſt poure conſulted and debated of ſuch thinges as they are charged with all, they returne againe to the place of Juſtice, wyth theyr Verdicte in wryting, according whereunto the Judge doth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death or any other matter, whatſoeuer is brought before him. Beſide theſe officers afore mencioned, there are ſundry other in euery countye, as Crowners, whoſe duety is to enquire of ſuch as come to their death by violence, to attache and preſent the plées of the Crowne, to make inquirye of treaſure founde. &c. There are dyuers alſo of the beſt learned of the lawe, beſide ſundry Gentlemen, where the number of Lawyers doe not ſuffiſe (and whoſe reuenues doe amount to aboue twenty pound by the yeare) appointed by eſpeciall commiſſion from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir ſubiectes, in the Counties where they dwell, and of theſe the leaſt ſkilfull in the lawe are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum otherwiſe called of Oyer & Determiner, ſo that the firſt haue authoritie onely to heare, the other to heare & determine ſuch matters as are brought vnto their preſence. Theſe alſo doe dyrect theyr warrantes to the kéepers of the Gayles which in their limitations for the ſafe keping of ſuch offenders as they ſhal iudge worthie to be kept vnder warde, vntill the great aſſizes, to thende their cauſes may be further examined before the reſidue of the countye, & theſe officers were firſt deuiſed in the eightéene yeare of Edwarde the thyrde, as I haue béene informed.

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Juſtices of peax and quorum.

They méete alſo and togither with the Shyriſes, doe hold their Seſſions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter Seſſions, and herin they inquyre of the common anoyaunces of the kings léege people, & ſundrie other treſpaſſes determining vppon them as iuſtice doth require. There are alſo a thyrde kinde of Seſſions holden by the high Conſtables and Bayliſs afore mencioned, called Petie Seſſions, wherein the weightes & meaſures are peruſed by the Clarke of the market for the countey, who ſitteth with thē. At theſe méetings, alſo Vituallers, & in like ſort ſeruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their exceſſes, although the burning of vagabounds thorow their eares, be referred to ye quarter ſeſſiōs or higher courts of Aſſiſe, where they are adiudged alſo to death, if they be takē the third time & haue not ſith their ſecond apprehention applyed thēſelues to labor. And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe generally of the ſayde counties and their maner of gouernaunce, although not in ſo perfit order as the cauſe requireth, bycauſe that of all the reſt there is nothing wherewith I am leſſe acquainted then with our temporall regiment, which to ſaye truth doth ſmally concerne my calling.

Quarter ſeſſions.

Pety ſeſſions.

Of the number of Biſhoprijcks in Englande and Wales, and of the preſent ſtate of the churche there. Cap. 5.

Two prouinces.

Anſelme.

THere are two prouinces in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſie of Cauntorbury, the ſeconde to that of Yorke. And of theſe eyther hath hir Archbiſhop reſident continuallye within hir owne limits, who hath not onely the chiefe dealing in things appertaining to the Hierarchy and iuriſdiction of the church, but alſo great authoritie in ciuile affayres, touching the gouernement of the common wealth ſo farre forth as their ſeuerall circuites doe extende. The Archbiſhop of Cantorbury is cõmonly called Primate of all Englande, and in the coronation of the kings of this lande, his office is to ſet the Crowne vpon their heades. They beare alſo the name of their high chaplens perpetually, although not a few of them haue preſumed in tyme paſt to be their equalles and voide of any ſubiection vnto thẽ, which maye eaſilye appeare by their owne actes, epiſtles, and aunſweres, wherein they haue ſought not onely to match, but alſo to mate them with great rigour and more then opẽ tirannie. Examples hereof I could bring many, but this one ſhall ſuffice of Anſelme, who making a ſhowe as if he had beene very vnwilling to be placed in the ſee of Cantorbury, gaue his aunſwere to the letters of ſuch his friendes as made requeſt vnto hym to take that charge vpõ him. Sæcularia negotia neſcio, quia ſcire nolo, eorum namq; occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendumq; eſt ne aratrum ſancte Eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonũ certantes, id eſt rex & Archepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula, cum Tauro indomito iugata, diſtorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſsis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſi me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro deſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non recte procedere. &c. Which is in Engliſh thus. Of ſeculer affayres I haue no ſkil, bycauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhorre the troubles that ryſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his minde at libertie. I applye my whole indeuour to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrary. It is to be feared leſt the plough of holy church which two ſtrong Oxen of equal force, and both like earneſt to contende vnto that, which is good (that is the king and the Archebiſhop) ought to draw, ſhoulde thereby now ſwarue from the right forow, by matching of an olde ſhepe, with a wilde vntamed bull. I am that olde ſhepe, who if I might be quiet, coulde peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull vnto ſome, by feeding them with milke of the worde of God, and couering them with wooll, but if you matche me with this bull, you ſhall ſee that thorowe want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right. &c. as followeth in the proceſſe of his letters. Thomas Becket was ſo proude, that he wrate to king Henry the ſeconde, as to his Lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, hys reuerence and due correction. &c. Others in like ſort haue proteſted, that they ought nothing to the kinges of this lande, but their counſell onely, reſeruing all obedience vnto the ſee of Rome: whereby we may eaſily ſee the pride & ambition of the cleargie in the blinde tyme of ignorance. But as the Archbiſhop of Cantorbury hath lõg ſince obtayned the prerogatiue aboue York, (although not without gret trouble, ſute, ſome bloodſhed and contention) ſo the Archbiſhop of Yorke, is neuertheleſſe primate of Englande, as one contentyng himſelfe with a peece at the leaſt when (all) coulde not begotten. And as he of Cantorbury crowneth the king, ſo thys of Yorke doth the like vnto the Queene, whoſe perpetuall Chaplin he is, and hath beene from time to time as the writers doe reporte. The firſt alſo hath vnder his iuriſdiction to the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhoppes, the other hath onely foure by reaſon, that the churches of Scotland are now remooued frõ his obedience vnto an Archbiſhop of their owne, wherby the greatneſſe & circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke, is not a little diminiſhed. In like ſort eache of theſe ſeuen & twenty ſees, haue their Cathedral churches, wherin the Deanes doe beare the chiefe rule, being men eſpecially choſen to that vocation, both for their learning & godlineſſe ſo neere as can be poſſible. Theſe Cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and Canonries ſtill remayning vnto thẽ as heretofore vnder the Popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no ydle and vnprofitable perſons, (as in times paſt they haue beene when moſt of theſe liuinges were either furniſhed with ſtraungers, eſpeciall out of Italy, or ſuch Ideots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, wherunto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipendes) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can, and doe learnedly ſet forth the glorie of God, and farder the ouerthrow of Antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

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Moreouer in the ſayde Cathedrall churches vpon Sondayes and Feſtiual dayes, the Canones doe make certayne ordinary ſermons by courſe, wherevnto great numbers of all eſtates doe orderly reſort, and vpon the working daies thriſe in the wéeke one of the ſayd Canons doth reade and expounde ſome péece of holy ſcripture, wherevnto the people doe very reuerently repaire. The biſhops themſelues in lyke ſorte are not ydle in their callings, for being nowe exempt from Court & counſell, they ſo applye their myndes to the ſetting forth of the worde, that there are verie few of them, which doth not euery Sunday or oftner reſorte to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expounde the ſcriptures with much grauitie & ſkill. They haue vnder them alſo their Archdeacons, ſome one, diuers two, & many foure or mo, as their circuites are in quantity, whiche Archedeacons are termed in law the byſhoppes eyes: and theſe beſide their ordinarie courtes (which are holden by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at yͤ leaſt) doe kéepe yearly two viſitations or Sinodes, (as the Byſhop doth in euery thirde yeare) wherin they make diligẽt inquiſition & ſerch, aſwel for yͤ doctrine & behauiour of the Miniſters, as the orderly dealing of the Pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches & conformity vnto religiõ. They puniſh alſo wͭ great ſeuerity al ſuch treſpaſſers as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of yͤ more weight, as in caſes of Hereſie, pertinacie, cõtempt & ſuch lyke, they refer them eyther to yͤ Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, or his chauncellour, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritye by vertue of an high cõmiſſion directed vnto them frõ the Prince to that end, who in very courteous maner doe ſée the offenders gẽtly reformed, or elſe ſeuerly puniſhed if neceſſitie ſo inforce. Beſide this in many of our Archedeaconries, we haue an exerciſe lately begunne, which for the moſt part is called a prophecie or conference, and erected only for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudy of holy ſcriptures. Howbeit ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe dayes to heare the worde of God, yͭ they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers only) to come by more knowledg thorowe their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo for the moſt part two of the yonger ſorte of Miniſters doe expounde eache after other ſome péece of the ſcriptures ordinarily appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderly go thorow with ſome one of the Euangeliſtes or of the Epiſtles, as it pleaſeth thẽ to chooſe at the firſt in euery of theſe conferences) and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betwéene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who ſupplyeth the rowme of a moderator, making firſt a briefe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus cõmonly ſpent at this moſt profitable méeting. Whẽ al is done if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed any péece of diligence, they are commended for their trauaile and encouraged to go forward. If they haue béene foũd to be ſlacke, their negligence is openly reproued before all their brethren, who go aſide of purpoſe from the laitie after the exerciſe ended, to iudge of theſe matters and conſulte of the next ſpeakers & quantie of the text to be handled in that place. The laytie neuer ſpake but are onely hearers, & as it is vſed in ſome places wéekely, in other once in fouretéene dayes, in dyuers monethly, and elſewhere twiſe in a yere, ſo is it a notable ſpurre vnto all the miniſters, therby to apply their bookes which otherwyſe as in tymes paſt dyd giue themſelues to hawking, hunting, tables, cardes, dyce, typling at the Alehouſe, ſhooting and other like vanities, nothing commendable in ſuch as ſhoulde be godly and zealous ſtewards of the good gifts of G O D, faithful diſtributers of his worde vnto the people, and diligent paſtours according to their calling. Our Elders or Miniſters and Deacons (for ſubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, ſometime vſed in the Popiſh church we haue not) are made according to a certaine forme of conſecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edwarde the ſixt, by the clergy of Englande, and ſoone after confirmed by the thrée eſtates of the realme, in the high court of Parliamẽt. And out of the firſt ſort, that is to ſaye of ſuch as are called to the miniſtery, are Biſhops, Deanes, Archedeacons, & ſuch as haue the higher places, in the Hierarchy of the church elected, & theſe alſo as al yͤ reſt, at the firſt cõming vnto any ſpirituall promotion doe yéeld vnto yͤ Prince the entire taxe of their liuings for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounde and vpwardes, and this vnder the name of firſt fruites. They paye the tenthes yearely alſo of theyr ſayde liuynges, accordyng to ſuch valuations as haue béene made latelye of the ſame: for the recept of which two paymentes, an eſpecial office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenthes, wherevnto if the party to be preferred, doe not make his duetifull repayre by an appointed tyme after poſſeſſion taken there to com-

Miniſters
Deacons.

Firſt frui=
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compounde for the payment of his fruites, he incurreth the daunger of a great penalty, lymited by a certayne eſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as doe intrude into the eccleſiaſticall functiō. They pay likewiſe ſubſides wyth the temporaltie, but in ſuche ſort that if theſe paye after foure ſhillinges for lande, the cleargye paye commonly after ſixe ſhilings of the pounde, ſo that of a benefice of twentye pounde by the yeare the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all thinges being diſcharged he may reſerue fiftéene pounde towarde his owne ſuſtentation and maintenance of his family. Seldom alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidye, for if they be one yeare cleare from this payment they are lyke in the next to here of another graunt, ſo that I ſaye agayne they are ſeldome wythout the limite of a ſubſidie. The laity maye at euery taxation alſo helpe themſelues, and ſo they doe thorowe conſideration had of their decaye, and hinderaunce, and yet their impoueriſhmēt cannot but touch alſo the Parſon or Vicar, as is daily to be ſéene in their accoumpts and tythings.

Subſidies

The other paimētes due vnto the Archbiſhop and Biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitatiōs, (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuche alſo as the Archedeacon receyueth at hys Synodes. &c. remaine ſtill as they dyd, wythout any alteration: onely thys I thynke be added within memory of man, that at the comming of euery prince, hys appointed officers doe commonly viſite the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the cleargy doe paye double fées, as vnto the Archbiſhop. Hereby thē & by thoſe already remembred, it is founde that the Church of Englande, is no leſſe commodious to the Princes coffers then the laitye, if it doe not farre excéede the ſame, ſince their paimentes are certayne continuall and ſeldome abated, howeſoeuer they gather vppe their owne dueties, or haue their lyuinges otherwiſe hardly valued vnto the vttermoſt fardings, or ſhrewdely canceled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, * of whom ſome do beſtowe aduouſons of benefices vpon theyr Bakers, Butlers, Cokes, and horſekéepers, in ſtéede of other recompēce, for their long & faithful ſeruice which they employ vnto their moſt aduantage. But to procéede wyth our purpoſe. The names moreouer vſually giuē vnto ſuch as féede the flocke remaine in lyke ſort as in tymes paſt, ſo ẏ theſe wordes, parſon, Vicar, curate, and ſuch are not, as yet aboliſhed more then the Canon lawe it ſelfe, which is daily pleaded as I haue ſayde elſewhers, although the eſtatutes of the realme haue greatly infringed the large ſcope, and brought the exerciſe of the ſame into ſome narrower limits. There is no thing redde in our churches but the canonicall Scriptures, whereby it commeth to paſſe that the Pſalter is ſayd ouer once in thirtie dayes, ẏ new Teſtament foure times, and the olde Teſtament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the Curate be adiudged by the Biſhop or his deputies, ſufficientlye inſtructed in the holye ſcriptures, he permitteth him to make ſome expoſition or exhortation in his pariſhe, vnto amendment of lyfe. And for as much as our churches and vniuerſities haue béene ſo ſpoiled in tyme of errour, as there cannot yet be had ſuch number of learned paſtours as may ſuffiſe for euery pariſh to haue one: there are certaine ſermones or homelies, deuiſed by ſundry learned men, confirmed for ſounde doctrine, by conſent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince, and thoſe appointed to be read by the Curates of meane vnderſtanding, (which Homelies doe comprehende the principall partes of chriſtian doctrine, as of originall ſinne, of Iuſtificatiō by fayth, of charity and ſuch lyke) vpon the Sabbaoth dayes, vnto the congregation. Likewiſe in our common prayer, the leſſons are onely certeine appointed chapters, taken out of the olde and newe Teſtament. The adminiſtration moreouer of the ſacraments and reſidue of the ſeruice, is done in the churches, wholly in our vulgare tong, that eche one preſent, maye here and vnderſtande the ſame, which alſo in Cathedrall and Collegiate churches is ſo ordered, that the Pſalmes onely are ſong by note, the reſt being redde (as in common pariſhe Churches) by the Miniſter wyth a loude voyce, ſauynge that in the adminiſtration of the Communion the Quier ſingeth the anſweres, the crede, and ſundry other thynges appointed, but in ſo plaine (I ſay) and diſtinct maner, that eche one preſent may vnderſtand what they ſing, euery worde hauing but one note, though the whole Harmony conſiſt of many partes, and thoſe very cunningly ſet by the ſkilful in that ſcience. As for our Churches themſelues, Belles, and times of morning and euening praier, they remaine as in times paſt, ſauing that all Images, ſhrines, tabernacls, roodloftes, and monumentes of Idolatry, are remoued, taken downe, and defaced, onely the ſtoryes in glaſſe windowes excepted, which for want of ſufficient ſtore of newe ſtuffe, & by reaſon of extreame charge that ſhoulde growe, thorow the alteration of the ſame into white panes thorowe out the realme, are

not

* The very cauſe why weauers, pedlers & glouers haue béene made Miniſters, for ẏ learned refuſe ſuch matches, ſo that yf the Biſhops in times paſt hadde not made ſuch by ouerſight & friendſhip I wote not howe ſuch men ſhold haue done wyth their aduouſons. as for a glouer or a

not altogither abolyſhed in moſt places at once, but by lyttle and little ſuffered to decaye, that white glaſſe, may be prouided and ſet vp in their roomes. Finally wheras there was woont to be a great particion betwéene the Quire and the body of the Church, nowe it is either very ſmall or none at all: and to ſaye the truth altogither néedeleſſe, ſithe the Miniſter ſayth his ſeruice commonly in the bodye of the church, wyth his face towarde the people, in a little tabernacle of waineſcot prouided for the purpoſe, by which meanes the ignoraunt doe not onely learne dyuers of the pſalmes and vſuall prayers by heart, but alſo ſuch as can read doe pray togither with him, ſo that the whole congregation at one inſtant doe poure out their peticions, vnto the liuing God, for the whole eſtate of hys church in moſt earneſt and feruent maner. Thus much briefly of the eſtate of the church of England, I meane touching the regimēt of the ſame, yͤ ſeruice of God, & forme of common Prayer: now will I returne to the particular limites of eache ſeuerall Byſhopryke, whereby we ſhall ſée theyr boundes, and how farre theyr iuriſdictions doe extende, beginning firſt with the Sie of Cantorbury in ſuch briefe order as foloweth here at hand.

ntorbu=

The iuriſdictiō of Cantorbury (erected firſt by Auguſtine the Monke) yf you haue reſpect to his prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth part of this Iſland. But if you regarde the ſame onely that belongeth vnto his Sie, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent: the Dioceſſe of Rocheſter enioying the reſt: ſo that in thys one countey the greateſt Archbiſhopriicke and at the leſt Biſhoprycke of all are vnited & ſtrictly lincked togither. That of Cantorbury hath vnder it one Archedeacō, who hath charge ouer xj. Deaneries or a hūdred thrée ſcore and one pariſhe churches, and in the Popiſh time there went out of this Sie to Rome at euery alienation for firſt fruites 10000. Ducates or Florens (for I reade both) beſide 5000. that the new elect vſually payed for hys pall. I woulde ſpeake ſomewhat of his peculiers diſperſed here & there in other ſhires, but ſith I haue no certaine knowledge of them, I paſſe thē ouer vntill an other tyme.

ocheſter.

The Sie of Rocheſter is alſo included within yͤ limits of Kent, whoſe Archedeacon hath onelye thrée Denaries vnder his iuriſdiction contayning 132. Pariſhe churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered that there are at the leaſt 393. Pariſhe churches in Kent, ouer which theſe two Archdeacons afore remembred doe exerciſe Eccleſiaſticall authoritie. This Byſhop at euery alienation was woont to pay to the Sie of Rome 1300 Ducates or florens. He was alſo croſſebearer in tyme paſt to the Archbyſhop of Cantorbury and Iuſtus was the firſt Byſhop that was inſtalled in the ſame.

London.

The Sie of London, whereof Mellitus is accoūted to be the firſt Paſtor in the Popiſh Cataloge, is nowe contented to be vnder the gouernaunce of a Biſhop, which in olde time had hir Archebiſhop vntill Cantorbury bereft hir of that honour by the practiſe of Auguſtine the monke, who I wote not vpō what priuie occaſion, remooued his Archebiſhops Sie from thence farder into Kent. It includeth Eſſex, Midleſex and part of Hertforde ſhyre, and is neyther more nor leſſe in quantitie then the auncient kingdome of the eaſt Saxons before it was vnited to that of the weſt Saxons, as our hyſtories doe report. The iuriſdiction of this Sie vnder the biſhop is committed to foure Archedeacons, that is of London, Eſſex, Midleſex, and Colcheſter and thoſe haue amongſt them to the number of 363. Pariſhes or thereabouts, beſide the peculiers belonging to the Archebiſhop, and at euery alienation the new incumbent was bounde to pay to the Biſhop of Rome 3000. Ducates or florenes as I reade.

Chicheſter

Chicheſter (the beginning of which ſie was in yͤ Iſle of Seleſey, but afterward trāſlated to Chicheſter) hath now Suſſex only, and the wight vnder which are ſixtéene Deaneries, containing to yͤ nūber of 551. pariſhs. It paid at euery alienatiō to yͤ Sie of Rome 333. ducates, as I haue reade of late. One Edbert was the firſt biſhop there, thē one Cella ſuccéeded, after whom the ſie was voyd by many yeres. It was erected alſo 711. by yͤ decrée of a Synode holden in Suſſex, which ſeparated it frō the iuriſdiction of yͤ ſie of Wincheſter, wherof before it was reputed a parcell.

Winche=ſter.

The By=ſhoppe of Winche=ſter was ſometime called bi=ſhop of the weſtſaxōs or of Dor=cheſter, which town was giuen to Birinus & his ſucceſ=ſours, by Kinigils of the weſt ſaxons and Oſwald king of the Northū=bers.

Wincheſter hath Hamſhyre and Surry, & in olde time the Wight wherein are eyght Deanaries and 276. Pariſh churches, and beſide that the Biſhoppe of thys Dioceſſe is perpetuall Prelate vnto the honorable order of the Garter, his taxe at his inſtitution was 12000. ducats or florens. If the old cataloge of the Biſhoppes of this Sie be well conſidered of, and the actes of the greateſt parte of them indifferently weighed, as they are to be reade in our Hyſtories, you ſhall finde the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the cruelleſt tyrauntes, the richeſt money mongers, & polliticke counſellours in temporall affayres, to haue I wote not by what ſecrete worcking of the diuine prouidence béene placed here in Wincheſter, ſith the foundation of that Sie, which was erected by Birinus, 639. (whome Pope Honorius ſent hycher out of Italy) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the tyme of Kynigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it doth yet continue.

Saliſbury Saliſbury hath nowe Barckeſhyre, and Wilſhyre onely, for after ẏ death of Hedda, which was 704. Wincheſter was deuided in two, ſo that onely Hampton and Surrey were left vnto it, & Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhyre, Somerſet, Deuon, & Cornwall, aſſigned vnto Saliſbury, tyll other order was taken. The valuation hereof in Rome was lately 4000. Ducats or florens, as the taxe therof yet recordeth. Certes I haue not read of any biſhop that hath beene a greater ornament to this Sie then Biſhop Iewell lately deceaſed, ſith the tyme that Adelme dyd firſt beginne that Byſhoprijcke 704. which was before a percell of the iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, founded at Shirburne, & afterward tranſlated to Saliſbury, but I can not well tell in what yeare after the conqueſt.

Exceſter. Exceſter hath Deuonſhyre and Cornewall & the valuation of this liuing was 6000. ducates, which were payde at euery alienation vnto the Biſhoppe of Rome.

Bathe. Bathe, whoſe Sie was ſometyme at Welles, hath Somerſetſhyre onely, and the value therof was rated at 430. Ducates in ẏ Popiſh taxation, except I be deceyued. This Biſhopricke was erected 905. in a counſell holden among the Gewiſes, whereat king Edwarde of the Weſtſaxons, & Plegimund Archebiſhop of Cãtorbury were preſent. For that part of the country had beene ſeauen yeres without any Paſtorall cure, and therfore in this counſel it was agreed that for the two Biſhoprijcks (wherof one was at Wincheſter another at Shireburne) there ſhould be fiue ordayned, whereby the people there myght be the better inſtructed. By thys meanes Frithſtan was placed at Wincheſter, and Etheline at Shireburne, both of thẽ being then voyde. Shireburne alſo ſuſtained the ſubdiuiſion, ſo that Werſtane was made Biſhop of Cridioc or Deuonſhire (whoſe Sie was at Kyrton) Herſtan of Cornewall, and Eadulf of Welles, vnto whome Barkſhyre & Dorſetſhyre were appointed, but now you ſee what alteratiõ is made, by conſideration of the limites of their preſent iuriſdictions.

The Byſhoprijck of Shireburne diuided into 3.

Worceſter. Worceſter ſometime called Epãtus wicciorum hath Worceſter & part of Warwijcſhyres, and before the Biſhoprijc of Gloceſter was taken out of the ſame, it payde to the Pope 2000. Ducates of golde at euery chaunge of Prelate. This Sie was begunne either in or not long before the time of Offa, king of the eaſt Angles, and Boſelus was the firſt Biſhop there, after whome, ſucceeded Oſtfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia & the ſayde Offa, and there gate a Monaſterie (which he buylded in Worceſter) confirmed by Conſtantine the Pope.

Gloceſter hath Gloceſterſhyre only, wherin are nyne Deanaries and to the number of 294. Pariſhe churches, as I finde by good record. But it neuer payd any thing to rome, bycauſe it was erected by king Henry the eyght, after he had aboliſhed the vſurped authoryt of ẏ Pope, except in Queene Maries, if any ſuch thing were demeaned, as I doubt not but it was.

Herefordе hath Herfordeſhyre and part of Shorpſhyre and payde to Rome at euery chaunge of Biſhop 1800. Ducates or florens at the leaſt.

Lechfield wherunto Couẽtry is added, hath Staffordeſhyre Darbyſhire part of Shropſhire & the reſt of Warwijc, that is voyde of ſubiection to the ſie of Worceſter. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the ſouth Mertians which lay on this ſide of ẏ Trent, & therin one Dinas was enſtalled about the yeare of grace 656. after whom ſucceeded Kellac, thẽ Tunher an Engliſhman, but conſecrated by the Scottes. It paid to the Pope 1733. Ducates, in mine opinion a good round fine, but not without a iuſt puniſhment, ſith that in times paſt vz. 765. Eldulf Biſhoppe there vnder king Offa of Mertia woulde haue bereft the ſie of Cantorbury of hir pall in the time of Pope Adriane, and ſo dyd for a ſeaſon till thinges were reduced into their former order.

Oxforde hath Oxforde ſhyre onely, a verye yonge Iuriſdiction, erected by kyng Henry the eyght, and where in the time of Queene Mary, one Goldwell was Biſhop, who as I remember was a Ieſuite, dwelling in Rome and more conuerſant as the fame went in the blacke Arte, then ſkilfull in the Scriptures, and yet he was of great countenaunce amongſt the Romayne monarches. It is ſaid that obſeruyng the Canons of hys order, he regarded not the temporalities, but I haue heard ſithens that he wiſt well ynough what became of thoſe commodities.

Ely hath Cambridgeſhyre, & the Iſle of Ely. It was erected 1109. by Henry the firſt, being before a riche and welthy abbay. One Heruy alſo was made Biſhoppe there, as I haue foũd in a Regiſter, belõging ſometime to that houſe. Finallye it payde to the Pope at euery alienation. 7000. Ducates, as the Regiſters there doth teſtifie at large. **Ely.**

wiche.

Northwich called in old time Episcopatus, domucensis,(whoſe ſée was firſt at Helmehã, then at Thetforde) hath Suffolke and Norfolke. The circuite hereof was once all one, with that of the Kinges of the eaſt Angles, till Ely was taken from the ſame, & it began about the yeare 632. vnder Corpenwalde king of the Eaſt Saxons, and one Felix of Burgundy, was firſt Biſhop there, who ſate ſeuentéene yeares, and was placed therein by Honorius the Pope, finally it payde at euery alienation. 5000. Ducates to Rome of curraunt money as I reade.

terbo-
w.

Peterborow ſometime a notable monaſtery hath Northamton, and Rutlande ſhires, a dioceſſe erected alſo by king Henry ẏ eight. It neuer payde firſt fruites to the Pope, but in Quéene Maries dayes, if ought were then demaunded, becauſe it was a ſée not recorded in the auncient Regiſter, of hys firſt fruites and tenthes.

iſtow.

Briſtowe hath Dorcet ſhyre, ſometime belongyng to Saliſbury, a ſée lately erected by Kyng Henry the eyght, who tooke no ſmall care for the Churche of Chriſt, & therfore eaſed a number of the auncient ſées, of theyr ſuperfluous circutes, and beſtowed the ſame vppon ſuch other, as he had appoynted for the better regimente and féeding of the flocke.

colne.

Lincolne of all other in times paſt was the greateſt, for although that out of it were taken the Biſhoprickes of Oxforde, and Peterborow, yet it reteineth ſtill Lincolne, Leiceſter, Huntyngdon, Bedforde, Buckingham ſhyres, and the reſt of Hartfordſhyre, ſo that it extended from the Thames vnto the Humber, and payde vnto the Pope for the whole 5000. Ducates, as appeareth by record at euery alienation. It beganne about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius who remooued his ſée to Lincolne frõ Dorcheſter, as Math. Weſtminſter doth report, & thus much of ſuch Biſhopricks as lye within Lhoegres or Englande as it was left vnto Locrinus, nowe it followeth that procéede with Wales.

andaffe.

Lhandaffe or the churche of Tau, contayneth Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknoch and Radnor ſhyres, and paide to Rome 700. Ducats as I reade at euery chaunge of Prelate.

. Da-
ds.

S. Dauides hath Pembroke, and Caermardine ſhyres, whoſe liuerie or firſt fruites to the ſée of Rome was 1500. Ducates at the hardeſt as I thincke.

angor.

Bangor is in north Wales, & hath Caernaruon, Angliſey and Merioneth ſhyres vnder ẏir iuriſdiction, it paid alſo to Rome 126. Ducates or florence, as their bookes doe yet declare.

S. Aſa-
phes.

S. Aſaphes hath Preſtholme and parte of Denbigh & Flintſhyres, which beyng layde togither doe amount to little more then one good countye, & therfore iuſtly ſuppoſed to be ẏ leſt Biſhopricke that is to be founde within Wales, yet it paide to Rome 470. Ducates, except my memory doth fayle. And hitherto of the Prouince Caunterburye, for ſo much thereof as lyeth in thys Ilande, nowe it reſteth that I procéede with the other of Yorke in ſuch order as I may.

Yorke.

The ſée of Yorke beganne aboute the yeare of grace, 625. vnder Iuſtus of Caunterburye, who ordeyned Paulinus the firſt Biſhop there, in the tinſe of Edwine king of. Northumberland. Of it ſelf it hath Iuriſdiction ouer Yorkſhyre, Nottingham ſhyre, & the reſt of Lancaſter ſhire, not ſubiect to the ſée of Cheſter, and when the Pope bare authority in this realme it payde vnto his ſée. 1000. Ducates, beſide alſo 5000. for the pal of the newe elect, which was more then he coulde well ſpare, conſidering the diminution of hys ſée, by meanes of the erection of a new Metropolitane in Scotland, as I haue ſhewed elſe where.

Cheſter.

Cheſter hath Cheſterſhire, Darbiſhire, the moſt part of Lancaſter ſhyre (vnto the Rybell) Richemonde, and a part of Flinte and Denbighe ſhyres in Wales alſo vnder one ſubiection for eccleſiaſticall matters. In the olde popiſh tyme, there was no Biſhopryck, called by that name (although the Byſhop of Léechfielde had ſometime his ſée pitched in that place, and therefore of ſome was called Biſhop of Cheſter) ſith king Henry the eight was the firſt, that erected any there.

Durham
or Lindeſfarne.

Durham hath the county of Durham onely, and Northumberlande, whereof the Byſhoppes haue béene ſometimes Earles Palatines, and ruled the roſt vnder the name of the Biſhopricke, a ſée in my opinion more profitable, & of leſſe countenaunce, then his prouinciall. But whatſoeuer it be for externall apparaunce, ſure it is that it payde to Rome 9000. Ducates or Florenes, at euery chaunge, as the recorde yet expreſſeth, Aydan a Scot was the firſt Byſhop of this ſée, who helde himſelfe as did alſo manye of his ſucceſſours, in Lindſfarne Iſle, till one came that remooued it to Durham.

Caerleill.

Carleil erected 1132. by Henry the firſt, & whereof Ethelwolf confeſſor to Oſmond Byſhop of Saliſbury, was made originall Biſhop, hath Cumberland & Weſtmerland, as for the Deaneries and number paryſhes conteyned in the ſame, as yet I haue no knowledge, more then of many of the other, howbeit of this I am ſure, that the Pope receyued out of it at euery chaunge of Byſhop 1000. florenes, albeit that it might haue ſpared much more as an aduerſarie thereto confeſſed ſometyme euen before the Pope himſelfe, ſuppoſing no leſſe but to haue gained by hys tale.

Man.

Beſide all theſe we haue another Biſhoprijcke yet in England, but very obſcure, becauſe the Byſhoppe thereof hath not wherewith to maintaine his countenaunce ſufficientlye, and that is, the Sie of Mona or Man, ſometime named Epātus Sodorenſis, whereof one Wimundus was ordeyned the firſt biſhop, and Iohn the ſeconde, in the reigne of king Stephē. The gift of this prelacy reſteth in yͤ Erles of Darby, who nominateth ſuch a one from time to tyme, thereto as to them doth ſeeme conuenient. Howbeit if that Sie might reape hir owne commodities, I doubt not but the eſtate of hir Biſhop would quickly be amended. And thus much of our biſhoprycks, and maner how the eccleſiaſtical iuriſdiction of the church of England, is deuyded among the ſhyres, and countyes of thys realme. Whoſe Biſhops as they haue beene heretofore of greater port and dooings in the common wealth, then at this preſent, ſo are they nowe for the moſt part the beſt learned that are to be founde, in any country of Europe, ſith neither high parentage, nor great ryches as in other countreyes, but onelye learning and vertue doe bring them to thys honour. I might here haue ſpoken of diuers other Biſhopryckes, ſometime in this part of the Iſlande, as of that of Caerlheon, where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterwarde tranſlated to S. Dauides, and taken for an Archbiſhoprycke: ſecōdly of the Biſhopryc of Leirceſter, whoſe fourth biſhop called Vnwon went to Rome with Offa king of Mertia: thirdly of Ramſbury or Wiltō, & of Gloceſter (of which you ſhall reade in Math. Weſt. 489) where the biſhop was called Eldad: alſo of Hagulſtade, one of the three mēbers wherinto the Sie of Yorke was deuided after therpulſion of Wilfrid. For as I reade when Egfrid the king had driuen him away, he deuided his Sie into three partes, making Boſa ouer the Deiranes that helde his Sie at Hagulſtade: Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who ſate at Yorke: and Edhedus ouer Lindfar, whoſe ſucceſſours were Ethelwine, Edgar and Kinibert, notwithſtanding that one Serulfus was ouer Lindfarre before Edhedus, who was Biſhop of the Mertians and middle England till he was baniſhed from Lindiſſe and came into theſe quarters, to ſeeke his refuge and ſuccour. I coulde lykewyſe entreate of the Biſhoppes of Whiteherne, or ad Candidam Caſam, nowe a parcell of Scotland, and of diuers chaũges and alterations hapning in theſe ſies frō time to time, but ſith my purpoſe is to touch only the eſtate of thinges preſent, it may ſuffice to haue ſayde thus much of them, though altogither beſide mine intended purpoſe.

Gloceſter a very auncient biſhopryc,

Of Vniuerſities. Cap. 6.

THere are within the realme of England two noble & famous Vniuerſities, wherin are not onely diuers goodly houſes builded foure ſquare for the moſt part of harde freeſtone, with great numbers of lodginges and chambers in the ſame for Students after a ſumptuous maner, thorow the exceeding liberalitie of Kings, Queenes, Biſhops, Noblemen, and Ladies, of the lande: but alſo large liuinges and great reuenues beſtowed vpon them (the lyke wherof is not to be ſeene in any other region as Peter Martyr dyd oft affirme) to the maintenaunce onely of ſuch cōuenient numbers of poore mens ſonnes as the ſeuerall ſtipendes beſtowed vpō the ſaide houſes are able to ſupport. Of theſe two that of Oxforde (which lyeth weſt and by North from London) ſtandeth moſt pleaſauntly of both, being enuironned in maner rounde about with pleaſaunt wooddes on the hilles aloft and goodly riuers in the medowes beneath, whoſe courſes woulde breede no ſmall commoditie to that Citie, yf ſuch impediments were remooued, as greatly annoy the ſame. That of Cambridge is diſtaunt from London about fourtie and ſixe myles north & by eaſt, and ſtandeth very well, ſauing that it is ſomewhat low & neere vnto the Fennes, whereby the holſomneſſe of the ayre there, is not a little corrupted. It is excellently well ſerued with all kindes of prouiſion, but eſpecially of freſh water fiſhe and wildefowle, by reaſon of the Iſle of Ely, which is ſo neere at hande. Onely woodde is one of the chiefe wants to ſuch as ſtuddie there, wherfore this kind of prouiſiō is brought them either from Eſſex, & other places thereabouts, as is alſo their cole, or otherwiſe the neceſſity therof is ſupplyed with gall, and ſea coole, wherof they haue great plenty lead thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath no ſuch ſtoore of medowe grounde as may ſuffice for the ordinarie expenſes of the towne, and Vniuerſitie, wherfore they are inforced in lyke ſort to prouide, their haye from other villages about which miniſter the ſame vnto them in verye great abundaunce. Oxforde is ſuppoſed to containe

taine in Longitude eyghtéene degrées and eyght and twentie mynutes, and in Latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts, whereas that of Cambridge ſtanding more northerly, hath twentie degrées and twentie minutes in Longitude, and therevnto fiftie & two degrées and fiftéene minuts in Latitude as by exact ſupputacion is eaſie to be founde. The Colledges of Oxford for curious workmanſhip and priuate commodities, are much more ſtately, magnificent, and commodious then thoſe of Cambridge: and therevnto the ſtréetes of the towne for the moſt part more large and comely. But for vniformitie of buylding, orderly compactiō and regiment, ẏ towne of Cambridge excéedeth that of Oxford (which otherwiſe is & hath béen the greater of the two) by many a folde, although I know diuers ẏ are of the contrarie opinion Caſtels alſo they haue both, and in my iudgment is harde to be ſayde, whither of them woulde be the ſtronger, if both were accordingly repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher both for maner of buylding & ſcituation of grounde, ſith Oxforde caſtell, ſtandeth low and is not ſo apparant in ſight. The commō ſchooles of Cambridge alſo are farre more beautifull then thoſe of Oxforde onely the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxforde excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanſhip commeth next the mowlde of the Kings chappell in Chambridge, then the which two with ẏ chappell that king Henry the ſeuenth dyd buylde at Weſtminſter, there are not in my opinion made of lime & ſtone thrée more notable pyles within the cōpaſſe of Europe. In all other thinges there is ſo great equalitie betwéene theſe two Vniuerſities as no man cā imagine how to ſet down any greater, ſo that they ſéeme to be the bodye of one well ordered common wealth, onely deuided by diſtaunce of place and not in friendly conſent. In ſpeaking therefore of the one I can not but deſcribe the other: and in commēdation of the firſt I can not but extolle the latter, and ſo much the rather for that they are both ſo déere vnto me, as that I can not redily tell, vnto whyther of them I owe the moſt good wyll. Woulde to God my knowledge were ſuch as that neither of thē might haue cauſe to be aſhamed of their pupill, or my power ſo great that I might worthily requite them both for thoſe manifolde kindeneſſes that I haue receyued of them. But to leaue theſe things & procéed with other more conuenient for my purpoſe. The maner to liue in theſe Vniuerſities is not as in ſome other of forren countries we ſée dayly to happen, where the Studentes are inforced for wante of ſuch houſes, to dwell in common Innes, and Tauernes, wythout all order or diſcipline: but in theſe our Colledges we liue in ſuch exact order and vnder ſo preciſe rules of gouernmēt, that the famous learned man Eraſmus of Roterodam being here amongeſt vs fiftie yeares paſſed, dyd not let to compare the trades of liuing of ſtudents of theſe two places, euen with the very rules and orders of the auncient Monkes: affirming moreouer in flatte wordes, our orders to be ſuch as not onely came neare vnto, but rather farre excéeded all the Monaſticall inſtitutions that euer were deuiſed. In moſt of our Colledges there are alſo great numbers of ſtudentes, of which many are founde by the reuenues of the houſes, and other by the purueighances & helpe of their riche friēds, wherby in ſome one Colledge you ſhall haue two hundred ſchollers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuers a hundred and fourtie, & in dyuers leſſe numbers as the capacitie of the ſayde houſes is able to receyue: ſo that at this preſent of one ſort and other there are about thrée thouſande ſtudentes nouriſhed in them both as by a late ſuruey it manifeſtly appeared. Euery one of theſe colledges haue in lyke maner their profeſſours or readers of the tongues and ſeuerall ſciences, as they call thē, which dayly trade vp the youth there abiding, priuately in their halles, to the ende they may be able afterward whē their turne commeth about, to ſhewe themſelues abrode by going frō thence into the commō ſchooles, and publicke diſputations (as it were into the playne battaile) there to trie their ſkilles, and declare howe they haue profited ſithence their comming thither. Morouer in the publicke ſchooles of both the Vniuerſities, there are founde at the Princes charge (and that very largely) fiue profeſſours and readers, that is to ſay, of diuinitie, of the ciuile lawe, Phiſicke, the Hebrue & the Gréeke tongues: and for the other publicke lectures as of Philoſophie, Logicke, Rethoricke, & the Quadriuials. (Although the later I meane Arithmeticke, Muſicke, Geometrie, and Aſtronomie, and with them all ſkill in the perſpectiues are now ſmally regarded in eyther of them) the Vniuerſityes themſelues doe allowe competent ſtipendes to ſuch as reade the ſame, whereby they are ſufficiently prouided for, touching the maintenaunce of their eſtates, and no leſſe incouraged to be diligent in their functions. Theſe profeſſours in like ſort haue all the rule of diſputations and other ſchoole exerciſes, which are dayly vſed in common ſchooles ſeuerally aſſigned to eache of them, and ſuch of their hearers as by their ſkil ſhe-

Readers in priuate houſes.

Publicke readers maintayned by the Prince.

Study of the Quadriuialles & perſpectiues neglected.

wed in the ſayde diſputacions, are thought to haue attayned any conuenient rypeneſſe of knowledge, (according to the cuſtome of other Uniuerſities although not in like order) are permitted ſolemly to take their deſerued degrées of ſchoole in the ſame ſcience, and facultie, wherin they haue ſpent their trauaile. From that tyme forwarde alſo, they vſe ſuch difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, & maketh them knowne to be called to ſome countenance. The firſt degrée of all, is that of the generall Sophiſters, frõ whence when they haue learned more ſufficiently the rules of Logicke, Rethoricke, and obtayned thereto competent ſkill in Philoſophie, and in the Mathematicalles, they aſcende hygher to the eſtate of Batchelers of arte. Frõ thence alſo giuing their minds to more perfit knowledge in ſome or all ỷ other liberal ſciences, and the tongues, they ryſe at the laſt to be called Maiſters of art, eche of them being at that time reputed for a Doctor in his facultie if he profeſſe, but one of ỷ ſaid ſciẽces, (beſite philoſophie) or for his general ſkill, if he be exerciſed in them all. After this they are permitted to choſe what other of the higher ſtodyes them lyketh to follow, whether it be Diuinity, Law, or Phiſicke, ſo that beyng once Maiſters of Arte, ỷ next degrée if they follow Phiſick, is the Doctorſhip belonging to that profeſſion, and lykewyſe in the ſtudy of the Law, if they bende their myndes to the knowledge of the ſame. But if they meane to go forward with Diuinitie, this is the order, vſed in that profeſſion. Firſt after they haue neceſſarily procéeded maiſters of Arte, they preach one ſermon to the people in Engliſhe, and another to the Uniuerſitie in Latin. They aunſwere all comers alſo in theyr owne perſons vnto two ſeuerall queſtions of Diuinity in the opẽ Scholes (at one time) for the ſpace of two houres, & afterwarde reply twiſe againſt ſome other man, vpõ a like number, and on two ſeuerall dayes in the ſame place: which beyng done wyth comendation, he receyueth the fourth degrée, that is Bacheler of Diuinitie, but not before he hath béene mayſter of Arte, by the ſpace of ſeauen yeares, according to theyr ſtatutes. The next & laſt degrée of all, is the Doctorſhip after other thrée yeares, for the which he muſt once againe performe all ſuch exerciſes & actes as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach other, and lykewyſe taken for a Doctor. Thus we ſée that from our enteraunce into the Uniuerſity, vnto the laſt degrée receiued is commonly eyghtéene or twentie yeares, in which tyme if a Student hath not obteyned ſufficient learning, there by to ſerue his owne turne, & benefite hys common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarying longer to come by any more.

Sophiſters.

Batchelers of Art

Maſters of Arte.

Batcheler of Diuinitie.

Doctor.

A man maye if he will b[illegible] his ſtudye with the Lawe, or Phiſicke [illegible] as he commeth to the Uniuerſity, i[illegible]owledg in the tongues: and rypeneſſe [illegible]ement ſerue therefore: which if he [illegible] firſt degrée is Bacheler of Law, [illegible] an for the ſame he muſt perfourme ſuch [illegible] in his owne ſcience, as the Bachelers o Doctors of Diuinitie, do for their partes, ỷ onely ſermons except, which belongeth not to his calling: but as theſe are not matters of ſuch importance as may deſerue any further tractation, I ſo will leaue them & go in hande with the reſt.

There is moreouer, in euery houſe a Maiſter, who hath vnder him a preſident, and certeine Cenſors or Deanes, appointed to looke to the behauiour, & maner of the Studentes there, whom they puniſh very ſeuerely if they make any default, according to the quantitye & qualitye of their treſpaſſes. Ouer eche Uniuerſitie alſo, there is a ſeuerall Chauncelour, whoſe Offices are perpetual, howbeit their ſubſtitutes, whome wée call Uicechauncelors, are chaunged euery yere, as are alſo the Proctors, Taſkers, Maiſters of the ſtreates & other officers, for the better maintenãce of their policie & eſtate. And thus much at this time of both our Uniuerſities.

To theſe two alſo we maye in lyke ſorte adde the thirde, which is at London (ſeruyng onelye for ſuch as ſtudye the Lawes of the Realme,) where there are ſundrye famous houſes, of which thrée are called by the name of Innes of the Court, the reaſt of the Chauncery, and all buylded before time for the furtheraunce and commoditie of ſuch as applye their minds vnto the cõmon Lawes. Out of theſe alſo come Schollers of greate fame, whereof the moſt part haue heretofore béene brought vp in one of ỷ aforeſaide Uniuerſities, & proue ſuch commonly as in proceſſe of time, riſe vp (only thorow their profound ſkil) to great honor in the cõmon welth of England. They haue alſo degrées of learning among thẽſelues, & rules of diſcipline, vnder which they lyue moſt ciuilye in their houſes, albeit that the younger ſort of them abroade in the ſtréetes, are ſcarce able to be brydled by any good order at all. Certes this errour was wont alſo greatly to raigne in Cãbridge & Oxforde, but as it is well left in theſe two places, ſo in foreine Countryes it cannot yet be ſuppreſſed. Beſides theſe Uniuerſities, alſo there are great number of Grammer ſcholes thorowe out the Realme, and thoſe very lyberally indued, for the better reliefe of pore ſchollers, ſo that there are not many corporate townes now vnder the Quéenes dominion, ẏ hath not one Gramerſchoole at the leaſt, with a ſufficient liuing for a Mayſter and Vſher, appointed to ẏ ſame. There are in lyke maner dyuers collegiate churches, as Windſor, Winceſter, Eaton, Weſtminſter, and in the later thrée of thoſe a great number of pore Schollers, dailye maintayned by the liberalitie of the founders, with meate, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue béene well entered in the knowledge of the Lattin and Gréeke tongues, and rules of verſifiyng, they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in eche Vniuerſitye, where they are receyued and trayned vp, in the pointes of higher knowledge in their priuate halles, till they be adiudged méete to ſhewe their faces in the Schooles, as I haue ſaid already. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our Vniuerſities, & lykewyſe of Colledges in the ſame, whoſe names I wyl alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe alſo of their founders, to the ende the zeale which they bare vnto learning may apeare, and their remembraunce neuer periſh from among the wyſe and learned.

indſor.
incheſter
aton.
eſtmin-
er.

Of the Colledges in Cambridge.

Yeares of the foundations.	Colledges.	Founders.
1546.	1 Trinity Colledge.	K.Henry. 8.
1441.	2 The Kinges Colledge.	K.Henry.6. Edward.4.Henry.7.and Henry.8,
1511.	3 S.Iohns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henry.8.
1505.	4 Chriſtes Colledge.	K. Henry.6.and the L.Margaret aforeſaide.
1446.	5 The Queens Colledge.	L. Margaret wife to K.Henry.6,
1496.	6 Ieſus Colledge.	Iohn Alcocke Byſhop of Ely.
1342.	7 Bennet Colledge.	The Brethren of a Popiſh guild called Corporis Chriſt.
1343.	8 Pembroke hall.	Maria de Valentia, Counteſſe of Pembroke.
1256.	9 Peter Colledge.	Hugh Balſham Byſhop of Ely.
1348. 1557.	10 Gundeuill and Caius Colledge.	Edmund Gundeuill, Parſon of Terrington, and Iohn Caius.D.of Phiſicke.
1354.	11 Trinity hall.	William Bateman Byſhop of Norwiche.
1326.	12 Clare hall.	Richarde Badow Chauncelour of Cambridge.
1459.	13 Catherin hall.	Robert woodlarke.D.of Diuinity.
1519.	14 Magdalen Colledge.	Edward Duke of Buckinghā, & Thomas Lord Awdley.

Of Colledges in Oxforde.

Yeres.	Colledges.	Founders.
1539.	1 Chriſtes Church.	King Henry.8.
1459.	2 Magdalen Colledge.	William wainflet B.of wincheſter.
1375.	3 New colledge.	William wickham B.of wincheſter.
1276.	4 Merton Colledge.	Walter Merton B. of Rocheſter.
1437.	5 All ſoules Colledge.	Henry Chicheley Archbiſhop of Caunterbury,
1516	6 Corpus chriſti Colledge.	Richarde foxe Biſhop of Wincheſter.
1430.	7 Lincolne Colledge.	Richarde Fleming B.of Lincolne.
1323.	8 Auriell Colledge.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward.2.
1340.	9 The Queenes Colledge.	R.Eglesfeld chaplen to Philip Queene of England, wife (to Ed.3.
1263.	10 Balioll Colledge.	Iohn Ballioll King of Scotland.
1557.	11 S.Iohns.	Sir Thomas white Knight. cytizen & alderman of London.
1556.	12 Trinity Colledge.	Sir Thomas Pope Knight.
1316.	13 Exceſter Colledge.	Walter Stapleton Biſhop of Exceſter.
1513	14 Braſennoſe.	William Smith Biſhop of Lincolhe.
873.	15 Vniuerſity Colledge.	William Archdeacon of Dureſme.
	16 Glocester Colledge.	
	17 S.Mary Colledge.	
	18 Ieſus Colledge nowe in hande.	

There are alſo in Oxforde certayne Hoſtelles or Halles, which may rightwel be called b the names of Colledges, if it were not that there is more lyberty in thoſe then is to be ſéene in the other. In myne opinion the Studentes of theſe are verye lyke to thoſe that are of the Innes of the chauncery.

Brodegates.
Hart hall.
Magdalen hall.
Alburne hall.
Poſtminſter hall.
S. Mary hall.
White hall.
New Inne.
Edmond hall.

Erection of Colleges in Oxforde the ouerthrowe of Halles.

Beſides which there is mention & recorde of diuers other Halles or hoſtelles, that haue béene ther in times paſt, as Béefe hal, Muttō hal. &c. whoſe ruines yet appeare: ſo that if antiquitie be to be iudged by ẏ ſhew of auncient buyldinges, which is verye plentifull in Oxforde to be ſéene, it ſhoulde be an eaſie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder Vniuerſitye. Therein are alſo manye dwelling houſes of ſtone yet ſtanding, that haue béene Halles for ſtudents of verye antique workemanſhip, beſide the olde walles of ſundrie other, whoſe plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, ſithence Colledges were erected.

In London alſo the houſes of ſtudentes at the Common law are theſe.

Sergeaunts Inne.
Graies Inne.
The Temple.
Lincolnes Inne.
Dauids Inne.
Staple Inne.
Furniualles Inne.
Clyffordes Inne.
Clements Inne.
Lions Inne.
Barnardes Inne.
New Inne.

Of Cities and townes, within the realme of Englande. Cap. 7.

26. Cities in Englande.

AS in olde time we read that there were 28. flamines and Archflamines in the ſouth part of this Iſle, and ſo many great cities vnder their iuriſdiction, ſo in theſe our dayes there is but one or two fewer, & eache of them alſo vnder the Eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one Biſhop or Archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall caſes haue the charge, and ouerſight of ẏ ſame. So many cities therefore are there in Englande and Wales, as there be Biſhoprijcks and Archbiſhoprijcks: for notwithſtanding that Lichfielde and Couentry; and Bathe and Welles, doe ſéeme to extend the aforeſayde number vnto nyne and twentie, yet neyther of theſe coples are to be accompted, but as one intier citie, and See of the biſhop, ſith one Biſhopricke can haue relation but vnto one See, and the ſayd See be ſcituate but in one place, after which the biſhop doth take his name. It appeareth by our olde and auncient hyſtories, that the cities of thys ſoutherly portion haue béene of excéeding greatneſſe and beautie, whereof ſome were buylded in the time of the Samotheās, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decayed, & the places where they ſtóde worne out of al remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remayne are meruayllouſly altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large & ample, nowe are they come eyther vnto a very fewe houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon then poore and ſimple villages. Antoninus the moſt diligent writer of the thorow fares of Brytaine, noteth among other theſe auncient townes following, as Sitomagus (which he placeth in the way frō Norwitch as Lelande ſuppoſeth wherein they went by Colcheſter to London) Nouiomagus that lyeth betwéene Carleill and Cantorbury, within tenne myles eaſt of London, and likewyſe Neomagus, and Niomagus which take their names of their firſt foūder Magus, the ſonne of Samothes, and ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Ilande. Of theſe moreouer Sir Thomas Eliot ſuppoſeth Neomagus to haue ſtód ſomewhere about Cheſter, and George Lilly in his bóke of the names of auncient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verye ſame that we doe nowe call Buckingham. And as theſe & ſundry other nowe periſhed tóke theyr denomination of thys prince, ſo their are dyuers cauſes, which móue me to coniecture, that Saliſbury it ſelf doth rather take the firſt name Sarron the ſonne of the ſayde Magus, then of Cæſar, Caradoc or Seuerus as ſome of our writers doe imagine. But ſith coniecturs are no verities & mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not ſtande now vpon the próofe of this matter, leaſt I ſhoulde ſéeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto olde, in ſuch wyſe to deteyne the heades of my readers about theſe trifles, that otherwyſe peraduenture woulde be farre better occupyed. To procéede therfore, as ſóne after the firſt inhabitation of this Ilande, our Cities began no doubt to be buylded, and increaſed, ſo they ceaſed not to multiplye from tyme to tyme, till the lande was thorowly furniſhed, with hir conuenient numbers, whereof ſome at this preſent with their auncient names, doe ſtill remaine in knowledge, though dyuers be doubted of, & many moe peryſhed by continuance of time, and vyolence of the enemie. I doubt not alſo but the leaſt of theſe were comparable to the greateſt of thoſe which ſtand in our tyme, for ſith that in thoſe dayes the moſt part of the Ilande, was reſerued vnto paſture, the townes and villages eyther were not at all (but all ſortes of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlye an Image, of which eſtate may yet be ſéene in Spaine) or at the leſt wiſe ſtóde not ſo thick, as they dyd afterward in the time of the Romaines, cauſe in- of ges.

maines, but chiefely after the comming of the Saxons and Normans, whẽ euery Lord buylded a church neare vnto his owne manſion houſe, & are imputed the greateſt part of his lands vnto ſundrie tennants, wherby the number of townes and villages was not a little increaſed among vs. If any man be deſirous to know the names of thoſe auncient cities, that ſtoode in the time of the Romains he ſhall haue them here at hand, in ſuch wiſe as I haue gathered them out of our writers obſeruing euen their maner of writing of thẽ ſo neare as to me is poſſible.

1. London otherwiſe called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinium *or* Longidinium
- Auguſta of the legion Auguſta that ſoiourned there, when the Romaines ruled here.

2. Yorke otherwiſe called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc.
- Yeworwijc.
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laye there ſometime.

3. Cantorbury
- Duroruerno *alias* Duraruenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbyry.

4. Colcheſter
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Collkin.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the Colonie planted there.
- Colonceſter.
- Camulodunum.

5. Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woodes that ſtoode about it.
- Cair loichoit, by Corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6. Warwijc
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7. Cheſter vppon Vske
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legeceſter.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8. Carleill
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.

9. S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamceſter.
- Cair wattelin, of the ſtreete whereon it ſtoode.

10. Wincheſter
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11. Ciſceter.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kerw.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirneceſter.
- Churneceſter.

12. Silceſter.
- Cair Segent.
- Seleceſter.

13. Bathe
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ ſolis.

14. Shafteſbyry.
- Cair paladour.
- Septonia.

15. worceſter
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Caer Frangon.
- Woorkeceſter.

16. Chicheſter.
- Cair Key.
- Cair Chic.

17. Briſtow
- Cair Odernant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Brent.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brigheſtow.

18. Rocheſt.
- Durobreuis corruptly
  - Durobriuis.
  - Dubobrius.
  - Durobrius.
- Roſceſter.
- Roffa.

19. Portcheſter.
- Cair Peris.
- Cair porcis.

20. Cairmarden
- Cair Maridunum.
- Cair Merdine.
- Maridunum.
- Cair Marlin.
- Cair Fridhin.

21. Gloceſter
- Cair Clowy.
- Cair Glow.
- Claudioceſtria.

22. Leirceſter.		Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall teſte math weſt. 895.
23. Cambridge.		Cair Graunt.
		24. Cair vrnach. 25. Cair Cucurat. 26. Cair Draiton. 27. Cair Celennon. 28. Cair Megwaid.
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As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon Nen in Huntingdon ſhire, but nowe vnknowen, ſith it was twiſe raced to the grounde, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines therof are not extaunt to be ſéene. And in like ſort I am ignoraunt where they ſtood, that are noted the ſtar. It ſhould ſéeme when theſe auncient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne which we nowe call Saint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but chiefely in the Romaines time, and was nothing inferiour to London it ſelf, but rather preferred before it, bycauſe it was newer, & a colony of the Romaines, wheras the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited only by the Britaines. Good notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Mathew paris, & other before him, out of whoſe wrytings, I haue thought good to note a fewe thinges whereby the maieſty of thys auncient citie, may appeare vnto poſterity, and the former eſtate of Werlamceſter not lie altogither, as it hath done hitherto raked vp in forgetfulneſſe, thorowe the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of theyr ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith many particulers thereof were written to their hands, that nowe are loſt and periſhed. Tacitus in the fouretéenth booke of hys hiſtorie, maketh mencion of it, ſhewyng that in the rebellion of the Brytons, the Romaines there were myſerablye diſtreſſed, Eadem clades (ſayth he) municipio Verolamio fuit, and herevpon Nennius in his Cataloge of cities, calleth it Cair Minucip, as I before haue noted. Ptolomy ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italyan myles from London, placing Sullomaca nyne myle from thence, wherby it is euident, that Sullomaca ſtood very néere to Barnet, if it were not the ſame. Of the cõpaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is yet ſome mencyon by the ruines, but of yͤ beauty of the citye it ſelfe, you ſhal partly vnderſtand by yͤ which followeth at hand.

When Albane was martyred, Aſclepiodotus was Legate in Britaine.

Sulomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of King Edgar, it fell out that one Eldred was Abbot there, who being deſirous to enlarge that houſe, it came into his mynde, to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium, (which nowe was ouerthrowne by the fury of the ſaxons & Danes) to ſée if he might there come by any curious péeces of worke, wherewith to garniſhe hys buylding taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſoone begonne to digge among the rubbis, but he founde an exceeding number of Pillers, péeces of Antique worke, threſholdes, dore frames, and ſundry other péeces of fine maſonry for windowes and ſuch lyke, very conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphirite ſtone, ſome of dyuers kyndes of marble, touch, and Alablaſter, beſide many curious deuiſes of harde mettall, in fynding whereof he thought himſelfe an happy man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlye guyded by ſ. Albane: Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundry pyllers of Braſſe, and ſocketes of Laton, al which he laide aſide by great heapes, determinyng in the ende, I ſay, to laye the foundation of a newe Abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determinatiõ, that death tooke him awaye, before his buylding was begon. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who proſequuted the doinges of Eldrede to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onely peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearche yet farder, with in yͤ olde walles of Verolamium, where they not onely found infinite péeces of excellent workemanſhip, but came at the laſt to certaine vaultes vnder the ground, in which ſtode dyuers Idolles, and not a fewe aultars, very ſupperſtitiouſlye, & religiouſlye adourned, as the Paganes left thẽ (belike) in tyme of neceſſytie. Theſe Images were of ſũdry mettals, & ſome of pure gold: their aulters likewiſe were rychly couered, all which ornamentes, Edmerus tooke away, and not only conuerted them to other vſe in his building, but alſo deſtroyed an innumerable ſort of other ydols, whoſe eſtimation conſiſted in their formes: & ſubſtaunces could doe no ſeruice. He tooke vp moreouer ſondrye curious pottes, Iugges, and cruſes of ſtone, & woode moſt artificially wrought, and carued, & that in ſuch quantitye beſides infinite ſtore of fine houſholde ſtuffe, as if the whole furniture of the city had béene brought thither of purpoſe to be hidden in thoſe vaultes. In proceeding further he tooke vp diuers pots of golde, ſyluer, braſſe & glaſſe, wherof ſome were fylled with the aſhes and bones of the Gentyles, & not a fewe with the coynes of the olde Brytons, and Romaine Emperours. All which veſſels the ſayde Abbot brake into péeces, and melting the mettalle, he reſerued it in lyke ſorte for the garnyſhing of hys church.

he founde lykewyſe in a ſtone wall two olde bookes, whereof one conteined the rytes of the gentiles, about the ſacrifices of their gods, the other as they now ſay, yͤ Martyrdome of S. Albane, both of thē written in old brittiſh letters, which eyther bycauſe no man then lyuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both conſumed to aſhes, ſauing that a fewe notes were firſt taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene founde, ſince that tyme, and diuers within the memory of man, of paſſing workmanſhip, the lyke wherof hath no where elſe beene ſeene in anye ruynes wythin the compaſſe of the Iſle, eyther for coſt or quantitye of ſtuffe.

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Furthermore where as dyuers are not afrayde to ſaye that the Thames came ſometimes by thys citie, in deede it is nothing ſo, but that the Werlume, (afterwarde called Were and the Mure) did or doth ſo (whatſoeuer Gildas talketh herof, whoſe bookes may be corrupted in that behalfe,) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. But thus ſtandeth the caſe. As thoſe aforeſayd workemen digged in thoſe ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet ſhelles, peeces of ruſty ancres, and keles of great veſſelles, whereupon ſome by & by gathered that either the Thames or ſome arme of the Sea, did beate vpon that towne, not vnderſtandyng that theſe thinges might aſwell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioyning to the north ſide of the citie, which lay thē vnwalled. This mere at the firſt belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in hys time did reape no ſmall commoditie. It continued alſo vntill the time of Alfrike the ſeauenth Abbot of that houſe, who bought it out ryght of the king then liuing, & by exceſſiue charges dreined it ſo narrowly, that within a whyle he left it [illegible]e, bycauſe there was alwaies contention betweene the monkes & the kings ſeruaunts, which fiſhed on that water.

In theſe dayes there remayneth no maner mencion of this poole, but onelye in one ſtreate, which yet is called fiſhpoole ſtreate, whereof this may ſuffiſe, for the reſolution of ſuch men, as ſeeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, then that their Gildas ſhoulde ſeeme to miſtake thys ryuer.

Hauing thus digreſſed to giue ſome remēbraunce of the olde eſtate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe. Certes I woulde gladlye ſet downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes & villages, in england and wales: but as yet I cannot come by thē, in ſuch order as I woulde: howbeit the tale of our cities is ſoone founde by the Byſhoprickes, ſith euery See hath ſuch prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, As

London.
Yorke.
Cauntorbury.
VVincheſter.
Cairleil.
Durham.
Ely.
Norwiche.
Lincolne.
VVorceſter.
Gloceſter.
Herefordе.
Salisbury.
Exceſter.
Bathe.
Lichefielde.
Briſtow.
Rocheſter.
Cheſter.
Chicheſter.
Oxforde.
Peterborow.
Landaffe.
S. Dauids.
Bangor.
S. Aſaph.

Whoſe particular plots & models with their deſcriptiōs ſhal inſue, if it may be brought to paſſe, that yͤ cutters can make diſpach of thē before this hyſtory be publiſhed. Of townes and villages likewiſe thus much will I ſay, that there were greater ſtore in olde tyme then at this preſent, & thys I note out of dyuers recordes, charters, & donations (made in times paſt, vnto ſundry religious houſes, as Gleſſenburye, Abbandon, Ramſey, Ely, and ſuch like) that there were many townes and villages, whereof at this preſent I fynde not ſo much as the ruines. Lelande in ſundrye places complayneth likewiſe of the decaie of paryſhes in great cities and townes, miſſing in ſome ſixe, or eyght, or twelue churchs, of all which he giueth particuler notice. For albeit yͤ the Saxōs builded many townes & villages, and the Normans well mo: yet ſince the firſt hundred yeares, after the latter conqueſt, they haue gone againe ſo faſt againe to decaye, that the auncyent number of them is very much abated. Rauulphe the Monke of Cheſter, telleth of a generall ſuruey, made in the fourth of the reigne of William Conquerour, ſurnamed the Baſtarde, wherein it was founde that (notwithſtanding yͤ Danes had ouerthrowne a great many) there were to the number of 52000. townes, 45002. pariſh churches, and 75000. Knightes fees, whereof the clergy helde 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were dyuers other buylded ſince that tyme, wythin the ſpace of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Baſtarde, as it were in lieu or recompence of thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his newe Forreſt. Howbeit it the aſſertions of ſuch as wryte in our tyme concerning this matter, eyther is or ought to be of any credite, in this behalfe, you ſhall not finde, aboue 17000. townes and villages in the whole, which is little more then a fourth part, of the aforeſayd number, yf it be thorowly ſcanned. But to leaue this lamentable diſcourſe of ſo notable an inconueniēce (growing by incroching & ioyning of houſe to houſe, and lande to lande, whereby the inhabitaunts of any country are deuoured and eatē vp.) It is ſo that our ſoyle being deuided into Champaigne ground & woodlande, the houſes of the firſt lye vniformely buylded in euery towne togither with ſtreetes & lanes, whereas in the woodlande countries (except here and there in great market townes) they ſtande ſcattered abroad, eache one dwelling in the midſt of his owne occupying. And as in euery one of the firſt, there are comonly three hundred or foure hundred families or manſion houſes, and two thouſande communicantes, or peraduenture moe: ſo in the other we finde not often aboue fourtie or fiftie houſholdes, & two hundred communicantes, whereof the greateſt part neuertheleſſe are very poore folkes, oftentymes without all maner of occupying, ſith the grounde of the pariſhe is often gotten vp into a fewe mens handes, yea ſometimes into the tennure of two or three, wherby the reaſt are compelled eyther to be hyred ſeruaunts vnto the other, or elſe to begge their bread in miſery from doore to doore. A great number complayne of thincreaſe of pouertie, but few men do ſee the verye roote from whence it doeth proceede, yet the Romaines founde it out, when they floriſhed, and therefore preſcribed limites to euery mans tenure and occupying. Homere commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities, but in myne opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for buylding of three ſcore in Inde, where he dyd plant himſelfe. I coulde if neede requyred ſet downe in this place, the number of religious houſes and Monaſteries with the names of their founders that haue beene in this Iſland, but ſith it is a thing of ſmall importaunce, I paſſe it ouer as impertinent to my purpoſe. Yet herin I will commēde manye of the monaſticall votaries, eſpeciallye Monkes, for that they were authors of many goodly borowes and endwares, neare vnto their dwellinges, although otherwyſe they pretended to be men ſeparated from the world. But alas their couetous mindes one waye in enlarging their reuenues, & carnall intent an other appeared herein to to much, for being bolde from tyme to tyme to viſite their tennants, they wrought oft great wickedneſſe, & made thoſe endwares little better thē bordelhouſes, eſpecially where Nonries were farre of, or elſe no ſafe acceſſe vnto thē. But what doe I ſpende my tyme in the rehearſall of theſe filthineſſes, woulde to God the memorie of them might periſhe with the malefactours. My purpoſe was alſo at thend of this chapter to haue ſet downe a table of the Pariſhe churches and market townes thorowout all England and Wales, but ſith I can not performe the ſame as I woulde, I am inforced to giue ouer my purpoſe, yet by theſe fewe that inſue you ſhall eaſily ſee what order I woulde haue vſed according to the ſhyres.

Shyres.	*Market townes.*	*Pariſhes.*
Middleſex	3.	73.
London within the walles, and without.		120.
Surrey.	6.	140.
Suſſex.	18.	312.
Kent.	17.	398.
Cambridge.	4.	163.
Bedford.	9.	13.
Huntingdon.	5.	78.
Rutlande.	2.	47.
Barckeſhyre.	11.	150.
Northampton.	10.	326.
Buckingham.	11.	196.
Oxforde.	10.	216.
Southampton.	18.	248.
Dorſet.	19.	279.
Norffolke.	26.	625.
Suffolke.	25.	575.
Eſſex.	18.	415.

And theſe I had of a friende of myne, by whoſe traueyle and hys maiſters exceſſiue charges I doubt not, but my country men eare long ſhall ſee all Englande ſet forth in ſeuerall ſhyres after the ſame maner that Ortelius hath dealt wyth other countries of the mayne, to the great benefite of our nation and euerlaſting fame of the aforeſayde parties.

Of Caſtelles and holdes. Cap. 8.

There haue beene in tymes paſt great ſtore of Caſtelles and places of defence within the realme of Englande, of which ſome were buylded by the Brytons, many by the Romaynes, Saxons, and Danes, but moſt of all by the Barons of the realme, in & about the tyme of king Stephen, who licenſed eache of them to buylde ſo many as they would vpon their owne demeaſnes, hoping therby that they would haue employed their vſe to his aduauntage and commoditie; but finally when he ſawe that they were rather fortified againſt hymſelfe in the ende, then vſed in his defence, he repented all to late of his inconſiderate dealing, ſith now there was no remedie but by force for to ſubdue them. After his deceaſe king Henry the ſeconde came no ſooner to the crowne, but he called to minde the inconuenience which his predeſſour had ſuffred and he himſelfe might in time ſuſtaine by thoſe fortifications. Therefore one of the firſt things he dyd was an attempt to race and deface the moſt parte of theſe holdes. Certes he thought it better to hazarde the meeting of the enimie nowe and then in the playne field, then to liue in perpetuall feare of thoſe houſes, and the rebellion of his Lordes vpon euery light occaſion conceyued, who then were full ſo ſtrong as he, if not more ſtrong, and that made them the redier to withſtande & gaineſay many of thoſe proceedinges, which he and his ſucceſſours from time to tyme intended. Hereupon therfore he cauſed more then aleauen hundred of their caſtelles to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a litle reſtrained. Sithence that time alſo not a few of thoſe which remained, haue decayed of themſelues: ſo that at this preſent, there are very few or no caſtels at all maintayned within England, ſauing only vpõ the coaſts and marches of the countrie for the better keeping backe of the forrein enemie, whenſoeuer he ſhall attempt to enter and annoye vs.

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The moſte prouident Prince that euer reigned in this lande for the fortificatiõ therof agaynſt all outwarde enemies, was the late Prince of famous memory king Henry the eyght: ſith beſide that he repaired moſt of ſuch as were alreadie ſtanding, he buylded ſundrie out of the grounde. For hauing ſhaken of the more then ſeruile yoke of the Popiſh tyrannie, and eſpying that the Emperour was offended for hys dyuorce from Queene Catherine his aunt: and therto that the Frenche king had coupled the Dolphin his ſonne with the Popes neece: and maryed his daughter to the king of Scottes, (wherby he had cauſe more iuſtly to ſuſpect then ſafely to truſt any one of the all as Lambert ſaith) he determined to ſtand vpon his owne defence, and therefore with no ſmall ſpeede, and like charge, he buylded ſundrie Blockehouſes, Caſtelles, and Platformes vpon diuers frontiers of his realme, but chiefely the eaſt and ſoutheaſt partes of England, wherby no doubt he dyd very much qualifie the conceyued grudges of his aduerſaries and vtterly put of their haſty purpoſe of inuaſiõ. And thus much briefly for my purpoſe at this preſent. For I neede not to make any long diſcourſe of caſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regarde to be caged vp in a cope, & hedged in with ſtone walles, but rather to meete wyth hys enemie in the playne fielde at handſtrokes, where he may trauaiſe his grounde, chooſe his plot, and vſe the benefite of ſunne ſhine, winde & wether, to his beſt aduauntage and commoditie. As for thoſe tales that go of Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall ſaue all England on a day, & likewiſe the brag of a rebellious Barron in olde time that ſayde in contempt (of king Henry the thirde, as I geſſe)

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If I were in my Caſtell of Bungey
Vpon the water of Waueney,
I woulde not ſet a button by the king of Cockney.

I repute them but as toyes, the firſt meere vaine, the ſeconde fondly vttered if any ſuch thing were ſayde, as many other wordes are and haue beene ſpoken of lyke holdes, (as Wallingforde. &c.) but nowe growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not hearde of among the common ſort.

Of Pallaces belonging to the prince, and court of Englande.

Cap. 9.

IT lyeth not in me to ſet downe exactly the number and names of the palaces, belonging to the Prince, nor to make any deſcription of hir Graces Court, ſith my callyng is and hath beene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarcely preſumed to peepe in at hir gates, much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſearch out & know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to to ſeene wythin them. Yet thus much will I ſaye generallye of all the houſes and honours appertaining vnto hir grace, that they are buylded, eyther of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both, & therunto although their capacity and hugeneſſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the lyke of dyuers forren Princes, are to be ſeene in yͤ maine, yet are they ſo curious, nete, and commodious as any of them, both for conueighaunce of offices and lodginges, and excellencye of ſcituation, which is not the leaſt thing to bee conſidered of. Thoſe that were buylded before the tyme of King Henry the eyght, retaine to theſe daies the ſhew & Image of the auncient kinde of workmanſhip vſed in this lande, but ſuch as he erected doe repreſent another maner of paterne, which as they are ſuppoſed to excell all the reſt that he founde ſtanding in thys Realme, ſo they are & ſhal-

White hall.
S. James
Oteland.
Aſheridge.
Hatfelde.
Enuelde.
Richemōd.
Hampton.
Woodſtocke

be a perpetuall preſident, vnto thoſe that doe come after, to followe in their workes, and buyldinges of importaunce. Certes Maſonry did neuer better flouriſh in England then in hys tyme, and albeit that in theſe dayes there be manye goodly houſes erected in the ſundry quarters of thys Iſland, yet they are rather curious to the eye, then ſubſtanciall for continuaunce, where as ſuch as hee did ſet vp excel in both, and therefore may iuſtly be preferred aboue al the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my rēmebrance, are theſe. Firſt of al White hall at the weſt ende of London (which is taken for the moſt large and principall of all the reſt) was begun by Cardinall wolſey, and enlarged and finiſhed by king Henry ẏ eyght. Neere vnto ẏ is S. James, ſometime a Nonry, builded likewiſe by the ſame prince. Hir grace hath alſo Otelande, Aſheridge, Hatfelde, Haueryng, Enuelo, Richemond, Hampton court, (begonne ſometime by Cardinall Wolſey, and finiſhed by hir Father) and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king Henry the ſeconde, in which the Queenes maieſty delighteth greatly to ſoiourne, notwythſtanding that in time paſt it was the place of hir captiuity, when it pleaſed God to try hir by affliction and calamity.

Windſor.
Greene-wiche.
Dartforde.

For ſtrength Windleſor or Winſore, is ſuppoſed to be the chiefe, a caſtell buylded in tyme paſt by king Arthur, as it is thought, & repayred by Edwarde the third, who erected alſo a notable Colledge there. After him diuers of his ſucceſſours, haue beſtowed exceeding charges vpon the ſame, which notwithſtanding are farre ſurmounted, by the Queenes maieſty nowe lyuing, who hath appointed huge ſommes of money to be employed vpon the ornature, and alteration of the mould, according to the fourme of buylding vſed in our dayes. Such alſo hath beene the eſtimatiō of this place, that diuers kings haue not onely beene enterred there but alſo made it the chiefe houſe of aſſemblye, and creation of the Knightes, of the honourable order of the Garter, then the which there is nothing in this lande, more magnificent and ſtately. Greenewiche was firſt buylded, by Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, vpon the Thames ſide 4. miles eaſt from London, in ẏ tyme of Henry the ſixt, & called Pleſance. Afterwards it was gretly inlarged by king Edwarde the fourth, garnyſhed by king Henry the ſeauenth, and finallye made perfite by king Henry the eyght, the onely phenix of his time, for fine and curious maſonrye. Not farre from this is Dartforde, and not much diſtaunt alſo from the ſouth ſide of that ſayd ſtreame, ſometime a Nonnery, but now a very cōmodious Pallace, wherevnto it was alſo cōuerted by king Henry ẏ eight. Eltham as I take it, was buylded by king Henry ẏ third if not before. There are beſides theſe moreouer dyuers other, but what ſhal I neede to take vpon me to repeate all, & tell what houſes the Queenes maieſtie hath, ſith all is hirs, and when it pleaſeth hir in the ſōmer ſeaſon, to recreate hir ſelfe abroade, and viewe the eſtate of the countrey, euery noble mans houſe is hir Pallace, where ſhee continueth during pleaſure, and till ſhee returne againe to ſome of hir owne, in which ſhe remaineth ſo long as pleaſeth hir.

The court of England which neceſſarily is holden alwayes where the Prince lyeth, is in theſe dayes one of the moſt renowmed and magnificent courtes, that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the ryche and infinite furniture of houſholde, order of Officers, or the interteinement of ſuch ſtrāgers as dailye reſorte vnto the ſame, you ſhall not finde many equall therevnto, much leſſe one excelling it, in any maner of wiſe. I myght here if I woulde (or had ſufficient diſpoſition of matter conceyued of the ſame) make a large diſcourſe, of the honourable ports of ſuch graue councellours, and noble perſonages, as giue their dailye attendance vpon the Queenes maieſty there. I could in lyke ſorte ſet forth a ſingular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautiful vertues of ſuch Ladies and Gentlewomen, as waite vpon hir perſon, betweene whoſe amiable countenaunces and coſtlineſſe of attyre, there ſeemeth to be ſuch a daily conflict and contention, as that it is verye difficulte for me to geſſe, wheter of the twaine, ſhal beare away the preheminence. This farder is not to be omitted to the ſingular commendation of both ſorts & ſexes of our Courtyers here in Englande, that there are verye fewe of them, which haue not the vſe and ſkyll of ſundry ſpeaches, beſide an excellent vaine of wryting, before time not regarded. Truely it is a rare thing with vs nowe, to here of a courtier which hath but his own language, & to ſay how many Gentlewomen & Ladies there are that beſide ſound knowledge of the Greeke & Latin tongues, are therto no leſſe ſkilful in ẏ Spaniſh Italian & French, or in ſome one of them, it reſteth not in me: ſith I am perſwaded, that as the noble men, & gentlemen, doe ſurmount in this behalf, ſo theſe come very litle or nothyng at all behind thē, for their parts, which induſtry god continue.

Beſide theſe thinges I coulde in like ſorte ſet downe the wayes and meanes whereby our auncient Ladies of the Court doe ſhun & auoyde ydleneſſe, ſome of them exercyſing their fingers with the needle, other in cauleworke, diuers in ſpinning of ſilke, ſome in continuall reading either of the holye ſcriptures, or hyſtories of our owne, or forren nations about vs, whileſt the yonger ſort in ẏ meane time, applie their Lutes, Citharnes, prickeſong, and all kindes of Muſick, which they vſe only for recreation and ſolace ſake, when they haue leyſure, and are free from attendaunce vpon the Queenes maieſtye, or ſuch as they belong vnto.

I myght finally deſcribe the large allowances in offices, and yerely lyueries, & thervnto the great plentie of Golde and Syluer Plate, the ſeuerall peeces whereof, are cõmonlye ſo great and maſſye, and the quanty therof ſo abundantly ſeruing all the houſholde, that if Midas were nowe liuing and once againe put to his choiſe, I thinke hee coulde aſke no more, or rather not halfe ſo much, as is there to be ſeene and vſed. But I paſſe ouer to make ſuch needeleſſe diſcourſes, reſoluing my ſelfe, that euen in this alſo the exceeding mercy and louing kindeneſſe of God doth woonderfullye appeare towardes vs, in that he hath ſo largely indued vs with theſe his ſo ample benefites.

In ſome great Princes Courtes, it is a worlde to ſee what lewde behauiour is vſed among dyuers of thoſe that reſorte vnto the ſame, & what whoredõe, ſwearing, rybaldry atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, drunkenneſſe, Glotony, quarcling, and ſuch lyke inconueniences, doe daily take holde, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates ſuch behauiour is leaſt conuenient: all which inormities, are eyther vtterly expelled out of the Court of Englande, or elſe ſo quallified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſholde, that ſeldome are any of theſe thinges apparantly ſeene there, with out due reprehenſion, & ſuch ſeuere correction, as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finally to auoyde ydleneſſe, and preuent ſundrye tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelye to be commytted and done, ſuch order is taken, that euerye offyce hath eyther a Byble, or the bookes of the Actes and monumentes of the Church of Englande, or both, beſide ſome hyſtoryes and Chronicles lying therin, for the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtraunger that entereth into the Court of Englande vpon the ſodeine, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publicke ſchoole of ẏ vniuerſities, where many giue eare to one that readeth vnto thẽ, then into a Princes Pallace, if you conferre this with thoſe of other nations. Would to god al honorable perſonages woulde take example of hir Graces Godly dealing in this behalfe, and ſhewe their conformitie, vnto theſe hir ſo good beginninges: which if they woulde, then ſhoulde manye grieuous enormities (where with G O D is highelye diſpleaſed) be cut of and reſtreined, which nowe doe reigne exceedingly, in moſt Noble and Gentlemens houſes, wherof they ſee no paterne within hir Graces gates.

The firme peace alſo that is mainteyned within a certaine compaſſe of the Princes Pallace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſee daily practized in the beſt gouerned holds, & fortreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike, wythin the limites prohibited, that without all hope of mercy, benefite of clergie, or ſanctuary, they are ſure to loſe their ryght handes, at a ſtroke, and that in very ſolemne maner, the fourme whereof I will ſet downe, and then make an ende of this Chapter, to deale with other matters.

At ſuch time therefore as the party tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficent enqueſt impanelled for the ſame purpoſe, and the tyme come of thexecution of the ſentence, the Sergeaunt of the kings woodyarde prouydeth a ſquare blocke, which he bringeth to ſome appointed place, & therwith al a great beetle, ſtaple, and cordes, wherwith to faſten the hande of the offendor, vnto the ſayde blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be perfourmed. The Yoman of the Scullary lykewyſe for the tyme beyng doth prouide a great fire of coales harde by the blocke, wherein the ſearing yrons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe Surgeon to the Prince or his Deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Vpon him alſo doth the ſergeaunt or chief farrour attend with thoſe yrons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſayd Surgeõ when he ſhalbe readie by ſearing to vſe the ſame. The grome of the Salary for the time beyng or hys Deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and colde water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offender be bounde vp & fully dreſſed. And as theſe thinges are thus prouided ſo ẏ Sergeaunt Surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtump, when the hande is taken from it. The ſergeaunt of the ſellar is at hande alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewyſe the chiefe officer of the pantry with Manchet bread to giue vnto the ſayde partie, after the execution done, and the ſtomp ſeared, as the ſergeaunt of the Ewery is with clothes, wherein to winde and wrap vp the the arme, the yoman of the pultrie with a cocke to lay vnto it, the yoman of the Chaūdrie with ſeared clothes, and finally the maiſter cooke or his Deputie with a ſharpe dreſſing knyfe, which he delyuereth at the place of execution to the Sargeaunt of the Larder, who doth holde it vpright in hys hande, vntill thexecution be performed, by the publicke Officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment ordayned for thoſe that ſtryke within the Princes pallace, or limites of the ſame. The lyke priuilege is almoſt giuen to churches and churchyardes, although in maner of puniſhment great difference doe appeare. For he that bralleth or quarrelleth in eyther of them, is by and by ſuſpended ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ, vntil he be abſolued, as he is alſo that ſtriketh wyth ẏ fiſt, or layeth violent handes vpon any whome ſo euer. But yf he happen to ſmite wyth ſtaffe, dagger, or any maner of weapon, and the ſame be ſufficiently founde by the Verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to loſe one of hys eares wythout all hope of recouerye. But if he be ſuch a one as hath beene twyſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hote yron vpon the cheeke, & by the letter F, which is ſeared into his fleſh, he is frō thenceforth noted as a common barratour, & fray maker, and thereunto remayneth excommunicate, till by repentaunce he deſerue to be abſolued.

Of the maner of Buylding and furniture of our houſes. Cap. 10.

THe greateſt parte of our buylding in the cities and good townes of England conſiſteth onely of timber, for as yet fewe of the houſes of the comminalty (except here & there in the weſt country townes) are made of ſtone, although they may in my opinion in diuers other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In olde tyme the houſes of the Brytons were ſlitely ſet vppe with a few poſtes and many radles, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſeene in the fenny countries vnto this day, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this auncient maner of buylding. It is not in vayne therefore in ſpeaking of buylding to make a diſtinction betweene the playne and woddye countrie, for as in theſe, our houſes are commonly ſtrong & wel timbered, ſo that in many places, there are not aboue 6. or nine ynches betweene ſtudde and ſtudde, ſo in the open & champaine ſoyles they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuddes at all, but only rayſines, groundſelles, tranſomes, and vpright principalles, with here and there an ouerthwart poſt in their walles, whereunto they faſten their Splintes or radles, and then caſt it all ouer wyth clay to keepe out the winde, which otherwyſe woulde anoy them. In like ſort as euery country houſe is thus appareled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardly deuided into ſundrie rowmes aboue and beneth, and where plentie of wood is, they couer thē with tyles, otherwyſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or reede, except ſome quarry of ſlate be neare hande, from whence they haue for theyr money, ſo much as may ſuffice them. The clay wherewith our houſes are empanelled is eyther white, redde, or blewe, and of theſe the firſt doth participate very much with the nature of our chalke, the ſeconde is called lome, but the thirde eftſoones changeth coulour ſo ſoone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it looke blew when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent whyte lime made in moſt places, wherewith we ſtricke ouer our clay workes & ſtone walles, in Cities, good Townes, riche fermers, and gentlemens houſes: otherwyſe in ſteede of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſolde by the pounde) they are compelled to burne a certaine kind of redde ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones, as I haue ſeene by experience. Within their doores alſo ſuch as are of abilitie doe oft make their flowers, and parget of fine Alabaſter burned, which they cal plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, & that very profitable agaynſt the rage of fire. In plaſtering likewiſe of our fayreſt houſes ouer our heades, we vſe to lay firſt a Laire or two of white morter tempered with heire vpon Lathes, which are nayled one by an other, (or ſometimes vpō rede or wickers more daungerous for fyre and made faſt here and there with ſappelathes for falling downe) and finallye couer all with the aforeſayde plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is layed on ſo euen and ſmouthly as nothing in my iudgement can be done with more exactneſſe. This alſo hath bene cōmon in england, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other Nations, and yet to be ſeene (for example in moſt ſtreetes of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardly beene very ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardly haue beene able to receyue a Duke with his whole trayne and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the frontes of our ſtréetes haue not béene ſo vniforme & orderly buylded as thoſe of forrain cities, where to ſaye truth, the vtterſide of theyr manſions and dwellings, haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, then all the reaſt of the houſe, which are often very ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of olde tyme our country houſes in ſtéede of glaſſe dyd vſe much lattis and that made eyther of wicker or fine riftes of oke in chekerwyſe. I reade alſo that ſome of the better ſorte in and before the tymes of the Saxons did make panels of horne in ſtéede of glaſſe, and fixe them in woodden calmes, but as horne is quite layde downe in euery place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bycauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, & within a very little ſo good cheape as the other. Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed wyth Beril, (an example whereof is yet to be ſéene in Sudley caſtell) & in diuers other places, with fine chriſtall, but this eſpecially in the time of yͤ Romaines, whereof alſo ſome fragmentes haue béene taken vp in olde ruines. But nowe theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onely the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſtéemed for we haue diuers ſortes ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandy, much out of Flaunders, beſide that which is made in Englande ſo good as the beſt, and eache one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our country townes & villages, (which in champaine groūde ſtande altogither by ſtréetes, and ioyning one to an other, but in woodlande ſoyles diſperſed here and there, eache one vpon the ſeuerall groundes of their owners) are builded in ſuche ſort generally, as that they haue neither dairy, ſtable, nor bruehouſe, annexed vnto them vnder the ſame roofe (as in many places beyonde the ſea) but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lying in his bed may lightly heare what is done in eache of them with eaſe, and call quickly vnto his meney if any daunger ſhoulde attache hym. The auncient maners & houſes of our gentlemen are yet & for the moſt part of ſtrong tymber. Howbeit ſuch as be lately buylded, are commōly either of bricke or harde ſtone, their rowmes large and ſtately and houſes of office farder diſtaunt frō their lodginges. Thoſe of the Nobility are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtately as the baſeſt houſe of a Barren doth often match with ſome honours of princes in olde tyme, ſo that if euer curious buylding dyd floriſh in Englande, it is in theſe our dayes, wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with olde Vitrunius, and Serlo. The furniture of our houſes alſo excéedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: & herein I do not ſpeake of the Nobilitie and gentrie onely, but euen of the loweſt ſorte that haue any thing at all to take to. Certes in Noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſée abundance of Arras, riche hangings of Tapiſtry, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſūdrie cupbordes to the ſumme oftētimes of a thouſand or two thouſande pounde at the leaſt: wherby the value of this and the reaſt of their ſtuffe doth grow to be ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of Knightes, Gentlemē, Marchauntmen, and ſome other wealthie Citizens, it is not geſon to beholde generallye their great prouiſion of Tapiſtrie, Turkye worke, Pewter, Braſſe, fine linen, and therto coſtly cupbords of plate worth fiue or ſixe hundred pounde, to be demed by eſtimation. But as herein all theſe ſortes doe farre excéede their elders, and predeceſſours, ſo in time paſt, the coſtly furniture ſtayed there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour Artificers and moſt Fermers, who haue learned alſo to garniſh their cubbordes with plate, their beddes with tapiſtrie, and ſilke hanginges, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie doth infinitely appeare. Neyther do I ſpeake this in reproch of any man God is my Iudge, but to ſhew that I doe reioyce rather to ſée how God hath bleſſed vs with hys good giftes, and to behold how that in a time wherein all thinges are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, we do yet finde the meanes to obtayne and atchieue ſuch furniture as heretofore hath béene vnpoſſible. There are olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, which haue noted thrée things to be marueylouſly altered in Englande within their ſound remembraunce. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected, wheras in their yoong dayes there were not aboue twoo or thrée if ſo many in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme, (the religious houſes, & mannour places, of their Lordes allwayes excepted, & peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but eache one made his fire againſt a reredoſſe, in the hall where he dined and dreſſed his meate. The ſecond is yͤ great amendement of lodginge, for ſayde they our fathers & we our ſelues haue lyen full oft vpon ſtraw pallettes couered onely with a ſhéete vnder couerlettes made of dagſwain or hopharlots

Thrée thinges greatly amended in Englande.

Chimnies

Hardlodging.

(I vſe their owne termes) and a good round logge vnder their heades in ſteade of a boulſter. If it were ſo that our fathers or yͤ good man of the houſe, had a matteres or flockbed, and thereto a ſacke of chafe to reſt hys heade vpon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the Lorde of the towne, ſo well were they contented. Pillowes ſayde they were thought meete onely for women in childebed. As for ſeruants if they had any ſheete aboue them, it was well, for ſeldome had they any vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking ſtrawes, that ranne oft thorow the canuas, and raced their hardened hides.

Furniture of houſhold.

The thirde thinge they tell of, is the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and woodē ſpoones into ſiluer or tin. For ſo cōmon were al ſorts of treene veſſelles in old time, yͭ a man ſhould hardly find four peces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a ſalte) in a good Farmers houſe, and yet for al this frugaltie (if it may ſo be iuſtly called) they were ſcarſe able to lyue and paye their rentes, at their dayes without ſelling of a cow, or a horſe, or more, although they payde but foure pounds at the vttermoſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouerty, that if a Fermour or huſbundman had beene at the alehouſe, a thing greatly vſed in thoſe dayes, amongſt ſixe or ſeauen of hys neyghbours, and there in a brauery to ſhewe what ſtore he had, did daſt downe his purſe, and therein a noble or ſixe ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them, it was very likely that all the reſt could not lay downe ſo much againſt it: wheras in my tyme although peraduenture foure pounde of olde rent be improued to fourty or fiftye pound, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines very ſmall toward the middeſt of his terme, if he haue not ſixe or ſeauen yeres rent lying by him, therewith to purchaſe a newe leaſe, beſide a faire garniſhe of pewter on his cowborde, three or foure feather beddes, ſo many couerlettes and carpettes of Tapiſtry, a ſiluer ſalte, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a duſſen of ſpoones, to furniſhe vp the ſute. Thys alſo he taketh to bee his owne cleare, for what ſtocke of money ſoeuer he gathereth in all his yeares, it is often ſeene, that the landlorde will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe (which is commoly eight or ten yeares before it be expyred, ſith it is nowe growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his his lorde ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, ⁊ ſo defeate him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more then the heare of his bearde, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhauen it from his chinne.

This was in the time of generall ydleneſſe.

Of Fayres and Markettes.

Cap. 11.

There are as I take it, few great townes in England, that haue not their weekely Markets, in which al maner of prouiſion for houſhold, is to be bought and ſoulde, for eaſe and benefite of the countrey rounde about, wherby as it commeth to paſſe that no buyer ſhall make any great iourney in the purueighaunce of his neceſſities, ſo no occupier ſhall haue occaſion to tranayle farre of with his commodities, except it be to ſeeke for the higheſt prices, which commonly are neere vnto great cities, where rounde and ſpeedieſt vtteraunce is alwayes to be had. And as theſe haue beene in tymes paſt erected for the benefite of the realme, ſo are they in many places to to much abuſed: for the relief and eſe of the buyer, is not ſo much intended in them, as the benefite of the ſeller. Neyther are the Maieſtrats for the moſt part ſo carefull in their offices, as of ryght and dewtye they ſhoulde bee, for in moſt of theſe markettes neyther ſizes of breade nor orders for goodneſſe of graine and other commodities, that are brought thither to be ſoulde are any whit looked vnto, but eache one ſuffered to ſell or ſet vp, what, and how himſelfe lyſteth, ⁊ this is one euident cauſe of darth in time of great abundance.

I coulde if I woulde exemplifie in many, but I will touch no one particularly. Certes it is rare to ſee in any market the aſſize of breade well kept according to the ſtatute, howbeit I finde, in lieu thereof ſuch headdy ale and beere in moſt of them, as for the mightyneſſe thereof among ſuch as ſeeke it out, is commonlye called huffecappe, the madde Dogge, father whoreſonne, Aungels foode, Dragons milke ⁊c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence, into a troubled conſcience; after he had conſidered well of his rekeleſſe lyfe, and daungerous eſtate: another thinking belyke to change his colour and not his mind, caryed hym ſtraight to the ſtrongeſt ale, as to the next Phiſition. It is incredible to ſay how our Maultbugges lug at this liquor, euen as pigges ſhoulde lye in a rowe, lugging at their dames teates, tyll they lye ſtill againe, ⁊ be not able to wagge. Neyther did Romulus and Remus ſucke their ſhee Wolfe Lupa, wyth ſuch eger ⁊ ſharpe deuotion as theſe men, hale at hufcappe, tyll they be read as cockes, and litle wyſer thē their combes. But howe am I fallen from the mercate, into the Ale houſe. In returning therfore vnto to my purpoſe, I find therfore that in corne great abuſe is daily ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne & countrey, eſpecially the poore artificer & houſeholder, which tilleth no lande, but labouring all the weeke to buy a buſhell or two of corne on the mercate daie, can there haue none for his money, becauſe bodgers, loders, and common carryers of Graine, doe not onely buy vp all, but gyue aboue the pryce, to be ſerued of great quantities. Shall I go any farther, well I will ſaye yet a little more, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience. At Myghelmas tyme poore men muſt ſell theyr graine that they may paye their rentes. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, ryche men wyll bringe out none, but rather buy vppe that which the poore bring vnder pretence of ſeede corne, becauſe one wheat often ſowen without chaunge of ſeede, will ſone decay and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt needes buy in the markettes, though they be twentye myles of and where they be not knowne, promiſing there to ſend ſo much to theyr next market, to performe I wote not when.

If thys ſhyft ſerue not (neither doth the foxe vſe alwayes one tracke for feare of a ſnare) they wil compound wͭ ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huſcappe or mery go downe, wyll not let to buy it for them, & that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, & thereto get him a lycence vpon ſome forged ſurmiſe, which being done, they will feede him with money, to buy for them till he hath filled theyr loftes, and then if he can doe any good for himſelfe ſo it is, if not, they wyll gyue him ſomewhat for his paines at this tyme, and reſerue him for another yeare. How many of theſe prowders ſtumble vppon blynde creekes at the ſea coſt, I wote not well, but that ſome haue ſo done vnder other mens winges, the cauſe is to playne. But who dare finde faulte with thẽ, when they haue once a lycence, though it be but to ſerue a meane Gentlemans houſe with corne, who hath caſt vp al his tillage becauſe he boaſteth how he can buy his graine in ẏ market better cheape, thẽ he can ſow his lãd, as the rich graſier often doth alſo vpon ẏ like deuiſe. If any man come to buy a buſhel or two for his expences vnto ẏ market croſſe, aunſwere is made, forſoth here was one euen nowe that badde me money for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to ſaye the truth, theſe bodgers are faire chapmẽ, for there are no more wordes with them, but let me ſee it, what ſhall I giue you, knitte it vp, I will haue it, go cary it to ſuch a chamber. But to proceede by this tyme the poore occupier hath all ſolde his croppe for neede of money, beyng readye paraduenture to buy againe ere longe. And nowe is the whole ſale of corne in the great occupyers handes, who hytherto haue threſhed lyttle or none of their own, but bought vp of other men, ſo much as they coulde come by. Hencefoorth alſo they begin to ſel, not by the quarter or loade at the firſt, but by the buſhell or two, or an hatſelode at the moſt, therby to be ſeene to keepe the market, eyther for a ſhewe, or to make men eger to buy, and ſo as they maye haue it for money, not to regarde what they pay. And thus corne waxeth deare, but it will be dearer the next market day. It is poſſible alſo that they myſlyke the pryce in the beginnyng for whole yeares inning, as men ſuppoſing that corne will be litle worth for this, and of better price in the next yeare. Herevpon then wyll they threſhe out thre partes of the olde corne, toward the latter ende of the ſommer, when newe commeth a pace to hande, and caſt the ſame into the ſowlth vnthreſhed, where it ſhall lye vntyll the next Spryng, or peraduenture tyll it muſt and putrifie. Or elſe they will gyrde their ſheues of by the band and ſtacke it vp of newe in leſſe roume to thende it may not onely appeare leſſe in quantity, but alſo gyue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing the field. If there happen to be ſuch plentye in the market vpon any market day, that they can not ſell at their owne pryce, then will they ſet it vp in ſome friendes houſe, againſt an other or the thirde day, and not bringe it forth vntyll they lyke of the ſale. If they ſell any at home, beſide harder meaſure, it ſhal be dearer to the poore man by two pence or a groate in a buſhell then they maye ſell it in the market. But as theſe things are worthy redreſſe, ſo I wyſhe that God woulde once open their eyes that deale thus, to ſee there owne erroures: for as yet ſome of them lyttle care howe many poore men ſuffer extremitie, ſo that they may fil their purſes, and carye awaye the gayne. I coulde ſaye more but this is euen ynough, and more peraduenture then I ſhall be well thanked for: yet true it is though ſome thinke it no treſpaſſe. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall meaſure is not in vſe throughout all Englande, but euery mercate towne hath in a maner a ſeuerall meaſure, and the leſſer it be, the mo ſellers it draweth to reſort vnto the ſame. It is oft founde likewiſe, that diuers vnreaſonable dealers haue one meaſure to ſell by, and another to buy withall

For maring of the market.

all, the lyke is alſo in weightes. Wherfore it were verye good that theſe two were reduced vnto one ſtanderd, that is, one buſhell, one pound, one quarter one hūdred, one tale, one number, ſo ſhould things in time fal into better order, & fewer cauſes of contention be moued in this land. But more of this hereafter in the next booke, where I haue inſerted a little treatize, which I ſometimes collected of our weightes, & meaſures, and their compariſon with thoſe of the auncient Greekes and Romaines. To cōclude therfore in our markets all things are to be ſolde neceſſarie for mans vſe, and there is our prouiſion made commonly for all the weeke inſuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekely market at the leaſt, ſo there are very fewe of them that haue not one or two fayres or more within the compaſſe of the yeare aſſigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that ſome of them are not much better then the common kirkemeſſes beyonde the ſea, yet there are diuers not inferiour vnto the greateſt martes in Europe, as Sturbridge Faire neare to Cambridge, Bartholomewe fayre at London, Lynne mart, Cold fayre at Newport pond for cattell, and diuers other, all which or at the leaſtwyſe the greateſt part of them (to the end I may with the more eaſe to the reader & leſſe trauaile to my ſelf fulfill my taske in their recitall.) I haue ſet down according to ẏ names of the monethes wherin they are holden at ẏ end of this booke, where you ſhall finde them at large, as I borowed the ſame frō Stow.

Of Armour and Munition. Cap.12.

HOw well or how ſtrongly our countrey hath beene furniſhed in tymes paſt with armor and artillery, it lyeth not in me as of my ſelfe to make rehearſall. Yet that it lacked both in the late tyme of Queene Mary not onely therperience of myne elders, but alſo the talke of certaine Spaniards not yet forgotten, dyd leaue ſome manifeſt notice. Vpon the firſt I neede not ſtand, for few will denye it. For the ſeconde I haue hearde that when one of the greateſt peeres of Spaine eſpyed our nakedneſſe in this behalfe, and did ſolemnely vtter in no obſcure place, that it ſhoulde be an eaſie matter in ſhorte tyme to cōquere England bycauſe it wanted armor, his words were thē not ſo raſhly vttered, as they were pollitickly noted. For albeit that for the preſent tyme theyr efficacie was diſſembled, and ſemblaunce made as though he ſpake but merely, yet at the very enteraunce of thys our gracious Queene vnto the poſſeſſion of the Crowne, they were ſo prouidently called to remembrance, and ſuch ſpe die reformation ſought of all handes for th redreſſe of this incōuenience, that our coun try was ſooner furniſhed wyth armour an munition, from diuers partes of the main, (beſide great plentie that was forged here a home) then our enemies could get vnderſtā ding of any ſuch prouiſion to be made. By this pollicie alſo was the no ſmall hope con ceyued by Spanyardes vtterly cut of, wh of open friendes being nowe become our ſe crete enemies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue ſome heauie exploite a gaynſt vs and our countrye, dyd therevpon chaunge their purpoſes, whereby Englan obtayned reſt, that otherwyſe might hau ben ſure of ſharp & cruel wars. Thus a Spa niſh worde vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at ẏ leaſtwiſe hindered ſundry priuy practiſes of many at another. In times paſt the chiefe force of Englande conſiſted in their lōg bowes, but now we haue in maner generally giuen ouer that kinde of artillerie, and for long bowes in deede doe practiſe to ſhoote compaſſe for our paſtime: which kinde of ſhooting can neuer yeld any ſmart ſtroke nor beate downe our enemies as our country men were woont to doe, at euery time of neede. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in reſpect of their corſlets, will not let in open ſkirmiſh yf any leyſure ſerue to turne vp their tailes and cry ſhoote Engliſhe, and all bycauſe our ſtrong ſhooting is decayed and layed in bedde. But if ſome of our Engliſh men nowe lyued that ſerued king Edward the third in his warres with Fraunce, the breeche of ſuch a Varlet ſhould haue beene nailed to his bumme with one arrow & an other fethered in his bowels before he ſhoulde haue turned about to ſee who ſhotte the firſt. But as our ſhooting is thus in maner vtterly decayed amōg vs one way, ſo our countrie men were ſkilful in ſun drie other poyntes as in ſhooting in ſmall Pieces, the Caleuer, and handling of the Pyke, in the ſeuerall vſes whereof they are become very experte. Our armour dif fereth not from that of other nations, & there fore conſiſteth of corſlets, almaine riuets, ſhirtes of mayle, Jackes quilted and couered ouer wyth leather, fuſtien or canuas, ouer thicke plates of yron that are ſowed in the ſame, and of which there is no towne or vil lage that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The ſayd armour and munition alſo is kept in one ſeuerall place appoynted by the con ſent of the whole pariſh, where it is alwayes ready to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime alſo it is occupyed whe

it

pleaſeth the Magiſtrate, eyther to viewe the ablemen and take note of the wel keeping of the ſame, or finally to ſee thoſe that are inrolled to exerciſe eache one his ſeuerall weapon according to his appointment. Certes there is almoſt no village ſo poore in Englande (be it neuer ſo ſmall) that hath not ſufficient furniture in a readines to ſet forth three or foure ſouldiors, or one archer, one gunner, one pike & a byll man at the leaſt. No there is not ſo much wanting as theyr verye lyueries and cappes, which are leſt to be accounted of, if any haſte required. What ſtore of munition & armour the Queenes maieſtie hath in hir ſtore houſes, it lyeth not in mee to yelde accompt, ſith I ſuppoſe the ſame to be infinite. And where as it was commonly ſayde after the loſſe of Calais that Englande ſhould neuer recouer their Ordinance, there left, that ſame is at this time proued falſe, ſith euen ſome of the ſame perſons doe now confeſſe, that thys lande was neuer better furniſhed wyth theſe thinges in any kinges dayes that raigned ſince the conqueſt. As for the armouries of diuers of the Nobilitie (wherof I alſo haue ſeene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed wyth in ſome one Barons cuſtodie, that I haue ſeene three ſcore corſlets at once, beſide calyuers, handgunnes, bowes, ſheiefes of arrowes, pykes, bylles, pollaxes, flaſkes, touchboxes, targettes &c. the verye ſight wherof appalled my courage, what would ẏ wearing of ſome of thẽ haue done this trow you, if I ſhould vſe them in the field. I would write here of our maner of going to ẏ wars, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doe with gliſtering armour, what acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes, or how ſhould a man write any thing to the purpoſe of that, wherewith he is nothing acquainted.

Of the Nauie of Englande. Cap. 13.

The Nauie of England may be deuided into three ſortes, of which the one ſerueth for the warres, the other for burden, & the thirde for fiſhermen, which get their lyuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How many of the firſt order are maintained within the realme it paſſeth my cunning to expreſſe, yet ſith it may be parted into the Nauie Royall and common fleete, I thincke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the Prince, & ſo much the rather, for that their number is certaine & well knowne to very many. Certes there is no Prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull ſorte of ſhippes then the Queenes maieſtie of Englande at this preſent, & thoſe generally are of ſuch exceeding force that two of them being well appoynted and furniſhed as they ought will not let to encounter with three or foure of them of other countries, and eyther bowge them or put them to flight, yf they may not bring them home.

Neyther are the mouldes of any forrain Barckes ſo conueniently made to brooke the ſeas in any part of the continent, as thoſe of England, & therfore the common report that ſtraungers make of our ſhips amongſt themſelues is dayly confirmed to be true, which is that for ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſayling, there are no veſſelles in the world to be compared with ours. The Queenes highneſſe hath at this preſent alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of one and twentye great ſhippes, which lye for the moſt part in Gillingham Rode, beſide three Gallies, of whoſe particular names it ſhall not be amiſſe to make reporte at this time.

The firſt of them therefore is called Bonaduenture.

The next hight the Elizabeth Ionas, a name deuiſed by hir grace in remembraunce of hir owne deliuerance from the fury of hir enemies, from which in one reſpect ſhe was no leſſe myraculouſly preſerued, then was the prophet Ionas frõ the belly of the Whale.

The White beare is the thirde.

And after them ſhe hath the Philip and Mary.

The Triumph.

The Bull.

The Tygre ſo called of hyr exceedyng nimbleneſſe in ſayling & ſwiftneſſe of courſe.

The Antlop.

The Hope.

The Lyon.

The Victorie.

The Mary roſe.

The Foreſight.

The Cadiſh.

The Swift ſure.

The Ayde.

The Handmaide.

The Dread not.

The Swallow.

The Genet.

The Barke of Bullen.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hande alſo, of whome hereafter as their turnes doe come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembraunce. She hath likewiſe three notable Gallies: The Speede wel, the Trye ryght, and the blacke Galley, with the ſight wherof & reſt of the Nauy Royal, it is incredible to ſaye how marueylouſly hir Grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe, ſith by their meanes hir coſtes are kept in quiet, and ſundrye forren enemies put back, which otherwyſe woulde inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden, wyth the other, wherof I haue made mencion already, and whoſe vſe is daily ſeene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to me vtterly vnknowne. Yet if commō eſtimatiō be any thing at all to be credited, there are 1700 or eighteene hundred of one & other of thē, beſides fiſher boates, & ſmal Craiers, which I referre vnto the thirde ſort. Of theſe alſo there are ſome of the Queenes maieſties ſubiectes that haue two or three, ſome foure or ſixe, and as I hard of late, one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath beene knowne, not long ſince to haue had ſixteene or ſeuenteene, and employed them wholly to the waftyng in and out of our marchauntes, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditye and gaine. I myght take occaſion, to ſpeake of the notable and difficult voiages made into ſtraūge coūtries by Engliſhmen, and of their dayly ſucceſſe there, but as theſe thinges are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them: onely thys will I adde therefore, to the ende all men ſhall vnderſtande ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure, daylye employed vpon our Nauie, howe there are fewe of thoſe ſhippes, of the firſt and ſeconde ſorte that being apparelled and made readie to ſale, are not worth one thouſand poundes, or three thouſande Ducates at the leaſt, if they ſhoulde preſently be ſolde. What ſhall we ſhall thinke then of the greater, but eſpecially the Nauy Royall, of which ſome one Veſſell is worth two of the other, as ẏ ſhipwryghtes haue often tolde me. It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing thys report, will eyther not credite it at all, or ſuppoſe money ſo employed to be nothing profitable to the Queenes coffers, as a good huſband ſaid once when he harde there ſhould be prouiſiō made for armor, wiſhing ẏ Queenes money to be rather laide out to ſome ſpeedier returne of gaine vnto hir Grace. But if he wiſt that the good keeping of the ſea, is the ſafegared of our lande, he woulde alter hys cenſure, and ſoone giue ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt when our nation made ſmall account of Nauigation, how ſoone dyd the Romaines, then the Saxons, and laſt of all the Danes inuade thys Iſlande, whoſe cruelty in the ende inforced our countrimen as it were euen agaynſt their owne wylles, to prouyde for ſhippes from other places, and buylde at home of theyr owne, wherby their enimies were oftentymes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of tyme after the conqueſt of thys Iſlande, and good conſideration had for the well keeping of ẏ ſame, they ſuppoſed nothyng more commodious for the defence of the countrey, then the maintenaunce of a ſtrong Nauy, which they ſpeedily prouided, mainteyned, thereby reaped in the ende their wiſhed ſecuritye, wherewyth before their times this Iſlande was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romaines, I doe not reade that we had any ſhippes at all, except a fewe made of wicker & couered with Buffle hides. In the beginning of the Saxons wee had a fewe, but as their number and moulde was lyttle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the fyrſt prince that euer thorowlye began to knowe thys neceſſitie of a Nauy, in ẏ defence of his country. After him alſo other princes as Alfrede & Ethelred &c. indeuoured more & more to ſtore thēſelues at the ful with ſhips of al quantities, but chiefly Ethelred, who made a law, ẏ euery man holding 310. hidelandes, ſhould finde a ſhip furniſhed, to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſayde bfore when all theyr Nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable to that which afterwarde the Normains prouided, neyther that of the Normaines anye thing lyke to the ſame, that is to be ſeene nowe in our dayes. For ẏ iourneys alſo of our ſhips, you ſhal vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell, wyll runne or ſayle three hundred leagues, or nine hundreth myles in a weeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 2200. leagues in ſixe weekes and an halfe. And ſurely if their lading be ready againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, and home agayne in twelue or thirteene weekes from Colcheſter, although the ſayd Indies be eight hundred leagues from the caps or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed.

Of Bathes and hote welles. Cap. 14.

AS Almightie God hath in moſt plentyfull maner beſtowed infinite and thoſe very notable benefits vpon this Iſle of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched, ſo in hote and naturall Bathes, (whereof we haue diuers in ſundrie places) it manifeſtly appeareth that he hath not forgotten Englande. There are foure Bathes therefore to be found in this realme, of which the firſt is called ſ. Vincentes, the ſecond Hally Well, both being places in my opinion more obſcure then the other two, & yet not ſeldome ſought vnto by ſuch as ſtande in neede. For albeit the fame of their forces be not ſo generallye ſpreade, yet in ſome caſes they are thought to be nothing inferiour to the other, as diuers haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherin hote Bathes are to be founde is neare vnto Burſtone (a towne in Darbyſhyre, ſcituate in the high Peke not paſſing ſixtene myles from Mancheſter or Marketcheſterforde, & twenty from Darby) where aboute eight or nine ſeuerall Welles are to be ſéene of which thrée are counted to be moſt excellent. But of al the greteſt is the hotteſt, void of corruption and compared as Iones ſayth, wyth thoſe of Somerſett ſhyre ſo colde indéede, as a quarte of boyling water woulde be made, if ſixe quartes of running water were added therunto: whereas on the otherſide, thoſe of Bathe likened vnto theſe, haue ſuch heate appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hote water hath when a quart of colde is mixed with the ſame. Hereupon the effecte of thys Bath worketh more temperatelye and pleaſantlye (as he writeth) then the other. And albeit that it maketh not ſo great ſpéede in cure of ſuch as reſort vnto it for helpe, yet it dealeth more effectuallye and cõmodiouſly then thoſe in Somerſet ſhyre, and inferre withall leſſe grieuous accidentes, in ye reſtreyning of natural iſſues, ſtrẽgthening the affebeled members, aſſiſting the lyuelye forces, diſperſing annoious oppilations, and qualifying of ſundry griefes, as experience hath oft conffirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in ſuch meaſure and degrée, and therefore their operation is not ſo ſpéedily perceyued.

The fourth and laſt place of our Bathes, is a Citie in Sommerſet ſhire, which taketh his name of ye hote waters there to be ſéene & vſed. At the firſt it was called Cairbledud & not Cair Bledune, as ſome woulde haue it, for that is the olde name of ye auncient caſtel at Malmeſbury, which the Saxons named Yngleburne. Prolomy afterwarde called it Therme, other Aquæ ſolis, but nowe it hight generally Bathe in Engliſhe, & vnder that name it is likely to cõtinue. The city of it ſelf is a very auncient thing, no doubt as may yet appeare by dyuers notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſéene in the walles thereof. And firſt of all betwéene the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

The firſt is the antique heade of a man, made all flatte, with great lockes of heire, much like to the coine that I haue ſéene of Antius the Romaine. The ſeconde betwéene the ſouth & the north gate is an ymage, as I take it of Hercules, for he helde in each hand a ſerpent, & ſo doth this. Thirdely there ſtandeth a man on foote with a ſworde in his one hand, & a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a braunch that lyeth foulded & wrethed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are more ouer two naked Images, wherof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrye antique heades, with ruffeled heire, a greye hounde running, and at hys tayle certeine Romaine letters, but ſo defaced that no man liuing can reade them at this preſent. There is moreouer the ymage of Lacon, inuironed with two ſerpents, & an other inſcription, and all theſe betwéene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſayd before.

Now betwéene the weſt & north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome wordes are euident to be red, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo ye ymage of a naked man, & a ſtone in like ſort, which hath cupidines et labruſcas intercurrentes, & a table hauing at eche hand an ymage vined & finely floriſhed both aboue & beneath. Finally (ſauing that I ſawe afterwarde the ymage of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in eache hand) there was an inſcription of a tombe or buriall, wherein theſe wordes did plainely appeare vixit annos, x x x. but ſo defuſedly writtin, that letters ſtode for whole wordes, and two or thrée letters combined into one. Certes I will not ſaye whether theſe were ſet into the places where they nowe ſtande by the Gentiles or, brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, & placed afterwardes in thoſe walles, in their neceſſary reparations. But howſoeuer ye matter ſtandeth this is to be gathered by our hyſtories, that Bladud firſt buylded that citie there, and peraduenture might alſo kindle the Sulphureous vaines of purpoſe to burne continuallye, in the honour of Minerua: by which occaſion ye ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hote & not vnprofitable, for ſundry kindes of diſeaſes. Indéede the later Paganes dreamed that Minerua was ye chiefe goddes and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, becauſe of the néereneſſe of hir temple vnto the ſame. Solinus addeth furthermore, howe that in hir ſayde temple, the fire which was continuallye kept, did neuer conſume into deade ſparcles, but ſo ſone as the embers thereof were colde, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone, all which I take to be nothing elſe the the effecte of the aforeſayde fyre, of the Sulphurous vaine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doe come. That theſe bathes or waters are deriued from ſuch, the Marchaſites & ſtones mixed with ſome copper, and daily founde vpon the mountaynes thereabout will beare ſufficient witneſſe, though I would write the contrary. Doctor Turner alſo the father of Engliſh Phiſicke, and

Cap.25.

and an excellent Diuine, ſuppoſeth that theſe ſprings doe drawe theyr forces from Sulphur, or if their be any other thing mingled withall, he geſſeth that it ſhoulde be ſalt peter, becauſe he founde an obſcure likelyhoode of ẏ ſame, euen in the croſſe Bath. But that they participate wͭ any allume at al, he could neuer til his dying day, be induced to beleue. I myght here if I thought it neceſſary, intreat of ẏ notable ſcituation of Bath it ſelf, which ſtandeth in a pleaſant botome, enuironed on euery ſide wyth great hylles, out of the which come ſo many ſprings of pure water by ſundrye wayes vnto the Citye, and in ſuch abundance as that euery houſe is ſerued with the ſame by pypes of leade, the ſaid metall being the plentious and leſſe of value vnto them, becauſe it is had not far of from theſe quarters. It ſhould not be amyſſe alſo to ſpeake of ẏ foure gates, number of pariſh churches, bridges, religious houſes diſſolued, and their founders, if place doe ſerue therefore: but for ſo much as my purpoſe is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of theſe thinges, and go in hand wyth the Bathes themſelues, whereof in thys chapiter I proteſted to intreate.

Croſſe Bath.

There are two ſpringes of water as Lelande ſayth, in the weſt ſouth weſt part of the towne whereof the biggeſt is called the croſſe Bath, of a certeine croſſe that was erected ſometime in the middeſt thereof. This Bath is much frequented by ſuch as are diſeaſed with leapry, pockes, ſcabbes, & great aches; yet of it ſelfe it is very temperate, & pleaſaunt, hauing a leuen or twelue arches of ſtone in the ſydes thereof, for men to ſtand vnder, when rayne doth oughts annoy them.

Common Bathe.

The common Bathe, or as ſome call it, the hote Bathe, is two hundreth foote, or ther about from the croſſe Bathe, leſſe in cõpaſſe within the wall then the other, and with only ſeauen arches, wrought out of the mayne incloſure. It is worthily called ẏ hote Bath, for at the firſt comming into it, men thinke that it would ſcald their fleſh, and loſe it frõ the bone: but after a ſeaſon, and that the bodyes of the commers thereto be warmed thorowlye in the ſame, it is more tollerable & eaſie to be borne. Both theſe Bathes be in the middle of a little ſtreate, and ioyne to S. Thomas Hoſpitall, ſo that it maye bee thought that Reginalde Byſhop of Bathe, made his houſe neere to theſe comon Baths, onely to ſuccour ſuch poore people as ſhoulde reſort vnto them.

Kinges Bathe.

The Kings Bathe is very faire and large, ſtanding almoſt in the middle of the towne, at the weſt ende of the Cathedrall Church. It is compaſſed about with a very high ſton wall, and the brimmes thereof are mure rounde about, where in be two an thirtie arches for men and women to ſtande in ſeperately, who beyng of ẏ gentry for the moſt part, doe reſort thither indifferently, but not in ſuch laſciuious ſort, as vnto other Bathes & hote houſes of ẏ maine, whereof ſome write more a greate deale, then modeſty ſhould reueale, and honeſty performe. There went a ſluſe out of this Bath, which ſerued in times paſt the Priory with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlye vſed for Bathes, but nowe I doe not thinke that they remaine in vſage. As for the colour of the water of all the Bathes, it is moſt like to a deepe blewe, and reketh much after the manner of a ſeething potte, commonly yeelding ſomewhat a ſulpherus taſte, and very vnpleaſant ſauour. The water that runneth from the two ſmall Bathes, goeth by a dyke into the Auon by Weſt, and beneath the Bridge, but the ſame that goeth from the Kings Bathe turneth a myl, and after goeth into Auon abou Bath bridg, where it loſeth both force & taſt, & is like vnto the reſt. In all the three Bath a man may euidently ſee how the water bubbeleth vp from the ſpringes. This is alſo to be noted that at certaine times all entraunces into them is vtterly prohibited, that is to ſay, at highe noone and midnight, for at thoſe two ſeaſons & a while before and after, they boyle very feruently, and become ſo hote, that no man is able to indure their heate, nor any while ſuſtaine their force and vehement working. They purge themſelues furthermore from all ſuch filth as the dyſeaſed doe leaue in eache of them, wherefore wee doe forbeare the raſhe entraunce into them, at that time, & ſo much the rather for that we wolde not by contractiõ of any new diſeaſes, departe more grieuouſlye affected them we came vnto the citie, which is in deede a thing that eche one ſhould regard. For theſe cauſes they are commonlye ſhut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, & likewiſe at midnight: at which tymes the keeper of them reſorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth free paſſage vnto ſuch as come vnto them, hytherto Leland. What coſt hath of late beene beſtowed vpon theſe Bathes, by diuers of the Nobility, gentry, cõmonalty and clergy, it lieth not in me to declare, yet as I here they are not onely verye much repaired and garniſhed, wyth ſundry curious peeces of workemanſhip, partely touching their commendation, and partely for the eaſe and benefite of ſuch as reſorte vnto them: but alſo better ordered, clenlier kept, and more friendly prouiſion made for ſuch pouerty as daily repaire thither. But notwythſtanding all this, ſuch is the general eſtate of things in Bath, that the rich men may ſpend while they will, & the poore begge whileſt they liſt, for their maintenaunce and dyet ſo long as they remaine there. And yet I deny not but ẏ there is very good order there for all degrees, but where ſhall a man find any equal regard of poore & rich, though God do giue theſe his giftes freely vnto both alyke. I woulde here intreate further of ẏ cuſtomes vſed in theſe bathes, what nūber of Phiſitions daily attend vpon thoſe waters, for no mā (eſpecially ſuch as be able to enterteine them) doth enter into theſe Bathes before he conſult with the Phiſition: alſo, what diet is to be obſerued, what particular diſeaſes are healed there, & to what ende the commers thither doe drinke oft times of that medicinable liquor, but thē I ſhould excéede the lymittes of a deſcription, wherfore I paſſe it ouer vnto other, hoping that ſome man ere long wyll vouchſafe to performe that at large, which the famous clarke Docter Turner hath brefely yet happily begun, touching the effects and working of the ſame, for hitherto I doe not knowe of manye that haue trauayled in the natures of thoſe Bathes of our countrey, wyth any great commendation, much leſſe of any that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefite of our nation, or commoditie of ſtraungers.

¶Of Parkes and Warrens.

Cap. 15.

IN euery ſhyre of Englande there is great plentye of Parkes, whereof ſome here and there appertaine vnto the Prince, the reſt to ſuch of the Nobilitye and Gentlemen, as haue their lands and patrimony lying néere vnto ẏ ſame. I would gladly haue ſet downe the iuſt number of theſe incloſures, to bée founde in euery countye, but ſith I can not ſo doe, it ſhall ſuffiſe to ſay, that in Kent and Eſſex only are to the number of an hundred, where in great plentie of fallowe Déere is cheriſhed and kept. As for Warrens of Conies, I iudge thē almoſt innumerable, & daily like to increſe, by reaſō that ẏ black ſkins of thoſe beaſts are thought to counteruaile ẏ priſes of their naked carkaſes, & this is the onely cauſe why the gray are leſſe eſtéemed. Néere vnto London their quyckeſt marchandiſe is of the yong rabets, wherfore ẏ elder conies are brought leſſe farder of, where there is no ſuch great vtteraunce of Rabbets & ſucklings in theyr ſeaſon, nor ſo great loſſe by their ſkins, ſith they are ſuffered to growe vp to their full greatneſſe with their owners. Our Parkes are generally incloſed with ſtrong pale made of Oke, of which kinde of wood there is great ſtore cheriſhed from time to tyme in each of them, onely for the maintenaunce of the ſayde defence, and ſafe kéeping of the Déere from ranging about the countrey. The circuite of theſe incloſures in lyke maner contayne oft times a walke of foure or fiue myles, and ſometimes more or leſſe, whereby it is to be ſéene what ſtore of ground is imployed vpon that vayne commoditie which bringeth no maner of gaine or profit to the owner, ſith they commonlye giue away their fleſhe, neuer taking penny for the ſame, becauſe veniſon in England is neither bought nor ſolde by the right owner, but maintained only for hys pleaſure, to the no ſmal decay of huſbandry, & diminution of mankinde. For where in times paſt, many large and welthy occupiers, were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and therby great plenty of corne & cattell ſéene and to be had amongſt them, beſides a more copious procreation of humaine iſſue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the Prince in his affaires: now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wilde & ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delite, and yet the owners ſtyll deſirous to enlarge thoſe groundes, doe not let daily to take in more, affirming that we haue already to great ſtore of people in England, and that youth by marrying to ſoone doe nothing profite the countrey but fill it full of beggers.

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome, neyther is any man borne to poſſeſſe the earth alone.

Certes if it be not one curſe of the Lorde, to haue our countrey conuerted in ſuch ſorte from the furniture of mankinde, into the walkes and ſhrowdes of wylde beaſtes, I know not what is any. How many families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt kéepers call them) haue eaten vp, & are likely hereafter to deuoure, ſome men may coniecture, but many more lament: ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be looked for in this behalf, but if a man may preſently giue a geſſe at ẏ vniuerſality of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtances, he ſhall ſaye at ẏ laſt, that the twentieth parte of the realme is imployed vpon Déere and Conies already, which ſéemeth very much, if it be duely conſidered of. We had no Parkes in Englande before the comming of the Normanes, who added this calamity alſo to the ſeruitude of our nation, making men of the beſt ſort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whileſt they lyued in the meane time vppon the ſpoyle of their reuenues, and daily ouerthrew townes villages, & an infinite ſort of families, for the maintenance of their Venery. Neyther was any park ſuppoſed in theſe times to be ſtately enough, that contained not at the leaſt eyght or tenne hidelandes, that is ſo many hundred acres, or families, or as they haue béene alwaies called in ſome places of the Realme, carrucates or cartwares, of which one was ſufficient in olde time to maintaine an honeſt Yeoman.

It ſhould ſéeme that forreſts haue alwaies béene had and religiouſly preſerued in thys Iſlande for the ſolace of the Prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were incloſed more then at this preſent, or otherwiſe fenced then by vſual notes of limitacion, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to tyme for the better preſeruation of ſuch venery and vert of all ſortes as were nouriſhed in the ſame. Neyther are any of the auncient lawes preſcribed for their maintaynaunce before the dais of Canutus now to be had, ſith time hath ſo dealt with them, that they are periſhed & loſt. Canutus therfore ſéeing the daily ſpoyle that was made in all places of his game, dyd at the laſt make ſundrie Sanctions and Decrées, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow déere, were better loked vnto thorowout his whole Dominiōs. We haue in theſe dayes diuers forreſtes in England & Wales as Waltham forreſt, Winſor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, Deane, Penriſe, and many other nowe cleane out of my remembraunce, and which although they are farre greater in circuit then many Parckes and Warrennes, yet are they in this our tyme leſſe deuourers of the people then theſe later, ſith beſide much tillage, many Townes are founde in eache of them, whereas in Parkes and Warrēns we haue nothing elſe then eyther the kéepers lodge, or at the leſt wiſe the manour place of the chiefe Lorde & owner of the ſoyle. I coulde ſay more of forreſtes and the aforeſayde incloſures, but it ſhall ſuffice at this time to haue ſayde ſo much as is ſet downe alreadie. Howbeit that I may reſtore one antiquitie to light, which hath hytherto lyen as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will gyue out the ſame Lawes that Canutus made for his forreſt, whereby many thinges ſhall be diſcloſed concerning the ſame (whereof peraduēture ſome lawiers haue no knowledge) & diuers other notes gathered touching the ancient eſtate of ẏ realm not to be founde in other. But before I deale with the great charter, (which as you may perceyue is in many places imperfit by reaſon of corruption crept in by length of tyme, not by me to be reſtored) I will note an other briefe law, which he made in the firſt yeare of his reigne at Wincheſter, and afterwarde inſerted into theſe his latter conſtitutions Canone 32. and beginneth thus in his olde Saxon tongue. I will that elc man. &c. I will and graunt that eache one ſhalbe worthy of ſuch venery as he by hunting can take eyther in the playnes or in the woods, or within his owne fée or dominiō (out of the forreſt) but eache man ſhall abſtaine from my venerie in euery place, where I will that my beaſtes ſhall haue firme peace and quietneſſe vpō paine to forfait ſo much as a man may forfait. Hytherto the ſtatute made by the aforeſayde Canutus, which was afterwardes confirmed by king Edwarde ſurnamed the confeſſour in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great Charter it ſelfe in Latine, as I finde it worde for worde, which I woulde gladly haue turned into Engliſh if it might haue ſounded to any benefite of the vnſkilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt conſtitutiones Canuti regis de Forreſta.

HÆ ſunt ſanctiones de forreſta, quas ego Canutus rex cum conſilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni noſtri Angliæ eccleſijs & pax & Iuſtitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens ſecundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

1. Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus qui habent ſaluas ſuas debitas conſuetudines (quos Angli pegened appellāt) in qualibet regni mei prouincia conſtituti, ad Iuſtitiam diſtribuendam vna cum pœna merita & materijs forreſtæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quam Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forreſtæ appellandos cenſemus.

2 Sint ſub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Leſpegend nuncupant, Dani vero young men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris ſuſcipiant.

3. In adminiſtranda autem Iuſticia nullatenus volo vt tales ſe intromittant: mediocreſq; tales poſt ferarum curam ſuſceptam, pro liberalibus ſemper habeantur, quos Dani Calder men appellant.

4. Sub horum iterum quolibet ſunt duo minutorū hominū quos Tineman Angli di-

cunt hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum ſeruilia opera ſubibunt.

5. Si talis minutus ſeruus fuerit, tam cito quam in forreſta noſtra locabitur, liber eſto, omneſq; hos ex ſumptibus noſtris manutenebimus.

6. Habeat etiam quilibet primariorũ quolibet anno de noſtra warda quam *Michni* Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum ſella, alterum ſine ſella, vnũ gladium quinq; lanceas, vnum cuſpidẽ, vnum ſcutum & ducentos ſolidos argenti.

chni.

7. Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnã lanceam, vnum ſcutum & 60, ſolidos argenti.

8. Minutorum quilibet, vnam lanceam, vnam arcubaliſtam & 15. ſolidos argenti.

9. Sint omnes tam primarij, quam mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus ſummonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ *Hundred laghe* Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorũ oneribus quod *Warſcot* Angli dicunt & forinceſis querelis.

ndred .

10. Sint mediocrium & minutorum cauſæ & earum correctiones tam criminalium quam ciuilium per prouidam ſapientiam & rationẽ primariorum Iudicate & deciſę: primariorum vero enormia ſi quę fuerint (ne ſcelus aliquod remaneat inultum) noſmet in ira noſtra regali puniemus.

11. Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem poteſtatem (ſalua nobis noſtra preſentia) quaterq; in anno generales foreſtæ demonſtrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones quas *Mucbebunt* dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente foreſtam, eantq; ad triplex Iudiciũ quod Angli *Ofgangfordell* dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex Iudicium. Accipiat ſecum quinque & ſit ipſe ſextus, & ſic iurando acquirat triplex Iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur niſi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inueſtigari.

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12. Liberalis autem homo. i. *Pegen*, modo crimen ſuum non ſit inter mariora, habeat fidelem hominem qui poſsit pro eo iurare iuramentum. i. *Forathe*: ſi autem non habet ipſemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

gen.
athe.

13. Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit ſit calumpniatus de foreſta, & talis eſt ſua inopia vt nõ poſsit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualẽ ⋆ nullus Anglus iudicare poteſt: tunc ſubeat captionem regis & ibi expectet quouſque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquę: attamen ſi quis extraneo aut peregrino de longe venienti ⋆
ſibi ipſi nocet ſi aliquod iudiciũ iudicauerint.

14. Quicunque coram primarios homines meos foreſtę in falſo teſtimonio ſteterit & victus fuerit, non ſit dignus impoſterũ ſtare aut portare teſtimoniũ, quia legalitatẽ ſuam perdidit, & pro culpa ſoluat regi decem ſolidos quos Dani vocant *Halfehenge*, alias *halſhang*.

Halfhang.

15. Si quis vim aliquã primarijs foreſtę meæ intulerit, ſi liberalis ſit amittat libertatem & omnia ſua, ſi villanus abſcindatur dextra.

16. Si alteruter iterum peccauerit reus ſit mortis.

17. Si quis cõtra autẽ cũ primario pugnauerit in plito, emendet ſecundũ præcium ſui ipſius quod Angli *Pere & pite* dicunt, & ſoluat primario quadraginta ſolidos.

Pere and
Pite.

18. Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres foreſtę quod dicunt *Gethbretche* emendet regi decem ſolidis.

Gethbrech

19. Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percuſſerit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari ſolet.

20. Si quis delinquens in foreſta noſtra capietur, pœnas luet ſecundũ modum & genus delicti.

21. Pena & forisfactio non vna eademque erit liberalis (quem Dani *Elderman* vocant) & illiberalis: domini & ſerui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eademq; erit cauſarum tum ciuilium tum criminaliũ, ferarũ foreſtę, & ferarum regalium: Viridis & veneris tractatio: nã crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non inmerito numerabatur: viridis vero (fractione chaceę noſtre regalis excepta) ita puſillum & exiguum eſt, quod vix ea reſpicit noſtra conſtitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, ſit criminis foreſtæ reus.

Ealdermã

22. Si liber aliquis feram foreſtę fugerit, ſiue caſu, ſiue pręhabita voluntate, ita vt curſu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem ſolidis regi emendet, ſi illiberalis dupliciter emendet, ſi ſeruus careat corio.

23. Si vero horum aliquot interfecerit, ſoluat dupliciter & perſoluat, ſitque præcij ſui reus contra regem.

24. Sed ſi regalem ferã quam Angli à *ſtaggon* appellant alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: ſi vero ſeruus, pro vtlegato habeatur quem Angli *Frendleſman* vocant.

Staggon.
Frendleſ-
man.

25. Si vero occiderit, amittat liber ſcutum libertatis, ſi ſit illiberalis careat libertate, ſi ſeruus vita.

26. Epiſcopi, Abbates & Barones mei non calumnibuntur pro venatione, ſi non regales feras occiderint: & ſi regales, reſtabunt rei regi pro libito ſuo, ſine certa emendatione.

27. Sunt aliæ (præter feras foreſtę) beſtię, que dum inter ſępta & ſæpes foreſtę continentur, emendationi ſubiacent: quales ſunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quam plurima animalia quę quanquã infra ſepta foreſtę viuunt, & oneri & curę mediocrium ſubiacẽt,

Bubali olim in Anglia.

foreſte tamen nequaquā ceniſeri poſſunt, qualia ſunt equi, Bubali, vaccæ, & ſimilia. Vulpes & Lupi, nec foreſtæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi ſubiaeet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio ſit regalis chaceę, & mitius emendetur. Aper vero quanquam foreſte ſit nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi eſt aſſuetus.

28. Boſco nec Subboſco noſtro ſine licentia primariorum foreſtæ nemo manum apponat, quod ſi quis fecerit reus ſit fractionis regalis chaceę.

29. Si quis vero Ilicem aut arborem aliquam qui victum feris ſuppeditat ſciderit, pręter fractionem regalis chaceę, emendet regi viginti ſolidis.

30. Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito ſuo habeat venerem ſiue viridem in planis ſuis ſuper terras ſuas, ſine chacea tamen. Et deuitent omnes meam, vbicunque eam habere voluero.

Greyhūds

31. Nullus mediocris habebit nec cuſtodiet canes quos Angli *Griehunds* appellant. Liberali vero dum genuiſciſsio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foreſtę licebit, aut ſine genuiſciſione dum remoti ſunt à limitibus foreſtæ per decem milliaria: quando vero proprius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno ſolido. Si vero infra ſepta foreſtę reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & canem, & decem ſolidos regi.

Velter Langerā.

32. Velteres vero quos *Langeran* appellant quia manifeſte conſtat in ijs nihil eſſe periculi, cuilibet licebit ſine gemiſciſsione eos cuſtodire. Idem de canibus quos *Rambundt* vocant.

Ramhundt.

33. Quod ſi caſu inauſpicato huiuſmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbique vagantur negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emēdetur regi pro illicitis. &c. Quod ſi intra ſepta foreſtæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet ſecundum precium hominis mediocris, quod ſecundū legem merimorum eſt ducentorum ſollidorum.

34. Si Canis rabidus momorderit ferā, tunc emendet ſecundum precium hominis liberalis quod eſt duodecies ſolidis centū. Si vero fera regalis morſa fuerit, reus ſit maximi criminis.

And theſe are the conſtitutions of Canutus concerning the forreſt very barbarouſly trāſlated by thoſe that toke the ſame in hande. Howbeit as I finde it ſo I ſet it downe with out any alteration of my copie in any iote or tytle.

Of Wooddes and marriſes.

Cap. 16.

Great abundance of wood ſometime in England.

IT ſhoulde ſeeme by auncient recordes, and the teſtimony of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria now England and Wales, haue ſometimes been very well repleniſhed with great woods and groues, although at this tyme the ſayde commoditie be not a little decayed in both, and in ſuch wyſe that a man ſhall oft ryde tenne or twentie myles in eache of them and finde very little or rather none at all, except it be neare vnto townes, gentlemens houſes and villages where the inhabitauntes haue planted a few Elmes, Okes, Haſelles, or Aſhes about their dwellings for their defence from the rough windes, and keeping of the ſtormie weather frō anoyaunce of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at yͤ firſt grew as it is thought eyther by the induſtrie of man, for maintaynaunce of tillage (as we vnderſtand the lyke to be done of late by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indes, where they fiered whole wooddes of very great compaſſe thereby to come by groūd wheron to ſow their graines) or elſe thorowe the couetouſneſſe of ſuch as in preſerving of paſture for their ſheepe and greater cattell, doe make ſmall account of firebote and tymber: or finally by the crueltie of the enemies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hyſtories. Howbeit where the rockes and quarry grounds are I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thinne, that no tree of anye greatneſſe other then ſhrubbes & buſhes is able to grow or proſper long therein for want of ſufficient moyſture wherwith to feede them with freſh humour, or at the leaſt wyſe of mould, to ſhrowd ſtay vpright, and cheariſh the ſame in the bluſtering winters weather, till they may growe vnto any greatneſſe, and ſpread or yeld their rootes downright into the ſoyle about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturally voyde of wodde. But to procede, although I muſt needes cōfeſſe that there is good ſtore of great wood or tymber here and there, euen nowe in ſome places of England, yet in our dayes it is farre vnlike to that plentie, which our auncecſters haue ſeene hertofore, when ſtately buylding was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater nūber of meſuages & manſions almoſt in euery place, yet were their frames ſo ſlite and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruayle very many of them, if you conſider the preſent charge with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes, buylded of Sallow, Willow, Plummetree, Hardebeame, and Elme, so that the vſe of Oke was in maner dedicated wholy vnto churches, religious houſes, Princes palaces

Noblemens lodgings and nauigation, but now all theſe are reiected and nothing but oke any whit regarded: & yet ſee the chaũge, for when our houſes were buylded of Willowe then had we Oken men, but nowe that our houſes are come to be made of Oke, our mẽ are not only become willow, but a great many altogither of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteratiõ. In thoſe the courage of ÿ owner was a ſufficient defence to kepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber muſt defende the man from robbing. Nowe haue we manye chimnyes and yet our tenderlinges complaine of rewmes, catarres and poſes, then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heades did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe dayes was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a farre better medicine to keepe the goodman and his family from the quacke or poſe, wherewith as then very few were acquainted.

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We haue manye woddes, forreſtes and parkes which cheeriſh trees abundantly, although in the woodlande countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinite numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſpringes, that are maintayned of purpoſe for the buylding and prouiſion of ſuch owners as doe poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit as euery ſoyle doth not beare all kindes of wood, ſo there is not any wood, park, hedgerow, groue, or forreſt, that is not mixed with many, as Oke, Aſhe, Haſell, Hawthorne, Byrche, Beeche, Hardbeame, Hull, Sorfe, wilde Cheerie, and ſuch lyke, wherof Oke hath allwayes the preheminẽce as moſt meete for buylding whereunto it is reſerued. This tree bringeth forth alſo a profitable kinde of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell neare vnto the aforeſayde places do cheriſhe and bring vp innumerable herdes of ſwine; In tyme of plentie of this maſt, our redde and fallowe deere will not let to participate with our hogges, more then our other nete, yea our common poultrie alſo if they may come vnto them: but as this abundance doth proue very pernicious vnto the firſt, ſo the egges which theſe latter doe bring forth beſide blackeneſſe in color & bitterneſſe of taſte haue not ſeldome beene founde to breede dyuers diſeaſes vnto ſuch perſons as haue eaten of the ſame. I might adde in lyke ſort the profite inſuing by the barke of this woodde, wherof our tanners haue great vſe in dreſſing of leather, and which they buy yearly in May by the fadame, as I haue oft ſene, but it ſhall not neede at this time to enter into any ſuch diſcourſe, only this I wiſh that our ſole & vpper lethering, may haue their due time and not be haſted on by extraordinarie ſleightes, as with Aſhe barcke. &c. Whereby as I graunt that it ſeemeth outwardly to be very thicke and wel done, ſo if you reſpect the ſadneſſe thereof, it doth proue in the ende to be very hollow and not able to holde out water. Of Elme I haue not ſeene any great ſtore togither in woddes or forreſtes, but where they haue beene firſt planted and then ſuffered to ſpreade at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woddes of Beeche & Haſell in many places, eſpecially in Barckeſhyre, Oxfordſhyre and Buckinghamſhyre, where they are greatlye cheriſhed, and conuerted vnto ſundry vſes by ſuch as dwell about thẽ. Aſh commeth vp euery where of it ſelfe, and with euery kinde of wodde, and as we haue very great plenty and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo are we not wythout the plane, the Ughe, the ſorfe, the cheſtnutte, the line, the blacke cheerie, and ſuch like. And although that we enioye them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt or the other afore remembred, yet haue we ſufficient of thẽ all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpecially of Ughe as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffilde, and ſome ſteedes of Kent alſo as I haue beene informed. The Firre, Frankencence, and Pine, we doe not altogither want, eſpecially the firre, wherof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatley more in Darbyſhyre, Shropſhyre, Anderneſſe, and a moſſe neere Mancheſter. As for the Franckencenſe & Pine, they haue beene planted in Colledges, and Cloyſters, by the the cleargie and religious in tymes paſt, wherefore in my opinion we may rather ſay that we want thẽ altogither, for except they dyd growe naturally & not by force, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhoulde be accounted for parcell of our cõmodities. I might here take occaſion to ſpeke of the great ſales yerly made of wood, wherby an infinite deale hath beene deſtroyed within theſe few yeres, but I giue ouer to deale in this behalfe, howbeit thys I dare affirme that if woddes doe go ſo faſt to decay in the next hundred yeare of grace as they haue done & are like to doe in this (ſometymes for increaſe of ſhepe walkes, & ſome maintaynaunce of prodigalitie & pompe, for I haue knowen a ⋆ gentlemã that hath borne three ſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcõs to ſhew his ſtrẽgth & brauery) it is to be feared that brome, turfe, gal, heth, firze, brakes, whĩmes, ling, dies, haſſocks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, reede, ruſh, & ſeacole will be good marchãdize euen in the citie of Londõ, wher vnto ſome of them alreadie haue gotten readie

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arlike.

⋆This gẽtleman caught ſuch an heate with this ſore loade ÿ he was faine to go to Rome for phiſicke, yet it could not ſaue his life, but he muſt needes die homewardes.

paſſage & taken vp their Innes in the greateſt marchauntes parlers. A man woulde thincke that our lawes were able ynough to make ſufficiẽt prouiſion for yͤ redreſſe of this error, and enormitie likely to inſue: but ſuch is the nature of our country men, yͭ as many lawes are made, ſo they wil kepe none, or if they be vrged to make aunſwere, they wyll rather ſeeke ſome crooked conſtruction thereof to the encreaſe of their priuate gaine, then yelde themſelues willing to be guided by the ſame, for a common wealth and profite: ſo that in the ende, whatſoeuer the lawe ſayeth we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of yͤ prince are contemned, the trauaile of the nobilitie and counſellours as it were derided, the common wealth impouriſhed, and a fewe only inriched by this peruerſe dealing: whereas many thouſande perſons doe ſuffer hinderance, by this their crooked behauiour, whereby the wholeſome lawes of the prince are oft defrauded, the good meaning maieſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth ſeduced. I woulde wiſhe that I might liue no longer then to ſee foure thinges in thys lande reformed. That is, the want of diſcipline in the church. The couetous dealing of moſt of our marchants, in the preferment of other countries, & hinderance of their owne. The holding of faires & markets vpon the ſondaie, to be aboliſhed and referred to the wedneſdayes. And that euery man wyth in what ſoeuer ſoile enioyeth foure Acres of lande (and vpwards after that rate) either by free deede, or copple hold, or fee farme, might plant one Acre of wood, or ſow the ſame with maſt, beſide that which remayneth already to be cheriſhed & kept. But I feare me that I ſhould then liue to long, & ſo long that I ſhould eyther be weary of the worlde, or the world of me, & yet they are not ſuch things, but they may eaſily be brought to paſſe.

Certes euery ſmall occaſion in my time is inough to cut downe a great woode, & euery trifle ſuffiſeth to laye infinite Acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for yͤ taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manye. Woulde to God we might once take example of the Romaines, who in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſinge made an exact limitation, how many head of Cattel eche eſtate myght keepe, and what numbers of Acres ſhoulde ſuffiſe, for that and other purpoſes, neyther was woode euer better cheriſhed or mancion houſes maintained, then by their lawes and ſtatutes. But what doe I meane to ſpeake of theſe ſith my purpoſe is onely to talke of woods; well take this then for a final concluſion in woodes, that within this fortie yeares, we ſhall haue little newe Timber, growing aboue two and fortie yeares olde, for it is cõmonly ſeene that thoſe yong ſtaddles which we leaue ſtanding, at one and twenty yeres fal, are vſually at the next ſale cut downe, without any daunger of the ſtatute, & ſerue for fire bote, if it pleaſe the owner, to burne them.

Mariſes and Fenny Bogges we haue many in England, but more in Wales, if you haue reſpect vnto the ſeuerall quantities of yͤ countries, howbeit as they are very profitable, in ſomer half of the yere, ſo are a number of them to ſmall commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach, yet this I find of many of theſe mores, that in times paſt they haue beene harder groũd, and ſundrye of them well repleniſhed wyth great woodes, that now are voyde of buſhes: and for example hereof, we maye ſee the tryall (beſides the rootes that are daily found in the depes of Monemouth, where turfe is digged, alſo in Wales, Abergeyny, and Merioneth) in ſundry parts of Lancaſſhyre, where the people go vnto this daye into their Fennes, and Mariſes with long ſpittes, which they daſhe here and there, vp to the verye cronge into the grounde, in which practiſe, (a thinge commonly done in winter) if they happen to ſmite vpon a tree or blocke, they note the place, and about harueſt time, when the ground is at the drieſt, they come againe and get it vppe, and afterwarde carrying it home, applye it to their vſes. The lyke doe they in Shroppeſhyre with fire woode, which hath beene felled in olde time, wythin ſeauen miles of Salop, ſo me of them fooliſhlye ſuppoſe the ſame to haue lyen there ſith Noes floud: and other more fonde then the reſt, imagine them to growe, euen in the places where they finde them, without all conſideration, that in times paſt, the moſt parte, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generally repleniſhed with woode, which being felled or ouerthrowne, vpon ſundry occaſions, was left lying in ſome places ſtill on the grounde, and in proceſſe of time, became to be quite ouergrowen with earth and mouldes, which mouldes, wanting their due ſadneſſe, are nowe turned into moory plots, whereby it commeth to paſſe alſo, that great plentye of water commeth betweene the new looſe ſwart and the olde hard earth, that being drawne awaie, might ſoone leaue a drie ſoyle to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our hiſtories, that Lincolne, was ſometime buylded by Lud, brother to Caſſibillane, who called it Cair

Ludcolte of the great ſtore of woodes, that enuironed the ſame, but now the comoditie is vtterly decayed there, ſo that if Lud were aliue againe in our time, he woulde not call it his Citie in yͤ woode, but rather his towne in yͤ plaines: for the wood I ſay, is waſted altogither about yͤ ſame, the hils called yͤ Peks, were in lyke ſort named Mennith Coit, that is, the woddy hiles, but howe much woode is now to bee ſéene in thoſe places, let him that hath béene there teſtifie, if he liſte, for I heare of none by ſuch as trauayle that waye, and & thus much of woodes and mariſes, and ſo farre as I can deale with the ſame.

¶ Of the Antiquities, or auncient Coines found in England. Cap. 17.

HAuing take ſome occaſion to ſpeak here and there in thys treatiſe of Antiquities, it ſhall not be amyſſe to deale yet more in this chapter, with ſome of them apart, & by themſelues, whereby the ſecure authoritie of the Romaines ouer thys Iſland maye in ſome caſes more manifeſtly appéere. For ſuch was theyr poſſeſſion of this Iſlande on this ſide of the Tyne that they helde not one or two or a fewe places onely vnder there ſubiection, but all the whole countrey from the eaſt to weſt, from the Tyne to the Brittiſh Sea, ſo that there was no region voyd of theyr gouernaunce, notwythſtanding that vntil the death of Lucius & extinction of his iſſue, they did permit yͤ ſucceſſors of Lud & Cimbælyne to reigne & rule amongſt thẽ, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe where I haue declared. The chief cauſe that vrgeth me to ſpeake of Antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, entending if euer my Chronology ſhal happẽ to come abroad, to ſet downe the liuely protraitures of euery Emperour ingraued in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompey, Craſſus, the ſeauen kinges of the romaines, Cicero and diuers other which I haue prouided ready for the purpoſe, beſide the monuments & liuely Images of ſundrye Philoſophers, and Kinges of thys Iſlande, ſithens the time of Edwarde the confeſſor, whereof although preſently I want a fewe, yet I doe not doubt but to obtaine them all, if eyther friendeſhip or money ſhall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hetherto, ſo the charges to be employed, vpon theſe braſen or coper Images, will hereafter put by the impreſſion of my booke, whereby it maye come to paſſe, that long trauaile ſhall ſoone proue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to very ſmall ſucceſſe, whereof yet I force not greatly, ſith by this meanes, I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtories, which often myniſter ſtore of examples, ready to be vſed as occaſion ſhall compell me. But to procéede with my purpoſe. Before the comming of the Romains, there was a kind of copper money current here in bryteine as Cæſar confeſſeth in yͤ fith booke of his comentaries, wher vnto he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtéed likewiſe of money. But as hetherto it hath not béene my lucke to haue the certeine vieue of any of theſe, ſo after the comming of yͤ Romaines, they inforced vs to abandon our owne and receiue ſuch imperiall coine, as for the payment of yͤ Legions was daily brought ouer vnto vs. What coynes yͤ romaines had it is eaſie to be knowne, & frõ time to time much of it is founde in manye places of this Iſlande, aſwell of Golde and Siluer, as of copper, braſſe, and other mettall, much lyke ſtéele, almoſt of euery Emperour, ſo that I account it no rare thyng to haue of the Romaine coyne, albeit, that it ſtil repreſent an ymage of our captiuity, & maye be a good admonition for vs, to take heede howe we yeelde our ſelues to the regiment of ſtraungers. Of the ſtore of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſhe coaſt, I haue already made mencion, in the deſcription of Richborowe, and chapiter of Iſles Adiacent vnto the Brittiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo howe ſimple fiſher men haue had plentye of them, and that the very conyes in makyng profers and holes to bréede in, haue ſcraped them out of the grounds in very great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albanes, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plenty of theſe coynes haue béene gathered there, wherfore I ſhall not néede here to repeate the ſame againe: Howbeit this is certaine, that the moſt part of all theſe Antiquities, to be founde with in the lande, & diſtant from the ſhore, are to be gotten eyther in the ruines of auncient Cities & Townes decayed, or in incloſed borowes, where their legions acuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailye confirmed. What ſtore hath béene ſéene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the Legion that ſoiourned there, & likewiſe in Yorke named alſo Victrix, of the Legion, Victoria or (Altera Roma, becauſe of beautie and fine bylding of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partely witneſſe, that haue ſéene, and often had of them, if better teſtimony were wãting. The like I may affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Claudius Hadriane, Traiane, Veſpaſian and other, are oftentymes plowed vp or founde, by other meanes: alſo of Cantorbury, Andreſcheſter, (now decayed) Rocheſter then called Durobreuum, Wincheſter and diuers other beyonde the Thames, which for breuitties ſake I doe paſſe ouer in ſilence: onely the chiefe of all & where moſt are founde in deede is neere vnto Carleon & Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kencheſter, three myles aboue Hereforde, Aldborow, Ancaſter, Bramdon, Dodington, Cirnecheſter, Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacock vpõ Auon, Lincolne, Dorcheſter, Warwick, & Cheſter, where they are often had in verye great abundaunce. It ſeemeth that Ancaſter hath been a great thing, for many ſquare & coloured pauemẽts, vaults, and arches are yet found, & oft layde open by ſuch as digge and plowe in the fieldes about the ſame, & amongſt theſe, one Wreſby or Roſeby, a plowmã, did ere vp not lõg ſince a ſtone lyke a troughe couered wyth an other ſtone, wherein was great abundaunce of the aforeſayde coynes: the lyke alſo was ſeene not yet fourtie yeare agone about Grantham: but in kyng Henryes the eyght hys dayes an husbandman had far better lucke at Harleſtone, two miles from the aforeſaid place, where he founde not only great ſtore of this coyne, but alſo an huge braſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure golde, rychely fretted wyth pearle, & ſet with all kindes of coſtly ſtones: he tooke vppe alſo cheanes much lyke vnto beades of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might geſſe any certaintie by their beautie) not likely to be long hidden, he preſented to Queene Catherine then lying at Peterborow, and therewithall a few auncient rowles of Parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten for age, that no man coulde well holde them in hys hand without falling into peeces, much leſſe reade them by reaſon of their blindneſſe. In the beginning of the ſame kinges dayes alſo at Killey a man foũd as he eared, an arming girdle, harniſed wyth pure golde, & a great maſſy pomell with a croſſe hilt for a ſworde of the ſame mettalle, beſide ſtuddes and harneſſe for ſpurres, and the huge long ſpurres alſo of lyke ſtuffe, whereof doctor Ruthall got part into his handes. The borowghes or buries whereof, I ſpake before, were certaine plots of ground, wherein the Romaine ſouldiours dyd vſe to lye when they kept in the open fieldes as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſaries, yf any outrage were wrought or rebellion moued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall abodes for thoſe able Legiõs that ſerued dayly in the warres, ſo had they other certaine habitations, for the olde and forworne ſouldiours, whereby diuers cities grewe in time to be repleniſhed with Romaine colonie, as Cairleon, Colceſter, Cheſter, and ſuch other, of which, Colceſter bare the name of Colonia long tyme, and wherin A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddes of victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram ſempiternæ dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Brittiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes they were generally walled about wyth ſtone walles, and ſo large in cõpaſſe that ſome dyd contayne thirtie, fourtie, three ſcore, or eyghtie Acres of grounde within their limites: they had alſo diuers gates or portes vnto eache of them, and of theſe not a fewe remayne to be ſeene in our time, as one for example not far from great Cheſterforde in Eſſex, neere to the limites of Cambridgſhire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compaſſe of the very wall wyth the places where the gates ſtoode is eaſie to be diſcerned: the lyke alſo is to be ſeene within two miles ſouth of Burton, called the borow hilles. In theſe therefore and ſuch lyke, is much of their coyne alſo to be founde, and ſome peeces or other are dayly taken vppe, which they call borowe pence, dwarfes mony, hegges pence, feiry groates, Iewes money, and by other fooliſhe names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons the Britons vſed theſe holdes as reſcues for their cattell in the daye and night when their enemies were abrode, the lyke alſo dyd the Saxons agaynſt the Danes, by which occaſions (and nowe and then by carying of their ſtones to helpe forwarde other buyldings neere at hand) many of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwyſe myght haue continued for a longer time, and ſo your ſelues would ſay, yf you ſhoulde happen to pervſe the thickeneſſe and maner of buylding of thoſe walles & borowes. It is not long ſince a ſiluer ſaucer of verye auncient making, was founde neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbyry hilles, and eared vp by a plough, but of ſuch maſſy greatneſſe, that it weighed better then twentie ounces, as I haue hearde reported, but yf I ſhoulde ſtand in theſe thinges vntill I had ſayde all that might be ſpoken of them, both by experience and teſtimonie of Lelande in his Commentaries of Britayne, and the report of diuers yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter then woulde be eyther conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore theſe ſhall ſerue the turne for this time that I haue ſayde al-treatie of antiquities founde within our Iſlande, eſpecially of coyne, whereof I purpoſed chiefely to treate.

Of the Marueyles of Englande. Cap. 18.

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SUch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in olde time, haue ſpoken no doubt of many things which deſerue no credite at all, and therefore in ſeeking thanckes of their poſteritie by their trauayle in thys behalfe, they haue reaped the rewarde of iuſt reproch, and in ſteade of fame purchaſed vnto thẽ ſelues, nought elſe but méere diſcredit in theyr better Treatizes. The lyke commõlye happeneth alſo to ſuch as in reſpect of lucre doe publiſhe vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, whereby they doe conſume theyr tymes in vayne, and in manifolde wyſe become preiudicial vnto their cõmon wealthes: For my part therefore, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eyes, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more, thẽ either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am credible informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare then to ſpeake the truth, & not any thing more odious then to defile themſelues by lying. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I finde that there are foure notable thinges, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the cõmon ſort, are takẽ for the foure myracles & wonders of the lande. The firſt of theſe, is a vehement & ſtrong wynde, which iſſueth out of certaine hilles called the Peke, ſo violent & ſtrong that certaine times if a man do caſt in his cote or cloake into the caue frõ whence it iſſueth, it driueth ẏ ſame backe againe hoyſing it aloft into the open ayre with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh. The ſeconde is the myraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certaine ſtones vpon the playne of Saliſbury, wherof the place is called Stonehẽge, and to ſay the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onely for the maner of poſition, whereby they become very difficult to be nũbered, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrong maner of lying of ſome of them one vpon an other, which ſéemeth to be with ſo ticle holde that fewe men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruyne. Howe and when theſe ſtones were brought thyther, as yet I can not reade, howbeit it is moſt likely that they were rayſed there by the Brytons after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadly banket, which Hengeſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried and Vortigerne, their king apprehended & ledde alway as captiue: I haue hearde that the like are to be ſéene in Irelande, but howe true it is as yet I can not learne the report goeth alſo that theſe were brought from thence but by what ſhippe on the ſea and caryage by land, I thinke fewe men can imagine. The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call Carcer Eoli, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto many men haue entred and walked very farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noyſome, ſo diuers that haue aduentured to go into ẏ ſame coulde neuer as yet find the end of that way, neyther ſée any other thing then pretie riuerettes and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place: Thys Chedderhole or Cheder rocke, is in Somerſetſhyre, and thence the ſayde waters runne til they méete with the ſecond aye that riſeth in Owky hole. The fourth is no leſſe notable then any of the other, for weſtwarde vpon certaine hils a man ſhall ſée the clowdes of raine gather togither in faire weather vnto a certaine thickeneſſe, & by & by to ſpreade themſelues abroade, and water their fieldes about them, as it were vpon the ſodaine, the cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterly vnknowne, ſo many men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, and very néere at hand, if it were néedeful to be ſought for. Beſide theſe foure marueyles there is a litle rocky Iſle in Aber barry (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barry, which hath a rift or clift next the firſt ſhore, whereunto if a man doe lay his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noyſes as are commonly made in ſmithes forges by clincking of yron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowces, and ſuch like, whereof the ſuperſtitious ſorte doe gather many toyes, as the gentiles dyd in olde tyme of their lame God Vulcanes potte. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter chaungeth hir chanel euery moneth, the cauſe whereof as yet I cannot learne, neyther doth ſwell by force of any lande floude, but by ſome vehement winde, it oft ouerrũneth hir banckes. In Snowdony are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moueable Iſlande, which is caryed to & fro as the winde bloweth, the other hath thrée kindes of fiſhes in it, as éeles, trowtes, & perches, but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eye a péece onely, and the ſame ſcituate in the right ſide of their heades, & this I find to be confirmed by authours. There is a Well in the forreſt of Guareſborow, whereof the ſayd forreſt doth take the name, which in a certaine periode of time knowne, cõuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into harde ſtone, without alteratiõ or chaunging of ſhape. The lyke alſo is ſéene there in frogges, wormes, and ſuch lyke lyuing creatures as fall into the ſame, & find no ready iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Lelād writeth thus, a litle aboue March, but at the farder bank of Nidde ryuer as I came, I ſawe a Well of woonderfull nature, called Dropping wel, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes harde by into it continuallye, which is ſo colde, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of yͤ rocks into this pitte, or groweth néere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hande, it turneth into ſtone. It maye be ſaith he, that ſome ſand or other fine groūd iſſueth out wͭ this water, from theſe harde rockes, which cleauing vnto thoſe thynges, gyueth them in tyme the fourme of ſtone. &c. In parte of the hylles eaſt ſoutheaſt of Alderly, a myle frō Kingeſwoode, are ſtones daily founde, perfitly faſhioned like cocles, and mighty Oyſters, which ſome dreame to haue lyen there ſince yͤ flood. In the cliftes betwéene the blacke heade and Trewardeth baie in Cornwal, is a certeine caue, where thinges appéere lyke ymages gilded, on the ſides of the ſame, which I take to be nothing elſe but the ſhining of yͤ bright Ore of copper & ther mettals, redy at hād to be foūd ther, if any diligēce were vſed. Howbeit bicauſe it is marueled at as a rare thing I do not think it vnmete to be placed amōgſt our woonders. M. Guiſe had of late and ſtyll hath for ought yͭ I knowe, a maner* in Gloceſter ſhyre, where certeine okes doe grow, whoſe rootes are verye harde ſtone. And beſyde thys the grounde is ſo fertyll there as they ſaye, that if a man hewe a ſtake of anye woode, and pitche it into the grounde, it wyll growe and take rooting beyond all expectation. Is it any woonder think you to tel of ſundrye caues néere vnto Browham, on the weſt ſide of the ryuer Aymote, wherein are halles, chambers, and al offices of houſhold, cut out of the harde rocke. If it be, then maye we increaſe the number of marueyles very much by the rehearſall of other alſo, for wée haue many of yͤ like, nere as of to ſ. Aſaphes, vpō the bank of Elwy, and about the head of Vendrath vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entered and walked, & yet founde nothing but large rowmes, & ſandy ground vnder their féete, and other elſewhere. But ſith theſe thinges are not ſtrange, I let them alone, and go forward with the reſt.

In the paryſhe of Landſarnam in wales, and in the ſide of a ſtony hil, is a place wherin are foure and twentye ſeates, hewen out of the harde rockes, but who did cut them, & to what ende, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge ſtone that lyeth at Pember, in Guytherry pariſh, and of the notable carkas that is affirmed to lye vnder the ſame, there is no cauſe to touch it here, yet were it well done to haue it remoued though it were but onely to ſée what it is, which the people haue in ſo greeat eſtimation & reuerence. There is alſo a poole in Logh Taw, among yͤ black mounteines in Brecknocke ſhyre, (where as ſome ſaye, is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanſey) which hath ſuch a property that it will bréede no fiſhe at all, and if any be caſt into it, they dye without recouerye. There is alſo a Linne in Wales, which in the one ſide beareth trowtes ſo redde as ſamons, and on the other which is the weſterlye ſide, very white and delicate.

There is a Well not farre from ſtonye Stratforde, which conuerteth many things into the ſtone, and another in Wales, which is ſayde to double or trible, the force of any edge toole that is quenched in the ſame. In Tegeuia a percell of Wales, there is a noble Well, I meane in the paryſh of Kilken, which is of marueilous nature, for although it be ſixe myles from the Sea, it ebbeth and floweth, twiſe in one daye, alwayes ebbyng when the ſea doth vſe to flowe, & in flowing likewiſe when the ſea doth vſe ebbe, whereof ſome doe fable, that this Well is lady & myſterys of the Oceane. Not far from thence alſo is a medicinable ſpring, called Schynaunt of olde time, but nowe Wenefrides Wel, in the edges wherof doth bréede a very odoriferous and delectable moſſe, wherewith the heade of the ſmeller is maruayllouſlye refreſhed. Other Welles we haue lykewiſe, which at ſome times burſt out into huge ſtreames, though at other ſeaſons they run but very ſoftly, whereby the people gather ſome alteratiō of eſtate to be at hand. Some of the greater ſort alſo giue ouer to runne at all in ſuch times, whereof they conceyue the like opinion. What the fooliſh people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthy the rehearſall, yet to the ende the lewde opinion conceyued of them, maye growe into contempt, I will ſay thus much alſo of thoſe pits. Ther are certeine pittes or rather thrée litle poles, a myle from Darlington, and a quarter of a myle diſtant from the Theſe bankes, which yͤ people call the Kettes of hell, or the deuils Ketteles, as if he ſhoulde ſée the ſoules of ſinfull men and women in them: they adde alſo that the ſpirites haue oft béene harde to crye and yell about them, wyth other like talke ſauouring altogether of pagane infidelitye. The truth is (& of this opiniō alſo was Cuthbert Tunſtall Byſhop of Durham) that the

Colemines, in thoſe places are kindled or if there be no coles, there may a mine of ſome other vnctuous matter be ſet on fire, which beyng here and there conſumed, the earth falleth in, and ſo doth leaue a pitte. In déede the water is nowe and then warme as they ſaye, and beſide that it is not cléere, the people ſuppoſe them to be an hundred faddams déepe, the byggeſt of them alſo hath an iſſue into the Theſe. But ynough of theſe wonders leaſt I doe ſéeme to be touched in thys deſcription, & thus much of the hel Kettles.

There is a Well in Darby ſhyre, called Tiddeſwell, whoſe water often ſéemeth to ryſe and fall, as the Sea which is fortye mile from it: doth vſually accuſtome to ebbe and flowe, and hereof an opinion is growen, that it kéepeth an ordinary courſe, as the ſea doth, howbeit ſith dyuers are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be ẏ at ſometimes it ryſeth but not continually, and that it ſo doth I am fullye perſwaded to beléeue. But ynough of the wonders leſt I do ſéeme by talking longer of them, wonderouſlye to ouerſhoote my ſelfe, and forget howe much doth reſt behynde of the dyſcription of my countrey.

¶ The thirde Booke of the historicall deſcription of Brytaine, conteyning theſe chapters inſuing.

1. Of the foode and dyet of thengliſh.
2. Of their apparrell and attyre.
3. Of the Lawes of Englande, ſithens hir firſt inhabitation.
4. Of degrees of people in the common wealth of Englande.
5. Of prouiſion made for the poore.
6. Of ſundry kindes of puniſhment, prouided for offenders.
7. Of Sauage beaſtes and Vermines.
8. Of Cattell kept for profite.
9. Of wylde and tame Foules.
10. Of fiſhe vſually taken vpon our coaſtes.
11. Of Hawkes and rauenous Foules.
12. Of venimous Beaſtes.
13. Of Engliſh Dogges.
14. Of Engliſh Saffron.
15. Of quarries of Stone for buylding.
16. Of ſundry Mineralles.
17. Of Salt made in Englande.
18. Of Mettalles.
19. Of precious Stones.
20. Of the Coynes of Englande.
21. Of our accompt of time, and hir parts.
22. Of our maner of meaſuring, the length and bredth of thinges.
23. Of Engliſh weightes.
24. Of liquide meaſures.
25. Of drie meaſures.
26. Of thorowfares.

¶ Of the foode and diet of the Engliſhe. Cap. 1.

THe ſcituation of our region, lying néere vnto the north, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches ſomewhat to increaſe, and become of greater force, wherefore our bodies doe craue ſomewhat more ample nouriſhment, then the inhabitantes of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall: whoſe dygeſtyue force is not altogither ſo vehement, becauſe their internall heate is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the ayre, that from time to tyme eſpecially in winter doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no marueyle therfore that our tables are oftētimes more plētifully garniſhed thē thoſe of other nations, & this trade hath continued with vs euen ſithence the very beginning, for before the Romaines founde out & knewe the waye vnto our country, our predeceſſours fedde largely vpon fleſhe & milke, whereof there was great abundance in thys Iſle, becauſe they applyed their chief ſtudies vnto paſturage and féeding. After this maner alſo did our Welch Brytons order thēſelues in their dyet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited & made equal with the Engliſh, they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at thys day there is very litle difference betwéene vs in our dyets. In olde time the north Brytons did giue themſelues generally to great abſtinence, and in tyme of warres their ſouldiours would often féede but once or twice at the moſt in two or thrée dayes, eſpecially if they helde themſelues in ſecrete, or coulde haue no iſſue out of their Bogges and maryſes, throwe the preſence of the enimie. In this penurye alſo they vſed to créepe into the water or morriſh plots vp vnto the chinnes, and there remaine a long tyme, only to quallify the heates of their ſtomackes by violence, which otherwyſe would haue wrought and béene readye to oppreſſe them for hunger and want of ſuſtinance. In thoſe daies likewiſe it was taken for a great offence amongſt them, to eate eyther gooſe, hare, or henne, bicauſe of a certaine ſuperſticious opinion which they had conceyued of thoſe thrée creatures, howbeit after that the Romaynes had once founde an entraunce into this Iland, it was not long ere open ſhipwracke

wracke was made of this religious obſeruation, ſo that in proceſſe of time, ſo well the Brytons as ẏ Romaines, gaue ouer to make anye ſuch difference in meates, as they had done before time.

From thenceforth alſo vnto our dayes, & euen in this ſeaſon wherein we liue, there is no reſtraint of any meate, eyther for religions ſake, or publike order, but it is lawfull for euery man to féede vpon whatſoeuer he is able to purchaſe, except it be vpon thoſe dayes whereon eating of fleſhe is eſpecially forbidden, by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken only to the ende our numbers of cattell maye be the better increaſed, and that abundaunce of fiſhe which the ſea yéeldeth, more generally receyued. Beſide this there is great conſideration had in making of this law for the preſeruatiō of the nauy, & maintenaunce of conuenient numbers of ſea faryng men, both which woulde otherwyſe greatlye decaye, if ſome meanes were not found, wherby they might be increaſed. But howſouer this caſe ſtandeth, white meates, as milk, butter & chéeſe, which were wont to be accoūted of as one of the chiefe ſtayes thorowout the Iſland, are now reputed as foode appertinent only to the inferiour ſort, whyleſt ſuch as are more wealthie, doe féede vpon the fleſhe of all kindes of cattell accuſtomed to be eaten, all ſortes of fiſhe taken vpō our coaſtes and in our freſhe ryuers, & ſuch diuerſitie of wilde and tame foules as are eyther bredde in our Iſlande or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of diſhes and change of meate, the nobilitie of Englande doe moſt excéede, ſith there is no daye in maner that paſſeth ouer their heades, wherein they haue not onely béefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kidde, porke, conie, capon, pigge, or ſo many of theſe as the ſeaſon yeldeth: but alſo ſome portiō of the redde or fallow déere, beſide great varietie of fiſhe and wildefowle, and thereto ſundrie other delicates wherin the ſwéet hande of the Portingale is not wāting: ſo that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taſt of euery diſhe that ſtandeth before him (which fewe vſe to doe, but to féede vppon that him beſt liketh for the time) is rather to yéelde vnto a conſpiracie with a great deale of meate for the ſpéedie ſuppreſſion of naturall health, thē to ſatiſfie himſelfe with a competent repaſt, to ſuſtayne his lyfe withall. But as thys large féeding is not ſéene in their geſtes, no more is it in their owne perſons, for ſith they haue dayly much reſort vnto their tables, (& many tymes vnlooked for) and thereto retayne great numbers of ſeruaunts, it is very requiſite for them to be ſomewhat plentifull in this behalfe. The chiefe part lykewyſe of their dayly prouiſiō is brought in before thē, & placed on their tables, whereof when they haue takē what it pleaſeth thē, the reſt is reſerued & afterward ſent downe, to their ſeruing men & waiters, who fed thereon in lyke ſort with conuenient moderatiō, their reuerſion alſo being beſtowed vpō the poore, which lye ready at their gates in great numbers to receyue the ſame. This is ſpokē of the chiefe tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit, beſide which they haue a certayne ordinarie allowaunce dayly appointed for their halles, where the chiefe officers, and houſholde ſeruaunts, (for all are not permitted to wayte vppon theyr maiſter) & with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes do féede as are not of calling to aſſociate the noble mā himſelf: ſo that beſides thoſe afore mencioned which are called to the principall table, there are commonly fourtie or thrée ſcore perſons fed in thoſe halles to the great reliefe of ſuch ſtrāgers, as oft be partakers thereof. As for drincke it is not vſually ſet on the table in pottes or cruſes, but each one calleth for a cup of ſuch as he liſteth to haue, or as neceſſitie vrgeth him: ſo ẏ whē he hath taſted of it he deliuereth the cuppe againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane, reſtoreth it to the cubborne frō whēce he fetched the ſame. By this occaſion much ydle tippling is furthermore cut of, for whereas if the full pottes ſhoulde continuallye ſtande néere the trencher, diuers woulde alwayes be dealing with them, whereas now they drincke ſeldome only to auoide the note of great drinkers, or often troubling of ẏ ſeruitours. Neuertheleſſe in the noble mēs halles, this order is not vſed, neyther in any mans houſe commonly vnder the degrée of a knight or Squire of great reuenues. The gentlemen and marchant kéepe much about one rate, and eache of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, or fiue or ſixe diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſorte, or peraduenture with one or two, or thrée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtraungers to accompanie them at their owne table. And yet their ſeruauntes haue their ordinarye dyet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters bordes, and not appointed to be brought thither the ſeconde time, which is often ſéene generally in veniſon, or ſome eſpeciall diſhe, whereon the Marchaunte man himſelfe lyketh to féede whē it is colde, or peraduenture is better ſo then yf it were warme or hote. To be ſhort, at ſuch time as the marchauntes doe make their ordinarie or voluntarie feaſts, it is a worlde to ſée what great prouiſion is made of all maner of delicate meates, from euery quarter of the country, wherein beſide that they are oftē comparable herein to the nobilitie of the lande, they will ſeldome regarde any thing that the butcher vſually killeth, but reiect the ſame as not worthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes, conſerues, ſuckettes, codinacs, marmilates, marchepaine, ſugred bread, gingerbreade, florentines, wildfowle, veniſon of all ſortes, & outlandiſh confectiōs do generally beare yͤ ſway, with other infinite deuiſes of our owne not poſſible for me to remember. But amōg all theſe, the kinde of meate which is obtayned with moſt difficultie is commonly taken for the moſt delicate, & therupon eache gueſt will ſooneſt deſire to féede. And as all eſtates doe excéede herein, (I meane for number of coſtly diſhes) ſo theſe forget not to vſe yͤ like exceſſe in wine, inſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither any where more ſtore of al ſortes then in Englād) wherof at ſuch great méetinges there is not ſome portion prouided. Furthermore when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yeldeth, ſundry ſortes of artificial ſtuffe, muſt in like maner ſuccéede in their turnes, beſide Ale & béere which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt brunt in drincking, and are of ſo many ſortes & ages as it pleaſeth the Bruer to make them. The bere that is vſed at noble mens tables is commōlye of a yeare olde, (or peraduenture of twoo yeres tunning or more, but this is not generall) it is alſo brued in Marche & therefore called Marche bere, but for the houſholde it is vſually not vnder a monethes age, eache one coueting to haue yͤ ſame ſtale as he may ſo that it be not ſoure, and his breade new as is poſſible, ſo that it be not hote. The artificer, and huſbandman, make greateſt accompt of ſuch meate, as they maye ſooneſt come by and haue it quicklyeſt readie: their foode alſo conſiſteth principally in Béefe and ſuch meate as the Butcher ſelleth, that is to ſay Mutton, Veale, Lamb, Porke. &c. whereof the Artificer findeth great ſtore in the markets adioyning, beſide Souſe, Brawne, Bacon, Fruite, Pyes of fruite, Foules of ſundrie ſortes, Chéeſe, Butter, Egges. &c. as the other wāteth it not at home, by his owne prouiſion, which is at the beſt hande, & commonly leaſt charge. In feſting alſo this latter ſort doe excéede after their maner: eſpecially at Brydales, purifications of women, and ſuch like odde méetinges, where it is incredible to tell what meate is conſumed and ſpent, eache one bringing ſuch a diſhe, or ſo many, as hys wyfe and he doe conſult vpon, but alwayes with this conſideration that the léefer friende, ſhall haue the beſt intertainement. This alſo is commonly ſéene at theſe bankets, that the goodman of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bread, drinke, houſe rowme and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doe deale farre otherwyſe, for albeit that ſome of them doe ſuffer their lawes to go oft before their clawes, & diuers of thē by making good cheare do hinder themſelues and other men, yet the wiſer ſort can handle the matter well ynough in theſe Junkettinges, and therefore their frugalitie deſerueth commendation. To conclude both the arficer and the huſbandman, are ſufficiently liberall, and very friendly at their tables, and when they méete, they are ſo merie without malice, and plaine without inwarde craft & ſubtilty that it woulde doe a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onely are the inferiour ſort to be blamed, that being thus aſſembled their talke is now and then ſuch as ſauoureth of ſcurrilitie and ribaldrye a thing naturallye incident to carters, & clownes, who thincke themſelues not to be merie and welcome, yf their fooliſh vaines in this behalfe be neuer ſo little reſtrayned. This is moreouer to be added in theſe aſſemblies, that if they happen to ſtumble vpon a péece of veniſon and a cup of wine or very ſtrong béere or ale, which latter they commonly prouide agaynſt their appoynted dayes; they thincke their cheare ſo great, and thēſelues to haue fared ſo well, as the Lorde Mayor of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will often make comparison. I might here talke ſomewhat of the great ſilence that is vſed at the tables of the honorable & wyſer ſort, generally ouer all yͤ realme, likewyſe of the moderate eating and drincking that is dayly ſéene, and finally of the regard that eache one hath to kéepe himſelfe from the note of ſurfetting and dronckenneſſe, (for which cauſe ſalt meate except béefe, bacon, and porke are not any white eſtéemed, and yet theſe thrée may not be much powdered) but as in rehearſall thereof I ſhould commende the noble man, marchant, and frugall artificer, ſo I coulde not cleare the meaner ſort of huſbandmen, and country inhabitaunts of very much babbling (except it be here and there ſome odde man) & nowe & then ſurfeting and dronkenneſſe, which they rather fall into for want of héede taking, thē wilfully following or delighting in thoſe errours of ſet minde and purpoſe. The breade thorowout the lande is made of ſuch graine as the ſoyle yeldeth, neuertheleſſe the gentilitie commōly prouide themſelues ſufficient-

I haue dined ſo well as my Lorde Mayor.

ly of wheate for their owne tables, whyleſt their houſhold and poore neighbours are inforced to content themſelues with Rye, or Barley, yea & in tyme of dearth with breade made eyther of beanes, peaſon, or Otes, or of al togither, of which ſcourge the poreſt do ſooneſt taſt, ſith they are leaſt able to prouide themſelues of better. I will not ſay that this extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeen in tyme of plentie, as of dearth but if I ſhould I could eaſily bring my trial: for albeit that there be much more grounde eared nowe almoſt in euerye place, then hath beene of late yeares, yet ſuch a price of corne continueth in eache towne and markete wythout any iuſt cauſe, that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to cõtent hymſelfe with horſecorne, I meane, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares, and lintelles: and therefore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer ſo well verified as now, that hunger ſetteth his firſt foote into the horſe manger. If the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rye will be no graine for poore men to feede on, & ſome catterpillers there are that can ſaye ſo much already. Of breade made of wheat we haue ſundry ſortes, daily brought to the table, whereof the firſt and moſt excellent is the manchet, which we commonlye call white breade, in latin primarius panis, whereof Budeus alſo ſpeaketh, in his firſt booke de aſſe. The ſecond is the cheate, or wheaton bread, ſo named becauſe the colour thereof reſembleth the graie wheat, and out of this is the courſeſt of the brennes (vſually called gurgeons or pollarde) taken. The raueled is a kinde of chete breade alſo, but it reteyneth more of the groſſe, and leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheate: and this beyng more ſleightly wrought vp, is vſed in the houſes of the nobilitie, and gentry onely, whereas the other is baked in cities and good townes of an appointed ſize (according to ſuch price as the corne doth beare) by a ſtatute prouided in that behalfe. The next ſort is named browne breade of the colour, of which we haue two ſortes, one baked vp as it commeth from the mille, ſo that neyther the brennes nor the floure, are any whit diminiſhed, thys Celſus called Autopirus panis. lib. 2. and putteth it in the ſeconde place of nouriſhment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at al, howbeit he calleth it panem Cibarium, and it is not onely the worſt and weakeſt of all the other ſortes, but alſo appointed in olde tyme for ſeruants, and the inferiour kinde of people. Hereunto likewiſe becauſe it is dry and brickle in the working (for it will hardely be made vp handſomely into loues) ſome adde a portion of rye meale, wherby the rough dryneſſe or drie roughneſſe thereof is ſomewhat qualified, and then it is named miſſelen, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that dyuers doe mingle wheate and rye of purpoſe at the mille, & ſell the ſame at the markettes vnder the aforeſayde name.

A famine at hand is firſt ſeene in ẏ horſe maunger, when the poore doe fall to horſecorne

Primarius panis.

The ſize of breade is very ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the coũtrey townes & markets.

Panis Cibarius.

In champeigne countryes much rye an barly breade it eaten, but eſpeciallye where wheate is ſcant and geſon. As for the difference that is betweene the ſummer & winter wheate, moſt huſbandmen knowe it not, ſith they are neyther acquainted with ſummer wheat, nor winter barley: yet here and there I finde of both ſortes, but in ſo ſmall quantities, as that I dare not pronounce them to be any thing common among vs.

Our drinke whoſe force and continuance is partly touched already, is made of barley, water, and hoppes, ſodden and mingled togither, by the induſtry of our bruers, in a certaine exact proportion. But before our barley doe come vnto their handes, it ſuſtaineth great alteration, and is conuerted into mault, ẏ making wherof, I wil her ſet down in ſuch order, as my ſkill therein may extend vnto, (for I am ſcarſe a good maultſter) chiefly for that foreine writers haue attẽpted to deſcribe the ſame, & the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre wyde as the quantity of ground was betweene thẽſelues and their marke. In the meane tyme beare with me gentle reader, (I beſeech thee) that leade thee from the deſcription of the plentyfull dyet of our countrey, vnto the fonde reporte of a ſeruyle trade, or rather from a table delicately furniſhed, into a muſtye mault houſe, but ſuch is now thy hap, wherefore I praye thee be contented.

Our Mault is made of the beſt Barley, which is ſteeped in a cyſterne, in greater or leſſe quantitye, by the ſpace of three dayes, and three nyghtes, vntyll it be thorowlye ſoked. This beyng done the water is drayned from it by lyttle and lyttle, tyll it bee quite gone. Afterwarde they take it out, and laying it vpon the cleane floure on a rounde heape, it reſteth ſo vntill it be ready to ſhoote at the roote ende, which maltſters call comming. When it beginneth therefore to ſhoote in thys maner, they ſaye it is come, and then forthwith they ſpreade it abroade, firſt thick and afterwarde thinner and thinner vppon the ſayde flower (as it commeth) and there it lyeth (with turning euery daye foure or fiue times) by the ſpace of one and twenty daies at the leaſt, the workeman not ſuffring it in any wiſe to take any heate, whereby the bud ende ſhoulde ſpire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouerſight the whole woulde be ſpoyled, and come to ſmall commoditie. When it hath gone or [illegible] ſo long vpon the floore, they carye it to a kyll couered wyth heare cloth, where they gyue it gentle heates (after they haue ſpred it there very thinne abroad) till it be drye, and in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformely dried. For the more it be dryed the better the mault is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dryed downe (as they call it) but ſlackely handled, it wyll breede a kinde of worme, called a wiuel, which groweth in the flowre of the corne, and in proceſſe of time, will ſo eate out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhal remaine of the graine but euen the rinde or huske. The beſt mault is tryed by the hardneſſe & colour, for if it will write lyke a peece of chalke, after you haue bytten a kyrnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelf ẏ it is dryed downe. In ſome places it is dryed with woode alone, or ſtrawe alone, in other with woode and ſtraw togither, but of all the ſtrawe dryed is the moſt excellent. For the woode dryed mault when it is brued, beſide that it is higher of collour, it doth hurt and annoye the heade of him that is not vſed thereto becauſe of the ſmoke. Such alſo as vſe both indifferētly do cleaue and drye theyr woode, to remoue all moyſture that ſhoulde procure the ſmoke, & thys mault is in the ſeconde place, and with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made wyth dryed fyrze, brome, &c. whereas if they alſo bee occupyed greene, they are in manner ſo preiudiciall to the corne, as the moiſt woode. And thus much of our Maultes in brewyng whereof they grynde the ſame ſomwhat groſelye, and in ſeethyng well the liquour that ſhall bee put vnto it, they adde to euerye nine quarters of mault one of headecorne, which cōſiſteth of ſundry graine, as wheate, Otes, Peaſon. &c. They ſeeth theyr wort alſo twiſe, that is once before they maſhe, or mixe it with the mault, and once after after, adding furthermore vnto this later ſeething, a certeine number of engliſhe hops, (for the outlandiſh are founde nowe to be the worſt) according to whoſe quantitie, the continuaunce of the drinke is determined. For it fedeth vpon the hoppe, and laſteth ſo long as the force of the ſame continueth, which being extinguiſhed the drinke dyeth, and becōmeth of no value. In this trade alſo our bruers obſerue very diligently the nature of the water which they daily occupye, for all waters are not of lyke goodneſſe in thys buſyneſſe, wherefore the diligent workeman doth redeeme the iniquity of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (ſometime our onelye, but nowe taken with manye only for olde & ſicke mens drinke) is neuer ſeene nor harde of. Howbeit as the beere is well ſodden and ſtale, is cleere and well coloured as muſcadell or malueſey, ſo our ale which is not at all or verye little ſodden, and without hoppes, is more thicke, fulſome and of no ſuch continuance, which are three notable thynges, to bee conſidered in that liquor, but what for that. Certes I knowe ſome ale knyghtes ſo much addicted thereunto, that they will not ceaſe from morow vntyll euen, to viſite the ſame, clenſing houſe after houſe, till they defile themſelues. Such ſleyghts alſo haue the alewiues for the vtteraunce of this drinke, that they wyll mixe it with roſen and ſalt, but if you heate a knyfe redde hotte, and quench it in the ale, ſo nere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you ſhal ſee the roſe hanging on the knife. As for the force of ſalt, it is well knowne by the effecte, for the more the drinker tipleth ẏ more he may, and ſo doth he cary a dry drunken ſoule to bed with him, except his lucke be the better, but to my purpoſe. In ſome places of england, there is a kind of drinke, made of apples, which they call cidar or pomage, but ẏ of peares is named pirry. Certis theſe 2. are very common in Kent, Worceſter, & other ſteedes, where theſe kindes of fruites doe abounde, howbeit they are not theyr onelye drynke, at all tymes, but referred vnto the delicate ſortes of drinke, as Metheglin is in Wales, wherof the welchmen make no leſſe accompt, then the Greekes did of theyr Ambroſia, or Nectar, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof, was ſuppoſed to bee ſuch as the goddeſſe themſelues did vſe. There is a kind of ſwiſh ſwaſh made alſo in Eſſex, and dyuers other places, wyth Hony and water, which the countrey wiues putting ſome pepper & a little other ſpice among, call meade, verye good in myne opinion for ſuch as loue to bee loſſe bodied, otherwiſe it differeth ſo much from the true Metheglin, as chalke doth from cheeſe. Truely it is nothing elſe but the waſhing of the combes, whē the hony is wrong out, and one of the beſt things that I knowe belonging thereto is, ẏ they ſpend but little labour and leſſe coſt in making of the ſame, and therefore no great loſſe if it were neuer occupyed.

Cidar.

Perry.

Metheglin.

Mede.

Hetherto of the dyet of my Countreymenne, and ſome what more at large peraduenture then manye menne will like of, wherefore I thinke good nowe to fyniſhe thys chapter, and ſo will I when I haue added a few other thinges incident vnto that

which

Leſſe time ſpent in eating thẽ heretofore.

Canutus a gloutton but the Normans at the laſt excéeded him in that vice.

Long ſitting reprehended.

Antiquis mos fuit Romanis ut patet ex iamis praſitoret & coenitaret. Macrob. 4

which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fully be deliuered, and my promiſe to my friend in this behalfe performed. Heretofore there hath béene much more tyme ſpent in eating and drincking thẽ commonly is in theſe dayes, for whereas of olde we had breakfaſtes in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, & therto rere ſuppers generally when it was tyme to go to reſt (a toy brought in by hard Canutus) nowe theſe odde repaſtes thancked be God are verye well left, and eache one in maner (except here and there ſome young hungry ſtomacke that cannot faſt till dinner tyme,) contenteth himſelfe with dinner and ſupper onely. The Normans miſlyking the gurmandize of Canutus, ordayned after their arriualle, that no table ſhoulde be couered aboue once in the day, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the ende either wering weary of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of olde cuſtome to ouergrowe the good corne of their newe conſtitution, they fell to ſuch libertie, that in often féeding they ſurmounted Canutus ſurnamed the hardy. For wheras he couered his table, but thrée or foure times in the day, they ſpred their clothes fiue or ſixe tymes, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearſed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtately ſitting at meate, which is not yet left, although it be a great expence of tyme, and worthye reprehenſion. For the nobilitie gentlemen & marchant men, eſpecially at great méetings doe ſit cõmonly till two or thrée of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with many it is an hard matter, to ryſe from the table to go to euening prayer, & returne from thence to come tyme ynough to ſupper. For my part I am perſwaded that the purpoſe of the Normans at the firſt was to reduce the auncient Romaine order in féeding once in the day, and towarde the euening as I haue reade & noted. In déede the Romaines had ſuch a cuſtome, and lykewyſe the Gretians as maye appeare by the wordes of Socrates, who ſayd vnto yͤ Atheniens Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum. Plato called the Siciliens monſters in that they vſed to eate twiſe in the day. Among the Perſians onelye the king dined when the ſonne was at the higheſt, and ſhadowe of the ſtile at the ſhorteſt: the reaſt (as it is reported) went alwayes to meate as their ſtomackes craued it. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generally to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne, bycauſe they woulde haue all their family to go to meate togither, & wherunto they woulde appoynt their gueſtes to come at a certayne length of the ſhadow, to be perceyued in their dialles. Their ſlaues in lyke ſort were glad, when it grewe to the tenth foote for then were they ſure ſone after to go to meate. In the ſcripture we read of many ſuppers and fewe dinners, only for that dining was not greatly vſed in Chriſts tyme, but taken as a thing lately ſprong vp, when pampering of the belly began to take holde, occaſioned by ydleneſſe and great abundaunce of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenall, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himſelf to drincking before the ninth houre of the day, for thincking thrée houres to be to litle for the filling of his belly, he beganne commonly at eyght, which was an houre to ſoone. Afterwardes ſixe houres onely were appointed to worke and conſult in, and the other ſixe of the day to féede & drincke in, as the Verſe ſayeth.

Sex horæ tanto rebus tribuantur agendis,
  viuere poſt illas littera zetha monet.

But how Martial deuided his day, and with him the whole trowpe of the learned and wiſer ſort, theſe verſes following doe more euidently declare.

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera continet horas,
  Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
  Sexta quies laſsis, Septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
  Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros,
Hora libellorum decima eſt Eupheme meorũ,
  Temperat Ambroſias, cum tua cura dapes,
Et bonus ethereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
  Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,
  Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we ſée how the auncient maner of the gentils was to féede but once in the day and that towarde night, till glotonie grewe on, and altered that good cuſtome. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie and ſtudents, doe ordinarily go to dinner at aleauen before noone, and to ſupper at fiue, or betwéene fiue and ſixe at afternoone. The marchaunts dine and ſuppe ſeldome before 12. at noone, & ſixe at night eſpecially in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high noone as they call it, & ſup at ſeauen or eyght: but out of the terme in our Vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at tenne. As for the poreſt ſort they generally dine and ſup when they may ſo that to talke of their order of repaſt, it were but néedeleſſe matter.

Of out apparell and attire. Cap. 2.

AN Engliſhman indeuouring ſometime to write of our attire, made ſundry platformes for his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them drewe. rd.

them to finde out one ſtedfaſt ground whereon to builde the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the ende (like an oratour, long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what a difficult péece of worke he had taken in hande, he gaue ouer his trauaile, and onely drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of ſheares in the one hande, and a péece of cloth in the other, to the ende he ſhould ſhape his apparell after ſuch faſhion as himſelfe liked, ſith he could finde no kind of garment that coulde pleaſe him any while togither, and this he called an Engliſhman. Certes thys writer (otherwiſe being a leawde and vngracious prieſt) ſhewed himſelfe herein not to be voyde of iudgement, ſith the phantaſticall follye of our nation is ſuch, that no forme of apparrell liketh vs longer then the firſt garment is in the wearing, if it continue ſo long and be not layde aſide, to receyue ſome other trinket newly deuiſed by the fickle headded Taylours, who couet to haue ſeuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond cuſtomers to more expence of money. For my part I can tell better howe to inueigh againſt this enormitie, then deſcribe our attire: ſithens ſuch is our mutabilitie, that to day there is none to the Spaniſhe guiſe, to morowe the French toyes are moſt fine and delectable, ere long no ſuch apparell as that which is after the high Almaine faſhion, by and by the Turkiſh maner is generally beſt liked of, otherwiſe the Moriſco gownes and the Barbarian ſléeues make ſuch a comelye Veſture, that except it were a dog in a dublet, you ſhall not ſée anye ſo diſguiſed, as are my coũtry men of england. And as theſe faſhiõs are diuers, ſo likewiſe it is a worlde to ſe the coſtlineſſe and the curioſitie: the exceſſe and the vanitie: the pompe and the brauery: the chaunge and the variety: and finally the fickleneſſe and the folly that is in all degrées: inſomuch that nothing ys more conſtant in england then inconſtancie of attire. Neither cã we be more iuſtly burdened with any reproche, then inordinate behauiour in apparrell, for which moſt nations deride vs, as alſo for that we men doe ſéeme to beſtowe moſt coſt vpon our arſes & much more then vpon all the reſt of our bodies, as women do likewiſe vpon their heads and ſhoulders. In women alſo it is moſt to be lamented, that they doe now farre excéede the lightneſſe of our men (who neuertheleſſe are transformed from the cap euen to the very ſhoe) and ſuch ſtaring attire as in time paſt was ſuppoſed méete for none but light houſewiues onely, is now become an habit for chaſt & ſober matrones. What ſhould I ſay of their dublets wyth pendant codpéeſes on the breſt full of iags and cuts, and ſléeues of ſundry colours, theyr galligaſcons, [illegible], and ſuch lyke, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended. I haue met with ſome of them in London ſo [illegible] I might ſay, that it hath paſſed my ſkill to diſcerne whether they were men or women. Thus it is now come to paſſe, that womẽ are become men, and men turned into monſters: & thoſe good giftes which almighty God hath giuen vnto vs to releue our neceſſities withall, are otherwyſe beſtowed then in all exceſſe, as if we wiſt not otherwiſe howe to conſume and waſt them. I pray God that in this behalfe our ſinne be not lyke vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whoſe errors were pride, exceſſe of diet, & abuſe of Gods benefits abundantly beſtowed vpon them, beſide want of charitie toward the poore, and certaine other pointes which ŷ Prophet ſhutteth vp in ſilence. Certes the commũ wealth can not be ſayde to floriſhe where theſe abuſes reigne, but is rather oppreſſed by vnreaſonable exactions made vpõ farmers & tenants, wherewith to maintayne the ſame. Neither was it euer merier with Englande then when an Engliſhmã was knowne by his owne cloth, and contented himſelfe with his fine carſie hoſen, and a meane ſlop: his coate, gowne & cloake of browne blew or puke, with ſome pretie furniture of veluet or furre, & a doublet of ſadde Tawny, or blacke Veluet, or other comelye Sylke, without ſuch gawriſh colours as are worne in theſe dayes, & neuer brought in but by the conſent of ŷ french, who thincke thẽſelues the gaieſt men, when they haue moſt diuerſitie, & chaunge of colours about them. I might here name a ſort of hewes deuiſed for the nones, wherewith to pleaſe fantaſticall heades, as gooſeturde gréene, the Deuell in the heade, (I ſhoulde ſay the hedge) and ſuch like, but I paſſe them ouer thincking it ſufficient to haue ſayd this much of apparell generally, when nothing can particularly be ſpoken of any conſtancie thereof.

Ezech. 16.

¶ Of the Lawes of England.

Cap. 3.

Samothes.

THat Samothes or Dis gaue the firſt Lawes vnto the Celtes (whoſe Kingdome he erected about the fiftéene of Nymbrote) the teſtimonye of Beroſus is proofe ſufficient. For he not only affirmeth him to publiſh the ſame in the fourth of Ninus, but alſo addeth therto, that there lyued none in hys dayes of more excellent wiſdome, nor pollilike inuention then he, whereof he was named Samothes, as ſome other doe affyrme. What his lawes were it is now altogyther vnknowne, as moſt things of thys age, but that they were altered againe at the cōming of Albion, we maye not abſolutly deny, ſith new Lordes vſe commonly to gyue newe lawes, and conquerours aboliſh ſuch as were in vſe before them.

Albion.

The lyke alſo maye be affirmed of our Brute, notwythſtanding that the certayne knowledge ſo well of the one as of the other is periſhed, & nothing worthy memory left of all theyr doyngs. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not only, ſubdued ſuch princes as reigned in this land, but alſo brought the Realme to good order, that long before had béene torne wyth ciuill diſcorde. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from othermens, no man lyuing in theſe dayes is able to determine.

Brute.

Mulmutius

The praiſe of Dunwallon.

Certes there was neuer Prince in Brytayne, of whome his ſubiectes conceyued better hope in the beginning, then of Bladudus, and yet I reade of none that made ſo ridiculous an ende: in lyke ſorte there hath not reigned any Monarche in thys Iſle, whoſe wayes were more feared at yͤ firſt, thē thoſe of Dunwallon, (king Henry the fift excepted) & yet in the end he proued ſuch a Prynce, as after hys death, there was in maner no ſubiecte, that did not lament his funerralles. And this only for his pollicy in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes, and conſtitutions. His people alſo coueting to continue his name vnto poſterity, intituled thoſe his ordinaunces according to theyr maker, callyng them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Brytons, ſo long as our homelynges had the dominiō of this Iſle. Afterward when the Saxons had once obteyned the ſuperioritie of the kingdome, the maieſtie of theſe laws fell for a time into ſuch decaye, that although non penitus cecidit, tamen potuit cecidiſſe videri, as Leland ſayth, and the lawes themſelues had vtterlye periſhed in déede at the very firſt brunt had they not béene preſerued in wales, where they remayned amongſt the reliques of the Brytons, and not onely vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edwarde the firſt, who obteining the ſoueretnty of that portion, indeuoured to extinguiſhe thoſe of Mulmutius, and to eſtabliſhe his owne.

But as the Saxōs at their firſt arriuall did what they coulde to aboliſhe the Brytiſhe lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yélded a little to relent and not ſo much to abhorre the nullitie of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receyue and embrace the ſame, eſpecially at ſuch time as the Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Brittiſh Princes, and after that ioyne in matrimonie, with the Brytiſhe Ladyes. Hereof alſo it came to paſſe in the ende, that they were contented to make a choiſſe and inſert an equall number of them into their owne volumes, as may yet be gathered by thoſe of Ethelbert the great ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas & Alfrede, kinges of the weſt Saxons, and diuers other yet extant to be ſéene. Such alſo was the laterward eſtimation of them, that when anye of the Saxon Princes went aboute to make anye newe lawes, they cauſed thoſe of Mulmutius which Gildas ſometime tranſlated into Latine, to be expounded vnto them, and in thys peruſall if they founde anye there alreadye framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the ſame, and annexed them to their owne. But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfrede is moſt of all to be commended, who not onelye choſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſayde Mulmutius had made: & then to the ende they ſhoulde lye no more in corners as forlorne bookes and vnknowne, he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon tongue, wherein they continued long after hys deceaſe. As for the Normans, who neither regarded the Brittiſh, nor cared for the Saxon lawes, they alſo at the firſt vtterlye miſliked of thē, till at the laſt when they had well weighed that one kinde of regiment is not cōuenient for al peoples, & that no ſtranger beyng in a forreine Countrey newely brought vnder obedience, coulde make ſuch equall ordinaunces, as he might thereby gouerne his new cōmon wealth without ſome care of trouble: they fell in ſo wyth a deſire to ſée by what rule the eſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onely commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes, (nowe currant vnder the name of S. Edwardes lawes, and vſed as principles and groundes) whereby they not onely qualified the rygor of theyr owne, and mittigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had lately layde vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of Mulmutin lawes, whereof the moſt part are in vſe to thys daye as I ſayde, albeit that we knowe not certeinly howe to diſtinguiſh them from other, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawe gyuer was ia.

was Martia whome Lelande ſurnameth Proba, & after him Iohn bale alſo, who in hys Centuries doth iuſtely confeſſe himſelfe to haue béene holpen by the ſayde Leland, as I my ſelfe doe likewiſe for many thinges conteined in thys treatiſe. Shée was wyfe vnto Guitteline king of yͤ Brytons: & being made protectrix of the realme, after hyr huſbands deceaſe in the nonage of hyr ſonne, and ſéeing many thinges daily to growe vp among hir people worthy reformation, ſhée deuiſed ſundry and thoſe very pollitike lawes, for the gouernaunce of hyr kingdome, which hir ſubiectes when ſhée was deade and gone, did name the Mertian ſtatutes. Who turned them into latine, as yet I doe not read, howbeit as I ſaid before of the lawes of Mulmutius, ſo the ſame Alfrede cauſed thoſe of thys excellently well learned Lady (whome diuers cōmende alſo for hir great knowledge, in the Gréeke tong) to bée turned into hys owne language, wherevpon it came to paſſe that they were dailye executed among hys ſubiectes, afterwarde allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finally remaine in vſe in theſe dayes, notwithſtanding that we can not diſſeuer them very redily from the other.

ercian
y.
xon
y.
ne law.

The 7. alteratiō of lawes was practiſed by the Saxons, for I ouerpaſſe the lawes made by the Romaines, whoſe order do partly remaine in publike notice, vnder yͤ names of the mercian, and the Saxon Lawe. Beſide theſe alſo I reade of the Danelawe, ſo that the people of middle england, were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Saxons by the ſeconde, as Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgſhire, and part of Herford ſhyre, were by the third, of al the reſt the moſt inequal & intollerable. Among other things alſo vſed in the time of yͤ Saxons, it ſhal not be amiſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with them from beyonde the ſeas, and vſed onely in the tryall of giltye and vngiltineſſe. Certes it conteyned not an ordinary proceding by dayes and termes, as in the Ciuile and common lawe we ſée practiſed in theſe dayes but a ſhorte diſpatch and tryall of the matter, by fyre, or water; whereof at this preſent I will deliuer the circumſtance, as I haue faithfully tranſlated it out of an auncient volume, and conferred wyth a prynted coppie, lately publiſhed by M. Lambert, nowe extaunt to be redde.

The Ordalian ſaith the aforeſayd authour, was a certaine maner of purgation vſed two wayes, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the party accuſed ſhoulde go a certaine number of paces, with an hote péece of yron in his hande, or elſe bare footed vpon certaine plough ſhares, redde hotte, according to the maner. This Iron was ſometime of one pounde weight, and then was it called ſingle Ordalium, ſometimes of thrée, & then named treble, Ordalium, and who ſoeuer did beare or treade on the ſame without hurt of his body, he was adiudged giltleſſe, otherwyſe if his ſkin were ſcorched, he was forthwith condemned as gylty of the treſpaſſe whereof he was accuſed.

There were in lyke ſorte two kinds of triall by yͤ water, that is to ſay, either by hote, or colde: & in this tryall the partye thought culpeable, was eyther tumbled into ſome pond, or huge veſſell of colde water, wherein if he continued for a ſeaſon, without wreſtling or ſtrugling for lyfe, he was forthwyth acquited as giltleſſe of the facte whereof hée was accuſed: but if he beganne to plunge, & labor once for breath immediately vpon his falling into that lyquour, he was by and by condemned, as gilty of the crime. Or elſe he did thruſt his arme vp to the ſhoulder into a leade, copper, or Caldron of ſéething water, from whence if he withdrewe the ſame without any maner of damage, he was diſcharged of farder moleſtation: otherwyſe hée was taken for a treſpaſſer, and puniſhed accordingly. The fiery maner of purgation belonged onely to noble men and women, and ſuch as were frée borne, but the huſbandmen and villaines, were tryed by water, whereof to ſhewe the vnlearned dealing and blynde ignoraunce of thoſe times, it ſhall not bée vnpertinent to ſet forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of King Iohn, who ſéeyng the manifold ſubtilties in the ſame, did extinguiſh it altogither as flat lewdeneſſe and bouerye. The Rubrik of yͤ treatiſe entereth thus. Here beginneth yͤ execution of Iuſtice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hote Iron. Thē it followeth. After accuſatiō lawfully made, and thrée dayes ſpent in faſting and prayer, the Prieſt being cladde in all his holly veſtures, ſauing his veſtiment, ſhall take the Iron layde beſide the alter with a payre of tongues, and ſinging the himme of the thrée children, that is to ſaye, O all yée workes of God the Lorde, and in latine Benedicite omnia opera, &c. he ſhall cary it ſolemly to yͤ fire (already made for yͤ purpoſe) & firſt ſay theſe wordes ouer the place where yͤ fire is kindled wherby this purgation ſhall bée made in latin as inſueth. Benedic domine deus locum, iſtum vt ſit nobis in eo ſanitas, ſanctitas, caſtitas, virtꝰ et victoria, et ſanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas,

nitas, lenitas, et plenitudo Legis, et obediētia deo patri et filio et ſpiritui ſancto. Hec Benedictio, ſit ſuper hunc locum, et ſuper omnes habitantes in eo, *in Engliſh*: Bleſſe thou O Lorde this place that it may be to vs health holyneſſe, chaſtity, vertue, and victory, pureneſſe, humilitie, goodneſſe, gentleneſſe, and fulneſſe of the lawe, and obedience to God the father, the ſonne, ⁊ the holy ghoſt. This bleſſing be vpon this place, and all that dwel in it. *Then followeth the bleſſing of the fire.* Domine deus, pater omnipotens lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor, omnium luminum. Benedic domine hoc lumen, quod aute ſanctificatum eſt, qui illuminaſti omnē hominem, venientem in hunc mundū, (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accedamur igne claritatis tuæ, & ſicut igne illuminaſti, Moſen, ita nunc illumina corda noſtra, et ſenſus noſtros, vt ad vitam eternam, mereamur peruenire, per chriſtum. &c. Lord God father almightie, light euerlaſting, heare vs, ſith þ art the maker of all lyghtes. Bleſſe O Lord this light, ẏ is already ſanctified in thy ſight, which haſt lightned all men that come into the worlde, (or the whole worlde) to the ende that by the ſame lyght, we may be lightned wyth the ſhining of thy brightneſſe. As thou diddeſt lighten Moyſes, ſo nowe illuminate our hearts, and our ſenſes, that we may deſerue to come to euerlaſting lyfe, thorowe Chriſt our ⁊c. *Thys beyng ended let him ſaye the* pater noſter. &c. *then theſe wordes.* Saluum fac ſeruum &c. Mitte ei auxilium deus. &c. De Sion tuere eum. &c. Dominus vobiſcū. &c, *that is*. O Lorde ſaue thy ſeruaunt, ⁊c. Sende him helpe O God frō thy holy place defende him out of Syon. ⁊c. Lorde here. ⁊c. The Lorde be with you ⁊c.

The prayer. Benedic domine ſancte pater omnipotens deus, per inuocationem ſanctiſſimi nominis tui, et per aduentum filij tui, atq; per donum ſpiritus paracleti, ad manifeſtādum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt ſit ſanctificatum, et omni demonum falſitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifeſta fiat, per eundem dominum. &c. *in Engliſhe.* Bleſſe we beſeech thee O Lorde, holy father, euerlaſting God; thorowe the inuocation of thy moſt holy name, by the comming of thy ſonne, and gyft of the holy ghoſt, and to the manifeſtation of thy true iudgement, this kinde of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practiſes of the deuils vtterly remoued, the manifeſt truth of thy true iudgement, maye be reuealed, by the ſame Lorde Ieſus ⁊c.

After this, let the yron be layde into the fyre, and ſprinckled with holy water, and whileſt it heateth. let the Prieſt go to maſſe, and doe as order re quireth and when he hath receiued the hoſt, he ſh call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) firſt adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

The Office of the maſſe.

Iuſtus es domine, &c. O Lord thou art iuſt. ⁊c

The Prayer.

ABſolue quæſumus domine delicta famu li tui, vt a peccatorum ſuorum nexibus quæ pro ſua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad me ruit iuſtitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis co ſuram peruenire mereatur: per Chriſtum dominum. &c. *That is.* Pardon wee beſeech thee O Lorde, the ſinnes of thy ſeruaunt, that being deliuered from the burden of his offen ces, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in thys hys tryal (ſo farre as he hath deſerued, thy mercy preuenting him) he maye come to the know ledge of the truth, by chriſt our Lorde. ⁊c.

The Goſpell. Mar. 10.

IN illo tēpore, cum egreſſus eſſet Ieſus in vi procurrens quidā genu flexo ante eum, ro gabat eum dicens, Magiſter bone, quid faciam vt vitam eternam percipiā. Ieſus autem dixit ei, quid me dicis bonum? &c. In thoſe dayes when Ieſus went forth towarde hys iour ney, ⁊ one meeting in him the way running ⁊ kneling vnto him, aſked him ſaying. Go Maiſter what ſhal I doe that I may poſſeſſe eternall lyfe. Ieſus ſayd vnto him, why cal leſt þ me good. ⁊c. *Then followeth the ſecre and ſo foorth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partye doth communicate, the Prieſt ſhall vſe theſe wordes vnto hym:* Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſun & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerau vt non preſumas vllo modo communicare neque accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut con ſenſiſti &c. I adiure thee by the Father the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt, by the true chriſten dome which thou haſt receyued, by the holy relliques which are in this Church, and by the baptiſme, wherewith the Prieſt hath re generated thee, that thou preſume not by a ny maner of meanes, to communicate, nor come about the aultar, if thou haſt done or conſented vnto thys, whereof thou art accuſed. ⁊c. *Here let the Prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaying.* Corpus hoc, & ſanguis domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationē hodie. This body ⁊ this bloud of our Lord Ch Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a tryall this daye.

The prayer. Perceptis domine deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti a proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret. &c. Hauing receaued O Lord God theſe holy miſteries, we humbly beſéeche thée that the participation of thys ſacrament, maye rydde vs of our guiltyneſſe, and in this thy ſeruaunt ſet forth the truth. *Then ſhall followe* Kyrieleſon, *the Letanye, and certayne Pſalmes, and after all them* Oremus, Let vs praye, Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldeorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere antè conſpectum Moyſis & minime comburi permiſiſti. Deus qui de incēdio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illęſos eduxiſti. Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuū cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti. Oſtēde nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutē eiuſdem ſpiritus &c. Et per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt a tactu eius cuꝰ inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens vero poenitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & pręſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens vel noxius detegatur. &c. in Engliſhe thus. O God which in ſhowing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruaunt frō the burnyng of ẏ Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed. O god whiche ſufferedſt the buſhe to burne, in ẏ ſight of Moyſes, & yet not to conſume. O God which deliueredſt the thrée childrē frō bodily harme in the Fornace of the Chaldies, whileſt dyuers were conſumed. O God which by fyre diddeſt wrap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot & his daughters from peryll. O God which by the ſhyning of thy brighneſſe at the comming of the holly ghoſt in likewyſe of fire, diddeſt ſeperate the faithfull, from ſuch as beléeued not: ſhew vnto vs in ẏ tryall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit. &c. And by ẏ heate of this fire deſcerne the faithful from the vnfaithfull, that the giltie whoſe cauſe is nowe in tryall, by touching thereof, maye tremble and feare, and his hande be burned, or beyng innocent, that he maye remaine in ſafety. &c. O God frō whom no ſecretes are hidden, let thy goodnes anſwere to our faith, & graunt that whoſoeuer in thys purgation, ſhall touch and beare thys Iron, may either be tryed an innocent, or reuealed as an offender. &c. *After this the Prieſt ſhall ſprynckle the Iron wyth Holly water, ſaying.* The bleſſing of God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt, be vpon this Iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God. *And foorthwith lette hym that is accuſed, beare it by the length of nyne foote, and then lette his hande be wrapped and ſealed vppe for the ſpace of three dayes, after thys yf anye corruption or rawe fleſhe appeare where the Iron touched it, lette him be condemned as guiltie: yf it be whole and ſounde, let hym giue thankes to God.* And thus much of the fierye Ordalia, whereunto that of the water hath ſo precyſe relation, that in ſetting forth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine, to deale any farder withall. Hetherto alſo as I thinke, ſufficiently of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Nowe it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue béene made ſith the comming of the Normās, but for aſmuch as I am no lawier, & therfore haue but lyttle ſkyll to procéede in the ſame accordingly, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall dyſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common here ſaye. We haue therfore in Englād ſundry lawes, and firſt of all the ciuile, vſed in the chauncery, admiraltie, and dyuers other courtes, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rygor of Iuſtice is often ſo mittigated by conſcience, that dyuers thinges are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, whyche otherwyſe woulde appeare to be mére iniurye and extremity.

We haue alſo a great part of the Cannon lawe daily practiſed among vs, eſpecially in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimony, and ſuch lyke, as are vſually to be ſéene in the conſiſtories of our Biſhoppes, where the exercyſe of the ſame is verye hotely followed. The third ſorte of lawes, that we follow, are our owne, and thoſe alwaies ſo variable, and ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuers iudgementes doe paſſe vpon one maner of caſſe, wherby the ſaying of the Poet

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis.

maye very well be applyed vnto ſuch as beyng vrged with theſe wordes in ſuch a yeare of the Prince this opinion was taken for ſounde lawe, doe aunſwere nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawyers is nowe altered, ſo that they ſaye farre otherwyſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinaunces dependeth vpon Statute lawe, Common law, Cuſtomary law, & Preſcription.

Parliament law.

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by Parliament, which court is the higheſt of all other, and conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſortes of people, that is to ſay, the Nobility, Clergy, and commons of thys Realme, and there to is not ſomoned, but vppon vrgent occaſion when the prince doth ſee his time, and that by ſeueral writtes, dated commonly ful ſixe weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpō in the higher houſe by the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodye of the realme, (whereof the conuocation of the cleargy holden in Powles is a member,) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the ende to be confirmed by the Prince, who commonly reſorteth thither vppon the firſt and laſte daies of thys court, there to vnderſtande what is done, & giue his royall conſent to ſuch eſtatutes as him lyketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the Parliament (for one is alwayes appoynted to go betweene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlye the matters there determined by the ſayde three eſtates, and then craueth the Princes conſent and confirmation to the ſame.

The king hauing heard the ſomme & principall pointes of each eſtatute briefly recited vnto him, aunſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he lyketh, (*Il nous plaiſt*) but to the reſt *Il ne plaiſt*, whereby the latter are vtterly made voyde and fruſtrate. That alſo which his Maieſtie liketh of, is euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in any the lyke aſſembly. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the clergie cōſiſteth of ninetie Knights. For eache ſhyre of England hath twoo gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation choſen out of the bodye of the ſame for that only purpoſe, ſauing that for wales one only is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewyſe fourtie and ſixe Citizens, 289. Burgeſes, and fourteene Barons, ſo that the whole aſſembly of the layetie of the lower houſe, cōſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the iuſt number be ſupplyed. Of the lawes here made lykewyſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common lawe, and ſome againe are founde to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part takē ſtrictlye according to the letter, the other more largely and beneficially after their intendement and meaning.

The Common Lawe ſtandeth vppon Sundrye Maximes or Princyples, and yeares or tearmes, which doe conteine ſuch caſes as by great ſtudye and ſolemne argument of the iudges, and thereto the deepeſt reach & foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for lawe. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called plees or actiōs, whereof there are two ſortes the one criminall & the other ciuile. The meanes & meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writtes, whereof there are ſome Originall and ſome Iudiciall. The parties plaintife and defendant when they appeare proceede (if the caſe do ſo require) by plaint or declaration, aunſwere, replication and reioynder, and ſo to iſſue, the one ſide affirmatiuely, the other negatiuely. Our trialles, and recoueries are eyther by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if any negligence or treſpaſſe hath beene committed, eyther in proceſſe & forme, or in matter & iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writte of errour to vndoe ẏ ſame but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen. Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certaine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuate country, entended firſt to beginne vppon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kinde which is all the male children to inherite, & cōtinued to this day in Kent: or Burrow kinde where the yongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of many countries of this region, & ſo forth of ſuch like to be learned elſe where.

Preſcription is a certayne cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular then cuſtomarie lawe, as where onely a pariſh or ſome priuate perſon doth preſcribe to haue common, or a way, in another mans ſoyle, or tithes to be payde after this or that maner, I meane otherwyſe then the common courſe & order of the lawe requyreth, whereof let thys ſuffice at thys tyme, in ſteede of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhoulde ſeeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the lawe of God to doe with any preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades and incident to diuers perſons. There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courtes holdē once in euery quarter of the yeare, which we commonlye call tearmes of the latin worde Terminus, wherein all cōtrouerſies are determined, that happen within the Queenes dominions. Theſe are commonly holden at London except vpō ſome great occaſion they be transferred to other places, at what times alſo they are kept the table inſuing ſhal eaſily declare. Finally howe well they are followed by ſuters, is the great welth of our lawyers without any further proofe of mine can eaſily expreſſe. But this furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this lande haue erected ſundry courtes, eſpecially for the hearing of matters at Yorke and Ludlow, for the eaſe of poore men dwelling in thoſe partes, yet will the poreſt (of all others and commonly the moſt contencious) refuſe to haue his cauſe hearde ſo neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there ſooneſt to preuaile againſt his aduerſary, though his cauſe be neuer ſo doubtfull. But in this toye our Welſhmen do exceede of all that euer I [illegible] I there haue ſome one [illegible] Dauid of thē giuen ſo much to contention and ſtrife, that without all reſpect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waye, and carye his hoſen on his necke (to ſaue theyr feete from wearing) becauſe he hath no change. When he commeth there also he will make ſuch importunate begging of his countreymē, and hang vpon them otherwiſe, that he will ſometymes carye thirtie or fourtie writtes in his purſe, wherewith to moleſt his neighbour, though the greateſt quarrell be ſcarſely worth the price that he payd for any one of thē. But ynough of this leaſt in reuealing the ſuperfluous follye of a fewe brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good wil to my ſelfe amongſt the wyſeſt of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable caſe to ſee furthermore how a number of poore men are dayly abuſed and vtterly vndone, by ſundrie varlets that go about the countrey as brokers betweene the petty foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onely to kyndle coales of contention, wherby the one ſide may reape commodity and the other be put to traueyle. But of all that euer I knew in Eſſex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till Iohn of Ludlow aliâs Maſon came in place, vnto whome in compariſon they two were but children and babes, for he in leſſe thē thrée or foure yeres, did bring one man (among many elſe where in other places) almoſt to extreme miſery, (if beggery be the vttermoſt) who before he had the ſhauing of his bearde, was valued at two hundred pounde (I ſpeake with the leaſt) who finally féeling that he had not ſufficent wherwith to ſuſteine himſelf, & his familie, & alſo to ſatiſfie that gréedie rauenour, that ſtill called vpon him for new fées, he went to bed and within foure dayes made an ende of hys wofull life, euen with care & penſiueneſſe. After his death alſo he ſo hādled his ſonne, that there was neuer ſhéepe ſhorne in Maie, ſo néere clypped of hys fléece preſent, as hée was of manye to come, ſo that he was compelled to let away his leaſe land, becauſe his cattell and ſtocke were conſumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But howſoeuer let this ſuffiſe, and to the end of theſe enormities, two tables ſhall inſue, whereof the firſt ſhall containe the names of the Countyes, Cities, Borowes and Portes, which ſend knightes, Burgeſſes and Barons to the Parliament houſe, the other an infallible report of the beginning and ending of euery tearme with their returnes, according to the maner, as I haue borowed them of my friende Iohn Stow, whyleſt this impreſſion was in hande.

Three Varlettes worthie to be chronicled.

The names of Counties, Cities, Borowghes, and Portes, ſending Knightes, Citizens, Burgeſſes and Barons to the Parliament of Englande.

Bedforde.

Knightes	2
The borowgh of Bedforde.	2

Buckingham.

Knightes	2
The borowgh of Buckingham.	2
The borowgh of Wickombe.	2
The borowgh of Aileſbury.	2

Barckeſhyre.

Knightes	2
The borowgh of New Windſore.	2
The borowgh of Reding.	2
The borowgh of Wallingforde.	2
The borowgh of Abington.	2

Cornewall.

Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Launceſton alias Newport	2
The borowgh of Leſkerd.	2
The borowgh of Leſtwythiell.	2
The borowgh of Dunheuet.	2
The borowgh of Truro.	2
The borowgh of Bodmin.	2
The borowgh of Helſton.	2
The borowgh of Saltaſh.	2
The borowgh of Camelforde.	2
The boro. of Portighſam alias Portlow.	2
The borowgh of Graunpount.	2
The borowgh of Eaſtlow.	2
The borowgh of Pryny.	2
The borowgh Tregonye.	2
The borow. of Trebenna alias Boſſinny.	2
The borowgh of S. Ies.	2
The borowgh of Foway.	2
The borowgh of Germine.	2
The borowgh of Michell.	2
The borowgh of Saint Maries.	2

Cumberlande.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Caerlile.	2
Cambridge.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Cambridge.	2
Chester.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Cheſter.	2
Darby.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Darby.	2
Deuon.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Exceſter.	2
The borowgh of Totnes.	2
The borowgh of Plimmouth.	2
The borowgh of Barneſtable.	2
The borowgh of Plimton.	2
The borowgh of Taueſtocke.	2
The borowgh of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdynes.	2
Dorſet ſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Poole.	2
The borowgh of Dorcheſter.	2
The borowgh of Linne.	2
The borowgh of Melcombe.	2
The borowgh of Waymouth.	2
The borowgh of Bureport.	2
The borowgh of Shafteſbury.	2
The borowgh of Warham.	2
Eſſex.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Colcheſter.	2
The borowgh Malden.	2
Yorkeſhire.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Yorke.	2
The borowgh of Kingſton vpon Hull.	2
The borowgh of Knareſbrugh.	2
The borowgh of Skarborowgh.	2
The borowgh of Rippon.	2
The borowgh of Hudon.	2
The borowgh of borowghbridge.	2
The borowgh of Thuske.	2
The borowgh of Aldebrugh.	2
The borowgh of Beuerley.	2
Gloceſterſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Glocester.	2
The borowgh of Cirenceſter.	2
Huntingtonſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Huntingdon.	2
Hertfordſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Saint Albons.	2
Herefordeſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Hereford.	2
The borowgh of Lempſter.	2
Kent.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Canterbury.	2
The citie of Rocheſter.	2
The borowgh of Maideſtone.	2
The borowgh of Queeneborowgh.	2
Lincolne.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Lincolne.	2
The borowgh of Boſtone.	2
The borowgh of great Grimſby.	2
The borowgh of Stanforde.	2
The borowgh of Grantham.	2
Leiceſter ſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Leiceſter.	2
Lancaſterſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Lancaſter.	2
The borowgh of Preſton in Amernies.	2
The borowgh of Liuerpole.	2
The borowgh of Newton.	2
The borowgh of Wigan.	2
The borowgh of Clithero.	2
Middleſex.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of London.	4
The citie of Weſtminſter.	2
Monmouth.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Monmouth.	1
Northampton.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Peterborowgh.	2
The borowgh of Northampton.	2
The borowgh of Barkley.	2
The borowgh of Higham Ferres.	1
Notingham.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Notingham.	2
The borowgh Eſtreatforde.	2
Norfolke.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Norwich.	2
The borowgh of Linne.	2
The borowgh of great Iernemouth.	2
The borowgh of Thetford.	2
The borowgh of caſtell Riſing.	2
Northumberland.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of New Caſtell vpon Tine.	2
The borowgh of Morpeth.	2
The borowgh of Barwike.	2
Oxforde.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Oxforde.	2

The borowgh of Banbury. 2
The borowgh of Woodſtocke. 2

Rutland.

Knightes. 2

Surrey.

Knightes. 2
The borowgh of Southwarke. 2
The borowgh of Blechingley. 2
The borowgh of Rigate. 2
The borowgh of Gilford. 2
The borowgh of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borowgh of Stafford. 2
The borowgh of New caſtel vnder Lime. 2
The borowgh of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knightes. 2
The borowgh of Salop. 2
The borow of Bruges alias Bridgenorth. 2
The borowgh of Ludlow. 2
The borowgh of Wenlocke. 2

Southampton.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Winton. 2
The borowgh of Southampton. 2
The borowgh of Porteſmouth. 2
The borowgh of Peterſfeld. 2
The borowgh of Stockbridge. 2
The borowgh of Chriſt Church. 2

Suffolke.

Knightes. 2
The borowgh of Ippeſwich. 2
The borowgh of Dunwich. 2
The borowgh of Orford. 2
The borowgh of Aldeborowgh. 2
The borowgh of Sudbury. 2
The borowgh of Eya. 2

Somerſet.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Briſtow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The borowgh of Taunton. 2
The borowgh Bridgewater. 2
The borowgh of Minehed. 2

Suſſex.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Chicheſter. 2
The borowgh of Horſham. 2
The borowgh of Midhurſt. 2
The borowgh of Lewes. 2
The borowgh of Shorham. 2
The borowgh of Brember. 2
The borowgh of Stening. 2
The borowgh of Eaſtgrenſted. 2
The borowgh of Arundell. 2

Weſtmerland.

Knightes. 2
The borowgh of Appleby. 2

Wilton.

Knightes. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The borowgh of Wilton. 2
The borowgh of Downton. 2
The borowgh of Hindon. 2
The borowgh of Heyteſbury. 2
The borowgh of Weſtbury. 2
The borowgh of Caine. 2
The borowgh of Deuiſes. 2
The borowgh of Chippenham. 2
The borowgh of Malmeſbury. 2
The borowgh of Cricklade. 2
The borowgh of Bedwin. 2
The borowgh of Ludgerſhall. 2
The borowgh of Olde Sarum. 2
The borowgh of Wotton Baſſet. 2
The borowgh of Marleborowgh. 2

Worceſter.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Worceſter. 2
The borowgh of Wiche. 2

Warwike.

Knightes. 2
The Citie of Couentry. 2
The borowgh of Warwike. 2

Barons of the portes.

Haſtings. 2
Winchelſey. 2
Rye. 2
Rumney. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomery.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Mountgomery. 1

Flint.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Hauerfordweſt. 1

Carnaruan.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Carnaruan. 1

Angleſey.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knightes. 1
The borowgh of New Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knightes.

The borowgh of Pembroke.

Cardigan.

Knightes.

The borowgh of Brecknocke.

Radnor.

Knightes.

The borowgh of Radnor.

Glamorgan.

Knights.

The borowgh of Cardiſſe.

¶ The Summe of the foreſayde number of the common houſe videlicet, of

Knightes.	89.
Citizens.	46
Burgeſſes.	289
Barons.	14
Totalis	439.

A perfect rule to knowe the beginning and ending of euery terme, with their returnes.

Hillary terme beginneth the xxiij. day of January, if it be not Sunday, otherwiſe the next daye after, & endeth the twelfth of February, and hath foure returnes.

4 Octabis Hilarij.
Quind. Hilarij.
Craſtino Purific.
Octabis Puriſic.

¶ Eaſter terme beginneth xvij. dayes after Eaſter, and endeth foure dayes after the aſcention day, and hath fiue returnes.

5 Quind. Paſch.
Tres Paſchæ.
Menſe. Paſchę.
Quinquæ Paſchæ.
Craſt. Aſcention.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the next daye after Corpus Chriſti daye, and endeth the wedneſdaye fortnight after, and hath foure returnes.

4 Craſt. Trinitatis.
Octabis Trinitat.
Quind. Trinitatis
Tres Trinitatis.

¶ Michelmas terme beginneth the ix. of October if it be not Sunday, and endeth the xxviij. of Nouember, and hath viij. returnes

8 Octabis Michael.
Quind. Michael.
Tres Michael.
Menſe Michael.
Craſt. anima.
Craſt. Martini.
Octa. Martini.
Quind. Martini.

Note alſo that the Eſchequer openeth eight dayes before any terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure dayes before.

¶ And nowe followeth the lawe dayes in the court of Tharches, and audience of Canterbury, with other Eccleſiaſticall & Ciuill lawes, through the whole yeare.

Theſe dayes are not chaunged excepte they lyght on a Sunday or holy daye, and euery daye is called a lawday, vnleſſe it bée Sunday or holyday.

Michelmas terme

S. Faith.
S. Edward.
S. Luke.
Simon & Iu.
All Soules.
S. Martin.
Edmond.
Katherin.
S. Andrew.
Conception of our Lady.

¶ It is to be noted that the firſt day following euery of theſe feaſtes noted in euery terme, the court of the Arches is kept in Bowe church in the forenoone. And the ſame firſt daye in the afternoone is the Admiralty Court for Ciuill cauſes kept in Southwarke.

The ſeconde daye followyng euery one of the ſayde feaſtes, the court of Audience of Caunterburye is kept in the Conſiſtory in Paules in the forenoone. And the ſame daye in the after noone, in the ſame place is the Prerogatiue court of Caunterbury holden.

The thirde daye after any ſuch feaſt in the forenoone, the conſiſtory court of the Biſhop of London is kept in Paules Church in the conſiſtory, and the ſame thirde daye in the afternoone is the court of the Delegates and of the Quéenes highneſſe Commiſſyoners vpon appeales kept in the ſame place.

Hilary terme.

S. Hilary.
S. Wolſtan.
Conuerſion of S. Paule.
S. Blaſe.
S. Scolaſtic.
S. Valentine.
Aſhwedneſd.
S. Mathie.
S. Chad.
Perpet. & Fel.
S. Gregory.
Anunciation of our Ladye.

Note that the foure firſt dayes of thys terme be certain and vnchanged. The other are altered after the courſe of the yere, and ſometime kept and ſomtime omitted. For if it ſo happen that one of thoſe feaſtes fall on wedneſdaye cōmonly called Aſhwedneſday, after the day of S. Blaſe (ſo that ẏ ſame law day after Aſhwedneſday cannot bée kept bycauſe the lawday of thother feaſt doth lyght on the ſame) then the ſeconde lawday after Aſhwedneſday ſhall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawday after that wedneſday be ẏ next daye after the feaſt of S. Blaſe, then ſhall all & euery thoſe court dayes be obſerued in order, as they may be kept cōueniently. And marke although that Aſhwedneſday be put the ſeauenth in order, yet it hath no certaine place, but is chaunged as the courſe of Eaſter cauſeth it.

Eaſter Tearme.

The fiftéene day after Eaſter.

S. Alphege.
S. Marke.
Inuention of the Croſſe.
Gordiane.
S. Dunſtane.
Aſcention day.

¶ In thys terme the firſt ſitting is alwaye kept the Munday beyng the 15. day after Eaſter, and ſo forth after the feaſts here noted, which next followe by courſe of the yeare after Eaſter. And the lyke ſpace being kept betwéene other feaſtes.

The reſt of the lawe dayes are kept to the thirde of the Aſcention, which is the laſt day of this terme. And if it happen that the feaſt of ẏ Aſcention of our Lord, doe come before any of the feaſtes aforeſayde, then they are omytted for that yeare. And lykewiſe if anye of thoſe dayes come before the xv. of Eaſter thoſe dayes are omitted alſo.

Trinitie Tearme.

Trinitie Sunday.
Corpus Chriſti.
Boniface Biſhop.
S.Barnabie.
S.Butolphe.
S.Iohn.
S.Paule.
Tranſla. Thomas,
S.Swythune.
S.Margaret.
S.Anne.

¶ Note that the lawedayes of this tearme are altered by meane of Whitſuntyde, & the firſt ſitting is kept alwayes on the firſt law daye after the feaſt of the holy Trinitie, and the ſeconde ſeſſion is kept the firſt lawe daye after Corpus Chriſti, except Corpus chriſti daye fall on ſome daye aforenamed: which chaunceth ſometime, and then the fitter daye is kept. And after the ſecond ſeſſion account foure dayes or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feaſt daye, and the fyrſt lawe daye after the ſayde feaſt, ſhall bée the thirde ſeſſion. The other lawe dayes followe in order, but ſo many of them are kept, as for the time of the yers ſhalbe thought méete.

¶ And note generally that euery day is called a lawe daye that is not Sundaye or holly daye: and that if the feaſt day being knowne of any court day in any terme, the firſt or ſeconde daye followyng be Sundaye, then the court daye is kept the daye after the ſayd holy daye or feaſt.

Of the degrees of people in the common wealth of Englande. Cap. 4.

WE in Englande deuide our people commonlye into foure ſortes, as Gentlemen, Citizens or Burgeſes, Yeomẽ, and Artificerers or labourers. Of gentlemẽ the firſt & chiefe next the king be the Prince, Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Viſcontes and Barons: and theſe are called the Nobilitie, they are alſo named Lordes and noble men, and next to them be Knightes and Eſquires, and ſimple gentlemen.

rince,

The tytle of Prince doth peculiarly belong to the Kinges eldeſt ſonne, who is called Prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the Crowne, as in Fraunce the kings eldeſt ſonne hath ẏ title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarly Monſieur. So that the Prince is ſo termed of the latine worde, quia eſt principalis poſt Regem. The Kinges yonger ſonnes be but gentlemen by byrth, till they haue receyued creation of hygher eſtate to bée eyther Viſcontes, Earles or Dukes: & called after their names, as Lord Henry, or Lorde Edwarde wyth the additiõ of the worde Grace, properly aſſigned to the king and prince, and by cuſtome conueighed to Dukes, Marquiſes, and their wyues.

Duke.

The title of Duke commeth alſo of the Latine worde Dux, à ducendo, bycauſe of hys valoir and power ouer the army. In times paſt a name of Office due to the chiefe gouernour of the whole armie in the warres, but now a name of honour.

In olde tyme he onely was called Marquiſe Qui habuit terram limitaneam, a marching prouince vpon the enemies countreis. But that alſo is chaunged in common vſe, & reputed for a name of great honour next the Duke, euen ouer Counties and ſometimes ſmall cities, as the Prince is pleaſed to beſtowe it.

Erle.

The name of Earle likewyſe was among the Romaines a name of Office, who had Comites ſacri palatij, Comites ærarij, Comites ſtabuli and ſuch like, howbeit it appereth that with vs it hath the next place to ẏ Marquiſe, and he that beareth it is called peraduenture Comes à comitiua, quia dignus eſt ducere comitiuam in bello. Or elſe bicauſe he is Comes Ducis, a companiõ of the Duke in the warres. And he hath his follower the Viſcont, called eyther Pro Comes, or vicecomes: who in tyme paſt, gouerned in the coũtie vnder the Earle, and nowe without any ſuch ſeruice or office, it alſo is become a name of dignitie next after the Earle, and in degrée before the Baron.

Viſcont.

Baron.

The Baron is ſuch a frée Lorde, as hath a Lordſhip or Barony, whereof he beareth his name, & holding of him diuers Knightes & fréeholders: who were wont to ſerue the king in the warres and helde their landes in Baronia, for doing ſuch ſeruice. Theſe Bracton (a learned wryter of the lawes of Englande in king Henry the thirdes tyme) tearmeth Barones, quaſi robur belli. The worde Baro is older thẽ that it may eaſily be found frõ whence it came: for euen in the oldeſt hiſtories both of the Germaines & Frenchmen, we reade of Barons, and thoſe are at this day called among the Germaines Liberi, vel ingenui, as ſome men doe coniecture.

Byſhops.

Vnto this place I alſo refer our Biſhops, who are accounted honourable, and whoſe countenaunces in time paſt was much more glorious then at this preſent it is, bycauſe thoſe luſty Prelates ſought after earthly eſtimation,

ſtimation and authoritie wyth far more diligence then after the loſt ſhéepe of Chriſt, whereof they had ſmall regarde, as men being otherwiſe occupyed & voyde of leyſure to attende vnto yͤ ſame. Howbeit in theſe daies their eſtate remayneth ſtill honourable as before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they eſtéemed with highe and lowe. Herein therefore their caſe is growen to be much better then before, for whereas in tymes paſt the cleargie men were feared bycauſe of theyr authoritie and ſeuere gouernement vnder the Prince, now are they beloued generally (except peraduẽture of a few hungrie wõbes that couet to plucke and ſnatch at their loſe endes) for their painefull diligence ſhewed in their calling, and vertuous conuerſation. Finally how it ſtandeth with the reſt of the cleargie, I neyther can tell nor greatly care to know, neuertheleſſe wyth what degrées of honour and worſhip they haue béene matched in times paſt Iohannes Bohemus in hys De omnium gentium moribus and other doe expreſſe. But as a number of theſe compariſons and ambitions tytles are now decayed & worthily ſhronke in the wetting, ſo giuing ouer in theſe daies to maintayne ſuch pompous vanitie, they thincke it ſufficient for thẽ to preache the worde and holde their liuinges to their ſies from the handes of ſuch as indeuour to diminiſhe them. This furthermore will I adde generally in commendation of the cleargie of Englande that they are for their learning reputed in Fraunce, Portingale, Spaine, Germany & Polonia, to be the moſt learned deuines, & therto ſo ſkilfull in the two principal tongues that it is accounted a maime in any one of them, not to be exactely ſéene in the Gréeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterly ignorant or nothing conuerſaunt in them. As for the latine tongue it is not wanting in any, eſpeciallye in ſuch as haue béene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was ſmall choyſe, and many cures were left vnſerued bycauſe they had none at all.

De Aſia. cap.12.

Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Viſcontes, and Barons, either be created of the Prince, or come to that honour by being the eldeſt ſonnes or higheſt in ſucceſſiõ to their parẽts. For the eldeſt ſonne of a Duke during hys fathers lyfe is an Earle, the eldeſt ſonne of an Erle is a Baron, or ſometymes a Viſcont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the Prince for the good ſeruice done by the firſt aunceſtor, with ſome aduauncement, which with the title of that honour is alwayes giuen to hym & to his heires males onely. The reſt of the ſonnes of the nobilitie, by the rigour of the law be but Eſquires: yet in common ſpeach all Dukes and Marquiſes ſonnes, & Earles eldeſt ſonnes be called Lordes, the which name commõly doth agrée to none of lower degrée then Barons, yet by lawe & vſe theſe be not eſtéemed Barons. The Barony or degrée of Lords doth aunſwere to the degrée of Senatours of Rome: and the tytle of nobilitie as we vſe to call it in England to the Romaine Patricij. Alſo in Englãd no man is created Baron except he may diſpende of yerly reuenues ſo much as may fully maintayne and beare out his countenaunce and port. But Viſconts, Earles, Marquiſes and Dukes excéede them according to the proportiõ of their degrée & honor. But though by chaunce he or his ſonne haue leſſe, yet he kéepeth his degrée: but if the decay be exceſſiue & not able to maintayne the honour, as Senatores Romani were moti Senatu: ſo ſometymes they are not admitted to the vpper houſe in the parliament, although they kepe the name of Lord ſtill, which cannot be takẽ from them, vpon any ſuch occaſion.

Duke.

Knightes be not borne, neyther is any mã a knight by ſucceſſion, no not the Kyng or Prince: but they are made eyther before the battaile to encourage them the more to aduenture and trie their manhode, or after, as an aduauncement for their courage & prowesse alreadie ſhewed, or out of the warres for ſome great ſeruice done, or for the ſingular vertues which doe appeare in them. They are made eyther by the king himſelfe, or by his commiſſion and Royall authoritie giuen for the ſame purpoſe: or by his lieutenaunt in the warres. This order ſéemeth to aunſwere in part to that which the Romaines called Equitũ Romanorum. For as Equites Romani were choſen ex cenſu, that is according to their ſubſtaunce and riches: ſo be Knightes in Englande moſt commonly according to their yearelye reuenues or ſubſtaunce and riches, wherewith to maintaine the eſtate. Yet all that had Equeſtrem cenſum, were not choſen to be knights, no more be all made knightes in England that maye ſpende a knightes landes, but they onelye whom the Prince will honour. The number of the knightes in Rome was vncertaine: and ſo is it of knyghtes wyth vs, as at the pleaſure of the Prince. We call him Knight in Engliſh that the French calleth *Cheualier*, and the latine Equitem, or Equeſtris ordinis virum. And when any man is made a knight, he knéeling downe is ſtriken of the Prince or his ſubſtitute with his ſworde naked vpō the ſhoulder, the Prince &c. ſaying, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu.* And when he ryſeth vp the Prince ſayth *Aduances bon cheualier.* This is the maner of dubbing knightes at this preſent, and the tearme (dubbing) is the olde terme for that purpoſe and not creation.

ghtes e th.

At the Coronation of a King or Queene there be knightes made with longer & more curious ceremonies, called Knightes of the Bath. But howſoeuer one be dubbed or made Knight, his wyfe is by and by called *Madame*, or Ladye, ſo well as the Barons wyfe, he himſelfe hauing added to his name in common appellatiō this ſillable *Sir*, which is the title whereby we call our Knightes here in Englande.

ghtes e gar-

The other order of Knighthod in Englād & the moſt honorable is that of ẏ Garter, inſtituted by king Edwarde the third, who after he had gayned many notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, & king Iames of Scotland (& kept them both pryſoners in the Tower of London at one time) expulſed king Henry of Caſtil the baſtarde out of his realme, and reſtored Don Petro vnto it (by ẏ helpe of the Prince of Wales & Duke of Aquitaine his eldeſt ſonne called the black Prince) He then inuented this ſocietie of honour, & made a choiſe out of his owne realme & dominions, & thorowout all Chriſtendome of the beſt moſt excellent and renowmed perſons in all vertues & honour, & adourned thē with ẏ title to be Knightes of his Order, giuing thē a Garter garniſhed with golde & precious ſtones, to were daily on the left leg only, alſo a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, coler & other ſolemne and magnificent apparell, both of ſtuffe and faſhion exquiſite & heroicall to weare at high feaſtes, as to ſo high and Princely an Order apperteyneth. Of this company alſo he and his ſucceſſours Kinges and Queenes of Englande, be the Soueraignes, and the reaſt by certaine ſtatutes and lawes amongſt themſelues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order to the number of ſixe and twentie, as I finde in a certayne Treatize written of the ſame an example whereof I haue here inſerted worde for worde as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

I might at this preſent make a long tractation of the Rounde table and order of the knightes thereof, erected ſometymes by Arthur the great monarche of thys Iſland: and therevnto intreate of the number of his knightes and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thincke in ſo doing that I ſhoulde rather ſet downe ẏ latter inuentions of other men, then a true deſcription of ſuch auncient actions as were performed in deede. I could furthermore with more facilitie deſcribe the Royaltie of Charles the great & his twelue Peres, with their ſolemne rites and vſages but vnto this alſo I haue no great deuotion, conſidering the truth hereof is nowe ſo ſtayned wyth errours and fables inſerted into the ſame by the lewde religious ſort, that except a man ſhoulde profeſſe to lye with thē for companye, there is little founde knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie ẏ remembraunce. In lyke maner dyuers aſwell ſubiectes as Princes haue attempted to reſtore againe a rounde table in this lande, but ſuch was ẏ exceſſiue charges apperteyning therevnto (as they dyd make allowaunce) and ſo great moleſtation dayly inſued thereupō beſide the breeding of ſundrie quarrels among the knightes and ſuch as reſorted hyther frō forrien countries (as it was firſt vſed) that in fine they gaue it ouer & ſuffred their whole inuentions to periſhe and decaye, vntill Edwarde the third deuiſed an other order not ſo much peſtered with multitude of Knightes as the rounde table, but much more honourable for princely port and countenance, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

The order of the Garter therefore was deuiſed in the time of King Edward the third, and as ſome write vppon this occaſion. The Queenes maieſtie then liuing, being departed from his preſence the next way towarde hir lodging, he following ſoone after, happened to finde hir Garter which ſlacked by chaunce and ſo fel from hir legge. His groomes & gentlemen paſſed by it, as diſdayning to ſtoupe & take vp ſuch a trifle: but he knowing ẏ owner commaunded one of them to ſtaye & take it vp. Why and like your Grace ſaieth a Gentleman it is but ſome womans garter that hath fallen frō hir as ſhe followed ẏ Queenes maieſtie. Whatſoeuer it be quoth the King take it vp and giue it me. So whē he had receyued the garter, he ſayde to ſuch as ſtoode about him: you my maiſters doe make ſmall account of this blew garter here (and therewith helde it out) but if God lende me lyfe for a fewe monethes, I will make the prowdeſt of you all to reuerence the like: and euen vpon this ſlender occaſion he gaue himſelfe to the deuiſing of this order. Certes I haue not read of any thing that hauing had ſo ſimple a beginning hath growne in the ende to ſo great honour and eſtimation. But to proceede, after he had ſtudyed a whyle about the performaunce of his deuiſe & had ſet downe ſuch orders as he himſelfe had inuented concerning ẏ ſame, he proclaimed a royall feaſt

Peraduenture it was but a blew Ribbon.

to be holden at Windſore, whyther all his nobilitie reſorted with their Ladyes, where he publiſhed his inſtitutiō, and furthwith inueſted an appointed number into the aforeſayd fellowſhip, whoſe names inſue, himſelf being the Soueraigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto him alſo he placed.

Edwarde Prince of Wales.
Henry duke of Lancaſter.
N. Earle of Warw.
N. Capt. de Bouche.
N. Earle of ſtafford.
N. Earle of Sarum.
N. L. Mortimer.
Sir John Liſle.
Sir Bartholomewe Burwaſh.
N. Sonne of S. John Beauchamp.
Sir N. de Mahun.
S. Hugh Courtnay.
S. Thomas Holland
S. John Gray.
S. Rich. Fitzſimon.
S. Miles Stapleton.
S. Thomas Wale.
S. Hugh Wroteſley.
S. Neale Lording.
S. John Chandos.
S. James Dawdley.
S. Otho Holland.
S. Henry Eme.
Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
Sir Walter Pannell alias Paganell.

What order of electiō, and what eſtatutes were preſcribed vnto the elected at this firſt inſtitution, as yet I can not exactely vnderſtande, neyther can I learne what euerye Prince afterwarde added thereunto before the ſixe and thirtieth yeare of king Henry the eyght, and thirde of king Edwarde the ſixt: wherfore of neceſſitie I muſt reſort vnto the eſtate of the ſayde order as it is at this preſent, which I will ſet downe ſo briefely as I may. When any man therefore is to be elected (vpon a rowme found voyd for his admiſſiō) into this fellowſhip, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithſtanding that he before hande be nominate vnto the ſame, to this effect. Right truſtie and welbeloued we gréete you well, aſſertayning you, that in conſideration aſwell of your approued trueth ⁊ fidelitie, as alſo of your couragious and valiant actes of knighthoode, with other your probable merites knowne by experiēce in ſundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter aſſembled at the election holden this day within our manour of N. haue elected ⁊ choſen you amongſt other to be one of the companions of the ſayd Order, as your deſertes doe condignely require. Wherfore we will yͤ with conuenient diligence vpō the ſight hereof, you repaire vnto our preſence, there to receyue ſuch thinges as to the ſayde order appertayneth. Dated vnder our ſignet at our maner of Grenewich the 24. of April. Theſe letters as it ſhoulde ſéeme were written An. 3. Edwardi ſexti, vnto the Earle of Huntingdon, ⁊ the Lorde George Cobham your Lordſhippes honourable father, at ſuch time as they were called vnto the aforeſaide company. I finde alſo theſe names ſubſcribed vnto the ſame.

Edwarde Duke of Somerſet, Uncle to the king.
The Marq. of Northhampton.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.
Earle of Shrewesbury.
L. Ruſſell Lord priuy ſeale.
L. S. John L. great maiſter.
Sir John Gage.
S. Anthony Wingfielde.
Sir Wylliam Paget.

Beyng elected preparation is made for his enſtalling at windſore (the place appointed allwaies for this purpoſe) wherat it is required that his Banner be ſet vppe, at twoo yardes and a quarter in length, and thrée quarters in bredth, beſides the frynge. Secondly his ſworde of whatſoeuer length hym ſéemeth good, thyrdely his helme, which frō the charnell vpwards ought to be of thrée ynches at the leaſt, fourthly the creſt, wyth mantelles to the helme belonging of ſuch conuenient ſtuffe and biggeneſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of hys ſtall, and creſt with mantelles and beaſtes ſupportant, to be grauen in mettall.

Item lodging ſcoucheons of hys armes in the garter, to be occupyed by the way.

Item two mantelles one to the remayne in the colledge at Windſore, the other to vſe at hys pleaſure, with the ſcocheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with Laces Taſſelettes, and knoppes of blewe ſilcke and Golde belonging to the ſame.

Item a Surcote or Gowne of redde or crimoſine veluet, with a whodde of the ſame lyned wyth white Sarcenet or Damaſke.

Item a collor of the garter of thirtie ounces of golde troye weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, rychely garniſhed with precious ſtones, or otherwyſe.

Item a Garter for his (left) legge, hauing the buckle and Pendaunt garniſhed wyth Golde.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſayde order.

Item a ſcocheon of yͤ armes of S. George in yͤ garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And thys furniture is to be prouided againſt his inſtalation.

When any Knight is to bée inſtalled, he hath, with hys former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when he commeth to be inſtalled,

led, & he is brought into the Chapter houſe, where incontinently his commiſſion is read before the ſoueraigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblye preſent: then is he led by two knyghtes of the ſame order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and Officers into the chappell, hauing hys mantel borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarily apperteineth to beare it. Thys mantel ſhall be deliuered vnto hys for his habite, after his othe taken before his ſtall, and not before: which done he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, wher the ſoueraigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him hys collor, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuē according vnto the calling, & countenāce of the receyuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be voyde, ſo that eache one called vnto this knyghthode, (the ſoueraigne, & Emperours, and Kinges, and Princes alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeate which became voyd by the death of hys predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out, whereby a knight onely oftentimes, doth ſit before a Duke, without anye murmuring or grudgyng at hys rowme, except it pleaſe the ſoueraigne, once in hys lyfe, to make a generall alteration, of thoſe ſeates, and to ſette eache one according to hys degree.

Nowe as touching the apparell of theſe knyghtes, it remaineth ſuch as king Edwarde the firſt deuiſor of thys order left it, that is to ſay, euery yere one of the cullours, that is to ſay, Scarlet, Sanguine in graine, blewe and white. In lyke ſorte the Kinges Grace, hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for hys Gowne & whodde, lyned wyth white Satine, or Damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of Golde.

The Prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his Gowne and whodde, and garters with letters of Golde at his pleaſure, beſide ſixe timber of the fyneſt mineuer.

A tymber containeth fourtie ſkinnes.

A Duke hath fiue yardes of wollen cloth, fyue timber of mineuer, 120. garters with title of Golde.

A Marquiſe hath fiue yardes of wollen clothe, fiue timber of mineuer 110. garters of ſilke.

An Earle fiue yardes of wollen clothe, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100. garters of ſilke.

A Viſcount, fiue yardes of wollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 90. garters of ſilke.

A Baron fiue yardes of wollen cloth, thre timber of mineuer: greſſe 80. garters of ſilke.

A [illegible] fiue yardes of wollen cloth, thre timber of mineuer, [illegible] garters of ſilke.

A [illegible] fiue yardes of [illegible] thre timber of mineuer [illegible]

The [illegible] of [illegible] of the garter [illegible]

[illegible]

The Chauncellour of the order 5. yardes of wollen cloth, [illegible] timber of mineuer [illegible]

The regiſter of the order [illegible] of wollen cloth [illegible] timber of mineuer [illegible] and thus he yet to be holden generally among the knyghtes of this companie, which are ſixe and twentie in number, who in times paſt in time of ſuperſtition, were ſuppoſed to be S. Georges, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knightes as I haue hearde reported.

Furthermore at his inſtallation, he is ſolemnely ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to annexe in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſts by you bodily touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maieſtie, and to obſerue & kepe all the poyntes of the ſtatutes of the ſayd order, and euery article in them contayned, the ſame being agreable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godly proceedings, ſo farre as to you belongeth and apperteineth, as God you helpe. &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note concerning the premiſſes. As touching the ſtatutes belonging to this order they are many, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit yf any doubt doe ariſe about the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall Soueraine of that order hath to determyne and reſolue ẏ ſame. Neither are any choſen therunto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentleman of bloud and of ſounde eſtimation. And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentill man of bloude, he is defined to deſcende of thre deſcentes of nobleneſſe, ẏ is to ſay, of name & of armes both by father and mother. There are alſo foure degrees of reproch, which may inhibit from the entraunce into this order, of which ẏ firſt is hereſie lawfully proued, the ſeconde high treaſon, the thirde is flight from the battaill, the fourth ryot and prodigall exceſſe of expences, whereby he is not likely to holde out, and maintayne the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Moreouer, touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell it is their cuſtome to weare ẏ ſame, when they entre into the Chappell of Saint George, or be in the chapiter houſe at their aſſemblee, or finally do go about any thing appertaining to that company. In lyke ſort they weare alſo theyr mantelles vpon the euen of S. George, & go with the Soueraigne or his deputie in the ſame in maner of proceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chapel, or vnto the Colledge, and likewyſe back againe vnto the aforeſayde place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, & the auoyde done. The next daye they reſorte vnto the chappell alſo in the lyke order, and from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward theyr ſayde apparell vnto euening prayer, & lykewyſe all the ſupper tyme, vntill the aboyd be finiſhed. In the ſolemnity likewiſe of theſe feaſtes, the thirtene chanons there, & ſixe and twentie pore knightes, haue mantelles of the order, whereof thoſe for the chanons are of Murrey with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of redde, with a ſcocheon onely of the ſayde armes.

Sicke or abſent.

If anye knyght of thys order be abſent from thys ſolemnetye vpon the euen and daye of S. George, and be inforced not to be preſent eyther through bodily ſickeneſſe, or hys abſence out of the land: he doth in the Church Chappell, or Chamber where he is remayning, prouide an honorable ſtall for ẏ kings maieſtie in the ryght hande of the place with a cloth of eſtate, and cuſhions, & ſcochion of the Garter, and therein the armes of the order. Alſo his owne ſtal of which ſine ſoeuer it be diſtaunt from the Kinges or the Emperours in his owne place, appoynted ſo nyghe as he can, after the maner & ſcituation of his ſtall at Windſore, there to remaine, ẏ firſt euening prayer on ẏ euen of S. George, or thre of the clocke, & likewiſe the next day durynge the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntyll the Morning prayer, and reſt of the ſeruyce be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onely, wyth the George and the the lace, without eyther whodde, collor or ſurcote. Or if he be ſo ſicke that he doe kepe his bedde, he doth vſe to haue that habite laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice aforeſaide. At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chyefe knights (ſauing the deputy of the ſouereigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſworde with the hyltes forwardes, which being done the firſt two ſhall returne againe and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at eache time two Harraldes of armes going before, according to the ſtatutes. The Lorde Deputy or Leftenaunt vnto the kings Grace, for the tyme beyng, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe knightes, doth deliuer at his offering a piece of Golde, & hauing all the kinges of armes and Haraldes going before him, he ſo procedeth to the offering. When hee hath thus offered on ẏ hye aulter, he returneth with lyke ſolemnitye vnto hys ſtall, and next of all goeth againe wyth one Haralde to offer for himſelfe, whoſe oblation beyng made, euery knight according to their ſtalles, wyth an Harald before him procedeth to the offering.

What ſolemnitie is vſed at ẏ burial of any knight of ẏ garter, it is but in vain to declare wherefore I will ſhewe generally what is done at ẏ diſgrading of one of theſe knights, if thorowe any grieuous offence he be ſeparated from this companye. Whereas otherwyſe the ſigne of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doe ende and finiſhe vp his dayes. Therfore when any ſuch thing is to be done, promulgation is made thereof much after thys maner inſuing.

Be it knowne vnto all men that, N. N. knyght of the moſt noble order of the Garter, is founde gylty of the abhominable and deteſtable cryme of high treaſon, for he hath moſt trayterouſly cōſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie Prince ſouereigne of the ſayde order contrary to all ryght, his duety, and the faithful othe, which he hath ſworne & taken. For which cauſes therfore he hath deſerued to be depoſed from thys noble order, & felowſhip of the Garter. For it may not be ſuffred that ſuch a trayſour & diſloyall member remayne among the faithfull knights of noble ſtomacke and bountifull prowesse, or that hys armes ſhould be myngled wyth thoſe of noble chiualry. Wheerfore our moſt excellent Prince and ſupreame of this noble order, by the aduyſe and counſell of his Colleges, wylleth and commaundeth that hys armes which he before time had deſerued ſhall be from hencefoorth taken awaye and throwne downe: and he himſelfe cleane cut of from the ſociety of this renowmed order, and neuer from this day reputed any more for a member of the ſame, that all other by hys example may hereafter beware howe they committe the lyke treſpaſſe, or fall into ſuch notorious ſhame and rebuke. Thys notice beyng gyuen, there reſorteth vnto the party to be deſgraded certaine officers with diuers of his late fellows appointed, which take frō him his George, & other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner. And thus much of this moſt honorable order, hoping ẏ no man wil be offēded wt me, for vttering thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toyſon Dor or Golden fleeſe, with the ceremonies apperteyning,

teyning vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſixe and thirtie knightes thereof: And lykewyſe that of S. Michaell and hys one & thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hyſtoriographers of thoſe countreys, wout reprehenſion or checke, I truſt I haue not gyuen any cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefely to ſet forth thoſe things that appertaine vnto our renoumed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonly, Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe. which is ſo much to ſay, as euill come to him that euill thinketh: a very ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrary to the worde, which promyſeth lyke meaſure to the meater, as he doth meat to others.

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There is yet an other order of Knights in Englande called Knightes Bannerets, who are made in the fielde with the ceremony of cutting of the point of his pennant of armes, and making it as it were a Banner. He being before a Bacheler Knight, is nowe of an higher degrée & alowed to diſplay his armes in a banner as Barrons doe. Howbeit theſe Knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kinges Standard being vnfolded.

ānerets.

Eſquire (which we call commonly Squire) is a Frenche word, and ſo much in latine as Scutiger vel armiger, and ſuch are all thoſe which beare Armes, or Armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be diſcended. They were at the firſt *Coſterelles* or the bearers of the Armes of Barrons, or knightes, and therby being inſtructed in Armes, had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſhe them from common ſouldiours, when they were togither in the fielde.

quire.

Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and bloode doth make noble and knowne. The latines call them Nobiles & generoſos, as the Frenche doe *Nobles*. The Etimologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the worde: for as Gens in latin betokeneth the race and ſurname. So the Romaines had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos. &c. of which, who were agnati and therfore kept the name, were alſo called *Gentiles*, gentlemen of that or that houſe and race. As the king or Quéene doth dubbe knights, and createth the Barons and higher degrées, ſo gentlemẽ whoſe aunceſtours are not knowẽ to come in with Williã Duke of Normandie, do take their beginning in Englãd, after this maner in our tymes. Whoſoeuer ſtudieth ẏ lawes of the realme, who ſo ſtudieth in the Uniuerſitie, or profeſſeth Phiſicke and the liberall Sciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the rowme of a capitaine in the warres, can liue ydlely and without manuell labour, and therto is able and wil beare the port, charge and countenaunce of a gentleman, he ſhall be called Maſter (which is the title that men giue to Eſquires and Gentlemenne) and reputed for a Gentleman, which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed, as for that ẏ Prince doth loſe nothing by it, ẏ gentlemã being ſo much ſubiect to taxes and publicke paymẽts as is the Yeoman or huſbandman, which he alſo doth beare the gladlyer for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called to the warres, whatſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraye and arme himſelfe accordinglye, and ſhewe ẏ more manly courage and all the tokens of ẏ perſon which he repreſenteth. No mã hath hurt by it but himſelfe, who peraduenture wil now and then beare a bigger ſayle then hys boate is able to ſuſtaine.

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Citizens and Burgeſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are frée within the cities, and are of ſome ſubſtaunce to beare Office in ẏ ſame. But theſe citizens or Burgeſes are to ſerue the cõmon wealth in their cities and Borowghes, or in corporate townes where they dwell. And in the common aſſembly of the realme to make lawes (called the Parliament,) the ancient Cities appoint foure, and the borowghs two Burgeſes to haue voyces in it, and to giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch thinges as paſſe or ſtay there in the name of the citie or Borowe, for which they are appointed.

Citizens.

In thys place alſo are our Marchauntes to be enſtalled, as amõg the Citizens, whoſe number is ſo increaſed in theſe our dayes, that their onely maintenaunce is the cauſe of the excéeding prices of foreine wares, which otherwyſe when eache nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodityes, were farre better cheape and more plentifully to be had. Among the Lacedemonians it was founde out, that great numbers of Merchauntes were nothing to the furtheraunce of the ſtate of the common wealth: wherefore it is to be wyſhed that the heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreigned, ſo ſhould the reſt lyue more eaſily vpon theyr owne, & few honeſt chapmẽ be brought to decaye, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doe not denie but that the nauie of the lande is in part maintained by their traffick, and ſo are the highe prices of thinges kept vp, now they haue gotten the only ſale of things into their handes: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottomes were ſuffered to come in, we had Suger for foure pence the pounde, that nowe is worth halfe a crowne, Raiſons

Marchãts

of Corinth for a peny that now are holden at ſix pence, and ſometime at eight pence & ten pence the pounde: nutmegges at two pence halfe peny the ounce: Gynger at a penny an ounce, Proynes at halfe penye fardyng: Great reyſons thrée pounde for a peny, Cinamon at foure pence the ounce, Cloues at two pence, and Pepper at twelue, and ſixtene pence the pounde. Whereby we maye ſée tye ſequele of thinges not alwayes to be ſuch as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carry out of the Realme, are for the moſt part brode clothes & carſies of all coulours, lykewyſe cottons, fréeſes rugges, tinne, wooll, leade, felles. &c. which being ſhipped at ſundry ports of our coaſts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the worlde, and there eyther exchaunged for other wares, or ready money: to the great gaine and commoditie of our Merchauntes. And whereas in times paſt our chiefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce, Flaunders, Danske, Norway, Scotlande, and Iſeland onely: ſo in theſe dayes, as men not contented wyth thoſe iourneyes, they haue ſought out the eaſt and weſt Indies, & made voyages not only vnto the Canaries, and newe Spaine, but likewyſe into Cathaia, Moſcouia, Tartaria, & the regions thereabout, from whence as they pretende they bring home great commodities.

Not ſéene in a batement of price of thinges.

Our Yeomen, are thoſe which by our Lawyers are called Legales homines, fre mē born Engliſh, and maye diſpende of thyr owne frée lande in yerely reuenewe, to the ſumme of 40. s. ſterling. This ſorte of people haue a certaine preheminence and more eſtimation then labourers and artificers, and commōly lyue welthely, kéepe good houſes, & trauelleth to get ryches. They are alſo for the moſt part fermers to gentlemen, & with grazing frequenting of markets and kéeping of ſeruants (not ydle ſeruaunts as the gentlemen doth, but ſuch as get both their owne & part of theyr Maiſters lyuing) doe come to great wealth, inſomuch that many of them are able and doe buy the landes of vnthrifty gentlemen, & often ſetting theyr ſonnes to the Scholes, to the Vniuerſities, and to yͤ Innes of the Court: or otherwiſe leauing them ſufficient landes wherevpon they maye lyue without labour, doe make their ſayde ſonnes by that meanes to become gentlemē. Theſe were they yͭ in times paſt made al Fraunce afrayd. And the kings of England in foughten battailes, were wont to remaine among theſe Yeomen who were their footemen, as the French Kings did amongſt theyr horſemen: the Prince thereby ſhewing where his chiefe ſtrength did conſiſt.

The fourth and laſt ſort of people in Englande are day labourers, poore husbandmē, and ſome retaylers (which haue no frée lande) copy holders, & al artificers, as Taylours, Shoomakers, Carpenters: Brickmakers, Maſons. &c. As for ſlaues & bondmē we haue none. Theſe therfore haue neither voice nor authoritie in yͤ common welth, but are to be ruled, & not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporalte Townes, for default of Yeomen they are fayne to make vp their enqueſtes of of ſuch maner of people. And in Villages they are commonly made Church wardens, Sidemen, Aleconners, Conſtables, & many tymes enioye the name of hedborowghes. Thys furthermore amonge other thynges I haue to ſaye of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in theyr trades as at this preſent. But as the workemanſhippe of the later ſort was neuer more fine and curious to the eye, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtanciall for continuance and benefite of the buyers. Certes there is nothing that hurteth our artificers more then haſt, and a barbarous or ſlauiſhe deſire, by ridding their work to make ſpéedy vtteraunce of theyr wares: which inforceth thē to būgle vp & diſpatch many things they care not howe ſo they be out of theyr hands, whereby the buyer is often ſore defrauded, and findeth to hys coſt, that haſt maketh waſt; accordyng to the prouerbe. But to leaue theſe thinges and procéede wyth our purpoſe, and herein (as occaſion ſerueth) generally to ſpeake of the common wealth of Englande, I find that it is gouerned and maintained by thrée ſortes of perſons.

1 The Prince Monarch and heade gouernour which is called the king, or (if yͤ crowne fall to the Woman) the Quéene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie, all thynges are adminiſtred.

2 The Gentlemen, which be deuided into two parts, as yͤ Barony or eſtates of Lords, (which conteyneth Barons and all aboue that degrée) and alſo thoſe that be no Lords, as Knightes, Eſquiers, and ſimple Gentlemen. &c.

3 The third and laſt ſort is named the Yeomanrye, of whome and their ſequele, the labourers and Artificers, I haue ſayde ſomewhat euen nowe.

Of theſe alſo ſomeare by the Prince, choſ & called to great offices, in the cōmon welth, of which offices diuers concerne the whole realme, ſome be more pryuate and peculyar to the kinges houſe. And they haue their places

ces and degrées, preſcribed by an Act of parliament made Anno. 31. H. octaui, after this maner inſuing.

These foure the Lorde Chauncelour, the Lorde Treaſorour, the Lord preſident of the Counſell, and the Lorde Priuie Seale being perſons of the degrée of a Baron or aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in the Parliament and in all aſſemblies or counſell aboue all Dukes, not being of the bloud royall, Videlicet the kinges Brother, Uncle or Nephewe.

And theſe ſixe, the L. great Chamberlein of Englande: the L. high Conſtable of Englande: the Lorde Marſhall of Englande: the Lorde Admirall of Englande: the Lorde great Maiſter, or Kings Stewarde of the kings houſe: and the Lorde Chamberleyne: by that acte are to be placed in all aſſemblies of Counſell, after the Lorde Priuie Seale, according to their degrées & eſtates: ſo that if he be a Barron, then to ſitte aboue all Barons: or an Earle, aboue all Earles.

And ſo likewyſe the kynges Secretarye beyng a Barron of the Parliament, hath place aboue all Barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, he ſhall ſitte and be placed according therevnto.

The Temporall Nobilitie of England according to the auncientie of theyr creations or firſt calling to their degrées.

Duke
Eng-
de.

The Marquiſe of Wincheſter.
The Earle of Arondell.
The Earle of Oxforde.
The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Shrewſbury.
The Earle of Kent.
The Earle of Derby.
The Earle of Worceſter.
The Earle of Rutlande.
The Earle of Cumberlande.
The Earle of Suſſex.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Bath.
The Earle of Warwicke.
The Earle of Southampton.
The Earle of Bedforde.
The Earle of Penbroke.
The Earle of Hertforde.
The Earle of Leyceſter.
The Earle of Eſſex.
The Earle of Lincolne. Earles. 20.

The Uiſcont Montague.
The Uiſcont Byndon. .2.

The Lorde of Abergeuenny.
The Lorde Awdeley.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Straunge.
The Lorde Berkeley.
The Lorde Morley.
The Lorde Dacres of the South.
The Lorde Cobham.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Staffords.
The Lorde Grey of Wilton.
The Lorde Scrope.
The Lorde Dudley.
The Lorde Latymer.
The Lorde Stourton.
The Lorde Lumley.
The Lorde Mountioy.
The Lorde Ogle.
The Lorde Darcy of the North.
The Lorde Mounteagle.
The Lorde Sandes.
The Lorde Uauls.
The Lorde Windſore.
The Lorde Wentworth.
The Lorde Borough.
The Lorde Mordaunt.
The Lorde Cromwell.
The Lorde Euers.
The Lorde Wharton.
The Lorde Riche.
The Lorde Willoughby.
The Lorde Sheffelde.
The Lorde Paget.
The Lorde Darcy of Chiche.
The Lord Howarde of Effingham.
The Lord North.
The Lord Chandos.
The Lord of Hunſdon.
The Lord Saint Iohn of Bletſo.
The Lorde of Buckhirſt.
The Lord Delaware.
The Lorde Burghley.
The Lorde Compton.
The Lorde Cheyney.
The Lorde Norreys. Barones 45.

The Byſhoppes in their auncientie, as they ſat in Parliament in the fift of the Queenes Maieſties the reigne.

The Arch Byſhop of Caunterbury.
The Arch Byſhop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Wincheſter.

The reſt had theyr places in Seniority of Conſecration.

Chicheſter. Ely.
Landaphe. Worceter.
Herefordе. Bangor.
D.ſ. Lincolne.

Lincolne.
Salisbury.
S.Dauids.
Rocheſter.
Bathe & Welles.
Couentre and Lichfielde.
Exceter.
Norwiche.
Peterborough.
Carlisle.
Cheſter.
S.Aſſaphe.
Gloceſter.

¶ Of prouiſion made for the poore. Cap. 5.

There is no common wealth at this day in Europe, wherein there is not great ſtore of poore people, and thoſe neceſſarily to be relieued by the welthier ſort, which otherwiſe would ſtarue and come to vtter confuſion. With vs the poore is commonly deuided into thrée ſortes, ſo that ſome are poore by impotencie, as the fatherleſſe childe, the aged, blind and lame, and the diſeaſed perſon that is iudged to be incurable; the ſecond are poore by caſualtie, as the wounded ſouldier, the decayed houſholder, and the ſicke perſon viſited with grieuous and vncurable diſeaſes: the third conſiſteth of thriftleſſe poore, as the riotour that hath cõſumed all, the vagabond that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe frõ place to place (as it were ſéeking worke and finding none) and finally the roge and ſtrumpet which are not poſſible to be diuided in ſonder,

Thrée ſortes of poore.

For the firſt two ſortes, that is to ſay the poore by impotencie and the poore by caſualtie, which are there ẏ true poore in déde, & for whome the word doth bind vs to make ſome daily prouiſion: there is order taken thorowout euery pariſh in the Realme, that wéekely collection ſhalbe made for their helpe and ſuſtentation, to the end they ſhould not ſcatter abrode, and by begging here and there, annoy both towne and countrey. Authoritie alſo is gyuen vnto the Iuſtices in euery Countie (and great penalties appoynted for ſuch as make defaulte) to ſée that the intent of the ſtatute in thys behalfe be truely executed, according to the purpoſe and meaning of the ſame ſo that theſe two ſortes are ſufficiently prouided for: and ſuch as cã liue within the limites of their allowance (as eache one wyll doe that is godly and well diſpoſed) may well forbeare to rome & range abrode: But if they refuſe to be ſupported by this benefite of the lawe, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to maintayne theyr idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third ſort, and ſo in ſtead of curteous refreſhing at home, are often corrected wͭ ſharpe executiõ, & whip of iuſtice abrod. Many there are, which notwithſtãding the rigour of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yelde rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be daily vnder the feare & terrour of the whippe, then by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the pariſh. I found not long ſince a note of theſe latter ſort, ẏ effect whereof inſueth. Idle beggers are ſuch eyther thorow other mens occaſiõ, or through their own default. By other mens occaſion, (as one way for example) when ſome couetous man eſpying a further commoditie in theyr commons, holdes, and tenures, doth find ſuch meanes as therby to wipe many out of their occupyings, & turne the ſame vnto their priuate gaynes. Hereupon it followeth, that although the wiſe & better minded, do ſo behaue themſelues that they are worthyly to be accompted among the ſecond ſort, yet the greater part commonly hauing nothing to ſtay vpon are wilfull, and therupõ doe eyther proue idle beggers, or elſe continue ſtarke théeues till the gallowes doe eate them vp.

Such as are ydle beggers thorow theyr owne default are of two ſortes, and cõtinue theyr eſtates either by caſuall or mere voluntary meanes: Thoſe that are ſuch by caſuall meanes, are iuſtly to be referred either to the firſt or ſecond ſort of poore: but degenerating into the thriftleſſe ſort, they doe what they can to cõtinue their miſerie, & with ſuch impediments as they haue to ſtray and wãder about as creatures abhorring all labour and euery honeſt exerciſe. Certes I call theſe caſuall meanes, not in reſpect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the ſame, from whence they will not be deliuered thorow their owne vngracious lewdneſſe, and froward diſpoſition. The volũtary meanes procede frõ outwarde cauſes, as by making of corroſiues, and applying the ſame to ẏ more fleſhie parts of their bodies: and alſo laying of Ratsbane, Sperewort, Crowfoote, and ſuch like vnto theyr whole mẽbers, thereby to raiſe piteous and odious ſores, and moue the goers by ſuch places where they lie, to lament their miſerie, and beſtowe large almes vppon them.

Unto this neaſt is another ſort to be referred, more ſturdie then the reſt, which hauing ſound and perfite lymmes doe yet notwithſtanding ſometime counterfeit the poſſeſſion of al ſortes of diſeaſes. Diuers times in their apparell they will be like ſeruing men or labourers: Often tymes they can play the mariners, and ſéeke for ſhips which they neuer loſt. But in fine, they are all théeues and Caterpillers in the common wealth, and by the word of God not permitted

ted to eate, ſith they doe but licke the ſweate from the true laborers browes, and bereue ẏ godly of that which is due vnto thē, to mainteine their exceſſe, conſuming the charitie of well diſpoſed people beſtowed vpon them, after a moſt wicked, horrible, and deteſtable maner.

It is not yet. 50. yeares ſith this trade began: but how it hath proſpered ſithens that tyme, it is eaſye to iudge, for they are nowe ſuppoſed of one ſexe and another, to amount vnto aboue. 10000. perſons, as I haue harde reported. Moreouer, in counterfaiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuiſed a lãguage among themſelues, which they name Canting, but other pedlars Frenche. A ſpeache compact 30. yeares ſince of Engliſh, & a great nomber of odde wordes of their owne deuiſing without all order or reaſon: and yet ſuch is it as none but themſelues are able to vnderſtand. The firſt deuiſer thereof was hanged by the necke, a iuſt reward no doubt for his deſartes, and a common ende to all of that profeſſion. A Gentleman alſo of late hath taken great paines to ſearch out the ſecrete practiſes of this vngracious rable. And among other things he ſetteth downe and deſcribeth. 22. ſortes of them, whoſe names it ſhal not be amiſſe to remēber wherby each one may gather, what wicked people they are, and what villany remaineth in them.

homas
arman.

The ſeueral diſorders and degrees amongſt our idle vagabonds.

1. Rufflers.
2. Vprightmen.
3. Hookers or Anglers.
4. Roges.
5. Wilde Roges.
6. Priggers of praūcers.
7. Palliardes.
8. Fraters.
9. Abrams.
10. Freſhwater mariners, or whipiackes.
11. Dummerers.
12. Dronken Tinkars.
13. Swadders or pedlers.
14. Iarkemen or patricoes

Of vvomen kinde.

1. Demaunders for glimmar or fire.
2. Bawdie baskets.
3. Mortes.
4. Autem Mortes.
5. Walking Mortes.
6. Doxes.
7. Delles.
8. Kinching Mortes.
9. Kinching Coes.

The puniſhment that is ordained for this kind of people is very ſharpe, and yet it can not reſtraine them frō their gadding: wherfore the ende muſt nēedes be Martiall lawe to be exerciſed vpon them, as vpon thēeues, robbers, deſpiſers of all lawes, and enemies to the commō wealth and welfare of ẏ land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and ſtealings of children they doe vſe (which they diſfigure to begg withal) I nede not to rehearſe: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The Roge being apprehēded, committed to priſon, and tried in ẏ next aſſiſes (whether they be of Gaole deliuerie or ſeſſions of the yeare) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inqueſt of office, or the teſtimonie of two honeſt and credible witneſſes vpon their othes, he is then immediatly adiudged to be grēuouſly whipped & burned through the griſtell of the right eare wͭ an hot iron of the compaſſe of an inch about, as a manifeſtation of his wicked life, and due puniſhment receyued for the ſame. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except ſome honeſt perſon worth fiue poundes in the Quēenes bookes in goodes, or twentie ſhillings in landes, or ſome rich houſholder to be allowed by the Iuſtices, wil be boūd in a recogniſance to retaine him in his ſeruice for one whole yeare. If he be takē the ſeconde time and proued to haue forſaken his ſayd ſeruice, he ſhall then be whipped againe, bored likewiſe through the other eare and ſette to ſeruice: from whence if he departe before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to ſuffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefite of clergie or ſanctuarie, as by the ſtatute doth appere. Among roges and idle perſons finally, we finde to be compriſed al Proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, Coſiners, and ſuche as go about the countrey vſing vnlawfull games, practiſers of Phiſiognomie and Palmeſtrie, tellers of fortunes, fencers, bearwards, players, minſtrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, ſchollers, ſhipmen, priſoners gathering for fēes, and others ſo oft as they be taken without ſufficient licence. Each one alſo that harboroweth or aideth them with meat or money, is taxed and compelled to fine with the Quēenes maieſtie for euery time that he ſhall ſo ſuccoure them as it ſhall pleaſe the Iuſtices of peace to aſſigne, ſo that the taxation excēede not xx. ſhillings as I haue bene informed. And thus much of the poore, and ſuch prouiſion as is appoynted for them within the Realme of England.

Of ſundrie puniſhments appoynted for malefactors. Cap. 6.

The greateſt and moſt grēuous puniſhment vſed in Englãd, for ſuch as offend againſt the ſtate, is drawne from the priſone to the place of execution vpon an hardle or ſled, where they are hanged til they be half dead, and then taken downe and quartered, after that their mẽbers and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neare hand and within ſight, euen for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes if the treſpaſſe be not the more haineus, they are ſuffred to hang til they be quite dead, and when ſo euer any of the Nobilitie are conuicted of high treaſon, this maner of their death is cõuerted into the loſſe of their heads onely, notwithſtanding that the ſentence doe runne after the former order. In triall of caſes cõcerning treaſon, fellonie, or any other gréeuous cryme, the partie accuſed doth yelde yf he be a noble man to be tryed by his Péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour by God and by the countrie: and being condemned of fellonie, manſlaughter. &c. he is eftſoones hanged by the necke til he be dead, and then cut downe and buryed. But yf he be conuicted of wilfull murder, he is eyther hanged aliue in chaynes neere the place where the facte was commytted, (or elſe firſt ſtrangeled with a rope) and ſo continueth till his bones conſume to nothing. We haue vſe neither of the whéele nor of ẏ barre, as in other countries, but when wilfull manſlaughter is perpetrated, beſide hanging the Offendour hath his right hande commonly ſtricken of at the place where the acte was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, & there put to death according to the law. Vnder the worde fellonie are manie grieuous crimes contained, as breche of pryſon An.1. of Edward the ſecond. Diſſigurers of ẏ Princes lege people. An.5. of Henry the fourth. Hunting by nyght wyth painted faces and Viſours An.1. of Henry the ſeuenth. Rape or ſtealing of women and maydens An.3. of Henry the eight. Conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the Prince An.3. of Henry the ſeauenth. Embeſilling of goodes committed by the maiſter to the ſeruaunt, aboue the value of fourtie ſhillings. An.17. of Henry the eyght. Carying of horſes or mares into Scotland. An.23. of Henry the eyght. Sodomy and Buggery An 25. of Henrye the eyght. Stealing of Hawkes egges. An.31. of Henry the eyght. Cõiuring, ſorcerie, Witchcrafte and digging vp of Croſſes. An.33. of Henry the eyght. Prophecying vpõ armes, cogniſaunces, names, and badges. An.33. of Henry ẏ eyght. Caſting of ſlanderous billes. An.37. of Henry ẏ eyght. Wilfull killing by poyſon. An.1. of Edward ẏ ſixt. Departure of a ſoldier frõ the field. An.2. of Edward ẏ ſixt. Diminution of coyn, al offences within caſe premunire, embeſeling of recordes, goodes taken frõ dead men by their ſeruaunts, ſtealing of whatſoeuer cattell, robbing by the high way, vpon the ſea, or of dwelling houſes letting out of pondes, cutting of purſes, ſtealing of Déere by night, counterfectours of coyne, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuers other néedleſſe to be remembred. Periury is puniſhed by the pillorie, burning in the forehead wͭ the letter P. and loſſe of all ẏ moueables. Many treſpaſſes alſo are puniſhed by ẏ cutting of one or both eares from the heade of the offendour, as the vtteraunce of ſeditious wordes againſt the maieſtrates, fraymakers, pettie robbers. &c. Roges are burned thorow the eares, caryers of ſhéepe out of the land by the loſſe of their hãds, ſuch as kill by poyſon are eyther ſkalded to death in lead or ſéething water. Heretiks are burned quicke, harlottes & their mates by carting ducking and doing of open pennaunce are often put to rebuke. Such as kill thẽſelues are buryed in the fielde with a ſtake driuen thorow their bodies. Witches are hanged or ſometymes burned, but théeues are hãged euery where generally, ſauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a ſtrãge maner, & wherof I find this report. There is & hath ben of ancient tyme a law or rather a cuſtome at Halifax, that whoſoeuer doth cõmit any fellony: and is taken with the ſame, or confeſſe the facte vpon examination, yf it by valued by fower counſtables to amount to the ſomme of thirtéene pence halfe peny, he is forthwͭ beheaded vpon the next market day (which fall vſually vppon the tueſdayes, thurſdayes, and ſaterdayes,) or elſe vpon the ſame day ẏ he is ſo conuicted, yf market be then holdẽ. The engine wherwͭ the execution is done, is a ſquare blocke of wood of the length of foure foote and an halfe, which doeth ryde vp and downe in a ſlot, rabet, or regall betwéene two péeces of timber, that are framed and ſet vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather ende of the ſlyding blocke is an Axe keyed or faſtened wyth Iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there faſtned with a woodden pinne, (the one ende ſet on a péece of woodde, which goeth croſſe ouer ẏ two rabets, & the other ende being let into the blocke, holding the Axe, with a notche made into the ſame after the maner of a Sampſons poſt,) vnto the middeſt of which pinne there is a long rope faſtened that commeth downe among the people, ſo that when the offendour hath made his confeſſion, and hath layde his neck ouer the neathermoſt blocke, euery man

there

[illegible] yeomen if of su-
ficient freehold:

there preſent doth eyther take hold of yͤ rope, (or putteth forth his arme, ſo néere to yͤ ſame as he can get, in token that he is willing to ſée true iuſtice executed,) and pulling out the pinne in this maner, yͤ head blocke wherin the axe is faſtened doth fall downe wyth ſuch a violence that yf the necke of the transgreſſour were ſo bigge as that of a bull, it ſhould be cut in ſunder at a ſtrocke, and roll from the bodie by an huge diſtaunce. If it be ſo that the offendour be apprehended for an oxe, or oxē, ſhéepe, kine, horſe, or any ſuch cattell: the ſelfe Beaſt or other of the ſame kinde, haue the ende of the rope tyed ſomewhere vnto them, ſo that they drawe out the pin whereby the offendour is executed. And thus much of Halifax law, which I ſet down onely to ſhew the cuſtome of that country in this behalfe. Roges and vagabondes are often ſtocked and whipped, ſcoldes are ducked vpon cuckingſtooles in the water. Such fellons as ſtand mute and ſpeake not at their arraynement are preſſed to death by huge weightes, and theſe commonly holde theyr peace thereby to ſaue their goodes vnto their wyues and children, which yf they were condemned ſhoulde be confiſcated to the prince. Théeues that are ſaued by their bookes and cleargie, are burned in the left hande, vppon the brawne of the thombe with an hote Irō, ſo that yf they be apprehended agayne, that marke bewrayeth them to haue béene arrayned of fellonie before, whereby they are ſure at that time to haue no mercy. I do not read that this cuſtome of ſauing by the booke is vſed any where elſe then in Englande, neyther doe I finde after much diligent inquiry what Saxon Prince ordayned that lawe. Howbeit this I generally gather therof, that it was deuiſed at the firſt to traine the inhabiters of this lande to the loue of learning, which before contempned letters, & all good knowledge, as men only giuing themſelues to huſbandrie and the warres, the like wherof I read to haue béene amongſt yͤ Gothes, & Vandales, who for a time woulde not ſuffer euen their princes to be learned for weakening of their courages, nor any learned men to remayne in the counſel houſe, but by open proclamation woulde commaunde thē to auoyde. Pyrates and robbers by ſea, are condemned in the court of the Admyraltie, & hanged on the ſhore at lowe water marke, where they are left til thrée tides haue ouerwaſhed them. Finally ſuch as hauing wals & bankes néere vnto the ſea, and doe ſuffer the ſame to decay (after cōuenient admonition) wherby the water entreth and drowneth vp the country: are by a certayne cuſtome apprehended, condemned & ſtaked in yͤ breache, where their remayne for euer as parcell of the foundation of the newe wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue hard reported.

Of ſauuage beaſtes and vermines.

Cap. 7.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued thys Iſlande, that it is voyd of noyſome beaſts, as Lions, Beares, Tygers, Pardes, Wolfes, and ſuch like: by meanes whereof our countrymen may trauaile in ſafetie, and our herdes and flockes remayne for the moſt part abroade in the fielde, without any herdeman or kéeper.

This is chiefely ſpoken of the ſouth & ſouthweſt part of the Iſlande. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Twede, maye ſafely boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe. Yet can not the ſcottes doe the lyke in euery point with in their kingdome, ſith they haue grieuous Wolfes continually conuerſaunt among them to the generall hinderaunce of their huſbandmen, and no ſmal damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happy & fortunate want of theſe beaſts in Englande is vniuerſally aſcribed to the pollitike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole Countrie might once be clenſed and clerely ridde of them, charged the conquered Welchmen (who were then peſtured with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paye him a yearely tribute of Wolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the lande. He appointed them thereto a certaine number of thrée hundred, with frée liberty for their prince to hunt and purſue them ouer al quarters of the realme as our Chronicles doe report. Some there be which write how Ludwall Prince of Wales payde yearely to king Edgar this tribute of 300. Wolfes, and that by meanes thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeres none of thoſe noyſome creatures were left within Wales and England. Since this tyme alſo we read not that anye Wolfe hath béene ſéene here that hath bene bredde within the bondes and limites of our country. Howbeit there haue béene diuers brought ouer from beyonde the ſea for gréedineſſe of gaine & to make money onely by the gaſing and gaping of the people vpon them, who couet oft to ſée them beyng ſtraunge beaſtes in their eyes and ſeldome knowne in Englande.

Foxes Badgiers.

Of Foxes we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo Badgiers in our ſandy & light groundes, where woodes, firzes, broome, and plentie of ſhrubbes are to ſhrowde them in, when they be from their borrowes, and therto Warrens of Coneys at hand to feede vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie which we call yͤ cledgie mould, we ſeldome here of any, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to drawe and make their borrowes depe. Certes if I may freely ſay what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kindes (I meane Foxes and Badgers) are rather preſerued by Gentlemē to hunt & haue paſtime with all at their owne pleaſures, then otherwiſe ſuffered to lyue, as not able to be deſtroyed becauſe of theyr greate numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitye of them here in England in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countryes, and ſo earneſtly are the inhabitants bent to roote thē out: that except it had bene to beare thus w̄ the recreations of their ſuperiors, it could not otherwiſe haue ben choſen, but that they ſhould haue bene vtterly deſtroyed by many yeares agone.

I might here intreat largely of other vermine, as the Polcate, the Miniuer, the Weaſel, Stote, Squirrill, Fitchew, and ſuch like. Alſo of the Otter and Beuer, of which, as the firſt ſortes are plentifull in euery woode and hedgerow: ſo theſe latter, eſpecially the Otter, (for to ſay the truth we haue not manye Beuers, but only in the Teifi in Wales) is not wanting or to ſeeke in many ſtreames & riuers. But it ſhal ſuffice in this ſort to haue named them as I doe alſo the Mattern, although for number I worthily doubt whether that of our Beuers or Matternes, may be thought to be the leſſe.

Beuers.

Otters.

Marternes.

Other pernicious beaſtes we haue not except you repute the great plentie of red and fallow Deare, and ſtore of Conies amongſt the hurtful ſort. Which, although that of thēſelues they are not offenſiue at all, yet theyr great numbers are thought to be very preiudicial, and therfore iuſtly reproued of many as are in lyke ſort our huge flocks of ſheepe, where on the greateſt parte of our ſoyle is emploied almoſt in euery place. The male of the red Deare was ſometime called among the Saxons a ſtaggon, but now a ſtagge, or vpon ſome cōſideratiō an Harte, as the female is an Hinde. And this is one parcell of the Venery whereof we intreated before, and whoſe proper dwelling is in the large and woddy forreſts. The fallow deare as Bucks and Does, are nouryſhed in Parkes, & Connys in warrens and borrowes. As for Hares they runne at theyr owne aduenture, except ſome Gentleman or other for hys pleaſure doe make an incloſure for them. Of theſe alſo the ſtagge is accompted for the moſt noble game, the fallow Deare is the next, then the Roe (whereof wee haue indifferent ſtore) and laſt of all the Hare: all which (notwythſtanding our cuſtome) are paſtimes more meete for Ladies and Gentlewomen to exerciſe, then for men of courage to followe, whoſe hunting ſhould practiſe theyr armes in taſting of theyr manhoode and dealing w ſuch beaſtes as eftſoones wyll turne agayne and offer them the hardeſt, rather then theyr feete, whych many tymes may cary dyuers from the fielde. Surely this noble kinde of hunting onely did great Princes frequent in times paſt, as it may yet appeare by the hyſtories of theyr times, and there to (beſide that whych we read of the vſuall hunting of the Princes and Kings of Scotland, of the wild Bull, Wolfe. &c.) the example of king Henry the ſecond of England: who diſdayning as he termed it to followe or purſue cowards, cheriſhed of ſet purpoſe ſundry kinde of wilde beaſtes at Woodſtocke, and one or two other places in England, whych he walled about wyth hard ſtone, & where he would often fight wyth them hande to hande, when they did turne againe & make any reiſe vpon him.

Stagges.

King Henrye the fiſt in hys beginning, thought it a mere ſcoffery to purſue any fallow Deare wyth hounds or greyhounds, but ſuppoſed hym ſelfe alwayes to haue done a ſufficient acte, when he had tired them by his owne trauaile on foote, and ſo kylled them wyth hys handes, in the vpſhot of that exerciſe and ende of hys recreation. And thus did very many in lyke ſort wyth the Harte, as I doe reade. But I thincke yͤ was very long agone, when men were farre higher and ſwifter then they are now, and yet I deny not but any hunting of the redde Deare is a ryght Princely paſtime. In diuers forren cuntries they cauſe theyr redde and fallow Deare to draw the plowgh as we do our Oxen and horſes. In ſome places alſo they milke theyr Hindes as we doe here our Kine and Goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Gyraldus Cambrienſis to haue beene ſeene and vſed in Wales, where he did eate cheaſe made of hindes milke, at ſuch time as Baldwine Archbiſhop of Caunterburie preached the Croyſaide there, when they were both lodged in a Gentlemans houſe, whoſe wyfe of purpoſe kept a dairy of the ſame. As for yͤ plowing wyth Vres (whych I ſuppoſe to be vnlikely) and Alkes a thyng commonly vſed in the Eaſt countries, here is no place to ſpeake of it, ſince we now want theſe kinde of beaſts. Neither is it my purpoſe to intreat of other thyngs then are to be ſeene in England,

land, wherfore I wil omitte to ſay any more of wilde and ſauage beaſtes at thys tyme, thinking my ſelfe to haue ſpoken already ſufficiently of this matter, if not to much in the iudgement of the curious.

¶ Of Cattell kept for profite.

Cap. 8.

There is no kinde of tame Cattell vſually to be ſeene in theſe parts of the world whereof we haue not ſome, and that great ſtore in England, as Horſes, Oxen, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, & far ſurmounting the like in other countries, as maye be proued with eaſe. For where are Oxen commonlye more large of bone, Horſes more decent & pleaſant in pace, Sheepe more profitable for wooll, Swine more holſome of fleſhe, & Goates more gaineful to their keepers, then here wyth vs in England. But to ſpeake of them peculiarly, I ſuppoſe that our Oxen are ſuch as the lyke are not to be founde in any countrye of Europe both for greatneſſe of bodye and ſweeteneſſe of fleſhe: or elſe woulde not the Romaine wryters, haue preferred them before thoſe of Liguria. Their hornes alſo are knowne to be more fayre and large in England then in any other places, which quantity albeit that it be giuen to our breede generally by nature, yet it is oft helped by arte. For when they be verye yonge, many Graſiers will oftentimes annoynte their budding hornes, or typpes of hornes, with Hony, which mollyfieth the naturall hardeneſſe of that ſubſtaunce, and thereby maketh it to growe vnto a notable greatneſſe. Certes, it is not ſtraunge in England, to ſee Oxen whoſe hornes haue yͤ length of a yarde or three foote betweene the typpes, and they themſelues thereto ſo tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent ſtature, is ſcarce comparable vnto them.

en.

rſes.

Our Horſes moreouer are highe, and although not commonly of ſuch huge greatneſſe as in other places of the maine, yet yf you reſpect the eaſineſſe of theyr pace, it is harde to ſaye where their lyke are to be had. Our lande doth yeelde no Aſſes, and therefore the moſt parte of our caryage is made by theſe, which remaining ſtoned, are either reſerued for the cart, or appointed to beare ſuch burthens, as are conuenient for them: Our Carte horſes therfore are commōly ſo ſtrong, that fiue of them will drawe three thouſande weyght of the greateſt tale wyth eaſe for a lōg iourney. Such as are kept alſo for burden, will cary foure hundreth waight commonly without any hurt, or hinderance.

Thys furthermore is to be noted, that our Princeſſe and the Nobilitye, haue their carriage commonly made by cartes, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that when the Queenes maieſtie doth remoue from any one place to another, there are vſually 400. carewares, appointed out of the Countryes adioyning, whereby hir caryage is conueighed ſafely vnto yͤ appointed place, & herby alſo the auncient vſe of ſommers and ſumpter horſes, is in maner vtterly relinquiſhed.

Geldings.

Such as ſerue for the ſaddle are cōmonly gelded, and now growne to be very dere among vs, eſpecially if they be well coloured, iuſtly lymmed, and haue thereto an eaſie ambling pace. For our cōtrimen ſeeking their eaſe in euery corner where it is to bee had, delight very much in theſe qualyties, but chiefly in their excellent paces, which beſides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horſes of our ſoyle, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner ſitting on their backes: it is moreouer verye pleaſaunt and delectable in hys eares, in that the noyſe of theyr well proportioned paſe doth yeeld confortable ſounde. Yet is there no greater deceit vſed any wher then among our horſekeepers, horſecorſers, and Hoſtelers: for ſuch is the ſubtill knauery of a great ſort of them (wythout exception of anye be it ſpoken which deale for pryuate gaine) that an honeſt meaning mā ſhall haue verye good lucke among them, if he be not deceyued by ſome falſe tricke or other.

Shepe.

Our ſheepe are very excellent ſith for ſweetneſſe of fleſhe they paſſe all other, & ſo much are our woolles to be preferred before thoſe of other places, that if Iaſon had knowne yͤ value of them that are bredde and to be had in Englande, he woulde neuer haue gone to Colchos, to looke for any there. What fooles then are our countrymen, in that they ſeeke to bereue themſelues of this commoditie, by practizing dayly howe to transferre the ſame to other nations, in carying ouer their rammes and ewes to breede an increaſe among them. But ſuch is our nature, and ſo blinde are we in deede, that we ſee no incōuenience before we feele it: and for a preſent gaine we regarde not what damage may enſue to our poſterity. Hereto ſome other mā would adde alſo the deſire, that we haue to benefite other countries, and to impeche our owne. And it is ſo ſure as God lyueth, that euery tryfle which cōmeth from beyonde the ſea, though it bee not worth three pence, is more eſteemed then a continuall commoditie at home, which farre exceedeth that value. It is furthermore to be noted, for the lowe Countries of Belgy knowe it, and dailye experience (notwithſtanding the ſharpeneſſe of oure lawes to the contrarye) doth yet confirme it: that although our Rammes & Wethers doe goe thether from vs neuer ſo well headded according to their kinde, yet after they haue remained there a whyle, they caſt there theyr hornes, and from thenceforth remayne polled without any hornes at all.

Shéepe without hornes.

Certes this kinde of Cattell is more cheryſhed in Englande, then ſtanding well wyth the commoditie of the commons, or proſperitie of dyuers townes, whereof ſome are wholy conuerted to their féeding: yet ſuch a profitable ſwéeteneſſe is founde in theyr fléece, ſuch neceſſity in their fleſh, & ſo great a benefite in ẏ manuring of barraine ſoyle with their dung & piſſe, that their ſuperfluous numbers are the better borne withall, and there is neuer an huſbande man, (for now I ſpeake not of our great ſhéepemaiſters) but hath more or leſſe of thys cattell féedyng on his fallowes. There are & peraduenture no ſmall babes, which can make accompt of euery tenne kine to be clerely worth twenty pound in common and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fyue ſhéepe be daily added to the ſame: but as I wote not howe true this ſurmyſe is, ſo I am ſure hereof, that ſome huſwyues can and doe adde daily a leſſe proportiō of ewes milke vnto ſo many kine, wherby their chéeſe doth the longer abyde moiſt, and eateth more brickle and mellowe then otherwyſe it woulde.

Goates.

Goates we haue plenty in the weſt partes of England, eſpecially in & toward Wales, and amongſt the rocky hilles, by whom the owners doe reape no ſmall aduantage: ſome alſo are cheryſhed elſe where in ſundrye ſtéedes for the benefite of ſuch as are diſeaſed with ſundry maladies, vnto whom (as I here) it is iudged very profitable and therfore inquired for of many farre and néere.

Swine.

As for Swine there is no place that hath greater ſtore nor more wholſome in eating, thē are ſéene here in england, & of theſe, ſome we eate gréene for porcke, & other dryed vp into Bacon to haue it of more continuance, Larde we make little becauſe it is chargeable, neyther haue we ſuch vſe thereof as is to be ſéene in other Countries, ſith we do either baſt all our meate with butter, or ſuffer the fatteſt to baſte it ſelfe by leyſure.

Bores.

Of our Bores we make Brawne, which is a kinde of meate not vſually knowen to ſtraungers (as I take it) otherwyſe woulde not the ſwart Rutters and frenche cookes, at the loſſe of Callis, (where they founde great ſtore of this prouiſion almoſt in euery houſe) haue attempted with ridiculous ſucceſſe to roſt, bake, broyle, and frye the ſame for their maſters, til they were beter informed. I haue harde moreouer, howe an noble man of england did ſend ouer an hoggeſhead of brawne ready ſouſed to a Catholike Gentlemen of Fraunce, who ſuppoſing it to be fiſhe reſerued it vntill Lent, at which time hée did eate thereof with verye great frugalitye. Therto he ſo wel liked of the prouiſion it ſelf, that he wrote ouer for more of the ſame fiſh, againe the yeare inſuing: whereas if he had knowen it to haue béene fleſhe, he would not haue touched it I dare ſaye for a thouſande crownes, without ẏ popes diſpenſatiō. With vs it is accompted a great péece of ſeruice at the table from Nouember vntyll February be ended, but chiefely in the Chriſtmas time. Wyth the ſame alſo we begin our dinners eche day after other: & bicauſe it is ſomwhat harde of digeſtion, a draught of Madlueſy, Baſtarde or Muſcadell, is vſually droncke after it, where either of them may conuenyently to be had, otherwyſe the meaner ſorte content themſelues wyth their owne drink, which at that ſeaſon is cōmonly very ſtrong, and ſtronger in déede, then in all the yeare beſide.

It is made commonly of the fore part of a tame Bore, ſet vppe for the purpoſe by the ſpace of an whole yeare or two eſpecially in Gentlemens houſes (for the huſbandman & farmers neuer francke them for their owne vſe aboue thrée or foure monethes, or halfe a yeare at the moſt) in which time he is dyeted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planckes of an vneaſie coate, tyll hys fat be hardened ſufficiently for their purpoſe. Afterwarde he is killed, ſcalded and cut out, & then of his former partes is our Brawne made, the reaſt is nothing ſo fat and therefore it beareth the name of ſouce only, and is commonly reſerued for the ſeruing man and hinde. The necke péeces being cut of rounde are called collers of Brawne, the ſhoulders are named ſhildes, only the ribbes retayne the former denomination, ſo ẏ theſe foure péeces deſerue the name of Brawne. The bowels of the beaſt are commonly caſt away bycauſe of their ranckeneſſe, & ſo were alſo his ſtones, till a fooliſh fantaſie gat hold of late amongſt ſome delicate Dames who haue now founde the meanes to dreſſe them with great coſt for a delicate diſh and bring them to the boarde as a ſeruice though not without note of their deſire to ẏ prouocation of fleſhly luſt, which by thys one acte is not a lyttle reuealed. But to returne againe vnto our purpoſe. When the Bore is thus cut out, eache péece is wrapped vp, eyther with bulruſhes,

ruſhes, oſier peles, packethréed or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a leade or caldron togyther tyll they be ſo tender that a manne may thruſte a bruſed ruſhe or ſoft ſtrawe cleane through the fatte, whyche being done they take it vp and laye it abroade to coole. Afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they poure either good ſmall ale or béere mingled wyth vergeous and ſalt thereto tyll it be couered, and ſo let it lye (nowe and then altering and changing the ſowſing drincke leaſt it ſhould ware ſoure) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the way. But of Brawne thus much, and ſo much may ſéeme ſufficient.

Of vvilde and tame Fowles.
Cap. 9.

ORder requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the Fowles alſo of Englande, which I may eaſily deuide into the wilde and tame, but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in Fowles, that to ſay the truth I cã neyther recite their numbers nor well diſtinguiſhe one kinde of them from an other. Yet thys I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne which hath in time of ẏ yere more plentie of wild Fowle then we, for ſo many kindes as our Iland doth bring forth. We haue therfore the Crane, the Bitter, the wilde and tame Swanne, the Buſtarde, the Hieron, the Curlew, the Snite, the Wildegooſe, Dotrel, Brant, Larke, Plouer, Lapwing, Téele, Wigeon, Mallard, Sheldrake, Shoueler, Pewet, Seamewe, Barnacle, Quaile, Woodcocke, Partrich and Feaſant, beſides diuers other, whoſe names to me are vtterly vnknowne, and much more the taſte of theyr fleſh wherewᵗ I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at al ſeaſons, ſo in theyr ſeuerall turnes, there is no plentye of them wanting, wherby the tables of the Nobilitie and Gentrie ſhould ſéeme to be dayly vnfurnyſhed. But of all theſe the production of none is more maruellous then that of the Barnacle, whoſe place of generatiõ we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, where as peraduẽture we myght haue found the ſame nearer home, and not onely vppon the coaſtes of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhoulde ſaye howe either theſe or ſome ſuch other Fowle not muche vnlyke vnto them doe bréede yéerely in the Thames mouth, I doe not thincke that many will beleue me, yet ſuch a thing is there to be ſéene, where a kinde of Fowle hath hys beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrubbe ſtanding vppon the ſhore from whẽce when theyr time commeth they fall downe either into the ſalt water and liue, or vpon the dry land and periſh, as Pena the French Herbarien hath alſo noted in the very ende of hys Herball. As for Egretes, Pawperes and ſuch like, they are daily brought vnto vs from beyonde the ſea, as if all the Fowle of our countrey could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites. Our tame Fowle are ſuch for the moſt parte as are common both to vs and to other Countreys, as Cockes, Hennes, Géeſe, Duckes, Pecockes of Inde, blew Pecocks, Pigeons and ſuch lyke whereof there is great plenty in euery Fermoures yeard. They are kepte there alſo to be ſolde eyther for ready money in the open markettes, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good company amongſt theyr neighbours wythout reprehenſion or fines. Neyther are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing only graunted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God and liberty of our Princes) as to dine or ſuppe wyth a quarter of a Hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt wyth a cocks combe as they doe in ſome other Countreys: but if occaſion ſerue the whole carcaſes of many Capons, Hennes, Pigeons and ſuch lyke doe oft goe to wracke, beſide Béefe, Mutton, Veale and Lambe: all which at euery feaſt are taken for neceſſary diſhes amongſt the communaltye of England. The gelding of Cockes, whereby Capons are made, is an auncient practiſe brought in of olde time by the Romaines when they dwelt here in thys lande: but the gelding of Turkies or Indiſh Peacockes is a newer deuiſe: and certainely not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rancknes of that byrde is very much abated therby, and the taſt of the fleſh in ſundry wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders growe alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that no man will beleue me, neyther haue I taſted at any tyme of ſuch a fowle ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more then once to be vſed in the Countrey, where theyr Géeſe are driuen to the fielde like heardes of cattell by a Gooſeheard, a toy alſo no leſſe to be merualled at then the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo it is ſtraunge to me, to ſée or heare of Géeſe to be ledde to the field lyke ſhéepe: yet ſo it is, and theyr Gooſeherd caryeth a rattle of paper or parchement wyth hym when he goeth about in the morning to gather the Goſlings together, the noyſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, then they fall to gaggling, and haſten to goe wyth hym. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſée how they will péepe vnder the dores, and neuer leaue crying and gagling til they be let out vnto hym to ouer take theyr fellowes. I might héere

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make mention of other fowles which we repute vncleane, as Crowes, Pies, Choughs, Rookes, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, (though peraduenture moſt of all in Englande by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not neede to ſpend any tyme in ẏ reherſall of them. Neyther are they cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that breede in our ſoyles, (as Pollidore ſuppoſeth,) ſith there are no vplandiſhe townes but haue or ſhoulde haue nettes of their owne in ſtore to catche them withall. Sundrie actes of Parliament are likewyſe made for their vtter deſtruction. Nothing therefore can be more vnlykely to be true, then that theſe rauinous and noyſome foules are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuour our Wormes, whych doe not abounde much more in Englande then elſe where in other countries of the mayne.

Of fiſhe taken vpon our Coaſtes.

Cap. 10.

AS our foules haue their ſeaſons, ſo lykewiſe haue all ſorts of fiſh, wherby it cometh to paſſe that none, or at the leaſtwyſe very few of them are to be had at all tymes. For my part I am greatly acquainted neyther with the ſeaſons nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe, and therefore yf I ſhoulde take vppon me to deſcribe or ſpeak of either of them abſolutely, I ſhould enterpriſe more then I am able to performe, & go in hande with a greater matter then I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſortes of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſeene, to the ende I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without ẏ rehearſall of ſome thing, although the whole ſomme of that which I haue to ſay be nothing in deede, yf the full diſcourſe hereof be any thing duly conſidered.

Of fiſhes therfore as I finde fiue ſorts, the flat, the rou͂d, the long, the legged & ſhelled, ſo the flat are deuided into the ſmoothe, ſcaled & tailed. Of the firſt are the Plaice, the Butte, the Turbut, Dorrey, Dabbe, &c. Of the ſeconde, the Soles, &c. Of the thirde, oure Chaites, Maidens, Kingſones, Flathe and Thornebacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt parte eyther dryed and caryed into other countries, or ſodde͂, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whyleſt the leſſer be fryed or buttered, ſone after they be take͂, as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrefaction. Vnder the round kindes are commonly comprehended Lumpes an vgly fiſh to ſighte, and yet very delicate in eating, yf it be kindlye dreſſed. The Whighting, (an olde waiter or ſeruitor in the Court) the Rochet, Gurnard, Hadocke, Codde, Herring, Pilchard, Sprat, & ſuch like. And theſe are they whereof I haue beſt knowledge and be commonly to be had in their tymes vppon our coaſtes. Vnder this kinde alſo are all the great fiſhe contained as the Seale, the Dolphin, the Porpaſſe, the Thirlepole, Whale, and whatſoeuer is round of body, be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are Cungres, Eles, Garfiſhe and ſuche other of that forme. Finallye of the legged kinde we haue not manye, neyther haue I ſeene any more of thys ſort then the Polipus, called in Engliſhe the Lobſtar, the Craifiſh, and ẏ Crabbe. As for the little Craifiſhes, they are not taken in the ſea, but plentyfully in our freſhe ryuers in banckes and vnder ſtones where they kepe themſelues in moſt ſecret maner, and oft by lykeneſſe of coulour with the ſtones among which they lye, they deceiue euen the ſkilful takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes nowe and then taken alſo vppon our coaſtes, but ſith my minde is onely to touche eyther all ſuch as are vſually gotten, or ſo many of them onely as I can well rehearſe vpon certayne knowledge, I thincke it good at thys tyme to forbeare the further intreatye of them. As touching the ſhelly ſorte we haue plentie of Oyſters, Muſcles and Cocles. We haue in lyke ſort no ſmall ſtore of great Whelkes, and Perewincles, & eache of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our Oyſters are generally forborne in the foure hote monethes of the yeare, that is to ſay, May, Iune, Iuly, & Auguſt. Yet in ſome places they be continallye eaten, where they be kept in pittes as I haue knowen by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſhe, as a man in maner vtterlye vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kindes: yet ſo much haue I yeelded to do, hoping hereafter to ſay ſomewhat more, and more orderly of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatize, & ſo make vp a perfit peece of work of ẏ, which as you now ſee is very ſlenderly begunne.

Of Hawkes and Rauenous foules.

Cap. 11.

I Can not make as yet any iuſt report howe many ſortes of Hawkes are bredde wythin this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſually had amongeſt vs are diſcloſed with this lande, I thincke it more eaſie and leſſe difficulte to ſet downe. Firſt of all therfore that we haue the Eagle, common experience doth euidently confirme, and diuers of our rockes whereon they breede, yf ſpeach did ſerue, could wel teſtifie the ſame. But the moſt excellent aiery of all is not much from Cheſter at a caſtle called Dinas Bren, ſometime buylded by Brennus, as our writers do coniecture. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pyle very ſtrong and in acceſſible for enemyes, though nowe all ruinous as many other are. It ſtandeth vpon an harde rocke in the ſide whereof an Eagle breedeth euery yeare. Certes this is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neaſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſitte in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwyſe the Egle would kill hym and teare the fleſhe from his bones with their ſharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good. Next vnto yͤ Egle we haue the Irõ or Erne (as the Scottes doe write) who call the Egle by yͤ name. Certes it is a Rauenous bird & not much inferiour to the Egle in déede. For though they be black of colour & ſomewhat leſſe of bodie, yet ſuch is their greatneſſe that they are brought by diuers into ſundrie partes of this realme and ſhewed as Egles onely for hope of gaine, which is gotten by the ſight of thẽ. Their chiefe bréeding is in the Weſtcountry, where the commons complaine of great harme to be done by thẽ in their fieldes, for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kidde vnto their neaſtes, therwith to féede their yong and come againe for more. Some call thẽ Gripes. We haue alſo the Lanner & the Lanneret: the Tercell and the Goſehawke: the Muſket and the Sparhawke: the Iacke and the Hobby: and finallye ſome though very fewe Marlions. And theſe are all the Hawkes that I doe here to be bredde within this Iſlande. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not very plentifull: wherfore ſuch as delite in Hawking doe make their chiefe prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germany, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue thẽ in great aboundaunce & at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bredde they are ſolde for almoſt right nought and vſually brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and Pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doe the aforeſayde foules) almoſt of euery man. But to procede with yͤ reſt. Other rauenous birdes we haue alſo in very great plentye, as the Buſſarde, the Kite, the Ringtaile Dunkite, and ſuch as often annoye oure Countrie dames by ſpoyling of their yong broodes of chickins, Duckes and Goſlings, wherevnto our very Rauens and Crowes haue learned alſo the way: and ſo much are our rauẽs geuen to this kinde of ſpoyle, that ſome of ſet purpoſe haue manned reclaymed and vſed them in ſteade of Hawkes, when other could not be had. I haue ſéene Crowes ſo cunning alſo of theyr owne ſelues that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſodenly comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſhe in their féete and gone away withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſayde ryuer is not without ſome of them, a thing in my opiniõ not a litle to be wondred at. There is no cauſe wherfore I ſhoulde deſcribe the Cormorant amõgſt Hawkes (except I ſhold call him a Water Hawke) but ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs nowe ſée what may be ſayde of our venemous Wormes, & how many kindes we haue of them within our region and countrie.

¶ Of venemous beaſtes. &c.

Cap. 12.

IF I ſhoulde go about to make any long diſcourſe of venemous Beaſtes, or Wormes bredde in Englande, I ſhould attempt more then occaſion it ſelfe woulde offer, ſith wée haue very fewe Wormes but no Beaſtes at all, that are thought by nature to bée eyther venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore wée haue the Adder, which ſome men doe not raſhely take to bée the Vyper. Certes if it bée ſo, then is not the Vyper Authour of the death of hir * Parents, as ſome hyſtories affyrme. And it may well be, for I remember that I haue reade in Philoſtrate, howe he ſawe a Vyper lycking of hyr yong. I did ſée an Adder once my ſelf that laye as I thought ſléeping on a moulehyll, out of whoſe mouth came aleuen yong Adders of twelue or thirtéene ynches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the Graſſe one wyth another, tyll ſome of them eſpyed me. So ſone therefore as they ſawe me, they ran againe into the mouth of theyr damme whome I kylled; and then founde eache of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct celle, or pannicle in hyr belly, much like vnto a ſoft white ielly, which maketh me to be of this opinion that our Adder is the Viper in déede. Their colour is for yͤ moſt part ruddy blew, and their ſtinging bryngeth death without preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſing to ſwell, neyther the venyme to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcende vpwarde to the hart, where it finiſheth

* Galenus de Theriaca ad Piſonem.

* Plin.lib. 10.cap.62.

Se Ariſtotle, Animalium lib.5. cap.vltimo & Theophraſt lib.7 cap.13.

finiſheth, The effect, the length of thẽ is moſt commonly two foote and ſomewhat more; but ſeldome doth it extende vnto two foote ſixe ynches, except it be in ſome rare and monſterous Adder: whereas our Snakes are much bygger and ſeene ſometymes to ſurmount a yarde, or three foote, although their poyſon be nothing ſo grieuous & deadly as yͤ others. Our Adders lie in winter vnder ſtones in wholes of the yearth, rotten ſtubs of trees, & amõgſt the dead leaues: but in the heate of the ſommer they come abroade, and lye eyther rounde in heapes, or at length vpon ſome hillocke, or elſe where in the graſſe. They are found only in our woodland countryes and higheſt groundes: as for our ſnakes they commonlye are ſeene in mores, fennes, and low bottomes. And as we haue great ſtore of Todes where Adders cõmonly are found, ſo doe Frogges abound where Snakes doe keepe their reſidence. We haue alſo the Slowworme, which is black & grayiſh of colour, and ſomewhat ſhorter then an Adder. We haue in lyke ſort Eftes, both of the land and water, & likewiſe Swiftes, wherof to ſay any more it ſhould be but loſſe of time, ſithe they are well knowne and no regyon voyd of many of them. As for flies (ſith it ſhal not be amyſſe a lyttle to touch them alſo) wee haue none that can doe hurt or hynderance naturally vnto any, for whether they be cut waſted, or whole bodyed, they are voyde of poyſon & all venimous inclination. The cut waſted, for ſo I Engliſhe the worde Inſecta are the Hornettes, Waſpes, Bees, and ſuch lyke whereof wee haue great ſtore, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the firſt doe breede of the corruption of deade horſes, the ſecond of Peares and Apples corrupted, and the laſt of Kine and Oxen: which maye be true, eſpecially the firſt and latter in ſome partes of the beaſt, and not their whole ſubſtaunces, as alſo in the ſeconde, ſith we haue neuer Waſpes, but whẽ our frute beginneth to waxe rype. In deede Virgill and others ſpeake of a generatiõ of Bees, by kyllyng or ſmouthering of a brouſed bullocke or calfe, and laying hys bowels or hys fleſhe wrapped vp in hys hyde in a cloſe houſe for a certaine ſeaſon, but how true it is as yet I haue not tryed. Yet ſure I am of thys that no one liuing creature corrupteth with out the productiõ of an other as we may ſee in ſhepe alſo for exceſſiue numbers of fleſh flies, if they be ſuffered to lye vnburyed or vneaten by the dogges and Swine, who often preuent ſuch needeleſſe generations.

Thus much farder wyll I adde of Bees, that whereas ſome ancient wryters affirme thẽ to be a cõmodity wanting in our Ilan it is nowe founde to be nothing ſo. In ol time peraduenture we had none in deede, bu in my dayes there is ſuch plenty of them in maner euery where, that in ſome vplandyſh Townes, there are one hundreth, or two hundreth hiues of them, although the ſaide hiues are not ſo huge as they of the eaſt countrey, but farre leſſe, as not able to containe abou one buſhel of corne, or fiue peckes at yͤ moſt. Our hony alſo is taken and reputed to be th beſt bycauſe it is harder, better wrought clenlyer veſſelled vp, thẽ that which cõmeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtraine their combes, Bees, & young Blowinges altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue beene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our Phiſitions and Appothicaries eſchewe the forren, & chooſe the home made, as breeding leſſe cholor, which is oftentimes (and I haue ſeene by experience) ſo white as ſuger, and corned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonly of Rye ſtraw, and wadled about with bramble quarters. But ſome make th of wicker and caſt them ouer with clay. We cheriſh none in trees, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, prouiding that they may ſtande drye and without dauger of the mouſe. This furthermore is to bee noted, that whereas in veſſelles of oyle, that which is neereſt the toppe is accounted the beſt, and of wine that in the middeſt, ſo of hony the beſt is allwaies next the bottome, which euermore caſteth and dryueth his dragges vpwarde toward the very top, contrary to the natures of other liquide ſubſtaunces, whoſe groundes and lies, doe generally ſettle downewardes. And thus much as by the waye of our Bees and Engliſhe Hony.

As for the whole bodied, as the Cantharides and ſuch venymous creatures, we here not of them. Yet haue we Bettles, Horſeflyes, Turdbugges (called in latine Scarabei) the Locuſt or the Greſhopper and ſuch lyke, whereof let other intreate, that make an exerciſe in catching of Flyes; but a farre greater ſport in offering them to ſpyders as did Caligula ſometyme and an other Prince yet lyuing, who delyted ſo much to ſee the ioly combattes betwixt a ſtout flye and an old Spider, that diuers men haue had great rewardes giuen them for their painefull prouiſion of flyes made onely for thys purpoſe, Some alſo in the time of Caligula coulde deuyſe to ſet their Lorde on worke, by lettyng fleſhe flies into his chamber, which he forthwith woulde egerly haue hunted all other buſineſſe ſet apart, & neuer ceaſed til he had

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caught hir into his fingers. There are ſome Cocheſcombes here and there in England, which make account alſo of this paſtime as of a notable matter, telling what a ſight is ſéene betwéene thẽ, if either of them be luſty and couragious in his kinde. One alſo hath made a booke of the Spider & the Fly, wherin he dealeth ſo profoundly and beyonde all meaſure of ſkill, that neyther he himſelf that made it, neither any one that readeth it, can reache vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe iolly fellowes in ſtéede of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the Flies tayle (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) woulde beſtow the coſt to ſet a fooles cap vpon there owne heades: then might they with more ſecuritie, and leſſe reprehenſion beholde theſe notable battayles.

Of Engliſhe Dogges. Cap. 13.

There is no country that may (as I take it) compare with ours in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of Dogges: all which the learned Doctour Caius in his Treatize vnto Geſnere de canibus Anglicis doth bring into thrée ſortes: that is, the gentle kinde ſeruing for game: the homly kind apt for ſundry neceſſarie vſes: and the curriſh kinde, méete for many toyes. For my part I can ſaye no more of them then he hath done alreadie, wherfore I wil here ſet downe only a ſomme of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addicion of an example or two now lately had in experience, wherby the courages of our Maſtiffes ſhall yet more largely appeare.

The firſt ſort therefore he deuideth eyther into ſuch as rowſe the beaſt and continue the chaſe: or ſpringeth the Birde, and bewrayeth hir flyght by purſute. And as theſe are commonly called Spanyels, ſo the other are named Hounds, wherof he maketh eight ſorts, of whych the foremoſte excelleth in perfite ſmelling, the ſeconde in quicke eſpying, the third in ſwiftneſſe and quickneſſe, the fourth in ſmelling and nimbleneſſe. &c. & the laſt in ſubtilty and deceitfulneſſe. The firſt kinde of theſe are alſo commonlye called Haryers, whoſe game is the Foxe, the Hare, Wolfe, (if we had any) Hart, Bucke, Badger, Otter, Polcat, Lobſtart, Weſell, Conye. &c: the ſecond hight a Terrer, & it hũteth the Badger and Grey onely: the third a bloudhound, whoſe office is to follow the fierce, and nowe and then to purſue a théefe or beaſt by hys dry foote: the fourth a Gaſehounde, who hunteth by the eye: the fifth a Greyhounde, cheriſhed for hys ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe: the ſixt a Lyemmer, that excelleth in ſmellyng and ſwift running: the ſeuenth a tumbler, and the eight a théefe, whoſe offices (I meane of the latter two) encline onely to deceite, wherein they are oft ſo ſkilfull, that fewe men woulde thinke ſo miſcheuous a witte to remayne in ſuch two creatures. Hauing made thys enumeration of Dogges which ſerue for ẏ chaſe and hunting, he commeth next to ſuche as ſerue the Falcons in theyr times, whereof he maketh alſo two ſortes. One that findeth hys game on the lande, an other that putteth vp ſuch Fowle as kepeth the water. And of theſe thys is commonly moſte vſuall for the nette or traine, the other for the Hawke, as he doth ſhewe at large. Of the firſt, he ſayeth that they haue no peculiar names aſſigned vnto them ſeuerally, but eache of them is called after the birde whych by naturall appoyntmẽt he is allotted to hunt: for which conſideration ſome be named Dogges for the Feaſant, ſome for the Falcon, and ſome for the Partriche. Howe be it, the common name for all is Spanniell, as if theſe kindes of Dogges had bene brought hyther out of Spaine. In like ſort we haue of water Spaniels in theyr kinde. The third ſort of Dogs of the gentle kinde is the Spaniell gentle, or conforter: or as the common terme is the fiſtinghound, and called Melitei, of the Iland Malta, frõ whence they were brought hither. Theſe Dogges are little and prettie, proper and fine, and ſought out far and néere to ſatiſfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes. Inſtruments of folly to play and dally withal, in trifling away the treaſure of time to wythdrawe theyr mindes from more commendable exerciſes, and to content theyr corrupt concupiſcences wyth vaine diſport, a ſilly poore ſhift to ſhun theyr irkſome ydleneſſe. Theſe puppies the ſmaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of theyr heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleaſure alſo they prouoke as méete plaiefellowes for minſing miſtreſſes to beare in theyr boſomes, to kéepe company wyth all in theyr chambers, to ſuccour wyth ſléepe in bedde, and nouryſh wyth meate at borde, to lye in theyr lappes, and licke theyr lippes as they lie (like yonge Dianaes) in their wagons. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for courſeneſſe wyth fineneſſe hath no fellowſhip, but featneſſe wt neatneſſe hath neighborhead inough. That plauſible prouerbe therfore verified ſometime vpon a tyrant, namely ẏ he loued hys Sowe better then hys ſonne, may well be applied to ſome of thys kinde of people, who delight more in theyr dogges, that are depriued of all poſſibility

Herode.

litye of reaſon, then they doe in children that are capable of wiſdom and iudgement. Yea, they ofte feede them of the beſt, where the poore mans child at theyr dores can hardly come by the worſt. But the former abuſe peraduenture raigneth where there hath ben long want of iſſue, els where barẽnes is the beſt bloſſom of beauty: or finally, where poore mens children for want of theyr owne iſſue are not redy to be had. It is thought of ſome that it is very holeſome for a weake ſtomake to beare ſuch a Dogge in ones boſome, as it is for hym that hath the palſie to feele the daily ſmell of a Foxe. But how truly thys is affirmed let the learned iudge: onely it ſhall ſuffice for D. Caius to haue ſayd thus much of Spaniels and Dogges of the gentle kinde.

Dogs of yͤ homely kinde, are eyther ſhepheardes curres, or Maſtiffes. The firſt are ſo common, that it needeth me not to ſpeake of them: Theyr vſe alſo is ſo well knowen in keping yͤ herd together (either when they graſe or go before the ſhepheard,) that it ſhould be but in vaine to ſpend any time about them. Wherfore I will leaue thys curre vnto hys owne kinde, and goe in hande wyth the Maſtiffe or bayddogge, which is an huge dogge, ſtubborne, ougly, eagre, burthenous of body, (and therfore but of litle ſwiftneſſe,) terrible and fearefull to behold, and more fearſe and fell then any Archadien curre. Our Engliſh men, to the entent that theſe Dogges maye be more fell and fearſe, aſſiſt nature wyth ſome art, vſe ⁊ cuſtome. For although thys kinde of dogge be capeable of courage, violent, valiant, ſtout and bolde: yet will they increaſe theſe theyr ſtomackes by teaching them to bait the Beare, the Bull, the Lyon, and other ſuch lyke cruell and bloudy beaſts wythout any coller to defende theyr throtes, and oftentimes thereto, they traine them vp in fighting and wraſtling wyth a man, hauing for the ſauegard of his life either a pike ſtaffe, clubbe, ſword, or priuie coate, wherby they become the more fearſe and cruell vnto ſtraungers. Of Maſtiffes, ſome barke onely with fearſe and open mouth but wil not bite, ſome do both barke and bite, but the cruelleſt doeth eyther not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared then any of the other. They take alſo theyr name of the word maſe and theefe (or maſter theefe if you will) becauſe they often put ſuch perſones to theyr ſhiftes in townes and villages, and are the principall cauſes of theyr apprehenſion and taking. The force whych is in them ſurmoũteth all beleefe, and yͤ faſt holde whych they take with theyr teeth exceedeth all credite, for three of them againſt a Beare, fowre againſt a Lion are ſufficie both to trie maſtries with them, and vtterl ouermatch them. King Henrye the ſeuent as the reporte goeth, commaunded all ſuc curres to be hanged, becauſe they durſt preſume to fight againſt the Lion who is the king and ſoueraigne. The like he did with a excellent Falcon, becauſe he feared not han to hand to match wyth an Eagle, willing hi Falconers in his owne preſence to plucke o hys heade after he was taken downe, ſayin that it was not meete for any ſubiect to offe ſuch wrong vnto his Lord and ſuperior. Bu if king Henrye the ſeuenth had liued in ou time, what would he haue done to one Eng liſh Maſtiffe, which alone and wythout an help at al, pulled downe firſt an huge Beare, then a Parde, and laſt of al a Lyon, eache af ter other before the Frenche King in on day: wherof if I ſhould wryte the circumſtã ces, that is, how he toke his aduantage bein let loſe vnto them, and finally draue them in to ſuch exceding feare, that they were al gl to runne away when he was taken frõ them I ſhould take much paines, and yet reap but ſmall credite, wherfore yt ſhall ſuffice t haue ſayd thus much thereof. Some of ou Maſtiffes will rage onely in the nyght, ſom are to be tied vp both day and night. Such al ſo as are ſuffered to go loſe about the houſ and yarde, are ſo gentle in the day time, th children may ride vpon theyr backes ⁊ pla with thẽ at theyr pleaſures. Some of them alſo will ſuffer a ſtraunger to come in an walke about the houſe or yarde where him liſteth, without giuing ouer to folow him. Bu if he put forth his hand to touche any thyng, then wil they flie vpon him ⁊ kill hym if they may. I had one my ſelfe once, whych would not ſuffer any man to bring in hys weapo farder then my gate: neither thoſe that were of my houſe to be touched in his preſence. Or if I had beaten any of my children, he would gently haue aſſayed to catch the rodde in hy teethe and take it out of my hande, or elſ plucke downe theyr clothes to ſaue them frõ yͤ ſtripes: which in my opinion is worthy to be noted, ⁊ thus much of our Maſtiffes. The laſt ſort of Dogges conſiſteth of the curriſh kinde meete for many toyes: of whyche the wap or prickeard curre is one. Some mẽ cal them warners, becauſe they are good for nothing elſe but to giue warning when any body doth ſturre or lie in waite about the houſe in the nyght ſeaſon. It is vnpoſſible to deſcribe theſe curres in any order, becauſe they haue no one kinde proper vnto themſelues, but are a confuſed companye mixte of all the reſt. The ſeconde ſorte of them are called, turne ſpittes, whoſe office is not vnknowen to any. And as theſe are onely reſerued for this purpoſe, ſo in manye places our maſtiffes are made to drawe water in greate whéeles out of déepe welles, going much like vnto thoſe which are framed for our turne ſpittes, as is to be ſéene at Royſton, where this feate is often practiſed.

The laſt kind, of toyiſh curres, are named dauncers, and thoſe being of a mongrell ſort alſo, are taught & exerciſed to daunce in meaſure at ẏ muſicall ſound of an inſtrument, as at the iuſt ſtroke of a drumme, ſwéete accent of the Citharne, and pleaſaunt harmony of the Harpe, ſhewing many tryckes by the geſture of theyr bodyes. As to ſtand bolt vpryght, to lye flat vpon the grounde, to tourne round as a ryng holding their tayles in their téeth, to ſaw and begge for meate, & ſundrye ſuch properties, which they learne of theyr ydle rogiſhe maiſters, whoſe inſtrumentes they are to gather gaine, as olde Apes clothed in motley, and colloured ſhort waſted Jacketes are for the lyke vagabondes, who ſéeke no better lyuing, then that which they may get by fonde paſtime and ydleneſſe. I myght here intreat of other Dogges, as of thoſe which are bredde betwéene a bytche & a Wolfe, and betwéene a byche & a foxe, or a beare and a maſtife. But as we vtterly want the firſt ſort, except they be brought vnto vs, ſo it happeneth ſometime, that the other two are ingendred and ſéene amongſt vs. But of all the reſt heretofore remembred, in this Chapter there is none more vglye in ſight, cruell and fearce in déede, nor vntractable in hande, then ẏ which is begotten betwéen the Beare & the banddoge. For whatſouer he catcheth hould of, he taketh it ſo faſt that a man may ſooner teare & rend his body in ſunder, then get open his mouth to ſeparate his chappes. Certes he regardeth neyther Wolfe, Beare, nor Lyon, and therfore may wel be compared with thoſe two dogs which were ſent to Alexander out of India (and procreate as it is thought betwéene a Maſtiffe and male Tyger as bée thoſe alſo of Hyrcania) or to them that are bred in Archada, where copulation is oft ſéene betwéen Lions and Byches, as the like is in Fraunce betwéene the Wolfes and Dogges, whereof let this ſuffiſe.

¶ Of Engliſh Saffron. Cap. 14.

As the Saffron of England is the moſt excellent of all other, (for it giueth place neyther to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus ſpeketh, neither to any that commeth from Etolia, Sicilia, Cirena, or Licia, in ſwéeteneſſe, tincture and continuaunce) ſo of that which is to be had amongſt vs, the ſame that groweth about Saffron Walden in the edge of Eſſex, ſurmounteth all the reſt, and therfore beareth worthily the higher price, by ſix pence, or twelue pence moſt commonly in the pound.

The roote of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is rounde, much like vnto an indifferent Onion, and yet it is not clouen as the lilly, nor flaked as the Scallion; but hath a ſad ſubſtaunce inter Bulboſa, as Orchis and Stachyroh. The collor alſo of the rinde is not much differing from the innermoſt ſhell of a cheſtnutte, although it be not altogither ſo blacke as the ſayd ſhell, neither altogither ſo bricle as is the pill of the Onion.

The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrowe as Graſſe, & in the winter times our Cattel delight very much to féede vpon the ſame, which come vppe alwaies in October after the flowres be gathered and gone. The whole hearbe is named in greke Crocos, but of ſome as Dioſcorides ſaith Caſtor, Cynomorphos or Hercules bloud. Yet in the Arabian ſpeach, from whence we take the name that we giue thereunto, I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth beare witneſſe. The cauſe wherefore it was called Crocus was this as the Poetes feigne, eſpecially from whome Galene hath borowed the hyſtorye which he noteth in hys ninth booke, de medicamentis ſecundum loca, where he writeth after thys maner. A certaine yong Gentleman called Crocus went to playe at coytes in the fielde with Mercury, and beyng hedeleſſe of himſelfe, Mercuries coite happened by his miſhappe to hit him on the heade whereby he receyued a wounde, that ere long killed him altogither, to the great diſcomfort of his friends. Finally in the place wher he died, Saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people ſéeing the color of the chiue as it ſtode, (although I doubt not but it grewe there long before) adiudged it to come to the bloude of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name.

In déede the chiue while it remaineth whole vnbruſed reſembleth a darke redde, but being broken and conuerted into vſe, it yeldeth a yelow tincture. But what haue we to do wyth fables. The heads of Saffron are raiſed in July either wyth plough or ſpade, and being ſcowred from theyr Roſe, and ſeuered from ſuch heades as are ingendred of them ſince the laſt ſetting, they are enterred againe out of hand by rankes or rowes, and being couered wyth moulds, they reſt in the earth, where they caſt forth litle filets & ſmal yoles like vnto a ſeaſon vntill September; in the beginning of whych moneth ẏ ground is pared, and all wéedes and graſſe that groweth vpon the ſame remoued, to the intente that nothing may annoy the flower when his time doth come to riſe. Paring.

Gathering These things being thus ordered in the latter ende of the aforeſayd moneth, the flower beginneth to appeare of a whitiſh blewe colour, and in the ende ſhewing it ſelfe in the owne kinde, it reſembleth almoſte the Leucoion of Theophraſt, ſauing that it is lõger, and hath in middeſt thereof, either thrée or foure chiues, very red and pleaſant to behold. Sée Rembert. These flowers are gathered in the morning before the riſing of the Sunne, whych would cauſe them to welke or flitter: and the chiues being picked from the flowers, theſe are throwne in to the dunghill, the other dryed vpon little kelles couered wyth ſtraigned canuaſſes ouer a ſoft fire: wherby and by the weight that is layed vpon thẽ, they are dried & preſſed into cakes, & then bagged vp for ẏ benefite of theyr owners. In good yeares we gather an 100. poundes of wette Saffron of an aker, which being dried doth yeld twentie pound of dry and more. Wherby and ſith the price of Saffron is commonly about twentie ſhillings in money, it is eaſie to ſée what benefit is reaped by an acre of thys commoditie, toward the charges of the ſetter.

Raiſing. The heads are raiſed euery third yeare about vs, and commonly in the firſt yeare after they be ſet they yéelde very little increaſe, yet that which commeth is coũted the fineſt, and called Saffron du hort. The next crop is much greater, but the third excéedeth, and then they raiſe againe. In thys Periode of time alſo the heads are ſayd to childe, that is to yelde out of ſome partes of them dyuers other hedlets, wherby it hath bene ſéene that ſome one head hath bene increaſed to 3. or 4. or 5. or 6. whych augmentation is the onely cauſe wherby they are ſold ſo good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne a quarter of them to be valued much aboue two ſhillings eight pẽce, except in ſome odde yeres, when ouer great ſtore of winters water hath rotted ẏ moſt of them as they ſtood win the ground. It is thought that at euery raiſing they encreaſe cõmonly a third part.

In Norffolke and Suffolke they raiſe but once in ſeuen yeres, but as theyr Saffron is not ſo fine as that of Cambridge ſhyre and about Walden: ſo it wil not tigne nor holde colour wyth all, wherin lieth a great part of the value of thys ſtuffe. Some craftie iackes vſe to mixt it wyth the flower of Sonchus, whych commeth ſomewhat neare in déede to the hew of our good Saffron; but it is ſo bewrayed both by the colour and for Such alſo was the plenty of Saffron ab 20. yeares paſſed, that ſome of the tow men of Walden not thankfull for the ab dance of Gods bleſſing beſtowed vpon th (as wiſhing rather more ſcarcitie therof b cauſe of the keping vp of the price) in m contemptuous manner murmured again him, ſaying that he did ſhite Saffron at th preſent, therwith to choke ẏ market. But a they ſhewed them ſelues no leſſe then inge infidels in thys behalfe, ſo the Lord conſi ring theyr vnthankfulneſſe, gaue them eu ſince ſuche ſcarſitie, as the greateſt occu rers haue now the leaſt ſtore, and moſte o them are eyther worne out of occupying, o remain ſcarſe able to maintain their gro wythout the helpe of other men. Certes hath generally decayed about Walden ſinc the ſayd time, vntill now of late wyth in th two yeares, that men began againe to pl and renew the ſame. But to procéede, wh the heads be raiſed and taken vp, they wi remaine 16. or 20. daies out of the earth. A I know it by experience, in that I haue ca ed ſome of them to London wyth me, a notwythſtanding that they haue remay there vnſet by the ſpace of 15. daies, yet ſo of them haue brought forth 2. or 3. flowers péece, and ſome flowers 4. or 5. chiues to th great admiration of ſuch as haue gathe the ſame, and not bene acquainted wyth th countrey where they grew. The Crokers o Saffron men doe vſe an obſeruation a litt before the comming vppe of the flower b opening of the heads, to iudge of plentye a ſcarcitie of thys commoditie to come. For i they ſée as it were many ſmall heary vain of Saffron to be in the middeſt of the bulbe, they pronounce a frutefull yeare: And to ſay truth, at the cleaning of each head a mã ſhall diſcerne the Saffron by the colour, and ſee wherabouts it will iſſue out of the roote.

Warme nights, ſwéete dewes, fat groũds (chiefly the chalky) and miſty mornings are very good for Saffron, but froſt and cold doe kill and kéepe backe the flower: And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of Engliſh Saffron whych is hote in the ſecond and dry in the firſt degrée.

Now if it pleaſe you to heare of any of the vertues thereof, I will note theſe inſuing at the requeſt of one who required me to touche a fewe of them wyth whatſoeuer breuitye I liſted. Therfore our Saffron is very profitably mingled with thoſe medicines whych we take for the diſeaſes of the breſt, of ẏ longes, of the liuer, and of the bladder. It is good al ſo for the ſtomacke if you take it in meate, for it comforteth the ſame and maketh góod digeſtion: being ſodden alſo in wine, it not only kéepeth a man from dronkenneſſe, but encourageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſwéete wine it enlargeth the breth and is góod for thoſe that are troubled with the teſike and ſhortneſſe of ẏ winde. Mingled wyth milke of a woman and layd vpon the eyes it ſtayeth ſuch humors as deſend into the ſame, and taketh away the red wheales and pearles that oft groweth about them. It is verye profitably layde vnto all inflammations, painefull Apoſtemes, and the ſhingles, and doth no ſmall eaſe vnto dyuers if it be mingled wyth ſuch medicines as are beneficiall vnto the eares. It is of great vſe alſo in riping of botches and al ſwellings proceding of raw humors. Or if it ſhal pleaſe you to drinke the róote therof with Malueſie it will maruellouſly prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and yéelde no ſmall eaſe vnto them that make theyr water by droppe meales. Finally, thrée drammes thereof taken at once (whych is about the weighte of one ſhil. 9. pence halfepeny) is deadly poyſon as Dioſcorides doth affirme. There groweth ſome Saffron in many places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, whych latter is taken for ẏ beſt that ſpringeth in other quarters. In ſteade of thys alſo ſome doe vſe the Carthamus (called amongſt vs baſtarde Saffrō) but neyther this is of any value, nor the other in any wiſe comparable vnto ours, whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditye brought into this Ilande not long before the time of Edward the third, and not commonly planted vntill Richard ẏ ſecond did raign. It would grow very well as I take it about Chiltern hilles, & in all the vale of the whyte horſe.

Of Quarries of ſtone for buylding.

Cap. 15.

QUarryes with vs are pittes or Mines out of which we digge our Stone to builde withall, and of theſe as we haue great plentie in Englande, ſo are they of diuers ſortes and thoſe very profitable for ſundrie neceſſary vſes. In times paſt ẏ vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the buylding of churches religious houſes, princely pallaces Biſhoppes manours and holdes onely: but now that ſcrupulus obſeruatiō is altogither infringed, and buylding with ſtone ſo commonly taken vp that amongeſt noble men & gentlemen the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better then paper worke, of little countinuaunce and leaſt countinuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet down how many ſortes of ſtone for buylding are to be founde in Englande, but much farder to call each of thē by their proper names. Howbeit ſuch is the curioſity of our countrymen that notwithſtanding Almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner with ſuch and ſo many Quarries apt and méete for pyles of longeſt countinuance, yet we as lothſome of this aboundaunce, or not liking of the plenty, doe commonly leaue theſe naturall giftes to moulde and ſinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this lande is dayly conſumed and ſpent to the no ſmall decay of that commoditie and hinderaunce of the poore that periſh oft for colde. Our elders haue from tyme to tyme following our naturall vice in miſlyking of our own commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroade, moſt eſtéemed the Cane ſtone that is brought hyther out of Normandie, & many euen in theſe our dayes folowing the ſame vaine doe couet in their workes almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide and our ſkilful Maſons on the other (whoſe iudgment is nothing inferiour of thoſe of other countries) doe affirme that in the North partes of Englād and certayne other places, there are ſome quarries which for hardeneſſe & beautie are equall vnto the outlandiſh gréete. This may alſo be confirmed by the kinges chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquared ſtone wherof was brought thyther out of the North. Some commend the vaine of white frée ſtone, ſlate, & méere ſtone which is betwixt Pentowen and the black head in Cornewall, for very fine ſtuffe. Other doe ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden nine miles from Mylbery, & pauing ſtone of Burbecke. For Tophe ſtone not a few allow of ẏ quarrey that is a Drilley, diuers miſlyke not of the vaine of harde ſtone that is at Oxforde and Burford. One prayſeth the frée ſtone at Mancheſter and Preſtburye in Glouceſter ſhyre. Another the quarryes of the lyke in Richemont. The third liketh wel of the hardſtone in Clée hill in Shropſhire. The fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, & Terringtō. Where by it appeareth that we haue quarries ynough in Englande ſufficient for vs to buylde withall, if the peuiſh contempt of our owne commodities and delectacions to enriche other countries dyd not catch ſuch fóoliſhe holde vppon vs. Thereby it is alſo veryfied (as any other waye) that all Nations haue rather néede of Englande, then

Englande of any other. And thys I thincke may ſuffice for the ſubſtance of our works. Now if you haue regarde to their ornature; how many Mines of ſundrie kindes of courſe and fine marble are then to be had in Englãd. But chiefly one in Staffordſhyre, an other neere to the Peke, the thirde at Wauldry, the fourth at Snothill, (longing to the Lord Chamdois) the fifth at Egleſtone, whiche is of blacke Marble ſpotted with gray or white ſpottes, the ſixt not farre from Durhã. But what meane I to go about to recite all or the moſt excellent, ſith theſe which I haue named alreadie are not altogither of ẏ leaſt nor ſcarcely of any value in compariſon of thoſe whoſe places of growth are vtterly vnknowne vnto me, & wherof the blacke marble ſpotted with greene is none of the vyleſt ſort, as may appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of ẏ quire of Paules in London where ſome peeces thereof are yet to be ſeene and marked, yf any will looke for them. If marble will not ſerue then haue we the fineſt Alabaſter that may elſewhere be had, as about S. Dauides of Wales. Alſo neere to Beau Maner, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leiceſter, and taken to be the beſt, although there are diuers other quarries hereof beyond ẏ Trent, whoſe names at this tyme are out of my remembraunce. What ſhoulde I talke of the plaſter of Areholme, (for of that which they dig out of the earth in ſundrie places of Lincolne & Darbyſhyres wherwith they blaũch their houſes in ſteed of lime, I ſpeake not). Certes it is a very fine kinde of Alabaſter, but ſith it is ſolde commonly but after twelue pence the loade, we iudge it to be but vyle and courſe. For my part I cannot ſkill of ſtone, yet in my opiniõ it is not without great vſe for plaſter of pariſſe, and ſuch is the Mine of it that the ſtones lye in flakes one vppon an other like planckes or tables, and vnder the ſame is an harde ſtone verye profitable for building as hath oft tymes beene proued. If neyther Alabaſter nor Marble doth ſuffice, we haue the Touche ſtone called in latin Lydius lapis, eyther to matche in ſockets with our pillers of Alabaſter or contrariwiſe: if it pleaſeth the workeman to ioyne pillers of Alabaſter or Touche with ſockets of braſſe, pewter, or copper, we want not theſe mettalles: So that I thincke no nation canne haue more excellent and greater diuerſitie of ſtuffe for buylding, then we may haue in Englande, yf our ſelfes coulde ſo like of it: but ſuch alas is our nature that not our own but other mens do moſt of all delite vs: and for deſire of noueltie we oft exchange our fineſt Cloth, Corne, Tinne and Wolles for halfe peny cockhorſes for children, dogges of were, two penny tabers, leaden ſwordes, painted feathers, gewgawes for fooles, dogtrickes for dolts, hawkes whodes, and ſuch lyke, whereby we reape iuſte mockage and reproch. I might remember here our pillers for Milſtones that are to be had in diuers places of our country as in Angleſey, alſo at Quene hope of blew grete, of no leſſe value then the collein, yea then the Frenche ſtones. Our gryndſtones for hardware men. Our whetſtones and ſlate of ſundry coullours are euery where in maner to be had, as is ẏ flint and chalke, the ſhalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this we muſt fetch them ſtil from farre, as dyd the hull men their ſtones out of Iſelande, wherwith they paued their townes for want of the like in Englande: or as Sir Thomas Greſham dyd, when he bought the ſtones in Flanders, wherewith he paued the Burſe, but as he will aunſwere that he bargened for the whole moulde and ſubſtaunce of his workmanſhippe in Flaunders: ſo the Hullanders or Hull men will ſay, howe that ſtockefiſhe is light loding and therefore they dyd balaſe their veſſels with theſe Iſelande ſtones to keepe them from turning ouer in their ſo daungerous a voyage.

¶Of ſundry Mineralles. Cap.16.

WYth howe great benefites thys Iſlande of oures hathe beene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godly man but wyll redily confeſſe; and yelde vnto the Lorde God his due honour for the ſame. For we are bleſſed euery way, & there is no temporall commoditie neceſſary to be had or craued by any nacion at Gods hand, that he hath not in moſt abundaunt maner beſtowed vpon vs Engliſhmen if wee coulde ſee to vſe it, and be thankefull for the ſame. But alas (as I ſayd in ẏ chapter precedent,) wee loue to enrych them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one tryfling toye not worth the caryage, cõming (as the prouerbe ſaith), in three ſhyps from beyonde the ſea is more worth with vs, then a ryght good Iewel, eaſie to be had at home. They haue alſo the caſt to teach vs to neglect our owne thinges, for if they ſee that wee beginne to make any accounte of our commodities (if it be ſo that they haue alſo ẏ like, in theyr owne countryes) they will ſodainely abaſe the ſame, to ſo lowe a price that our gaine not beyng worthy our trauaile, & the ſame commoditie with leſſe coſt ready to be had at home from other countries (though but for a whyle) it cauſeth vs to gyue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter whereabout we went before to, obteine them at their hands. And this is the onely cauſe wherefore our commodyties are oft ſo litle eſteemed. Some of them cã ſay wᵗout any teacher, that they wil by ẏ caſe of a Foxe of an Engliſh man for a grote, & make him afterward giue twelue pence for the tayle. Woulde to God wee myght once were wyſer, and eache one indeuour that the common wealth of Englande may flouriſh againe in hir olde rate, and that our cõmodities may bee fully wrought at home, as cloth if you will, for an example and not caryed out to be ſhorne and dreſſed abroade, whiles our clothworkers here doe ſterue and beg their bread, & for lacke of dayly practiſe, vtterly neglect to be ſkilfull in thys ſcience: But to my purpoſe. We haue in englãd gret plẽty of quick Syluer, Antimony, Sulphur, black Lead, and Orpiment red and yealow. We haue alſo the fineſt Alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greateſt fauourers of the common wealth of England (of a ſubiect) hath beene of late egregiouſly abuſed, & euen almoſt with barbarous inciuility) the natural Cinnabarum or Vermilion the Sulphurus glebe called Bitumen, in olde tyme vſed for morter, and yet burned in lampes: where Oyle is ſcant and geaſon, the Cryſocolla, Coperous, ẏ Minerall ſtone, whereof Petreolum is made) and that which is moſt ſtraunge, the minerall Pearle, which as they are for greatneſſe and coulour moſt excellent of all other, ſo are they digged out of the maine land, and in ſundry places farre diſtãt from the ſhore. Of Colemines we haue ſuch plentie in the North. And Weſterne partes of our Iſlande as may ſuffice for all the Realme of Englande, and ſo muſt they doe hereafter in deede, if woode be not better cheriſhed then it is at this preſent, and to ſay the truth, notwithſtanding that very many of them are caryed into other Countryes of the maine, yet theyr greateſt trade beginneth nowe to growe from the Forge into ẏ Kitchin and Hall appeare already as maye in moſt Cities and Townes that lye about the coſt, where they haue little other fewell, except it be turfe, and haſſocke. I marueyle not a little that there is no trade of theſe into Suſſex and Southampton ſhire, for want whereof the Smithes doe worke theyr yron with charre coale. I thinke that farre carriage be the only cauſe, which is but a ſlender excuſe, to inforce vs to carye them vnto the mayne from thence.

Beſide our coale pittes we haue pyttes in lyke ſorte of white plaſter; and of fatte and white Marle, wherewith in many places the inhabitors doe compeſt their ſoile. We haue Salte Peter for our ordinance, and Salt Soda for our glaſſe, and therto in one place a kinde of earth (in Sotherey as I weene harde by Codington, and ſometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is ſo fine to make mouldes for goldſmithes & caſters of mettal, that a lode of it was worth fiue ſhyllinges thirtie yeares agone. None ſuch againe they ſay in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for theſe and other his benefites beſtowed vpon vs, wherby he ſheweth hymſelfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrarywyſe returne vnto hym in lew of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickedneſſe, auarice, meere contempt of hys will, and notable ingratitude.

¶ Of common or artificiall Salt made in Englande. Cap. 17.

There are in Englande certaine welles where Salt is made, whereof Lelande hath written aboundantly in his comentaryes of Brytaine, and whoſe wordes onely I wyll ſet downe in Engliſhe as he wrate them, becauſe he ſeemeth to haue had diligent conſideration of the ſame, without adding any thing of my owne vnto hym, except it bee where neceſſitie doth inforce me for ẏ meere aid of the reader, in the vnderſtanding of his mynd. Directing therefore his iourney from Worceſter in his peregrination and laborious iourney ouer Englande, he ſaith thus. From Worceſter I rode to the Wiche by incloſed ſoyle, hauing meetely good Corne grounde, ſufficient woode and good paſture, aboute a ſixe myles of. Wiche ſtandeth ſomewhat in a valley or lowe grounde, betwixt two ſmall hylles on the left ripe (for ſo he calleth the bancke of euery brooke thorow out all his Engliſhe treatizes) of a pretie ryuer which not farre beneathe the Wiche is called Salope brooke. The beautye of the Towne in maner ſtandeth in one ſtreat, yet be there many lanes in the Towne beſides.

There is alſo a meane Church in ẏ maine ſtreate and once in the weeke, an indifferent rounde markette. The Towne of it ſelfe is ſomewhat foule and durty when any rayne falleth by reaſon of much caryage thorowe ẏ ſtreates, which are very yll paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduauncement alſo here, is by makyng of Salte, and though the commoditye thereof be ſinguler great, yet the Burgeſſes be poore, generally

A cōmon plage in all thinges of any great commodity for one beateth yͤ buſhe but another catcheth yͤ the birdes, as we may ſee in Bat-fowling.

becauſe Gentlemen haue generallye for the moſt parte gotten the great gaine of it into their handes, whileſt the poore Burgeſſes yeelde vnto all the labour. There are at this preſent time three hundred Salters and three Salt ſprings in the Towne of Wiche, whereof the principall is within a butſhote of the ryght rype (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this ſpring is double ſo profitable in yeelding of Salte lyquor, as both the other. Some ſay (or rather fable) that this Salte ſpring did fayle in the tyme of Richarde dela Wiche Byſhoppe of Chicheſter, and that afterwardes by his interceſſion it was reſtored to the profit of the olde courſe (ſuch is the ſuperſtiton of the people) in remembraunce whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wiche men and Salters did beare vnto Rycharde Dela Wiche there countryman, they vſed of late times on his daye (which commeth once in the yere) to hange this Salt ſpring or Wel about which tapiſſery, and to haue ſundry games, drinkinges, and fooliſh reuelles at it. But to procede. There be a great number of Salte cotes about this Well, wherin the Salte water is ſodden in leades, and brought to the perfection of pure white ſalt. The other two Salte ſpringes be on the left ſide of the ryuer a prety waye lower then yͤ firſt, and as I founde at the very ende of the Towne. At theſe alſo be diuers fornaces to make Salt, but the profite & plenty of theſe two are nothing comparable to the gayne, yͭ ryſeth by the greateſt. I aſked of a Salter how many fornaces they had at all the three ſpringes, and he numbred them to eighteene ſcore that is three hundred and ſixtie, ſaying howe euery one of them payde yearely ſixe ſhillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of olde they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundreth furnaces or mo, and thereupon they gyue a fee farme (or vectigall) of one hunnreth pounde yearely. Certes the penſion is as it was, but the number of fornaces is nowe increaſed, to foure hundreth. There was of late ſerch made for another Salte ſpring there aboutes by the meanes of one Newport a Gentleman dwelling at the Wiche, and the place where it was appeareth, as doth alſo the woode and Timber which was ſet aboute it, to keepe vp the earth frō falling into the ſame. But thys pitte was not ſence occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the ſalt ſpring, or for letting, or hindering of the profite of yͤ other three. Me thinke that if woode and ſale of Salte would ſerue, they might digge and find more ſalt ſpringes about the Wich thē three, but there is ſomewhat elſe in the win For I hard that of late yeares a ſalt ſprin was founde in an other quarter of Wo ſter ſhire, but it grew to be without any v ſith the Wich men haue ſuch a priuiledg that they alone in thoſe quarters ſhall hau the making of ſalte. The Pittes be ſo ſet a bout with gutters that yͤ ſalt water is eaſily turned to euerye mans houſe, and at Nam wich very many troughes go ouer the riue for the commoditie of ſuch as dwell on the other ſide of yͤ ſame. They ſeth alſo their ſalt water in fornaces of leade, and lade out the Salte ſome in Caſes of wicker, thorow which the water draineth, and the Salt remaineth. There be alſo two or three but very lyttle Salt ſpringes at Dertwitche in a low bottome, where Salt is ſometyme made.

Of late alſo a myle from Combremere abbay a peece of an hill dyd ſincke & in yͤ ſame pit roſe a ſpring of ſalt water where the Abbot begunne to make ſalt, but the men of the Citie compounded with the Abbot and Couent that there ſhoulde be none made there, whereby the pit was ſuffered to go to loſſe. And although it yeelded ſalte water ſtil of it ſelfe, yet it was ſpoyled at the laſt and fille vp with filth. The Wich men vſe the commoditie of their ſalt ſpring in drawing an decocting the water of them only by fire monethes in the yere, that is from Midſomer to Chriſtmaſſe, as I geſſe to maintayne yͤ price of ſalte, or for ſauing of wood, which I think to be their principall reaſon. For making of ſalt is a great and notable deſtructiō of wod and ſhall be greater hereafter, except ſom prouiſion be made for the better increaſe of fiering. The lacke of wood alſo is alredy perceiued in places neere the Wiche, for whereas they vſed to buye and take their wodde neere vnto their occuppyings, thoſe wonted ſpringes are nowe decayed, and they be inforſed to ſeeke their wood ſo farre as Worceſter towne and all the partes about Breniſgraue, Alchirche, and Alceſter. I aſked a ſalter how much wood he ſuppoſed yearly to to be ſpent at theſe fornaces, and he aunſwered that by eſtimation there was conſumed about ſixe thouſande load, and it was round poale woode for the moſt, which is eaſy to be cleft, and handſomely reuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are very ill couloured, and the iuſt rate of euery fornace is to make foure loades of ſalt yearely and to euery loade goeth fiue or ſixe quarters as they make their account. If the fornace men make more in one fornace then foure loades it is as it is ſayde imployed to their owne auayls. And thus much hath Lelande left in memorie of our whyte ſalt, who in an other booke not now in my handes hath teuched the making alſo of Bay ſalt in ſome part of our coũtry. But ſith ẏ is boke deliuered againe to the owner, the tractaciõ of bay ſalt can not be framed in any order, bycauſe my memorie will not ſerue to ſhew the true maner and the place. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to haue gyuen ſuch notice of it, to thende the reader may knowe that aſwell the Baye as whyte are wrought and made in Englande, and more white alſo vpon the weſt coaſt, towarde Scotlande out of the ſalt water betwéene Wyre and Cokermouth. Finally hauing thus intermedled our artificiall Salt with our Minerals, let vs giue ouer and go in hande with ſuch mettals as are growing here in Englande.

Of Mettalles. Cap. 18.

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IT was not ſayde of olde tyme without great reaſon that all countries haue néede of Britaine and Britaine it ſelf of none. For truely yf a man regarde ſuch neceſſities as nature onely requireth, there is no Nation vnder the ſun, that can ſay ſo much as ours: ſith we doe want none that are conuenient for vs. Certes if it be a benefite to haue any golde at all, we are not voyde thereof, neyther lykewyſe of ſiluer. And albeit that we haue no ſuch aboundaunce of theſe as ſome other countries doe yéelde, yet haue my rych countriemen ſtore ynough of both in theyr purſes, where they were woont to haue leaſt, bycauſe the garniſhing of our churches, tabernacles, ymages, ſhrynes and apparell of the Prieſtes conſumed the greateſt part as experience hath confirmed.

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Tinne and Lead are very plentifull wyth vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonſhire, & elſe where in the North, ẏ other in Darby ſhire, Weredale, and ſondry other places of thys Iland: whereby my countreymen doe reape no ſmall commodity, but eſpecially our pewterers, who in time paſt employed the vſe of pewter only vpon diſhes and pottes, and a fewe other trifles for ſeruice, whereas nowe they are growen vnto ſuch exquiſite cũning, that they can in maner imitate by infuſion any forme or faſhion of cuppe, diſh, ſalt, bowle or goblet, whyche is made by Goldſmithes craft though they be neuer ſo curious & very artificially forged. In ſome places beyond the ſea a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter (I ſay flat, becauſe diſhes and platters in my time begyn to be made depe like baſons, and are in déede more conuenient both for ſawſe and kéeping the meat warme) is almoſt eſteemed ſo precious as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſiluer, and in manner no leſſe deſired amõgſt the great eſtates, whoſe workemen are nothing ſo ſkilfull in that trade as ours, neyther theyr mettall ſo good, nor plenty ſo great, as we haue héere in England. There were mines of Lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all theyr woode by melting of the ſame, as they did alſo at Comeryſtwith, ſixe miles from Stradfleur. And here by the way it is worthy to be noted of a Crow which a miner of tinne, dwelling néere Comeryſtwith had made ſo tame that it would daily flie & folow him to hys worke and other places where ſo euer he happened to trauaile. Thys laborer working on a time in the bottome where the firſt Myne was knowne to be, did lay his purſe and girdle by him, as men cõmonly doe that addreſſe them ſelues to apply theyr buſineſſe earneſtly, and he him ſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The Crow likewyſe was very buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted hym in déede, that he waxed angry wyth the byrde & in his fury threatned to wring of his necke, if he myght once gette hym into hys hands: To be ſhort, in the ende the Crow haſtily caught vp his girdle and purſſe, & made away wyth all ſo faſt as hir wyngs coulde cary hyr. Héerevpon, the poore man fallyng into great agony (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all hys money) threwe downe hys mattocke at aduenture and ranne after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe hys life if euer he gotte him againe: but as it fell out, the Crow was ẏ meanes wherby hys lyfe was ſaued, for he had not bene long out of the mine, ere it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe of the dealing of thys byrde at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the bryers then wel finde which way to come out agayne: yet I am perſwaded that the Crow was Gods inſtrument herein, wherby the lyfe of thys poore laborer was preſerued. It was done alſo in an other order then that whych I reade of an other tame Crow kept vp by a ſhomaker of Dutchlãd in hys ſhop or ſtone: who ſéeing the ſame to ſitte vpon the pearch very heauily & drouſie, ſayde vnto the birde. What ayleth my Iacke, why art thou ſo ſad and penſiue? The Crow hearyng his maſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſweared (or elſe the Deuill wythin it) out of the Pſalter. Cogitaui dies Pſal.76. antiquos & eternos in mente habui, but whether am I digreſſed, frõ lead vnto Crowes, and from Crowes vnto Deuils. Certes it is now high time to retourne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron.

Iron is found in many places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, Mancheſter and elſewhere in Wales: of which mines diuers doe bryng forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe as any that commeth from beyond the ſea. It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yeeldeth to the makyng of Claricord wire in ſome places of the realme. Copper is lately not foũd, but rather reſtored againe to light, for I haue read of Copper to haue beene heretofore gotten in our Ilande. Howbeit, as ſtraungers haue moſt commonly the gouernaunce of our mines, ſo they hytherto make ſmall gaines of thys in hande in the North partes: for as I am informed the profit doth very hardly counteruaile the charges, whereat wyſe men doe not a little maruayle, conſidering the aboundaunce whych that mine do ſeeme to offer and as it were at hande. Lelande our countryman noteth ſundrie great lykelyhoodes of copper Mines to be Eaſtwardes, as betweene Dudman and Trewardith in the ſea cliffes, beſide ſundry other places, whereof diuers are noted here & there in ſundry places of this booke already, and therfore it ſhalbe but in vaine to repete them here agayne. In Dorſet ſhyre alſo a copper Mine lately found is brought to good perfection. As for our ſteele it is not ſo good for edge toole as that of Cullen, and yet the one is often ſolde for the other, and lyke tale vſed in both, that is to ſay thirtie gaddes to the ſhiefe and ſixe ſhiefes to the burdẽ. Our Alchumy is artificiall & thereof our ſpoones and ſome ſaltes are commonly made & preferred before our pewter. The common ſort call it Alcamine, but when I know more of the ſubſtance and mixture of this metall my ſelfe, I will not let to write thereof at large, wheras now I muſt needes conclude bicauſe I haue no more to ſay of the mettalles of my country, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, & ſuch as are brought ouer for marchandize from other countries, but what is that to my purpoſe.

Copper.

Steele.

Some tell me ẏ it is a mixture of braſſe, lead and tinne.

Of precious ſtones. Cap. 19.

THe olde writers remember fewe other ſtones of eſtimation to be founde in this Iland then that which we call Geat, & they in latine Gagates: wherevnto furthermore they aſcribe ſundry properties as vſually practized here in times paſt, whereof none of our writers doe make any mencion at all. Howbeit whatſoeuer it hath pleaſed a number of ſtrangers to write of ẏ vſages of this oure Countrie, aboute the tryall of the virginitie of our maidens by drincking of the powder of thys ſtone againſt the tyme of their beſtowing in maryage: certaine it is that euen to this day there is ſome plenty to be had of this commoditie in Darby ſhyre & about Barwycke, although that in many mens opinions nothing ſo fine as that which is brought ouer by marchauntes from the mayne. But as theſe men are drowned with the common errour of our nation, ſo I am ſure that in diſcerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond ẏ iudgemẽt of the old Romaines, who preferred the geate of Britain before ẏ like ſtones bred about Luke & all other coũtries. Moreuer as Geat was one of ẏ firſt ſtones of this Iſle whereof any forre in account was made, ſo our pearles alſo did match with it in renowne, in ſo much that the only deſire of thẽ cauſed Cæſar to aduenture hyther, after he had ſeene the quantities & hard of our plenty of them, whyleſt he abode in France. Certes they are to be founde in theſe our dayes, and thereto of diuers coulours, in no leſſe numbers then euer they were in olde tyme. Yet are they not now ſo much deſired bycauſe of theyr ſmallneſſe, and alſo for other cauſes, but eſpecially ſith churchwork as copes, veſtements, Albes, Tunicles, altar clothes, canapies, and ſuch traſh are worthily aboliſhed, vpon which our countrymen heretofore beſtowed no ſmall quantities. For I thinke there were fewe churches and Religious houſes beſides Biſhopp es Myters & Põtifical veſtures, but were either thorowly fretted or notably garniſhed wᵗ huge nũbers of them. But as the Brittiſh Geat or orient Pearle were in olde tyme eſteemed aboue thoſe of other countries, ſo tyme hath ſince the conqueſt of the Romaines reuealed many other: in ſo much ẏ at this ſeaſon there are founde in Englande the Ætites and the Hematite and theſe very pure and excellent, alſo ẏ Calcedony, the Porphyrite, ẏ Chriſtal, & thoſe other, which we call Calaminares, & ſpeculares beſide a kinde of Diamõd or Adamant, which although it be very fair to ſight is yet much ſofter thẽ ⋆ thoſe ẏ are brought hyther out of other countries. We haue alſo vpon our coaſtes the white corall and other ſtones dayly founde in cliffes and rockes, whereof ſuch as finde them haue eyther no knowledge at all, or elſe doe make but ſmall account, being ſeduced by outlãdiſh Lapidaries, whereof the moſt part diſcourage vs frõ the fetching and ſeeking out of our owne cõmodities, to the ende that they may haue the more

Geat.

Laon. Calchõdyle.

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more free vtterance of their naturall and artificial wares, wherby they get great gaines amongſt ſuch as haue no ſkill. I haue harde that the beſt triall of a ſtone is to laye it on the nayle of our thombe, and ſo to go abroade into the cleere light, where if the coulour hold in all places a like, the ſtone is thought to be natural. ⁊c. But if it alter eſpecially towarde yͤ nayle, thẽ is it not ſound, but rather an artificiall practize. If this be true it is an experiment worthy yͤ noting. (Cardane alſo hath it in his De ſubtilitate) yf not I haue reade neere more lies then this, as one example out of Cato, who ſayeth that a cuppe of Iuy will holde no wine at all, but I haue made ſome veſſels of yͤ ſame wood, which refuſe no kind of liquor, and therefore I ſuppoſe that there is no ſuch Antipatha betweene wyne ⁊ Iuy as ſome of our reading Philoſophers without all maner of practize will ſeeme to inferre amongeſt vs. What ſhoulde I ſaye more of ſtones? truely I can not tell, ſith I haue ſayde what I may already ⁊ peraduenture more then I thought. This yet will I adde that yf thoſe which are founde in Muſkelles (for I am vtterly ignoraunt of the generatiõ of pearles) be good pearle in deede I haue at ſundrie times gathered more then an ounce of them, of which diuers haue holes already entred by nature, ſome of them not much inferiour to great peaſon in quantitie, ⁊ thereto of ſundrie colours as it happeneth amõgſt ſuch as are brought from the Eaſterly coaſt to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of fleſhe, ſtale ſtincking fiſhe ⁊ welked Muſkles are thought to be good meate for other fiſhe is to to deere amongſt vs.

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¶Of the Coynes of Englande.

Cap. 20.

THe Saxon Coyne before the Conqueſt is vtterly vnknowne vnto me: how bee it if my coniecture be any thing, I ſuppoſe that the ſhillynges of ſiluer, in thoſe dayes did counterpeiſe our common ounce, though afterwarde it came to paſſe that it aroſe to twentie pence, and ſo continued vntyll the tyme of king Henry the eyght, who firſt brought it to three ſhillings and foure pence, and afterwarde our Sylver Coyne vnto braſſe ⁊ copper monies, by reaſon of thoſe ineſtimable charges, which dyuers wayes oppreſſed him. But as king Edward his ſonne began to reſtore yͤ aforeſayde Coine againe vnto fine ſiluer: ſo Queene Mary his ſucceſſour did continue his good purpoſe: notwithſtanding that in hir time the Spaniſh money was very common in England, by reaſon of hir mariage with Philyp king of Spayne.

pper
ney.

Siluer reſtored.

After hir diſceaſe the Lady Elizabeth hyr ſiſter, and now our moſt gracious Queene, and ſoueraigne Princes, did finiſh the matter wholly, vtterly aboliſhing the vſe of copper Coine, and conuerting the ſame into fine Syluer, as peeces of halfpeny fardyng, of a peny, of three half pens, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called yͤ groate) of ſixe pence vſually named the teſtone, and ſhilling of twelue pence, whereon ſhee hath imprinted hir owne ymage, ⁊ emphaticall ſuperſcription. Our Gould is eyther olde or new. The old is that which hath remained ſince yͤ time of king Edwarde the thirde, or beene Coyned by ſuch other Princes, as haue reigned ſince his diſceaſe, without abaſing of the fyneſt of that mettall. Therof alſo wee haue yet remayning, the Ryall, the George noble, the Henry Ryall, the Saint, the Angell, and their ſmaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though theſe in my time, are not ſo common to be ſeene. I haue alſo beholde the Souereine of twenty ſhillinges, ⁊ the peece of thirtie ſhillyngs, I haue harde lykewiſe of peeces of forty ſhillings, three pounde, fiue pounde, and tenne pound. But ſith there were fewe of them coined, and thoſe only at the commaundement of the kings, yearely to beſtow where their maieſties thought good in lieu of new yeres gyftes and rewardes: it is not requiſite that I ſhould remember them here amongſt our currant coynes.

Olde gold

The newe Golde is taken for ſuch as beganne to be coyned in the latter dayes of king Henry the eyght, at which time the fineſſe of the mettall began to be very much alayed, and is not likely to bee reſtored for ought that I can ſee: ⁊ yet is it ⁊ ſuch as hath beene coyned ſince by hys ſucceſſours princes of this Realme in value and goodneſſe equall and not inferiour to the coyne and currant Golde of other nations, where eche one doth couet to gather vppe our olde finer Golde: ſo that the Angels, Ryalles, ⁊ Nobles, are more plentifully ſeene in Fraunce and Flanders, then they be by a great deale within the Realme of England. Our peeces nowe currant are of tenne ſhillinges, fiue ſhillings, ⁊ two ſhillinges and ſixe pence only: and thoſe of ſundry ſtampes and names, as half ſouereines, quarters of Soueraines, (otherwyſe called Crownes,) ⁊ halfe Crownes: lykewiſe Angels, halfe Angels, ⁊ quarters of Angels, or if there be any other, in good ſooth I knowe them not, as one ſcarſely acquainted with any ſiluer at all, much leſſe then God it wote with any ſtore of Goulde.

New gold

The firſt currant ſhilling, or péeces of twelue pence were coyned by kyng Henry the eight: thoſe of fyue ſhillinges, & of 2. ſhil. & 6. pence, & the half ſhil. by king Edward yͤ ſixt: but the odde péeces aboue remēbred vnder the groat, by our high & mighty Prynces Quéene Elizabeth, the name of yͤ groat peny: 2. pence: ob. & farding, being more auncient then yͤ I can wel diſcuſſe of the time of their beginnings. Yet thuſmuch I read that king Edwarde the firſt in the eight yeare of his reigne, did firſt coine the peny & ſmalleſt péeces of ſiluer roundewyſe, which before were ſquare, and wont to haue a doubble croſſe wyth a creſt, in ſuch ſorte that the peny might eaſily be brokē, eyther into halfs or quarters, by which ſhift onely the people came by halfe pence and fardinges, that otherwyſe were not ſtamped nor coyned of ſet purpoſe.

Of forren coynes we haue both the Duccates, the ſingle and the double: the Cruſadoes, with the lōg croſſe & the ſhort: yͤ Portigue, a péece very ſolemly kept of dyuers, & yet oft times abaſed with waſhing, or elſe abſolutely coūterfeited: and finally yͤ french and flemiſh crownes, onely currant among vs, ſo long as they holde weight. But of ſiluer coynes none at all: yet are the Dalders and ſuch, often tymes brought ouer, but neuertheleſſe exchanged as Bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterwarde conuerted into coyne, by ſuch as haue authoritye.

In olde time we had ſundrye Mintes in Englande, and thoſe commonly kept in Abbaies and religious houſes before the conqueſte, where true dealing was commonly ſuppoſed: moſt of all to dwel. As at Ramſeye, Bury, Caunterbury, Glaſſenbury and ſuch like, ſundry exemplificats of yͤ graunts whereof are yet to be ſéene in wryting. But after the Normans had once gotten the maſterye, they truſted themſelues beſt wyth the ouerſight of their Mintes, and therefore erected diuers of their owne, although they afterwarde permitted ſome for ſmall péeces of Siluer, vnto ſundry of the houſes aforeſayd. In my time diuers mints are ſuppreſſed as Southworke, Briſtow, &c. and al coinage is brought into one place, that is to ſay the Tower of London, where it is continually holden and peruſed, but not without great gaine to ſuch as deale wall. There is alſo coinage of Tin holdē yearly at two ſeuerall times, that is to ſaye Midſomer and Michaelmas in the weſt country, which at the firſt hearing, I ſuppoſed to haue béene of money of the ſayde metall and graunted by Priuiledge from the Prince, vnto yͤ townes of Hayleſtone, Trury, & Loſtwithiel. Howbeit vpon farder examinatiō of the matter, I finde it to be nothing ſo, but an office onely erected for the Prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinary cuſtomes of the mettall: and ſuch blockes of Tinne as haue paſſed yͤ handes of his Officers, are marked wyth an eſpeciall ſtampe, whereby it is knowne that the cuſtome due for the ſame, hath ordinarily béene aunſwered. It ſhould ſéeme & in my opinion is very likely to be true, that whyle Romains reigned here, Kingſtone vppon Thames was the chiefe place of their coynage for this prouince. For in earing of the grounde about that Towne in tymes paſt, and nowe of late (beſides the curious fundation of many goodly buyldinges that haue béene ripped vp, and diuers coines of braſſe, ſiluer, and Golde, with Romaine letters in painted pots that haue béene found there) in the dayes of Cardinall Wolſey, one ſuch pot was diſcouered ful as it were of new ſiluer lately coined. Another with plates of ſiluer ready to be coyned. And the thirde, wyth cheanes of ſiluer, ready as it ſhould appeare to bée melted into coine, whereof let thys ſuffice to countenaunce out my coniecture.

Of our accompt of time, and partes thereof. Cap. 21.

AS Libra is As or Aſsis vnto yͤ Romains for theyr waight, & the foote in ſtandard meaſure: ſo in our accompt of the partes of time, we take the houre to be the greateſt of yͤ leaſt, and leaſt of the greateſt, wherby we kéepe our reckening. For my part I do not ſée any great difference vſed in the obſeruation of tyme and hir partes betwéene oure owne and any other foreine nation, wherefore I ſhal not néede to ſtand long vpon this matter. Howbeit, to the ende our exact order héerein ſhall appeare vnto all men, I wil ſet downe ſome ſhort rehearſall therof, and that in ſo briefe maner as vnto me is poſſible. As for our Aſtronomicall practiſes, I meane not to meddle wyth them, ſith theyr courſe is vniformely obſerued ouer all. Our common order therfore is to begin at the minute, as at the ſmalleſt part of time knowne vnto the people, notwythſtanding that in moſt places they deſcend no lower then the halfe quarter or quarter of the howre, and from whence they procéede vnto the houre, whych is the 24. part of that whych we call the common and naturall day, & doth begin at midnight. Of vnequall houres or dayes, our natiō hath no regard, and therefore to ſhew theyr quan-

Tempus est internallū mundi et motus demsū in ptes aliquot a solis et lunettities cursu a quo tenore· tempus dictū est.

Tempus est solis motus progressus et mensura.

Tri sunt tempora { present / preteritū / futurum

Tempus preteritum non redibit.

Tempus futurum adhuc non cernimus

[illegible] dimidi potest quia incipit et desinit vno instante.

tities & differences, it ſhould be but in vaine. In lyke ſoꝛt, whereas the Egyptians, Italians, Bohemians, and Iewes begin theyr day at the Sunne ſet ouer night: the Perſians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noꝛimbergians at the Sunne riſing (each of them accoūting theyr dayes and nights by vnequall houres) alſo the Athenienſes, Arabians, Dutchmen and Aſtronomers at hygh none: We after the Romain maner vſed in the Church there of long time, choſe the very poynte of midnight, from whence we accompt .12. equall houres vnto midday enſuing, and other .12. againe vnto the afoꝛeſaid poynt. And this is our generall oꝛder foꝛ the naturall day. Of the artificiall we make ſo farre account, as that we recken it to be day when the Sunne is vp, and nyght when it leaueth our Horizon: otherwyſe alſo we deuide it into two partes, that is to ſay, foꝛenoone and afternoone, not regarding the ruddy, ſhining, burning and warming ſeaſons (of thrée vnequal houres a péece,) whych other ſéeme to obſerue, and wherof I read theſe verſes.

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ.
Hæc rubet, hæc ſplendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

In déede our Phiſitians haue another partition of the day, as men of no leſſe learning no doubt then the beſt of foꝛein countryes if we could ſo conceaue of them. And héerein they concurre wyth thoſe of other nations, who foꝛ diſtinction in regiment of our humours, diuide the artificiall day and night in ſuch wiſe as theſe verſes doe impoꝛt, and are in déede a generall rule whych each of them doth follow.

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres ſanguinis imas,
Vis cholere medias lucis ſex vendicat horas.
Datq; melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas ſex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Oꝛ thus, as Tanſteter hath geuen them foꝛth in hys Pꝛelections.

A nona noctis donec ſit tertia lucis,
Eſt dominus ſanguis, ſex inde ſequētibꝰ horis
Eſt dominans cholera, dum lucis nona ſit hora
Poſt niger humid. ineſt donec ſit tertia noctis.
Poſthæc phlegma venit, donec ſit nona quietis

In Engliſh thus in effect.

Three houres ere ſun do riſe, & ſo many after, Blud,
Frō 9. to 3. at after none, hot choler beares the ſway,
Euen ſo to 9. at night, ſwart Choler hath to rule,
As Phlegme from thence to 3. at morne: 6. houres eache one I ſay.

ght.

In like ſoꝛt foꝛ the nyght we haue none other partes then the twylight, darke nyght, midnight, and cockes crowing. Wheras the Latines diuide the ſame into .7. partes, as Veſper the Euening, which is immediately after the ſetting of the Sunne. Crepuſculum the twylight, when it is betwéene day and night, lyght and darkneſſe, oꝛ pꝛoperly neyther day noꝛ night. Conticinium the ſtill of the nyght, when each one is layd to reſt. Intempeſtum, the dul oꝛ dead of the night, when men be in theyr firſt oꝛ dead ſléepe. Gallicinium the cockes crowing. Matutinum the bꝛeache of the day, and Diluculum ſiue aurora, the ruddy, oꝛenge, golden oꝛ ſhining coloure, ſéene immediately befoꝛe the riſing of the Sunne. Other there are whych doe recken by watches, diuiding the nyght into .4. equal partes. Of whych the firſt beginneth at Euening, called the firſt watch, and continueth by .3. vnequall houres, and ſo foꝛth vntill the ende of the nynth houre, wherat the fourth watch entreth, whych is called the moꝛning watch, because it partly concurreth with ẏ moꝛning & bꝛeache of the day befoꝛe the riſing of the Sunne. As foꝛ the oꝛiginall of the woꝛde houre, it is very auncient, but yet not ſo olde as that of the watch whych was deuiſed firſt among ſouldiers foꝛ theyr better ſafegarde and chaunge of watchmen in theyr campes, the lyke whereof is almoſt vſed among our ſeafaring men, whych they call clearing of the glaſſe, and perfoꝛmed from time to time wyth great héede and ſome ſolemnitie. Certeſſe the woꝛde Hora among the Grecians, ſignified ſo well the .4. quarters of the yeare, as the .24. part of ẏ day, but what ſtand I vpon theſe things to let my purpoſe ſtay. To procéede therefoꝛe. Of naturall dayes is the wéeke compacted, which conſiſteth of .7. of them. The firſt entreth with Monday, whereby it commeth to paſſe that we reſt vpon the Sunday, whych is the .7. in number, as almighty God hath commaunded in his woꝛd. The Iewes begin theyr weke vpon our Saterday at the ſetting of the Sunne, and the Turkes with the Saterday: wherby it commeth to paſſe, that as the Iewes make our laſt day the firſt of theyr wéeke, ſo the Turks make the Iewiſh Sabaoth the beginning of theyr Hebdoma, becauſe Mahomet theyr pꝛophet (as they ſay) was boꝛne & dead vpō ẏ friday, & ſo he was in dede, except their Alcharō deceaue me. The Iewes doe recken theyr dayes by theyr diſtance from theyr ſabaoth, ſo that the firſt day of theyr wéeke, is the firſt day of the ſabaoth, and ſo foꝛth vnto the ſixte. The Latines accompted theyr dayes after the .7. Planets, choſing the ſame foꝛ the denominatoꝛ of the daye, that entreth hys regiment wyth the firſt vnequall houre of the ſame after the Sunne be riſen. Howbeit, as thys oꝛder is not wholly reteined wyth vs, ſo the vſe of the ſame is not yet altogither abolyſhed, as may appeare by our Monday,

watche.

Houre.

wéeke.

Monday,

partes temporis die maioris { [illegible]
indictio
Seculum
Lustrum

partes temporis die minoris { Septimana
mensis
annus

Huius partes. { Quadrans
Hora
punctus
momentum
Uncia
Atamos

Monday, and Saturday. The reſt were chāged by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Woden, Othin, or Oden, Then ſometime theyr prince called the ſecond day of ẏ weeke Theweſday the iij. day Wodenſdach. Lykewiſe of Thor, they called the iiij day Thorſdach, and of Frea wyfe to Woden the v. was named Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amiſſe as I thinke) that ſuppoſe them to meane by Thor, Jupiter, by Woden Mercury, by Frea Venus, and finally by Theut Mars: which if it be ſo, then it is an eaſie matter to find out the Germaine Mars, Venus, Mercury and Jupiter, wherof you may read more heereafter in my Chronologie. The truth is, that Frea had 7. ſonnes by Woden, as Woden the firſt, father to Wecta, of whome deſcēded thoſe that were afterwards kings of Kent, Fethelgeta was the ſeconde. and of hym came the kings of Mertia. Balday 3. father to the kings of the Weſtſaxõs. Beldagius 4. parent to the kings of Brennicia or Northumberland. Weogodach 5. author of the kings of Deyra. Caſer. 6. rote of the Eſtangle race, and Naſcad originall burgeaunt of the kings of Eſſex. As for the kings of Suſſex, although they were of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame ſtreigne, as our old monuments do expreſſe. But to proceede. Of weekes, our monethes are made whych are ſo called of the Moone, each one cõteing 28. dayes, or 4. weekes, wythout any further curioſity. For we reckē not our time by the yeare of the Moone, as the Jewes, Grecians or Romains did at the firſt, or as the Turks, Arabians & Perſians do now: neyther any parcell therof by ẏ ſayd part as they do in ẏ Weſt Indies, wher they haue neither weke, moneth nor yere, but only a general accoũt of hundreds & thouſands of Moones, wherfore if we ſay or wryte a moneth, it is to be expounded of 28. dayes or 4. weekes only. Or if you take it at large for a moneth of the common Kalender, whych neuertheleſſe in plees and ſutes is nothyng at all allowed of, ſith the Moone maketh hir ful reuolutiõ in 28. dayes, that is, vnto the place where ſhe left the Sunne, notwythſtanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found where ſhee departed from hym.

In olde time eche Moneth of the Romaine Calender, was reconed after the courſe of ẏ Moone, and theyr entraunces were incertaine, as were alſo the changes of that Planet. But after Iulius Cæſar had once corrected the ſame, the ſeuerall beginninges of euerye one of them dyd not onely remayne fyxed, but alſo the olde order in the deuiſion of their partes continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the Moneth is yet deuided as befor into Calendes, Ides, and Nones, albeit that i mydaies, the vſe of the ſame be but ſmall, & their order retained only in our Calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch tymes, as the hiſtoriographers and olde authors do remember. The reconing alſo of ech of theſ goeth as you ſee after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romaynes dyd rather note howe many daies were to the next chaung, from the precedent then contrarywyſe, as by peruſall of ẏ ſame you ſhall more eaſily perceyue. The daies alſo of the change of ẏ Moneth of ẏ Moone, called are Callendæ, which in time of Paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, & ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on ẏ ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on ẏ Ides and Nones they would not marye. Likewiſe the morow after eche of thē, were called dies Atri, blacke daies, as ſome bookes doe yet remember. The word Calendæ in Greeke Neomenia, is deriued of the worde Calo, to call: for vpon the firſt daye of euery Moneth, the Prieſt vſed to call the people of the Citie & country togither, and ſhewe them by a cuſtome howe many daies were from the ſaid Calendes to the Nones, and what feaſts were to be celebrated betweene that and the next chaunge. The Nones commonly are not aboue 4. or 6. in euery Moneth, and ſo long as the Nones laſted, ſo long did the Mercates continue, & therfore they were called Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ. In them alſo were neyther Hollydayes (more then at thys preſent, except ẏ day of the Purification of our Lady) nor ſacrifice offred to the gods, but each one applied hys buſineſſe, and kept hys market, reckening the firſt day after the Calends or chaũge, to be the 4. or 6. day before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called Nonæ, of the word Non, quia in iiſdem dij non coluntur, or as Ouide ſayeth. Nonarum tutela deo caret. But howſoeuer it be, ſure it is that they were ẏ mart dayes of euery moneth wherein the people bought, ſolde, and dyd nothing elſe. The Idus are ſo named of the Hethruſcien word Iduare to deuide, and before that Ceſar altered the Calender, they deuided the moneth commonly by the myddeſt. But afterward when he had added certaine dayes thereto, thereby to make it agree wyth the yeare of the ſunne (whych he intruded about the ende of euerye moneth, becauſe he woulde not alter the celebration of theyr vſuall Feaſtes: then came they ſhorte of the myddeſt, ſometime by two or three dayes. In theſe theeſo which alwaies are eyght, the Marchauntes had layſure to packe vp and conueigh theyr marchaundiſe, to paye their creditors and make merry with their friendes. After the Idus do the Calendes followe, but in a decreaſing order, as the Moone doth in light when ſhe is paſt the full. But herein lyeth all the myſterie, if you can ſaye ſo many dayes before the next chaunge or newe Moone, as the number there expreſſed doth betoken. As for 16. cal. ſo many dayes before the next coniunctiō. &c. Of theſe Calendes, I meane touching their number in euery Moneth, I fynde theſe verſes inſuing.

Ianus & Auguſtus denas nouemq; Decēber,
Iunius, Aprilis, Septēber & ipſe Nouember,
Ter ſenas retinent, Februus bis Octo Calēdas
Iulius October Mars Maius Epadecemq;

In Engliſhe thus.

December, Ian, and Auguſt moneth full nyneteene
Calendes haue.
September, Iune, Nouember and Aprill twyſe nine
deſire,
Syxteene foule Februarie hath, no more can be well
craue.
October, Maye and Iuly hote, but ſeauenteene doe
require,

In lyke maner of nones and Ides.

Sex maius Nonas, October, Iulius & Mars
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit Idus quilibet octo.
To Iuly, March, October, May, ſixe nones I hight,
The reſt but 4, as for your Ides they take but eight

Agayne touching the number of dayes in euery moneth.

Iunius, Aprilis, Septemq;, Nouemq; tricenos
vnū plus reliqui, Febru' tenet octo vicenos,
At ſi biſſextus fuerit ſuper additur vnus.
Thirty dayes hath Nouember
Aprill, Iune and September,
Twentie and eyght hath February alone,
and all the reſt thirty and one,
But in the leape you muſt adde one.

Our yeare is accounted after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the Moone for the obſeruation of certaine moueable feaſtes, yet it is reducted to that of the Sunne, which in our ciuile dealinges is chiefly had in vſe. Herein onely I finde a ſcruple that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certaine, for our recordes beare Date the 25. of March, and our Calenders of the firſt of January. Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie enteraunces into their charges of cuſtome, which breedeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Ianuarie) I do not thincke but there would be more certaintie and leſſe trouble for our hiſtoriographers and offices in their account of the yeare. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the Leape yeare is ſomewhat to much by certayne minutes (which in 309. yeares do amount vnto an whole day) yf one intercalation in ſo many were omitted, our Calender would be the nigher perfect. ¶ I woulde wiſh that the ſame yeare wherein the ſaide intercalation ſhould be ouerpaſſed, might be called Annus magnus Elizabethæ in perpetual remembrance, of our noble and ſoueraign princeſſe. Certes the next omiſſion is to be performed yf all Princes woulde agree thereto in the Leape yeare that ſhall be about the yeare of grace 1700. If it ſhall pleaſe God that the worlde may laſt ſo long. Aboue the yeare we haue no mo partes of Time, that cary any ſeuerall names with them, except you will affirme the worde age, to be one which is taken for 100. yeares, it ſignifieth in Engliſhe ſo much as Seculum or Euum doth in latine, whereof this may ſuffice. But to conclude withal, you ſhall haue a table of the names of the dayes of the weeke, after the olde Saxon and Scottiſh maner, which I haue borowed from amongeſt our auncient wryters.

The preſent names.
Monday.
Tueſday.
Wedneſday.
Thurſday.
Fryday.
Saterday.
Sunday.

The olde Saxon names.
Monendeg.
Tueſdeg.
Wodneſdeg.
Thurreſdeg.
Firgeſdeg.
Saterdeg.
Sunnandeg.

The Scottiſh vſage.
Diu Luna.
Diu Mart.
Diu Yath.
Diu Ethamon.
Diu Friach.
Diu Satur.
Diu Serol.

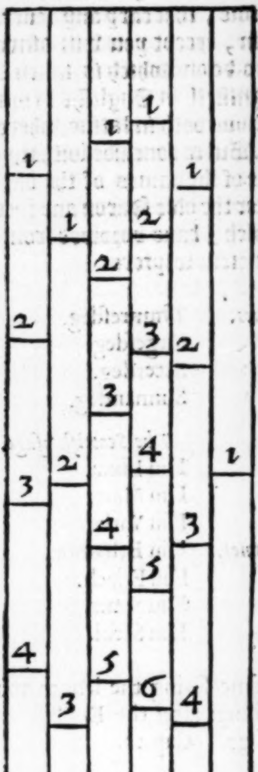
Of the maner of meaſuring the length and bredth of things after the Engliſh vſage. Cap. 22.

The firſt and ſmalleſt of our meaſures is the Barly corne, whereof three being taken out of the middeſt of the eare, well dryed and layde endewardes one to another, are ſayde to make an ynche, which the Latines Inche. meaſure after the bredth of the thombe, and therfore of ſome is called Pollicare, although the true name thereof be Vncia, as I haue often reade. That which they call Digitus or Finger bredth. the finger bredth, is not in vſe with vs: yet is it the ſixtenth part of theyr foote, as the inche is the twelfth of ours. Each palme or hand Palme. bredth cōtaineth alſo foure of theyr fingers, as by the figure heere inſuing, may eaſily be perceyued, whych I haue ſet downe onely to the ende that who ſo liſteth may beholde the diuerſity,

diuerſity not onely betwéene the Romaine meaſure & ours, but alſo of their owne ſtandard which hath chaunged oft among them.

Certes it coulde not well be brought to paſſe, to giue out the whole foote becauſe the quantitie of the page would not ſuffer mée ſo to doe, wherefore I haue exemplified only in the halfe, which I hope ſhall abundauntly ſatiſfie eche one that is deſirous to ſée and perceyue their difference. The firſt columne therefore ſetteth downe the halfe foote, after the ſtanderd of Englãd. The 2. ſéemeth to be a Romain foote, found out of late by Barthólomeus Marlianus, and ſet downe to be ſéene in his Topography of Rome. Therin alſo euerye fynger breadth conteineth two of the old aſſize, wherby hée maketh not 16. but onely eyght in the whole, as you may there behold. The third is that which Budeus had ſõetime delyuered vnto him, who was very curyous in ſerching of the weights, and meaſures, of olde tyme as maye yet appeare by his excellent treatize De aſſe, wherin hys ſyngular ſkill in thys behalfe doth euidently appeare.

The fourth was foũde long ſince, by Leonardꝰ de Portis, in a Garden at Rome, belongyng to Angelus Colotius. The fift is the halfe foote of Paris, diuyded by the ynche, and yet equall to ẏ Romaine ſtanderd deſcribed by Budeus. The laſt ſheweth the the quantitie of their Palme, whereof their foote hath foure, and eche Palme conteyneth 4. fingers as I haue ſaide already. By this Tablet alſo as you may ſée, howe eche ſtanderde excéedeth or commeth ſhorte of other, Wherefore it ſhall not néede for me to ſtay any longer vppon theyr differences, which may ſo well and better be determined by the eye. Of our meaſures therefore.



Thrée Barly cornes do make an ynche.

Twelue ynches yéelde a foote.

Thrée foote are our yarde.

One yarde and nyne ynches giue an elne.

Seauen foote yéelde a fadam.

By the ſtanderde. Although we vſe commonly to call the ſpace betwéene the toppes of our middle fingers (when our armes be ſtretched out at length) by that name alſo: the ſame likewyſe beyng called Paſſus ſometimes, as the height of a man is Status, & ſuppoſed to be all one with the leſſer fadam, or or extention of his armes. But to procéede.

Sixtéene foote & an halfe, or 5. yardes & an halfe do make a pole in whoſe Area are 272. of our féete & an half. Foure poles in length, and one in breadth, do yéeld a rodde, or rode of grounde, which ſome call a fardendele or yardlande. Foure roddes doe gyue an Acre, whoſe plotte hath 43600. or fortie poole in length, and thereto foure in bredth.

The auncient Romaynes had for theyr land as Columella ſaith. lib.5.cap.1.

The finger bredth.

The foote of ſixtéene finger bredthes.

The pace fiue foote.

Actus euery way had a 120. foote. In Hiſpania Betica, it hight Agna: but in Gallia Arepẽ.

Iugerum, had two Actus and was ſo called tãquam a iunctis Actibus: ſo that it conteined one way 240. foote, and 120. another, that is, 28800. foote in the whole plot.

Porca. 7200. féete.

Verſus, 8640. Agna. 14400.

The furlong hath 125. paces, or 625. féete.

Eyght furlonges alſo made a myle.

Centuria, hath 200 Iugera, but in olde time onely, 100. for notwithſtanding that the firſt be doubbled, yet it retaineth ſtill the priſtinate denomination, as we ſée in the worde tribe, which was at the firſt but one part of the thrée, wherinto ẏ whole people of Rome were ſeuered & deuided. But let vs returne vnto our owne againe.

¶ It lyke ſort for ſuch as trauaile.

Fyue foote meaſured by the ſayde ynche make a pace & 125. paces doe yéelde a furlong.

Eyght furlonges or 1000. paces is a mile, and after ths Geometricall pace are our myles meaſured, which ſome notwithſtanding doe recone by about 278. tournes of a

Carte whéeles, whoſe compaſſe is commonly of eyghtéene foote of the ſtanderd, and and height fyue foote and an halfe, as I haue béene informed by Whelewrightes in the citie.

By the foote alſo we meaſure glaſſe, and Tymber, and all others our buyldings. By the yarde our woollen cloth, tapiſſery, Arras Sylkes, and Laces: but our linnen by yͤ elne. Finally our woodes and paſtures are layed out by the pole, and therto our hedging, and ditching, after the ſame rate: although the depth of our ditches is meaſured by the foote, ⁊ likewiſe their bredth as experience dayly cõfirmeth. Beſids this we haue alſo another kind of meaſuring, ⁊ that is by the fadam, the vſe whereof is onely ſéene in the digging of pittes, welles ⁊ mines, meaſuring of ropes, ⁊ ſounding the depth of the ſea, when dreade of perill inforceth our mariners to ſée vnto their ſafegarde. It is furthermore a common opinion amongſt vs, that euery hundred acres of grounde, containe iuſt a myle in compaſſe rounde aboute: but as I haue not yet examined howe truely thys is ſaide, ſo I am moſt ſure that a plot of 400. Acres, ſhall not yéelde a lyke proportion, by the one halfe, whenſoeuer you walke about it.. And euen thus woulde I ende, with this chapter, concerning our maner of meaſuring before remẽbred were it not that I thinke good to ſet downe what I haue gathered of the lyke meaſuryngs as they haue ben vſed in other countries where they alſo doe recone by the Graine, making their accompt much after ſuch maner as followeth.

The Digitus or finger breadth hath foure graines layd ſide to ſide.
The Vncia maior, thrée fingers.
The palme hath foure fingers.
Their dichas two hande breadthes or eyght fingers.
Their ſpanne thrée hand bredthes or twelue fingers bredthes.
Their foote is ſixtéene fingers or foure handbreathes.
Their foote and halfe in latine, Seſquipes or Cubitus, 24. finger breathes.
The ſteppe two foote and an halfe.
The common pace thrée foote.
The Geometricall fyue foote.
The Orgia ſixe foote, as I gather out of Suidas.
The league thrée myles Engliſh.
The common dutche myle 4000. paces.
The greate dutch myle 5000 paces.
¶ In lyke ſorte the Latines ⁊ we doe meaſure our iourneys by myles.
The Grecians by furlonges.
The french and ſpaniſhe by leagues.
The Egiptians by Signes.
The Perſians by Paraſangas, of which eche one conteyneth thirtie furlonges.

As for the olde Brytiſhe myle that includeth 1500. paces engliſh, it ſhal not greately néede to make any diſcourſe of it, ⁊ ſo much the leſſe, ſith it is yet in vſe and not forgottẽ among the Welch men, as Leland hath noted in his commentaries of Bryteine: wherfore it may ſuffiſe to haue ſaide thus much of the ſame, and ſo of all the reſt, beyng mindfull to goe forwarde and make an ende of this treatiſe.

Of Engliſh weightes and their compariſon with others. Cap. 23.

The leaſt of our waightes is a grayne, betwéene which and the ounce we haue the halfe quarter, the half, and thrée quarters of the ounce. In olde tyme theſe ſmaller partes were commonlye reconed by péeces of coyne and not by quarter and halfe quarter as we doe nowe. As by the farding or fourth part of a peny, which waighed eyght graines, the halfepeny that peyſed ſixtéene, and peny that counterpeyſed 32. and was in déede the 20. part of an ounce, ſo that for the halfe quarter we ſayd two pence halfepeny, for the quarter fiue pence, and halfe ounce tenne pence, which is nowe growne out of vſe, ⁊ our coine ſo inhaunced that 60. of our pence doe hardly make an ounce, and aleauẽ graines ſuffice with the more to counterpeyſe a peny.

The Athenien ounce was leſſe then ours by 64. graynes, and deuided into his partes after this maner following.

Lepta the ſeauenth part of two graynes.
Granum, A graine.
Chalchus two graines and ſeauen Leptæ.
Siliqua foure graines.
Semiobolus ſixe graines or thrée Chalchi.
Obolus hath twelue graines.
Scriptulum two Obolos.
Drachma 3 Scriptula or 72. graines.
Vncia 8 Drachmes: 24. Scriptulas: 48. Ob: 576. graines, whereby they differed not alſo from the Romaines in their vncia who reconed their ſmall waightes after this maner following.
A graine the leaſt of all.
Siliqua had 4. graines.
Semiobolus 6. graines.
Obolus 12. graines.
Victoriatus one thirtenth part of an ounce

or 41. graines and $\frac{1}{14}$ of a graine.

Denarius the ſeauenth part of an ounce.
Sextula the ſixt part.
Sicilicus the fourth part.
Duella the thirde part.
Semuncia the ſecond part, or half an ounce otherwyſe called a Stater.
Vncia the ounce which had two Semuncias 3. Duellas: 4. Sicilicos: 6. Stextulas: 7. Denarios: 14. Victoriatus: and 576. graines, as they themſelues doe number them.

Epiphanius in his De menſuris & ponderibus, ſpeaking of the ounce deuideth it into two Stateres, 4. Siclos, and 8. Drachmes, whereby he maketh the Stater to containe halfe an ounce or two Didrachmas. And as he agréeth with vs in 8. Drachmes to the ounce, ſo he maketh the leſſe Holcen to counteruaile the Drachme, and the greater the Sicle: after which alſo the heare of Abſolon was weighed and founde to haue Holcen ſiclorum 125. that is two pounde and an halfe as he maketh vp his reckening.

That the Siclus was once called Talentum I referre you to Euſebius his 9. booke De preparatione Euangelica, where he alledgeth the authoritie of Eupolemus, writing of Dauid, Salomon and the bylding of the Temple at large. In the 30. of Exodus we finde the Jewiſh Sicle to containe 20. obolos, which Ioſephus expounding in the thirde of his Antiquities, ſayth that the Sicle of the Hebrues dyd counteruaile foure Drachmes of Athens. The like doeth Jerome affirme vpon the fourth of Ezechiel. Hereof alſo Eupolemus gathereth manifeſtly that the 10. talentes of golde which Salomon gaue vnto eache of thoſe workemen that wrought vpon his Temple, were but ſo many Sicles yf his authoritie be founde. But to our owne.

We haue alſo a weight called the pounde, whereof are two ſortes the one taking name of Troy contayning twelue ounces (after which our liquide & drie meaſures are weighed and our plat ſolde) the other commonly called Haberdupois, whereby our other artificers and chapmen doe buye and ſell theyr wares. The firſt of theſe contayneth 7680. graines wheras the other hath 10240. Each of them alſo are deuided into the halfe quarter, quarter, and halfe pounde, & thrée quarters as we haue ſayde before in the deſcription of the ounce. Nowe in conference of the ſame with the Gréecian weightes if you reſpect the Mna commonly vſed amongeſt the Phiſitiõs and Surgeons (I meane for number of ounces) you ſhall finde ſmall difference betwéene theſe and our Haberdupois, but yf you better cõſider of their difference in ounces, you ſhall ſée ſome oddes which I will hereafter ſette downe. Furthermore as we haue two ſortes of poundes in Englande, ſo the Greekes beſide the fore alleadged, haue thrée kindes of Mnas, whereof the firſt called the greater or the newe, hath

12. ounces and foure Drachmes, or
100. Drachmes, or
600. Obolos, or Semiobolos. 1200.
3600. Calchos, or
25200. Leptas & of theſe Liuie ſpeaketh.

Their ſecond is called the olde Mna, whoſe proportion is giuen out after thys maner, and hath

9. ounces and thrée Drachmes, or
75. Drachmes, or
450. Obolos, or
900. Semiobolos, or
2700. Calchos
18900. Leptas.

As for theire Apothecary Mna, it conteined after their common accoupt,

14. ounces or.
112. Drachmes, and an halfe, or
337. Scruptulas and an halfe, or
675. Obolos, whereof let this ſuffice.

In lyke ſort the Romaines hauing but one Libra, deuided it alſo into theſe euen partes inſuing,

12. ounces or 576. graines.
2. Semiſſes or 6. ounces.
3. Trientes, or 4. ounces.
4. Quadrantes, or 3. ounces.
6. Sextantes, or 2. ounces.
8. Seſcuncias or one ounce and an halfe.

Beſide theſe alſo they had certaine odde weightes (percelles of their Libra) which did fitin as it were betwéene theſe, and whoſe names for helpe of the diligent in hyſtoricall ſtudie I will ſet downe as thus,

Denux of 11. ounces.
Dextans of 10. ounces.
Dodrans of 9. ounces.
Bes of 8. ounces.
Septunx of 7. ounces.

Quincunx of fiue ounces, whereby we ſée that the Romaine Libra is not all one with the Athenien Mna as may likewyſe be farther ſéene by this diuiſion inſuing for the Romaine Libra hath

12 Vncias.
24 Semuncias.
36 Duellas.
48 Sicilicos.
72 Sextulas.
84 Denarios.
168. Victoriatus & 288. Scriptula.

And as Libra ſurmounteth the olde Mna, ſo the new Mna excéedeth the Libra, and ſo dyd alſo the Apothecarie weight as I haue ſayde before. But yet to ſay ſomewhat more of the Romaine Libra or pounde, & other like poyſes, I thincke it very expedient for the helpe of ſuch as ſhall meete wyth the ſame in reading of the Hyſtories, & better conference of their proportion with ours.

It is to be noted that As or Aſsis, is a worde properly to be applyed vnto any thing that may be deuided into partes, wherby it commeth to paſſe that as the foote is As vnto the ſmaller meaſure, and Libra vnto the ſmaller coyne, ſo Libra or Pondo is As or Aſsis, vnto the partes of hys diuiſion being left of the greateſt, & greateſt of the ſmalleſt weightes.

Of Libra alſo the pound weight was ſometyme called Libralis, 2. pounde Bilibris, three pounde Trilibris &c. And in like ſort was Pondo vſed and alſo As, ſo that for the aforeſayde poyſes we ſhall reade Pondo, dupondius, trepondius in the one: and for 3. pound, 4. pounde 9. pounde, and 10. pounde, Treſsis, Quadraſsis, Nonuſsis, and Decuſsis in the other. Alſo for two Decuſſes 3. Decuſſes and 10. Decuſſes: Viceſsis, Triceſsis, and Centuſſis, that is, 20. Aſſes, 30. Aſſes and 100. Aſſes or poundes as the authours doe expound it. In like ſorte Apondus or Aſsipondius is a pounde weight, Dua pondo, two pound, Trepondo three pounde, as by reading may be found out. Whenſoeuer you find Pondo put with an other worde of weight, it ſignifieth the worde ſimply wherevnto it is referred, as Pondo, Libra a pound, Pondo vncia an ounce and ſo forth in the reſt. I might here ſay that the braſſe penny of the Romaines weight at the firſt wayed 10. pounde, of which Seſtertius being the fourth parte contayned two pounde and an halfe: but when they begunne to coyne ſiluer money, the ſiluer denarjus or Libra was valued after the eſtimation of the ſubſtaunce at 10. pounde of the braſen mettall, and yet ye ſhall not reade that the Romaines did euer vſe the worde As, Aſsis at any time for the ſiluer coine, but Libella whiche I doe take as a thing worthie to be noted. In like ſort Quinarius was the halfe of the denarius, and Quadrans, a coyne of three ounces in braſſe, whereof this may ſuffice. Furthermore in obſeruation of the word Seſtertium. You ſhall vnderſtande that mille Seſtertium, mille Seſtertium numum, mille Numum and mille Seſtertij are all one. In like ſort Seſtertia in the Neuter gender, doe counteruaile mille Seſtertios in the Maſculine gender. But if any Aduerbe of number be added vnto them, it ſignifieth hundredes of thouſandes. Decem Seſtertia therefore are 10000. Seſtertium or Seſtertios. And decies Seſtertios, or Seſtertiū is all one with 100000. Seſtertios or Seſtertium, as Budens Glarean and other haue ſet downe.

Thus it ſhall nowe be an eaſie matter to finde the difference betweene theſe here remembred & our Engliſh poiſes, if the number of oure graines be duely conſidered, and theſe reſolued into ounces or leſſe weight, as occaſiō doth require. Hitherto alſo I haue ſpoken of ſmall weightes, nowe let vs ſee what they be that are of the greater ſort, but firſt of ſuch as are in vſe in Englande, reconing not after troye weight, but Haberdupois, whoſe pounde hath ſixteene ounces, as I haue ſayde before. Of great weight therefore we haue

The cloue weighing 7 pound or half a ſtone.
The halfe quarterne of 14. pounde, in wooll a ſtone, whereof 26. do make a ſacke.
The quarterne of 28. pound, in wooll a Todde.
The halfe hundred of 56. pounde.
The hundred of 112. or 1792. ounces.

And theſe are vſually reconed next vnto the hundred weight, which is the greateſt of all that we doe commonly vſe, and of which dyuers other are commonly made about the ſale of our Tinne, Leade, Flaxe, Spyce, and all kinde of marchaundiſe with others, whoſe quantities & names are vtterly vnknowne vnto me. Beefe is eyther ſolde by yͤ ſtone of eyght pounde or by the ſcore. Cheeſe by the weigh. And hereof we finde two ſeuerall weightes, whereof one containeth 32. Cloues, eache cloue being of ſeauen pound, (although ſome Bookes haue one but of ſixe) whereby the one weigh hath 224. the other 256. pound, that is 36. cloues & foure pounde ouer weight. This is moreouer to be noted, that the worde hundred, is not allwayes vſed after one ſort in waight or tale, for as fiue ſcore are oft taken for an hundred in ſome reſpect as in money & men: ſo 120. do make but an hundred as in cattell, &c. after another accoūt. But if you deale by waight the 112. is allwayes your iuſt number. And as the hundred is the greateſt here in Englande, ſo the talent was the greateſt in Grece & other countries. Howbeit as our hundredes in tale doe differ from our hundredes in waight, ſo did the talents differ one from another, and alſo from them ſelues, for

The great talent of Athens weyghed 1000. of theyr ounces.
The leſſe of Athens 750. ounces, or 6000. drachmes.
That called Egyneū 1250. ounces (of theirs) or 10000. drachmes.
That of Syria 187. oūces, or 1500. drachms.
That of Babylon 875. ounces, or 7000.

drachmes.

And all after the rate of the Athenian ounce, vnto whoſe talent alſo the Euboiſke did ſeeme to come very neare, as may appeare by conference. Now to make ſome collation of our weightes and theſe afore remembred togither, and ſo farre as ſhalbe neceſſary for the reading of forreine hyſtories.

¶ Of the Ounce.

You ſhall vnderſtand that our ounce exceedeth the ounce of the Romains or Grecians by 64. grains, as may eaſily be gathered by that whych is already ſet downe.

Our drachme therfore muſt needes cõtaine 86. graines, which is 8. more then any of the other.

Our Scriptulum (if we had any) 26. grains, and a third part of two graines.

Our Obolus 13. graines and third part of a grain, ſo that in our mony after 5. ſhillings to the ounce 7. pence ob. is the iuſt waight of a drachme, wherby it is eaſie to caſt the true quantitie of the leſſe.

¶ Of the Mna.

The firſt alſo of the three Mnas afore remembred called the greater, being caſt after his proportion, hath 11. ounces and two drachmes, that is 56. ſhillings and 3. pence, whereby it wanteth ſomewhat of a pounde of Troy waight.

The olde Mna hath 67. drachmes and an halfe, that is 8. of our ounces, & three drams, or 42. ſhillings, and 2. pence ob. after our Engliſh reckening.

The thirde Mna hath 13. ounces & a halfe, that is 3. pound Engliſh, 7. ſhillings 6. pence farding, and halfe farding.

The fourth Mna firſt of all remembred, (I meane of 16. ounces) hath in like ſort 14. ounces, 3. drachmes 16. graines or 3. pounde 12. ſhillings of currant money of Englande, after 5. ſhillings to the ounce.

¶ In lyke ſort of Talents.

The great talent of Athens hath 900. ounces, that is of our money 225. pound.

The ſmall talent of Athens, hath 671. ounces and 7. drachmes: or 167. pounde 19. ſhillings 4. pence ob. Engliſh.

The third talent of Aegyneũ 1156. ounces 2. drachmes, that is 289. pound Engliſh, one ſhilling and 3. pence.

The fourth of thoſe afore remembred 168. ounces 2. drachmes or 42. pound, one ſhilling 6. pence Engliſh.

The laſt, 787. ounces and 4. drachmes, or 196. pound, 17. ſhil. 6. pen. engliſh, as I haue truely caſt it, except I miſtake oughts in my reckening, whych is a thing ſoone done: only thys can not faile, that 3. pounde in coyne is one pound in waight, after 5. ſhillings to th ounce, wherof let thys ſuffice, for the talen in waight. I ſay in waight, becauſe ther was a peece of coyne called alſo a talent, a I haue noted out of Eupolemus before, wh confoundeth it wyth a ſicle. And thereof I read furthermore that the Hebrues Tetra drachma was ſuch a talent. As for that of the Athenienſes, it contained 3. Stateres and thys alſo ynough.

Of liquide meaſures.

Cap. 24.

Hitherto haue I ſpoken of waights, no it reſteth that I doe the lyke of ſuche li quide meaſures as are preſently vſed in En gland, and haue bene of olde time amongſt the Grecians and Romaines. Wherin I wi deale ſo faithfully as I may, to the ende thys trauaile of mine may be ſome helpe to ſuch as ſhal come after in conferring forren with our home made weights and meaſures, an for the better vnderſtanding of the hiſtories, wherein ſuch thyngs are ſpoken of. The firſt therfore of our Engliſh meaſures, is

A ſpooneful, which hath one of our drachmes and 6. graines.

An aſſay, taſte or ſippet 4. ſpoonefuls : or 4. drachmes and 24. graines.

A fardendele is a quarter of a poũd, pinte, o 3. ounces of Troy.

An Muytch 6. ounces or halfe a pinte.

A pinte 12. ounces, or a pounde, or 4. fardendeles.

A quart 24. ounces, two pintes, or 2. pounde Troy.

A pottle, 48. ounces or 4. pounde, or ſo many pintes.

A gallon 96. ounces, or 8. pound, or 8. pintes.

A firkin 8. gallons or 64. pound, and thys in Ale, Sope, and Herring.

The kilderkin 16. gallons.

The barrell 32. gallons. And theſe are ou meare Engliſh liquide meaſures. The reſt we haue are outlandiſh veſſels; and ſuch a are brought ouer vnto vs wyth wares fro other countreys. And yet are we not altog ther guided by thys rate (the more pitye) bu in ſome things ſeuerall meaſures are vſed and receyued, as for example.

The fyrkin of beare hath 9. gallons.

The kilderkin 18. gallons.

The barrel 36. As for the hogſhead of bee it is lately come vp, and becauſe I ſee non made of thys aſſize, but onely the emptye caſkes of wine reſerued to thys vſe, I paſſe ouer to ſay any thing thereof. If it were ac cording to the ſtandarde for beere, it ſhoulde contain containe 72. gallons, which now hath but 64

¶ But of Ele and Beere.

The firkin 10. gallons and an halfe.

The halfe barrell 21. gallons.

The barrell 42. gallons.

The butte 84. gallons. Yet ſome ſtatutes limite our Ele meaſure in an equalitie vnto that of Herrings, of whych 120. go to the hundred and 10000. to the laſt, as they are commonly ſolde.

Of wine and ſuch veſſels thereof as come from beyond the ſeas we haue the rundlet of 18. gallons and a pottle.

The barrell (whych is rare) of 31. gallons ½

The hogſhed of 63. gallons.

The tiers of 84. gallons.

The pipe or butts of 126. gallons.

The tunne of 252.

There are alſo thirdes of pipes or hoggeſheads, and of barrelles, which are likewiſe called tertians, but of theſe I ſay nothing, becauſe theyr deuiſion is eaſie. Suche alſo hath bene the care of our magiſtrates heretofore, that theſe very veſſels haue had theyr limitation of waight, in ſo much that

The firkin ſhould wey 6. pound 6. ounces.

The halfe barrell or kilderkin 13. pound.

The barrell 26. li. whereof let this ſuffice.

And theſe are the quantities and names of moſt of our liquide meaſures, where vnto we wil adde firſt thoſe of the old Greekes, wherby they meaſured theyr wines, oyle and honey, and whereof the formoſt is.

The ſponeful, which weygheth one drachme halfe a Scriptula, 2. graines & 2. fifth partes of a graine.

Cheme hath 2. ſponefuls or 2. drachmes, one ſcriptulum 4. graines and $\frac{4}{5}$ of a graine in waight.

Myſtrum 2. ſponefulles and an halfe, or 3. drachmes in weight of theyrs.

Concha: 2. Myſtra, or 5. ſponefulles, or ſixe drachmes:

Cyathus 2. Conchas, or one oũce & a drachme

Oxybaphon 3. Conchas or 15. ſponefulles, in weight 2. ounces 3. drachmes.

Quartarius 2. Oxybapha, or 4. ounces and 4. drachmes.

Cotyla *alias* Hemina or Tryblion, 2. quartaries, in weight 9. ounces of their owne.

Sextarius 2. Cotylas or 120. ſponefulles: in weight 18. of theyr ounces.

Chus, Choa, or Choeus, 6. ſextarios 108. ounces or 9. pound.

Metretes, Cadus, Ceramnius or Chous 1296. ounces, and theſe were certẽ: howbeit they had other meaſures that bare the name of ſome of theſe, as

Concha the greater, of 2. ounces 2. drachmes equall wyth the Oxybapha.

Myſtrum the greater of 3. drachmes $\frac{1}{4}$ of a drachme.

Myſtrum the leſſe of two drachmes one ſcriptulum and $\frac{4}{11}$ partes of a graine.

Cheme the greater of 3. drachmes.

The leſſe of 2. drachmes.

Coclearium the greateſt as aboue.

The leſſer the tenth part of a Cyathus.

The leſſe hath the 24. or 30. part of a Cyathus, for this was alſo diuers, as I do finde in Budeus, Agricola and the Grecian wryters, (eſpecially for theyr townes) becauſe I read of an other ſtanderd in the rurall poyſe whereof I will not let alſo to make mention, becauſe I would omitte nothing that may be beneficiall to the reader, ſo neare as I can poſſible. Of rurall poyſe therefore by the Alexandrine meaſures, I finde that the

Myſtrum weygheth 4. drachmes and a halfe.

Cyathus 4. Myſtra or 2. ounces 12. drachmes.

Oxybapha 6. Myſtra or 3. ounces and thre drachmes.

Cotyle 4. Oxybapha one pound one ounce & an halfe.

Chus hath 12. Cotylas or thirtene pound.

Amphora 4. Cotylas, or 54. pound.

Metretes 2. Amphoras 108. pound, as likewiſe the Medimnus.

Now let vs ſee the liquide meaſure of the Romaines, which is all one wyth theyr dry, therfore theyr Ligula, Cocleari or ſpone full hathe 240. graines or 3. drachmes in weight, whereby it farre ſurmounteth the Grecian ſponefull.

Cyathus 4. ſponefuls, or 960. graines.

Acetabulum a Cyathus and an halfe, or ſixe ſponefuls, or 2 ounces and an halfe.

Quartarius 2. Acetabula or 5. ounces.

Hemina 2. Quartario or 10. ounces.

Sextarius 2. Heminas or 20. ounces.

Congius 6. Sextarios or 10. pound.

Vrna 4. Congios or 40. pound.

Amphora 2. Vrnas or 80. pound.

Culeus 20. Amphoras or 1600. pound. After the Romaine ſtanderd, ſo well in the drye as in the liquide meaſures. And thus muche of theſe in generall.

¶ Now let vs compare them with ours & ſee what proportion or oddes is to be had betwene them.

Our ſponefull hath a Drachme and ſixe graines and two fift partes of a graine after our ſtandard of Drachmes, whereof one is alwayes the eyght part of an ounce.

Theyr Cheme is of ours Drachmes 12.

graines and $\frac{4}{5}$ part of a graine.

Their Myſtrum one Drachme and one graine.

Concha fiue Drachmes or 32. graines or 3. ſhillinges and peny halfe peny after fiue ſhillinges to the ounce.

Cyathus one ounce and eyght graines.

Oxybaphon two ounces and 16. graines.

Quartarius foure ounces and 32. graines.

Cotyla eyght ounces 64. graines or thrée quarters of a Drachme and foure graines.

Sextarius ſixtéene ounces, one Drachme 48. graines.

Choa 97. ounces one Drachme or eyght pounde Troy, one ounce one Drachme and 48. graines.

Metretes 1166. ounces and thrée Drachmes, or 97. pounde Troye two ounces and thrée Drachmes, which is all one with 12. gallons & a pint after our engliſh meaſure.

Their rurall meaſures alſo being compared with ours, yéelde thys proportion.

Myſtrum hath foure Drachmes 4. graines

Cyathus two ounces and ſixtéene graines.

Oxybapha 3. ounces 24. graines or a quarter of a pint and ſomewhat more.

Chus twelue pounde one ounce 6 Drachmes and 32. graines: thrée pottels and odde meaſure.

Amphora 47. pounde ſeauen ounces and an halfe and 48. graines which wanteth not full fiue ounces of 6. gallons, after our Engliſh meaſures.

Metretes hath 97. pounde two ounces thrée Drachmes 16. graines or twelue gallons & a pinte. &c. that is, thrée gallons and a pint. &c. aboue our kilderkin of béere.

¶ Hauing thus procéeded in extent & compariſon of the Grecian meaſures with ours, let vs do the like with thoſe of the Romaines and then our taſke is performed.

The Romaine ſpoonful is exactly 3. Drachmes engliſh.

The Cyathus twelue Drachmes, that is, one ounce and an halfe.

Acetabulum two ounces & 2. Drachmes.

Quartarius foure ounces, and 4. Drachmes Engliſh.

Hemina nine ounces or thrée quarters of a pinte.

Sextarius one pinte and an halfe.

Congius thrée quartes or 72. ounces.

Vrna thrée gallons or 24. pounde.

Amphora 6. gallons or 48. pounde.

Culeus 120. gallons, which is two hoggeſheades of our auncient meaſure, ſauing 8. gallons: or thrée barrelles and a kilderkin, ſauing that there are 6. gallons ouer meaſure, whereby our account excéedeth that of the Romaines.

And thus much brieſly of liquid meaſures, wherein yf I haue béene more long & te ous then thou peraduenture diddeſt looke at the firſt, yet the benefite gotten ther ſhall, I hope, counteruaile the trauaile in reading of the ſame. And as I haue diſpa ched my handes in this ſorte of the liquid, now it reſteth that I doe the lyke with the drie meaſures, & then ſhall that little Tre tiſe haue an ende, whereof I ſpake before, might otherwyſe haue periſhed hereafter (for me) yf it had not béene inſerted here vp pon this neceſſarie occaſion.

Of the drie meaſures of Englande, and their compariſon with others.

Cap. 25.

AS before we ſée in the moyſt, ſo doe all our drie meaſures fetch their originall from the ſponefull &c. vntill they come at the gallon: beyonde the which wée haue the Pecke or farthendeale of a buſhell (for that is our Engliſhe worde for a fourth part) of two gallons.

Halfe buſhell of foure gallons.

Buſhell of eyght gallons, or 64. pounde, Troye.

Strike of two Buſhelles or 128. pounde or 16. gallons.

Coome raſor or cornocke of foure buſhels or 256. pounde or 32. gallons.

Quarter or ſeame of 8. Buſhelles or 512. pounde or 64. gallons.

Way, or 6. quarters of 5 7 0 2. pounde or 384. gallons as by the rule of proportion is eaſie to be founde.

By theſe meaſures alſo we meaſure our Muſtard ſéede, Rape ſéede, Carot rootes, ſalt, and fruite, notwithſtanding that the filling of the Buſhell be diuers, ſith in Corne, ſalte, and ſéedes we ſtrike with a rule, but in Apples & Rootes we poure them on by heapes. This is furthermore to be conſidered, that although one wheate or barly be heauyer then an other, as the ſoyle is wette or drie, Barly cōmonly then Otes, Rye then barly, wheate then Rye. &c. alſo in liquide wares, Oyle compared with wine, and both with hony, yet ẏ meaſure framed after the aforeſayde weightes doth meate them all indifferently ſo that the quantitie of the ſtandarde and not the qualitie of ware meaſured, is alwayes to be looked on. In déede it is founde by experience that a lyke meaſure of wyne Oyle and hony being weighed togither, the Oyle ſhalbe lighter by a ninth part then the wine, and the hony heauyer then the Wine almoſt by a thirde. Certes there is nothing that cõmeth neerer the weight of wine then the pureſt water, and yet one Wine is heauyer then an other as waters alſo are, of which the moſt groſſe is euer more yͤ weightieſt. And theſe thinges haue not béene vnknowne in tymes paſt alſo vnto the Grecians; for weyghing theyr Culeus of Oyle, it peyſed but. 1333. pound, 4 oũces, whereas that of Wine came vnto 1481. li. fiue ounces ſixe Drachmes and foure Silquas. But of hony vnto 2222. pounde, two ounces, 5. Drachmes, one Scriptula. &c. whereof this maye ſuffice for an admonition to the reader. Nowe let vs ſee thoſe of the Grecians for my former purpoſe, whoſe

Cyathus hath tenne ſpoonfulles, or an ounce and one Drachme.

Oxybaphon 15. ſpoonfulles or two ounces and two Drachmes.

Cotyle foure Oxybapha or nine ounces.

Sextarius 2. Cotylas or 18. ounces.

Chenix. 3 Cotylas or 27. ounces, ſo called bycauſe that quantitie ſuffiſed to finde a man breade for an whole daye.

Medimnus or Metretes: 48. Chenices, or 108. pounde.

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¶ In lyke ſort in Rurall meaſures their

Myſtrum hath 2. ſpoonfulles and an halfe.

Cyathus 4. Myſtra, or ſixe ſpoonfulles.

Oxybaphon 4. Myſtra 2. ounces 2. Drachmes.

Cotyle foure Oxybapha, nyne ounces.

Chenicx 3. Cotylas 27. ounces.

Semiduodecima Medymni 2. Chenicas 4. pounde 6. ounces.

Semiſextarius 9. pounde.

Sextarius 18. pounde.

Tertiarius 16. Chenicas 36. pounde.

Semimedymnũ 24. Chenicas or 54. pound.

Medymnus 28. Chenicas or 108. pound and theſe of the Gréekes.

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Now ſhall thoſe of the Romaines followe in ſuch order as inſueth.

Cloclearium a ſpoonefull 3. Drachmes and one Scriptula.

Cyathus 4. ſpoonefuls one ounce & an halfe, one Drachme one Scriptula.

Acetabulum a Cyathus & an halfe 2. ounces and foure Drachmes.

Hemina or Cotula foure Acetabula or tenne ounces.

Sextarius two Heminas or 20. ounces.

Semodius eyght Sextarios, 13. pounde foure ounces.

Modius 16. Sextarios 26. pounde 8. ounces.

These aforeſayde meaſures compared alſo with our Engliſh haue ſuch propoꝛtion.

Cyathus as aforeſayde, one ounce & eight graines, Engliſhe.

Cotyle, 6. ounces 48. graines Engliſh.

Chenix one pounde 6. ounces, one Drachme 64. graines Engliſh.

Medymnus 72. pounde, 10. ounces, 32. grains Engliſh.

Their Rurall meaſures conferred with ours.

Chenix a quarte.

Semiduodecima a Pottle & 4. Drachm.

Semiſextarius, a gallon and an ounce.

Sextarius, two gallons and two ounces.

Tertiari⁹, foure gallons & foure ounces.

Semimedimnus 6. gallons & halfe a pint.

Medymnus exactly 13. gallons.

Whereby we ſée that their lyquide meaſure is ſomewhat greater then the drye by two ounces and thrée Drachmes. Nowe it reſteth yͤ I do the like wͭ the weightes of the Romaine dry meaſures, after which I will gyue out the weightes of Venice as Auguſtinus Pautheus in his de rebus Voarchadumicis and other doe ſet them downe.

Cyathus one ounce and an halfe.

Semodius, 12. pounde Troy, that is, a gallon and an halfe.

Modius 24. pound, that is, thrée gallons, And more I remember not at this preſent of their drye meaſure.

I might here adde other meaſures of the Hebrues alſo. But I find ſuch variety in thẽ as maketh me rather to omit then publiſhe them in this treatiſe. And fyrſt of all theyr Ghor, which ſignifieth an heape of graine, & is not onely the iuſt loade of a Camell, but alſo conteineth 30. Modios as Epiphanius doth ſet downe, notwithſtanding that Bude⁹ hath 41. Medimmos. The Lethec alſo (whereof Oſee ſpeaketh, ſaying, Mercede conduxi mihi Lethec hordei. &c.) is al one with the Gomor or halfe Cor, and called Lethec of lifting vp, becauſe a yong man might eaſely lift it vp to laye it vpon his aſſe. Their Batos of Oyle, with Epiphanius hath, 50. Sextarios, with Budee 27. The Modius of yͤ Iues, 22. Sextarios in the firſt, but in the treatiſe of this later, only 16. In lyke ſorte there is difference in the Cab, or fourth part of the Modius. Alſo in yͤ Manſis, or Medimnus, which after Epiphanis hath 10. Modios, yͤ Salanien or Conſtantinuan 5. Modios and that of Paphos and Sicilia, onely 4$\frac{1}{4}$ all which diſcordances I am not able to reconcile, eſpecially being things of ſuch antiquitie, and therefore I giue vppe to ſpeake any longer of them. Furthermore in turning ouer ſuch old bookes as came vnto

Chor.
Lethec.
Gomor.
Batos.
Modius.
Cab.
Mnaſis.

to my handes I finde alſo this note inſuyng 6.which

Charette hath 4.graines.

Peny 8 Carettes.

Euery graine of Batement a Peny in Gold, but after Fraunce, Venice, and ſome other places, they haue but ſixe Carettes in the peny, and 4. graines in the Carette, which oddes groweth by the difference of weightes, for beyonde the ſea they haue 24. pence in the ounce, which is 4. pence more in value, then the ounce Engliſh, after the olde occount of pence. By theſe Carettes pearles and ſtones are valued and ſolde, but not gold, which hath neuertheleſſe the name of Carettes in his Pois, but after an other proportion.

Of Weightes of Venice, alſo Auguſtinus Pantheus, ſaith thus.

Eximo is the 156. parte of a graine.
A graine conteineth 156. Eximos.
Charattus or Siliqua 4 graines.
Quartus 36. Carattes, or the olde guilden,
Ounce 4. quartes. 144. Carattes.
Marca or Bes 8. ounces or 1152. Carattes.
Marchus 16. ounces, or 2304. Carattes.
Rubus 20. Marcas.
Poſta 40. Marchas, whereof let this ſuffice, & for the ſettyng forth of the iuſt proportion of weights and meaſures, I hope that which is already ſpoken ſhall be ynough.

¶I haue thought good to deliuer the names of the Archbyſhops and Byſhops of London, as they ſucceded ſince the Brytons were firſt conuerted into the faith.

Archbiſhops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Theodwinus.
Theodredus.
Hillarius.
Guittelinus.
Vodinus, ſlaine by the Saxons.
⋆Theonus.

The Sie voide many yeares.

Auguſtus Monachus.

¶ The Archebiſhop remouing his Sie to Cantorbury theſe Byſhops ſucceeded.

Mellitus.

The Sie voyde a ſeaſon.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Iugaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oſwinus.
Ethelmothus.
Ceadbertus.
Cernulphus.
Suithulphus.
Eadſtanus.
Wulſinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elſtanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunſtanus.
Theodoricus.
Alwijnus.
Elſwoldus.
Robertus.
Wilhelmus.
Hugo.

The Sie voide 11. yeares.

Mauricius.
Richardus Beaumiſh.
Gilbertus.
Robertus.
Richardus.
Gilbertus.
Richardus.
Wilhelmus.
Euſtathius.
Rogerus.
Fulco.
Henricus.
Richardus.
Radulphus.
Gilbertus.
Richardus Biutworth.
Stephanus.
Richardus.
Radulphus Baldoc.
Michaell.
Simon.
Robertus.
Thomas.
Richardus.
Thomas Sauagius.
Wilhelmus.
Wilhelmus warham.
Wilhelmus Barnes.
Richardus fitz Iames.
Cuthbertus Tunſtall.
Iohãnes Stokeſley.
Edmundus Boner.
Nicholas Ridley.
Edmonde Boner againe.
Edmond Grindall.
Eadwijn Sandes.
Elmer. Iohn
Ricus Fletcher
Ricus Bancroft

¶Here followeth the principall Faires kept in Englande.

Faires in Ianuary.

The firſt day being Twelfe day, at Saliſbury. The 25. being S. Paules day, at Briſtowe, at Grauesende, at Churchingford, at Northalertõ in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euery wedneſday from Chriſtmaſſe vntill Iune.

Fayres in February.

THe firſt day at Bromley. The ſecond at Linne, at Bath, at Maidſtone, at Bickelſworth, at Budworth. The 24. at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfielde, at Tamworth, at Royſton, at Exceſter at, Abington, at Ciceter. The 24 at Henley vpon Thames, at Tewkeſbury.

Fayres in March.

ON ſ. Georges daye, at Stamforde, and at Sudbury. The 13. day at Wie, at the Mount, and at Bodmin in Cornewall. The 5. Sunday in Lent, at Grantham at Saliſbury. On Monday before our Lady daye in Lent, at Wiſbich, at Kendale, Denbigh in Wales. On Palmeſundaye euen, at Pumphret. On Palmſunday, at Worceſter. The 20. day at Durham. On our Ladye daye in Lent at Northamton, at Malden, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the Ladye daies at Huntington.

Fayres in Aprill.

THe 5. day at Walingforde. The 7. at Darbye. The 9. at Bickleſworthe, at Bilingworth. On monday after, at Eueſhã in Worceſter ſhire. On Tweſday in Eaſter wéeke, at Northflete, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The thirde Sunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The 22. at Stadford. on S. Georges day, at Charing, at Ipſwich, at Tãworth, at Amthill, at Hinningham, at Gilforde, at S. Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darby, at Dunmow in Eſſex. The 26. at Tenderden in Kent.

Fayres in May.

ON May daye at Rippon, at Perin in Cornewall, at Oleſtrie in Wales, at Keyfield in Suffolke, at Stow y old, at Reading, at Leiceſter, at Chemſford, at Maldone at Brickehill, at Blackebourne, at Cogſhall. The 3. at Bramyarde, at Hemingham, at Elſtow. The 7. at Beuerley, at Newton, at Orforde. On Aſcention day at Newcaſtell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at S. Edes, at Byſhop Stratforde, at Wicham, at Middlewiche, at Stopforde, at Chappell Frith. On Whitſun euen, at Skipton vppon Crauen. On Whitſunday, at Kichell, at Ceſby, and euery wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpõ Thames, at Rateſdale, at Kirby Stephin in Weſtmerlande. On munday in Whitſonne wéeke, at Darington, at Exceſter, at Bradforde, at Rygate, at Burton, at Halforth, at Whilechurch, at Cokermouth, at Appelby, at Bickleſworth, on Tewſday on Whitſunwéeke, at Lewſe, at Rochford, at Cantorbury, at Ormeſkirke, at Perith. On wedneſday in Whitſun wéeke, at Sandbarre. On Trinitie ſonday, at Kendall, and at Rotwell, On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday, at Preſcote, at Stapforde, at S. Annes, at Newbury, at Couentry, at S. Edes, at Biſhoppe Stotforde, at Roſſe. The 9. at Rocheſter, at Dunſtable. The 27. day at Lenham. The 29. at Crambroke.

Fayres in Iune.

THe 9. day at Maydeſtone. The 11. at Okingham, at Newborowgh, at Marfield at Holte. The 23. at Shrewſbury, at Saint Albons. The 24. day at Horſham, at Bedel, at Strackſtocke, at ſ. Annes, at Wakefield, at Colcheſter, at Reading, at Bedforde, at Barnewell, at Wollerhampton, at Crambroke, at Gloceſter, at Lincolne, at Peterborotigh, at Windſore, at Harſtone, at Lancaſter, at Weſtcheſter, at Halifaxe, at Aſhborne. The 27. at Folkeſtone. The 28. at Hetcorne, at S. Pombes. The 29. at Woodhurſt, at Marleborough, at Holleſworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterſfielde, at Lempſter, at Sudbury, at Gargraunge, at Bromley.

Fayres in Iuly.

THe 2. at Congreton, at Aſhton vnder Line. The [illegible] at Partney, & at Lid. The 15. at Pichbacke. The 17. at Winchecombe. The 20. at Vxbridge, at Cateſby, at Bolton The 22. at Marleborough, at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter, at Tetbury, at Bridgenorth, at Clitheroll, at Northwiche in Cheſhire, at Cheſwicke, at Macklefielde, at Bikelſworth. The 25. at Briſtowe, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darby, at Ipſwich, at Northamton, at Dudley in Staffordſhire, at S. Iames beſide London, at Reading, at Louth, at Malmeſbury, at Bromeley, at Chicheſter, at Liuerpole, at Altergum, at Rauenglaſſe in the North. The 27. at Canterbury, at Horſham at Richmonde in the North, at Warington, at Chappell Frith.

Fayres in Auguſt.

The firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham at Dunſtable, at S. Edes, at Bedford, at Northam Church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumney, at Newton, at Yelande. The x. at Waltham, at Blackemore, at Hungerforde at Bedforde, at Stroydes, at Farnam at Saint Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croily, at Seddell, at Newe Braineford. The 15. at Dunmow, at Carleile, at Preſtō at Wakefielde ẏ two Lady daies. On Bartholomew day at London, at Beggers buſhe beſide Rye, at Tewkeſbury, at Sudbury, at Rye, at Nantwiche, at Pagets, at Bromly. at Norwiche, at Northalerton, at Douer, at the Sundaye after Bartholomewe daye at Sandbiche. The 27. at Aſhforde.

Fayres in September.

The firſt daye at S. Giles at the Buſhe. On our Lady day, at Wakefielde, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recoluer, at Giſbroughe both the Lady daies, at Partneye. The thrée Ladye daies, at Blackborne, at Giſborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Utceſter. On Holy Rode day, at Richmonde in Yorkeſhire, at Ripond a horſe faire, at Penhā, at Berſeley, at Waltham Abbay, at Wotten vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Cheſterfield, at Dēbigh in Wales. On Saint Mathies day at Marleborough, at Bedforde, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at ſaint Edmondſbury, at Malton, at ſaint Iues, at Shrewesbury, at Lanchā, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Braintry, at Katherine hill beſide Gilforde, at Douer, at Eaſtrie. The 29. day being Michaelmas daye, at Cantorbury, at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter at Cokermouth, at aſhborne, at Hadley, at Malden at horſe faire, at Way hill, at Newbury, at Leiceſter.

Fayres in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The 6. day at Saint Faithes beſide Norwiche, at Maideſtone. The 8. at Herborough, at Harworde, at Byſhop Stotforde. On Saint Edwardes day at Roiſton, at Graueſende, at Windſore, at Marſhfield, at Colcheſter. On Saint Lukes daye at Ely, at Wricle, at Upane, at Thirſt, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Oxforde, at Tiſdale, at Midlewiche, at Holt in Wales. The 21. day at Saffrō Waldon, at Newemarket, at Hertforde, at Ciceſter, at Stokeſley. The 23. at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Ritchdale, at whitechurch. On all Saintes euen at Wakefielde, at Rithen.

Fayres in Nouember.

The ſecond, at Blechingly, at Kingſtone at Marfielde. The 6. day, at Newport pond, at Stanley, at Tregney, at Salford, at Leſſorde. The 10. at Leuton. The 11. at Marleborough, at Douer. The 13. at Saint Edmondes bury, at Gilforde. The 17. day at Low, at Hide. The 19. at Horſham. On S. Edmondes daye, at Hythe, at Ingerſtone. The 23. day at Sandwiche. On Saint Andrewes day at Colingborough, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Maidenhead, at Bewdley, at Warington in Lancaſhire, at Bedforde in Yorkeſhire, at Oſeſtrie in Wales.

¶ Fayeres in December.

On Saint Nicholas euen at Pluckeley. On Saint Nicholas day, at Spalding, at Exceſter, and Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwiche in Cheſhire. The 7. day at Sandhurſt. The eyght day being the Conception of our Lady, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Malpas in Cheſhire. The 29. day at Canterbury, and at Saliſbury.

¶ How a man may iourney from any notable towne in England, to the Citie of London, or from London to any notable towne in the Realme.

¶ The way from Walſingham to London.

From Walſingham to Pickenam	xij. mile
From Pickenam to Brandonſery	x. mile
From Brandonſery to Newmarket	x. mile
From Newmarket to Babraam	x. mile
From Brabram to Barkeway	xx. mile
From Barkeway to Puckrich	vij. mile
From Puckrich to Ware	vj. mile
From Ware to Waltham	viij. mile
From Waltham to London	xij. mile

¶ The way from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belforde	xij. mile
From Belforde to Anwike	xij. mile

From

From Anwike to Morpit	xij.mile
From Morpit to Newcaſtell	xij.mile
From Newcaſtell to Durham	xij.mile
From Durham to Darington	xiij.mile
From Darington to Northalertō	xiiij.mile
From Northalerton to Toplife	vij.mile
From Toplife to Yorke	xvj.mile
From Yorke to Tadcaſter	viij.mile
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge	xij.mile
From Wentbridge to Dancaſter	viij.mile
From Dancaſter to Tutforde	xviij.mile
From Tudforde to Newarke	x.mile
From Newarke to Grantham	x.mile
From Grantham to Stanforde	xvj.mile
From Stanforde to Stilton	xij.mile
From Stilton to Huntington	ix.mile
From Hunting to Roiſton	xv.mile
From Roiſton to Ware	xij.mile
From Ware to Waltham	viij .mile
From Waltham to London	xij.mile

¶The way from Carnaruan to Cheſter and ſo to London.

From Carnaruan to Conway	xxiiij.mile
From Conway to Denbigh	xij.mile
From Denbigh to Flint	xij.mile
From Flint to Cheſter	x.mile
From Cheſter to Wiche	xiiij.mile
From Wiche to Stone	xv.mile
From Stone to Lichfield	xvj.mile
From Lichfielde to Colſill	xij.mile
From Colſill to Couentry	viij.mile

And ſo from Couentry to London, as hereafter followeth.

¶ The waye from Cokermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

From Cokermouth to Kiſwike	vj.mile
From Kiſwike to Grocener	viij.mile
From Grocener to Kendale	xiiij.mile
From Kendale to Burton	vij.mile
From Burton to Lancaſter	viij.mile
From Lancaſter to Preſton	xx.mile
From Preſton to Wigam	xiiij.mile
From Wigam to Warington	xx.mile
From Warington to Newcaſtell	xx.mile
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield	xx.mile
From Lichfield to Couentrie	xx.mile
From Couentry to Daintrie	xiiij.mile
From Daintrie to Toceſter	x.mile
From Toceſter to Stoniſtratford	vi.mile
From Stoniſtratforde to Brichill	vij.mile
From Brichill to Dunſtable	vij.mile
From Dunſtable to Saint Albons	x.mile
From Saint Albons to Barnet	x.mile
From Barnet to London	x.mile

¶The waye from Yarmouth to Colcheſter , and ſo to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis	viij.mile
From Becclis to Blybour	vij.mile
From Blybour to Snapbridge	viij.mile
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge	viij.mile
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich	v.mile
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter	xij.mile
From Colcheſter to Eaſtforde	viij.mile
From Eaſtforde to Chelmeſforde	x.mile
From Chelmeſford to Brentwood	x.mile
From Brentwood to London	xv.mile

The way from Douer to London.

From Douer to Cantorbury	xij.mile
From Cãtorbury to Sittingborne	xij.m.
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter	viij.mile
From Rocheſter to Grauesende	v.mile
From Grauesende to Datforde	vj.mile
From Datforde to London	xij.mile

The way from Saint Burien in Cornewall to London.

From Saint Burien to the Mount	xx.mile
From the Mount to Thury	xij.mile
From Saint Thury to Bodman	xx.mile
From Bodman to Lawnſtone	xx.mile
From Launſtone to Ocomton	xv.mile
From Ocbinſon to Crokehornewell	x.mile
From Crokehornewell to Exceſter	x.mile
From Exceſter to Honiton	xij.mile
From Honiton to Chard	x.mile
From Chard to Crokehorne	vij.mile
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	x.mile
From Shirborne to Shaftſbury	x.mile
From Shaftſbury to Saliſbury	xviij.mile
From Saliſbury to Andeuor	xv.mile
From Andeuor to Baſingſtocke	xviij.mile
From Baſingſtocke to Hartford	viij.mile
From Hartford to Bagſhot	viij.mile
From Bagſhot to Stanes	viij.mile
From Stanes to London	xv.mile

The way from Briſtowe to London.

From Briſtow to Marſield	x.mile
From Marſield to Chipnam	x.mile
From Chipnam to Marleborough	xv.mile
Frõ Marleborough to Hungerford	viij.mile
From Hungerford to Newbury	vij.mile
From Newbury to Reading	xv.mile
From Reading to Maidenhead	x.mile

From Maidenhead to Colbroke vij.mile
From Colbroke to London xv.mile

The way from Saint Dauids to London.

From Saint Dauids to Arford xx.mile
From Arforde to Carmarden x.mile
From Carmarden to Newton x.mile
From Newton to Lanbury x.mile
From Lanbury to Brecknocke xvj.mile
From Brecknocke to Hay x.mile
From Hay to Harford xliij.mile
From Harford to Roſo ix.mile
From Roſo to Gloceſter xij.mile
From Gloceſter to Ciceſter xv.mile
From Ciceſter to Farington xvj.mile
From Farington to Habington vij.mile
From Habington to Dorcheſter vij.mile
From Dorcheſter to Henlay xij.mile
From Henlay to Maydenhead vij.mile
From Maydenhead to Colbroke vij.mile
From Colbroke to London xv.mile

¶Of thorowfarres. From Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Cantorbury. 12 myle.
From Cantorbury to Rocheſter. 20 mi.
From Rocheſter to Greueſende. 5. mile.
Frõ Graueſende ouer Thames, to Hornedon. 4.miles.
From Hornedon to Chelmeſford. 12.mile.
From Chelmeſforde to Dunmow. 10.mile.
From Dunmowe, to Tharſted. 5.miles.
From Tharſted to Radwinter. 3.miles.
From Radwinter to Linton. 5.miles.
From Linton to Babrenham. 3.miles.
From Babrenham to Cambridge. 4.mile.

From Cantorbury to Oxforde.

From Cantorbury to London. 43.mile.
From London to Uxbridge or Colbroke. 15.mile.
From Uxbridge to Baccanſfelde. 7.mile.
From Baccanſfeld to eaſt Wickhã. 5.mil.
From Wickham to Stocking church. 5.m.
From Stocking church to Thetilſford. 5.m.
From Thetilſford to Whatley. 6.mile.
From Whatley to Oxforde. 4.mile.

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton. 6.mile.
From Edmondton to Waltham. 6.mi.
From Waltham to Hoddeſdon. 5.mile
From Hoddeſdon to Ware. 3.mile.
From Ware to Pulcherchurch. 5.mile.
From Pulchurchurch to Barkewaie. 7.mi.
From Barkeway to Fulmere. 6.mile.
From Fulmere to Cambridge. 6.mile.

Or thus better waye.

From London to Hoddeſdon. 17.mile.
From Hoddeſdon to Hadham. 7.mile.
From Hadham to Saffron Walden. 12.mi.
Frõ Saffron walden to Cambridge. 10.mi.

¶Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Regnald Wolfes his Annotations.

From Barwijc to Edenborowe.

From Barwijc to Chirneſide. 10.mile
From Chirneſide to Coldingham. 3.mi.
From Coldingham Pinketon. 6.mile.
From Pinketon to Dunbarre, 6.mile.
From Dunbarre to Linton. 6.mile
From Linton to Haddington. 6.mile
From Haddington to Seaton. 4.mile.
From Seaton to Aberlady or Muſkelborow. 8.mile.
From thence to Edenborow 8.mile

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waye.

From Edenborow to Dalketh. 5.mile.
From Dalketh to Newe Battell and Lander. 5.mile.
From Lander to Urſyldon. 6.mile.
From Urſyldon to Dryburg. 5.mile.
From Dryburg to Caryton. 6.mile.
From Caryton to Barwijc. 14.mile.

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine weſtwarde.

From Edenborow to Kirkeliſton. 6.mile.
From Kirkeliſton to Lithco. 6.mile.
Frõ Lithco to Fårekirke ouer Forth. 6.m.
From thence to Striuelin vpõ Forth. 6.mi.
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine. 24.mi.

From Striuelin to Kinghorne Eaſtwarde.

Frõ Striuelin to Downe in menketh. 3.m.
From Downe to Campſkenell. 3.mile.
Frõ Campſkenel to Alwey vpõ forth. 4.m.
From Alwey to Culroſe on Fiffe. 10.mile.

From Culroſe to Dunfermelin. 2.mile.
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin. 2.mi.
Frō Euerkennin to Aberdore on forth.3.mi.
Frō Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon forth.3.m

From Kinghorne to Taymouth.

From Kincorne to Diſſard in Fiffe. 3.m.
From Diſſarde to Cowper. 8.mile.
From Cowper to S. Andrewes. 14.mile.
From S. Andrewes to the Taymouth.6.mi.

From Taymouth to Stockeforde.

From Taymouth to Balmerinoth Abbay. 4.mile.
From thence to Londores Abbay. 4.mile.
From Londores to ſ. Johns Towne. 12.mi.
From ſ. Johns to Schone 5.mile.
From thence to Abernithy, where ẏ Erne runneth into the Tay. 15.mile.
From Abernithy to Dundée. 15.mile.
From Dundée to Arbroth & Muros.24.mil.
From Muros to Aberden 20.mile.
Frō Aberden to the water of Doney.20.m.
From thence to the ryuer of Spay. 30.mi.
From thence to Stockeford in Roſſe, and ſo to the Neſſe of Haben, a famous point on the weſt ſide. 30.mile.

From Carleil to Whitcherne weſtwarde.

From Carleſl ouer the Ferry againſt Redkyrke. 4.mile.
From thence to Dunfrées. 20.mile.
From Dunfrées to the ferry of Cre.40.m.
From thence to Wygton. 3.mile.
From thence to Whitherne. 12.mile.

Hitherto of the cōmō wayes of England and Scotland, where vnto I will adioyne ẏ old thorowfares aſcribed to Antoninus, to the end ẏ by their conferēce the diligent reader may haue farder conſideratiō of ẏ ſame then my leyſure wyll permitte me: In ſetting forth alſo thereof, I haue noted ſuch diuerſitie of reading, as hath happened in the ſight of ſuch written and printed copies, as I haue ſéene in time.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.
de Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum ſtadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST A VALLO Prætorio vſque M.P. CLVI. ſic;

A Bramenio Corſtopitum. M.P. XX.
Vindomora M.P. VIIII.
Viconia* M.P. XVIIII. *Vinonia Vinouium.*
Cataractoni M.P. XXII.
Iſurium M.P. XXIIII.
Eburacum legio. VI. Victrix M.P. XVII.
Deruentione M.P. VII. Tadcaſter.
Delgouitia M.P. XIII. Wenthbrige
Prætorio M.P. XXV. Tudforde.

ITEM A VALLO AD portum Ritupis M.P. CCCC. LXXXI. 491. ſic.

Ablato Bulgio* caſtra exploratorum M.P. X. 15. âlias à Blato.
Lugu-vallo* M.P. XII. âlias à Lugu-valio. Carleſl.
Voreda M.P. XIIII.
Brouonacis* M.P. XIII. *Brauoniacis.*
Verteris M.P. XX. 13.
Lauatris M.P. XIIII.
Cataractone* M.P. XVI. *Caturractonium.*
Iſuriam* M.P. XXIIII. *Iſoriam.*
Eburacum* M.P. XVIII. *Eboracum.*
Calcaria* M.P. VIIII. *Cacaria.*
Camboduno M.P. XX.
Mammuncio* M.P. XVIII. *Mancucio.*
Condate M.P. XVIIII.
Deua legio. XXIII. CI. M.P. XX.
Bouio* M.P. X. *Bonio.*
Mediolano M.P. XX.
Rutunio M.P. XII.
Vrio Conio* M.P. XI. *Viroconium.*
Vxacona M.P. XI.
Penno-Crucio M.P. XII.
Etoceto M.P. XII.
Mandues Sedo M.P. XVI.
Venonis M.P. XII.
Bennauenta* M.P. XVII. *Benna venta.*
Lactorodo* M.P. XII. *Lactodoro.*
Maginto* M.P. XVII. 12. *Magiouintum.*
Duro-Cobriuis M.P. XII. Dunſtable.
Vero-Lamio M.P. XII. S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* M.P. IX. Barnet.
Longidinio M.P. XII. Londinio. London.
Nouiomago M.P. X.
Vagniacis m.p. xviij.
Durobrouis m.p. ix. *Duroprouis.*
Duroleuo m.p. xvj. 13.
Duror-Verno* m.p. xij. *Drauerno Durouerno.*
Ad portum Ritupis m.p. xij. *Durarueno Daruerno.*

ITEM A LONDINIO ad portum Dubris M.P. LVI. 66. ſic;

Dubobrus* m.p. xxvij. *Durobrouis Durobriue.*
Duraruenno m.p. xv. 25.
Ad portum Dubris m.p. xiiij. Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD portum Lemanis M.P. LXVIII. ſic:

Durobrius m.p. xxvij.
Duraruenno m.p. xv. 25.
Ad portum Lemanis m.p. xvj.

ITEM A LONDINIO Lugu-Valio ad Vallū M.P. CCCCXLIII. ſic:

Cæſaromago m.p. xxviij.
Colonia m.p. xxiiij.
Villa Fauſtini m.p. xxxv. 25.
Icianos m.p. xviij.
Camborico m.p. xxxv.
Duroliponte m.p. xxv.
Durobriuas m.p. xxxv.
Gauſennis m.p. xxx.
Lindo m.p. xxvi.
Segeloci. m.p. xiiij.

Dano m.p.xxj.
Lege-Olio * m.p.xvj. *Logetium.*
Eburaco m.p.xxj.
Iſubrigantum * m.p.xvj. *Iſurium Brigantum.*
Cataractoni m.p.xxiiij.
Leuatris * m.p.xviij. *Leuatrix.*
Verteris m.p.xiiij.
Brocouo * m.p.xx. *Brocouicum.*
Lugu-Vallo m.p.xxv. 12.

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lindo M.P.CLVI. ſic:

Verolami m.p.xxj.
Duro Cobrius m.p.xij.
Magiouinio * m.p.xij. *Maginto.*
Lactodoro m.p.xvj. *Magis.*
Iſanna Vantia * m.p.xij. *Iſanna vatia.*
Tripontio m.p.xij. *Iſanna varia.*
Venonis m.p.ix.
Ratas m.p.xij.
Verometo m.p.xiij.
Margi-duno m.p.xij.
Ad Pontem * m.p.vij. *Pons Aelij.*
Croco Calana * m.p.vij. *Crorolana.*
Lindo m.p.xij.

ITEM A REGNO
Londinio M.P.CXVI. 96. ſic:

Clauſentum m.p.xx.
Venta Belgarum m.p.x.
Galleua * Atrebatum m.p.xxij. *Gelleua.*
Pontibus m.p.xxij. *Calleua.*
Londinio m.p.xxij.

ITEM AB EBVRACO.
Londinium m.p.ccxxvij.ſic:

Lagecio m.p.xxj.
Dano m.p.xvj.
Ageloco * m.p.xxj. *Segoloco.*
Lindo m.p.xiiij.
Crococalano m.p.xiiij.
Margi-duno m.p.xiiij.
Vernemeto * m.p.xij. *Verometo.*
Ratis m.p.xij.
Vennonis m.p.xij.
Bannauanto m.p.xix.
Magio Vinio m.p.xxviij.
Durocobrius m.p.xij.
Verolamo m.p.xii.
Londinio m.p.xxj.

ITEM A VENTA ICINORVM.
Londinio. m.p.cxxviij.ſic:

Sitomago m.p.xxxj.
Combretouio * m.p.xxij. *Cumbretonio*
Ad Anſam m.p.xv.
Camoloduno m.p.vj.
Canonio m.p.ix.
Cæſaromago m.p.xij.
Durolito m.p.xvj.
Londinio m.p.xv.

ITEM A GLAMOVENTA
Mediaolano m.p.cl.ſic:

Galaua m.p.xviij
Alone * m.p.xij *Alauna* * *Aliona Alione.*
Galacum * m.p.xix. *Galacum Brigantum.*
Bremetonaci m.p.xxvij.
Cocci om .p.xx.
Mancunio * m.p.xviij. *Mannucio vel Manutio*
Condate m.p.xviij.
Mediolano m.p.xix.

ITEM A SEGONTIO.
Deuam m p.lxxiiij.ſic:

Canouio m.p.xxiiij.
Varis m.p.xix.
Deua m.p.xxxij.

ITEM A CALEVA *alias* MVRIDONO
alias Viroconiorum. *Per viroconium.*

Vindonu * m.p.xv. *Vindomi.*
Venta Belgarum m.p.xxj.
Brige * m.p.xj. *Brege.*
Soruioduni. m.p.ix.
Vindogladia m.p.xiij. 15.
Durnouaria m.p.viij.
Muriduno m.p.xxxvj.
Scadum Nunniorum * m.p.xv. 12. *Iſcadum.*
Leucaro m.p.xv.
Bomio m.p.xv.
Nido m.p.xv.
Iſcelegua Auguſti * m.p.xiiii. *Iſcelegia.*
Burrio m.p.ix.
Gobannio m.p.xii.
Magnis m.p.xxii.
Brauinio * m.p.xxiiii. *Bromonio.*
Viriconio m.p.xxvii.

ITEM AB ISCA
Calleua m.p.CIX. ſic:

Burrio m.p.ix.
Bleſtio m.p.xi.
Ariconio m.p.xi.
Cleuo m.p.xv.
Durocornouio m.p.xiiii.
Spinis m.p.xv.
Calleua m.p.xv.

ITEM ALIO ITINERE
ab Iſca Calleua m.p.CIII. ſic:

Venta Silurum m.p.ix.
Abone m.p.ix.
Traiectus m.p.ix.
Aquis Solis m.p.vi.
Verlucione m.p.xv.
Cunetione m.p.xx.
Spinis m.p.xv.
Calleua m.p.xv.

ITEM A CALLEVA
Iſcadum Nunniorum m.p.
CXXXVI. ſic:

Vindomi m.p.xv.
Venta Belgarum m.p.xxi.
Brige m.p.xi.
Sorbiodoni m.p.viii.
Vindocladia m.p.xii.
Durnonouaria * m.p.viiii. *Durnouaria.*
Moriduno m.p.xxxvi.
Iſcadum Nunniorum m.p.xv.

FINIS.

¶ Faultes eſcaped.

In the Firſt Booke.

In the firſt leafe columpne.1.& 23.lin,reade thorow the trade.
In the 3.leafe col.and 20.line,reade ſo a comeling.
In the 3.leafe col.4.and 43.lin,reade Gyants were.
In the 4.leafe co.1.lin 1.read S. Auguſtine therfore.
fol.5.col.3.lin 32.reade liue in theſe dayes.
fol.6 lin 1.col. reade or Gwinhead.
ibid lin 23.col 1.reade limites of this.
ibid lin 25. reade conſiſted.
ibid lin 36.for Shropſhire reade Shrewſbyry.
ibid col.2.lin 25.and 53. read extended themſelues.
ibid col.3.lin 45.read Suſſex in the ſouth.
ibid col.4.lin 25.put out yeares after 35.
fol 7.col 4.lin 26.reade eaſily.
fol 8.col 1.lin 29.reade put out alſo ſaying.
ibid col 4.line 49.for will I begin, reade woulde I begin.
fol 9.col 3.lin 33.for infinity reade infinite.
fol 10.col 2.lin 51.reade holde this opinion.
Ibid lin 54.reade they ſhall ſée.
ibid col 4.lin 49.reade thoſe 45.for thoſe fewe.
fol 11.col 1.lin.reade 25. errour of their founder.
ibid col 2.lin 19.reade pittes of errour.
ibid lin 20.put out(as) and reade welles in déede that holde no water.
Ibid col 3.lin 50.reade withſtande him there.
fol 13.col 1.lin 10.for Chicheſter reade Wincheſter.
fol 13.col 1.lin 38.reade and thereby gathered.
fol 16.col 1.lin 10.reade themſelues lying néere hand, or within this Iſle alſo.
fol 17.col 2.lin,46.reade S.Minians.
ibid lin 59.reade it ſéemeth hereby.
ibid col 3.lin 2.reade vnto Mona onely.
fol 18.col 1.lin 33. reade northeaſt and other alſo beyond them in like ſort ſubiect to Scotland.
fol 20.col 2.in the margent reade as I heare néere Cantorbury for about Gaunt.
ibid col 3.lin. 1.read Stoure whereof.
ibid.put out parentheſis in the margine.
ibid lin 39.reade diuided it ſelfe.
fol 24.col 1.lin 52.reade alſo to the point.
fol 26.col 1.lin 49.reade another great ſtreame.
ibid col 2.lin 16.for to a village,read and a village.
fol 27 where you reade Towz reade Towy.
ibid col 4.lin 26.reade into the mayne ſea.
fol 30.col 1.lin 40.for Dunrith reade Drurith.
ibid.col 2.lin 55.read Harleſwell.
ibid.lin 58.reade by north of Beltingham.
ibid.col 4.lin 6. for Tine reade Were.
fol 31.co 2.li 18.for Cockingham read Cottingham.
ibid col 3.lin 9. reade lyke in the next booke.
fol 32.col 3.lin 24.put in(to)in the ende of the line.
ibid lin 42.for Magey reade Maxey.
fol 33.col 3.lin 10.for Mores reade Meres.
ibid lin 18.for his place,reade this place.
fol 36.col 4.lin 28.reade forth by weſt of Marton.
fol 37.col 2.lin 52.read ſing of cattel,and put out the.
fol 39.col.1.lin.33.read hiſtory, & after him Bodinus.
fol 45. col 1.lin.11.reade in theſe dayes.
fol 47.co 4.li 32.read touching it, for touching by it.
ibid.lin 41.read wall was of ſtone.

In the ſeconde Booke.

FOl 74.col 3.lin 1.reade Leirceſter for Lewceſter.
fol 75.col.1.lin.18.reade quantitie thereof.
ibid.col 2.lin 22.reade gayles within.
fol 76.col 3. in the margine, reade howe thoſe men ſhoulde haue done,in the name note col 4.lin 1. tayler he.
fol.77.col 2.lin 32.and 33. put out (and the wight) for I miſtooke it.
ibid lin 43.for (in olde time)read alſo the weight.
fol 84.col 3.lin 26.for hope of recouery, reade hope of realeſe.
fol 85.col 3.lin.53.reade before the olde be expyred.
fol 85.col 1.lin 1.put out therefore,and reade I finde therefore.
ibid col 4.lin 49.for riuerets reade riuettes.
fol 87.col 1.li 19. for their ordinaunce reade the ſtore of ordinaunce.
ibid lin 27.reade that in ſome one barons houſe I haue.
ibid lin 33.reade done then trow you.
ibid.col 4.lin 9. 10. reade we had ſome alſo, for (a few.)
ibid lin 15. put out and betwéene Alfrede (&) Etheldred.
fol 88.col 3.lin 17.reade being the more plenteous.
ibid lin 22.reade if place did ſerue therefore.
ibid col 4.lin 46.reade for theſe cauſes therefore.
fol 89.col 4.lin 58.for ſunt duo reade ſint duo.
fol 90.col 1. Canone 13. beſide the miſplacing of the point,lin 52.there is (n)to much in ẏ laſt word of the 56.line.
ibid col 2. lin 9. the whole line is peruerted for Siquis autem cum primario pugnauerit.
ibid lin 39.for aliquot reade aliquam.
ibid col 3.li 34.for Gemiſciſione read Genuſciſione.
fol 91.col 1.lin 19. for whereas reade thus.
ibid li 21.for behauiour whereby,read behauiour: and hereby.
ibid lin 22.reade defrauded and the.
ibid lin.33.reade euery man which.
ibid col 4.reade of Salop.Home
fol 92.col 1.lin 34.reade Cymbelline.
fol 93.col 1.lin 34.reade out of the hilles.
ibid lin 35. reade that at certaine times.
ibid lin 47. reade ſtraunge for ſtrong.
ibid lin 58.reade Vertigerne.
ibid col 2.lin 18.for ſeconde Aye, read ſecond Axe.
ibid lin 44.reade doth it ſwell.
ibid col 3.line 37. reade into the earth,for into the grounde.
ibid 47 reade as one néere to S. Aſephes.
fol 94.col.1. the 10. 11. and 12.lines are to much almoſt by euery worde, by meanes of an olde pamphlet of Tideſwell latewarde inſerted into the booke.
fol 96.col 2.lin 39.for goddeſſe reade gods.
fol 96. col 3.line 10. for harde Cantus reade hardie Canutus.
ibid col 4. verſ. 21. reade tantum & agendis.
fol 107.col 3.line 1.for drawne reade drawing.

THE HISTORIE
of Englande.

WHAT manner of people did firſt inhabite this our coũtrey which hath moſt generally ⁊ of longeſt continuaunce bene knowne among all nations by yͤ name of Britaine, as yet it is not certainly knowne: neither can it be decided from whence the firſt inhabitantes thereof came, by reaſon of ſuch diuerſitie in iudgementes as haue riſen amongſt the learned in this behalfe. But ſith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtful, and euen the ſame for the more parte fabulous (that alwayes excepted which we fynde in the holy ſcriptures) I wiſhe not any man to leane to that whiche ſhall be herre ſet downe, as to an infallible truth, ſith I do but only ſhewe other mennes coniectures, grounded neuertheleſſe vppon likely reaſons (concernyng that matter whereof there is now left but little other certayntie, or rather none at all. To fetche therfore the matter from the furtheſt, and ſo to ſtretch it forward, it ſemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger, yͭ in the beginning whẽ God framed the worlde and diuided the waters aparte from the earth, this Iſle was then a parcel of the continent, ⁊ ioyned without any ſeparation of ſea to the mayne lande. But this opinion as al other the lyke vncertaynties, I leaue to be decided of the learned: Howbeit for the firſt inhabitation of this Iſle with people, I haue thought good to ſet down in part what may be gathered out of ſuch writers as haue touched that mater, ⁊ may ſeeme to giue ſome light vnto the knowledge thereof.

he originall nations r the moſte rt vncertain.

Vhether Bri yn vvere an ande as the ſt.

eogr.com- ent.lib.2.

o ylands at fyrſte, as e cõiecture.

Fyrſt therfore John Bale our countreyman, who in his tyme greatly trauayled in the ſearche of ſuche antiquities, dothe probably coniecture, that this lande was inhabited and repleniſhed with people long before the floud at that tyme in the which the generation of mankinde (as Moyſes writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuerſall face of the earth: and therfore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the dayes of Noe, as any the other countreys and partes of the worlde beſide.

the firſt part the aſtes of e Engliſhe taries.

itayn inha. ted before e ſloud.

en.6

But when they had once forſake the ordinaunces appointed them by God, and betaken them to new wayes inuented of themſelues, ſuch looſeneſſe of lyfe enſued euery where, as brought vpon them the great deluge ⁊ vniuerſall floud, in the whiche periſhed as well the inhabitants of theſe quarters as the reſidue of the race of mankinde generally diſperſed in euery other part of the whole worlde, ſauing only Noe ⁊ his familie, who by the prouidence and pleaſure of almightie God, was preſerued from the rage of thoſe waters, to recontinue and repaire the newe generation of manne vpon the earth.

roſus ant. b.2.

Noe.

AFter the floud (as Annius of Viterbo recordeth) ⁊ reaſon alſo enforceth, Noe was the only Monark of al the world, and as the ſame Annius gathereth by the accounte of Moyſes in the .100. yeare after the floud, Noe deuided the earth among his three ſonnes: aſſigning to the poſſeſſion of his eldeſt ſonne, all that portion of lande, which nowe is knowne by the name of ASIA, and to his ſecond ſonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called *Affrica.* Unto his thirde ſonne Iaphet, was allotted all *Europe*, with all the Iſles therto belongyng, wherin among other was conteined this our Iſle of Britayn, with the other yles therto belonging.

In comment. ſuper. 4. lib. Beroſ. de antiquit. li. 2.

Annius vt ſupra.

Iaphet.

THis Iaphet third ſon of Noe, who is of ſome called Iapetus, and of other, Atlas Maurus (bycauſe hee departed this life in Mauritania) was the firſte as Bodinus affyrmeth by the authoritie and cõſent of the Hebrue, Greke ⁊ latin writers) that peopled the coũtreys of Europe, which afterward he deuided among his ſonnes: of the which Tubal (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdom of Spain. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and as Beroſus and diuers other authors agree, Samothes was the founder of the kingdom of Celtica, which cõteined in it (as Bale witneſſeth) a great parte of Europe, but ſpecially thoſe coũtreys, which now are knowne by yͤ names of Gallia ⁊ Britannia.

Iohannes Bodinus, ad fac. hiſt. cogn.

Franciſcus Tarapha.

Britayn inhabited ſhortly after the floud.

Thus was this Ilande inhabited and peopled within. 200. yeres after the floud by the children of Japhet the ſonne of Noe: and this is not only proued by Annius, writing vpō Beroſus, but alſo confirmed by Moyſes in the ſcripture, where he writeth, that of the offpring of Japhet, the yles of the Gentils (wherof Britayn is one) were ſorted into regions in the tyme of Phaleg, the ſon of Hiber, who was born at the tyme of the diuiſion of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath theſe words: *Cū priſcis temporibus pauci forent homines, in Arabia & Chaldæa poſt linguarum diuiſionem aucti & multiplicati] paulatim ſunt: hinc quidam abierunt verſus Orientem; quidam conceſſere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti ſunt ad Septentrionem ſedes quæſituri, nec prius deſierunt terrā vbiq; occupare, quā etiā Britānos in Arctois climatibus acceſſerit. &c.* engliſhed thus. VVhen at the firſt there were not many men in Arabia & Chaldea, it came to paſſe, that after the deuiſion of tongs, they began ſomwhat better to increaſe & multiplie, by which occaſion ſome of them went toward the eaſt, & ſome toward the parties of the great mayn land. Diuers went alſo northwards to ſeeke them dwellyng places, neyther ſtayed they to repleniſhe the earth as they went, til they came vnto the yles of Britain, lying vnder the north pole. &c. Hitherto Theophilus.

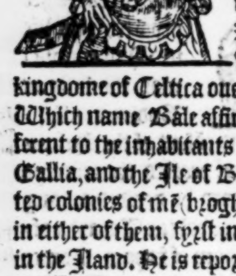
Theophilus epiſcop. Antiochi. ad Antol. lib.2.
The vvordes of Theophilus a doctor of the churche, vvho liued An. Chriſti.160.

These things conſidered, Gildas the Briton had great reaſon to think that this countrey had bin inhabited from the beginning: and Polydore Vergil was with no leſſe cōſideration hereby inforced to cōfeſſe that the Ile of Britayne had receiued inhabitauntes forthwith after the floud.

3

Samothes.

Gen.2.
De migr. gen.



SAmothes yͤ 6. begottē ſon of Japhet called by Moyſes Meſech, by others Dis, receyued for his portion, (according to the reporte of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrey lying betwene the riuer of Rheyn & the Pyrenian mountayns, where hee founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called *Celtæ*. Which name Bale affirmeth to haue bin indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrey of Gallia, and the Ile of Britain, and that he planted colonies of mē (broght forth of the eaſt parts) in either of them, fyrſt in the mayne land, & after in the Iland. He is reported by Beroſus to haue excelled al men of that age in lerning and knowledge: and alſo is thought by Bale to haue imparted the ſame among his people, namely the vnderſtanding of the ſundry courſes of the ſtarres, the order of inferiour things, with many other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernement of mans life: & to haue deliuered the ſame in the Phenician letters; out of whiche the Grekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuiſed & deriued the greke charecters, in ſomuche that Xenophon & Joſephus do conſtantly report (although Diogenes Laertius be againſt it) that both the Grekes and other nations receyued their letters and lerning firſt from theſe countreys.

Cent.1.
Anti.lib.1.
Bale ſcript. Brit.cent. 1.
Cæſar cōmen. lib. 8.
In epi
temp.
De a
Contra
pionem

Of this king and his lerning, aroſe a ſect of Philoſophers, ſaith Annius, firſt in Britain, & after in Gallia, the whiche of his name were called *Samothei*. They, as Ariſtotle & Secion write, were paſſing ſkilful both in the law of god & man: and for that cauſe exceedingly giuen to religion, eſpecially the inhabitants of this yle of Britain, in ſo much that the whole nation did not only take the name of thē, but the yland it ſelfe, as Bede & doctor Cay agree, came to be called *Samothea*, which was the firſte peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was eſpecially knowen: before the arriuall of Albion.

li. de
ſucceſſi
Script. B
cent.1.
De ant
cent. li
This l
Samoth

4

Magus.

MAgus yͤ ſon of Samothes, after yͤ deth of his father was the ſecond king of Celtica, by whō (as Beroſus writeth) there were manye townes builded among the Celtes, which by the witneſſe of Annius, dyd bear the addition of their foūder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie: and Antoninus a painful ſurueyor of the world & ſercher of cities, maketh mencion of .4. of them here in Britain, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Niomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus, ſir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue ſtode where the citie of Cheſter nowe ſtandeth: & Niomagus George Lilly placeth where the towne of Buckinghā is now remaining: beſide this, doth Bale ſo highly comend yͤ forſaid Magus, for his lerning renoumed ouer al the world, yͭ he wold haue yͤ Perſiās & other nations of the ſouth & weſt partes, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In dede Rauiſius Textor & ſir John Priſe affirme, yͭ in the days of Plinie, the Britons wer ſo expert in arte Magike, yͭ they might be thoght to haue firſte deliuered the ſame to the Perſians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, & of what profeſſion yͤ *Magi* were, Tulli declareth at large, and Mantuan in brief, after this maner:

Lib.
Anna
comm
per
Geogr.
De diu
De fiſ

Ille penes Perſas Magus eſt qui ſidera norit,
Qui ſciat herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,
Perſepoli facit iſta Magos prudentia triplex.

The Perſians terme him Magus, that the courſe of
ſtarres doth knowe,
The power of herbes and worſhip due to god that
man doth owe.
By threefolde knowledge, thus the name of Magus
then doth growe.

H.I.

Sarron,

5

Sarron.

De ant.Cant.
i.1.

SArron the third king of ẏ Celtes, ſucceded hys father Magus in Gouernemente of the countrie of Gallia, and the Iſle Samothea, wherin (as Doctoure Caius writeth) he founded certain publike places for them that profeſſed learning, whiche (Beroſus affirmeth) to be done to the intente to reſtrayne the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but rawe and voyde of all ciuilitie. Alſo it is thought by Annius, that he was the firſte author of thoſe kinde of Philoſophers, which were called *Sarronides*, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this ſort: There are (ſayth he) among the Celtes certain diuines & philoſophers, whom they call *Sarronides*, hauing them of all other in greateſt eſtimation: For it is the maner among them, not without a Philoſopher to make anye ſacrifice: for they are of beleefe, that ſacrifices ought only to be made by ſuche as are ſkilfull in the diuine miſteries, as of thoſe who are neereſt vnto God, by whoſe interceſſion they thinke all good things are to be requi red of God, and whoſe aduiſe they vſe and followe, as well in warre as in peace.

ale ſcript.
rit. cent. 1.

Lib. 6.

5

Druis.

De morte
Claud.

DRuis, whô Seneca calleth Dryus, being the ſon of Sarron, was after his father eſtabliſhed the fourthe king of Celtica, indifferentlye reigning as well ouer the Celtes as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitantes of this Iſle were then called) Samothians.

This Druis is cōmended by Beroſus to bee ſo plentifullye endued with wiſedome and lerning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted authour of the beginning and name of the famous ſecte of Philoſophers called *Druides*, whome Ceſar and all other auncient Greeke and Latine writers doe affirme to haue had their beginning in Brytayne, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, in ſo muche that when there aroſe any doubt in that countrey touching any point of their diſcipline, they did repaire to be reſolued therin into Britayne, where, eſpecially in the Iſle of Angleſey, as Humfrey Lhuyd witneſſeth, they made their principal aboade.

Anti. lib. 5.
Annius ſuper eundem.

Touching their vſages many things are written by Ariſtotle, Sotion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in brief, and ſet downe as followeth.

De bello Gallico. lib. 9.
De bello Gallico. lib. 6.

They had (as Ceſar ſayth) the charge of cōmon and priuate ſacrifices, ẏ diſcuſſing of pointes of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdite ſo manye from the ſacrifice of their goodes, and the company of men, as diſobeyed their awarde.

Hiſt. an. li. 1.

Polidore affirmeth, how they taught ẏ mens ſoules coulde not dye, but departed from one bodye to an other, and that to the intente to make men valiant and dreadleſſe of death.

De diui. li. 1.
Hiſt. Scoti lib. 2.

Tullie writeth, that partely by tokens, and partely by ſurmiſes, they wold foretell of things to come. And by report of Hector Boetius, ſome of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlaſting God.

De migr. gen lib. 2.
Marcellinus.

All theſe things they had written in the greke toung, in ſo much that Wolfg. Lazius vpon reporte of Marcellinus declareth howe the Greeke letters were firſt brought to Athenes by Timagines from the Druides, and hereupon it cometh alſo to paſſe, the Britiſh toung to this daye hath in it remayning ſome ſmacke of the Greke.

Among other abuſes of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one cuſtome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and diſmembring of them to diuine of things to come: for the whiche and other wicked practiſes, their ſecte was firſt condemned for abhominable (as Cor. Tacitus writeth,) and diſſolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witneſſeth) by Tyberius and Claudius the Emperours: and laſtly aboliſhed heere in Britayne, by report of Caius when the goſpel of Chriſt by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receyued among the Britons, vnder Lucius king of Britayne, about the yeare of our ſauiour. 179.

De vita Agricolæ.
Anna. Boiorum lib. 22.
De ant. Cant. cent.

6

Bardus.

Beroſus ant. lib. 5.
Annius in commen. ſuper eundem.

BArdus ẏ ſon of Druis, ſucceded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, & was the fift K. ouer the Celtes and Samothians, amongſt whome he was highly renoumed, as appeareth by Beroſus for inuention of Dities and muſike, wherin Annius of Viterbo writeth, that hee trayned his people: and of ſuche as excelled in this knowledge he made an order of philoſophicall Poets or Heraulds, raldes, calling them by his owne name *Bardi*. And it ſhuld ſeeme by doctor Caius and maſter Bale, that Ceſar founde ſome of them here at his arriuall in this Iſle, and reported that they had alſo their firſt beginning in the ſame.

Ant. Cant. li.1. ſcript. Britan. cent. 1.

The profeſſion and vſages of theſe *Bardi*, by Nonnins, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale and ſir Iohn Priſe, are in effecte reported after this ſort. They did vſe to record the noble exploites of the auncient capitaines, and to drawe the pedigrees & genealogies of ſuche as were liuing. They woulde frame pleaſaunt dities and ſongs, learne the ſame by hart, and ſing them to inſtruments at ſolemne feaſtes and aſſemblies of noble men and gentlemen: and were therfore hadde in ſo high eſtimation, that if two hoſtes had bin redy raunged to ioyne in battayle, and that any of thē had fortuned to enter among them, both the hoſtes as wel the enimie as the frends would haue holden their handes giuen eare vnto them, and ceaſſed from fight, vntill theſe Bardes had bene departed out of the battayle. Of the Bardes the Poet Lucan writeth theſe verſes.

Nonnius Marcel.
Strabo.
Diodo. ſicul. lib. 6.
Carol. Stepha. in dict. hiſt.
Bale.
Iohn Priſe.
Lucan. lib. 1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belloq; peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.

Whiche are engliſhed thus.

And you o Poet Bardes from danger voyde that dities ſounde,
Of ſoules of dreadleſſe men, whō rage of battaile would confounde,
And make their laſting praiſe to time of later age redounde.

H.F.

Bycauſe the names of theſe Poets were neyther diſcrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Chriſtians, they of all the other ſectes before ſpecified, were ſuffred only to continue vnaboliſhed in all ages, in ſomuch that there flouriſhed of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Chriſte, Plenidius and Oronius: after Chriſt (as Priſe recounteth) Saleſtine, & the two Merlins, Melkin Glaſkirion and others: and of late dayes among the Welchmen, Dauid Die, Iollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more: and in Wales there are ſundrye of them, as Caius reporteth, remayning vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Alſo by the witnes of Humfrey Llhuyd, there is an Iland neer vnto Wales, called *Inſula Bardorum*, and Bardſey, wherof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or olde Engliſh, ſignifieth the Ilande of the Bardes or Barthes.

Iohn Bale ſcript. Britan. cent. 2.
Io. Priſe defe. hiſt. Brit.
Caius de ant. Cant. lib. 1.
Io Leland. ſyllab. ant. dict.
Hum. Lluyd de Mona inſula.

The ende of the *Celtes* gouernement in this Iſle.

After Bardus, the Celtes (as Bale ſayth) loathing the ſtraite ordinances of their auncient kings, and betaking themſelues to pleaſure and idelneſſe, were in ſhort tyme, and with ſmall labour broughte vnder the ſubiection of the Giaunt Albion, the ſonne of Neptune, who altering the ſtate of things here in this yland, ſtraited yͤ name of Celtica and the Celtes within the boundes of Gallia, from whence they came firſt to inhabite this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue hearde, accordingly as Annius hath gathered out of Beroſus yͤ Chaldean, who therin agreeth alſo with the Scripture, the ſaying of Theophilus the Doctor, and the generall cōſente of all writers, whiche fully agree, that the firſte inhabitantes of this Iſle came out of the parties of Gallia, although ſome of them diſagree of the tyme and maner of their comming, Sir Brian Tuke thinking it to be meant of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of thoſe countreys into this Iſle. Ceſar and Tacitus ſeeme to be of opinion, that thoſe Celtes which firſt inhabited here, came ouer to view yͤ cōtry for trade of merchandiſe. Bodinus wold haue them to come in (a gods name) from Lāguedoc, and ſo to name this land Albion, of a citie in Lāguedoc named Alby. Beda and likewiſe Polidore (who foloweth him) affirme that they came from the coaſts of Armorica, whiche is nowe called little Britayn.

Bale.
Ann
Theoph
Sir Bria
Tuke.
Ceſar.
Tacitu
Bodinu
Beda.
Polydor.

But as the authorities afore recited, are ſufficient to proue the tyme, ſo that this Iland was firſt inhabited by the Celtes, the olde poſſeſſours of Gallia, not only the neereneſſe of the regions, but alſo the congruence of the languages, two great argumentes of originals, do fully confirme the ſame. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the Britiſhe and Celtike language was all one: but whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicauſe the Celtike toung is long ſithence growne wholly out of vſe. But yet ſome ſuche Celtike wordes as remayn in the writings of olde authors may be perceiued to agree with yͤ Welch toung, being the incorrupted ſpeech of the auncient Brytons. In deed Pauſanias the Greeke, maketh mention how the Celtes in their language called a horſe *marc*: and by yͤ name do the Welchmen call a horſe vnto this daye: and the worde *trimarc* in Pauſanias, ſignifyeth in the Celtike toung, three horſes.

Bodin
Pauſania

Thus it appeareth by authoritie of writers, by ſituation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this yland was firſt found and inhabited by the Celtes, that their name from Samothes to Albion continued heere the ſpace of .310. yeres or therabouts. And finally it is likely, that aſwel the progenie as the ſpeche of them is partely remaining in thys Iſle among the inhabitantes, and ſpecially the Britiſhe, euen vnto this daye. But nowe to oure purpoſe of Albion his comming into this Iſle.

Iohn Bale.

Albion.

Albion.

Neptunus called by Moyſes (as ſome take it) Nepthuim, the ſixte ſonne of Oſyris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appoynted to hym, of hys father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the Ocean ſea: wherefore he furniſhed himſelf of ſundry light ſhips for ỹ more redie paſſage by water, whych in the end grew to the nūber of a ful nauie: & ſo by continual exerciſe he became ſo ſkilful, and therwith ſo mightie vpon the waters, as Higinus and Piſtonius doe write, that he was not onely called the king, but alſo eſteemed the god of the ſeas. He had to wife a Lady called Amphitrita, who was alſo honored as goddeſſe of the ſeas, and on hir he begate ſundry children: And as Bale reporteth, he made euery one of them king of an Iland. And in the Iſle of Britayne he landed his fourth ſon called Albyon the Giant, who brought the ſame vnder his ſubiection. And herevpon it reſteth, that Iohn Textor and Polydore Virgile made mention that light ſhippes were firſt inuented in the Britiſhe ſeas, and that the ſame were couered round with the hyde of beaſts, for defending them from the ſurges and waues of the water.

ae.)

nnius Vi-terbo.

iodorus Si-lus.

nesses or Ga-yts.

Higinus.
Piſtonius.

Scrip. Bri. cen. 1.

Iohā. Textor.
Polyd. Verg.

This Albion being put by his father in poſſeſſion of this Iſle of Britayne, within ſhorte tyme ſubdued the Samothians, the firſte inhabitauntes therof, without fynding any great reſiſtance, for that as before ye haue hearde, they had giuen ouer the practiſe of all warlyke and other paynfull exerciſes, and through vſe of effeminate pleaſures wherevnto they hadde giuen themſelues ouer, they were become nowe vnapt to withſtande the force of their enimies: and ſo by the teſtimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Phileſius, Ariſtotle, & Humfrey Lhuyd with diuers other, both forraine and home wryters, this Ilande was firſt called by the name of Albion, hauing at one tyme bothe the name and inhabitauntes chaunged from the line of Iaphet vnto the accurſed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perottus.
Ringmanus Phileſius.
Ariſtotle.
Hum. Lloyd.

This Albion (that thus chaunged the name of this Iſle) and his companie, are called Gyants, which ſignifieth none other thā a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupte ſtature and bigneſſe naturally incident to the firſt age (whiche Beroſus alſo ſeemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noe was one of the Gyantes: and were not ſo called only of their monſtrous greatneſſe, as the common people thinke (although in deede they exceeded the vſuall ſtature of men nowe in theſe dayes,(but alſo for ỹ they toke their name of the ſoyle where they were born: for *Gigantes* ſignifieth the ſons of the earth: the *Aborigines* (or as Ceſar calleth them *Indigine*,) that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Beroſus.

VVhat gigantes ſignifyeth.

Thus ſome thinke, but verily although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which mayntayne that there ſhould be any *Aborigines*, or other kynde of men than thoſe of Adams lyne, yet that there haue bin menne of farre greater ſtature than are nowe to be founde, is ſufficiently proued by the huge bones of thoſe that haue bin founde in our tyme, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation, it ſhall not neede, ſith in the deſcription of Britain herevnto annexed, ye ſhall fynde it ſufficiently declared.

Againſt the opinion of Aborigines.

But now to our purpoſe. As Albion held Britayn in ſubiection, ſo his brother Bergion kepte Irelande and the Orkeneys vnder his rule and dominion: and hearing that their couſin Hercules Libicus hauing finiſhed his Conqueſtes in Spayn, ment to paſſe through Gallia into Italye, againſt their brother Leſtrigo, that oppreſſed Italy, vnder ſubiection of him and other of his brethren: the ſons alſo of Neptune, as well Albion as Bergion, aſſembling their powers togither, paſſed ouer into Gallia, to ſtoppe the paſſage of Hercules, whoſe intention was to vanquiſhe and deſtroy thoſe tyrantes the ſonnes of Neptune and their complices that kepte dyuerſe countreys and regions vnder the paynefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

Bale.
Bergion brother to Albion

Hercules Lybicus.

The cauſe that moued Hercules thus to purſue vpon thoſe tyrantes nowe reignyng thus in the world, was for that not long before the greateſt part of them had conſpired together, & ſlayne his father Oſyris, notwithſtanding that they were nephues to the ſame Oſyris, as ſonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his ſlaughter, they deuided hys carcaſſe alſo among them, ſo that eche of them got a peece in token of reioycing at their murderous atchieued enterpriſe.

The cauſe vvhy Hercules purſued his couſins.

For this cauſe Hercules whome Moyſes calleth Laabin, proclaymeth warres agaynſt them al in reuenge of his fathers death: & firſt he killeth Tryphon and Buſyris in Egypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, the Gerions in Spayne, whiche enterpriſe atchieued, he led his army towards Italy, and by the waye paſſeth through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited theyr powers togither, were ready to receyue him with bataile: and ſo nere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhoſne, in latin *Rhodanus*, they met and fought. At the firſt there was a right terrible and cruell conflicte betwixte them: And albeit that Hercules hadde the greateſt number of menne, yet was it verye doubtefull a greate

Pomp. Mela.

whyle to whether parte the glorye of that dayes worke would bend: whervpon when the victorie beganne outrighte to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceyuing the daunger and likelyhode of vtter loſſe of that battayle, ſpecially for that his men had waſted their weapons, he cauſed thoſe that ſtood ſtil, and were not otherwyſe occupied, to ſtoupe down, and to gather vp ſtones, wherof in that place there was great plentie, whyche by his commaundemente they beſtowed ſo freely vpon theyr enimies, that in the ende hee obteyned the victorie, and dyd not only put his aduerſaries to flighte, but alſo ſlew Albion there in the fielde, together with his brother Bergion, and the moſte parte of all theyr whole armie.

Hercules diſcomfiteth his enimyes.

Albion is ſlayn

This was the ende of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowes of Hercules, who as one appointed by the prouidence of GOD to ſubdue the cruell and vnmercifull tyrants, ſpent his tyme to the benefite of mankynde, deliuering the oppreſſed from the heauie yoke of myſerable thraldome, in euery place where he came.

The occaſion of the fable of Iupiters helping his ſonne Hercules.

And by the order of this battayle wee maye learne wherof the Poets hadde their inuention, when they fayne in their writings, that Iupiter holpe his ſonne Hercules, by throwyng downe ſtones from heauen in this battayle agaynſt Albion and Bergion.

Hovve this Iſle vvas called Albion, of the giaunt Albion.

Bale.

Moreouer, fro hẽceforth was this Iſle of Britayn called Albion, as (before we haue ſayde) after the name of the ſayde Albion bicauſe he was eſtabliſhed chief ruler and kyng therof bothe by his grandfather Oſyris, and his father Neptune that cunning ſaylour, reigning therin (as Bale ſayth) by the ſpace of .xliiij. yeares, till finally he was ſlayne, in manner afore remembred, by his vncle Hercules Lybicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquiſhed and deſtroyed his enimies, hee paſſed to and fro thorough Gallia, ſuppreſſing the tyrantes in euerye part where he came, and reſtoring the people vnto a reaſonable kynde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours: and as we fynde, he buylded the citie of Alexia in Burgongne nowe called Alize.

Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the lyfe of Hercules it is auouched, that the ſame Hercules came ouer hither into Britayne. And this dothe Giraldus write by warraunt of ſuche Brytons (as ſayth he) haue ſo written themſelues, which thing peraduenture he hath redde in Gildas the auncient Bryton poet: Whiche booke he confeſſeth in the .v. Dialogue of his hiſtories of Poets that he hath ſeen. The ſame thing alſo is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britayn called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may reade, whiche is thought to take name of his arriual at that place. Thvs much for Albion and Hercules.

Dyuers
ons vvhy
Ile vvas c
Albion.

But nowe where as it is not denyed of anye, that this Ile was called auncientlye by the name of Albion: yet there be dyuers opinyons how it came by that name: for many doe not allow of this hiſtorie of Albion the Giaunte. But for ſo muche as it appertayneth rather to the deſcription than to the Hyſtorie of this Iſle, to rippe vp and lay forth the ſecrete myſteries of ſuch matters: and bicauſe I think that this opinion which is heere auouched howe it tooke that name of the foreſayd Albion, ſonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie, as ſome of the other, I here paſſe ouer the reſte, and thus proceede with the hiſtorie.

See mor
of in the d
ſcriptio

When Albion chiefe Capitayn of the Gyants was ſlayn, the reſidue that remayned at home in the Iſle, continued without any rule or reſtraint of lawe, in ſo muche that they fell to ſuch a diſſolute order of lyfe, that they ſeemed little or nothing to differ from brute beaſtes: & thoſe are they which our auncient Chronicles call the Giants, who were ſo named, as well of the huge proportion of their ſtature (ſithens as before is ſayd, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as alſo for that they were the firſte, or at the leaſt the furtheſt in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrey. For this word *Gigines*, or rather *Gegines*, from whence our word giant (as ſome take it) is deriued, is a greek word, and ſignifieth borne or bred of or in the earth: for our foreelders, ſpecially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were perſwaded, that the firſt inhabitaunts of any cōtrey were bred out of the earth, and therfore when they could go no higher, reckening the diſcentes of their predeceſſours, they wold name him *Terræ filius*, the ſonne of the earth: and ſo the Giants which the Poets fain to haue fought to make battayle againſt heauen, are called the ſonnes of the earth: and the firſt inhabitauntes generally of euery countrey, wer of the Grekes called *Gigines*, or *Gegines*, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, people borne of the earth from the beginning, and cōming from no other countrey, but bred within the ſame.

Terra fi
vvhat ſi
fyeth

Aborigin
Indigen

And theſe Giaunts and firſt inhabitauntes of thys Iſle, continued in their beaſtly kinde of lyfe vnto the arriuall of the Ladies, whiche ſome of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocleſian the king of Aſſiria, wheras in dede they haue bene deceiued in taking the worde Danaus to bee ſhort written for Diocleſianus: and by the ſame meanes haue dyuers wordes and names bene miſtaken bothe in our Chronicles and in diuerſe other auncient written workes. But this is a faulte that learned men ſhoulde not ſo muche trouble themſelues about,

The miſta
of the na
Diocleſia
Danaus

conſidering the ſame hath bin alreadie founde by ſundry authors long ſithence, as Hugh the Italiane, John Harding, and John Rouſe of Warwicke, and others, ſpeciallye by the healpe of Dauid Pencair, a Britiſhe hiſtorician, who recite the Hiſtorie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters: and bycauſe we would not any man to thinke, that the hiſtorie of theſe daughters of Danaus is onely of purpoſe deuiſed, & brought in place of Diocleſian, to excuſe the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was eyther no ſuch hiſtorie, or at the leaſt no ſuch women that arriued in this Iſle, the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue ix.C.yeares paſt, and maketh mencion of the arriuall of ſuche ladies.

Hughe the Italyan. Hardyng. John Rous out of Dauid Pencair.

Nennius.

Belus, Priſcus.

Dictionarium poeticum.

Danaus. Ægyptus.

Higinus.

To bee ſhorte, the Hiſtorie is thus: Belus the ſonne of Epaphus, (or as ſome wryters haue) of Neptune and Libyes, whom Iſis after the death of Apis maried,) hadde iſſue two ſonnes: the firſt Danaus, called alſo Armeus, and Egyptus called alſo Rameſes, and theſe two were kings among the Egyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauyng in his rule the vpper region of Egypt, had by ſundry wiues.50.daughters, whiche his brother Aegyptus gaping for the dominion of the whole, did inſtantly deſire, that his ſons being alſo.50.in number, might matche with thoſe fifty ladies.

But Danaus hauing knowledge by ſome prophecie or oracle, that a ſonne in law of his ſhoulde be his death, refuſed ſo to beſtowe his daughters.

Herevpon grew warre betwixt the brethrē, in the end wherof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flee his countrey, whervpon he prepared a nauie, imbarqued himſelfe & his daughters, and with them paſſed ouer into Grecce, where he found meanes to diſpoſſeſſe Gelenor (ſonne to Stenelas king of Argos,) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him oute of his countreye, and reigned in his place by the aſſiſtance of the Argiues themſelues, that had conceyued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great likyng towardes Danaus, who in very deede did ſo farre excell the kings that had reigned there before hym, that the Greekes in remembraunce of hym, were after called Danai.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking greate diſdayne for that hee and his ſonnes were in ſuche ſorte deſpiſed of Danaus, ſente his ſons with a greate armie to make warre on theyr Uncle, giuing them in charge not to returne tyll they had eyther ſlayne Danaus, or obteyned his daughters in mariage.

The yong Gentlemen accordyng to theyr fathers commaundemente, beeing arriued in Grecce, made ſuch warre agaynſte Danaus, that in the ende he was conſtrayned to gyue vnto thoſe his fifty nephues his.50.daughters, to ioyn with them in mariage, & ſo acordingly maried they were: but as the prouerb ſayth, *In truſt appeared treacherie*: for the firſt night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to eche of his daughters a ſworde, chargyng them that when their huſbands after their banquets and paſtimes were once brought into a ſoūd ſlepe, eche of them ſhould ſlea hir huſband, menacing them with death vnleſſe they fulfilled his commaundement. They all therfore obey the will of their father, Hypermneſtra onely excepted, with whom preuayled more the loue of kinred and wedlock, than the feare of hir fathers diſpleaſure: for ſhee alone ſpared the lyfe of hir huſbande Lynceus, wakening him out of his ſleepe, and warning hym to departe and flee into Egypt to his father. He therfore hauing all the wicked practiſe reuealed to hym by his wyfe, followed hir aduiſe, and ſo eſcaped.

Pauſanias.

But when Danaus perceiued howe all his daughters had accompliſhed his cōmaundemēt ſauing onely Hypermneſtra, he cauſed hir to be brought forth into iudgemēt for diſobeying him in a matter wherin both the ſafetie & loſſe of his life reſted: but ſhe was acquit by the Argiues, and diſcharged: howbeit hir father kept hir in priſon, and ſeeking to fynde oute other huſbandes for his other daughters that hadde obeyed his pleaſure in ſleaing their firſte huſbandes, long it was ere he coulde fynde any to matche with them: for the heynous offence committed in the ſlaughter of their late huſbandes, was yet too freſhe in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mynde.

But yet neuertheleſſe to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe, he made proclamation that his daughters ſhould demaunde no ioynters, and euery ſuter ſhuld take his choyce without reſpect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choyce, but ſo as fyrſte come, beſte ſerued, according to their owne phantaſies and likings. But when this policie alſo fayled, and would not ſerue his turne, he deuiſed a game of running, ordeining therwith, that who ſoeuer got the beſt price ſhould haue the firſt choyce among all the ſiſters, and he that got the ſecond, ſhuld chooſe next to the fyrſt, and ſo forth eche one after an other, accordyng to the tryall of theyr ſwyftneſſe of foote.

How muche this practiſe auayled, I knowe not: but certain it is, diuers of them were beſtowed either by this means, or by ſome other: for we finde that Autonomes was maried to

Architeles Chryſantas, or (as Pauſanias hath) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Ancnome with Neptunus Equeſtris, on whome he begate Nauplius.

But nowe to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wyfe Hipermneſtra preſerued, (as before ye haue herd) after he was once got out of the reach and daunger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge thereof to his wyfe, in rayſing a fyre on heyghte beaconwyſe, accordingly as ſhee hadde requeſted him to doe at hys departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwardes tooke name of him, and was called Lyncea.

Vpon his returne into Egypt, he gaue his father to vnderſtande the whole circumſtaunce of the trecherous crueltie vſed by his vncle and hys daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himſelfe hadde eſcaped death out of hys vncles handes. Wherupon at tyme conuenient he was furniſhed forth with men and ſhippes by his father, for the ſpeedie reuenge of that heynous vnnaturall and moſte diſloyall murder, in which enterpriſe he ſped him forth with ſuch diligence, that in ſhorte tyme he found meanes to diſpatch hys vncle Danaus, ſet his wyfe Hypermneſtra at libertie, and brought the whole kingdome of the Argiues vnder his ſubiection.

This don, he cauſed the daughters of Danaus (ſo many as remayned within the limittes of his dominion) to be ſent for, whome he thought not worthie to lyue, bycauſe of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues ſiſters, he would not put them to death, but commaunded them to be thruſt into a ſhippe, without maiſter, mate or mariner, & ſo to be turned into the mayn ocean ſea, and to take and abyde ſuch fortune as ſhould chance vnto them, thinking the worſt that might befall on them, coulde bee no worſſe than they had deſerued.

Hardyng.
John Rous out of Dauid Pencair.

These Ladies thus imbarqued and left to the mercie of the raging ſeas, at length by hap were brought to yͤ coaſts of this yle then called Albiō, where they tooke land, & in ſeeking to prouide thēſelues of victuals by purſute of wylde beaſts, met with no other inhabitantes than the rude and ſauage giauntes, of whome before we haue made mencion, which our hiſtoricians for their beaſtly kynde of lyfe, doe call Deuilles: And with theſe monſters theſe ladies finding none other to ſatiſfye the motions of their ſenſuall luſte, ioyned in the act of generation, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begote them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my ſelfe in reherſing this hiſtorie of the Ladies arriuall here, bycauſe I make no mencion of Albina, whiche ſhold be the eldeſt of the ſiſters, of whome this lande ſhoulde alſo take the name of Albion.

To this we anſwer, that as the name of their father hathe bene miſtaken, ſo lykewyſe hath the whole courſe of the hiſtorie in this behalfe: for althoughe we ſhall admit that to be true whiche is reherſed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall heere of thoſe ladies, yet certain it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whom this land might be called Albion. For further aſſurāce wherof, if any mā be deſirous to knowe all their names, we haue thoughte good here to reherſe thē as they be founde in Higinus, Pauſanias, & others. 1. Idea. 2. Philomela. 3. Scillo. 4. Phicomene. 5. Euippe. 6 Demoditas 7. Hyale. 8. Trite. 9. Damone. 10. Hippothoe. 11. Mirmidone. 12. Euridice. 13. Cleo. 14. Arania. 15. Cleopatra. 16. Phylea. 17. Hyppareta. 18. Chriſothemis. 19. Piranta. 20. Armoaſte. 21. Danaes, 22. Scean. 23. Glancippe. 24. Demophile. 25. Autodice. 26. Polixena. 27. Hecabe. 28. Achamantis, 29. Arſalte. 30 Monuſte 31. Amimone. 32. Helice, 33. Amaome 34. Polibe. 35. Heliſte. 36. Electra. 37. Eubule. 38. Daphildice. 39. Hero. 40. Europomene. 41. Critomedia. 42. Pyrene. 43. Eupheno. 44. Themiſtagora. 45. Paleno. 46. Erate. 47. Autonomes. 48. Itea. 49. Chryſanta. 50. Hypermneſtra.

Higinus.
The names of the daughters of Danaus.

These were the names of thoſe Ladies, the daughters of Danaus: howbeeit, whiche they were that ſhoulde arriue in this Iſle, we can not ſay. But it ſuffizeth to vnderſtande, that none of them hight Albina, ſo that whether the hiſtorie of their landing heere ſhoulde be true or not, it is all one, for the matter concerning the name of this Iſle, which vndoubtedly was called Albion, eyther of Albion the giaunt (as before I haue ſayd) or by ſome other occaſion.

See more in the Deſcrip

And thus much for the Ladies, whoſe ſtrange aduenture of their arriual here, as it may ſeme to manie, and with good cauſe incredible, ſo without further auouching it for a truthe, I leaue it to the conſideration of the reader, to thinke therof as reſon ſhal moue him, ſith I ſee not how either in this, or in other things of ſuche antiquitie we can haue any ſufficient warrant otherwyſe than by lykely coniectures. Whiche as in this hiſtorie of the ladies they are not moſt probable, yet haue we ſhewed the likelyeſt, yͭ (as we think) may be denied to agree with thoſe authors yͭ haue writ of their comming into this yle. But as for an aſſured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the commyng of Brute, I truſte it may ſuffiſe whiche before is recited out of Annio de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although muche more might be ſayd: As of the commyng hyther of Oſyris, as wel as into the other parties of ẏ world: And likewyſe of Vlyſſes his being here, who in perfourming ſome vow whiche he eyther then did make, or before hadde made, erected an Altar in that parte of Scotland which was auunciently called Calidonia, as Iulius Solinus Poliſhiſtor in playne wordes doth recorde.

Bri-

olinus.

So that vpon theſe conſiderations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the Reader, the opinion of thoſe that thinke this lande to haue bin inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, truſting it may be taken in good parte, ſith wee haue but ſhewed the coniectures of others, till time that ſome ſufficient learned man ſhall take vpon him to deſcipher the doubts of all theſe matters.

8.

BRVTE.

HItherto haue wee ſpoken of them that inhabited this land before the commyng of Brute, although ſome will needs haue it, that he was the firſte which inhabited ẏ ſame with his people, deſcended of the Troyās, ſome fewe Giaunts onely excepted whome hee vtterly deſtroyed, and lefte not one of them alyue through the whole Iſle. But as wee ſhall not doubte of Brutes hyther comming, ſo maye wee aſſuredly thinke, that he found the Iſle peopled either with the generation of thoſe, whiche Albion the Giaunt had placed here, or ſome other kynde of people, whom he did ſubdue, and ſo reigned as well ouer them, as ouer thoſe whiche he brought with him.

frey Llwyd

This Brute (as the author of the Booke (which Geffrey of Monmouth tranſlated) doth affirme, was the ſonne of Siluius, the ſonne of Aſcanius that was ſonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wyfe Creuſa, and borne in Troye, before the Citie was deſtroyed.

arding.
lexan. Neuyl.
V. Har.

But as other doe take it, the Author of that booke (whatſoeuer he was) and ſuch other as folowe him, are deceyued only in this poynt, myſtaking the matter in that Poſthumus the ſonne of Aeneas (begot of his wyfe Lauinia, and borne after his fathers deceaſſe in Italy) was called Aſcanius, who had iſſue a ſonne named Iulius, the whiche (as theſe other doe coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftain and aduenturous leader of thoſe people, which being deſcended (for the more parte in the fourth generation) from thoſe Troians that eſcaped with lyfe, when that royall Citie was deſtroyed by the Grekes, got poſſeſſion of this worthie and moſt famous Iſle.

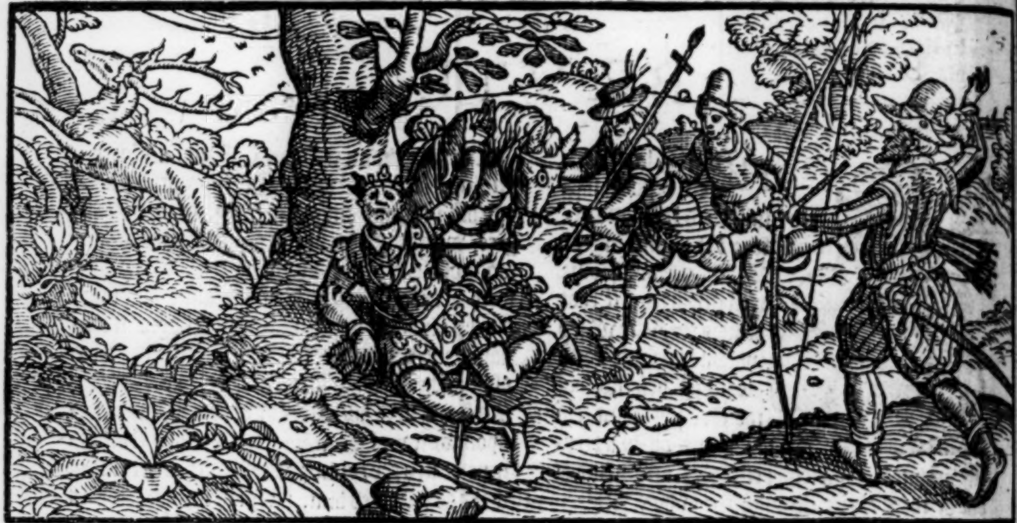
To this opinion Giouan Villani, a Florentine in his vniuerſal hiſtorie ſpeaking of Aeneas and his offpring kings in Italy, ſeemeth to agree, where he hathe theſe wordes: Siluius (the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a neece of his mother the ſame Lauinia, and by hir had a ſonne, of whom ſhe dyed in trauayle, and therfore he was called Brutus, who after as he grewe in ſome ſtature, and huntyng in a foreſt ſlew his father at vnwares, and therevpon for fear of his grādfather Siluius Poſthumus he fled the countrey, and with a retinue of ſuche as followed him, paſſyng throughe diuers ſeas, at lengthe hee arriued in the Iſle of Britayne.

But now wheras by reaſon of the vncertayntie in the Roman authors themſelues, touching the lyne of Aeneas, ſome forein writers haue either with ſlender argumente, or elſe verie arrogantly without any grounded reſon ſhewed, taken vpon them to denye that there was any ſuch Italyan Brutus, lineally cōming from Aeneas the Troian, of whom the race of the Britiſh nation that poſſeſſed this Iſle ſhould procede: yet bycauſe the argumente of the one ſorte of thoſe that ſo write, is founde inſufficient to the lerned, and the arrogancie of the other being void of reaſon, is ſmally to be regarded: and ſeing that neither the one nor the other of theſe our aduerſaries can as yet fynd out any other, either by parents, tyme, place or name, that ſhoulde in ſuche wyſe conquer, ſubdue and gouerne this noble Iſle, but only our Brutus or Brytus. For this letter (y) hath had of auncient tyme bothe thoſe ſoundes, as of V, and of I.

Theuet, Bodinus, and other.

And ſith alſo we haue on oure ſyde, as many or rather more, and of as good credite (if we ſhall ſpeake generally,) beyng likewyſe forreyne wryters, which affirme and vndoubtedly auouch the regall ſtate of the foreſayde Brutus, as the ſole ruler, monarche and gouernour thereof: Seyng

I ſay, the caſe ſtandeth in ſuch termes, I doubt not but myne opinion wil be deemed allowable, if herein I folow the receyued opinion of moſt writers, and eſteemed the lykelyeſt ſundry ways to the carefull ſerchers and ſkilfull examiners of the antiquities of this triumphant Iland. Truſting yͭ this poynt with ſundry other concerning the hiſtorie of this our great Britayn, either vntruly or imperfectly recorded, or vtterly in maner vnknowne, ſhall in due tyme be brought to a neerer perfection and more apparant euidencie of trouth by ſome diſcrete and experte Gentleman, being of the auncient Britiſhe nobilitie lyneally deſcended, as alſo very ſtudious of ſo worthy verities.



Concerning therfore our Brute, whether his father Julius was ſonne to Aſcanius, the ſonne of Aeneas by his wyfe Creuſa, or ſonne to Poſthumus, called alſo Aſcanius, and ſonne to Aeneas by his wyfe Lauinia, wee will not further ſtande. But this we fynde, that when he came to the age of .xv. yeares, ſo that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the foreſts and chaſes, he fortuned eyther by miſhap, or by gods prouidence, to ſtrike his father with an arrowe, in ſhooting at a deere, of whiche wounde he alſo dyed. His grandfather (whether the ſame was Poſthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this greate miſaduenture that had chaunced to his ſonne Syluius, liued not long after, but deceaſſed of very griefe and ſorrow (as is to be ſuppoſed) which he conceyued therof. And the young gentleman immediatly after he had ſlayn his father (in maner before alledged) was baniſhed hys countrey, and therevppon got him into Grecia, where traueling in yͤ coũtrey, he lighted by chãce among ſome of the Troyan offſpring, and aſſociating himſelfe with them, grewe by meanes of the lignage (wherof he was deſcended) in proces of tyme, into greate reputation among them: chiefly by reaſon there were yet dyuers of the Troiane race, and that of greate authoritie in that countrey. For Pirrhus the ſonne of Achilles, hauing no iſſue by his wyfe Hermione, maried Andromache, late wyfe vnto Hector: and by hir had three ſonnes, Moloſſus, Pielus, and Pergamus, that in their time grew to be of great power in thoſe places and countreys, and ſo their offſpring likewiſe: Whereby Brute or Brytus wanted no frendſhip. For euen at his firſte comming thither, diuers of the Troyans that were remayning in ſeruitude, being deſirous of libertie, by heapes reſorted vnto hym. And amongeſt other, Aſſaracus was one, whom Brute entertayned, receyuing at his handes the poſſeſſion of ſundry fortes & places of defence, before that the king of thoſe parties could haue vnderſtanding or knowledge of any ſuch thing. Herewith alſo ſuche as were redie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on eche ſide, whervpon he firſte placed garniſons in thoſe townes whiche had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwardes with Aſſaracus and the reſidue of the multitude, he withdrewe into the mountaynes neere adioyning. And thus beeing made ſtrong wyth ſuche aſſiſtance, vpon conſultation hadde wyth them that were of moſte authoritie about hym, wrote vnto the Kyng of that countreye called Pandraſus, in fourme as followeth.

Brute kylleth his father by misfortune.

Pauſanias.

The Letter of Brute to Pandraſus, as I fynd it ſette downe in Galfride Monunetenſis.

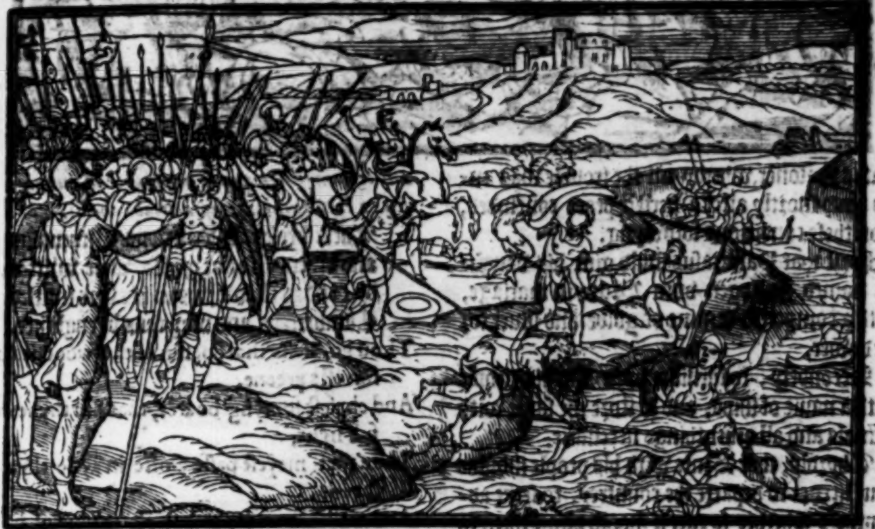
BRute leader of the remnant of the Troyane people, to Pandraſus king of the Grekes, ſendeth greeting: Bicauſe it hath bin thought a thing vnworthie, that the people diſcended of the noble linage of Dardanus, to be otherwiſe delte with than the honoure of their Nobilitie dothe require: They haue withdrawne themſelues within the cloſe couerte of the woddes: For they haue choſen rather (after the manner of wylde beaſtes) to lyue on fleſhe and herbes in libertie, than furniſhed with all the riches in the worlde to continue vnder the yoake of ſeruyle thraldome. But if thys theyr doyng offende thy mightye highneſſe, they are not to bee blamed, but rather in this behalfe to bee pardoned, ſith euery captiue priſoner is deſirous to bee reſtored vnto hys former eſtate and dignitie. You therefore pitying their caſe, vouchesafe to graunte them their abridged lybertie, and ſuffer them to remayne in quiet within theſe woddes whiche they haue gotte into their poſſeſſion: If not ſo, yet gyue them lycence to departe forthe of thys Countreye into ſome other partyes.

The ſight of theſe letters and requeſt in them cōteyned made Pandraſus at the firſt ſomewhat amazed, Howbeit aduiſing further of the matter, and conſideryng their ſmall number, he made no greate accompt of them, but determined out of hande to ſuppreſſe them by force, before they ſhoulde growe to a greater multitude.

Pandraſus prepareth an army to ſuppreſſe the Troian offſpring.

Sparatinum.

And to bring his intention the better to paſſe, he leuyed hys power, and made towardes them. But as he paſſed by a towne called Sparatinū, marching towardes the woods within the which he thought to haue founde his enimyes, he was ſodenly aſſailed by Brute, who with three thouſande men was come forth of the woodes, and fiercely ſetting vpon his enimies, made greate ſlaughter of them, ſo that they were vtterly diſcomfited, and ſoughte by flyghte to ſaue themſelues in paſſing a ryuer there at hande called Akalon.



Peraduenture Achelous.

Brute with his men following faſt vpon the aduerſaries, cauſed them to plunge into the water at aduenture, ſo that manye of them were drowned. Antigonus yet the brother of kyng Pandraſus didde what hee coulde to ſtaye the Grecians from fleeing, called them back agayn, and getting ſome of them togither, placed them in order, and began a newe fielde: but it nothing auayled, for the Troyans preaſing vpon hym, toke him priſoner, ſlewe and ſcattered his companie (and ceaſſed not tyll they had rid the fields of all their aduerſaries.

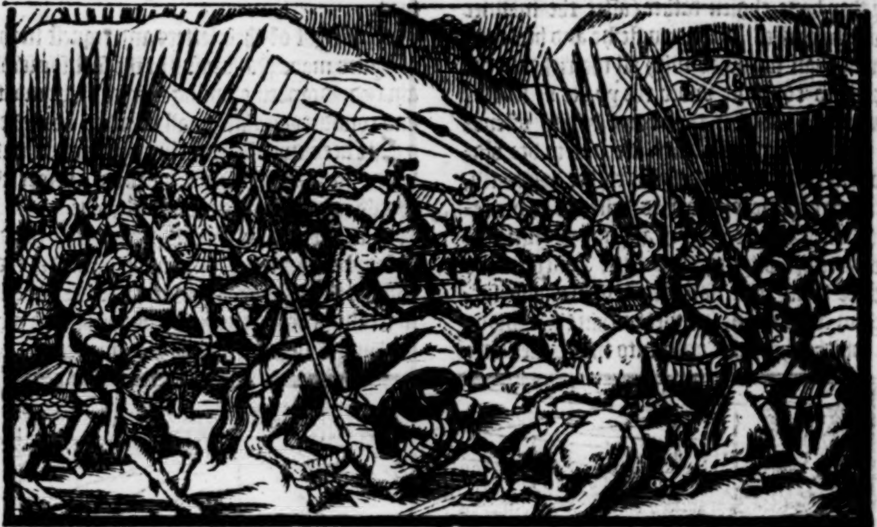
Antigonus, the brother of Pādraſus.

He is taken priſons

Brute entreth into Sparatinū.

This doon, Brute entring yͤ towne, furniſhed it with ſixe hundred able ſouldiours, and afterwardes went backe to the reſidue of his people that were incamped in the woddes, where he was receyued with vnſpeakeable ioye for this proſperous atchieued enterpriſe. But although this euil ſucceſſe at the firſt beginning, ſore troubled Pandraſus, as well for the loſſe of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kyndeled in deſyre to ſeeke reuenge, than otherwyſe diſcouraged. And therfore aſſemblyng his people agayne togyther that were ſcattered here and there, he came the nexte day before the towne of Sparatinum, wherein he thoughte to haue founde Brute encloſed togyther with the priſoners, and therfore he ſhewed his whole endeuer by harde ſiege and fierce aſſaultes to force them within to yelde.

To conclude, ſo long he did cōtinue the ſiege, till vittails began to ware ſcant within, ſo that there was no way but to yeld, if preſent ſuccour came not to remoue the ſiege. Wherupon they ſignifyed their neceſſitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power ſufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue thē a camiſado in the nyght ſeaſon, & ſo ordred his buſineſſe, that enforcing a pryſoner named Anacletus, whiche he had taken in the laſt battayle, to ſerue his turne, by conſtrayning him to take an othe whiche he durſte not for conſcience ſake breake) he found meanes to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduauntage, that he did not only ouerthrowe theyr wholepower, but alſo toke Pandraſus pryſoner, wherby all the trouble was ended: and ſhortly after a perfect peace concluded, vpon theſe conditions folowyng.



Pandraſus take priſoner.

The conditions of the agreement betvvixte Brute and Pandraſus.

Fyrſt that Pandraſus ſhuld giue his daughter named Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent ſumme of golde and ſiluer for hir dower.

Secondely, to furniſhe hym and his people with a nauie of ſhips, and to ſtore the ſame with victuals and all other things neceſſarie.

Thyrdly, that Brute with his people ſhoulde haue licence to departe the countrey, to ſeeke aduentures whether ſo euer it ſhould pleaſe them to direct their courſe, without let, impeachement or trouble to bee offered any wayes fourthe by the Greekes.

To all theſe conditions (bycauſe they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdom) Pandraſus did willingly agree, & lykewyſe performe, ſo that all things being once put in a redyneſſe, and the wynde ſeruyng their purpoſe, Brute with hys wyfe Innugen and his people imbarqued, and plucking vp ſayles departed from the coaſtes of Grecia: and after two dayes and a nyghtes saylyng, they arriued at Leogitia, (in ſome olde written bookes of the Brytiſhe hyſtorie, noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they conſulted with an Oracle. Brute himſelf kneeling before the Idole, and holding in his right hande a boll prepared for ſacrifice ful of wyne, and the bloud of a whyte hynde, ſpake in this maner as here foloweth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror ſylueſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos
Infernaſq́; domos, terreſtria iura reſolue,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam ſedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

These verſes as Ponticus Virunnius and others alſo doe gueſſe, were written by Gildas Cambrius in his book intitled Cambreidos, and may thus be engliſhed.

Thou goddeſſe that doeſt rule the wooddes and
forreſts greene,
And chaſeſt fomyng boares, that flee thyne awfull ſight,
Thou that mayeſt paſſe alofte in ayrie skyes ſo
ſheene,
And walk eke vnder erth in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthly ſtates, direct our courſe aright,
And ſhewe where wee ſhall dwell, accordyng to
thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode, where temples we maye
dight,
For virgins that ſhal ſounde thy laude with voices ſhrill.

After this prayer and obſeruances done accordyng to the Pagane rite and cuſtom, Brute abiding for anſwere, fell a ſleepe: in tyme of which ſleepe appeared to hym the ſayde goddeſſe, vttering an aunſwere, as in theſe Verſes folowyng is expreſſed.

Brute, ſub occaſum Solis trans Gallica regna,
Inſula in Oceano eſt, vndiq́; clauſa mari,
Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, namq́; tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges naſcentur & ipſis,
Totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit.

Whiche are thus Engliſhed.

Brute farre by weaſt beyonde the Gallike lande
is founde,

An yle whiche with the Ocean ſeas encloſed is aboute,
VVhere Giants dwelt ſometyme, but now is deſerte grounde,
Moſt meet where thou mayſt plant thy ſelf with all thy route:
Make thitherwardes with ſpeede, for there thou ſhalt fynde out
An euer during ſeate, and Troy ſhall riſe anewe;
Vnto thy race, of whome ſhall kings bee borne no doubt,
That with their mightie power, the worlde ſhall whole ſubdue.

After that he was awakened out of his ſleepe and had called his dreame to remembrãce, he firſt doubted whether it were a very dreame or a true viſion, the goddeſſe hauyng ſpoken to hym with lyuely voyce. Whereupon callyng ſuche of hys companie vnto hym as he thoughte requiſite in ſuche a caſe, hee declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtaunces, whereat they greatly reioycing, cauſed mightie bonfyres to be made, in the whiche they caſte wyne, milke, and other licours, with dyuers gummes and ſpyces of moſte ſweete ſmell and odour, as in the Pagan religion was accuſtomed: whiche obſeruaunces and ceremonies being once perfourmed & brought to ende, they returned ſtreighte wayes to their ſhippes, and as ſoone as the wynde ſerued, they paſſed foreward on their iourney with great ioye and gladneſſe, as men put in comforte to fynde out the wiſhed ſeates for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therfore they caſt about, and makyng weſtwarde, they firſt arryue in Africa, and after keeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraites of Gibralterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hande, they founde another companye that were lykewyſe deſcended of the Troiane progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hilles ſhoote downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon was named in thoſe days *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of Writers and copiers of the Britiſhe hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrhenū* was ſlightly put downe in ſtede of *Pyrenæum*.

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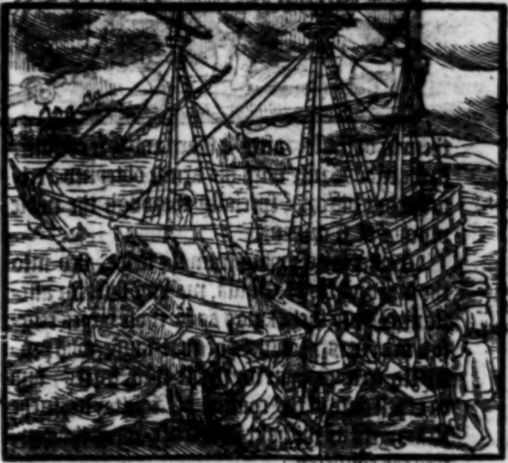
tting Mare
yrrhenum,
Pyrenæum.

I knowe right well that ſome will condemne me of lacke of vnderſtanding the names whiche the later writers Greekes or Latiniſtes haue giuen vnto our known ſeas: for yᵗ we reade not in any autentike author, that thoſe ſeas next and againſt the Pyrenine mountaynes, haue bin cal- *Mare Pyrenæum*. But verily the courſe of the hiſtorie doth moue me to thinke aſſuredly, that the author of Geffrey Monmouths booke, ment in that place the ſeas neere to the coaſt, whereunto the Pyrenine hilles do ioyn. For what reaſon is it, that after the Troians were paſſed the pyllers of Hercules, that ſtande on eyther ſides the ſtrait of Marrocke or Gibralterra (whether you liſt to name the place) ſhoulde returne ſo great a courſe backe agayne, and fall vpon the coaſtes of Tuſcane (from the whiche he purpoſely was fledde) which lay nothing weſtward, whither they bent their whole courſe.

yrenyne
untayns.

I haue ſhewed my reaſon grounded vpon the opinion of ſome that are knowen to be learned, & no leſſe ſtudious in ſearch of ſuch matters of antiquitie, whoſe iudgementes I can not but reuerence, and therfore I am the bolder to ſet it downe as I haue hearde it, and alſo by other allowed. To proceede then with the hiſtorie.

The ofſpring of thoſe Troianes with whom Brute and his companie thus did meete, were a remnant of thoſe that came away with Antenore. Their capitayne hight Corineus, a man of great modeſtie and approued wiſedome, and therto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe. After they vnderſtode of one an others eſtates, and howe they were deſcended from one countrey and progenie, they vnited themſelues together, greatly reioycing that they were ſo fortunately mette. And after this, hoyſſyng vp their ſayles, they directed their courſe forward ſtill, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loyre, whiche deuideth Aquitayn from Gaule Celtique, where they tooke lande within the dominion of a king, called Goffarius, and ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon that he was deſcended of the people called *Agathyrſes*, that otherwiſe were named alſo Pictes, for ſo muche as they vſed to paynte their faces and bodies, in ſuche wiſe as the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſte he beſtowed of payntyng himſelfe: and commonly the heare of their head was redde.



Brute and Corineus ioyne their companies together.

They arriue on the coaſtes of Gallia, novve called Fraunce

Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus.

Les annales dAquitain

Agathyrſes, otherwiſe called Pictes, of painting their bodies.

The countrey of Poictou (as ſome hold) where the ſayde Goffarius reigned, tooke name of thys people: and likewiſe a parte of this our Iſle of Britayn nowe conteyned within Scotland, in ancient time was called Pightland, as elſwhere both in this hiſtorie of England, & alſo of Scotland,

Pightland.

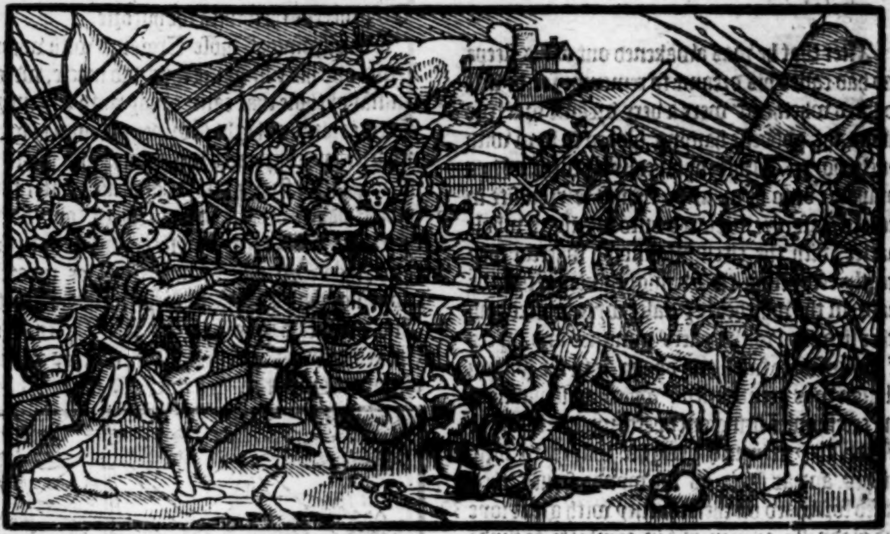
lande, it may further appeare.

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brutus.

But nowe to our purpoſe. When Goffarius the king of Poicton was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtraungers within his countrey, he ſent firſt certain of his people to vnderſtād what they ment by their comming a lande within his dominion, withoute licence or leaue of him obteyned.

They that were thus ſente, by chaunce came where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhippes into a foreſte neare to the ſea ſyde, to kil ſome veniſon for their ſuſtenaunce: and being reproued with ſome diſdaynfull ſpeache of thoſe Poicteuins, hee ſhaped them a rounde aunſwere: inſomuch that one of them whoſe name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but hee auoyding the danger therof, ſhotte agayn at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue hys head in ſunder.

The reſte of the Poicteuins fledde therevpon, and broughte worde to Goffarius what hadde happened: who immediatlye wyth a myghtie armie, made forwarde to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioyne with them in battaile, after a ſharp and ſore conflict, in the ende Brute with his armie obteyned a triumphant victorie, ſpecially through the noble prowes of Corineus.



Goffarius is diſcomfited.

Goffarius ſeeketh ayde againſt Brute.

Goffarius eſcaping from the fielde, fled into the inner partes of Gallia, making ſuite for aſſiſtaunce vnto ſuche kings as in thoſe dayes reigned in dyuers prouinces of that lande, who promyſed to ayde hym wyth all their forces, and to expell oute of the coaſtes of Aquitayne, ſuche ſtraungers as without his licence were thus entred the countrey.

Brute ſpoyleth the countrey.

But Brute in the meane tyme paſſed foreward, and with fire and ſworde, made hauock in places where he came: and gathering great ſpoyles, fraughte his ſhips with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he buylt a Citie named *Turonium*, that is Tours.

Turonius or Tours buylt by Brute.

Goffarius hauing renued his forces, fighteth eftſoones vvith Brute.

Here Goffarius with ſuche Gaules as were aſſembled in his ayd, gaue batayl agayn vnto the Troyans that were encamped to abyde his cōmyng. Where after that they had fought a long tyme with ſingular manhoode on bothe parties: finally the Troyans oppreſſed with multitude of their aduerſaries, being thirtie tymes as manye more as the Troyans) were conſtrained to retyre into their campe, within the which the Gaules kepte them as beſieged, lodging rounde about them, and purpoſing by famine to compell them to yelde themſelues vnto their mercie.

But Corineus taking counſell with Brute, deuiſed to departe in the darke of the night forth of the campe, and to lodge himſelfe wyth three thouſand choſen ſouldiours ſecretly in a woodde, and there to remayne in couert tyll in the morning that Brute ſhoulde come forth and giue a a charge vppon the enimies, wherewith Corineus ſhould breake forth and aſſayle the Gaules on the backes.

This policie was putte in practiſe, and tooke ſuch effect as the deuyſers themſelues wiſhed: for the Gaules being ſharply aſſailed on the front by Brute and his companie, wer now by the ſodain comming of Corineus, who ſet vpon them behinde on their backes, brought into ſuch a feare, that incontinentely they tooke them to flighte, whome the Troyans egrely purſued, making no ſmall ſlaughter of them as they might ouertake them. In this battaile Brute loſt many of his men, and amongſt other, one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had ſhewed maruellous proofe of his great manhoode. Of hym (as ſome haue written) the foreſayd citie of Tours tooke the name, and was called *Turonium*, bycauſe the

ſayde

heuet.

ſayd *Turinus* was there buried: Althoughe Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and maynteyneth, that one Taurus the nephewe of Hanniball was the firſte that cloſed it about wyth a pale of woodde (as the maner in thoſe days was of fencing their towns) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our Sauioure. 197. But yet by Theuets leaue, Brute and his companie myghte fyrſt buylde the ſame towne: and Taurus peraduenture might after fence it about with a pale, at that ſuppoſed time whẽ his vncle Hanibal came forth of Spayn, to paſſe through Gallia into Italy. But to ſpeake what I thinke, I beleeue Theuet is as little able to proue his Taurus to be the firſt that encloſed it, as other are to proue, that it tooke the name of Turinus his buryall there.

3374.

But now to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined ſo famous a victorie, albeit there was good cauſe for him to reioyce, yet it ſore troubled him to conſider that his numbers dayly decayed, and his enimies ſtill encreaſed, and grew ſtronger: whervpon reſting doubtfull what to doe, whether to procede agaynſt the Gaulles, or to returne to his ſhippes, and to ſeeke the yle, that was appoynted to him by oracle, at lẽgth he choſe the ſureſt way and beſt (as he tooke it, and as it proued:) for whyleſt yet the more parte of his armie was lefte alyue, and that the name of the victorie remayned on his ſide, hee drewe to his nauie, and lading his ſhippes, with exceding greate ſtore of riches whiche his people had got abrode in the country: he tooke the ſeas agayne: And after a few dayes ſayling, they landed at the hauen whiche is now called Totneſſe, the yeare of the worlde. 2850. after the deſtruction of Troy. 66. after the deliuerãce of the Iſraelites, from the Captiuitie of Babylon. 397. almoſt ended, in the. 18. yeare of the reigne of Tyneas king of Babylon. 13. of Melanthus king of Athenes, before the buylding of Rome. 358. whiche was before the natiuitie of our ſauior Chriſt 1116. almoſt ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great. 783.

Brute in doubt vvhat to do.

Brute vvith his remnant of Troians arriue in this Iſle. An. mũdi. 2850.

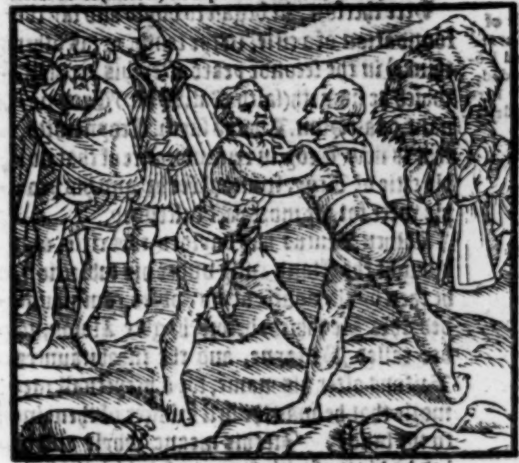
1116.

This computation haue I ſet down acording to the Chronologie of William Hariſon not yet publiſhed, whoſe accompte (as he hath gathered it) I haue folowed for the more parte, as well in the hiſtorie of Scotland, as here in this hiſtorie of England, eſpecially til I come vnto the time that the Saxons ſettled themſelues here: the rather bycauſe I am perſuaded yͤ he hath bin verie diligent in ſerching out the true computation of yeres, in reforming the ſame according to yͤ beſt authorities, as I truſte to the learned reader it may appeare. And if there be any errour therein, I doubt not but ſome ſuche learned Gentleman as hath ſpent ſome ſtudie about the ſearche of the firſt peopling of this land, will for the benefite of his country in tyme conueniente reforme that which is amiſſe, and publiſhe to the worlde that whiche may better ſatiſfie the learned, and cleere all doubtes, as well in the accompt of the time of Brutes comming hither, as in all other circumſtances of the whole Brytiſhe hiſtorie.

VVilliam Hariſon.

But nowe to proceede. When former Brute entred this lande, immediatly after his arriuall (as writers doe recorde) he ſearched the country from ſide to ſide, and euen from the one ende to the other, finding it in moſte places right fertile and plentuous of woodde and graſſe, and full of pleaſant ſprings and faire ryuers.

But as he thus trauayled to diſcouer the ſtate and commodities of the ylande, he was encountred by diuers ſtrong & mightie Giauntes, whom he deſtroyed and ſlewe, or rather ſubdued them, with all ſuche other people, as hee founde in the Ilande, whiche were more in number vndoubtedly than by report of ſome authors, it ſhoulde appere there were. Among theſe Giants (as Geffrey of Monmouthe writeth) there was one of paſſing ſtrengthe and greate eſtimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute cauſed Corineus to wraſtell, at a place beſide Douer, where it chaunced, that the Giaunt brake a ribbe in the ſyde of Corineus, whyle they ſtroue to claſpe, and the one to ouerthrowe the other: wherewith Corineus being ſore chafed and ſtirred to wrath, he ſo doubled his force that he got the vpper hand of the Gyaunt, and caſte him downe headlong from one of the rockes there, not farre from Douer, and ſo diſpatched hym: by reaſon wherof, the place was named long after, the fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterwards it was called the fall of Douer.



Brute encoũtred by the Giauntes.

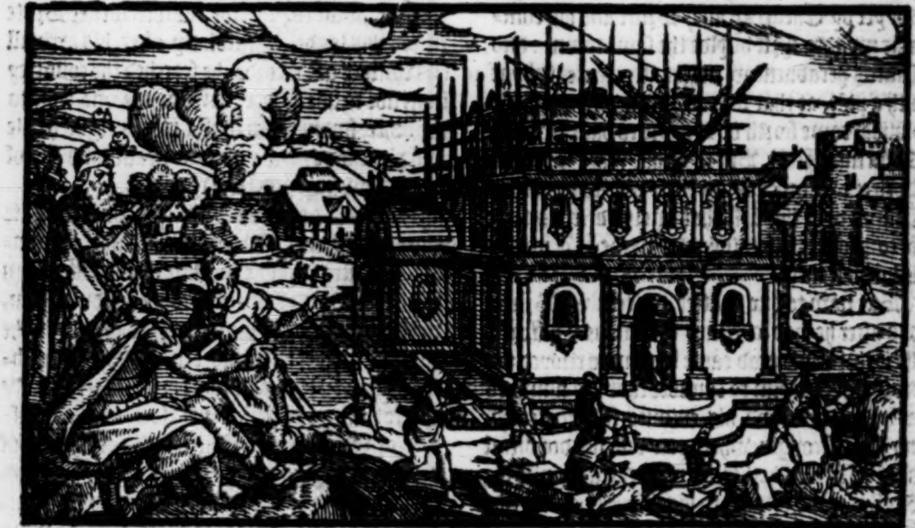
Corineus vvreſtleth vvith Gogmagog.

Gogmagog is ſlayne.

Cornvvall giu to Corineus.

For this valiant deede and other the lyke ſeruice firſte and laſte atchieued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole country of Cornwall.

To be briefe: After that Brute had deſtroyed ſuche as ſtoode agaynſte him, and brought ſuche people vnder his ſubiection, as he found in the Iſle, and ſearched the land from the one end to the other: He was deſirous to buyld a citie, þͤ the ſame might be the regal ſeat of his empire or kingdom. Wherupon he choſe forth a plot of ground, lying on the north ſyde of the riuer of Thames, which by good conſideration ſeemed to be moſt pleaſant & conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aſwel for holſomneſſe of aire goodneſſe of ſoyle, plentie of woddes, & commoditie of the riuer, ſeruing as wel to bring in as to carrie forth all kindes of merchandiſe, and things neceſſarie for gayne ſtore and vſe of them that there ſhuld inhabit.



The citie of Trinouant after called Lōdon, buylded. See more hereof in the deſcription.

Here therfore, he began to buyld and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth, or (as other thinke) in the ſeconde yeare after his arriuall, which he nameth (ſaith Gal. Mon.) Troy nonant, or as Hum. Lhuyd ſayth, Troynewith, that is new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy, from whēce he and his people were for the more part deſcended.

When Brutus had buylded this citie, and brought the Iland fully vnder his ſubiection, he then by the aduiſe of his nobles, commaunded this Ile whiche before hyghte Albion, to bee called Britayne, and the inhabitauntes Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the firſt bringer of them into the lande. In this meane whyle alſo he had by his wyfe .iij. ſonnes, of which the firſte was named Locrinus, or Locrine, the ſecond Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. And when the tyme of his death drewe neere, To the firſt he betoke the gouernment of that part of the lande which is nowe knowne by the name of England: ſo that the ſame was long after called *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, of the ſayd Locrinus.

Brute had three ſonnes.

Loegria.

To the ſeconde he appoynted the countrey of Wales, the whyche of hym was fyrſt named *Cambria*, deuided from *Loegria*, by the riuer of Seuerne.

Cambria.

To his thirde ſonne Albanacte, hee delyuered all the North parte of the Iſle, afterwardes called *Albania*, after the name of the ſaid Albanacte: which portion of the ſaid Iſle lieth beyond the Humber northward.

Thus whē Brutus had deuided the Iſle of Britain (as before is mēcioned) into .3. parts, & had gouerned þͤ ſame by the ſpace of .xv. yeres, he died in þͤ .24. yere after his arriual, as Harriſon noteth it, and was buryed at Troynouant or London: although the place of his ſaid burial there, be now growen out of memorie.

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9

Locrinus, the ſecond ruler of Britayne.

Locrinus, or Locrine, the firſt begottē ſonne of Brute begā to reigne ouer þͤ coūtrey called *Logiers* in the yere of þͤ world 1874. and held to his part the countrey that ſtretched frō þͤ ſouthe ſea vnto the riuer of Humber, as is afore remembred.

Gal. Mo.
Mat. Wꝛ.
Fa.
de Ca.

Whyle thys Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, as is ſayde, and there was finally ſlayne in a bataile by a King of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, which inuaded that part of Britain, & got poſſeſſiō therof, til Locrinus with his brother Cāber, in reuēge of their other brothers

Gal. Mo.
Mat. Wꝛ.

brothers death, and for the recouery of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming againſt the ſaid King of the Hunes, by the valiancie of their people they diſcomfited hym in battell, and chaſed him ſo egrely, that he himſelfe and a greate number of his men were drowned in the Gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name of yͤ ſayd king, & was called Humber, and ſo continueth vnto this day.

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ome ouer the
umber.

Gal.Mon.

Moreouer, in this battell againſt the Hunes were three yong Damoſels taken of excellente beauty, ſpecially one of them, whoſe name was Eſtrild, daughter to a certayne king of Scithia. With this Eſtrild king Locrine fel ſo far in loue, notwithſtãding a former contract made betwixt him & the Lady Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus Duke of Cornewall, yͭ he meant yet with all ſpeede to marrie the ſame Eſtrild. But beyng earneſtly called vpon, and in manner forced therto by Corineus, hee chaunged his purpoſe, and maried Guendoloena, keeping neuertheleſſe the foreſayde Eſtrild to paramor ſtill after a ſecrete ſort, during yͤ life of Corineus his father in lawe. But after yͭ Corineus was departed this worlde, Locrine forſooke Guendoloena, and maried Eſtrild. Guendoloena therfore being caſt off by hir huſband, gote hir into Cornewall to hir friendes and kinrede, and there procured them to make warre againſt the ſayde Locrine hir huſbande, in the whiche warres hee was ſlaine and a battayle foughte neere to the riuer of Sture, after he hadde raigned (as writers affirme) twenty yeeres, and buried by his father in the Citie of Troynouant, leauing behinde him a yong ſonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnmeete to gouerne.

Mat.VVeſt.

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Guendoloena or Guendoleyn the wife of Locrinus, & daughter of Corineus Duke of Cornewall, for ſo muche as hir ſonne Madan was not of yeeres ſufficient to gouerne, was by common conſent of the Britons made ruler of the Iſle, in the yeere of the worlde. 2894. and ſo hauing yͤ adminiſtration in hir handes, ſhe did right diſcretly vſe hir ſelfe therein, to the comforte of all hir ſubiectes, till hir ſonne Madan came to lawfull age: and then ſhe gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after ſhee had gouerned the ſpace of fifteene yeeres.

l.Mon.

10.

Madan the third Ruler.

Madã.

MAdan the ſonne of Locrine, and Guindoline entred into yͤ gouernement of Britaine in the. 2909. of the worlde. There is little lefte in writing of his doings, ſauing that he vſed greate tyranny amongſt his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of. 40. yeres, he was deuoured of wilde beaſtes, as he was abroad in hũting. He left behind him two ſonnes, Mempricius, and Manlius. Hee builded as is reported Madan Caiſtre, now Dancaſtre, which reteineth ſtill the later parte of hys name.

11.

Mempricius the fourth Ruler.

Mempritius.

Fabian.

MEmpricius the eldeſt ſonne of Madan, began to raigne ouer the Britaynes in the yere of the worlde. 2949. hee continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious minde prouoked the Britaynes to rebell againſt him, ſo that ſore and deadly warre continued long betweene thẽ. But finally, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was ſlaine by his brother Mempricius, ſo that then he liued in more tranquilitie and reſt. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into ſlouth, and ſo into vnlawfull luſt of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters. And finally became ſo beaſtly, that he forſooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable ſinne of Sodomy. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odible to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was loſt of his people, and deſtroyed of wilde beaſtes, when he had raigned twentie yeares, leauing behinde him a noble yong ſonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Manlius is ſlayne.

Gal.Mon.

Slouth engendred Lechery.

Mempritius is deuoured of beaſts.

12.

Ebranke the fifth Ruler.

Ebrãck

EBranke the ſon of Mempricius, began to rule ouer the Britaynes in yͤ yere of the Worlde 2969. He had as writers doe of hym record, one & twenty wiues, on whome he begote. xx. ſonnes and thirtie daughters, of the whiche the eldeſt hight Guales, or Gualea. Theſe daughters he ſent to Alba Siluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italy, or the ſixth King of the Latines, to the end they might be married to his noble men of the bloud of Troians, bycauſe the Sabines refuſed to ioyne their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the firſt Prince of his lande that euer inuaded Fraunce after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many Cities, both in his owne kingdome, and elſe where. Hys

Ebranck had xxi wiues.

Thirty daughters ſent into Italy.

Bergomas lib. 6.

ſonnes alſo vnder the conduct of Aſſaracus, one of their eldeſt brethren, returning out of Italy, after they had conducted their ſiſters thither, inuaded Germany, being firſt moleſted by the people of that countrey in their rage, and by the helpe of the ſayd Alba, ſubdued a great part of that countrey, and there planted themſelues. Our hiſtories ſay, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and ayded them in their conqueſts, and that he builded the Citie of Caerbrank, now called Yorke, about. the 14. yeare of his raigne. He builded alſo in Albania now called Scotland, the Caſtel of Maydens, afterward called Edenburgh of Aidan one of their kings. The Citie of Alclud was builded likewiſe by hym as (ſome write) now decayed. After which cities thus builded, he ſayled ouer into Gallia, now called Frãce with a great army, and ſubduing the Guilles as is aforeſayde, he returned home with great riches and triumph. And when he had guided the lande of Britayne in noble wiſe by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

The Citie of Caerbranke builded.
Mat. VVeſt.

Fortie yeeres hath. Math. Weſt. and Gal. Monume.

13

Brute Greeneſhielde the.6.Ruler.

Brute Grene-ſhielde.

BRute Greeneſhielde, the ſonne of Ebrank, was made gouernor of this lande in the yeere of yͤ world.3009. Aſa raigning in Iuda, and Baaſa in Iſraell. Thys Prince bare alwayes in the field a greene ſhielde, whereof he toke hys ſurname, and of him ſome forraine authors affirme, yͭ he made an attempte to bring the whole Realme of Fraunce vnder his ſubiection, which he performed, bycauſe his father ſuſteined ſome diſhonor and loſſe in his laſt voyage into that countrey. Howbeit they ſay, yͭ whẽ he came into Henand, Brinchild a Prince of yͤ quarter gaue him alſo a greate ouerthrowe, and compelled him to retire home agayne into hys countrey. This I borrow out of William Harriſon, who in his chronologie toucheth the ſame at large, concluding in the end, that the ſaid paſſage of this Prince into France is very likely to be true, and that he named a percell of Armorica lying on the South, and in manner vpon the very loyne after his owne name, and alſo a Citie which he builded there Britayne. For (ſayth he) it ſhould ſeeme by Strabo. lib.4. that there was a noble Citie of that name long before his time in the ſayde countrey, whereof Plinie alſo ſpeaketh lib.4. cap.7. albeit that he aſcribe it vnto France after a diſordred maner. More I finde not of this aforeſaid Brute, ſauing that he ruled the lande a certaine time, his father yet liuing, and after hys deceſſe the tearme of twelue yeeres, and then dyed, and was buried at Caerbranke nowe called Yorke.

Iacobus Leſ.

Strabo lib.4.

14

Leill the ſeuenth Ruler.

Leil.

LEil the ſon of Brute Greeneſhielde, began to raigne in the yeere of the world.3021. the ſame time that Aſa was raigning in Iuda, and Ambri in Iſrael. He built the Citie nowe called Carliſle, which then after hys owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leil his Citie, or the Citie of Leil. He repayred alſo (as Henry Bradſhawe hathe, the Citie of Caerleon now called Cheſter, which as by the ſame Bradſhaw it appeareth, was built before Brutus entring into this lande by a Giaunte named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he hadde to auouche this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higdē in his worke entituled Policronicon, ſaith in playne wordes, that it is vnknowen who was the firſte founder of Cheſter, but that it toke the name of yͤ ſoiourning there of ſome Romayne Legions, by whom alſo it is not vnlike that it might be firſte built by *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, who as we find, after he had ſubdued Caratacus king of yͤ Ordouices yͭ inhabited yͤ countreys now called Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, & Salupſhire, built in thoſe partes, & among yͤ Silures, certain places of defence, for the better herbourgh of his men of warre, & keeping down of ſuche Britaynes as were ſtill ready to moue rebelliõ. But now to yͤ purpoſe concerning K. Leil. We find it recorded yͭ he was in yͤ beginning of his raigne very vpright, & deſirous to ſee iuſtice executed, & aboue all things loued peace & quietneſſe, but as yeres encreaſed with him, ſo his vertues began to diminiſh, in ſo much, that abãdoning yͤ care for the body of yͤ common welth, he ſuffered his own body to welter in all vice and voluptuouſneſſe, & ſo procuring the hatred of hys ſubiectes, cauſed malice and diſcorde to ryſe amõgſt them, which during his life, he was neuer able to appeaſe. But leauing them ſo at variãce, departed this life, and was buried at Careleil which as ye haue heard he had builded, whyle hee liued.

Cardel
ded.

Cheſter
payred.

Lud Hurdibras the eight Ruler.

Rud
Lud
dibra

RUD or Ludhurdibras the ſonne of Leil began to gouerne in the yeare of the world. 3046. In the beginning of his raigne, hee ſoughte to appeaſe the debate that was reyſed in hys fathers dayes, and bring the Realme to hir former quietneſſe, and after that hee hadde

brought

...rkin or ...terbury ...uilded. ...rguent is ...lded. ...dour is ...lded.

brought it to good ende, he builded the towne of Kaerkyn now called Canterbury: alſo the towne of Caerguent nowe cleped Wincheſter, & Mont Paladour now called Shafteſbury. About the building of which towne of Shafteſbury, Aquila a Prophet of the Brittiſh nation wrote his prophecies, of which ſome fragments remayne yet to be ſeene, tranſlated into the Latine by ſome auntient writers. When this Lud had raigned .xxix. yeeres he dyed, and lefte a ſonne behinde him named Baldud.

Baldud the.9.Ruler.

...laddud ...Bal- ...ud.

...l.Mon.

...e King was ...uned.

BAldud the ſonne of Lud Hudibras, begā to rule ouer the Britaynes in the yere of the world.3085. This man was well ſeene in yͤ ſciences of Aſtronomy, and Nigromancy, by which (as the common reporte ſaith) he made the whote bathes in the Citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmeſbery is of a contrary opinion, affirming that Julius Ceſar made thoſe bathes, or rather repayred them when he was here in Englande: which is not like to be true: for Julius Ceſar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came ſo farre within the land that way forthe. Both of theſe bathes more ſhall be ſayd in the deſcription. But to proceede. This Baldud tooke ſuche pleaſure in artificiall practiſes and magike, that he taught this arte throughout all his Realme. And to ſhew his cunning in other poyntes, vppon a preſumptuous pleaſure which he had therein, he tooke vpon him to flie in the ayre, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which ſtoode in the Citie of Troynouant, and there was torne in peeces after he had ruled the Britaynes by the ſpace of .xx. yeeres.

...ote bathes.

...a.VVeſt.

...he prince did ...ye.

Leir the.10.Ruler.

Leir.

Mat.VVeſt.

LEir the ſon of Baldud, was admitted Ruler ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere of the world. 3105. at what time Joas raigned as yet in Juda. This Leir was a Prince of righte noble demeanor, gouerning his land and ſubiectes in great wealth.

Mat.VVeſt.

Leyceſter is builded.

Hee made the towne of Caerleir nowe called Leiceſter, which ſtandeth vpon yͤ Riuer of Sore.

It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other iſſue, whoſe names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordilla, which daughters he greatly loued, but ſpecially the yongeſt Cordilla farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeeres, and beganne to waxe vnweldy through age, he thought to vnderſtand the affections of his daughters towardes him, and preferre hir whome hee beſt loued, to the ſucceſſion ouer the kingdome: therefore hee firſte aſked Gonorilla the eldeſt, howe well ſhee loued him: the which calling hir Gods to record, proteſted, that ſhe loued him more than hir owne life, which by righte and reaſon ſhoulde be moſt deere vnto hir: With whiche anſwer the father beyng well pleaſed, turned to the ſecond, and demanded of hir how well ſhe loued him: whiche anſwered (confirming hir ſayings with greate othes) that ſhe loued him more than tong could expreſſe, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world. Then called he his yongeſt daughter Cordeilla before him, and aſked of hir what accompt ſhe made of him: vnto whome ſhe made this anſwer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherly zeale that towardes me you haue always borne, (for the which I may not anſwere you otherwiſe than I thinke, and as my cõſcience leadeth me) I proteſt vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and ſhall continually while I liue, loue you as my naturall father, and if you woulde more vnderſtand of the loue that I beare you, aſſertayn your ſelfe, that ſo much as you haue, ſo muche you are worth, and ſo much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this anſwere, married his two eldeſt daughters, the one vnto the Duke of Cornewale named Henninus, and the other vnto the Duke of Albania, called Maglanus and betwixt them after his death, hee willed and ordeyned that his land ſhould be deuided, and the one halfe thereof immediately ſhould be aſſigned to them in hande: but for the thirde daughter Cordeilla, he reſerued nothing.

Gal.Mon.

A trial of loue.

The anſwere of the yongeſt daughter.

The two eldeſt daughters are maried.

The Realme is promiſed to his two daughters.

Yet it fortuned, that one of the Princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whoſe name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhoode, and good conditions of the ſayd Cordeilla, deſired to haue hir in marriage, and ſente ouer to hir father, requiring that he myghte haue hir to wife: to whome aunſwere was made, that hee mighte haue hys daughter, but for any dower hee coulde haue none, for all was promiſed and aſſured to hir other ſiſters already.

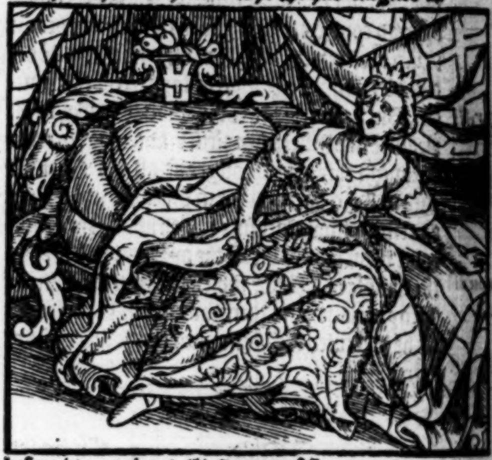
Aganippus notwithſtanding this aunſwere of denyall to receyue any thyng by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, only moued therto (I ſaye) for reſpecte of hir perſon and amiable vertues. Thys Aganippus was one of the twelue Kyngs that ruled Gallia

He gouerned the third parte of Gallia as Gal.Mon.hath in thoſe dayes, as in the Brittiſh hiſtorie it is recorded. But to proceede, after that Leir was fallen into age, the two Dukes that had married his two eldeſt daughters, thinking long ere the gouernemente of the land did come to their handes, aroſe againſt him in armour, & reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpō conditions to be cōtinued for tearme of life: by yͤ whiche he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate aſſigned to him for the maintenance of his eſtate, whyche in proces of time was diminiſhed as well by Magbanus, as by Henninus. But the greateſt griefe that Leir toke, was to ſee the vnkindneſſe of his daughters, which ſeemed to thinke that all was too much which their father hadde, the ſame being neuer ſo little: in ſo muche, that going from yͤ one to yͤ other, he was brought to that miſerie, that vnneth would they allow him one ſeruaunt to waite vpon him. In the end ſuch was the vnkindneſſe, or (as I may ſaye) the vnnaturalneſſe which he founde in his two daughters, notwithſtanding their faire & pleaſante wordes vttered in time paſt, that being conſtreyned of neceſſitie, he fled yͤ land, & ſayled into Gallia, there to ſeke ſome comfort of his yōgeſt daughter Cordeilla whom before time he hated. The Lady Cordeill hearing yͭ he was arriued in pore eſtate, ſhe firſt ſet to him priuily a certayne ſumme of money to apparrell himſelfe withal, & to reteyne a certayn number of ſeruants that mighte attende vpon him in honorable wiſe, as apperteyned to the eſtate whiche he had borne: and then ſo accompanyed, ſhe appointed him to come to yͤ Court, which he did, & was ſo ioyfully, honorably, and louingly receiued, both by his ſon in law Aganippus, & alſo by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatly comforted: For he was no leſſe honored, than if he hadde bin king of yͤ whole countrey himſelfe. Alſo after yͭ he had enformed his ſon in law & his daughter in what ſort he had bin vſed by his other daughters, Aganippus cauſed a mightie army to be put in a readineſſe, & likewiſe a greate nauie of Ships to bee rigged, to paſſe ouer into Britayne with Leir his father in law, to ſee him againe reſtored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla ſhould alſo goe with him to take poſſeſſion of yͤ land, yͤ whiche he promiſed to leaue vnto hir, as hir rightfull inheritour after his deceſſe, notwithſtanding any former graunte made to hir ſiſters or to their huſbāds in any manner of wiſe. Herevpō, whē this army & nauie of Ships wer ready, Leir & his daughter Cordeilla wͭ hir huſbād toke yͤ ſea, & arriuing in Britaine, fought wͭ their enimies, and diſcomfited them in battaile, in yͤ whiche Maglanus & Henninus were ſlaine: and then was Leir reſtored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the ſpace of two yeeres, and then died, fortie yeres after he firſt began to raigne. His body was buried at Leyceſter in a vault vnder yͤ chaunel of the Riuer of Sore beneath the towne.

Cordeilla Queene.

Cor
la.

Cordeilla yͤ yōgeſt daughter of Leir, was admitted for Q. & ſupreme gouernoure of Britayne, in the yeere of yͤ World. 355. before the building of Rome. 54. Vzias then raigning in Iuda, & Ieroboā ouer Iſraell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers deſceaſe ruled the lād of Britayne right worthily during the ſpace of fiue yeres, in which meane time hir huſband died, and then about yͤ end of thoſe fiue yeres, hir two Nephewes Margan and Cunedagius ſonnes to hir aforeſaide ſiſters, diſdeigning to be vnder the gouernement of a woman, leuied warre againſt hir, and deſtroyed a great part of the land, and finally tooke hir priſoner, and leyd hir faſt in ward, wherwith ſhee tooke ſuche griefe, being a woman of a manly courage, and deſpayring to recouer libertie, there ſhe ſlew hirſelfe whē ſhe had raigned as before is mencioned the tearme of fiue yeeres.



Cunedag and Margan contende for the gouernement.

Cune-
dag &
Mar-
gan.

Cunedagius & Marganus Nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, deuided the ſame betwixt them, that is to wit, the countrey ouer & beyonde Humber fell to Margan as it ſtretcheth euen to Catneſſe, & the other part lying South, and by weſt, was aſſigned to Cunedagius. This pertition chanced in the yeere of the World. 3170. before the building of Rome. 47. Uzia as yet raigning in Juda, & Jeroboam in Iſrael. Afterwards, theſe two couſins, Cunedag and Margā, had not raigned thus paſt a two yeares, but thorough ſome ſeditious perſons, Margan was perſwaded to reiſe warre againſt Cunedag, telling him in his eare, howe it was a ſhame for him being come of the elder ſiſter, not to haue the rule of the whole Jle in his hande. Herevpon, ouercome with pride, ambition, & couetouſneſſe, he reiſed an army, & entring into yͤ land of Cunedag, he brened & deſtroyed yͤ coūtrey before him in miſerable maner. Cunedag in all haſt to reſiſt his aduerſarie, aſſembled alſo al yͤ power he could make, & comming with the ſame againſt Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he ſlew a great nūber of Margās people, and put yͤ reſidue to flight, and furthermore purſued him from countrey to countrey, till hee came into Cambria, nowe called Wales, where yͤ ſaid Margan gaue him eftſones a new battell: but beeing too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome & ſlaine in yͤ field, by reaſon whereof, yͤ countrey tooke name of him, being there ſlaine, and ſo is called to this day Glau Margā, which is to meant in our Engliſh tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after hee had raigned with his brother two yeres, or thereaboutes.

argan in- deth his uſin Cune- g.

argan is yne.

ayreſt.

After the death of Margan, Cunedagius the ſon of Hēnius & Ragay (middlemoſt daughter of Leir, before mentioned) became Ruler of all the whole lād of Britayne, in yͤ yere of yͤ World 3172. before the building of Rome. 45. Uzia ſtill raigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Iſraell. He gouerned this Jle wel & honorably for the tearme of .xxxiij. yeeres: And then dying, his body was buried at Troynouant or Londō. Moreouer, our writers do reporte, that hee builded alſo three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercury at Bangor, and the thirde to Apollo in Cornewall.

une- agius lone.

Ryuall the.13.Ruler.

Riual.

Riuallon, the ſon of Cunedag, began to raign ouer yͤ Britaines, in the yere of the world 3203. before the building of Rome. 15. Joathan as then beeing King of Juda, and Phacea king of Iſrael. This Ryuall gouerned the lande in greate wealth and proſperitie. In his time it raigned bloud by the ſpace of three dayes togither. After which raigne enſued ſuch an exceeding nūber and multitude of flies, ſo noyſome and contagious, that muche people died by reaſon thereof. When he had raigned .46. yeeres he died & was buried at Caerbranke nowe called Yorke. In yͤ time of this Ryuals raigne, was the Citie of Rome builded, after the accordance of moſt parte of writers. Perdix alſo a wiſehart, and a learned Aſtrologian flouriſheth & writeth his prophecies, and Herne alſo.

It rayned bloud. *Mat. VVeſt.*

Rome builded

Gurguſt the.14. Ruler.

Gurguſt

Gurguſtius, the ſon of the beforenamed Riuall, beganne to gouerne the Britaynes in the yere after the Creatiō of the world. 3249. and after the firſt foundation of Rome. 33. Ezechias raigning in Juda. This Gurguſtius in yͤ Chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the ſonne of Reignald, he raigned .37. yeres: then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by hys father.

Syſillius the.15. Ruler.

Syſillius

Syſillius, or after ſome writers Sillius, the brother of Gurguſtius, was choſen to haue the gouernance of Britayne, in the yeere of the worlde. 3287. and after the building of Rome. 71. Manaſſes ſtill raigning in Juda. This Siſillius in the Engliſh Chronicle is named Sezill. He raigned 40. yeeres, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Iago the.16. Ruler.

Iago.

Jago or Lago yͤ couſin of Gurguſtius, as next inheritor to Siſillius, tooke vpon hym the gouernmente of Britaynt, in the yeere of the world. 3326. and after yͤ building of Rome. 110. in whoſe time the Citie of Jeruſalem was taken by Nabuchodonozor, and the King of Juda, Mathania, otherwiſe called Zedechias, being ſlaine. This Jago or Lago dyed without iſſue, when hee had raigned eyght and twentie yeeres, and was buried at Yorke.

Kinimak the 17.Ruler.

Kininak.

Kinimacus or Kinmarus yͤ ſon of Sicilius as ſome write, or rather yͤ brother of Iago began to gouerne yͤ lãd of Britayne, in the yere of the World.3364.and after the buildyng of Rome. 148. the Iewes as then being in yͤ third yeere of their captiuitie of Babilon. This Kinimachus departed this life, after hee hadde raigned. 54. yeeres, and was buried at Yorke.

Gorbodug the.18.Ruler.

Gorbodug.

Gorbodug the ſonne of Kinimacus begã his raigne ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere after the creation of the worlde 3418. from the buildyng of yͤ Citie of Rome.202. the Iewes beeing in the 58. of their captiuitie at Babilon. This Gorbodug by moſt likelyhoode, to bring hiſtories to accord, ſhould raigne aboute the tearme of.63.yeeres, and then departing thys world, was buried at London, leauing after hym two ſonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after ſome writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex the.19.Ruler,

Ferrex and Porrex.

Ferrex fledde into Gallia.

Ferrex with Porrex his brother, began ioyntly to rule ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere of the World. 3476. after yͤ building of Rome 260.at whiche tyme, the people of Rome forſooke their Citie in theyr Rebellious mode. Theſe two brethren continued for a time in good friendſhip and amitie, till at length, through couetouſneſſe, and deſire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and diſcord, whereby Ferrex was cõſtreyned to flee into Gallia, and there purchaſed ayde of a great Duke, called Gunhardus or Suardus, and ſo returned into Britayne, thynkyng to preuayle and obteine the dominion of yͤ whole Iland. But his brother Porrex was ready to receyue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was ſlayne, with the more parte of his people. The Engliſh Chronicle ſayeth, that Porrex was he that fledde into France, and at his returne, was ſlayne, and that Ferrex ſuruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth, and Policronicon are of a contrary opinion. Mathewe Weſtmonaſteri. writeth, that Porrex deuiſing wayes to kill Ferrex, atchieued his purpoſe and ſlew him. But whether of them ſo euer ſuruiued, the mother of them was ſo highly offended for the deathe of him that was ſlayne, whome ſhee moſt entierly loued, that ſetting aparte al motherly affection, ſhe found meanes to enter the chamber of him that ſuruiued, in the night ſeaſon, and as hee ſlept, ſhe with help of hir maidens ſlew him, and cut him into ſmall peeces, as the writers doe affirme. Suche was the ende of theſe two brethren after they had raigned by the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres.

Matt

The mo
killeth hi

After this folowed a troubleous ſeaſon, full of cruell warre, & ſeditious diſcord, whereby in the ende, and for the ſpace of fiftie yeres, the gouernemente of the Ilande was deuided betwixt fiue Kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute after the affirmance of moſt writers, tooke an ende: for after the death of the two foreſayde brethren, no rightful inheritor was left aliue to ſucceede them in the Kingdome. The names of theſe fiue Kings are found in certaine olde pedigrees: and although the ſame be muche corrupted in dyuers copies, yet theſe are the moſt agreableſt.

Robert Recorde.

1 Rudacus King of VVales.
2 Clotenus King of Cornewall.
3 Pinnor King of Loegria.
4 Staterus King of Albania.
5 Yewan King of Northumberlande.

But of theſe fiue Kings or Dukes, the Engliſh Chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewale for moſt rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certayne by report of auncient Authors, howe long this variaunce continued amongſt the Britaynes: but as ſome late writers haue geſſed, it ſhould continue for the ſpace of.51. yeeres, coniecturing ſo much by that which is recorded in Policron: who ſayth, how it did continue euen till the beginning of the raigne of Mulmutius Dunwallo, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute firſt entred Britayne, about the ſpace of ſeuen hundred and three yeeres. Here ye muſt note, yͭ there is differẽce amõgſt writers about yͤ ſupputation & accompt of theſe yeeres, in ſomuch yͭ ſome making their reckoning after certain writers, and finding yͤ ſame to vary about three C. yeeres, are brought into further doubt of the troth of the whole hiſtorie: but where other haue by diligent ſearch tryed out the continuance of euery gouernors raigne, and reduced the ſame to a likelyhoode of ſome conformitie; I haue thought beſt to follow the ſame, leauing the credite

Fab.

Ciuill warre 51 yeeres.

vite thereof with the firſte Authours, as I haue ſayd before.

Mulmutius the firſt crowned King of Britayne.

Mul-
ucius.
M.W.
olid.

TO proceede therefore to the aforeſayde Authors, Mulnucius Dunuallo, or as other haue Dũnallo Mulmucius, the ſonne of Cloten, (as teſtifyeth the Engliſh chronicle, & alſo Geffrey of Mõmouth, gote the vpper hand of yͤ other Dukes or rulers: And after his fathers deceſſe began his raigne ouer the whole Monarchie of Britayne in yͤ yeere of the world.3529.after yͤ building of Rome.314. and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie.97. and abent the.26.yere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fifth King of the Perſiãs. This Mulmutius Donuallo is named in the Engliſh Chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthy Prince. He builded within yͤ Citie of London then called Troynouant a Temple, and named it the Temple of peace: the which (as ſome holde opinion,) I wote not vpon what ground, was yͤ ſame which now is called Blackwel halle, where the market for bying and ſelling of clothes is kept.

ab.

es more in
he deſcriptiõ.

M.W.
Lawes made.

He alſo made many good lawes, the whyche were long after vſed, called Mulmutius lawes, turned out of the Brittiſh ſpeech into the Latine by Gildas Priſcus, and long time after trãſlated out of Latine into Engliſhe by Alfrede Kyng of England, and mingled in his eſtatutes.

Moreouer, this Mulmutius gaue priuileges to Temples, to ploughes, to Cities, and to high wayes leading to the ſame, ſo that whoſoeuer fled to them, ſhould be in ſafegard from bodily harme, and from thence he might depart into what cõtrey he would, without indemnitie of his perſon. Some authors write, that hee began to make the foure great high wayes of Britayne, the whyche were finiſhed by his ſonne Belinus, as after ſhall be declared.

axton and
olicron.

The Chronicle of Englãd affirmeth, that this Mulmutius whom yͤ olde booke nameth Molle, builded yͤ two townes Malmeſbery, & the Vies.

almesbery
d the Vies
uilt.

After he had eſtabliſhed his land, & ſet his Britons in good & conuenient order, he ordeyned him by yͤ aduice of his Lords a Crowne of golde, and cauſed himſelfe with great ſolẽnitie to be Crowned, according to the cuſtome of the Pagan lawes then in vſe: and bycauſe he was the firſt that bare Crowne heere in Britayne, after the opinion of ſome writers, he is named the firſt King of Britayne, and al the other before rehearſed are named Rulers, Dukes, or Gouernors.

he firſt King
hat was crow-
ed with a
oldẽ Crowne

Amongſt other of his ordinances, he appoynted weightes and meaſures, with the which men ſhould buy & ſell. And further he deuiſed ſore and ſtreight orders for the puniſhing of theft. Finally, after he had guided the land by the ſpace of fortie yeeres, he died, and was buried in the foreſayde Temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troynouant nowe called London, as before ye haue heard. Appoynting in his life tyme, that his kingdome ſhould be deuided betwixt his two ſonnes, Brennus, & Belinus (as ſome men do coniecture.)

Polid.
Weightes and meaſures.
Theft puniſhed.
Fab.

Belinus and Brennus, the ſonnes of Mulmutius.

Belinus and Brennus.

BRennus and Belinus began to raigne ioyntly as Kings in Britaine, in yͤ yeere of the World.3574. after the building of yͤ Citie of Rome.355. and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie.142. which was about yͤ ſeuenth yere of Artaxerxes ſurnamed Mnemon, the ſeuenth K. of the Perſians. Belinus held vnder his gouernance Loegria, Wales, & Cornewale: and Brennus all thoſe countreys ouer and beyonde Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of ſixe or ſeuen yeres; after whyche time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portiõ came to, firſt thought to purchaſe himſelfe ayd in forreine parties, and therefore by the prouocation & counſel of yong vnquiet heads, ſailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elſing or Elſing, as then Duke or Ruler of that countrey. Beline offended with his brother, that he ſhoulde thus withoute his aduice marrie with a ſtranger, now in his abſence ſeaſed al his lands, townes and fortreſſes into his owne hands, placing garriſons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

3574

M.W.

S.hath Policr.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elſingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertized hereof, aſſembled a great nauie of Ships, well furniſhed with people and Souldiers of the Norwegians, with the whiche he tooke his courſe homewardes, but in the way he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the whiche had layen lõg in awaite for him, bycauſe of yͤ yong Lady whiche Bren had married, for whom he had bin a ſutor to hir father Elſing of long time. When theſe two fleetes of yͤ Danes & Norwegiãs met, there

Guilthdacus King of Denmarke.

was a ſore battell betwixte them, but finally, the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke yͤ Ship wherein the new Brite was conueyed, and then was ſhe brought aboorde yͤ Ship of Guilthdachus. Brenne eſcaped by flighte as well as hee might. But when Guilthdachus had thus obtained the victory & pray, ſodaynly therupon roſe a ſore tēpeſt of winde & weather, which eſcattered the Daniſhe fleete, and put the King in daunger to haue bin loſt: but finally within fiue dayes after, being driuen by force of winde, he landed in Northumberland, with a fewe ſuche Shippes as kept togither with him.

tempeſt.

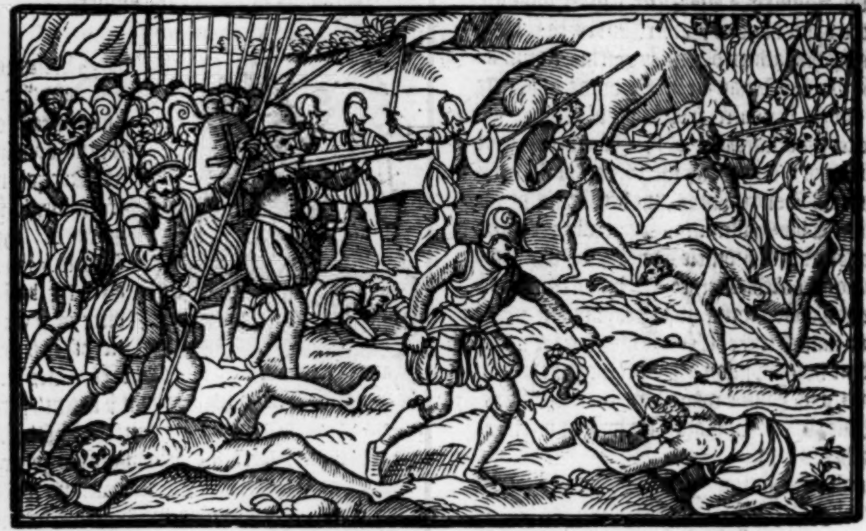
Guithdachus landed in the North.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouidyng for defence againſte his brother, vpon knowledge had of the King of Denmarkes arriuall, cauſed him to be ſtayed. Shortly after, Brenne hauyng recouered and gote togither the moſt parte of hys Shippes, that were diſperſed by the diſcomfiture, and thē newly rigged and furniſhed of al things neceſſary, ſente worde to his brother Beline, both to reſtore to him his wife wrongfully rauiſhed by Guithdacus, and alſo his lands iniuriouſly by him ſeaſed into his poſſeſſion. Theſe requeſtes being playnely and ſhortly denyed, Brenne made no long delay, but ſpeedily made towards Albania, and landing with his army in a part thereof, encountred with his brother Beline neere vnto a Wood named as then Calater, where after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them, at lēgth the victory abode with the Britons, and the diſcomfiture light ſo on the Norwegians, that the moſt of them were ſlayne, and left dead vpon the groūd. Hereby Brenne being forced to flee, made ſhift, and gote ouer into Gallia, where after hee had ſued to this Prince and that, at lēgth he was wel receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus Duke of the people called then Allobroges, as Galfrid of Monmoth ſaith, or rather Irmorica, whyche now is called Britaine, as Policronicon, and the Engliſhe hiſtorie printed by Caxton, more truely may ſeme to affirme. But Belyne hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, aſſembling hys counſell at Caerbranke, now called Yorke, tooke aduice what he ſhould do with the King of Dēmarke: where it was ordeyned, that he ſhould bee ſet at libertie, with condition and vnder couenāt, to acknowledge himſelfe by doing homage, to holde his lande of the King of Britaine, and to pay him a yeerely tribute. Theſe couenauntes therefore beeing agreed vnto, and hoſtages taken for aſſurance, he was ſet at libertie, and ſo returned into his countrey. The tribute that he couenāted to pay, was a thouſand pound, as yͤ Engliſh Chronicle ſaith.

Calāder wo
is in Scotl

Seguinus or Segious Duke of the Allobroges, nowe the Delphinate or Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britons.



When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone poſſeſſed of all the land of Britaine, he firſte confirmed the lawes made by hys father: and for ſo much as the foure wayes begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore cauſed workmen to be called forth and aſſembled, whom he ſet in hand to paue the ſayde wayes with ſtone, for the better paſſage and eaſe of all that ſhould trauell through the countreyes from place to place, as occaſiō ſhuld require. The firſt of theſe foure wayes is named Foſſe, & ſtretcheth from the South into the North, beginning at yͤ corner of Totneſſe in Cornwaile, & ſo paſſing forth by Deuonſhire, and Somerſetſhire, by Tutbery, on Cotteſwold, & then forwarde beſide Couentrie vnto Leiceſter, & from thence by wilde playnes toward Newarke, & endeth at the Citie of Lincoln. The ſecond way was named Watling ſtreete, the which ſtretcheth ouerthwart the Foſſe, out of the Southeaſt into the Northeaſt, beginning at Douer, and paſſing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beſide London, by Weſt of Weſtminſter as ſome haue thought, & ſo forth by

The foure high wayes finiſhed.

The Foſſe.

Watling Streete.

by S. Albanes, & by ÿ Weſt ſide of Dunſtable, Stratford, Toweceſter, and Wedon by ſouth of Lilleborne, by Atherſton, Gilberts hill, that nowe is called the Wreken, and ſo forth by Seuerne, paſſing beſide Worceſter, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and ſo vnto a place called Cardigan, at the Iriſh ſea.

The thirde waye was named Ermingſtreete, the which ſtretched out of the weſt northweſt, ~~vnto the eaſt~~ ſoutheaſt, and beginneth at Meneuia, the which is in Saint Dauids lande in weſt Wales, and ſo vnto Southampton.

ing ſtreet.

The fourth and laſt way hight Hikenelſtreete, which leadeth by Worceſter, Winchcomb, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darby, Cheſterfielde, and by Yorke, and ſo forth vnto Tinmouth.

kelſtreete.

And after he had cauſed theſe wayes to be wel and ſufficiently reyſed and made, hee confirmed vnto them all ſuche priuileges as were graunted by his father.

uiledges unted to wayes.

In this meane tyme that Beline was thus occupied about the neceſſarie affayres of his realm and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onely with .xij. perſons, bycauſe hee was a goodly Gentleman, and ſeemed to vnderſtande what apperteyned to honour, grew ſhortly into fauor with Seginus the Duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduerſitie, and the whole circumſtaunce of his miſhap, at length was ſo highly cheriſhed of the ſayde Seginus, deliting in ſuch worthie qualities as he ſaw in him dayly appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in maryage, with condition, that if he dyed without iſſue Male, then ſhoulde he inherite his eſtate and Dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue any heyre Male behinde him, then ſhoulde he yet helpe him to recouer his lande and dominion in Brytaine, bereft frō him by his brother.

Breane mary- th the duke of e Alobroges daughter.

Theſe conditions well and ſurely vppon the Dukes part by the aſſent of the Nobles of his lande concluded, ratified, and aſſured, the ſayde Duke within the ſpace of one yeare after dyed. And then after a certaine time it beeing knowne that the Duches was not with childe, all the Lords of that Countrey did homage vnto Bren, receyuing him as their Lorde and ſupreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewiſe for his part in recompence of their curteſie, beſtowed a great portion of his treaſure.

Shortly after alſo, with their aſſent he gathered an army, and with the ſame eftſoones came ouer into Brytayne, to make new warre vpon his brother Belyne. Of whoſe landing when Beline was informed, he aſſembled his people and made himſelfe readie to meete him, but as they were at poynt to haue ioyned battell, by the interceſſiō of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirſelfe in all motherly order, and moſte louing maner towardes them both, they fell to an agreement, and were made friendes or euer they parted aſunder.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Brytaine.

Breone and Beline made friendes by interceſsion of their mother.

After this they repayred to London, and there taking aduice togyther with their Peeres and Counſellors, for the good order and quieting of the lande, at length they accorded to paſſe wyth both their armies into Gallia to ſubdue that whole Countrey, and ſo following this determination, they toke ſhipping and ſayled ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and ſword, they wrought ſuch mayſteries, that within a ſhort time (as ſayth Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italy, and Germanie, and brought it to their ſubiection. In the ende they toke Rome by this occaſion (as wryters report, if theſe be the ſame that had the leading of thoſe *Galli*, which in this ſeaſon did ſo much hurt in Italy and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had paſſed the mountaynes, & were entred into Tuſkaine, they beſieged the Citie of Cluſium, the Citizens whereof beeing in greate daunger, ſent to Rome for ayde agaynſt theyr enimies. Whervpon the Romaines conſidering with themſelues, that although they were not in any league of ſocietie with the Cluſians, yet if they were ouercome, the dāger of the next brunt were like to be theirs: with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours to intreate betwixte the parties for ſome peace to be had.

Now Chiuſi.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Rome.

They that were ſent, required the Captaynes of the Gaulles in name of the Senate and Citizens of Rome, not to moleſt the friendes of the Romaines: Wherevnto anſwere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were ſo that the Cluſians would be agreeable that the Gaulles might haue part of theyr Countrey, which they held being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwiſe (ſayd he) there could be no peace graunted.

Brennus anſwere.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors being offended with theſe wordes, demaunded what the Gaules had to do in Tuſkain. By reaſon of which and other the like ouerthwart wordes, the parties began to kindle in diſpleaſure ſo farre, ÿ their cōmunication brake of, and ſo they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dynt of ſworde.

The treatiſe of peace breaketh off.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors alſo to ſhewe of what prowes the Romaines were, contrarie to the law of Nations, ÿ forbiddeth ſuch as come in Ambaſſade about any treatie of peace, to take either one part or other, toke weapon in hand & ioyned themſelues with the Cluſians, wherewith the Gaulles were ſo muche diſpleaſed, that incontinently with one voyce, they requyred to haue the ſiege rayſed from Cluſium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good firſt to ſend Meſſengers thither, to require the deliuerie of ſuch as had broken the lawe, that puniſhment might be done on them accordingly as they had deſerued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the Ambaſſadors were not onely not puniſhed, but alſo choſen to be Tribunes for the next yeare.

The Gaul
make to
Rome.

The Gaulles then became in ſuch a rage (bycauſe they ſaw there was nothing to be looked for at the handes of the Romaines, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceytfull traynes) that they turned all their force agaynſt them, marching ſtreight towards Rome, and by the way deſtroying all that ſtoode before them.

The Ro
encount
with the
are ouer-
throwne,

The Romaines aduertiſed thereof, aſſembled themſelues togither to the number of .xl. M. and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about .xj. miles on this ſide Rome, were ſlaine and quite diſcomfited.

The Galles could vneth beleeue that they had got the victorie with ſo ſmall reſiſtance: but whē they perceyued that the Romaines were wholy ouerthrowne, and that the field was clerely rid of them, they got togither the ſpoyle, and made towards Rome it ſelfe, where ſuch feare and terror was ſtryken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in diſpayre to defende the Citie: and therefore the Senate with all the warrelike youth of the Citizens got them into the Capitoll, which they furniſhed with vitayles and all things neceſſarie for the maintenance of the ſame agaynſt a long ſiege. The honourable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remayned ſtil in the Citie, as it were to periſh with their Countrey, if happe ſo befell.

The Romains
in deſpayre
withdraw into
the Capitoll.

The Gaules
enter into
Rome.

In the meane time came the Gaulles to the Citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they paſſe forth the right way vnto the Market place, marueyling to ſee the houſes of the poorer ſort to bee ſhut agaynſt them, and thoſe of the rycher to remaine wide open, wherefore being doubtfull of ſome deceytfull traynes, they were not ouer raſhe to enter the ſame, but after they had eſpied the ancient fathers ſit in theyr Chayres apparelled in theyr riche Robes, as if they had beene in the Senate, they reuerenced them as Gods, ſo honorable was their port, graueneſſe in countnaunce, and ſhew of apparell.

The reuerend
aſpect of the
Senators.

Marcus Papy-
rius.

In the meane time it chaunced, that Marcus Papyrius ſtroke one of the Gaulles on the heade with his ſtaffe, bycauſe he preſumed to ſtroke his bearde: with which iniurie the Gaulle beeing prouoked, ſlue Papyrius (as he ſate) with hys ſworde, and therewith the ſlaughter being begun with one, all the reſidue of thoſe auncient fatherly men as they ſat in theyr Chayres were ſlaine and cruelly murthered.

Rome ſa

After this all the people founde in the Citie without reſpect or difference at al, were put to the ſworde, and the houſes ſacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline, and Brenne. 365. yeares after the firſt building therof.

365
The Capi
defended.

After this, the Gaulles attempted in the night ſeaſon to haue entred the Capitoll: and in deede ordered their enterpriſe ſo ſecretely, that they had atchieued their purpoſe, if a ſort of Ganders had not with their crie and noyſe diſcloſed them, in wakening the Romaines that were aſleepe: and ſo by that meanes were the Gaulles beaten backe and repulſed.

The Romaines beeing thus put to their extreeme ſhift, deuiſed among themſelues howe to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whome not long before they had vniuſtly baniſhed out of the Citie. In the ende they did not onely ſende for him home, but alſo created him Dictator, committing into his handes (ſo long as his office laſted) an abſolute power ouer all men, both of life and death.

Camillus re-
uoked out
exile.

Camillus forgetful of the iniurie done to him, and mindful of his dutie towards his Countrey, and lamenting the ſtate thereof, without delay gathereth ſuche an armie as the preſent time permitted.

…poſition.

In the meane time thoſe that kept the Capitoll (being almoſt famiſhed for lacke of vitayles) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for the ſumme of a thouſand pounde weight in gold, the Romaines ſhould redeeme theyr liberties: and the ſayd Brenne and Beline to depart with their armie out of the Citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the money, and by a certaine kinde of happe, the Romaines name was preſerued at that time from ſuche diſhonour and ignominie as was likel[illegible] haue inſued. For ſome of the couetous ſort of the [illegible]aulles, not cōtented with the iuſt weight of [illegible] golde, did caſt their ſwordes alſo into the Ballance where the weightes lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: wherupon the Romains refuſed to make payment after that weight.

…millus diſ-
…pointeth
…Gaulles of
…r payment.

And thus whileſt they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to graunt, the time paſſed, till in the meane ſeaſon Camillus commeth in amongeſt them with his power, commaunding that the gold ſhould be had away, and affyrming that without conſent of the Dictator, no compoſition or agreement might bee concluded by the meaner Magiſtrate. He giueth a ſigne to the Gaulles to prepare themſelues to battaile, whereunto they lightly agreed, and togither they went. The battaile being once begon, the Gaulles that looked earſt for golde, and not for battaile, were eaſily ouercome, ſuch as ſtoode to the brunt were ſlaine, and the reſt by flight conſtrayned to depart the Citie.

…e Gaulles
…erthrowne.

Polybius wryteth, that the Gaulles were turned from the ſiege of the Citie, through warres which chaunced amongeſt their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace wyth the Romaines, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howſoeuer the matter paſſed, thus muche haue we ſtept from our purpoſe, to ſhewe ſomewhat of that noble and moſt famous Captayne Brennus, the which as not onely our Hyſtories, but alſo as Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report, was a Brytain, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that many other writers are not of that mind, affyrming him to be a Gaul, and likewiſe that after this preſent time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110. yeares, or there aboutes, there was another Brennus a Gaull alſo by Nation (ſay they) vnder whoſe conduct an other armie of the Gaulles inuaded Grecia, whiche Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, althoughe Humfrey Lhuyd, and ſir Iohn Price doe flatly denie the ſame, by reaſon of ſome diſcordance in writers, and namely in the computation of the yeares ſet downe by thē that haue recorded the doings of thoſe times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter ſhall be more fully ſifted out in time by the learned and ſtudious of ſuch antiquities.

But now to our purpoſe. This is alſo to bee noted, yͤ where our Hiſtories make mention, that Beline was abrode with Brennus in the moſte part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germany, & Italy, Titus Liuius ſpeaketh but only of Brennus: wherevpon ſome write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friendes, Brennus onely went ouer into Gallia, and there through proufe of his worthie prowes, atteyned to ſuch eſtimation amongeſt the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was choſen to be their general Captaine at theyr going ouer the mountaynes into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finally returned backe againe leauing Brennus behinde him, as ſome write, or that he went not at all, but remayned ſtill at home whileſt his brother was abrode, wee can affyrme no certaintie.

Tit. Liu.
Polidor.

MaYYeſt

The truth is, that the moſte part of all oure writers make report of many worthie deedes accompliſhed by Beline, in repayring of Cities decayed, and erecting of other newe buyldings, to the adorning and beautifying of his Realme and kingdome.

And amongeſt other workes which were by him erected, he buylded a Citie in the ſouth parte of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer Wiske falleth into Seuerne, faſt by Glamorgan, which citie hight Cairlleon, or Cairllegion Ar Wiske.

Polichr.
Gal. M.
Cairlleon & Wiske buylt by Belin.

This Cairllegion was the principall Citie in tyme paſt of all Demetia, nowe called Southwales. Many notable monumentes are remayning there till this day, teſtifying the great magnificence and royall buyldings of that Citie in olde tyme.

There were in the ſame Citie alſo ſithe the time of Chriſt three Churches, one of Saint Iulius the Martyr, an other of Saint Aron, and the third was the mother Church of all Demetia, and the chiefe Sea: but after the ſame ſea was tranſlated vnto Meneuia, (that is to ſay) Saint Dauid in Weſtwales.

In this Cairlleon was Amphibulus borne that taught and inſtructed Saint Albon.

Alſo this Beline buylded an hauen, with a gate ouer the ſame, within the Citie of Troynouant, or London, in the ſummit whereof afterwards was ſet a veſſell of Braſſe, in the whiche were put the aſhes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceaſſe was burnt, as the maner of burying in thoſe dayes did require.

Fabian.

This

Iohn Leyland.

This gate was long after called Bellinus gate, and at length by corruption of language Bellings gate.

The tower of London built by Beline.

He buylded alſo a Caſtell Eaſtwarde from this gate (as ſome haue written) whiche was long tyme after likewyſe called Bellyns Caſtell, and is the ſame whiche nowe wee call the Tower of London.

Thus Beline ſtudying dayly to beautifie this lande with goodly buyldings and famous works, at length departed this lyfe, after he had raigned with his brother and alone, the ſpace of .xxvj. yeare.

Gurguint.

Gurguint.

Gurguyntus ẏ ſon of Beline, began to raigne ouer the Brytayns, in the yeare of the Worlde, 1596. after the building of Rome. 380. after ẏ deliuerãce of the Iſraelites oute of captiuitie. 164. complete, which was aboute the. xxiiij. yeare of Artaxerxes Mnenon, ſurnamed Magnus, the. vij. king of the Perſians.

Ma. VVeſt. Gal. M.

This Gurguint, in the Engliſh Chronicle is named Corinbratus, and by Math. Weſtmon. he is ſurnamed Barbiruc, the which bycauſe the trybute graunted by Guylthdag King of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the Kings of Brytaine was denyed, hee ſayled with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where hee made ſuche warre with fyre and ſworde, that the King of Denmarke with the aſſent of hys Barons was conſtrayned to graunt eftſoones to continue the payment of the aforeſayde trybute.

Gurguint cõſtrayned the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After hee had thus atchieued hys deſyre in Denmarke, as he returned back toward Brytain againe, he encountred with a Nauie of .xxx. ſhips beſyde the Iles of Orkeney.

Mat. VVeſt. Gal. Mon.

Baſques.

See more here of in Ireland.

Theſe Shippes were fraught with men and women, and had to theyr Captayne one called Bartholoin or Partholin. The which beeyng brought to the preſence of King Gurguint, declared that hee with hys people were baniſhed oute of Spayne, and were named Balences or Baſclenſes, and had ſayled long on the Sea, to the ende to fynde ſome Prince that woulde aſſigne to them a place of habitation, vnto whom they would become ſubiects, and hold of him as of theyr ſoueraigne gouernour.

Therefore hee beſought the King to conſider theyr eſtate, and of his greate benignitie, to appoynte ſome voyde quarter where they might inhabite.

The King with the aduice of hys Barons, graunted to them the Ile of Irelande, whiche as then (by report of ſome Authours) lay waſt and without habitation.

Polid

But it ſhoulde appeare by other wryters, that it was inhabyted long before thoſe dayes, by the people called Hibernenſes, of Hiberus theyr Captayne that brought them alſo out of Spaine.

After that Gurguintus was returned into hys Countrey, hee ordeyned that the lawes made by his au[illegible]ſtours, ſhoulde be duely kept and obſerued.

And thus [illegible]myniſtring iuſtice to hys ſubiectes for the tearme of .xix. yeares, he finally departed this lyfe, and was buried at London, or as ſome haue, at Cairleon.

Cam

In hys dayes was the Towne of Cambridge wyth the Vniuerſitie fyrſt founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforeſayde Bartholoin (according to ſome wryters) as after ſhall appeare.

Gui tolin

Guintolinus.

Guyntolinus, or Guintellius ẏ ſonne of Gurguintus, was admitted king of Brytayne, in the yeare of the world. 3614 after the buylding of the citie of Rome. 399. and ſeconde yeare of the. 106. Olympiade.

This Guintoline was a prudent Prince, graue in counſell, and ſober in behauiour. He had alſo a wife named Martia, a woman of paſſing beautie, and wiſedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernment and equall adminiſtration of iuſtice after hir huſbandes deceaſe, during hir ſonnes minoritie, it moſt manifeſtly appeared.

It is thought that in an happy time this Guintoline came to the gouernance of this kingdome, being ſhaken and brought out of order with ciuill diſſentions, to the ende he might reduce it to the former eſtate, which he earneſtly accompliſhed: for hauing once got the place, hee ſtudyed with great diligence to refourme of newe, and to adorne with iuſtice, lawes, and good orders, the Brytiſh common wealth, by other Kings not ſo framed as ſtoode with the quietneſſe thereof. But afore all things hee vtterly remooued and appeaſed ſuche ciuyll diſcorde, as ſeemed ye-

ti

to remaine after the maner of a remnant of thoſe ſeditious factions and partakings, which had ſo long time raigned in this lande. But as he was buſie in hande herewith, death toke him out of this life, after he had raigned. xxvij. yeares, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius.

cilius.

Sicilius the ſonne of Guintoline, being not paſt ſeuen yeres of age when his father dyed, was admitted king, in the yeare. 3650. after the buylding of Rome. 430. and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 218. and in the firſt after the death of Alexander.

By reaſon that Sicilius was not of age ſufficient of himſelfe to guide the kingdome of the Brytaynes, his mother that worthie Ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realm and perſon committed to hir charge.

ene Mar-
ouerneth
ir ſonnes
mth.

maketh
s.

She was a woman expert and ſkilful in diuerſe ſciences, but chiefely being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, ſhe ſtudied to preſerue the common wealth in good quiet and wholſome order, and therfore deuiſed & eſtabliſhed profitable & conueniente lawes the which after were called Martian laws, of hir name that fyrſt made them.

t. VVeſt.

Theſe lawes, as thoſe that were thought good and neceſſarie for the preſeruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, tranſlated alſo out of the Brytiſhe tongue, into the Engliſh Saxon ſpeache, and then were they called after that tranſlation Marchenelaghe, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia.

To conclude, this worthie woman guided the lande during the minoritie of hir ſonne right politiquely, and highly to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir ſonne came to lawfull age, ſhe deliuered vp the gouernaunce into his handes.

t. VVeſt.
xton.

How long he raigned wryters varie, ſome auouche but ſeuen yeares, though other affyrme xv. whiche agreeth not ſo well with the accorde of other hyſtories and tymes. He was buried at London.

Kimarus.

Kima-
s.

KImarus the ſonne of Sicilius, began to raign ouer the Brytaynes, in the yeare of the worlde 3657. and after the buylding of Rome. 442. and in the firſt yeare of the. 117. Olympiade.

ian.

This Kimarus being a wild yong man, and giuen to follow his luſtes and pleaſure, was ſlain by ſome that were his enimies, as he was abrode in hunting, when hee had raigned ſcarcely thre yeares.

Elanius.

Elanius

ELanius ye ſon of Kimarus, or as other haue, his brother, began to rule the Brytaines in the yere after the creation of ye world. 3661. after the building of Rome. 445. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites. 229. and in the fourth yere of the Seleucians, after which accounte the bookes of Machabees doe recken, which beganne in the xiij. after the death of Alexander.

Mat. VVeſt.

This Elanius in the Engliſhe Chronicle is named alſo Baran, by *Mat. VVeſt.* Danius, and by an olde Chronicle which Fabian muche followed, Elanius: and Kimarus ſhoulde ſeeme to be one perſon: but other holde the contrarie, and ſay that he raigned fully. viij. yeares.

Morinde.

Mo-
rind.

MOrindus the Baſtard ſonne of Elanius, was admitted king of Brytayne, in the yeare of the worlde 3667. after the buylding of Rome. 451. after the deliueraunce of the Iſraelites. 236. and in the tenth yeare of Caſſander K. of Macedonia, which hauing diſpatched Olympias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders ſonne into his handes, vſurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and helde it. xv. yeares.

This Morindus in the Engliſhe Chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and Martial doings, but ſo cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could vneth be ſatiſfied with the tormentes of them that had offended him, although oftentymes with his own handes he cruelly put them to torture and execution. He was alſo beautifull and comely of perſonage, liberall and bountrous, and of a meruellous ſtrength.

G. Mon.

In his dayes, a certaine king of the people called Moriani, with a great army landed in Northumberlande, and beganne to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitantes. But Morind aduertiſed herof, aſſembled his Brytaines, came againſt the enimies, and in battaile put them to flight, and chaſing them to theyr ſhippes, ſlewe a great number

ber of them priſoners, whom to the ſatiſfying of his cruell nature he cauſed to be ſlaine euen in his preſence. Some of them were headed, ſome ſtrangled, ſome panched, and ſome he cauſed to be ſlain quicke.

These people who Gal. Mon, nameth Moriani, I take to bee eyther thoſe that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice called Morini, or ſome other people of the Gaulles or Germaines, and not as ſome eſteeme them, Morauians, or Merchenners, whiche were not knowne to the world (as Humfrey Lhuid hath verie well noted) tyll about the dayes of the Emperour Mauritius, which miſcōſtructiō of names hath brought the Brytiſhe Hyſtorie further out of credite than reaſon requyreth, if the cyrcumſtaunces be duely conſidered.

The like may be thought of thoſe Murreys or Morauians of whom. H. B. ſpeaketh.
Fabian.

But now to ende with Morindus. At length this bloudie Prince heard of a Monſter that was come a lande out of the Iriſh ſea, with the which when he woulde needes fight, he was of the ſame deuoured, after he had raigned the terme of. viij. yeares, leauing behinde him fiue ſonnes, Gorbomannus, Archigallo, Elidurus, Vigenius, or Nigenius, and Peredurus.

Gorbo-men, or Gorbo-nian.

Gorbonian.

GOrbonianus yͤ firſt ſonne of Morindus, ſucceded hys father in the Kingdome of Brytayne, in the yeare of the world. 3676. after the buylding of Rome. 46. and fourth yeare of the. 121. Olympiade.

This Gorbonianus in the Engliſhe Chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous Prince in his gouernment, and very deuout (according to ſuch deuotion as he had) towardes the aduauncing of the religion of his Gods: and thervpon he repayred all the olde Temples throughe his kingdome, and erected ſome of newe.

A righteous and religious Prince.

He buylded alſo the townes of Cambridge, and Grantham (as Caxton wryteth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honored the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their neceſſities.

In his time alſo was more plentie of al things neceſſarie for the wealthfull ſtate of man, than had beene before in any of his predeceſſors dayes.

He dyed without iſſue, after hee had raigned (by the accorde of moſt wryters) about the terme of ten yeares.

There be that write, that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cābridge, and alſo Grantham, but ſome thinke that thoſe which haue ſo written are deceyued, in miſtaking the name, for that Cābridge was at the firſt called Granta: and by that meanes it might bee that Gorbonian built onely Grantham, and not Cābrige, namely, bicauſe other write how that Cābridge (as before is ſaid) was built in the dayes of Gurgūtius the ſonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the ſame Gurgūtius, got ſeates for himſelfe and his companie in Ireland, (as before ye haue heard.)

Camb
by wh
was bu

The ſayd Cantaber alſo obteyning licence of Gurguntius, buylded a towne vpon the ſide of the ryuer called Canta, which he cloſed with walles, and fortified with a ſtrong tower or Caſtell, and after procuring Philoſophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a ſtudent) he placed them there, and ſo euen then was that place furniſhed (as they ſay) with lerned men, and ſuch as were redie to inſtruct others in knowledge of letters & Philoſophicall doctrine. But by whō or in what time ſoeuer it was built, certaine it is that there was a Citie or towne walled in that place before the cōming of the Saxons, called by the Brytaynes Cairgraunt, and by the Saxons Grantcheſter.

This towne fell ſo in ruyne by the inuaſion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left deſolate, and at this day remayneth as a village. But neare therevnto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was buylt, now called Cambridge, where by the fauor of K. Sigebert & Felix a Burgunian, that was Biſhop of Dunwich, a ſchole was erected, as in place cōuenient it ſhal appeare.

Archigallo.

Arc gallo.

ARchigallo, the ſeconde ſonne of Morindus, & brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted King of Brytayn, in the yeare. 3686. after the buylding of the citie of Rome. 470. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 255. and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia.

This Archigallo (in the Engliſh Chronicle called Artogaill,) followed not the ſteppes of hys brother, but giuing himſelfe to diſſention & ſtrife, ymagined cauſes agaynſt his Nobles, that hee might diſplace them, & ſet ſuch in their rowmthes as were men of baſe byrth and of euill cōditions.

Helig
nouriſh
ſenſion

Alſo he ſought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie ſubiects of their goods and riches, ſo to enrich himſelfe and impoueriſh his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his Nobles cōſpired agaynſt him, and finally depriued him of all his honor & kingly dignitie, after he had raigned about the ſpace of one yeare.

Elidure.

lidure

Elidurus yͤ third ſonne of Morindus, & brother to Archigallo, was by one aſſente of the Brytaynes choſen to raigne ouer them in hys brothers ſtead, after the creation of the worlde. 3687. and after the buylding of the Citie of Rome. 471. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites, and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia.

This Elidurus in the Engliſh Chronicle named Hiſider, or Eſoder, proued a moſt righteous Prince, and doubting leaſt he ſhould do otherwiſe than became him, if hee did not take care for his brother Archigallos eſtate. A man might wonder what diligence he ſhewed in traueyling with the Nobles of the Realme to haue his brother reſtored to the Crowne againe.

y this it hould ſeeme hat Alcliud hould not be n Scotland, ontrary to he Scottiſh Authours.

And as it chaunced one day (being abrode on hunting in the Wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigallo wandring there in the thickeſt of that wilderneſſe, whom in moſt louing maner he ſecretly conueyed home to his houſe, being as then in the Citie of Alud, otherwiſe called Acliud.

Shortly after he feyned himſelfe ſicke, and in al haſt ſent Meſſengers about to aſſemble his barons, who being come at the day appoynted, hee called them one after another into his priuie chāber, & there hādled thē in ſuch effectuous ſort with wiſe and diſcrete wordes, that hee got their good willes to further him to their powers for the reducing of the kingdome eftſoones into the handes of his brother Archigallo.

An example of brotherly loue.

And after this he aſſembled a counſel at York, where he ſo vſed the matter with the commons, that in concluſion, when the ſayd Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourably the ſpace of three yeres, he reſigned wholy his Crowne and kingly title vnto his ſaid brother Archigallo, who was receyued of the Brytaynes againe as King, by mediation of his brother in maner as afore is ſayde. A rare example of brotherly loue, if a man ſhall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate deſire remayneth amongeſt mortall men to atteyne to the ſupreeme ſoueraintie of ruling, and to keepe the ſame when they once haue it in poſſeſſion. For this greate good will and brotherly loue by hym ſhewed thus towards his brother, he was ſurnamed the godly or vertuous.

Archigallo againe.

When Archigallo was thus reſtored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he muſt turne the leafe, and take out a new leſſon, by chāging his former trade of liuing into better, if he would raigne in ſurtie: he became a new man, vſing himſelfe vprightly in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, & behauing himſelfe ſo worthily in all his doings, both towards the Nobles and commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his ſubiects. And ſo continuing the whole terme of his life, finally departed this worlde now after he had raigned this ſecond time the ſpace of tenne yeares, and was buryed at Yorke.

Elidure againe.

Mat. VVeſt.

Elidurus brother to this Archigallo, was then again admitted king by conſent of al the Britaynes. 3700. of the worlde. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuying the happie ſtate of this worthie Prince, ſo highly for his vertue and good gouernaunce eſteemed of the Brytaynes, of a grounded malice conſpired agaynſt him, and aſſembling an armie, leuied war agaynſt him, and in a pight field toke him priſoner, and put him in the Tower of London, there to be kept ſafely as a priſoner, after he had raigned now this laſt time the ſpace of one yeare.

Brother agaynſt brother.

Elidure committed to priſon.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

Vigenius & Peridurus, yͤ yōgeſt ſonns of Morindus, and brethren to Elidurus, beganne to raign iointly as kings of Brytayne, in the yeare of the worlde. 3701. after the buylding of Rome. 485. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites. 266. complete, and in the xij. yere of Antigonus Gonatas, the ſonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians.

These two brethren in the Engliſh Chronicle are named Higanius, and Petitur, the which (as teſtifieth, Gal. Mon.) deuided the realme betwixt them, ſo that all the lande from Humber weſtward, fel to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyōd Hūber northward Peridure held. But other affirm, yͤ Peredurus only raigned & held his brother Elidurus in priſon by his owne conſent, forſomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

Brytayne deuided into two realmes.

But Gal. Mon. ſayth, that Vigenius dyed after he had raigned .vij. yeares, and then Peredurus ſeaſed all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with ſuch ſobrietie and wiſedome, that he was prayſed aboue all his brethren, ſo that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Brytaynes. But other write, that he was a verie tyrant, and vſed himſelfe right cruelly towardes the Lordes of his lande, wherevpon they rebelled and ſlue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall ſickneſſe, he finally departed this life, after the conſent of moſt wryters, when hee had raigned viij. yeares, leauing no iſſue behinde him to ſucceede in the gouernaunce of the kingdome. Hee buylded the towne of Pykering, where his bodie was buried.

Varietie in wryters.

Caxton.
Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the thirde time.

ELidurus then as ſoone as his brother Peridurus was dead, for as muche as hee was nexte heyre to the crowne, was deliuered out of pryſon, and now the thirde tyme admitted king of Brytayne, who vſed himſelfe (as before) very orderly in miniſtring to all perſons right and iuſtice all the dayes of his life, and laſtly beeing growne to great age dyed, when he had raigned nowe thys thirde tyme, (after moſt concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buryed at Carleill.

He is buried at Carleil.

HEre is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Brytiſh kings, whiche raigned here in this lande, there is great diuerſitie amōgſt wryters, both touching the names, and alſo the tymes of theyr raignes, ſpecially till they come to the death of the laſt mentioned king Elidurus. Inſomuch that Polydor Vergile in his Hyſtorie of Englande, finding a manifeſt error (as he taketh it) in thoſe wryters whom he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the ſacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hyſtories affyrme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number whiche is wanting in the reckening of the yeares of thoſe Kings which raigned after Brute, tyll the dayes of the ſame Brenne and Beline, he thought good to chaunge the order, leaſt one error ſhould follow an other, and ſo of one error making many, he hath placed thoſe kings whiche after other wryters ſhoulde ſeeme to followe Brenne and Beline, betwixte Dunuallo and Mulmutius, father to the ſayde Beline and Brenne, and thoſe fiue kings whiche ſtroue for the gouernment after the deceaſe of the two brethren, Ferrex.and Porrex, putting Guintoline to ſucceede after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia during the minoritie of hir ſonne, then hir ſayde ſonne named Sicilius. After him theſe whoſe names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Moruidius, Corbonianus, Archigallo, who beeing depoſed, Elidurus was made king, and ſo continued till he reſtored the gouernment (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftſoones admitted, and within a while againe depoſed by Vigenius & Peridurus, & after theyr deceaſſes, the thirde time reſtored. Then after his deceaſe, followed ſucceſſiuely Reginus, Morganus, Ennanus, Iduuallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coillus, Porrex the ſecond of that name, Cherinus, Fulgētius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Vrianus, and Eliud, after whom ſhould follow Dūuallo Molmutius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, and the courſe of tyme ſhould be obſerued, as Polidore gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to thoſe kings that raigned before and after Dunuallo, according to thoſe Authours whom (as I ſayde) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Gaulles to Rome, be the ſame that was ſonne to the ſayd Dunuallo Molmutius, and brother to Beline.

The diuerſitie of wryters in the account of yeares.

Polidor.

But ſithe other haue in better order brought out a perfite agreement in the account of yeares and ſucceſſion of thoſe kings, which raigned and gouerned here in this lande before the ſacking of Rome, and alſo another ſuche as it is after the ſame, and before the Romaines had anye perfite knowledge thereof, we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euery man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge ſhall ſerue him in a thing ſo doubtfull and vncertaine, by reaſon of variaunce amongeſt the auncient wryters in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in wryters ſince Gurguntius, till the death of Elidurus, ſo is there as great or rather greater after his deceaſſe, ſpecially till king Lud atteyned the kingdome. But as may be gathered by that whiche Fabian and other whom he followeth doe wryte, there paſſed aboue .185. yeares, betwixt the laſte yere of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his raigne, in the which time there raigned .xxxij. or .xxxiij. kings, as ſome writers haue mētioned, whoſe names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are theſe: Regny the ſonne of Gorbolyan or Gorbonian, a worthie Prince, both iuſtly and mercifully gouerned his people. Then Margan the ſonne of Archigallo a noble Prince likewiſe, and guiding his ſubiects in good quiet. Emerian brother to the ſame Margan, but farre vnlike to him in maners, ſo that he was depoſed in the firſt yere of his raigne. Ydwallo ſonne to Vigenius. Rimo the ſonne of Peridurus. Geruntius the ſonne of Elidurus. Then Catell that was buried at Wincheſter. Coill that was buried at Notingham. Porrex a vertuous and moſt gentle prince. Cherinus a Drunkerd. Then Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgius: theſe three were ſonnes to Cherinus, and raigned ſucceſſiuely one after another.

Fabian

After them a ſonne of Androgeus. Then Eliud, Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Blegabredus an excellẽt Muſitiã. After him his brother Archemail. Then Eldol, Red, Rodieck, Samuil, Peniſel, Pir, Capoir. And after him his ſon Eligwell an vpright dealing prince, & a good iuſticiarie. After whõ ſucceeded his ſonne Hely, which raigned .lx. yeres, as the foreſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affyrme that he raigned .xl. yeares, & ſome againe ſay that he raigned but .vij. monethes.

Such diuerſitie is there in writers touching the raignes of theſe kings, and not only for the nũber of yeres which they ſhuld cõtinue in their raignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maye ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yeres attributed to the other kings which raigned before them ſith the comming of Brute, who ſhoulde enter this lande (as by the beſt writers it is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome, 67. which was in the yere after the creation of the world. 2850. (as is ſayde) with their time there remaineth .181. yeares to bee dealt amongſt theſe .xxxiij. kings, which raigned betwixt the ſaid Eliducre and Lud, which Lud alſo began his raigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affyrme) about .670. yeres, & in ye yere of the world 3895. as William Hariſõ hath ſet it downe in the exquiſite Chronologie whiche he hath gathered frõ the creation of Adam, wherin he ſheweth a large diſcourſe of moſte things worthy remembrance, don ſince the world began, as may appeare hereafter, if euer it come to light, and the hugenes therof & coſt to be beſtowed thervpon, do not hinder the printing of the ſame.

Polidore Vergil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Brytiſhe Kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuely after Beline & Brenne, he reherſeth thoſe that by his cõiecture did by likelihood ſucceed, as thus. After the deceaſſe of Beline, his ſon Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name ſucceeded in gouernment of the land, & then theſe in order as they followe: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Oninus, Silius, Bledgabredus, Archemalus, Eldolus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, & Hely, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, & Neurius. But to leaue the diuerſitie of writers to the iudgement of the readers in ſuch vncertaynties where an vndoubted truth may hardly be auouched, & more hardly approued, we wil not further ſtand vpon theſe doubtes, but proceed with the hyſtorie. Mary this is not to be forgottẽ, yt of ye foreſaid Hely ye laſt of the ſaid .xxxiij. kings, the Ile of Ely tooke the name, bicauſe that he moſt cõmonly did there inhabite, building in the ſame a goodly palace, & making great reparations of the ſluyſes, ditches & cawſies about that Ile, for cõueiance away of the water, yt els would ſore haue endomaged the countrey. There be that haue mainteined that this Ile ſhould rather take name of the great abundance of Eeles that are found in thoſe waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is enuironed. But Humfrey Lhuid holdeth, that it tooke name of this Brytiſh worde *Helig*, whiche ſignifieth Willowes, wherwith thoſe fennes abound.

Lud.

Lud.

After ye deceaſe of the ſame Helie, his eldeſt ſon Lud begã his raign, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3895. after the buylding of the Citie of Rome 679. before the comming of Chriſt .72. and before the Romaines entred Brytaine .xix. yeares.

A worthie prince.

This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, aboliſhing euill cuſtomes and maners vſed amongſt his people, and repairing old Cities and townes which were decayed: but ſpecially he delyted moſt to beautifie & enlarge with buildings the Citie of Troynouant, which he cõpaſſed with a ſtrong wall made of lime and ſtone, in the beſt maner fortified with diuerſe fayre towers: and in the weſt part of the ſame wall he erected a ſtrong gate, which he commaunded to be cleped after his name, Luds gate, and ſo vnto this day it is called Ludgate, the, s, only drowned in ye pronunciatiõ of the word. In the ſame citie alſo he ſoiorned for the more part, by reaſon wherof the inhabitants encreaſed and many habitations were buylded to receyue them, & he himſelfe cauſed buildings to be made betwixt London ſtone & Ludgate, & buylded for himſelf not farre from the ſayd gate a faire palace, which is the Biſh. of Londons palace, beſide Paules, at this day (as ſome think) yet Hariſ. ſuppoſeth it to haue bin Bainards caſtel, wher the black friers now ſtandeth. He alſo builded a faire Temple nere to his ſaid palace, which temple (as ſome take it) was after turned to a church, and at this day cleped Paules. By reaſon that K. Lud ſo much eſteemed ye citie before al other of his realme, enlarging it ſo greatly as he did, and cõtinually in maner remained there, the name was chãged, ſo yt it was called Caerlud, yt is to ſay, Luds towne: & after by corruptiõ of ſpeech it was named Londõ.

London encloſed with a wall.

Iohn. Hard.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Mat. Weſt.

The Biſhops palace.

The name of Troynouant chaunged and called London.

Beſide the princely doings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the cōmon wealth by ſtudies aperteyning to the time of peace, hee was alſo ſtrong and valiant in armes, in ſubduing his enimies. He was alſo bounteous and liberall both in giftes and in keeping a plentifull houſe, ſo that he was greatly beloued of all the Brytaynes. Finally, when he had thus raigned with great honor for the ſpace of .xj. yeres, he died, and was buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two ſonnes, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Caſsibellane.

Caßi-
bellaen.

3908

CAſſibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Brytaine, in the yeare of the worlde. 3908. after the buylding of Rome, 692. ⁊ before the comming of Chriſt. 58. complete. For ſith the two ſonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was comitted to Caſſibellane: but yet (as ſome haue written) he was not created king, but rather appoynted ruler and protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes.

Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVeſt.
Fabian.

Now after he was admitted (by whatſoeuer order) to the adminiſtration of the cōmon welth, he became ſo noble a prince and ſo bounteous, that his name ſpred far ⁊ nere, and by his vpright dealing in ſeeing iuſtice executed he grew in ſuch eſtimation, that the Brytayns made ſmall accoūt of his nephews, in compariſon of the fauour whiche they bare towards him. But Caſſibellane hauing reſpect to his honor, leaſt it might be thought that his nephewes were expulſed by him out of theyr rightful poſſeſſions, brought them vp very honorably, aſſigning to Androgeus, London ⁊ Kent, and to Theomantius the country of Cornewale.

Gal. Mon.

Mat. VVeſt.

And thus farre out of the Brytiſh hyſtories, by the which it may be gathered, that the yeares aſſigned to theſe kings that raigned before Caſſibelane, amount to the ſumme of. 1058. But whether theſe gouernors (whoſe names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the cōmon wealth, either elſe tyrants ⁊ vſurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncertain: for not one ancient wryter of any approued authoritie maketh any remēbrance of thē, ⁊ by that which Julius Ceſar wryteth, it may ⁊ doth appere, that diuerſe cities in his dayes were gouerned of thēſelues, as hereafter it ſhall more plainly appeare. Neither doth he make mētion of thoſe townes which the Britiſh hyſtorie affyrmeth to be built by the ſame kings.

Polidor.

In decde both hee and other latine wryters ſpeake of diuerſe people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and ſuch other like, but in what ſelfe partes moſt of the ſayde people did certenly inhabit, it is hard to auouch a certain truth.

But what John Leyland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiouſly ſerched out old antiquities, you ſhall after heare as occaſion ſerueth: and likewiſe the opinions of other; as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all ſuch valiannt actes as were atchieued by the Brytains to be aſcribed to his cuntrymē the Scots, draweth both the Silures, ⁊ Brigantes with other of the Britains ſo farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitāts of the Scottiſh cuntries. And what perticular names ſoeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, ⁊ knowne by that generall name (as he would perſwade vs to beleue, ſaying that they entred into Britain out of Ireland. [illegible] yeres before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But how generall ſoeuer the name of Scots then was, ſure it is, that no ſpeciall mention of thē is made by any writer, till about. 300. yeares after the birth of our ſauiour. And yet the Romains which ruled this land, ⁊ had ſo much ado with the people thereof, make mention of diuers other people, nothing ſo famous as Boetius would make his Scottiſh men euē then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their original beginning, as they and other muſt doe vnto vs our diſcent from Brute ⁊ the other Troians, ſith yͤ contrary doth not plainly appeare, vnleſſe we ſhal lean vnto preſūptions: now are we come to the time in the which what actes were atchieued, there remayneth more certaine record, and therefore may we the more boldly proceede in this our hyſtorie.

Hector B
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forth appe
reth in the
hyſtorie.

In this ſeaſon yͭ Caſſibellane had the ſupreme gouernmēt here in Britain. Caius Julius Ceſar being appointed by the Senate of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for yͭ purpoſe created Conſull; ⁊ ſent with a mightie army into yͤ cuntry, where after he had brought the Galles vnto ſome frame, he determined to aſſay yͤ winning of Britain, the which as yet the Romains knew not otherwyſe thā by report. The chiefeſt cauſe that moued him to take in hand that enterpriſe, was for that he did vnderſtande, that there dayly came great ſuccors out of that Ile to thoſe Gauls that were enimies vnto the Romains. And although the ſeaſon of yͤ yere to make war was far ſpent (for ſommer was almoſt at an end) yet he thought it wold be to good purpoſe, if he might but paſſe ouer thither, ⁊ learne what maner of people did inhabite there, and diſcouer the places, hauens, ⁊ entries apperteyning to that Ile. Herevpon calling togither ſuch Marchauntes as he knewe to haue had traffique thyther wyth ſome trade of Wares, hee diligentlye enquyred of them the ſtate of the Ile:

Iulius Ce

Caeſar de b
lo Gal.li.4.

Brytayne
knowne
Romains

Caeſar de b
Gal.lib.4.

Cauſes of th
warre.

Caeſars pu
poſe.

but he could not be throughly ſatiſfied in anye of thoſe things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderſtand all things by view that might appertaine to the vſe of that warre which he purpoſed to follow: before he attempted the ſame, he ſent one Caius Voluſenus wyth a galley or light Pinneſſe to ſuruey the coaſtes of the Ile, commaũding him after diligent ſearch made to returne with ſpeede to him againe. He himſelf alſo draweth downwardes towards Bullenoys, from whẽce the ſhorteſt cut lieth to paſſe ouer into Brytaine,

us Voluſe-
ſent ouer
o Brytaine.

In which part of Gallia there was in thoſe days an hauen called *Itius Portus*, (which ſome take to be Calice) & ſo the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great nũber of ſhips. Vnto this hauen therefore Ceſar cauſed all the ſhips he coulde get out of the next borders and parties, and thoſe ſpecially whiche hee had prouided and put in a readineſſe the laſt yeare, for the warres (agaynſt them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Brytayne in Fraunce) to be brought thither, there to lie till they ſhould heare further.

n Leyland
ider.

nnes in
ytayne.

In the meane time (his indeuor being knowne, and by Merchants reported in Brytain) all thoſe that were able to beare armor were commaunded and appoynted to repayre to the ſea ſide, that they might be readie to defend their countrey in time of ſo great daunger of inuaſion. Ceſar in his Commentaries agreeth not with our hyſtoriographers: for he writeth that immediatly vpon knowledge had that he woulde inuade Brytaine, there came to him Ambaſſadors frõ diuerſe cities of the Ile to offer themſelues to be ſubiects to the Romains, and to deliuer hoſtages. Whõ after he had exhorted to continue in their good minde, he ſent thẽ home again, & with thẽ one Comius, gouernor of Artois, cõmaunding him to repair vnto as many cities in Brytayn as he might, & to exhort thẽ to ſubmit thẽſelues to the Romains. He maketh no mention of Caſſibellane till the ſecond iourney yͭ he made into the Ile, at what time the ſaid Caſſibelan was choſen (as ye ſhal heare) to be the general captain of the Britayns, & to haue the whole adminiſtratiõ of the war for defence of the coũtry. But he nameth him not to be a king, how be it in the Brytiſh hyſtorie it is conteyned, that Ceſar required tribute of Caſſibelan, & that he anſwered howe he had not learned as yet to liue in ſeruage, but to defend the libertie of his country, & that with weapõ in hand (if need were) as he ſhuld wel perceiue, if (blinded through couetouſneſſe) he ſhould aduenture to ſeke to diſquiet the Britains.

omius.

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ore likely in
is behalfe, as
ppereth by
e ſequele.

Thus here aſwel as in other places, there is diuerſitie in authors: & to the end you ſhould not be ignorant therof, we haue thought good now and then to touch the ſame, that you may in reading take the more pleaſure, when ye ſhal marke ſome things worthie of credite, and ſomethings again ſo vnlikely as may rather ſeme to moue laughter, than to paſſe for matter worthie of credite.

But to the purpoſe. Caius Voluſenus within fiue days after his departure from Ceſar, returned again vnto him with his galley, & declared what he had ſeene touching the view which he had taken of the coaſtes of Brytaine.

Voluſenus
returneth.

Ceſar then hauing got togither ſo many ſayle as hee thought ſufficient for the tranſporting of two legions of ſouldiers, after he had ordred his buſineſſe as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient winde for his purpoſe, he embarqued himſelfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the thirde watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horſemen ſhould take ſhip at an other place .viij. myles aboue Calis, and follow him. But when they ſomewhat ſlacked the time, about tenne of the clocke the next day, hauing the winde at will, he touched on the coaſt of Brytayne, where he might beholde all the ſhore ſet and couered with men of warre. For the Brytaynes hearing that Ceſar ment verye ſhortly to come agaynſt them, were aſſembled in armour to reſiſt him: and now being aduertiſed of his approche to the lande, they prepared themſelues to withſtande him. Ceſar perceyuing this, determined to ſtay till the other ſhips were come, and ſo he lay at ancre till about .xj. of the clocke, and then calleth a counſell of the Marſhals and chiefe captaines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Voluſenus, and alſo further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordred as the reaſon of warre requyred. And bycauſe he perceyued that this place where he firſt caſt ancre, was not meete for the landing of his people, ſith (from the height of the cliffes that cloſed on ech ſide the narrow creek into the which he had thruſt) the Brytaynes might annoy hys people with their bowes and dartes, before they could ſet foote on land, hauing now the wind and tyde with him, he diſankred from thence, & drewe alongeſt the coaſt vnder the downes, the ſpace of vij. or. viij. myles: and there finding the ſhore more flat and plaine, he approched neare to the land, determining to come to the ſhore.

Cæſar with
two legions
of ſouldiers
paſſeth ouer
into Brytayne.

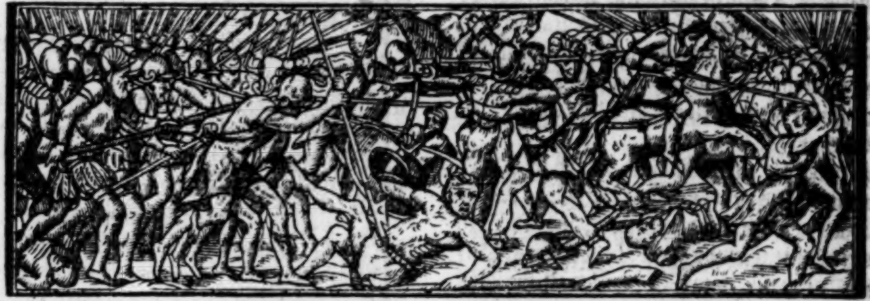
The Brytaines
ready to de-
fend their
countrey.

Cæſar calleth
a counſell.

This was a-
bout Dale.

The Brytaynes perceyuing Ceſars intent, with all ſpeede cauſed their horſmen and charets or wagons which Ceſar calleth *Eſſede*, (out of the which in thoſe dayes they vſed to fight) to marche forth toward the place whither they ſaw yͤ Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine army. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, enforced yet to lande wyth hys people, although hee ſawe that hee ſhoulde haue muche a doe: for as the Brytaynes were in readyneſſe to reſyſte hym: ſo hys greate and huge Shyppes coulde

The Romains put to their ſhiftes.



not come neare the ſhore, but were forced to keepe the deepe, ſo that the Romaine Souldiers were put to a verie hard ſhift, for they muſt both leape forth of their ſhippes, and peſtred with their heauy armour and weapons fight in the water wyth their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues ſtood either vpō the drie ground, or elſe but a little way in the ſhallow places of the water, and being not otherwiſe encombred either with armour or weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir thēſelues at wil, they layd load vpon the Romains with their arrowes and dartes, and forced their horſes (being thereto envred) to enter the water the more eaſily, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romaines, who wanting experience in ſuche kinde of fight, were not wel able to helpe themſelues, nor to kepe order as they vſed to doe on lande: wherefore they fought nothing ſo luſtily as they were wont to doe, which Ceaſar perceyuing, commaunded the Gallyes to depart from the great ſhippes, and to rowe harde to the ſhore, that being placed ouer agaynſt the open ſydes of the Brytaynes, they might with theyr ſhotte of Arrowes, Darts, and Slings, remoue the Brytaynes, and cauſe them to withdraw further of from the water ſide.

The Brytaynes aſtonied.

The valiant courage of an enſigne bearer

This thing being put in execution(according to his commaundement, the Brytaynes were not a little aſtonyed at the ſtraunge ſight of thoſe Gallies, for that they were dryuen with Oares, which earſt they had not ſeene, and ſhrewdly were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romaines diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhrinke and retyre ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherin the Eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſawe his fellowes nothing eagre to make forward, firſt beſieching the goddes that his enterpriſe might turne to the weale, profite, and honour of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voyce theſe wordes to his felowes that were about him: Leape forth now you worthie ſouldiers (ſayth he) if you wil not betray your enſigne to the enimies. For ſurely I will acquite my ſelfe according to my dutie both towardes the common welth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies.

The Romaines doubting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to high reproche, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſore reencounter: and that thing that troubled moſte the Romaines, was bycauſe they could not keepe their order, neyther finde any ſure footing, nor yet follow euery man his owne Enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne whiche hee fyrſt met with after their firſt comming forth of the Shippe.

The

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horſemen.

The Brytaynes that were acquainted with the ſhelfes and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romaines thus diſorderly to come forth of their ſhips, they ranne vpon them with their horſes and fiercely aſſayled them, and nowe and then a greate multitude of the Brytaynes woulde compaſſe in, and encloſe ſome one company of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhore beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romaines, and ſo troubled them paſſing ſore: wherevpon Ceſar perceyuing the maner of this fight, cauſed his mē of warre to enter into Boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commaunded to go to ſuch places where moſt need appeared. And thus relieuing them that fought, with new ſuccours, at length the Romaines got to lande, and then aſſembling togither, they aſſayled the Brytaynes of new, and ſo at length did put them all to flight. But the Romaines could not folow the Brytaynes farre, bycauſe they wanted their horſmen, which were yet behind, and through ſlacking time coulde not come to lande. And this one thing ſeemed onely to diſappoint the luckie fortune ẏ was accuſtomed to followe Ceſar in all his other enterpriſes.

The Bry

ſend vnto Ceſar.

Comius

Arras.

The Brytains after this flight were no ſooner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offring to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtande vnto that order that Ceſar ſhould take with them in any reaſonable ſort. With theſe Ambaſſadors came alſo Comius, whō Ceſar (as ye haue heard) had ſent before into Brytaine, whom notwithſtanding that he was an Ambaſſador, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions ſufficiently furniſhed, yet had they ſtayd him as a priſoner. But now after the battaile was ended, they ſet him at libertie, & ſent him back with their Ambaſſadors, who excuſed the matter, laying the blame on the people of the Countrey, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what apperteyned to the law of armies, and nations in that behalfe.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemeanor, not onely for impriſoning his Ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrary to their promiſes made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof, they had receyued him with warre: yet in the ende he ſayd he would pardon them, and not ſeeke any further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and promiſe made that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, crauing ſome reſpite for performance of the ſame, bycauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the Countrey.

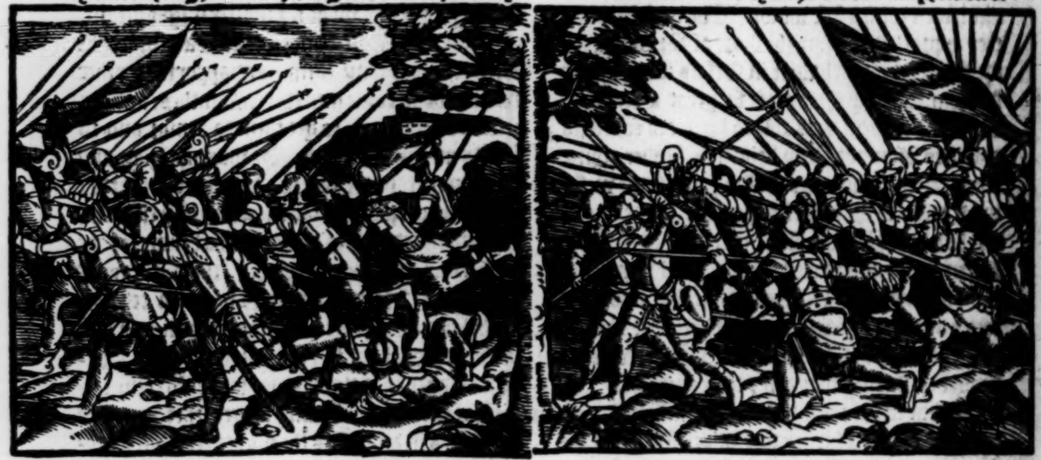
eſar demaū-
th hoſtages.

Peace being thus eſtabliſhed after the .iiij. day of the Romaines arriuall in Brytayne, the .xviij. ſhippes which (as ye haue heard) were appoynted to conuey the horſmen ouer, looſed from the further hauen with a ſoft winde. The whiche when they approched ſo neare the ſhore of Brytain, that the Romains which were in Ceſars camp might ſee them, ſodainly there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to keepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onely driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward) but alſo the other ſhippes that lay at ancre, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifully beaten, toſſed and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onely loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of winde into the high ſea, the reſt being likewiſe ſo filled with water, yͭ they were in danger by ſinking to periſh & to be quite loſt. For the Moone in the ſame night was at the full, and therefore cauſed a ſpring tide, which furthered the force of the tempeſt, to the greater perill of thoſe ſhips and gallies that lay at an ancre. There was no way for the Romains to help yͤ matter: wherfore a great number of thoſe ſhips were ſo bruiſed, rent, and weatherbeaten, that without new reparation they would ſerue to no vſe of ſailing. This was a great diſcõfort to the Romaines that had brought ouer no prouiſion to liue by in yͤ winter ſeaſon, nor ſaw any hope how they ſhould repaſſe againe into Gallia. In the meane time the Brytiſh princes that were in the Romaine army, perceyuing how greatly this miſhap had diſcouraged the Romains, & againe by the ſmal circuit of their campe, geſſed that they coulde be no great number, and that lacke of vitayles ſore oppreſſed them, they priuily ſtale away one after another out of the campe, purpoſing to aſſemble their powers againe & to foreſtall the Romains from vitayles, and ſo to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might do (vanquiſhing theſe or cloſing them from returning) they truſted that none of the Romains from thenceforth would attempt eftſoones to come come into Brytain. Ceſar miſtruſting their dealings, bicauſe they ſtayd to deliuer the reſidue of their hoſtages, commaunded vitails to be brought out of yͤ parties adioyning, & not hauing other ſtuffe to repaire his ſhips, he cauſed .xij. of thoſe that were vtterly paſt recouerie by the hurts receyued through violence of the tẽpeſt, to be broken, wherwith the other (in which ſome recouerie was perceyued) might be repayred.

In the meane time whileſt theſe things were a doing, it chaunced that as one of the Romaine legions named the .vij. was ſent forth to fetche in corne out of the countrey adioyning (as theyr cuſtome was) no warre at that time being ſuſpected, or once looked for, when part of the people remayned abrode in the field, and part repayred to the camp: thoſe that warded before the campe aduertiſed Ceſar, that there appeared a duſt greater than was accuſtomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Ceſar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commaunded thoſe bandes that warded, to goe with him that way forth, and appoynted other two bands to come into their roumthes, and the reſidue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quickly after him. He was not gone any great way from the campe, when hee might ſee where his people were ouermatched by yͤ enimies, and had much a do to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged togither, the Brytaynes pelted them ſore with arrowes & darts on ech ſide, for ſithence there was no forrage left in any part of the cuntry about, but only in this place, yͤ Brytains iudged that the Romains would come thither for it: therfore hauing lodged thẽſelues within the woods in ambuſhes the night before, on yͤ morow after when they ſaw the Romains diſperſed here & there, and buſie to cut downe the corne, they ſet vpon them on the ſoden, & ſleaing ſome few of them, brought the reſidue out of order, cõpaſſing thẽ about with their horſmen and charets, ſo that they were in greate diſtreſſe. The maner of fight with theſe charets was ſuch, that in yͤ beginning of a battaile they would ride aboute the ſides and ſkirts of the enimies hoſt, & beſtow their dartes as they ſat in thoſe charets, ſo that oftentimes with the braying of the horſes, & craking noiſe of yͤ charet wheeles they diſordred their enimies, and after that they had wound themſelues in amongſt the troupes of horſmẽ, they would leap out of the charets, & fight a foot, & in the mean time thoſe yͭ guided the charets would withdraw thẽſelues out of the battail, placing thẽſelues ſo, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies they might eaſily withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the ſame againe, by meanes whereof they are as readie to remoue as the horſemen, & as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battaile as the footmen, and ſo to ſupplie both dueties in one. And thoſe Charetmen by exerciſe and cuſtome were ſo cunning in their feat, that although their horſes were put to run and gallop, yet could they ſtay them & hold them backe at their pleaſures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithſtanding that the place were very ſteepe and daungerous: and againe they would run vp and downe very nimbly vpon the coppes, & ſtand vpō yͤ beam and conuey thēſelues quickly again into yͤ charet.

Ceſar thus finding his people in great diſtreſſe and readie to be deſtroyed, came in good time, and deliuered thē out of that daunger: for yͤ Brytains vpon his approch with new ſuccors, gaue ouer to aſſaile their enimies any further, & the Romaines were deliuered out of the feare wherein they ſtoode before his comming.

Furthermore, Ceſar cōſidering the time ſerued not to aſſaile his enimies, kept his ground, & ſhortly after brought backe his legions into the camp.



Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, & all the Romains being occupied, yͤ reſt that were abrode in the fields got them away. After this there folowed a ſore ſeaſon of raine and foule weather, which kept the Romains within their campe, and ſtayed the Brytains frō offring battel. But in the meane time they ſent into all parts of the coũtrey meſſengers abrode to giue knowledge of the ſmal number of the Romaines, & what hope there was both of great ſpoyle to be gotten, and occaſion to deliuer thēſelues from further daunger for euer, if they might once expell the Romaines out of their campe. Herevpon a great multitude both of horſmen and footemen of the Britains were ſpeedily got togither, & approched the Romain camp. Ceſar although he ſaw that the ſame would come to paſſe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulſe, they would eaſly eſcape yͤ danger with ſwiftneſſe of foot, yet hauing now to him .xxx. horſemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, whē he was ſent frō Ceſar as an Ambaſſador vnto the Brytains) he placed his legions in order of battail before his camp, and ſo cōming to ioyne with the Brytains, they were not able to ſuſteyn the violent impreſſion of the armed men, and ſo fled. The Romains purſued them ſo farre as they were able to ouertake any of them, and ſo ſleaing many of them, & burning vp their houſes all about, came backe againe to their campe.

Immediately wherevpon, euen the ſame day they ſent Ambaſſadors to Ceſar, to ſue for peace, who gladly accepting their offer, commaunded them to ſend ouer into Gallia, after he ſhoulde be returned thither, hoſtages in nūbre double to thoſe that were agreed vpon at the firſt.

After that theſe things were thus ordred, Ceſar bycauſe that the Moneth of September was wel neare halfe ſpent, and that Winter haſted on (a ſeaſon not meete for his weake bruyſed ſhippes to brooke the Seas in) determined not to ſtay anye longer, but hauing winde and weather for his purpoſe, got himſelfe a boorde with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Thus wryteth Ceſar touching his firſt iourney made into Brytaine. But the Brytiſh hyſtorie (which Polidore calleth the new hyſtorie) declareth, that Ceſar in a pight field was vanquiſhed at the firſt encounter, and ſo withdrew backe into Fraunce.

Beda alſo wryteth thus: that Ceſar cōming into the countrey of Gallia, where the people then called *Morini* inhabited (whiche are at this day the ſame that inhabite the Dioces of Terwine) from whence lyeth the ſhorteſt paſſage ouer into Brytain, now called England, got togither .lxxx. ſayle of great ſhippes and row Gallies, with the which he paſſed ouer into Brytayne, and there at the firſt being wearied with ſharpe and ſore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempeſt, loſt the more part of his nauie, with no ſmall number of his ſouldiers, and almoſt all his horſemen. And therewith being returned into Gallia, placed his ſouldiers in ſteeds to ſoiourne there for the winter ſeaſon. Thus hath Bede.

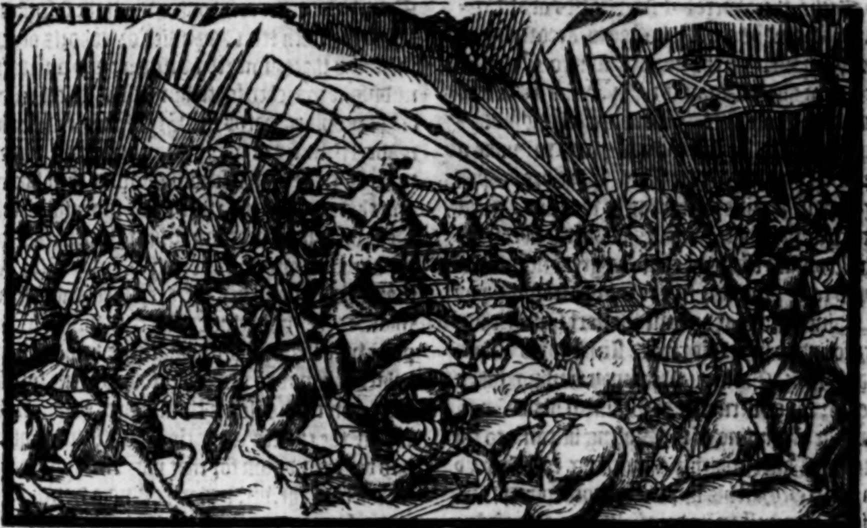
The Britiſh hyſtorie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder kings that ayded Caſſibellane in this firſt battail fought wͭ Ceſar, as Cridiorus, *alias*, Ederus, K. of Albania, nowe called Scotland: Guitethus king of Venedocia, that is north Wales: & Britael king of Demetia, at this day called ſouth Wales.

The ſame hyſtorie maketh alſo mention of one Belinus that was general of Caſſibelanes army, and likewiſe of Nenius brother to Caſſibelane, which in the fight happened to get Ceſars ſword faſtned in his ſhield by a blow which Ceſar ſtroke at him. Androgeus alſo, and Tenancius, were at the battail in ayde of Caſſibelane. But Nennius died within .xv. dayes after the battail of the hurt received at Ceſars hand, although after he was ſo hurt, he ſlue Labienus one of yͤ Rom. Tribunes: all which may well be true, ſith Ceſar either maketh the beſt of things for his owne honor, or elſe coueting to write but Commentaries, maketh no accoũt to declare the needles circũſtances, or any more of the matter, than yͤ chief points of his dealing. Again the Scottiſh hyſtoriographers write, that when it was firſt knowen to the Brytaynes, that Ceſar would inuade them, there came from Caſſibelane king of Brytaynes an Ambaſſade vnto Ederus king of Scottes, the which in the name of king Caſſibelane, requyred ayde agaynſt the common enimies the Romaines, which requeſt was graunted, and ten .M. Scots ſent to the ayde of Caſſibellane.

Hector.Bo.

At their comming to London, they were moſt ioyfully receiued of Caſſibellane, who at the ſame tyme had knowledge that the Romaines were come a land, and had beatẽ ſuch Brytayns backe as were appoynted to reſiſt their landing. Wherevpon Caſſibellane with all his whole puiſſaunce mightily augmented, not onely with the ſuccors of the Scottes, but alſo of the Picts (which in that common cauſe had ſent alſo of their people to ayde the Brytaynes) ſet forwarde towardes the place where he vnderſtoode the enimies to be.

At their firſt approch togither, Caſſibellane ſent forth his horſmen and charets called *Eſſeda*, by the which he thought to diſorder the array of the enimies. Twice they encountered togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioyned puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance, and fought a right ſore and cruell battayle, till finally at the ſodaine comming of the Welchmen, and Corniſhmen, ſo huge noyſe was rayſed by the ſounde of Belles hanging at their trappers and Charets, that the Romaynes aſtonyed therewith, were more eaſily put to flight.



The Brytaynes, Scots, and Picts following in the chaſe without order or aray, ſo that by reaſon the Romains kept themſelues cloſe togither, the Brytayns, Scots, & Picts did vneth ſo much harm to the enimies as they themſelues receyued. But yet they followed on ſtil vpon the Romains till it was darke night. Ceſar after he had perceyued them once withdrawne, did what he could to aſſemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to ſeeke his reuenge of the former days diſaduãtage. But forſomuch as knowledge was giuẽ him yͭ his ſhips by reaſon of a fore tempeſt were beatẽ & rent, yͭ many of thẽ wer paſt ſeruice, he doubted leaſt ſuch newes would encourage his enimies, & bring his people into diſpair. Wherfore he determined not to fight til time more cõueniẽt, ſending all his wounded folks vnto yͤ ſhips, which he cõmaunded to be newly rigged and trimmed.

After this, keeping his army for a time within the place where he was encamped without iſſuing forth, he ſhortly drew to the ſea ſide, where his ſhippes lay at ankre, and there within a ſtrong place fortified for the purpoſe he lodged his hoſt, & finally without hope to atchieue any other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the ſea with ſuch ſhippes as were apt for ſailing, and ſo repaſſed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the ſpoyle and baggage, for want of veſſelles, and leyſure to conuey it ouer.

Thus haue the Scottes in their Chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romaine hyſtories, than according to the report of our Brytiſh and Engliſh writers: and therfore we haue thought good to ſhew it here, that the diuerſitie of writers and their affections maye the better appeare.

Of this ſoden departing alſo, or rather flying of Julius Ceſar out of Brytain, Lucanus yͤ poet maketh mētion: reciting the ſaying of Pompeius in an oratiō made by him vnto his ſoldiers, wherin he reprochfully and diſdainfully reproued the doings of Ceſar in Brytaine, ſaying:

Territa quaſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

That is in Engliſh.

He turnde his backe and fled away,
from the Brytaynes whom he ſought.

Dion Caſſius.

But now to turne to the ſequele of the matter, as Ceſar himſelfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two Cities of al Britaine that ſent ouer their hoſtages according to their couenant, which gaue occaſion to Ceſar to pike a new quarell againſt them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not) haue founde ſome other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conqueſt of that Ile. Therfore purpoſing to paſſe againe thither, as he that had a great deſire to bring the Brytaynes vnder the obedience of the Romain eſtate, he cauſed a great number of ſhippes to be prouided in the winter ſeaſon & put in a redineſſe, ſo that againſt the next ſpring, there were found to be readie rigged ſix hundred ſhips, beſide. xxviij. Gallies. Hereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his abſence, about the beginning of the Spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him preſcribed) all his ſhips were come, except. xl. which by tempeſt were driuen backe, and coulde not as yet come to him.

Cæſar de bello Gal. li. 5.

After he had ſtayed at Calice (as wel for a conuenient winde, as for other incidentes) certaine dayes, at length when the weather ſo chaunged that it ſerued his purpoſe, he tooke the ſea, hauing with him fiue legions of ſouldiers, and about two thouſand horſmen, departed out of Calice hauen about the ſun ſetting with a ſoft ſouthweſt wind, directing his courſe forward: about midnight the wind fell, and ſo by a calme, he was caried alōgſt with the tide, ſo that in the morning whē the day appeared, he might beholde Brytaine vpon hys left hand. Thē folowing the ſtreame as the courſe of the tide changed, he forced with Oares to fetch the ſhore vpon that part of the coaſt, which he had diſcouered and tried the laſt yeare to bee the beſt landing place for the armie. The diligence of the ſouldiers was ſhewed here to be great, who with cōtinual toile droue forth the heauy ſhips, to keepe courſe with the gallies, and ſo at length they landed in Brytayn about noone on the next day, finding not one to reſiſt his comming a ſhore: for as he learned by certain priſoners which were taken after his comming to lande, the Brytaines being aſſembled in purpoſe to haue reſiſted him, through feare ſtriken into their heartes, at the diſcouering of ſuch an huge number of ſhips, they forſooke the ſhore, and got them vnto the Mountaines.

There were in deed of veſſels one & other, what with vitailers, and thoſe which priuate men had prouided and furniſhed forth for their owne vſe, being ioyned to the ordinarie number, at the leaſt viij. C. ſayle, which appearing in ſight all at one time, made a wonderfull muſter, & right terrible in the eyes of the Brytaynes.

But to proceed: Ceſar being got to land, encamped his army in a place conuenient: and after learning by the priſoners, into what parte the enimies were withdrawne, hee appoynted one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the ſafegard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horſmen: and anon after midnight marched forth himſelfe with the reſidue of his people towards the Brytaynes, and hauing made. xij. miles of way, hee got ſight of his enimies hoſt, the which ſending downe their horſmē and charets vnto the riuer ſide, ſkirmiſhed with the Romaines, meaning to beat them backe from the higher ground: but being aſſayled of the Romaine horſemen, they were repulſed, and tooke the woddes for their refuge, wherein they had got a place very ſtrong, both by nature & helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had beene fortified before, in time of ſome ciuill warre amongſt thē: for all the entries were cloſed with trees whiche had bene cut down for that purpoſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers of the. vij. legion caſting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Brytaynes from their defences, and ſo entring vppon them, droue them out of the woods.

But Ceſar would not ſuffer the Romanes to follow the Brytaynes, bycauſe that the nature of the countrey was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre ſpent, ſo that hee woulde haue the reſidue thereof beſtowed in fortefying his campe.

The next day, as he had ſent forth ſuch as ſhould haue purſued the Britans, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a ſore and hideous tempeſt, was greeuouſly moleſted, and throwen vpon the ſhore, ſo that the cabels and tagle beeing broken and deſtroyed with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maſters and Mariners were not able to help the matter. Ceſar calling backe thoſe whiche he had ſent forth, returneth to his Shippes, and finding them in ſuche ſtate as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of thoſe that were not vtterly deſtroyed, and cauſed them ſo to be drawen vp to the land, that with a trench he might ſo cōpaſſe in a plot of ground, that mighte ſerue both for defence of his Shippes, and alſo for the incāping of thoſe men of warre, which he ſhuld leaue to attend vpon the ſauegard of the ſame. And bycauſe there were at the leaſt a fortie Ships loſt by violence of this tēpeſt, ſo as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he ſawe yet howe the reſt with great labour and coſt might bee repaired: wherefore he choſe forth wrightes among the Legions, ſent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to ſuch as he had left there in charge with the gouernāce of the country, to prouide ſo many Ships as they could, and to ſend them ouer vnto him. He ſpente a tenne dayes about the repairing thus of his nauy, and in fortifying of ẏ camp for defence thereof, which done, he left thoſe within it which were appoynted there before, and then returneth towards his enimies. At his comming backe to the place where hee had before encamped, hee founde them there ready to reſiſt him, hauing their numbers hugely encreaſed: for the Britaynes hearing that he was returned with ſuch a mightie number of Shippes, aſſembled out of all partes of the land, and had by generall conſent appoynted the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre, vnto Caſſiuellaune, or Caſſibelane, whoſe dominion was deuided from the Cities ſytuate neere to the Sea coaſt, by the riuer of Thames, 80. miles diſtant from the ſea coaſt. This Caſſibellaune before time had bin at continual warre with other rulers, and Cities of the land: but now the Britons moued with the comming of ẏ Romaynes, choſe hym to be chiefe gouernor of all their army, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defence of their countrey againſt the Romanes, only to him. Their horſemen and Charrets ſkirmiſhed by the way with the Romaynes, but ſo as they were put backe oftentimes into the woddes and hilles adioining: yet the Britaynes ſlewe diuers of the Romaines as they followed any thing egrely in the purſute.

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Alſo within a while after, as the Romaynes were buſie in fortifying their camp, ẏ Britaynes ſodaynely iſſued out of the woddes, and fiercely aſſayled thoſe that warded before the camp, vnto whoſe ayde, Ceſar ſent two of the chiefeſt cohortes of two legions, the whiche being placed but a little diſtance one from another, when the Romanes began to be diſcouraged with this kynd of fight, the Brytayns therwith burſt through their enimies, and came backe from thence in ſafetie. That daye Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune was ſlayne. At length, Ceſar ſendyng ſundry other cohortes to the ſuccoure of his people that were in fighte, and ſhrewdly handled as it appeared, the Britaynes in the ende were put backe.

In all this manner of ſkirmiſhing and fyghte which chanced before the camp, euen in the fighte and viewe of all men, it was perceyued that the Romaynes, by reaſon of their heauie armour (being not able eyther to followe the Britaynes as they retired, or ſo bold, as to depart from their enſignes, except they woulde runne into daunger of caſting themſelues away) were nothing meete to match with ſuch kind of enimies: and as for their horſemen, they fought likewiſe in great hazarde, bycauſe the Britaynes would oftentimes of purpoſe retire, & when they had trained the Romane horſemen a little from their legions of footemen, they would leape out of their charrets and encounter with them a foote. And ſo the battell of horſemen was daungerous, and like in all poyntes whether they purſued or retired. This alſo was the manner of the Britaynes: they foughte not cloſe togither, but in ſunder, and deuided into companies one ſeparated from another by a good diſtance, & had their troupes ſtanding in places conuenient, to ẏ which they might retire, & ſo releeue one another with ſending newe freſh men to ſupply the roumthes of them that were hurt or weary. The next day after they had thus foughte before ẏ camp of the Romanes, they ſhewed themſelues aloft on ẏ hilles, & began to ſkirmiſhe with the Romane horſemen, but not ſo hotely as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Ceſar had ſent forth three legions of footemē and all his horſemen vnder the leading of his Lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in fourrage, they ſodainely brake out on euery ſide, & ſet vpon the fourragers. The Romanes ſo farre forth as they might, not breaking their array, nor going from their enſignes or guides, gaue ẏ charge on them, & fiercely repulſed them, ſo yͭ the horſemen hauing ẏ legions of footmen at their backes, followed the Britons ſo long as they might haue the ſaid Legions in ſight ready to ſuccour thē if neede were: by reaſon whereof, they ſlew a great number of ẏ Britons, not giuing them leaſure to recouer thēſelues, nor to ſtay, that they might haue tyme to get out of their charrets. After this chaſe and diſcomfiture, all ſuch as were come from other parties to the ayde of their felowes departed home,

The Romains heauie armor.

The manner of the Britons in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Caſsius ſaith, that the Britaynes vanquiſhed the Romayne footemen at this time, but were put to the worſt by the horſemen.

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and after yͤ day the Britons aduentured to fight againſt Ceſar with their maine power, but withdrawing beyond the riuer of Thames, determined to ſtop the enimies from paſſing the ſame, if by any meanes they mighte: and where as there was but one fourde by yͤ which they might come ouer, Caſſiuellane cauſed the ſame to be ſet ful of ſharp ſtakes, not onely in the middeſt of the water, but alſo at the comming forthe on that ſyde where he was lodged with his army in good order, ready to defende the paſſage. Ceſar learning by relation of priſoners which he toke, what the Britaynes intended to do, marched forth to yͤ riuer ſide, where the fourde was, by the whiche hys army mighte paſſe the ſame afoote though very hardly. At his cõming thither, hee might perceiue howe the Britaynes were ready on yͤ further ſide to impeach his paſſage, & how that the banke at yͤ comming forthe of the water was pighte full of ſharp ſtakes, and ſo likewiſe was the chanell of yͤ Riuer ſet with ſtakes which were couered with yͤ water. Theſe things yet ſtayed not Ceſar, who appoynting his horſemen to paſſe on before, cõmanded the footemen to follow. The ſouldiers entring yͤ water, waded through with ſuch ſpede & violence, (nothing appearing of thẽ aboue water but their heads) that yͤ Britaynes were conſtreyned to giue place, being not able to ſuſteyne yͤ brunt of yͤ Romane Horſemen & the legions of their footemen, & ſo abandoning yͤ place toke thẽ to flight. Caſſiuelane not minding to trie yͤ matter any more by battell, ſente away yͤ moſt parte of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thouſand charretmen or wagoners, and ſtil watched what way yͤ Romanes toke, coaſting them euer as they marched, and kepte ſomewhat aſide within yͤ couert of woods, and other comberſome places. And out of thoſe quarters through yͤ whiche he vnderſtood yͤ Romanes would paſſe, he gathered both mẽ & cattel into yͤ woods & thicke forreſts, leauing nothing of valew abrode in yͤ chãpayne countrey. And whẽ yͤ Romane horſemen did come abrode into yͤ countrey to ſeeke booties, he ſent out his charrets vnto the knowen ways & paſſages to ſkirmiſh with the ſame horſemen, ſo much to the diſaduãtage of the Romanes, yͭ they durſt not ſtraye far frõ their maine army. Neither wold Ceſar permit thẽ (leaſt they might haue bin vtterly diſtreſſed by yͤ Britaynes) to depart further thã yͤ maine battels of yͤ footemẽ kept pace wͭ thẽ, by reaſon whereof yͤ countrey was not endomaged by fire & ſpoyle, but onely where the army marched. In yͤ mean time, the *Trinouantes* which ſome take to be the middleſex & Eſſex mẽ, whoſe Citie was yͤ beſt fẽced of al other in thoſe parties, & thought to be the ſame yͭ now is called Londõ, ſent Imbaſſadors vnto Ceſar, offering to ſubmit thẽſelues vnto him, & to obey his ordinances, and further beſought him to defend Mãdubratius frõ yͤ iniurie of Caſſiuellaune, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Ceſar into France, after yͤ Caſſibelane had ſlain his father named Imanuentius, yͭ was chiefe Lord & K. of the *Trinobantes*, & ſo now by their Imbaſſadors, yͤ ſame *Trinobantes* requeſted Ceſar, not only to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but alſo to ſend him vnto them, that he might take the gouernemẽt & rule of their Citie into his hands. Ceſar cõmanded thẽ to deliuer vnto him .40. hoſtages, & grayne for his army, & therewith ſent Mandubratius vnto them. The *Trinonantes* accõpliſhed his commaundements wͭ al ſpeede, ſending both yͤ appoynted nũber of hoſtages, and alſo graine for the army. And being thus defended & preſerued from iniurie of yͤ ſouldiers, yͤ people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi, ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto Ceſar, by whom he vnderſtode that yͤ towne of Caſſibellane was not far from yͤ place wher he was then encamped fenſed with woddes & mariſhes, into yͤ whiche a great number of people wͭ their Cattell and other ſubſtãce was withdrawen. The Britaines in thoſe dayes (as Ceſar writeth) called yͤ a towne or hold which they had fortified wͭ any thick cõberſome wood, with trẽch & rampire, into yͤ which they vſed to get thẽſelues for yͤ auoyding of inuaſion. Ceſar with his legions of ſouldiers therefore marcheth thither, & finding the place very ſtrong both by nature & helpe of hand, aſſaulteth it on two parts. The Britains defending their ſtrength a while, at lẽgth not able longer to endure the impreſſion of yͤ Romaynes, fled out on yͤ contrary ſide of yͤ towne wher the enimies were not. Within this place a great nũber of Cattel was found, & many of yͤ Britaynes takẽ by yͤ Romanes yͭ followed them in chaſe, & many alſo ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things paſſed on this ſort in thoſe parties, Caſſibellaune ſent meſſengers into Kent vnto four kings (whiche ruled yͤ ſide of the lãd in thoſe dayes) Cingetorix, Caruilius, Tarimagulus, & Segonax, cõmaunding thẽ, that aſſembling togither their whole puiſſãce, they ſhould aſſaile yͤ camp of yͤ Romaines by the Sea ſide wher certain bãds lay (as ye haue heard) for ſafegard of yͤ nauie. They according to his apointmẽt came ſodainly thither, & by yͤ Romains that ſalled forth vpon them were ſharply foughte with, & loſt diuers of their men yͭ were ſlaine, and taken, and amõgſt the priſoners that yͤ Romains toke, Cingetorix was one. When Caſſibellaune heard theſe news, being ſore troubled for theſe loſſes thus chancing one in the neck of an other, but namely moſt diſcouraged, for that diuers Cities had yelded vnto the Romanes: hee ſendeth Imbaſſadors by meane of Comius of Arras vnto Ceſar, offering to ſubmit himſelfe. Ceſar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore bycauſe ſommer drewe towardes an ende, willyng to diſpatch in Britayne, commanded that hoſtages ſhould

Trinouantes where they inhabited.

Manduбratius.

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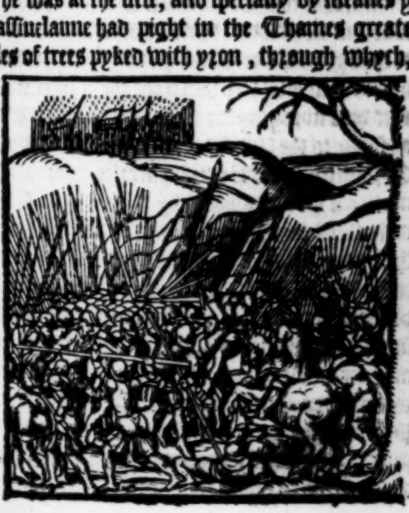
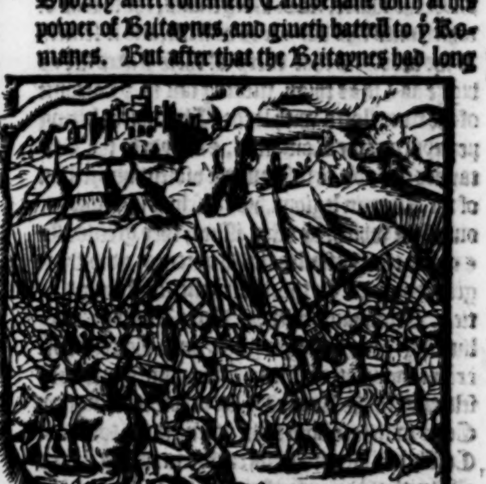
ſhould be deliuered, and appoynted what tribute the Britaynes ſhould yeerely ſend vnto the Romaynes. He alſo forbade and commaunded Caſſibellaune that he ſhould not in any wiſe trouble or endomage Mandubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receyued the hoſtages, he bringeth his army to the Sea, and there findeth his Shippes well repayred, decked, and in good point: therefore he commaundeth that they ſhould be had downe to the ſea. And bycauſe hee hadde a great number of priſoners, and diuers of his ſhips were loſt by the tempeſt, he appoynted to tranſport his army ouer into Gallia at two conuoyes, whiche was done with good ſucceſſe about the middeſt of September, though the Shippes returning for the reſidue of the army, after the firſte conuoy, were driuē ſo with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to lande at the place appoynted: ſo that Ceſar was conſtreyned to fraught thoſe that he could get, with a greater burden, and ſo departed from the coaſt of Britayne, and ſafely landed with the remnaunte of his people in Gallia with as good ſpeede as he cold haue deſired. He thought not good to leaue any of his people behinde him, knowing that if he ſhould ſo doe, they were in daunger to be caſt away. And ſo bycauſe he could not well remayne there all the winter ſeaſon for doubt of Rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, ſith he had done ſufficiently for the time, leaſt in coueting the more, hee mighte haue come in perill to loſe that whiche hee had already obteyned.

Caſim.

Thus according to that which Ceſar himſelfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britayne made tributorie to the Romaynes by the Conduit of the ſame Ceſar. But our hiſtories farre differ from this, affirming, that Ceſar comming the ſecōd time, was by the Britaynes with valiancie, and martial prowes beaten, & repulſed, as he was at the firſt, and ſpecially by meanes yͭ Caſſiuelaune had pight in the Thames greate pyles of trees pyked with yron, through whych, his ſhippes being entred the riuer, were periſhed & loſt. And after his comming a land, he was vanquiſhed in battell, & conſtreyned to flee into Gallia with thoſe ſhippes that remayned. For ioy of this ſeconde victory (ſaith Galfrid) Caſſibellane made a great feaſt at London, & ther did ſacrifice to the Gods. At which feaſt there fel variance betwixt two yong Gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Caſſibellan, & the other Euelyn, or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus Erle of Londō. They fell at diſcord about wreſtling, & after multiplying of wordes, they came to dealing of blowes, by meane whereof parties wer taken, ſo that there enſewed a ſore fray, in the whiche, diuers were wounded and hurt, and amongſt other Herilda the kings Nephew was ſlayne by yͤ hands of Eweline. The K. ſore diſpleaſed herewith, meant to puniſh Eweline according to the order of his lawes, ſo that he was ſummoned to appeare in due forme to make anſwere to yͤ murder: but Eweline by the comforte of Androgeus diſobeyed the ſommonāce, and departed yͤ Court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The K. to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, & began to make war on him. Androgeus perceiuing himſelfe not able to withſtand the Kings puiſſance, ſente letters to Iulius Ceſar, exhorting him to returne into Britayne, & declaring the whole matter concerning yͤ variance betwixt him and the king, promiſing to ayd the Romaynes in all that he might. Iulius Ceſar ioyfull of this meſſage, prepareth his nauie, & with all ſpeede with a mightie hoſt embarqued in the ſame, commeth toward Britayne: but ere he would land, doubting ſome treaſon in Androgeus, he receyueth from him in hoſtage his ſonne named Scena, and thirty other of the beſt & moſt noble perſonages of all his dominion. After thys he landed, & ioyning with Androgeus, came into a valley neere to Canterbury, & there encamped. Shortly after commeth Caſſibellane with al his power of Britaynes, and giueth battell to yͤ Romanes. But after that the Britaynes had long

l.Mon.
at.VVeſt.





foughten,

ſought and knightly borne thēſelues in that battell, Androgius came with his people on a wing, and ſo ſharply aſſayled them, that the Britaynes were conſtreyned to forſake the field, & tooke thēſelues to flight. The which flight ſo diſcomforted them, that finally they all fled, & gaue place to the Romanes, the which purſued and ſlew thē without mercy, ſo that Caſſibellane with the reſidue of his people withdrewe to a place of ſuretie, but beeing enuironed about with the puiſſance of the Romaynes, & of Androgeus, who had with him ſeuen thouſande men there in the ayd of the Romans, Caſſibellanin the end was enforced to fal to a cōpoſition, in couenaunting to pay an yerely tribute of three thouſand. ℔. Then when Ceſar had ordred his buſineſſe as he thought conueniēt, he returned, & with him went Androgeus, fearing yͤ diſpleaſure of Caſſibellane. The reuerend father Bede writing of this mater, hath thus: After that Ceſar being returned into Gallia, had placed his ſouldiers abroade in the countrey to ſoiorne for yͤ winter ſeaſon, he cauſed Ships to be made ready, to the number of ſixe C. with the which repaſſing again into Britaine, whileſt he marcheth forthe with a mighty army againſt yͤ enimies, his ſhips that lay at ancre being takē with a ſore tempeſt, were either beaten one againſt another, or els caſt vpon the flats & ſands, and ſo broken, ſo that fortie of them were vtterly periſhed, and the reſidue with great difficultie were repaired. The horſemen of the Romaines at the firſt encounter were put to the worſe, & Labienus the Tribune ſlain. In the ſeconde conflict hee vanquiſhed the Britaines not without greate daunger of his people. After this, hee marcheth to the riuer of Thames which as thē was paſſable by fourde, only in one place and not elſe, as the reporte goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Caſſibellane was encamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pight & ſet the banke, & almoſt all the fourde vnder the water, ful of ſharp ſtakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be ſeene, and it ſemeth to the beholders that euery of theſe ſtakes are as bigge as a mās thigh, ſticking faſt in yͤ bottome of the riuer cloſed with leade. The whiche beeing perceyued of the Romaines, & auoyded, the Britaynes not able to ſuſteyne the violent impreſſion of the Romain legions, hid thēſelues in yͤ woods, out of the which, by often iſſues, they greeuouſly & many times aſſailed the Romanes, & did them great domage. In the mean time, the ſtrong Citie of Trinouant with hir Duke Androgius deliuering fortie hoſtages yelded vnto Ceſar, whoſe exāple many other Cities following, allyed thēſelues with the Romains, by whoſe information Ceſar with ſore fight tooke at length the towne of Caſſibelan, ſituate betwixt two mariſhes, fenſed alſo with the couerte of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Ceſar returned into Fraunce, and beſtowed his armie in places to ſoiorne there for the winter ſeaſon.

So hath Campion, but Galfrid. Monu. hath fiue thouſande.

The ſtakes remayning to be ſeene in Bedes dayes.

Thus muche hath Bede. The Scottiſh writers reporte, that the Britons after the Romaines were the firſte time repulſed (as before yee haue hearde, refuſed to receyue the ayde of the Scottiſhmen the ſecond time, & ſo were vanquiſhed, as in the Scottiſh hiſtories ye maye ſee more at length expreſſed. Thus much touching the warre which Iulius Ceſar made againſt the Britons, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romains. But heere is to be noted, that Ceſar did not vanquiſh al the Britons: for he came not amongſt the Northren men, only diſcouering & ſubduing yͤ part which lyeth towards the French ſeas, ſo that ſith other of the Romain Emperors did moſt earneſtly trauaile to bring the Britons vnder their ſubiection (whiche were euer redy to rebell ſo many ſundry tymes) Ceſar might ſeme rather to haue ſhewed Britain to the Romās, thā to haue deliuered vnto them the poſſeſſion of the ſame. This ſubiection to the whiche he broughte this Iſle (what maner of one ſoeuer it was) chanced about yͤ yere of the world. 3913. After yͤ buylding of Rome. 698. before the birth of our ſauior 53. the. 1. and ſecond yere of the. 181. Olympiade, after the cōming of Brute. 1060. before the conqueſt made by Williā duke of Normandie. 1120. and. 1629. yeres before this preſent yere of our lord 1576. as Hariſon hath ſet downe.

Cornelius Tacitus.

In vit.

Dion Caſ.

After that Iulius Ceſar had thus made the Britayns tributaries to yͤ Romaines, & was returned into Gallia, Caſſibelan reigned. 7. yeres, & was vanquiſhed in the ninth or tenth yere after he begā firſt to raigne, ſo yͤ he raigned in yͤ whole about. 15. or as ſome haue. 17. yeres, & then dyed, leauing no iſſue behinde him. There hath bin an old Chronicle (as Fabiā recordeth) which he ſaw & followeth much in his booke, wherein it is conteyned, that this Caſſibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldeſt ſon to him: for otherwiſe as maye be thought (ſaith he) Ceſar hauing the vpper hand would haue diſplaced him from the gouernemēt, & ſet vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as ſonne to the ſayd Lud. But what ſoeuer our Chronicles or the Brittiſh hiſtories report of this matter, it ſhoulde appeare by that whiche Ceſar writeth, as partly ye haue heard that Britaine in thoſe days was not gouerned by one ſole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were aſtates of themſelues, ſo that the lande was deuided into ſundry gouernments, muche after the forme and manner as Germany and Italy are in our time, where ſome Cities are gouerned by one onely Prince, ſome by the nobilitie, and ſome by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in thoſe dayes heere in thys lande were called Kings,

Fabian.

Ceſar.

thoſe

ſibellane a

Cor.Tacit in
it.Iu.Agr.

thoſe had more large ſeigniouries than the other, as Caſſibellane, who was therfore called a king. And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it bee that in the beginning after that Brute entred the land, there was ordeyned by him a Monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might cõtinue in his poſteritie many yeeres after, and yet at length before the comming of Ceſar, through ciuill diſſention, might happily be broken, and deuided into partes, and ſo remayned not only in yͤ time of this Caſſibellane, but alſo lõg after, whileſt they liued as tributaries to the Romanes, till finally they were ſubdued by the Saxons. In whiche meane time, through the diſcorde, negligence, or rather vnaduiſed raſhneſſe of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receyued in their writings for a troth, namely concerning the ſucceſſion of the Kings that are ſayd to haue raigned betwixte the dayes of Caſſibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Romayne writers, (& namely Tacitus) report, that the Britaynes in times paſt were vnder the rule of Kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawen ſo by Princes into ſundry factions, that to defend and keepe off a cõmon ieoperdy, ſcarcely would two or three Cities agree togither, and take weapon in hande with one accorde, ſo that whileſt they fought by partes, the whole was ouercome.

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iſt.

me take
aſutagus
d Aruiragus
be one mã.

.Mon.

And after this ſorte they ſaye that Brytayne was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romanes, from whome gouernours vnder the name of Legates and procurates were ſente that had the rule of it. But yet the ſame authors make mention of certayne kings (as hereafter ſhall appeare) the whiche, whileſt the Romaine Emperours had the moſt part of the earth in ſubiection, raigned in Britayne. The ſame witneſſeth Gildas, ſaying: Britayne hathe Kings, but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hathe, but the ſame are wicked, oftentimes ſpoyling and tormenting the innocent people. And Ceſar (as ye haue heard) ſpeaketh of foure Kings that ruled in Kent, and therabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Praſutagus, and Cogidunus, that were Kyngs in Britayne: and Iuuenall ſpeaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or moe, yet Kings there were in Britayne, bearing rule vnder yͤ Romayne Emperours. On the other parte, the common opinion of our Chronicle writers is, that yͤ chiefe gouernement remained euer with the Britaynes, and that the Romayne Senate receyuing an yeerely tribute, ſent certayne times (*ex officio*) their Emperours and Lieutenants into this Iſle, to repreſſe the rebellious tumultes therin begonne, or to beate backe the inuaſion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus would theſe writers inferre, that the Britaynes euer obeyed their King, till at length they were put beſide the gouernement by the Saxons. But where as in the common hiſtorie of Englande, the ſucceſſion of Kings ought to be kepte, ſo ofte as it chanceth in the ſame, that there is not anye founde to fyll the place, then one while the Romane Emperours are placed in their ſteades, and another while their lieutenants, and are ſayde to be created Kings of the Britaines, as though the Emperours were inferiours vnto the Kings of Britaine, and that the Romane Lieutenants at their appoyntments, and not by preſcripte of the Senate or Emperours adminiſtred yͤ Prouince. But this may ſuffice here to aduertiſe you of the contrarietie in writers, & now we will goe forth in following our hiſtories, as we haue done heretofore, ſauing that where the Romaine hiſtories write of things done here by Emperous or their Lieutenants, it ſhall be ſhewed as reaſon requireth, ſith there is a great appearance of troth ofte times in the ſame, as thoſe that be authoriſed and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Theomantius.

Theomãtius.

After yͤ deth of Caſſibelan, Theomãtius or Tenãtius the yõgeſt ſonne of Lud, was made K. of Britayne in the yeere of the World. 3921. after the bulding of Rome 706. and before the comming of Chriſt. 45. He is named alſo in one of the Engliſhe Chronicles Tormace: but in the ſame Chronicle it is conteyned, that not hee, but his brother Androgius was King, where Geffrey of Monmouth & other teſtifie, that Androgius abãdoned the land clerely, and continued ſtill at Rome, bycauſe he knew the Britaynes hated him for the treaſon he hadde committed, in aiding Iulius Ceſar againſt Caſſibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romanes whiche Caſſibellane had graunted, and finally departed this life after he had raigned. 22. yeares, & was buried at London.

Fabian.

Gal.M.

Kymbelyne or Cimbeline,

Kymbelyne.

The ſonne of Theomantius was of the Britaynes made King after the deceſſe of his father, in the yere of the world. 3944. after the bulding of Rome. 728. and before the birthe of oure Sauioure. 23. This man as ſome write, was

brought

Fabian out of Guido de Columna.

brought vp at Rome, and there made Knight by Auguſtus Ceſar, vnder whome hee ſerued in the warres, and was in ſuche fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not.

Chriſt our Sauiour is borne

3966

Little other mention is made of his doyngs, except that during his raigne, the Sauiour of the world, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the only ſonne of God, was borne of a Virgin about the. 23. yeare of the reygne of this Kymbalyne, and in the. 42. of the Emperour Octauius Auguſtus, that is to witte, in the yeare of the Worlde. 3966. in the ſeconde yeare of the. 194. Olympiade, after yͤ building of the Citie of. Rome. 750. nigh at an end, after the vniuerſal floud. 2311. from the birth of Abraham. 2019. after the departure of the Iſraelites out of Egipt. 1513. after the captiuitie of Babylon 535. from the building of the Temple by Salomon. 1034. and from the arriuall of Brute. 1116. complete. Touching the continuance of yͤ yeares of Kymbelines raigne, is ſome diſcordaunce amongſt writers, but the beſt approued affirme, that he raigned. xxxv. yeeres, and then dyed, and was buried at London, leauing behind hym two ſonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Cor.Ta in vit Agr.

Str.

Dion Ca

But heere is to be noted, that although our hiſtories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as alſo his father Theomantius, liued in quiet with the Romans, and continually to them payed the tributes which the Britons had couenanted with Julius Ceſar to pay. Yet wee finde in the Romane writers, that after Julius Ceſars death, when Auguſtus had taken vppon him the rule of the Empire, the Britaynes refuſed to pay that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Auguſtus (being otherwiſe ocupied) was contented to winke, howbeit, through earneſt calling vpon to recouer his right by ſuch as were deſirous to ſee the vttermoſt of the Britiſh kingdome, at length, to witte, in the tenth yeere after the death of Julius Ceſar, whiche was about the thirtenth yeere of the ſayd Theomantius, Auguſtus made prouiſion to paſſe with an army ouer into Britayne, and was come forward vpon his iourney into Gallia Celtica: or as wee may ſay,

into theſe hither partes of Fraunce.

But here receiuing aduertiſements that yͤ Panonians which inhabited the countrey now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thoughte it beſt firſt to ſubdue thoſe Rebelles neere home, rather than to ſeeke newe countreys, and leaue ſuche in hazard whereof he had preſente poſſeſſion, and ſo turning his power againſt the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the lande remayned withoute feare of any inuaſion to be made by yͤ Romains, till the yere after the building of the citie of Rome 725. and about the. 19. yere of king Theomantius raigne, yͤ Auguſtus with an army departed once agayne from Rome to paſſe ouer into Britayne, there to make warre, but after his commyng into Gallia, when the Britaynes ſent to him certaine Ambaſſadors to treate with him of peace, he ſtaied there to ſettle the ſtate of things among the Gaulles, for that they were not in very good order, & hauing finiſhed there, he wẽt into Spayne, and ſo his iourney into Britayne was put off til the next yeere, that is, the. 726. after the buildyng of Rome, which fell before the birth of our Sauiour. 25. about whiche time Auguſtus eftſoones meante the third time to haue made a voyage into Britayne, bycauſe they could not agree vppon couenaunts: But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians hadde afore time ſtayed him, when as before is ſayde, hee meante to haue gone againſte the Britaynes: ſo euen nowe the Salaſſians, (a people inhabiting betwixt Italy, and Swetzerland,) the Cantabrians and Aſturians by ſuche rebellious ſturres as they reyſed, withdrewe him from his purpoſed iourney. But whether this cōtrouerſie which appeareth to fal forth betwixt the Britaynes and Auguſtus, was occaſioned by Kymbeline or ſome other Prince of the Britaynes, I haue not to auouch: for that by our

He kepte promiſe wi the Roma

Thoſe of G lice & Bi

our writers it is reported, that Kymbelyne being brought vp in Rome, and made Knighte in the Court of Auguſtus, euer ſhewed himſelfe a friẽd to the Romaines, and chiefly was loth to breake with them, bycauſe the youth of the Britayne nation ſhoulde not bee depriued of the benefite to bee trayned and broughte vp among the Romaynes, whereby they mighte learne both to behaue themſelues lyke ciuill men, and to atteyne to the knowledge of feates of warre. But whether for this reſpect, or for that it pleaſed the Almightie God ſo to diſpoſe the myndes of men at that preſent, not only the Britaynes, but in maner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romayne Empire. That thys was true in the Britaynes, it is euidente ynough by Straboes wordes, whiche are in effect as followeth. At this preſent (ſayth he) certayne princes of Britayne, procuring by Ambaſſadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the Emperoure Auguſtus, haue offered in the Capitoll vnto the Goddes preſentes or giftes, and haue ordeyned the whole Iſle in a maner to be appertenant, proper and familiar to the Romaynes. They are burdened with ſore cuſtomes whiche they pay for wares, eyther to be ſent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, whiche are commonly iuorie veſſels, ſheares, ouches, or earering, and other conceytes made of ambre, and glaſſes, and ſuche like maner of merchandiſe: ſo that nowe there is no neede of any army or garriſon of menne of warre to keepe the Iſle, for there needeth not paſt one legion of footemen, or ſome wing of horſemen, to gather vp and receyue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwiſe, it ſhoulde be needefull to abate the cuſtomes, if the tributes were alſo reyſed: and if any violence ſhoulde be vſed, it were daungerous leaſt they mighte be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Str. Geog.

Guiderius.

Guiderius.

GUiderius the firſte ſon of Kymbeline (of whome Harriſon ſayeth nothing) beganne his raigne in ẏ ſeuenteenth yere after the incarnatiõ of Chriſt. This Guiderius being a man of ſtout courage, gaue occaſiõ of breach of peace betwixt the Britaynes and Romaynes, denying to pay the tribute, and procuring the people to moue inſurrections, the whyche by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gildas hath. Whereupon, the Emperour Caligula (as ſome thinke,) tooke occaſion to leauie a power, and as one vtterly miſliking the negligence (as he called it) of Auguſtus & Tiberius his predeceſſors; he meant not only to reduce the Iland vnto the former ſubiection, but alſo to ſearch out the vttermoſt boundes thereof, to the behoofe of himſelfe, and of the Romayne Monarchie.

From henceforth yee ſhall finde the yere of the Lord in the margente.

Caligula.

Greate prouiſion therefore was made by the ſayde Caligula to performe that noble enterpriſe, and this was in the fourth yeare of hys raigne. The lyke preparation was made on the other ſide by Guiderius, to reſiſt the forayne enemies, ſo that hauing all things in a readineſſe, he ceaſſed not dayly to looke for the comming of the Emperour, whome hee meante to receyue with harde entertaynementes if hee durſt aduenture to ſet towarde Britayne. But ſee the ſequeale: the mayne army beeyng thus in a readineſſe, departeth from Rome in the. 79. yeare after the buylding of the Citie, and marching forthe,

Dion Caſsius. lib. 59.

at length commeth to the Belgique ſhore, from whence they mighte looke ouer, and beholde the cliffes and coaſt of Britaine, whiche Caligula & his men ſtood gaſing vpõ with great admiratiõ & wonder. Furthermore he cauſed them to ſtand in battel array vpon the coaſt, where he heard, howe the Britaynes were in a redineſſe to withſtande his entrãce: but he entring into his galley, as nothing diſcouraged wᵗ theſe newes, rowed a flight ſhot or two from the ſhore, and forthwith returned, & then going vp into an high place like a pulpet, framed & ſet vp there for the nonce, he gaue ẏ token to fight vnto his ſouldiers by ſound of trũpet, and therewith was each man charged to gather cockle ſhels vpõ the ſhore, which he called the ſpoyle of the Ocean, and cauſed them to be layde vp vntill a time cõueniente. With the atchieuing of this exployt (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he ſeemed greatly exalted, thinking that now he had ſubdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highly rewarded his ſouldiers for their paynes ſuſteyned in that collection of cockle ſhelles, as if they had done him ſome notable peece of ſeruice. He alſo carried of the ſame ſhelles with him to Rome, to the ende he myghte there boaſt of his voyage, and bragge how well he had ſped: and required therefore very earneſtly to haue a triumph decreede vnto him for the accompliſhment of this enterpriſe. But whẽ he ſaw the Senate grudge at the free and liberall graunting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refuſed to attribute deuine honors vnto him, in recompence of ſo fooliſh an enterpriſe, it wanted little that he had not ſlayne them euery one. From thence therefore he wente vp into a throne or royall ſeate, and calling therewith the commõ people about him, he tolde them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conqueſt of the Ocean, and when hee perceyued them to ſhoute and crie, as if they had conſented that hee ſhould haue bin a God for this his greate trauell and valiant prowes, he to increaſe their clamour, cauſed great quantities of golde and ſiluer to bee ſcattered amongſt them, in the gathering whereof, many were preſſed to deathe, and diuers alſo ſlayne with ẏ inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did caſt out with the ſayd money, of purpoſe to doe miſchiefe, the ſame caltrops beeing in forme ſmall and ſharp, ſo that by reaſon of the preaſſe of people, muche hurte was done by them ere they were perceyued. And this was the ende of the ridiculous voyage of Caligula attempted againſt the Britaynes.

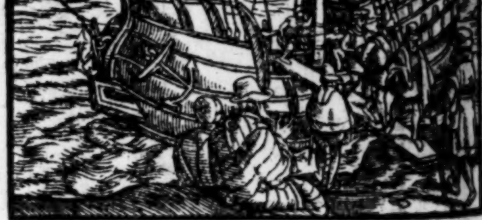
The ſpoyle of the Ocean.

Suetonius.

But after the death of this Calligula, the Emperoure Claudius (as Suetonius hath,) moued warre againſt the Britaynes, bycauſe of a ſturre and Rebellion reyſed in that lande, for that ſuche fugitiues as were fled from thence, were not againe reſtored when requeſt was made for the ſame.

Dion

Dion Caſſius writeth, how one Bericus, beyng expelled out of Britaynie, perſwaded ẏᵗ Emperoure Claudius to take the warre in hande at this time againſt the Britaynes, ſo that this Aulus Plautius a Senator, and as then Pretor, was appoynted to take the army that ſoiourned in Fraunce then called Gallia, and to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Britaynie. The Souldyers hearing of thys voyage, were loth to goe with him, as men not willing to make warre in another worlde: and therefore delayed tyme, till at length one Narciſſus was ſente from Claudius (as it were) to appeaſe ẏ ſouldiers, & procure thẽ to ſet forward. But whẽ this Narciſſus wẽt vp into the tribunal throne of Plautius, to declare ẏ cauſe of his comming, ẏ Souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *o Saturnalia*, as if they ſhould haue celebrated their feaſt day ſo called. When the ſeruants apparelled in their maiſters robes, repreſented the roomth of their maiſters, and were ſerued by them, as if they hadde bin their ſeruants, and thus at length conſtreyned through very ſhame, they agreed to followe Plautius. Hereupon being embarqued, he deuided his nauie into three partes, to the ende, that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The Shippes ſuffered ſome impeachment in their paſſage by a contrary winde that droue them backe againe: but yet the Marriners and men of warre takyng good courages vnto them, the rather bicauſe there was ſeene a fyery leame to ſhoote out of the Eaſt towardes the Weſt, which way their courſe lay, made forwarde againe with their Shippes, and landed without finding anye reſiſtaunce. For



the Britaynes looked not for their comming: wherefore, when they hearde howe their enimies were a lande, they gote them into the Woodes and mariſſes, truſting that by lingering of tyme the Romaynes would be conſtreyned to departe, as it had chanced in time paſt to Iulius Ceſar aforeſayd.

Plautius therfore had muche adoe to fynde them out, but after hee had found them, firſte hee vanquiſhed Cataratacus, and after Togodumnus the ſonnes of Cynobellinus: for theyr father was dead not very long before. Theſe therfore fleeing their wayes, Plautius receyued parte of the people called Bodunni (which were ſubiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) into the obeyſance of the Romaynes: and ſo leauing there a garriſon of Souldiers, he paſſed further till hee came to a riuer whiche coulde not well be paſſed without a bridge: wheruppon the Britaynes toke ſmall regard to defend yͤ paſſage, as though they had bin ſure inough. But Plautius appointed a certaine number of Germaynes whyche he had there with him (being vſed to ſwimme ouer riuers, although neuer ſo ſwift) to get ouer, whiche they did, ſleaing & wounding the Britaynes horſes whiche were faſtned to their waggens or Charets, ſo that the Britaynes were not able to doe anye peece of their accuſtomed ſeruice with the ſame.

uni.

ellani.

Herewith alſo was Flauius Veſpaſianus (that afterwardes was Emperour) with his brother Sabinus ſent ouer that riuer, which beeyng gotte to the further ſide, ſlewe a greate number of the enimies. The reſidue of the Britaynes fled, but the nexte daye proffered newe battell, in the which they alſo fought ſo ſtoutly, that the victory depended long in doubtfull ballance, till C. Sidius Geta being almoſt at poynt to be taken, did ſo handle the matter, that the Britaynes finally were put to flight: for the whiche his valiant doings, triumphante honors were beſtowed vpon him although he was no Conſul.

The Britaynes after this Battell, withdrew to the Riuer of Thames, nere to the place where it falleth into the Sea, and knowing the ſhallowes and firme places thereof, eaſily paſſed ouer to the further ſide, whome the Romanes following through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fel into yͤ mariſſe groūds, and ſo came to loſe many of their men, namely of the Germaynes, which were the firſt that paſſed ouer the Riuer to follow the Britaines, partly by a bridge whiche lay within the countrey ouer the ſayde Riuer, and partly by ſwimming, and other ſuch ſhift as they preſently made. The Britaynes hauing loſt one of theyr Rulers, that is to witte, Togodumnus, of whome yee haue hearde before, were nothing diſcoraged, but rather the more egrely ſet on reuenge. Plautius perceyuing their fierceneſſe, went no further, but ſtayed and placed garriſons in ſteedes, where neede required, to keepe thoſe places whiche hee had gotten, and with al ſpeede ſent aduertiſemēt vnto Claudius, accordingly to that he hadde in commaundement, if any vrgent neceſſitie ſhould ſo moue him. Claudius therfore hauing all things before hand in a readineſſe, ſtreightwayes vpon the receyuing of the aduertiſement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Oſtia, and from thence vnto Maſſilia, & ſo through Fraunce, ſped his iourneys till hee came to yͤ ſide of the Ocean ſea, and then embarquing hymſelfe with his people paſſed ouer into Britaine, & came to his army which abode his comming neere to yͤ Thames ſide, where being ioyned, they paſſed the Riuer agayne, fought with the Britaines in a pight fielde, and getting the victory, toke the towne of Camalodunum, which was the chiefeſt Citie apperteyning vnto Cynobellinus. Hee reduced alſo many other people into his ſubiection, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, wherof he was called oftentimes by the name of Emperour, which was againſt the ordinance of yͤ Romanes: for it was not lawfull to any to take yͤ name vpon him, oftner than once in any one voyage.

Togodumnus.

Moreouer, Claudius toke from the Britaynes their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernement of them vnto Plautius, cōmaunding him to endeuor himſelfe to ſubdue the reſidue.

Thus hauing broughte vnder a parte of Britayne, and hauing made his abode therein not paſt a ſixteene dayes, he departed, and came backe agayne to Rome with victory in yͤ ſixth moneth after his ſetting forth from thence, gyuing after his returne, to his ſon, the ſurname of Britannicus.

Dion Caſsius.

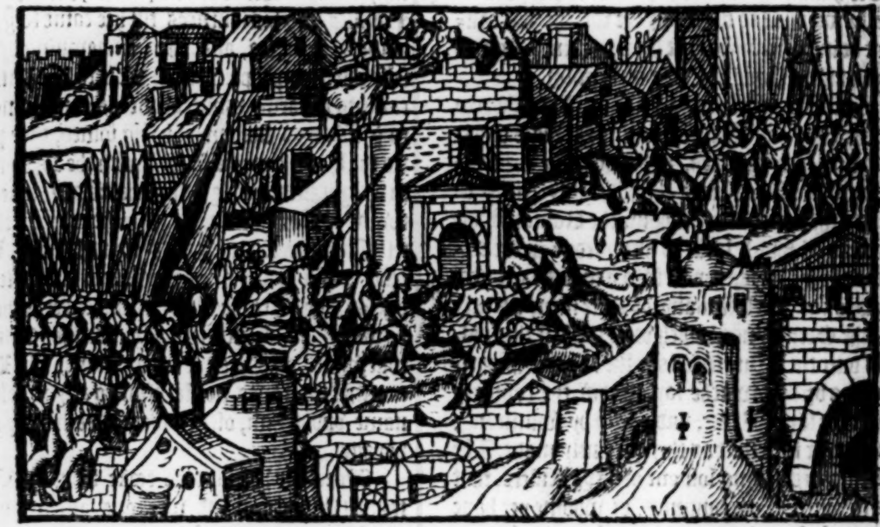
Suetonius.

This warre he finiſhed, in manner as before is ſayd, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, whyche fell in the yeare of the worlde. 4011. and after the birth of our Sauioure. 44. after the building of Rome.79.

44

There be that write, how Claudius ſubdued and added to the Romaine Empire, the Iſles of Orkney, ſituate in the North Ocean beyonde Britayne, which might well be brought to paſſe eyther by Plautius, or ſome other his Lieutenant: for Plautius indeede for his noble prowes and valiant actes atchieued in Britayne, afterwards triumphed. Titus the ſonne of Veſpaſian alſo wanne no ſmall prayſe for deliuering hys father out of daunger in his time, beeing beſette with a company of Britaynes, whiche the ſayde Titus bare downe and put to flight with greate ſlaughter. Beda following yͤ authoritie of Suetonius, writeth briefly of this matter, and ſayth, that Claudius paſſing ouer into this Iſle, to the whiche neyther before Iulius Ceſar, nor after him any ſtraunger durſt come, within few days receyued the moſt part of the countrey into hys ſubiection without battell or bloudſhed.

Gildas alſo writing of this reuolting of the Britaynes, ſayth thus, when information thereof was gyuen to the Senate, and that haſt was made with a ſpeedy army to reuenge the ſame, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the Sea to fyghte valiantly for defence of the countrey, no ſquare battell, no right wing, nor any other prouiſion appoynted on the ſhore to bee ſeene, but the backes of the Britaynes in ſteade of a ſhielde are ſhewed to the perſecuters, and their neckes ready to bee cutte off with the ſworde through colde feare running through their bodies, whiche ſtretched forth their handes to be bound like womanly creatures, ſo that a common Prouerbe followed thereof, whiche was commonly vſed and ſpoken, that the Britaynes were neyther valiant in warre, nor faythfull in peace: and ſo the Romaynes ſleaing many of the Rebelles, reſeruing ſome, and bringing them to bondage, that the lande ſhoulde not lye altogither vntilled and deſert, returned into Italy out of that lande which was voyde of wine and oile, leauing ſome of their men there for gouernors to chaſtiſe the people, not ſo muche with an army of men, as with ſcourge and whippe, and if the matter ſo required, to apply the naked ſworde vnto theyr ſydes: ſo that it might be accompted Rome and not Britayne. And what coigne eyther of braſſe, ſiluer, or golde there was, the ſame to be ſtamped with the Image of the Emperoure. Thus farre Gildas.



In the Brittiſh hiſtorie we finde other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming a lande at Porcheſter, beſieged that towne, to the reſkew whereof came Guinderius, and giuing battell to the Romaynes, put them to the worſe, till at length, one Hamo, beeyng on the Romaynes ſyde, chaunged hys ſhielde and armoure, apparellyng hymſelfe lyke to a Britayne, and ſo entring into the thickeſt preaſſe of the Brittiſhe hoſt, came at length to the place where the King was, and there ſlewe him. But Aruiragus perceyuing this miſchiefe, to the ende the Brytaines ſhoulde not be diſcouraged therewith, he cauſed himſelfe to be adorned with the Kings coate armour, and other abiliments, and ſo as Kyng continued the fight with ſuch manhood, that the Romaynes were put to flighte. Claudius fleeing backe to hys Shippes, and Hamo to the nexte Wooddes, whome Aruiragus purſued, and at length droue hym vnto the Sea ſyde, and there ſlewe hym ere hee coulde take

the

Gal.Mo.
Mat.W

Hamo to the nexte woddes, whome Aruiragus purſued, and at length, droue him vnto the Sea ſide, and there ſlewe hym ere hee coulde take the hauen which was there at hand, ſo that the ſame hauen toke name of hym, and was called long tyme after Hamons hauen, and at lẽgth by corruption of ſpeche, it was called Hampton, and ſo continueth vnto thys day commonly called Southampton.

Thus haue you hearde howe Guyderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his ende, which chanced (as ſome write) in the .28. yeare of his raigne.

Aruiragus.

Aruira-
us.

ecto.Boetius

ARuiragus yͤ yõgeſt ſon of Kimbelyne, & brother to Guinderius, bycauſe the ſame Guinderius lefte no iſſue to ſuccede him, was admitted Kyng of Britayne in the yere of our Lord. 45. or rather. 46.

This Aruiragus, otherwiſe called by the Britaynes Meuricus or Mabus, of Tacitus Praſutagus, is alſo named Armager in yͤ Engliſhe Chronicle, by whiche Chronicle (as it appeareth) he bare hymſelfe ryght manfully againſt Claudius and his Romaynes in the warre whyche they made agaynſte hym: in ſo muche, that when Claudius hadde renued his force and wonne Porcheſter, and after came to beſiege Wincheſter, (in the whiche Aruiragus as then was encloſed,) Aruiragus aſſembling his power, was ready to come forth and giue Claudius battell: wherevppon, Claudius doubting the ſequele of the thing, ſente meſſengers vnto Aruiragus to treate of concord, and ſo by compoſition, the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius ſhoulde gyue his daughter Geniſſa in marriage vnto Aruiragus, and Aruiragus ſhuld acknowledge to holde hys Kingdome of the Romaynes.

axton.

alf.Mon.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant prowes which he ſaw and found in Aruiragus, honored not only hym with the marriage of hys daughter the ſayd Geniſſa, but alſo to the ende to make the Towne more famous where this marriage was ſolemnized, hee therefore called it *Claudioceſtria*, after his name, the whiche in the Brittiſhe tong was called before that daye Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a Duke that ruled in Demetia, that heyght Gluuy, but now it is called Glowceſter.

annlfus
Ceſtrenſis.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquiſhed in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the ſayde Aruiragus to giue vnto him his ſayde daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned King of Britayne. But Suetonius may ſeme to reproue this part of the Brittiſh hiſtory, the whiche in the life of Claudius witneſſeth, that he had by three wiues only three daughters, that is to ſay, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, cauſed hir to be caſt downe at the dore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forſaken by way of diuorcement. And that hee beſtowed his daughter Antonia firſt on Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Fauſtus Silla, right noble yong men: and Octauia, he matched with Nero his wiues ſonne, whereby it ſhoulde appeare, that this ſuppoſed marriage betwixte Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius, is but a fayned tale.

Suetonius.

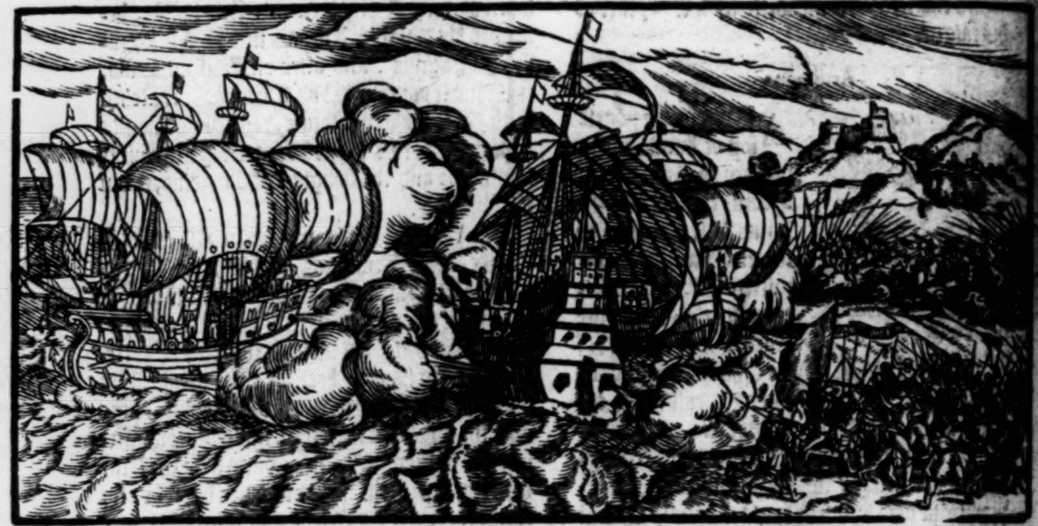
And heere to ſpeake my fancy alſo what I thynke of this Aruiragus, and other the Kyngs whome Galfrid and ſuch as haue followed hym do regiſter in order, to ſuccede one after another: I will not denie but ſuche perſons there were, and the ſame happily bearing very great rule in the lande, but that they reigned as abſolute kings ouer the whole, or that they ſucceded one after another in manner as is auouched by the ſame writers, it ſeemeth moſt vnlyke to bee true: for rather it may bee geſſed by that whyche as well Gildas as the olde approued Romayne writers haue written, that dyuers of theſe Kyngs lyued about one time, or in tymes greatly dyffering from thoſe tymes, whyche in oure writers wee finde noted: as for enſample, Iuuenall maketh thys Aruiragus of whome we nowe entreate, to raigne about Domitians tyme. For my parte therefore, ſith this order of the Brittiſhe Kingly ſucceſſion in thys place is more eaſie to be flatly denyed and vtterly reproued, than eyther wiſely defended, or truly amended, I will referre the reforming thereof, vnto thoſe that haue perhappes ſeene more than I haue, or more deeply conſidered the thyng, to trie out en vndoubted troth: and in the meane tyme, I haue thoughte good, both to ſhewe what I fynde in oure hyſtories, and likewiſe in the forrayne writers, to the which we thynke namely in thys behalfe, whyleſt the Romaynes gouerned there, we may ſafely gyue moſt credite, doe wee otherwiſe neuer ſo muche contente ourſelues with other vayne and fonde conceytes.

To procede yet with the Hiſtory as wee fynde it by our writers ſet forth: It is reported, that after the ſolemnization of thys marriage, whyche was done with all honor that myghte bee deuiſed, Claudius ſente certayne legions of Souldyers forth to goe into Irelande to

Legions of Souldiers ſent into Irelande.

ſubdue that countrey, and returned himſelfe to Rome.

After his departure, Aruiragus rode about to viewe the ſtate of hys Realme, repayring Cities and Townes decayed by the warre of the Romaynes, and ſawe hys people gouerned with ſuche iuſtice and good order, that hee was both drадde, and greatly beloued: ſo that in tract of tyme, hee grewe very welthie, and by reaſon thereof, fell into pride, ſo that he denyed his ſubiection to the Romaynes. Whereupon Claudius appoynted Veſpaſian with an army to goe as Lieutenant into Brytayne, the whiche iourney was to him the beginning of his aduancemente to that honor, whiche after to him moſt luckily ſucceeded. But if wee ſhall credite our Britayne writers, he gayned not muche at Aruiragus handes, for where he woulde haue landed at Sandwich or Richbourrow, Aruiragus was ready to reſiſt hym, ſo as he durſt not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there ſuche a puiſſaunte number of armed menne, that the Romaynes were afrayde to approche the lande.



Veſpatian therefore withdrewe from thence, and coaſting Weſtwarde, landed at Totnes, and comming to Exeter, beſieged that Citie: but about the ſeuenth day after he hadde planted hys ſiege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the Armies ſuſteyned greate loſſe of men, and neyther parte got any aduantage of the other. On the morrowe after, the Queene Geniſſa made them friendes, and ſo the warres ceaſſed.

But ſeeing that (as before I haue ſayde) the troth of this hiſtorie may be greatly miſtruſted, yee ſhall heare what the Romayne writers ſay of Veſpaſianus being here in Britayne, beſide that whiche wee haue already recited out of Dion in the lyfe of Guiderius.

Veſpaſian.

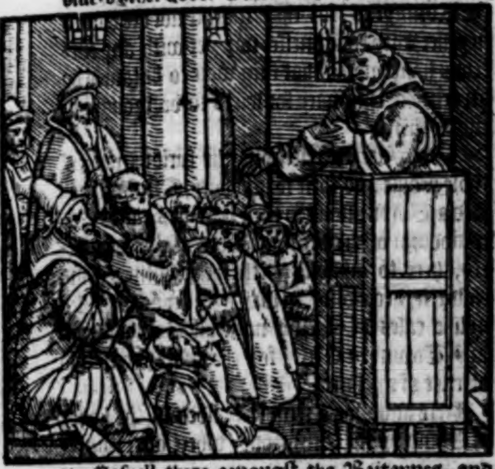
Suetonius.
Sabellic.

In the dayes of the Emperoure Claudius, through fauour of Narciſſus (one that myghte do all with Claudius) the ſayde Veſpaſian was ſente as Coronell or Lieutenaunt of a legion of Souldiers into Germany, and beyng remoued from thence into Britayne, hee fought thirtie ſeuerall tymes with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romayne obeyſance, two moſt mightie nations, and aboue twentie Townes, togither with the Iſle of Wight, and theſe exploytes hee atchieued, partly vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius that was Ruler of Britayne for the Emperour Claudius, and partl vnder the ſame Emperour himſelfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credite, hee came firſt ouer into Britayne with the ſayd Aulus Plautius, and vnder him ſerued right valiantly, as before in place wee haue partly touched. By Tacitus it appeareth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britayne with Claudius, and had ſuch ſucceſſe, as it appeared to what eſtate of honor hee was predeſtinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken Kings priſoners. But nowe to make an ende with Aruiragus: At length whē hee perceyued that hys force was too weake to preuayle agaynſte the Romayne Empire, and that hee ſhoulde ſtriue but in vayne to ſhake the yoke of ſubiection from the neckes of the Britaynes, hee made a finall peace with them nowe in hys olde age, and ſo continued in quiete the reſidue of hys raigne, whyche hee laſtly ended by deathe, after hee hadde gouerned the lande by the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, or but eyght and twentie, as ſome other doe imagine. He dyed in the yeere of grace. 7[illegible]. as one Authoure affirmeth, and was buried at Glouceſter.

Gal. Mo.

71

In the dayes of this Aruiragus, about the yeare peace of Chriſt. 51. Ioſeph of Aramathia (whych buried the body of our Sauiour, beyng ſente by Philippe the Apoſtle (as Iohn Bale, followyng the authoritie of Gildas and other Britiſhe writers reciteth.) After that the Chriſtians were diſperſed out of Gallia, came into Britayne with diuers other godly Chriſtian men, and preaching



the Goſpell there amongſt the Britaynes, and inſtructing thē in the faith and lawes of Chriſt, conuerted many to the true beliefe, and baptiſed them in the wholeſome water of regeneration, and there continued all the reſidue of his lyfe, obteyning of the King a plotte of grounde where to inhabite, not paſt a foure miles from Welles, and there with his fellowes began to lay the firſt foundation of that true and perfect Religion, in which place (or neere therevnto) was afterward erected the Abbey of Glaſtenbury.

lidorm.

Nicephorus writeth in his ſecond Booke and fourth Chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewiſe into Britayne. And Theodoretus in his 9. Booke *de Curandis Græcorū affectibus* ſheweth, that Paule being releaſed of his ſecōd impriſonment, and ſuffered to departe from Rome, preached the Goſpell to the Britaynes and to other nations in the Weſt.

The ſame thing in manner doth Sophronius the Patriarke of Jeruſalem witneſſe. Tertullian alſo may bee a witneſſe of the aunicientie of the fayth receyued heere in Britayne, where hee writing of theſe times ſayeth: Thoſe places of ẏ Britaines to the whiche the Romaynes coulde not approche, were ſubiect vnto Chriſt, as were alſo the countreys of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others.

Thus it may appeare, that ẏ Chriſtian religion was planted here in this lande ſhortly after Chriſts time, although it certaynely appeare not who were the firſte that preached the Goſpell to the Britaynes, nor whether they were Grekes or Latines.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romayne Emperoures in this ſeaſon gouerned this land by Lieutenauntes and Threaſorers, the which were called by the name of Legates and Procuratours, thereby to keepe the inhabitantes the better in order.

Treaſorers or recyuers.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of Conſuls, was ſente hither as the firſt Legate or Lieutenant (in manner as before ye haue heard) and after him Oſtorius Scapula, the whiche Scapula at his comming, founde the Iſle in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuaſiō into the countrey of thoſe that were frēds to the Romaynes, the more preſumptuouſly, for that they thought, a new Lieutenaunt with an army to him vnaquaynted and commen ouer nowe in the beginning of Winter, woulde not be haſtie to march forth againſt them. But Oſtorius vnderſtanding, that by the firſte ſucceſſe and chance of warre, feare or hope is breede and augmented, haſteth forwarde to encounter with them, and ſuch as he findeth abroade in the countrey he ſleath downe right on euery ſide, and purſueth ſuch as fledde, to the ende they ſhoulde not come togither againe: and for that a diſpleaſant and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietneſſe eyther to him or to his army, hee tooke from ſuch as he ſuſpected, theyr armour. And after this, hee goeth about to defende the ryuers of Auon and Seuerne, with placing his ſouldiers in campes fortifyed neere to the ſame. But the Oxfordſhire menne and other of thoſe parties would not ſuffer hym to accompliſh his purpoſe in any quiet ſort, being a puiſſant kynd of people, & not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willingly at the firſt had ioyned in amitie with the Romaines. The Countreys adioyning alſo being induced by their procuremente, came to thē, and ſo they choſe forth a plotte of grounde, fenſed with a mightie ditche, vnto the whiche there was no way to enter but one, and the ſame very narrowe, ſo as the horſemen could not haue any eaſie paſſage to breake in vpon them. Oſtorius, although he hadde no legionarie Souldiers, but certayne bandes of aydes, marcheth forthe towards the place within the which the Britaines were lodged, and aſſaulting them in the ſame, breaketh through into their camp, wher the Britaynes being impeached with their owne incloſiers whiche they had reyſed for defenſe of the place, knowing how for their rebellion, they were like to finde ſmal mercy at the Romaynes hāds, when they ſawe now no way to eſcape, layde about them manfully, and ſhewed greate proofe of their valiant ſtomackes.

Aulus Plautius.

Oſtorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the ſonne of the Lieutenante M. Oſtorius deſerued the price and commendation of preſeruing a Citizen out of the enimies hands.

Which was a certayne Crowne, to be ſet on his head called ciuica corona.

But nowe with this ſlaughter of the Oxefordſhire menne, dyuers of the Britaynes that ſtoode doubtfull what way to take, eyther to reſt in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to bee reformable vnto a reaſonable order of peace, and ſo Oſtorius leadeth hys armye agaynſte the people called Cangi, that inhabited that parte of Wales that nowe is called Denbighſhire, whiche countrey hee ſpoyled on euery ſide, no enemie once daring to encounter him: and if any of them aduentured priuily to ſet vpon thoſe whiche they founde behinde, or on the outſides of his army, they were cut ſhorte ere they could eſcape out of daunger. Wherevpon, hee marched ſtraighte to their campe, and giuing them battell, vanquiſheth them. And vſing the victory as reaſon moued him, he leadeth his army againſte thoſe that inhabited the inner partes of Wales, ſpoyling the countrey on euery ſide.

Cangi.

And thus ſharply purſuing the Rebells, he approched neere to the Sea ſide, whiche lyeth ouer againſt Ireland.

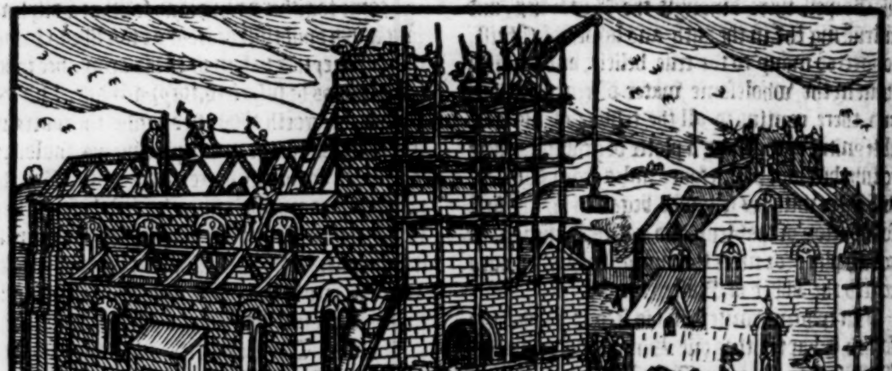
Whileſt this Romane Captayne is thus occupied, hee was called backe by the Rebellion of the Yorkeſhire men, whome forthwith vpon his commyng vnto them, he appeaſed, puniſhyng the firſt authors of that tumult with death.

In the meane tyme, the people called Silures, beeyng a very fierce kynde of menne, and right valiante, prepare to make warre agaynſte the Romaynes, for they might not bee bowed neyther with roughneſſe, nor yet with any curteous handling, ſo that they were to be tamed by an army of legionary ſouldiers to be brought among them.

Cor.T lib.12

Therefore to reſtrayne the furious rage of thoſe people and their neighbours, Oſtorius peopled a Towne neere to their borders, called Camulodunū with certayne bandes of olde Souldiers, there to inhabite with theyr Wiues, and children, according to ſuch manner as was vſed in like caſes of placing naturall Romaynes in any Towne or Citie, for the more ſuretie and defence of the ſame.

Here alſo was a temple buylded in the honor of Claudius the Emperour, where were two Images erected, one of the Goddeſſe Victoria, and an other of Claudius himſelfe. But nowe there reſteth a great doubt among writers, where thys Citie or Towne called Camulodunum dyd ſtand, of ſome and not without good grounde of probable coniectures, gathered vpon the aduiſed conſideration of the circumſtances of that whych in olde authors is found written of this place, it is thought to be Colcheſter. But verily by thys place of Tacitus it may ſeeme rather to be ſome other towne, ſituate more Weſtward than Colcheſter, ſith a colonie of Romaine Souldiers were planted there to bee at hande, for the repreſſing of the vnquiet Silures, whiche by conſent of moſt writers inhabited in Southwales, or neere the Welch Marches.



Camulodunū Colcheſter.

Silures where they inhabited

There was a Caſtell of great fame in tymes paſt that hight Cameletum, or in Brittiſhe Caermalet, whiche ſtoode in the Marches of Sommerſetſhire: but ſith there is none that hathe ſo written before thys tyme, I will not ſaye that happily ſome error hathe growen by miſtakyng the name of Camalodunum, for this Camaletum by ſuch as haue copyed forthe the Booke of Cornelius Tacitus, and yet ſo it myght be done by ſuche as found it ſhort, or vnperfectly written, namely, by ſuche ſtraungers or other, to whome onely the name of Camulodunum was onely knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer ſeene nor heard of. As for enſample, an Engliſhman that hath heard of Waterforde in Irelande, and not of Wexforde, might in taking forthe a copie of ſome writing eaſily committe a faulte in noting the one for the other.

We fynde in Ptolomei Camudolon to bee a Citie belonging to the Trinobantes, and he maketh mention alſo of Camulodunum, but Humfrey Lhuyde thinketh that hee meaneth all one Citie.

Notwithſtanding, Polidore Vergill is of a contrary opinion, ſuppoſing the one to be Colcheſter indeede, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Duncaſter or Pontfret. Leland eſteeming it to be certaynely Colcheſter, taketh the Iceni alſo to be the Northfolke men. But howe ſo euer we ſhall take thys place of Tacitus, it is euidente ynough that Camulodunum ſtoode not farre from the Thaymes. And therefore to ſeeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotlande, or with Polidore Vergill ſo farre as Doncaſter or Pontfret, it may bee thought a playne error: but to leaue each man to his owne iudgemente in a matter ſo doubtfull (as to many it ſeemeth to be) we will proceede with the hiſtorie, touching the warres betwixte the Romaynes and the Sylurians, againſte whome (truſting not only vppon theyr owne manhoode, but alſo vppon the hygh prowes and valiancie of Caractacus) Oſtorius ſet forwarde. Caractacus excelled in fame aboue all other the Princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by many doubtfull aduentures and many proſperous exploytes whiche in his tyme he hadde atchieued: but as hee was in policie and aduauntage of place better prouided than the Romaines: ſo in power of Souldiers hee was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the warre into the partes of that countrey where the Ordouices inhabited, whiche are thoughte to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, the which people togither with other that miſliked of the Romayne gouernemente, he ioyned in one, and choſe forthe a plotte of grounde moſt for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermoſt hazarde of Mars his iudgemente.

rnelius
acitus.
.Anna.12.

u.Lloyde.

The place whyche he thus choſe was ſuch, as the entries, the backwayes, and the whole ſituation thereof made for the Britaynes aduauntage, and cleane contrarye to the Romaynes, encloſed amongſt high hilles, and if there were any eaſie paſſage to enter it vppon any ſyde, the ſame was ſhutte vp with mightie huge ſtones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ranne a riuer without any certayne fourde to paſſe ouer it.

This place is ſuppoſed of ſome to lye in the confynes of Shropſhire aloft vppon the toppe of an hygh hyll there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directly one againſte an other, but aſlope.

It is alſo (ſaye they) compaſſed aboute with two Riuers, to witte, on the lefte hand with the Riuer called Clun, and on the ryght with an other Riuer called Teuide. On three ſydes there of, the clime is very ſteepe and headlong, and no way eaſie to come vnto it, but onely one.

Caratacke hauyng thus fortified hymſelfe within thys place, and broughte his army into it: hee to encourage hys people, exhorted them to ſhewe theyr manhoode, affirmyng that to bee the daye, and that army to bee the ſame wherein ſhoulde appeare the beginnyng eyther of libertie, then to bee recouered, or elſe of perpetuall bondage for euer to be ſuſteyned.

He rehearſed alſo ſpecially by name thoſe their elders, whiche hadde reſiſted Julius Ceſar, by whoſe high valiancie they lyued free from the bloudy thraldome and tributes of the Romayns, and enioyed theyr Wiues and children ſafe and vndefiled. And thus diſcourſing of many thyngs with them, in ſuch hope of aſſured victory, that they began to reyſe theyr cries, eache one for himſelfe declaring, that he was bound by the dutie he ought to the Gods of his countrey, not to ſhrinke for feare of any woundes or hurtes that might chaunce vnto them by the enimies weapon.

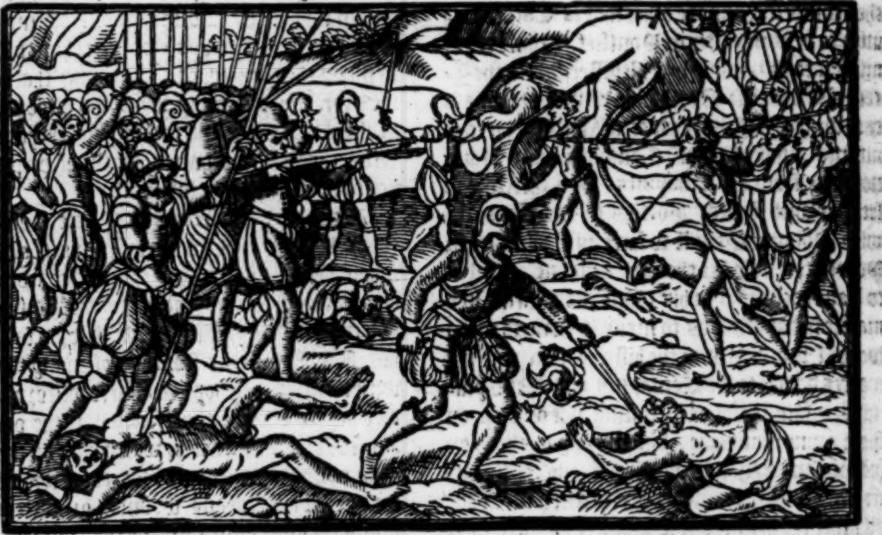
Thys cheerefulneſſe of the Briteynes, greatly aſtonied the Romayne Lieutenant. The hideous courſe alſo of the Riuer before his face, the fortificatiõs and craggie height of the hilles, all ſet full of enimies ready to beate him backe, putte him in greate feare: for nothing he ſawe afore him, but that whiche ſeemed dreadfull to thoſe that ſhould aſſayle. But the Souldiers yet ſeemed to be very deſirous of battayle, requeſting him to bring them to it, proteſting that nothyng was able to reſiſt the force of noble prowes. Herewith the Captaynes and Tribunes diſcourſing the like, pricked forwarde the earneſt willes whiche theyr Souldiers had to fighte.

Oſtorius perceyuing ſuche courage and readie willes in the minde of warre, as well Souldiers as Captaynes, hee beganne to beſturre himſelfe, and left nothing vndone that myghte ſerue to ſet forwarde theyr earneſt deſire to battell.

And hauing aduiſedly conſidered whiche wayes were harde, and impoſſible to bee entred vpon, and whyche places were moſt eaſie for hys people to finde paſſage by, he leadeth them forth, beeing moſt earneſtly beante to cope with theyr enymies.

Cornelius
Tacitus.
Annal.
lib.12,

Hee paſſed the water withoute anye greate difficultie, but commyng to the rampyre, he loſt many of his people, ſo lõg as the fight was cõtinued with ſhotte and caſting of dartes: but after that the Romaynes couering them ſelues with theyr targets, came once cloſe togither, and approched vnder yͤ Rampire, they remoued away yͤ ſtones which yͤ Britaynes had roughly couched togither, and ſo they came to ioyne with them at handblowes. The Britaynes being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to yͤ top of the hilles, but as well theyr enimies that were light armed as the other with heauie armoure followed and brake in among them, ſo as the Britaynes coulde not turne them any way forth to eſcape, for the light armed mẽ with ſhot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, ſought to make ſlaughter and wracke of them on eache ſide, ſo that this was a right dolefull day vnto the Britaynes.



The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken priſoners, and his brethren alſo yeelded thẽſelues. He himſelfe eſcaped, and committing hys perſon vnto the aſſurance and truſt of Cartemãdua Queene of the Brigantes, was by hir delyuered into the handes of the Romaynes.

*Cornelius Tac. lib.*12.
Caratakes name renowmed.

This was a nine yeres after yͤ warres in Britayne firſte began. His name beeing broughte forth of the Iſles, was already ſpredde ouer the prouinces adioyning, and began nowe to growe famous through Italy. Men therefore were deſirous to ſee what manner of man he was that had ſo many yeeres ſet at naught the puiſſante force of the Empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much ſpoken of. And the Emperoure whileſt hee goeth about to preferre his owne honor, aduanceth the glory of him alſo that was vanquiſhed. For the people were called forthe as vnto ſome great notable ſight or ſpectable. The Pretorian bandes ſtoode in order of battell armed in the field that lay before their lodgings through which fielde Caratake ſhould come. Then paſſed forth the trayne of his friends and ſeruantes, and ſuche armour, riches, Iewels, and other thyngs as had bin gote in thoſe warres, were borne forwarde, and openly ſhewed, that all men myghte behold the ſame.

After theſe followed his brethren, Wife, and daughters: and laſt of all came Caratacus himſelfe, whoſe countenaunce was nothing lyke to theirs that went afore him, for whereas they fearing puniſhment for their Rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercy, hee neyther by countenaunce nor wordes ſhewed any token of a diſcouraged minde, but beeyng preſented before the Emperour Claudius ſitting in his Tribunall ſeate, he began his tale in this wiſe. If there hadde bin in mee ſo muche moderation in tyme of proſperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth, and puiſſance, I hadde come to this Citie rather as a friende than as a Captayne. Neyther ſhould I haue thought diſdeyne, beeyng borne of moſt noble parentes, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by way of ioyning with you in league. My preſente ſtate as it is to mee reprochfull, ſo to you it is honorable. I hadde at commaundemente Horſes, men, armour, and great riches, what maruell is it if I was loth to forgoe the ſame? For if you ſhall looke to gouerne all men, it muſt needes followe that all menne muſt become your ſlaues. If I hadde at the firſte yeelded my ſelfe, neyther my power nor youre glory hadde bin ſet forth to the world, and vpon myne execution I ſhoulde ſtraight haue bin forgotten. But if you nowe graunte me life, I ſhall be a witneſſe for euer of youre mercifull clemencie.

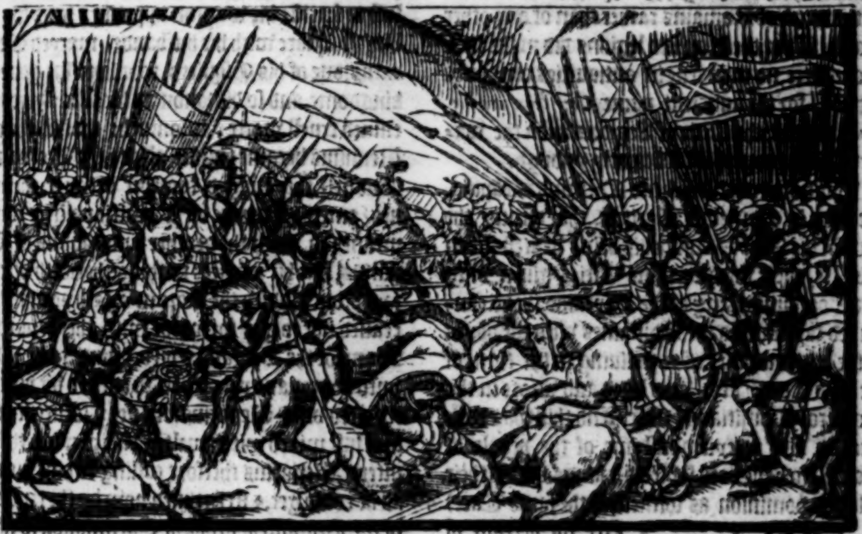
The Emperour with theſe wordes being pacified, graunted life both to Caratake and alſo to his wife and brethren, who being looſed from their bandes, went alſo to the place where the Empreſſe Agrippina ſate (not farre of) in a Chayre of eſtate, whome they reuerenced with the lyke prayſe and thankes as they had done before to the Emperour.

After this, the Senate was called togither, who diſcourſed of many things touching thys honourable victorie atchieued by the taking of Caratake, eſteeming the ſame no leſſe glorious, than whẽ P. Scipio ſhewed in triumph Siphar king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perces, or other Romain captaynes any ſuch king whom they had vanquiſhed.

ar,
aulus.

Herevpon it was euen determined, that Oſtorius ſhoulde enter the Citie of Rome wyth tryumphe lyke a Conquerour, for ſuche proſperous ſucceſſe as hytherto had followed hym: but afterwardes hys proceedings were not ſo luckie, eyther for that after Caratake was remoued out of the way, the Romaines as though the warre had beene finiſhed, looked negligently to themſelues, eyther elſe for that the Brytayns taking compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of Caratake, being ſo worthie a Prince, through fortunes froward aſpect caſt into miſerie, were more earneſtly ſet to reuenge hys quarell. And herevpon they compaſſe about the maiſter of the campe, and thoſe legionarie bandes of ſouldiers, which were left amongſt the Silures to fortifie there a place for the armie to lodge in: and if ſuccour had not come out of the next townes and caſtels, the Romains had bene deſtroyed by ſiege. The head Captaine yet, and viij. Centurions, and euery one elſe of the companies being moſt forward, were ſlaine.

And ſhortly after, they ſet vpon the Romaine forragers, and put them to flight, and alſo ſuche companies of horſemen as were appoynted to garde them. Herevpon Oſtorius ſente forth certaine bands of light horſmen, but neither could he ſtay the flight by that meanes, till finally the legions entred the battail, by whoſe force they were ſtayd, and at length the Romaines obteyned the better: but the Brytayns eſcaped by flight without great loſſe, by reaſon the day was ſpent.



After this many bickerings chaunced betwixt the Brytains & Romains, and oftentymes they wrought theyr feates more like to the trade of them that vſe to robbe by the high wayes, than of thoſe that make open warre, catching their enimies at ſome aduauntage in woods and bogs, as hap or force miniſtred occaſion vpon malice conceyued, or in hope of pray, ſomtimes by cõmaundement, and ſometimes without eyther cõmaundement or knowledge of captain or officer.

At one time the Brytains ſurpriſed two bands of footmen that were with the Romains in ayde, and ſente forth to forrey abroade vnaduiſedly, through couetouſneſſe of the Captaines. Thys feat was atchieued by the Silures alſo, the which in beſtowing priſoners and part of the ſpoyle vnto other of their neighbours, procured them likewiſe to rebel againſt the Romains, & to take part with them. The Silures were the more earneſtly ſet againſt the Romains, by occaſion of wordes which the Emperor Claudius had vttred in their diſfauor, as thus: that euẽ as the Sicambres were deſtroyed and remoued into Gallia, ſo likewiſe muſt the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguiſhed.

Theſe wordes being blowne abroade, and knowne ouer all, cauſed the Silures to conceyue a wonderfull hatred agaynſt the Romaynes, ſo that they were fully bent, eyther to retayne theyr libertie, or to die in defence thereof vpon the enimies ſwordes.

In the meane tyme Oſtorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warriour, and one who by little and little enſuing the ſteps of Aulus Plautius his predeceſſor, did what hee coulde to bring the Iſle into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accompliſhed.

W.H. in his Chronologie.

There be ſome led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduiſed conſiderations, that ſuppoſe this Oſtorius Scapula beganne to build the Citie of Cheſter after the ouerthrow of Caractacus, for in thoſe parties he fortified ſundry holdes, and placed a number of olde ſouldiers either there in that ſelf place, or in ſome other neare therevnto by way of a colonie. And forſomuch (ſay they) as we read of none other of any name thereaboutes, it is to bee thought that he plãted the ſame in Cheſter, where his ſucceſſors did afterwardes vſe to harborow their legions for the winter ſeaſon, and in time of reſt from iourneyes, which they haue to make agaynſt their common enimies. In deede it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this day, that the Romains built thoſe vaultes or tauernes (which in that citie are vnder yͤ ground) with ſome part of the caſtell. And verily as Ranulf Higeden ſayth, a man that ſhall view ⁊ well conſider thoſe buildings, he may think the ſame to be the work of Romains rather than of any other people. That the Romain legions did make their abode there, no man ſene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the auncient name *Caer leon ardour deuy*, that is, the Citie of Legions vpon the water of Dee, proueth it ſufficiently ynough.

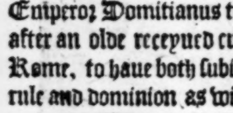
Ra. Higeden alias Ceſtrẽſis.

Cor. Tacit.

Cogidune a K. in Brytaine.

But now to returne vnto Oſtorius Scapula, we finde in Cornelius Tacitus, that during the time of the ſame Scapula his being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certaine Cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Brytains, who continued faythfull to the Romaines vnto the dayes of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the ſayd Cor. Tacit who liued and wrote in the Emperor Domitianus time. And this was done after an olde receyued cuſtome of the people of Rome, to haue both ſubiects ⁊ kings vnder their rule and dominion as witneſſeth the ſame Tac.)

A. Didius Lieutenant.



After the deceaſſe of Oſtorius Scapula, to ſupplye his rowmeth was ſent one A. Didius: but ere hee coulde come thinges were brought oute of order, and the Brytaynes had vanquiſhed the legion of the whiche Manlius Valens had the conduct: and this victorie was ſet forth by the Brytaynes to the vttermoſt, that with the bruite thereof they might ſtrike a feare into the Lieutenants heart, nowe vpon his firſt comming ouer. And he himſelfe reported it by letters to the Emperor after yͤ largeſt maner, to the end that if he appeaſed the matter, he might winne the more prayſe, or if hee were put to the worſt, and ſhoulde not preuaile, that then his excuſe might ſeeme the more reaſonable and worthie of pardon. The Silurians were they that had atchieued this victory, and kept a foule ſturre ouer all the countryes aboute them, till by the comming of Didius agaynſte them, they they were dryuen backe and repulſed.

But herewyth beganne trouble to be rayſed in another part: for after that Caratake was taken, the chiefeſt and moſt ſkilfull Captain which the Brytaynes had, was one Venuſius, a ruler of the people named Iugantes, a man that remayned a long tyme faythfull to the Romains, and by theyr power was defended from his enimies, who hauing maryed with Cartimanda Queene of the Brygantes or Yorkeſhire men. This Cartimãda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratake into the Romains hands, therby miniſtring matter for the Emperour Claudius to triumph, by whiche pleaſure ſhewed to the Romains, ſhee increaſed through theyr friendſhip in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous luſt to ſatiſfie hir wanton appetite, ſo as ſhe falling at ſquare with hir huſbande, maryed Vellocatus, one of his Eſquiers, to whom ſhe gaue hir kingdome, and ſo diſhonoured hir ſelfe. Hereupon enſued cruell warre, inſomuche that in the ende Venuſius became enimie alſo to the Romaines. But firſt they tugged togither betwixt themſelues, and the Queene by a craftie pollicie founde meanes to catch the brother and couſins of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therwith diſcouraged, but kindled the more in wrath agaynſt hir, ceaſſed not to goe forwarde with theyr purpoſe. Many of the Brigantes diſdeyning to be ſubiect vnto a womans rule yͭ had ſo reiected hir huſbãd, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet yͤ Queenes ſenſual luſt mixed with crueltie, mainteyned the adulterer. Venutius therfore calling to him ſuch aid as he could get, ⁊ ſtrẽgthned now by the reuolting of the Brigantes, brought Cartimanda to ſuch a narrow point, yͭ ſhe was in great danger to fal into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romaines foreſeeing, vpon ſute made, ſent certaine bands of horſmen ⁊ footmen to help hir. They had diuerſe encoũters with the enimies at the firſt, with doutfull ſucceſſe: but at length they preuayled, ⁊ ſo deliuered the Queene out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: againſt whõ yͤ Romains were conſtrayned ſtill to mainteyne the warre.

About the ſame time the legion alſo which Ceſius Naſcica led, got the vpper hand of thoſe Brytains againſt whom he was ſent. For Did. being aged, ⁊ by victories paſt ynough renowmed, thought it ſufficient for him to make war by his captains, ſo to ſtay and keepe off the enimie.

Certain caſtels and holdes in deed he cauſed to be built ⁊ fortified further within yͤ cũtry thã had bene afore attempted by any of his predeceſſors, and ſo thereby were the confines of the Romains in this Ile ſomwhat inlarged.

Thus haue ye heard with what ſucceſſe the Brytaynes mainteyned warre in defence of their libertie agaynſt the Romaines, whyleſt Claudius ruled the Empire (according to the report of the Romain wryters.)

he error of Hector etius.

But here muſt you note, that Hector Boetius folowing the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, alſo of Cornelius Hibernicus, and Campbell remoueth the Silures, Brygantes, and Nouantes, ſo farre northward that he maketh thē inhabitants of thoſe Countreys which the Scottes haue now in poſſeſſion, and were euen then inhabited (as he affyrmeth) partly by the Scottes, and partly by the Pictes (as in the Scottiſh Hyſtorie ye may ſee more at large,) ſo yͤ what notable feate ſoeuer was atchiued by the olde Britains againſt the Romains, the ſame by him is aſcribed vnto Scottes and Pictes, throughout his whole hyſtorie, whereas (in verie truth) for ſomuch as may bee gathered by coniecture and preſumption of that whiche is left in wryting by auncient Authours, the Brygantes inhabited Yorkſhyre, the Silures Wales & the Marches, and the Nouātes in the countrey of Cumberland.

A note to be onſidered in he reading of Hect. Boetius

But forſomuch as he hath diligently gathered in what maner the warres were mainteyned by thoſe people agaynſt the Romains, and what valiant exploytes were taken in hande, and furniſhed through their ſtoutneſſe and valiancie, ye may there reade the ſame, and iudge at your pleaſure what people they were whome hee ſo muche prayſeth, aduertiſing you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expreſſed, none of the Romain wryters mencioneth anye thing of the Scottes, nor once nameth them, tyll the Romaine Empyre beganne to decaye aboute the tyme of the Emperour Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the great, ſo that if they had beene in thys Ile then ſo famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the ſame Boetius, maruayle might it ſeeme, that the Romaine wryters woulde ſo paſſe them ouer with ſilence.

Cor. Tac. li. Annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the Emperour of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero ſucceeded him in gouernment of the Empyre. In the. vij. yeare of whoſe raigne, which was after the incarnation. 52. the Romaines receyued a great ouerthrow in Brytain, where neither the lieutenāt A. Didius Gallus (whō in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Auitus) coulde during the tyme of his rule do no more but holde that which was alreadie gotten beſide the building of certain Caſtelles (as before yee haue heard:) neyther hys ſucceſſor Verannius, beating and forreying the Woods, could atchieue any further enterprice, for he was by death preuēted, ſo as he could not proceed forward with his purpoſe touching yͤ warres which hee had ment to haue followed, whoſe laſt wordes (in his teſtament expreſſed) detected him of manifeſt ambition: for adding many things by way of flatterie to content Neroes minde, he wiſhed to haue liued but two yeres longer, in which ſpace he might haue ſubdued prouinces vnto hys dominion, meaning thereby the whole Ile of Brytaine.

Paulus Suetonius lieutenāt.

BUT nowe when thys great loſſe chāced to the Romains, Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenāt, a mā moſt plentifully furniſhed with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right ſkilfull warriour.

Angleſey inuaded.

This Suetonius therefore wiſhing to tame ſuch of the Brytains as kept out, prepareth to aſſaile the Ile of Angleſey, a country full of Inhabitants, and a place of refuge for al outlawes and rebels. He builded certaine Brigantines with flat kiles to ſerue for the ebbes & ſhallowe ſhelues here & there, lying vncertainly in the ſtraits which he had to paſſe. The footmen feried ouer in thoſe veſſels, the horſmen folowing by the fourds & ſwimming when they came into the deepe, got likewiſe to the ſhore, where ſtood in order of battel an huge number of armed men cloſe togither, redy to beate back the Romains, & to ſtay thē frō comming to land. Amongſt the men, a nūber of women were alſo running vp and down as they had bin out of their wits in garments like to wild rogues, with their heare hanging downe about their ſhoulders, and bearing firebrands in their handes.

A ſtrange maner of women.

There was alſo a company of their prieſts or philoſophers called Druides, who with ſtretched forth handes towards heauen, thundred out curſings againſt the Romains in moſt bitter wiſe.

The Druides.

The ſoldiers were ſo amaſed with the ſtrāgeneſſe of this ſight, that (as men benummed of their limmes and ſenſes) they ſuffred themſelues to be wounded and ſlain like ſenſeleſſe creatures, til by the calling vpon of their general, & ech one encouraging other in no wiſe to feare a ſort of mad diſtract women, they preaſſed forward vnder theyr enſignes, bearing downe ſuche as ſtoode in theyr way, & with their owne fire ſmouldred and burnt thēm to aſhes.

To conclude, the Romain lieutenāt got poſſeſſiō of the whole Ile, wherin he placed gariſons of mē of war to kepe the people there in ſubiectiō.

Angleſey won by the Romains.

He

Woods cut downe.

He alſo cauſed their woods to be cut downe, that were conſecrated to theyr Goddes, within the which they were accuſtomed to ſacrifice ſuche as they tooke priſoners, and by the view of theyr intrayles, in diſmembring them, to learne of theyr Goddes ſome Oracles and ſuch other things as ſhould come to paſſe.

But now in the meane tyme, whileſt Paulinus was abrode about this enterpriſe, the Brytains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miſeries, of their grieuous ſtate of ſeruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, whiche they dayly ſuſteyned: how that by ſuffrance they profited nothing, but ſtill were oppreſſed with more heauy burdens: eche cuntrie in times paſt had only one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenant by his captains and ſouldiers, ſpilling their blouds, and the Procurator or receyuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and ſubſtance. The concord or diſcord betwixt thoſe that were appoynted to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtful vnto the ſubiects, the lieutenaunt oppreſſing them by his captains & men of warre, and the procurator or receyuer by force & reprochfull demeanor, polling them by inſupportable exactions. There was nothing free from the couetous extortion & filthie concupiſcence of thoſe vnſaciable perſons, for in theſe dayes (ſay they) the greateſt ſpoiler is the valianteſt man, & moſt cōmonly our houſes are robbed & rāſacked by a ſort of cowardly raſkals that haue no knowledge of any warlike feates at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the muſters & are ſet forth to ſerue in forraine parties, as thoſe that are ignorant which way to ſpend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrey. What a number of ſoldiers haue bene tranſported ouer from hence to ſerue in other landes, if a iuſt account were taken therof? The Germaines by manhood haue caſt (ſayd they) from their ſhoulders the heauy yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the main Ocean ſea, but onely with a riuer. Where the Brytaines haue their countrey, their wiues & parents, as iuſt cauſes of warre to fight for: the Romains haue none at all, but a couetous deſire to gayne by rapine, and to ſatiſfie their exceſſiue luſtes. They might eaſily be compelled to depart the cuntry, as Julius Ceſar was, if the Brytains would ſhew ſome proofe of the noble prowes that was euidently found in their worthie auncetters, and not to ſhrinke or quaile in courage for the miſaduenture that ſhould happily chance by fighting one battaile or two. Greateſt force and conſtancie alwayes remayneth with thoſe that ſeeke to deliuer themſelues from miſerie. Now appeared it that the Goddes had taken ſome pitie of the poore Brytayns, who by their diuine power did withhold the chief captain of the Romaines with his army, as it were baniſhed in an other Ilande. Let vs therfore (ſayd they) take the opportunitie of time and good occaſion offred, and forthwith procede in our buſineſſe: for leſſe daunger it is manfully to aduenture, and to goe forwarde with our purpoſe, than to be bewrayed and taken in theſe oure conſultations.

Lieutenant & Procurator,

Occaſio
to be ne
lected.

Thus hauing taken aduice togither, and wholy miſlyking their preſent ſtate, they determined to take weapon in hande and ſo by force, to ſeeke for reformation.

Cor. Ta

They were verily occaſioned thereto through many euil partes practiſed by ye Romains greatly to their griefes and diſpleaſures. For whereas Praſutagus (ſuppoſed by Hector Boetius to bee Aruiragus K. of the people called *Iceni*) had made the Emperor and two of his owne daughters his heyres, ſuppoſing by that mean to haue his kingdome & family preſerued frō al iniury: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdom was ſpoyled by the Romain captaines, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the ſouldiers, his daughters rauiſhed, the Peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bond ſlaues.

Praſutag

The Od
ſhire and
ceſter
men.

Voadicia
Bundui

Dio Caſ

There was alſo an other great cauſe that ſtyrred the Brytains to this rebellion, which was the cōfiſcating of their goods: for where as Claudius him ſelfe had pardoned the chiefeſt perſons of the forfeytures, Decianus Catus the Procurator of that Ile, mainteyned that the ſame ought to be renued againe.

Vluit.

To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of ye Ile foure. C. *Seſtertium*, ech hūdred being. 500000. li. ſterling, or there about, vpon great intereſt, he required the whole ſumme togither by great rigor & violence, although he forced them at the firſt to take thys money to vſurie.

Alſo ſuch old ſouldiers as were placed by way of a colonie, to inhabite the towne of Camulodunum, expelled many of the Brytains out of their houſes, droue them out of theyr poſſeſſions and landes, and accounted the Brytaynes as ſlaues and as though they had beene their captiue priſoners or bondmen. Beſide this, the temple there which was built in honor of Claudius as an aulter of eternal rule & gouernment, was ſerued with prieſts, the which vnder color of religiō did ſpoile, conſume and deuour the goods of all men.

Moreouer ſuch ſtrange ſightes and wonders as chanced about the ſame time, pricked the Britains the rather forwarde. For the Image of the Goddeſſe *Victoria* in the temple at Camulodunū, ſlipping downe, turned hir backe (as who ſhoulde ſay) ſhee gaue place (as vanquiſhed) to the enimyes.

Dio Caſ

Alſo in the Hall where the Courtes of Iuſtice were kept, there was a marueylous greate noyſe hearde, with muche laughing and a ſturre in the Theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at ſuche tyme as it was certenly knowne that there was no creature there to make any ſuch noyſe.

Caſsius.

The Sea at a Spring Tyde appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the Tyde was gone backe, there were ſeene on the Sandes the ſhapes and figures of mens bodies.

Women alſo, as rauiſhed of theyr wittes, and beeing as it were in a furye, prophecied that deſtruction was at hande, ſo that the Brytaynes were put greatly in hope, and the Romaines in feare.

But thoſe things, whether they chaunced by the crafte of man, or illuſion of the Diuell, or whether they proceeded of ſome naturall cauſe, the which the common ſort of people oftentymes taketh ſuperſtitiouſly, in place of vnkouth maruails ſignifying things to followe, we woulde let paſſe leaſt wee might bee thought to offende religion, (the which teaching all things to bee done by the prouidence of God, deſpiſeth the vaine foreſhewings of happes to come) if the order of an hyſtory (ſayth Polidore Vergill) woulde ſo permit, the whiche requyreth all things to bee wrytten in maner as they fall forth and come to paſſe.

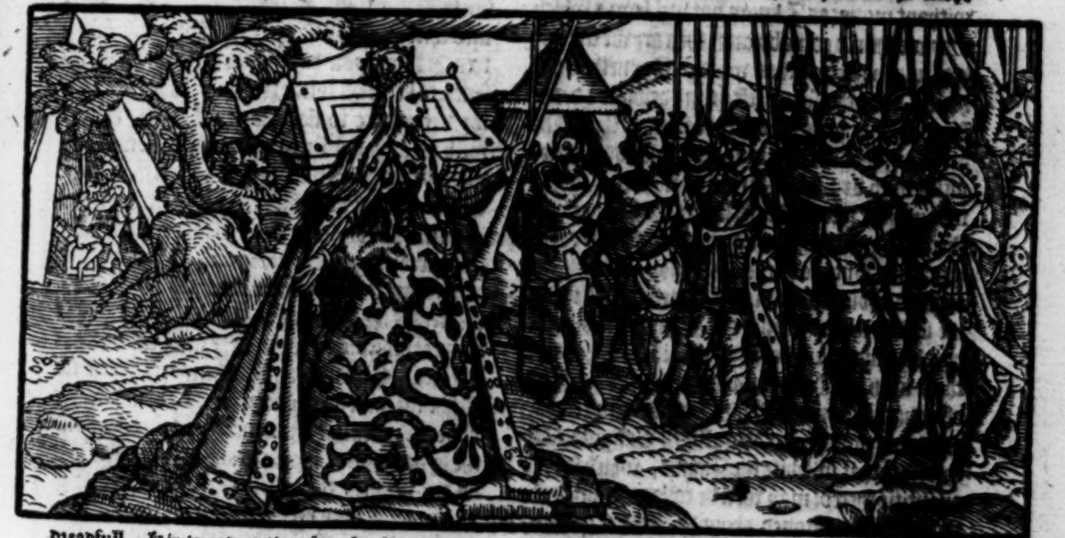
Tac.li.15.
dicia by
n Caſsius
lled Bun-

But the Brytaynes were chiefely moued to Rebellion by the iuſte complaynte of Voadicia, declaryng howe vnſeemely ſhee had beene vſed and intreated at the handes of the Romains: and bycauſe that ſhee was moſte earneſtlye bent to ſeeke reuenge of theyr iniuryes, and hated the Romaine name moſte of all other, they choſe hir to bee Captayne (for they in rule and gouernment made no difference then of ſexe, whether they committed the ſame to man or woman) and ſo by a generall conſpiracie, the more parte of the people hauing alſo allured the Eſſex men vnto Rebellion, roſe and aſſembled themſelues togyther to make warres agaynſt the Romaines.

The auncient Brytaines admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment.

There were of them a hundred and twentie thouſande gotte togither in one armie vnder the leading of the ſayde Voadicia, or Bunduica (as ſome name hir.)

She therefore to encourage hir people agaynſt the enimyes, mounted vp into an high place rayſed vp of turfe and ſoddes made for the nonce, out of the which ſhe made a long and verie pithie Oration.



Hir mightie tall perſonage, comely ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voyce, with hir long and yealow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in greate reuerence. She ware a Chaine of golde, greate, and verye maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kyrtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft thereuppon ſhee had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more dreadfull. Hir wordes therefore ſet forth with ſuch a Maieſtie of preſence, greatly encouraged the Brytaynes, ſhe vttering the ſame in maner as followeth.

he Oration
Voaditia.

I Doe ſuppoſe (my louers and friendes) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtande howe much libertie and freedome is to bee preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene any of you ſo deceyued with the Romaine perſwaſions, that that ye did not for a time ſee a difference betweene them, and iudge whether of both is moſt to be deſired. Nowe I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye wil with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, & forſake your former error. Againe in that a number of you haue raſhly preferred an external ſoueraintie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your own coũtry, you do at this time (I doubt not) perfitly vnderſtande how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, whereunto ſeruitude is annexed, & much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forraine magiſtrates wherevpon ſlauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beſech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithence the time that the Romains haue bin acquainted with this Iland? are we not all in maner bereued of our riches and poſſeſſions? Doe not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onely profite) pay them all kindes of tribute, yea for our owne carkaſſes? how much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continually to pay for our redemption & freedome? how much is it more cõmẽdable to loſe our liues in defence of our coũtry, than to cary about not ſomuch as our heads toll free, but dayly oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what ende do I remẽber & ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they wil not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we pay for thẽ that are dead, ther is not one here but he doth well vnderſtande. Among other nations, ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwayes by death diſcharged of their bondage: onely to the Romains, the dead doe ſtill liue, & all to encreaſe their commoditie and gain. If any of vs be without mony (as I know not wel how & which way we ſhould come by any) then are we left naked, and ſpoyled of that which remayneth in our houſes, & we our ſelues left as mẽ deſolate & dead. How ſhal we looke for better dealing at their hãds hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncurteouſly with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wilde beaſt, but at the firſt hee will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie. But we our ſelues (to ſay the truth) are authors of our own miſchief, which ſuffred thẽ at the firſt to ſet foot within our Ilande, and did not by & by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwordes when they were yet farre of, & that the aduenturing hither was dangerous, as we did ſomtime to Auguſtus & Caligula. We therefore that inhabite the Ilande, which for the quantitie thereof may well be called a maine, although it be enuironed about with the Oceã ſea, deuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, and vnder a ſeuerall heauen. We, euen we (I ſay) whoſe name hath bene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them, all are nowe contemned and trode vnder foote, of them who ſtudie nothing elſe but how to become lords, and haue the rule of other men. Wherefore (my welbeloued Citizens, friendes, and kinſfolke) for I thinke we are all of kinne, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all: let vs now, euen now (I ſay) bycauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our auncient libertie remayneth, ſticke togither, & performe that thing which doth apertaine to valiant and hardie courages, to the ende we may enioy, not onely the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and puiſſant actes for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue bin liberally and in honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterly forget our priſtinate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucceed vs, & are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome. Neither do I make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the ende I woulde prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I knowe you abhorre it ſufficiently alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likely to fall hereafter (bycauſe you feare and foreſee them very well before hande) but to the ende I maye giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes, you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to help both me & your ſelues with willing mindes) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romaine puiſſaunce. If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regarde their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſily appeare by the Baſſinets, Habergeans, and Greaues that you bee armed withall, and alſo by the walles, ditches, and trenches that you haue made for your owne defence, to keepe off their excurſions, who rather and for verie feare to fight farre off them, to cope with vs at hande ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and Martiall diſcipline doeth require. Wherefore we do ſo far exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walles, and one of our targats worth al the armor that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhal ſoone make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſily eſcape the daunger. Furthermore, if after the flight we ſhall indeuour to meete any where, we haue the mariſhes here beneath to hide vs in, and the hylles rounde aboute to keepe them off, ſo that by no meanes they ſhall haue theyr purpoſe of vs, whereas they beeing ouercharged with heauie armour, ſhall neither be able to follow, if wee flee, nor eſcape oute of our daunger if they bee put to flight: if they happen to breake out at anye tyme as deſirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to theyr appoynted places, where we may take them as byrdes alreadie in Cage. In all whiche things, as they are farre inferiour to vs, ſo moſte of all in this, that they can not endure hunger, thyrſt, colde, heate, and Sunſhine, as we can doe. In their houſes alſo and tentes, they make much accounte of theyr baked meates, wine, Oyle, and abrode of the ſhadowe, that if any of theſe do fayle them, they eyther die forthwith, or elſe in time they languiſh and conſume: Whereas to vs euery hearbe and roote is meate, euery iuyce an Oyle, all water pleaſant wine, and euery tree an houſe. Beſide this, there is no place of the lande vnknowne to vs, neither yet vnfriendly to ſuccour vs at neede, whereas to the Romaines they are for the moſte part vnknowne and altogither daungerous, if they ſhoulde ſtande in neede: we can with eaſe ſwim ouer euery Riuer both naked and clad, whiche they with their great ſhips are ſcarce able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good lucke, let vs ſet vpon them couragiouſly, and teach them to vnderſtande, that ſince they are no better than Hares and Foxes, they attempt a wrong match, when they endeuour to ſubdue the Greyhoundes and the Woolfes. With whiche wordes the Queene letteth an Hare go out of hir lappe, as it were thereby to giue Prognoſtication of hir ſucceſſe, which comming well to paſſe, all the companie ſhowted, and cryed out vpon ſuche as not long before had done ſuche violence to ſo noble a perſonage.

Then Bunduica calling them togither againe, proceeded forwarde with hir prayer, which ſhe made before them al, holding vp hir hands after this maner:

I giue thee thankes *Adraſte*, and call vpon thee thou woman of women, which raigneſt not ouer the burthen bearing Egiptians, as *Nitocris*, neither ouer theyr Marchauntes, as doth *Semiramis*, for theſe trifles we haue lerned lately of the Romaines: neyther ouer the people of Rome, as a little heretofore *Meſſalina* then *Agrippina*, and now *Nero*, who is called by the name of a man, but is in deede a very woman, as doth appeare by his voyce, his harp, and his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a Goddeſſe which gouerneſt the Brytains, that haue learned not to till the fielde, nor to be handicraftes men, but to lead their liues in the warres after the beſt maner: who alſo as they haue all other things, ſo haue they likewiſe their wiues and children common, whereby the women haue the like audacitie with the men, and no leſſe boldneſſe in the warres than they. Therefore ſithence I haue obteyned a kingdom among ſuch a mightie people, I beſeeche thee to graunt them victorie, [illegible], and libertie, agaynſt theſe contentious, wicked, and vnſatiable men (if they may be called men, which vſe warme bathings, delicate fare, hote Wines, ſweete oyles, ſoft beds, fine Muſicke, and ſo vnkindely luſtes) who are altogither giuen to couetouſneſſe, and crueltie, as theyr doings doe declare. Let not I beſeeche thee, the Neronian or Domitian tyrannie anye more preuaile vpon me, or (to ſay truth) vppon thee, but let them rather ſerue thee, whoſe heauie oppreſſion thou haſt borne withall a long ſeaſon, and that thou wylte ſtyll be our helper onely, O noble Ladie, I heartily beſeech thee.

This oration I haue borowed of W. Hariſō.

Finally, when ſhe had made an ende, forward ſhe ſetteth againſt hir enimies, which at that time were deſtitute in deede of theyr Lieutenaunt Paulinus Suetonius, beeing as then in Angleſey (as before ye haue heard.)

Cor. Tacit.
Catus Decianus Procurator.

The Romaines that were in Camalodunum ſente for ayde vnto Catus Decianus the Procurator, that is the Emperours agent, treaſurer, or receyuer, for in that Citie, although it were inhabited by Romaines, there was no great gariſon of able men.

The Procurator therefore ſent to them ſuch ayd as he thought he might wel ſpare, which was not paſt two hundred men, and thoſe not ſufficientlye furniſhed eyther wyth weapon or armour.

The Citie was not compaſſed with any rampire or ditch for defence, ſuch as happely were priuie to the cōſpiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romains, that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men nor women ſent away, whereby the yong able perſonages might without trouble of them the better attende to the defence of the Citie: but euen as they had beene in all ſuertie of peace, and free from ſuſpition of any warre, they were ſodainly beſet with the huge armie of the Brytaynes, and ſo all went to ſpoyle and fyre that could be foūd without the encloſure of the temple, into the which the Romaine ſouldiers (ſtriken with ſoden feare by this ſoden comming of the enimies) had thronged themſelues. Where being aſſieged by the Brytaynes, within the ſpace of two dayes the place was wonne, and they that were founde within it, ſlaine euery mothers ſonne.

After this, the Brytaynes encouraged with this victorie, went to meete with Petius Cerialis Lieutenant of the legion, ſurnamed the ninth, and boldly encountering with the ſame Legion, gaue the Romains the ouerthrow, and ſlue all the footemen, ſo that Cerialis wyth muche adoe eſcaped with his Horſemen, and got him backe to the Campe, and ſaued himſelfe within the Trenches. Catus the Procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceyuing what hatred the Brytains bare towardes him, hauing with hys couetouſneſſe thus brought the warre vpon the heade of the Romaines, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertiſed of theſe doings, came back out of Angleſey, & with a merueylous conſtancie marched through the middeſt of hys enimyes vnto London, beeing as then not greatly peopled with Romaines, though there was a Colonie of them, but full of Merchauntes, and well prouided of vytayles: hee was in great doubt at his comming thyther, whether hee myght beſt ſtaye there as in a place moſte conuenient, or rather ſeeke ſome other more eaſie to be defended.

At length conſidering the ſmall number of hys men of warre, and remembring howe Cirialis had ſpedde by hys too much raſhneſſe, hee thought better wyth the loſing of one Towne to ſaue the whole, than to put all in daunger of irrecouerable loſſe.

And therewith nothing moued at the prayer and teares of them whiche beſought him of ayde and ſuccour, hee departed, and thoſe that woulde goe with him he receyued into his armie, thoſe that taryed behinde were oppreſſed by the enimyes: and the lyke deſtruction happened to them of Verolanium, a Towne in thoſe dayes of great fame, ſituate neare to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Brytanes leauing the Caſtels and fortreſſes vnaſſaulted, followe theyr gaine in ſpoyling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where greate plentie of ryches was to be founde, vſing their victorie with ſuche crueltie, that they ſlue (as the report went) to the number of .lxx. thouſande Romaines, and ſuche as tooke theyr parte in the ſayde places by the Brytaynes thus wonne and conquered. For there was nothing wyth the Brytaynes, but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes and ſuch like, ſo earneſtly were they ſet on reuenge.

80000 ſayth Dion.

They ſpared neyther age nor ſexe: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame, they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off theyr Pappes, ſowed them to theyr mouthes, that they might ſeeme as if they ſucked and fedde on them, and ſome of theyr bodies they ſtretched oute in length, and thruſt them on ſharpe ſtakes.

All thoſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrifyced in theyr Temples, and made feaſtes, namely in the Woodde conſecrated to the honour of Andates, for ſo they called the Goddeſſe of victorie whom they worſhipped moſt reuerently.

In the meane time there came ouer to the ayde of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the .xiiij. and other bandes of Souldiers and men of warre to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, whereupon chiefely (bycauſe vytayles began to fayle him) he prepareth to giue battaile to his enimies, and chooſeth forth a plotte of ground very ſtrong wythin ſtraytes, and backed with a Woodde, ſo that the enimies coulde not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceyued by their late proſperous ſucceſſe, the Brytaines vnder the conduct of Queene Voadicia aduenture to giue battaile, hauing theyr women there to be witneſſes of the victorie, whom they placed in charets at the vttermoſt ſide of theyr fielde. Voadicia, or Boudicia (for ſo we finde hir written by ſome copies, and Bonduica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, beeing mounted into a Charet, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of eche ſundrie country, told them that it was a thing accuſtomed among the Brytaynes to goe to the warres vnder the leading of women, but ſhee was not nowe come forth as one borne of ſuche noble aunceſters as ſhee was diſcended from, to fight for hir kingdome & riches, but as one of the meaner ſort, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hirſelfe of the enimies, for their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, & ſhameful deflouring of hir daughters: for the licencious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpred & increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old nor yōg, but were redy moſt ſhamefully to abuſe thē, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, & forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie cōcupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the Gods are at hand ready to take iuſt reuenge. The legion that preſumed to encounter with vs is ſlaine & beaten down. The reſidue kepe them cloſe within their holds, or elſe ſeeke wayes how to flie out of the countrey: they ſhall not bee once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe & clamor of ſo many thouſands as we are here aſſembled, much leſſe the force of our great puiſſāce & dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (ſayd ſhe) would wegh and conſider with your ſelues your huge nūbers of men of warre, & the cauſes why ye haue moued this warre, ye woulde ſurely determine either in this battel to die with honor, or elſe to vāquiſh the enimie by plaine force, for ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fully reſolued, as for you men ye may (if ye liſt) liue and be brought into bondage.

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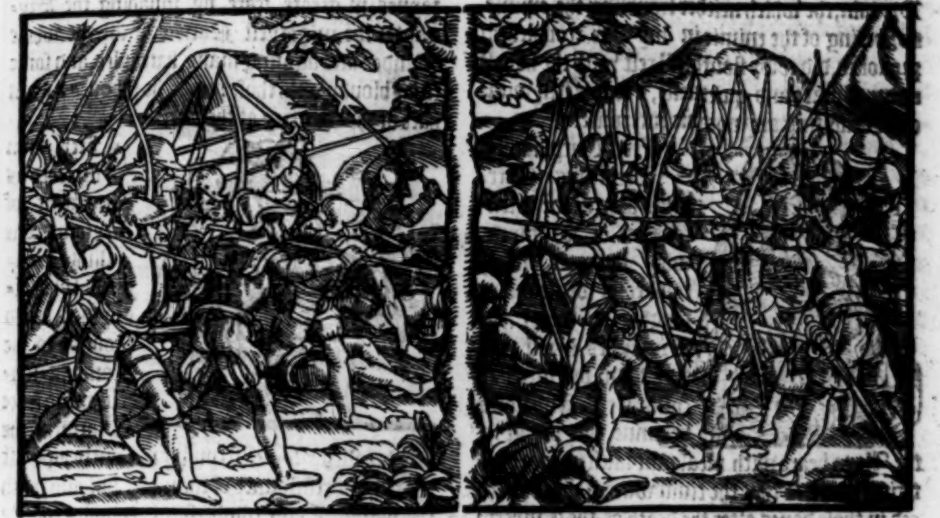
Neither did Suetonius ceaſe to exhort his people: for although he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had deuided his army into three battails, ſo did he make vnto ech of thē a ſeueral oration, willing thē not to feare the ſhrill & vaine menacing threats of the Britains, that ther was among thē more womē thā mē, they hauing no ſkill in warlike diſcipline, & hereto being naked withoute furniture of armor, would forthwith giue place whē they ſhould feele the ſharp points of the Romains weapōs, & the force of thē by whō they had ſo oftē bin put to flight. In many legions (ſayth he) the nūber is ſmall of thē that win the battell. Their glorie therfore ſhuld be the more, for that they being a ſmall nūber ſhould win the fame due to the whole army, if they wold (thronging togither) be-

ſtow

ſtew their weapons freely, and with their ſwordes and targets preaſſe forwarde vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regarde to the ſpoyle, they might aſſure themſelues when the victorie was once atchieued to haue all at theyr pleaſures. Such forwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the Generall, that euery one prepared himſelfe ſo redily to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceyued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſounde to the battaile.

The onſet was giuen in the ſtraytes, greatly to the aduantage of the Romaines, being but an handfull in compariſon to their enimies.

The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the ende the Brytaynes being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſtain the violēt force of the Romaines theyr enimies, ſo that they were conſtrayned to giue backe, and ſo being diſordred, were put to flight, and vtterly diſcomfited.



0000. Bry- ns ſlaine.

There were ſlaine of the Brytaynes that day fewe leſſe than .lxxx. thouſande, as Tacitus writeth: For the ſtraytes beeing ſtopped with the Charets, ſtayed the flight of the Brytaynes, ſo as they could not eaſily eſcape: and the Romains were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neyther man nor woman, ſo that many were ſlain in the battaile, many amongeſt the Charettes, and a great number at the woodde ſide, which way they made theyr flight, and many were taken pryſoners.

Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue foughten a newe battail, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceaſſed of a natural infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius wryteth, but other ſay, that ſhee poyſoned hirſelfe, and ſo dyed, bycauſe ſhe would not come into the handes of hir enimies.

There dyed of the Romaines part in this moſt notable battaile foure. C. and about the like number were hurt and wounded.

Penius Poſthumus maiſter of the campe of the ſeconde legion, vnderſtanding the proſperous ſucceſſe of the other Romaine Captains, bycauſe he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refuſed to obey the commaundements of the Generall, cōtrarie to the vſe of warre, ſlue himſelf.

Penius Poſthumus ſleaeth himſelfe.

After this, all the Romain armie was brought into the field to make an ende of the reſidue of the warre. And the Emperor cauſed a ſupplie to be ſent out of Germanie of two. M. of legionarie ſouldiers, and .viij. bands of ayders, with .M. horſmen, by whoſe comming the bandes of the ninth legion were ſupplied with legionarie ſoldiers, and thoſe bands and wings of horſemen were appointed to places where they might winter, and ſuche people of the Brytaynes as were eyther enimies, or elſe ſtoode in doubt whether to bee friendes or enimies in deede, were perſecuted with fire and ſworde.

But nothing more afflicted them than famin, for whileſt euerie man gaue himſelf to the warre, and purpoſed to haue liued vpon the prouiſion of the Romains and other their enimies, they applyed not themſelues to tyllage, nor to any huſbanding of the groūd, and long it was ere they (being a fierce kinde of people) fell to embrace peace, by reaſon that Iulius Claſſicianus, who was ſent into Britain as ſucceſſor to Catus, fell at ſquare with Suetonius, and by his priuate grudge hyndred the proſperous ſucceſſe of publike affayres, he ſticked not to write vnto Rome, that except an other were ſent to ſucceede in the gouernement, that Suetonius bare, there would be no ende of the warres. Herevpō one Policletus, which ſomtime had bene a bond man, was ſent into Britain, as a commiſſioner, to ſuruey the ſtate of the countrey, and to make the legate and procurator friendes, & alſo to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

Iulius Claſſicianus Procurator.

The port which Policletus bare was great, he was furniſhed with no ſmall trayne that attented vpon him, ſo that his preſence ſeemed very dreadful to the Romains. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great ſcorne, to ſee ſuche honourable captaines and men of warre as the Romaines were, to ſubmit themſelues to the order of ſuch a one as had beene a bondſlaue. In the end in place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (which had lately bene Conſull) appoynted to haue the gouernance of the army in Brytain, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor beeing of the enimie in any wiſe troubled or prouoked, did color ſlouthfull reſt with the honeſt name of peace and quietneſſe, & ſo ſate ſtill without exploying any notable enterpriſe.

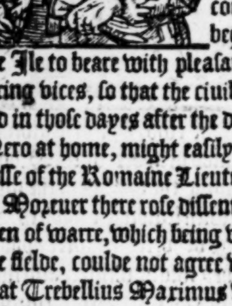
Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.

Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made Lieutenaunt of Brytayne, who likewyſe wyth courteous demeanour, ſoughte to keepe the Brytaynes in reſt, rather than by force to compell thē. And nowe beganne the people of the Ile to beare with pleaſaunt faultes and flattering vices, ſo that the ciuill warres that chaunced in thoſe dayes after the death of the Emperor Nero at home, might eaſily excuſe the ſlouthfulneſſe of the Romaine Lieutenants.

Moreuer there roſe diſſention amongeſt theyr men of warre, which being vſed to lye abroade in the fielde, coulde not agree with the ydle lyfe, ſo that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himſelfe from the ſight of the Souldiers being in an vprore agaynſte him, tyll at length humbling himſelf vnto them further than became his eſtate, he gouerned by way of intreatie, or rather at their courteſie. And ſo was the cōmotion ſtayed without bloudſhed, yͤ armie as it were, hauing by couenant obteyned to liue licenciouſly, and the captayne ſuretie to liue without daunger to be murthered.

Vectius Volanus lieutenāt.



Neither Vectius Volanus that ſucceded Maximus whyleſt the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, dyd trouble the Brytaynes, vſing the ſame ſlackneſſe and ſlouth that the other Lieutenants had vſed before him, and permytted the like licence to the preſumptuous Souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himſelfe, and not hated for any notable cryme or vice: ſo that hee purchaſed fauoure, althoughe authoritie wanted.

But after that the Emperour Veſpaſianus had ſubdued his aduerſaries, and atteyned the Imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Brytaine as ouer other partes of the worlde, there were ſent hither right noble Captaynes, with diuerſe notable bandes of Souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appoynted Lieutenant, put the Britaynes in greate feare by inuading the Brygantes the mightyeſt Nation of all the whole Ilande: and fighting many battayles, and ſome right bloudy with thoſe people, he ſubdued a great part of the countrey at the laſt.

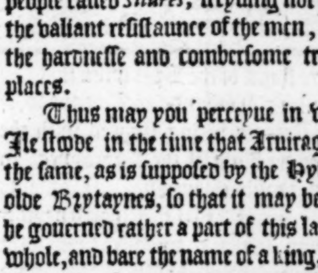
Cor.Ta

After hym ſucceded as Lieutenant of Brytaine, one Julius Frontinus, who vanquyſhed and brought to the Romaine ſubiection by force of armes the people called *Silures*, ſtryuing not onely agaynſt the valiant reſiſtaunce of the men, but alſo wyth the hardneſſe and comberſome troubles of the places.

Iulius Fr
nus lie

Thus may you perceyue in what ſtate this Ile ſtoode in the time that Aruiragus raigned in the ſame, as is ſuppoſed by the Hyſtoryes of the olde Brytaynes, ſo that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this lande, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romains not hauing ſo reduced the country into the forme of a prouince, but that the Brytaynes bare rule in dyuerſe partes thereof, and that by the permiſſion of the Romaines, whiche neuertheleſſe had theyr Lieutenauntes and Procuratours here, that bare the greateſt rule vnder the aforeſayde Emperours.

Marius, otherwiſe Meurig, or Maue.



After yͤ deceaſe of Aruiragus, hys ſonne Marius ſucceeded him in the eſtate, and began his raigne in the yeare of oure Lorde. 73. In the olde Engliſhe

Mari-
us.

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the Chronicle, he is fondly called Weſtmer, and was an excellent wiſe man, gouerning the Brytains in great proſperitie, honor and wealth.

In the time of this mans raigne, the people called Picts inuaded this lande. They are iudged to be deſcended of the Nation of the Scithians, neare kinſmen to the Gothes, both by Countrey and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres.

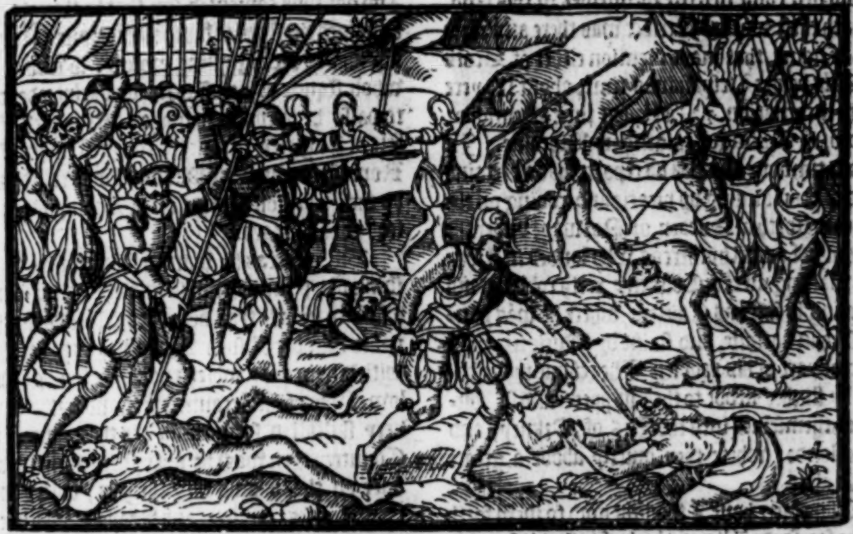
They are thought to haue taken theyr name, bycauſe they vſed to paint their ſelues with a certain blewiſh colour, or for that they were marked with printes in theyr viſages, ſo that the more honourable he was amongſt them, the deeplyer was he marked, & the more baſe he was, the leſſe his marks appeared. Some thinke that theſe were the ſame that were called Agathirſies, and named Picts bicauſe they painted their faces & limmes ſo that by no menes yͤ painting could be waſhed off: but howſoeuer they came by yͤ name, it is euident inough that they were of the Scithian nation.

bian.
l.Mon.
at.VVeſt.

This people therfore with their leader Roderike, or as ſome name him Londorike, entring the Ocean ſea after the maner of rouers, arriued on yͤ coaſts of Ireland, where they required of yͤ Scots new ſeates to inhabite in, for the Scots which as ſome think were alſo diſcended of yͤ Scithians, did as thē inhabit in Ireland: but doubting yͭ it ſhuld not be for their profit to receiue ſo warlike a natiō into that Ile, feyning as it were a friendſhip, and excuſing the matter, by yͤ narrowneſſe of the countrey, declared vnto the Picts, that the Ile of Brytain was not farre frō thence, being a large countrey & a plentiful, and not greatly inhabited: wherfore they counſelled them to go thither, promiſing vnto them all the ayde that might be.

The Picts more deſirous of ſpoyle than of rule or gouernment, without delay returned to the ſea, and ſailed towards Britain, where being arriued, they firſt inuaded the north partes therof, & finding there but few inhabiters, they began to waſt and forray the countrey, wherof when K. Marius was aduertiſed, with al ſpeed he aſſembled his people, & made towards his enimies, & giuing to the battel, obteyned the victorie, ſo that Roderike was there ſlain in the field, & his people vanquiſhed.

Roderike king of Pictes ſlaine.



Vnto thoſe that eſcaped with life, Marius graunted licence that they might inhabite in the north part of Scotlande called Catneſſe, beeing as then a Countrey in maner deſolate wythoute habitation: whervpon they wythdrewe thither, and ſetled themſelues in thoſe partyes. And bycauſe the Brytaynes diſdeyned to graunt vnto them theyr daughters in maryage, they ſent vnto the Scots into Irelande, requyring to haue wiues of theyr nation.

The Scottes agreed to their requeſt, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull iſſue of the kings lynage to ſucceede in the Kingdome of the Pictes, then ſhoulde they name one of the womans ſyde to bee theyr king: whiche ordinaunce was receyued and obſerued euer after amongeſt the Pictes ſo long as their kingdome endured.

And thus the Pictes next after the Romains, were the firſt of any ſtraungers that came into this lande to inhabite as moſt wryters affyrme, although the Scottiſhe Chronicles auouche the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteyned agaynſt their king Roderike, chaunced in the yeare after the incarnation, 87.

Polidor.
Math.VVeſt.

In remembraunce of which victorie, Marius cauſed a ſtone to bee erected in the ſame place where the battayle was fought, in whiche ſtone was grauen theſe wordes, *Marij Victoria*. The Engliſhe Chronicle ſayeth that this ſtone was ſette vppe on Staneſmore, and that the whole Countrey thereaboute taking name of this Marius, as Weſtmaria, nowe cleped Weſtmerlande.

King Marius hauing thus ſubdued his enimies, and eſcaped the daunger of their dreadfull inuaſion, he gaue his minde to the good gouernment of his people, and the aduauncement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the reſidue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finally departed this life, after he had raigned (after moſt writers) lij. or liij. yeares. Howbeit there be that wryte, that hee dyed in the yeare of our Lorde 78. and ſo raigned not paſt fiue or ſixe yeares at the moſt.

Mat. VVeſt.

He was buryed at Cairleil, leauing a ſonne behinde him called Coyll.

Thus finde we in the Brytiſhe and Engliſh hyſtories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhuyd ſeemeth to take this mã and his father Aruiragus to be all one perſon, whether moued therto by ſome Catologe of kings which he ſawe, or otherwiſe, I cannot affyrme: but ſpeaking of the time when the Pictes and Scots ſhould firſt come to ſettle themſelues in this land, he hath theſe wordes. Neither was there any writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Pictes before Veſpaſianus time, about the yere of the incarnation. 72. At what time Meurig or Maw, or Aruiragus raigned in Brytaine. In which time our annales do report, that a certaine kind of people liuing by piracie and rouing on the ſea, came forth of Sueden, or Norway, vnder the guiding of one Rhythercus, who landed in Albania, waſting all the Countrey with robbing and ſpoyling ſo farre as Cairleil, where he was vanquiſhed in battaile, and ſlaine by Murigus, with a great part of his people. The reſidue that eſcaped by flight, fledde to their ſhippes, and ſo conueyed themſelues into the Iles of Orkney, and Scotlande, where they quietly abode a greate while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to ſhew forth of the foreſayde Lhuyds booke, for that it ſeemeth to carie a great likelihoode of truth with it, for the hyſtorie of the Pictes, which vndoubtedly I think were not as yet inhabiting in Brytaine, but rather firſt placing themſelues in the Iles of Orkney made inuaſion into the maine Ile of Britain afterwards, as occaſion ſeemed to be offred. In the Brytiſh tong they are called *Phightiaid*, that is Phightians, and ſo likewiſe were they called in the Scottiſh, and in their owne tongue.

But nowe to ſhewe what chaunced in thys Ile, during the time of yͤ ſayd Marius his ſuppoſed raigne, as is found in the Romain hyſtories.

Iulius Agricola lieutenãt.

After Iulius Frontinus, the Emperor Veſpaſian ſent Iulius Agricola to ſucceed in the gouernment of Brytain, who comming ouer about the middeſt of Sommer, founde the men of warre through want of a lieutenant negligent ynough, as thoſe yͭ looking for no trouble, thought themſelues out of all daunger, where the enimies neuertheleſſe watched vpon the next occaſion to worke ſome diſpleaſure, and were readie on eche hand to moue rebelliõ. For the people called Ordouices, that inhabited in the countrey of Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, & part of Shropſhire, had lately before ouerthrowne & in maner vtterly deſtroyed a wing of ſuch horſmen as ſoiourned in their parties, by reaſon wherof al yͤ prouince was brought almoſt into an aſſured hope to recouer libertie.

Cor. Ta
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Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though ſommer was nowe halfe paſt, and that the ſouldiers lodging here & there abrode in the countrey, were more diſpoſed to take reſt, than to ſet forward into the field againſt the enimies, determined yet to reſiſt the preſent danger: and therwith aſſembling the men of warre of the Romains, and ſuch other aydes as he might make, he inuadeth their cuntry that had done this foreſaid diſpleaſure, and ſlue downe the moſt part of all the inhabitants therof. And not thus contented, (for that he thought good to follow the ſteps of fauorable fortune, & knowing that as the beginning proued, ſo woulde the whole ſequele of his affayres by likelyhoode come to paſſe) he purpoſed to make a ful conqueſt of the Ile of Angleſey, from the conqueſt wherof the Romain Lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the Rebellion of other of the Brytayns, as before ye haue heard.

The fir
Angleſ

But whereas he wanted ſhips for the furniſhing of his enterpriſe, his wit and policie founde a ſhift to ſupplie that defect: for chooſing forth a pyked number of ſuch Brytaines as he had there with him in ayde, which knewe the fourds & ſhallow places of the ſtreames there, and withall were very ſkilfull in ſwimming (as the maner of the Countrey then was) he appoynted them to paſſe ouer on the ſodaine into the Ile, onelye with theyr Horſes, armour, and weapon: whiche enterpriſe they ſo ſpeedily, and with ſo good ſucceſſe atchieued, that the Inhabitantes much amaſed with that doing (which looked for a nauie of ſhippes to haue tranſported ouer theyr enimies by Sea, and therefore watched on the coaſt) beganne to thinke that nothing was able to bee defended agaynſt ſuche kynde of warriours that gotte ouer into the Ile after ſuche a ſorte and maner.

And therefore making ſute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the handes of Agricola, whoſe fame by theſe victoryes daylye muche encreaſed, as of one that tooke pleaſure in trauayle, and attempting to atchieue daungerous enterpryſes, in ſteade wherof hys predeceſſours had delighted to ſhewe the maieſties of theyr

Angleſey y
ded to Ag
cola.

office by vaine bragges, ſtately portes, and ambitious pompes. For Agricola turned not the proſperous ſucceſſe of his proceedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, encreaſed it to the vttermoſte, amongeſt them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchieued, which with ſilence kept ſecret theſe his ſo worthie doings.

Moreouer, perceyuing the nature of the people in this Iſle of Brytain, and ſufficiently taught by other mens example, that armour ſhould little auaile, where iniuries followed to the diſquieting of the people, hee thought beſt to take away and remoue all occaſions of warre. And firſt beginning with himſelfe and his ſouldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne houſhold, yeelding nothing to fauour, but altogither in reſpect of vertue, accounting them moſt faythfull, which therein moſt excelled, he ſought to knowe all things, but not to doe otherwiſe than reaſon moued, pardoning ſmall faultes, and ſharpely puniſhing great and heynous offences, neyther yet deliting always in puniſhment, but oftētimes rather in repentance of the offender. Exactions and tributes he leſſened, qualefying the ſame by reaſonable equitie. And thus in reforming the ſtate of things, he wanne him great praiſe in time of peace, the whiche eyther by negligence or ſufferaunce of the former Lieutenauntes, was euer feared, and accounted worſe than open warre.

cola his
d gouern-
t.

This was his practiſe in the winter time of his firſt yeare, but when Sommer was come, he aſſembled his armie, and leading forth the ſame, trayned his ſouldiers in all honeſt warlike diſcipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnruly.

diligence.

He himſelfe to giue enſample, tooke vpon him all daungers that came to hande, and ſuffred not the enimies to liue in reſt, but waſted their countreys with ſodaine inuaſions. And when he had ſufficiently chaſtiſed them, and put them in feare by ſuche maner of dealing, hee ſpareth them that they might againe conceyue ſome hope of peace. By which meanes many countreys which vnto thoſe dayes had kept themſelues out of bondage, layde rancour aſide, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to ſuffer Caſtelles to be buylded within them, and to be kept with gariſons, ſo that no part of Brytayne was free from the Romain power, but ſtoode ſtyll in daunger to be brought vnder more and more.

The ſeconde
yeare of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paynes to reduce the Brytains from their rude maners and cuſtomes, vnto a more ciuill ſorte and trade of liuing, that chaunging their naturall fierceneſſe and apte diſpoſition to warre, they myght through taſting pleaſures, be ſo enured therewith, that they ſhoulde deſire to liue in reſt and quietneſſe: and therefore hee exhorted them priuily, and holpe them publikely to buyld temples, common halles where plees of lawe might be kept, and other houſes, commending them that were diligent in ſuch doings, and blaming them that were negligent, ſo that of neceſſitie they were dryuen to ſtriue who ſhoulde preuent eche other in ciuilitie. He alſo procured that Noble mens ſonnes ſhoulde learne the liberall ſciences, and prayſed the nature of the Brytaynes, more than the people of Gallia, bycauſe they ſtudyed to attayne to the knowledge of the Romaine eloquence. By whiche meanes the Brytaynes in ſhort tyme were brought to the vſe of good and commendable maners, and ſorted themſelues to go in comely apparell after the Romain faſhion, and by little and little they fill to accuſtom themſelues to fine fare, and dilicate pleaſures, the ready prouokers of vices, as to walke in Galleries, to waſh themſelues in bathes, to vſe banketting and ſuch like, which amongſt the vnſkilfull was called humanity or curteſie, but in very deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and ſeruitude, namely being to exceſſiuely vſed.

The worthie
practiſes of
Agricola to
traine the Bri-
taynes to ci-
uilitie.

In the thirde yeare of Agricola his gouernment in Brytaine, he inuaded the north partes therof (vnknowne til thoſe days of the Romains) being the ſame where the Scots now inhabit: for he waſted the countrey vnto the water of Tay, in ſuch wyſe putting the Inhabitauntes in feare, that they durſt not once ſette vpon his armie, though it were ſo that the ſame was very ſore diſquyeted and vexed by tempeſt and rage of weather.

The thirde
yeare.

The water of
Tay.

Wherevpon finding no greate let or hynderance by the enimyes, he buylded certain Caſtels and Fortreſſes, which he placed in ſuche conuenient ſteades, that they greatly annoyed his aduerſaries, and were ſo able to be defended, that ther was none of thoſe Caſtels which he builded, either wonne by force out of the Romains hands, or giuen ouer by compoſition, for feare to be taken: ſo that the ſame being furniſhed with competent numbers of men of warre, were ſafely kept from the enimies, the whiche were dayly vexed by the often iſſues made forth by the Souldiers that lay thus in gariſon within them: ſo that where in tymes paſt the ſayde enimies woulde recouer theyr loſſes ſuſteyned in Sommer by the Winters aduauntage, nowe they were put to the worſe, and kept backe as well in the Winter as in the Sommer.

In the fourth Sommer, after that Agricola was appoynted to the rule of this lande, he went about to bring vnder ſubiection thoſe people, the which before tyme hee had by incurſions and forreyes ſore vexed and diſquieted: and there-

The fourth
yeare of Agri-
cola his go-
uernment.

Clota.
Bodotria.

vpon comming to the waters of Clide & Loughleuen, he buylt certaine fortreſſes to defende the paſſages and entryes there, driuing the enimies beyond the ſame waters, as it had bin into a new Ilande.

The fift yeare.

In the fifth Sommer, Agricola cauſing hys ſhippes to be brought about, and appoynting thẽ to arriue on the north coaſts of Scotland, he paſſed with his army ouer the riuer of Clide, and ſubdued ſuche people as inhabited thoſe further partes of Scotland, which till thoſe daies had not bene diſcouered by the Romains.

And bycauſe he thought it ſhould ſerue wel to purpoſe, for ſome conqueſt to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotlande which bordereth on the Iriſhe Seas might be kept in due obedience, hee placed gariſons of Souldiers in thoſe parties, in hope verily vpon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Irelande, and for the more eaſie aduauncement of his purpoſe therein, hee entertayned wyth honourable prouiſion one of the kings of Irelande, which by ciuill diſcorde was expulſed and driuen out of his countrey.

An Iriſh king expulſed out of his country.

In deede Agricola perceyued, that with one Legion of Souldiers, and a ſmall ayde of other men of warre, it ſhoulde bee an eaſie matter to conquere Irelande, and to bring it vnder the Dominion of the Romaines: which enterpriſe he iudged verye neceſſarie to be exployted, for better keeping of the Brytaynes in obedience, if they ſhoulde ſee the iuriſdiction of the Romaines euery where extended, and the libertie of theyr neighbours ſuppreſſed and turned to ſubiection.

The ſixt yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In the ſixth Sommer of Agricola hys gouernment, he proceeded in ſubduing the furthermoſte partes of Scotlande Northwardes, cauſing his Nauie to keepe courſe anenyſt hym by the coaſt as hee marched forth by lande, ſo that the Brytaynes perceyuing howe the ſecrete Hauens and Creekes of theyr Countreyes were nowe diſcouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cutte off from them, were in a marueylous feare.

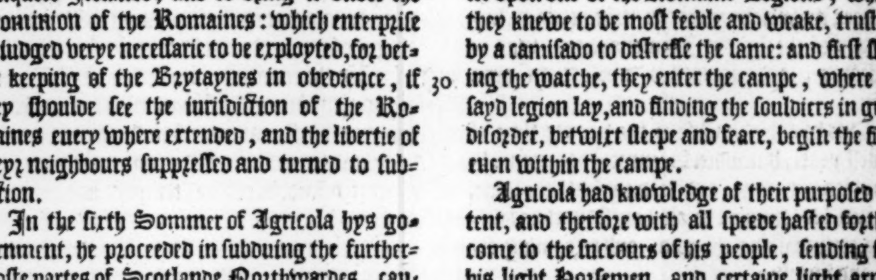
On the other part the Romaines were ſore troubled with the rough Mountaynes, and craggie Rockes, by the whiche they were conſtrayned to paſſe beſide the daungerous ryuers, lakes, woddes, ſtraytes, and other comberſome wayes and paſſages.

The danger alſo of them that were in the ſhips by ſea, was not ſmall by reaſon of windes & tempeſts, and high ſpring tides, which toſſed & turmoyled their veſſels right cruelly: but by the painfull diligence of them that had bene brought vp & enured with continuall trauaile and hardneſſe, all thoſe diſcõmodities were ouercome to their great reioyſing, when they met and fell in talke of theyr paſſed perils, for oftentimes the armie by land encamped ſo by the ſhore, that thoſe which kept the ſea came a lande to make merie in the campe, and then eche one woulde recounte to others the aduentures that had happened, as the maner is in ſemblable caſes.

Calender wood.

The Brytains that inhabited in thoſe dayes about the partes of Calender wood, perceyuing in what danger they were to be vtterly ſubdued, aſſembled themſelues togither in purpoſe, to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertiſed, marched forth with his armie deuyded in three battailes, ſo that the enimyes doubting to trie the matter in open fielde, eſpye theyr time in the night, and with all theyr whole puiſſaunce ſet vpon one of the Romaine Legions, whiche they knewe to be moſt feeble and weake, truſting by a camiſado to diſtreſſe the ſame: and firſt ſleaing the watche, they enter the campe, where the ſayd legion lay, and finding the ſouldiers in great diſorder, betwixt ſleepe and feare, begin the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purpoſed intent, and therfore with all ſpeede haſted forth to come to the ſuccours of his people, ſending firſt his light Horſemen, and certaine light armed footemen to aſſayle the enimies on theyr backes, and ſhortly after approcheth with his whole puiſſance, ſo that the Romaine ſtandards beginning to appeare in ſight by the light of the daye, that then beganne to ſpring, the Brytaynes were ſore diſcouraged, and the Romaines renuing theyr force, fiercely preaſſed vpon them, ſo that euen in the entrye of the campe, there was a ſore conflicte, tyll at length the Brytaynes were putte to flight, and chaſed, ſo that if



the mariſhes and wooddes had not ſaued them frõ the purſute of the Romains, there had bin an end made of the whole warres euen by that one dayes worke. But the Brytaynes eſcaping as well as they might, & reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romain ſouldiers, but by occaſion, & the prudent policie of their captaine, were nothing abaſhed with yͤ their preſent loſſe, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and thereupon they remoued their wiues and children into ſafe places, and then aſſembling the chiefeſt gouernours togither, cõcluded a league amongſt themſelues, eche to ayde other, confirming theyr articles with doing of ſacrifice (as the maner in thoſe dayes was.)

e ſeuenth
are.

The ſame ſommer, a bande of ſuch Dutch or Germaine ſouldiers as had bene leuyed in Germanie and ſent ouer into Brytayn to the ayde of the Romains, attempted a great and wonderfull act in ſleaing their captaine and ſuch other of the Romain ſouldiers which were appointed to haue the trayning and leading of them, as officers and inſtructors to them in the feates of warre: & when they had committed that murther, they got into three Pineſſes, and became rouers on the coaſtes of Britaine, and encountring with diuerſe of the Brytains, that were readie to defend theyr countrey from ſpoyle, oftentymes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chaſed away, inſomuch yͤ in the ende they were brought to ſuch extremitie for want of vitailes, that they did eate ſuch amongſt them as were the weakeſt, and after, ſuch as the lot touched, beeing indifferently caſt amongſt them: and ſo being caried about the coaſtes of Brytain, and loſing theyr veſſels through want of ſkill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, firſt by the Sualeners, and ſhortly after by the Friſers, the which ſolde diuerſe of them to the Romains and other, whereby the true vnderſtanding of their aduentures came certainely to light.

The eight yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In the ſommer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the Mountaine of Granzbien, where he vnderſtoode that his enimies were encamped, to the number of xxx. thouſand & aboue, and dayly there came to them more companie of the Brytiſh youth, and ſuch aged perſons alſo as were luſtie and in ſtrength, able to welde weapon and beare armour.

Amongſt the captains yͤ chiefeſt was one Galgacus, who the Scottiſh chronicles name Gald.

Calgagus who the Scots named Gald and will needes haue him a Scottiſh man.

This man as chieftaine and head captaine of all the Brytaynes there aſſembled, made to them a pithie oration to encourage them to fight manfully, and likewiſe did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both ſides were put in order of battaile.

Agricola placed. viij. thouſande footemen of ſtrangers which he had there in ayde with him in the midſt, appointing three. M. horſmen to ſtand on the ſides of thẽ as wings. The Romain legions ſtood at their backs in ſtead of a Bulwarke.

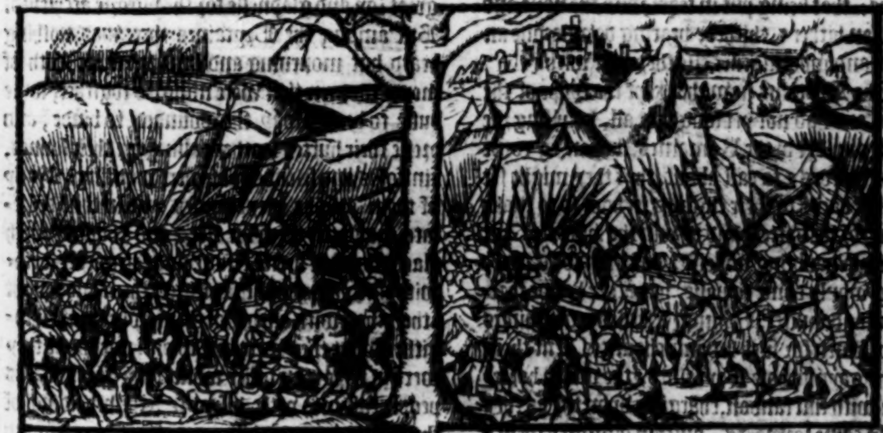
The Brytains were embattayled in ſuch order, that their fore ward ſtood in the plaine ground, and the other on the ſide of an hill, as though they had riſen on heigth one ranke aboue another.

The middeſt of the fielde was couered with their charets and horſemen.

Cor. Tacitu

Agricola doubting by yͤ huge multitude of enimies, leaſt his people ſhoulde be aſſailed not onely afront, but alſo vpon euery ſide the battails, he cauſed the rankes ſo to place themſelues, as their battails might ſtretch farre further in bredth than otherwiſe the order of warre requyred: but he toke this to be a good remedie againſt ſuch inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrowneſſe of the fronts of his battailes ſhould haue hemmed them in on eche ſide.

This done, and hauing conceyued good hope of victory, he alighted on foot, & putting his horſe frõ him, he ſtood before the ſtãdarts as one not caring for any danger yͤ might happen. At the firſt they beſtowed their ſhot, & dartes freely on both ſides.



The Britains aſwel with coſtant manhood, as skilful practiſe, with brode ſwords & little rounde bucklers, auoided & beat frō them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, & therwithall payd thē home againe with their ſhot & dartes, ſo that the Romains were nere hand oppreſſed therwith, bycauſe they came ſo thick in their faces, till at length Agricola cauſed three cohorts of Hollāders, & two of Lukeners to preaſſe forwarde, and ioyne with them at hand ſtrokes, ſo as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the ſword which thing as to them (being enured with yͤ kind of fight,) ſtood greatly with their aduantage, ſo to the Brytaynes it was verie daungerous; that were to defende themſelues with their mightie huge ſwordes and ſmall bucklers.

Betaui.

Congri.

Alſo by reaſon their ſwordes were brode at the endes, and poyntleſſe; they auayled little to hurt the armed enimie. Wherupon when the Hollanders came to ioyne with them, they made foule worke in ſleaing and wounding them in right horrible wiſe.

The horſmen alſo that made reſiſtaunce, they pulled from their horſes, and began to climbe the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands deſirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchieue the victorie, folowed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: many were ouerrun & left half dead, and ſome not once touched with any weapon, were likewiſe ouerpreſſed, ſuch haſt the Romains made to folow vpon the Brytains. Whileſt the Britiſh horſmē fled, their Charets ioyned themſelues with theyr footmē, and reſtoring the battel, put the Romains in ſuch feare, that they were at a ſodain ſtay: but the charets being troubled with preaſe of enimies, and vneuenneſſe of the grounde, they coulde not work their feat to any purpoſe. Neither had that fight any reſemblance of a battel of horſmen, whē eche one ſo encombred other, yͭ they had no roume with to ſtur themſelues. The charets ofttimes wanting their guiders, were caried awaye with the horſes, that being put in feare with the noiſe and ſtur, ran hither & thither, bearing downe one an other, and whomſoeuer elſe they met with.

Holanders.

The Brytains now that kept the toppe of the hilles, and had not yet fought at all, deſpiſing the ſmall number of the Romaines, began to come downwardes & to caſt about, that they might ſet vpō the backs of their enimies, in hope ſo to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no leſſe, but that ſome ſuche thing would come to paſſe, had afore hande foreſeene the daunger, & hauing reſerued foure wings of horſemen for ſuch ſodaine chaunces, ſent them forth agaynſt thoſe Brytaines, the which horſemen with full randon, charging vpon thē as they raſhly came forwards, quickly diſordred them & put thē all to flight, and ſo that purpoſed deuiſe & policie of the Brytains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horſmen by their captains appoyntment trauerſing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, ſet vpon that battaile of the Brytaynes which they found before them. Then in thoſe open and plain places a grieuous & heauy ſight it was to behold, how they purſued, wounded and toke their enimies: & as they were aduiſed of other to ſlea thoſe that they had before takē, to the ende they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleeing, taking & chaſing, ſlaughter, ſpilling of blood, ſcattring of weapōs, griſting, & groning of mē & horſes yͭ lay on the ground, gaſping for breath, and readie to die. The Brytains now and then as they ſawe their aduantage, namely when they approched neare to the woods, gathered thēſelues togither, and ſet vpon the Romains as they followed vnaduiſedly, & further (through ignorance of the places) than ſtood with their ſuretie, inſomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, & ſent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foote & horſebacke to cloſe in the enimies, & alſo to beat the woods, ſome greater loſſe would haue followed through too much boldneſſe of them, that too raſhly purſued vpon the Brytains: who when they beheld the Romains thus to follow them in whole troupes and good order of battail, they ſlipt away & tooke them to flight, ech one ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe, and kept not togither in plumpes as before they had done.

The night made an end of the chaſe which the Romains had followed till they were throughly awearied.

There were ſlain of the Britains that day ten M. & of the Romains .140. among whom Aulus Atticus, a captain of one of the cohorts or bandes of footmen was one, who being mounted on horſback, (through his own too much youthfull courage & fierce vnrulineſſe of his horſe) was caryed into yͤ middle throng of his enimies, & there ſlain.

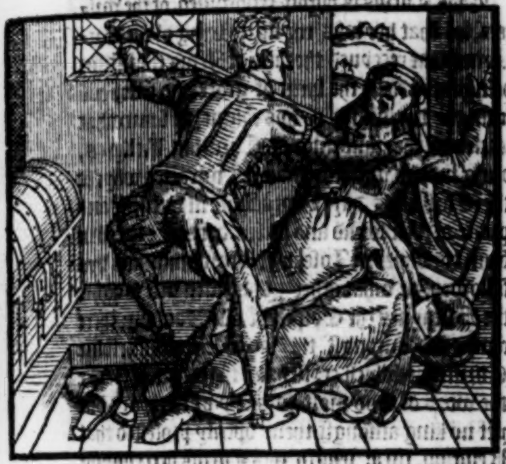
Ten thouſ
Brytains ſla

Aulus Atti
ſlaine.

The night enſuing, the Romains paſſed with great ioy and gladneſſe for the victorie atchieued. But among the Brytaines there was nothing heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men & women that were mingled togither, ſome buſie to beare away the wounded, to binde, and dreſſe their hurtes, other calling for their ſonnes, kinſfolks and friends that were wanting. Many of them forſooke theyr houſes, and in their deſperate moode ſet them on fire, and chooſing forth places for their better refuge and ſafegarde, forthwith miſliking of the ſame, left them and ſought others. Herewith diuerſe of them tooke counſell togither what they were beſt to doe, one while they were in hope, an other while they diſpaired, as people caſt into vtter diſpayre: the beholding of theyr wyues and children, oftentymes moued them

Brytaynes n
Scots neithe
yet Pictes.

them to attempte ſome newe enterpriſe for the preſeruation of theyr countrey and liberties. And certayne it is that ſome of them ſlew their wiues and children, as moued therto with a certayne fonde regard of pitie to ridde them out of farther miſerie and daunger of thraldome.



The nexte daye the certayntie of the victory more playnely was diſcloſed, for all was quiet about, and no noyſe heard any where: the houſes appeared brenning on each ſide, and ſuch as were ſente forthe to diſcouer the countrey into euery part thereof, ſawe not a creature ſturring, for all the people were auoyded and withdrawen a farre off.

But nowe of this battell, and other the doings of Agricola, in the Scottiſhe Chronicle ye may fynde more at large ſet forthe: for that which I haue written heere, is but to ſhew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of ẏ whiche Agricola dyd heere in Britayne, withoute making mention eyther of Scottes or Pictes, onely naming them Britaynes, Horeſtians, and Calidonians, whiche inhabited in thoſe dayes parte of this Ile which now we call Scotland.

After that Agricola hadde thus ouerthrowen hys enimies in a pight fielde at the mountayne of Granzebin, and that the countrey was quite ridde of all appearaunce of enimies: bycauſe the ſommer of this eyght yeere of his gouernemente was nowe almoſt ſpente, he broughte hys army into the confynes of the Horreſtians, whyche inhabited the countreyes nowe cleped Angus and Merne, and there intended to Winter, and tooke hoſtages of the people for aſſurance of theyr loyaltie and ſubiection.

tor. Bo.

r. Tacitus.

This done, he appoynted the Admirall of the nauie to ſayle about the Iſle, whiche accordingly to his commiſſion in that poynte receyued, luckily accompliſhed his enterpriſe, and brought the nauie about agayne into an hauen, called Trutulenſis.

hauen cal-
Trutulen-
petaduen-
Rutu-
ſis.

In this meane time, whileſt Julius Agricola was thus occupyed in Britayne, both the Emperour Veſpaſian, and alſo his brother Titus that ſucceeded hym, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected Emperoure, the which hearing of ſuche proſperous ſucceſſe as Agricola had againſt the Britaynes, did not ſo muche reioyce for the thing well done, as he ſtudied to conſider what glory and renowne ſhoulde redounde to Agricola thereby, which he perceyued ſhould muche darken the gloſſe of hys fame, hauyng a priuate perſon vnder him, who in worthyneſſe of noble exployts atchieued, farre excelled hys doyngs.

To hinder the which therefore, he thought it not good to vtter hys malice as yet whyleſt Agricola remayned in Britayne with an army, whych ſo muche fauoured him, and that not without good cauſe, ſith by his policie, and noble conduit, the ſame hadde obteyned ſo many victories, ſo much honor, and ſuch plentie of riches and ſpoyles. Wherevppon to diſſemble his entent, he appoynted to remoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor hym, not only with deſerued tryumphes, but alſo with the Lieutenantſhippe of Syria, which as then was voyde by the death of Atilius Rufus.

Thus Agricola being commaunded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince vnto his ſucceſſor Cneus Trebellius, appoynted thereto by the Emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and ſaueguarde.

Cneus Trebellius alias Saluſtius Lucullus as ſome thinke.

Thus may you ſee in what ſtate Britayne ſtoode in the dayes of King Marius, of whome yet Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the City of Cheſter was builded by this Marius, though other as before I haue ſayde, thinke rather that it was the worke of Oſtorius Scapula their Legate.

Fabian.

Coyllus.

Coyllus.

COilus the ſonne of Marius was after his fathers deceaſſe made Kyng of Britayn, in the yere of our Lord. 125.

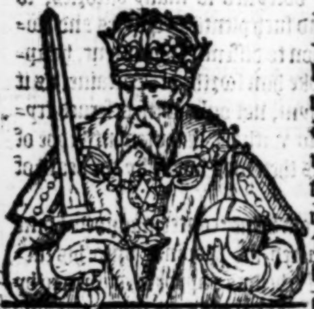
125

This Coyllus or Coyll was broughte vp in his youth amongeſt the Romaynes at Rome, where hee ſpente hys tyme not vnprofitably, but applyed hymſelfe to learning and ſeruice in the warres, by reaſon whereof, hee was muche honored of the Romaynes, and he likewiſe honored and loued them, ſo that hee payed his tribute truly all the tyme of hys raigne, and therefore lyued in peace and good quiet. He was alſo a Prince of muche bountie, and very liberall, whereby hee obteyned great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some ſaye, that hee made the Towne of Colcheſter in Eſſex, but other write, that Coyll whych reigned next after Aſclepeodotus was the firſt founder of that Towne, but by other it ſhuld ſeeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finally, when thys Coyll had raigned the ſpace of. 54. yeares, hee departed this lyfe at Yorke, leauing after him a ſonne named Lucius, which ſucceeded in the Kingdome.

Colcheſter builte.

Lucius.

Lucius.

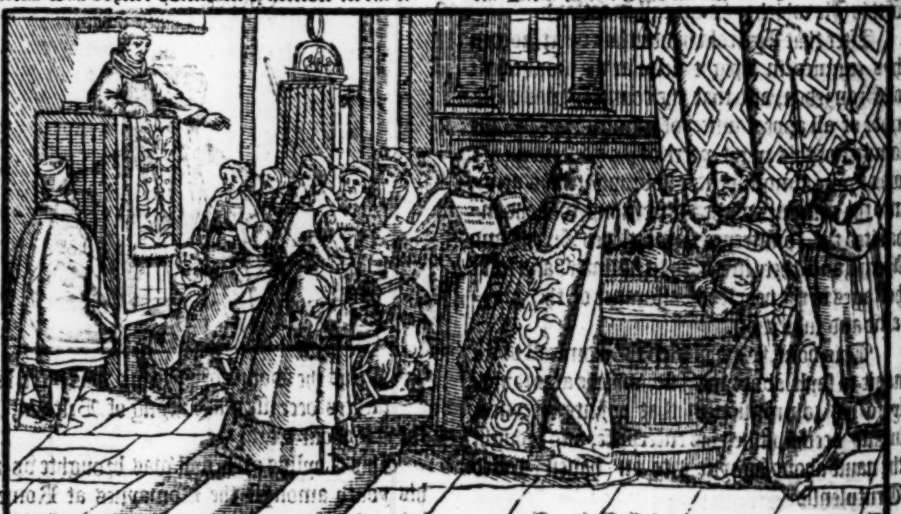


Lucius the ſon of Coilus, whoſe ſurname (as ſayth William Harriſon) is not extant, began his raygne ouer ye Britaynes about the yeare of oure Lorde. 180. as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauienſis hathe, although other writers ſeeme to diſagree in that accompt, as by the ſame Fabian in the table before his Booke partly appeareth, whereto *Matheus VVeſtmonaſterienſis* affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord. 115. and was Crowned King in the yeare. 124. as ſucceſſor to his father Coilus, which dyed the ſame yere, being of great age ere the ſaid Lucius was borne. William Harriſon in the ſecond part of his chronologie noteth his entraunce to be in the. 152. of the world. 916. after the buylding of Rome. 220. after the comming of Ceſar into Britayne, and. 165. after Chriſt, whoſe accomptes I followe (as before is ſayde) in this treatiſe.

165

This Lucius is highly renowmed of the writers, for that hee was the firſte King of the Britaynes that receyued the faith of Jeſus Chriſt: for being inſpired by the ſpirit of grace and truth euẽ from the beginning of hys raigne, he ſomwhat leaned to the fauoring of Chriſtian Religion, being moued with the manifeſt miracles whyche the Chriſtians dayly wroughte in witneſſe and proofe of their ſound and perfect doctrine: for euen from the dayes of Joſeph of Aramathia and hys fellowes, or what other godly men firſt taughte the Britaynes the Goſpell of our Sauiour, there remayned amongſt the ſame Britaynes ſome Chriſtians which ceaſſed not to teach & Preache the word of God moſt ſincerely vnto them: but yet no king amongſt them openly profeſſed that Religion, till at length this Lucius perceyuyng not only ſome of the Romayne Lieutenantes in Britayne, as Trebellius and Pertinax, with other, to haue ſubmitted themſelues to that profeſſion, but alſo the Emperour himſelfe to begin to be fauorable to them that profeſſed it, hee tooke occaſiõ by their good enſample to giue eare more attentiuely to the Goſpell, and at length ſent vnto Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome, two learned men of the Brittiſh nation, Eluane and Meduin, requiring him to ſende ſome ſuche miniſters as might inſtruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifully, and to baptiſe them according to the rules of the Chriſtian Religion.

h Hereupon were ſent from the ſayd Eleutherius two godly learned mẽ, ye one named Fugatius and ye other Damianus, the which baptiſed the King with all his family and people. And



therewith remoued the worſhipping of Idolles and falſe Gods, and taught the right meane and way howe to worſhippe the true and immortall God. There were in thoſe dayes within the boundes of Britayne. 28. Flamynes, and three Archflamynes, which were as Biſhops & Archbiſhops, or ſuperintendentes of the Pagane or Heathen religion, in whoſe place (they being remoued) were inſtituted. 28. Biſhops and three Archbiſhops of the Chriſtian Religion. One of the which Archbiſhops held his ſee at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Carleion, Arwiſke in Glamorgan ſhire. To the Archbiſhop of London was ſubiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the Archbiſhop of Yorke all the North partes of Britayne from the Riuer of Humber vnto the furtheſt partes of Scotlande: and to the Archbiſhop of Carleon was ſubiect all Wales, within whiche countrey as then were ſeuen Biſhops, where nowe there are but foure. The Riuer of Seuerne in thoſe dayes deuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other partes of Britayne. Thus Britayne partly by the meanes of Ioſeph of Aramathia (of whome ye haue hearde before) and partly by the wholeſome inſtructions & doctrine of Fugatius and Damianus, was the firſt of all other regions that openly receyued the Goſpell, and continued moſt ſtedfaſtly in yͤ profeſſion, till the cruell furie of Diocletian perſecuted the ſame in ſuche ſorte, that as well in Britayne as in all other places of yͤ world, the Chriſtian religion was in manner extinguiſhed, and vtterly deſtroyed.

Ther be that affirme, how this Lucius ſhould build the Church of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter, though many attribute that acte vnto Sibert King of the Eaſt Saxons, and write, howe the place was then ouergrowen with thornes & buſhes, and thereof tooke the name, and was called Thorney. They adde moreouer (as Harriſon ſayeth) howe Thomas Archbiſhop of London preached, redde, and miniſtred the Sacraments there to ſuch as made reſorte vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reueſtry of Sainte Paules at London, and alſo a table ſometyme hanging in Saint Peters Church in Cornehill, it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the ſayd Church of Saint Peter in Cornehill was the ſame that Lucius builded. But herein (ſayth Harriſon anno mundi 4174) doth lie a ſcruple, ſure Cornell might ſoone be miſtaken for Thorney, eſpecially in ſuch olde recordes, as time, age, euill handling, hath oftentimes defaced. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtãdeth, troth it is, that Lucius reioycing muche in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderſtanding of the true God, that they needed not to bee deceyued any longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked hypocrites, he aboliſhed all prophane worſhippings of falſe Gods, and conuerted ſuche Temples as had bin dedicated to their ſeruice, vnto the vſe of the Chriſtian Religiõ: and thus ſtudying only howe to aduance the glory of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his worde, without ſeeking the vayne glory of worldly triumph whiche is gotte with ſlaughter and bloudſhed of many a giltleſſe perſon, hee lefte his kingdome (though not enlarged with broder dominion than hee receyued it,) yet greatly augmented and enriched with quiet reſt, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be eſteemed than all the reſt) adorned with Chriſtes religion, and perfectly inſtructed with hys moſt holy worde and doctrine. He raigned as ſome write. 21. yeares, though as other affirme but twelue yeares. Agayne, ſome teſtifie that he raigned. 77. other ſay. 54. & Harriſon. 43. Moreouer, heere is to bee noted, that if he procured the faith of Chriſt to be planted within his Realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romayne Biſhop, the ſame chanced in the dayes of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. And about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioyned & made partaker of the Empire wͭ his father, which was ſeuen yeres after yͤ death of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus, and in the. 177. after the birth of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, as by Harriſons chronologie is eaſie to bee collected. For Eleutherius beganne to gouerne the ſea of Rome in the yeare. 169. according to the opinion of yͤ moſt diligent chronogrophers of our time, & gouerned fifteene yeeres and thirteene days. And yet there are that affirme, howe Lucius dyed at Glowceſter in the yeare of our Lorde. 156. other ſay that he dyed in the yeare. 201. and other. 208. So that the troth of this hiſtorie is broughte into doubt by the diſcorde of writers, concerning the time and other circumſtances, although they all agree that in this kings days the Chriſtian faith was firſt by publique conſent openly receyued & profeſſed in this lande, whiche as ſome affirme, ſhould chance in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord. 177. Other iudge, that it came to paſſe in the eyght yeare of his regiment, and in the yeare of our Lord. 188. where other (as before is ſayd) alledge that it was in the yeare. 179. Nauclerus ſayth, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord. 156. And Henricus de Erphordia ſuppoſeth, that it was in the yeare of our Lorde. 169. and in the nineteenth yeare of the Emperour Marcus Antonius Verus: & after other, about the ſixth yeare of the Emperoure Comodus. But to proceede: King Lucius dyed without iſſue, by reaſon whereof, after his deceſſe the Britaynes fell at variance, whiche continued about the ſpace of fiftene yeares (as Fabian thinketh,)

ayne re-
ueth the
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ath. VVeſt.

ſephus of
amathia.

lidor.
eſtminſter
hurch built.

Polidor.
Fabian.
Iohn. Hard.

Galfridus.
Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

Nauclerus.
Henricus de Herford.

Fabian.

Caxton.
Iohn.Hard.

keth) howbeit, the olde engliſhe Chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixte them remained .50. yeares, though Harding affirmeth but 4. yeares. And thus much of the Britaynes, and their kings Coylus and Lucius. Now it reſteth to ſpeake ſomewhat of the Romaynes whyche gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britaines (& namely thoſe that inhabites beyond Twede) partly being weakened of their former ſtrength, and partly in conſideration of their pledges, whiche they had deliuered to the Romaynes, remayned in peace certayne yeres.

Cn. Trebellius Lieutenãt.

IN the meane time, the Romayne Lieutenant Cn. Trebellius that ſucceded Julius Agricola, hee coulde not foreſee all things ſo preciſely, but that yͤ ſouldiers waxing vnruly by reaſon of long reſt, fell at variance amongſt themſelues, & would not in the ende obey the Lieutenante, but diſquieted the Britanes beyond meaſure. Wherfore the Britaynes perceyuing themſelues ſore oppreſſed with intollerable bondage, & that dayly the ſame increaſed, they conſpire togither, vppon hope to recouer libertie, and to defende their coũtrey by all meanes poſſible, and heerewith they take weapon in hand againſt the Romaines, and boldly aſſaile them: but this they did yet warely, and ſo, that they might flee vnto the Wooddes & bogges for refuge vpon neceſſitie, according to the manner of their countrey. Hereupon diuers ſlaughters were committed on both parties, and all the countrey was now ready to rebell: whereof, when the Emperour Adrian was aduertiſed from Trebellius the Lieutenant, with all conuenient ſpeede he paſſed ouer into Britayne, & quieted all the Iſle, vſing great humanitie towardes the inhabitants, and making ſmall accompte of that part where the Scottes nowe inhabite, eyther bycauſe of the barrenneſſe thereof, or for that by reaſon of the nature of the coũtrey he thoughte it would be hard to be kept vnder ſubiection, hee deuiſed to deuide it from the reſidue of Britayne, and ſo cauſed a wall to be made from the mouth of Tyne vnto the water of Eſke, whyche wall conteyned in length. xxx. mile.

The wall of Adrian built.
Spartianus.

After this, the Britaynes bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romayne Souldiers, & repyning to be kepte vnder the bond of ſeruitude, eftſoones goe aboute to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertiſement being giuen, the Emperour Pius Antonius ſendeth ouer Lollius Vrbicus as Lieutenant into Britaine, who by ſundry battayles ſtryken, conſtreyned the Britaines to remaine in quiet, and cauſing thoſe that inhabited in the North partes to remoue further off from the confines of the Romaine prouince, reyſed another wall beyond that whiche the Emperour Adrian had made, as is to be ſuppoſed, for yͤ more ſuretie of the Romayne ſubiectes agaynſte the inuaſion of the enimies. But yet Lollius dyd not ſo make an end of the war, but that the Britaynes ſhortly after attempted of newe, eyther to reduce their ſtate into libertie, or to bring the ſame into further daunger.

Lollius Vrbicus Lieutenãt

Iulius C
An other
built.

WHereupõ Marcus Antonius that ſucceeded Pius, ſendeth Calphurnius Agricola to ſuccede Lollius in the gouernemente of Britayne, the which eaſily ouercame and ſubdued all his enimies. After this, there chanced ſome trouble in the dayes of the Emperoure Commodus the ſonne of Marcus Antonius and his ſucceſſor in the Empire: for the Britaynes yͭ dwelled Northwardes beyond Adrians wall, brake through the ſame, and ſpoyled a great part of the countrey, againſt whom the Romayne Lieutenant for that time beeing come forthe, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romayne Souldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and ſlayne.

Iulius Ca
tolinus.
Of the
of this Ca
phurni
Britayn
enuy
more in
Scottiſh
nicle.

Dion Caſ

With whiche newes Commodus being ſore amaſed, ſent againſt the Britaynes one Vlpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence & temperancy, but therwith rough & nothing gentle. He vſed the ſame kinde of diet that the common ſouldiers did vſe. He was a Captayne much watchfull, as one contented with very little ſleepe, & deſirous to haue his ſouldiers alſo vigilante and carefull to keepe ſure watch in the night ſeaſon. Euery euening hee would write twelue tables, ſuch as they vſed to make of yͤ linde tree, & deliuering them to one of his ſeruants, appointed him to beare them at ſeueral houres of yͤ night to ſundry ſouldiers, wherby ſuppoſing that their Generall was ſtyll watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to ſleepe. And although of nature he could wel abſteyne from ſleepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vſed a maruellous ſpare kinde of dyet: for to the end yͭ he would not fil hymſelfe to much with bread, he woulde eate none but ſuche as was brought to him frõ Rome, ſo that more than neceſſitie compelled him, he could not eate, by reaſon that the ſtalneſſe toke away yͤ pleaſant taſt therof, & leſſe prouoked his appetite. He was a maruellous cõtẽner of money, ſo yͭ bribes might not moue him to do otherwiſe thã dutie required.

Vlpius Ma
cellus Lie
tenant.

Thus Marcellus beeing of ſuch diſpoſition, ſore afflicted the Britaynes, and put them oftentimes to greate loſſes, through fame whereof, Commodus enuying his renoume, was after in minde to haue made him away, but yet ſpared him for a further purpoſe, and ſuffered hym to departe.

rhennis
ptayne
the Empe-
rs garde.

lius Lam-
idius.

After he was remoued from the gouernement of Britayne, one Perhennis Captayne of the Emperours garde (or Pretorian Souldiers, as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the Emperour Commodus, appoynted certaine Gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the army in Britaine. The Souldiers therefore in the ſame army repining to be gouerned by menne of baſe degree, in reſpect of thoſe that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable perſonages, as Senators, and of the conſuler dignitie, they fel at ſquare among themſelues, and about fifteene hũdred of them departed towardes Rome to exhibite their complaynte againſte Perhennis: for whatſoeuer was amiſſe, the blame was ſtill layd to him. They paſſed forthe withoute impeachmente at all, and comming to Rome, the Emperour himſelfe came forth to vnderſtande what they meant by this their comming in ſuche ſorte from the place where they were appoynted to ſerue. Their aunſwer was, that they were come to informe him of the treaſon which Perhennis had deuiſed to his deſtruction, that hee mighte make his ſonne Emperoure. To the whiche accuſation, when Commodus too lightly gaue eare, and beleeued it to be true, namely, through the ſetting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he bridled hym from doyng dyuers vnlawfull actes, which he went about vpon a wilfull minde, (without all reaſon or modeſtie) to practiſe: The matter was ſo handled in the ende, that Perhennis was deliuered to the Souldiers, who cruelly mangled him, and preſently put him to death.

Pertinax Lieftenant of Britayne.

But nowe to the tumultes in Britayne. It was thought needeful to ſende ſome ſufficiente Captayne of authoritie thither, & therefore was one Pertinax that hadde bin Conſul and ruler ouer foure ſeuerall conſuler prouinces, appointed by Commodus, to goe as Lieutenãt into that Ile, both for that he was thought a mã moſt meete for ſuch a charge, and alſo to ſatiſfie his credite, for that hee had bin diſcharged by Perhennis of bearing any rule, & ſent home into Liguria where hee was borne, & there appoynted to remayne.

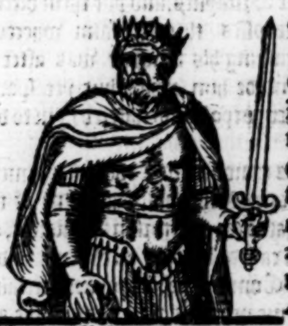
The Lieutenant in danger.

This Pertinax comming into Britayne, paciſyed the army, but not without danger to haue bin ſlayne by a mutinie reyſed by one of the Legions: for he was ſtriken downe, and left for dead among the ſlayne carcaſſes. But he worthily reuenged himſelfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chaſtiſed the Rebels, and broughte the Ile into meetely good quiet, hee ſued and obteyned to bee diſcharged of that roomth, bicauſe as he alledged, the Souldiers could not brooke him, for that hee kept them in dutifull obedience, by correctyng ſuch as offended the lawes of Armes.

Clodius Albinus Lieutenãt.

Then was Clodius Albinus appoynted to haue the rule of the Romayn army in Britayne: whoſe deſtruction whẽ Seuerus the Emperoure ſought, Albinus eſteemed it quickly: and therefore chooſing forth a greate power of Britaynes, paſſed with the ſame came ouer into Fraunce to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towardes him, ſo that neere to the Citie of Lions, they ioyned in battell & fought right ſore, in ſo much that Seuerus was at poynt to haue receyued yͤ ouerthrow by the high proweſſe and manhoode of the Britaynes: but yet in the ende, Albinus loſt yͤ fielde, & was ſlayne. Then Heraclitus as Lieutenant began to gouerne Britayne (as writeth Sparcianus) being ſent thither by Seuerus for that purpoſe before. And ſuch was the ſtate of this Iſle about the yere of our Lord. 195. In which ſeaſon, bycauſe that King Lucius was dead, and hadde left no iſſue to ſucceede him, the Britaynes (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo continued till the commyng of Seuerus, whom the Brittiſh Chronographers affirme to raigne as King in this Iſle, and that by righte of ſucceſſion in bloud, as diſcended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Iulius Ceſar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.



Seuer

This Seuerus as then Emperoure of Rome, began to rule this Iſle (as authors affirme) in yͤ yere of oure Lorde 207. & gouerned the ſame 4. yeres & odde monethes. At length, hearing that one Fulgētius as then a leader of the Pictes was entred into the borders of his countrey on this ſyde Durham, he rayſed an hoſt of Britaynes & Romans, with the which he marched towardes his enimies: and meeting with the ſaid Fulgentius in a place neere vnto Yorke, in the ende after ſore fighte, Seuerus was ſlayne, when he hadde ruled thys land for the ſpace almoſt of fiue yeeres as before is ſayd, and was after buried at Yorke, leauyng behinde him two ſonnes, the one named Geta, & the other Baſſianus. This Baſſianus beeyng borne of a Brittiſh woman, ſucceeded his father in the gouernemente of Britayne, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord. 211. The Romanes would haue had Geta created King of Britaine, bearing more fauoure to him bycauſe he hadde a Romane Lady to his mother: but the Britaines moued with the like reſpect, helde with Baſſianus. And therevpon warre was rayſed betwixte the two brethren, & comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was ſlayne, and Baſſianus with ayde of the Britaynes, remayned victor, & ſo continued Kyng, till at length he was ſlayne by one Carauſius a Britaine, borne but of lowe birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well eſteemed: In ſomuch that obteynyng of the Senate of Rome the keeping of the coaſts of Britayne, that he might defend the ſame from the malice of ſtraungers as Pictes and other, he drew to him a great number of Souldiers & ſpecially of Britaines, to whome hee promiſed that if they would make him king, hee would cleerely deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Romaine ſeruitude. Wherevpon the Britaynes rebellyng againſt Baſſianus, ioined themſelues to Carauſius, who by their ſupport, vanquiſhed and ſlewe the ſayd Baſſianus, after he had raigned ſixe, or as ſome affirme. xxx. yeares.

211

Thus farre out of the Engliſhe and Brittiſhe writers, the whiche howe farre they vary from a likelyhood of troth, yee ſhall heare what the yͤ approued hiſtoriographers, Greekes, and Latines, writing of theſe matters, haue recorded.

Herodian

The Emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertiſement from the Lieutenant of Britayne that the people there moued Rebellion, and waſted the countrey with roades & forrayes, ſo that it was needefull to haue the prince himſelfe to come thither with a greate power to reſiſt yͤ enimies, he of an ambitious minde reioyced not a little for thoſe newes, bycauſe hee ſawe occaſion offered to aduāce his renoume and fame with increaſe of new victories nowe in the Weſt, after ſo many triumphes purchaſed & got by him in the Eaſt and North partes of the world. Herevpon though he was of great age, yet the deſire that he had ſtil to winne honor, cauſed him to take in hand to make a iourney into this land, and ſo being furniſhed of al things neceſſary, he ſet forwards, being carried onius and

for the more part in a litter for his more eaſe: for yͤ beſide his feebleneſſe of age, he was alſo troubled with yͤ goute. He toke with him his two ſonnes, Antonius Baſſianus and Geta, vpon purpoſe as was thought, to auoyde occaſions of ſuche incõuenience as he perceyued might grow by diſcord, moued betwixte thẽ through flatterers and malicious ſycophants whiche ſoughte to ſet them at variance: whiche to bring to paſſe, he perceyued there ſhould want no meane whileſt they continued in Rome, amid ſuch pleaſures and idle paſtimes as were dayly there frequented: and therfore he cauſed them to attend him in this iourney into Britayne, that they mighte learne to liue ſoberly, and after the manner of menne of warre.

e Emperor
uerus arri-
h in Bri-
ne.

Seuerus being thus on his iourney towardes Britayne, ſtayed not by the way, but with all diligence ſpedde him forthe, and paſſing the Sea very ſwiftly, entred this Iſle, and aſſembled a mightie power togither, meaning to aſſayle hys enimies, and to purſue the warre againſte them to the vttermoſt. The Britaynes greatly amaſed with this ſodayne arriuall of the Emperoure, and hearing that ſuch preparation was made againſt them, ſent Imbaſſadors to him to intreat of peace, & to excuſe their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaying time for aunſwere, as he that was deſirous to atchieue ſome high enterpriſe againſt the Britaines, for the which he might deſerue yͤ ſurname of Britannicus, which he greatly coueted, ſtill was buſie to prepare all thyngs neceſſary for the warre, and namely, cauſed a great number of bridges to bee made to lay ouer the bogges and mariſhes, ſo that his ſouldiers might haue place to ſtand vppon, and not to bee encõbred for lacke of firme groũd whẽ they ſhuld cope with their enimies: for the more parte of Britaine in thoſe dayes (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fennes, and marres grounds, by reaſon of the often flowings and waſhing of the ſea tides: by the whiche marres grounds the enimies being therto accuſtomed, wold runne & ſwimme in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleaſure, going for the more parte naked, ſo that they paſſed not on the mudde and myres, for they knewe not the vſe of wearing clothes, but ware hoopes of Iron about their middles and neckes, eſteeming the ſame as an ornamente and token of riches, as other barbarous people did golde.

erodianus.

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the North
itaynes or
uage Bri-
ynes as wee
y call them

Moreouer, they marked, or (as it were) paynted their bodies in diuers ſortes and with ſundry ſhapes and figures of beaſtes and foules, & therefore they vſed not to weare any garmentes, that ſuche paynting of their bodyes mighte the more appearantly be ſeene, which they eſteemed a great brauerie.

The furniture of the ſauage Britaynes.

They were as the ſame Herodianus writeth, a people giuen muche to the warre, and delighted in ſlaughter and bloudſhed, vſing none other weapons or armure but a ſlender buckler, a Iaueline, and a ſworde tyed to their naked bodyes: for as for headpeece or Habergeon, they eſteemed not, bicauſe they thought the ſame ſhould be an hinderance to them when they ſhould paſſe ouer any marres, or be driuen to ſwimme any waters, or flee to the bogges.

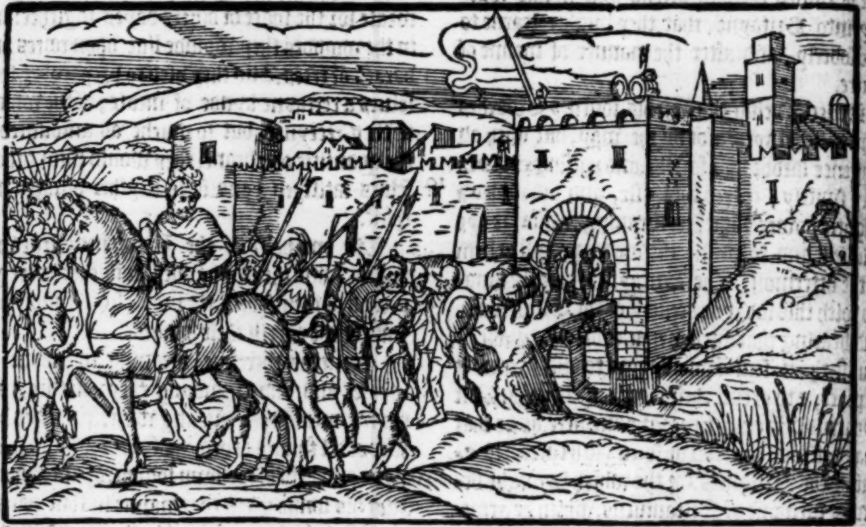
Moreouer, to ſuffer hunger, colde, and trauell, they were ſo vſed and enured therwith, that they would not paſſe to lie in the bogges and myres, couered vp to the chynne, withoute eating for meate for the ſpace of diuers dayes togither: and in the woodes they woulde liue vpon rootes and barkes of trees. Alſo they vſed to prepare for themſelues a certayne kynde of meate, of the whiche if they receyued but ſo muche as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themſelues ſatiſfyed, and feele neyther hunger nor thirſt.

The one halfe of the Iſle or little leſſe was ſubiect vnto the Romaynes, the other were gouerned of themſelues, the people for the moſt part hauing the rule in their handes.

Seuerus therefore meaning to ſubdue the whole, and vnderſtandyng theyr nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided himſelfe of all things expedient for the annoyance of them and help of his own ſouldiers, and appointing his ſonne Geta to remayne in that parte of the Iſle which was ſubiect to the Romaynes, he tooke with him his other ſonne Antoninus, and with his army marched forthe, and entred into the confynes of the enimies, and there beganne to waſt and forrey the countrey, wherevp there enſued diuers conflictes and ſkirmiſhes betwixte the Romaynes and the inhabitantes, the victory ſtill remayning with the Romaynes ſide: but the enimies eaſily eſcaped withoute any greate loſſe, vnto the woddes, Mountaynes, bogges, and ſuch other places of refuge, as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romaynes durſt not followe, nor once approche, for feare to bee entrapped and encloſed by the Britaynes that were ready to returne and aſſayle their enimies vppon euery occaſion of aduauntage that myghte bee offered.

Dion Caſsius.

This manner of dealing ſore troubled the Romaynes, and ſo hindred them in their procedings, that no ſpeedy ende coulde bee made of that war: the Britaynes woulde oftentimes of purpoſe lay their Cattell, as Oxen, Kyne, Sheepe, and ſuche like, in places conuenient, to bee as a ſtale to the Romaynes, and when the Romaynes ſhoulde make to them to fetche the ſame away, being diſtant from the reſidue of the army a good ſpace, they would fall vpõ them and diſtreſſe them. Beſide this, the Romaynes were muche anoyed with the vnwholeſomneſſe of the waters whiche they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to ſtray abrode, they were ſnapped vp by ambuſhes which the Calidonians layde for them, and when they were ſo feeble that they could not through wante of ſtrength keepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were ſlayne by their owne fellowes, leaſt they ſhould be left behinde for a pray to the enimies. Hereby there died in this iourney of the Romaine army, at the point of fiftie thouſand men: but yet woulde not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Iſle, and ſo came to the vttermoſt partes of all the Countrey now called Scotland, and finally came backe agayne to the other parte of the Iſle ſubiect to the Romaynes, the inhabitantes whereof, named by Dion Caſſius *Meatæ*: but firſt he cōſtreyned the other whome the ſame Dion nameth *Caledonij*, to conclude a league with him, with ſuch conditions as they were compelled to departe with no ſmall portion of the countrey, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.



In the meane time, the Emperoure Seuerus being worne with age fell ſicke, ſo that hee was conſtreyned to abide at home within that part of the Iſle which obeyed yͤ Romans, and to appoint his ſon Antoninus to take charge of the army abrode. But Antoninus not regarding yͤ enimies, attempted little or nothiug againſte them, but ſoughte wayes howe to winne the fauoure of the ſouldiers and men of war, that after his fathers death (for which he dayly looked) he mighte haue their aide & aſſiſtance to be admitted Emperoure in his place. Nowe when hee ſaw that his father bare out his ſickneſſe longer time than he would haue wiſhed, he practiſed with Phiſitions and other of his fathers ſeruaunts to diſpatche him by one meane or other.

Whileſt Antoninus thus negligētly looked to his charge, the Britaynes began a new Rebellion, not only thoſe yͭ were lately ioyned in league with the Emperoure, but the other alſo whiche were ſubiects to the Romane Empire. Seuerus tooke ſuche diſpleaſure, that he called togither the Souldiers, and commaunded them to inuade the countrey, and to kill al ſuch as they might meete with in any place withoute reſpect, and that hys cruell commaundement he expreſſed in theſe verſes taken out of Homer.

Nemo manus fugiat veſtros, cædemq́ cruentam,
Non fœtus grauida mater quem geſſit in aluo,
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

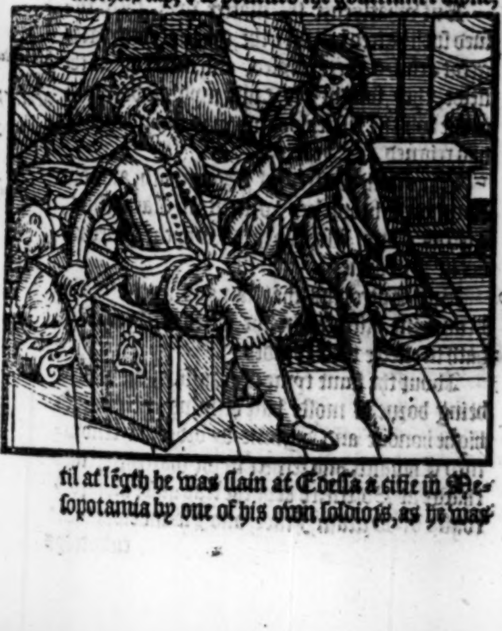
Let none eſcape your bloudy handes,
nor direſome ſlaughter flie,
No not the babe vnborne, which in
the mothers wombe doth lie.

But whileſt he is thus diſquieted with yͤ Rebellion of the Britaynes, & the diſloyall practiſes of his ſon Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowen. For the wicked ſonne had by diuers attempts diſcouered his trayterous and vnnaturall meanings. At lēgth, rather through ſorrow and griefe, than by force of ſickneſſe, he waſted away, & departed this life at Yorke the third day before yͤ Nones of February, after he had gouerned the Empire by the ſpace of .17. yeeres .8. moneths &.3. days. He liued .65. yeeres .9. moneths &.17. days. He was borne the third Ides of April, by that which before is recited out of Herodyan & Dion Caſſius of yͤ maners & vſages of thoſe people, agaynſt whome Seuerus helde war heere in Britayne: it may be coniectured, yͭ they were the Pictes, the whiche poſſeſſed in thoſe dayes a greate parte of Scotland, and with continual incurſiōs & rodes waſted & deſtroied yͤ bordures of thoſe countreys which were ſubiect to the Romains. To kepe the back therfore & to repreſſe their inuaſions Seuerus (as ſome write) either reſtored ẏ former wall made by Adrian, or elſe newely buylt an other ouerthwarte the yle from the eaſt ſea to the weſt, conteining in length. 232. miles. This wall was not made of ſtone, but of turfe & earth ſupported with ſtakes & pyles of wood, and defended on the back with a deepe trenche or ditche, & alſo fortified with diuers toures & turrets buylt and erected vpon ẏ ſame wall or rampire ſo nere togither, that the ſoũd of trumpets being placed in the ſame, might be hearde betwixte, and ſo warning giuen from one to an other vpon the fyrſte deſcrying of the enimies.

pius.
ius.
Caßius.
Boetius

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our lord. 211. his ſon Antoninus otherwiſe called alſo Baſſianus, wold fayn haue vſurped ẏ whole gouernment into his own hands, attempting with bribes & large promiſes, to corrupt the mindes of the ſouldiors: but when he perceiued ẏ his purpoſe wold not forward as he wiſhed in ẏ behalf, he concluded a league with the enimies, & making peace with thẽ, returned back towardes Yorke, and came to his mother & brother Geta, with whom he took order for the burial of his father. And firſt his body being brent (as the maner was) the aſhes were put into a veſſel of gold, and ſo conueyed to Rome by the two brethren and the empreſſe Julia, that was mother to Geta the yonger brother, & mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Baſſianus, and by all meanes poſſible ſought to maintayn loue & concorde betwixt the brethren, which now at the firſt toke vpon them to rule the empire equally togither: but the ambition of Baſſianus was ſuch, that finally vpon deſire to haue the whole rule himſelfe, he founde meanes to diſpatche his brother Geta, breaking one day into his chãber, & ſlaying him euẽ in his mothers lap, & ſo poſſeſſed the gouernmẽt alone, til at lẽgth he was ſlain at Edeſſa a citie in Meſopotamia by one of his own ſoldiors, as he was about to vntruſſe his pointes to doe the office of nature, after he had reigned the ſpace of. vi. yeares as is aforeſayde.

lider.nus.
rodia
211.



Sextus Aurelius.

Carauſſius.

CArausſius, a Briton of vnknowen birth, as witneſſeth the Britiſh hiſtories, after he had vãquiſht & ſlain Baſſianus (as ẏ ſame hiſtories make mẽtiõ) was of the Britayns made kyng and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 218. as Galfr. hath: but W. Harriſon noteth it to be in an. 286. This Carauſſius either to haue the ayd and ſupport of the Picts, as in the Britiſh hiſtorie is conteined, either elſe to be at quietnes with them, being not otherwiſe able to reſiſt thẽ, gaue to them the cõtreis in the ſouth partes of Scotlande, which ioyne to England on the eaſt marches, as Mers, Louthian, and others.

Carauſſius.
218.
Galfrid.
Polycron.
Fabian.

But here is to be noted, that the Britiſh writers affirme, that theſe Pictes ẏ were thus placed in the ſouth parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scythia by Fulgentius, to ayd him againſt Seuerus, & that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurtes receyued in the bataile fought betwixt thẽ at Yorke: the Picts toke part with Baſſianus, & at length betrayed him in the battaile which he fought againſt this Carauſſius: for he corrupting them by ſuch practiſes as he vſed, they turned to his ſide, to the ouerthrowe & vtter deſtruction of Baſſianus: for the which traiterous part they had thoſe ſouth countreys of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scottiſh writers it ſhould appere, that thoſe Pictes which ayded Fulgentius and alſo Carauſſius, were the ſame that long before had inhabited in the north parts of Britayne, nowe called Scotland. But whatſoeuer they were, trouth it is (as the Britiſh hiſtories record) that at length one Alectus was ſent from Rome by the ſenate with. iij. legions of ſouldiors to ſubdue Carauſſius, which he did, and ſlewe him in the fielde, as the ſame hiſtories make mẽtion after he had reigned the ſpace of. vij. or. viij. yeares: and in ẏ yeare of oure ſaluation. 293. as William Hariſon recompteth.

Galfridus.
193.

Alectus.

ALectus in hauing vanquiſhed and ſlayn Carauſſius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britayn, in the yeare of our Lorde. 293. This Alectus when he had reſtored the lande to the ſubiection of the Romaynes, didde vſe

Alectus
Of vvhom our British hiſtories vvrite after this maner,
293.

greate crueltie agaynſt ſuche of the Britaynes, as hadde maynteined the parte of Carauſſius, by reaſon whereof, he purchaſed muche euill will of the Britons the which at length conſpired agaynſt him, and purpoſing to chaſe the Romaines altogether out of their countrey, they procured one Aſclepiodotus, whom (the Brytiſh chronicles name Duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chief capitaine of that enterpriſe. Wherevpon the ſame Aſclepiodotus aſſembling a great armie togither, made ſuch ſharpe warres on the Romains, that they being chaſed from place to place, at length withdrewe to the citie of London, and there held them til Aſclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romains ſo muche, that in the end they iſſued forth of the Citie, and gaue batayle to the Britons, in the whiche muche people on both partes were ſlayn, but the greateſt number dyed on the Romaines ſyde: and amongeſt other, Alectus himſelf was ſlayne. The reſidue of the Romains that were lefte alyue, retired backe into the Citie with a captayn of theirs named Liuius Gallus, and defended themſelues within the walles for a tyme right valiantly.

Fabian.
Mat. VVeſt.

Thus was Alectus ſlayne of the Britons, after he had reigned (as ſome ſuppoſe) aboute the terme of ſixe yeres (or as ſome other write) three yeares.

Aſclepiodotus duke of Cornewall.

Aſclepiodotus
Galfr. Mon.
Mat. VVeſt.

ASclepiodotus, Duke of Cornewall, began his reign ouer the Britons in yͤ yeare of oure Lorde 232.

After he had vanquiſhed the Romaynes in battayle, as before is recited, he layd his ſiege about the citie of London, and finally by knightly force entred the ſame, and ſlew the fornamed Liuius Gallus neere vnto a brooke, whiche in thoſe dayes ranne through the citie, and threwe him into the ſame brooke: By reaſon whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus brooke. And at this preſente the ſtreet where the ſame brooke did runne, is called Walbrooke.

Then after that Aſclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimyes, hee helde this lande a certayne ſpace in good reſt and quiet, and miniſtred iuſtice vprightly, in rewarding the good, and puniſhing the euyll. Till at lengthe through ſlaunderous toungs of malicious perſons, diſcorde was reyſed betwixte the king and one Coyll or Coylus, that was gouernoure of Colcheſter: the occaſion wherof appeareth not by writers.

But whatſoeuer the matter was, there enſued ſuch hatred betwixt thẽ, that on both partes great armies were rayſed, and meetyng in the fielde, they fought a ſore and myghtie battayle, in the whiche Aſclepiodotus was ſlayn, after he had reigned .xxx. yeares.

Thus hath Geffrey of Monmouth, and our common Chroniclers written of Carauſſius, Alectus, and Aſclepiodotus, whyche gouerned her in Britayne.

Eutropius

But Eutropius that famous writer of the Romayne hiſtories, in the Actes of Diocletian hath in effecte theſe wordes.

About the ſame tyme Carauſſius, the whiche being borne of moſte baſe offſpring, atteyned to highe honour and dignitie by order of renowmed Chiualrie and ſeruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to kepe the ſeas quiet alongſt yͤ coaſts of Britain, Frãce, and Flaunders, & other countreys therabouts, bycauſe the Frenchemen, whiche yet inhabited within the boundes of Germanye) and the Saxons ſore troubled thoſe ſeas. Carauſius taking oftentymes many of the enimies, neyther reſtored the goodes to them of the countreye from whom the enimies had bereft the ſame, nor yet ſent any parte therof to the Emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vſe. Wherevpon when ſuſpition roſe, that he ſhoulde of purpoſe ſuffer the enimies to paſſe by hym, tyll they had taken ſome pryſes, that in their returne with the ſame, he myght encounter with them, and take that from them whyche they hadde gotten, (by whiche ſubtile practiſe he was thought greatly to haue enriched himſelfe) Maximianus that was fellowe in gouernement of the Empire with Diocleſianus, remaynyng then in Gallia, and aduertiſed of theſe doinges, commaunded that Carauſius ſhoulde be ſlayn, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vſurping the imperiall ornamentes and title, got poſſeſſion of Britayne, againſt whom (being a man of greate experience in all warlyke knowledge) when warres had ben attempted and folowed in vayn, at lengthe a peace was concluded with him, and ſo he enioyed the poſſeſſion of Britayn by the ſpace of. vij. yeares, and then was ſlaine by his companion Alectus, the whiche after him ruled Britayn for the ſpace of. iij. yeares, and was in the end oppreſſed by the guyle of Aſclepiodotus gouernour of the Pretorie, (or as I may call him) lord Lieutenant of ſome precinct and iuriſdiction perteyning to the Romayne empire. And ſo was Britayn recouered by the foreſaid Aſclepiodotus about. x. yeres after that Carauſius had firſt vſurped the gouernment there, and about the yere of our Lord. 300. as Polydor iudgeth, wherin he varieth muche from Fabian and others.

he couetous aling of rauſius.

axinianus rpoſeth to a Carauſius.

olydore.

utropius.

300.

But to ſhew what we fynde further written of the ſubduing of Alectus, I think it not amiſſe to ſette downe what Mamertinus in his Oration written in prayſe of Maximianus doth report of this matter: After he hath reckened vp diuers noble victories by the ſayde Maximianus atchieued, & ſundry nations by his force ſubdued, he beginneth with Britayn in this wyſe.

Mamertinus

Now then all the compaſſe of the earth being recouered through your noble prowes, not onely ſo farre as the limittes of the Romayne empire hadde before extended, but alſo the enimyes borders being ſubdewed, when Almayne had ben ſo often vanquiſhed, and Sarmatia ſo often reſtreyned and broughte vnder, the people called *Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi*, ſo often put to flighte, the Gothe ſubmitting himſelfe, ẏ king of Perſia by offering giftes, ſuing for peace, one deſpitefull reproche of ſo myghtie an Empire and gouernement ouer the whole, greeued vs to the hearte, as nowe at length we will not ſticke to confeſſe, and to vs it ſeemed the more intollerable, bycauſe it onely remayned to the accompliſhing of your perfecte renowme and glorie: and verily not lyke as there is but one name of Britayne, ſo was the loſſe to be eſteemed ſmall to the common wealth, of a lande ſo plentyfull of corne, ſo aboundant with ſtore of paſtures, ſo flowing wyth vaynes of mettall, ſo gaynefull with reuenues, riſing of cuſtomes and tributes, ſo enuironned with hauens, ſo huge in circuite, the which when Ceſar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the firſt that entred into it, wrote that he had founde an other worlde, ſuppoſing it to bee ſo bigge, that it was not compaſſed with the ſea, but that rather by reſemblaunce, the greate Ocean was compaſſed with it: and at that time Britayn was nothyng furniſhed with ſhippes of warre, and the Romains nowe after the warres of Carthage and Aſia, had lately bene exerciſed by ſea agaynſt Pyrates, and afterwardes by reaſon of the warres agaynſte Mithridates, were practiſed as well to fighte by ſea as lande: beſyde thys the Brittiſhe nation then alone was accuſtomed but onely to the Pictes and Iriſhmen, enimies halfe naked as yet, and not vſed to weare armour, ſo that the Britons for lacke of ſkill, eaſylye gaue place to the Romayne puiſſaunce, in ſo muche that Ceſar myght by that voyage onely glorye in this, that he had ſayled and paſſed ouer the Ocean ſea. But in thys wycked rebellious robberie, firſte the nauie that in tymes paſte defended the coaſtes of Gallia was ledde awaye by the Pyrate, when he fled his wayes: and beſide this, a great number of other ſhyppes were buylt after the moulde of oures, the Legion of Romayne Souldiours was wonne, and broughte to take parte with the enimie, and dyuers bandes of ſtraungers that were alſo Souldioures, were ſhutte vp in the Shippes to ſerue alſo agaynſt vs. The merchauntes of the parties of Gallia were aſſembled and broughte togyther to the muſters, and no ſmall numbers of barbarous nations, procured to come in ayde of the Rebelles, truſtyng to enryche themſelues by the ſpoyle of the prouinces: and all theſe were trayned in the warres by ſea, thorough the inſtruction of the firſte attemptours of this miſchieuous practiſe. And although oure armyes were inuincible in force and manhoode, yet were they rawe and not accuſtomed to the ſeas, ſo that the fame of a greeuous and greate trouble by warre that was towarde by this ſhamefull rebellyous robberye, was blowen and ſounded in eche mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Unto the enimies forces was added a long ſufferance of theyr

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie & Polone.

Pictes and Iriſhmen.

Long ſufferãce of euill, increaſeth boldneſſe in the authors.

Carauſius ſlayne.

Fronto comp[illegible] Ciceros [illegible]che.

wicked practiſes without puniſhement whyche had puffed vp the preſumptuous boldneſſe of deſperate people, that they bragged of our ſtay, as if it had bin for feare of them, where the diſaduauntage whiche wee hadde by ſea, ſeemed as it were by a fatall neceſſitie to deferre our victorie: neyther dydde they beleeue that the warre was put off for a tyme by aduyſe and counſell, but rather to be omitted through deſpayre to doe any good againſt them, in ſo much that now the feare of common puniſhment being layd aſide, one of the mates ſlew the archpyrate or capitayn rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of ſo great an exployte to obteyne the whole gouernemente into his handes. This warre then being bothe ſo neceſſarie, ſo hard to enter vpon, ſo growne in tyme to a ſtubburne ſtiffneſſe, and ſo wel prouided for of the enimies part, you noble Emperor, did ſo take it in hand, that ſo ſoon as you bent the thũdring force of your imperiall maieſtie againſt that enimie, eche mã made accompt that the enterpriſe was already atchieued: for firſt of al, to yͤ end yͭ your diuine power being abſent, the barbarous nations ſhould not attempt any new trouble (a thing chiefly to be forſene) it was prouided for aforehand by interceſſiõ made vnto your maieſtie: for you your ſelfe, you I ſay mightie lord Maximian eternall emperor, vouchedſafe to aduãce the cõming of your diuine excellẽcie by the nereſt way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne: you therefore ſodeynly came to the Rhine, and not with any armie of horſemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your preſence, did preſerue & defend al that frontier: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruayled any the greateſt armies that were to bee founde. For you (moſt inuincible Emperor) furniſhing & arming diuers nauies, made the enimie ſo vncertain of his own doings and voyd of coũſel, that then at length he might perceyue that he was not defended but encloſed with the Ocean ſea. Here cõmeth it to mynde how pleaſant and eaſefull the good lucke of thoſe princes in gouerning the cõmon wealth with praiſe was, whiche ſitting ſtil in Rome had triumphs and ſurnames appointed them of ſuch nations as their captains did vanquiſhe. Fronto therefore, not the ſeconde, but matche with the firſt honour of the Romaine eloquence, when he yelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renome of the warre brought to end in Britayn, although he ſitting at home in his palace within the citie, had cõmitted the cõduct & ſucceſſe of that war ouer vnto the ſame Fronto, it was cõfeſſed by him, yͭ the Emperor ſitting as it were at the helme of the ſhip, deſerued yͤ prayſe by giuing of perfect order to the full accõpliſhing of the enterpriſe. But you moſt inuincible Emperour, haue bin not onely the appointer forth howe all this voyage by ſea, and proſecuting the warre by lande ſhoulde be demeaned, as apperteyned to you by vertue of your Imperiall rule and dignitie, but alſo you haue bene an exhorter and ſetter forward in the things themſelues, and through example of your aſſured conſtancie, the victorie was atchieued. For you taking the Sea at Sluyce, didde put an irreuocable deſire into their heartes that were readye to take ſhippe the ſame tyme in the mouth of the ryuer of Sayne, in ſo muche that when the Capitaynes of that armie were about to linger tyme, by reaſon the ſeas and ayre was troubled, they cryed to haue the ſayles hoyſed vp, and ſigne giuen to launche forth that they myght paſſe forwarde on theyr iourney, deſpiſing certayne tokens which threatned theyr wrecke, and ſo ſet forward on a raynie and tempeſtuous daye, ſaylyng wyth a croſſe wynde, for no forewynde myghte ſerue theyr tourne. But what was hee that durſt not committe him ſelfe vnto the ſea were the ſame neuer ſo vnquiet, when you were once vnder ſayle, and ſette forwarde? One voyce and exhortation was amonge them all (as reporte hathe gone thereof) when they hearde that you were once got forth vppon the water, what doe wee doubte? what meane we to ſtaye? hee is nowe lewſed from lande, he is forwarde on his way, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: let vs put all thyngs in proofe, lette vs venture thorough anye daungers of ſea whatſoeuer, what is there that we may ſtand in fear of? we folow the emperour: neyther didde the opinion of your good happe deceyue them: for as by reporte of themſelues, wee doe vnderſtande, at that ſelfe tyme there fell ſuche a myſte and thycke fogge vpon the Seas, that the enimyes Nauie layde at the Iſle of Wyghte, watchyng for theyr aduerſaries and lurkyng as it were in awayte, theſe your ſhippes paſſed by, and were not once perceyued, neyther did the enimie then ſtaye, although he coulde not reſiſte. But nowe as concerning that the ſame armye vnvanquiſhable fyghting vnder your enſignes and name ſtreight wayes after it came to lande, ſet fyre on theyr ſhippes: what moued them ſo to doe, excepte the admonitions of your diuine motion? or what other reaſon perſwaded them to reſerue no furtheraunce for theyr flight if neede were, nor to feare the doubtfull chaunces of warre, nor as the Prouerbe ſayeth, to thinke the hazarde of martiall dealyngs to be common, but that by contemplation of your proſperous happe, it was verie certayne that there needed no doubte to bee caſte, for victorie to be obteined? There were no ſufficiẽt forces at that preſent amõg them, no mighty puiſſant ſtrength of Romains, but they had only conſideration of your vnſpeakable fortunate ſucceſſe commyng from the heauens aboue, for what ſo euer battaile doth chaunce to be offered, to make ful accompt of victorie, reſteth not ſo muche in the aſſuraunce of the ſouldiours, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the Capitaine generall. That ſame ringleader of the vngratious faction, what meinte he to depart frõ that ſhore whiche he poſſeſſed? Why did he forſake bothe his nauie and the hauen? but that (moſte inuincible Emperour) hee ſtoode in feare of your commyng, whoſe ſayles hee behelde readie to approche towards him, howſoeuer the matter ſhoulde fall out, he choſe rather to trye his fortune wyth your capitaynes than to abyde the preſent force of your maieſtie: a madde man that vnderſtoode not, that whether ſo euer he fled, the power of your diuine maieſtie to be preſent, in all places where your countenance and banners are had in reuerence. But hee fleeing from your preſence, fell into the handes of youre people, of you was he ouercome, of youre armies was he oppreſſed. To be ſhort, he was brought into ſuche feare, and as it were ſtill looking behynde him, for doubte of your comming after him, that as one out of his remembrance amazed what to do, he haſted forward to his death, ſo that he neyther ſette his men in order of battayle, nor marſhalled ſuche power as hee had about him, but onely with the olde authors of that conſpiracie, & the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetful of ſo great preparation which he had made, ran hedlong forwards to his deſtruction, inſomuch (noble emperor) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the cõmon welth, that the victorie being atchieued in the behalfe of the Romain empire, there almoſt died not one Romain: for as I heare, all thoſe fields and hilles laye couered with none but only with the bodies of moſte wicked enimies, the ſame beeing of the barbarous nations, or at the leſt wiſe apparelled in the counterfait ſhapes of barbarous garments, gliſtering with their long yealow heares, but nowe with gaſhes of woundes & bloud all deformed, and lying in ſundry maners, as the pangs of death occaſioned by their woundes, had cauſed them to ſtretch forth or draw in their maymed limmes and mangled parts of their dying bodies. And among theſe, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was founde, who had put off thoſe robes which in his life time he had vſurped & diſhonored, ſo as vneth was he couered wyth one piece of apparell wherby he might be knowen, ſo neare were his wordes true vttered at the houre of his death, whiche he ſaw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderſtoode howe he was ſlayn. Thus verily (moſt inuincible emperour) ſo greate a victorie was appointed to you by conſent of the immortall gods ouer al the enemies whom you aſſayled, but namely the ſlaughter of the Frankeners & thoſe youre ſouldiours alſo, which as before I haue ſayd, through miſſyng their courſe by reaſon of the myſt that lay on the ſeas, were nowe come to the citie of London, where they ſlewe downe right in eche parte of the ſame citie, what multitude ſoeuer remayned of thoſe hyred barbarous people, which eſcaping from the bataile, mente after they had ſpoyled the citie to haue got away by flight. But now being thus ſlain by your ſouldiours, the ſubiects of your prouince were both preſerued from further daunger, and tooke pleaſure to beholde the ſlaughter of ſuche cruell enimies. O what a manyfolde victorie was this? worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable triumphes, by which victorie Britayne is reſtored to the Empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlye deſtroyed, and by whiche many other nations found acceſſaries in the cõſpiracie of that wicked practiſe, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the ſeas are purged and broughte to perpetuall quietnes. Glorie you therfore, inuincible Emperor, for that you haue, as it were gote an other worlde, and in reſtoring to the Romain puiſſaunce the glorie of conqueſt by ſea, haue added to the Romain empire an element greater than al the compaſſe of the earth, that is, the mightie mayne Ocean. You haue made an ende of the warre, inuincible Emperour, that ſeemed as preſent to threaten all prouinces, and might haue ſpreade abroade, and burſt out in flame, euen ſo largely, as yͤ Ocean Seas ſtretche, and the Mediterrane gulfes do reache: neither are we ignorant althoughe thorough feare of you that infection did feſter within the bowels of Britayn only, and proceeded no further, wͭ what furie it would haue auanced it ſelfe elſe where if it might haue bin aſſured of meane to haue raunged abroade ſo farre as it wiſhed. For it was bounded in with no bordure of mountayne, nor ryuer, whych garniſons appoynted, were garded and defended but euen ſo as the ſhippes although we had your martiall prowes and proſperous fortune readye to relieue vs, was ſtill at oure elbowes to put vs in feare, ſo farre as eyther ſeas reache or wynde bloweth: for that incredible boldeneſſe and vnworthy good happe of a few captiues of the Frankeners in time of yͤ Emperour Probus came to our remembrance whiche Frankeners in that ſeaſon, conueying away certayn veſſels from the coaſtes of Pontus, waſted both Grecia & Aſia, and not without great hurt & damage ariſing vpon diuers

e good cke in a ptayne.

Alectus founde dead.

He had diſpoyled himſelfe of the imperiall robes bycauſe he vvould not be knovven if he chanced to be ſlayne.

Francones ſiue Franci.

London in danger to be ſpoyled.

The piracy of the Frankeyners called Franci or Francones.

partes of the ſhore of Libya, at length toke the Citye of Saragoſe in Sicile (an hauen towne in tymes paſte hyghely renowmed for victories gotten by ſea:) and after this, paſſyng thorough the ſtreytes of Gibralterra, came into the Ocean, & ſo with the fortunate ſucceſſe of their raſhe preſumptuous attempte, ſhewed how nothing is ſhut vp in ſafety from the deſperate boldneſſe of pyrates, where ſhips may come and haue acceſſe. And ſo therfore by this your victorie, not Britain alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is ſafetie reſtored, which might by the vſe of the ſeas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gayne of commodities in tyme of peace. Now Spayne (to let paſſe the coaſtes of Gallia) with hir ſhores almoſt in ſight is in ſuretie: now Italy, now Afrike, nowe all nations euen vnto the fennes of Meotis are voyde of perpetuall cares. Neyther therfore are they leſſe ioyful, the feare of danger being taken away, which to feele as yet, the neceſſitie had not brought thē: but they reioyce ſo muche the more for this, that both in the guiding of your good prouidence, and alſo furtheraunce of fortune, ſo great a force of rebellion by ſea men, is calmed vpon the entring into their bordures, and Britayne it ſelfe whiche had giuen harburgh to ſo long a miſchief, is euidently knowne to haue taſted of your victorie, with hir only reſtitutiō to quietneſſe. Not without good cauſe therefore immediatly, when you hir long wiſhed reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your Maieſtie was met with greate triumph, and the Britayns repleniſhed with all inwarde gladneſſe, came forth and offered themſelues to youre preſence, with their wyues and children, reuerencing not onely youre ſelfe (on whome they ſette their eyes, as on one deſcended downe them to from heauen) but alſo euen the ſayles and tagle of that ſhippe whiche hadde brought your diuine preſence vnto their coaſtes: and when you ſhould ſette foote on lande, they were readie to lye downe at your feete, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, ſo deſirous were they of you. Neither was it any meruaile if they ſhewed them ſelues ſo ioyfull, ſithe after their miſerable captiuitie ſo many yeres continued after ſo long abuſing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at lengthe yet were they nowe reſtored to libertie, at lengthe made Romaynes, at lengthe refreſhed with the true lighte of the Imperiall rule and gouernement: for beſide the fame of your clemencie and pitie whiche was ſet forth by the report of all nations, in your countenaunce (Ceſar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eyes myldeneſſe, in your ruddie cheekes baſhfulnes, in your wordes iuſtice: All which thinges as by regarde they acknowledged, ſo with voyces of gladneſſe they ſignifyed on high. To you they bounde them ſelues by vowe, to you they bounde their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the poſteritie of their race and offpring. We truely (O perpetuall parentes and lordes of mankinde) require this of the immortall gods with moſt earneſt ſupplication and heartie prayer, that our children and their children, and ſuche other as ſhall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicate vnto you and to thoſe whome you now bring vp, or ſhal bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can wee wiſhe to them that ſhall ſucceede vs, than to bee enioyers of that felicitie which now we our ſelues enioy? The Romaine common wealth doth now comprehende in one coniunction of peace, al that whatſoeuer at ſundry times hath belonged to the Romaines, and that huge power whyche wyth to great a burdeyn was ſhronke downe, and riuen in ſunder, is nowe broughte to ioyne agayn in the aſſured ioyntes of the imperiall gouernement. For there is no parte of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that eyther it remayneth quiet through feare, or ſubdued by force of armes, or elſe at the leaſt wyſe bounde by clemencie. And is there any other thing elſe in other partes, whych if wyll and reaſon ſhould moue men therto, that might bee obteyned? beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Brytaine, which is ſo recouered by you, that thoſe nations which are neare adioyning to the boundes of that Iſle, are obedient to your commaundementes? There is no occaſion that maye moue you to paſſe further, excepte the endes of the Ocean ſea (which nature forbiddeth) ſhoulde bee ſought for. All is yours (moſte inuincible Princes whiche are accompted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equally prouide for euery one, ſithe you haue the whole in your handes: and therfore as heretofore (moſte excellent Emperoure) Diocleſian, by thy commaundemente Aſia dyd ſupplye the deſerte places of Thracia with inhabitauntes tranſported thyther, as afterwarde moſte excellente Emperour Maximian, by your appoyntementement, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleaſant ſubiection, and admitted to lyue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacante fieldes of the Neruians, and thoſe about the citie of Trier: And ſo nowe by youre victories (inuincible Conſtantius Ceſar) whatſoeuer did lye vacant aboute Amiens, Beauvoys, Troys, and Langres, beginneth to flouriſhe with inhabitauntes of ſundrye nations: yea and moreouer that your moſt obedient Citie of Autun, for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioyce, by meanes of thys tryumphaunt victorie in Brytayne, it hathe receyued manye and diuers Artificers, of whom

there

Britayne reſtored to quietneſſe.

The Britaynes receyue Maximian with great ioy and humbleneſſe.

Diocle
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ificers forth Britayne.

thoſe prouinces were full, and nowe by their workmanſhip the ſame Citie riſeth vp by repairing of auncient houſes and reſtoryng of publique buyldings and temples, ſo that now it accompteth that the olde name of brotherlike incorporation to Rome, is again to hir reſtored, when ſhe hath you eftſones for hir founder. I haue ſayd (inuincible Emperor) almoſt more than I haue bin able, and not ſo muche as I ought, that I may haue moſte iuſt cauſe by your clemencies licence, both now to end, and often heereafter to ſpeake: & thus I ceaſſe.

Here haue you the ſubſtance of that whiche is written touching Britayn in that Panegerike oration aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, whiche he ſet forth in prayſe of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian: it is entitled only to Maximianus, whereas neuertheleſſe both the Emperours are praiſed. And lykewyſe as ye maye perceiue, Cōſtantius that was father vnto the great Conſtantine, is here ſpoke of, being choſen by the two foreſayde Emperours to aſſiſte them by the name of Ceſar in rule of the Empire: of whome hereafter more ſhall be ſayde.

But now to conſider what is to bee noted forth of this part of the ſame oration. It ſhuld ſeeme that when the emperor Maximian was ſent into Gallia by appoyntemente taken betwixt him and Diocletian after he had quieted things there, he ſet his mynde forthwith to reduce Britayn vnder the obedience of the Empire, the which was at that preſent kept vnder ſubiection of ſuch princes as maynteyned their ſtate, by the mightie forces of ſuche number of ſhips, as thei had got togither, furniſhed with al things neceſſarie, & namely of able ſeamē, as well Britons as ſtrangers, among whom the Frankeners wer as chief, a nation of Germanie, as then hyghly renoumed for their puiſſance by ſea, nere to the which they inhabited, ſo that there were no rouers comparable to them. And bycauſe none durſte ſtirre on theſe our ſeas for feare of the Britiſhe fleet that paſſed to and fro at pleaſure, to the great anoyance of the Romayne ſubiectes inhabiting alongeſt the coaſtes of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer agayne ſo wealthy and profitable a land vnto the obeyſance of the empire, as Britayne then was, & alſo to deliuer the people of Gallia ſubiectes to yͤ Romains, frō danger of being dayly ſpoyled by thoſe rouers that were maynteined here in Britayn, he prouided with all diligence ſuche numbers of ſhips as were thought requiſite for ſo great an enterpriſe, and rigging them in ſundry places, toke order for their ſetting forward to the moſt aduauntage for the eaſy atcheuing of his enterpriſe. He appointed to paſſe himſelfe frō the coaſts of Flanders, at what time other of his capitains with their fleetes from other parts, ſhould likewyſe make ſayle towards Britayn. By this meane Alectus that had vſurped the title and dignitie of king or rather emperor ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heede, but yet vnderſtanding of the nauie that was made ready in the mouth of Sayn, he ment by yͤ which may be coniectured, to intercept that fleet as it ſhuld come forth and make ſayle forewardes: and ſo for that purpoſe he lay with a great number of ſhips about the Ile of Wight. But now Aſclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigged on the coaſts of Flanders, or with ſome other, I will not preſume to affirme eyther to or fro, bicauſe in deed Mamertinus maketh no expreſſe mention either of Alectus, or Aſclepiodotus: but notwithſtanding, it is euident by that which is cōteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but ſome other of his capitains gouerned yͤ armie, whiche ſlewe Alectus, ſo that we may ſuppoſe that Aſclepiodotus was chiefftain ouer ſome number of ſhips directed by Maximinians appointment to paſſe ouer into this yle againſt the ſame Alectus: and ſo may this which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that whiche we fynd in Eutropius. Here is to be remembred, yͤ after Maximianus had thus recouered Britain out of their hands that vſurped the rule thereof frō the Romans, it ſhuld ſeem yͤ not only great numbers of artificers & other people were conueyed ouer into Gallia, there to inhabite and furniſh ſuch cities as were run into decay, but alſo a power of warlike youthes was tranſported thither to defend the countrey from the inuaſion of barbarous nations. For we fynd that in the dayes of this Maximian, the Britons expulſing the Neruiās out of the citie of Mons in Heynaud, held a caſtell there, whiche was called *Bretalmons* after them, whereupon the citie was afterwarde called Mons, reteyning the laſt ſillable only, as in ſuch caſes it hath oft happened.

Francī, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

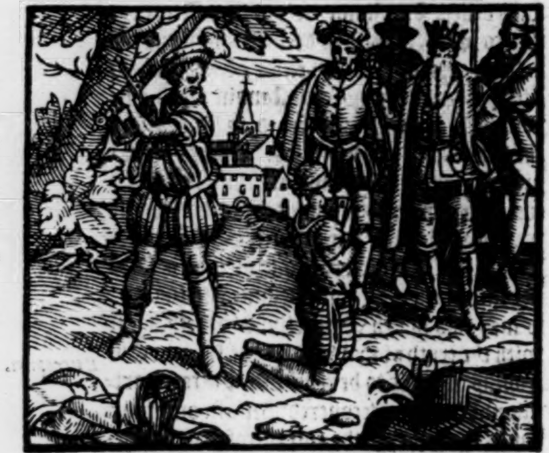
Eutropius.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, yͤ as Humf. Lhuyd hath very wel noted in his boke intitled *Fragmenta hiſtoriæ Britannicæ*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegerike oration doth make firſt mētion of the nation of Picts, of al other the ancient Roman writers: ſo that not one before his tyme, once nameth eyther Picts or Scots. But now to returne wher we left. After that Britain was thus recouered by the Romains, Diocletian & Maximiā ruling the Empire, the Ile taſted of the crueltie, that Diocleſian exerciſed agaynſt the Chriſtians, in perſecuting them with all extremityes, continually for the ſpace of ten yeeres.

Amongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a town now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffred here in Britayn, in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith of Chriſte by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whome he hadde receyued into his houſe: in ſo muche that when there came Sergeants or officers to ſeeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the aforeſayd Albane to preſerue Amphibalus out of daunger, preſented hymſelfe in the apparell of the ſayde Amphibalus, and ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge, and examined: and for that he refuſed to doe ſacrifice to the falſe goddes, he was beheaded on the toppe of an hill ouer agaynſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſayd, where afterwardes was buylded a churche and monaſterie in the remembrãce of his martirdom, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroyed; toke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons. It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wroughte at the tyme of his death, in ſo muche that one whiche was appointed to do the execution, was cõuerted, and refuſing to do that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that toke vpon him to doe it, reioyced nothing thereat, for his eyes fel out of his head, downe to the grounde together with the head of that holy man whiche he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame tyme two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his Religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon arwiſk.

Beda & Gildas.

Bede. See the booke of acts and monuments ſette forth by maſter Foxe.



Moreouer a great nũber of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of lyfe preached by that vertuous manne Amphibalus, were ſlayn by the wicked Pagans at Lychfield, wherof that towne toke name, as you wold ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Io. Roſſus VVarwicenſ. in li. de VVigornienſ. Epiſcopis. Liehfielde vvherof it toke name.

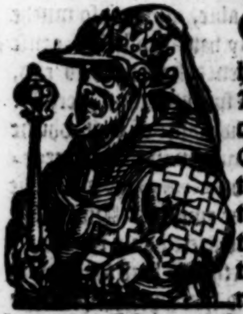
To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo greate & greuous, and therto ſo vniuerſall, that in maner the Chriſtiã religion was therby deſtroyed. The faithfull people were ſlayne, their bookes brent, & churches ouerthrown. It is recorded, that within one monethes ſpace in dyuers places of the worlde there were .xvij. M. godlye menne and women put to death for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the dayes of that tyrant Diocleſian and his fellowe Maximian.

Gildas.

Ranul Ceſtren Ma. W Ca

Coellus.

Coell



Coellus, Earle of Colcheſter, began hys dominion ouer the Brytons in the yeare of our Lord.262. This Coellus or Coill ruled the lande for a certayne tyme, ſo as the Brytons were well contented with his gouernement, and lyued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romains, bicauſe they were occupied in other places: but finally they findyng tyme for their purpoſe, appointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Iſle with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coelus in ſuche dread, that immediatly vpon his arriuall Coellus ſent to him an ambaſſade, and cõcluded a peace with him, couenãting to pay ẏ accuſtomed tribute, and gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helene, a noble Lady and a lerned. Shortly after king Coell dyed, after he had reigned (as ſome write). 27. yeares, or as other haue, but .13. yeares. Of the regiment of thys Prince, Harriſon maketh no mention in his Chronologie.

261. *Fabian.*

Caxton. Galfrid.

Fabian. Caxton.

But verily if I ſhall ſpeake what I thinke, I will not denye but aſſuredly ſuche a Prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helene, whome hee maried vnto Conſtantius the Romain lieutenant that was after Emperour, I leaue that to be decided of the learned: For if the whole courſe of the lyues, as well of the father and ſonne, Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as lykewyſe of the mother Helena, bee conſiderately marked from tyme to tyme, and yeare to yeare, as out of authors both Greeke and latine, ẏ ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt may ryſe in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helene a Britayne, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth) but for ſomuche as I meane not to ſteppe from the courſe of oure countreye writers in ſuche poynts, where the receyued opinion maye ſeeme to warrant the credite of the hiſtorie, I will with other admit bothe the mother and ſonne to be Britons in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as though I hadde forgot what in this place I haue ſayd.

Lib.7.ca.4

onſtã-
ius.

at. VVeſt.
ath. 302.

289.

Conſtantius.

CONſtantius, a Senatoure of Rome begã to reigne ouer the Britons, in ẏ yeare of oure Lorde. 289. as oure hiſtories reporte. Thys Conſtantius, as before ye haue hearde, hadde to wyfe Helene the daughter of the foreſayd king Coyll, of whome he begat a ſon named Conſtantinus, which afterwarde was Emperour, and for his worthy doings ſurnamed Conſtantine the great. S. Ambroſe folowing the common report, writeth, that this Helene was a mayde in an Inne: and ſome agayne write, that ſhe was concubine to Conſtantius, and not his wyfe. But whatſoeuer ſhe was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romain hiſtories, that Conſtantius being the daughters ſonne of one Criſpus, that was brother to the Emperour Claudius, came into Britayne, and quieted the troubles that were rayſed by the Britons, and there (as ſome write) maryed the foreſayd Helen being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet (after) he was conſtrayned to forſake, & to marrie Theodora, the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whom he hadde ſixe ſons, & finally was created Emperor togither with ẏ ſaid Galerius Maximianus, at what tyme Diocletianus and his fellowe Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the ſame vnto them. The Empire was then deuided betwixte them, ſo that to Conſtantius the regiõs of Italy, Affrik, France, Spayne and Britayne were aſſigned, and to Galerius, Illyrium, Grecia, and all the Eaſte partes. But Conſtantius being a man voyde of ambition, was contented to leaue Italy and Affrike, ſuppoſing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernment in his hands of Franſe, Spayn, and Britayn (as Eutropius hath.)

roſius.
eda.
uſebius.
abian.

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britons wee haue not to ſaye further than as we fynde in our owne writers recorded: but for his gouernment in the empire: it is to be conſidered, that firſt he was admitted to rule as an aſſiſtãt to Maximian vnder ẏ title of Ceſar: & ſo from that time if you ſhall accompt his reigne, it may comprehend xj. xij. or. xiij. yeares, yea more or leſſe, according to the diuerſitie founde in writers.

ril. Mariſ.

But if we ſhal recken his reign from the time onely that Diocletian and Maximian reſigned their title to the Empire, we ſhall fynde that he reigned not fully. iij. yeares. For where as betweene the ſlaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Conſtantius, are accompted. 8. yeares and odde monethes, not only thoſe. 8. yeares, but alſo ſome ſpace of tyme before maye be aſcribed vnto Conſtantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britayn now this laſt tyme (for he had bin here afore, as it well appeareth) Aſclepiodotus gouerned as Legate, albeit vnder Conſtantius, who had a greate portion of the weſt parties of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue ſayd of Ceſar, although he was not ſayde to reigne abſolutelye, till Diocletian and Maximian reſigned, whereof it is not amiſſe to giue this briefe aduertiſement, according as in William Hariſons Chronologie is ſufficiently proued. But now to conclude with the doings of Conſtãtius, at lẽgth he fel ſick at Yorke, and there dyed about the yeare of our Lord. 306.

306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whyleſt he lay on his death bed, ſomewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his ſonne Conſtantine was come, & eſcaped from the emperours Diocletian & Maximianus, with whome he remained as a pledge, as after ſhall be partly touched: he receyued him with all ioye, and raiſing himſelfe vp in his bed, in preſence of his other ſonnes and counſellours, with a greate number of other people and ſtrangers that wer come to viſit him, he ſet the crowne vpon his ſonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall roabes and garmentes, executing as it were himſelfe, the office of an heralde, and withall ſpake theſe wordes vnto his ſayd ſonne, and to his counſellors there about him.

Nicepho.

Nowe is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleaſant. I haue here a large epitaphe and monumente of buriall, to witte, myne owne ſonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be Emperor in my place, which by Gods good helpe ſhall wipe awaye the teares of the Chriſtians, and reuenge the crueltie exerciſed by tyrants. This I recken to chaunce vnto me in ſtede of moſte felicitie. After this, turning himſelfe to the multitude, he commaunded them all to be of good comforte, meaning thoſe that had not forſaken true vertue & godlineſſe in Chriſte, which Chriſt he vndertoke ſhould continue with his ſonne Conſtantine in al enterpriſes, which in warres or otherwyſe he ſhuld take in hande.

Tripartit. hiſtoria.

That deuiſe alſo is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practiſe in his lyfe time, to vnderſtand what true & ſincere Chriſtians were remayning in his courte: for where as he hadde bin firſte a perſecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter eaſy to perſuade the world, that he was no earneſte Chriſtian: and ſo the policie whiche hee thoughte to worke, was the ſooner brought to paſſe, whiche was this: He called together al his officers and ſeruants, feyning himſelfe to chooſe out ſuche as would doe ſacrifice to deuils, and that thoſe only ſhould remayne with hym, and keepe their office, and the reſte that refuſed ſo to doe, ſhoulde be thruſt out, and baniſhed the courte.

Herevpon all the Courtyers deuided themſelues into companies: and when ſome offred willingly to do ſacrifice, & other ſome boldly refuſed: the Emperoure marking their dealings, ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to diſhonor the liuing God, accompting them as traytors to his diuine maieſtie, and not worthy to remayne within the Court gates: but thoſe that conſtantly ſtood in the profeſſion of the chriſtian fayth, he greatly commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they ſhould be as chiefe counſellours and defendors both of his perſon and kingdom, eſteeming more of them than of al the treaſure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, hee was a prince graue, ſober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mynde euer free from couetous deſire of great riches: inſomuch that when he ſhould make any great feaſt to his frendes, he was not aſhamed to borow plate and ſyluer veſſell to ſerue his turne, and to furniſhe his cupborde for the tyme, beyng contented for himſelfe to be ſerued in cruſes and earthen veſſell. He was wonte to haue this ſaying in his mouth, that better it was that the ſubiectes ſhould haue ſtore of money and riches, thā the Prince to keepe it cloſe in his treaſorie, where it ſerued to no vſe. By ſuche curteous dealyng the prouinces whiche were in his charge flouriſhed in greate wealth and quietneſſe. He was a right wiſe and politike Prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, & verie ſkilfull in the practiſe of warres ſo that he ſtoode the Romane empire in great ſtead, and was therfore highly beloued of the Souldiours, in ſo muche that immediatly after his deceaſe, they proclaymed his ſon Conſtantine Emperour.

Pomponius Latus.

He dyed in the yere. 306 as Math. VVeſt. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britaynes, but. xi. yeares as Galf. hath.

That the Chriſtian faithe was imbraced of the Britons in this ſeaſon, it may appeare, in that Hillarius biſhop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britayne, and Conſtantine in an Epiſtle, as Theodoretus hath in his firſte boke and tenth chapiter maketh mencion of the churches in Britayne: Which alſo Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britons after they had receyued the faithe, defended the ſame euen with the ſheading of their bloud, as Amphibalus who in this Conſtantius days being apprehended, ſuffered at Redburne nere to Werlamcheſter, about xv. yeares after the martirdome of his hoſte S. Albane.

Conſtantine.

Conſta
tine.
306

CONſtantine beyng the ſonne of the forenamed Conſtantius, begot of his firſte wyfe Helene, the daughter (as ſome affirme) of Coell late king of the Britons, beganne his reigne in the yeare of our Lord. 306. This worthie prince begot of a britiſhe woman, and borne of hir in Britayne (as our writers doe affirme,) and created certainely Emperour in Britayne, doubtleſſe made his natiue countrey partaker of his hygh glorie and renoume, which by his great prowes, politike wiſedome, worthie gouernemente, and other his Princely qualities moſte abundantlye planted in his noble perſon, he purchaſed and got through the circuit of the whole earth, inſomuch that for the highe enterpriſes and noble actes by him happily broughte to paſſe and atchieued, he was ſurnamed (as before is ſayd) the great Cōſtantine.

Whileſt this Cōſtantine remained at Rome in manner as he had bin a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he beeing then but yong, fledde from thence, and with all poſt haſte returned to his father into Britain, killing or houghing by the way all ſuch horſſes as were appointed to ſtande at Innes readie for ſuche as ſhould ryde in poſte, leaſt being purſued, he ſhould haue bene ouertaken, and broughte backe agayne by ſuche as myght be ſent to purſue him.

Eutropi
Sextus A
relius Vi

At his comming into Britayne, he found his father ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, whereof ſhortly after hee dyed, and then was he by helpe of ſuch as were aboute him, encouraged to take vppon him as Emperour: And namely one Erocus, king of the Almaynes whiche had accompanied his father thither, aſſiſted him therto, ſo that being proclaymed Emperor, he toke vpon him the rule of thoſe countreys whiche his father had in gouernement, that is to ſay, Fraunce, Spayne, the Alpes, and Britayne, with other prouinces here in the weſt: and ruling the ſame with great equitie and wyſedome, hee greatly wanne the fauour of the people, inſomuch that the fame of his politike gouernemente and curteous dealing being ſpread abroade, when Maxentius the tiraunt that occupied the rule of the Empire at Rome, and in Italy by wrongful vſurping and abu-

Erocus kin
of the A
mains.

Maxenti
the tyrat.

abuſing the ſame, was growne into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Conſtantine was earneſtly by them requeſted to come into Italy, and to helpe to ſubdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the ſtate of things there. Maxentius was ſonne to Herculeus Maximinianus, Conſtantine had marryed Fauſta the daughter of the ſayde Maximinianus. Nowe ſo it was, that Maximinianus immediatly after that his ſonne Maxentius hadde taken the rule vpon hym, ſought meanes to haue depoſed hym, & to haue reſumed and taken eftſoones into his owne handes the gouernement of the empire. But ſolliciting Diocletian to do the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreaſonable & ambicious purpoſe: ſo ẏ when he perceiued that neither Diocletian woulde be therto agreeable, nor induce the ſouldiours to admit him, they hauing already eſtabliſhed his ſonne, he began to deuyſe wayes howe to aſſure the ſtate more ſtrongly to his ſayde ſonne: and hearyng that his ſonne in law Conſtantine was mynded to come into Italy againſt him, he purpoſed to practiſe Conſtantines deſtruction, in ſomuch that it was iudged by this which folowed, ẏ Herculeus Maximinus did but for a colour ſeme to miſlyke with that whiche his ſon Maxentius had done, to the ende he might the ſooner accompliſhe his entente for the diſpatching of Conſtantine oute of the waye. Hereupon (as it were) fleing out of Italy, he came to Conſtantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britayn, remayned in France, and with all ioy and honor that might bee, receiued his father in lawe: the which being earneſtly bent to compaſſe his purpoſe, made his daughter Fauſta priuie therto: whiche ladie, either for feare leaſt the concealyng therof might turne hir to diſpleſure, either elſe for the entier loue whiche ſhe bare to hir huſbande) reueled hir fathers wicked purpoſe. Whereupon whileſt Conſtantine goeth about to be reuenged of ſuche a trayterous practiſe, Herculeus fleeth to Merſiles, purpoſing there to take the ſea, and ſo to retire to his ſonne Maxentius into Italye. But ere he coulde get away from thence, he was ſtrangled by commaundemente of his ſonne in lawe Conſtantine, and ſo ended his lyfe, whiche he had ſpotted with many cruell actes, as well in perſecutyng the profeſſours of the Chriſtian name, as others.

iſſimulation.

anulphus
eſtrenſis.

auſta the daughter of Maxi
minus & vvife
o Conſtantine.

Marſiles.

Maximinus
ſlayne.
An.Chri.311.

In this mean time had Maximinus adopted one Licinius to aſſiſte hym in gouernaunce of the empire, proclaymyng hym Ceſar. So that nowe at one ſelfe tyme Conſtantine gouerned Fraunce and the weaſt partes of the Empire, Maxentius helde Italy, Affrike, and Egypte: And Maximinus whyche lykewyſe had ben elected Ceſar, ruled the Eaſte partes, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia.

Licinius choſen
fellovv vvith
Maximinus
in the empire.

But ſhortly after, the Emperoure Conſtantine ioyned in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his ſiſter in marriage, named Conſtantia, for more ſuretie of faithfull friendſhip to endure betwixt them. He ſent him alſo againſt Maximinus, who gouerning in the Eaſt parte of the Empire, purpoſed the deſtruction of Conſtantine and all his partakers: but being vanquiſhed by Licinius at Tarſus, he ſhortly after dyed, being eaten with lice. Conſtantine after this, was called into Italy to deliuer the Romaynes and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, whiche occaſion ſo offered, Conſtantine gladly accepting, paſſed into Italy, and after certaine victories gote againſte Maxentius, at length ſlewe him. And after this, when Maximinus was dead, whiche prepared to make warre againſte Licinius, that hadde married Conſtantia, the ſiſter of Conſtantine, hee finally made warre againſt his brother in lawe the ſayde Licinius, by reaſon of ſuche quarrels as fell out betwixt the: In the whiche warre, Licinius was putte to the worſe, and at length comming into the handes of Conſtantine, was put to deathe, ſo that Conſtantine by this meanes gote the whole Empire vnder his rule and ſubiection. Hee was a greate fauorer of the Chriſtian Religion, in ſomuche that to aduance the ſame, hee tooke order for the conuerting of the Temples dedicated in the honors of Idols, vnto the ſeruice of the true and Almightie God. Hee commaunded alſo, that none ſhould be admitted to ſerue as a Souldiour in the warres, excepte hee were a Chriſtian, nor yet to haue rule of any countrey or armie. Hee alſo ordeyned, the weeke before Eaſter, and that whiche folowed, to be kept as holy, and no perſon to doe any bodily workes during the ſame.

Chriſtians honoured & cheriſhed.

He was muche counſailed by that noble & moſt vertuous ladie his mother, the Empreſſe Helene, the whiche being a godly and deuoute woman, did what in her laye, to moue him to the ſetting forth of Gods honour and encreaſe of the chriſtian faith, wherein as yet he was not fully inſtructed. Some writers alledge, that ſhe beeing at Ieruſalem, made diligent ſearche to finde out the place of the Sepulchre of our Lorde, and at length founde it, though with muche adoe: for the infidels had ſtopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and buylded alofte vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where yong women vſed to ſing ſonges in honoure of that vnchaſte Goddeſſe. Helene cauſed the ſame to be ouerthrowne, and the earth to be remoued, and the place clenſed, ſo that at length the ſepulchre appeared, and faſt by were founde there buried in the earth iij. croſſes and the nailes, but the croſſe whereuppon our Sauiour was crucifyed,

Polydore.
The prayſe of the Empreſſe Helena.

320.

was

The Croſſe founde.

was knowen by the title written vpon it, though almoſt worne out, in letters of Hebrew, greke, and Latine: the inſcription was this: *Ieſus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum.* It was alſo perceyued which was that Croſſe by a miracle, (as it is reported, but how truly I can not tell), that ſhuld be wrought thereby: For being layde to a ſicke woman, only with the touching therof, ſhe was healed. It was alſo ſayde, that a dead man was rayſed from death to lyfe, his bodie onely being touched therwith. Wherupon Conſtantine moued with theſe things, forbade that from thenceforth any ſhould be put to death on the Croſſe, to the ende that the thing which afore tyme was accompted infamous and reprochefull, myghte nowe be had in honour and reuerence.

Polidorus.

Polidorus.

The Empreſſe Helen hauing thus found the Croſſe, buylded a temple there, and taking wyth hir the nayles, returned with the ſame to hir ſon Conſtantine, who ſet one of them in the creſt of his helmet, an other in the brydell of his horſſe, and the thirde he caſt into the ſea, to aſſuage and pacifie the furious tempeſtes and rage thereof. She alſo brought with hir a parcell of that holy Croſſe, and gaue it to hir ſonne the ſayd Conſtantine, the whiche he cauſed to be cloſed within an Image that repreſented his perſon, ſtanding vppon a piller in the market place of Conſtantine, (or as ſome late writers haue) he cauſed it to be encloſed in a coffer of golde, adorned with ryche ſtones and Pearles, placing it in a Churche called Seſſoriana, the which church he endued with many great giftes and precious ornamentes.

Many workes of greate zeale and vertue are remembred by writers to haue bin done by thys Conſtantine and his mother Helene, to the ſetting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduauncing of the faith of Chriſte.

The commendation of Conſtantine.

But to be briefe, he was a manne in whome many excellent vertues and good qualities bothe of mynde and bodie manifeſtly appeared, chiefly he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earneſt louer of iuſtice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

But nowe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the ſtate of Britayne in his tyme, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that as beefore is recorded, at his going ouer into into Fraunce, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he lefte beehynde hym in Britayne certayne gouernours to rule the land, and amongſt other one Maximinus a right valiãt captayne. He toke with him a great part of the youth of Britayn, & diuers of the chiefe men amongſt the Nobilitie, in whoſe approued manhode, loyaltie and conſtancie, he conceyued a great hope to goe through with al his enterpriſes, as with ye which being accompanied and compaſſed about, he paſſed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italye, and in euery place ouercame his enimies.

VVil. Malm.

Britayns dwelling in VVales vnder Conſtantine.

Ther be that write how that Conſtantin thus conueying ouer the ſea with him a great armye of Britons, by whoſe induſtrie obteyning victorie as he wiſhed, hee placed a greate number of ſuche as were diſcharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a parte of Gallia towardes the Weaſt ſea coaſt, where theyr poſteritie remayn vnto this daye, meruailouſly encreaſed afterwardes, and ſomewhat differyng from our Britons, the Welchmen, in manners and language.

Galfrid.

Mat. VVe.

Amongſt thoſe noble men which he toke with him when he departed out of this lande (as oure writers do teſtifie, were. iii. vncles of his mother Helene, that is to witte, Ioelinus, Traherus, & Marius, whom he made Senatours of Rome.

Octauius.

Caxton.

Geuiſſes inhabited the countrey which the VVeſt Saxons after helde.

The ſame Geuiſſes came in with the Saxons of Germany &c.

In the meane tyme that Conſtantine had obteyned and ruled the whole empire, Britain as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being her king, had got the gouernment of the whole earthe, remayned in better quiete than afore time ſhe had done: but yet in the mean ſeaſon, if we ſhall credite the Brittiſhe Chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpreter thereof, There was a Brittiſh lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the olde Engliſhe Chronicle nameth hym, that was Duke of the Gewiſſes, and appoynted by Conſtantine to be ruler of the lande in his abſence, the whiche Octauius (after that Conſtantine had recouered Rome, and Italy, and was ſo buſied in the affaires of the empire in thoſe parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britayn,) ſeyſed into his handes the whole dominion of Britayne, and held himſelfe for king.

Octauius.

Octa-uius.

Galfrid.

329

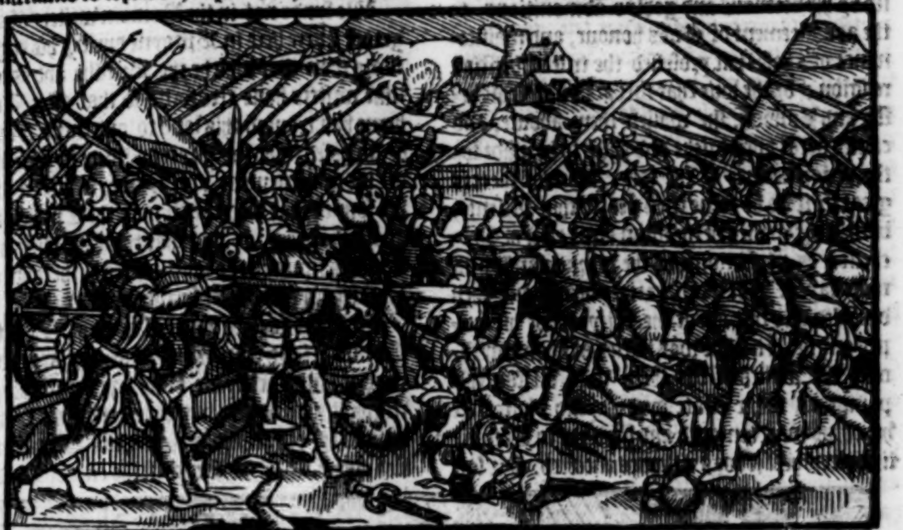
Fabian.

Galfrid.

This Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of our Lorde, 329. prouoked Conſtantine to ſend agaynſt him one of his mothers vncles, the foreſayd Trahern. This Traherne, or as ſome name him Traherne, entred this lande with three Legions of ſouldiours, and in a felde neere vnto Wincheſter, was encountred by Octauius and his Britons his agreeth t altogither ich that hich Hector oetius wri- th, as in the ottiſh Chro- cle appereth.

tons, by whome after a ſore battayle there ſtriken betwixte them, in the ende Traherne was put to flight and chaſed, in ſomuche that he was conſtrained to forſake that part of the lande, and to drawe towardes Scotlande.

Octauius hauing knowledge of his paſſage, followed him, and in the country of Weſtmerlande eftſones gaue him battaile, but in that battayle, Octauius was put to the worſſe, and conſtrayned to forſake the lande, fled into Norway, there to purchaſe ayde: and being redy with ſuch power as he there gathered, what of Britons and Norwegians, to returne into Britayn. Before his landing, he was aduertiſed, that an Earle of Britayne whiche bare him heartie good will, had by treaſon ſlayne Traherne. Octauius then cōming to lande, eftſones got poſſeſſion of Britayne, whiche ſhould be as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lorde. 329. in the. 20. yeere of the reigne of the Emperour Conſtantine, and about two yeares after that the ſayd Octauius firſt toke vpon him as king.



rtherne ſlain. ee in the ſcot iſh Chronicles ore of theſe atters.

at. VVeſt. eth.316.

After this, (as the Britiſhe Chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerneth the lande right nobly and greatly to the contentation of the Brytons. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no iſſue but one daughter, he was coūſayled to ſend vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble yong man, couſin to the Emperour Conſtantine, on the part of his mother Helene, to come into Britayne, and to take to wyfe the ſaide daughter of Octauius, and ſo with hir to haue the kingdome.

Maximianus is ſent for,

Conan Meridoc duke of Cornevvall,

This agreeth not vvith that vvhich is found in the Scottiſh chronicles.

Octauius at the firſt mente to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc Duke of Cornewall, whiche was his nephue: but when the Lordes would not therto agree, at length he apointed one Maurice ſonne to the foreſaid Conan to goe vnto Rome to fetche the forenamed Maximian. Maurice according to his commiſſion & inſtructions in that behalf receyued, came to Rome, and declared his meſſage in ſuch effectuall ſorte, that Maximianus conſented to go with him into Britayne, and ſo taking with him a conuenient number ſet forwarde, and did ſo muche by his iourneys, that finally he landed here in Britayn, and notwithſtanding that Conan Meridock paſt not much to haue bin doing with him, for malice that he conceyued towardes him, bicauſe he ſaw that by his meanes he ſhould be put beſide the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus ſafely brought to the kinges preſence, and of him honourably receyued, and finally the mariage was knitte vp, and ſolemniſed in all princely maner.

Maximianus commeth into Britayne.

Shortly after, Octauius departed out of this lyfe, after he had reigned the terme of fyftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that that diuers authors doe write, howe he reigned till the dayes that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Romaine Empire, whiche began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he ſayth) 382. which is to bee vnderſtode of Gratian his reigne after the deceaſe of his vncle Valens, for otherwyſe a doubt may ryſe, bicauſe that Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the ſayde Gratian to the title of Auguſtus in the yeare of our Lorde CCClxxj.

Octauius departeth this life

381. →

But to leaue the credite of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains ſith the time of Conſtantius, vnto our Britiſhe and Scottiſh wryters, lette vs make an ende with the Gouernement of that noble Emperour Conſtantine, an aſſured braunche of the Britons race, as borne of that worthie Ladye the Empreſſe Helene, daughter to Coell Earle of Colcheſter, and after king of Britayn (as our hiſtories doe witneſſe. Vnto the whiche Empreſſe Conſtantine

bare

Harison.

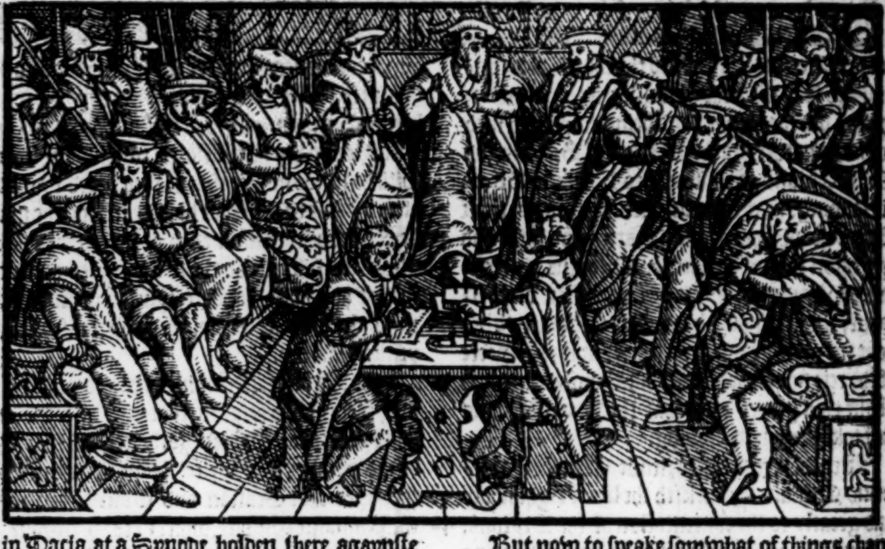
Nicephorus. The Empreſſe Helene departeth this lyfe

bare ſuche dutifull reuerence, that he did not only honour hir with the name of Empreſſe, but alſo made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in many things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlye admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of thoſe that profeſſed the true Chriſtian religion. For the loue that ſhe bare vnto Colcheſter and London, ſhe walled them aboute, and cauſed great huge bricke and tyles to be made for the performaunce of the ſame, whereof there is great ſtore to be ſeene euen yet to this preſente, both in the walles of the town and caſtel of Colcheſter, as a teſtimonie of the workemanſhip of thoſe dayes. She lyued. lxxix. yeares, and then departed this lyfe about the. xxj. yeare of hir ſonnes reigne. Firſt ſhe was buried at Rome withoute the walles of the Citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir eſtate appertayned: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Conſtãtinople, where it was eftſoones enterred. Hir ſon the Emperour Conſtantine lyued tyll about the yeare of Chriſte. 340. and then deceaſſed at Nicomedia in Aſia, after he had ruled the Empire xxxj. yeares and odde monethes.

We fynde not in the Romain writers of any greate ſturre here in Britayne during his reigne more than that whiche the Britiſhe and Scottiſhe writers haue recorded: ſo that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietneſſe, it may be ſuppoſed, that the Brytons liued in reſte vnder his gouernement, and lykewyſe after vnder his ſonnes that ſucceded him in the Empire, till about the yeare. 360. at what tyme the Picts and Scottes inuaded the ſouth partes of the land, as hereafter in place ſhall further appeare.

Synodus an. 351.

But now to ende with Octauius. That the Chriſtian faith remayned ſtill in Britayne, during the ſuppoſed tyme of this pretenced kings reigne, it may appere, in that amongſt the. xxxvj. prouinces, out of the whiche there were aſſembled aboue. iij. C. Biſhops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a Synode holden there agaynſte the Euſebians, Britayne is numbred by Athanaſius in his ſeconde Apologie to be one. And agayn, the ſayd Athanaſius in an Epiſtle whiche he writeth to the Emperor Iouinianus reciteth, that the Churches in Britayne did conſent with the Churches of other nations in the Confeſſion of faith articled in the Nicene councell.



Alſo there is mencion made by writers of certaine godlie learned men, whiche liued in offices in the Churche in theſe dayes, as Reſtitutus biſhop of London, whiche wente ouer to the Synode holdẽ at Arles in France, and alſo one Kybius Corinnius that was ſon to Salomon duke of Cornwall, and biſhop of Angleſey, and inſtructed the people whiche inhabited in the partes now called Northwales, and them of Angleſey aforeſayd verie diligently,

But now to ſpeake ſomwhat of things chancing in Britain about this ſeaſon (as we find recorded by yͤ Romain writers) ſome trouble was likely to haue growon vnto the Britons by receiuing certain men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britayn, whom the Emperor Conſtantius would haue puniſhed, bycauſe they had take part with Marcentius his aduerſarie. Paulus a Spaniard and Notarie was ſente ouer by him with cõmiſſion to make enquirie of them, and to ſee them brought to light to anſwer their tranſgreſſions: which Paulus began to deale roughly in the matter, wherof he was called Catena, and to rage againſt the Britons and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued & mayntayned them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing leaſt his extreme rigour might mighte alienate the heartes of the inhabitauntes altogither, and didde cauſe them to withdrawe their obedience from the Romaine Empire, hee tourned the execution of hys furie from them vnto the Romaines, and made hauocke of thoſe whiche he ſuſpected, till the ſaid Martinus fell at ſquare with him, and thinking on a tyme to kill him, he drew his ſworde & ſmote at him, but ſuch was his age & weakenes, yͭ he was not able to kil or giue him any deadly wound: wherfore he turned yͤ point of his ſword againſt himſelf, & ſo ended his life, being cõtẽted rather to die than ſee his countreymen & ſubiects of the empire ſo to be abuſed. After this, the ſaid Paulus returned backe again into Italy frõ whẽce he came, after whoſe departure, it was not long ere he alſo was ſlain, and then al the Scots & Picts ſore diſquieted the Romain ſubiects, for the ſuppreſſing of whoſe attempts Lupicinus was ſent ouer out of Gallia by Iulianus, as ſhal be declared out of Amianus Marcellinus, after wee haue firſte ſhewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots & Pictes, who nowe began to robbe & ſpoile the Britiſh inhabitants within the Romain prouinces here in this yle, & that euen in moſt outragious maner.

Maximianus, or rather Maximus.

Maxi-
mianus,
r Ma-
cimus.
383.

After the deceaſe of Octauius or Octauiã (as the old Engliſh chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus, as the Romain writers name him begã to rule the Britõs in yͤ yere of our Lord. 383. he was yͤ ſon of one Leonine, & couſin germain to Conſtantine the great, a valiant perſonage, & hardie of ſtomacke: but yet bicauſe he was cruell of nature, (and as Fabian ſaith) ſomwhat perſecuted the chriſtians, he was infamed by writers: but the chief cauſe that he was euil reported, was for that he ſlew his ſoueraign Lord, the emperor Gratianus, as after ſhall appeare, for otherwiſe he is ſuppoſed worthie to haue hadde the rule of the empire cõmitted to his handes in eche reſpect.

Betwixte him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornwall, chaunced ſtrife and debate, ſo that Conan got him into Scotlande, and there purchaſing ayde, returned, and cõming ouer Humber, waſted the countrey on eche ſide. Maximianus therof hauing aduertiſement, reyſed his power and went againſt him, and ſo fighting with him diuers batayles, ſometime departed away with victorie, and ſomtime with loſſe. At length through mediation of frends, a peace was accorded betwixt thẽ. Finally this Maximianus, or as the Romaine hiſtories haue, Maximus, was by the ſouldiours choſen and proclaimed Emperour here in Britayne: although ſome write, that this was done in Spayn.

Galfr. Mon.
Fabian.
Caxton.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Britiſhe youth led forth of the realme by Maximianus.

After he had taken vpon him the imperial dignitie, vpon deſire to haue enlarged his dominion, hee aſſembled togyther all the choſen youthe of thys lande meete to doe ſeruice in the warres, with the whiche hee paſſed ouer into Fraunce, and there (as our writers recorde) he firſt ſubdued the countrey auncienly called Armorica, & ſlew in bataile the king therof called Imball. This done he gaue yͤ country vnto Conan Meridock, the whiche was there with hym, to hold the ſame of him, & of the kings of great Britayne for euer. He alſo commaunded that the ſayde countrey from thenceforth ſhould be called *Little Britaine*, and ſo was the name changed. What people ſo euer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britons than anye other: for *Armorica* in the Britiſhe tong ſignifieth as muche as a countrey lying vpon the ſea.

Britayne in France.

Conan then placing himſelf and his Britons in yͤ quarter of Gallia, auoyded all the old inhabitãts, peopling yͤ coũtry only wͭ Britõs, which abhorring to ioyn themſelues with women born in Gallia, Conan was counſailed to ſende into Britayn for maydes to be coupled with his people in mariage. Hereupon a meſſenger was diſpatched vnto Dionethus at that tyme Duke of Cornwal & gouernor of Britayn vnder Maximianus, requiring him to ſende ouer into little Britaine. xj. thouſand maydes, that is to witte, viij. M. to be beſtowed vpon the meaner ſorte of Conans people, and. iij. thouſand to be ioyned in mariage with the nobles and Gentlemen. Dionethus to ſatiſfie the Conans requeſt, aſſembled the appoynted number of maydes, and amongſt them, he alſo appointed his daughter *Vrſula*, a lady of excellẽt beautie, to go ouer to be giuen in mariage vnto the foreſayd Conan Meridock, as he had earneſtly requeſted.

Dionethus duke of Cornvvall.

Maydes ſente foorth

Theſe number of maydes were ſhipped in Thames, and paſſing forwarde toward Britayne, were by force of wether and rage of winde ſcattered abrode, and part of them drowned, & the reſidue (amongſt whom was the forſayd Vrſula) were ſlayn by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whoſe handes they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were ſent by the emperor Gratian to the ſea coaſts of Germanye, to oppreſſe & ſubdue all ſuch as were frendes & maynteyners of the part of Maximus.

Vrſula the daughter of Dionethus.

We fynde in ſome bookes that there were ſent ouer at that tyme. lj. M. maydes, that is to ſay, xj M. of Gentlewomen, and. xl. M. of others.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foreſayd Virgins, they entred into the

Guanius and Melga.

north partes of Britayn, where the Scots now inhabite, and beganne to make ſore warre on the Britons, whereof when Maximus was aduertiſed, hee ſente into Britayne one Gratianus, with three Legions of Souldiours, the whiche bare himſelf ſo manfully againſt the enimies, that he conſtrayned the ſaid Guanius and Melga to flee out of the land, and to withdrawe into Irelande.

In this meane while, Maximus hauing ſlain the Emperour Gratian at Lyon in France, and after entring into Italy, was ſlain himſelf at Aquileia, (after he had gouerned the Britons eight yeares) by the Emperour Theodoſius, whyche came in ayde of Valentinian, brother to the ſaid Emperor Gratian, as in the Abridgement of the hiſtories of Italy ye may fynde recorded.

Conſobrinus. Helenæ imperatricis.

Gildas.

But heere yet before wee make an ende with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thoughte good to ſet downe the wordes whiche wee fynde in Gildas, where he writeth of the ſame Maximus, vndoubtedly a Briton born, nephew to the empreſſe Helena, and begot by a Romain. At length (ſayth Gildas) the ſpring of Tyrants budding vp, and nowe increaſing into an huge woodde, the Iſle being called after the name of Rome: but holding neyther maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather caſtyng the ſame from it, ſendeth forthe a braunche of hir moſt bitter planting, to witte Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes, which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawful wiſe, but (after the cuſtome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutening ſouldiours: whiche Maximus at the firſt by a craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and falſe ſuggeſtion) vnto his wicked gouernement, the countreys and prouinces next adioyning, gainſte the Imperiall ſtate of Rome, ſtretching one of his wings into Spayn, & the other into Italy, placed the throne of his moſte vniuſt empire at Trier, and ſhewed ſuche rage in his woodde dealing agaynſt his ſoueraine lordes, that the one of the lawfull Emperors he expulſed forth of Rome, and the other hee berefte of his moſte religious and godly lyfe. And without long tariance, compaſſed aboute with ſuche a furious and bolde garde as he hadde got together, at the Citie of Aquileia hee loſeth his wicked head, whiche had caſt downe the moſte honourable heades of all the worlde from theyr kingdome and Empire.

From thenceforth Britayne being depriued of all hir warlyke ſouldiours and armies, of hir gouernours alſo, though cruell, and of an huge number of hir youthe (the whiche following the ſteppes of the foreſayde tyraunt, neuer retourned home agayne, ſuche as remayned beyng vtterly vnſkilfull in feates of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyonde the ſeas, the Scots from the Weaſt, and the Pictes from the North. And as men thus quite diſmayed, lamente their myſerable caſe, not knowing what elſe to doe for the ſpace of manye yeares togyther. By reaſon of whoſe greeuous inuaſion and cruell oppreſſion wherewith ſhe was miſerably diſquieted, ſhe ſendeth hir Ambaſſadours vnto Rome, makyng lamentable ſute euen with teares to haue ſome power of men of warre ſent to defend hir againſt the enimies, promiſing to be true ſubiects with all faithfulneſſe of mynd, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued.

Thus farre Gildas and more, as in place hereafter ye ſhall fynde recited.

But nowe where the Britiſhe hiſtories, and ſuche of our Engliſhe writers as followe them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romayne ſente ouer with three Legions of ſouldiours by Maximus, as before ye haue hearde: We may ſuppoſe that it was Gratianus the Briton, that afterwardes vſurped the imperial dignitie here in Britayn, in the days of the emperor Honorius: for it ſtandeth neyther with the concurrence of tyme, nor yet with reaſon of the hiſtorie, that it ſhould be Gratianus, ſurnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the Emperour Gratianus, agaynſt whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that any of the Romayn writers maketh mention of any other Gratianus, beeyng a ſtraunger, that ſhould be ſent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romain armie, except of the foreſayd Gratianus Funarius, who as appeareth by Am. Marcellinus was general of yͤ Romain army here in this yle, and at lengthe being diſcharged, returned home (into Hungarie, were he was borne) with honour, and there remayning in reſt, was at length ſpoyled of his goodes by the Emperoure Conſtantius as confiſcate, for that in tyme of the ciuill warres, he had receyued Magnentius, as he paſt through his countrey.

Lib. 30.

But lette vs graunte, that eyther Gratianus the Briton, or ſome other of that name, was ſente ouer into Britayne (as before is ſayd) by Maximus, leaſt otherwyſe ſome errour maye bee doubted in the writers of the Britiſh hiſtories, as hauyng haply myſtaken the tyme, and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to ſerue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that whiche they haue redde or hearde of hym, chaunced long before that tyme by them ſuppoſed: And ſo thorough myſtaking the thyng, haue made a wrong reporte, where neuertheleſſe it ſtandeth with greate lykelyhoode of trouthe, that ſome notable ſeruice of Chyualrie was atchieued by the ſame Gratianus Funarius whileſt he remayned heere in this Iſle, if yͤ troth might be knowē of that whiche hathe bin written by authors, and happily by the ſame Am. Marcellinus, if his firſt thirteene Bookes might once come to lighte and be extãt. But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmeſburie (as yee haue hearde) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Conſtantine the Great firſte peopled Armorica: but yet hee agreeth, that both Maximus, and alſo Conſtantinus the vſurper, of whome after yee ſhall heare, ledde with them a great number of the Britaines out of this lande, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Conſtantinus afterwardes beeyng ſlayne, the one by Theodoſius, and the other by Honorius, the Britaynes that followed them to the warres, parte of them were killed, and the reſidue eſcaping by flighte, withdrewe vnto the other Britaynes whiche Conſtantine the Greate had firſt placed in Armorica. And ſo when the Tyrantes had left none in the countrey but rude people, nor any in the Townes but ſuch as were giuen to ſlouth and glutony, Britayne beeyng voyde of all ayde of hir valiant youth, became a pray to hir next neyghbors the Scottes & Pictes.

Here is yet to bee conſidered in what price the Souldiers of the Brittiſh nation were hadde in thoſe dayes, with whoſe onely puiſſance Maximus durſt take vpon him to goe againſt all other the forces of the whole Romayne Empire: and how he proſpered in that daungerous aduenture, it is expreſſed ſufficiently in the Romayne Hiſtories, by whoſe report it appeareth, that hee dyd not only conquere all the hither partes of France and Germany, namely on this ſide the Rhine, but alſo founde meanes to entrappe the Emperoure Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was Admirall of the Seas perteyning to the Empire. It was therefore agreed betwixte them, that this Andragatius (with a choſen company of the army) ſhould be carried in ſecret wiſe in a coch towards Lions, as if it hadde bin Conſtantia-Poſthumia the Empreſſe, wife to the Emperoure Gratian, bruting abrode therewithall, that the ſayd Empreſſe was comming forwardes on hir way to Lions, there to meete with hir huſbande, for that vpō occaſion ſhe was very deſirous to commune with him about certayne earneſt buſineſſe.

William Hariſon out of Paulus Diaco. lib. 12. & aliis.

Triparti. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 21.

When Gracian hearde heereof, as one miſtruſting no ſuche diſſimulation, he made haſt to meete his wife, and comming at length without any great gard about hym, as one not in doubte of any treaſon, approched the coche, where ſuppoſing to find his wife, he found thoſe that ſtraightwayes murthered him: and ſo was hee there diſpatched out of life by the ſayd Andragatius, who leapte forthe of the coche to worke that feate when he had him once within his daunger.

Thus did the Emperoure Gracian finiſh hys life in the. 29. yeare of his age, on the. 25. of Auguſt, in the yeare of Chriſt. 383. and then dyed. Maximus ſucceded him (making his ſonne Flauius Victor Nobiliſſimus aſſiſtante with hym in the Empire) raigning fiue yeares and two dayes. In the beginning of his raigne Valentinian the yonger made great ſuite to him to haue his fathers body, but it woulde not be graunted. Afterwardes alſo Maximus was earneſtly requeſted to come to an enterviewe with the ſame Valentinian, who promiſed him not only a ſafe conduct, but alſo many other beneficiall good turnes beſyde. Yet Maximus durſt not putte himſelfe in any ſuch hazard, but rather meant to purſue Valentinian as an vſurper, and ſo at length chaſed hym into Slauonie, where he was driuen to ſuch a ſtreight, that if Theodoſius had not come to releeue him, Maximus hadde driuen him thence alſo, or elſe by ſlaughter ridde hym out of the way. But when Maximus thoughte himſelfe moſt aſſured, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the Empire, as hee doubted no perils, hee liued careleſſe of his owne ſafegard, and therefore diſmiſſed hys Brittiſhe Souldiers, who retiring into the Northweſt partes of Gallia, placed themſelues there among theyr countreymen whiche were broughte ouer by the Emperoure Conſtantius, whileſt Maximus paſſing the reſidue of hys time in delites and pleaſures, was ſurpriſed in the ende and ſlayne by Theodoſius, neere vnto Aquileia the. 27. of Auguſt in the yeare of grace 388. and in the beginning of the ſixth yeare of hys raigne, or rather vſurpation, as more rightly it may be tearmed.

383

This Flauius Victor he begate of his wife Helena the daughter of Eudes. *H. Llhuyd.*

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

W. Hariſon.

Eutropius.

388

His ſonne Flauius Victor ſurnamed Nobiliſſimus was alſo diſpatched and brought to hys ende, not farre from the place where his father was ſlayne, by the practiſe of one Arbogaſtes a Goth, whiche Flauius Victor was by the ſayde Maximus made Regente of the Frankeyners, and partaker (as before is ſayde) with him in the Empire.

Arbogaſtes.

After this, the Iſle of Britayne remayned in meetely good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yeares, till one Marcus (that was then Legate or as we may call him Lorde Lieutenante or deputie of Britayne for the Romaynes) was by the Souldiers heere proclaymed Emperour againſt Honorius, whiche Marcus was ſoone after killed in a tumult rayſed among the people within few dayes after his begunne vſurpation.

Then one Gracianus a Britaine borne, ſucceeded in his place, who was alſo ſlayne in the fourth moneth after he had taken vppon hym the imperiall ornamentes.

Gracianus a Britayne. He raigned four yeares if we ſhall beleeue the Brittiſh hiſtorie.

The Souldiers not yet herewith pacifyed, proceeded to the election of an other Emperoure, or rather vſurper, and ſo pronounced a noble Gentleman called Conſtantine, borne alſo in Britayne, to be Emperoure, who tooke that honour vpon him in the .409. yeare after the birth of 409 our Sauiour, continuing his raigne by the ſpace of two yeares and odde monethes, as the Romayne hiſtories make mention. Some reporte this Conſtantine to be of no great towardly diſpoſition worthy to gouerne an Empire, and that the Souldiers choſe him rather for the names ſake, bycauſe they would haue another Conſtantine, more than for anye vertues or ſufficiente qualities found in his perſon. But other commēd him, both for manhoode and wiſedome, wherein to ſpeake a troth, hee deſerued ſingular commendation, if this one note of vſurpation of the Imperiall dignitie had not ſtayned his other noble qualities. But heerein he did no more than many other woulde haue done, neyther yet after his inueſture he did ſo muche as was looked for at hys handes. Beeyng placed in the Imperial throne, he gathereth an army with all poſſible endeuour, purpoſing out of hande to goe ouer therewith into France, and ſo did, thinking thereby to winne the poſſeſſion of that countrey out of the handes of Honorius, or at the leaſt to worke ſo as hee ſhoulde not haue the Souldiers and people there to be againſt him if he miſſed to ioyne in league with the Suabeyners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he ſought to performe: but in the ende, whē neyther of theſe his deuiſes coulde take place, hee ſendeth ouer for his ſonne Conſtans, (whome in his abſēce his aduerſaries had ſhorn a Monke) and making him partaker with him in the Empire, hee cauſed him to bring ouer with him another army, whiche vnder the conduct of the ſame Conſtans hee ſente into Spayne to bring that countrey vnder his obeyſance. This Conſtans therefore comming vnto the paſſages that leade ouer the Pyrenine Mountaynes, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whom the keeping of thoſe paſſages was committed to defende the ſame againſte the Vandalles and all other enemies of the Empire, were ready to reſiſt hym with their ſeruants and countreymen that inhabited thereaboutes, giuing him a right ſharpe encounter, and at the firſt putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his Brittiſhe Souldiers Conſtans put his aduerſaries to flighte, and killed the two Captaynes with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the neceſſary defence of the countrey againſt the enimies.

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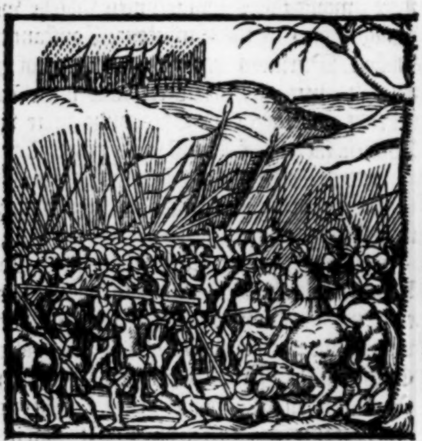
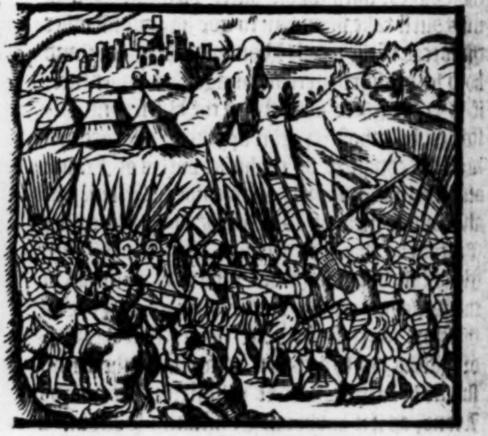
Blondus.





When Conſtans had thus repulſed thoſe that reſiſted him, the cuſtodie of the paſſages in the Pirenine Mountaynes was committed vnto ſuche bandes of Pictes and other as were appoynted to to goe with him about the atchieuing of this enterpriſe, who hauing the poſſeſſiō of thoſe ſtreites or paſſages in their handes, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spayne, who being once entred, purſued the former inhabitants with fire and ſworde, ſetled themſelues in that cōtrey, and droue out the Romaines. The Emperor Honorius perceyuing the reeling ſtate of yͤ Empire, determined foorthwith to recouer it before it fell altogither into ruine: & therefore he ſent one Conſtantius an Earle to driue Conſtantine out of Gallia, which he acordingly performed: for after certayne bickerings, he ſlew yͤ ſayd Conſtātine at Arles, although not without great bloudſhed. He purſued alſo yͤ reſidue of yͤ Britains, driuing thē to yͤ very Sea coaſts, where they ſhrouded thēſelues amōg the other Britayns, yͭ before wer ſettled in the countrey there, antiently called (as before we ſayd) Armorica, yͭ is, a region lying on yͤ ſea coaſt: for *Ar* in the Brittiſh tong ſignifieth vpon, & *Moure* pertaining to the Sea. And as this Conſtantine yͤ father was ſlayn by Cōſtantius, ſo was Cōſtans yͤ ſon killed at Vienna by one of his owne Captaynes named Gerontius, wherby it came to paſſe, yͭ Honorius ſhortly after hauing thus obteined yͤ victory of both theſe vſurpers, Harriſon. pers recouered the Iſle, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high induſtrie & great diligence of that valiant Gentleman Earle Conſtantius. The ſlaughter of Conſtantine and his ſonne happed in the firſt yeare of the. 297. Olympiade. 465. after the comming of Ceſar. 1162. after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A. and the golden number. 11. ſo that the recouering of the Ilande fell in the yeare of oure Lord. 411.

411 Here alſo is eftſones to bee conſidered the valure of the Brittiſhe Souldiers, who following this laſt remembred Conſtantine the vſurper, did put the Romayne ſtate in great daunger, and by force brake through into Spayne, vanquiſhing thoſe that kept the ſtreightes of yͤ mountaynes betwixt Spayne and Gallia, nowe called France, an exployt of no ſmall conſequence, ſith thereby the number of Barbarous nations gote free paſſage to enter into Spayne, whereof enſued many battayles, ſackings of Cities and townes, and waſting of the countreys accordingly as the furious rage of thoſe fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practiſe. If therefore the Britayne writers hadde conſidered and marked the valiant exploytes and noble enterpriſes which the Brittiſh aydes, armyes and legions atchieued in ſeruice of the Romayne Emperours (by whome whileſt they had the gouernement ouer thys Iſle, there were at ſundry times notable numbers cōueyed forth into the parties of beyonde the Seas, as by Albinus and Conſtantius, alſo by his ſonne Conſtantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Conſtantine, both of them vſurpers) if (I ſay) the Brittiſh writers had taken good note of the numbers of the Brittiſhe youth thus conueyed ouer from hence, and what notable exploytes they boldly attempted, and no leſſe manfully atchieued, they needed not to haue giuen eare vnto the fabulous reportes forged by their Bardes of Arthur and other their Princes worthy indeede of high cōmendation. And pitie it is, that theyr fame ſhoulde bee brought by ſuche meanes out of credite by the incredible and fonde fables whyche haue bin deuiſed of their actes ſo vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the ieſtes written by Arioſt the Italian in his booke entituled *Orlando Furioſo*, ſith the ſame writers had otherwiſe true matter ynough to write of concernyng the worthy feates by their countreymen in thoſe dayes in forraine parties boldly enterpriſed and no leſſe valiantly accompliſhed, as alſo yͤ warres whiche nowe and then they maynteyned againſt the Romaynes here at home, in times whē they felte themſelues oppreſſed by their tyrannical gouernement, as by yͭ which is written before of Caratacus, Voadicia, Cartimādua, Venuſius, Galgagus or Galdus (as ſome name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deſerue as much prayſe, as by tong or pen is able to be expreſſed. But nowe to returne vnto the Brittiſh hiſtorie: we will proceede in order with thoſe Kings as wee fynde them in the ſame mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to ſpeake ſomewhat further of Gracian from whome wee haue digreſſed.

Gracianus.

Gracianus. GRacianus then whom Maximus or Maximianus had ſente into Britayne (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maſter was ſlain, toke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himſelfe King thereof in the yeare. 390. Hee was a Britaine borne, as Polydore writeth, conſtruing ſo by that hee is named by Authors to be *Municeps*, that is to ſay, a free man of yͤ country or citie wher he inhabiteth. For his ſterneneſſe & rough manner of gouernement, he was of the Britaines (as the hiſtories alledge) ſlayne and diſpatched out of the way after he hadde raigned the ſpace of four yeares, or rather foure monethes, as ſhoulde ſeeme by that whiche is founde in autentike writers, and as Harriſon in his Chronologie hath ful well noted. Then the forenamed Kings Guanius and Melga, which (as ſome write were brethren) returned into thys lande with their armies encreaſed with newe ſupplyes of menne of warre, as Scottes, Danes, and Norwegians, and deſtroyed the countrey from ſide to ſyde. For the Britaynes in this ſeaſon were ſore enfeabled, and were not able to make anye greate numbers of Souldiers, by reaſon that Maximus hadde ledde forthe of the lande the floure and chiefeſt choice of all the Brittiſh youth into Gallia, as before ye haue hearde. 390

Of the Romayne Souldiers as Blondus hath.

Caxton.
Galfrid.

Galfrid.
Mat. VVeſ
Caxton.

Gildas.

Gildas maketh no mention of theſe two Kings Guanius and Melganor of the Hunnes, but rehearſing this great deſtruction of the lande, declareth (as before yee haue hearde,) that the Scottes and Pictes were the ſame that dyd all the miſchiefe, whome hee calleth two nations of beyonde the Seas, the Scottes comming out of the Northweſt, and the Pictes out of the Northeaſt, by whome (as hee ſayeth) the lande was ouerrunne, and broughte vnder foote manye yeeres after. Therefore the Britaines beeyng thus vexed, ſpoyled, and cruelly perſecuted by the Scottes and Pictes (if wee ſhall ſo take them) ſente meſſengers with all ſpeede vnto Rome to make ſuite for ſome ayde of menne of warre to bee ſente into Britayne: whereupon immediately a legion of Souldiers was ſente thyther Anno.414. the whiche eaſily repulſed the enimies, and chaſed them backe with greate ſlaughter, to the great comfort of the Britaines, yͤ which by this meanes were deliuered from preſent danger of vtter deſtruction as they thought. But the Romaynes beeing occaſioned to depart agayne out of the lande, appointed yͤ Britaynes to make a wall (as had bin made aforetime by the Emperors Adrian, Antoninus & Seuerus) ouerthwart the coũtrey from ſea to ſea, ſtretching from Penuelton vnto the Citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be ſtayed from entring the lande: but this wall being made of turfe and ſoddes, rather than with ſtones, after the departure of the Romanes was eaſily ouerthrowen by the Scottes & Pictes, which eftſoones returned to inuade the cõfines of the Britaines, and ſo entring the countrey, waſted and deſtroyed all afore them, according to their former cuſtome. Herevpõ were meſſengers with lamentable letters agayn diſpatched towards Rome for new ayde againſt thoſe cruell enimies; with promiſe, that if the Romaynes would now in this great neceſſitie help to deliuer the land, they ſhould be aſſured to finde the Britaynes euermore obediente ſubiectes, and ready at their commaundement. Valentinianus (pitying the caſe of the poore Britaynes) appoynted another legion of Souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to goe to theyr ſuccours, the which arriuing in Britayne ſet on yͤ enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrowe, ſlewe a great number of them, & chaſed yͤ reſidue out of the countrey.

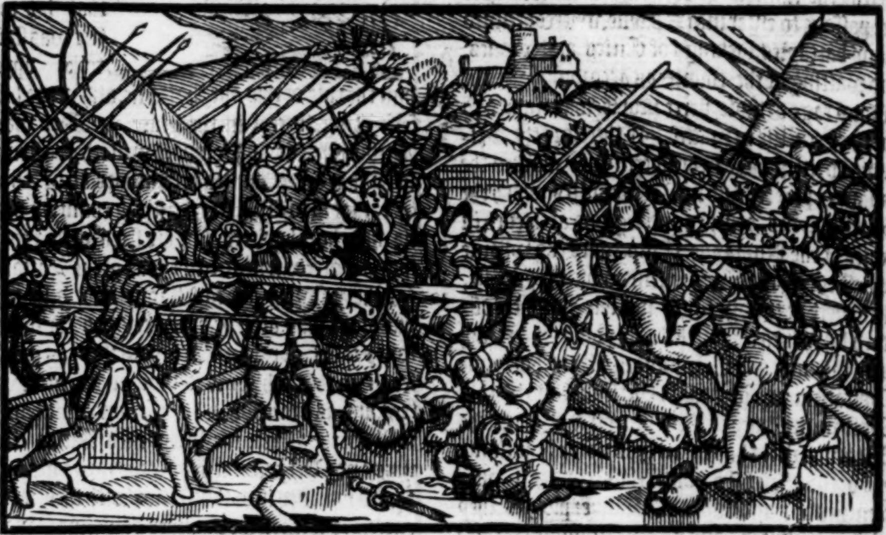
414

Beda &
Policro.

Gilda.
Policro.
Beda.
Mat. W

Blondu.

Gallio Ra
nas ſent in
Britayne.



The Romanes thus hauing obteyned the victory, declare to the Britaynes, that from thenceforth they would not take vppon them for euery light occaſion ſo paynefull a iourney, alledgyng, how there was no reaſon why the Romayne enſignes with ſuch a number of men of warre ſhuld be put to trauell ſo farre by ſea and lande, for the repulſing and beating backe of a ſort of ſcattering rouers and pilfering theeues: wherefore they aduiſed the Britaynes to looke to their duties, & lyke men to endeuor themſelues to defende their countrey by their owne force from the enimies inuaſions. And bicauſe they iudged that this mighte be an help to yͤ Britaynes, they ſet in hande to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Iſle in yͤ ſame place where the Emperour Seuerus cauſed his trench & rampire to be caſt. This wall whiche the Romanes nowe builte with help of the Britaynes, conteyned in breadth eyght foote, and in heigth twelue foote, trauerſing the land from Eaſt to Weſt, and was made of ſtone. After that thys wall was finiſhed, the Romaynes giuing good exhortations to the Britaynes to play the men, they ſhewed alſo vnto thẽ the way how to make armour and weapon. And beſydes this, on the coaſt of the Eaſt ſea where their Shippes lay at roade, and where it was doubted that the enimies woulde lande, they cauſed towers to bee erected with ſpaces betwixt, out of the whiche the Seas might be diſcouered. Theſe things ordered in this wiſe, the Romanes bade the Britaynes farewel, as not minding to returne thither agayne. The Romanes then being departed out of the land, the Scottes and Pictes hauing knowledge thereof, ſtraight wayes returne againe by Sea, and being more emboldned than before, bycauſe of the deniall made by the Romaynes to come any more to the ſuccoure of the Britaynes, they take into poſſeſſion all the Northe and vttermoſt boundes of the Iſle, euen vnto the foreſayde wall, therein to

wall built
uerthwart
he Ilande.
eda.

Gildas &
Beda.

Gildas.

remayne

This chanced
n the yere.43
s M.VV.hath

remayne as inhabitants. And whereas the Britaynes gote them to their wal to defend the ſame, that the enimies ſhould not paſſe further into the country, they were in the ende beaten from it, and diuers of them ſlayne, ſo that the Scottes and Pictes entred vppon them and purſued them in more cruell manner than before, ſo that the Britaynes being chaſed out of their Cities, Townes, and dwelling houſes, were conſtreyned to flee into deſert places, and there to remayne and lyue after the manner of ſauage people, & in the ende, began to robbe and ſpoyle one another, ſo to auoyde the daunger of ſteruing for lacke of foode: and thus at the laſt the countrey was ſo deſtroyed and waſted, that there was no other ſhifte for them that were left aliue to liue by, excepte onely by hunting and taking of wilde beaſts and foules. And to augment their miſerie, the commons imputing the faulte to reſt in the Lordes and gouernoures, roſe againſt them in armes, but were vanquiſhed and eaſily put to flight at two ſeuerall times, being beaten downe and ſlayne through lacke of ſkill in ſuch number, eſpecially the latter time, that the reſidue whiche eſcaped, withdrewe into the craggy Mountaines, where within the buſhes and caues they kepte themſelues cloſe, ſometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heardes of beaſtes and flockes of Sheepe whiche belonged to the nobles and Gentlemen of the countrey great booties to relieue them withall, but at length oppreſſed with extreame famine when neyther parte coulde long remayne in this ſtate, as needing one anothers help, neceſſitie made peace betwixt the Lordes and commons of the lande, all iniuries being pardoned and cleerely forgiuen. This ciuill warre decayed the force of yͤ Britaynes, little leſſe than the Tyrannicall practiſes of Maximus, for by the auoyding of the commons thus out of their houſes, the grounde lay vntilled, whereof enſued ſuche famine for the ſpace of three yeares togither, that a wonderfull number of people dyed for wante of ſuſtenance.

Hecto.Boeti
Rebellion.

Ciuill warre decayed the force of the Britaynes.

What miſchiefe followe of ciuil warres

Aetius.

Thus the Britaynes being brought generally into ſuche extreame miſerie, they thought good to trie if they might purchaſe ſome ayde of that noble man Aetius, whiche at that time remayned in Fraunce as yet called Gallia, gouerning the ſame as Lieutenant vnder the Emperour Honorius: and herevpon taking counſel togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof enſueth. To Aetius thrice Conſull. The lamentable requeſt of vs the Britaynes beſeecheth you of ayde to bee miniſtred vnto the prouince of the Romane Empire, vnto our countrey, vnto our wiues & children at this preſente, the whiche ſtande in moſt extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the Sea, and the Sea driueth vs backe vnto them agayne: hereof riſe two kindes of deathe, for eyther are wee ſlayne, or drowned, and agaynſte ſuche euils haue we no remedie nor help at all. Therefore in reſpect of your clemencie, ſuccoure youre owne wee moſt inſtantly require you. &c.

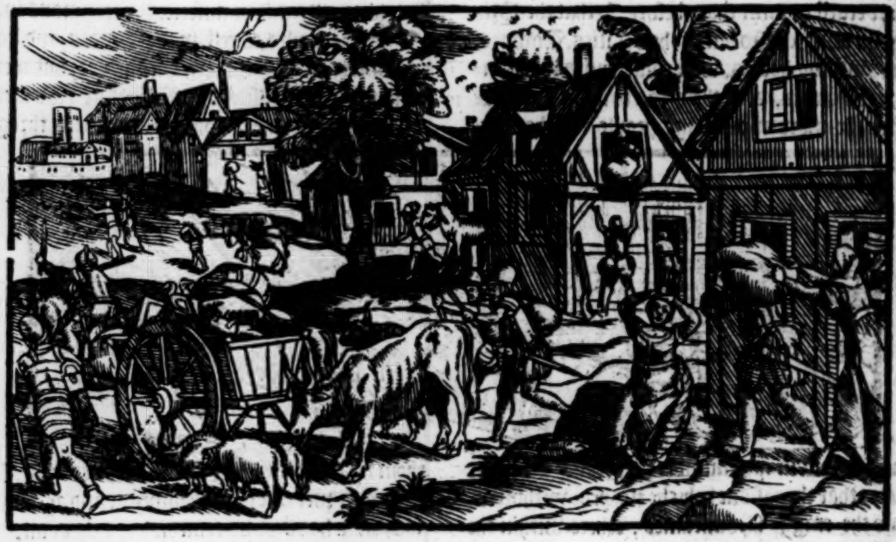
The Britayne
could get no
ayde from th
Romaynes.

But notwithſtanding that the Britaines thus ſought for ayde at the handes of Aetius, as then the Emperours Lieutenaunte, yet coulde they none get, either for that Aetius woulde not, as he that paſſed little howe things wente, bicauſe he bare diſpleaſure in his mind againſt Valentinianus as the Emperour, or elſe for that he could not, being otherwiſe conſtreyned to employ al his forces in other places againſt ſuch barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane Empire. And ſo by yͤ meanes was Britayne loſt, & the tribute whiche the Britaynes were accuſtomed to paye vnto the Romaynes ceaſſed, iuſt a fiue hundred yeares after that Julius Ceſar firſte entred the Iſle.

The Britaynes being thus put to their ſhiftes, many of them as hunger ſtarued were conſtreyned to yeeld themſelues into the hãds of their enimies, where other yet keeping within the Mountaynes, woodes and caues, brake out as occaſion ſerued vpon their aduerſaries, and then firſt (ſaith Gildas) did the Britaynes not putting their truſt in man but in God (according to the ſaying of Philo, where mans help faileth, it is needeful that Gods help be preſent) make ſlaughter of their enimies that hadde bin accuſtomed many yeares to robbe and ſpoyle them in manner as before is recited, and ſo the bolde attemptes of the enimies ceaſſed for a time, but the wickedneſſe of the Brittiſhe people ceaſſed not at all. The enimies departed out of the lande, but the

Puniſhment
ceaſſeth but
ſinne encreaſet

inhabitantes departed not from their naughtye doings, beeyng not ſo ready to putte backe the common enimies, as to exerciſe ciuill warre and diſcord amongſt themſelues. The wicked Iriſhe people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Pictes ſetled themſelues firſte in that ſeaſon in the vttermoſt boundes of the Iſle, and there continued, making reyſes oftentimes vppon their neyghbours, and ſpoyling them of their goodes.



alfridus.
ildas his
ords are to
e conſidered.

This with more alſo hath Gildas and lykewiſe Beda written of this great deſolation of the Brittiſh people: wherein if the wordes of Gildas be well wayed and conſydered of, it may leade vs to thinke that the Scottes hadde no habitacions heere in Britayne, but only in Irelande, till after this ſeaſon, and that at this preſente time the Pictes whiche before inhabited within the Iſles of Orkney, now placed themſelues in the North partes of Scotland, and after by proceſſe of time came and neſtled themſelues in Louthian, in the Mers and other coūtreys more neere to our bordures. But to procede: The Brittiſh hiſtories affirme, that whileſt the Britaynes were thus perſecuted by thoſe two moſt cruell and fierce nations the Scottes and Pictes, the noble and chiefeſt men amongſt them conſulted togither, and concluded to ſende an honorable Ambaſſade vnto Aldroenus as then King of little Brittayne in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conam Meridoc the firſt King there of the Brittiſh nation.

n ambaſſade
ent from the
ritaynes vnto
ldroenus
ing of Bri-
aine in Frāce.

Of this Ambaſſade the Archbiſhop of London named Guethline or Goſſelyne was appoynted for chiefe and principall, the whiche paſſing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the preſence of Aldroenus, ſo declared the effect of hys meſſage, that his ſuite was graunted.

onſtantine
he brother of
ldroenus.

For Aldroenus agreed to ſend his brother Cōſtantine ouer into great Britayne with a conuenient power, vppon condition, that the victory beeing obteyned againſte the enimies, the Britaynes ſhould make hym Kyng of greate Britayne.

A digreſſi

Thus it is apparant that this lande of Britayne was withoute any certayne gouernoure, after that Gracian the vſurper was diſpatched certaine yeares togither, but how many yeares, writers in their accompt varry.

Fabian.

Fabian gathereth by ſundry coniectures, that the ſpace betwixte the deathe of Gracian and the beginning of the raigne of the ſayd Conſtantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yeares, during whiche time the Britaynes were ſore and miſerably afflicted by the inuaſions of the Scottes and Pictes, as before ye haue hearde by teſtimonies taken out of Beda, Gildas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the Brittiſhe and Engliſh hiſtories.

Maximus.

383

But nowe ſith no mention is made of the Scottes in oure hiſtories till the dayes of Maximus the vſurper or Tyrante, as ſome call him, whyche beganne hys raigne here in Britaine about the yeare of oure Lorde. 383. and that tyll after hee had bereft the lande of the chiefeſt forces thereof in taking the moſt parte of the youth ouer with him: wee fynde not in the ſame hiſtories of any troubles wroughte to the Britaynes by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good heere to come backe to the former tymes, that wee maye ſhewe what is found mentioned in the Romaine hiſtories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scottes and Pictes, as alſo the Saxons, and eſpecially in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke entreating of the doyngs of the Emperoure

Ammianus Marcellinus lib.20.
The Empe
Iulianus

Julianus, hee hathe theſe wordes in effect as folowe.

360

ottes and ctes trou- e the ſtate this Iſle.

In this ſtate ſtoode thynges in *Illiricum* or *Slauonia*, and in the Eaſt partes, at what tyme Cõſtantius bare the office of Conſull the tenth time, and Julianus the thirde tyme, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lord, 360 when in Britaine quietneſſe beeing diſturbed by roades made by the Scottes and Pictes which are wilde and ſauage people, the frountiers of the contrey were waſted, and feare oppreſſed the prouinces awearied, with the heape of paſſed loſſes.

upicinus ſent nto Britayne.

The Emperour (hee meaneth Julianus) as then remayning at Paris, and hauing his minde troubled with many cares, doubted to goe to the ayde of them beyond the Sea, as we haue ſhewed that Conſtantius dyd, leaſt hee ſhoulde leaue them in Gallia withoute a Ruler, the Almaynes beeyng euen then prouoked and ſtirred vp to crueltie and warre. Hee thoughte good therefore to ſende Lupicinus vnto theſe places to bring things into frame and order, whiche Lupicinus was at that time maſter of the armory, a warlike perſon and ſkilfull in all poyntes of chiualrie, but proude and high minded beyonde meaſure, and ſuch one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell.

Batani nowe Hollanders.

Rutupis.

Heerevppon, the ſayde Lupicinus ſetting forwarde the lighte armed menne of the *Heruli* and *Batani*, with diuers companies alſo of the people of Meſia now called Bulgarie: When winter was well entred and come on, hee came himſelfe to Bulleigne, and there prouiding Shippes and embarquing his men when the winde ſerued hys purpoſe, hee tranſported ouer vnto Sandwiche, and ſo marched forth vnto London, from thence purpoſing to ſet forward, as vppon aduice taken according to the qualitie of his buſineſſe, he ſhould thinke meete and expedient.

Of the diſplacing of theſe men the learned may ſee more in Am. Mar.

In the meane time, whileſt Lupicinus was buſie here in Britaine to repreſſe the enimies, the Emperour Conſtantius diſplaced certayne officers, and among other he depriued the ſame Lupicinus of the office of Maſter of the armory, appoynting one Gumobarius to ſucceede hym in that roomth before any ſuche thing was knowen in theſe parties: and where it was doubted leaſt that Lupicinus (if hee hadde vnderſtoode ſo much whileſt hee was yet in Britayne) woulde haue attempted ſome newe trouble, as he was a man of a ſtoute and loftie mynde, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was ſente a notarie vnto Bulleyne to watche that none ſhoulde paſſe the Seas ouer into Britayne till Lupicinus were returned: and ſo returning ouer from thence ere hee hadde anye knowledge what was done by the Emperoure, hee coulde make no ſturre, hauyng no ſuche aſſiſters in Gallia, as it was thoughte he myght haue hadde in Britayne if he ſhould haue moued Rebellion there.

Lib.26.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib.26.

The Almanes.

The Sarmatæ.
The Quadi.
Picts & Saxõs

Auſtoriani.
The Gothes.

Beſide this alſo the ſame Marcellinus ſpeaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus being elected Emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellowe with him in gouernemente, hathe theſe wordes. In this ſeaſon as though trumpets had blowen the ſounde to battell through out the whole Romayne Empire, moſt cruell nations being ſtyrred vp inuaded the bordures next to them adioyning, the Almaynes waſted and deſtroyed the partes of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Pannonia. The Pictes, the Saxons, the Scottes, and the Attacottes vexed the Britaynes with continuall troubles, and greeuous domages. The Auſtoriani, and the people of the Mores ouerranne the countrey of Affrike more ſharply than in time paſt they had done. The pilfering troupes of the Gothes ſpoyled Thracia. The King of Perſia ſette in hande to ſubdue the Armenians, and ſoughte to bring them vnder his obeyſance, haſting with all ſpeede towardes Numonia, pretending (though vniuſtly) that now after the deceſſe of Jouianus with whome hee hadde contracted a league and bonde of peace, there was no cauſe of let why hee ought not recouer thoſe things which (as he alledged) did belong to his auncetours, and ſo forthe.

Lib.27.

Comes maritimi tractus.

Comes domeſticorum.

Theodoſius ſente into Britaine.

Moreouer, the ſame Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wiſe, where hee ſpeaketh of the ſayde Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and haſting to Trier, hee was troubled with greeuous newes that were brought hym, gyuing hym to vnderſtand, that Britayne by a conſpiracie of the Barbarous nations was broughte to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the Emperoures houſe Earle of the Sea coaſt hauyng charge of the partyes towardes the Sea, was ſlayne, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traynes of the enimies. Theſe thyngs with greate horror beeyng knowen, hee ſent Seuerus as then Earle, or (as I may call hym Lorde Stewarde of his houſeholde) to reforme things that were amiſſe if happe woulde ſo permitte, who beeyng ſhortly called backe, Jouinius goyng thyther, and with ſpeede haſting forwarde, ſent for more ayde and a greater power of menne, as the inſtant neceſſitie then required. At length, for many cauſes, and the ſame greatly to be feared, the which were reported and aduertiſed out of that Iſle, Theodoſius was elected and appoynted to goe thyther, a man of approued ſkill in warlike affayres, and calling togyther an hardy youthfull number of the legions and cohortes of men of warre, hee wente forthe, no ſmall hope beeyng conceyued of hys good ſpeede: the ſame whereof ſpred and went afore him, and a little after Marcellinus adding what maner of people they were that troubled the Britaynes in this wiſe, he ſayth thus: This ſhall ſuffice to be ſayde, that in thys ſeaſon the Pictes deuided into two nations, *Dicalidones*, and *Vecturiones*, and in like maner the *Attacotti* a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering heere and there, made foule worke in places where they came.

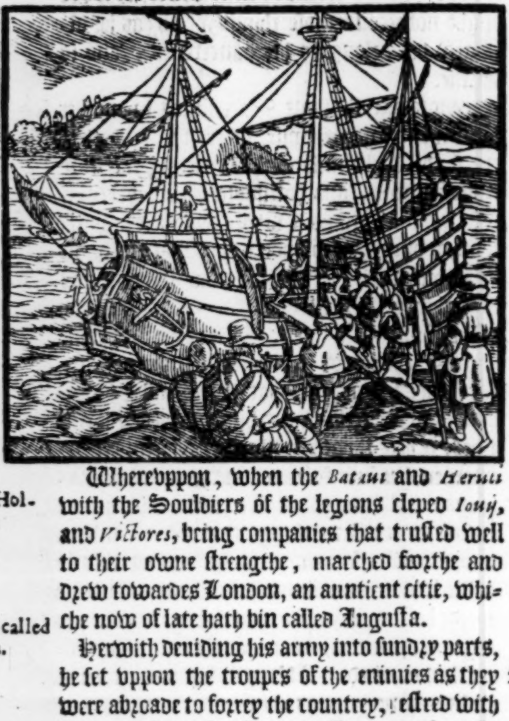
Pictes deuided into two nations.

Attacotti.

The confines of Fraunce were diſquieted by the Frankeyners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euery one as they could breake forth, doing great harme by cruell ſpoyle, fyre, and takyng of priſoners.

Theodoſius paſſeth ouer into Britayne.

To withſtande thoſe doyngs if good fortune would giue hym leaue, that moſt able Captayne going vnto the vttermoſt boundes of the earthe, when hee came to the coaſt of Bulleyne whyche is ſeparated from the contrary coaſt on the other ſide by the Sea, with a narrowe ſtreighte, where ſometime the water goeth very high and rough, and ſhortly after becommeth calme and pleaſant without hurt to thoſe that paſſe the ſame, he tranſporting ouer at leyſure, arriued at Sandwiche (or rather Rextacheſter) where there is a quiete roade for veſſels to lie at ancre.



Bataui Hollanders.

London called Auguſta.

Whereuppon, when the *Bataui* and *Heruli* with the Souldiers of the legions cleped *Iouij*, and *Victores*, being companies that truſted well to their owne ſtrengthe, marched forthe and drew towardes London, an auntient citie, whiche now of late hath bin called Auguſta.

Herwith deuiding his army into ſundry parts, he ſet vppon the troupes of the enimies as they were abroade to forrey the countrey, preſſed with burdens of their ſpoyles and pillage, and ſpeedily putting them to flighte as they were leading away thoſe priſoners whiche they had taken with their booties of cattell, hee berefte them of theyr pray, the whiche the poore Britaynes that were tributaries had loſt.

To bee briefe, reſtoring the whole excepte a ſmall portion beſtowed amongſt the werry ſouldiers, he entred the Citie which before was ouerſet with troubles, but nowe ſodainly refreſhed, bycauſe there was hope of reliefe, and aſſured preſeruation.

Theodoſius requireth to haue Ciuilis ſent to him.

Dulcitius.

After this, when Theodoſius was comforted with proſperous ſucceſſe to attempte things of greater importance, and ſearching wayes howe with good aduice to worke ſurely: whileſt hee remayned doubtfull what would enſue, he learned as wel by the confeſſion of priſoners taken, as alſo by the information of ſuch as were fledde from the enimies, that the ſcattered people of ſundry nations which with practiſe of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be ſubdued but by policie ſecretly contriued, and ſuddayne inuaſions. At length therefore ſetting forthe hys Proclamations, and promiſing pardon to thoſe that were gone away from their Captaynes or charge, he called them backe againe to ſerue: and alſo thoſe that by licence were departed and lay ſcattered here and there in places abroade. By this meanes, when many were returned, he being on the one ſide earneſtly prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name ſent to hym to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britayne in ſteede of the other gouernours, a man of ſharpe witte, and an earneſt maynteyner of iuſtice. Hee likewiſe required that one Dulcitius a Captayne renowned in knowledge of warlike aſſayes, mighte bee ſente ouer to him for his better aſſiſtance. Theſe things were done in Britayne.

London called Auguſta.

Agayne in hys eyght and twentie booke, the ſame Marcellinus reciting further what the ſame Theodoſius dyd atchieue in Britaine, hath in effect theſe wordes, Theodoſius verily a Captayne of worthy fame, taking a valiant courage to hym, and departing from Auguſta, whyche men of olde tyme called London, with Souldiers aſſembled by greate diligence, did ſuccoure and releeue greatly the decayed and troubled ſtate of the Britaynes, preuenting euery conuenient place where the barbarous people myghte lye in wayte to doe miſchiefe, and nothing hee commanded the mean Souldiers to doe, but that which he with a cheerefull mind would firſte take in hand to ſhew them an example.

By this meanes accompliſhing the roomth of a valiant Souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble Captayne, hee diſcomfyted and putte to flight ſundry nations, whome preſumption (nouriſhed by ſecuritie) emboldned to inuade the Romayne prouinces: And ſo the Cities and Caſtels that had bin ſore endomaged by manyfolde loſſes and diſpleaſures, were reſtored to their former ſtate of welth, yͤ foundation of reſt and quietneſſe being layde for a long ſeaſon after to enſue.

But as theſe things were a doing, a wicked practiſe was in hande lyke to haue burſt forth, to the grieuous daunger of ſetting things in broyle, if it had not beene ſtayed euen in the beginning of the firſt attempt.

alentinus. aleria now tiermarke.

There was one Valentinus, borne in the partes of Valeria adioyning to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a prowde and loftie ſtomacke, brother to the wyfe of Maximinus, which Valentinus for ſome notable offence had beene baniſhed into Brytayne, where the naughtie man that coulde not reſt in quiet, deuiſed how by ſome commotion hee might deſtroy Theodoſius, who as he ſawe was onely able to reſiſt his wicked purpoſes. And going about many things both priuily and apertly, the force of his vnmeaſurable deſire to miſchief ſtill encreaſing, he ſought to procure aſwell other that were in ſemblable wiſe baniſhed men, and inclined to miſchiefe lyke to him ſelfe, as alſo diuerſe of the ſouldiers, alluring them as the time ſerued, with large promiſes of great wealth, if they would ioyne with hym in that enterpryſe. But euen now in the verie nicke when they ſhould haue gone in hande with their vngracious exployt, Theodoſius warned of theyr intent, boldly aduaunced himſelfe to ſee due puniſhmēt executed of the offenders that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conſpiracie.

ulcitius is ppointed to ut Valenti- us to death.

Theodoſius committed Valentine with a fewe other of his truſtie complices vnto the Captaine Dulcitius, commaunding him to ſee them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike ſkill (wherin he paſſed all other in thoſe dayes) what might follow, he woulde not in any wiſe haue any further enquirie made of the other conſpirators, leaſt through feare that might be ſpread abrode in many, the troubles of the Prouinces now well quieted, ſhould be againe reuiued.

After this, Theodoſius diſpoſing himſelfe to redreſſe many things as neede requyred, all daunger was quite remoued, ſo that it was moſte apparant, that fortune fauoured him in ſuche wiſe, that ſhe left him not deſtitute of hir furtheraunce in any one of all his attempts: he therefore reſtored the Cities and Caſtels that were appoynted to be kept with gariſons, and the borders he cauſed to be defended and garded with ſufficient nūbers to keepe watch and warde in places neceſſarie. And hauing recouered the Prouince whiche the enimies had gotten into their poſſeſſion, hee ſo reſtored it to the former ſtate, that vpon his motion to haue it ſo, a lawfull gouernour was aſſigned to rule it, and the name was chaunged ſo, as from thenceforth it ſhould be called Valentia for the Princes pleaſure.

part of Bry- yne called alentia.

The *Areani*, a kinde of men ordeyned in tymes paſt by our elders, (of whom ſomwhat we haue ſpoken in the actes of the Emperour Conſtance) being now by little & little fallen into vices, he remoued from theyr places of abyding, being openly conuicted, that allured wyth brybes and fayre promyſes, they had oftentymes bewrayed vnto the barbarous Nations what was done among the Romaines: for this was theyr charge, to runne vp and downe by long iourneys, and to giue warning to oure Captaines, what ſturre the people of the next confines were about to make.

The prayſe of Theodoſius.

Theodoſius therfore hauing ordred theſe and other like things, moſt worthily to his high fame, was called home to the Emperours Court, who leauing the Prouinces in moſt triumphant ſtate, was highly renowmed for his often and moſte profitable victories, as if he had bene an other Camillus, or Curſor Papyrius: and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueyed vnto the Sea ſide, and paſſing ouer with a gentle winde, came to the Court, where he was receyued wyth great gladneſſe and commendation, being immediately appoynted to ſucceed in rowmth of Valence Iouinus that was maſter of the horſes.

Finally, he was called by the Emperor Gratianus, to be aſſociate with him in the Imperiall eſtate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our ſauiour. 379. and raigned Emperor ſurnamed Theodoſius the great, about xvj. yeares and two dayes.

VVil. Har.

VVolf. Lazi.

But now to our former matter. Hereto alſo may that be applyed which the foreſayd Marcellinus wryteth after in the ſame booke, touching the inuaſion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then firſt into great Britaine, but were repulſed of the Emperour Valentinianus the fyrſt, by the conduct of Seuerus.

Seuerus.

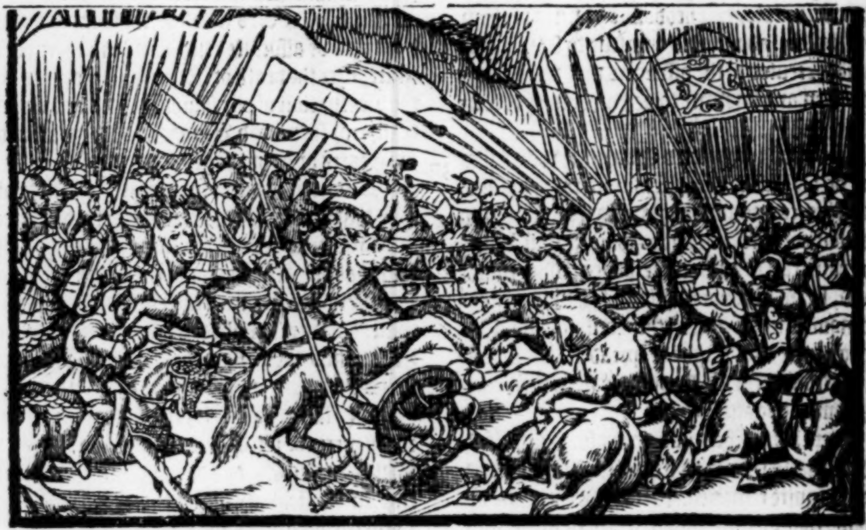
Nonneus Comes.

Seuerus Coronell of the footemen.

The ſame yeare (ſayth he) that the Emperours were the thirde tyme Conſuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, and paſſing the ſeas, entred ſtrongly into the Romain confines: a natiō fed oftentimes with yͤ ſlaughter of our people, the brunt of whoſe firſt inuaſion, Erle Nanneus ſuſteyned, yͤ which was appointed to defend thoſe partyes, & an approued captain, with continuall trauaile in warres verie expert: but then encountring with deſperate and forlorne people, when he perceyued ſome of his ſouldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himſelf woūded, not able to abyde the often aſſaults of his enimies, he obteyned this by enforming the Emperour what was neceſſarie and ought to be done, inſomuch that Seuerus, maiſter (or as I may cal him Coronell of the footemen) was ſent to helpe and relieue things that ſtoode in daunger: the which bringing a ſufficient power with him for the ſtate of that buſineſſe, when he came to thoſe places, he deuiding his armie into partes,put the Saxons in ſuche feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not ſo muche as take weapon in hande to make reſiſtaunce, but being amaſed wyth the ſight of the glyttering enſignes and Eagles figured in the Romaine ſtandardes, they ſtreight made ſute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in ſundrie wiſe(bycauſe it was iudged that it ſhoulde be profitable for the Romaine common wealth) truce was graunted vnto them, and many yong men (able for ſeruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romaines according to the couenants concluded.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impechment, ſo to returne from whence they came,the which being now out of al feare. and preparing to goe their wayes, dyuerſe bands of footmen were ſent to lie priuily in a certaine hid vally, ſo embuſhed as they might eaſily breake forth vpon the enimies as they paſſed by them. But it chaunced farre otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed: for certaine of thoſe footemen ſtyrred with the noyſe of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being ſodenly diſcouered whileſt they haſted to vnite and knit themſelues togither, by the hideous crie and ſhoute of the Saxons, they were put to flight. Yet by and by cloſing togither againe, they ſtayed, and the extremitie of the chaunce miniſtring to them force (though not ſufficient) they were dryuen to fight it oute, and beeing beaten downe wyth great ſlaughter, had dyed euery mothers ſonne, if a troupe of Horſemen armed at all poyntes (beeing in like maner placed in an other ſyde at the parting of the way to aſſayle the enimies as they ſhoulde paſſe) aduertyſed by the dolefull noyſe of them that foughte, had not ſpeedilye come in to the ſuccours of theyr fellowes.

Then ranne they togyther more cruellye than before,and the Romaines bending themſelues towardes theyr enimies, compaſſed them in on eche ſyde, and with theyr drawne ſwordes ſlue them downe right, ſo that there was not one of them left to returne home to theyr natiue Countrey to bryng newes howe they had ſpedde, nor one ſuffred to liue after the death of his fellowes.



And although an indifferent man that ſhoulde iudge hereof,might with cauſe reproue ſo vniuſt and diſhonorable dealing:yet the thing being well weyed and conſidered,he would not thinke euill of it, that a wicked knotte of theeues and Robbers ſhoulde at length paye after the pryce of the Market.

Thus were the limittes of the Romain Empyre preſerued at that time in Brytaine, whiche ſhould ſeeme to be about the yere of our lord.399.

Honorius the Emperour.

After this in the time of the Emperour Honorius,alſo the Scottes,Pictes, and Saxons, did eftſoones inuade the frontiers of the Romaine Prouince in Brytaine, as appeareth by that which the Poet Claudianus wryteth, in attributing the honour of preſeruing the ſame frontyers vnto the ſayde Emperour,in his booke intituled *Panegericus tertij Conſolatus*, (which fell in the yeare.396. as thus:

396
Claudian

Ille leues Mauros nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit,Scotumq́; vago mucrone ſecutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas.
Et geminis fulgens vtroq; ſub axe tropheis,
Tethyos alternæ refluas calcauit arenas.
The nimble Mores and Pictes by right
  ſo callde,he hath ſubdude,
And with his wandring ſworde likewiſe
  the Scottes he hath purſude:
He brake with bolde courageous oare
  the Hyperborean waue,

And ſhyning vnder both the Poles
with double trophyes braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling ſandes
of either ſwelling ſeas.

The ſame Claudian vpon the fourth Conſulſhip of Honorius, ſayth.

Quid riger æternus, cæli? quid frigora proſunt,
Ignotumq́ fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit, Pictonum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hiberna.

N.R.

VVhat laſting colde? what did to them
the froſtie Clymates gaine?
And ſea vnknowne? bemoyſted all
with bloud of Saxons ſlaine
The Orkneys were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And yſie Irelande hath bewaylde
the heapes of Scottiſh harme.

ule ſome
e to be Iſe-
de ſome
etland.

The ſame prayſe gyueth he to Stellico the ſonne in lawe of Honorius, and maketh mention of a Legion of Souldiers ſent for oute of Brytayne in the Periphraſes of the Scottiſh warres.

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci ferroq́ notatas,
Perleget exanimes Picte moriente figuras.

N.R.

A legion eke there came from out
the fartheſt Brytaines bent,
VVhich brideled hath the Scots ſo ſterne:
and markes with yron brent
Vpon their liueleſſe limmes doth reade,
whiles Pictes their liues relent.

He rehearſeth the like in his ſecond *Panegericum* of Stilico.

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monſtro,
Ferro Picta genas, cuius veſtigia verrit
Cærulus, Oceaniq́ æſtum mentitur amictus.
Me quoq́ vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hibernam
Mouit, & infeſto ſpumauit remige Thetis,
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem,
Scoticaq́ ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto,
Proſpicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.

N.R.

Then Brytaine whom the monſters did
of Calidone ſurrounde,
VVhoſe cheekes were ſcorcht with ſteele,
whoſe garments ſwept the ground,
Reſembling much the marble hew
of Ocean ſeas that boile,
Sayd, ſhe whom neighbour nations did
conſpire to bring to ſpoile,
Hath Stilico munited ſtrong, when
rayſde by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enmies oares
the ſalt ſea fome did ſlice.
His care hath cauſde, that I all feares
of Scottiſh broyles haue bard,
Ne do I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrey coaſts to gard,
Gainſt Saxon troupes, who chaunging windes
ſent ſayling hitherwardes.

Brytayne afflicted by inuaſion of barbarous natiõs.

Thus may it appeare, that in the tyme when the Romaine Empyre beganne to decay, in like maner as other partes of the ſame Empyre were inuaded by barbarous nations, ſo was that part of Brytayne which was ſubiect to the Romaine Emperours grieuouſly aſſayled by the Scottes and Pictes, and alſo by the Saxons, the whiche in thoſe dayes inhabiting all alongſt the Sea coaſtes of lowe Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onely trouble the ſtate by continuall rouing, but alſo vſed comming a land into dyuerſe partes of Brytayne, and Gallia, inuading the countreys, and robbing the ſame with great rage and crueltie.

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epiſt.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, wryting to Namatius.

The Meſſenger did aſſuredly affyrme, that lately ye blewe the trumpet to warre in your nauie, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a ſouldier, waſted about the crooked ſhores of the Ocean Sea agaynſte the fleete of the Saxons, of whome as many Rouers as ye beholde, ſo many Archpyrates ye ſuppoſe to ſee: ſo doe they altogyther with one accorde commaund, obey, teach, and learne to play the partes of Rouers, that euen now there is good occaſion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimyes. Hee aſſayleth at vnwares, hee eſcapeth foreſeeing the daunger aforehande, he deſpyſeth thoſe that ſtand agaynſt him, he throweth downe the vnware: if he be followed he ſnappeth them vp that purſue him, if he flee he eſcapeth.

The piracie of the Saxons.

Of like effect for prouffe hereof be thoſe verſes which he wrote vnto Maiorianus in his Panegerike Oration.

Tot Maria intraui duce te, longeq́ remotam
Sole ſub occiduo gentem, victricia Cæſar
Signa Calidonios tranſuexit ad vſq́ Britannos
Fuderit, & quanquã Scotũ, & cũ Saxone Pictũ
Hoſtes quæſiuit enim quẽ iam natura vetabat,
Quærere plus homines.

Which is Engliſhed thus.

So many ſeas I entred haue,
and nations farre by weſt,
By thy conduct, and Cæſar hath
his banners borne full preſt,
Vnto the furtheſt Brytiſh coaſt,
where Calidonians dwell.
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he ſubdued fell,
Yet would he ſeeke enmies vnknowne
whom nature had forbid. &c.

Thus farre haue we thought good to gather out of the Romaine and other wryters, that yee might perceyue the ſtate of Brytayne the better in that time of the decay of the Romain Empire, and that ye might haue occaſion to marke by the way, how not only the Scots, but alſo the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Brytaines before any mention is made of the ſame theyr attempts by the Brytiſh and Engliſh wryters.

But whether the Scottes had any habitation within the boundes of Brytaine, til the time ſuppoſed by the Brytaine wryters, wee leaue that poynt to the iudgement of others that be trauayled in the ſearch of ſuche antiquities, onely admoniſhing you, that in the Scottiſhe Chronicle you ſhall finde the opinion whiche their writers haue conceyued of this matter, and alſo manye things touching the actes of the Romaines, done agaynſt diuerſe of the Brytayns, which they preſume to be done againſt their nation, though ſhadowed vnder the generall name of Brytaines, or of other particular names, at this day to moſt mē vnknowne. But whenſoeuer the Scottes came into this Ile, they made the thirde nation that inhabited the ſame, cōming firſt out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as ſome ſuppoſe) into Irelande, and from thence into Brytayne, next after the Pictes, though their wryters fetche a farre more ancient beginning (as in their Chronicle at large appeareth) referring them to the reading thereof, that deſire to vnderſtande that matter as they ſet it forth.

Polidor.

But now to returne where we left, touching the ſucceſſion of the Brytiſh kings, as their hyſtories make mention: thus we finde, though carying great ſuſpition withall, as ſome thinke.

Conſtantinus.

Conſtantinus, the brother of Aldroenus king of little Brytaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the Archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Brytaines in the Ile of great Brytaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſayde brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in maner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totnes in Deuonſhire. Immediately after his comming a lande, he gathered to him a great power of Brytaynes, the which before his landing were hyd in dyuerſe places of the Ile.

Then went hee forth with them, and gaue battaile to the enimies, whom he vanquiſhed: and ſlue that tyrāt king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.)

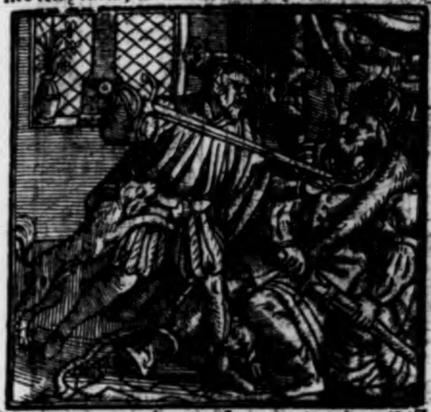
But this agreeth not with the Scottiſh writers, the which affyrme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongarde, (as in theyr hyſtorie ye may reade.)

But to proceed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueyed their captaine the ſayde Conſtantine vnto Cicester, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him K. of great Britain, in the yeare of our lord. 433. which was about the [illegible] yeare of the Emperor Valentinianus the ſecond, ⁊ third yere of Clodius K. of ẏ Frākners after called Frenchmē, which thē began to ſettle thēſelues in Gallia, wherby the name of that cuntry was afterwards changed ⁊ called France. Cōſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land wel ⁊ nobly, ⁊ defended it frō all inuaſiō of enimies during his life.

He begat of his wife three ſonnes (as the Britiſh Hiſtorie affyrmeth) Conſtantius, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Vter ſurnamed Pendragon.

The eldeſt, bycauſe hee perceyued him to bee but dull of witte, and not verie towarde, he made a Monke, placing him within the Abbay of Amphibalus in Wincheſter.

Finally, this Conſtantine, after he had raigned ten yeares, was trayterouſly ſlaine one day in his owne chamber (as ſome write) by a Pict, the which was in ſuch fauour with him, that hee might at all tymes haue free acceſſe to him at his pleſure. Neither the Romaine writers, nor Beda, make any mention of this Cōſtantine, but of the other Conſtantine they write, which immediately after that the vſurper Gracian was diſpatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduaunced to the rule of this land, and title of Emperor, onely in hope of his name, and for no other reſpect of towardneſſe in him, afore time being but a meane ſouldier, without any degree of honor.



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The ſame Conſtantine (as wryters recorde) going ouer into Gallia, adourned his ſonne Conſtantius with the tytle and dignitie of Ceſar, the which before was a Monke, and finally as well the one as the other were ſlain, the father at Arles by Earle Conſtantius that was ſent againſt him by the Emperor Honorius, and the ſonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne Court cleped Gerontius (as in the Italian Hyſtorie ye may ſee more at large.)

415

This chaunced about the yeare of our lord. 415.

This haue wee thought good to repeate in this place, for that ſome maye ſuppoſe that thys Conſtantine is the ſame whom our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Brytayne, as the circumſtaunce of the time and other things to be cōſidered may giue thē occaſion to thinke, for that there is not ſo much credit to be yelded to thē that haue writen the Brytiſh hyſtories, but that in ſome part men may with iuſt cauſe doubt of ſundrye matters conteyned in the ſame: & therfore haue we in this boke bin the more diligent to ſhewe what the Romaine and other forreyne wryters haue regyſtred in their bookes of hyſtories touching the affayres of Brytain, that the reader may bee the better ſatiſfied in the truth.

But now to returne to the ſequele of the Hyſtorie as we finde the ſame wrytten by the Brytiſh Chronicles.

After that Conſtantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongs the Brytaynes, wrought ſo with the reſidue of the Brytiſh nobilitie, that Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of their king the forremembred Conſtantine, was taken out of the Abbey of Wincheſter, where hee remayned, and was ſtreyght wayes created king, as lawfull inheritor to his father.

This Vortigern was duke of the Geuiſſes and Cornwall, as Rad. Ceſtr. reporteth.
Galf. Mon.

Ye haue heard howe Conſtantius was made a Monke in his fathers lyfe time, bycauſe he was thought to be too ſoft and childiſh in wit, to haue any publike rule committed to his handes: but for that cauſe ſpecially did Vorteger ſeeke to aduaunce him, to the ende that the King being not able to gouerne of himſelfe, he might haue the chiefeſt ſway, and ſo rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for hymſelfe to attayne at length to the Kingdome, as by that which followed was more apparauntly perceyued.

Conſtātius.

Conſtantius.

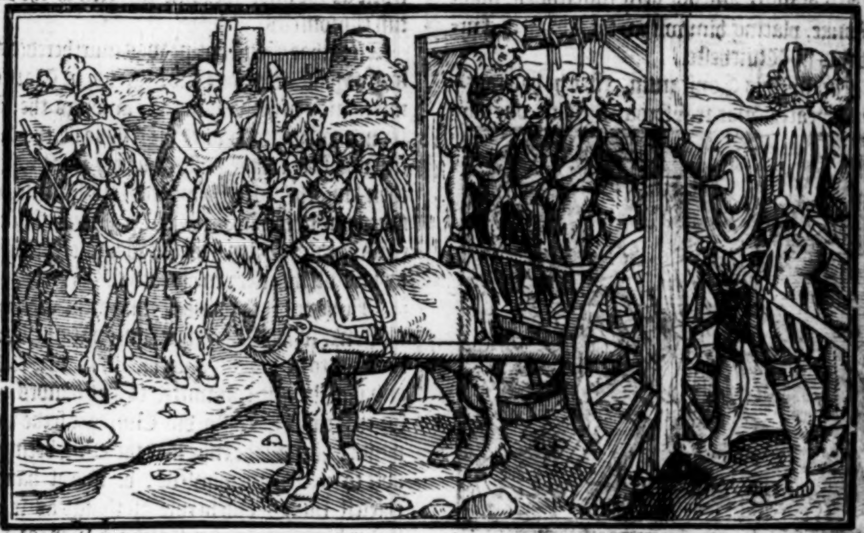
This Conſtantius then the ſonne of Conſtantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lorde. 443. But Conſtantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abuſing his innocencie and ſimple diſcretion to order things as was requiſite, had all the rule of the lande, and did what pleaſed him. Whereupon firſt where there had beene a league concluded betwixt the Brytaynes, Scottes and Pictes, in the dayes of the late King Conſtantine, Vortiger cauſed the ſame league to bee renued, and waged an hundred Pictes, and as manye Scottes to bee attendaunt as a garde vpon the kings perſon, dyuerſe of the whiche (corrupting them with fayre promiſes) he procured by ſubtile meanes in the ende to murther the King, and immediately vpon the deede done, he cauſed the murtherers to be ſtrangled, that they ſhoulde not afterwardes diſcloſe by whoſe procurement they did that deed?

445. hath Math. Weſt.
Hector Bo.
Conſtantius murthered.

Then cauſed he all the reſidue of the Scottes and Pictes to bee apprehended, and as it had

The ſubtile dealing of Vortigerne.

beene vpon a zeale to ſee the death of Conſtantius ſeuerely puniſhed, he framed ſuch inditements and accuſations agaynſt them, that chiefely by his meanes (as appeared) the guyltleſſe perſons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Brytiſhe people beeing wonderfully pleaſed therewith, & giuing great cōmendations to Vortigerne for that dede.



Thus Conſtantius was made away in maner as before ye haue hearde, after he had raigned (as moſte wryters affyrme) the ſpace of fiue yeares.

Aurelius Ambroſius. Vter Pendragon.

Then after that his death was knowne, thoſe that had the bringing vp and cuſtodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter Pendragon, miſtruſting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whoſe diſſimulatiō and miſchieuous meaning by ſome great likelihoods they ſuſpected, with all ſpeede they got them to the ſea, & fled into little Brytaine, there keeping them till it pleaſed God otherwiſe to prouide for them.

But Vortigerne coulde ſo well diſſimule his craftie workings, and with ſuch conueyance and cloked maner coulde ſhadow and colour the matter, that moſt men thought and iudged him moſt innocent and voyd of all euil meaning: inſomuch that he obteyned ſo greatly the fauour of the people, that hee was reputed for the onely ſtay and defender of the common wealth.

Vortigerne is choſen king of Brytaynes.

Hereupon came it to paſſe, that when the Cōūſell was aſſembled to elect a new king, for ſo much as the other ſonnes of king Conſtantine were not of age ſufficient to rule, Vortigerne himſelfe was choſen, diuerſe of the nobles (whom hee had procured thereto) giuing their voyces to this his preferment, as to one beſt deſeruing the ſame in their opinion and iudgement.

Vortigerne.

Vortigerne 446

Thus was Vortigerne choſen and made king of Brytain, in the yere of our Lord. 446. third Cōſulſhip of Aetius, 1197. of Rome. 4. of the 305. Olympiade. 4412. of the worlde, the Dominicall letter going by F, the Prime by ten, whiche fell about the. xxj. yeare of the Emperour Valentinianus, the ſame yeare that Meroueus began to raigne ouer the Frenchmen.

Before hee was made king, he was Earle or Duke of the Geuiſſes, a people which helde that part of Brytaine where afterwardes the weſt Saxons inhabited.

Hect. b.

Nowe after that Vortigerne had with treaſon, fraude, and greate deceyte, at length atteyned that for the whiche hee had long looked, hee fyrſte of all furniſhed the Tower of London wyth a ſtrong garriſon of menne of warre.

415

Then ſtudying to aduaunce onely ſuch as he knew to be his eſpeciall friendes and fauourers, he ſought by all meanes how to oppreſſe other, of whoſe good will hee had neuer ſo little miſtruſt, namely thoſe that were affectionate towardes the lynage of Conſtantine he hated deadly, and deuiſed by ſecrete meanes which way he might beſt deſtroy them: but theſe his practiſes being at the firſt perceyued, cauſed ſuche as had the gouernance of the two yong Gentlemen with all ſpeede to get them ouer (as yee haue heard) into Brytayne Armorike, there to remaine out of daunger wyth theyr Uncle the King of that lande, and dayly did dyuerſe of the Brytaynes, that knewe themſelues to bee in Vortigerne his diſpleaſure ſayle ouer vnto them, whiche thyng brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his eſtate.

Fabian.

Gildas.

It chaunced alſo the ſame tyme, that there was greate plentye of corne, and ſtore of fruite, the lyke whereof had not beene ſeene in manye yeares

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re of ſinnes.

yeares before, and thereupon enſued ryote, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vyces right heynous, and yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offences at all.

These abuſes and great enormities, raigned not onely in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and chiefe Rulers of the ſame: ſo that euerye man turned the poynt of his ſpeare (euen as if he had conſented of purpoſe) agaynſt the true and innocent perſon.

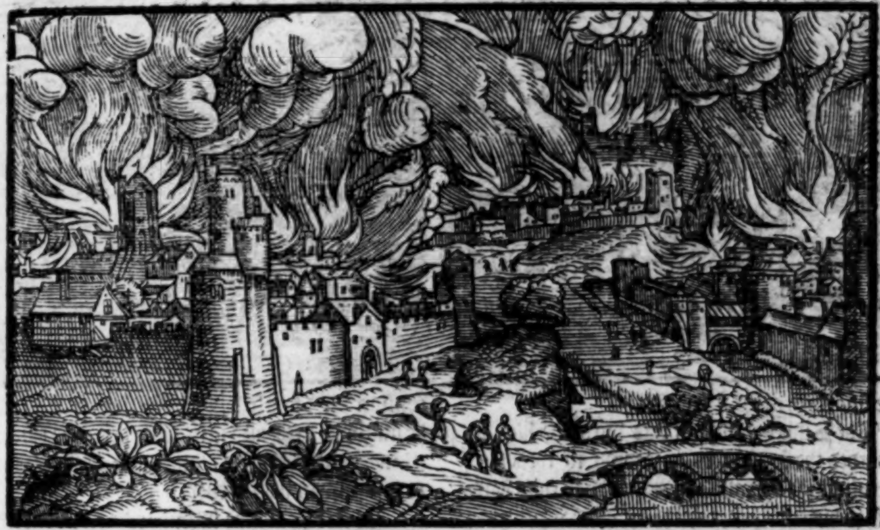
The Commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkenneſſe, and ydle loytering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate.

Of this plentie therfore inſued great pride, and of this abundaunce no leſſe hautineſſe of minde, whereupon followed great wickedneſſe, lacke of good gouernment and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie, ſo that in ſome Countreys vneth the quicke ſuffiſed to burie the dead.

Hector. Bo.

Scottes and Pictes inuade the Brytayns.

And for an augmentation of more miſchiefe, the Scottes and Pictes hearing howe theyr Countreymen through the falſe ſuggeſtion of Vortigerne had beene wrongfully and moſt cruelly put to death at London, beganne wyth fyre and ſworde to make ſharpe and cruell warre agaynſt the Brytains, waſting their Countrey, ſpoyling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrowe in a pight fielde, as in the Scottiſh hyſtorie more plainly appeareth.



To be briefe, the Brytaynes were brought into ſuch daunger and miſerie, that they knewe not what way to take for remedie in ſuch preſent perill, likely to bee ouerrunne and vtterlye vanquyſhed of their enimies.

In the meane tyme Vortigerne not only troubled with theſe imminent euilles, but fearing alſo the return of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter Pendragon, began to conſider of the ſtate of things, and eſteeming it moſt ſure to worke by aduice, called togither the Lordes and chiefe men of the Realme to haue theyr counſaile and opinion howe to proceede in ſuch a weightie buſineſſe: and ſo debating the matter with them, meaſured both his own force, and alſo the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and ſtate of the tyme, diligently conſidered & ſearched out what remedy was to be had and prouided.

At length after they had throughly pondered al things, the more part of the nobles with the king alſo were of this minde, that there could be no better way deuiſed, than to ſende into Germanie for the Saxons to come to theyr ayde: The whiche Saxons in that ſeaſon were highly renowmed for theyr valyauncie in armes, and manifolde aduentures heretofore atchieued. And ſo forthwith Meſſengers were diſpatched into Germanie, the which with money, giftes, and promiſes, might procure the Saxons to come to the ayde of the Brytaynes agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes.

Gillas.
VVil. Malm.
Beda.
The Saxons ſent for.

The Saxons glad of this meſſage, as people deſirous of entertaynment to ſerue in warres, chooſing forth a piked companie of luſtie yong mē vnder the leading of two brethren Hengiſt and Horſus, got them abourde into certain veſſels appoynted for the purpoſe, and ſo with all ſpeede directed their courſe towardes great Britain.

10000. hath Hector Bo. Gildas & Beda mention onely but of. 3. plates or gallies, but Hector Bo. hath. 30.

449

VVil. Malm.

This was in the yeare of our Lorde. 449. and in the ſecond yeare of Vortigerns raigne, as the moſt autentike wryters both Brytiſh and Engliſhe ſeeme to gather, although the Scottiſhe wryters, and namely Hector Boetius doe varie herein, touching the iuſt accompte of yeares, as to the peruſers of the wrytings aſwel of the one as the other may appeare. But William Hariſon taketh it to bee in the fourth yeare of his raigne:

raigne whereto Beda ſeemeth to agree, who noteth it in the ſame yere that Martianus the Emperour beganne to rule the Empyre, which was (as appeareth by the conſularie table) in the Conſulſhippe of Protogenes and Auſterius, and thirde yere of Merouëus king of France.

These Saxons thus arryuing in Brytayne, were curteouſly receyued, and heartily welcomed of King Vortigerne, who aſſigned to them places in Kent to inhabite, and forthwith ledde them agaynſt the Scots and Pictes, which were entred into Brytaine, waſting and deſtroying the Countrey before them.

Herevpon comming to ioyne in battail, there was a ſore fight betwixt the parties for a while, but at length when the Saxons called to remembraunce that the ſame was the day whiche ſhoulde eyther purchaſe to them an euerlaſting name of manhoode by victorie, or elſe of reproche by repulſe, beganne to renew the fight with ſuche violence, that the enimies not able to abyde theyr fierce charge, were ſcattered and beaten down on eche ſide with great ſlaughter.

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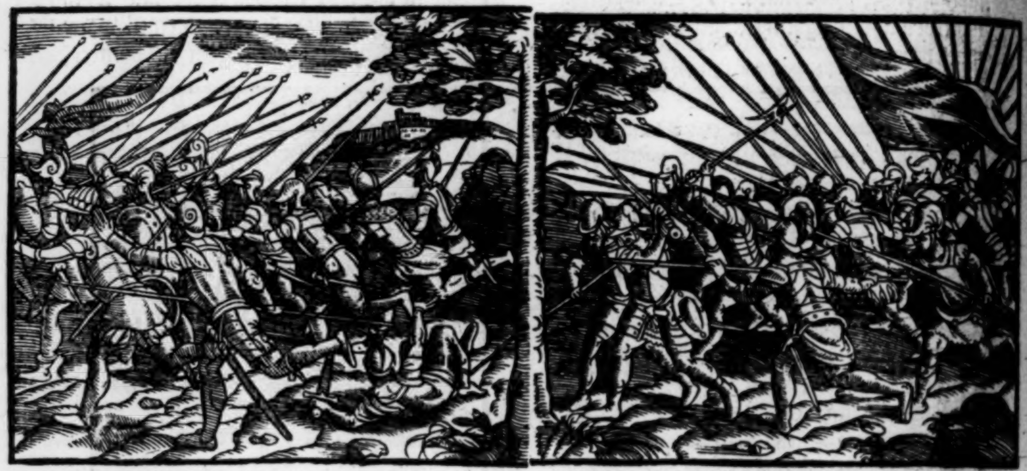

The King hauing got this victorie, highlye rewarded the ſtraungers according to their well deſeruings, as by whoſe prowes he had thus vanquiſhed his enimyes, whiche as ſome write were come as farre as Stanfourde, and vſed at that tyme to fight wyth long Dartes, and Speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelye wyth long ſwordes and Axes.

Henric. Hut.

There bee that haue written howe the Saxons, were not ſent for, but came by chaunce into the Ile, and the occaſion to be this: There was an auncient cuſtome amongſt the Engliſh Saxons a people in Germanie, as was alſo at the firſt among other Nations, that when the multitude of them was ſo increaſed, that the Countrey was not able to ſuſtayne and finde them, by commaundement of their Princes, they ſhoulde chooſe out by lottes a number of yong and able perſonages, fitte for the warres, which ſhould go forth to ſeeke them newe habitations: and ſo it chaunced to theſe, that they came into great Britaine, and promiſed to ſerue the king for wages in his warres. But by what meane ſoeuer they came hither, truth is, that Hengiſtus being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wiſdome, was their Captaine, who vnderſtanding this Kings minde, which now wholy truſted to the valiancie of the Saxons, and herewith perceiuing the fruitfulneſſe of the Countrey, ſtreight wayes began to conſider with himſelfe, by what wyles and craft he might by little and little ſettle here, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and to eſtabliſh the ſame to him and to his for euer.

Galf. Mon.

Hengiſt purpoſeth at the firſt to conquere the Brytaynes.

Therefore firſt he indeuoured with all ſpeede poſſible to fence that part of the Countrey which was giuen to him and his people, and to enlarge and furniſh it with gariſons appointed in places moſt conuenient.

Polidr.

After this he did what he could to perſwade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that yͤ land being fortified with ſuch a ſtrength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his ſubiects holden in reſt.

The King not foreſeeing the happe that was to come, did not deſpiſe this counſell contriued to the deſtruction of his Kingdome, and ſo was more ayde ſent for into Germanie: wherevpon now at this ſeconde tyme there arriued here. xvj. veſſels fraught with people, and at the ſame time came the Ladie Rowen or Ronix, daughter to Hengyſt, a Mayde of excellent beautie and comlyneſſe able to delite the eyes of them that ſhoulde behold hir, and ſpecially to win the heart of Vortigerne with the dart of concupiſcence, wherunto he was of nature much inclyned, and that did Hengeſt well perceyue.

VVil. M

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There came ouer into thys lande at that tyme and ſoone after, three manner of people of the Germaine Nation, as Saxons, *Vita* (or Jutes,)

e Vitæ or
e are called
ti.

lex.Nev.

Jutes, and Angles, ouer the whiche the ſayde Hengiſt and Hors beeing brethren, were Captaines and rulers, men of right noble parentage in theyr Countrey, as diſcended of that auncient Prince Woden, of whom the Engliſh Saxon kings doe for the moſt part fetche theyr pedegree, as lineally diſcended from him, vnto whom alſo the Engliſh people falſely reputing him for a God, conſecrated the fourth day of the weeke, as they did the ſixth to his wyfe Frea, ſo that the ſame dayes tooke name of them, the one beeing called Wodenſday, and the other Freaday, which wordes after in continuance of time by corruption of ſpeech were ſomewhat altred, though not muſh, as from Wodenſday, to Wedneſday, and from Freaday to Fryday.

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The foreſayde Woden was father to Wecta, father to Wetgiſlus, that was father to the foreſayd Hengiſtus and Horſus.

But nowe to rehearſe further touching thoſe three people whiche at this time came ouer into Brytayne oute of Germanie of the Vites, or Jutes, (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentiſhmen diſcended, and the people of the Jle of Wight, with thoſe alſo that inhabite ouer agaynſte the ſame Jle.

Of the Saxons, came the Eaſt Saxons, the South Saxons, and Weſt Saxons.

Moreouer, of the Angles proceded the Eaſt Angles, the middle Angles, or Mercies, and the Northren men.

er.Tacitus.

That theſe Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth alſo by Cornelius Tacitus, who calling them *Angly*, which worde is of three ſillables, (as Polidore ſayth:) But ſome wryte it *Angli*, with two ſillables.

And that theſe *Angli*, or *Angly* were of no ſmall force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this lande, may appeare in that they are numbred amongeſt the twelue nations there, whiche had lawes and auncient ordinaunces a part by them ſelues, according to the whiche the ſtate of theyr common wealth was gouerned, they beeing the ſame, and one people with the Thoringers, as in the tytle of the olde Thuringers lawes wee finde recorded, whiche is thus, *Lex Angliorum & VVerinorum, hoc eſt, Thuringorum.* The law of the Angles and VVerinians that is to witte the Thuringers, (whiche Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the deſcription of that Countrey it may appeare) is this.

Polidor.

Rowen, or
Ronowen
Hengiſtes
daughter.

But nowe to the matter. Hengiſt perceyuing that his people were highly in Vortigernes fauour, beganne to handle him craftily, deuyſing by what meanes hee mighte bring him in loue with his daughter Ronix, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as ſome write) which he beleeued wel, would eaſily be brought to paſſe, bycauſe he vnderſtoode that the King was much giuen to ſenſuall luſt, which is the thing that often blindeth wiſe mens vnderſtanding, and maketh them to dote, and to loſe theyr perfite wittes, yea, and oftentymes bringeth them to deſtruction, though by ſuche pleaſant poyſon, as they feele no bytter taſte tyll they be brought to the extreeme poynt of confuſion in deede.

VVil.Malm.

A greate Supper therefore was prepared by Hengiſt, at the whiche it pleaſed the King to be preſent.

Gal.Mon.

Hengiſt appoynted his daughter when eche man beganne to bee ſomewhat merie with drinke, to bring in a Cuppe of Golde full of good and pleaſant wine, and to preſent it to the King ſaying, *VVaſſail*. Which ſhee did in ſuch comely and decent maner, as ſhe that knewe howe to doe it well ynough, ſo as the King marueyled greatly thereat, and not vnderſtanding what ſhee ment by that ſalutation, demaunded what it ſignified. To whom it was anſwered by Hengiſt, that ſhe wiſhed him well, and the meaning of it was, that he ſhould drinke after hir, ioyning thervnto this anſwere, drinke haile. Whereupon the King (as he was enfourmed) tooke the cuppe at the Damſels hand, and dranke.

Waſſail, what
it ſignifieth.

Finally this yong Ladie behaued hirſelfe with ſuch pleaſant wordes, comely countenaunce, and amiable grace, that the king behelde hir ſo long, till he felt himſelfe ſo farre in loue with hir perſon, that he burned in continuall deſyre to enioy the ſame: inſomuch that ſhortly after he forſooke his owne wife, by the which he had three ſonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Paſcentius, and requyred of Hengiſt to haue his daughter, the ſayde Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage.

Polidor.
Fabian.

Hengiſt at the firſte ſeemed ſtraunge to graunt to his requeſt, and excuſed the matter, for that his daughter was not of eſtate and dignitie meete to be matched with his maieſtie. But at length as it had beene halfe agaynſt his will hee conſented, and ſo the mariage was concluded and ſolemnized, all Kent beeing aſſigned vnto Hengiſt in rewarde, the whiche Countrey was before that tyme gouerned by one Guorongus, (though not with moſt equal iuſtice) which Guorongus was ſubiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the Potentates of the Jle were.

VVil.Malm.

This maryage and liberalitie of the King towardes the Straungers, muche offended the myndes of his ſubiectes, and haſtened the finall deſtruction of the lande. For the Saxons nowe vnderſtanding the affynitie had betwixte the King and Hengiſt, came ſo faſt ouer to inhabite here, that it was wonder to conſider in howe ſhorte a tyme ſuche a multitude coulde come togyther: ſo that bycauſe of theyr greate number and approued puiſſaunce in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Brytaynes.

VVil.Malm.

But Hengiſt beeing no leſſe politike in counſaile than valiaunt in armes, abuſing the kings lacke of diſcretion, to ſerue his owne turne, perſwaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his ſonne named Ebuſa, beeing men of great valure, to the ende, that as Hengiſt defended the lande in the South parte: ſo mighte they keepe backe the Scottes in the North.

Gal. ſayth he was Hengiſts ſonne, and Ebuſa his vncles ſonne. Occa and Ebuſa leaders of Saxons.

Hereupon by the Kings conſent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coaſting aboute the lande, they ſayled to the Iles of Orkney, and ſore vexed the people there, and likewyſe the Scottes and Pictes alſo, and finally arriued in the North partes of the Realme, nowe called Northumberlande, where they ſetled themſelues at that preſent, and ſo continued there euer after: but none of them taking vppon him the tytle of King, till about .99. yeares after theyr firſt comming into that Countrey, but in the meane time remayning as ſubiectes vnto the Saxon kings of Kent.

VVil.Malm. de Regib.

After theyr arryuall in that Prouince, they oftentymes fought with the olde Inhabitauntes there, and ouercame them, chaſing away ſuch as made reſiſtance, and appeaſed the reſidue by receyuing them vnder allegiance.

Fabian. The great nũbers of ſtraungers ſuſpected to the Brytaynes.

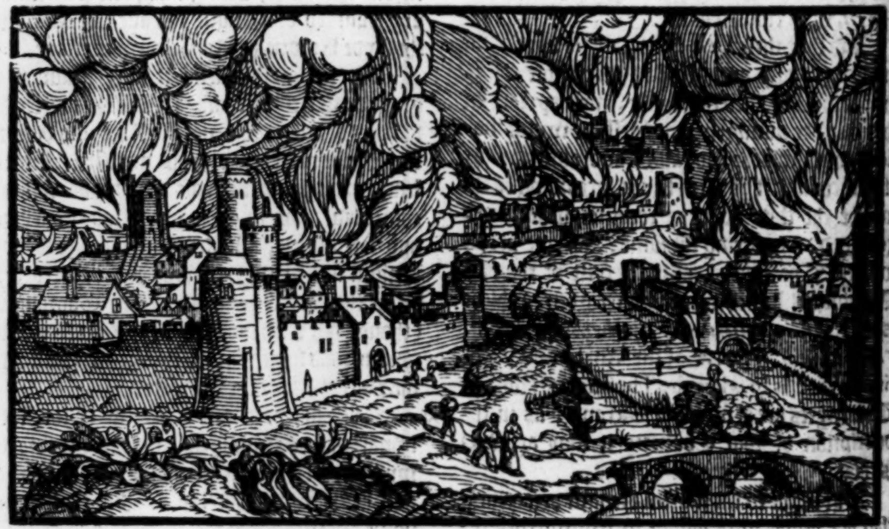
When the Nobles of Brytayne ſaw and perceyued in what daunger the lande ſtoode, by the dayly repayre of the huge number of Saxons into the ſame, they firſt conſulted togither, and after reſorting to the King, moued him that ſome order might be taken for the anoyding of them, or the more part of them, leaſte they ſhoulde with their power and great multitude vtterly oppreſſe the Brittiſh Nation. But all was in vayne, for Vortigerne ſo eſteemed and highly fauoured the Saxons, and namely by reaſon of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that hee lyttle regarded his owne Nation, no nor yet anye thing eſteemed hys owne naturall kinneſmen and chief friendes, by reaſon whereof the Brytains in fine depriued him of all kingly honor, after that he had raigned .xvj. yeares, and in his ſtead crowned his ſonne Vortimer.

Vo depo

Gildas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare howe after that the Saxons were receyued into thys lande, there was a couenaunt made betwixte them and the Brytaynes, that the Saxons ſhoulde defende the Countrey from the inuaſion of enimyes by theyr knightly force: and that in conſideration thereof, the Brytaynes ſhould finde them prouiſion of vytayles: wherewith they helde them contented for a time.

Gilda. Beda. H.Hu

But afterwardes they beganne to pyke quarelles, as thoughe they were not ſufficiently furniſhed of their due proportion of vytayles, threatning that if they were not prouided more largely thereof, they would ſurely ſpoyle the Countrey.



And withoute deferring time, they performed their wordes with effect of deedes, beginning in the Eaſt part of the Ile, and with fire & ſword paſſed forth waſting and deſtroying the Countrey tyll they came to the vttermoſte parte of the Weſt: ſo that from Sea to Sea, the lande was waſted and deſtroyed in ſuche cruell and outragious manner, that neyther Citie, towne, nor Churche was regarded, but all committed to the fyre: the Prieſtes ſlaine and murthered euen afore the Aulters, and the Prelates with the people without any reuerence of their eſtate or degree

The miſerable deſtruction made by the Saxons in this lande.

degree, diſpatched with fire and ſworde, moſt lamentably to beholde.

Many of the Brytaynes ſeeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fledde to the Mountaynes, of the whiche dyuerſe beeing apprehended, were cruelly ſlaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeelde themſelues to eternall bondage, for to haue reliefe of meate and drinke to aſſwage theyr extremitie of hunger.

Some other got them out of the realme into ſtraunge landes, ſo to ſaue themſelues, and others abyding ſtill in theyr Countrey, kept them within the thicke Woodes, and craggie Rockes, whether they were fledde, lyuing there a poore wretched lyfe, in great feare and vnquietneſſe of mynde.

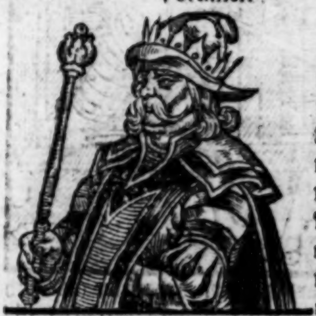
But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to theyr houſes, the Brytaynes began to take courage to thẽ againe, iſſuing forth of thoſe places where they had lyen hid, and with one conſent calling for ayde at Gods hande, that they might bee preſerued from vtter deſtruction, they beganne vnder the conduct of theyr leader Aurelius Ambroſe, to prouoke the Saxons to battaile, and by the helpe of God they obteyned the victorie, according to theyr owne deſyres. And from thence forth, one while the Brytaynes, and an other while the Saxons were victors, ſo that in this Brytiſh people, God (according to hys accuſtomed maner) as it were preſent Iſraell, tryed them from tyme to tyme, whether they loued him or no, vnto the yeare of the ſiege of Badon hill, where afterwardes no ſmall ſlaughter was made of the enimies: whiche chaunced the ſame yeare in the whiche Gildas was borne, (as he himſelfe witneſſeth, being aboute the .xliiij. yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Brytaine.

o Gildas was
orne in the
eare of our
ord.493.

Thus hath Gildas and alſo Beda (following by likelyhoode the authoritie of the ſame Gildas) written of theſe firſt warres begonne betwene the Saxons and Brytains.

But nowe to goe forth with the hyſtorie: according to the order of oure Chronicles, thus wee finde recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected King (as yee haue hearde) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.

Vortimer.



Vortimer.

Fabian.
Galf.Mon.

This Vortimer being eldeſt ſon to Vortigern, by the common aſſent of the Brytaines was made K. of Brytayne, in the yeare of our Lorde 464. which was in the fourth yeare of the Emperour Leo the fifth, and about the ſixth yeare of Childericus King of Fraunce, as our common account runneth, which is farre diſagreeing from that whereof William Hariſon doth ſpeake in his Chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be depoſed in the .xiij. after his exaltation to the crowne, 454. of Chriſt, and .5. currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the .4420. of the worlde. & .8. of Meroueus, as by his Chronologie doth more at large appeare.

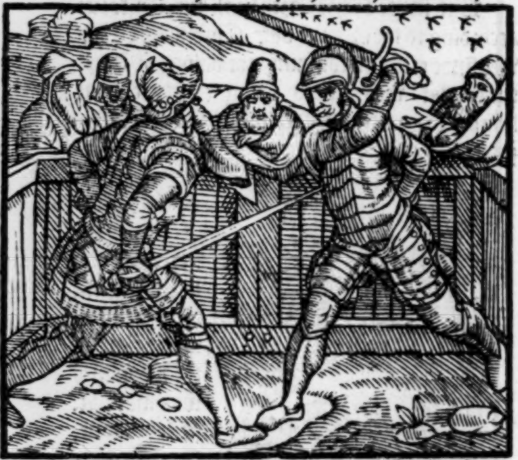
Math.West. hath 454.
464

But to proceed, Vortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all haſt made ſore warre againſt the Saxons, & gaue vnto them a great battel vpon the riuer of Derwẽt, where he had of thẽ the vpper hand: And the ſecõd time he fought with them at a place called Epiforde, or Agliſthorp, in which encoũter Catagrine

The riuer of Derwent.

Epiforde.

or Catigernus the brother of Vortimer, and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, after long combate betwixt them two, either of them ſlue other:



But the Brytaynes obteyned the fielde (as ſayth the Brytiſh hyſtorie.) The thirde battail Vortimer fought with them neare to the ſea ſide, where alſo the Brytaynes chaſed the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet.

The Ile of Tenet.

H. Hunt.

Cole moore.

The fourth battaile was ſtryken neare to a Moore called Colemoore, the whiche was ſore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great daunger to the Brytayns, bycauſe that the foreſayde Moore encloſed a part of their hoſt ſo ſtrongly, that the Brytaynes could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies ſhot, albeit in the ende the Saxons were put to flight, and many of them drowned and ſwalowed vp in the ſame Moore.

Fabian.

Tetfort in Norffolke.

Colcheſter.

Beſide theſe foure principall battailes, Vortimer had diuerſe other conflictes with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norffolk, alſo neare to Colcheſter in Eſſex: for he left not till he had bereft them the more part of all ſuch poſſeſſions as before time they had got, ſo that they were conſtrayned to keepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentymes aſſayled them with ſuch ſhippes as he then had.

When Ronowen the daughter of Hengiſt perceyued the great loſſe that the Saxons ſuſteyned by the martiall prowes of Vortimer, ſhee found meanes that within a while the ſayd Vortimer was poyſoned, after he had ruled the Brytayns by the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen yeres and odde Monethes, (as William Har. reporteth.)

By the Brytiſh Hyſtorie it ſhould ſeeme that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons ſo hardly, keeping them beſieeged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were conſtrayned to ſue for licence to depart home into Germanie in ſafetie: and the better to bring this to paſſe, they ſent Vortigerne (whome they had kept ſtyll with them in all theſe battayles) vnto his ſonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their ſute. But whileſt this treatie was in hande, they got them into theyr ſhippes, and leauing theyr wyues and children behinde them, returned into Germanie. Thus farre Gal. Mon.

But howe vnlikely this is to be true, I will not make any further diſcourſe, but onely referre euery man to that whiche in olde autentique Hyſtoriographers of the Engliſhe Nation is found recorded, as in William Malmeſ. Henrie Hunt. Marianus, and others. Vnto whome in theſe matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Brytaynes, we may vndoubtedly ſafely giue moſt credite.

William Malmeſ. wryting of this Vortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he made agaynſt the Saxons, varyeth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his wordes here following ye may perceyue.

Guortimer, the ſonne of Vortimer (ſayth he) thinking not good long to diſſemble the matter, for that he ſawe himſelfe and his Countreymen the Brytayns preuented by the craft of the Engliſhe Saxons, ſetteth his full purpoſe to dryue them out of the Realme, and kyndleth his father to the like attempt.

He being therefore the Authour and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into thys land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of xx. yeres they fought oftentymes togither in many light encounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance agaynſte puiſſaunce in open fielde: in the firſt battayle they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons, loſt their Captain Hors that was brother to Hengiſt, and the Brytaynes loſt Categerne, an other of Vortigernes ſonnes.

Hengiſt ha
the victori
this battai
ſayth R.
451

Hors and C
tegerne ſl

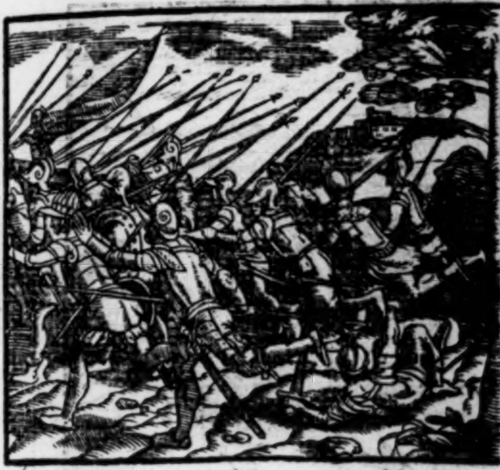
In the other battails, when the Engliſhmen went euer away with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this worlde by courſe of fatall death, the which muche differing from the ſofte and milde nature of his father, right nobly would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffred him to haue liued.

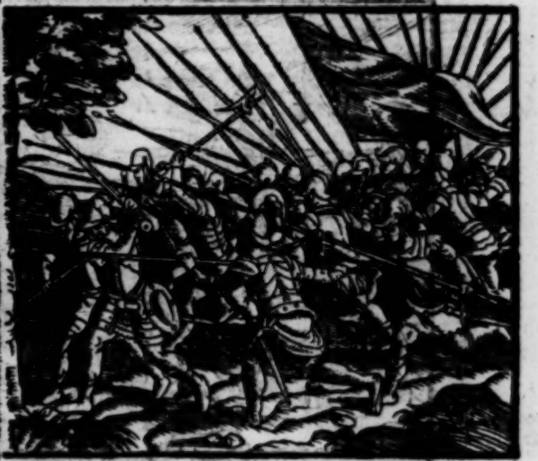
But theſe battailes which Vortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome wryters haue recorded, to haue chaunced before the ſuppoſed time of Vortimers or Guortimers atteyning to the crowne, about the ſixt or ſeuenth yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereunto William Hariſon giueth his conſent alſo in his Chronologie, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne, to the ſixth yeare of Martianus, and. 455. of Chriſt.

Polidor.

Howbeit Pol. Virg. ſayth, that Vortimer ſucceded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe the Engliſh Saxons, of whom there was a great number as then in the Ile, comming ouer dayly like ſwarmes of Bees, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onely Kent, but alſo the North partes of the Realme towardes Scotlande, togither with a great part of the weſt Countrey, thought it now a fit tyme to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therfore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſodaine they turne their weapon poynts agaynſt the Brytaines, and moſte cruelly purſue them, as though they had receyued ſome great iniurie at their handes, and no benefit at all. The Brytaynes were marueylouſly abaſhed herewith, perceyuing that they ſhoulde haue to do with Hengiſt, a captain of ſo high renowm, and alſo with their auncient enimies the Scottes and Pictes, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but eyther they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherfore at length dread of bondage ſtyrred vp manhod in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldly began to reſiſt theyr enimies on ech ſide: but beeing too weake, they were eaſily diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defence by force of armes being vtterly taken awaye, as menne in diſpayre to preuaile agaynſt theyr enimyes, they fled as ſheepe ſcattered abroade, ſome following one Captaine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woddes, and marriſh groundes, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a pray vnto their enimies.

The Brytaynes diſcomfited by the Saxons.





Thus hath Polidore Virgile of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and Brytayns, which chaunced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he wryteth thereof,) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not ẏ Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and hys people within the Country of Kent, and there began to inhabite.

This ought not to bee forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had vanquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decayed by the enimies inuaſion.

gebertus.

Vortigerne the ſeconde time.

THen was Vortigerne agayne reſtored to the Kingdome of Brytayne, in the yeare of our Lorde. 471.

r. hath
at. West.
471

All the tyme of his ſonnes raigne, he had remayned in the partyes nowe called Wales, where (as ſome wryte) in that meane tyme hee buylded a ſtrong Caſtell called Generon, or Guaneren, in the Weſt ſide of Wales neare to the ryuer of Guana, vpon a Mountayne called Cloaricus, which ſome referre to be buylded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likely, for that an olde Chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affyrmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certayne Gouernours to hym appoynted in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towardes his ſonne in ayding him with his counſail, and otherwiſe, in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne raigned, that the Brytayns by reaſon therof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him againe king.

Caerleon Arwiske.

Shortly after that Vortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the Kingdome, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the lande with a mightye armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being aduertiſed, aſſembled his Brytaines, and with all ſpeede made towardes him.

4000. hath Math. Weſt. He might eaſily returne, for except I be deceyued he was neuer driuen out after he had once got foot within this Ile.

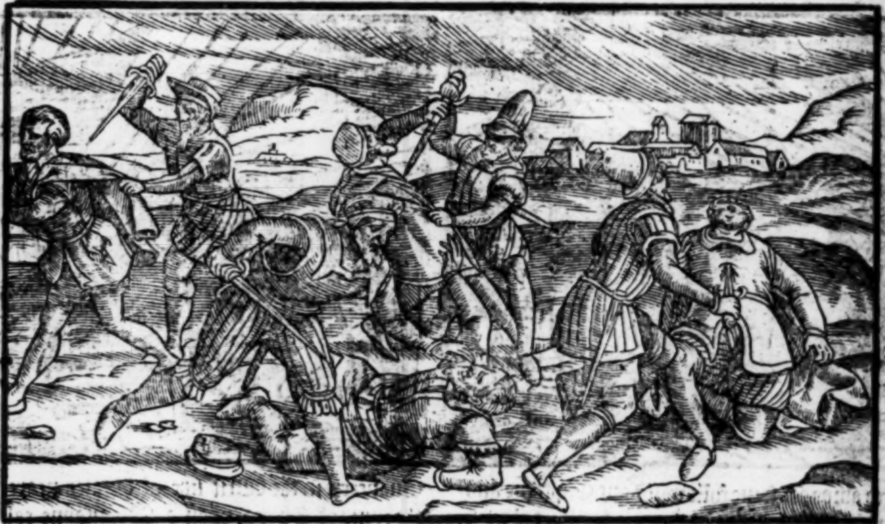
When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Brytains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a cõmunication with Vortigerne, which requeſt was graunted, ſo that it was concluded, that on May day a certain nũber of Britains, & as many of the Saxons ſhould meete togither vpon the plaine of Saliſburie.

Hengiſt hauing deuiſed a newe kind of treaſon, when the daye of theyr appoynted meeting was come, cauſed euery one of his allowed number ſecretely to put into his Hoſe a long knyfe (where it was ordeined that no man ſhould bring any weapon with him at all) and that at the verie inſtant when this watchworde ſhoulde be vttered by him, *Nempt your ſexes*, then ſhould euery of them plucke out his knife, and ſlea the Brytayne that chaunced to be next to him, except the ſame ſhoulde bee Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not ſlaine.

Nempt your ſexes, what if it were meſſes.

At the day aſſigned, the king with his appointed number of Brytaynes, nothing miſtruſting leſſe than any ſuch maner of vnfaythfull dealing, came to the place in order before preſcribed, without armour or weapon, where hee founde readie Hengiſt with his Saxons, the whiche receyued the king with amiable countenance, in moſte louing ſort: but after they were entred a little into communication, Hengiſt meaning to accompliſh hys deuyſed purpoſe, gaue the watchworde, immediately whereupon the Saxons drewe oute theyr knyues, and ſodaynly fell on the Brytayns, and ſlue them as ſheepe being fallen within the daunger of woolues.

There d
the nob
Brytain
as Gal.



For the Brytaines had no weapons to defend themſelues, except any of them by his ſtrength & manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Ran. Ceſtren.
Fabian.

Amongſt other of the Brytaynes, there was one Epol Earle of Glouceſter, or (as other haue) Cheſter, which got a ſtake out of an hedge, or elſe where, and with the ſame ſo defended himſelfe and layde aboute him, that he ſlue .xvij. of the Saxons, and eſcaped to the Towne of Ambrie, nowe called Saleſburie, and ſo ſaued his owne lyfe.

70. hath Gal.
Math. Weſt.
Ran. Ceſtren.

Vortiger was taken and kept as priſoner by Hengiſt, till he was conſtrayned to delyuer vnto Hengiſt three Prouinces or Countreys of thys Realme, that is to witte, Kent and Eſſex, or as ſome write, that parte where the ſouth Saxons after did inhabite, as Suſſex and other: the thirde was the Countrey where the Eaſtangles planted themſelues, which was in Norffolk, and Suffolke.

Then Hengiſt being in poſſeſſion of thoſe three Prouinces ſuffered Vortigerne to depart, and to to be at his libertie.

VVil. Malm.

William Malmeſb. wryteth ſomewhat otherwiſe of this taking of Vortigerne, during whoſe raigne, after the deceaſſe of his ſonne Vortimer; nothing (as ſhould appeare by that which the ſame Malmeſb. wryteth) was attempted agaynſt the Saxons, but in the meane tyme (ſayeth hee) Hengiſt according to the default of mannes nature, whiche the more he hath the more hee deſyreth, by a colourable craft procureth his ſonne in lawe Vortigerne to come to a banket to his houſe, wyth three hundred other Brytaynes, and when hee had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptying of Cuppes, and of purpoſe touched euery of them wyth one bytter taunte or other, they firſt fell to multiplying of malicious wordes, and after to blowes, ſo that the Brytaynes were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne, ſo yeelding vp their ghoſtes euen amongſt their pottes.

The King himſelfe was taken, and to redeeme himſelfe out of pryſon, gaue to the Saxons three Prouinces, and ſo eſcaped oute of bondage.

Thus by what meane ſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is (as all wryters agree) that Hengiſt got poſſeſſion of Kent, and of other Countreys in this Realme, and beganne to raigne there as abſolute Lorde and Gouernour in the yeare of oure Lorde (as ſome wryte,) 476. aboute the

476

the [illegible] yeare of Vortigerns laſt raigne: but after other which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent, to be when Hengiſt had firſt gyft thereof, the ſame Kingdome beganne in the yeare.455.

Kingdome of Kent.

This Kingdome or Lordſhip of Kent conteyned the countrey that ſtretcheth from the Eaſt Ocean, vnto the ryuer of Thames, hauing on the Southeaſt Southerie, and vpon the Weſt London, vppon the Northeaſt the Ryuer of Thames aforeſayde, and the Countrey of Eſſex.

Hengiſt and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after ſhall appeare) in .vij. partes of this Realme, are called by wryters *Reguli*, that is to ſay, little kings or rulers of ſome ſmal dominion: ſo that Hengiſt is accounted as a little king. And when he had got into his handes the foreſayde three Prouinces, he cauſed more number of Saxons to come into Brytayne, and beſtowed them in places abroade in the Countrey, by reaſon whereof, the Chriſtian Religion greatlye decayed within the lande: for the Saxons being Pagans, did what they coulde to extinguiſh the fayth of Chriſt, and to plant againe in all places theyr heatheniſh Religion, and worſhipping of falſe Goddes: and not onely hereby was the true fayth of the Chriſtians brought in daunger dayly to decay, but alſo the erronious opinion of the Pelagians greatly preuayled here amongeſt the Brytaynes, by meanes of ſuche vnſounde Preachers, as in that troubleſome ſeaſon did ſet forth erronious doctrine amongſt the people, without all maner of reprehenſion.

The decay of Chriſtian religion.

Certayne yeares before the comming of the Saxons, that hereſie began to ſpreade within this land very much, by the lewde induſtrie of one Leporius Agricola, the ſonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale ſayth) a Biſhop of that ſort. But Pelagius the author of this hereſie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteyne ſaluation by his owne free will & merit, & without aſſiſtance of grace, as he that was borne without originall ſinne. &c.

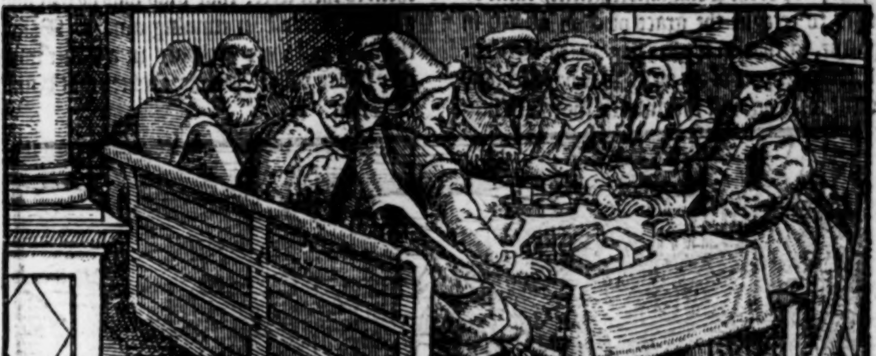
Beda.

Hæresis Pelagiana

This erronious doctrine being taught therefore, & mainteyned in this troubleſome time of warres with the Saxons, ſore diſquieted the godly minded men amongeſt the Brytaines, the which not meaning to receyue it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked perſwaſions vſed by the profeſſors thereof, thought good to ſend ouer into Gallia, requiring of the Biſhops there, that ſome godly & profound learned men might be ſent from thence into this lande, to defende the cauſe of the true doctrine againſt the naughtie teachers of ſo blaſphemous an error. Wherevpon the Biſhops of Gallia ſore lamenting the miſerable ſtate of the Britains, & deſirous to relieue their preſent neede, ſpecially in that caſe of religion, called a Sinode, and therin taking counſail to conſider, who were moſt meeteſt to be ſent, it was decreed by al their conſents in the ende, that one Germaine the Biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus Biſhop of Troyes ſhould paſſe ouer into Brytayne to confirme the Chriſtians there in the fayth of the celeſtial grace. And ſo thoſe two vertuous learned men taking their iourney, finally arriued in Brytayn, though not without ſome daunger by ſea, through ſtormes and rage of windes, ſtyrred (as hath beene thought) of the ſuperſtitious, by the malice of wicked ſpirites, who purpoſed to haue hindered theyr proceeding in this theyr good and well purpoſed iourney.

Beda.

A Sinode called in Gallia.



Germanus, and Lupus.

After they were come ouer, they did ſo much what with conuincing the wicked argumentes of the aduerſaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the worde of God, and holyneſſe of lyfe, that thoſe whiche were out of the right way, were ſoone brought into the right path againe.

Beda.
Palladius.

About the ſame time alſo, one Palladius was ſent from Celeſtinus Biſhop of Rome, vnto the Scottes, to inſtruct them in the fayth of Chriſt, and to purge them from the Hereſie of the ſayde Pelagius.

Conſtantine king of Scots.

This Paladius exhorted Conſtantinus the king of Scottes, that in no wiſe he ſhoulde ayde the Saxons beeing infidelles agaynſt the Brytaines: and his exhortation tooke ſo good effect, that the ſayd Conſtantinus did not only forbeare to aſſyſt the Saxons, but contrarily holpe the Brytaynes in theyr warres agaynſt them, the which thing did mainteyne the ſtate of the Brytaynes for a tyme from falling into vtter ruine and decay.

H. Hunt.
Beda.

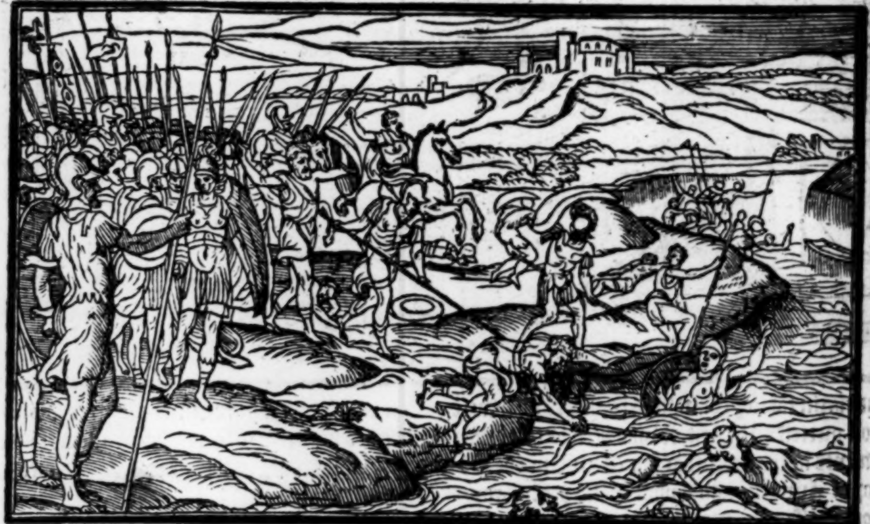
In the meane time, the Saxons renued their league with the Pictes, ſo that their powers being ioyned togither, they beginne a freſh to make ſore warres vpon the Brytaynes, the which of neceſſitie were conſtrayned to aſſemble an armie, and miſtruſting their owne ſtrength, required ayde of the two Biſhops, Germaine and Lupus. The which haſting forwarde with all ſpeede came into the army, bringing with them no ſmall hope of good lucke to all the Brytaynes there beeing aſſembled.

This was done in Lent, and ſuch was the diligence of the Biſhops, that (the people being inſtructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earneſtly came by troupes to receyue the grace of God offered in baptiſme, ſo that on Eaſter day which then enſued, the more part of the army was baptiſed, and ſo went forth againſt the enimies, the which hearing thereof, made haſt towards the Brytaynes, in hope to ouercome them at pleaſure. But theyr approche being knowne, Byſhoppe Germaine taketh vpon him the leading of the Brytiſh hoſt, and ouer agaynſt the paſſage throughe the which the enimies were appoynted to come, he choſe forth a valley encloſed with high Mountaynes, and within the ſame he placeth his newe waſhen armie.

And when he ſaw the enimies now at hande, he commaunded that euery man with one generall voyce ſhoulde aunſwere him, crying alowde the ſame crie that he ſhould begin.

Allelu

And euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Brytaynes, ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue taken them at vnwares, and before any warning had beene giuen, ſodainly Biſhop Germaine and the Prieſtes, with a lowde and ſhrill voyce cryed *Alleluia* thrice: and therewith all the multitude of the Brytaynes wyth whole voyce cryed the ſame crie, with ſuch a lowd ſteauen, that the Saxons were ſo therewith amaſed and aſtonyed, (the echo from the rocks and hilles adioyning, redoubling in ſuche wiſe the crie,) that they thought that not onely the rockes and clyfes had fallen vpon them, but that euen the ſkie it ſelfe had broken in peeces and come tumbling downe vpon their heades: herewith therefore throwing away their weapons, they tooke them to their feete, that glad was he that might get to be formoſt in running awaye. Many of them for haſt were drowned in a Riuer whiche they had to paſſe. Polidore taketh that Riuer to be Trent.



The Brytayns hauing thus vanquiſhed their enimies, gathered the ſpoyle at good leyſure, and gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holy biſhops alſo triumphed as beſt became them. And after they had ſetled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, frõ whence they came (as is before reherſed.) By one author it ſhould appeare that this battell was wonne againſt the Scots and Picts about

Mat. Weſt.

448 about the yeare of our Lord. 448. a little before yͤ comming of the Saxons into this lande vnder Hengiſt, whereto William Harriſon accordeth, in which yeare S. Germane firſt came hither to weede out the hereſie of Pelagius, as by the ſame author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, William Harriſon in his Chronologie out of Proſper, & other writers of time, noteth yͤ firſt cõming of Germanus in the. 429. of Chriſt, and vnder yͤ Conſulſhip of Florentius and Dioniſius: & thys ſhoulde ſeeme to agree with the trouth, for that after ſome, yͤ foreſaid Germane ſhould dye at Rauenna about the yeare of our Lord. 450. as Vincentius noteth, whiche was the very yeare of the comming of the Saxons: notwithſtanding whẽ, or whereſoeuer he dyed, it was not long after hys returne into Gallia, vpon his firſt iourney made hither into this land, & obteyning of yͤ victory before mentioned, but yͤ word was brought againe vnto him, that eftſoones the hereſie of the Pelagians was ſpred abrode in Britayne, & therefore al the Prieſts or Cleargie made requeſt to him yͭ it might ſtande with his pleaſure to come ouer againe, and defend the cauſe of true Religion whiche he had before confirmed. Hereupon Biſhop German granteth ſo to do, and therefore takyng with him one Seuerus (that was diſciple vnto Lupus, & ordeyned at yͤ tyme Biſhop of Tryer) he tooke the Sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he founde the multitude of the people ſtedfaſt in the ſame beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceyued the fault to reſt in a fewe: whereuppon enquiring out the authors, he condemneth them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifeſt miracle by reſtoring a yong man that was lame (as they ſay) vnto the right vſe of his limmes, he confirmeth his doctrine. Then followeth preaching to perſwade amendmente of errors, and by the generall conſente of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being baniſhed the land, were deliuered vnto Biſhop Germane and to his fellowe Seuerus, to conuey them forth in their company vnto the parties of beyond the Sea, that the Region might ſo be deliuered of further daunger, and they receyue the benefite of due amendmente.

ermane re-
ameth againe
nto Britayne.

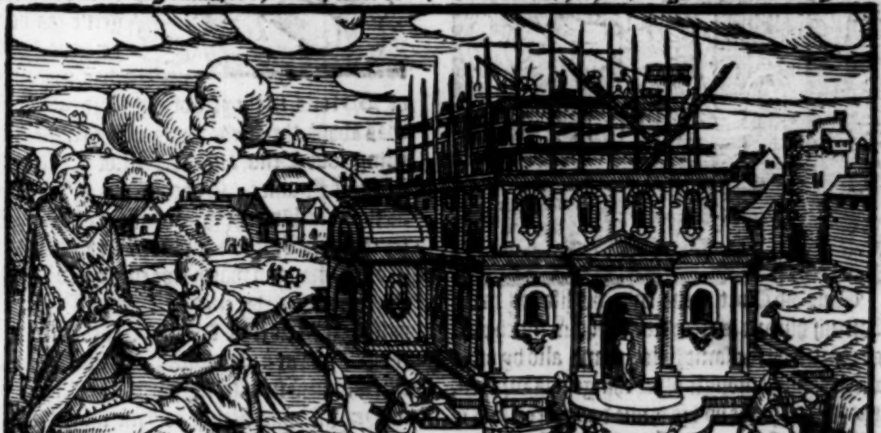
By this meanes it came to paſſe, that the true faith continued in Britayne ſound and perfect a long time after. And thus things being ſet in good order, thoſe holy men returned into theyr countreys. And ſo after this ſeconde time of hys being here, the forenamed Biſhop German went to Rauenna for to ſew for peace, to bee graunted vnto the people of Armorike Britayne, and there being receyued of the Emperour Valentinian, & his mother Placida in moſt reuerend manner, he departed in that Citie out of this tranſitory life, to the eternall ioyes of heauen. His body was afterwardes conueyed vnto the Citie of Auxerre, where he had bin Biſhop with great opinion of holineſſe for his ſincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortly after was the Emperour Valentinian ſlayne by the friendes of that noble man named Aetius, whom he had before cauſed to be put to death. By this it may appeare, that Biſhop German came into this Realm both the firſt and ſecond time, whileſt as well Hengiſt, as alſo Vortigerne were liuing: for the ſayde Valentinian was murthered about yͤ yeare of our Lord 454. where the ſayde Kings liued & reigned long after that time, as may appeare both before & after in this preſent booke. To returne then to Vortigerne. We find in the Brittiſh hiſtorie, that after the Saxons had conſtreyned him to delyuer into their handes a greate parte of the ſouth & eaſt partes of the Realme, ſo that they had in poſſeſſion London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Wincheſter, & other Cities & townes, he not only fearing theyr puiſſãce, but alſo yͤ returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, & his brother Vtherpẽdragon, withdrew him into Wales, wher he begã to build a ſtrõg Caſtel

Anno 450 as Vincentius noteth lib. 20. Cap. 15.

The Emperor Valentinian ſlayne.

454

Galfrid.



Caxton.
Fabian.
Policron.

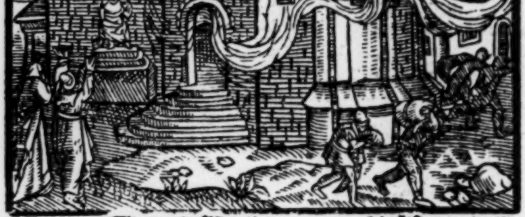
Mount Erir he calleth it in one place of his booke.

vpon a Mountayne called Breigh, or after other Cloarie, neere to the riuer of Guana, whiche is in the Weſt ſide of Wales in a place within the compaſſe of the ſame hill called Generon or Gueyneren. Of the building of this Caſtell, and of the hinderance in erecting the ſame, with the monſtrous birth of Merlin and his knowlegt in propheſying, the Britiſhe hiſtories tell a long proceſſe, the whiche in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is alſo ſet forthe, as there yee may ſee: but for that the ſame ſeemeth not of ſuche credite as deſerueth to be regiſtred in any ſound hiſtorie, we haue with ſilence paſſed it ouer. Whileſt Vortigerne was buſied in building of this Caſtel, the two foreſayde brethren Aurelius and Vter prepard a nauie of Shippes, and an army of men, by helpe of ſuche their kinſmen and friendes as they founde in Armorike Britayne, and ſo paſſed the Sea, and landed at Totneſſe: whereof when the Britaynes were aduertiſed, the which were ſcattered abrode and ſeuered in diuers parties & countreys, they drewe vnto the ſayde two brethren with all ſpeede that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Vter perceyued that they were ſufficiently furniſhed of people, they marched forth towardes Wales againſt Vortigerne, the which hauing knowledge of their approche, had fortifyed his Caſtell right ſtrongly with men, munition and vittayles, but yet all that nothing auayled him, for in the ende after his enimies had gyuen diuers aſſaultes to the ſayde Caſtell, they found meanes with wilde fire to brenne it downe to the earth, and ſo conſumed it by fire togither with the King, and all other that were within it.

Aurelius and Vter brethren returne into Britayne.

Vortigerne brent to death

Wilde fire not yet inuented as ſome think



Thus did Vortigerne ende his life (as in the Brittiſh hiſtorie is recorded.) Of him much euill is reported by the ſame hiſtorie, and alſo by other writers, and amongſt other things it is written, that he ſhoulde lie by his owne daughter, and of hir begote a ſonne, in truſt that kings ſhuld come of him, and therefore was he excommunicate by Saint Germane.

It is alſo ſayde, that when the ſame Sainte Germane came into Britayne (as before ye haue heard) this Vortigerne on a time ſhoulde denie the ſame Saint Germane harbourrowe: but one that kept the Kings heardes of Cattell receyued him into his houſe, and lodged him, and ſlewe a Calfe for his ſupper, the which Calfe (after ſupper was ended) Sainte Germane reſtored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, hee cauſed Vortigerne to bee depoſed from his Kingly eſtate, and toke the heardman and made him King.

A leg
of S. G

A ca
tion

But Ranulfus Higden in his booke entitled *Polychronicon*, alledging Gildas for his author, ſayth, that this chaunced to a king that ruled in Powſey, whoſe name was Buly, and not to Vortigerne: ſo that the ſucceſſours of that Buly reigning in that ſide of Wales, came of the lignage of the ſame herdman. Moreouer it hath bin ſayd as one writer recordeth, that when Vortigerne refuſed to heare the preaching of S. German, & fled from him as he followed to haue inſtructed him, one night there fell fyre from heauen vpon the caſtel wherin the king was lodged, and ſo the king being deſtroyed with the fall of the houſe and the fyre togyther, was neuer after ſeene. But theſe are fables, and therfore I paſſe them ouer, hoping that it ſhall ſuffiſe to ſhewe here with what ſtuffe our olde hiſtoriographers haue farced vp their huge volumes.

H. Hu

Aurelius Ambroſius.

Aureli us Am broſius.

Aurelius Ambroſius, ye ſecond ſon of king Conſtantine, & brother to Conſtātius, murthered by the treaſon of Vortigerne (as before ye haue hearde) was made king of Brytons, in the yere of our Lord. 481. which was about the thirde yeare of the reigne of the Emperour Zeno, and the .xxiij. of Childericus, King of Fraunce. Odocer King of the *Heruli* as then vſurping the gouernement of Italy. After that this Aurelius Ambroſius had diſpatched Vortigerne, and was nowe eſtabliſhed Kyng of the Britaynes, hee made towardes Yorke, and paſſing the Riuer of Humber, encountred with the Saxons at a place called Maeſbell, and ouerthrewe them in a ſtrong battell, from the which as Hengiſt was fleeing to haue ſaued himſelfe, hee was taken by Edoll Earle of Glowceſter (or as ſome haue Cheſter) and by him ledde to Conningeſbourrowe and was there beheaded by

Mat. W
hath. 486.

Galfr. Mo.

Hengiſt ta
& beheaded.

Mat. VVeſt.

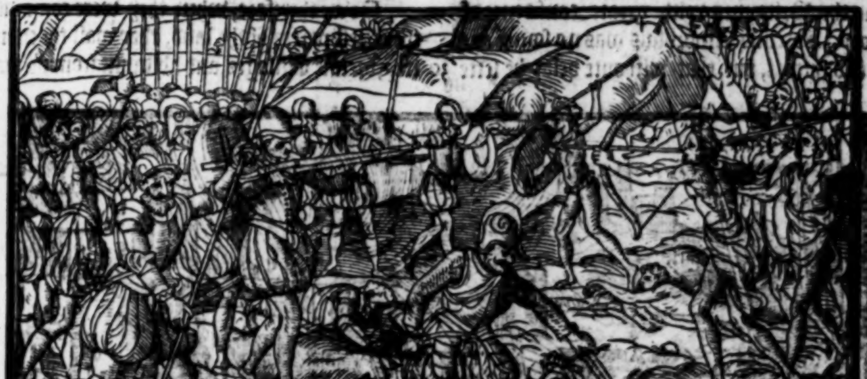
Occa.

by the counſell of Eldade then Biſhop of Colcheſter. But ther be that write how Hengiſt was taken at an other battell fought vpon the Riuer of Dune, in the yeare of our Lord. 489. and not in the chaſe of the battell whiche was foughte at Maeſbelle in the yeare. 487. as the ſame authors do alledge. Occa the ſonne of Hengiſt, by flight eſcaped to Yorke, and being there beſieged, at length was conſtreyned to yelde hymſelfe to Aurelius: the which dealing fauorably with him, aſſigned forth to him and other of the Saxons a countrey bordering neere to the Scottes, whych (as ſome affirme) was Galloway, where the ſayd Occa and the Saxons began to inhabite. Then did Aurelius Ambroſius put the Saxons out of all other partes of the land, and repared ſuche Cities, Townes, and alſo Churches, as by them had bin deſtroyed or defaced, and placed agayne Prieſtes, and ſuch other as ſhoulde attende to the miniſterie and ſeruice of God in the ſame Churches.

Galfrid.

Alſo for a perpetuall memorie of thoſe Britaynes that were ſlayne on the playne of Saliſburie by the treaſon of Hengiſt, he cauſed ſtones to bee fetched out of Irelande, and to be ſet vpon the ſame place where that ſlaughter was committed, and called the place Stonheng, whiche name continueth vnto this day. There were ſent fifteene thouſand men as Galfride ſaith, for thoſe ſtones, vnder the leading of Vter Pendragon the Kings brother, the whiche giuing battell vnto Gillomanus King of Irelande that went aboute to reſiſt the Britaynes, and would not permitte them to fetche away the ſame ſtones out of hys countrey; diſcomfyted him and his people, and ſo maugre his will broughte the ſtones away with him.

Shortly after Paſcentius that was Vortigernes yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britayne) returned with a greate power of ſtraunge nations, and toke yͤ Citie of Meneuia in Wales, afterwardes called Saint Dauid, and did much hurt in the countrey with fire and ſworde. At whiche time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius laye ſicke at Wincheſter, and beeing not able to goe forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Vter Pendragon to aſſemble an army of Britaines, and to goe againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Vter according to his brothers requeſt, gathering hys people, wente forthe, and encountring with the enimies, gaue them the ouerthrowe, ſlew Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman King of Irelande that was come ouer with him in ayde againſt the Britaynes.



Hec. Boetius.

Fabian.

In the meane while, a Saxon, or ſome other ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fayned himſelfe to be a Britayne, and for a coulour counterfeyting himſelfe a Monke, and to haue great knowledge in Phiſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicines vnto Aurelius: but in ſtead of that whiche he ſhoulde haue broughte him health, he gaue him poyſon, whereof hee dyed ſhortly after at Wincheſter aforeſayde, when hee had raigned after moſt accompt of writers nineteene yeares: his body was conueyed to Stoneheng and there buried.

Thus finde wee in the Britiſhe and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, which as ye haue heard make him a Britayne borne, and diſcended of the bloud of the ancient Britaynes. But Gildas and Beda reporte him to be a Romayne by diſcent as before is mentioned.

Polidor.

Polydore Virgill writeth in this ſorte of the victorious actes atchieued by the foreſayde Aurelius Ambroſius. Then ſaith he, the Saxons hauing already gotten the whole rule of the Iſle, practiſe their outragious cruelty ſpecially againſt the Princes of the Britaynes, to the end, that the ſayde Princes beeing ouercome and deſtroyed, they might with more eaſe obteyne poſſeſſion of the whole Iſle, whiche thing they only ſoughte for. But the fauor of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britaynes in that greate neceſſitie, for beholde, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hande, the which had no ſooner cauſed the Trumpet to blowe to armour, but euery man for himſelfe prepareth and reſorteth to him, praying and beſeeching him to help to defende them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to goe forth with them againſt the enimies with all ſpeede.

Thus an army beeyng aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius goeth againſte them, and valiantly aſſayleth them, ſo that within the ſpace of a fewe dayes, they foughte three battayles with greate fierceneſſe on both ſydes in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at lẽgth the Britaynes put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlayne with a greate number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated heereby, for within a fewe dayes after receyuing out of Germany a newe ſupply of menne, they brake foorth vpon the Britaynes with greate confidence of victory. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that withoute delay he ſette forwarde towardes Yorke from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was encamped about ſeuen and twentie miles diſtante from that Citie, neere to the banke of a Riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returneth out of his way and marcheth towards that place, and the nexte daye ſetteth on the enimie and vanquiſheth him, Hengiſt at the firſt meeting of the battels beeyng ſlayne, with a greate number of the Germanes. The fame of this victory (ſaith Polidore) is had in memory with the inhabitantes of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, the which victory did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, in ſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhoulde be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonor, than to make any newe warres to theyr great diſaduantage and likelyhod of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt is ſlayne.

Hengiſt lefte behynde him two ſonnes, Oſca and Otha, the which as menne moſt ſorrowfull for the ouerthrowe of late receyued, aſſembled ſuche power as they could togither, and remoued therewith towardes the Weſt parte of the Iſle, ſuppoſing it to bee better for them to drawe that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was already a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britaynes on that ſyde.

Nowe therefore, when they were come into the Weſt partes of the land, they waſt the countrey, brenne Villages, and abſtayne from no maner of crueltie that might be ſhewed.

These things beeing reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, hee ſtraightwayes haſteth thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eftſoones diſcomfiteth them: but he himſelfe receyuing a wounde, dyed thereof within a few dayes after.

relius dieth
a wounde.

The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo many loſſes within a fewe monethes togither, were contented to bee quiet nowe that the Britaynes ſtirred nothing agaynſte them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble Captayne as they had nowe loſt. In the meane time Vortimer died, after whome ſucceeded Vter ſurnamed Pendragon. Thus hath Polidore written of the foreſayde Aurelius

Vortimer departeth this life.

Ambroſius, not naming him to be King of Britayne, and differing indeede in ſundry poyntes in this behalfe from diuers aunciente writers of the Engliſh hiſtories, for wher he attributeth the victory to the Britaynes in the battel fought, wherin Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlayne by the reporte of *Polvchronicon*, and other, the Saxons hadde the victory in that reencounter, and William of Malmeſburie ſayeth, that they departed from that battell with egall fortune, the Saxons loſing their Captayne Horſus, and the Britaynes their Captayne Katigerne (as before yee haue hearde) but there is ſuche [illegible]arietie in writers touching the doings bet[illegible] e Britaynes and Saxons in thoſe dayes, [illegible] well in accompte of yeares, as in the reporte of thynges done, that ſetting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credite. Where Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his raigne ouer the Britaines about the yeare of our Lord. 481. Horſus was ſlayne about the yeare. 458. during the raigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtande with the troth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the whiche Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlayne by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories hee returned not into Britayne, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuers ſuch manner of contrarieties ſhall ye finde in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the Chronicles of the Britaynes and Saxons, the which in euery point to recite would be too tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe yͤ ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to any iuſt accorde for the ſatiſfying of all mens mindes, and namely the curious, whiche may with diligente ſearche ſatiſfye themſelues happily muche better than any other ſhall be able to doe in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agreeable to a troth: onely therefore haue we thought good as it were by the way to touch what diuers authors do write, leauing it ſo to euery mans iudgemente to conſtrue therof, as his affection leadeth him. We fynde in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing vanquiſhed the Saxons, reſtored Churches to the furtherance of the Chriſtian Religion, which by the inuaſion of the Saxons was greatly decayed in diuers partes of Britayne, and thys chanced in the days of the Emperour Theodoſius yͤ yonger.

vil.Mal:

atigerne.

458

Sigebertus.

488. as Math. Weſt bath.

The beginning of the Kingdome of Suſſex.

IN the time of the foreſayd Aurelius Ambroſius one Ella a Saxon with his three ſonnes Cymen, Plettinger & Ciſſa, came out of Germany with three Shippes, and landed in the South partes of Britayne, and being encountred with a power of Britaynes at a place called Cuneueſhore, diſcomfited them, and chaſed them vnto a wood then called Andredeſwold, and ſo tooke that countrey, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himſelfe King and Lord thereof, in ſomuche that afterwardes the ſame countrey was named the kingdome of the South Saxons, whiche had for limittes on the Eaſt ſide Kent, on the South, the Sea and Iſle of Wight, on the weſt Hamſhire, and on the North part Southerie. This Kyngdome (after ſome) began vnder the forſayd Ella, aboute the. 32. yeare after the firſte commyng of the Saxons into this lād, which by following that accompt, ſhould be about the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and about the yeare of oure Lord. 482. But other write, that it did begin about the. 30. yeare after the firſte comming of Hengiſt, which ſhould be two yeares ſooner. William Harriſon differing from al other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeare after yͤ death of Hengiſt. 4458. of the worlde. 2. of the. 317. Olympiad. 1243. of Rome. 492. of Chriſte, and. 43. after the comming of the Saxons: his wordes are theſe. Ella erecteth the Kingdome of the South Saxons, in the. 15. after his arriuall, and raigned 32. yeares, the chiefe Citie of his Kingdome alſo was Chicheſter, & after hee had enioyed the ſame his Kingdome awhile, he ouerthrew yͤ Citie called Andredeceſter, whiche as then was taken for one of the moſt famous in all the South ſide of England. For my parte I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I ſhew the opinions of yͤ writers: for if I ſhould thereto adde mine owne, I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, whereof already we haue ſuperfluous ſtore. To proceede therfore as I fynde.

Ella entred this land as M. VVeſt. bath anno. 477.

The kingdom of the South Saxons doth begin.

482

About the ninth yeare after the comming of Elle, the Britaynes perceyuing that he with hys Saxons ſtill enlarged the boundes of his Lordſhip by entring further into the lande, aſſembled themſelues togither vnder their Kings and Rulers, and gaue battell to Elle and his ſonnes at Mecredeſbourne, where they departed with doutfull victory, the armies on both ſides being ſore diminiſhed, and ſo returned to their homes. Elle after this battell ſente into his countrey for more ayde. But nowe touching Hengiſt which as yee haue hearde, reigned as King in the prouince of Kente, the writers of the Engliſhe Kings varie ſomewhat from the Brittiſhe hiſtories, bothe in reporte of the battels by him foughte againſte the Britaynes, and alſo for the manner of his deathe: as thus. After that Vortimerus was dead, which departed this life (as ſome write) in the firſt yeare of the Emperour Leo, ſurnamed the greate, and firſt of that name that gouerned the Empire, who began to rule in the yeare of our Lorde. 457. wee fynde that Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca gathe-

Policron.

457

H. Hunt.
VV. Mal.

gathered their people togither that were before ſparkled, and hauing alſo receyued new ayde out of Germany, fought with yͤ Britaynes at a place called Crekenforde, wher were ſlayne of the Britaynes foure Dukes or Captaynes, and foure thouſand of other men, and the reſidue were chaſed by Hengiſt out of Kent vnto London, ſo that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kēt; and ſo the Kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengiſt the twelfth yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britayne, and Hengiſt raigned in Kent after this (as the ſame writers agree) foure and twentie yeares. It is remembred that thoſe Germanes whiche lately were come ouer to the ayde of Hengiſt, beeing choſen men, mightie and ſtrong of body, with their axes and ſwordes made great ſlaughter of the Britaynes in that battell at Crekenford or Creyforde, whiche Britaynes were aranged in foure battayles vnder their aforeſayd foure Dukes or Captaynes, and were (as before is mentioned) ſlayne in the ſame battel. About the ſixth yere of the ſayd Emperour Leo, which was in the.17.yeare after the comming of the Saxons, Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca fought at Wyppiſhe fielde in Kent, neere to a place called Tong with the Britaynes, ⁊ ſlewe of them twelue Dukes or Captaynes, and on the parte of the Saxons was ſlayne beſyde common Souldiers but onely one Captayne that highte Wipet, of whome yͤ place after yͤ day tooke name.

Creyſourd.

Britaynes ouerthrowen.

Polychron.

H.Hunt.

VVipers field
Mat. VVeſt.
This battell was fought anno.473.as the ſame Mat. VVeſt noteth. Wipet
Hen. Hunt.

This victory was nothing pleaſaunte to the Saxons, by reaſon of the great loſſe whiche they ſuſteyned, as well by the death of the ſayd Wipet, as of a greate number of others: and ſo of a long time neyther did the Saxons enter into the confynes of the Britaynes, nor the Britaynes preſumed to come into Kent. But whileſt outward warres ceaſſe among the Britaynes, they exerciſe ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themſelues, one ſtriuing againſt another. Finally, Hengiſt departed this life by courſe of nature, in the.39. yeare after his firſte comming into Britayne, hauing proceeded in his buſineſſe no leſſe with craft and guyle than with force and ſtrength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, ſo that he rather did all things with rigoure than with gentleneſſe. After him ſucceeded a ſonne whiche hee left behinde him, who beeing attentiue rather to defende than to enlarge his Kingdome, neuer ſet foote out of his fathers boundes, duryng the ſpace of.24.yeares, in the whiche hee raigned.

Fortie yeares hath H.Hunt.

By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the lande after he had once got foote within it.

About three yeares after the deceſſe of Hengiſt, a new ſupply of men of warre came out of Germany vnto the ayde of Elle King of Suſſex, the which hauing his power ſo encreaſſed, beſieged the Citie of Andredeſceſtre, which was very ſtrōg ⁊ well furniſhed with men ⁊ all things neceſſary.

Mat. VVeſt.
Hen.Hunt.

The Citie of Andredeleeſtre.

The Britaynes alſo aſſembling togither in companies, greatly annoyed the Saxons as they lay there at ſiege, laying ambuſhes to deſtroy ſuche as wente abrode, and ceaſſing not to giue alarmes to the campe in the night ſeaſon: ſ the Saxons could no ſooner prepare themſelues to giue the aſſault, but the Britaynes were ready to aſſayle them on the backes, till at length the Saxons deuiding themſelues into two companies, appoynted the one to giue the aſſault, and the other to encounter with the army of the Britaynes without, and ſo finally by that meanes preuayled, tooke the Citie, and deſtroyed manne, woman and childe. Neyther ſo contented, they did alſo vtterly raſe the ſayde Citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daye builded or redified agayne.

The Kingdome of the Eaſtangles.

Moreouer, in the dayes of the forenamed Aurelius Ambroſius about the yeare of our Lorde.561. the kingdome of the Eaſtangles began vnder a Saxon named Vffa. This Kingdome conteyned Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the Eaſt and North partes the Sea, on the Northweſt Cambridge ſhire, and on the Weſt Sainte Edmonds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the South ſide lieth Eſſex. This Kingdome at the firſte was called Vffines dominion, and the Kings that raigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſte named Vffines, but at length they were called Eaſtangles.

The King of the Eaſt angles beg. This King dome a riſon none began no till Aurelius Conanus raigned.
561

Furthermore about yͤ yere of oure Lorde 495. and in the eyght yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus, and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germany with fiue Shippes, and landed at a place called Cerdiccore, whiche as ſome thinke is nowe called Yermouth in Northfolke. Hee was at the firſt receyued with battell by the Britaynes, but beeing an olde ſkilfull warriour, hee eaſily beate backe and repulſed the inconſtante multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flee: by whyche good ſucceſſe hee procured for the time to come, both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe, and to the inhabi-

Cerdic.
VVil.Md.
495

Fabian.
Policron.

VVil. Md.

inhabitantes good and perfect quietneſſe, for they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtãce, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then giue himſelfe to ſlouthful reſt, but rather extending his afore atchieued victories on eache ſyde, in the foure and twentith yeare after his comming into this lande, he atteyned the rule of the Weſt partes thereof, and got named there as King, ſo that the Kingdome of Weſt Saxons began vnder the ſayde Cerdicus in the .519. of Chriſt as after ſhall be ſhewed. 519

Thus may you ſee that if Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceede after Vortigerne, and reigned in the tyme ſuppoſed by the Brittiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his dayes was full of trouble, and the olde inhabitauntes the Britaynes ſore vexed by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britaynes dayly were hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiante Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victorers. But nowe to proceede with the ſucceſſion of the Brittiſhe Kings as in their Hiſtories wee fynde them regiſtred, whiche I deliuer ſuche as I fynde, but not ſuche as I do wiſhe, being written with no ſuche conſource of credite as we may ſafely put forthe the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

Vter Pendragon.

After that Aurelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Vter Pendragon (whome Harriſon calleth, Aurelius Vterius Ambroſianus) was made King in the yeare of our Lorde.500. in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the ſixteene yeare of Clodoueus King of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why hee was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merlyne the greate Prophete likened him to a Dragons head, that at the tyme of his natiuitie maruelloully appeared in the firmamente at the corner of a blaſing Starre as is reported. But Harriſon ſuppoſeth that hee was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſerpentine ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the Dragons head in his Banner.

Math. West. noteth. 500

Thys Vter, hearing that the Saxons with their Captaynes Octa or Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca hadde beſieged the Citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell diſcomfited their power, and tooke the ſayd Octa and Oſca priſoners. From this varieth Hector Boetius in his Chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfet Monke whiche poyſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſubornate, and ſent to worke that feate by Octa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the very ſelfe time of Aurelius his deathe, his brother Vter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fully recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had bin greeuouſly vexed. Yet the Lords of Britayne after the Buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him, and crowned him king: & though he was not able to goe againſt ẏ Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius hys death were very buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the war than before) an army was yet prepared and ſente forth with all conuenient ſpeede vnder the leading of one Nathaliod, a man neyther of any greate auntiente houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. The noble men were nothyng pleaſed herewith, as miſliking altogither ẏ lack of diſcretion in their new king, and doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the baſe degree, than ſuch as were diſcended of noble parentage. Yet bicauſe they wold not put the ſtate of the common wealth in daunger through any mutiny, they agreed to goe forth with him in that iourney. Octa had aduertiſemente giuen by ſecrete letters ſente to him from ſome cloſe friendes amongſt the Britaines of the whole matter, and therefore in hope of the better ſpeed he haſted forth to encounter the Britaines, and ſo the one army comming within ſight of ẏ other, they prepare to the battell, and ſhortly after buckling togither, the Britaines were ſoone diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt Captaines called Gothlois diſdeyning to bee at the appointmente of Nathaliod, gote him vp to the next hill with the battell which he led, leauing the other Britaines in al the daunger: which they perceyuing ſtraight wayes began to flee. There dyed no greate number of the Britaines, excepte thoſe that were killed in the fighte: for Octa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, woulde not ſuffer the Saxons to followe the chaſe, but in the nyghte followyng, Gothlois gote hym away, and reſted not till

Hec. Boetius.

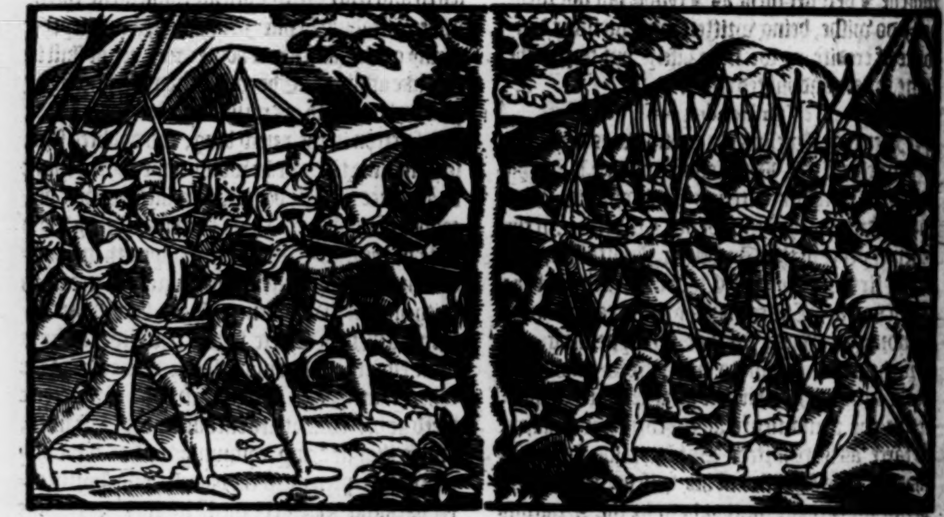
he was

hee was out of daunger. Occa then perceyuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an Herrauld vnto King Vter with a certayne meſſage, thretning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to do that which he ſhould appoynt.

Vter perceyuing what diſloyaltie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiectes, agreed that the matter might be committed to eyght graue and wiſe Counſellers, foure Britaines and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an ende of all controuerſies and variaunces depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewiſe contented therewith, wherevppon were named on eyther part foure perſons, of ſuch wiſedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meeteſt to take direction for the ordering of ſuch a weightie buſineſſe. By the arbitrement, warde and dome then of thoſe eighte perſons ſufficiently authoriſed thereto, a league was concluded vppon certaine articles of agreement, amongſt the whyche the chiefeſt was, that the Saxons from thenceforth ſhould quietly enioy all that part of Britayne whiche lyeth fore aneynſt the Almayne Seas, the ſame to bee called euer after Engliſhlaund, and all the reſidue ſhoulde remayne to the Britaines as their owne rightfull and auncient inheritance. Thus hathe Hector Boetius, but now to returne vnto. Then according to that wee finde in the Brittiſh hiſtories but to procede after our owne writers, that when he had vanquiſhed the Saxons and taken their two chieftaines priſoners, in proceſſe of time, he fell in loue with a righte beautifull Lady called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorloys Duke of Cornwaile, the which Duke he ſlew at length neere to his owne Caſtell called Dimilioc in Cornewaile, to the ende that he mighte enioy the ſayd Lady the which he afterwards maried, and begate on hir that noble Knighte Arthur, and a daughter named Amye or Anna. Occa and Oſſe eſcaping alſo out of priſon aſſembled eftſoones a power of Saxons, and made warre againſte the Britaynes, whereof Vter hauing aduertiſement prepared to reſiſt them, and finally went himſelfe in perſon againſte them; and at Saint Albans (as ſome write) gaue them battel, and ſlew them

Gorlo of Co

Verlam.



both in the fielde. By that which Polydore Vergill writeth it ſhoulde ſeeme that Germane the Biſhop of Auxerre came into Britayne in the dayes of this Vter, by whoſe preſence the Brytaynes had victory againſte the Saxons (as before yee haue hearde) after whiche victory bothe parties reſted from troubling eyther other for a time, the Saxons as it were aſtonied with that preſente miracle, and the Britaynes not following their good ſucceſſe ſhortly after fell at diſcord amongſt themſelues, which finally brought them to vtter decay, as after ſhall appeare. But yͤ Saxons being deſirous to ſpoyle the Britaines of the whole poſſeſſion of that parte of the Iſle which they held, whereas they accompted the Cities and Townes of ſmall ſtrength to be defended, they gote them to an high Mountaine called Badon hill, whiche Polidore ſuppoſeth to bee Blackamore yͭ lieth neere to the water of Theiſe, which deuideth the Biſhoprike of Durham from Yorkſhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meete to receyue ſuch Shippes as come out of Germany, from whence the Saxons looked dayly for ayde, hauing already ſent thither for the ſame. The Britaynes being thereof aduertiſed, make haſt towards the place, and beſieged it on euery ſide. They alſo lay the Sea coaſtes full of Souldiers to keepe ſuche of the enemies from landing as ſhoulde come out of Germany. The Saxons kept themſelues for a certayne ſpace aloft vpon the high grounde, but in the ende conſtreyned through wante of vittayles, they come

Badon hil.

downe with their armie in order of batalle to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the batayl was anon begun, which continued from the morning till farre in the day, with ſuche ſlaughter, that the earth on euery ſide flowed with bloud: but ẏ Saxons ſuſteyned the greater loſſe, their capitaines Occa and Oſca beyng bothe ſlayne, ſo that the Britons might ſeme quite deliuered of al danger of thoſe enimies: but the fatall deſtenie could not be auoided, as hereafter may apere. And this was the ſlaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hil, wherof Gildas maketh mention, and chanced the ſame yere that he was borne, which was in the 44. yere after the firſt cōming of the Saxons into this land, the yere of grace. 492. & . 15. indiction (as Hariſon alſo noteth.)

ildas.

492.

About the ſame time Vter departed out of this life (ſaith Polydore) ſo that his accompte agreeth nothing with the cōmon accompte of thoſe authors, whom Fabiā and other haue folowed. For either muſt we preſuppoſe, that Vter reigned before the time apointed to him by the ſaid authors, either elſe that the ſiege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it ſhould ſeeme in deede by that which Wil. Malmſbury writeth therof, as hereafter ſhal be alſo ſhewed. Finally, according to the agreemente of the Engliſhe writers, Vter Pendragon died of poyſon when he had gouerned this land by the ful terme of. 16. yeres, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stonheng otherwyſe called *Chorea Gigantū*, leauing his ſon Arthur to ſuccede him. Here muſt ye note, that the Scottiſh chronicles declare, that in al the warres for the more parte wherein the Britons obteyned victorie againſt the Saxons, the Scots ayded them in the ſame warres, and ſo likewyſe did the Picts, but the ſame chronicles do not only varie from the Brytiſh writers in accompt of yeres, but alſo in the order of things done, as in the ſame Chronicles more playnly may appere, and namely in the diſcourſe of the incidēts which chanced during the reign of this Vter. For wher as the Brittiſh hiſtories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praiſe vnto the ſame Vter for his victories atchieued againſt the Saxons and theyr king Occa, whom he ſlew in battaile, and obteined a greate victorie, the Scottiſhe writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the preſēce of biſhop Germane hee obteyned victorie in one battaile againſt them: but ſhortly after the Britons fought again with the Saxons, & were diſcomfited, although Occa in following the chaſe ouer raſhly chaunced to be ſlaine: after whoſe deceaſſe the Saxons ordeyned his ſonne named alſo Occa to ſucceede in his place, who to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt all his enimies, ſent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the whiche with a greate power of Teutſhmen came ouer into this our Britayne, and conquered by Occas appointment, the countrey of Northumberland, ſituate betweene Tyne & Tweede, as in the Scottiſh chronicles it may further appeare.

The deceaſſe of Vter Pendragon.
Stonehenge, chorea gigantū

Alſo this is to be remembred that the victorie which was got againſt the Saxons by the Brytons, at what time Germane biſhop of Auxerre was preſente: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by the authoritie of Veremond that wrote ẏ Scottiſhe chronicles) to haue chanced the ſecōd time of his cōming ouer into this lande, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his firſt being here. Againe, the ſame Boetius writeth, that ẏ ſame victory chāced in the dayes of Vter Pendragon, whiche can not be if it be true that Beda writeth, touchyng the tyme of ẏ death of ẏ ſayd German: for where he departed this life before the yere of our Lorde 459. as aboue is noted, Vter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yere of our Lord. 500. or as the ſame Hector Boetius hath. 503. ſo that biſhop Germane was dead long before that Vter began to reign. In deede ſome writers haue noted, that the third bataile which Vortimer fought againſt the Saxons, was the ſame wherein S. Germane was preſent, and procured the victorie with the crie of *Alleluya*, as before ye haue heard, whiche ſeemeth to be more agreable to a truthe, and to ſtand alſo with that which holie Bede hath written, touching the time of the beeing here of the ſayd German, than the opinion of other, whiche affirme that it was in the tyme of the reigne of Vter. The like is to bee founde in the reſidue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the tyme ſpecially of the reignes of the Brytiſh kings that gouerned Brytayne aboute that ſeaſon. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambroſius beganne his reigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 498. and ruled but ſeuen yeres, and then ſucceded Vter, whiche reigned. xviii. yeres, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 521.

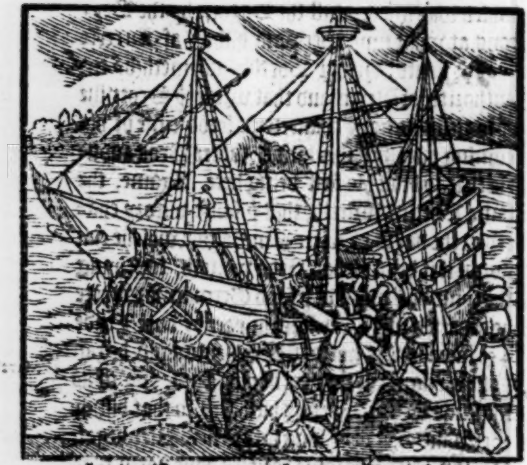
475 ſayth Hariſon.

BUt here is to be remembred, that whatſoeuer the Brittiſh writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Vter had againſt ẏ Saxons, and how that Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt ſhould be ſlaine in battayle by him and his power: In thoſe olde writers whiche haue regiſtred the Acts of the Engliſhe ſaxon kyngs wee fynde no ſuche matter, but wee fynde that after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, hys ſonne Oſca or Occa reygned in Kente. 24. yeares, defendyng hys kyngdome onely, and not ſeekyng to enlarge it (as before is touched.)

Oſca.
34. hath Henry Hunt. in corrupted copies.

After whoſe death his ſonne Oth, and Irmenrike ſonne to the ſame Oth ſucceded, more reſemblyng their father than their grandfather or greate grandfather. To their reignes are aſſigned fiftie and three yeares by the Chronicles: but whether they reigned ioyntely together, or ſeuerally a parte, eyther after other, it is not certaynly perceyued.

But nowe to the incidentes whiche happened during the reigne of Uter Pendragon we fynde that one Porth a Saxon with his .ij. ſonnes Meagla and Beda, came a lande at Portſmouth in Suſſex, about the beginning of the ſayde Uters reigne and ſlewe a noble yong man of the Brytons, and many other of the meaner ſorte with him. Of this Porth the towne and hauen of Porteſmouth toke the name as ſome haue thought. Moreouer about .lx. yeres after the coming of the Saxons into this lande with their leader Hengiſt, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britons, aſſembled all the power hee coulde make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſtſaxons, who underſtandyng the greate power of his enimies, required ayde of Oſca king of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſex, and of Porth and his ſonnes whiche were lately before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, deuided the ſame into two batayls, reſeruing the one to himſelf, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus ledde was of more ſtrength than the other whiche Kenrike gouerned, he ſet fyrſt upon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſily ouercome the other.

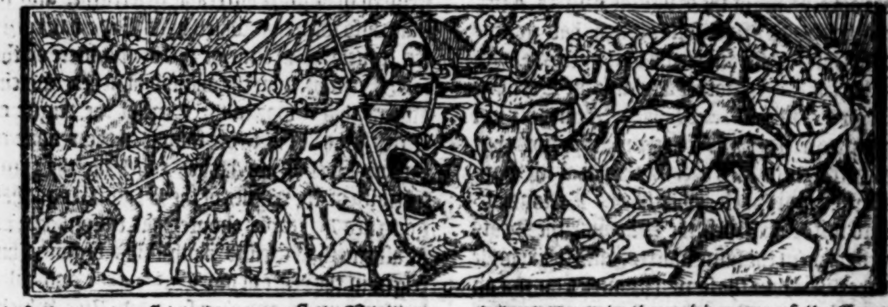


Port entred this land about the yere of our Lord. 501. as Math. VVeſt. noteth.

J. + in Hapshire

Hariſon
ſeth the
to bee ca
Port, a
VVeſt
in the
freſh
the ſea.

Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vppon that wing that by pure force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcattered, the whiche maner of dealing when Kenrike ſawe, he made forwarde with all ſpeed, to ſuccor his father, and ruſhing in amongſt the Brytons on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlew their king Nazaleod, and with all put his people to flight.



The Brytons ouerthrowen.

There died of the Brytons that daye .v. M. men and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as wel as they might.

Mat. VVeſt.

Hen. Hunt.

In the .vj. yeare after this battayle Stuff and Wightgar ẏ were nephues to Certicus, came wyth three ſhippes, and landed at Certiceſſhore, and ouerthrew a number of Britons that came againſte them in order of battayle, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephewes being right valyant and hardie capitaines the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this lyfe, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Ciſſa, of whom wee fynde little lefte in writing to bee made accompte of.

Stuf and VVightgar.

Math. VVeſt. noteth the yere of their riual to be .514.

About the yeare of our Lorde. 519. and in the yeare after the commyng of the Saxons. 71. whyche was in the .xxvj. yeare of the Emperor Anaſtaſius, the Brytons fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certiceſforde, where the Captaynes of the Brytons ſtoode to it manfully: but in the ende they were diſcomfyted, and greate ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had bene, if the nyghte commyng on, had not parted them, and ſo many were ſaued.

H. Hunt.

Brytons ouerthrowen by Saxons.

From that daye forwarde Certicus was reputed and taken for king of Weaſtſaxon, and ſo the ſame kyngdome at that tyme, whyche was as Harriſon noteth it (whoſe orderly proceedyng in this behalfe, for the accoumpte of tyme, giueth greate lyght to our hiſtorie) the yeare of Chriſte fiue hundred and ninteene: after the buylding of Rome, a thouſande, two hundred and ſeuentie, of the worlde, foure thouſande foure hundred eyghtie and fiue: of the commyng of the Saxons ſeuentie: of Juſtinus Anicius Emperoure of the Eaſte, the fyrſt

The kingd
of VVeſt

and thirde of the renoumed prince Patricius Arthurus then reygnyng ouer the Brytaynes. The ſayd kingdom alſo conteyned the countreis of Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, Berkeſhire, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the Eaſt Hamſhire, on the North the riuer of Thames, and on the South and Weaſt the Ocean ſea: Howbeit at the firſte the kings of the Weaſtſaxons had not ſo large dominion, but they dayly wanne grounde vpon the Brytons, & ſo in the ende by enlarging their confines they came to enioy all the ſayde countreys, and the whole at the laſt.

Certiceſford.

In the nynthe yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he eftſoons fought with the Saxons at Certiceſforde aforeſayde, where great ſlaughter was made on bothe partes. This Certiceſforde was in times paſt called Nazaleod of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Brytons.

Aboute this ſeaſon at ſundry tymes dyuerſe greate companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britayne out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countreys of Mercie and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercie had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certayne noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers partes in that countrey, by meanes whereof great warres and many encounters enſued.

The kingdome of the Eaſtſaxons.

Erchen
wyn.

The kingdo
of the Eaſtſa
ons.

IN thoſe dayes alſo the kyngdome of the Eaſtſaxons began, the chiefe Citie whereof was London. It conteyned in effect ſo much as at this preſente belongeth to the Dioceſſe of London. One Erchenwyn a Saxon was the fyrſt king thereof, the whiche was ſonne to one Offa, the ſixte in lineall deſcent from one Saxnot, from whom the kings of that countrey fetched their originall.

Hariſon noteth the firſte yeare of the erection of the kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus K. of the Weſtſaxons that is, the .527. of Chriſte, and .7. after the comming of the Saxons.

In the .xiij. yeare of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his ſonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capitayns fought with the Brytons, in the Iſle of Wight at Witgarſbridge, where they ſlewe a greate number of Brytons, and ſo conquered the Iſle, the whiche aboute foure yeares after, was giuen by Cerdicius vnto hys nephues Stuff and Witgar.

Arthur

Arthure.

After the deceaſe of Uter Pendragon, as we finde in the Brytiſhe hiſtories, his ſonne Arthur, a yong towardly Gentleman, of the age of .xv. yeares or therabouts, began his reigne ouer the Brytons in the yere of our lord .516. or as Math. Weſt. hath .517. in yͤ .18. yere of the emperor Anaſtaſius, & in the .iij. yere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothaire, Clodamire, & Theodorik brethre, yͤ were kings of the Frenchmē. Of this Arthure many things are written beyond credite, for that there is no auncient author of authoritie that confirmeth the ſame: But ſurely as may be thought he was ſome worthie man, and by all likelyhod a great enemie to the Saxons, by reaſon wherof the Welſhemen which are the very Brytons in deed haue him in famous remembrance. He fought as the common report of him goeth .xij. notable batayles agaynſt the Saxons, and in euery of them wente awaye with the victorie. But yet he myghte not vtterlye dryue them oute of the

516.

Math. VVeſt.
Hath noted 51

the lande, but that they kepte ſtill the countreys whiche they had in poſſeſſion, as Kent, Southrey, Northfolke, and others: howbeit ſome writers teſtifie, that they helde theſe countreyes as tributaries to Arthure. But trouth it is (as dyuers authours agree) that hee helde continuall warre agaynſt them, and alſo agaynſt the Pictes, the whiche were alyed wyth the Saxons: For as in the Scottiſhe hiſtories is conteyned, euen at the fyrſte beginning of hys reigne, the two kings of Scottes and Pictes ſeemed to enuie hys aduauncemente to the crowne of Brytayne, bycauſe that they had maryed the two ſyſters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to witte, Loth kyng of Pictes hadde maryed Anne theyr eldeſt ſyſter, and Conran kyng of Scottes had in maryage Alda theyr yonger ſiſter, ſo that bicauſe Arthur was begot out of wedlocke, they thoughte it ſtode wyth more reaſon, that the kyngdome of the Brytons ſhould haue deſcended vnto the ſiſters ſonnes rather than to a baſtarde, namely Loth the Pictiſhe king, whyche had iſſue by his wyfe Anna, ſore repined at the matter: and therefore at the fyrſt when he ſawe that by ſuite he coulde not preuayle, hee ioyned in league wyth the Saxons, and ayding them agaynſte Arthure, loſte many of his menne of warre being ouerthrowen in battayle, which he had ſent vnto the ſuccours of Colgerne the Saxon Prince that ruled as then in the north partes. But fynallye a league was concluded betwixte Arthur and the foreſayde Lothe kyng of Pictes, vpon certain conditions, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtory is expreſſed, where ye may read the ſame, with many other things touching the acts of Arthure, ſomewhat in other order, than oure writers haue recorded.

The Brytiſhe authors declare, that Arthure immediately after he had receyued the Crowne of Dubrighte Biſhoppe of Caerleon, wente wyth his power of Brytons agaynſt the Saxons of Northumberlande, whiche had to their Capitayne, as before is ſayde, one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthure diſcomfited and chaſed into the Citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur beſieged him, til at length the ſame Colgrime eſcaped out of the Citie, and leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulffe paſſed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike kyng of that Countrey, of whome he obteyned ſuccors, ſo that the ſayde Cheldrike made prouiſion of menne and ſhippes, and came hymſelfe ouer into Scotlande, hauing in his company .xv. hundred ſayles of one and other.

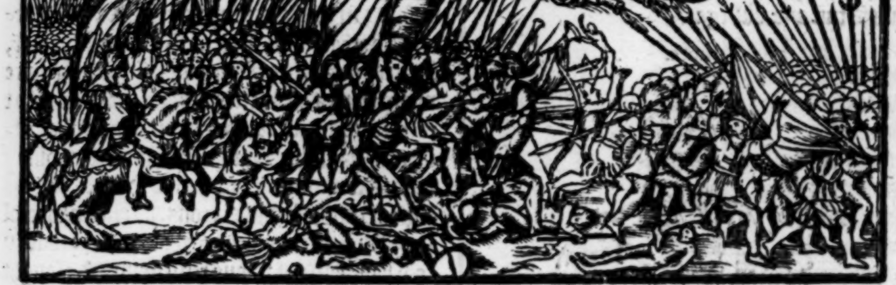
Yorke beſieged.

Cheldrike cometh in ayde of Colgrime.

Math. VVeſt. hath but .vj. hundred.

When Arthur was aduertiſed thereof, he reyſed his ſiege, and withdrewe to London, ſending letters with all ſpeede vnto Howell king of litle Britayne in Fraunce, that was his ſiſters ſonne, requiring hym in moſte earneſt wyſe of ayde. Howell incontinentely aſſembled hys people, to the number of .xv. thouſande men, and taking the ſea, landed with them at Southampton, where Arthure was ready to receyue hym with great ioye and gladneſſe. From thence they drewe Northewardes, where both the hoſtes of Arthur and Howell beeing aſſembled together, marched forewarde to Lyncolne, whiche Citie Cheldrike did as then beſiege.

Hovvell kyng of Britayne cometh ouer in ayde of Arthur.



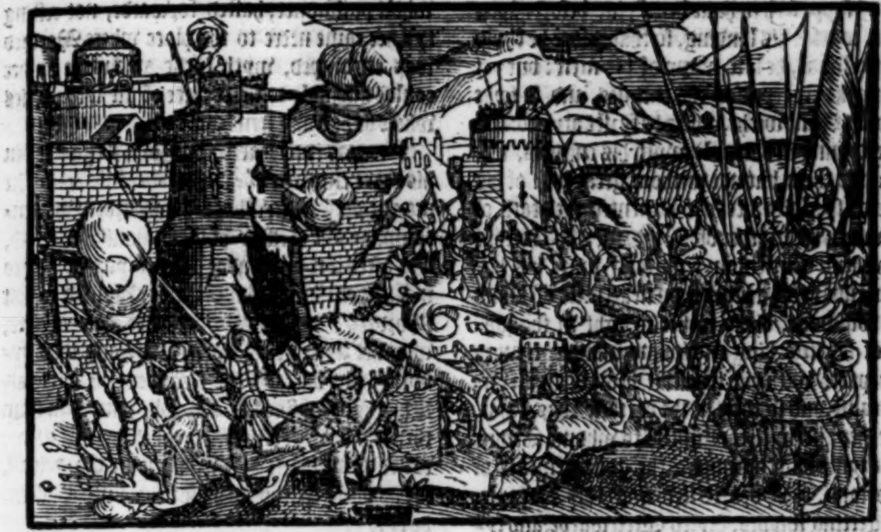
Heere Arthur and Howell aſſayling the Saxons with greate force and manhoode, and at lengthe after greate ſlaughter made of the enimyes, they obteyned the victorye, and chaſed Chelderyke) wyth the reſidewe of the Saxons that were lefte alyue) vnto a woodde, where they compaſſed them aboute wythin the ſame, in ſuche wyſe, that in the ende they were conſtreyned to yeelde themſelues, wyth condition that

Childericke ouerthrowen in battayle.

that they myghte bee ſuffred to departe a foote to their ſhippes, and ſo auoyde the lande, leauyng theyr horſe, armour, and other furniture vnto the Brytons.

Hereupon the Brytons takyng good hoſtages for aſſuraunce, permitted the Saxons to go their ways, and ſo Cheldrike and his people got them to theyr ſhippes, in purpoſe to returne into their countrey: but being on the ſea, they were forced by wynde to chaunge theyr courſe, and comming on the coaſtes of the Weaſt partes of Britayne, they arriued at Totneſſe, and contrarye to the couenaunted articles of theyr laſte compoſition wyth Arthure, inuade the countrey of newe, and taking ſuch armure as they could fynde, marched forth in robbing and ſpoyling the people, til they came to Bathe, which towne the Brytons kepte and defended agaynſt them, not ſuffryng them by any meanes to enter there, whereupon the Saxons enuironed it with a ſtrong ſiege.

Bathe beſieged.



Arthur enfourmed hereof, with all ſpede haſted thyther, & giuyng the enimies battayle, ſlew the moſte parte of Cheldrikes men.

The Saxons ouerthrovve Colgrime and Bladulff.

There were ſlayne both Colgrime and Bladulff, howbeit Cheldrike himſelfe fled out of the fielde towardes his ſhippes, but beeing purſued by Cador Earle of Cornewall (that had with him. x. thouſande men) by Arthures appoyntement, he was ouertaken and in fight ſlayn with all his people.

Cheldrik ſlayne by Cador duke of Cornvvall.

Arthur himſelfe retourned from this battayle foughten at Bathe with all ſpede towardes the marches of Scotlande, for that he hadde receyued aduertiſement, howe the Scottes had beſieged Howell kyng of Brytayne there, as hee laye ſicke.

K. Hovvell beſieged by the Scottes.

Alſo when Cador had accompliſhed his enterpryſe and ſlayne Chelderike, hee retourned with as muche ſpeede as was poſſible towardes Arthure, and founde him in Scotlande, where he reſkued Howell, and afterwarde purſued the Scottes which fled before him by heapes.

About the ſame tyme one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotlande with a myghtie power of Iriſhmen (neare to the place where Arthur lodged) to healpe the Scottes agaynſte the Britons: wherupon Arthur turning his forces towardes the ſame Guillomer, vanquiſhed him, and chaſed him into Irelande.

Guillomer.

This don, he cōtinued in purſute of the Scots til he cauſed thē to ſue for pardon, and to ſubmit themſelues wholly to him, and ſo receiuing them to mercie, and taking homage of them, hee returned to Yorke, and ſhortly after toke to wyfe one Guenhera a right beautifull Lady, that was neere kinſwoman to Cador Erle of Cornwall.

Gueneueri

In the yeare folowing, which Hariſon noteth to be. 525. he went into Irelande, and diſcomfiting king Guillomere in battayle, hee conſtrayned him to yelde, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to holde the realme of Ireland of him.

VVil. Harriſon noteth it to be 525.

It is further remembred in thoſe Britiſhe hiſtories, that hee ſubdued Gutlande and Iſeland with all the Iſles in and about thoſe ſeas.

Gothlande.

Alſo that hee ouercame the Romaines in the countrey aboute Parys wyth theyr capitayne Lucius, and waſted the moſte parte of all Fraunce, and ſlewe in ſyngular combates certayne Gyauntes that were of paſſyng force and hugeneſſe of ſtature.

And if he had not bene reuoked home to reſiſt his couſin Mordred that was ſon to Loth king of Pightlande that rebelled in his countrey, he had paſſed to Rome, intending to make himſelfe Emperour, and afterwarde to vanquiſhe the other Emperoure, that then ruled the Empire: but for ſo muche as there is not anye approued authour dothe ſpeake of any ſuche doings, the Britons are thoughte to haue regiſtred mere fables in ſtede of true matter, vpon a vayne deſire to aduaunce more than reaſon woulde, thys Arthur theyr noble champion, as the Frenchemen haue doone by their Roulande, and others. But to proceede.

At his returne into Britayne, he founde that Mordred had cauſed himſelfe to be made kyng, and hauing alyed himſelf with Chelrike a Saxon, not hym whome Galfride (as yee haue heard,) ſuppoſeth to haue ben ſlaine before, was readie to reſiſt his landing, ſo that before he could come a lande, he loſt many of his men: but yet at lengthe hee repulſed the enimies, and ſo tooke lande at Sandwiche, where he fyrſte arriued: and then ioyning in battayle wyth his enimies, diſcomfited them, but not without great loſſe of his people: ſpecially hee ſore lamented the death of Gawayn the brother of Mordred, whyche lyke a faythfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loyall truthe than nearneſſe of bloud and couſinage, choſe rather to fight in the quarell of his liege king and louing maiſter, than to take parte with his naturall brother in an vniuſt cauſe, and ſo there in the battaile was ſlayn, together alſo with Anguſſell, to whome Arthur afore tyme had committed the gouernemente of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battayle, and getting ſhippes, ſayled Weſtwarde, and fynally landed in Cornewall.

Rather Cerdick as Io. Leland thinketh.

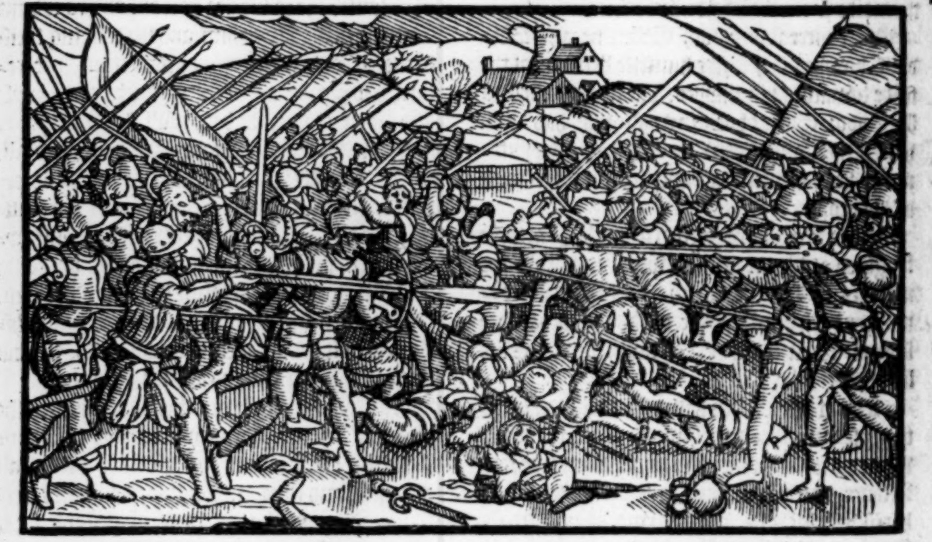
King Arthur cauſed the corps of Gawayn to be buryed at Douer, (as ſome holde opinion:) But Willyam Malmeſburie ſuppoſeth, he was buryed in Wales, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

Gawyn b
ed at Dou

The dead bodie of Anguyſſell was conueyed into Scotlande, and was there buryed.

After that Arthur hadde put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what part Mordred was withdrawne, wyth all ſpeede he reinforced his armie with newe ſupplyes of ſouldiours called out of diuers parties, and with hys whole puiſſaunce, haſted forwarde, not reſting tyll hee came neere to the place where Mordred was encamped, wyth ſuche an Armye as hee coulde aſſemble togither oute of all ſuch parties where he had any frendes.

Here (as it appeareth by John Leylande, in his booke entitled, *The Aſſertion of Arthure*,) it may be doubted in what place Mordred was encamped: but Geffrey of Monmouthe ſheweth, that after Arthure hadde diſcomfyted Mordred in Kent at the firſte landyng, it chaunced ſo that Mordred eſcaped, and fledde to Wyncheſter, whyther Arthure followed hym, and there gyuyng hym battayle the ſeconde tyme, didde alſo put hym to flyght. And following him from thence, foughte efteſoones wyth hym at a place called Camblan, or Kemelene in Cornewall, (or as ſome Authours haue neere vnto Glaſtenbury.)



This battayle was foughte ſo to the vtterance, that finally Mordred was ſlayne, wyth the more parte of his whole armie, and Arthur receyuyng diuers mortall woundes dyed of the ſame ſhortly after, when he had reigned ouer the Britons by the terme of .xxvj. yeares. His corps was buryed at Glaſtenburye aforeſayde, in the Churche yarde, betwixte two pillers: where it was founde in the dayes of kyng Henry the ſeconde, about the yeare of our Lorde .1191. which was in the laſte yeare of the reigne of the ſame Henry, more than ſixe hundred yeeres after the buryal therof. He was layd .xvj. foot deepe vnder grounde, for doubte that his enimies the Saxons ſhoulde haue founde hym. But thoſe that digged the grounde there to fynde his bodye, after they had entred aboute ſeuen foote deepe into the

Richarde Toner.

earth,

ſaith, that they founde a mightie broade ſtone with a leaden croſſe faſtned to that parte whiche laye downewardes towardes the corps, conteyning this inſcription.

Hic iacet ſepultus inclitus rex Arthurius in inſula Aualonia.

Thys inſcription was grauen on that ſyde of the Croſſe whiche was nexte to the ſtone, ſo that till the Croſſe was taken from the ſtone, it was not ſeene. His body was founde, not encloſed within a tombe of marble or other ſtone curiouſly wrought, but in a greate tree made hollow for the purpoſe lyke a trunke, the whiche being founde and digged up, was opened, and therein were founde the kyngs bones, of ſuche marueilous bigneſſe, that the ſhinne bone of his legge being ſette on the grounde, reached up to the middle thighe of a ryght tall manne: As a Monke of that Abbey hath written, whiche did lyue in thoſe dayes, and ſawe it. But Giraldus Cambrenſis, whyche alſo lyued in thoſe dayes, and ſpake with the Abbot of the place, by whome the boanes of thys Arthure were then founde, affirmeth, that by reporte of the ſame Abbotte, hee learned, that the ſhinne boane of the ſayd Arthur being ſette up by the legge of a very tall manne, (the whiche the Abbot ſhewed to the ſame Giraldus) came aboue the knee of the ſame man the length of three fingers breadth, whiche is a greate deale more lykely than the other. The ſkull of his head was alſo of a wonderfull largeneſſe, ſo that the ſpace of his forheade betwixt his two eyes was a ſpanne broade. There appeared in his heade the ſignes and printes of tenne woundes or moe: All the whyche were growen into one ſeame, excepte onely that whereof it ſhould ſeeme hee dyed, whiche beyng greater than the reſidue, appeared very playne. Alſo in openyng the Tombe of his wyfe queene Guenhera, that was buryed wyth hym, they founde the treſſes of hir haire whole and perfect, and fynely platted, of colour lyke to the burniſhed golde, the whiche beeing touched, immediatly fell to duſte. The Abbotte, whyche then was gouernour of the houſe, hyght Stephan, or Henry de Bloys, otherwyſe de Sullie, nephew to king Henry the ſecond (by whoſe commaundemente he hadde ſearched for the graue of Arthure) tranſlated the boanes as well of him as of Queene Gueneuer, beyng ſo founde, into the greate Churche, and there buryed them in a fayre double Tombe of Marble, laying the bodye of the kyng at the head of the Tombe, and the bodye of the Queene at his feete towardes the weaſt parte.

Henricus Blecenſis ſeu Soliacenſis.

Io. Leland.

John Lelande in his booke entituled *Aſſertio Arthurij*, hath for the worthie memorie of ſo noble a prince, honoured him with a learned Epitaph, as heere followeth.

[illegible] qui fudit [illegible] cruentas,
[illegible] ſpolijs [illegible]
[illegible] victis [illegible] qui [illegible] enſe,
[illegible] iugum [illegible] ingens
Qui [illegible] Gallos, Germanos quoque [illegible]
[illegible] & Dacos bella [illegible]
[illegible] Mordredum [illegible]
[illegible] tyrannum,
Hic iacet [illegible] Arthurus [illegible]
[illegible] clarum [illegible], & [illegible]
Gloria [illegible]
[illegible] ſublimia [illegible]
Vos [illegible] gentis [illegible]
Induperatori [illegible]
Et [illegible] in [illegible]
Officij [illegible]

These verſes I haue the more willingly inſerted, for that I had the ſame deliuered to me turned into Engliſhe by Maiſter Nicholas Roſcarocke, both right aptly yelding the ſenſe, & alſo properly anſwering the Latine, verſe for verſe.

VVho vanquiſht Saxon troupes, with battayles bloudie bruſes,
And purchaſte to hymſelfe a name with warlyke wealthie ſpoyles,
VVho both with ſhiuering, ſhining ſworde, the Picts in feare diſmayde,
And eke vnweldie ſeruile yoke on neck of Scots hath layde:
VVho Frenchmen pufft with pride, & who the Germaines fierce in fight
Diſcomfited, and daunted Danes with mayne and martiall might:
VVho of that murdring *Mordred* did the vitall breath expell,
That monſter griſly, lothſom, huge, that direſom tyrant fell,
Here lyueleſſe Arthur lies entombde, within this ſtately hearſe,
Of chiualrie the brighte renoume, and vertues nurſlyng fierce:
VVhoſe glorie great, nowe ouer all the worlde doth compaſſe flye,
And of the ayry thunder skaies, the loftie buylding hye.
Therfore you noble progenie of Brytayne lyne and race,
Aryſe vnto your Emprour great, of thryce renoumed grace,
And caſte vpon his ſacred tombe, the roſeal garlandes gaye,
That fragrant ſmell may witneſſe well, your duties you diſplay,

The occaſion that moued kyng Henry the ſeconde to cauſe his nephew the ſayd Abbotte to ſearche for the graue of kyng Arthur was, for that hee vnderſtode by a Welche minſtrell or Barde (as they call him) that coulde ſing manye hiſtories in the Welche language of the actes of the auncient Brytons, that in the foreſayde Churcheyarde at Glaſſenburye, betwixte the ſayde two pillers the bodye of Arthur was to bee founde buryed ſixtene fote depe vnder the grounde. Giraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, that the tree in the whyche Arthurs bodie was founde ſo encloſed, was an oke, but other ſuppoſe, that it was an Alder tree, bycauſe that in the ſame place a great number of that kynde of trees doe growe, and alſo for that it is knowne, that an Alder lying vnder grounde where moyſture is, will long continue without rotting.

By the fynding thus of the bodie of Arthure buryed (as before ye haue heard) ſuche as hitherto beleeued that he was not dead, but conueyed away by the Fairies into ſome pleaſaunt place, where he ſhoulde remayne till a tyme, and then to returne agayne, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he didde before, might well perceiue themſelues deceyued in crediting ſo vayne a fable: but yet (where it myghte otherwyſe be doubted whether any ſuche Arthur was at all, as the Britiſhe hiſtories mencion, bicauſe neyther Gildas nor Beda in their workes ſpeake any thyng of hym) it maye appeare, the circumſtaunces conſidered, that ſurely ſuche one there was of that name hardie and valiaunt in armes, though not in diuers poyntes ſo famous as ſome writers paint him out.

As for example in a caue neere a vvater called Ponde perilous at Salisburye, vvhere he and his knightes should ſlepe armed, till an other knighte should be born that shoulde come and avvake them.

William Malmeſburie a writer of good credite and authoritie amongeſt the learned hathe theſe wordes in his fyrſte booke entitled *De regibus Anglorum*, ſaying: But he being dead (meaning Vortimer) the force of the Britons waxed feeble, their decayed hope went backwarde apace: and euen then ſurely hadde they gone to deſtruction, if Ambroſius (whiche alone of the Romaynes remayned yet alyue, and was king after Vortigerne) hadde not kepte vnder, and ſtayed the loftye Barbarous people, that is to meane the Saxons, by the notable ayde and aſſiſtaunce of the valiaunt Arthur.

VVil. Mal. lib. 1. de regibus Ang.

This is the ſame Arthur, of whome the trifling tales of the Britons euen to this day fantaſtically doe deſcante and reporte wounders: but worthie was he doubtleſſe of whome feigned fables ſhoulde not haue ſo dreamed, but rather that true Hiſtories myghte haue ſette forth hys worthye prayſes, as he that dyd for a long ſeaſon ſuſteyne and holde vp hys Countrey that was readie to goe to vtter ruyne and decaye, encouraging the bolde hearts of the Brytons vnto the warre, and finally in the ſiege of Badon hyll, hee ſette vppon nyne hundred of the enimyes, and with incredible ſlaughter didde putte them all to flighte.

On the contrarye parte, the Engliſhe Saxons, althoughe they were toſſed with ſundrye happes of Fortune, yet ſtill they renued theyr bandes wyth newe ſupplyes of their countreymenne that came out of Germany, and ſo with bolder courage aſſayled their enemies, and by little and little cauſyng them to giue place, ſpred themſelues ouer the whole Iſle. For although there were manye battayles in the whiche ſometyme the Saxons and ſometyme the Brytons got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that was ſlayne, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countreymen, being called in and ſente for out of euery quarter about them.

Here is alſo to be noted, that where the Brittiſhe hiſtorie declareth, that Gawen or Gallowyn being ſlayne in the battayle foughte betwixte Arthure and Mordred in Kent, was buryed at Douer, ſo that his boanes remayned there to be ſhewed of long time after: yet by that whyche the forſayde William Malmeſburye writeth in the thirde booke of his volume entituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie may ſeeme true: his wordes are theſe. Then (ſayth he) in the prouince of Wales, whiche is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Walwyne was founde, the whyche was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthy an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine whiche vnto this daye is called *VValwithia*, a knighte for hys high prowes moſt highly renowned, but expulſed out of his kingdome by the brother & nephew of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſte booke we haue made mention, firſte requiting his baniſhemente with greate detrimente and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſerte of his vncles worthy praiſe, for that he ſtayed for a great many yeres, the deſtruction of his countrey which was now running hedlong into vtter ruine and decay. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: but the others tombe (as I haue ſayde) was founde in the dayes of William the Conqueror, king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteyned in length fourtene foote, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwrack. But other write, that he was ſlayne at a publike feaſte or banket by his owne countreymen. Thus hathe William Malmeſburye.

Gevva
he is buryd

*VVil. Mal.
lib. 3. de regi-
bus.*

But here you muſte conſider, that the ſayde Malmeſburie departed this lyfe about the beginnyng of the reigne of kyng Henry the ſeconde, certayne yeres before the boanes of Arthur were

founde

found, as before ye haue hearde.

Io. Leland.

Quene Guynhere.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat of queene Gueneuera or Gueneuer, ſome iudge that ſhe tooke the name of hir excellent beautie, bycauſe Gwyne or Gwinne in the Welch toong ſignifieth white, ſo that ſhe was named Gwenwar or rather Gwenſtean: euen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautyfull Leonore or Helene. She was brought vp in the houſe of Cador Earle of Cornwall, whom Arthur maryed hir: and as it appeareth by wryters, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie and breache of fayth to hir huſbande, in ſorte as for the moſte parte women of excellent beautie hardly eſcape the venimous blaſt of euill tongues, and the ſharpe aſſaultes of the followers of Venus. The Britiſhe hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onely abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull companying wyth Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence, ſhe conſented to take him to huſbande.

It is lykewyſe founde recorded by an olde wryter, that Arthure beſieged on a tyme the mariſhes neere to Glaſtenburye, for diſpleaſure that he bare vnto a certayne Lorde that hyghte Melua: whiche hadde rauiſhed Gueneuer, and ledde hir into thoſe Marſhes, and there dydde keepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtandyng (as before is recited) was enterred togyther wyth Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wyues, as Giraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, of whiche the latter (ſayth hee) was buryed wyth hym, and hir boanes founde with his in one Sepulchre, ſo deuided yet, that two partes of the Tombe towardes the heade were appoynted to receyue the bones of the man, and the thyrde parte towardes the feete, conteyned the womans boanes, a parte by them ſelues.

Here is to bee remembred, that Hector Boetius wryteth otherwyſe of the death of Arthure than before in thys booke is mencioned, and alſo that Gueneuere beeyng taken pryſoner by the Pictes, was conueyed into Scotlande, where fynally ſhee dyed, and was there buryed in Angus, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle further appeareth.

And thys may be true, if he hadde three ſundrye wyues, eche of them bearing the name of Gueneuere, as ſir Iohn Price doth auouche that hee had.

Bycauſe of the contrarietie in wryters touchyng the greate actes atchieued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongeſt them, aboute the tyme in whyche he ſhould reigne, many haue doubted of the truthe of the whole hiſtorie whyche of hym is wrytten (as before ye haue hearde.)

Conſtantine. 542.

The Britiſhe hiſtories and alſo the Scottiſhe Chronicles doe agree, that he lyued in the days of the Emperour Iuſtinian, about the fifteenth yeare of whoſe reigne hee dyed, whiche was in the yeare of oure Lorde. 542. as Harriſon alſo confirmeth. Howbeit ſome write, farther from all lykelyhode, that he was aboute the tyme of the Emperour Zeno, who began his reign about the yeare of our Lord. 474.

Aurea hiſtoria.

Leland.

The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeare of Cerdicus king of Weaſt Saxons, Arthur the warriour roſe amongeſt the Brytons. Alſo Diuionenſis writeth, that Cerdicius fighting often tymes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he roſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battayle than before.

VVeſtſexe.

At length Arthure wearyed with [illegible], after the twelfth yeare of the comming of Cerdicius, gaue vnto him vpon his homage don and fealtie receyued the ſhyres of Southampton and Somerſet, the whiche countreys Cerdicius named Weſtſexe.

This Cerdicius or Cerdicus came into Britayne about the yeare of oure Lorde. 495. and xxiiij. yere after his comming hither, that is to witte, about the yeare of our Lorde. 519. he began his reigne ouer the Weaſt Saxons, and gouerned them as king by the ſpace of .15. yeares, as before ye haue heard.

But to followe the courſe of oure Chronicles accordingly as we haue begunne, we muſt allowe of their accompte herein as in other places, and ſo proceede.

The hereſie of the Pelagians reuiued.

In this meane whyle that the Realme was diſquieted with ſore and continuall warres betwixte the Brytons and Saxons, (as before you haue hearde) the chriſtian religion was not only aboliſhed in places where the Saxons got habitations, but alſo amongſt the Britons, the ryght faithe was broughte into daunger by the remnaunt of the Pelagian hereſye, whiche began agayne to be preached by dyuers naughtie perſones. But Dubritius that was firſte Biſhoppe of Landaffe, and after Archbiſhoppe of Carleon Arwyſke, and hys ſucceſſour Dauid, with other learned men earneſtlye bothe by preaching and writing defended the contrarye cauſe, to the confuting of thoſe errours, and reeſtabliſhing of the truth.

Hiſt. Mag.

Dubritius and Dauid learned Biſhops.

Conſtā-tine.

542.

Aurea li-ſoria.

Ireland.

Conſtantine.

After the death of Arthur, his couſin Conſtantine the ſon of Cador, duke or earle of Cornwall beganne his reigne ouer the Brytayns, in yeare of our Lorde. 542. whiche was aboute the .xv. yeare of the Emperour Juſtinianus almoſt ended, the .29. of Childebert K. of Fraunce, and the firſt yeare welnere complete of the reigne of Totiles kyng of the Gothes in Italy.

Galfrid.

Ma

Arthur when he perceyued that he ſhould dye, ordeyned this Conſtantine to ſucceede him, and ſo by the conſent of the more parte of the Brytons, he was crowned kyng: but the ſonnes of Mordred ſore repined thereat, as they that claymed the rule of the land by iuſte title and clayme of inheritaunce to them from theyr father deſcended.

Ciuill vvarre.

Hereupon folowed ciuill warre, ſo that dyuers batayles were ſtricken betwene them, and in the ende the two brethren were conſtrayned to withdrawe for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Wincheſter: but Conſtantine purſewing them, firſte came to Wyncheſter, and by force entred the Citie, and ſlewe the one brother that was fledde thyther within the churche of Saincte Amphibalus: And after commyng to London, entred that Citie alſo, and findyng the other brother within a Churche, there ſlewe hym in lyke maner as he had done the other. And ſo hauing diſpatched his aduerſaries, he thoughte to haue purchaſed to himſelfe ſafetie: but ſhortly after, his own kinſman, one Aurelius Conanus arreared warre agaynſt him, who ioyning with him in battaile, ſlew him in the field, after he had reigned foure yeares. His body was conueyed to Stonehenge, and there buryed beſyde his aunceſſour Vter Pendragon.

Aurelius Conanus.

Conſtantine ſlayne.

Gildas.

Of this Conſtantine that ſeemeth to be ment whiche Gildas writeth in his booke entitled *De excidio Brytanniæ*, where inueying agaynſte the rulers of the Brytons in his tyme, hee writeth thus:

Britayn hath kings, but the ſame be tyrants: Judges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentymes pilling and harmyng the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whome? ſuche as bee giltie perſons and robbers. Hauing many wyues, but yet breakyng wedlocke: Oftentymes ſwearyng and yet forſwearing themſelues: vowing, and for the more parte lying: Warring, but mayntenyng ciuill and vniuſt warres, purſuyng in deede theeues that are abroade in the countreye, and yet not onely cheriſhyng thoſe that ſitte euen at table with them, but alſo highly rewarding them: giuing almes largely, but on the other parte heaping vp a myghtie mount of ſynnes: Sitting in the ſeate of ſentence, but ſeldom ſeeking the rule of rightuous iudgement: deſpiſing the innocent and humble perſons, and exalting ſo farre as in them lyeth, euen vp to the heauens, the bloudy and proud murtherers, theeues and adulterers, yea the verye expreſſe enimies of God, if he woulde ſo permitte: keping many in priſon, whom they oppreſſe in lodging them with yrons through crafte, rather to ſerue their owne purpoſe, than for any guilte of the perſons ſo impriſoned: takyng ſolemne othes afore the aultars, and ſhortly after, deſpiſing the ſame aulters as vile and filthie ſtones, of whiche heynous and wicked offence, Conſtantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyoneſſe of Deuonſhire, is not ignorāt, who this yeare after the receyuing of his dreadfull othe wherby he bounde himſelf that in no wiſe he ſhould hurt his ſubiectes, (God fyrſt, and then his othe, with the companie of Sainctes, and his mother beeing there preſente) did notwithſtanding in the reuerente laps of the two mothers, as the Church, & their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holy Abbotte, deuoure with ſworde and ſpeare in ſtead of teeth, the tender ſides, yea and the entrayles of two chyldren of noble and kyngly race, and likewiſe of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I ſayde) amongeſt the ſacred aultares: the armes of whyche perſones ſo ſlayne, not ſtretched forth to defend themſelues with weapons) the whyche fewe in thoſe dayes handled more valyauntly than they) but ſtretched forth I ſaye to God and to his altare in the daye of Iudgemente, ſhall lefte vp theyr venerente enſignes of their patience and fayth at the gates of the Citie of Chriſte, whyche ſo haue couered the ſeate of the Celeſtiall ſacrifice, as it were wyth the redde mantell of their clottered bloud.

And theſe thinges he didde not after any good deedes done by hym deſeruyng prayſe: for manye yeares before ouercome wyth the often and chaungeable fylthes of adulterie, forſakyng his lawfull wyfe contrarye to the Lawes of God &c. hee nowe broughte forthe thys cryme of quellyng hys owne kinſemenne, and violatyng the Churche, but neyther being lewſed from the ſnares of his former euyls, he encreaſeth the new with the olde.

Thus in effecte hathe Gildas written of thys Conſtantine with more, for tourning his tale to him by way of calling to hym, he reproueth him of his faultes, and counſelleth hym to repente.

Conanus.

Conanus

After that Aurelius Conanus had ſlayn the forſayd Conſtātine, as in the Britiſh hiſtories is mētioned, the ſame Conan was made king of Britayn in the yeare of our Lord. 546. n the. 20. yere of ẏ emperor Iuſtinianus, & in the. . 33. of the reigne of Childeberte king of the Frenchmen.

546.

Thys Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by ſome writers) was of a noble hearte, free, and liberall, but giuen muche to the mayntenaunce of ſtryfe and diſcorde amongſt his people, lyghte of credite, and namely had an open eare to receiue and heare the reportes of ſuche as accuſed other.

Moreouer, hee was noted of crueltie, as hee that tooke his vncle, who of righte ſhoulde haue bene kyng, and kepte hym in pryſon, and not ſo ſatiſfyed, ſlewe in tyrannous manner the two ſonnes of his ſayde vncle. But God woulde not ſuffer hym long to enioye the rule of the lande in ſuche vniuſt dealyng, for he dyed after he hadde reigned the ſpace of two yeares, and left a ſonne behynde hym called Vortiporus, which ſucceded him in the kingdom, as authours do record.

Math. VVeſt. vvriteth that he reigned. 30. yeares.

Of this Aurelius Conanus Gildas writeth, calling vnto him after he hath made an end with his predeceſſor Cōſtantin, in this wiſe, ſaying: And thou Lyons whelpe, as ſayeth the Prophet; Aurelius Conanus what doeſt thou? arte thou not ſwallowed vp in the fylthie myre of murthering thy kinſemen, of committyng fornications and adulteries lyke to the other before mencioned, if not more deadlye? as it were wyth the waues and ſurges of the drenching ſeas, ouerwhelmyng thee wyth hir vnmercyfull rage? Doeſt thou not in hating the peace of thy countrey as a deadly ſerpente, and thirſtyng after ciuill warres and ſpoyles, (oftentymes vniuſtly gotten) ſhutte vp agaynſte thy ſoule, the gates of celeſtiall peace and refreſhement? Thou being lefte alone as a wytheryng tree in the myddle of the fielde, call to remembraunce, I praye thee, the vayne youthefull fantaſy and ouertymely death of thy fathers and thy bretherne: ſhalte thou being ſette a parte, and choſen forth of all thy lynage for thy godly deſertes, bee reſerued to liue an hundred yeares, or remayne on earthe tyll thou bee as olde as Mathuſalem? No no. And after theſe reprehēſions, with further threatnyngs of Gods vengeaunce, he exhorteth him to amendemente of life, and ſo proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the kyng, or rather the tyraunt of Southwales, as after ſhall be reherſed.

The beginning of the kingdom of Brenitia.

Ida.

547.

H. Hunt.

The kingdome of Brenitia begaune.

IN the yeare of oure Lord 547. which was about the firſte yeare of the reygne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdom of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, the whiche deſcended of Woden, for where ẏ ſame Woden had three ſonnes, Weldecius, Withlegris, and Beldegius, of the firſte, the kings of Kente were lyneally extracted: of the ſeconde the kings of Mertia: and of the thirde ſonne came the kings of Weſtſaxon, and alſo of him was this Ida deſcended, being the nynth in lineall ſucceſſion from the ſayd Beldicius and the tenth from Woden.

The ſame Ida was vndoubtedly a right noble perſonage, and chaunged fyrſt that dukedom into a kyngdome, where before that tyme the Saxons that ruled there, were ſubiectes vnto the kings of Kente. Whether he tooke vpon him of his owne accord to vſurpe the kingly title and royall authoritie, or whether that the ſame was giuen to hym by conſent of other, the certayntie appeaapeareth not. But ſure it is, that he beyng a worthie Prince, didde nothing degenerate from his noble aunceſtours inuincible in warre abrode and at home, qualifying his kingly ſeueritie with a certayne naturall kinde of curteous humanitie. The boundes of his kingdome called (as is ſaid) Brenitia, began in the ſouth at the riuer of Tyne, & ended in the North at the Forth in Scotland, in the Brytiſh tong called *VVerd.*

The kingdome of Deira beginneth.

Ella.

561.

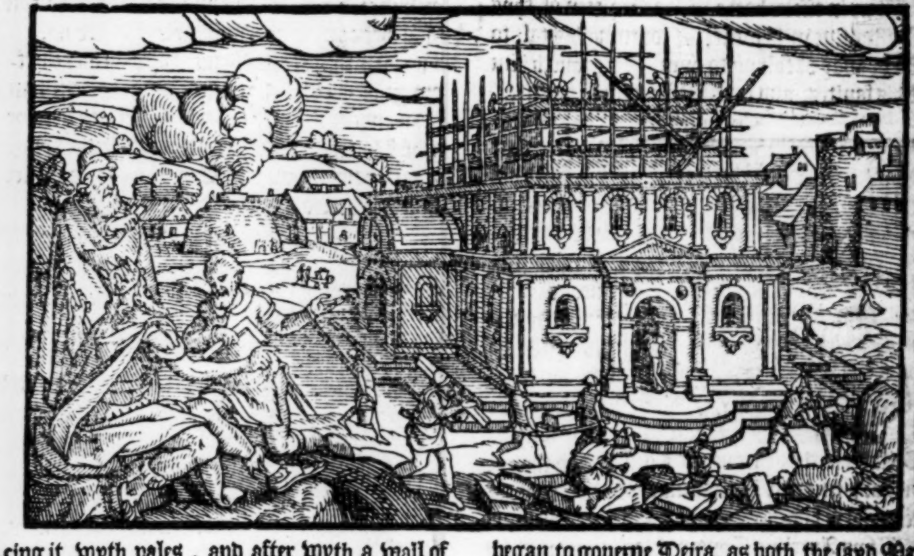
The beginning of the kingdom of Deira.

ABoute the ſame time, or rather about 14. yeeres after (as Harryſon ſayth) one Ella a Saxon alſo reygned as king in Deira, whyche kyngdome beganne at the ſaide ryuer of Tyne in the North, and ended at the riuer of Hüber toward the ſouth. Theſe two kingdomes were ſometime gouerned by two ſeuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioyned in one, and gouerned by one onely king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, the whiche in proces of tyme was muche enlarged, ſo that it included the ſhires of Yorke, Notingham, Derby, Lancaſter, the Biſhoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countreys which lye betwixt the eaſt and the weſt ſeas euen vnto the ryuer of Merſee. The foreſayd Ella was ſon to Iſſus, being deſcended from Woden, as the xij. in ſucceſſion from him, though not by right lyne, as Will. Malmeſbury hath noted. Ida (as the ſame Malmeſbury dothe teſtifie) reigned 14. yeares.

The third Merſe.

And Ella, which was ſucceſſour to Ida (as he ſayeth) reigned thirtie yeares, and right valiantly enlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth howe Ida reigned but. xij. yeares, and that he buylded the Caſtell of Bamburc, firſte fencing it wyth pales, and after wyth a wall of ſtone.

Mat.VVe.



H.Hunt.

Mat.VVeſt.

The ſame Ida had by his wyfe ſixe ſonnes, begot in lawfull bedde, Ada, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Oſmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certaine concubines (which he kept) ſixe baſtarde ſonnes, Oga, Aleric, Ettha, Oſbalde, Segor, and Segother. Theſe came altogether into this land, & arriued at Flemeſburk with fortie ſhippes, as *Mathews VVeſtmonaſterienſis* hath recorded.

The partition of the kingdome of Northumberlande chaunced after the deceaſe of Ida, as the ſame Author ſignifieth: for Ada the ſonne of the foreſaid Ida, ſucceded his father in the kingdom of Bernitia, reignyng therein ſeuen yeares: and Ella the ſonne of Hiſtria, a moſt valiant Duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the ſayd Mat. Weſtm. and other doe affirme.

Vortiporus.

Vortiporus.

VOrtiporus, ye ſonne of Aurelius Conanus ſucceeded his father, and began to reygne ouer the Britons, in the yeare of oure Lorde fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſixe, in the eleuenth yeare of the Emperoure Flauius Anicius Iuſtinus, in the fourthe yeare of the reigne of Chil-

Math. VVeſt. noteth. 571.

Childerike king of Fraunce, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gotiſhe king in Italy. This Vortiporus vanquiſhed the Saxons in batayle, as the Britiſhe hiſtories make mention, and valiantly defended his lande and ſubiectes the Brytons, from the daunger of them & other their allies. In the tyme of this kyngs reigne the foreſayde Ella began to rule in the south parte of the kingdome of Northumberlande called Deira, as before is mencioned, according to the accõpt of ſome authors, who alſo take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare.548. Fynally after that Vortiporus hadde ruled the Britons the ſpace of.iiij. yeares, he departed this lyfe, and left no iſſue behynde him to ſuccede him in the kingdome: Againſt whome alſo Gildas turning his tale beginneth with him thus: And why ſtandeſt thou as one ſtarke amazed, thou (I ſay) Vortiporus, the tyraunt of Southwales, lyke to the Panther in manners and wickedneſſe, dyuerſly ſpotted as it were with many colours, with thy hore head in thy throne full of deceytes, craftes, and wyles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy bodie vp to the crowne of the heade, with diuers ſundrye murthers committed in thyne owne kinne, and filthye adulteries, thus prouing a naughtie ſonne of a good king, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias: how chanceth it that the violente ſtreames of ſinnes, which thou ſwalloweſt vp lyke pleaſant wyne, or rather arte deuoured of them, (the ende of thy lyfe by little and little nowe drawyng neere,) can not yet ſatiſfye thee? What meaneſt thou that with fornication of all euyls, as it were the ful heape, thyne owne wyfe beeing putte awaye, and by hir honeſte death doeſt oppreſſe thy ſoule wyth a certayne burdeyn that can not bee auoyded, of thyne vnſhamefaſt daughter? Conſume not (I pray thee) the reſydue of thy dayes to the offence of God, and ſo forth, exhorting him to repentaunce, wyth admonitions taken oute of the Scriptures, bothe for his comforte and warnyng.

h.VVeſt. th.3. yeres.

lda.

If the circumſtaunce of thys that Gildas writeth of Vortiporus bee marked, it maye bee perceyued, that Geffrey of Monmouthe, and alſo Mathewe of Weſtminſter, the Authour of the Floures of hiſtories, are deceyued in that they take hym to bee the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it maye bee gathered, that not onely the ſame Aurelius Conanus and Vortiporus, but alſo Conſtantinus, yea and Cuneglaſus, and Maglocunus, of the whiche he alſo intreateth (as partly ſhall bee hereafter touched) liued, and reigned all at one tyme in ſeuerall partes of thys Iſle, and not as Monarkes of the whole Britiſhe nation, but as rulers eche of them in his quarter, after the manner as the ſtate of Irelande hath bin in tymes paſte before the countrey came vnder the Engliſhe ſubiection, if my coniecture herein doe not deceyue me.

Malgo.

Malgo.

AFter the deceaſſe of Vortiporus, Malgo that was nephewe to Aurelius Conanus, (as ſome write) was made king of Britayne, and began his reigne ouer the Britons, in the yeare of our Lord.580. in the.xv. yeere of the Emperor Iuſtinian, and in the.27. yeere of the reigne of Childerick king of the Frenchmen.

Math.VVeſt. hath noted.581.

580.

This Malgo is reported to haue beene the comelyeſt Gentleman in beautie and ſhape of perſonage that was to be founde in thoſe days amongeſt all the Brytons, and therewith of a bolde and hardie courage. Hee manfully defended the countrey which he had in gouernaunce, from the malice of the Saxons, & ſubdued the out Iſles, as Orkeneye and others. But notwithſtãding the noble qualities with the whiche his perſone was adorned, yet hee ſpotted them all with the foule filthie ſynne of Sodomie, ſo that he fell into the hatred of Almightie God, and being purſued of the Saxons, receyued many ouerthrowes at their handes, as by the reporte of the Engliſhe writers is gathered more at large. Finallye when hee had reigned fiue yeeres and odde monethes, hee departed this lyfe.

Gal.Mon.

It ſeemeth that this Malgo is named by Gildas Maglocunus, the whiche Gildas before he ſpeaketh of him, inueyeth againſt one Cuneglaſus, whom he reproueth, for that he warred both againſt God and man: againſt God with greuous ſins, as namely adulterie, in forſaking the companie of his lauful wife, and keeping to concubine a ſyſter of hirs, that hadde profeſſed chaſtitie: and againſte man with materiall armor and weapons, whiche hee vſed to the diſtruction of his owne countreymen, with whome he kept warres, and not againſt the enimies of the common wealth. From Cuneglaſus he commeth to the foreſayde Maglocune, whome hee nameth the Dragon of the

Math. VVeſt. compteth not paſt fiue yeeres to his reigne, vvhom Harriſ. folovveth, although other affirme that he reigned.35.yeares.

of the Iſles, and the expeller of many tyrants, not only out of their kingdomes, but alſo out of lyfe, the laſt of whome he entreateth, as he himſelfe ſayth) but the firſt in all miſchiefe and euil, greater than manye in power, and lykewiſe in malice: right liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in ſinne: ſtrong and valiant in armes, but ſtronger in deſtruction of his owne ſoule. And ſo proceeding chargeth him with the ſinne of the Sodomites, and ſore blameth him for that wher it had pleaſed God to make him hygher than all the other Dukes of Britayne in kyngdome and degree, hee didde not ſhewe hymſelfe better, but contraryly worſe than they by farre in manners and conditions. Hee declareth alſo a little after that this Maglocune in his young yeares ſlewe in battayle his vncle being king, with the moſt valiaunt ſouldiours in manner that he had.

Alſo that where the ſame Maglocune tooke vpon him the profeſſion of a Monke, he after renounced the ſame, and became a worſe liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wyfe, and keeping his brothers ſonnes wife, whileſt hir huſbande yet lyued.

Thus by that whiche Gildas wryteth of the kings and rulers of the Britons whiche lyued in his dayes, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickedneſſe, and namely to ciuill diſſention, rapine, adulterie and fornication: ſo that it maye bee thoughte, that God ſtirred vp the Saxons to be a ſcurge to them, and to worke his iuſte vengeaunce vppon them for theyr wicked and abhominable offences dayly committed againſt his diuine maieſtie, ſo that we fynde recorded by writers howe that the Saxons in dyuers conflictes agaynſt the Brytons hadde the better, and alſo tooke from them diuers townes as already partly hath bin and alſo hereafter ſhal be ſhewed.

559.

IT is furthermore to be remembred, that about the .4. yeare of the Britayn king Conanus his reigne, whiche was aboute the end of the yeare of Chriſte. 559. Kenrike kyng of the Weaſtſaxons departed this lyfe, after he hadde reigned .5 yeares complete.

H.Hunt.

This Kenrike was a victorious Prince, and fought diuers battailes againſt the Britons. In the .xviij. yeare of his reigne which was the .551. of Chriſt, we fynd that he fought againſt them, beeing come at that tyme vnto Saliſburie, and after greate ſlaughter made on bothe partes, at length the victorie remayned with the Saxons, and the Britons were chaſed. Agayne in the two and twentie yere of his reigne and .555. yere of Chriſt, the ſame Kenrik and his ſon Chevling fought with a greate power of Britons at Beranbury.

The Britons were diuided into .ix. cõpanies, iij. in the forward, iij. in the battayle, & iij. in the rereward with their horſmen & archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entier batail, valiantly aſſailed them, and notwithſtanding the ſhot of the Britons, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, til at length by the cõming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (ſayeth Henry Archdeacon of Huntington) ſith the Saxons were menne of ſuche huge ſtature, greate force and valyaunt courage.

The ſame yeare that Kenrike deceaſſed, Ida the king of Northumberlande alſo died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiãt prince, & enlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatly. He ouercame in battaile Loth king of the Pictes, and Gorrane or rather Conrane king of Scots.

56

Alſo about the yeare of Chriſt .560. Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britons) Irmenrike king of Kente, departed this lyfe, of whome ye haue heard before and Ethelberte his ſonne ſucceded him .52. yeres. Then after that the forſaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that ſucceded thẽ in their eſtates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his ſonne Ceaulinus or Chevlyng ſucceded in gouernment of the Weſtſaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland. After Irmenrike followed his ſonne Ethelberte in rule ouer the Kentiſhe Saxons.

H.Hun.

This Ethelberte in proceſſe of tyme grewe to be a mightie prince, but yet in the beginnyng of his reign, he had but ſory ſucceſſe againſt ſome of his enimies: for hauing to do with the forſaid Chevlyng king of Weſtſaxons, he was of hym ouercome in battaile at Wilbaſdowne, where he loſt two of his dukes or chiefe Captaines, beſide other people. This was the firſt battail that was foughten betwixte the Saxons, one againſt an other within this land, after their firſt comming into the ſame. And this chaunced in the yeare of our Lorde .567. being the ſeconde yeare of the Emperour Iuſtinus.

H.Hunt.

570

Cutha

ABoute the yeare .570. Cutha the brother of king Chevlyng foughte with the Brytons at Bedforde and ouercame them, and tooke from them foure townes, Liganbrough, Egleſbroughe, or Aylesburye, Beſington, and Euelſham. Alſo about the yeare of our Lorde .581. the foreſayde King Chevling encountred with the Britaynes at a place called Dyorth, and obteyning the vpper hand, tooke from them the Cities of Bathe, Glouceſter, and Cirenceſter.

Alisbury

581

At this battayle fought at Dyorth, were preſente three kyngs of the Britons, whoſe names were theſe: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farinmagill, the whiche were ſlayne there through the permiſſion of almightie God as then refuſing his people, the which through their heynous ſinnes and great wickedneſſe, had moſt greuouſly offended his hygh and diuine Maieſtie, as by Gildas it may euidently appeare: for they hadde declined from the lawes of the Lorde, and were become abhominable in his ſight, euen from the Prince to the poore man, from the Prieſt to the Leuite, ſo that not one eſtate amongeſt them walked vprightley, but contrarie to duetie was gone aſtraye, by reaſon wherof, the rightuous God had giuen them ouer as a pray to their enimyes.

His brother as Math. VVeſt. ath.

Alſo in the latter ende of Malgos dayes or about the firſt beginning of the reigne of his ſucceſſour Carreticus, Cheuling and his ſonne Cutwyne fought with the Brytons at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or as ſome bookes haue, Frithenlye, where Cutwyn was ſlayne, and the Engliſhemen chaſed: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chaſed the Britons, and tooke from them many countreys, and wan great riches by the ſpoyle. But Math. Weſtm. ſayth, that the victorie aboade with the Britons, and that the Saxons were chaſed quite out of the fielde. The Scottiſhe writers recorde, that their king Aydan was there in ayde of the Brytons, and Brudeus kyng of the Pictes in ayde of the Saxons: but the ſame writers name the place Deglaſton, where this battayle was foughte.

. Hunt.

Mat. VVeſt.

The beginning of the kingdome of Mercia.

Crida.

Hen. Hunt. This kingdom began in the yeare. 585. as Math. VVeſt. hath.

ABoute the ſame time alſo and. 585. of Chriſt, the kyngdome of Mercie began vnder one Crida, that was deſcended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The boundes of this kingdom were of great diſtance hauing on the eaſt the ſea vnto Humber, and ſo on the North the ſayde riuer of Humber, and after the ryuer of Merſe, whiche falleth into the weaſt ſea at the corner of Wyrhall, and ſo comming aboute to the ryuer of Dee that paſſeth by Cheſter, the ſame ryuer bounded it on the Weaſt from Wales, and likewyſe Seuerne vp to Briſtow: on the ſouth it had the ryuer of Thames, til it came almoſt to London. And in this ſort it conteyned Lincolneſhire, Notinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Cheſhyre, Shropſhire, Worceterſhire, Glouceterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leyceſterſhire, and Warwikeſhire.

an. Ceſt.

Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in proces of tyme remouing the Britons out of their ſeates, dayly wanne grounde of them, till at length they got poſſeſſion of the beſt part of this Iſle, and erected within the ſame ſeuen kingdomes, whiche were gouerned by ſeauen ſeuerall kings, which continued vntill at length the kinges of Weſtſaxō brought them al into one Monarchie, as after ſhal appere. Mat. Weſtm. reckneth. viij. kingdomes as thus. The kingdome of Kent, the kingdome of Suſſex, the kingdome of Eſſex, the kingdom of Eaſtangle, the kingdome of Mercia, the kyngdome of Weaſſex, and the kyngdome of Northumberlande, whyche was diuided into two kyngdomes, that is to wit, into Deira and into Bernicia: whereunto Hariſon addeth the nynth in the firſt part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

Careticus or Caretius K. of Britayn.

Careticus. 586.

AFter that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this lyfe, one Careticus (or as ſome write hym Caretius) was made kyng of the Britons and began his Reigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 586 whiche was in the thyrde yeare of the Emperoure Mauritius and thirteenth of Chilperike king of Fraunce.

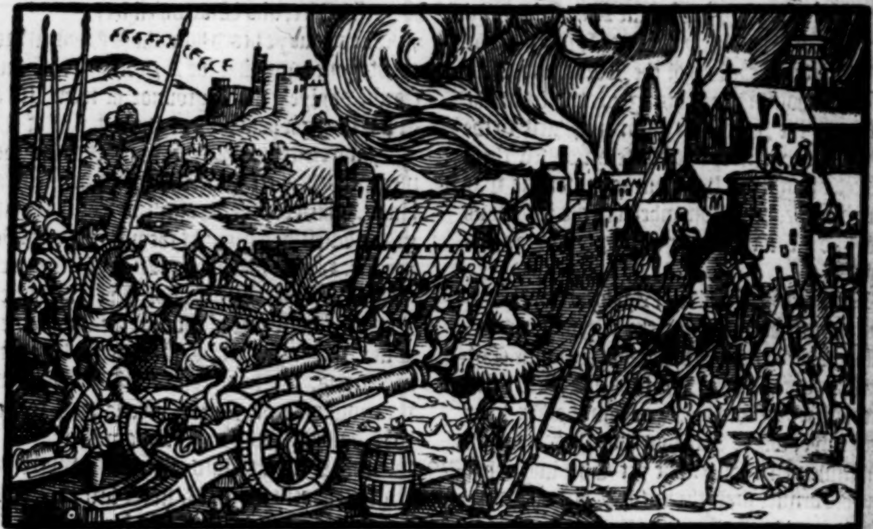
This Careticus was a noriſher of ciuill warre and diſcention amongſt his own people the Britons, ſo that he was hated both of god and man as writers teſtifye.

The Saxons vnderſtanding that the Britons were not of one mind, but deuided in parttakings, ſo as one was ready to diuoure an other, they thought it good time for them to aduaunce their conqueſts, and ſeaſed not to purſue the Britons by force and continuall warre, till they had conſtrained them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as ſome haue written, the Saxons meanyng to make a full conqueſt of the lande, ſent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a kyng of the Africanes to come ouer into Britayne to ayde them agaynſt the Brytaynes.

Galf. Mon. See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland.

Ranulf. Ceſt.

This Gurmundus appoyntyng his brother Turgeſius to purſue the conqueſt of Irelande, came and arriued here in Britayn, making ſuche cruell warre in ayde of the Saxons agaynſt the Britons, that Careticus was conſtreyned to keepe him within the citie of Ciceſter, or Cirenceſter, and was there beſieged, and at length by continuall aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, when he had loſt manie of his men, hee was glad to forſake that citie, and fled into Wales



Gourmonde tooke Cirenceſter or Chicheſter, and deſtroyed it in moſte cruell manner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of war, in bynding to the feet of Sparrowes whiche his people had caught, certaine clewes of threede or matches, finely wrought and tempred with matter readie to take fire, so that the Sparrowes being ſuffered to goe out of hande, flewe into the towne to lodge them ſelues within their neſtes whiche they had made in ſtackes of corne, and eues of houſes, ſo that the towne was thereby ſet on fyre, and then the Brytons iſſuing forth, foughte with their enimies, and were ouercome and diſcomfited.

But whyleſt the battayle continued, Careticus ſtale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foreſayd Gurmonde deſtroyed thys lande throughout in pitifull wyſe, and then deliuered it in poſſeſſion to the Saxons, the whiche thankfully receiued it: and bicauſe they were deſcended of thoſe that firſte came ouer with Hengiſt, they chaunged the name of the lande, and called it Hengiſtlande, accordingly as the ſame Hengiſt had in tymes paſt ordeined: the whiche name after for ſhortneſſe of ſpeeche was ſomewhat altered, and ſo laſtly called Englande, and the people Engliſhmen.

But rather it may be thought, that ſith a great part of thoſe people whiche came ouer into thys lande out of Germanie with the ſayde Engiſte, and other captaines, were of thoſe Engliſh men whiche inhabited Germanie, about the parties of Thoringhen they called this land England, after their name, when they had firſt got habitatiō within it: and ſo both the lande and people tooke name of them, beeing called *Angli* long tyme before they entered into this Iſle (as before is ſhewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But nowe to returne where we lefte.

Ma. W

Of this Gurmounde the olde Engliſh wryters make no mention, nor alſo any auncient authors of foreyn parties: and yet ſayth the Britiſh booke, that after he had conquered this land, & giuē it to the Saxons, he paſſed ouer into Frāce, and there deſtroyed muche of that lande, as an enemy to the faith of Chriſte: For whiche conſideration, he was the more ready to come to the ayde of the Saxons, who as yet hadde not receyued the Chriſtian fayth, but warred againſt the Brytaynes, as well for to deſtroy the faith of Chryſte within this lande, as to eſtablyſhe to them ſelues contynuall habitations in the ſame.

There bee, that omittyng to make mention of Gurmounde, write thus of the expulſing of the Brytaynes oute of this lande at that tyme when wyth their king Carcticus they got them into Wales.

It ſhould ſe
that this hiſto-
rie of Gurm
is but fain
ned tale exc
it may be that
he was ſom
Dane, No-
vvegian or
Germain.

In the yeare of grace. 586. Karcticus a louer of ciuil war ſucceded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britons, whoſe inconſtancie when the Engliſhe and Saxon kinges perceiued, with one conſent they roſe againſte him, and after many battails chaſed him from citie to citie, till at lengthe encountring wyth him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Hereupon clerks and prieſtes were dryuen oute of theyr places with brighte ſwordes bran-

586.

Mat W

brandiſhing in all partes, and fire crackling in Churches, wherewith the ſame were conſumed. The remnante of the Britaynes therefore withdrew into the Weſt partes of the land, that is to witte into Cornewale, and into Wales, out of which countreys they oftentimes brake out, and made reyſes vpon the Saxons, the whyche in manner aforeſayde, gote poſſeſſion of the chiefeſt partes of the lande, leauing to the Britaynes only three prouinces, that is to witte, Cornewale, Southwales, and Northwales, which countreis were not eaſie to be wonne, by reaſon of the thick woddes enuironed with deepe mariſhes and waters, & full of high craggy rockes, & Mountaines.

The Engliſh and Saxon Kings hauing thus remoued the Britaynes, enlarged the boundes of their dominions. There raigned in that ſeaſon within this land beſide the Britaine Kings eight Kings of the Engliſhe and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Ciſſa in Suſſex, Ceaulin in Weſtſex, Creoda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Eſſex, Titila in Eſtangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this ſort the Britaynes loſt the poſſeſſion of the more part of theyr auntiente ſeates, and the faithe of Chriſt thereby was greatly decayed: for the Churches were deſtroyed, & the Archbiſhops of Carleon Arwike, London, and Yorke, withdrewe togither with their Cleargie into the Mountaynes and woods within Wales, taking with them the relikes of Saintes for doubt the ſame ſhoulde be deſtroyed by the enimies, and thẽſelues put to deathe if they ſhould abide in their olde habitations. Many alſo fled into Britaine Armorike with a greate fleete of Shippes, ſo that the whole Church or congregation (as yee may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left deſolate in that ſeaſon, to the great hinderance and decay of the Chriſtian Religion. Careticus was driuẽ into Wales (as before is rehearſed) about the ſecond or third yeare of his raigne, and there continued with his Britaines, the which ceaſſed not to endomage the Saxons from time to time as occaſiõ ſerued. But heere is to be noted, that yͤ Britanes being thus remoued into Wales & Cornewall, were gouerned afterwardes by three kings, or rather Tirants, the which ceaſſed not with ciuill warre to ſeeke eache others deſtruction, till finally as ſayth the Brittiſh booke, they became all ſubiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Bede nameth Cedwallo. In yͤ mean time, Ciaulinus or Cheuling King of the Weſt Saxons, through hys owne miſgouernance and tyrannie whiche towardes his latter dayes hee practiſed, did procure not only the Britaines, but alſo his own ſubiects to conſpire his deathe, ſo that ioyning in battell with his aduerſaries at Wodeneſdic in the. 31. yere of his raigne, his army was diſcomfited, and be himſelfe conſtreyned to departe into exile, and ſhortly after ended his life before he coulde fynde meanes to be reſtored.

VVil. Mal.

Celric.

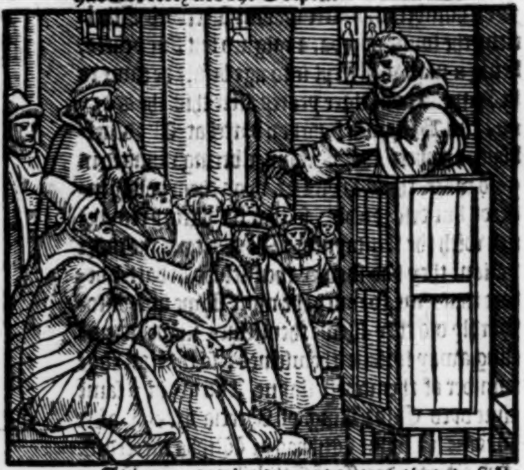
After this Cheuling, his Nephewe Celricus or Ceolric that was ſonne vnto Cutwin, yͤ ſonne of the foreſayde Cheuling, raigned as Kyng ouer the Weſt Saxons fiue yeares ſixe monethes. In like manner the ſame yeare dyed Ella or Illa Kyng of Northumberland, after whome ſucceeded Ethelricus the ſonne of Ida, & raigned but fiue yeares, being a man well ſtept into age before he came to be King. About three yeares after this, the Saxons and Britaines fought a battel at Wodenſbourne, where the Britaynes being raunged in good order, the Saxons ſet vpon them boldly indeede, but diſorderly, ſo that the victory remayned with the Britaynes. The Saxons the more valiant they had ſhewed themſelues in battel before that time, ſo much the more ſlowe and vntowardly did they ſhewe themſelues nowe in running away to ſaue themſelues, ſo that an huge number of them were ſlayne. Alſo about yͤ ſame time dyed Crida King of Mercia vz. 594. after whome his ſonne Wibbas or Wipha ſucceeded. And after the deceſſe of Ethelrike, one Edelfert or Edelfride ſurnamed the wilde, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpoſe. Ethelbert King of Kent not diſcouraged with the euill chance whiche happed in the beginning, but rather occaſioned thereby to learne more experience in feates of warre, proued ſo perfect a maſter therein, that in proceſſe of time hee ſubdued by force of armes all thoſe Engliſhe Saxons whiche lay betwixte the boundes of hys countrey, and the Riuer of Humber. Alſo to haue friendſhip in forraine partes, he procured a Wife for himſelfe of the French nation, named the Lady Bertha, being King Cheribertes daughter of France, but with condition that he ſhould permit hir to continue and vſe the rites and lawes of the Chriſtian faith and Religion, and to haue a Biſhop whoſe name was Lupdhard, appoynted to come and remayne with hir here in this lande for hir better inſtructiõ in the lawes of the Lorde: ſo that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in yͤ Court and vſing to ſerue God in prayers and otherwiſe according to the cuſtome of the Chriſtian Religion, began vndoubtedly to giue light to yͤ kings mind as yet darkned with the Cloudes of Paganiſme, ſo as the bright beames of yͤ celeſtiall clereneſſe of vnderſtanding remoued the thicke miſtes

594

Beda.
VVil. Mal.

Beda.
Mat. VVeſt. hath. 596.
47. hath the ſame Author.

of his vnbeleefe in proceſſe of time, and prepared his hart to the receyuing of the Goſpell, which after by heauenly prouidẽce was preached to him, by occaſion, and in manner as followeth. In the yeare of our Lord. 556. which was about the. 14. yeare of the raigne of the Emperour Mauritius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an hundred and. 47. yeares almoſt complete, the Biſhop of Rome, Gregory ẏ firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſente Auguſtinus a Monke, with other learned men into this Iſle to preach the Chriſtian faythe vnto the Engliſh Saxons, whiche nation as yet had not receyued the Goſpell.



Beda.
VV. Mal.
Vita Gregorij magni.

It is recorded by diuers writers, that the firſte occaſion whereby Gregory was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this lãd, roſe by this meanes: It chanced whileſt the ſame Gregory was as yet but Archdeacon of the Sea of Rome, certayne yong boyes were brought thither to be ſolde out of Northumberland, according to the cuſtomable vſe of that countrey, in ſomuche that as we haue in our time ſeene (ſaith Wil. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell away their neere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. Whẽ thoſe children whiche at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellente beauties and comely ſhape of limmes and body, turned the eyes in manner of all the Citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregory alſo came amongſt other to beholde them, and when hee conſidered and well viewed their fayre ſkinnes, their ſweete viſages, and beautifull buſſhes of their bright and yellow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome aunſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britayne, the inhabitants of whiche countrey were of the like beautifull aſpect: thẽ he aſked whether the men of that countrey were Chriſtians, or as yet entangled with blinde heathenish errors, whereunto it was aunſwered, that they were not chriſtned, but followed the Religion of the Gentiles, whereat Gregory fetching a deepe ſigh, ſayd: oh alas that the author of darkneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe mẽ of ſo brightſome countenances, & that with the grace of ſuche faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds voyde of inward grace. He demanded againe by what name ẏ people were called, & anſwere was made, ẏ they wer called *Angli*, that is to ſay Engliſhmẽ. And worthily (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow heires with Angels in heauen. Then aſked he ẏ name of ẏ prouince frõ whẽce they were brought, & it was tolde him they were of *Deira*. It is well ſayd hee, they are to be deliuered *de ira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, & called to the mercy of Chriſt our Lord. What name (ſayde he) hath the King of that prouince, whereunto anſwere was made that he was called *Alla*, wherupõ alluding to ẏ name, he ſaid, that *Alleluia* ought to be ſong in thoſe partes to the praiſe & honor of God ẏ creator. And hereupõ comming to Benedict the firſt of ẏ name as then Biſhop of Rome, hee required him ẏ ſome learned mẽ might be ſent into Englãd to preach ẏ Goſpel vnto the Engliſhmẽ, offering himſelfe to be one of the number: but though Benedict was cõtented to graunt his requeſt, yet ẏ Romanes had him in ſuch eſtimatiõ, that they would not cõſent ẏ he ſhould depart ſo farre from ẏ citie, ſo that by thẽ he was at that time ſtayed of that his godly purpoſe. But whẽ he came to be Biſhop, he thought to performe it, though not by himſelf, yet by other: & ſo Auguſtine & his felowes wer ſent by him about it (as before is ſayd.) By the way as they were paſſing in their iourney, ſuch a ſoddayne feare entred into their harts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Other write, that Auguſtine was ſent back to Gregory to ſue that they might be releaſſed of that voyage ſo dãgerous and vncertain amongſt ſuch a barbarous people, whoſe language they neyther knewe, nor whoſe rudeneſſe they wer able to reſiſt. Thẽ Gregory with pithie perſwaſions confirming and cõforting him, ſente him againe with letters vnto the Biſhop of Arles, willing him to help and ayd the ſayde Auſtine and his company in all what ſo euer his neede required. Alſo other letters he directed by the foreſaide Auſtine vnto hys fellowes, exhorting them to goe forewarde boldly in the Lordes worke, as by the tenor of the ſayde Epiſtle heere following may appeare.

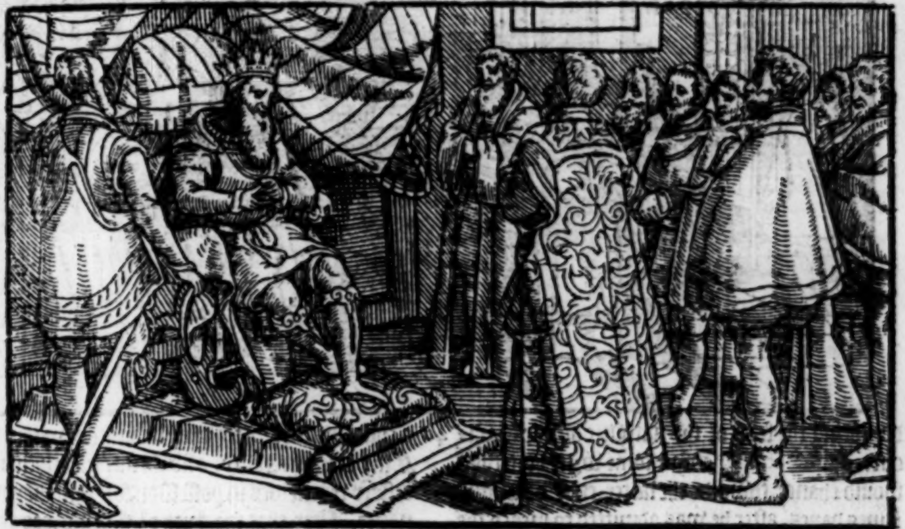
Pelagius the ſeconde.
VV. Mal.
Pelagius.
M. Weſt.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei Domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere quam ab his que cepta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire. &c.

In Engliſh, Gregory the ſeruant of Gods ſeruauntes, to the ſeruantes of oure Lorde. For as muche as it is better not to take good thinges in hande, than after they bee begunne, to thynke to reuolte backe from the ſame agayne, therefore now you may not nor cannot (deere children) but with all feruente ſtudie and labour muſt needes goe forwarde in that good buſineſſe, whiche thorough the helpe of God you haue well begunne. Neyther let the labour of youre iourney, nor the ſlaunderous tongues of men apall you, but that with all inſtance and feruencie yee procede and accompliſh the thing which the Lord hath ordeyned you to take in hãd, knowing that your great trauell ſhall be recompenſed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we ſend heere Auſtin to you agayne, whome alſo we haue ordeyned to be your gouernoure, ſo do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it ſhall be profitable for your ſoules what ſoeuer at hys admonitiõ ye ſhall doe. Almighty God with hys grace defende you, and graunt me to ſee in the eternall countrey the fruite of your labour, that although I cannot labour in the ſame felowſhippe with you togither, the Lorde God keepe you ſafe moſt deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the Calẽdes of Auguſt, in the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lorde Mauritius moſt vertuous Emperour, the fourteenth of his Empire.

Thus they emboldened and comforted through the good wordes and wholeſome exhortation of Gregory, ſet forward agayne, and ſpeeding forth their iourney, they firſt arriued at ẏ Iſle of Thanet in Kente in the moneth of Iuly, being in nũber about fortie perſons, of the which diuers were interpreters whom they brought with them out of Fraunce. Theſe they ſente vnto King Ethelbert, ſignifying to him the occaſion of their comming, who hearing the meſſengers within a fewe dayes after, went into that Iſle, and there abrode out of any houſe ſate downe, and cauſed Auguſtine and hys fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder any roofe with thẽ, fore doubting to bee bewitched by them, beeyng perſwaded that they were practiſed in nigromãcie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the Deuill (as they ſayd) but by the myght and power of Almightie God, bearing in ſteede of a banner a Croſſe of ſyluer, and an Image of our Lord & Sauioure paynted in a Table, & thereto ſinging ẏ Letanies, made interceſſiõ vnto the L. for the euerlaſting preſeruation of themſelues, & of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The ſeuenfold Letanies of S. Gregory were not yet deuiſed.

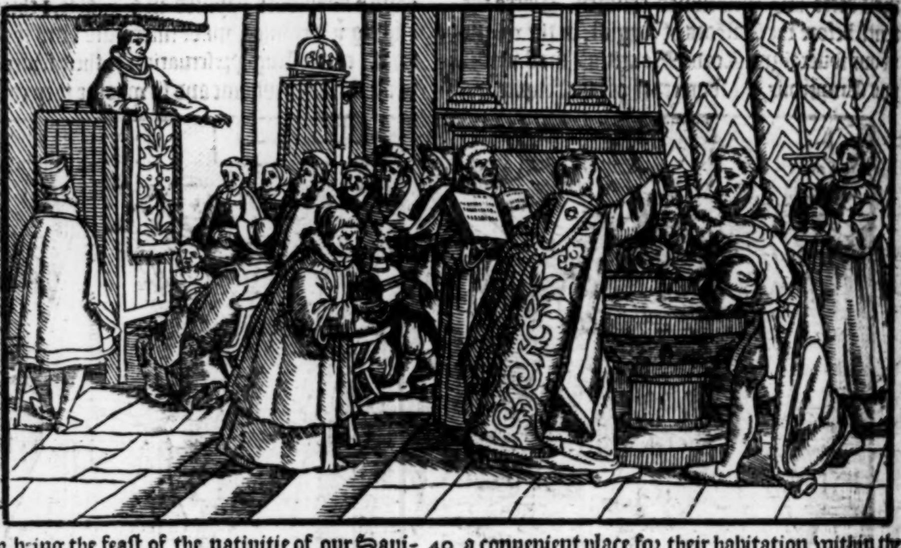


And when they being ſet downe by commãdement of the King, had preached the worde of life to him and to all thoſe that came thither with him, he made them this anſwere, that their words and promiſes were good: but for as much as the ſame were new and vncertayne to him that had bin brought vp in the contrary doctrine, he could not raſhly aſſent to their admonitions, and leaue that beleefe which he and the Engliſh nation had ſo long a time obſerued and kept: but (ſayd he) bycauſe ye haue trauelled farre to the intent to make vs partakers of thoſe things whiche ye beleeue to bee moſt true and perfecte, wee will thus muche graunt vnto you, that yee ſhall bee receyued into this countrey, and haue herbrough with thyngs ſufficient found vnto you for your mayntenance and ſuſtentation: neither will we hinder you, but ẏ ye may by Preaching aſſociat & ioyne as many of our ſubiectes as ye can vnto your law and beliefe. They had therefore aſſigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the City of Canterbury, which was ẏ head citie of al his dominion. It is ſaid ẏ as they approched ẏ citie according to their manner, they had a croſſe borne afore them, with an image of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, and they followed in ſinging this Letany: *Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate iſta & de domo ſancta tua, quoniã peccauimus. alleluya.* That is to ſay VVe beſech the O Lord in al thy mercy that thy

Beda.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Chriſtian faith receyued of the Engliſhmen.

fury and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holy house, for wee haue ſynned. Prayſe be to thee oh Lorde. After they were receyued into Canterbury, they began to followe the trade of lyfe whiche the Apoſtles vſed in the primatiue Churche, that is to witte, exerciſing themſelues in continuall prayer, watching, faſting, and in preaching the worde to as many as they coulde, deſpiſing all worldly pleaſures, as not apperteyning to them, receyuing onely (of them whome they taughte) thyngs that ſeemed neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of their life, and liuing in all poyntes according to the doctrine whyche they ſet forthe, hauing theyr mindes ready to ſuffer in patience all aduerſities what ſo euer, yea and death it ſelfe, for the confirming of that whiche they nowe preached. Hereuppon, many of the Engliſhe people beleeued and were baptiſed, hauing in greate reuerence the ſimplicitie of the innocente liues of thoſe men, and the ſweeteneſſe of their heauenly doctrine. There was a Church neere to the Citie on the Eaſt parte thereof dedicated in the honor of Saint Martine, and buylded of old time whileſt the Romaynes as yet inhabited Britayne, in the whiche the Queene being (as we haue ſayd) a Chriſtian, vſed to make hir prayers. To this Churche Auſtine and hys fellowes at their firſt comming accuſtomed to reſorte, and there to ſing, to pray, to ſay Maſſe, to preach and to baptiſe, till at length the Kyng being conuerted, graunted them licence to preache in euery place, and to buylde and reſtore Churches where they thought good. After that yͤ King being perſwaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles ſhewed, was once baptiſed, the people in great number begã to giue eare vnto the Preaching of the Goſpell, and renouncing their heatheniſh beleefe, became Chriſtians, in ſo much that as Gregory remembreth, ther were baptiſed tenne thouſand perſons in one



Lib.7.ep.

Policron.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 26. & 27.

Religion not to be enforced, but taughte and preached.

day, being the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Sauiour. 597. indictione. 1. But ſome write how thys ſhould chance towarde the latter ende of Auguſtines dayes, after he was admitted to preach the Goſpell amongſt them that inhabited about Yorke (as ſome write) which affirme, that the ſaid number of tenne thouſande was baptiſed in the Riuer of Suale, whiche as William Harriſon ſayeth, cannot be verified, bycauſe of the indiction and death of Gregory. But to procede: The king reioiced at the conuerſion thus of his people, howbeit, he would not force any man to be baptiſed, but only ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauored thoſe that beleeued more than other, as fellowe Citizens with him of the heauenly Kingdome: for he learned of them that had inſtructed hym in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt oughte not to be inforced, but to come of good wil. Moreouer, he prouided for Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the Citie of Canterbury, and further gaue them neceſſary reuenewes in poſſeſſion for their mayntenance. After that the faith of Chriſte was thus receyued of the Engliſhmen, Auguſtine went into Fraunce, and there of the Archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius, he was ordeined Archbiſhop of the Engliſhe nation, according to the order preſcribed by Gregorie before yͤ departure of the ſaide Auguſtine frõ Rome. After his returne into Britane, he ſent Laurẽce a Prieſt, & Peter a Monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregory the Biſhop, howe the Engliſhmen had receyued the faith, and that hee was ordeyned Archbiſhop of the land, according to that he had commaunded, if the worke proſpered vnder his hande as it had done. He alſo required to haue Gregories aduice touching certain ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new Church of England: where-

Auguſtine ordeyned Archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

Laurence a Prieſt.

vpon Gregory in ſending backe the meſſengers with aunſwer vnto all his demaundes, and firſt touching the conuerſation of Archbiſhops with yͤ Cleargie, and in what ſorte the Churche goodes ought to be employed, he declareth that the auntient cuſtome of the Apoſtolike See was to giue commaundement vnto Biſhops ordeyned, that the profytes & reuenewes of their benefices ought to be deuided into foure partes, whereof the firſte ſhould be appoynted to the Biſhop and his family for the maynetenaunce of hoſpitalitie: the ſecond ſhould be aſſigned to the Cleargie: the thirde to be giuen to the poore: and the fourth to be employed vpon repayring of temples. Alſo as touching the diuerſitie of cuſtomes in Churches. And where in the Churche of Rome one cuſtome in ſaying of Maſſe or yͤ Liturgie was obſerued, and an other cuſtome in Fraunce, concerning ſuch Church ſeruice. Gregory aduiſed Auguſtine that if he found any thing either in the Churche of Rome, eyther in the Churche of Fraunce, or in anye other Churche whiche mighte moſt pleaſe the almightie God, he ſhould diligently chooſe it forth, and inſtruct the Church of England (now beyng new) according to that forme whiche hee ſhoulde gather forth of the ſayd Churches: for the thyngs are not loued for the places ſake, but the places for the things ſake.

e reuenews be Church e deuided o.4.partes.

urgia.

urch ſeruice.

Alſo for the puniſhing of ſuche as had ſtollen things out of Churches, ſo neere as mighte bee, the offender ſhoulde bee chaſtiſed in charitie, ſo as he might know his fault, and if it were poſſible, reſtore the thing taken away. Alſo as touching degrees in mariages, Engliſhmē might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehenſion, and if any vnlawfull marriages were founde amongſt the Engliſhmē, as if the ſonne had married the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in any wiſe to abſteyne, and vnderſtand it to be a greeuous ſinne: yet ſhoulde they not for that thing be depriued of the Communiō of the body & bloud of our Lord, leaſt thoſe things mighte ſeeme to be puniſhed in them wherein they had offended (before their conuerſion to the Chriſtian faythe) by ignorance: for at this ſeaſon yͤ Church (ſayth he) correcteth ſome things of a feruente earneſtneſſe, ſuffereth ſome things of a gētle mildneſſe, and diſſimuleth ſome things of a prudent conſideration, and ſo beareth and diſſimuleth the ſame, that oftentimes the euill which ſhe abhorreth by ſuch bearing and diſſimuling, is reſtreyned and reformed. Moreouer, touching the ordeyning of Biſhops, hee woulde they ſhould be ſo placed, that the diſtance of place mighte not bee a lette, but that when a Biſhoppe ſhoulde bee conſecrated, there mighte bee three or foure preſente.

ch as did ale.

arriages.

Diſcipline of the Church.

Ordeyning of ſhops.

Alſo touching the Biſhoppes of Fraunce, he willed Auguſtine in no wiſe to intermeddle with them, otherwiſe than by exhortation and good admonitions to be giuen, but not to preſume any thing by authoritie, ſith the Archbiſhop of Arles had receyued the Pall in tymes paſt, whoſe authoritie hee mighte not diminiſhe, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to put his ſickle into anothers mans harueſt. But as for the Biſhops of Britayne, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholeſome perſwaſions ſtrengthned, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with childe myghte bee Baptiſed, and that ſhee that was deliuered after .33. dayes of a man childe, and after .46. days of a woman childe ſhould be purified, but yet myghte ſhee enter the Churche before if ſhe woulde.

Women with childe.

The reſidue of Auguſtines demaundes conſiſted in theſe poyntes, viz. within what ſpace a childe ſhould be Chriſtened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death: alſo, within what tyme a man might company with his wife after ſhe was brought to bedde: whether a woman hauing the flowres, mighte enter the Churche or receyue the Communion: alſo whether a man hauing companyed with hys Wife, might enter the Churche, or receyue the Communion, before he was waſhed with water. And whether after polution by night in dreames, a man mighte receyue the Communion: or if he were a Prieſt whether he might ſay Maſſe.

Matters in queſtion about trifles.

To theſe queſtions Gregory maketh aunſwere at full in the Booke and place before cited, which for breefeneſſe we paſſe ouer. He ſent alſo at that tyme with the meſſengers aforeſayde at their returne into Englande diuers learned men to help Auguſtine in the harueſt of yͤ Lorde. The names of the cheefeſt were theſe, Mellitus, Iuſtus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. He ſente alſo the Palle whyche is the ornament of an Archbiſhop with veſſels and apparell whiche ſhoulde be vſed in Churches by the Archbiſhop and other miniſters.

Aſsiſtance to Auguſtine. The Pall.

He alſo ſente with the Pall other letters vnto Auguſtine to lette hym vnderſtande what number of Biſhops hee woulde haue hym to ordeyne within this lande. Alſo after that Mellitus, and the other before mentioned perſons were departed from Rome, hee ſent a letter vnto the ſame Mellitus, beeyng yet on his way towardes Britayne, touching further matter concerning the Churches of England, wherein he confeſſeth that many thinges are permitted to bee vſed of the people lately broughte from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feaſtes on the dedication dayes whiche haue reſemblaunce with their olde ſuperſtitious rytes of the Pagane Religion, for

Bearing with them that had newly receyued the fayth, whereof ſuperſtition grewe and increaſed.

to hard and obſtinate mindes (ſayth he) it is not poſſible to cutte away all things at once, for hee that coueteth to the higheſt place, goeth vp by ſteppes and not by leapes.

Miracles.

Alſo the ſame time, Gregory did ſende letters vnto Auguſtine touching the miracles whych by reporte he vnderſtoode were ſhewed by the ſame Auguſtine, counſelling him in no wiſe to glory in the ſame, but rather in reioycing to feare and conſider that God gaue him the gifte to worke ſuche ſignes for the welth of them, to whome hee was ſente to preach the Goſpell: he aduiſed hym therefore to beware of vayne glory and preſumption, for the Diſciples of the trueth (ſayth he) haue no ioy, but onely that which is common with all men, of whyche there is no end, for not euery one that is elect worketh miracles, but euery of the elect haue their names written in heauen.

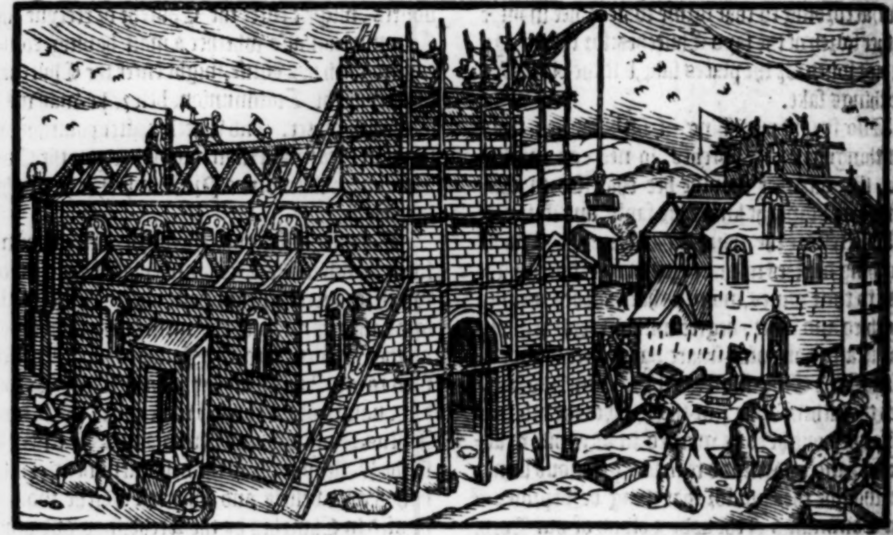
602

Theſe letters, with the other whiche Gregory ſent at this time vnto Auguſtine, were dated the tenth day of the Calendes of July, in the yeare of oure Lord. 602. whiche was the nineteenth yeare of the Emperour Mauritius.

Moreouer, he ſente moſt curteous letters by theſe meſſengers vnto King Ethelberte, in the whyche hee greatly commendeth him, in that he had receyued the Chriſtian fayth, and exhorteth him to continue in that moſt holy ſtate of life, whereby hee myghte worthyly looke for rewarde at the handes of almighty God. But nowe to the doings of Auguſtine. We fynd, that after he was eſtabliſhed Archbiſhop, and had his See appoynted to him at Canterbury, he reſtored in that Citie another Church whiche had bin erected there in times paſt by certayne of the Romaynes that were Chriſtians, and did dedicate the ſame nowe in honor of Chriſt our Sauioure.

Beda.

He alſo began the foundation of a Monaſtery without that Citie, ſtãding towarde the Eaſt, in the whiche by his exhortation, King Ethelberte built a Churche euen from the grounde, whiche was dedicated vnto the holy Apoſtles Peeter and Paule, in the whiche the body of the ſayde Auguſtine was buried, and likewiſe the bodies of all the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Kings of Kent of long time after.



One Peeter was the firſt Abbot.

This Abbey was called Saint Auſtines after his name, one Peeter being the firſt Abbot therof. The Churche there was not conſecrated by Auguſtine, but by his ſucceſſor Laurẽce after that he was dead.

Ran. Ceſtren.

Moreouer, King Ethelbert at the motion of Auguſtine builded a Church in the Citie of Lõdon (whiche he lately had conquered) and dedicated it vnto Saint Paule: but whether he buylded or reſtored this Church of Saint Paule it maye bee doubted, for there bee dyuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was firſte buylded by King Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other agayne write, that it was builded afterwarde by Sigeberte King of the Eaſt Saxons. Alſo Kyng Ethelberte buylded the Churche of Saint Andrew in Rocheſter. It is likewiſe remembred by writers, that the ſame King Ethelberte procured a Citizen of London to buyld a Church of Sainte Peeter without the Citie of London towarde the Weſt in a place then called Thorney, that is to witte, the Iſle of Thornes, & now is called Weſtminſter, though other haue written that it was buylte by Lucius King of Britaine, or rather by Siberte Kyng of the Eaſt Saxons. This Church was eyther newly builte or greatly enlarged by Kyng Edwarde ſurnamed the Confeſſor, and after that, the thirde Henry King of England did make there a beautifull Monaſterie, and very richly

Beda.

Ran. Ceſt.
Weſtminſter Church buil

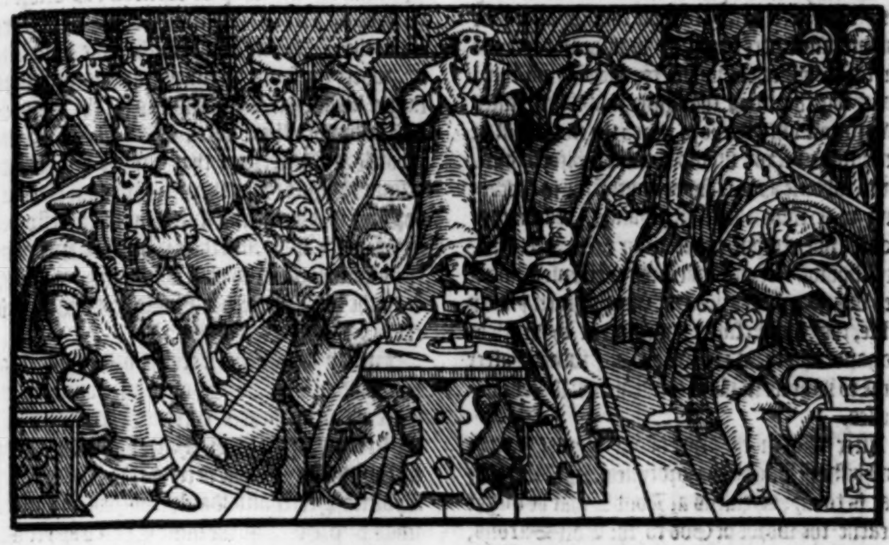
endowed the ſame with greate poſſeſſions and ſumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowen with vnderwoodes, as thornes and brambles before that the Church was begun to be builded there in this King Ethelbertes dayes.

Thus the fayth of Chriſt being once begunne to bee receyued of the Engliſhmen, toke wonderfull increaſe within a ſhort time.

Ran.Ceſt.
Beda.
Sigebertus.
an.19. Mauricij imperatoris.

A Synode.
Auſtines oke.

In the meane ſeaſon by the help of King Ethelbert, Auguſtine cauſed a counſell to be called at a place in the confynes of the Weſt Saxons, whiche place long after was called Auſtynes Oke, where he procured the Biſhops or Doctors of the prouinces of the Britaines to come before him. Amongſt the Britaynes or Welchmen, Chriſtianite as yet remayned in force, whyche from the Apoſtles time had neuer fayled in that nation. When Auguſtine came into this land, he found in their prouinces ſeuen Biſhops Sees, and an Archbiſhops See, wherin ſate right godly and moſt Religious Prelates, and many Abbots, in the which the Lordes flocke kept their righte order: but bycauſe they differed in obſeruing the Feaſt of Eaſter, and other rites from the vſe of ẏ Romane Church, Auguſtine thought it neceſſary to moue them to agree with hym in vnitie of the ſame, but after long diſputation and reaſoning of thoſe matters, they could not be enduced to giue their aſſente in that behalfe. Auguſtine to proue his opinion good, wroughte a miracle in reſtoring ſight to one of the Saxon nation that was blinde. The Britaynes that were preſente moued with this miracle, confeſſed, that it was the righte waye of Juſtice and righteouſneſſe which Auguſtine taught, but yet they ſayd that they might not forſake theyr auncient cuſtomes withoute conſente and licence of their nation. Whervppon, they required another Sinode to be holden, wherat a greater number of them myght be preſent. This being granted, there came as it is reported ſeuen Biſhops of the Britaynes and a greate number of learned menne, ſpecially of the famous Monaſterie of Bangor, whereof in thoſe dayes one Dionoth was Abbot, the whiche as they wente towardes that counſell, came firſt to a certaine wiſe man, whych lyued amongſt them an Ankers life, and aſked his aduice whether they ought to forſake theyr traditions at the Preaching of Auguſtine or not: who made thys aunſwere: If he bee the man of God followe hym: then ſayde they: howe ſhall wee proue whether hee be ſo or not. Then ſayde hee: the Lorde ſayeth take vp my yoke and learne of mee, for I am meeke and humble in harte: if Auguſtine bee humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleeued that hee alſo beareth the yoke of Chriſte, and offereth it to you to beare, but if hee bee not meeke but proude, it is certayne that hee is not of God, nor hys worde is not to bee regarded: And how ſhall wee perceyue that (ſayde they?) Fynde meanes (ſayde he) that hee maye fyrſte come to the place of the Synode with thoſe of hys ſyde, and if hee ariſe to receyue you at your comming, then knowe that he is the ſeruaunt of God, and obey him. But if hee deſpiſe you and ariſe not againſt you, where as you bee more in number, lette him bee deſpiſed of you.



Galfrid.lib.8 cap.4.

Beda lib.2. cap.2.

Another Sinode.

The Monaſterie of Bangor.
Abbot Dionoth.

The anſwere of a godly man touching Auſtin the Engliſhmens Apoſtle,

They did as he commaunded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Auguſtine ſitting in his chaire: which whē they beheld, ſtraightwayes they conceyued an indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reproue all hys ſayings. He tolde thē that they vſed many things contrary to the cuſtome of the vniuerſal Church, and yet if in three things they woulde obey hym,

Three things required by Auſtin of the Britaynes to be obſerued.

that is to witte, in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in due time, and miniſter Baptiſme according to the cuſtome of the Romaine Churche, and preach to the Engliſhmen the word of life with him and his fellowes, then would he be contented to ſuffer all other things paciently which they did, though the ſame were contrary to the manners and cuſtomes of the Romayne iuriſdiction. But they flatly denyed to do any of thoſe things, and gaue a playne aunſwere that they woulde not receyue him for their Archbiſhoppe, for they laying theyr heads togither thus thoughte, that if hee refuſed now to ryſe vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we ſhould become ſubiect to him. Unto whome as it is ſayde Auguſtine in threatning wiſe tolde them aforehande, that if they woulde not receyue peace with their breethren, they ſhoulde receyue warre of the enimies, and if they would not preach to the Engliſhmen yͤ way of life, they ſhould ſuffer puniſhment by death at the handes of them: whiche thing indeede after came to paſſe as in place conueniente ſhall be expreſſed.

Auſtine threatneth.

604

Biſhops ordeined at London and Rocheſter

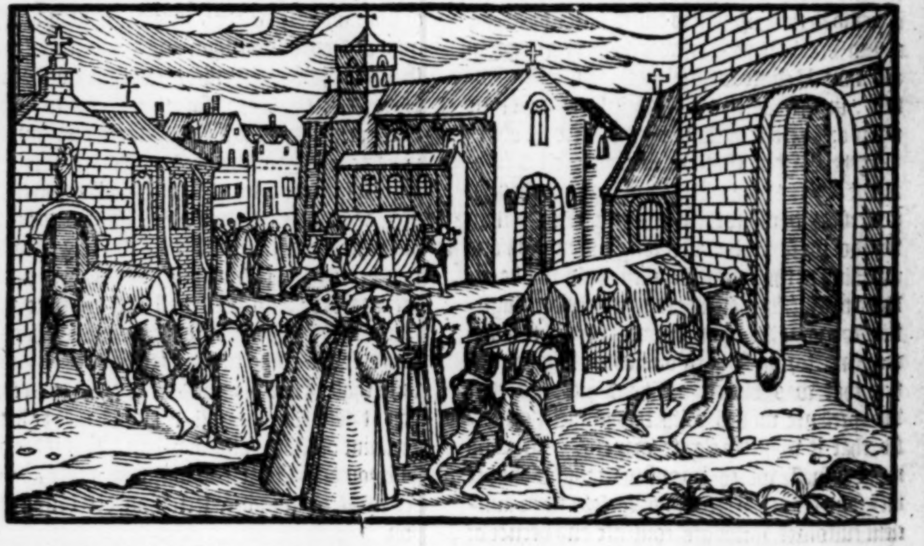
After this in the yeare of our Lorde.604.the Archbiſhop Auguſtine ordeyned two Biſhops, that is to ſay, Mellitus at Londō, that he might preache the worde of God to the Eaſt Saxons, whiche were deuided from them of Kente by the Riuer of Thames, and Iuſtus in the Citie of Rocheſter within the limittes of Kent.

AT that time Sabart reigned ouer the Eaſt Saxons, but hee was ſubiect vnto Ethelbert King of Kent, whoſe Nephewe he was alſo by his ſiſter Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda yͭ ſucceeded after Erchenwine yͤ firſt K. of yͤ Eaſt Saxons, & begate on hir this Sabert yͭ receyued yͤ faith. After yͭ Auguſtine had ordeyned Mellitus to be Biſhop of London, as before is ſayd, King Ethelbert builded (as ſome write) the Churche of Sainte Paule within the ſame Citie, where the ſame Mellitus and his ſucceſſors might keepe their See. And alſo for the like purpoſe he builded the Church of Saint Andrew the Apoſtle at Rocheſter, that Iuſtus and his ſucceſſors myghte haue theyr See in that place according to Auguſtines inſtitution: hee beſtowed great giftes vpon both theſe Churches, endowing them with lands and poſſeſſions very bountifully to the vſe of them that ſhould be attendante in the ſame with the Biſhops.

The Church of Saint Paule builded.

Ran.Ceſtr.

Finally Auguſtine after hee had gouerned as Archbiſhop the Churche of Canterburie by the ſpace of twelue yeares current, departed this life the ſixe and twentith of May, and was buryed firſt without the Citie neere to the Church of the Apoſtles Perter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) bicauſe the ſame Church as yet was not finiſhed nor dedicated, but after it was dedicated, his body was broughte into the Churche, and reuerently buried in the North Ile there.



He ordeyned by his life time Laurence to bee his ſucceſſor in the Sea of Canterbury, of whom yee ſhall heare hereafter.

Thus haue ye heard in what maner the Engliſhmen were firſt brought from the worſhipping of falſe Goddes, and baptiſed in the name of the liuing God by the foreſayde Auguſtine, as wee fynde in Beda and other writers, and nowe wee will returne to other doyngs chancing in the meane tyme amongſt the people of thys Iſle.

Mat. VVeſt. hath.34.

607. as Mat. VVeſt. hath.

AFter the deceaſſe of Chelricus Kyng of the Weſt Saxons, wee finde that Ceovulf or Ceoloulph ſucceeded in gouernmente of that Kingdome, and raigned twelue yeares. Hee began his raigne (as ſhould appeare by ſome writers) about the yeare of our Lord.597. and ſpente his time for the more part in warres, not gyuing place to ydleneſſe, but ſeeking eyther to defende or enlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the ſonne of Cutha, which was the ſon of Kenrike, that was the ſonne of Certike.

After Wybba or Wyppha king of Mercia, (who nothing inferiour to his father, did not onely defend his kingdome, but alſo enlarge it by ſubduing the Brytaynes on eche ſide) one Ceorlus ſucceeded in that kingdome, beeing not hys ſonne but his kinſman.

Ceorlus king of Martia.

594

This Ceorlus began his raigne aboute the yeare of oure Lorde 594. as Mat. Weſtm. recordeth.

Beda. Edelferd.

Yee haue heard that Edelferde, whiche otherwiſe is called alſo by writers Edelfride, ſurnamed the wild, gouerned ſtill the Northumbers, whiche Edelferde did more domage to the Brytaynes than any one other king of the Engliſh Nation. None of them deſtroyed theyr countreyes more than he did: neyther did any Prince make mo of the Brytaynes tributaries, or inhabited more of theyr Countreys with Engliſh people than he.

Herevpon Edan king of thoſe Scots which inhabited Brytayne, beeing therewith moued to ſee Edelferd proſper thus in his conqueſtes, came agaynſt him with a mightie armie: but ioyning in battaile with Edelferd and his power, at a place called Degſaſtane, or Degſaſtone, or Degſaſton, he loſt the moſte part of hys people, and with the reſidue that were left aliue, he eſcaped by flight.

This was a ſore foughten battaile, wyth much bloudſhed on both parties. For notwithſtanding that the victorie remayned with the Northumbers, Theodbaldus the brother of Edelferd was ſlaine, with all that part of the Engliſh hoſt, which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yeare of our Lorde. 603. in the. xix. yeare of the raigne of the foreſayde Edelferd, and in the firſt yeare of Coewulf king of the Weſt Saxons, and in the firſt yeare of the Emperour Focas, or rather in the laſt yeare of hys predeceſſour Mauritius.

603

Henric. Hunt.

Beda. li. 1. cap. 34.

From that day till the dayes of Beda, not one of the Scottiſh kings durſt preſume to enter into Brytaine againe to giue battaile againſt the Engliſh Nation, as Beda himſelfe wryteth.

But the Scottiſh writers make other report of this matter, as in the Hyſtorie of Scotland ye may finde recorded.

VVil. Malm.

See in Scotlande.

The Brytaynes that dwelt aboute Cheſter, through their ſtoutneſſe prouoked the aforeſayde Ethelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherevpon the ſame Ethelferd to tame theyr loftie ſtomackes, aſſembled an armie, and came forwarde to beſiege the Citie of Cheſter, then called of the Brytaynes *Carleon ardour deué*. The Citizens coueting rather to ſuffer all things than a ſiege, and hauing a truſt in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battaile abrode in the fieldes, whom he compaſſing about with ambuſhes, got them within his daunger, and eaſily diſcomfited them.

Cheſter as yet in poſſeſſion of the Brytayns.

John Leyland.

VVil. Malm.

Beda.

It chaunced that he had eſpied before the battaile ioyned (as Bede hath) where a great number of the Brytiſh Prieſts were got aſide into a place ſomewhat out of daunger, that they might there make their interceſſion to God for the good ſpeede of theyr people, being then readie to giue battaile to the Northumbers.

The number of Monkes in the Monaſtery of Bangor.

Many of them were of that famous Monaſterie of Bangor, in the which it is ſaid, that there was ſuch a number of Monkes, that where they were deuided into ſeuen ſeuerall partes, with their ſeuerall gouernours appoynted to haue rule ouer them, euery of thoſe partes conteyned at the leaſt three hundred perſons, the which liued altogither by the labour of theyr handes. Many therefore of thoſe Monkes hauing kept a ſolemne feaſt for three dayes togither, were come to the armie with other to make prayer, hauing for their defender one Brocmale, or Broemael, Earle (or Conſull as ſome call him) of Cheſter, which ſhoulde preſerue them (being giuen to prayer) from the edge of the enimies ſworde.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is ſayde) eſpyed theſe men, asked what they were, and what their intent was? and beeing informed of the whole circumſtance, and cauſe of their beeing there, hee ſayde. Then if they call to theyr God for his aſſiſtãce againſt vs, ſurely though they beare no armour, yet do they fight againſt vs, being buſied in prayer for our deſtruction. Wherevpon hee commaunded the firſt onſet to be giuen on them, and after ſlue downe the reſidue of the Brytiſh armie, not without great loſſe of his owne people.

The Brytaines diſcomfited and ſlaine.

Of thoſe Monkes and Prieſtes which came to pray (as before is mencioned) there died at that battaile about the number of .xij. hundred, ſo that fiftie of them onely eſcaped by flight.

Brocmale, or Brocmael at the firſt approche of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he ſhould haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies ſworde.

And thus was the prophecie of Auguſtine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda hath.)

Henric. Hũt.

But if this battaile was fought in the ſeuenth yeare of Ciobulf king of Weſtſaxons (as ſome haue written) and that Auguſtin liued .xij. yeares after his entrance into the gouernment of the ſea of Canterburie, (as ſome write) it is euident that he liued foure yeares after this ſlaughter made of the Brytiſhe Prieſtes and Monkes by Ethelferd (as before is recited.) For Ciobulf beganne his raigne (as before is mentioned) about the yeare of our Lorde. 596. and in the ſeuenth yeare of hys raigne the battail was fought, at Degſaſtane betwixt Engliſhmen and Scottes, which chaunced in the yeare of our Lorde. 604. as Bede himſelfe recordeth. Hitherto out of our olde writers.

Of which battaile alſo William Hariſon telleth another maner of tale, whoſe wordes (though he liue in our time, and his Chronologie bee not yet extant) are not to be omitted: which be theſe.

Athelbright, or Edilfride, king of the Northũbers, and Ethelbert of Kent, hauing Auguſtine in their cõpanie, in the. 8. yeare after his arriuall, doe make warre vpon ſuche Brytaynes as refuſe to obſerue the Canons of the late Councell mentioned. 603. and kill 1200. Monkes of the Monaſterie of Bangor, which laboured earneſtly, and in the ſweate of their browes, thereby to get theyr liuings. &c. Thus farre maiſter Hariſon.

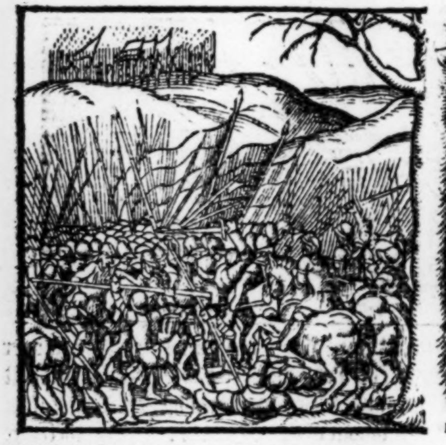
Verily. Galf. Mon wryteth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he ſawe the Brytaynes to diſdaine and denie their ſubiection vnto Auguſtine, by whom he was conuerted to the chriſtian faith) ſtirred vp Ethelfred king of the Northumbers to warre againſt the Brytains. But hereof maiſter Foxe doubteth, and therfore ſayth, that of vncertaine things hee hath nothing certainly to ſay, much leſſe to iudge.

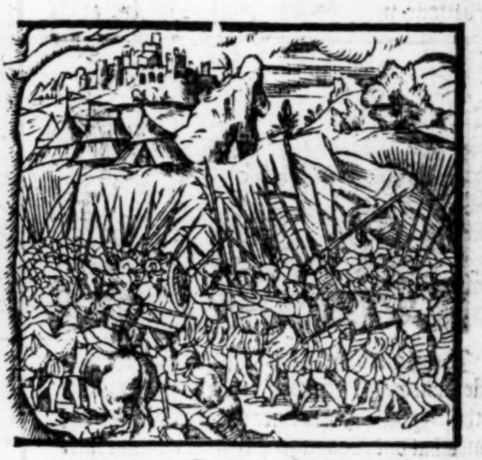
Acts and Monuments. Pag. 160.

But now to the matter where we left. After that King Edelferd had made ſlaughter of the Brytaines (as before is rehearſed) hee entred the Citie of Cheſter, and from thence marched towardes Bangor.

The Britains in the meane time had aſſẽbled their power vnder three Captains, that is to wit, Blederike Duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. Theſe ioyning in battaile with Ethelferd, ſlue. 10066. of his Souldiers, and conſtrayned him to flee out of the fielde for ſafegarde of his life, after hee had receyued many woundes.

Blederik du
of Cornewal,
Margadud K.
of Southwales,
Cadwan king
of Northwales





Gal. Mon.

On the part of the Brytaynes the forſayde Bledrike, which was chiefe captaine of the fielde in that battaile chaunced to be ſlaine.

Thus hath Gal. Mon. but the auncient writers of the Engliſh kings (as Bede. Wil. Malm. and Henric Hunt.) make no mention of this laſt battaile and victorie obteyned by the Brytaynes in maner as aboue is expreſſed in Galfrids booke. But contrarily we finde, that Ethelferd hauing ſuch good ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe abroade as hee coulde wiſhe, vpon purpoſe to auoyde daunger at home, baniſhed Edwin the ſonne of Alla or Elle a yong Gentleman of great towardneſſe, lately

Edwin the ſonne of king Alla baniſhed.

conu

come to the kingdom of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, beeing long toſſed from place to place, and finding no ſtedfaſt friendſhip now in time of his aduerſitie, at length came to Redwalde, that was king at that time of the Eaſt Angles, the thirde from Uffa, as ſucceſſor to Titullus, which Titullus did ſucceede next after the ſayde Uffa, the firſt king of Eaſt Angles (as before is mentioned.

592

This Redwalde did verie honourably intertaine Edwine, inſomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, he was highly diſpleaſed, and ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Redwalde, to requyre him either to deliuer Edwine into his handes, or elſe if he refuſed ſo to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

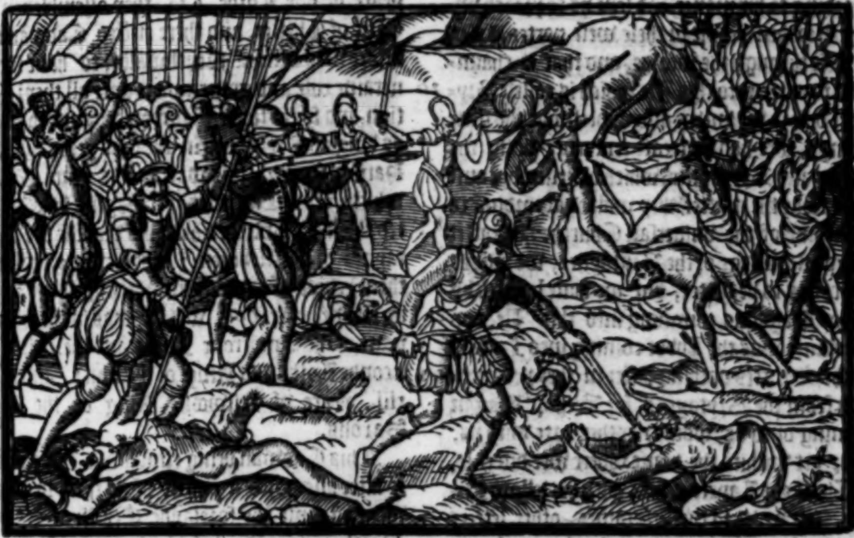
Edelferd.

Redwalde encouraged by his wife (that counſelled him in no wiſe to betray his friende, to whō he had giuen his fayth, for the menaces of his enimie) aſſembled forthwith an armie, and vpon the ſodaine comming vpon Ethelfred, ſet vppon him ere he coulde haue time to aſſemble his people togither. But yet the ſayd Ethelfred, though he was entrapped and brought in daunger at vnwares, he dyed not vnreuenged: for putting himſelfe in defence with ſuch power as he coulde then get togyther, he boldely encountred the enimies, and gyuing battaile, ſlue Remerius the ſonne of Redwalde, and after was ſlaine himſelfe, hauing raigned ouer the Northumbers about .xxiiij. yeares.

617

H.Hunt.

Ethelferd ſlaine.



This battaile was fought neare to the water of Idle.

The ſayde Ethelferd had iſſue by his wyfe Acca the daughter of Alla, and ſiſter to Edwine, two ſonnes, Oſwalde being about two yeares of age, and Oſwyn about foure yeares, the which (their father beeing thus ſlaine) were by helpe of their gouernours, conueyed away into Scotland with all ſpeede that might be made.

Ceobulf king of the Weſt Saxons, after hee had raigned the ſpace of .xij. yeares, departed this life, who in his time had mainteyned great warre agaynſt many of his neghbours, the which for briefeneſſe I paſſe ouer.

Hen.Hunt. Math.VVeſt. hath.34.

One great battaile he fought agaynſt them of Suſſex, in which the armies on both ſides ſuſteyned great domage, but the greater loſſe fell to the South Saxons.

The South Saxons ſuſtaine the greater loſſe.

After the foreſayde Ceobulf raigned Cinegiſcus, or Kingils, whiche was the ſonne of Ceola, that was ſonne to Cutha or Cutwyn, the ſonne of Kenricke, which was ſonne to king Certicke.

Cicegiſcus.

In the fourth yeare of his raigne, he receyued into felowſhip with him in gouernaunce of the kingdome his ſonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and ſo they raigned ioyntly togither in great loue and concorde, a thing ſeldome ſeene or heard of.

VVil.Malm. ſayeth that Onichilinus wa the brother o Cinegiſcus.

They fought with the Brytaynes at Beandune, where at the firſt approch of the battailes togyther, the Brytaynes fled, but to late, for there died of them that were ouertaken .2062.

Beandune, or Beanton.

In this meane time, Laurence Archbiſhop of Canterburie, that ſucceeded next after Auguſtine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is ſayde) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the Church of Englande, the foundation wherof was lately layde by his predeceſſor the foreſayde Auguſtine: and ſtudied not onely for the encreaſe of this new Church, which was gathered of the Engliſhe people, but alſo he was buſie to employ his paſtorlike cure vpon the people that were of the olde inhabitants of Brytaine, and likewiſe of the Scottes that remayned in Irelande: For when he had learned that the Scottes there in ſemblable wiſe as the Brytains

Beda.li.2. cap.4.

in theyr Countrey ledde not theyr lyues in many poyntes according to the Eccleſiaſtical rules, aſwel in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter cōtrarie to the vſe of the Romain church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scottes letters exhortatorie, requyring them moſte inſtauntly to an vnitie of Catholique orders as myght bee agreable with the Church of Chriſt, ſpredde and diſperſed through the worlde.

Theſe letters were not written onely in his owne name, but ioyntly togyther in the name of the Biſhops Melitus and Iuſtus (as thus.)

To our deare brethren, the Biſhops & Abbots through all Scotland, Laurence, Mellitus & Iuſtus, Biſhops, the ſeruants of the ſeruants of God, wiſhe health. Where as the Apoſtolike Sea, (according to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the Heathen people in theſe weſt partes, as otherwiſe through the worlde, and that it chaunced vs to enter into this Ile which is called Brytayne, before we knewe and vnderſtoode the ſtate of things, wee had in greate reuerence bothe the Scottes and Brytaynes, which beleeued, bycauſe (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall Churche: but after we had knowledge of the Brytaynes, we iudged the Scottes to be better, but we haue learned by Byſhop Daganus, comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the Abbot cōming into France, that the Scottes nothing differ in theyr conuerſation from the Brytaynes, for Biſhop Dagan comming vnto vs, would neyther eate with vs, no nor yet within the houſe where wee did eate.

The ſayde Laurence alſo with his fellow Biſhops, did write to the Brytaines, other letters worthie of his degree, doing what hee coulde to confyrme them in the vnitie of the Romaine Church: but it profited little, as appeareth by that which Beda wryteth.

About the ſame tyme, Mellitus the Biſhop of London wente to Rome to commune wyth Pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the the Church of Englande, and was preſent at a Sinode holden by the ſame Pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to bee made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame Sinode, that with ſubſcribing, he might alſo with his authoritie confirme that whiche was there orderly decreed.

This Sinode was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yeare of the Emperour Focas, which was about the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 610.

Mellitus at his returne, brought with him from the Pope, decrees commaunded by the ſayd Pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh Church, with letters alſo directed to the Archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan.

Cadw

king of Brytayne.

After that the Britains had continued about the ſpace almoſte of .xxiiij. yeares without any one ſpecial gouernor, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithence that Careticus was conſtrayned to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentymes not onely agaynſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them agaynſte another, at length in the yeare of our Lorde. 613. they aſſembled in the Citie of Cheſter, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſoueraine rule and gouernment ouer all theyr Nation, and ſo the ſayde Cadwan beganne to raigne as king of Brytaynes in the ſayd yeare. 613. But Hariſon ſayeth, this was in the yeare. 609. in whiche yeare Careticus the Brytiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Brytaynes or Welchmen (whether wee ſhall call them) choſe Cadwane to gouerne them in the foreſayde yeare. 609. whiche was in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Focas, and the .xxj. of the ſeconde Lotharius King of Fraunce, and in the .xiij. yeare of Kilwoolfe King of the Weſt Saxons.

613

This Cadwan being eſtabliſhed King, ſhortly after aſſembled a power of Brytaynes, and went agaynſt the foreſayde Ethelfred King of Northumberlande, who beeing thereof aduertiſed, did aſſociate to him the moſt part of the Saxon Princes, and came forth with his armie to meete Cadwane in the fielde. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tryed the matter by battaile, certayne of theyr friendes trauayled ſo betwixte them for a peace, that in the ende they broughte them to agreement, ſo that Ethelferd ſhould kepe in quiet poſſeſſion thoſe his Countreys beyonde the Ryuer of Humber, and Cadwan ſhould hold all that which belonged as yet to the Brytaines on the ſouth ſide the ſame ryuer.

Galf.Mon.

Thys Couenaunte wyth other touching theyr agreement was confyrmed wyth othes ſolemnlye taken, and pledges therewith delyuered, ſo that afterwardes they continued in good and quiet peace withoute vexing the one the other.

What chaunced afterwardes to Edelfred, yee haue before hearde rehearſed, the whiche for that it ſoundeth more lyke to a truth than that whiche followeth in the Brytiſhe Booke, wee omitte to make further rehearſall, paſſing forth to other doings which fell in the meane ſeaſon, whileſt this Cadwane had gouernment of the Brytaynes, raigning as king ouer them the tearme of .xxij. (or as other haue but .xiij.) yeares, and finally was ſlaine by the Northūbers, as before hath bene, and alſo after ſhall be ſhewed.

ohn.Hard.

In the .viij. yeare after that Cadwan began to raigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the .xxj. yeare after the comming of Auguſtin with his fellowes to preach the fayth of Chriſt here in this Realme: and after that Ethelbert had raigned ouer the Prouince of Kent aboute the tearme of .lvj. yeares (as Bede hath) but there are that haue noted three yeares leſſe: he departed this worlde, as aboue is ſignified, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 617. on the .xxiiij. daye of Februarie, and was buryed in the Ile of Saint Martine, within the Churche of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, without the Citie of Canterburie, where his wife Queene Bartha was alſo buryed, and the foreſayde Archebiſhop Auguſtine that firſt conuerted him to the fayth.

yril.Malm.
eda.li.2.ca.5

Amongeſt other things this King Ethelbert with the aduice of his Councell ordeyned diuerſe lawes and ſtatutes, according to the whiche, decrees of Judgements ſhoulde paſſe: and thoſe decrees hee cauſed to be written in the Engliſhe tongue, which remayned and were in force vnto the dayes of Bede) as he declareth.

And fyrſt it was expreſſed in thoſe lawes, what amendes hee ſhoulde make that ſtale anye thing that belonged to the Churche, to the Byſhop, or to any eccleſiaſticall perſon, willing by all meanes to defend them whoſe doctrine he had receyued.

Ead-
bald.

After the deceaſe of Ethelbert, his ſon Eadbalde ſucceeded in the gouernment of his kingdom of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increaſe of the newe Churche amongeſt the Engliſhe men in thoſe parties: for hee did not onely refuſe to bee baptiſed himſelfe, but alſo vſed ſuche kinde of fornication, as hath not beene heard (as the Apoſtle ſayth) amongeſt the Gentiles, for he tooke to wiſe his mother in lawe, that had beene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, many tooke occaſion to returne to theyr heatheniſh religion, the which whileſt his father raigned, either for the Prince his pleaſure, or for feare to offend him, did profeſſe the Chriſtian fayth.

1.Cor.5.

The Princes example occaſion of euill.

But Eadbalde eſcaped not worthie puniſhment [illegible] for hys euill deſertes, in ſo much that hee was vexed with a certaine kinde of madneſſe, and taken with an vncleane ſpirite.

The foreſayde ſtorme of diſquiet troubling of the Chriſtian Congregation, was afterwardes greatly encreaſed alſo by the death of Sabert, or Sebert King of the Eaſt Saxons, who departing this life to goe to a better, in the bliſſefull kingdome of heauen, left behind him three ſonnes as ſucceſſours in the eſtate of his earthly Kingdome, whiche ſonnes likewyſe refuſed to bee baptiſed.

This Sabert, or Sebert, was conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt, and baptiſed by Mellitus Byſhop of London (as before is mentioned) vnto whome ſome aſcribe the firſt foundation of Weſtminſter Church, but other aſcribe it to Lucius the firſt Chriſten king of the Brytaynes (as before ye haue heard) though there bee alſo that write that the Church was firſt buylded there by a Citizen of London (as before is alſo touched.)

Sebert left behind him in the kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons three ſonnes, named Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, in whome remayned no vertue, no feare of God, nor any reſpect of religion, but eſpecially they hated the profeſſors of the Chriſtian fayth. For after theyr father was dead, they began to fall to theyr olde Idolatrie, the whiche in his life time they ſeemed to haue giuen ouer. But now they openly worſhipped Idols, and gaue libertie to their ſubiects for to do the like.

Ran. Ceſtren.
Beda.li.2.ca.5

Serrerd, Seward, and Sigebert, the ſonnes of Sabert.

And when the Biſhop Mellitus at the ſolemniſing of Maſſe in the Churche diſtributed the Euchariſticall breade vnto the people, they aſked him (as it is ſayde) wherefore he did not delyuer of that bryght white breade vnto them alſo, as well as hee had beene accuſtomed to doe to theyr father Saba, (for ſo they vſed to call hym) vnto whome the Byſhoppe made thys aunſweare: if you wyll bee waſhed in that wholeſome Fountayne wherein youre father was waſhed, ye maye bee partakers of that holye breade whereof hee was partaker, but if you deſpiſe the waſhpoole of lyfe, ye may by no meanes taſte of the breade of ſaluation.

But they offended herewith, replyed in this wiſe: we will not enter into that Fountayne, for wee knowe wee haue no neede thereof: but yet neuertheleſſe we will be refreſhed with that breade.

After this when the[illegible]neſtly and many tymes tolde, that without they woulde be baptiſed, they might not be partakers of the ſacred oblation: At length in a great diſpleaſure they told him, that if he would not conſent vnto them in ſo ſmall a matter, there ſhoulde be no place for him within the boundes of their Dominion. And ſo he was conſtrayned to depart. Wherevpou hee being expulſed, reſorted into Kent, there to take aduice with his fellowe Biſhoppes, Laurence & Juſtus, what was to be done in this ſo weightie a matter.

They finally reſolued vpon this poynt, that it ſhoulde be better for them to returne into theyr Countrey, where with free myndes they might ſerue Almightie God, rather than to remayne amongeſt people that rebelled agaynſt the fayth, without hope to do good amongſt them.

Therefore Mellitus and Juſtus did firſt departe, and went ouer into Fraunce, mynding there to abyde till they might ſee what the ende would be.

The ſonnes of king Sebert ſlaine.

But ſhortly after, thoſe brethren the kings of Eſſex, whiche had expulſed their Byſhoppe in maner aboue ſayde, ſuffered worthily for theyr wicked doings: For going forth to battayle agaynſt the Weſt Saxons, they were ouerthrown and ſlaine togither with all theyr armie, by the two Kings, Kinigils, and Quichelme. But neuertheleſſe, for all that the Authours of the miſchiefe were thus taken away, the people of that Countrey woulde not as yet bee reduced againe from theyr diueliſh worſhipping of falſe Goddes, being eftſoones fallen thereto in that ſeaſon by the encouragement and perillous example of theyr Rulers. Wherefore the Archebiſhop Laurence was in minde alſo to haue followed his fellowes Mellitus and Juſtus: but when he minded to ſet forwarde, he was warned in a dreame, and cruelly ſcourged (as hath beene reported by the Apoſtel ſaint Peter, who reproued him) for that hee would ſo vncharitably forſake his flock, and leaue it in daunger withoute a ſhepherde to keepe the Woolfe from the folde.

The Archbiſhoppe enbolдned by this viſion, and alſo repenting him of his determinatiō, came to king Eadbald, and ſhewed to him his ſtrypes, and the maner of his dreame.

The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heatheniſh worſhipping of Idols, and was baptized, and as muche as in him lay, from thence forth ſuccoured the Congregation of the Chriſtians, and aduaunced the Churche to his power.

He ſent alſo into Fraunce, and called home the Biſhops Mellitus and Juſtus, ſo that Juſtus was reſtored again to his Sea of Rocheſter. But the Eaſt Saxons woulde not receyue Mellitus to his Sea at London, but continued in theyr wicked Mawmetrie in obeying a Biſhop of theyr Pagan lawe, whom they had erected for that purpoſe. Neyther was King Eadbalde of that authoritie and power in thoſe parties, as his father was before, whereby he might conſtrayne them to receyue theyr lawfull Byſhop. But ſurely the ſayde King Eadbalde with his people after hee was once conuerted againe, gaue hymſelfe wholye to obey the lawes of God, and amongeſt other deedes of godly zeale, he buylded a Church of our Ladie at Cantorburie, within the Monaſterie of Saint Peter, afterwardes called Saint Agnes.

Beda li. 2.

This Churche was conſecrated by Mellitus, who after the death of Laurence ſucceeded in gouernaunce of the Archebiſhoppes Sea of Canterburie.

Beda li. 2. ca.

After Mellitus whiche departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Lorde. 624. Juſtus that before was biſhop of Rocheſter, was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and ordeyned one Romanus to the Sea of Rocheſter.

About the ſame tyme, the people of the north partes beyond Humber receyued the fayth, by occaſion (as after ſhall appeare.)

Ye haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberlande was ſlaine in battaile, neare to the water of Idle; by Redwald king of the Eaſt Angles, in fauour of Edwin, whom the ſayd Edelfred had confined oute of hys Dominion. xxiiij. yeares before.

The forſayde Redwald therefore hauing obteyned that victorie, founde meanes to place Edwyne in gouernment of that Kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a tytle therto as ſonne to Alla, or Elle, ſometyme King of Northumberlande.

Edwyn.

Beda li. 2. ca.

This Edwyn proued a ryght valiant prince, and grewe to be of more power than any other King in thoſe dayes of the Engliſh Nation: not onely ruling ouer a great parte of the Countreys inhabited with Engliſhe menne, but alſo with Brytaynes, which Brytaynes inhabyted not onelye in Wales, but alſo as yet in parte of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire, Cumberlande, and alongeſt by the Weſt Sea coaſt in Galloway, and ſo forth euē vnto Dunbrytain in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what Countreys Cadwallo bare rule, of whome ſo often mention is made in this part of the Hyſtorie.

But as concerning Edwyn: his reputation was ſuch, as not onely the Engliſh men, Brytaynes and Scottes, but alſo the Iles of Orkney, and thoſe of Man, and other the Weſt Iles of auncient tyme called *Meuania*, had him in reuerence

Wil. Mal. ma-
keth Menaui
to be Angleſey

uerence, and feared his mightie power, ſo as they durſt not attempt any enterpriſe to the contrarie of him.

It chaunced alſo that ſhortly after king Redwalde had aduaunced him to the Kingdome of Northumberlande, by aboute fiue yeares, the ſame Redwalde deceaſſed, whiche made greatly for the more augmentation of Edwyns power. For the people of the Eaſt Angles, which whileſt Edwyn remayned amongeſt them as a baniſhed man, had conceyued a good opinion of him, for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themſelues to bee wholy at his commaundement.

Carpwaldus.

But Edwyn ſuffering Carpwalde or Erpwalde the ſonne of Redwalde to enioy the bare tytle and name of king of that Countrey, ruled al things at his owne will and pleaſure. Neither was there any Prouince within Brytaine that did not obey him, or was not ready to do him ſeruice (the kingdome of Kent onely excepted) for he ſuffered the Kentiſhmen to liue in quiet, bycauſe he began to haue a lyking vnto the ſiſter of king Eadbald, the Lady Ethelburga, otherwiſe named Tate, or Tace.

Beda lib.2. cap.9.

He made requeſt therefore by ſending Ambaſſadours to hir brother, to haue the ſayde Ladie in mariage: and at length obteyned hir, with condition that ſhee being a Chriſtian woman, might not onely vſe the Chriſtian religion, but alſo that all thoſe, whether men or women, prieſtes or miniſters, which came with hir, might haue licence to doe the ſame, without trouble or impeachment of any maner of perſon. Hereupon ſhe being ſent vnto him, there was appoynted to goe with hir, (beſide many other) one Pauline, which was conſecrated Biſhop by the Archbiſhop Iuſtus, the xxi. of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lorde. 625.

Mat. VVeſt. Beda lib.2. cap.9. 625

At his comming into Northumberlande, thus in companie of Ethelburga, hee trauayled earneſtly in his office, both to preſerue hir and ſuch Chriſtians in the fayth of Chriſt, as were appoynted to giue theyr attendaunce on hir, leaſt they ſhoulde chaunce to fall: and alſo ſought to winne ſome of the Pagans if it were poſſible vnto the ſame fayth, though at the firſt he little profited in that matter.

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the Court of King Edwyn, as then ſoiourning in a Palace whiche ſtoode vppon the ſyde of the Ryuer of Dorwent, being ſent from Quichelme King of the Weſt Saxons, to the intent to murther Edwyn, bycauſe hee had of late ſore endomaged the Countreys of the weſt Saxons.

Other ſay an axe, as Math. VVeſt.

This murtherer was called Eumerus, and caried vnder his cote a ſhort double edged Woodknife enuenoimed of purpoſe, that if the King being but a little hurt therewith, though he dyed not of the wound, yet he ſhould not eſcape the daunger of the poyſon.

Eumerus.

On Easter Monday this Eumerus came to the King, and making ſhewe to him as if he had bene to haue declared ſome meſſage from his Maiſter, when hee had eſpyed his tyme, he drewe this weapon, and aſſayed to ſtryke the King. But one of the Kings ſeruauntes named Lylla, perceyuing thys, ſtept betwixte the King and the blowe. But yet the murtherer ſtroke the ſtroke forwarde wyth ſuche force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lylla, wounded alſo the King a little: and before this murtherer coulde bee beaten downe, he ſlue another of the Kings ſeruaunts, a knight that attended vpon him called Forther.

Eanfled borne.

The ſame night Queene Ethelburga was delyuered of a daughter named Eanfled, for the whiche when King Edwyn gaue thankes vnto his Goddes, in the preſence of Biſhop Paulyne; the Biſhop did admoniſh him, rather to giue thankes vnto the true and onely God, by whoſe goodneſſe it came to paſſe that ŷ Queene was ſafely and without daunger delyuered. The King giuing good eare vnto the Byſhops wholeſome admonition, promiſed at that preſente to become a Chriſtian, if hee myghte reuenge hys iniuryes receyued at the handes of the Weſt Saxons; and to aſſure Pauline that his promiſe ſhoulde take place; hee gaue vnto him hys newe borne daughter to be made holy to the lord, that is to ſay, baptiſed.

The Biſhoppe receyuing hir, on Whitſundaye nexte following baptyſed hir, with twelue other of the Kings houſeholde; ſhee beeyng the fyrſte of the Engliſhe Northumbers that was ſo waſhed in the Fountayne of Regeneration.

In the meane tyme King Edwyn being recouered of his hurt, aſſembled an army, and wente agaynſt the Weſt Saxons, with whom encountring in battaile, he eyther ſlue or brought to his ſubiection all them that had conſpyred his death. And ſo returned as a conquerour into his cuntrye. But yet he delayed time for performance of his promiſe to become a chriſtian: howbeit he had left his doing of ſacriſice to Idols, euer ſince he made promiſe to be baptiſed.

He was a ſage Prince, and before he woulde alter his Religion, he politikely thought good to heare matters touching bothe hys olde Religion, and the Chriſtian Religion throughlye examined.

Beda lib.2. cap.10.

And whileſt he thus hangeth in doubt to whether part he ſhoulde encline, there came letters to him from Pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by ſundrie kinds of gentle perſwaſions, to turne to the worſhipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worſhipping of Mawmets and Idols.

Bede.lib.2. cap.11.

The Pope likewiſe wrote to Queene Ethelburga, praying hir to cōtinue in hir good purpoſe, and by all meanes poſſible to doe what might bee done for the conuerting of hir huſbande vnto the fayth of Chriſt.

A viſion.

But the thing that moſt moued the king, was a viſion which ſometime he had while hee remained as a baniſhed man in the Court of Redwald king of the Eaſt Angles, as thus:

Bede.cap.12.

After that king Ethelfred was informed howe that the foreſayde Redwalde had receyued Edwin, he ceaſſed not by his Ambaſſadours to moue Redwalde eyther to deliuer Edwyn into hys handes, or elſe to make him away.

At length by often ſending, and promiſes made of large ſummes of money, mixed with threatnings, he obteyned a graunt of his ſuyte, ſo that it was determined that Edwyn ſhoulde eyther bee murthered, or elſe deliuered into his enimyes handes.

One of Edwynes friendes hauing intelligence hereof, in the night ſeaſon came to Edwyns Chamber, and taking him forth abroade, tolde him the whole practiſe, and what was purpoſed agaynſt him, offering to helpe him out of the countrey, if he would ſo aduenture to eſcape.

The honorable conſideration of Edwin.

Edwyne being wonderouſly amazed, thanked his friend, but refuſed yet to depart the Countrey, ſith hee had no iuſt cauſe outwardly giuen to play ſuche a ſlipper parte, chooſing rather to ieoparde his lyfe wyth honour, than to giue men cauſe to thinke that hee had firſt broken promiſe with ſuch a Prince as Redwalde was, to whom he had giuen his fayth.

Hereupon his friende departing from him, left him ſitting without the doores: where after hee had reuolued many things in his mind, & thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceyued one to come towards him vnknowne, & in ſtrange apparell, ſeeming to him in euery poynt a ſtraunger, at which ſight for that he could not imagine who he ſhoulde be, Edwyn was much afrayde: but the man comming to him ſaluted him, and aſked of him what he made there that time of the night when other were at reſt. Edwyn on the other part aſked what hee had to doe therewith, and whether he vſed to lie abrode in the night, or within houſe: who aunſwering ſayde: Thinke not Edwyn that I am ignorant of thy heauineſſe, of thy watching, and this thy ſolitarie ſitting here withoute doores. For I knowe who thou art, wherefore thou art thus penſife, and what euilles thou feareſt to be towardes thee at hande. But tell me, what wouldeſt thou giue him, that coulde deliuer thee out of this heauineſſe, and perſwade Redwalde that hee ſhoulde neyther do thee hurt nor delyuer thee to thine enimyes? Herewith when Edwyn ſayde, that he woulde gladly giue all that in him might lye to ſuche a one in rewarde: the other added: what wouldſt thou thē giue, if he ſhould promiſe in good ſooth that (all thy enimies beeing deſtroyed) thou ſhouldeſt be king, and that thou ſhouldeſt paſſe in power all the Kings whiche haue raigned in the Engliſh nation before thy time?

Edwyn then beyng better come to himſelfe by ſuch demaundes, did not ſticke to promiſe that he would requite his friendſhip with worthy thanks.

Then replyed he to his wordes and ſayde: If he that ſhall prophecie to thee this good happe to come ſhall alſo be able to enfourme thee ſuch cōſail for thy health & life as neuer any of thy forefathers or kinſfolke yet haue heard, wouldeſt thou obey him, and conſent to receiue his wholſom aduertiſement? Whervnto without further deliberation Edwin promiſed, that he would in all points folow the inſtruction of him that ſhoulde deliuer him out of ſo many and greate calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which anſwere being got, this perſon that thus talked with him, layde his hande vppon his heade, ſaying, when thys therefore ſhall chaunce to thee, bee not forgetfull of this tyme, nor of this communication, and thoſe things that thou nowe doeſt promiſe, ſee thou perfourme. And therewyth he vaniſhed away, ſo that Edwin might well perceyue it was no manne but a viſion that thus had appeared vnto him.

And as he ſatte ſtill reioyſing of this comfortable talke, but yet thoughtfull in his mynde what he ſhoulde be, or from whence he came that had talked in this ſort with him. Beholde hys friende returned that firſt had brought him forth of his Chamber, and declared vnto hym good newes, howe the King by the perſwaſion of the Queene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteyne his quarell to the vttermoſt of his power: and ſo hee did in deede: for wyth all diligence hee rayſed an armie, and went agaynſt Edelfride, vanquiſhed him in battaile, and placed Edwyn in the Kingdome (as before ye haue hearde.)

Herevpon whileſt King Edwyn (as before is mentioned) deferred tyme ere he would receyue the Chriſtian fayth, Paulyne one daye came vnto him as he ſate muſing what hee were beſt to do, and layd his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne: wherevpon when the King would haue fallen downe at his feete, he lift him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus ſayd vnto him: Behold, by the aſſiſtance of Gods fauour thou haſt eſcaped the handes of thyne enimyes, whom thou ſtoodeſt in dread of: Behold through hys bounteous liberalitie, thou haſt atteyned the Kingdome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that thou delay not tyme to perfourme the thirde thing that thou diddeſt promiſe, in receyuing his fayth, and keeping his cõmaundements, which deliuering thee from worldly aduerſities, hath thus aduaunced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth forth & preacheth to thee and other, he will deliuer thee from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker wyth him in his celeſtiall kingdome.

It is to be thought that the viſion which the K. had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirite reuealed vnto Pauline, wherevpon without delay of time he put him in remembraunce of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his wordes, anſwered, that he would & ought to receyue the fayth which he taught, but firſt he woulde conferre with hys nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time.

Elwyn conſulteth with his nobles.

The anſwere of an heathen Biſhop.

Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as hee had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Paulyn, vnto whom his chief Biſhop named Coifi, incõtinently made this anſwere, that ſurely the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth. For ſayth he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerently worſhipped our Gods than I haue done, and yet be there many that haue receyued farre greater benefites at thy handes than I haue done: and therefore if our Goddes were of any power, then would they rather helpe me to high honoures and dignitie than others.

Therefore if it may be founde that this newe Religion is better and more auaileable than oure olde, let vs wyth all ſpeede embrace the ſame. Finally, when other of the Kings Counſayle and men of high authoritie gaue theyr conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receyued, if therein appeared more certaintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openly to preach the Goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſeth the chriſtian fayth.

Pauline licenced to preach the Goſpell.

And when he demaunded of his Biſhop Coifi who ſhoulde firſt deface the aulters of their Idols and the inclosures with the whiche they were compaſſed about, he anſwered, that hee himſelfe would do it. For what is more meete (ſayth hee) thã that I, which through fooliſhneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould nowe for example ſake deſtroy the ſame, through wiſedome giuen me from the true & liuing God? And ſtreight wayes throwing away the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapõs of the king, with a ſtoned horſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroy the Idols.

This was a ſtraunge ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull to the Biſhop of their lawe to put on armour, or to ride on any beaſt, except it were a Mare. He hauing therefore a ſworde gyrde to him, toke a ſpeare in his hande, and riding on the kings horſe, went to the place where the Idols ſtode. The common people that behelde him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wittes: but hee without longer deliberation, incontinently vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, and reioyſing greatly in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commaunded his company to deſtroy and burne downe the ſame temple with all the aulters.

This place where ỹ Idols were ſomtime worſhipped was not farre from Yorke, towardes the Eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gormundin Gaham, where the foreſayd Biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroyed thoſe aulters which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwyn therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great nũber of his people, receyued the faith and were baptized, in the yeare of our Lorde. 627. in the tenth yeare of his raigne, and about the 178 yeare after the firſt comming of the Engliſh men into this lande. Hee was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter day (which fel that yere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the Church of S. Peter the Apoſtle, which hee had cauſed to bee erected vp of timber vpon the ſodaine for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foũdation of the ſame church in ſtone worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that Oratorie which hee had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he coulde finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall bee ſhewed) leauing it to be performed of his ſucceſſor Oſwalde. Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſixe yeares after, in preaching the goſpel in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the fayth of Chriſt, amongeſt the whiche were Oſfride, and Eadfride, the ſonnes of Edwyn which he begat in tyme of his baniſhment, of his wife

King Edwyn with his people receyue the chriſtian fayth.

Beda li. 2. cap. 14.

627.

Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus King of Mercia. Alſo afterwardes his children begot on his ſeconde wife Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſon called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis: and another ſonne called Buſſcea, of the which the two firſt died in theyr Cradels, and were buryed in the Church at Yorke. To bee briefe: by the kings aſſyſtance and fauour ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lorde, greate multitudes of people dayly receyued the fayth, and were baptiſed of Pauline in manye places, but ſpecially in the Ryuer of Gleny wythin the Prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in Swale in the Prouince of Deira: For as yet in the begynning thus of the Church in thoſe Countreys, no temples or fountes coulde be buylded or erected in ſo ſhort a time.

Ediltrudis.

Of ſuch great zeale was Edwyn (as it is reported) towards the ſetting forth of Gods truth, that hee perſwaded Carpwalde the Sonne of Redwalde King of the Eaſtangles to abandon the ſuperſtitious worſhypping of Idolles, and to receyue the fayth of Chriſt with all hys whole Prouince.

This chaunced in the yeare 632 as hath *Math. VVeſt.*

His father Redwalde was baptiſed in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counſayle of his wife and other wicked perſons, he was ſeduced, and being turned from the ſincere puritie of fayth, his laſt doings were worſſe than his fyrſt, ſo that according to the manner of the olde Samaritanes, he woulde ſeeme both to ſerue the true God, and his falſe Goddes (which before time he had ſerued) and in one ſelfe Churche, had at one time both the Sacraments of Chriſt miniſtred at one aulter, and Sacrifice made vnto Diuels at another.

Redwald king of Eaſtangles baptiſed.

Carpwalde woulde ſerue God and the diuell.

But Carpwalde within a while after he had receyued the fayth, was ſlaine by one of his owne Countrey men that was an Ethnicke, called Richbert, and then after his death, that Prouince for the terme of three yeares was wrapped eftſoones in errour, tyll that Sybert, or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwalde, a moſte Chryſtian Prince, and verie well learned, obteyned the rule of that kingdome, who whileſt hee liued a baniſhed man in France during his brothers life time, was baptiſed there, and became a Chriſtian: and when he came to be king, hee cauſed all his Prouince to be partaker of the ſame fountaine of life wherein he had beene dipped himſelfe.

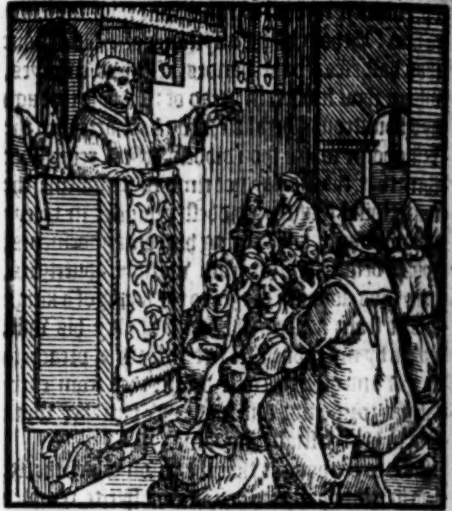
Sibert or Sigibert.

Vnto his godly purpoſe alſo, a Biſhop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the Archebiſhop of Canterburie Honorius that was ſucceſſour vnto Iuſtus, and declaring vnto him his earneſt deſire, was ſent by the ſame Archbiſhop to preache the worde of life vnto the Eaſtangles, which he did with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that he conuerted the whole countrey to the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, and placed the ſea of his Biſhoprike at Dunwich, ending the courſe of his life there in peace, after he had continued in that his Biſhoprike office the ſpace of .xvij. yeares.

A Biſho
deyned a
Dunwi

Moreouer Pauline after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, hee preached the worde of God vnto them of Lindſey, whiche is a parte of Lincolnſhire: and firſt he perſwaded one Blecca the gouernor of the Citie of Lincoln to turne vnto Chriſt togither with all his familie.

Beda li.
cap. 16.



This chaunc
in the yeare
628. as hath
Mat. VVeſ

In that Citie he alſo buylded a Churche of ſtone worke.

Thus Pauline trauailed in the worke of the lord, the ſame being greatly furthered by the help of Edwin, in whoſe preſence he baptiſed a greate number of people in the riuer of Trent, neare to a towne the which in the olde Engliſh tongue was called *Tiovulfingaceſter.* This Pauline had with him a deacon named Iames, the which ſhewed himſelfe verie diligent in the miniſterie, and profited greatly therein.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verily of worthy fame, and for the polytike ordering of his Countreys and obſeruing of iuſtice, deſerued highly to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high way were ſo baniſhed out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne childe alone withoute other companie might haue trauayled from ſea to ſea, and not haue encountred with any creature that durſt once haue offered hir iniurie.

VVil.Malm

He was alſo verie carefull for the aduauncement of the commoditie and common wealth of his people, inſomuch that where there were any ſweete and cleare water Springs, hee cauſed poſtes to bee ſet vppe, and Iron diſhes to be faſtned thereto wyth Chaynes, that wayfaryng men might haue the ſame readie at hand to drink wyth: and there was none ſo hardye as to

Mat.VVeſ.
Beda.lib.2.
cap.16.

touch the ſame but for that vſe: he vſed whereſoeuer he went within the Cities or elſewhere abrode, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of Iuſtice to be miniſtred by hys royall authoritie.

Beda.li.2. cap.17.

In the meane ſeaſon, Pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receyued the fayth (as before is mencioned) at the preaching of Pauline, ſent vnto the ſayde Pauline the Pall, confirming him Archbiſhop in the Sea of Yorke.

He ſent alſo letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherly aduice, to continue and procede in the waye of vnderſtanding, into the which he was entred.

A decree concerning the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Yorke.

At the ſame time alſo, bycauſe Iuſtus the Archbiſhop of Canterburie was deade, and one Honorius elected to that Sea, Pope Honorius ſente vnto the foreſayde Honorius the elect Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, his Pall, with letters, wherein was conteyned a decree by him made, that when eyther the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie or Yorke chaunced to depart thys life, he that ſuruiued ſhould haue authoritie to ordeyne another in place of him that was deceaſſed, that they ſhoulde not neede to wearie themſelues with going to Rome, beeing ſo farre diſtant from them. The copie of whiche letter is regyſtred in the Eccleſiaſticall Hyſtorie of Beda, bearing date the thirde Ides of Iune in the yeare of our Lorde.633.

The feaſt of Eaſter.

The hereſie o
the Pelagians

The ſame Pope ſent letters alſo to the Scottiſh people exhorting them to celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter in ſuch due time as other Churches of the Chriſtian world obſerued: and alſo bycauſe the hereſie of the Pelegians beganne to renue againe amongeſt them, (as he was enformed) hee admoniſhed them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoyde it.

Cadwallin, o
Cadwallo ki
of Brytayne.

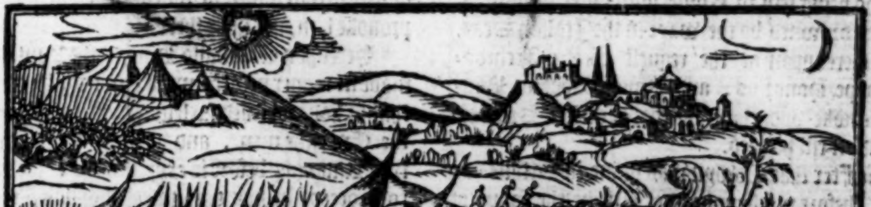
But now that the Kingdome of Northumberland flouriſhed (as before is partly touched) in happie ſtate vnder the proſperous raigne of Edwyn, at length after he had gouerned it the ſpace of .xvij. yeares, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo King of Brytaynes, who ſucceeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. hath, rebelled agaynſt him: for ſo it commeth to paſſe, that nothing can be ſo ſure cōfyrmed by mans power, but the ſame by the lyke power may be againe deſtroyed.

Penda king
Mercia.

King Edwin ſlaine.

Mat. VVe

Penda king of Mercia enuying the proſperous proceedings of king Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion againſt Edwin: & ioyning his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the coūtrey of Northūberland ioyntly togither. Edwyn hereof aduertiſed, gathered his people, and came to encounter them, ſo that both the armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a right ſore and bloudie battaile. But in the end Edwin was ſlain with one of his ſonnes named Oſfrid, and his army beaten downe & diſperſed. Alſo there was ſlain on Edwyns part, Godbald K. of Orkney. Moreouer there was another of Edwyns ſonnes named Edfride, conſtrayned of neceſſitie to gyue himſelf into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruelly put to death (contrarie to his promiſed fayth) in king Oſwaldes dayes, that ſucceeded Edwyn.



Mat. VVe

Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battaile, fought at Hatfield aforeſayde, on the fourth Ides of October, in the yeare of our Lorde.633. hee beeing then aboute the age of .xlviij. yeares and vpwardes.

Cadwal and Penda hauing obteyned this victorie, vſed it moſt cruelly. For one of the Captaynes was a Pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, ſhewed hymſelfe more cruell than any Pagan coulde haue done. So that Penda beeing a worſhipper of falſe Goddes with all his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no

The crueltie f Penda and adwallo.

reſpect to the chriſtian religion which lately was begonne amongſt the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not ſparing man, woman nor childe: and ſo continued in their furious outrage a long time, in paſſing through the countrey, to the great decay and calamitie of the chriſtian congregations in thoſe parties. And ſtill the Chriſtian Brytaines were leſſe mercifull than Penda his heatheniſh ſouldiers. For euē vnto the dayes of Beda (as he affyrmeth) the Brytains made no account of the fayth or religion of the Engliſhmen, nor would communicate with them more than with Pagans, bycauſe they differed in rites from their accuſtomed traditions.

he Archbi- op Pauline eeth into ent.

When the countrey of the Northumbers was brought into this miſerable caſe by the enimies inuaſion, the Archbiſhop Pauline taking wyth him the Queen Ethelburga, whō he had brought thither, returned nowe againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honourably receyued of the Archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Baſſus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, & Vulfrea the ſon of Edwyn and alſo Yffi the ſon of Oſfride Edwins ſonne, whō their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold & Oſwald did ſend into France, where they died.

The Church of Rocheſter at that time was deſtitute of a Biſhop, by the death of Romanus, who being ſent to Rome vnto Pope Honorius, was drowned by the waye in the Italian Seas. Whereuppon at the requeſt of the Archebyſhoppe Honorius, and King Eadbald, Pauline tooke vpon hym the charge of that Sea, and helde it till he dyed.

eda lib.3. p.1. ſrike king Deira.

After that Edwyn was ſlaine in battaile (as before yee haue hearde) Oſrike the ſonne of his Vncle Elfricke, tooke vpon hym the rule of the Kingdome of Deira, which had receyued the ſacrament of Baptiſme by the preaching and vertuous inſtruction of Pauline.

ufred king of rnicia.

But the other kingdome of Northumberlande called Bernicia, Eaufride the ſonne of Edelfred or Edelfride, tooke vpon him to gouerne.

This Eaufride during the time of Edwins raigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth was baptiſed. But both theſe Princes after they had obteyned poſſeſſion of theyr earthly kingdomes, dyd forget the care of the heauenly kingdome, ſo that they returned to their olde kind of Idolatrie. But the almightie God did not long ſuffer this theyr vnthankfulneſſe without iuſt puniſhment: for firſt in the next Sommer, when Oſrike had raſhlye beſieged Cadwallo King of the Brytaynes, within a certayne Towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon hym, and fynding him vnprouided to make reſyſtance, ſlue him with all his armie.

he two kings Northum- rland ſlain.

And after thys, whileſt Cadwallo not like a Conquerour gouerned the Prouynces of the Northumbers, but lyke a Tyran waſted and deſtroyed them, in ſlaying the people in tragicall manner, hee alſo ſlue Eaufride, the whiche with twelue menne of warre, came vndiſcreetely vnto him to ſue for peace, and thus within leſſe than twelue Monethes ſpace both theſe renegate kings were diſpatched.

Then Oſwalde, the ſonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foreſayde Eaufride was created K. of the Northumbers, the firſt in number from Ida.

Oſwald beganne his raigne in the yeare.635. Beda lib.3. cap.3.

This Oſwalde after that his father was ſlaine, liued as a baniſhed perſon a long time within Scotlande, where he was baptiſed, and profeſſed the chriſtiā religion, and paſſed the flower of his youth in good exerciſes, both of minde and bodie.

Amongſt other things, he practiſed the vnderſtanding of warlike knowledge, minding ſo to vſe it, as it might ſtande him in ſteade to defende himſelfe from iniurie of the enimies that ſhoulde prouoke him, and not otherwiſe.

Hereupon Cadwallo King of the Brytayns made in maner no account of him: for by reaſon that he had atchieued ſuch great victories agaynſt the Engliſhe men, and hauing ſlaine theyr two Kings (as before is expreſſed) he ceaſſed not to proceede in hys tyrannicall doyngs, reputing the Engliſhe people for ſlouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boaſting that he was borne to their deſtruction.

And thus being ſet vp in pryde of courage, he feared no perilles, but boldely withoute conſidering at al the ſkilful knowledge which Oſwald had ſufficiently learned in feates of warres, tooke vppon hym to aſſayle the foreſayde Oſwalde, that had broughte an armie agaynſt hym, and was encamped in a playne fielde, neare vnto the Wall whiche the Romaines had buylded in tymes paſt agaynſt the inuaſion of Scottes and Pictes.

Cadwallo ſtraight prouoked Oſwald to trye the matter by battaile, but Oſwalde forbare the firſt day, and cauſed a Croſſe to bee erected in the ſame place where he was encamped, in full hope that it ſhould be an enſigne or trophy of his victorie, cauſing all ſouldiers to make their prayers to God, that in time of ſuch neceſſitie it might pleaſe him to ſuccour them that worſhipped him.

It is ſayde, that the Croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhoulde be ſet, he tooke the Croſſe in his owne handes, and putting the foote thereof into that hole, ſo helde it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: And then cauſed al the ſouldiers to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtãce agaynſt ẏ proud enimie, with whõ they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarel for the preſeruation of their people & countrey.

After this, in the next morning he boldly giueth battaile to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight enſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceyued that the Brytaynes beganne ſomewhat to faint, and therfore he cauſed his people to renue their force, and more luſtily to preaſſe forwarde, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe, ouertooke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called

Beda.
VVil. Malm.

Deniſſeborne, but the place where hee cauſed the Croſſe to be erected, height Heuenfield.

And thus Cadwallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: He was terrible both in nature & countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Brytaynes did afterwards ſet vp his Image, that the ſame might bee a terrour to the enimies when they ſhoulde beholde it.

But here is to bee remembred by the Brytiſh Hiſtorie of Gal. Mon. it ſhoulde appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but raigned victoriouſly for the ſpace of. xlviij. yeares, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appeare. But for that the contrarietie in wryters in ſuch poyntes may ſooner be perceyued than reformed to the ſatiſfying of mennes fancies whiche are variable, wee will leaue euery man to his libertie to thinke as ſeemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſitie of ſuche wryters, as occaſion ſerueth.

Penda.
636

Penda the ſon of Wilba ſucceeded in the gouernmẽt of the kingdom of Mercia, after Ciarlus, & beganne hys raigne in the yeare of oure Lord. 636. He was fiftie yeares of age before he came to bee king, and raigned. xxx. yeares, he was a Prince right hardie and aduenterous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured & readie of remembrance in time of greateſt peril. His body could not be ouercome with any trauaile, nor his mind vanquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe, but theſe his vertues were matched with notable vyces, as firſt with ſuch bitterneſſe of maners as had not beene heard of, crueltie of nature, lack of curteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the Chriſtian religion.

Vpon confidence put in theſe his great vertues and vices from time that he was made king as though the whole Ile had beene due to him, he thought not good to let any occaſion paſſe that was offered to make warre, as well agaynſt his friendes and confederates, as alſo agaynſt hys owne ſworne enimyes. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter.

Of the kings of the Eaſt Saxons and Eaſt Angles, ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient yee ſhall finde further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the South Saxons: but bycauſe theyr kingdome continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, little remembrance of them is made by wryters.

Cadwallo or Cadwalline.

Cadwallo, or Cadwalline.
635

Cadwallo, or Cadwallint, for we finde him ſo alſo named, began his raigne ouer the Britains in the yere of our Lord. 635. in the yeare of the raign of the Emperour Heraclius. 35. and in the. xiij. yeare of Dagobert king of France.

Of this man ye haue heard partly before touching his dealings and warres agaynſt the Northumbers, and other of the Engliſh Nation: but forſomuch as diuerſe other things are reported of him by the Brytiſh wryters, wee haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we finde written, leauing the credite ſtill with the authour, ſith the truth thereof may the more be ſuſpected, bycauſe other Authours of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malm. and other, ſeeme greatly to diſagree from him herein. But thus is it written.

Edwin was not ſonne to Ethelfred but to Alla, or Elle, as in other places it plainly ap-

This Cadwallo, and Edwyn the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſayth, were brought vp in Fraunce, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Brytaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong: and that after their returne into thys lande, when they were made kings, Cadwall of the Brytaynes, and Edwyne of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yeares great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwyn requyred of Cadwallo that he might weare a Crowne, and celebrate appoynted ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberlande, as well as Cadwall did in his Countrey. Cadwall taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſwaſion of his nephew Brian, denied to graunt vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherwith Edwin tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwall, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willingly graunt it: wherunto Cadwal anſwered, that if he ſo did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare any within the cõfines of Britain. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioyning in battail with their maine armies, Cadwall loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed, fled into Scotlande, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Brytain Armorike, where of his couſin king Salomon he was curteouſly receyued, and at length obteyned of him .x.M. men to go with him backe into his cũtry to aſſiſt him in recouery of his lãds and dominions, the which in the mean time were cruelly ſpoiled, waſted, & haried by king Edwin.

Cadwallo quiſhed by Edwyn.

Cadwallo fleeth the lande.

The ſame time, Brian the nephew of Cadwallo whom he had ſent into Britain a little before for to ſlea a certaine wiſard or ſouthſayer, which K. Edwin had gottẽ out of Spain, named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin greatly hindred Cadwalloes enterpriſes, had fortified the Citie of Exeter, meaning to defende it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherupon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that Citie with a mightie armie, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediatly after his arriuall haſted to Exeter, and deuiding his people into foure parts, ſet vpon his enimies, & tooke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelf wholy vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegemã, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarell. And this Penda being ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abrode a long ſeaſon, and with all ſpeede went agaynſt Edwyn king of Northumberlande, and ſlue him in battaile at Hatfielde (as before is mencioned) with his ſonne Oſfride, and Godbold, king of the Iles of Orkney, which was come thither to his ayde.

By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the raignes of the Brytiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwyn was ſlayne in the yeare of our Lorde.634.

634

And where Fabian (as before is ſayd) attrybuteth that acte & diuerſe other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda, with the moſt part of all other wryters, ſignifie that it was done by Cadwallo.

Herding aſſigneth but. xiij. yeares vnto the raigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 636. in the which yeare as he ſayeth) Cadwallo began his raigne, which his opinion ſeemeth beſt to agree with that which is written by other authors.

But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we finde them recorded in the Brytiſhe Hyſtorie.

After hee had got this victorie agaynſte the Northumbers, he cruelly purſued the Saxons, as though he ment ſo farre as in him lay, to deſtroye the whole race of them oute of the landes of all Brytayne: and ſending Penda agaynſt King Oſwalde that ſucceeded Edwin, though at the firſt Penda receyued the ouerthrowe at Heauenfielde, yet afterwardes Cadwallo hymſelfe highlye diſpleaſed with that chaunce, purſued Oſwalde, and fought with hym at a place called Bourne, where Penda ſlue the ſayd Oſwalde.

Oſwald ſlaine.

After that Oſwalde was ſlayne, his brother Oſwinus ſucceeded him in gouernment of the Northumbers, and ſought the fauour of Cadwallo, now ruling as King ouer all Brytayne, and at length by great gyftes of golde and ſiluer, and vppon his humble ſubmiſſion, hee obteyned peace, tyll at length vpon a ſpyte, Penda King of Mercia obteyned lycence of Cadwallo to make warres agaynſt the ſayde Oſwinus, in the which (as it happened) Penda himſelfe was ſlaine.

Oſwy.
Math. VVeſt.
654

Then Cadwallo after two yeres graunted that Vlfridus the ſonne of Penda ſhoulde ſucceede in the kingdome of Mercia.

And thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appoyntment within this lande, And finally when he had raigned. xlviij. yeares, hee departed thys lyfe the. xxij. of Nouember.

678
676. ſayth
Mat. VVeſt.

His bodie being embalmed and dreſſed with ſweet confections, was put into a braſen Image, by maruellous arte melted and caſt, the whiche Image beeing ſet on a braſen Horſe of excellente beautie, the Brytaynes erected aloft vppon the Weſt gate of London called Ludgat, in ſigne of his victorious conqueſtes, and for a terror to the Saxons.

And moreouer the Church of Saint Martine ſtanding vnderneath the ſame gate, was by the Brytains then builded.

Thus haue the Brytaynes made mention of theyr valiaunt Prince Cadwallo, but diuerſe men thinke that much of that Hyſtorie is but fables, bycauſe of the diſſonance founde therein ſo manifeſtly varying both from Beda and other autentike wryters (as before I haue ſayde.)

The true hyſtorie of king Oſwalde.

But nowe to the truth of the Hyſtorie touching Oſwalde King of the Northumbers, wee finde after that he had taſted of Gods high fauor extended to hymwardes, in vanquiſhing hys enimyes, as one mynding to be thankfull therefore, was deſirous to reſtore agayne the Chriſtian fayth through hys whole Kingdome, ſore lamenting the decaye thereof wythin the ſame, and therefore euen in the beginning of his raigne, he ſente vnto Donwalde the Scottiſhe King (with whome hee had beene brought vp in tyme of his baniſhment the ſpace of. xviij. yeares) requiring him to haue ſome learned Scottiſh man ſent vnto him, ſkilfull in preaching the wordes of lyfe, that with godly Sermons and wholeſome inſtructions, hee might conuerte the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promiſing to entertaine him with ſuch prouiſion as apperteyned.

Oſwald meaneth to bee thankfull to God for his benefites.
Beda. li. 3. ca. 3. 5. 6.
Hector. Bo.

Corman.

At his inſtance there was ſent vnto him one Corman, a Clerke ſingularly well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted ſuch facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waye of gentle perſwading, as is requiſite in him that ſhal inſtruct the ſimple, onely ſetting forth in his Sermons high myſteries, & matters of ſuch profounde knowledge, as vneth the verie learned might perceyue the perfect ſenſe and meaning of his talke, his trauaile came to ſmall effect, ſo that after a yeares remayning there, he turned into his countrey declaring amongeſt his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberlande was a froward, ſtubburn & ſtiffe harted generatiõ, whoſe minds he could not frame by any good meanes of perſwaſion to receiue the chriſtian faith: ſo that he iudged it loſt labor to ſpende more time amongſt them being ſo vnthankfull & intractable a people, as no good might be done vpon them.

Aydan.

Amongſt other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chaunced one to be there preſent at the ſame time called Aydan, a man of ſo perfite life, that (as Beda wryteth) he taught no otherwiſe than he liued, hauing no regarde to the cares of this worlde, but whatſoeuer was giuẽ him by kings or men of welth and riches, that he freely beſtowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the lyke.

This Aydane hearing Cormans wordes, perceiued anon that the fault was not ſo much in the people, as in the teacher, & therefore declared, ẏ (as he thought) although it were ſo that the people of Northũberland gaue no ſuch attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Cormã, as his godly expectation was they ſhould haue done, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer many myſtical articles amongſt thẽ, far aboue the capacity of the vnderſtanding of ſimple men, was ẏ cauſe why they ſo lightly regarded his diuine inſtructions, whereas if he had (according to the counſaile

aint Paules
ounſaile.

of Saint Paule) at the firſt miniſtred vnto theyr tender vnderſtādings, only milke without harder nouriſhments, he might happely haue wonne a farre greater number of them vnto the receyuing of the faythe, and ſo haue framed them by lyttle and lyttle to haue diſgeſted ſtronger foode. And therefore hee thought it neceſſarie in diſcharge of theyr duetyes towardes God, and to ſatiſfie the earneſt zeale of King Oſwalde, that ſome one amongeſt them myght bee appoynted to goe againe into Northumberlande, to trie by proceeding in this maner afore alledged, what profite woulde thereof enſue.

The Byſhoppes hearing the opinion of Aydane, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to bee as Aydane had declared, and therevppon not onely allowed his wordes, but alſo willed him to take the iourney vppon him, ſithe they knewe none ſo able, with effect to accompliſh theyr wiſhed deſires in that behalfe.

ydan com-
meth into
ngland to
reach the
oſpell.

Aydane for that he would not ſeeme to refuſe to take that in hande whiche he himſelfe had mocioned, was contented to ſatiſfie their requeſt, and ſo ſet forwarde towardes Northumberland, and comming thither, was ioyfully receyued of King Oſwalde, who appoynted him the Ile of Lindeſfarne wherein to place the Sea of his newe Biſhoprike.

eda.li.3.ca.3:
Hector.Bo.

This Aydane in one point varied from the vſe of the new begon Church of England, that is to witte, touching the time of obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter, in like maner as all the Biſhoppes of the Scottes and Pictes inhabiting within Brytaine in thoſe dayes did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holy and prayſe worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited in the South partes of Irelande, alreadie were agreed to obſerue that feaſt, according to the rules of the Church of Rome. But Aydane being thus come into Northumberlande, applyed himſelf ſo earneſtly in prayer and preaching, that the people had him within ſhort whyle in wonderfull eſtimation, chiefely for that hee tempered his preachings with ſuche ſweete and pleaſaunt matter, that all men had a great deſire to heare him, inſomuche that ſometyme hee was glad to preache abrode in Churche yardes, bycauſe the audience was more than coulde haue rowmth in the Church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfite knowledge of the Saxons tongue. But Oſwald himſelfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who beeing of nothing ſo much deſirous, as to haue the fayth of Chriſt rooted in the heartes of his ſubiects, vſed as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon tongue, ſuch whole Sermons as Aydan vttered in his mother tongue. For Oſwalde hauing beene brought vp (as ye haue heard) in Scotlande during the time of his baniſhment, was as readie in the Scottiſhe, as he was in the Saxon tongue.

Beda.
Oſwalde an
interpreter to
the preacher.

The people then ſeeing the kings earneſt deſire in furthering the doctrine ſet forth by Aydan, were the more inclined to heare it: ſo then it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dayly offred themſelues to be baptiſed, inſomuch that within the ſpace of ſeauen dayes (as is left in wryting) he chriſtened. xv. thouſande perſons, of the whiche no ſmall parte forſaking the world, betooke thēſelues to a ſolitarie kind of life.

Hec. Boe.

Thus by his earneſt trauail in continuall preaching and ſetting forth the Goſpell in that countrey, it came to paſſe in the ende, that the faith was generally receyued of all the people, and ſuch zeale to aduaunce the glorie of the Chriſtian Religion dayly increaſed amongeſt them, that no where could be found greater.

Oſwaldes
zeale to ad-
uaunce reli-
gion.

Herevpon were no ſmall number of Churches buylt in all places abrode in thoſe parties by procurement of the king, (all men liberally cōſenting according to the rate of their ſubſtance) to be contributaries towardes the charges.

By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flouriſhed, as well in fame of increaſe in religion, as alſo in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inſomuch that (as Bede writeth) Oſwald atteyned to ſuche power, that all the nations and prouinces within Brytaine which were deuided into four tongues (that is to ſay) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Engliſhmen, were at his cōmaundement. But yet was he not lift vp in any pride or preſumption, but ſhewed himſelfe maruaylous curteous and gentle, and very liberal to poore people, and to ſtraungers.

Beda.li.3.ca.6.

Oſwaldes
eſtimation
with his neigh-
bours.

It is ſayde that he being ſet at the table vpon an Eaſter day, hauing Biſhop Aydan at dinner then with him, his Almoner came in as ẏ Biſhop was about to ſay grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks ſet before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith tooke a ſiluer diſh which was ſet on the table before him with meate & cōmanded the ſame meat ſtreightways to be deſtributed amongſt the poore, and the diſh broken into ſmall peeces, & deuided amongſt thē: for which act he was highly commended of the Biſhop, as he well deſerued.

By the good pollicie and diligent trauaill of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variaunce, were brought to peace and made one.

Beda.li.3.ca.7.
Birinus con-
uerteth the weſt
Saxons to the
chriſtian faith.

About the ſame time, the Weſt Saxons were conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth, by the preaching of one Birinus a Biſhop, the whiche came into this lande at the exhortation of Pope

Honorius, to ſet forthe the Goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By his diligent trauell in the Borders thereof, Cynigilſus or Kynigils one of the Kings of that countrey receyued the faithe, and was baptiſed about the fiue and twentith yeare of his raigne. King Oſwald that ſhould haue his daughter in marriage, was preſent the ſame time, & firſt ere hee became a ſonne in law, was made a Godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in lawe) by receyuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſecond birth of regeneration. This Birinus was an Italian, & now that King Kinigils was become a Chriſtian, he appoynted vnto the ſayd Byrinus the citie of Dorceſter, ſituate by the Thames, diſtaunt from Oxforde about ſeuen miles, to be the See of his Biſhopricke, where he procured Churches to be buylt, and by his earneſt trauell and ſetting

Kinigils king of weſt Saxon becõeth Chriſtiã.

Polider.

Dorceſter ordeined a Biſhops See.

forth the word of life, [illegible] people to the right beleefe.

In the yeare folowing, Quichelmus the other King of the Weſt Saxons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtned, and dyed the ſame yeare, and ſo then Cinigilſus or Kinigils raigned alone.

In this meane while Penda King of Mercia that ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a mã giuen to ſeeke trouble in one place or other, reared warre againſt the Kings of Weſt Saxon, Kinigils and Quichelme, the whiche gathering their power, gaue hym battell at Cirenceſter, where both the parties foughte it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to another, in ſo much that they continued in fighte and in making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning

Hen. Hunt.

This chanced in the yeare. 627. as Mat. Weſt. hath.

when they ſaw that if they ſhould buckle togyther againe, the one parte ſhoulde vtterly deſtroy the other, they fell to agreemente in moderating eache others demaundes.

640

Beda, lib. 3. cap. 8.

Mat. Weſt.

After this in the yeare of our Lord. 640. Eadbald King of Kent departed this life after hee had raigned. 24. yeares, leauing his Kingdome to hys ſonne Earconbert. This Earconbert was the firſte of the Engliſhe Kings, whiche tooke order for the vtter deſtroying of all Idols through out his whole Kingdome.

He alſo by his royall authoritie, commaunded the faſt of fortie dayes in the Lente ſeaſon to bee kept and obſerued, appoynting worthy and competent puniſhmente agaynſte the tranſgreſſors of that commaundemente. Hee hadde by hys wife Segburg, that was daughter vnto Anna King of the Eaſt Angles, a daughter named Eartongatha, the which was profeſſed a Nonne within the Monaſterie of Brige or Cala in Fraunce: For in theſe dayes, bycauſe there were not many Monaſteries as yet buylded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen that tooke vppon them the profeſſion of a Religious life, gote them ouer vnto Abbeyes in France, and there profeſſed themſelues Monkes: and many there were which ſente their daughters ouer to be profeſſed Nonnes within ỹ Nunneries there, and ſpecially at Brige, Cale, and Andeley: amongſt other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſayd King Anna, the whiche both in proceſſe of time were made Abbeiſſes of the ſaide Monaſterie of Brige.

Lent firſt ordeined to be kept in England.

Sexburga.

Aimoinus.

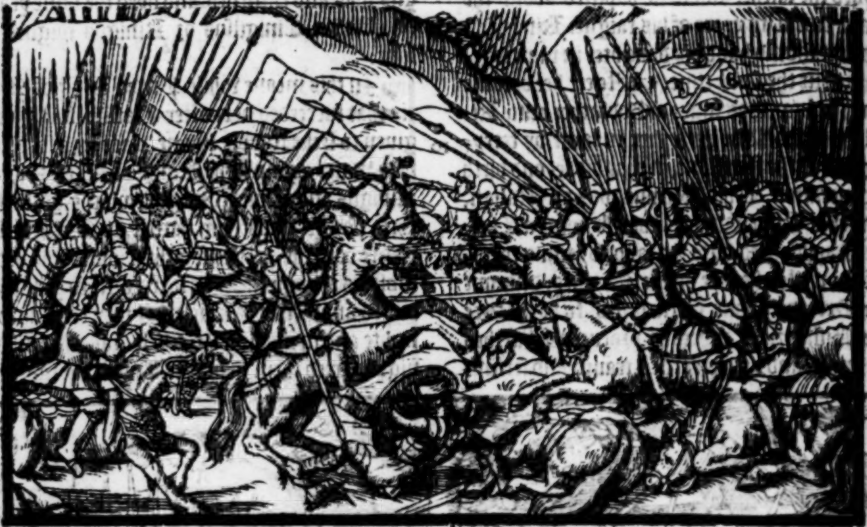
Yee haue hearde already, how Oſwald King of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all poyntes like a moſt worthy Prince, not ceaſing to releeue the neceſſitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby hee wanne to hymſelfe exceeding prayſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame encreaſed for his vertuous doings, namely, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the Chriſtian faythe. Herevpon Penda King of Mercia, enuying the proſperous

ſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abyde to heare the good report of other mēs well doings, began to imagine howe to deſtroy him, and to conquere his Kyngdome that hee might ioyne it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrey by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, & there in ſharp and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlayne on the fifth day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lord. 642. and in the. 38. yeare of his age, after he had raigned the tearme of eyght or nine yeares after ſome, whych accompt that yeare vnto his raigne, in the whych his predeceſſors Oſrick and Eaufride raigned, whome they number not amongſt Kings, bycauſe of their wicked appoſtacie, and renouncing of the faith which before they had profeſſed. Such was the ende of that vertuous Prince King Oſwald, beeing cruelly ſlayne by that wicked Tyrant Penda. Afterwards for the opinion conceyued of his holyneſſe, the foreſayde Oſwald was canonized a Saynt, and had in greate worſhippe of the people, beeing the firſte of the Engliſhe nation that approued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after hys departure out of this life.

Penda inua- deth the No thumbers.

Bed.lib.3.

King Os ſlayne.



at. VVeſt. ath.644.

vil.Malm.

Oſwy
King of Nor-thumberland.

eda.lib.3. ap.24.

After that Kyng Oſwalde was ſlaine, his brother Oſwy being about a. 30. yeres of age, toke vpon him the rule of the Kingdom of Northumberland, gouerning ẏ ſame wͭ great trouble for the ſpace of eyght and twentie yeares, being ſore vexed by the foreſayde Penda Kyng of Mercia and his people, whiche as yet were Paganes.

In the firſt yeare of his raigne, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde. 644. Pauline the Biſhop of Rocheſter whiche had bin alſo Archbiſhoppe of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kente was ordeyned Biſhoppe of Rocheſter by Honorius the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury. Kyng Oſwy had a partner with hym in gouernement of the Northumbers in the firſt beginning of his raigne one Oſwin, which was ſonne to Oſrick, ſo that Oſwy gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, and continued in perfect friendſhip for a ſeaſon, till at length through the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo muche as to ſowe diſcorde and variance betwixte Princes, they fell at debate, and ſo beganne to make warres the one agaynſte the other, ſo that finally when they were at poynte to haue tried theyr quarrell in open battayle, Oſwin perceyuing that he had not an army of ſufficiēt force to encounter with Oſwy, he brake vp hys campe at Wilfareſdowne, a tenne mile by Weſt the Towne of Cataractone, and after withdrewe hymſelfe onely with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of Erle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue bin hys truſty friende: but contrary to his expectation, the ſayd Hunwalde did betray hym vnto Oſwy, the whyche by his Captayne Edelwine ſlewe the ſayde Oſwin and hys ſeruaunte the foreſayde Conhere, in a place called Ingethling, the thirteenth Calends of September, in the ninth yeare of his raigne, whyche was after the birth of oure Sauioure. 651.

644

Bernicia.

651

Thys

This Oſwin was a goodly Gentleman of perſon, talle, and beautifull, and very gentle of ſpetche, ciuill in manners, and very liberall both to high and lowe, ſo that he was beloued ouer al. Suche a one he was, to bee briefe, as Biſhop Aydan geſſed, that hee ſhoulde not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthy of ſo good & vertuous a gouernor. Such humbleneſſe and obedience hee perceyued to reſt in hym towards the law of the Lorde, in taking ẏ which was tolde him for his better inſtruction in good part, that he ſayd, he neuer ſawe before that tyme an humble King.

The ſame Aydan liued not paſt twelue days after the deathe of the ſayd Oſwin, whome hee ſo much loued, departing this world the laſt day of Auguſt, in the ſeuenteenth yeare after he was ordeyned Biſhop. His body was buried in the Iſle of Lindeſferne.

After Aydan, one Finan was made Biſhop in his place, a Scottiſhman alſo, and of the Iſle of Hui, from whence his predeceſſor the foreſaid Aydan came, being firſt a man of Religion profeſſed in the Monaſterie there (as ſome writers doe report.)

Cen-walch.

H. Hunton.

Cenwalch King of VVeſt Saxons.

IN the meane time, after ẏ Kinigils or Cinigilſus Kyng of the Weſt Saxons hadde raigned one & thirtie yeares, he departed this life anno. 643. leauyng hys Kingdome to his ſon Cenwalch or Chenwald, who helde the ſame Kingdome the tearme of. 30. yeares, or. 31. (as ſome write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the thirde, or as others haue in the fifth yere of his raigne, Penda K. of Mercia made ſharp warre againſt him, bycauſe he had put away his wife ẏ ſiſter of ẏ ſame Penda, and in this warre Cenwalde was ouercome in battell, and driuen out of his countrey, ſo that hee fledde vnto Anna King of the Eaſt Angles, with whome hee remayned the ſpace of a yeare, or as other haue three yeares, to his great good happe: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the Chriſtian Religion, but now by the wholeſome admonitions and ſharpe rebukes of King Anna, he became a Chriſtian, and receiued his wife againe into his company, according to the preſcript of Gods lawe, and to be briefe, in all things ſhewed himſelfe to be a new man, embracing vertue, and auoyding vice, ſo that ſhortly after through the help of God, he recouered again his Kingdome. After that he was returned into his Kingdome, & had recouered the ſame, there came a Biſhop named Agilbertus out of Irelād, a Frenchmā borne, but hauing remayned in Ireland a long time to reade the Scriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Weſt Saxons, was gladly receyued of King Cenwald, at whoſe deſire he tooke vppon him to exerciſe the rowmth of a Biſhop there, but afterwardes, when the ſayd King admitted an other Biſhop named Wini, which had bin ordeyned in Fraunce, and knewe the tong better than Agilbert, as hee that was borne in Englande: Agilbert offended for that the King had admitted him without making him of any counſell therein, returned into Fraunce, and there was made Biſhop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foreſaid Wini was expulſed alſo by King Cenwald, who gote hym into Mercia vnto King Wulfhere, of whome hee bought the Biſhopricke of London, which he held during his life, and ſo the countrey of Weſt Saxon remayned long without a Biſhoppe, till at length the ſaide Agilberte at the requeſt of Kyng Cenwald ſent to him Eleutherius that was his Nephew.

643

Ra. Higden.

Agilbertus a Biſhop.

Sigibert

YEe haue hearde that after Carpewald, his brother Sigiberte ſucceeded in rule of ẏ Eaſt Angles, a mā of greate vertue and worthineſſe, who whileſt hee remayned in Fraunce as a baniſhed man, being conſtreyned to flee his countrey vpon diſpleaſure that King Redwalde bare hym, was baptiſed there, and after returning into hys countrey, and obteining at length the Kingdom, thoſe things whiche hee had ſeene well ordred in Fraunce, he ſtudyed to followe the example of the ſame at home, and herevppon conſidering with himſelfe that nothing coulde more aduaunce the ſtate of the common wealth of his countrey than learning and knowledge in the tongs, beganne the foundation of certayne Scholes, and namely at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be inſtructed and brought vp in learning vnder appoynted teachers, that there might bee greater numbers of learned men trayned vp than before time had bin within this land, to the furtherance of true Religion and vertue.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 4.

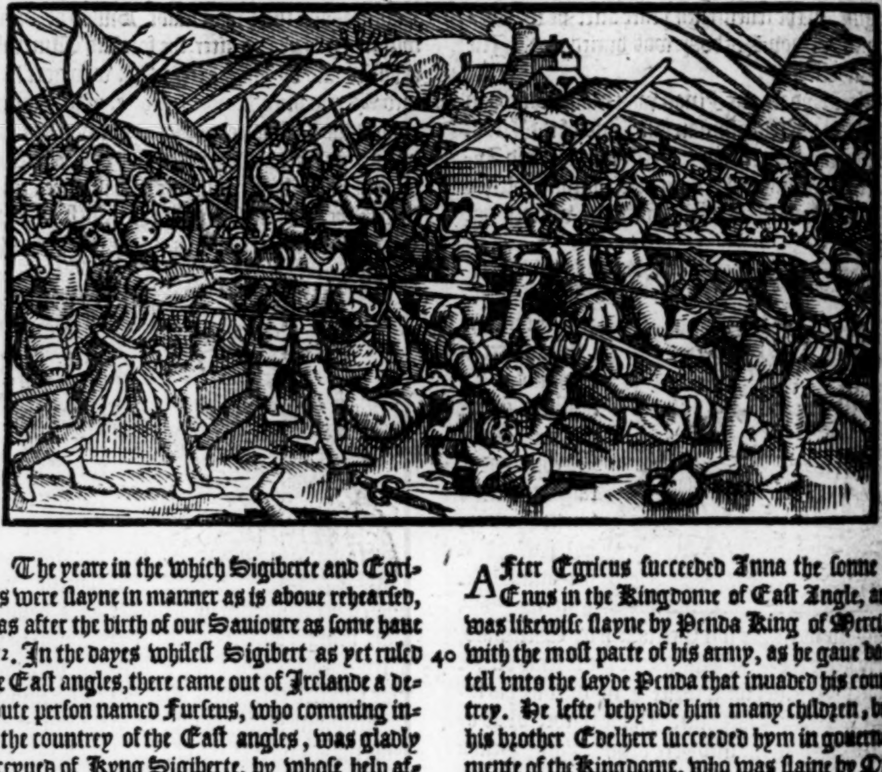
The Vniuerſitie of Cambridge founded by King Sigibert.

And thus hath Englande good cauſe to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble Prince K. Sigibert, for all thoſe hir learned menne whyche haue bin broughte vp and come forth of that famous vniuerſitie of Cambridge, the firſt foundation, or rather renouation whereof was thus begunne by hym about the yeare of our Lord.630. At length, when this worthy Kyng beganne to growe in age, hee conſidered with himſelfe howe hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a Realme as apperteyned to the duetie of a good Kyng, whereuppon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yeares, and lyue from thenceforth a priuate kinde of lyfe, and ſo reſigning the adminiſtration vnto hys kinſman Egricus, hee became a Monke, and ledde the reſt of his life in a certaine Abbey. But ſhortly after it ſo came to paſſe that Penda Kyng of Mercia that cruell Ethnike Tyrante made ſore warres vppon Egricus, whereuppon the people of Eaſt angles compelled Sigebertus to come forthe of his Monaſterie, and to goe with them into the fielde agaynſt Penda. Sigebertus beeyng thus conſtreyned againſt his wil, would not put on armour or beare any other kinde of weapon, than onely a wande in his hande in ſteade of a Scepter, and ſo the army of the Eaſt angles in hope of good ſpeede by the preſence of Sigiberte, ioyned in battell with their enimies, but the Eaſt engles were finally vanquiſhed, and the more part of them ſleine, togither with Sigiberte, and his couſin Egricus theyr King.

Bale hath.636.

Sigibert reſigneth his Kingdome to Egricus.

Sigber
Egricus



The yeare in the which Sigiberte and Egricus were ſlayne in manner as is aboue rehearſed, was after the birth of our Sauioure as ſome haue 652. In the dayes whileſt Sigibert as yet ruled the Eaſt angles, there came out of Irelande a deuoute perſon named Furſeus, who comming into the countrey of the Eaſt angles, was gladly receyued of Kyng Sigiberte, by whoſe help afterwardes hee buylded the Abbey of Cumbreſburge, in the which Sigibert (as ſome haue written) when he renounced his Kingdome, was profeſſed a Monke. Of this Furſeus, many thyngs are writtẽ, the which for breefeneſſe we ouerpaſſe.

652

Balew.
Beda.lib.3.
cap.19.
Furſeus.

After that Felix the Biſhop of the Eaſt angles was dead, one Thomas was ordeyned in his place, who after he had bin Biſhop fiue yeres, dyed, and then one Beretgils was ordeyned in his roomth by Honorius the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. The ſayd Honorius hymſelfe when hee had runne the race of his naturall life, deceaſſed alſo in the yeare of our Lord.653. the laſt of September.

653

After Egricus ſucceeded Anna the ſonne of Enus in the Kingdome of Eaſt Angle, and was likewiſe ſlayne by Penda King of Mercia, with the moſt parte of his army, as he gaue battell vnto the ſayde Penda that inuaded his countrey. He lefte behynde him many children, but his brother Edelbert ſucceeded hym in gouernemente of the Kingdome, who was ſlaine by Oſwy the King of Northumberlande, togyther with the foreſayd Penda, and worthely, ſith that hee woulde ayde that Tyrante whyche hadde ſlayne hys kinſman, and hys brother that were predeceſſors with him in his Kingdome.

Anna.

Edelbert king of Eaſt angl.

After this, when the Sea of Canterbury had bene vacant by the ſpace of one whole yeare and ſixe Monethes, one *Deus Dedit* of the countrey of the Weſt Saxons, was elected and conſecrated by Ithamar the Byſhop of Rocheſter the. 7. Calends of April. He gouerned the Church of Canterbury by the tearme of nine yeres, four monethes, and two days. When he was departed this life, the foreſayd Ithamar cõſecrated for him one Damianus of the countrey of Suſſex.

Deus Dedit.

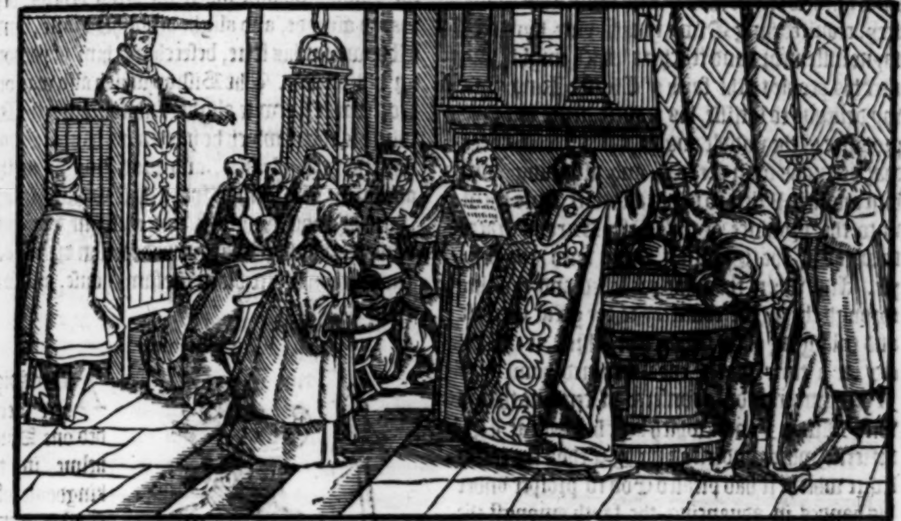
Mercia receyueth the fayth.

hiſt.eccle. 3.cap.21.

653

ABout this time, the people of Mercia cōmonly called midle Angles, receyued the Chriſtian faythe vnder theyr Kyng named Peda, or Peada the ſonne of Penda King of Mercia, the which being a towardly yong Gentleman, and worthy to haue the guyding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduaunced him to the rule of that Kingdome of the middle angles during his own life. Heere may you note, yͤ the Kingdome of the midle angles was one, & the Kingdome of Mercia another, though moſt commonly the ſame were gouerned by one king. This yong Peda came to the king of Northumberlande Oſwy, to require of him to haue hys daughter Alchfled in marriage: but when he was enformed that he mighte not haue hir except hee would become a Chriſtian, then vppon hearyng the Goſpell preached, with the promiſe of the celeſtiall ioyes and immortalitie, by the reſurrectiō of the fleſhe in the life to come, he ſayde, that whether hee had King Oſwyes daughter to wife or not, he woulde ſurely be baptiſed, and chiefly hee was perſwaded thereto by his kinſman Alchfride which had in marriage his ſiſter the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh. He was therfore baptiſed by Biſhop Fynnan, with all thoſe whyche

da or Peada g of the ddle angles



came thither with him, at a place called at yͤ wal. And taking with him foure prieſtes whiche were thought meete to teache and baptiſe his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrey. The names of thoſe Prieſtes were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the whyche, the laſt was a Scotte by nation, and the other were Engliſhmen. Theſe Prieſtes commyng into the prouince of the middle angles, preached the worde, and were well hearde, ſo that dayly a greate number, both of the nobilitie and communaltie renouncing the filthy dregges of Idolatrie, were chriſtned. Neyther dyd King Penda forbidde the preaching of the Goſpell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather he hated and deſpiſed thoſe whome hee knewe to haue profeſſed themſelues Chriſtians, and yet ſhewed not yͤ workes of faythe, ſaying, that thoſe were wretches, and not to be regarded, which woulde not obey theyr God in whome they beleeued. This alteration of things began, about two yeares before the deathe of King Penda.

Ad murum.

The ſaying of K. Penda.

The Eaſt Saxons eſtſoones receyue the faith.

Beda.lib.3. cap.22.

ABout the ſame tyme, the Eaſt Saxons at the inſtāce of Oſwy King of Northumberlande, receyued eftſoones the faith which they had renoūced, whē they baniſhed their Biſhop Melitus. Ye haue hearde that Sered, Siward and Sigibert brethrē, and yͤ ſonnes of King Sabert (which brethren occaſioned the reuolting of that prouince from yͤ faith of Chriſt) were ſlayne in battel by the kings of Weſt Saxon, after whome ſucceeded Sigibert ſurnamed yͤ little ſonne to the middlemoſt brother Siwarde as ſome write. This Sigibert the little lefte the Kingdome to an other Sigibert that was ſonne to one Sigebald yͤ brother of king Sabert, which

ſecond

King Sigibert receyued the fayth.

ſecond Sigibert raigned as king in that prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, being a moſt eſpeciall friend of King Oſwy, ſo that oftentimes he repared into Northumberlande to viſit him, wherevppon king Oſwy ceaſſed not moſt earneſtly at tymes conuenient to exhort him to receyue the faythe of Jeſus Chriſt, and in the ende by ſuche effectuall perſwaſions as he vſed, Sigibert gaue credite to his words, and ſo beeing conuerted, receyued the Sacrament of Baptiſme by the hands of Biſhop Finan, at the Kings houſe called, At the wall, ſo named, bycauſe it was buylt neere to the wall which the Romaynes had made ouerthwarte the Jle, as is often before remembred, being a twelue miles diſtant from the Eaſt Sea.

This was about the yeare 649. as Math. Weſt. hath noted.

Cedda.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the Chriſtian faith, when he ſhould returne into his countrey, required king Oſwy to appoynte hym certayne inſtructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Chriſt. King Oſwy deſirous to ſatiſfie his requeſt, ſente vnto the prouince of the middle angles, calling from thẽce that vertuous man Cedda, and aſſigning vnto him another Prieſt to be his aſſociate, ſente them vnto the prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, there to preache the Chriſtian faithe vnto the people. And when they had preached and taughte through the whole countrey to the great increaſe and enlarging of the Church of Chriſt, it chaunced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberlande to conferre of certaine things with Biſhop Fynan which kept his See at Lindeſſerne, where vnderſtãding by Cedda the great fruite whiche it had pleaſed God to proſper vnder his handes in aduancing the fayth amongſt the Eaſt Saxons, hee called to him two other Byſhops, and there ordeyned the foreſayde Ced Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons.

Ced or Cedda Biſhop of the Eaſt angles.

Hereupon, the ſame Ced returning vnto hys cure, wente forewarde with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, buildyng Churches in diuers places, ordeyned Prieſts and Deacons whiche mighte helpe him in preaching, and in the miniſterie of Baptiſing, ſpecially in the Citie of Jthanceſter vpon the riuer of Pente, and likewiſe in Tileburg on the riuer of Thaimes.

Tilbery.

Whileſt Ced was thus buſie to the great comfort and ioy of the Kyng and all hys people in the ſetting forwarde the Chriſtian Religion with great increaſe dayly proceedyng, it chaunced through the inſtigation of the enimie of mankynde the Deuill, that King Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinſmen which were brethrẽ, the which when they were examined of the cauſe that ſhoulde moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bycauſe they had conceyued an hatred againſte the King, for that he was too fauorable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnes of mind forgiue iniuries committed againſte him: ſuche was the kings faulte, for the which he was murthered, bycauſe he obſerued the commaundements of the Goſpell with a deuoute hart: in the whyche his innocent death yet, his offence was puniſhed, wherein hee had ſurely tranſgreſſed the lawes of the Churche. For where as one of them whyche ſlewe him kept a wife whiche he had vnlawfully married, and refuſed to put hir away at the Biſhops admonition, he was by the Biſhop excommunicated, and all other of the Chriſtian congregation commaunded to abſteyne from hys company. This notwithſtanding, the Kyng being deſired of him, came to his houſe to a banquet, and in his comming from thence met with the Biſhop, whome when the King beheld, hee waxed afrayde, and alight beſide his Horſe, and fell downe at his feete, beſeeching him of pardon for his offence. The Biſhop which alſo was on Horſebacke likewiſe alight, and touching the K. with his rodde which he had in his hande, as one ſomething diſpleaſed, and proteſting as in the authoritie of a Biſhop, ſpake theſe words, bicauſe (ſaith he) thou wouldeſt not abſteyne from entring the houſe of that wicked perſon beeing accurſed, thou ſhalte die in the ſame houſe, and ſo it came to paſſe.

The autho-
tie of a Bi

Swidhelme.

Suidhelme.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 22.

Mat. W

After Sigbert ſucceded one Suidhelme in the kingdome of ỹ Eaſt Saxons, he was the ſon of Sexbalde, & baptiſed of Ced in the prouince of ỹ Eaſt Angles, at a place of the kings there called Rendleſham. Edelwald King of the Eaſt Angles (the brother of King Inna) was his Godfather at the fontſtone. Ced the Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons vſed oftentimes to viſit his countrey of Northũberland, where he was borne, to exhort by Preaching the people there vnto godly life: wherevpon it chanced that King Edilwalde the ſonne of K. Oſwald whiche raigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chooſe forth ſome plotte of grounde, where hee might build a Monaſterie, in the which the kyng himſelfe and other, might make prayer, and heare Sermons the oftner, and haue place where to burie the dead. The Biſhop conſenting to the kings minde, at length eſpied a place amongſt high and

Beda. lib.

cap. 23.

deſert

The manner of the old faſt.

deſert mountaynes, where he began the foundation of a Monaſterie, afterwardes called Leſtinghem, and firſte meaning to purge the place with prayers and faſting, he deſired licence of the king that he might remayne there all the Lent ſeaſon, whiche was at hande, and ſo continuing in that place for that time, faſted euery day (Sunday excepted) from the morning till euening, according to the manner, nor receyued any thing then, but only a little bread, and an Hennes egge, with a little milke mixed with water: for he ſayde, that this was the cuſtome of them of whome hee had learned the forme of his regular order, that they ſhould conſecrate thoſe places to the Lorde with prayer and faſting, whiche they lately had receyued, to make in the ſame eyther Church or Monaſterie. And when there remayned tenne dayes of Lent yet to come, he was ſent for to the king: wherefore he appoynted a brother whiche he had, being alſo a Prieſt named Cimbill, to ſupply his roumth, that his begun Religious worke ſhould not be hindred for the Kings buſineſſe. After that the time was accompliſhed, hee ordeyned a Monaſterie there, appoynting the Monkes of yͤ ſame to liue after yͤ rules of them of Lindeſferne where hee was broughte vp.

Lindeſferne holy ilande.

Finally this Biſhop Ced comming vnto this Monaſterie afterwardes by chance in the time of a ſickneſſe, dyed there, and left that Monaſterie to the gouernance of an other brother which he hadde, named Ceadda, that was after a Biſhop, as afterwardes ſhall be ſhewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all Prieſtes, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were Biſhops, as before is ſayd.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Warre betweene King Oſwy and king Penda.

About the ſame time, Oſwy King of Northumberlande was ſore oppreſſed by the warres of Penda the King of Mercia, ſo that hee made great offers of high giftes, & great rewardes vnto the ſayd Penda for peace, but Penda refuſed the ſame, as he that meant vtterly to haue deſtroyed the whole nation of Oſwies ſubiectes, ſo that Oſwy turning himſelfe to ſeeke help at the handes of the Almighty, ſayd, if the Pagan refuſe to receyue the giftes which we offer, let vs make offers to him that knoweth to accept them: and ſo binding hymſelfe by vowe, promiſed, that if hee might obteine victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further, would giue twelue manors, Lordſhips or farmes, to the building of Monaſteries: and ſo with a ſmall army he put hymſelfe in hazard of battell. It is ſayd that Penda hadde thirtie companies of men of war, furniſhed with thirtie notable Captaines or Coronels, agaynſte whom came Oſwy with his ſonne Alchfride, hauing but a ſmall army, but confirmed yet with hope in Chriſt Jeſus. His other ſonne Egfrid remayned in hoſtage at that time with Queene Cinuiſe. Edilwald the ſonne of Oſwald yͤ gouerned Deira, and ought to haue ayded Oſwy, was on the part of Penda againſt his countrey, and againſt his Vncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himſelfe aſide, to behold what chaunce would follow. The battell being begun, the .xxx. Pagane Captaines were ouerthrowen, & put to flight, & thoſe yͤ came to aide Penda, wer almoſt al ſlaine, amongſt whom was Edilhere King of the Eaſt Angles, that raigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre.

The victory of the Northumbers.

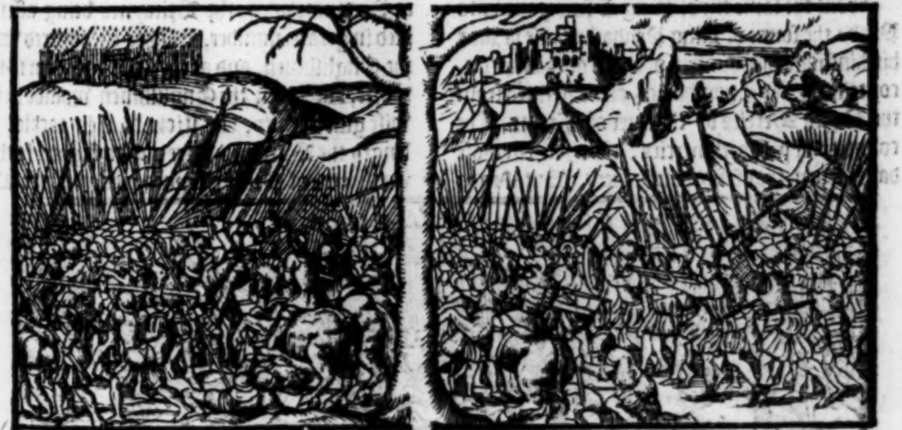
Thys battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the whiche being riſen as then by reaſon of greate raine, drowned more of the enimies, than died of yͤ Northumbers ſwordes. After that Oſwy had obteyned this victory, hee performed promiſe in beſtowing his daughter to yͤ profeſſiō of virginitie, & alſo gaue yͤ .xij. manors, whereof .6. were in Deira, & .6. in Bernicia, cōteining euery of the .10. houſholds a peece.

Elfled.

Elfled alſo K. Oſwies daughter was profeſſed in the Monaſterie of Herthew, where one Hilda was Abbeſſe, which Hilda purchaſing a Lordſhip of .10. houſholdes in Streaneſhall, now called Whitby, builded a Monaſterie there, in the which firſt the ſaid Elfled was a nouice, and after a Ruler, till at length, beeyng

Herteſhey ſayth Math. Weſt.

Hilda.



of the

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

[illegible] about .40. yeares ſhe departed this life, and was buried there, and ſo likewiſe was hir mother Eanfled, and hir Grandfather Edwin, with many other high eſtates within the Churche of Saint Peeter the Apoſtle. The victory aboue mencioned gote by King Oſwy in the countrey of Loydes on the .17. Calends of December, and in the thirteenth yeare of his raigne, happened to the great commoditie and gayne of both the people, for by the ſame, hee deliuered his countrey of Northumberland frõ the cruell deſtruction made in the ſame by the Pagane people of Mercia, and conuerted thoſe Paganes themſelues, and the countreys neere to them adioyning wholly vnto the faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

Leydes.

The firſt Biſhop of Mercia

The firſt Biſhop in the prouince of Mercia, and alſo of Lindeſferne and the middle angles was one Diuma, who died amongſt the middle angles. The ſeconde was Cellach, the which leauing his Biſhoprick, returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scottes. The third was an Engliſhman named Trumhere, but inſtructed and ordeyned of the Scottes.

He was Abbot of the Monaſterie of Ingethlingum, beeing builded in that place where King Oſwin was ſlaine (as before is mentioned.) For Q. Eanfled that was his kinſwoman gote of hir huſband King Oſwy a place there for yͤ foreſayd Trumhere to build that Abbey.

The victorious proceeding of King Oſwy.

King Oſwy after he had ſlayne King Penda, he gouerned the people of Mercia, and alſo other of the South prouinces, and ſubdued a great part of yͤ Pictiſh nation to the Engliſh dominiõ.

South Mercia.

North Mercia

659

About the ſame time, King Oſwy gaue vnto Peada the ſonne of King Penda (bycauſe he was his kinſman) the countrey of the South Mercies, conteining .5000. houſholdes, and ſeparated from the North Mercies by the riuer of Trente. The countrey of yͤ Northmercies, conteyned in thoſe dayes ſeuen thouſand houſholders. But Peada in the nexte ſpring was wickedly murthered through treaſon of his wife (as was ſayd) in yͤ feaſt of Eaſter. After that three yeares were complete, next enſuing the death of king Penda, the Rulers of the countrey of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled againſt King Oſwy, aduauncing one Wolfhere a yong Gentleman the ſonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whome they had kept in ſecrete to be their King, and expulſing the Lieutenants of King Oſwy, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and ſo liuing in freedome with their owne naturall K. the foreſayd Wolfhere, they alſo continued with glad hartes in ſeruice of the celeſtiall Kyng our God and Sauioure.

Mat. W

Beda.li.3. cap.24.

Vulfhere.

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

This Wolfhere gouerned the Mercies ſeuenteene yeres, the which Mercies during the reigne of yͤ ſayd Vulfhere hadde foure Biſhops, ſucceſſiuely gouerning yͤ churche of that prouince one after another, as the abouementioned Trumhere, Jaroman, Ceadda, & Winfride, as after ſhall more at large appeare.

H. Hunt. Math. W.

The Britaines put to flight by Cenwald.

Cenwalde vanquiſhed by Vulfhere.

Adelwold of Suſſex.

Aboute the beginning of King Wulfheres reigne, that is to witte, in the ſeuententh yeare of the reigne of Cenwald King of the Weſt Saxons, the ſame Cenwald fought with yͤ Britaines at Pennum, where the Britaynes being aſſembled in greate number, proudly encountred with the Engliſhmen, and at the firſte put them to the worſe, but when the Engliſhmen woulde in no wiſe giue it ouer, but ſtickt to their tackle, at length the Britaines were put to flighte, ſo that yͤ poſteritie of Brute receyued yͤ day an incurable wounde. But within three yeares after, that is to witte, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the foreſayde Cenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell againſte the foreſayde Vulfhere King of Mercia, as he had before againſt the Britaines, for the ſayd Vulfhere vanquiſhing him in yͤ field, paſſed through his countrey with a greate army vnto yͤ Iſle of Wight, which he coquered, & delyuered it vnto Adelwold K. of Suſſex, as a gifte at yͤ time, whẽ he receyued him at the fontſtone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Iſle, to the ende hee ſhoulde cauſe the people there to receyue the faith of Chriſt.

After that Edelhere king of Eaſtangles was ſlayne as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald ſucceeded him in that kingdome, raigning as king thereof by the ſpace of nine yeres. Then after Ethelwald, ſucceded Alduſe yͤ ſon of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and raigned foure and twentie yeares.

Bed. li. 3. cap. 24.

Colman ordeined Biſhop.

After Finan the Biſhop of the Northumbers that held his ſee at Lindeſferne, as Aydan did before him, one Colman was ordeined Biſhop, a Scot borne, and an earneſt obſeruer of the cuſtomes vſed amongſt them of his nation, ſo that when the controuerſie beganne to be moued for the holding of the feaſt of Eaſter, he would by no meanes yeld to them that would haue perſwaded him to haue followed yͤ rite of yͤ Romane Church.

Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25.

There was a great diſputatiō kept about this matter, and other things, as ſhauing or cutting of heares, and ſuch like in the monaſterie of Whitby, at the which K. Oſwy & hys ſon Alfrid were preſent, where Colman for hys part alledged the cuſtome of John yͤ Euangeliſt, & of Anatholius, and the contrary ſide brought in profe of their opiniō, yͤ cuſtome of Peter & Paule. At length whē Biſhop Colman perceyued yͭ his doctrine was not ſo much regarded as he thought of reaſon it ought to haue bene, he returned into Scotlād with thoſe, which taking part with him, refuſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the Churche of Rome, nor woulde haue their crownes ſhauen, about whiche poynte, no ſmall reaſoning had bin kept.

Controuerſie about ſhauing of crownes.

Cap. 26.

664

This diſputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord. 664. and in the yeare of the raigne of K. Oſwy. 22. and in the. xxx. yeare after that the Scottiſhmen began firſt to beare the office of Biſhops within Northumberland, which was as Harriſon ſayth. 634. For Aidan gouerned. 17. yeares, Finan. 10. yeres, and Colman. 3. yeares.

Tuda ordeyned Biſhop.

After that Colman was returned into his countrey, one Tuda that hadde bin brought vp amongſt yͤ Southerne Scottes, & ordeined Biſhop by them, ſucceded in his roumth, hauing his crowne ſhauen, & obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter according to yͤ cuſtome of the prouince & rite of yͤ Romane Church.

Cap. 27.

An eclipſe.

Puniſhment of God for yelding to ſuperſtition.

The ſame yere, there chanced a great Eclipſe of the ſunne. The thirde of May about ten of the clocke in the day, a great dearth & mortalitie enſued, both in all the parties of this our Britayne, and likewiſe in Irelande. Amongſt other, the foreſayd Biſhop Tuda dyed, & was buried in the Abbey of Pegnalech.

Wilfrid Biſhop.

After thys Tuda ſucceded in gouernment of the Church of Lindeſferne, otherwiſe called holy ilād, one Wilfrid which was ſent by K. Alcfride into Fraunce, to be ordeyned there.

Cap. 28.

About the ſame time Kyng Oſwy, the father of K. Alcfride, moued with the good example of his ſon, ſent Ceadda, the brother of Ced ſometime Biſhop of yͤ Eaſt Saxons into Kent to be ordeyned Biſhop of Yorke, but at hys comming into Kent he found that *Deus dedit* the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was dead, and none other as yet ordeyned in his place, ſo that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Weſt Saxons, where hee was ordeined by Biſhop Wini, who toke two other Biſhops of the Brittiſh nation vnto him to be his aſſociates, which vſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter contrary to the cuſtome of the Romane Church: but there was no other ſhifte, for there was none other Biſhop canonically ordeined in yͤ prouince of the Weſt Saxōs in thoſe dayes, this Wini only excepted, & therfore was he conſtreyned to take ſuch as he might get.

Ceadda ordeined Archbiſhop of Yorke.

After yͤ Ceadda was thus ordeyned, he began forthwith to follow yͤ true rules of yͤ Church, he liued right chaſtly, ſhewed hymſelfe humble & continent, applyed his ſtudy to reading, and trauelled abroade on foote and not on horſebacke through the countreys, townes and villages, for to preache yͤ word of God. He was the Diſciple of Aydan, & coueted by his example, & alſo by the example of his brother Cedd, to inſtruct his hearers with the like doings and manors as he had knowen them to do. Wilfrid alſo being conſecrated Biſhop, and returned into England, endeuored to plant the orders of the Romane Churche in the Churches of England, whereby it came to paſſe, that yͤ Scots which inhabited amongſt the Engliſhmen, were conſtreyned eyther to followe the ſame, or elſe to returne into their owne countrey.

Egbert.

Egbert King of Kent.

IN this mean time, K. Ercombert being departed this life after hee had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of twentie yeres, his ſonne Egbert ſucceded hym in the Kingdome, and raigned nine yeares.

There is little remembraunce of his doyngs, which in that ſhort time were not much notable, except ye will aſcribe the comming into this land of the Archbiſhop Theodorus, and the Abbot Adrian, vnto his glory, which chanced in his tyme. For in the yere of yͤ great eclipſe, & ſore mortalitie that enſued, it chanced, that both K. Ercomberte, and the Archbiſhop *Deus dedit* departed this life, ſo that the See of Canterbury was voyde a certayne time, in ſo muche, that King Egbert that ſucceded his father Ercomberte, togither with King Oſwy, did ſende one Wighart a Prieſt of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the Scriptures, vnto Rome with great giftes, and riche veſſell of gold and ſiluer to be preſented vnto the Pope requiring him that he would ordeine the foreſayde Wighard Archbiſhop of Canterbury to haue rule of the Engliſh Church.

Bed. li. 3. cap. 29.

Wighart.

But thys Wighart comming vnto Rome, and declaring

Beda. li. 4. cap. 1.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
668

his meſſage vnto Vitalianus that then gouerned the Churche of Rome, immediately after he dyed of the peſtilẽce (that then raigned in that citie) with all thoſe ỷ came with him. The Pope then taking aduice whome hee mighte ordeyne to the See of Canterbury, beeing thus deſtitute of an Archbiſhop, he appoynted a Monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excuſed himſelfe as not ſufficiente for ſuche a roomth, and required the Pope to ordeyne one Andrew a Monke alſo, whereunto the Pope conſented, but when Andrew was preuented by death, eftſoones Adrian ſhoulde haue bin made Archbiſhoppe, but that he named one Theodore an other Monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the Citie of Tharſus in Cilicia, very wel learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeres, as of .76. This Theodore by ỷ preſentmen of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with condition, that Adrian ſhould neuertheleſſe attend vpon him into England, both for ỷ he had bin twice before thys time in Fraunce, and ſo knew the coaſtes, and againe, for that he might aſſiſt him in all thyngs, and looke well to ỷ matter, that Theodore ſhould not bring into the Church of England any ryte or cuſtome of the Greekes, contrary to the vſe of the Romane Churche. Theodore being firſt ordeyned ſubdeacon, tarried four monethes till hys heare wer growē, that he might haue his crowne ſhauen, after the manner of Peter. For he was rounded or ſhauen after the manner of the Eaſt Church, which was as they perſwaded thẽſelues, according to the vſe of S. Paule the Apoſtle. And ſo at length was this Theodore ordeyned Archbiſhop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus in the yere of our Lord 668. the ſixth Kalends of Iune, and with Adrian ſente into Britaine, they tooke their iourney to come through Fraunce, and ſo being come thither, ſhortly after K. Egbert hadde knowledge thereof: wherevpon with all conuenient ſpeede, hee ſente ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the Archbiſhop into Englande, and ſo he did: but Adrian was ſtayed for a tyme, bycauſe he was ſuſpected to haue had ſome commiſſion frõ the Emperour to haue practiſed with the Engliſhmen, for the diſquieting of ỷ Realme of France. But after it was perceiued that thys ſuſpition was grounded of no troth, he was alſo ſuffered to folow ỷ Archbiſhop, and ſo comming vnto Canterbury, he was made Abbot of ỷ Monaſterie of S Auguſtines. The Archb. Theodore came thus to his Churche of Canterbury in the ſeconde yeare after his conſecration, about the ſecond Kalends of Iune, being Sunday.

He gouerned the ſame Churche .21. yeres and .26. days, and was the firſt Archbiſhop to whome all the Churches of Englande did acknowledge their obeyſance. He being accompanyed with the foreſaid Adrian, viſited all the parts of this land, ordeyned Biſhops and Miniſters in Churches where he thought conuenient, & reformed ỷ ſame Churches as ſeemed to him needefull, as well in other things which he miſliked, as alſo in cauſing them to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter, according to the ryte and vſage of the Church of Rome. Ceadda that was Biſhop of Yorke, bicauſe hee was not lawfully ordeyned, as he himſelfe confeſſed, was remoued from the Sea of Yorke, and Wilfrid was thereto reſtored, ſo that Ceadda (though he were not diſgraded of his degree of Biſhop) liued yet a priuate kind of life, till he was admitted Biſhop of Mercia, as after ſhall be ſhewed. Alſo whereas before time there was in manner no ſinging in the Engliſhe Churches, except it were in Kent, now they begã in euery Church to vſe ſinging of diuine ſeruice after the ryte of the Church of Rome. The Archbiſhop Theodore finding the Church of Rocheſter voyde by the death of ỷ laſt Biſhop named Damian, he ordeyned one Putta a ſimple man in worldly matters, but well inſtructed in eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, & namely well ſeene in ſong and muſicke, to be vſed in ỷ Church after the manner as he had learned of Pope Gregories diſciples. To be briefe, ỷ Archbiſhop Theodore, and the Abbot Adrian deſerued great commendation in this, that where they were notably well learned themſelues in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and alſo hadde good knowledge as well in the liberall artes, as in the Scripture, they tooke great paines to train vp Scollers in knowledge of the ſame, ſo that the Engliſhmen had not ſeene more happy times than in thoſe dayes, hauing as then kings of great puiſſãce, ſo as ſtrangers ſtoode in feare of them, and againe, thoſe that coueted learning, had inſtructors at hand to teach them, by reaſon whereof, diuers being giuen to ſtudie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in company of the ſaid Archbiſhop from Rome, an Engliſhman named Benedict Biſcope, which had taken vppon him the habite of a Monke in Italy, and nowe returning into his countrey, builded two Abbeyes, the one named Wyremouth, bycauſe it was placed at the mouth of the Riuer of Wire, and the other Girwy, diſtante from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newe Caſtell foure miles, ſituate neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was builte in the yeare .670. and Girwy in the yeare .673. There were a .600. Monkes founde in thoſe two houſes, and gouerned vnder one Abbot.

Ran. Ceſt

Mal

Beda.

Singing in Churches brought in vſe.

Putta Biſhop of Rocheſt

The worthy prayſe of Theodore and Adrian.

Engliſhmen happy &

Beda

Benedict a Benet monke named Biſcope

970

The ſayd Benedict was the firſt that brought Glaſiers, Painters and other ſuch curious craftſmen into Englãd. He went fiue times to Rome, and came agayne.

Glaſiers firſt brought into England.

Ran. Ceſt

ABout the ſame time, after that Suidhelm K. of the Eaſt Saxons was dead, Sighere the ſonne of Sigbert the little, and Sebby the ſonne of Suward ſucceeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were ſubiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie raigned, renounced the fayth of Chriſt, with that part of the people whiche hee had in gouernemente, for both the ſame Sighere and other of his chiefeſt Lordes, and alſo parte of hys commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their Idoliſhe Churches, and fell to the worſhipping of Idols, as though thereby they ſhould haue bin defended from that mortalitie. But his aſſociat Sebby with greate deuotion continued ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had receiued. King Vulfhere being enformed of Segheres apoſtacie, and howe the people in his part of the prouince of Eaſt Saxōs were departed from the faith, he ſente thither Biſhop Iaruman or Iaroman, that was ſucceſſor vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence & godly meanes, that he reduced the ſaid K. and all his people vnto the right beleefe, ſo as the Idoliſhe Sinagogues were deſtroyed, and the Idols with their aulters beaten down, yͤ Chriſtian Churches again ſet opē, & the name of Chriſt eftſones called vpō amongſt yͤ people, coueting now rather to die in him wͭ hope of reſurrectiō in yͤ world to come, than to liue in yͤ ſeruice of Idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beleefe. And thus whē Biſhop Iaroman had accompliſhed the thing for yͤ which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

eda.lib.3. ap.30.

Biſhop Iaruman or Iaroman.

After this when the ſaid Iaruman was departed this life, K. Vulfhere ſent vnto yͤ Archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide yͤ prouince of the Mercies of a new Biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeyne any new Biſhop at yͤ time, required of Oſwy K. of Northumberlande, that Biſhop Cead mighte come into Mercia to exerciſe the office of Biſhop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuate life at that time in his Monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the Biſhoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amōgſt the Pictes alſo, ſo farre as K. Oſwies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licēce to goe into Mercia, was gladly receyued of K. Vulfhere, & wel entertayned, in ſo muche, that the ſaide K. gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions conteining fiftie families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certain place within the countrey of Lindſey called Etbearue. But the See of his Biſhoprike was aſſigned to him at Litchfield in Staffordſhire, wher he made him a houſe neere to the Church, in the whych he with.7.or.8.other of his brethren in Religion, vſed in an oratory, there to pray and reade ſo often as they had leaſure from laboure and buſineſſe of the world. Finally, after he hadde gouerned the Church of Mercia by yͤ ſpace of two yeres and an halfe, hee departed this life, hauing.7.dayes warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner. His body was firſt buried in the Churche of our Lady, but after that the Churche of Saint Peeter the Apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

671

In the yeare of our Lord.671. whiche was the ſeconde yeare after that Theodorus the Archbyſhop came into this lād, Oſwy K. of Northumberland was attached with a greeuous ſickneſſe, and dyed thereof the fiftenth Kalends of March, in the.58.yere of his age, after he had raigned.28. yeares complete.

Mat. VVeſt.

Ecgfrid.

Beda.li.4.ca.5

Mat. VVeſt.

AFter Oſwy, hys ſonne Ecgfrid ſucceeded in rule of yͤ kingdome of Northumberlande, in the thirde yeare of whoſe raigne, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde.673. Theodorus the Archbiſhop of Canterbury kept a Synode at Herforde, the firſt ſeſſion wherof began the.24.of September, all the Biſhops of this land being preſent, either in perſon or by their deputies, as Biſi the Biſhop of Eaſt angles, Wilfrid the Biſhoppe of the Northumbers by his deputie, Putta Biſhop of Rocheſter, Leutherius Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, and Winfrid Biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe Prelates, the Archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he hadde noted ten Chapters or Articles taken out of the booke of the Canons, requiring that the ſame might be receyued.

673

A Synode holden at Herford

Articles proponed by Theodore.

The firſt Chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept, the Sunday following the fourtenth day of the firſt moneth.

The ſecond, that no Biſhop ſhould entermeddle within an others dioceſſe, but bee contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

The thirde, that no Biſhop ſhould diſquiet in any thing any Monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor to take by violence any goodes that belonged to the ſame.

The fourth, that Biſhoppes beeing Monkes ſhould not goe from Monaſterie to Monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their Abbots, and ſhoulde continue in the ſame obedience wherein they ſtoode before.

The fifth, that none of the Cleargie ſhould depart from his Biſhop to runne into any other dioceſſe, nor comming from any other place ſhould be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if any ſuch chanced to be receiued, if hee refuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he & his receyuer ſhuld be excommunicated.

The ſixt, that Biſhops & other of the Cleargie beeing ſtraungers, ſhoulde holde them contented with the benefite of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand any prieſtly office, without licence of the Biſhop, in whoſe dioceſſe hee chaunced ſo to bee remayning.

The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a Synod ſhould be kept, but bycauſe of diuers impedimẽts heerein, it was thoughte good to them all, that in the Kalendes of Auguſt a Sinode ſhoulde bee kepte once in the yere, at a certayne place called Clooveſhough.

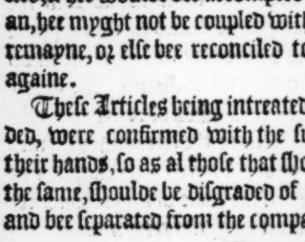
The eyght Chapter was, that no one Biſhop ſhould by ambition ſeeke to be preferred afore another, but that euery one ſhoulde knowe the tyme and order of his conſecration

The ninth, that as the number of the Chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhoulde there bee mo Biſhoppes ordeyned.

The tenth was touching marriages, that none ſhould contract matrimony with any perſon, but with ſuche as it ſhoulde bee lawfull for hym to doe by the orders of the Churche: none ſhoulde matche with their kinſfolke, no man ſhoulde forſake hys wife, except as the Goſpell teacheth, for cauſe of fornication. But if any man did put away his wife whiche hee hadde lawfully married, if hee woulde bee accompted a true Chriſtian, hee myght not be coupled with an other, but ſo remayne, or elſe bee reconciled to his owne wife againe.

These Articles being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as al thoſe that ſhould goe againſt the ſame, ſhoulde be diſgraded of their prieſthood, and bee ſeparated from the company of them all.

Biſi Biſhop of the Eaſt Angles.



The foreſayd Biſi yͤ was Biſhoppe of the Eaſt Angles, & preſente at thys Sinode, was ſucceſſor vnto Bonifacius, whiche Bonifacius helde that ſee. 17. yeares, and then he being departed this life, Biſi was made Biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the Archbiſhop Theodor. Thys Biſi at length was ſo viſited with ſickneſſe, that hee was not able to exerciſe the miniſtration, ſo that then there were two Biſhoppes elected, and conſecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

872

In this meane while, that is to ſay, about the yere of our Lord. 872. or beginning of yͤ. 873. as Harriſon noteth, Kenwalch King of the Weſt Saxons departed this life, after hee had raigned 30. yeares. This Kenwalk was ſuch a Prince, as in the beginning, he was to be compared with the worſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later ende of his raigne, hee was to bee compared with yͤ beſt. His godly zeale borne towards the aduancing of the Chriſtian religion wel appeared in the building of the Church at Wincheſter, where the Biſhops Sea of al that prouince was thẽ placed.

Ma. Wil. de reg. lib.

His wife Sexburga ruled the Kyngdome of Weſt Saxons after him, a woman of ſtoutnes ynough to haue atchieued actes of worthy remembrance, but being preuented by deathe ere ſhe had raigned one whole yeare, ſhe could not ſhewe any full proofe of hir noble courage.

I remember that Math. Weſt. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernement. But I rather followe William Malmeſ. in this matter.

Eſcuinus.

Wil. Mal.

TO proceede therefore, after yͤ Sexburga was departed this life, or depoſed, if you wil needes haue it ſo, Eſcuinus or Elcuinus, whoſe Grandfather called Cuthgiſto, yͤ brother of K. Kinigils ſucceded in gouernmẽt of yͤ Weſt Saxons, reigning about yͤ ſpace of two yeres: and after his deceſſe, one Centiuinus or Centwine tooke vppon him the rule, and continued therein the ſpace of nine yeares. But Bede ſayth that theſe two ruled at one time, and deuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought againſt Wulfhere Kyng of Mercia, a greate number of men being ſlayne on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a manner the vpper hand, as ſome haue written.

Hen. Hun.

Beda. lib. & cap. ſup. dict.

In the ſame yere that the Sinode was holden at Herford, that is to ſay in the yeare of our Lord 673. Egbert the King of Kent departed this life in July, and lefte the Kingdome to his brother Lothore, which held the ſame eleuen yeares, and ſeuen monethes. Some haue written that King Egbert by the ſuggeſtion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, ſuffered the ſayde Thunnir to put vnto death Ethelbert or Ethelbright, whiche were the ſonnes of Ermenredus the brother of King Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt leſt they being towardly yong Gentlemen, myghte in tyme growe ſo into fauor with the people, that it ſhoulde bee eaſie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his iſſue of the Kyngdome. Alſo, that they were priuily put to death, and priuily buried at the firſte, but the place of their buriall immediately beeyng ſhewed after a miraculous manner, theyr bodyes long after in the dayes of Kyng Egilrede the ſonne of Kyng Edgar, were

King Lothore.

Wil. Malm.

Beda de reg. lib. 1.

Thunnir. A vile murther.

were taken vp, and conueyed vnto Ramſey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of thoſe his couſins, did ſore repent him, for that he vnderſtoode they dyed giltleſſe, yet hys brother Lothaire was thought to be puniſhed for that offence as after ſhall be ſhewed.

Biſhop Winfrid depoſed.

Servulfe ordeyned Biſhop of the Mercies

Winfrid Biſhop of the Mercies, for cauſe of diſobedience in ſome poynt, was depriued by the Archbiſhop Theodore, and one Sexvulfe that was the buylder and alſo the Abbot of the Monaſterie of Meidhamſtede, otherwiſe called Peterborough, was ordeyned and conſecrated in his place. About the ſame time, Erkenwalde was ordeyned Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons, and appoynted to hold his See in the Citie of London. This Erkenwalde was reputed to bee a man of great holyneſſe and vertue. Before he was made Biſhoppe, hee buylded two Abbeyes, the one of Monkes at Chertſey in Sowtherie, where hee himſelfe was Abbot, and the other of Nunnes at Berking, within the prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, where he placed his ſiſter Ethelburga a woman alſo highly eſteemed for hir deuout kinde of life. She was firſte brought vp and inſtructed in the rules of hir profeſſion by one Hildelitha a Nunne of the parties of beyond the Sea, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpoſe. After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made Biſhop of London, in whoſe dayes Sebby king of the Eaſt Saxons, after hee had raigned thirtie yeares, beeing nowe vexed with a greeuous ſickneſſe, profeſſed himſelfe a Monke: whiche thyng he would haue done long before, if his wife hadde not kept him backe. Hee died ſhortly after within the Citie of London, and was buried in the Church of Saint Paule. King Sighere whyche in the beginning raigned with him, and gouerned a parte of the Eaſt Saxons, was departed thys life before, ſo that in his latter time, the foreſayde Sebby had the gouernemente of the whole prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, and left the ſame to his ſonnes Sighard and Sewfred.

675. as Math. Weſt. hath.

Biſhop Erkenwalde.

Ethelburga.

John Capgraue.

Waldhere.

Sebby king of Eaſt Saxõs.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 61.

VVil. Mal

675

About the yeare of our Lorde. 675. Wulfhere King of Mercia departed this life, after hee hadde raigned as ſome haue. 19. yeares, but as other affirme, hee raigned but. 17. yeares. Howbeit they which reckē nineteene, include the time that paſſed after the ſlaughter of Penda, wherein Oſwy and Peada held the aforeſayde Kingdome.

VV. Mal.

But other affirme that raigned. 17. yeares.

Beda.

Peada or rather Weada.

Edilre

King Ethelred.

After Wulfhere, hys brother Edilred or Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernemēt of the Kyngdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the Kyngdome of Kente with a mighty army in the yeare of oure Lord. 677. deſtroying the countrey afore him, not ſparing Churches nor Abbeyes, but ſpoyled the ſame without reſpect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durſt not appeare in the fielde to giue hym battell, ſo that Edilred wente through the countrey, deſtroyed the Citie of Rocheſter & with great riches gotten by the ſpoyle, he returned home.

H. Hunt.

The Biſhoppe of Rocheſter Putta, after that his Church was ſpoyled and defaced by the enimies, wente vnto Sexvulfe the Biſhop of Mercia, and there obteyning of him a ſmall cure, and a portion of ground, remayned in that countrey, not once labouring to reſtore his Church of Rocheſter to the former ſtate, but wente aboute in Mercia to teach ſong, & inſtruct ſuche as would learne muſicke, whereſoeuer hee was required, or could get entertaynement.

678

A blaſing Starre.

Mat. VVeſt.
eda.li.4.
ap.12.

iſhop Wilfrid baniſhed.

aguſtald
exam.
adhidus.
indeſſerne
oly ilande.

The Church
f Ryppon.

Herevpon the Archbiſhop Theodore conſecrated one William Biſhop of Rocheſter in place of Putta, and after when the ſayd William conſtreyned by pouertie, left that Church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his ſteede. In the yeare of our Lord. 678. in the moneth of Auguſt, a blaſing Starre appeared, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was ſeene euery morning for the ſpace of three monethes togither. The ſame Egfrid king of Northumberland, baniſhed Biſhop Wilfrid vppon diſpleaſure taken with hym, out of his See, and then were two Biſhops ordeyned in his place, to gouerne the Church of the Northũbers, ẏ one named Boſa at Yorke, & the other called Eata at Haguſtald or Lindeſferne. Alſo one Eadhidus was ordeined about the ſame time Biſhop of Lindſey, the which prouince king Egfride hadde of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late King of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battel, and droue him out of that coũtrey. The ſaid three Biſhops were conſecrated at Yorke by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theodorus, the whiche within three yeares after ordeyned two Biſhops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to witte, Tumbert at Haguſtald, Eata that was appoynted to remain at Lindeſſerne, and Trumuine was ordeyned to haue the cure of ẏ prouince of thoſe Pictes which as then were vnder the Engliſhe dominion. Alſo bycauſe Edilred King of Mercia recouered the countrey of Lindſey, and ioyned it to his dominion, Biſhop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appoynted to gouerne ẏ Church of Ryppõ.

Wilfrid by licence of King
dilwalke
reacheth
he Goſpell to
hem of Suſſex.

acke of
ayne.

After that Biſhop Wilfrid was expulſed out of his dioceſſe and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, & returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the South Saxons, ẏ whiche conteyning ſeuen thouſande houſholdes or families, as yet was not conuerted to ẏ Chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Wilfrid began there to preach the Goſpell with licence of K. Edilwalke, who as before is mencioned, was conuerted and baptiſed in Mercia, by the procurement of King Wulfhere, that then became his Godfather, & gaue him at the ſame time the Iſle of Wight, and the prouince of the people auntiently called Meanuari, which he had woune frõ the Weſt Saxõs. Biſhop Wilfrid then by King Edilwalke hys furtherance and helpe, baptiſed the chiefeſt Lordes and Gentlemen of that prouince. But certayne Prieſtes baptiſed the reſidue of the people, eyther then or in time following. It chanced that for the ſpace of three yeares (as it is ſaid before the comming thither of Biſhop Wilfrid, there had fallen no rayne from the ayre within that prouince of the South Saxons, ſo that ẏ people wer brought into greate miſerie by reaſon of famine, whyche through wante of neceſſary fruites of the earthe, ſore afflicted the whole countrey, in ſomuch, that no ſmall number threwe themſelues headlong into the Sea, deſpayring of life, in ſuche lacke of neceſſary victuals. But as God would, the ſame daye that Wilfrid began to miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſme, there came downe ſweete and plentifull ſhowres of rayne, ſo watering ẏ earth, that thereby great ſtore of all fruites plentifully tooke roote, and yeelded full increaſe in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of al ẏ people, which before were in manner ſtarued and loſt through want of foode. Biſhop Wilfrid alſo taught them in that countrey the manner howe to catche fiſhe with nettes, where before that time, they had no great ſkill in any kind of fiſſhing, except it were in catching eeles. Hereby the ſayd Biſhop grew there in greate eſtimation with the people, ſo that his wordes were the better credited amongſt thẽ, for that through him, they receyued ſo greate benefites, God by ſuch meanes working in the peoples hartes a deſire to come to the vnderſtandyng of his lawes. The King alſo gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Seoleſew, compaſſed about on each ſide (except on the Weſt halfe) with the Sea, conteyning. 87. houſholdes or families, where he built an Abbey, and baptiſed all his tenauntes there, amounting to the number of. 250. bond men and bond women, whome hee made free both in body and ſoule, for he did not only baptiſe them, but alſo enfranchiſed them of all bodily ſeruitude and bondage.

Catching of fiſhe with nettes.

Bondmen made free.

In this meane while, many things happened in other partes of this lande, and firſt in the yeare after the appearing of the blaſing Starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the ſayd Egfrid, and Edilred King of Mercia, neere to the riuer of Trent, where Alſwine ẏ brother of King Egfrid was ſlaine, with many other of the Northumbers, ſo that King Egfrid was conſtreyned to returne home with loſſe. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theodorus perceyuing that great warre and effuſion of bloud was like to followe thereof, trauelled ſo in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friendes, and Egfrid had a peece of money in recompence of his loſſes. The foreſayd battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord. 679. and in the yeare following, that is to ſay, in the yere of our Lord. 680. whiche was alſo the tenth yeare of the raigne of Egfrid King of Northumberland, the ſixth yere of the raigne of Edelred King of Mercia, the ſeuententh of the raigne of Aldulfe King of the Eaſt angles, and in ẏ ſeuenth yeare of the raigne of Lothere king of Kente, the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury Theodorus held another Synod at Hatfield, about the day of the fifteenth Kalendes of October, in the which all the Cleargie there preſent, ſubſcribed to certaine Articles touching the

679

680

A Synode at Hatfelde.

Articles ſubſcribed.

beleefe of the trinitie of perſons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of like ſubſtãce, and alſo of the ſame vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the Church of God: and moreouer, they acknowledged by the like ſubſcription, the fiue generall councels of Nice, and Conſtantinople the firſt, of Epheſus, of Calcedone, and of Conſtantinople the ſecond, with the Synode alſo holden at Rome in the dayes of Martin Biſhop of Rome, about the ninth yeare of the Emperour Conſtantine. At this Sinode holden at Hatfield, was preſente one John the Archechanter of Saint Peters Church at Rome, ſent into this lande of purpoſe to bring from hence a certificat vnto Pope Agatho of the agreement of the Engliſh Church in matters of faith, with other churches of the Chriſtiã world: but the foreſayde Archechantor dyed by the way in Fraunce, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towrayne.

Bale. The Abbeſſe Hilda. *Beda.*

The ſame yeare, that famous woman Hilda Abbeſſe of Whitby, departed out of this life, or as other ſay, a fiue yeares after, hauing firſte bin deteyned a long time with greeuous ſickneſſe. She was the daughter of one Herericus the Nephew of King Edwin, and conuerted to the faythe of Chriſt at the preaching of Biſhop Pauline, and afterwards inſtructed by Biſhop Aydan, profeſſed hir ſelfe a Nunne, applying hir whole ſtudie to the reading of the Scriptures, to prayer, and other godly exerciſes. She builded the Abbey of Whitby, wherein were placed both men and women, with ſuche an equalitie in all thyngs, that there was no rich perſon amongſt them, nor any that wanted things neceſſary. She departed out of this life on the fifteenth Kalendes of December, being .66. yeares of age. As ſome haue written ſhe argued ſtoutly on Biſhop Colmons part, at the diſputation holden in the Monaſterie of Whitby, in the yeare of grace. 664. whereof yee haue heard before.

Bale. *Beda.* *Ran. Ceſtren.* *Mat. Weſt.*

H. Hunton.

About the yeare of our Lorde. 682. that is to ſay, in the ſeuenth yeare of Centwine or Centiuinus King of Weſt Saxons, the ſame Centwine fought with the Britaynes, and ouercame them in battayle, purſuing them with fire and ſword vnto the Sea ſide.

The Britaynes diſcomfited.

Cadwallader.

Cadwalader.

BUt now to returne vnto that which is founde in the Brittiſh hiſtories, by the tenor whereof it ſhould appeare, that whẽ their King Cadwallo was dead, his ſon Cadwallader ſucceeded him in rule of the Britaynes in the yeare of our Lord 678. which was about the tenth yere of the Emperour Conſtantinus Pagonatus, and in the thirteenth yeare of the raigne of Childericus kyng of Fraunce.

976 hath Math. Weſt.

This Cadwallader beeing the ſonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe ſiſter of Penda King of Mercia, for one father begote them both, but of two ſundry mothers, for ſhee had to mother a Lady, diſcended of the noble bloud of the Weſt Saxons, and was married vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him, & hir brother the ſaid Penda. After that Cadwallader had raigned the ſpace of twelue yeres, as Geffrey of Monmoth hathe, or as other write, but .3. yeares, the Britaines were broughte into ſuche miſerie through ciuill diſcorde, and alſo by ſuche great & extreame famin as then raigned through all the lande, that Cadwallader was conſtreyned with the chiefeſt part of his people to forſake their natiue countrey, and by Sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to ſeeke reliefe of vittayles, for the ſuſtentation of their languiſhyng bodies. A long proceſſe is made by the Brittiſhe writers of this departure of Cadwallader, and of the Britaines, out of this lande; and howe Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admoniſhed by a dreame to the contrary, the which bycauſe it ſeemeth but fabulous, we paſſe ouer. At length he wente to Rome, and there was confirmed in the Chriſtian Religion by Pope Sergius, and ſhortly after fell ſicke, and dyed the twelfth Kalends of May, in the yeare of our Lord. 689. But herein appeareth the error of the Britiſh writers in taking one for another, by reaſon of reſemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla King of the Weſt Saxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, wẽt vnto Rome, and was there Baptiſed or elſe confirmed of the foreſayde Pope Sergius, and ſhortly after departed thys life in that Citie, in the foreſayde yeare of. 689. or thereabouts, the Welchmen accompt hym to be their Cadwalladar: whiche to be true is very vnlike by that whiche may be gathered by the writings of diuers approued authors.

Galfrid.

Calwallader conſtreyned to forſake the lande.

689

Ceadwalla.

Cead-walla.

THis Ceadwalla King of the Weſt Saxons ſucceeded after Centwine or Centiuinus, whiche Centwine raigned nine yeares, though it ſhoulde appeare by that whiche is written by Authours of good credite, that during

Beda. *Wil. Mal.*

two of thoſe yeares at the leaſt, the Kingdome of Weſt Saxons was deuided betwixte him, and Elcuinus or Eſcuinus, ſo that hee ſhoulde not reigne paſt ſeuen yeares alone.

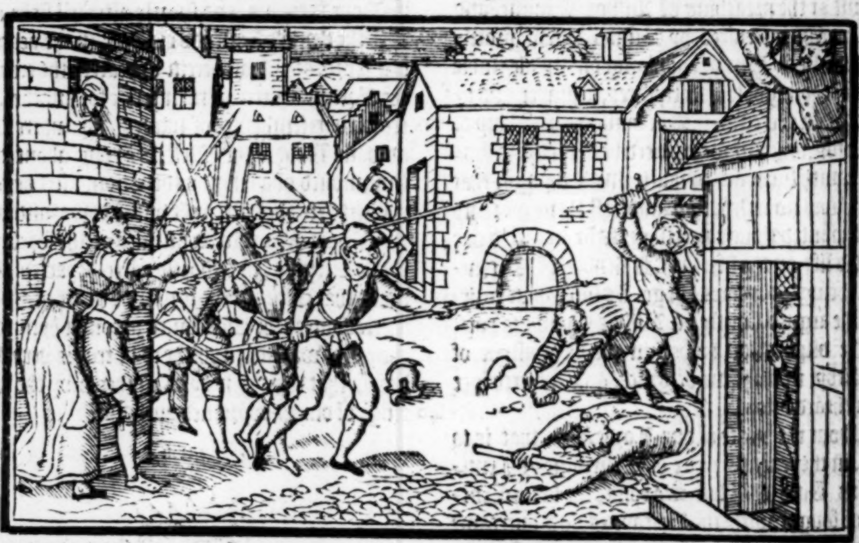
VVil. Malm.
Ran. Ceſtren.

But now to Ceadwall, whom ſome take to be al one with Cadwallader, we finde yͭ he was lyneally diſcended frõ Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling K. of Weſt Saxõs, as ſon to Kenbert or Kenbright that was ſon to Ceadda the ſon of yͤ foreſaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus he being extract of yͤ noble houſe of yͤ kings of Weſt Saxons, prooued in his youth a perſonage of great towardnes, & ſuch a one as no ſmal hope was of him conceyued: he would let no occaſion paſſe where he mighte exerciſe his force, to ſhew proofe of his high valiancie, ſo that in the ende with his worthy attemptes ſhewed therein, he purchaſed to himſelfe the enuy of thoſe that ruled in his countrey, by reaſon whereof he was baniſhed by a cõſpiracie made againſt him. Wherupon hee tooke occaſion as it were in reuenge of ſuche vnthankfulneſſe to withdrawe out of hys countrey, leading with him all yͤ principal youth of the ſame, the whiche eyther pitying his preſent eſtate, or moued with pleaſure taken in hys valiante doings, followed him at his going into exile. The firſt brunt of his furious attemptes after hee was out of his countrey, Edilwalke the king of the South Saxons taſted, the whiche in defence of himſelfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was ſlayne with the moſt part of all his army. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiãt courages of his Souldiers, filled with good hope of this happy atchieued victory, returned with good and proſperous ſpede into his owne countrey, and that ere he was looked for, and earneſtly purſuing his aduerſaries, droue them out of the Kingdom, and taking vpon him to rule the ſame as king, reigned two yeares during the whych he atchieued diuers notable enterpriſes. And firſte, whereas Berthun and Authune Dukes of Suſſex & ſubiectes vnto yͤ late K. Edilwalke, had both expulſed him out of yͤ countrey, after he had ſlain the ſaid Edilwalke, and alſo taken vpon them the rule of that Kingdome, he hauing now atteyned to the gouernement of the Weſt Saxons, inuaded yͤ countrey of Suſſex againe, and ſlewe Berthune in battell, bringing that cõutrey into more bondage than before. He alſo ſet vpon the Iſle of wight, and welneere deſtroyed all the inhabitãts, meaning to inhabite it with his owne people, hee bound himſelfe by vowe, although as yet he was not baptiſed, that if he might cõquere it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lorde. And in performãce of that vowe, he offered vnto Biſhop Wilfride who then chanced to be preſent, when he had taken that Iſle, ſo muche thereof, as conteyned three hundred houſholdes or families, where the whole conſiſted in. 1200. houſholdes. Wilfrid receiuing thankfully the gift, deliuered yͤ ſame vnto one of his Clearkes named Bernewine yͭ was his ſiſters ſon, appointing to him alſo a Prieſt named Hildila, yͭ which ſhould miniſter the word, & the Sacramẽt of Baptiſme vnto al thoſe yͭ would receiue the ſame. Thus was yͤ Ile of Wight brought to yͤ faith of Chriſt laſt of al other yͤ parties of this our Britain, after that yͤ ſame faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons. Moreouer, K. Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdom of Kent, wher he loſt his brother Mollo, as after ſhall appeare, but yet hee reuenged hys death with great ſlaughter made of yͤ inhabitãts in yͤ countrey. Finally, this worthy Prince Ceadwalla turning himſelf from yͤ deſire of warre & bloudſhed, became right courteis, gentle, & liberal towardes all men, ſo that ye could not haue wiſhed more vertuous manners to reſt in one as yet not Chriſtned. And ſhortly after, willing to be

Ceadwallo driuen to depart out of his countrey.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 15.

Berthune Earle of Suſſex ſlayne.



Ceadwallo his vowe.

The Ile of Wight conquered.

The Wight receyued the fayth.

to be admitted into the fellowſhip of the Chriſtians, (of whoſe Religion he had taken good taſt) he went to Rome, where of Pope Sergius hee was baptiſed, and named Peter, and ſhortly after ſurpryſed with ſickneſſe died, and was buried there within the Churche of Saint Peter in the yeare of our Lorde. 689.

689

eda lib.4.
p.26.

In the meane while, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde. 684. Ecgfrid king of Northumberland ſent an armie vnder the guiding of a Captaine named Bertus into Irelande, the which waſted that Countrey, ſparing neyther Church nor Monaſterie, ſore endomaging the people of that Countrey, whiche had euer beene friendes vnto the Engliſh Nation, and deſerued nothing leſſe than ſo to be inuaded and ſpoyled at their handes.

reland inuaded by the
orthūbers.

The Iriſh men defended themſelues to theyr power, beſeeching god with manye a ſalte teare, that he woulde reuenge theyr cauſe, in puniſhing of ſuche extreeme iniuries. And though curſers may not inherite the Kingdome of heauen, yet they ceaſſed not to curſe, hoping the ſooner thoſe which with good cauſe were thus accurſed, ſhould worthily be puniſhed for their offences by God, and ſo (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeare following the ſayde king Egfrid had led an army into Pictlande, agaynſte Brudeus king of the Pictes, and beeing trayned into ſtraytes within hilles and craggie mountains, he was ſlain with the moſt part of all his armie, in the yeare of hys age. xl. and of his raigne. xv. vpon the. xiij. kalends of Iune.

ing Ecgfrid
ain by Bru-
eus king of
e Pictes.

There were diuerſe of Ecgfrides friends, and namely Cutbert (whome hee had aduaunced the ſame yeare vnto the Biſhops ſea of Lindeſfarne) that aduiſed him in no wiſe, eyther to haue taken this warre in hande agaynſt the Pictes, or the other againſt them of Irelande, but he woulde not be counſayled, the puniſhment appoynted for his ſinnes being ſuch, that hee might not giue eare to his faythfull friendes, that aduiſed him to the beſt. From that time forth, the hope and power of the Engliſh people began to decay. For not onely the Pictes recouered that part of theyr Countrey which the Engliſh men had helde before in theyr poſſeſſiō, but alſo the Scots that inhabited within this Iſle, and likewiſe ſome part of the Brytaynes tooke vppon them libertie which they kept and mainteyned a long time after, as Bede confeſſeth. Ecgfride left no children behinde him. He had to wife one Ethelreda, or Edildrida, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles which liued with hir husbande the forſayd Ecgfride. xij. yeares in perfite virginitie (as it is ſuppoſed) contrarie to the purpoſe of hir husbande, if hee might haue perſwaded hir to the contrarie, but ſhe founde ſuch meanes, that finally he was contented that ſhe ſhould keepe hir firſt vowe of chaſtitie, which ſhe had made.

hese Britains
ere these vn-
oubtedly that
welt in the
orth west
rtes of this
e, and is not
ent onely by
of Wales.

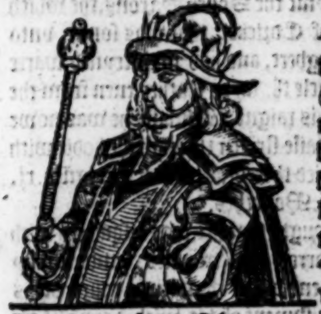
Ethelreda.

She was both widow and virgin when hee maryed hir, being firſt coupled in wedlocke with one Cunbert a noble man and a ruler in the ſouth partes of the Countrey, where the people called *Giruy* inhabited, whiche is the ſame where the fennes lye in the confines of Lincolneſhire, Norfolke, Huntingtonſhire, and Cambridgſhire, but he liued with hir but a ſmall while.

Giruii.

After ſhe had obteyned licence to departe from the Court, ſhe got hir firſt into Coldingham Abbay, and there was profeſſed a Nunne. And after ſhe went to Ely, and there reſtored the Monaſterie, and was made Abbes of the place, in the which after ſhee had gouerned. vij. yeares, ſhee departed this life, and was there buried.

This ſame was ſhe which commonly is called Saint Audrey of Ely, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceyued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.



Alfride
685

After that king Ecgfrid was ſlaine (as before is mencioned) his brother Alfrid was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the baſtarde ſonne of king Oſwy, and in his brothers dayes, eyther willingly, or by violent meanes cōſtrayned, he liued as a baniſhed man in Irelande, where applying himſelfe to ſtudie hee became an excellent Philoſopher, and therefore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receyued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his ſubiectes by the ſpace of. xx. yeares & more, with great wiſedome and policie, but not with ſuch large boundes as his aunceſters had done: for the Pictes, as before is mencioned) had cut off one peece on the North part of the auncient limits of that kingdome.

About the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, that is to wit, in the yeare of our Lorde. 698. one of his Captaynes named Earle Berthred, or Bertus, was ſlaine in battaile by the Picts, whoſe cōfines he had as then inuaded.

698
Beda in Epist.
Mat. VVest.

The curſe of the Iriſhe men whoſe countrey in the dayes of king Ecgfrid he had cruelly waſted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place.

Finally king Alfride after he had raigned. xx. yeares and odde monethes departed this life, in the yeare of our Lorde. 705.

705
Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrides dayes Eata the Biſhop of Herham being deade, one Iohn a man of great holineſſe was aduitted Biſhop, and after that Biſhop Wilfride was reſtored, after he had remayned a long tyme in exile.

Iohn Archbyſhop of York.

The ſayde Iohn was remoued to the Church of Yorke, the ſame beeing then voyde by the death of the Archbyſhoppe Boſa. At length the forſayd Iohn awerried with the cares of publyke affayres reſigned his Sea, and got him vnto Beuerley, where hee lyued a ſolitarie lyfe for the ſpace of foure yeares, and then dyed, about the yeare of our Lorde. 721. King Oſrike as then reigning in Northumberlande. Hee continued Byſhoppe for the ſpace of. xxiiij. yeares, and buylded a Churche, and founded a Colledge of Prieſts at Beuerley aforeſayde, in which church he lyeth buried.

He reſigneth his See.

721

686. hath. Mat Weſt.

Lother king of Kent dyeth of a wounde.

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfride was ſlaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the. viij. Ides of Februarie, of a wounde by hym receiued in a battaile whiche he fought agaynſt the South Saxons, the which came in ayde of Edricke, that was ſonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had mainteyned warre agaynſt his vncle the ſayde Lother, euen from the begynning of his raigne, till finally he was nowe in the ſayd battaile ſtriken through the bodie with a dart, and ſo died thereof, after he had raigned. xj. yeares, and. vij. Monethes.

Wil. Malm.

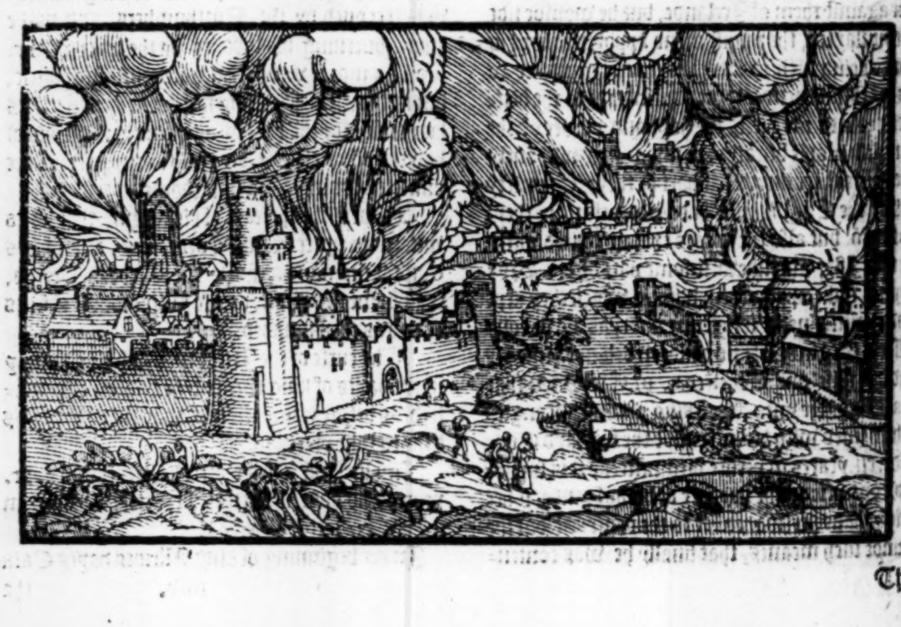
It was thought that hee was diſquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finally brought to his end before the natural courſe of his time, for a puniſhment of his wicked conſent giuen, to the putting to death of his couſins Ethelbert, and Ethilbrit, as appeared in that, when they were reported to be Martyrs, bycauſe it was knowne they dyed innocently, hee mocked them, and made but a ieaſt at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue as it were in recompence to theyr mother, a part of the Ile of Thanet to the buylding of a Monaſterie.

The foreſaid Edrick after that Lother was dead, got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill war, inſomuch that before he had raigned the ful tearme of two yeres, he was ſlaine in the ſame warre.

Then Ceadwalla king of the Weſt Saxons being thereof aduertiſed, ſuppoſing the time now to bee come that would ſerue his purpoſe, as one ſtill coueting to worke the Kentiſh men all the diſpleaſure he coulde, entred with an armie into their Countrey, and beganne to waſt and ſpoyle the ſame on eche ſide, till finally the Kentiſhmen aſſembling themſelues togither, gaue battaile to their enimies and put them to flight.

Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was driuen from hys companie, and conſtrayned to take an houſe for his refuge: but his enimies that purſued hym ſette fyre thereon, and burned both the houſe, and Mollo within it to Aſhes. Yet dyd not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the Countrey, but to wreake his wrathe, and to reuenge the griefe which he tooke for the death of his brother, hee waſted and deſtroyed a greate parte of Kent ere hee returned home, and left (as it were) an occaſion to his ſucceſſor alſo to purſue the quarell (as after ſhall appeare.)

Mollo b
to king Cad
walla bur
death.



The

Victred is ade king of ent.

The Kentiſhmen being deſtitute of a king, after that diuerſe had coueted the place, and ſought to ataine therto, as well by force as otherwiſe, to the great diſquieting of that prouince for yͤ ſpace of ſixe yeares togither, at length in the. vij. yeare after the death of Edrick, Withred an other of the ſonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligente trauaile ouercome enuie at home, and with money redeemed peace abrode, was with great hope conceyued of his worthineſſe made king of Kent, the. xj. of Nouember. 205. after the death of Hengeſt, and raigned. xxxiij. yeares, not deceyuing his ſubiectes of their good conceyued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduerſaries which were readie to leuie cyuill warre agaynſt him, he alſo purchaſed peace of Inas king of the Weſt Saxons, whiche ment to haue made him warre, till with money he was made his friend.

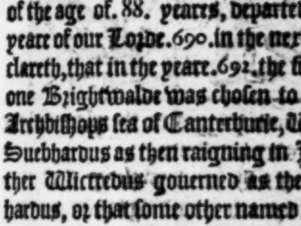
Hen. Hunt.
eda li. 5. ca. 8
Vebbhard and Nitred, kings y vſurpation nd not by ucceſſion, as H. Hunt. writh.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there raigned two kings in that countrey, Suebhard, or Nidred, or rather the ſame Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria gẽtis Anglorum*, haue not that name corrupted: for where he ſheweth that the Archbiſhop Theodorus being of the age of. 88. yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 690. in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare. 692. the firſt day of Iuly one Brightwalde was choſen to ſucceede in the Archbiſhops ſea of Canterburie, Wictredus, and Suebhardus as then raigning in Kent: but whether Wictredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that ſome other named Nitred, it forceth not, for certain it is by the agreement of writers, that till Wictred obteyned the whole rule, there was great ſtrife and contention moued about the gouernment, and diuerſe there were that ſought and fought for it.

Brightwald' he firſt Archbiſhop of the nglish nation

But this ought to be noted, yͭ the forenamed Brightwalde was the eight Archbiſhop in number, and firſt of the Engliſh nation that ſat in the ſea of Canterburie: for the other ſeuen that were predeceſſors to him, were ſtraungers borne, and ſent hither from Rome.

Inas king of VVeſt Saxons.



Inas. 689

IN this meane whyle, after that Ceadwalla, late King of the Weſt Saxons was gon to Rome, where he departed thys lyfe (as before is ſhewed) his coſin Inas, or Ine, was made king of the Weſt Saxons, beginning his raigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 689. in the thirde yeare of the Emperour Iuſtinianus the thirde, in the. xj. yeare of the raigne of Theodoricus king of Fraunce, and about the ſeconde yeare of the raigne of Eugenius king of Scots.

The Brytaynes ceaſſe to raign in this lande.

Bycauſe that now the rule of the Brytaines commonly called Welchmen, ceaſſed in thys Realme, as by confeſſion of their owne wryters it appeareth, and that in the ende the whole Monarchie of the ſame Realme came to yͤ hands of yͤ kings of Weſt Saxons, we haue thought meete to referre things general vnto yͤ raignes of yͤ ſame kings, as before wee did in the Brytaine Kings, reſeruing the particuler doings to the kings of the other Prouinces or kingdomes, as the ſame haue fallen out, and ſhall come to hande.

Fabian.
Henric. Hũt.

This Inas, which ſome miſtaking the n. for an u, do wrongfully name Iue or Iewe, proued a right excellent Prince, hee was diſcended of the auncient lynage of the kings of the Weſt Saxons, as ſonne to one Kenred, that was ſonne to Ceolwald, the ſonne of Cutha, or Cutwyne, that was ſonne to Kenrick, the ſonne of Certicus, the firſt king of Weſt Saxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant proweſſe knowne to reſt in his worthie perſon, than for the ſucceſſiue offſpring of which he was deſcended.

Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Malm.

The firſt voyage that he made, was agaynſt the Kentiſhmen, on whom he purpoſed to reuenge the death of his coſin Mollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in freſh memorie. But when the Kentiſh men perceiued, that to reſiſt him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by money to buy theyr peace, and ſo obteined their purpoſe, vpon payment made to him of. xxx. M. markes of ſiluer.

Anno. 708 as is noted by *Mat. VVeſt.*

After this, about the. xxj. yeare of his raigne, king Inas and his coſin Nun, fought with Gerent king of the Brytaynes.

H. Hunt.

In the beginning of the battaile one Higelbald a noble man of the Weſt Saxons part, was ſlaine, but in the ende Gerent with his Brytains was chaſed.

Mat. VVeſt. hath. 718.

In the. xxvj. yeare of his raigne, the ſame Inas fought a mightie battaile againſt Cheolred King of Mercia, at Wodneſburie, with doubtfull hiſtorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part ſuſteyned greater loſſe.

[illegible] *hath. 722.*

The end of the kingdome of the South Saxons.

In the. xxxvj. yeare of his raigne, king Inas inuaded the South Saxons with a mightie armie, and ſlue in battaile Ealdbright, or Albinius king of the South Saxons, & ioyned that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons: ſo that from thence forth the kingdome of thoſe South Saxons ceaſſed, after they had raigned in that kingdome by the ſpace of fiue kings ſucceſſiuely, that is to wit, Ella, Ciſſa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this laſt Albinius, or Ealdbright.

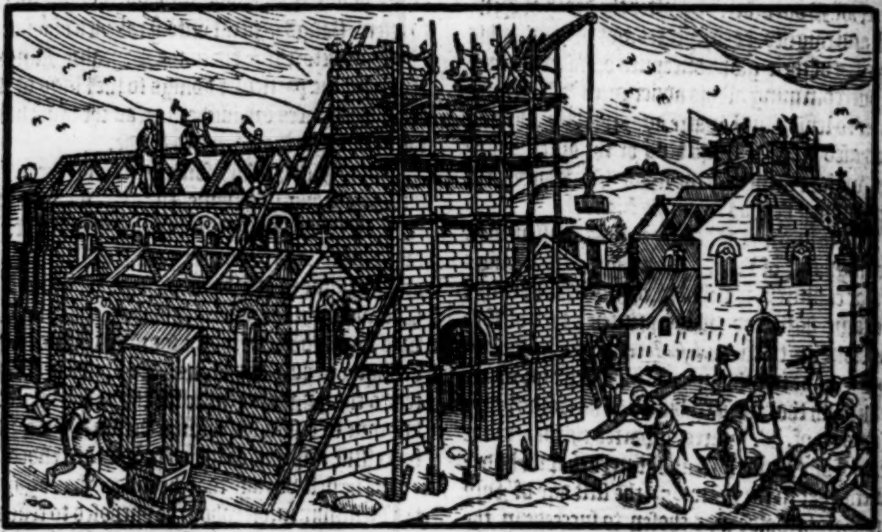
Finally

Inas went to Rome and there dyed.

Finally, when Inas had raigned .xxxviij. yeares, and .x. or .xj. odde Monethes, hee renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldly pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pylgryme, and there ended his life: But before this, during the time of his raigne, hee ſhewed himſelfe verie deuout and zealous towardes the aduauncement of the Chriſtian Religion. He made and ordeyned alſo good and wholeſome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, whiche are yet extant and to bee reade, written in the Saxon tongue, and tranſlated into the Latine in tymes paſt, and nowe lately agayne by maiſter William Lambert, and imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare. 1568, togither wyth the lawes and Statutes of other Kings before the Conqueſt, as to the learned it may appeare.

Polidor.

Moreouer, King Ine builded the Monaſterie of Glaſtenburie, where Ioſeph of Arimathea, in times paſt builded an Oratorie or Chappell (as before is recited) when he with other chriſtians came into this lande in the dayes of Aruiragus, and taught the Goſpell here to the Brytayns, conuerting many of them to the fayth.



Ethelburga.

Wil. Malm.

The deuiſe of Queene Ethelburga to perſwade hir huſband to forſake the world.

Moreouer king Ine or Inas buylded the Church of Welles, dedicating it vnto ſaint Andrew, where afterwardes a Biſhops Sea was placed, which at length was tranſlated vnto Saliſburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble lynage, who had beene earneſt in hande with him a long time to perſwade him to forſake the worlde: but ſhee could by no meanes bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, till vppon a time the king and ſhe had lodged at a Manor place in the Countrey, where all prouiſion had beene made for the receyuing of them and theyr trayne in moſt ſumptuous manner that might be, as well in riche furniture of houſeholde, as alſo in coſtly viandes, and all other things needefull, or that might ſerue for pleaſure, and when they were departed, the Queene the foreſayde Ethelburga, cauſed the keeper of that houſe to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other ſuch things as had beene brought thither and ordeyned for the beautifull ſetting forth of the houſe, and in place thereof to bring ordure, ſtrawe, and ſuche lyke fylth, as well into the Chambers and Hall, as into all the houſes of office, and that done to lay a Sowe wyth Pigges in the place where before the kings bed had ſtoode.

Hereupon when ſhe had knowledge that euery thing was ordered according to hir appoyntment, ſhe perſwaded the King to returne thyther agayne, feyning occaſions great and neceſſarie.

After he was returned to that houſe, whiche before ſeemed to the eye a Palace of moſte pleaſure, and nowe fynding it in ſuche a fylthie ſtate as might lothe the ſtomacke of any man to beholde the ſame, ſhee tooke occaſion thereof to perſwade him to the conſideration of the vaine pleaſures of this worlde, whiche in a moment turned to naught, togyther with the corruption of the fleſhe, beeing a fylthie lumpe of Clay, after it ſhoulde once be dyſſolued by death: and in fine where before ſhee had ſpente muche labour to moue hym to renounce the Worlde, though all in vayne, yet nowe the beholding of that chaunge in his pleaſant Palayce wherein ſo late hee had taken ſo greate delight, wrought ſuche an alteration in hys mynde, that hir wordes laſtlye tooke effecte: ſo that hee reſigned the Kingdome to his couſin Ethelard and went himſelfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned,) and his wife became a Nunne in the Abbey of Barking, where ſhe was made Abbeſſe, and finally there ended hir lyfe.

This Inas was the fyrſt that cauſed the

Peter pens. money called Peter pens, to bee payde vnto the Biſhop of Rome, which was for euery houſholde within his dominion a pennie.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the Kingdome of Mercia by the terme of .xxix. yeares, became a Monke in the Abbey of Bardeny, and after was made Abbot of that houſe. He had to wyfe one Oſtryda the ſiſter of Egfride King of Northumberlande, by whome hee had a ſonne named Ceolred. But he appoynted Kenred the ſonne of his Brother Wulfhere to ſucceed him in the kingdome.

King Ethelred becommeth a Monke.

Oſtrida.

Beda in Epit. The ſayde Oſtrida was cruelly ſlaine by the treaſon of hir huſbandes ſubiectes, about the yeare of our Lorde.697.

697

King Kenreds

The foreſayde Kenred was a Prince of greate vertue, deuoute towardes God, a furtherer of the common wealth of his Countrey, and paſſed hys lyfe in greate ſynceritye of maners.

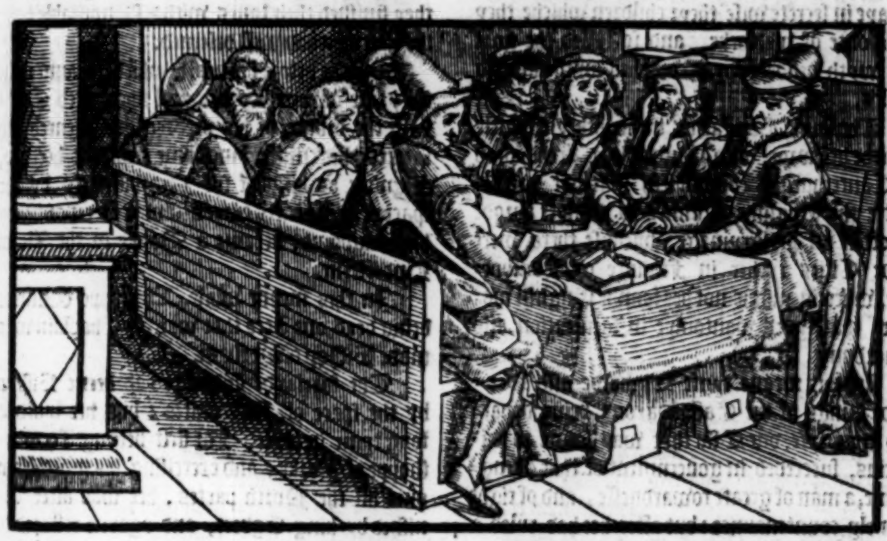
In the fifth yeare of his raigne, he renounced the worlde, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of Eaſt Saxons, where he was made a Monke: and finally dyed there, in the yeare of our Lorde.711.

711

Nauclerus. By the ayde and furtherance of this Kenred, a Monke of Saint Benets order (cleped Egwin) buylded the Abbay of Eueſhame. Afterwardes the ſame Egwine was made Biſhoppe of Worceſter.

Egwin Biſhop of Worceſter.

Wee finde it recorded by wryters, that this Egwine had warning giuen to him by viſions, (as hee conſtantly affyrmed before Pope Conſtantine,) to ſet vp an Image of our Ladie in his Churche. Herevppon the Pope approuing the teſtifications of this Byſhoppe, by hys Bulles, wrytte to Bryghtwalde the Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie, to aſſemble a Synode, and by authoritie thereof to eſtabliſhe the vſe of Images, charging the kings of this lande to bee preſent at the ſame Synode, vpon paine of excommunication.



Beda.710. This Sinode was holden about the yeare of our Lorde. 712. in the dayes of Inas King of Weſt Saxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia, ſucceſſor to the foreſayde Kenred.

Harison hath three onely. After Kenred ſucceeded Ceolredus, the ſonne of his vncle Edilred, and died in the .viij. yeare of his raigne, and was buried at Lichfielde.

Henric. Hunt. Then ſucceeded Ethelbaldus that was diſcended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from hym by lineall ſucceſſion. Thys man gouerned a long time without any notable trouble: ſome warres he had, and ſped diuerſly.

Ran. Ceſtren. In the .xviij. yeare of his raigne he beſieged Sommerton, and wanne it. Hee alſo inuaded Northumberlande, and gotte there great ryches by ſpoyle and pyllage, whiche hee brought from thence without any battaile offered to him.

H. Hunt. The Welchmen he ouercame in battaile, being then at quiet, and ioyned as cõfederates with Cuthred K. of Weſt Saxõs. But in the .xxxvij. yeare of his raigne, hee was ouercome in battaile at Bereforde by the ſame Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeers after, that is to witte, in the .xlj. yeare of hys raigne, hee was ſlaine in battaile at Secandone, or Sekenton, by his owne ſubiectes, whiche arreared warres agaynſte hym, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, which after hee had ſlayne his naturall Prince, toke vppon him the Kingdome: but he proſpered not long, being ſlaine by Offa that ſucceeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after ſhall be ſhewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton.

Bereforde.

755

Three miles from Tamworth.

VVil. Malm.

758

Math. VVeſt.

Bonifacius

he hyſtorie f Magd.

Bonifacius the Archbiſhop of Menze or Maguntze, hauing aſſembled a Councell wyth other Byſhoppes and Doctours, deuiſed a letter and ſent it vnto this Ethilbert, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes gyuing to the reliefe of the poore, and alſo for his vpright dealing in adminiſtration of Juſtice, to the puniſhment of robbers and ſuch lyke miſdoers: but in that he abſteyned from maryage and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerſe women, and namely with Nunnes, they ſore blamed him and withall declared in what infamie the whole Engliſhe Nation in thoſe dayes remayned by common report in other Countreys for theyr lycencious lyuing in ſinfull fornication, and namely the moſte parte of the Noble men of Mercia by hys euill example did forſake theyr wyues, and defloured other women whiche they kept in adulterie as Nunnes and other.

Nunnes kept for concubines

Moreouer hee ſheweth howe that ſuche euill women, as well Nunnes as other, vſed to make awaye in ſecrete wiſe theyr children whiche they bare oute of wedlocke, and ſo fylled the graues wyth deade bodyes, and hell wyth damned ſoules.

The ſame Bonifacius in an other Epyſtle whiche hee wrote vnto Cutbert the Archbyſhop of Canterburie, counſayleth him not to permitte the Engliſhe Nunnes to wander abrode ſo often on Pylgrymage, bycauſe there were fewe Cities eyther in Fraunce or Lombardye, wherein might not bee founde Engliſh women, that lyued wantonlye in fornication and whoredome.

Pilgrimage of Nunnes.

In this meane tyme Sigharde and Seufred, Kings of the Eaſt Saxons, being departed thys lyfe, one Offa that was ſonne to Sigerius, ſucceeded in gouernment of that Kingdome, a man of greate towardneſſe, and of right comely countenaunce: but after hee had ruled a certayne tyme, hee beeing moued of a religious deuotion, wente vnto Rome in companie of Kenred King of Mercia, and of one Ecgvine Byſhoppe of Worceſter, and beeing there ſhauen into the order of Monkes, ſo continued tyll hee dyed.

Kings of the East Saxons.
Bed.li.5.ca.20
Offa king of East Saxons.

After him one Selred the ſonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eaſt Saxons the tearme of xxxviij. yeares.

King Selred.
Hariſon.28.

After that Aldulfe the King of Eaſt Angles was departed thys life, whiche chaunced aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 688. his brother Eltwolde, or Aelfwolde ſucceeded him, and raigned about. xij. yeares. After whoſe deceaſſe one Beorne was made king of Eaſtangles, and raigned about. xxvj. yeares.

688
Hariſon.2:
Hariſon.36.

In this meane while, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 705. Alfride king of Northumberlande beeing deade, his ſonne Oſred, a childe of. viij. yeares of age ſucceeded hym in the kingdome, and raigned. xj. yeares, ſpending hys time when he came to rype yeares in filthie abuſing his bodie wyth Nunnes, and other religious women.

705
Oſred king Northum lande.

About the ſeuenth yeare of his raigne, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 711. one of his Captaynes named Earle Berthfride fought with the Pictes betwixte two places called Heue and Cere, and obteyning the victorie, ſlue an huge number of the enimies.

Henric.H
Pictes ouerthrowne by the North bers.

At length King Oſred by the trayterous meanes of hys couſins that arreared warre agaynſte him, was ſlaine in battaile, and ſo ended his raigne, leauing to thoſe that procured his death the lyke fortune in tyme to come. For Kenred raigning two yeares, and Oſricke tenne yeares, were famous onely in this; that beeing worthilye puniſhed for ſhedding the bloud of theyr naturall Prince and ſoueraigne Lorde, they finiſhed their lyues with diſhonourable deathes, as they had well deſerued.

King Oſred ſlaine in ba taile.

Oſricke before his death whiche chaunced in the yeare of oure Lorde. 729. appoynted Ceolvolfe the brother of his predeceſſour Kenred, to ſucceede him in the kingdome, whiche hee did, raigning as king of the Northumbers by the ſpace of. viij. yeares currant, and then renouncing his kingdome, became a Monke in the Ile of Lindeſſerne.

729

In this meane while, Byſhoppe Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his Chaplain was made Biſhop of Herham.

Beda.
Acca Biſhop of Herham.

The foreſayde Wilfride had beene Biſhop by the ſpace of. xlv. yeares: but hee lyued a long tyme in exyle. For firſt beeyng Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, and exerciſing his iuriſdiction ouer all the North partes, hee was after baniſhed by king Egbert, and agayne reſtored to the Sea of Herham, in the ſeconde yeare of king Alfride, and within fiue yeares after eftſoones banyſhed by the ſame Alfride, and the ſeconde tyme reſtored by his ſucceſſour king Oſred, in the fourth yeare of whoſe raigne, beeing the yeare after the Incarnation of oure Sauiour 709. hee departed this lyfe, and was buryed at Rippon.

Moreouer after John the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke had reſigned, one Wilfride ſurnamed the ſeconde, was made Archebiſhoppe of that Sea: whiche Wilfride was Chaplayne to the ſayde John, and gouerned that Sea by the ſpace of fifteene yeares, and then died.

Aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 710. the Abbot Adrian whiche came into this lande wyth Theodore the Archebyſhoppe of Canterburie (as before yee haue hearde) departed thys lyfe, aboute .xxxix. yeares after his comming thyther.

o Biſhops
as.
at.VVeſt.

Alſo Inas the king of Weſt Saxons, aboute the .xx. yeare of his raigne, deuided the Prouince of the Weſt Saxons into two Byſhoppes Seas, where as before they had but one; Daniel was ordeyned to gouerne the one of thoſe Seas, being placed at Wincheſter, hauing vnder him Suſſex, Southerie, and Hamſhire: and Aldhelme was appoynted to Shirburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeſhire, Wylteſhire Sommerſetſhire, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhire, and Cornwall.

ſhop Daniel.

ſhop Aldelm

This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was firſt made Abbot of Malmeſburie, in the yeare of our Lorde. 675. by Eleutherius then Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons. By his diligence that Abbay was greatly aduaunced, beeing afore that tyme founded by one Meoulfe a Scottiſh man, but of ſo ſmall reuenues afore Aldhelmes tyme, that the Monkes were vneth able to lyue thereon.

The Abbey of
lmeſburie.

Alſo the ſame Aldhelme was a greate furtherer vnto king Inas in the buylding of Glaſtenburie.

Fthelard.

Ethe-
larde.
728
Mat.VVeſt.
ath.727.

EThelarde, the couſyn of king Inas, to whome the ſame Inas reſigned hys kingdome, beganne to gouerne ẏ Weſt Saxōs in the yeare of oure Lorde. 724. or rather. 727. which was in the .xj. yeare of the Emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the ſeconde yeare of Theodorus king of Fraunce, and aboute the .viij. or .ix. yeare of Mordacke king of Scottes.

In the firſt yeare of Ethelardes raigne, hee was diſquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oſwalde a Noble manne, diſcended of the royall bloud of the Weſt Saxon Kings, procured agaynſt him: but in the ende, when he perceyued that the kings power was too ſtrong for him, hee fledde oute of the Countrey, leauing it thereby in reſt.

Mat.VVeſt.
729
Blaſing ſtarres

In the yeare. 729. in the Moneth of Ianuarie there appeared two Comets or blaſing Starres, right terrible to beholde, the one riſing in the morning before the riſing of the Sunne, & the other after the ſetting thereof: ſo that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the cloſing of the night, ſtretching forth theyr fierie brandes towardes the North, and they appeared thus euerie morning and euening the ſpace of a fourtnight togither, menacing as it were ſome great deſtruction or common miſchiefe to follow.

The Saracins ſhortly after entred Fraunce, and were ouerthrowne.

Finally, when king Ethelard had raigned the tearme of fourteene yeares current, hee departed this life.

After that Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentiſhmē by the ſpace of .xxxiij. yeares, with great cōmendation for the good orders which hee cauſed to be obſerued amongeſt them, as well concerning matters eccleſiaſticall as temporall, hee departed this life, leauing behind him three ſonnes whiche ſucceſſiuely raigned as heyres to him one after another, (that is to ſay) Edbert .xxiij. yeares, Ethelbert .xj. yeares current, and Alrike .xxxiiij. yeares, the whiche three Princes following the ſteppes of theyr father in the obſeruaunce of politique orders and commendable lawes, vſed for the more parte theyr fathers good lucke and fortune, excepte that in Ethelbertes tyme the Citie of Canterburie was burned by caſuall fyre, and Alrike loſt a battaile agaynſt them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of theyr tymes was ſomewhat blemyſhed: for ſo it came to paſſe that whatſoeuer chaunced euill, was kept ſtill in memorie, and the good happes that came forward, were ſone forgotten and put out of remembrance.

VVil. Malm.

Hariſon nameth Eth. lbert firſt, giuing him. 27. yeares, & Edbert ſecondly allowing him ten complete.
Bed.li.5.ca.24

731

In the yeare of our Lorde. 731. Britwalde Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe the fifth Ides of Ianuarie, after he had gouerned that Sea by the ſpace of .xxxvij. yeares, vj. Monethes, and fourteene dayes: in whoſe place the ſame yeare one Tacuine was ordeyned Archebyſhoppe, that before was a Prieſt in the Monaſterie of Bruydon within the Prouince of Mercia. Hee was conſecrated in the Citie of Canterburie, by the reuerende Fathers, Daniell Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter, Ingwalde Byſhoppe of London, Aldwine Byſhop of Lichefielde, and Aldwulfe Biſhop of Rocheſter, the .x. day of Iune, being Sunday.

Biſhops what prouinces they gouerned.

And thus in that ſeaſon, the Prouince of Canterburie was gouerned touching the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, by the Archbyſhoppe Tacwine, and Byſhoppe Aldvulfe. The Prouince of the Eaſt Saxons by Biſhop Ingwalde; the Prouince of Eaſt Angles, by Biſhop Eadbertus, and Hadulacus, the one keeping his Sea at Elham, and the other at Dunwich.

The Prouince of the Weſt Saxons was gouerned by the foreſayd Daniel, and by Forthere, which ſucceeded next after Aldhelme in the Sea of Sherburne.

Mat. VVeſt.

This Forthere in the yeare of our Lorde. 738. left his Biſhoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the Queene of the Weſt Saxons. Many as well Kings as Biſhops, noble and vnnoble, Prieſtes and laymen, togither with women, vſed to make ſuch iourneyes thither in thoſe dayes.

The Prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foreſayde Aldwine Byſhop of Lichfielde, and one Biſhop Walſtod holding hys Sea at Hereforde gouerned thoſe people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Seuerne toward the Weſt.

The Prouince of the Wiccies, that is to meane of Worceſter, one Wilfride gouerned.

The South Saxons, and the Ile of Wight, were vnder the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

In the Prouince of the Northumbers were foure Biſhops, that is to ſay, Wilfride, Archbyſhop of Yorke, Edilwalde Biſhop of Lindiſferne, Acca Biſhop of Herham, and Pecthelmus Byſhoppe of Whiterne, otherwiſe called Candida Caſa, hee was the fyrſt that gouerned that Church after the ſame was made a Biſhops Sea. And thus ſtood the ſtate of the Engliſhe Churche for Eccleſiaſticall gouernours in that ſeaſon.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puiſſance he was.

And as touching temporall gouernment, king Ceolvulf had the ſoueraigne Dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the Prouinces on the ſouth ſide of Humber with theyr kings and rulers, were ſubiect vnto Edilbalde or Ethelbald king of Mercia.

The nation of the Picts were in league with the Engliſh men, and gladly became partaker of the Catholike peace and veritie of the vniuerſall Church.

Thoſe Scots which inhabited Brytaine, contenting themſelues with theyr owne boundes, went not about to practiſe any deceytfull traynes nor fraudulent deuiſes agaynſt the Engliſh men.

The Brytaynes, otherwiſe called Welchmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the Engliſh Nation, and the obſeruance of the feaſt of Eaſter appoynted by the whole Catholike Churche, yet both deuine and humaine force vtterly reſiſting them, they were not able in neyther behalfe to atteyne to theyr wyſhed intentions, as they whiche though they were partly free, yet in ſome poynt remayned ſtyll as thrall and mancipate to the ſubiection of the Engliſh men: whiche Engliſhe men (ſayth Bede) now in acceptable peace and quietneſſe of time, manye amongeſt them of Northumberlande, laying armour and weapon aſide, applie themſelues to the reading of holy Scriptures, more deſyrous to be profeſſed in Religious houſes, then to exerciſe feates of warre: but what wyll come thereof (ſayth he) the age that followeth ſhall ſee and beholde. With theſe wordes doth Bede ende his Hyſtorie, continued tyll the yeare of our Lorde. 731. whiche was from the comming of the Engliſhe men into thys lande, aboute. 285. yeares according to his accounte.

732

In the yeare following, that is to wit. 732. in place of Wilfride the ſeconde, Egbert was ordeyned Biſhop of Yorke.

This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, the which as then was King of Northumberlande, by whoſe helpe, hee greatly aduaunced the Sea of Yorke, and recouered the Pall: ſo that where all the other Biſhoppes that helde the ſame Sea before him ſithe Paulines dayes, wanted the Pell, and ſo were accounted ſimply but particuler Biſhoppes: nowe was hee entituled by the name of Archbiſhop. He alſo gotte togyther a great number of good bookes, which he beſtowed in a librarie at Yorke.

733

In the yeare. 733. on the. xviij. Kalendes of September, the Sunne ſuffered a great Eclipſe aboute three of the Clocke in the after Noone, in ſo muche that the Earth ſeemed to bee couered wyth a blacke and horrible Pentiſe.

735
Beda dep
this life.

In the yeare. 735. that reuerende and profounde learned manne Beda departed this lyfe, beeing. lxxij. yeares of age vpon Aſcention day, which was the. vij. Kalendes of Iune, and. xxvj. of May, as Mat. Weſt hath diligently obſerued. Hariſon addeth hereto, that it is to bee read in an olde Epyſtle of Cutbert Monke of the ſame houſe, vnto Cuthwyne, that the ſayd Beda lying in hys death bed, tranſlated the Goſpell of Saint Iohn into Engliſhe, and commaunded his brethren to bee diligent in the reading and contemplation of the bookes and not to exerciſe themſelues wyth fables and friuolous matters.

Finally he was buryed in the Abbey of Girnie, diſtaunt fiue myles from Wyremouth, an Abbay alſo in the North partes, not farre from Newcaſtell (as is before remembred.) Hee was brought vp in thoſe two Abbays, and was ſcholer to Iohn of Beuerlay.

Howe throughly hee was ſeene in all kyndes of good literature, the bookes which he wrote doe manifeſtly beare witneſſe. His iudgement alſo was ſo much eſteemed ouer all, that Sergius the Biſhoppe of Rome wrote vnto Celfrid the Abbot of Wyremouth, requyring hym to ſende

Beda vnto the Courte of Rome for the decyding of certaine queſtions moued there, whiche without his opinion might ſeeme to reſt doubtfull. But whether hee went thither or not wee can not affyrme: but as it is thought by menne worthie of credite, hee neuer went oute of this lande, but continued for the moſte part of his life in the Abbeyes of Geruie, and Wyremouth, fyrſt vnder Benet the fyrſt Abbot and founder of the ſame Abbayes, and after vnder the ſayde Celfride, in whoſe tyme he receyued orders of prieſthoode at the handes of Byſhoppe Iohn, ſurnamed of Beuerlay, ſo that it may be marueyled that a man borne in the vttermoſte corner of the Worlde, ſhoulde proue ſo excellente in all knowledge and learning, that his fame ſhoulde ſo ſpreade ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his natiue Countrey to ſeeke it. But who that marketh in reading olde Hyſtories the ſtate of Abbayes and Monaſteryes in thoſe dayes, ſhall well perceyue that they were ordered after the manner of our ſchooles or Colledges, hauing in them dyuerſe learned men, that attended onely to teache and bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or elſe to go abrode and preach the word of God in the townes & villages adioining.

Crantzius.

735

The ſame yeare died the Archbiſhop Tacuine, and in the yeare following, that is to witte. 735. Nothelmus was ordeyned Archbiſhop of Canterburie in his place, and Egbert the Archbyſhop of Yorke the ſame yere got his Pall from Rome, and ſo was confirmed Archbiſhop, and ordeyned two Biſhops, Fruydbert, and Fruydwalde. But ſome refer it to the yeare. 744.

Cuthred.

Cuthred

After the deceaſſe of Ethelard king of weſt Saxons, his coſin Cuthred was made King & gouernour of thoſe people, raigning the terme of. xvj. yeares. He beganne his raigne in the yeare of our Lord. 740. in the. xxiiij. yeare of the Emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the. xiiij. yeare of the raigne of the ſeconde Theodorus Cala king of Fraunce, and aboute the. vj. yeare of Ethfine King of Scottes.

740

Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.

This Cutred had muche to doe agaynſte Edilbald king of Mercia, the which one while with ſtyrring his owne ſubiectes the Weſt Saxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and ſometyme by ſecrete craft and ſubtile practiſes, ſought to diſquiet him.

In the fourth yeare yet of his raigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioyning theyr powers togyther, they went agaynſte the Welchmen, and gaue them a great ouerthrow, as before is partly touched.

Kenric the kings ſonne ſlaine.

749

Mat. VVeſt.

In the. ix. yeare of this Cuthreds raigne, hys ſonne Kenric was ſlaine in a ſeditious tumult amongſt his men of warre, a Gentleman yong in yeares, but of a ſtoute courage, and verie forwarde, whereby (as was thought) he came the ſooner to his ende.

751

In the. xj. yeare of his raigne, Cuthred had warres agaynſt one of his Earles called Adelme, who rayſing a commotiõ againſt him, aduentured to giue battaile, though he had the ſmaller nũber of men, and yet was at poynt to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wounde at that inſtant receyued, his periurie had not beene puniſhed, and the kings iuſt cauſe aduaunced to tryumphe ouer his aduerſarie, whome yet by waye of reconciliation he pardoned. In the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, King Cuthred beeing not well able longer to ſuſtayne the prowde exactions and harde doings of Edelbalde King of Mercia, rayſed hys power, and encountered with the ſame Edelbalde at Hereforde, hauing with hym the foreſayde Earle Adelme, in whoſe valiaunte prowes he put great hope to attaine victorie: neither was he deceyued: for by the ſtoute conduct and noble courage of the ſayde Adelme, the loftie pryde of King Edelbalde was abated, ſo that he was there put to flight, and all his armye diſcomfited, after ſore and terrible fight continued and mainteyned euen to the vttermoſt poynt.

752

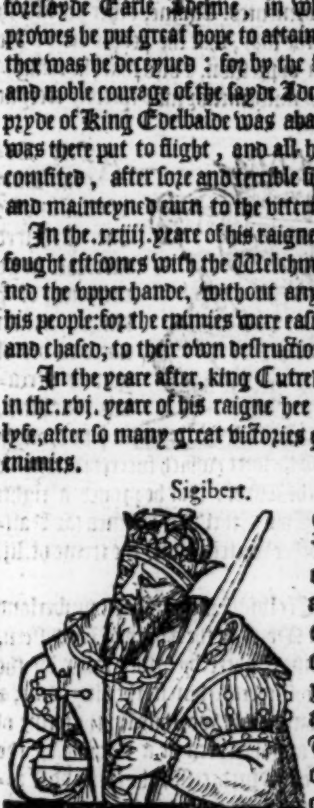
Mat. VVeſt.

King Edelbald put to flight.

In the. xxiiij. yeare of his raigne, this Cuthred fought eftſoones with the Welchmen, and obteyned the vpper hande, without any great loſſe of his people: for the enimies were eaſily put to flight and chaſed, to their own deſtruction.

In the yeare after, king Cutred fell ſicke, and in the. xvj. yeare of his raigne hee departed thys lyfe, after ſo many great victories got againſt his enimies.

Sigibert.



Sigibert

After hym ſucceeded one Sigibert, a cruell prince & one vnmercifull at home, yet a cowarde abrode. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his raigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 755. very neare ended. He intreated his ſubiectes verie euill, ſetting lawe

755

and reaſon at naught, he could not abide to heare his faultes tolde him, and therefore he cruelly put to death an Earle named Cumbra, which was of his counſaile and faythfully admoniſhed him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the reſt of his Nobles aſſembled themſelues togither wyth a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his eſtate in the beginning of the ſeconde, or (as Hariſon hath) the firſt yeare of hys raigne. Then Sigibert, as hee was fearefull of nature, fearing to bee apprehended, gotte him into the Wodde called as then Andredeſwalde, and there hydde himſelfe, but by chaunce a Swineheard e that belonged to the late Earle Cumbra at Priuetelſloud founde him oute, and perceyuing what he was, ſlue him in reuenge of his maiſters death.

Lo here you may ſee how the righteous iuſtice of God rewardeth wicked doings in thys world with worthie recompence, as wel as in the worlde to come, appoynting forth euill Princes ſometymes to reigne to the puniſhment of the people, according as they haue deſerued permytting ſome of them to haue gouernment a long tyme, that both the frowarde Nation maye ſuffer long for theyr ſinnes, and that ſuch wicked Princes maye in an other Worlde taſte the more bytter tormentes. Againe, other hee taketh ſhortly out of the way, that the people maye bee deliuered from oppreſſion, & alſo that the naughtie ruler for his miſdemenor may ſpeedily receyue due puniſhment.

Ethel-red.

After Beorne King of Eaſtangles one Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernment of yͤ kingdõ, a man noted to bee of good & vertuous qualities, in yͤ he brought vp his ſonne Ethelbert (which ſucceeded him) ſo in the feare of the Lorde, that he proued a righte godly prince. This Etheldred raigned (as Hariſon and alſo other writers haue) the terme of .lij. yeares.

728

Egbert king of Northumberlande.
Har.bath. 21.

758

After that Ceolvulf king of Northumberland was become a Monk, in the Abbey of Lindiſfern, his vncles ſonne Egbert by (order taken by the ſayd Ceovulfe) ſucceeded him in the kingdome, & gouerned the ſame right worthily for the terme of xxiiij. yeares, and then became a Monke, by the example both of his predeceſſor the foreſayd Ceovulf, and alſo of diuerſe other kings in thoſe days, ſo that he was the eight king who in this lãd had chaunged a kings Crowne for a Monks Cowle, (as Simon Dunel. wryteth.)

Chaunging of crownes for Monks cowles

756

This Edbert (in the .xviij. yere of his raigne,) and Vngust king of Pictes came to the Citie of Alcluid with theyr armyes, and there receyued the Brytaynes into theyr ſubiection, the firſt day of Auguſt: but the tenth day of the ſame moneth, the armie which he led from Ouan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part loſt and deſtroyed.

The ſame yeare on the .viij. kalendes of December, the Moone beeing as then in hir full appeared to be of a bloudie coulour, but at length ſhee came to hir accuſtomed colour, after a marueylous meanes, for a ſtarre whiche followed hir, paſſed through hir, and went before hir, the like diſtance as it kept in following hir before ſhe loſt hir vſuall light.

Offa.

After that Offa had ſlayne Bernred the vſurper of the Kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned,) the ſame Offa tooke vppon hym the gouernment of that Kingdome. 758. a man of ſuch ſtowtneſſe of ſtomacke, that he thought he ſhould be able to bring to paſſe all things whatſoeuer he conceyued in his mind. He raigned .xxxix. yeares.

758
Mat.Tr.

His doings were great and marueylous, and ſuche as ſome tymes his vertues ſurpaſſed hys vices, and ſometyme againe his vices ſeemed to ouermatch his vertues.

xxij.ml.

The Kentiſhmen he ouercame in a great battayle at Otteforde, and the Northumbers alſo were by hym vanquiſhed, and in battaile put to flight. With Kenvulfe King of Weſt Saxons hee fought in open battaile, and obteyned a noble victorie, wyth ſmall loſſe of hys people, although the ſame Kenwulfe was a right valyaunt Prince, and a good Captaine. Againe, perceyuing that to proceede wyth craft ſhoulde ſooner aduaunce his purpoſe, than to vſe open force agaynſt Egilbert King of Eaſt Angles, vnder fayre promiſes to giue vnto him hys daughter in maryage, hee allured him to come into Mercia, and receyuing him into hys Palayce, cauſed his heade to be ſtryken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his poſſeſſion: yet hee cauſed the bones of the firſt Martyr of this lande Saint Albone (by a myraculous meanes brought to light,) to bee taken vp, and put in a riche ſhrine, adourned with golde and ſtone, buylding a goodly Churche of excellent workemanſhippe, and founding a Monaſterie in that place in honour of the ſame Saint, which he indowed with great poſſeſſions. Hee remoued the Archbiſhops Sea from Canterburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduaunce his Kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie and preheminēce of Spirituall power as Temporall.

The vertue of king Of.
Mat.Tr.

771

Falſehed in felowſhip.

The Archbiſhops ſea remoued from Canterburie to Lichfielde.

He made great ſuyte to bring that his purpoſe to paſſe in the Court of Rome, and at length by great giftes and rewardes he obteyned it at the handes of Pope Adrian the firſt, as then gouerning the Romaine Sea.

85

t. VVeſt.

And ſo Eadulfus as then Biſhop of Lichfielde was adourned with the Pall, and taken for Archbiſhop, hauing all thoſe Biſhops within the limittes of King Offa his Dominion, Suffraganes vnto him, as Denebertus Byſhop of Worceſter, Werebertus Biſhop of Cheſter, Eadulfus Biſhop of Dorcheſter, Wlnatdus Biſhop of Hereforde, Halard Biſhop of Ellham, and Cedferth Biſhop of Donwich. There remayned onely to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of London, Wyncheſter, Rocheſter, and Shireburne.

e Archbi-
op Lambert
fended his
ſe.

And this ſeparation continued all the life time of the Archbiſhoppe Lambert, although he trauayled earneſtly to maintayne his prerogatiue, inſomuch for that hee ſtyll defended his cauſe, and woulde not conſent to his will, Offa depriued him of all his poſſeſſions and reuenues that he helde or enioyed wythin any part of his dominions. Neyther was Offa ſatiſfied herewith, but he alſo tooke into his handes the poſſeſſions of manye other Churches, and namely, hee fleeced the houſe of Malmeſburie of parte of hir reuenues. Bycauſe of theſe and other his harde doings, doubting the malice of hys enimes, hee procured the friendſhip of forraine Princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Weſt Saxons hee gaue hys daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And ſending diuerſe Ambaſſadors ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both Emperour and king of Fraunce, at length he purchaſed his friendſhippe, although before there had depended a peece of diſpleaſure betwixt them, inſomuch that the entercourſe for trade of Merchandize was ſtayed for a tyme.

ffa allyeth
imſelfe with
ther Princes.

Mat. VVeſt.

The enter-
courſe of mar-
chants ſtayed.

Alcuine an
Engliſhmã.

One of the Ambaſſadors that was ſent vnto the ſaid Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine, or [illegible]wine, by whoſe perſwaſion the ſame Charles e[illegible]d two Vniuerſities, as in place conuenient it may more largely appeare.

Polidor.

Finally king Offa (as it were for a meane to appeaſe Gods wrath, whiche hee doubted to bee iuſtly conceyued towardes him for his ſinnes and wickedneſſe) graunted the tenth part of all hys goodes vnto Church men, and to poore people. He alſo endowed the Church of Hereforde with great reuenues, and as ſome write, he builded the Abbay of Bathe, placing Monkes in the ſame, of the order of Saint Benet, as before hee had done at Saint Albons.

775

Moreouer hee went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lorde. 775. and there following the example of Inas King of the Weſt Saxons, he made his realme ſubiect by way of tribute vnto the Churche of Rome, appoynting that euerye houſe within the limits of his dominions ſhoulde yearely pay vnto the Apoſtolike Sea one pennie, which payment was after named Rome Scot, and Peter pens.

Peter pence, or
Rome Scot.

VVil. Malm.

797

After hys returne from Rome, perceyuing himſelfe to drawe into yeares, hee cauſed his Sonne Egfride to bee ordeyned King in hys lyfe tyme: and ſhortly after departing oute of this Worlde, lefte the Kingdome vnto hym, after hee had gouerned it by the ſpace of. xxxix. yeares.

Offa departed
this life.

Amongſt other the doings of this Offa which ſurely were great and marueylous, this may not paſſe with ſilence, that he cauſed a mightie greate ditch to be caſt betwixte the Marches of hys Countrey, and the Welche confines, to deuide thereby the boundes of their dominions.

Offditch.

This Ditche was called Offeditch euer after, and ſtretched from the South ſide by Bryſtowe, vnder the Mountaynes of Wales, running Northwarde ouer the Ryuers of Seuerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that Ryuer falleth into the Sea. Hee likewyſe buylded a Church in Warwikeſhire, wherof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offechurch euen to this day.

Egfride king
of Mercia.

Egfred taking vpon him the rule, beganne to follow the approued good doings of his father, and firſt reſtored vnto the Churches theyr auncient priuiledges, which his father ſometime had taken from them. Great hope was conceyued of hys further good proceedings, but death cut off the ſame, taking him out of this lyfe, after he had raigned the ſpace of foure Monethes, not for his owne offences (as was thought) but rather for that hys Father hadde cauſed ſo muche bloud to bee ſpylte for the confyrming of hym in the Kingdome, which ſo ſmall a time he nowe enioyed.

Eadbert king
of Northum-
berlande.

758

Simon Dun.

H. Hunt.

After that Eadbert or Egbert king of Northumberlande was become a Monke, his ſonne Oſoulphus ſucceeded him: but after he had raigned onely one yeare, he was trayterouſly murthered by his owne ſeruants at Mikilwongton, on the. ix. Kalends of Auguſt.

Edilwold king
of Northum-
berland.

Simon Dun.

Henric. Hunt.

Then ſucceeded one Molle, otherwiſe called Edilwold or Ediwald, but not immediatly, for he began not his raigne till the Nones of Auguſt in the yeare following, which was after the byrth of our Sauior. 759.

This man proued right valiaunt in gouernment of his ſubiects. He ſlue in battaile an Earle of his Countrey named Oſwin, the which arreayring warre agaynſt him, fought with him in a pight fielde at Eadwines Cliue, and receyued the worthie rewarde of rebellion.

This chaunced in the third yeare of his raigne.

Simon Dun.
764

Shortly after, that is to witte in the yeare of our Lorde.764.there fel ſuch a marueylous great ſnowe, and therewith ſo extreeme a froſt, as the like had not beene heard of, continuing from the begynning of the Winter, almoſt tyll the midſt of the Spring, with the rygour whereof, trees and fruites wythered away, and loſt theyr liuely ſhape and growth: and not onely feathered foules, but alſo beaſtes on the lande, and fiſhes in the Sea dyed in great numbers. The ſame yeare died Ceolwulf ſomtyme king of Northumberlande, vnto whome Beda dyd dedicate his booke of Hyſtories of the Engliſh Nation. After that hee was become a Monke in the Monaſterie of Lyndiſferne, the Monkes of that houſe had lycence to drincke Wine, or Ale, where as before they myght not drinke any other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule preſcribed thẽ of Biſhop Aydan firſt founder of the place.

Monkes licenced to drinke wine.

The ſame yeare ſundrye Cities, Townes, and Monaſteryes were defaced and ſore waſted with fyre chauncing on the ſodayne, as Stretehu, Giwento, Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaſter, and many other.

VVil. Malm.

After that Molle had raigned.vj.yeares, he reſigned his kingdome. But other write that hee raigned.xj.yeares, and was in the ende ſlaine by treaſon of his ſucceſſor Alred.

Altred began his raigne in the yeare. 765. as Simõ Dun. hath.

This Alred raigned ten yeares ouer the Northumbers, and was then expulſed out of his kingdome by his owne ſubiectes.

Henric. Hũt.
Mat. VVeſt.
Ethelbert.

Then was Ethelbert, named alſo Edelrede, the ſonne of the foreſayde Molle, made king of Northumberlande, and in the fifth yeare of hys raigne, he was dryuen oute of his kingdome by two Dukes of his Countrey, named Edelbalde, and Herebert, the whiche mouing warre againſt him, had ſlaine firſt Aldulfe the ſonne of Boſa the Generall of his armie at Kingeſclyffe, and after Kinewulfe, and Egga, other two of his Dukes, at Helatherne in a ſore foughten fielde, ſo that Ethelbert diſpayring of all recouerie, was conſtrayned to get him oute of the Countrey. And thus was the Kingdome of Northumberlande brought into a myſerable ſtate, by the ambitious working of the Princes and Nobles of the ſame.

H. Hunt.
Iohn Capgraue.
Mat. VVeſt.
and others.
Ethelbert king of Eaſt angles.

After that Ethelbert King of Eaſt Angles was dead, his ſonne Ethelbert ſucceeded hym, a Prince of great towardneſſe, and ſo vertuouſly brought vp by his fathers circumſpect care and diligence, that hee vtterly abhorred vice, and delighted onely in vertue and commendable exerciſes, for the better atteyning to knowledge and vnderſtanding of good ſciences. There remayne manye ſundrye ſayings and doyngs of hym, manyfeſtly bearing wytneſſe that there coulde not be a man more honourable, thankefull, curteous or gentle.

Amongſt other he had this ſaying oftentimes in his mouth, That the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themſelues: for the Lorde putteth prowde and mightie men from theyr ſeates, and exalteth the humble and meeke. Moreouer he did not ſhew himſelfe onely wiſe in wordes, but deſired alſo to excell in ſtayedneſſe of maners, and continencie of life: Whereby hee wanne to hym the heartes of hys people, who perceyuing that hee was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore mynded not maryage, they of a ſingular loue and fauour towards him, required that he ſhuld in any wiſe yet take a wife, that he might haue iſſue to ſucceed him. At length the matter beeing referred to hys Counſayle, hee was perſwaded to followe theyr aduices. And ſo Alfred the daughter of Offa King of Mercia was fianced to hym: ſo that he hymſelfe appoynted (for meane to procure more fauor at hys father in lawes hands) to go to fetch the bride fro hir fathers houſe.

Tokens of miſhap to follow.

Manye ſtraunge things that happened to hym in taking vppon hym this iourney, putte hym in greate doubte of that whiche ſhoulde followe. Hee was no ſooner mounted on hys horſe, but that (as ſeemed to hym) the earth ſhooke vnder him: Againe, as he was in his iourney, aboute the mydde tyme of the daye, ſuche a darke myſte compaſſed hym on eche ſide, that he coulde not ſee nor diſcerne for a certaine time any thing aboute him at all: Laſtly, as hee laye one night a ſleepe, hee thought hee ſawe in a dreame the rooſe of his owne Palayce fall downe to the ground. But althoughe wyth theſe things hee was brought into greate feare, yet hee kept on his iourney, as hee that miſtruſted no deceyte, meaſuring other mens maners by his owne.

The innocent miſtruſtful of no euil.

King Offa right honourably receyued hym: but his wyfe named Qu[illegible]dred, a wyſe woman, but therewyth wic[illegible]d, conceyued a malicious deuiſe in hir heart, and ſtreyght wayes goeth aboute to perſwade hir huſbande to putte it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into hys handes hys Kingdome.

Offa at the firſte was offended wyth hys wyfe for thys motion, but in the ende through the importunate requeſt of the woman, hee conſented to hir minde.

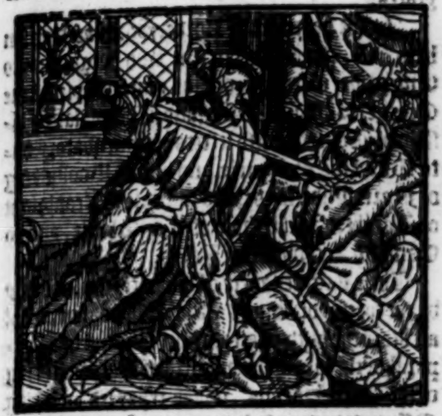
Iohn Capg.
Wynnebert.

The order of the murther was committed vnto one Wynnebert, that had ſerued both the ſayde Ethelbert and hys father before tyme, the whiche feyning as thoughe hee had beene ſent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto

him

Dun.
ch.771.

him in the night ſeaſon, ſlue him that once miſtruſted not any ſuch treaſon.



Offa conquereth Eaſt Angles.

Offa hauing thus diſpatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it. But when the Bryde Alfreda vnderſtode the death of hir liked Make and Bridegrome, ſhe abhorring the fact, did curſe father and mother, & as if were inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecie, ſhe pronounced that worthie puniſhment woulde ſhortly fall on hir wicked mother, for hir heynous crime committed in perſwading ſo deteſtable a deede! and according to hir wordes it came to paſſe, for hir mother dyed miſerably within three Monethes after.

Alfreda a Nunne.
Beda.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Mayde Alfreda refuſing the worlde, profeſſed hirſelfe a Nunne at Crowlande, the which place beganne to waxe famous aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 695. by the meanes of one Gutlake a man eſteemed of great vertue and holyneſſe, which choſe to himſelfe an habitation there, and departing this lyfe about the yeare of oure Lorde. 714. was buried in that place, where afterwardes an Abbay of Monkes was builded of Saint Benets order.

The bodie of king Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though firſt it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neare to the banke of a riuer called Lugge.

The kingdome of Eaſt Angles from thenceforth was brought ſo into decay, that it remayned ſubiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the weſt Saxons and ſomewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmonde ſurnamed the Martyr obteyned the gouernment thereof, (as after ſhall appeare.)

H. Hunt.

After that Selred king of Eaſt Saxons had gouerned the tearme of. xxxviij. yeares, hee was ſlaine, but in what maner, wryters haue not expreſſed.

After him ſucceeded one Swithed, or Swithred, the. xj. and laſt in number that particularly gouerned thoſe people. He was finally expulſed by Egbert king of Weſt Saxons, the ſame yeare that the ſayde Egbert ouercame the Kentiſh men (as after ſhall be ſhewed) and ſo the kings of that kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons ceaſſed and tooke ende.

Friſwide a virgine.

About this time, there was a Mayde in Oxforde named Friſwide, daughter to a certaine Duke or Noble man called Didanus, wyth whom one Algarus a Prince in thoſe parties fell in loue, and woulde haue rauiſhed hir, but God the reuenger of ſinnes was at hande as hir ſtorie ſayth. For when Algar followed the mayd that fled before him, ſhe getting into the towne, the gate was ſhutte agaynſt him, and his ſight alſo was ſodainly taken from him. But the Mayde by hir prayers pacifyed Gods wrath towardes him; ſo that his ſight was to him againe reſtored. But whether this bee a fable or a true tale, hereof grewe the report that the kings of thys Realme long tymes after were afrayde to enter into the Citie of Oxforde. So eaſily is the minde of man turned to ſuperſtition, as ſayth Polidore.

Kinewulfe.

Kinewulfe.

Hen. Hunt.

After that the Weſt Saxons had depriued theyr vnprofitable King Sigibert, they aduanced one Kinewulfe or Cinevulfus, ẏ which began his raigne aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 756. which was in the. xvj. yeare of the Emperour Conſtantinus, ſurnamed Copronimos, in the. vj. yeare of the raigne of Pipin king of Fraunce, and about the. xxij. yeare of Ethfine king of Scottes.

756

Simon Dun. hath. 755.

The Brytayns vanquiſhed.

This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant Prince, and was deſcended of the right line of Cerdicius. Hee obteyned great victories agaynſt the Brytaynes or Welchmen, but at Benſington or Benton, he loſt a battaile againſt Offa King of Mercia, in the. xxiiij. yeare of hys raigne: and from that time forwarde ſuffring many diſpleaſures, at length through his owne folly hee came vnto a ſhamefull ende: for where as he had raigned a long time neyther ſlouthfully nor preſumptuouſly, yet nowe as it were aduaunced with the glorie of things paſſed, hee eyther thought that nothing coulde go againſt him, or elſe doubted the ſuretie of their ſtate whom he ſhould leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whoſe fame hee perceyued to encreaſe more than hee woulde haue wiſhed, This Kinearde diſſembling the matter, as hee that coulde giue place to tyme, gotte him out of the Countrey, and after by a ſecrete conſpiracie aſſembled togyther a knotte of vngracious companie, and returning priuily into the Countrey againe, watched his tyme, till he eſpied that the King wyth a ſmall number of his ſeruauntes was come vnto the houſe of a Noble woman whome hee kept as Paramour at Merton, wherevpon the ſayd Kineard vpon the ſodain beſet the houſe round about.

Kinewulf ſlain by conſpirators.

The King perceyuing himſelfe thus beſieged of his enimies, at the firſt cauſed the doores to be ſhutte, ſuppoſing eyther by curteous wordes to appeaſe his enimies, or wyth his Princely authoritie to put them in feare. But when he ſawe that by neyther meane hee coulde doe good, in a great chauſe he brake forth of the houſe vpon Kineard, and went verie neare to haue killed him: but beeing compaſſed aboute with multitude of enimies, whyleſt hee ſtoode at defence, thinkyng it a diſhonour for hym to flie, hee was beaten downe and ſlaine, togyther with thoſe fewe of his ſeruauntes which hee had there with hym, who choſe rather to die in ſeeking reuenge of their maiſters death, than by cowardice to yeeld themſelues into the murtherers handes. There eſcaped none excepte one Welchman or Brytayne, an Hoſtage who was neuertheleſſe ſore wounded.

The bruyte of ſuche an heynous acte was ſtreyght wayes blowen ouer all, and brought with ſpeede to the eares of the Noble men and Peeres of the Realme, whiche were not farre off the place where this ſlaughter had beene committed. Amongeſt other, one Oſrike, for his age and wiſedome accounted of moſt authoritie, exhorted the reſidue that in no wyſe they ſhoulde ſuffer the death of their ſoueraigne Lorde to paſſe vnpuniſhed vnto theyr perpetuall ſhame and reprouſe. Wherevpon in all haſte they ranne to the place where they knew to finde Kineard, who at the fyrſt beganne to pleade hys cauſe, to make large promiſes, to pretende couſynage, and ſo forth: but when he perceyued all that hee coulde ſay or doe might not preuaile, hee encouraged his companie to ſhewe themſelues valyaunt, and to reſyſt theyr enimyes to the vttermoſte of theyr powers.

Hereupon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part ſtryuing to ſaue theyr lyues, and the other to attaine honour, and puniſh the ſlaughter of theyr ſoueraigne Lorde. At length the victorie reſted on the ſide where the right was, ſo that the wicked murtherer after hee had fought a while, at length was ſlaine, togyther wyth fourescore and eight of his Mates. The Kings bodie was buried at Wincheſter, and the murtherers at Repingdon. Suche was the ende of King Kinewulfe, after hee had raigned the tearme of .xxx yeares.

Sim. Dunel.
H. Hunt.

Eccle. hiſt. Magd.
785. R.H.

In the yeare of our Lorde .786. or as Hariſon hath .787. Pope Adrian ſent two Legates into Englande, Gregorie (or as ſome Copies haue George) Biſhop of Oſtia, and Theophilactus Biſhop of Tuderto, with letters commendatory vnto Offa king of Mercia, and vnto Alfwolde king of Northumberlande, and likewiſe to Ieanbright or Lambert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to Eaubald Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Legates fro the Pope.

These Legates were gladly receyued, not only by the foreſayde Kings & Archbiſhops, but alſo of all other the high eſtates, aſwel ſpiritual and temporal of the lande, and namely of Kinewulfe king of the Weſt Saxons, which repayred vnto king Offa to take counſaile with him for reformation of ſuche articles as were conteyned in the Popes letters.

Twentie articles which the Legates had to propone.

There were .xx. ſeuerall articles whiche they had to propone on the Popes behalfe, as touching the receyuing of the faith or articles eſtabliſhed by the Nicene Coũcel, & obeying of the other general Councels with inſtructions concerning baptiſing and keeping of Synodes yearely, for the examination of Prieſtes and Miniſters, and reforming of naughtie liuers.

Moreouer touching diſcretion to be vſed in the admitting of gouernors in Monaſteries, and Curates or prieſts to the miniſterie in Churches: and further for the behauior of prieſts in wearing their apparell, namely that they ſhould not preſume to come to the aulter bare legged, leaſt their diſhoneſtie might be diſcouered. And that in no wiſe the Chalice or Paten were made of the horne of an Oxe, bycauſe the ſame is bloudie of nature, nor the hoſt of a cruſt, but of pure bread.

Alſo whereas Biſhops vſed to ſitte in Councels to iudge in ſecular cauſes, they were nowe forbidden ſo to doe.

Many other things were for meane of reformation artycled both for ſpirituall cauſes, and alſo concerning ciuill ordinaunces, as diſenabling children to be heyres to the parentes, whiche by them were not begotte in lawfull matrimonie, but on cõcubines, whether they were Nunnes or ſecular women.

Nunnes concubines.

Alſo of paymẽt of tithes, performing of vowes, auoyding of vndecent apparell, and aboliſhing of all maner of Ethniſh vſages and cuſtomes that ſounded contrarie to the order of Chriſtianitie, as curtayling Horſes, and eating of Horſes fleſh.

Curtayling of horſes.

These things with many other expreſſed in .xx. principal articles (as we haue ſayd) were firſt concluded to be receyued by the Church of the Northumbers, in a Councell holden there, & ſubſcribed by Alfwold king of the Northũbers, by Delbirke

Biſhop of Hexham by Eanbalde Archbiſhop of Yorke, Hygwalde Byſhop of Lyndiſferne, Edelbert Biſhop of Whiterne, Aldulfe Byſhoppe of Myrth. Ethelwyne alſo an other Byſhop by his deputies, with a number of other of the Clergie, and Lordes alſo of the temporaltie, as Duke Alrike, Duke Segwulfe, Abbot Alberike, and Abbot Erhard.

After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was alſo a counſell holden in Mercia, at Cealtide in the which theſe perſons ſubſcribed, Iambert or Lambert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Offa King of Mercia, Hughbright Biſhop of Lichfield, Edeulfe Biſhoppe of Faxon, with Unwone Biſhop of Ligor, and nine other Biſhops beſide Abbots, and three Dukes, as Brorda, Farwalde, and Bercoald, with Earle Othbalde.

But nowe to returne backe to ſpeake of other doings, as in other parties of this lande they fell out.

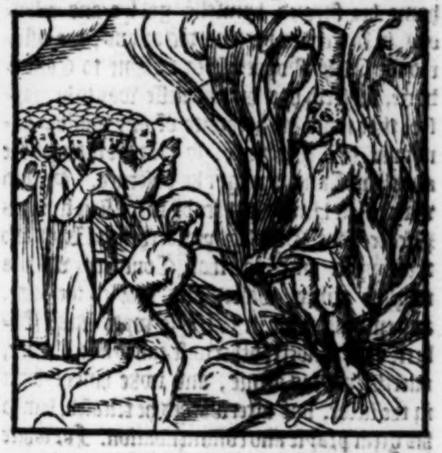
764

Aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 764. the Sea of Canterburie beeing voyde, one Iambert or Lambert was elected Archbiſhop there, and in the yeare. 766. the Archbiſhop of Yorke Egbert departed this lyfe, in whoſe place one Adelbert ſucceeded.

Simon Dun. hath. 780.

Simon Dun.

About the. xxv. yeare of Kynwulfe king of Weſt Saxons, the Northumbers hauing to their captaynes two noble men, Oſbalde and Ethelherard, burned one of their Iudges named Bearn, bycauſe hee was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reaſon requyred.



The ſame tyme, one Alwalde or Alfwolde, raigned ouer the Northumbers, beeing admitted King, after that Ethelbert was expulſed, and when the ſame Alfwolde had raigned tenne, (or as other haue. xj.) yeares, he was trayterouſly, and without all guilt made away, and murthered by his owne people. The chiefe conſpiratour was named Siga, and his bodie was buried at Hexam.

He began his raigne Anno 779 as hath Simon Dunel. and raigned but ten yeares.

The ſame Alfwolde was a iuſt Prince, and worthilye gouerned the Northumbers to hys highe prayſe and commendation. He was murthered (as before yee haue hearde,) the. xxiij. of September, in the yeare of our Lorde. 788.

788

Mat. VVeſt. Simon Dun.

792

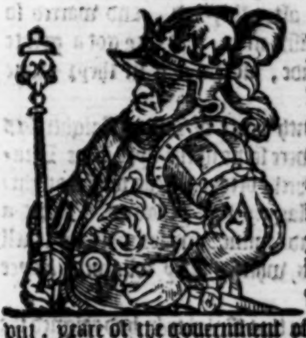
In the yeare. 792. Charles king of Fraunce ſent into Brytaine a booke which had beene ſent vnto him from Conſtantinople, conteyning certaine articles agreed vpon in a Synode (wherein were preſent aboue the number of three hundred Biſhops) quite contrarie and diſagreeing from the true fayth, namely in thys, that Images ought to be worſhipped, which the Church of god vtterly abhorreth. Agaynſt this booke Albinus that famous Clearke wrote a treatiſe confirmed with places taken out of holy Scripture, whiche treatiſe with the booke in name of all the Biſhops and Princes of Brytayne, he preſented vnto the king of Fraunce.

Simon Dun.

800

In the yeare. 800. on Chriſtmaſſe euen chanced, a marueylous tempeſt of winde, which ouerthrew whole Cities and townes in diuers places, and trees in greate number, beſide other harmes which it did, as by death of Cattell. &c. In the yeare following a great part of the Citie of London was conſumed by fire.

Brightrichus.



Brigh-tricus.

Hen. Hunt. Mat. VVeſt. hath. 787. Simon Dun. hath. 786.

After Kenewulfe, one Brictrichus, or Brightrik was ordeyned King of Weſt Saxons, and began his raign in the yeare of oure lord. 787. which was aboute the viij. yeare of the gouernment of the Empreſſe Eirene with hir ſonne Conſtantinus, and about the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Achaius king of Scottes.

This Brightrike was procreate of the line of Cerdicius the firſt king of Weſt Saxons, and xvj. in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet and temperate, more deſirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he ſtoode in doubt of yͤ noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after ſucceeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicius was in that ſeaſon ſo cōfounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew to greateſt power, ſtroue to be king and ſupreme gouernor. But ſpecially Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted the place, as hee that was of the bloud royall, and a man of greate power and luſtie courage.

Egbert baniſhed.

King Brightrike therefore to liue in more ſuretie, baniſhed him the lande, and appoynted him to goe into Fraunce.

Egbert vnderſtanding for certaine that this his departure into a forraine Countrey ſhoulde turne to his aduauncement in time to come, obeyed the kings pleaſure.

A ſtraunge wonder.

About the thirde yeare of Brightrykes raigne, there fell vpon mens garmentes as they walked abrode, Croſſes of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raigne.

Mat. VVeſt. VVil. Malm. Hen. Hunt.
Danes.

Some tooke this wonder for a ſignification of the perſecution that followed by the Danes: for ſhortly after in the yeare enſuing, there arryued three Daniſh ſhippes vpon the Engliſh coaſtes, againſt whome the Lieutenant of the parties adioyning made forth to apprehend thoſe that were come a lande, howbeeit aduenturing himſelfe ouer raſhly amongeſt them, he was ſlaine: but afterwardes when the Danes perceyued that the people of the Countreyes aboute beganne to aſſemble, and were comming agaynſt them, they fled to theyr ſhippes, and left their pray and ſpoile behinde them for that time.

Theſe were the fyrſt Danes that arryued here in this lande, beeing onely ſente (as was perceyued after) to viewe the Countrey, and coaſtes of the ſame, to vnderſtande howe with a greater power they myght bee able to inuade it, as ſhortly after they did, and warred ſo wyth the Engliſhe men, that they got a greate parte of the lande, and helde it in theyr owne poſſeſſion.

Famine and warre ſignified

In the tenth yeare of King Brightrykes raigne, there were ſeene in the ayre fyrie Dragons flying, whiche betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. Fyrſt a greate dearth and famine: and ſecondly the cruell warre of Danes, which ſhortly followed, as yee ſhall heare.

Finally, after that Brightrike had raigned the ſpace of .xvj. yeares, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham.

Ran. Ceſtren. li.5.cap.25.
Brightrike departed thiſ life

Some wryte that hee was poyſoned by hys wife Ethelburga, whom he maryed in the fourth yeare of his raigne. Shee was daughter vnto Offa King of Mercia (as before yee haue heard.) Shee is noted by wryters to haue beene a verye euill woman, proude, and high mynded as Lucifer, and therewyth diſdaynfull. Shee bare hir the more ſtately by reaſon of hir fathers greate fame and magnificence: whome ſhee hated ſhee woulde accuſe to hir huſbande, and ſo put them in daunger of theyr lyues. And if ſhe might not ſo wreake hir rancour, ſhee woulde not ſticke to poyſon them.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

And ſo it happened one daye, as ſhee ment to haue poyſoned a yong Gentleman, agaynſte whome ſhee hadde a quarell, the King chaunced to taſte of that Cuppe, and dyed therof (as before ye haue heard.)

Hir purpoſe indeede was not to haue poyſoned the King, but onely the yong Gentleman, the which drinking after the King died alſo, the poyſon was ſo ſtrong and vehement.

A decree of the kings of the Weſt Saxons agaynſt their wiues.

For hir heynous cryme it is ſayde that the Kings of Weſt Saxons woulde not ſuffer their wyues to be called Queenes, nor permitte them to ſit with them in open places (where their Maieſtie ſhoulde bee ſhewed) of manye yeares after.

The ende of Ethelburga.
Simon Dun.

Ethelburga fearing puniſhment, fledde into Fraunce with greate ryches and treaſure, and was wel cheriſhed in the Court of King Charles at the firſt, but after ſhe was thruſt into an Abbey, and demeaned hirſelf ſo lewdly there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne Countreymen, that ſhee was baniſhed the houſe, and after died in great miſerie.

VVil. Mal.
Kenulf.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this lyfe, after he had raigned foure Monethes, ordeyned his couſin Kenulfe to ſucceede in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the lyne of Penda king of Mercia, as rightly decended from hys brother Kenwalke.

The Archbiſhops ſea reſtored to Canterburie.

This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wiſedome, and vpryght dealing, was worthie to be cōpared with the beſt Princes that haue raigned. His vertues paſſed hys fame: nothing hee hyd that enuye coulde with iuſte cauſe reproue. At home hee ſhewed hymſelfe godlye and religious, in warre hee became victorious, hee reſtored the Archbiſhoppes Sea agayne to Canterburie, wherein hys humbleneſſe was to be prayſed, that made no accounte of any worldly honour in hys Prouince, ſo that the order of the auncient Canons might be obſerued. Hee had warres left him as it were by ſucceſſion from his Predeceſſour Offa agaynſte them of Kent, and thereuppon entering that Countrey wyth a mightie armie, waſted and ſpoyled the ſame, and encountering in battayle wyth King Edbert, or Ethelbert, otherwiſe called alſo Prenne, ouerthrewe his armie, and tooke him pryſoner in the fielde, but afterwardes he releaſed, him to his great prayſe and commendation. For where as hee buylded a Churche at Winchcombe vpon the day of the dedication thereof, hee ledde the Kentiſhe King as then hys pryſoner vp to the highe Aulter, and there ſette him at libertye, declaring thereby a greate proufe of hys good nature.

The king of Kent taken priſoner.

There was preſent at that ſight, Cuthred whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with .xiij. Biſhoppes and ten Dukes. The noyſe that was made of the people in reioyſing at the kings bounteous liberalitie was merueylous. For not only he thus reſtored yͤ Kentiſh king

Keoulfes liberality towards Churchmen, which was not forgotten by them in their hiſtories.

King to libertie, but alſo he beſtowed greate rewards vpon all the Prelates and noble men that were come to the feaſt, euery Prieſt had a peece of golde, and euery monke a ſhilling. Alſo hee gaue away great giftes amongſt the people, and founded in that place an Abbey, endowing the ſame with great poſſeſſions. Finally, after he had raigned .14. yeares, he departed this life, and appoynted his buriall to be in yͤ ſame Abbey of Winchcome, leauing behind him a ſon named Kenelme, who ſucceeded his father in the Kingdome, but was ſone murthered by hys vnnaturall ſiſter Quenbred the ſeuenteenth of July, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

Oſred.

788

W.Mal.
Mat.Weſt.
H.Hunton.
Sim.Dunel.

Duke Eardulf taken and wounded.

792

After that Aſwald King of Northumberland was made away, his brother Oſred the ſonne of Alred toke vppon him the rule of that Kyngdome anno.788. and within one yere was expulſed, and lefte the Kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in whiche hee had remayned for the ſpace of .12. yeres, and nowe beeing reſtored, he continued in gouernemente of the Northumbers four yeares, or as ſome ſay .7. yeres. In the ſecond yere whereof Duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, & there without the gate of the monaſterie wounded, as was thought to death by the ſaid K. but the Monks taking his body, and laying it in a tent without the Church, after midnight he was found aliue in yͤ Churche. Moreouer, about the ſame time, yͤ ſonnes of king Alfwald wer by force drawen out of the Citie of Yorke, but firſte by a wile they were trayned out of the head Church where they had taken Sanctuary, & ſo at length miſerably ſlain by K. Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, the one of them highte Alfus, and the other Alfwine. In the yeare of oure Lord.792. Oſred vpon truſt of the othes and promiſes of dyuers noble men, ſecretly returned into Northumberland, but his own ſouldiers forſooke him, and ſo was he taken and by king Ethelberts commaundement put to death at Cunburg on yͤ fourtenth day of September. The ſame yere K. Ethelbert married yͤ Lady Alfled the daughter of Offa King of Mercia, forſaking his former wife which he had, hauing no iuſt cauſe of diuorſe giuen on hir part, whereby his people toke ſuch diſpleaſure againſte him, that finally after he hadde raigned now this ſecond time four yeres, or (as other haue) ſeuen yeres, he could not auoyde the deſteny of his predeceſſors, but was miſerably killed by his owne ſubiects at Cobre, the eightenth day of April. After whome, one Oſwald a noble man, was ordeyned K. and within a .27. or .28. dayes after, was expulſed, & cōſtreined to flee firſt into the Iſle of Lindeſferne, & frō thence vnto the K. of Pictes. Then Ardulfe yͭ was a Duke, & ſon to one Arnulfe, was reuoked out of exile, & made K. & cōſecrated at Yorke by yͤ Archb. Cumbalde, & three other Biſhops, the .25. of June, in the yere 796. About a two yeres after, to witte, in the yere 798. one Duke Wade, and other conſpirators whiche had bin alſo partakers in yͤ murthering of K. Ethelbert, reyſed war againſte K. Ardulf, and fought a battell with him at Walley, but K. Ardulf got yͤ vpper hand, & chaſed Wade & other his enimies out of the field. In the yeare .799. Duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred K. of Northumberlande, was ſlaine by another Duke called Chorthmond, in reuenge of the death of his maſter yͤ ſaide Ethelbert. Shortly after, about yͤ ſame time yͤ Brightrike K. of Weſt Saxons departed this life, there was a ſore battell foughten in Northumberlād at Welleſhare, in yͤ which Alrick yͤ ſon of Herbert, and many other to him were ſlain: but to reherſe all the battels with their ſucceſſes and iſſues, it ſhoulde be to tedious & irkſome to yͤ readers, for the Engliſh people being naturally hard and high minded, continually ſcourged each other with inteſtine warres. About ſixe or ſeuē yeres after this battel, K. Ardulf was expulſed out of yͤ eſtate. And thus may ye conſider in what plight things ſtode in Northumberlād, by the often ſeditious tumultes and chaungings of gouernors, ſo that there be which haue writtē,

Holy ilande.
Ardult.

796

Walalege.

799

The Engliſhmen afflicted each other with ciuill warre.

how after the death of King Ethelbert otherwiſe called Edelred, diuers Biſhops and other of the chiefeſt nobles of the countrey diſdeyning ſuche trayterous princequellings, ciuill ſedition, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dayly practiſe amongſt the Northumbers, departed out of their natiue bordures into voluntary exile, and that frõ thenceforth there was not any of the nobilitie, that durſt take vpon him the kingly gouernement amongſt them, fearing the prerogatiue deſtiny thereof, as if it had bin *Seianes* horſe, whoſe rider came euer to ſome euil end. But yet by that whiche is heeretofore ſhewed out of Simon Dunelmenſis, it is euident, that there raigned Kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted: Howbeit this is certaine, that the ſundry murderings and baniſhmentes of their kings and Dukes giue vs greatly to geſſe, that there was but ſory obediẽce vſed in the countrey, wherby for no ſmall ſpace of time that kingdome remayned without an head gouernor, beeing ſet open to the pray and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewiſe vnto ſtraungers: for the Danes whiche in thoſe dayes were great rouers, had landed before in the North partes, & ſpoyled the Abbey of Lindeſferne otherwiſe called holy iland, & perceiuing ẏ frutefulneſſe of the countrey, & eaſineſſe for their people to inuade it (bycauſe that through their priuate quarelling, there was little publike reſiſtance to be loked for) at their comming home, entiſed their countreymen to make viages into England, and ſo landing in Northumberlande, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of ẏ countrey in maner without reſiſtance, bycauſe there was no Ruler there able to reyſe any power of men by publike authoritie to encounter with the common enimies, by reaſon whereof, ẏ countrey was brought into great miſerie, what through war of Danes, & the ciuil diſſention amongſt the nobles and people themſelues, no man being of authority (I ſay) able to reforme ſuch miſorders. Yet we finde, that the nobles and Captaines of the countrey, aſſembling togither at one time againſte the Danes ẏ were landed about Tinemouth, conſtreined them by ſharp fight to flee back to their Shippes, & toke certain of thẽ in the field, whoſe heads they ſtroke off there vpon the ſhore. The other that gote to their Shippes, ſuffered greate loſſe of men, & likewiſe of their veſſels by tempeſt.

This chanced in the yere of our Lorde 793. as Simon Dunel. hath.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

The Danes vanquiſhed.

This was anno 794. as Simon Dunel. hath.

After that Alrike (the laſt of K. Witchtredes ſonnes which raigned in Kent ſucceſſiuely after their father) was dead, the noble ofſpring of the kings there ſore decayed, and begã to fade away, ſo ẏ euery one which eyther by flattering had gote riches togither, or by ſeditious pertaking was had in eſtimation, ſought to haue the gouernmẽt and to vſurp ẏ title of King, abuſing by vnworthy meanes the honor and dignitie of ſo high an office. Amongſt other, one Edbert or Edelberte ſurnamed alſo Prenne, gouerned the Kentiſhmen for the ſpace of two yeres, & was in the ende vanquiſhed by them of Mercia, and taken priſoner as before is ſaid, ſo that for a time he liued in captiuitie, & although afterwardes he was ſet at libertie, yet was he not receyued againe to the Kyngdome, ſo that it is vncertaine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinebulfe ẏ K. of Mercia, to raigne in place of the ſaide Edberte or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eyght yeres as king, rather by name than by acte, inheriting his predeceſſors euill happe and calamitie, through factions and ciuill diſcord.

Edbright.

After that Iambrith or Lambert the Archbiſhop of Canterburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primacie was reſtored, which in his predeceſſors time was taken away by Offa K. of Mercia, as before is recited. Alſo after ẏ deathe of Eubalde Archbiſhop of Yorke, another of the ſame name called Eubald the ſecond, was admitted to ſucceede in that ſee.

Lambert.

After that Brightrike ẏ K. of Weſt Saxons was departed this life, meſſengers were ſent with all ſpeede into Fraunce, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egberte, which as before is ſhewed, was conſtreined by the ſaide Brightrike to departe the countrey. At the firſt, he withdrew vnto Offa K. of Mercia, with whom hee remained for a tyme, til at length, (through ſuite made by Brightrike, he perceiued hee mighte not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands, and ſo Offa winking at the matter) he departed out of his countrey, and gote him ouer into Fraunce, but being now aduertiſed of Brightrikes death, and required by earneſt letters ſente from his friends to come and receiue the gouernment of the Kingdome, he returned with al conuenient ſpeede into his countrey, and was receyued immediately for King, by the generall conſent of the Weſt Saxons, as well in reſpect of ẏ good hope which they had conceiued of his worthy qualities and aptneſſe to haue gouernement, as of his royall lignage, beeing lineally diſcended from Inegild the brother of K. Inas, as ſonne to Alkemounde, that was the ſonne of one Eaffa, which Eaffa was ſonne to Ope the ſonne of the foreſayd Inegild.

Egbert receyued King of Weſt Saxons.

His lignage.

Egbert.

This Egbert began his raigne in the yeare of our Lord. 80. whiche was the fourth yeare almoſt ended, after that the Emperour Eirine began the ſeconde time to rule the Empire, and in the .24. yere of the raigne of Charles the great K. of France, whiche alſo was in the ſame yere after he was made Emperour of the Weſt, and about the ſecond yere of Conwall King of Scottes.

802 as Simon Dunel. and N. W. hath noted but 801. as William Hariſon prooueth it out of Mal.

Whileſt this Egbert remayned in exile, he turned his aduerſaries into occaſion of valiancie, as it had bin a grindelſtone to grind away & remoue the ruſt of ſluggiſh ſlouthfulnes, in ſo much, that haunting yͤ wars in France, in ſeruice of Charles the Great, he atteined to great knowledge & experience, both in matters appertayning to the wars, & likewiſe to yͤ well ordering of a common welth in time of peace. The firſt warres that he tooke in hand, after he had atteyned to yͤ kingdom, was againſt the Corniſhmē, a remenāt of the old Britaines, whome he ſhortly ouercame and ſubdued. Thē he thought good to tame yͤ vnquiet Welchmen, yͭ which ſtil were ready to moue Rebellion againſt the Engliſhmen, as they that being vanquiſhed, woulde not yet ſeeme to bee ſubdued, wherefore about the. 14. yere of his raigne, he inuaded the countrey of Wales, and went through the ſame frō Eaſt to Weſt, not finding any perſon yͭ durſt reſiſt him. Thus K. Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to growe in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this lande, in ſo much, that euery of thē began to feare their owne eſtate, but namely Bernewulf K. of Mercia ſore ſtomaked the matter, as he that was wiſe, & of a iolly loftie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen alſo to be a man both ſkilfull & valiant. At length yet cōſidering with himſelfe, that if his chance ſhould be to ſpeede well, ſo much the more ſhuld his praiſe be increaſed, He determined to attempt the fortune of war, & therupō intimated the ſame vnto Egbert, yͤ whiche ſuppoſing it ſhoulde be a diſhonor to him to giue place, boldly prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they encountred togither at Ellendone, and fought a ſore battell, in yͤ which an huge number of men were ſlaine, what on the one part, & on yͤ other, but in the ende the victory remained with Egbert, although he had not yͤ like hoſt for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, & of great experience, hauing choſen his Souldiers of nimble, leane, and deliuer mē, wher Bernulfes Souldiers through long eaſe, were cowardly perſons, & ouercharged with fleſh. This battell was fought in the yere of our Lord. 826. King Egbert hauing got this victory, was aduanced into ſuch hope, that he perſwaded himſelf to be able without greate adoe to ouercome the reſidue of his neighbours, whoſe eſtates he ſaw playnely ſore weakened & fallen in great decay. Hervpon before all other, he determined to aſſaile Edelwulf K. of Kēt, whome he knew to be a man in no eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects. A competent army therefore being leuied, he apointed his ſon Ethelwulf & Alſtane Biſhop of Shirborne, with erle Walherd to haue the conduit thereof, & ſente them with the ſame into Kent, where they wrought ſuche maiſtries, that they chaſed both the K. & al other that would not ſubmit thēſelues out of the countrey, cōſtreining them to paſſe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Weſt Saxōs following the victory brought vnder ſubiection of king Egbert the countreys of Kēt, Eſſex, Southrey, and Suſſex. The Eaſt Angles alſo about the ſame time receiued K. Egbert for their ſoueraigne Lord, & comforted by his ſetting on againſte Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded yͤ confines of his Kingdome, in reuenge of diſpleaſures whiche he had done to thē lately before, by inuading their countrey; & as it came to paſſe, encountring with the ſaid Bernulf which came againſt them to defend his countrey, they ſlew him in the field. And thus their hindres on both parts being kindled into further wrath, yͤ Eaſt Angles eftſones in yͤ yere following, fought with thē of Mercia, & ouercame them againe, and ſlew their K. Ludicenus that ſucceeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with. 5. of his Erles. Thus the ſtate of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an aſſured hope of good ſucceſſe in the. 17. yere of his raigne, made an open inuaſiō into yͤ countrey, & chaſing Whitlafe K. of Mercia (yͭ ſucceeded Ludicenus) out of his eſtate, conquered yͤ whole kingdom of the Mercies. But yet in the

Sim. Dunel.
H. Hunton.

Bernulf K
of Merci

A batel fo
at Ellendo

Egbert wa
the victor

W. Mal.
826

Hen. Hu

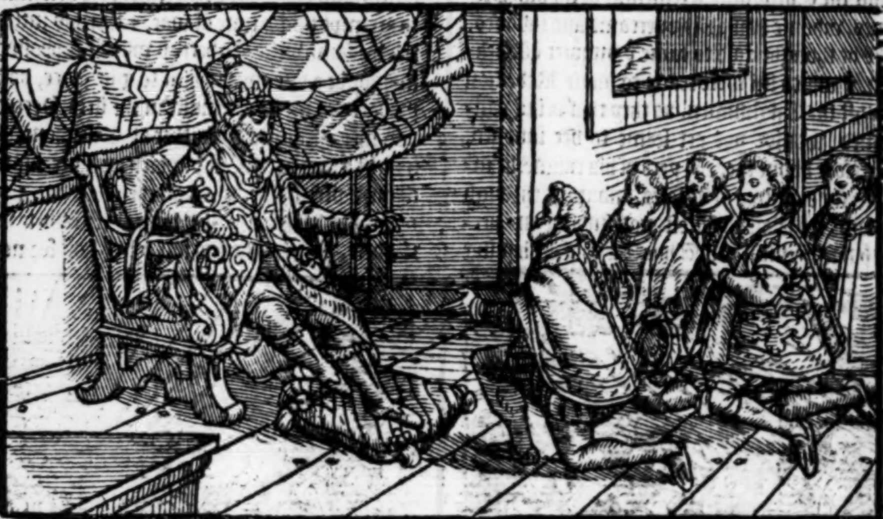
Alſtan Biſhop of Shireborne a warrioure.

Bernulfe K
Mercia ſlay

The conqueſts of the Weſt Saxons.

in the yere next following, or in the third yere after (as ſaith Harriſon,) he reſtored it againe vnto Wightlaſe, with condition, that he ſhould enioy the ſame as tributary to him, and acknowledge him for his ſupreme gouernour The ſame yeare that Bernvulf K. of Mercia was ſlain by yͤ Eaſt Angles, there was a ſore battell foughten at Gauelforde, betwixte them of Deuonſhire, and the Britaynes, in the whiche many thouſands dyed on both parts. King Egbert hauing conquered al the Engliſh people, inhabiting on the South ſide of Humber, led forth his army againſte them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers beeyng not only vexed with ciuil ſedition, but alſo with yͤ often inuaſion of Danes, perceiued not how they ſhould be able to reſiſt the power of K. Egbert: & therfore vpon good aduiſement taken in the matter, they reſolued to ſubmit themſelues, & therevpõ ſent Ambaſſadors to him to offer their ſubmiſſiõ, cõmitting themſelues wholly vnto his protectiõ. King Egbert gladly receiued them, & promiſed to defend them from all forraine enimies. And thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder ſubiectiõ to the kings of the Weſt Saxõs, after the ſtate had bin ſore weakened with contention and ciuill diſcord that had continued amõgſt the nobles of the country, for the ſpace of many yeres, beſide the inuaſion made by outwarde enimies, to yͤ greeuous domage of the people. After yͤ K. Egbert had finiſhed his buſineſſe in Northũberlãd, he turned his power towards the countrey of Northwales, & ſubdued yͤ ſame with the Citie of Cheſter, which till thoſe dayes, the Britaynes or Welchmen had kept in their poſſeſſion. Whẽ K. Egbert had obteined theſe victories, and made ſuch conqueſts as before is mentioned, of the people here in this lande, he cauſed a counſell to be aſſembled at Wincheſter, and there by aduice of the high eſtates, hee was Crowned K. as ſoueraigne gouernour, and ſupreme Lord of the whole land. It is alſo recorded, that hee cauſed commiſſion to be directed forth into all partes of yͤ Realme, to giue commandement, that frõ thence forwarde al the people inhabiting within this land, ſhould bee called Engliſhmẽ, & not Saxõs, & likewiſe yͤ lãd ſhould be called England by one generall name, though it ſhould appeare (as before is mentioned) that it was ſo called ſhortly after the firſt time yͤ the Angles & Saxons gote poſſeſſiõ thereof. Now was K. Egberte ſetled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of yͤ troubles of warre, when ſuddaynely newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of. xxxv. ſhips, were arriued on yͤ Engliſhe coaſtes, & began to make ſore war in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertiſed, with all conuenient ſpeede gote togither an army, & went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Hereupon encountring with them, there was a ſore foughten fielde betwixt them, and continued with great ſlaughter on both ſides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Engliſhmen which before were at pointe to haue gone away with victory, were vanquiſhed and put to flight, yet K. Egbert by couert of the night eſcaped his enimies hands, but two of his chiefe Captaines Dudda and Oſmond, with two Biſhops, to witte, Herferde of Wincheſter, and Wigferd of Shireborne, were ſlayne in that battel, which was foughtẽ at Carrum, about the. 834. of Chriſt, and. 34. yeare of K. Egberts raigne. In yͤ yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Weſt Wales, and there the Welchmen ioyning with them, roſe againſt K. Egbert, but he with proſperous fortune vanquiſhed and ſlew, both yͤ Danes & Welchmẽ, & that in great nũber, at a place called Hengiſtentõ. The next yere after alſo, which was. 836. he ouerthrew another army of Danes which came againſt him, as on author writeth. Finally, whẽ K.

Egbert



Dunel.

were
praiſh-
s is to
poled.

King Egber
inuadeth
Northũberl
The Northũ-
bers ſubmit
them to Kyng
Egbert.

Higd.
rthwiles
the Citie
heſter
quered by
ert.

The Danes.

name of
Ile when
s chãged.

838
The Engliſhmen diſcomfited by Danes.
Sim. Dunel.
H. Hunt.
Math. Weſt.
834
Danes and Welchmen vanquiſhed.
Here begin-
neth [illegible]
to record from
the [illegible]
of the Danes.
Hengeſtdon.
836
Math. Weſt.
Egbert dep-
teth [illegible]

837
Mat. VVeſt.

Egbert had reigned the tearme of.36.yeres,&.7. monethes with greate glory for the enlarging of his kingdome with ſo wide boundes, which when he receiued, was of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, he departed this life, leauing to his iſſue matter of worthy praiſe to mainteyne that with good order which he with painefull diligence had ioyned togither. His body was buried at Wincheſter, and he lefte behind him two ſonnes Ethelwoulfe, otherwiſe named Athaulfe and Adelſtan. The firſte he appoynted to ſucceede him in the kingdom of Weſt Saxons, and Athelſtan hee ordeined to haue the gouernement of Kent, Suſſex, and Eſſex.

Wil. Mal.

After that Cuthred K. of Kent had raigned.8. yeres, as before is mentioned, he was conſtreyned to giue place vnto one Baldred, that tooke vppon him the gouernment, and raigned the ſpace of.18. yeres, without any greate authoritie, for his ſubiectes regarded him but ſorily, ſo that in the ende, when his countrey was inuaded by the Weſt Saxons, he was eaſily conſtreyned to departe into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons, after the ſame kingdome had continued in gouernmente of kings created of the ſame nation for the ſpace of.382.yeres, that is to ſay, from the yeare of our Lord.464.vnto the yere.827.

The ende of the kingdome of Kent.
827

The end of the Kingdome of Eaſtſex.

Suithred or Suthred K. of Eſſex was vanquiſhed and expulſed out of his kingdom by Egbert K. of Weſt Saxons (as before ye may reade) in the ſame yere that the kentiſhmen were ſubdued by the ſaid Egbert, or elſe very ſhortly after.

This Kingdome continued.281. yeres, from the yere.614.vnto the yere.795.as by the table of the Heptarchie ſet forth by Alexander Neuill it appeareth.

Mat. VVeſt.
821

The wickedneſſe of Quẽdred.

After the deceſſe of Kenulfe K. of Mercia, his ſonne Kenelme a child of the age of.7.yeares was admitted K. about the yere of our Lord. 821. Hee had two ſiſters, Quendred, and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to ſay) Quendrede, of a malitious minde, moued through ambition, enuyed hir brothers aduauncemente, and ſought to make him away, ſo that in the ende, ſhe corrupted ỹ gouernor of his perſon one Aſhberte, with greate rewardes and high promiſes, perſwading him to diſpatch hir innocent brother out of life, that ſhee might raigne in his place. Aſhbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forthe on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head frõ his body, an Impe by reaſon of his tẽder yeres & innocent age, vnto the world voyde of gilt, & yet thus trayterouſly murthered without cauſe or crime: he was afterward reputed for a Martir. There hath gone a tale that his death ſhould be ſignified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a ſtraunge manner: for (as they ſay) a white Doue came and alight vpon the Aulter of Saint Peter, bearyng a ſcroll in hir bil, which ſhe let fall on the ſame Aulter, in which ſcroll among other things this was conteyned, in Clenc Kon Bath, Kenelme Kenbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued: that is, at Clenc in a Cow paſture, Kenelme the Kyngs Child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale I reherſe not for any credite I thinke it worthy of, but only for ỹ it ſeemeth the place where the yong Prince innocently loſt his life.

King Kenelme murthered.

Ceolwolf K. of Mercia.
823

After that Kenelme was thus made away, his Uncle Ceolwolfe the Brother of King Kenulfe was created King of Mercia, and in the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, was expulſed by Bernwolfe.

Bernwolfe in the thirde yeare (or ſeconde as Harriſon hath) of his raigne, was vanquiſhed and put to flight in battell by Egbert King of Weſt Saxons, and ſhortly after ſlaine of the Eaſt angles as before ye haue heard.

Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created King of Mercia, and within two yeres after came to the like ende that happned to his predeceſſor before him, as he wente about to reuenge hys death, ſo that the Kingdome of Britayne began now to reele from their owne eſtate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erectiõ of a perfit Monarchie, and finall ſubuerſion of their perticular eſtates and regimentes.

Mat. VVeſt.
728

After Ludicenus, ſucceded Wightlafe, who firſt being vanquiſhed by Egbert, King of Weſt Saxons, was afterwardes reſtored to the Kingdome by the ſame Egbert, and raigned thirtene yeres, whereof twelue at the leaſt were vnder tribute which he payed to the ſaid Egbert and to his ſonne, as to his Soueraignes and ſupreme gouernoures.

828

The Kingdome of Northumberlande was brought in ſubiection to the Kings of Weſt Saxons, as before is mentioned, in the yeare of oure Lord.828.and in ỹ yeare of the raigne of K. Egbert.28.but yet here it tooke not ende as after ſhall appeare.

Ethelwolfus:

Ethelwoulfus otherwiſe called by ſome writers Athaulfus, began his raigne ouer ỹ Weſt Saxons in the yeare.837.which was in the.24. yere of the Emperour Ludouicus Pius that was alſo K. of France, in the.10.yeare of Theophilus ỹ Emperour of the Eaſt, & about the third yere of Kenneth the ſeconde of that name K. of Scottes. This Ethelwoulf minding in his youth to haue bin a Prieſt, entred into the orders of Subdeacõ, and as ſome write, he was Biſhop of Wincheſter: but howſoeuer the matter ſtoode, or whether he was or not, ſure it is, that ſhortly after he was aſſoyled of his vowes by authoritie of Pope Leo, and then maried a proper Gentlewoman named Oſburga, which was his butlers daughter. Hee was of nature curteous, and rather deſirous to

Hen. Hunt.
Math. VVeſt.

liue in quiet reſt, than to be troubled with the gouernement of many countreys, ſo that cõtenting himſelfe with the kingdome of Weſt Saxons, he permitted his brother Athelſtan to enioy the reſidue of the countreys, which his father had ſubdued, as Kent, and Eſſex, with other. He ayded the K. of Mercia Burthred againſt the Welchmen, and greatly aduanced his eſtimation, by gyuyng vnto him his daughter in marriage. But now the fourth deſtruction which chanced to this lande by forraine enimies, was at hande, for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of thoſe Northeaſt regions, which in that ſeaſon were greate rouers by Sea, had taſted the wealth of this land by ſuch ſpoiles and prayes as they hadde taken in the ſame, ſo that perceiuing they coulde not purchaſe more profit any where elſe, they ſet their myndes to inuade the ſame on each ſide, as they had partly begun in the days of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The perſecutiõ vſed by theſe Danes ſeemed more greeuous, than any of the other perſecutions, either before or ſithence that time: for yͤ Romanes hauing quickly ſubdued the land, gouerned it nobly withoute ſeeking the ſubuerſion thereof. The Scottes and Pictes only inuaded yͤ North partes. And the Saxons ſeeking the conqueſt of the land, when they had once gote it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a floriſhing eſtate. And likewiſe the Normans hauing made a conqueſt, graunted both life, libertie, and auntient lawes to the former inhabitants: But the Danes long time and often aſſayling the land on euery ſide, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at yͤ firſt ſo much couete to conquere it, as to ſpoyle it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waſt & deſtroy it: who if they were at anye time ouercome, the victorers were nothing the more in quiet: for a new nauie, and a greter army was ready to make ſome new inuaſiõ neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one company on the Eaſt ſide, & an other in the Weſt, or in the Northe and Southe coaſtes, in ſuche ſorte, that the Engliſhmenne knew not whether they ſhoulde firſte goe to make reſiſtance againſt them.

V.Mal.

our eſpeciall
eſtructions
 this land.

en. Hunt.
imon Dun.

The Danes ſought the deſtruction of this lande.

This miſchiefe beganne chiefly in the days of this K. Ethelwoulf, but it continued aboute the ſpace of two hundred yeares, as by the ſequele of this Booke it ſhall appeare. King. Ethelwoulf was not ſo muche giuen to eaſe, but that vpõ occaſion for defence of his countrey and ſubiectes, he was ready to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occaſion ſerued, and ſpecially, hee choſe ſuch to be of his coũſel, as were mẽ of great experience & wiſdome. Amongſt other, there were two notable Prelates, Suithune Biſhoppe of Winchester, & Adelſtan Biſhop of Shireborne, whiche were readie euer to giue him good aduice. Suithune was not ſo muche experte in worldly matters as Adelſtan was, & therefore chiefly conſelled the K. in things apperteining to his ſoules health: But Adelſtan toke in hand to order matters apperteining to the ſtate of the cõmon welth, as prouiding of money, and furniſhing forthe of men to withſtand the Danes, ſo that by him many things were both boldly begun, & happily atchiened, as by writers hath bin recorded. He gouerned the ſee of Shireborne, yͤ ſpace of. 50. yeres, by the good counſell and faithfull aduice of thoſe two Prelates. K. Ethelwoulf gouerned his ſubiects right politikely, & by himſelfe and his Captaines oftẽtimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he alſo receyued at their hands great loſſes, & ſundry ſore detriments. In yͤ firſt yere of his raigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with. 33. ſhips, againſte whom he ſente Erle Wulhard with part of his army, the whiche giuing battell to the enimies, made great ſlaughter of them, and obteyned a noble victory. He ſent alſo Erle Adelhelme with the Dorſetſhire men, againſt an other number of Danes, whiche were landed at Porteſmouth, but after long fighte, the ſayde Adelhelme was ſlaine, and the Danes obteyned the victory. In the yeare following, Earle Herbert fought againſte yͤ Danes at Merſeware, and was there ſlaine, and his men chaſed. The ſame yere, a great army of Danes paſſing by the Eaſt parts of the land, as through Lindſey, Eaſt Angle, and Kent, they ſlew & murthered an huge number of people. The next yere after this, they entred further into the lande, and abont Canterbury, Rocheſter, and Londõ, did much miſchiefe. In the fifth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulfe wͭ a parte of his army encountred with the Danes at Carrum, the whiche were arriued in thoſe parties with. 30. Ships hauing their full fraughte of men, ſo that for ſo ſmall a number of veſſels, there was a great power of men of warre, in ſo muche, that they obteined the victory at that time, and put the K. to the worſe. About the tenth yeare of K. Ethelwoulfes raigne, one of his Captaynes called Ernwoulfe, & Biſhop Athelſtan, with the Sommerſetſhire men, and an other Captayne called Oſred, with the Dorſetſhire men, foughte againſte the Danes, at a place called Pedredeſmuth, and vanquiſhed them with great triumph. In the ſixtenth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulf and his ſonne Edelbald hauing aſſembled al their powers togither, gaue battell at Ocley, to an huge oſte of Danes, the which with four hundred and fiftie Ships had arriued at Thaimes mouth, and deſtroyed the famous Cities of London, and Canterbury, & alſo had chaſed in battell Brightwoulf K. of Mercia, and being nowe entred into Southrey, were encountred by K. Ethelwoulfe at Ocley aforeſaid, and after ſore fight and incredible

How long the perſecution of the Danes laſted.

VVil. Malm.

Two notable Biſhops in Ethelwolfes dayes.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Danes diſcomfited.

Math. VVeſt.

Engliſhmen put to flight.

They are eftſoones vanquiſhed.

Carrum.

The Danes wanne the victory in battell.

Danes are vanquiſhed.

Simon Dun.
851

Ocley.

Two hundred and fiftie Ships [illegible]
Hen. Hunt.

dible ſlaughter made on both ſides, in the end, the victory by the power of God was giuen to thoſe that beleeued on him, and yͤ loſſe reſted with great confuſion to the miſcreantes. Thus K. Ethelwolfe obteined a glorious victory in ſo mightie a battell, as the greater had not bin lightly hard of to chance within the Engliſh dominions. The ſame yeere alſo Ethelſtan K. of Kent and Duke Ealhere fought by Sea with the Danes, & tooke nine of their Ships, and chaſed the reſidue. Moreouer, one Earle Ceorle hauing with hym the power of Deuonſhire, foughte with the Danes, at Winkeſhore, and gote the victory. This yere was very luckie to the Engliſh nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged al the Winter ſeaſon in the Iſle of Tanet. And this was the firſt tyme yͭ they remayned heere all the Winter, vſing afore time but to come and make an inuaſion in one place or other, and immediatly to returne home with the pray.

The Danes eftſoones vanquiſhed.

Danes ouercome by Sea.

The Deuonſhire men vanquiſhe the Danes.

Sim.Dun. 852

In the.18.yere of King Ethelwoulfes raigne, he aided Burthred King of Mercia, agaynſt the Welchmen (as before is mentioned,) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the ſolemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The ſame yere King Ethelwoulfe ſent his ſonne Alured as then but fiue yeres of age vnto Rome, where hee was ſacred K. by Pope Leo the fourth, & was receiued of him as if he had bin his owne ſonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentiſhmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southrey, fought againſt the army of Danes at Tenet, where greate ſlaughter was made on bothe ſides, the Engliſhmen preuailing in the begynning, but in the ende both their forſaid Dukes or leaders dyed in that battel, beſide many other that were ſlaine and drowned. In the nineteenth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulfe ordeined, that the tenthes or tithes of all landes due to bee payed to the Church, ſhould be free from all tribute duties, or ſeruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receyued with great honor, and taried there one whole yere: hee tooke with him his ſon Alured, who had bene there before as yee haue heard. He repared the Saxons ſchoole, whiche Offa K. of Mercia had ſometime founded in that Citie, and lately hadde bin ſore decayed by fire. He confirmed the graunt of Peter Pence, to the intent that no Engliſhmā from thenceforth ſhould doe penance in boundes as he ſawe ſome there to do before his face. It is alſo written, that he ſhoulde acquit all the Churches of his Realme of paying tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) and moreouer couenaunted to ſend vnto Rome euery yere three hundred Markes, that is to wit, one hundred Markes to S. Peters Churche, an other hundred Markes to S. Paules light, and the third hundred markes to the Pope. In his returne through Fraunce, he married the Lady Iudith, daughter to Charles yͤ Bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his coūtrey, placed hir by him in a chaire of eſtate, with which doing he offended ſo yͤ mindes of his ſubiects, bicauſe it was againſt the order taken before time, for the offence of Ethelburga, that his ſonne Ethelbalde and Adelſtan Biſhoppe of Shirborne, with Enwoulf Earle of Sommerſet, conſpired to depoſe him from his kingly authoritie, but by mediation of friendes, the matter was taken vp, and ſo ordred, that the kingdome was deuided betwixte the father and the ſon, with ſuch parcialitie, that the ſonne had the better parte lying Weſtward, and the father was conſtreyned to contente himſelfe with the Eaſt parte and the worſt. Of this trouble of Ethelwoulf, Hariſon wryteth ſomewhat otherwiſe, and after this manner word for word. 857. Ethelwoulf K. of yͤ weſt Saxons being returned from Rome and yͤ parties beyond the Seas, is prohibited the entraunce into his Realme, by Alſtane B. of Shirborne, & Ethelbald his eldeſt ſonne, pretending outwardly his coronation of Alfride, yͤ marriage of Iudith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the Table, to be the only cauſe of this theyr manifeſt Rebelliō. Hitherto Hariſon; wherby he ſeemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Alſtane and his ſon, ſhould procede of the ambitious deſire of Ethelbald to raigne, and likely ynough, or elſe this vnequall partition ſhould neuer haue bin made. But howſoeuer yͤ matter ſtoode, K. Ethelwoulf liued not long after his returne frō Rome, but departed this life after he hadde gouerned the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons the ſpace of.20. yeres and odde monethes. His body was buryed at Wincheſter. He left behind him.4.ſonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, or Ethelbright, Ethelred and Alfred or Alured, which were begotten of his firſt wife Oſburga. A little before his death hee made his Teſtament & laſt will, appointing his ſon Ethelbald to ſucceede him in the whole regiment of his kingdomes of Weſtſex and Suſſex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdomes of Kent & Eſſex he aſſigned to his ſon Ethelbright. About the ſame time alſo the Danes ſoiourned all the Winter ſeaſon in the Iſle of Sheppey.

Great ſlaughter of Danes at Tenet.

The Saxons ſcoole.

King Ethelwolfes liberalitie to Churches.

Wil.Mal.

Sim.Dunel.

Mancuſa.

The Lady Iudith.

Wil.Mal

Only Weſſe hath Mat. W and Simon Dunel. ſayth that Ethelbright had Suſſex alſo, and ſo doth Hen.Hunt.

After Wighlafe K. of Mercia, one Bertwolf raigned as tributary to yͤ Weſt Saxons yͤ ſpace of.12.yeres about yͤ ende of which tearme he was chaſed out of yͤ countrey by the Danes, & then one Burthred was made K. of that kingdome, which married Ethelſwida yͤ ſiſter of Ethelwoulf K. of Weſt Saxons. In this ſeaſon, one Modwine a virgin in Ireland was greatly renowmed in the world, vnto whom the forenamed K. Ethelwolf ſent his ſon Alured to be cured of a ſore diſeaſe, yͭ was thoughte incurable: but by hir meanes hee recoue-

Bertwolf King of Mercia.

Math Weſt. ſaith the daughter.

Ran.Ceſtren.

Iohn Cap.

recouered healthe, and therefore when hir Monaſterie was deſtroyed in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whome K. Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two Abbeyes, and alſo deliuered vnto hir his ſiſter Edith to bee profeſſed a Nunne. Modwen herevpon built two Monaſteries, one at Pouleſworth, ioyning to the boundes of Arderne, wherin ſhe placed the forſaid Edith, with Oſyth and Athea: the other, whether it was a Monaſterie or cell, ſhe founded in Streneſhall or Trentſall, where ſhe hir ſelfe remained ſolitary a certain time in praier, and other vertuous exerciſes. And as it is reported, ſhee went thrice to Rome, & finally dyed, being. 130. yeres of age. Hir body was firſte buried in an iland compaſſed about with the Riuer of Trent called Andreſey, taking that name of a Church or Chappell of S. Androw, which ſhe had builte in the ſame Iland, and dwelled therein for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Many Monaſteries ſhe built, both in Englande, (as partly aboue is mentioned) and alſo in Scotland, as at Striueline, Edenbrough, and in Ireland, at Celleſkline, and elſe where.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright.

Ethelbald & Ethelbright.

ETHelbalde & Ethelbright deuiding theyr fathers Kyngdome betwixte them, began to raigne, Ethelbalde ouer the Weſt Saxons, and the South Saxons, & Ethelbrighte ouer them of Kent and Eſſex, in the yere of our Lorde 857. which was in the ſecond yere of the Emperour Lewes the ſecōd, and the. 17. of Charles ſurnamed Caluus or the bald K. of Fraunce, and about the firſt yere of Donald ẏ fifth of that name K. of the Scottes. The ſaid Ethelbald greatly to his reproche tooke to wife his mother in lawe Q. Iudith, or rather as ſome write his own mother, whome his father had kept to concubine. He liued not paſt fiue yeres in gouernement of the Kyngdome, but was taken out of this life, to the greate ſorow of his ſubiects, whome he ruled right worthily, and ſo as they had him in great loue and eſtimatiō. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke vpon him the rule of the whole, gouerning as well ouer the Weſt Saxons and them of Suſſex, as ouer the Kentiſhmen and them of Eſſex.

857

The vnlawfull marriage of Ethelbalde.
VVil. Malm.

In his dayes the Danes came a land, and deſtroyed the Citie of Wincheſter: but Duke Oſrike with them of Hamſhire, and Duke Adelwolf with the Barkſhire men gaue the enimies battel, and vanquiſhing them, ſlew of them a great nūber. In the fifth yeare of Ethelbrightes raigne, a nauie of the Danes arriued at the Iſle of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentiſhmen had promiſed a ſumme of money to haue a truce graunted for a time, the Danes one night before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and waſted all the Eaſt part of Kent: wherevppon the Kentiſhmen aſſembling togither, made towards thoſe trucebreakers, and cauſed them to depart out of ẏ countrey. The ſame yere, after that Ethelbrighte had ruled wel & peaceably the Weſt Saxons fiue yeres, and the Kentiſhmē ten yeres, he ended this life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Hen. Hunt.
Wincheſter deſtroyed by Danes.

Danes vanquiſhed.

Ethelred.

Ethelred.

AFter Ethelbrighte ſucceeded his brother Ethelred, and began his raigne ouer the Weſt Saxons, and the more part of ẏ Engliſhe people, in the yere of our Lord. 867. and in ẏ twelfth yere of ẏ Emperoure Lewes, in the. 27. yeare of the raigne of Charles Caluus K. of France, and about the. 6. yeare of Conſtantine the ſeconde K. of Scottes.

867

This Ethelred was in tyme of peace a moſt curteous prince, and one ẏ by all kinde of meanes ſought to winne ẏ harts of his people: but abroade in the warres he was ſharp and ſterne, as he that vnderſtood what apperteined to good order, ſo that he would ſuffer no offence to eſcape vnpuniſhed. By whiche meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but hee neither liued any long time in the gouernment, nor yet was ſuffered to paſſe the ſhort while that he raigned in reſt or quietneſſe: for wher as he raigned not paſt ſixe yeres, he was continually during that tearme vexed with the inuaſion of the Danes, and ſpecially towards the latter end, in ſo much, that as hath bin reported of writers, hee fought with them nine times in one yere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with ẏ victory. Beſide that, he oftentimes lay in awayte for their foragers, and ſuch as ſtrayed abroade to robbe and ſpoile the countrey, whom he met with all, and ouerthrew. There were ſlayne in his time nine Earles of thoſe Danes, and one King, beſide other of the meaner ſort without number. But here is to be vnderſtoode, that in this meane tyme whileſt Ethelred was buſied in warre to reſiſt the inuaſions of the Danes in the South and Weſt partes

4. yeres ſix monethes ſaith Harri
VVil. Malm.
Ethelred fought with the Danes times in one yeare.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberlande neglecte their duties.

partes of this lande the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland, taking occaſion thereof, began to withdraw their couenanted ſubiection from the Weſtſaxons, and toke vpon them, as it were the abſolute gouernement and rule of their countreys without reſpect to ayde one another, but rather were contented to ſuſtein the enimies within their dominions than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull aſſiſting thoſe to whome by allegiance they were bounde to ſerue and obeye.

The Danes growe in puiſſance.

By reaſon wherof, the Danes without reſiſtance grew into greater power amongſt them whyleſt the inhabitantes were ſtill put in feare eche daye more than other, and euery late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increaſe of priſoners, miniſtred occaſion of ſome other conqueſt to followe. Euen about the beginning of kyng Ethelredes reigne, there arriued vppon the Engliſh coaſtes an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conducte of two renoumed capitaines Hungar and Hubba, men of meruailous ſtrengthe and valiancie, but bothe of them paſſing cruell of nature.

Hungar and Vbba.

H.Hunt.

They laye all the Winter ſeaſon in Eaſtangle, compounding with them of the countreye for truce vpon certaine conditions, ſparing for a tyme to ſhewe theyr force for quietneſſe ſake.

In the ſeconde yeare of king Etheldred the ſaid capitains came with their armie into Yorkſhyre, finding the countrey vnprouided of neceſſarie defence bicauſe of the ciuil diſcord that reigned amongſt the Northumbers, the whiche had lately expulſed king Oſbrighte, that had the gouernement of thoſe parties, and placed one Ella in his roumth: but nowe they were conſtrayned to reuoke him home agayne, and ſoughte to accorde him and Ella. But it was long ere that myght be brought to paſſe, notwithſtanding yet at lengthe they were made frendes by reaſon of this inuaſion attempted by forain enemies, and then reyſing their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing waſted the countreye euen to the ryuer of Tyne, were lodged.

King Osbright depoſed and Ella placed.

The Engliſh hoſte entryng the citie, beganne to fyghte wyth the Danes, by reaſon wherof a ſore battayle enſued betwixte them: but in the ende the two kynges Oſbrighte and Ella were ſlayn, and a great number of the Northumbers what within the Citie, and what without, loſte theyr lyues at that tyme, the reſidue were conſtrayned to take truce with the Danes.

Osbright and Ella kinges of Northumberlande ſlayne.

Thys battayle was fought the .xxj. daye of Marche, on the Fryday before Palmeſundaye, in the yeare. 657.

It muſt be vpō the.10.calendes of April, or elſe it vvil not cōcurre vvith Palmeſunday. Se Ma.VVeſt.

Some haue written otherwyſe of thys battayle, reportyng that the Northumbers reuokyng home king Oſbright (whome before they hadde banyſhed) encounter wyth the Danes in the fielde, without the walles of Yorke, but they were eaſyly beaten backe, and chaſed into the Citie, the whyche by the Danes purſuyng the victorie, was ſette on fyre and brente, togyther with the king and people that were fledde into it for ſuccour.

Yorke brent by Danes.

Howe ſoeuer it came aboute, certayne it is, that the Danes gotte the victorie, and now hauyng ſubdued the Northumbers, appoynted one Egberte to reygne ouer them as kyng, vnder their protection, whiche Egberte reigned in that ſorte ſixe yeeres ouer thoſe whyche inhabited beyonde the riuer of Tyne.

The ſame yeare Adelſtane, the Biſhoppe of Shirborne departed this lyfe, hauyng gouerned that ſea the terme of fiftie yeares.

The cōmendation of Adelſtan biſhop of Shiborne.

This Adelſtane was a man of hyghe wyſedome, and one that had borne no ſmall rule in the kingdome of the Weaſtſaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when kyng Ethelwolf returned from Rome, hee would not ſuffer him to bee admitted king, bycauſe he hadde done in certayne poynts contrarie to the ordinance and lawes of the ſame kingdome, wherupon by this biſhops meanes Ethelbald the ſonne of the ſame king Ethelwolfe was eſtabliſhed Kyng, and ſo continued till by agreement the kingdome was deuided betwixte them, as beefore is mencioned.

Biſhop Adelſtan couetous.
H.Hunt.

He greatly enriched the ſea of Shirborne, and yet thoughe hee was feruentely ſette on conetouſneſſe, hee was neuertheleſſe verye free and liberall.

In the yeare followyng, that is to witte, in the thyrde yeare of Etheldredes reygne, the ſame Ethelred, wyth hys brother Alured, went to ayde Burthred Kyng of Mercia, agaynſte the two foreſayde Daniſh Capitaynes Hungar and Vbba, the whiche were entered into Mercia, and had wonne the towne of Notingham, and lodged within the ſame towne for the winter ſeaſon. Whereuppon the foreſayde Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and beſieged the Danes within it.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes beſieged in Notingham.

The Danes perceiuing themſelues in daunger, made ſuite for a truce and abſtinence of warre, whiche they obteyned, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they ſoiourned the moſte parte of all that yeare.

In the fourthe yeare of kyng Ethelred, the Danes comming into Eaſtangle, cruelly ſlewe that bleſſed man king Edmunde, as after ſhall be ſhewed, 4. *Nouemb. feria.* 2.

In the ſixte yeare of kyng Ethelreds reigne a newe armye of greate force and power came into the countrey of the Weaſtſaxons vnder two leaders or kyngs of Danes, Baſreeg and Haldene.

Baſreeg and Halden.

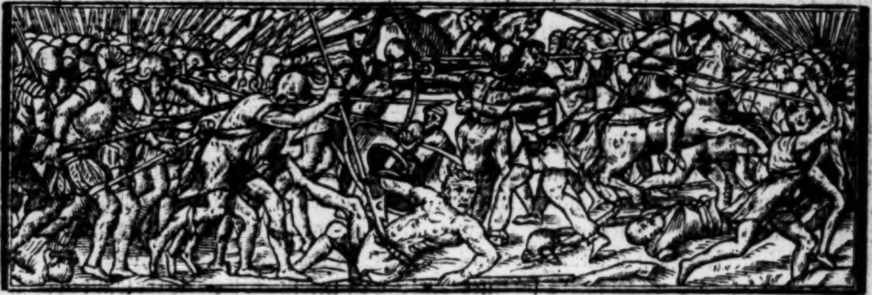
They lodged at Redyng w their mayn army, &

Edelvvolfe Erle of Barkeſhire fought at Englefielde vvith the Danes.

within.iij. days after the Earle of Barrockſhire Edelwolf fought at Engleſield with two earles of thoſe Danes, vanquiſhed them, and ſlewe the one of thoſe Erles, whoſe name was Sidracke. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alvred came with a great hoſt vnto Reding, & ther gaue bataile vnto the armie of Danes, ſo that an huge number of people dyed on bothe partes, but the Danes had the victorie.

The Danes vvan the victorie at Reading.

After this alſo king Ethelred and his brother Alvred fought again with thoſe Danes at Aſchdon, where the armies on both ſides were diuided into .ij. parts, ſo yͤ the two Daniſh kings led the one part of their armie, & certain of their Earles led the other parte. Likewiſe on the Engliſhe ſide king Ethelred was placed with one parte of the hoſt againſt yͤ Daniſh kings, & Alvred with the other parte was appointed to encounter with the Erles. Hereupon they being on both parts ready to giue batail, the euening cōming on cauſed thē to deferre it till the morrow. And ſo early in the morning when the armies ſhoulde ioyne, Kyng Etheldred ſtayed in his tente to heare diuine ſeruice, whyleſt his brother vpon a forwarde courage haſted to encounter his enimies, the whiche receyued him ſo ſharply, and with ſo cruel fight, that at length, the Engliſhmen were at poynte to haue turned their backes: but herewith came king Ethelred and manfully renued the battaile, ſtayed his people from renning away, and ſo encouraged them, and diſcoraged the enimies, that by the power of God, (who as was thought in the morning he hadde ſerued) the Danes finally were chaſed and put to flight, loſing one of their kings (that is to ſay) Baſreeg or Oſrec, and.v. Erles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Oſbern, Freyn, and Harold. This battayl was ſore foughten and continued tyll night, with the ſlaughter of many thouſandes of Danes.



The Danes diſcomfited.

About .xiiij. days after, king Ethelred and his brother Alvred fought eftſoones with the Daniſh armie at Baſing, where the Danes hadde the victorie.

A battayle at Merton.

Alſo two moneths after this, they lykewiſe fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes after they had bene put to the worſe, and purſued in chaſe a long tyme, yet at lengthe they alſo got the victorie, in which battayle Edmund biſhop of Shirborne was ſlayn, and many other that were men of worthye fame and good accompte.

He vvas biſhop of Shirborne as Math. VVeſt. hath noted.

In ſommer following, a mightie hoſte of the Danes came to Reding, and there ſoiorned for a tyme.

Polid. Verg.

Iuarus.

Theſe thinges agree not (I remember wel) with that whiche Polidore Vergile hathe written of theſe warres whiche king Ethelred hadde with the Danes: for he maketh mencion of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouthe of Humber, and lyke a ſtoute enimie inuadeth the countrey adioyning, Againſt whom Etheldred with his brother Alvred came with an armie, and encountring the Danes, fought with thē by the ſpace of a whole day togither, and was in daunger to haue bin put to the worſſe, but that the nighte ſeuered them aſunder.

In the morning they ioyned againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chaunced to be ſlayne in the beginnyng of the battayle, diſcouraged the Danes, ſo that they were eaſily put to flighte, of whome (before they coulde get out of danger) a great number were ſlayne.

Danes put to flight.

But after that they had recouered themſelues togither, and found out a cōuenient place where to pitche theyr campe, they choſe to theyr Capitaynes Ignerus, and Hubo, two bretherne, whiche indeuoured them ſelues by all meanes poſſible to repayre theyr armie: ſo that within fifteene dayes after, the Danes eftſoones fought wyth the Engliſhmenne, and gaue them ſuche an ouerthrowe, that little wanted of makyng an ende of all encounters to bee attempted after by the Engliſhemen.

Agnerus and Hubo.

But yet within a fewe dayes after this, as the Danes attended theyr market to ſpoyle the countrey and raunge ſomewhat licenciouſly abroade, they fell wythin the daunger of ſuche ambuſhes as were layd for them by king Etheldred, that no ſmalle ſlaughter was made of them, but yet not withoute ſome loſſe of the Engliſhmenne. Emongſt other, Ethelred himſelfe receyued a wounde, whereof he ſhortely after dyed.

Thus hath Polyd. touching the warres which king Etheldred had wyth the Danes, who yet confeſſeth as the truth is, that ſuche Authors as he herin folowed, varie muche from that which the Daniſh writers do recorde of theſe matters, and namely touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danyſhe hiſtorye you maye ſee more at large.

But now to oure purpoſe touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reaſon of hurt receyued in fight againſt the Danes (as Polydore ſayth) or otherwiſe, certain it is, that Etheldred anone after Eaſter departed this lyfe, in the ſixte yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Wynborn abbey.

VVynborne abbey.

Agnere.

Fabian.

87c.

In the days of this Ethelred, the forſaid Daniſhe capitaines, Hungar, otherwiſe called Ignerus, and Hubba returning from the Northe parties into the countrey of Eaſtangles, came vnto Thetford, wherof Edmunde, who reigned as king in that ſeaſon ouer the Eaſtangles, being aduertiſed, he rayſed an armie of men, and wente forthe to giue battayle vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chaſed out of the fielde and fled to the caſtell of Framyngham, where being enuironed with a ſiege by his enimies, hee yelded him ſelfe vnto them. And bicauſe he would not renounce the chriſtian faith they bound him to a tree, & ſhot arrows at him til he dyed: & afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the ſame into a thicke groue of buſhes But afterwards his frẽds toke the bodie with the head, and buried the ſame at Egleſdon: where afterwarde alſo a faire monaſterie was buylded by one biſhop Aſwyn, and chaungyng the name of the place, it was after called Sainte Edmundeſbury. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruel Danes for his conſtant cõfeſſing the name of Chriſte in the. xvj. yeare of his reigne, and ſo ceaſed the kingdome of Eaſtangles. For after that the Danes hadde thus ſlaine that bliſſed man, they conquered the hole countrey, and waſted it ſo that through their tyrãnie it remayned without any gouernor by the ſpace of nine yeares, and then they appoynted a king to rule ouer it, whoſe name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned bothe the Eaſtangles and the Eaſtſaxons.

Edmund K. of the Eaſt angles.

Framyngham caſtell.

King Edmund ſhot to death.

Egleſdone.

VVil. Mal.

Eaſtangles without a gouernor

Guthrun a Dane king of eaſt angle.

Ye haue heard how the Danes ſlew Oſryke & Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obteyned, they did muche hurte in the north parties of this lande and amongeſt other cruell deedes, they deſtroyed the Citie of Acluyd, which was a famous Citie in the tyme of the olde Saxons, as by Beda and other wryters it dothe manifeſtly appeare.

Polychron.

Here is to be remembred, that ſome wryters reherſe the cauſe to be this:

Caxton.

Oſbright or Oſricke king of Northumberlande rauiſhed the wyfe of one Bearne that was a noble man of the countrey about Yorke, who toke ſuche great deſpite thereat, that hee fledde out of the lande, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke that was his couſin, of the iniurie done to hym by king Oſbright. Wherupon the king of Denmark glad to haue ſo iuſt a quarell againſt them of Northumberlande, furnyſhed forthe an armie, and ſente the ſame by Sea, (vnder the leadyng of hys two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they ſlew firſt the ſayd kyng Oſbrighte, and after king Ella, at a place beſides Yorke, whiche vnto thys daye is called Elles crofte, takyng that name of the ſayde Elle, beeing there ſlayne in defence of hys countrey againſt the Danes. Whyche Ella (as we fynde regiſtred by wryters) was elected king by ſuche of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refuſed to be ſubiect vnto Oſbright.

Alvred or Alfred.

Alvred or Alfred.

AFter the deceaſe of King Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfrede ſucceeded him, and beganne hys reigne ouer the Weaſt Saxons, and other the more parte of the people of Englande, in the yeare of our Lorde eyght hundred ſeuentie and two, whiche was in the ninteenth yeere of the Emperour Lewys the ſeconde, and two and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed Caluus or the balde Kyng of Fraunce, and about the eleuenth yeare of Conſtantine the ſeconde king of Scotland.

872. ex Math. VVeſt. & Sim. Dunelmen. do note k.

H. Hunt.

Although that this Alured was ſacred King in his fathers lyfe tyme by Pope Leo (as before you haue heard,) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the deceaſe of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngeſt, was kepte backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wiſedome and policie moſt highly eſteemed and had in all honour.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in many great troubles and miſeries, ſpecially by the perſecution of the Danes, whiche made ſore and greeuous warres in ſundry partes of this lande, deſtroying the ſame in moſte

Alvred perſecuted by Danes.

Mat. VVeſt.

he Danes ob- teyne the vic- orie.

he Danes vintered at ondon.

cruell wyſe. About a moneth after he was made kyng, he gaue battayl to the Danes at Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, ſo that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worſe, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortly after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Weſtſaxons. And the Danes that hadde lyen at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they laye all the winter ſeaſon.

In the ſeconde yeare of Alvred his reigne, the Danyſhe kyng Halden ledde the ſame armye from London into Lindſey, and there lodged all that Winter at Torkſey.

874.

epton.

In the yeare following, the ſame Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintred at Ripingdon. Ther were come to him three other leaders of Danes, whiche our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Eſketell, and Ammond, ſo that their power was greatly increaſed.

urthred king ercia.

Burthred king of Mercia whiche had gouerned that countrey by the ſpace of .xxij. yeres, was not able to withſtande the puiſſance of thoſe enimies. And ſo thervpon he was conſtrained to auoyde the countrey, & wente to Rome, where he departed this lyfe, and was buried in the Church of our Ladie, neere to the Engliſhe ſchoole.

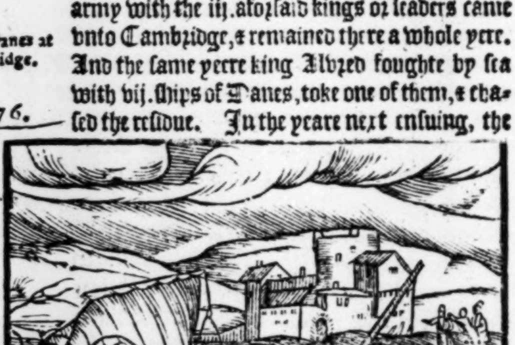
875.

he Danes vente into orthumber- ande.

he Danes at ambridge.

876.

In the fourth yere of king Alvred the armie of the Danes deuided it ſelfe into two partes, ſo that king Halden with one parte therof went into Northumberlande, & lay in the winter ſeaſon neere to the riuer of Tyne, where hee deuided the countrey amongſt his men, and remayned there for the ſpace of two yeares, and oftentymes fetched thither booties and prayes out of the countrey of the Pictes The other part of the Daniſh army with the iij. aforſaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, & remained there a whole yere. And the ſame yeere king Alvred foughte by ſea with vij. ſhips of Danes, toke one of them, & chaſed the reſidue. In the yeare next enſuing, the Danes came into the countreye of the Weaſtſaxons, and king Alvred toke truce with them againe, and they ſware to him (whiche they had not vſed to doe to any afore that tyme) that they woulde departe the countrey.



The Da tooke an oth. H. Hunt.

The Da vvent to Ex cester.

Theyr armie by ſea ſaylyng from Warham towarde Exceſter, ſuſteyned great loſſe by tempeſte, for there peryſhed ſyxe ſcore ſhyppes at Swanewicke.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer the armie of Danes by land went to Exceſter in breache of the truce, and Kyng Alvred followed them, but coulde not ouertake them tyll they came to Exceſter, and there he approched them in ſuche wyſe, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performaunce of ſuch couenauntes as were accorded betwixte him and them. And ſo then they departed out of the countrey, and drewe into Mercia. But ſhortly after, when they had the whole gouernemente of the lande, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to ſuffer king Alvred to continue in reſt with the reſidue of the coũtreys beyõd the Thames. And therefore the three aforeſayd rulers of Danes, Godrun, Eſketell, and Ammound, inuading the countreye of Weaſtſaxons came to Chipnham, diſtant .xvij. myles from Briſtow, and there pitched their tentes.

877.

Polyd.

[illegible]

[Kyng Alvred aduertiſed heereof, haſted thyther, and lodging with his armie nere to the enimyes, prouoked them to battayle. The Danes perceyuyng that eyther they muſte fyghte for theyr lyues, or dye wyth ſhame, boldely came forthe, and gaue battayle. The Engliſhemen raſhely encounter with them, and thoughe that they were ouermatched with number, yet with ſuche violence they giue the onſette, that the enimies at the firſt were abaſhed of their hardie aſſaultes.

But when it was perceiued that theyr ſlender ranckes were not able to reſiſte the thycke leghers of the enimies, they beganne to ſhrinke and looke backe one for an other, and ſo of force were conſtrayned to retyre: And therewithall did caſte themſelues into a ryng, which though it ſeemed to bee the beſte waye that coulde bee deuyſed for theyr ſafetie, yet by the great force and number of theyr enninnies on eache ſyde aſſaylyng them, they were ſo thronged togyther on heapes, that they hadde not roome to ſturre theyr weapons. Whyche diſaduantage notwythſtandyng, they ſlewe a greate number of the Danes, and amongeſt other, Hubba the brother of Ignere, with manye other of the Daniſhe capitaines.

Hubba slayn.

At length the Engliſhmen hauing valyantly foughten a long tyme wyth the enymies, whyche hadde compaſſed them aboute, at laſte they brake out and got them to theyr campe.

To bee briefe, this battayle was foughten with he victorie oubtful.

with ſo equall fortune, that no man knewe to whether parte the victorie ought to be aſcribed. But after that they were once ſeuered, they went hard to cure their hurt menne, and to burye the dead bodies, namely the Danes enterred the bodie of their capitayne Hubba, with greate funerall pompe & ſolemnitie: which done, they kept forth theyr iorney till they came to Abingdon, whither the Engliſhe armie ſhortely after came alſo, and encamped faſt by the enimies.

Abingdon.

In this meane whyle, the rumor was ſpread abroade that king Alured had bin diſcomfited by the Danes, bycauſe that in the laſte battayle hee withdrewe to his campe. This turned greatly to his diſaduauntage: for therby a great number of Engliſhmen ceaſſed to come to hys ſuccoure and ayde.

The Danes & Engliſhemen fight neere to Abingdon.

The next day after his comming to Abingdon, he brought his armie early in the morning into the fielde, togyther the enimies were readie on their partes to receyue the battayle, and ſo he was then encountring. Here was fought right ſore on both ſydes, ſo that it ſeemed the Engliſhmen had not to do with thoſe Danes, which had bin ſo often tymes before diſcomfited and put to flight, but rather with newe people freſh and luſtie, inſomuch that the one part nor the other was mynded to giue it ouer, in ſo muche that the horſemen alighting on foote, and putting their horſes from them, entred the battayle emongſt the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, whiche parted the affray, being one of the ſoreſt foughten fieldes that had bin hearde off in thoſe days. To whether partie a man might iuſtly attribute the victorie, it was vtterlye vncertayne, with ſo lyke loſſe and gayn the matter was tried and ended betwixt them.

Vncertayne victorie. This ſaith Polydore.

With the ſemblable chaunce of daunger and glorie .vij. times that yeare did the Engliſhe and Danes encounter in battail, as writers haue recorded. And at lengthe when their powers on bothe partes were ſore diminiſhed, they agreed vppon a peace, with theſe conditions, That the Danes ſhoulde not attempte any further warre againſt the Engliſhmenne, nor bring into this lande any newe ſupplye of ſouldiours oute of Denmarke.

Ran. Higden. Seuen foughte fieldes in one yeare betvvixt Danes and Engliſhmen. A peace agreed vpon.

The ſame yeare the Danes ſoiourned in the winter ſeaſon at London, accordiug as they had done often tymes before.

The Danes ſoiourned at Lõdon.

Aboute the ſame tyme or ſhortely after, there came into Englande one Rollo, a noble man of Denmark or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithſtanding the peace concluded betweene the Engliſhmen and the Danes,) he beganne to waſt and deſtroy the countrey.

An. 876. ſayeth Sim. Dunelm.

King Alured hearing theſe newes, with all ſpeede, thought beſt in the beginning to ſtoppe ſuche a common miſchiefe, and immediatly aſſembling his people, wente againſt the enimies, and gaue them battaile, in the which there died a great number of men on both ſides, but the greater loſſe fel to Rollo his armie. Yet Mathewe Weſtm. ſayeth, that the Engliſhmen were put to flight.

After this, it chaunced, that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left Englande, and ſayled ouer into Fraunce, wher he ſound fortune ſo fauorable to him, that hee obteined in that region for him and his people a countrey, the whiche was afterwardes named Normandie, of thoſe Northerne people, whiche then began to inhabite the ſame, as in the hiſtories of Fraunce you may ſee more at large.

xxx. yeares after this he vvas baptiſed.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue herd) ſhortly after, vpon the firſt occaſion, brake the ſame, & by the often inuaſions which they made into the countrey of Weſtſaxons, brought the matters to

King Alured driuen to his ſhifts.

that paſſe, that there remayned to king Alured, but onely the three countreis of Hamſhire, Wilſhire, and Somerſetſhire, in ſomuch that he was conſtrained for a time to kepe himſelfe cloſe within the fennes and marriſſe groundes of Somerſetſhire, with ſuch ſmall companies as he had aboute him, conſtreyned to get their liuing wyth fiſhing, hunting, and other ſuche ſhiftes. He remayned for the moſt part within an Iſle called Edelynſey, that is to meane, the Ilande of noble menne, enuironed aboute with fennes and marriſſes.

Edlingſey.

Whyles he was thus ſhut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertiſed of better hap ſhortly to follow. For as it hath bene ſaid, Saint Cuthbert appeared to him as he lay in ſleepe, and comforted him, declaring vnto him, that within a whyle Fortune ſhoulde ſo turne that he ſhoulde recouer againe his kingdome to the confuſion of his enimies: and to aſſure him, that this ſhould proue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroade to catche fiſhe, ſhould bring home great plentie, although the ſeaſon was agaynſte them, by reaſon that the waters were froſen, and that a colde rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpoſe. His mother alſo at that tyme being in ſleepe, ſaw the like viſion. And as they had dreamed, ſo it came to paſſe: for being awakened of their ſleepe, in came his men with ſo great foyſon of fiſhe, that the ſame might haue ſuffized a great armie of men, for the vittualling of them at that ſeaſon.

A viſion if it be true.

Shortly after, kyng Alured tooke vpon hym the habite of a Minſtrell, and going forth of his cloſure, repaired to the campe of the Dany ſhe king, only accompanied with one truſty ſeruant, and tarrying there certaine dayes togither, was ſuffered to goe into euery parte, and play on hys inſtrument, as well afore the king as others, ſo that there was no ſecrete, but that hee vnderſtoode it.

King Alured diſguiſeth hymſelfe.

Polidore.

Fabian.

After that he had ſeene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to hys people at Edlingſey, and there declared to hys nobles what he had ſeene and heard, what negligence was amongſt the enimies, and howe eaſy a matter it ſhoulde bee for him to endomage them.

Hereupon they conceyuing a merueylous good hope, and enboldened wyth his wordes, a power was aſſembled togither, and ſpyes ſente forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, & certificat made accordyngly, Kyng Alured commyng vppon them on the ſodayn, ſlew of them a great number, hauyng them at great aduauntage.

H. Hunt.

878

877.

Alſo about the ſame tyme the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ſhips out of Wales into the countrey of Weſtſaxons, in the coaſte of Deuonſhire, where the Deuonſhire men gaue him battaile, and ſlewe him with 840 perſons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himſelfe was preſent at this conflict with Inguare, otherwiſe called Hungar, and that they were both ſlayne there, with twelue hundred of their companye (before a certayne caſtell called Kynwith) receyuing as they hadde deſerued for their cruel dealing lately by them practiſed in the parties of Southwales, where they had waſted all afore them with fyre and ſworde, not ſparing Abbeys more than other common buyldings.

Mat. VVest.

S.Dun.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortreſſe in the Ile of Edlingſey, afterwardes called Athelney, & breaking out oftentymes vpon the enimyes, diſtreſſed them at ſundrie tymes wyth the ayde of the Somerſetſhiremen, which were at hande.

Athelney.

Aboute the ſeuenth weeke after Eaſter, in the ſeuenth yeare of hys reigne, kyng Alured went to Eglerighſton, on the Eaſt parte of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Somerſetſhyre, Wylſhyre, and Hamſhyre, reioyſing greatly to ſee him abroade.

From thence he wente to Edanton, and there fought againſt the armie of the Danes, and chaſed them vnto their ſtrength, where he remained afore them the ſpace of fourteene dayes: and then the armie of the Danes deliuered hym hoſtages and couenaunts to departe out of his dominions, and that their king ſhould be baptiſed, which was accompliſhed: for Guthrun whom ſome name Gurmound, a prince or king amongeſt theſe Danes, came to Alured, and was baptiſed, king Alured receyuyng hym at the Fontſtone, named hym Adelſtane, and gaue to hym the countrey of Eaſtangle, whyche hee gouerned, (or rather ſpoyled) by the ſpace of twelue yeares.

Edandone.

This battayle ſhould ſeme the ſame that Polydor ſpeaketh of fought at Abyngdon.

Polychro.

I.Pike.

Guthrun or Gurmōd baptiſed, and named Adelſtan, is made king of Eaſtangle.

Dyuers other of the Daniſhe nobilitie to the number of thirtie, (as Simon Dunelmenſis hathe) came the ſame tyme in companye of theyr kyng Guthrun, and were lykewyſe baptyſed, on whome kyng Alured alſo beſtowed many riche giftes.

The ſame tyme (as is to bee thought) was the league concluded betwyxte kyng Alured, and the ſayde Guthrun or Gythrun, in the whyche the boundes of kyng Alureds kyngdome are ſette forth thus:

Fyrſte therefore lette the boundes or marches of oure dominion ſtretche vnto the ryuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the head of the ſame water, and ſo forth ſtreight vnto Bedforde: and finally going alongſt by the riuer of Ouſe, lette them ende at Watlingſtreete.

Vita.

This league beeing made with the aduiſe of the ſage perſonages as well Engliſh as Danes that inhabited within Eſt England, is ſet forth in maiſter Lamberts booke of the olde Engliſhe lawes, in the ende of thoſe lawes or ordinaunces whyche were eſtabliſhed by the ſame kyng Alured, as in the ſame booke ye maye ſee more at large. But nowe to proceed.

Here is to bee noted, that oure writers name dyuerſe of the Danyſh Capitaines kyngs, of the whyche no mention is made in the Danyſhe Chronicles, to reygne in thoſe parties.

But true it is, that in thoſe dayes, not onely the Danyſhe people, but alſo other of thoſe Northeaſt countreyes or Regyons, as Swedeners, Norweygians, the Wenden, and ſuch other, whyche the Engliſhe people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen, Normans, vſed to roaue on the Seas, and to inuade forrayne Regions, as England, Fraunce, Flaunders, and others, as in conueniente places ye maye fynde, as well in oure Hyſtories as alſo in the writers of the Frenche Hyſtories, and lykewyſe in the Chronicles of thoſe North Regyons.

The wryters alſo of the Daniſhe Chronicles, make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name *Anglicus*, bycauſe hee was borne heere in Englande, whiche ſucceeded his father Frotto in gouernemente of the kyngdome of Denmarke, whiche Frotto receyued baptiſme in Englande, as in their hiſtorie you may reade more at large. Gurmo.

In the eyght yere of kyng Alured his reigne, the armye of the Danes wyntered at Cirenceſter, and the ſame yeare an other armie of ſtraungers called *Vvincigi*, lay at Fulham, and in the yeare followyng, departed forth of Englande, and wente into Fraunce. And the armye of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirenceſter, and came into Eaſt angle, and there deuidyng the countrey amongeſt them, beganne to inhabite the ſame. *H. Hunt.* 878. 879. *Si. Dunelm.* *Mat. VVeſt.*

In the. xiiij. yeare of king Alured his reigne, parte of the Daniſhe armie whiche was gone ouer into Fraunce, returned into England and beſieged Rocheſter. But when Alured approched to the reſkue, the enimies fledde to theyr ſhippes, and paſſed ouer the ſea agayne. Rocheſter beſieged. 885.

King Alured ſente a nauie of his ſhippes well furniſhed with menne of warre into Eaſt angle, the whyche at the mouthe of the Riuer called Sture, encountring with. xvj. ſhippes of Danes, ſet vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: But as they retourned with theyr pryſes, they encountred with an other myghtie armye of the enimies, and fighting wyth them, were ouercome and vanquiſhed.

886. London recouered out of the handes of the Danes. In the yeare folowing, king Alured beſieged the Citie of London, the Danes that wer within it, fledde from thence, and the Engliſhemen that were inhabitauntes thereof, gladly receiued him, reioycing, that there was ſuche a Prince bredde of their nation that was of power able to reduce them into libertie.

This Citie being at that ſeaſon the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered vnto the keping of duke Eldred, whiche had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, and held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before tyme poſſeſſed by graunt of the Danes, after they had ſubdued kyng Burthred, as before is mencioned. *VV: Malmſ.* Ethelfleda. Colvvolphus.

About the. xxj. yeare of king Alured, a greate armie of thoſe Danes, or Normanes, whyche hadde ben in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Lymene in the eaſt part of Kente, neere to the greate wodde called Andredeſley, whyche dydde conteyne in Lymen, novv Rother. Andredeſleg.

A caſtel buylte at Apledore.

893.

tymes paſt. Cxx. myles in length, and thirtie in breadth. Theſe Danes landing with their people buylded a Caſtell at Appledore.

S. Duncl at Milton.

Haſtings the capitain of the Danes beſieged.

He receyueth an othe.

Alſo in the meane tyme came Haſtyng wyth lxxx. ſhips into the Thames, and buylded a Caſtell at Middleton, but hee was conſtrained by ſiege, whiche king Alured planted about him to receiue an othe that he ſhould not in any wyſe anoy the dominion of king Alured, who vpon his promyſe to departe, gaue great rewards as well to him as to his wyfe and children. One of his ſonnes alſo king Allured helde at the Fontſtone, and to the other, Duke Eldred was godfather. (For as it were to wynne credite, and to auoyde preſent daunger,) Haſting ſent vnto king Allured theſe hys two ſonnes, ſygnifying that if it ſtoode with his pleaſure, he coulde be content that they ſhoulde be baptiſed. But neuertheleſſe this Haſting was euer moſte vntrue of worde and deede, he buylded a caſtell at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to ſpoyle and waſt the kings countreys, Allured tooke that Caſtell wyth hys wyfe, children, ſhippes, and goodes, which he had got togither of ſuche ſpoyles as he had purchaſed abroade: but he reſtored vnto Haſting his wyfe and children, bicauſe hee was their godfather.

Beanfleet hath Math. VVeſt.

This enterpriſe vvas atchieued by Edeldred duke of Mercia in abſence of the king as M. VVeſt. hathe noted.

Exceſter beſieged.

Shortly after, newes came, that a great number of other ſhippes of Danes were come out of Northumberlande, and had beſieged Exceſter: Whyleſt king Allured went then againſt them, the other armie whiche laye at Apledore inuaded Eſſex, and buylt a caſtell in that countrey, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded an other caſtell neere to the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen oute of that countrey, they returned agayne into Eſſex.

Seuerne.

Thoſe that had beſieged Exceſter, vpō knowledge had of king Allureds comming, fledde to their ſhippes, and ſo remayning on the ſea, roaued abroade, ſeeking prayes. Beſides thys, other Armies there were ſent forth, whiche comming out of Northumberlande, tooke the citie of Cheſter, but there they were ſo beſette aboute with their enimies, that they were conſtrayned to eate their horſes.

Cheſter taken by Danes.

Great famine.

At length in the. xxiij. yeare of king Allured they lefte that citie, and fetched a compaſſe about Northwales, and ſo meaning to ſayle rounde aboute the coaſt to come into Northumberland, they ariued in Eſſex, and in the winter folowing drew their ſhippes by the Thames into the water of Luye. That armie of Danes whiche had beſieged Exceſter, tooke prayes aboute Chicheſter, and was mette with, ſo that they loſt many of their men, and alſo diuers of their ſhips.

H. Hunt.

The vvater of Luye, novve Lee.

In the yeare folowing, the other armie which had broughte the ſhippes into the riuer of Luye, began to buylde a caſtell neere to the ſame riuer, twentie myles diſtaunt from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battayl to the Danes, ſlewe. iiij. of the chiefe Capitaynes. But by Simon Dunel and Mathew Weſt, it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the Londoners were at thys time put to flighte, and that foure of the kinges Thanes or barons were ſlaine. Howbeit Henry of Huntington hath written as before I haue recited: And further ſayth, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the Caſtell, king Alured cauſed the water of Luy to be deuided into three Chanels, ſo that the Danes ſhoulde not bryng backe their ſhippes oute of the place where they lay at ancker. When the Danes perceyued this, they lefte their ſhippes behynde them, and wente into the borders of Wales, where at Carthbridge vpon Seuerne, they buylte an other caſtell, and lay there all the wynter following, hauing lefte their wiues and childrē in the countrey of Eaſtangles. King Allured purſued them, but the Londoners tooke the enimies ſhips, and brought ſome of them to the Citie, and the reſt they brent.

H. Hunt.

The Londoners vvere victours againſt the Danes.

S dup. 51.

Quatbridge. or VVatbridge.

Thus for the ſpace of three yeeres after the arriuing of the mayne armie of Danes in the hauen of Luye, they ſore endomaged the Engliſhe people, although the Danes themſelues ſuſteyned more loſſe at the Engliſhmens handes than they did to them with all pilfering and ſpoyling.

In the fourth yeare after their comming, the armie was deuided, ſo that parte of them wente into Northumberlande, part of them remayned in the countrey of the Eaſtangles, and an other parte went into Fraunce.

The Daniſh armie diuided into partes.

Alſo certain of their ſhips came vpon the coaſt of the Weſtſaxons, oftentymes ſettyng theyr men on lande to robbe and ſpoyle the countrey.

But king Allured tooke order in the beſt wiſe he might for defence of his countrey and people, and cauſed certaine mightie veſſels to be buylded which he appointed forth to encounter with the enimies ſhippes.

And thus lyke a worthie Prince and politike gouernour, he preuented eche way forth to reſiſt his enimies, and to ſaueguarde his ſubiects. Finally after he had reigned. 29. yeeres, and an halfe, he departed this lyfe the. 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter: he left behynde him iſſue by his wife Ethelwitha, the daughter of Earle Ethelred of Mercia, two ſonnes Edwarde, ſurnamed the elder, which ſucceeded him, and Adelwolde. Alſo three daughters, Elfleda, or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Elgiua and Ethelwitha. Elflede was maried (as ye haue hearde) vnto Duke Edelred, who left a notable example behinde hir of deſpiſing fleſhely pleaſure, for bearing hir huſbande one chylde, and ſore handeled before ſhe coulde be delyuered, ſhe euer after forbare to companie with hir huſbande, ſaying that

The death of king Alured.

His iſſue.

Elfleda.

888.

it was

The notable ſaying of Elfleda.

it was great fooliſhneſſe to deſire ſuch pleaſure which thereby ſhould bring ſo great griefe.

To ſpeake ſufficiently of the worthie prayſe due to ſo noble a prince as Alured was, might require eloquence, learning and a large volume. He was of perſon comely and beautifull, & better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was as before is touched, greatly diſquieted with the inuaſion of forreyn enimies, yet did he both manfully from time to tyme indeuour himſelfe to repulſe them, and alſo attempted to ſee his ſubiectes gouerned in good and vpright iuſtice.

W. Malmſ.

King Alured his lawes.

And albeit that good lawes amongeſt the clinking noyſe of armour, are oftentymes put to ſilence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greued with theeues and robbers whiche in tyme of warre grew and increaſed, deuiſed good ſtatutes and holſome ordinances for punyſhing of ſuche offenders.

Amongeſt other thinges he ordeyned, that the countreys ſhould be deuided into hundreds and tythings, that is to wit, quarters conteyning a certayne number of townſhips, adioyning togither, ſo that euery Engliſheman liuing vnder preſcript of lawes, ſhould haue both his hundred and tithing, that if any man were accuſed of any offence, he ſhoulde fynde ſuretie for his good demeanour: and if he coulde not fynde ſuche as woulde anſwere for him, then ſhoulde he taſte extremitie of the lawes.

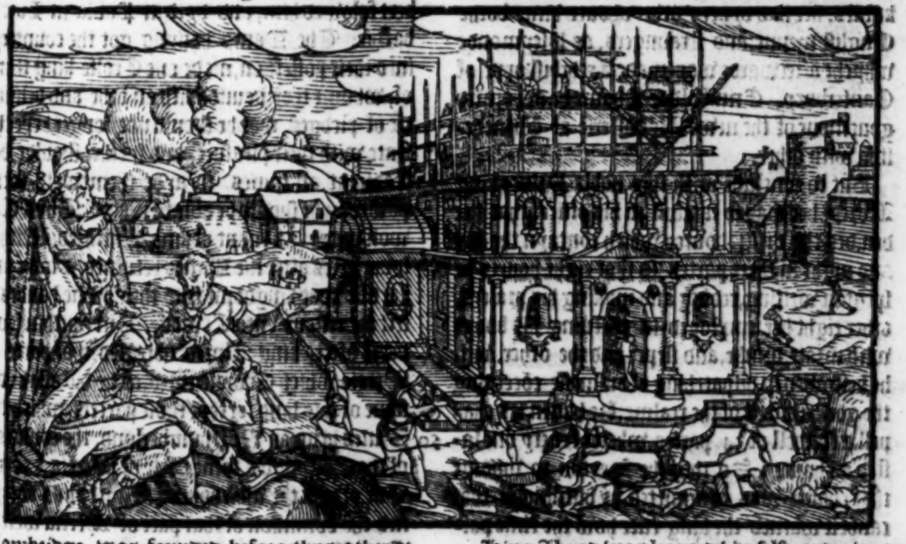
And if any manne that was guiltie fled before hee founde ſuretie or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelte ſhoulde be put to their fynes. By this deuiſe hee brought his countrey into good tranquillitie, ſo that he cauſed braceletes of golde to be hanged vp alofte on hilles, where any common wayes laye to ſee if any durſt be ſo hardy to take them away by ſtealth. He was a liberall Prince, namely in releeuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed all the priuiledges as his father had graunted before him, and he alſo ſent ambaſſades by waye of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of Saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the biſhop of Shirborne bare the ſame, & brought from thence riche ſtones, and ſweete odors of ineſtimable value. From Rome alſo he brought a piece of the holy croſſe, whiche Pope Marinus did ſend for a preſent vnto king Alured.

Foundation of monaſteries.

Moreouer king Alured founded three goodly Monaſteries, one at Edlingſey, where he liued ſometyme when the Danes had bereaued hym almoſt of all his kyngdome, whiche was after called Athelney, diſtant from Taunton in Somerſetſhire about fiue myles: the ſeconde he builded at Wincheſter, called the newe minſter, and the thirde at Shaftſbury, whiche was an houſe of Nunnes, where he made his daughter Ethelgiua, or Elgiua Abbeſſe. But the foundation of the vniuerſitie of Oxford paſſed all the reſidue of his buyldings, whiche he began by the good exhortation and aduiſe of Neotus an Abbotte in thoſe dayes highly eſteemed for his vertue and learning with Alured.

This worke he toke in hande aboute the .23. yeare of his reigne, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde. 895. So that the Uniuerſitie of

895.



Polydore.

The vniuerſitie of Oxforde erected.

Cambridge was founded before thys other at Oxforde about .265. yeeres, as Polydore gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eaſt angles began to erecte that Uniuerſitie at Cambridge, about the yeare of our Lorde .630.

King Alured was learned himſelfe, and giuen muche to ſtudie, in ſo muche that beſide dyuers good lawes whiche he tranſlated into the engliſh toung, gathered togither and publiſhed, he alſo tranſlated diuers other bookes out of Latin into engliſh, as *Oroſius, Paſtorale Gregorij, Beda de geſtis Anglorū, Boetius de conſolatione Philoſophiæ,* and the boke of Pſalmis, but this he finiſhed not, being preuented by death.

So this worthie Prince minding wel toward the common wealth of his people, in that ſeaſon when learning was little eſteemed amongeſt the Weaſt nations, dyd ſtudie by all meanes poſſible, to inſtructe his ſubiectes in the trade of leadyng an honeſt lyfe, and to encourage them generally to imbrace learnyng. He woulde not ſuffer any to beare office in the Courte, excepte hee were learned: and yet hee hymſelfe was twelue yeares of age before hee coulde reade a worde on the booke, and was then trayned by his mothers perſwaſion to applye hymſelfe to ſtudy, promiſing to gyue hym a goodly fayre booke whyche ſhe had in hir handes, if he wold ſhortly lerne to reade it. Hereupon going to his booke in ſporte, he ſo earneſtly ſette his mynd thereto, that within a ſmall tyme hee profited maruellouſly, and became ſuche a fauourer of learned men, that he delyghted moſt in their companie, to haue conference wyth them, and allured dyuers to come vnto hym out of other countreyes, as Aſſerius Meneuenſ. biſhop of Shirborne, and Werefridus the byſhop of Worceſter, who by his commaundemente tranſlated the Bookes of Gregories Dialogues into Engliſhe. Alſo John Scot whyche whyles hee was in Fraunce, tranſlated the booke of *Dionyſius Ariopagita*, entituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latin, and after was Scholemaiſter in the Abbey of Malmeſburye, and there murthered by his Schollers with penkniues, hee had dyuers other aboute him, bothe Engliſh menne and ſtraungers, as Pleymonde whyche afterwarde was made Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, Grimbalde, whome he appointed gouernour of the newe Monaſterie at Wincheſter, with other.

The vertuous zele of Alured to bring his people to an honeſt trade of lyfe.

He is perſvvaded by his mother, to applye himſelf to lerning.

Aſſerius Meneuenſ.
VVerefridus.

John Scot.

Grimbalde.

But to conclude with this noble Prince king Alured, hee was ſo carefull in his office, that hee deuided the .xxiiij. houres which contayn the day and night in three partes, ſo that eight houres he ſpent in writing, reding and making his praiers, other eight hee employed in releuing his bodye with meate, drinke, and ſlepe, and the other .viij. he beſtowed in diſpatching of buſineſſe cōcerning the gouernment of the realme. He had in his chapell a candell of .24. partes, whereof euery one laſted an houre: So that the Sexton to whome that charge was committed, by burning of that candell warned the king euer how the time paſſed away. A little before his death, hee ordeined his laſt wil and teſtament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goodes iuſtly gotten, vnto ſuch Monaſteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he deuided into two equall partes, and the firſt part he deuided into three, beſtowing the firſt vpon his ſeruants of houſholde, the ſeconde to ſuche laborers and workmen as he kept in his workes of ſundrie newe buyldings, the thyrde part he gaue to ſtrangers. The ſecond whole part of his reuenues was ſo diuided, that the firſt porcion thereof was beſtowed amongeſt the pore people of his countrey, the ſeconde to Monaſteries, the thirde to the fyndyng of pore ſchollers, and the .iiij. part to Churches beyonde the ſea: he was diligent in the enquirie how the Judges of his land behaued themſelues in their iudgementes, and was a ſharpe corrector of them which tranſgreſſed in that behalfe. To be brief, he liued ſo as he was had in greate fauoure of his neighbors, highly honored amongſt ſtrangers. He maryed his daughter Ethelſwida or rather Elſtride vnto Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, of whome he begat two ſons Arnulfe and Adulfe, of the which the firſt ſucceded in the Erledome of Flaunders, and the yonger was made erle of Bologne.

Alured deuided the tyme for his neceſſarie vſes.

His laſt vvyll and teſtament.

Elſtrid, [illegible] [illegible] found in [illegible] Meyer, [illegible] booke [illegible] [illegible] bande.

The bodie of king Alured was firſte buried in the Biſhops churche: but afterwarde bicauſe the Canons rayſed a fond tale that the ſame ſhoulde walke a nightes, his ſonne king Edward remoued it into the newe monaſterie whiche he in his lyfe tyme had founded.

The ende of the kingdome of Mercia.

IN the dayes of the forſayd king Alured, the kyngdome of Mercia toke ende. For after that ẏ Danes had expulſed king Burthred, whē he had reigned .22. yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife alſo Ethelſwida, the daughter of king Athulf that was ſonne to king Egbert folowed him, and dyed in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauyng got the countrey into their poſſeſſion, made one Ceolfe king thereof, whome they bound with an othe and deliuerie of pledges, that he ſhould not longer kepe the ſtate with their pleaſure, and further ſhoulde bee readie at all tymes to ayde them wyth ſuche power as he ſhould be able to make. Thys Cewolf was the ſeruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeres after the Danes returned, & toke one part of that kingdome into their owne handes, & left the reſidue vnto Cewolfe. But within fewe yeres after, king Alured obteined that parte of Mercia which Cewolf ruled, as he did all the reſidue of this land, except thoſe parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countreis of the Eaſtangles, ſome parte of Mercia, & other. The yere in the whiche king Alured thus obteyned the dominion of that part of Mercia whiche Cewolf had in gouernāce, was after the birth of our Sauior .886. ſo that the forſaid kingdom cōtinued the ſpace of .202. yeres vnder .22. kings frō Crida to this laſt Cewolf. But ther be ẏ accompt the continuance of this kingdome, only from the begin-

Ceovvlf.

886.
Mat.VVeſt.

beginning of Penion, vnto the laſt yere of Wilthred, by which reckoning it ſtood not paſt 190 yeres vnder [illegible], or rather [illegible] accompting the laſt Erwolf for none, who began his reigne vnder ſubiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord. 872. when Penda began his reigne.

The Eaſtangles & the Northumbers at theſe days were vnder ſubiection of the Danes, as plainly may be perceiued by that which before is rehearſed. After Guthrã ÿ gouernour of ÿ Eaſtangles by the terme of .xij. yeres, one Edricke or Ericke had the rule in thoſe parties, a Dane alſo, & reigned .xiiij. yeres, & was at length bereued of his gouernment by king Edward the ſonne of K. Alured, as after ſhal appere. But now although that the Northumbers were brought greatly vnder foote by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accuſtomed maner to ſtirre tumultes and rebellion againſt their gouernors, inſomuch that in the yere 872. they expulſed not onely Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one parte of the countrey (as before you haue heard) but alſo their archbiſhop Wulfhere. In the yere following, the ſame Egbert departed this life, after whom, one Rigſig or Ricſige ſucceeded as king, & the Archbiſhop Wolfhere was reſtored home. In ÿ ſame yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thẽce into Northumberlãd, and wintred in Lindſey, at a place called Torkſey, and went the next yere into Mercia. And in the yere. 975. a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue herd. In the yere following, Ricſig the king of Northumberlande departed this lyfe: After whom an other Egbert ſucceded. And in the yeare. 983. the armie of the Danes meanyng to inhabite in Northumberlande, and to ſettle themſelues there, choſe Guthryd the ſonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had ſometyme ſolde to a certayne widowe at Witingham. But nowe by the aduiſe of an Abbot called Alride, they redeemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule bothe Danes and Engliſhmen in that countrey.

Guthrun king of the Eaſt angles died. 890.

Si. Dunelm.

Si. Dunelm.

872.

Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.

Egbert departed this lyfe.

Ricſig.

The Danes winter in Lindſey.

975.

Ricſig departed this lyfe.

983.

Guthred ordeined K. of Northumberland.

It was ſayd, that the ſame Alrede being Abbot of holy Ilande, was warned in a viſion by Sainte Cuthbert, to giue counſell bothe to the Danes and Engliſhmen, to make the ſame Guthrid king. This chaunced about the .xij. yere of the reigne of Alured king of Weſtſaxons.

Then after that Guthrid was eſtabliſhed king he cauſed the biſhops ſea to be remoued from holy Ilande vnto Cheſter in the ſtreet, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iuriſdiction belonging therto, he aſſigned and gaue vnto Sainct Cuthbert all that countrey which lyeth betwixt the riuers of Teyſe and Tyne.

The biſhoppes ſea remoued from holy Iland to Cheſter in the ſtreete.

Moreouer this priuilege was there graunted vnto S. Cuthbert ſhrine, That whoſoeuer fledde into the ſame for ſuccour & ſafegarde, ſhould not be touched or troubled in any wiſe for the ſpace of 37 dayes. And this freedom was confirmed not only by king Guthrid, but alſo by king Alured. Finally king Guthrid departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Lord God. 894. after hee had ruled the Northumbers with muche crueltie (as ſome ſay) by the terme of .vi. yeres, or ſomwhat more. He is named by ſome writers Gurmond, and alſo Gurmo, and thought to bee the ſame whome king Alured cauſed to be baptiſed. Where other affirme, that Guthred who ruled the Eaſtangles, was he that Alured receiued at ÿ fontſtone. William Malmſbury taketh them to be but one man, which is not lyke to be true.

Priuiledges graunted to S. Cuthbertes ſhrine.

894.

Polydor.

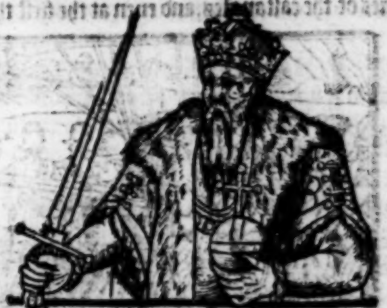
W. Malmſ.

W. Malmſ.

After this Guthred or Gurmo his ſonne Sithrike ſucceeded, and after hym other of that line, till king Athelſtane depriued them of the dominion, and toke it into his owne handes.

Sithrike.

Edwarde the elder.



Edward the elder.

901.

After the deceaſe of king Alured, his ſon Edwarde, ſurnamed the elder began his reygne ouer the more parte of Englande in the yeare of our Lord 901. which was in the .3. yere of the emperour Lewis in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed *ſimplex*, king of France, and about the .8. yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was ſacred after the maner of other kyngs his aunceſters by Athelrede the Archebiſhop of Canterburie. This Edward was not ſo learned as his father, but in princely power more high & honorable, for he ioyned the kingdome of Eaſtangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after ſhall be ſhewed, and vanquiſhed the Danes, Scots, & Welchmen, to his great glory and high cõmendation. In the beginning of his reign he was diſquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the town of Winborn beſides Bath, and maried a Nunne there, which he had defloured, and attempted many things againſt his brother. Wherupõ the king came to Bath, & though Adelwold ſhewed a countenance as if he would haue abyd the chaunce of warre within Wynborne, yet he ſtale awaye in the night, & fled into Northũberland, wher of the Danes he was ioyfully receiued. The king toke his wife being lefte behind, & reſtored hir to ÿ houſe from whence ſhe was taken. Some haue written, that this Adelwolde or Ethelwolde, was not brother vnto

king

Winborne.

H. Hunt.

Adelwolde fleeth to the Danes.

W. Malm.

king Edwarde, but his vncles ſonne.

After this king Edwarde prouiding for the ſuretie of his ſubiectes againſt the forrays which the Danes vſed to make, fortifyed diuers cities and townes, and ſtuffed them with great garriſons of ſouldiors, to defend the inhabitants, and to repulſe the enimies. And ſurely the engliſhmen were ſo inured with warres in thoſe dayes, that the people being aduertiſed of the inuaſion of the enimies in any part of their countrey, would aſſemble oftentymes without knowledge of king or capitayne, and ſetting vpon the enimies, went commonly awaye with victorie, by reaſon that they ouermatched them bothe in number & practiſe. So were the enimies deſpiſed of the engliſhe ſouldiours, and laughed to ſcorn of the king for their foliſhe attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Ethelwolde his brother came with a Nauie of the Danes into the parties of the eaſtangles, and euen at the firſt the Eſſex men yelded themſelues vnto him. In the yere folowing he inuaded the countrey of Mercia with a mightie armie, waſting and ſpoyling the ſame vnto Crykelade, and there paſſing ouer the Thames, rode forth til he came to Baſingſtoke, (or as ſome bookes haue Brittenden,) harying the countrey on eche ſyde, and ſo returned back into Eaſt angles with great ioy & triumph.

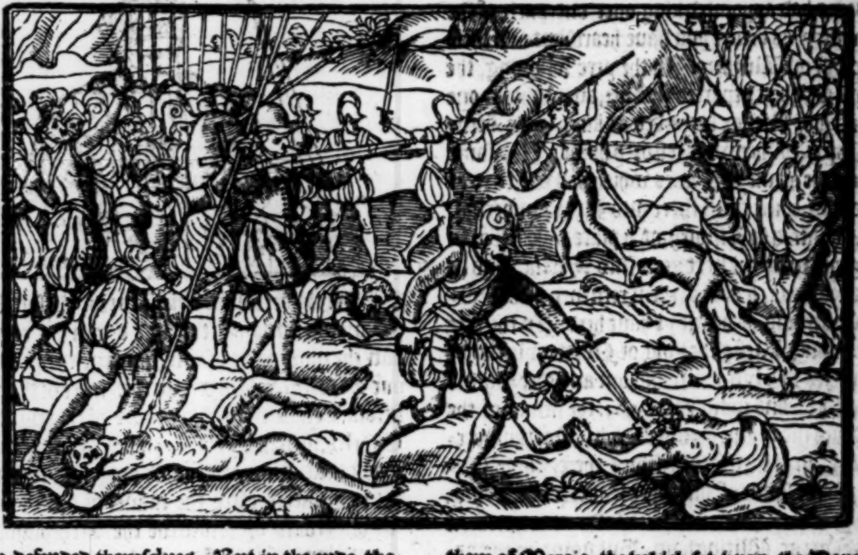
The Engliſhe nation practiſed in vvarres, goe commonly avvay vvith the victorie.

H. Hunt.

Eſſex yelded to Athelvvold.

Ran. Higd.

[illegible]



King Edwarde awakened herewith, aſſembled his people, & folowed the enimies, waſting all the countreye betwixt the riuer of Ouſe and S. Edmunds ditch. And when he ſhuld returne, he gaue cõmaundement, that no man ſhould ſtay behinde him, but come backe togither for doubte to be forlayd by the enimies. The Kentiſhmen notwithſtanding this ordinance & cõmaundemẽt, remained behind, although the king ſent. 7. meſſengers for them. The Danes awayting their aduantage, came togither, and fiercely foughte with the Kentiſhmen, which a long tyme valiantly defended themſelues. But in the ende the Danes obteyned the victorie, although they loſte more people there than the Kentiſhmen did: and amongeſt other, there were ſlaine the forſaid Athelwold, & diuers of the chief captains amongſt the Danes. Likewiſe of the engliſh ſide, ther died ij. dukes, Siwolf & Singlem, or Sigbelm, with ſundry other mẽ of name, both tẽporal & alſo ſpiritual lords & Abbots. In the. v. yere of his reign K. Edward cõcluded a truce with the Danes of Eaſtangle & Northumberlãd at Itingford. But in the yere folowing, he ſent an army againſt thẽ of Northumberlãd, which ſlew many of yͤ Danes, and took great booties both of people & cattel, remaining in the countrey the ſpace of. v. wekes.

H. Hunt.

The Kentiſhmen diſobeying the kings commaundement, are foyled by the enimie. Athelwold king Edwards brother.

Fortie dayes hath S. Dunel.

The yere next enſuing, the Danes with a great armie entred into Mercia, to rob & ſpoile yͤ countrey, againſt whom king Edward ſent a mightie hoſt, aſſembled togither of the Weſt ſaxons and them of Mercia, the which ſet vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, & ſlew of thẽ an huge multitude, together with their chief capitaines and leaders, as king Halden, and kyng Eolwils, erle Uther, erle Scurfa, & diuers other.

In the yeare. 912. (or as Simon Dunel. hath 908.) the Duke of Mercia Edrid or Ethelred, departed this life, and then king Edward ſeyſed into his handes the Cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he helde. But afterwards he ſuffered his ſiſter Elflede to enioy the moſt part therof, except the ſayde cities of London and Oxford, whiche he ſtill retayned in his owne hande. This Elfleda was wyfe to the ſayd duke Edrid or Ethelred, as before you haue hearde: Of whoſe worthy actes more ſhall be ſayde hereafter.

H. Hunt.

In the nynthe yeare of his reigne kyng Edwarde buylt a caſtell at Hartforde, and likewiſe

Vitham.

Cheſter, or rather Leyceſter, as I thinke.

Ligetane.

he buylded a towne in Eſſex at Wightham, and lay himſelf in the meane time at Maldon, otherwiſe Meauldun, bringing a great part of ẏ countrey vnder his ſubiection, which before was ſubiect to ẏ Danes. In the yere folowing, the armie of the Danes departed frō Northāpton & Cheſter in breach of the former truce, & ſlew a greate number of men at Hocchnertō in Oxfordſhire. And ſhortly after their return home, an other cōpanie of them wēt forth and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrey beeing aſſembled togither, fought with them, and put them to flight, taking frō them all the ſpoyle whiche they had got, and alſo their horſes.

Irchenfelde.

Danes diſcomfited.

In the .xj. yere of king Edw. a fleet of Danes compaſſed aboute the Weſt partes, and came to the mouth of Seuerne, & ſo toke prayes in Wales: They alſo toke priſoner a Welche biſhop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ſhips: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, paying to them .xl. li. for his raunſom. After that the armie of Danes went forth to ſpoyle the countrey about Irchingfield, but the people of Cheſter, Hereforde, and other townes and countreys therabout, aſſembled togither, and giuing battayl to the enimies, put them to flight, and ſlewe one of their noble men called Earle Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of Earle Vter, with a great part of their armie, and draue the reſidue into a Caſtell, whiche they beſieged till the Danes within it gaue hoſtages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings lande.

The king cauſed the coaſts about Seuerne to be watched, that they ſhould not breake into his countrey: But yet they ſtale twice into the borders: neuertheles they wer chaſed & ſlain ſo many as coulde not ſwim, and ſo get to their ſhips.

The yle of Stepen.
Deomedun.
Danes ſayle into Irelande.

Then they remayned in the Ile of Steper, in great miſerie for lacke of vittuals, bycauſe they coulde not go abroade to get any. At length they departed into Northwales, & from thēce ſayled into Ireland.

Torketellus an earle.

The ſame yeare king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and ther taried a whole moneth, building two caſtels, the one vpon the one ſide of the water of Ouſe, and the other vpon the other ſide of the ſame riuer. He alſo ſubdued Turketyllus an Erle of the Danes that dwelte in that countrey, with all the reſidue of the noble men and barons of the ſhires of Bedforde and Northampton.

Si. Dunelm.

An. 912.
Sim. Dun.

Polidore.
Erick king of Eaſtangles.

In the .xij. yere of K. Edwards reigne, ẏ Kentiſhmen & Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. ſpeaketh of a batayle which the citizens of Canterbury fought againſt a number of Daniſh rouers at Holme, wher the Danes were put to flight, but that ſhould be (as he noteth) an. 8. yeres before this ſuppoſed time, as in the yere. 904. whiche was aboute the thirde yere of king Edw. reigne. After this other of the Danes aſſembled thēſelues togither, & in Staffordſhire at a place called Tottēhal, fought with the Engliſhmen, & after great ſlaughter made on bothe parties, the Danes were ouercome: and ſo likewiſe were they ſhortly after at Wodfield, or Wodenfield. And thus K. Edw. put the Danes to the worſe in eche place commonly where hee came, and hearing that thoſe in Northumberlād ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrey and ſo afflicted the ſame, that the Danes whiche were inhabitants there, gladly continued in reſt and peace. But in this meane tyme, Ericke the king of thoſe Danes which helde the countrey of Eaſtangle was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioyn with him againſt the Engliſhmen, that with cōmon agreement, they might ſette vpon the engliſhe nation, and vtterly ſubdue them.

King Edward inuadeth the countrey of the Eaſtangles.

Ericke put to flight.

King Edw. hauing intelligence hereof, purpoſed to preuent him, & therupon entryng with an armie into his countrey, cruelly waſted & ſpoyled the ſame. K. Erick hauing alreadie his people in armour through diſpleſure conceiued hereof, and deſire to be reuenged, haſted forthe to encounter his enimies: And ſo they met in the field & fiercely aſſayled eche other. But as the battaile was raſhly begon on king Ericks ſide, ſo was the end very harmeful to him: for with ſmall a doe after great loſſe on his ſide, was he vanquiſhed and put to flight.

The kingdome of the Eaſtangles ſubdued by K. Edward.

H. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.
Sim. Dunel.

And after his comming home, bycauſe of his great ouerthrowe and foule diſcomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigour and ſharp dealing thā before time he had vſed. Wherby he prouoked the malice of the Eaſtangles ſo highly againſt him, ẏ they fell vpon him & murthered him: yet did they not gain ſo much hereby as they looked to haue doone: for ſhortely after, they being brought lowe, and not able to defende their countrey, were compelled to ſubmit themſelues vnto king Edw. And ſo was that kingdome ioyned vnto the other dominions of the ſame king Edwarde, who ſhortly after annexed alſo the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatly vpon the death of his ſiſter Elfleda, whome he permitted to gouern that countrey during hir lyfe. And not without good reaſon, for by hir wyſe & politike order vſed in all hir doings, he was greately furthered and aſſiſted. But namely in reparing and buyldyng of Townes and Caſtelles, ſhee ſhewed hir noble magnificence, in ſo muche that during the time of hir gouernaunce whiche continued an eyght yeares, it is recorded by wryters, that ſhe did buylde and repare theſe Townes, whoſe names

here

Thamvvorth vvas by hir repared. An. 914. Badsbury and VVarvvike.

915.

heere enſewe: Thamworth beſide Lichefielde, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewſburye, Waterſbury or Weddeſbury, Elleſbury or rather Edbury in the foreſt of De la mere beſides Cheſter, Brimſbery bridge vpon Seuerne, Roncorn at the mouth of the riuer of Mercie with other.

Cheſter repared. 905.

Sim. Dunel.

Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Cheſter whiche by Danes had bin greatly defaced, was newly repaired, fortified with walles and turrets and greatly enlarged. So that the caſtell whiche ſtoode without the walles before that tyme was now brought within compaſſe of the new wall.

Queene of the VVelchmen taken.

Brecanamere.

Ran. Higd.

H. Hunt.

918.

Derby vvon from the Danes

Moreouer ſhe boldely aſſaulted hir enimyes whiche wente aboute to trouble the ſtate of the countrey as the Welchemen, and Danes. She ſent an armie into Wales, and toke the towne of Brecknocke with the Queene of the Welchmen at Bricenmaunere. Alſo ſhe wan from the Danes the towne of Darby, and the countrey adioyning.

In this enterpriſe ſhe put hir owne perſon in great aduẽture: for a great multitude of Danes, ẏ were withdrawen into Derby, valiãtly defended the gates and entries, inſomuche that they ſlew foure of hir chief men of warre, which were named Wardens of hir perſon, euen faſt by hir at the very entrie of the gates. But this notwithſtanding, with valiãt fight hir people entred, and ſo the towne was wonne: ſhe gotte diuers other places out of their handes, and conſtrained them of Yorkeſhire to agree with hir, ſo that ſome of them promiſed to become hir ſubiectes: Some promiſed to ayde hir, and ſome ſware to be at hir cõmaundement. Finally this martiall Lady and manly Elfleda, the ſupporter of hir cõtreymen and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Thamworth aboute the. xij. of Iune, in the xviij. or rather. xix. yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Math. Weſt it ſhould appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that ſhe deceaſſed in the yeare of Chriſt. 915. which ſhould be about the. xiiij. yeare of king Edwards reign. Hir bodie was conueyed to Glouceſter, and there buried within the monaſterie of S. Peter, which hir huſband and ſhe in their life tyme had buylded, and tranſlated thither the bones of Sainct Oſwyll from Bardona. The ſame monaſterie was after deſtroyed by Danes. But Aldredus the archbiſhop of Yorke, who was alſo biſhop of Worceſter, repared an other in the ſame Citie, that was after the chiefe Abbey there.

H. Hunt.

Anno Chriſti 919.

Mat. VVeſt.

Si. Dunelm.

Ranul.

After the deceaſe of Elfleda, king Edwarde toke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue ſayde) into his owne handes, and ſo diſinherited his neece Alfwen, or Elſwen, the daughter of Elfleda, takyng hir awaye wyth him into the countrey of Weſtſaxons. By thys meanes he ſo amplifyed the boundes of his kingdome, that he had the moſt parte of all this Ilande of Brytayne at his commaundement: for the kynges of the Welchmen (namely the kyng of Stratcled, and of the Scots, acknowledging hym to be their chiefe ſoueraigne Lorde, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept ſo ſhort, that they durſt attempt nothing againſte him in his latter dayes: ſo that he had tyme to applye the buildyng and repairing of Cities, townes, and caſtels wherin he ſo muche delighted. He buylded a newe towne at Notingham on the ſouthſyde of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the olde towne and the newe. He alſo repared Mancheſter beyonde the riuer of Mercie in Lancaſhire, accompted as then in the ſouthe ende of Northumberlande. & he buylt a Towne of auncient writers called Thilwall, next to the ſame riuer of Mercie, and placed therin a garniſon of ſouldiers: diuers other townes and caſtels he buylt, as two at Buckingham on eyther ſide the water of Ouſe (as before is ſhewed) and alſo one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. Her likewiſe buylt or new repared the townes of Toceſtor and Wigmore, with diuers other, as one at Glademuth, about the laſt yeare of his reigne. Some alſo he deſtroyed whiche ſeemed to ſerue the enimies turne for harbrough, as at Temneſforde, a Caſtell, whyche the Danes had buylded and fortifyed.

This Alfvven vvas ſiſter to Edelfled, as H. Hunt. hath.

[illegible] VVales.

King Edw
a great buy
and repai
townes.
Notingham
bridge buy.

Mat. VVeſt.

Mancheſter repared. An. 9[illegible]

Sim. Dun.

H. Hunt.

At lengthe after that this noble Prince king Edward had reigned ſomewhat aboue the terme of. xxiij. yeares, hee was taken out of this lyfe at Faringdon: His bodie was conueyed frõ thence vnto Wincheſter, and there buried in the newe Abbey. He hadde. iij. wyues, or (as ſome haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whom he begat his eldeſt ſonne Adelſtane, who ſucceded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hathe bene reported) dreamed on a tyme, that there roſe a Moone out of hir belly, whiche with the brighte ſhine thereof gaue light ouer all Englande: and telling hir dreame to an ancient Gentlewoman, the ſame Gentlewoman coniecturyng by the dreame that whiche folowed, toke care of hir, and cauſed hir to bee brought vp in good manners and lyke a Gentlewoman, though ſhe were borne but of baſe parentage.

Polidor.

A dreame.

Hereupon when ſhe came to ripe yeares, king Edwarde by chaunce commyng to the place where ſhe was remaynyng, vpon the firſt ſighte was ſtreight rauiſhed with hir beautie (whiche in deede excelled) that ſhe coulde not reſte till he had his pleaſure of hir, and ſo begat of hir the forſayde Adelſtane: By hir he had alſo a daughter that was maryed vnto Sithrike a Dane, and king of Northumberlande. The Scottiſh writers name hir Beatrice, but oure writers name

Mat. VVeſt.

Polyd.

hir

The iſſue of K.Edvvard.

Alias Edgiua.

VV. Malm.

hir Editha. His ſeconde or rather his fyrſt wyfe if he were not maried to Eguina mother to Adelſtane, highte Elfleda, or Elfrida, and was daughter to one erle Ethelme: by hir he had iſſue two ſonnes Ethelward and Edwyn, which immediatly departed this life after their father: & vj. daughters Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Egditha, & Elſgiua. Elfleda became a Nunne: and Ethelhilda alſo liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in lay habite. Egditha was maried to the king of Fraunce Charles, ſurnamed *Simplex*. And Ethilda by help of hir brother Adelſtan was beſtowed vpon Hugh ſonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir ſingular beautie moſte highly eſtemed: for nature in hir had ſhewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comely perſonage. Edgiua and Edgitha were ſent by their brother Adelſtan into Germanie, vnto the Emperour Henry, who beſtowed one of them vpon his ſonne Otho, that was after Emperor, the firſte of that name, and the other vnto a duke, inhabiting about ẏ Alpes: By his laſt wife named Edgiua, he had alſo two ſonnes, Edmunde and Eldred, the whiche both reigned after their brother Adelſtane ſucceſſiuely. Alſo he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a Nunne, and Edgiue, a lady of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelſtan gaue in mariage vnto Lewys king of Aquitayn.

Ran. Higd.
VVil. Mal.
Mat. VVeſt.

England firſt accurſed.

Whyles this lande was in continuall trouble of warres againſte the Danes, as before is touched, ſmall regarde was hadde to the ſtate of the Church, inſomuch that the whole country of the Weſtſaxons by the ſpace of .7. yeres together (in the days of this K. Edward) remained withoute any Biſhop, to take order in matters apperteyning to the church. Wherupon the Pope had accurſed the engliſh people, bicauſe they ſuffred the Biſhops ſeas to be vacant ſo long a time.

An. 905.

King Edward to auoyd the curſſe, aſſembled a prouincial Cõſicel. 905. in the which the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Pleymond was preſident. Wherein it was ordeyned, ẏ where the prouince of Weſtſaxõs in tymes paſt had but. ij. biſhops, now it ſhoulde be deuided into. v. dioceſſes, euery of them to haue a peculiar Biſhoppe. When all things were ordered and concluded in this Synode (as was thought requiſite,) the Archbiſhop was ſent to Rome with rich preſents, to appeaſe the Popes diſpleaſure. When the Pope had herd what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And ſo the Archebiſhop returned into his countrey, and in one day at Canterbury ordeined. vij. biſhoppes, as fiue to the Prouince of Weſtſaxons, that is to wit, Frideſtane to the ſea of Wincheſter, Adelſtan to S. German in Cornewal, Werſtan to Shirborn, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Alſo to the prouince of Suſſex, hee ordeyned one Bernegus, and to Dorcheſter for the prouince of Mercia, one Cenulfe. Here muſt ye note, that where William Malmeſ. Polichro. and other do affirme, ẏ Pope Formoſus did accurſe K. Edward & the engliſhe nation for ſuffring the biſhops ſeas to be vacant, it cannot ſtand with the agreement of the tyme, vnleſſe that the curſe pronounced by Formoſus for this matter long afore was not regarded, till Edward tooke reſpect therto. For the ſame Formoſus began to gouerne the Romane ſea aboute the yeare of our Lord. 892. and liued in the papacie not paſt. vj. yeres, ſo that he was deade before king Edward came to the crowne. But how ſoeuer this matter may fall out, this ye haue to cõſider: Although that Pleymound was ſent vnto Rome to aduertiſe the Pope what the king had decreed and done, in the ordeyning of Biſhops to their ſeueral ſeas as before ye haue heard, yet (as Maſter Foxe hath noted) the gouernaunce and direction of the Church depended chiefly vppon the kings of this lande in thoſe days, as it manifeſtly appeareth, as wel by the decrees of K. Alvred, as of this king Edward, whoſe authoritie in the election of Biſhops (as before ye haue herd) ſeemed then alone to be ſufficient.

VVincheſter.
Cornevvall.
Shuborne.
VVelles.
Kyrton.
Mercia.

VVil Malmeſ. ſaith that Pope Formoſus pronounced thys curſe.

904.

892.

Polidore.

Moreouer this I haue thought good to aduertiſe you of in this place, that this Pleymond Archebiſhop of Canterbury (of whom ye haue herd before) was the. xix. in number from Auguſtine the firſt Archbiſhop there: for after Brightwold that was the. viij. in nũber, & firſt of the engliſhe nation that gouerned the ſea, ſucceeded Tadwyn, that ſat. iij. yeres: Notelyn. v. yeares: Cuthberte xviij. yeres, Brethwyn. 3. yeres. Lãbert. 27. yeres, Adelard. 13. yeres Willfred. xxviij. yeres. Theologildus or Pleogildus. iij. yeares, Celnotus, or Chelutus. x. yeares. And after them ſucceeded Aldred, of whome King Edwarde receyued the crowne, and he was predeceſſour to Pleymond.

H. Hunt.

A little before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberlande, killed his brother Nigellus, and then king Reynold conquered the Citie of Yorke.

Adelſtane.

Adelſtane.

Adelſtane, the eldeſt ſonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more parte of all Englande.

Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Mal.
924.

Englande, the yeare of our Lorde. 924. whiche was in the. vj. yeare of the Emperor Henry the firſt, in the. 31. yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed *ſimplex*, king of France. 3. monethes after the burning of Pauie, & about the. 22. or. 23. yeare of Conſtantine the third king of Scotlande. This Adelſtan was crowned and ſacred king at Kingſton vpon Thames of Adelme the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which ſuceeded Pleymond. He was the. xxiiij. king in number from Cerdicius or Cerdik the firſt king of the Weſtſaxons.

Alfred ſtriueth in vayn to kepe Atheiſtan from the gouernmēt.

VVil. Malm.

See more hereof in the booke of Actes and Monumentes ſet foorth by M. Foxe vol. 1. leafe. 195.

There were in the beginning ſome yͭ ſet themſelues againſt him, as one Alfred a noble mā whiche practiſed by treaſon, to haue kept him frō the gouernmēt: but he was apprehended ere he could bring his purpoſe to paſſe, & ſente to Rome there to trie himſelf giltie or not guiltie. And as he toke his othe for his purgation before yͤ aultar of ſaint Peter, he ſodenly fel down to the earth, ſo that his ſeruants toke him vp & bare him vnto the engliſh ſchole or hoſpitall, where the thirde night after he died.

Pope John the. x. ſent vnto king Adelſtane to know if he wold that his bodie ſhould be layde in chriſtian burial or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds frends & kinſfolks, ſignified to the Pope that he was contented that his bodye ſhuld be enterred amongſt other chriſtians. His lands being forfaited were giuen by yͤ king vnto God & S. Peter. The cauſe yͭ moued Alfred and other his cōplices againſt the king, was (as ſome haue aledged) his baſtardie. But whether that allegation wer true, or but a ſlander, this is certain that except that ſtain of his honor there was nothing in this Adelſtan worthy of blame: So that he darkned all the glorious fame of his predeceſſors both in vertuous conditions & victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in himſelfe wherein to excell, rather than to ſtande vpon the worthineſſe of his aunceſters, ſith that can not rightly be called his.

Anno. 925.
Si. Dunelm.
Polyd.

VV. Mal.

After that K. Adelſtane was eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, he endeuored himſelf to anſwer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great welth to enſue by his noble & prudent gouernāce: Firſt therfore meaning to prouide for the ſuretie of his countrey, he cōcluded a peace with Sithricus K. of the Northūbers, vnto whō as ye haue hearde, he gaue one of his ſiſters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not paſt one yere after he had ſo maried hir. And thē Adelſtan brought the prouince of the Northūbers vnto his ſubiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the ſame yͭ rebelled againſt him. Ther be yͭ write, that Godfrey & Iulafe the ſonnes of Sithrike ſucceding their father in the gouernment of Northūberland, by practiſing to moue war againſt king Adelſtane, occaſioned him to inuade their cōtrey, and to chaſe them out of the ſame, ſo that Iulaf fled into Ireland & Godfrey into Scotlād: but other write, yͭ Godfrey was the father of Reignold, which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had ſlaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mencioned. The Scottiſh chronicles vary in report of theſe matters from yͤ engliſh writers: whoſe chronicles affirm, yͭ in the life time of K. Edwarde his daughter Beatrice, was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition, that if any iſſue male were procreate of that mariage, the ſame ſhuld inherite the dominions of K. Edward after his deceaſe. Kyng Edward had a brother (as they ſay) named Edwyn, a ioyly Gentleman, and of great eſtimation amongſt the Engliſhmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was ſent into Flaunders in a ſhip that leaked, & ſo was drowned, to the greate reioycing of all the Danes, leaſt if he had ſuruiued his brother, hee woulde haue made ſome buſineſſe for the crowne.

H. Boe

H. Boeti

The Scotti
vvriters va
from our E
gliſh autho
Beatrice dau
ter to K. Ed
as the Scott
vvriters sa

Edvvyn vva
not brother
K. Edvv. bu
ſon to him.

Adelſtan fled
the realme.

About the ſame time Adelſtā a baſe ſon of K. Edw. fled yͤ realme for doubt to be made away by ſome like trayterous practiſe of the Danes. Shortly after K. Edward vnderſtanding yͭ Sithrik went about ſome miſchef toward him, perſuaded his daughter to poyſon hir huſbande the ſayd Sithrike. Then Iulaffe or Analaſſus, and Godfrey the ſonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, yͭ Beatrice was of counſell in poyſoning hir huſband, they cauſed hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wyſe:

Beatrice put
death by hi
ſtepſonnes.

She was ſette naked vpon a Smythes colde Anuylde or ſtythie, and therewith harde roſted egges being taken forth of the hot ymbers were putte vnder hir arme pittes, and hir armes faſte bounde to hir bodie with a corde, and ſo in that ſtate ſhe remayned till hir life paſſed from hir.

K. Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued war againſt the two brethren, Iulaf and Godfrey, & in battail finally vāquiſhed them, but was ſlain in the ſame battail himſelf. Thus haue the Scotiſh chronicles recorded of theſe matters as an induction to the warres which folowed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates againſt K. Adelſtan: but for the truth therof we leaue to the readers own iudgement. For in oure engliſhe writers we finde no ſuche matter, but that a daughter of King Edward named Eadgitha or Editha, after hir fathers deceaſſe was by hir brother King Athelſtane, about the firſte yeare of his reigne giuen in mariage (as before ye haue hearde) vnto the foreſayde Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was deſcended of the Daniſhe bloud, who for the loue of the young Ladie, renounced his Heatheniſhe religion, and became a chriſtian, but ſhortely after, forſakyng bothe hys wyfe, and the chriſtian faythe hee

ſette

ſet vppe againe the worſhipping of Idols, and within a while after, as an Apoſtata, miſerably ended his life. Wherevpon, the yong Lady, hir virginitie being preſerued, and hir body vndefyled (as they write) paſſed the reſidue of hir dayes at Polleſworth in Warwikeſhire, ſpendyng hir time as the ſame writers affirme, in faſting, watching, praying, and doing of almes deedes, and ſo at length departed out of this world.

Editha a Virgin.

VVil. Malm.

Mat. VVeſt. 926

The noble ſaying of king Athelſtane.

VV. Mal.

Thus our writers differ from the Scottiſh hiſtory, both in name & maner of end as concerning that daughter of K. Edwarde, that was coupled in marriage with Sithrike. But now to returne where we left. After that Kyng Adelſtane hadde ſubdued them of Northumberland, hee was aduertiſed, that not onely Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes, but alſo Hudvale or Howell Kyng of Wales, wente about a priuie conſpiracy agaynſt him. Heerevppon with all conuenient ſpeede aſſembling his power, he wente againſt them, and with like good fortune ſubdued them bothe, and alſo Vimer or Wulferth K. of North wales, ſo that they were conſtreyned to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, who ſhortly after moued with pitie in conſidering their ſuddayne fall, reſtored them all three to their former eſtates, but ſo as they ſhould acknowledge themſelues to gouerne vnder hym, pronouncing with all this notable ſaying, that more honorable it was to make a King, than to be a King. Ye muſt vnderſtand, that as it appeareth by the Scottiſh Chronicles, the Scottiſhmē in time of the warres that the Danes made to yͤ Engliſh nation, gote a parte of Cumberland and other the North countreys into their poſſeſſion, and ſo by reaſon of their neere adioyning to the confines of the Engliſhe Kings, there chaunced occaſions of warre betwixte them, as well in the days of Kyng Edward, as of this Adelſtane hys ſonne, although indeede the Danes held the more part of the North countreys, till that this Adelſtane conquered the ſame out of their hands, and ioyned it vnto other of his dominions, conſtreyning as well the Danes (of whom the more part of the inhabitāts then conſiſted) as alſo the Engliſhmen, to obey him as their King and gouernour.

Polidor.

Godfrey as is ſaide, being fled to the Scots, did ſo much there by earneſt ſute made to Kyng Conſtentine, that hee gote a power of men, and entring with the ſame into Northumberlande, beſieged the Citie of Dureſme, ſoliciting the Citizens to receyue him, whiche they woulde gladly haue done, if they had not perceyued how he was not of power able to reſiſt the puiſſance of Kyng Adelſtane: and therefore doubting to be puniſhed for their offences if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out.

934

Ran. Higd.

Sim. Dun.

The Scottes ſubdued.

A token ſhewed miraculouſly that Scottes ought to be ſubiect to the Kings of England.

King Adelſtane beeyng ſore moued agaynſte the King of Scottes, that thus ayded his enimies, rayſed an army, and wente Northwarde, purpoſing to reuenge that iniurie. At his comming into Yorkſhire, hee turned out of the way, to viſit the place where Saint Iohn of Beuerley was buryed, and ther offered his knife, promiſing that if he returned with victory, he would redeme the ſame with a worthy price: and ſo proceeded forth on his iourney, & entring Scotland, waſted the countrey by land vnto Dunfoader, and Wertermore, and his Nauie by Sea deſtroyed the coaſtes alongſt the ſhore, euen to Catneſſe, and ſo he brought the King of Scottes and other hys enimies vnto ſubiection at his pleaſure, conſtreyning the ſame King of Scottes to deliuer vnto him his ſonne in hoſtage. It is ſayde, that beyng in his iourney neere vnto the Towne of Dunbarre, he prayed vnto God, that at the inſtance of Saint Iohn of Beuerley, it would pleaſe him to graunt, yͭ he might ſhew ſome open token, whereby it ſhould appeare to all them that then lyued, & ſhould hereafter ſucceede, that the Scottes ought to be ſubiect vnto yͤ kings of Englād. And therewith the King with his ſword ſmote vpō a great ſtone ſtanding neere to the Caſtel of Dunbarre, & with the ſtroke, there appeared a clift in the ſame ſtone to the length of an elme, whiche remayned to be ſhewed as a witneſſe of yͤ thing many yeres after. At his comming backe to Beuerley, hee redeemed his knife with a large price, as before hee had promiſed.

VVil. Mal.

Mat. VVeſt.

934

Repentance too late.

After this, was Edwin the Kings brother accuſed of ſome conſpiracie by him begun againſt the K. wherevpō he was baniſhed the land, and ſent out in an old rotten veſſell without rower or Marriner, onely accompanied with one Eſquire, ſo that beeing launched forth from the ſhore, through very diſpaire Edwin lept into the Sea, and drowned himſelfe, but the Eſquire that was with him recouered his body, and broughte it to land at Withſand beſides Canterbury. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders ſayth, that hee was drowned by fortune of the Seas, beeyng in a ſmall veſſell, and caſt vp into a creeke on the coaſt of Picardie, was founde by Adolph Earle of Bulleigne that was his couſin germayne, and honorably buryed by the ſame Adolph in the Churche of Bertine: for the whyche deede of pietie and dutie of mindfull conſanguinitie, the Kyng of Englande both hartily thanked Earle Adolph, and beſtowed greate giftes vppon the Church where his brother was thus buryed. For verily King Adelſtane after his diſpleaſure was aſſuaged, and hearing of this miſerable ende of his brother, ſore repented hymſelfe of his rigour ſo extended towardes him, in ſo muche that he coulde neuer abide the man that had giuen the information againſt him, which was his cupbearer, ſo that one time as the ſaide cupbearer ſerued him at the Table, and came towardes him with a cuppe of wine, one of his feete chaunced to ſlide, but hee recouered himſelfe with the help of the other foote, ſaying, one brother yet hathe holpe and ſuccoured the other: whiche wordes coſt him hys life: for the King remembring that by his accuſation he had loſt his brother that might haue bin an ayd to him, cauſeth his ſaid cupbearer ſtraight wayes to be put to death.

vil. Malm.

In this meane while, Iulafe the ſonne of Sithericke, late King of Northumberland (who is alſo named by Writers to be King of the Iriſhmen, and of many Ilands) aſſembled a great power of Danes, Iriſhmē, Scottes, and other people of the out Iles, and embarqued them in. 615. Shippes, and Crayers, with the whiche he arriued in the mouthe of Humber, and there comming on lande, beganne to inuade the countrey. Thys Iulafe had married the daughter of Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes, by whoſe procuremēt notwithſtanding his late ſubmiſſion, Iulafe tooke in hand this iourney. King Adelſtane aduertiſed of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient ſpeede haſted towards them, and approching neere vnto them, pight downe his fielde at a place called by ſome Brimeſbury, by other Brimeſford, and alſo Brunaubright, and by the Scottiſh Writers Browningfielde. When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies camp, Iulafe enterpriſed a maruellous exployte, for taking with him an harpe, hee campe into the Engliſhe campe, offering himſelfe, diſguiſed as a minſtrell, to ſhewe ſome parte of his cunning in muſicke vpon his inſtrument: and ſo being ſuffered to paſſe from Tente to Tente, and admitted alſo to play afore the Kyng, ſurueyghed yͤ whole ſtate and order of the army. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammiſado to ſet vpō yͤ kings Tente. But one that had ſerued as a Souldiour ſometime vnder Iulafe, chanced by markyng his demeanor, to knowe him, and after he was gone, vttered to the King what he knewe. The Kyng ſemed to be diſpleaſed, in that he had not told him ſo much before Iulafes departure: but in excuſing himſelfe, the Souldiour ſayde, yee muſt remember if it like your grace, that the ſame fayth which I haue giuen vnto you, I ſometime ought vnto Iulafe, therefore if I ſhoulde haue betrayed hym now, you might wel ſtand in doubt leaſt I ſhuld heereafter do the like to you: but if you wil follow myne aduice, remoue your Tente, leaſt happily he aſſayle you vnwares. The Kyng did ſo, and as it chaunced in the nyght following, commeth Iulafe to aſſayle the Engliſh Camp, and by fortune comming to the place where the Kings Tent before ſtoode, he found a Biſhoppe lodged, which with his company was come the ſame day to the army, and hadde pight vp his Tent in that place from whence the King was remoued: and ſo was the ſame Biſhoppe, and moſt parte of his men there ſlaine. Which ſlaughter executed, Iulafe paſſed forward, and came to the Kings Tēt, who in this mean time, by reaſon of the Alarme raiſed, was gote vp, and taking to him his ſword in that ſuddayne fright, by chance it fell out of the ſcabbard, ſo that he could not finde it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme, as ſaith Polichron. his ſword was reſtored to the ſcabbard againe. The King comforted with that miracle, boldly preaſſed forth vpon his enimies, and ſo valiauntly reſiſted them, that in the ende he put them to flight, and chaſed them all that morning and day following, ſo that hee ſlewe of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes was ſlayne at this ouerthrowe, and fiue other ſmall Kyngs or Rulers, with. 12. Dukes, and welneere all the army of thoſe ſtraunge nations whiche Iulafe had gathered togither. But the Scottiſh Chronicles affirme, that Conſtantine was not there himſelf, but ſent his ſon Malcolme, which yet eſcaped ſore hurt and wounded from this battell, as in the ſame Chronicles yee may ſee more at large.

937

mon Dun.

. Hunt.
vil. Malm.
at. VVeſt.
ec. Boetius.
n. Higd.

lafe diſgui-
d, commeth
view t e
glish camp.

lafe aſſay-
th the Eng-
h campe.

Ran. Higd.

VVil. Malm.

The enimies diſcomfited.

When Kyng Adelſtane had thus vanquiſhed his enimies in the North parties of England, he went againſt them of Northwales, whoſe Rulers and Princes he cauſed to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in ſuche ſorte, that they couenaunted with him to pay yeerely in name of a Tribute twentie pounde of golde, three hundred pounde of ſiluer, and fiue and twētie hundred head of Neate, with Hawkes and Houndes to a certayne number.

Ran. Higd.

Tribute.

After this, hee ſubdued alſo the Corniſhmen: and whereas till thoſe dayes they inhabited the Citie of Exeter, mingled amongſt the Engliſhmen, ſo that the one nation was as ſtrong within that Citie, as the other, he ridde them quite out of the ſame, and repaired the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and ſo remoued the Corniſhmen further into the Weſt partes of the countrey, that hee made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Engliſhmen and them.

The Corniſh men ſubdued.

Exeter repaired

Finally, this noble Prince King Adelſtene departed out of this world, the ſixe and twēty day of October, after he hadde raigned the tearme of ſixteene yeres. His body was buried at Malmeſbury. He was of ſtature ſuch, as exceeded not the common ſort of mē, and ſtowped ſomewhat, yellow hearèd, for his valiancie ioyned with curteſey beloued of al men, yet ſharp againſt Rebels, & of inuincible conſtancie: his greate deuotion toward yͤ Church appeared in yͤ building, adorning and endewing of Monaſteries and Abbeyes. He builte one at Wilton within the dioceſſe of Saleſbury,

940

Simon Dun.

The deceſſe of K. Athelſtane.

The deſcription of Kyng Athelſtane.

Saliſbury, and an other at Michelney in Somerſetſhire. But beſides theſe foundations, there were few famous Monaſteries within this land, but that hee adorned the ſame eyther with ſome new peece of buylding, Jewels, bookes, or portion of landes. He had in exceeding fauour Wolſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke that liued in his dayes, for whoſe ſake he greatly enriched that Biſhopricke. His fame ſpred ouer all the parties of Europa, ſo that ſundry Princes thought themſelues happy if they might haue his friendſhip, eyther by affinitie or otherwiſe: by meanes whereof, he beſtowed his ſiſters ſo highly in marriage as before ye haue heard. Hee receyued many noble and riche preſents from diuers Princes, as from Hugh K. of Fraunce Horſes, and ſundry riche Jewels, with certaine reliques: as Conſtantines ſworde, in the hilte whereof was ſet one of the nayles wherewith Chriſt was faſtned to yͤ Croſſe. The Speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the ſame with whiche the ſide of our Sauiour was pearced. The banner of Saint Maurice, with a part of the holy Croſſe, and likewiſe a part of the thorned Crowne: yet Mandeuile ſawe the one halfe of this Crowne in Fraunce, and the other at Conſtantinople, almoſt .400. yeares after this time, as he writeth.

Wolſtan Archbiſhop of Yorke.

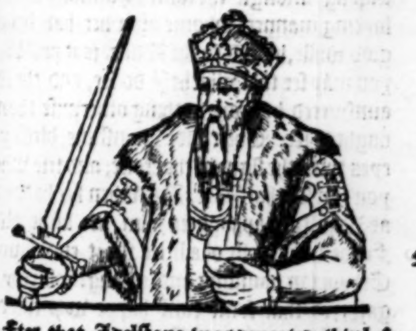
His eſtimation in foraine Realmes.

Of theſe Jewels, K. Adelſtane gaue parte to the Abbey of S. Swithune at Wincheſter, and part to the Abbey of Malmeſbury. Moreouer, the King of Norway ſent vnto him a goodly ſhip of fine workmanſhippe, with ſterne gilt and purple ſayles, furniſhed rounde about the decke withinfurth, with a rowe of gilte pauiſes.

In the dayes of this Adelſtane, raigned that worthy Guy Earle of Warwike, who as ſome writers haue recorded, fought with a mighty Giaunt of the Danes in a ſingular combate, and vanquiſhed him.

Harding.

Edmonde.



Edmõd

After that Adelſtane was departed this lyfe, without leauing iſſue behind to ſucceede hym in the Kingdome, his brother Edmond, ſonne of Edward the elder, borne of his laſt wife Edgiue, tooke vpon him the gouernment of this land, and beganne his raigne in the yere of our Lord. 940, which was in the fifth yere of the Emperour Otho the firſt, in the .12. of Lewis, ſurnamed tranſmarinus, K. of France, and about the .38. yeare of Cõſtantine yͤ third K. of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberlād rebelled againſt this Edmõd, and ordeyned Aulafe to bee their K. whome they had called out of Ireland. Some write, that thys Aulafe which now in the beginning of king Edmonds raigne, came into Northumberland, was King of Norwey, and hauing a greate power of men with him, hee marched forthe towardes the South parties of this lande, in purpoſe to ſubdue the whole: but K. Edmonde rayſed a mighty army, and encoũtred with his enimies at Leceſter. But ere the matter came to the vttermoſt triall of Mars his iudgement, through the earneſt ſute of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Yorke Odo & Wolſtan, a peace was concluded, ſo as Edmond ſhould enioy all that part of the land whiche lieth from Watling ſtreete Southwarde, and Aulafe ſhoulde enioy the other parte as it lieth from the ſame ſtreete Northward. Then Aulafe tooke to wife the Lady Alditha, daughter to Earle Ormus, by whoſe coũſell and aſſiſtance he had thus obteyned the vpper hande. But this Aulafe in the yere folowing, after he had deſtroyed the Church of Saint Balter, and brenned Tynningham, hee departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was ſonne to Kyng Sithricke, tooke vppon hym to gouerne the Northumbers.

VVil. Malm.

940

Simon Dun.

A peace concluded.

941

Math. VVeſt.

Aulafe deceaſſeth. Another Aulaſe taketh vpon him to rule.

After this, in the yere .942. King Edmond aſſembling an army, firſte ſubdued thoſe Danes which had gote into their poſſeſſiõ the Cities and Townes of Lincolne, Leceſter, Derby, Stafford and Notingham, conſtreyning them to receyue the Chriſtian fayth, and reduced all the countreis euen vnto Humber vnder his ſubiection. Thys done, Aulafe and Reignold the ſonne of Gurmo, the which as you haue heard, ſubdued Yorke, for meane yͤ ſooner to obteyn peace, offered to become Chriſtians, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto him: wherevpon he receyued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe whiche was ſonne to King Sithricke, but rather that the other was hee with whome Kyng Edmond made partition of the Realme: but they agree, that this ſeconde Aulafe was a Dane alſo, and being conuerted to the faith as well through conſtrainte of the Kyngs puiſſance, as through the Preaching of the Goſpell, was Baptiſed, Kyng Edmonde beeyng Godfather both to him, and to the foreſayde Reignolde: to Aulafe at the fontſtone, and to Reignolde at his confirmation at the Biſhoppes handes. But their wicked natures coulde not reſt in quiet, ſo that they brake bothe promiſe to GOD, and to theyr prince, and were therefore in the yeare nexte followyng dryuen bothe out of the countrey,

Gurmo or Godfrey.

VVil. Malm.

944

Simon Dun.

Leolin Kyng of South-Wales ayded K Edmonde in this enterpriſe.

946

and puniſhed by perpetuall exile. And ſo K. Edmond adioyned Northumberlande without admitting any other immediate gouernor vnto his own eſtate. Moreouer, he waſted & ſpoiled whole Cumberland, bycauſe he could not reduce ẏ people of that countrey vnto due obeyſance, and cōformable ſubiection. The two ſonnes of Dunmaile K. of that prouince, hee apprehended, and cauſed their eyes to be put out. And herewith vpon conſideration eyther of ſuche ayde as he had receiued of ẏ Scottes at that time, or ſome other friendly reſpect, he aſſigned the ſaide countrey of Cumberlande vnto Malcolme K. of Scottes, to hold the ſame by fealtie of him and his ſucceſſors. The Scottiſhe Chronicles peruerting the tyme and order of the actes and doings of the Engliſhe kings whiche raigned about this ſeaſon, affirme, that by couenauntes of peace concluded betwixte Malcolme King of Scotlande, and Adelſtane King of England, it was agreed, that Cumberlande ſhoulde remayne to the Scottes as in their Chronicles you may finde at full expreſſed. And again, that Indulfe who ſucceeded Malcolme in the Kingdome of Scotland, ayded K. Edmonde againſt Aulafe whome ẏ ſame Chronicles name Aualaſſus, but the time which they attribute vnto the raignes of their Kings, will not allow the ſame to ſtand. For by accompt of their writers, King Malcolme began not his raigne till after the deceſſe of King Adelſtane, who departed thys life in the yere. 940. And Malcolme ſucceded Cōſtantine the third in the yere. 944. which was about the third yeare of Kyng Edmonds raigne, and after Malcolme that raigned. xv. yeares ſucceeded Indulfe in the yeare. 959. The like diſcordance precedeth and foloweth in their writers, as to the diligent Reader in conferring their Chronicles ẇ ours, it manifeſtly appeareth. We therefore (to ſatiſfie the deſirous to vnderſtande & ſee the diuerſitie of writers,) haue for the more part in their Chronicles left the ſame as we haue found it.

Polidor.

The lawes of K. Edmonde.

But now to the other doings of K. Edmond: it is recorded, that hee ordeyned diuerſe good and wholeſome lawes very profitable and neceſſary for the common wealth, whiche lawes with dyuerſe other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by ruſt of time, the conſumer of thynges worthy of lōg remembrance, as ſayth Polidore: but ſithence his time they haue bin recouered for the more part, and by maſter William Lambert turned into Latyne, were imprinted by John Day in the yeare. 1568. as before I haue ſayde.

Fiue yeres and ſeuen monethes hath Si. Dun.

Finally, this Prince K. Edmond, after he had raigned ſixe yeres and a halfe, he came to his end by great miſfortune, for as ſome ſay, it chanced, that eſpying where one of his ſeruauntes was in daunger to bee ſlayne amongſt his enimies that were about him with drawen ſwordes, as he ſtepped in to haue holpen his ſeruante, he was ſlayne at a place called Pulcher Church, or as other haue Michelſbourgh. Other ſay, that keeping a great feaſt at the aforeſayde place on the day of Saint Auguſtine the Engliſh Apoſtle (which is the. 26. of May, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tewſday) as hee was ſet at the table, he eſpyed where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome ſometime he had baniſhed the land, and now being returned without licence, he preſumed to come into the kings preſence, wherwith the King was ſo moued with high diſdaine, that he ſuddaynely roſe from the table, and flew vpon the Theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threwe him vnder his feete, wherewith the theefe hauing faſt holde on the King, broughte him downe vppon him alſo, and with his knyfe ſtroke him into the belly in ſuche wiſe, that the Kings bowels fell out of his cheſt, and there preſently dyed: the theefe was hewen in peeces, by the Kings ſeruauntes, but yet he ſlewe and hurt diuers before they coulde diſpatch him. Thys chance was lamentable, namely to the Engliſhe people, whiche by the ouertimely deathe of theyr King, in whome appeared many euident tokens of great excellencie, loſt the hope whiche they had conceiued of great wealth to encreaſe by his prudent and moſt princely gouernemente. His body was buried at Glaſtenbury where Dunſtan was then Abbot.

Polidorie hath St. Dun.

VVil. Malm.

Math. VVeſt.

946

There be that write, that the death of King Edmonde was ſignified aforehande to Dunſtane, who about the ſame time attendyng vppon the ſame Kyng, as hee remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompany hymſelfe with a noble man, one Duke Elſtane, and as they rode togither, beholde ſuddaynely Dunſtane ſawe in the way before hym where the Kings Muſitions rode, the Deuill running and leaping amongſt the ſame Muſitions after a reioycing manner, whome after hee had beholde a good while, he ſaid to the Duke, is it poſſible that you may ſee that whiche I do ſee, and the Duke aunſwered he ſawe nothing otherwiſe than hee ought to ſee. Then ſaide Dunſtane, bleſſe youre eyes with the ſigne of the croſſe, and trie whether you can ſee that I ſee. And when hee hadde done as Dunſtane appoynted hym, hee ſawe alſo the Fende in likeneſſe of a little ſhort euill fauoured Ethyopian daunſing and leaping, whereby they gathered that ſome euill happe was towardes ſome of the company. But when they had croſſed and bleſſed them, the foule Spirit baniſhed out of their ſight. And after they had talked of this viſion, and made an end of their talke touching the ſame, ẏ Duke required of Dunſtane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in ſleepe,

Capgraue.

A vayne tale.

Croſſing bringeth ſight of the Deuils, and croſſing driueth them away.

Dunſtan is interpretor of dreames.

and that was this: he thought that he ſawe in viſion the King with all his Nobles ſit in hys dining chamber at meate, and as they were therewith making merry togither, the K. chanced to fall into a dead ſleepe, and all the Noble men, and thoſe of his counſell that were aboute him were changed into Rœbuckes and Goates. Duſtan quickly declared, that this dreame ſignified the Kings deathe, and the chaunging of the Nobles into dumb and inſenſible beaſtes, betokened, that the Princes and gouernours of the Realm ſhould decline from the way of truth, and wander as foliſh beaſtes, without a guide to rule them. Alſo the nighte after this talke when the King was ſet to ſupper, Dunſtan ſawe the ſame ſprite or ſome other walke vp and downe amongſt them that wayted on the table, & within three days after the K. was ſlayne, as before ye haue heard.

Dunſtan ſeeth the Deuill often, but now he was become a wayter at the Table when Dunſtane ſate with the King.

Edredus or Edred.

Edelred

EDredus yͤ brother of Edmõd & ſon to Edwarde yͤ elder, and to Edgiue hys laſt wife, begã his raigne ouer the Realme of Englãd in the yeare of oure Lord. 946. or as Harriſon ſaith. 997. which was in the twelfth yeare of the Emperoure Otho the firſte, and in the. 21. yeare of the raigne of Lewis King of Fraunce, and about the thirde or fourth yere of Malcolme the firſte of that name King of Scotland. Hee was Crowned and anointed the 16. day of Auguſt by Odo the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury at Kingſton vpon Thames. In the firſt yeare of his raigne, the Northumbers rebelled againſt him, whereuppon hee rayſed an army, inuaded their countrey, and ſubdued them by force. This done, he wente forwarde into Scotlande: but the Scots without ſhewing any reſiſtance, ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto him, and ſo both Scottes and Northũbers receyued an oth to bee true vnto him, whiche they obſerued but a ſmall while, for he was no ſoner returned into yͤ South partes, but that Aulafe which had bin chaſed out of the countrey by K. Edmond as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberlande with a great nauie of Ships, and was ioyfully receyued of the inhabitants, and reſtored againe to yͤ kingdome, which he held by the ſpace of four yeres, and then by the accuſtomed diſloyaltie of the Northumbers, hee was by them expulſed, and then they ſet vp one Hyrke, or Hericius the ſonne of one Harrolde to raigne ouer them, who helde not yͤ eſtate any long time. For in yͤ third yeere of his raigne, Edredus in yͤ reuẽge of ſuch diſloyal dealings in the Northumbers, deſtroyed the whole countrey with fire and ſword, ſleaying the moſt parte of the inhabitants.

946

H. Hunton.

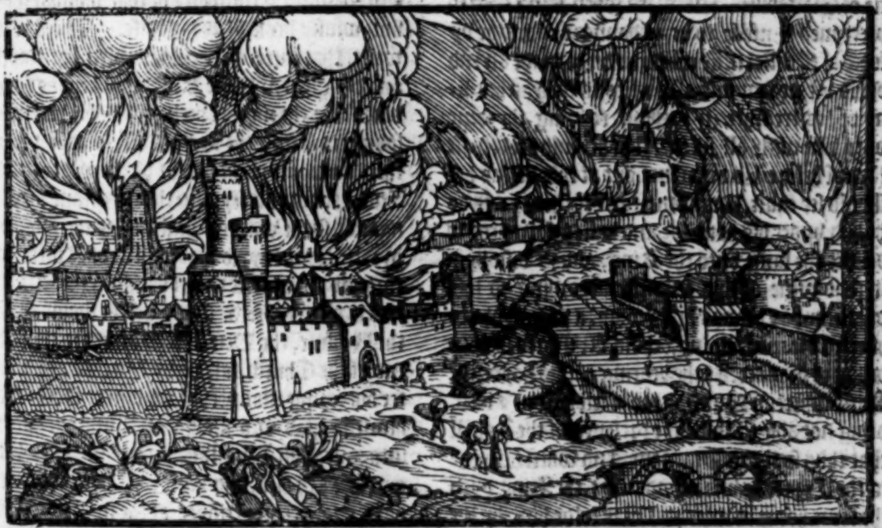
The Northũbers rebell and are ſubdued.

Aulaf returned into Northamberland.

Hirk or Hericius.

VVil. Malm.

The diſloyaltie of the Northumbers puniſhed.



He brente the Abbey of Rippon, whiche was kept againſt him. As he was returning homeward, an hoſt of enimies brake out of Yorke, and ſetting vpon the rereward of the kings army at a place called Eaſterforde, made great ſlaughter in the ſame. Wherefore the King in his rage, mente to haue begun a new ſpoyle and deſtruction, but the Northumbers humbled themſelues ſo vnto him, that putting away their forſaide K. Hirke, or Hericius, and offering great rewardes and giftes to buy their peace, they obteyned pardon. But bycauſe that Wolſtan the Archbiſhop of Yorke was of counſell with his countreymen in reuolting from K. Edredus, and aduancing of Hericius. K. Edredus toke him and kept him in priſon

Ran. Higd.
Sim. Dunel.

Eaſterforde.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke impriſoned.

Mat. VVeſt.

951

VVil. Malm.

Edredus departeth thys life.

Dunſtan in fauor.

But was not this a deuiſe thereby to deteyne the treaſure, for I do not reade that he deliuered it out of his hands. An Angell or as ſome think a worſe creature.

a long time after, but at length in reſpect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he ſet hym at libertie, and pardoned him his offence. Math. VVeſt. reciteth an other cauſe of VVolſtanes impriſonment, as thus. In the yere of grace ſaith he 951. King Edrede put the Archbiſhop of Yorke in cloſe priſon, bycauſe of often complayntes exhibited againſt him, as he which had commaunded many Townſmen of Theadford to bee put to death, in reuenge of the Abbot Aldelme, by thē vniuſtly ſlayne and murthered. After this, when Edredus had appeaſed all ciuill tumultes & diſſentions within his land, he applyed himſelfe to the aduancing of Religion, wholly following the mind of Dunſtane, by whoſe exhortation he ſuffered patiently many tormentes of the body, and exerciſed himſelfe in prayer and other deuoute ſtudies. Finally, after he had raigned nine yeares and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of menne, and reioycing of Angels, as it is written, and was buried at VVincheſter in the Cathedral Church there. Here is to be noted, that the foreſaide Edrede when hee came firſte to the Crowne, vpon a ſingular and moſt eſpeciall fauour whiche hee bare towards Dunſtan the Abbot of Glaſtenbury, he committed to him the chefeſt part of all the threaſure, as charters of landes with other monuments, and ſuch antient princely iewels as belonged to the former Kings, with other ſuch as he gote of his owne, willing hym to lay the ſame in ſafekeeping within his Monaſterie of Glaſtēbury. Afterward when King Edred perceyued himſelfe to be in daunger of deathe by force of that ſickneſſe which in deede made an end of his life, he ſent into all parties to ſuch as had any of his treaſure in keeping, to bring the ſame vnto him with all ſpede, that hee mighte diſpoſe thereof before his departure out of this life, as hee ſhould ſee cauſe. Dunſtane tooke ſuche thynges as he had vnder his handes, and haſted forwarde to deliuer the ſame vnto the King, and to viſit hym in that tyme of hys ſickneſſe according to hys ductie: but as he was vpō yͤ way, a voice ſpake to him frō Heauen, ſaying behold K. Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voyce, the Horſe whereon Dunſtane rode fell downe & died, being not able to abide the preſence of the Angell that thus ſpake to Dunſtane. And when he came to the Court, he vnderſtoode that the King dyed the ſame houre in whiche it was tolde him by the Angell, as before ye haue heard.

This Edwarde in his latter dayes beeyng greatly addicted to deuotiō and religious prieſts, at the requeſt of hys mother Edgina reſtored the Abbey of Abingdon which was built firſte by K. Inas, but in theſe dayes ſore decayed and fallen into ruine.

Edwin.

Edwi

955

VVil. Malm.

Polidor.

Iohn Cap.

Dunſtane baniſhed the Realme.

Dunſtane ſeeth not the Deuill.

Dunſtane departed into exile.

AFter the deceaſſe of Edredus, his Nephewe Edwin the eldeſt ſonne of Kyng Edmōd was made King of England, and began his raigne ouer the ſame in the yeare of our L. 955. and in the. 20. yeare of the Emperour Otho the firſte, in the. 28. and laſt yeare of the raigne of Lewis King of France, and about the twelfth yere of Malcolme the firſt of that name King of Scotland. He was ſacred at Kingſton vppon Thames by Odo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſame day of his Coronation, as the Lordes were ſet in counſell about weighty matters touching the gouernemente of the Realme, hee roſe from the place, gate him into a chamber with one of his neere kinſwomen, and there had to do with hir without reſpect or any regard had to his royall eſtate and princely dignitie. Dunſtane lately beforenamed Abbot of Glaſtenbury, did not onely without feare of diſpleaſure reproue the king for ſuch ſhamefull abuſing of his body, but alſo cauſed the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to conſtreyne him to forgoe yͤ company of that woman whom vnlawfully hee kept as his wife. There be that write, that there were two women both mother and daughter, whome K. Edwin kept as concubines: for the mother beeing of noble parentage, ſought to ſatiſfie the Kings luſt, in hope that eyther hee woulde take hir, or hir daughter to wife. And therefore perceyuing that Duſtane was ſore againſt ſuche wanton paſtime as the King vſed in their company, ſo wrought, that Duſtan was through hir earneſt trauel baniſhed the land. And this is alſo reported, that when he ſhould departe the Realme, the Deuill was hearde in the VVeſt end of the Church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring manner, as though he ſhould ſhew himſelfe glad and ioyfull of Dunſtenes goyng into exile. But Dunſtane perceyuing his behauiour, ſpake to him, and ſayd: well thou aduerſarie, do not ſo greatly reioyce at the matter, for thou doeſt not now ſo much reioyce at my departure, but by Gods grace thou ſhalt be as ſorowfull for my returne. Thus was Dunſtane baniſhed by K. Edwine, ſo that he was compelled to paſſe ouer into Flaunders, where hee remayned for a tyme within a Monaſterie at Gaunt, finding muche friendſhippe at the handes of the gouernoure of that countrey. Alſo the more to

wreake

VV.Mal.

Edwine diſplaceth Mōkes and putteth ſecular Prieſts in their romes

wreake his wrath, the King ſpoyled many Religious houſes of their goodes, and droue out the Monkes, placing ſecular Prieſts in their roomes, as namely at Malmeſbury, where yet the houſe was not empayred, but rather enriched in landes and ornamentes by the kings liberalitie and the induſtrious meanes of the ſame Prieſtes whyche toke vp the bones of Saint Alderlme, and put the ſame in a ſhrine.

Rebellion raiſed againſte K. Edred.

Sim. Dun.

At length, the inhabitantes of yͤ middle parte of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled againſte him, and elected hys brother Edgar to haue the gouernemente ouer them, wherewith King Edwine toke ſuch griefe for that he ſaw no meane at hand how to remedy the matter, that ſhortly after when he had raigned ſomewhat more than four yeres, he departed this life.

Edred departeth this life.

His body was buried at Wincheſter in the new Abbey there.

Edgar.

Edgar.

EDgar the ſeconde ſon of Edmonde late Kyng of Englande, after the deceaſſe of hys elder brother yͤ foreſayd Edwin, beganne hys raigne ouer this Realme of England in the yere of our Lord God. 959. in the. 22. yeare of the Emperour Otho the firſt, in the fourth yere of the raigne of Lotharius K. of France. 510. almoſt ended after the cōming of the Saxons. 124. after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the laſt yeare of Malcolme K. of Scotlād.

959

Polidor.

He was Crowned and ſacred at Bath, or as ſome ſay, at Kingſtō vpō Thames, by Odo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being as then not paſt. 16. yeres of age, when hee was thus admitted K. Hee was no leſſe endowed with commendable giftes of mind, than with ſtrength and force of body.

Edgar a fauorer of Monks.

He was a great fauorer of Monks, and eſpecially hee had Dunſtane in high eſtimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and ſtudyed dayly howe to preſerue the ſame, to the commoditie and aduancement of his ſubiectes. And when he had eſtabliſhed thynges in good quiet, and ſet an order in matters as ſeemed to him beſt for the peaceable gouernement of hys ſubiectes, he prepared a great nauie of Shippes, and deuiding them in three partes, hee appoynted euery part to a quarter of the Realm, to wafte about the coaſt, that no forraine enimie ſhoulde approch the lād, but that they might bee encountred and put backe before they could take land.

The diligent prouiſion of K. Edgar for defence of the Realme.

And euery yeare after Eaſter, he vſed to giue order, that his Ships ſhoulde aſſemble togither in theyr due places. And then would he with the Eaſt nauie, ſaile to the Weſt parties of his Realme, & ſending thoſe Ships backe, he would with the Weſt nauie ſayle into the North partes, and with the North nauie came backe againe into the Eaſt. This cuſtome he vſed, that hee mighte ſcoure the Seas of all Pirates and Theeues. In the Winter ſeaſon and ſpring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his Realme, ſearching out howe the Iudges and greate Lordes demeaned themſelues in the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, ſharply puniſhing thoſe that were found faulty of extortion, or had done otherwiſe in any poynte than dutie required. In all things he vſed ſuche politike diſcretion, that neither was he put in daunger by treaſon of his ſubiectes, nor moleſted by forrayne enimies.

VVil. Malm

He cauſed diuers Kings to binde themſelues by oth, to bee true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme K. of Cumberland, Maſcutius an Archpirate as we may call him a Maſter Rouer, and alſo all the Kings of the Welchmen, as Duffuall, Gyffrith, Huvall, Iacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their ſolemne othes receyued, ſweare to bee at his commandement: and further for more manifeſt teſtimonie thereof, he hauing them with him at Cheſter, cauſed them to enter into a Barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himſelfe in the forepart of the Barge at the helme, cauſed thoſe eight high Princes to rowe the Barge vp and downe yͤ water, ſhewing therby his princely prerogatiue and royall magnificence, in that he might vſe the ſeruice of ſo many kings that were his ſubiectes.

Maſcuſius.

Kings of Welchmen. Geffrith Huval as ſome copies haue.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

And therevpon he ſaid (as hath bin reported) that then mighte his ſucceſſors accompte themſelues kings of England, when they enioyed ſuche prerogatiue of high & ſupreme honor. The fame of this noble Prince was ſpredde ouer al, as well on this ſide the Sea, as beyōd, in ſo much that great reſort of ſtraungers chanced in his dayes, whyche came euer into this land to ſerue him, & to ſee the ſtate of his Court, as Saxons & other, yea & alſo Danes, whiche became very familiar with hym.

Ran. Higd.

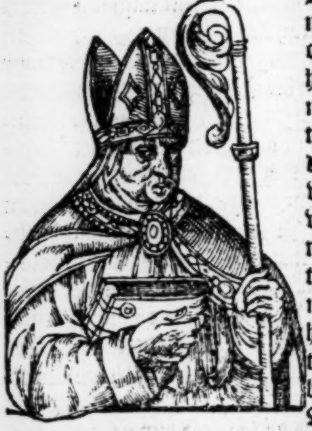
King Edgar fauoreth Danes.

He fauored in deede the Danes (as hath bin ſayd) more than ſtood with yͤ cōmoditie of his ſubiectes, for vnneth was anye ſtreete in Englande, but Danes had their dwelling in yͤ ſame amongſt yͤ Engliſhmē, wherby came great harme: for wher as the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Engliſhmen by cōtinuall conuerſation with thē learned the ſame vice.

Engliſh learned to quaffe of the Danes.

VVil. Mal.

King Edgar to reforme in part ſuch exceſſiue quaffing as thē begā to grow in vſe, cauſed by yͤ procuremēt of Dūſtane, nailes to be ſet in cups of a certaine meaſure, marked for yͤ purpoſe, yͭ none ſhuld drinke more thā was aſſigned by ſuch meaſured cups, Engliſhmen alſo learned of the Saxõs, Flemings, and other ſtrãgers, their peculier kind of vices, as of the Saxõs a diſordred fierceneſſe of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tenderneſſe of body, where before, they reioyced in their own ſimplicitie, and eſteemed not the lewde and vnprofitable maners of ſtrangers. Dunſtane was made Biſhoppe of Worceter, & had alſo the adminiſtration of the See of Lõdon committed vnto him. He was in ſuch fauor with yͤ K. that hee ruled moſt things at his pleaſure. Ethelwold which beeyng firſte a Monke of Glaſtenbury, and after Abbot of Abington, was likewiſe made Biſhop of Wincheſter, and might doe very much with the K. Alſo Oſwalde which had bin a Monke in the Abbey of Flory in Fraunce, & after was made Biſhop of Worceter, and from thence remoued to the See of Yorke, was highly in fauour with this King, ſo that by theſe three Prelates he was moſt councelled. Iuſtice in hys dayes was ſtraightly obſerued, for although hee were courteous and gentle towards his friendes, yet was he ſharp and hard to offenders, ſo that no perſon of what eſtate or degree ſo euer he was, eſcaped worthy puniſhment if he did tranſgreſſe the lawes and ordinances of the Realme. Ther was no priuy theefe nor common robber that durſt lay hands of other mens goods but that he might looke to make amendes with loſſe of his lyfe if hee were knowen to be giltie. For howe myghte men that did offend, thinke to eſcape his hands, whych deuiſeth wayes howe to ridde the countrey of all wilde rauening beaſtes, that liued vppon ſucking the bloud of others? For as it is ſaid, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweal K. of Wales, to preſente him with three hundred Woulfes yerely in name of a tribute, but after three yeares ſpace, there was not a Wolfe to be found, and ſo that tribute ceaſſed in the fourth yere after it began to be payed.



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Oſwalde.
loriacum.

Monkes muſt
eedes write
much in praiſe
t Edgar, who
ad men of
heir coate in
uch eſtimatiõ

A tribute in
tituted of
Wolfeskins.

In this meane time, Alfred the wife of Kyng Edgare, as ſome ſaye, or rather as other write, his concubine, dyed, of whome he had begote a ſon named Edward. The death of this woman occaſioned the K. to committe an heynous offence. For albeit the ſame time, the fame wẽt, that Horgerius Duke of Cornewal, or rather Deuonſhire had a daughter named Alfred, a Damoſell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in marriage, appointed one of his noble men called Earle Ethelwolde, to goe with al ſpeede into Cornewall or Deuonſhire, to ſee if the yong Ladyes beautie aunſwered the report that wente of hir, then hee to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe. Ethelwold being a yong iolly Gentleman, tooke his iourney into Cornewall, & comming to yͤ Duke, was well receiued, & had a ſight of his daughter, wͭ whoſe beautie he was ſtraight rauiſhed ſo farre in loue, that not regarding the kings pleaſure which had ſent him thither, he begã to purchaſe the good will of both father & daughter for himſelfe, and did ſo much, that he obteyned the ſame indeede. Hereupon returning to the K. hee enformed him that the Damoſell was not of ſuch beautie and comely perſonage as mighte bee thought worthy to matche in marriage with hys Maieſtie. And ſhortly after perceyuing the kyngs mind by his wrongfull miſreport to be turned, & nothing bent that way, he began to ſue to hym yͭ hee mighte with his fauour marry the ſame Damoſell: which the K. graunted, as one that cared not for hir, bicauſe of the credite whiche he gaue to Ethelwolds wordes. And ſo by this means Ethelwold obteined Alfrid in marriage, which was to his owne deſtruction, as the caſe fell out. For whẽ the fame of hir paſſing beautie did ſpred ouer all yͤ Realme now that ſhe was married & came more abroade in ſight of the people, the K. chanced to heare therof, and deſirous to ſee hir, deuiſed vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the houſe of Ethelwolde, and ſo did: Where he had no ſooner ſet his eye vpon hir, but he was ſo farre wrapped in yͤ chaine of burning concupiſcence, that to obteine his purpoſe, he ſhortly after contriued Ethelwolds death, & married his wife. Some ſay, that the woman kindled the brand of purpoſe: for where it was knowen, that the K. would ſee hir. Ethelwold willed hir in no wiſe to trimme vp hir ſelfe, but rather to diſfigure hir in foule garments, & ſome euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie ſhould not appeare, but ſhee perceiuing howe the matter went, of ſpight ſet forthe hir ſelfe to yͤ vttermoſt, ſo that yͤ K. vpon the firſt ſight of hir became ſo farre enamored of hir beautie, that taking hir huſbande forthe with him on hunting into a forreſt or wood called then Werlewood, and after Horewood, not ſhewing that hee meante hym any hurt, till at length hee had gote him within yͤ thicke of the woode, where hee ſuddaynely ſtroke him through with his darte, and as his baſtarde ſon came to yͤ place, the K. aſked hym how he liked yͤ maner of hunting, whereunto he anſwered, very wel if it like your grace, for yͭ that liketh you ought not to diſpleaſe me: wͭ which anſwer yͤ K. was ſo pacified, yͭ he indeuorer by pretendyng his fauor towards the ſonne to alleuiate the tyrannicall murder of the father. Then did the K. marry the

Osborne and
Capgraue hold
that she was
not his wyfe,
but a Nunne.
W. Mal.

Orgar.

Erle Ethelwold ſupplanted the king of his wyfe.

King Edgar ſeeketh the deſtruction of earle Ethelwold.

King Edgar a murtherer.

the Counteſſe Alfred, & of hir begat two ſons, Edmond which died yõg, & Etheldred or Egelthred.

Beſides this cruell acte wrought by king Edgar for the ſatiſfying of his fleſhly luſt, hee alſo played another part greatly to the ſtayne of hys honour, moued alſo by wanton loue, wyth a yong Damſel named Wilfrid, for after yͭ ſhe had (to auoyde the daunger of him) eyther profeſſed hir ſelfe a Nunne, or elſe for a colour (as the moſt part of wryters agree) got hir ſelfe into a Nunrie, and clad hir in Nunnes weede, he tooke hir forth of hir Cloyſter, and lay by hir ſundrie tymes, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a Nunne.

His licencious life and incontinencie.

A thirde example of his incontinencie, is written by Authours, and that is this. It chaunced on a time that he lodged one night at Andauer, and hauing a minde to a Lordes daughter there, he commaunded that ſhe ſhould be brought to his bed, but the mother of the Gentlewoman woulde not that hir daughter ſhoulde be deflowred: and therefore in the darke of the night, brought one of hir mayd ſeruants, and layde hir in the kings bed, ſhe being both fayre, proper and pleaſant. In the morning when the day beganne to appeare, ſhee made haſte to ariſe: and being aſked of the king why ſhe ſo haſted, that I may goe to my dayes worke (if it pleaſe your grace) quoth ſhe. Herewith ſhe being ſtayed by the king, as it were againſt hir will, ſhee fell downe on hir knees, and requyred of him that ſhe might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (ſayth ſhe) it is not for your honour, that the woman whiche hath taſted the pleaſure of the kings bodie ſhould any more ſuffer ſeruitude vnder the rule and appoyntment of a ſharpe and rough miſtres.

The King then being moued in his ſpirites, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, (as he that tooke great indignation at the doings of the Ducheſſe) and pitied the caſe of the poore wenche. But yet in fine (turning the matter to a bourd) he pardoned all the parties, and aduaunced the wenche to high honour, farre aboue thoſe that had rule of hir afore: ſo that ſhee ruled them (willed they nilled they) for he vſed hir as his paramour, till time yͭ he maryed the foreſaid Alfrede.

For theſe youthfull partes, and namely for the rauiſhing of Wilfrida (which though ſhe were no Nunne) yet the offence ſeemed right haynous, for that he ſhoulde once touche any woman ſhadowed vnder that habite, hee greatly diſpleaſed Dunſtan, ſo that by him hee was put to hys vij. yeares penance, and kept from the crowne till the. xij. yeare of his raigne or more. For ſome write that hee was not crowned nor anoynted king, till the. xxx. yeare of his age, which ſhoulde be about the. xiij. or. xiiij. yeare of his raigne, by that account, ſithe hee entred into the rule of the kingdome about the. xvj. yeare of his age.

Note the depe hypocriſie of Dunſtan.

Ran. Higd.
Fabian out of Guido de Columna.
VVil. Malm.

In deede one Authour witneſſeth, that he was ſacred at Bathe on a Whitſunday, the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, and that by Dunſtan Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Oſwolde Archbiſhop of Yorke. But ſome which ſuppoſe that he was ſacred king immediately vpon the death of Edridus, affyrme that he was crowned and annointed by the Archbiſhop Odo, Dunſtan as then remayning in exile, from whence he was immediately reuoked by Edgar, and firſt made Biſhop of Worceter (as hath beene ſayde) and after the deceaſſe of Odo was aduaunced to be Archbiſhop of Canterburie. But by ſome writers it appeareth, that Dunſtan was reuoked out of exile immediately vpon the partition of the Realme betwixte Edwyn and Edgar, which chaunced in the yeare. 957. by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, and others (as before ye haue heard.) And that in the yeare following the Archbiſhop Odo died, After whome ſucceeded Alſin biſhop of Wincheſter, the whiche alſo died the ſame yeare that K. Edwin deceaſed, as he went to fetch his Pal from Rome, and then Brighthelme Biſhop of Dorcheſter was elected Archbiſhop. But bycauſe he was not ſufficient to diſcharge ſo great an office, by king Edgars commaundement hee was conſtrayned to giue place to Dunſtan.

Hen. Hunt.
Ran. Higd.
Polidor.
Mat. VVeſ
Simon Dun.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars dayes, the Welchmen moued ſome rebellion agaynſte him. Wherevpon he aſſembled an armie, and entring the Countrey of Glamorgan, did muche hurt in the ſame, chaſtiſing the inhabitants right ſharpely for theyr rebellious attempts.

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
The Welch men rebell a are chaſtiſed.

Amongſt other ſpoyles taken in thoſe parties at that time by the men of warre, the Bell of S. Ellutus was taken away, and hanged aboute a horſes necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chaunced that king Edgar layde him downe to reſt, wherevpon in ſleepe there appeared one vnto him, and ſmote him on the breaſt with a Speare. By reaſon of which viſion hee cauſed all things that had beene taken away, to be reſtored againe. But within. ix. dayes after the king dyed.

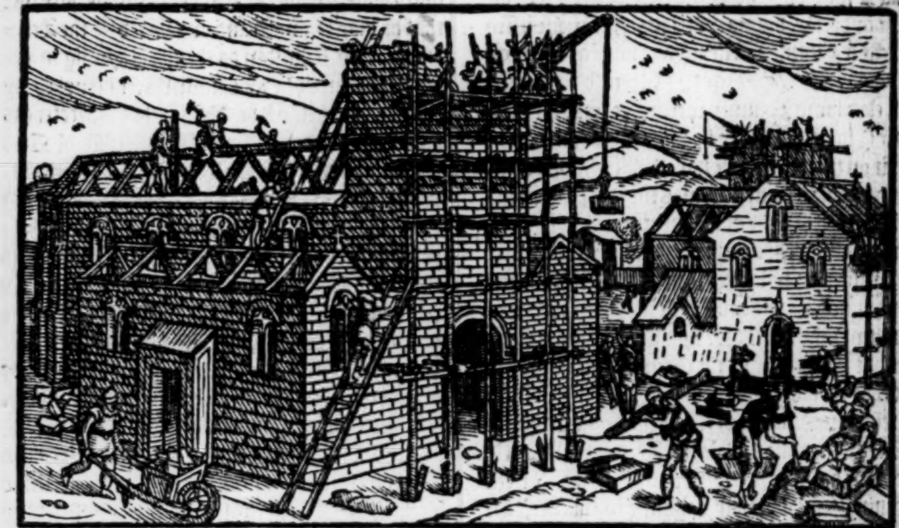
Whether any ſuch thing chaunced, or that he had any ſuch viſion, it forceth not. But truth it is that in the. xxxvij. yeare of his age, after hee had raigned. xvj. yeares and two Monethes he departed this life, the. viij. daye of July, and was buried at Glaſtenburie.

VVil. Ma
H. Hunt.
King Edga departed th life.

This Edgar is highly renowmed of writers for ſuch princely qualities as appeared in him, but chiefly for that hee was ſo beneficiall to the Church, namely to Monkes, the aduauncement of whom he greatly ſought, both in buylding Abbayes newe from the grounde, in reparing thoſe that were decayed: alſo by enriching them wyth

Wherefore Edgar is pra ſed of ſome writers.

great reuenues, and in conuerting Collegiate Churches into Monaſteries, remouing ſecular Prieſts, and bringing in Monks in their places. There paſſed no one yeare of his raigne, wherein he founded not one Abbay or other. The Abbay of Glaſtenburie which his father had begon he finiſhed. The Abbay of Abingdon alſo he accompliſhed and ſet in good order. The Abbayes of Peterborough and Thorney hee eſtabliſhed. The Nunrie of Wilton he founded & richly endowed, where his daughter Editha was profeſſed, and at length became Abbateſſe there.



...ian.
...n. Higd.
...n. Hunt.
...il. Malm.
Hunt.
...t. VVeſt.
...nkes eſtee-
...l and ſecu-
...ri...s litle
...rded.
...Higd.
...cap. 9.

To be briefe, he builded (as the Chronicles recorde) to the number of .xl. Abbayes and Monaſteries, in ſome of which he placed Monks, and in ſome Nunnes. By his example in thoſe his dayes, other noble men, as well Prelates as of the Laitie, did begin the foũdation of ſundrie Abbays and Monaſteries: as Adelwolde Biſhop of Wincheſter buylded the Abbay of Ely, and as ſome ſay Peterbourgh, & Thorney, though they were eſtabliſhed by the king (as before is mentioned.) Alſo Earle Aylewin at the exhortation of the ſame Biſhop Adelwold, builded the Abbay of Ramſey, though ſome attribute the doing thereof vnto Oſwold the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſome to king Edward the elder. But to conclude, the religious orders of Monkes & Nunnes in theſe dayes floriſhed, & the ſtate of ſecular Prieſts was ſmally regarded, inſomuch that they were conſtrayned to auoyd out of diuerſe Colledges, and leaue the ſame vnto Monks, as at Worceter and Wincheſter, where in the new Monaſterie, bycauſe the prieſts liued not in ſuch ſort as was thẽ thought requiſite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vſe thẽſelues no better, but rather worſe thã the other before thẽ, they were likewiſe put out, & Monkes placed in their roomes by authoritie of Pope Iohn the .xiij. And this reformation, or rather deformatiõ was vſed by K. Edgar in many other places of the realm. He was (as appeareth by writers) namely in his beginning, cruel againſt his own people, and wanton in luſting after yong women (as you haue heard before.) Of ſtature and proportion of bodie he was but ſmal & low but yet had nature encloſed within ſo little a perſonage ſuch ſtrength, that he durſt encounter & combat with him that was thought moſt ſtrong, only doubting this, leaſt he which ſhould haue to do with him ſhould ſtand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feaſt (where ofentymes men vſe their tongues more liberally than needeth,) the king of Scottes Kinadius caſt out certaine wordes in this maner: It may (ſayeth he) ſeeme a maruel that ſo many Countreys and prouinces ſhould bee ſubiect to ſuche a little ſilly bodie as Edgar is. Theſe wordes being borne away by a ieaſter or Minſtrell, and afterwardes vttered to Edgar with greate reproche, hee diſſembled the matter for a tyme, althoughe hee kept the remembraunce thereof incloſed within his breaſt: and vpon occaſion, at length he faigned to goe on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing cauſed one of his ſeruaunts to conuey two ſwordes into a place within the forreſt by him appoynted in ſecrete wiſe, of purpoſe he withdrew from the reſidue of his companie, & there accompanied onely with the Scottiſh king, came to the place where the ſwordes were layde: And there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scottiſh king, willing him now to aſſay his ſtrength, that they might ſhew by prouſe whether of them ought to be ſubiect to the other: & ſtart not away but trie it with me (ſaith he) for it is a ſhame for a king to be ful of brags at bankets and not to be ready to fight when triall ſhould be made abrode. The Scottiſh king herewith bring

VVil. Mal.
Ran. Higd.
Tho. Elie.

Edgar ſmall of ſtature but ſtrong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scottes.

The noble corage of king Edgar.

aſtonied and marueilouſly abaſhed, fell downe at his feete, and with much humilitie confeſſed hys fault, & deſired pardõ for the ſame, which vpõ ſuch his humble ſubmiſſion K. Edgar eaſily granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida, or Elfrida, ſurnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordmer, by whome he had iſſue a ſonne named Edward that ſucceded him. His ſeconde wife hight Alfreda the daughter of Orgar duke of Deuon. or Cornewall (as ſome haue) by whom he had iſſue Edmõd that died before his father, and Egelthred which afterwardes was king. Alſo he had iſſue a daughter named Editha, begotten baſe of his concubine Wulfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The ſtate of the realme in king Edgars dayes was in good poynt: for both the earth gaue hir encreaſe very plẽteouſly: the Elements ſhewed themſelues very fauourable, according to the courſe of times: peace was mainteyned and no inuaſion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onely all the whole Ile of Britain in ſubiection, but alſo was ruler & ſouerain Lorde ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the ſeas about all the coaſts of the ſame Britain euen vnto the realme of Norway. He brought alſo a great part of Irelande vnder his ſubiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by autentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

VVil. Mal.

Ireland ſubiect vnto king Edgar.

Edwarde.

Ed- ward.

Some write that the father king Edgar appoynted Edward to ſuccede him.

Simon Dun.

Iohn Capg.

AFter the deceaſe of king Edgar, ther was ſome ſtrife and cõtẽtion amõgſt the Lordes and peeres of yͤ realm about the ſucceſſiõ of the crown: for Alfrida yͤ mother of Egelredus, or Ethelredus, and diuerſe other of hir opinion, would gladly haue aduanced the ſame Egelredus to the rule: but the Archbiſhop Dunſtan taking in his handes the baner of the Crucifix, preſented his elder brother Edward vnto the Lords as they were aſſembled togither, and there denounced him king, notwithſtãding that both Queene Alfred and hir friends, namely Alpher the Duke of Mercia were ſore agaynſt him, eſpecially for yͭ he was begot in vnlawful bed of Elfleda yͤ Nun, for which offẽce he did. vij. yeres penãce, & not for lying with Wulfride (as maiſter Foxe thinketh.) But Dunſtan iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fitte for their behoufe to continue the world in yͤ former courſe as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whoſe mother & ſuch as tooke part with hir vnder hir ſonnes authoritie were likely ynough to turne all vpſide downe) vſed the matter ſo that with helpe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke Oſwalde, and other Byſhoppes, Abbottes, and certaine of the Nobilitie, as the Earle Eſſex and ſuch like, he preuayled in his purpoſe, ſo that (as before is ſayde) the ſayde Edwarde beeing the ſeconde of that name whiche gouerned thys lande before the conqueſt, was admitted king, and beganne his raigne ouer Englande in the yeare of oure Lorde. 975. in the thirde yeare of the Emperour Otho the ſecond, in the. xx. yeare of the raigne of Lothar king of Fraunce, and about the fourth yeare of Culene King of Scotlande. Hee was ſacred by the ſayde Archbiſhoppe Dunſtan at Kingſtone vpon Thames, to the greate griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friendes.

Alfer duke of Mercia and other immediately vpon Edgars death before the crown was eſtabliſhed, remoued the Monkes and reſtored Canons.

Simon Dun.

975.

Aboute the beginning of his raigne a blaſing Starre was ſeene, ſignifying (as was thought) the miſerable haps that followed. And firſt there enſued barrenneſſe of ground, and thereby famine amongſt the people, and morraine of Cattaile.

VVil. Mal.

Alſo Duke Alpher or Elpher of Mercia, and other Noble men deſtroyed the Abbayes which King Edgar and Biſhoppe Adelwold had builded within the limittes of Mercia. The Prieſtes or Canons whiche had beene expulſed in Edgars tyme out of their Prebendes and Benefices, beganne to complaine of theyr wrongs that were done to them, in that they had beene put oute of poſſeſſion from theyr lyuings, alledging it to bee a great offence and miſerable caſe that a ſtraunger ſhould come and remoue an olde inhabitant, for ſuch maner of doing coulde not pleaſe God, nor yet bee allowed of anye good man, whiche ought of reaſon to doubt leaſt the ſame ſhould hap to him whiche hee might ſee to haue beene an others mans vndoing.

Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia.

Aboute thys matter was harde holde, for many of the Temporall Lordes, and namely the ſame Alpher, iudged that the Prieſtes hadde wrong. In ſo muche that they remoued Monkes oute of theyr places, and brought into the Monaſteries ſecular Prieſtes with theyr wyues. But Edelwyn Duke of the Eaſt Angles, and Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brightnode Earle of Eſſex, withſtoode thys doing, and gathering an armie, with great valiancie mainteyned the Monkes in their houſes, within the Countrey of Eaſt Angles. Hereupon were Councels holden, as at Wincheſter, at Kyrthling in Eaſt Angle, and at Calne.

Iohn Capg.
VVil. Mal.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
Sim. Dunel.

Sim. Dunel.

At Wincheſter when the matter was brought to that paſſe that the Prieſtes were lyke to haue had theyr purpoſe, an Image of the Roode that ſtoode there in the Refectory where they ſat in counſaile, vttered certaine wordes in this wiſe. God forbid it ſhoulde bee ſo: God forbid it ſhoulde be ſo;

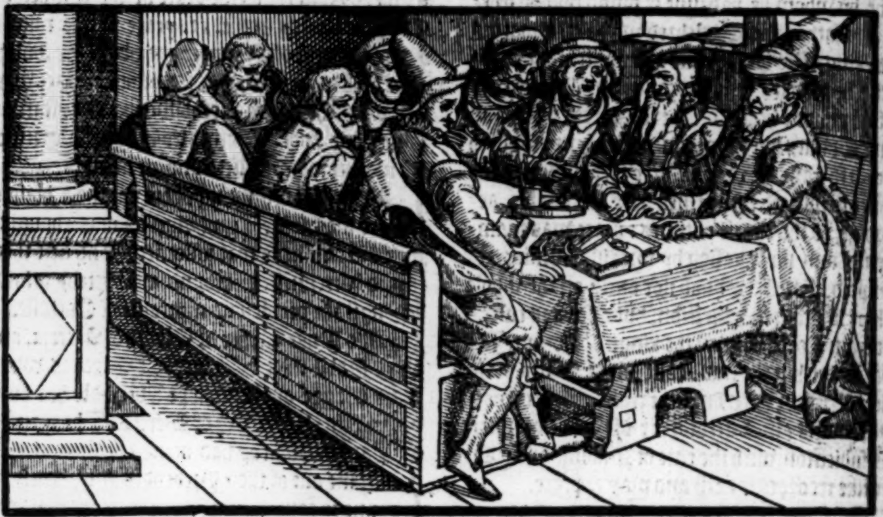
Polidor.

A pretie ſhift of the Monkes to diſappoint the Prieſts.

Polidor.

be ſo: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe: as though (ſayth Polidore Virgill) the Monkes had more right, which had bereft other men of their poſſeſſions, than the Prieſtes which required reſtitution of their owne. But (ſayth he) bycauſe the Image of Chriſt hanging on the croſſe was thought to ſpeake theſe words, ſuch credite was giuen thereto, as it had beene an Oracle, that the Prieſts had theyr ſuite daſhed, & all the trouble was ceaſſed. So the Monkes held thoſe poſſeſſions howſoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as ſayeth the ſame Polidore) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then dyuerſe that thought this to be rather an Oracle of Phebus, than of God, that is to vnderſtande, not publiſhed by Gods power, but by the fraude and craftie deceyte of men.

The matter therefore was not ſo quieted, but that vpon newe trouble an other Councell was had at a manour houſe belonging to the K. called



VVil. Malm.

Calne, where they that were appoynted to haue the hearing of the matter, ſatte in an vpper loft: The king by reaſon of his yong yeares was ſpared, ſo that he came not there.

Here as they were buſied in arguing the matter, eyther part laying for himſelfe what coulde be ſayde. Dunſton was ſore reuiled, and had ſundrie reproches layde againſt him: but ſodainly euẽ in the verie heate of theyr communication, the ioyſtes of the loft fayled, and downe came all the companie, ſo that many were ſlaine and hurt, but Dunſtan alone ſtanding vpon one of the ioyſtes that fell not, he eſcaped ſafe and ſounde. And ſo this myracle with the other made an ende of the controuerſie betweene the Prieſtes and Monkes, all the Engliſh people following the minde of the Archbiſhop Dunſtan, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Dunſtan by working myracles had his will, when argumentes fayled.

In this meane while, king Edwarde ruling himſelf by good counſaile of ſuch as were thought diſcrete and ſage perſons, gaue great hope to the worlde that he woulde walke in his fathers vertuous ſteppes, as alreadie he well beganne, and bearing alway a reuerence to his mother in lawe, and a brotherly loue to hir ſonne Egelred, vſed himſelfe as became him towardes them both.

Polidor.

VVil. Mal.

Afterwarde by chaunce as hee was in hunting in a Forreſt neare to the Caſtell of Corfe, where hys mother in lawe, and his brother the ſayde Egelred then ſoiourned, when all his companie were ſpredde abrode in following the game, ſo that hee was left alone, hee tooke the way ſtreyght vnto his mother in lawes houſe, to viſite hir and hys brother.

The wicked purpoſe of Queene Alfrid.

The Queene hearing that he was come, was right glad thereof, for that ſhee had occaſion offered to worke that which ſhe had of long time before ymagined, that was, to ſlea the king hir ſonne in lawe, that hir owne ſonne might enioy the garlande. She therefore requyred him to alight, which he in no wiſe woulde yeeld vnto, but ſayde that he had ſtolne from his companie, and was onely come to ſee hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore woulde returne to the Forreſt againe to ſee ſome more ſport. The Queene perceyuing that hee woulde not alight, cauſed drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appoynment one of hir ſeruauntes ſtroke him into the bodie with a knife, wherevppon feeling himſelfe wounded, hee ſette ſpurres to the horſe thinking to gallop away, and ſo to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horſe, ſo as one of his feete was faſtened in the ſtyrrop, by reaſon wherof his horſe drew him forth through woods and launds, and the bloud whiche guſhed out of the wounde ſhewed tokẽ of his death to ſuch as followed him, and the way to the place where the horſe had left

The ſhamefull murther of K. Edwarde.

him:

Mat. VVeſt.
Fabian.
Simon Dun.
VVil. Malm.

him. That place hight Corphes gate, or Corues gate. His bodie being founde was buried without any ſolemne funeralles at Warham. For they that enuyed that hee ſhoulde enioy the Crowne, enuied alſo the buriall of his bodie within the Church: but the memorie of his fame coulde not ſo ſecretely bee buried vp with the bodie, as they imagined. For ſundrie myracles ſhewed at the place where his bodie was enterred, made the ſame famous (as diuerſe haue reported) for there was ſight reſtored to the blind, health to the ſicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are eaſilyer to be tolde than beleeued.

Myracles.

Queene Alfride alſo woulde haue ridden to the place where he lay, moued with repentaunce (as hath beene ſayde) but the horſe wherevpon ſhe rode woulde not come neare the graue, for anye thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the ſayde horſe coulde the matter be holpen. For euen the ſame thing happened to the other horſes. Herevpon the woman perceyued hir great offence towardes God for murthering the innocent, and did ſo repent hir afterward for the ſame, yͤ beſides yͤ chaſtiſing of hir body in faſting, and other kinde of penance, ſhee employed all hir ſubſtance and patrimonie on the pore, and in buylding and reparing of Churches and Monaſteries.

Buylding of Abbayes in thoſe dayes was thought to be a full ſatiſfaction for all maner of ſinnes.

Two houſes of Nunnes ſhee founded (as is ſayde) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambreſburie, and finally profeſſed hirſelfe a Nunne in one of them, that is to ſay, at Warwell, whiche houſe ſhee buylded (as ſome affyrme) in remembraunce of hir firſt huſbande that was ſlaine there by K. Edgar for hir ſake (as before is mẽtioned.)

The bodie of this Edwarde the ſeconde, and ſurnamed the Martyr, after that it had remayned three yeares at Warham where it was firſt buryed, was remoued vnto Shafteſburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer, or Elfere Duke of Mercia, who alſo did ſore repent himſelfe in that hee had beene agaynſt the aduauncement of the ſayde king Edwarde (as ye haue hearde.) But yet did not he eſcape worthie puniſhment: for within one yeare after, he was eaten to death with Lice (if the hiſtorie be true.)

Elferus.

King Edward came to his death after he had raigned three yeres (or as other write) three yeres and .viij. Monethes.

Polidor.
VVil. Mal.

Whatſoeuer hath beene reported by writers of the murther committed in the perſon of this king Edwarde, ſure it is that if he were baſe begotten (as by wryters of no meane credit it ſhould appeare he was in deede) great occaſion vndoubtedly was giuen vnto Queene Alfred to ſeeke reuenge for the wrongful keeping backe of hir ſonne Egelred frõ his rightful ſucceſſion to the crowne: but whether that Edwarde was legitimate or not, ſhe might yet haue deuiſed ſome other lawful meane to haue come by hir purpoſe, & not ſo to haue procured the murther of the yong Prince in ſuch vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthily allowed, nor throughly excuſed, although thoſe that occaſioned the miſchiefe by aduauncing hir ſtepſonne to an other mans right, deſerued moſt blame in this matter.

Egelredus.

Egelred.

EGelredus, or Ethelredus, the ſonne of king Edgar, and of his laſte wife Queene Alfrede, was ordeyned King in place of his brother Edwarde, after that the ſame Edwarde was diſpatched out of the way, and beganne his raigne ouer this realme of Englande in the yeare of our lorde 979. which was in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Otho the ſecond, in the .xxiiij. of Lothaire king of Fraunce, and about the ſeconde or thirde yeare of Kenneth the thirde of that name King of Scotlande.

979
Simon Dun.

This Egelred, or Etheldred, was the .xxx. in number from Cerdicius the firſt King of the Weſt Saxons: through his negligent gouernment, the ſtate of the common wealth fell into ſuch decay (as wryters doe report) that vnder him it may bee ſayde, howe the kingdome was come to the vttermoſt poynt or period of olde and feeble age. For whereas whileſt the Realme was deuided at the firſt by the Saxons into ſundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increaſing from youthfull yeares) to one abſolute Monarchie, which paſſed vnder the late remembred Princes, Egbert, Adelſtane, Edgar, and others, ſo that in their dayes it might be ſaid, how it was growne to mans ſtate, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, peſtilence, and warres, the ſtate thereof was ſo ſhaken, turned vpſide downe, and weakened on eche parte, that rightly might the ſeaſon be likened vnto the olde broken yeares of mans life, which through feebleneſſe is not able to helpe it ſelfe.

Dunſtan the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was thought to haue foreſeene this thing, and therfore refuſed to anoynt Egelred king, whiche by the murther of his brother ſhoulde atteyne to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled to it, and ſo he ſacred him at Kingſton vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the .xxiiij. day of Aprill, aſſiſted by Oſwalde Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ten other Biſhops.

VVil. Mal.

But as hath beene reported, Dunſtan then ſayde that the Engliſh people ſhoulde ſuffer condigne puniſhment generally with loſſe of auncient liberties which before that tyme they had enioyed. Dunſtan alſo long before prophecied of the ſlouthfulneſſe that ſhould remaine in this Ethelred. For at what time he miniſtred the ſacrament of Baptiſme vnto him, ſhortly after he came into this world, he defyled the Font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath beene ſayde) wherevppon Dunſtan beeing troubled in hys mynde: By the Lorde (ſayth he) and his bleſſed mother, this child ſhall proue to be a ſlouthfull perſon. It hath bene written alſo, that when he was but tenne yeares of age, and heard that his brother Edwarde was ſlaine, he ſo offended his mother with weeping, bycauſe ſhe coulde not ſtill him, that hauing no rodde at hande, ſhee tooke Tapers or Sizes that ſtoode before hir, and bet him ſo ſore with them, that ſhe had almoſt killed him, whereby he coulde neuer after abyde to haue any ſuch Candles lighted before him.

Polidor.

This Egelred (as writers ſay) was nothing giuen to warlike enterpriſes, but was ſlouthfull, a louer of ydleneſſe, and delyting in ryotous luſtes, which being knowne to all men, cauſed him to be euill ſpoken of amongſt his owne people, and nothing feared amongſt ſtraungers. Herevpon the Danes that exerciſed roauing on the Seas, beganne to conceyue a boldeneſſe of courage to diſquiet and moleſt the Sea coaſtes of the realme, inſomuche that in the ſeconde yeare of this Egelreds raigne, they came with ſeuen Shippes on the Engliſhe coaſtes of Kent, and ſpoyled the Iſle of Tennet, the Towne of Southampton, and in the yere following they deſtroyed S. Petrokes Abbay in Cornewall, Porthlande in Deuonſhire, and dyuerſe other places by the Sea ſyde, ſpecially in Deuonſhire and Cornewall. Alſo a great part of Cheſhire was deſtroyed by Pirates of Norway.

Ran. Higd.
980
Sim. Dunel.
Ran. Higd.

982

The ſame yeare by caſualtie of fire, a greate part of the Citie of London was burnt.

983

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed his life.
Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia.
Fabian.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 983. Alfer Duke of Mercia departed this life, who was coſin to king Edgar, and his ſonne Alfrike tooke vpon him the rule of that Dukedome, and within three yeares after was baniſhed the lande.

Aboute the eight yeare of his raigne, Egelred maryed one Elgiua, or Ethelgiuu, daughter of Earle Egbert.

In the ninth yeare of his raigne, vpon occaſion of ſtrife betweene him and the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, he made warre agaynſt the ſame Byſhop, waſted his Lordſhips, and beſieged the citie of Rocheſter, till Dunſtan procured the Biſhops peace with paymēt of an hundred pound in gold: and bycauſe the king woulde not agree with the Biſhop without money at the onely requeſt of Dunſtan, the ſaid Dunſtan did ſend him worde, that ſithence he made more account of golde than of God, more of money than of S. Andrew Patrone of the Church of Rocheſter, and more of couetouſneſſe than of him being the Archbiſhop, the miſchiefes which the Lord had threatned woulde ſhortly fal and come to paſſe, but the ſame ſhould not chance whileſt he was aliue, who died in the yere following, the. xxv. of May, on a Saturday.

VVil. Malm.
Mat. VVeſt.

Vita Dunſtani.

Of this Dunſtan many things are recorded by wryters, that he ſhould be of ſuch holineſſe and vertue, that God wrought many myracles by him, both whiles he liued here on earth, and alſo after his deceaſe. He was borne in weſt Saxon, his father was named Heorſtan, & his mother Cinifride, they in his youth ſet him to ſchole, where he ſo profited, that he excelled al his equals in age. Afterwarde he fell ſicke of an Ague, which vexed him ſo ſore that it draue him into a frenſie: & therfore his parents appoynted him to the cure and charge of a certain womā, where his diſeaſe grew ſo on him, that he fell in a trance as though he had bin dead, & after that he ſodenly aroſe, & by chance caught a ſtaffe in his hande, and ran vp & downe through hilles and dales, and layde about him as though he had bene afrayde of mad dogges. The next night (as it is ſayde) he gat him to the top of the church (by the help of certain ladders that ſtood there for workmen to mend the roof) and there ran vp and downe very daungerouſly, but in the ende came ſafely down, and layd him to ſleep betwene two men that watched the Church that night, & when he wakened, maruelled howe he came there. Finally recouering his diſeaſe, his parents made him a prieſt, and placed him in the Abbay of Glaſtenburie, where he gaue himſelfe to the reading of Scriptures and knowledge of vertue: But as well his kinſmen as certaine other did raiſe a report of him, that he gaue not himſelfe ſo muche to the reading of ſcriptures, as to charming, coniuring and ſorcery, which he vtterly denied: howbeit learned he was in deed, and could do many pretie things both in handie worke & other deuices: he had good ſkill in muſicke and delited much therin.

Iohn Capg.
Osberne.
Ran. Higd.

At length he grew in ſuch fauour, that he was aduaunced into the ſeruice of king Adelſtane. And on a time as he came to a Gentlewomans houſe with his harpe, and hung the ſame on the wall, while he ſhaped a prieſtes ſtoale, the Harpe ſodenly began to play a Pſalm, which draue the whole houſhold in ſuch feare, that they ran out and ſeid, hee was too cunning, and knewe more than was expedient: whereupon he was accuſed of Nicromancie, and ſo baniſhed out of the Court.

And after this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfheagus then Biſhop of Wincheſter and his couſin, perſwaded him to become a

Monke, he refuſed it, for he rather wiſhed to haue maried a yong damoſell, whoſe pleaſant companie he dayly enioyed. But being ſoone after ſtrikẽ with ſuch a ſwelling diſeaſe in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into ſuch ſtate, as though he had bene infected with a foule leproſie, hee bethought himſelfe, and vpon his recouerie ſent to the biſhop, who immediatly ſhore him a Monke, in which life he liued in ſo great opinion of holynes, as he in time became Abbot of Glaſtenbury: where on a time as hee was in his prayers before the aulter of S. George, he fell aſleepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vgly rough Beare came towards him with open mouth, and ſet his forefeete vpon his ſhoulders ready to deuour him, he ſodenly waking for feare, caught his walking ſtaffe which he cõmonly went with, & layd about him, that all the Church rang thereof to the great wonder of ſuch as ſtood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the noſe with a paire of pynſors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a Chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda, nigh kinſwoman to K. Adelſtan bare to him to hir dying day, with a great meiny of other ſuch like matters, I leaue as friuolous, and wholy impertinent to our purpoſe: onely this I reade, that through declaring of his dreames and viſions, he obteyned in the time of K. Edgar, firſt the Biſhoprike of Worceſter, after of London, & laſt of al the Archbiſhoprike of Canterburie. And now I will returne to the doings of Egelred, and to ſpeake of ſuch things as chaunced in his time.

Polichron.

VVil. Malm.
Mat. VVeſt.
The Danes inuade this land.

Shortly after the deceaſe of Dunſtan, yͤ Danes inuaded this Realme on eche ſide, waſting and ſpoyling the Countrey in moſte miſerable wiſe. They arryued in ſo manye places at once, that the Engliſhe men coulde not well deuiſe whyther to goe to encounter firſt with them. Some of them ſpoyled a place or towne called Wicheport, and from thence paſſing further into the Countrey, were mette with by the Engliſhe men, who giuing them battayle, loſt theyr Captaine Goda: but yet they gotte the victorie, and beat the Danes oute of the fielde, and ſo that parte of the Daniſhe armie was brought to confuſion.

Alias Wecederport.

Hen. Hunt.
Sim. Dunel.
Danes vanquiſhed.

Simon Dun:

Goda Earle of Deuonſhire ſlaine.

Simon Dunel. ſayth that the Engliſh men in deede wanne the fielde here, but not withoute great loſſe. For beſyde Goda, (who by report of the ſame Authour was Earle of Deuonſhire) there dyed an other valyaunt man of warre named Strenwolde.

Mat. VVeſt.

In the yeare. 991. Brightnod Earle of Eſſex, at Maldon gaue battaile to an armie of Danes, (which vnder their leaders Juſtin & Guthmund, had ſpoyled Gipſwich) and was there ouercome & ſlaine with the moſt part of his people, and ſo the Danes obteyned in that place the victorie.

991

The ſame yeare, and in the .xiij. yeare of king Egelreds raigne, when the land was on eche ſide ſore afflicted, waſted and haried by the Danes, which couered the ſame as they had beene Graſhoppers: by the aduiſe of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Siricius, (which was the ſecond of that Sea after Dunſtane,) a compoſition was taken with the Danes, ſo that for the ſumme of ten thouſand pound to them to be payde by the king, they ſhould couenant not to trouble his ſubiectes any further.

Ten thouſand pound payed to the Danes.

Dane gylt.

This money was called Danegylt, or Dane money, and was leuyed of the people. Although other take that to bee Danegylte, whiche was gyuen vnto ſuche Danes as King Egelred afterwardes reteyned in his ſeruice to defende the lande from other Danes and enimyes that ſought to inuade his Dominions. But by what name ſo euer thys money (whiche the Danes nowe receyued) was called, true it is that here-

VVil. Malm.
992

Herevpon they ceaſſed from their moſt cruell inuaſions for a time. But ſhortly after they had refreſhed themſelues, and recouered new ſtrength, they beganne to play theyr olde partes agayne, doing the lyke myſchiefe by theyr ſemblable inuaſions, as they hadde vſed before. By reaſon hereof ſuche feare came vppon the Engliſhe people, that they diſpayred to be able to reſiſt the enimies.

H. Hunt.
A nauie ſet forth.

The king yet cauſed a Nauie to bee ſet forth at London, whereof hee appoynted Earle Alfride (whom before he had baniſhed, and lately reuoked home againe) to bee high Admyrall, adioyning with him Erle Turolde. This nauie did ſet forwarde from London towarde the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrik, eſcaped away without hurt.

And ſhortly after a greater Nauye of the Danes came, and encountered with the kings flete, ſo that a great nũber of the Londoners were ſlaine, and all the kings ſhips taken. For Alfrike like a traytor turned to the Danes ſide.

Alfrike a
tour to his
Countrey.

Mat. VVeſt.

Math. Weſtm. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deede being one of the chiefe captaines of the fleet, aduertiſed them by forewarning of the daunger that was towarde them, and that when they ſhoulde come to ioyning, the ſame Alfrike like a traytor fledde to the Danes, and after vpon neceſſitie beeing putte to flight, eſcaped away with them: but the other Captaines of the kings fleete, as Theodred, Elſtan, and Eſcwen, purſued the Danes, tooke one of theyr ſhips, and ſlue all thoſe that were founde therein.

The Londoners alſo (as the ſame Mat. Weſt. ſayth) met with the nauie of the Daniſhe rouers as they fledde away, and ſlue a greate number, and alſo tooke the Shippe of the Traytour Alfrike with his ſouldiers and armour, but he himſelfe eſcaped, though with muche payne, hauing played the lyke trayterous part once before, and yet was reconcyled to the Kings fauour againe.

en. Hunt.
he ſonne pu-
iſhed for his
thers offence:

Vpon this miſchiefe wrought by the father, the king nowe tooke his ſonne Algar, and cauſed his eyes to be put out.

993

About the ſame time was Bambrough deſtroyed by the Danes, whiche arryued after in Humber, and waſted the Countrey of Lyndſey and Yorkeſhyre, on either ſyde that Ryuer. And when the Engliſhe men were aſſembled to giue them battayle: before they ioyned, the Captaynes of the Engliſhe armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegiſt, that were Danes by theyr fathers ſide, beganne to flye awaye, and eſcaped, ſo gyuing the occaſion of the ouerthrowe that lighted on theyr people.

Simon Dun.
Polidor.
Mat. VVeſt.

But by ſome wryters it ſhoulde appeare, that after the Danes had deſtroyed all the North partyes, as they ſpredde abroade without order and good array, the people of the Countrey fell vppon them, and ſlue ſome of them, and chaſed the reſidue.

Aulafe king of
Norway and
Swein king of
Denmark were
captaines of
this fleete,
as hath
Simon Dun.

994

Other of the Danes with a nauie of .94. ſhips entred the Thames, and beſieged London, aboute our Ladie day in September. They gaue a right ſore aſſault to the Citie, and aſſayed to haue ſette it on fyre: But the Citizens ſo valyantly defended themſelues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repulſed, greatly to their loſſe, ſo that they were conſtrayned to departe thence with diſhonour.

Henric. Hunt.
VVil. Mal.
The king cõ-
poũdeth with
the Danes for
money.

Then they fell to and waſted the Countreys of Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hamſhire, and ceaſſed not till they had enforced the King to compounde with them for .xvj. M. poundes, which hee was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeare at Southampton: the king procured Aulafe king of the of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (wher at that time he lay) vpon pledges receyued of the king for his ſafe returne. Elphegus Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Iulafe vnto him in moſt honourable wiſe.

at VVeſt.
mon Dun.

ulaſe king of Norway baptiſed.
His promiſe.

The ſame time was Iulafe baptiſed, K. Egelred receyuing him at the Font ſtone, and ſo hee promiſed neuer after to make any warre within this lande. And receyuing great gyftes of the King he returned into his Countrey, and kept his promiſe faythfully: But the euilles toke not ſo an ende: for other of the Danes ſprang vp, as they had bene the heades of the Serpent Hydra, ſome of them euer being redie to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Engliſh nation.

John Leyland.
Sim. Dunel.
995

Aboute this ſeaſon that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde. 995. Biſhop Aldwyne whiche was fledde from Cheſter in the (Streete otherwiſe called Cuneceſter) with the bodie of Saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuaſion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the ſame bodie now vnto Durhã, & there began the foundation of a church: ſo that the Sea of that Biſhoprike was from thence forth there eſtabliſhed, and the Woddes were there cutte downe, whiche before tyme couered and ouergrewe that place, whereupon it began firſt to be inhabited.

The Church of Durham buylded.

Earle Vthred.

Earle Vthred who gouerned that Countrey greatly furthered the Biſhop in this worke, ſo that all the people inhabiting betweene the Ryuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to ridde the woddes, and to helpe towarde the buylding of the Church and towne there.

Durham town and Mynſter built.

997
The Danes inuade the Weſt partes of this lande.

In the .xix. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, the Danes ſayled aboute Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne ſea, they robbed and toke prayes in the coaſtes of Deuonſhire, and Southwales, and landing at Wecheport, they burned vp the countrey, and came about vnto Penwithſtreete on the South coaſt, and ſo arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lydforde, and there waſted all afore them with force of fire. They burned amongeſt other places, the Monaſterie of Saint Ordulfe at Ellyngſtocke.

Taueſtocke.

After this they came into Dorſetſhire, and paſſed through the countrey with flame and fire, not finding any that offred to reſiſt them.

998

The ſame yeare alſo they ſoiourned for a time in the Iſle of Wight, and lyued vpon ſpoyles and prayes whiche they toke in Hampſhire, and Suſſex: At length they came into the Thames, and ſo by the Ryuer of Medway, arryued at Rocheſter. The Kentiſhmen aſſembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and ſo left the fielde to the Danes.

999
The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000

After this, the ſame Danes ſayled into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whom he ouercame with ſore warre, and waſted almoſt al Cumberland, taking great ſpoiles in the ſame.

1001

About the ſame time or ſhortly after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there aſſaulted the Caſtell, but they were repulſed by thẽ that kept it.

Exmouth.

After this they ſpred abrode ouer all the countrey exerciſing their accuſtomed trade of deſtroying all before them with fire and ſworde. The men of Somerſetſhire fought with thẽ at Pentho, but the Danes gate the vpper hande.

Pentho.

Thus the ſtate of the realme in thoſe dayes was verie miſerable: for there wanted worthie Chiefetains to rule the people, and to chaſtice them when they did amiſſe. There was no truſt in the noble men, for euerye one impugned others doing, and yet would not deuiſe whiche way to deale with better likelyhoode. When they aſſembled in Counſaile, and ſhould haue occupied their heades in deuiſing remedies for the miſchiefe of the common wealth, they turned their purpoſe vnto altercation aboute ſuch ſtryfes, contentions and quarelles as eche one had agaynſt other, and ſuffered the general caſe to lie ſtil in the duſt. And if at any time there was any good concluſion agreed vpon, for the withſtanding of the enimie, & reliefe of the common wealth, anon ſhoulde the enimie be aduertiſed thereof by ſuch as were of alliance or conſanguinitie vnto them. For as Hariſon in his Chronologie gathereth out of Caxton, Polichron. and others, the Engliſh bloud was ſo mixed with that of the Danes & Britains, who were like enimies to the Engliſhmen, that there was almoſt few of the nobilitie & cõmons which had not on the one ſide a parent of ſome of them. Whereby it came to paſſe, that neither the ſecrete purpoſes of the k. could be cõcealed til they might take due effect, neither their aſſemblies proue quiet without quarelling & taking of partes. Many alſo being ſent forth with their powers one way (whileſt the K. went to make reſiſtãce, another) did reuolt vnto his enimies & turn their ſwordes againſt him (as you haue heard of Elfrik & his cõplices) & ſhall read of many others, ſo yͤ it was no maruell that Ethelred ſped no better, & yet was he as valiant as any of his predeceſſors, although yͤ Monks fauour him not in their writings, bicauſe he demaunded ayd of thẽ toward his warres, & was nothing fauorable to their lewd hipocriſie (as yͤ ſame houſe noteth:) but what is a king if his ſubiects be not loyall? what is a realme, if the cõmon wealth be diuided? by peace & concord, of ſmal beginnings great & famous kingdoms haue oft times proceded, whereas by diſcord yͤ greateſt kingdoms haue oftnes bin brought to ruine: & ſo it proued here: for whileſt priuate quarels are purſued, the generall

Diſagreement with counſaylers what fruite it bringeth.

affayres are vtterly neglected: and whileſt ech nation ſeeketh to preferre hir owne alliance, the Iland it ſelf is like to become a deſart. But to proceede with our Monaſticall wryters: certes they lay all the fault in the king, ſaying that he was a mã giuẽ to no good exerciſe, he delighted in fleſhly luſtes and riotous banketting, and ſtill ſought wayes how to gather of his ſubiectes what might be got, as wel by vnlawful meanes as otherwiſe. For he would for feyned or for very ſmall & light cauſes diſinherite his ſubiectes, and cauſe them to redeeme their owne poſſeſſions for great ſummes of money. Beſides theſe oppreſſions, diuerſe kinds of ſickneſſe vexed the people alſo, as the bloudie Flixe, and hote burning Agues which then raged through the lande, ſo that many died thereof. By ſuch maner of meanes therfore, what through the miſgouernance of the king, the treaſon & diſloyaltie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongſt the people, and by ſuch other ſcourges & miſhaps as afflicted the Engliſh nation in that ſeaſon, the lãd was broght into great ruine, ſo that, where by ſtrength the enimy coulde not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appeaſe thẽ with mony. By reaſon wherof frõ time of the firſt agreement with the Danes for tenne thouſande pound tribute, it was inhanced to .xvj. thouſande pounde (as ye haue heard.) And after that to twentie thouſande pounde, then to .xxiiij. thouſande pound, and ſo to .xxx. thouſand pound, and laſtlye to fortie thouſande pounde, till at length the Realme was emptied in maner of all that money and coyne that could in it be founde. In this meane time died Elgiua or Ethelgiua ŷ Queene. Then ſhortly after it was deuiſed that ŷ king ſhould be a ſuter vnto Ri. Duke of Normãdie, for his ſiſter Emma, a lady of ſuch excellent beautie, that ſhe was named ŷ floure of Normãdie. This ſute was begon & toke ſuch good ſucces, that the king obteyned his purpoſe. And ſo in the yere of our lord. 1002. which was about the .xxiiij yere of K. Egelreds raigne, the ſame Egelred receiued the forſaid Emma, & maried hir wt great ſolemnitie. This mariage was thought to bee right neceſſary, honorable & profitable for ŷ realm of Englande, bycauſe of the great puiſſance of the Norman princes in thoſe days: but as things afterward came to paſſe, it turned to the ſubuerſiõ of ŷ whole Engliſh ſtate: for by ſuch affinitie & dealing as hapned hereby betwixt the Normãs and Engliſhmẽ, occaſion in ŷ end was miniſtred to ŷ ſame Normans to pretend a tytle to the crowne of Englãd, in proſecuting of which title, they obteyned and made the whole conqueſt of the land, as after ſhall appeare. Egelred being greatly aduaunced, as he thought, by reaſon of this maryage deuiſed vpon preſumption thereof, to cauſe all the Danes within the lande to bee murthered in one day. Herevpon he ſent priuie Commiſſioners vnto all cities, boroughes and townes within his dominions, commaunding the rulers and officers in the ſame, to diſpatche and ſlea all ſuch Danes as remayned within theyr liberties, at a certaine day prefixed, being Saint Bryces daye, in the yeare. 1012. and in the. 34. yeare of king Egelreds raigne.

The miſgouernment of of the king.

Sickneſſes vexing the people.

Treaſon in the nobilitie.

The inhaunſing of the tribute payed to the Danes.

The death of Queene Elgiua.

Emma.

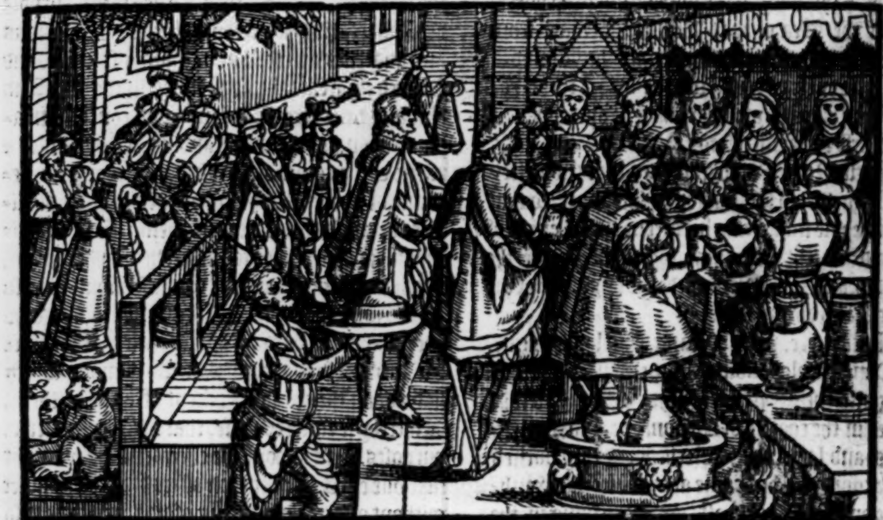
Hen. Hunt.

1001

Emma a daughter of Normandie maried to K. Egelred.

1012

The .xiii. of Nouember.



Herevpon (as ſundrie wryters agree,) in one day and houre this murther beganne, and was according to the commiſſion and inſtructions executed. But where it firſt beganne, the ſame is vncertaine: ſome ſay at Wellowyn in Herforſh. ſome at a place in Staffordſhire called Hownhil, and other in other places, as in ſuche doubtfull caſes it cõmonly happeneth. But whereſoeuer it began the doers ſhortly after repented it. But firſt ere we proceede any further, we will ſhew what rule the Danes kept here in this Realme before they were thus murthered, as in ſome bookes we

The murther of the Danes.

Hownhill or Houndhil, a place within Merchington pariſh beſide the foreſt of Needwood, ſomewhat more thã two myles from Vtceſter.

find

The miſerable ſtate of this realme vnder the thraldome of the Danes.

and recoꝛded. Where it is ſhewed that the Danes compelled the huſbandmen to till the ground, and to doe all maner of labour and toyle to bee done aboute huſbandꝛie: and the Danes liued of the fruite and gaynes that came therof, and kept the huſbãdmens wiues, their daughters, maydes and ſeruaunts, vſing and abuſing them at theyꝛ pleaſures. And when the huſbandmen came home, then coulde they vneth haue ſuch ſuſtenaunce of meates and dꝛinkes as fell foꝛ ſeruantes to haue: ſo that the Danes had all at theyꝛ commaundements, eating and dꝛinking of the beſt, where the ſillie man that was the owner, could hardly come to his fill of the woꝛſt.

Hec. Boetius.

And beſides this, the common people were ſo oppꝛeſſed by the Danes, that foꝛ feare and dꝛead they called them in euerie ſuch houſe where anye of them ſoiourned, Loꝛde Dane. And if an Engliſhe man and a Dane chaunced to meete at any Bꝛidge oꝛ ſtreyght paſſage, the Engliſhe man muſt ſtaye till the Loꝛde Dane were paſſed. But in pꝛoces of time, after the Danes were voyded the lande, this woꝛde Loꝛde Dane was in deriſionand diſpite of the Danes turned by Engliſh men into a name of repꝛoche, as Loꝛdane, which till theſe our dayes is not foꝛgotten. Foꝛ when the people in manye partes of thys Realme will note and ſignifie anye greate ydle lubber that will not labour noꝛ take paine foꝛ his liuing, they will call him Loꝛdane. But whether the Danes vſed the Engliſh men in ſuch vile maner, and kept them in ſuch ſeruile thꝛaldome oꝛ not, truth it is that vppon knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murther of the Danes here in Englande, the people of that Countrey were greatly kindled in malice, and ſet in ſuch a furious rage agaynſt the Engliſhmen, that with all ſpeede they made foꝛth a Nauie full fraught with menne of warre, the whiche in the yeare folowing, came ſwarming aboute the coaſtes of Englande, and landing in the Weſt Countrey, tooke the Citie of Exeter, and gat there a riche ſpoyle.

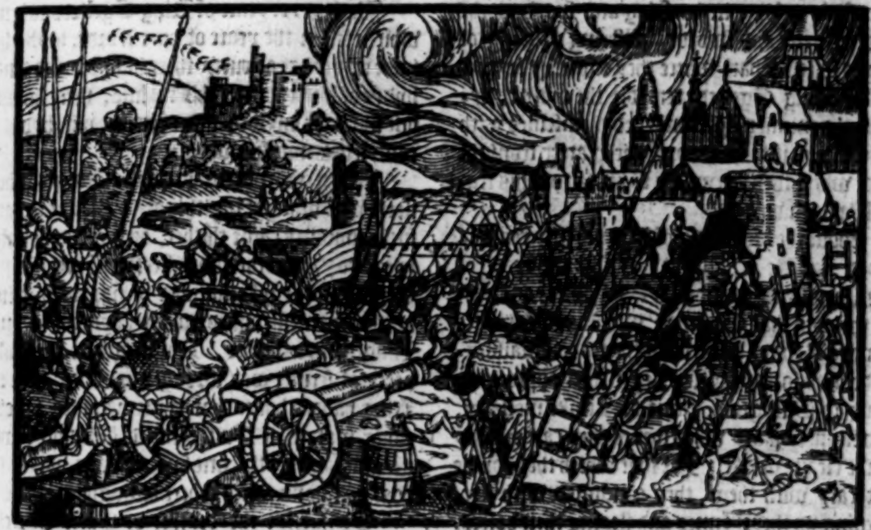
Lordane whe of the worde came.

Hen. Hunt

Sim. Dun.

The Danes re turn to inuad Englande.

Exeter taken,



1003

Hugh a Norman conſpireth with the Danes.

One Hugh a Noꝛman boꝛne, whom Queene Emma had placed in thoſe parties as gouernour oꝛ Sherife there, conſpired with the Danes, ſo that all the Countrey was ouerrunne and waſted.

The counterfeyt ſickneſſe of duke Edrik.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and ſpoyled the weſt partes of the realme, hee ſente vnto Edꝛicus to aſſemble a power to withſtande the enimies. Hereupon the people of Hampſhire and Wilſhire roſe and got togither: But when the armyes ſhoulde ioyne, Earle Edꝛicus ſurnamed *de Streona*, faigned himſelfe ſick, and ſo betrayed his people, of whome hee had the conduct, foꝛ they perceyuing the want in theyꝛ leader, were diſcouraged, and ſo fled.

Wilton ſpoyled.

The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, whiche towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Saleſburie, & ſo taking theyꝛ pleaſure there, returned to their ſhips, bycauſe (as ſome wꝛite) they were aduertiſed that the K. was comming towards them with an huge armie.

Simon Dun

1004

Sweyn king of Denmarke.

Norwich take by the Danes.

Thetford burne.

In the yeare next enſuing, that is to wit. 1004 which was aboute the. xxiiij. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, Sweyne, oꝛ Swanus, king of Denmarke, wyth a mightie Nauie of ſhippes came on the coaſt of Noꝛffolke, and there landing with his people, made towarde Noꝛwiche, and comming thither tooke that Citie, and ſpoyled it. Then went he vnto Thetfoꝛd, and when hee had taken and ryfled that Towne, hee burned it, notwythſtandyng a truce taken by Vlkillus, oꝛ Wilſketell gouernour of thoſe partyes wyth the ſame King Sweyne after the taking of Noꝛwich.

In reuenge therfoꝛe of ſuch bꝛeache of truce,

kellus, or
lfketell
uernour of
rffolke.

the ſame Vlkellus, or Wlfketell, with ſuch power as he coulde rayſe, aſſaulted the hoſte of Danes as they returned to their ſhippes, and ſlue a great number of them, but was not able to maintaine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And ſo he was conſtrayned in the ende to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their wayes to their ſhippes.

Hunt.

ein returned into Denmarke.
m. Dunel.
1005

In the yeare following king Sweyne returned into Denmark with all his fleete, partly conſtrayned ſo to do (as ſome write) by reaſon of the great famin and want of neceſſarie ſuſtenaunce, which that yeare ſore oppreſſed this land.

1006
. Hunt.
weyn returned into Eng-
ode.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1006. king Swein returned againe into Englande with a mightie huge Nauie arryuing at Sandwiche, and ſpoyled all the Countrey neare vnto the Sea ſide. King Egelred rayſed all his power agaynſt him, and all the Harueſt time lay abroade in the fielde to reſiſt the Danes, which according to theyr wonted maner ſpared not to exerciſe their vnmercifull crueltie, in waſting and ſpoyling the land with fire and ſworde, pilfering & taking of prayes in euery part where they came. Neyther coulde King Egelred remedie the matter, bycauſe the enimies ſtyll conueyed themſelues with their ſhippes into ſome contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, ſo that his trauaile was in vaine.

The Danes winter in the Ile of Wight. They inuade Hampſhire, Barkſhire. &c.

About the beginning of Winter they remayned in the Ile of Wight, and in the tyme of Chriſtmaſſe they landed in Hampſhire and paſſed through that Countrey into Barkſhire, and came to Reding. And from thence to Wallingforde, and ſo to Coleſey, and then approching neare to Eſſington, came to Achikelineſlawe, and in euery place whereſoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they coulde not cary with them, they conſumed with fire, burning vp theyr Innes and ſleaing their hoſtes. In returning back, the people of the weſt Countrey gaue them battail, but preuayled not, ſo that they did but enriche theyr enimies with the ſpoyle of their bodies.

Wincheſter.

They came faſt by the gates of Wincheſter, as it were in maner of tryumph, with theyr vyttayles and ſpoyles whiche they had fetched fiftie myles off from the ſea ſide.

In the meane tyme King Egelred lay about Shrewſburie ſore troubled with the newes herof.

1007
xxxvi thouſãd pound hath
Simon Dun.

In the yeare next enſuing, the king by the aduice of his Counſaile gaue to king Sweine for the redeeming of peace. xxx. M. pound.

The ſame yeare King Egelred created the traytor Edricus Earle of Mercia.

Edricke de Streona made Duke or Erle of Mercia

This Edricus although hee had maryed the kings daughter Edgita, was yet noted to be one of thoſe which diſcloſed the ſecretes of the realme, and the determinations of the Counſaile vnto the enimies. But he was ſuche a craftie diſſembler, ſo greatly prouided of ſleight to diſſemble and cloke his falſehoode, that the king beeing too muche abuſed by him, had him in ſingular fauour, where as hee vppon a malicious purpoſe ſtudyed dayly howe to bring the Realme into vtter ruine and deſtruction, aduertiſing the enimies from tyme to tyme howe the ſtate of thinges ſtoode, whereby they came to knowledge where they ſhoulde giue place, and when they mighte ſafely come forwarde, Moreouer, beeing ſent vnto them oftentymes as a Commiſſioner to treate of peace, hee perſwaded them to warre. But ſuche was the pleaſure of God, to haue him and ſuche other of lyke ſort aduaunced to honour in this ſeaſon, when by his diuine prouidence he ment to puniſhe the people of thys realme for theyr wickedneſſe and ſinnes, whereby they had iuſtly prouoked his wrathe and highe diſpleaſure.

Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
An hundreth acres to an hide of lande
1008
Prouiſion for ſhippes and armour.

In the. xxx. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, whiche fell in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1008. hee tooke order that of euery three hundred and tenne hydes of lande within this realme, there ſhoulde one ſhippe be buylded, and of euery. viij. hydes a complete armor furniſhed.

In the yeare following, the Kinges whole fleete was brought togither at Sandwiche, and ſuche ſouldiers came thither, as were appoynted to goe to Sea in the ſame fleete. There had not beene ſeene the lyke number of ſhippes ſo trimly rigged and furniſhed in all poyntes, in anye Kinges dayes before. But no greate profitable peece of ſeruice was wrought by them: For the King hadde aboute that tyme baniſhed a noble yong manne of Suſſex called Wilnote, who getting togither twentie ſayles, laye vppon the coaſtes, taking priſes where he might gette them.

Mat. VVeſt.

Brithericke the brother of Earle Edricke, deſirous to wynne honour, tooke forth foure ſcore of the ſayde Shippes, and promiſed to bring in the enimie deade or aliue. But as hee was ſayling forwarde on the Seas, a ſore tempeſt with an outragious winde roſe with ſuche violence, that his ſhippes were caſt vppon the ſhore. And Wilnote comming vpon them, ſet them on fyre, and ſo burned them euery one. The reſidue of the ſhips, when newes came to them of this miſhap, returned backe to London. And then was the armie diſperſed, and ſo all the coſt and trauaile of the Engliſh men proued in vaine.

Danes land at Sandwich.
1009
Three thouſand pound hath Simon Dun.

After this, in the Harueſt time a newe armie of Danes, vnder the conducte of three Captaynes, Turkell, Henning, and Iulafe, landed at Sandwiche, and from thence paſſed forth to Canterburie, and had taken the citie, but that the Citizens gaue them a thouſande pounde to depart from thence, and to leaue the Countrey in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwardes landed and ſpoyled the Countrey of Suſſex and Hamſhire.

Suſſex and Hampſhire ſpoyled.

King Egelred aſſembled the whole power of all his ſubiectes, and comming to giue them battaile, had made an ende of their cruell harrying the Countrey with the ſlaughter of them all, if Earle Edrike with [illegible] to put him in feare, had not diſſwaded him from giuing battaile. The Danes by that meanes returning in ſafetie, immediately after the feaſt of S. Martyn, returned into Kent, and lodged with theyr nauie in the Winter following in the Thames, and oftentymes aſſaulting the Citie of London, were ſtill beaten backe to their loſſe.

The Danes returne into Kent.

1010

After the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe they paſſed through the Countrey and Woddes of Chilterne vnto Oxforde, whiche Towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to waſting of the Countrey on both ſides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was aſſembled at London to gyue them battaile, that parte of theyr hoſte whiche kepte on the North ſyde of the Ryuer, paſſed the ſame Ryuer at Staines, and ſo ioyning wyth theyr fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to theyr Shippes in Kent, fell in hande to repayre and amende theyr ſhippes that were in any wiſe decayed.

Oxford burnt.

Staines.

Then after Eaſter, the Danes ſayling about the coaſt, arryued at Gippeſwiche in Suffolke, on the day of the Aſcention of our Lorde: and inuading the Countrey, gaue battayle at a place called Wigmere, or Rigmere, vnto Vlkell, or Vlfketell leader of the Engliſh hoſt in thoſe parties, the fifth of May.

Ipſwich in Suffolke.
Sim. Dunel.

The men of Norffolke and Suffolke fledde at the fyrſt onſet gyuen. But the Cambridgeſhire men ſticked to it valiantly, wynning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindefulneſſe amongeſt them of running awaye, ſo that a great number of the Nobilitie and other were beaten downe and ſlaine, tyll at the length one Turketell Mirenheued, that had a Dane to hys father, fyrſt beganne to take his flight, and deſerued thereby an euerlaſting reproch.

Caput firmice.

The Danes obteyning the vpper hande, for the ſpace of three monethes togyther, went vppe and downe the Countreys, and waſted thoſe parties of the Realme, that is to ſay, Norffolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and Cambridgeſhire where the fennes are, gayning exceeding ryches by the ſpoile of the great and wealthie Abbayes and Churches which had their ſituation within the compaſſe of the ſame Fennes.

They alſo deſtroyed Thetforde, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence paſſed through the pleaſant mountain countrey of Belleſham, cruelly murthering the people without reſpect to age, degree or ſexe.

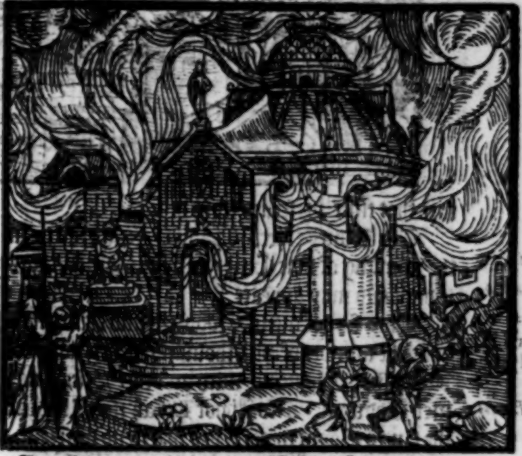
Thetforde, Cambridge.
Hen. Hunt.

After this they entred into Eſſex, and ſo came backe to theyr ſhips, whiche were then arriued in the Thames. But they reſted not any long time in quiet, as people that mynded nothing but the deſtruction of this Realme. So that ſhortly after they had ſomewhat refreſhed them, forwarde they ſet again into the Country, paſſing through Buckinghamſhire, and ſo into Bedfordſhire. And about S. Andrewes tide they turned toward Northampton, and comming thither, ſet fyre on that towne.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1011

Northampton burnt by Danes.



And then returning through the weſt countrey, with fire and ſworde waſted and deſtroyed a great part thereof, and namely Wilſhire, with other parties. And finally aboute the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe they came againe to their ſhippes.

Thus had the Danes waſted and deſtroyed the moſt part of .xvj. or .xvij. ſhires within this realm as Norff. Suff. Cambridgeſhire, Eſſex, Middleſex, Hartfortſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghãſhire, and Bedfordſhire, with a part of Huntingdonſh. and alſo a great portion of Northamptonſhire.

How many ſhires the Danes waſted.

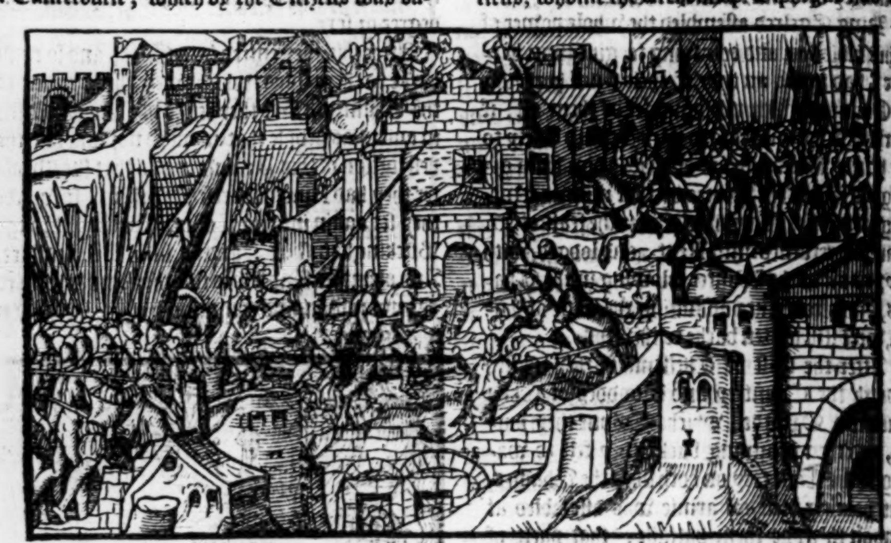
This was done in the Countreys that lie on the northſide the Riuer of Thames. And on the ſouthſide of the ſame Ryuer, they ſpoyled and waſted Kent, Southerie, Suſſex, Barkſh. Hãpſhire, and (as is before ſayd) a great part of Wilſhire. The king and the peeres of the realme not knowing otherwiſe how to redreſſe the matter, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Danes, offring them great ſummes of money to leaue off ſuche cruell waſting and ſpoyling of the lande.

The king ſendeth to the Danes.
Simon Dun.

The Danes were contented to retayne the money; but yet coulde not abſtayne from their cruell doyngs, neither was their greedie thyrſt of bloud and ſpoyle ſatiſfied with the waſting and deſtroying of ſo many Countreys and places as

Canterbury wonne by Danes.

they had paſſed through. Wherevpon in the yeare of our Lorde. 1011. about the feaſt of Saint Mathew in September, they layde ſiege to the Citie of Canterburie, which by the Citizens was valiantly defended by the ſpace of .xx. dayes. In the ende of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treaſon of a Deacon named Almaricus, whome the Archbiſhop Elphegus had before that time preſerued from death.



Fabian ex Antonino.

The Danes exerciſed paſſing great crueltie in the winning of that Citie (as by ſundrie Authors it doth and may appeare.)

The Archbiſhop Elphegus taken.

Hen. Hunt.

They ſlue of menne, women, and children, aboue the number of. viij. thouſand. They toke the Archbiſhop Elphegus, with an other Biſhop named Godwyn. Alſo Abbot Lefwyn & Alſeword the kings Baylif there. They ſpared no degree, inſomuch that they ſlue and toke. 900. prieſtes and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleaſure of the Citie, they ſet it on fire, and ſo returned to their ſhips.

Antoninus.
Vincentius.

VVil Lamb. ex Aſſerio Meneuenſi & alijs.

There be that write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, ſlaying the whole nines through the whole multitude, and reſerued the tenth: ſo that of all the Monkes there were but foure ſaued, and of the lay people. 4800. whereby it followeth that there dyed. 43200. perſons, and hereof is gathered that the citie of Canterburie, & the Countrey thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for ſuccor) was at that time verie well inhabited, ſo as there haue not wanted (ſayth Maſter Lambert) which affyrme that it had then more people than London it ſelfe.

1012

Hen. Hunt.

But now to our purpoſe. In the yeare next enſuing, vpon the Saterday in Eaſter weeke, after that the Biſhop Elphegus had bin kept priſoner with them the ſpace of. vj. or. vij. monethes, they cruelly in a rage led him forth into the fieldes, and daſhed out his braynes with ſtones, bycauſe he would not redeeme his libertie with three. M. pound, which they demaunded to haue bin leuied of his farmers and tenants.

The Archbiſhop Alphegus murthered.

This cruell murther was cōmitted at Grenewich foure miles diſtant from London, the. xix. of Aprill, where he lay a certaine time vnburied, but at length through miracles ſhewed (as they ſay) for myracles are all wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing: the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, & there was it buried in the Church of S. Paule, where it reſted for the ſpace of ten yeares, till king Cnute or Knoght had the gouernment of this lande, by whoſe appoyntment it was remoued to Canterburie.

Myracles.

Elphegus buried in London.

Tranſlated to Canterburie.

VVil. Mal.

Turkillus held Norfolk and Suffolke.

Turkillus the leader of thoſe Danes by whom the Archbiſhop Elphegus was thus murthered, helde Norffolke and Suffolke vnder his ſubiection, and ſo continued in thoſe parties as chief L. and gouernor. But the reſidue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Engliſhmen for a tribute to be payed to them of. viij. M. pounde, ſpred abrode in the countrey ſoiourning in cities, townes and villages, where they might finde moſt conuenient harbrough.

xlviii. thouſād pound as ſayth *Simon Du. & Mat. VVeſt.*

H. Huntin.

Moreouer fortye of their Shippes, or rather, (as ſome write). xlv. were retayned to ſerue the king, promiſing to defende the Realme, with condition that the Souldiers and Mariners ſhould haue prouiſion of meate and drinke, with apparell, found them at the kings charges.

As one Authour hath gathered, Swayne king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being cōfirmed with ſolemne othes and ſufficient hoſtages, he departed into Denmarke.

Mat. VVeſt.

Alſo the ſame Authour bringeth the generall ſlaughter of Danes vppon Saint Brices daye, to haue chaunced in the yeare after the

concluſion

Gunthildis the ſiſter of K. Swaine murthered.

concluſion of this agreement, that is to witte, in the yeare. 1012. at what tyme Gunthildis the ſiſter of King Swaine was ſlaine, with hir huſbande and ſonne, by the commaundement of the falſe traytour Edrike. But bycauſe all other Authours agree that the ſame murther of Danes was executed aboute tenne yeares before thys ſuppoſed tyme: wee haue made rehearſall thereof in that place. Howbeit for the death of Gunthilde, it maye bee, that ſhee became Hoſtage eyther in the yeare. 1007. at what tyme King Egelred payed thirtie thouſande pounde vnto king Swayne to haue peace (as before you haue hearde) or elſe myght ſhee bee delyuered in hoſtage, in the yeare. 1011. when the laſt agreement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time ſoeuer ſhe became hoſtage, this we finde of hir, that ſhe came hither into England with hir huſband Palingus, a mightie Earle, and receyued baptiſme here. Whervpon ſhe earneſtly trauailed in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother & king Egelred, whiche being brought to paſſe chiefely by hir ſuyte, ſhee was contented to become an Hoſtage for performaunce thereof (as before is recyted.) And after by the commaundement of Earle Edricke ſhe was put to death, pronouncing that the ſhedding of hir bloude woulde cauſe all England one day ſore to rue.

Wil. Mal.

She was a right beautifull Ladie, and tooke hir death without all feare, not once chaunging countenaunce, though ſhe ſaw hir huſbande and hir onely ſonne (a yong Gentleman of much towardneſſe) firſt murthered before hir face.

Turkillus diſcloſeth the ſecretes of the Realme to K. Swayne.

Turkillus in the meane tyme had aduertiſed king Swayne in what ſtate things ſtoode here within the Realme: howe King Egelred was negligent, onely attending to the luſtes and pleaſures of the fleſhe: howe the Noble menne were vnfaythfull, and the Commons weake and feeble through wante of good and truſtye leaders.

Simon Dun.

Some wryte yet that Turkyll, as well as other of the Danes whiche remayned here in Englande was in league with King Egelred, inſomuche that he was wyth him in London to helpe to defend the Citie agaynſt Swayne when hee came to aſſault it, (as after ſhall appeare.) Whiche if it bee true, a doubt may riſe whether Sweine receyued any aduertiſement from Turkill to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but ſuche aduertiſements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade Englande.

Swayne therefore as a valiaunt Prince deſirous both to reuenge his ſiſters death, and win honour, prepared an huge armie, and a greate number of Shippes, with the whiche hee made towardes Englande, and firſte comming to Sandwiche, taryed there a ſmall while, and taking eftſoones the Sea, compaſſed aboute the coaſtes of the Eaſt Angles, and arryuing in the mouth of Humber, ſayled vp the water, and entring into the Ryuer of Trent, he landed at Gaynesbourgh, purpoſing to inuade the Northumbers: But they as men brought into great feare, for that they had beene ſubiect to the Danes in tymes paſt, and thinking therefore not to reſiſte to enimyes, but rather to theyr olde acquaintaunce, if they ſhoulde ſubmitte themſelues to the Danes, ſtreyght wayes offered to become ſubiect vnto Swayne, togither with theyr Duke named Wightred.

He landed at Sandwich.
1013

Gaynesbourgh

The Northumbers yeeld to Swayne.

The people of Lyndſey yeeld themſelues to him.

Alſo the people of Lyndeſey and all thoſe of the Northſyde of Watlingſtreete yeelded themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appoynted his ſonne Canutus to haue the keping of thoſe pledges, and to remain vpon the ſafegard of his ſhips, whiles he himſelfe paſſed forward into the Countrey. Then marched he forwarde to ſubdue them of South Mercia: and ſo came to Oxford, & to Wincheſter, making the countreys ſubiect to him throughout wherſoeuer he came.

Sim. Dunel.

South Mercia

With this proſperous ſucceſſe, Swayne being greatly encouraged, prepared to go vnto London where king Egelred as then remayned, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was reteyned in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of ſome Authours it may appeare) and were nowe readie to defende the Citie agaynſte theyr Countrey men in ſupport of King Egelred togyther wyth the Citizens. Swayne bycauſe hee woulde not ſteppe ſo farre oute of the way as to goe to the nexte bridge, loſt a greate number of his menne as hee paſſed through the Thames.

Simon Dun.

Sweine aſſaulteth London.

At his comming to London, he beganne to aſſault the Citie right fiercely, in hope eyther to put his enimie in ſuch feare that he ſhould diſpaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the leaſt to trye what hee was able to doe. The Londoners on the other part, although they were broght in ſome feare by this ſodaine attempt of the enimyes, yet conſidering with themſelues, that the hazarde of all the whole ſtate of the Realme was annexed to theyrs, ſithe theyr Citie was the chiefe and Metropolitane of all the Kingdome, they valyantly ſtoode in defence of themſelues, and of their king that was preſent there with them, beating backe the enimies, chaſing them from the walles, and otherwiſe doing their beſt to keepe them of. At length although the Danes did moſt valiantly aſſault the Citie, the Engliſh men yet to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not ſhrinke, but boldly ſallied forth at yͤ gates in heapes togither, & encountered with theyr aduerſaries, and began to fight with the right fiercely.

Polidor.

Sweyn whileſt he goeth aboute to keepe his men in order, as one moſt deſirous to retayne the victorie nowe almoſte gotten, is compaſſed ſo aboute with the Londoners on eche ſyde, that after he had loſt a greate number of his men, he was conſtrayned for his ſafegarde to breake out through the myddeſt of his enimyes weapons, and was gladde that hee might ſo eſcape. And ſo with the reſidue of his armie ceaſſed not to iourney day and night tyll hee came to Bathe, where Ethelmere an Earle of greate power in thoſe Weſt parties of the Realme, ſubmitted himſelfe wyth all hys people vnto him, who ſhortly after neuertheleſſe (as ſome write) was compelled through want of vitayles to releaſe the tribute lately couenanted to bee payed vnto him for a certaine ſumme of money, which when hee had receyued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning ſhortly to returne againe with a greater power.

VVil. Mal.
Earle of Deuōſhire as hath
Mat. VVeſt.

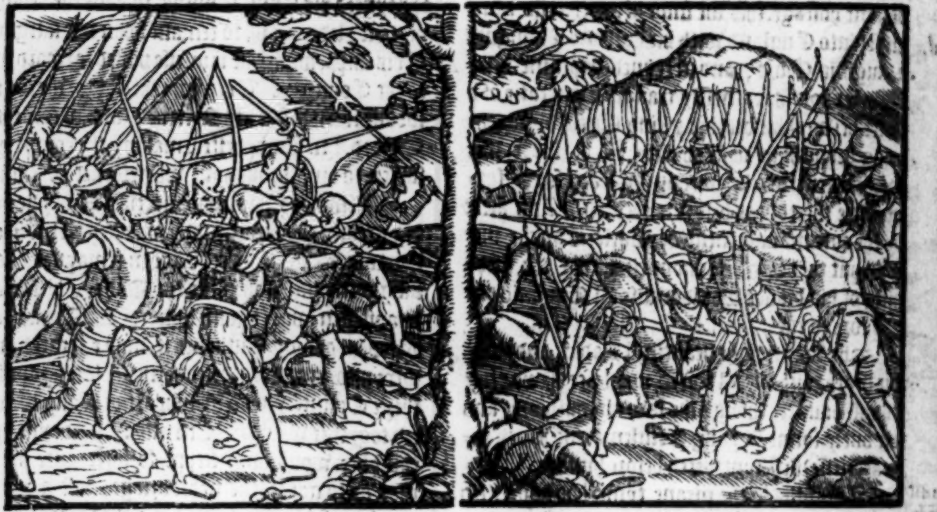
Polidor.

Swain re-turneth into Denmarke.

King Egelred ſuppoſed that by the payment of that money he ſhould haue beene rid out of all troubles of warre with the Danes. But the Nobles of the realme thought otherwiſe and therfore willed him to prepare an armie with al ſpeed that might be made. Sweyn taryed not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with ſwift ſpeede he returned againe into Englande, and immediatly vppon his arriuall was an armie of Engliſh men aſſembled and led agaynſt him into the field. Herevpon they ioyne in battaile, which was ſore foughten for a time, til at length by reaſon of diuerſe Engliſhmen that turned to the enimies ſide, the diſcomfiture fel with ſuch ſlaughter vpon the Engliſh hoſt, that king Egelred well perceyued the ſtate of his regall gouernment to be brought into vtter daunger. Wherevpon after the loſſe of this fielde, hee aſſembled the reſt of his people that were eſcaped, and ſpake vnto them after thys maner.

Swain returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred diſcomfited in battaile.



The Oration of K. Egelred.

I ſhoulde for euer bee put to ſilence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherly minde, in giuing good aduice and counſaile for the well ordering the adminiſtration of things in the common wealth, or if there lacked courage or might in our ſouldiers and men of warre to defende our Country. Truly to die in defence of the Country where we are borne, I confeſſe it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the middeſt of the enimies in defence of my kingdome. But here I ſee our countrey and the whole Engliſh nation to be at a poynt to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapō or force of armes, but with treaſon wrought by our owne people: wee did at the firſt prepare a nauie agaynſte the enimies, the which that falſe traytor Elfrik betrayd into their handes. Againe oftentymes haue we giuen battaile with euill ſucceſſe, and onely through the fault of our owne people that haue beene falſe and diſloyal, wherby we haue bene conſtrayned to agree with the enimies vpon diſhonorable conditions, euen as neceſſitie required, which to ouercome reſteth only in God. Such kind of agreemēt hath bin made in deed to our deſtruction, ſith the enimies haue not ſticked to breake it (they being ſuch a wicked kinde of people as neither regarde God nor man) contrarie to right & reaſon, and beſide all our hope & expectation. And ſo is the matter come nowe to this paſſe, ẏ we haue not cauſe only to feare the loſſe of our gouernment, but leaſt the name of the whole Engliſh natiō be deſtroyed for euer. Therfore ſithence the enimies are at hād, and as it were ouer our heades, ye to whō my cōmandemēt hath euer bin had in good regard, prouide, take counſell, & ſee to ſuccor the ſtate of your cũtry now redy to decay & to fal into irrecouerable ruine. Hereupon they fel in cōſultation euery one, alledging and bringing forth his opinion as ſeemed to him beſt, but it appeared they hadde the Woolfe by the eare, for they wiſt not which way to turne them: If they ſhoulde gyue battayle it was to be doubted, leaſt through treaſon amōgſt themſelues, the armie ſhould be betrayed into the enimies hands, the which would not fayle to execute all kinde of crueltie in the ſlaughter of the whole nation. And if they dyd not ſtand valiantly to ſhewe themſelues ready to defende theyr countrey, there was no ſhifte but to yeeld themſelues, whiche though it were a thyng reprochfull and diſhonorable, yet ſhoulde it be leſſe euill as they tooke the matter, for thereby myght many bee preſerued from deathe, and in tyme to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrey againe when occaſion ſhoulde thereto be offered.

This poynt was allowed of them all, and ſo in the ende they reſted vpon that reſolution.

King Egelred determineth to giue place vnto Sweyne.

He ſendeth his wife and ſonnes ouer into Normandie.

Richard Duke of Normādie.

Sim. Dunel.

Hen. Hunt.

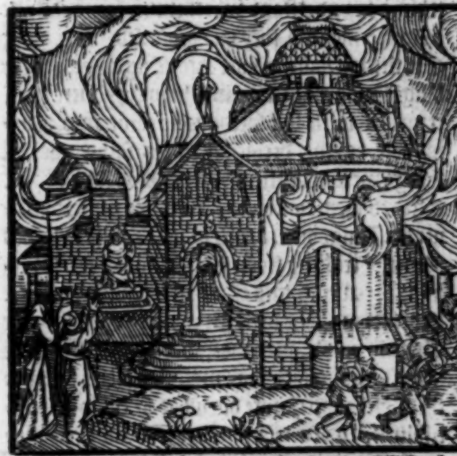
Turkill.

114

King Egelred paſſeth into Normandy.

Sweyne handleth the Engliſhmenne hardly.

Kyng Egelred therefore determined to committe hymſelfe into the hands of his brother in lawe Richarde Duke of Normandy, whoſe ſiſter (as ye haue hearde) he hadde married. But bycauſe he woulde not do this vnaduiſedly, firſte he ſent ouer hys Wife Queene Emme, with hys ſonnes which he hadde begotten of hir, Alfred and Edwarde, that by theyr entertaynemente hee might vnderſtande how hee ſhoulde be welcome. Duke Richarde receyued his ſiſter and hys Nephewes right ioyfully, and promiſed to ayde hys brother King Egelred in defence of his Kyngdome. But in this meane while had Sueyne cōquered the more part of al England, and brought (by little and little) that whiche remayned, vnder his ſubiection. The people through feare ſubmitting themſelues on each hand, King Egelred in this meane time, (for the Londoners had ſubmitted themſelues to Sweyne) was firſt withdrawē vnto Greenewiche, and there remayned for a tyme with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernemente of Earle Turkill, and from thence ſayled vnto the Iſle of Wight, and there remayned a great part of the Winter, and finally after Chriſtmas, ſayled hymſelfe into Normandy, and was of his brother in law ioyfully receyued, and greatly comforted in that hys tyme of neceſſitie. Sweyne hauing now gote the whole rule of the lande, was reputed for Kyng, and ſo commanded that his army ſhoulde be prouided of wages and victuals to bee taken vp and leuied through the Realme. In like manner Turkill cōmanded that to his army whych lodged at Greenewhich, ſhoulde wages and victuals be deliuered ſufficiente for the finding and ſuſtentation therof. Sweyne vſed the victory very cruelly againſt the Engliſhmen, oppreſſing them on each hand, to the intent that they being broughte lowe, he might gouerne in more ſuretie. The yere in which he obteined the rule thus of this Realm, and that Kyng Egelred was conſtreyned to flee into Normandy, was in the fiue and thirtith yere of the ſame Egelrede his raigne, and after the birth of our Lord. 114. Sweyne being once eſtabliſhed in the gouernemente, dyd not onely vſe much crueltie, in oppreſſing the laitie, but alſo he ſtretched forthe his hande to the Churche and to the Miniſters in the ſame, fleecing them and ſpoyling both Churches and Miniſters, without any remorce of conſcience, in ſo muche, that hauing a quarrell againſt the inhabitantes within the precinct of S. Edmonds land in Suffolke, he did not onely harry the countrey, but alſo ryfled and ſpoyled the Abbey of Bury, where the body of Saint Edmond reſted.



Fabian.

Saint Edmond fighteth for the wealth, but not for the ſlaughter of his people.

Simon Dun.

115

Albertus Crantz.

Saxo Grammaticus.

Whervpo ſhortly after as hee was at Gemeleſborough or Thetforde (as ſome haue) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good ſucceſſe in conquering of this lande, he was ſuddaynely ſtriken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouſly, for no man wiſt how or by whome: and within three dayes after, to wit, on the thirde of February, hee ended his life with greeuous payne and torment in yelling and roring, by reaſon of his extreme anguiſh beyonde all meaſure. There hathe ſprong a pleaſant tale amongſt the poſteritie of that age, how he ſhould be wounded with the ſame knife whiche King Edmonde in his life time vſed to weare. Thus haue ſome of our Writers reported, but the Daniſhe Chronicles recorde a farre more happy ende whiche ſhould chaunce vnto this Sueyno, than is before mentioned, out of our Writers: for the ſayde Chronicles reporte, yͭ after he had ſubdued England, he tooke order with King Egelred, whome they name amiſſe Adelſtane, that he ſhoulde not ordeine any other ſucceſſor, but onely the ſame Sueno. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vſing himſelfe like a righte godly

VVil. Mal.
Hen. Hunt.
Canute or Cnute.

Egelred ſent for home,

Edward King Egelredes eldeſt ſonne.

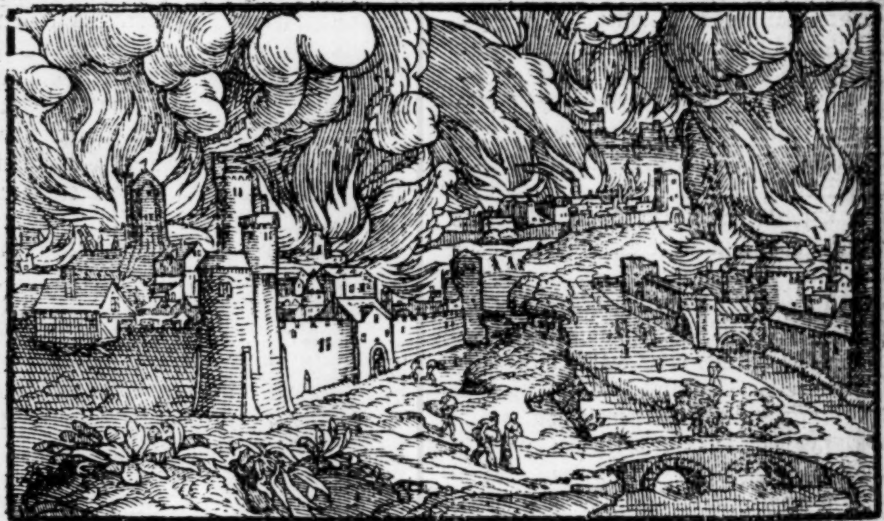
King Egelred returneth into England.

Coutes endeuor to eſtabliſh himſelfe in the Kingdome.

Prince, at length he there ended his life, beeing a very old man. But when, or how ſoeuer he dyed, immediately after his deceſſe, the Danes elected his ſon Cnute or Knought to ſucceede in his dominions. But the Engliſhmen of nothing more deſirous than to ſhake the yoke of the Daniſhe thraldome beſides their neckes and ſhoulders, ſtraight wayes vpon knowledge had of Sweynes deathe, with all ſpeede aduertiſed King Egelred thereof, and that they were ready to receiue and aſſiſt him if he woulde make haſt to come ouer to deliuer his countrey out of yͤ hands of ſtrāgers. Theſe newes were right ioyful vnto Egelred, who brenning in deſire to be reuenged on thē that had expulſed him out of his Kingdom, made no long tarriance to put that enterpriſe forward. But yet doubting yͤ incōſtancie of the people, ſent his elder ſon (named Edward) to trie the minds of them, & to vnderſtand whether they were cōſtant or wauering in yͭ they had promiſed. The yong Gentleman haſting ouer into Englande, & with diligēt enquirie perceyuing how they were bent, returned with like ſpeede as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in ſafetie if hee would make haſt. K. Egelred then conceiued an aſſured hope to recouer his Kingdome, ayded wᵗ his brother in lawes power, & truſting vpon yͤ aſſiſtance of the Engliſhmē, returned into England in yͤ time of Lēt. His returne was ioyfull & moſt acceptable to the Engliſh people, as to thoſe that abhorred the rule of yͤ Danes, which was moſt ſharp and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulneſſe and curteous dealings to haue reteyned thē vnder his obeiſance. And to yͤ intēt to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for yͤ adminiſtration in yͤ common wealth, he ſought firſt to appeaſe his wrath, & alſo to make amends to S. Edmond for his fathers offence committed (as was thought) againſt him: in ſo muche, yͭ after he had obteyned the Kingdome, he cauſed a great ditche to be caſt round about the land of S. Edmond, & graunted many freedomes to the inhabitants, and acquit them of certain taſkes and payments, vnto yͤ which other of their neighbors were contributaries. He alſo builded a Church in yͤ place wher S. Edmond was buried, & ordeined an houſe of Monkes there, or rather remoued the Canons or ſecular Prieſts that were there afore, and put Monkes in their roomes. He offered vppe alſo hys Crowne vnto the ſame S. Edmonde, & redeemed it again with a great ſumme of money, which maner of doing grewe into an vſe vnto other kings yͭ folowed him. He adorned yͤ Church there with many riche iewels, and endowed the Monaſterie with greate poſſeſſions. But theſe things were not done nowe at the firſte, but after that he was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome. For in the mean time, after that K. Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then ſoiourning at Gaynesbrough, remayned there till the feaſt of Eaſter, and made agreemente with them of Lindſey, ſo that they finding him horſes, they ſhould altogither goe forth to ſpoyle their neighbours. King Egelred aduertiſed thereof, ſpedde him thither with a mighty hoſt, and with greate cruelty brenned vp the Countrey, and ſlewe the more part of the inhabitantes, bicauſe they hadde

S. Edmonds ditche.

Polidor.
Fabian.



Cnute driuen to forſake the lande.
He was driuen thyther by force of contrary windes as ſhould appere by M.W.

takē part w his enimies. Cnute as the was not of power able to reſiſt Egelred, and therefore taking his Ships which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & ſailed about yͤ coaſt, til he came to Sādwich, and there ſore greeued in his mind to remēber what miſchiefe was fallen & chanced to hys friends & dwellers of Lindſey, only for his cauſe, he cōmanded yͭ ſuch pledges as had bin deliuered to his father by certaine noble men of this Realme, for aſſurance of theyr fidelities, ſhould haue their noſes ſlit, & their eares ſtoued, or as ſome write, their handes and theyr noſes cut off.

The crueltie of Cnute againſt the Engliſh pledges.
VVil. Mal.

When

This Turkill was reteyned in ſeruice with Egelred as I thinke.

When this cruell acte according to his commaundement was done, he taking the Sea, ſayled into Denmarke, but yet he toke not all the Danes with him whiche his father brought hither, for Earle Turkill perceyuing the welthineſſe of yͤ lande, compounded with the Engliſhmen, and choſe rather to remayne in a region repleniſhed with all riches, than to returne home into hys owne countrey that wanted ſuche commodities as were here to be had. And yet as ſome thought, hee did not forſake hys ſoueraigne Lorde Cnute for any euill meaning towardes him, but rather to ayde him when time ſerued, to recouer the poſſeſſion of Englãd againe, as it afterwardes wel appeared: for notwithſtanding that he was now reteyned by King Egelred with fortie ſhippes, and the floure of all the Danes that were menne of war, ſo as Cnute returned but with .60. Ships into his countrey, yet ſhortly after, Earle Turkill with nine of thoſe Ships ſailed into Denmarke, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Cnute, counſelled him to returne into Englande, and promiſed him the aſſiſtaunce of the reſidue of thoſe Daniſh Shippes whiche yet remayned in England, beeing to the number of thirtie, with all the Souldiers and mariners that to them belonged.

Encomium Emmæ.

To conclude, hee did ſo much by his earneſt perſwaſions, that Cnute (through ayde of his brother Harrold Kyng of Denmarke) gote togither a nauie of two hundred Shippes, ſo royally decked, furniſhed, and appoynted, both for braue ſhewe and neceſſary furniture of all manner of weapon, armour and munition, as it is ſtrange to conſider that whiche is written by them that liued in thoſe dayes, and tooke in hand to regiſter the doings of that time. But nowe to returne to our purpoſe, to ſhewe what chaunced in Englande after the departure of Cnute.

Math. VVeſt.

The ſame yeare vnto theſe accuſtomed miſchiefes an vnwonted miſaduenture happened, for the Sea roſe with ſuche high ſpring tydes, that ouerflowing the countreys nexte adioyning, diuers villages with the inhabitantes were drowned vp and deſtroyed.

Simon Dun.

Alſo to encreaſe the peoples miſerie, K. Egelred commaunded, that .xxx. thouſande. li. ſhuld be leuied to pay the tribute due to yͤ Danes which lay at Greenewiche.

VVil. Mal

Mat. VVeſ

A counſell at Oxforde

Sigeferd and Morcade murthered.

This yere alſo, King Egelred held a counſell at Oxforde, at the whiche, a great number of noble men were preſent, both Danes and Engliſhmen, and there did the King cauſe Sigeferd and Morcade two noble perſonages of the Danes to bee murthered within his owne chamber, by the trayterous practiſe of Edricke de Streyna, whiche accuſed them of ſome conſpiracie, but the quarrell was onely as men ſuppoſed, for that the King had a deſire to their goodes and poſſeſſions. Their ſeruauntes tooke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maſters, but were beaten backe, wherevppon, they fledde into the Steeple of S. Friſwydes Churche, and kepte the ſame, till fyre was ſet vpon the place, and ſo they were brenned to death. The wife of Sigeſferd was taken, and ſente to Malmeſbury, beeing a woman of hygh fame and greate worthineſſe, wherevppon the Kyngs eldeſt ſonne named Edmond, tooke occaſion vppon pretence of other buſineſſe to goe thyther, and there to ſee hir, with whome hee fell ſo farre in loue, that he tooke and married hir.

Edmond the Kings eldeſt ſonne marrieth the Widow of Sigeferd.

That done, hee required to haue hir huſbandes landes and poſſeſſions, whiche were an Earles lyuing, and lay in Northumberland, and when the K. refuſed to graunt his requeſt, he goeth thither, and ſeaſed the ſame poſſeſſions and landes into hys hands, without hauing any commiſſion ſo to do, finding the farmours and tenauntes there ready to receiue him for their Lord.

Cnute returneth into England.

While theſe things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouiſion of Ships and men, with all neceſſary furniture (as before yee haue hearde) for his returne into England, ſet forward with full purpoſe, eyther to recouer the Realme out of Egelredes handes, or to die in the quarrell.

Encomium Emmæ.

Heerevpon he landed at Sandwich, and firſte Earle Turkill obteyned licence to goe againſt the Engliſhmen that were aſſembled to reſiſt the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scoraſtan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, gote a great bootie, and returned therewith to the Ships. After this, Eric gouernor of Norway, made a roade likewiſe into another parte of the countrey, and with a rich ſpoyle, and many Priſoners, returned vnto the nauie.

VVil. Malm.
H. Huntin.
Math. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.

King Egelred
icke.
Mat. VVeſt.

After this iourney atchieued thus by Eric, Cnute commaunded that they ſhoulde not waſt the countrey any more, but gaue order to prepare all thyngs ready to beſiege London. But before hee attempted that enterpriſe, as other write, hee marched forth into Kent, or rather ſailing round about that countrey, toke his iourney Weſtward, and came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, waſted Dorſetſhire, Sommerſetſhire, and Wiltſhire. Kyng Egelrede in this meane time lay ſicke at Coſſam. His ſonne Edmond had gote togither a mighty hoſt, howbeit, ere hee came to ioyne battayle with his enimies, he was aduertiſed, that Earle Edricke wēt about to betray him, and therefore he withdrewe with the army into a place of ſurety. And Edricke to make his traiterous purpoſe manifeſt to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the Kings Shippes, fraughte with Daniſhe Souldiers. Herevpon, al the Weſt countrey ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto Cnute, who receyued pledges of the chiefe Lords and Nobles, and then ſet forward to ſubdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrey woulde not yeelde, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of King Egelred ſo long as they mighte haue any Captayne that would ſtand with them, and help to order them.

Edricke de Streona fled to the Danes.
Sim. Dun.
The Weſt countrey.
The people of Mercia will not yeelde.
Mat. VVeſt.
Hen. Hunt.

116

In the yere.116.in Chriſtmas, Cnute & Earle Edricke paſſed the Thames at Krikelade, and entring into Mercia, cruelly beganne with fire and ſword, to waſt and deſtroy the countrey, and namely Warwikeſhire.

Warwikeſhire waſted by Danes.

King Egelred recouered of his ſickneſſe.

He aſſembleth an army in vayne.

VVil. Mal.
Edmond king Egelredes ſonne.

In the meane time was King Egelred recouered of his ſickneſſe, and ſent ſommonance forth to rayſe all his power, appoynting euery man to reſort vnto him, that he mighte encounter the enimies and giue them battaile. But yet when his people were aſſembled, hee was warned to take heede to himſelfe, and in any wiſe to beware how he gaue battayle, for his owne ſubiects were purpoſed to betrary him. Herevpon, the armie brake vp, and King Egelrede withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within walles, with whome in the fielde hee doubteth to trie the battayle. His ſonne Edmond gote him to Vtred, an Earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and perſwading him to ioyne his forces with his, forthe they wente to waſt thoſe countreyes that were become ſubiect to Cnute, as Staffordſhire, Leceſterſhire, and Shropſhire, not ſparing to exerciſe great cruelty vpon the inhabitants, as a puniſhmēt for their reuolting, that other might take enſample thereof. But Cnute perceyuyng whereabout they went, politikely deuiſed to fruſtrate their purpoſe, and with doyng of like hurte in all places where he came, paſſed through Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and ſo through the Fennes, came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnſhire, and from thence into Notinghamſhire, and ſo into Yorkſhire, not ſparing to do what miſchiefe myght be deuiſed in all places where he came. Vthred aduertiſed hereof, was conſtreyned to departe home to ſaue his owne countrey from preſente deſtruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberlande, and perceyuing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the puiſſaunt force of his enimies, was conſtreyned to deliuer pledges, and ſubmit hymſelfe vnto Cnute: but yet was hee not heereby warranted from danger, for ſhortly after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did baniſhe out of the Realme, bycauſe that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all poynts, as Cnute himſelfe had.

Cnute, what countreys he paſſed through.

Earle Vthred deliuereth pledges to Cnute.

Alias Egricus.

After that Cnute had ſubdued the Northumbers, hee purſued Edmond till hee heard that hee had taken London for his refuge, and ſtayed there

Cnute prepareth to beſiege London.

King Egelred departed this life.

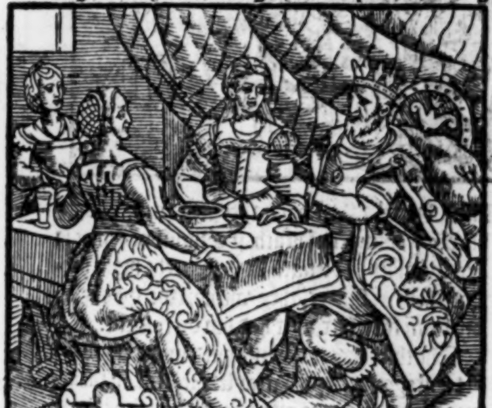
Simon Dun.

Mat. VVeſt.

He is buried in the Church of S. Paules in London.

The pride of K. Egelred alienated the harts of his people.

with his father. Then didde Cnute take his Shippes, and came about to the coaſt of Kente, preparing to beſiege the Citie of London: but in the meane time, King Egelred ſore woxe with long ſickneſſe, departed this life the .23. of April, being S. Georges daye, or as other haue, on S. Gregories day, being the twelfth of Marche, but I take this to be an error growen, by miſtaking the feaſt day of S. Gregory for S. George. Hee raigned the tearme of .37. yeres, or little leſſe. His body was buryed in the Churche of S. Paule, in the North Ile beſides the Choyre, as by a memoriall there in the wall it may appeare. He had two Wiues as before is mentioned; by Elgiua his firſt Wife, he had iſſue three ſonnes, Edmōd Edwine and Adelſtane, beſides one daughter named Edgina. By his ſecōd wife Emma, daughter to Richarde the firſte of that name, Duke of Normandy, and ſiſter to Richard the ſecond, he had two ſonnes, Alfride and Edward. This Egelred as you haue heard, had euill ſucceſſe in his warres againſt the Danes, and beſides the calamitie that fell thereof to his people, many other miſeries oppreſſed this lande in his dayes, not ſo much through his lacke of courage and ſlothfull negligēce, as by reaſō of his preſumptuous pride, wherby he alienated the hartes of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them withoute order of reaſon, for hee did not only diſinherite diuerſe of his owne Engliſh ſubiects without apparant cauſe of offence by plaine forged cauillatiōs, and alſo cauſed all the Danes to be murthered through his Realme in one day, by ſome lighte ſuſpition of their euill meanings, but alſo gaue himſelfe to lecherous luſt, in abuſing his body with naughty ſtrumpets, forſaking the bedde of his owne lawfull wife, to his greate infamie and ſhame of that high degree of Maieſtie, whiche by his Kingly office hee bare and ſuſteyned. To conclude: he was from his tender youth, more apt to idle reſt, than to the exerciſe of warres, more giuen to pleaſures of the body, than to any vertues of the minde, although that toward his latter ende, beeing growen into age, and taught by long experiēce of worldly affaires, and proofe of paſſed miſeries, hee ſoughte (though in vayne) to haue recouered the decayed ſtate of his common wealth and countrey.



Edmond ſurnamed Yronſide.

Edmōd Ironſide

The Kingdome goeth where the ſpiritualtie fauoureth.

AFter that Kyng Egelred was dead, his eldeſt ſonne Edmond ſurnamed Ironſide was proclaymed K. by the Lōdoners and others, hauing the aſſiſtance of ſome Lordes of the Realme, although the more parte, and ſpecially thoſe of the ſpiritualtie fauoured Cnute, bycauſe they had afore time ſworn fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his ſiege both by water & land very ſtrongly about the Citie of London before Egelred departed this life, and immediately vppon his deceſſe, was receyued into the Citie, but the army that was within the Citie, not conſenting vnto the ſurrender made by the Citizens, departed the night before the day on the whych Cnute by appoyntment ſhould enter, and in company of Edmonde Ironſide (whome they had choſen to be their King and gouernour) they prepared to increaſe their numbers with newe ſupplies, meaning eftſoones to trie the fortune of battell againſte the Daniſh power. Cnute perceyuing the moſt parte of all the Realme to bee thus againſt him, and hauing no great confidēce in the loyaltie of the Londoners, tooke order to leauie money for the paymente of his mennē of warre and Mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the Citie, and embarquing himſelfe, ſayled to the Iſle of Shepey, and there remayned all the Winter. In whiche meane while, Edmonde Ironſide came to London, where he was ioyfully receyued of the Citizens, and continuing there till the ſpring of the yere, made himſelfe ſtrong againſt the enimies.

The author of the Booke entituled Encomiū Emmæ ſaith, that it was reported that Edmond offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going frō the citie, but Cnute refuſed it.

1016

This Edmond for his noble courage, ſtrēgth of body, and notable patience to endure and ſuffer all ſuche hardneſſe and paynes as is requiſite in a man of warre, was ſurnamed Ironſide, and began his raigne in the yere of our Lord.1016. in the ſixteenth yeare of the Emperour Henry the ſecond ſurnamed Claudius, in the twentith yere of the raigne of Robert King of Fraunce, and about the ſixth yeare of Malcolme the ſeconde K. of the Scottes. After that Kyng Edmund hadde receyued the Crowne in the Citie of Londõ by yͤ hands of the Archb. of Yorke, he aſſembled togyther ſuch a power as he cold make, & with yͤ ſame marched forthe towardes the Weſt partes, and made the countrey ſubiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaymed and ordeyned K. at Southampton by the Biſhops and Abbots, and diuers Lordes alſo of the Temporaltie there togyther aſſembled, vnto whome he ſware to bee their good and faithfull ſoueraigne, and that hee would ſee Iuſtice truely and vprightly miniſtred. Then after hee had ended his buſineſſe at Southampton, hee drewe with his people towards London, and comming thither, beſieged the Citie both by water and lande, cauſing a great trenche to be caſt about it, ſo that no man might eyther get in or come forth. Many greate aſſaultes he cauſed to bee gyuen vnto the Citie, but the Londoners and others within ſo valiantly defended the walles and gates, that the enemies gote ſmall aduauntage, and at length were conſtreyned to depart with loſſe. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpoſe there, withdrewe Weſtward, and beſides Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, encountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after ſore and ſharp battayle, was put to the worſe, and conſtreyned to forſake the fielde by the high prowes and manhode of the ſayde Edmund. King Cnute yͤ ſame nighte, after the armies were ſeuered, departed towards Wincheſter, ſo to get himſelfe out of daunger. Shortly after, King Edmund hearing that an other army of the Danes had beſieged Saliſbury, he marched thither to ſuccour them within, and immediately Cnute followed him, ſo that at a place in Worceterſhire called Sceorſtan, on yͤ foure and twentith of Iune, they encountred togyther, and fought a right cruell battayle, which at length the nighte parted with equall fortune. And likewiſe on the next day they buckled togyther agayne, and fought with like ſucceſſe as they hadde done the day before, for towardes euening they gaue ouer well weried, and not knowyng to whome the victory ought to be aſcribed.

Ran. Higd.

Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

London beſieged.

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorſetſhire put to flight.

Polidor.

Saliſbury beſieged.

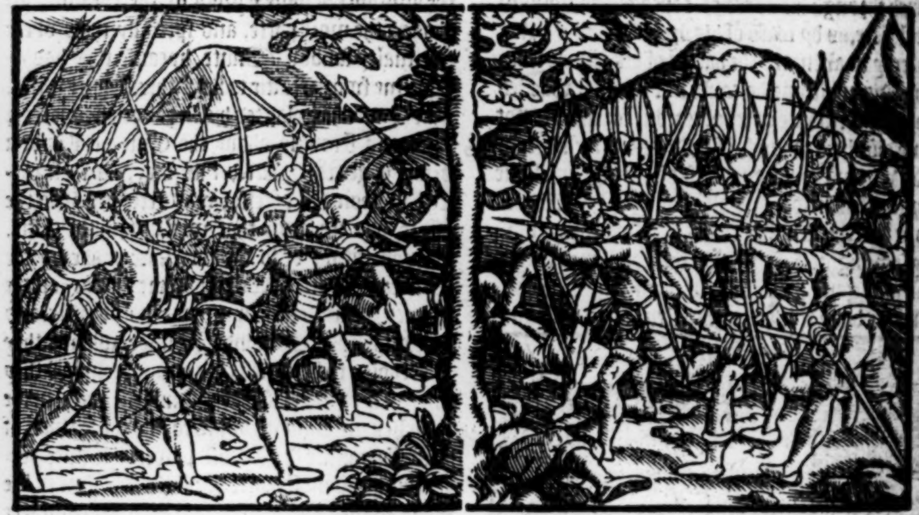
Simon Dun.

Mat. West.

Wil. Malm.

A battell with equall fortune.

An other battel with like ſucceſſe.



Writers haue reported, that this ſeconde daye when Duke Edricke perceyued the Engliſhmen to be at poynte to haue gote the vpper hande, hee withdrewe aſide, and hauing by chaunce ſlayne a common Souldioure called Oſmear, which in viſage muche reſembled King Edmunde, hee cut off his head, helde it vp, and ſhaking his ſworde bloudy with the ſlaughter, cried to the Engliſhmen, flee ye wretches, flee and get away, for your Kyng is dead, behold here his head which I hold in my hands. Heerewith had the Engliſhmenne fled immediately, if King Edmunde aduiſed of this ſtratageme, had not quickly gote him to an high ground wher his men might ſee him aliue & luſtie. Heerewith alſo yͤ traytor Edricke eſcaped hardly yͤ daunger of death, yͤ Engliſhmen ſhot ſo egrely at him. At length as is ſaid, the night parting them in ſunder, they withdrewe the one army from the other, as it had bin by conſent.

Edrick de Streona his treaſon.

Simon Dun.

The third day they remayned in armour, but yet abſteyning from battayle, ſate ſtill, in taking meate and drinke to releeue their weried bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcaſes that had beene ſlayne in the former fighte, the nũber of which on eyther partie reconed, roſe to the poynt of twentie thouſand and aboue.

Twentie thouſand dead bodies.

In the night following, Cnute remoueth his camp in ſecret wiſe, and marcheth towards London, which Citie in a manner remayned beſieged

The armies diſlodged.

The Danes ouercome at Brentford.
VVil. Malm.
H. Hunt.
Fabian.
Caxton.
Polider.
H. Hunt.
The Riuer of Medway.
King Edmūds diligence.
The battell is begunne.
The Danes put to flighte.

by the name of the Danes. King Edmond in the morning when the lighte had diſcouered the departure of his enimies, followed thē by the traſh, and comming to London with ſmall adoe, remoued the ſiege, and entred the Citie like a conquerour. Shortly after he foughte with yͤ Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrowe. In this meane while, Queene Emme the widow of King Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, ſent hir two ſonnes Alfred and Edwarde ouer into Normandy vnto hir brother Duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirſelfe with them (as ſome write.) Moreouer, Earle Edricke perceyuing the great manhode of K. Edmund, began to feare, leaſt in the ende he ſhoulde ſubdue and vanquiſhe the Danes, wherefore hee ſoughte meanes to conclude a peace, and take ſuche order with him as might ſtand with both their contentations, which ere long he brought about. And this was done as you ſhall heare by the conſente of Cnute (as ſome write) to the intente that Edricke being had in truſt with King Edmunde, mighte the more eaſily deuiſe wayes how to betray him. Cnute diſappoynted of his purpoſe at London, fetching a greate booty and pray out of the coūtreys next adioyning, repaired to his ſhips, to ſee what order was amongſt them, the whych a little before were withdrawen into the Riuer that paſſeth by Rocheſter called Medway. Heere Cnute remayned certayne dayes, both to aſſemble a greater power, and alſo to hearken & learne what his enimies meant to do, the which he eaſily vnderſtode. For K. Edmund who hated nothing worſe thā to linger his buſineſſe, aſſembled his people, and marching forwarde towarde hys enimies, approched neere vnto them, and pighte downe his tents not farre frō his enimies camp, exhorting his people to remember their paſſed victories, and to doe their good willes, at length by one battayle, ſo to ouerthrowe them, that they mighte make an ende of the warre, and diſpatche them cleerely out of the Realme. He ſo much encouraged his Souldiers with theſe and the lyke wordes, that they diſdeyning thus to haue the enimies dayly to prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with egre mindes and fierce courages offered battayle to the Danes, whiche Cnute had prepared to receyue whenſoeuer the Engliſhmē approched: and herewith bringing his men into aray, he came forth to meete his enimies. Then was the battaile begunne with great earneſtneſſe on both ſides, and continued foure houres, till at length the Danes beganne ſomewhat to ſhrinke, which when Cnute perceyued, hee commaunded his horſemen to come forward into the forepart of his hoſt. But whileſt one parte of the Danes giue backe with feare, and the other come ſlowly forwarde, the array of the whole army is broken, and then without reſpect of ſhame they fledde amayne, ſo that there dyed that daye of Cnutes ſide four thouſand and fiue hundred men, and of Kyng Edmunds ſide, not paſt ſixe hundred, and thoſe were footemen. This battell was foughte as ſhoulde appeare by dyuers writers, at Okefort or Oteforde. It was thought, that if king Edmund had purſued the victory and followed in chaſe of his enimies in ſuche wiſe as hee ſafely might haue done, hee had made that day an ende of the warres: but he was counſelled by Edricke as ſome write, in no condition to folow them, but to ſtay and gyue tyme to hys people to refreſhe theyr weery bodyes. And ſo Cnute with his army paſſed ouer the Thames into Eſſex, and there aſſembled all his power togither, and began to ſpoyle and waſt the countrey on eache hande. King Edmund aduertiſed thereof, haſted forthe to ſuccoure his people, and at Aſhdone in Eſſex three miles from Saffron Waldē gaue battayle to Cnute, where after ſore and cruell fight continued with greate ſlaughter on both ſides a long time, Duke Edricke fledde to the comforte of the Danes, and to the diſcomfort of the Engliſhmē: ſo that Kyng Edmunde was conſtreyned in the ende to depart out of the fielde, hauing firſte done all that could be wiſhed in a worthy Chieftayne, both by wordes to encourage his men, and by deedes to ſhewe them good example, ſo that at one time the Danes were at poynte to haue gyuen backe, but that Cnute aduiſed thereof, ruſhed into the left wing where moſt daunger was, and ſo relieued his people there, that finally the Engliſhmen, both awearied with long fight, and alſo diſcouraged with the running away of ſome of theyr company, were conſtreyned to giue ouer, and by flighte to ſeeke their ſafegarde, ſo that K. Edmund myght not by any meanes bring them agayne into order. Hereuppon all the wayes and paſſages beeyng forelayde and ſtopped by the enimies, the Engliſhmenne wanting bothe carriage to make longer reſiſtaunce, and perceyuing no hope to reſt in fleeing, were beaten downe and ſlayne in heapes, ſo that fewe eſcaped from that dreadfull and bloudy battayle.

The number of Danes ſlain.
Polider.
Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
H. Hunt.
VVil. Mal.
Edrickes counſell.

There dyed on Kyng Edmundes ſyde, Duke Edmund, Duke Alfricke, and Duke Godwin, with Earle Vlfekettell, or Vrchell of Eaſt Angle, and Duke Ayleward, that was ſonne to Ardelwine, late Duke of Eaſt Angle, and to bee briefe, all the floure of the Engliſhe nobilitie.

Noble men ſlayne at the battell of Aſhdone.
Sim. Dunel.
VVil. Mal.

There was alſo ſlayne at this battayle many renoumed perſons of the ſpiritualty, as yͤ Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and the Abbot of Ramſey, with other, Kyng Edmund eſcaping away, gote him into Gloceſterſhire, and there began to rayſe a new army.

King Edmund withdraweth into Gloceſterſhire, In the place where this field was fought, are yet ſeuen or eyght hilles, wherein the carcaſſes of them that were ſlayne at the ſame field, were buried, and one beeing digged downe of late, there were foũd two bodies in a coffin of ſtone, of whiche the one lay with his head towardes the others foote, and many chaynes of iron, like to the water chaynes of the bittes of Horſes were found in the ſame hill. But nowe to the matter, in the meane while that Edmonde was buſie to leauie a newe army in Glowceſt. and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got ſo gret a victory, receiued into his obeiſance, not only yͤ Citie of Londõ, but alſo many other Cities and townes of great name, & ſhortly after haſted forward to purſue his enimie K. Edmũd, who was ready with a mighty hoſte to trie the vttermoſt chaunce of battayle if they ſhoulde eftſoones ioyne.

Polidor.
Mat. VVeſt.

Herevpon, both the armies being ready to giue the onſet, the one in ſyghte of the other at a place called Dearehurſt, nere to the Riuer of Seuerne, by the drifte of Duke Elricke, who then at lẽgth, beganne to ſhewe ſome token of good meanyng, the two Kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as ſome haue written, without any more adoe.

Simon Dun.

Math. Weſt. ſayth this was Eadricke.

Other write, that when both the armies were at poynte to haue ioyned, one of the Captaynes, but whether he were a Dane or an Engliſhmã, it is not certaynely tolde, ſtood vp in ſuch a place, as he mighte be hearde of both the Princes, and boldly vttered hys wordes in forme followyng.

The ſaying of a Captayne.

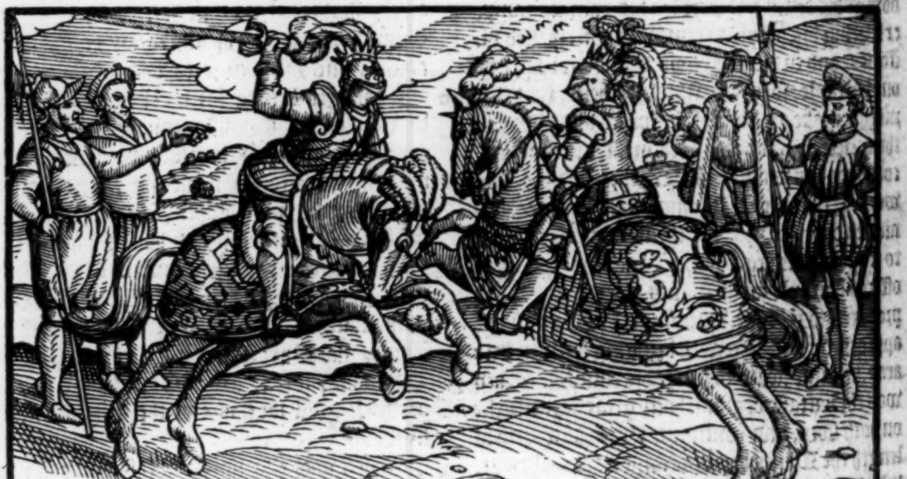
We haue moſt worthy Chieftaynes fought long ynoughe one againſte another, there hathe bene but too muche bloud ſhed betweene both the Nations, and the valiancie of the Souldioures on both ſides is ſufficiently ynough tried, & eyther of your manhoods lykewiſe, & yet cã you beare neyther good nor euill fortune, if the one of you win the battayle, he purſueth him yͭ is ouercome, and if hee chaunce to be vanquiſhed, hee reſteth not till he haue recouered newe ſtrengthe to fight eftſoones with him that is victor. What ſhoulde you meane by this youre inuincible courage? At what marke ſhooteth youre greedy deſire to beare rule, and youre exceſſiue thirſt to atteyne honor? if you fyghte for a Kyngdome, deuide it betweene you two, which ſometime was ſufficient for ſeauen Kyngs, but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the ſame are driuen to trie the hazarde, whether yee ſhall commaund or obey, deuiſe the way whereby ye maye without ſo greate ſlaughter, and withoute ſuche pitifull bloudſhed of both youre giltleſſe peoples, trie whether of you is moſt worthy to be preferred.

The two kings appoint to end the matter by a combate.
Olney.

Thus made hee an ende, and the two Princes allowed well of his laſt motion, and ſo order was taken, that they ſhould fighte togither in a ſingular combate within a little Ilande encloſed with the Riuer of Seuerne called Olney, with condition, that whether of them chaunced to be Victor, ſhould be King, and the other to reſigne hys title for euer into his hands.

Mat. VVeſt.

The two Princes entring into the place, appoynted in faire armoure, beginne the battaile in ſight of both their armies, raunged in goodly order on eyther ſide the Riuer, with doubtfull mindes, and nothing ioyfull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two Champions manfully aſſaile eyther other, without ſparing. Finally, they went to it on Horſebacke, and after on foote. Cnute was a man of a meane ſtature, but yet ſtrong and hardy, ſo that receyuing a great blowe by the hande of his aduerſary, whiche cauſed him ſomewhat to ſtagger, hee yet recouered himſelfe agayne, and boldly ſtepte forwarde to bee reuenged, but perceyuing hee coulde



Cnute of what ſtature he was

not

Knute ouermatched.

not find aduantage, and that he was rather to weake, and ſhrewdly ouermatched, he ſpake to Edmunde, with a lowde voyce on this wyſe:

Cnutes wordes to Edmũd.

What neceſſitie (ſayth he) ought thus to moue vs, moſt valiant prince, that for the atteyning of a kingdome, we ſhould thus put our lyues in danger, better were it that laying armoure and malice aſide, wee ſhoulde condeſcende to ſome reaſonable agreement: lette vs become ſworne brethren, and parte the kyngdome betwixt vs: And let vs deal ſo frendly, that thou mayeſt vſe my things as thyne owne, and I thyne as though they were myne.

H.Hunt.

King Edmunde with thoſe wordes of his aduerſarie was ſo pacified, that immediately he caſte awaye his ſworde, and comming to Cnute, ioyneth hands with him. Both the armies by their enſample did the lyke, which looked for the ſame fortune to fall to their countreys, whiche ſhoulde happen to their Princes by the ſucceſſe of that one battayle.

They take vp the matter betwixt themſelues.

After this there was an agreement deuiſed betwixt them, ſo that a partition of the realm was made, and that part that lieth forneanenſt Fraunce, was aſſigned to Edmunde, and the other fell to Cnute.

Wil.Malm.

Ther be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmunde for the auoyding of more bloudſhed, that the two Princes ſhould try the matter thus togither in a ſingular combate. But Cnute refuſed the combate, bicauſe (as he alledged) the matche was not equall. For although he was able to matche Edmund in boldneſſe of ſtomacke, yet was he far to weake to deale with a man of ſuche ſtrength as Edmunde was knowne to bee.

But ſith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good directe meanes, he thought it moſte conuenient, that the kingdom ſhould be deuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of bothe the Armies, ſo that Kyng Edmunde was of force conſtrayned to bee contented therewith. Thus oure common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I ſhould not be thought preſumptuous, in taking vppon mee to reproue, or rather but to myſtruſt that whiche hath bin receyued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credite vnto that whiche the authoure of the booke intituled by ſome *Encomium Emmæ*, dothe reporte in this behalfe. Whiche is, that thorough perſwaſion of Edrike de Streona, Kyng Edmunde immediatlye after the battayle fought at Aſhdonne, ſente Ambaſſadors vnto Cnute, to offer vnto hym peace, wyth halfe the Realme of Englande, that is to witte, the northe partes, wyth condition that King Edmunde myghte quyetly enioye the South parte, and thereuppon to haue pledges delyuered interchaungeably on eyther ſide.

Encomium. Emmæ.

Cnute hauing hearde the effecte of thys meſſage, ſtayed to make aunſwere tyll he had vnderſtode what hys counſell woulde aduyſe hym to doe in thys behalfe: and vppon good deliberation taken in the matter, conſidering that he had loſte no ſmall number of people in the former battayle, and that being farre out of his countrey, he coulde not well haue anye newe ſupplye, where the Engliſhemen although they hadde lykewyſe loſte very manye of their menne of warre, yet beeying in theyr owne countrey, it ſhoulde bee an eaſye matter for them to reſtore theyr decayed numbers, it was thought expedient by the whole conſente of all the Daniſhe Captaynes, that the offer of kyng Edmunde ſhoulde bee accepted. And hereupon Cnute calling the Ambaſſadours afore hym agayne, declared vnto them, that hee was contented to conclude a peace vppon ſuche conditions as they hadde offered: but yet with this addition, that their King whatſoeuer he ſhoulde bee, ſhoulde pay Cnutes ſouldiours their wages, with money to bee leuied of that parte of the Kingdome whiche the Engliſh king ſhoulde poſſeſſe. For this (ſayth he) I haue vndertaken to ſee them payde, and otherwyſe I wyll not graunte to any peace. The league and agreement therfore beyng concluded in this ſorte, pledges are deliuered and receyued on both partes, and the armies diſcharged. But God (ſayth myne Authour) being myndefull of his olde doctrine, That euery kingdome diuided in it ſelfe can not long ſtande, ſhortely after toke Edmunde oute of this lyfe: and by ſuche meanes ſeemed to take pitie of the Engliſhe kingdome, leaſt if bothe the kinges ſhoulde haue continued in life together, they ſhoulde haue liued in daunger. And incontinentely hereupon was Cnute choſen and receyued for abſolute King of all the whole Realme of Englande.

This hath he written that lyued in thoſe dayes, whoſe credite thereby is muche aduaunced. Howbeit the common reporte of writers touchyng the deathe of Edmunde dyffereth from this, who doe affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made frendes, the ſerpent of enuie and falſe conſpiracie, bred ſo in the heartes of ſome traiterous perſons, that within a whyle after king Edmund was ſlaine at Oxforde, as he ſatte on a priuie to doe the neceſſaries of Nature.

K·Edmunde traiterouſly ſlaine at Oxforde.

The common reporte hath gone, that Erle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous acte, and that (as ſome write) his ſonne did it.

Fabian.

Simon Dun.

But the ſame authour that wrote *Encomium Emmæ,* wryting of the death of Edmunde hath theſe words, (immediatly after hee hath firſte declared in what ſorte the two Princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But GOD (ſayeth he) beyng myndefull of his olde doctrine, That euery kingdome deuided in it ſelf can not long ſtand, ſhortly after tooke Edmunde out of this lyfe: and by ſuche meanes ſeemed to take pitie vpon the Engliſhe kingdome, leaſt if bothe the kings ſhoulde haue continued in lyfe togither, they ſhould bothe haue liued in great daunger, (and the Realme in trouble.

Wyth this agreeth alſo *Simon Dunelmenſis,* who ſayeth, that Kyng Edmunde dyed of naturall ſickeneſſe, by courſe of kynde at London, aboute the feaſt of Saincte Andrewe nexte enſuyng the late mencioned agreement.

Fabian.

And this ſhoulde ſeeme true: for whereas theſe Authours whiche reporte, that Earle Edryke was the procurer of his death, they alſo write, that when he knewe the acte to be done, hee haſted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto hym what he had brought to paſſe for his aduauncement to the gouernement of the whole realme.

Ran. Higd.

H. Hunt.

Wherevppon Cnute abhorryng ſuche a deteſtable facte, ſayde vnto hym: Bycauſe thou haſte for my ſake, made awaye the worthyeſt bodye of the world, I ſhall rayſe thy head aboue all the Lordes of Englande, and ſo cauſed him to be put to death. Thus haue ſome bookes.

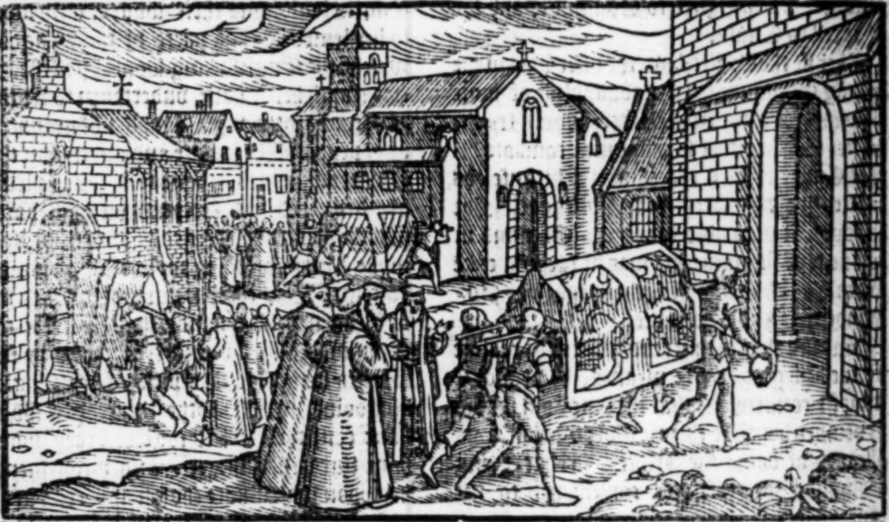
Howbeit this reporte agreeth not with other writers whiche declare howe Cnute aduaunced Edryke in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honour, and made hym gouernour of Mercia, and vſed his counſell in manye things after the death of king Edmund, as in baniſhing Edwin, the brother of kyng Edmunde, with his ſonnes alſo, Edmunde and Edward.

Some thinke that he was Duke of Mercia before and novv had Eſſex aſsigned thereto.

But for that there is ſuche diſcordaunce and variable reporte amongeſt wryters, touchyng the deathe of kyng Edmunde, and ſome Fables inuented thereof (as the maner is) we wyll lette the reſidue of theyr reportes paſſe: Sith certaine it is, that to his ende he came, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeare, and ſo muche more as is betweene the moneth of June, and the latter ende of Nouember.

Diuers and diſcordant reportes of Edmondes death.

Ran. Higd.
VVil. Mal.



His body was buryed at Glaſſenbury, neere his vncle king Edgar.

With thys Edmunde, ſurnamed Ironſyde, fell the glorious Maieſtie of the Engliſh kingdome: The whiche afterwarde as it had beene an aged bodye beyng ſore decayed and weakened by the Danes, that nowe got poſſeſſion of the whole, yet ſomewhat recouered after the ſpace of xxvj. yeres, vnder kyng Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor: and ſhortely therevpon as it had bin falne into a reſiluation, came to extreme ruine by the inuaſion and conqueſt of the Normans: as after by gods good helpe and fauorable aſſiſtance it ſhall appeare.

Canute or Cnute.

Canute, or Cnute, whom the engliſh Chronicles doe name Knought, after the deathe of Kyng Edmunde, tooke vpon hym the whole rule ouer all the realme of Englande in the yeare of our Lord. 1017. in the xviij. yeare of the emperor Henry the ſeconde, ſurnamed Claudus, in the

Cnute
knought
or Cnute

1017.

ge.xx. yeare of the reigne of Roberte king of France, and aboute the.vij. yeare of the reigne of Malcolme king of Scotlande.

Canute ſhortely after the death of king Edmunde, aſſembled a Councell at London, in the whiche he cauſed all the nobles of the realme to do vnto him homage, in receiuing an othe of loyall obeyſance. Hee deuided the realme into foure parts, aſſigning Northumberlande vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edrike, & Eaſtangle vnto Turkyl, reſeruing the weſt part to his own gouernance. He baniſhed (as before is ſayd) Edwyn, the brother of king Edmunde, but ſuch as was ſuſpected to bee culpable of Edmundes death, he cauſed to be put to execution, wherof it ſhould appeare, that Edricke was not then in any wyſe detected or once thought to bee giltie. The foreſayd Edwyn afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the Kings fauour (as ſome do write) and was ſhortly after trayterouſly ſlaine by his owne ſeruants. He was called the king of Churles. Other write, that he came ſecretely into the realme after he had bin baniſhed, and keeping himſelf cloſely out of ſighte, at length ended his lyfe, and was buried at Taueſtocke.

VV. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

King of Churles.

VVil. Mal.

Moreouer Edwyn and Edwarde the ſonnes of king Edmund were baniſhed the lande, and ſent firſt vnto Sweno king of Norway to haue bin made awaye: but Sweno vppon remorſe of conſcience ſent them into Hungarie, where they founde great fauour at the handes of king Salomon, in ſo muche that Edmunde married the daughter of the ſame Salomon, but had no iſſue by hir. Edward was aduaunced to marry with Agatha, the daughter of the Emperour Henrye, and by hir had iſſue two ſonnes, Edmunde and Edgar, ſurnamed Adelyng, & as many daughters, Margarete and Chriſtine, of the whiche in place conuenient more ſhall be ſayd.

Ran. Higd.

When Kyng Cnute hadde eſtabliſhed thynges, as hee thoughte, ſtoode moſte to his ſuretie, he called to remembrance, that he had no iſſue but two baſtarde ſonnes Harrolde and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwyne. Wherfore he ſent ouer vnto Richarde Duke of Normandie, requiring that he mighte haue Queene Emme, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, & ſo obteyned hir, not a little to the wonder of manye, which thought a great ouerſight both in the woman and in hir brother, that woulde ſatiſfye the requeſte of Cnute herein, conſidering hee hadde bin ſuch a mortall enimie to hir former huſband. But Duke Richarde did not only conſent, that hys ſayd ſiſter ſhould be maryed vnto Cnute, but alſo he hymſelfe tooke to wyfe the Lady Heſtritha, ſyſter to the ſayd Cnute.

Polidore.

K. Cnute marieth Queene Emme the vvidovv of Egelred, in Iuly, anno.1017.

Polidore.

Heere ye haue to vnderſtande, that this mariage was not made without greate conſideration and large couenants graunted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obtain queene Emme to his wife, it was fully condiſcended and agreed that after Cnutes deceaſſe, the crowne of Englande ſhould remaine vnto the iſſue borne of this mariage betwixte hir and Cnute, whiche couenant although it was not perfourmed immediatly after the deceaſſe of kyng Cnute, yet in the ende it tooke place, ſo as the right ſeemed to bee deferred, and not to be taken awaye nor aboliſhed: for immediatly vpon Haroldes death that had vſurped, Hardicnute ſucceeded as right heire to the crown, by force of the agreement made at the tyme of the mariage ſolemniſed betwixt his father and mother, and being once eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, hee ordeyned his brother Edwarde to ſuccede hym, whereby the Danes were vtterly excluded from all ryghte that they hadde to pretende vnto the Crowne of this land, and the Engliſhe bloud reſtored thereto, chiefly by that gracious concluſion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and Queene Emme: for the which no ſmall prayſe was thoughte to bee due vnto the ſayd Queene, ſith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir matche ſo beneficiall to hir ſelfe and hir lyne, the Crowne was thus recouered out of the handes of the Danes, and reſtored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatiſe whiche ſome haue intitled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in thoſe dayes it doth and may appere. Whiche booke although there bee but fewe Copies thereof abroade, gyueth vndoubtedly greate light to the hiſtorie of that tyme.

The couenan
made at the m
riage betvvixt
Cnute and
Emme.

The Engliſhe bloud reſtored.
The praiſe of Quene Emme for hir vviſedome.

Encomium Emmæ.

But nowe to our purpoſe. Cnute the ſame yeare in whiche he was thus maryed, throughe perſwaſion of his wyfe Queene Emme, ſent away the Daniſhe nauie & armie home into Denmark, giuing to them fourſcore and two thouſande poundes of ſiluer, whiche was leuied throughout this lande for their wages.

Mat. VVeſt.

In the yeare a thouſande and eighteene, Edrycke de Streona Erle of Mercia, was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called afore the King into his priuie chamber, and there in reaſoning the matter about ſome quarell that was piked to him, hee beganne very preſumptuouſly to vpbrayde the king of ſuche pleaſures as he had before tyme done vnto him: I did (ſayde he) for the loue which I bare towardes you, forſake my ſoueraigne Lorde king Edmunde, and at length for your ſake ſlewe him.

VVil. Mal.

At whiche wordes, Cnute beganne to chaunge countenaunce, as one merueylouſly abaſhed, and ſtreightwayes gaue ſentence againſt Edrike in this wiſe: Thou art worthy (ſaith he) of death, and dye thou ſhalte, whiche art giltie of treaſon both towardes God and me, ſith that thou haſt ſlayne thyne owne ſoueraigne Lorde, and my deare alyed brother. Thy bloud therfore be vpon thyne owne head, ſith thy toung hath vttered thy treaſon. And immediatly hee cauſed his throate to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber windowe into the riuer of Thames.

Edrike put to death.

This was the ende of Edryke, ſurnamed de Stratten, or Streona, a man of greate infamie for his craftie diſſimulation, falſhod and treaſon, vſed by him to the ouerthrowe of the Engliſhe aſtate, as partly before is touched.

Simon Dun.

Encomium Emmæ.

But ther be that concerning the cauſe of this Edriks death, ſeeme partly to diſagree from that whyche before is recited, declaryng that Cnute ſtanding in ſome doubt to be betrayed thorough the treaſon of Edricke, ſoughte occaſions howe to rydde him and other (whome hee lykewyſe myſtruſted) out of the waye. And therfore one daye when Edryke craued ſome preferremente at Cnutes handes, and alledged that he had deſerued to be wel thought of, ſith by his flight from the battaile at Aſhendone, the victorie therby inclined vnto Cnutes parte. Cnute hearing hym ſpeake theſe wordes, made this aunſwere: And canſt thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddeſt deceyue thy ſouerain Lorde and maiſter? but I will rewarde thee according to thy deſertes, ſo as from henceforth thou ſhalte not deceyue any other, and ſo forthwith cõmaunded Erick one of his chief captains to diſpatch him, who incõtinētly cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verily Simon Dunelmenſ. ſayth, kyng Cnute vnderſtanding in what ſorte both king Egelred, and his ſonne king Edmunde Ironſide had bin betrayed by the ſayde Edricke, he ſtoode in great doubt to be lykewyſe deceyued by him, and therfore was glad to haue ſome pretended quarrell, to diſpatche both hym and other, whome he lykewyſe myſtruſted, as it well appeared. For at the ſame tyme there were put to death with Edricke Earle Norman the ſonne of earle Leofwyn, and brother to Earle Leofryke: alſo Adelwarde the ſonne of Earle Agelmare and Brightricke the ſonne of Alfegus gouernour of Deuonſhire (without all guilt or cauſe as ſome wryte.) And in place of Norman his brother Leofryke was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour.

This Leofricke is cõmonly alſo by writers named Earle of Cheſter.

After this, likewiſe Cnute baniſhed Iric and Turkyll, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Norfolke and Suffolk, or Eaſtangle.

Then reſted the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, wherupon he ſtudied to preſerue the people in peace, and ordeyned lawes according to the whiche, bothe Danes and Engliſhmenne ſhoulde bee gouerned in equall ſtate and degree.

H. Hunt.

Lordes put to death.

Diuers greate lordes whome hee founde vnfaithfull or rather ſuſpected, he put to death, as before ye haue hearde) beſyde ſuche as he baniſhed out of the Realme. He rayſed a taxe or tribute of the people, amounting to the ſumme of fourſcore & two thouſand pound, beſide .xj.M. pound which the Londoners payde towards the maintenance of the Daniſh Armie

A taxe reyſed.

But wheras theſe things chaunced not all at one time, but in ſundry ſeaſons, we will retourne ſomwhat backe to declare what other exploites were atchieued in the meane time by Cnute, not onely in Englande, but alſo in Denmarke, and elſewhere.

Si. Dunelm.

1019.

King Cnute paſſeth into Denmarke.

In the thirde yeare of his reigne hee ſayled with an armie of Engliſhemen and Danes into Denmarke to ſubdue the Vandals there, whiche then ſore annoyed and warred agaynſt his ſubiectes of Denmarke.

Erle Goodwin his ſeruice in Denmarke.

Erle Goodwyn which had the ſouerain conduct of the Engliſhmen, the night before the day appoynted for the battayle gote him forthe of the campe with his people, & ſodeynly aſſaylyng the Vandals in their lodgings, eaſily diſtreſſed them ſleaing a great number of them, and chaſing the reſidue. In the morning early when Cnute herd that the Engliſhemen were gone forth of their lodgings, he ſuppoſed that they were eyther fled awaye, or elſe tourned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies camp he vnderſtode howe the matter wente, for hee founde nothyng there but bloud, deade bodyes, and the ſpoyle.

For thys good ſeruice, Cnute had the engliſh-

men

Cnute had the Engliſhmen in eſtimation for their good ſeruice.

men in more eſtimation euer after, and highly rewarded theyr leader the ſame Earle Godwin.

When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behouefull, he returned agayne into Englande. And within a fewe dayes after, hee was aduertiſed that the Swedeners made warre againſt his ſubiectes of Denmarke, vnder the leading of two greate Princes Vlfe

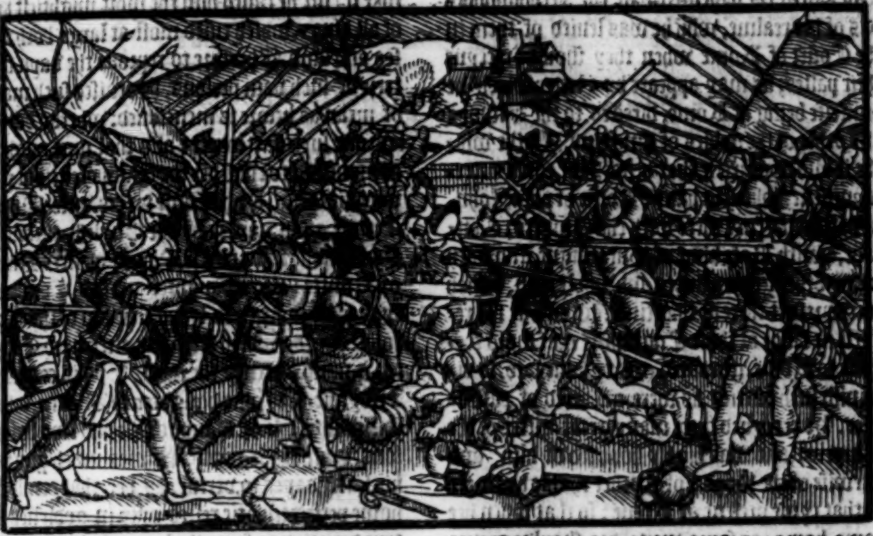
1028

and Eiliafe.

Cnute paſſeth againe into Denmarke.

Cnute therefore to defende his dominions in thoſe parties, paſſed agayne with an armie into Denmarke, encountred with his enimies, and receyued a greate ouerthrowe, loſing a greate number both of his Danes and Engliſhmen. But gathering togither a newe force of menne, he ſette agayne vpon his enimies, and ouercame

VV.Mal.



them, conſtrayning the two foreſayd Princes to agree vpon reaſonable conditions of peace.

Mat.VVeſt.

Mathewe Weſtm. recounteth, that at thys tyme Earle Goodwyn, and the Engliſhmenne wrought the enterpriſe aboue mentioned, of aſſaultyng the enimies campe in the night ſeaſon, after Cnute had fyrſte loſte in the daye before no ſmall number of his people. And that then the foreſayde princes or kyngs, as hee nameth them Vlfus and Aulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were conſtrayned to agree vpon a peace.

Albertus Crantz.

The Daniſh Chronicles alledge, that the occaſion of this warre roſe hereof: This Olauus ayded Cnute (as the ſame writers reporte) againſt kyng Edmunde and the Engliſhemenne. But when the peace ſhould be made betweene Cnute and Edmunde, there was no conſideration had of Olauus: where as throughe hym the Danes chiefly obteyned the victorie.

Herevpon Olauus was ſore offended in hys mynde againſte Cnute, and nowe vpon occaſion ſought to be reuenged. But what ſoeuer the cauſe was of this warre betwixte theſe two Princes, the ende was thus: That Olauus was expulſed out of his kingdom, and conſtrained to flee to Ger.thaſlaus, a duke in the parties of Eaſtlande.

And afterwarde retourning into Norwaye, was ſlayne by ſuche of his ſubiectes, as toke part with Cnute, in manner as in the hiſtorie of Norway, it appereth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writing of them which haue recorded the hiſtories of thoſe North regions.

Magnus Olauus.

But heere is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the Engliſh nation was greately aduaunced in theſe warres, as well againſte the Swedeners as the Norwegians: ſo that Cnute began to loue and truſt the Engliſhmen muche better than it was thought he woulde euer haue done.

Fabian.
Polyd.
H.Hunt.

Shortly after that Cnute was retourned into Englande, that is to wit (as ſome haue) in the .xv. yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to viſite the places where the Apoſtles Peter and Paule had their burial. He was honorably receyued of Pope Iohn the .xx. that then held the ſea. When he had done his deuotion there, hee retourned into Englande. In the yeare following, he made a iourney againſt the Scottes, whiche as then had rebelled. But by the princely power of Cnute, they were ſubdued and brought agayne to obedience: ſo that not onely king Malcolme, but alſo two other kinges Melbeath and Ieſhmare, became his ſubiectes. Finally after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of .xx. yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, hee died at Shafteſbury, as the engliſhe writers affirme, the .xij. daye of Nouember, and was buried at Winchester. But the Daniſh chronicles recorde, that he died in Normandie, and was buryed at Roan (as in the ſame Chronicles ye maye reade more at large.) This Cnute was the mightyeſt

Other ſay, that he vvente forth of Denmark to Rome.
Sim. Dunel.
An. 1031.

1032
VVil.Malm.
Mat.VVeſt.
1033.
Scots ſubdued.
H.Hunt.
Anno.1035.
VVil. Mal.

The death of king Cnute.

H.Hunt.
Al.Grantz.

The large dominion of king Cnute.

H. Hunt.

Albertus Crantz.

prince that euer reigned ouer the Engliſh people: for he had the ſoueraigne rule ouer al Denmark, Englande, Norway, Scotland, & part of Sweden. Amongſt other of his royall actes, he cauſed ſuche tolles and tallages as were demaunded of waygoers at bridges & ſtreetes in the high waye betwixte Englande and Rome to be diminiſhed to the halfes, and agayne got alſo a moderation to be had in the paymente of the Archbiſhoppes fees of his realme, whiche was leuied of them in the Court of Rome when they ſhoulde receyue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himſelfe being at Rome, directed to the Biſhops and other of the nobles of England. In the whiche it alſo appeareth, that beſides the royal entertaynment, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the Emperor Conrade, & with Rafe king of Burgongue, and with many other great princes and noble men, which were preſent there at that time. Which at his requeſt in fauor of thoſe Engliſhmē that ſhuld trauaile to Rome, graunted (as we haue ſaid) to diminiſh ſuch ducties as were gathered of paſſingers. He receyued there many great giftes of the Emperor, and was highly honored of him, and likewiſe of the Pope, & of al other the high princes at that tyme preſent at Rome: ſo that when hee came home (as ſome write) hee ſhoulde growe greatly into pride, inſomuche that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vppon the ſea ſtronde, neere to Southhampton, and perceyuyng the water to ryſe, by reaſon of the tyde, hee caſte off his gowne, and wrappyng it rounde togither, threwe it on the ſandes verye neere the increaſing water, and ſate him downe vpon it, ſpeaking this or the lyke wordes to the ſea. Thou art (ſayth he) within the compaſſe of my dominion, and the grounde whereon I ſitte is myne, and thou knoweſt that no wyght dare diſobey my cōmandements, I therfore do now commaund thee not to ryſe vpon my grounde, nor to preſume to wet any part of thy ſoueraine Lorde and gouernour. But the ſea keeping his courſe, roſe ſtill higher and higher, and ouerflowed not only the kings feete, but alſo flaſhed vp vnto his legs & knees. Wherwith the king ſtarte ſodenly vp, & withdrew from it, ſaying withal to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you cal me king, which can not ſomuch as ſtay by my cōmaundement this ſmal portion of water. But knowe ye for certaine, that there is no king but the father only of our Lord Jeſus Chriſte, with whome he reigneth, and at whoſe becke all things are gouerned, let vs therfore honour him, let vs confeſſe and profeſſe him to bee the ruler of heauen, earth, and ſea, and beſides him none other. From thence he went to Wincheſter and there with his own hands ſet his crown vpō the head of the image of the Crucifix, which ſtode there in the church of the Apoſtles Peter & Paul, and frō thēceforth he wold neuer weare yͤ crown nor any other. Some write, that he ſpake not the former words to yͤ ſea vpon any preſumptuouſnes of mynd, but only vpon occaſion of the vain title, which in his commendation one of his gētlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightly toke it) for he called him the moſt mightieſt king of all kings, which ruled moſt at large both ouer ſea and land. Therfore to reproue the vayn flatterie of ſuch vain perſons, he deuiſed ſuch maner of mean as before is mencioned: wherby both to reproue ſuch flatterers, & alſo that men might be admoniſhed to conſider the omnipotencie of yͤ almightie God. He had iſſue by his wife Queene Emme a ſon, named by the Engliſh chroniclers Hardiknought, but by yͤ Daniſh writers Knute, or Knutte: alſo a daughter named Gonilda, yͭ was after maryed to Henry the ſon of the emperor Conrade, which alſo was afterward Emperor, & named Henry the third. By his concubine Alwynne, that was daughter to Alſelme, whom ſome name erle of Hampton: he had two baſtard ſons, Harold & Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter dayes to vertue, as hee that conſidered howe perfect felicitie reſted only in godlynes and true deuotion to ſerue the heauenly king and gouernour of all things.

Grauntes made to the benefite of Engliſhmen at the inſtance of king Cnute.

Fabian.

Polidore.

Mat. VVeſt.

He cauſed his chaire to bee ſet there, as Math. VVeſt. hath.

Hen Hunt.

The ſaying of king Cnute.

Zealouſly ynough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

Hen. Hunt.

Polidor.

Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

Flatterie reproued.

Polidore.

Albertus Crantz.

Polidore.

Fabian.

He repared in his time many churches, abbeis, and houſes of religion, whyche by occaſion of warres had bin ſore defaced by him and by hys father, but ſpecially he did greate coſte vpon the Abbey of ſaint Edmund, in the town of Bury, as bifore partely is mēcioned. He buylt alſo two Abbeys from the foundation, as Sainct Benets in Norffolke, ſeuen myles diſtant from Norwyche, and an other in Norwaye. He did alſo buylde a Churche at Aſhdowne in Eſſex, where he obteyned the victorie of king Edmund, and was preſente at the hallowing or conſecration thereof with a greate multitude of the Lordes and nobles of the Realme, bothe Engliſhe and Danes. He alſo holpe with his owne handes to remoue the body of the holy Archbiſhop Elphegus, when the ſame was tranſlated from London to Canterbury. The royall and moſte riche iewels whiche he and his wyfe Queene Emme gaue vnto the Churche of Wincheſter, might make the beholders to wonder at ſuch their exceding and bountiful munificence.

VVhich is ſuppoſed to be Barclowe: for Aſhdon [illegible] is halfe a myle from thence.

1020.

Sim. Dunel.

Thus did Cnute ſtriue to reforme all ſuche thyngs whiche hee and his aunceſters had done amiſſe, and to wype awaye the ſpot of euill doing, as ſurely to the outward ſight of the world he did in deed. He had the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury Achelnotus in ſingular reputation, and vſed his Counſell in matters of importaunce.

Leofrike Earle of Cheſter.

He alſo fauoured highly Leofrike Earle of Cheſter, ſo that the ſame Leofryke bare great rule in ordering of things touching the ſtate of the Common wealth vnder hym as one of his chief counſellours.

King Cnutes lawes.

Diuers lawes and ſtatutes he made for the gouernment of the cōmon wealth, partly agreeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kinges that were his predeceſſors, and partely tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him moſt expedient: among the which there be diuers that concerne cauſes as wel eccleſiaſticall as temporall. Wherby as M. Fox hath noted, it may be gathered, that the gouernement of ſpirituall matters dyd depend then not vpon yͤ Biſhop of Rome, but rather appertayned vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall Prince, no leſſe than matters and cauſes temporall. But of theſe lawes and ſtatutes enacted by king Cnute ye maye reade more as ye finde them ſette forth in the before remembred booke of Maſter William Lambert, whiche for brieffneſſe we here omitte.

Harolde, the baſe ſonne of Coute.

Harold

Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Mal.

After that Cnute was departed this lyfe, there aroſe great variance amongſt the peeres and great Lordes of the realme about the ſucceſſion. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie had with the Danes, were become lyke vnto them) elected Harrolde the baſe ſonne of king Cnute, to ſucceede in his fathers rowme, hauing Earle Leofrike, and diuers other of the noble menne of the Northe partes on theyr ſide.

Controuerſie for the crovvn.

But other of the Engliſhmē, and namely Erle Goodwyn Erle of Kent, with the chiefeſt lordes of the weaſt partes, coueted rather to haue one of K. Egelreds ſons, which were in Normandie, or elſe Hardiknought the ſonne of kyng Cnute by his wife Quene Emme, which remained in Denmarke, aduaunced to the place.

Simon Dun.
The realm deuided betvvixt Harold and Hardiknought.

Thys controuerſie helde in ſuche wyſe, that the Realme was deuided (as ſome write) by lotte betwixte the two brethren, Harolde, and Hardicnute.

The north parte as Mercia and Northumberlande fell to Harrolde, and the ſouth part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harrolde, bycauſe his brother Hardicnute refuſed to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

The authoritie of Erle Goodvvyn.
H. Hunt.

But yet the authoritie of Earle Goodwyn who had the queene and the treaſure of the realm in his keeping, ſtayed the matter a certayn time, (hee profeſſing hymſelfe as it were Gardian to the yong men, the ſonnes of the Queene, tyll at length he was conſtrayned to gyue ouer hys holde, and conforme hym ſelfe to the ſtronger parte and greater number.) And ſo at Oxforde, where the aſſemble was holden aboute the election, Harrolde was proclaymed kyng, and ſacred accordyng to the manner (as ſome write) But it ſhoulde appeare by other, that the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye Elnothus, a manne endued with all vertue and wyſedome refuſed to crowne hym: For when kyng Harolde beeing elected of the nobles and peeres, requyred the ſayde Archebiſhoppe that he myght be of him ſacred, and receyue at hys handes the Regall Scepter wyth the Crowne, whyche the Archebiſhoppe hadde in hys cuſtodie, and to whome it onely did appertayne to inueſte hym therewyth, the Archebiſhop flatly refuſed, and wyth an othe proteſted, that he woulde not ſacre any other for Kynge, ſo long as the Queenes chyldren liued: For (sayth he) Cnute committed them to my truſte and aſſuraunce, and to them will I keepe my fayth and loyall obedience. The ſcepter and crowne I here lay downe vpon the aulter, and neyther doe I denye nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the Apoſtolyke authoritie all the Biſhoppes, that none of them preſume to take the ſame away, and delyuer them to you, or ſacre you for kyng. As for your ſelfe, if you dare, you maye vſurpe that whyche I haue committed vnto God and hys table.

The refuſall of the Archb. Elnothus to ſacre king Harolde.

But whether afterwardes the Kyng by one meane or other, cauſed the Archebyſhoppe to crowne hym Kyng, or that he was ſacred of ſome other, he was admitted for kyng of al the Engliſhe people, beginning hys reygne in the yeare of our Lorde a thouſande thirtie and ſixe, in the fourteenth yeare of the Emperour Conrade the ſeconde, in the ſixte yeare of Henrye the firſte, kyng of Fraunce, and aboute the ſeuen and twentie yere of Malcolme the ſeconde, king of Scotlande.

1036.

Thus Harold for his great ſwyftneſſe, was ſurnamed Harefoot, of whom little is written touchyng hys doyngs, ſauyng that he is noted

Harold vvhy he is ſurnamed Harefoote.

Harolde euill ſpoken of.

Ran. Higd ex Marione.

to haue ben an oppreſſour of his people, and ſpotted wyth manye notable vices. It was ſpoken of dyuers in thoſe dayes, that thys Harrolde was not the ſonne of Cnute, but of a ſhoemaker: and yͭ his ſuppoſed mother Elgiua, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, fayned that ſhe was with chyld: and about the time that ſhe ſhuld be brought to bed (as ſhe made hir accompt) cauſed the ſayd Shoemakers ſon to be ſecretly brought into hir chamber, and then vntruly cauſed it to be reported, that ſhe was deliuered, and the chylde ſo reputed to bee the kings ſonne.

Mat. Weſt.

Ra. Higd.

See M. Foxe Acts & Mon. Pag.112.

Si. Dunelm.

Immediatly vpon aduertiſement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the ſonne of king Egelred with fifty ſaile landed at Sandwich, meaning to chalenge the crowne, & to obteyn it by lawful claym with quietnes if he might, if not, then to vſe force by ayde of his frends, and to aſſay that way forth to winne it, if he mighte not otherwyſe obteyne it. From Sandwiche he came to Canterbury, and ſhortly after, Earle Godwyn feygnyng to receyue hym as a friend, came to meet hym, and at Gilford in the night ſeaſon, appoinied a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were a ſleepe, and ſo toke them together with Alured, & ſlewe the Normans by the poll, in ſuche wiſe that .ix. were ſlaine, and the .x. reſerued. But yet when thoſe that were reſerued ſeemed to him a greater number than he wiſhed to eſcape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alured had his eyes put out, and was conueyed to the Ile of Elye, where ſhortely after he died. How Alured ſhould clayme the crowne to himſelfe, I ſee not: for verily I can not be perſwaded that he was elder brother, although diuers authors haue ſo written, ſith that Gemeticenſis and the authour of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainly affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might bee, that Alured beeing a man of a ſtouter ſtomacke than his brother Edward, made this attempt, eyther for himſelf, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then abſent, and gone into Hungarie, as ſome write: but other ſaye, that as well Edwarde as Alured came ouer at this tyme with a number of Norman knights, & men of war embarqued in a few ſhippes onely to ſpeake with their mother, which as then laye at Wincheſter, whether to take aduiſe with hir howe to recouer their righte here in this lande, or to aduaunce their brother Hardicnute, or for ſome other purpoſe, our authors do not declare.

But the Lordes of the realme that bare their good willes vnto Harold, and (although contrarie to right) ment to mayntein him in the aſtate, ſeemed to be much offended wyth the comming of theſe two brethren in ſuche order: for Earle Godwin perſuaded them, yͭ it was great daunger to ſuffer ſo many ſtraungers to enter the realm, as they had brought with them.

Wherevpon Earle Godwyn with the aſſent of the other Lordes, or rather by commaundemente of Harolde, wente forthe, and at Gildforde met with Alured that was comming towardes Kyng Harrolde to ſpeake wyth hym, accordingly as he was of Harolde required to doe. But nowe being taken, and hys companie miſerably murthered (as before ye haue herd) to the number of ſix hundred Normans, Alured hymſelfe was ſente into the Iſle of Elye, there to remayn in the Abbey in cuſtodie of the Monkes, hauyng his eyes put out as ſoone as he entred firſte into the ſame Iſle. William Malmſburye ſayeth, that Alured came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixte the tyme of Haroldes death, and the comming in of Hardicnute: and other write, that this channced in hys brother Hardicnutes dayes, whiche ſeemeth not to bee true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue hys brethren by his mothers ſide to dearely, to haue ſuffred any ſuche iniurie to be wrought to eyther of them in hys tyme.

Thus ye ſee how writers diſſent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truthe touching the tyme, I haue thought good to ſhewe alſo what the author of the ſayd booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* writeth hereof, whiche is as followeth.

When Harolde was once eſtabliſhed kyng, he ſought meanes howe to rid Queene Emme out of the waye, and that ſecretely, for that openlye as yet he durſte not attempte any thing againſte hir. Shee in ſilence kepte hir ſelfe quiet, lokyng for the ende of theſe thyngs.

A counterfeit letter.

But Harrolde remembryng himſelf of a malicious purpoſe, by wicked aduiſe toke counſell howe hee might gette into his handes and make awaye the ſonnes of Queene Emme, ſo to bee out of daunger of all annoyance that by them myght be procured agaynſt him: and therefore hee cauſeth a Letter to bee written in name of their mother the ſayde Emme, whiche he ſente by certayne meſſengers ſuborned for the purpoſe into Normandie, where Edwarde and Alured as then remayned. The tenour of whiche letter here enſueth.

The tenour of the letter.

Emma tantùm nomine Regina filijs Edwardo & Alfrido materna impertit ſalutumina: Dum domini noſtri Regis obitum ſeparatim plangimus, (filij chariſſimi) dumq; diatim magis magisq; regno hæreditatis veſtræ priuamini; miror quod capetis conſilij, dum ſciatis intermiſſionis veſtræ dilatione inuaſoris veſtri imperij fieri quotidiè ſoliditatem. Is enim inceſſanter vicos & vrbes circuit,

& ſibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: ſed vnum è vobis ſuper ſe mallent regnare quàm iſtius (qui nunc eis imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus veſtrũ ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt ſalubre à me conſiliũ accipiat, & ſciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præſentem quoq; internuncium, quid ſuper his facturi eſtis remandate. Valete cordis mei viſcera.

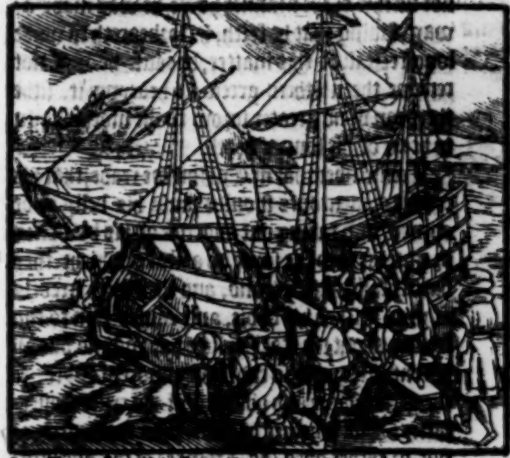
The ſame in effect in engliſhe is thus.

Emme in name onely Queene, to hir ſonnes Edwarde and Alfred, ſendeth motherly greeting: Whyleſt we ſeparately bewayle the death of our ſoueraigne Lorde the kyng (moſte deare ſonnes) and whyleſt you are euery daye more and more depriued from the kingdom of your inheritance, I meruaile what you doe determine, ſithe you knowe by the delaye of youre ceaſſyng to make ſome enterpriſe, the grounded force of the vſurper of your kingdome is daily made the ſtronger: for inceſſantly goeth he frõ town to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the Lordes his frends by rewardes, threattes, and prayers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kepte vnder the rule of this man that nowe gouerneth them. Wherfore my requeſt is, that one of you do come with ſpeed, and ẏ priuately ouer to me, that he maye vnderſtande my wholſome aduiſe, and know in what ſort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to goe forward, and ſee that your ſend me worde by this preſent meſſenger what you mean to do herein. Fare ye well, euen the bowels of my heart.

These Letters were deliuered vnto ſuche as were made priuie to the purpoſed treaſon, who beyng fully inſtructed howe to deale, wente ouer into Normandie, & preſentyng the Letters vnto the young Gentlemenne, vſed the matter ſo, that they toke it veryly that this meſſage had bene ſente from their mother, and wrote agayn by them that broughte the Letters, that one of them woulde not fayle but to come ouer vnto hir according to that ſhe had requeſted, and withal appointed the day and tyme.

The meſſengers returning to king Harolde, enformed him howe they hadde ſped.

The younger brother Alfrede, with his brothers conſente, toke wyth hym a certayne number of Gentlemen and men of warre, and firſt came into Flanders, where after he had remayned a whyle with Earle Baldwyne, he increaſed his retinue with a few Bolongners, and paſſed ouer into Englande, but approchyng to the ſhore, he was ſtreyghtwayes deſcried by his enimies, who haſted forth to ſette vpon him: but he perceyuing their purpoſe, commaunded ẏ ſhippes to caſte aboute, and to make agayne to the ſea: And after this landing at an other place, he mente to haue gone the nexte waye to his mother.



But Earle Goodwyn hearyng of his arriual, met him, receyued hym into his aſſurance, and byndyng his credite with a corporal othe became his manne, and therwith leading hym oute of the highe way that leadeth to London, he broughte him vnto Gildforde, where hee lodged all the ſtraungers, by a ſcore, a dozyn, and halfe a ſcore together in Innes, ſo as but a fewe remayned aboute the yong Gentleman Alured to attende vpon him.

Goodvvyn vvas ſuſpected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by vvriters is ſeemeth.

There was meate and drynke plentie prepared in euery lodgyng, for the refreſhing of all the companie. And Goodwyn takyng hys leaue for that nyght, departed to his lodgyng, promiſing the nexte morning to come agayne to giue his dutiefull attendaunce on Alured.

But beholde, after they had filled themſelues with meates and drinkes, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the nyght came ſuche as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euery Inne, firſt ſeyſed vppon the armour and weapons that belonged to the ſtraungers: Which the done, they toke them, and chayned them faſte with fetters and manacles, ſo keeping them ſure till the nexte morning. Which being come, they wer brought forthe with their handes bounde behynde their backes, and deliuered to moſt cruell tormentors, who were commaunded to ſpare none, but euery tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and ſo they ſlew nyne and left the tenth aliue. Of thoſe that were lefte alyue, ſome they kepte to ſerue as bondmen, other for couetouſneſſe of gayne they ſolde, and ſome they put in priſon, of whome yet diuers afterwardes eſcaped.

Not only Goodvvyn but other ſuche as king Harold apointed, toke Alvred vvith his Normans.

This with more hath the forſaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alured being conueyed into the yle of Ely, had not only his eyes put out in moſt cruell wyſe, but was alſo preſently there murthered. But hee ſpeaketh

r.v. not

not further of the manner howe he was made away, ſauing that he ſaith, he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, bycauſe he will not renewe the mothers greefe in hearyng it, ſithe there can be no greater ſorow to the mother than to heare of hir ſonnes death.

I remember that in Caxton we reade, that his cruell tormentours ſhoulde cauſe his belly to be opened, and taking out one ende of his bowelles or guttes, tyed the ſame to a ſtake whiche they had ſet faſt in the grounde, and then with needels of yron pricked his bodie, and cauſed him to runne rounde about the ſtake, tyll he had wounde out all his entrailes, and ſo ended his innocente lyfe, to the great ſhame and obloquie of his cruell aduerſaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather dyed (as I thinke) of the anguiſhe by putting out his eyes, no doubte but his death was reuenged by Gods hande in thoſe that procured it.

But whether Erle Goodwyn was chief cauſer thereof, in betraying him vnder a cloked colour of pretended frendſhippe, I can not ſaye: but that he tooke him and ſlew his companie, as ſome haue written, I can not thynke it to bee true, both as well for that whiche ye haue hearde recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, as alſo for that it ſhould ſeme he myght neuer be ſo directly charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuſe.

But nowe to retourne vnto other doings of king Harolde.

Simon Dun. Queene Emme baniſhed.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alured, his mother in law Queene Emme he ſpoiled of the moſte parte of hir riches, and therwith baniſhed hir out of the realme: ſo that ſhe ſayled ouer into Flaunders, where ſhe was honorably receyued of Earle Baldwyne, and hauyng of hym honourable prouiſion aſſigned hir, ſhe continued there for the ſpace of three yeeres, tyl that after the death of Harrolde, ſhe was ſent for by hir ſonne Hardiknought, that ſucceded Harrolde in the kingdome.

Polidor. Harold degenerateth from his father. *Hen. Hunt.* A nauie in a readineſſe.

Moreouer, Harrolde made ſmall accompte of his ſubiectes, degenerating from the noble vertues of hys father, folowing hym in few things, (except in exacting of tributes and paymentes.) He cauſed in deede .viij. markes of ſiluer to bee leuyed of euery porte or hauen in Englande, to the reteyning of .xvj. ſhippes furniſhed with men of warre, whyche continued euer in a readineſſe to defende the coaſtes from pyrates.

Euil men, the longer they liue, the more they growe into miſerie.

To conclude, with this Harrold, his ſpeedy death prouided well for his fame, bycauſe (as it was thought) if his lyfe had bene of long continuance, his infamie had bin the greater.

But after he had reigned foure yeres or (as Hariſon gathereth) .iij. yeres & .iij. monethes, he departed out of this worlde at Oxforde, and was buryed at Winchester (as ſome ſay:) other ſay he dyed at Meneforde in the moneth of Aprill, and was buryed at Weſtminſter, whiche ſhould appeare to be true by that whiche after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughtes cruell dealyng, and great ſpite ſhewed towarde his dead bodye, as after ſhall be ſpecified.

VV. Mal. *H. Hun.* *VV. Mal.*

Hardiknought, or Hardicnute,

Hardicnute.

After that Harrolde was dead, all the nobles of the realm, both Danes and Engliſhmen agreed to ſende for Hardiknoughte, the ſonne of Canute by his wyfe Queene Emme, and to make him kyng. Here is to be noted, that by the death of king Cnute, the ſtate of things was muche altered in thoſe countreys of beyonde the ſea where he had rule & dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the ſonne of Olavus, to be their king, and the Danes choſe this Hardiknought, whom their writers name Kanute the thirde, to their king and gouernor.

Alteration in the ſtate of things.

This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertiſed of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the Lordes of England had choſen him to their king, with all conuenient ſpeed, prepared a nauie, and imbarquing a certain number of men of warre, tooke the ſea, and had the wynde ſo fauourable to his purpoſe, that he arriued vpon the coaſt of Kent the .vj. day after he ſet out of Denmark, and ſo comming to London, was ioyfully receyued and proclaymed king, & crowned of Athelnotus the Archb. of Canterbury in the yere of our Lord. 1041. in the firſt yere of the Emperor Hẽry ỹ third, in the .ix. of Henry the firſt of that name king of Fraunce, and in the firſt yere of Magſinloch, *alias* Machabeda king of Scotlande. Incontinently after his eſtabliſhement in the rule of this realme, he ſent into Flaunders for his mother Queene Emme, who during the tyme of hir baniſhment, had remayned there. For Normandie in that ſeaſon was gouerned by the French king, by reaſon of the minoritie of Duke Williã, ſurnamed the baſtard.

Si. Dun. and M. VVeſt. ſay that he was at Bruges in Flaunders with his mother when he was thus ſent for, being come thither to viſite hir.

Queene Emme ſent for.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to Queene Emme by hir ſonne in lawe Harrolde, Kyng Hardiknoughte dydde cauſe

Alfrike

The bodie of king Harolde taken vp, and throvven into Thames.

Alfrike archbiſhop of Yorke and Erle Goodwin, with other noble men to go to Weſtminſter, and there to take vp the bodie of the ſame Harold and withall appoynted, that the head therof ſhould be ſtriken off, and the trunke of the body to be caſt into the riuer of Thames. Whiche afterwarde beyng found by Fiſhers, was taken vp and buried in the Churchyard of Saint Clements Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of thyngs to the handes of his mother Queene Emme, and of Goodwyn that was Erle of Kent. He leuied a ſore tribute of his ſubiectes heere in Englande to paye his ſouldiers and mariners of his nauie, as firſt .xxj. M. pound and .lxix. pound: and afterward vnto .xxxij. ſhippes, there was a payment made of eleuen thouſand and .xlviij. pound. To euery mariner of his nauie he cauſed a payment of .viij. markes to bee made, and to euerye maiſter .xij. markes. Aboute the payment of this money, great grudge grew amongſt the people, inſomuche as two of his ſeruants, whiche were appointed Collectors in the citie of Worceſter, the one named Feader, and the other Turſtane, were there ſlain. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrey with the Citie was brent, and the goodes of the Citizens put to the ſacke by ſuch power of Lords, and men of warre as the king ſent againſt them.

S. Clemens Danes.

A tribute reiſed.

H. Hunt.

Si. Dunelm.

VVil. Mal.

Mat. VVeſt.

Simon Dun.

Shortly after, Edward, king Hardiknoughts brother, came forth of Normandie to viſyte him and his mother Queene Emme, of whome he was moſte ioyfully and honorably welcomed and entertayned, and ſhortly after made returne backe againe. It ſhould appere by ſome writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remayned ſtill in the Realme, ſo that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardiknoughte dyed, but heere in Englande, although other make other reporte, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

Mat. VVeſt. Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Polyd.

Alſo (as before ye haue hearde) ſome writers ſeeme to mean, that the elder brother Alfrid came ouer at the ſame tyme.

But ſurely they are therein deceyued: for it was knowne well inough howe tenderly kyng Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers ſyde, ſo as there was not any of the Lordes in his dayes, that durſte attempte any ſuche iniurie agaynſte them. True it is, that as well Earle Goodwyn, as the biſhop of Worceſter, (that was alſo put in blame & ſuſpected for the apprehending and making away of Alured (as before ye haue heard,) were charged by Hardicnute, as culpable in that matter, inſomuch that the ſayd Biſhop was expulſed oute of his ſea by Hardiknought: And after twelue monthes ſpace was reſtored by meanes of ſuch ſummes of money, as he gaue by waye of amendes.

The biſhop of of VVorceſter accuſed for making avvaye of Alured.

Erle Goodvvin excuſeth ſelfe.

Earle Goodwyn was alſo put to his purgation, by taking an othe that hee was not giltie. Whiche othe was the better allowed, by reaſon of ſuche a preſent as he gaue to the king for the redeeming of his fauour and good will, that is to wit, a ſhippe with a ſterne of gold, conteyning therin .lxxx. ſouldiours, wearing on eche of their armes two braceletes of golde of .xvj. ounces wyght, a triple habergion gilte on their bodies, with guilt hargenets on their heads, a ſworde with gilt hiltes girded to their waſtes, a battaile Axe after the maner of the Danes, on their left ſhulder: a target with boſſe & nailes gilt in their left hande, a darte in their right hande: And thus to conclude, they were furniſhed at all peeces with armour and weapon accordingly.

The gift vvhi che Erle Go vvin gaue to the king.

Polidor.

It hath bin ſayd, that Erle Goodwyn intended to marrie his daughter to one of theſe brethren, and perceyuing that the elder brother Alfred would diſdayne to haue hir, thought good to diſpatche him, that the other taking hir to wyfe, might be the next heire to the Crowne, and ſo at length enioy it, as it afterwardes came to paſſe.

Alſo about that tyme, when the linage of the kings of Englande was in maner extincte, the Engliſhe people were muche carefull (as hath bene ſayde) aboute the ſucceſſion of thoſe that ſhoulde enioy the crowne.

Wherevpon as one Brightwold, a Monke of Glaſtenburye, that was afterwarde Biſhop of Wincheſter, (or as ſome haue written) of Worceſter, ſtudyed oftentymes theron: It chaunced that he dreamed one nyght as he ſlepte in bedde, that he ſawe Sainct Peter ſacre and annoynt Edwarde the ſonne of king Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of Englande. And as he thought, he dyd demaunde of Sainct Peter, who ſhoulde ſucceede the ſayde Edwarde? Wherevnto aunſwere was made by the Apoſtle, haue thou no care for ſuch matters: for the kingdome of Englande is Gods kingdome, which ſurely in good earneſt may appeare by many great argumentes to be full true vnto ſuche as ſhall well conſider the ſtate of this realme from time to tyme, howe there hath bin euer gouernoures rayſed vp to mayntayn the maieſtie of the Kingdome, and to reduce the ſame to the former dignitie, when by any infortunate miſhap, it hath bin brought in daunger.

But to returne now to Kyng Hardiknought, after that hee had reygned two yeares lacking tenne dayes, as hee ſatte at Table at a greate feaſt holden at Lambheth, he fell downe ſodenly with the pot in his hande, and ſo dyed, not without ſome ſuſpition of poyſon.

The death of K. Hardicnute.

Sim. Dunel.

Math. VVeſt.

1042.

Thys chaunced the .8. daye of June at Lambheth aforſaid, where the ſame daye a marriage was ſolemniſed betweene the lady Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Oſgote Clappa, and a Daniſhe lorde called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter beſides his fathers. He was of nature very curteous, gentle, and liberall, ſpecially in keeping good cheere in his houſe, ſo that he woulde haue his table couered foure tymes a day, furniſhed with great plentie of meats and drinks, wiſhing that his ſeruantes and all ſtraungers that came to his palaice, might rather leaue than want. It hath bin commonly told that Engliſhmen lerned of him their exceſſiue gourmandize and vnmeaſurable filling of their paunches wyth meates and drinks, whereby they forgate the vertuous vſe of ſobrietie, ſo muche neceſſarye to all eſtates and degrees, ſo profitable for all common wealths, and ſo commendable both in the ſight of God, and all good men. In this Hardiknought ceaſed the rule of the Danes within this lande, with the perſecution which they had executed againſt the Engliſh nation, for the ſpace of .250. yeres and more, that is to witte, euer ſith the .x. yeare of Brithrike the king of Weſtſaxons, at what time they firſt began to attempt to inuade the Engliſhe coaſtes.

K. Hardicanute his conditions. His liberalitie, in houſekeping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of vvhome the engliſhemen learned exceſſiue feeding.

The end of the Daniſh rulers.

Howbeit (after Hariſon) they ſhoulde ſeeme to haue ruled heere but .207. reckening from their brynging in by the Welchemen in deſpite of the Saxons, at which time they firſt begã to inhabit here, whiche was .835. of Chriſte: 387. after the comming of the Saxons, and .35. neere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

Edwarde.

Ed-ward.

H.Hunt.

Polidore.

IMmediatly vpon ẏ death of Hardiknought and before his corps was committed to buryall, his halfe brother Edwarde, ſonne of kyng Egelred begotten of Queene Emme, was choſen to be king of Englande, by the generall conſent of all the nobles and cõmons of the realme. Thervppon were Imbaſſadours ſente with all ſpeede into Normandie, to ſignifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into Englande, in delyuering pledges for more aſſuraunce, that no fraude nor deceipte was ment of the Engliſhmen. But that vpon his comming thyther, he ſhoulde receyue the Crowne without all contradiction. Edwarde then ayded by hys couſin William Duke of Normandie, toke the ſea, and with a ſmall companye of Normans came into Englande, where hee was receyued with greate ioye as king of the realme, and immediatly after was crowned at Wincheſter by Edſinus then archbiſhop of Canterbury, on Eaſter day in the yeare of our Lorde. 1043. whiche fell alſo about the fourth yeare of the Emperor Henrye the thirde, ſurnamed Niger, in the .xij. yeare of Henry the firſt of that name Kyng of Fraunce, and about the third yeare of Makbeth king of Scotland.

H.Hun. VV.il.Mal. The 3. of April. 1043.

This Edwarde the third of that name before the conqueſt, was of nature more meeke & ſimple than apte to the gouernement of the realme, and therfore did Erle Goodwyn not only ſeeke the deſtruction of his elder brother Alfred, but alſo holpe in that he mighte to aduaunce this Edwarde to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome hee knewe to be ſofte, gentle and eaſy to be perſuaded.

But whatſoeuer writers do report hereof, ſure it is, that Edwarde was the elder brother, and not Alured, ſo that if erle Goodwyn did ſhew his furtherance by his pretenced cloake of offring his frendſhip vnto Alured to betraye him, he did it by king Harolds cõmandement, and yet it may be that he ment to haue vſurped the crowne to him ſelf, if eche poynt had aunſwered his expectation in the ſequele of things as he hoped they would, and therfore had not paſſed if bothe the brethren had bin in heauen. But yet when the worlde framed contrary (peraduenture) to his purpoſe, he didde his beſt to aduaunce Edward, truſting to beare no ſmall rule vnder him, being knowne to be a man more appliable to be gouerned by other than to truſt to his owne wit, and ſo chiefly by the aſſiſtance of Erle Goodwyn: whoſe authoritie (as appeareth) was not ſmall within the Realme of Englande in thoſe dayes, Edwarde came to attayne the Crowne: whereunto the erle of Cheſter Leofryke alſo ſhewed all the furtherance that in him lay.

Some write (which ſemeth alſo to be confirmed by the Daniſh chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his lyfe tyme had receyued this Edwarde into his Courte, and reteyned him ſtill in the ſame in moſte honourable wyſe.

Ran. Higd. ex Marian. Albert. Crant.

But for that it maye appeare in the abſtracte of the Daniſhe Chronicles, what their writers hadde of this matter recorded, we doe here paſſe ouer, referring thoſe that be deſyrous to knowe the diuerſitie of oure wryters and theyrs, vnto the ſame Chronicles, where they may fynd it more at large expreſſed.

Thys in no wyſe is to be lefte vnremembred, that immediatly after the death of Hardiknought

it was

Polidore.
Danes expelled.

it was not only decreed and agreed vppon by the greate Lordes and nobles of the Realme, that no Dane from thenceforth ſhoulde reigne ouer them, but alſo all menne of warre and ſouldiours of the Danes whiche lay within any Citie or Caſtell in garriſon within the realme of Englande, were then expulſed and put out, or rather ſlayne (as the Daniſhe writers do rehearſe.

Sim. Dunel.
Gonild nece to king Svvayne.

Amongſt other that were baniſhed, the ladie Gonild nece to king Swayn by his ſiſter, was one, beeing as then a widdowe, and with hir two of hir ſonnes, whiche ſhe had then lyuing, Heming and Turkyll, were alſo cauſed to auoyde.

Polidore.

There be that write, that Alfred the brother of king Edwarde, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he didde helpe to expulſe the Danes, and that done, was ſlaine by Erle Godwin and other of his complices. But how this may ſtande, conſidering the circumſtāces of the tyme, with ſuche things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted.

K. Edvvarde marieth the daughter of erle Goodvvin

But whether Earle Godwyn was giltie to the death of Alfred, eyther at this time, or before, certayne it is, that he ſo cleered him ſelfe of that cryme vnto King Edwarde, the brother of Alfred, that there was none ſo highly in fauoure with hym as Earle Godwyn was, inſomuche that king Edwarde maryed the lady Eaditha, the daughter of erle Godwyn, begotten of his wyfe Thira, that was ſyſter to King Hardiknought, and not of his ſeconde wyfe, as ſome haue written.

Polidor.
K. Edvvarde abſteyneth frō the companie of his vvife.
K. Edvvarde dealeth ſtraytly vvith his mother Quene Emme.
Queene Emme diſpoiled of hir goodes.

But ſo it was, that King Edwarde neuer had to doe with hir in fleſhly wyſe. But whether he abſteined bicauſe he hadde haply vowed chaſtitie, eyther of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that hee bare to hir kinne, men doubted. For it hath bene thoughte, that he eſteemed not Earle Godwyn ſo greatly in his hearte, as he outwardely made ſhewe to doe, but rather for feare of his puiſſaunce, diſſembled with him, leaſt he ſhoulde otherwiſe put hym ſelfe in danger both of loſſe of life & kingdom. Howſoeuer it was, he vſed his counſel in ordering of things concerning the ſtate of the cōmon wealth, and namely in the harde handelyng of his mother Queene Emme, agaynſte whō diuers accuſatiōs were brought & alledged: as firſt for yͭ ſhe conſented to marrie with king Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme. Againe, that ſhe did nothing ayde or ſuccoure hir ſonnes whyle they liued in exile, and that worſe was, contriued to haue made them away. For which cauſe ſhe was diſpoyled of al hir goodes: And bicauſe ſhe was defamed to be naughtie of hir bodie with Alwyne or Aldwine biſhop of Wincheſter, both ſhe and the ſaint biſhop were cōmitted to priſon within the citie of Wincheſter, (as ſome write:) but other affirme, that ſhe was ſtraytly kepte in the Abbey of Warwell, tyl by way of purging hir ſelfe, after a maruellous manner, in paſſing barefooted ouer certaine hot ſhares of plough yrons, according to the lawe *Ordalium*, ſhe cleered hir ſelfe (as the worlde tooke it) and was reſtored to hir firſt aſtate and dignitie. Hir exceſſiue couetouſneſſe without regarde had to the poore, cauſed hir alſo to be euil reported of. And ageyne, for that ſhe euer ſhewed hir ſelfe to be more naturall to the iſſue whiche ſhe had by hir ſecond huſband Cnute, than to hir children which ſhe had by hir firſte huſbande kyng Egelred (as it were declaryng howe ſhe was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) ſhe loſte a greate peece of good will at the handes of hir ſonnes, Alfred & Edwarde: So that nowe the ſaid Edwarde enioying the realme, was eaſily enduced to think euill of hir, and therevppon vſed hir the more vncourteouſly. But hir greate liberalitie employed on the churche of Wincheſter, whiche ſhe furniſhed with maruelous rich iewels and ornamentes, wan hir great commendation in the worlde, and excuſed hir partly in the ſight of many, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all wayes and meanes ſhee coulde deuiſe. And after that ſhe had purged hir ſelf, as before is mēcioned, hir ſonne king Edwarde had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And wheras Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ben ſore againſt hir, he was ſore abaſhed of the matter that hee fledde into Normandye, where hee was borne.

She is accuſed of diſſolute liuing

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir ſelfe by the lavv Ordalium

VV. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

But it ſhoulde ſeeme by that whiche after ſhall be ſaid, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but for that he counſelled the king to baniſh Erle Godwyn, and alſo to vſe the Engliſhmen more ſtraitly thā reſon was he ſhuld.

Frenchmen or Normans firſte entered into Englande.

Ye muſt vnderſtande, that kyng Edwarde brought diuers Normās ouer with him, whiche in tyme of his baniſhment had ſhewed him great frendſhip, wherefore he nowe ſought to recompenſe them. Amongeſt other, this Robert was one, which before his comming ouer was a Monke in the abbey of Gemeticum in Normandie, & by the king was firſt aduanced to gouern yͤ ſea of London, & after was made archbiſhop of Cant. & bare great rule vnder yͤ king, ſo that he coulde not auoyde the enuie of diuers noble men, & ſpecially of erle Godwin as after ſhal appere. About yͤ third yere of K. Edwards reigne, Oſgod Clap was baniſhed

1046.

the Realme. And in the yeare folowyng, that is to witte, in the yeare. 1047. there fell a meruailous great ſnowe, couering the grounde fro the beginning of Januarie vntill the. xvij. daye of Marche. And beſides this, there hapned the ſame yeare ſuche tempeſte and lyghtenings, that the corne vpon the earth was brent vp and blaſted: by reaſon whereof, there folowed a great dearthe in England, and alſo death of men and cattell.

A great dearth.
Ran. Higd

About this time Swain the ſon of erle Goodwin was baniſhed the land, & fled into Flanders.

Svvayn Goodvvins ſonne baniſhed.
Edgina abbeſſe of Leoffe.

This Swayne kepte Edgina, the Abbeſſe of the Monaſterie of Leoffe, and forſaking his wife meante to haue marryed the foreſayde Abbeſſe. Within a certain tyme after his baniſhement, he returned into Englande, in hope to purchaſe the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his frendes. But vpon ſome malicious pretence, he ſlewe his couſin Erle Bearne, which was about to labour to the king for his pardone, and ſo then fledde againe into Flaunders, till at length Alred the Archbiſhop of Yorke obteyned his pardon, and founde meane to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

This Bearne vvas the ſon of Vlfus a Dane, vncle to thys Svvane by his mother, the ſiſter of Kyng Svvayne.

In the meane tyme about the. vj. yere of king Edwards reigne, certaine pirates of the Danes arriued in Sandwiche hauen, and entring the lande, waſted and ſpoyled all abont the coaſt.

H. Hunt.

There bee that write, that the Danes had at that tyme to their leaders two Capitaynes, the one named Lother, and the other Irlyng.

H. Hunt.
The Danes ſpoyle Sandvviche.

After they had ben at Sandwiche, and brought from thence great riches of golde and ſiluer, they coaſted about vnto the ſide of Eſſex, & there ſpoyling the countrey, went backe to the ſea, and ſayling into Flanders, made ſale of their ſpoyles & booties there, and ſo returned to their cou̇treys.

After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chaunced no warres, neyther forrayne nor ciuile, but that the ſame was eyther with ſmall ſlaughter luckily ended, or elſe without any notable aduenture, chaunged into peace.

The Welchemen in deede with theyr princes Ryſe and Griffyn wroughte ſome trouble, but ſtill they were ſubdued, and in the ende both the ſayd Ryſe and Griffyn were brought vnto confuſion: although in the meane tyme they didde muche hurte, and namely Griffyn, who wyth ayde of ſome Iriſhmen, with whome he was alyed, aboute this tyme entred into the Seuerne ſea, and toke prayes aboute the riuer of Wye: and after returned without any battaile to him offered.

Ryſe and Griffyn Princes of VVales.

Aboute the ſame tyme, to witte, in the yeare 1049. the Emperour Henry the third made warres againſt Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and for that he wiſhed to haue the ſea ſtopped, that the ſayde Earle ſhoulde not eſcape by flight that waye forth, he ſente to king Edwarde willing him to kepe the ſea with ſome number of ſhippes. King Edwarde furniſhyng a nauie, lay wyth the ſame at Sandwiche, and ſo kept the ſeas on that ſide, till the Emperoure had his will of the Earle.

1049.
Si. Dunelm.
Herma
Contra
Ia. Mey

At the ſame tyme Swayne, ſonne of Earle Goodwyn came into the realme, and traiterouſly ſlewe his couſin Bearne (as before is ſayd,) the whiche trauayled to agree him with the king.

Alſo Goſipat Clappe, who had lefte his wyfe at Bruges in Flaunders, comming amongeſt other of the Daniſhe pirates, whiche had robbed in the coaſtes of Kente and Eſſex, as before ye haue hearde, receyued hys wyfe, & departed backe into Denmark with ſix ſhips, leauyng the reſidue, being. xxiij. behynde him.

Simon Du

Aboute the tenthe yeare of king Edwardes reigne, Euſtace Erle of Bolongne, that was father vnto the valiaunt Godfreye of Bobillon and Baldwyn, both afterwarde kings of Hieruſalem, came ouer into Englande in the moneth of September, to viſite his brother in lawe Kyng Edwarde, whoſe ſiſter named Goda, he had maryed, ſhe then being the wydow of Gualter de Maunte. He founde the kyng at Glouceſter, and beyng there ioyfully receyued, after he had once diſpatched ſuche matters for the which hee chiefly came, he toke leaue, and retourned homewarde. But at Canterbury one of his herbingers dealyng roughly with one of the Citezens aboute a lodging, whiche he ſought to haue rather by force than by entreatance, occaſioned his owne death.

Fabian.
1051.
Mat. VVe
The earle of Flanders commeth into England.
Ra. Higd.
VV. Mal.
Goda ſiſter to K. Edvvard.
VVil. Mal.
Dover hath W.
VVeſtm.

Whereof when the earle was aduertiſed, hee haſted thither to reuenge the ſlaughter of his ſeruaunt, and ſlewe both that Citizen whiche had killed his man. and. xviij. others.

The Citizens herewith in a greate furie, gotte them to armour, and ſette vpon the earle and his meynie, of whome they ſlewe twentie perſons out of hande, and wounded a greate number of the reſidue, ſo that the erle vneth mighte eſcape with one or two of his men from the fraye, and with all ſpeede returned backe to the kyng, preſenting greeuous information againſte them of Cãterbury, for their cruel vſing of hym, not only in ſleayng of his ſeruauntes, but alſo in puttyng him in daunger of his lyfe.

A fray in Canterbury betvvixt the erle of Boloigne and the townes men.

The Kyng crediting the Earle was hyghely offended agaynſte the Citizens, and wyth all ſpeede ſendyng for Earle Goodwyn, declared vnto hym in greeuous wyſe, the rebellyous acte of them of Canterbury, whiche were vnder his iuriſdiction.

The Erle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke witte, dydde perceyue that the matter was made a greate deale worſe at the fyrſt

The erle complaineth to the king.

in the beginnyng, than of lykelyhoode it woulde proue in the end, thought it reaſon therefore that firſte the aunſwere of the Kentiſhemen ſhoulde be hearde before any ſentence were giuen againſt them. And herevpon although the king comanded hym forthwith to goe with an armie into Kent, and to puniſh them of Canterbury in moſt rigorous manner, yet he woulde not be to haſty, but refuſed to execute the Kinges commaundement, both for that hee bare a piece of grudge in his mynde, that the kyng ſhoulde fauour ſtraungers ſo hyghly as he did, And agayne, bycauſe hereby he ſhuld ſeme to do pleſure to his coūtreymen, in taking vppon hym to defende their cauſe againſte the rough accuſations of ſuche as had accuſed them. Wherfore he declared to the king that it ſhoulde bee conueniente to haue the ſuppoſed offendours fyrſte called afore hym, and if they were able to excuſe themſelues, then to bee ſuffered to departe without further vexation: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, bothe as well in ſatiſfying the King, whoſe peace they had broken, as alſo the Erle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Goodvvin offended vvith the kyng for fauouring ſtraungers.

Earle Goodwyn departed thus from the king, leauing him in a greate furie: howbeit hee paſſed little thereof, ſuppoſing it would not long continue. But the king called a greate aſſemble of his lordes, together at Gloceſter, that the matter might be more deepely conſidered. Sywarde Erle of Northumberland, and Leofryke Erle of Cheſter, with Rafe Erle of Hereford, the kings nephew by his ſiſter Goda, and al other the noble men of the realme, only Erle Goodwyn and his ſonnes, meant not to come there, excepte they myght bring with them a great power of armed men, and ſo remained at Beverſtane, with ſuch bandes as they had leuyed vnder a colour to reſiſt the Welchemen, whome they bruted abroade to bee readie to inuade the marches aboute Herforde.

A councell called at Glouceſter.

Syvvard Earle of Northūberland. Leofrike Erle of Cheſter. Rauſe erle of Hereford.

VVil. Mal.

But the Welchemen preuenting that ſlaunder, ſignified to the king that no ſuch matter was ment on their parties, but that Earle Goodwyn and his ſonnes with their complices, went about to moue a commotion againſt him. Herevpon a rumour was rayſed in the Courte that the kings power ſhoulde ſhortely marche forth to aſſayle Earle Goodwyn in that place where hee was lodged. Wherupon the ſame Erle prepared himſelfe, and ſent to his frendes, willing to ſticke to this quarrell, and if the king ſhould go about to force them, then to withſtande him, rather than to yelde and ſuffer themſelues to be troden vnder foote by ſtraungers.

Earle Goodvvyn meaneth to defend hym ſelfe againſt the king.

Goodwyn in this meane tyme had got together a greate power of his countreys of Kente, Southerie, and other of the weaſt parts. Swayn lykewiſe had aſſembled muche people out of his countrys of Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, Somerſetſhire, Herefordſhire, and Glouceſterſhyre. And Harrolde was alſo come to them wyth a greate multitude whiche hee had leuyed in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingdonſhire.

Svvayn.

Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
Sim. Dunel.

Harolde.

On the other parte the Erles that were with the king, Leofryke, Sywarde, and Rauſe, reyſed all the power whiche they might make, and the ſame approching to Gloceſter, the king thoughte him ſelfe in more ſuretie than before, in ſomuche that where as Earle Goodwin (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glouceſterſhire) had ſente vnto the king requiryng that the Earle of Bolongne with the other Frenchmen and alſo the Normans which helde the Caſtell of Douer, might bee deliuered vnto him,

Si. Dunelm.

The King althoughe at the firſte hee ſtoode in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that an army of his friendes was commyng, made anſwere to the meſſengers, which Goodwin had ſent, that hee woulde not deliuer a man of thoſe whome Goodwin required, and herewith the ſaid meſſengers being departed the kings army entred into Glouceſter and ſuch readie good willes appeared in them all to fight with the aduerſaries, that if the kyng woulde haue permitted, they woulde forthwith haue gone forth and gyuen battaile to the enimies. And thus the matter was at poynt to haue put the realme in hazarde not only of a field, but of vtter ruine that might therof haue enſued: for what on the one parte and the other, there were aſſembled the chiefeſt Lordes and moſt able perſonages of the lande. But by the wyſedome and good aduiſe of Earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a tyme, and order taken, that they ſhoulde come to a parliament or communication at London, vppon pledges giuen and receyued as well on the one parte as the other.

The king with a mightie armye of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and Earle Goodwyn with his ſonnes, and a greate power of the Weaſt Saxons, came into Southwarke, but perceyuing that many of his companie ſtale awaye and ſlipte from hym, he durſte not abyde any longer to enter talke with the Kyng, as it was couenaunted but in the nyghte nexte enſewing, fledde away with all ſpeede poſſible.

Some write, howe an order was preſcribed that Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Goodwyn ſhoulde departe the lande as a banyſhed manne to qualifye the Kynges wrathe, and that Goodwyn and one other of his ſonnes, that is to witte, Harrolde, ſhoulde come to an other aſſemble

VV. Mal.

Svvayn eldeſt ſonne to Goodvvin baniſhed.

aſſemble to bee holden at London, accompanyed with twelue ſeruauntes onely, and to reſygne all his force of Knights, Gentlemen and Souldiours vnto the Kings guyding and gouernement.

Earle Goodvvin fled the realme.

But when this laſt article pleaſed nothing erle Goodwyn, and that he perceyued howe his force beganne to decline, ſo as hee ſhoulde not be able to matche the kinges power, he fledde the realme, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes. He himſelfe with his ſonnes Swanus, Toſtie, and Gurth, ſayled into Flaunders: and Harrolde with his brother Leofwyn gat ſhippes at Briſtow and paſſed into Irelande. Githa the wyfe of Goodwyn, and Judith the wife of Toſtie, the daughter of Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders wente ouer alſo with their huſbands.

Goodvvin and his ſonnes proclaymed outlavves.

The king hauing perfect knowledge, that erle Goodwyn had refuſed to come to the Courte in ſuche order as he had preſcribed hym, and that he was departed the realm with his ſonnes: he proclaymed them outlawes, and gaue the landes of Harrolde vnto Algar, the ſonne of Erle Leofrik, who guyded the ſame right worthyly, and reſigned them agayne withoute grudging vnto the ſame Harrold when he was returned out of exile.

Alſo vnto Erle Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire.

Moreouer, about the ſame time yͤ king put his wife Queene Editha from him, and appoynted hir to ſtraight keeping in the Abbey of Warwel.

The Kyng
away his w
Queene Edi

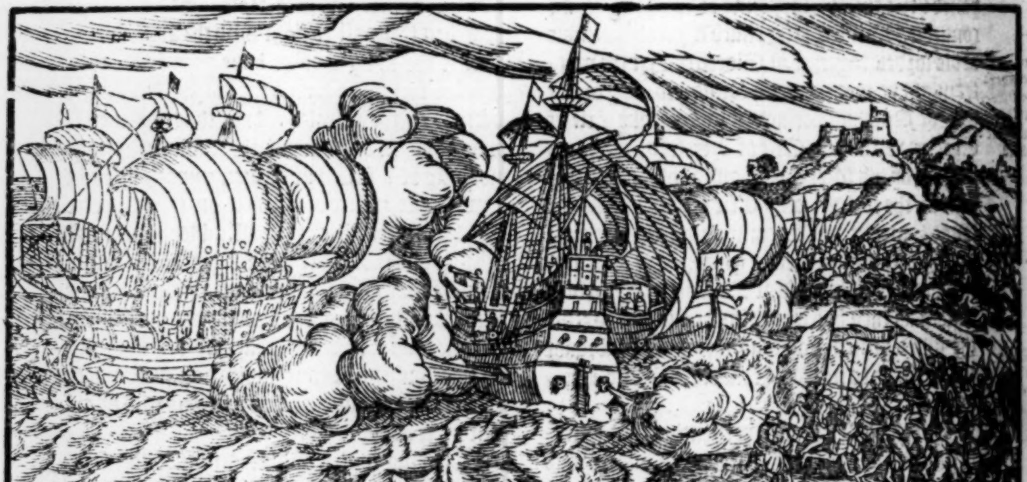
This Editha was a noble Gentlewoman, well learned, and experte in all the ſciences, yet hir good name was ſtayned ſomwhat, as though ſhee had not lyued ſo continently as was to be wiſhed, both in hir huſbands lyfe tyme, and after his deceaſe. But yet at the houre of hir deathe (whyche chaunced in the dayes of Wylliam Conquerour,) ſhee cleared hir ſelfe, in takyng it vpon the charge of hir ſoule, that ſhee hadde euer lyued in perfecte chaſtitie: For kyng Edwarde (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in any actuall manner.

By thys ſtraight dealyng with the Queene that was daughter to Earle Goodwyn, now in tyme of hir fathers exile, it hath ſeemed to many, that Kyng Edwarde forbare to deale with hir in carnall wyſe, more for hatred of hir kin, than for any other reſpecte. But to procede.

1052.

H. Hunt.

In the ſeconde yeare of Goodwyns baniſhmente, both he and his ſonnes hauyng prouyded them ſelues of ſhippes and menne of warre conueniente for the purpoſe, came vpon the coaſtes of Englande, and after the manner of Rouers, tooke prayes where as they eſpyed aduauntage, namely on the coaſtes of Kente and Suſſex.



Griſſin kyng of VVales deſtroveth Herefordſhire.

In the meane tyme alſo Griffyn the kyng of Wales, deſtroyed a great parte of Herfordſhire agaynſte whome the power of that countreye and alſo manye Normans that laye in garriſon wythin the Caſtell of Hereforde, commyng to gyue battayle, were ouerthrowne on the ſame daye, in the whyche aboute two and twentie yeares before (or as ſome Copies haue thirteene yeares) the Welchemen hadde ſlayne Edwyn, the brother of Earle Leofrike.

Harold inuadeth the ſhires of Dorſet and Somerſet.

Shortely after, Earle Harrolde and his brother Leofwyn retourning out of Ireland, entred into the Seuerne ſea, landing on the coaſtes of Somerſette and Dorſet ſhires, where fallyng to ſpoyle, they were encountred by a power aſſembled oute of the Counties of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire: but Harolde putte his aduerſaries to flight, and ſlewe thirtie Gentlemen of honoure, or Thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others.

Earle Harrolde then and his bretherne, returning with their pray and bootie to their ſhips, and coaſting about the poynte of Cornewalle, came and ioyned with their father and their other brethrē, as then ſoiourning in yͤ Iſle of Wight.

King Edward to withſtand their malice, had rigged and furniſhed forth ſixtie Ships of war, with the which he himſelfe went to the water, not ſticking to lie aborde at that ſeaſon, although he had appoynted for Captaynes and admirals two Earles that were his couſins, Odo and Rauſe, who had charge of the whole army. Rauſe was his nephew, as ſonne to his ſiſter Goda by hir firſt huſband Gualter de Maunte. But although they were knowen to bee ſufficiente men for the ordering of ſuch buſineſſe, yet he thought the neceſſitie to be ſuche, as his perſon coulde not be preſently ſpared. Therefore he was diligent in foreſeeyng of things by good aduice, although age woulde not giue him leaue to execute the ſame by hys owne hand, and force of body: but as the Nauies on both partes were ready to haue ioyned, they were ſeuered by reaſon of a thicke miſt that then roſe, whereby theyr furious rage was reſtrayned for that time: and immediately therevpon, Goodwin and his complices were forced by a contrary winde, to returne to the places from whence they came. And ſhortly after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and Earle Goodwine reſtored home, and obtained againe bothe yͤ kings fauour, and al his former liuings: for he was ſuch an eloquent wiſe man, that he cleared and purged himſelfe of all ſuch crimes and accuſations, as in any ſort had bin layde againſt him. Thus haue ſome written concerning this agrement betwixt King Edward and Earle Goodwin, where other make ſomwhat larger report therof, as thus. The ſame time that the two ſonnes of Earle Goodwin, Harrold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland and inuaded the Weſt countrey, King Edwarde rigged forthe fortie Shippes, the whyche throughly furniſhed with men, munition, & vittayles, he ſente vnto Sandwich, commaundyng the Captaynes there to awaite for the comming of Earle Goodwin, whome he vnderſtood to be in a readineſſe to returne into Englande: but notwithſtanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, Earle Goodwine ſecretly with a few Shippes whiche he had got togither, arriued in Kent, and ſending forth his letters and meſſengers abroade vnto the Citizens of Canterbury, to thē of Suſſex, Southrey, and others, required them of ayde, who with one conſente, promiſed to liue and die with him. The Captaines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertiſed hereof, made towardes the place where they thoughte to haue found Erle Goodwin: but he being warned of their comming, eſcaped by flight, and gote him out of their daunger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwiche, and after returned to London. Earle Goodwin aduertiſed thereof, ſayled to the Iſle of Wighte, and wafted vp and downe thoſe Seas, til his ſonnes Harrold and Leofwine came and ioyned their nauie with his, and ceaſſing from ſpoyle, only ſought to recouer vittailes to ſerue their turne. And increaſing their power by ſuche ayde as they might any where procure, at length they came vnto Sandwiche, whereof K. Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, hee ſente abroade to reyſe all the power hee mighte make, but they that were appoynted to come vnto him, lingered time, in whiche meane while, Earle Goodwin came into the Thames, & ſo vp the Riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the Croſſe in September, being Monday, and there ſtaying for the tide, ſolicited the Londoners, ſo as hee obteyned of them what hee coulde deſire, and afterwardes withoute diſturbance, with the tide paſſed vp the Riuer through the South arche of the Bridge, & at yͤ ſame inſtant, a mightye army whiche he had by land, muſtred in the fieldes on that South ſide the ſame Riuer, and herewith his nauie made towardes the Northe ſide of the Riuer, as if they ment to encloſe yͤ kings nauie, for yͤ K. had alſo a nauie and an army by land: but yet ſith ther were fewe either on the one part or the other, that were able to do any great feate except Engliſhmē, they were loth to fight one againſt another, whereupon, the wiſer ſort on both ſides ſought meanes to make an atonemente: ſo at length by their diligent trauel, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being diſmiſſed on both partes, Erle Goodwin was reſtored to his former dignitie. There were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to wit, Wilnotus one of his ſonnes, and Hacun the ſon of Suanus, that was the eldeſt ſon of Goodwin. Theſe two pledges were ſent vnto Williã Duke of Normandy, to bee kepte with hym for more aſſurance of Goodwines loyaltie. Some write, that Suanus yͤ eldeſt ſon of Goodwin was not reconciled to yͤ kings fauour at this time, but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a troth, yͭ after he had attēpted ſundry rebellions againſt K. Edward, he laſtly alſo rebelled againſt his father Goodwin, & his brother Harrold, & became a Pyrat, diſhonoring wͭ ſuch manifold robberies as he made on the Seas, yͤ noble progenie whereof he was diſcended. Finally, vpō remorſe of cōſciēce (as hath bin thought) for yͤ murthering of his couſin (or as ſome ſay his brother) Earle Biorne, he went on pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, & died by the way in returning homeward of cold which he caught (as ſome write) in Licia: but other affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saraſins, that were robbers by the high wayes, and ſo was murthered of them. The foreſayd William Duke of Normandy (that after conquered thys lande (during the time of Goodwines outlary,

im.Dunel.

It ſeemeth that Earle Goodwine was well friended.

Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.
VVil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.
VVil. Mal.

William Duke of Normandy commeth ouer into England

Williã Duke of Normandy commeth ouer into England.

came ouer into this lande with a faire retinue of men, and was ioyfully receyued of the King, and had great cheere: and after he had tarried a ſeaſon, he returned into his countrey, not without great giftes of iewels and other things, whiche the K. moſt liberally beſtowed vpon him. And as ſome write, the King promiſed hym at that tyme, to make hym his heire to the Realme of England, if he chaunced to die withoute iſſue.

Polidor.

King Edwards promiſe to duke William

Shortly after, or rather ſomewhat before, died Q. Emme the kings mother, and was buryed at Wincheſter. After that Earle Godwin was reſtored to the Kyngs fauoure, bycauſe hee knewe that Robert the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hadde bin the chiefe procurer of the Kings euill will towards him, he founde meanes to weare him out of credite, and diuers other ſpecially of the Normans, bearing the world in hande, that they had ſoughte to trouble the ſtate of the Realme, to ſet variance betwixte the King and the Lordes of the Engliſhe nation: whereas the Normans agayne alleaged, that Earle Godwin and hys ſonnes abuſed the Kings ſoft and gentle nature, and woulde not ſticke to ieſt and mocke at hys curteous and milde proceedings. But howſoeuer the matter wẽt, the Archbiſhop Robert was glad to depart out of the Realm, and going to Rome, made complaynte in the Court there, of the iniuries yͤ were offered him: but in returning through Normandy, he dyed in the Abbey of *Gemmeticum*, where he had bin Monke before his cõmyng into England. Dyuerſe other were compelled to forſake the Realme at the ſame time, both ſpiritual men and temporal, as William Biſhoppe of London, and Vlf Biſhop of Lincolne. Oſberne ſurnamed Pentecoſt, and his companyon Hugh, were conſtreyned to ſurrender their Caſtels, and by licence of Earle Leofrike withdrewe through his countrey into Scotlande, where of Kyng Mackbeth they were honorably receyued. Theſe were Normans: for as partly yee haue hearde, Kyng Edwarde broughte with him no ſmall number of that nation, when he came from thence to receyue the Crowne, and by them hee was altogither ruled to the greate offending of his own naturall ſubiects the Engliſhmẽ, namely Earle Goodwine and his ſonnes, who in thoſe dayes for their greate poſſeſſions and large reuenewes, were had in no ſmall reputation with the Engliſh people.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury baniſhed.

Normans baniſhed the Realme.

Stigand Archbiſhop of Cãterbury.

After that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Robert was departed the Realme, as before ye haue hearde, Stigand was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or rather thruſt him ſelfe into that dignitie, not being lawfully called, in like manner as he had done at Wincheſter: for where as he was firſt Biſhop of Shireborne, he left that Churche, and toke vpon him the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter by force, and nowe atteyning to be Archbyſhop of Cãterbury, he kept both Wincheſter and Canterbury in his hand at one inſtant. Thys Stigand was greatly infamed for his couetous practiſing in ſale of poſſeſſions apperteyning to yͤ Church. He was nothing learned, but that want was a common fault amongſt the Biſhops of yͤ age, for it was openly ſpoken in thoſe dayes, that he was meete onely to be a Biſhop which coulde vſe the pomp of the world, voluptuous pleaſures, rich rayment, and ſet himſelfe forthe with a iolly retinue of gentlemen and ſeruauntes on horſebacke, for therein ſtoode the countenance of a Biſhop as the worlde then framed, and not in ſtudy how to haue the people fed with the word of lyfe, to the ſauing of their ſoules. King Edward now in the twelfth yere of his raigne, hauing brought the ſtate of the Realme quite from troubles of warre both by Sea and land, he began to foreſee as well for the welth of his ſubiects, as for hymſelfe, being naturally enclined to wiſh well to all men. He therfore conſidered, how by the manifold lawes which had bin made by Britaynes, Engliſhmen and Danes within this lande, occaſion was miniſtred to manye, whiche meaſured all things by reſpect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iuſtice, and to vſe wrongful dealing in ſteede of righte, clouding the ſame vnder ſome braunche of lawe, naughtily miſconſtrued, whereupon to auoyde that miſchiefe, he piked out a ſumme of that huge and immeſurable maſſe and heape of lawes, ſuche as were thought moſt indifferent and neceſſary, and therewith ordeyned a fewe, and thoſe moſt wholeſome, to bee from thenceforth vſed, according to whoſe preſcript men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. Theſe lawes wer afterwards called the common lawes, and alſo Sainte Edwarde his lawes, ſo muche eſteemed of the Engliſhmen, that after the Conqueſt, when the Normans oftentimes wente about to abrogate the ſame, there chaunced no ſmall mutenies and rebellions for reteyning of thoſe lawes. But heere is to bee noted, that although they were called Saint Edwardes lawes, they were for the more part made by King Edgar, but now by K. Edwarde reſtored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

Ran. Higd.

Fabian.

Stigand infamed of Simony.

What maner of men meete to be Biſhops in thoſe dayes.

Polidor.

The lawes of Saint Edward inſtituted.

1053 or 1054

Hec. Boet.

Polidor.

VVil. Malm.

Math VVeſt.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

About this time, Erle Godwin died ſuddainly (as ſome haue recorded) as he ſate at table with the King: and vpon talke miniſtred of the deathe of Alfred the Kyngs brother, to excuſe himſelfe, he toke a peece of bread, and eate it, ſaying: God let mee neuer ſwallow this bread downe into my cheſt, but that I may preſently bee choked therewith, if euer I was weeting or conſenting vnto Alfredes deathe: and immediately therewith, hee fell downe ſtarke dead. Other ſay, that hee ended his

Simon Dun.
This is the likelieſt tale.

his life at Wincheſter, where beeing ſuddaynely ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe, as hee ſate at the Table with the King vpon an Eaſter Monday, he lyued yet till the Thurſday following, and then dyed. Hys Earledome was giuen vnto his ſonne Harrold, & Harrolds Erledome which was Oxford, was gyuen vnto Algar the ſon of Leofricke.

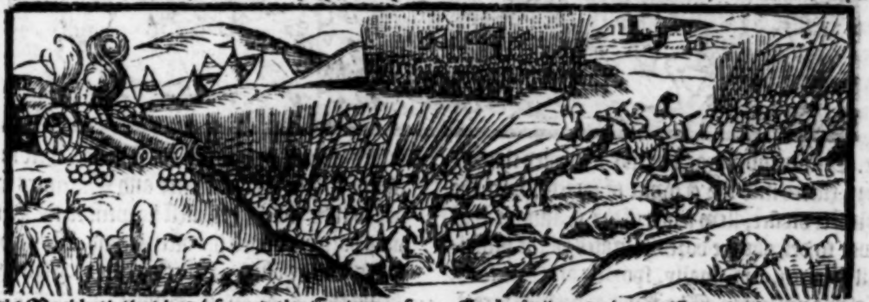
Hen. Hunt.
Polidor.
VVil. Malm.

This Goodwin, as hee was a man of greate power, wiſe, hardie, and politike, ſo was hee ambitious, deſirous to beare rule, and loth that any other perſon ſhould paſſe him in authoritie. But yet whether all be true that Writers report of his malitious practiſes to bring hymſelfe and hys ſonnes to the chiefe ſeate of gouernemente in the Kingdome, or that of hatred ſuch ſlaunders were reyſed of him, it may of ſome perhappes be doubted, bycauſe that in the dayes of King Edwarde (whiche was a ſoft and gentle Prince) hee bare greate rule and authoritie, and ſo mighte procure to himſelfe euill report for euery thing that chaunced amiſſe, as oftentimes it commeth to paſſe in ſuche caſes, where thoſe that haue greate doyngs in the gouernemente of the common wealthe, are commonly euill ſpoken of, and that now and thẽ without their gilt. But truth it is, that Goodwin beeing in authoritie both in the dayes of K. Edward and his predeceſſors, did many thyngs as ſhould appeare by Writers, more by will than by law, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes vpõ preſumption of the great puiſſance that they and their father were of within the Realme. Hee had to wife the ſiſter of K. Cnute, Editha, of whome hee begate three ſonnes (as ſome write) that is to ſaye, Harrolde, Biorne, and Toſtie: alſo his daughter Editha, the which he found meanes to beſtowe in marriage vpon King Edward as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one ſonne by Cnutes ſiſter, the whiche in riding of a rough horſe, was throwen into the Riuer of Thames, and ſo drowned. His mother alſo was ſtriken with a thunderbolte, and ſo periſhed worthely, as is reported for hir naughty doyings. She vſed to buy great numbers of yong perſons, and namely maides that were of any excellencie in beutie and perſonage, yͤ which ſhe ſent ouer into Denmarke, and there ſold them to hir moſt aduantage. After hir deceſſe (as the ſame authours record) Goodwin married another woman by whome he had iſſue ſixe ſonnes, Suanus or Swayne, Harrolde, Toſtie or Toſto, Wilnote, Gurth and Leofricke: of them mention is, and ſhall bee further made, as places conuenient ſhall ſerue thereto.

Mat. VVeſt.
1054
Hec. Boetiu

Sim. Dunel.
Mat. VVeſt.

About the thirtenth yeare of King Edwardes raigne (as ſome write,) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yere as ſhould appeare by the Scottiſhe Writers, Siward the noble Earle of Northumberlande with a great power of horſemenne went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vſurped the Crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme ſurnamed Camoir, the ſon of Duncane, ſometime King of Scotlande, in the gouernement of that Realme, who afterward ſlew the ſayd Macbeth, and then raigned in quiet. Some of our Engliſhe writers ſay, that this Malcolme was K. of Cũberlande, but other reporte him to be ſonne to the K. of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth raigned till the yere. 1061. and was then ſlayne by Malcolme, Earle Siwarde was not at that battaile, for as our writers do teſtifie, he died in the yere. 1055. whiche was in the yeare next after (as the ſame writers affirme) that hee vãquiſhed Mackbeth in fight, & ſlew many thouſands of Scottes, & all thoſe Normans which as ye haue heard, were withdrawẽ into Scotlande, when they were driuen out of England. It is recorded alſo, that in the foreſaid battayle, in which Earle Siwarde vanquiſhed the Scottes, one of Siwards ſonnes chaunced to be ſlayne, whereof, though the father had good cauſe to be ſorowfull, yet whẽ he heard that he dyed of a wound which hee had receyued in fighting ſtoutely in the forepart of his body, and that with his face towarde the enimie, hee greatly reioyced thereat, to heare that he died ſo manfully. But here is to be noted, yͭ not now, but a little before, (as Henry Hunt. ſaith,) yͭ Earle Siward, wente into Scotlande himſelfe in perſon, hee ſent his ſonne with an army to conquere yͤ land, whoſe hap was ther to be ſlaine: and when his father heard yͤ newes, he demaunded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in yͤ fore parte of the body, or in the hinder part: and when it was tolde him yͭ he receyued it in the foreparte, I reioyce (ſaith he) euen with all my harte, for I woulde not wiſhe eyther to my ſonne nor to my ſelfe, any other kind of death.



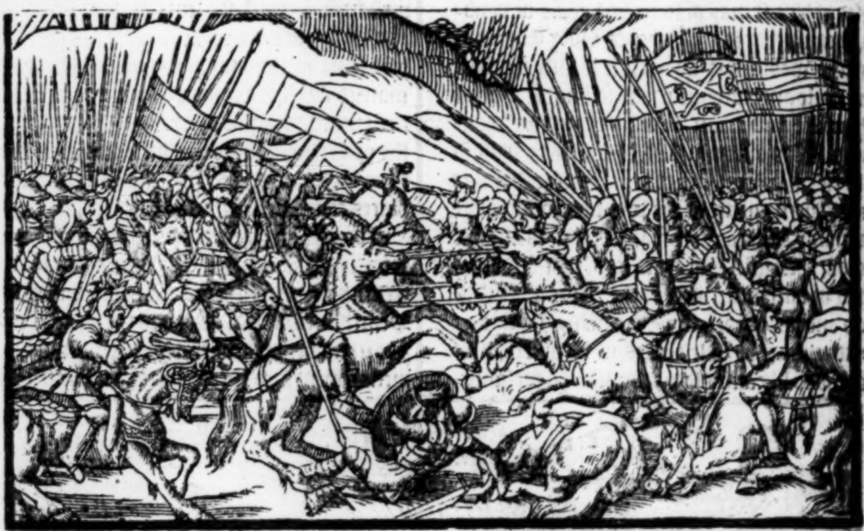
Mat. VVeſt. 1057

Shortly after, Aldred the Biſhop of Worceter was ſent vnto the Emperour Henry the third, to fetch Edwarde the ſonne of Edmunde Ironſide into England, whome King Edward was deſirous to ſee, meaning to ordeyne him heire apparant to the Crowne: but hee dyed the ſame yeare after he came into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlawe: his body was buried at Weſtminſter, or as an other ſayth in the Church of S. Paules in London. About the ſame tyme, King Edward by euill counſell, I wote not vpon what occaſion, but as it is thought without cauſe, baniſhed Algar the ſon of Earle Leofricke: wherevpon he gote him into Irelande, and there prouiding xviij. Ships of Rouers, returned, and landing in Wales, ioyned him ſelfe with Griffin the king, or Prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the bordures about Herefordе, of whiche place, Rauſe was then Erle, that was ſonne vnto Goda the ſiſter of King Edward by hir firſt huſbãde Gualter de Maunt. This Earle aſſembling an army, came forth to giue battayle to the enimies, appoynting the Engliſhmen contrary to theyr manner to fight on Horſebacke, but being ready (the two and twẽtith of October) to giue the onſet in a place not paſt two miles from Herefordе, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and ſo the reſt were diſcomfited, whome the aduerſaries purſued, and ſlew to the number of fiue hundred, beſide ſuche as were hurt and eſcaped with life.

Hen. Hunt. 1055

Mat. VVeſt. Sim. Dun.

The Welſhmen obteyne the victory againſt Engliſhmen and Normans.



Griffin and Algar hauing obteyned this victory, entred into the Towne of Hereford, ſet the Minſter on fire, ſlew ſeuen of the Cannons that ſtoode to defende the dores or gates of the principall Church, and finally, ſpoyled and brente the Towne miſerably. The King aduertiſed hereof, gathered an army, ouer the whiche, Harrolde the ſonne of Earle Goodwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, and ſtayed not, till hauing paſſed through Stradluyd, hee came to the Mountaynes of Snawdune, where hee pitched his fielde. The enimies durſt not abide hym, but gote them into Southwales, whereof Harrolde being aduertiſed, left the more parte of his army in Northwales to reſiſt the enimies there, and with the reſidue of his people he came backe vnto Herefordе, recouered the Towne, and cauſed a greate and mighty trench to be caſt round aboute it, with an high rampire, and fenſed it with gates and other fortificatiõs. After this, he did ſo much, that comming to a communication with Griffin & Algar at a place called Biligelhage, a peace was concluded, and ſo the nauie of Earle Algar ſayled about, and came to Cheſter, there to remaine till the men of warre and Marriners were payed their wages, whileſt he went to the Kyng, who both pardoned his offence, and reſtored hym to his Earledome. After this, the very ſame yere being the. 15. yeare of King Edwardes raigne, as ſome writers affirme, the noble Earle of Northumberlande Siwarde dyed of the flixe, of whome it is ſayde, that when hee perceyued the houre of death to be at hand, he cauſed himſelfe to be put in armour, and to be ſet vp in his chayre, affirming, that a Knighte and a man of honor, oughte to die in that ſorte, rather than lying on a couch like a feeble and faint harted creature: and ſitting ſo vprighte in his chaire armed, at all peeces, hee ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. He was a man of a Giantlike ſtature, and thereto of a righte ſtoute and hardy courage, bycauſe hys ſonne Walteif was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the Earledome was giuen vnto Earle Toſtie one of Godwines ſonnes.

Stradcluid. Snawdune.

The Citie of Hereford fortified by Harrold.

The deceſe of Siward Erle of Northumberlande.

Ran. Higd.

Shortly after, in the yeare. 1057. Aldred Biſhop of Worceter, was ſente ouer vnto the Emperoure Henry the third, to fetche Edwarde the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide into Englãd, whom King Edwarde was deſirous to ſee, meaning to ordeyne him heire apparante to the Crowne: but he died the ſame yere, after he was now returned into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlawe: his body was buryed at Weſtminſter, or as other ſay, in yͤ Church of Saint Paule within London.

Edward the outlaw departed this life.

1056

Leofricke Erle of Cheſter departed this life.

Ran. Higd.

Mat. VVeſt.

The ſame yeare, that is to witte, in the ſeuenteenth or in the ſixtenth yeare of King Edwards raigne (as ſome write) Leofricke the noble Earle of Cheſter, or Mercia, that was ſonne to Duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne Towne of Bromeley the laſt day of Auguſt, and was buried at Couentrie in the Abbey there which he had builded. This Earle Leofricke was a man of greate honor, wiſe and diſcret in all his doyngs. His high wiſedome and policie ſtoode the Realm in great ſteede whileſt he liued. He had a noble Lady to his wife, named Gudwina, at whoſe earneſt ſute he made the Citie of Couentrie free of all manner tolle, except for Horſes: and to haue that tolle layde downe, alſo, his foreſaide Wife rode naked through the middeſt of the Towne, without other couerture, ſaue only hir heare.

Couentrie made free of tolle and cuſtome.

Moreouer, partly moued by his owne deuotion, and partly by the perſwaſion of that noble Lady his wife, he builded or beneficially augmẽted and repared many Abbeyes and Churches, as the ſaide Abbey or Priory at Couentrie, the Abbeyes of Wenlocke, Worceter, Stone, Eueſhame, and Leof beſide Herford.

Alſo, he buylded two Churches within the Citie of Cheſter, the one called S. Iohns, and the other Saint Werbrough. The valew of yͤ iewels and ornaments which he beſtowed on the Abbey Church of Couentrie, was ineſtimable.

Churches in Cheſter built.

After Leofrickes death, his ſonne Algar was made Earle, and entituled in all his landes and Seigniories. In the yeare following, to witte, 1058. the ſame Algar was accuſed again (through malice of ſome enuious perſons) of treaſon, ſo that he was exiled the land, wherevpon, he repared agayne vnto his old friend Griffin Prince of Northwales, of whome hee was ioyfully receyued, and ſhortly after by his ayde, and alſo by the power of a nauie of Ships that by chaunce arriued in thoſe parties at that ſelfe ſeaſon vnlooked for out of Norway, the ſaid Algar recouered hys Earledome by force, as ſome haue written. King Edward about the twentith yere of his raine, as then remayning at Gloceſter, appoynted Earle Harrolde to inuade the Dominions of Griffin King of Wales. Harrold taking with him a power of Horſemen, made ſpeed, and came to Rutland, and there brenned Griffins Palace, and alſo his Shippes, and then about midlent returned againe into England.

H. Hunt.

Algar Earle of Cheſter exiled

Sim. Dunel.

1063

Sim. Dunel.

Math. VVeſt.

After this, about the Rogation weeke, Harrold eftſoones by the Kings commaundemente, wente againſt the Welchmen, and taking the Sea, ſayled by Briſtowe, round about the coaſt, compaſſing in maner al Wales. His brother Toſtie that was Earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an hoſt of Horſemen, and ſo ioyning togither, they deſtroyed the countrey of Wales in ſuche ſorte, that the Welchmen were compelled to ſubmit themſelues, to deliuer hoſtages, and conditioned to pay the auntient tribute which before time they had payd. And moreouer, they renounced their Prince the forenamed Griffin, ſo that he remayned as a baniſhed perſon: and finally, about the fifth day of Auguſt, they ſlewe him, and ſent his head to Earle Harrold. Afterwards King Edward graunted yͤ rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, and Rinall Griffins two brethren, whiche did homage vnto hym for the ſame, and hadde ſerued vnder Harrold againſt their brother the foreſaid Griffin. There be that write, that not onely Griffin, but alſo another of his brethrẽ alſo called Riſe, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes, and politike order of Earle Harrold, and all the ſauadge people of Wales, reduced into the forme of good order vnder the ſubiection of King Edwarde.

Wales deſtroyed and harried by the Engliſhm

The Welchmen agree to pay their accuſtomed tribute.

1064

VVil. Malm.

Sim. Dunel.

VVil. Malm.

Shortly after, Earle Harrolde chaunced to paſſe ouer into Normandy, whether of happe or of purpoſe it is harde to define, writers varry ſo much in report thereof. Some write, that he made earneſt ſuite to King Edward, to haue licence to goe ouer to ſee his brother Wilnote, and his nephewe Hacun, which as yee haue heard, were deliuered as pledges to Kyng Edwarde, and ſente into Normandy to remayne there with Duke William, and at length with muche adoe, gotte leaue: but yet he was told aforehand of the King: that he would repẽt his iourney, and do the thing that ſhould be preiudiciall to the Realme.

Harrold goeth ouer into Normandy.

Polidor.

Edmerus.

Other write, that Harrold lying at his manor of Boſeham, went aboord one day into his fiſhers boate or Crayer, and cauſed the ſame to launche forth to the Sea for his pleaſure: but by miſfortune at the ſame time, a contrary winde ſuddainly came about, and droue the veſſell a lande into Fraunce vppon the coaſt of Ponthieu, where hee was taken by the countrey people, and preſented to the Earle of Ponthieu named Guy or Guido, who kept him as a priſoner, meaning to put him to a greeuous raunſome. But Harrold remembring himſelfe of a wile, diſpatched a meſſenger forthe with all ſpeede vnto William Duke of Normandy, ſignifying vnto him, that he beeyng ſente from Kyng Edwarde to confirme ſuche Articles as other meane men that had bin ſente to him afore hadde talked of, by chaunce hee was fallen into the handes of the Earle

Mat. VVeſt.

VVil. Malm.

of Ponthieu, and kepte as priſoner againſt all order of law, reaſon, or humanitie. Duke William thus enformed by the meſſenger, ſent to the Erle of Ponthieu, requiring hym to ſet Earle Harrold at libertie, that he might repare to him according to his commiſſiō. The Earle of Ponthieu at the Dukes requeſt, did not onely reſtore Harrolde to libertie, but alſo broughte hym into Normandy, and preſented him there to the Duke, of whome he was moſt ioyfully receyued.

Harold is preſented to Duke William Duke of Normandy.

Hen. Hunt.

There be that agree partly with this reporte, and partly vary: for they write, that Earle Harrold tooke the Sea vppon purpoſe to haue ſayled into Flaunders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coaſt of Pouthien, and ſo after came into Normandy in manner as before is mentioned. But by what meanes or occaſion ſoeuer hee came thither, certayne it is, that hee was ioyfully receyued, and had great cheere made vnto hym by Duke William, yͤ which at that time was ready to make a iourney againſte the Britaynes, and tooke Earle Harrolde with him to haue his company in armes in that iourney, that hee myghte haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harrold behaued himſelfe ſo, yͭ he ſhewed good proofe both of his wiſedome and policie, and alſo of hys forwardneſſe to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuiſed, ſo that Duke William hadde him in high fauour, and as it hath bin ſayd, Erle Harrolde (to procure him more friendſhip at the Dukes handes) declared vnto him, that Kyng Edwarde had ordeyned him his heire if hee dyed without iſſue, & that he woulde not fayle to keepe the Realme of England to the Dukes vſe, according to that ordenance, if King Edwarde dyed without iſſue. And to performe this promiſe, he receyued a corporall othe, whether willingly to winne the more credite, or forced therto by Duke William, writers report it diuerſly.

Harold was highly welcomed of duke William.

Math. VVeſt.

Duke William promiſed to Harrolde his daughter in marriage.

At the ſame time, Duke William promiſed vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harrold couenaunted in like manner to take to wife. Finally, when he ſhould returne into Englande, Duke William deliuered vnto him his Nephew Hacun, but kepte his brother Wilnote with hym ſtill as a pledge. Earle Harrold then returned into England, and declared vnto King Edwarde what he had done, who then ſayde vnto him, dyd not I tell thee that thou wouldeſt doe the thyng whereof thou ſhouldeſt repent thee, and procure a miſchiefe to follow vnto thy countrey. But God of his mercie turne that euill happe from thys Realme, or at the leaſt, if it be his pleaſure, that it muſt needes come to paſſe, yet to ſtay it till after my dayes.

Polidor.

Thus they write, that affirme, howe Harrolde went ouer of purpoſe into Normandy: and gather thereof, that Kyng Edward foreſaw the cōming of the Normanes, and that he meante nothing leſſe, than to perfourme the promiſe made vnto Duke William, as to adopt hym as hys heire, which promiſe ſhoulde ſeeme to be made in time of his baniſhmente, when hee ſtoode in neede of his friendſhippe, as the manner of men in ſuche caſes is, to promiſe muche, howſoeuer they intend to fulfill. But rather it may be thought, that King Edwarde had made no ſuch promiſe at al, but perceiued the ambitious deſire of Duke William, and therefore would not that any occaſion ſhoulde bee miniſtred vnto him to take holde of. Wherefore, he was ſo loth that Harrold ſhoulde goe ouer vnto him, leaſt that might happe, which happed indeede. In the four and twentith and laſt yeare of King Edwarde his raigne, or thereabout, there fell varriance betwixt the two brethren, Erle Harrold, and Erle Toſtie at Windſor, where the Courte then lay, in ſo muche that Earle Harrold caught Toſtie by the heare of the head in the Kings preſence, and ſtroke him.

When the promiſe was made by King Edwarde to make Duke William his heire.

Hen. Hunt.

Mat. VVeſt.

Fabian.

Falling out betwixt the brethren.

Herevpon, Toſtie departing from the Courte in great anger, came to Herefordе in the marches of Wales, where Harrolds ſeruants were preparing for the Kings comming to theyr maiſters houſe, which ſeruantes he tooke and ſlew, chopped them in peeces, and threwe into that hogſhed of wine a legge, into that barrell of cyder an arme, into this veſſel of ale an head, and ſo into yͤ lomes of methe, and tubbes of brine, and other licor, he beſtowed the parties of the dead carcaſſes of his brothers ſeruauntes, ſending the king word, that he had prouided at his brothers manor, agaynſte his comming, good plentie of ſouſe, and poudred meate, what ſo euer he ſhould finde beſide. Thys rumor of this cruell deede, ſprang ouer all the Realme, wherevpō the Northumbers, whom he hadde gouerned for the ſpace of tenne yeares very cruelly, tooke occaſion to rebell againſte him, and ſlew his ſeruants both Engliſhmen and Danes, ſpoyled his houſes, and tooke away his horſes, his armoure, and all other his goodes and houſehold ſtuffe. The chiefeſt cauſe (as is remembred by ſome writers) that moued the Northumbers thus to riſe and rebell againſt Toſtie, was for yͤ deteſtable murther of certain Gentlemen of their countrey, ſeruauntes vnto Goſpatricke, whiche the Quene in behalfe of hir brother had cauſed to be ſlayne in the Courte by treaſon, in the fourth night of Chriſtmas laſt paſt, and alſo in reuenge of other noble men which in the laſt yeare Toſtie himſelfe had commaunded to bee murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither hee had allured them to come vnder colour of concludyng a peace with them. Alſo the greeuous paymentes wherewith hee charged the people of that countrey, ſet them in a great rage agaynſte hym.

The cruell dealing of Earle Toſtie.

The Northumbers Rebell againſt Toſtie their Earle.

But the Kyng aduertiſed hereof, liked

not their doings, for that they had done it without commaundement or commiſſion, and therefore ſent Earle Harrold with an army to chaſtice them, but they were ſtrong ynough to withſtand him, as thoſe whiche were aſſembled in armoure togither with the people of Lincolneſhire, Notingamſhire, and Derbiſhire, and hauing with them Marcherus or Malcharus, the ſon of Erle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing muche hurte in the parties thereabouts: but yet to haue yͤ kyngs peace, they offered to returne home, ſo that they might haue an other Earle appoynted them, for that they playnely proteſted, yͭ they beeyng free men, borne and bred out of bondage, mighte not ſuffer any cruell gouernoure to rule ouer them, being taught by their aunceſtors, eyther to liue in libertie, or to die in defence thereof. If therfore it might pleaſe the King to aſſigne Marcharus the ſonne of Earle Algar to be theyr Ruler, hee ſhoulde ſee how obedient ſubiects they woulde proue and ſhewe themſelues to be, when they ſhould be vſed after a reaſonable & courteous manner. All things conſidered, their requeſt ſeemed reaſonable, or at leaſt, it was thought neceſſary, that it ſhuld be graunted. And ſo was Marcharus or Malcherus made Earle of Northumberland. Toſtie in great diſpleaſure with his wife and children ſayled ouer into Flaunders, & there remayned till after the deceſſe of King Edward. Finally, after that this courteous Prince Kyng Edwarde had raigned three and twentie yeares ſeuen monethes and odde dayes, he departed this life at London the fourth of January, and was buried in the Church of Weſtminſter whyche he had in his life time royally repayred after ſuche a ſtately ſort, as few Churches in thoſe dayes were like thereto within this Realme, ſo that afterwardes the ſame was a patrone for other to bee built after the ſame fourme. This Edward was a Prince of ſuch a vertuous diſpoſition of minde, that his fame of holyneſſe ſprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and ſhedding of bloud, in ſo much, that when hee liued as a baniſhed man in Normandy, hee hadde this ſaying oftentimes in hys mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to attein the Kingdome by the ſlaughter and deathe of any man. Hee coulde not abide to haue the people oppreſſed with tributes or exactions, in ſo much, that he cauſed the paymente called Danegelt, whiche had continued for the ſpace almoſt of fortie yeres to ceaſſe. It hath bin ſayd, that when the collectors of this money, or ſome other ſubſedy had gote an huge quãtitie of threaſure togyther, they brought it vnto him, and layd it altogither vppon an heape, ſo to delighte hys eyes: but he declaring that he ſawe a Deuil playing and fetching gambals about that heape of money, commaunded that it ſhoulde bee had away, and reſtored againe to them of whome it was leuied.

VVil. Malm.

Marcharus made Earle of Northumberlande.

King Edward departed this life.

Simon Dun.

King Edward his manners, and diſpoſitiõ of mind deſcribed.

A Deuill fetching gamballes.

In dyet and apparell hee was ſpare and nothing ſumptuous: and although on high feaſtes he ware rich apparell, as became the Maieſtie of his royall perſonage: he ſhewed yet no proude nor loftie countenance, rather prayſing God for hys bountifull goodneſſe towardes hym extended, than eſteming herein the vayne Pompe of the worlde.

The pleaſure yͭ he toke chiefly in this worlde for refreſhing of his wittes, conſiſted onely in Hawking and Hunting, whiche exerciſes he dayly vſed, after he had firſt bin in the Church at diuine ſeruice.

In other things he ſeemed wholly gyuen to a deuoute trade of life, charitable to the poore, and very liberall, namely to Hoſpitalles and houſes of Religion in the parties of beyonde the Sea, wiſhing euer, that the Monkes and Religious perſons of his Realme, woulde haue followed the vertue and holineſſe of life vſed amongſt them of forraine parties. As hath bin thought he was enſpired with the gift of Prophecie, and alſo to haue hadde the gift of healing infirmities and diſeaſes. Namely, he vſed to help thoſe that were vexed with the diſeaſe, commonly called the Kyngs euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his ſucceſſors the Kyngs of this Realme.

Hee was warned (as hath bin reported) of hys death certaine dayes before hee dyed, by a Ring that was brought to him by certaine Pilgrimes comming from Hieruſalem, which ring he hadde ſecretly giuen to a poore man that aſked his charitie in the name of God and Sainte John the Euangeliſt. But to conclude, ſuche was the opinion conceyued of his holyneſſe of life, that ſhortly after his deceſſe, hee was canonized amongſt the number of Saintes, and named Edward the Confeſſor.

A tale of a Ring.

King Edward canonized fo a Saint.

Whileſt hee lay ſicke of that ſickneſſe whereof at length hee died, after he hadde remayned for two dayes ſpeechleſſe, the third day after when he had layne for a time in a ſlumber of ſoft ſleepe, at the tyme of his wakening, hee fetched a deepe ſigh, and thus ſayde, Oh Lorde God Almighty, if thys bee not a vaine fantaſticall illuſion, but a true viſion which I haue ſeene, graunt me ſpace to vtter the ſame vnto theſe that ſtande heere preſente, or elſe not. And herewith hauing hys ſpeeche perfect, he declared how he had ſeene two Monkes ſtand by him as he thoughte, whome in his youth he knewe in Normandy to haue liued Godly, and died Chriſtianly. Theſe Monkes (ſaid hee) proteſting vnto mee that they were the meſſengers of God, ſpake theſe wordes, bycauſe yͤ chiefe gouernoures of England, the Biſhops and

VVil. Malm

Mat. VVeſ

Abbots, are not the Myniſters of God, but the Diuels, the Almighty God hath deliuered this Kingdome for one yere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked ſpirites ſhall walke abrode through the whole land. And whē I made aunſwere that I woulde declare theſe thyngs to the people, and promiſed on theyr behalfe, that they ſhoulde doe penance in following the example of the Niniuites. They ſayde agayne, that it would not be, for neyther ſhould the people repent, nor God take any pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an ende of theſe miſeries ſayd I, then ſayde they, when a greene tree is cut in ſunder in the middle, and the parte cut off, is carried three acres bredth from the ſtocke, & returning agayne to the ſtoale, ſhall ioyne therewith, and begin to budde and beare fruite after the former manner, by reaſon of the ſappe renewing the accuſtomed nouriſhmente, then I ſay, may there be hope that ſuch euils ſhall ceaſſe, and diminiſhe: Although other that ſtoode by, were brought in feare with thoſe the Kyngs wordes, the Archbiſhoppe Stigande yet made but a ieſt thereof, ſaying, that the olde man raued nowe in hys ſickneſſe, as men of great yeares vſe to do. But the trouth of that Propheſie afterwards too playnely appeared, when Englande became the habitation of newe ſtraungers, in ſuche wiſe, that there was neyther gouernoure, Biſhoppe, nor Abbot remayning therein of the Engliſhe Nation.

But now to make an ende with K. Edward, hee was of perſon comely, and of an indifferente ſtature, of white heare, both head and bearde, of face ruddy, and in all other partes of his body fayre ſkinned, with due ſtate and proportion of limmes as was thereto conueniente.

In the yeare before the deathe of Kyng Edwarde, a blaſing Starre appeared, the whyche when a Monke of Malmeſbury, that highte Eylmer behelde, hee vttered theſe wordes (as it were by way of Propheſying:) Thou arte come (ſayth he) thou art come, muche to be lamẽted of many a mother: it is long agone ſith I ſaw thee, but nowe I doe beholde thee, the more terrible threatning deſtruction to this countrey by thy dreadfull appearance.

In the perſon of Kyng Edward ceaſed by his deathe the noble progenie of the Weſt Saxon Kings, which had continued from the firſt yeare of the raigne of Cerdicke or Cerditius, the ſpace of fiue hundred. 47. yeares complete. And from Egbert two hundred ſixtie ſixe yeres, as by William Harriſons Chronologie is eaſie to bee collected, whoſe poſitions as moſt exact for the computation of the tyme, I chiefly followe.

MOreouer, ſith the progenie of the Saxon Kyngs ſeemeth wholly to take ende in this Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, or the third of that name before the Conqueſt, we haue thought good for the better help of memorie, to ſet downe in order, the names as well of thoſe that reigned among the Weſt Saxons, (who at length as ye haue hearde, obteyned the whole Monarchie) as alſo of them which ruled in the other ſeauē kyngdomes before the ſame were vnited vnto the ſayd Kingdome of the Weſt Saxons.

The

Ma. VVeſt.

The line of the Kentiſh kings.

Hengeſt
Oiſc
Oth, or Occa
Ermenricus
Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian.
Eadbalde
Ercombert
Egbert
Lothair
Eadricke
VVithred and Sywarde
Ethelbert
Eadbert
Ethelbert
Eadbert Pren
Cuthred
Baldred
Athelſtan.

From this Athelſtane the kingdome of Kent was tranſlated vnto the kings of the VVeſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of Mercia.

Crida or Creodda
VVibba
Cearli
Penda
Peada, or rather VVeada, that was the firſt Chriſtian.
Alfhere
Ethelfred
Kinred
Ceolred
Ethelbalde
Beornred
Offa, ſurnamed Magnus, or the great.
Egfrid
Kenulſe
Kenelme
Ceolulf
Bernulf
Ludican, or Ludicene
VViglaf
Bertulf
Burthred.

From this Burthred was the Kingdome of Mercia tranſpoſed ouer to the kings of the weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of VVeſt Saxons.

Cerdic, or Cerdicius
Kenric
Ceauline
Ceolric
Ceolulf
Kinegilſe, or Quicheline, the firſt Chriſtian.
Kinewalke
Sexburga
Eaſcwine
Keniwine
Ceadwalla
Inas
Ethelhard
Cuthred
Sigebert
Kineulf
Brithric
Egbert
Ethelulf
Athelbalde
Ethelbert
Ethelred
Alfred, or Alured.

This Alfred, or Alured was the firſt Monarke of the Engliſhe kings, whoſe ſucceſsion continued vnto the cōming in of VVilliam the Cōquerour.

Of the Kings of Northumberland.

Ida
Adda
Glap
Theodwald
Fretewulſe
Theodoricke
Athelfride
Edwine, the firſt Chriſtian king of Deira.
Eanfride
Oſwalde
Oſwie
Aelfride
Egfride
Ealfride
Oſred
Kenrede
Oſrike
Ceolwulſe
Eadbert
Oſulſe
Aethelred Moll
Ealdred
Aetheldred
Alfwolde
Oſred
Ethelred agayne
Oſred
Eardulſe
Alfwolde
Eandred
Aethelred
Readwulſ
Osbert
Ella
Egbert
Ricſie
Egbert
Cuthred

Of the Kings of Deira.

Ella

This Ella raigned in Deira whyleſt eyght Collaterall kings raigned in Bernicia.

Aethelfride
Eadwine
Oſricke
Oſwine

The kingdome of Deira was tranſlated from Oſwine to Oſwie K. of Bernicia, and by this meanes ẏ kingdom of ẏ Northūbers was vnited. Whoſe bounds did extēd frō Hūber northwards to the Scottiſhe ſea, and in the end came vnder the power of the VVeſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of Eaſt Angles.

Vffa
Titellus
Redwalde
VVibert
Corpenwalde the firſte Chriſtian.
Sigebert
Egricke
Anna
Aethelhere
Aethelwalde
Ealdulphe
Ealſwalde
Beorna
Aethelred
Aethelbert
Eadmund
Gytro the Dane.

From Gytro the Dane, the kingdome of the Eaſt Angles was tranſlated to the VVeſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of the Eaſt Saxons.

Earkenwine
Sledda
Sebert the firſte Chriſtian.
Sexred, and Sewarde
Sigebert the little
Swithelme
Sigehere and Sebba
Sigeharde, and Seofride
Offa
Selred
Suithred.

From this Suithred, ẏ kingdome of the Eaſt Saxōs was tranſlated to the VVeſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of the South Saxons.

Ella
Ciſſa
Ethelwalde the firſte Chriſtian.
Berthune
Aldhune.

From this Aldhune the kingdome of the South Saxons was trāſlated to the weſt Saxons.

Mat. VVeſt.

Here is to be remembred, that as partly before is expreſſed, wee finde in ſome olde Wryters, howe the fyrſt Kings of ſeuen of theſe Kingdomes of the Germaine Nation that bare rule in this Iſle, fetched theyr pedegrees from one Woden, who begatte of Frea his wyfe ſeuen ſonnes, that is to witte, 1. Vecta, of whom came the kings of Kent. 2. Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia diſcended. 3. Balday of whoſe race the Kings of the Weſt Saxons had theyr originall. 4. Beldagius, auncetour to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers. 5. Wegodach, or Wegdagus, frõ whom came the kings of Deira. 6. Caſer, from whom proceeded the kings of the Eaſt Angles. 7. Naſcad alias Saxuad, of whom the kings of the Eaſt Saxons had their beginning.

And here you muſt note, that althoughe the kings of the. viij. kingdome, that is, of the South Saxons or of Suſſex, were diſcended of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame line. By other it ſhould ſeeme, that Woden had but fiue ſonnes: as Vecta, great Grandfather to Hengeſt: Wepedeg, anteceſſor to the kings of the Eaſt Angles: VicLac, from whom proceeded the kings of Mercia: Saxuad, from whom the kings of Eſſex came: & Beldeg, of whoſe generatiõ proceeded the kings of the South Saxons, Weſt Saxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there bee that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the ſon of Lamech, which Noe was the. ix. in diſcent frõ Adam, & Woden the. xv. frõ Noah, as thus: Noe was the father to Sem yͤ father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod yͤ father of Hermod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, yͤ father of Teathwij alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a God among the Gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwiſe Godulfe, the father of Fritwolfe otherwiſe Frinin the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderweld, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Otlen.

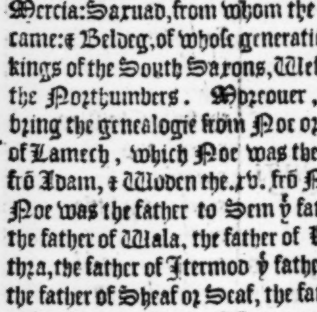
Simon Dun.
Iohn Textor.

Harold.

King Edwarde departed this life An. chriſt. 1065. after the account of the church of England.

Mat. VVeſt.
Polidor.

Harolde.



KIng Edwarde being thus departed this life the Peeres of the lande were in great doubt and perplexitie to whom they might beſt cõmit the royall gouernmẽt of the realm. For ther was not any among them that had iuſt title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpõ him: for although Edgar ſurnamed Edeling, the ſonne of Edward the Outlaw, that was ſonne of Edmond Ironſide, was the ſame time lately come into Englande, with his mother and ſiſters oute of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that hee was but a child, and not of ſufficient age to beare rule, they durſt not as then commit the gouernment of the realme vnto him, leaſt (as ſome haue thought) his tenderneſſe of age might firſt breed a contempt of his perſon, and therewith miniſter occaſion to ciuil diſcord, wherby a ſhipwrak of the eſtate might to the great annoy and preſent ouerthrow of ſuch enſue, as then liued in the ſame. But what conſideration ſo euer they had in this behalf, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong Gentleman of his lawfull right to the Crowne. For as we haue heard and ſeene, God whoſe prouidence & mightie power is ſhewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned ſtates and kingdoms oftentimes in as good quiet and princely policie by a childe, as by menne of rype age and greate diſcretion.

Edeling the [illegible] and ſuch one as is come of the kings blood.

But to the purpoſe, beſide the doubt whiche reſted among the Lordes, howe to beſtowe the Crowne, the manifold and ſtraunge wonders which were ſeene and heard in thoſe days, betokening (as men thought) ſome chaunge to bee at hande in the eſtate of the realme, made the Lordes afrayde, and namely bycauſe they ſtode in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawful heyre appoynted by king Edward, for that he was akinne to him in the ſecõd and third degree. For Richard the firſt of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the ſeconde, and Emme, which Emme bare Edward by hir huſband Ethelred. Richarde the ſecond alſo had iſſue Richard the thirde, and Robert, which Robert by a Concubine had iſſue William, ſurnamed the baſtard, that was nowe Duke of Normandie, and after the death of hys coſin king Edwarde, made clayme (as is ſayde) to the crowne of Englande. Whileſt the Lordes were thus ſtudying and conſulting what ſhoulde be beſt for them to doe in theſe doubtes, Harolde (the ſonne of Goodwin Earle of Kent, proclaymed himſelfe king of England.) The people being not much offended therewith, bycauſe of the great cõfidence and opinion which they had lately conceyued of his valiancie.

Dukes of Normandie.

Harold proclaymed king of Englande.

Edmerus.

Some write, among which Edmerus is one, how king Edwarde ordeyned before his death, that Harold ſhoulde ſucceed him as heyre to the crowne, and that therevpon the Lordes immediately after the ſayde Edwardes deceaſſe, crowned Harolde for their king, and ſo he was ſacred by Aldred Archb. of Yorke, according to the cuſtome

Mat. VVeſt.

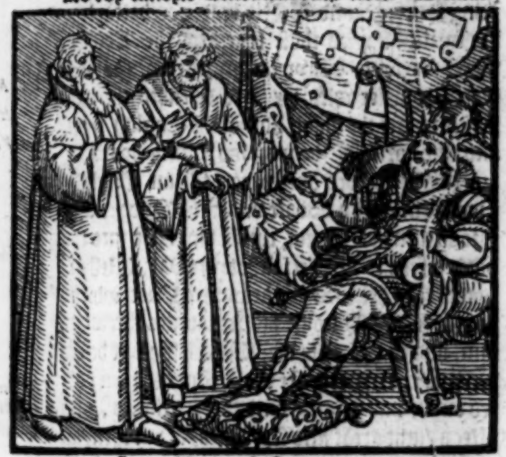
and maner of the former kings, or as other affyrme, he ſet the crowne on his owne head without any the accuſtomed ceremonies, in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 1066. or in the yere of Chriſt. 1065. after the account of the Church of Englād (as before is noted.) But how and whenſoeuer he came to the ſeate royall of this Kingdome, certaine it is, that this Harolde in the beginning of his raigne, conſidering with himſelfe howe and in what ſort hee had taken vppon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intruſion than by any lawfull right, he ſtudied by all meanes which way to winne the peoples fauour, and omitted no occaſion whereby hee might ſhewe any token of bounteous liberalitie, gentleneſſe, & courteous behauiour towardes them. The grieuous cuſtoms alſo and taxes which his predeceſſors had rayſed, he either aboliſhed or diminiſhed: the ordinarie wages of his ſeruauntes and men of warre he encreaſed, and further ſhewed hymſelfe very well bent to all vertue and godlineſſe, whereby he purchaſed no ſmall good will of ſuch as were his ſubiectes.

Harold ſeketh to winne the peoples hartes.

Sim. Dunel.

An Ambaſſade from Normandie.

Whyleſt Harolde went about thus to ſteale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for ſundrie Ambaſſadours from William the baſtarde Duke of Normandie, with commiſſion to requyre hym to remember his othe ſometime made to the ſayde William in the tyme of his extremitie, whiche was, that hee the ſayde Haralde ſhoulde ayde him in the atteyning of the Crowne of Englande, if King Edwarde ſhoulde happen to dye withoute iſſue.



This couenaunt he made (as it is ſuppoſed) in king Edwards dayes, (when by lycence of the ſame Edwarde, or rather (as Edmerus wryteth) agaynſt his will) he went ouer into Normandie to viſite his brethren, which lay there as pledges: howbeit at this preſent, Haroldes annſwere to the ſayde Ambaſſadours was, that hee would be readie to gratifie the Duke in all that he coulde demaunde, ſo that he woulde not aſke the realme, which alredy he had in his full poſſeſſion. And further he declared vnto thē (as ſome write) that as for the othe which hee had made in tymes paſt vnto Duke William, the ſame was but a conſtrayned and no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing, ſince thereby hee tooke vppon him to graunt that whiche was not in his power to giue, hee beeing but a ſubiect whileſt King Edwarde was lyuing: for if a promiſed vowe or othe which a Mayde maketh concerning the beſtowing of hir bodie in hir fathers houſe without his conſent is made voyde, much more an othe by him made that was a ſubiecte, and vnder the rule of a king without his ſoueraignes conſent, ought to be voyde and of no value.

K. Harolds anſwere.

Edmerus.

Mat. VVeſt.

He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an othe to deliuer the inheritaunce of anye Realme withoute the generall conſent of the eſtates of the ſame, coulde not bee other than a greate peece of preſumption, yea althoughe hee might haue iuſt tytle thereunto, ſo it was an vnreaſonable requeſt of the Duke at this preſent to will him to renounce the Kingdome, the gouernance whereof hee had alreadie taken vpon him, with ſo great fauor and good lyking of all men.

Duke Williā eftſoones ſendeth to king Harolde.

Duke William hauing receyued this anſwer, and nothing lyking thereof, hee ſendeth once againe to Harolde, requyring him then at the leaſt wiſe, that hee woulde take his daughter to wife, according to his former promiſe, in refuſal wherof he could make no ſound allegation, bycauſe it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his abſolute power, both to graunt and to perfourme. But Harolde beeing of a ſtoute courage, wyth prowde countenaunce, frowned vpon the Norman Ambaſſadors, and declared to them that his minde was nothing bent as then to yeelde thereunto in any maner of wiſe. And ſo with other talke tending to the like effect he ſent them away without any other anſwere.

Gemeticenſi

VVil. Mal.

The daughter of Duke William which Harold ſhould haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticenſis hath, and with hir (as the ſame authour writeth) it was couenanted by Duke William that Harold ſhould enioy halfe the Realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit ſome write that this daughter of Duke William was departed this life before the cōming of theſe Ambaſſadors, and that Harold thereuppon thought himſelf diſcharged of the oth and couenants made to Duke William, and therefore ſent them away with an vntoward anſwere.

Polidor.

But howſoeuer it was, after the departure of theſe Ambaſſadors, king King Harold (doubting what would enſue) cauſed his ſhippes to be newly rigged, his men of warre to be muſtred, & ſpedily put in a readineſſe, to the ende that if any ſodaine inuaſion ſhould be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to reſiſt them.

About the ſame time alſo, and vpon the .xxiiij. of Aprill (whileſt Harold was making prouiſion to withſtande the Norman force) there appeared a blaſing Starre, which was ſeene not onely here in Englande, but alſo in other partes of the worlde, which continued the ſpace of .vij. dayes.

R. Houed.
Sim. Dun.

In this meane while, Toſtie the brother of king Harolde (who in the dayes of king Edward for his crueltie had beene chaſed out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders aſſembled a Nauie of ſhippes from diuerſe partes to the number of .lx. with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, and there ſpoiled the Country, & afterward ſayling about, by the coaſts of Kent, he tooke ſundrie prayes there alſo, and came at the laſt to Sandwich: So that Harolde was nowe conſtrayned to appoynt the Nauie whiche hee had prepared agaynſt the Normans, to goe agaynſt his brother Earle Toſtie: whereof the ſaid Toſtie being aduertiſed, drewe towardes Lyndſey in Linconſhire, and there taking lande did muche hurt in the Countrey, both with ſworde and fire, till at length Edwyne Earle of Mercia, and Morkarus Earle of Northumberlande, ayded with the Kings nauie, chaſed him from thence, and cauſed him to flee into Scotlande, not withoute ſome loſſe both of his menne and ſhippes.

Toſtie ſeeketh to diſquiet his brother.
Mat. VVeſt. hath but .xl.
Polidor.
Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.
VVil. Mal.
Toſtie repulſed.
Polidor.
Ran. Higd.

This trouble was vneth quieted, when ſtreight wayes another came in the necke thereof, farre more daungerous than the firſt. For Toſtie perceyuing that he coulde get no ayde in Scotlande to make any account of, he ſayled forth into Norway, and there perſwaded Harold Harfager king of that Realme, to ſayle with an armie into England, perſwading him, that by meanes of a ciuill diſſention lately kindled betwixt the king and his Lords, (which was not ſo) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to make a conqueſt of the whole Realme, and raigne ouer them as his predeceſſors had done before.

Harold Harfager king of Norway.

Some Authours affyrme, how Harolde king of Norway tooke this enterpriſe in hande of hys owne minde, and not by procurement of Toſtie, ſaying that Toſtie meeting with him in Scotland, did perſwade him to go forward in his purpoſed buſineſſe, and that the ſayde Harolde Harfager with all conuenient ſpeede paſſed forth, and with a Nauie of three hundred ſayle, entred into the riuer of Tine, where after he had reſted a few dayes to refreſh his people, Erle Toſtie came alſo with his power (according to an appointmẽt which ſhould be made betwene them.) They adde furthermore, that they ſayled forth alongeſt the coaſt, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, and then drawing vp agaynſt the ſtreame of the riuer Owſe, they landed at length at a place called Richehall, frõ whence they ſet forward to inuade the Countrey, and neare vnto Yorke on the Northſide of the Citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the Earles Edwyn and Marchar (two brethren) and there diſcomfited and chaſed them into the Citie, with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed.

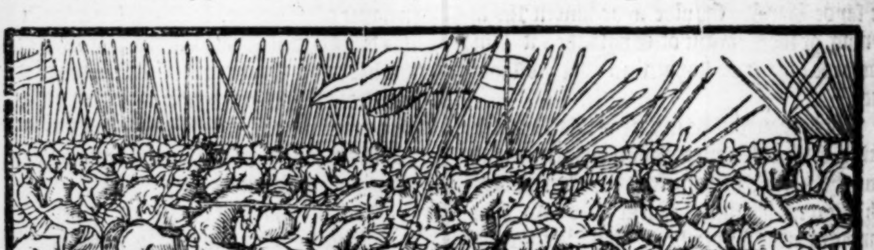
Mat. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.
500. hath *Simon Dun.*
The Norwegians arriue in Humber.
Richall.
H. Hunt.
The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

Harolde King of Englande beeing aduertiſed of this chaunce, hee made the more haſte forwardes (for he was alreadie in the fielde with his armie, intending alſo to come towardes hys enimies) ſo that vpon the fifth day after he came to Stanforde Bridge, finding there the ſayde King Herfager and Toſtie readie embattayled, hee fyrſte aſſayled thoſe that kept the Bridge, where (as ſome Wryters affyrme) a Norwegian Souldier with his Axe defended the paſſage, maugre the whole hoſt of the Engliſh men, and ſlue fortie of them or more with hys Axe, and might not bee ouercome, till an Engliſhe man went with a Boate vnder the Bridge, and through an hole thereof, thruſt him vppe into the bodie with his Speare: although Mat. Weſtm. noteth that hee was ſlaine with a Dart whiche one of King Harolde his ſeruauntes threwe at him, and ſo ended his life. Which Bridge being wonne, the whole hoſte of the Engliſh men paſſed ouer, and ioyned with theyr enimies, and after a right great and ſore battayle, put them all to flight.

This battaile was fought on the euen of S. Mathew the Apoſtle as hath *Simon Dun.*
VVil. Mal.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.
The Norwegians diſcomfited.

In this conflicte Harolde Harfager King of the Norwegians was ſlain, and ſo likewiſe was Toſtie, the King of Englande hys Brother,

The king of Norway and Toſtie ſlaine.



beſides

This battaile was fought the.xxv. of September as hath *Simon Dun.*

beſides a great number of other, as well in the battaile as in the chaſe: neyther did the Engliſhe men eſcape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time very ſtoutly, beating downe and killing great numbers of ſuche as aſſayled them with great courage and aſſuraunce. The reſidue of the Norwegians that were left to kepe theyr ſhippes vnder the guiding of Olaue ſonne to the king of Norway, and Paule Earle of Orkney, after they vnderſtoode by theyr fellowes that eſcaped from the field, how the matter went with Harfagar and Toſtie, they hoyſed vp their ſayles and directed theyr courſe homewardes, bearing ſorrowfull newes with them into theyr Countrey, of the loſſe of theyr King, and ouerthrowe of all his people.

Mat. VVeſt.

Simon Dun.

Some write, that the K. of England permitted them frankly to depart with .xx. ſhippes, hauing firſt cauſed them to deliuer ſuche Hoſtages as they had receyued of the Citizens of Yorke. But howe ſo euer it was, Harolde, reioyſing in that he had atteyned ſo glorious a victorie, and being nowe ſurpryſed with pryde and couetouſneſſe togyther, he deuided the ſpoyle of the fielde nothing equally, but to ſuche as he fauoured, hee diſtributed liberally, and to other (though they had muche better deſerued) hee gaue nothing at all, reteyning ſtyll the beſt part of all to himſelfe, by reaſon whereof he loſt the fauor of many of his men, who for this his vncurteſie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him.

Mat. VVeſt.
Vnequall deuiding of the ſpoyle.

VVil. Malm.

This done, he repayred to Yorke, and there ſtayed for a time to reforme the diſordered ſtate of the Countrey, which by reaſon of theſe warres was greatly out of frame.

In the meane tyme, William Duke of Normandie (hauing knowledge after what manner king Harolde was buſied in the North parties of his realme, and vnderſtanding that the ſouth parties thereof remayned without prouiſion of neceſſarie defence) haſted with all diligence to make his purueyance of men and ſhippes, that he might vpon ſuch a conuenient occaſion ſet forward ſodenly to inuade his enimie. And amongſt other of his friends, vnto whom he laboured for ayde, his father in lawe Baldwine Earle of Flaunders, was one of the chiefe, who vpon promiſe of great ſummes of money and other large offers made, did ayde him with men, munition, ſhippes, and vittayles very freely.

Ia. Meer.
Baldwyn Erle of Flanders ayded Duke William to conquere Englande.

VVil. Geme.
The Chronicles of Normandie haue 896. ſhippes.

The French king alſo did as much for hys part as lay in him to helpe forwarde thys ſo high an enterpriſe. Wherefore when all things were now in a readineſſe, hee came to the towne of Saint Valerie, where he hadde aſſembled togyther an huge Nauie of Shippes (to the number (as ſome Authours affyrme) of three hundred ſayle) and when he had taryed there a long time for a conuenable wind, at length it came about euẽ as he himſelf deſired. Then ſhipping his armie which conſiſted of Normans, Flemings, French men, and Britonnes, with all expedition he tooke the Sea, and directing his courſe towardes Englande, hee finally landed at a place in Suſſex, auncienctly called Peueneſſey the. 28. day of September, where he did ſette his men a lande, and prouided all things neceſſarie to encourage and refreſh them.

Now Pemſey.
Duke William landed at Pemſey.

At his going out of his ſhippe vnto the ſhore, one of his feete ſlipped as he ſtepped forward, but the other ſtacke faſt in the ſande, the whiche ſo ſoone as one of his knightes had eſpied, and ſeeing his hand wherevpon he ſtayed full of earth, when he roſe, he ſpake aloude and ſayde. Now ſir Duke thou haſt the ſoyle of Englande faſt in thy hand, and ſhalt of a duke ere long become a King. The Duke hearing his tale laughed merily thereat, and comming a lande, by and by hee made hys Proclamation, declaring vpon what occaſions he had thus entred the Realme.

Hen. Hunt.

The firſt and principall cauſe whiche hee alledged was for to chalenge his right, meaning the Dominion of the lande that to him was gyuen and aſſigned (as hee ſayde) by hys Nephew king Edwarde late ruler of the ſame lande.

The ſeconde was, to reuenge the death of hys Nephewe Alured or Alfred the brother of the ſame King Edwarde, whome Goodwyn Earle of Kent, and his adherents had moſt wickedly murthered.

The thirde was, to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, who as hee was enfourmed, was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harolde, in the dayes of King Edwarde. Wherein wee haue to note, that whether it were for diſpleaſure, that the Pope hadde ſometyme conceyued for the wrong done to the Archebiſhoppe, or at the onely ſute of Duke William, certaine it is that the Pope as then named Alexander the ſeconde, fauoured thys enterpryſe of the Duke, and in token thereof ſent him a white Banner, whiche hee willed him to ſette vp in the decke of the Shippe, wherein hee hymſelfe ſhoulde ſayle.

VVil. Malm.
The Pope fauoured Duke Williams enterpriſe.

Mat. VVeſt.

In deede (as wryters report) the Pope wyth hys Cardinalles, and all the whole Courte of Rome, had King Harolde euer in greate hatred and diſdeyne, bycauſe that he had taken vppon hym the Crowne without theyr conſent, or any Eccleſiaſticall ſolemnitie or agreement of the Byſhoppes. And although the Pope, and his brethren the ſayde Cardinalles diſſembled the matter for the tyme, yet [illegible] beholding to what ende hys bolde preſumption was like to come, they wyth frowning fortune ſone ſhewed themſelues alſo open aduerſaryes, inclyning ſtreyght wayes to the ſtronger part, after the manner of couetous perſones, or rather like to a Reede ſhaken with a ſodaine puſt of winde.

Gemeticenſis.

At hys fyrſt landing at Peueneſſey or Pemſey (whether you will) hee fortifyed a peece of ground with ſtrong Trenches, and leauing therin a competent number of menne of warre to keepe the ſame, hee ſpedde him towardes Haſtings, and comming thither, he buylt an other Fortreſſe there with all ſpeede poſſible withoute ſuffering his Souldiours to robbe or harry the Countrey adioyning, ſaying that it ſhoulde bee greate folly for him to ſpoyle that people, which ere many dayes to come were lyke to bee hys ſubiectes.

VVil. Mal.

Mat. VVeſt.

Normans beards ſhauen.

VVil. Mal.

Hen. Marle.

King Harolde beeing as yet in the North partes, and hearing that Duke William was thus landed in Englande, hee ſpedde him ſouthwarde, and gathering his people togither out of the Countreys as he went forwardes, at length he came neare to his enimies, and ſending eſpyals into their Campe to vnderſtande of what ſtrength they were: the vnſkilfull meſſengers regarding ſmally their charge, brought worde againe of nothing elſe but that all Duke Williams Souldiers were Prieſtes. For the Normans had at that time theyr ouer lyps & cheekes ſhauen, whereas the Engliſhe menne vſed to ſuffer the heare of theyr ouer lyppes to growe at length: but Harolde aunſwered, that they were not Prieſtes, but ſtalworth and hardie Souldiours, and ſuche as were like to abide well by their Captaine.

Gyrth woulde not haue hys brother king Harold fight himſelfe.

Gemeticenſis.

In the meane ſeaſon, Girth one of Haroldes yonger brethren (conſidering that periurie is neuer left vnpuniſhed) aduyſed his brother not to aduenture himſelfe at this preſent in the battaile, forſomuch as he had beene ſometyme ſworne to Duke William, but rather to ſuffer him and other of the Nobilitye to encounter wyth the ſayde Duke, that were not bounde to him by former othe or otherwiſe: but Harolde aunſwered that hee was free from anye ſuche othe, and that in defence of hys Countrey he woulde fight boldely wyth him as wyth hys greateſt enimie.

VV. Mal.

Before they came to fight alſo, diuerſe offers were made on both partes for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixte the two Princes: but when no conditions of agreement coulde take place, they forthwith prepared themſelues to trye the matter by dynt of ſworde. And ſo on the .xiiij. day of October, beeing Saterdaye, both the Hoſtes mette in the fielde at a place in Suſſex not farre from Haſtinges, where as the Abbay of Battaile was afterwardes buylded.

The order of the Engliſh men.

The Engliſhe menne were all brought into one entyre maine battaile a foote, wyth huge Axes in theyr handes, and paled afront wyth Paueyſes, in ſuche wyſe that it was thoughte impoſſible for the enimye to breake theyr array.

Mat. VVeſt.

The array of the Normans.

On the other ſyde the Normans were deuided into ſeuerall battayles, as fyrſt the footemenne that were Archers, and alſo thoſe that bare Gleyues and Axes, were placed in the forefronte, and the Horſemenne deuyded into Winges, ſtoode on the ſydes in verie good order.

Hen. Hunt.

VVil. Mal.

All the nyght before the battayle, the Engliſhe menne made greate noyſe and ſlept not, but ſang and fell to drinking and making of reuell and paſtime, as though there had beene no accounte to bee made of the nexte dayes trayuayle. But the Normans behaued themſelues warily and ſoberly, ſpending all that night in prayer and confeſſing theyr ſinnes vnto God, and in the Morning earely they receyued the Communion before they wente forth to the battayle.

Some wryte that when Duke William ſhoulde putte on hys armour to goe to the fielde, the backe halfe of his Curaſſes by chaunce was ſette on before by ſuche as holpe to arme hym, at whiche chaunce hee tooke occaſion of laughter, ſaying merily to them that ſtood by, No force thys is good lucke, for the eſtate of my Dukedome ſhall bee ere night chaunged into a Kingdome.

Beſide this, hee ſpake manye comfortable wordes vnto his menne, to encourage them to the battayle. Neither was Harolde forgetfull in that poynte on his part. And ſo at conuenient tyme when both partes were readie, they made forwarde eche to encounter wyth other, on the foreſayde fourtenth daye of October, with great force and aſſurance.

Polidor.

The battaile betwixt king Harolde and Duke William is begun.

In the beginning of the battayle, the Arrowes flewe abroade freſhly on both ſides, till they came to ioyne at hande ſtrokes, and then preaſſed eche ſyde vpon hys counterparte wyth Swordes, Axes, and other hand weapons right egrely.

Duke William commaunded his Horſemenne to giue the charge on the breaſtes of hys ennimyes battayles: but the Engliſhe menne keeping themſelues cloſe togyther wythoute ſcattering, receyued theyr enimyes vpon the poyntes of theyr Weapons wyth ſuche fierceneſſe and in ſuche ſtyffe order, that manye of the Norman horſemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and ſlaine at the firſte brunte. When Duke William perceyued this inconuenience (as hee that well and throughlye vnderſtoode

The policie of duke William to diſorder his enimies.

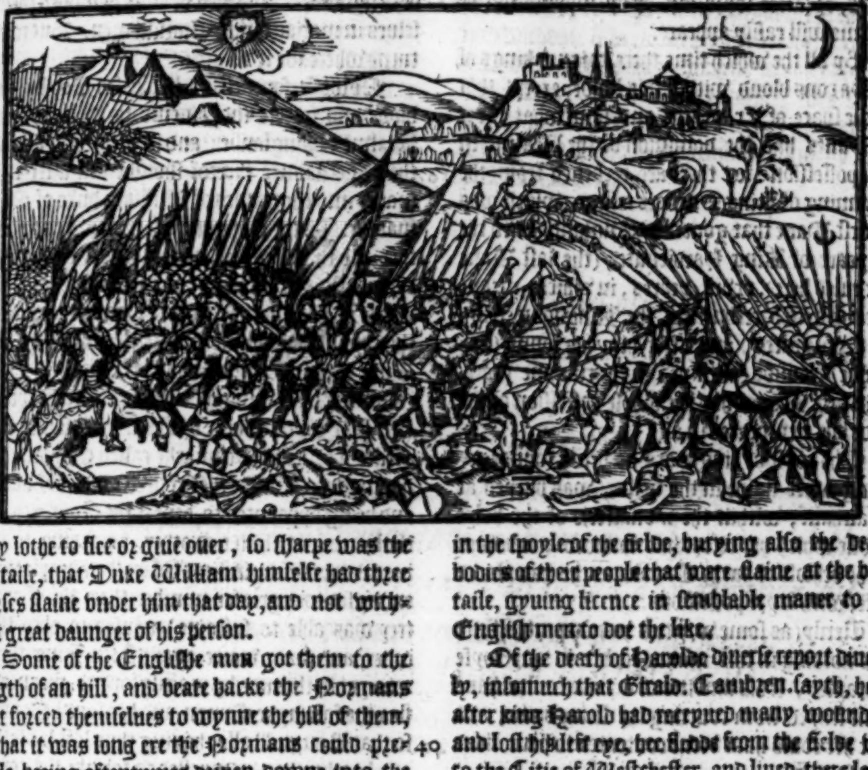
Hen.Hunt.

VVil.Malm.

the ſkilfull poyntes of warre as well as the beſt) he gaue a ſigne to his men, (according to an order appoynted before hande vpon any ſuch occaſion,) that they ſhoulde giue backe, and make a countenaunce as though they did flee, which was quickly done by the Normans, and withall they embattayled theyr footemen in new order, ſo that their Horſemen ſhifted themſelues on the wings, readie to reſkue the footemen if their array ſhoulde happen to be diſturbed. By this wilie ſtratageme and pollicie of warre, the Engliſh men were deceyued: for they beholding the Normans ſomewhat to ſhrinke backe to bring themſelues into the abouesayde order, thought verily that they had fledde, and thereuppon meaning to purſue them before they ſhoulde recouer theyr grounde, they brake theyr array, and beganne to followe the chaſe: whereupon the Normans (perceyuing nowe that all things came to paſſe as they deſired) ſpeedily returned, and caſting themſelues togyther quickly into arraye, beganne to charge them againe of newe, and ſo hauing them at that aduauntage, they ſlue them downe on euerie ſyde. The Engliſhe men on the other parte fought ſore, and though theyr king were beaten downe among them and ſlayne, yet were they lothe to flee or giue ouer, ſo ſharpe was the battaile, that Duke William himſelfe had three horſes ſlaine vnder him that day, and not without great daunger of his perſon.

A ſore foughten battaile.

King Harold ſlaine.



VVil. Mal.

Mat.VVeſt.

Some of the Engliſhe men got them to the heigth of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themſelues to wynne the hill of them, ſo that it was long ere the Normans could preuaile, beeing oftentymes driuen downe into the bottom of the valley beneath.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

At length the Engliſh men perceyuing themſelues to bee ouermatched and beaten downe on euerye ſide, and therevnto greatlye diſcouraged wyth ſlaughter of theyr King, beganne firſt to giue ground, and after to ſcatter and to runne away, ſo that well was him that might then eſcape by flight, after that they had fought the moſt part of all that Saterday.

Cron.de Bello.

VVil.Geme.

VVil.Malm.

The Normãs fall into a ditch.

The Normans followed the chaſe, with ſuche egre raſhneſſe, that a great number of them falling with theyr Horſes and armour into a blinde ditche (ſhadowed with Reede and Sedges which grewe therein) were ſmouldred and preſſed to death, ere they coulde be ſuccoured or get any releefe.

The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the ſpoyle of the fielde, burying alſo the deade bodies of their people that were ſlaine at the battaile, gyuing licence in ſemblable maner to the Engliſh men to doe the like.

Giral. Camb.

Of the death of Harolde diuerſe report diuerſly, inſomuch that Girald. Cambren. ſayth, how after king Harold had receyued many woundes, and loſt his left eye, hee fledde from the fielde vnto the Citie of Weſtcheſter, and liued there long after an holy life, as an Anker in the Cell of S. Iames, faſt by Saint Iohns Church, and there made a godly ende. But the ſaying of Girald. Cambren. in that poynt is not to be credited, bycauſe of the vnlikelyhoode of the thing itſelfe, and alſo generall conſent of other wryters, who affyrme vniuerſally that he was killed in the battayle, firſt beeyng ſtryken through the left eye by the ſkull into the brayne with an arrow, whereupon falling from his horſe to the grounde, hee was ſlaine in that place, after hee had reigned nine Monethes and nine dayes, as Floriacenſis doth report.

VVil. Mal.

Hen.Hunt.

Mat. VVeſt.

Floriac.

Simon Dun.

He was a man of a comely ſtature, and of a haute courage, and albeeit that for his valyancie he was highly renowmed and honoured of all men, yet through his pryde and Ambition he loſt the hartes of many.

Hen. Hunt.
Polidor.
The Chronicles of Normandie haue of Engliſhmen ſlaine. 67974. and of Normans. 6013.

1066

616

There was ſlaine in this battaile beſides king Harolde and his two brethren, Gyrth and Leofrike, what on the one ſide and on the other, aboue twentie thouſande menne. And finally hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceaſſed to raigne in Englande after they had continued poſſeſſion of the ſame, from the fyrſt comming of Hengiſt, which was about the yeare of our Sauiour. 450. alias. 449. vntill that preſent yeare of King Haroldes death, which chaunced in the yeare. 1066. So that from the beginning of Hengiſt hys raigne, vnto Haroldes death, are reckened. 616. yeares, or (after ſome) 617. as by ſupputation of the time will eaſily appeare.

By all the which time there raigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this lande, except that for the ſpace. of. xx. yeares and ſomewhat more the Danes had the dominion of the Realme in their poſſeſſion: for there are reckened from the beginning of King Suenois reigne, (which was the firſt Dane that gouerned England) vnto the laſt yeare of King Hardicnute, (the laſt Dane that ruled here). xxviij. yeares, in whiche meane ſpace Egelred recouering the Kingdome reigned two yeares, and after him his ſonne Edmonde Ironſide continued in the rule one yeare, ſo that the Danes had the whole poſſeſſion of the lande but. xxv. yeares in all.

The bodie of king Harold is buried at Waltham.

The bodie of king Harolde being founde among other ſlaine in the fielde, was buryed at Waltham, within the monaſterie of the holye Croſſe which hee before had founded & endowed to the behoofe of ſuche Canons as he had placed there, with fayre poſſeſſions.

Verily (as ſome wryters haue) reported, there was nothing in this manne to bee in any wyſe diſprayſed, if his ambitious mynde coulde haue beene ſtayed from coueting the Kingdome, and that hee could haue beene contented to haue liued as a ſubiect.

Ex. 6. libro Policraticon, ſiue de nugis curialium Iohn Sariſb.

Among other manifeſt proufes of his highe valiancie, this is remembred of him, that beeing ſent agaynſt the Welchmen (as before is partly mentioned) hee knowing theyr readie nymbleneſſe in ſeruice, and howe with their light armed menne they were accuſtomed to annoy and diſtreſſe thoſe that ſhoulde aſſayle them; hee likewiſe (to matche them) prouided light armed men for the purpoſe, and ſo being furniſhed with ſuche bandes of nymble men and light Souldiers, hee entered vpon the Mountaynes of Snowdone, and there remayned amongeſt the enimyes for the ſpace of two yeares. Hee ſore afflicted the Welche Nation, tooke their Kings, and ſent theyr heades vnto the King that ſent him aboute this buſineſſe, and proceeding in ſuche rigorous manner as mighte moue the hearers to lament and pitie the caſe, hee cauſed all the maſle kinde that might be mette with, to be miſerably ſlaine: and ſo with the edge of his ſworde he brought the Countrey to quiet, and wythall made this lawe, that if anye Welcheman from thenceforth ſhoulde preſume to paſſe the limittes ouer Offes ditch with any weapon about him, he ſhould loſe his right hand.

To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this Chieftaine, the Welche men were then ſo ſore brought vnder, that in maner the whole Nation might ſeeme to faile, and to be almoſt vtterly deſtroyed. And therefore by permiſſion of the king of England, the women of Wales ioyned themſelues in mariage with Engliſh men. But to returne where we left.

Nowe forſomuch as it pleaſed God by hys hidde and ſecrete iudgemente ſo to diſpoſe the Realme of Englande, and in ſuche wiſe as that the gouernaunce thereof ſhoulde fall after thys maner into the handes of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this Hiſtorie (beeing nowe come to the conqueſt of the Realme, made by the foreſayde Duke of Normandie) to ſet down his pedigrew, thereby to ſhewe howe he diſcended from the firſt Duke of that Countrey, who was named Rollo (and after by receyuing baptiſme cleped Robert.)

The ſayde Rollo or Rou, was ſonne to a greate Lorde in Denmarke called Guyon, who hauing two ſonnes, the ſayde Rou, and Gourin, and being appoynted to depart the Countrey, as the lottes fell to him and other, according to the maner there vſed (in time when their people were encreaſed to a greater number than the Countrey was able to ſuſtaine) refuſed to obey that order, and made warre agaynſt the King there, who yet in the ende by practiſe founde meanes to ſlea the foreſayde Guyon, and his ſonne Gourin, ſo that Rou, or Rollo, hauing thus loſt his father and brother, was compelled to forſake the countrey, with all thoſe that had holpe his father to make warre agaynſt the king. And thus dryuen to ſeeke aduentures, at length he became a Chriſtian, and was created Duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles King of Fraunce, ſurnamed Le Simple, whoſe daughter the Ladie Gilla hee alſo maried: but ſhee departing this life withoute iſſue, hee maryed Popee daughter to the Earle of Beſſin and Bayeulx, whome hee had kept as his wyfe before hee was baptiſed, and had had by hir a ſonne named VVilliam Longue eſpee, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Long eſpee, or *Longa Spata* had to wife the Ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert Earle of Senlis, by whome he had iſſue Richard the ſecond of that name duke of Normandy, who maryed the Ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le Grande, Earle of Paris, of whome no iſſue pꝛoceeded: but after hir deceaſſe, he maryed to his ſeconde wife a Gentlewoman named Gonnoꝛ, daughter to a knight of the Daniſhe line, by whõ hee had thꝛee ſonnes, Richarde that was after Duke of Noꝛmandie the third of that name, Robert, ⁊ Mauger. He had alſo by hir thꝛee daughters, Agnes, otherwiſe called Emme, maried firſt to Egelred king of Englande, and after to King Cnute: Helloye, otherwiſe Alix, beſtowed vpon Geffrey Earle of Bꝛitaigne: and Mawde cowpled in mariage with Eudes Earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the thirde of that name maried Iudith, ſiſter to Geoffray Earle of Bꝛytaigne, by whome he had iſſue thꝛee ſonnes, Richarde, Robert, and William, and as manye daughters: Alix, maried to Reignault Earle of Burgoyne: Alienoꝛ, maried to Baldwin Earle of Flaunders: and the thirde dyed yong, beeing affianced to Alfonſe King of Nauarre. Their mother deceaſed after ſhe had beene maried tenne yeares, and then Duke Richard maried ſecondly the Ladie Eſtric, ſiſter to Cnute king of Englande and Denmarke, from whome hee purchaſed to be deuoꝛced, and then maried a Gentlewoman called Pauie, by whom he had iſſue two ſonnes, William Earle of Arques, and Mauger Archbiſhop of Rouen.

Ye muſt note that there was one Richarde duke of Normandie before Rollo.

Richarde the fourth of that name Duke of Noꝛmandie, eldeſt ſonne to Richarde the thirde, dyed withoute iſſue, and then his bꝛother Robert ſucceeded in the eſtate, whiche Robert begatte vppon Arlete oꝛ Harleuina daughter to a Burgeſſe of Felais, William ſurnamed the baſtard, afterwardes Duke of Noꝛmandie, and by conqueſt king of England.

Hitherto haue we continued the Hyſtorie of this land, wherein may appeare the variable chaunges of ſtates by courſe of times, and eſpecially foure notable Conqueſts: as firſt by the Romans, ſecondly by Saxons, thirdly by the Danes, and now laſtly by the Normans: in euerie of which alterations of the ſtate, what is chiefly to be conſidered (bycauſe wee haue partly touched the ſame in the Proheme) we here omit to make any further diſcourſe, and ſo proceede to the ſecond Booke as followeth.

Valet ima summis mutare deus.

t.

vixi

Samuell Stanley

Rex quidam videns sui Regni mutationem vocavit quatuor philosophos ad inquirendam huius mutationis causam Qui deliberatione habita responderunt scribentes quilibet eorum ante unam civitatis portam suam rationem sub scripto modo.

primus philosophus

Potentia. Dies ~~Astutia~~ positica	est	Iustitia nox pugna	idio	Regnum Tera patria	est sine	Lege vita Honore et pace

Secundus philosophus

Unus Amiticia religio Malum	est	Duo Astutia ~~fletus~~ Bonum ~~obsequium~~ adulatio	idio	Regnum Tera patria	est sine	concordia veritate fidelitate vertute et pietate

Tercius philosophus

Ratio non habet Licenciam Reditnarius est fur Cornicula vult ese aquila	idio	Regnum Tera patria	est sine	prudentia nobili Divitiis et disscressione

Quartus philosophus

Voluntas Denarius Contientia	est	consiliarius iudex mortua	idio	1 mundus erroribus confunditur et violentiis premitur 2 Regnum male regitur et fraudibus muriatur 3 Tera pecatoribus repletur et virtutibus spoliatur

Tria fecerunt perire Statum Romanorum

- Latens odium
- privatum Commodum
- Iuvenile Consilium
- inflata Superbia

1577.

THE
Hiſtorie of Scotlande,

conteyning the beginning, *increaſe, proceedings, continuance,*
Actes and Gouernemente of the
Scottiſh nation, from the originall
thereof vnto the yeare. 1571. *Gathered*
and written in the Engliſh
tongue by R. H.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for Iohn*
Hunne.

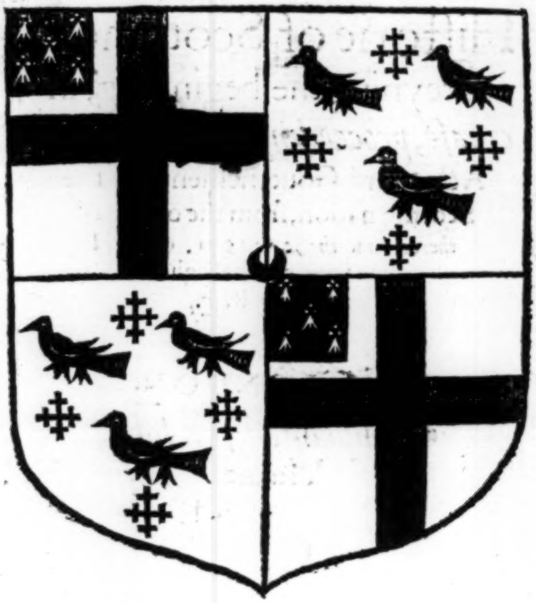
God ſaue the Queene.

¶ The Authours out of whome this Hiſtorie of *Scotlande hath bene gathered.*

Hector Boece.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southvvell.

VVilhelmus Paruus, ſiue Neoburgēſis.
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Siluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Graſton:
Iohn Stovv: And others.

.12.



TO THE RIGHT Honorable the Lorde Robert Dudley,

Earle of Leyceſter, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the
moſt noble order of the Garter, Maiſter of the
Queenes Maieſties Horſe, and one of hir
highneſſe priuy Counſell.

IT may ſeeme (*right honorable*) *a gret preſumptiõ in me, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottiſh hiſtory, and other of diuers regiõs, conſidering ſo many ſufficient men as liue in theſe dayes, far more able to performe the ſame. But where at the motion of a ſpecial frend, I vndertooke to deale therin, more vpõ truſt of his promi*- Reginald VVolfe. *ſed ayde than of mine owne abilitie, it pleaſed God to cal him to his mercy before the worke could be fully brought to end: but yet to anſwere the expectatiõ of his frends, and truſt, which he had cõmitted to thẽ and me in this behalf, I haue done my good will to accõpliſh part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wiſhed deſire, by reaſon of ſuch wantes as had bene ſupplied if he had liued to haue ſeene it publiſhed himſelf. It reſteth (right noble Earle) that it may pleaſe your Honor to accept my doinges in good parte, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauayles in this Hiſtorie of Scotlande, in regarde of the honour due to your noble Father, for his incomparable valure well knowen and approued, aſwel within that realme as els where in ſeruice of two Kings of moſt famous memory,* Henry the. viij. *and* Edward the ſixte, *ſounding ſo greatly to his renowme as* *the ſame can not paſſe in ſilence, whileſt any remembraunce of thoſe two moſt pereleſſe Princes ſhall remain in written Hiſtories. I therfore moſt humbly beſeeche your honour to beare with my boldeneſſe in preſenting you with ſo meane a gifte, proceeding from one, although vnknowen to your Lordſhippe, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodneſſe extended towardes thoſe, to whome I recken myſelf, moſt beholden: as what is he within this realme almoſt of any degree, which findeth not himſelfe bounden to your Honour, either in his owne cauſes or his frendes? for ſuche is your inclination to pleaſure all men, as the ſame may ſeeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble harte, mouing you ſo much to delite therin, as no time is thought by your Honour better ſpent, than that whiche you employ in doing good to others. But leaſt I ſhoulde enter into ſo large a diſcourſe as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceding my ſimple knowlege) I wil ceaſe to ſpeake further thereof, ſith the ſame is ſpread ouer al, aſwel this as other regions: for no where doe want greate numbers of ſuch as haue aboundantly taſted of your exceeding courteſies. In making you owner therfore of this abſtract of the Scottiſh hiſtories, I moſt humbly beſeech your honour if any thing be amiſſe, to impute the ſame to the imperfectiō and defect of better inſtructions, and with your benigne & fauourable interpretation to haue me therein excuſed. Suche as it is I addreſſe it to your good Lordſhip with ſo dutiful a mind as may be imagined, beſeeching God to preſerue your honor in long life, with plentiful increaſe of wiſedome, vertue & al wiſhful proſperitie.*

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE DESCRIPTION OF
Scotlande, written at the firſt by Hector
Boethus in Latin, and afterwarde tranſlated into the
Scottish ſpeech by Iohn Bellendon Archdeacon of Murrey,
and now finally into Engliſh, for the benefite
# of ſuch as are ſtudious in the Hiſtories, by W.H.

The Contents of the Chapters conteyned in this Booke.

1 OF the boundes of Albion, with the ſundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finally of the religion vſed there in olde tyme.

2 The deſcription of the Eaſt, VVeſt, and middle borders of Scotlande, with the moſt notable townes and floudes thereof

3 The deſcription of Galloway, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the ſame.

4 The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddeſdale, Lennox Lowmund, Argile, Louchquaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things conteyned in the ſame.

5 Of Ros, Stranauerne, and Murray lande, with ſuch Lakes and Riuers as are to be touched there.

6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe, and Angus, with the Lakes, Flouddes, Abbeyes, Townes, and other notable commodities there to be ſeene and founde.

7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable Cities, Caſtels and Flouds thereof.

8 Of the greate plentie of Hares, Hartes, and other wilde beaſtes in Scotland, alſo of the ſtraunge nature of ſundrie Scottiſh dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

9 Of the ſundrie kindes of Muskels and Cockles in Scotlande, and Perles gotten in the ſame. Of vncouth and ſtrange fiſhe there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe *Citiſus* commonly called Hadder.

10 Of the Iles of Scotlande, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them.

11 Of the nature of their Claike Geeſe, and diuerſe maner of their procreation, and of the Iſle of Thule.

12 The deſcription of Orkenay, and Shetlande, with ſundrie other ſmall Iſles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame.

13 Of the maners of the Scottes in theſe dayes, and their compariſon, with the behauiour of the olde, and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Ilande.

14 The deſcription of an auncient Pict, and ſuch as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.

15 Of Biſhoprikes, Vniuerſities, and Counties in Scotland.

Samuell Stanley

TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIPFVL Maiſter Thomas Secford Eſquier and Maiſter of the Requeſtes, William Hariſon vviſheth all knovvledge of God, with dayly increaſe of his giftes at this preſent, and in the worlde to come life euerlaſting.

HAuing by your ſingular curteſie receyued great helpe in my deſcription of the riuers and ſtreames of Britain, and by conference of my trauaile vvith the platformes of thoſe fevv ſhires of England vvhich are by your infinite charges alreadie finiſhed (as the reſt ſhall be in time by Gods helpe, for the ineſtimable benefite of ſuche as inhabite this Ilande) not a little pulliſhed thoſe rough courſes of diuerſe vvaters not exactly before time deſcribed by Leland our Countreyman, or any auncient vvriter, I coulde not deuiſe anye thing more agreable vvith mine abilitie & your good nature (vvhich greatly fauoureth anye thing that is done for a commoditie vnto many) than to ſhevv ſome token of my thankefulneſſe for theſe your manifold kindneſſes, by the dedication of my ſimple tranſlation of the deſcription of Scotland at this tyme vnto your vvorſhip. In deede the trauaile taken herein is not great, bycauſe I tie not my tranſlation vnto his letter, neither the treatiſe of it ſelfe ſuch, as taketh vp any huge rovvme in the volume of this Chronicle. But ſuch as it is, & vvhat ſoeuer it is, I yeeld it vvholy vnto you, as a teſtimonie of my good vvill, vvhich deteſteth vtterly to receyue any benefit though it be neuer ſo ſmal, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is ſuch, as calleth me to a farre other kind of ſtudie, ſo that I exerciſe theſe things onely for recreation ſake: and to ſay the truth, it is muche vnſitting for him that profeſſeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any other vviſe vnto contemplation of ciuill Hiſtories. And this is the cauſe vvherfore I haue choſen rather, onely vvith the loſſe of three or foure dayes to tranſlate Hector out of the Scottiſh (a tongue verie like vnto ours) than vvith more expence of time to diuiſe a nevve, or follovv the Latin copie, vvhich is farre more large and copious. Hovv excellently if you conſider the arte, Boethus hath penned it and the reſt of his Hiſtorie in the Latin, the skilfull are not ignorant: but hovv profitably and compendiouſly Iohn Bellendon Archdeacon of Murrey his interpretour hath turned him from the Latin into the Scottiſh tongue, there are verie fevve Engliſh men that knovv, bycauſe vve want the bookes. VVherefore ſith the learned reade him in his ovvne ſtile, and his Countreymen in their naturall language, vvhy ſhould not vve borovv his deſcription and read the ſame in Engliſh likevviſe, ſith the knovvledge thereof may redounde to the great benefit of ſo many as heare or read the ſame. Accept therefore (right vvorſhipfull) this my ſimple offer, and although I aſſure my ſelfe, your naturall inclination to be ſuch, as that it vvill take nothing in ill part that is vvell meant tovvard you, hovve rudely ſoeuer it bee handled in the doing, yet I vvill not let to craue pardon for my preſumption, in that I dare be ſo bold as to offer ſuch a trifle vnto you, whom more vveightie affayres doe dayly call from things of ſo ſmall importaunce. Almightie God keepe your vvorſhip from time to time in his feare, and bleſſe you and my good Ladie your vvife, vvith ſuch increaſe of his benefites, as may moſt redounde to his glorie, and your ovvne aduauntage.

The deſcription of Scotland.

The boundes of Albion with the ſundry commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancy, and finally of the Religion vſed there in old tyme. Chap. 1.

The Ile of Albion contayneth in the whole circumference two thouſande myles, hauing in length 700. and in breadth 300. as appeareth well by the coaſt thereof that lieth ouer agaynſt Fraunce where it is broadeſt, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter Marches & laſt boundes of England and Scotland. For betwixte the Mule of Galloway that is on the weſt ſide ouer againſt the Iriſh ſeas, and Saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germaine Ocean towarde the eaſt, are ſcarcely 130. myles, and thenceforth it groweth ſmaller and ſmaller till it touch vpõ the North ſeas, where it is not aboue 30. miles, as I noted before in the deſcriptiõ of Brytaine. This Ile is repleniſhed with people, horſes, and all other kindes of cattell and corne in moſte aboundant maner, except it be in ſuche places where as God of his ſingular goodneſſe hath otherwiſe indued the ſoyle with riche mynes of Gold, Siluer, Tinne, Braſſe, Copper, & quickſiluer, whiche for the moſt parte are ſo plentiful, that they ſuffiſe not onely for the neceſſaries of the whole Iland, but alſo of ſundry regiõs that are ſituate round aboute it, if the inhabitauntes were ſkilfull and painefull to deale withall accordingly. But the abundaunce of all other things requiſite for the vſe of man, that is found generally in our Iland, maketh the people leſſe carefull of theſe commodities, and more gyuen to idleneſſe. For beſide the great plenty of thoſe things whiche heauen and earth do miniſter, as graſſe, corne, and cattell, and foules of ſundry kindes, there is ſuche ſtore of fiſhe in all parties of our ſeas, eſpecially towarde the North, that the ſame would ſuffiſe to feede and ſuſtayne all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the ſame. For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpõ vs, as Fraunce, Flaunders, Zealande, Hollande, and a great part of Germany (eſpecially thoſe whiche lie neare vnto the coaſt) do ſayle thither with great numbers of veſſels dayly to fiſhe vpon our coaſts, and buie ſuch as we haue already caught, not only for their owne vſe, but alſo for the Lenton prouiſion of ſuch nations as lie vpon the Leuant ſeas, where they ſell the ſame at theyr owne willes, with very ſpeedy vtterance. Many other riche and precious cõmodities are to be gotten in the ſayd Ile, whereof the aforenamed nations do make no ſmall accompte; beſide theſe common things. What ſhall I ſay of our wolles, whiche are in ſo high eſtimation in all landes, bicauſe of their neceſſary vſes, and whereof a great part is ſo fine, and ſofte, that of it are made, the coſtly ſkarlettes, pliaunt gloues, and many other grayned and delicate clothes, of whiche I thought good to make this mention, bycauſe the reporte thereof is not yet made common and generally knowē to all men.

Dionyſius Alexandrinus ſaith that the wool of Brytaine is often ſponne ſo fine that it is in manner comparable to the ſpyders draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the kingdomes of Brytaine had ſuche grace giuen them from aboue as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the ſubiectiõ of one Prince, they ſhould ere long feele ſuch a ſauour in this amity, that they wold not onely liue frankly of their owne, without any forain purchaſe of things, but alſo reſiſt all outward inuaſion, with ſmal trauayle and leſſe dammage. For as touching their perſons, and likewiſe theyr notable wittes, apt bothe for the attayning of learnyng and knowledge of handycraftes, they are inferiour to no other nation.

Thereunto we finde them to be couragious and hardy, offering themſelues often vnto the vttermoſt perils with great aſſurance, ſo that a man may pronounce nothing to be ouer harde or paſt their power to performe, if they woulde giue themſelues to liue temperately, and follow their predeceſſors in moderation of diet. Therfore it (is as I thinke) that almighty God in his prouidente diſpoſition of al things, hath ordeyned their groundes (otherwiſe plentifully indued with all kindes of commodities) to be deſtitute and voyde of wine, as forſeeing that the ſayde liquor whiche bringeth greateſt benefite vnto other countries, woulde come in the ende to be moſt pernicions and noyſome vnto them. For they are giuen to ſuch vnnatural rauening and greedy deſire of forraine thinges (whileſt they contempne or not regarde their owne) that they cannot reſtrayne the immoderate vſe of Wine, and exceſſe vſed in drinking of the ſame: In ſo much that we may ſee diuers to be ouertaken & haſted, not only with ſundry kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs & them of the mayne, but alſo many other whiche they haue not, neyther be any thing at all acquainted, with as experiēce dayly teacheth. Some by long ſickneſſe and languiſhing greefes do grow into ſuche deformitie only thorow exceſſiue feeding, & greedy abuſe of wine, that if you knew them whē they were children and young men, you ſhall hardly remember them when they be old and aged: and that which more is in compariſon of other that liue more ſoberly, you will hardly thinke thē to be borne in the Ile, but rather ſuppoſe them to be chaungelings and monſters, brought out of other countries to gaze & looke vpon: diuerſe of them thorow the cōtinuall vſe of wine, are moleſted in their age, with phreneticall pangs and paſſions? ſeldome alſo ſhal you ſee thoſe that are giuen much vnto wine and ſuch welfare, to become parents of many children, ſith their naturall moyſture and generatiue force, is much abated, if not altogither extinguiſhed by ſuch immoderate diet. But to returne to our purpoſe, the Albanes or Brytons, as *Ceſar* in his Commentaries, & *Tacitus* in his Annales do report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vſed in old time. For in thoſe dayes the Prieſts of Brytaine named *Druides*, were very expert both in naturall and Morall Philoſophy, and from thence came the firſt profeſſors of that ſect and opinion into Fraunce. The principall ſeat alſo of their Prieſtes was in the Ile of Man, whiche was reputed at that ſeaſon, for the welſpring and foūtayne of all learning and knowledge, and after that their Prieſtes were ones conuerted to the Catholike fayth, they perſeuered in the ſame with great conſtancie, without any note of Hereſie.

The deſcription of the Eaſt weſt and middle borders of Scotland, with the moſt notable townes and flouds therof. Chap. 2.

The Pictes had ſometimes the principall & moſt fertile parte of that countrey, whiche now is vnder the regiment of the Scottes, and after they had cōtinued in the ſame by the ſpace of. 1171. yeares, ioyned in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, & mainteining mutually the warres ſometimes with the Brytaines & Romaines, & ſometimes alſo iarring with their Scottiſh neighbours, at the laſt they fel into extreme hatred one wͭ another, till it was brought to paſſe by the diuine prouidence, that the ſayde Pictes were ouerthrowen, their name extinguiſhed, & the kingdome vnited vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scottes haue bene very oftentimes aſſayled with moſt daungerous and terrible warres, & oftētimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet ſuch hath bene the fauour of almighty God towards them, that ſtill they flouriſh & retaine theyr eſtate inuiolate.

Whatſoeuer wee haue generally ſpoken of Albion, that is chiefly to be vnderſtanded of the Scottes, & farre greater, eſpecially among the Scottes, as they call them in the high lande, as people that haue leſſe to do with forraine Merchants, & therfore are leſſe delicate, & not ſomuch corrupted with ſtrange bloud and alliaunce. Whereby in like ſorte it cōmeth to paſſe, that they are more harde of conſtitution of body, to beare off the colde blaſtes, to watche better, & abſteyne long, whereunto alſo it appeareth that they are bolde, nimble, and thereto more ſkilfull in the warres. As for their faith & promiſe, they holde it with greateſt conſtancie, as *Hector* hath ſet downe. Towardes the Almaine ſea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, ſometime the moſte plenteous region of the Pictes for their marche, which ſo long as the ſayd people did inhabite it, was called Deera, or Dere, but after their expulſion it was named Mers, that is to ſay, the Merches or limites of their coūtrey. In proceſſe of time alſo the Scottes extended their boundes euen vnto yͤ Twede, which now diuideth Northumberlande from the Mers. On the other ſide of the countrey towarde the Weſt, ſundry ſmall bournes deſcend from the Cheriot hilles, & other mountaynes lying thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberlād from Innandale, & ſo being brought into one chanel, they fall togither into the Iriſhe Ocean, and ſtande for the bounds of Scotland vpō that halfe of the countrey. The Cheriot hilles are in like ſorte taken for the middle Marches of the region, whiche with certaine ſmal brokes that fall frō the ſame, do ſeparate both the countries, whereby their limites are knowen. The Mers hath vnder marches at ſeueral places (whether it is extended) as ſometime the Germayne ſea, ſometime Eaſt Lowthian, ſomtime the Twede, & ſomtime the Forth, & among many ſtrong holds & Caſtels, that ſtand vpon the borders, is the towne & Caſtell of Barwijck in time paſte called *Ordolucium*, as the inhabitantes are called *Ordoluci* (if *Hector* be not deceiued.) The Twede ſpringeth out from a meane head, and after his augmētation, with other ſmall waters that fall into the ſame, it deſcendeth with a large courſe into the Almayne ſea. Beyond yͤ Twede, to the middle March vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to ſay, the vale of Tiffe: Beyond it is Eſkedale, or the vale of Eſke, of a riuer ſo called that runneth thorow the ſame: ouer againſt Eſkedale on the other ſide lieth Euſdale, ſo named of the riuer *Eus* that paſſeth thereby, & falleth into the water of Innande: But Tif and Eſke do runne into the Twede: furthermore on the weſt ſide ouer againſt yͤ Iriſh ſea, lieth Innandale, whereunto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth ſomtimes without the boūdes of Niddeſdale, where al the three riuers aforeſayd, that is to ſay, Eus, Annand & Sulway deſcende togither in one bottome into the Iriſh ſeas.

In Annādale is a Loch or lake named Lochmaben, 5. miles in lēgth & 4. in breadth, not only very ful of fiſh, but of ſuch kinde as few men are acquainted with. Beſide this lake alſo there is a caſtell of yͤ ſame name builded of purpoſe to reſtraine the furious dealing of theeues whiche do great hurt in thoſe quarters. For not only in Inandale, but in all the Dales or Wales afore rehearſed, are many ſtrong theeues, which often ſpoile the countrey, and exerciſe much cruel ſlaughter vpon ſuch as inhabite there in any troublous time. Theſe robbers (bicauſe the Engliſh do border vpō their dry marches, & are their perpetual enimies) do oftē make forcible rodes into the Engliſh boundes, for their better maintenaunce & ſuſtētation, or els they pilfer priuily from them, as men leading in the meane ſeaſon a poore beggerly & very miſerable life. In the time of peace alſo, they are ſo inured to theft and rapine, that they cānot leaue off to ſteale at home: & notwithſtāding that they be often very ſore handled therefore, yet they thinke it prayſe worthy to moleſt their aduerſaries, as they cal the truer ſorte, whereby it cōmeth to paſſe, yͤ many riche & fertile places of Scotlād lie waſt & voyde of culture for feare of their inuaſion.

Not far from the Sulway (a water where great plenty of fiſh is to be had) are many quicke ſandes, & thoſe ſo perillous that no man may well go ouer the ſame, but with great difficultie & daunger of his life. This vale of Annand was ſomtime called *Ordouitia*, & the people thereof *Ordouices*, whoſe auncient barbarouſneſſe is reported to be ſuche, that in times paſt they refuſed not to kill and eate ſuch priſoners as had yeelded themſelues vnto them. The very womē in like ſort would ſlea their huſbands, if at any time they fled frō the field, and returned to their houſes, only to giue occaſion vnto other mē to ſtand to their tacklings at euery ſuch aduenture.

On the Weſt borders & toward the North lieth Niddeſdale, ſo called of the water of Nidde. It beginneth with a very narrow courſe, and increaſing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally reſtrayneth it ſelf againe, till it cōmeth at the ſea, whether it runneth with a ſwift courſe, as yͤ Scottiſh writers do report. In this vale ſtādeth a towne named Dunfriſe, wherein many fine clothes eſpecially whites are made, which are brought vp & caried into England, Fraunce, Flaūders & Germany where they are had in great price and eſtimation.

The Deſcription of Galloway, Kyle, Carricke and Cunningham, with the notable Townes, Lakes and Riuers in the ſame. Chap. 3.

ABoue Niddeſdale is Galloway (named ſometime Brigantia) the people whereof were in times paſt called *Brigantes*: this region is deuided by the water of Cree into two partes, whereof that which lieth neareſt to Niddeſdale, is called nether Galloway, & the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Galloway. In nether Galloway is Kirkcowbry, a rich towne & of a good trade in merchaundize, and in vpper Galloway is Whitherne in Latine *Candida caſa*, an Abbay dedicated to S. Ninian the Biſhop, & there lieth his carcaſe, which is honored of the people with great ſuperſtition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, & not far from thence is the great lake of Myrton, the one half whereof doth freze by naturall congelation as other pooles and plaſhes do, but the other is neuer ſeene to beare any Ice at all, whiche vnto me doth ſeeme to be great wonder. In Galloway moreouer are two other lakes, the Salſet and the Neutramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochmyrton: As for Galloway it ſelfe, it yeeldeth out a great point promontory or cape (which the Scots call a Mule or Nuke) into the Iriſh ſea. The common ſorte name it the Mules Nuke, & by the compaſſing of it ſelfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Rean and Lowis, except I be deceyued, one of theſe lakes or pooles is xxx. and the other xvj. myles of length, & both full of Oyſters, Herring, Congers, Cockles, and other like kindes of fiſhe.

Some are of the opinion that *Brigantia* was the ſame region of Britain yͤ is now called Wales, wherein the Brytons inhabited many yeares after their expulſion out of Brytaine. But this opiniō is falſe, ſith the Romaynes write how that Man the Iland lieth ouer againſt *Brigantium* and middeway betwene the ſame and Ireland: for albeit that the brayes or bayes are now worne wider and farder diſtant ech from other by the waſhing and working of the ſea, yet the ſame latitude and eleuation of the pole that *Ptolomy* aſcribed to the Brygantes, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Galloway, which is very farre from Wales, ſithence the Ile of Man lieth alſo 200. miles from thence, and in the ſight of Galloway. In like ſort by the teſtimony of ſundry Authors both Iriſh and Spaniſh, we affirme that out of *Brigantium*, a citie of Spaine, (now named *Compoſtella*) there came a new company of people into Ireland called Spaniardes, & out of Irelād another crew of the ſame nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembraunce of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whileſt they were in Spayne, they called themſelues *Brygantes*. To this opinion in like ſort *Cornelius Tacitus* doth ſeeme to leane, who ſaith, that the Brygantes deſcended from the Spaniardes, whiche in his time dwelled in the vttermoſt partes of Brytaine, including vnder yͤ name the whole Iland of Albion. Theſe regions afore rehearſed, that is to ſay, Innandale, Niddeſdale and Galloway, beſide fine wolles and ſtore of cattell, doth alſo abounde with all kindes of grayne, wheate onely excepted.

Aboue Galloway is Carrike, ſometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whoſe name it is not yet certainely knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whoſe ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silury is diuided into three parts, *videlicet* Carrick, Kyle & Cunningham: In the firſt as I ſayd, was Carrick the noble citie: and in this countrey are many ſtrong Caſtels, bothe by naturall ſituation and pollicy of mã: herein alſo are fayre kine, and oxen whoſe fleſh is delicate, and very tender to be eaten, the tallow moreouer of theyr wombes is ſo moyſt & ſappy that it neuer wareth harde, but relenteth of the owne accorde, and becõmeth like vnto oyle. Beyond Carrick is Kyle, ſo called of Coile King of Brytaine, ſomtime ſlaine in the ſayd region, and therein is a ſtone, not much aboue xij. miles from the towne of Air, ful xxx. foote high, & three elles of breadth, called the deafe ſtone, not without cauſe: for when a man is on the one ſide thereof, he ſhal not heare what is ſayde or done on the other, though there be neuer ſo great noyſe made, no not if a Canon ſhould be diſcharged of ſet purpoſe, which to me doth ſeeme impoſſible, neuertheleſſe the farder a man ſtandeth from the ſame, the better ſhall he heare what ſoeuer the noyſe be. Next vnto Kyle is Cunninghã the third part of Silurie, whoſe inhabitãts in time paſt were moſt noyſome to ỹ Romaines. In Kyle is a poole named Doune, from whence the riuer Doune, doth runne thorow the middeſt of that region into the Iriſhe ſea. In Cunningham likewiſe is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Doune, and no leſſe famous for the abundance of fiſh that is dayly found therein: and not farre from the ſame is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the thirde King of Scotland of that name, ſometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grewe to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latin Hector, 12 foote highe 30. foote in length, & thre elles thicke.

The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddiſdall, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentyre, with all the notable things contayned in the ſame. Chap. 4.

The water of Clide, deuideth Lennox on the North ſide from the Barrony of Renfrew, & it riſeth out of the ſame hill in Calidon wood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long courſe into the Iriſh ſea: ſome cal this riuer Gluda, & Cluda, but *Tacitus* nameth it Glota. Not far alſo from the fountaines of Clide, ariſeth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrary ſide into the Germaine Ocean. In like ſorte after the water of Clude hath run for a ſeaſon towarde the North, it gathereth ſomwhat inward til it come to the moũtaine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a ſwift courſe, til it fall as I ſayd into ỹ Iriſh ſeas. The coũtrey where it rũneth is named Clideſdale. Betwixt Clide & Lennox lieth ỹ Barony of Renfrew, wherin are two pooles named Quhinſouth & Leboth, of which the firſt is xij. miles in compaſſe, the other xx. and both very riche & plentifull of fiſh. But in Lennox that lieth next aboue Renfrew toward the Ocean (called by *Ptolomy* Lelgonia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of xxiiij. miles in length, & eight in breadth, and within this Lhin or poole are .10. Ilandes wel replenished with Churches & dwelling houſes, & in the ſame alſo are three things worthy conſideration, whereof the firſt is, that the pleaſant & very delicate fiſhe there breede doth want finnes. The ſecõd is, that the water will often ſwell with huge waues though no winde be ſtirring, and that in ſuch wiſe that the beſt Mariners in the countrey dare not aduenture to ſayle thereon. There is alſo a very fruiteful and commodious Ile therein, very neceſſary for the paſturage of cattel, whiche fleeteth hither and thither as the winde bloweth. This lake is ſituate at the foote of the hill called Granzeben, whiche were ſometime the marches or limites betwixt the Scots & Pictes, & are extended frõ Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Pictes had no parte of the country beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Iriſh ſeas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles frõ Lochlowmund is the caſtel of Dumbritaine named ſometime Alcluid, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmũd is Argile, an hilly coũtry and full of cragges and mountaines, therin alſo are two lakes Lochfine and Lochquho, that diuide the region into three partes, that in the middeſt beyng called Knapdale. In Lochfine likewiſe is more plenty of herring than in any parte of the coaſt that compaſſeth the Iland, but in Lochquho are ſuche kindes of fiſhe to be vſually had as are commonly breede in freſh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two caſtels Glenunquhart and Enconell, and in it are 12. Iles, whoſe chiefe commoditie reſteth rather in paſturage for cattell, than aboundance of grayne. In Argile furthermore are many riche mynes full of mettall, but the people there haue no ſkill to find and trie out the ſame. The conſtant report alſo goeth there, how there is a ſtone of ſuche nature, that if it be hiddẽ in ſtraw for a certaine ſeaſon, it will kindle of it ſelfe & conſume the ſtraw to aſhes. There are ſeuen other lakes in Argile, whereof ſome are thirty miles in length and breadth, and other leſſe. It was told me once by *Doncan Campbell* a noble Knight, that out of Garloll one of the pooles of Argile, there came a terrible beaſt in the yeare of grace, 1510. which was of the bigneſſe of a Greyhound, and footed like a gander, and iſſuing out of the water early in the morning about Midſomer time, did very eaſily and without any viſible force or ſtreyning of himſelfe ouerthrow huge okes with his tayle, and therevnto killed three men out right that hunted him with three ſtrokes of his ſayd tayle, the reſte of them ſauing themſelues in trees there aboutes, whyleſt the aforeſayde Monſter returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obſeruations of rare and vncouth ſightes, beleeue that this beaſt is neuer ſeene but agaynſt ſome great trouble & miſchiefe to come vpõ the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene diſcried alſo before that time, although not very often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Iriſhe ſea, in maner of a cape or tong, full 60. miles. This poynt alſo was called *Nouantia*, but now it is named Kyntyre, that is to ſay, the head of Lorne, whoſe vttermoſt part is not full 16. miles frõ Ireland. Some Authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantyre, were called *Nouantia* in old time, ſith *Ptolomy* maketh no mention of Argile in his Coſmography. In this Lorne is great aboundance of Barley whiche the Scottes call Beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrayland, very riche in mines of Iron & Lead, & no leſſe beneficial to the country in all kindes of cattel. There are likewiſe many woodes, many lakes, & many riuers, but two of them are moſte notable for the plenty of Salmons, & other delicate fiſhe, aſwell of the ſalt as freſh water, which is there taken & almoſt without any trauaile: neyther is there any where els in all the Ile ſuch ſtore. The one of theſe is named Lochty, and the other Spanze, but vpon what occaſiõ theſe names were giuen vnto thẽ I finde as yet no certainty. The Lochty riſeth not aboue eight miles from Lochnes, & falleth beneath the ſame into the Germaine Ocean, & beſide it, there is a rocky cragge, running out at length into the ſea, named Hardnomorth. In yͤ mouth of Lochty likewiſe was ſomtime a riche towne named Inuerlochty, whether the marchaunts of Fraunce and Spaine did make their dayly reſort, till at the laſt it was ſo defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able ſithence the ſayde time to recouer hir priſtinate renowne. But whether the negligẽce of the vnrepayre of this towne, proceedeth of the ſlouth of our people, or hatred that ſome enuious perſons do beare to cities & walled townes in our countrey, as yet it is vncertayne. Beyond Lochty is the caſtell of Dunſtafage, in time paſt named *Euonium*: beyõd Dunſtafage alſo is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth as I heare into the Germaine Ocean.

The diſcourſe of Ros, Stranauern, and Murray land, with the lakes, riuers and notable townes in them. Chap. 3.

BEyond the water of Spanze lieth Ros ſomtime called *Lugia*, a very narrow region God it wote, but running out in greate lẽgth thorow the middeſt of the Ilande, being enuirõned on both ſides with the Ocean. That portion thereof whiche lieth neareſt to the Iriſh ſeas, is very difficulte for ſuche as trauell by the countrey, by reaſon of the high Mountaynes, whiche maketh the countrey more apt for wilde beaſtes than mankind to inhabite: neuertheleſſe waxing more fertile on that part whiche ſtretcheth toward yͤ Germaine ſea, it yeeldeth it ſelf to culture, & rendreth ſome grayne. In paſture alſo it is not altogither vnprofitable, ſith there is good graſſe, and very batable for their heardes: for the valeys there, being watered with ſundry pleaſant ſtreames, do yeelde a ſweete & very ſauoury graſſe, wherewith all ſortes of cattell are very muche delited. In Ros are ſundry lakes, but Lochbrun is the greateſt. There are alſo many freſh riuers, fraught with excellent fiſhe, and finally a notable Firth or ſafe hauen called Cromart, wherunto diuers in time of neceſſitie do reſort, to auoyde the daunger of ſhipwracke, that otherwiſe would aſſuredly annoy thẽ. The Scottiſh mẽ call it hell of ſhipmen. In this region moreouer is yͤ towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they ſay) do reſte, & are had in greater eſtimation among the ſuperſtitious ſorte (as ſometime ouer the whole Iland) than the holy Goſpel of God and merites of his Sonne, wherby we are onely ſaued. Two auncient houſes are likewiſe maintained in one vale of the Ros, whoſe formes reſemble ſo many belles, but to what ende as yet I do not find. Next vnto the ſayd Ros lieth the Stranauerne, as the vttermoſt regiõ of Scotland, yͤ coaſtes wherof abutting for a while vpõ the Deucalidon ſea, do afterwarde turne againe towarde the Almaigne ſeas, hauing partly the Deucalidon coaſt, and partly Catheneſe vpon the North ſide, Sutherland on the eaſt, Roſſia on the ſouth, & Deucalidõ againe vpõ the weſt. There are three great cragges or pointes lying on the vttermoſt ſide of Stranauerne, that is to ſay, the Hope, Howbrun (the greateſt of yͤ three) and Downiſby, which bicauſe they ſhote farre off into the ſea, do make two great Firthes and lakes, eche of them being ſeuerally diſtinguiſhed from other. Next vnto Catheneſe lieth Sutherland, a profitable region both for grayne and all kindes of prouiſion, but chiefly for the nouriſhment of beſtial, wherunto it chiefly enclineth, as do the other two laſt before rehearſed. On the farder ſide alſo of this, lieth Murray land, ſomtime called *Vararis*, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time paſt all the regiõ lying betwene Spay and Neſſe to the Irelãd ſea, was named Murray, now it is knowen to be onely beyond the water of Spay & Kiſſocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Iriſh ſea. Betwixt Ros and Murray land, is a great Baie, & likewiſe a diſcent of ſundry waters: for therinto fal the Neſſe, Nardin, Findorn, Los and Spay, whereof this latter runneth with ſo fierce and violent a ſtreame, that the force of the ſea at the flood ſtriuing to enter into the ſame, is put backe & may not reſiſt ẏ inuincible fal, & beats backe the water that deſcendeth into the Ocean. The Neſſe iſſueth out of a lake of the ſame name (which is not paſſing eight myles from the ſayde plaſhe, from whence the Lochtie runneth) and thence goeth into the Iriſhe ſeas: And this propertie it hath, that neither the ſtreame, neyther the lake it ſelfe will yeelde to be frozen in the very deepe of winter. Such alſo is the force therof, that if any Ice or whatſoeuer froſen ſubſtance be caſt therinto, it will by and by relent and diſſolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth very profitable for ſuche cattell as are benũmed with colde. In the mouth of the Neſſe, ſtandeth a towne called Inuerneſſe, where ſometime was great abũdance of herring taken, but now they be gone, by the ſecrete working of God. The common people put the fault in the riche & men of higher calling, who enuying the commoditie of the poore inhabitantes, will often ſeeme to bereaue them of this emolumẽt, by force and ſlaughter. Whereupon (as they ſay) it cõmeth to paſſe, that the encreaſe eftſones decayeth, & very ſmal ſtore is taken there by many yeares after ſuch iniurie offered. But to proceede: beſide Lochneſſe, which is 24. miles of length & 4. in breadth, by reaſon of the great woodes there ſtãding, is great ſtore of ſauage beaſts, as Harts, wild Horſes, Roes, and ſuche like. There are likewiſe Martirnes, Beuers Foxes, & Weſelles, whoſe ſkinnes and caſes are ſolde vnto ſtraungers at huge and exceſſiue prices. In Murray land alſo is not allonly great plenty of wheate, Barley, Otes, and ſuch like grayne, beſide Nuttes and Apples, but likewiſe of all kindes of fiſhe, and eſpecially of Salmon. The people thereof in like ſort do vſe a ſtrange maner of fiſhing: for they make a lõg Weele of wicker, narrow necked & wide mouthed, with ſuch cunning, that whẽ the tide commeth the fiſhe ſhoote themſelues into the ſame, & forthwith are ſo incloſed, that whileſt the tide laſteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone, eſcape the handes of the fiſhers. In this region moreouer is a lake named Spiney wherein is exceeding plenty of Swannes. The cauſe of their increaſe in this place is aſcribed to a certaine hearbe which groweth there in great abundãce, and whoſe ſeede is very pleaſant vnto the ſayde foule in the eating, wherfore they call it Swan Gyrs: & herevnto ſuch is the nature of ẏ ſame, that where it is once ſowen or plãted, it wil neuer be deſtroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fiue myles in length, & was ſometime within the remembrance of man very well ſtored with Salmon and other great fiſhe, yet after that this hearbe began to multiply vpon the ſame, it became ſo ſhallow, that one may now wade thorow the greateſt parte thereof, by meane whereof all the great fiſhe there is vtterly conſumed. In this portion furthermore, is the Churche of Pette, where the bones of litle Iohn remayne in great admiration. Certes this carcaſe hath bene 14. foote long, his members well proportioned according to his ſtature, and not fully ſixe yeares before this booke was written (by Boethius) he ſawe his hanche bone, which ſeemed ſo great as the whole thighe of a man, and he did thruſt his arme into the hollowneſſe thereof, whereby it appeareth what mighty people grew vp in our region before they were ouercome with gluttony and exceſſe. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgyn, not farre from the mouth of Spaye, and therin is a Cathedral church furniſhed with Chanons: there are thereto ſundry riche and very wealthy Abbayes in Murray, as Kyllos of the order of the *Ciſteaux*, and Pluſcardy of the Cluniackes.

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, floudes, Abbayes, townes, and other notable things conteyned in the ſame. Chap. 6.

NExt vnto the Murray lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertile and plentifull regions, whiche extend their boundes euen vnto the ſeas. They are both very notably indued with batable paſtures, and by reaſon thereof are very full of cattell, they yeelde moreouer excellent corne, & by meanes of theyr large woodes and foreſts not without great ſtore of wilde beaſtes, of ſundry kindes and natures. Neare alſo vnto the Dourne water, which is a riuer maruelouſly ſtored with fiſh, ſtãdeth a towne named Banf, and vnder theſe two regions aforeſayde lieth Buchquhane, a very batable ſoyle for all kindes of cattell, but eſpecially of ſheepe, whoſe wooll exceedeth that of the like beaſt of all other countries there aboutes for whiteneſſe and fineneſſe. The riuers that are in this countrey do in lyke maner abound with Salmons, ſo that there is no one of them voyde of this commoditie, except the Rattra onely, wherein it is not hearde that any hath bene ſeene: herein alſo ſtandeth the caſtell of Slanis, in which the high conſtable of Scotlãd dwelleth, and neare vnto the ſame is a marueylous caue: for the water that droppeth into the ſame, in a ſhort proceſſe of time becommeth an harde white ſtone, and except they had bene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it ſelfe had bene filled vp with the ſame many yeres agone.

This region is voide of rattes, & ſuch is the nature therof, that if any be brought thither from other places, they are founde to die immediatly: finally it is moſt marueylous of all, ẏ as Otes do growe there in many places of themſelues without culture & tillage, ſo if a man come thither of ſet purpoſe to mow downe the ſame, he ſhal find nothing els but empty hulles & ſtraw: but if he chaunce vpon the ſodaine and without premeditatiõ of the thing to cut downe any (a matter impoſſible in my minde) he ſhall finde them ſo good & ful as any are elſwhere to be gathered & ledde home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing els but an illuſion, wherewith the wicked fends do captiuate & blinde the ſenſes of the ſuperſtitious ſort: for that it ſhould be ſo by nature, it is a thing altogither impoſſible.

Nexte vnto this, lieth the greate region of Mar, whiche is very plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60. miles in length, frõ the Almaigne ſeas to Badzenoch.

In this is the Citie of Aberdene, wherein is a Biſhops ſea, and noble Vniuerſitie, ſometime founded by William Elphinſton Biſhop there. This citie lieth betwixt two riche riuers, the Done & the Dee, wherin is the greateſt ſtore of Salmons that is to be founde againe within the compaſſe of Albion, and likewiſe the greateſt & longeſt if you reſpect their quantitie. Next vnto Marre, we haue Mernis toward ẏ ſea, a very fatte ſoyle ful of paſture, & abundantly repleniſhed with euery ſort of cattell. In this portion ſtandeth Dunnother the Marſhall of Scotlands houſe, & likewiſe the towne of Fordon, in whiche the bones of *Palladius* do reſt, who is taken generally for the Apoſtle of our nation. The water of Eſke is bound vnto this region, whiche is otherwiſe called Northeſke, a very daungerous chanell, & wherin many haue periſhed for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to paſſe & repaſſe ouer the ſame. Angus bordereth vpon the Mernis, it was ſometime part of Horreſtia, & now watered with three notable riuers, as the Northeſke already mentioned, & marueylouſly repleniſhed with Salmõs, likewiſe the Southeſke, & finally the Tay, the nobleſt water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romayne writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus alſo is an highe Mountayne or Promontory, called the redde Brayes, whiche lieth out farre off into the Almayne ſeas. The Tay alſo riſeth farre beyond the Mountaynes of Granzeben out of Loch Tay, whiche is a poole of 24. miles of length, and 10. of breadth, wherein are not onely diuerſe Iſlandes with Caſtels in them, but the water of the lake it ſelf (beyng moſte fine and ſubtile) is notably repleniſhed with great ſtore of fiſh, and therfore very commodious for ſuch as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almayne ſea beſide Dundee, a towne called in olde tyme *Alectum*, wherein I was borne, and in whiche the people trauayle very painefully about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus alſo many other cities & riche Abbayes, as Mountros, Brechin & Forfayr, beſide ſo many Caſtelles as lieth not in me to number. This likewiſe is not to be paſſed ouer with ſilence, that whereas Forfair was in tyme paſt a notable Citie, ſtrengthened with two royall Caſtelles, as the ruynes do yet declare, now it is brought vnto litle more than a countrey village, repleniſhed with ſimple cotages. Many lakes and pooles are alſo in Angus, and thoſe well fraught with fiſh. There is alſo in this countrey one place called the vale of Eſke, whoſe ſheepe haue ſuch white, fine, and excellent wooll, as the lyke vnto it is hardly to be founde againe within the whole Ilande.

After wee be ouer the Tay, we come vnto Fife, ſometime a parte of Ottoline: In this region groweth all maner of grayne ſo plentifully as elſwhere in any part of Albion, and where no corne, is there is no leſſe foyſon of cattell. There are blacke ſtones alſo digged out of the grounde, whiche are very good for firing, and ſuche is their intollerable heate when they are kindled, that they reſolue and melte yron and therefore are very profitable for Smithes, and ſuche Artificers as deale with other mettalles: neyther are they founde any where els (that I do knowe of) but betweene the Tay and the Tine within the whole Ilande. Salt is likewiſe made in this region in great quantitie of Sea water, whiche they boyle according to theyr maner. There are furthermore ſundry cities in the ſame, of whiche S. Andrewes is the cheefe, wherein is bothe the ſee of an Archbiſhop and a famous vniuerſitie. There are moreouer ſundry lakes, as Loch Torre and Loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerſe Iles, and in one of them alſo the Churche of Saint Phillane, a Scottiſhe ſaint, of no ſmall name and reputation.

Such are to be ſeene alſo in Luke.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large and broade chanell into the Ocean ſeas. Certes it is a water very plentifully indued with Cockles, Oyſters, Muſkles, Seales, Pellockes, Mereſwyne, Whales, and greate foyſon of white fiſhe: and among many other Iles that are to bee founde in this Fyrth, that of Maie is of greateſt fame, bycauſe Adrian and his fellowes were killed in the ſame. In the middeſt of this Ile ſpringeth vp a fountayne of freſhe and cleare water, from an high rocke, whiche is not a litle to be marueyled at, conſidering the quantitie and ſituation of the Ile. Beſide this alſo is a wonderfull cragge, ryſing within the Sea, whereunto is ſo ſtricte and narrow a paſſage, that a man ſhall hardly come vnto it by a fiſher boate, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Baſſe caſtell) is inuincible, and therin are many caues very profitable for defence, made heretofore by great labour and induſtry of man. Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein alſo is great ſtore of Soland geeſe (not vnlike to thoſe which *Plinie* calleth water Egles or as we, ſea Herons) & no where els but in Ailſay and this Rocke. At theyr firſt comming which is in the ſpring of the yeare, they gather ſuche great plenty of ſtickes & bowes togither for the buylding of their neſtes, that the ſame doth ſuffice the keepers of the caſtel, for the yearly maintenaunce of their fewel without any other prouiſion. Theſe foules do feede theyr young with the moſt delicate fiſh that they can come by. For though they haue already praied vpon any one, and haue it faſte in their becke or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to eſpy a better, they let the firſt fall againe into the ſea, & purſue the later, with great & egre ſwiftneſſe vntill they take holde thereof. Sometimes their pray is taken from them by the keepers of the caſtel, as are alſo their ſtickes from time to time for the aforeſayde vſe: but they making ſmall or rather no reſiſtaunce, do turne agayne forthwith, for more wood or fiſhe (as their loſſe requireth) not ceaſing till they haue buylded theyr neſtes with the one, & nouriſhed vp their young with the other, ſo that what by the timber of their neſts, the beguiling them of their pray, and ſtealyng away of their young, they bring yerely no ſmall commoditie vnto the owner of the caſtell. Within the bowells of theſe geeſe there is a kinde of greace to be had of ſingular force in Medicine, and flaying likewiſe the ſkinne from their bodies with the fatte, they make an oyle very profitable for the Gowte and many other diſeaſes in the haunches and groynes of mankinde. In this cragge more, there groweth an hearbe very pleaſaunt & delicious for Salades, but if it be taken vp and planted elſwhere, it eyther groweth not at all, or vtterly giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earſt indued. There was ſometime a ſtone found here in this rocke muche like to a water ſponge or pumiſe, hollow on the one ſide, and of ſuch nature, that if any ſalte water had bene powred thereinto, and ſuffred to runne thorow, it woulde forthwith loſe the naturall ſaltneſſe, and become freſh and very pleaſant vnto the mouth and taſte: we heare in theſe dayes that this ſtone is to be ſeene in Faſt caſtell, whether it was brought after it had paſſed many handes for the triall of this matter.

In this Firth alſo is the Ile Aymon, wherein is an Abbay. There are likewiſe diuers other Ilandes, and thoſe very full of Conies: and in the ſayde Firth are ſundry fiſhes oftentimes ſeene of monſtrous ſhape, with cowles hanging ouer theyr heades lyke vnto Monkes, and in the reſt reſemblyng the body of man. They ſhewe themſelues likewiſe aboue the water to the nauell, howbeit they neuer appeare but agaynſt ſome great Peſtilence of menne, or Murreyn of cattell: wherefore their onely ſight doth breede great terrour vnto the Scottiſhe nation, who are very great obſeruers of vncouth ſignes and tokens.

The deſcription of Lowthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Garcoth, with the notable Cities, Caſtels and Floudes thereof.

Chap. 7.

IN the Southſide of the Forth lieth Lowthian, ſo called of Lothe or Loth, one of the Kinges of the Piktes, it was ſometime named Picklande: but now it is parcell of the Scottiſh kingdome, and thereto for bounty of ſoyle is not inferiour to any region of Scotlande. In Lowthian are many Abbayes, Caſtelles and townes, as Hadington, Dunbar, Northberwike and Leith: but Edenborow paſſeth them all, aſwell in pollicy of regiment as in forme of buylding and wiſedome, and riches of the inhabitantes: therein alſo is the caſtell of Maydens remembred by the moſte renowmed Authors, and alſo the Kings cheefe pallace, whiche tripleth the renowne of the aforeſayde citie. Not farre from thence moreouer, is a certayne oyly ſpring whiche riſeth out of the grounde in ſuche aboundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is reſtored: and the people are perſwaded hereof, that it is very medicinable agaynſt all Cankers and ſkalles. Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the caſtel of Dunbar, whiche by naturall ſituation and induſtry of man, is now become one of the chiefe holdes in Albion. It was ſometime the principall houſe appertayning to the Earles of Marche: and there harde by is a towne of the ſame name, wherein is a rich Abbay, or Colledge of Chanons founded by thoſe Earles. Nexte vnto Lowthian lieth Mers;, whereof I haue ſpoken already, but wee will nowe goe vp higher into the lande. Neareſt vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Twedale: nexte vnto

Twedale is Druyſdale, Walcopdale, Douglaſſedale, and Clidiſdale, and all theſe are ſuche names as the riuers haue that runne along their botomes. The principall towne of Cliddeſdale is Glaſco the Archbiſhops ſee, wherein is a notable Church erected in the honour of Saint Mungow, and buylded with great magnificence. In Glaſco alſo is a noble Vniuerſitie where the liberal Artes and Sciences are very zealouſly taught. In this region moreouer is a very riche mine of Gold, and another of Azure, the commoditie of whiche later is reaped with ſmall trauayle. There are ſometimes founde diuers precious ſtones alſo, as Rubies and Diamōdes. Certes this myne was diſcloſed in the time of Iames the fourth, who would no doubt, haue brought it to full perfection if he had longer liued, whereas now litle profitt redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, bycauſe it is eyther vtterly neglected or not very much regarded. North of Glaſco lieth Menteith, and Striueling ſhire bordering vpon Argile & Lennox. In Striueling ſhyre is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the Caſtell of Striueling, which was ſometime called the dolorous Mountaine. At this towne alſo began the great Calidon wood, whiche ranne thorow Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as *Ptholomy* writeth in his firſt table. In this wood were ſomtime white Bulles with ſhack hears and curled manes like fierce Lions, otherwiſe they were lyke vnto the tame, neuertheleſſe ſo wilde and ſauage, that they woulde neuer be made familiar, nor taſt of any hearbe or graſſe that mans hande had once touched, after many dayes. Being taken alſo by the induſtry of man (whiche was very hard to do) they would refuſe all ſuſtenaunce, and ſterue themſelues to death. As ſoone as any did inuade them, they would ruſhe vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth:) as for Dogges, Nettes, or any kinde of weapon they feared not, neyther cared for any maner of engine. It is ſayd that Robert Bruze after his Coronation did hunt one of theſe Bulles in the aforeſayde wood, being accompanied but with a ſmall trayne, in whiche voyage he eſcaped narowly with his life. For after the beaſt felt himſelfe ſore wounded by the hunters, he ruſhed vpō the King, who hauing now no weapon left in his hande wherewith to defend himſelfe, he had ſurely periſhed if reſkue had not come: howbeit in this diſtreſſe one came running vnto him who ouerthrew the Bull by playne force, and held him downe till the Hunters came that killed him out right. For this valiant acte alſo the King indued the aforeſaid partie with great poſſeſſions, and his linage is to this day called of the Turnebulles, bicauſe he ouerturned the beaſt, and ſaued the kings lyfe, by ſuch great prowes and manhood. Certes the fleſh of theſe beaſtes were reputed in old time as a moſt delicate foode, and onely meete for the nobility, notwithſtanding that it be very ful of ſinewes and griſtles, whereat ſome delicate feeders do often take offence. In times paſte alſo they were bredde in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all cōſumed by the gluttony of the inhabitants, ſo that none of them are left, but only in Comernald. On the eaſt ſide of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth alſo vpon Fife: thorow the valeys likewiſe of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is moreouer worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern & Tay, there is a ſtone of ſmall quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place ſoeuer it be layde, it will not be remoued from thence by manuall practiſe, arte or engine, and yet one man may ſo ſoone moue it as an hundred. On the other ſide of Tay beyond Angus and Gowray lieth Stermond, a region plentifully indued both with graſſe and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are many noble valeys and ryuers full of fiſhe, as pikes Lampernes, &c. The ſoyle there alſo is ſo bountifull, that it yeeldeth corne in manner without any tillage: there is likewyſe therein a towne called Lud, whoſe fieldes are ſo plenteous that (if they be well tilled and dreſſed) they will yeelde greate ſtore of Barley without any ſowing of ſeede. Howbeit as this is in that parte of the region often verified, ſo in other there is a contrarious diſpoſition to bee founde in the earth, whiche turneth wheate ſowne into good & perfite Rye, the like whereof I heare, to be not farre from Luke and in the countreys thereaboutes. Weſt of Buchquhane and Borne, lieth Boſſgewell, and Gareoth very plentifull ſoyles bothe for graſſe and corne. In Gareoth alſo is an hill called Doundore, that is to ſay, the Golden mountayne: for the Sheepe that feede thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the ſame hewe, reſembling burniſhed golde. Theyr fleſhe moreouer is redde as it were tynged with Saffron, and ſo is their wooll muche after the ſame maner. There is furthermore in the ſame region, an heape of ſtones lying togither in maner of a Crowne which yeeld a ſounde when one of them is ſtricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one Idoll Temple or other ſtoode heretofore in that place whyleſt the Scottiſhe nation was addicted to the worſhipping of Diuels. Many other regions are in Scotlād, as Bradalbane, Strabraun and Badzenoth with diuers ſmall territories and floudes, howbeit they are not ſo notable as thoſe which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but folly to deale any farther with them.

Of the great plenty of Hares, redde Dere, and other wilde beaſtes in Scotland, of the ſtrange properties of ſundry Scottiſh Dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

Chap. 8.

Hauing

HAuyng made this ſpeciall deſcription of the Realme of Scotland, now will I touche ſuch thinges as concerne the ſame in generall. Firſt of all therefore in the fieldes and wilde places of the countrey there is great plenty of Hares, red Dere, Fallow dere, Roes, wilde Horſes, Wolfes and Foxes. Theſe Horſes are not gotten but by great ſlight and pollicie: for in the winter ſeaſon the inhabitants turne certayne tame Horſes and Mares amongſt them, wherewith they growe in the ende to be ſo familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into theyr Maiſters yardes, where they be taken & ſome broken to their handes. The Wolues are moſt fierce and noyſome vnto the heardes and flockes in all partes of Scotland, ſauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glennors dale, where theſe beaſtes do no maner of hurt vnto the domeſticall cattell, but pray onely vpon the wilde. Foxes do much miſchiefe generally in all ſteades, but chiefly in the Mountaynes, where they be very hardly hunted, howbeit arte hath deuiſed a meane to preuent their malice, and to preſerue theyr pultrie. Certes there is almoſt no houſe that dothe not for certayne dayes cheriſhe vp a yong Foxe, which the Scottes do call a Todde, and then killing the ſame, they mince the fleſhe thereof amongſt ſuche meate, as they giue vnto their foules and other litle beſtial, and by this meanes ſo many foules and cattell as eate hereof are preſerued from daunger of the Foxe, almoſt by two monethes after, ſo that they may wander whether they will, for the Foxes as it were winding or ſmelling the fleſhe of their fellowes yet in their croppes, will in nowiſe meddle with them, but eſchew and knowe ſuche a one, although it were among an hundred of other. In Scotland moreouer are Dogs of meruailous condition: for beſide the common nature and vniuerſall properties of Dogges of all other countries, there are three ſortes with vs, whiche are not ſeene elſwhere in any quarter of the worlde. The firſte is an Hounde of greate ſwiftneſſe, hardineſſe, and ſtrenght, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beaſtes, & egre againſt theeues, that offer their Maiſters any violence. The ſecond is a rache or hound very exquiſite in followyng the foote (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beaſt, yea he will purſue any maner of foule, and finde out whatſoeuer fiſh is caſt vp, or lurketh among the rockes, by that excellent ſence of ſmelling wherewith he is indued. The thirde ſorte is no greater than that of Raches, in collour for the moſt parte red with blacke ſpots, or els blacke and full of redde markes. Theſe are ſo ſkilfull that they will purſue a theefe or theefe ſtolen goodes in moſte preciſe maner, and finding the treſpaſſer, with great aſſuraunce, they will make a rayſe vpon him. Or if it be ſo that he haue taken the water for his ſauegarde, he ſhrinketh not to follow him, and entring and iſſuyng at the ſame places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaſeth to raunge til he haue noſed his footing, and be come to the place wherein the theefe is ſhrowded. The Dogges of this kinde are called Sleuthoundes. Certes this report would ſeeme mere incredible, excepte it were dayly had in experience vpon the borders of Englande and Scotland, where pillage is good purchaſe indifferently on both ſides. There is a lawe alſo among the borderers in time of peace, that who ſo denieth entraunce or ſute of a Sleuthound in purſuyte made after fellons and ſtolen goodes, ſhalbe holden as acceſſary vnto the theft or taken for the ſelfe theefe.

Of foules ſuche (as I meane) as liue by pray, there are ſundry ſortes in Scotlande, as Egles, Faucons, Goſhaukes, Sparhaukes, Marlions and ſuch like, but of water Foules there is ſo great ſtore that the report thereof may ſeeme to exceede all credite. There are other kindes of birdes alſo in this countrey, the like of whiche is no where els to be ſeene, as the Capercailȝe or wilde Horſe greater in body than the Rauen, and liuing only by the rindes and barkes of the Pine trees. We haue in like maner many More cockes and Hennes, whiche abſteyning from corne do feede vpon nought els, but the leaues of *Cytiſus*, whiche the Scottes do commonly call Hadder. Theſe two are very delicate in Eating. The thirde ſorte is reddiſh blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the Pheſaunt, and no leſſe delicious in taſte and ſauour at the table, our countrey men call them wild Cockes, and their cheefe ſuſtenaunce is by wheate. Beſide theſe, we haue moreouer another foule in Mers more ſtrange and vncouth than all theſe afore mentioned, called a Guſtard, fully ſo great as a Swanne, but in colour of feathers and taſte of fleſhe, little differing from a Partriche, howbeit theſe byrdes are not very common, neyther to be ſeene in all places, ſuche alſo is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their egges to haue bene touched in theyr abſence by mans hand (whiche lie commonly on the bare earth) they forſake thoſe neſtes and lay in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Salmon is more plentifull in Scotland than in any other region of the worlde, and bicauſe the nature of this fiſh is ſtrange, I wil ſet downe ſomuch as I do knowe hereof at this preſent time as followeth. The Salmon in Harueſt time, commeth vp into the ſmall riuers, where the water is moſte ſhallow, and there the male & female rubbing their wombe one agaynſt another, they ſhedde theyr ſpawne, which forthwith they couer with ſand and grauell & ſo depart away, from henceforth they are gant & ſlēder, & in apparance ſo leane yͭ thei appeare nought els but ſkin & bone, & therfore worthely ſayd to be growne out of vſe and ſeaſon, it is ſayd alſo yͭ if they touche any of their full fellowes, during the time of this theyr leanneſſe, yͤ ſame ſide which they touched will likewiſe become leane, whereby it cōmeth to paſſe, that a Salmō is oft ſeene to be fat on the one ſide of yͤ chyne, & leane on yͤ other. But to proceede, the aforeſayd ſpawne & milte being hidden in the ſande (as you haue heard) in the next ſpring doth yeelde great numbers of litle frie, but ſo neſhe & tender, for a long time that till they come to be ſo great as a mans finger (if you catch any of thē) you ſhal perceyue them to melt & their ſubſtance to diſſolue & fade euen as if it were gelly, or iſſayd forth againſt yͤ ſunne. Frō henceforth they go to the ſea, where within the ſpace of xx. dayes they grow to a marueylous greatneſſe, & then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they ſhew a notable ſpectacle not vnworthy to be conſidered of. Certes in Scotlande there are many linnes or pooles, whiche being in ſome places among the rockes very ſhallow aboue, & yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, & thereto the Salmon not able to pearce thorow the Chanell, either for ſwiftneſſe of the courſe or depth of the diſcent, of ſuch water as cōmeth againſt him, he goeth ſo neare vnto the ſide of the rocke or damme, if I ſhall ſo call it, as he may, & there aduentureth to leape ouer & vp into the lin, if he leape well at the firſt, he obtaineth his deſire, if not he, aſſayeth eftſoones the ſecond or third time, till he returne now into his coūtry: a great fiſh able to ſwimme againſt the ſtreame, that before was a litle hod & maugre his reſiſtence, caried with the violent courſe of the water into the mayne Ocean, ſuch as aſſay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do bruſe thēſelues & become Meaſelled: others that happen to fal vpon dry land a thing often ſeene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in cawdrons of hote water, which they ſet vpon the ſhallow & dry plottes with fire vnder them, in hope to catche the fatteſt, & ſuche as by reaſon of theyr weight do ofteneſt leape ſhorte. Certes yͤ taſt of theſe is reputed to be moſt delicate, and therfore their price is cōmonly greater than of the reſt. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any Salmon from the eight of September, vntill the xv. of Nouember. Finally there is no mā that knoweth readily whereon this fiſhe liueth, for neuer was any thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke ſlymy humour.

Of the ſundry kindes of Muſkles and Cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the ſame: of the vncouth and ſtrange fiſh there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe Cythiſus commonly called Hadder. Chap. 9.

HEre it reſteth that I ſhewe the nature of Muſkles & Cockles, wherof we haue many & ſundry kindes amongſt vs: of theſe alſo ſome are ſmall, and yet if they be eaten freſh, are not without a naturall delicacy in taſt. Others are greater & not vnlike in forme & quātitie to thoſe that haue the purple: & albeit that they are vtterly voyde thereof, yet is their meate and ſubſtance right pleaſant in the eating. There are of an other ſorte whiche are longer & greater, than either of theſe, called horſe Muſkles, to be had in the Dee & the Done, & in theſe are the pearles ingendred. Certes they loue to be reſident in the deepeſt and cleereſt waters that are voyde of mudde & filth, & ſuch is their eſtimation among the deintieſt kindes of foode, that they were not vnworthely called of old time, widowes luſtes. Their ſhelles alſo are as it were wrought euen from the very toppes, and thereto ful of ſpottes; wherein (as in yeld of gaine) they farre excede al other. Theſe early in the morning, in the gētle, cleere, & calme ayre, lift vp their vpper ſhells & mouthes, a litle aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine & pleaſant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwardes according to the meaſure & quantitie of this vitall force receyued, they firſt conceyue, then ſwell, and finally produce the pearle. They are ſo ſenſible & quicke of hearing, yͭ although you ſtanding on the bray or banke aboue them, do ſpeake neuer ſo ſoftly, or throw neuer ſo ſmall a ſtone into the water, yet they will deſcrie you, and ſettle againe to the botome, without returne for that time. Doubtleſſe they haue as it were a naturall carefulneſſe of their owne commodity, as not ignorant, how great eſtimation wee mortall men make of the ſame amongſt vs, and therefore ſo ſoone as the fiſher men do catche them, they binde their ſhelles togither, for otherwiſe they would open, and ſhead theyr pearles of purpoſe, for whiche they know themſelues to be taken and purſued. Their maner of apprehenſion is this, firſt foure or fiue perſons go into the riuer togither, vp vnto the ſhoulders, and there ſtand in a compaſſe one by another with poles in their handes, whereby they reſt more ſurely, ſith they fixe thē in the ground, & ſtay with one hand vpon them: Then caſting their eyes downe to the botome of the water, they eſpie where they lie by their ſhinyng and cleereneſſe, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not ſuffer them to ſtoupe for them) & giue thē to ſuch as ſtand next them. The perles that are ſo gotten in Scotlād, are not of ſmall value, they are very orient and bright, light & round, & ſomtimes of the quantitie of yͤ nayle of ones litle finger, as I haue had & ſeene by mine own experiēce. Almoſt ſuch another muſkle found on the coaſt of Spaine, the ſhels whereof are gathered by ſuch as go in pilgrimage to S. James; & brought into Scotlād, but they are wont perles, bicauſe thei liue in ſalt water, which is an enimy to yͤ Margarite: but

Cardane denieth this, lib. 7. de Subtilitate.

but Cardane alſo denieth it. In all the ſea coaſtes alſo of Scotlād are Cockles & Muſkles of the ſame forme, but without this commodity. Many vncouth and ſtrange ſhapes of fiſh likewiſe are ſeene there, whereof ſome are armed with ſhelles, ſome with harde ſkales, and diuers round as a ball ſkinned like an Ircheon or Hedgehogge, hauing but one conduit bothe for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their ſuſtenaūce. To ſhew euery kinde of fiſh that is in Scotlād, it were but a vaine trauaile, ſith the ſame are knowē almoſt in euery region. In like ſorte we haue ſuch plenty of fiſhe vpon our ſeuerall coaſtes, that although Millions & infinite numbers of them be taken on the one day, yet on the next their loſſe wil ſo be ſupplied with new ſtore, that nothing ſhal be miſſing by reaſon of the yeſterfang: ſo bountifull is God in theſe his benefites vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift beſtowed vpon vs by the ſingular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth and penury of fleſh and corne is ſeene in Scotland, the greater ſtore of fiſhe is taken vpon our ſhores, In like ſorte in the deſertes and wilde places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it ſelf called Hadder or Hather very delicate, as *Columella lib.9.cap.4.* ſayth, for Goates and all kinde of cattell to feede vpon, and likewiſe for diuers Foules, but Bees eſpecially. This herbe in Iune yeeldeth a purple floure, ſweete as hony, whereof the Pictes in time paſte did make a pleaſaunt drinke, and very wholeſome for the body: but for aſmuche as the maner of making hereof is periſhed in the hauocke made of the Pictes, when the Scottes ſubdued their countrey, it lieth not in me to ſet downe the order of it, neyther ſhewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no parte of Scotland ſo barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth eyther yron or ſome other kinde of mettall, as may be proued eaſely thorow out all the Iles that are annexed to the ſame.

Galen lib. 1. de Antidotis ſaith that Cytiſus is no hearbe but a ſhrubbe, and ſo dothe Pliny lib. 12. cap 3 lib. 13. cap 24 lib 16. cap:38: And Columella in the end of his 5. boke, where he accompteth it amōg trees.

Of the Iles of Scotland, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them. Chap. 10.

BEing fallen at the laſte into mention of our Iles, I wil addreſſe my ſelf to deſcribe the ſame, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Iriſhe ſea betwixt Ireland and Scotlande are forty and three Iles, whereof ſome are xxx. myles long, diuers xij. and others more or leſſe. Theſe are called by ſome writers *Eubonie*, and by other *Hebrides*. But the principall of them all is that of Man, whiche lieth ouer againſt Galloway, and was ſometime the principall ſeate of the *Druydes*, as *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Ceſar* in his Cōmentaries, and other Romayne writers do teſtifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwiſe named Botha, after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, whiche (as all other the like were in thoſe dayes) was called Bothe. Frō Arran wee go to Hellaw and Rotheſay, whiche later is ſo named of ẏ Scot, which brought the Scottes firſte out of Ireland into Brytaine. Not farre from this Ile is Ailſay, where there is ſuch ſtore of Soland geeſe as the ſayde before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailſay lie many other diſtinguiſhed by their ſeuerall names, but full of mynes, as of Iron, Tinne, Lead, and ſundry other mettals. Howbeit the moſte notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promontory of Nouant cliffe, (in Scottiſh the toūg of Lorne) within ſight of Lochquhabre. Certes it is a riche parcell, xxx. miles of length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to finde and trimme the ſame. Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, fully ſo large as Ila both for length and breadth. In Mula is a fayre ſpring two miles from the ſea, from whence runneth a litle brooke or ſtrippet, whereof you ſhall reade more in the deſcription of Brytaine, *lib. 1. cap. 8.* Neare vnto this is Iona, otherwiſe called Columkill, in whiche is an Abbay, wherein the Kings of Scotlande were commonly buried from the time of Fergus the ſecond, vnto Malcolme Cammor, who erected the Monaſtery of Dunfermelin, where ſithence that time the moſte parte of our Kings haue bene of cuſtome interred. Paſſing forward to ẏ Northnorthweſt ſeas, ouer agaynſt Roſſe is an Ile named Lewis. lx. myles in length, in this Ile is but one fiſhe riuer, and it is ſayd that if a womā wade thorow the ſame at the ſpring of the yere, there ſhall no Salmon be ſeene there for a twelf moneth after, wheras otherwiſe that fiſhe is knowen to abounde there in very great plenty. Beyonde Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later wherof, it is incredible to ſay what of Seale, of Pellock & Porpaſſe is to be ſeene, whiche are nothing abaſhed at the ſight of any man. The laſt and vttermoſt Ile is named Hirtha, where the eleuation of the pole, is lxiij. degrees, and ſithence the latitude of Man, is but lvij. I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the firſt Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the laſt Ile hereof are 377. myles, after 62. miles and an half to eche degree, as *Ptholomy* hath ſet down. It is named Hirtha, which in Iriſh ſoundeth ſo much as a Sheepe in Engliſh, for herein that kinde of cattell aboundeth, eche one being greater than any Bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the Bugle, and thereto they haue ſide tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuirõned on euery part with rocky or rocky crags, whereby fewe veſſelles may lande there but at one place, where the working of the ſea is often times ſo terrible and rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without daunger of his lyfe. They that go thither therefore, do watch theyr times when the ſea is calme and ſtill. In the moneth of Iune alſo, a Prieſt commeth vnto them out of Lewiſſa, and miniſtreth the ſacrament of Baptiſme to all the children that haue bene borne there ſithe that moneth in the yeare precedent: whiche beyng done, and a certayne number of Maſſes ſayde, he receyueth Tithes of all their commodities, & then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two Churches or Chappels, wherof one is dedicated to S. Peter, another to S. Clement. The fame is, that ſo ſoone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of moſt cleane and innocent life, goeth to the Aultare with great ſolemnity, and there layeth a wiſpe of ſtraw, which being done they fall all to prayer, in the middeſt wherof fire commeth downe from heauẽ and kindleth or ſetteth the ſame on fire. prometheus

Beyond this, is yet another Ile, but voyde of people and all other liuing Creatures, ſauing a certen kinde of beaſtes like vnto Sheepe, whoſe nature and forme I haue already touched in the deſcription of Brytaine, and therefore omitte it here, for haſte and breuitie ſake. Betwixt theſe Iles alſo is a right daungerous paſſage, ſith the ſea by working of oppoſite ſtreames hath ingendred a goulf, whiche ſometime taketh in an incomprehenſible deale of water, and ſomtimes caſteth it forth agayne, by meanes wherof many ſhippes that by rage of winde and weather are inforced to come that way, are eyther ſwallowed vp by the waues, or throwen againſt the rockes to their vtter daunger and ruine. The greateſt rage of this conflucte is at a place called Corebrecke, where it will eyther ſinke or at the leaſt wiſe draw any ſhip vnto it, though it be a full myle diſtant from the ſame.

Of the nature of the Claike geeſe, and ſundry maners of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule. Chap. 11.

NOw it is come to hande that I entreate of thoſe Geeſe, which are ingendred by the ſea, whoſe procreatiõ hath hitherto bene thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is falſe, and yet ſith theyr generation is ſtrange in deede, I haue not a litle trauayled, and with no ſmall diligence indeuoured to ſearch out the truth hereof, wherby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the ſea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughtes: for although that they are in ſundry wiſe produced, yet I finde the ſame to be performed continually in the ſea, and not elſwhere, as ſhal appeare hereafter. All trees caſt into the Element in proceſſe of tyme become worme eaten, & in the holes thereof are the ſayde wormes to be founde though very little and ſmall (in compariſon to that they be afterwarde) to be perceyued at the firſt. In the beginnyng, theſe wormes do ſhew their heades and feete, & laſt of all their plumes and winges. Finally when they are come to the iuſt meaſure and quantitie of Geeſe, they flye in the ayre as other foules do. This was notably proued in the yeare of grace 1490. in ſight of many people, beſide the Caſtell of Petſlego, whether the body of a greate tree was brought by working of the ſea. This tree beyng taken, it was caried to the Lord of the ſoyle, who ſone after cauſed it to be ſlitte in ſunder with a ſawe which being done, it is incredible to ſee, what a multitude of wormes came out of theſe holes. Of theſe alſo ſome appeared as if they had bene but newe ſhapen, diuerſe had head, foote and winges, but no fethers, the reſt were formed into perfite foules. At the laſt when the people had gazed thereon by the ſpace of an whole day, they caried it to S. Andrewes Churche beſide Aire, where the ſaide blocke remayneth ſtill to be ſeene. Within two yeares after there hapned ſuch another tree to come into the fyrth of Tay beſide Dunder, worme eaten and full of young geeſe after the ſame maner: the thirde was ſeene in the hauen of Leith beſide Edenborow: alſo within a fewe yeares, in like ſorte a ſhip named the Criſtopher, after ſhe had lien three yeares at ancre in one of theſe yles was brought to Leith, where bycauſe hir timber was found to be rotten ſhee was taken in ſunder, and in hir keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes or bored with a wimble, and eche one of them filled with ſuch creatures as I haue ſayde before. Here if any man will alledge that the Chriſtopher was buylded of ſuch timber onely as grew in theſe Iles, and that all rootes & trees there growing, are of ſuch nature as in their corruptiõ do turne into theſe foules, I will diſproue his aſſertion by one notable example ſhewed before mine eyes. Maſter Alexander Galloway parſon of Kinkell, was with vs in theſe Iles, and giuing his minde with attentiue diligence to ſearche out a full reſolution with vs of theſe obſcure and hidden matters, it hapned on a tyme that he toke vp a braunche of Alga, called in Scottiſhe, Seatangle, whiche hanged ful of muſkle ſhelles from the roote euen to the very top. Being alſo deſirous to ſee what was in them, he grewe to be more aſtoniſhed than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he ſaw no fiſh but a foule perfitely ſhaped, fully anſwering to the capacitie of the ſhell.

Finally, knowing that I was very inquiſitiue of theſe and the like rare nouelties, he came haſtily with the ſayde hearbe and ſhewed it vnto me, who founde no leſſe by experience than I before reported. By theſe and many other reaſons and examples I cannot beleeue that theſe Claikes (or Barnacles as I call them) are produced eyther by the qualities of the trees or the rootes thereof, but only by the nature of the ſea, whiche is the cauſe and productrix of ſo many wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, bycauſe the rude and ignoraunt people ſaw oftentimes the fruytes that fell from trees (which ſtoode neuer in the ſea, conuerted within ſhorte time into geeſe, they beleeued that theſe geeſe grewe vpon trees, hangyng by their nebbes as apples and other fruyte do by their ſtalkes, but their opinion is vtterly to be reiected. For ſo ſoone as theſe apples or fruyte fall from the tree into the Sea, they grow firſt to be worme eaten, and in proceſſe of time to be conuerted into geeſe.

Thus haue I ſpoken ſufficiently of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewith all would ſhut vp my diſcourſe of the ſame, were it not that I haue ſomwhat to ſay alſo of Thule, not vnknowen vnto the Romaynes, as may appeare by *Tacitus*, who telleth how the Romaine nauy by the cõmaundement of *Agricola*, was ſent to vewe the coaſtes of the whole Iland of Brytaine, and in their returne reported how they had ſeene the Thule, with other Ilandes lying aboute the ſame. *Ptholomy* writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, whiche lie neare vnto Norway, and beyond the Orchades, but this cannot be proued ſo by late experience: for Thule is many miles diſtant from Shetland. Some ſay that Thule is the ſame whiche wee call Iſland: other write that it is the laſt Ile of the Ocean ſea, and ſo is Iſland, which lieth in the colde froſty ſea, beyond the Artike circle toward the North pole. The people of Iſlande bycauſe no corne groweth among them, lyue onely by fiſhe, whiche they drie and powder ſo ſmall as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mixe it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the deſcription of Orkenay, and Shetland with ſundry other ſmal Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame. Chap. 12.

BEyond the Iles of Scotlond lie thoſe of Orkenay partly toward the Northweſt, and partly toward the Almaine ſeas. The principall Ile of theſe is called *Pomonia*, wherein is a Biſhops ſee, and two ſtrong caſtels. In theſe groweth no wheate, they are in like ſorte voyde of wood, howbeit al other graine groweth there very plentifully, they be without all venemous beaſts: alſo neither can ſuch as are brought thither liue any while, more than in Irelãd, which ſuſteyneth no creature that is aduerſarie to mankinde, ouer and beſide this, there are no frogges: as for Eels they are ſeldome found & to be ſeene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mentiõ of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland & hir commodities appertaine not to this place) whiche farre paſſeth all that euer I haue redde in bookes. Certes there is a Loch, linne, or poole there, neare vnto the whiche by many miles, there groweth neyther hearbe nor tree, howbeit ſuch is the qualitie of this water, that if a ſtake be pitched in the ſame, the nature thereof doth within one yeeres ſpace, alter and change accordingly, for that parte thereof which ſticketh in the grounde is conuerted into harde ſtone, the ſame that is enuironed with water turneth into tough yron, onely that portion whiche is aboue the ſayd Element retaining hir former woody ſubſtaunce, whereby it is often ſeene how in one and the ſame body, three diſtinct ſubſtances are found, that is to ſay, ſtone, yron, & wood, which farre exceedeth all credite. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of litle or no leſſe importaunce are to be rehearſed, for ſith there is great abundance of Barley whereof they make the ſtrongeſt Ale that is to be founde in Albion, and thereto knowen, that they are the greateſt drynkers of any men in the worlde, yet was there neuer dronken or man diſguiſed with drinke ſeene there, neyther any foole, or perſon otherwiſe berefte of his wittes throwe phreneſſe or madneſſe. There is herevnto ſmall vſe of Phiſicke: for mankinde liueth there moſt commonly vnto extreme age in ſound & perfite health, whoſe bodies alſo are of ſtrong conſtitution & very white of colour. The Ewes that are to be found in theſe Ilandes haue for ẏ moſt part two or three Lãs a peece, at euery eening, and therewithall they haue in this countrey ſuche plenty of foules bothe wilde and tame, as the lyke number agayne is not to be founde in Brytaine. Theyr horſes are litle greater than the French Aſſes, but in their labour they excede all other, what ſhoulde I ſpeake of the plenty of fiſhe there to be had, which paſſeth al credite: among whiche there is one ſorte greater than any horſe, of marueylous and incredible

ſluggiſ

ſluggye deſire to ſleepe. This fiſh when ſhe prouideth to ſleepe, faſtneth hyr huge teeth vpon ſome cragge that lieth aboue the water; & then ſlumbreth or falleth into a moſte ſounde reſte, whiche the ſeafaring men eſpying, they forthwith caſt ancre, and then letting downe theyr ſhippe boates, they conueigh themſelues to the fiſhe, and bore a greate hole thorow hir tayle, whereinto they put one ende of a cable, and ſo make it ſure, the other ende is faſtned to a great ancre, whiche is let fall of purpoſe into the ſea, and thus is their entrepriſe attempted ere long to be atchieued. For after this wounde, it is not long ere the fiſhe awaketh, who feeling hir ſelfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the ſea, thinking to hide and ſhrowde hir in the deepes: but being ſtayed by the weight of the ancre, and indeuouring in vayne to breake the cable, ſhe laboureth ſo vehemently, that at the laſt ſhe windeth hirſelfe out of hir ſkinne (for the which ſhe is commonly taken) and ſone after alſo turneth vp hir belly, yeelding hir life vnto the waues, and hyr body to the Mariners, who make an excellent oyle of hir greace, and paſſing ſtrõg cables of hir hide or ſkinne. Certes ſuch is the force of Rope made of the ſkinne of this fiſhe, that they will holde at a plunge no leſſe than the Spaniſhe *Sparto*. Herein alſo they exceede ỹ ſame in that they will continue very long without fretting aſunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Schetland Iles, whoſe chiefe commodities ſtande onely by fiſh which is dried in the ſunne. There are brought alſo into Scotland out of theſe Ilandes great ſtore of Sheepes felles, oxe hides, Goate ſkins, & caſes of Martirnes dryed in the ſunne. And in the ſame maner the Marchaunts of Hollande, Zeelande and Germany, fetch them yearely by barter and exchaunge for other common and neceſſary wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions reſemble much the Orchanois. The ſame in like ſorte that is ſayde of the Orchanoys, concerning drunkenneſſe and frenefy, is verified on them, as is alſo their length of lyfe, although not in ſo rare maner: Sith theſe in ſteede of ſtrong Ale, content themſelues with water, and very ſlender diet. Beyõd the Schetlandes there are diuers other Ilandes, of lyke condition, but without corne and all maner of fleſhe to feede vpon. Theſe dry their fiſhe at the Sunne, and when they are thorowe ſtiffe, they grinde them to ſmal powder, which they worke vp with water into loaues, and ſo vſe the ſame in lieu of other bread. Theyr firing conſiſteth of the boanes of ſuche fiſhes as they take, and yet they content themſelues in ſuche maner with this their poore kinde of lyuelode, that they thinke their eſtate moſt happy in reſpect of ſuch as inhabite in the Maine. Certes there is no quarrelling amongſt theſe for wealth or gaine, but eche one prouideth ſuche ſtore of fiſhe in Somer whiche he taketh himſelfe, as ſhall ſuffice his family, or kepe his houſe in winter. They are voyde of all ambitious mode, & neuer troubled with ciuile or forrein warres, as men that deeme ſirme peace and quietneſſe, with mutuall loue and amity, to be the chiefe felicity to be ſought for in this life, and to remaine herein, eche one to his power doth ſhewe his whole indeuour. This finally is to be added vnto their cõmendation, that they are ſimple, playne, voyde of crafte, and all maner of Serpentine ſuttlety, whiche endeth commonly with miſchiefe, and reigneth in the Maine. Once in the yeare there commeth a Prieſt vnto them from Orkenay (of whiche Dioceſſe they are) who miniſtreth vnto them the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and after a certayne tyme (hauing taken vp in the meane time his Tithes in fiſhe, whiche is their ſole increaſe, and very truly payde) he returneth home againe the ſame way that he came. If any giftes of nature are to be numbred as parcelles of worldly riches and renowme, they are not without theſe alſo: for the people of theſe Iles are luſty, fayre, ſtrong of body, and highe of ſtature, ſo ỹ nature hath not fayled to indue them with theſe things, and that in moſt excellent maner. What ſhould I ſay of their helth, whiche is and may be preferred aboue all treaſure, as they well know that are oppreſſed with long and grieuous infirmities: for here among theſe men, you ſhall very ſeldome heare of ſickneſſe to attache any, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogither, and this is that exceeding benefit naturally appropried vnto their carcaſes. As for their quietneſſe of minde, it is alwayes ſuche as is conſtant, vnchaungeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge maſſe of worldly treaſure.

Hereunto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deede) for eche one not to couet other mẽs goodes, but to content himſelf with that which is his owne, and not to ſtande in neede of any thing, can any men be founde in any other region more riche and fortunate than the Shetland men and theſe Ilanders? Finally, if thoſe be the true honors, and reuerent duties whiche the obedient ſonne with greate ſincerity and voyde of all flattery, doth ſhewe vnto his good parents, and wherewithall the beſt ſort do meruaylouſly reioyce and delite themſelues, & that theſe are alſo not wanting in theſe regions, can we iuſtly ſay that theſe mẽ do lacke any thing, or ſhall we not rather affirme with great aſſurance that they rather ſtand in neede of nothing that any mortal man can iuſtly wiſh or deſire? But if there be any man that will accuſe me of vntruth in the recitall of theſe things, as one that lieth lowde and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for ſo much as I my ſelfe was neuer in thoſe Ilandes, he ſhal vnderſtand that I learned all theſe things of the reuerent father Edward Biſhop of the Orchades, with whom one of theſe Ilanders dwelled, who not onely made a like rehearſall of theſe things with his owne mouth, but alſo verified the ſame in his owne perſon, for his height farre paſſed the cõmon ſtature of men, thereto he was excellently well featured in his limmes, ſo white of ſkinne ouer all, that he might contend in beauty with any lady of the lande, & finally ſo wight & ſtrõg of body, that no man in all thoſe quarters durſt rũne or wreſtle with him. Hereby alſo we may ſee, how far they are deceyued whiche iudge thẽ to be barbarous, & miſerable creatures that inhabite far from the Tropike lines, for there are no people more happy than thoſe that dwell in theſe quarters, as I haue proued already.

See Matthiolus vpon the firſt booke of Dioſcorides, capite de populo alba & nigra,

Furthermore, among the rockes & cragges of theſe Iles groweth the delectable Amber, called *Electrum, Chryſolectrũ*, or as *Dioſcorides* hath *Pterygophoron*, indued with ſo vehemẽt an attractiue force, yͤ being chafed it draweth ſtraw, flore, and other like light matter vnto it. This gumme is ingendred of the ſea froth whiche is throwen vp by continuall repercuſſion of crags & rockes againſt the ſea walles, & through perpetual working of yͤ waues groweth in time to become tough as glew, til it fall at yͤ laſt from yͤ rocke againe into the ſea. Suche as haue often viewed & marked the generation of this gũme, whileſt it hãgeth on yͤ rocke, affirme it to be like a froth & bubble of water without al maſſy ſadneſſe, bycauſe that as yet it is not ſufficiently hardned by the working of the Element. Somtimes yͤ Seatangle is found enuironed alſo wͭal, bicauſe it is driuẽ hither & thither by the working of yͤ waues, & ſo lõg as it fleetes to & fro in this maner, ſo long is it apte to cleaue to any thing that it toucheth. Two yeeres before I wrote this booke, there came a great lompe of Amber into Buchquhane, in quantity ſo bigge as any horſe, which the heardmẽ that kept their cattell neare hand caught vp, & not knowing in deede what it was, they caried it home, & threw a portion thereof into the fire: finally perceiuing a ſweete & delectable ſauour to proceede frõ the ſame, they ran by & by to the Prieſt of yͤ towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of ſtuffe whiche would ſerue very well in ſteede of Frãkenſence, wherwith to perfume his ſainctes or rather Idols in the church. Theſe mẽ ſuppoſed that ſir Iohn had ben more cunning than themſelues, but contrary to their expectation, it fell out that he was no leſſe vnſkilful & voyde of knowledge than they, & therefore refuſing the whole lumpe, he tooke but a ſmall portion therof, and returned the reſt vnto thẽ, whereby it came to litle profe & leſſe gayne among the common ſorte, who ſuffred it to periſh by reaſon of theyr vnſkilfulneſſe. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it reſembled in colour vnto the pureſt golde, & ſhined as if it had bene the laie or flame of a cãdle. Herein alſo the Prouerb was proued true, that the Sow reckes not of Balme. But ſo ſone as I vnderſtoode of the matter, I vſed ſuch diligence, that one portiõ therof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the *Hebrides, Orchades* & Shetland Iles ſubiect vnto the Scottiſh regiment.

Alga.

I might no doubt haue made rehearſall of diuers other things worthy the noting in this behalfe. But I haue made choiſe onely of the moſt rare & excellent, and ſo would finiſh this deſcriptiõ, were it not that one thing hath ſtayed me right pleaſant to be remembred, as an vncouth and ſtrange incident, whereof maſter Iames Ogilby Ambaſſadour from Iames our King, (among other) vnto the King of Fraunce, hath certified me, & whereof he had experience of late at ſuch time as he was conſtrayned by tempeſt of weather to get to land in Norway. Thus ſtandeth the caſe, being driuen, as I ſayde, vpon the ſhore of Norway, he and his company ſaw a kinde of people raungyng vp & downe in the mountaynes there, much like vnto thoſe which diuers pictures giue forth for wilde men, heary and vgly to behold. In the end being aduertiſed that they were ſauage & wilde beaſtes, yet neuertheleſſe deadly enimies to mãkind, they vnderſtood therunto that although in the day time they abhorred & feared the ſight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the ſmall villages & countrey townes, killing & ſleying ſo many as they found, or where no dogges were kept to put by their rage & fury. Certes ſuch is their nature, that they ſtande in great feare of dogges, at whoſe barking & ſight they flie and runne away with no ſmall haſte & terrour. wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cheriſh great numbers of the ſaid beaſts, thereby to keepe off thoſe wilde men that otherwiſe would annoy them: they are moreouer of ſuche ſtrength, that ſomtimes they pull vp yong trees by the rootes to fight withall amõg themſelues. The Ambaſſadors ſeyng theſe vncouth creatures, were not a litle aſtonnied, & therfore to be ſure frõ all inuaſion, they procured a ſtrõg gard, to watch al night about thẽ, with great fires to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they tooke the ſea & ſo departed thence.

Finally the Norwegiãs ſhewed thẽ, that there was another people not far of, whiche liued all the Sõmer time in the ſea like fiſh, & fed of ſuch as they did catch, but in yͤ Winter half (bicauſe the water is cold) they praied vpon ſuch wilde beaſts as fedde on the mountaynes, whiche cõming downe from the ſnowy hilles to graſe in the valeys, they killed with dartes & weapons, & carried vnto their caues. In this exerciſe alſo they tie certaine litle bordes to their feete, which beare them vp from ſinking into the ſnow, & ſo with a ſtaffe in their handes, they make the better ſhifte to clime vp and come downe from the craggres and mountaines, wherof in that region there is very great plenty and aboundance.

Of the maners of the Scottes in theſe dayes, and their compariſon with the behauiour of the old, and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Iland. Chap.15.

FOraſmuch as diuers noble men haue deſired me to ſhew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my hiſtory, to the end it may be knowen how far our nation in theſe preſent dayes are different in their maners & behauiour frõ thoſe of our forefathers, & herevnto although I aſſure my ſelf already yͭ the reuealing of theſe things will procure vnto me the hatred of ſundry worthy or renowmed perſonages (of which few wil yeelde to heare their doings touched, or their errours reproued) yet bicauſe I owe ſuch duetie & ſeruice vnto thoſe that haue made this requeſt vnto me, & leaſt I ſhould ſeeme ingrate not to herken vnto thẽ in this behalf I haue cõdeſcended to the performaunce of their deſires, & ſomuch the rather, for yͭ they alledge how it wil be very profitable vnto al readers, but eſpecially ſuch as are not immoderately giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor ſo wholly drowned in their owne ſenſuality & pleaſures, but vpon conſideration of wholſome admonition will be very willing to leaue what ſoeuer offendeth in them. Firſt of al therfore, I will declare what vſages haue ben among our elders both in time of warre & peace, and by what wiſedome & induſtrie they haue preuailed ſo long time againſt ſuch & ſo many mighty aduerſaries, as firſt the Brytons, then yͤ Saxons, next of al the Danes whiche haue entred into this Iland with huge armies, to ſpoyle and ſubdue the ſame. Furthermore, I wil ſet downe with ſomuch breuity as I can, how the falling by litle & litle frõ the frugalitie and cuſtomes of their Forefathers, their vertue & force alſo began in like order to decay. And finally how in theſe daies either by the clemency of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne prowes, we liue in ſecurity, & thereby as it were ouerwhelmed & wrapped vp in al auarice, & exceſſe, wherinto our want of exerciſe and martiall prowieſſe doth marueylouſly impell vs. Certes I beleiue that by this meanes ſuch as are of yͤ more couragious ſort (& yet reteyning a ſauour of the tẽperancie of theyr elders) will reioyce to heare their manhode and great prowes cõmended in this wiſe, as others of the cõtrary ſect (in ſeruile maner addicted to gather good, and ſpende their times in idle exceſſe & riot) ſeing their errours iuſtly reprehended, & the diſhonor gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather addreſſe themſelues to reformation of their eſtate, thereby to recouer the auncient renowme of their Forefathers, in anſwering to their prowes, than proue a reproche vnto their ſucceſſours, thorow their lewde behauiours neuer to be forgotten. This alſo I proteſt before al men, that what ſoeuer I ſhall ſpeake of the euill maners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but thoſe only whome blind ſelf loue, couetouſneſſe, intemperancy, exceſſe and abuſe of al Goddes good giftes haue ſo touched, that they deſerue much more to be reprehended then I will vouchſafe to attempt in this my lateward treatize, therefore if any man ſhall thinke him ſelfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counſell him that he conceale not his infirmity, by ſeeking reuenge on otherwiſe, but rather indeuour to procure the remedy in firſt acknowledging his miſdemeanors, whiche is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abrode, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheleſſe in conuerſation & behauiour very temperate, whiche is the fountaine & originall of al vertues. In ſleepe they were cõpetent, in meate & drinke ſober, & contẽted with ſuch foode as was ready at hande and prepared with litle coſt. Their bread conſiſted of ſuche ſtuffe as grew moſt readily on yͤ ground, without al maner of ſifting and boulting, whereby to pleaſe the palate, but baked vp as it came frõ the mill without any ſuche curioſity, whiche is a great abaſing of the force therof vnto our dayly nouriſhment. The fleſh whereon they chiefly fed, was either ſuch as they gate by hunting, wherin they toke great delite & which increaſed not a litle their ſtrength and nimbleneſſe, or els ſuche tame cattell as they bredde vp at home, wherof beefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our dayes, though after another maner & far diſcrepant from the vſe and cuſtome of other countries. The ſtirkes or young beſettes vngelded, we either kill yõg for veale, or geld, to the end that they may ſerue afterwarde for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heighfers, are neuer killed till they be with Calf, for then are they fatteſt & moſt delicious to the mouth. The common meate of our elders was fiſh, howbeit not only or ſomuch for the plenty therof, as for that our landes lay oftẽ waſt and vntilled, bicauſe of the great warres which they cõmonly had in hand. They breake alſo their faſt early in the morning wͭ ſome ſlẽder repaſt, & ſo cõtinued without any other vict vntill ſupper time, in whiche they had but one diſh, whereby it came to paſſe, yͭ their ſtomackes were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones deſirous of reſt thorow the fulneſſe of their bellies. At ſuche time as they determined of ſet purpoſe to be mery, they vſed a kinde of Aquavite voyde of al ſpice, & only conſiſting of ſuch hearbes and rootes as grew in their owne gardens, otherwiſe their common drinke was Ale: but in tyme of warre when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented thẽſelues with water as rediest for their turnes. Eche ſouldier alſo had ſo much meale as might ſerue him for a day, whiche he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romaines ſometimes vſed to do, and the Emperour *Caracalla* himſelfe as *Herodian* hath remẽbred. Seldome did they eat any fleſh in their tentes, except they gate it frõ their aduerſaries, ſuch as they had likewiſe was eaten half rawe, bycauſe they ſuppoſed the iuyce therof ſo vſed to nouriſh very abundantly. But fiſhe was much more plentifull amongſt them, eſpecially when they wãted their vſuall prayes, or could not attayne vnto them. They brought furthermore from their houſes to the field with them, a veſſel of butter, cheeſe, meale, milke, & vineger tempred togither as a ſhoote ancre againſt extreme hunger, on whiche they would feede & ſucke out the moyſture; when other prouiſion coulde not be gotten. In like maner whenſoeuer they had entred into league and amity with their enimies, they would not liue in ſuch ſecurity, that therby they would ſuffer their bodies and forces to degenerate, but they did keepe themſelues in their former actiuity and nimbleneſſe of limmes, eyther with continuall hunting (a game greatly eſteemed among our aunceſtors) or with running from the hilles to the valeys, or from the valeys to the hilles, or with wreſtling, and ſuch kindes of paſtime wherby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwayes ſhauẽ, after the maner of yͤ aũcient Spaniardes, with a litle tuft of heare only left on their forepartes, & neuer couered, except whẽ they were troubled wͭ ſickeneſſe, by whiche meanes it came to paſſe that fewe of our nation in olde time was ſeene to be balde & hearleſſe. They went alſo bare footed, or if they had any ſhone, they dipped them firſt in yͤ water ere they did put thẽ on, eſpecially in Winter when ſharpeſt weather ſhewed it ſelf, to the end that yͤ ſoles of their feete (which were wel hardned in Sommer with heate and in winter with cold, might be more ſtrong and able to ſuſteyne great labour and dayly trauaile. Their apparell was not made for brauery & põpe, but as ſhould ſeeme beſt to couer their bodies & ſerue their appointed vſes, their hoſen were ſhaped alſo of linnen or wollen, whiche neuer came higher than their knees, their breches were for the moſt part of hẽpe, clokes alſo they had for winter made of courſe wooll, but in the ſommer time they ware of the fineſt that coulde be gotten. They ſlept moreouer eyther vpon the bare floore or pallets of ſtraw, teaching their childrẽ euen from theyr infancy to eſchew eaſe, & practiſe the like hardneſſe: & ſith it was a cauſe of ſuſpitiõ of the mothers fidelity towarde hir huſbande, to ſeeke a ſtrange nurſe for hir childrẽ (although hir milke fayled) ech womã wold take intollerable paines to bring vp & nouriſh hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindly foſtered, except they were ſo well nouriſhed after their birthes with the milke of theyr breſtes, as they were before they were borne with yͤ bloud of their owne bellies, nay they feared leaſt they ſhould degenerate & grow out of kinde, except they gaue them ſucke themſelues, and eſchewed ſtrange milke, therfore in labour & painefulneſſe they were equall, and neither ſexe regarded the heate in ſommer or cold in winter, but trauailed barefooted, & in time of warres the mẽ had their cariages & victuals truſſed behinde thẽ on their horſes, or els vpon their owne ſhulders without refuſall of any labour, enioyned vnto them by their Captaines. If it happed them at any time to be vanquiſhed, they fled with ſuch ſpeede to yͤ mountaines, that no horſe might ouertake thẽ, & very oft eſcaped. The violence that was done to any one of them, was reputed cõmon to al, & ſuch was their deadly fude conceyued in theſe caſes, that vntil they had requited the like with more extremity, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their diſpleaſure. The nobleſt & moſt couragious Gentleman would ſooneſt deſire to be placed in the forewarde, where his vaſſalage or ſeruice & manhood ſhould readilieſt be ſeene, and ſuch was the friendſhip of the nobility amongſt thẽſelues, that whyleſt they contended which of them ſhould be moſt faithful & frendly to other, they would oft fal out, & quarel one wͭ another. Somtimes it happed yͭ their Captaine was beſet wͭ extreme peril, or peraduenture ſome other of the nobility, in which caſes they yͭ were of his bãd wold ſuddenly ruſh in thorow yͤ thickeſt of their enimies vnto him, & deliuer him, or els if they could not ſo do, they would altogither loſe their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproche to ouerliue their leader. The graues & ſepulchres of our noblemen, had com-

menly

moſly ſo many Obeliſkes & ſpires pitched about them, as the deceaſed had killed enimies before time in yͤ fielde: if any ſouldier had ben found in the fielde without his flint & tinder boxe, or had walked or gone vp & downe with his ſworde at his ſide, and not naked in his hãd, for then vſed they light armor for yͤ moſt part, he was terribly ſcourged: but he that ſolde or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut frõ his company & baniſhed as an exile: he that fled or went frõ the battayle without leaue of his Capitayne, was ſlayne wherſoeuer he was mette afterwarde, without any iudgement or ſentence, and all his goodes cõfiſcated to the Prince: Their light armour in thoſe dayes conſiſted of the launce, the bow, the long ſworde which hanged at the ſide of yͤ owner, & therto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vſage. In theſe dayes alſo the womẽ of our country were of no leſſe courage than the men, for al ſtout maydẽs & wiues (if they were not with childe) marched ſo wel into the field as did the men, & ſo ſoone as the army did ſet forward, they ſlew the firſt liuing creature yͭ they foũd, in whoſe bloud they not onely bathed their ſwordes, but alſo taſted thereof with their mouthes, with no leſſe religiõ & aſſurance conceyued, than if they had already bene ſure of ſome notable & fortunate victory: when they ſaw their owne bloud run frõ them in the fight, they were neuer a whit aſtonnied with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egerneſſe they aſſailed their enimies. This alſo is to be noted of thẽ, that they neuer ſought any victory by treaſon, falſhed or ſleight, as thinking it a great reproch to winne the fielde any otherwiſe than by mere manhood, proweſſe, & playne dealing. When they went forth vnto the warres, eche one went with the King of his owne coſt (except the hyred ſoldier) which cuſtome is yet in vſe. If any were troubled with the falling Euyll, or Lepre, or fallen frantike, or otherwiſe out of his wits, they were diligẽtly ſought out: & leaſt thoſe diſeaſes ſhould paſſe further by infectuous generatiõ vnto their iſſue & poſterity, they gelded the mẽ. But yͤ womẽ were ſecluded into ſome odde place farre off from the cõpany of men, where if ſhe afterward happned to be gotten with childe, both ſhe & the infant were runne thorow with a launce: gluttons & raueners, drõkardes, & egregious deuourers of victualles, were puniſhed alſo by death, firſt being permitted to deuour ſo much as they liſted, & thẽ drowned in one freſh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iuſtice in time of warre was cõmonly driuẽ to perke, ſo in daies of peace our countreymen that offended, were oft ſeuerely puniſhed & with inconuenient rigor. For they wel conſidered that after their people ſhould returne and come home againe from the warres, they would be giuẽ to ſo many enormities, that the ſame theyr exceſſe ſhould hardly be reſtrayned but by extreeme ſeuerity: ſuche alſo was theyr nature, that ſo ſoone as they knew themſelues guilty of any offence committed agaynſt the eſtate or cõmon wealth, their firſt attempt was to ſet diſcord amongſt the Peeres & Princes of the realme, neuertheleſſe when they are gently intreated, & with courteous moderation, they are found to be very tractable, & pliant vnto reaſon: in priuate bargaines & contractes they are ſo willing to giue euery man his owne, that they will yelde the more. And ſo farre is it growne into a cuſtome euẽ in theſe our dayes, that except there be ſome ſurpluſage aboue the bare couenaunt, they will breake of and not go forwarde with the bargayne. They vſed at the firſt the rites and maners of the Egyptians frõ whence they came, & in al their priuate affayres they vſed not to write with common letters as other nations did, but rather with Cyphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters as their Epitaphes vpon their tombes & ſepulcures remayning amõgſt vs do hitherto declare. Neuertheleſſe in our times this hieroglyphical maner of writing (I wote not by what meanes) is periſhed & loſt, and yet they haue certaine letters proper vnto thẽſelues, which were ſometime in cõmon vſe: but among ſuch as retaine the auncient ſpech, they haue their aſpiratiõs, dipthõgs, & pronunciation better than any other. The cõmon ſorte are not in vre withall, but onely they which inhabite in the higher part of the cõtry, & ſith they haue their language, more eloquent and apt than others, they are called Poetes, they make alſo Poetes wͭ great ſolemnity & honour, being borne out therein by the authority of the Prince. Beſide yͤ ſkil alſo of many other artes & ſciẽces, whoſe rules & Methodes are turned into yͤ ſayd language, are giuẽ by tradition frõ theyr elders, they chiefly excel in Phiſick, wherin they go far beyond many other, who learning of thẽ yͤ natures & qualitie of ſuch hearbes as grow in thoſe quarters, do heale al maner of diſeaſes euẽ by their only applicatiõ. Certes there is no regiõ in yͤ whole world ſo barrẽ & vnfruteful, through diſtaũce frõ the Sunne, but by yͤ prouidence of God all maner of neceſſaries for the ſuſtentatiõ of mankind dwelling there, are to be had therin, if yͤ inhabitants were ſuch as had any ſkil how to vſe yͤ ſame in order. Neuertheleſſe our elders which dwelled continually vpõ the Marches of England, learned yͤ Saxon toung through cõtinuall trade of marchandize and hazard of the warres, long ſince, whereby it came to paſſe that we neglected our owne language, and our owne maners, and thereto bothe our auncient order in writing and ſpeaking is vtterly left among vs, that inhabite neare vnto thẽ, whereas contrarywiſe thoſe that dwell in the moũtaines reteyne ſtill their auncient ſpeach & letters, & almoſt all their olde rites, whereunto in time paſt their Forefathers haue bene accuſtomed. One thing hereof alſo may euidently be ſeene (for an example) in their boates whiche they call Carrockes, for being made of Oſiers & couered with Bull hides, they vſe to paſſe & repaſſe with them ouer their riuers & waters in catching of Salmons, & when they haue done, they beare them on their backes vnto what place ſoeuer it pleaſeth them. But we will now leaue the maners of our auncient friendes, & intreate of our later countreymen. In proceſſe of time therfore, and chiefly aboute the dayes of *Malcolme Cammor*, our maners began greatly to chaunge & alter. For when our neighbours the Brytons began, after they were ſubdued by the Romaynes, to ware idle & ſlouthful, and thereupon driuen out of their countrey into Wales by their enimies the Saxõs, we began to haue alliãce (by proximity of the Romaines) with Engliſhmẽ, ſpecially after the ſubuerſion of the Pictes, & thorow our dayly trades & cõuerſation with them, to learne alſo their maners, & therewithall their lãguage as I haue ſayd alredy. Hereby ſhortly after it came alſo to paſſe, that the temperaunce and vertue of our aunceſtors grew to be iudged worthy of ſmall eſtimation amongſt vs, notwithſtanding that a certayne idle deſire of our former renowne did ſtill remayne within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in ẏ right pathe, we begã to follow alſo the vaine ſhadow of the Germaine honor & titles of nobility, and boaſting of the ſame after the Engliſh maner, it fell out ere long, that where as he in times paſt was accompted only honorable, which excelled othermen not in ritches and poſſeſſions, but in proweſſe and manhoode, now he would be takẽ moſt glorious that wẽt loden with moſt titles, whereof it came to paſſe, that ſome were named Dukes, ſome Erles, ſome Lords, ſome Barõs, in which vain puffes they fixed al their felicity. Before time the noble men of Scotlãd were of one condition, and called by the name *Thanes*, ſo much in Latine as *Queſtores regij*, gatherers of ẏ kings duties, in Engliſh: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their deſert & merite. But how far we in theſe preſent dayes are ſwarued from the vertues and temperaunce of our elders, I beleeue there is no man ſo eloquent, nor indued with ſuch vtterance, as that he is able ſufficiently to expreſſe. For whereas they gaue their mindes to doughtineſſe, we apply our ſelues to dronkenneſſe: they had plenty with ſufficiency, we haue inordinate exceſſe wᵗ ſuperfluity: they were temperate, we effeminate: and ſo is the caſe now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure & drinke moſt, is the noblest man and moſt honeſt companion, and thereto hath no peere if he can once find ẏ vaine, though with his great trauaile to purvey himſelfe of the plentifulleſt number of newe fine and delicate diſhes, and beſt prouoke his ſtomacke to receiue the greateſt quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digeſtiõ of it. Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttony, it is a world to ſee, how we ſtuffe our ſelues both day and night, neuer ceaſing to ingorge and poure in, till our bellies be ſo full that we muſt needes depart. Certes it is not ſuppoſed meete that we ſhould now content our ſelues with breakefaſt and ſupper only as our elders haue done before vs; nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforeſayd meales, but we muſt haue thereto our beuerages and reare ſuppers, ſo that ſmall time is ſpared wherein to occupy our ſelues vnto any godly exerciſe, ſith almoſt the whole day & night do ſcarcely ſuffice for the filling of our paunches. We haue alſo our merchants, whoſe charge is not to looke out, and bring home ſuch things as neceſſarily appertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and theſe ſearch al the ſecrete corners of our forreſtes for veniſon, of the ayre for fowles, & of the ſea for fiſhe; for wine alſo they trauayle not onely into Fraunce, whoſe wines do now grow into cõtempt, but alſo into Spaine, Italy and Greece: nay Afrike is not voyde of our factours, no nor Aſia, and only for fine and delicate wines if they may be had for mony. In like ſorte they gad ouer all the world for ſweete and pleaſant ſpices, & drugges (prouokers vnto all luſt and licentiouſneſſe of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poyſon and deſtruction vnto their countreymẽ, as if the minde were not already ſufficiently bereft of hir image of the Diuinity, but muſt yet more be clogged & ouerladen with ſuch a ſtinked caſe, therwithall to be extinguiſhed outright whiche already dwelleth or is buried rather in ſuch an vgly ſepulchre. The body likewyſe being oppreſſed with ſuch an heape of ſuperfluous foode, although otherwiſe it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe it ſelfe vpright, but muſt needes yeelde as ouercome, & to be torne in peeces and rent with ſundry maladies.

Hereof alſo it commeth to paſſe that our cõtreymen trauayling into the colder regions are now a dayes cõtrary to their former vſage taken ſometime with feuers, whereby their inwardes partes do burne & parch as it were with continuall fire, the onely cauſe whereof we may aſcribe vnto thoſe hoate ſpices and drugges which are brought vnto vs from the hoate coūtreys. Others of them are ſo ſwollen & growen full of humors, that they are often taken ſodenly and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here & there one or two recouer for a litle while, yet are they but dead people reuiuing agayne, leading the reſt of their liues like ſhadowes, and walking aboute as if they were buried already. Our youth alſo following theſe vnhappy ſteps of theyr parentes, giue themſelues wholy to luſt & licentiouſneſſe, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eſchewing the ſame as a Peſtilence and ſubuerſion of their pleaſures, whereunto they apply themſelues as vnto the moſt excellent trade. But ſithence they are now inured and as it were haunted with theſe vices, when tyme doth come of ſeruice and that our countrey ſhall ſtand in neede of manhood, theſe will be becomen ſo effeminate, that they muſte now ride on horſebacke as cladde in heauy armour, for on foote they cannot go by reaſon of their fatneſſe whiche choketh vp their vitall forces, neyther be able to performe any thing at all in compariſon of the ſoueraigne manhoode and proweſſe of theyr elders. So ſoone alſo as they returne home, bicauſe their poſſeſſions are not otherwiſe able to nouriſhe them vp in pleaſure and pampering of their mawes, they muſt fall to couetous and greedy practizes, thereby to enriche themſelues, or els proue ſtrong theeues, or finally ſowers of diſſention and diſcord among the Noble men, thereby to pray ſome commoditie. Certes theſe and other vices followyng them neceſſarily, proceede generally from none other fountayne than voluptuous life & intemperancy, the whiche if we would refrayne, there is no regiō vnder the Sunne that would proue more wholeſome, leſſe ſubiect to Peſtilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the ſuſtẽtation of hir people. Certes I diſpayre not of the redreſſe of theſe things, but ſtill hope that in ſhorte tyme theſe corrupted maners of my coūtreymen will be turned into a better frame, wee are not yet become impudent, neyther altogither haue caſt of vnſhamefaſtneſſe, ſithe that in a great many ſome remaynder of our auncient ſoberneſſe and manhoode doth yet appeare, and thereto newneſſe of lyfe with feruent deuotion increaſe euery day, through the working of the zeale of our Chriſtian religion in vs. This alſo will I adde, without offence I truſt vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more ſtedfaſt to my knowlege in the Chriſtian faith, nor more conſtant in theyr faithfull promiſes, than the Scots haue bene ſithence their firſt beginning: and for a concluſion I will ſay more, not onely for their prayſe, but alſo in exhorting them vnto perſeuerance, that as our people now liuing do paſſe their aunceſtors in ſumptuous & curious attyre, ſo they are more nette and fine in their houſes, better giuen to learning, & much more magnificent in buylding and decking of theyr Churches. God graunt them alſo to returne to their former frugality, and that with ſpeede. Amen.

When they do make any.

Hetherto haue I tranſlated *Hectors* deſcription of Scotland out of the Scottiſh into the Engliſh toung, being not a litle ayded therein by the Latine, frō whence ſomtime the tranſlator ſwarueth not a litle, as I haue done alſo frō him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering ſuch ſence out of both as moſt did ſtande with my purpoſed breuity. Now will I ſet downe the deſcription of an Auncient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of *Herodian* & other, and then I will giue ouer not only to wryte more at this preſent, but for euer hereafter of any Hiſtoricall matters, ſith I ſee that this honeſt kind of recreation is denied me, and all time ſpent about the ſame in theſe dayes vtterly condemned, as vayne and ſauouring of negligence, and heatheniſh impiety.

The deſcription of an auncient Pict. Chap. 14.

THe Pict (ſaith *Herodian*) hath generally no vſe of apparell, howbeit the nobler ſorte of them do wrappe theyr heades and wombes in houpes of yron, which they take for great brauery, eſteeming this kinde of attyre in ſuche as weare the ſame, to be a token of wealth and riches, and ſo great an ornament, as if they had worne Golde or any coſtly iewelles. Beſide this, and the ſhauing of theyr nether lippe, they paynted ouer their bodies with the images of al kindes of beaſtes, ſo that he was the gayeſt mā, that had his ſkinne moſt diſguiſed in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare any apparell, bycauſe they eſteemed it a greate glory to haue theſe paintings ſeene. In warres they were bolde, and deſirous to ſhedde bloud, contenting themſelues (in ſteede of other armour) with a ſhorte launce, and narrow target, or buckler, theyr ſwordes were tied to their naked ſides with a thong, and as for Iacke, ſhirt of Mayle, or Helmet, they made no regarde of them, bycauſe they would trouble thē in ſwimming, or otherwiſe at a pinche, whē they ſhould be compelled to wade. *Dion* wryting generally of the whole countrey, diuideth it with Herodien into the *Calidons*, and *Meates*, ſaying that the ſayde country is very ſauage, their Cities voyde of walles, & fields, without townes: they liue moreouer (ſaith he) by hunting and pray, and often times with the fruite of their trees: & albeit that they haue exceeding plenty of fiſh, yet they eate not of it. They liue naked in tents and without ſhoes on theyr feete, theyr wiues are common, and children generally loked unto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, & are very ready to ſteale: they fight in wagons, & haue little light & ſwift horſes, whiche runne alſo very ſwiftly, and ſtande at their feete with like ſtedfaſtneſſe. In ye nether end of their launces they haue hollow bullets of Braſſe, in eche is a litle peece or two of yron, whiche ratleth when they ſhake it, & maketh a ſtrange noyſe where many of them are togither. They haue alſo narrow daggers: but chiefly they can ſuſteyne hunger and colde beſt of all men, & likewiſe ſore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meate at hand, they will ſitte in the marriſhes up to the chinnes by many dayes togither. In the woddes they feede on rootes or barkes of trees, and they haue a kinde of meate among them, whereof if they take but ſo muche as a beane, they neyther hunger nor thirſte in a long time after. And thus much of the meates (whiche were the neareſt us) and the Caledons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called *Maxima Ceſarienſis*, wherof let this ſuffice.

The number of Biſhoppes in Scotland. 13. *Chap. 15.*

1. The Archbiſhoprije of S. Andrewes.
2. Glaſquen.
3. Dunfalden.
4. Dunblanen.
5. Aberden.
6. Brechen.
7. Morauy.
8. Ros.
9. Whitherne.
10. Cathnes.
11. Argadie.
12. Orkeney.
13. Ymor one of the Iles whiche are exempt and pertayne unto the Pope.

There are three Vniuerſities. 3.

1. Saint Andrewes.
2. Aberden.
3 Glaſquo.

Dukedomes. 2.

1. Rothſay.
2. Albany.

Erledomes. 24

1 Cathnes.
2 Sotherland.
3 Roſſe.
4 Morauy.
5 Buchquhan.
6 Garuiach.
7 Garmoran.
8 Mar.
9 Mernis.
10 Angus.
11 Gowri.
12 Fiffe.
13 Marche.
14 Athole.
15 Stratherne.
16 Menteth.
17 Leuenox.
18 Wigton.
19 Duglaſſe.
20 Carryke.
21 Crawford.
22 Annandale.
23 Durmonth.
24 Huntley.

Viſconties. 22.

1 Berwike, *alias* North Berwike.
2 Roxborow.
3 Selkyrk.
4 Twedale.
5 Dunfriſe.
6 Niddiſdale.
7 Wigton.
8 Are.
9 Lanarke.
10 Dunbritten.
11 Streuelin.
12 Lowthian.
13 Clakmanan.
14 Kynros.
15 Fiffe.
16 Perth.
17 Angus.
18 Marnis.
19 Aberden.
20 Bamph.
21 Fores.
22 Inuernes.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE of Scotlande.

THE Scottiſh men, according to the maner of other nations, eſteeming it a glorie to fetche their beginning of great auncientie, ſay that their original diſcent came from the Greekes and Egyptians. For there was (as the Scottiſhe olde hiſtoriographers haue left in writing) a certaine noble man among the Greekes, named Gathelus, the ſonne of Cecrops, which builded the City of Athens: or as ſome other woulde, he was the ſonne of Argus Nealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Gathelus playing in his youth manye wilde and vnruly partes in the Countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was dyuerſe tymes ſharpely rebuked by his father and other of hys friends: ſo that in fine diſdeining their correction and wholſome admonitions, he was baniſhed by his father: after which he got togither a number of ſtrong and luſtie yong men, ſuch as had vſed the like trade of liuing, and togither with them fled ouer into Egypt: & comming thither in the xxxiij. yeare of Pharao Orus, as then king of that Countrey, was receyued of him in moſt gladſome wiſe, for that his ſeruice (as it was thought) might ſtande in great ſtead, in thoſe warres which the Egyptians helde the ſame time with the Ethiopians that had inuaded the realme of Egypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Gathelus, to bee ſhort, went forth with his bandes agaynſt the ſame Ethiopians, vnder Moſes the Captaine generall of the armie, choſen thereto by diuine Oracle (as Joſephns wryteth) which Moſes obteyned the victorie, and conquered Saba by force, he the chiefeſt and principall Citie which ſtoode in the Iſle Meroe.

Gathelus.

Gathelus gyuen to wil and pleaſure.

Gathelus went in to Egypt, Anno mundi. 2416.

Gathelus was enterteyned of Pharao.

Gathelus went agaynſt the enimies.

Moyſes Captaine general vnder Pharao. Lib.2.Cap.7.

For ſuch tokens of valiancie and worthie prowes as Gathelus ſhewed, both in this Countrey, & in other places, he grew alſo into ſuch eſtimation with Pharao, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moſes was rather enuied than honored for his doyng, bycauſe the Egyptians doubted leaſt the Iſraelites ſhould encreaſe to ſuch a puyſſant multitude, that in the ende they might vſurpe and chalenge the gouernance of the whole Realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne handes: wherefore diuerſe informations were made to the king agaynſt him, ſo that when he once perceyued himſelfe to be in daunger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their handes, fled from thence out of the Countrey, and gate him into the lande of Madian.

Gathelus his doings aduaunced.

Moiſes doings not alowed.

Moyſes fled.

Unto Gathelus and his people, there was giuen a Citie called Thebes (Egyptiaca) being taken from the Iſraelites.

The Citie Thebes was giuen vnto Gathelus.

Here muſt you vnderſtande, that Pharaos daughter whiche Gathelus thus maryed, was called Scota, of whom ſuch as came of the poſteritie of that nation, were afterwardes, and are at this preſent day called *Scoti*, that is to ſay Scottiſh men: and the land where they inhabite *Scotia*, that is to ſay, Scotlande.

Scota daughter to Pharao.

Gathelus thus being aduaunced by ſuch honourable maryage, lyued all the dayes of his father in law Pharao Orus, in great honour. But after his diſceaſe, and in the thirde generation, an other king named Pharao Chencres, ſucceeded in his throne, who oppreſſed the people of Iſrael then abyding in Egypt, with more bōdage, than euer his father, or grandfather had don before him. Neither was there hope of any redreſſe, till Moyſes returned by Gods appoyntment from amongſt the Madianites (where he had remayned in exile) into Egypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao Gods commaundement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

The credite of this hiſtorie of Gathelus, we leaue to the authors.

Iſrael oppreſſed.

Moſes called out of Madian into Egypt.

But forſomuch as his wordes were regarded, neyther with the king nor with his ſubiectes, that lande was plagued in moſt horrible and terrible maner: and moreouer it was ſignified vnto ſuch as ſought to know what was meant by way of Oracles, that ſorer and more grieuous plagues ſhould after follow, if remedie were not founde the ſoner.

Moſes not regarded. Exodus.5.

Gathelus leauing Egypt, ſeeketh other countreyes.

Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credite to the Oracles aforeſayde, determined out of hande to forſake the countrey, and ſeeke him a new place of abode in ſome other partyes, of the worlde. Wherefore he cauſed a number of ſhippes to be rigged, and all neceſſarie purueyance to be prouided,,and when the ſame was once readie and all things ſet in order, he tooke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Greekes and Egyptians, whom he embarqued in thoſe ſhippes, and hoyſing vp ſayles, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worldes creation 2453. when hee had dwelled in Egypt. 39. yeares and more.

Gathelus departing was, Anno mundi. 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B.

He was repulſed in Barbary

Beeing thus departed, after ſome trouble in the voyage, they arriued firſt on the coaſtes of Numydia, whiche is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but beyng put backe from thence by the ſtowte reſiſtaunce of the inhabitauntes, they tooke the Seas agayne, and landed in a part of Spayne, whiche long after was called Luſitania.

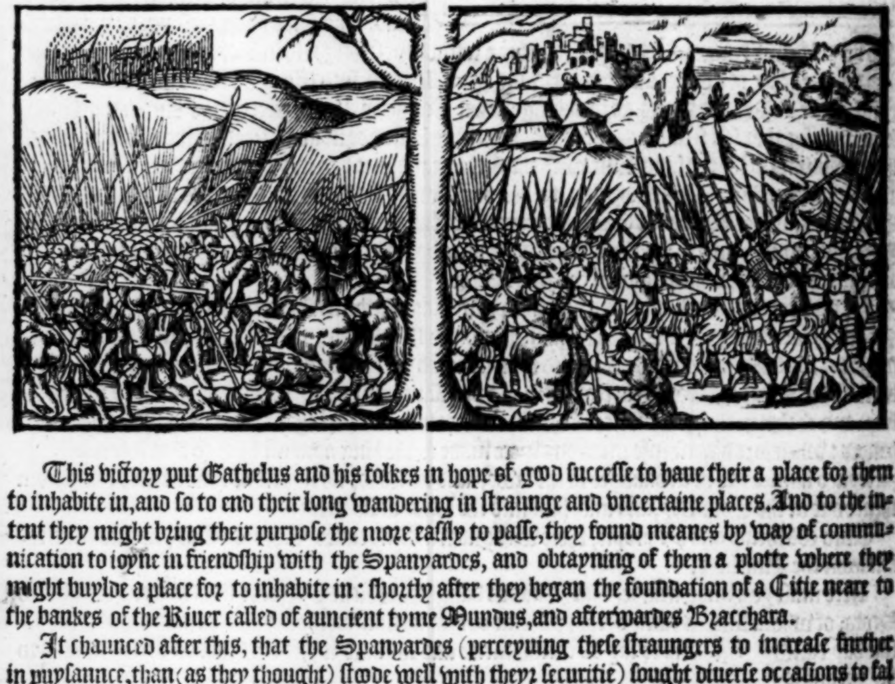
He landed in Portingale.

There be that haue written how it ſhould be cleped Port Gathele of this Gathelus, and certaine yeares after Luſitania, and eftſoones agayne in a maner to haue got the former name being ſomewhat corruptly called Portingale. But who is able in a mater of ſuch auncientie to auowche any thing for truth?

The inhabitants reſiſt Gathelus.

Were ouerthrowne.

Gathelus with his companie beyng thus come to lande, ſought abrode in the countrey for vytayles and ſuch other neceſſarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the Seas had waſted all their purueyance: whoſe arriual being once knowen in the countrey, the people aſſembled togither, and fiercely encountring with the ſtraungers, after ſharpe and cruell fight, in the ende the Spanyardes were put to the worſe and chaſed out of the fielde.



This victory put Gathelus and his folkes in hope of good ſucceſſe to haue their a place for them to inhabite in, and ſo to end their long wandering in ſtraunge and vncertaine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpoſe the more eaſily to paſſe, they found meanes by way of communication to ioyne in friendſhip with the Spanyardes, and obtayning of them a plotte where they might buylde a place for to inhabite in: ſhortly after they began the foundation of a Citie neare to the bankes of the Riuer called of auncient tyme Mundus, and afterwardes Bracchara.

A communication.

Gathelus buildeth the Citie Bracchara.

It chaunced after this, that the Spanyardes (perceyuing theſe ſtraungers to increaſe further in puyſaunce, than (as they thought) ſtoode well with theyr ſecuritie) ſought diuerſe occaſions to fal at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: But when they vnderſtoode that Gathelus was as ready to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftſoones fell to a communication, and perſwaded with Gathelus that it ſhould be beſt for him and his people, for the auoyding of variance, to remoue vnto the Northſide of Spayne, lying vpon the coaſtes of the Cantabrian ſeas, nowe called Galitia (where he ſhould finde much voyde grounde, by reaſon of the ſmal number of Inhabitants) adding that if they would ſo do, they would ayde them to the vttermoſt agaynſt all ſuch as ſhoulde attempt to diſquiet their indeuours in any maner of wiſe.

A conſultation

Gathelus left Portingale, and went into Galitia.

He builded a Citie called Brigantia, and nowe Compoſtella,

This offer Gathelus gladly accepted, and cauſing publike ſacrifice to be celebrate in honour of the Goddes, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, buylded a Citie, which he named Brigantia, but after it was called Nouium, and now Compoſtella.

Here

Gathelus.

He maketh lawes and ordinances.

Here Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuiſed and ordeyned lawes for his people to lyue by, that the City myghte not only be fenced with ſtrong walles, but alſo with good and holeſome ſtatutes and ordinaunces, the chiefeſt fortifications that may be for al Cities and Countreys. And bycauſe he would not onely haue his ſayde people to liue under one lawe, but alſo to be knowen and called by one name, he gaue commaundement that they ſhould be all called Scottiſhmen (as before is ſayde) of his wife Scota.

The Spaniardes fight with the Scots infortunately.

In continuance of time, this nation grewe to a wonderful multitude, ſo that the Spaniards doubting the worſt, determined to foreſee remedie in tyme, and hereupon purpoſing utterly to deſtroy them, got them againe to armoure, and with their whole puiſſance comming upon the Scottiſh men, gaue them a ſore battaile, though in the ende they were put to flight, the victorie remaynīng with the Scottiſh men, albeit not without great bloudſhed on eyther part, as the Scottiſh hyſtorie ſayth.

A peace concluded.

At length a neceſſarie peace was agreed upon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were theſe: that aſwell Scottiſh men as Spaniards ſhould liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

Gathelus miniſtred iuſtice.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, ſate upon his Marble ſtone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and miniſtred iuſtice unto his people, thereby to mainteyne them in wealth and quietneſſe.

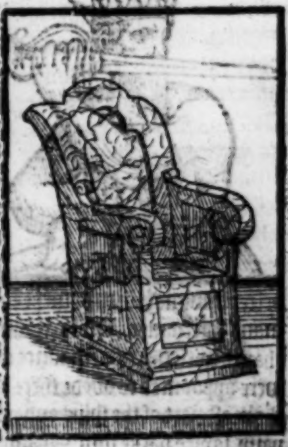
A deſcription of the ſeate.

This ſtone was in faſhion like a ſeate or Chayre, hauing ſuch a fatall deſtinie, as the Scottes ſay, following it, that whereſoeuer it ſhould be founde, there ſhoulde the Scottiſh men raigne and haue the ſupreme gouernance. Hereof it came to paſſe, that firſt in Spaine, after in Irelande, and then in Scotlande, the Kings which ruled ouer the Scottiſh men, receyued the Crowne ſitting upon that ſtone, untill the time of Robert the firſt king of Scotlande. The inſcription alſo of the ſtone though ingraued long time after, as ſhoulde appeare, was this:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be thus tranſlated:

Except olde ſawes do fayle,
and wiſards wittes be blinde,
The Scottes in place muſt raigne,
where they this ſtone ſhall finde.



Galitia not ſufficient to find the Scots.

But to returne where I lefte, touchyng Gathelus.

When he perceyued that his people multyplyed in ſuche wiſe, as the cuntrey which was appoynted him by the laſte agreement, was not able to ſuſteyne them, he was lothe to

The Scottes ſeeke newe ſeates.

bꝛeake the peace whiche he had eſtabliſhed wyth the Spaniards by ſeeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with bꝛeach of couenaunt: and therefoꝛe vnderſtanding that there was an Jſlãd lying noꝛth ouer agaynſt Spaine, wherein were but fewe Jnhabitours, he cauſed all ſuch ſhippes as he was able to make, to bee bꝛought togither into an Hauen neare vnto Bꝛigantia, and commaunding a great armie of his owne people and ſubiectes to bee aſſembled, he appoynted his two ſonnes whome hee had by his wife Scota, the one named Hyberus, and the other Himecus, to conuey them ouer into that Jſlande, whiche afterwardes they named *Hibernia*, after Hyberus, but nowe it is commonly called Jrelande.

The Scots ariue in Ireland

At their firſt arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting a lande, they firſt encamped themſelues neare vnto the ſhoꝛe, and then ſente foꝛth certaine of their folkes to ſearch if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrey, by whom at their returne, and by ſuch as they had happened vppon and bꝛought with them, they vnderſtoode howe there was no great number of Jnhabitants in that Jſle, and that they which dwelled there were verie ſimple, ſuch J meane as liued onely by mylke and hearbes, with other the like things as the earth by nature bꝛought foꝛth of hir owne accoꝛde, without mans helpe oꝛ vſe of any tyllage.

Iriſh men liue by milke and hearbes.

Hereupon Hiber with his bꝛother Himecus, went not aboute with foꝛce, but by gentleneſſe to wynne thoſe people, myndіng to ioyne them in friendſhippe ſo wyth theyꝛ Scottiſhe men, that bothe the people myghte bee made as one.

Iriſh men are gently entreated.

Neyther was this harde to bee done, ſithence the Jnhabitauntes (perceyuing the Scottiſhe men not to goe about to harme them) came flocking in wholy about them, ſubmitting themſelues into their handes with gladneſſe.

Hiber.

WHEN thynges were once ſette here in a ſtaye, and that oꝛders were gyuen howe the land ſhoulde be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured foꝛ yͤ better bꝛinging foꝛth of ſuche things as ſerue foꝛ mans ſuſtenance, Hiber (leauing his bꝛother in charge with the gouernaunce of all thoſe whiche were appoynted to abyde there in Jrelande) with the moſt part of the ſhips and reſidue of the company, ſayled backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus deade, hee ſucceeded in hys place of gouernment, to the great reioycing of all the people there.

Hiber returned into Spain

Hiber ſucceded his father Gathelus.

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and moꝛe gyuen to the warres than his father befoꝛe him, ſo that where his father contenting himſelfe with the boundes and limittes of the Countrey aſſigned him by compoſition, ſought no further (as is ſayde) to enlarge the ſame: Hiber ceaſſed not to conquere Cities and townes neare adioynyng to the boꝛders of his ſubiectes, by reaſon whereof hys fame ſpꝛedde ouer all thoſe parties: And in the ende conſtreyned his enimyes to ſeeke foꝛ peace, whiche hee willingly graunted: ſo that a league being concluded betwixte the Scottes and Spaniardes, the ſame tooke ſuche good ſucceſſe, that within certayne yeares after, both the Nations, what by mariage and other contractes whiche they exerciſed togyther, became one: The ſucceſſion alſo of the Kings continued after Hibers deceaſſe in hys poſteritie a long ſeaſon. Amongeſt the whiche, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hiberius, and Simon Bꝛechus, were of moſt woꝛthie fame, as is recoꝛded by ſuche as haue wꝛytten the Hyſtoꝛies of that Nation moꝛe at large.

Hiber a conquerour.

A peace.

Spaniards and Scots become one people.

Hemecus.

IN the meane whyle that theſe things were thus a doing in Spaine, Hemecus beeing left, as is befoꝛe remembꝛed in Jrelande, to haue the gouernaunce there, ruled bothe the people of Scottiſhe men, and the foꝛmer Jnhabitaunts, with as muche indifferencie as was poſſible: yet coulde he not ioyne them ſo in one, but that after his deceaſſe eyther of them woulde haue ſeuerall Rulers of their owne Nation to gouerne them: by reaſon whereof, falling eftſoones at diſcoꝛde amongſt themſelues, there enſued ſharpe and cruell warres betwixte them, whiche beeing ended ſome tymes by truce (when bothe partyes happilye were thꝛoughlye wearyed,) they renued notwithſtanding theyꝛ malicious ſtryfe agayne, ſo ſoone as they had once recouered theyꝛ decayed ſtrengthes, ſo that the one ſeeking the others deſtruction, they continued in great diſquiet foꝛ a long time.

Hemecus king in Irelande.

Diſſention.

Theſe Scottiſh men being thus troubled in Jrelande, finally addꝛeſſed an Ambaſſade vnto Metellus, who as then raigned amongeſt the Scottiſhe menne in Spaine, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour agaynſte theyꝛ enimyes, who went aboute wyth toothe and nayle to expell all the Scottiſhe Nation out of Jrelande,

The Scottes ſende an Ambaſſadour vnto Metellus in Spaine.

which they were like ynough to bring to paſſe, if in time there were not ſpedy remedie through his ayde prouided for the contrarie.

Ayde ſent to aſſiſt the Scots in Irelande.

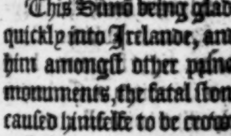
Metellus hearing theſe newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale towarde all the Scottiſh linage, gaue eare to their requeſt, ſuppoſing it ſhould be his part to defende his kinneſfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediately therefore he ſent his thre ſonnes, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hibertus, with a choſen power of warriours ouer into Irelande, where vanquiſhing the enimies with fierce and cruell battailes, they ſet the Scottiſh men in ſure and quiet poſſeſſion of all their lands and liuings. This done, Ptolomeus, and Hibertus remayned there to rule and inhabite the countrey, but Hermoneus who was the eldeſt brother, returned backe againe into Spain, there to ſucceede his father when time ſhoulde ſerue thereto. After this the Scottiſhe eſtate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people ſtill increaſing in welth and puiſſance, till proſperitie the mother of contention, ſtirred vp grudge and partialities amongſt them, whiche ſhortly would haue decayed the force of yͤ Scottiſh nation, if the auncient Lords had not prouided redreſſe in time, which was to perſwade the people to haue a king of theyr owne, who beyng partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the abſolute gouernãce of the whole: ſo that by common cõſent they ſent into Spaine for one Simon Brek, whoſe name was right famous amongſt them in that ſeaſon, both aſwel for that hee was lineally deſcended of the bloud royall, as alſo for that he had ſhewed many proues of his noble valiancie in ſundrie affayres and buſineſſe.

Hermoneus returned into Spaine againe.

Symon Brek.

Brechus came into Irelande.

This Simõ being glad of theſe tidings, ſayled quickly into Irelande, and brought thither with him amongſt other princely iewels and regall monuments, the fatal ſtone of marble, wherein he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned, in token of his full poſſeſſion, and eſtabliſhment ouer that kingdom.



Brechus.

Brechus beyng thus crowned, was yͤ firſt king yͤ reigned ouer the Scottiſh men in Irelande, who began his raigne there, in the yeere from the creation of the worlde, 3270. which tyme by maiſter Hariſons account is after the flowd, 1616: from the firſt buylding of Rome, 55. after the entrie of Brutus into Brytaine, 870. and before the Incarnation of our Sauiour, 697.

4504.H.B.

60. H.B.

696. H.B.

And hauing ruled his ſubiectes with great iuſtice by the ſpace of .xl. yeres or therabout, he died, after whoſe deceaſſe ſucceeded Fanduſus, who had iſſue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, whiche Glaucus begat Noitaſlus, the father of Rothſay: all of them raigned ſucceſſiuely ouer the Scottiſh men in Irelande, as in the deſcription of that land more plainly may appeare.

Fanduſus.

Rothſay.

The Scottes ferie ouer into the weſterne Iſles.

This Rothſay (perceyuing the Scottiſh nation encreaſed to a greater multitude in Ireland than the country was wel able to ſuſtaine) tranſported ouer certaine numbers of them into the Iſles auncientely called *Ebonides*, afterwards *Hebrydes*, but now by the Scottes, the weſtern Iſles, bycauſe they lie on the weſt halfe of Scotlande: and there they placed them to inhabite. He named alſo that Iſle which he firſt beganne to poſſeſſe, Rothſay, after his owne name. Which tranſlation of theſe Scottiſh men into thoſe Iſles was 133. yeares after the coronation of Brechus.

They inhabite the Iſle of Rothſay.

This Rothſay had not beene long in thoſe Iſles, but that hearing of his fathers deceaſſe, he returned into Irelande to ſucceede in his place. Where the Scottiſh men perceyuing the fertilitie of the Iſles, and how the ſame ſerued wel for the breeding of cattel, became ſo deſirous to inhabite the ſame, that they went ouer thither dayly in greate numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, ſo that within a ſhorte time, they multiplied in ſuch wiſe, that the Iſles were not large ynough to finde them ſuſtenance, by reaſon whereof diuerſe companies of them got them ouer into the maine lande of the North part of this our Brytaine, called as then Albion, where they firſt inhabited a waſte and deſert portion thereof, lying towarde the weſt, ouer againſt the foreremembred Iſles, by them alreadie inhabited. *Anno mundi.* 3383.

The Scottes inhabite the maine lande of Scotlande.

4617. H.B.

They inhabite the countrey called Argyle.

That part where they firſt beganne to ſettle themſelues, they named *Argathelia*, after the name of their firſt Captain and guide Gathelus, but the Inhabitantes at this day call it Arguyle.

They make lawes and ordinances.

At their firſt comming, bycauſe they perceyued they coulde not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they ſeuered themſelues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euery of the ſame hauing a ſpeciall gouernour to ſee their lawes miniſtred, and iuſtice mainteyned: which gouernours were had in ſuche reuerence, that they were as much afrayde to ſweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the Goddes.

Gouernours had in reuerence.

In this ſtate they continued many a yeare, encreaſing in proceſſe of time into a mightie nation, and liued in good reſt without trouble of warres or inuaſion made vpon them by any forraine enemie.

They liue in peace.

The Pictes came into Scotland out of Germanie.

In this meane time alſo, the Pictes, which were a certaine people of Germanie, as moſt wryters do agree, came and ſetled them alſo in another part of Brytayne, which nowe is comprehended likewiſe within Scotlande.

Some ſay that they came forth of the hyther part of Scithia, and other there be whiche holde opinion, that they diſcended of the people named in olde time *Agathirſi*, whiche inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, & were called Pictes, bycauſe they vſed to paynt and colour theyr faces, or as ſome ſuppoſe, for that they vſed gay apparell of dyuerſe and ſundrie colours: but the ſame wryters generally confeſſe, that they firſt came into Germanie or hyther Scithia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeares before they entred into Brytaine.

Pictes came out of Denmarke.

Truth it is that they firſt came out of Germanie, into the Iſles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a ſeaſon, feryed ouer into Catheneſe, whereof it came to paſſe, that the ſtreyte there at this preſent is called Pickland firth: and ſo in cōtinuance of time encreaſing in number, they paſſed further into the lande, and got poſſeſſion of Roſſe, Murray land, Merne, and Anguſe, and after that, entring into Fiffe, and Lowthian, they droue ſuch Brytaynes from thence as inhabited there before, whiche were but a ſimple kinde of people, as thoſe that applyed nothing but onely nouriſhing and breeding of cattaile.

The Pictes came firſt into Orkney, chaunging their ſeates came into the maine lande of Scotlande, Pictlande, Firth.

These Pictes, as by conference of tymes may appeare, entred firſt into Scotlande, aboute the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3633, and being once ariued, they began to erect and builde certaine fortes, wherein they might defend themſelues, if any force of enimies ſhoulde chaunce to put them vnto ſuch ſhiftes: but perceyuing they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteyne their ſtock and progenie by bringing forth iſſue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottiſhe men ſome number of women to marrie with, that thereby a ſure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, and that if neede requyred, they might the better defende them from their common enimies the Brytaynes, whome they knewe woulde be lothe to ſee the encreaſe of eyther Scottes or Pictes, as thoſe that were ſtraungers to them, and vſurpers vpon theyr confines.

4867. H.B.

The Pictes make ſtrong holdes.

The Pictes require womē of the Sottes.

This requeſt was graunted, and a ful league ratified betwixt the Scottiſhe men, and Pictes, with couenauntes, that neither of them ſhoulde ſeeke to vſurpe anye peece of that whiche the other helde, but content themſelues with theyr owne marches: And further, hee that attempted to wrong the other, ſhoulde bee accompted an enimie to bothe, and agaynſt whome they ſhoulde bee readie to ioyne theyr powers in eyther others defence.

A league made.

Alſo it was accorded, that if at any tyme it were doubtfull who ought to ſucceede in the gouernment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, ſome one diſcended of thoſe Scottiſh women ſhould be admitted to the throne.

The ſucceſsion of the gouernment.

This allyaunce was euen at the firſt miſlyked of the Brytaynes, who doubted that if theſe two Nations ſhoulde once bee ioyned inſeparatly togyther, they might in tyme to come, encreaſe to greater puiſſaunce than ſhould ſtand well with the ſuretie of their eſtate. Therefore ſtudying howe to preuent that daunger, they thought the readyeſt meane to deſtroy both thoſe Nations was (if they might bring it to paſſe) to ſette them firſte togither by the eares amongeſt themſelues, that afterwardes when their powers were by ſuche meanes ſore abated, they might the more eaſily ſubdue them at their pleaſures.

Their alliance miſliked.

Diſſention a preſent deſtroyer.

This deuiſe the Brytaynes kept ſecrete for a time, till occaſion ſerued to worke theyr intent. In whiche meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scottes and Pictes increaſed to the welth of both nations, and for the iſſue ſake great loue and friendſhippe was mainteyned amongſt them: the Pictes applyed themſelues to tylling the grounde, and buylding of fortreſſes: the Scottes ſette all their delighte in hunting and fowling, vſing about the ſame to go armed in Iackes and light ieſternes with bowe and arrowes, no otherwyſe than if it had beene in open warre: For in this exerciſe they placed all the hope of the defence of their poſſeſſions, landes, and liberties.

The Pictes good huſbandmen.

The Scottes giuen to hunting and fowling.

Good bowmē.

At length, the Brytaynes perceyuing happily ſome grudge or enuie to bee entred amongſt them, they ſente ſolemne Ambaſſadours vnto the Pictes, declaring that it were more honourable for them to ioyne in league with the Brytaynes, than with the Scottes: whiche Brytaynes were knowne to bee right famous, both in peace and warre, and inhabited a Countrey moſt fruitefull and repleniſhed with all commodities neceſſarie, hauing therein riche mynes of diuerſe kindes of mettall, where the Scottes being a rude Nation, wilde and ſauage, inhabited a barraine Countrey, full of roughe and fruitleſſe mountaynes, delyting therin in nothing but in the ſlaughter of men and beaſtes: And hereunto they added that, (whiche moſt moued the Pictes) howe it was foretolde by prophecies, that the Scottes through treaſon ſhoulde vtterly in time to come extinguiſhe and deſtroye all the Pictiſhe bloudde, whiche perſwaſions induced the Pictes at the laſt, to make a league with the Brytaynes, who promiſed their ayde at all tymes in whatſoeuer enterpriſe the Pictes ſhoulde take in hande agaynſt the Scottes, and as often as occaſion ſhould require.

The Brytaines ſend an Ambaſſadour vnto the Pictes.

A craftie ſuggeſtion.

Prophecies.

A league concluded with the Brytaynes.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenge the iniurie done vnto them.

Thys league thus beeyng confirmed wyth the Brytaynes, encouraged the Pictes ſo, that they ſought dayly howe to pyke quarelles, and fall out with the Scottiſhe men: wherevppon making Proclamation that no Scottiſh man ſhoulde enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: ſome ſuche as they tooke within the ſame, they cruelly ſlue, other they ranſomed at exceſſiue ſummes: wherevpon the Scottes beeing kyndled with iuſt diſpleaſure, on the other ſide, requyted them with the like, euer as they caught any of the ſayd Picts by hap or otherwiſe amongs them or in their walkes.

Open warre.

Scottes ſende for ayde into Irelande.

They require a gouernour.

The one nation ſeeking thus to bee reuenged of the other, there enſued open warre betwyxte them: wherevpon the Scottiſhe men, to the ende they mighte bee the better able to maintaine their quarell, ſent ouer their Ambaſſadours vnto their kinneſmen in Irelande, requyring them of ayde in that preſent daunger, as hauing nowe not onely warres with the Pictes, but alſo wyth the Brytaynes, who mynded nothing, but the vtter deſtruction of them and their linage, except ſpeedie remedie were founde. And for that they ſaw it needefull, to haue one onely head and gouernor, they made ſute alſo to haue ſome captayne of honour wyth them into Albion, vnto whome as vnto their king they woulde ſubmyt themſelues.

Ferguhardus king in Irelande.

Ferguſius ſent into Scotland.

The marble ſtone.

In that ſeaſon amongeſt the Iriſh Scottiſhe men, there raigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclyning to the petition of the Brytiſhe Scots, cauſed an huge army forthwith to be leuied, & thereto he appoynted his owne ſonne Ferguſius to be general of the ſame, a worthie yong gẽtleman, and an expert warriour: whom he ſent ouer with this puiſſant cõpany, with ſuch ſpeede as was poſſible. He had alſo with him the marble ſtone, that he might conceyue the better hope to raigne there as a king, bycauſe he went forth vnto ſuch a daungerous warre.

Such alſo as went with him in this iourney, had theyr wyues, their children, and all theyr ſubſtance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any foreyn countrey.

Ferguſius landed in Albion.

A Parliament.

A king is for to be obeyed.

Nowe it came to paſſe that this Ferguſius was no ſooner come into Albion amongeſt the Scottiſhe men there, but that in a Parliament called and aſſembled in Argile for the purpoſe, they firſt conſulted after what ſort they myghte mainteyne themſelues againſt their enimies, and what order for gouernment ſhould be obſerued amongſt them: where finally for auoyding of ſuch inconueniences, as might riſe through many gouernours, they decreed to chooſe onely one, whom in all things as their king and heade, they would from thenceforth follow and obey.

Ferguſius.

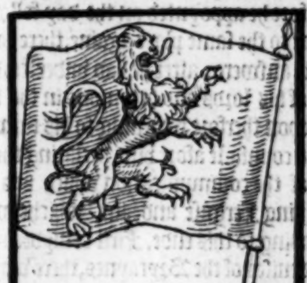
Ferguſius the firſt king in Scotlande.

BUt bicauſe there was none thought ſo meete to beare that office, as Ferguſius, and that the chaire of hope was alſo broughte wyth him: they cõcluded by whole cõſent to commit that charge vnto him, & ſo to the great reioyſing of the people, he was placed vpon his marble ſtone, and crowned king, being the firſt of the Scottiſh nation that euer ruled in Albion as abſolute gouernour, who began his raign in the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3640, which is (as Hariſon ſayth in his Chronologie) before the incarnation of our Sauiour 327. after the buylding of Rome 420. and after the entring of Brutus into Brytayne 790.

The Brytaines and Pictes agaynſt the Scottes.

The kingdome of the Scottiſhe men beeing thus begunne in Albion, Ferguſius tooke vppon him to rule as king, making prouiſion on al ſides to reſiſt his enimies: who whyleſt theſe things were a doing in Argile, had aſſembled theyr powers: vnto whome alſo the Brytaynes had ioyned themſelues, and were now entred into the Scottiſh borders.

Ferguſe hauing hereof knowledge, ſpeedily got togyther hys people, and came wyth Banners diſplayed to encounter hys enimyes. In king Ferguſes Banner, there was a redde Lion portrayed rampant, wyth hys tayle folden towardes his backe, as thoughe hee dyd beate the ſame, whiche is the maner of them, when they bee mooued to diſpleaſure.



The kings Banner with a Lion gueles in it.

Ferguſe was the firſt that bare this cogniſance in Albion, which euer ſithence hath bene borne by thoſe Kings that haue ſucceſſiuely raigned after him there.

The Brytayns are about to deceyue the Pictes.

Both the armies were nowe come within ſight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onſet, when there went a murmuring amongeſt the Pictes, that their companions the Brytaynes were gotten to a hyll a little beſide them, minding to ſee the ende of the battell before they did ſturre, and then if occaſion ſerued (as theyr hope was it ſhoulde) they purpoſed to fall vpon both partyes, as well Pictes as Scottes, and ſo to deſtroy them both, the vanquiſhers togyther with the vanquiſhed, as they founde them out of aray in following the chaſe.

Treaſon reuealed vnto Ferguſe.

Ferguſe ſendeth to the Pictes.

The like report was brought vnto Ferguſe, by one that fled vnto his ſyde from the enimies campe, touching this treaſon of the Brytaynes, conſpiring the exterminion of both the people. By reaſon whereof, eyther parte beeing put in feare of that whiche might enſue through the malicious purpoſe of the Brytaynes, they kept their tents certaine dayes togither without making any haſte to battayle. And in the meane while Ferguſe ſent a meſſenger vnto the King of the Pyctes, requyring him to come to a communication before they ſhould fight, for that he had to informe him of ſuch matters as perteyned no leſſe to the ſafegarde and preſeruation of the Pictes, than of his owne people the Scottes.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Pictes willingly gaue eare to this meſſage, and ſo a little beſide both the armies ſtanding in battayle array, the two kings accompanied with a fewe of their nobles mette togither, where in the ende the danger in whiche they both ſtoode, beeing plainly diſcloſed, and throughly wayed, they condiſcended to haue a further treatie of peace, whiche the King of the Pictes alledged hee mighte not conclude without the publike conſent of his ſubiects, and therfore he appoynted on the day following to returne to the ſame place againe, there to giue a reſolute anſwere, after he had vnderſtoode the mindes of his lords and commons in the ſame.

The king of the Pictes called his counſaile and commons.

Herevpon therfore returning to his campe, he called his counſaile afore him, declaring the ſubſtaunce of the communication which had bene betwixt king Ferguſe and him, whiche was in effect tending to this ende. Firſt conſydering the preſent deuiſes of the Brytaynes, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Pictes, as Scottes, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common deſtruction intended by the Brytaynes.

Diuerſe heads, diuerſe opinions.

A Prophecie.

Herevpõ alſo he required their aduiſe what they thought good to be don: declaring that according as they counſayled him he would worke therin. This matter being thus propoſed, as there were diuerſe heades, ſo were there ſundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no wiſe they coulde enter friendſhip againe with the Scottes, who had ſo cruelly ſlaine and murthered a great number of the Pictiſh nation: and had ſhewed ſuch tokens of a beaſtlyke furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with ſuche a raging kind of people: & hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophecie went that the Scots ſhoulde in the ende deſtroy all the Pictiſh progenie. So that it were wiſdom to keepe their power vnder ſo lõg as was poſſible, & not to encreaſe the ſame by ioyning with thẽ in frendſhip.

Other were of a contrarie minde, eſteeming that in no wiſe the Scottiſh mens friendſhippe ought to be refuſed, vnleſſe they would determin to ſeeke newe dwellings in ſome other forrayne parties, ſith the Brytaines would not fayle, but vpon occaſion take what vantage they could to expulſe them both, aſwel Scottes as Pictes, out of the countreys now by them poſſeſſed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophecie, if the Goddes had ſo determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no ſuch thing appointed by the ſame gods, what follye then were it to caſt ſuche dreadfull doubtes where no cauſe was. Ouer and beſides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottiſh nation, and therby ingraffed their ſeede (the hope of their poſteritie) in that ſtock, which is the nereſt meane and forcibleſt occaſion to nouriſhe friendſhip, that is or may be amongſt people deuiſed: therefore it ſhould not be onely profitable but neceſſary alſo, to haue peace with the Scots, to renue againe with them the former league to the perpetual ſtrengthning and aduancement of both the nations.

The Pictes admoniſhed by their wiues to peace.

Whileſt the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues alſo being preſẽt there in the armie, came in amongeſt them with their children, & in moſt lamentable wiſe beſought their huſbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their ſo ſorowfull caſe, and not to ſuffer their handes to be defiled with vnnaturall murther, ſithe it were leſſe diſcõfort to them with their ſillie little ones to die any kynd of death whatſoeuer it were, rather than to behold theyr huſbands with their fathers, their brethren, and other kinneſfolke ioyne togyther in battaile, and there to kill one another wythout all mercie and compaſſion.

The Pictes in moued to pitie.

The Nobles and Gentlemen of the Pictes hearing the cries of theſe women, and being now ſomewhat moued to pitie, conſented at laſte to haue peace with the Scottiſh men, and to renew againe the olde league that was heretofore betweene them: And for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there ſhould be had a mutuall recõpence according as might ſtande with equitie & reaſon. So that where the Brytains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that miſchiefe

and

Bryttaines reputed as enimies.

and diſcorde betwixt them, in hope therby to deſtroy bothe the parties, they ſhould now be reputed from henceforth as cōmon enimies to them both: as for all other articles or conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king ſhould do therein as vnto him might ſeeme good.

The meeting of the twoo kings.

An other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Pictes meeting with king Ferguſe, declared what his ſubiectes were agreed vpon: & further opening his mind touching the eſtabliſhment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meting betwixt them to ratify the ſame. Wherwith Ferguſe being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace ſhould thus enſue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, ſo that comming together, the auncient league was in all poynts renewed, with ſome conditions added therto, auaylable as was thought, for the ſtronger confirmation thereof.

The Brytains go homeward diſapointed of their purpoſe.

Before this, & after the firſt meeting betwixt the Scottes and Pictes, I meane ſo ſoone as the Brytains had vnderſtanding of this agreement, they had no luſt to tarie longer in the fielde, but rayſing their power, they departed their wayes homewardes, doubting leaſt the ſayd agreement might turne ſmally to theyr gayne.

The Scottes and Pictes returne home in peace.

The Pictes and Scottiſh men alſo after they had thus fully ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake vp their campes, euery man repayring to the place of his abode.

This Coilus by the circūſtance of the time, & other conſideratiōs, ſhould ſeeme to be the ſame whom the Brytās name Gutteline.

Coilus his ſubtiltie.

The kyng alſo of the Bryttaines named Coil (ſoiournyng in that ſeaſon neare aboute Yorke,) beyng informed of this ſodeyne renouation of the league betwixt the Scottiſh men and Pictes, was nothing ioyfull of the newes: for he doubted leaſt in time to come their confederacie might be occaſion of their further increaſing in puiſſance, and after that ſome new occaſion of his trouble. Wherefore ſtudying by what wayes and meanes he might beſt prouide remedie for ſuche inconueniences as might enſue, he attempted nothing openly for the ſpace of twoo yeares, but onely watched his time, to the ende that if he might in that ſeaſon chaunce (through the inſolent courage of eyther nation) to eſpie any occaſiō ſeruiſeable for his turne, he might ſet vpon and be a plague vnto them bothe.

The Bryttains robbe the Scots and the Pictes for to ſtirre diſcord.

The Scottes and Pictes inuade the Bryttains.

At length alſo he cauſed his ſubiectes (ſuch I meane as bordered neare to the marches of both the people) to fetche prayes and booties out of the Pictiſh confines. So that when the Pictes ſent thither with requeſt to haue reſtitution made, it was by and by aunſwered that the Scottes had done ſuch treſpaſſes, (being a people inbred vnto ſuch feates by nature,) and not the Bryttaines, who were nothing guilty in that kind of matter: & thus would the Bryttans do in like ſort when they had robbed the Scots, ſo that with ſuch iniurious diſſimulation, aſwel Scots as Picts being not a litle offended, they entred ſoone after into the Bryttiſh confines, robbing & ſpoyling the ſame, as their cuſtome is, with al maner of crueltie.

Coilus entred into Scotland with an armie.

When Coil of Bryttaine had notice of theſe doings, he toke grieuous indignation thereat, & therupon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpoſe, which he could not bring to pas by his former cloked practiſe. And herwith aſſembling an army, he entred into the Scottiſh borders lying towards the Iriſh ſeas, waſting with fire & ſworde whatſoeuer he founde in his wayes, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where encampyng himſelfe vpon the bankes therof, he ſent forth companies of his Souldiers to deſtroy the countrey, and to bryng in all ſuche pryſoners as they ſhould lay handes vpon.

Ferguſe aſſembled a great power of Scottiſhmen.

But in the meane tyme, and ſo ſoone as Ferguſe heard of the approche of the Bryttons, he cauſed all the people in the countrey to gette them with theyr goodes and cattayles vnto the Mountaines, except ſuche as were able to beare armure: whom he appoynted to attend vpon him, to defende the countrey as occaſion ſerued. Wherof Coil hauing knowledge brought by an eſpiall, he ſent forth about fiue thouſand nimble men, and ſuch as had bene vſed to clyme craggie hilles, to go before and winne the paſſages, purpoſing the next day to follow himſelfe with the whole army. But the Scottiſhmen and Pictes being now aſſembled togither, and certified hereof alſo by their ſpies, they firſt fell in conſultation what they were beſt to do: & in the ende agreed that the ſame night they ſhoulde ſette vpon the Bryttiſhe camp: Ferguſe with his Scottiſhmen on the one ſide, and the kyng of the Pictes on the other: ſo that in the dead of the night the Scottiſh men killyng the watche, were entred into the Brittiſhe campe, ere Coil had knowledge of any ſuch thing: whereby it came to paſſe that whileſt the Bryttaines (awaked with the noyſe) drew vnto that parte where the Alarme roſe, to beate backe the Scottes, the Pictes commyng ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certayne blinde fourde, aſſayled them on the backes, to the great confuſion of the whole armie, by reaſon whereof the Bryttaines (ſeyng none other remedie but to ſaue themſelues by flight,) turned their backes and fled, in whiche turmoyle they were troden downe and fell by heapes one vpon an other and were not able to helpe themſelues, nor yet to make ſhifte to auoyde the handes of their aduerſaries.

Coil was ſlayne and his whole armie diſcomfited, of whom as Hector Boetius ſayeth, their countrey of Coil tooke name.

In this buſineſſe alſo Coil himſelfe chaunced to be oppreſſed amongſt the reſt, ſo that he was founde dead in the ſearche of ſuch as were ſlayne, & after ſolemnly buried according to his eſtate in Troynouant, leauing the kingdom vnto his ſonne Siſellius, who with his mother Mertia gouerned the ſame togyther by the ſpace of many yeares.

Peace concluded.

Such Brytains alſo as eſcaped out of theyr enimies handes, gote them togither in the nexte morning, & perceyuing what loſſe they had ſuſteyned not only by the death of their Prince, but alſo in the ſlaughter of a greate parte of theyr whole armie, ſent an Herault vnto the Scottes & Pictes to require a peace, which though the moſt part of the people were not in will to haue cõſented vnto, yet perſwaded in the end by their Princes, they were contented to yeld thereto: ſo that a generall peace was concluded, and ſpeedily publiſhed betwixt them.

A parliament.

An exhortation vnto quietneſſe and peace.

Immediatly herevpon the Pictes with theyr part of the ſpoile gotten at this iourney departed to their homes, & Ferguſe returned into Argile: where ſtudying daily for the quiet aduauncement of the Scottiſh cõmune wealth, he called a parliament of his nobles, & firſt declaring to the aſſembly how much bound they were to the Gods for giuing them this victory ouer ſo puiſſant enimies as the Brytains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendly concord amongſt themſelues, and to abſtaine frõ violating the leagues, now concluded, aſwell with the Brytains, as before hand with the Pictes.

The lande is parted.

Obedient ſubiectes.

Alſo for the auoyding of enuious contention, and for the better aſſurance of euery mans eſtate, he iudged it neceſſary to haue a particion made of al the landes belongyng to the Scottiſh dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowyng to whom this peece or that did belong. Whiche politike aduiſe of Ferguſe, the Scottiſh men praiſed moſt highly, promiſing not onely to follow his counſayle herein, in all that he ſhoulde wiſhe, but alſo in all that he ſhould otherwiſe commaunde.

Men diuide the lande into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lottes.

Wherupon ſhortly after there were choſen by his aduiſe .vij. auncient perſonages, men of good conſcience & great experience: which were apointed to be Surueyours of the whole countrey, & to deuide the ſame as neare as they coulde into a ſet number of equal portions, (but with this cõſideration, that according as the fruitfulneſſe or barraynneſſe of the ſoyle required, ſo they ſhould enlarge or diminiſh the circuite of their bounds.) Whẽ they had vewed the countrey, & according to their commiſſion, ſeuered forth the ſame into parts, they returned into Argile where Ferguſe then ſoiourned, & there in his preſence, the names of al his noble men that were reputed as Gouernours were put in lottes, euery of them to haue ſuch parte of the realme for his owne, as ſhoulde fall to him by good lucke and preſent happe.

By this meanes eche of them being placed as his chaũce fell, they inhabited their quarters with ſuch people as they had the leading of, ſo that afterwardes the countreys tooke theyr names of thoſe the firſt Gouernours: which names for the more parte (being a little chaunged) remayne amongſt them euen vnto this day.

Statutes and lawes are made.

Ferguſe hauing thus without occaſion of enuie deuided his countrey amongſt his nobles and ſubiectes, ſtudied furthermore to deuiſe lawes for the mayntenaunce of commune quiet amongſt them. And therfore amongſt other ordinaunces he made ſtatutes againſt murder, roberies, burning of houſes, and ſpecially againſt thefte.

Berogonium.

A place apointed for iuſtice.

He buylded alſo the caſtell of Berogoniũ in Loughquhabre on the weſte ſide of Albion, ouer againſt the weſterne Iſles, where he appoynted a courte to be kept for the adminiſtration of iuſtice: that both the Albion Scots, and alſo thoſe of the ſame Iſles might haue their acceſſe and reſorte thyther for redreſſe of wrongs, and endyng of all controuerſies. The reſidue of his life, he paſſed in reſte and peace with his neyghbours the Pictes and Brytaines, endeuouring by all meanes, to knit and couple the hartes of his ſubiectes in one friendly bande of inwarde loue and amitie.

Ferguſe went into Ireland, and in his returne was drowned.

Rocke Ferguſe, otherwiſe Knocke Ferguſe.

Finally, ſaylyng afterwarde into Irelande to be arbitratour in a matter of variance betwixte the Nobles of that lande, as he returned homewardes, by force of tempeſt, the ſhippe wherein he was embarqued, was dryuen vpon a rocke, where he periſhed, after he had raygned as kyng amongſt the Scottiſh men in Albion aboute xxv. yeares. The rocke where he was thus caſt away, hath bene euer ſithence called Rocke Ferguſe, after his name.

Eſdadus.
Cruthneus.
Camelonus.

This citie the Scottiſhe wryters take to be Camelodunũ, of the whiche there is ſoofe mention made in the Romain writers: but verily herein they do greatly erre.

In the ſame ſeaſon there raygned amongſt the Brytains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Eſdadus, and amongſt the Pictes one Cruthneus Camelonus, that buylded a famous Citie, vpon the banke of the riuer called Carone, as the Scottiſh wryters affirme, appointyng it to be the chiefe Citie of all the Pictiſhe kyngdome, where in times paſte there was a fayre commodious hauen apt to herbrough ſhippes in at all ſeaſons, but now it is dammed vp in ſuche ſorte, that vnneath there appeareth any token where that hauen was: and the citie it ſelfe was finally ſubuerted by Kenneth kyng of Scotland, as after ſhall appeare.

Agneda nowe called Edynbrough.
The caſtell of maydens.

The forenamed Cruthneus buylded alſo the Towne of Agneda, afterwardes called Edynbrough, of Ethus kyng of the Pictes, the caſtell was named, the caſtell of Maydens, for that the daughters of the Pictiſhe kings, were there kept vnder ſtrayte cuſtodie, appoynted to learne to ſow and worke, till they came to yeares of mariage.

But nowe to returne to the Scottiſh men. After the death of Fergaſe, the Nobles of the

Realme aſſembled togyther, to take councell whom they might chooſe to ſucceede in his place. Many of them in reſpect of the highe benefites whiche theyr nation had receyued by the politike gouernment of kyng Ferguſe, would not in any wiſe that his ſonnes, though young of yeares, ſhould be forgotten, but that according to reaſon & equitie, the eldeſt of them ſhould be elected, ſith they might not otherwiſe deliuer themſelues of the note of ingratitude towardes his father, vnto whom they were more bounde than with toung might well be expreſſed.

The Scots conſult about an other election of a king.

Other hauing a ſpeciall regarde to the quiet of theyr common wealth, doubted leaſt if they crowned a chylde to theyr kyng during his minoritie, it coulde not be, but that there ſhoulde follow ſtryfe, enuie, and contention, for the gouernaunce of his perſon and realme amongſt the Nobles, and that in ſuche wiſe, as the people being diuided into ſundrie factions, the due adminiſtration of iuſtice ſhoulde be neglected, the Nobles bearing and bolſtering vp all kindes of iniuries done or committed by any of their partakers.

And though it might ſo happen that they agreed vppon one ſpeciall gouernour, as reaſon was they ſhoulde, yet ſhoulde he ſeeke to aduaunce his kinſfolkes more than reaſon happely required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies muche diſpleaſant to no ſmall number of them, by that his priuate authoritie.

And againe the King ſhoulde no ſooner come to yeares of any diſcretion, but one or other woulde put him in minde to take vpon him to rule the whole himſelfe, before he vnderſtoode what charge he had in hande: and by reaſon of his frayle youth he lightly woulde not followe the councell of any, but ſuche as conſented vnto him in his ſenſuall luſtes and inordinate fanſies, whiche commonly raygne in ſuche Princes as take vppon them gouernance of realmes before they knowe, (through wante of ſufficient yeares) how to gouerne themſelues.

For theſe and the like conſiderations, alleaged by ſome of no ſmall authoritie amongſt them, it was agreed in the ende, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceaſſed Ferguſe ſhoulde be crowned King and haue the gouernance of the Realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to ſee his Nephewes king Ferguſe his ſonnes brought vp in princely nurture and diſcipline, as apperteyned to the Sonnes of a king: that after his deceaſſe, if he liued till any of them were come to rype yeares, they might ſucceede him in the aſtate and kingdome.

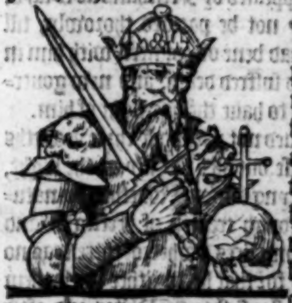
Feritharis choſen king.

This ordinance alſo they decreed to be obſerued as a lawe from thence-forth euer after, that if the king died leauing no iſſue, but ſuche as were vnder age to ſucceede him, then ſhoulde one of his neareſt Couſins, ſuch as was thought moſte meete to occupie the rowme, be choſen to raigne as king during his life, and after his deceaſſe the crowne to reuerte vnto his predeceſſors iſſue without controuerſie, if the ſame were ones growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtayning the crowne, leaſt the publike libertie of the realme might chaunce to be put in daunger. But yet was it afterwardes perceyued that this deuiſe for chooſing of kings, miniſtred occaſion ſometimes to the vncle to ſeeke the deſtruction of the Nephew, and likewiſe to the Nephew to procure the diſpatche of the vncle and vncles Sonnes, with the committing of many haynous murders of right worthie princes, to the no ſmall daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the commune wealth, ſo that finally that ordinance was clearly abrogated, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

The chooſing of kings was not alowed.

Feritharis.



But nowe to my purpoſe. After Feritharis with the full conſente of al the people was thus elected king, hee was inthronized with all ſolempnities in receiuing his kingly ornamentes, as his two edged ſword, his Scepter royal, & his crown of gold faſhioned in forme of a rampire made for defence of a towne or fortreſſe, ſignifying that hee toke vppon him to preſerue the libertie of his countrey to ſee offendours duely puniſhed, and the execution of lawes with equall iuſtice truely miniſtred.

A two edged ſword.

Theſe ornamentes of inueſture remayned vnto the Scottiſhe kings, without being in any point chaunged, till the dayes of Achaius kyng of Scotlande, who eſtabliſhing a perpetuall league with Charles the greate Emperour and king of Fraunce, to endure for euer betwixte the Scottes and Frenche menne, added vnto the crowne foure Flower de Lyces together with foure croſſelettes deuided in ſunder by equall ſpaces, riſing ſomewhat higher than the Flower de Lyces, that thereby the obſeruing of the Chriſtian Religion and ſincere faithe, maynteined by the Scottiſhe nation, might be the more euident to all men that behelde it.

The crowne chaunged.

But now as touching Feritharis, ſhortly after he was thus inueſted kyng, he came to an enteruew with the king of the Pictes, where many things

The league with the Picts confirmed.

The league with the Picts confirmed.

things being communed of; touching the wealth of bothe nations, the league was in ſolempne wiſe confirmed, and ſuche puniſhed as had done any thing ſounding to the breache of the ſame.

After this, beyng returned home, he ordered himſelfe in the adminiſtration of his charge very vprightly, without giuyng iuſt occaſion vnto any to finde himſelf grieued: and thus continued he certaine yeares in ſuch loue of all the eſtates of the realme, that afterwards when his Nephewe Ferlegus the eldeſt ſonne of king Ferguſe, beyng nowe come to full age, through inſtigation of ſome inſolent perſons, and ſuch as by alteration hoped for aduauncement, required contrary to the ordinance before eſtabliſhed, to haue of him the crowne: the mater was taken in ſuch ill part, that where before the ſame Ferlegus was highly beloued and honored of all the people, they were now ready (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle perſwaſions ſtayed them) to haue torne him all to peeces: but although their rage was ſomwhat appeaſed by Feritharis as is ſayd, yet woulde they not be pacified thorowly, till that all ſuch as had bene of councell with him in that practiſe, had ſuffred death, and new gouernours appointed to haue the ouerſight of him.

Feritharis ſuddainly died.

Ferlegus exiled.

Feritharis lyued not paſſing a three moneths after this buſineſſe, but died ſodenly in the night, the trueth not beyng knowen whether by naturall death, or through treaſon of Ferlegus and certaine of his complices, (whereof there was no ſmall ſuſpition) for that he togither with them found meanes to flee firſt to the Pictes, and after to the Brytaines, where he paſſed the reſidue of his lyfe in great ſhame and ignominie.

An election of a new king.

Feritharis beyng thus dead in the .xv. yeare of his reygne, the Nobles aſſembled togither for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the yonger ſonne of king Ferguſe, as then beyng about .xxiiij. yeares of age.

Mainus.

Thys Mainus beyng of contrarie conditiõs to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduãced to the crown by the whole cõſent of the Nobles & cõmons, who yet kept in freſhe memorie the noble gouernement of his father Ferguſe. He therfore ſtudying to anſweare the peoples expectation in following his ſayde fathers worthie actes, mainteyned iuſtice in all points without ſufferyng any bearing or bolſtering of wrong. If there were any controuerſie riſen betwixt neyghbour and neighbour within one hundred or kandrede, he willed that the ſame might be taken vp and ended amongſt them at home by order of ſome authorized courte there. But if the mater were of ſuch importãce as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of ſome higher courte, he would then haue the hearing thereof himſelf, at ſuch time as he vſed euery yeare once to haue a publyke aſſemblie out of al partes of his realme, to conferre togither for ſuch purpoſes: At what time alſo ſuche as were notorious offenders, were arraigned and puniſhed by death or otherwiſe, accordyng to the faulte which they earſt had cõmitted. Alſo for the more quiet of his ſubiects he cõfirmed the anciẽt league with the Pictes, theyr king named Chrinus, requiring the ſame by his ambaſſadours ſent vnto him. Moreouer this Mainus vpõ a religious deuotion towarde the Goddes, hauing an aſſured beliefe, that without their fauours al worldly policies were but vayne, deuiſed ſundry new ceremonies to be added vnto the olde: and alſo cauſed certaine places in ſundrie partes of his dominions to be appoynted out, and compaſſed about with great huge ſtones round lyke a ring: but towardes the South was one mightie ſtone farre greater than all the reſt, pitched vp in maner of an aulter, wheron their prieſts might make their ſacrifices in honour of their Goddes.

Iuſtice mayntayned.

Smal maters redreſt among neighbours.

Great maters determined by the king.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Pictes.

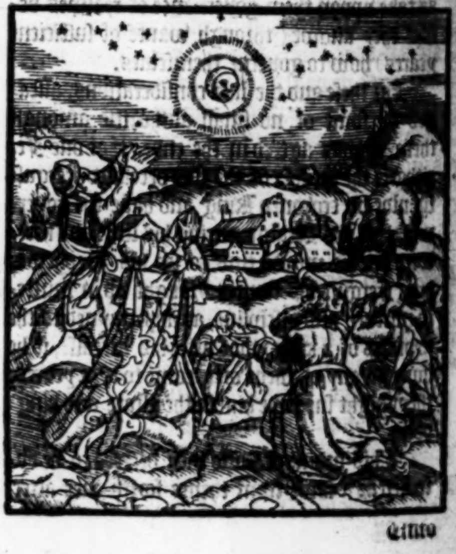
Mainus a deuoute man in his religion.

In witneſſe of the thing there remayneth vnto this day certaine of thoſe greate ſtones ſtanding rounde ringwiſe, which places are called by the cõmon people the old chapels of the Gods. A mã wold maruel by what ſhift, policy or ſtrẽgth ſuch mightie ſtones were rayſed in that maner.

Diana honored of the Scots.

Diana Goddeſſe of hunting.

Amongſt other the Goddes alſo, whiche the Scottiſhmen had in moſt reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whom they accompted as their peculiar patroneſſe, for that ſhe was taken to be the Goddeſſe of hunting, wherein conſiſted their chiefeſt exerciſe, paſtime and delite.



The newe Moone is worſhipped.

Unto hyr therefore he inſtituted monethly ſacrifice, by reaſon whereof this vſe was takē vp, that ſo ſoone as any of them got ſight of the new Moone nexte after hyr chaunge, he ſaluted hyr with certaine prayers or ſalutations moſt reuerently. Whiche cuſtome endured amongſt them many hundred yeares after.

A liuing prouided for the prieſts.

Mainus did alſo appoint forth liuings for the Prieſts to be taken of ſuche ſacrifice as was offered vp to the Goddes.

Finally, when he had thus inſtructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aſwel touching the religious ſeruice of the Goddes, as alſo for politike gouernment of his countrey, he ended his life, after he had raigned about .xxix. yeares: leauing the eſtate to his ſonne Doruadille, Elidurus raygning the ſame time in Brytaine, and Thaara amongſt the Pictes.

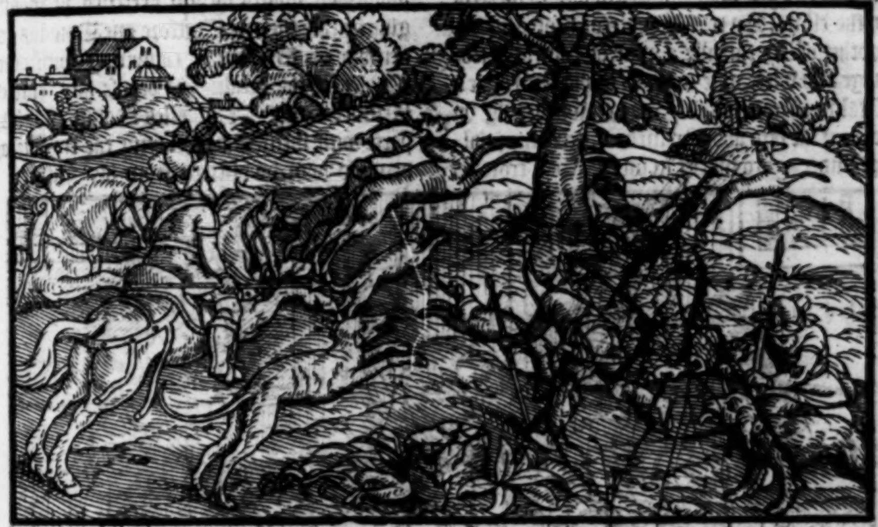
Doruadille.

Doruadille beyng crowned king of the Scottes, eſtabliſhed a newe league with the Brytaines by ſending his Imbaſſadours vnto them: and with the Pictes hee renewed and confirmed the auncient aliaunce.

Doruadille a louer of peace.

He ſet all his pleaſure on hunting and keeping of houndes and greyhoundes, ordayning that euery houſeholder ſhoulde finde him two houndes and one greyhounde.

Doruadill had pleaſure in hunting.



If a hunter chaunced in following the game, to loſe an eye or a limme, ſo that he were not able to helpe himſelfe after that time, he made a ſtatute that he ſhould be found of the common treaſory.

The reward for killing of a Wolfe.

He that killed a Wolf ſhould haue an oxe for his paines. This beaſt in deede the Scottiſh men euen from the beginning vſed to purſue in al they might deuiſe, bicauſe the ſame is ſuche an enimie to cattayle, wherein conſiſted the chiefeſt portion of all their wealth and ſubſtance.

Lawes made for hunting.

Thus the Scottiſh men in this ſeaſon, ſetting all their delite on hunting, began alſo to vſe lawes and ſtatutes in proceſſe of time concerning the ſame. And firſt it was ordeyned, that he whoſe dogge did teyſe & go through to the end of the courſe with ẏ Deare, ſo that he were ſeene to be at the fall, ſhould haue the ſkinne: the head and the hornes to remayne to him whoſe dogge did beſt next. The bodie being dreſt and broken vp, ſhoulde be diſtributed at the pleaſure and diſcretion of the Maiſter of the game. The bowels and paunche were caſt to the dogges as the caſe required. And if there roſe any doubte in any of theſe points, they ſhould chooſe by common conſent, a iudge to determine of the matter.

The dogges rewarded.

But whether theſe deuices were lawes made by the kyng as then for the further aduancement of his pleaſure, or rather cuſtomes growen, and ratified by long and continual vſe, I can not tel, but certaine it is, they were obſerued through all the Scottiſh regiōs as hauing the force of lawes, and ſo are vſed euen vnto theſe dayes.

Old lawes allowed, & newe eſtabliſhed.

Beſide theſe ordinaunces for hunting, Doruadille commaunded alſo that all ſuch ſtatutes as Ferguſe had made ſhoulde be kept and obſerued: whereunto he added certaine new, namely diuers ſortes of puniſhments for ſundrie kindes of tranſgreſſions, according to the qualities of the ſame: whiche hee cauſed to be ingroſſed in bookes of recorde, and committed to the cuſtodie of a graue counſellour, who by a common conſent ſhould haue the interpretatiō of thoſe lawes if any doubt aroſe, and that when any offender ſhould come before the iudge, & heare the ſentence redde by him, the ſame offender might vnderſtād that he receyued nothing but right at the iudges handes: by reaſon whereof it came to paſſe, that ſuch offenders without repining willingly were contented to ſuffer any puniſhment what ſoeuer it was that the law did ſo appoynt them.

This cuſtome grewe into ſuche force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongſt them of the weſterne Iſles, but that euen vnto this day they haue theyr Lawiers amongſt them, without whoſe denunciation or decree taken out of the regiſter, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

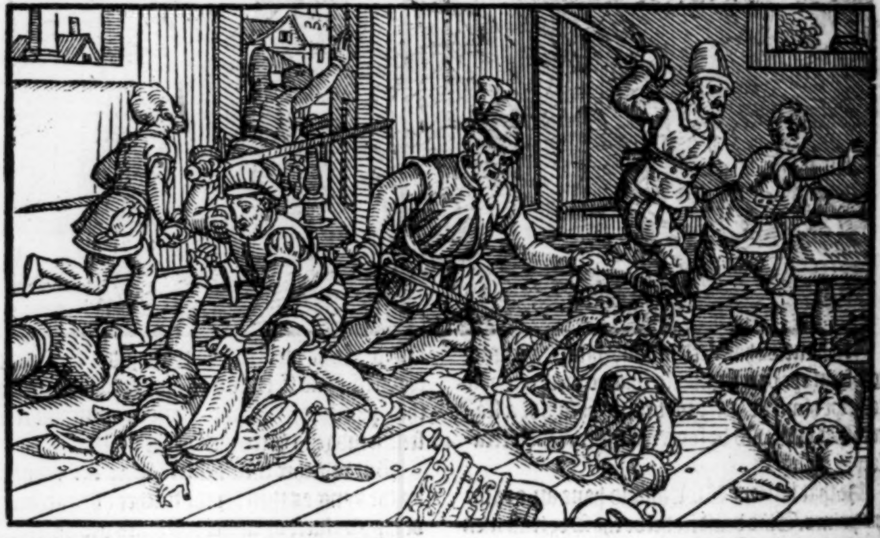
These were the actes and doyngs of kyng Doruadile, who in the .xxviij. yeare of his raigne departed this worlde at Berigonium, now called Dounſtafage, leauing behind him a ſonne called Reuther as yet not of ſufficient age to ſucceede in the eſtate. By reaſon whereof Nothatus the brother of Doruadille a man of comely perſonage and witte, apte (as was thought) to haue a Realme in gouernaunce, was crowned king by force of the law aboue remēbred, debarring childrē vnder age to inherit in ſucceſſiō of yͤ crowne.

Nothatus.

Nothatus.

This Nothatus had vnneth raygned two yeares, when all the people beganne to crie out vpon him, for ſuche tyrannicall partes as he practiſed aſwel againſt the meane eſtates as the highe. And for ſo muche as he being admoniſhed of his duetie and required to reforme certaine diſhonorable vſages by him exerciſed, he woulde giue no eare thereto: Therfore one Doualus gouernour of Brigantia, conſpiring with other Nobles of the Realme to depoſe him, enticed Reuther kyng Doruadilles Sonne, to take parte with them, and to clayme the crowne as dewe to hym by diſcente from his Father.

Brigantia now called as the Scottes ſay Galloway.



And ſo aſſemblyng a companie of their faction, ſufficient for their enterpriſe, they entered the palayce where Nothatus lay, and after reaſoning with him of certayne points touchyng his miſgouernment in the eſtate, diuers of theyr companie not tarying till they were commaunded, raſhly fell vpon him, and murthered him togither with diuers of ſuche Nobles and Gentlemen, as they knewe to be enimies to Doualus and his friendes.

Nothatus murdered.

Reuther.

After this they proclaymed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due ſolēpnitie, diuers of the Nobles of yͤ realme being highly diſpleaſed therewith, for that they iudged it not only a greet offence to haue the king thus traiterouſly murthred, but alſo ſaw hereby the ancient ordināce of chooſing their king through conſent of the people, to be brokē by the wicked attempt of a priuate perſon, & an vnſkilfull yong man aduaunced to the crowne,

Reuther crowned king. Diuers Lords offended.

crowne, cōtrary to yͤ decree of an autentike law.

A conſpiracie of Ferquhard againſt Doualus.

Amongſt other one Ferquhard the ſonne in law of Nothatus gouernour of Lorne & Cantyr called an aſſemblie of the people, and beganne to declare what enormities were like to enſue thorow this tirannicall attempt of Doualus.

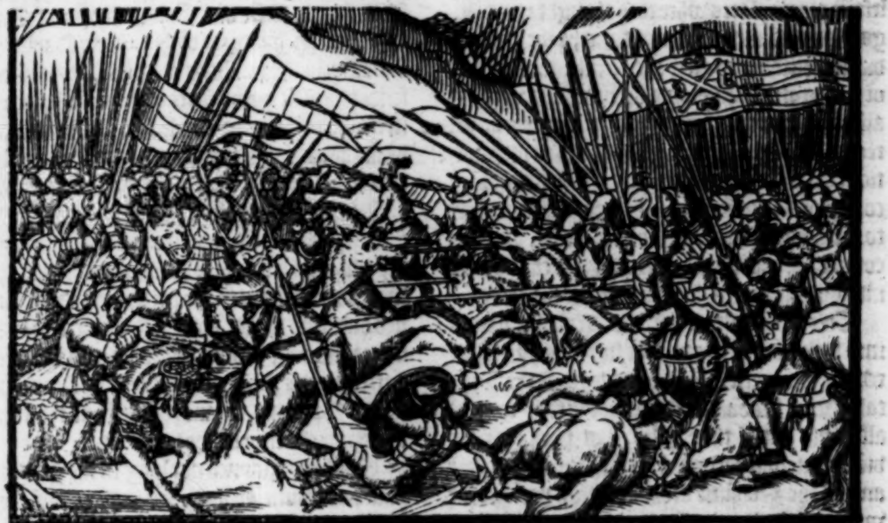
Ferquhart fled into Ila.

Doualus hearing whereaboute Ferquhart went, haſtly came to the place where this aſſemble was made, & there ſlaying diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard alſo in great hazarde of his lyfe, who by flying yet eſcaped his hands and, got him ouer into the Iſle of Ila, whither reſorted vnto him diuers of the Nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

Ferquhart returneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

In the end, Ferquharde perſwaded his cōpanions to ſet al feare a parte, and to returne with him into Scotlande to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traytours and enimies to the realme and common wealth, ſo that firſte ioyning handes (whiche they did wette in mans bloud according to the cuſtome then vſed) they promiſed one to an other to liue and die in the quarel: and after embarquing themſelues in certaine veſſels, they entred the ſea and paſſed ouer into Scotlande, where gathering togither no ſmall number of ſuch as willingly reſorted vnto them to their ayde, they encountred with Douale in battayle, whoſe hoſte twyce in one day was put to flight neare to the citie Berigonium with the loſſe of an eyght thouſande men.

Berigonium.



The night parted the fray, but in the nexte morning Douale & his partakers through greate indignation conceiued for that they were ſo beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his hoſte not paſt a x. M. perſons) fiercely came forth of theyr tentes to giue battaile afreſhe, & finding their enimies ready to receyue them, there was fought ſo cruell a battayle betwixt them, that in the end eyther parte being ſore trauayled with ſlaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not paſſing an eight hūdred of all thoſe that were preſent that day in the fielde, as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales parte there was ſlaine Gethus kyng of Pictes, whoſe daughter kyng Reuther had maried, with a great number of his people: alſo Douale himſelfe with diuers of the Nobles of Scotlande, beſide Gentlemen and commons that tooke parte with him.

ouale is ayne.

erquhart is ayne.

On the cōtrary ſide there died alſo Ferquhard himſelfe with diuers gouernours of Trybes, beſide the reſidue of the Nobles, Gentlemen and commons of Roſſe, Catheneſe, Marne, Argile, Cantyr, and Lorne, with them of the weſterne Iſles which were there with him.

Reuther the king fledde.

Reuther eſcaping with lyfe from this bloudie encounter, in the night followyng departed his wayes with ſuch of his people as were left aliue. Wherof his enimies being aduertiſed in the next morning, purſued after him with ſuch diligence, that in the end they tooke him within a caſtell in Catheneſe whither he was fledde for ſuccour: he was pardoned of life, partly in reſpect of his fathers merites, and partly againe for that it was knowen how his tender youth was ſuch as had not deſerued death by any fact, otherwiſe thā in that he had followed the councell of malicious perſons. By this cruel murder & huge ſlaughter thus committed betwixte theſe two nations of Scottiſh men & Picts, bothe their forces were ſo greatly enfeebled, that they became an eaſie pray to their aūcient & cōmon enimies the Brytains, who in ſuch oportunitie of occaſion thought not to ſit ſtil til the ſame might haply be paſt & gone.

Reuther purſued and takē.

He is pardoned of life.

The Brytains vpō occaſiō inuade the picts.

The Picts expulſed by the Brytains flee into the Iſles of Orkeney.

Firſt therfore with a mightie armie the Brytains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceyuing themſelues not able to make reſiſtance, fled with theyr wiues, their children, and the moſt parte of their goodes, ouer into the Iſles

of

Gethus king.

of Orkeney, and there aſſembling togither, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was alſo named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here alſo they remayned certaine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants whom they found there, wrong-ing them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottiſh hiſtorie be true.)

Why Orkeney was called Pictland as ſome ſuppoſe, but the trueth ſhoulde ſeeme to be that they were ſo called bycauſe the Pictes inhabited there before they ſet foote in Brytaine.

Hereof moreouer as ſome ſuppoſe it came to paſſe, that theſe Iſlãds of Orkeney are named by diuers wryters the aũcient kingdome of yͤ Picts.

The Brytaines inuade the Scottes.

In the meane while the Brytains ſeaſing vpon ſuch countreys as theſe Pictes had forſaken, that is to ſay, the Mers, Louthien and other, they left in diuers places wher they thought expediẽt, garyſons of men of warre, to keepe the ſame in due ſubiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottiſh kingdome, brẽning and waſting all afore them, wherewith ſuche Scottes as yet remayned aliue, being highly moued to indignation, came ſtoutly into the fielde to defende theyr countrey, ⁊ encoũtring with their enimies neare to Kalendar wood, they loſte a ij. M. of theyr companie: the reſidue alſo being ſore chaſed, fled into ſundrie parties for ſauegard of their liues.

The Scottes ouerthrowen.

This diſcomfiture put the Scottiſhe nation into ſuch feare ⁊ terrour, that they vtterly diſpaired of al recouerie, where contrarywiſe the Brytains were ſo aduaunced (in hope vtterly to expel all aliens out of their Iſle) that purſuyng the victory in moſt earneſt wiſe, they forced Reuther and all the Nobilitie of the Scottiſh nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for ſauegarde of theyr liues into the caſtell of Berigonium, where they helde themſelues as in the ſureſt holde.

The Brytains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Berigoniũ, enuironed the caſtell with a ſtrong and vehement ſiege, vntill that the Scots within were conſtreyned through wante of vitayles to eate each other, according as yͤ lots fell by a cõmon agreement made amongſt them.

Scots beſeged deuoure one an other.

But when it came to paſſe, that euen thoſe that were reputed as heads and gouernours, ⁊ in whom conſiſted the hope of theyr whole defenſe, did now and then come to the ſhambles aſwell as other of leſſe reputation, they thought it beſte to trie by iſſuyng forth, if any of theyr happes might be ſo good as to eſcape the daũger preſent, whereas by tarying ſtill within the fortreſſe, they ſhould but deuoure one another without any reuenge for loſſe of their liues, had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies.

The Scottes come forth to fight.

Whereuppon by common conſente there iſſueth forth, firſte one Colane Lorde of Cantyr with an hundreth of his owne Souldiers, and fiercely ſkyrmiſhing with the Brytains, defended himſelf a good ſpace right mãfully, though in the ende bothe he and his whole bande were borne downe and ſlayne with preaſſe and multitude of his enimies that aſſailed him on each ſide.

Reuther eſcapeth.

In the meane ſeaſon, whileſt he thus occupied the Brytains in fight on one ſide, Reuther with the reſidue of his people brake forth by an other way, and eſcaping to the ſea ſide, got ſhippes and fled ouer into the weſterne Iſles, where he found a great number of other Scottiſh men, that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Brytains, to auoyde forth of the countreys whiche they before inhabited.

Reuther paſſeth into Ireland.

Reuther remayned not long in the Iſles, but paſſed ouer into Ireland. The Brytains not a littell moued for his eſcape with the other of the Scottiſh Lordes, reuenged theyr diſpleaſure on ſuch cõmons and other meane people as fell into their handes, ſo that ſuche as might eſcape, gotte them into the moũtaynes, ⁊ liued there by rootes, berries, ⁊ other wilde fruytes in ſommer, and in

They inhabite the mountaines.

winter by ſuch veniſon and fleſh of wilde beaſtes as they killed in the wilderneſſe: and ſometimes they came downe & made reyſes vpon the Brytaines that occupied theyr houſes and landes, fetching great booties very often from amongſt them.

Reuther is ſent for out of Ireland.

This cruell warre laſted a. xij. yeares, till in maner all ſuch Scottes and Pictes as remayned in Albion were brought vnder ſeruitude to the Brytains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Pictes kepte his ſiege royall in Pomonia the chiefeſt Iſle of the Orkeneys. Reuther alſo begot of his wife a ſonne named Thereus, and ſhortly after being procured by letters and meſſengers ſent vnto him from the foreſayd Gethus and ſuch Scottes as were yet remayning in Albion, he aſſembled a number of ſhippes togither, & firſt with a choſen power of warriours ſayled to the weſtern Iſles, where increaſing his numbers, he paſſed ouer into Albion, landing on the weſte halfe of Roſſe at Lough Bruum, & there comming a land, the firſt perſon that they mette with (according to a cuſtome vſed amongſt them in thoſe dayes) they ſlew, & wetting the pointes of theyr weapons in his bloud, they firſte taſted thereof after theyr manner, then holding vp their weapõs into the ayre, they deſired of the Goddes that they might reuenge the bloud of their elders with happy battaile againſt the Brytons their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was alſo entred the lãd with a mighty power of Germains which were come to his ayd and was not paſt a. xxx. miles of, he ſtayed there abiding for his comming, to the intent that ioyning theyr powers togither, they might be the better able to furniſh theyr enterpriſe.

A cuſtome.

The Germains in ayde of the Pictes.

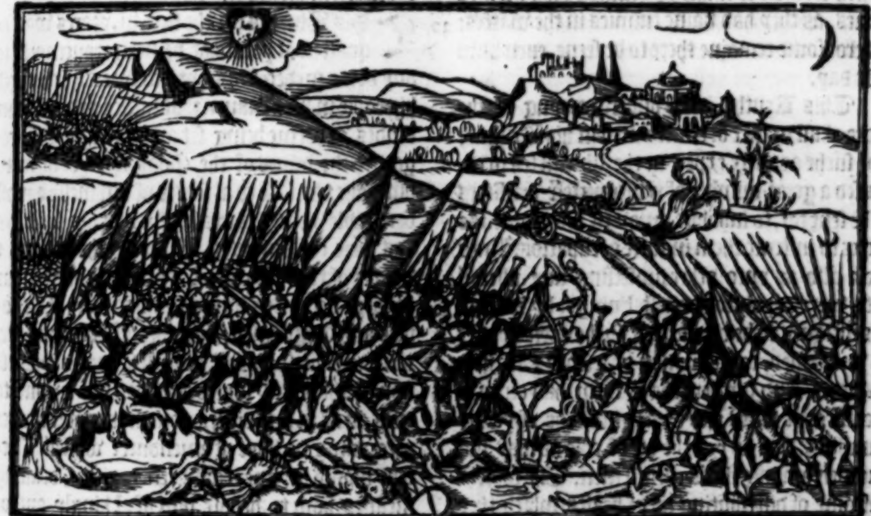
Reuther and Gethus meete & ioyne their powers togither.

The third day after they mette togither with great ioy and cõgratulations, vnto whom with all ſpeede a great number alſo of thoſe Scottiſhmen and Pictes that had ſtill continued in the countrey (during the time of the perſecution by the Brytains) dayly reſorted and came flocking in from eche ſide vnto them.

The Brytains are diſcõfited by the Scottes and Pictes.

Siſillius king of the Brytains who ſucceded after Dennus, as then lately deceaſſed, hauing knowledge hereof, aſſembled a great army of his ſubiectes, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his Realme, he haſted forth to encounter with their powers, & ſo ioyning with them in battaile, after long and cruel fight, in the end the victory remayned with the Scottiſh men and Pictes, by the greate valiauncie and manfull prowes of Reuther: wherevpon the place where that battaile was foughte hath bene euer ſince called Redirdail, as ye wold ſay Reuthers valley.

Whereof Rethirdail tooke the name.



A peace concluded.

This victorie was not very pleaſant to any of the parties, by reaſon of the greate numbers of men ſlaine on bothe ſides, in ſo muche that they were gladde to fall to agreement immediatly after, & concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottiſh men & Pictes ſhould be reſtored againe vnto their auncient poſſeſſiõs & lands in Albion.

204. H. B.

4995. H. B.

Reuther by Beda is named Reuda.

This peace cõtinued a long time after inuiolate betwixte theſe nations. The yeare that Reuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Chriſte. 216. after the buylding of Rome. 529. and from the creation of the world. 3750. Reuther by Beda in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of England is named Reuda: who alſo ſuppoſeth him to be yͤ firſt of al yͤ Scottiſh princes yͭ ſet any foote in Brytain there to inhabite, his comming thither was (as ſeemeth to ſome) lõg after the ſuppoſed time here before alledged. And verily there is great cauſe to moue a doubt of yͤ truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written in following (as he ſaith) other authors, touching the firſte comming into Brytaine, aſwell of the

Scots ⁊ Picts: for if it were true that ſo long before the comming of the Romains into this Iſle they were here plãted ⁊ growē to ſuch puiſſance, it is ſtrange that no mentiō is made of them in any of their writings, till aboute the yeare. 560. after Chriſt, as in place conuenient it ſhall more plainely appeare. Reuther paſſed the reſidue of his dayes without any further warres, forrayne or ciuill, and ſo departed this worlde at Berigonium, in the. xxvj. yeare of his raygne.

An. mundi. 4997. H.B.

Reutha.

AFter Reuther his deceaſſe, his vncles Sonne called Reutha ſucceeded in the kingdome, choſen thereto by the common agreement of all the eſtates, bycauſe that Thereus Sonne to Reuther vneath come to the age of tenne yeares, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him.

An ordinance for buriall of theyr Princes.

Reutha therfore being thus elected to raygne as king ouer the Scottiſh mē, ordained that ſuch noblemen as had atchieued any notable exployte in defence of their countrey, ſhould be had in perpetual memorie, ⁊ buried in ſolempne wiſe in ſepulchres aloft vpō hilles or mountaines, vpō the which were ſet ſo many Obeliſks or lōg pointed ſtones, as they had ſlaine enimies in the warres: whereof ſome remaine there to be ſeene euen vnto this day.

Obeliſkes or pointed ſtones

Craftes men brought into Scotlande to inſtruct the people.

Liuings appointed forth vnto theſe craftes men.

A law for Phiſitions & Chirurgions.

This Reutha alſo vnderſtandyng of the lacke of all maner of craftes men in his Realme, ⁊ of ſuche as were expert in the liberall ſciences, cauſed a great number of moſte perfect artificers to be ſent for, to inhabite amongſt his people, the better to inſtruct them in their occupatiōs. Unto theſe alſo as vnto other profeſſing any liberall arte, were appointed honeſt liuings, by way of fees aſſigned to be receiued, of ſuche oxen ⁊ beefes as were killed, to euery man of ſcience ⁊ artificer his parte. And further eche of them had certaine meaſures of Otes and Barly in ſteede of yearly annuities. For as yet the vſe of coigne was not knowen among the Scottiſh men. The whiche cuſtome of diſtributing theyr beaſts, which they killed in this wiſe, is ſtill vſed in the Weſterne Iſles euen vnto theſe our dayes. Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnſkilful Chirurgions ⁊ Phiſitions many wounded ⁊ diſeaſed perſons were oftentimes caſt away, ordeined by the aduice and conſent of his counſell, that none ſhould take vpō them as a Chirurgion or Phiſition, vnleſſe they were by long experience well practiſed aforehand in thoſe ſciences. For before that time they vſed to carie forth ſuch perſons as were ſicke or otherwiſe hurte, and to lay them in ſome open place in the ſtreetes or market ſtede, that al ſuch as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduiſe, and ſhew (if they had bene vexed with the like diſeaſe) by what meanes they had eſcaped the daunger, ⁊ recouered agayn theyr health. For no mã might without the note of high reproche paſſe by in keping ſilence in this behalf. And this was according to the cuſtome of the olde Egyptians.

Reutha thus ſtudying for the aduauncement of the common wealth of his ſubiects, continued in the eſtate with great proſperitie, til finally perceyuing himſelfe farre growen in age and not ſo able to trauell in the affayres of the realme as he was before, he cauſed a parliament to be aſſembled, and there in preſence of all the eſtates he required to be diſcharged of the gouernment: and that the ſame might be cōmitted vnto his couſin Thereus, who as then was not onely of ſufficient age to take it vpon him, but alſo of ſuche towardneſſe as that in eche mans opinion he was thought likely to atteyne vnto the proweſſe of any of his noble progenitours.

Reutha reſigned the eſtate vnto his couſin Thereus.

Thus, Reutha after he had raygned a. xiij. yeares, returned to a priuate lyfe, reſigning the whole rule of the realme vnto the foreſayd Thereus being through his perſwaſion receyued as king of all eſtates by common conſent there in that preſent aſſemble.

Thereus.

Iuſtice neglected and vice embraced.

The nobles cōſpire againſt Thereus.

Thereus fled to the Brytains.

THis Thereus for the firſt. vj. yeares was equall in al points of princely gouernment to any of his predeceſſors, but afterward he chaunged his copie in ſuch maner, that iuſtice and all other kindes of vertue being ſet aparte, he neyther regarded the lawes of the Gods nor yet of men, but gaue himſelfe to al ſortes of filthineſſe ⁊ moſt deteſtable vices, ſo farre forth, that his ſubiectes (as their cuſtome is in following the maners ⁊ vſages of theyr Princes,) became ſo outragious in theyr licentious liuings, and namely the Nobles and Gentlemen, that thereof enſued theft, murder, rape, ſpoyling, and all kindes of oppreſſion of thoſe ſeely ſoules that had not meane to reſiſt, ſo as in fine diuers gouernours of the tribes perceyuing no hope of amendment whileſt Thereus ſhould raygne, conſpired togither, deuiſing meanes how to depoſe him of al kingly authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purpoſed intentions, and doubting the ſequele thereof, conueyed himſelfe out of the way, in moſte ſecrete wiſe, fleyng for ſuccour vnto the Brytaines, vnto whom though he made earneſt ſuyte for ayde to be reſtored home againe, yet coulde hee purchaſe no ſuche fauour amongſt them: ſo that leading a miſerable lyfe long time after within the citie of Yorke, hee finally there ended his daies. He raigned in Scotland about. xij. yeares or more.

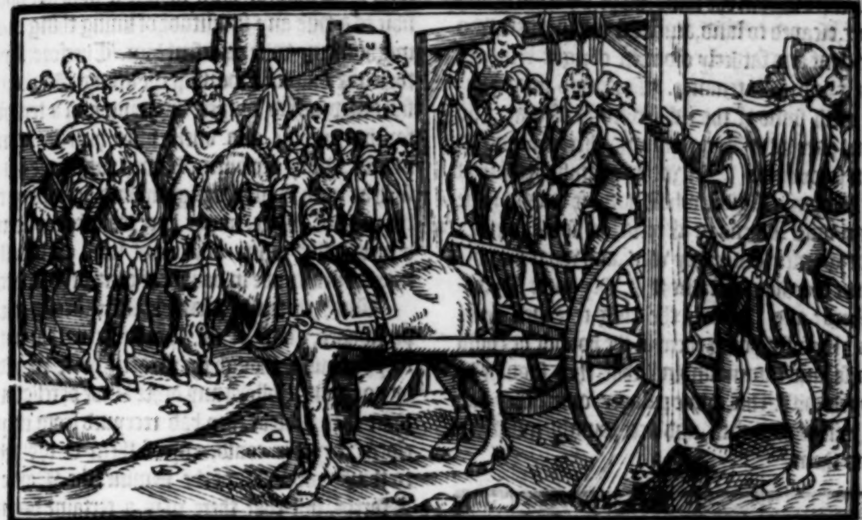
Inume-

Conanus.

Conanus is choſen king.

Immediatlye after this his auoyding yͤ Realme, the Nobles and peeres choſe one Conanus Lord of Galoway to rule yͤ eſtate as Gouernour, whoſe authoritie had bene euer great amõgſt the people. His ſtudie was chiefly imployed how to reduce the Lordes & Nobles of the Realme, into concorde and friendly amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus eche ſought others deſtructiõs. Alſo he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed vpon all ſuch as liued by robbyng & reuing, of whom in the beginning of his gouernment there was no ſmal nũber: but he weeded them forth, in ſuche wiſe that ere he lefte off, there was not one of them to be founde.

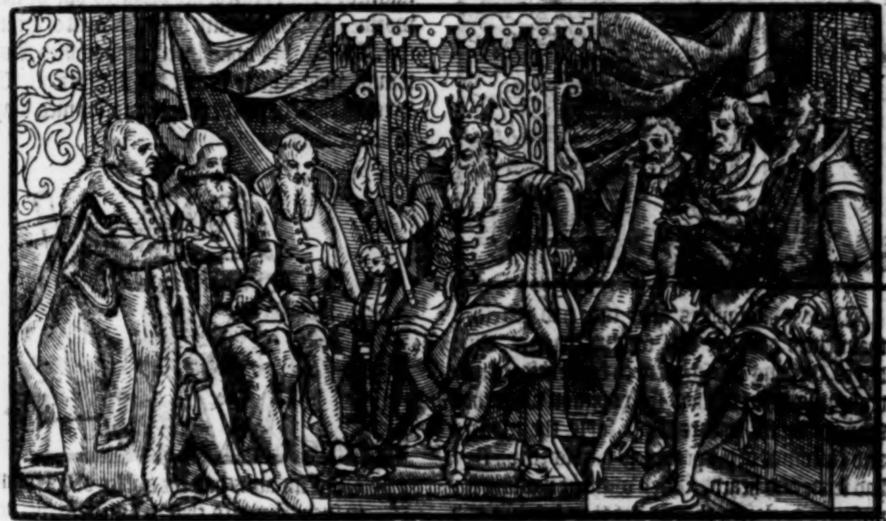
Conanus perſecuteth offendours.



He renounceth the eſtate.

At length, after it was vnderſtood that Thereus was deade, this Conanus renounced the adminiſtration in preſence of all the eſtates aſſembled in parliament at Berigonium, where by common conſent Joſina the brother of Thereus was choſen to raygne as king, for that Thereus had lefte no iſſue behinde him to ſucceede.

Joſina elected king.



Joſina.

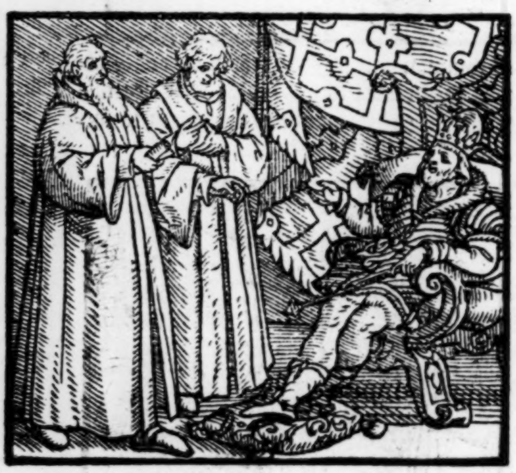
This Joſina, being proclaymed king, renewed the auncient leagues with the Piks and Brytaines.

He had Phiſitions in greate eſtimation: for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nouriſhed of a childe amongſt them, and by reaſon thereof had ſome knowledge in their facultie, ſpecially he vnderſtode the vertues and properties of hearbes, wherwith in thoſe dayes the Scottes vſed to heale and remedie all maner of ſores and diſeaſes, which as then were few in nūber in reſpect of the ſundrie kinds which are now knowē amongſt vs: and al by reaſon of the ſuperfluous feeding and exceſſe of meates and drinkes vſed in our time, where as our elders ſuffiſed with a little, liued without ſurfeyting, the chiefeſt breeder of ſuche ſtraunge and manifolde ſickneſſes.

Surfeiting the cauſe of ſtrāge diſeaſes, which ſo commonly now raigne.

In this Joſina his dayes it chaūced that a Portingale ſhippe was driuen and drowned by force of a ſtreyneable tempeſt, neare vnto the ſhore of one of the Scottiſh Iſles, where diuers of thoſe that were within the ſame ſhippe, Maryners and other, eſcaped to land, amongſt whom were two auncient and fatherly old men of right reuerend aſpect and countenance. Theſe two in companie with ſome of the inhabitaunts of that Iſle came ouer vnto Berigonium, where the king as then ſoiourned. They were Spaniſh prieſtes of the Pagane religion, whoſe purpoſe was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia, as ſome wryte: But whence ſoeuer they were, and what purpoſe ſoeuer they had, certaine it is, they were Philoſophers: and therefore the king receyued them moſt ioyfully, doing them al the honour he could deuiſe, and commaunding that they ſhoulde be lodged within his owne palayce, where they had all things needefull, and accordingly miniſtred vnto them.

Two auncient philoſophers through ſhipwracke arriue in Scotland, & are ioyfully receyued of the king.



These Philoſophers after they had refreſhed themſelues at theyr eaſe for the ſpace of. xiiij. dayes, the king cauſed them to come before him, requyring them to ſhew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the ſoyle, the maners and cuſtomes of his people, ſo farreforth as they had ſeene and heard. They without pauſing for anſwere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne thoſe things but onely thus farre, by coniecture they ſuppoſed that the ground was more likely to be fruitefull of metall mines, than of corne and grayne, as conteyning farre more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue, and this they ſayde that they gathered by the influence of the Heauens vnder the whiche it lay. And as for the rites and vſages of the people, in one pointe they coulde in no wiſe commende them, for that in religiō they followed the ſuperſtitious rites of the Egyptiās, worſhipping the immortall Gods in the ſhape of beaſtes and foules, where as God was euen the ſame that did comprehende bothe heauen and earth, with the waters and al things in them conteyned, whom they named Nature, and as it were the prymordiall cauſe or beginning of all things, vnto whom it was not poſſible to deuiſe any ſimilitude of liuing thing that might in any wiſe repreſent him. Therfore (ſayd they) mē ought to worſhip the liuing God with fire and deuoute prayer, buylding him a temple for that purpoſe, and onely vnto him to burne incenſe, and to perfourme vowes: at whoſe hāds ſuch as liued chaſtly, vprightly, and according to the rules of iuſtice, ought euer to looke for ſome high benefite, where other that liued contrarily might euer ſtande in doubte of contrary reward.

The Scottiſh religion reproued.

Vpright liuing well rewarded at Gods handes.

With theſe theyr ſenſible inſtructions they perſwaded many of the Scottiſhe nation vnto theyr opinion, though the greateſt parte woulde by no meanes follow any other kinde of religion, than that whiche they had receyued from theyr elders: neyther coulde any of them be brought to thinke otherwiſe of the Sunne, the Mone ⁊ Starres, but that there was a certaine deuine power or godhead in euery one of thē. And thus much of theſe ſtraungers briefly and by the way, who came into Scotlād at this preſent, but now to proceede with our purpoſe, when Joſina had raigned. xxiiij. yeares, hee departed out of this worlde at Berigonium, beyng a man of greate age. He lefte behinde him a ſonne named Finnanus, who a little before his Fathers deceaſſe was by conſent of the people proclaymed king of Scotlande.

Ioſina departeth this life.

Finnanus.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in ſuch eſtimatiō, that he ordeyned that nothing ſhould be decreed or practiſed touching the publike affayres of the realme, except they were firſt made priuie and of counſell in the ſame. He ſought alſo to winne the fauour of his people by meekeneſſe ⁊ gentle intreating of thē, in ſomuch that though he wente aboute to reſtore the olde religion ſomewhat defaced by his father through information as is ſayde of the two aboue mencioned ſage Philoſophers, yet did he not conſtreyne any man to worſhip the Goddes, otherwiſe than his fanſie ſerued him.

Prelates ordred in religion.

Druides in the old Scottiſh toung called Durcergliis.

He was the firſte that inſtituted thoſe Prelates whiche gouerned after the manner of Biſhoppes, in all maters pertayning to religion, and were called in the Scottiſh tounge Durcergliis and in Latine *Druides*.

The Scottes miſtake Man for Angleſey.

These *Druides* were appointed to be reſident within the Iſle of Man, as the Scottiſh menne holde opinion, but other thinke rather that they were reſident in Angleſey in the Brytiſh tongue called *Mon*.

Unto theſe alſo hauing great liuings aſſigned them, were the inferiour prieſts ſubiect, as receyuing at their handes all iniunctions & orders for the uſe of their ſacrifices and other ceremonies.

The authoritie of the Druides increaſed.

Theſe *Druides* afterwardes applied thẽſelues ſo earneſtly to the ſtudie of Philoſophy, aſwell naturall as morall, that they were had in no ſmall reuerence of the people, as they that were bothe accompted and knowen to be men of moſt perfect lyfe and innocencie: by meanes whereof theyr authoritie dayly ſo farre forth increaſed, that finally iudgements in moſte doubtfull maters were committed unto their determinations, offenders by theyr diſcretion puniſhed, and ſuche as had well deſerued, accordingly by theyr appoyntments rewarded.

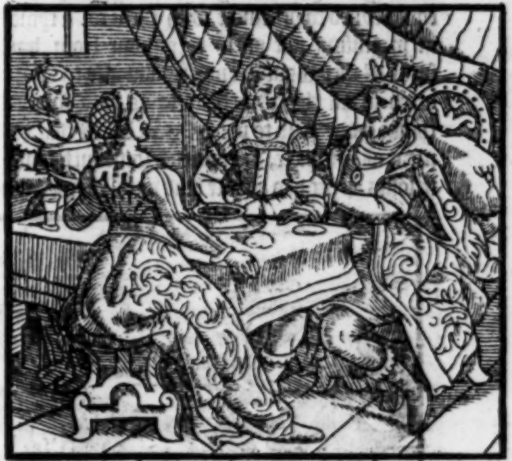
Moreouer ſuche as refuſed to obey theyr decrees and ordinaunces, were by them excommunicate, ſo that no creature durſte once keepe companie with ſuch till they were reconciled agayne, & cleerely by the ſame *Druides* aſſoyled.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Ceſar, with diuers approued Authours, make mencion of theſe *Druides*, ſignifying how the firſt beginning of their religion was in Brytaine, (which ſome comprehende all wholly under the name of Albion) and from thence was the ſame religion brought ouer into Fraunce. Finnanus was not onely prayſed for his ſetting forth of that Heathen religion, but alſo for his politike gouernment of the eſtate in ioyfull reſte & quietneſſe. Neyther was his fame a little aduaunced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his ſonne Durſtus and Agaſia daughter to the kyng of Brytains, for by that aliaunce he wanne diuers of the Bryttiſh nation unto his friendſhip.

Finally, this Finnanus died at Camelon beyng come thither to viſite the kyng of Pictes as then ſore diſeaſed, after hee had raigned about the ſpace of a.xxx. yeares. His bodie was conueyed unto Berigonium, and there buried amongſt his predeceſſours.

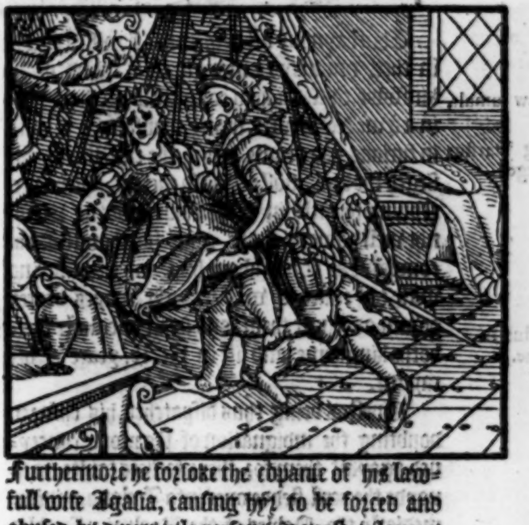
Durſtus.

After hym ſucceeded his ſonne ẏ forenamed Durſtus, farre differyng from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether



gyuen to banquetting and exceſſiue drunkenneſſe. Suche of the nobles as his Father had in highe reuerence he made light accompts of: accepting onely thoſe that of theyr wicked deuices could finde out new kindes of voluptuous pleaſures, through whoſe perſwaſions ſome of his peares he cõfined, ſome he ſpoyled of al their ſubſtance & inheritance, other he put to death without iuſte cauſe or any kinde of lawfull meanes.

Wicked counſellers.



Furthermore he forſoke the cõpanie of his lawfull wife Agaſia, cauſing hyr to be forced and abuſed by diuers vile perſons in moſte vilanous maner.

A conſpiracie.

With theſe and the ſemblable inordinate practiſes he procured the indignation of his people ſo farre forth agaynſt him, that thoſe of the weſterne Iſles with them of Cantyr, Lorne, Argile and Roſſe, conſpyred togither in the reformation of ſuche diſorders as were dayly vſed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, by the wicked ſuggeſtion of euill diſpoſed councellours, againſt whom they pretended to make theyr warre, and not againſt theyr king.

A craftie and cloked diſſimulation.

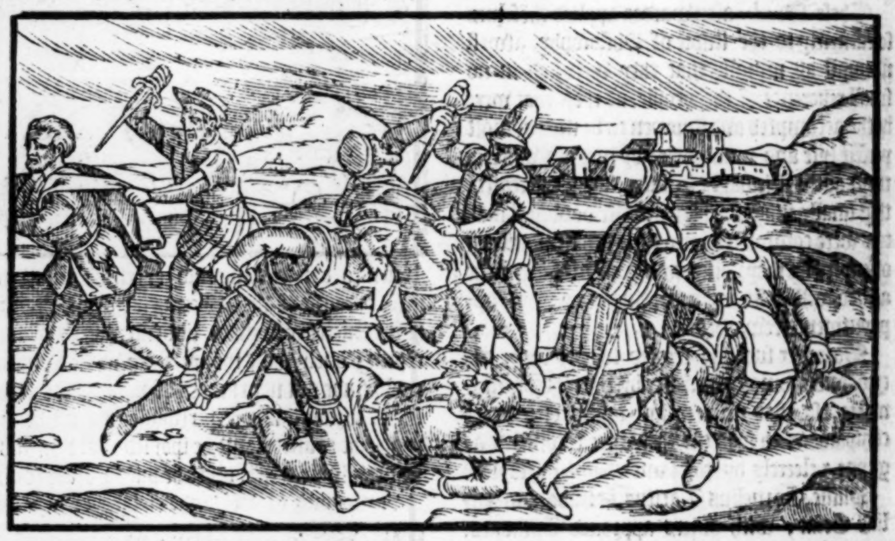
There were ſo many alſo that fauoured them in this quarell, and ſo fewe that leaned to the king to ayde him againſt them, that he was conſtreyned to diſſemble with them for a tyme, in promiſing not onely to remoue from him ſuche as they woulde appoint, but alſo to be ordered in all things according as they ſhoulde thinke good. And to put them in beliefe that hee ment as hee ſpake, he cōmitted ſome ſuch counſellours as hee had aboute him vnto warde, and other ſome (of whome he little paſſed) he ſente vnto them as pryſoners, to receyue ſuch puniſhmēt by death or otherwiſe, as they ſhould thinke conuenient.

Craftie diſſimulation.

He further alſo in preſence of Doro the gouernour of Cantyr, ſente to him for that purpoſe, ſware in ſolempne wiſe afore the image of Diana, to performe all ſuche promiſes and couenantes as he was agreed vpon and had made vnto the conſpiratours.

A cruell murther.

With whiche cloked diſſimulation they being deceyued, came without ſuſpect of further guile vnto Berigonium, where at their firſte comming he was readie to receyue them (as ſeemed by his fayned countenance) with gladſome harte and moſte friendly meanyng: but they were no ſooner entred the Caſtell, but that a number of armed menne appointed for the purpoſe, fell vpon them, and ſlewe them all without mercie.



A new tumult.

King Durſtus beſieged.

Durſtus is ſlayne.

This haynous act being once ſignified abrode in their countreys amongſt their friendes and kinſfolke, cauſed a new commociō, ſo that within a fewe dayes after, many thouſandes of men in furious rage came before the caſtell, and beſieged the king moſte ſtraitly therein. Who perceyuing himſelfe in ſuche daunger as he knewe not well howe to eſcape, came forth with ſuche companie as he had about him, and encountring with his enimies was ſtraight wayes beaten downe amongſt them, and ſo at once loſte there bothe kingdome and life in the .ix. yeare of his raygne.

Ewyn is choſen king.

Durſtus being thus diſpatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceyued agaynſt them for theyr fathers faulte, to auoyde the peril, fledde ouer into Ireland, and immediatly the Nobles of the Realme aſſembled themſelues togither for the chooſing of a newe king, in no wiſe minding to haue any of Durſtus his race to raygne ouer them, leaſt they woulde ſeeke by ſome meanes to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at poynt to haue fallen at variaunce in ſuſteyning of contrarie opinions aboute the election of their Prince, through a wittie oration made by Coranus gouernour of Argile, who alledged many weightie reaſons for the auoyding of ſedition, they all agreed to committe the free election vnto the ſame Coranus, promiſing firmely to accept whome ſo euer hee ſhoulde name. Hereupon Coranus conſulting a little with the peares of the Realme, named one Ewyn the vncles ſonne of Durſtus, who as then remayned in Picte lande, whither hee had withdrawen himſelfe in Durſtus his dayes, beyng baniſhed the realme by him, for that he coulde not away with his corrupt maners.

This election was acceptable to all eſtates, for that thereby the adminiſtration of the kingdome continued in the lyne of theyr former kings.

Ewyn.

AND Ewin ſhortly after was brought forth of Pict lande with al regall ſolempnitie, and at Berigonium placed vpon the ſtone of Marble, to the great reioyſing of the people there aſſembled. Herewith alſo the nobles of the realme putting theyr hands in his, bound themſelues by othe to be loyall and faithfull ſubiectes vnto him in all points, which cuſtome of ſwearing fealtie then firſte by Ewins commaundement begon, and continued many hundred of yeares after amongſt his and their poſteritie: in ſomuch that the Captaines of the Trybes alſo required the ſame kinde of othe of them that inhabited within theyr liberties, whiche in parte remayneth yet vnto this day amongſt thoſe of the Weſterne Iſles, and ſuche as inhabite in the mountaynes. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whom they name theyr Captaine, they vſe the like ceremonies: whiche being ended, at the nexte fayre kept within that countrey, proclamatiō is made, that no man inhabiting within his iuriſdiction, ſhall name this newe gouernour by any other name from thenceforth, than by the aunciēt and accuſtomed name as ſuche rulers aforetime haue bene called by. And that ſo ofte as they heare him named, they ſhall put off theyr cappes or hattes, and make a certaine curteſie in ſigne of honour due to him, in ſuche maner as we vſe in hearing diuine ſeruice, whē any holy miſterie is in doing, or any ſacred name of the almightie creatour recited.

Swearing of fealtie firſte begonne.

Humble reuerence.

But now touching king Ewyn, his chiefeſt ſtudie was to mainteyne iuſtice throughout his dominion, and to weede out ſuche tranſgreſſers as went aboute to trouble the quiet eſtate of his ſubiectes.

The dutie of a good Prince.

Furthermore conſidering what inconuenience proceeded through the vſe of voluptuous pleaſures and wanton delytes, he ordeyned that the youth of his realme ſhoulde be trayned to endure hardneſſe, payne and trauell, as to lie vpon harde bordes without any feather beddes or pillowes vnder them. Alſo to exerciſe themſelues to throw the darte, to ſhoote, to wraſtell, and beare armure aſwell in time of peace as of warre: that when neede required, trauell and ſuche kinde of exerciſes, ſhould be no payne but pleaſure vnto them: where otherwayes lacke of vſe, might make the ſame intollerable. Whileſt Ewyn is thus occupied aboute the ſetting forth of neceſſary ordinaunces for the wealth of his Realme, the kyng of the Pictes did ſende vnto hym Ambaſſadours, to require his ayde agaynſt the Brytons, who were entred his countrey in robbing and ſpoyling the ſame.

A notable ordinance.

Ewyn conſenting quickly to that requeſt, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all ſpeede paſſed forward to ioyne with the Pictes, in purpoſe to reuenge the olde iniuries done to his nation by the Brytayns, who likewiſe were as readie to receyue battayle as the Scottes and Pictes were deſirous to giue it, ſo that bothe the armies encountring togither (the Scottes and Pictes on the one ſide, and the Brytayns on the other) there enſued a ſore conflict betwixte them, continued with vnmercyfull ſlaughter, till night parted them in ſunder: No man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either parte beyng priuie to their owne loſſes, withdrew themſelues further off from the place of the battell, ſo that the Scottes and Pictes the ſame night gotte them into the mountaynes of Picte lande, and the Brytons ſo ſoone as it was day made homewards with all ſpeede towardes their countrey, leauing no ſmal pray and bootie behind them, which the Scottiſh men and Picts recouered cōming downe withall ſpeede frō the mountaines, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

A doubtfull battayle.

King Ewyn being returned from this iourney, determined to paſſe the reſidue of his lyfe in reſte and quietneſſe, appointyng iudges in euery parte of his Realme, for the miniſtring of iuſtice and executing of the lawes according to the due forme and ordinance of the ſame.

He appointed alſo ſuch as ſhould watche for the apprehenſion of thieues and robbers by the high wayes, aſſigning them liuings of the common treaſorie to liue by. And there be euen vnto this day that holde ſtill ſuch liuings, though the office be worne out of vſe and forgotten.

Dounſtafage is buylded.

After this, he buylded a caſtell not far diſtaunt from Berigonium, whiche hee named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwardes it was called Dounſtafage, whiche is as muche to ſay, as Steuennes caſtell, whiche name it beareth at this preſent. Finally, this Ewyn after he had raygned to the great weale of the Realme, about xix. yeares, he departed this life, leauing behinde him a ſonne baſe begotten, named Gillus, who cauſing his fathers funerals to be executed with all ſolempnie pompe and ceremonies, raiſed vp ſone after ſundrie Obeliſkes aboute his graue neare vnto Dounſtafage, where he was buried.

The crafty working of Gillus.

There were preſent alſo at the buriall, twoo of Durſtus his ſonnes, whome Ewyn in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland where they were in exile. Bothe theſe, aſwell the one as the other, bicauſe they were twinnes and not knowẽ whether of thẽ came firſt into the worlde, looked to be king after Ewyn. Their names were Dothan & Dorgal. And ſuch malicious emulatiõ and enuious ſpite, roſe betwixt the two brethren for the attayning of their purpoſe, that greater could not be deuiſed, whiche Gillus, like a craftie & ſubtill Foxe, by couert meanes ſought ſtill to augment: and in the end cauſing them to come togither for ſome concluſion of agreement, at length when he had ſet them further at oddes than they were before, he procured a number of Souldiers appoynted for the purpoſe to rayſe a tumult, (as though it had bene in taking of contrary partes) and there to ſlea them bothe. Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpoſe that he came for, ſheweth in countenaunce as though he had bene much offended therewith, and done what he coulde to haue appeaſed the matter, and herewith he commeth running forth with a highe voyce, declaring to his cõpanie, that if he had not made good ſhifte for himſelfe, he had bene ſlaine by the handes of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into ſuche miſchiefe themſelues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon alſo he required his friendes and ſeruaunts moſt earneſtly to conuey him into ſome ſure place where he might be out of daũger, and in better ſecuritie: in ſo much that many of thoſe that hearde him, giuing credite to his wordes, went with him with all ſpeede vnto Dounſtafage, where being receyued into the caſtell with diuers of the Nobles that followed him, he gotte him into a galery, and there making an inuectiue oration againſt the Sonnes of Durſtus, and touching by the way what perill might enſue to the common wealth by ciuill diuiſion, he perſwaded them to committe the rule vnto his handes, vntill it mighte be certainely knowen, vnto whom the ſame of right appertayned.

Durſtus twoo ſonnes are ſlaine.

The Nobles through feare, conſented to create Gillus king.

Thoſe that were preſent, perceyuing to what iſſue his paynted proceſſe tended, and doubting leaſt if they ſhoulde ſeeme to ſtande againſt him at that inſtant in this his demaunde, they might happely be the firſte that ſhoulde repent the bargaine, conſented to proclayme him king: wherevpõ he required al ſuch as were preſent, to ſweare to him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the cuſtome. And herewith agreably as he had before promiſed, and according to his fathers will, (as he alledged) he diſtributed among them all ſuche cattell as belonged to his ſaide father. Whereby he wanne the greater fauour of many, but yet not iudging himſelfe altogether in ſuertie, by reaſon that Dothan had left behinde him three ſonnes, as then remayning in the Iſle of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purpoſed therefore to diſpatche them alſo for the better aſſurance of his eſtate, and therevpon made a iourney thither himſelfe, fayning as though he meant nothing but al loue and friendly affection towardes the children, by whiche meanes he gate twoo of them into his handes, the one named Liſmorus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Cormacus that was twoo yeares yonger. The yongeſt of the three named Ederus, being aboute ſeuen yeares olde, as his better happe was, chaunced to be ſicke at that time, by reaſon wherof he eſcaped his hands: Gillus feyning as though he wiſhed to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a Prince, he ledde them away with him into Scotland, leauing certaine of his ſeruants behinde him, to ridde Ederus the yongeſt out of the way at leyſure, and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dounſtafage, hee cauſed them to bee murthered, euen in their Tutors armes, whoſe ayde moſt pitifully they beſought and required.

Gillus goeth about to murther Dothans ſonnes alſo.

A deteſtable murther.

But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his ſickneſſe, prouided more warely for his ſauegarde, for ſhee ſmelling out what was the kings purpoſe, in the dead of the night gotte hir ſelfe togither with Ederus into a ſhip, and paſſed ouer into Argyle, where being ſet a lande, ſhe caried him on hyr ſhoulders vp into the mountaines, and there within a ſecrete denne ſuſteyned his languiſhing life for certaine monethes in great care and miſery.

Ederus eſcapeth.

Gillus counterfeyteth a zeale to iuſtice.

Gillus notwithſtanding theſe his cruel actes, ſhewed yet in outward apparaunce, that no man was more deſirous of the quiet ſtate and proſperous ſucceſſe of the common wealth than hee:

euer reaſoning amongeſt his nobles, and that in the preſence of his cõmons, touching the maintenance of iuſtice, and puniſhment of miſdoers, whereas hee himſelfe thyrſted continually and moſt of all after the bloud of thoſe who he doubted any thing likely to attempt the reuenge of his wicked miſgouernance: inſomuch that he cauſed in one place and other, all ſuch to be murthered and ſlaine as bare any good will toward the lawfull line of Durſtus.

The Scottes riſe againſt Gillus.

Nowe the people ſeeing the dayly ſlaughter of the nobilitie, and at the laſt growing to be verie ſore moued againſt him, namely thoſe of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike, and Coningham, wyth them of Cantyr, Lorne, and Argyle, they aſſembled their powers togyther, and with all ſpeede marched forth towardes the place where they thought to finde the Tyrant: who hearing of this their conſpiracie, aſſembled ſuch puiſſance as he could make, and hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towardes hys enimies with more ſpeede than good ſucceſſe; for ere the two armies came to ioyning, a greate number of Gillus his friendes fled to the contrarie part, ſo that hereupon doubting the iſſue if hee were conſtrayned to fight, hee ſtale priuily from amongſt the reſidue of his folkes, and getting into a fiſhers boate, conueyed himſelfe ouer into Irelande: whoſe departure being once knowne, his Souldiours yelded themſelues vnto Cadall, gouernour of Galloway, who was Captain generall of all the conſpiratours, and nowe by conſent of all the eſtates created gouernour of the realme, till they had choſen a king.

Gillus departeth ſecretely and getteth ouer into Irelande.

Cadal of Galloway is choſen gouernor of the realme.

This Cadall immediately vpon the greate authoritie giuẽ him, gat firſt al the beſt fortreſſes into his handes, as Berigonium, Dunſtafage, and other: then hee paſſed ouer into the Iſle of Ila, to prouide the better for the reſiſting of Gillus, if hee ſhoulde attempt any thing by purchaſing ayde amongſt them of the weſterne Iſles. Thither was brought vnto him alſo, the yong Euenus (by ſuch of Durſtus his friendes, as had eſcaped the cruel handes of Gillus) whom Cadall cauſed to be honourably conueyed vnto Epiake the chiefeſt Citie of Galloway, there to bee brought vp in princely nutriture, that cõming to full age he might the better bee able to take vpon him the gouernance. In whiche meane while Gillus made all the friendes in Irelande that he could, inſomuch that vpon ſuch golden promiſes as hee made vnto the chiefeſt gouernours there, they conſented to ayde him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertiſed, he thought it beſt that a king ſhould be choſen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongſt all the eſtates of the realme, whereupon cauſing a counſell to be aſſembled for the ſame intent, by common agreement, one Ewen, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finnane by his brother Donald, was in the end proclaimed king: who was lately come frõ the Iſle of Gowrin into Albion, in company with Cadall, & kepte himſelfe cloſe hitherto within the ſayde Iſle, for doubte of Gillus that ſought amongſt other to haue deſtroyd him alſo.

Irelande and other take Epiake not to be ſo farre north.

Gillus purchaſeth ayde in Irelande.

Ewyn the ſecõde of that name choſen king.

Ewin.

This Ewin beeing the ſecõde of that name, making great prouiſion in the beginning of his raigne to reſiſt the ſayde Gillus his enimie, And hearing that he had bene in the Iſle of Ila, and put the ſame to fire and ſworde, he prepared an army and ſhips alſo, to tranſport therewith ouer into Irelande, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon ſuche as had ayded Gillus therein, to the hinderance of his countrey.

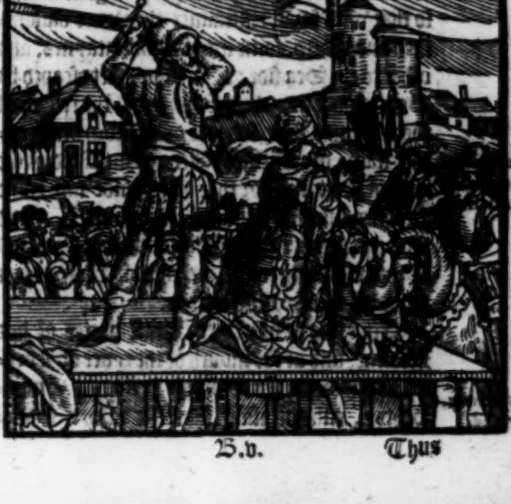
The forenamed Cadall, gouernour of Galloway, was appoynted alſo to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the ſea at Dunſtafage, directed his courſe ſtrayght ouer vnto the coaſtes of Irelande, where taking lande and encountring with his enimies, he put them to the worſe, inſomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduerſaryes handes, fled out of the fielde into the next wood, where hee thought to haue ſaued himſelfe. His ſouldiours alſo perceyuing him to bee fled, gaue ouer the fielde, and yeelded themſelues vnto Cadal, who toke them to grace, and forthwith ſent out certaine companies to ſeeke Gillus, who foũd him in a den cloſed about with thicke woddes and buſhes, where he had lien hid certain dayes & was almoſt ſterued for hunger.

Cadal with an armie is ſent into Irelande

Gillus is take.

Thoſe that found him immediately ſtroke off his heade, and preſented the ſame vnto Cadal, to the great reioycing of all the companie.

Gillus beheaded.



B.v. Thus

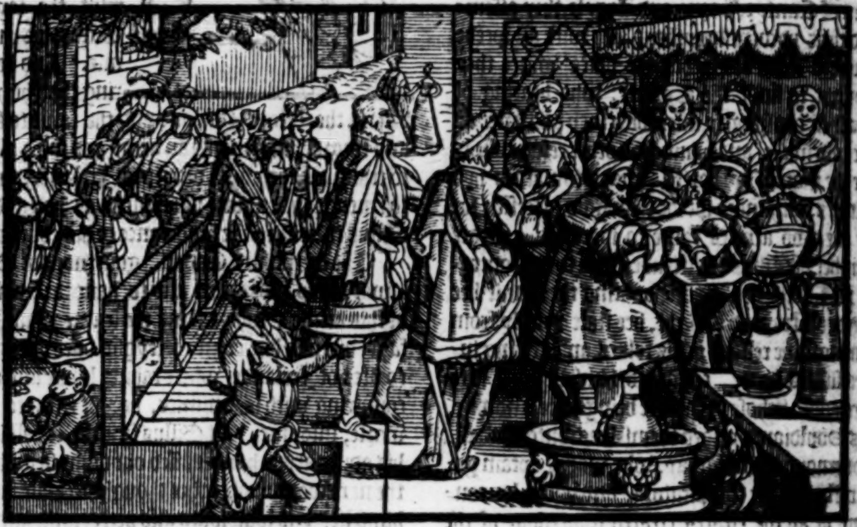
A ſhipwrake by a tempeſt.

Cadal for his good and faythful ſeruice is rewarded.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterpriſe with good ſucceſſe, he tooke the ſea againe to returne into Scotlande, but by meanes of a grieuous tempeſt, he loſt the greateſt part of hys armie, with all the ſpoyle and ryches that they had gotten in that voyage. Whiche miſchaunce ſore blemiſhed the glorie of ſo famous a victorie, ſo that the reioyſing of many, was turned into dolefull mourning for the loſſe of their friendes and kinneſfolke, but namely Cadall tooke it ſo grieuouſly, that nothing coulde bee more offenſiue vnto him. Howe beeit, after he was come a lande, the King and other of the Nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him alſo much fayre landes, with diuerſe Caſtelles in Gallowey in recompence of hys good and faythfull ſeruice at ſundrie tymes ſhewed in defence of hys Countrey, and made hym Gouernour of Galloway alſo, whiche hee verye thankefully accepted.

An enteruiew betwixt the kings of Scots and Picte.

After this king Ewin came to an enteruiew with the king of Pictes in the borders of Galloway, and there renued the auncient league betwixt the Scottiſhe men and Pictes. For more corroboration whereof, Sijora the daughter of Gethus the thirde king of the Pictes, was ioyned in maryage with Ederus, the ſolemnization being kept at Epiake.



The people of Orkney inuade Catheneſe.

Bladus king of Orkney ſleaeth himſelfe.

These things thus accompliſhed, Ewin returned vnto Dunſtafage, where beeing certified by letters from the Lieutenant of Roſſe, that the Ilanders of Orkney had paſſed Pickland Fyrth, and were entered into Catheneſe, robbing and ſpoyling that Countrey with a greate part of Roſſe, he leuied an armie with all ſpeede, and haſted towardes the enimies, conſtrayning them by his ſodaine comming to fight whether they woulde or not, hauing no leyſure to gette away, ſo that with ſmall reſiſtaunce they were vanquiſhed and chaſed, ſome into the mountaynes, and other to the Sea ſide: of whome part eſcaped by Boates ouer into their Countreys, the reſidue of them in this their ſodaine ouerthrow being eyther ſlaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Orkney, for that he woulde not come into his enimies handes, ſlue himſelfe. And thus ended this enterpriſe againſt the enimies of Orkney: greatly to the encreaſe of Ewins fame amongſt the Scottiſh nation.

Enuerlochtey is buylded.

After this he viſited the weaſt partes of hys Realme, and at the mouth of the ryuer of Lochtey he buylded a Citie whiche he named Enuerlochtey, enfranchiſing the ſame with a Sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. Thys Citie afterwardes was muche frequented wyth Marchauntes of Fraunce and Spaine, by reaſon of the great aboundance of Salmons, Herrings, and other fiſhe whiche was taken there. The olde ruines of this Citye in part remayne to be ſeene in that place where it ſtoode, euen vnto this day.

Enuerneſſe buylded.

Cadall deceaſſed.

He likewiſe buylt an other Citie in the Eaſt parte of the Realme neare to the water called Lochneſſe, which he named Enuerneſſe, after the name of the ſame water. Whither in tymes paſt there reſorted many Marchantes of Germanie, wyth ſuch marchandiſe as the Inhabitantes of the Countrey there ſtoode in neede of, exchaunging the ſame with them for Marterne ſkinnes, and other ſuch furres, wherewith they made their returne. This Citie is as yet remayning, and beareth the olde name, rich and well ſtored with diuerſe kinds of Marchandiſe, ſo that this Ewin proued a moſte famous Prince for his worthie exploytes right fortunately atchieued, both in peace and warre. And finally vnderſtanding the death of his deare and entyrelye beloued friende Cadall, hee repayred vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifying of his ſonnes beeing at variance for their fathers inheritance, as alſo to doe the more honour to his friende nowe deceaſſed, by erecting ſome monument neare vnto his Sepulchre.

Comming therefore to Epiacke: and ſetting an accorde betwixt the yong men, hee cauſed an Image to be made in all poyntes reſembling the perſonage of Cadal, as neare as might be: which he placed in the myddeſt of the Market ſteede, commaunding the ſame to be honoured wyth burning of Incenſe and other diuine Ceremonies.

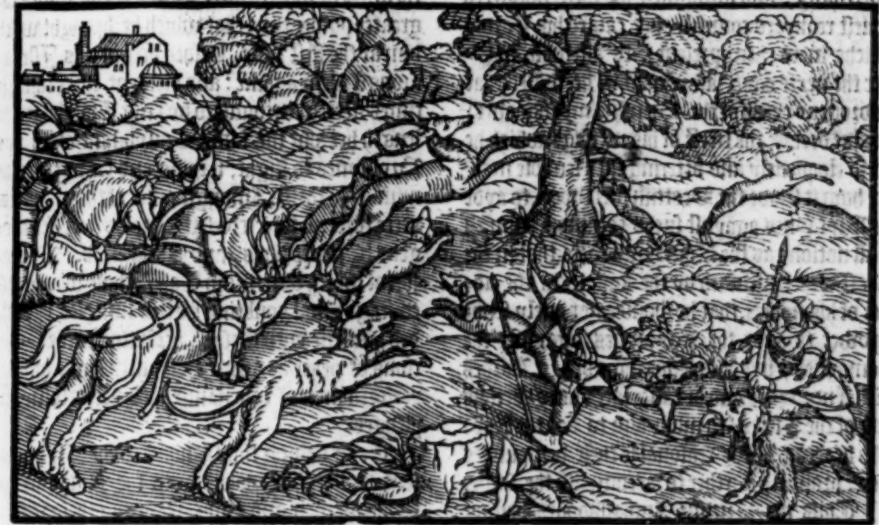
Within fewe dayes alſo, through inwarde ſorrow, as was thought, for the loſſe of ſo deare a friende, he began to waxe ſicke himſelfe, and at length perceyuing he ſhoulde not eſcape preſent death, he cauſed Ederus (of whome before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whoſe handes with many wholſome aduertiſementes howe to vſe himſelfe in gouernment of his ſubiectes, he wholy reſigned the eſtate, the which after his deceaſſe he knew to be due vnto him without all queſtion and controuerſie: and afterwarde departed this worlde when he had raigned ſeuentene yeares continually for the moſt part in high wealth and felicitie.

Ewin reſigneth the eſtate.

Ewins deceaſe.

Ederus.

After the deceaſſe of Ewin, Ederus was in maner before expreſſed receyued for king by the whole aſſent of all the Scottiſhmē. Whoſe chiefe delight was altogyther in hunting and keeping of houndes and Greyhoundes, to chaſe and purſue wilde beaſtes, and namely the Wolfe the herdmans foe, by meanes whereof his aduancement was muche the more acceptable amongeſt the Nobles, who in thoſe dayes were whollye gyuen to that kynde of pleaſure and paſtyme.

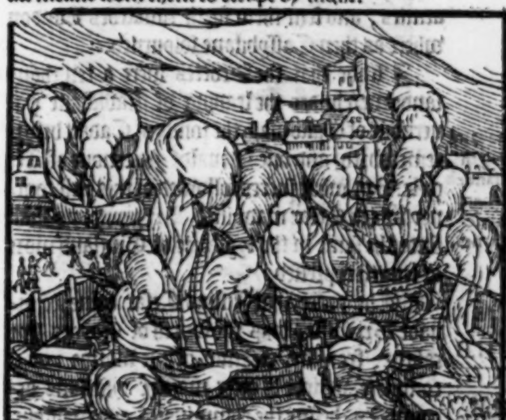


In the begynning of his raigne there was no trouble towardes, the publike ſtate of the Realme being maynteyned by vpright iuſtice, and all tranſgreſſions through terrour of due puniſhmente politikely repreſſed.

The firſt that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Iſles, neare of kinne to Gillus that vſurper and murtherer, who with a power of Iriſh men and other of the weſterne Iſles landed in Argyle, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey with fire and ſworde, whereof Ederus being aduertiſed (who was the ſame time in thoſe partes a hunting amongſt the mountaynes) gathered an armie with all ſpeede, and haſting to the place where his enimies ſhips lay at ancre, he firſt burned ỷ ſame, to take away all meane from them to eſcape by flight.

Bredus inuadeth the Scots.

Ederus burneth his enimies ſhips.



The morning next following he did ſet vpon them alſo at vnwares: of whome ſome hee ſlue, and the reſidue being taken, either in the fight or chaſe, by his commaundement were hanged, and cruelly executed to the example of all others.

Ederus went into the weſtern Iſles.

After this, he paſſed ouer into yͤ weſtern Iſles, where hee did execution vpon ſuch as had ayded Bredus, putting ſome to death, and cauſing other to fine at his pleaſure, and depriuing ſome vtterly of all that euer they had.

Caſſybilane king of the Brytaynes, requireth of the Scottiſh men ayde agaynſt the Romaines

At his returne againe into Scotlande, there met him Ambaſſadours ſent from Caſſybilane king of the Brytaynes, requyring him of ayde agaynſt Julius Ceſar, who (as the ſame king had perfite vnderſtanding) was appoynted very ſhortly to paſſe the ſeas from Fraunce, ouer into this Iſle, with a mightie power of Romaynes, to ſubdue the Inhabitants vnto the ſeigniorie and iuriſdiction of Rome.

Androgeus chiefe Ambaſſadour of the Brytaynes, declareth the effect of his meſſage.

Ederus receyued theſe Ambaſſadours very courteouſly: and forſomuch as their mayſters requeſt requyred counſell, hee cauſed his Lordes whiche were then preſent, to aſſemble togyther the nexte daye, afore whome he willed that Androgeus chiefe of the Britiſh Ambaſſadours, ſhoulde declare the effect of his meſſage, which he did ſo eloquently and vttering ſuch ſenſible matter, how it ſtoode the Scottiſh men vpon, to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt ſuche common enimies to all nations as the Romaynes were, that in the ende it was concluded by the king with the aduice of his nobles, that he ſhoulde not onely ſende a power to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſte the Romaynes, but alſo ſende ſome of his Lordes with Androgeus and his aſſociates vnto Gethus king of the Pictes, to moue him to doe the lyke: who hearing howe reaſonable their demaundes were, promiſed further to accompliſh the ſame.

The Scottes graunt to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt the Romaynes.

Thus the Britiſhe Ambaſſadours hauing ſpedde, according to their deſires, repayred homewardes: immediately vppon whoſe departure both the kings, Ederus, and Gethus, leuied their armies, and ſent them forth towardes London where as then Caſſybilane ſoiourned.

Cadallane and Douald wyth ten thouſande Scottiſh men ſend to ayde the Brytaynes.

I finde that the Scottes were a ten thouſande men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernour of Galloway, the ſonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Doualde gouernour of Argyle. But what ſucces followed of this firſt iourney which Ceſar made into Brytayne, ye ſhall finde the ſame in the Hyſtorie of England more at length expreſſed.

5139. H.B.

60. H.B.

The yeare that Julius Ceſar came to inuade Brytaine, was the fourth of Ederus hys raigne, from the creation of the worlde 3912. complete, whiche is after maiſter Hariſons account 54. before the comming of our Sauiour, and 692. after the buylding of Rome.

The Brytaines exalted in pride.

The Brytaynes refuſe ayde being offred them.

The Scottiſhe men and Pictes hauing theyr part of the ſpoyle which the Romaynes at theyr departure left behynde them, were ſente home to their Countreys with great thankes and rewardes for their paynes, but the Brytaynes were ſo exalted in pryde by the departure of the Romaynes, that they beleeued verily they ſhoulde haue no more to do with thoſe enimies, or if they had, they thought themſelues ſtrong ynough to repulſe them without ayde of other. By meanes whereof when king Ederus was informed howe the Romaynes prepared to inuade them afreſhe, and had ſent them word thereof, offering to them his ayde: they made no account of that offer, but anſwered yͭ it was not neceſſarie for euery light inuaſion of forraine enimies to ſeeke helpe at other mens handes, being of puiſſance ſufficient of themſelues to reſiſt the ſame well ynough.

Iulius Cæſar inuadeth this land the ſeconde time.

The Brytaynes are ouerthrowne.

Caſſybilane yeeldeth to Cæſar.

But of this refuſall of ſo friendly an offer, it was not long ere the Brytaynes ſore repented them. For ſhortly after Julius Ceſar with a far greater power than that which he brought wyth him at the firſt time, landed here in this Iſle amongſt them againe: and being at three ſundrie times fiercely encountred by king Caſſybilan, at length hee put the ſame Caſſybilane wyth hys Brytaynes to flight, ſlaying and taking a great number of them. Amongſt other of the priſoners, were three of their chiefeſt Captaynes, Androgeus, Ciſentoriges, and Tenantius. By reaſon of which ouerthrow Caſſibylane was ſo diſcouraged, that doubting further miſchief, he yeelded himſelfe vnto Ceſar, accepting ſuche conditions of peace as were appoynted him, and for performance of couenants, delyuered ſufficient pledges.

Iulius Cæſar his meſſage vnto the Scots and Pictes.

The anſwere of the Scottes and Pictes vnto Cæſar his Ambaſſadors.

Ceſar hauing thus conquered the Brytayns, ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto the Kings of the Scottiſh men, and Picts, requiring them to ſubmit themſelues as Caſſybilane had done, or elſe he bad them looke for open warres at the Romaynes handes, which they might aſſure themſelues, they ſhould in no wiſe be able to ſuſtaine, conſidering their mightie and huge puiſſance, hauing the moſt part of the whole worlde at theyr commaundement alreadie. Whereunto aſwell the one king as the other, made this or muchwhat the like anſwere, that they were bent ſooner to loſe theyr liues than theyr lybertie. Which their reſolution if they were putte to the tryall, ſhoulde be euidently proued by the deed it ſelfe.

Cæſar ſendeth new meſſengers vnto the Scottes and Picts, but they ſped muche like to the former.

Ceſar hauing receyued this anſwere from theſe two nations, he ſendeth newe meſſengers vnto them with a more roughe embaſſie, who not onely by threates, but alſo by great reaſons went about to perſwade them vnto ſubmiſſion. But they perſiſting in their former opinion for defence of their liberties, and vtterly refuſing all maner of bondage, would encline by no meanes to come in any bonde of friendſhippe with the Romaynes.

The rebellion of the Gaules breaketh Ceſar his purpoſed iourney agaynſt the Scottes.

After the returne of theſe laſt meſſengers, Ceſar was fully reſolued to enter into their Countreys, to force them vnto that by dynt of ſwoorde, wherevnto by treatie he might not enduce them: and had ſet forwarde on that iourney ſhortly after in deede, if he had not beene called backe into Fraunce, to pacifie ſundrie commotions there rayſed by the reuolting of the people inhabiting thoſe Countreys, where the Picardes and Normans, with other the inhabitantes neare aboute Chartres, now dwell.

Kalendar or Caledon wood

The common Scottiſhe Chronicles record, howe Iulius Ceſar came as farre as Kalendar wood, & there wan by force the citie of Camelon where the Pictiſh kings vſed moſt to ſoiourne.

This cannot be true, for Ceſar came not neare Scotland, as in the Hiſtorie of Englande it appeareth.

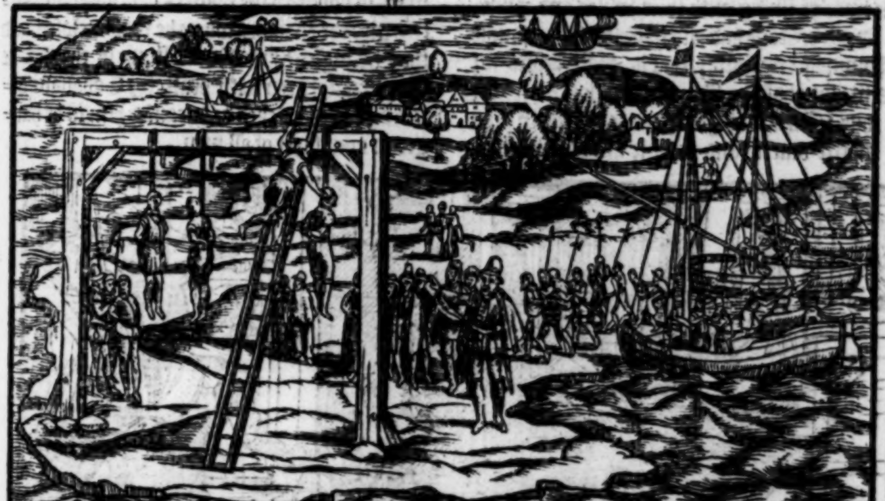
Herevnto the ſame Chronicles adde, that Ceſar buylded a great ſtone houſe of .xxiiij. cubites in heigth, and of .xij. cubites in breadth, of ſquare hewen ſtones, right workemanly framed, which houſe they ſaye Ceſar cauſed to be vſed in ſteede of a iudgement Hall, and here placed it neare the Ryuer of Caron, ouer agaynſt the forenamed Citie of Camelone, as a witneſſe that the Romaynes armie had beene ſo farre forwarde within that Countrey.

Iulius Hoff.

Suche an houſe there remayneth to be ſeene euen vnto this day, and is called Iulius Hoff, that is Iulius Hall, or Iulius Court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to the likelyhoode of a troth, wryte that this houſe was ſometymes a Temple, buylded to the honour of Claudius Ceſar, and of the Goddeſſe Victoria, by the Romaine Captaine Veſpaſian, at ſuche tyme as he made warres in that Countrey, before hys aduauncement to the Empyre.

Murketus nephew vnto Gillus inuadeth the weſterne Iſles.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the ſame time in which he looked to be inuaded by Iulius Ceſar and the Romaynes, and for that purpoſe had ſent for them of the weſterne Iſles to reenforce his hoſt, he was now inforced to conuert it another way, for there was one Murketus, nephewe vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Irelande to robbe and ſpoyle thoſe Iſles, being deſtitute as then of men to reſiſt him. But Ederus hearing thereof, diſpatched Cadallanus with an armie into thoſe parties for defence of his ſubiectes: which Cadallanus behaued himſelfe ſo politikely in this exployte, that ſetting vpon the enimies as they lay at ancre, he tooke thē in the night ſeaſon without making any great defence, and after hanged thē vp along the ſhore ſide within ẏ Iſle of Gowre: Murket himſelfe being honoured with an higher place to hang in than al the reſt, due to him that was their chief head and leader in that voyage.



Murket is hanged with many more.

48. H.B.

16. H.B.

Ederus departeth this life.

The remnant of Euerus his raigne paſſed without any other notable trouble: and ſo after he had raigned 38. yeares, he deceaſſed a very olde man, about the 23. yeare of the Empyre of Auguſtus Ceſar. He was buried alſo at Dunſtafage with all due pompe and ſolemnitie, hauing dyuerſe obelyſkes (as the cuſtome then was) erected and ſette vp aboute the place where hee was ſo intumulate.

Ewin.

After hym raigned his ſonne Ewyn, the third of that name, nothing lyke in anye princelye qualityes vnto hys noble progenitors, but contrariwiſe infamed

med in all kynde of vices.

A licentious king.

In the firſt yeares of his raigne he was wholy drowned in laſciuious lecherie, abandoning himſelfe altogither to lie waltring amongſt a ſort of vile ſtrumpettes, hys luſt beeing neuer thorowely ſatiſfied, though he neuer ſo often awearyed.

The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom ſome he confined, and ſome hee cauſed to be murthered, onely bycauſe hee might the more freely without gainſaying haunte hys vile trade of liuing with their wiues and coſins.

Fylthie lawes.

Such delite he had alſo in his filthie and moſt abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongſt his ſubiectes, as thus: That it might be lawful for euery man to marrie diuerſe and ſundrie wiues, ſome ſixe, ſome ten, according to their ſubſtance and qualities. And as for poore mennes wiues, they were appoynted to be common vnto the Lordes of the ſoyle: and further that the ſame Lordes ſhoulde firſt deflowre the Bride after hir mariage: which laſt ordinaunce tooke ſuch effect, that of manye hundred yeares after it coulde by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the Kings ſucceeding, ſhortly after this Ewins deceaſſe taken away and reuoked.

Ewin is purſued and forſaken of his ſubiectes.

But now to cõclude touching yͤ doings of this Ewin, ye ſhal vnderſtand, yͭ at length ſuch lords as greatly abhorred his vile conditions and vſages, conſpired agaynſt him, and rayſing an armie of their friendes and partakers, encountered with him in the fielde, and there tooke him priſoner, being deſtitute of all ayde and ſuccours: for ſuch as he brought with him not once offered to ſtrike one ſtroke in his quarell.

Ewin condemned to perpetual priſon.

Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall priſon: and Cadallane of whome ye haue heard before, immediately proclaymed gouernour of the Realme. Howbeit the night following after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced agaynſt him, was committed vnto warde) a preſumptuous yong man, in hope to haue thankes of Cadallane, entred into the chamber where he was encloſed, and there ſtrangled him. But in ſteede of thankes he was recompenced with death: for Cadallane deteſting ſuch a wicked deed, cauſed him to be hanged in open ſight of all men.

Ewyn is ſtrangled.

Such was the ende of Ewin: beeing thus diſpatched in priſon, in the ſeuenth yeare after he began his raigne ouer the Scottiſh men, beeing the ix. yeare of Auguſtus Ceſar his gouernment of the Romaine Empyre.

32. H.B.

Metellane.

After Ewin ſucceeded Metellanus, ſonne to one Carrane, the brother of Ederus a prince of moſt gentle behauiour.

This Metellanus mainteyned his ſubiectes in great quietneſſe and reſt, without any maner of warres, either forraine or Ciuill.

Such wicked lawes as his predeceſſour had eſtabliſhed, he did what he could to aboliſhe. But ſuch yong Gentlemen as delited in ſenſuall luſt, and licentious libertie, ſtoode ſo ſtiffely therein agaynſt him, that in the ende he was glad to leaue off his purpoſe.

Kymbaline king of the Brytaynes.

About the ſame time alſo, there came vnto Kymbaline king of the Brytayns an Ambaſſador from Auguſtus the Emperour, with thankes, for that entring into the gouernment of the Brytiſh eſtate, he had kept his allegeance towarde the Romaine Empyre: exhorting him to keepe hys ſubiects in peace with all their neighbours, ſithe the whole worlde through meanes of the ſame Auguſtus, was now in quiet, without al warres or troubleſome tumults.

Theſe Ambaſſadours went alſo vnto Metellanus the king of the Scottiſh men, exhorting him to acknowledge a ſuperioritie in the Romaine Emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furtheſt partes of the Eaſt, had ſent their ambaſſadors with rich iewels to preſent his perſon withall. Wherewith Metellanus beeing partly moued to haue a friendly amitie with the Romaines, he ſent vnto Rome certaine rich preſents to the Emperour, and to the Goddes in the Capitoll, in ſigne of honour, by whiche meanes he obteined an amitie with the Romaines, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Metellanus becommeth friend to the Romaines.

Thus a generall peace as then raigning thorowout the whole worlde, it pleaſed the gyuer and authour of all peace to bee borne at the ſame tyme, of that bleſſed virgin Marie, in the Citie of Bethleem in the tribe of Juda. Which bleſſed and ſalutiferous byrth came to paſſe in the xlj. yeare of Metellanus hys raigne, and in the xlij. of Auguſtus hys Empyre: from the fyrſte eſtabliſhing of the Scottiſhe kingdome by Ferguſius 324. yeares, and after the creation of the worlde 3966. as Hariſon in his Chronologie doth manifeſtly conclude.

The byrth of our Sauiour CHRIST.

10. H.B.

330. H.B.

5199. H.B.

After this, Metellanus raigned certain yeares in continuall peace and quietneſſe, euer readie to do the thing that might bee to the contentation and weale of his people.

Finally, hee paſſed oute of this life in the xxxix. yeare of his raigne, which was the. xxviij. after the byrth of our Sauiour, and. xiij. of Tyberius the Emperor. Howbeit he left no iſſue aliue behind him to ſucceede in the gouernment of the kingdome; for thoſe children which hee had begotten, hee buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, ſonne to Cadallane, and nephewe to king Metellane by his ſiſter Europeia, was proclaymed King, as he that excelled in ryches and puyſſaunt authoritie aboue all other the peeres and highe eſtates of the realme, and had not a little to doe in the adminiſtration of publike affayres in the latter dayes of his vncle Metellane.

Metellane departeth this worlde.

29. H.B.

14. H.B.

Caratake is proclaymed king.

This Caratake all the Brytiſh and Engliſhe writers take to be a Brytaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Iſle now called Englande.

Caratake.

The firſt thing he did after he was eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, he ſailed into the weſtern Iſles to appeaſe a rebellion moued by the Gouernour there. Which done, and the authours puniſhed, he returned into Albion, and came vnto Carictonium, whiche was ſometymes a famous Citie, and Metropolitane of Scotlande, ſituate within the Countrey cleped Carricke, as it appeareth by the ruynes there remayning euen vnto thys daye.

In this Citie was Caratake borne, and therefore fauouring it the more, hee lay there moſte commonly, and did what he coulde to aduaunce the wealth and ſtate thereof.

Caratake was borne in Carricke.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Scotlande, Kymbaline king of the Brytaynes dyed, who for that hee had beene brought vp in Rome, obſerued his promiſed obedience towardes the Empyre; but Guiderius ſucceeding diſdayned to ſee the libertie of his countrey oppreſſed by the Romaines, and therfore procuring the Brytains to aſſiſt him, aſſembled a power and inuaded the Romaines with ſuch violence that none eſcaped with life, but ſuche as ſaued themſelues within Caſtels and Fortreſſes. The Emperour Claudius that then gouerned the Romain Empyre, aduertiſed hereof, ſent two Captaynes, Aulus Planctius, and Cneus Senſius to appeaſe that rebellion. They landing in Brytaine with their armie, vanquiſhed Guiderius in battaile, ſo that he was conſtrayned to ſend vnto Caratake king of Scots for ayde agaynſt the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing conſydered the effect of this Meſſage, gaue counſaile to the Brytaynes to ſende into Fraunce then called Gallia, to practiſe wyth the people there to moue ſome rebellion agaynſt the Romaines, in hope of helpe, whiche they were aſſured to haue by the Brytaynes. This counſaile was followed, for

Kymbaline king of Brytaynes dieth.

Guiderius the British king rebelleth agaynſt the Romaines.

Planctius otherwiſe Plautius.

Guiderius ſendeth to Caratake for ayde.

immediately

Fraunce in thoſe dayes Gallia.

Guiderius ſlaine.

The Emperor Claudius commeth into Brytaine.

Claudius sayleth into the Orkneys.

Immediately vpon the Ambaſſadours returne, there were ſent ouer into Fraunce certain intelligenſaries to moue ſome conſpiracie which had taken effect (by reaſon of the generall hate of ſeruitude wherein the Romaines kepte the people ſubiect to them in thoſe dayes) if Guiderius had not beene conſtrayned to giue battayle, and chaunced to be ſlaine in the ſame ere the Gaulles coulde bee reſolued vppon any determinate purpoſe. This ouerthrowe beeing reported in Fraunce, cauſed the Gaulles to ſtay theyr intended rebellion. Shortly after Claudius hymſelfe came ouer into Brytayne, and receyuing the Brytaynes vnder his obeyſaunce, ordered things among them at his pleaſure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueyaunce conuenient, hee ſet forwarde towardes the Iſles of Orkney, purpoſing to conquere the ſame, for that they had ayded the Brytaynes in theſe laſt warres agaynſt the Romaines. But approching neare to thoſe Iſles, he was in danger to haue beene caſt away by a tempeſt ryſing by chaunce, euen as he was entered the ſtreyte betwixt the Orkeneys and Dungiſbie heade in Cateneſe called Pictlande Frith: yet at length getting to lande, hee founde in that Iſle where hee fyrſt arryued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the firſt ſight of the great multitude of ſhippes beeing fled to hyde themſelues in caues and dennes amongeſt the rockes and mountaynes.

Now Kirkewale.

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkneys.

Claudius therefore leauing this Iſle, paſſed into Pomonia the chiefeſt of all the Orkneys, where diſcomfiting ſuche as appeared abrode to make reſiſtance, he beſieged the king of theſe Iſles named Ganus, within a Caſtel whither hee was withdrawne, and finally cauſing him to yeelde himſelfe priſoner, led him with other nobles of Brytayne (whome hee had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to ſet forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the Citie.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkneys.

Dion Caſsius.

But whatſoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this paſſage of Claudius into the Orkneys, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he ſtayed not paſt .xvj. dayes in Brytayne, as by Dion Caſſius it appeareth that hee did not indeed, how ſhould we ymagin that he coulde both pacifie the South partes of Brytayne, and after go into Orkney and conquere the ſame within ſo ſmall a time, being readie to returne towardes Rome at the ende of thoſe .xvj. dayes, as the ſayd Dion affirmeth? But this diſcourſe haue I made according to their owne Hiſtories, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to defraude them of whatſoeuer glory is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other Nations, whiche to aduaunce their antiquities and glorie of theyr auncetours, take the aduantage oftentymes of wryters ſcant worthie of credite.

Aruiragus forſaketh his lawful wife.

But nowe againe to our purpoſe. Aruiragus being eſtabliſhed in the kingdome of Brytayne, vpon ſome priuate diſpleaſure forſoke his wyfe named Voada, the ſiſter of Caratake king of the Scottiſh men, and maryed one Geniſſa a Romaine Ladie, whiche acte manye of the Brytaynes diſallowed, the more in deede, bycauſe he had fayre iſſue alreadie by Voada, as a ſonne and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counſell of Iulius Planctius, thereby to breake all friendſhip and alliaunce betwixt the Brytaynes and Scottes, to the ende that in no caſe of rebellion they ſhould ioyne their powers togither.

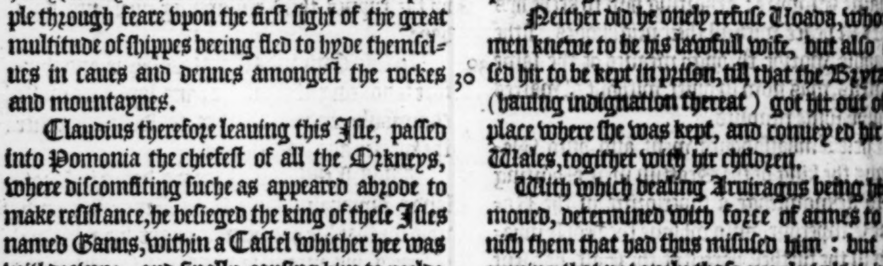
Voada impriſoned.

Voada is deliuered out of priſon, and conueyed into Wales.

Neither did he onely refuſe Voada, whom al men knewe to be his lawfull wife, but alſo cauſed hir to be kept in priſon, till that the Brytayns (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where ſhe was kept, and conueyed hir into Wales, togither with hir children.

Aruiragus giueth his enimies an ouerthrow.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highly moued, determined with force of armes to puniſh them that had thus miſuſed him: but perceyuing that not onely thoſe people which inhabited the Countrey, nowe called Wales, and other that adioyned on the North Marches thereof were readie to defende the Queene agaynſt his malice, he was fayne to require ayde of the Romaynes, who with their Captaine Iulus Planctius aſſembling togyther with ſuch of the Brytayns as tooke part with Aruiragus, ſet forwarde towarde the enimies, and ioyning with them in battail, did giue them the ouerthrow.



A commotion agaynſt Aruiragus.

The next day after this victorie thus gotten, worde was brought that the people inhabiting in the countreys, which we now cal Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, and Darbiſhire, were vp in armor agaynſt the king and the Romaines, by reaſon whereof Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius withdrewe towardes London, that defending the ſea coaſtes towards Fraunce, they might yet haue the ſea open at all tymes whatſoeuer chaunced.

And to reenforce their power, Aulus Plancius ſent ouer for two Legions of Souldiors into Fraunce, to come with all ſpeede to his ayde.

The Brytayns make themſelues ſtrong.

The Brytaynes who had gone ſo farre in the matter that they could not wel withdraw themſelues, now being certified of al their enimies doings, thought beſt to make themſelues ſo ſtrong as was poſſible. And to the ende that they might proceede in ſome orderly meane, all the greateſt Lordes & eſtates aſſembled togither at Shrewſburie, in thoſe dayes called Coriminum, where they concluded vppon a league to ayde one another with all their might and maine agaynſt the Romaines and Aruiragus, who went aboute to bring them wholy vnder ſeruile ſubiection and thraldome of the ſame Romaines.

The Brytaines aſſemble them ſelues at Shrewesburie.

They confederate themſelues togither.

They beeing thus agreed to make warres in this quarell, and for the ſame purpoſe to ioyne theyr whole puyſſance togither, there roſe a doubt whome they myght chooſe for theyr generall Captaine, for that it was feared leaſt there might growe ſome ſecrete enuie amongeſt the Nobles being of equal power, if one ſhould be in this caſe preferred before an other.

Caratake choſen to be captaine of the Brytaynes.

For the auoyding of which miſchiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus, a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to ſende Meſſengers vnto Caratake the King of Scotlande, requyring him to ayde them in their right and iuſt quarel agaynſt Aruiragus and the Romaines, whereby hee might reuenge the iniurie done to his ſyſter Queene Voada and hir iſſue, whome the father throughe counſayle of the Romaines purpoſed to diſenherite, to the ende, ſuche chyldren as he had by Geniſſa (for that they were of the Romain bloud) might enioy the kingdome.

Aruiragus woulde diſenherite hys owne children which he had by Voada.

They further declared, that all the Brytiſhe Lordes, whiche were confederate in this enterpriſe, had choſen him by common aſſent to bee their general and chief leader, if it might ſo pleaſe him to take it vpon him, as their truſt was hee would: conſidering the iuſt cauſes of their warre, and the ſuretie whiche by victorie gotten might enſue vnto al the inhabitants of the whole Iſle of Albion.

Caratake promiſed ayd vnto the Brytaynes.

Caratake hauing hearde the ſumme of their requeſt, and throughly waying the ſame, promiſed them to be readie with his whole puiſſance in the beginning of the next ſpring, to come to theyr ayde, vnto what place ſoeuer they ſhoulde thinke expedient: and thereof hee tolde them, they myght be moſt aſſured: wylling them in the meane tyme ſo to prouide for themſelues, as theyr enimyes myght haue no aduauntage at their handes.

With this agreeable aunſwere the Brytiſhe Meſſengers returned vnto Shrewesburie to the confederates, who reioyſing at the newes, made prouiſion agaynſt the next Spring to goe agaynſt the Romaines, in hope of good ſucceſſe, ſpeciallye throughe ayde of the Scottes and Pictes, who alſo wyth theyr King called Conkyſt were willing to helpe towardes the delyuering of the lande from bondage of the Romaines, whoſe neſtling ſo neare their noſes, they were loth to ſee or heare of.

The Pictes ioyne with Scottes and Brytaynes, agaynſt the Romaines.

So ſoone therefore as the ſpring approched, all thoſe three people, Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes, gathered theyr powers togither, and met in Yorkeſhyre, in purpoſe to encounter wyth theyr enimyes in battayle, whereſoeuer they founde them.

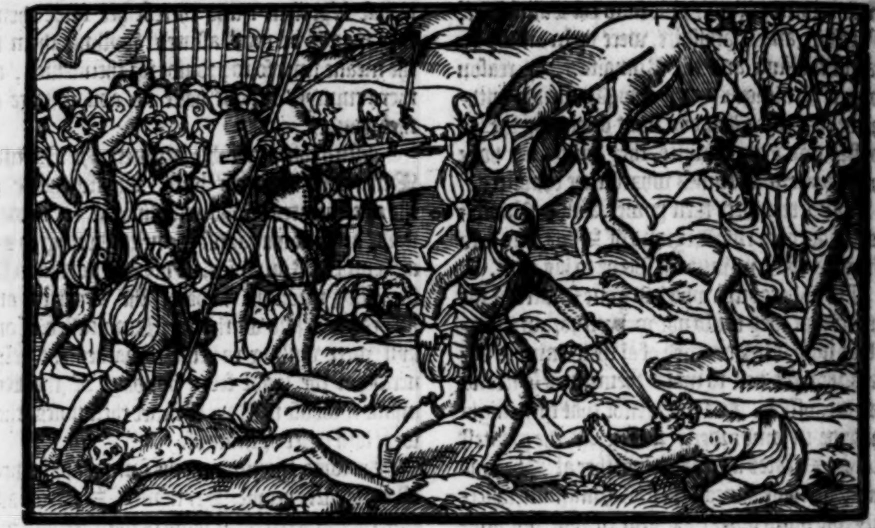
Aruiragus & Aulus Plancius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederates, likewyſe aſſembled their power, and comming towardes them, for a while forbare to ioyne in battayle, throughe counſaile of Plancius, who perceyuing the moſt part of the Brytaynes and Scottes to be but newe Souldiers, taken vp of late to fil the numbers, knew that by protracting tyme they woulde be ſoone out of heart, throughe watching and euill harborough, in ſuch ſort that in the ende they ſhoulde be eaſie ynough to deale with: and euen ſo it came to paſſe. For the Romaines refuſing to fight a generall battayle, yet ſcoured ſo the fieldes on eche ſide abrode, that neyther the Brytaynes nor Scottes coulde get forth any wayes for forrage or vittailes, but they were ſtil ſnatched vp, ſo that what through hunger, lacke of ſleepe, and other diſeaſes, many of the Brytaynes began to conuey themſelues from the campe home to theyr houſes, of whome ſome beyng taken by the enimies, declared yͤ the whole armie of the confederates was in great diſtreſſe and ſore enfeebled by ſuche vnaccuſtomed trauaile and diſeaſes as they were enforced vnto in the campe. Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius determined the next day to giue battaile. And ſo in the morning they arayed theyr people and marched forth betymes towardes the campe of the confederates.

The Brytaynes awearied through trauaile.

The Romains giue battail to the Brytaynes.

Caratake who (as ye haue hearde) was generall of all the confederates, vnderſtanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receyue battayle as they were to offer it: whereupon there enſued right great and vnmercifull ſlaughter betwixt them on both partes without ſparing at al tyll ſuch time as the night parted the fray, with ſuche loſſe on eyther ſide, that after they were once got in ſūder, neither part had any haſt afterwardes to ioyne againe: ſo that in the morning there appeared none in the fielde but onely the deade bodyes, thoſe that were left aliue as wel on the one part as the other being fled and ſcattered into the woddes and mountaynes.

Night parted the fray.



Caratake returneth home to Carictonium.

Aruiragus and Planctius got them vnto London: and Caratake commaunding his people home ech man into his Countrey, he himſelfe withdrewe firſt towardes Yorke, and after vnto the Citye of Carrike. Whither ſhortly after there came vnto him Ambaſſadors from Aulus Planctius, ſent to knowe vpon what occaſion hee did ayde the Brytiſhe rebelles agaynſt the Romaine Empyre, declaring that if he woulde not be conformable to make a worthie amendes for ſo preſumptuous an enterpriſe, he ſhoulde be ſure to haue the Romaines his enimies: and that in ſuche wiſe, as he ſhoulde perceyue, it were muche better for him to ſeeke their friendſhippe, than to abyde their enimitie. Herevnto Caratake anſwered, that he had iuſt cauſe to do that which he did. Conſidering the iniuries which his ſiſter Voada with hir ſon Guiderius had & were lyke to receyue by their counſel & meanes: & therefore he was ſo little mynded to make any amendes for that was done, that he thought it more reaſon that the Romaines ſhoulde clearly auoyd out of the whole poſſeſſion of Brytaine, eyther elſe they might aſſure themſelues to haue aſwell the Brytaynes, as alſo the Scottes and Pictes to be their perpetual enimies, and that onely for the chalenge of their auncient liberties & freedom.

Ambaſſadors are ſent vnto Caratake from Aulus Planctius.

Caratake his anſwere vnto the Ambaſſadours.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors being returned with this anſwere, Planctius toke no ſmall indignation therat, ſore menacing to be reuenged of ſo high and cōtumelious wordes pronounced agaynſt the maieſtie of the Romaine Empyre.

About the ſame tyme Aruiragus vpon truſt conceyued by ioyning his power with the other confederate Brytaynes to expulſe the Romaines quite out of the realme, and ſo to recouer the entyre eſtate reuolting from thē, fled vnto Shrewſburie, where the ſame time ſuch Brytiſh Lordes as were enimies to the Romaines, were aſſembled againe in coūſail, by whom Aruiragus was receyued with great gladneſſe (ye may be ſure) of thoſe Lordes, truſting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled.

Aruiragus reuolteth.

His wife Geniſſa being the ſame ſeaſon great with childe, toke ſuch thought for this reuolting of hir huſband, that trauayling before hir tyme, ſhe immediatly dyed therewith.

Geniſſa the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

But Iulus Planctius perceyuing now thorowly how little truſt there was to be put in the Brytaynes, diſpatched a meſſenger in all haſte with letters vnto Claudius the Emperour, who as then ſoiourned at Rome, ſignifying vnto him in what daunger the ſtate of Brytaine ſtode, if tymely prouiſion were not the ſooner made.

A meſſenger ſent vnto Claudius the Emperour from Planctius.

Claudius waying the matter by good aduiſe of counſaile, ordeyned by decree of the Senate, that Veſpaſian (of whom ye haue heard before) ſhould be ſent hither with an armie to tame the prowde and loftie ſtomackes of the Brytaynes, with their confederates the Scottes and Pictes.

Veſpaſian herevpon departing from Rome, came into Fraunce, and encreaſing his legions, with a ſupplie of ſuch ſoldiers as he found there, paſſed ouer into this our Brytaine; where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore hys comming, he founde euery fortreſſe ſo wel furniſhed after yͤ warlik order of the Romaine vſage, and moreouer all ſuche companies of menne of

Veſpaſian commeth into Brytayne.

of warre as kept the field, ſo well appoynted and ordered, that he coulde not but much prayſe the greate diligence and politike gouernment of Planctius.

The Brytayns gather an armie.

Iceni.

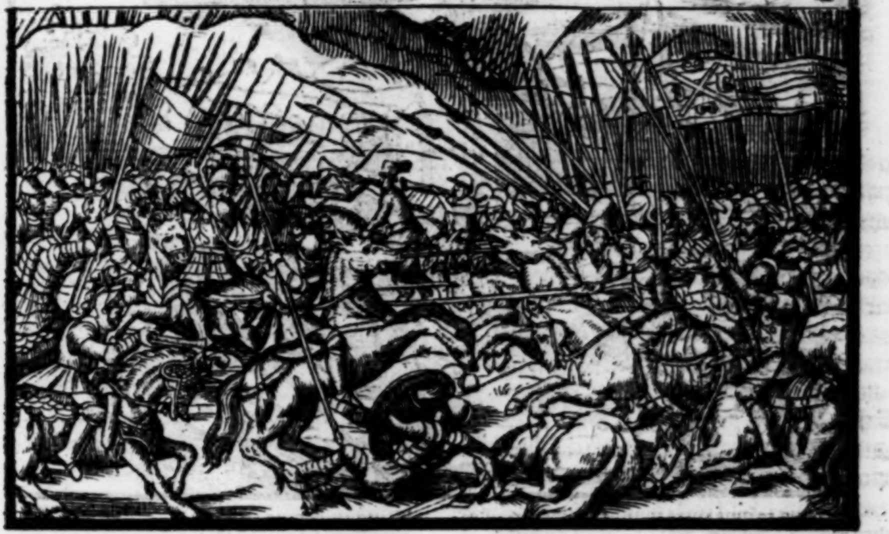
Nowe when Veſpaſian had a little refreſhed his men, and taken order howe to proceede in the reducing of the Brytaynes to theyr former obedience, he ſet forwarde towarde Aruiragus and other the enimies, whome he vnderſtoode as then to be at Yorke making their aſſemble, not generally of all that were able to beare a Clubbe, as they did the yeare before, but out of all parties a choſen number of pyked men were ſent for, as out of Deuonſhire and Cornewal there came ſix thouſande: forth of Wales and the marches xij. thouſande, and the lyke number forth of Kendal, Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande. Out of Oxfordſhire and other the partyes of Brytayne ſubiect vnto Aruiragus, there came a.xxxv.thouſād. Al which numbers aſſembled neare vnto Yorke, euery man bringing hys prouiſion with him to ſerue him for two Monethes ſpace. Unto the ſame place came alſo Caratake with.xxx. thouſande Scottiſhe men: and Illythara otherwyſe called Tharan, king of the Pictes, with almoſte as many of his ſubiects.

The Scots and Pictes come to ayde the Brytaynes. Illythara or Tharan king of the Pictes.

Veſpaſian aſſayleth the Brytaynes in their campe.

Ueſpaſian being certified ſtill from tyme to tyme of all the doings of hys enimies, haſted with all ſpeede towardes them. And by the leading of truſtie guydes comming to the place where they were encamped within a Marriſhe grounde not paſſing.xij. myles from Yorke, he fiercely vpon a ſodaine ſetteth vpon them wythe in their campe ere they thought that he had beene neare them. But yet notwythſtanding they manfully ſtoode to their defence: inſomuch, that thoſe in the right wing of the Romaines armie, were lyke to haue beene diſtreſſed, if Ueſpaſian perceyuing the daunger, had not ſent a Legion to their ayde in tyme, wherby the battayle was newly in that part reſtored.

The Captaynes on eyther ſyde did what they coulde to encourage their folkes to ſticke to their tackle without giuing ouer by any meanes, conſidering what gaine came by victorie, and what loſſe enſued by receyuing the ouerthrow.



The deſperate hardineſſe of the Brytaynes and Scottiſh men.

The Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes, lyke enraged Lyons, ranne vppon the Romaines, with ſuch cruel deſire of reuenge, that euen when they were thruſt through vpon the poynt of any weapon, they woulde runne ſtill vpon the ſame, to come vnto him that helde it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and deſperate hardineſſe preuaile, for fortune by fatall appoyntment being bent to aduaunce the Romains vnto the dominion of the whole worlde, ſhewed hir ſelfe ſo fauourable vnto them in this battaile, that in the ende, thoughe the Brytaynes wyth the confederates did what lay in men to do for attayning of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and ſlain euerie mothers ſonne, a fewe onely except, which eſcaped by flight.

Fortune fauoureth the Romaines.

The Brytayns receyue the ouerthrowe.

Aruiragus ſeeing the ſlaughter of his people, woulde haue ſlaine himſelfe, but that ſome of his ſeruantes caryed hym by force out of the fielde, that hee myght bee preſerued yet vnto ſome better fortune.

Caratake eſcapeth. Tharan king of the Pictes is ſlaine.

Caratake eſcaping by flight, fled into hys countrey, but Tharan king of the Pictes, not coueting to liue after ſuch loſſe of his people, threw away his armor with al his kingly ornaments, & ſitting down vpon a ſtone, as a mā paſt himſelf, was there ſlain by ſuche as followed in the chaſe.

Aruiragus being conueyed out of danger, and gotten into Yorke, conſydered howe by reaſon of this great diſcomfiture, it was vnpoſſible to reſyſt the Romaine puiſſaunce, and therefore

Meſſengers ſent by Aruiragus vnto Veſpaſiã with ſubmiſsion.

with conſent of the reſidue of his Nobles that were eſcaped from the battaile, hee ſent an Heralde vnto Veſpaſian, offering to ſubmit himſelfe in moſte humble wyſe vnto any reaſonable conditions of peace and agreement. Whereupon Veſpaſian commaunded that Aruiragus ſhould in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of any peace, except he had Aruiragus preſent, and therefore hee ſent vnto him his ſafeconduct to aſſure him ſafe both to come and goe.

Aruiragus cõmeth in vnto Veſpaſian. Aruiragus is reſtored again to his former dignitie.

Aruiragus ſeeing no other remedie, came in vnto Veſpaſian, according to his appoyntment, and vpon his ſubmiſſion was pardoned of all his treſpaſſe, and placed againe in the kingdome.

The Brytaynes are pardoned but yet deliuer newe hoſtages.

The Cities and good townes alſo that were partakers in the rebellion, were in ſemblable wyſe forgiuen without fining or other indemnitie, and ſo likewiſe were all the Nobles of the Countrey. Howbeit for the better aſſuraunce of their loyaltie in tyme to come, they delyuered new hoſtages.

Their lawes abrogated. New lawes.

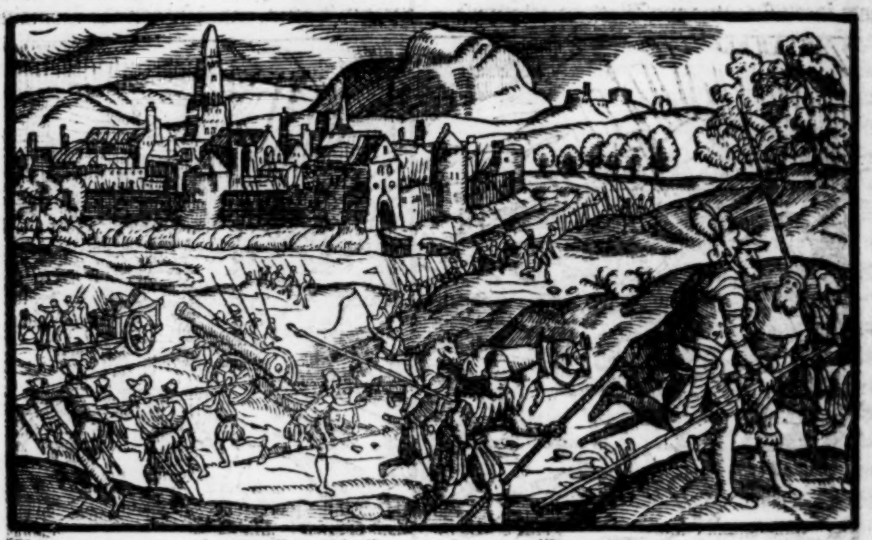
Ther auncient lawes alſo were abrogated, and the Romain lawes in their place eſtabliſhed. For the adminiſtration of the whiche, in euerye prouince was appointed a Romaine iudge to ſee good orders obſerued according to the fourme thereof. By which meanes the Brytiſhe nation eftſoones returned vnto hir former obedience of the Romain Empyre.

All the winter following, Veſpaſian laye at Yorke, making his appreſtes agaynſte the nexte ſpring to go againſt the Scottes and Pictes. So ſoone therefore as the Sommer was come, Veſpaſian ſetteth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enimies, hee did put them in ſuch feare, that the Pictes were glad to yeeld themſelues vnto him, a few of the nobles & ſome other except, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through ſtrength of that town to defend themſelues from all aſſaultes.

Camelon beſieged by Veſpaſian.

Camelon ſurrendred.

Veſpaſian being certified therof, came and beſieged them within the ſame city, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleaſure. This ſiege cõtinued til they within being in dãger to famiſh through want of vittailes, ſurrendred themſelues with the towne into Veſpaſians handes.



The kings regal ornaments taken.

In this towne were founde all the regall ornaments: as the crowne, and ſworde, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Pictes. The ſworde hauing the haft of golde, and a purple ſcabbarde verie fynely wrought and trimmed, Veſpaſian vſed to weare in all the warres wherein he afterwardes chaunced to bee, in hope (I cannot tell) of what good ſucceſſe and lucke to follow thereof.

The Pictiſh Lordes which were within Camelon, were commaunded to deliuer pledges: and after licẽced to depart without any other domage

Camelon peopled with Romaines.

Veſpaſian himſelfe remayning at Camelon, toke order for the peopling of the towne wyth Romaines, graunting them the vſe of the liberties and priuileges which the Romaines inhabiting in Rome enioyed.

Iulius Hoſt. This was Colcheſter, as the Britiſh and Engliſh wryters do geſſe.

Alſo ouer agaynſt the towne vpon the banke of the Ryuer of Carone, he buylded a Temple, in honour of the Emperour Claudius, wherein he ſette vp two Images, the one repreſenting Claudius, and the other the Goddeſſe Victoria.

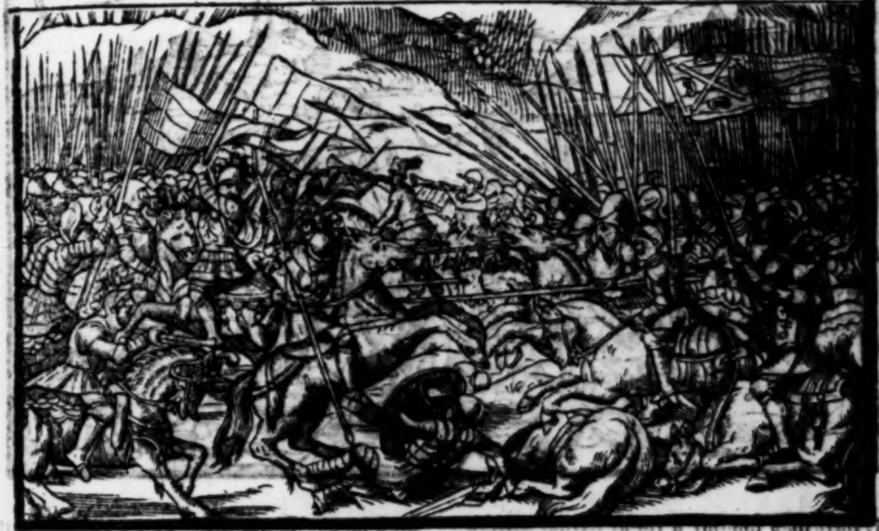
Caratake aſſembleth an armie.

Whileſt he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottiſh men had aſſembled in Galloway, a great armie of Scottes, Pictes and Brytaynes, in purpoſe to come agaynſt the Romaines, to reuenge the laſt ouerthrow. Wherupon Veſpaſian with al ſpeede ſent forth a ſtrong power vnder the leading of Aulus Planctius to encounter the enimies.

Planctius ſent forth with an armie agaynſt Caratake.

Planctius beeing approched within foure myles of them, encamped himſelfe in a ſtrong place, as thoughe hee minded not to paſſe further, tyll Veſpaſian with the reſidue of his whole puiſſance were come to his ayde. Neuertheleſſe night was no ſooner come on, but that hee gaue generall commaundement through his hoſt, that euerie man ſhoulde make him readie to depart at a certaine houre vnder the Standarts of their captaynes in order of battaile. And ſo in the ſecond watche of the night, he ſet forwarde, following certaine guydes, (which knew all the ſtrayts and paſſages of the countrey) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and firſt killing the watche that ſtoode to defende his entrance, till the armie was rayſed, he ſet vpon the whole campe, and though he founde ſuche reſiſtaunce, that the battaile continued right fierce and cruell from the dawning of the daye, tyll it was highe Noone, yet in the ende the victorie remayned with the Romaines, and the Scottes with the Pictes, and ſuche Brytaynes

Planctius ſetteth vpon the Scottiſh camp.



as were on their parte, put to flight and chaſed. Caratake eſcaping out of the battaile, fled into Argyle, and got him to the Caſtel of Dunſtafage.

Caratake flyeth into Dunſtafage.

Dyuerſe of the Brytaynes and Pictes which as yet had not ſubmitted themſelues, were put in ſuch dread through bruite of this ouerthrow, that immediately therevpon they came in and yelded themſelues vnto Veſpaſian. And in ſemblable wiſe the people of Galloway vtterly dyſpayring longer to defende theyr Countrey agaynſt Planctius (who was nowe entered into their confines, and had taken the Citie of Carricke) offered to become ſubiectes vnto the Romaines, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that tyme.

The people of Galloway ſubmit themſelues to the Romaines.

Theſe newes being certified vnto Veſpaſian by a Purceuaunt, he rode ſtreight wayes vnto Carrike, and there receyued the othes of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrey.

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto Caratake.

That done, he ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Caratake, to trie if he might perſwade him by any meanes to become friende vnto the Romaine Empyre, in acknowledging ſome maner of ſubiection thereunto: but this deuiſe was to ſmall purpoſe, for Caratake was determined rather to ende hys lyfe as a free Scottiſhe man in defence of libertie, than to become thrall vnto any forrayne Nation, in hope to liue long tyme in ſeruitude, doubting leaſt if he came any wayes forth within the daunger of the Romaines, they woulde vſurpe the whole dominion vnto themſelues.

Caratake vtterly refuſeth to become a ſubiect.

Whoſe mynde when Veſpaſian vnderſtoode by his anſwer made to the Ambaſſadours which were ſent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunſtafage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what daungerous paſſages he muſt marche through, all full of deſart Mountaynes, bogges and quauemyres, without any prouiſion of vitailes or forrage to be found by all the way as the army ſhould paſſe.

Leauing therefore this enterpryſe, hee cauſed ſo many veſſelles to be aſſembled, as coulde bee prouided on all partes, purpoſing to haue paſſed ouer into the Iſle of Man, into the which there were gotten togither a great ſort of Brytaynes and Pictes, that had eſcaped the Romaines handes. But this iourney was alſo broken by an other incident, for euen the ſame tyme newes were broughte that the Brytaynes of the Iſle of Wyght, with the Kentiſh men, and diuerſe other the inhabitantes vppon the South coaſt, were reuolted, and had ſlaine diuerſe Romaines, which lay in gariſons in thoſe partes.

The Iſle of Wight rebelleth.

Veſpaſian therefore myndyng to cure thys wounde ere it ſhould throughly feſter, haſted thither with al ſpeed, & with little a do pacifying the

Veſpaſian appeaſeth the Rebelles.

rebelles, cauſed the chiefe offenders to be puniſhed in his reſpect according to their deſerts.

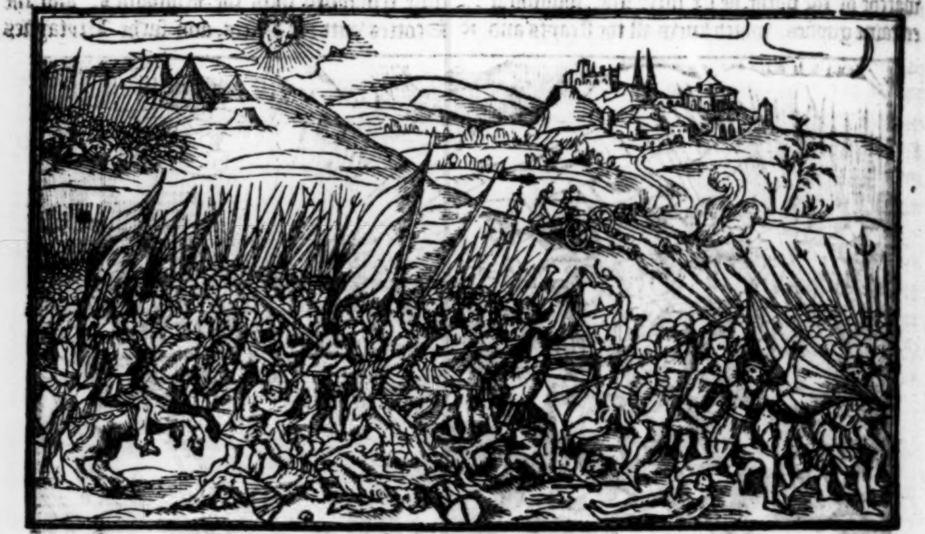
Veſpaſian returneth to Rome.

Shortly after being ſent for by the Emperour Claudius, hee returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchieued victories. Iulus Planctius was left in charge with the gouernment of Brytayne after Veſpaſians departure: who hearing that Caratake had aſſembled a great armie of Scottes and other ſuch Brytaynes and Pictes as had not yet ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Romains, in purpoſe to recouer againe thoſe Countreys which Veſpaſian had lately cōquered, he likewiſe prepared to meete them, ſo that both the armies encountering togither, there was foughte a righte terrible battaile wyth great ſlaughter on both partyes, tyll finally the victorie enclyning to the Romaines, more throughe ſkilfull policie than puiſſaunt force, the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes were diſcomfited and chaſed into the bogges and mariſhes, the common refuge in thoſe dayes for the Scottes, when by any aduenture they chaunced to be put to flight.

Planctius left as gouernor.

Planctius prepareth to meet the Scottes.

The Romains through policie vanquiſh the Scottiſh men.



After this ouerthrowe the warre was continued for a two yeares ſpace by rodes and incurſions, made one vppon another in the confines of Kyle and Galloway. In whiche meane tyme Planctius fell ſicke of the Flixe, whiche ſtyll continuing wyth hym, brought hym at length in ſuche caſe, that he was not able to trauayle at all in the publyke affayres of hys offyce. So that hee wrote his Letters vnto the Emperour Claudius, ſignifying vnto him in what caſe hee ſtoode, and therevpon requyred that ſome ſufficient perſonage might bee ſent to occupie his roome.

lanctius falth ſicke.

Claudius hauing receyued his Letters, and vnderſtanding the effect of the ſame, ſente one Oſtorius Scapula, a man of highe lynage, and of good experience both in peace and warre, to haue the gouernance in Brytayne.

Oſtorius Scapula is ſent into Brytayne.

About the tyme of whoſe arriuall into Brytayne, Aulus Planctius departed out of thys worlde at Camelon, where hee then ſoiourned. Hys bodye was burned, and according to the vſage of the Romaines in thoſe dayes, the aſhes were cloſed in a Cheſt, and buryed within the Church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is ſayde) Veſpaſian buylded neare vnto Camelon, vpon the Riuer ſide there. Hereof was a cuſtome taken vp amongſt both Scottes and Pictes, as ſome thinke, to burne the bodies of the deade, and to burie the aſhes. Whereof there hath beene founde diuerſe tokens and monuments in thys our age. As in the yeare 1521. at Findour a village in Merne, fiue miles diſtant from Aberdine there were founde in an olde graue two Cheſtes of a ſtraunge making ful of aſhes, either of them being engrauen with Romaine letters, whiche ſo ſoone as they were brought into the ayre, fell to duſt. Likewiſe in the fieldes of an other towne called Kenbacken in Marre a ten myles diſtant from Aberdyne, about the ſame tyme were founde by certayne Ploughmen two Sepulchres made of cut and ſquared ſtones, wherein were a foure Cheſtes, of workemanſhippe, bigneſſe and inſcription lyke to the other two. Many the ſemblable monumentes haue beene founde in diuerſe places in Scotlande in tymes paſt: but it is to be thought, that in theſe Sepultures there were Romaynes buryed, and neyther Scottes nor Pictes.

Aulus Planctius dyeth.

The vſage among Scottes to burne the deade bodie.

But nowe to our purpoſe. Immediately vpon the comming of Oſtorius into Brytayne, The Brytayns yet eftſoones rebell.

the people of the weſt Countreys rebelled, procuring the Northren men with the Scottes of Galloway, and all the Pictes to doe the like.

The Brytayns require ayde of Caratake.

They ſent alſo vnto Caratake, requyring him in this common quarell agaynſt the Romaines to put to his helping hande for recouerie of the auncient libertie of the whole lande of Albion, conſidering it was like they ſhoulde matche well ynough with this new Romain captaine Oſtorius Scapula, that vnderſtoode little of the maners and vſages of the Brytaynes.

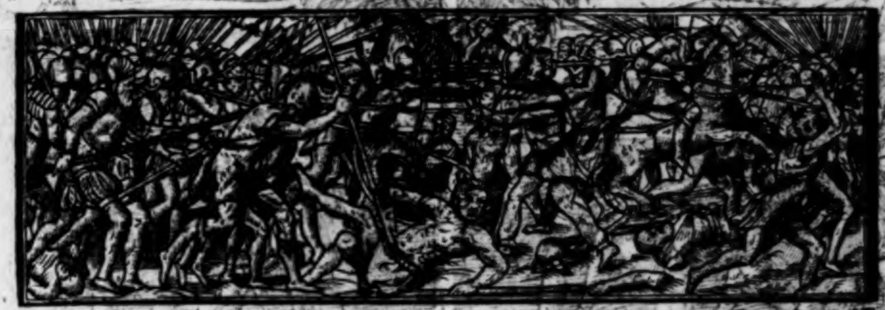
The Brytayns of the weſt part are chaſed

But this notwithſtanding, Oſtorius beeing enformed of all theſe practiſes, and remembring what furtheraunce it were for a captaine in the beginning to win a name by ſome prayſe worthy enterpriſe, he made firſt towards the weſtern Brytaynes, whome he thought to ſurpriſe ere they ſhoulde aſſemble with the other rebels, and ſo meeting with them, he chaſed and toke a great number of them as they fled here and there, out of all order.

Iceni.

Oxfordſhire is aſſayled. Some take the Iceni to be the Norffolk men

After this, he went agaynſt the people called *Iceni*, which (as ſome think) inhabited the Countrey nowe called Oxfordſhire, but others take them to bee Norffolke men, who beeing gathered togither, were gotten into a ſtrong place, encloſed about with a great ditche, as they vſe to fence paſture groundes, that no horſemen ſhoulde breake in vpon them: yet this notwithſtanding, Oſtorius aſſayled them within their ſtrength, and in the ende breaking downe the rampyre, with ſuche ayde as he had, burſt in at length amongſt them, ſleaing and taking the moſt part of them: for few or none eſcaped, they were ſo kept in on eche ſide. But of this battaile, and likewiſe of other enterpriſes which Oſtorius and other of the Romaine Lieutenants atchieued here in Brytayne, ye ſhal find more thereof in the hyſtorie of Englande according to the true report of the Romaine wryters, the which verily make no mention either of Scottes or Pictes tyll the yeare of our Lorde 320. at the ſooneſt. And as for the Silures and Brygantes remoued by Hector Boetius ſo farre Northwarde, it is euidently proued by Humfrey Lluyd and others, that they inhabited Countreys conteyned nowe within the lymyttes of Englande. The lyke ye haue to vnderſtande of the *Ordouici* where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carricke, as to the well aduiſed Reader I doubt not but it may ſufficiently appeare, as well in the deſcription as hyſtorie of Englande aforeſayde.



They of Galloway are beaten and pacifyed.

But nowe to returne where wee lefte: the brute of this late victorie quieted the buſie myndes of ſuch other of the Brytaynes, as were readie to haue reuolted. But they of Galloway woulde not at the fyrſt giue ouer, but in truſt of ayde at the handes of Caratake continued in theyr rebellion, till Oſtorius came thyther, and beate downe ſuche as made reſyſtaunce, whereby the other were ſoone pacifyed.

Kile and Cantyre waſted and ſpoyled.

After this he entered into the confines of Kile and Cantyre, ſpoyling and waſting thoſe countreys, and brought from thence a great number of captiues.

Caratake aſſembleth an armie.

With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he aſſembled a mighty army, wherein he had at the leaſt .xl. thouſand mē, what of his owne ſubiectes & other ſuch as came to his ayde. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no ſmall number, of ſuch as deſired either to be reuenged on the Romaines, either elſe to loſe life and libertie both at once, for the taſt of bondage was ſo bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this ſeaſon, that they in maner were wholy conſpired togither to remoue that yoke of thraldom from their ſhoulders which ſo painfully pinched them.

The ſtrength of the place where Caratake was encamped.

Of this matter ye may reade more in Englande.

Caratake thus furniſhed with an armie, choſe forth a ſtrong place to lodge in, fenced on the one ſide with the courſe of a deepe fordleſſe Riuer, and on the other ſides it might not bee approched vnto for the ſteepeneſſe of the craggs and ſuch fencing as they had made with great ſtones, in places where there was any eaſie way to enter.

Women encamped.

Women placed in order of battayle.

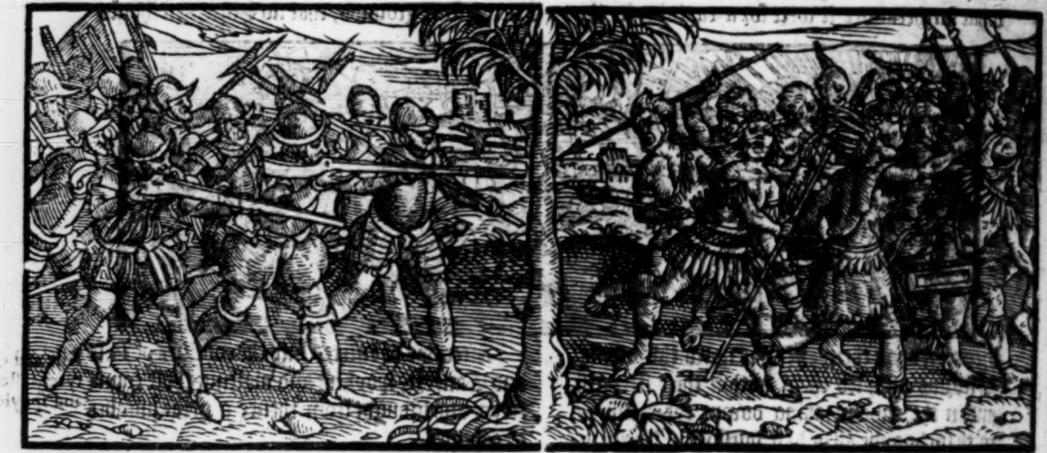
All ſuche women as were ſomewhat ſtept in age, and came thither with them, in greate numbers, were by Caratake placed on eyther ſyde hys battayles, both as well to encourage the men to doe valiauntly wyth ſhowting and hallowing vnto them, as alſo to aſſayle the Romaines with ſtones as they ſhoulde approche. Other ſuche as were yong and luſtie, were appoynted to keepe aray amongeſt the men to fight in the battaile.

Caratake and his Captaynes exhort their men to fight.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his fielde, and hearing that Oſtorius was come to giue battail, he exhorted his people to ſticke to it like men, and ſo in ſemblable wiſe did all his Captaynes and Sergeantes of the bandes, going from ranke to ranke to encourage their Souldiers, declaring howe that thys was the armie that muſt eyther bring libertie or thraldome to them and theyr poſteritie for euer.

Oſtorius encourageth his Romaines.

On the other part, Oſtorius minding to trie the matter by battaile, ſette his people in araye after the auncient maner of the Romaines, willing them to conſider that they were diſcended of thoſe parentes and auncetours whiche had ſubdued the whole worlde: and againe, that thoſe with whome they ſhoulde now matche, were but naked people, fighting more with a certayne maner of a furious rage and a diſordered violence, than with anye polityke diſcretion or conſtancie.



Herewith vpon commaundement giuen on both partes, the battaile began right hote, and for a good ſpace verie doubtfull, till the practiſed knowledge of the Romaines vanquiſhed the furious violence of the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes: who being put to flight, fledde into the Mountaynes to eſcape the enimies handes, who purſued them moſt egrely.

Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romains. His Queene was taken.

Amongeſt other of the priſoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter and brethren. He himſelfe fledde for ſuccour vnto his ſtepmother Cartimandua: but as aduerſitie findeth fewe friends, ſhe cauſed him to be taken and deliuered vnto Oſtorius.

Caratake betrayed by his ſtepmother.

This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres.

Oſtorius vſed him verie honourably, according to the degree of a king: Finally he ſent him vnto Rome, togyther with his wyfe, his daughter, and brethren. Hys fame was ſuche through all places, that where hee paſſed by, the people came flocking in on ech ſyde to ſee him, of whom they had hearde ſo muche report for his ſtoute reſiſtaunce made ſo long a time agaynſt the Romaine puiſſance.

Caratake is ſent vnto Rome.

At his comming to Rome hee was ſhewed in tryumphe, all the people beeing called to the ſight: for the victorye and apprehenſion of him was iudged equall wyth anye other atchieued enterpryſe agaynſt whatſoeuer the moſt puiſſant enimies of former tyme.

Is ſhewed vnto the people in a triumph.

The Emperour Claudius vppon reſpecte as was thought of his Princely behauiour and notifyed valiauncie, reſtored hym to libertye, and reteyning hys daughter and eldeſt brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his othe receyued to bee a true ſubiect vnto the Empyre, he ſent him home into his Countrey againe, aſſigning vnto hym the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carricke and Cunningham.

Caratake reſtored to libertie.

He lyued not paſſing a two yeares after hys returne into Scotlande, ſtudying moſt chiefly during that tyme howe to preſerue hys people in peace and quietneſſe. Hee departed thys worlde one and twentie yeares after the deceaſſe of hys vncle Metellane, in the yeare of our Lorde. 54.

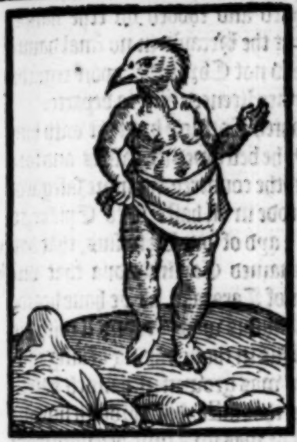
Caratake departeth this life.

54

A little before hys falling into the handes of the Romaines, there were ſundrye ſtraunge ſyghtes ſeene in Albion, as fighting of horſemenne abroade in the fieldes, wyth greate ſlaughter, as ſeemed on bothe partyes: and forthwyth the ſame ſo vanyſhed awaye, that no appearaunce of them coulde any where bee perceyued.

Straunge ſightes ſeene.

Alſo a ſort of Woolues in the night ſeaſon ſet vpon ſuche as were keeping cattayle abroade in the fieldes, and caried away one of them to the woodes, & in the morning ſuffred him to eſcape from amongſt them againe.



Moreouer at Carrike there was a chylde borne, perfit in al his limmes, ſauing yͤ head, whiche was lyke to a Rauens. Theſe vnketh ſightes and monſters put the people in no ſmall feare: but after that Caratake was reſtored to his libertie and countrey, all was interpreted to the beſt.

Corbreide.

After Caratakes deceaſe his younger brother Corbreide was choſen to ſucceede in his place, in the. lviij. yeare after Chriſte, for his elder brother was departed at Rome throughe chaunge of aire not agreable to his nature.

This Corbreid was a ſtoute mã of ſtomake, much reſembling his brother Caratake. In the firſt beginning of his raigne he did his endeuour to purge his dominion of ſuche as troubled the quiet ſtate thereof by robbing & ſpoyling the huſbande men and other the meaner people of the coũtrey, of the which robbers there was no ſmall number in thoſe dayes, ſpecially in the weſterne Iles, alſo in Roſſe and Catneſe.

The Pictes moue warre againſt the Romains.

In the meane time the Piſtes hauing created there a newe king called Conkiſt, gouernour of Mers & Lothian, they ſet vpon the Romains being aboute to make fortreſſes in thoſe parties. And but that ſuccours came in time from the next Townes and Caſtels adioyning, they had ſlaine all the whole number of them, and yet ayded as they were, the maiſter of the campe, and eight other of the captaines, with diuers officers of bands, beſide common ſouldiers, loſt their lyues there.

The Pictes ouerthrow the Romaine forragers.

Shortly after alſo, the ſame Picts ouerthrew a number of forragers with ſuche companies of horſemen as came to defende them.

Oſtorius encountreth the Pictes.

Oſtorius is wounded.

Herewith Oſtorius being not a litle moued, made ready his bandes, and fiercely encountred with the Pictes, who defended themſelues ſo vigorouſly, that the fore warde of the Romains was neare hande diſcomfited. Whiche daunger Oſtorius perceiuing, ſpeedily came to relieue the ſame, but preaſſing to farre amõgſt his enimies, he was ſore wounded, and in greate daunger to haue bene ſlaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraye, not without huge ſlaughter on both partes.

The Romains trayned forth into ambuſhes and ſo diſtreſſed.

After this, the warre continued ſtill betwixte them with often incurſions and ſkirmiſhes. At length the Pictes with ſuche other Brytains as were come vnto them out of the Iſle of Man & other parties, encountred with the Romains in battayle, and vpon the firſte ioyning, of purpoſe gaue backe, trayning ſome of the Romains to purſue them vnto ſuche places, where they had layde their ambuſhes, and ſo compaſſing them about, ſlewe a great number of them, and chaſed the reſidue into the ſtraytes of the mountaynes, where they were alſo ſurpryſed by ſuche of the Pictes as returned from the battayle.

Oſtorius vnderſtanding how the mater wẽt, withdrewe with the reſte of his people vnto his campe: and ſhortly after ſent a Purceuant vnto Rome, to enforme the Emperour in what ſtate things ſtoode in Brytaine, by reaſon of this rebellion of the Pictes, who neyther by force nor gentle perſwaſions could be pacified.

The Emperour determining to prouide remedie therfore, ſent worde againe that he would not that the Pictes ſhoulde be eftſoones receyued vpon their ſubmiſſion, if they were driuen to make ſuyte for pardon, but vtterly to be deſtroyed and exterminated. For the accompliſhment whereof, he appoynted two legions of ſuche men of warre as ſoiourned in Fraunce to paſſe ouer into Brytaine.

Oſtorius dieth

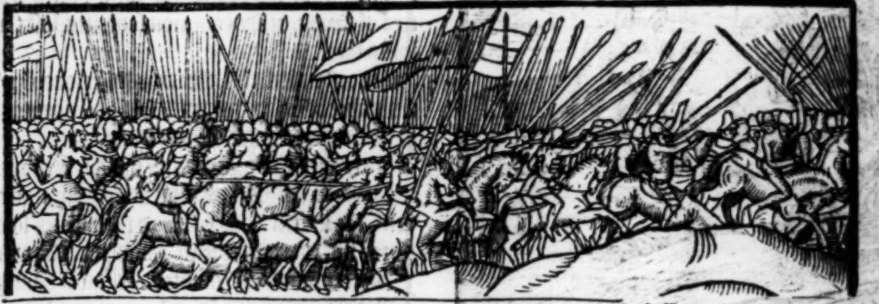
But in the meane whyle Oſtorius departed this worlde, whether of his hurtes as the Scottiſhe chronicles make mention, or through ſickneſſe as ſhoulde rather ſeeme by Cornelius Tacitus, it forceth not.

After whoſe deceaſe Manlius Valens had

Manlius Valens inuadeth the Pictes.

the chiefeſt charge, who bringyng his army foorth to encounter the Pictes that came to ſeeke battell, was fiercely fought withall. Notwithſtãding the victory had abidẽ on his ſide, if at the very point there had not come ſuccours to the Pictes, (that is to witte) iiij. C. horſemen out of the countrey of Kendall, by whoſe freſh onſet the Romains were diſcõfited and chaſed vnto their campe, there being ſlayne aboue. iij. thouſande of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Pictes ſide there wanted a twoo thouſande of theyr number at the leaſt.

The Romain are diſcõfited by the



About the ſame time there arriued in Brytain an other Romain captaine to be general in place of Oſtorius now deceaſed, his name was Iulus Didius. With him came the. ij. legions afore remẽbred. At his firſt cõming ouer he muſtered the old crewes of the Romaine ſouldiers firſt; much blaming them for their negligence in ſuffering the enimies ſo to encreaſe vpõ them, to the great daunger of looſing all that, (through ſlouth and fayntneſſe of courage) whiche lately before in Brytaine had bene wonne and cõquered by high prowes and valiant cõduct of his predeceſſours. In the ende he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fully to determine with themſelues, to recouer againe the honour which they had lately loſt, whiche he ſayde would eaſily be brought to paſſe, if they would take vnto them manful ſtomakes, and obey him and ſuche other as had the gouernaunce and leading of them.

Aulus Didius commeth into Brytaine.

The Picts ſent to the Scottes for ayde.

The Pictes being enformed that this Iulus Didius was arriued with this newe ſupplie of men, and prepared to come againſt them, they thought good to ſende vnto Corbreide king of Scotlãd to require his ayd againſt the Romains reputed as commune enimies to al ſuch as loued libertie, and hated to liue in ſeruile bondage.

For whiche reſpect Corbreide was the ſooner moued to cõdiſcend vnto yͤ requeſt of the Picts: & therevpõ aſſembling an armie entred into Galloway. Whereof Iulus Didius being certified, ſent an Heraulde vnto him with all ſpeede, commaũding that he ſhould depart out of thoſe quarters, ſithe hee had no right there, conſidering that Galloway was aſſigned vnto Caratake but for terme of his own life, by force of the Emperours graunt, and now by the death of the ſame Caratake was reuerted againe vnto the Empire.

Cæſius Naſica entred with an armie into Galloway.

The Heraulde had vnneath done his meſſage when worde came vnto Corbreide how an armie of the Romains vnder the guiding of *Cæſius Naſica* was entred into yͤ marches of Galloway to the great terrour of all the inhabitants, doubting to be ſpoyled and robbed on eche hande. Theſe newes put the Herauld in no ſmal daunger of his life, had not Corbreide vpon regarde to the law of armes licenced him to departe.

Venuſius the husbande of Cartimandua.

The hoſte which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he beſtowed in caſtels and forteſſes abrode in the countrey, for more ſafegard, but he himſelfe rode in all haſte vnto Epiake, to haue the aduiſe & ayd of one Venuſius, that had maried the forenamed Cartimandua that vnkind ſtepmother of Caratake, as ye haue hearde before. This Venuſius was of councell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraying of king Caratake, & therfore was growen into much hatred of the people for that facte, but through ſupport of the Romains he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithſtanding in the ende being awearied of the proude gouernment of the Romains, he reuolted frõ them vnto Corbreide. Wherewith his wife being offended, founde meanes to apprehend bothe him and his brethern with certaine of his kinſfolkes, and layed them faſt in pryſon.

Venuſius reuolteth.

Cartimandua is buried quicke.

But nowe Corbreide at his cõming thither, did not onely ſet them at libertie, but alſo tooke & cauſed Cartimandua to be buried quicke.

In the meane while a certaine number of Scottes diſtreſſed a fewe foragers of the Romains, but following the chaſe ſomwhat raſhly, they were encloſed by the enimies and ſlayne. This miſchaunce put the Scots in great feare, and the Romains in hope of good ſucceſſe, ſo that Naſica was in purpoſe to haue aſſayled a certaine ſtrõg place, wherin a numbre of the Scottiſh mẽ were gotten, & had fortified yͤ entries, had not other newes altered his purpoſe: for hearyng howe an other armie of the Scottes was ioyned with the Pictes, and were approched within a three myles of him, hee brought his hoſte foorth into a playne where hee ordered his battayles ready to receyue thẽ. Whereof the Scottiſh men hauing knowledge, haſted forth towardes him, & were no ſooner come in ſight of the Romains, but that with great violence they gaue the onſet, moſt fiercely beginning the battaile, which continued till ſunne ſetting with great ſlaughter on bothe ſides: At what time the Romains were at the point to haue diſcomfited theyr enimies, had not thoſe Scottiſhmen (whiche were left in fortreſſes (as is ſayde) abroade in the countrey, come at that ſelfe inſtant to the ayde of their fellowes, by whoſe meanes the battaile was renewed againe, whiche laſted till that mirke night parted them in ſunder. The Romains withdrewe to theyr campe, and the Scottes and Pictes gotte them vp into the mountaynes.

The night parted the fray

A peace concluded.

Shortly after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with theſe conditions: that the Romains ſhould content thẽſelues with that which they had in poſſeſſiō before the beginning of theſe laſt warres, and ſuffer Corbreide to enioye all ſuche countreys as his brother Caratake helde. And likewiſe the Pictes paying theyr former tribute for the finding of ſuche gariſons of Romains as lay at Camelone, they ſhoulde be no further charged with any other exactiōs. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scottes nor Pictes from thence forth ſhould receyue or ſuccour any rebelles of French men or Brytains, nor ſhoulde ayde by any maner of meanes the inhabitantes of the Iſle of Man, who had done many notable diſpleaſures to the Romains during the laſt warres.

Aulus Didius departeth this life at Londō.

This peace continued a .vj. yeares during the life of Iulus Didius, who at the end of thoſe .vj. yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behinde him all things in good quiet.

Verannius is made Lieutenant of Brytaine.

After his deceaſſe the Emperour Nero who ſucceeded Claudius, appointed one Verannius to be lieutenant of Brytaine, a man very ambitious and muche deſirous of honour, by meanes wherof, in hope to aduaunce his name, he ſought occaſiōs to haue warres with the Scottiſh men: And at length hearing that certaine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he ſent a great power of Romains to make a rode into the nexte Marches of the Scottes, from whence they brought a great ſpoyle, bothe of men and goodes.

Verannius departeth this lyfe.

With which iniuries the Scottes being moued, ſought dayly in ſemblable ſorte to be reuenged, ſo that by ſuche meanes the warre was renewed. But before any notable encounter chaũced betwixte them, Verannius died. His laſte wordes were full of ambitious boaſtes, wiſhing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that hee might haue ſubdued the whole Iſle of Albion vnto the Romaine Empyre, as if he might haue had ſo muche tyme he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius.

Paulinus Suetonius ſucceeded in his place, a man of an excellent witte and very deſirous of peace. He firſt cōfirmed the auncient league with Corbreide king of Scotlande: a recompence being made in euery behalfe for all wrongs and iniuries done on eyther parte.

Angleſey and not Man, was thus inuaded by Suetonius.

After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Iſle of Man: but foraſmuche as by probable reaſons it is apparant inough that it was not Man, but the Iſle of Angleſey whiche the Brytaines name *Mon*, and at this time was ſubdued by Suetonius, wee haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the Engliſhe chronicle, where wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently after what ſorte Suetonius bothe attempted and atchieued this enterpriſe, whiche being brought to ende, he was ſent for into Gallia, to repreſſe certaine tumults rayſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Brytaines thinking to haue a meete time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion, but by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chaunced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in conquering the Iſle of Angleſey, as in the Engliſh chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtraunge ſightes and wonders whiche happened about the ſame time, wherevpon the Soothſayers (as Hector Boetius hath) declared that the Romains ſhould receyue a great ouerthrow. Vpon truſte of whoſe wordes the Pictes and other Brytaines inhabiting in Camelone and in the Marches thereabouttes, ſet vpon ſuche Romains as inhabited there, & ſlewe a great many of them ere they were in doubte of any rebellion. The reſidue whiche eſcaped, gotte them into an old churche, where they were ſlaine eche mothers ſonne.

The Scots and pictes kill the Romains.

Petus Cerialis his men being ſlaine returned.

Alſo Petus Cerialis comming with a legion of footmen and a troupe of horſemen to theyr ſuccours, was encountred by the Pictes, and being put to flight, loſte all his footmen, hardly eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the cãpe. Shortly after he tooke vp his tentes and returned towardes Kent, where Catus the procuratour or receyuer as I may call him of Brytaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding howe the whole Iſle was on eache ſide in an vprore, fled ouer into Fraunce then called Gallia.

Catus the procuratour of Brytaine, fled into Fraunce.

Queene Voada deſireth ayde of hyr brother Corbreide.

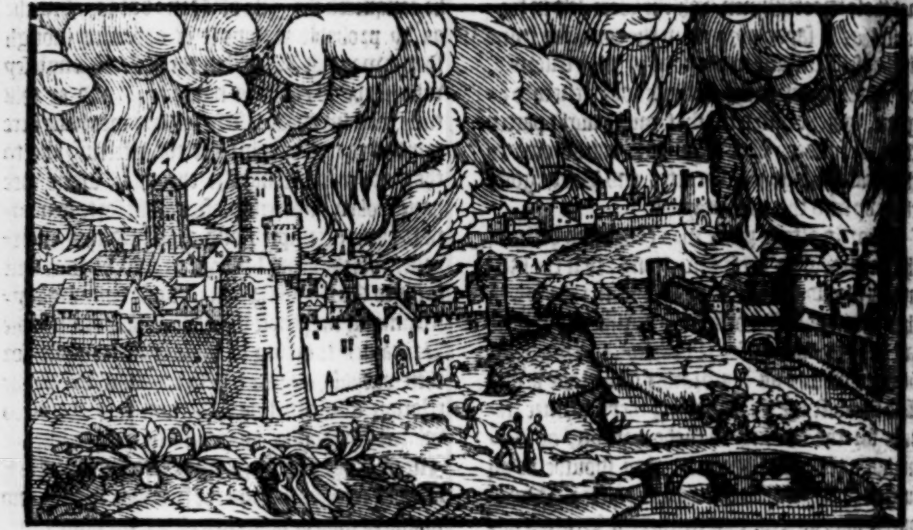
This meane while Queene Voada ſent vnto hyr brother Corbreide king of Scotland, requiring his ayde againſt the Romains, who had ſo vilely vſed hyr and hyr doughters, to the greate diſhonour of hyr and all hyr linage, and nowe was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries the whole nation of the Brytains through the couetous dealing of the procuratour Catus being riſen in armes to recouer theyr ancient liberties.

Corbreide being highly diſpleaſed towardes the Romains for yͤ euil intreating of his Siſter, determined either to ſee hyr ſatiſfied by worthie recompence, or els to be reuenged on them that had miſuſed hyr. And hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procuratour that was as then returned into Brytaine with a power of men of warre.

Corbreide receyuing but a ſcorneful anſwere from him, found meanes to ioyne in league with Charanat king of the Pictes, and gathering togither a mightie armie of one and other, purſued the Romains and their aſſociates, ſlaying downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo brenned and deſtroyed diuers townes, ſuche as in keping their allegiance to the Romains, ſtoode earneſtly to their defence as Barwike & Carlile with other.

Charanat king of the Pictes.

The Romains ſlaine.



Dutchmen arriue in Scotland.

Aboute the ſame ſeaſon there arriued in the Frithe a number of Dutche ſhips, fraught with people of Merherne or Morouia, a regiõ in Germanie ſituate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of theyr owne countrey by the Romains, and aſſembling togither vnder a famous captaine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of yͤ Rhine, where making ſhift for veſſels, they toke the ſeas to ſeke them ſome new habitations: and thus arriuing in Picte lande, were ioyfully receyued of the Pictes and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, & glad to reuenge theyr owne iniuries againſt the Romains. Namely with the Pictes they were much eſteemed, for that they came forth of the ſame countrey from whence theyr auncetours were diſcended.

Merhernes were men of goodly ſtature

Theyr huge bodies and mightie limmes did greatly commend them in the ſight of all men before whom they muſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kings of Scottes and Pictes were encãped with their people ready to marche forth towardes the enimies, they were highly welcomed and vpon theyr offer receyued into companie and appoynted to goe forth in that iourney, in ayde of Queene Voada againſt the Romains.

Women come with the queene in armor.

With this Voada was aſſembled a mightie hoſte of the Brytains: amongſt whome were a v.M. women, wholy bent to reuenge the villanies done to theyr perſons by the Romains, or to die in the payne. And for this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armor and weapon, to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet.

Voada hearing of hyr brothers approch with the king of Piſtes and their armies, met them on the way accompanied with a greate number of the Nobles of Brytaine, and brought them to hyr campe with great ioy and triumphe.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in theyr enterpriſe, they thought it good to make haſte to fight with the Procuratour Catus, ere any new power of men of warre might come to his ayde forth of Gallia nowe called Fraunce. Whervpon marchyng towardes him, they met togither in the fielde, where betwixte them was ſtriken a right fierce and cruel battayle: but in the ende the horſemen of the Romains, parte beyng firſt put to flight, the footemẽ were beaten downe on eache ſide: Catus himſelfe beyng wounded eſcaped very hardly by flight, and ſhortly after got him ouer into Fraunce.

The Romains are put to flight and ouerthrowen.

Catus was wounded.

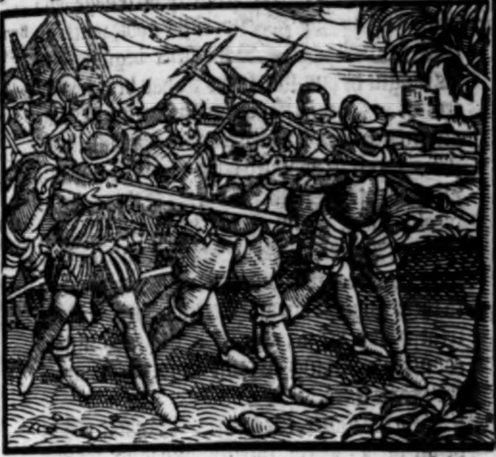
The Scottes and Picts with other the Brytaines hauing atchieued this victory, purſued their enimies frõ place to place, ſo that there died by the ſworde, what in the batayle and els where in the chaſe a.lxx.M. Romains & other ſtraungers which ſerued amongſt them, and of Scots, Pictes, and other Brytaynes, were ſlaine.xxx. thouſande.

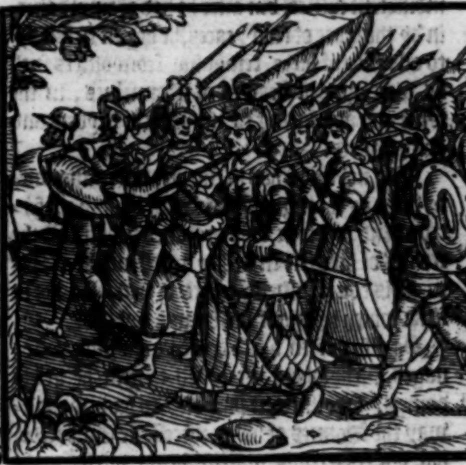
70000. Romains ſlaine, and. 30000. Brytains.

The Gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, and in what daunger things ſtoode in Brytayne, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two Legions of ſouldiours, and .x. thouſande of other Brygants, as ayders to thoſe Legions.

Voada aſſembled an armie agaynſt the Romaines.

Voada the Queene vnderſtanding his arriuall, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scottes and Pictes to come to hir ayde: who togither with the Morauians came wyth all ſpeede vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Brytaynes, Scottes, Pictes and Morauians on one part, and Romaines with theyr aydes on the other, they marched forth to encounter togyther with deliberate myndes to trie the matter by dynt of ſword, being earneſtly exhorted therto by theyr gouernours on either ſide. So that ioyning puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance, they fought a right cruell battaile, manye in the beginning being ſlaine and borne downe on both ſides. But in the ende the victorie abode with the Romaines, the Brytaynes wyth other the Albians were chaſed out of the fielde. There were ſlaine of them at the poynt of a .lxxx. thouſande perſons as Tacitus wryteth. The more part of the Morauians, togither with their captaine Roderike were in that number. Voada the Queene doubting to come into the handes of hir enimies, ſlue hir ſelf. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought armed euen as they were founde fighting in the battaile, vnto Suetonius.





The Romayns ouerthrow the Scottes and Pictes.

The Morauians all ſlaine.

Voada ſlue hirſelfe.

Marius was made king.

The eldeſt of them within a fewe monethes after was maryed vnto a noble Romaine named Marius, who had defloured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the Emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the Countrey might bee reduced vnto a better quiet. He vſed to lie moſt an ende in the partyes of Kendale, and named a part thereof (where he paſſed the moſte parte of his tyme altogither in hunting) Weſtmerlande, after his owne name, though afterwardes, when the Romaines were expulſed, a portion of the ſame adioyning nexte to the Scottes, was called Cumberlande.

Weſtmerland.

Hūfrey Lluyd doubteth of this hiſtorie of the Morauians.

Murray lande.

The Morauians which eſcaped from the diſcomfiture, had that portion of Scotlande aſſigned forth vnto them to inhabite in, that lyeth betwixt the Riuers of Torne and Spey, called euen vnto this day Mourrey lande.

Corbreyd being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatly infeebled thereby, paſſed the reſidue of his life in quietneſſe: For the Romaines being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scottes nor Pictes, but only ſtudied to keepe the ſouth partes of Brytayne in due obedience.

Corbreid dead

Anno Chriſti. 71. H B.

Finally Corbreyd departed this worlde, after he had raigned a .xxxiiij. yeares, and was buried amongſt his elders neare vnto Dunſtafage, with many obeliſkes ſet vp about him.

Dardan.

After Corbreyd ſucceded one Dardan, which for his huge ſtature was afterwarde ſurnamed the great. He was lynealy deſcended from Metellane, who was his great grandfather.

The Nobles and Commons of the Realme choſe him to their king, onely for the good opinion they had conceyued of him in his predeceſſours dayes, by whome he was had in great eſtimation, and had atchieued vnder him manye worthie enterpriſes, ſo that he was thought moſt meeteſt for the rowme, conſidering the ſonnes of Corbreyd were not as yet come to ripe yeares to enioy the ſame. For the ſayd Corbreyd had three ſonnes in all, Corbreyd, Tulcane, and Breeke. The eldeſt had beene brought vp with Voada,

Corbreyd his three ſonnes,

Queene of the Brytains, whereby he had learned the maners & vſages of the Bryttiſh natiõ, and therevpon was ſurnamed Galde: for ſo the Scottiſh men vſe euen vnto this day to name any of theyr owne countrey men that hath learned the courteſie and manners of ſtraunge countreys. But to returne to Dardane, in the beginning of his raigne he gouerned the eſtate by good indifferent iuſtice, but after he had cõtinued therin by the ſpace of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinde of vices, remouing from offices ſuch as were vpright bearers of themſelues, in the ſame and aduancing to their places bribers and extorcioners.

Dardane falleth into all kind of vices.

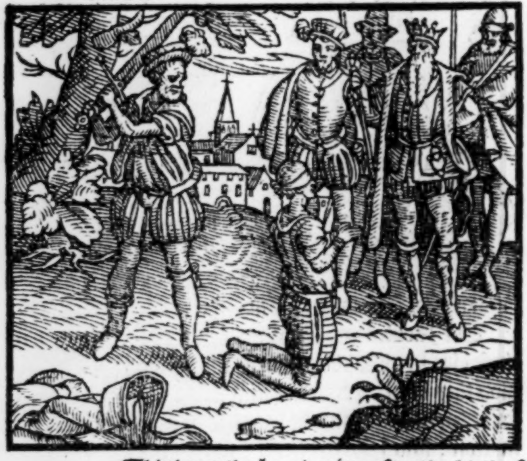
The nobles he had in ſuſpect, fauouring onely ſuche as through flatterie were by him preferred: And where he was drowned beyond all the termes of honeſtie in fleſhly and ſenſual luſt, yet was his couetouſneſſe ſo great, that all was to little which he might lay handes vpon.

He alſo put to death diuers honorable perſonages, ſuche as hee perceyued to grutche at his doings. Hee likewiſe purpoſed to haue made away the Sonnes of his predeceſſour Corbreide, but his trayterous practiſe being diſcloſed, the moſte parte of the Nobles and commons of the Realme rebelled againſt him, and ſending for Corbreide Galde the eldeſt ſonne of the former Corbreide, remayning as then in the Iſle of Man, (where hee ſhoulde haue bene murthered) they choſe him to their King. And at length beating downe all ſuche as made reſiſtance, they gotte that cruell tyrant Dardane into their handes, and bringing him forth before the multitude, they cauſed his heade to bee openly ſtriken of.

His coſin Cardorus & other

The commõs rebell.

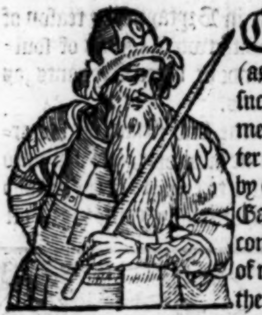
Dardane is beheaded.



This was the.lxxxj. yéare after the birth of our Sauiour, being the firſte of the Emperour Domitian, and the fourth complete of his owne raygne ouer the Scottiſh men.

75. H.B.
6. of Veſpaſian. H.B.

Corbreid Galde.



Corbreide Galde being thus choſen (as I haue ſayde) to ſucceede in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardane, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prynce of comely perſonage, and of right noble porte. In the firſte beginning of his raygne he puniſhed ſuche as had bene furtherers of his predeceſſours miſgouernment, and afterwardes hee paſſed ouer into the Weſterne Iſles, where he appeaſed certayne rebelles, which went aboute to diſquiet the ſtate of the common wealth there. From thence he ſayled vnto the Iſles of Lewys and Skie, and put to death certaine offenders that woulde not be obedient vnto their gouernours and iudges. After this hee returned by Roſſe, and ſet a ſtay alſo in that countrey, touching certaine miſdemeanours of the people there.

Galdus otherwiſe called Galgacus, as afore, but Brytaine as others thinke. See more of him in Engliſh

Galde puniſheth ſuch as diſturbe the quiet ſtate of his ſubiectes.

To bee ſhorte, hee purged the whole realme of all ſuche robbers, theeues, and other the lyke offenders agaynſt the quiet peace of his ſubiectes, as were hugely increaſed by the licencious rule of his predeceſſour Dardane, and herevnto hee was mightely ayded by the Morauians, who purſued ſuche offenders moſte earneſtly, and brought in vnto him no ſmall number of them, euer as they caught them.

The Morauians help to apprehende theeues and offenders.

By this meanes was the ſtate of the common wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next enſuing being the thirde of Galde his raygne, hee called a counſell at Dunſtafage, wherein hee labored muche for the abrogating of the wicked lawes inſtituted by king Ewyn, as before is partely ſpecified: but hee coulde not obtaine more than that poore men from thence forth ſhould haue their wiues free to themſelues without being abuſed from time to time indifferently by their landelordes as heretofore they had bene.

Galde laboreth to abrogate wicked lawes.

Whileſt he was thus buſied about the eſtabliſhing of holſome orders and ſtatutes for the wealth of his ſubiectes, worde was brought him that Petilius Cerialis a Romaine Captaine being ſente from Veſpaſian the Emperour to haue the gouernment of Brytaine, was landed with a puiſſant armie in the countrey, and minded ſhortly to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

Petilius Cerlilis a Romaine captaine ſent by Veſpaſian into Brytaine.

With theſe newes Galde being ſomewhat aſtonied, thought good to vnderſtande the certaintie of the enimies doings, before hee made any ſturre for the leauying of his people, & therefore appoynted certaine light horſemen to ride forth,

The Ordouices and Brygantes miſtaken by the Scottiſh writers.

forth, and to bryng certaine newes of that whiche they might heare or ſee: who at theyr returne declared that the enimies armie was abroade in the fieldes, vppon the borders of Pictlande, and had giuen the Pictes already a great ouerthrow, and further, howe they were turned weſtwarde on the lefte hande, in purpoſe to enter into Galloway.

The Pictes ouerthrowẽ by the Romains. The Romains purpoſe to enter into Galloway.

Galde being thus certified of the Romains approche towardes his countrey, determined to giue them battayle before they entred into the inner partes of his Realme, and therefore with all ſpeede hee aſſembled his people, to the number of fiftie thouſande menne, all ſuche as were able to beare armor, being readie to repayre vnto him in ſuche preſent neceſſitie for defence of theyr countrey.

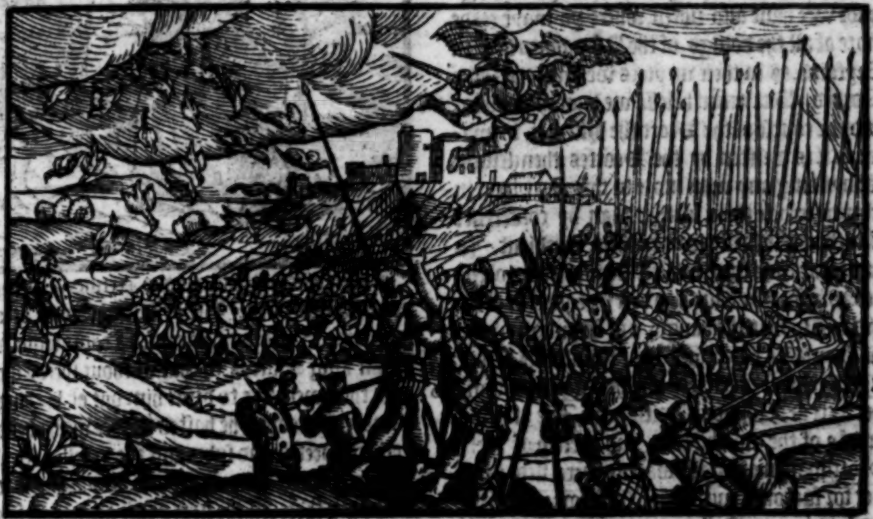
Galde determineth to fight with the Romains.

It hath bene reported, that as hee marched forth towardes his enimies, ſundrie ſtraunge ſightes appeared by the way. An Egle was ſeene almoſt all a whole day, flying vp and downe ouer the Scottiſhe armie, euen as though ſhe had laboured hyr ſelfe weary.

Strange ſights appeare to the Scottiſhe armie.

Alſo an armed man was ſeene flying round aboute the armye, and ſuddenly vaniſhed away.

There fell in lyke manner out of a darke cloude in the fieldes through the whiche the armie ſhoulde paſſe, diuers kindes of birdes that were ſpotted with bloud.



These monſtruous ſightes troubled mennes mindes diuerſly, ſome conſtruing the ſame, to ſignifie good ſucceſſe, and ſome otherwiſe. Alſo the chiefeſt captaynes amongſt the Scottes were not all of one opinion, for ſome of them waying the great force of the Romaine armie, beyng the greateſt that euer had bene brought into theyr countrey before that day, counſelled that they ſhoulde in no wiſe be fought withall, but rather to ſuffer them to weary themſelues, till vitayles and other prouiſions ſhoulde fayle them, and then to take the aduauntage of them as occaſion ſerued. Other were of a contrarie minde, iudging it beſte (ſith the whole puiſſaunce of the Realme was aſſembled) to giue battayle, leaſt by deferryng time, the courage and great deſire which the people had to fight, ſhoulde ware faynt and decay: ſo that all things conſidered, it was generally in the ende agreed vppon to giue battayle, and ſo comming within ſight of the enimies hoſte, they made ready to encounter them. At the firſte the Scottes were ſomewhat amazed with the greate multitude of theyr aduerſaries, but through the cheerefull exhortations of theyr King, and other their Captaines, theyr ſtomackes beganne to reuiue, ſo that they boldely ſette vppon the Romaines, whereof enſued betwixte them a righte fierce and cruell battayle, howbeit in the ende the victorie inclined to the Romaines, and the Scottes were chaſed out of the fielde. Galde himſelfe was wounded in the face, yet eſcaped hee out of the battaile, but not without great daunger in deede, by reaſon the Romaines purſued moſt egerly in the chaſe.

The Scottes not all of one minde.

The Scottes agree to fight with the Romains.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

There were ſlaine of the Scottiſh menne (as theyr chronicles make reporte) aboue a twelue thouſande, and of the Romains about ſixe thouſande.

This victorie beyng thus atchieued, the Romains gote poſſeſſion of Epiake with the greateſt parte of all Galloway, and paſſed the reſidue of that yeare without any other notable exployte: but in the ſommer followyng Petilius the Romaine gouernour wente aboute to ſubdue the reſte of the countrey, the Scottes often-

The citie called Epiake, is wonne by the Romains.

The Scottes durſt not fight any field with the Romains.

oftentimes making diuerſe ſkirmiſhes with him, but in no wiſe durſte ioyne with them puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance, leaſt they ſhoulde haue put their Countrey into further daunger, if they had chaũced eftſoones to haue receyued yͤ ouerthrow.

Touching al the doings of the Romains in Brytain yee ſhal finde ſufficiently in the hiſtorie of England.

Here haue wee thought good to aduertiſe the Reader, that although the Scottiſh wryters impute all the trauayles whiche Petilius ſpent in ſubduing the Brygantes, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be employed chiefly agaynſt Scottes and Pictes: the opinion of the beſt learned is wholy contrarie thereunto, affyrming the ſame Brygãtes and Silures not to be ſo farre North by the diſtance of many myles, as Hector Boetius and other his Countreymen do place them, which thing in the Hiſtorie of Englande wee haue alſo noted, where ye maye reade more of all the doings of the Romaynes here in Brytaine, as in their wryters we finde the ſame recorded. But neuertheleſſe we haue here followed the courſe of the Scottiſhe Hiſtorie, in maner as it is written by the Scottes themſelues, not bynding any man more in this place than in other to credite them further than by conference of authours it ſhall ſeeme to them expedient. In the meane time then, whileſt Petilius was occupied as before ye haue heard in yͤ cõqueſt of Galloway, Vodicia the daughter of Aruiragus (who the Romains had before time miſuſed as before in this treatiſe is partely touched) gathered togither a crew of ſoldiours within the Iſle of *Man*, partely of the inhabitants, and partely of ſuche Scottiſh men of Galloway as were fledde thither for ſuccour: with theſe ſhee tooke the ſeas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpoſe to reuenge hyr iniuries in times paſt receyued at the Romains handes, ſet vppon their tentes in the night ſeaſon, when they looked for nothing leſſe than to be diſquieted, by reaſon whereof they were brought into ſuche diſorder, that if Petilius had not cauſed ſuche fire brandes to be kindled as he had prepared and dreſſed with pitche, roſen and tallow, for the like purpoſe, the whole campe had bene in great daunger: but theſe torches or fyre brandes gaue not onely light to ſee where to make reſiſtaunce, but alſo being caſte in the faces of the enimies, ſtayed theyr hardie forwardneſſe, whereby the Romains hauing leaſure to place themſelues in array, defended the entries of theyr campe, till the day was ſprong, and then giuing a full onſet vppon theyr enimies, they put them quite to flight.

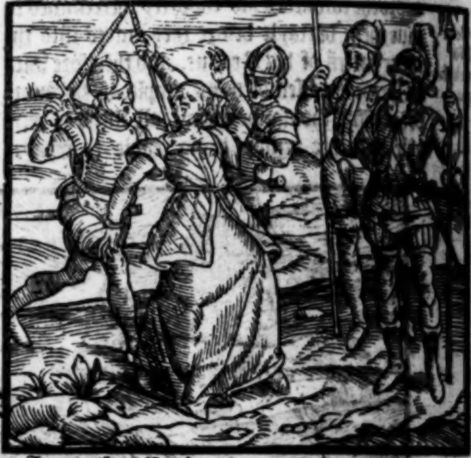
Vodicia reneweth warres with the Romains.

The Romaine campe aſſailed in the night by Vodicia.

But Vodicia not herewith diſcouraged, haſted with al ſpeede vnto Epiake, and taking that Citie ſhe ſetteth fire on it, and ſlewe ſuche Romains as ſhe founde there, whereof Petilius being certified, ſente forth a legion againſt hyr to withſtande hir attemptes. Thoſe that had the charge of them that were thus ſent, vſed ſuch diligence, that laying an ambuſhe for hir in a place fitte for that purpoſe, they ſo incloſed hir, that ſlaying the moſte parte of hir companie, ſhe was taken pryſoner hir ſelfe, and being brought aliue vnto Petilius, vpon hir ſtoute anſweares made vnto him, as he queſtioned with hir aboute hyr bolde enterpryſes, ſhee was preſently ſlayne by the ſouldiers.

Epiake is take and brenned by Vodicia.

Vodicia is ſlayne.



Anone after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitaunts of the Iſle of Wight, with other ſoutherne Brytains, had rayſed a commotion agaynſt king Marius, ſo that without ſpeedy ſuccors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: whereupon he haſted thither with al conuenient ſpeede, and ſubduing the rebelles, ſet all things there in good order and ſtay. And ſo remayning there till the next yeare after, he fell ſicke of the flixe and died. Immediatly whereupon the Emperour ſente one, Iulius Frontinus to ſucceede in his place.

The Brytains rebell.

The Brytains are appeaſed.

Petilius the Romaine legate died.

This Frontinus brought with him a two legions of ſouldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keping of the Brytains in due ſubiection of the Empire, he purpoſed to bryng ſuche vnto obedience as inhabited within and beyond the woodes of Calydone, and as yet not vanquiſhed by any man.

Iulius Frontinus ſente into Brytaine.

The Silures miſtaken for Scottiſh men.

Therefore entring firſt into Galloway, and viſiting ſuch garriſons of the Romaines, as Petilius had left there for the keping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked ſo well to their charge, that the enimie had gayned no aduauntage at theyr handes, whileſt the armie was occupied in the ſouth partes about other affayres there.

Frõtinus purpoſeth to purſue the conqueſt of the Sylures whom the Scots miſtake for Galloway men.

Hee alſo ſent an Heralde vnto the king of the Pictes with letters, requiring him to renue by confyrmation the former league betwixt his people and the Romaines, and not by any meanes to ayde the Scottes as before time they had done to their great loſſe and hinderance.

Frontinus requireth to ioyne in amitie with the Pictes.

The Pictiſhe king refuſeth to be in league with the Romains.

Herevnto the king of Pictes muche ſuſpecting the matter, made a direct anſweare, that hee ſawe no cauſe why hee ſhoulde in fauour of the Romains ſuffer his confederates the Scottes to be ſubdued and brought to deſtruction without all reaſon or equitie: and therfore he was determined by the aduice of his peeres and counſellours, to ayde the Scottes againſt ſuche as ſought nothing but the meanes howe to bring the whole Iſle of Albion into thraldome and ſeruile bondage.

Galde reſiſteth the romains.

By reaſon of ſickneſſe, he withdraweth into Argile.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

They ſubmit themſelues to the romains.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardly anſweare, ſette forewarde to ſubdue ſuch Scots as were yet diſobedient. And ſo entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike and Coningham, had diuers ſkirmiſhes with ſuche as king Galde had aſſembled to defend his countrey, but for ſo much as hee was diſeaſed with ſickeneſſe, hee was at length conſtrayned to withdrawe himſelfe into Argile, leauing his power behinde him to reſiſt the enimies attemptes: but ſhortly after his departure from amongſt them, they were fought withall by the Romains and diſcomfited, three thouſande of them being ſlaine in the fielde. By reaſon of whiche ouerthrowe thoſe countreys ſubmitted themſelues to the Romains, perceyuing no hope otherwiſe howe to eſcape that preſent daunger.

Frontinus being vexed with ſickneſſe, returneth to Rome.

Iulius Agricola is ſent into Brytaine.

Theſe Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into ſubiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter ſeaſon, during the which, Frontinus fel ſicke of ſuperfluous abundance of fleume, which vexed him in ſuche ſorte, that the Emperour Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romaine Empyre, ſent for him home vnto Rome, and appointed a right valiaunt perſonage, one Julius Agricola to ſucceede as lieutenaunt of Britaine in his roume.

The Scots of Annandale beate downe the Romains.

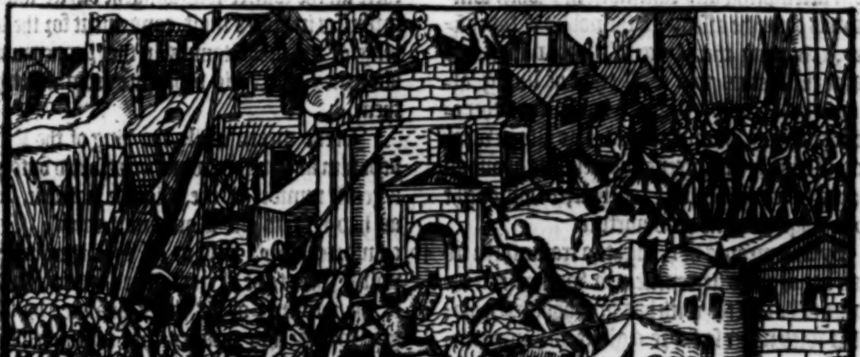
Aboute the time of whoſe arriuall there, the Scottes of Annandall ſlewe a great number of the Romains, with whiche ſucceſſe they procured alſo the Pictes with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike and Coningham to rebell.

Agricola prepareth to goe againſt the Scottes.

Karanath king of the Picts is diſcomfited by the Romains.

Camelone taken by force.

Theſe newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouiſiō with al ſpeede to go againſt them. And firſt entring into the borders of Picte lande, he reduced ſuch as inhabited about the cōfines of Barwike to their former ſubiection, and after marching forth towardes the citie of Camelone, Karanach king of the Picts encountred him by the way, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romains, he fled backe into the citie, & within three daies after hauing reenforced his power, he eftſoones gaue battayle againe to his enimies, but then alſo being vanquiſhed, hee loſt the moſt parte of al his men, & ſo immediately thereupon was Camelone wonne by force, & a great number of the Citezens ſlaine.



Agricola cauſeth it to be fortified.

Agricola cauſed it to be newly fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the moſt parte of al the caſtels and fortreſſes of Picte lande.

Karanach fleeth beyōd the Firth.

The forenamed Karanach eſcaping out of that preſent daunger, got him beyonde the water of Firth, for the more ſuretie of his owne perſon.

The Scots of Annandale ſlaine by their wiues.

Agricola hauing ſped thus in Pict lād, marched forth againſt them of Annandall: who at the firſt, making reſiſtaunce for a time, at length were conſtreyned to giue backe, and ſo fledde to their owne houſes, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murthered eche mothers ſonne: for ſo the women of that nation vſed to put away the ſhame of their huſbandes when they had at any time fled out of the fielde, from theyr enimies.

Agricola vnderſtanding that by winning him ſame in the beginning, it ſhould be no ſmall furtherance vnto him for the atchieuing of other enterpriſes in time to come, determined to purſue his good fortune. And therupon prepared to ſubdue the Iſle of *Man*, but wanting veſſels to conuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that ſuch as could ſwimme, and knew the ſhallow places of that coaſt, made ſhifte to paſſe the goulfe, and ſo got a land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the ſea coaſtes, to reſiſt ſuche ſhippes as they looked for, to haue arriued vpon theyr ſhore: but nowe diſpayring to reſiſt ſuch kind of warriours as endaungered thẽſelues to paſſe the ſeas in that maner of wiſe, they ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto Agricola.

Here is a manifeſt errour in the Scottiſh writers, taking Man for Angleſey.

Agricola aſſayleth the Iſle of Angleſey, and not Man as Hector Boetius miſtaketh it.

Who taking pledges of them, and appoynting certaine garriſons to keepe diuers holdes and places of defence within that Iſle, paſſed ouer with the reſidue of his people into Galloway, where he ſoiourned all the winter followyng: whiche being paſſed, and ſommer once come, he aſſembled his men of warre againe, and viſited a great parte of that countrey with Kyle, Carrike and Coningham, the inhabitants wherof he put in ſuch feare with the onely ſhewe of his warlike armie, diſpoſed in ſuche politike order and wiſe conducte, that there was none to be founde that durſt aduaunce themſelues to encounter him, ſo that he ſpẽt that ſommers ſeaſon in keeping ſuch of the Scottes as had bene aforetime ſubdued, from attempting any commotion, & when winter was come, he aſſembled the nobles of the cõtrey, exhorting them by gentle perſwaſions, to frame themſelues to a ciuill trade of liuing, aſwell in buylding of temples, houſes, and other edifices after the Romaine maner, as alſo in wearing of comely and decent apparell, and aboue all things to ſet their childrẽ to ſchole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture.

The Iſle of Angleſey is ſubdued by Agricola.

Agricola wintereth in Galloway.

Agricola ſtudieth to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

By this meanes he thought to frame them frõ their accuſtomed fierceneſſe, & to winne them the ſooner to be cõtẽted with bõdage, though he colored it with neuer ſo fayre a gloſſe of humanitie.

The thirde winter being thus ſpent, and the next ſommer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded ſuche countreys as were yet vndiſcouered by the Romains, entring by the nether ſide of Calidone wood, euen vnto the dolorous mountaine, whiche afterwardes by the Scottes was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountain for that in the night ſeaſon, there was heard right lamentable noyſe and cries as though the ſame had bene of ſome creatures that had bewayled theyr miſerable caſes: whiche vndoubtedly was the craftie illuſions of wicked ſpirytes, to keepe mens mindes ſtill oppreſſed in blinde errours and ſuperſtitious fantaſies.

Kalẽdar wood

Agricola commeth vnto Sterling.

Illuſion of ſpirites.

Agricola conſidering the naturall ſtrength of this mountaine with the ſite of an olde ruinous caſtel that ſtood thereon, he cauſed the ſame with all diligence to be repaired, & a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he paſſed with his whole armie ouer into Fyfe, and the day after hearing that the king of the Pictes was withdrawen into a caſtell thereby, ſtanding vpon an high mountaine cleeped Bernart, he enuironned the ſame with a ſtrong ſiege, how be it his hoped pray was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Pictes, enformed of the Romains approche, gotte him forth abrode into the fieldes, and aſſembling his power purpoſed by night, to haue broke the bridge which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repulſed by ſuche as were ſet there to defende the ſame, in his returne from thence hee was encountred by Agricola himſelfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his ſiege & was comming towardes them, ſo that both the hoſtes meeting togither in the fieldes, there was fought a ſore battayle betwixt them, though in the ende the Pictes were diſcomfited, and their king the foreſayde Karanach chaſed vnto the riuer of Tay, where he got a boate, and eſcaped to the furtherſide of that water.

Agricola buildeth the caſtel of Sterling with the bridge.

Mons Berna.

Karanach aſſayleth Sterling bridge, which the Romains defended.

Karanach is diſcomfited.

By reaſon of this ouerthrowe, Agricola brought in ſubiection thoſe countreys, whiche lie betweene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fyfe, Fothryke, and Ernedalle, and ſoiourning there all the winter following, he buylte ſundrie fortreſſes in places moſt conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitaunts in theyr commaunded obedience, after his departure from amongeſt them.

Fyfe with other countreys brought into ſubiection of the Romains.

In the meane while the king of the Pictes kept him at Dundee, whyther reſorted vnto him a greate number of the Pictiſhe nobilitie, ſuche as had eſcaped the Romains handes. Theſe comforted theyr king in all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope wel of the recouerie of his loſſes agayne, by ſome good fortune and meanes that might happen to come, ere ought long, promiſing to the furtherance therof al that in them lay, aſwell for counſell as ayde of hande: And hereuppon they tooke aduice, whiche way to worke, in ſomuche that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to ſeeke for ſuccour at the handes of theyr auncient confederates the Scottes, and ſo incontinently there were certayne meſſengers diſpatched with all ſpeede vnto Galde the Scottiſhe kyng, requiring him in that commune ieopardie to ioyne in league with hys auncient friendes the Pictes, agaynſt the ambitious and moſte cruell Romains, who ſought nothing els but ẏ vtter ſubuerſiõ of the whole land of Albion, as was manifeſtly apparãt by their proceeding, hauing

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Pictes ſende for ayde vnto king Galde.

hauing alreadie occupied and wrongfully surprised a great part not onely of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, minding stil to go forward in such vnrighteous conquests, if by timely resistāce they were not stayed.

Galde promiseth to ioyne in league with the Pictes against the Romains.

Galde vpon this request and motions of the Picts gladly consented to ioyne his power with theirs, in common defence of bothe the realmes (against such common enimies as the Romains were esteemed) hauing herevnto the assent of all his peeres and chiefest counsellours.

The Scots slea the Romaine souldiers, lying in certaine garrisons,

Thus whilest the kings of the Scottes and Pictes were concluding a league togither for defence of themselues and theyr countreys, certaine Scottes entred into the confines of Kyle, Carrike and Coningham, & wanne diuers fortresses, wherein certaine garrisons of Romaine souldiers soiourned, whom they slewe downe right without al mercie, spoyling the whole countrey.

The riuer of Clyde, otherwise called Clude.

Agricola repulsing the Scottes, could not yet winne the castell of Dunbreton, anciently called Awldcluth, or Alcluth.

Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those iniuries, some hee tooke amongst the hilles and mountaynes, whither they were fledde, and the residue hee chased beyond the riuer of Clyde, but the castel of Dunbryton hee coulde not by any meanes obtayne, though he assayed to winne it euen to the vttermost of his power. It was called in those dayes Alcluth that is to meane: Alstone.

The Scottish men being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired suche castels and fortresses as they had ouerthrowen and beaten downe.

The romayne nauie arriueth in the water of Lochfin.

In the yeare following, being the fifth after the first comming of Agricola into Brytaine, he caused his shippes to be brought about from the Isle of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter dispayre of escaping his handes eyther by water or lande: And therevpon passing ouer the riuer of Clyde with his armie, and finding his nauie there, hee set vpon the countrey of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same.

Agricola inuadeth Lennox.

But after he had made sundrie skyrmishes with the inhabitauntes, hee was certified by letters from the gouernour of Camelone, that the Pictes were ready to rebell, by reason whereof he left off this enterprice against the Scottes, and drew backe into Picte lande, leauing a parte of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clyde till his returne againe into those parties.

Agricola returneth into Pictlande, to appease a rebellion of the people there.

At his comming into Picte lande, he appeased the rebelles with small a do, punishing the chiefe authours according to their demerites. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clyde, lying al that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romaine Empyre.

He returneth vnto Clyde.

The sommer following he appointed his nauie to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creekes of Argyle, and of the Ilandes neare to the same. Whilest he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to conquere [illegible] and (although halfe discouraged at the first by reason of the rough wayes, straite passages, high mountaynes, craggy rockes, thicke woodes, deepe marrishes, fennes and mosses, with the great riuers, which with his armie hee muste needes passe, if he minded to attayne his purpose: but the olde souldiers beyng enured with paynes and trauayle, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of theyr worthie Generall and other the Captaynes, and so inuading the countrey tooke Townes and Castels, of the which some they beate downe and rased, and some they fortified, and stuffed with garrisons of men of warre.

Agricola pursueth his enterprise against the Scotes.

All the Scottes assemble.

About the same time, by commaundement of king Galde and other the gouernours of Scotland, all the able men of Cantyre, Lorne, Murreyland, Lugenarth, also those of the westerne Isles, and of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come togither in Atholl, at a place not passing fiue miles distant from the castell of Calidone now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Karanach king of the Pictes, to the end that ioyning togither in one armie, they might worke some higher exploit. But he hauing assembled .xv. thousand of his mē of warre, as he marched alongst by the mountaine of Granzbene, in times past cleped *Mons Grampius*, there chaunced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling togither by the eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as hee was, to parte the fray, was slayne presently at vnwares, by one that knewe not what hee was. By reason of whiche mischaunce that iourney was broken, for the Pictes being vtterly amazed and discomforted herewith, scaled and departed in sunder.

Karanach king of the Pictes slaine by misfortune of one of his owne subiectes.

Galde with his Scottes alone being thus disappointed of the Pictes his chiefest ayde, durst not ieoparde to trie the chaunce of battayle with the enimies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of vitayles out of their walke, to stoppe them from further proceeding in conquest of the country, and in the meane tyme to prouide agaynst the nexte sommer newe ayde and succours to keepe the fielde, and so to encoūter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remayned so long in the countrey.

The Scots resting vpō this resolutiō, thought good to send some honorable ambassade vnto the Pictes to moue thē vnto mutual agreemēt & concord amōgst thēselfs, wherby they might be able

An ambassage from the Scots vnto the Picts.

to reſiſt the common ruine of their countrie as then in preſent daunger to be oppreſſed by the Romaines.

The Pictes brought to agreement amongſt themſelues.

Thoſe that were ſente on this meſſage dyd ſo diligently behaue them ſelues, in bringing their purpoſe to paſſe, that the Pictes in the ende agreed to ioyne in friendly amytie one with an other, and to chooſe one Garnard to their king to ſucceede in the roume of Karanach.

They alſo confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by theyr procurement ſent meſſangers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of ayde againſt the Romains the common enimies of all ſuch nations as loued to liue in libertie, where ſo euer the ſame were inhabiting in any part on the whole face of the earth.

Ambaſſadours ſent vnto the Danes & Iriſh men for ayde.

There were alſo ſent ambaſſadours vnto the Iriſh men from the Scottes for the ſame intent, and from both thoſe places there was great ayde promiſed, as frō them that eſteemed themſelues halfe bounde by a naturall reſpect, to ſuccour ſuch as were diſcended of the ſame aunceſtours and countreys that they were of, and now lyke to be expulſed out of thoſe ſeates, whiche theyr forefathers had got poſſeſſion in by iuſte title of conqueſt, and lefte the ſame vnto their poſteritie to enioy for euer.

The fame of Galde his puiſſance, putteth the Romains in feare.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, Galdus deuiding his armie into ſundrie partes did what was poſſible to reſiſt al the attempts of the Romains. Who ſtanding in doubte of his puiſſaunce rather through fame thereof, than for anye apparaunt ſight or other knowledge had, durſte not put themſelues in daunger to enter into Calidone woode of all that ſommer, and the winter following was ſo extreeme, by reaſon of froſt, ſnow, and coldneſſe of ayre, that they were not able to enterpriſe any exployte on neyther parte: howbeit the ſommer was no ſooner come (being the ſeuenth after the comming of Agricola into Brytaine) but that they prepared to inuade one an other againe with al their forces.

An ayde of Iriſh mē, come to the ſuccors of the Scottes.

Forth of Irelande there came (according as was promiſed) a greate power of men of warre and ioyned with an army of Scottiſh men in Atholl, being there alreadie aſſembled in greate numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottiſhe dominions. Thither came alſo Garnard king of the Pictes with his power.

Galde choſen to be generall againſt the Romains.

All whiche forces being thus aſſembled togither by cōmon agreement amongſt them, Galde king of the Scots was choſen to be theyr generall, who hearing that Agricola with his hoſte was entred into Kalendar woodde, deuided the whole armie into three battailes, and ſo marched forth toward the enimies in purpoſe to encounter them. Agricola being of this aduertiſed by ſpialles, parted his people alſo into three wardes, doubting to be encloſed within ſome cūberſome place by reaſon of the great multitude of his enimies, that were eſteemed to be in number about fiftie thouſande of one and other.

Galde ſends vpon one part of his enimies in the night.

Galde on the other ſide vnderſtanding by ſpials this order of the Romains, in the dead of the night ſetteth vppon one of thoſe legions whiche was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to ſlea the watche, was entred into the enimies lodgings before they had any knowledge of his comming, ſo that the fight was right fierce and cruell euen among the Romaines tentes and lodgings.

But Agricola being certified of this enterpriſe of the Scottes, ſent forth, with all ſpeede a certaine number of light horſemen and footmen to aſſayle them on the backes, and ſo to keepe them occupied till hee might come with all the reſidue of his people to the reſcue. They that were thus ſent, accompliſhing theyr enterpriſe according to the deuiſe in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce and ſtoute charge vpon the Scottes and Pictes, greatly to the reliefe of thoſe that were by them aſſayled, and withall ſore amazed and diſordered by reaſon of the enimies ſudden inuaſion.

Agricola commeth to the ſuccours of his men.

By this meanes the fight cōtinued right fierce and cruell on al ſides, til at length the day beginning to appeare, ſhewed to the Scottes & Pictes the plaine vew of the whole Romaine armie, approching vnder the conducte of Agricola, to the ſuccour of his people, being thus in daunger to be diſtreſſed. Herewith were the Scots and Pictes put in ſuch feare, that immediatly they fel to rūning away towards the woodes and bogges, the accuſtomed places of theyr refuge.

Agricola diſcomfiteth his enimies.

This ouerthrow did ſo abaſh both the Scots & Picts, that they durſt attempt nomore the fortune of battaile till they had ſome ayde out of Denmarke, but onely did what they could to defend their townes & countrey, by making ſundry reyſes vpon their enimies as occaſion and opportunitie ſerued. But the Romains ſuppoſing nothing to be to harde for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to ouercome what ſo euer ſhould ſtand at defence againſt them, determined at length, to find an ende of the Iſle of Albion, and ſo paſſing through Kalender wood, and ouer the riuer of Amound, they pitched their fielde neare to the riuer of Tay, not farre from the caſtell named Calidone or Kalendar.

The Romains paſſe through Calidone wood, ouer the riuer of Amound.

The Picts by reaſon that theyr enimies were lodged ſo neare vnto the confines of theyr countrey, doubting what might follow thereof, brenned the citie of Tuline, leaſt the ſame enimies chauncing to take it, ſhould furniſh it with ſome garniſon of menne, to the great daunger of the whole Pictiſh kingdome,

* The Pictes brenne the citie of Tuline.

This citie ſtoode vppon the bankes of Tay, right beautifully buylte, with many fayre caſtels and Towers, as may appeare euen vnto this day by the olde ruines thereof, ſtrong rather by the workemans hande, than by nature.

The place where Tulyne ſtoode, is called by the inhabitants at this day Inchtuthill.

The Scottiſh men in our time call the place Inchtuthill.

All theyr wiues and children they remoued vnto the mountaynes of Granzbene for theyr more ſuretie and ſafegarde.

The Germains comming to ſerue the Romains, rebell againſt theyr Captaine and leaders.

About the ſame time the Romains were not a little diſquieted, by reaſon of a mutinie whiche chaunced amongſt ſuche Germaines as were appoynted to come ouer vnto Agricola, as a new ſupplie to furniſhe vp ſuche numbers as were decayed in his armie. Theſe ſlaying theyr Captaine, and ſuche other Romains as were appoynted to haue the order of them for their trayning in warlike feates at the beginning, as the maner was, got certaine pinneſſes whiche they happened vpon in the riuer of Tamys, and ſayling aboute the Eaſt and North coaſtes of this Iſle, arriued in Tay water, offering themſelues to the Scottes and Pictes to ſerue againſt the Romains, whoſe malice they dread for theyr offence committed if they ſhoulde returne into theyr owne countreys, whiche lay aboute the mouth of the Rhine, and was as then ſubiect to the Romaine Empyre, the inhabitants in thoſe dayes, being cleped Viſipithes, the whiche as ſome ſuppoſe inhabited Cleueland and Gulick.

Theſe Vſipites firſt inhabited the parties betwixt the mountains of Heſſen, & the Rhine, nowe called Hochrug, frō whēce they remoued into the nether countreyes.

Theyr offer was accepted moſte thankefully, and in places appoynted for them to inhabite amongſt the Murrayes, bicauſe they were diſcended as it were of one nation.

Danes and Norwegians, come to ayde the Scots and Pictes.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, there came alſo the long wiſhed ayde from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of tenne thouſande men, vnder the leading of one Gildo.

Gildo is kepte off from landing by the Romains.

Gildo arriueth in Tay water.

This Gildo with his nauie firſte arriued in the Frithe betwixt Fyfe and Louthian, but for that the Romains kepte him off from landing there, hee caſte aboute and came into the riuer of Tay, where he landed all his people, and prouiſion whereof he had good ſtore bothe vittayle and armure.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of any forraine ayd to come to the ſuccours of his enimies, comprehēding them all vnder the name of Brytons.

Garnard the king of the Picts, ioyfully receiueth Gildo.

Garnard king of the Pictes hearing of theyr arriuall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a greate number of his Nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receyued him in moſte ioyfull wiſe, feaſted and banquetted him and his people, and ſhewed them all the tokens of moſte hartie loue and friendſhip that coulde be deuiſed.

Gildo himſelf was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the caſtle, his people were prouided for abrode in the countrey in places moſte for theyr eaſe, to refreſhe themſelues the better after theyr painefull iourney by the ſeas.

Galde cōmeth vnto Dundee to welcome Gildo.

Shortly after there came vnto Dundee the Scottiſhe king Galde, who for his parte did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, ſhewing himſelfe moſte ioyfull and gladde of his comming, yelding vnto him and his people ſuche thankes and congratulations, as ſeemed beſte to the purpoſe, and receyued no leſſe at his and their handes againe.

Gald, Garnard and Gildo, aſſemble a coūſel at Forfare, where they deuiſe how to proceede in theyr warre.

After they had remayned thus certaine dayes togither at Dundee, bothe the kings Galde and Garnarde togyther with this Gildo, wente into the Caſtle of Forfare, there to conſulte with the Captaines and gouernours of theyr menne of warre, howe to maynteine themſelues in theyr enterpriſe againſt the enemie. At length they reſolued not to goe forth into the field til the winter ſeaſon were paſte, for doubte of the inconuenience that might enſue by reaſon of the extreme colde intemperancie of ayre, to the whiche that countrey is greatly ſubiecte.

They determine to reſt al the winter, & make fronter warre onely.

In the meane time they tooke order for the furniture of all things neceſſarie for the warres, to haue the ſame in a perfite readineſſe agaynſt the nexte ſpring, and till then they did appoynt onely to keepe fronter warre, that the Romains ſhoulde not ſtray abroade to fetche in vittayles and other prouiſions, to theyr owne gaynes and the vndoing of the poore inhabitants.

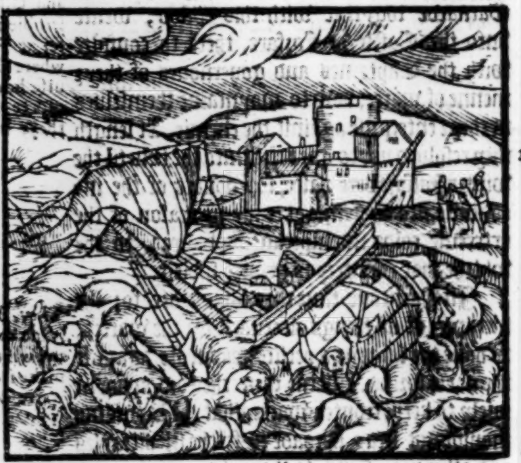
Vpon this determination when the counſell was broake vp, Galde withdrewe into Atholl, to defende thoſe parties, and Garnarde with the Daniſhe generall Gildo, furniſhed all the Caſtels and holdes in Angus, ouer agaynſt the riuer of Tay, to ſtoppe the paſſages of the ſame, that the enimies ſhoulde enter no further on that ſide. Thus paſſed the winter for that yeare, without any great exployte on either part atchieued.

Agricola ſendeth forth his nauie of ſhips, to diſcouer the furtheſt poynt of Brytaine northwarde.

In the beginning of the nexte ſommer, Agricola appointed his nauie of ſhips to ſayle aboute the coaſtes of the furtheſt partes of Albion, making diligent ſearch of euery creeke and hauen alongſt by the ſame. The Mariners executing his commaundement, ſayled rounde aboute the Northe coaſte, diſcouering many of the Weſterne Iſles, and likewiſe thoſe of Orkney, till at length they founde out Pictelande Firth, being a ſtreyte of Sea, of twentie miles in breadth, whiche ſeparateth the Iſles of Orkney from the poynt of Cathneſſe, paſſing with ſo ſwifte a courſe, that without an expert pylote the ſhippes that ſhall paſſe the ſame are oftentimes in great daunger, by reaſon of the contrary courſe of the tydes.

The Romaine mariners therfore finding certaine husband men in the next Iſles, conſtreined them to go a ſhipborde, and to guide them thorow that ſtreyte, promiſing them high rewardes for theyr labour: but they vpon a malicious intent not paſſing for their owne liues, ſo they might be reuenged of theyr enimies in caſting away ſuche a notable number of them togither with theyr veſſels, entred the ſtreyte at ſuche an inconuenient time, that the ſhippes were borne with violence of the ſtreame againſt the rockes and ſhelues, in ſuche wiſe that a number of the ſame were drowned and loſte without recouerie.

The Romaine ſhips through want of pylots are loſte in Pictlãd Firth.



Some of them that were not ouer haſtie to follow the firſte, ſeeing the preſent loſſe of theyr fellowes, returned by the ſame way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane tyme had cauſed a bridge to be made ouer ẏ riuer of Tay, by the whiche hee paſſed with his whole armie, and encamped on the further ſide thereof neare to the rootes of the mountayne of Granzbene, leauing the bridge garniſed with a competent number of ſouldiers to defende it againſt the enimies.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, paſſeth by the ſame with his hoſte, and encampeth neare to the foote of the mountayne of Granzbene.

The Pictes being not a little troubled herewith, diſpatched forth a meſſenger with all haſte vnto Galde the Scottiſhe king, ſignifying vnto him the whole matter, and thervpon requyred him of ayde.

Galde hauing muſtered his people aſwell Scottiſhe as Iriſhe, aſſembled them togither to the number of .xl. thouſand perſons, what of one and other, and incontinently with al ſpeede marcheth forth to come vnto the ayde of the Pictes, and ſo within a fewe dayes paſſing ouer the mountayne of Grambene, he arriueth in a valley beyonde the ſame mountayne, where he findeth the Pictes, Danes, and Norwegians, encamped togither not farre off from the hoſt of the Romains.

Galde king of the Scottiſh men commeth to the ayde of the Pictes.

Here taking aduiſe togither, and in the ende determining to giue battayle, king Galde (vnto whome as before is expreſſed, the gouernance of the whole was committed) aſſembling togither all the number of the confederates, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defence of libertie, (the moſt precious iewel that man might enioy) to ſhew theyr manly ſtomakes againſt them that ſought onely to depriue them of that ſo greate a benefite.

The Scottes and Pictes determine to giue battayle to the Romains.

Galde [illegible] his people [illegible]

And ſithe they were driuen euen to the vttermoſte boundes of theyr countrey, he perſwaded them to make vertue of neceſſitie, and rather choſe to die with honour, than to liue in perpetuall ſhame and ignominie, whiche muſt needes enſue to theyr whole nation, if they ſuffered themſelues to bee vanquiſhed in that inſtant. With theſe wordes, or other muche what of the ſemblable effect, Galde ſo moued the heartes of his people, that they deſired nothing but to ioyne with theyr enimies and to trie it with them by dint of ſworde, which they vniuerſally ſignified according to theyr accuſtomed vſe with a great noyſe, ſhoute and clamour.

On the other parte Agricola, though he perceyued a greate deſire amongſt his ſouldiers to fight, yet hee was not negligent on his owne behalfe to encourage them with moſte cheerefull wordes and countenaunce, ſo that bothe the armies being thus bente to haue battayle, the generals on bothe partes beganne to ſette them in array.

Agricola to the ende his armie being the leſſer number ſhoulde not bee aſſayled both afront and on the ſides, prouided (by diſpoſing them in a certaine order) a remedie againſt that diſaduantage.

On the other ſide, king Galde, by reaſon of the aduauntage whiche hee had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battayles thereafter, with a long and large frount, placing the ſame vppon the higher grounde, of purpoſe to compaſſe in the enimies on eche ſide.

Galde by reaſon of his multitude, ſeeketh to encloſe his enimies.

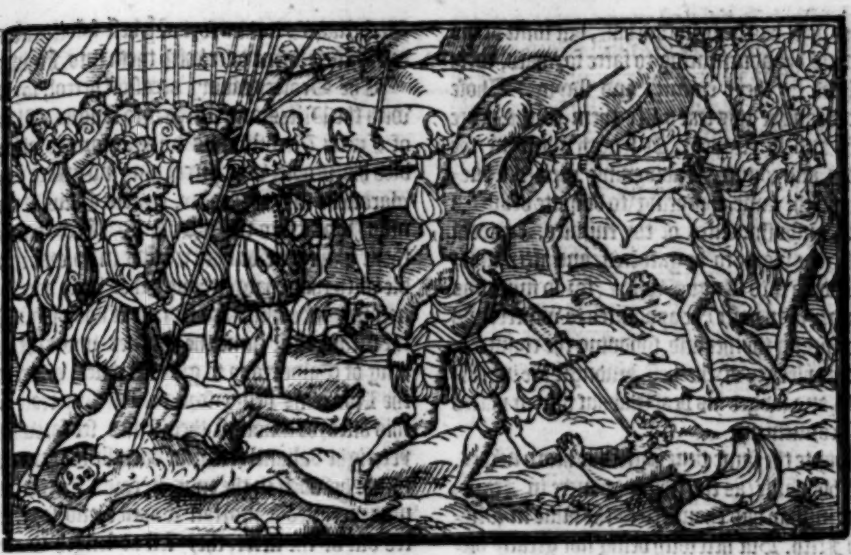
At the firſte approche of the one armie towardes the other, the battayle was begonne righte fiercely with ſhotte of arrowes and hurling of dartes, whiche being once paſte, they ioyned togither to trie the matter by hande ſtrokes, wherein the Scottes and Pictes had one diſaduauntage, for thoſe that were archers (or as I may call them kernes) comming once to fight at hande blowes, had nothing but broade ſwordes and certaine ſorie light bucklers to defend themſelues with, ſuche as ſerue to better purpoſe for men to ryde with abroade at home, than to bee caried forth into the warres, though the ſame haue bene ſo vſed amongſt the Scottiſh men, euen till theſe our dayes.

The armies approch togither to fight.

They ioyne.

The Scottiſh men diſaduantaged by reaſon of their weapons.

The



The Romains therefore being well appointed with armure and broade Tergettes, ſlewe downe right a greate number of theſe Scottes and Pictes thus ſlenderly furniſhed, without receiuing any great domage againe at their hãds, till king Galde appoynted his ſpeare menne to ſteppe forth before thoſe archers and kernes, to ſuccour them, and therewith alſo the bill menne came forwarde and ſtroke on ſo freſhly, that the Romains were beaten downe on heapes, in ſuch wiſe that they were neare at poynt to haue bene diſcomfited, had not a bande of Germains (whiche ſerued amongſt the Romains) ruſhed forth with greate violence vppon the Scottiſhe men where moſte daunger appeared, and ſo reſtored againe the faynting ſtomakes of the Romains, whereby the battayle renewed on bothe ſides againe right fierce and cruell, that greate ruthe it was to beholde that blouddie fight and moſte vnmercyfull murder betwixte them, whiche continued with more violence on the Scottiſhe ſide than any warlyke ſkill, till finally the night comming on tooke the dayes light from them bothe, and ſo parted the fray.

A cohort of Germains reſtored the Romaine ſide, neare at poynt to haue had the worſe.

The night ſeuereth the armies in ſunder and parteth the fray.

The Romains withdrewe to theyr campe, and the Scottes and Pictes with theyr confederates the Danes, Norwegians and Iriſh men, ſuche as were left aliue got them into the nexte mountaynes, hauing loſte in this cruell conflict the moſte parte of theyr whole numbers.

The Romains withdraw to their cãpe, & the Scottes to the moũtains.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in al points with the Scottiſhe Chronicles in a booke which he wrote of the lyfe of Julius Agricola, where hee intreateth of this battayle. For hee ſpeaketh but of .xxx. thouſande men, (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Brytains) to be aſſembled at that time agaynſt the Romains, making no mention of any Scottes, Pictes, Iriſh men, Norwegians or Danes, that ſhould be there in their ayde.

See more hereof in the hiſtorie of England.

The number of them that were ſlayne of the Brytains ſide (as the ſame Tacitus recounteth) amounted to aboute .x. M. men, ⁊ of Romains not paſſing .iij. C. and .xl. Amongſt whom was one Julus Atticus, a captaine of one of the cohortes. But as the Scottiſh writers affirme, there died that day of Scottes, Pictes and other their confederates at the poynt of .xx. M. and of the Romains and ſuche as ſerued on their ſide, as good as .xij. M. Moreouer the night following when Galdus with the reſidue of his people which were left aliue was withdrawen to the mountains, ⁊ that the huge loſſe was vnderſtoode by the wiues ⁊ kinneſwomen of the dead, there began a pitiful noyſe amongſt them, lamẽting and bewailing theyr miſerable caſe ⁊ loſſes.

The number of them that were ſlayne at this battayle.

But Galde doubting leaſt the ſame ſhoulde come to the eares of ſome eſpialles, that mighte lurke neare to the place where hee was withdrawen, cauſed an huge ſhoute and noyſe to be rayſed by his people, as though it had bene in token of ſome reioyſing, till the women bewayling thus the death of theyr friendes might be remoued out of the way. This done, they fell to take counſel what was beſt to do in this caſe: ⁊ in the end al things conſidered, it was determined that ſomewhat before the dawning of ẏ next morow euery man ſhould diſlodge ⁊ withdraw himſelfe into ſuche place as he thought moſte meeteſt for his ſafegard, ſaue only ſuch as were appointed to attend Galde ⁊ Garnard into Atholle whether they minded with al ſpeede to go. Thus leauing a gret nũber of fires to diſſimule their departure, they diſlodged ⁊ made away with al ſpeede poſſible. In the morning when their departure was once diſcouered, a great nũber of ẏ Romains fol-

Women bewayle their friendes.

The Scottiſh men and Picts breake vp their campe.

The Romains in purſuyng vnaduiſedly are diſtreſſed.

lowed as it had bene in the chaſe, but ſome of the vnaduiſedly aduenturing to farre forward, were encloſed by theyr enimies and ſlayne. Thoſe that wrought this feat gotte them to the nexte hilles and ſo eſcaped. At length when all the fieldes and countreys adioyning were diſcouered, and the ſame appearing to be quite deliuered of all ambuſhmentes of the enimies, Agricola cauſed the ſpoyle to be gathered, and after marched forth into Angus, where (for ſo muche as ſommer was paſte) he appointed to winter, and ſo comming thyther and ſubduing the countrey, he tooke pledges of the beſt amongſt the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places moſt conuenient.

Agricola ſubdueth Angus and wintreth there.

Agricola is certified of the miſchaunce of his nauie.

Aboute the ſame time Agricola heard newes, from his nauie (as thẽ riding at ancre in Argile) what miſhap had chaunced to the ſame in Pickland Frith. But herewith being not greatly diſcouraged, he gaue order that the ſhippes whiche had eſcaped ſhould be newe rigged and furniſhed with all neceſſarie prouiſiõs, & manned throughly, bothe with able mariners and men of warre. This done, he appoynted them eftſoones to attempt fortune, and to take theyr courſe agayne to come rounde aboute by the Orkeneys, and ſo vp alongſt by the eaſt coaſte: whiche enterpriſe they luckely accompliſhed, and in the water of Taye they brente the Daniſh fleete lying there in herbrough.

The Romaine fleete ſayleth round aboute the north point of Albiõ

Strange viſions.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore remẽbred ouerthrow of the Scottes and their confederates at the foote of Grantzbene, there happened many ſundry vnkithes & ſtrange ſightes in this Iſle. Amongſt other there appeared flying in the ayre certaine firie viſions, muche to be wondered at. Alſo a great peece of Kalendar wood, ſeemed in the night time as it had bin on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no ſuch tokẽ. There was in lyke manner ſeene in the ayre the ſimilitude of certayne ſhippes. And in Angus it rayned Frogges. At Tuline there was a childe borne hauing bothe ſhapes, ſo filthie a ſight to beholde, that forthwith they ridde it out of the way for offending others eies. Theſe prodigious things were diuerſly interpreted, according to the variable fancie of man.

Shippes ſeene in the ayre.
It rayned frogges.
A monſtruous childe borne.

Domitian the Emperour enuieth the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola.
Agricola is ſente for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place whiche cauſeth the ſouldiers to make a mutinie.

After that the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola was once notified to the Emperour Domitian, he tooke ſuche enuie thereat, that ſhortly after, vnder a colour to ſende him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermaunded him home vnto Rome, appoynting one Cneus Trebellius to ſucceede him in the gouernment of Brytaine, but yͤ armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being couſin to Agricola, cauſed no ſmal trouble amongſt the ſouldiers, ſo that in the end after certaine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus tooke a ſort of yͤ beſt ſoldiers away with him, & went ouer with them into Fraunce.

The Scots vpon occaſion of diſcorde amongſt the Romains, come freſh againſt them.

The Scottes taking occaſion hereof, ioyned with the Pictes, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed aſſembled his people, who perceyuing no greate forewardneſſe in theyr leader, created Caius Siſinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) theyr Captayne, but hee woulde in no wiſe meddle with that charge, though they were very earneſt in hande with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Galde ready to giue the onſet, wherewith the Romains being ſore troubled, by reaſon of this diſcorde amongſt themſelues, ſet foreward yet, right valiantly, to giue battaile to theyr enimies: howbeit in the ende, bycauſe that Siſinnius receyued a mortall wounde, and ſo departed out of the fielde, they fell at length to running away, the Scottes and Pictes following in the chaſe right fiercely.

The Scots ſet vpon the Romains.

The Romains are diſcomfited.

This atchieued victorie after ſo many vnluckie enterpryſes highly reioyced the appalled hartes of the Albions, hauing bene continually in maner now for the ſpace of l. yeares through aduerſe fortune, grieuouſly oppreſſed by the Romains, who being not a litle diſcouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrewe themſelues wholly vnto Tulyne, and ſhortly after for theyr more ſafegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge whiche they had made there, to the ende that by the ſame the Scottes and Picts ſhould haue no paſſage in that place.

The Romains withdraw vnto Tulyne.
They retire backe ouer the water of Tay, and breake the bridge after them.

But Galde hauing got this notable victorie with the ſpoyle of the Romains campe, thought it beſt with the aduice of his nobles, to purſue the Romains without delay, not ſuffering them to haue time to prouide for reſiſtance. And herupon cõming to the caſtle of Calidone otherwiſe Kalendar, they gotte ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood layde ouer the ſame riuer, whiche in that place is but narrow, by reaſon of the rockes and cliues forcing the bankes on eyther ſide to a ſtraytneſſe.

The Scots get ouer the riuer of Tay, neare to Calidone caſtel.

The Scots eftſoones giue battayle to the Romains.

The Romaine Capitanes alſo not ignorant of the paſſage of the enimies, brought forth their armie, and made themſelues ready to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Siſinnius was not able to ſtirre by reaſon of his woũdes receyued in the laſt battayle, they choſe one Titus Celius, a valiant Gẽtleman of Rome to be theyr leader, and ſo vnder his conduite ſetting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercely for a time, but yet in the ende they were put to flight, and chaſed into Calidone.

The Romains are againe diſcomfited.

There were ſlayne of the Romaine parte in this encounter to the number of. v. M. and of the Scottes and other the confederates. ij. M.

After

The Brytayns hearing of the euil aduentures fallen to the Romains, reuolt frõ their obedience.

After this victorie thus obteyned by the Scottes, a great number of the Brytaynes reuolted from the Romain obedience, as thoſe that inhabited the coũtry which we now cal Wales, with the marches, ſlaying and chaſing awaye ſuch Romaines as lay abrode in thoſe parties.

This done, they ſent vnto Galde king of the Scottes certaine meſſengers with rich iewelles and gyftes, in token of their reioyſing and gladneſſe for his victories, promiſing him furthermore ſuch ayd as they were able to make againſt the Romaines the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation.

The Romains ſend vnto Marius king of the Brytaynes for ayde.

Marius king of the Brytains doubteth rebellion of his ſubiectes.

Marius counſayleth the Romaines to leaue the north partes vnto the enimies, and to draw vnto him into the ſouth partes to kepe the ſame.

In this meane while, did the Romains within Calydone caſtel direct their meſſengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Brytaines, ſignifying vnto him the preſent daunger wherein things ſtood in thoſe parties by the cruel rage of ẏ Scottiſhmen and Pyctes, whom fortune had aduaunced with the gaine of two foughten fieldes, inſomuch that if timely ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, the loſſe woulde be irrecouerable. Hereunto Marius anſwered, that as thẽ a cõmõ conſpiracie, appeared to be in hand amongſt his ſubiectes ſo far forth ẏ he doubted greatly the ſuretie of his owne eſtate: And as for hope of ayde to be ſent from Rome, he ſawe ſmal likelihood, conſidering the ſlender prouiſion there through the miſgouernemente of cruel Domitian, who by reaſon of the hatred whiche the people bare him, regarded nothing but howe to keepe them from riſing vp in armor againſt him, and therefore he thought it neceſſarie that leauing the north partes to the enimies, they ſhould all withdrawe towardes him into the ſouth partes, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Iſle in due obedience, ſithe their puiſſance might not ſuffice to retaine and rule the whole.

The romains withdraw into Cantyr, and after into Galloway.

These newes greatly abaſhed the Romaine armie, and muche the more for that aboute the ſame time it was ſhewed them howe king Galde with an huge armie of Scottiſh men and Pictes, was come within tenne myles of them. Wherevpon the Romaines not knowing at that inſtant what was beſt for them to doe, in the ende they concluded to withdrawe into Cantyr, where being arriued, and perceyuing themſelues as yet to be in no great ſuretie there, they went away from thence with ſpeede into Galloway.

Galde purſueth the romaines.

In the meane time king Galde ſuppoſing it beſt eftſoones to fight with them ere they mighte haue any ſpace to reenforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though hee left behinde him diuerſe Caſtelles and fortreſſes furniſhed with ſundrie garriſons of his enimies, ſo that he might diſcomfit and chaſe away their maine power whiche hee thought might as then eaſily be done, conſidering the great multitudes of people whiche came flocking in on eche ſyde, preſenting themſelues with offering their ſeruice vnto him, & ſhewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladneſſe, for that it had pleaſed the gods at length yet to declare themſelues fauourable in this their releeuing of the oppreſſed Brytaynes. Herevnto Galdus on the other ſyde giuing them heartie thankes for their trauayle, hee receyued them very gently, myxing his talke wyth moſt comfortable wordes, therewith to put them in hope of ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe, as that ſhortly they ſhoulde thereby bee reſtored intyrely vnto theyr former liberties, and perpetually delyuered from all forrayne ſeruitude and bondage.

The romains determine againe to fight with the Scots

The romains fiercely aſſaile the Scottes.

But to proceede, at length he did ſo muche by his iourneys, that hee came into Galloway, where the Romaines with al ſpeede (ſeeing none other remedie) reſolued themſelues to giue him battayle, and therevppon exhorting one an other to playe the men, ſithe theyr onely refuge reſted in their weapons poyntes, they fiercelye gaue the onſette, and at the firſt, put the lefte wing of the Scottes and Pictes wholy vnto the worſt. In whiche wing according to theire maner in thoſe dayes vſed, there were a greate number of women mingled amongeſt the men. Galde therefore perceyuing the daunger, ſuccoured them (with ſuch as were appoynted to giue the looking on till neede requyred, and then to go where they ſhoulde bee commaunded.) By whiche meanes the battayle on that ſyde was renued a freſhe, the women ſhewing no leſſe valiancie than the menne, and therewith muche more crueltie, for they ſpared none at all though they offered neuer ſo muche to haue their lyues preſerued.

Straunge dealing in womẽ and contrarie to their nature.

The romains flie to their campe.

In fine, the Romaines beeing chaſed in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occaſion to all the reſidue to flee backe to their campe, being purſued ſo egrely by the Scottes and Pictes, that they had muche adoe to defende the entries of theyr trenches, where both partyes fought right egrely, tyll at length the night parted them both in ſunder.

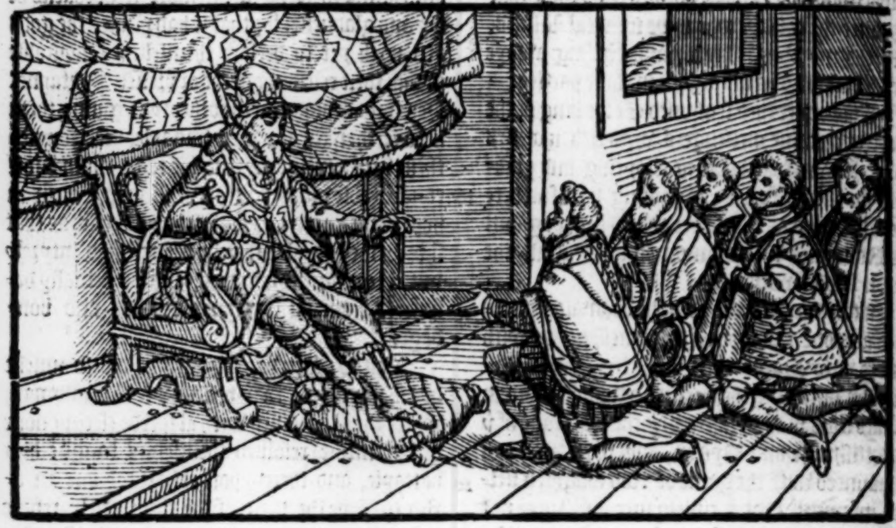
The Scottes purpoſe to aſſaile the romain campe.

The romains require a communication.

Being parted, the Scottes gaue not themſelues to reſt, but prouided them of all things neceſſarie againſt the next morning to aſſayle their enimies a freſh, and namely from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagottes and buſhes to fyll the trenches withall. But this theyr demeanor and purpoſe being vnderſtood of the Romaines, they requyred a communication, the whiche (though ſome perſwaded Galdus to the contrarie,) vppon deepe conſiderations of fortunes frayle fauour, was at length graunted vnto them, and foure auncient Romaines two in right honourable and verie riche apparel ſent

The Romains ſubmit themſelues as vanquiſhed.

forth and were admitted to the preſence of the kings (Galde of the Scottes, and Garnard of the Pictes) unto whome with humble ſubmiſſion they acknowledged themſelues as vanquiſhed, and that by the iuſt wrath and reuenge of the equall Goddes, which agaynſt them they had conceyued for the wrongfull inuaſion of that which in no wiſe of right appertained unto them. Therefore if it might pleaſe thoſe Kings to brydle and refrayne their diſpleaſure agaynſt them, in licenſing them under ſome reaſonable conditions of appoyntment to depart, it ſhoulde bee a thing reſounding ſo muche to theyr fame and glorie, as nothing coulde bee more, conſidering ſo humble ſute made to them by the Oratours of thoſe people who were reputed as vanquiſhers of the whole worlde.



Herewyth falling proſtrate at the feete of thoſe Kings, they beſought them of pardon, in ſuche pitifull wyſe, that the heartes of the hearers beganne ſomewhat to mollifye, and at length Galde tooke uppon hym to anſwere in name of all the reſidue of the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe Nations, and in the ende concluded, that they were contented to graunt a peace on theſe conditions: That the Romaines ſhoulde ceaſſe from that daye forwarde in anye wyſe to infeſt or diſquiet by waye of any inuaſion the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe borders, and alſo to departe wholye out of thoſe Countreyes, reſtoring all ſuch holdes and Fortreſſes as they helde wythin the ſame. And further to delyuer all pryſoners, pledges, and fugetyues whatſoeuer as then remayning in theyr handes, togyther wyth ſuche goodes and ſpoyle as they had latelye taken.

The conditions of peace preſcribed to the Romaines by the Scottes and Pictes.

Theſe conditions beeing certyfied to the Romaynes by theyr Oratours, were gladly accepted, ſith they ſawe no better meane, howe to delyuer themſelues out of that preſent daunger. And ſo delyuering ſufficient Hoſtages for perfourmaunce of all the Articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching Southwardes to come into Kent, where Marius king of the ſouth Brytaynes ſoiourned as then.

The Romains depart out of Galloway.

Agricola as the Scottiſhe Chronicles report, left at his departure towardes Rome, to the number of. lx. thouſande men in the Romain armie what of one and other, but nowe at theyr departure out of Galloway, there remayned uneath. xx. thouſande, the reſidue being diſpatched by one meane or other.

By this concluſion of peace then, the Scottes and Pictes got againe the whole poſſeſſion of all ſuche Countreyes as the Romaines had before wonne and takē away from them, as the Mers, Louthian, the Marches about Barwike, Fyſſe, and Angus, wyth Kyle, Cantyr, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romaine gariſons departing oute of the fortreſſes, and leauing the ſame up unto the former owners.

The Romains giue up all their holdes and fortreſſes which they kept within the Scottiſhe or Pictiſh dominions.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romaines, tooke order to ſet good directions amongſt his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernment of the common wealth, viſiting dayly the countreys abrode, the better to underſtande the ſtate of them, and to refourme the ſame where it was needfull. Further conſidering that as warre breadeth good ſouldiers ſo peace by iuſtice ryddeth them out of the way, if they bee not the better prouided for.

Galdus ſtudieth to preſerue his ſubiectes in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Suche as had ſerued long time in the laſte warres, and had not any trade nowe in tyme of peace whereby to get theyr lyuing, he placed in gariſons neare to the borders of the Brytaynes for defence of the Countrey.

After this, hee came to an enterviewe wyth Garnarde king of Pictes at Calidone, or Kalendar, to redresse certain troubles rayſed betwixt their ſubiectes being borderers concerning the limittes of their Countrey: where perceyuing a ſort of euill diſpoſed perſons to bee wholy in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to ſteale and trouble the peace whiche they had with ſuch trauaile and labour ſought to reſtore, they puniſhed the offenders, and ſet al things in good quiet, and ſo departed in ſunder with great loue & friendſhip.

Such as ſought to trouble the peace were puniſhed.

Thus Galdus applying all his ſtudie and diligence to aduaunce the common wealth and quiet ſtate of his Countrey, lyued many yeares ſo highly in the fauour of all his ſubiectes, that the like hath beene but ſeldome hearde of: finally to their greate griefe and diſpleaſure hee ended hys lyfe, more deare to them than theyr owne at Epiake, in the .xxxv. yeare of his raigne, (whiche was about the .xv. yeare of the Empyre of Adrian, the 4098. yeare after the worldes creation, and from the byrth of our ſauiour. 131. and was buryed with greate lamentation in moſte pompous maner, and layde in a goodly Tumbe which was rayſed with mightie huge ſtones, hauing a great number of obeliſkes ſet vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore to the ende his memorie ſhoulde euer endure, the Countrey where hee fought laſte with the Romains was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a fewe letters is nowe called Galloway, and before that tyme Brygantia, as the Scottes do holde: but howe that ſeemeth to agree with a truth, ye may reade in the Hiſtorie of Englande.

Galde departeth this life at Epiake.

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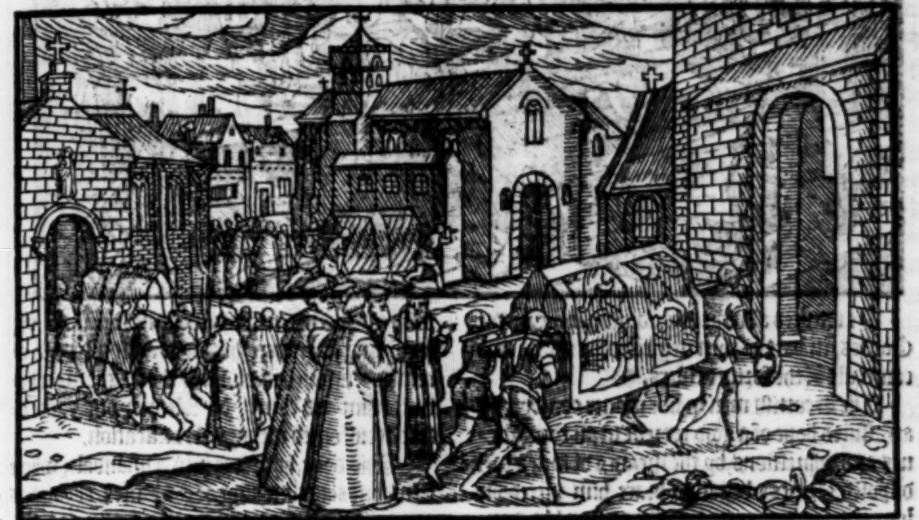


Galloway taketh the name of Galde.

Lugthake.

An vngracious ſonne ſuccedeth after his worthy father.

After this famous Prince was thus departed hence, his ſon Lugthake ſucceeded in rule of the Scottiſhe kingdome, no leſſe abhorred of al men for his deteſtable and filthye vices ioyned with all kind of crueltie and couetouſneſſe, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went ſo farre paſſe the boundes of all continencie in following his ſenſuall luſtes, that he forced and rauiſhed not onely aunt, neece, and ſiſter, but euen his owne daughters alſo. Such as were honourable perſonages and meete to gouerne in the common wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the adminiſtration of things vnto vile perſons, and ſuch as coulde beſt deuiſe howe to inuent quarels agaynſt the riche,, whereby they might be fleeſed of all whatſoeuer they had: and oftentymes vpon ſome forged cauſe cruelly put to death. So little did he prouide to ſee offenders in any wiſe corrected, that contrarily hee mainteyned them in ſuche ſorte therein, that iuſtice was quite baniſhed, and nothing but ſpoyle and rauine exerciſed.

The incontinencie of Lugthake.

His ſmall regarde to the nobilitie.

Fauor ſhewed to men of baſe condition.

Offenders mainteyned.

Iuſtice is baniſhed.

Thus he continued aboue two yeares, to the greate ruyne of the common wealth. Finally, when he went about to put vnto death ſuche as in an aſſemble called at Dunſtafage ſpake againſt the miſordered gouernment of the realme, he was there murthered amongeſt the people, with a number of thoſe alſo, whome he vſed to haue attendaunt on his perſon for ſafegarde of the ſame.

Lugthake woulde haue put to death ſuch as ſpake agaynſt his miſgouernment.

His owne bodie was ſolemnly buryed by appoyntment of the Nobles, hauing reſpect to his fathers benefites, but the carkaſſes of hys Garde were caſt out into the fieldes, there to bee

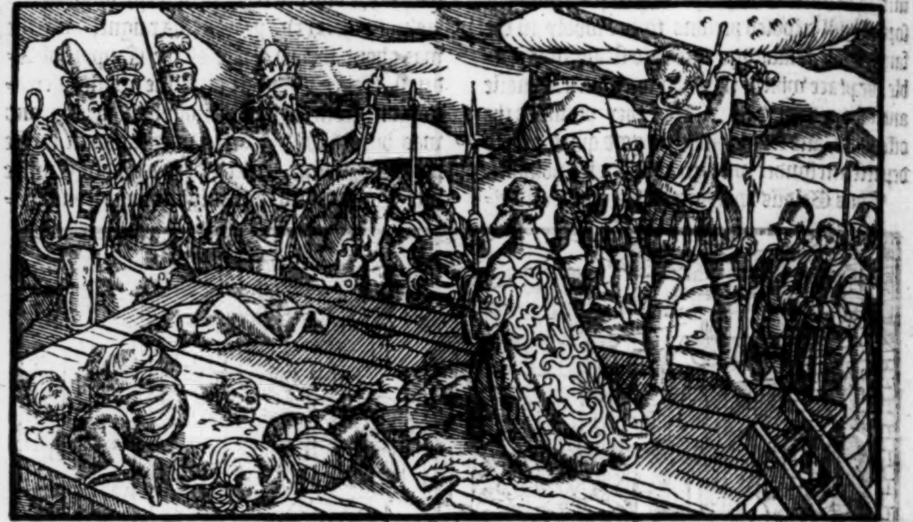
deuoured

Lugthake is murthered with a number of his mē.

deuoured of beaſtes and byrdes of rauyn.

Mogall nephew to Galdus is admitted king, and ſtudieth to redreſſe abuſes.

After Lugthake was thus diſpatched, one Mogall the Nephewe of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. Hys chiefeſt ſtudie was to refourme the decayed ſtate of his Countrey, and firſt he cauſed ſuch wicked Counſellours of his predeceſſours and Uncle Lugthake, as had eſcaped with life (when theyr maiſter was made away) to be put to death, according to their iuſt deſeruings.



He reſtored alſo the due worſhipping of the Goddes, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counſaile of the former rulers.

Mogal is beloued of his ſubiectes.

The Scottiſh men in like maner conceyuing an aſſured hope of a good redreſſe in all their grieues and oppreſſions, by the meanes of ſuch a wel diſpoſed Prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauour, euen the lyke as they had done to his grandfather Galdus.

The Picts deſire ayde of the Scots againſt the Romains

In the meane time came certaine Ambaſſadours from the Pictes vnto this Mogall, requyring him of ayde agaynſt the Romaines and Brytayns, who by a ſodaine inuaſion had done much hurt in Pictlande, to the great diſtreſſe of the inhabitants.

The Romains inuade the Scottiſh borders.

The ſame time they of Galloway certified him alſo by letters, that the ſame Romains had made a rode into theyr Countrey, and ledde away a great bootie of goodes and priſoners.

Mogall requireth reſtitution of wrongs done by the Romaines.

Mogall hauing a mynde no leſſe gyuen to deedes of chiualrie, than to the ſtudie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioyſed that he had iuſt occaſion giuen him to ſhewe ſome proufe of his valiant inclination, and ſo hereupon ſent an Herald at armes vnto the Romains, requyring to haue reſtitution and amendes for the iniuries thus by them committed.

Mogall prepareth to the warres.

Mogal viſiteth his grandfathers ſepulchre.

The Heralde doing his meſſage, receyued nothing but ſcornefull wordes, and diſdainfull menaces, whereby Mogall beeing throughly kindled with deſpite, aſſembled his power togyther forth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the ſame into Galloway, viſited his grandfathers Sepulchre, honouring the ſame with great reuerence and ſolemne ſupplications, requyring as it were his ayde agaynſt thoſe enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by ſolemne othes and other accuſtomed meanes of ratification.

The Picts and Scots ioyne their powers togither, and enter into the landes of their enimies.

This done, he drewe into Annandale, where Unipanus as then king of the Pictes abode hys comming. There ioyning their powers togyther, they marched forth into Cumberland, and ſo forwarde into Weſtmerlande, with fire and ſworde, waſting and ſpoyling thoſe Countreys, as then belonging to the Romaines.

Lucius Antenous Lieutenant of Brytaine.

Lucius Antenous the Romaine Lieutenant lying the ſame tyme at Yorke, beeing certified hereof by ſuch as fledde for feare out of thoſe parties thus inuaded by the Scottes, gathered a mightie armie out of all the Countreys of Brytayne, and haſted forth with the ſame towardes his enimies, of whoſe approche Mogal hauing notice, he made a long Oration vnto his people to encourage them to fight manfully againſt the Romaines, perſwading them effectually thereto by many familier examples brought in of the valiant enterpriſes atchieued by their elders, in defence of their Countrey and libertie of the ſame.

Mogall exhorteth his men to doe valiantly.

Lucius Antenous likewiſe encourageth his folkes.

In like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted the Romains and other his ſouldiours, to call to remembrance the victorious exploytes of their predeceſſours, and howe that as then they ſhould fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battaile more vpon a furious rage and violent madneſſe, than with any diſcretion or aduiſed order, ſaying furthermore, that it lay nowe in their handes with no great adoe to recouer that which through the negligent ſlouth of Cneus Trebellius was before loſt, whereby they ſhould attaine great honour and famous renoume for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both ſides being kindled with deſire of battaile, in hope of victorie, they drew neare togither, and began the fight right fiercely at the firſt with throwing and ſhoting of dartes and arrowes ſo thicke that one might vnneth ſee another.

The battaile beginneth betwene the Romaines and Albions.

The place was more for the aduauntage of the Scots than of the Romaines, bycauſe they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and partes, by reaſon of bogges and mariſhes, with ſuch ſideling bankes on the ſydes that they could keepe none aray: yet all theſe impediments notwithſtanding, this battaile was fought ſo farre forth to the vtterance, that in the ende after a wonderful ſlaughter on both ſides made, when theyr ſwordes and other weapons were ſpent, they buckled togither with ſhort daggers. Finally the violent charge of the Scottes & Pictes, was ſuch, that the Romaines were conſtrayned to retyre, which their generall Antenous perceyuing, did what hee coulde to ſtay them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was moſt buſie in the forefront to exhort them herevnto, he was wounded with an arrowe, and therevpon departed out of the battaile, which gaue occaſion to diuerſe other of his companie to followe him, by meanes whereof all the reſidue fell to running away, and made towarde the next wood, there to ſaue themſelues as well as they might, thoughe ſome companies perceyuing that they could not reache thither without manifeſt daunger, cloſed themſelues togither and departed by an other way, which they tooke at aduenture, not knowing towardes what partes they drewe, ſo that they lay al the night following within two miles of the Scottes and Pictes, who for that the day was in maner ſpent (before the Romaines were put to flight,) encamped themſelues in the ſelfe ſame place where the battaile was fought, and in the morning hearing that parte of their enimies were lodged ſo neare them, and knew not which way to draw, they ſent a number forth of theyr campe to fight with them, and to kil them if they reſiſted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they ſhoulde ſeeme willing to yeelde.

A cruel fight.

The romaines retyre.

Lucius Antenous is wounded.

The romaines are put to flight.

Thoſe that were thus ſent, founde the Romaines in verie good order of battaile for ſo ſmal a bande, not minding to yeeld themſelues as priſoners. By reaſon of which their obſtinate wylfulneſſe, they were ſlaine in the ende euerie mothers ſonne.

Lucius Antenous hauing thus receyued the ouerthrow, diſpatched a poſt vnto Rome with all haſte, ſignifying vnto the Emperour Adrian the whole maner of the diſcomfiture, and howe that by reaſon therof things ſtood in great daunger here in Brytaine, if ſpeedie ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this preſent, not onely the men, but alſo the women (as in the laſt battaile he ſawe plaine proufe) who cared not for the loſſe of their owne lyues, ſo that they might die reuenged.

Lucius Antenous ſendeth letters vnto Rome, certifying the Emperour Adrian of the ouerthrow.

Women as readie to the battail as men.

When Adrian vnderſtood theſe newes, he purpoſed forthwith to goe himſelfe into Brytayne, cauſing therefore an armie to be leuied, he paſſed forth with the ſame into Fraunce, then called Gallia, and comming to Callice, he tranſported ouer into Brytayne, where hee learned howe the Scottes and Pictes were neuer more buſie than at this preſent, hauing of late waſted and ſpoyled the Countrey euen to the Riuer of Tine.

Adriã the Emperour prepareth to go into Brytayne.

Adrian tranſporteth into Brytayne.

Herewith Adrian being ſore offended, ioyned the power which he had brought with him from Rome, with the other which he had cauſed to be rayſed in Fraunce and Brytayne. This done, he remoued to Yorke, where ſoiourning certaine dayes to refreſh his people, he afterwardes drewe towardes the borders, and comming to the riuer of Tine, he paſſed ouer the ſame.

Adrian commeth to York.

The fourth day after, he came into a Countrey wherein was left no kinde of earthly thing ſeruing to mans vſe, and ſo paſſing forwarde a day or two, he found neither corn, nor other prouiſion of vittaile, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mountaines and mariſh groundes, where no man might come vnto them, as cõmonly in caſe of extreme daunger they were accuſtomed to lie abroade in the ſame without houſe or any couerture ouer theyr heades. Howbeit for all that he gaue not ouer to purſue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he grieuouſly afflicted them, and that in ſundrie maner. In the ende eſpying the barrenneſſe of the ſoyle, rudeneſſe of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by ſufficient prouiſion for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to ſpend any longer time in ſuche a vaine and fruitleſſe trauaile, and therfore returned vnto Tine, where to reſtraine the Scottes and Pictes from inuading ſuch of the Brytaynes as were ſubiect to the Romaine Empyre, he cauſed a great trench to be caſt ouerthwart the lande, from the mouth of Tine to the ryuer of Eſke, and a wall to bee made on the inner ſyde of the ſame, of turfe and ſoddes.

He paſſeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

Adrian findeth nothing abrode in the countrey of his enimies.

What maner of people he had to doe with.

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for ſafegarde of the Britaynes againſt the Picts & Scots.

The Scottiſh Chronicles make mention that it was begonne by Adrian, but not finiſhed tyll the dayes of the Emperour Seuerus, who made an ende of it, and therefore the ſame Chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

The romaine wryters doe confirme the ſame.

Adrianus hauing thus diſpatched in the North partes of Brytayne, in hys returne viſited Wales with the Marches of the ſame, ſetting an order amongeſt ſuch as had moued a commotion agaynſt the Magiſtrates in thoſe partyes, the Authours whereof hee puniſhed according to their offences, and ſo then he came to London, whither at the ſame tyme a great number of the Brytayne Nobilitie reſorted to doe hym honour, according to theyr duties. And hee for hys parte ſhewed them ſuche friendlye entertaynment, that they coulde not wiſhe any better.

Adrian commeth to London.

After this he ſayled ouer into Fraunce, taking Lucius Antenous with him, bycauſe hee coulde not away with the ayre of Brytayne, in whoſe place he left one Aulus Victorinus Lieutenant there, who diſpoſed dyuerſe garriſons of Souldiours in places neare vnto the foreremembred Wall, for defence of the inhabitauntes agaynſt the violence of the Scottes and Pictes. Who ſeeing this demeanor of the Romaines, deuided thoſe landes and Countreys (whiche they had lately waſted on the further ſyde of Tine) in ſuche ſorte betwyxte them, that all whatſoeuer laye towardes the Iriſhe Sea, remayned to the Scottes, and the reſt coaſting vpon the Almayne Seas, fell vnto the Pictes for their portion.

Adrian returneth towarde Rome.

Aulus Victotorinus Lieutenat of Brytaine.

The Scottiſhe men and Picts deuide the countreys beyonde Tine betwixt them.

After this Mogall liued many yeares in good quiet without any trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pryde by ſuche notable victories as he had thus got of the Romaines the conquerours of the worlde, hee coulde not in tyme of peace maiſter hys owne vnruly appetytes, but that drowned in the fylthie luſtes of the bodye, hee ſpared neyther Mayde, Wydowe, nor wyfe.

Mogal throgh pride abuſeth himſelfe in ſundrie kindes of vices.

Againe hee was giuen to ſuche vnquenchable couetyſe, that nothing mighte ſuffice hym, fynding many forged matters agaynſt the riche, whereby to bereue them both of life and ſubſtaunce. Hee was the fyrſt whiche ordeyned that ſuche as were baniſhed or condemned for anye cryme, ſhoulde forfeyte all theyr landes and goodes wythoute any conſideration had, eyther to wyfe or chylde, whiche is obſerued at the full euen vnto theſe oure dayes, where before it was otherwyſe in that Countrey.

A couetous and cruel ordinance.

But theſe ſo notable vices in the Prince coulde not long continue vnpuniſhed, for at length a conſpiracie was practiſed agaynſt him, whereof hee hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwyſe by relation of friends, the certaintie is not knowne) in the deade of the night hee armed himſelfe, and with two of his ſeruauntes onely fledde to the next wood, not gyuing notice of his departure to any other of his houſeholde.

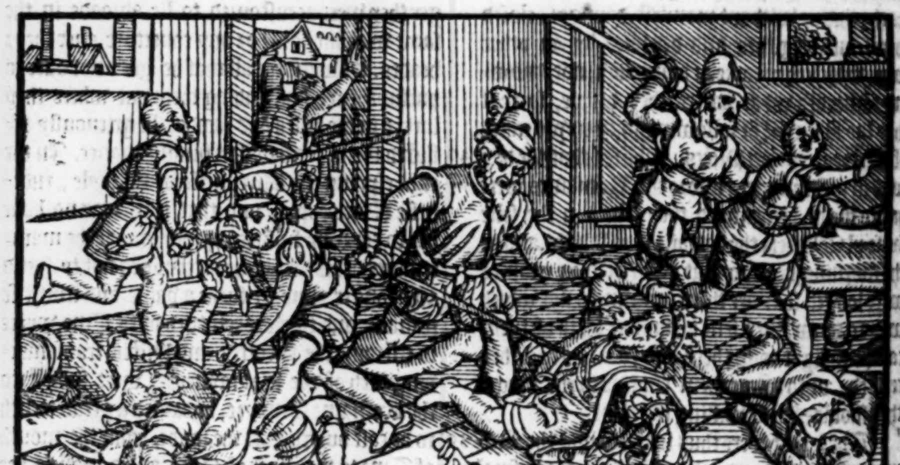
A conſpiracie attempted agaynſt Mogal.

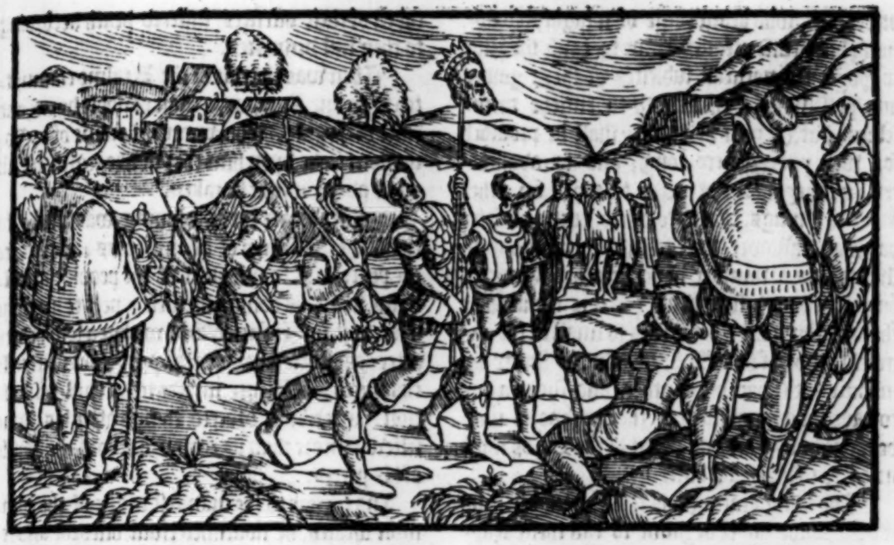
Mogall fleeth out of his owne houſe.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conſpiratours purſued after him, who perceyuing them to approche, ſought wayes how to haue eſcaped their handes: but ſuch was his happe that hee fell amongeſt other that were as readie as the fyrſt to wreake their malice vppon him, and ſo by them hee was immediately murthered in the .xxxvj. yeare of his raigne, beeing the. 4136. of the worlde, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 169. Antonius Pius then gouerning the Romaine Empyre, and Phiatus ſurnamed Albus, raigning amongeſt the Pictes. His heade beeing ſmitten off, was ſet vppon a poles ende, and caryed aboute in deriſion: but afterwardes in reſpect of his lynage it was buryed togither with the

Mogal is murthered.

148. H.B.

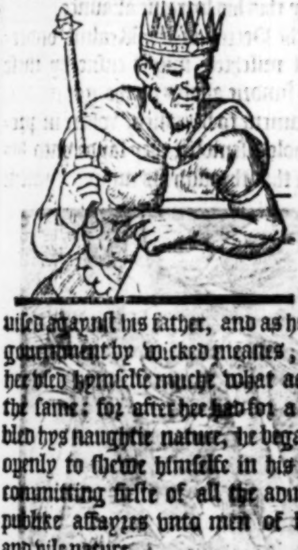




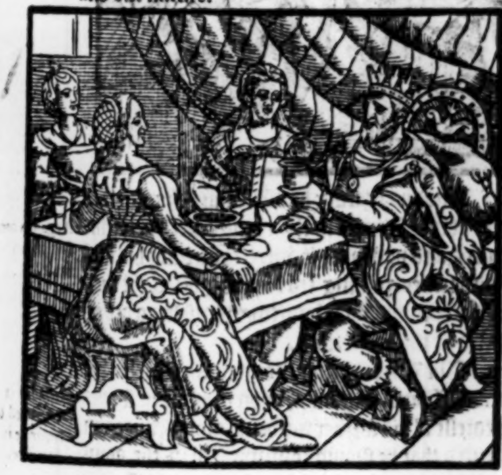
the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithſtanding the commons thought it moſte vnworthie of any ſuch honour.

Conarus

Conarus the ſonne of Mogal ſucc edeth his father.



MOgal being thus diſpatched, as ye haue heard, his ſonne Conarus was admitted King, who (as is reported) was priuie to the cōſpiracie deuiſed agaynſt his father, and as hee came to the gouernment by wicked meanes, ſo in the ende hee vſed hymſelfe muche what accordinglye in the ſame: for after hee had for a tyme diſſembled hys naughtie nature, he beganne at the laſt openly to ſhewe himſelfe in his right colours, committing firſte of all the adminiſtration of publike affayres vnto men of baſe condition and vile nature.



Conarus giuen to exceſsiue gluttonie.

His chiefe delyght was altogyther in banquetting and coſtly fare, not regarding the auncient temperancie in feeding vſed amongſt hys worthie anteceſſours.

In waſting therefore hys kingly reuenewes vppon ſuch ryotous exceſſe, hee was nothing abaſſhed to require in an open aſſemble of hys Nobles, a ſubſidie to bee graunted towardes the maintenaunce of ſuche royall cheere, as hee iudged to ſtand with his honour to haue dayly in his houſe: And therefore whereas the rentes that belonged to the crowne were not ſufficient to furniſhe the charges, he requeſted a generall contribution to bee leuied throughe the Realme, of euerie perſon according to theyr abilities, for the maintenaunce of ſuche ſuperfluous expences as hee dayly vſed in exceſſiue banketting.

The Lordes conſpire againſt Conarus.

The Lordes marueyling to heare hym moue any ſuch demaunde, and conſidering wythall the occaſion thereof, they aſked reſpite to make theyr aunſwere tyll the next day: whiche beeing graunted, in the night following they commoned ſecretely togyther, and in the ende concluded, not onely to denie hys requeſt, but alſo to depoſe him of all kingly gouernment, ſithe hys naughtie life requyred no leſſe.

The anſwere of the Lordes to the demaūd of Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe ſet downe in the Counſell Chamber, one of them in name of the reſidue, toke vpon hym to ſpeake, declaring that the Lordes and Commons of the Realme, marueyled not a little how it ſhould come to paſſe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to conſume his treaſure, ſhoulde yet bee enforced to demaunde a tallage for maintenaunce of his eſtate and charges of hys houſeholde, but the faulte was knowne well ynoughe to reſte in ſuche as hee moſte vnworthylye had preferred to rule thinges vnder him, who being come of naught, did nothing but deuiſe meanes howe to cauſe the king to ſpoyle his naturall ſubiectes of theyr goodes and poſſeſſions, therewyth to enriche themſelues, but,(ſayeth he)as they ſhall be prouided for well ynoughe ere long, and ſo aduaunced, as they ſhall not neede to thyrſt for other mennes lyuings, that is to witte, euen to a faire payre of Gallowes,there to ende their liues with ſhame, as a number of ſuche other loſengers had often done before them: ſo it is conuenient that the King ſithe his ſkill is ſo ſmall in the adminiſtration of his office, ſhoulde bee ſhutte vp in ſome one Chamber or other, and ſuche a one to haue the gouernaunce of the Realme as may be thought by common aſſent of the Lordes moſt meete to take it vpon him.

Conarus is taken and committed to cloſe keeping.

The King hearing this tale,ſtarted vp, and with a loude voyce beganne to call them traytours, adding that if they went about any hurte to his perſon, they ſhoulde deare abye the bargaine. But notwithſtanding theſe wordes,ſuch as were appoynted thereto,caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place aſſigned where they layde hym vppe maugre all hys reſiſtaunce.

Conarus his miniſters are puniſhed for their offences.

In lyke maner, all ſuche as had borne offices vnder him,were attached and had to priſon, where the moſt part of them vpon examination taken of their offences, ſuffered death according to their iuſt demerites.

Argadus is choſen to gouerne the Realme.

Then was the rule of the Realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble byrth,and ruler of Argyle, who vnder the name of a Gouernour tooke vpon him the publike regiment, till other aduiſe might be taken.

Argadus an vpright iuſticier.

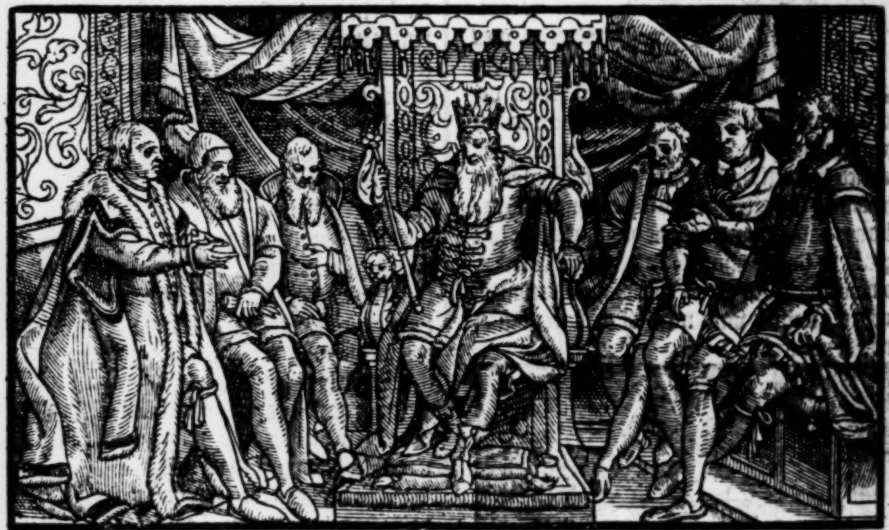
His ſtudie in the begynning was onely to clenſe the Countrey of all myſdoers, and to ſee the peace kept to the quiet of the people: and finally in all his doings ſhewed a perfite patrone of an vpright Iuſticier. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) proſperous ſucceſſe chaunged his former mynde to an euill diſpoſition, whereby he ordered things after his owne ſelfewill more than by reaſon, without the aduiſe of his peeres.

Proſperitie chaungeth conditions.

And further to the manifeſt ruyne of the common wealth, he nouriſhed ciuill diſcorde and ſedition amongſt the nobles,ſuppoſing it to make for his welfare,ſo long as they were at oddes. He alſo maryed a Pictiſh Ladie,the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe by this his forraine aliaunce,

Argadus is rebuked.

Hereupon the Peeres of the Realme vnderſtanding what miſchiefe might enſue by theſe manifolde and ſundrie abuſes of the gouernour, cauſed a Parliament to be called, where in preſence of the whole aſſemblie, they layde vnto his charge, howe (that through his miſgouernment and preſumption,not onely in coupling himſelfe in maryage with a wife of a ſtraunge Nation, but alſo for attempting many other things preiudicial to the eſtate of the Realme,without conſent of the Nobles or Commons of the ſame) he had deſerued greeuous puniſhment, his treſpaſſe being ſo much the greater, in ẏ conſidering the meane howe he came to that dignitie, he anſwered not their expectation, nor performed the truſt which was generally committed vnto him.



Argadus confeſſeth his fault.

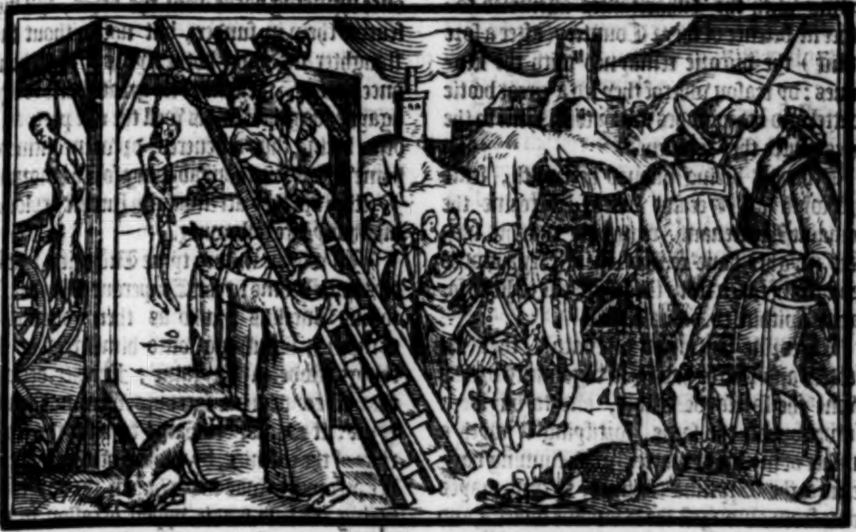
Argadus hearing himſelfe thus charged, and not able to lay any likely excuſe, fell vppon hys knees,and partly as it were confeſſing his fault with teares guſhing frō his eyes, beſought them of pardon, wholy ſubmitting himſelfe to bee ordered at their diſcretion.

Argadus is permitted to continue in his office.

The Lordes being moued with this humble ſubmiſſion of Argadus, vpon promiſe he ſhoulde redreſſe al his former miſdemeanours, were contented that he ſhould continue ſtill in the adminiſtration of the Realme, but ſuche as had beene his chiefeſt Counſellours were committed to warde.

Argadus amendeth his former miſgouernance, and ruleth himſelf by better aduice.

After this ſharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernment of the common wealth, without the aduice of his Peeres: and ſoone after amongeſt other things, he toke order for the limitting how farre the authoritie of inferiour officers, as Bayliffes, Boroughmaiſters, Conſtables, and ſuch other ſhoulde extende. But eſpecially he trauayled moſte diligently for the puniſhing of theeues and robbers, of whom none eſcaped with life that fell into his handes.



A notable ſtatute.

Moreouer hee ordeyned by ſtatute, that no man exerciſing any publike office, ſhould taſte of any drinke that might make him drunken. Hee alſo baniſhed all ſuche perſons as vſed with dreſſing of delicate meates, and as I may call them, deyntie diſhes, or banketting cheare, to allure mennes appetites from the olde rude fare accuſtomed amongſt their elders, who ſought not to follow theyr delicious appetites, but onely prouided to ſuſtayne nature, which is ſatiſfied with a little, and that voyde of coſtly furniture.

Fine cookerie baniſhed.

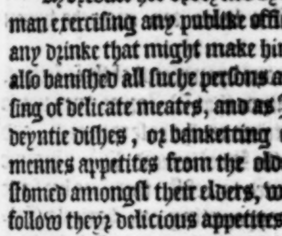
Argadus thus beeing occupied in reforming the ſtate of the common wealth, brought many euill doers into good frame and order, and ſuch as were vpright liuers of themſelues, endeuored ſtill to proceede forward to better and better.

Conarus departeth out of this worlde.
162. H.B.

At length in the eight yeare of his gouernment Conarus beeing conſumed with long impriſonment, departed oute of this life, in the fourtenth yeare after the begynning of hys raigne.

Ethodius.

Ethodius the nephewe of Mogal is choſen king.



After whoſe deceaſſe, the nobles and other eſtates of the realme aſſembling themſelues togither, choſe one Ethodius, Nephew to King Mogall by hys ſiſter, to raigne ouer them.

But Argadus being highly rewarded with landes and lyuings for his faythfull and diligent paynes taken in the aduauncement of the publike weale, during the time of his gouernment, was thereto ſoone after created as it were Lorde Preſident of the Counſell, thereby to bee chiefeſt in authoritie next to the king, in the ordering and rule of all publike affayres and cauſes.

Argadus is create Lorde preſident of the counſell.

Shortly after Ethodius (as the cuſtome of newe kings in thoſe dayes was) went ouer into the weſterne Iles, there to take order for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, where immediately vpon his arriual, it was ſhewed him that not paſſing two or three dayes before, there had beene a great conflict fought betwixt ye nobles or clannes of the countrey, by reaſon of a ſtrife that was ſtirred amongſt their ſeruants, being a cōpany of naughtie and vnruly fellowes, to the great diſquiet of the Inhabitants.

Ciuil diſcorde amongſt the Lordes of the Iles.

Argadus is ſent forth to apprehend the rebelles.

Hereupon was Argadus ſent forth incontinētly with a power to appeaſe that buſineſſe, and to bring in the offenders, that they might receyue rewarde according to their demerites. Argadus forthwith haſted towards the place, where he vnderſtood the rebelles to be remayning, and apprehending their whole nūber of thē, ſome by force, and ſome vpō their humble ſubmiſſion; he returned back with them to the king, who cauſing the matter to be throughly heard, ſuch as were ye chiefeſt beginners, & moſt in fault, were puniſhed by death, and the other fined at the kings pleaſure.

The Iland rebelles are puniſhed.

The Romains inuade the Pictiſh & Scottiſh borders.

The Iland people beeing thus appeaſed, the king returned into Albion, where as then lying at Enuerlochthee, a towne (as is ſayde) in Louchquhaber, worde came vnto him, yͤ the Romaines had broken downe the Wall buylded by the Emperour Adrian, and made a greate rode into the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe borders, where meeting with the Inhabitantes aſſembled togyther in defence of theyr Countrey (after a ſore conflict) the victorie remayned with the Romaines: by reaſon wherof they led a great bootie of cattell and other goodes away with them to the places where they ſoiourned.

Ethodius requyreth reſtitution of his ſubiects goods taken away by the Romains.

Ethodius beeing moued herewyth, ſente forthwyth an Heralde vnto Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant, requyring that his ſubiectes myghte haue reſtitution of theyr goodes wrongfully taken from them, or elſe to looke for warres within .xv. dayes after.

Victorines anſwere to Ethodius requeſt.

Victorine anſwered herevnto, that the Scottes and Pictes had fyrſt begonne to breake downe the foreſayde Wall, and to buylde a Tower vppon the ſame, fortifying it wyth a number of menne of warre, who running dayly into the Brytiſhe confines, fetched prayes thence from amongeſt the Romaine ſubiectes, and though hee had ſent dyuerſe tymes to the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe Wardens for reſtitution, yet coulde hee neuer haue anye towardly anſwere, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to begynne the warre in manner and fourme as hee had done alreadie.

Ethodius exhorteth the king of the Picts to make warres againſt the Romains.

Ethodius not a little kyndled with this anſwere, wrote ſtreyght wayes vnto the King of the Pictes, exhorting him in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as his ſubiectes had lately receyued at the handes of the Romaines, to inuade the Wall on that ſyde where it deuided his Countrey from the Brytaynes, and to breake in vppon the enimies by the ſame, and for his parte hee promiſed ſhortly after to come, and to ioyne with him in ſuch a neceſſarie enterpriſe agaynſt the common enimies of both their Countreyes.

The Pictiſh king giuing thankes to the meſſenger for his paynes, promiſed with all ſpeede to ſette forwarde according to the aduice of Ethodius.

The Scottiſhe men & Pictes inuade the Brytiſh borders.

The Romaines in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two Kings, with all ſpeede made preparation alſo for the warres, but the Scottes and Pictes firſt breaking in vpon them, did muche hurt abrode in the Countreyes next adioyning. Which when the Romains perceyued, they paſſed by the enimies campe in the night ſeaſon, and entered into the Pictiſhe borders, waſting and ſpoyling all afore them.

When the two Kings vnderſtoode this, they haſted forth towardes them, and were no ſooner come within ſight of them, but that they made eche towardes other, and ſo encountering togyther, there was fought a ſore battaile with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on eyther ſyde vanquiſhed the lefte, the breaſtes of bothe the battayles keeping theyr grounde, the one not once ſhrinking backe from the other, tyll night ſeuered them in ſunder, but not without ſuche ſlaughter made on bothe ſydes, that being once parted, they made no greate haſte to ioyne agayne togyther: for as well the one parte as the other beeing thus diſſeuered, drew incontinently homewardes without abyding for the morning. Neither did they attempt any further exploite of all that yeare following.

The Romains encountred by the Scottiſhe men & Pictes.

Night parted the battaile.

Victorine ſendeth letters to Rome.

In whiche meane tyme Victorine ſent letters vnto Rome to the Emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the Empyre, ſignifying vnto him in what ſtate things ſtoode in Brytaine: Further declaring that if conuenient ſuccours were not ſente in tyme, it woulde bee harde to reſiſt the furious rage of the enimies, by reaſon of the ſmall truſt hee perceyued was to bee had in the Brytaines, beeing no leſſe readie vppon occaſion to make warres in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scottes or Pictes were too encroche vppon them.

Victorine is ſent for to returne vnto Roome, and one Calphurnius ſent into Brytaine to ſucceede in his roome.

The Emperour vpon recept of theſe letters, thought in his minde that Victorine was not ſo valiaunt a Captaine as the caſe requyred, and that therevppon the Scottes and Pictes became the more emboldened to reſiſt, therefore hee ſente for him home, appoynting one Agricola Calphurnius to ſucceede in hys roome, who was (as ſome haue lefte in wryting) the Nephew of Iulius Agricola, the moſte famous Captayne of the Romaines that euer came into Brytaine.

Calphurnius entreth into the borders of his enimies.

This Calphurnius comming into Brytain with an armie, ioyned to the ſame the power which he founde there, as well of the Brytaynes as of other ſeruing vnder the Romaine enſignes. Which done, he repayred to Yorke, and after towardes the Riuer of Tine, where beeing arriued, he marched forth into the borders of his enimyes, finding all the Countrey rounde about him ſo clearly waſted and burned, that there was not a houſe left ſtanding, nor a graine of corne, or one heade of Cattell to be founde therein. Yet notwithſtanding al this, forth he paſſed through Northumberlande, and entering into Pictlande waſted al that was before him with fire & ſword. And for ſo muche as Winter came vpon, when hee had done his will in that behalfe, hee returned vnto Yorke, where hee ſoiourned vntill the Spring.

Calphurnius returneth to Yorke.

When

The Welchmẽ rebell againſt the Romains.

When Sommer was once come, hauing made his prouiſion to warre on the Scottes and Pictes, worde came vnto him, that the Welchmen were reuolted, and beganne to rayſe warre agaynſt the Romaines, ſo that taking order for the repayring of the Wall made by Adrian, which the enimies in dyuerſe places had broken downe, and leauing a ſufficient number of men of warre for defence of the ſame agaynſt all inuaſions that might bee attempted, he turned the reſidue of his power agaynſt thoſe Welche Rebelles, whome in the ende, though not without much ado he reduced to obedience.

The Welchmen brought to their former obedience

The inhabitants of the Ile of Wight reuolt frõ the Romains, and are cõſtreiped againe to be obedient.

Immediately after this, he heard alſo howe the Brytaynes of the Iſle of Wight were vp in armor agaynſt ſuche Romaines as ruled there, ſundrie noble men of the maine Iſle taking their part, but they alſo were at length brought againe to their former ſubiection, and the authours of that rebellion puniſhed by death.

In the meane tyme the Scottes and Pictes determined not to attempt any further exployte agaynſt the Romaines, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the Lieutenaunt Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieued conqueſtes of his grandfather Iulius Agricola, of whoſe victorious exploytes, beſyde that which ye haue here before heard: the Engliſh hiſtorie alſo doth make a long rehearſall.

The name of Agricola dredful to the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

Calphurnius ſtudieth to reform the eſtate of Brytaine.

Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that ſide, intended wholy to reform al miſorders amongſt the Brytaynes, which being brought to indifferent good paſſe, he was ſent for home againe vnto Rome by the Emperour Antonius Commodus, the ſonne and ſucceſſour of the foreremembred Marcus Aurelius, ſending one Publius Trebellius into Brytayne there to ſupplie hys charge.

Calpharnius returneth vnto Rome.

Publius Trebellius ſent as Lieutenaunt into Brytaine.

This Trebellius comming into Brytain, at the firſt vſed himſelfe very vprightly in his office, ſhewing all honor and loue towardes the Brytaynes, ſubiectes to the Romaine Empyre, and namely to Lucius, who raigned as king of the lande, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romaine Empyre.

But after that he had once wonne him a peece of credit amongſt them, he chaunged his maners, or rather diſcouered his naturall inclination, ſo wholy giuen to couetouſneſſe, that his only ſtudie was ſet whiche way to fill his bagges, not caring howe vntruly hee forged accuſations agaynſte the riche, ſo that eyther by death or baniſhment, their goodes might be confiſcate, and ſo come to his handes.

Publius Trebellius giuen to couetouſnes

He is hated of the Brytaines.

By this wicked gouernment, the Brytaines beganne ſo ſore to hate him, that had it not beene for the loue of their king, the foreſayde Lucius, (who holpe to appeaſe them) there had beene ſome Rebellion practiſed agaynſte him in the South part.

The Scottes and Pictes renue the warre againſt the Romaines.

Now the Scottes and Pictes hauing knowledge of this miſliking in the Brytayns towardes the Romaine Lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them alſo to be doing, to the ende they might reuenge their former iniuries: and hereupon leuying an armie, they came to the oft remẽbred wall, & ouerthrowing the ſame in diuerſe places they entred into the Britiſh cõfines with great ſpoyle and crueltie.

Trebellius being hereof informed, haſted forth with all the power he coulde make, to reſiſt their inuaſions: but finding the enimies readye in the field, and encountring them ſooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the firſt ioyning abãdoned of the moſt part of his whole armie, whiche conſiſted of Britains & Frenchmẽ, thẽ called Gauls, ſo that the reſidue beeing beaten downe, he was glad to ſaue himſelfe as well as he might by ſetting the ſpurs to his horſe, and galloping away.

Trebellius fighteth with his enimies, is forſaken of his owne men, and chaſed out of the fielde.

After this, gathering togither his people again as they fled from the diſcomfiture, he retired back with them vnto Yorke, hauing loſt in this bickering a great number of his beſt ſoldiers, and men of warre: for the Scottes and Pictes miſſing no ſmall number of their frends in that battaile, wer not ſatiſfied with thoſe whom they had likewyſe ſlain in the fight, but alſo fel vpon their priſoners which they had taken, and ſlue them alſo in reuenge of their fellowes whom they had loſt.

Weſtmerland and Kendall ſpoyled by the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

Afterwards they harried the cõtreys of Weſtmerland and Kendal in moſt cruel wiſe, Trebellius not being ſo hardy to fight with them again for doubt of ſome traine that might bee practiſed by the Brytaines. Neither was his ſuſpition grounded vpon the credite of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediately after, the Cõmons of the countrey roſe againſt the Romaines, in purpoſe to haue driuen them all out of the land.

The Brytiſhe Cõmons riſe againſt Trebellius, one Caldorus a Pict beeing their captaine.

Their captain was one Caldorus a Pict born. There were alſo diuerſe of the Britiſhe nobilitie amongeſt them not knowne, for they were diſguiſed in ſtraunge apparel, counterfeiting themſelues to be of the vulgar ſort. The furie of theſe people was great, but yet in the ende the politike order of the Romains vanquiſhed them, howbeit not without great ſlaughter on both ſides.

The ſame commons are vanquiſhed.

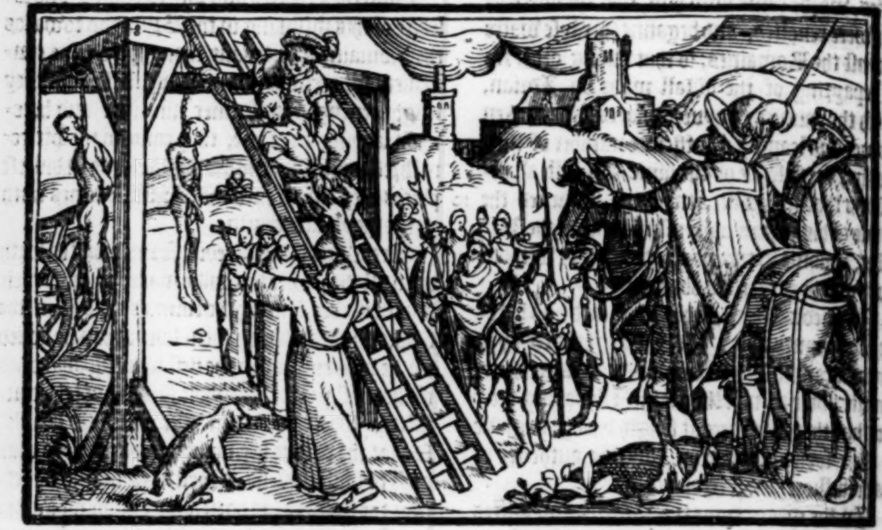
Caldorus eſcaping the handes of his enimies, fled into his natiue countrey of Pictland, not a little reioyſing that he had procured ſuch ſlaughter amongſt the Romaines and Brytaines, both being enimies to him and his countrey.

Caldorus reioyceth at the ſlaughter as wel of the one part as of the other.

Suche priſoners alſo of the Brytaynes as fell into the hands of the Romains, were hanged vp, vpon ſundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Brytains being offended, in yͤ night ſeaſon

The ſpite of the Brytaynes ſhewed towardes the Romaines.

tooke downe thoſe deade bodies, and hanged vp as many of the Romaines in theyr places, the truth beeing neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.



Trebellius writeth to the Emperor Cõmodus for ayde.

The Lieutenant Trebellius perceyuing thus what daunger he ſtoode in on euerie part, wrote vnto the Emperour Commodus, that withoute ſome reformation were had, the Romaines were not like to keepe foote any long ſeaſon in Brytayne, and therefore requyred to haue ſome ayde ſent ouer vnto him in time. But the Emperour doubting leaſt the fault reſted moſt in the Lieutenant himſelfe, appoynted that one Pertinax an auncient gentleman, & one for his high and notable vertues greatly eſteemed both amongſt the men of warre, and alſo in the Senate, ſhould go into Brytaine, to bee Legate there in place of Trebellius.

Pertinax ſent as Lieuetenant into Brytaine.

This Pertinax comming into Brytain, according to the Emperours appoyntment, tooke vpon him the office. And firſt ſetting a ſtaye amongſt the Brytaines, by right prudent and wel aduiſed gouernmẽt, he afterwards made a iourney agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes, dryuing them by great ſlaughter beyonde Adrians wall, and ſo conſtreyned them to remaine within their own confines, purſuing them no further, for that hee was ſente for home vnto Rome, where the Emperour Commodus beeing murthered amongſt his owne men, he was agaynſt his will preferred to his place.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Pictes.

Pertinax is choſen Emperour.

About the ſame time the ſtate of the Scottiſh common wealth was brought into great daunger through an other incident, as by reaſon of a rebellion ſtirred by them of the weſterne Iſles, who not quieted in their ſtomackes for the death of their friendes executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) aſſembled thẽſelues togither, and comming ouer into Argyle, ſpoyled and harryed the countrey in piteous wiſe. For redreſſe whereof, Argadus was ſent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great hoſt of Scottiſhe men and Pictes lay in campe neare vnto Adrians wall, to reſiſt the inuaſion of the enimies on that ſyde, if happely they ſhould attempt any new exployt againſt him in thoſe partes.

Argyle infeſted by the Iland men.

The Ilande men hearing of Argadus hys approche, drewe themſelues togither to receyue him by battaile, if he minded to offer it. In which meane time two thouſand Iriſhe men were landed in that Countrey, in hope of ſpoyle, and hearing that Argadus was comming that wayes forth to fight with his enimies, they layde themſelues ſecretely in ambuſhe by the way where hee ſhoulde paſſe, and when he was paſſed by them, they brake forth vppon his rerewarde ſodainly, putting his people in ſuche diſorder by their violent impreſſion at the firſt brunt, that though he did what in him laye to bring them againe into aray of battayle, yet in the ende hee was there ſlaine with two thouſande of his armie, the reſidue eſcaping by flight out of the handes of their wilde and cruel enimies.

The Iriſh men lande in Argyle.

The Iriſh men lay an ambuſh to entrappe Argadus.

Argadus is ſlaine.

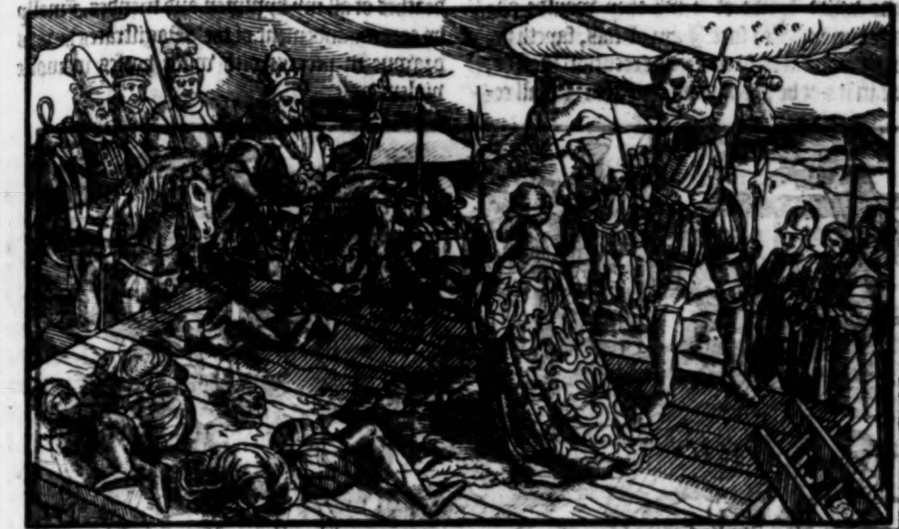
Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of .xx. thouſand men haſted forth towards Argyle to reuenge the death of his valiant Captaine Argadus vpon the rebelles. Who hearing of his comming, made towardes the Sea, and woulde gladly haue bene gone, but by reaſon of a contrary winde they were forced to ſtay agaynſt their willes, ſo that hee finding them ſtill in the Countrey, wrought ſo warely by cloſing them vp among the Hilles and Mountaynes, that finally conſtrayned through famine, they ſubmitted themſelues vpon theſe conditions, that their heade Captaine with two hundred others of the chiefeſt, ſhoulde yeeld themſelues ſimplie to the

The Ilande men yeelde themſelues.

kings mercie, and the reſidue to be licenced to depart againe into their Countreys.

Execution.

Thoſe that were appoynted to bee deliuered to the king with their captaine, ſuffered death by



ſentence of the Nobles and Peeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, thoughe they had alreadie yeelded vppe theyr weapons, yet beganne they to fall vppon the Scottes with hurling of ſtones, and other ſuche things as came to hande, tyll finallye they were beaten downe by the armed Souldiers, and a greate number of them ſlayne: the reſidue eſcaping as well as they myght, fledde into the Mountaynes.

Ethodius viſiteth his countreys, to ſee iuſtice maintayned.

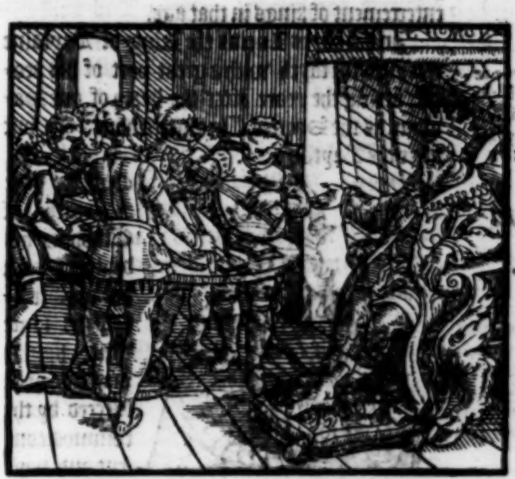
The Iſlande menne beeing thus vanquiſhed, and the Romaines attempting nothing agaynſt the Scottiſhe men or Pictes, Ethodius viſited all the partes of his Realme, taking order for the due execution of Iuſtice amongeſt hys ſubiectes.

He giueth himſelfe to hunting, and cauſeth the lawes for the maintenaunce of game to bee well kept and looked vnto.

And for that hee woulde not ſpende his time in idleneſſe, beeing nowe at reſt from warres, hee beganne to exerciſe himſelfe in hunting, and for the better nouriſhing of game, hee tooke order that all ſuche ordinances as had beene deuiſed by his elders, ſhoulde ſtraytely bee obſerued and kept: as that no man ſhoulde bee ſo hardie to goe aboute to deſtroy any Hares with nettes, grennes, or Hareppypes: Neither to kill them in theyr formes by anye meanes: nor after that they had beene once courſed and eſcaped, to follow the ſute, to the entente to ſtarte them agayne. Alſo that none ſhoulde goe aboute to kyll anye Harte or Hynde, during all the Winter ſeaſon, at what tyme they were accuſtomed for hunger to leaue the Mountaynes, Forreſtes, and Woddes, and to come downe into the fieldes and couertes, neare vnto the townes and houſes.

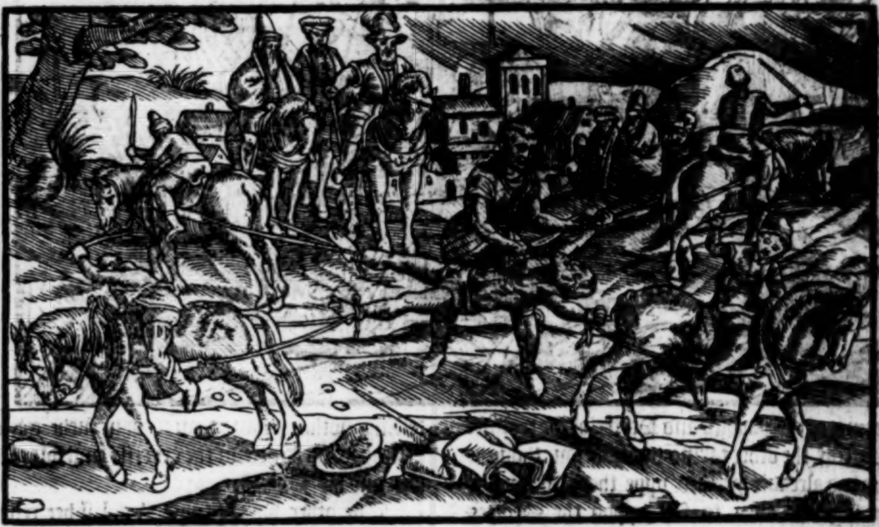
He ordeyned moreouer therunto, that no man ſhoulde preſume to kill any Hinde Calues, deteſting nothing more than to haue ſuche game deſtroyed, as ſerued for the exerciſe and ſolace of him and his Nobles.

The other vacant tyme, whileſt hee reſted from hunting, hee ſpent for the moſte parte in hearing of Muſick, hauing diuerſe cunning players of ſundrie kindes of Inſtruments attending in his court.



Echodius murthered by a Muſitian. 194.H.B.

At length ſetting all his pleaſure in hearing of a Muſition beeing borne in one of the weſt Iſles, hee was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer beeing apprehended, and examined vpon what occaſion hee did that heynous fact, for the which he had deſerued the moſt extreme kinde of puniſhment that might be deuiſed, he anſwered: that in reuenge of the death of ſuche his kinſmen and friendes as the King hadde cauſed to bee executed in Argyle, hee purpoſed long before to doe that deede, and nowe that hee had accompliſhed hys purpoſe, hee was readie to receyue what kynde of death they woulde adiudge him to. For ſure I am of this, ſayeth he, that howe terrible ſo euer my execution ſhall be, yet can it not be ſo painefull, but that I ſhall reioyce euen in the verie inſtaunt of my death, for that I haue in ſuche notable ſorte reuenged the deathes of all my kynſmen and friendes. Finally by commaundement of the Magiſtrates he was drawne in peeces with wilde horſes in moſte violent wiſe.



Septimus Seuerus. H.B.

Ethodius raigned. xxxiij. yeares, vntyll the latter dayes of Caracalla the Emperour. Hee was buryed at Dunſtafage with all ſuche pompous ceremonies as was accuſtomed about the enterrement of kings in that age.

Brytayne receyueth the Chriſtian faith in the yeare 187.

In his dayes Lucius the King of Brytaine receyued the faith with a great part of his people, beeing the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour, as the Scottes Chronicles haue 187. but after the Brytiſh 177.

Satrahel.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahel or Setrahell (as ſome write hym,) was choſen to ſucceed by the common conſent and voyces of al the eſtates of the Realme. For although Ethodius left a ſonne behinde him, yet bycauſe hee was very yong in yeares, hee was thought inſufficient to haue ſo great a charge (as the rule of a kingdome) committed vnto his handes.

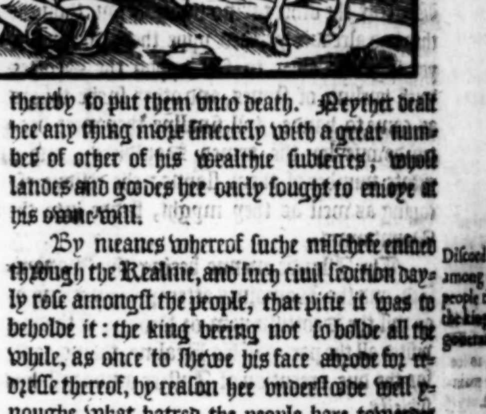
Satrahel ſeeketh to deſtroy ſuch as were in fauor with his predeceſſor.

Thys Satrahell was ſubtile of nature, and a greate diſſembler, whoſe purpoſe was to defraude the iſſue of hys brother Ethodius from attaynyng at any tyme vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring hys purpoſe the better to paſſe, hee founde forged matter agaynſt all ſuch as were familier friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neyther dealt hee any thing more ſincerely with a great number of other of his wealthie ſubiectes, whoſe landes and goodes hee onely ſought to enioye at his owne will.

Diſcord riſeth among the people through the kings miſgouernance.

By meanes whereof ſuche miſchefe enſued through the Realme, and ſuch ciuil ſedition dayly roſe amongſt the people, that pitie it was to beholde it: the king beeing not ſo bolde all the while, as once to ſhewe his face abrode for redreſſe thereof, by reaſon hee vnderſtoode well ynoughe what hatred the people bare towardes hym, neyther did his keeping within dores ſaue his lyfe any long tyme, for in the ende his owne ſeruauntes founde meanes to ſtrangle him, and that before hee had raigned fully foure yeares.

Serrahel ſtrangled to death by his owne ſeruants. 197. H.B.



Donald

In his place ſucceeded his brother Donald, a Prince of farre contrary nature and conditions, for he was free, curteous, and without al deceyte, more righteous than rigorous, & afore all things deſyrous that peace and concorde might proſper among his ſubiectes. Neither bare he with offenders, but ſuche as were diſobedient agaynſt the lawes & wholſome ordinances of the realme, he cauſed to be duely puniſhed: finally he toke ſuch order for reformation of things, that hee reduced his ſubiectes as it had beene from a wylde and ſauage rudeneſſe, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie.

Donald ſtudieth to reduce his ſubiectes vnto all ciuilitie.

Aboute the ſame time Lucius king of the Brytaynes beeing deade, the Romaynes perceyuing that a Kings authoritie amongeſt the Brytaynes, did nothing elſe but diminiſhe the maieſtie of the Imperiall iuriſdiction amongeſt them, determined not to ſuffer any more of the Brytiſhe Nation to enioy that title.

Lucius the king of Brytaynes dyeth.

The Romains purpoſe to make a prouince of the kingdome of the Brytaynes.

This thing mooued the Brytaynes to ſuche indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, dyuerſe of them rebelled, and chooſing the ſame Fulgentius to theyr generall, they dyrected a Meſſenger with letters vnto Donalde King of the Scottes, requyring him to ioyne wyth them in league agaynſte theyr auncient enimyes the Romaines, whoſe endeuour (as hee knewe) had euer beene from tyme to tyme, howe to bring the whole Iſlande vnder theyr ſubiection, and to extinguiſhe all the Nobilitie and auncient inhabitours of the ſame. Adding furthermore, that if he woulde nowe put to hys helping hande, the time neuer ſerued better for the diſpatching of them wholly out of the Iſle, conſidering the ſundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanye and Fraunce, as alſo of the eaſterly Nations and Countreys.

The Brytayns rebel & choſe one Fulgentius to their captaine, who ſendeth for ayde vnto the Scottiſh men.

Donald receyued the Meſſenger moſt friendly, and being glad to vnderſtande of theſe newes, hee promiſed to ayde Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meete hym at ſuche day and place as hee ſhoulde afterwarde appoynt. The lyke anſwere was made alſo by the king of Pictes, vnto whom in ſemblable wiſe Fulgentius had directed his letters.

Donald promiſeth to ayde Fulgentius.

Thus the Brytaynes (being confirmed with hope of great ayde from the Scottes and Pictes) aſſembling their hoſte togyther, reſorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrewe in diuerſe places, that their friendes might haue the more free acceſſe and entrie vnto them by the ſame. Neither were the Scottes and Pictes ſlowe for theyr part to make forwarde: ſo that they likewyſe comming thither, holpe to throwe downe that Wall, and to fyll vp the trench or ditch that went alongſt the ſame.

The Brytaynes come to Adrians wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scottes.

The Scottiſhe men & Pictes come to the ayde of the Brytaynes.

Thys done, ioyning theyr powers togither, they paſſed forth towardes Yorke, in hope to haue founde the Romaine Lieutenaunt Trebellius within that Citie, and to haue beſieged him therein: But hauing knowledge howe hee was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they lefte theyr purpoſe of beſieging that Citie, and fell to ſpoyling and harrying of the Countrey abroade on euerie ſyde, conſtrayning the moſte parte of the people to come in and yeelde themſelues vnder theyr obeyſance.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the Brytaynes.

The Scottes helpe the Brytayns to ſpoile their owne countrey.

Thus they continued in paſſing from one quarter of the Countrey to another, till Winter enforced them to breake vppe their campe, and to lycence the Souldiours to departe home into theyr Countreys, tyll they had newe ſummonance to aſſemble and meete againe.

In this meane tyme Trebellius certifyed the Emperour Seuerus of all thys trouble and rebellion in Brytayne, whereuppon Seuerus with all ſpeede leuyed an armie, and ſette forwarde with the ſame himſelfe in perſon towarde Brytayne, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly it may appeare.

Trebellius certifieth the Emperour of the ſtate of Brytaine.

At his comming into Brytaine, hee ſlacked no time, but aſſembling his power, prepared to go agaynſt the enimies.

Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimies ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him to treate for peace, but Seuerus woulde not graunt to any, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the myndes of the Brytaynes with all comfortable wordes, in the beſt wiſe hee coulde, exhorting them to ſticke to theyr neceſſarilye begonne enterpryſe, for recouerie of theyr long wyſhed libertie, whiche he doubted not, but by vanquiſhing the Emperour at that preſent, they ſhoulde aſſuredlye attayne: And as for victorie, hee was in no doubt, ſo that they woulde plucke their heartes vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dynte of Sworde lyke fellowes and brethren knitte in one faythfull bande of truſtye concorde, conſydering the enimyes armie beeyng gathered of ſo many ſundrie nations and languages, that conſent in one opinion, the chiefeſt meane for the atteyning of victorie, muſt needes bee wanting amongſt them.

Fulgentius encourageth the Brytaynes to ſticke vnto their begun enterpriſe.

The Brytaynes moued herewith, promiſed hym to liue and dye in the quarell. Wherevpon he toke aduice with them, whiche way to mainteyne themſelues agaynſte Seuerus, of whoſe comming they were alreadie certifyed. For Seuerus hauing diſpatched the Brytiſhe Ambaſſadours from him, ſet incontinently forwarde towards Yorke, leauing his yonger ſonne named Geta in the South partes to haue the gouernaunce of the ſame in hys abſence. Hys eldeſt ſonne Antoninus he toke with him in this iourney agaynſt his enimies.

Seuerus ſetteth forth towardes his enimies.

At his comming to Yorke, hee did ſacrifice to the Goddes, according to his Ethniſhe cuſtome, and alſo toke aduice with his Captaines howe to proceede in his enterpriſe agaynſt hys enimies.

Seuerus commeth to York.

This done, he marcheth forth with hys armie towardes them, who beeing alreadie ioyned with the Scottes and Pictes, were determined to abyde him, in ſo muche that thoſe of the one ſide came no ſooner in ſight of the other, but that they haſted forth to ioyne togyther in battayle, whereof enſued great ſlaughter betwixt them, though the Brytiſhe part (notwithſtanding their ayde of Scottes and Pictes) were not able long to endure agaynſt the great multitude and practyſed ſkil of the Romaine Souldiours, ſo that in the ende they were opened perforce and put to flight with the loſſe of xxx. thouſande, what of Brytaynes, Scottiſhmen and Pictes.

Seuerus is encountered by his enimies.

Fulgentius is put to flight, and his armie diſcomfited.

Fulgentius himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture and huge ſlaughter made of his people, had run in amongſt the thickeſt preace of his enimyes, had not thoſe that were aboute him ledde him away by force, and ſo at length he got him among the troupes of the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, and togyther with them paſſed ouer Tine, and ſo into the borders of his friendes, where he got togyther ſuche Souldiers as he coulde, that had eſcaped from the battail, and retayned them with wages ſo well as hee myght, in hope vpon occaſion to employ them eftſoones agaynſte his enimyes. The Scottes alſo ſent into Irelande for ayde, and the Pictes into Denmarke and Norway.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Pictland.

Suche of the Brytiſhe Nobilitie as fell into the handes of the Romaines, Seuerus puniſhed moſte grieuouſly, but the Commons he vſed more gentlye, as it were making excuſe for them beeing procured thereto by theyr Captaines.

After this, when Winter was come, hee appoynted hys menne of warre to drawe vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, tyll the next Spring. Hee himſelfe wintered at Yorke.

Seuerus wintereth at York.

In the next Sommer there was little done worthie to be ſpoken of, but that there were certayne ſkirmiſhes betwixt the Romaines lying on the borders, and the Scottes and Pictes, euer as occaſion ſerued, eyther of the partyes to worke any exployte for theyr aduauntage. But forſomuche as the Scottes had no ayde ſente them forth of Irelande, they were not mynded to ieoparde againe in a foughten fielde, ſuppoſing it ſufficient if they might defend their owne, thoughe they gayned nothing as then, conſidering the puyſſaunce that was readie bent againſt them.

At length Seuerus fell ſicke at Yorke, and his ſonne Antoninus lying on the borders beyonde Tine, cauſed the wall afore mentioned, deuyding the Brytayns from the Scottes and Picts to be repayred.

Seuerus ſickneth.

The wall is repayred.

This wall was buylt (as is before recyted) firſt by Adrian the Emperour, to ſtay the Scottiſhe men from inuading the lands appertcyning to the ſubiectes of the Romaine Empyre, and after ouerthrowne in dyuerſe places as well by Scottes and Pictes, as by the Brytaynes, in ſort as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus cauſed it to be fortified with Baſtilyons, one being placed ſo neare to another, as trumpettes being appoynted in eche of them, the ſounde might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the firſt diſcrying of the enimies approche.

Finally Seuerus dyeth, though not ſo ſoone as his ſon Antoninus wiſhed, in hope after him to attaine the Emperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, and graunting peace to Fulgentius, and other ſuch Brytiſhe rebelles as were fledde wyth him into Pictlande, hee receyued ſufficient pledges, and then returned towardes London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then lay.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to bee Emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Shortly after, both the brethren departed forth of the Iſle, and went to Rome, as in the hyſtorie of Englande it appeareth.

But now to returne vnto Donald the Scottiſhe king, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that being delyuered of forrayne trouble, he ſtudied chiefely how to preſerue his people in good peace and perfecte tranquilitie. Which minde our Sauiour Chriſt the authour of all peace and concorde had gyuen vnto him, being lately afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganiſme and heathniſhe Idolatrie.

Donald ſtudious to mainteyne his ſubiects in peace and concorde.

For as we finde in Hector Boetius, in the dayes of the aboue mentioned Emperour Seuerus, he ſent a meſſenger with letters vnto Pope Victor (Zephirinus ſayeth Hariſon) beeing the xv. in number, as they ſay, after Saint Peter, declaring vnto him that hee was fully mynded to receyue the Chriſtian Religion, and vtterly to forſake the ſuperſtitious ſeruice of the Heathniſh Goddes, and therfore inſtantly requyred him to

Donald conuerted vnto Chriſtian beliefe in the dayes of the Emperour Seuerus.

ſende ouer into Scotlande ſome godly learned men, to inſtruct him in the right beliefe.

The Pope hearing this, and being glad to increaſe the faith of Chriſt through all parties of the worlde, ſent with all ſpede into Scotlande ſuch well diſpoſed perſons as he thought moſte meete for that purpoſe, who at theyr arriuall there, did theyr endeuour in ſuch diligẽt ſort, that not only the king, but alſo through his enſample a great number of the nobilitie were baptiſed, & clearely forſoke their former errours & idolatrie.

The Scottiſh men receyued the faith in the yere of our ſauiour. 203.

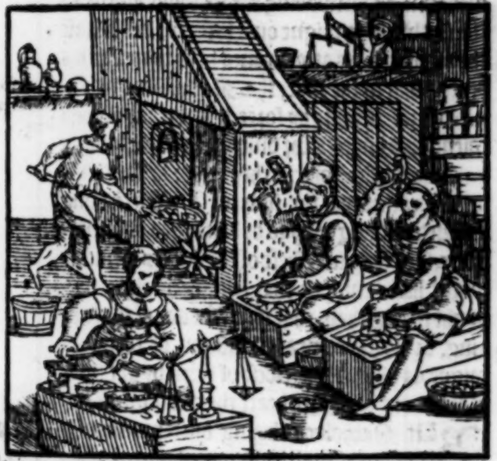
This was in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 201. from the creation of the worlde 4170. and after the firſte erection of the Scottiſhe kingdome. 520. as Harriſon in his chronologie dothe manifeſtly confirme.

5399. H.B.

533. H.B.

Moreouer this Donald was the firſte as the Scottiſhe chronicles alledge, that cauſed ſiluer and golde to be coyned in his realme. The ſtamp whiche he deuiſed for the ſame, was a croſſe on the one ſide, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scottes vſed no coyne, but eyther exchãged and bartered ware for ware, either elſe occupied with Brytiſhe and Romaine money, as diuers marble cheſtes full of the ſame whiche haue bene founde of late yeares in ſundry partes of Scotland, do very well witneſſe.

Donald firſte cauſed ſiluer and gold to be coyned in Scotland.



Finally king Donald in the. xxj. yeare of his raigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our Chriſtian religiõ, without any heatheniſh ceremonies.

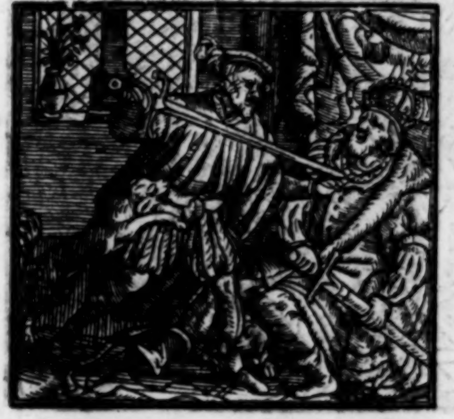
Donald departeth out of this worlde. Anno chriſti. 216. H.B.

Ethodius.

After him ſucceeded Ethodius the ſeconde, and ſonne of the former Ethodius, whiche prince proued ſo very a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certaine Noble men, who being deuided into ſundry quarters of the realme, toke very good order for the due gouernment of the parties ſo to them limitted, and vſed themſelues very vprightly in all their doings. As for cauſe of warres they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen ſuche order for the gouernment of the Brytains, that they durſt not once ſtirre by reaſon of ſuch pledges as were deliuered and conueighed to Rome, whiche were the chiefeſt of all the Brittiſh nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fil his coffers, as one though doltiſh, yet naturally giuẽ to vnquenchable couetouſneſſe, was ſlaine by thoſe that were appointed to the garde of his perſon, in the. xvj. yeare of his raigne.

The gouernaunce of the realme committed to ſundrie noble mẽ.

Ethodius being giuen to couetouſneſſe, is ſlaine by his owne ſeruants that wayted vpon him. Anno chriſti. 231. H.B.



Athirco.

Then was his ſon Athirco elected by the generall voyces of all the eſtates, who in the beginning of his raygne ſhewed himſelfe very ſober, gẽtle, courteys, and friendly of behauiour, exerciſing himſelfe in all laudable paſtimes conuenient for his eſtate, and herewith he was ſo free & liberall towardes all men, that hee wanne him wonderfull muche prayſe and loue amongſt his people.

But theſe his noble vertues encreaſed not in him togither with age, but contrarily decayed, in ſuche ſorte, that after he had raigned. viij. yeares, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing auarice: for courteſie and amiable countenaunce, he vſed ſterne and loftie lookes: for cõmendable exerciſes, he gaue himſelfe wholly to filthie pleaſures and ſenſuall luſtes of the bodie: & ſuch as could further his purpoſe moſt in theſe his beaſtlie affections, hee cheriſhed & had them moſt in eſtimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as ready to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as hee was any other

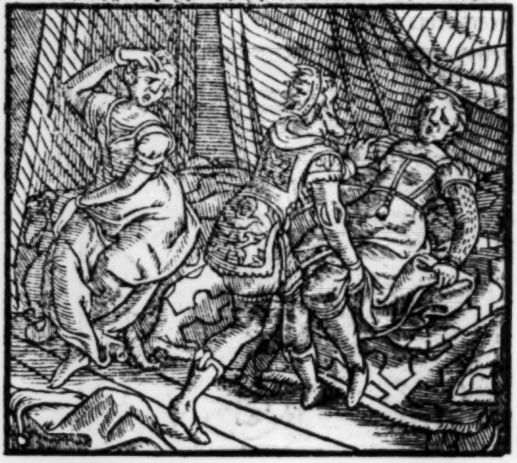
Athirco chaũged in conditions frõ good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

of the loweſt and meaneſt degrees.

The villanous acte of Athirco, in abuſing a Noble mans daughters.

It chaunced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no ſmall authoritie amongſt the people of that countrey) named Natholocus, had two fayre yong Gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being very deſirous to ſatiſfie his luſt vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not ſo content, deliuered them afterwardes to be abuſed in the ſemblable ſorte by his pages and ſeruaunts. The father vnderſtanding this villanie done to his daughters by theyr owne lamentable complaint, ſente for his friendes, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he requyred theyr aſſiſtaunce.



The kinſmen and friends of the gentlewomen conſpire againſt Athirco.

They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of ſuche an iniurie done to their bloud, promiſed in reuenge thereof to ſpende bothe life, landes and goodes, and forthwith departing in ſunder, they prepared themſelues to aſſemble theyr powers, procuring a greate number of other Noble men to ioyne with them in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, as to rid the countrey of ſuche a caytife wretch, reſpecting nothing but the ſatiſfying of his filthie carnal luſtes, and the accompliſhment of his moſt beaſtly appetites.

Athirco doubting to be forſaken of his owne mẽ, if it came to the triall of battaile, cõueyed himſelfe from amõgſt them.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunſtafage, where they vnderſtode that the king as then did ſoiourne, a great multitude of people ſtill reſorting vnto them by the way, after it was once knowen whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of theyr approche, called togither his power ſupposing at the firſt to haue beaten downe his enimies, but when hee had throughly wayed the matter, and conſidered of what force and power they were, and how feeble his part was through want of good willes in his people, hee priuily ſtale away from them, and woulde haue paſſed ouer into Ila, one of the weſterne Iſles, to haue procured ſome ſuccour there, but being embarqued and ſet from the ſhore, he was by contrarie windes driuẽ backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies handes, hee choſe rather to ſlea himſelfe, and ſo ended his wretched life in ſuche miſerable extremitie after hee had raigned the ſpace of .xij. yeares. His raigne continued till the dayes of the Emperour Gordian the third, or as other ſay, till the time of the Emperour Valerian. But as Maſter Hariſon hath gathered, hee raigned in the dayes of the Emperour Aurelius Claudius.

Athirco ſlayeth himſelfe.

242. H.B.

Doorus the brother of Athirco conueyeth himſelfe out of the way.

Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderſtãding of the death of his brother, diſguiſed himſelfe in beggers weede for doubte of death, and went into Pictlande with .iij. of his Nephewes, ſonnes to the ſame Athirco, whoſe names were Sindock, Carance, and Donald.

Natholocus ſeeketh the life of Doorus

Howbeit Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, ſent forth certaine of his ſeruants with cõmaundement to ſearche him out, commaunding furthermore very ſtraightly, that if they founde him, they ſhould diſpatch him out of life, for feare of further miſchiefe. But they that were ſent, finding one in all features & proportiõ of body reſembling Doorus, ſlew the one in ſteede of the other, & ſo returning home to their Maſter, they made him very ioyfull of ẏ newes, although in deede they came not neare to Doorus. Then Natholocus cauſing the eſtates of the Realme to aſſemble, he handled the mater in ſuch wiſe, by diſſwading thẽ to chooſe any of Athircos bloud to raigne ouer thẽ, (for doubt leaſt they ſhould ſeeke any meanes how to reuẽge his death,) that in the ende, this Natholocus was elected himſelf, more by force, than by any cõmon cõſent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting ẏ craftie nature (whiche they knew to be in him) wiſhed rather that the iſſue of Athirco (hauing deſerued nothing why to be defrauded of ẏ kingdome, ſaue only in reſpect of the fathers offences) might haue enioyed that whiche of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of thẽ to be king, or els ſome neare kinſman of theyrs to raigne as king, til the eldeſt of them might come to ſufficient yeares, to beare the rule himſelfe.

Natholocus is choſen to be king.

Natholocus.

BUt Natholocus beyng once proclaymed king by the multitude, and Athircos bloud attaynted of treaſon, and ſo publiſhed, according to the cuſtome, he toke the othes of thoſe that were preſent, and then repayred vnto Dunſtafage, there to be inueſted according to the manner.

Natholocus goeth vnto Dunſtafage to be inſtalled.

This done, hee called ſuche aſide as he ſuſpected, and talking with them alone, hee exhorted them to be faithfull, promiſing to be theyr aſſured good Lorde and Maiſter, and for an earneſt thereof, he gaue vnto diuers of them very great rewardes.

Natholocus ſeeketh to procure loue of the nobilitie through bribes.

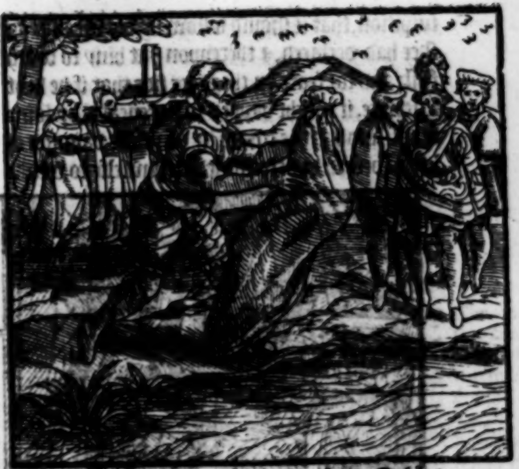
Generally vnto all men he ſhewed himſelfe very gentle and tractable, thereby to winne their loues, for the better eſtabliſhment of his newe atchieued eſtate. And hereto he employed ſuche riches as the former kings had heaped togither amongſt the Nobles, ſtudying by all meanes to auoyde all ſeditious quarels, and ſecrete diſcordes amongſt them.

Fortune fauoring Natholocus for a time, began to change countenance.

Thus vſing the realme at his will for certaine yeeres, at length fortune began to ſhewe a chaunge of countenance after hir olde accuſtomed guiſe. For Doorus the brother of Athirco (whom as ye haue heard Natholocus ſuppoſed to haue bene dead) wrote certaine letters ſignifying his owne eſtate with the welfare of his Nephewes the children of Athirco vnto certaine Scottiſhe Lordes, whome hee knewe to fauour his cauſe.

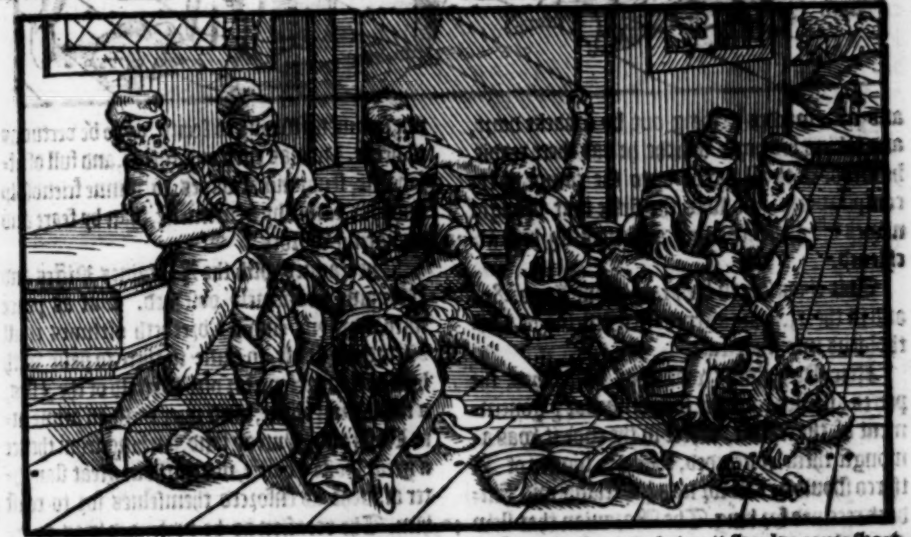
Doorus wryteth vnto certaine Scottiſh lords, to moue them to rebellion.

Whiche letters hee deliuered vnto a Pictiſhe woman, appoynting hyr how and to whome ſhe ſhoulde deliuer the ſame, but the woman apprehended by the way, and brought vnto Natholocus, hee cauſed hyr ſecretely to be ſacked and throwen into a riuer.



Afterwardes ſending for ſuche of the Nobles as the direction of the foreſayde letters had giuen him occaſion to haue in ſome ſuſpicion, he committed them firſt to pryſon, and at length cauſed them to be ſecretely ſtrangled.

Natholocus putteth ſuch to death, as he ſuſpecteth to fauour Doorus.



A rebellion againſt Natholocus.

Whiche wicked deede being once notified abroade, moued ſo the hartes of theyr friendes and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and ſo gathering them togither, they rayſed open and cruell warres againſt him.

Natholocus enformed of their determinations, withdrewe himſelfe priuily into Murraylande, there to get togither an armie to reſiſt his enimies, and for that he was deſirous alſo to vnderſtande ſomewhat of the iſſue of this trouble, he ſent one of his truſtie ſeruauntes being a gentleman of that countrey, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Iſle of Colmkill (otherwiſe called Iona) eſteemed very ſkilfull in foreſhewing of things to come, to learne of hyr what fortune ſhould happe of this warre, whiche was already begunne.

Natholocus ſendeth vnto a witche, to know the concluſion of his enimies attemptes.

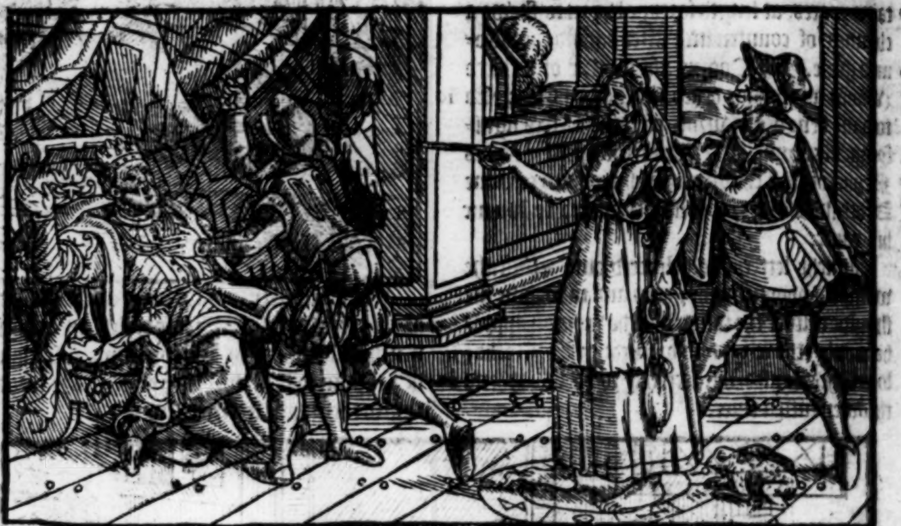
The Witche conſulting with hyr ſpyrites, declared in the ende howe it ſhoulde come ſhortly to paſſe, that the king ſhoulde bee murthered not by his open enimies, but by the handes of one of his moſte familiar friendes, in whom hee had repoſed an eſpeciall truſte. The meſſenger demaunding by whoſe handes that ſhoulde be, euen by thine ſaith ſhe, as it ſhal be well knowen within theſe fewe dayes. The Gentleman hearing theſe wordes, rayled againſt hyr very bitterly, bidding hyr go lyke an olde Witche: for he truſted to ſee hyr brent before he ſhoulde committe ſo villanous a deede. And departing from hyr, hee wente by and by to ſignifie what anſweare hee had receyued: but before hee came where the King lay, his minde was altered, ſo that what for doubte on the one ſide that if hee ſhoulde declare the truthe, as it was tolde him, the king mighte happily conceyue ſome greate

The witches anſwere.

What happened by giuing credite to the woordes of a Witche.

ſuſpition, that it ſhould follow by his meanes as ſhee had declared, & therevpon put him to death firſt: and for feare on the other ſide that if he kept it ſecrete, it might happen to be reuealed by ſome other, and then he to runne in aſmuche daunger of life as before: he determined wͭ himſelfe to worke the ſureſt way, and ſo comming to the king, hee was ledde aſide by him into his priuie chamber, where al other being commaũded to auoide, he declared how he had ſped: & then falling forthwith vpō Natholocus, with his dagger he ſlew him outright, & threwe his body into a priuie: and afterwardes getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horſe whiche he had there readie, he fledde with all ſpeede vnto the campe of the conſpiratours, and was the firſte that brought newes vnto them of this acte thus by him atchieued.

Natholocus murthered.



252. H.B.

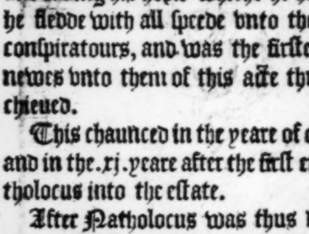
This chaunced in the yeare of our Lord. 289. and in the .xj. yeare after the firſt entring of Natholocus into the eſtate.

The Lordes of the realme aſſemble togither to chooſe a new king.

After Natholocus was thus diſpatched, the peeres aſſẽbled togither to ordeyne for yͤ gouernment of the realme, where in the ende it was amongſt them concluded, that the ſonnes of Athirco ſhould be ſent for into Pictland, and Findock receiued for king. The Morauian that ſlew Natholocus was appointed to fetch them, who according to his commiſſion, comming into Pict lande, conueyed them right honorably into Argile, where Findocke beyng already choſen king, was placed on the ſtone of marble with all the ceremonies in that caſe appertayning.

The ſonnes of Athirco are ſent for, & the eldeſt of them named Findock choſen to raygne.

Fin-docke.



Findocke his noble qualities, and vertuous diſpoſition.

This Findock was in yͤ flower of his age, of perſon moſt beutyfull, cleane made, and of a goodly ſtature: wherewͭ were ioyned moſte excellent gifts of the minde, not ſo much deſirous to ſeeme, as to be vertuous in deede. He was curteous, meeke, and full of affabilitie, ſtudying alwayes to winne friendſhip and loue, rather by gentleneſſe, than by feare and menacing wordes.

Findock obſerueth the leagues confirmed of former tymes with his neybours.

The leagues with the Brytaines, Pictes and Romains hee firmely obſerued. But as peace with forrayne enimies, breedeth ofttimes ciuill diſcorde at home, ſo came it then to paſſe with him at this preſent: for one Donald of the Iſles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Roſſe and Murray land, fetching from thence a great ſpoile & bootie, not without great ſlaughter of ſuche as enforced themſelues for to reſiſt him. The occaſion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Natholocus. But Findock vnderſtanding his doings, prepared an armie with ſhippes, and ſayled ouer with the ſame into the Iſle of Ila, where encountring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquiſhed & chaſed them egerly without returning once backe, till eyther the ſworde or the ſea had made an end of them all.

Thoſe of the out Iſles inuade the cõtreys of Roſſe and Murray lande.

Findocke maketh a iourney into the Iſles, to ſubdue the rebelles.

Donald himſelfe taking a boate in hope to haue eſcaped, the preaſſe was ſuch at his entring into the ſame, that before they could get it off frõ the ſhore, it ſunke by meanes of the ouerlading, and ſo he and all they that were on borde were drowned therewithall.

Donald is drowned.

The king hauing atchieued this victory, returned into Albanie: but the Iland men not fully quieted with this ſlaughter of theyr fellowes, ſent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certaine

The Iland men with ayde of the Iriſhe kernes, make afreſhe inuaſion into Argile, & other of the Scottiſh countreys.

taine Kernes, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the ſonne of the former Donald, made ſtertes now and then into Argile and Cantyre, doing many ſhrewde turnes in the ſame, ere they could be ſuppreſſed.

Findock goeth againe to ſubdue the rebels of the Iſles.

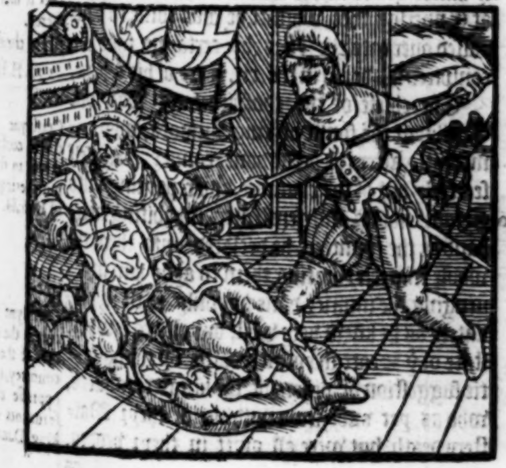
But Findock being ſoone enformed of theſe tidings, went ouer againe into the Iſles, & ſuche of his enimies as he founde, he cauſed to be hanged, to giue other enſample, what to looke for when they ſhould rebel, but Donald eſcaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remayned till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceyuing himſelfe not able to worke ſuche feates as he hoped to haue done, he ſente a meſſenger vnto the king, offering to yeelde himſelfe & to become his true ſubiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being anſweared that hee ſhould not be receyued, vnleſſe hee would come vnto Dunſtafage with other of his chiefeſt complices, and to ſtande fully at the kings mercie: he refuſed thus to do, deuiſing an other meane how to be reuenged.

Donald offereth to yeelde himſelfe vpon certaine conditions, but is not receyued.

Donald deuiſeth how to murther king Findock, by two naughtie perſons.

Therefore to beginne withal, he procured two naughtie perſons to go ouer into Albanie, and to fayne themſelues to haue fled from him, where alſo he willed them to offer theyr ſeruice vnto the king, and to diſcloſe vnto him certaine light ſecretes of the ſayde Donalds, thereby to winne credite if it might be, and in the ende to eſpie a time to ridde him out of the way.

These craftie mates, working according to Donaldes wicked inſtructions, at length with much a do they gate credite, & after credite they got place ſo neare the king by the furtherance of Caraunce the kings brother (whome they made priuie alſo vnto theyr intent) that finding all things correſpondent to theyr purpoſe (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feede him with a tale of yͤ hatred whiche the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue very good eare, whileſt the other ſmote him to the harte with a Iaueline, and ſo leauing the iron ſticking in his bodie, he fled away in haſte, with his trayterous companion and fellow.



Findocke is ſlayne.

Those that were neare, ſeing what had happened, ſome of them ran to him to ſee if they might relieue him, as then ſtrugling with the pangs of death, other followed the murtherers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receyue theyr meede, according to that whiche they had iuſtly deſerued: being alſo examined, they confeſſed how they were procured vnto it, not only by Donald of the Iſles, but alſo by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of ſet purpoſe being out of the way at that preſent, & hauing knowledge that he was accuſed of the kings death, fled out of the countrey as a baniſhed man, firſt into Brytaine, from whence (after he had remayned there for a time) hee went vnto Rome, and ſeruing in the warres vnder the Emperours Aurelius Probus, Carus, & Diocletianus, he became right famous and a very ſkilfull captayne. But if this reporte be true that Carauſius of whome Eutropius maketh mention, were diſcended of ſo high parentage, meruaile it is, that neyther the ſame Eutropius, nor any other of the Romaine writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, whiche if they had done, no doubte they woulde haue ſpoken ſomewhat of the ſame: for although he might happely vpon the conſideration aforeſayd counterfaite himſelf to be borne of ſome baſe kinred, & ſo for a time to diſſemble what he was, yet afterwards that he attayned vnto ſo high degree of honour, as to vſurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to poſſeſſe the dominion of Brytaine, it is not like but that to aduaunce his credite and authoritie royall he would haue ſet forth to the vttermoſt the nobilitie of his birthe, if he had bene come of any, and that ſo apparantly to the worlde, that aſwell his enimies as friendes ſhoulde bothe haue knowen and ſpoken of it.

The murtherers confeſſe by whoſe procurement they did the deede.

A pretie induction (if not forged) to the hiſtorie that afterwardes followeth of Carauſius or Carantius as the Scottes wryte him.

Donald

FIndocus beyng thus ſlayne in the x. yeare of his raygne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunſtafage, his brother Donald, thirde ſonne to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatly vpon his entring into the eſtate, prepared to go into the Iſles againſt Donald that common enimie of Scotland.

Donald of the Iſles inuadeth Scotland.

But this Donald himſelfe, deliuered the king of a great peece of that trauayle. For ſo ſoone as he hearde that the murther by him cōtriued was executed, he aſſembled a mightie power of the

Iland men, and tranſporting with them ouer into Roſſe, proclaymed himſelf king, perſecuting with fire and ſwoorde all ſuche as denied him obedience.

King Donald being aduertiſed of that attẽpt of his aduerſarie, ſpeedily marcheth foorth with ſuch power as he had already aſſembled, ſending proclamations abroade, that all other appointed to ſerue, ſhould follow him with ſpeede.

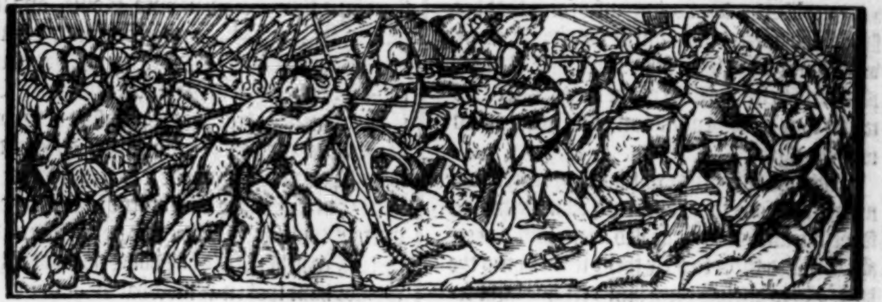
Thus cõming into Murray land, he pitched downe his tents, purpoſing there to abide the cõming of the reſidue of his armie: But Donalde of the Iſles vnderſtanding all his demeanour & whole intention, thought it beſt to aſſayle him within his campe, before all his power ſhoulde come vnto him, and being thus reſolued, hee ſet forewarde in the night time, and was vpon his enimies before that his cõming towardes them was once ſignified in their campe.

Donald of the Iſles ſodenly ſetteth vpõ the enimies.

The king then vnderſtanding his aduerſarie to be at hand, bringeth foorth his men, ſetteth thẽ in array, and exhorteth them with many pithie woordes, to receyue their enimies with manly ſtomackes.

But the Iland men encouraged alſo by theyr Captaine, gaue the onſet ſo roundly, that the Scottiſh men had not leyſure to occupie theyr ſhotte, but were enforced euen at the firſte to ioygne at hand blowes, which were beſtowed in ſuche furious ſorte, that in the ende the Scottes being oppreſſed with multitude, were cõſtreyned to giue backe, ſome ſauing themſelues by flight, and ſome ſtanding at defence till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.

The Scottes ouerthrowen.



There were ſlayne on the kings parte three thouſand men, and .ij. thouſand taken priſoners: amongſt whom were .xxx. perſonages of honorable eſtate togither with the king himſelf being woũded ſo ſore, that he died within .iij. dayes after the battell, rather through anguiſh of minde than of his hurtes, as ſome haue written, in the ſame yeare that he began his raigne.

Donald departeth this worlde.

Donald of the Iſles hauing thus got the victory, tooke vpon him as king, accordingly as he had cauſed himſelf at the firſt to be proclaymed.

Donalde of the Iſles taketh vpon him as king.

Donald

But bycauſe hee came to the eſtate thus by bloud, he continued ſtill in doubte and feare of newe conſpiracies, being giltie in conſcience of his wrongful vſurpation.

A giltie conſcience.

Thoſe pryſoners alſo whiche he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them preſent death if any of their friendes and alies attempted any ſturre againſt him.

Moreouer hee nouriſhed priuie factions amongſt the nobilitie, ſuppoſing therby that their powers would be the more feeble in any publike exploythe that was to be moued againſt him: finally if any miſchiefe happened among them, he cauſed the matter throughly to be looked vpon, but with ſuch regarde that he alwayes enriched his owne cofers with the forfaytures and penalties which he tooke vp amongſt them.

He ſeldome times went abroade, and when he ſtirred foorth any whither, he had his garde about him appoynted with weapon in warlike ſorte, for doubte of treaſon. He aduaunced diuers of baſe condition to great wealth & honour, and behaued himſelf ſo in ſundry ſortes with his miſtruſtful crueltie, that many there were which dradde him, & but a fewe that loued him, ſo that in the end being in a maner runne into the deadly hatred of al men, he was murthered one night at Enuerlochthee (whither he was come to haue paſſed ouer into the Iſles) by certayne that had conſpired his death in the .xij. yeare of his reigne.

Donald of the Iſles is murthered.
Anno chriſti. 27[illegible] H.B.

The chiefe of the conſpiratours was one Crathlynt the ſonne of king Findock, who immediatly after the dede done, conueyed himſelf ſecretely out of the chamber, and repayring vnto certaine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting neere hand in the countrey, he declared vnto them the whole mater, exhorting them to ayde him in reuenging the iniuries done not only to them priuately as he knew very well, but alſo to ẏ whole ſtate of ẏ Scottiſh cõmõ wealth, by the naughtie ſuggeſtion of diuers of the kings complices, who as yet vnderſtood nothing of theyr Maiſters death, but were all quiet in theyr beddes,

Crathlynt chiefe conſpiratour in the murthering of Donald.

Crathlynt procureth the nobles of the countrey, to oppreſſe the ſeruaunts of king Donald.

as men ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than that which was now happened.

The Gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioyſing greatly thereat, got them to theyr weapons, and early in the very dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houſhold meagny, they ſlew aboue .ij. C. of them in the place where they lodged, the reſidue eſcaping forth of the houſe, and thinking to ſaue themſelues, were beaten downe in the coũtrey as they paſſed, by the people, who bare ſo deadly and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onely reioyced muche at his death, but thought themſelues ſufficiently reuenged, when they could kill any that did belong vnto him.

Crathlynt.

Crathlynt is made king.

After this Crathlynt, being certainly knowen to bee the ſonne of king Findock, by ſuche euident tokens as were ſhewed by him that brought him vp, was (partely in reſpect of his iuſt title, & partly for conſideration of his good ſeruice in deliuering his countrey of ſo deteſtable a tyraunt) aduaunced to the gouernment of the kingdome, by conſent of all the eſtates, and ſo being confirmed king, he perſwaded with the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the rootes, leaſt any of them haply remayning aliue, ſhould find meanes afterwards to diſturbe ẏ cõmon wealth.

The people cõſented lightly herevnto, as they that beſide the mortall hate whiche they bare towards Donald, were now ſodenly in loue with Crathlynt, not only for his witte and other qualities of the mind, but alſo by reaſon of his comely perſonage and paſſing beautie, ſetting forth all his doings greatly to his high prayſe & commendation.

The kinſmen and friends of Donald of the Iſles are perſecuted.

The iſſue therfore with other the kinſmen and alies of Donald were ſought for, and thoſe that were found, without any difference or reſpect of age or ſexe, were cruelly put vnto death.

The politike gouernment of Crathlynt.

Crathlynt goeth to hunt in the mountains of Granzbene, anciently called Grampeus mons.

An ambaſſade frõ the Pictes.

The Pictes require the league to be renewed.

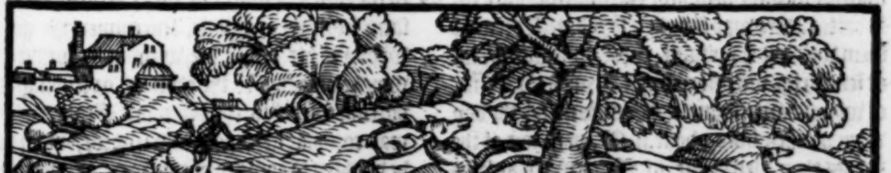
Whiche done Crathlynt appoynted forth iudges and other adminiſtratours of iuſtice to ſee the lawes executed, and the countreys gouerned in good and quiet order, euery man being aſſigned to his owne proper circuite. Theſe hee chooſe out of the moſt ancient peares and barons of his realme. The yonger ſorte he reſerued to attend vpon his perſon. When he had taken direction in this wiſe for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Granzebene, there to paſſe the time for a whyle in hunting the harte, and other wilde beaſtes, whether came vnto him ambaſſadours from Thelargus king of the Pictes, declaring the ioye whiche theyr maiſter had conceyued for the ſlaughter of Donald, and the reſtoring of the right bloud againe vnto the eſtate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Pictes and Scottiſhmen might be once againe renewed.

Crathlynt promiſeth to obſerue the auncient amitie betwixt the Scottiſhe men and Pictes.

Crathlynt receiued theſe ambaſſadours moſt ioyfully, giuing them hartie thankes on the behalf of theyr Maiſter for this ſignification of his good will ſhewed by theyr comming, and herewith promiſed, that during his life he woulde gladly obſerue the olde auncient amitie eſtabliſhed betwixt the two nations: according to the tenure of the old league.

The preſent ſent by Crathlynt vnto the king of the Pictes.

Moreouer when the ſayde Ambaſſadours ſhould departe, he tooke vnto them to deliuer frõ him as a preſent vnto theyr Maiſter certayne horſes, with Houndes and Greyhoundes, ſuche as he thought that kyng Thelargus wanted.



And

Diuers Pictiſh Lordes come vnto Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

A prayſe of the Scottiſh dogs.

The Pictes ſteale one of the kings beſt greyhoundes.

The Scottes & Picts fight for a greyhound.

What miſchief enſued vpon ſo light an occaſiõ, as the ſtealing of a dog. This chaunced about the yere of Chriſte.288. as Io. Ma. noteth.

And ſhortly after ỹ returne of theſe ambaſſadours into theyr countrey, diuers yong Gentlemen of the Pictiſhe nobilitie repayred vnto king Crathlynth, to hunte and make mery with him, but when they ſhould depart homewardes, perceyuing that the Scottiſh dogges did far excelle theyrs, both in fayreneſſe, ſwiftneſſe, hardineſſe, and alſo in long ſtanding vp and holding out, they got diuers bothe dogges and bitches of the beſte kindes for breede to be giuen them by the Scottiſh Lordes, and yet not ſo contented, they ſtale one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more eſteemed of him than all the other whiche he had aboute him. The Maſter of the leaſhe being enformed hereof, purſued after them which had ſtolē that dogge, thinking in deede to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to departe with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chaunced to ſtrike the Maſter of the leaſh through with theyr bore ſpeares that hee died preſently, whereupon a noiſe and crie being rayſed in the countrey by his ſeruants, diuers of the Scottes, as they were goyng home from Hunting, returned, and falling vpon the Pictes to reuenge the death of theyr fellowe, there enſued a ſhrewde bickering betwixte them, ſo that of the Scots there died .lx. Gentlemen, beſides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderſtanding till al was done what the mater ment. Of the Pictes there were aboute an hundred ſlayne.

The Scottes robbe the Pictiſh borders.

The Scots and Picts encoũter in battaile.

The Scottes diſcomfited by the Pictes.

The kinſmen and friends of the Scottes that were thus ſlaine, were wonderfully moued with the iniurie committed, in ſo much that without commaundement of king or captayne, they aſſembled in greate number togither, and entring into the Pictiſhe confines, they began to robbe, ſpoyle and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Pictes being ſet in a rage, came forth togither into the field, and encountring with the Scottes, there was fought a ſore battell betwixt them without Capitaine, order, or ſtanderd, till at length the victorie remayned with the Picts, of whome were ſlaine notwithſtanding the day went on their ſides, about .ij. M. men, but of the Scots there died aboue .iij. M. or more, as was ſuppoſed.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Pictes, and now broken about a ſmall matter, as begonne about a dogge.

Thus vpon a light occaſion was the league broken betwixt theſe two nations, who had continued as friends, the one ſtill readie to ayde the other, euer ſithe the dayes of king Reutha, being the .vij. in number that raigned after Fergus.

Cruell warres.

Theſe two nations beyng thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderſtand with what crueltie the one ſought to deſtroy the other. No pitie might moue their cruell hartes to ſpare eyther man, woman or childe that fell into theyr handes: Suche was theyr inordinate and lyke deſire which they had to ſhedde ech others bloud.

Thelarg. king of the Pictes being an aged man, deſireth to haue peace, and therupon ſendeth his ambaſſadours vnto Crathlint.

At length Thelargus king of the Pictes being a very aged mā, & perceyuing what miſchief was happened through the follie of a few wilful perſons, appoynted certaine of his counſell to go as Imbaſſadours vnto king Crathlynt, to finde ſome meanes to haue the mater taken vp, for the auoyding of the imminent daunger that was like to enſue to both nations.

A truce graunted.

They according to theyr inſtructions comming to the place where Crathlynt as then ſoiourned, had much ado to get licence to come vnto his preſence: but at length being admitted, they vſed ſuche humble perſwaſions grounded vpon reaſonable conſiderations, that although no peace could be fully cōcluded, yet a truce was graunted them for three moneths ſpace, whiche was but ſorily obſerued, for deadly hatred and inward deſire of reuenge was entred ſo farre into the breſtes of the commons on bothe ſides, that neyther commaundement nor puniſhment might ſtay them from the inuading of one an others confines, maugre theyr Princes and all theyr ſore reſtraints.

Carantius named by Eutropius Cauraſſius troubleth the eſtate of Brytaine.

The wylie practiſe of Carantius.

Carantius feareth to come to make anſwere to ſuche matters as he was charged with.

Carantius reuolting commeth into Weſtmerland, & cauſeth the people there to take his parte againſt the Romaines.

In this meane time was the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre in Brytaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Cauraſſius: he woulde not be acknowen at his comming to Rome of what linage hee was diſcēded, and ſo he was reputed to be but of ſome baſe ſtocke, but yet through his worthie ſeruice in the warres, he atteyned vnto great honour, and was appointed by Diocletian to haue the ſouerayne regarde ouer the coaſtes of the french Ocean, to defende the ſame from Pyrates of the Saxons and other Germains, that ſore moleſted the ſame in thoſe dayes. But for that he vſed to ſuffer thoſe rouers to take ſpoyles and pryſes, to the ende hee might in theyr returne take the ſame from them againe, and conuert the gayne wholly to his owne vſe, without reſtoring that whiche was due to the owners, or ſending any porcion thereof to the Romaine Emperour, hee was complayned vpon, and ſent for, but for that he doubted to come to his anſwere, as one which knew himſelfe giltie, he furniſhed his nauy with men, vittayles and ordinaunce, & with the ſame toke his courſe aboute the weſt partes of Brytaine, and landed in Weſtmerlande, where he eaſily procured the people there to ſubmit themſelues to be vnder his rule and obeyſance, & promiſed to deliuer them from the grieuous yoke and bondage of the Romaines.

Thus hauing begonne the fundation of that whiche hee purpoſed to atchieue, for his further aduauncement therein, hee ſent ambaſſadours vnto his Nephewe kyng Crathlynt, bothe de-

claring

Carantius ſendeth meſſengers vnto king Crathlynt, in excuſing his faulte for his brother Findockes death.

Carantius requireth to be ayded againſt the Romains.

Crathlynt reioyceth to heare that Carantius was aliue.

Crathlynt reſolueth to ayde Carantius, and certifieth him of the ſame.

claring what he was, & alſo excuſing the treſpas ſurmiſed againſt him, for being of counſell touching the murder of his brother Findock, father to the ſame Crathlynt: & therefore if in putting away al miſtruſt of his innocēcie in that behalf, he would ayde him againſt the Romains: hee doubted not but that he ſhould in ſhort time vtterly expel them out of all Brytaine, & enioy all thoſe prouinces within the ſame, (which as then they poſſeſſed) vnto his owne vſe & this, he ſayd, ſhould be more honor & gaine both to the Scottiſh men & Picts, if they could be cōtented to renew frendſhip, & ioyne with him in ayde againſt their cōmon enimies, than to ſeeke to deſtroy one an other, as he lately vnderſtode they had done for a dogge. Crathlynt hearing the wordes of theſe ambaſſadours, reioyced not a little, that his vncle Carātius was not only aliue, but alſo had through his valiācie atchieued ſo high renowme as to be accounted one of the worthieſt warriours amongſt al the Romaine Captaines. And herewith vpō good aduice he determined to ayde him in that his enterpriſe for the conqueſt of Brytaine to the vttermoſt of his power. Adding further that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onely ſende him ayde of men, but alſo come with them himſelf: and hereof he aſſured the ambaſſadours both by worde of mouth & letters. Who returning with ſuch anſweare vnto their Maiſter Carantius, he reioyced not a little, to vnderſtand how well they had ſpedde, and ſo much the more for that he receyued aboute the ſame time the like anſweare from the king of Pictes.

The king of the Pictes alſo, promiſeth to ayde Carātius.

Crathlint king of the Scots & Carātius come to talke togither.

Crathlynt and the king of the Pictes, come to a cōmunicatiō by Carantius his meanes, who trauaileth to ſet them at one.

Shortly after he came to an enterview with the king of Scottes at the water of Eske, where after he had purged himſelfe with many wordes of excuſe, touching the murder of his brother Findock, there was an aſſured friendſhip cōcluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlynt was contented to come to a cōmunication with the king of Picts, for concluſiō of a peace, to the intent, that both of them might ioyne their powers togither, in ayde of Carātius againſt the Romains. At this communication both the kings mette, & Carantius likewiſe was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them bothe, to do what he could, to linke thē both in amitie. And verily his preſence there vnto ſtoode ſo much in ſteede, that chiefly through his perſwaſion groūded vpon great reaſons & weightie conſiderations, they agreed to cōclude a peace, & to renew the old league in ſuch manner & forme, and with ſuch cōditions, as ſhould be thought requiſite by the aduiſe & diſcrete order of. viij. auncient perſons: iiij. to be choſen on the one parte, & iiij. on the other. Which. viij. perſons taking the matter in hand, did ſo aduiſedly giue order for the auoyding of all cauſes of grudge & hatred, that bothe partes held them ſatiſfied with their arbitrement and direction, ſo that a ioyfull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterly quenched.

Peace confirmed agayne betwixte the Scottiſhmen and Pictes.

Quintus Baſſianus entreth into Weſtmerland, but hearing that his enimies were at Yorke he turneth thitherwardes.

The Brytains betray the Romains.

The Romains are diſcōfited.

The ſlaughter of the Romains.

The Brytains yeelde themſelues vnto Carantius.

In this meane time Quintus Baſſianus the Romaine lieutenant in Brytaine, vnderſtāding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not only cauſed them of Weſtmerland to rebell, but alſo ſlayne and chaſed the Romains out of that countrey, he was not a little diſquieted, & determined with all ſpeede to go againſt him, & to reuenge theſe iniuries. Within a fewe dayes after hauing his armie readie, hee entred into Weſtmerland: but hearing that his enimies were already come to Yorke, & had won the citie by ſurrender, he turned his force thitherwardes, in purpoſe to fight with them, though hee vnderſtood they were in. iij. great battels, as the Scottes in one, the Pictes in an other, & thoſe of Carantius his retinew in the third. He lodged that night within a ſtrong place fenſed aboute with mariſſes. But Carantius vnderſtanding all the manner of his enimies by his eſpials, & being in cāpe within. x. miles of them or therabout, in the ſame night he raiſed his field without any great bruite, and by the leading of certaine guides hee marched ſtraight towardes the place where Baſſianus was encāped, ſo that anone after yͤ ſpring of the day he came thither: whereof Baſſianus being aduertiſed, and perceyuing he ſhould haue battell, maketh readie for yͤ ſame, giuing the beſt exhortation he could vnto his people to play the men: but for ſo much as the moſt parte of his armie were Brytains, all his wordes nothing auayled: for they deſirous to ſee the vtter ruine of all the Romaine power, euen at the very poynt when the battels ſhould haue ioyned, withdrew thēſelues aparte without any ſtroke ſtriken, and got thē vp into the next mountayns, to ſee what would inſue. The reſidue of the Romain armie, ſeing thēſelues thus forſaken of their fellowes, & their ſides left bare & open for the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reaſon of the mariſſe ground cōpaſſing them in on each ſide, ſeruing wel to purpoſe for yͤ Scots, & other the confederates, a great nūber of the Romains, & other of their parte were ouertaken and ſlaine. Amongſt whom Baſſianus himſelf was one, & Hircius themperours procurator an other.

The Brytains (who as is ſayd refuſed to fight in the beginning of the battell) yeelded thēſelues vnto Carantius, & ſware to be his true liege mē & ſubiects. In like manner Carantius appointed al ſuch of the nobilitie as were betwixt. xx. yeres and. lx. to remaine with him in hoſtage: but the ſpoyle of the field he deuided amongſt his people equally, ſo that aſwel the Scottiſh men & Picts, as alſo his owne ſouldiers held thē well content

Carantius or Carautius, as Eutropius nameth him, vſurpeth the kingdome of Brytaine.

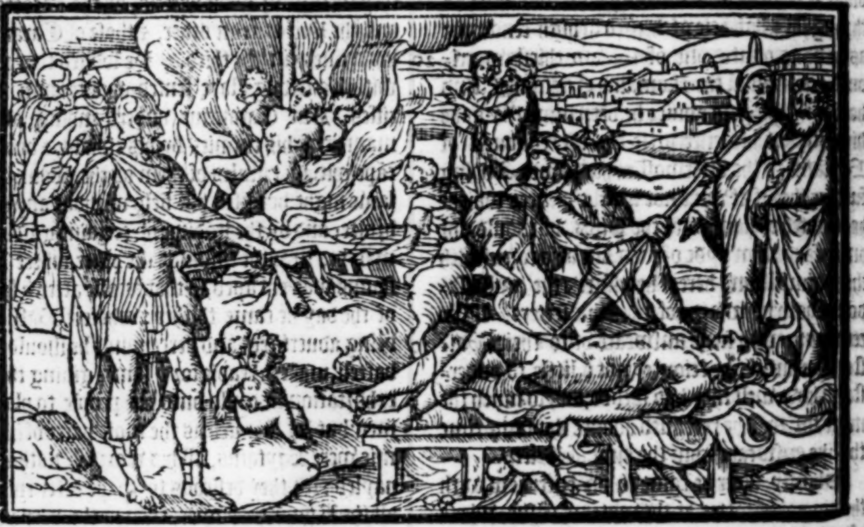
Carantius hauing got the victory, deuideth the gaine in aſsigning to his cõfederates their due portions.

and ſatiſfied therewith. After this victory Carantius cauſed himſelf to be proclaymed king of Brytaine, vſurping the gouernment therof wholy to himſelf, and retayning. 2000. of the Scots and Pictes, to attend vpon the ſauegard of his perſon, ſent the reſidue home laden with riches of the enimies ſpoyle. Hee ſent alſo with them his ambaſſadours, to render thankes vnto bothe the kings for theyr ayd in this ſo proſperous a victorie, aſſigning vnto them as a portion of the conqueſt, the countreys of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, with all that region whiche lay betwixt Adrians walle, and the citie of Yorke, to enioy as their owne proper patrimonie for euermore. Finally the ſayde Carantius was ſlayne by his companion Alectus, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may finde more at large.

After this Crathlynt king of the Scots deliuered frõ troubles againſt the Romains, deuiſed ſundry good ordinaũces for the quiet ſtate of the Scottiſh cõmon wealth, cauſing the peace to be diligently obſerued betwixt him and the Pictes.

The perſecutiõ of the Chriſtians by Diocletian.

Alſo in his dayes the perſecution of the Chriſtians chaũced, which the Emperour Diocletian cõmaũded to be executed in moſt furious wiſe, ſo that there were fewe partes of the world (where any Chriſtians were knowẽ to inhabite) that taſted not of that his cruell ordinaunce and ſcourge in that behalf. In Brytaine alſo, as wel as in other places, there was no ſmall quantitie of innocent bloud ſhed, with moſte vnmercifull murder committed, to the greate triumphe of Chriſtes croſſe, that glorious enſigne of our religion.



Conſtantius perſecuteth the Chriſtians.

Many of the Brytains flee to the Scottes, to auoyde perſecution.

Crathlynt diſtroyeth the temples of the falſe goddes in Man.

In whiche time Conſtantius Chlorus father to Conſtantine the great, was reſident in Brytaine, who adiudging the Scottes to be a people wholly giuen to pillage and ſlaughter, as they were in deede, determined with himſelfe to haue brought them to ſubiection. But ere he could atchieue any notable enterpriſe he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and worthy Prince, ſauing that in one poynt he ſore ſtayned his honor, for that hee was one of the chiefe that perſecuted the Chriſtian flocke vnder Diocletian, forcing no ſmall number of the faithfull amongſt the Brytains, to flee vnto the Scottes & Picts to auoyde his perſecutiõ. Whom Crathlynt receyued for his part moſt louingly, and aſſigned vnto them (as the Scots ſay) the Iſle of Man for a place of habitation, deſtroying al ſuch temples of the heathen religion belonging to the *Druides* which had cõtinued there ſith the beginning. And vtterly aboliſhed all the ſuperſtitious rites & cuſtomes of the ſame *Druides*, with their whole order and brotherhood. Hee erected a tẽple there, which he dedicated vnto Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, wherin the Chriſtiãs might celebrate their deuine ſeruice, according to their profeſſiõ. This Church being richly endowed was the firſt Biſhops ſea amõgſt the Scots, & therupon was taken for the mother Church of the realme. It is now called the church of Saint Sauiour.

The firſt Biſhops ſea in Scotland. Sodorenſis eccleſia.

Crathlynt departeth out of this worlde.

Finally Crathlynt departed out of this life, after he had raigned. xxiiij. yeares, being muche prayſed aſwell for his politike gouernmẽt as for his great & earneſt zeale which he bare towards ẏ aduancement of the true Chriſtian religion.

Fincormak.

Fincormak that was hys vncles ſonne, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was placed on the ſtone of marble, to the great reioycing of al ẏ eſtates, who wiſhed him a proſperous raigne, and long to cõtinue therin.

There

Amphibalus.

The church of S. Sauiour, otherwiſe called Sodorenſis Eccleſia.

There liued in king Crathlynts dayes, a noble Chriſtian called Amphibalus a Brytaine borne, who fleeing frō the perſecutiō then rayſed in his countrey, came vnto the ſame Crathlynt, & by him was created the firſt biſhop of S. Sauiours church in Man, this Amphibalus did very much good amongſt the Scots & Brytains in ſetting forth the word of life, & rooting out of their harts all ſuperſticious errours, of blinde gentilitie.

Culdei.

There were other alſo of right famous memorie aboute the ſame time, that ceaſſed not in preaching, and inſtructing the people in the right beleue, as Modocus, Priſcus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old auncient name in the Scottiſh tongue *Culdei*, that is, to vnderſtande Cultores dei, or as you woulde ſay in Engliſh the worſhippers of God.

What yeare Fincomark began his raigne.

322. H B.

5490. H.B.

655. H.B.

Firſt of Conſtantine. H.B.

But nowe to the purpoſe touching Fincomark, ye ſhal vnderſtād, that he began his raigne in the yere, (as W. Harriſon ſaith) after the birth of our Sauiour. 325. after the creation of the world. 4292. and from the firſt eſtabliſhing of the Scottiſhe kingdome. 652. and in the. 20. yeare of Conſtantine the Emperour.

Octauius is vanquiſhed, & fleeth into Scotland.

It chaunced that Octauius king of the Brytains was vanquiſhed by Traherus a Romaine capitaine, & forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomark then king of Scottes, who receyued him as a friēd. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him vnto his hands, as a traytour & a rebell vnto the Romain Empyre, yet Fincomark refuſed ſo to do, chooſing rather to ſuſtayne all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romaine Emperour thā to betray his friend, who had put his life into his hands vpō an eſpeciall truſt of ſafegard.

Traherus inuadeth Weſtmerland.

Fincomark rayſeth his power.

Fincomark ioyneth in battell with Traherus.

Herewith Traherus being not a litle moued, aſſembled his power, & entred into weſtmerlād, the which countrey had remayned in the Scottiſh mens hands euer ſith Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto thē. Fincomark hearing that the Romains would thus make him warres, had likewiſe rayſed a puiſſant armie, to reſiſt thē, ſo that he had at the leaſt. lx. M. perſons togither in one armie, as. xxx. M. of his owne countrey men, xx. M. Picts, & x. M. of ſuch Brytains as followed after Octauius. Fincomark being thus furniſhed, haſted forth to encounter with his enimies before they ſhoulde haue time to do any notable domage vnto his ſubiects, & ſo comming within ſight of them, ſent an Heralde vnto Traherus, to vnderſtand the cauſe why he thus inuaded his coūtrey, but receiuing frō him an vntoward anſwere, he brought forth his people into the fielde in order ready to giue battell, & ſo ioyning with the enimie, there was fought a right ſore & cruell conflict, which cōtinued for a time with vnmercifull murder and ſlaughter on bothe partes.

The Romains flee.

The numbers ſlayne.

Finally whan the Romains were at point to haue got the vpper hand, they were ſodenly put in ſuche feare with the ſight of a number of huſbande men, who had got togither theyr cattell & were driuing the ſame away, that ſuppoſing they had bene ſome newe ſuccours comming to ayde theyr enimies, they immediatly fled vpon the ſame, leauing the victorie to their aduerſaries: howbeit of the Scottes ſide were ſlayne (as theyr chronicles report. xv. M. men, and on the Romaine parte about. xvj. thouſand.

Yorke is yeelded vnto Octauius.

Traherus himſelfe eſcaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomark, and Octauius purſued after him, he forſooke that Citie & got him into places of more ſuretie, ſo that when the enimies came thither, the Citezins yeelded themſelues, & receyued Octauius as their Prince, offering frō thence forth to be vnder his rule & gouernment.

Octauius obtayneth the rule of Brytaine.

Weſtmerlande aſsigned to the Scottiſh men.

A councel kept at Yorke.

The newes of theſe atchieued victories being bruted throughout the realme, cauſed a greate number of the nobles to come in vnto Octauius, who receyued them moſte thankfully, and to cōclude wrought ſo by theyr ſupport, that he was ſhortly after reſtored to the gouernaunce of the whole realme, & eſtabliſhed therein according to his owne wiſhe. This done, Fincomark returned into his countrey, aſwell himſelfe as other of his nobles & mē of warre, being highly rewarded for their paines & trauaile ſuſteyned in that iourney. There was alſo promiſe made and confirmed by ſolemne othe, that the countrey of weſtmerlād with ſuch other parties as were aſſigned vnto his predeceſſor king Crathlynt, by order of Carantius at the time of theyr ioyning togither in league againſt the Romains, ſhould for euer remayne vnto Fincomark, and to his ſucceſſors the Scottiſh kings without any clayme or title to be made to the ſame by any of the Brytains: but this promiſe was not long kept, for ſhortly after that Octauius had once chaſed all the Romaines forth of the Brittiſh confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into Fraūce, there was a councell called at Yorke, where it was not only ordeyned, that from thence forth there ſhould neuer any ſtraunger be ſuffred to raigne ouer the Brytaines, but alſo that the boundes of the realme ſhould be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the Emperour Adrian, euen vnto the old auncient bounds, and limites, expulſing forth the inhabitants of forraine nations.

Octauius coueteth to enlarge his dominion.

Suche an immoderate luſte of inlarging his dominion enflamed the harte of Octauius, that neither regard of his othe, nor remēbrance of benefites receyued, might ſtay him from ſeeking to wrong them, whoſe ayde had reſtored him vnto his former eſtate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearſed. For hereupon there were. x. M. men of

The Brytains inuade Weſtmerland.

Traherus returneth into Brytaine.

Octauius is vanquiſhed by Traherus.

Traherus by a conſpiracie is murthered.

warre ſent into Weſtmerlande, to the intent to conquere the ſame out of the Scottiſhe mens handes: but beyng encountred with a power of Scottiſh men & Pictes, they were ſharply repulſed and quickly put to flight. About the ſame time alſo, Traherus returned out of Fraunce with .ij. legiõs of Romains, and .xx. M. of other aydes. And giuing battel vnto Octauius, he vãquiſhed his armie, & conſtrayned him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certaine veſſels & ſayled into Norway, there to ſaue his life, bicauſe that Scotland was now no ſure refuge for him: And thus was Traherus againe in poſſeſſion of Brytaine, as lieutenant to Conſtantine the Emperour: but ſhortly after he was by certaine conſpiratours in fauour of Octauius murthered, and then Octauius returned againe: as in the Engliſh chronicle is mencioned more at large.

Octauius is reconciled with Fincomark.

Octauius entreth into amitie with the Pictiſh king.

Octauius becommeth tributarie vnto the Romaine Emperonr.

17. of Conſtans & Conſtantius Emperours. H. B.

Fincomark deceaſſed. 358. H. B.

Immediatly vpon his returne, he reconciled himſelf with Fincomark the Scottiſh king, and was contented that he ſhould quietly enioy the cõtreys of Weſtmerland & Cumberland, with ſuch other territories as Carantius had grãũted in former time vnto Crathlynt. He likewiſe ſent vnto the king of the Pictes, & concluded a friendſhip with him, to the intent he might haue ayde frõ him alſo, if it chãũced the Romains eftſoones to inuade his countrey, as ſhortly after they did, not ceaſing til they had ſo awearied him with cõtinual warres, that in the end to be at reſt (as his age & other neceſſities then required) he deliuered into theyr handes, certaine caſtels & fortreſſes, & alſo became tributarie to the Emperour on condition he might vſe the office and name of a king all the reſidue of his dayes. Theſe things being thus quieted in Albion, yͤ Romains, Brytains, Scottiſh men and Pictes, continued in friendly peace without any notable trouble, till the .ix. yeare of the raigne of Valentinian Emperour of Rome: & firſt of Damaſus the Pope. In yͤ which yeare Fincomark king of Scottes departed this life, after he had gouerned the eſtate aboue .xlvij. yeares. This was in yͤ yeare of our redẽptiõ .372.

Eugenius & Ethodius ſonnes to Fincomark.

This Fincomark, left behind him .ij. ſonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then aboute .xviij. yeares of age, the other hight Ethodius, & was yonger thã his brother by one yeare, ſo that neyther of them might ſucceede theyr father by reaſon they were not of yeares ſufficient to rule, according to the auncient ordinance.

Romacus, Fethelmacus and Anguſianus, ſonnes to three ſeuerall brethren, pretende a right to the eſtate.

Romacus ſeeketh meanes to diſtroy his couſins.

Anguſianus with vpright dealing purchaſeth the more friendſhippe.

Herevpon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard holde betwixt the .iij. Nephewes to king Crathlynt, that were begotten by .iij. of his brethren, which of them ſhould gouerne the lande: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, & Anguſianus. Romacus had a Pictiſh lady of the bloud royall of that nation to his mother, & for that his father was eldeſt brother next vnto Crathlynt, he looked to be preferred, though he himſelf was yonger in yeares thã eyther Fethelmacus or Anguſianus. Fethelmacus gaue his conſent with ſuche voyces as he had vnto Anguſianus, wherwith Romacus being not a little offended, ſought meanes to haue diſtroyed them both: but his practiſe being diſcouered, cauſed many to withdrawe theyr good willes frõ him, whereby his aduerſaries were the more encouraged: & therevpon the councell brake vp, either parte deuiſing how to ſtrengthen thẽſelues againſt the others practiſes. But for ſo much as Anguſianus vſed plaine meanes without any fraudulẽt dealing, he got the more frẽds, ſo that Romacus was conſtreyned in the end to require ayd of the king of Picts, who being neare of kinne to him, might not denie his requeſt.

Romacus vanquiſheth Anguſianus.

Anguſianus therefore vnderſtanding what daunger he was in, if he fell into his aduerſaries hands, got togither an armie of ſuch as fauoured his cauſe, & encountring with him in battel was put to flight, & forced to flee into the Weſterne Iſles with his couſin Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertiſed that the inhabitants had conſpired againſt him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Romacus.

Romacus is receyued for king.

Romacus gouerneth tyrannically.

Ethodius and Eugenius the ſonnes of Fincomark, are conueyed into the Iſle of Mã.

ANguſianus beyng thus chaſed out of the realme, Romacus was receyued by the moſt part of the nobles and cõmons for theyr king: But as the accuſtomed manner of tyrants cõming thus to the gouernement of a realme, through euill meanes is to rule with crueltie, ſo did he behaue himſelf, according to that ſemblable rate, ſo ſoone as hee thought himſelfe to be ſure of the eſtate. Wherefore ſuche as had borne any euill will to Fincomark, & were out of fauour in his dayes, thoſe did Romacus call vnto him, & afterwarde vſed their councel aboue al other mens, aduauncing them alſo to moſte high rule & riche offices. Againe thoſe whiche had bene in fauour with Fincomark, or bare any affection towardes his iſſue, he ſought couertly to bereaue them both of life, landes, and goodes, ſo that by ſuche his doings, there was gathered no light ſuſpitiõ, that he would likewiſe ere long find meanes to diſpatch Ethodius and Eugenius the ſonnes of the ſame Fincomarke, therby to be the more aſſured of the crowne & kingdome it ſelf. The two childrẽ alſo fearing aſmuch on their owne behalfe, by the aduiſe & help of their truſtie friendes, conueyed thẽſelues into weſtmerlãd, & after ouer into the Iſle of Man, where they remayned looking for a day.

The Scottiſhe Lordes cōſpire againſt Romacus.

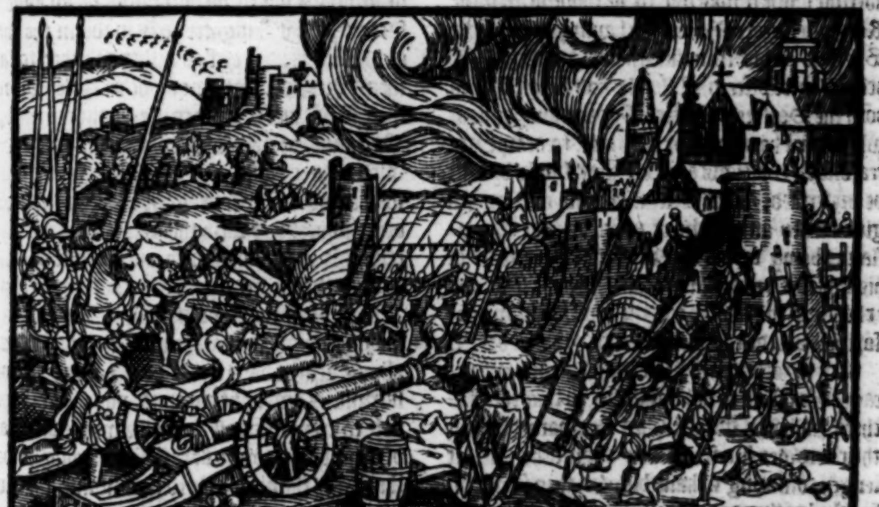
Romacus apprehended and put to death.

Anguſianus proclaymed king.

Then began baniſhments, confiſcations of goodes, & ſlaughter of ſuch as were thought to be fauourers of Anguſians cauſe, without reſpecte either of ſexe or age, til the nobles of the Realme being not a little moued with ſuch his cruell doings, & tirannicall gouernment, conſpired togither by ſecrete meanes how to deliuer their coūtrey of ſo pernicious a tyrant: And to bring this their purpoſe the more ſpeedily to paſſe, they wrought ſo cloſely, that they had aſſembled a great armie, & were come with the ſame within x. miles of the place where he then lay, ere he had any vnderſtanding of their enterpryſe, ſo that whereas he (being vnprouided of reſiſtance) aſſayed by flight towardes Pict land to haue eſcaped their handes, it preuayled him nothing, for he was taken by the way, and receyued ſuch end as his former paſſed life had very well deſerued, in the .iiij. yeare of his raigne: his head was ſet vpō the end of a pole, & caried about to be ſhewed vnto the people to their great reioyſing. There were ſlaine alſo at the ſame time beſides him, diuers Scots & Pictes, who had bene of councell with him in al his cruel practiſes. After which executiō done, they ſente for Anguſianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king, aſwel by conſent of the Lordes, as fauour of the cōmons. Aboute the ſame time bicauſe the Brytons had ſlaine the Romaine lieutenant, the Emperour Conſtantius ſent one Maximus thither to chaſtiſe the rebels, with whom the ſame Maximus encountring in battell gaue them a great ouerthrow. And within three dayes after Octauius king of the Brytons, through griefe, age & long ſickneſſe, being conſumed to the laſt point, departed this life. He left a ſonne behinde him named alſo Octauius, who doubting to fall into ẏ hāds of the Romains, fled into the Iſle of Man, & remayned there certaine yeares vnknowen with Eugenius and Ethodius, the ſonnes of Fincomark. The Brytons alſo perſiſting in their rebellion, were eftſoones diſcomfited in battel by Maximus, and ſore by him perſecuted til he had brought them againe to their full ſubiection.

Nectanus king of the Pictes maketh ſore warres vpon the Scottes.

Whileſt theſe troubles cōtinued in Brytain, Anguſianus king of Scots was ſore diſquieted by Nectanus king of Picts, who enforced himſelf to reuenge the death of his couſin Romacus, making ſundrie rodes & forrayes into the Scottiſh confines, & greatly endamaged the countrey, by ſpoyling of goodes, murthering of the inhabitants, & brenning of townes with the villages, & in the end hauing his power increaſed by the ayd of certaine Scottiſh men, which had borne good will to Romacus, he preaſſed ſo ſore vpō Anguſianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched fielde: for no friendly perſwaſiōs to haue peace or any agreemēt could be hard, though Anguſianus made hūble ſuite to haue purchaſed the ſame. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an army, & met his enimie in the field, where after ſore fight and much ſlaughter, the victorie remayned with Anguſianus, & Nectanus with his Pictes were chaſed and forced to ſaue themſelues by flight.



The Picts diſcomfited by Scottes.

Nectanus deſirous of reuenge.

Nectanus himſelfe neuer reſted till he came vnto Camelone, where he called a counſell of his nobles to haue their aduiſe by what meanes he might be reuēged of the iniuries receyued by the Scots, whereof he was moſt deſirous, not regarding into what daunger he brought his owne realme, ſo he might ſomewhat eaſe his rancour and diſpleaſure, whiche he had thus conceyued againſt his enimies the Scottes.

Neither wāted there diuers great perſonages in that aſſemble which (to content his minde and to winne fauour of him) ſet forward the matter in ſuch earneſt wiſe (that notwithſtanding what other could ſay to the contrarie) it was ordeyned that with al ſpeede an army ſhould be leuied, and ledde forth into the Scottiſh borders.

Nectanus inuadeth the Scottish confines.

Nectanus hauing thus the conſent of his nobles to inuade the Scottes a new, cauſed men of warre to be takē vp through all the parties of his dominion, & that of the choyſeſt men that might be gotte: the whiche being once aſſembled, hee ſtayed not long but ſet foreward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, ſpoyling & deſtroying all afore him at his owne will and pleaſure.

Angusianus sueth for peace.

Nectanus refuseth al offers of peace.

Anguſianus vnderſtãding his furie, & doubting leſt the Brytains through ſetting on of the Romains ſhould ſeeke to ioyne with the Pictes to the deſtruction of the Scots, thought good to aſſay if by any friendly meanes hee might bring Nectanus to fal vnto ſome reaſonable point, rather than by the warres to endaunger bothe the Pictiſh & Scottiſh eſtates, in putting the ſame in aduenture to fall into the hands of theyr ancient enimies the Romains & the Brytons. Herevpō therfore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gẽtle letter, declaring therin al ſuch daungers & incōueniẽces as might enſue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe how neceſſary it were for both nations to haue peace togither as then, cōſidering howe it was not to be thought that the Romaine legate Maximus (hauing now all the Brytons at his cōmaundement) would reſt (if occaſiō were offered) til that he had fully ſubdued both the Scottes & Pictes: For the auoyding of which peril he offered for his parte, to accept any reaſonable cōditions of peace, that ſhould by him be preſcribed. But Nectanus in no wiſe would giue eare to any treatie of peace, ſo that Anguſianus being forced to giue battell for defence of his ſubiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting thē to play the men with ſundrie cōfortable wordes, he placed thē in order of battel.

Angusianus & Nectanus ioyne in battel with their armies.

Angusianus is slayne.

The Scots are discomfited.

On the other part Nectanus likewiſe encouraged his folkes to do valiantly, ſo that the Archers on bothe ſides ſtepped forewarde, letting their arrowes flie freely one at an other, till at length comming to hand blowes they ſtroke on freſhly, beating downe and killing without ſparing on either ſide, ſo that a good ſpace the victory was doubtful. At length Anguſianus perceiuing his people to be put to the worſe, ruſhed forth into the thickeſt of the preaſſe amōgſt his enimies, where hee was quickly eſpied, oppreſſed with preſſe and ſlaine out of hand, the moſt part of his people miſſing him, and not vnderſtãding what was become of him, ſuppoſed yͭ he had bene fled, & therefore fell alſo to running away, but the reſidue that ſtoode ſtill at their defence were ſlaine downe right.

Nectanus is also slayne.

Thus the victory remayned with the Pictes, but neither part had any cauſe to reioyce, for the chieftains on both ſides were ſlayne, beſides many thouſands of other, ſo that aſwell the one natiō as the other departed frō the place right penſiſe & ſorrowfull, giuing many a ſore curſe vnto ſuche as had bene the procurers & nurriſhers of ſuch deteſtable hatred betwixt thoſe two natiōs, which had ſo long a time bene conioyned in the faithfull bande of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countreys. After this bloudy battell, aſwell the Scots as Pictes ſat ſtill for a ſeaſon, not attempting any enterpriſe of importance the one againſt the other.

Fethelmacus.

The Scottes discomfite the pictes.

An other Nectanus king of the pictes dieth of hurtes receyued in the fight with the scottes.

ANguſianus raigned not paſte .ij. yeares before he was ſlaine thus in the field, as ye before haue herd, in whoſe place ſucceeded his couſin Fethelmacus with little better ſucceſſe, for in yͤ .ij. yeare of his raigne, deſirous to be reuẽged of the Pictes, he aſſembled an armie, & entring into Angus, began to ſpoyle & ſlea downe right all yͭ was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts alſo being kindled herewith, gathered their power togither, & encountring with the Scots, there was a ſore battell fought betwixt them, but the Scots firſt putting the wings of their enimies hoſte to flight, at length diſcōfited their mayne battell alſo, being left naked on bothe ſides of all ayde or ſuccour, great ſlaughter was made in the chaſe of the Pictes as they fled hither & thither to ſaue themſelues. So that among other their king named Nectanus brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow died within three dayes after that this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scottes nowe being aduaunced with this their proſperous ſucceſſe, they paſſed forthwith ouer yͤ riuer of Tay, to robbe, harrie, and ſpoyle the countrey of Fyfe.

Hiergust is chosen king of pictes.

A pretenced treason.

The Pictes perceyuing themſelues not to be ſtrong inough to matche with theyr enimies in playne field at hãds ſtrokes, determined yet with ſkirmiſhes and light encountrings if it were poſſible to keepe them off from the winning of any of theyr fenſed townes, caſtels or ſtrong holdes. And to be the more able to mayntaine thẽſelues in this theyr purpoſed intention, they choſe one Hierguſt to theyr king, a man of ſubtill nature, and craftie imaginatiō. This Hierguſt deuiſing how to deliuer his countrey of ſuch an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two ſlie fellowes Picts by nation, to coũterfeyte thẽſelues for Scots, & for that they were cunnyng throwers of the darte, in which kinde of exerciſe the ſame Fethelmacus tooke great pleaſure, they were apointed to make ſute to be in ſeruice with him, to the intent that when they might eſpie theyr time, they ſhould ſlea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were inſtructed cōming into Scotland) found meanes not only to haue place in the kings houſe, but alſo to corrupt one of his Muſitians an harper, & to bring him to be of counſell with them, in this their wicked purpoſe. By reaſon whereof, in one night as hee lay at Carryk, where he was buſie to make his prouiſion there for the warres againſt the Picts, the ſame Muſitian (hauing playde in the kings bed chamber, till he had brought him a ſleepe) did let in thoſe .ij. Pictiſh traytours, who forthwith ſlew him euen as he lay ſo ſleeping: but the king groning grieuouſly at the deadly ſtroke, ſome of them that watched before the chamber doore, perceyuing what was happened, followed after the murtherers, who fledde with all ſpeede vnto the next mountaines, where they ſought to defende themſelues with hurling downe ſtones vpō thē that came vp towardes them: but in the end, being taken, & confeſſing the deede, with the whole manner of the ſame, they were drawen in peeces with wilde horſes, the Muſitian being alſo apprehended & conuict of the treaſon, ſuffered ſemblably the like kinde of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the .iij. yeare of his raigne being the ſecond yeare after the death of the Emperour Valentinian. In this ſeaſon (as in times paſte hath bene beleeued) certaine bones of the Apoſtle S. Andrew, were brought forth of *Achaia*, a prouince in Grecia into Scotland, by a Grekiſhe Monke named Regulus Albatus, cōmonly called S. Reule, a man in thoſe dayes highly eſteemed, for the opiniō which the world had cōceiued of him for his holy & vertuous life, to whō king Hierguſt gaue his palaice that ſtoode in yͤ part of Fife, where yͤ ſame Regulus firſt lāded: at whoſe contēplacion alſo, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruil, yͭ is, the Church of S. Reule, afterwards named yͤ old church of S. Andrewes, ſtāding in the abbey churchyarde, where yͤ Chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to yͤ further report & credite of yͤ Scottiſh Chronicles, wee will proceede with our purpoſe.

Fethelmacus is murthered in his bedde.

In the fifthe yeare of the Emperour Conſtantius.

369. H.B.

Saint Reule cōmeth into Fife, thē a part of Pictland, & now of Scotland.

After the death of Fethelmacus the nobles & cōmons of the Scottiſh natiō ſent into the Iſle of *Man* for Eugenius the ſonne of king Fincomarke, where he wͭ his brother Ethodius had remained, during the dayes of the .iij. laſt remēbred kings, Romacus, Anguſianus, & Fethelmacus.

The Scottes ſende into the Iſle of Man, for Fincomarke his ſonnes.

Eugenius.

This Eugenius at his cōming into Albanie was inueſted king of the Scots by cōmon conſent of all the nation. About the ſame ſeaſon Maximus the Romaine lieutenāt in Brytain, vnderſtanding of the late diſſention betwixt the Scottiſh men & Picts, deuiſed whiche wayes he might beſt ſubdue both thoſe nations, therby not onely to enlarge the boundes of the Romaine Empyre, & to deliuer the Brytains from inuaſions of thoſe ſo cruell enimies, but alſo to haue the ſouth part of the Iſle more obedient & loyall vnto the ſame Empyre than heretofore it had bene, He thought good therfore in yͤ beginning to aſſay if he might ioyne in friendſhip with the one of the natiōs, til he had deſtroyed the other: for he cōſidered it would be an harde peece of worke to haue to do with them both at one inſtant time,

Eugenius is inueſted king.

The practiſe of Maximus to deſtroy the Scottes.

Wherupō directing his letters vnto Hierguſt king of the Pictes, he required to renewe the old league with him & his people, promiſing to ayde him againſt the Scots, cōmon enimies not only to the Pictiſh natiō, but alſo to all ſuch people as loued reſt & quietneſſe, as might eaſily be perceiued by their continuall practiſe & vſage, euer ſeeking to diſturbe their neighbours with rodes and forrayes, ſo that it ſtood with a general common wealth to haue thē vtterly diſtroyed & extirped.

He ſendeth vnto Hierguſt king of the Pictes.

Hierguſt right ioyful of theſe newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almightie God, that had moued the Romaine lieutenant to make ſuch offer vnto him, wherby the furious rage of yͤ Scots might be once repreſſed, & put away frō his people, and therfore willing to cōfirme a friendſhip with the ſame lieutenāt, he promiſed to renew the auncient league betwixt the Romains & Picts, vpon any reaſonable cōditiōs, which he ſhould deuiſe, not only requiring his ayde at this time againſt the ſayd Scots, but alſo at all other as occaſion ſhould demaund. Maximus hauing receyued this anſweare, he foūd meanes alſo to come to a cōmunication with Hierguſt neare vnto Yorke, where the league was cōfirmed betwixt them, & therein yͤ Scots not only adiudged for cōmon enimies, both to yͤ Romains & Brytains, but alſo to the Picts. And further therwith were certaine orders appoynted how the warre ſhould be purſued with al expeditiō againſt thē. Theſe things thus finiſhed, & both the Princes returned to their homes, Maximus ſente an Heralde vnto Eugenius the Scottiſh king, cōmaunding him on the behalf of the Romaine Empire, to make reſtitutiō for al wrōgs & iniuries done vnto the Pictiſh nation. And further to deliuer into the handes of Hierguſt the king of the Picts the authors of the ſame wrōgs & iniuries, to be puniſhed at his diſcretiō, or if he would refuſe thus to do, that thē he ſhould looke to haue the Emperour and the Romaine people enimies vnto him & all his nation.

Hierguſt his anſweare vnto Maximus his meſſage.

Maximus and Hierguſt ioyne in friendſhip, and the Scottes proclaymed enimies to them both.

An Herald ſent frō Maximus vnto Eugenius

Eugenius for anſwere herevnto, declared that ſith his entring into the gouernmēt of the Scottiſh eſtate, hee had done nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romains or to the Brytains their ſubiects: And as for the Picts he would be gladde to haue a peace with them if there might bee amends made for all diſpleaſures done on either parte, according as ſhoulde be thought to ſtande with equitie and reaſon.

The anſweare of Eugenius vnto the Herald.

Neyther did hee ſee what cauſe the Romains ſhoulde haue to make warres for the Pictes, agaynſt thoſe that had done them no diſpleaſure: but if it were ſo, that hee muſte needes haue warres, he would do what in him lay to defende the libertie of the Scottiſh natiõ, truſting chiefly in the ſuccours of almightie God, who vſed to fauour the cauſe of the iuſt and innocent, againſt ſuche as ſought to wrong them vpon fayned quarrels without occaſion giuen.

Maximus rayſeth a mightie armie.

He inuadeth the Scottiſh regions.

Cruell warres.

Maximus receyuing this anſwere from Eugenius, aſſembled with all ſpeede a ſtrong and mighty armie of Romains, Brytains, & French men, with the which entring into Weſtmerlãd, he ſpoyled that countrey moſt miſerably, taking diuers caſtels & ſtrong holdes by force, the which he furniſhed with garriſons of his people, and then paſſing into Annandale, brenned and haried the ſame: from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kinde of tyrannie that mighte be ſhewed againſt the inhabitantes, ſo that the fear was greate throughout all the countrey: for of many yeares before, ſo great an armie had not bene ſeene in thoſe parties.

Eugenius gathereth his power, fighteth with his enimies, and is diſcomfited.

The Romains following to forewardly in the chaſe, receiue domage.

Eugenius breaketh vp his armie.

Eugenius notwithſtanding, gathering his power togither, determined to trie the fortune of battell, & ſo ioyning with his enimies neare vnto the water of Cree, his people were quickly put to flight, & chaſed, by reaſon that they were muche inferiour in number: but the Romains purſuyng the chaſe, hapned to light amongſt thẽ of Argile, whiche had not bene at the battell, but were cõming towards it, and now fiercely encountring with ſuche as purſued theyr friends, they cauſed them to retyre backe with ſome loſſe, wherupon the other Scottes alſo (which were chaſed) returned, and gaue a freſhe onſet, ſo that if night had not come on the ſooner, there had bene a far greater multitude of yͤ Romains ſlain in that bickering than they themſelues did thinke of. Herevpõ the Romains doubting what theyr enimies intẽded to do, they fortified their campe that night very ſtrõgly: but Eugenius vnderſtanding what a multitude of his folkes were ſlaine in the battell, ſo that the very ſtreame of the water of Cree was ſtopped vp with dead carcaſes, he thought beſt with the aduice of his peares, to licence his people to departe to their homes, and not to fight any more with his enimies for that time.

A rebellion in Kent.

Whiche being done, he himſelfe repayred the ſame night vnto Carricke, where he remayned for a ſeaſon, making prouiſion for defence of his realme the beſt he could deuiſe. Maximus hauing knowledge in the morning how the Scots were quite gone theyr wayes, he determined to haue followed thẽ, but being aſcertayned of a rebelliõ amongſt the Brytains in Kent, he chãged his purpoſe, & returned thitherwardes, to appeaſe that tumulte, leauing in Galloway a good parte of his armie to keepe ſuch holdes as he had got in that voyage. The yeere following Maximus was ſo buſied in yͤ ſouth parts of Brytaine, that he could not attẽd vnto the warres againſt the Scots, otherwiſe than in maintayning ſuch garriſons as he had placed in their countreys, by reaſon whereof ſundry bickerings happened betwixt them of the ſame garryſons & the Scots, who laboured not onely to deliuer theyr owne countrey out of the handes of all forrainers, but alſo to inuade & deſtroy Pictlande, ſo that they harried the countrey of Fyfe, with part of Menteth, and Sterling ſhyre, brenning and waſting townes, caſtels and houſes moſt cruelly.

The Scottes domage the Pictes.

Maximus his fayned griefe.

Wherof Maximus being certified, made ſemblãce as though he were ſore grieued therewith, but inwardly he could haue reioyced at nothing more than to heare of the iniuries done by the Scots vnto yͤ Picts, ſuppoſing it to make chiefly for his purpoſe: & herevpõ preparing an armie againſt the next ſommer, whẽ he had diſpoſed al things in a quiet order amongſt the Brytains, he ſet foreward with the ſame towardes Galloway, where being arriued, there was no kinde of crueltie ſpared againſt the poore inhabitants.

Maximus eftſoones inuadeth the Scot

Eugenius prepareth an armie to defend his countrey.

Women vſed to the warres.

The number of the Scottiſh armie.

Eugenius in the meane time vnderſtãding yͤ cõming of his enimies, muſtred his people, & appointed the aſſemble to be made in the countrey of Kyle, whiche way hee heard that his enimies would trauayle. Thither came alſo not only al the able men of the Scottiſh dominiõs, but likewiſe a great number of luſtie and ſtrong women apt to beare armure, according to the old accuſtomed guiſe of theyr nation, ſo that there were numbred in this armie.l.M.perſons right fierce and hardie, deſirous either to vãquiſh the enimie with dinte of ſworde, or els to die preſently in the place.

The approche of Maximus towardes the Scottes.

Eugenius cõforteth his people.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus encãped in Kyle, marched towards thẽ, & lodged the ſame night not far off frõ the riuer of Mũda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, yͭ Maximus was come within.v.miles of him, with a greater armie, than he had at his laſt encoũtring wͭ him in Galloway. Theſe aduertiſements cauſed no ſmall ſturre to be rayſed in the cãpe, ſome being ſtrikẽ with preſent feare, where other cõtrarywiſe moued with high indignatiõ, deſired nothing ſo much as to ioyne in battell wͭ the Romains, whoſe cruell tirannie they very much deteſted. Eugenius himſelfe ſhewed no countenance of feare at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable wordes, he brought thẽ ſtreight in order of battell, deuided into three wardes, cõmitting one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, & the ſecõd to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, reſeruing the.iij.to himſelf.

This done, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how neceſſarie it was for them to play the men, conſidering that in victorie conſiſted the onely hope of libertie, and in beeing vanquiſhed, theyr Countrey was endaungered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelye marke which the Romains ſhotte at, was to oppreſſe the libertie of the whole Ilande, and to reduce the ſame into the forme of a Prouince, to be gouerned at the wil of the victorers, to the breach of all their olde auncient lawes, and long continued cuſtomes.

The ſodaine arriuall of Maximus.

With theſe and many other like reaſons hee went about to encourage the myndes of his ſubiects, in ſuch wiſe, that in maner the moſt part of them determined rather to die with honour, than to liue in ſuch miſerie, as they feared woulde enſue if the victorie ſhoulde reſt vpon the Romains ſide. And as they were in ſuch talke togither, ſodainly commeth in one of theyr ſcoutes wyth newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hande.

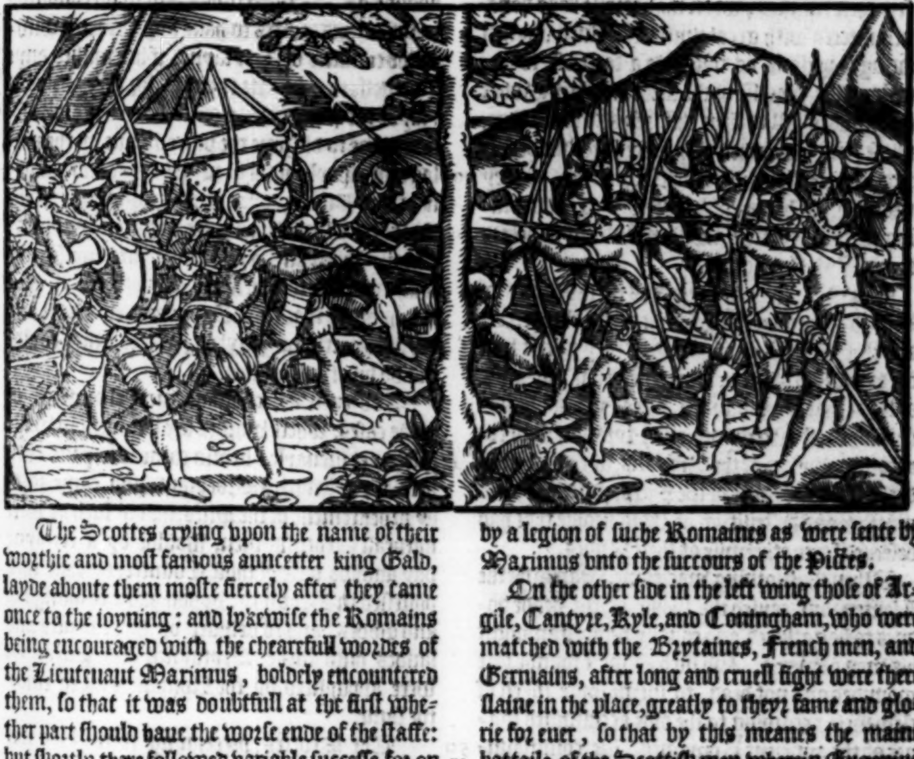
This was in the morning anone after the Sunne was vp; whereas he was not looked for till the euening following, inſomuche that the ſame his ſodaine arriuall chauncing ſo farre contrarie to theyr former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that hereby they were conſtrained to chaunge the order of theyr battailes to haue the ſunne on their backes, as they had prouided at the fyrſt it ſhould haue bene, if the enimies had not come vntill the after noone.

The Scottes giue the onſe

Yet notwithſtanding, they had no ſooner chaūged their place, and gotten themſelues into array of battaile againe, but that with great violence they preaſſed forwarde to giue the onſet vpon the Romaines. Which Maximus perceyuing, made all the ſpeede he coulde, to ſet his men in order of battaile, that he might receyue his enimies comming thus to encounter him.

The battailes ioyne.

So both ſides beeing fully bent to battayle, and approched within daunger of ſhot, they lette flie the ſame moſt egerly, albeit that through haſting forth to ioyne at hande ſtrokes, there was little hurt done with bowes or dartes.



Doubtfull fight.

Ethodius ouerthroweth the Pictes.

The Scots hauing vanquiſhed the Picts, are ſlaine by the Romains.

The Scottes crying vpon the name of their worthie and moſt famous auncetter king Gald, layde aboute them moſte fiercely after they came once to the ioyning: and lykewiſe the Romains being encouraged with the chearefull wordes of the Lieutenant Maximus, boldely encountered them, ſo that it was doubtfull at the firſt whether part ſhould haue the worſe ende of the ſtaffe: but ſhortly there followed variable ſucceſſe, for on the one part, they of Roſſe and Mar, being appoynted vnder Ethodius to encounter that wing of the enimies where the Pictes were, fought ſo egerly and with ſuch fierce willes, that they eaſily put the Pictes vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they woulde haue paſſed the water of Dune, but ſtreight wayes after fallyng to the ſpoyle, they were ſlayn downright by a legion of ſuche Romaines as were ſente by Maximus vnto the ſuccours of the Pictes.

The Scottiſh battaile is ouerthrowne.

On the other ſide in the left wing thoſe of Argile, Cantyre, Kyle, and Coningham, who were matched with the Brytaines, French men, and Germains, after long and cruell fight were there ſlaine in the place, greatly to theyr fame and glorie for euer, ſo that by this meanes the maine battaile of the Scottiſh men wherein Eugenius himſelfe ſtoode amongſt his people, was left bare and naked on both the ſydes. Which Maximus perceyuing, he cauſed the ſame to bee aſſayled on ech part with ſuch violence, that in the end longer reſiſtaunce preuayled not, but that their mayne battaile muſt needes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius chooſing rather to die in the place, than eyther to ſaue his life by flight, or

ugenius is
aine.

by rendering himſelfe into his enimies handes to liue in miſerie.&c. was there ſlaine togither with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maiſter to die rather ſpeedily with honour, than longer to liue with ſhame and reproch.

Thus Eugenius loſt his life with his kingdome in the thirde yeare after his firſt entring into the rule, hauing enioyed few good dayes in reſt during the ſayde tyme.

The furious
age of the
cottiſh Car-
ers.

Such of the Scots alſo as were appoynted to kepe the cariage and truſſe of the field, ſeeing their Lordes and maiſters thus ſlaine, ruſhed forth with ſuch weapōs as they had at hād, in purpoſe to ſlea ſome number of their enimies, not paſſing though it ſhould coſt them alſo their owne liues, ſo that they might die reuenged. The ſlaughter was great whiche at the firſt was made, more through an obſtinate deſire of reuenge, than by any valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in ſunder, and driuen backe, they were finally ſlaine and beaten downe.

Moreouer the Romains that purſued in chaſe after their enimies, when the battaile was done, encountered with great numbers of ſuch women and aged perſons as followed a farre off, to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the fielde, doubting what happe might fall to their children and kinſfolkes, whoſe ſlaughter when they perceyued, like people enraged they flew vpon ſuch Romaines as they met with, but being eaſily vanquiſhed, and refuſing to flee, they were alſo ſlain and cut in peeces in a moſt miſerable maner.

The Romaines hauing thus rid the fieldes of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abrode, here and there at their pleaſure, where they might hear the dolefull gronings, and lamentable cōplaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not deade, curſing moſt bitterly the cruel tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that moſt deteſtable diſloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murther and deſtruction of thoſe people that had deſerued farre otherwiſe at their handes.

The ſpoyle deuided amongſt the ſouldiers.

When the morning was come, Maximus the Lieutenaunt cauſed the ſpoyle of the deade bodyes to be gathered, and equally deuided amongſt his men of warre. And ſuch as were founde ſore wounded and not dead, to ſhewe ſome token of clemencie, according to the olde accuſtomed maner of the auncient Romaines, hee commaunded ſurgeons to ſee to the cure of them. The other being deade, he ſuffered to be buryed, cauſing the corps of Eugenius hymſelfe to bee enterred in moſt ſolemne and pompous ſort, after the vſage of the Romaine Princes.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

His brother Ethodius beeing found mangled in moſte pitifull wiſe, and in manner halfe deade, was alſo taken vp by commaundement of the ſame Maximus, and Surgeons charged to haue the ordering of hym, and to ſhewe theyr diligence for the cure of his hurtes in moſt ſpeedie and gentle wiſe.

Ethodius ſore wounded, is committed to the cure of Surgeons.

The victorie thus atchieued, Maximus ſurueyeth the Countreyes of Kyle, Carricke, and Conningham, with that alſo of Calidone, and ſeazeth the ſame into hys handes, ſuffering the Inhabitauntes to enioye both goodes and landes in peace and quietneſſe vppon theyr othes of allegeaunce, wythoute anye further moleſtation.

Hierguſt deſireth the vtter deſtruction of the Scottes.

Hierguſt King of the Pictes with other the Nobles of that Nation, were nothing contented therewith, deſirous to ſee the vtter deſtruction of all the Scottiſhe race. Whereunto Maximus at the firſt would not agree, alledging the ancient cuſtom of the Romains, who ſought rather to vanquiſh by benefites, than by the ſword, euer vſing to ſpare ſuche as ſubmitted themſelues, and in no wiſe to ſpot their honour nor maieſtie of their Empyre with crueltie.

The earneſt ſute of the Picts to haue the Scottiſhe men baniſhed and expulſed out of the Countrey.

But the Pictes not ſatiſfied herewith, went about earneſtly to perſwade him in no condition to ſuffer the Scottes to haue any abyding within the confines of Brytayne, if hee wiſhed anye quietneſſe in the eſtate thereof, for theyr delyght (ſayde the Pictes) was onely ſet to ſeeke occaſions howe to diſturbe the peace, to liue by the pyllage and ſpoyle of theyr neighbours, and namely of the Pictes, vnto whoſe confuſion (as the Prophecies ſpake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all theyr earneſt ſute myſſed the wiſhed effect, they fell to, and aſſayed if they might bring that to paſſe by wicked meede and through corrupting brybes, whiche they coulde not do by other meanes.

Where wordes faile, gyftes preuaile.

And euen as it oftentymes chaunceth in ſuche caſes, where wordes are but ſpent in waſt, giftes yet preuayle: ſo alſo came it to paſſe euen here, for at length a Proclaymation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that al ſuch as were naturall Scottiſhe men, ſhoulde by a certayne day auoyde oute of thoſe Countreyes that they poſſeſſed in Brytayne, vppon paine of loſing life and goodes, and to delyuer vp theyr houſes and landes vnto ſuche Brytaynes and Pictes as were appoynted by the Romaines for to enioy the ſame.

The proclamation for the auoyding of all Scottiſhe men forth of the whole Iland of Brytaine.

The Scottes plagued for their beaſtly crueltie.

The Scottes perceyuing themſelues not able to make any reſiſtaunce, obeyed thys commaundement, ſome of them paſſing ouer into Ireland, ſome into the weſterne Iles, and ſome of them got ouer alſo into Norway, and Denmarke, and manye there were that got intertaynment amongeſt the Romaine Souldiers, and went ouer with them into Fraunce, as yet called Gallia, to ſerue in the warres there, and in other places vnder yͤ Emperors enſignes.

The cruel dealing the Pictes.

The Pictes were ſo cruel and diligent to ſee all the Scottiſh linage confined, that they would not conſent that a certaine number of gentlewomen ſhould remaine behinde, who had their huſbandes ſlaine in the laſt warres, and made interceſſion in moſte lamentable wiſe vnto Maximus, that they might bee permitted to abide in their natiue Countrey all the reſidue of their lyues, though in ſeruile eſtate, to the ende that they might bee buryed after the ſame were once ended in graues with their ſlaine huſbandes.

Cartandis Queene of Scottes.

Moreouer where Cartandis Queene of the Scottes, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a grome from the tumbe of hir huſband, where ſhe had remayned euer ſithe his buriall in continuall mourning, forſomuche as ſhe was a Brytayne, and diſcended by lynage from the Princes of Wales. Maximus lamenting hir miſerable caſe, aſſigned the Citie of Carricke vnto hir, with certaine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir eſtate. But after ſhe had taken leaue of ſuche as had the cōduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carricke aforeſayd, it chaunced that a ſort of Pictiſhe ryders, (or as I maye call them robbers) met with hir, ſmall to hir profite, & leſſe to their own eaſe, for they did not only ſlea hir groome, but alſo beate hir gentlewomen, and ſtripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being enformed, cauſed them that had done ſo vile a deede to bee apprehended and executed by death, according as they had deſerued. The Queene hirſelfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honourably entreated, had all hir ſubſtance reſtored vnto hir againe ſo neare as it was poſſible.

The Pictes offended with Maximus.

But the Pictes being offended herewith, and ſpecially for the putting to death of their men, ſundrie of their Nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a ſore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deſertes of their Nation had not beene ſuche towarde the Romaine Empyre, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans ſake, being both an enimie and a priſoner: therefore they requyred that ſhe might be confined into Brytayne, and according to the tenor of the proſcription, ſpoyled of all hir goodes.

Cartandis lamenteth hir infortunate eſtate.

Here Cartandis being preſent hirſelfe, began to make pitiful lamentation, bewayling hir moſt vnhappie eſtate, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched caſe and preſent miſerable fortune, ſhe ſhoulde nowe be forced to returne againe into hir Countrey: wiſhing rather than ſhe ſhould be inforced ſo to doe, that ſhe might offer vp hir life, as a ſacrifice in the place of hir huſbandes burial: and therefore holding vp hir handes vnto Maximus in moſt pitifull wiſe, ſhe beſought hym inſtantly, that it might pleaſe him, either to ſuffer hir to paſſe the reſidue of hir life after ſuch ſort as ſhee thought beſte agreed wyth hir widowlike eſtate, or elſe to take the ſame from hir preſently by ſome violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Pictes, that ſawe and heard hir at that inſtant, but lamented hir wofull diſtreſſe, ſo that in the end the requeſt of the Pictes was diſallowed, and Cartandis hauing liuing aſſigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licenced to depart into what place ſhee thought expedient, there to liue as ſhee thought beſt, withoute lette or diſturbaunce.

The Monaſterie of Iona buylded by baniſhed Scottiſh Monkes.

The ſame tyme the Scottiſhe Biſhops and Prieſts beeing baniſhed as well as the other ſort of the Scottiſh people, a number of their Monkes got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colm kill, where they erected a Monaſterie for theyr owne habitation, the worthineſſe whereof hath beene right famous, euen vnto theſe our dayes, as that whiche was afterwarde endowed wyth many fayre reuenues by diuerſe of the Scottiſhe kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scottes into Albanie as ſhal be hereafter expreſſed.

The time that the Scottes were thus confined.

5547. H.B.

379. H.B.

710. H.B.

The ſecond yeare of Iulian the Apoſtata. H.B.

The yeare in the whiche the Scottiſhmen were thus vanquiſhed by the Romaines and Pictes, and finally confined out of theyr ſeates, was from the creation of the worlde 4319, after the byrth of our Sauiour 352, from the beginning of the Scottiſhe kingdome 679, and the thirde yeare of Magnentius.

Straunge viſions.

The ſame yeare before Eugenius gaue battail vnto Maximus, many ſtraunge ſights were ſeene in the furtheſt partes of Albion, ſtryking a wonderful dread into many mens hearts.

Swordes and weapons ſeene in the ayre.

In the night ſeaſon in the ayre were ſeene firie ſwordes and other weapons moue in a long ranke, after comming togither on a heape, and being chaunged into an huge flame as it had ben a firebrande, it then vaniſhed away. The waters of the ryuer of Dune ran with bloud, the bankes of the ſame ryuer flaſhed oft tymes as they had beene all on a fire. There were ſeene alſo a number of ſmall byrdes fall out of the ayre ſo thicke, that it ſeemed it had rayned byrdes, and incontinently came a great number of Rauens that deuoured vp the ſame.

It rayneth byrdes.

Certaine Witches and Southſayers declaring that theſe things betokened the deſtruction of the Scottiſhe kingdome, were commaunded by the Prieſtes to holde their peace on payne of death, as they that tolde nothing but lyes and fables, though afterwardes their tales proued moſt true.

But to returne to our hiſtorie. Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured, as is ſayde, by

Ethodius confined into Denmarke.

commaundement of Maximus, was yet baniſhed amongſt the reſidue, and conſtrained to take an othe, that he ſhoulde immediately repayre into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch nearer vnto the coaſtes of Albion, for doubt of ſome newe attempt that might be made by the Scots through his meanes, thereby to returne into their Countrey agayne, and to recouer theyr former eſtate.

Gillo choſen captaine of the baniſhed Scots in the weſtern Iles comming into Argile, is vanquiſhed by the Pictes.

The Scottes repayre into Irelande.

But this ſtayed not them of the weſterne Iles, but that aſſembling themſelues togyther, and choſing one Gillo to their capitain they paſſed ouer into Argyle, where in the ende they were encountered by ſuch Pictes as were ſet there to defende that Countrey, and ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Their veſſelles were alſo taken and brought into ſundrie hauens of the Countrey to ſerue for defence of the coaſtes vppon any newe enterpriſe which the Scottes ſhoulde chaunce to make: but the other Scottes perceyuing they were not able to furniſhe forth a newe armie in the Iles by any ayde they might purchaſe there, ſayled ouer into Irelande, where preſenting themſelues vnto the King of that Region, they declared vnto him from poynt to poynt all their infortunate chaunces, and lamentable calamities which were happened vnto them of late through the tyrannicall puiſſance of the Romaines, and malicious enuie of the Pictes, in ſuche ſort as nothing coulde be more miſerable than their preſent eſtate, conſidering the ruine of ſo mightie a kingdome, and the final baniſhment of the inhabitants from their houſes and lands, which had beene in poſſeſſion of them and theyr elders, by the ſpace almoſte of ſeuen hundred yeares.

The king of Irelande with his nobles lament the Scottiſh mens caſe.

The Iriſhmen conclude to ayde the Scottiſhmen.

The Iriſhe king with his Nobles moued with pitie to heare and vnderſtande ſo dolefull calamities to haue chaunced vnto that Nation, whoſe good or bad happe coulde not but touche them verie neare, conſidering they were diſcended both of one progenie, comforted theſe Scottiſhe men to the beſt of their powers, and in the ende concluded to ayde them with tenne thouſande men, and to furniſh them forth with ſhips, vittayles, and munitions to paſſe into Albanie for recouerie of their Countrey.

The Scottes and Iriſhmen lande in Cantyre.

The Pictes encounter with the Scots and Iriſh men, and are diſcōfited.

This ayde being put in a readineſſe, and the ſhippes rigged and decked as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe, they tooke the ſeas, and landing in Cantyre, chaunced to meete with Heirdorſtane brother to Heirguſt king of the Pictes, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Brytaynes aſſembled to defende the Countrey, but being ſharpely aſſayled of the Scottes and Iriſh men they were quickely put to flight, and ſuch as were ouertaken dyed on the ſworde, to the great terrour of all the newe inhabitants that were planted in thoſe parties.

The Scots and Iriſh men are ouerthrowen.

This Victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue counſell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take ſuche booties of goodes and priſoners as they had got in the Countrey, and to returne therewith into Irelande. Other were of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing it beſt to followe the victorie, and eyther to recouer againe theyr auntient ſeates, or elſe to die in the valiaunt attempt thereof. Which aduice was followed, as the beſt, though it proued otherwiſe: for before they could come to any concluſion of that enterpriſe, the Romaines, Pictes, and Brytaynes gathered themſelues togither, & gaue battail again to that Scottiſhe and Iriſhe companie, wherein they ouerthrewe them, to theyr vtter ruyne and deſtruction.

The king of Irelande ſeeketh for peace.

Maximus graunteth peace to the Iriſh men.

Maximus ſeeketh by his bounteous liberalitie to win the peoples fauour.

The newes of this infortunate encounter being brought into Irelande, put the king and his Nobles there in ſuch feare of the Romaines, that they thought it beſt wͭ al ſpeed to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Maximus to ſew vnto him for peace. They that were ſent at the firſt were ſore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had ayded the Scottiſhe men in the laſt inuaſion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuſe, hee graunted a peace vpon certaine conditions, wherof the moſt principall article was, that in no wyſe they ſhould receyue, ayd, or ſuccour any enimie to the Romain empire. This Maximus hauing got a quiet peace on ech ſide, vſed al meanes poſſible howe to procure the loue of his ſouldiers and men of warre, ſhewing hym ſelfe not only gentle, curteous and meeke towardes them, but alſo ſo liberall and free, that his bounteous giftes paſſed all vnderſtanding: in ſo muche that as is reported by writers, he beſtowed in one day neare hande as much in rewardes, as the reuenue of Brytayne yeelded to the Empyre in a whole yeare.

This franke liberalitie and curteous behauiour he vſed not onely towardes the Romaines, and his other men of warre, but alſo towardes the Brytaynes and Pictes, conforming hymſelfe ſo neare vnto theyr manners and faſhions, that at his comming into Pictlande, he layde away his Romaine apparell, and arayed himſelfe in garments after the Pictiſh guiſe.

Maximus is choſen Emperour in Brytayne.

By this maner of meanes therefore hee wan him ſuch loue and fauour, as well amongeſt his ſouldiers, as alſo amongſt the Pictes and Brytaynes, that in the ende by common conſente they choſe him for Emperour, in the 383. yeare after Chriſte, proteſting generally, that they would owe onely theyr obeyſance vnto him as to their ſupreme gouernour.

Here the Scottiſh Chronicles ſomwhat varie from other writers, who affyrme that Marimus was thus aduaunced to the Imperiall dignitie, rather by conſtraint of his men of warre, than by any meanes which he of himſelfe vſed to attaine vnto the ſame. Where the ſaide Chronicles neuertheleſſe ſhewe, that it came chiefly to paſſe by his owne ſeeking, procuring certain perſons to worke for him as inſtruments to frame other to this his purpoſed intent.

Maximus ruled the eſtate of Brytaine xvi. yeares.

He helde the dominion of the Empyre being thus preferred to the Imperial eſtate, the ſpace of fiue yeares. All the countreyes and people of Albion beeing at his cōmaundement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto any one mā before his time, ſith yͤ Iſle was firſt inhabited.

The Emperor Gracian is ſlain by Maximus.

At length deſirous of more Empire, he paſſed ouer into France with a mightye armie, in purpoſe to ſubdue al France and Italie, with ſuch other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then Emperor of Rome. But how proſperouſly he ſpedde in the beginning, and how at length he was ſlain at Aquileia in Italy, ye ſhal find in yͤ hiſtorie of England a great deale more at large.

By reaſon of ſuch trouble in the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre, Octauius the ſonne of Octauius late king of the Brytaynes, the which (as before is ſayde) fledde into the Iſle of Man, and after departing from thence, got ouer into Fraunce, returned nowe into Brytayne, and did ſo much there, that the Brytains receyued him to theyr king: but ſhortly after he was conſtrayned to agree with the Romaine Emperour Theodoſius, ſo that the Brytaynes ſhoulde pay theyr wonted tribute, and liue vnder ſuche lawes as by the Emperor ſhould be to them preſcribed. In al other reſpects, Octauius ſhoulde be reputed during his life for king. Immediately herevpon two Lieutenāts were ſent from Theodoſius, of whō the one named Martius ſoiourned at London, and the other called Victorine, at Yorke. And with al expedition they began to put the Romain lawes in practiſe, aboliſhing the olde Brytiſhe lawes, to the greate offence of many that coulde not well brooke ſtraunge ordinances. Namely the Pictes repyned ſore thereat, and vſed moſt an ende their owne lawes and conſtitutions, greatly to the contempt of the Romaine eſtate.

Whereof Victorine the one of the Romaine Lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue ſtrayte commaundement vnto Hierguſt the Pictiſhe king, that in no wiſe hee ſhoulde ſuffer the olde lawes and rude ordinaunces of his Countrey, to be vſed any longer amongſt his ſubiects, vppon payne that might enſue for diſobedience ſhewed towards the Maieſtie of the Romaine Empyre.

Hierguſt nowe perceyuing into what thraldome and miſerie his Countrey was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured agaynſt his neighbours the Scottiſhe men, as a man ſore repenting his paſſed follie, and ſeeing no readie meane preſente howe to reforme the ſame, being aged and ſore broken with continuall ſickneſſe, he got himſelfe ſecretly into his priuie Chamber, where immediately hee ſlue hymſelfe, to be ridde of the ſight of that preſent ſeruile eſtate, into the whiche he ſawe both him and his whole Countrey reduced.

Hierguſt ſlayeth himſelfe.

The Pictes are forbidden to create a king.

Whoſe death being once knowne, Victorine commaunded that the Pictes ſhould not chooſe any other from thenceforth, to raigne as King ouer them, nor to obey any other Magiſtrates, but onely ſuch as ſhoulde bee appoynted to haue the gouernment of them, by commaundement and commiſſion of the Romaine Emperour. For it was agreed, as he alledged, by the tenour of the league, concluded betwixt Hierguſt and Maximus, that after the deceaſſe of the ſame Hierguſt, all his dominions ſhoulde bee gouerned by Romaine officers in fourme of a Prouince. Howbeeit the Pictes nothing regarded the wordes of Victorine, but by common agreement choſe one Durſtus the ſeconde ſonne of Hierguſt to bee their king.

Durſtus is choſen king of the Pictes.

Durſtus is beſieged of the Romaines.

Wherevpon Victorine beeing enformed of theyr doings, rayſed a power, and made ſuche ſpeede towardes them, that hee was gotten ſo neare vnto the Citie of Camelon, ere they had any knowledge of his approch, that Durſtus with other of the Nobles, beeing as then within the ſame, could not haue ſpace to eſcape their wayes, but being forthwith beſieged within it, at length they were taken by force of aſſault, and the citie ſacked, to the great enryching of the Romaine armie, and vtter vndoing of the poore Inhabitauntes.

Durſtus is brought priſoner to London.

Durſtus with other the chiefeſt priſoners were firſte had vnto London, and from thence conueyed to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the Senate. The reſidue of the nobles that were taken there, ſuffered in the markette place at Camelon.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their baſe ſeruices.

Thus was that tumult appeaſed, and the Picts commaunded to pay yearly vnto the Emperours procurator the fourth parte of all theyr reuenues growing of theyr corne and cattell. Beſide this trybute hee charged them alſo wyth diuerſe baſe ſeruices, as to labor in mettal mines, to digge ſtones forth of the quarreys, and to make bricke to bee ſent into Brytaine, or into other places whyther it pleaſed hym to commaunde it.

The cauſe why hee burdened them in ſuche ſort was (as hee ſayde) to teache them to knowe themſelues. For they were become ſo loftie ſithe the departure of the Scottiſhmen out of the Iſle, that if they were not reſtrayned in time by authoritie of the Romaine puiſſaunce, the whole

Brytiſh

Britiſh nation were like to be ſhortly diſquieted, by theyr wilfull meanes and inſolent preſumptions.

Neither was it thought ſufficient vnto Victorine to charge the Pictes in manner as is before ſpecified, but to theyr further greeuaunce hee deuiſed an other way, whereby to bring them in the ende vnto vtter deſtruction, whiche was this: he conſtrayned them togither with theyr wyues, children, and whole familyes, to remoue beyonde the water of Forth, and to leaue all the Countreys on this ſyde the ſame water as well thoſe whiche they anciently had inhabited, as the other which of late apperteyned vnto the Scottes, and were aſſigned vnto them by Maximus to poſſeſſe, after that the Scottes were expelled.

The Pictes are commaunded to dwell beyonde the water of Forth.

All whiche Countreys thus by the Pictes nowe left voyde, were appoynted by Victorine vnto the Brytaynes, as ſubiectes to the Empyre, to be inhabited. And for a perfite diuiſion betwixte the Pictes, and the ſame Brytaynes, hee commaunded a Wall to bee made, and a trench to be caſt alongſt by the ſame, from Abyrcorne, throughe the territorie of Glaſkow vnto Alcluthe, or Auldcluch, now clalled Dunbreton, ſo running from the Eaſt Sea vnto the Weſt. Hereto proclamation was made, that if any of the Pictiſhe nation did enterpriſe to paſſe this Wall, and to enter into the Brytiſhe confines withoute licence of the Magiſtrates, hee ſhould die for it.

A wall made to diuide the Brytains from the Pictes.

The Picts forbiddẽ to paſſe ouer beyonde that wall.

Whyleſt the Pictes through theyr owne fault, are thus brought into moſte miſerable ſubiection of the Romaines, the Scottiſhe men as is ſayde) beeing baniſhed the lande, lyue in other Countreyes by ſhyfting oute the tyme ſo well as they myght, ſome continuing wyth theyr wyues and children, gotte a poore lyuing wyth theyr hande, as exercyſing ſome Science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and ſerued vnder ſundrye worthie Captaynes here and there as occaſion ſerued.

The Scottes liue in other Countreys.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commaunded (as is ſayde) to goe into Denmarke, was ioyfully receyued of the King there. Who alſo gaue hym an office, therewyth to mainteyne hys degree, ſo that hee lyued there certayne yeares in ryght honourable eſtate, and begatte of his wyfe whom he brought thyther wyth hym foorth of Albanie, a ſonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceaſſe hadde iſſue by hys wyfe called Rocha (a Ladie of highe Parentage amongeſt the Nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rorichus ſecond perſon of the Realme) a ſonne named Ferguſe, whoſe chaunce was afterwardes to reſtore the Scottiſh nation againe to their former eſtate and Kingdome.

Ethodius brother vnto Eugenius, late king of Scotlande.

Eith the ſonne of Ethodius, begot Ferguſe.

In his yong yeares, hee was appoynted to ſerue vnder Alaryke the Gottiſhe King in that famous voyage which he tooke in hande agaynſt the Romaine Empyre. For ſuche was the hate as then of all the Northerne Regions and Kingdomes towardes the Romaine name, that by generall agreement they conſpyred togyto the vtter ruyne and finall deſtruction thereof. And ſo eche of them ſente forth a power in ayde of the ſayde Alaryke choſen by common conſent as Generall of the whole enterpryſe.

The Gothes make an expedicion againſt the Empyre of Rome.

Ferguſe being ſet forth by the King of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a choſen number of ſuche Scottiſh men as were withdrawne into thoſe parties went with the better will, for that beſyde the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towardes the Romanes for the vſing of his auncetters ſo cruelly in expulſing them oute of theyr owne homes and natiue Countrey.

Ferguſe was ſent to ayde the Gothes.

This Ferguſe was preſent with the Gothes at the wynning of Rome, in the ſacking whereof, amongeſt other ſpoyles, hee gotte (as is reported) a certaine Cheſte full of bookes, the whiche ſome holde opinion hee brought afterwardes into the weſterne Iles, and cauſed them to bee kept in Iona, nowe Colmekill, within a librarie there buylded for the ſame intent. Which bookes (as is to bee ſuppoſed) were certaine hyſtories or monumentes of olde antiquities. But the ſame were ſo defaced in the dayes of Hector Boetius (who as hee himſelfe wryteth, cauſed them to be brought ouer vnto him to Aberdyne) that it coulde not be vnderſtoode of what matter they intreated.

Rome ſacked.

It is wrytten moreouer of Ferguſe that hee continued wyth Alaryke in all hys enterpryſes, ſo long as hee lyued, and afterwardes ſerued vnder hys ſucceſſour Athaulfus, to hys greate fame, and in ſuche honourable eſtimation, as fewe were founde comparable vnto him in thoſe dayes.

Ferguſe was a Captain vnder Alarike and Athaulf kings of the Gothes.

At length requyring a ſafecunduyte to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with highe and right bountifull rewardes, as in part of recompence of his good and faythfull ſeruice ſhewed, during the tyme of the warres, as wel in the life time of the ſayd Athaulfus, as alſo in the dayes of his predeceſſour the foreſayde Alaryke.

Ferguſe with leaue returned againe from Italie into Denmarke.

About the ſame ſeaſon, the Biſhoppes ſea of Candida caſa, otherwyſe called Quhitterne, was fyrſt inſtituted by one Ninian a preacher, that tooke greate paynes, (as the report hathe gone) to inſtruct the Pictes and Brytaynes in the

Saint Ninian.

the Chriſtian fayth. Hee was afterwardes reputed a Saint, and the place of his buriall had in ſuch veneration, that many vſed to reſort thither for deuotion ſake, as the maner in tymes paſt was when pilgrymage goings were vſed.

But nowe to returne where wee left touching the Pictes, and to ſhewe the maner howe the Scottes returned againe into Albanie: Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that the Pictes beeing brought into ſeruile bondage (as before wee haue partlye declared) and doubting dayly of worſe to enſue, they ſent ſecrete meſſengers vnto ſuche Scottes as remayned in exyle in the Weſterne Iles, in Norway, and in other partes of the worlde, promiſing them, if they woulde giue the attempt for recouerie of theyr auncient dwelling places in Albanie, they ſhoulde bee ſure of all the ayde that in them lay, being readie to ſpende their lyues to reuenge the iniuryes whiche they dayly ſuſteyned at the Romaines handes, whoſe contynuall practiſe euer was howe to oppreſſe the auncient libertyes of all ſuch Nations as came vnder theyr ſubiection. The experience whereof they nowe felte, to theyr vnſufferable greeuaunce, looking for nothing elſe but ſhortlye to bee expulſed oute of theyr Countrey, and dryuen to goe ſeeke them other places to inhabite in ſtraunge Countreys, after the manner of Outlawes, as it had chaunced alreadie to the Scottes by commaundement of Maximus, as before is expreſſed.

The Picts ſent into forraine Countreys to call home the Scottes.

Ferguſe vnto whom amongſt other this meſſage was chiefly directed, reioyced greatly of the newes. And firſte conferring with the king of Denmark, of whoſe ayde he knew himſelfe aſſured, by his aduiſe he ſent letters abrode forthwith into Norwaye, Orkney, the Weſterne Iles, and into Ireland, vnto ſuch of the Scottiſh men as dwelt in thoſe places to vnderſtande theyr minde herein.

Ferguſe ſent vnto the Scots diſperſed.

And beeing certifyed that they were vniuerſally agreed, not onely to trye theyr chaunce for recouerie of theyr former eſtate and Kingdome, but alſo had choſen him to be gouernour & generall Capitaine in that enterpryſe: he prepared partly at his owne coſtes, and partly at the charges of the king of Denmarke, and other of his friendes and alyes there, a greate multitude both of men of warre and Shippes, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into Albanie to recouer hys Grandfathers eſtate, whiche as it was thought myght nowe bee the more eaſily brought to paſſe, ſith the Pictes woulde ayde him thereto, vppon an earneſt deſire whiche they had to reuenge theyr owne iniuries receyued at the Romaines handes, and to delyuer themſelues from ſuch thraldome as they dayly felte themſelues oppreſſed with, doubting withall ſhortly to bee quite expelled out of theyr whole Countrey, as they had bene forced to forgoe a great and the better part therof alreadie.

Ferguſe prepared himſelfe to warre.

In this meane tyme, one Gratian diſcended of the Brytiſhe bloud, by conſent of the Romain Legate Martius, (both of them going agaynſte theyr allegiaunce) vſurped the gouernaunce of Brytayne by his owne priuate authoritie: but ſhortly after, they two falling at variance togither, the one of them ſlue the other. And then the Souldiers not ſtaying till they vnderſtoode the pleaſure of Honorius the Emperour, choſe one Conſtantine to ſucceed in the place of Martius, who paſſing ouer into Fraunce, was ſlaine there by Conſtantius, one of the Captaynes of the ſayd Honorius.

Gratian vſurped the gouernance of Brytaine.

Martius ſlain.

Conſtantine ſucceedeth Martius.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

Victorine the other of the Romaine Legates hearing of the deathe both of Martins and Conſtantine, remoued from Yorke vnto London, the better to prouide for the ſafe keeping of the lande to the Emperour Honorius hys vſe: for that hee doubted ſundrie daungers whiche might chaunce, by reaſon the Countrey was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the moſte part of them beyng tranſported ouer into Fraunce, with the forenamed Conſtantine, and not agayne returned.

The Lieutenāt of the north commeth to London.

The Pictes enfourmed of theſe things, ſente worde with all ſpeede vnto Fergus, requiryng him to make haſte, ſith if he ſhould haue wiſhed for a conuenient tyme, a better coulde not bee deuiſed: conſidering the preſent ſtate of things as well in Brytayne, as in other partes of the Romain Empyre, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion.

The Picts ſend ſpeedily vnto Ferguſe.

Ferguſe vnderſtanding the whole, by ſuche meſſengers as ſtyll came one after another vnto hym from the Pictes, hee haſted to departe wyth all diligence: and when all things were readie, hee tooke the Sea with hys armie, and within eight dayes after, he arryued in ſafetie wythin the Fyrth of Murray lande with all his veſſelles and people, where taking lande, and worde thereof beeing brought into Irelande, into Orkeney, and into the Weſterne Iles, all ſuche of the Scottiſhe lynage as lyued in thoſe partes in exyle, came wyth theyr wyues, children, and whole families in moſte ſpeedie wiſe vnto hym, as though the Countrey had beene alreadie recouered out of the enimies handes, without all doubtes of further perill or buſineſſe.

Ferguſe arryued with his ſhips in Murrey Fyrth.

The Pictes alſo reioyſing greatly at the newes of his comming, repayred vnto hym, and ſhewed him all the honour that might be deuiſed, beſeeching him to pardon and forget all iniuryes and diſpleaſures by them wrought and contryued in tymes paſte agaynſte the Scottiſh

The Picts ioyfully receyue Ferguſe.

The Pictes craue pardon excuſing them ſelues.

Scottiſh nation, ſithe now they were readie for the aduauncement thereof to ſpende theyr lyues agaynſt ſuch as were enimies to the ſame. Neyther was the fault theyrs, in that Hierguſt had conſented with the Romaines to baniſhe the Scottiſh people, but in their auncetters, who being blinded through the fayre wordes and ſweet promiſes of the Romaines, ſawe not the myſchiefe which they brought vpon their own heads, and their poſterities. Therefore they deſired him to renue againe the league betwixt the Pictiſhe and Scottiſh Nations, with ſuch conditions of appoyntment as it ſhoulde pleaſe him to preſcribe.

Ferguſe.

Ferguſe by conſent of his Nobles anſwerd, that he was contented to ſtabliſh the league with them, euen according to the tenour of the auncient agreement, and to ioyne his power wyth theyrs to helpe to reſtore them vnto their former eſtate and liberties, ſo that they woulde bee contented to ſurrender vp into the Scottiſhe mens handes, all ſuch townes and Countreys, from the which they had beene expulſed by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the diſpleaſures done to the Scottiſhe men in tymes paſt by ayding the Romaines agaynſt them, (as he thought) the Pictes had felt puniſhment ynough for the ſame alreadie, being reduced into moſt ſeruile and miſerable bondage, as iuſtly rewarded by almightie God for their great vntrouthes, vſed and ſhewed towardes theyr auncient neighbours, faythfull friendes and allies.

The Picts puniſhed for their vntruthes

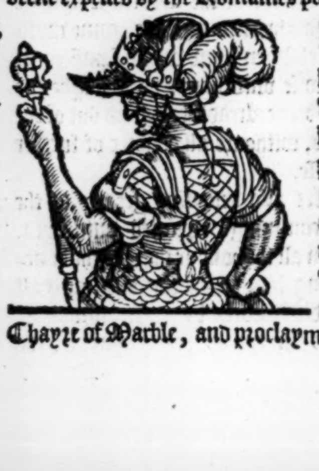
The auncient league renued again betwixt the Scottes and Pictes.

The Pictes were throughly pleaſed and ſatiſfied with Ferguſe his wordes, ſo that within few dayes after, theyr king (whome they had lately choſen ſith the time that the Scottiſh men were thus returned) came vnto Ferguſe, and ratifyed the league with him, according to the articles of that other whiche in tyme paſt had beene obſerued on the behalfe of the Scottiſhe and Pictiſh nations, with ſuch ſolemne othes and aſſurance, as betwixt princes in ſemblable caſes, of cuſtome is requiſite and neceſſarie.

The Scottes reſtored to their coūtryes

Then were thoſe Countreys reſtored to the Scottiſh men againe, out of the which they had beene expelled by the Romaines power.

Ferguſe



Ferguſe is cōueyed into Argyle, and there inueſted king.

AND Ferguſe then being cōueyed with a ryght honorable cōpanie of lords, gentlemen, & commons into Argyle, was there placed on the Chayre of Marble, and proclaymed king wyth all ſuch accuſtomed pompe and ceremonies as to him apperteyned.

422.H.B

396. Io.Ma.

The 11. yeare of the Emperor Honorius H.B

755.H.B.

This was in the. xlv. yeare after the Scots had beene dryuen forth of Albanie, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 424. in the yeare after the death of Honorius the Emperour, and from the firſte erection of the Scottiſh kingdome 750. yeares complete.

All ſuche Caſtelles alſo and Fortreſſes as the Pictes helde within any of thoſe Countreys, which belonged vnto the Scottes, were ſurrendred into theyr handes in peaceable wiſe: but the reſidue whiche the Romains kepte were earneſtly defended for a whyle, though at lēgth through want of victuals & other neceſſaries, they lykewyſe were deliuered.

When the Scottes firſt got certaine ſeates here in this Ile of Brytaine as ſome thinke.

If I ſhould here ſay what I thinke, and that mine opinion might paſſe for currant coyne, I would not ſticke to affyrme that either now firſt (or not long before their late ſuppoſed expulſion from hence) the Scottes ſettled themſelues to inhabite here within this Ile, and that they had no certain ſeates in the ſame til then. But that comming either forth of Irelande, or frō the weſterne iles wher they before inhabited, they vſed to make often inuaſions into this land, greatly moleſting as well the Brytaynes, the auncient inhabitants thereof, as the Romaines that then helde the Ile vnder their ſubiection. For I can neyther perſwade my ſelfe, nor wiſhe other to beleeue, that there was any ſuche continuaunce in ſucceſſion of kings, as their hiſtories doe mention, and as we haue here before ſet downe in following the ſame hiſtories, bycauſe wee will not willingly ſeeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwiſe perſwaded, & thinke the ſame ſucceſſion to be moſt true, where other perchance may cōiecture (& not moued therto without good reaſon) that ſuche kings as in their hyſtories are auouched to raigne one after another here in this Ile, eyther raigned in Irelande, or in the oute Iles, and that verily not ſucceſſiuely, but diuerſe of them at one ſeaſon, and in diuerſe places. Which miſtaking of the courſe of hyſtories hath bredde errours, not onely among the Scottiſh wryters, but euen among ſome of the Brytiſhe and Engliſhe writers alſo, as to the learned and well aduiſed readers it may plainly appeare. And as for Galde, and ſome other happely, which they take to be kings of Scottes, although they raigned in that parte of this Ile which afterwardes was poſſeſſed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they meere Brytaynes, and had little to do with Scottes, except perchaunce we may thinke that they helde the out Iles in ſubiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, farre longer time perhaps (before their ſettling in Brytayne) than theyr hyſtories make mention.

But nowe to returne where wee left. After that Victorine the Romain legate was aduertiſed of all the foreremembred doings of the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, he cauſed an armie to be leuied with all ſpeede, and haſted forth with the ſame vnto Yorke, where beeing arriued, hee attempted by an Heralde at armes to perſwade the Pictes to forſake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceyuing he could not bring it to paſſe, he determined to purſue both thoſe nations with open warre, and ſo thereupon ſetting forward, he paſſed forth till he came neare vnto Camelon, wher he encamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thouſand perſons at the leaſt.

Victorine prepareth an army to goe againſt the Scottes.

Victorine ſeeketh to perſuade the Picts from taking part with the Scottes.

Victorine encampeth neare vnto Camelon with. 50000. men.

Ferguſe being aduertiſed hereof, hauing in like maner alreadie aſſembled a mightie huge hoſte, both of Scottiſhmen and Pictes, came therwith ouer the Forth, and marched forth with all ſpeed in the night ſeaſon, in purpoſe to haue ſet on hys enimies verye early in the dawning of the next morning: but Victorine hauing knowledge therof, commaunded his men to be arraunged and ſet in order of battaile by the third watch of the ſame night, ſo that being readie to receyue the Scottes vpon their firſt approch, there was fought a right ſore and cruell battaile, with ſuch ſlaughter on both partes, that the ryuer of Carron (neare vnto which their battailes ioyned) was well neare filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof ſo chaunged into a ruddie hewe, that it ſeemed as though it had runne altogither with bloud. In the ende (whileſt as yet it was doubtfull to whether ſide the victorie would encline) there came ſuch a ſodaine ſhower of raine, mixed with ſuche great abundance of hayleſtones, that neyther part was able to haue ſight of other, ſo that by reaſon of the violent rage of that huge ſtorme and tempeſt, eyther ſide was fayne to withdraw from the other.

Ferguſe paſſeth the Forth.

Ferguſe purpoſeth to aſſaile his enimies in the dawning of the day.

The riuer of Carron rũneth with blood.

The battaile ſeuered by reaſon of a tempeſt.

There were ſlaine in this battaile ſuch great numbers of men, aſwell on the one ſide as the other, that they had ſmall luſt to ioyne in battaile againe for certaine yeares after.

For the Romain Lieutenant vnderſtanding what loſſe of people he had ſuſteyned without attempting any further exployte, appoynted certaine of his companies to lie in garriſon wythin ſundrie fortreſſes in Pictlande, and wyth the reſidue hee returned into Kent. In like ſort the Scottes with their confederates the Pictes, perceyuing themſelues not able as then to make any further attempt agaynſt theyr enimies, brake vp theyr armye, and deuiſed onely howe they might defende that, which they had alreadie in poſſeſſion.

The lieutenãt furniſhing diuerſe holdes, returneth into Kent.

The Scots and Pictes breake vp their camp.

And forſomuch as the Pictiſhe Nation was encreaſed to a greater multitude of people, than thoſe Countreys which they then held, were able to finde with ſufficient ſuſtenance (conſidering what a great portion of their auncient ſeates the Brytaynes and Romaines kept from them) it was agreed by the Scottes, that they ſhoulde enioy the Countrey of Athole, with other landes bordering neare vnto the ſame, lying wythoute the compaſſe of the Mountayne of Granzbeim.

Athole aſsigned to the Pictes.

The Pictes then being placed in Athole, encreaſed there wonderfully, and buylt many fayre Caſtels and towers in thoſe parties, to the great beautifying of that Countrey.

In which meane while, Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant commaunded the Brytaynes to make haſt with the wal, whereof ye haue heard made of turfe, and ſuſteyned with certaine poſtes of tymber paſſing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enimies, beginning as yee haue heard, at Abircorne, and ſo ſtretching forth by Glaſcow, and Kyrkpatryk, euen vnto Alcluch, nowe Dunbryton. lxxx. myles more Northward, than the other wal, which the Emperor Adrian cauſed (as is ſayd) to be made.

The Brytaines by the appointment of Victorine make a Wall.

Whereof the Scottes and Pictes being enformed, they aſſembled themſelues togither, and vnder the leading of a noble man called Graym, they ſet vpon the Brytaynes, as they were buſie in working about the ſame, and ſlue not onely a great number of labourers and ſouldiours, which were ſet to labour and defende the worke, but alſo entering into the Brytiſh borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of Cattaile and other riches, which they fou͂d diſperſed abrode in the cou͂trey.

The Scottiſhe men and Picts interrupt the making of that Wall.

This Graym (who as I ſayde was chiefe of this enterpryſe) was brother vnto the Scottiſh Queene, the wife of king Ferguſe. He was borne in Denmarke (as ſome holde opinion) in the time of the Scottiſh mens baniſhment, and had a Scottiſh man to his father deſcended of a noble houſe, and a Daniſh Ladie to his mother. He himſelfe alſo maried a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Ferguſe by the perſwaſion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had iſſue by hir (afore his comming into Scotlande) three ſonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, & Conſtantius, of whom hereafter in their place mention ſhall bee made, as occaſion ſerueth.

Graim, otherwiſe called Graham, and his lynage.

Ferguſe maried a daughter of Graym.

Other there be, that affyrme how this Graym was a Brytayne borne, and that through hate which he bare towardes the Romaines for their cruell gouernment, he fledde forth of his natiue Countrey, and continued euer after amongſt the Scottes, as firſt in Denmarke, and afterwardes in Albion, euer readie to doe what diſpleaſures hee coulde deuiſe agaynſt the Ro-

Diuerſitie of opinions touching the originall beginning of the Graymes.

maynes and other theyr friendes or ſubiectes. Of thys Graym thoſe Scottes which vnto this day beare that surname, are ſayde to bee diſcended.

The Scottiſh men returne into theyr Countrey.

Ferguſe inuadeth the confines of the Brytaynes.

The Scots put to the worſe.

But now to the purpoſe, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after that it was knowne in forraine countreys, howe the Scottes had gotte foote agayne within thoſe Regions in Albion, which theyr elders of auncient tyme had poſſeſſed, there came dayly dyuerſe companyes of that Nation out of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, and Italye, (where during the tyme of theyr baniſhment they had ſerued vnder ſundrye Captaynes) vnto Ferguſe to ayde hym, in recouerie of theyr Countrey and auncient ſeates, oute of the whiche they had beene moſte cruelly expulſed. So that Ferguſe nowe ſeeing hys power thus not a little augmented by theyr comming, entereth into the borders of Kyle, Carrik, and Cunningham, ſpoyling and harrying thoſe Countreys on euery ſide: but ſhortly thereupon commeth the armie of the Romains, with whom the Scottes encountering in battaile, receyued no leſſe domage than they minded to haue done vnto theyr aduerſaries. Whervpon being forced to leaue that Countrey, they drewe backe into Argyle, where Ferguſe wyntered for that part of the yeare which yet remayned.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Ferguſe is diſſwaded to fight with the Romanes.

The Romaine Empyre inuaded by barbarous nations.

When Sommer was come, he was counſayled to haue eftſoones offered battayle vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Galloway, & rather to trie the vttermoſt poynt of Fortunes chaunce agaynſt him, than to ſuſtaine ſuch diſpleaſures and iniuries at the Romaines handes, as by them were dayly done vnto him and hys people, but there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the daunger was great to ieopard againe in battaile with the Romaines, being me̅ of ſuch ſkill and practiſe in the feates of warres, conſidering what loſſe had chaunced in the two former battayles. Againe, there was great likelyhoode, that if he coulde be contented to forbeare for a tyme, and ſeeke to defende the borders of his Countrey, ſo well as he might without giuing battayle, it muſt needes come to paſſe that ſhortly the Romaine Empyre ſhoulde bee brought vnto ſuch ruynous decay, by reaſon of the multitude of enimies, whiche as then inuaded the ſame on eche ſide, that in the ende Victorine doubting his owne ſuretie, woulde conuey himſelfe wyth his men of warre out of the Countrey, and then ſhoulde it bee an eaſie matter for the Scottes and Pictes, to recouer again all ſuche Countreys, as aunciently belonged to theyr elders, and whollye to reſtore the eſtates of theyr common wealthes vnto theyr former dignities.

Victorine accuſed vnto Honorius.

Victorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of Emperour in Brytayne.

This aduiſe was followed as the beſt and moſt likely, ſo that making ſundry rodes into the borders of their enimies Countreys ſo to kepe them ſtill occupied, Ferguſe and the Scottes refuſed vtterly to come to any foughten fielde with them. Shortly after alſo it chaunced that Victorine was accuſed vnto the Emperour Honorius of ſome ſecrete practiſe agaynſt his Maieſtie, as to bee about to vſurpe the crowne of Brytayne, wherevnto hee was compelled in deede, by the ſouldiers (whoſe heartes hee had wonne through his bounteous liberalitie ſundrie wayes declared towardes them) and vnderſtanding at this preſent, that he was mynded to haue fled his wayes for doubt of the ſayde information made againſt him, they moued him with ſuch earneſt perſwaſions to take vppon him the Imperiall dignitie, promiſing euen to liue and die with him in defence thereof, aſwell agaynſt Honorius, as all other, that in the ende he conſented vnto their deſires, and ſo was proclaymed Emperor, and clothed in purpure, vſing thereto all the other Imperial ornaments, as if he had bene Emperour in deede.

Heraclianus is ſent agaynſt Victorine.

Victorine is deliuered into the handes of Heraclianus.

Heraclianus is ſent into Affricha.

But afterwardes when one Heraclianus was ſent with an army by Honorius into Brytayne agaynſt this Victorine, the moſt part of the ſouldiers, with thoſe Brytaynes which had acknowledged him for their ſupreme gouernour, beganne to feare the ſequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offences, they tooke Victorine, and deliuered him priſoner vnto the ſame Heraclianus, with dyuerſe other of hys confederates, and ſo by this meanes was the eſtate of Brytayne recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who ſhortly after ſent for Heraclianus, mynding to ſende him into Affrike againſt one Athalus, who vſurped there againſt the Romaine Empyre.

Placidus lieutenant of Brytaine.

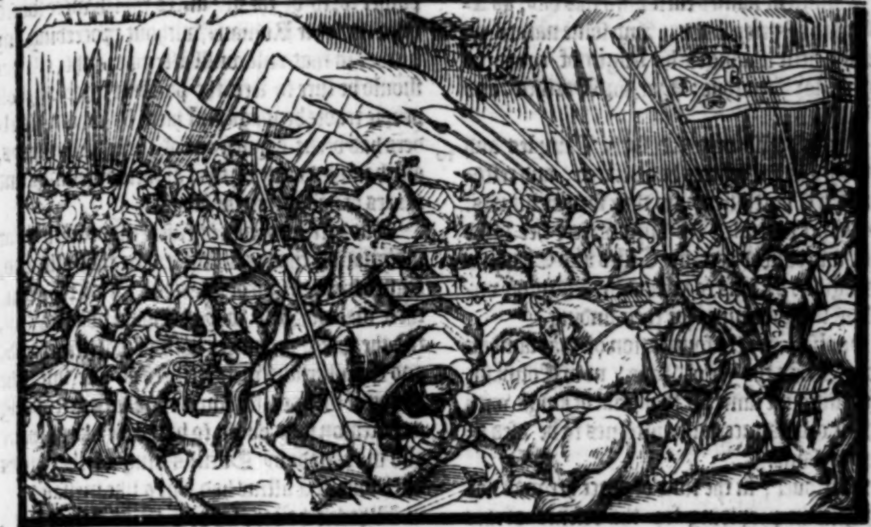
The warre renued by the Scottes.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the borders of their enimies.

At his departure forth of Brytayne, he left one Placidus as Lieutenant and generall of the Romaine armye in thoſe parties: a man of no greate courage, and leſſe ſkill, which being perceyued of the Scottes, gaue occaſion vnto Ferguſe theyr king to renue the warre. And firſt hee procured Durſtus king of the Pictes, being the third of that name to ioyne with him in that enterpriſe, according to the articles of the league. Who co̅ſenting thervnto, whe̅ their powers were once aſſembled, they entred into yͤ marches of their enimies ouerrunning the moſt of part Kile, Carrik, & Co̅ningham, and after they had taken their pleaſure there they entered into Gallowaye, deſtroying all before them, which way ſoeuer they paſſed. Then turning into Pictland, they ſubdue the whole region, and expulſe all ſuch Romaines and Brytaines as inhabite in the ſame.

Placidus gathereth a power.

Placidus being aduertiſed hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forwarde towardes them, with whom encountering in battaile, after



long fight, his horſemen chaunced to be put to flight, ſo that the legions of his footemen beeing left naked on the ſides, were ſo ſore beaten with the ſhot of arrowes, and hurling of dartes, that in the ende they were forced to breake their array, and ſo being chaſed, left to the Scottes and Pictes a great and ioyfull victorie. Placidus himſelfe eſcapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scottes were minded to haue purſued him, had not the want of ſuch numbers as they had loſt at the battaile, ſomewhat abated their couragious intents.

He encountereth with his enimies.

Placidus receiueth the ouerthrow.

He flyeth to Yorke.

In the meane time Placidus not onely mooued wyth this ouerthrowe, but alſo waying wyth himſelfe after what ſorte the Romaine Empyre was afflicted, with inuaſion of the barbarous Nations in Germanie, Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude ſome peace with the Scots and Pictes, for doubt of further miſhappes that might enſue. And ſo by ſuche meanes as he made ſhortly after, a league was concluded betwixte the Scottes, Pictes, and Romaines, wyth theſe conditions, that the Scottes and Pictes ſhoulde enioy and keepe theyr auncient ſeates and Regions, whiche they had nowe recouered, and hereafter not to make anye rodes or forrayes into the Prouince belonging to the Romaines, and that the ſame Romaines contenting themſelues with the Brytiſhe confines, ſhoulde not moue any warre or hoſtilitie towards the Scots or Pictes.

Placidus ſeeketh to haue peace.

A league concluded betwixt Scottes, Pictes, and Romains.

This league being thus concluded and ratefied, the Scottiſhe men and Pictes endeuoured themſelues to reduce the ſtate of theyr common wealth into the auncient fourme and order.

Ferguſe made partition of landes and groundes throughout all his kingdome, and aſſigned the ſame forth vnto his ſubiectes the Scottiſhmen, and to ſuch other ſtraungers as were come into Albion to ſerue him in the warres agaynſt hys enimies, and were mynded now to remain there. The other that were deſirous to depart agayne into theyr Countreys, he gaue them honourable rewards, with ſafeconduits to paſſe their wayes at their owne pleaſures.

Ferguſe deuideth the lands in partes.

At this time alſo were the names of diuerſe Countreys and people chaunged in the parties of Scotlande, vpon ſundrie conſiderations, as Cornana a part of Scotlande, lying in the furtheſt ende of all the Countrey, tooke a newe name of one Cathus, a valiant Captaine, and of the promontorie there ſhooting forth into the ſea called Neſſe: ſo that beeing compounde togither, that countrey was cleped Cathneſſe.

The names of diuerſe places in Scotlande chaunged.

Cathneſſe, whereof it is ſo named.

Alſo of certaine Iriſhe men called Roſſians, the countrey of Roſſe tooke that name, beeing afore named Lugia.

Roſſe.

That part of the Countrey auncientlly called Thezalia, which lyeth on the Sea coaſt, beganne to be called Buthquhane, of the trybute vſed to be payed there for ſheepe, of the which kind of Cattell there is greate ſtore in that Prouince. For Quhane in the olde Scottiſhe tongue ſignifyed trybute: and Buth, a flocke of ſheepe.

Buthquhane.

The ſignification of the name of Buthquhane.

The other parte of Thezalia lying into the landewarde, was called Bogdale, of the Ryuer named Bog, which runneth through the middes of it.

Bogdale.

Louchquhaber tooke the name of a greate meare or water, into the whiche the Ryuer of

Loucl.quhaber

Dubabre falleth and paſſeth through the ſame, notable by reaſon of the great plentie of Salmōs taken therein.

Athole, Murray lande.

Argyle, for Argathile: and Mar, for Marthea.

Some other Countreys there be, which keepe theyr auncient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey lande. And ſome names remaine a little chaunged by length of time, as Argyle, for Argathile: Mar, for Marthea: and ſuch like.

Ferguſe repayreth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious perſons.

Ferguſe alſo repayred ſuche Temples and Churches as the warres had defaced, and reſtored again Churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further encreaſed the ſame where hee ſawe cauſe, and builded certaine Celles and Chappels for religious perſons to inhabit in, aſſigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding.

The firſt foundation of the Abbay within the Iſle of Iona now Colmkil.

He alſo layde the foundation of that famous Abbay within the Iſle of Iona, now Colmkill, appoynting the ſame for the burial of kings, with certaine ordinaunces and cuſtomes to be vſed about the ſame.

Ferguſe repayreth his Caſtels.

Moreouer, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defence of his realme. Such Caſtels as were decayed and ouerthrowne by the enimies in the warre time, he repayred, and in thoſe which ſtoode towardes the borders of the Brytiſh countreys, he placed ſundrie garriſons of ſuch ſouldiers as wanted trades to gette theyr lyuing nowe, in tyme of peace, aſſigning them ſufficient ſtypendes to lyue vpon.

Placidus the Lieutenant of Britaine dieth.

The Scots and Pictes renue the warre.

In this meane tyme, Honorius the Emperour being dead, and the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre dayly falling into decay, it chaunced alſo that Placidus the Lieutenant of Brytaine departed out of this life, by reaſon whereof the Scottiſh men and Pictes tooke occaſion to renue the warres, making as it were a clayme vnto the Countreys of Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande, which theyr elders in tymes paſt had helde and poſſeſſed.

The crueltie of the Scottes and Pictes.

Entering therefore into thoſe Countreys, they take, ſpoyle, and deſtroy all ſuch of the Brytiſh nation as went about to deſtroy them. Neither ſpared they impotēt age or other, but ſhewed great crueltie agaynſt all ſuche as came in theyr wayes. Many an honeſt woman they rauiſhed and miſuſed after a moſt villaynous maner.

Caſtius ordeyned Lieutenāt of Brytayne.

Dionethus, or Dionotus as ſome bookes haue.

Caſtius ſendeth vnto Ferguſe.

The Romaine ſouldiers after the deceaſſe of Placidus, ordeyned one Caſtius to ſucceede in his roomth, who beeing aduertiſed of thys enterpryſe of the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, doubted leaſt (as the trouth was) that Dionethus the ſonne of Octauius ſometyme King of the Brytaynes, in hope to attayne the Crowne of Brytayne, as due to him by inheritance, would nowe ſeeke to ayde the Scottiſhe king Ferguſe, whoſe ſiſter he had in mariage. Caſtius therfore more deſirous of peace than of warres, ſent forth a meſſenger at Armes vnto king Ferguſe, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romaines, and to withdrawe hys power forth of the prouinces which were ſubiect vnto the ſame Romans, without proceeding any further in that vnlawfull attempt, either elſe hee ſhould be ſure to feele the puiſſant force of thoſe people readie bent agaynſt him, by whom his elders had beene dryuen out of theyr Countreys, and baniſhed quite forth of al their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

The anſwere of king Ferguſe.

But hereunto was anſwere made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceaſſed by the death of Placidus, & as for peace, there was no cauſe why he ſhould looke for any, till the whole prouinces both of Weſtmerlande and Cumberland were reſtored againe vnto the handes of the Scottiſh men and Picts, according as of reaſon they ought to be. The like anſwere alſo was made by Durſtus king of the Pictes vnto whom Caſtius had ſent a like meſſage.

Caſtius reyſeth an army.

Dionethus ioyneth with the Scottes agaynſt the Romaines.

Wherwithall the ſayde Caſtius beyng not a little moued, aſſembleth an armie, and with all ſpeed marcheth forth towardes his enimies: but before his entring into Weſtmerland, wher they were as then lodged in campe, hee had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welchmē (for his landes lay in Wales) was alreadie ioyned with the Scottes.

The armies ioyne in battaile.

The Romains giue backe.

The Scottes follow in the chaſe to raſhly.

Whiche newes ſore appalled the heartes of the Brytaynes, but yet beeing encouraged with comfortable wordes of their Captaines to proceede, forwarde they goe togither with the Romaines, and withn three dayes after they came within ſight of their enimies, being raunged in battaile readie to receyue them, ſo that ſtreight wayes buckling togither, there was a right fierce and cruel battaile fought betwixt them, til finally the multitude of the Scottiſhe archers & Kernes ſo compaſſed in the battailes of the Romains on eche ſide, and ſpecially on the backes, that in the ende, and by reaſon of the loſſe of their generall Caſtius (who was ſlaine there amongſt them,) thoſe of the middle ward being diſcomfited, brake theyr array, and fledde. Wherevpon the reſidue likewiſe followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welchmen purſuing them ſo egerly without all order, that there was no ſmall nūber of them diſtreſſed by the Romains, the which in their giuing back, kept thē cloſe togither, readie to defend thēſelues, & to beat down ſuch of their enimies as followed more raſhly than warily in the chaſe, not once regarding to keepe any order of battaile: but yet by other companyes that purſued more orderly togyther for theyr moſt aduauntage, there was great ſlaughter made both of the Romains and Brytaynes.

Dionethus proclaymed king of Brytaine.

After this victorie thus atchieued, Dionethus was proclaymed King of Brytaine, and ſore warres continued in the lande by the purſute of the Welchmen, Scottes, and Pictes, to the great hazard of the Prouince, and likely expulſing of al the Romains quite out of the ſame.

Etius Lieutenant of the Romaines in Fraunce or Gallia.

About this time alſo there remayned in France, one Etius Lieutenant to the Emperour Valentinianus, who vnderſtanding all theſe things by letters and meſſengers ſent from the captains which yet remayned aliue in Brytaine, appoynted one Maximianus being a kinne to the Emperour, to paſſe with an armie in all haſte ouer into Britaine, to ayde and ſuccor the Romains and ſuche Brytaynes there, as ſtill continued in theyr allegeance whiche they had promiſed vnto the Romaine Empyre.

Maximianus ſent ouer into Brytayne.

This Maximianus at his arriuall in the Ilande was moſt ioyfully receyued by the ſouldiers and ſubiectes of the foreſayde Empyre. All the Lordes and nobles of the Countrey reſorted alſo vnto him, ſhewing themſelues moſt glad of his comming, and promiſing with what ayde ſo euer they were able to make, to goe with him againſt their enimies. Wherevpon procuring them to aſſemble their powers, and to ioyne the ſame with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he paſſed through the countrey vnto Yorke, and ſo from thence marched forth towards the Scottes being alreadie aſſembled in campe to defende the countrey of Weſtmerland againſt him.

Maximianus cauſeth the Brytaynes to ioyne with him to go againſt the Scottes.

There were both the kings of Scots & Picts, Ferguſe and Durſtus, with Dionethus naming himſelfe king of the Britaines, who had brought with him beſide the Welchmen a great number of thoſe Brytaynes that inhabited in the Countreys now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onely amongſt al other the Brytaines acknowledged him for king.

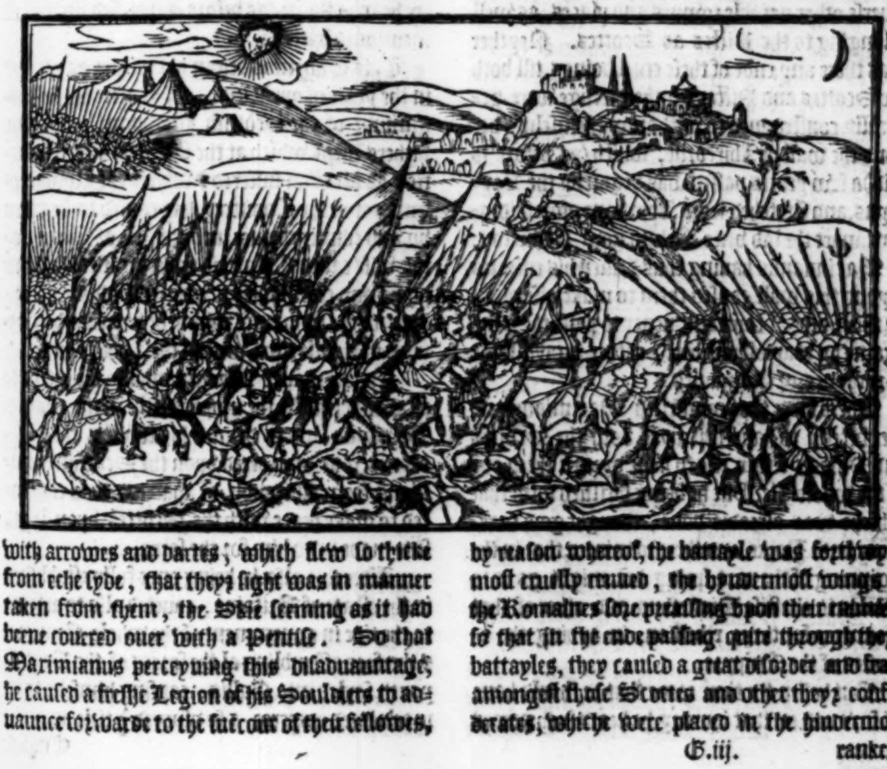
The Scottes and Pictes aſſembled agaynſt the Romaines.

When both the armies were come neare togither, they camped for that night the one in ſight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themſelues to battail. Ferguſe firſt making an earneſt oration vnto his people to encourage them the more boldly to giue the onſet, declared amongſt other things how the right was on theyr ſide, which alwayes ought to miniſter hope of good ſucceſſe in them, that enterpriſe any thing in defence thereof, where contrarily all ſuch as attempted to diſquiet other by iniury & wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill concluſion of their malicious intentes and purpoſes. Neyther were other of his captaines negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting theyr bandes, they vſed moſt comfortable wordes, and in diſpoſing them in good order of battaile, they ſhewed moſt readie and earneſt diligence.

The armies prepare to battaile.

Ferguſe exhorteth his people to do valiantly

Right miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe.



On the other ſide, Maximianus with hys Captaines and officers of bandes were as buſie on their ſide to array their battailes moſt for their aduauntage, as they ſaw cauſe and occaſion, ſo that both the armies being readie to fight, the onſet was giuen, and that in moſte furious wyſe, the Romaines beeing at the firſt ſore annoyed with arrowes and dartes, which flew ſo thicke from eche ſyde, that theyr ſight was in manner taken from them, the Skie ſeeming as it had beene couered ouer with a Pentiſe. So that Maximianus perceyuing this diſaduauntage, he cauſed a freſhe Legion of his Souldiers to aduaunce forwarde to the ſuccour of their fellowes, by reaſon whereof, the battayle was forthwyth moſt cruelly renued, the hyndermoſt wings of the Romaines ſore preaſſing vpon their enimies, ſo that in the ende paſſing quite through theyr battayles, they cauſed a great diſorder and feare amongeſt thoſe Scottes and other theyr confederates, whiche were placed in the hindermoſt rankes,

The onſet is giuen.

Maximianus perceyuing the diſaduauntage prouideth to remedie the ſame.

The Scottes diſordered.

rankes, but yet caſting themſelues in a ring, they made great and ſtout reſiſtance for a ſpace, and at length a great number euen of the moſt valiant perſonages of the whole hoſt cloſed themſelues togither, and with a maine force aſſayed to haue broken through the thickeſt preaſſe of theyr enimies, but being enuironed about on eche part, they were there ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Whileſt the Romaines drew togither to reſiſt on that ſide, other of the Scottiſhe men, Pictes, Brytaynes and Welchmen, founde a way to gette forth through their enimies on the other ſyde, and ſo being gotten paſt them, made away as faſt as their feete might beare them: But a great number being notwithſtanding ouertaken, were ſlain and beaten downe right pitifully.

The two kings Ferguſe and Durſtus are ſlaine.

Ferguſe the Scottiſhe king, and Durſtus king of the Pictes were ſlaine in this mortall battaile togither, with the moſt part of all theyr nobilitie. Dionethus being ſore wounded eſcaped to the ſea ſide, and there getting a ſhippe, paſſed ouer into Wales.

Dionethus eſcapeth.

This ouerthrow ſore diſmayed both the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe nations, who loked for nothing more than preſent expulſion out of their Countreys, for Maximianus purſuing the victorie, burſt into Galloway, moſt cruelly waſting and ſpoyling the ſame. And whẽ he had made an end there, he entred into Annandal, and into the Pictiſh confines, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſworde. Camelon was beſieged, taken by force, and miſerably put to ſack and ſpoyle, with diuerſe other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Pictes as Scottes. Neyther was there any ende of theſe cruel doings, till both the Scottes and Pictes for their refuge were generally conſtrayned to withdraw themſelues beyond the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is ſaid) a few yeares paſſed was begon by the Brytayns, and ſtretched from Abircorne aforeſaid, ouerthwart the lãd vnto Alcluth now Dũbreton.

Maximianus purſueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

The Scots and Pictes withdraw beyonde the wall of Abircorne.

Maximianus hauing thus driuen his enimies beyond this wall, cauſed them to make aſſurance by theyr othe of couenant neuer to paſſe the ſame againe by way of hoſtilitie, eyther agaynſt the Brytaynes, or Romaines.

There were that counſelled Maximianus either vtterly to haue deſtroyed both the Scottes and Pictes, either elſe to haue dryuen them out of the whole Ile. But he being ſatiſfied with that whiche was alreadie done, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the next ſpring hee might go into Wales to chaſtiſe Dionethus and other of that Countrey for theyr rebellion, in ayding the enimies of the Empyre.

But when the time came that he ſhould haue ſet forward on that iourney, he heard ſuch newes from the parties of beyonde the Seas, into what ruinous decay the Empyre was fallen, without any likelyhoode of recouerie, that chaunging his purpoſe, he determined to vſurpe the crowne of Brytayne as abſolute king thereof himſelfe, and to haue the more fauour of the Brytiſhe Nation without any impeachment in the beginning of his raigne, he tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of thoſe two, which he only had without iſſue male, by the ſiſter of king Ferguſe.

Maximianus taketh vpon him the abſolute gouernme of Brytayne, with the Imperial ſtyle. He marieth Othilia, the daughter of Dionethus.

She that was thus coupled in mariage with Maximianus hight Othilia, & the other daughter named Vrſula, was profeſſed a Nunne in an houſe of religion, to the intent that yͤ whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made ſecõd perſon of the realm, aſwel in degree of honor, as in publike gouernment.

Dionethus reputed for ſecond perſon of the realme.

Eugenius.

AND whyleſt theſe thinges were thus a doing in Brytayne, the Scottiſh lords had created Eugenius the ſon of Ferguſe, king of theyr realme, as due to him by rightful ſucceſſion from his father, who had gouerned the ſame by the ſpace of .xvj. yeares ere he was ſlaine (as before is ſpecified) in the laſt mentioned battaile.

Eugenius created king of Scottes.

This Eugenius began his raigne as we find in the yeare of our Lorde. 440. after the firſt beginning of the Scottiſh kingdome. 767. His fathers corps which at the firſt was ſecretely buried as occaſion ſuffered, whiles the Romaines were yet in the Countrey, hee cauſed to be taken vp, and conueyed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekil, where with al ſolemne pomp and ceremonies it was intumulate, according to the ordinance which he himſelfe had deuiſed in his life time, within the Abbey there.

430. H.B,
760. H.B.

The bodie of Ferguſe is buried in the Abbay of Iona otherwyſe Colmkill.

In like maner Maximianus to the intent to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more quietly in the eſtate of Brytayne, and to deliuer his ſubiects the Brytaynes, which bordered vpon the Scottiſh dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scottes vpon lyght ſute made vnto him for the ſame.

Maximianus graunteth peace to the Scottiſh men.

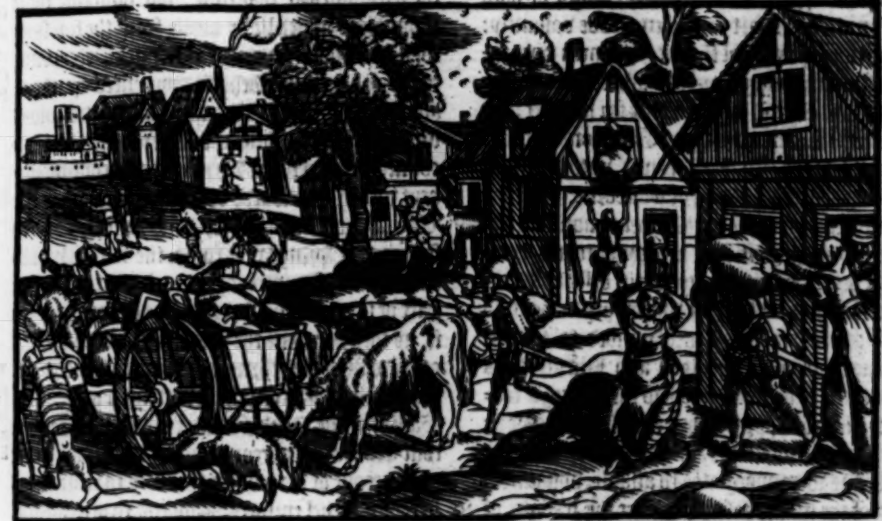
After this alſo, he being once fully eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of Britaine, coueted alſo to attaine to the tipe in gouernment of the whole Empyre, & therfore aſſembling al the forces of the Brytiſh youth, ſayled into Gallia, cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed emperor, & ſo vſurped yͤ title as in the

Engliſh and Italian hyſtorie, you maye finde more largely expreſſed. He left behinde him in Brytayne his father in lawe Dionethus as chief gouernor there, with one legion of Romain ſouldiours.

After this did Etius the Emperors Lieutenãt in France, ſend for ſuch Romains as Maximianus had left in Brytaine, who reuolting frõ their othes of allegiãce giuẽ vnto the ſame Maximianus, obeyed Etius as one that ſupplyed the rowmth of their rightfull Lorde and maiſter the Emperour Valentinian. So that in this wiſe was Brytaine diſpurueyed of all maner of able men meete for defence, whereof the Scottes and Pictes tooke good occaſion to inuade the Brytiſh borders, not ſparing to purſue with fire & ſworde all ſuch of the Brytaines as did yet continue in obeyſance to Maximianus.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the Brytaynes.

They firſt droue thoſe Brytaines out of all the Countreys, which had bene taken from them by the ſame Maximianus, & by other of the Romains and Britains, as Pictland, Kyle, Carrik, and Cunningham, Galloway, the Marches and Northumberland. This done, they entered into Cũberland, Weſtmerland, & Kendal, not ceaſing til they had ſpoyled & defaced all thoſe countreys with the moſt part of all Yorkſhire, in ſuch cruell wiſe that they made al thoſe quarters barren both of corne & cattaile which way ſoeuer they paſſed.



The proſperous ſucceſſe of the Scottiſh men.

The Brytains perceyuing into what daunger they were brought, if ſome good redreſſe were not found in time, ſent ouer with all ſpeed vnto Rome for ſuccor to be had at the Emperor Valentinians hands, for Maximianus was otherwiſe occupied. Valentinian deſirous to deliuer the Brytaynes from ſuche cruell enimies as the Scottes and Picts ſhewed themſelues to be, leaſt through their meanes al the whole Iſle ſhould reuolt from the obedience of the Romains, appointed one Gallio born in Rauenna, and as then ſoiourning about Paris in Fraunce, with a legion of ſouldiers, to paſſe ouer into Brytain, to driue back the Scots and Picts from further moleſting the ſubiects of the Empyre.

The Brytayns require ayde of Valentinian the Emperor.

Gallio Rauennas is ſent ouer into Brytayne.

The Scots and Pictes vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriual, drew back into their coũtryes, not minding to fight with the Romains, whoſe force they doubted and not without cauſe, hauing had in times paſt ſo many notable ouerthrowes & ſlaughters at their hands. But Gallio purſued thẽ euen vnto the water of Forth, where in ſundrie ſkirmiſhes he ſlue no ſmall number of them, and for that he knewe he ſhould be ſent for ſhortly to returne againe into France, to helpe to reſiſt ſuche barbarous nations as warred in the ſame, for the better defence of the Brytaynes againſt their enimies the Scots and Picts (whom he knew would not be any while in quiet after he was once gone,) he cauſed the wall to bee newly made vp betwixt Abircorne and the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romain prouince from all ſoden inuaſions of the enimies.

The Scottes and Pictes refuſe to giue battail to the Romaines.

Gallio purſueth the Scottes and Pictes.

Gallio cauſeth the wall of Abircorne to be repayred.

This wall was earſt made of turfe, but now repayred with ſtone, and ſtrẽgthened with great poſtes or pyles of wood, driuen in betwixt in places moſt needfull. It was alſo .viij. foote in breadth, and .xij. foot in height, and in certain turrets, caſt forth vpon this wall, Gallio appoynted watche and warde to be kept, that vpon the enimies approche towardes the ſame, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by ſmoke in the daye, vnto ſuche of the Brytaynes as dwelled neare vppon thoſe borders (commaundement being giuen vppon paine of death for being found in the contrary) that euery man vpon ſuch knowledge had, ſhoulde reſort immediately to the place appointed, with ſuche armour and weapon, as for him was requiſite.

The maner of the buylding of that wall.

The ordinance of Gallio for watch to be kept on the wall.

Gallio returneth into Fraunce.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the ſuretie of the Brytaynes, and deliuered them at that preſent from the cruell handes of theyr enimies, he returned into Fraunce with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commaundement which he had from Etius the Emperours Lieutenant there.

The Scots and Pictes determin to inuade the Brytaynes againe.

His departure out of Brytaine was no ſooner knowne of the Scottiſh men and Pictes, but that with all their maine force they determine to ſet vpon the Brytains againe. So that aſſembling their powers togither, the kings of both thoſe nations exhort their men to doe valiantly: Eugenius the king of the Scottiſh men encorageth them through hope of high rewardes and ſpoyle: the Pictiſh king likewiſe for his part promiſeth the Lieutenantſhip of Camelon (an office of moſt honour amongeſt them) vnto him that firſt ſhould paſſe the wall of Abircorne.

The Brytaines reſort to the Wall of Abircorne to defende it.

The Scots and Pictes approch the wall to aſſault it.

Graym aſſaulteth the wall.

The wall is ouerthrowne.

Wherevpon the Brytains being aduertiſed of their enimies intentions, according to the ordinance before appoynted, drewe in defenſible wiſe vnto that part of the wall, where they vnderſtood the Scottes and Pictes were minded to aſſault. At length when the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings were come to the wall, and had theyr people readie to giue the approch, they themſelues ſtoode apart ſomewhat out of daunger of ſhot: and ſuche bandes as were appoynted to aſſayle, aduaunced forth of the maine battailes vnder the leading of that Grayme, the which as ye haue heard, was chiefe in repulſing the Brytaynes when they had firſt made the ſame wall by commaundement of Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant. Neyther ſhewed he leſſe proofe of his valiancie at this time than hee had done before. For though the Brytaynes made earneſt reſiſtaunce, ſo farre as their power woulde extende, yet at the length by fyne force the Wall was vndermined and throwne downe in ſundrie places, ſo that the whole numbers of the Scottes and Pictes entered by the ſame into Pictlande, beating downe the Brytaynes on eche ſyde that went about to make reſiſtaunce, for none eſcaped theyr handes, but ſuch as ſaued themſelues by flight.

The Brytaines leaue Pictland and get themſelues ouer the riuer of Tine.

There came alſo an other power of Scottes and Pictes by water out of Fyfe, and landing in Pictland, purſued the Brytayns with more crueltie than the kings did themſelues. Both houſes and people paſſed by fire and ſworde, inſomuche that all ſuch of the Brytaynes as coulde get awaye, withdrewe forth of the Countrey, not ſtaying tyll they came beyonde the Ryuer of Tyne: by reaſon wherof, all that Countrey which lyeth betwyxt Tweede and Tyne was deliuered by appoyntment of the Kings vnto the Souldiers, to ſpoyle and vſe at theyr pleaſure, wherevppon followed many notorious enſamples of crueltie, enuie, couetouſneſſe, wrath, and malice.

The Wall of Adrian is repayred by the Brytaynes.

In the meane tyme, whileſt the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe menne of warre applyed theyr Market, the Brytaines with all diligence repayred and newly fortified the other wall begon (as is ſayd) by the Emperour Adrian, ſhooting ouerthwart the countrey, from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Eſke.

The countreys lying north from the wall of Adrian deuided amongſt the Scottes and Pictes.

The Brytaines require ſuccor and ayde at the handes of Etius.

Etius refuſeth to ayde the Brytaines.

Howbeit the Scottes and Picts, bicauſe winter approched, made no further attempt agaynſt the Brytaines at that time, but diuiding thoſe Countreys which lie by north from the foreſayd wall of Adrian, among themſelues, according to the order in that behalfe appoynted by theyr kings, they fortifyed certaine Caſtels and holdes for defence of the ſame Countreys, as it were to countergariſon ſuche Brytaynes as continually kept watch and warde vpon the foreſayde wall. The Brytaynes therefore miſtruſting leaſt ſo ſoone as the ſpring were come, the Scots would inuade their Countreys, which lay on the ſouth part of the ſame wal, breaking in by force through it, as they had done the yeare before through the other wall of Abircorne, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Etius the Romain Lieutenant gouerning Gallia, nowe called Fraunce vnder the Emperour Valentinian, requyring to haue ſome ayde and ſuccour at his handes, whereby to reſiſt ſuche fierce and cruel enimies, as ſought to deſtroy and expulſe out of their landes and houſes, all ſuch of the Brytaynes as acknowledged themſelues in any maner of wiſe ſubiectes vnto the Empyre. But Etius, whether bicauſe he would not, or rather bycauſe he conueniently coulde not (for that he was otherwiſe occupied in defence of Gallia agaynſte the Frenche men) made a direct anſwere, that hee had no men of warre in ſtore to ſende ouer into Brytaine, and therefore willed thē to do what they could for their own defence, for ayde of him they might none haue.

The Brytaines forſaken of the Romaines, determine yet to make reſiſtance.

The meſſengers returned home with this anſwere, and made report therof in a publike aſſemble of all the Brytiſh nobilitie, being as then gathered togither at London to conſult there for the eſtate and order of their countrey. Where after long deliberation (notwithſtādīng that they perceyued they ſhoulde haue no more ayde from the Romaines) it was yet determined, that to reſiſt the enimies, the whole puiſſance of the Brytiſhe nation ſhoulde be muſtred, as well men as women being able to do any feate or ſeruice auaylable in defence of their Countrey, and rather to trie the vttermoſt poynt of Fortunes chaunce, than to ſuffer themſelues to be ouerrunne without reſiſtance.

But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongeſt them, as one that was diſcerne-

ded

Conanus Ciber coũcelleth the Brytons to ſeeke for peace at the Scottiſh mens handes.

Brytaine diſpeopled of warlike mẽ by Maximianus.

ded of the bloud of Octauius ſometime king of Brytain, went about with earneſt perſwaſions to remoue the reſidue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduiſing them to ſeeke for peace at the Scottiſh mens handes, rather than to bide the doubtfull chaunce of Mars his iudgement, conſidering the feebleneſſe of theyr whole force now, euer ſithence that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and diſpeopled the land of all ſuche able men as were apt for ſeruice in the warres.

Conanus councell is not receyued.

But this aduiſe of Conanus was very euill taken, and moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatly offended with his wordes, not ſparing to ſay that hee ſpake like no true man nor louer of his countrey: ſo that the former ordinance, (that is to ſay, to ſeeke an end of the warre by dint of ſworde) was allowed for the beſt.

The Brytons make their appreſts to go againſt the Scottes.

And hereupon there were muſters taken, armure and weapon prouided, and bothe place and day appointed, where they ſhould aſſemble togither to marche forth toward the enimie. Conanus ſore lamenting theyr doings, called almightie God to recorde, that that which he had ſayd, was ſpoken onely for the loue and zeale whiche he bare to his countrey, and ſithence his aduiſe might not be followed, he doubted greatly leaſt the ruine of the Brytiſh eſtate by ſome fatall appointment drew faſt vpon them.

Conanus is ſlaine amongſt the Brytains.

The people hearing him ſpeake ſuch wordes, ſome wilfull wicked perſons fell vpon him, and ſlew him there preſently amongſt them: wherewith other being ſore moued to indignation, ſet vpon the murtherers there to haue reuenged his death immediatly. Whereupon began taking of partes, & togither they went by the eares in ſuch furious wiſe, that ſundry amongſt them being ſlayne, the magiſtrates had much a do to appeace the fray.

The Scots raſe the wall of Abircorne.

Gramyſdike.

In this meane time, whileſt the Brytons were thus buſied in ſending of theyr Ambaſſadours to the Romayns, and conſulting togither for defence of theyr countrey, the Scottes firſte razed downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, ſo that a fewe tokens excepted, nothing remayneth to be ſeene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in theſe dayes, Gramiſdike, bicauſe that Grayme was not onely (as ye haue heard) chiefe in repulſing the Brytains from the ſame, but alſo at this time in the raſing of it to the grounde, he was the greateſt doer.

The Scottiſh and Pictiſhe kings inuade the Bryttiſhe borders.

Adrians walle vndermined & ouerthrowen.

Which being accompliſhed, the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſembled theyr powers, and ouerthrew all ſuch fortreſſes as had not bene deſtroyed the yeare before, ſtanding on the North ſide of Adrians wall, the whiche wall the Brytons had newly fortified, but yet were not able to defend the ſame from the power of the enimie, who now ſet vpon the Brytons with a mayne force, in ſo much that vndermining the foundations of that walle in diuers places: at length ſundry partes thereof were ouerthrowen into the ditch, ſo that the ſouldiers breaking in by the ſame, cruelly bette downe the Brytons whiche ſtode at defence.

Crueltie of Scottes.

The entrie being thus wonne, both the kings with theyr powers marched forth into the ſouth countreys, commaundement being giuen, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould kill any woman or childe, aged perſon or otherwiſe impotent and not able to beare armure. But this commaundement in ſome places was but ſlenderly obeyed. Suche deſire of reuenge was planted in the Scottiſhmens hartes by reaſon of the remembraunce of old iniuries, that vnneath made they any difference eyther of age or ſexe. To be ſhort, all thoſe countreys whiche lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were waſted and ſpoyled, the whole number of the inhabitants (ſuch as could make ſhift to eſcape the enimies handes) got them ouer the foreſaid riuer of Humber, there to remayne as further out of daunger.

The Lordes of Brytaine take new aduiſe.

See more hereof in England.

The report of which miſchiefe being brought to London to the Lordes there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accorde togither) they toke new aduiſe, to redreſſe the preſent miſchief in this maner. Firſt they thought it beſt to ſende forth .ij. ambaſſades, one to the Scots & Pictes to require a peace. And an other with letters vnto Etius the Romaine lieutenant in Fraunce, for freſhe ayde and ſuccour. The tenour of which letters as then ſent vnto Etius here enſueth.

The tenour of the letters ſent vnto Etius frõ the Brytons, as is written by Hect. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Brytons vnto Etius thrice Conſull. At what time our elders became ſubiectes vnto the Romains, they vnderſtood by worthie proues and notable enſamples, that the Senate was a moſte ſafe refuge and hauen, to be wiſhed of all ſuch as fledde to the ſame for ſupport. But we theyr poſteritie by the pernicious working of the legate Maximianus, tending wholy to our diſtruction, being ſpoyled both of force and ſubſtance, and therfore remayning in greate daunger of loſing bothe kingdome and liues, through the ſore and terrible inuaſion of our moſt cruel enimies the Scots and Pictes, making humble ſuyte for ſuccours vnto the Romayne Empyre, according to the loyall truſt & moſt aſſured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull ſubiectes we haue repoſed in the ſame, are yet neglected, and nothing regarded, but deliuered as a pray vnto the Barbarous nations to be ſpoyled, deſtroyed & ſlaine in moſt piteous wiſe, which can not but be an euident ſigne, that eyther the Romains haue chaunged theyr moſt commendable maners into the worſt that may be deuiſed, either els theyr moſt large Empyre, through the wrath & highe diſpleaſure of almightie God, is now giuen for a pray vnto other forraine nations. But if it be ſo, that the fatall force of the time preſent, doth require that without all remedie, the lande of the Brytons being takẽ away from the Romains, muſt needes be brought vnder ſubiection of ſome barbarous nation. Wee neither abhorre nor refuſe the gouernment of any people or nation, the Scots & Pictes (the moſt cruell of all other) onely excepted, whoſe crueltie wee hauing long ſithence to muche taſted, are at this preſent brought vnto that point, by theyr late increaſed puyſſance, that we know not now after the loſſe of our goodes and cattell, which way to ſafegard our liues; for the Turfe walles being pulled downe, & the ditches filled vp with earth, whiche afore time did ſomewhat ſtay them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting paſſe any one kinde of crueltie, they haue diſtroyed our fieldes, brenned vp our houſes, townes and villages, and beaten downe and raſed to the grounde our caſtels & towers, with ſuch other places of defence, not ſparing to put to the ſworde as wel the poore innocent children, women, and impotent age, as ſuch other innumerable numbers of men, whiche they haue ſlayne ſtanding at defence with weapon in hande. And as for vs, whiche are the reſidue of our decayed nation, they haue driuen euen to the ſea ſide, and from thence (bycauſe wee can not paſſe ouer) wee are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof procede two kindes of our deſtruction, for eyther are wee drowned in the ragyng flouddes, eyther els ſlayne moſte vnmercyfully by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honour of the Romaine people, if our aſſured loyaltie & loue, whiche we beare to the Empyre of Rome, nowe continued for the ſpace of theſe. 500. yeares or there aboute, may moue you to rewe on our miſeries, wee humbly pray & beſeeche you, not to ſuffer vs longer to be trodde vnder foote of theſe our moſt beaſtly & cruell enimies, but ſende vnto vs ſome cõuenable ſuccors & that with all ſpeede, leaſt we ſeeme to be more cruelly betrayed of the Romains, thã brought to diſtruction by theſe barbarous people, & that wee be not ſet forth as a notable enſample for al other to be ware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendſhip of the Romains.

But not ſo largely as here is expreſſed.

The anſweare of Etius.

Paulus Diaconus, Beede, Geffray of Munmouth, Veremound, and other, make mention of theſe foreſayde letters. Whereunto Etius anſwearing, declared that thoſe calamities, infortunes & loſſes ſuſtayned by the Brytains were right diſpleaſant vnto him, & ſo muche the more for that through the ſundry inuaſions made, aſwell into Frannce as alſo into Italy it ſelfe, and into other parties of the Romaine Empyre by people of ſundry nations, he coulde not as then ſpare any men of warre to ſend ouer vnto them, and therfore he willed the Brytons to make the beſt ſhifte they could, to defend themſelues for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, & then ſhould they ſee ſuche redreſſe of their iniuries prouided, as they ſhould thinke themſelues to be very well reuenged.

Aboute the ſame time that the ambaſſadours returned with this anſweere vnto London from Etius, the other alſo came backe forth of the north without hope to ſpeede of that aboute the which they had bene ſent: for the Scots & Pictes woulde encline to no reaſonable conditions of peace, onleſſe the Brytains would wholly ſubmit themſelues as ſubiectes vnto them.

The Scottes & Picts would agree vpon no reſonable conditions of peace.

The Brytons hereat, toke ſuch indignatiõ, that by a generall conſent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by mayne force; and herevpon made theyr prouiſion with all diligence.

The Scots and Pictes prepare againſt the Brytons.

The Scottes and Picts hearing of the Brytons intents, gathered their people togither with more ſpeede than was thought poſſible for them to haue done, and forthwith ruſhed into the borders of theyr enimies countreys in right puyſſaunt wiſe and moſt warrelike order.

The order of the Scots and Pictes entring into the lãds of the Bryton

In the forewarde went ſuche as came forth of Galloway and Annandale with thoſe Pictes whiche inhabited about the coaſtes of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of thoſe whiche came forth of Argyle, Athole, and other Pictes inhabiting neare vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fyfe, and Angus. In the middes of this battell bothe the kings kept theyr place with their choyſeſt ſouldiers, and ſtandards borne afore them. Then came the cariage and truſſe of the armie, nexte whereunto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in fayre order of battell, with theyr ſeruaunts and men of warre the beſt they coulde choſe forth. And laſt of all (as the maner of thoſe nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons cloſing vp the backe of the whole aforeſayd armie.

The Brytons doubte to ioyne with the mayne armie of the Scottes and Pictes.

The Brytons alſo comming forth into the field with theyr whole puiſſaunce to encounter theyr enimies, when they vnderſtood by eſpials the order and mayne force of the Scottes and Pictes, they were halfe diſcouraged in theyr mindes, and thought good therefore once againe to aſſay if any peace might be purchaſed. But ſending forth theyr Ambaſſadours vnto the confederate kings to that end, theyr anſweare was, that except the Brytons would yeld thẽſelues, their wiues and children with all theyr goodes and ſubſtaunce into the handes of their enimies,

ſimplie

ſimply without all conditions, there would bee no peace graunted.

The Brytons vpon the Scottiſhmens refuſall to haue peace, require to haue battell.

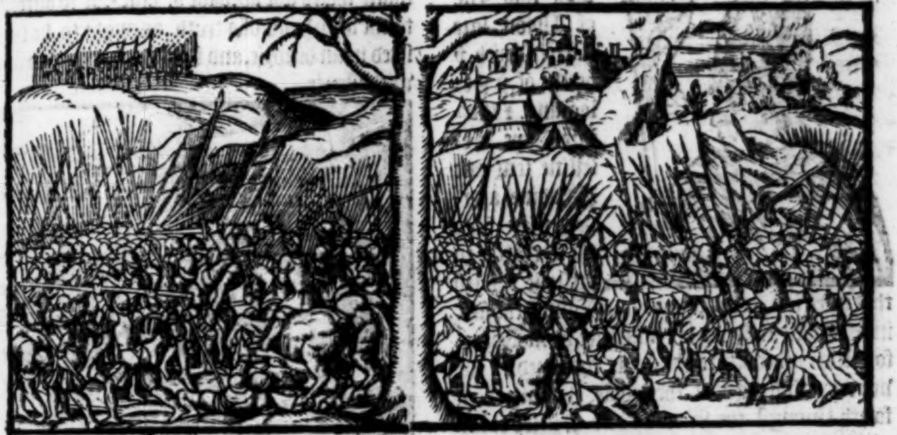
When this was knowen abrode in the hoſte of the Brytains, what through kindeled yre on the one parte, and diſpayre on the other, prouoking theyr mindes to diſpleaſure, they generally vpon chaunge of purpoſe required battell, euen al the whole number of them. Whereof enſued a moſt cruell and mortall fight: For the Brytains (as it were) reſolued to die in defence of theyr countrey, and to reuenge theyr owne deaths vpō the enimies, with more fiercenaſſe thā is credible to be thought, gaue ẏ onſet, & ouerthrew a great number of their enimies, in ſomuch that thoſe of Galloway and the Pictes fighting in the forewarde with them of Argyle, Athole & ſuch other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great daunger to bee put to the worſe: whiche Grayme perceyuing (by whom the moſt part of the army was ruled, and that by cōmaundement of both the Kings) called forth a number of the Iland men, who were appoynted to attend the cariage, and ſent them with all diligence vnto the fore ward to the ſuccors of thē of Galloway, being then at the point to haue ſought refuge by flight. But by the comming of theſe Iland men to their ſuccors, they tooke courage afreſh, ſo that the battell was againe moſte fiercely renewed, & ſo cōtinued a ſpace with great ſlaughter on both partes, till finally the Brytons being oppreſſed with the multitude of theyr enimies, & not able longer to endure, fell to running away, thinking to ſaue themſelues in certaine bogges, moſſes, & mariſſe grounds neare vnto the place of the battell: but ſuche coyſterels, and other as remayned with the Scottiſh cariage, ſeing the diſcomfiture of theyr aduerſaries, came forth and purſued them into thoſe mariſhes, killyng and taking no ſmall number of them.

The fierce onſet giuen by the Brytons.

Graymes authoritie in ordering of the battailes.

Thoſe of the weſterne Iſles comming to the ſuccours of the foreward reſtored the battaile.

The Brytons runne away.



The number of them that were ſlayne on both ſides.

There were ſlaine in this battell of the Brytons, aboue .xv. thouſand, and of the Scots and Pictes neare hande foure thouſande.

The Brytons make humble ſuyte for peace

The Brytains hauing receyued this ouerthrowe, ſaw no helpe which way to recouer their loſſes, but onely to ſue for peace at the victorers handes. They ſent therefore an orator vnto the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe kings, beſeeching them humbly to graunt them a peace euen with what condicions it ſhoulde pleaſe them to preſcribe. The kings not moued onely with the preſent fortune of the Brytains, but alſo partly with theyr owne, hauing loſt no ſmall number of right worthie perſonages in the battell, were contented to graunt a peace vpon theſe conditions: That the Brytains ſhoulde in no wiſe receyue any lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor ſuffer any enimie of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh eſtates of what nation ſo euer hee were to paſſe through theyr countrey. They ſhould enter into no league with any citie or nation, nor be about to make any warres without conſent of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, and further ſhoulde bee ready to ſerue them againſt all maner of enimies when ſo euer they ſhoulde be ſent for. Moreouer they ſhoulde remoue with theyr wiues, children, and whole families out of all thoſe countreys, lying betwixte Tyne and Humber, reſigning the poſſeſſion of the ſame vnto the Scottiſhmen and Pictes. Alſo they ſhoulde gyue threeſcore thouſande peeces of gold then currant to the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe kings towardes the diſpatche of theyr ſouldiers wages, and further ſhoulde yeelde as a trybute twentie thouſande peeces of golde, to be payde yearely vnto the ſeuerall vſes of the victorers. They ſhoulde likewiſe deliuer one hundred hoſtages of ſuche as the two kings ſhoulde appoynt, betwixte the age of eightene and thirtie yeares.

Peace graūted by the Scottes with the conditions of the ſame.

60000. pounde ſayeth Balantine, after the rate of Scottiſh money.

20000. pound, ſayth the ſame Balantine, ſo that he eſteemeth thoſe peeces of gold to be of the valew of Frēch crownes.

Theſe conditions of peace though they ſeemed very ſtreight and grieuous to the Brytiſhe nobilitie, yet for that they vnderſtoode not how to make a better bargayne, they perſwaded the multitude to accept them, and ſo a league thereupon vpon was concluded amongſt thoſe people, and the publike ſtate of the lande brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Brytains made tributarie to the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, about. 500. yeares after Iulius Ceſar had brought them in ſubiection to the Romains, being in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour. 446. and of Eugenius his raygne ouer the Scottiſh men the. vij.

The Brytons tributary to the Scottes & Pictes.

436.H.B.

In this ſeaſon was this Iſle of Albion ſore infected with yͤ hereſie of yͤ Pelagians, & therfore Pope Celeſtine ſent one Paladius a lerned man vnto the Scottes, to preſerue thẽ frõ that infection, and ordeyned him Biſhop the firſt in Scotland that had his inueſture from Rome, for all the other before him, were ordeyned by the voyces or ſuffrages of the people, chooſing them forth amongſt the Monkes and Prieſts called *Culdeis*, as the Scottiſhe Chronicles do reporte. Paladius with right good & wholeſome exhortations purged the Scottes and Pictes of ſundrie ſuperſtitious rites of theyr olde Gentilliſh idolatrie, till thoſe dayes vſed amongſt them, wherevpõ he is named and reputed for the Scottiſhmens apoſtle. Hee lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his relikes remained, and were long after had in great eſtimation.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

Paladius ſente into Scotland.

Of this Paladius, looke more in Ireland.

Paladius accompted the apoſtle of Scotlande.

Moreouer he inſtituted one Seruan Biſhoppe of the Orkenyes, yͭ hee might inſtruct the inhabitãts there in the faith of Chriſte, which as yet they had not receyued, and one Teruan, whõ he himſelf had baptyſed, hee made Archbiſhop of Picte lande.

Seruan biſhop of Orkeney,& Teruan archebiſhop of pictland.

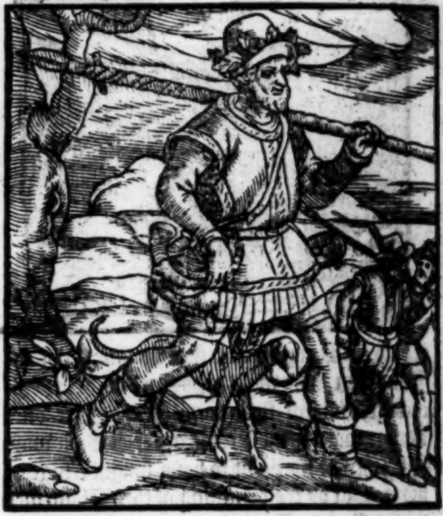
In theſe dayes alſo many ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene in ſundrie partes of Brytaine before the laſt mentioned ouerthrow: the Moone being in playne oppoſition to the Sunne when it ſhould be moſt round appeared in a quadrant figure.

Vnkyth ſights and ſtraunge wounders appeared.

At Yorke it rayned bloud: and trees in ſundrie places being blaſted, wythered and died. The market place or rather if ye will ſo terme it Cheapeſide in London opened, ſo that a great hole apeared & many houſes were ſwallowed vp.

About the ſame ſeaſon alſo (as is ſuppoſed) liued that huge perſonage Fyn makcoel, a Scottiſh man borne, of. vij. cubites in heyght. He was a great hunter, and ſore feared of all men by reaſon of his mightie ſtature, and large limmes: many fables goe abroade of him, not ſo agreable to the likelihoode of a truth, as ought to be regiſtred in an hiſtorie, and therefore here paſſed ouer with ſilence.

Fynmakcoele the great hunter.



The Romaine Empyre being brought into irrecouerable ruyne by the Vandalles, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupying ſundry partes and porcions thereof, put the Brytains out of all hope to haue any aſſiſtance from the Emperours, which cauſed them to remayne in quiet certaine yeares without attempting any exployte agaynſt the Scots or Picts, and ſo duely payde theyr conenãted tribute, though ſore againſt theyr willes, if they might otherwiſe haue remedied it.

At the laſt aboute. x. yeares after the concluſion of this laſt peace, it chaunced that one Conanus the ſonne of the aboue mencioned Conanus deſcended of the bloud of the Octauij ſometime kings of the Brytains, ſore maligned to ſee his countrey thus brought into thraldome of the Scottiſh nation, and deuiſing how to find ſome redreſſe, called togither the moſte parte of the Brytiſh nobilitie, by ſecrete meſſages home to a manour place whiche hee had within a thicke woode in the countrey of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his minde, perſwaded them with the weightieſt reaſons hee could imagine, to leuie warre againſt the Scots and Pictes, hauing at that preſent, meane to

Conanus a Bryton goeth about to perſwade his countrey men, to breake the peace concluded with the Scots & Picts.

maintaine it aſwell by reaſon of theyr increaſe now ſithence the laſt warres, bothe of able men, as alſo of ſubſtaunce to furniſh them with.

Here the nobles were of ſundrie opinions: for ſome awearied with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regarde to theyr ſonnes lying in hoſtage with the enimies, would in no wiſe conſent thereto: by reaſon whereof this counſell brake vp without concluſion of any effect.

The Brytons hauing reſpect to their ſonnes and kinſmen lying in hoſtage would not agree to breake the peace.

When eche man was returned to his home, there had bene ſome amongſt them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended againſt them. Wherevpon they immediatly determined not onely to cauſe the hoſtages to be executed, but alſo to purſue the rebelles with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practiſed any violence, they ſent theyr ambaſſadours vnto the Brytains, to vnderſtande theyr full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certaine articles whiche the ſayde kings required to haue performed without all delayes, or els to looke for open warre out of hande.

The kings of the Scots and Pictes offended with the conſpiracie of the Brytons, preſcribe vnto them new articles to be performed.

The chiefeſt pointes of which articles were theſe. Firſt that the Brytons ſhould not aſſemble togither in councell without licence of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, notwithſtanding that their auncient lawes they might vſe at their pleaſure, but they ſhould receiue no ſtraunger into their countrey being a Romaine or a Frenchman, neither merchaunt nor other. Their olde hoſtages they ſhould receyue home againe, and deliuer in exchaunge of them twice ſo many in number of the like age and degree, as was couenaunted by the former league.

Impudent ſeruilitie intruded vpon the Brytons by the proude & cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of the lande, vnderſtanding what was demaunded by theſe ambaſſadours, were in a wonderful rage, and would haue made a great ſturre if they had not bene quieted by the Lordes, who for theyr paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongſt the inferiour ſorte of people, as though through theyr wante of ſtomake only, the common wealth was brought into ſuche a miſerable eſtate, that looke what pleaſed the enimie to charge the Bryttiſh nation with, no man durſt once ſpeake againſt it.

The cõmons of Brytaine offended with their gouernours,

This grudge of the commons encreaſed ſo farre forth agaynſt their ſuperiours, that after the Scottiſh and Pictiſh ambaſſadours were returned home, with anſweare agreeable to theyr demaundes, there aroſe incontinently a great cõmotion of the people, conſpiring togither to the vtter deſtruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repreſſed, ſo that they were ouerthrowen in battell at two ſeuerall times with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed, wherevpon they withdrew into the mountaynes, and there kepte themſelues, making reyſes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties away from the heardes & flockes of cattell belonging to the Lordes and Gentlemen: but finally through famine which beganne to oppreſſe bothe partes, they perceyued what neede the one had of the others helpe and ſo they agreed. This ciuill warre ſore decayed the force of the Brytons, for beſide the greate ſlaughter that was made betwixt them, by the aduoyding of the commons out of their houſes, the ground lay vntilled, whereof enſued a maruey lous great ſcarcetie & dearth of all things, by reaſon whereof an innumerable ſorte of people died. Yet ſhortly after followed ſuch plentie, that thoſe that were left aliue forgetting the paſſed miſeries, gaue themſelues to all kinde of vice, whiche tooke ſuch roote in the harts of the more parte of them, that for any man to vſe any maner of vertue amõgſt them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

The cõmons of Brytaine cõſpire againſt the nobles.

One eſtate of men can not liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous wealth occaſiõ of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings in good quiet and reſte, applying their ſtudies onely howe to inſtruct theyr people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exerciſes and neceſſarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, wherby their realmes might floriſh in wealth and proſperitie without dreede of any forraine power. For they ſaw ſuch tokens of ruyne in the Brytiſh eſtate, as ſmall likelyhood appeared, that the ſame ſhould at any time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie.

The Scots apply thẽſelues to peace.

Finally the Scottiſh king Eugenius hauing aduaunced the eſtate of his countrey vnto more felicitie & wealth than any of his predeceſſours had euer done before him, after hee had raigned xxx. yeares, he ended his life about the. iiij. yeare of Leo, that vſurped the Empyre of Conſtantinople.

The death of Eugenius the Scottiſh king.

Dongard.

BUt for ſomuch as Eugenius lefte no iſſue behind him, his brother named Dongarde ſucceeded in the eſtate. Hee began his reigne in the yeare. 470. and his chiefeſt ſtudie was, according to his brothers enſample, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iuſtice, appointing in euery quarter men of good fame and reporte to haue the adminiſtration vnder him, with

Dongard king of Scottes.

461. H.B.

The ſtudy of Dongard for preſeruatiõ of iuſtice and good orders.

with cōmaundement that they ſhould diligently forſee, that euery man might enioy his owne.

The repairing of caſtels by king Dūgard.

He himſelfe tooke vpon him alſo to ſee to the repayring of ſuch caſtels as were decayed, and to the building vp of newe in places where hee thought moſte expedient, ſpecially neare to the Brytiſh borders, for he well cōſidered that peace encreaſſed riches, riches pride and preſumption with other ſinnes, whiche could not long endure without the plague of warres. Therfore he douting the chaunges of ſcornefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the daungers of warres, whē the ſame ſhould happē vnto him.

Theſe ciuill policies and princely prouiſions for defence of his cou̅trey & ſubiects, increaſed the fame of Dōgard mightily, but that which he did towards the aduauncement of religion did moſt exceedingly ſet forth his commendation.

The boūteous liberalitie of Dongard towards churche men.

Sanctuaries.

Firſt, all ſuche religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and other, whiche came with him from Rome, hee cauſed them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenaunce of their liuing, he aſſigned forth lands, houſes, and other kindes of reuenewes in diuers places of his realme, and graunted not only vnto them, but alſo vnto all other being within any orders of Clergie, ſundry priuiledges, appointing that the Churches and Abbeys with other holy places ſhould be enfraunchiſed and taken for Sanctuaries, that all ſuche as fled to the ſame for ſafegard of theyr liues, ſhould be ſuffred to reſt in peace, ſo long as they kept them within the ſame.

The Brytons ſend into Brytaine Armorike for ayde.

Ayde ſent into Brytain frō the Armorike Brytons.

Conſtantine proclaymed king of Brytaine.

Aboute the ſame time alſo and whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Scotlād, the Brytains being aweried of their ſeruile eſtate, thorow the ſetting on of Conanus conſpired togither, & tooke aduiſe by what meanes they might beſt ſeeke to deliuer themſelues frō the thraldome of Scots & Pictes, and vpon aduice taken they concluded to ſend ouer into Brytaine Armorike ſome honorable Ambaſſade vnto Androenus the king of that countrey for ayde. Herewith was the Archbiſhop of London, appointed as chiefe Ambaſſadour to go on that meſſage, whiche Archbiſhop vſed ſuche diligence in the mater, that Cōſtantine the ſonne of the ſaid Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Brytaine to the ayde of the Brytiſh inhabitants there. Hereupon when the men and ſhippes with all neceſſarie prouiſion were once readie, he embarqued at Saint Malo, where the aſſemble was made, and taking the ſea, ſayled forth with proſperous winde and weather, whiche brought him ſafely into greate Brytaine, where hee landed at Totnes in Deuonſhire, as you ſhall finde in the chronicles of England. He was receyued with no ſmall ioye, and forthwith proclaymed king of Brytaine, wherevpon he promiſed to aſſay to the vttermoſte of his power to recouer agayne their whole landes and liberties, and to maintaine them in the ſame according to their wiſhed deſires.

The aſſemble of the Brytiſh army.

For the more ſpeedy accompliſhment hereof, commaundement was firſt giuen, that all able men ſhould be in a readineſſe, and come togither at a place appointed neare to the riuer of Humber within fortie dayes after. Whiche order being taken by the aduice of the Lordes and Nobles of the realme, the ſame was put in execution with ſuche diligence, that fewe or none being apt to beare armure withdrew themſelues, euery man in maner comming to the appointed place of the aſſemble, and offering to go againſt the enimies, ſo that it was a wonder to conſider the cōſent of the people now ioyned in one minde and will to recouer theyr former libertie.

The great earneſtnes of the Brytains to recouer theyr libertie.

When Conſtantine behelde ſuche notable numbers of men, hee ſuppoſed the ſame woulde haue ſuffiſed not onely to vanquiſh the Scottes and Pictes, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy and race them out of all the confines of Albion.

The Scots & Pictes make their appreſts.

The Scots & Pictes approch neare to the Brytains.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres whiche the Brytains made, was once ſignified to the Scottes and Pictes, they likewiſe made theyr appreſtes to meete with them in the field, and therevpon rayſing theyr powers, came forth with the ſame into Yorkeſhyre, and pitched theyr campes within .iiij. myles where Conſtantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderſtanding how neare vnto the enimie they were, they reyſed and marched forwardes till they came within ſight of him, as then encamped with his people alofte vpon certaine hilles, neare to the aforeſayde riuer ſide.

Dongard exhorteth his people to fight manfully.

Here bothe the kings of Scottes and Pictes lodging with theyr armies for that night, made readie for battell againſt the nexte day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottiſhe king getting him to a little hill, called his men togither, and there exhorted them by ſundrie comfortable meanes of perſwaſion to put away all feare, and to fight valiantly, aſſuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not raſhly breake forth of the ſame in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retyring backe.

He had vnneath made an end of his wordes, but that diuers of the ſtanding watche came in, and declared how the Brytains began to auale the hilles where they had lodged, and that the Pictes were got forth already in order of battell, and were marching forewards to encounter them, Dongard ſhewing himſelfe to bee right ioyfull of theſe newes, commaunded incontinently neſtly, that the ſtanderds ſhould aduance forth, and euery man to attende the ſame according to his appoynted order. Alſo that no man ſhoulde preſume to take any pryſoner before the ende of the battell, nor to yelde himſelfe ſo long as lyfe laſted. So that ioyning with his enimies there folowed a right fierce & cruell battaile. At length both the wings of the Brytains gaue backe frō the Scottiſh men and Pictes, the middle warde abiding the brunte very ſtoutly. Where Conſtantine himſelfe ſtoode like a valiant chieftaine, doyng hys endeuour to the vttermoſte of his power, vpon whom Dongard earneſtly preaſſing and entring into the thickeſt throng of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongſt the Armorike Brytains, and being aboute to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and ſlayne with many a ſore wounde.

The wings of the Brytiſh army are put backe.

Dongard is ſlayne.

Diuers of the Scottes diſcomfited with this great miſhap, fell to running away; other kindled with more wrath layde aboute them more egerly. The Picts alſo, for their part fought moſt conſtantly, ſo that the battell continuyng till none dayes with doubtful ſucceſſe, at length the Brytains were conſtreyned ſomething to giue backe, and after taking themſelues to fearefull flight, declared that the victorie remayned with theyr enimies.

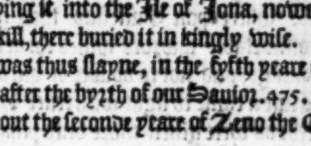
The Brytains are put to flight.

There died in this mortall battell neare to the point of .xvj. thouſande of the Brytains, and of the Scottes and Pictes aboue .xiiij. thouſand with Dongard the Scottiſh king.

Conſtantine the daye nexte after the battaile, withdrew ſouthwardes. The Scots carryed away with them the corps of their dead king, and conueying it into the Ile of Iona, nowe called Colmkill, there buried it in kingly wiſe. Dongarde was thus ſlayne, in the fyfth yeare of hys reigne after the byrth of our Sauior. 475. yeares and about the ſeconde yeare of Zeno the Emperour.

465. H.B.
8. of Leo. H.B.

Conſtā-tine.



Conſtantine the firſt of that name is created king of Scottes.

After him ſucceded in gouernment of the Scottiſhe kingdome Conſtantine the brother of the aboue rehearſed Eugenius, a Prince vnlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the ſayd Eugenius. For though in him there appeared ſome good tokens of commendable towardelyneſſe, as hee ſeemed outwardly to ſhew, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleaſure and luſt, than to the regard of the good rule & gouernment of his ſubiectes, a deflourer of virgins, a rauiſher of honeſt Matrones, and aboue all a fauourer of backbiters and ſlaunderers. Neuer ſhewing any ioyfull countenaunce amongſt his nobles, but amongſt ſcoffing ieſtours and other vile perſons he was as pleaſant and merie as the iocundeſt man aliue.

Thus though hee repreſented the Brytiſhe king Conſtantine in name, yet in manners hee farre differed from him: for the Brytiſh Conſtantine ſtudying to aduaunce the common wealth of his ſubiects, trayned them in laudable exerciſes, and reduced them from theyr former euill vſages vnto ciuill order and good cuſtomes. Contrarywiſe, the Scottiſhe Conſtantine did nothing worthie prayſe at all after he was once inſtituted king, but followed ſtill his owne inordinate luſt and ſenſuall appetite.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king nothing like in noble conditiōs vnto Conſtantine king of the Brytains.

Hee graunted peace vnto the Brytains they vnneth requyring the ſame, releaſing not onely the tribute, but alſo deliuering vp into theyr handes by ſecrete meanes diuers caſtels ſtanding vpon the riuer of Humber.

Peace graunted vnto the Brytains, and diuers caſtels deliuered into their handes.

Many other things hee was aboute to haue done to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of the Scottiſhe eſtate, had not the Nobles of the realme the ſooner withſtoode his raſhe and vnaduiſed attempts. Suche malice alſo was ingendred in the hartes of the moſte parte of the Nobilitie towardes him, that had it not bene through the wholeſome admonition and perſwaſion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of righte reuerende authoritie amongſt them, they had leuied ciuill warres againſt him, but the foreſayde Dongall declaring to them the daunger and greate inconuenience that might thereof enſue, reſtrayned their wrathfull mindes from enterpriſing any thing agaynſt him by force, ſo that for certayne yeares they ſuffered and bare with this his miſordered gouernment.

The good coūſel of Dongal.

In the meane whyle the Pictes noting the wante of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scottes, and agayne what tokens of valiaunt courage appeared in the king of the Brytains, doubted leaſt if hee ſhoulde ſeeke to reuenge olde iniuries againſt them, they ſhoulde be little able to matche him without ayde of the Scottes, (whereof they had ſmall truſte nowe, by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of the Scottiſhe king) they deuiſed a meane howe to ridde the Brytiſhe kyng out of the way, and ſo appoynting certain ſlie felows to go into Britain for ẏ accōpliſhment of their deuiſed purpoſe, at length the ſame was brought to paſſe, as in the engliſh

The Picts fall in feare of the king of Brytains.

Chronicles yee ſhall finde more at large though in the ſame Chronicles there is mention made but of one Picte that ſhoulde worke this feate, where the Scottiſh wryters recorde of diuers, whiche neuer the leſſe were apprehended, and after bound both hande and foote, were caſt into a a mightie great fire, and therein brent to aſhes in moſt miſerable wiſe, as by the ſayde Scottiſhe wryters it appeareth.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king is ſlayne by one whoſe doughter he had rauiſhed. Anno. 481.

The death of this Conſtantine king of Brytons, happened in the .xv. yeare of Conſtantine king of Scottes, neyther liued he long after, for hauing rauiſhed a noble mans daughter, borne in the weſterne Iſles, he was ſlayne by hyr father in the night ſeaſon, after hee had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the ſpace of xvij. yeares.

Dongall.

Dongall the ſonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

THē was Dongall his nephew, as ſon to his brother Dongard, proclaymed king, a prince of diſpoſition indifferēt either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne, he ſhewed himſelf more deſirous of peace than of warres, by reaſon the ſtate of the common wealth ſo required, conſidering how things ſtoode not all in the beſt order, through his predeceſſours negligence.

The poletike rule of Dongall.

Dongall therefore deſitous of a reformation, appoynted men of great wiſedome & good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redreſſing miſorders, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions, and in deciding of al ſtrifes and contentions betwixt partie and partie, did ſo well their endeuour, that peace and concorde therevpon enſuing, the people recouered peaceable reſt and quietneſſe, to theyr no ſmall comfort and contentation.

Conſtantius a Mōke elected king of Brytaine.

In this meane while that things paſſed thus among the Scottes, by the procurement of one Vortigerne, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of the late deceaſed Cōſtantine king of Brytons, was taken out of an Abbey, where he was ſhorne a Monke, and aduaunced to the kingdome: but being not meete of himſelf to gouerne, Vortigerne had the whole rule committed to his handes, wherevpon he firſt cauſed the league to be renewed betwixte the Brytons, the Scottes and Pictes, and appointed a garde of the ſame Scots and Pictes to be attendant on the kings perſon: in the end alſo he procured ſome of them to murther the king, and after put all the ſayd Scottes and Pictes to death, as well the giltie as the vngiltie, and finally made himſelfe king, as in the hiſtorie of England you ſhall find more at large expreſſed.

Vortigernes treaſon. Conſtantius murdered.

The Scottes and Picts (for diſpleaſure that theyr countrey men whiche had bene appointed to garde the perſon of Conſtantius king of the Brytons, were maliciouſly circumuented, and the more parte of them wrongfully executed) made ſundry roades and forrayes into the Brytiſh borders, neyther ſparing fire nor ſworde where they came. So that the ſayde Vortigerne by a grieuous reporte informed hereof, cauſed an army with all ſpeede to be leuied, and appoynted Guytellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof agaynſt the enimies. Whileſt he (doubting leaſt the people woulde not bee ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made away Conſtantines children kept him about London, and durſt not committe himſelf ſo much to the ſight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourney in his owne perſon.

Guytellus generall of the Brytiſh army, cauſeth fiue hundreth of the enimies to be hanged.

Guytellus, in reſpect of the loue which he bare to his countrey, purpoſing to ſerue truely in defence thereof, chaunced vpon his approche to the bordures to take the number of .v.C. of the enimies, being aduaunced from the reſidue to fetche a bootie. Theſe, Guytellus cauſed to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the coūtrey afore any ouerture of warre was denounced. Wherevpon ſuch other as eſcaped by flight, and had ſeene theyr fellowes thus executed, declared vnto their gouernours, what had happened to theyr fellowes.

The Scottiſh and Pictiſhe kings gather their people to reſiſt the Brytains.

The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather togither theyr people, and haſte forwarde with all ſpeede towarde the enimies, who at the firſt ſhewed manifeſt tokēs that they were ſore afrayed of the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe power: wherevpon Guitellus their generall with comfortable wordes willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubte of victory, hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe to fight with truce breakers, and ſuche as were giuen more vnto pillage and ſpoyle, than to ány other commendable exerciſe or practiſe of warre. With whiche and ſundry other the like wordes the Brytains being enboldened, as might well appeare by their chaunge of countenances, Guytellus therevpon remoued his campe more neare vnto his enimies, ſo that at the firſt and for certaine dayes togither, there chaunced onely diuers ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But at length, the one being ſore moued againſt the other, they ioyne in a pight field. The beginning of whiche battell was right fierce and doubtfull, for on that ſide where Dongall the Scottiſhe king fought, the Brytains ſhortly began to preuaile, through the faynt fighting of his people: which daunger Galanus the Pictiſhe king quickly perceyuing, forthwith prouided remedie, for taking with him certaine

Guytellus encourageth the appalled harts of his men of warre with comfortable wordes.

The Brytons ioyne in a pight fielde with the Scots and Picts.

The Scots are put backe.

Galane king of Picts ſuccoureth the Scottes.

certaine bandes out of his owne battell, willing the reſidue to ſtande to it manfully, and in no wiſe to giue grounde to the enimie, he himſelfe with the ſayde bandes fetched a compaſſe about, and ſet vpon the backes of them that ſo had ouermatched the Scottes.

The wings of the Brytons put to flight.

The campe of the Brytons wonne.

This ſoden chaunce ſore diſordered the Brytains, and immediatly the Scottes encouraged a freſh, aſſayled theyr enimies with more egre mindes than they had done at the firſte, ſo that mayntenantly bothe the winges of the Brytiſhe armie were vtterly diſcomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Pictes were commaunded by their king to make haſte to winne the campe of the Brytains, that ſuche as ſought to eſcape by flight, ſhoulde finde no refuge in the ſame.

The Brytons chaſed, knowe not whither to flee.

Thus the Brytains being chaſed & ſlayne on euery ſide, they knew not whither to flee: ſo that in the end a great number of them throwyng away their weapons, yeelded themſelues, moſte humbly crauing mercie at their enimies hands.

Goytell with twentie thouſand Brytons ſlayne,

Foure thouſande Scottes & Picts ſlaine.

There were ſlayne in this battell aboue.xx. thouſande of the Brytains togither with theyr generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died alſo of the Scottes and Picts neare hande foure thouſand. The priſoners with the ſpoyle of the fielde was deuided by appointment of the kings amongſt the ſouldiers. Whiche done, they marched forth into the countrey to conquere caſtels and townes, ſuche as ſtood in their way.

A councel holden at Londõ.

In the meane time the Brytains being ſore diſcomforted with the ouerthrow, aſſemble a coũcell at London, there to deuiſe by what meanes they might beſt defend their countrey frõ the imminent daunger in the which it now ſtood.

Vortygerne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme.

Vortigerne as one giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt through wante of good willes in his commons, he ſhould not be able to withſtande the mightie inuaſion of his enimies, whereupon he was minded to haue auoyded the realme, but there were of his councell that aduiſed him to the contrarie, holding that better it was for him to trie the vttermoſt pointe of fortunes happe, than with diſhonour ſo to yeelde at the firſt blow of hyr frowarde hande, conſidering the abundance of treaſure whiche he had in ſtore, wherewith hee might wage ſouldiers and menne of warre out of Germanie and other places, in number ſufficient to matche with his enimies.

Vortigerne is counſeled to ſend for ayde into Germany.

This counſell as the beſte, was followed, and meſſengers with commiſſion and ſufficient inſtructions ſente with all ſpeede into Germanie, to retayne a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Brytaine, to ſerue againſt the Scottes and Pictes in wages with Vortigerne.

Hengiſt and Horſus, retayned in ſeruice with Vortigerne.

At the ſame time there were amongſt thoſe Saxons, two bretherne diſcended by rightfull lignage of the Princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant Captaines, appointed with the Brytiſhe commiſſaries for a certaine ſumme of money to take vp theyr preſcribed number of men, and to receyue charge of them as Coronels, aſwell for theyr conuoy ouer into Brytaine, as alſo for their ſeruice there, after theyr arriuall. The one of theſe two bretherne hight Hengiſt or Engiſt, and the other Horſus. Who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, conteyning aboute ten thouſand ſouldiers in the whole, they beſtowed them aborde in.xxx. hulkes, hoyes, and playtes, and in the ſame tranſported them ouer into Brytaine, in the.449. yeare after Chriſte, as our hiſtories do affirme. Where they were receyued with greate ioye and gladneſſe of Vortigerne, who truſted by theyr ayde to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

The Saxons togither with a power of Brytains, are ſent to the borders of the enimies countreys.

The Saxons in hope of good ſucceſſe, begin the warres againſt the Scottes with bloud.

Therefore when they had refreſhed themſelues ſomewhat after theyr trauayle by ſea, they were ſent forth with an other army which Vortigerne had aſſembled of his owne ſubiectes the Brytains, to the frounters of the enemies countrey, where at theyr firſte comming they paſſed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scottes or Pictes had knowledge, that any ſuch people were come in ſupport of the Brytõs to bidde them battell. They beyng therfore amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, ſome of them fledde into the inner partes of theyr countrey, and other that made but ſory ſhifte, fell into the handes of the Saxons, who to beginne theyr enterpriſe with bloude, ſlewe all ſuche as they coulde lay hands vpon, without any reſpect of perſon.

Great was the ſlaughter by them committed in all thoſe parties where they paſſed, namely aboute the riuer of Tyne. And when they had made an ende there, they entred into Northumberlande, and ſo into the Dales aboue Barwike, next adioyning vnto Pightland, diſtroying all before them with fire and ſworde.

The king of Picts, ſendeth for ayde vnto the Scottiſh king.

The king of the Picts vanquiſhed.

The Pictiſhe king in the meane time had ſent vnto Congall the king of Scottes to come with all ſpeede to ſupporte him againſt the dredfull inuaſion of the enimies, whoſe force being nowe increaſed with a power of Saxons, would worke muche miſchiefe if the ſame were not the more ſpeedily in the beginning repreſſed: but hearing that the Saxons and Brytains dayly approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scottes, but haſted forth with his owne power to encounter his aduerſaries, & raſhly giuing battel, he was ouercome, and therby loſt no ſmall number of his people.

The Saxons wonne prayſe, and the Brytōs noted of cowardize.

In this conflict the Saxons wanne them a greate name for theyr highe valiauncie, where contrarily the Brytaines gotte them no ſmall note of guiltie cowardize, fighting ſo payntly, that theyr Captaines had muche a doo to cauſe them to keepe theyr grounde, being ready ſtill to haue runne away, whiche their fayntneſſe of ſtomacke being noted of Hengiſt, euen then put him in no ſmall confidence that it ſhoulde bee an eaſie mater for him to conquere them at his pleaſure, when tyme and occaſion might ſerue thereto.

The Picts eftſoones ſolicite the Scottes for ayde.

The Pictiſhe nation hauing receyued this grieuous ouerthrow at the handes of theyr cruell enimies, ſent agayne an other Ambaſſade vnto the Scottiſh king Congall, to ſignifie to him by way of lamentation, what loſſe had happened to them by that moſte cruell people the Saxons voyde of all religion and mercie, and what miſchiefe by the ſame people was intended, aſwell againſt Scottes as Pictes, to the great daunger of the vtter ruine of bothe the nations, if the enimies in time were not reſiſted. They yͭ were ſent declared all this mater vnto king Cōgall, & as they had in cōmiſſion, beſought him of ſpeedie ſuccors. Congall not only moued for the harmes and loſſes of the Pictes his frendes and alies, but alſo muche more for the lykelyhoode of the imminent daunger and perill towardes him ſelfe and his owne people, determined ſpedily to goe with all his power, and to ioyne with the Picts, as fully reſolued to preuent that miſchiefe which was lyke to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the ſooner reſiſted.

Congall promiſed to ayde the Pictes.

Hee ſente worde therefore to the Pictiſhe king, that if hee might keepe off the enimies by lighte ſkyrmiſhes and incurſions for a ſmall tyme, hee woulde come to his ayde ſhortly, with all the whole puyſſance of his realme.

Prouiſiō made by Scottes, to ayde the Picts.

And herewith hee commaunded by open proclamation, that all thoſe within his dominions whiche were able to beare armure, ſhoulde by the twentith day after, aſſemble togither at the South ſide of Calidone woode, all and euery of them bryngyng then and there with them vitayles ſufficient to ſerue them for two moneths. Accordyng to the whiche proclamation, there came togither at the day and place aſſigned, aboute the number of. xl. M. able men, fitte and meete for the warres.

On the morrowe after, when Congall had taken the muſters and vewe of his whole numbers, hee ſette forwarde towardes the place where hee vnderſtoode that the king of the Pictes as then lodged, who had lykewiſe aſſembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of this Scottiſhe armie.

The fifth day after, bothe the kings met togither, and ſhewed greate tokens of entire loue and frendſhippe the one towardes the other. After this they go to heare diuine ſeruice, where they make theyr deuoute prayers vnto almightie God for theyr good ſpeede and luckie ſucceſſe in that iourney: which beyng done, they marche forth towardes the enimies, as then lying in campe not paſte tenne myles from them.

The Scottiſh and pictiſhe kings, aſſemble togither with theyr powers.

The Scots and pictes come within ſight of the enimies.

Here at the firſte ſight of the enimies, diuers of the Scottes and Pictes beyng ſtryken with feare to beholde ſo greate a multitude, as the lyke had not bene ſeene in thoſe parties many a day before, they ſtale away and ſecretely hidde themſelues in the nexte woodes: but the kings to giue enſample to other, cauſed them that were thus ſtolne away to be ſought out, and brought agayne into the campe, where they were hanged in the open ſight of all the armie.

The Saxons through comfort of Hēgiſt exhortation deſire battell.

The Saxons and Brytains alſo vppon the approche of theyr enimies gathered their companies togyther, and mayntenantly herewith the Saxons encouraged with ſuche comfortable ſpeache as Hengiſt vttered amongſt them, required to haue battayle without delay: whoſe enſample the Brytains following, ſhewed themſelues alſo right willing therevnto.

The Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings exhorte their people to fight valiātly.

Congall the Scottiſhe king perceyuing the enimies to make readie for batayle, went likewiſe amongſt his folkes, and exhorted them in the beſt wiſe he coulde, to play the men. The like did Galanus the Pictiſhe king amongſt his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfully.

The battayle is begonne.

The Brytains flee.

A great tempeſt.

After this, the batayles on bothe ſides comming forewarde to ioyne, the arrowes and dartes flewe freſhly betwixte them, but neyther parte minding to giue place for all the ſhotte: at length they ioyned at hande blowes, firſte the Brytains in the right wing, with the Scottes in the left wing: but the Brytaines not able long to endure agaynſt the force of the Scottes, gaue backe and fledde. In the meane while came a great ſhower of rayne, mixte with ſuche a tempeſt of hayle, that the hardieſt there wiſhed himſelfe thence, the ſtorme beating ſo faſt vpon them, that one might vnneath ſee an other, ſo that the Scottiſh menne and Pictes wiſte not whether were better to purſue the Brytains that fledde, or to keepe their places.

The Saxons cloſe themſelues togither.

The Scots & Pictes purſue the Brytains.

On the other parte the Saxons accordyng to theyr maner in time of any preſent daunger, cloſed themſelues togither and drewe neare vnto theyr chiefetayns ſtanderd. Finally the tempeſt no ſooner beganne to ceaſſe, but the Scottes and Pictes leauyng their order of battayle, fell to followe the chaſe of the Brytaines, ſuppoſing the victorie had bin wholly theirs. Which yͤ Saxōs (now after that the element began to cleare vp)

plainly

playnely perceyuing, by commaundement of theyr generall Hengiſt, aſſayled the Scottes and Pictes here and there diſperſed aboute the ſpoyle and ſlaughter of the Brytains, and made ſuche murder of them on euery ſide where they founde them, that pytie it was to beholde. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, neuer ſtayed till they were gotten into places farre ynough out of daunger.

The Saxons aſſayle the Scots & Pictes diſordered in purſute of the Brytains.

This was a blacke day with the Scots and Pictes. Neyther was it very ioyfull to the Brytains, of whom no ſmal number died in the place by the enimies ſworde.

Hengiſt hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Yorke, leauing thoſe countreys betwixt Tyne and Twede in the enimies handes, of purpoſe ceaſſing from further endomaging them, that the Brytains might haue neighbours whome to feare: For that as he thought ſhould make much for his purpoſe, alreadie hauing determined to make a conqueſt of this Iſle.

Hengiſt purpoſed at the firſt to make a conqueſt of the Brytains.

When Sommer then was well neare paſſed, he placed his ſouldiers in herbrough to lodge for the winter ſeaſon, and went himſelf to London, where he counſelled Vortigerne to ſende of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the ſame from theyr inuaſions till the next ſpryng, agaynſt whiche time hee promiſed to cauſe ſuche notable numbers of his countreymen to come to his ayde, as ſhoulde ſuffice not onely to vanquiſhe the Scottiſh men and Pictes, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy bothe the nations, or at leaſt wiſe to driue them forth of the whole countrey.

Hengiſt returneth to Londō

Hengiſt offereth to ſende for more ayde into Germany

This offer vnto ſome of the nobilitie was not greatly lyked, as euer ſuſpecting that which followed, leaſt in tyme to come Hengiſt ſhould ſeeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expulſing the former inhabitants. But Vortigerne did not onely giue him moſte hartie thankes for thoſe his offers, but alſo ſhewed by the maner of the intertaynement whiche hee vſed towardes him, that he thought he coulde not do vnto him to muche honour for ſuche notable ſeruice, as he had done alreadie, and truſted hee ſhoulde do hereafter.

Engiſts offers miſliked of ſome of the nobilitie of Brytaine.

The honour ſhewed vnto Hengiſt by Vortigerne.

According to Hengiſtes aduiſe alſo, there was a crewe of men of warre of Brytains ſent vnto the bordures to the number of fiue thouſande, who ſhortely after theyr comming thither were quickly diſpatched and made away in ſundry ſkyrmiſhes and encounters with the Scottes and Pictes, that aſſayled thoſe places whiche they were appointed to defend.

Brytains ſente to defend the borders, are diſtreſſed.

Shortly after was ſente thyther alſo an other companie, double in number to the firſte, to reuenge the deathes of theyr fellowes: but they finding fortune as frowarde vnto them as the former had done before, ſpedde muchewhat a like, for in ſundry conflictes diuers of them being ſlayne, and diuers other by treaſon of the bordurers themſelues deliuered captyue into the aduerſaries handes, the reſidue that were left, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, ſithence they might not truſte their owne countreymen, returned backe into the inner partes of the lande, and ſo left the bordures altogither vnfurniſhed.

In this meane while a newe ſupplie of fiue thouſande Saxons, with theyr wiues and children, came ouer into this lande, in eyghteene hoyes, and amongſt other came Hengiſts wyfe and his doughter the Ladie Roxena. Shortly after, alſo king Vortigerne gaue vnto Hengiſt and his Saxons a greate parte of the countrey called Lyndſey, with a caſtell of greate ſtrength called Twhancaſtre. Some haue written that Hengiſt requyred of Vortigerne ſo muche grounde, as hee mighte compaſſe with an Oxe hide, and hauing that graunted, he tooke a mightie Oxe hyde, and cut it into ſmall thonges, and ſo cōpaſſing about a right ſtrong plot of grounde with thoſe thonges line wiſe, beganne there the fundation of a Caſtell, whiche tooke name of thoſe thonges, wherewith the plotte thereof was firſte meaſured, and ſo was it called Twhang caſtell.

A new power of Saxons cōmeth ouer into Brytaine.

Twhang caſtel, or Thong caſtel.

But vpon what conſideration ſo euer it tooke that name, certaine it is by record of al the Scottiſhe hiſtories, that there the Saxons firſt inhabited after their entring into Brytaine.

The Saxons firſt inhabited in Lyndſey.

When Hengiſt had ſette things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings, (appoynted them by Vortigerne) according as ſeemed beſte vnto his poletike head and craftie forecaſt, hee tooke forth the ſouldiers and menne of warre, ordered vnder certayne Captaynes and officers of bands, and led them forward by ſlow iourneys as it were ſtaying for the comming of the Brytains.

Vortigerne had gathered as then an huge hoſte of his ſubiectes, and appointed his generall Lieutenant ouer them his ſonne Vortymere, a yong man of greate force and valiauncie, but ſo that he ſhould be ordered in all things by the aduice and diſcretion of Hengiſt, whoſe auctoritie for the warres he commaunded to bee chiefly followed.

Vortymer generall of the Brytons.

When bothe the armies of Saxons and Brytaines were mette togither, Hengiſt ledde them ouer the riuers of Humber & Tyne, marching directly towardes the place, where hee thought the enimies lay. The Scottiſhe and Pictiſh kings, hauing knowledge of ſuch preparation made by the Brytons, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of. lx.M. men,

The Saxons & Brytains, againſt the Scots & Picts.

ix.M. of Scots & Picts, come to meete their enimies.

furniſhed with prouiſion of vitayles for a long time. But before theyr comming to the riuer of Tyne, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Brytains were paſſed the ſame, they made ſtreight towardes them, in purpoſe to haue giuen batail without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they founde them ſo ſtrongly encamped, that no aduauntage coulde be perceyued whiche way they might be conſtrayned to rayſe & come forth of theyr ſtrength to receyue battayle vpon ſome euen grounde, whiche Hengiſt of purpoſe for a time ſeemed to deferre.

Hengiſt prolongeth time to giue battel.

Betwixt thẽ alſo and the armies of the two kings there was a valley, in the botome full of myres and mariſhe grounde, whiche the Scottiſh men and Pictes muſte needes paſſe, ere they coulde finde meanes to do any notable diſpleaſure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagottes to make paſſage ouer thoſe myres. Which being accompliſhed in the night following, the nexte morning they paſſed ouer and got them vnto certaine hilles lying right ouer agaynſt the Saxon and Brytiſhe campes, ſome of them taking their lodgings vpon the browe or fronte of an hill ſo neare to the lodgings of theyr enimies, that they might throwe a darte into theyr campe: and hereof they tooke no ſmall occaſion to worke a feate againſt their aduerſaries, to their great annoyance and vexation.

A policie of the Scottes.

There was growing in that place where they were thus encamped, very muche of that kinde of heath or lynge, whiche the Scottiſhmen call hadder. Of whiche heathe, or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie togither, and binding it in bundels lyke vnto faggots, in the night ſeaſon they ſet the ſame on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that ſide where the Saxons lay. The wind in that inſtant being ſomewhat aloft, cauſed theſe bundels of lynge to blaſe and brenne vehemently, and hereto ſtanding that wayes forth, droue the flambe ſo ſtreynably amongſt the tentes and cabanes of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the ſtrawe and twigges whiche they had couched togither vnder them in ſteede of beddes, encreaſed the feare amongſt the ſouldiers wonderfully, by reaſon that the blaſing bundels of the lynge or hadder, ſtill comming downe the hill vpon them, ſeemed as though the ſame had fallen from aboue, and euen forth of the heauen it ſelfe.

The tumult & feare rayſed in the campe of the Saxons.

Great was the tumulte and noyſe through out the whole cãpe, with ſuch roring of beaſts, and running vp and downe bothe of them and of the horſes whiche were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone togither there coulde not haue bene a more terrible noyſe nor clamour. At length when the Souldiers had done what they coulde to quenche the fire, and to appeaſe the trouble, not without ſome ſtryfe and diſorder rayſed on eache ſide, they got them with their armour and weapons forth into the nexte fielde, whiche Hengiſt himſelfe perceyuing (hauing firſt done what he coulde to ſtay them) enuironed with a companie of his choyſeſt men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioyning, and there gaue knowledge by the ſound of a trũpet that all his people ſhould drawe thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he diſpoſed them in order of battel with all diligence, abiding for the ſpring of the day to vnderſtand more certainely the meaning of his enimies.

Hengiſt calleth his people togither.

The Scottes and Pictes ſuppoſing the enimies to be farre diſordred by reaſon of the fire diſcended downe from the hilles, fully determined to aſſayle them in their campes: but vpon their approche to the ſame, perceyuing howe the Saxons were gotten forth, and ſtoode ready in good order of batayle, minding to defende theyr grounde, bothe the kings thought it beſte to tarie the morning ere they made any exployte, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.

Congalles exhortation to the Scottes.

In the breake of the day Congall came amongſt his people, exhorting them to remember theyr worthie elders, and by their example to chooſe rather to die in defence of theyr countrey and auncient liberties, than by cowardize to ſaue a diſhoneſted lyfe, whiche (if theyr chaunce was to be vanquiſhed) they ſhould paſſe in great thraldome and miſerie. The Pictiſhe king alſo, with lyke wordes encouraged his menne to do valiantly. Neyther was Hengiſt ſlowe in perſwading his Saxons to play the men, that obtayning the victorie they might deliuer themſelues from terrour of all enimies from thenceforth in Brytaine.

Hengiſt exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfully.

The Scottes & Pictes giue the charge.

Whileſt he was thus exhorting his people, the Scottes and Pictes with greate force and violence beganne to giue the charge vpon him, whiche whyleſt the Saxons and Brytains went about to defende, they were beaten downe by heapes ſo fiercely on eache ſide, that the diſcomfiture had light vppon them forthwith, had not Hengiſt by ſounde of trumpet called forth aboute three thouſand freſhe menne to their ſuccours, whiche hee had placed in an ambuſhe a little before the ſpring of the day within a thicke groue of wood, faſte by his campe, appoynting them to remayne there in a readineſſe, to come at his call vpon what daunger ſo euer happened. Theſe moſte fiercely ſetting vpon the backes of the Scottes, brought them ſtreyght out of all order, for they beyng occupied with the other Saxons before, & now aſſayled of theſe behinde,

The Saxons in daunger to haue the ouerthrow.

An ambuſh of three thouſand men.

they had vnneath roumeth to any aduantage to turne theyr weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Brytains, did put them to flight, & chaſed them out of the field, not ceaſſing to purſue thẽ in the chaſe, till they came to a riuer in the whiche a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoparded to paſſe ouer the ſame, & to ſaue thẽſelues by ſwimming. On the other ſide the Scottes being ſore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length conſtreined to giue ground & breake forth by flight, ſo to eſcape the cruell handes of the enimies. Many were ſlayne in the chaſe and ſome taken pryſoners. The reſidue getting away, fledde ſtreyght to the Pictes, but Congall himſelfe through helpe of his houſeholde ſeruaunts eſcaped to the toppe of an highe hill, and ſaued himſelfe all wounded as he was.

The Brytains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scottes forced to flee.

Congall is wounded, but yet eſcapeth through helpe of his meniall ſeruants.

The Picts returning from the chaſe, and vnderſtanding howe the Saxons had giuen the Scottes the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forwarde to encounter alſo with thẽ, determined not to abide theyr comming at that time. And ſo night approching ere the Saxons had got ſight of them, order was giuen by commaundement of theyr king, that all their cariage and a greate quantitie of logges and fagottes, ſhould be placed and pyled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be ſet on fire, whiche beyng executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindeled, the Pictes with the Scottes whiche were gotte vnto them, departed as ſecretely as they might, & ſtayed not to make away, till they were farre enough out of the daunger of the Saxons.

The policie of the Pictes, to eſcape out of danger.

Hengiſt thus hauing got the victory, and perceyuing no enimie abrode to bid him battayle, muſtered his men, and found that he had loſt in this iourney as good as .iiij. M. of one and other. After this, he withdraweth to Yorke, and leauing his army there, went himſelf vnto Londõ, where he was receyued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne. And ſhortly after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambroſe and Vter the ſonnes of king Conſtantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie army of Armorike Brytons and other French men, to clayme the crowne of Brytaine as lawfully diſcẽded to them frõ theyr father, the Saxons were ſent for out of the north partes, & had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if neede were to reſiſt any ſuch attẽpted inuaſion. But ſhortly after, for a policie Hengiſt cauſed it to be bruited abrode, that the Scots & Pictes meant eftſoones to inuade the Brittiſh confines, & therfore was there an other power of Saxõs called into the land, & placed in the north parts, to defend the ſame againſt the Scots and Picts. Occa the ſonne of Hengiſt had ẏ leading of theſe Saxons, who brought them ouer (being x. M. mẽ of warre, in .l. playtes & .l. hoyes. They brought with them alſo theyr wiues & children, & ſetled thẽſelues in the north partes betwixt the riuer of Humber, & the borders of the Pictiſh dominiõs. And euen thẽ it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would ſay the land by north the riuer of Hũber, & ſo it doth continue. Shortly after Vortigerne forſaking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Roxena or Rowen, Hengiſts doughter, to the high offence of God, & great diſpleaſure of his ſubiects. And in the meane time Occa not attempting any exployt againſt the Scots & Pictes, rather ſought to get into his handes all the fortreſſes betwixt Tyne & Humber, euen from the eaſt ſea to the weſt: whiche his purpoſed intent he greatly aduaunced, winning caſtels and fortreſſes there in thoſe parties, ſome by force, & ſome by ſurrẽder: & amongſt other places of importance, he firſt got poſſeſſion of Yorke, and laying accuſations againſt many of the nobles & gentlemẽ, ſurmiſing that they woulde betray the countrey vnto the Scots & Pictes, he put diuers of them to death, ſome ſecretly & others opẽly, as cõuict of ſuch offẽces as were forged & layd againſt thẽ. Hereupõ the Brytons for the ſtay of ſuch miſchief as they ſaw at hand, depoſed Vortigerne frõ his kingly ſeat, & placed his ſonne Vortimer in his rowme, whiche being done, ambaſſadors were ſent both vnto the Scottes and Picts, to require their aide and ſupporte againſt the cruell oppreſſion of the Saxõs, who ſought not only by craftie meanes & fraudulent waies to attaine the dominiõ of the whole Iſle, but alſo to extinguiſh & vtterly ſubuert the faith of Chriſte, & the vſe of his religion throughout the ſame. Therfore they erneſtly deſired the Scottiſh & Pictiſh kings, to aſſiſt them againſt ſuch cõmon enimies as had bene called into the realme not by publike conſent of the nobles, but only by the priuate cõmaundement and ordinance of Vortigerne, to help aſwell towards the ſubduyng of the Scots and Picts, as alſo to repreſſe all commotions of the Brytains, which they might happely rayſe agaynſt him for his wicked tyrannie vſed amongſt them, as his guiltie conſcience mighte put hym ſtyll in feare of.

Aurelius Ambroſe, & Vter ſonnes to king Conſtantine.

The Saxons placed in Kẽt.

A newe power of Saxõs came ouer with their capitaine Occa.

Northumberland when it firſt began to be ſo called.

Vortigerne marieth Hengiſts doughter.

Yorke in poſſeſsion of Hengiſt.

Vortigerne depoſed by his ſubiects.

Vortimer choſen to gouerne the Brytons.

The Brytons require ayde of the Scottes and Pictes againſt the Saxons.

The Scottiſhe king Congall (vnto whome firſt the ambaſſadours were ſente) for anſweare declared, that hee was ſorie to vnderſtande into what daũger the miſerable Chriſtians of Brytaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing els might moue him to ioyne with the Brytains againſt the Saxons, yet that were ſufficient cauſe to enforce him to do the beſte hee coulde to helpe to deliuer the whole Iſle from ſuche an Ethnike generation, as not onely vſed

The anſwere of Congall king of Scots vnto the Brytiſh meſſengers.

the rites and ceremonies of their falſe religion, and that openly among the Chriſtians, with doing ſacrifice in the honour and worſhip of theyr helliſh goddes, to the great horror and terrible offence of the beholders cõſciences, but alſo ſought by all meanes they could deuiſe, how to deſtroy and quenche vtterly the faith of oure Sauioure Chriſte in all places where they myght get the vpper hande. He promiſed therefore to employe his whole puiſſance to recouer out of the enimies handes all ſuche countreys as lay betwixt the frontiers of his dominion, and the ryuer of Humber, and further to ayde the Brytains to dryue them quitt out of the Iſle, if the Brytains would aſſure him, fro thence forth neuer to make clayme, title nor intereſt, to any the countreys aforeſayde, lying betwixt the ſayde riuer of Humber, and the confines of his realme, but to leaue the ſame in the handes of the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, to haue holde and enioy for euermore in quiet, which to performe, the Ambaſſadours had (amongſt other things) alreadie promiſed in name of all the Brytiſhe nation, as a recompence or meede to haue the ſupporte and ſuccours of the Scottes. The like aunſwere the ſame Ambaſſadours receyued of the Pictiſh king, and returning therewith vnto Vortymere declared afore him and his counſell howe they had ſpedde.

Vpon what conditions Congall couenaunted to ſupport the Brytons.

Shortly after for the more and better aſſuraunce of all promiſes, couenauntes and articles paſſed betwixte the Scottiſhmen, Pictes and Brytaines, there was an amitie and bonde of peace nowe renewed ratified and eſtabliſhed according to the tenour of the auncient league whiche had bene concluded in tymes paſte betwixte them, with ſome newe conditions of agreement included in the ſame: all olde iniuries being ended and quitted clearely betwixt them, ſo that no cauſe of grudge or diſpleaſure, might be thought to remayne in remembraunce.

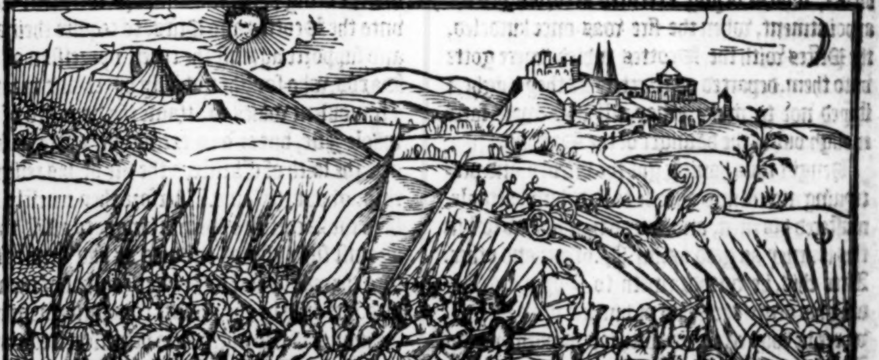
A league concluded betwixt Scots, Picts, & Brytons.

The firſte enterpryſe put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scottes againſt Occa and his Saxons, whiche (as partly ye haue heard) had neſtled themſelues betwixt the ryuers of Tyne and Humber.

The Scottes inuade the borders of Northumberland.

Againſt thoſe Scottes as they were very earneſtly occupied in ouerthrowing Caſtels and Towers, with ſlaughter of ſuche Saxons as ſtoode at defence, Occa commeth into the fielde with an army ready to encounter with them, but perceyuing the multitude of his enimies to be ſuche as he doubted leaſt hee ſhoulde not be well able to matche with them, he ſtayed a while from giuing the onſet: but in the end perceyuing he could not retyre backe but to his great diſaduantage, hee boldly gaue ſigne to his people to ſet vpon theyr enimies: whiche they fiercely executing, it was harde to tell for a whyle to whether parte the victorie woulde encline. But at length the Saxons not able to ſuſtayne the force of the Scottes ouerpreſſing them with multitude, began to giue backe, whiche Occa perceyuing did what hee coulde to hemme them in from running away, but yet notwithſtanding all that he coulde do, feare at length ouercomming regarde to theyr Captaines commaundement, ſhame of rebuke was quite ſet aparte, and ſo they tooke them to their feete, and fled away ſo faſt as they might, the Scottes purſuying after them a mayne.

The Saxons encounter with the Scottes.



The Saxons vanquiſhed by the Scottes.

Occa yet eſcaped with diuers of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ſhip, & ſayled forth in the ſame with great daunger, till at length he arriued within the Thames.

Occa fleeth by ſea into Kent.

The ſlaughter of the Saxons vpon the diſcomfiture was greate, ſpecially in the chaſe, for the Scottiſhmen calling to remembraunce that they had to do with infidels, and with the enimies of the chriſtian faythe, were ſo eger vpon them, that they ſaued fewe or none that fell into theyr handes.

About the ſame time was Vortymere entred into Kent againſt Hengiſt & his Saxons there, and encountring with them in battel ſlew tenne thouſand of them, and chaſed the reſidue forth of that countrey.

The Saxons vanquiſhed by Brytons, and expulſed out of Kent.

Thus Kent returned vnto the Brytains, and the countreys beyond Humber northwardes vnto the Scottes and Pictes, according to the tenour of the league before mencioned.

Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa (who a little before this battaile in Kent was come vnto his father) with the reſidue of them that eſcaped, haſted with all ſpeede towardes Northumberlande, in purpoſe to remaine in that countrey till they had recouered theyr ſtrength by ſome power to be ſent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrey, but being repulſed with no ſmall ſlaughter from thence by the Scots and Pictes, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certaine veſſels they paſſed ouer into Saxonie, leauing a great ſorte of theyr nation behind them, diſperſed abroade here and there in this Iſle, as fortune then beſt ſerued.

The Saxons flee out of Brytaine.

Vortymer vſeth the victory modeſtly.

Vortymere hauing got the victory as before is mencioned, vſed not the ſame very cruelly, for taking onely from the Saxons whiche were taken pryſoners theyr armure and weapon, hee ſuffred them to depart into theyr countrey: other of the ſame nation being but huſbandmen, and as it were poore labourers of the grounde he permitted to tarie in the countrey with theyr wiues and children as ſeruauntes vnto the Brytons.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

After this Vortymere gaue order for the repayring of Churches and reſtoring of the chriſtian religion into the ſtate of the former puritie thereof, as then ſore decayed, partly through the euill example taken by dayly conuerſation amongſt the Saxons, and partly alſo by the infectiue hereſie of the Pelagians, as then mightily ſpred ouer the moſt parte of Brytaine. At length the ſayde Vortymer through treaſon of his ſtepmother Roxena was poyſoned and died. Then was Vortigerne agayne reſtored to the rule of the kingdome, firſt forced by othe to promiſe neuer to ayd the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of ayde any forrein people into the realme.

Vortigerne then reſtored thus vnto the crowne, ſhewed ſuche diligence in cauſing due adminiſtration of iuſtice without rigour to be executed, and prouiſion made for the reſiſting of all inuaſions that might be attempted by any forraine power, that his prayſe was greate amongſt all his ſubiectes, who to ſhewe theyr good willes likewiſe towardes him as to theyr naturall prince, were not ſlacke in honoring him aſwell by giftes and preſentes, as by all other maner of wayes.

The league renewed betwixt Brytons Scots & Picts.

He founde meanes alſo to renew the league with the Scottes and Pictes with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded laſtly betwixt them and his ſonne Vortimere.

Hengiſt returneth.

Vortigerne brent.

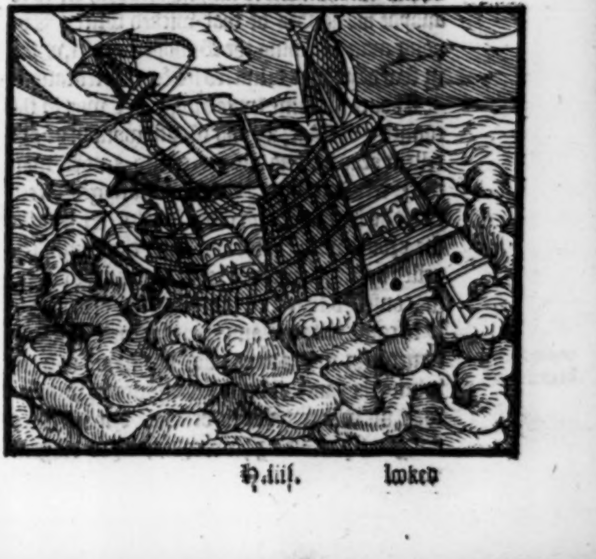
But notwithſtanding his politike proceding thus to auoyde all inconuenience that might happen: ſhortely after Hengiſt returned, & what by force and ſubtill ſhiftes, at length got poſſeſſion of the more parte of Brytaine, ſo that the Brytons were conſtreyned to flee into Wales, whither alſo Vortigerne fledde and remayned there a certaine time, til at length Aurelius Ambroſius and Vter the ſonnes of king Conſtantine came ouer out of little Brytaine, and beſieging Vortigerne in a caſtell, brente him with the houſe and all, when they could not otherwiſe come by him, according to that which Merlyne the Brytiſh ſoothſayer had propheſied before. It is fooliſhly ſuppoſed that this Merlyne was got by a ſprite of that kinde whiche are called Incubi, that is to vnderſtand, ſuch as cõueyting mans ſeede from him, and therewith by illuſion (taking vpon them the ſhape and figure of man) do lie with women, and vſe them after the manner of carnal copulation. In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale or two, of ſuche illuſions of ſprites wrought not long before his time in Scotland, whiche ſomewhat abridging the ſame we haue here inſarced.

Illuſions of ſpirites.

A tale of a woman abuſed with a ſprite.

About S. Barnabees day.

In the yeare. 1480. ſayth he, it chaunced as a Scottiſh ſhippe departed out of the Forth towardes Flaunders, there roſe a wonderful great tempeſt of winde & weather, ſo outragious, that the Maſter of the ſhip with other the Mariners wondered not a litle what the mater ment, to ſee ſuche weather that tyme of the yeare, for it was aboute the middeſt of Sommer. At length when the furious pyrrie & rage of windes ſtill encreaſed, in ſuche wiſe that all thoſe within the ſhippe

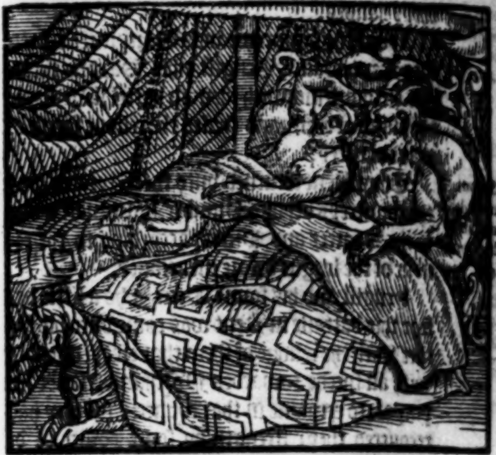


looked for preſent death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throwe hyr into the ſea, that all the reſidue by goddes grace might yet be ſaued: and therevpon tolde them, howe ſhee had bene haunted a long tyme with a ſprite, dayely comming vnto hir, in mans lykenes, and that euen as then, hee was with hir vſing his filthye pleaſure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ſhippe there chaunced alſo to bee a prieſt, who by the maiſters appointment going downe to this woman, & fynding hir lyke a moſt wretched and deſperate perſon, lamenting hir greate miſfortune and myſerable eſtate, vſed ſuche holſome admonitions and comfortable aduertiſements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercy at the handes of almightie God, that at lengthe ſhe ſeeming right penitent for hir greuous offences committed, and fetching ſundry ſighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witneſſe (as ſhould appeare) of the ſame, there iſſued forthe of the pumpe of the ſhippe, a foule and euill fauored black cloude, with a mightie terrible noiſe, flame, ſmoake and ſtinke, which preſently fel into the ſea. And ſodeinly therevpon the tempeſte ceaſſed, and the ſhip paſſyng in quiet the reſidue of hir iourney, arriued in ſafetie at the place whether ſhe was bounde.

A yong man haunted with a ſprite.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in lyke maner a yong man dwelling in Gareoth, within a village there, not paſſing. xiiij. myles from Aberdyne, right faire and comely of ſhape, who declared by way of complaint vnto the Biſhop of that dioceſſe, howe there was a ſprite which haunted him in ſhape of a woman, so fair and beautifull a thing, that he neuer ſaw ẏ lyke, the which would come into his chāber a nights, & with pleaſant enticementes allure him to haue to doe with hir, and that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The biſhop like a wiſe mā aduiſed him to remoue into ſome other countrey and to giue himſelfe to faſtyng and prayer, ſo to auoyde his handes of that wicked ſprite. The yong man folowing the Biſhops counſel, within few days was deliuered frō further tentation.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, there was in the countrey of Mar, a yong Gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refuſing ſundry wealthy mariages offred to hir by hir father, and other frendes. At lengthe ſhe proued with chyld, and being rigorouſly cōpelled by hir parentes to tel who was the father, ſhe confeſſed that a certain yong mā vſed nightly to come vnto hir, and keepe hir companie, and ſometimes in the daye alſo, but howe or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went away, ſhe was not able to declare. Hir parentes not greatly crediting hir wordes, layde diligent watche to vnderſtand what he was that had defyled their houſe: And within. iij. days after, vpon ſignification giuen by one of the maydens,



that the fornicatour was at that verie inſtante with their daughter, incontinently therevppon, making faſte the dores, they enter the chamber with a great meignie of torches & lights, where they find in their daughters armes, a foule monſtrous thing, right horrible to beholde. Here a number comming haſtily in, to beholde this euil fauoured ſight, amongſt other, there was a prieſt of right honeſt lyfe, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie ſcripture. This prieſt (all other being afrayde) and ſome of them running their wayes, began to recite the beginning of Saint Iohns Goſpell, and comming to theſe words, Verbum caro factum eſt, ſodeynely the wicked ſprite makyng a right ſore and terrible roaring noyſe, flew his wayes, taking the roofe of the chamber away with him, the hangings & couerings of the bed being alſo brent therewith. The Gentlewoman was yet preſerued, & within. iij. or. iiij. dayes after, was deliuered of ſuche a miſhapen thing, as the lyke before had not ben ſeene, whiche the midwiues and women ſuche as were preſent at hir labour, to auoyd the diſhonour of hir houſe, immediatly brente in a greate fyre, made in the chamber for the ſame intent.

Thus muche out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not fayned whiche is written of the illuſions of deuils and euill ſpirites, the credite whereof I leaue with the Auctor.

Now to returne where I lefte touching Aurelius Ambroſe: ye ſhall vnderſtande, that he hauing once ſubdewed and diſpatched hys aduerſarie Vortigerne, he determyned to make warres againſt Engiſt and his Saxons, to proue if his chance myght be to recouer the realm out of their handes, and ſo to reſtore again the chriſtiā religion. But firſt ere he attempted any exployt againſt ẏ enmies, he ſent ambaſſadors both vnto

Aurelius Ambroſe purpoſeth to make warres againſt the Saxons.

Congall

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto the Scottes and Pictes to require their ayde agaynſt the Saxons.

Congall the Scottiſh king, and alſo vnto one Loth a towardly yong gentleman, and of right comely perſonage, as then raigning among the Pictes, requiring them both to ayde him in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe as he had in hande agaynſt the enimies of Chriſt and his religion. Whereupon both theſe kings weying with themſelues the duetie of all Chriſtian Princes, in reſpect of the aduauncement of the cauſe of fayth, and ſuppreſſing of ethnike Idolatrie, promiſed their help to the vttermoſte of their powers agaynſte the Saxons, who had in ſuch tyranlyke ſort ſubuerted and aboliſhed the Chriſtian profeſſion within the Britiſhe confines. And therefore the olde league according to the articles and couenantes afore time concluded betwixte the three Nations, was once againe renued, and an army prepared by euery of them, to meet at a place and day appoynted, for the better expedition of thys their attempted voyage.

The Scots and Picts promiſe to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt the Saxons.

The league renued betwixt Britains, Picts and Scots.

Aurelias Ambroſe maketh an oration.

Firſt Aurelius Ambroſe, with ſuch power as he brought with him forth of Fraunce, and ioyning thereunto a great multitude of thoſe Brytaynes which had eſcaped the Saxons handes, eyther by withdrawing themſelues into Wales, or elſe by conueying themſelues into the Countreys of the Scottes and Pictes, ſetteth forward towarde the Scottiſhe armie. But firſt calling togither thoſe Brytaines that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might bee hearde of them all, he made a long Oration by way of complaynt, of the great iniuries and cruell practiſes vſed by Hengiſt, agaynſt the lynage of king Conſtantine, and the whole eſtate of the Brytiſh comon wealth. Alſo of the horrible perſecution made by him and his people the Saxons againſt the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion. All which matter he handled in wordes ſo pithily, his talke yet ſauouring of the Romaine eloquence, that the mindes of the Souldiers beeing kindled therwith, required nothing but battayle, as men not doubting but by his wiſe and politike conduyt to atchieue ſome glorious victorie. And to the ende all things might be done in better order, according to his appoyntment, immediately they proclaymed him king. Which was by accompt of the Scottiſhe Chronicles, in the yeare. 498. after that Vortigerne with his ſonne Vortimer had raigned ſeuentene yeares in the whole.

Aurelius Ambroſe proclaymed king of Brytayne.

Aurelius in this wiſe being eſtabliſhed King of Brytayne paſſeth forth with his people, and within ſixe dayes after, met with the armies of the Scottes and Pictes. Generall of the Scots at that time, was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the Goute, ſo that he could not come himſelfe in perſon.

Conranus generall of the Scottes.

Loth the Pictiſhe king was there himſelfe amongſt his people, verie deſirous to ſhew ſome proufe of his manly prowes and manhood. Aurelius Ambroſe ſhewed al the honour that might be deuiſed, as wel to ẏ one as to the other of thoſe two Nations, promiſing to requite them wyth as muche friendſhippe when time and occaſion ſhould craue the like aſſiſtance.

Loth king of the Pictes.

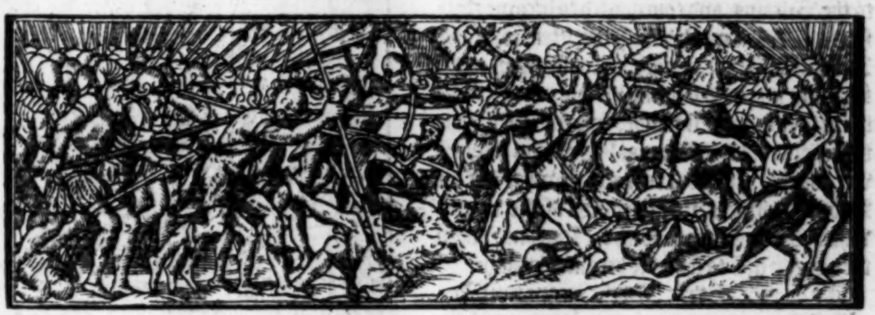
These three mightie armies therefore beeing thus aſſembled, marched forth towardes a place called Maheſbell, where they vnderſtoode that Hengiſt with his power as then did ſoiourne. Where when both the campes were pitched, and one lying not farre from the other: at the firſt certaine light ſkirmiſhes were procured by both partes betwixt the light horſemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to diſpleaſure, they come into the fielde with their whole maine battailes, right fiercely encountering eche other, ſo that as it appeared, their force was not ſo great but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the hyſtories ſay right.

Maheſbel.

The Albions and Saxons encounter in battaile.

The Armorike Brytaynes with a new kinde of order in their fight, ſore troubled the Saxons, in piercing their battailes, with their men arrayed in certaine wardes, brode behinde, and narrowe before wedgewiſe. The Scots alſo and Pictes

The Armorike Brytaynes.

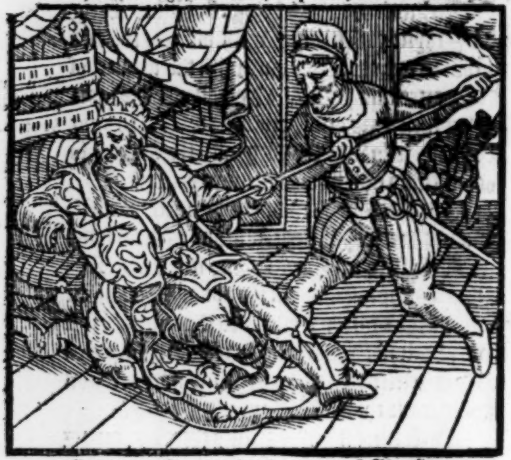


bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in ſuch maner, that the ſtandardes of all the three Nations, Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes, were at poynt almoſt to meete, hauing made way thereunto through the middeſt of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (beeing ſore diſcouraged) began to giue backe, and finally, notwithſtanding all that Hengiſt could ſay or do,

The Saxons diſcomfited.

See more hereof in England.

to haue ſtayed them, they fell to running away, and fled amaine, which when he throughly ſaw, and perceyued that there was no recouerie, hee himſelfe (in maner the laſt man that abode) fled likewiſe his wayes out of the field, with an ambuſhmēt of horſmen about him, but being purſued by Aurelius right fiercely, he was run through the bodie by him with a ſpeare, and ſo was there ſlain out of hande, in the 488. of Chriſt, and 40 after his comming into the Iſle. Howbeit the other of the Saxons cōueyed his ſonne Occa (being alſo ſore wounded) away with them vp into the next mountaynes, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengiſt in the fielde, to their high reproch, there to be ſpoyled and abuſed of his enimies.



Hengiſt is ſlain by Aurelius as the Scottiſhe Chronicles ſay.

Aurelius haſteth forth to London.

Aurelius Ambroſe hauing thus got the vpper hande of his enimies, haſteth forth with all ſpeede vnto London, where hauing both the Citie and tower deliuered into his handes, hee recouered the whole Ilande from the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: and ſuch of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to ſerue in the warres, he cōmaunded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarie behinde their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became ſubiectes to the Britains, and couenanted to become chriſtians. Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambroſe, according to the report of the Scottiſh wryters, but more hereof ye may reade in the hyſtorie of Englande, where ye ſhall finde this matter ſet forth more at large. For yͤ which wee write here, is but to ſhewe in what ſort the Scottiſhe writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began firſt to ſet foote here in this lande.

By ſupport of Scottes and Pictes Aurelius confeſſeth he got the victorie of the Saxons.

To our pupoſe then: In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the lande out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he coulde ymagine, both vnto Loth the Pictiſh king, and alſo vnto Conranus generall of the Scottiſhe men, acknowledging howe that by their ayde chiefly hee had got the vpper hande of his enimyes, and ſo hee willed to haue it notified amongſt his ſubiectes.

The league betwixt Scottes, Pictes, and Britaines is renued.

Hereto hee cauſed the league to be renued betwixt the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes, the auncient ordinaunce for the Countreyes beyond Humber, beeing appointed to remayne vnto the Scottiſhe men and Pictes: alſo that the Saxons ſhoulde bee reputed common enimyes to all the three Nations, and that vpon inuaſion made by any forraine power, the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytanes, ſhould ayde one another as occaſion ſerued.

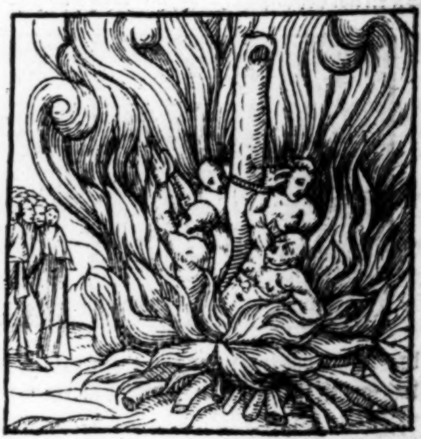
Anne the daughter of Aurelius giuē in mariage vnto Loth king of Pictes.

Ada maried vnto Cōranus.

This league beeing concluded with theſe articles of couenauntes was the more ſtrongly confyrmed, by reaſon of ſuch affinitie and allyaunce as then alſo enſued. For whereas Aurelius had two ſiſters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both. Anne beeing the elder, was gyuen in maryage vnto King Loth, by whome certaine yeares after hee had iſſue two ſonnes, Mordred, and Walwan, or Galwan, with a daughter named Thametes: Ada beeing the yonger ſyſter, was maryed vnto Conranus, generall (as is ſayde) of the Scottiſhe armye. Howbeit ſhe lyued not paſt two yeares after, but dyed in trauayle of childe, which alſo dyed wyth the mother. And ſo ended the alyance of Aurelius and Conranus.

Diuers Saxons Idolaters are burned.

The Brytaynes beeing delyuered through the victorie and meanes afore rehearſed from the cruell handes of the Saxons, enioyed ioyfull peace certaine yeares after, but in the meane time dyuerſe of thoſe Saxons which were lycenced to remayne in Brytayne, counterfeyting to become Chriſtians, vſed neuertheleſſe to make ſacryfice vnto Idolles, according to the manner of the Gentyles, whereof their Prieſtes beeing accuſed and condemned, ſuffered death by fyre for that offence, accordingly as the lawe dyd then appoynt them.



The death of Congall.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hande, Congall king of the Scottes being worne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with all kingly pompe and accuſtomed ceremonies. He raigned ouer the Scottiſhmen about xx. yeares in great fame and glorie.

Conra-nus.

Conranus created king of Scotlande.

501.H.B.

After his deceaſe, his brother Conranus, with great reioyſing of all the Scottiſhe Nation, was admitted King, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour, 501. and the xxij. of the raigne of the Emperour Anaſtaſius.

This Conranus (otherwiſe alſo called by ſome Goranus) being eſtabliſhed king, firſt tooke order that the ſonnes of his brother Congall being within age, ſhoulde be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certaine wyſe inſtructors and ſcholemaiſters, to be trayned in learning and vertuous diſcipline, according to an auncient ordenance thereof made and enacted.

The earneſt diligence of Conranus for maintenance of good order amongſt his ſubiects.

Alſo doubting leaſt peace and quietneſſe nowe after long warres, ſhould miniſter matter to his people of rayſing ſome commotion, to the diſturbance of all ciuill order and politike gouernment within his realme, hee rode as it had bene in circuite rounde about the ſame, making inquirie of all maner offenders, on whom he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed, without reſpect eyther of kyth or kinne,

A goodly ordenance deuiſed by Conranus for reliefe of his commons.

And amongſt other enormities, which he vnderſtoode to be vſed in maner through al his coūtreys, this (as hee thought) was moſt greeuous, that the huſbandmen, and other commons of the Countrey, being euil intreated and miſuſed at the gentlemens handes, durſt not complaine, nor procure any redreſſe: by reaſon whereof, when they were oppreſſed or ſuffered any manner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the ſame reformed, he ordeyned therefore, that the names of al ſuch offenders, with the maner of their offences ſhoulde bee ſecretly regiſtred in a booke euerie yeare, by certaine Inquiſitours thereto choſen and appoynted, and if it chaunced that thoſe which were thus accuſed, might afterwardes be founde guiltie before the kings Iuſtices by matter plainly proued agaynſt them, they ſhoulde then be ſure to bee puniſhed according to the meaſure of their offences.

This cuſtome of accuſations, commonlye called inditements, continueth euen vnto theſe our dayes.

The king preſent at Aſſiſes.

Conranus himſelfe (as is reported) vſed much to be preſent at Aſſyſes and Seſſions, to ſee the lawes duely miniſtred, either elſe to paſſe the time in hunting within ſome Forreſt or chaſe, nere to the place where his Iuſtices ſate.

Aurelius Ambroſe fell ſicke of a conſumption.

Occa and Paſcentius returne into Britaine.

Nowe whileſt Conranus king of Scottes thus trauailed for the good gouernment of his people, Aurelius Ambroſe the king of Brytaine fell ſicke of a conſumption, whiche brought him to ſuch weakneſſe, that all recouerie of health in him was diſpayred, whereof Occa and Paſcentius ſonnes to Hengiſt being aduertiſed, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Brytain, which (as Hector Boetius ſayth) they named at that preſent Engeſts land.

Vter the brother of Aurelius, lay alſo the ſame time ſore ſicke of a flixe in the parties of Wales, ſo that to auoyde diſſention that was rayſed among the Brytaynes about the appoynting of a generall to go agaynſt the enimies, Aurelius euē ſicke as he was, cauſed himſelfe to be caryed forth in a litter, with whoſe preſence his people were ſo encouraged, that encountering with the Saxons, they wanne the victorie, although with ſuch loſſe on their ſide, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the ſpace of foure monethes, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went vnto Wyncheſter, and ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings for ayde agaynſt the time when the truce ſhould expyre, which was graūted, and ſo hee prouided for all things readie for the warres agaynſt the appoynted time of theyr aſſemble. Occa alſo ſent his brother Paſcentius into Germanie for more ayd, but as ſome write, hee was driuen by contrarie windes into Irelande, and getting a greate power of men togyther there, he came backe to his brother with the ſame. But whether he had thoſe men out of Ireland, or Germanie, ſure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatly encreaſed therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambroſe, who was poyſoned by a miſchieuous Monke a Saxon borne, named Eopa, or Copa (as ſome bookes haue) that tooke vpon him to be ſkilfull in phiſick, and a Monke by profeſſion, his death was ſore lamented of the Brytaynes: but contrarywiſe, the Saxons reioyced greatly thereof, ſo that immediatly after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Brytons, vſing greate crueltie in all places whereſoeuer he came.

Aurelius Ambroſe departeth this life.

The Scottiſh armie returns home againe.

In the meane time the Scottiſh and Pictiſh armies were come forwarde towardes Aurelius, according to promiſe made vnto his Ambaſſadors: but whē his death was certainly knowne amongeſt them, the Captaynes and leaders of both thoſe armyes, reſolued to returne home againe,

gaine, and ſo they did, for that they doubted in what ſtate and order things ſhoulde ſtande amongſt the Brytaynes now after the deceaſſe of their late king.

After the death of Aurelius Ambroſe, hys brother Vter was made king of Brytaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois Duke of Cornwall, hee did not onely force hir to lye with him, but alſo to the ende hee might enioye hir the more freely, he ceaſſed not to purſue hir huſbande to ridde him out of the way, whome at length he tooke within a Caſtle into the which he was fledde, and foorthwyth cauſed him to bee executed, ſurmyſing matter agaynſt him for that he had forſaken one of his Captaines cleped Nathaliod, in battaile agaynſt the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Vter had iſſue the greate Arthure, and becauſe he had no legitimate ſonne, he appoynted that Arthure ſhoulde ſucceede him in gouernment of the realme.

Vter begat Arthure.

Herewith Loth the Pictiſh king was not a little moued, diſdeyning that Arthure beeing a baſtarde, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, ſhoulde be preferred before his ſonnes the rightfull heyres of the Brytiſhe kingdome: and therefore by Ambaſſadours he did what he could to diſſwade Vter from making any ſuch ordinance. But when he ſawe that he coulde not remoue him from his opinion, he thought beſt to content himſelfe with ſilence, till the time ſerued better for his purpoſe.

At length when the warres were agayne reneued betwixt Vter and Occa the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioyned himſelf with the Saxons, and was with them at the battaile, in which the Brytaynes got the victorie by the preſence of Saint Germaine that holy Biſhop of Auxer as the Scottiſh writers make mention. Whiche battail as the ſame is ſet forth by Hector Boetius, bycauſe it toucheth the ſtate of the Pictes, we haue thought good here to expreſſe.

It was therefore about the feaſt of Eaſter, when the armies came into the fielde, the Saxons with the Picts on the one ſide, and the Brytaynes on the other, of whome no ſmall number (being eyther growen to be Idolaters through conuerſation with the Saxons, either elſe infected with the Hereſie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing ſuch godly Sermons as Saint Germain preached amongſt them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receyuing at the ſame tyme the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, togyther in companie with other of the faythfull Chriſtians.

S. Germain preacheth vnto the campe.

Finally when both parties were readie to giue battaile, Saint Germain tooke vpon him to haue the leading of the forewarde, wherein he had all the Prieſtes and eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, giuing commaundement, that when he ſhould crie Alleluya, they ſhould all anſwere him with one entier voyce.

S.Germaine leadeth the forewarde.

Their crie was Alleluya.

Thus procede they forth towardes the battaile, Saint Germain bearing the kings Standarde in the forefront, and vpon the approche to the enimies, he with the Prieſtes crying with a lowde voyce thrice togither Alleluya, was anſwered by all the whole hoſt, vttering and crying the ſame crie ſo wholly togither, that the verie ſounde thereof cauſed ſuch an eccho on eche ſyde, by reaſon of the hollow mountaynes and cliues hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at thys doubled noyſe, and doubting not onely another power of their enimies, to be hidde priuily among the hilles, which they ſawe on eche ſide of them, but alſo leaſt the verie rockes and mountaynes would haue fallen downe vpon theyr heades togither with the frame of the Element, readie (as it ſeemed to them) to breake in ſunder, they tooke them to their feete, in ſuche dreadfull haſte, that their breath was not able to ſuffice halfe the deſire they had to continue theyr courſe. Many of them made ſuch haſte, that running to the next ryuer in hope to paſſe the ſame, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generally threw awaye both weapon and armure, the more lightly to make away.

Saint Germain beareth the kings ſtandard.

The Saxons miraculouſly diſcomfited.

Thus through the pollicie of that bleſſed man Saint Germaine, the victorie remayned wyth King Vter and his Brytaynes, wythout any bloudſhed.

Saint Bede making mention of this battayle, aſſigneth the tyme to be at the firſt comming of Saint Germain into this lande, where Hector Boetius, following Veremond, ſuppoſeth it to be at the ſeconde time of his comming hither, which was in the dayes of king Vter.

Bede diſſenteth from Hector Boetius & his authour Veremond.

But at what time ſoeuer this victorie thus chaunced, certaine it is, the Brytaynes waxing prowde thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor tooke any heede for prouiſion of further defence: but after that thoſe holy Biſhops Germain and Seuerus were returned into theyr Countrey, they fell to all kyndes of gluttonie and exceſſe, in following onely their ſenſual luſts and fleſhly concupiſcence: which abuſes, the Biſhops and other godly men lamenting, ceaſſed not moſt earneſtly to reproue, menacing deſtruction vnto the whole Countrey, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and moſt heynous offences towards God, did not amende and repent in due time and ſpace.

The Brytaynes giue themſelues vnto all kindes of vice and abhominations.

The threatning of vengeance to ſucceede vicious liuing.

Neither were they deceyued herein: for within fewe yeares after, Occa eftſoones beganne to make warres vpon the Brytaynes agayne, and gaue them a notable ouerthrow, ſleaing of them

The Brytaines receiue a great ouerthrow.

King Occa ſlaine.

them to the number of .xv. thouſande, with theyr generall Nathaliod; but yet this victorie was not greatly pleaſant vnto the Saxons, for in the chaſe they loſt their king the foreſayde Occa, being aduaunced a good way of from the reſidue of his armie with fiue hundred horſemen, and a fewe footmen, in purſute of his enimyes, whiche was the only cauſe, that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploytes agaynſt the Brytaynes.

The yonger Occa nephew to the former Occa by his brother Diſcus.

Loth contrary to his othe of credēce ayded the Brytaynes agaynſt the Saxons.

And yet for that they woulde not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to their king, the nephew of the former Occa by his brother Diſcus. And then turned all their force to make warres agaynſt the Pictes, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his othe of credence had ayded the Brytaynes in the laſt battaile, as by certaine priſoners taken in the ſame, they had perfite vnderſtanding.

Colgerne, or Colgerme a Saxon, is ſent for by Occa.

Occa therefore being fierce of nature, to the ende to endomage his enimies the more, ſent into Germany for one Colgerne or Colgerm, a man of great eſtimation and worth amongſt the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promiſing for recompence of his trauayle and ayde agaynſt the Pictes, to deliuer vnto him all ſuch landes as lay beyonde the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the handes of the Pictes, to enioy vnto him and his for euer.

Colgerne landeth in Northumberland.

Colgerne accepting the offer, landed ſhortly after in Northumberlande, putting the whole Countrey vnto fire and ſworde. Which cruell dealing, cauſed a great number of Scottes and Pictes, which held diuerſe Caſtels in that quarter, to come forth into the fielde to defende the countrey, and ioyning battail with their enimies were diſcomfited, their ſlaughter being muche encreaſed by the comming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. For he firſt taking truce with Uter king of the Brytaynes, haſteth with all ſpeede to ioyne his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come a lande.

The kings of Scottes and Pictes rayſe their powers to reſiſt the Saxons.

The Scots and Pictes are put in feare of the Saxons valiance.

These newes being brought by ſuch as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, cauſed both the kings, Loth and Conranus, in moſt ſpeedie wiſe to aſſemble their forces, and with the ſame to march forthwith towardes the Saxons: but being come within ſight of them, readie to gyue battaile, great was the feare and terror in both their hoſtes to ioyne in fight with ſuch a number of fierce people, as they ſawe there before theyr faces. Which feare roſe firſt through the Brytaynes, of whom no ſmall number was there, in ayde of the Scottes and Picts, agaynſt the Saxons, declaring many things of the great valure, ſtrength of bodie, and huge forme of lymmes of the ſame Saxons, being ſo fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight, euen with their grymme lokes and terrible countenances. Whereof ſuch feare and terror was ſpredde through both the whole armies, that if ſhame had not partlye wrought amongſt the men of warre, many of them woulde haue fledde their wayes before any battail had bene attempted at all.

The kings cauſe one to make an oration vnto their people to remoue all feare out of theyr heartes.

The kings perceyuing ſuche diſcomfiture amongſt their men, cauſed them to aſſemble togither, and appoynted one ſuch as was thought meete for the purpoſe, to declare vnto them on theyr behalfes, how they could not but maruel to vnderſtand ſuch feare and lack of courage, as appeared generally through both the armies, conſidering there was no cauſe thereof, they beeing ſuche a number of able warriours preſently appoynted, and therewith led by ſuch gouernours and Captaines, as there was no reaſon why to be doubtful of victorie, before they had ſeene ſome tryall and iuſt occaſion of diſaduauntage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no ſuch men but that they might be ouercome well ynough, as it might ſufficiently appeare, both by prouſe of ſuch victories as Uortimere the Brytiſhe king had obteyned agaynſt them, and alſo Aurelius Ambroſe, who had vanquiſhed them in ſuch ſort, that when they durſt not eftſoones encoũter with him in battaile, they founde meanes by trayterous practiſe to make him away through poyſon. Then ſith the Brytaynes (whom the Scottiſh men and Pictes ſo often had ſubdued) had at ſundrie tymes vanquiſhed the Saxons, why ſhould they feare in ſuch wiſe to fight with them in common defence of theyr Countrey, and reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had lately receyued at theyr handes, ſith the righteous God (as all good men ought to truſt) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarell. And where it was bruted amongeſt them, that the Saxons were ſo huge of ſtature, and mightie of lymmes, that no force was able to withſtande them, it was certainly knowne, that the Scottes and Pictes were indewed with no leſſe mightineſſe & ſtrẽgth of bodie than the Saxons: ſo that if they were not of lyke ſtomackes, that reſted in their owne ſlouthfull cowardiſe, and not in natures worke, hauing done hir part in beſtowing hir gyftes vpon them touching bodily force, in ſuch plenteous maner, as no other nation did lightly any wayes ſurmount them.

The Scottes through comfortable words of an oration recouer newe courages.

Many other arguments were alledged & layd forth to remoue feare out of their hartes, and to incorage them to fight, inſomuch that in the end it appeared the ſame wrought the wiſhed effect, in ſuch wiſe, that they generally requyred battaile, offering to liue and die at theyr Captaynes feete, and to follow them whither ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe theyr kings & liege lords to appoynt them.

The Scots and Pictes are put to flight.

Herewith the kings being ſatiſfied, forth they march towardes their enimies, whome they found readie to receyue them, and that with ſuch rigorous violence, that in the ende after greate ſlaughter made on both partes, the Scottes and Pictes were put to flight, the Saxons purſuing in the chaſe till the darke night cauſed them to withdraw and returne into their campe.

The day next following, the Scottiſh king with the reſidue of his army, haſted away with al ſpeede towardes Galloway, and the Pictiſh king withdrewe into Pictlande.

The Saxons vſing the victorie moſt cruelly, ſlue all ſuch of the Pictiſh and Scottiſh nations, as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tweede.

Colgern created Duke of Northumberlande.

Then did Occa create the forenamed Colgerne duke of Northumberland, who repayring all ſuch Caſtels and ſtrong houſes, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed in the ſame garriſons of ſouldiers, to defend the countrey agaynſt all maner of enimies.

After this, Occa turned his power agaynſt the Brytaynes, whiche in the laſt battayle had ayded the Scottes and Pictes, as before is partly touched. The Brytaynes receyuing a great ouerthrowe in battaile, Vter the Brytiſhe king was glad with ſuche as mighte eſcape the enimies handes, to withdrawe into Wales, leauing the reſidue of his Countreys vnto the Saxons, who therevpon recouered not onely the Citie of London, yeelding it ſelfe vnto them for doubt of ſome long ſiege, but alſo all thoſe countreys and prouinces, whiche Hengiſt the firſt of the Saxons that raigned as king within the boundes of Albion at any time, had holden or enioyed, & ceaſſed not after recouerie of the ſame, to vexe and diſquiet the Scottes, Brytaynes and Pictes, with continuall incurſions, hoping by ſuch meanes to keepe them ſtill occupied.

The Brytayns ouerthrowne in battaile by the Saxons. Vter withdraweth into Wales. London recouered by Saxons.

The death of Vter poiſoned by drinking water of a well.

521.

In the middes of this trouble Vter king of the Brytaynes departed this worlde, poyſoned (as ſome haue written) by drinking water taken out of a foũtain, which the Saxons had enuenomed, he died in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour 521. and in the xvij. of his owne raigne.

Loth requyreth the kingdome of Brytayne.

After his deceaſſe, Loth king of the Pictes ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto the Lordes, and other the eſtates of the Brytiſh dominions, requyring them according to the accuſtomed lawes, and auncient ordenances of the Realme, to receyue him as king, ſith he had maryed the ſiſter and heyre of the two brethren Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter, their two laſt kings, being as then both deceaſed without leauing behinde them any lawfull iſſue, by reaſon whereof, their eſtate was fallen vnto him, to enioy the ſame during his life, hauing maryed (as is ſayde) theyr owne naturall and lawfull borne ſiſter, and after the deceaſſe of him and his wife the ſayde ſiſter, then it ought by courſe of the lawes of all Realmes and Countreys to diſcende vnto ſuch iſſue as hee had begot of hir, whiche was two ſonnes, the one named Mordred, and the other Waluane, or Gawane, as ſome doe call him.

Mordred and Gawane.

The Brytaines refuse to receyue either Loch or any of his ſonnes to raigne ouer them.

The Brytaynes diſdainfully vſing the Pictiſh Ambaſſadours that came with this meſſage, refuſed not onelye to come vnder ſubiection of Loth, but alſo denyed that his ſonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the ſiſter of Aurelius and Vter, ſhoulde haue any rule or gouernment amongeſt them, as thoſe that were no Brytaynes borne, but ſtraungers vnto them, being both borne and vpbred in a forraine countrey.

Thoſe Ambaſſadours then hauing theyr anſwere, and beeing ſent home with reproche, the Brytaynes contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaymed Arthure, beeing a baſtarde borne, king of their Realme, and forthwith aſſembling theyr powers vnder his leading, marched on agaynſt the Saxons, in purpoſe to abate ſome part of their ſtrength, before the Pictes (whiche was doubted woulde ſhortly come to paſſe) ſhoulde ioyne with them.

Arthure proclaymed king of Brytayne.

Arthure goeth forth againſt the Saxons.

Therefore

The Armorik Brytaines in ayd of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquiſhed, are conſtrayned to pay tribute to the Brytaynes.

Therefore hauing procured ayde of the Armoryke Brytaynes forth of Fraunce, they fought with theyr enimies within ten myles of London at the firſt, where the Saxons beeing at two ſeuerall tymes vanquiſhed, were conſtrayned not onely to pay trybute, but alſo to receyue magiſtrates to gouerne them by the ſaid Arthures appoyntment, with other grieuous articles of agreement, to the great reioyſing of the Brytains, for theſe ſo luckie beginnings in the firſt exploits of their late elected king.

London is wonne by the Brytaynes.

Arthure rayſeth a power agaynſt the Pictes.

A league concluded betwixt Loth and Colgerne.

Afterwardes was London eaſily wonne by the Brytains, wherein Arthure remayning for a ſeaſon, tooke aduiſe with his nobles howe to proceede in his warres againſt the reſt of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a mightie army, he determineth to go agaynſt thoſe which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whom (as he had certaine knowledge) the Picts were ioyned: for Loth cōming to agreement with Colgerne, concluded a league with him, wherby they were bound to ayd one another agaynſt the Brytains, as cōmon enimies and aduerſaries to them both.

Howel leader of the Armorike Brytains.

The Picts put to flight.

The Saxons chaſed, made their race towards Yorke.

The Brytaynes at theyr comming into Yorkſhire pitched their campe not farre off from theyr enimies, who were alreadie ioyned togither and encamped abrode in the field. The next day after, knowledge beeing had that they ſhoulde haue battail, Arthure appoynted Howel leader of the Armoryke Brytains to encounter with the battaile of the Pictes, and he himſelfe to matche with the Saxons. Thus they mette togither on both partes very fiercely, and a ſore battaile was fought ther betwixt them, ſo that for a good ſpace it was doubtful whether part ſhould haue the aduauntage of the day, but at length the Pictes were put to flight, which aduaunced the Brytaynes to the gayne of the whole fielde. For the Saxons after they perceyued howe the Pictes were diſcomfited, dreading to abyde the whole brunte by themſelues, betooke them alſo to theyr heeles, and made theyr raſe towardes Yorke, as faſte as theyr feete myght beare them.

York beſieged

Occa returneth of out Germanie with a new power.

Arthure purſuing them thither, beſieged the Citie almoſt three Monethes togyther, but the Saxons defended the Walles ſo ſtoutly making often iſſues forth vpon the Brytaynes, that till hunger began to conſtrayne them, they cared little for the ſiege. In the end when they were determined to haue yeelded vp the Citie, they had knowledge, howe there was an huge armie of Pictes and Saxons newly aſſembled, and readie to come forwarde to their ſuccors, alſo that king Occa (eſcaping from the battayle wherein he had receiued the ouerthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleing afterwarde into Germanie) was now returned with a newe power, and arryued within the mouth of Humber. Which newes cauſed them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abyde the ſiege but for a ſmall tyme, the Brytaynes ſhoulde ſhortly bee compaſſed in on eche ſyde, and oppreſſed on the ſodaine.

Arthure rayſeth his ſiege.

Arthure returneth to Lōdon

Arthur heard of the comming of theyr ſuccours in like maner, and iudging it no wiſedom to tarie the comming of his ſo puiſſant enimies, conſidering what a number of diſeaſed and ſicke perſons he had alreadie in his hoſt, by reaſon of their long lying abrode in the fielde) rayſed hys ſiege, and withdrewe himſelfe ſo ſpeedily as was poſſible with his whole army into Wales, where he appoynted the Armorike Brytaynes to ſoiourne for that Winter, with other of the meaner ſort of his own ſouldiers. Whileſt he tooke the reſidue of his choſen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion ſhoulde be rayſed amongſt the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countreys neare about.

Arthure diſcomfiteth the Saxons twiſe in battaile, & then againe lieth ſiege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthure vſeth the victorie with gentleneſſe.

In the beginning of the next ſpring, he gathered his hoſt togither again, and with the ſame went forth agaynſt Colgerne and Occa, who being iſſued forth of Northumberland, were entred into the Brytiſh confines, ſpoyling and waſting the countrey with their accuſtomed cruelty. Wherevpon encountering them twice in battail, he obteined the victorie, and then beſieging Yorke, at length he entred into that Citie, by meanes of a Brytayn, who dwelling amongſt the Saxons there, in the night ſeaſon cōueyed a ſort of Brytains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in yͤ dead of yͤ night, did let in al the whole hoſt. Where Arthur would not ſuffer his men to make any great murther of the enimies, whiche were content to yeeld themſelues, but vſed them very gently, therby to win more praiſe amongſt all thoſe that heard of his worthie victories.

The Brytaines ſoiourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue themſelues vnto banketting and voluptuouſneſſe.

The Brytaines hauing thus conquered the Citie of Yorke, many feates of armes were dayly practized betwixt them and the Saxons, which held poſſeſſion ſtill of the countrey there aboutes. But the Britaines lying in that citie al the ſommer and winter following, at length beganne to take their eaſe, namely in the depth of the winter, and therewith gaue themſelues to banketting, drinking, play, and other kindes of voluptuous pleſures, ſo yͭ it ſeemed they truſted more to their paſſed victories than to their preſent force, not fearing ſuche danger as was like to follow.

It is thought of ſome, that aboute the ſame tyme, Arthur firſte inſtituted, that the feaſte of Chriſtmaſſe ſhoulde be kept with ſuch exceſſe of meates and drinkes, in all kyndes of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the ſpace of thirtene dayes togyther, according to the cuſtome vſed ſtill throughe both the Realmes

of

Chriſtmas bankets reſembling the feaſtes Bacchanalia.

of England and Scotlande euen vnto this day, reſembling the feaſtes which the Gentiles vſed to keepe in the honour of their dronken God Bacchus, called in latine Bacchanalia: wherein all kindes of beaſtly luſt and ſenſuall voluptuouſneſſe was put in vre. But whence ſoeuer, or by whom ſoeuer this inſatiable gourmandiſe came vp amongſt vs, ſurely a great abuſe it is, to ſee the people at ſuche a ſolemne feaſt (where they ought to bee occupied in thankes giuing to almightie God, for the ſending downe of his onely begotten ſonne amongſt vs: to giue themſelues in maner wholy to gluttonie and exceſſiue filling of their bellies, with ſuch maner of lewd and wanton paſtimes, as though they ſhoulde rather celebrate the ſame feaſtes of Bacchanalia, and thoſe other which the Gentiles alſo kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Chriſtes natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of ſuch exceſſe.

The Brytaines through reſt and eaſe became vnapt to ſuſteyne the paynes of warres.

A league concluded betwixt Arthure king of Brytaynes, and Loth king of Pictes.

Mordred marieth the daughter of one Gawolane a Brytayne.

Gawan or Gawen in ſeruice with king Arthure.

But nowe to my purpoſe. When the next Sommer was once come, Arthure led forth hys Brytaynes agaynſt their enimies, but by reaſon of ſuch eaſe and pleaſure as they had taken whyleſt they ſoiourned in Yorke, being nowe come into the field, they were able to abide no paynes, ſo that no good was done of certaine yeares after, till finally Arthure ioyned in league wyth Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were theſe. That Arthure during his naturall life ſhould raigne as king of the Brytains, and after his deceaſſe, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordred and his iſſue, if he chaunced to haue any. That the Pictes ſhould ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt the Saxons, and haue all ſuche landes as might bee recouered of them beyonde Humber. Alſo the league whiche was betwixt them and the Scottes, they ſhould duely obſerue. Mordred ſhould marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongſt the Brytaynes, and of higheſt authoritie next vnto Arthure himſelfe: the children of this maryage to bee brought vp with their grandfather in Brytain, till they came to yeares of diſcretion. Gawan the brother of the foreſayde Mordred, ſhoulde ſerue king Arthure, and receyue at his handes large entertainment, and great poſſeſſions to mainteyne therewith his eſtate.

Arthure ſendeth Ambaſſadours vnto the kings of Scots and Pictes.

Other articles there were comprysed in this league, according as was thought requiſite for the maintenance of ſtable friendſhip betwixt theſe kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and ſtill being deſirous to purge the whole Ile of all miſcreantes and enimies of the Chriſtian fayth, hee ſente vnto the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the aduauncement of Chriſtes religion, to aſſemble their powers, and to meete him at Tynmouth, whither he woulde repayre to ioyne with them, at ſuch day as they would appoynt, from thence to march forth agaynſt the Saxons.

Scottes, Pictes and Brytaines, ioyne togither agaynſt the Saxons.

Loth king of the Pictes, and Conranus king of the Scottiſhmen, fayled not in this ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, but agreeable to Arthures requeſt, within fewe dayes after they came forwarde, and ioyning with the Brytaynes, forth they went agaynſt the Saxons, whom they vnderſtoode to be alreadie in campe, vnder the conduite of their king Occa, in purpoſe to ſtop their paſſage.

Colgerme reproueth Loth.

When both the armies were approched neare togither, they prepared to the battaile, and fyrſt Colgerme Duke of Northumberlande mounted vpon a light gelding, rode almoſte euen harde to the faces of the Pictes, where they ſtoode in theyr order of battaile right ſtoutly, and there vttering many reprochfull wordes vnto Loth and other of his nobles, for breach of their promiſed friendſhip to him and his Saxons, declared that he truſted ſhortly to ſee iuſt puniſhment light vppon them for this falſhood and vntruthes ſake, in thus ioyning with theyr former enimies againſt their moſt truſtie friendes and ſtedfaſt allies.

The Pictiſhe king not greatly moued herewith, commaunded his Standards to aduaunce forwarde, and the Saxons likewiſe haſted apace towardes them, ſo that the one being come within daunger of ſhot of the other, the Pictes let flie their Arrowes right freſhly. Arthur in the meane time hauing ſet his people in aray, exhorted thē to fight manfully: and ſo ſoone as he perceyued that the fray was begon by the Picts, he in ſemblable wiſe commaundeth the Brytaines to giue the onſet, ſo that immediately there enſued a ſore conflict: the Scottes beeing in the right wing, ſleaing Cheldricke one of the chiefeſt Captaines amongeſt the Saxons, quickly diſcomfited that Wing with the which they were firſt matched.

Colgerme is runne through by his aduerſaryes.

The Saxons are put to flight.

Colgerme with his Saxons encountring as is ſayde with the Pictes, placed in the left wing, ruſhed in amongſt his enimies (vpon an earneſt deſire to be reuenged of his aduerſarie king Loth) with ſuch violence, that at their firſt encounter he ouerthrew the ſame Loth: but immediatly thervppon two Pictiſhe horſemen running at Colgerme ſideling wiſe, bare him quite through. In the meane time, Loth by meane of his ſtrong haberioyne eſcaping without hurt, was relieued by ſuch as ſtood about him, and reſtored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being deade before he could be recouered from amongeſt the throng of his enimies, his mē were ſo diſcomforted therwith, that ſtreight wayes thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battaile of the Saxons being thus left bare on both ſides, began to giue backe, which Arthure perceyuing, the more earneſtly preſſed forth vpõ them, ſo that in the end Occa being conſtrayned to flee, and receyuing a ſore wound, had much adoo to be conueyed away by ſome of his horſmen, the Brytains purſued ſo fiercely vpon him. At length being brought vnto the ſea ſide, he got veſſels, and eſcaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchieued, conſtrayned the Saxons to yeeld vnto king Arthur, ſimply cõmitting themſelues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goodes, vpon condition they woulde become chriſtians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make any warres vpõ their neighbors the Brytains, Scots, or Pictes. But if they woulde not agree herevnto, then leauing their goods, armor, and weapon behinde them, they ſhould auoyd the land, and that within .xiij. days next enſuing.

Occa conſtrained to flee.

Vpon what condition Arthur receyued the Saxons vpõ their ſubmiſsion.

Many of the Saxons that could get paſſage, ſayled ouer into Germanie. Other feigning them ſelues to become Chriſtians, remayned in the lande, looking one day for better happe and fortune. Diuerſe that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get away within the tyme appoynted, and yet refuſing to be chriſtened, were put to death, according to the Proclamation ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe, ſo that in compariſon verie few amongſt them receyued the Chriſtian fayth ſincerely, and with a true meaning minde.

Things beeing thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthure tooke order for the repayring of Churches abrode in the coũtrey, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced, namely in the Citie of Yorke he beſtowed great coſt, where the cruell infidels had done muche hurt vpon Churches, and other religious houſes.

Arthure cauſeth churches to be repaired

In the yeare following, Arthure had newes, how the Saxons which helde the Ile of Wight, ioining with the Kentiſh Saxons, had don great diſpleaſures vnto the Brytaynes, on that ſyde of the Thames, kylling and ſleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewyth being ſore moued, hee drewe towardes London with his armie, purpoſing vtterly to deſtroy all the Eaſt and South Saxons, ſith otherwyſe hee could not prouide for the ſurtie of his ſubiects, being ſtil in daunger to be murthered and robbed, ſo long as anye of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongſt them.

Arthure purpoſeth to deſtroy the whole race of the Saxons in Albion.

By meanes alſo of the league, he had wyth him in this iourney ten thouſand Pictes, and as many Scottes: Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scottes, and Mordred the ſonne of King Loth by his wife Anne, gouerned the Pictes, a luſty yong gentleman, very wittie and towardly in al his doings. Furthermore Arthur vnderſtanding what hurt reſt and eaſe had done amongeſt his men of warre, cauſed them to keepe the fielde in al this iourney, and paſſing by London, lodged them a little beſide the riuer of Thames. But he himſelfe with ſome of his nobles, entred into the citie, cauſing ſupplications to be made vnto almightie God three days togither, for good ſucceſſe to folow againſt the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine ſeruice celebrated by the Biſhop of London, and cauſing a ſermon to be made in the Market place, he committed himſelfe & his whole armie vnto the tuition of Chriſt, and his mother the virgin, whoſe Image in ſteede of a badge, he bare in his ſhield continually from that day forward, as diuerſe heretofore haue written.

The opinion which men had conceyued of Mordred for his wit and towardlineſſe.

Arthurs badge

After this, iſſuing forth of the citie, he willed al his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iuſt quarell agaynſt Pagans, and enimies of the fayth. Mordred and his father in law Gawolane paſſed on before the battayles with fiue thouſande horſemen, and being come within fiue myles of the Saxons, who likewiſe were aſſembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur Ambaſſadors, requiring him to ſtay his iorney, for they were readie if they might haue libertie ſo to do, to depart out of the lande, with theyr goods and ſubſtance, without further moleſting the Brytains, either by one meanes or other.

Arthures exhortation to his people.

An offer made by the Saxons vnto king Arthure.

Arthur would neither conſent herevnto, nor yet graunt a truce for three dayes, for the which they made earneſt ſute, but bad them depart for that time, only aſſuring thẽ that he woulde not come paſſing two miles forward for that day, ſo that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue anſwere what the chiefeſt gouernors of his hoſt thought touching their requeſt, by whom he woulde haue the matter more throughly debated. In the meane time whyleſt the Brytaines were buſied with hearing of theſe Ambaſſadors, & taking aduiſe what was beſt to do touching their demaund, the Saxons marched forth with all ſpeed, and cõming vpon Mordred and Gawolan at vnwares, they gaue the onſet freſhly vpon them, & that very muche to the diſaduauntage of the Brytains & Pictes, who notwithſtanding through the earneſt exhortation of their captains, receyued their enimies right fiercely, in doing that which was poſſible for ſo ſmall a nũber to do, howbeit in the ende oppreſſed with multitude, they were forced to flie and ſo did, not reſting till they came in ſight of the whole armie. In which flight, Mordred and Gawolan by help of their ſoldiers, being moũted vpon their horſes, eſcaped without hurt, though they loſt no ſmall number of their cõpanie, as wel in the fight as in the chaſe. The Saxons Ambaſſadors being not yet departed out of the Britiſh campe, were herevpon ſtayed till the next morning, and then had

The Saxons comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan, put them with their people to the worſe.

What anſwer the Saxons Embaſſadors had at Arthurs hands.

anſwere giuen them, that from thenceforth the Brytaynes were not mynded to heare any meſſengers of the Saxons comming to intreate of peace, ſith it was manifeſt inough, they ment nothing but falſhode, as well appeared in that they had againſt the law of armes, whileſt their Ambaſſadors were in cōmunicatiō, diſtreſſed part of the Britiſh army, and therfore they ſhould aſſure thēſelues, to haue at Arthures hands nothing but cruel war to the vttermoſt of his power in reuēge of ſuch their great vntruthes & cloked dealings.

The excuſe of the Saxons.

They had vneth receyued their anſwere, but that there came from the Saxons. xl. other Ambaſſadors, being mē of great authoritie amongſt them, to excuſe that whiche had happened ouer night, in laying the fault vpon a ſort of vndiſcrete perſons, nothing priuie vnto that which the gouerners of the armie had done, touching the ſending of their Ambaſſadours, and thereupon had without their aduiſe made that ſkirmiſh.

But Arthure iudging that there was ſome newe ſubtill practiſe in hande vnder pretence of this newe Ambaſſage, commaunded as wel theſe that came laſt, as the other which came firſt, to be kept in the Marſhalles tent, that in no wiſe they ſhoulde eſcape, whileſt he himſelfe in the ſeconde watch of the night departed out of his camp, with all his puiſſance, which he deuided into three battailes, & hauing marched three miles forwarde, he was vpon his enimies ere they vnderſtode any thing of his cōming, inſomuch that the Britains had ſlain and chaſed the watche of the Saxons campe, before it was certainly knowne what the matter ment. Hereof alſo enſued ſuch a tumult & noyſe amongſt the Saxons, running vp & down, calling & crying one to another, as it happeneth in ſuch caſes of extreeme feare, that the beſt aduiſed amongſt thē, wiſt not wel what to do. Whervpon Mordred deſirous to reuenge his laſt ouerthrow, brake in alſo vpō his enimies right fiercely. But ſome of them hauing gotten them into their armor, ſtood at their defence awhile amōgſt their cartes and cariages, and ſo reſiſted the Brytains on that ſide for a ſeaſon: other of the Saxons hauing no leyſure to arme themſelues, nor to draw into any order of battaile, by reaſon of the ſodaine impreſſion of the Brytaynes, brake forth of the campe on the contrary ſide, and fled ſo faſt as theyr feete myght beare them. But being purſued by the Brytiſhe Horſemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ranne into the next Ryuer, and there were drowned, chooſing rather that kinde of death, than ſo cruellye to be murthered by the aduerſaryes handes: verily the Brytaines ſhewed no mercie that day, for ſo manye as came within theyr daunger, dyed without redemption. And this bloudie battaile made an ende of ſuch an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they ſhoulde neuer haue recouered againe any puiſſaunce able to haue endomaged the Brytaynes in any maner of wiſe.

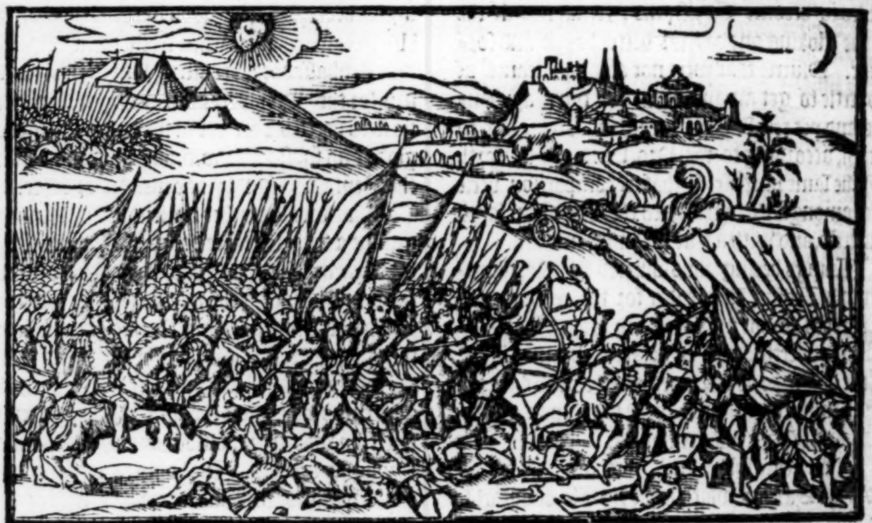
The ſodaine inuaſion made by the Brytains vpon the Saxons.

The great tumult in the Saxons camp.

Mordred deſirous to be reuenged.

The Saxons are put to the flight.

The crueltie of the Brytains in ſleaing the Saxons.



Arthure hauing thus vanquiſhed his enimies, gaue licenſe vnto thoſe nobles which hee had deteyned (as is ſayde) in his campe, being ſent vnto him as Ambaſſadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the reſidue of ſuch Saxōs as were men of no defence, to remain ſtil in the land, yelding a yearly tribute vnto the Brytains, and alſo with cōdition that they ſhuld become chriſtians.

Arthures magnificence.

The Scottiſhmen and Picts which had ayded the Brytaynes in this iourney, ſoiourned awhile after at London, where Arthure feaſted and banketted them in moſt royall wiſe, ſhewing them al the honor that might be deuiſed, and afterwardes ſent them home right princely rewarded with many great giftes and rich preſents.

Whileſt ſuch buſineſſe as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the eſtate of the Scottiſh common wealth, was gouerned by great wiſedome and policie, without any notable trouble or diſorder.

A conſpiracie practiſed agaynſt Cõran.

But finally when king Conrane beganne to ware aged, and that ſuch as had the chief doings vnder him, ſought not the execution of iuſtice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practiſe a conſpiracie with diuerſe of the Nobles againſt Conranc, and thoſe which ruled by his appoyntment.

It chaunced that there was one Toncet, a mã of baſe byrth, aſſigned by the kings commiſſion to be chiefe iuſtice, or as it were Chauncelor for the adminiſtration of the lawes in Murrey land, a perſõ paſſing full of rygorous crueltie, eſpecially in iudgements of life & death, and in gathering vp of all maner of forfeytures of penall lawes which he did onely to purchaſe fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in reſpect whereof he had ſmal regard either of right or wrong, ſo that there were hope of ſomwhat to be gotten.

An euill officer.

Amongſt other the violent doings of this Toncet, he cauſed diuerſe marchant men of the towne of Fores in Murreyland (as thẽ the chiefeſt town of all that countrey) to be accuſed of treaſon by a light information, and in the end executed without any apparant matter, onely vpon a couetous deſire to haue their goods and riches, bycauſe they were men of great wealth and ſubſtance. Diuerſe noble men of the countrey there aboutes, & namely of the towne of Fores, being partly of kin vnto thoſe marchants, were ſore offended with this act, and herevpon they firſt came vnto Toncet, & reuiled him with many high reprochful wordes, & afterwards fell vpõ him in the place of opẽ iudgement where he ſat as then in his iudgement ſeat, and there murthered him, getting them forthwith vp into the moũtains to auoyd the danger, which they knewe vnpoſſible for them to eſcape, if they ſhould happen to be taken whileſt Conran ſhould be liuing. After this, they deuiſed how they might encreaſe their heynous deed and bolde enterpriſe with an other far more horrible & notable, which was to ſlea the king himſelf, as the original cauſe of all ſuch miſchief that then raigned in yͤ realme through the vnworthie gouernment of his vniuſt miniſters & couetous magiſtrates, hoping withall to obtain the fauor of ſome of the noble men, whom they knew to maligne the king & his coũſell moſt extreemly, & thereby in ſhort time to be aſſured of their pardon. Shortly after it chaunced that one Donald alſo gouernor of Athol, a mã in great fauour and truſt with the king, had vnderſtanding what theſe outlawes intended, & therevpon practiſed with them by priuie meſſengers, that they ſhould come in ſecret maner vnto Enuerlochtee, where the king ſoiourned, promiſing them by moſt aſſured meanes of othes & vowes, that they ſhuld haue al yͤ furtherance he could deuiſe towards the atchieuing of their enterpriſe.

A preſumptuous act.

The determination of the murtherers to diſpatch the king alſo.

Donald gouernour of Athol, conſpireth with the Outlawes to murther the king.

The outlawes enter into the kings bed chamber.

Hereupon theſe outlawes according to their inſtructions, came in ſecret wiſe vnto Enuerlochtee and were cloſely conueyd into Conrans bed chãber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himſelf quickly out of the way when he ſawe them once entred within the dore of the chamber. Conran the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enimies were got into his chamber ready to murther him, ſtept forth of his bed, & falling down vpõ his knees beſought them to take pitie of his age, & not to defile their handes in the bloud of their naturall lord and king, conſidering the fault was not his, if they had beene any wayes wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but leaſt he ſhould eſcape their hands, ſtreightwayes diſpatched him out of life, and withal made haſt away. This was the ende of king Conranus, in the. xx. yeare of his raigne, being the. xvj. of Arthurs dominion ouer the Brytains, the fifth of the Emperor Iuſtinianus, and in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in yͤ Abbey of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmkil, wͭ ſuch funerall pompe & exequies, as in thoſe dayes were vſed.

Conran is murthered within his bed chamber by trayterous meanes.

35. H.B.

20. H.B.

535. H.B.

Eugenius.

After him ſucceeded his nephewe Eugenius, the ſon of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius as aboue is ſayde, was with Arthure in the laſte mentioned iourney agaynſte the Saxons.

Eugenius is inueſted king of Scotland.

There were that counſayled him in the begynning of his raigne (which he beganne in Argile being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he ſhoulde ſee in any wiſe the auctours of his Vncles death duely puniſhed, to giue enſample to other, that they ſhoulde not attempt the lyke hereafter agaynſte theyr liege Lorde and crowned King: but he contrarywiſe did not onlye forgiue the offence, but alſo receyued the forenamed Donalde wyth other the murtherers into his ſeruice, and made them of his priuie Counſell, which cauſed many men to ſuſpect, leaſt he himſelfe had beene of counſell with them in committing that murther. The talke wherof, was ſo common in all mens mouthes, namely amongſt the common people, that the Queene Dowager late wife to king Conran, doubting not only the ſuretie of hir owne life, but alſo of hir two ſonnes (which ſhe had by the ſaid Cõran, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Irelande, where within fewe yeares

Regicides or kingquellers ought chiefly aboue al other to be puniſhed

Eugenius is ſuſpected of his predeceſſours death.

The Queene Dowager fled with hir two ſonnes into Irelande.

after, ſhe dyed with the one of hir ſonnes, that is to wit Reginan: the other Aidane was honourably brought vp by the king of that Countrey, according to his byrth and degree.

Eugenius in the beginning of his raigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himſelf moſt gently in al his proceedings, doing nothing that taſted in any part of crueltie. He woulde oftentimes ſit amongſt the Iudges himſelfe, and if he ſuſpected leaſt any man had wrong, he wold licence them to pleade their caſe of new. And ſuch as he perceyued were not of abilitie to folow their ſuite in any cauſe of right, he would helpe them with money of the common treaſurie. He ordayned alſo, that no orphane ſhould be compelled to anſwere any action, or otherwiſe bee vexed by ſuite of law. Moreouer, that no widow ſhould be conſtrayned to come paſt a mile forth of hir own dores for any matter in controuerſie betwixt hir and any other perſon, to be heard afore any Iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receptors he cauſed to be duly puniſhed, to refrain other from attempting the like offences. And alſo he had a ſpeciall regarde for the obſeruing of the league betwixt his ſubiects and the Pictes, with the Brytaynes, according to the tenour of the ſame.

The humanity and fauorable friendſhip of king Eugenius towardes his people.

Commēdable ordinances.

About this ſeaſon ſhould it be alſo that Arthur did atchieue all thoſe worthie victories which are aſcribed vnto him agaynſt the Scots, Iriſh men, Danes, Norwegians, & other northren people. Moreouer it is written by ſome authors, that he ſhoulde ſubdue the moſt part of Germanie with the low coūtreys, Brytain, Normandie, France, and the Romaines, with the people of the Eaſt, but the credit hereof reſteth with yͤ ſame authors. Only it is certain (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the dayes of Iuſtinianus the Emperour, aboute whiche time the Gothes, Vandales, Burgonions, and Frenchmen did inuade ſundrie partes of the Romaine Empyre, pitifully waſting and ſpoyling the ſame, where yet ſuche wryters as haue ſet forth thoſe warres make no mention of Arthur at all. Therfore letting all doubtfull things paſſe, I will procede with my author, and declare what he hath found written in ſuch Scottiſh Chronicles as he followeth touching the Britiſh Arthur, which for that it partly varieth from the other our cōmon chronicles, namely Geffray of Monmouth, I think it worthy to be noted here, to the ende that euery man may iudge therof as to him ſeemeth beſt.

The victorious conqueſts aſcribed to Arthure.

This cauſeth no ſmal doubt to ariſe of the great victories aſcribed vnto Arthure.

Geffray of Monmouth.

To the purpoſe then: after the Brytains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietneſſe they began to waxe welthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Pictes, ſpecially for that they could not in any wiſe be cōtented to haue any ſtranger to raign amongſt them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, ſith he himſelf had no iſſue to ſucceed him, yͭ it might pleaſe him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceaſe.

The Brytaines repent themſelues of the league concluded with the Pictes.

The requeſt of the Brytaynes to haue one of their own nation appoynted to ſucceed king Arthure.

Arthure not gainſaying their requeſt, willed them (ſithe their pleaſure was ſuch, in no wiſe to haue a ſtranger to raigne ouer them) to name one themſelues, being diſcēded of the bloud royal, and ſuch a one as in whom they had perceyued ſome towardly proufe of wiſedome & valiancie: and he for his part promiſed to ratifie their election.

The Nobles with great reioycing of the people drawing togither to conſult for the choyſe of ſuche a one, as might bee acceptable to all the Brytiſh nation, at length agreed vpon Conſtantinus, the ſonne of Cador Duke of Cornewall, a goodly yong Gentleman, both for his perſon and other his worthy qualities muche to be commended. Who being brought by the peeres of the Realme into the counſell chamber, and there preſented vnto king Arthure, as one moſt meeteſt to ſucceede him. Arthure accepted their election right gladly, and cauſed the ſame Conſtantine forthwith to bee proclaymed heyre apparant vnto the crowne, by the name of Prince of Brytayne, which notifyed him to be ſucceſſor to the king in gouernment of the realme.

Conſtantine proclaymed heyre apparāt and prince of Brytaine.

Conſtantine being in ſuch wiſe preferred, behaued himſelfe ſo honourably, and with ſuche a ſhew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much prayſe, with an opinion of high worthineſſe amongſt all the Brytiſh nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Pictes deceaſſed, leauing his name as a perpetual memorie vnto his Countrey of Pictlande, the which euer ſithence, as a remembraunce of his worthineſſe, hath beene called Lothian, or Lawthian. But his ſonne Mordred ſucceeding him in gouernment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, and hearing that Conſtantine was proclaimed heyre apparant of Brytayne, was ſore moued therewith, and immediately ſending his Imbaſſadors vnto king Arthure, complayned, for that contrarie to the honour of his kingly eſtate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and hys father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherin it was agreed amongeſt other things, that there ſhoulde none ſucceede in the kingdome of Brytayne, after Arthures deceaſſe, but the children begotte betwixt King Loth and his wife Queene Anne, or ſuche as diſcended of them: where contrariwyſe it was notifyed vnto the Pictiſhe people, that Conſtantine the ſonne of Cador was elected Prince, and thereby enabled as heyre apparaunt to the crowne.

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictiſh king.

Mordred ſucceedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictlande.

Mordred cōplayneth vnto king Arthure, for that Conſtantine was created hys heyre apparāt.

They required him therfore to cal himſelfe to remembrance, & not ſo lightly to agree vnto the flattering perſwaſions of the Brytains, adviſing him vnto that thing which was meerely repugnaunt to reaſon, and agaynſt both Gods lawes and mans, admoniſhing him withall to obſerue the league, according to the othe, which he had ſolemnly taken vpon him, and to moue his ſubiectes to do the like, leaſt for the contrarie, they ſhoulde prouoke the wrath of almightie God againſt thẽ, who is the iuſt reuenger of all ſuch as go aboute to breake leagues and couenanted pactions.

The anſwere made to the Pictiſh Ambaſſadours.

Herevnto anſwere was made, by conſent of the nobles of Brytayne, that the league whiche was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, endured but for the life times of them two onely, and to ceaſſe by eyther of their deathes: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to any pact or promiſe made, but according to the duetie of a Prince that tendred the weale of his ſubiectes, had prouided them one to ſucceede him of their owne nation, for doubt leaſt the realme after his deceaſe ſhould fall into the handes of ſtraungers, whiche in no wiſe ought of right to be ſuffered. Therefore if the Pictes loued the ſuertie of their owne eſtate, it ſhoulde be good for them to holde themſelues contented with their owne boundes, leaſt if they ſought for other mens liuings, they might happely within ſhort time perceyue, what doth enſue oftentimes vppon ſuch raſh and vnaduiſed attemptes.

The Pictes purpoſe to be reuenged on the Brytaines by open war.

The Picts ſolicite both Scottes and Saxons to make warre vpon the Brytaynes.

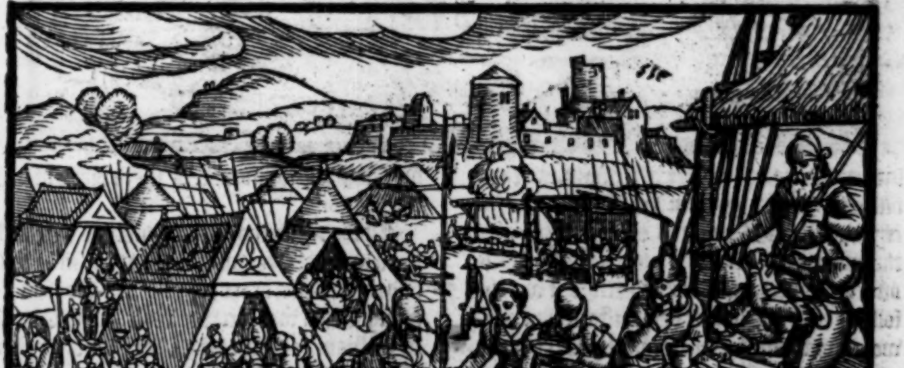
The Pictiſh Ambaſſadours returning home with this anſwere, cauſed the whole Nation to take ſuch diſdaine therewith, that immediatly they reſolued to reuenge their wrongs, by open warres: but firſt they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottiſh mẽ to take part with thẽ in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had in like maner lately receiued at yͤ Britains hãds. Moreouer, repenting themſelues, that they had in times paſt ayded the Brytaynes againſt the Saxons, they purpoſe to trie if they might now moue the ſame Saxons eftſoones to make warres vpon the Brytains, thereby to be the better able to maintaine their owne quarell againſt them.

Eugenius the Scottiſh king agreeable to the requeſt of the Pictes.

Firſt ſuche Ambaſſadors as were ſent from Mordred vnto Eugenius king of the Scottes, found him very agreeable vnto their requeſts, and the ſooner, for that ſuch Scottiſh rebels as fledde vnto Arthure, were not onely receyued by him, but alſo mainteyned to make rodes and incurſions into the Scottiſh borders.

Arthure ſetteth forwarde towarde the Scottes and Pictes.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuiſes of his enimies (the warres being firſt proclaymed) hee furniſhed all the ſea coaſts with notable numbers of men, to withſtand the landing of the Saxons, if they ſhould fortune to attempt any inuaſion. That done, he paſſed forth with the reſidue of his people towarde the Scottes and Pictes, who were alreadie aſſembled in campe, and were come as farre as the Ryuer of Humber, neare to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Brytaynes to be vanquiſhed in.



Humber a fatall place for the Brytaynes to be vanquiſhed at.

Biſhops trauel betwixt the parties to bring them to cõmunication for a peace.

Both the armies being brought here into order of battaile, the one in ſight of the other, there were certain Biſhops of thoſe three nations, that tooke great paynes to ride to and fro betwixt thẽ, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, conſidering what miſchiefe & great bloudſhed ſhould enſue, if vpon wilfulneſſe they would ſeeke to trie that by dint of ſworde, which they might make an ende of, by meanes of amiable treaties & friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enimies to the chriſtian religion, than if by theyr encoũtring togither in battail, they ſhould ſo enfeeble their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie meanes and occaſion offred to execute their greedy deſires to cõquer yͤ whole ile.

Mordred and Eugenius were perſwaded vnto peace.

Mordred and Eugenius were perſwaded by this earneſt trauayle of the Biſhoppes, to putte theyr matter in compromiſe, and to lay awaye theyr armour and weapon, if they might haue aſſurance that the league made with king Loth ſhould in euery poynt be obſerued.

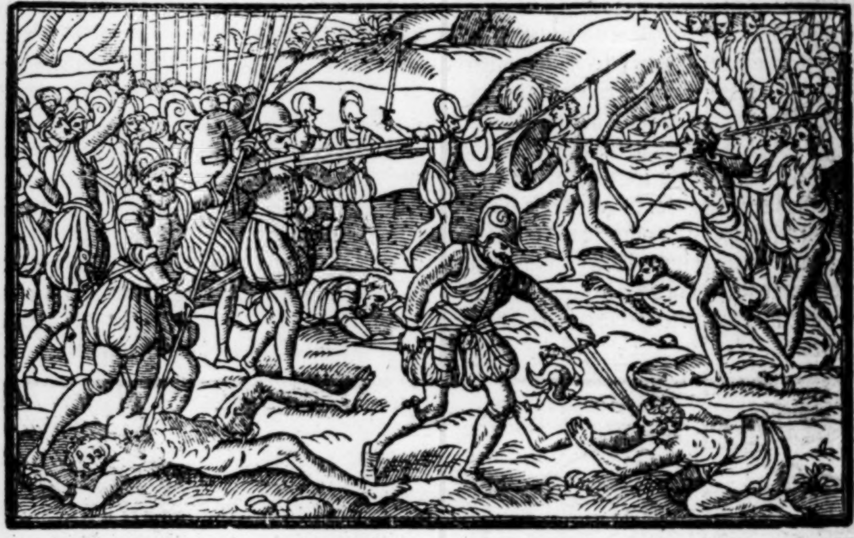
The Brytaines woulde not cōſent to haue any peace talked vpon.

Arthure likewiſe at the ſute of the ſame Byſhoppes, would haue bene contented for his part to haue agreed herevnto, but other of the Brytayns, namely thoſe that were of kinne and alliance vnto Conſtantine theyr Prince, coulde in no wiſe be perſwaded therevnto, but rather with many reprochfull wordes rebuked the Biſhops for theyr vntimely ſute, ſeeing the enimies readie raunged in battaile at poynt to giue the onſet, ſo that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they ment by their mocion, onleſſe they went about to betray the army, vnder pretence of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement.

The battaile is begonne.

These or ſuch like wordes were vneth ended, when ſodainly the noyſe being rayſed on bothe ſides, the battailes ruſhed togither right fiercely. The Brytaines had the diſaduauntage of the place, being ſo encumbred in myres, bogges, and Moſſes, that they coulde not well ayde themſelues, nor handle their weapons to any purpoſe. Yet did the battaile continue a long time to the deſtruction of ſuch numbers of men, that the riuer of Humber (neare vnto the whiche this field was fought) was ſo mingled with bloud, that the water thereof being all ouer coloured red, caried no ſmall multitude of dead bodies downe

A cruell battaile.



into the ſea. In the middes of the fight, there was one with lowde voyce in the Brytiſh tongue, cryed out to the Brytaynes (of purpoſe prompted therevnto) that Arthure with other of the nobles on his ſide were ſlaine, and therefore it were but folly to truſt any longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wiſdome for euerie man by flight, to prouide for his owne ſaftie.

A craftie policie. This was one of the Pickes.

This voyce wonderfully encoraged the Scottiſh men and Pictes, but the Brytaines were put in ſuch feare therwith, that the moſt part of them immediately herevpon fell to running away.

The Brytaines put to flight.

Other of them iudging this to be but a craftie and ſome ſubtile practiſe of the enimies deuiſed of purpoſe, as it was in deede, to diſcomfort them with, abode by it ſtill, manfully continning in fight, till they were beaten downe and ſlaine in maner euery mothers ſonne.

This victorie beeing thus hardly got, coſt more mens liues than any other had done of many yeares before: for of the Scottes and Pictes being vanquiſhers, there dyed in that mortal battail aboue .xx. thouſand men togither with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the Nations.

Twentie thouſand of Scots and Pictes ſlaine.

Mordred is ſlaine.

Of the Brytains and ſuch other as were with them in ayde, there were ſlaine what in battaile and in the chaſe, at the poynt of .xxx. thouſand, among whom was Arthure himſelf, with Gawan or Galuan, (as ſome bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare ſuch good wil and entier loue vnto his Lord and maiſter the ſayd Arthur, that he fought that day moſt earneſtly on his ſide againſt his own natural brother yͤ ſayd Mordred.

Arthure with xxx. thouſand Brytains ſlain. Gawan is ſlain

Alſo there were killed Cayme and Gawolane with the moſt part of al the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, and many priſoners taken, by reaſon that Humber kept them in from fleing any way forth on the one ſide, whiche priſoners alſo were afterwards ſlaine, the gentlemen onely excepted.

Cayme and Gawolan are ſlaine.

The day next after the battaile, the campe of the Brytains was rifled, and amongſt other rich ſpoyles, there was foũd Queene Guaynore Arthures wife, with a great number of other Ladies and gentlewomen. The whole ſpoile of the camp and field being equally deuided by lottes betwixt them,

Queene Guaynore taken.

The ſpoyle of the Brytaines camp deuided them, the Scottes had for their partes certaine fayre Chariets, laden with rich ſtuffe and iewels, alſo horſes and armors; beſide ſundry noble men, which they had to theyr priſoners.

Vnto the Pictes fell for their portion Queene Guaynore, with the Ladies and gentlewomen, and diuerſe other of the Noble men, beſides a greate quantitie of other riche pray and booties. These priſoners which the Pictes had, were conueyed vnto a Caſtel in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great ſtrength in thoſe dayes, though at this preſent there remayneth nothing but the name with the ruynes thereof. In whiche Caſtell they were deteyned vnder ſure warde, during the reſidue of theyr naturall lyues. In witneſſe whereof there be remayning vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manye of thoſe captyue Brytaynes were buryed in the fieldes of a towne in that Countrey called Megill, not paſt ten myles from Dundee. But amongeſt the reſidue, that of Guaynore is moſte famous.

Dunbarre in Angus, not that in Louthian.

The fable of Queen Guaynores graue buried in Angus.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrey, tolde for an aſſured truth, that if any womã chaunce to treade vpon that graue, they ſhall remaine barren withoute bringing forth any iſſue more than the ſayd Guaynore did. But whether this be true or not, certaine it is, as Boetius writeth, that there dare no women come neare that graue: not only eſchuing it themſelues, but alſo commaunding their daughters to beware therof.

This bloudie battaile weakened ſo much the forces both of the Scots, Pictes and Brytaynes, that many a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former eſtates or dignities.

542.

S.H.B.

The yeare alſo that theſe three nations encoũtred thus cruelly togither, was after the byrth of our Sauiour 542. the. xxvj. of Arthurs raigne ouer the Brytaynes, and the. xj. of Eugenius his gouernment ouer the Scottiſh men.

Straunge and vnketh wonders,

The ſame yeare before the battaile, were ſene many ſtraunge ſightes in Albion. Graſſe and hearbes in Yorkeſhyre appeared to bee ſteyned with bloud. Neare vnto Camelon, a Cowe brought forth a Calfe with two heades. Alſo an Ewe brought forth a lambe, that was both male and female. The ſunne appeared aboute noone dayes al wholy of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright Starres to euery mans ſight continually for the ſpace of two dayes togither. In Wales there was a battaile betwixt Crowes & Pies on the one ſide, and Rauens on the other, with ſuch a ſlaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

Eugenius rewardeth his ſouldiers.

But to proceed, Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battail, gaue to thoſe that had eſcaped with life, and abid by him in the chief daunger of the fight, many bounteous and large rewardes. The ſonnes and neareſt kinſfolke of ſuch as were ſlaine, he alſo aduaunced vnto ſundrie preferments of landes and liuings, that they enioying the ſame, might bee a witneſſe in tyme to come of the good ſeruice of their aunceſters ſhewed, in defence of their king and countrey, and alſo of his princely liberalitie, in rewarding the ſame vpon their iſſue and progenie. By whiche noble beneuolence, hee wanne him ſuche loue amongeſt his people, that afterwardes it ſeemed howe hee gouerned the eſtate of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by any rigour of lawes.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

Conſtantine crowned king of Brytayne.

The Brytaynes immediately vpon knowledge had that Arthur was ſlaine, crowned Conſtantine his ſucceſſor in the Brytiſhe kingdome, and for that there ſhould remaine none amongſt them aliue to make any claime to the ſame kingdome, other than he with his iſſue, or ſuch as he ſhoulde appoynt to ſucceede him, they cruelly murthered Mordreds children, in moſte pitifull wiſe running vnto their mothers lap, beſeeching hir to ſaue their lyues, according to hir motherly dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their grandfathers houſe, and being thus made away, the family & lynage of their father the foreſayd Mordred was vtterly thereby extinguiſhed.

The cruelty of the Brytains in murthering the innocent children of Mordred.

The linage of Mordred clearly extinct.

The Saxons at the ſame tyme hauing aduertiſement what loſſe the Brytaynes had ſuſtayned not onely by the death of their moſt valiant king and chieftaine Arthur, but alſo for the ſlaughter of ſuch a multitude of their nation, as died in the battail, they prepare a mightie nauie of ſhippes, and paſſe ouer with the ſame into England, where being landed, they eaſily beat downe the Brytaynes, and driue them with theyr king Conſtantine into Wales, ſo recouering all that part of the land which Hengiſt ſomtymes held, & after his name was afterwardes called Englãd.

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Brytaynes into Wales.

Some haue written, how that after king Conſtantine had reigned certaine yeares in Wales, his wife and children died, whervpon wexing weary of this world, he forſooke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and ſecretly departed into Ireland, where applying himſelf for a time in miniſtring to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perſwaſion of a Monk he became one of his cote and profeſſion. Afterwardes being ſent by the Biſhop of the Dioces ouer into Scotland to inſtruct the people of that countrey in the true faith and articles of the chriſtian religion, he there ſuffred martirdome by the hands of moſt wicked & godleſſe perſons, and was at lẽgth (but many yeares after his death) canonized a Saint, and ſundrie churches (as are to be ſeene euen vnto this day) built & dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the Biſhops there.

Conſtantine forſaketh his earthly kingdome in hope of the heauenly kingdome.

Conſtantine entreth into religion.

Conſtantine ſent forth of Irelande into Scotlande is there murthered.

The ſame time that the ſayd Cõſtantine was

Irmenrike, or Iurmirike king of the Engliſhe men.

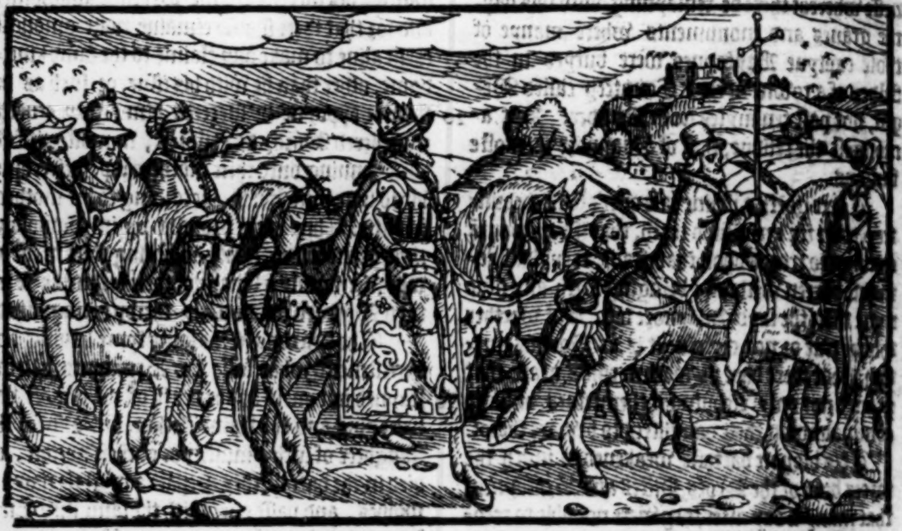
dryuen into Wales, there raygned amongeſt the Engliſhe men one Iurmyrike the fifth (as Bede hath) from Hengiſt. The ſame Iurmyrike thoughe hee were not Chriſtened hymſelfe, yet hee permytted the Chriſtian faythe to bee preached amongeſt hys people, and concluding a league with the Scottiſh men and Picts, kept the ſame inuiolate, during his life time moſt ſincerely.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

The Scottiſh king Eugenius alſo lyued in peace the reſidue of hys lyfe, without any trouble, eyther by forrayne enimies, or inteſtine ſedition, and at length dyed in the 38. yeare of hys raigne, and after the byrth of our Sauiour. 569.

Eugenius the Scottiſh king dyeth.

568. H.B.



Conual.

After his funeral obſequies finiſhed in Colmekill, where he lyeth buried amongeſt his aunceſters, his brother Conuall was choſen to ſucceed him in adminiſtration of the kingdome, a Prince of ſuche inclinatiõ to vertue and godlineſſe, as all men may iuſtly wonder thereat. He bare ſuch zealous deuotion towardes the worſhipping of the croſſe (a thing to put men in remembrance of Chriſtes paſſion as he tooke it) that which way ſoeuer hee rode, as it is reported he had yͤ ſame borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horſe, he with all the multitude of people ſtanding about him, woulde worſhippe it in kneeling downe, and reuerently kiſſe it.

Conual elected king of Scotlande.

Conuals deuotion to the Croſſe.

This Croſſe was of ſiluer with a Crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate faſtened to the ſtaffe, conteyning theſe two wordes: Chriſtianorum gloria.

He commaunded alſo that the ſigne of the Croſſe ſhould be ſet vpon the toppes of Steeples, and on the higheſt towers of the gates of Caſtels and townes. Moreouer he forbad the Croſſe to bee grauen or paynted vpon any pauement, leaſt any man ſhould irreuerently treade vpon it. Furthermore he had prieſtes and other religious men in ſuch honor, as nothing could be more, appoynting them to haue the tenthes of all thoſe fruites which the earth yelded.

Croſſes ſet vpon the tops of ſteeples.

Conuals deuotion towardes Kirkmen.

Sundrie ordinances hee made alſo, for the grieuous puniſhment of all ſuch as in any wyſe miſuſed a Prieſt, or other religious perſon: as he that gaue any of them a blowe, ſhould loſe hys hande for it: and he that ſlue one of them, ſhoulde forfeyte his goodes, and be brent quicke. Againe, he beſtowed many riche iewels, and gaue diuerſe great giftes vnto Churches, prouiding the miniſters of ſufficient liuings, and appoynted that they ſhoulde haue theyr houſes neare vnto theyr Churches, to bee readie to execute that which apperteyned to theyr offices, when anye neede requyred.

Conuals liberalitie towards Churches.

The king beeing thus vertuouſly diſpoſed, cauſed the whole number of his ſubiectes by his enſample to be the better affectioned towardes the aduauncement of religion. The report and fame whereof, moued that holy man Saint Colme, or Colombe, to come ouer forth of Irelande (where hee had the gouernaunce of ſundrie houſes of Monks) with twelue other vertuous perſons into Albion, and there gathering togither a great number of Monkes, being here and there diſperſed abrode in the Countrey, hee placed them orderly in ſuch houſes, as king Conuall had buylded and founded for that purpoſe, appoynting amongſt them rulers and miniſters, ſuche as hee thought moſt conuenient.

Saint Colme commeth ouer forth of Ireland into Scotlande.

But Saint Colme himſelfe, and the other

twelue, whiche he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themſelues to inhabite in the Iſle of Iona, now called Colmekill, tooke great paynes to inſtruct the Scottes and Pictes in the true articles of the faith.

The hereſie of Pelagius, in Pightland.

Amongſt the Pictes the ſame time the hereſie of Pelagius had infected the mindes of many, by meane that diuers of that nation hauing dwelled long time in Brytaine, returning into theyr countrey, brought that peſtilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, paſſed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Pictes, earneſtly traueling to inſtruct bothe him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of theyr heartes al erronious opinions of that damnable ſect of the Pelagians lore.

Kentigerne biſhoppe of Glaſkew, otherwiſe called Mungo, biſhop of Yaſco.

The ſame time that bleſſed man Kentigern, otherwiſe called Mungo, gouerned the Church of Glaſkew, as biſhop of the ſame, who reſorting into the companie of this S. Colme, had much conference with him to bothe theyr comfortes, concerning the true articles of our faith.

Thanew or Thametes rauiſhed by Eugenius king of Scotlande, of which rauiſhment ſhe bare the foreſayde Kentigerne,

This Kentigerne was diſcended of the bloud royall of the Pictiſhe kings, as ſonne vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thanew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Pictes, whome a yong luſtie Gentleman (or as ſome haue written) the laſt mencioned Eugenius the Scottiſh king) rauiſhed by force; and begot of hir the ſayde Kentigerne.

Hee was greatly in fauour of the foreſayde Brudeus the Pictiſh king, as one that was nere of his bloud. For the ſame Brudeus was Nephew vnto the foreſayde Loth, by his brother cleped Melethon, and therefore ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Pictes, after that Mordred was ſlaine as before is expreſſed.

The caſtell of Calidon nowe Dounkeld.

Kentigerne went with Saint Colme vnto the caſtle of Caledone, otherwiſe called Dounkeld, where they remained ſixe monethes in a monaſterie there, buylded by king Conuall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidone, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godly inſtructiōs.

The biſhops ſee of Dounkeld.

There is in the ſame place, where the ſayde caſtle ſometimes ſtoode, a Churche dedicated vnto Saint Colme, builte of fayre ſquare ſtone, being at this day a Biſhops ſee, commonly called Dounkeld, endued with many fayre reuenewes and great poſſeſſions, for the mayntenaunce of the Biſhop and his Canons.

Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

At the ſixte monethes ende, thoſe two vertuous perſons taking their leaue eche of other, not without ſhedding of teares, departed in ſunder, Kentigerne returning vnto Glaſkew, & S. Colme into Irelande, where reporting many things, touching the great vertue and holineſſe of king Conuall, and with what deuotion he had bene receyued both of him and his people, he moued many to wounder greatly thereat, to heare that a king in the middeſt of all his allurementes to pleaſure, ſhoulde yet be ſo mindfull of diuine meditations and godly exerciſes.

Saint Colme commeth againe into Scotlād, bringing with him Aydan ſonne to king Conranne.

The yeare following S. Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aydan ouer with him thither, by commaundement of king Conuall, whiche Aydan as ye haue heard to auoyde the traynes of Eugenius, fledde ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubte to bee made away by the ſame Eugenius.

The death of Conuall.

578. H.B.

S. Colme taking the ſea with this Aydan, and comming a lande on the coaſtes of Scotlande, was no ſooner there arriued, but that preſently hee had knowledge howe the king was dead, being the yeare of his reygne the .x. & after the birth of our Sauiour. 579.

Saint Colme preſent at the buriall of king Conuall.

Saint Colme then being throughly certified of his death, and that the corps was forward on the way towardes Colmekill there to be buried, he thought it a peece of his duetie to go thither to be at the funerals, and ſo doing was as one of the chiefeſt there in the executing of the obſequies. Whiche being ended, and hearing that Kynnatyll the brother of Conuall was inthronized king in Argyle, by the free election of all the eſtates, he neuertheleſſe kepte on his former purpoſed iourney, and came vnto Kynnatyll, bringyng Aydan with him, (appointed by Conuall to haue receyued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had liued) they were bothe receyued with all beneuolence of the ſayde Kynnatyll contrary to moſt mens expectation: in ſo much that embracing Aydan, he badde him be of good cheere, for it ſhould ſhortly come to paſſe, that he ſhould attayne to the poſſeſſion of his graundfathers dominion, and haue iſſue that ſhould ſucceede him to the greate reliefe of the Scottiſhe common wealth.

Kynnatyll elected king of Scotland.

Saint Colme and Aydan receiued by Kinnatyll.

The prophecie of Kynnatyll.

By what ſpryte of prophecie he vttered theſe

The death of Kynnatyll. Kynnatyll lying vpon his death bed, ſurrendreth his kingdome into Aydans handes.

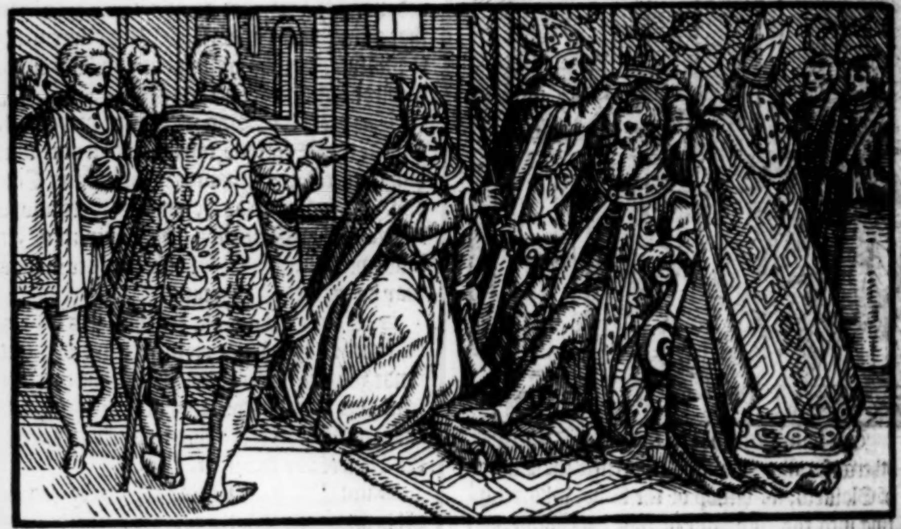
wordes, it is vncertaine, but ſure it is that his purpoſe was to haue giuen ouer the gouernment of the kingdome (as he confeſſed himſelfe lying vpon his death bedde) and to haue reſtored it vnto Aydan who had a right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accompliſhe his deſire, for within .xx. dayes after his coronation, being ſurpriſed with a grieuous diſeaſe of a catarrike rewme and the ſquinancie, he was cōſtreined to keepe his chāber, cōmitting the publike adminiſtration of the realme vnto Aydan. Herevpon followed a feuer through encreaſing of a flegmatike humor bred by long reſte, that after .xiiij. monethes ſpace vnbodied his ghoſt, whiche by the inſtruction of Saint Colme, being preſent with him at the houre of his death, he rendred in moſt deuoute wiſe into the handes of his redeemer. Appointing his kingdome as it were by deliuerie of ſeyſin, euen there vpon his death bedde vnto the foreſayde Aydan.

Aydan.

Aydan receyueth his inueſture of the kingdome at the handes of S.Colme.

After that the bodie of this Kynnatyll was enterred, according to the maner, in Colmekyll, Aydan receyued the crowne ſitting vpon the marble ſtone, after the cuſtome in thoſe dayes vſed, by the handes of that holy father Saint Colme. Who willing that ſilence mighte be kept, layde his right hande vpon the kings head, and in his lefte hand holding his croſier ſtaffe, made a briefe exhortation, aſwell to the king as to his people, admoniſhing them of theyr dueties eche towardes other, but eſpecially he exhorted them vnto peace and concorde, and before al things to remember to walke in the wayes of the Lorde, for in ſo doyng they might hope for wealth and proſperitie, in the ſtate of theyr common wealth, with all other good graces, where as otherwiſe, if eyther of the people forgot theyr dueties towardes God, or that the king regarded not duely to execute his office, in giuing God thankes for his bounteous liberalitie and high benefites beſtowed vpō him, it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that inteſtine ſedition, conſpiracies, and other miſchiefes ſhoulde riſe amongſt them, to the irrecouerable loſſe of the realme, by bringyng the ſame into daunger to be ouerrunne by ſome forrayne power, if they did not repent in time, and call to God for his fauour that it might pleaſe him to reduce them agayne into the right pathe of his lawes and ordinaunces, when ſo euer they ſhould ſo fall from the ſame.

S. Colmes exhortation to the king and the people.



The promiſe of the people.

When Saint Colme had made an ende of theſe or the like his wholeſome aduertiſements, all the people reioyſing thereat, promiſed with one voyce, and therewith vowed to followe the ſame, and to be euer ready to obey the cōmaundement of theyr prince, and the holy inſtructions of theyr biſhops & other the Eccleſiaſtical miniſters. The aſſemble being once diſſolued, the king departed into Galloway, and there deliuered the countrey of certaine Brittiſhe robbers, that had inuaded it.

The kings iourney into Galloway.

Aydan appointeth ſeſſions to be kepte yerely in three partes of his realme.

After this, ſtudying to maintaine good orders and quiet rule through his dominions, he appointed an aſſemble of the chiefeſt peares of his realme to be holden yearely in three ſeuerall parties therof, as in Galloway, Louchquhaber, and Cathneſſe, there to heare & determine all ſuytes & quarels of his ſubiects, & to giue order for the adminiſtratiō of the lawes & al publike affayres, as they ſhould ſee cauſe, & occaſion. He required alſo S. Colme to be preſent euer with thē, ẏ maters touching religion might be the better prouided for, and that the people might take all things done in thoſe publike ſeſſions in right good parte, bycauſe ſuch an holy and vertuous father of the Churche was amongſt them, and hauing the chiefeſt authoritie.

Saint Colme preſent at aſſiſes and Seſſions.

A fray amõgſt the nobles being a hunting.

Thus continued the realme in quiet ſtate for certaine yeares togither, till it chaunced that diuers of the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at variance, and therevpon making a fray, ſundry of them were ſlayne. The beginners & ſuche as were moſte culpable were ſought for, by the kings officers, to haue bene had to warde, but they in diſobeying the arreſt, ſtroke and beate the officers very ſore, and immediatly therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the Pictes, ſo by wilfull exile to ſafegard theyr liues.

Kyng Aydan requireth to haue certaine Scottiſh outlawes deliuered at the handes of Brudeus king of Pictes.

King Aydan, according to the maner in ſuch caſes accuſtomed, requyred to haue thoſe outlawes deliuered vnto him, that he might do iuſtice vpon thẽ accordingly as they had deſerued.

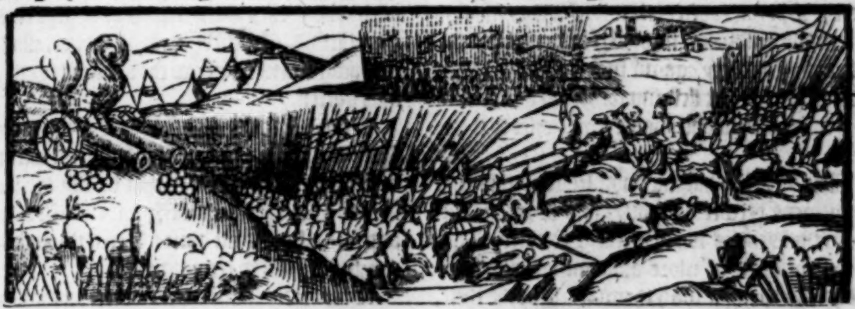
Brudeus by denying to deliuer the Scottiſh outlawes, procureth warres to him ſelfe and his countrey.

Brudeus taking pitie of the yong gentlemen, alledged many things in their excuſe, ſtill deferring to deliuer them, till at length hee procured warre to himſelfe and his countrey: For Aydan the Scottiſhe king offended in that he might not haue thoſe rebelles and publike offendors reſtored vnto him, he cauſed a number of his people, firſt to fetche a great bootie of cattell and pryſoners out of Angus.

The breach of peace betwixt the Scots and Pictes.

A field fought betwixt Scots and Pictes.

Wherewith the Pictes being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finally the matter grewe vnto a fielde, whiche was foughten in Menteith, not farre from Caledon caſtell otherwiſe called Dounkeld, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, though in the ende the victorie yet remayned with the Scottes, but loſing Arthurnus the ſonne of Aydan their king, they reioyced not greatly at the gaine.



Saint Colme reproueth king Aydan.

The repentãce of king Aydan

Saint Colme goeth vnto the king of the Pictes.

An agreemẽt betwixte the Scottiſhe and Pictiſh kings, by the ſute of S. Colme.

That holy mã S. Colme troubled with ſuch newes, came vnto Aydan, and declaring vnto him howe grieuouſly he had offended almightie God in procuring ſuche miſchiefe as had enſued of this warre, & reciting in particuler the brãches thereof, he moued the king vnto ſuch repentance for his treſpaſſe, that he wholly ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Saint Colmes chaſtiſement, who being about to departe in ſemblance ſore offended, the king got him by the ſleeue, and would in no wiſe ſuffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him ſome comfortable meane howe to redreſſe the matter, for the quieting of his conſcience. At length Saint Colme lamenting the kings caſe, ſuffred himſelfe to be entreated, and therevpon repayred vnto Brudeus the Pictiſhe king, mouing him by way of diuers godly aduertiſements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did ſo much by trauayling ſundry times too and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought thẽ vnto agreement for al maters depẽding in controuerſie betwixt thẽ & their ſubiects.

S Colme returned vnto the weſterne Iſles.

Thus S. Colme hauing accompliſhed that which he came for, returned againe into the weſterne Iles vnto his wonted home, where he did by wholeſome documents and vertuous enſamples, inſtruct the ſeruaunts of God in the way of his lawes and commaundements.

England deuided into ſeuen ſeuerall kingdomes.

In this meane time the Saxons hauing driuen and put backe the Brytons into Wales, and occupying all the reſidue of their landes and countreys, they deuided the ſame into ſeuen partes, ordeyning ſeuen ſeuerall kings, to gouerne the ſame as kingdomes.

Edelfred king of Northumberland.

Edelfreds purpoſe.

Ouer that of Northumberland adioyning next vnto the Pictes, one Edelfrede reygned, a man of exceeding deſire to enlarge his dominion. He went about by all meanes he could deuiſe to perſwade Brudeus the Pictiſhe king to renew the warres with the Scottes, promiſing him all the ayde he could make againſt them, not onely for that he knewe the Scottes to haue bene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but alſo for that hee himſelf was diſcended of the nation called Agathirſes, of the whiche the Pictes as was thought were alſo come. But the cauſe why he wiſhed that there might be warres rayſed betwixte the Scottes and Pictes, was not for any good will he bare to the Pictes, but onely to the ende that theyr power being weakened through the ſame, he might haue a more eaſie pray of theyr countrey, the whiche he purpoſed vpon occaſion to inuade and ioyne vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberlande.

Brudeus at the firſte gaue no eare vnto his earneſt mocions and large offers, but at length through the councell and procurement of ſome of his nobles, corrupted by brybes receyued at Ethelfredes handes, and ſtill putting into the kings head ſundry forged informations of the Scottiſh mens dayly attempts againſt the Pictiſhe nation, hee determined to ioyne with the Saxons againſt them, and cauſed thereuppon warre to be proclaymed againſt the Scottes, as thoſe that had ſpoyled and robbed his ſubiects, contrarie to the league & all bandes of old frendſhip and former amitie betwixt them.

A league concluded betwixt the Scots & Brytons, with the articles of the ſame.

The Scottiſhe king Aydan perceyuing the practiſe of the Saxons, and togither therewith the vntruth of the Pictes, the better to be able to reſiſt theyr malice, ioyneth in league with the Brytons: This article beyng chiefeſt in the whole couenant: that if the enimies firſt inuaded the Brytons, then an armie of Scots ſhould be ſent with all ſpeede into Brytaine, to helpe to defend the countrey againſt ſuch inuaſions: but if the Scottes were firſt inuaded, then ſhould the Brytons in ſemblable maner come ouer to their ayde.

The Picts and Saxons enter into the lands of the Brytõs.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appoyntment betwixte Scottes and Brytons, to draw the Scottes forth of theyr countrey, and ſo to haue them at more aduauntage, procured the Pictes to ioyne with them: and ſo bothe their powers being vnited togither, entred into the Brittiſh confines.

Ceuline or Ceolyn.

The Scots and Brytons put the Saxons to flight, & ſlewe Cutha the ſon of Ceuline king of the weſt Saxons.

Aydan according to the couenaunt, came ſtraight vnto the ayde of the Brytons. Ethelfred and Brudeus refuſed to fight for certaine dayes, as it were of purpoſe, thereby to weary the Scottes with watch and trauayle, being as then farre from home. Alſo they looked dayly to haue Ceuline king of the weſt Saxons to come vnto theyr ayde: but the Scottes and Brytons hauing knowledge thereof, firſt thought it beſte to encounter with him, before he ſhould ioyne with the other, and thus vnderſtanding that their only refuge remayned in theyr armure and weapons, gaue yͤ onſet ſo fiercely vpõ thoſe Saxons, that at the firſte, ſlaying Cutha Ceulines ſonne, with a great number of other, they eaſily diſtreſſed and put the reſidue to flight.

The triũphant ioy made by the Scots and Brytons, vpon their newe victorie.

Aydan would not ſuffer his men to purſue to farre in the chaſe, but called them backe by the ſounde of a trumpet, who being aſſembled herewith about theyr ſtanderds, made ſuche ioye and triumphe, as greater coulde not bee deuiſed, what with dauncing, ſinging, and playing on pipes and other inſtrumentes, according to the manner in thoſe dayes.

The Saxons and Pictes.

The ſoden feare of the Scots & Picts, after all their great ioy and triumphing.

But as they were thus in the middes of their chiefeſt myrth, ſodenly appeared the Saxons & Pictes, whiche were with Ethelfred & Brudeus, approching towardes them in good order of battell, with whom were alſo the reſidue of the weſt Saxons, that had eſcaped frõ the late bickering. Whereupon the Scottes and Brytons amazed with the ſight hereof, were ſodenly ſtriken out of countenaunce, in ſomuche that Aydan went amongſt them, and with a bolde countenaunce exhorted them to remember, how valiantly they had alreadie put to flight the other of theyr enimies, ſo that there was great hope for aſſured victorie of theſe likewiſe, if they would now ſhewe the like mãly courage againſt them, as they had ſhewed before in aſſayling the other. Many other wordes hee vſed in admoniſhing them to fight manfully, till the onſet giuen by the enimies, cauſed him to make an end.

Aydan exhorted his men to manfulneſſe.

The Saxons fight ſtoutly.

The Saxons layde about them ſo ſtoutly in the beginning, that they forced their aduerſaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe. Neyther did Ethelfred fayle in that occaſion to encourage them to follow the aduauntage nowe thus gotten.

Ethelfred.

Brudeus king of the Pictes maketh ſlaughter of the Scots.

Brudeus with his Picts likewiſe made great ſlaughter in that wing of the Scottes, with the whiche hee encountred, ſo that finally the ſame Scottes perceyuing the Brytons beaten downe and ſore diſtreſſed on their ſide, fell through diſcomfort thereof to renning away.

The Scottes runne away.

There were ſlaine in this battel on the Scottiſhmens ſide Brennius lieutenant, or as they termed him the Thane of the Iſle of Man, with Dungarre the kings thirde ſonne, and no ſmall number of other Gentlemen beſide. The king himſelfe eſcaped by helpe of his ſonne, who ſtaying to get his father out of the preaſe, was ſlaine (as is ſayde) amongſt the reſidue.

On the Saxons ſide, there was ſlaine Theobald Edelfredes brother, and Cutha the king of Weſt Saxon his ſonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Ethelfred himſelf loſt one of his eyes. Brudeus the Pictiſhe king was hurt in the thigh, and beſides this, he loſte a great multitude of his people.

Ethelfred loſte one of his eyes.

Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

Deglaſton the place where this battell was fought.

Thus Edelfred hauing got ſuche a notable victorie at Deglaſtone in Brytaine, hee coulde not be ſo contented, but eftſoones aſſembling his people, and ioyning againe with Brudeus and his Pictes, the next ſommer after inuaded Galloway, and beganne to robbe and ſpoyle that countrey, to the end he might eyther enforce the inhabitauntes, with other the countreys nexte thereunto adioyning, to yeelde vnto him, eyther els to bring them into extreeme pouertie in waſting all afore him.

Galloway inuaded by Edelfred.

But Aydan being aduertiſed hereof, ſente to the Brytons for theyr couenaunted ayde, and comming forewarde with his owne people, whiche hee had aſſembled togither, ouerthrew

Certaine companies of Saxons ouerthrowen.

certayne companyes of his enemyes, as he found them diſperſed abroade in ſeeking for prayes, then paſſing by their mayne armie, he commeth into Innandale, where he ioineth with the Brytons, beyng come ſo farre forward on their way to meete him.

The Saxons and Pictes hauing knowledge of their enemies doings, wanne ſuche a place of aduantage as they thoughte it an eaſye matter for them in keeping the ſame, to diſtreſſe both the Scottes and Brytaynes through ſtopping vp the paſſages, by the whiche they muſt of force paſſe, if they mynded to come forth of that dale. Theſe paſſages lay through certayne quickeſands, and by a ryuer which had but few fordes paſſable.

Paſſages thorow Sulleway ſandes.

The Scots and Brytaynes perceyuing how they were thus encloſed, with all ſpeede trenched their camp about, reyſing certayne bulwarkes and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had meante ſtill there to haue continued.

The diligence of king Aydan in prouiding to reſiſt his enimies.

Aydan him ſelfe tooke ſuche paynes in ſeeyng euery thing done in due order, that his people moued more through his enſample than by any exhortation, were moſt diligent in their dueties, deſirous of nothing ſo much as to haue occaſion miniſtred, to ſhewe ſome proofe of their worthy valiauncies.

At length, when the enemies were moſt at quiet, and as was ſuppoſed, nothing in doubt of any attempt to be made by the Scots and Brytons, in the night ſeaſon, leauing a great number of fyres in their campe, they ſodenly diſlodged, and paſſing the water by ſecret fourdes, they entred into Cumberland, and ſo after paſſing into Northumberland, they waſted and deſtroyed with fyre and ſword all that came within theyr reach: The report of which their doings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrey to reſiſt theyr inuaſion, neither reſting day nor night, till they had got ſight of their enimies.

The Scots and Brytons diſlodge.

The Scots and Brytons enter into Northũberland.

The next day, the ſouldiers on bothe ſides requiring battell, togither they go with great noiſe and dinne bothe of men and inſtrumentes. To much hardineſſe in the Saxons cauſed no ſmall number of them to be ſlayne, rather chooſing to die with reputation of manhoode, than to giue backe neuer ſo little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a ſpace, right doubtfull whiche way the victory would incline.

The fight betwixt Scots & Brytons on the one ſide, and Saxõs & Picts on the other.

On the Brytons and Scottiſh mens ſide, there were foure chiefe rulers amongſt them, beſide Aydan himſelfe, as Conſtantius and Alencrinus Bretons, Callan and Mordock Scottiſh men. Eche of theſe taking a ſeuerall charge vpon him, did earneſtly apply their vttermoſt endeuers therein, encouraging their bandes to put away all cowardly feare, and manfully to ſticke to their tackle, ſithe by victory there was hope of eternall fame, beſide ſuertie of life, and aduauncement to the common wealth of their countrey, where otherwiſe they might looke for nothing, but the contrary miſhaps, as ſhame, rebuke and importable ſeruitude, ſo that the Scottiſh men and Brytons incouraged herewith, preaſſed vpõ the enimies ſo fiercely, that at length aſwell the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their array, & fall to plaine running away: the Scots following ſo egrely in the chaſe, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had done in yͤ battel. S. Colme as yet being aliue, and within his monaſterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inſpiration (as the Scottiſh chronicles make mention of all theſe matters how they went, and at the very time that the battels were in fight togither, he had aſſembled a companie of right vertuous and godly diſpoſed perſons, making interceſſion for the proſperous ſpeede of their king the foreſayde Aydan, and at the very inſtant, as it was knowen after, that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the ouerthrow) that holy old father ſhewed greate token of ioy and gladneſſe, declaring vnto his bretherne by the ſpryte of ſecrete knowledge or prophecie, how Aydan had the better, and that his enimies were diſcõfited, willing them therevpon to giue vnto God thankes for the ſame.

The Saxons & Pictes diſcõfited & chaſed.

S. Colme endewed with the ſprite of ſecrete knowledge.

There was an huge multitude ſlaine in this conflict, but namely the death of Ceulyne king of the Weſtſaxons, with other two worthie Captaynes of that nation, made the ſlaughter more ſorowfull on that ſide, the one of them hight Cialyne, and the other Quhitellyne.

Ceuline king of Weſtſaxons ſlaine.

Quhitelline or Whiteline.

The day next after the batayle, the ſpoyle of the field being gathered togither, all that whiche was knowen to haue bene taken out of Galloway and other countreys of the Scottes, was reſtored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The reſidue which remayned was deuided amongſt the ſouldiers, the tenth parte onely excepted, whiche was diſtributed vnto Prieſtes and Curates, to beſtowe the ſame vpon ornaments for theyr Churches. The Banners and Standerds of the Saxons and Picts, with many other riche offerings, king Aydan ſente vnto the Abbey of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of ſo notable a victorie.

The deuiſion of the ſpoyle.

The yeare next following, that holy father S. Colme nowe almoſte waſted through age, and hereto alſo ſore troubled with a reumaticke humor, fell ſicke and died. Some ſay hee ended his life in his houſe amongſt his bretherne within the Iſle of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, but

S. Colme departed out of this life.

but Saint Bede writeth howe hee died in an Iland called Heu, where againe the Iriſhe wryters affirme, that he departed in a towne in Ireland called Dune, and that his tombe is there in great veneration of the people: vpō the which are theſe Latine verſes engrauen.

Hi tres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius atque Columba pius.

Which verſes Balantine tranſlateth thus:

Saint Colme, Saint Patricke and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane ſepulture.

Aydan king of the Scottiſhe mē, departeth this worlde.

Neither did Aydan the Scottiſhe king liue long time after, for hearing (as is ſayde) that Saint Colme was dead, ſhortly thereupō more through griefe, than by force of ſickeneſſe, he departed this worlde, after he had reygned .xxxvij. yeares in gouernaunce ouer the Scottiſh men, he died about the yeare of our Lorde. 606.

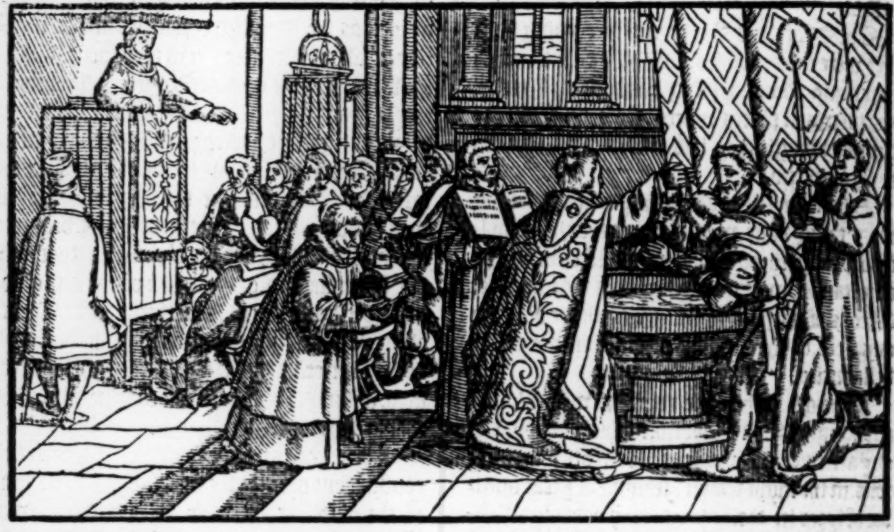
606.

Auguſtinus & Mellitus ſent into Albion.

In the dayes of this Aydan there was ſente into Albion from Gregory the Pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongſt whom were Auguſtinus and Mellitus) to inſtruct the Engliſh people in the faith of Chriſt, whiche as yet they had not receyued. By the earneſt trauell and exhortation of theſe inſtructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentiſhe Saxons was baptiſed with all his people. The Brittiſhe prieſts nor their doctrine the Saxons could in nowiſe abide, bicauſe (as is ſuppoſed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, ſtill ſought the deſtruction of the other.

Ethelbert is baptiſed.

The Saxons hatred toward the Brittiſhe Prieſtes.



Suſſex and Eſſex receyue the Chriſtian faith.

The South and eaſt Saxons moued with the enſample of the Kentiſh Saxons, ſhortly after alſo renounced theyr olde ſuperſtitious idolatrie, and likewiſe receyued the Chriſtian faith.

Edelfred his diſpleaſure.

Edelfred king of Northumberlande moued vnto diſpleaſure herewith, ſente word vnto theſe Saxons of the ſouth partes (as then all of them generally knowen by the name of Engliſhmen) that ſithe they had forſaken the olde inſtitutions and auncient religion of theyr forefathers, hee woulde ſurely from thence forth be no leſſe enimie vnto them than vnto the Scottes and Brytons.

Valdred other wiſe called Baldred, the doctor of the Pictes.

There liued in theſe dayes that holy man Valdred a Scottiſhe man borne, but dwelling amongſt the Pictes, whom he inſtructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Pictes. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Baſſe, lying about .ij. miles off from the maine land within the ſea where the Forth hath the entry betwixt the ſame Iſle, and an other called the May. There were three pariſhes fell at contention for the buriall of his bodie, as Aldham, Tynningam, & Preſton, ſo farre forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by councell of ſome diſcrete perſons amongſt them, it was ordeyned that they ſhould continue in prayer for that night, & in the next morning ſtande to the order of the Biſhop of the dioceſe, who was come thyther the ſame time to be preſent at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found .iij. beeres with .iij. bodies decently couered with clothes, ſo like in all reſemblance that no man might perceyue any difference. Then by cōmaundemēt of the biſhop and with great ioy of all the people, the ſayde ſeuerall bodies were caried ſeuerally vnto the ſayd three ſeuerall Churches, and in the ſame buried in moſte ſolemne wiſe, where they remayne vnto this day, in muche honour with the cōmon people of the countreys neare adioyning.

A myracle, if it be true.

Kenethus Keyr.

Kenethus Keyr crowned king of Scottes.

After that the corps of king Aydan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme aſſembled togither in Argyle, aboute the election of a newe king. Where by the generall voyces of thē al, Kenethus Keyr the ſonne of Conualle (ſometime king of the Scottiſh men as before is mencioned) was nowe proclaymed king and crowned according to the maner: but hee liued not paſſing .iiij. moneths after, but died of a catharrike rewme falling downe into the artery called *Trachea*, and ſo ſtopped his lungs. He deliuered as it were the poſſeſſion of his kingdome, by way of ſurrendring the ſame into the handes of Eugenius ſonne to king Aydan, by conſent of all the nobles, a litle before he died, for that it was knowen he had a right therevnto after the deceaſe of Kenethus.

Kenethus Keir dieth of the cough of the lungs.

Eugenius the fourth of that name.

Eugenius.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, whiche had ruled ouer the Scottiſh men. As it is ſayde S. Colme prophecied that hee ſhould be king long before his fathers death: for when all the ſonnes of king Aydan were brought before him, and that Aydan demaunded of him whiche of them ſhoulde reygne after him, hee ouerpaſſing the reſidue (whiche he vnderſtoode by ſecrete knowledge ſhould die in the warres) appoynted forth this Eugenius, called by ſome alſo Brudus, declaring that it ſhould be onely he.

S Colmes prophecie of Eugenius the fourth.

This Eugenius then beyng placed in the kingly ſeat, forgot not ſuch wholſome leſſons & vertuous precepts, as the foreſayd Saint Colme had taught him in his youth, ſo that ſtudying how to defende rather that which was his owne in peace and quietneſſe, than to ſeeke any wayes or meanes howe to enlarge it, by wrongfull encroching vpon other mens poſſeſſions, he grewe into ſuch fauour with all good menne, as greater could not be deuiſed. Vnto offendors he was a ſharpe Iuſticier, not ſparing any tranſgreſſour of his lawes, neyther in reſpect of nobilitie or otherwiſe, but rather thoſe gentlemen which miſvſed thẽſelues in breache of good orders, he chiefly gaue order to ſee them puniſhed: where if they behaued themſelues worthily, and according to theyr calling, there was no prince more gladde than he to aduaunce them vnto honour.

A louer of peace & quietneſſe.

A ſharpe iuſticier.

By theſe and the like his princely doings, he was both beloued of his people and alſo dred. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being Ethnikes perſiſted in their infidelitie, and the other ceaſſed not by all maner of meanes to ſupporte them. but yet taking a truce with them bothe, he firmely cauſed the ſame to be obſerued.

In the .x. yeare of his reygne Cinigell king of Weſtſaxons and Edelfred king of Northumberlande with ayde of the Pictes, vanquiſhed Cadwallo king of Brytons, and chaſed him into Scotlād, where he remained not long, ſayling from thence into Brytain in Fraunce, & purchaſing ayde of the king there named Cadoal, returned into Wales, where vanquiſhing his enimies the Saxons, & ſleaing many thouſands of them, he was reſtored againe vnto his kingdome.

Cadwalle vanquiſhed.

Cadwalle is reſtored vnto his kingdome.

Aboute the ſame time was Edelfred king of Northumberland ſlaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Hūber, by Redwald & Ethelbreth, the one being king of the eaſt Angles, & the other of the middle Angles, in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as the ſame Edelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the coūtrey called Mertia, conteyning (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainly may appeare) al thoſe ſhyres from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merſee in Lancaſhyre. Then was one Edwine a right Chriſtian prince, appoynted to reygne in his place, by the aſſignement of the two foreſayd kings Redwald and Ethelbreth.

See more hereof in England.

King Edelfred ſlaine.

Edwyne.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, there were ſeuen ſonnes of the foreſayde Edelfred, that deteſting the vntrue dealing of the Pictes, whiche refuſed to ayde their father in his neceſſitie, and doubting to fall into the handes of Edwyn, got them vnto Eugenius the Scottiſhe king for more ſuretie of theyr liues. Theyr names were Eufreid, Oſwald, Oſlaws, Oſwyne, Offas, Oſmōd, & Oſyk. Ebba the only daughter of Edelfred beyng taken amongſt other pryſoners, and eſcaping from hir taker, miraculouſly got a boate in the riuer of Humber, and with the ſame taking the ſea alone, without all humane helpe, (as hath bene reported) ſhe ſayled forth, and at length ſafely arriued at the poynt of lande which ſtretcheth forth into the ſea, in the mouth of the Forth, called eke vnto this day after hyr name, Saint Ebbes head, where being receyued by the Biſhop of that dioceſſe, ſhee was profeſſed a Nonne, and after continuyng in greate perfectneſſe of obſeruing that profeſſion, ſhe was inſtituted Abbeſſe of hyr houſe, ſhewing ſtill in trade of lyfe an orderly enſample for hyr flocke to followe.

S. Ebbas head.

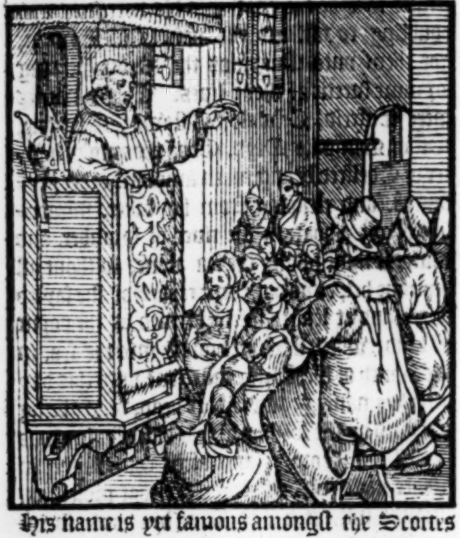
Eugenius the Scottiſh king did louingly receyue the ſonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer bene a cruell enimie againſt the Scottiſh nation: and within a while after theyr comming into Scotlād, hearing oftẽtimes the godly ſermons and preachings of the Biſhoppes and Monkes (who in thoſe dayes continually gaue themſelues vnto that exerciſe) they finally abhorred theyr ſuperſticious idolatrie, and receyued baptiſme, that ſalutiferous ſigne and ſacramẽt of our chriſtian religiō. Thoſe churches alſo which the Saxōs in time of yͤ warres had ouerthrowẽ & deſtroyed in Galoway & other coūtreys thereabouts, Eugenius cauſed to be repaired: moreouer alſo he reedified ſundry caſtels in thoſe marches, and placed in them gariſons of ſouldiers, to defend them againſt all inuaſions that might happen.

Thus continuyng his reigne the ſpace of .xv. yeares or there aboutes in honorable peace, to the great aduauncement of the common wealth of his ſubiectes, he laſtly died in the yeare. 620. and was buried amongſt his elders in the Iſle of Iona, within the monaſterie of Colmekill.

620.

Bonifacius a godly preacher

About this time that reuerend father and Biſhop Bonifatius Quirinus, came forth of Italy into Scotlande, to inſtruct the people in the faith of Chriſt there. Whether he were Pope & reſigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as ſome haue ſuppoſed) or whether he was ſent from the Pope called Bonifacius that ſucceeded Sauinianus, it is not certainly knowen: but certaine it is, as the Scottiſhe writers affirme, that vpon his firſt comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taye, comming a lande at the mouth of a little riuer, whiche diuideth the countrey of Gowrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongſt the Scottes euen vnto this day: for that he trauailed through the moſt parte of the lande, in preaching and inſtructing the people to theyr confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers Churches in the honor of almightie God, whiche hee dedicated to the name of S. Peter. And amongſt other he buylt one at the place where he came a lande, an other at a village called Tullyne, not paſſing three myles from Dundee, & the third at Reſtennoth, where afterwardes an houſe of Chanons of S. Auguſtines order was buylded. At length hee came into Roſſe, continuyng there the reſidue of his life, and is buried at Roſſemarken.



Molock a preacher.

Monkes were preachers in thoſe dayes.

There was alſo the ſame time amongſt the Scottes an auncient godly man named Molock, who following ſuche rules and doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend Abbotte, he ceaſſed not to exhort the people of Mar and Argyle (in whiche countreys he was moſt reſident) to flee and forſake their vicious liuing, and to endeuour themſelues to imbrace vertue to the comfort and health of theyr ſoules.

This Molock kept continual companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died alſo in Roſſe, being about .94. yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argyle ſay that his relikes reſte amongſt the in the Churche of Lyſmore, whiche is dedicated to his name.

Ferquhard.

Ferquhard king of Scotland.

After the deceaſſe of Eugenius, his ſon Ferquhard ſucceeded in his place, for Eugenius had three ſonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donnewald. Theſe being appointed by theyr father to be brought vp with Conuane Biſhop of Sodore (that is the Biſhop of Man) in vertuous diſcipline, did not altogither follow his godly precepts and leſſons.

Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his inſtructions did not much appertayne vnto theyr birth and degree, but Fiacre printing his diuine documēts deepely in his harte, determined to forſake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him ſome whither farre from home, where he might ſerue God more freely without lette or interruption of his frendes or kinſfolke.

Fiacre goeth himſelfe for to liue a ſolitary life in Fraunce.

Thus being diſpoſed, he got vpon him ſimple apparell, and went ouer into Fraunce, where ſeeking a ſolitarie place, Pharo the biſhoppe of Meaux gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the whiche at this day he is worſhipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrey, that no woman might enter into the Chapell where he lieth buried: for if any do, ſhe hath ſome miſhap that falleth vnto hyr, as eyther the loſſe of ſight, priuation of wittes, or ſome ſuch like.

As touching the ſtate of the Scottiſh cōmon wealth vnder the gouernment of Ferquhard, the ſame was quiet inough without trouble of outward enimies, but his ſubiectes among themſelues fell at ſuch diuiſion, that euery parte of the realme was full of murder, brenning, and other deſtructions of men and houſes, with ſuch ſpoyling, robbing, reuing, and al kindes of other miſchiefes, that no where was any ſuertie eyther of life or goodes: All the which miſorders ſprong, were nouriſhed and mayntryned through the

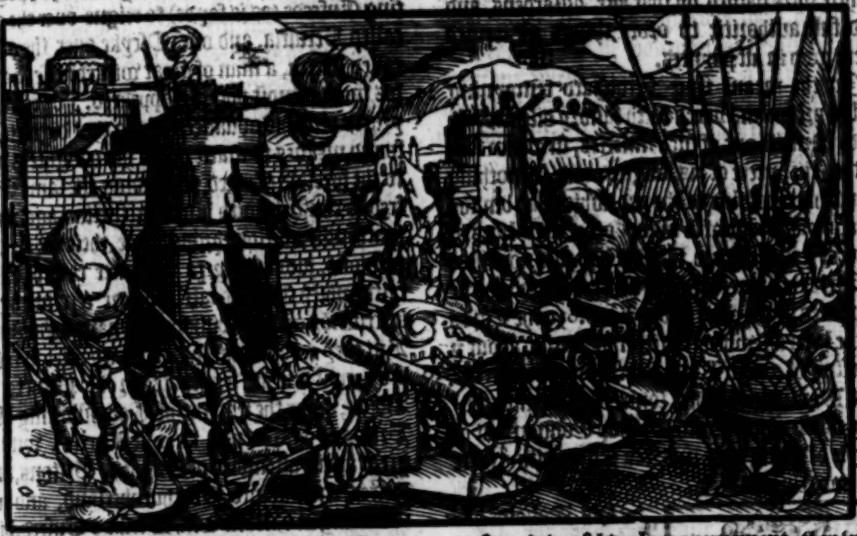
Ferquhard mainteined ciuil diſcorde.

kings owne negligence, for he miſtaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that ſo long as the nobles and eſtates of his realme were thus ready one to aſſail an other, there was no likelyhood they ſhould haue tyme to practiſe any rebellion againſt him, and herevpon he rather holpe to further ſuch diſcorde amongſt them, than tooke order for to appeaſe it. But it came to paſſe by this meanes, yͭ he was nothing regarded within a whyle amongſt them, ſo that by meanes of other arbitratours whiche they choſe by common agreement, all matters in controuerſies were taken vp and ended betwixte them, the kyng not once made priuie thervnto.

King Ferquhard infected with the Pelagians error.

The king is ſummoned by an herauld. He is taken priſoner.

The ſame tyme it was noyſed abrode in the realme, that Ferquhard, beſide other his wicked behauiours, was alſo infected with the erronious opinions of the Pelagian hereſie: which ſuſpition was the more encreaſed, for that he vſed to haue diuers Britiſhe prieſtes in his companie: the whiche nation had bene very much infected with the ſpot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, ſummoned him by an heralde to come to a councell which they had appointed to holde of al yͤ eſtates, yͭ they might there vnderſtande, if it were true or not whiche was commonly reported of him. But hee refuſing to come at ſuche ſummonance, they aſſemble togither, & beſiege him in the caſtell wherein he had encloſed himſelfe, and winning the place, got him into their handes, & immediatly thervpon they committed him vnto ſafe keping.

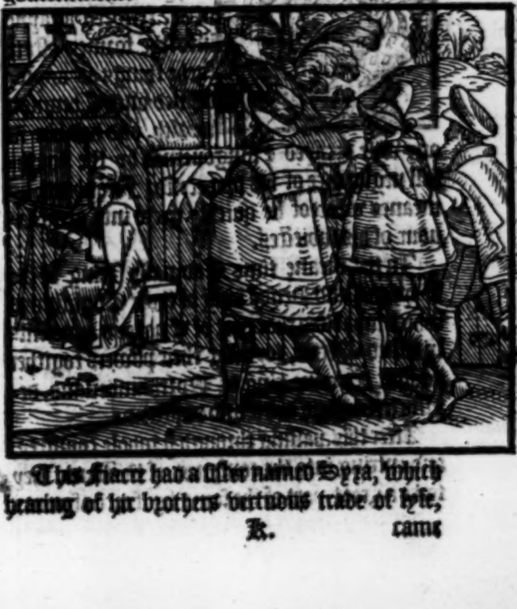


Ambaſſadours ſent into Fraũce vnto Fiacre.

This done, they conſulte together for the adminiſtration of the realme, whether they ſhould quite depoſe Ferquhard, or reſtore him again to his place. In yͤ end they reſt vpon this agreemẽt to ſende an honourable ambaſſade into Fraunce vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrey, and there to receyue the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre his prayer.

Fiacre (as the report goth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottiſh nobilitie comming towardes him vpon this meſſage, in his prayers deſired feruently of almightie God, that it might pleaſe him ſo to worke for him, that hee might continue in his contemplatiue lyfe ſtill, and not be occaſioned to reſort into the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godly mẽ ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wiſhed it came to paſſe. For when thoſe that wer ſent vnto him came vnto the hermitage wherin he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) ſo diſfigured with the leprie, that vpon his earneſt refuſal to forſake his ſolitarie lyfe, (which he had profeſſed to leade as an Ankre) for any worldely preferment of kingly gouernement, they were content to returne with that anſwer, ſith his infirmitie (as they ſuppoſed) was ſuch, as was not conuenient for him that ſhuld haue any publike gouernement.



This Fiacre had a ſiſter named Syra, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of lyfe, came

came vnto him with a company of godly virgines, & being of him confyrmed in hir purpoſed intẽt of chaſtitie, ſhe repayred into Champaigne in Fraunce, where ſhe with hir fellowes remayned in greate holyneſſe of life, leauing in thoſe parties a worthy memorie not forgottẽ amõgſt them there, till this day.

The foreſayde Ambaſſadours returning forth of Fraunce, declared in what plight of deformitie they had ſeene Fiacre, and howe earneſtly he had refuſed the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the ſtates of Scotlande.

The Scottiſh nobilitie herevpon aſſembling togither, choſe forth .iiij. of yͤ aunciẽteſt peeres amõgſt them to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwiſe prouided. Theſe were named by that age, Wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as ſeemed them good in all poyntes.

The deſperate ende of king Ferquhard.

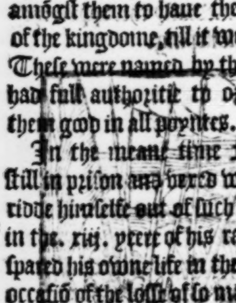
In the meane time Ferquhard remayning ſtill in priſon and vexed with ſundry diſeaſes, to ridde himſelfe out of ſuch miſeries, ſlew him ſelfe in the .xiij. yeere of his raigne; and ſo nothing ſpared his owne life in the end, which had bin the occaſiõ of the loſſe of ſo many other mẽs liues in time of yͤ ciuil diſcord, that hee had euer noriſhed.

632.

After this wretched end of Ferquhard whiche happened in the yeere of our Lord .632. the Lords of the land aſſembled togither in Argile, about yͤ chooſing of a new King, where by common cõſent, Donwald the third ſonne of Eugenius, beyng called thither with Byſhop Connan out of the yle of Man, was inueſted King with greate ioy and triumph.

Donald

Donewald king of Scotland.



This Donalde hauyng taken vpon hym the royall adminiſtration, tranſfourming himſelfe into hys fathers maners, reſtored agayne into the former eſtate ſuche things as apperteyned vnto Common wealth, and had bin in any wiſe decayed & miſgouerned by the ſlouthfull negligence of his predeceſſor Ferquhard, by meanes whereof he quickly grew into great fauour of his ſubiectes.

King Edwyn is ſlayne.

In the meane time Cadwallo King of the Brytons, and Penda king of thoſe Engliſhmen which inhabited that part of England auncientlyly called Mertia, ioyning their powers togither againſt Edwine king of Northumberland, depriued him both of life and kingdome.

After this, paſſing through yͤ whole countrey, and entring into the confynes of Pictland, they toke a great part of the ſame by force of armes from Brudeus king of the Pictes, who in vaine had ſued for ayde vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntroth had bin notifyed more than ynough in times paſt. But Donwald being certifyed of Edwines death, made meanes vnto Cadwallo king of the Brytaynes by hys Ambaſſadors, that Eufred yͤ ſonne of Edelfred might be reſtored vnto his fathers kingdõe, whiche Edwin had wrongfully vſurped. This being graunted, Eufred leauing his brethren ſtill in Scotland, came into Northumberland, wher by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inueſted king of Beruitia, that is, of the countrey, which is nowe called the Marches. For at the ſame tyme they hadde deuided the kingdome of Northumberland into .ij. kingdomes, appoynting Eufrede (as is ſayde) to reigne ouer the one called Beruitia, and one Oſryke ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickedneſſe, as by his workes moſt playnly appeared. For certayn yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found meanes to marie one of his daughters vnto the foreſaid Eufred, perſuading the ſame Eufred to conſente with him in reſtoring again the heatheniſh religion throughoute their whole dominions, and vtterly to renounce the chriſtian faith, which they had lately before receiued by yͤ inſtructiõs of the .ij. biſhops Conane & Pauline. But they enioyed not lõg in felicity after ſo wicked & moſt diueliſh a purpoſe: for the Princes of Albion, vnder the leading of Cadwallo king of yͤ Britons, and Penda king of Mertia, with a great armie aſſembled of Saxons, Britons, and Pictes, entring into Northumberland, and encountring in battaile with Oſrike & Eufred, diſcomfited their power, & toke thẽ priſoners, who being put into a cõmon priſon, ſlewe eche other to auoyd ſharper tortures, which by due executiõ they dayly looked for. Then was the kingdom of Northumberland giuen vnto Oſwalde brother to Eufred, both in reſpect of the right whiche he had therto, and alſo of the zeale whiche he bare to the aduancement of Chriſtes religion, ſhewing him ſelf in conſideration therof, an earneſt enimy to his brother Eufred, and al his partakers, in ſo much that in the day of the battaile, he was one of the forwardeſt captaines againſt them: vnto this Oſwalde was ſente a Scottiſhman called Corman, to inſtruct the Northumberland men in the faith, & after him Aydan, as in the engliſhe hiſtorie ye may reade more at large: Finally he was ſlain by Peda king of Mertia, as in yͤ ſame hiſtorie appereth. His death chanced in yͤ third yere of Donewald the Scottiſh king, who ſore lamented the ſame, as of that prince whõ he loued right entirely. Neither lyued king Donewalde anye long tyme after the deathe of hys deare freende. For that in the fifteenth yeare of his

Eufred.

Oſrycke an infidell.

12. H.B.

his

of his reigne, being got into a boate to fiſh in the water called Lochtay for his recreatiõ, his chãce was to be drowned, by reſon the boate ſonk vnder him. Certain days after, his body being foũd and takẽ vp, was buried amongſt his aunceſtors in Colmekil, in the yeare of our Lorde, 647.

Dowald the Scottiſh king drowned. 645.H.B.

About the ſame time ther liued in France .iij. brethren of greate holineſſe of life, being ſonnes vnto Philtan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wyfe Galghetes, deſcended of the lynage of the kings in Scotlande. The names of which .iij. brethren were as followeth, Furſeus, Foilanus, and Ultanus. Furſeus profeſſing him ſelf a monke of S. Benets order, paſſed ouer into Fraunce, there to ſet forth & enlarge that profeſſion & being receyued of king Clowys began the fundation of a monaſterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed Monkes of that order and began to ſowe in thoſe parties the ſeedes of the Goſpel, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Jo. Bale ſayth in the .xiiij. centurie of the Brittiſh writers. His two brethren Foillan & Ultan folowed him ouer into France, and both by worde and example inſtructed the Frenchmẽ to imbrace the faith of Chriſt, & to renounce ẏ religion of the Gentils: ſo ẏ it ſeemeth as yet, ſuch as profeſſed themſelues to be monks, & men of religiõ (as they were called) had not left of to labor in the Lords vineyard, ſpending their tyme in reading the ſcriptures, to inſtruct & teach others, and to exerciſe Prayer and thankeſgiuing: So as no ſmall number by their wholſome doctrine and good example, were conuerted to the chriſtian faith. Foillan at length was martired in a monaſterie whiche he hadde founded in France called Foſſe.

Foillanus.

Anno. 854. Sigebertus. Folliense monaſterium.

About the ſame tyme there was alſo a conteſtion amongſt them in Albion for keeping of the Eaſter day, the Scottiſhe byſſhops & ſome of the Brytons varying in their accompt from all other prelates of the Weſt: but at length through perſwaſion of the Pope they confeſſed their error (if it ought ſo to be taken) and cõſented to celebrate that feaſt according to the accompt of other nations. Theſe things chaunced in the days of king Donwald.

Strife aboute the celebrating of the feaſt of Eaſter.

Ferquhard.

After the deceſſe of Donwalde, his nephewe Ferquhard the ſonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, ſucceded in gouernemente of the Realme, a man of quicke & liuely ſpirit, but enclined neuertheleſſe rather vnto euill than vnto good, ſpecially after he had atteyned the crowne, in ſomuch as it was commonly ſpoken of him, that from a liberal and moſt gentle humane perſon, he was ſodenly changed into an inſatiable & moſt cruell monſter. Before he came to ẏ crown he was liberall beyonde meaſure. There was no gentleman ẏ wanted money, eyther to redeeme his lands engaged, or to beſtow in dower for the mariage of his daughter, but if he had wherwith to helpe him, hee might accompte him ſelfe ſure thereof.

Ferquhard the ſeconde of that name created king of Scotlande.

Ferquhard being king was couetous, before he was king, he ſhewed liberalitie.

Prieſts and other deuoute perſons, ſpecially ſuch as were poore and in any neceſſitie, he oftentimes moſt bountifully releeued to their greate eaſe and comfort. To be briefe, ſuche a readineſſe was in him to help al mẽ, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himſelf, thã to ſee other men haue neede of any thing ẏ was in his poſſeſſion, ſo that al men iudged him moſt worthy of all princely authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kingly ſeate, he ſo altered his conditions, that men coulde not but wonder muche therat. Where, before he was knowne to be liberal, wel diſpoſed, righteous, ſober, and a reformer of offẽces, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards god, a tormentor of the iuſt & righteous people, and inſatiable in all vnlauful affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto any of ẏ nobilitie, he now without al ſhame moſt vncurteouſly demaunded to be to him reſtored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And ſuch as went about to delay reſtitution pretending any excuſe, he cauſed their goodes to be confiſcate, and alſo their bodies to be cõmitted to priſon: Now and then he found meanes without cauſe or matter to put ſome of them to cruel death. Suche of the Prelates as he vnderſtode to be wealthy, he reſted not till he had piked one mater or other vnto them, wherby they were ſure to forfaite all their treaſure vnto his coffers, that neuer myght be filled.

Giftes are required as a loan.

Loe, what a pretence couetouſnes hath.

For their goodes ſake prelates are troubled.

The biſhops of the realme, namely thoſe two reuerend fathers, Colman & Fynnan, perceyuing ſuch wickednes in the prince, blamed him ſharply ſundry times for the ſame: & at length bicauſe they ſaw howe he regarded not their admoniſhments, he was by them excõmunicate: whereof he ſo little paſſed, that when other wente vnto the church to heare diuine ſeruice, he woulde get him to the woodes & forreſts to hunt the harte, or ſome other game. Neither were ſuche wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: ſo redy is the nature of man at all tymes to follow licentious libertie. He vſed alſo, contrary to the cuſtome of his countrey, to eate .iij. meales a day, hauing ſuch number of diſhes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene vſed at any tyme before thoſe dayes in that realme: and all to ſerue his greedy appetit, together with theyrs that followed his companie.

The kyng is excommunicated.

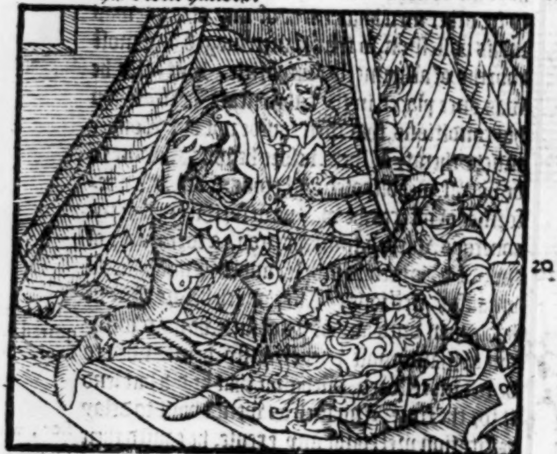
The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Of wines and other ſtrong drinkes he would participate abundantly at all times and places without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto moſte beaſtly drunkenneſſe. He cuſtomarily vſed to ſit at ſupper till it were

A drunckard he was alſo.

very late in the night, hauing his banketting diſhes and cuppes to come in one after an other, till he were ſo miſtempered, that being layde to ſleepe he would ſtreyght vomite out ſuch heauy gorges as he had in ſuche moſt gluttenous wiſe receiued. Hereunto he was ſo drowned in the filthie luſt of the fleſhe, that hee defiled his owne doughters: and for that his wife was about to diſwade him from ſuch vilanie, he ſlew hyr with his owne handes.



A prophecie.

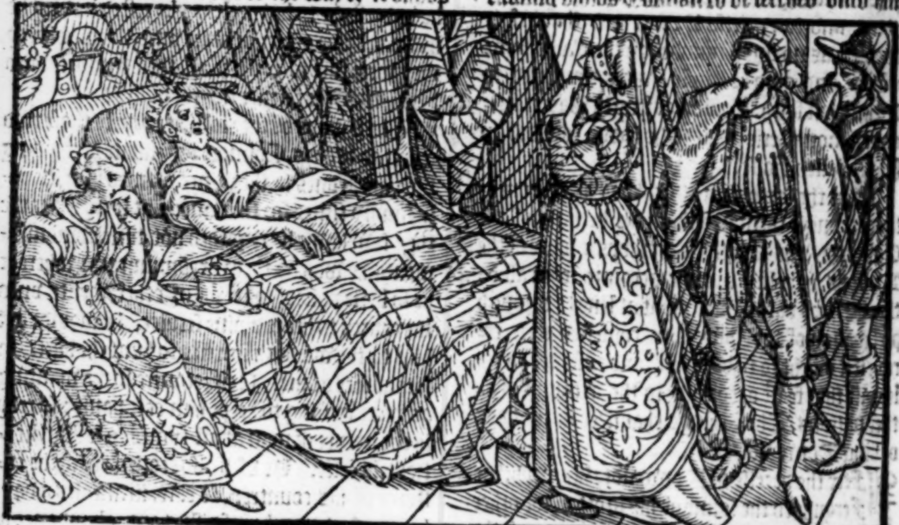
Thus continuing in his wickedneſſe certain yeares, at length the nobles began to conſpire againſt him, ſo that they wold haue deuiſed mean howe to haue rid him out of the waye, if biſhop Colman had not forbidden them that practyſe, propheſying as it wer by diuine inſpiration, that Ferquhard ſore deteſting his owne wicked doings, ſhould ſhortly be puniſhed by the handes of Almightie God, according to his deſeruings.

The king is ſicke.

And ſure his wordes proued true: for within a moneth after, as the ſame Ferquhard followed in chaſe of a wolfe, the beaſte beeing enraged by purſuite of the houndes, flewe backe vppon the king, and ſnatching at him, did wounde & byte him righte ſore in one of his ſides; immediatly whereupon, whether through anguiſhe of his hurt, or by ſome other occaſion, he fel into a moſt filthie diſeaſe: for a venemous humoure with a ſoft conſuming heate, did ſo eate and waſte hys membres and limmes, that a lotheſome ſighte it was to beholde the ſame: for out of his legges, feete and priuie partes, there iſſued filthie corruption and matter, with ſo vile a ſauour, that vneth myght any creature abide it. His belly was ſwollen as though hee had ben infected with the dropſy, & therto was it verie hard withal. Finally lyce bred ſo abundantly in his ſecrete partes that he might in no wiſe be rid or clenſed of them.

He ſent for his confeſſor.

At length when he had ben vexed in this ſort for the ſpace of two yeares togither, or thereaboutes, he began to call himſelf to remembrãce, and to conſider how this puniſhment was worthyly fallen vpon him for his ſins, and therupon cauſing biſhop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about .xx. myles off, he confeſſed vnto him the whole ſumme of his offences, declaring himſelfe right penitent for the ſame.



The king being excõmunicated, is releaſed.

Ferquhard yeldeth vp the ghoſt.

Colman reioycing herat, did not only releaſe him of yͤ ſentence of excõmunication, pronoũced againſt him, but alſo willed him to be of good cõfort, & to put his confidẽce in yͤ mercy of almightie god, who was ready to receiue al ſuch ſinners as turned vnto him with repentãt harts: ſo that being put in hope by theſe & yͤ like words of Colman to haue forgiueneſſe of his ſinnes, with bitter teares, he beſought God to haue mercie vpon him: & humbly receiuing the ſacrament, got him into ſimple clothing of heare & ſackclothe. Then cauſing himſelf to be born into yͤ next fieldes, he there yelded vp the ghoſt in yͤ preſence of Colmã who according to the dutie of a good ghoſtly father, was ſtil about him, in exhorting him to cõmit himſelf wholy to the mercy of God, & not to doubt but he ſhoulde be ſure to attayne the ſame.

Thus Ferquhard ended his life in the .xviij. yeare, after he began his reigne ouer the Scottiſh men, and in the yeare of grace. 664.

664.

Fynnã biſhop.

In this Ferquhardes daies Biſhop Aydan departed this worlde, & then was Fynnan ſente for, forth of Scotland to take vppon him the gouernmẽt of the Churche of Lyndeſern, where the Biſhops of Northumberland as then had theyr ſee. This Fynnan was well learned, and no leſſe renowmed for his vertuous lyfe than his predeceſſour Aydan. He died anone after the deceaſſe of Ferquhard, & then was Colman remoued vnto that ſee of Lyndeſern, who with his vertuous inſtructions and enſamples of holy life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worſhipping of the liuing God. And amongſt other was Penda ſonne to the former Penda, king of Mertia.

Holy Iland.

Biſhop Colman conuerted the Saxõs.

Pend a king of Mertia.

There be that wryte how Penda the father alſo was baptiſed by this Colman: and that the ſame Colman trauayled through the moſt parte of all the Engliſhe prouinces ſetting forth the worde of life amõgſt the people, purchaſing him greate fame for his worthie merites. He came to the church of Lyndeſern in ẏ daies of Maldwyn that ſucceded the laſt mencioned Ferquharde.

Maldwyne.

This Maldwyne was the ſonne of king Donewalde: and after that Ferquharde was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inueſted king: which function he right ſufficiẽtly diſcharged, ſtudying to mayntayne peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons, and Brytayns: giuing thereby a good enſample to be followed of his ſubiectes. Hereto he had a ſpeciall care for the adminiſtration of the lawes in due forme and order cauſing offendors to be puniſhed, that other harmeleſſe perſons mighte liue in quiet, ſo that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had proſperous ſucceſſe.

Maldwyne inueſted king of Scottes.

A louer of peace and iuſtice.

Afterwardes there fell no ſmall diſcorde betwixt them of Lennox & Argile: for firſt through brawlyng amongſt the heardes men, theyr maſters made a fray, whereof roſe ſuche deadly enimitie betwixt the parties, by reaſon that the inhabitantes of the Weſterne Iſles ayded them of Argyle, and the people of Galoway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into thoſe parties to apeaſe the buſineſſe, and to haue puniſhed the offendors, there had enſued muche manſlaughter, to the greate daunger of the vtter ruyne of thoſe countreys.

Lennox and Argyle are at variaunce.

The weſterne Iſles take parte with Argyle. Galoway with Lennox.

The king at his arriuall amongſt them, minded not to purſue the people that followed theyr Captaines, but rather the Captaines and Authours of this tumulte themſelues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being enforced thereto of neceſſitie, ſo to auoyde the prepared puniſhment deuiſed by the king againſt them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iſles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings diſpleaſure, would not conſent to ſuccour them, but contrarywiſe tooke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whervpon they were ſafely conueyed to the places where they were borne, and there ſuffered their deſerued execution. Thus that commotion vnaduiſedly begonne, was ſpeedily appeaſed, and the name of Maldwyn by reaſon hereof ſo feared amongſt his ſubiectes, that during his reigne no ſuche trouble chaunced in any parte of all his dominions.

Maldwyne wẽt about for to puniſhe the author of this commotion.

The Captaines became frends togither, and fled into the Iſles.

The Ilandmen apprehend the Captaines of the rebelles.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceyuing the Abbey Church, wherein his aunceſtors had theyr ſepultures to be in decay, he cauſed it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith ſet in hande to buylde it vp agayne, at his owne proper coſtes and charges. Suche ſpeede alſo was vſed aboute this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the ſame was finiſhed and dedicated vnto our Sauiour Chriſt, and Saint Colme.

He buyldeth the churche of the abbay of Colmekill,

Aboute the ſame time there reigned throughout the moſt part of the worlde a ſore & grieuous peſtilence conſuming a greater number of men, (before it ceaſſed) then were left aliue: for it continued the whole ſpace of three yeares togither. At length through cõmon prayer, faſtings, giuing of almes, and other vertuous workes, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, ſo that ſuche great mortalitie by his mercyfull appointment did ſtay and giue ouer.

A great peſtilence & death vpon earth.

The Scottiſh men were free from that infection aſwel at that time, as alſo for many yeares after. Neither were they in maner troubled with any ſharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the auncient and wholeſome ſpareneſſe of diet, which theyr fathers in times paſt had vſed, they fell vnto riotous banquetting and exceſſiue feeding, whereby they became ſubiect vnto all kindes of diſeaſes, through malicious humors growing therevpon.

Scotland was free of the peſtilence and plague.

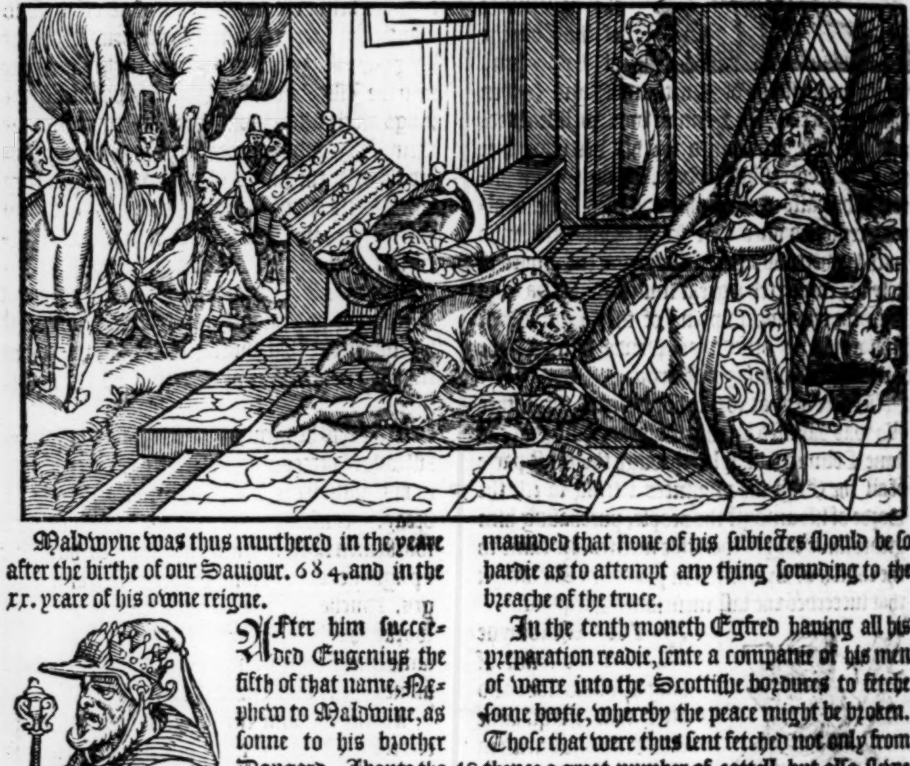
Riotouſneſſe the mother of ſickneſſes.

Colman biſhop of Lyndeſer ſeing wonderful numbers of Engliſhmen, periſh dayly of that contagious ſickneſſe, by licence of the king, to auoyde the preſent daunger of death, which by tarying there he ſaw no meanes how to eſcape, he returned into Scotland with his diſciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the Weſterne Iſles, he erected a monaſterie there, wherin he remayned during the reſidue of his life.

Colman erected a monaſterie.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that coūtrey ioyning with the Pictes, made ſundry roades into the Scottiſh bordures: whiche iniurie when Maldwyne reuenged with more diſpleaſure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scottiſhmẽ had receiued, it cauſed the Picts & Northumbers to prepare themſelues with all ſpeede to haue made ſharpe warres againſt the Scottes: but in the meane time Maldwyne died, being ſtrãgled in his bedde one night by his owne wife, vpon ſuſpition of gelowſie, for his vnlawfull company keping with an other woman. The next day after ſhe was apprehended with thoſe that were priuy to the deede, and brent openly vpon an hill, according as ſhe had moſt iuſtly deſerued.

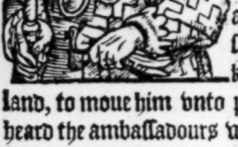
Maldwyn the Scottiſh king ſtrangled in his bed.



Maldwyne was thus murthered in the yeare after the birthe of our Sauiour. 684. and in the xx. yeare of his owne reigne.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the fifth.



After him ſucceded Eugenius the fifth of that name, Nephew to Maldwine, as ſonne to his brother Dongard. Aboute the ſame time Eugenius king of Scots ſēt with al diligence his ambaſſadours vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambaſſadours which were thus ſente, fayned as though hee had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scottes, ſo ſoone as his prouiſion ſhoulde be once readie, and herevpon graunted to them a truce for the ſpace of. xj. moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation.

Egfred king of Northumberland.

A truce grãted.

Eugenius hauing ſome ſecrete knowledge of Egfredes purpoſe, prouided likewiſe for the warres on his parte: but for that hee would not ſeeme to gyue the occaſion, hee ſtraytely commaunded that none of his ſubiectes ſhould be ſo hardie as to attempt any thing ſounding to the breache of the truce.

Eugenius his cõmandemẽt.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, ſente a companie of his men of warre into the Scottiſhe bordures to fetche ſome bootie, whereby the peace might be broken. Thoſe that were thus ſent fetched not only from thence a great number of cattell, but alſo ſlewe diuers of the bordurers that wẽt about to reſcue theyr beaſtes and cattell.

The truce broken.

Immediatly herevpon were there ſente ambaſſadours from Eugenius to demaund reſtitution: but they not without muche ado, after certaine dayes attendaunce, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred theyr meſſage, receyued for anſweare a playne publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scottes, ſithence the truce was graunted, had ſundrie tymes fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deſerued farre more domage than as yet they had receyued, whervppon hee minded not to continue frendſhippe with them that knewe not how to keepe theyr hands from robbing and ſtealyng from theyr neighbours: So that he commaunded them to declare vnto theyr king, that within eight dayes after, hee

Ambaſſadours ſent by Eugenius vnto Egfred for reſtitution.

Egfreds anſwere.

ſhould looke for open warre at the handes of him and other his alies.

Eugenius receyuing this anſwere from Egfred, beſought of God, ſith the other onely ſought to violate the peace, that the vengeance mighte light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occaſion.

Eugenius gathereth an armie.

Herewith gathering his power togither, hee repayred into Galloway, into the whiche he had knowledge that his enimies would firſte enter. But before hee could get thyther, a great armie of Engliſhe men, were come already into that countrey, and had aſſieged a ſtrong caſtell called Downſke, the chiefeſt fortreſſe in thoſe dayes of all Galloway. And ere Egfred might winne the ſame, hee was conſtrayned to rayſe his ſiege, and to marche forth to encounter with Eugenius who haſted faſt towards him. They mette neare to the bankes of the water of Lewyſe, as then beyng very deepe, by reaſon it was rayſed with abundaunce of rayne whiche lately before had fallen, where they fought a right ſore and bloudie battayle: for the Scottes had vowed neuer to gyue grounde to the enimies, ſo long as any life remayned in theyr breſtes.

The caſtell of Downſke beſieged.

At the firſte there was no greate aduauntage perceyued on eyther ſide, the kings, according to the dueties of valiant Captaines, exhorting their people to ſticke to it manfully: but in the meane time certaine bandes of Egfredes parte getting themſelues to the ſide of an hill, gaue the looking on without comming downe at all to ayde theyr frendes: whiche maner the reſidue of his people perceyuing, doubted of ſome treaſon deuiſed agaynſt them, and therevpon began to ſhrinke backe.

Egfred aduiſed thereof, came amongſt the foremoſt rankes of his batayle, deſiring the Engliſhmen in no wiſe to giue place to theyr enimies: and for that dayes ſeruice hee promiſed them highe rewardes, and all the pleaſure that afterwarde hee might be any wayes forth able to ſhew them.

But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight ſtoutly, he himſelf chaunced to be wounded in the face with an arrow, ſo ſore, that immediatly he fell downe and died in the place.

King Egfred ſlayne. See more hereof in England.

The Engliſh mē diſcouraged with this miſchance, were quickly thervpō put to flight & chaſed, a great nūber of thē tooke ẏ riuer ſo to eſcape the enimies hands, of whom the more part being preſſed downe by weight of theyr armure, were drowned in the raging waues of the floude, the reſidue by caſting from them theyr armures and clothes, eſcaped by ſwimming ouer to the other ſide, but thoſe that made theyr courſe by lande, being cumbred in myres and moſſes, alſo amongſt ſtraytes, rockes, mountains and cliefes, were ouertaken by the Scottes and ſlayne. Few of that number eſcaped away in ſafetie, ſo that there died in the fight and chaſe at the poynt of twentie thouſand Saxons with theyr king the foreſayd Egfred: of the Scottes were ſlaine, beſide thoſe that were hurt and woūded, not many aboue .vj. M. By this ouerthrowe the force of thoſe Saxons or Engliſh men of Northumberland was not onely ſore diminiſhed, but alſo of ſuch other Saxons, the which in no ſmall numbers were come vnto Egfred to ayde him againſt the Scottes in that iourney.

Twētie thouſande Saxons ſlaine.

Brudeus the Pictiſhe king hauing knowledge of this ſlaughter, whiche had chaunced betwixt the Engliſh men and Scottes, was nothing ſorie, as one that was frende to neither parte, and now perceyuing that the Northumberland men were ſo weakened, that they were not able to reſiſt an inuaſion, he entred with his whole power, which he had rayſed, into Northumberland, ſore afflicting the inhabitants, in ſo much that he had vndoubtedly either ſubdued that countrey wholly vnto his dominion, eyther els vtterly deſtroyed it, had not the deuout prayers of Saint Cutbert (who as then held the ſee of Lyndefar) preſerued the people from that preſent deſolation. For at length after the Pictes had raged a while through the countrey, they chaunced to fal at variance amongſt themſelues for parting of the ſpoyle, and buckling togither by the eares, there was an huge ſlaughter made amongſt them. And this was the cauſe, that contenting themſelues with thoſe countreys about Barwike, aunciently called Deera, out of the whiche they expelled the Saxons, they abſteyned from all the reſidue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxōs of Northūberland being thus ſcourged, able to recouer theyr former forces again of many yeares after.

Brudeus king of the Pictes.

Inuaſion into Northumberland.

Cutberte biſhop.

A ſlaughter amongſt the Picts.

Here is to be noted that where as ẏ Scottiſh writers aſcribe the victorie of that battel, wherin Egfred was ſlaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were thoſe that fought with him and ſlew him. Finally, Eugenius departed this life in the .iiij. yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation. 688.

Egfred ſlaine by Picts and not by Scots.

Eugenius the fifth died. 688.

After Eugenius the .v. ſucceeded Eugenius the .vj. who was the ſonne of Ferquhard, and by perſwaſion of Biſhop Adannan with whom he was brought vp) and of S. Cutbert, hee entred into league with the Northumberland mē: but he would at no hande ioyne in amitie with the Pictes, notwithſtanding hee was contented to take truce with them. But when hee ſawe the ſame oftentimes by them violated and broken, to the great perill, domage & hinderāce of his ſubiectes, he cauſed the warre to be proclaymed, and

Eugenius the ſixt, ſucceedeth Eugenius the fifth.

A league betweene the Scots & Northumberland men.

Truce taken with the Picts

Warre without any notable encoūter.
The death of Eugenius the ſixte.
697.

and ſent them his defiaunce by an Herald. Howbeit through the earneſt prayers (as is ſuppoſed) of the two biſhops Cutbert and Adannan (who had laboured earneſtly to haue brought thoſe people to a quietneſſe) this warre continued without any notable encoūter, ſaue only by light incurſions (wherein no great bloudſhed chaunced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, whiche fell in the yeare of our Lord. 697. and in the .x. yeare of his owne reigne.

He was buried togither with the other Eugenius, that laſtly reygned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongſt theyr predeceſſours.

Wonderfull viſions ſeene.

Many wonderfull viſions were ſeene that yeare in Albion, as the Scottiſhe chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeared in the ſight of a great multitude of mē, a number of ſhippes vnder ſayle, as though they had bene furniſhed forth for the warres.

In the Churche at Camelon there was heard a noyſe, as it had bene the clattering of armure.

Milke was turned into bloud in diuers places in Pictland, and cheeſe conuerted into a bloudie maſſe or cake. Corne, as it was gathered in the harueſt time appeared bloudie. In the furthermoſt partes of Scotland, it rayned bloud.

Theſe ſightes being ſeene of ſome & declared to other, cauſed a wonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining ſome great alteration to enſue.

Ambirkeleth.

Ambirkeleth ſucceedeth Eugenius the ſixte.

The king turned from vertue vnto all licentiouſneſſe.

Garnard king of the Pictes inuadeth Scotland.

Ambirkeleth gathered an armie againſt the Pictes.

Idelneſſe the breeder and nouriſher of ſenſuall luſtes.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

AMbirkeleth the Nephew, or as ſome ſay, the ſon of Eugenius yͤ fifth, ſucceeded Eugenius yͤ firſt in the gouernment of the realme: who after his attaynyng to the crowne, ſhortly chaunged therwith his maners & good diſpoſitiō: for where before he ſhewed himſelfe to be an earneſt defendor of the poore & ſimple, that al men iudged that he would haue proued a patrone of all vertue, he cōtrary to yͤ expectatiō, becāme ſodēly a paterne of al vices & couetouſneſſe, deliting in nothing but in following his ſenſuall luſtes, as in taking exceſſe of meates and drinkes, and wallowing in fleſhly concupiſcence of lecherous luſte. To bee briefe, when hee tooke nothing in hande worthie of his eſtate and degree, it was thought that of neceſſitie the forme of the publike gouernement muſte needes through his negligent ſlouthfulneſſe fall into decay and ruine: whervpon Garnard king of the Pictes ſuppoſing hee had a conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receyued at the Scottiſhe mennes handes, gathered a great hoſte of menne, and with the ſame entring into the Scottiſh confines, made right pitiful ſlaughter of the inhabitants. At length Ambirkeleth (being ſore blamed of his Nobles for his negligence in ſuffering his ſubiectes thus to be deſtroyed) gathered an armie togither, and with no ſmall feare to ſhewe his head amongſt his people, (as thoſe Princes whiche through theyr owne defaulte haue theyr people in miſtruſt, do euer ſtand in doubt of their owne ſafeties, and namely when any preſent daunger beginneth to appeare) forth yet he goeth without any great good order (God wote) for what might be looked for at his handes, whiche was ſo ouerwhelmed with all kind of exceſſiue gluttonie, immoderate ſurfeting, inſatiable lecherie, and deliting altogither in ſlouthfull eaſe, and ſluggiſhe idleneſſe, the roote from whence al ſuche filthie vices take their beginnings, are nouriſhed and mainteyned? To conclude, he liued as one that tooke no maner of regard to that whiche chiefly apperteyned to his calling: whereby nowe when he ſhoulde come into the fielde, he was neither able through lacke of practiſe, to take paynes to ſee things done as was behoufull of himſelfe, neyther yet to giue order to others, how the ſame ought to be done. Neuertheles marching forward with his army, he came to the water of Tay, & neare to the bāks therof, he pight downe his tentes, where after he had ſupped, he was occaſioned to go forth of his lodging to do the neceſſities of nature, and being only accompanied with two of his ſeruants that were groomes of his chāber, he was ſodenly ſhot thorow the head with an arrow, but frō whence it came or who ſhotte it, there was neuer any knowen that could tel. Howbeit the king immediatly died of the hurt, after he had reygned not fully .ij. yeares. He was buried in Colmekill amongſt his noble aunceſtours.

Eugenius.

THe Lordes & peeres of the land not greatly lamenting the death of ſuche a monſtrous perſon, bicauſe the army for want of a gouernour ſhould not fall into any daūger, they elected

Eugenius the ſeuenth is elected king of Scottes.

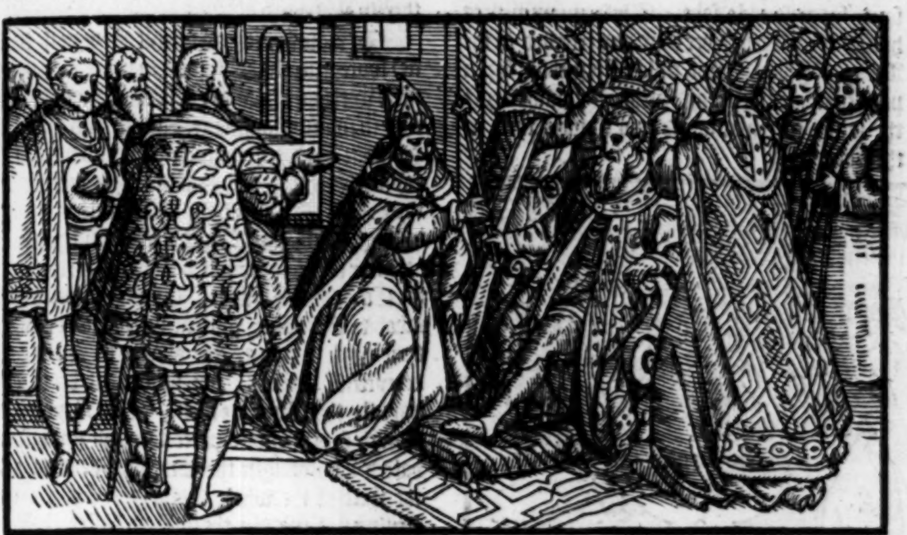
Eugenius the ſeuenth, being the brother of the late foreſayde Ambirkeleth, to ſucceede as King in the gouernment of the Realme, a Prince of right comely port and perſonage, neyther deſtitute of honourable qualityes and good diſpoſition of mynde.

A peace concluded.

Being once proclaymed king, he cauſed generall muſters to be takē of the whole armie, and perceyuing by ſuruey thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimyes, he founde meanes to conclude a peace with the Pictiſhe king, pledges being deliuered on eyther ſide, for redreſſe to be had of al wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them.

The king is crowned.

The Pictes returning home, and the Scottiſhe armie diſſolued, Eugenius with the moſte parte of the Nobilitie went into Argyle, where hee receyued hys inueſture of the Kingdome, ſitting vppon the ſtone of Marble, according to the maner.

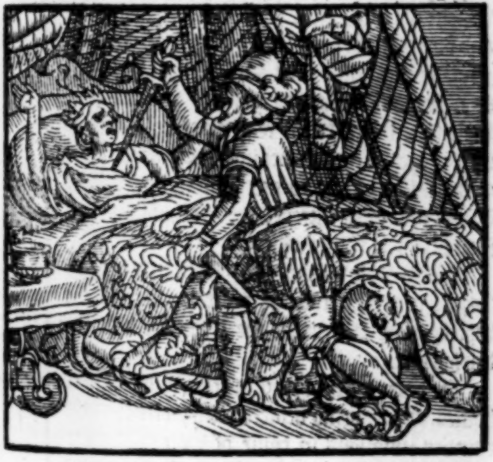


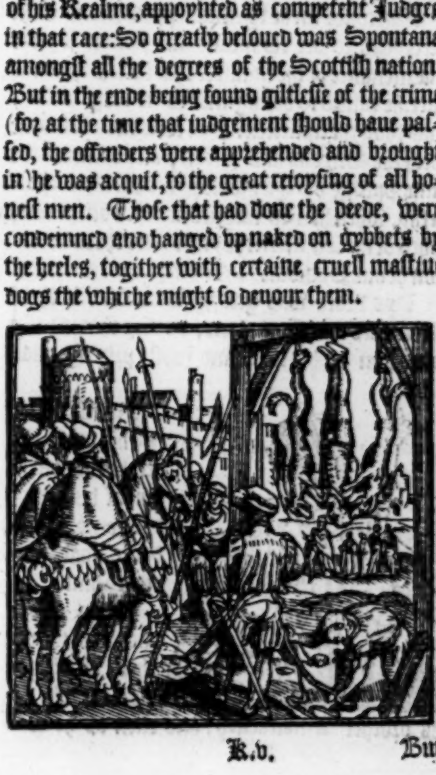
The Queene ſlaine in ſtead of hir husbād.

The king is ſuſpected of the murther.

The murtherers are hanged.

The bond of peace begonne betwixt the kings was the more ſtrōgly confyrmed by meanes of aliaunce, Spontana the daughter of King Garnard being coupled in mariage with Eugenius: ſhe in the yeere following being great with child, was murthered one night wythin the kings bed chāber in ſteade of the king himſelfe, by two brethrē of the cōtrey of Athole, who moued to diſpleaſure for their fathers death, had conſpired to murther ẏ king, & had ſlaine him in deede, had he not through his good hap layne forth of his owne chāber the ſame night. Eugenius being ſuſpected of ẏ murther, & euil ſpoken off for ẏ ſame amōgſt his ſubiects, was at length in great daūger of life & honour, enforced to make anſwere by way of arraignemēt for clearing of himſelf before ẏ nobles of his Realme, appoynted as competent Iudges in that caſe: So greatly beloued was Spontana amongſt all the degrees of the Scottiſh nation. But in the ende being found giltleſſe of the crime (for at the time that iudgement ſhould haue paſſed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioyſing of all honeſt men. Those that had done the deede, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gybbets by the heeles, togither with certaine cruell maſtiue dogs the whiche might ſo deuour them.



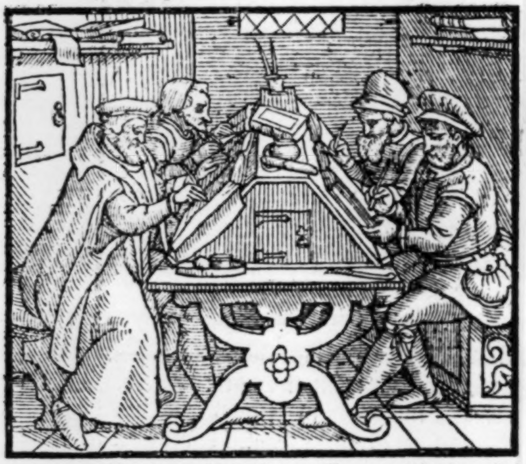


An example of a good prince.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former ſuſpition, minded to haue bene reuenged on thoſe yͭ had falſly accuſed him. Howbeit through the godly admoniſhments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his diſpleaſure.

The king cauſeth his anceſtours hyſtories to be written.

After this, giuing his minde to the aduauncement of Religion and polytike gouernment of his ſubiectes, he ordeyned that the hyſtories of hys aunceſtours ſhoulde be written in bookes and volumes, that poſteritie might haue to reade the ſame for enſample ſake. Theſe monumentes he alſo appoynted to bee kept and reſerued in the Abbay of Iona, nowe called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and ſuche as ſhoulde write the ſame, to remaine and haue liuings there in the Abbey.



Moreouer ſuche ſpirituall promotions as he perceyued to bee too meane and ſlender for the maintenance of the miniſter that ſhould ſerue the cure, he cauſed to be augmented in ſuche wiſe as was thought ſufficient. Hee concluded a league with the Saxons and Pictes, and obſerued the ſame during his lyfe, whiche hee ended at Abernethy, when he had raigned about .xvij. yeares, whereof the laſt fell in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour .717. indictione .15.

Eugenius the ſeuenth departeth out of this life.

716. H.B.

Hys death was greatly lamented, both of his Lordes and Commons, as they that intierly loued him for his noble and moſte princely qualities.

Mordacke.

Mordack ſucceedeth Eugenius the .vii.

A Little before his death, he betoke the poſſeſſion of his kingdom vnto Mordacke that ſucceeded him.

This Mordack was the nephew of Eugenius the vij. by his brother Ambirkcleth: and euen as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberal nature before his aduauncement to the crowne, ſo hee ſhewed himſelfe to be the verie ſame man during the whole courſe of all his naturall lyfe, after hee had atteyned to the ſame.

A louer of peace.

Aboue all things he wiſhed a generall peace to continue amongeſt all the Princes of Albion, and therevpon for his part eſtabliſhing a peace with the Pictes, Brytaynes, and all the Engliſh Kings, hee firmely kept euerie article therein conteyned.

Peace through out al the land of Albion.

In thoſe dayes (as Saint Bede doth teſtifie) foure ſeuerall people liued in peace and quietneſſe within the boundes of Albion, though differing in maners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whom he called Engliſh men, Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes. His wordes are theſe: The Nation of the Pictes at this tyme is in league with the Engliſhe men, and gladly is partaker of the vniuerſall peace and veritie with the Catholike Churche. Thoſe Scottes which inhabite Brytayne, contenting themſelues with their owne boundes, goe aboute to practiſe no deceytefull traynes, nor fraudulent deuices agaynſte the Engliſhe men. The Brytaynes, though for the moſte parte through a familyar hatred doe impugne the Engliſhe Nation, and the ſtate of the whole Catholyke Church, obſeruing not ryghtly the feaſt of Eaſter, beſydes other naughtie vſages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterly reſyſting them, they are not able in neyther behalfe to attayne to theyr purpoſed intentions. As they which though partlye free, yet in ſome behalfe are thrall and mancipate to the ſubiection of the Engliſh men: whiche Engliſhe men nowe in acceptable peace and quietneſſe of tyme, many amongſt them of Northumberlande: as well of the Nobilitie as other, laying away armour and weapon, apply themſelues to the reading of holy Scripture, more deſirous to bee in houſes of vertuous conuerſation, than to exerciſe feates of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth ſhall perceyue and beholde.

The teſtimonie of Bede.

734.

Mordacke ended his life the ſame yere that S. Bede made an ende of his hyſtorie.

With theſe wordes doth Bede ende his hyſtorie, continued tyll the yeare 734. In the whiche yeare Mordacke the Scottiſhe king ended his lyfe.

He repayred ſundrie Churches and religious houſes, whiche being defaced with violence of the enimies inuaſions in tyme of warre, had not beene reedified by hys aunceſters. But amongſt other, hee beſtowed muche coſte vppon the Churche where the bodie of Saint Ninian lyeth in the Towne auncientlY called Candida Caſa, & now Whitterne or Qhuitterne. Saint Bede calleth that place Pictiminia, and the Byſhoppe whiche at the ſame tyme helde the

Candida Caſa, nowe called Whitterne.

Church there, hee nameth Acta, auouching how he was the firſt that was Biſhop thereof after the dayes of Saint Ninian. Whiche if it bee true, it muſte needes bee that afterwardes ſome vacation happened in that Sea for a time, ſith it is notified in the Scottiſh hiſtories that the weſterne Iles, Galloway and other regions neare adioyning, were ſubiect vnto the Biſhop of Sodor) whoſe Sea is in the Ile of Man vnto the dayes of Malcolme the thirde, who reſtored rather than ordeyned the Biſhops Sea in Candida Caſa againe, after ſuche vacation as before is ſpecified.

Ethfine

Ethfine ſucceedeth Mordacke.

But now to returne touching the gouernment of the Scottiſhe kingdome, I finde that after the deceaſſe of Mordack laſt remembred, his nephewe named Ethfine the ſonne of the ſeuenth Eugenius ſucceeded in the eſtate: a man naturally inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iuſtice.

A peaceable prince.

The league which his predeceſſours Eugenius and Mordacke had kept with theyr neighbours the Brytaynes, Engliſhmen and Pictes, he duely lykewiſe obſerued.

His chiefe ſtudie was to purge his realme of all ſuch as were knowne to be open barretters and offenders in any wiſe, agaynſt the peace and common quiet of his ſubiects: ſo that cauſing ſundrie notable enſamples of iuſtice to bee executed vpon ſuch euill doers, he was had in ſuch reuerende dread amongſt his ſubiects, that none of them durſt once whiſper any euill of him. Neyther had they verily any cauſe ſo to doe, whileſt he loked to the adminiſtration himſelfe.

Foure gouernors vnder the king.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appoynted foure Peeres of his realme to haue the chiefe gouernaunce vnder him: as Dowalde the Treaſurer of Argyle, Collane of Athole, & Mordacke of Galloway his Lieutenants, and Conrath the Thane of Murrey lande. Theſe hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernment of the Realme, vſed not themſelues ſo vprightly in many poynts as they ought to haue done: but winked nowe and then at faultes and treſpaſſes committed by their kinſfolkes and alyes, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to theyr olde accuſtomed maner of licencious libertie, to the ſmall eaſe or commoditie of the other inferiour eſtates.

Vniuſt gouernment.

Donalde of the Iles mainteyneth robbers.

Donalde of the Weſterne Iles, a man of goodly perſonage, but of diſpoſition inclyned to all naughtineſſe, maintayned a great number of Robbers and ſpoylers of the countrey, liuing onely vpon rapine. For looke what they wanted, they woulde not fayle to catche it, if it were in anye place abrode where they might lay handes on it: ſo that al the huſbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which Countrey they moſt haunted, were brought into wonderfull thraldome and miſerie. Neyther did Mordacke the kings Lieutenant there, goe about to chaſtice ſuch inſolent miſdemeanors, eyther for that hee was of Donaldes alyance, eyther elſe priuie to his doings, and partaker of the ſpoyle. The people hereby vexed with continuall iniuries, brought manye pitifull complayntes afore Mordacke, who nothing regarded their lamentable ſuites and ſupplications, but the more they complayned, the worſe were they handled. Neyther was there any hope of redreſſe or amendment, till Eugenius the .viij. was admitted to the kingly adminiſtration after the death of king Ethfine, who in the latter ende of his dayes continually being ſicke and diſeaſed, could not attende to take order for the publike gouernment, by reaſon whereof ſuch wilfull miſorders enſued. Hee dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 764. after he had continued his raigne ouer the Scottiſhmen the ſpace of .xxx. yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obſequies.

The oppreſſion of the commons of Galloway.

Mordacke the kings Lieutenant beareth with offenders.

The deceaſe of Ethfine. 762. H.B.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the viii. inueſted king of Scots.

His ſucceſſour, the forſayde Eugenius the viij. that was the ſonne of King Mordack, was inueſted King in Argyle with ſuch pomp and ceremonies as in that caſe apperteyned, and immediately therevpõ he haſted forth to catch Donalde of the Iles, not reſting till at length hee had caught him, though that came not to paſſe without ſome loſſe of his people.

Donald of the Iles apprehended.

After he had taken both him and his chiefeſt complices, he put them openly to death: neither ſo ſatiſfied, he cauſed Mordacke to be arreyned, who confeſſing himſelfe partly guiltie of ſuche things as were layde to his charge for mainteyning of the forſayd Donalde, he likewiſe ſuffered death, and his goodes beeing valued and deuided into partes, were beſtowed amongſt the commons of Galloway, in recompence of ſuche loſſes, as through his contriued falſhood they had ſuſteyned.

Donald and his complices put to death.

Mordack lieutenant of Galloway is put to death.

The cõmons recompenced.

Alſo he put Dowalde, Collan, and Conrath vnto their fines, for that they did ſuffer Donalde ſo to rob and ſpoyle without chaſtiſement.

A righteous king.

Offenders put in feare.

Through which cauſing of iuſtice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him wonderfull loue, not onely in Galloway, but alſo throughout all his Realme: and therewith were offenders put in ſuch feare, that they durſt in no place commit any ſuch like miſorders againſt the ſimple and meaner people. And for the more increaſe of his ſubiectes wealth, he alſo continued the league with the Picts, Brytaynes, and Engliſhe men, accordingly as his late predeceſſour had done.

Eugenius is peruerted with ſenſual luſt & concupiſcence.

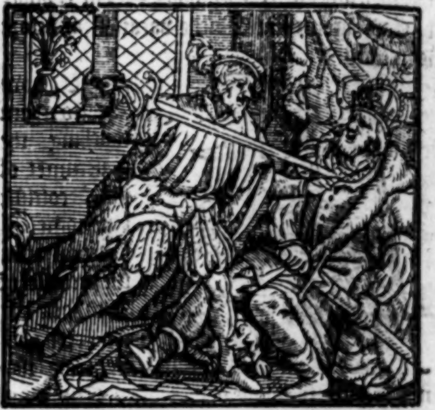
A filthie delite

Couetouſneſſe linked with crueltie.

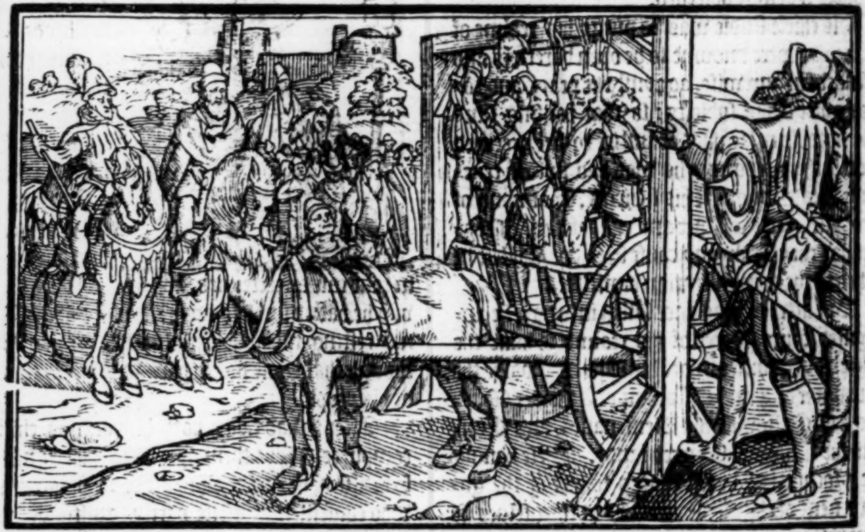
But yet as the nature of man through licencious libertie is euer readie to offende in one poynt or other, ſo came it to paſſe by thys worthie Prince Eugenius, who in ſuch wiſe as is before expreſſed, raigning in peace & quietneſſe amongſt his louing ſubiects, yet fell into moſt vile luſt to accompliſh his vnſaciable fleſhly concupiſcence, ſeeking al meanes he could deuiſe to defloure yõg virgins and honeſt matrones, and that as well thoſe of the nobilitie as other. And ſuch companions as could beſt further his purpoſes in that behalfe, and deuiſe new meanes and wayes of fleſhly company, thoſe he ſet by, and greatly made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his company. Thus being drowned in leacherous luſt, and filthie cõcupiſcence, he fell dayly into more grieuous vyces, as into exceſſiue couetouſneſſe and beaſtly crueltie, conſenting to make away his wealthie ſubiects, to the end he might enioy their goodes.

Eugenius is murthered.

This wickedneſſe remained not long vnpuniſhed, for the Lordes and peeres of his realme, perceyuing how he proceeded dayly in his abhominable and tyrantlike doings, not once giuing eare to the wholeſome aduertiſements eyther of God or man, they ſlue him one day amongſt them as he ſate in iudgement aboute to haue condemned a great riche man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accuſed.



They cauſed alſo immediately a great cõpany of thoſe mates to be apprehended, which had bene of his counſell, & prouokers vnto all his wicked & vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged as they had wel deſerued.



The ende of Eugenius the viii.

And ſuch was the ende of Eugenius after he had gouerned the kingdome about three yeares, his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongeſt his aunceſters, thoughe the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had miſuſed it ſelfe ſo inordinately in this preſent life.

Ferguſe
767.

Ferguſe the thirde created king.

After him came the adminiſtration of the Realme vnto Ferguſe the thirde, the ſonne of king Ethfine, in the yeare 767. who being eſtabliſhed in the ſame, beganne freely to practiſe all kindes of vices, which moſt abundantly raigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfully diſſembled and kept couert.

A wicked Prince.

He ſeemed to ſtriue howe to paſſe his predeceſſour in all poyntes of wickedneſſe. Hee tooke no regarde at all to the gouernment of his Realme, but gaue himſelfe to exceſſiue gluttonie in deuouring of delicate meates and drinks, and therwith

with kept ſuche a number of vile ſtrumpettes in houſe with him, whom hee vſed as concubines, that his wife was no better eſteemed than as an handmayde, or rather a kitchin mayde. Who being a woman of great modeſtie: and ſober adviſedneſſe, coulde not yet but take ſore griefe and indignation hereat: and therefore ſundrie tymes aſſayed by waye of wholeſome perſwaſions to turne his minde from ſuch ſinfull vſages and filthie trade of liuing. Finally when ſhe ſaw there was no hope to conuert his depravate minde, nor by any meanes to refourme him, but that the more ſhee laboured to doe good vppon him, the worſe he was, through verie diſpleaſure of ſuche iniuries as ſhee daylye ſuſteyned at the handes of his concubines, ſhee founde meanes to ſtrangle him ſecretely one night as hee lay in his bed, chooſing rather to be without a huſband, than to haue one that ſhoulde deceyue hir of the right and dutie of mariage, and that in ſuch ſort, as ſhe muſt be faine to ſuffer the reproch dayly afore hir face, being miſvſed of them whom he kept as paramours in moſt diſpiteful maner.

King Ferguſe the third ſtrangled by his wife.

The day after ſhe wrought this feate: the bodie being founde deade, was apparayled in funerall wiſe, & brought forth into the place of iudgement, where inquiſition was ſtraightly made what they were that had done ſo heynous a deed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet ſome of his friends were verie earneſt to haue the matter tryed forth, that ſuch as had cōmitted the murther, might ſuffer due puniſhment.

Suſpicious perſons are racked.

Many were apprehended and had to the rack, but yet could none be founde that would confeſſe it. The Queene was voyde of all ſuſpition, as ſhe that had bene taken for a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet when ſhee hearde that a number of innocent perſons were tormented without deſart, ſore lamenting (as ſhoulde appeare) theyr miſerable caſe, ſhe came haſtily into the Iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpō the bench, there in the preſence of al the company, ſhe had theſe or the like wordes vnto the whole aſſembly. I knowe not good people, I knowe not what God moueth me, or what diuine reuengement vexeth me with ſundry thoughts and cogitations, that of all this daye and morning preceding, I haue had neither reſt in bodie nor minde. And verely when I hearde that certaine guiltleſſe perſons were cruelly tormented here in your preſence, had not wrath giuen place, partly vnto modeſtie, whereof I muſt confeſſe there is left but a ſmall portiō in me, I had forthwith rid my ſelf out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conſcience conſtrayneth me (ſetting apart mine owne ſafegarde) to confeſſe the truth, leaſt the guiltleſſe ſhoulde wrongfully periſhe: Therefore vnderſtande yee for truth, that none of them whome ye haue examined are priuie to the offence. I verily am ſhe, that with theſe wicked handes haue ſtrangled this night laſt paſt Ferguſe, about whoſe death I ſee you in trouble, moued ſo to do with two as ſharpe pricks as may reſt in a woman, to wit, Impacient forbearing of carnall luſt, and yrefull wrath. Ferguſe by his continuall vſing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the huſbande oweth to the wife: whervpon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertiſementes, vehement force of anger ryſing in my heart, droue mee to doe ſo wicked a deed. I thought liefer therefore to diſpatch the Adulterer, then (being deſtitute of my huſbande, and defrauded of all Queenely honor) to liue ſtill ſubiect vnto the perpetuall iniuries of ſuch lewde women as hee kept and vſed in my ſteade. Looſe ye therefore thoſe that be accuſed of the kings death, and as for me ye ſhall not neede to proceede agaynſt me as guiltie of the crime by order of law, for I that was ſo bolde to commit ſo heynous an act, will accordingly do execution vpon my ſelfe euen here incontinently in preſence of you all: what honour is due to the deade, looke you to that.

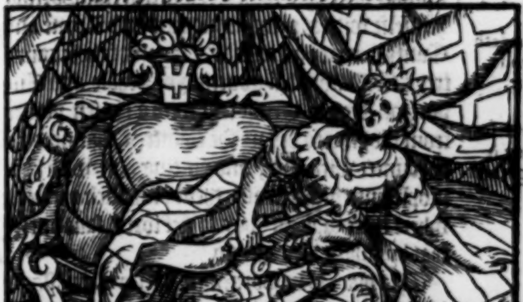
The Queene confeſſed the murther.

She giueth hir owne ſentence

Hauing thus made an ende of hir tale, ſhee plucked forth a knife which ſhe had hid vnder hir gowne, and ſtroke hirſelfe to the heart with the ſame falling deade vpon it downe to the grounde.

The Queene taketh execution of hir ſelfe.

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem



All ſuch as were preſent, wondered greatly at hir ſtoute and hardie ſtomacke, ſpeaking diuerſly thereof, as ſome in prayſe, and ſome in diſprayſe of theſe hir monſtrous doings.

The bodie of Ferguſe was caryed forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buryed in the thirde yeare after his entring into the gouernment, and in the yeare of our Lorde 769. The Quenes corps was not buried in ſacred ground, for that ſhe ſlue hirſelfe.

767. H.B.

Soluathius

Soluathius.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

Soluathius yͤ ſonne of Eugenius yͤ viij. was admitted to yͤ rule of the Scottyſhe eſtate next after the death of Fergus: a prince ſurely borne to the accompliſhement of high enterpriſes, if through hap of froward deſtinie he had not bin hindred. For in the third yere of his raign he began to bee vexed extremely with the goute, which ingendred by cold in lying abrode in hunting, and ſo continuing with him during his life, ſtayed him from many worthy exerciſes, as well in peace at home, as abrode in time of warres.

Soluathius an impotent mā.

Thus he being in maner impotent and lame of his lymmes, there were ſome commotions & miſorders the more boldly attempted: & firſt amongſt thē of yͤ out Iles. For Bane Makedonald goueruernor by the kings appointment, of the Ilande called Tyre, got all the caſtels and fortreſſes of the Iles into his owne handes, and ſtrengthned with a route of vnruly and miſchieuous youthful perſons, toke poſſeſſion of al the ſaid Iles, cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed king of the ſame.

A rebellion.

Makedonalde proclaymed king of the Iles.

And yet not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ſhippes togither, wherein tranſporting himſelfe with a great armie ouer into Lorne and Cantyre, made great waſt & ſpoyle of thoſe countreys, til Duthquhal gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argyle, beeing ſent with a choſen power from the king to defend the countrey, chaunced to encounter with him, and putting him with hys people vnto flight, chaſed them vnto ſuch a ſtrait, where there was no way to get forth, ſaue onely that by which they entered.

He inuadeth Lorn and Cantyre.

A power from the king is ſent againſt him.

This place is in Lorn, with a ſtrayght paſſage to enter into it: but whē ye are within it, the ſame is verie large and brode, enuironed aboute with craggie mountaynes, chayned togither with a continuall ridge, a deepe riuer compaſſing them in beneath in the bottom, with ſuch ſteepe and ſideling bankes, that there is no way to paſſe forth of the ſame, but by that through which ye muſt enter into it. The ſaid Bane with his folkes being entred at vnwares into ſuch a ſtraight, & perceyuing there was no way to iſſue forth, but by the ſame where he entred, he returned backe thither, & finding the paſſage cloſed frō him by his enimies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what ſhift to make to eſcape. Finally falling to councel with the chiefeſt of his armie vpō the danger preſent, and ſo continuing for the ſpace of two dayes without any concluſion auailable, on the third day driuen of neceſſitie through hunger, they required of their enimies to be receiued as yeelded men vpon what conditions they would preſcribe, onely hauing their liues aſſured. But when this would not be graunted, in the euening tide they ruſhed forth vpon their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue paſſed through them. But ſuch was their hap, that there they died euery mothers ſonne: for ſo had Duthquhall and Culane cōmaunded, to the ende that other rebels might take enſample by ſuch their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

The kings Captaines after this paſſing ouer into the Iles, brought all things there into the former ſtate of quietneſſe. Yet after the appeaſing of this tumult, there chaunced a new buſineſſe in Galloway: for Gyllequhalm, ſonne to that Donalde (which as ye haue heard, was executed by commaundement of Eugenius the viij.) gathered togither a great number of vngracious ſcapethriftes, and did muche hurt in the Countrey. But ſhortlye after beeing vanquiſhed by the ſame Captaynes that had ſuppreſſed the other Rebelles of the Iles, the Countrey was rydde of that trouble, and the ring leaders puniſhed by death for their offences.

The kings power paſſeth ouer into the Iles.

Gillequhalm the ſonne of Donalde.

In this meane while, the Engliſh men and Welch Brytaynes through multitude of kings and rulers warring eche agaynſt other, had no leyſure to attempt any enterpriſe againſt ſtraungers. Neither were the Pictes free of ſome ſecrete diſpleaſures, which one part of them had cōceiued againſt another, ſo that the Scottiſh men were not troubled at all by any forraine enimies.

And ſo Soluathius hauing continued his raigne the ſpace of .xx. yeares, aboute the ende of that tearme departed this life, in the yeare of our ſaluation 788.

Soluathius departeth this lyfe.

788.

Achaius

Achaius created king of Scotlande.

Then after Soluathius was once buried in Colmkill amōgſt his aunceſters, Achaius the ſon of king Ethfin (a man highly renowmed for his erneſt zeale to iuſtice and vpright dealing,) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuerſation amōgſt the nobilitie, he perfectly vnderſtood what grudge and ſecrete hatred remayned in their heartes, one wiſhing anothers deſtruction. He forſaw what daunger the common wealth ſtoode in, if the ſame were not by ſome good meanes qualified: and therevpon calling them togither, hee handled the matter wyth ſuche wiſdome and dexteritie, that before theyr

He maketh the nobilitie to agree.

departure from him, all the rootes of former diſpleaſures beeing vtterly extirped and auoyded, they were made friendes on eche ſide, and promiſed in his preſence ſo to continue.

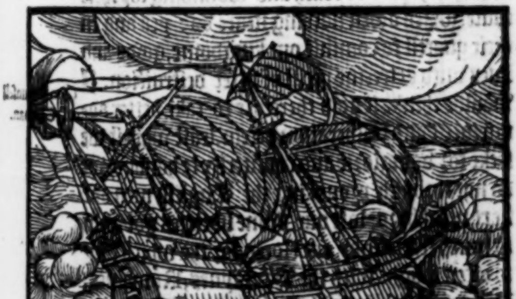
Thus hauing layde the foundation of a quiet ſtate amongeſt his ſubiectes, nowe in the beginning of his raigne, he was at poynt to haue had no ſmall warres with the Iriſhe men, for a number of them being arryued in Cantyre were there ſlaine by them of the Weſterne Iles, which vpon requeſt of the Inhabitantes of that countrey were come to ayde them againſt thoſe Iriſhmen.

This loſſe the rulers of the Iriſh nation purpoſed in all haſt to reuenge vpō them of the Iles. But Achaius hearing thereof, ſent ouer an Imbaſſade vnto thē to haue the matter taken vp before any further force wer vſed: aledging how ther was no cauſe wherfore wars ſhould be moued for ſuch a matter, where the occaſion had bene giuen but by a ſort of Rouers on eyther ſyde, without commaundement or warrant obteyned from any of their ſuperiours.

The Iriſh men will reuenge.

Howbeit the Nobles of Irelande (for there was no king amongeſt them at that tyme as it chaunced) moued altogither with indignation for the ſlaughter of theyr Countrymen, made a direct anſwere, that they woulde ſurely be reuenged of the reproche which they had receyued, before they woulde commune of any peace. And therefore whyleſt the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors returned out of Ireland with this anſwere, a great number of them in ſhippes and crayers paſſed ouer into Ila, where getting togither a great pray, and fraughting theyr veſſelles therewith, as they were returning homewardes, they were ſuncke by force of tempeſt, ſo that neyther ſhip nor man returned to bring tydings home howe they had ſped in Scotlande.

Iriſhmen take a pray in Ila.



Iriſh men do ſeeke peace.

The ſtoute ſtomackes of the Iriſhe Lordes and rulers beeing well qualified with this miſchaunce, they were glad to ſeeke for peace ſhortly after vnto Achaius. Thoſe alſo that were ſent ouer to treat of the ſame, found him at Enuerlochthee. Where hauing declared their meſſage, and confeſſed howe iuſtly they had beene puniſhed by the righteous iudgement of almightie God for their wrongful attempting of the warres againſt them that had not deſerued it, Achaius anſwered how the Iriſh nation was ſo ſtubborne, that they knew not to vſe reaſō, except they were throughly ſcourged: and therefore had the righteous God taken iuſt reuenge vpon them, to the enſample of other, for their contumacie in mouing warres agaynſt thē that had ſo earneſtly ſought for peace. Neuertheleſſe ſetting a part all iniuries paſt, as well new as olde, to ſhewe himſelfe to be the follower of Chriſt, who in ſo many paſſages had prayſed, commended and ſet forth vnto vs peace and tranquilitie, he was cōtented to graunt them peace which now they ſued for.

Thus was the peace renued betwixt the Scottiſh and Iriſh nations, to the no leſſe comfort of the Scottes themſelues, than of the Iriſhmen, as thoſe that had learned nowe by experience & tryall (hauing enioyed peace a good ſeaſon) howe much the ſame was to be preferred before cruel warres.

Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots.

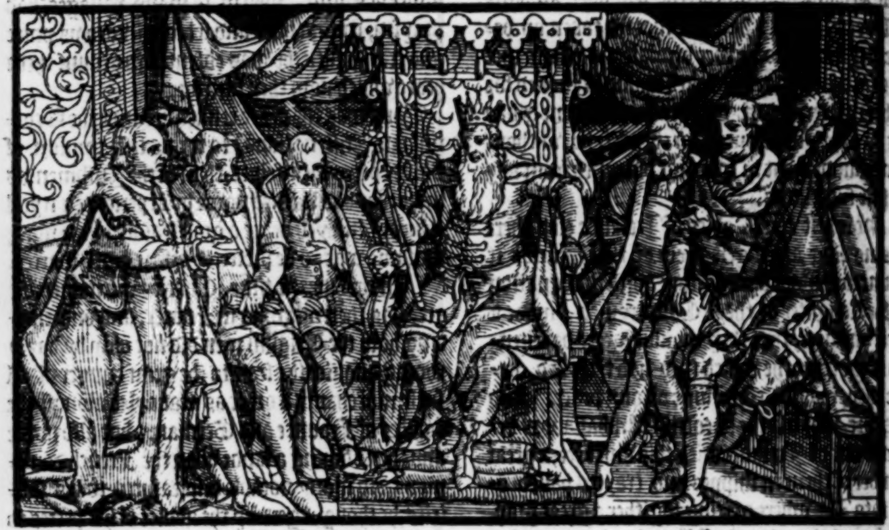
In this meane time, Charles, ſurnamed the great, as then raigning in France, and vnderſtanding how the Engliſh men did not only by dayly rouing diſquiet the ſeas, to the great danger of all ſuch marchants & other as trauayled alongſt the coaſtes of Fraunce and Germany, but alſo nowe and then cōming a lande vpon the French dominions, did many notable diſpleaſures to his ſubiectes, he thought good by the aduice of his peeres to conclude a league if it were poſſible with ẏ Scots and Pictes, with this article amongeſt the reſidue, That ſo oft as the Engliſh men ſhoulde attempt any enterpriſe or inuaſion into France, the Scots and Pictes ſhould be readie ſtreight wayes to inuade thē here at home: and when they ſhuld make any warres againſt the Scots or Pictes, then the French men ſhould take vpon them to inuade the weſt partes of Englande.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Scotlande.

There were ſent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certain Ambaſſadors to bring this matter to paſſe, who arriuing in Scotland, & cōming to the kings preſence, declared effectually the ſum of their meſſage, ſhewing that ẏ cōcluſion of ſuch a league, ſhoulde bee no leſſe to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (conſidering the Engliſhmen to be a people moſt deſirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and poſſeſſions) for thereby they might be ſomewhat reſtrayned from ſuch bold and iniurious enterpriſes as they dayly toke in hande agaynſt theyr Chriſtian neighbors: but it ſhould make moſt of all (ſay they) for the aduancement of the whole chriſtiā cōmon wealth, wheras otherwiſe through their inſolent doings, ſuch force as was alreadie prepared againſt the Saraſins (the common enimyes of the Chriſtians) ſhoulde be called backe, therewith to keepe on the ſayd Engliſhe men, to the great daunger of thoſe partes of Chriſtendome, vpon which the Saraſins then bordered as neighbours.

The Ambaſſadors are honorably enterteined.

This meſſage being heard with good deliberation by ſuch as were preſent, the Ambaſſadours themſelues being honorable perſonages & graue of countenaunce, were receyued moſt louingly of the king, and lodged in his owne pallaice, hauing all the chear & honorable intertainmēt that might be deuiſed: but touching their meſſage, there were ſundrie diſputatiõs amongſt the nobles, whether the concluding of ſuch a league as they requyred, were expedient for the Scottiſh common wealth or not. And for that yͤ matter ſeemed to be doubtfull, the king thought it neceſſarie to haue the aduice of his Counſell: and therupon calling them togither and appoynting diuerſe of them to goe with the Ambaſſadors on hunting to ſhew them ſome ſport, whileſt he conſulted with the reſidue, (bycauſe he wold not haue them preſent) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongſt the Scottiſh men for his approued wiſedome) to ſay firſt his mind touching the requeſt of thoſe French Ambaſſadours who therupon ſtanding forth, began as followeth.



Due conſiderations.

No man ought to maruaile, I perceyue, king Achaius, if many of this our Nation be deſirous to haue this league concluded with the French men, as they that are perſwaded howe nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honourable, or more pleaſant to almightie god, than to ioyne in league and friendſhip with a Nation of greateſt power and wealth in theſe dayes, of all other within the boundes of Europe: for by that meane ſhoulde the Scottiſh name be highly renowmed & ſpoken of through the whole world. But truly theſe conſiderations contenting ſo wel at the firſt, are not ſo much to be regarded as the euils which hereafter may grow therevpon: For ſurely a naughtie and pernicious ende of this determination ſhall manifeſtly teach vs (though to late) howe farre we haue gone beſide the way of reaſon in eſtabliſhing this league, if we once conſent to conclude the ſame. Is it any other thing (I beſeech you) to make a league, and to ioyne in ſocietie with the French men agaynſt our neighbours the Engliſhmen (whoſe friendſhip might be moſt expedient for vs) then euen to haue from henceforth a nere and in maner a domeſtical enimie at hand, wheras our ſuppoſed friends ſhall be farre of from vs, and ſeparate from our country by a great and large ſea, at whoſe pleaſure alſo we muſt make warres agaynſt our neighbours, and fight for other mens ſafegardes, putting our bodies in hazard of death and wounding for their cauſe, which dwell nothing neare vs: yea and in their quarell to commit our kingdome, goods and liues vnto extreeme perill of vtter deſtruction. I woulde thinke it good therefore to take better aduiſement and deliberation herein, leaſt whileſt we ſeeke for vainglorie and counterfeyte honour, we do not through prouoking the Engliſh men our next neighbors, loſe our owne liberties got with ſo much trauaile by our elders, for the which they ſo often fought with the Brytaynes, Romaines, Picts, and finally with the Saxõs. Can there be any thing more pernicious vnto a free natiõ and people borne in libertie, than to meaſure lawes of peace, chances of warre, and in fine, libertie it ſelf, by the luſt and pleaſure of another nation, and ſo to enter (as it were) into bondage? for the auoyding whereof, not onely men but alſo all other lyuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermoſte. If the Frenche menne in the chiefeſt heate and moſte earneſt brunt of the warre (which

An enemy at hand. Friendes farre off.

Good counſell of Colman.

(which we ſhall take in hande for theyr ſake, according to the articles of the league) ſhall chance to forſake vs, and conclude ſome maner of peace or league with oure enimies, leauing vs in all the whole daunger, ſhal we haue any iudge afore whome wee maye bring them to anſwere for theyr defaulte, and by whoſe authoritie they may bee conſtrayned to ſee vs ſatiſfyed for ſuch loſſe and iniuryes as wee ſhall happely ſuſtayne at the Engliſhe mennes handes? Are we of that force and power to reuenge our wronges vppon them, after wee are vanquiſhed and in maner brought to vtter cōfuſion by thoſe warres which wee ſhall enter into for theyr cauſe? If euer wee bee brought vnto that poynte (as God forbyd we ſhoulde) that through want of ſubſtance and decay of force, the Frenche men ſhall alſo vtterly forſake vs, and that thereby we ſhall not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhe puiſſance: afore whome (I beſeech you) ſhall we accuſe them for breaking of this league? We ſhall dayly haue to doe wyth our enimies after the concluſion of the league (if it bee concluded at all) and but ſeldome tymes wyth our friendes. In the middeſt of our enimies we ſhall be ſtill occaſioned to practiſe for our defence, where we haue a long way both by ſea and land to paſſe ouer to our friends, in caſe any neede ſhall inforce vs therevnto: cōmodities are brought to vs out of Spaine, Fraunce and Germanie, not ſuch as we deſire, but onely ſuch as the Engliſhe men doe permit. Againe when our Marchants ſhall paſſe into Fraunce, what hauens ſhall wee leaue them to reſort vnto in time of daungerous tempeſts, which often chaunce to all ſuche as vſe ſayling? Either muſt they periſh and bee caſt awaye through rage of ſeas, eyther elſe fall into the handes of our enimies togither, with all theyr goodes and fraught. What diſcommodities hereof ſhal riſe, your grace (moſt prudent Prince) and you right circumſpect Counſaylers doe well ynough perceyue. I therefore would thinke it expedient that we ſhould continue in ẏ former peace concluded with the Brytaines, Saxons & Picts, according to the cuſtome of our late predeceſſors, who ſawe well ynough what was moſt beneficiall for the wealth of the Scottiſh nation, and not to couet a newe amitie with an vnknowne people, hauing deſerued little or nothing as yet at our handes (whoſe intent I cannot but haue in ſuſpition, ſithe they ſeeke for amitie ſo farre of) except wee ſhall manifeſtly reſolue wyth our ſelues to employe and ieoparde both life and libertie for the ſafegarde of the French men, without regarde of our owne.

Colmans counſell is miſliked.

Many in that aſſemblie ſhewed themſelues ſore offended with Colmans wordes, ſuppoſing the league with the French men to be both honorable and neceſſarie.

Then one Albian, a man of great nobilitie, (whome the king had lately before inſtituted hys Lieutenant in the Iles) ſpake in this maner:

Albian his Oration.

If it were poſſible that there might be one ſure and ſtandable conſent amongeſt thoſe foure people, whiche at this daye haue theyr habitations within the boundes of Albion, or that the Engliſh men knewe what it were to ſtande and abide by fayth and promiſes made & giuen, we woulde not denie but that thoſe conſiderations and aduiſes which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be followed, bycauſe that then there ſhould be no occaſion at all, why we ſhould conclude any league with any forraine nation. But forſomuche as there was neuer man that founde more vntruth and breache of promiſe in any Nation, than hath beene founde in theſe Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are nowe called Engliſhe men) as the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes haue by tryall ſufficiently proued, I ſuppoſe it is euidently knowne vnto you, that either we muſt of neceſſitie fight and ſtand at defence againſt the Engliſh men, readie to aſſayle vs both with open force and ſecret crafte, eyther elſe linke our ſelues with ſuche allyes and confederates, as by theyr ſupport we may be the better able to withſtande the malice of ſuch vnfaythfull people. Call ye this fayth or treaſon, I pray you? The Saxons in tymes paſt beeing requeſted of the Brytaynes to ayde them agaynſt their enimies, were moſt louingly receyued, and highlye rewarded for theyr ſeruice: but they contrarily in recompence of ſuch kindneſſe, ſhewed themſelues in ſteade of ayders, enimies: in ſteade of defenders, deſtroyers: turning their weapon poynts againſt the Brytains, by whom they had beene ſo ſent for to theyr ayde. And now haue not onely deſtroyed a great number of them by fire and ſworde, but alſo they haue ſpoyled them of their kingdome & libertie. What league or truce haue they at any time kept (you your ſelues are not ignoraunt of this whiche I ſpeake) where eyther they ſawe occaſion to vexe theyr neighbours, or hoped to gaine any thing by falſifying theyr faythes, as they that haue neuer beene aſhamed ſo to do, where hope to haue commoditie (if I maye ſo call it) hath at any hande beene offered. Into what ſundrie and moſt miſerable calamities hath the treacherie of the Saxons brought the ſillie Brytaynes? How oftentimes haue they broken the peace eſtabliſhed with vs, and alſo with the Picts? Euen when we leaſt thought vpon any ſuch thing. Yea and that more is, amongſt themſelues at this ſeaſon the Engliſh men warre one agaynſt another, more with craftie traines than with open force, in ſuch wiſe that in Northumberland ſo many kings, & ſo many noble mē haue bin traiterouſly murthered & made away, that vneth maye there be any founde that

The Engliſh Saxons breakers of promiſe.

To induce others to his purpoſe he taketh the aduauntage of caſual happes charging the whole nation with the faults of a few perticular perſons.

will take vpon him the ſupreme gouernment of that countrey. It is not many yeares agone ſince Oſwin king of that countrey was ryd out of the waye through treaſon of Oſwey that ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by Oſrike, whome Egbert deſirous to raigne in his place, founde meanes by trayterous practiſe to diſpatche. Egbert was ſlaine by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after ſlaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neyther had Ethelbert any better ſucceſſe in the ende, for nowe of late betrayed by his owne ſubiects, he was by them ſhamefully ſlaine and murthered. Neyther wyth leſſe trayterous ſhiftes and deuyſes doe the Engliſhe men maintaine theyr warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerende Fathers of the ſpiritualtie, and other godly men addict to vertue, vnto whome the ſetting forth of Gods worde hath beene committed, awearyed and abhorring this woode madneſſe, rage and wicked miſdemeanour of that Nation, haue left theyr Byſhoprykes, Abbeys, Monaſteryes, and Celles, and from thence haue remoued into forrayne Regions. Therfore where the Engliſh mē do abſtaine at this preſent frō making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to any reuerence they haue to faith, equitie, or reſpect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but only vnto ſuch ciuil ſedition & diſcord, as now doth raigne amongſt them. Neither ought any of vs of right to doubt, but that when the ſame once ceaſſeth, they wil immediatly take weapon in hand againſt vs, notwithſtanding all leagues or couenants of peace cōfirmed to the contrarie. To repreſſe therefore and abate their ſubtile practiſes, I can finde no redier meane than to enter into friendſhip, and conclude a league with that people, whiche beeing ioyned with vs, maye chaſtice ſuche outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cauſe and oportunitie ſhall require, Fortune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and occaſion herevnto. For here be at this preſent yͤ French kings ambaſſadors, offring that vnto vs, which (being ſo great a benifit) we might vneth wiſh for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioyne in league againſt the Engliſhmen, with their king, whom Fraunce, Spaine, and no ſmal part of Germanie do acknowledge for theyr ſoueraine. Ought this to bee deſpiſed of men that haue their perfect ſenſes? Ought the ſocietie of the French nation to be refuſed of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermoſt partes of the earth, the ſame being freely offered by them, vnto whom for their ſincere fayth both towardes God and man, the large Empyre of the worlde is graunted. So that if wee ſhall thankefully receyue thys moſte notable benefite, the ſame ſhall purchaſe vnto vs the friendſhip of the Spaniardes, French men, Germanes, and all thoſe nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and ſoueraine Lord. Hereupon alſo free paſſage for marchantes ſhall be open, to paſſe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of marchandiſe & wares of traffike. I truſt therefore that euery one of you (ſo that he wey the thing with himſelfe throughly) will eaſily iudge that the friendſhip and ſocietie of the French men (right puiſſant both by ſea and land) and thereto of approoued fayth and ſtedfaſtneſſe in promiſe, ought more to be eſteemed, and is more beneficial to the Scottiſh common wealth, than the vnſtedfaſt promiſes and great diſloyaltie of the Saxons. To which of you is it vnknowne, that the Engliſh nation ſtudieth no leſſe to bring vs vnder the yoke of ſeruitude, than they doe the Welchmen, if their force mighte anſwere directlye to theyr willes? Therefore if we deſire to auoyde the violent power of moſt cruell enimies, if wee meane to auoyde theyr craftie practiſes, if we regard the Chriſtian Religion, for the whiche the Frenche men are continually in armure, if we ſet more by vertue and conſtancie than by vnfaythfulneſſe & breach of couenants and promiſes, if wee labour for the glory and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduaunce our Countrey, our owne reſt, and quietneſſe: and to be briefe, if we paſſe vpon life and libertie, the moſte deareſt things that maye happen to man, let vs with ioyfull heartes eſtabliſh this league with the French men, and firmely continue in the ſame, vppon aſſured truſt and confidence that it ſhall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowne vnto vs, both for the ſafegarde of our realme, and reſtraynt of the Engliſh mens vnlawfull attemptes & wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either ſhall or may at any time enterpriſe agaynſt vs.

The Frenche men in thoſe days poſſeſſed not onely that part of Gallia which we now cal France, but alſo the moſt part of the cōtreys now inhabited by the Teutſhmen or Germaines, namely on this ſide the ryuer of Rheine.

By this Oration Albian drew the multitude eaſily vnto his purpoſe.

Then Achaius vnderſtāding how the minds of all his ſubiects were in maner wholy inclyned to the league, cōmaunded al the cōpany to be ther in the ſame place againe the next day. And ſo breaking vp their aſſembly for yͤ time, the king made the French Ambaſſadors yͤ night a coſtly ſupper with a banket, and after hauing cōference to his nobles & lords of the counſel, it was agreed by general cōſent amongſt thē, that for the ſolemne ratifying of this league with king Charles, according as he had requyred, there ſhould go with his Ambaſſadors at their returne the Lord William the brother of king Achaius with foure other honorable & learned perſonages, being men of perfite knowledge & ſkil, and ſuch as were eſteemed moſt meete for ſuch a purpoſe. Alſo yͭ they ſhould take iiij. M. men ouer with thē to ſerue againſt the infidels & enimies of the chriſtian religion, where & in ſuch ſort as king Charles ſhould appoint thē.

The league with the French men agreed vpon.

Herevpon

The league is concluded.

Hereupon the next day going firſt to Church, and there making their common ſupplications vnto almightie God, according to the rytes and auncient cuſtomes, they after reſorted vnto the councell chamber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French Ambaſſadors al that was concluded by him, and other the eſtates of hys realme, touching the meſſage whiche they had brought from king Charles. Who reioyſing (as ſhould appeare) greatly hereat, gaue moſt hartie thankes vnto him, and to all the reſidue for theyr beneuolent willes herein ſhewed towardes king Charles their maiſter, & all the French Nation.

Hungus king of the Pictes.

After this remayning certaine dayes with Achaius, who made them all the cheare that might be imagined, they departed towardes Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whom at their cõming to his preſence they made yͤ like requeſt on their maſters behalfe, whiche they had made before vnto Achaius.

Hungus refuſed to cõclude any league with the French men.

It is ſayd that Hungus gaue the French men moſt hartie thankes for their good willes, but yet he would not graunt to cõclude any league with thẽ at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importaunce required no ſmall time to deliberate and take aduice for a full reſolution therein.

The French Ambaſſadors returne home.

Claudius Clement, Iohn Maesbel Raban, Alcuine.

The Scottiſh men are honorably receyued of Carolus the French king.

The Ambaſſadors hereupon returned vnto Achaius without ſpeed of their purpoſe with Hungus, and the ſecond moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould go with them, the Lord William the kings brother, togither with the ſame Ambaſſadors and ſuch foure perſons as the king had choſen forth amongſt all the learned Cleargie of his realme (whoſe names were Clement, Iohn, Raban, and Alcuine) and alſo hauing with him thoſe foure M. men of warre which were at the firſt appoynted to goe with him, paſſed forth towardes France, where he with all the whole cõpanie landed within few dayes after in ſaftie, according to their owne wiſhed deſires. At their comming into Fraunce, Charles the Emperor receiued them in moſt gladſome wiſe, doing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, & the ſouldiers which were come to ſerue him vnder the leading of the foreſayd William, he retayned in wages, vſing them after the ſame ſort and rate as he did his own naturall people the French men.

The league is publiſhed by Heraldes.

Shortly after alſo at the requeſt of the Scottiſh orators, according to yͤ charter ſigned by Achaius and confirmed by conſent of king Charles the league betwixt the French men and Scottes was ſolemnely publiſhed by Heraldes at armes, according to the maner in thoſe dayes vſed, the ſame to endure betwixt thoſe two nations and their poſterities for euer.

The chiefeſt articles compriſed in this league were as followeth:

The articles of the league.

The amitie and confederation betwixte the French men and Scottes to be perpetuall & firme to endure betwixt them & the poſterities of both the nations for euer.

The iniuries and warres which the Engliſh men ſhould attempt againſt either nation, ſhould be accounted as common to them both.

The French men being aſſayled by warres of the Engliſh men, the Scottes ſhould ſende theyr ayde of ſouldiers, hauing their charges borne by the French men, as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things neceſſarie.

The French men ſhoulde contrariwiſe ayde the Scots in time of warres againſt the Engliſh men at their owne proper coſtes and charges.

Whatſoeuer he were, priuate perſon or publike of theſe two confederate nations, that againſt eyther of them ſhould ayde the Engliſh men wyth armor, counſell, vitailes, or in any other maner of wiſe, the ſame ſhould be reputed for a trayter vnto both their Princes and countreys.

Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take any truce, without conſent of the other.

Theſe were the principall Articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixte the Scottes and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and fayre ingroſſed in parchment, & reſerued as a monument in both realmes, for a witneſſe vnto ſuch as ſhuld come after, of this friendſhip thus begunne, as the Scottes Chronicles affyrme.

The armes of Scotlande.

And for a further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red Lion in a field of golde, with a double trace ſeamed wyth floure de Lyces, ſignifying thereby, that the Lion from thenceforth ſhoulde bee defended by the ayde of the Frenche men: and that the Scottiſhe Kings ſhoulde valiauntlye fight in defence of theyr Countrey, libertie, Religion and innocencie, whiche are repreſented by the Lylies, or Floure de lyces, as Herauldes doe interprete it.

The Lord William, the ſayd Clement, and Iohn, remayned ſtil with king Charles, but Raban and Alcuine returned into their countrey.

The valiantnes of William.

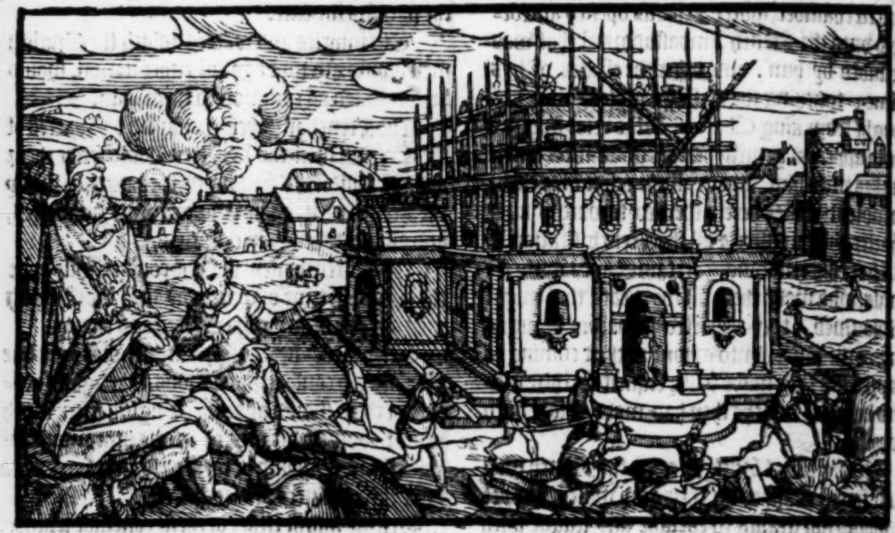
In all ſuch warres and iourneyes as Charles afterwardes made agaynſte any of his enimies, the ſayde Lorde William was a chiefe doer in the ſame, ſo that his fame and authoritie dayly grew in all places where he came.

Florence is reedified.

His ſeruice ſtoode King Charles in notable ſtead in his expeditions agaynſt the Saxons, Hungarians, & other, but namely his eſtimation in Italy was moſt highly aduãced, at what time the ſayde Charles reedified the Citie of Florence, appoynting this William to be his Lieutenant in Tuſcane, and to haue the chiefe charge for the reſtoring of the ſayde Citie, which he wyth ſuche

Willian Lieutenant of Tuſcane.

diligence applyed, that wythin ſhort tyme the ſame was not onely fortified wyth newe walles, repayred and repleniſhed with great numbers of houſes, Churches, and other beautifull buildings, but alſo peopled and furniſhed with Citizens, a great companie of Nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie Citie and towne thereabouts for that purpoſe.



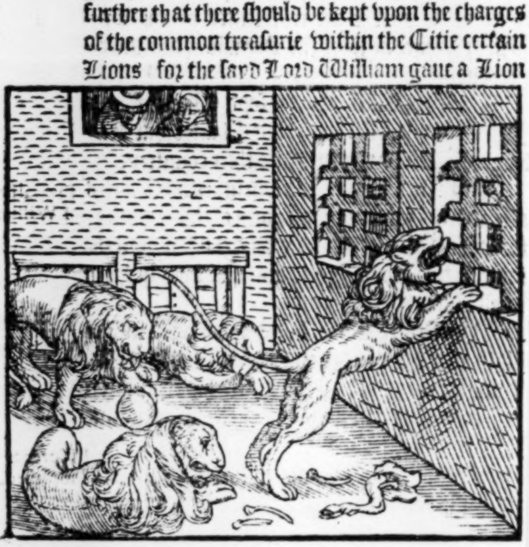
The armes of Florence.

The Citie being thus reſtored vnto hir former ſtate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefite of king Charles, and the diligent adminiſtration of his Lieutenant the foreſayde William, the Citizens to ſhew themſelues thankefull, deuiſed for a perpetuall memorie to beare in theyr armes a redde Lillie, reſembling one of thoſe which the kings of Fraunce giue, ſaue that it differeth in colour, to teſtifie thereby, that their Citie (after the deſtruction thereof by the Gothes) was reedified and reſtored to the former dignitie, by the benefite of the french men.

A Lion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the Lieutenant, they did inſtitute publike plaies to be vſed and celebrate euery yere, wherin with many pompous ceremonies they crowne a Lion. And further that there ſhould be kept vpon the charges of the common treaſurie within the Citie certain Lions for the ſayd Lord William gaue a Lion for his cogniſance; and therupon as the Scottiſh Chronicles affyrme, thoſe beaſtes grew to be had in ſuch honor amongſt the Florentines.



Scotteſgylmore.

Thus this valiant Captain, the foreſayd Lord William, paſſing his time in noble exerciſes, and worthie feates of chiualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of thoſe. xij. martiall warriours, whiche are called commonly by the Scottiſh men, Scotteſgylmore.

William vnmaried maketh Chriſt his heyre.

Monaſteries of Scotiſhmen in Germanie.

And for that he was continually occupied in warres, he was neuer maried, wherevpō growing in age and purpoſing to make Chriſt his heyre, he buylded diuerſe Abbayes and monaſteries both in Italy & Germanie, richly indowing ẏ ſame with landes and rents, ſufficient for the finding of ſuch number of Monkes, as he appoynted to be in the ſayd Abbayes, wherein none might be admitted, according to the auncient ordinance by him deuiſed, except he were a Scottiſh man borne.

In witneſſe of which ordinance, there are ſundrie of theſe houſes remayning in Almaigne euen vnto this daye, nothing chaunged from the firſt order or inſtitution.

The Vniuerſitie of Paris and Pauia.

Before the accompliſhment of theſe things, by the aforeſayde Lorde William, brother as is ſaid vnto the Scottiſh king Achaius, I finde that the Vniuerſities of Paris and Pauia were inſtituted by king Charles, chiefly by the helpe and meanes of thoſe two foreremēbred learned Scottiſh men, John and Clement, inſomuch that Clemēt was appoynted chiefe preſident of all the ſtudentes at Paris, and John of the other at Pauia.

Adelſtane entreth into Deira.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that about the ſame time or not muche differing from the ſame, Adelſtane the ſonne of Ethelwolfe king of weſt Saxons, taking vpõ him the dominion of Kent, Eaſt Saxon, Mertia, and Northumberlande, (whome Egbert his grandfather had receyued into his gouernment) deſirous nowe to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictiſh dominion, whiche auncientlie hight Deira, and conteined the Marches about Barwike, alledging how the ſame apperteyned to his kingdome of Northumberlande, and had bene fraudulently taken from his auncesters by the Picts: but forſomuch as there was a commotion reyſed the ſame time in Mertia, he was called backe to appeaſe it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and ſworde in Deira, ſauing ſuche priſoners as hee brought away with him, he returned.

Deira waſted by fire and ſworde.

Hungus the Pictiſh king ſore ſtomaking this iniurious enterpriſe of the Engliſhmen, determined to reuenge the ſame in all poſſible haſt, & therfore made inſtant ſute vnto Achaius (who had maried his ſiſter) to haue his ayde againſt them.

Hungus ayded with Scottiſh men inuadeth Northumberlande

Achaius of his owne accorde minding to doe the Engliſh men a diſpleaſure, ſent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thouſand men. With which, and with his owne power King Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods & priſoners: but yet he forbare ſlaughter of men, and burning of houſes, for a reuerence whiche hee had, as is ſuppoſed, towardes the Chriſtian religion.

He warred without ſlaughter and burning.

Athelſtane being certified herof, omitting his iourney into Mertia, turned al his power againſt the Picts: & hearing that they were withdrawne into theyr Countrey, he followed them ſo neare at the heeles, that very earely in one morning he was vpon their backes where they lodged by a brooke ſide, not paſſing two miles from Haddington, before they had any knowledge of hys approche.

Athelſtane purſueth Hungus.

Athelſtane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus founde his enimies according to his wiſhed deſire, and herewith comming vpon them in ſuche order of battaile as they had no way forth to eſcape without fight, hee commaunded a proclamation to be made by one of his Heralds, that all the whole number of the Pictes ſhoulde paſſe by the edge of the ſworde.

Athelſtane his cruel proclamation.

The Pictes thus ſeeing theyr enimyes at hande, and hearing of thys cruell commaundement, were wonderfully amazed wyth the ſtraungeneſſe of the thing, and oppreſſed ſo wyth feare, that they wyſt not what might bee beſt for them to do.

The Pictes are amazed.

At length, by commaundement of Hungus theyr King they fell vnto fortifying of theyr campe: but yet they quickly perceyued howe that it woulde not long preuayle them, conſidering that theyr enimyes had gotten into theyr handes not onelye all the ſpoyle whiche they had brought wyth them oute of Northumberlande, but alſo all other theyr prouiſion, truſſe, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the ſide of their campe. Herevpon manye reaſons were put forth amongeſt them, which way they might eſcape out of that preſent daunger.

The Picts entrench their campe.

In whiche meane tyme Athelſtane hauing brought his people into good order of battaile, prouoked the Pictes to come forth of theyr ſtrength into the playne fielde, there to trie their forces. But for that daye no notable thing was done: the Pictes keeping themſelues ſtill within theyr campe.

Athelſtane doth chalenge his enimie.

In the night following, after ſundrie conſultatiõs had amongſt thẽ, it was agreed by general conſent, that the next day they ſhould giue battail to the Engliſh men, And ſo herevpon preparing

The Pictes prepare themſelues vnto battaile.

themſelues for the purpoſe, euen vpon the breake of the day forwarde they make towardes their enimies wich fierce willes, ſpecially encouraged thereto by the comfortable wordes of Hungus.

The Engliſh men are put to flight.

The Engliſhmen halfe amazed at the hardie approch and onſet of the Pictes, were not long able to ſuſteyne their ſore impreſſion: ſo that, beginning ſomewhat to ſway, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard howe they tooke the baggage and ſpoyle of the Pictiſhe campe: were they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, inſomuch that ſuch priſoners as they had before taken of them that kept the ſayde ſpoyle, greatly now to aduance the victorie of their fellowes, ſhewing more crueltie towardes the Engliſhe men than any of the reſt, now that they ſawe once howe the victorie was inclined to the Pictiſh ſide.

Adelſtane is ſlaine.

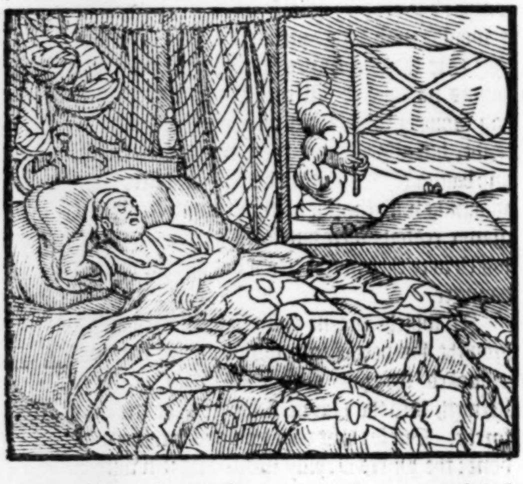
Aylſtone foord

In fine, ſuch ſlaughter was made, that of the whole Engliſhe hoſte whiche was there aſſembled, there vneth eſcaped fiue hundred. Athelſtane himſelfe at the firſt encounter was runne through the bodie with a Speare, and ſo dyed, gyuing name to the place of the battaile, whiche continueth euen vnto this day, being called Athelſtanes foorde,

A dreame.

The Croſſe of S. Andrew.

This victorie fell to the Pictes by myracle, for in the night ſeaſon as Hungus was layde downe to ſleepe (after it was agreed that they ſhoulde giue battaile) there appeared vnto him the Apoſtle Saint Andrewe (as the tale goeth) promiſing him and his people victorie agaynſte theyr enimies on the day next following, and for an aſſured token thereof, he tolde him that there ſhoulde appeare ouer the Pictiſhe hoſte in the element ſuch a faſhioned Croſſe, as hee ſometyme ſuffered vppon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the Skie, ſawe the Croſſe as the Apoſtle had tolde him: Wherevpon calling his people togyther, hee not onely ſhewed them the ſame ſight, but alſo declared vnto them what viſion had appeared vnto him in hys ſleepe, wylling them therefore to bee of good comfort, ſithe there was cauſe of ſuch aſſured hope to haue aſſyſtaunce from aboue agaynſte theyr cruell enimies.



Saint Andrew the Scottiſh mens patron.

The ſigne of the foreſayde Croſſe was not onely ſeene of the Pictes and Scottes beeyng there wyth them in ayde, to both theyr great comfortes and gladneſſe, but alſo of the Engliſhe men to their no leſſe diſcouragement, as they that vnderſtoode Saint Andrewe to bee Patrone and Aduowryer of the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe Nations. For it did put ſuche a feare into theyr heartes, that when they came to the poynte of ioyning, theyr ſtomackes ſo fayled them, that wyth ſmall reſyſtaunce they were eaſily vanquiſhed (as is ſayde) and put to flyght.

Saint Reule.

For this ſo manifeſt a myracle, after the battaile was once ended, and the victorie obteyned, Hungus repayred with his people following him, vnto the Church of that bleſſed man Saint Regulus, nowe called Saint Andrewes, where they made theyr offrings wyth humble deuotion vnto the Relykes of the Apoſtle, rendring thankes vnto him for theyr victorie with deuoute prayer after the accuſtomed maner then.

Why Scottiſh men vſe S. Andros croſſe in warfare.

They vowed there alſo at the ſame tyme (as the fame goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as theyr poſteritie in tyme of warre ſhoulde weare a Croſſe of Saint Andrewe for theyr badge and cogniſance. Which ordenance continually after remayned with the Pictes, and after their deſtruction & exterminion, with the Scots euen vnto our time.

Athelſtane his buriall.

The bodie of Athelſtane was buried in the next Church vnto the place where the fielde was fought, howbeit, ſome haue left in wryting that his head was cut off from the bodie and brought to Inchgaruie, where beeing ſet vppon a ſtake, it was ſhewed to the people in reproche of his iniurious enterpriſe.

Hungus repayreth S. Andros Church.

Images of golde and ſiluer.

Tenthes to be giuen vnto the Cleargie.

Hungus the Pictiſhe king to ſhewe himſelfe yet more mindefull of the due honoring of the holy Apoſtle, by whoſe ayde he acknowledged himſelfe to haue got the victorie aforeſayde, not only augmented his Church with new buildings and neceſſarie reparations, but encreaſed the number of prieſts in the ſame for the celebrating of diuine ſeruice: he alſo gaue many riche and coſtly ornaments vnto the ſame, as Chalices, Cruets, Baſons & ſuch like. Moreouer he cauſed to be made the Images of chriſt and his .xij. Apoſtles of fine gold and ſiluer, which hee beſtowed there, with a caſe alſo of beaten golde, therein to incloſe the relykes of S. Andrew. And beſides this, he ordeyned that the Spiritualtie ſhould haue the tenthes of all increaſe of goods: as of corne, cattailes, herbage,

bage; and ſuch like through his realme and further that ſpirituall perſons ſhould not be compelled to anſwere before any temporall iudge.

But theſe beneficiall priuiledges the Scottiſh clergie did not lõg enioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which raigned amongſt the Pictes after Hungus tooke from them all ſuche giftes as this Hungus had giuen them, and further depriued to the derogation of their Priuileges, that they ſhoulde anſwer for ſecular crymes afore ſecular Magiſtrates: And that lyuing vppon theyr former reuenewes, Souldiers and men of warre ſhoulde enioye the other whiche Hungus had ſo freely beſtowed vpon them.

Feredeth taketh from the Clergie their priuiledges.

And why not?

Prieſtes to be tryed afore ſecular iudges.

The Nobles of the land mainteyned Feredeth in his doings, reckening all that ſpirituall perſons had to be but caſt away, which was the cauſe (as ſome thought) that theyr Kingdome came into ſuche ruine, as ſhortly after followed.

There bee ſome Chronicles that wryte how theſe things whiche are mencioned of Hungus, and Athelſtane, chaunced not altogyther about this ſeaſon, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremund in moſte of his accounte, as the authour whome he taketh to be moſt certaine, as well for the accounte of the tyme as in the courſe of the whole Hyſtorie. And for that we meane not to preſume wholy to derogate the ſame Boetius his credite wee haue not muche diſſented from hym, but rather followed him in moſt places, leauing ſuche doubtes as may bee worthily put forth of that which he wryteth, vnto the conſideration of the diligent Reader, ſithe it is not our purpoſe to impugne, but rather to report what wee finde written by other, except nowe and then by the way to admoniſhe the reader of ſome vnlikely-hodes, (as the ſame doth ſeeme to vs and other,) and happely not without iuſt occaſion.

But nowe to our purpoſe: Aswell Hungus King of Pictes, as Achaius King of Scottes, after the ouerthrowe and death of Athelſtane, lyued with theyr people in good quiet & reſt, for the Engliſhe men attempted nothing agaynſt the Scottes or Pictes afterwardes, during the time of their raignes. At length Achaius after hee had raigned xxxij. yeares, departed thys lyfe, in the yeare of our Lorde, 819. whiche was about the firſt yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Pictes.

Achaius departeth out of this life.

819

His bodie was buryed in Colmekill, according to the maner of Kings amongeſt hys predeceſſours.

In the days of thys Achaius (beſide Clement and others of whome before ye haue heard) lyued Byſhop Geruadius a notable Preacher in Murrey lande. Also Biſhoppe Glacian with Modan, and Medan two learned men, all Doctors and men of ſingular knowledge, in ſcripture, whereof they were had in great credite and eſtimation with the people.

Conual.

After the deceaſe of Achaius, Conual that was his Couſin by Dongal the brother of king Ethfine, entered in gouernment of the Scottiſh kingdome.

Conuall ſucceedeth Achaius.

Betwixt this Conual and Hungus the Pictiſh king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie ſhewed, both of them ſtudying by all wayes and meanes howe to maintayne the auncient league of aliance betwixt their people, whereupon enſued greate wealth and quietneſſe to both their kingdomes.

Loue and amitie.

Finally Hungus waſted with a continuall conſumption deceaſed, delyuering vp his kingdome into the handes of hys ſonne Dorſtolorgus, and that in the preſence of King Conuall, who likewyſe lyued not long after hym, for in the fifth yeare of his raigne hee lykewyſe departed oute of thys Worlde, by force of naturall ſickneſſe.

Hungus falleth in a conſumption.

Conuall deceaſſeth alſo

862. Io.Ma.

Dongal

Dongall the ſonne of king Soluathius was receyued to ſucceede by the common conſent of the eſtates of all the Realme, a man of ſingular wiſdome and great knowledge. But for that hee was ſomewhat ſeuere in puniſhing the miſordered behauiours of the Nobilitie and miſgouerned youth of hys Realme, dyuerſe of the Nobles conſpired agaynſte hym, forcing one Alpyne the ſonne of Achaius to make claymе to the Crowne, who perceyuing there was no remedie, but eyther to follow their mindes, or elſe to be murthered amongeſt them, conſented to goe with them into Argyle, where they purpoſed to crowne him king ſitting vpon the Chayre of Marble, according to the maner.

Dongall ſucceedeth after Conuall.

A ſeuere puniſher of malefactors.

Alpine conſtrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king.

Alpine vnwilling to receiue the crowne, fled.

Howbeit at his comming into that countrey, he founde meanes to conuey himſelf from amongſt them, leaſt through his meanes the quiet ſtate of his countrey ſhould be brought into trouble: and forthwith being eſcaped out of their handes with a fewe other that were priuy to his intention, hee maketh all the haſt he coulde, till he came to the preſence of Dongall, who receyued him in moſt ioyfull wiſe, promiſing that if it ſhould be thought neceſſarie by the eſtates of the realme, he woulde gladly reſigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, deſirous of nothing more than to ſee the aduauncement of the houſe of Achaius. Suche ſayth he, were the merites of that famous prince towardes the preſeruation of the Scottiſh common wealth, that it were too much wickedneſſe to goe about to defraude his iſſue of the inheritance of the realme.

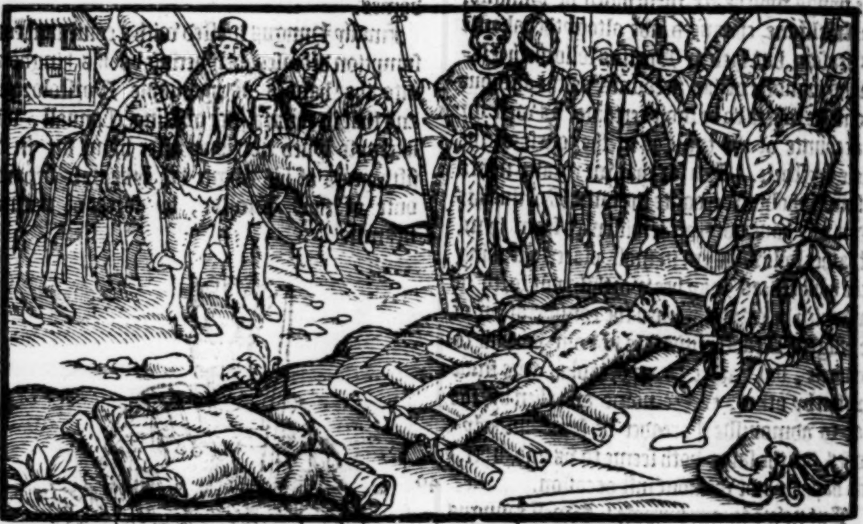
Alpine was ioyfully receyued of Dongall.

Alpine his excuſe vnto Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king moſt hartie thankes, beſought him to continue in the adminiſtration, drawing God and the worlde to witneſſe, that he minded nothing leſſe than to be about to clayme the gouernment of the kingdome ſo long as hee liued. For as touching his offence, in that he had gathered an armie and ledde the ſame into Argyle, it was not his fault, but the conſpiratours which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue ſlaine him, if he had not conſented vnto theyr deſires.

Dongall maketh an army againſt the rebelles.

Within three dayes after, there came meſſengers from the rebelles to excuſe themſelues alſo, and to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing ſmall credite to their forged wordes, gathereth his power, and maketh ſuch ſpeede towardes the place where he vnderſtood the ſayd rebels were aſſembled togither, that he was vpon them ere they had any knowledge of his ſetting forwarde. So that before they coulde make any ſhift to eſcape out of daunger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediately condemned and put to death. Which execution put other preſumptuous perſons in feare, ſo that the ſtate of the Realme remayned afterwards a great deale the more in quiet.



Eganus murthereth his brother.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotlande, Eganus the ſeconde ſonne of king Hungus the Pictiſh king, found meanes to murther his brother Dorſtologus, to the ende he might raigne in his place: and through ſupport of ſome of the nobilitie he atteyned to his purpoſe. And for that he woulde aſſure himſelfe the more firmely in the eſtate, he frankly beſtowed his fathers treaſure amongſt his Lordes and chiefeſt peeres of hys realme, and toke to wife alſo Brenna the king of Mercia his daughter, which his brother the forenamed Dorſtologus had maried, that thereby he might aſſwage the ſayde king of Mercia his diſpleaſure, which otherwiſe he ſhould happely haue conceyued for the death of his other ſonne in law the ſame Dorſtologus.

Eganus liueth in feare.

His feare was great on eche ſide, and therefor had ſmall affiance in any perſon, doubting leaſt one or other ſhould ſeeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durſt neuer go any wayes forth abroade without a garde of men of warre about him, whome he had wonne and made his faſt friends by his paſſing great larges and bountiful liberalitie. At length yet, his wife in reuenge of hir former huſbandes death, founde meanes to ſtrangle him as he lay one night faſt a ſleepe, hauing drunke a little too muche in the euening before, and in this ſort he came to his ende after he had raigned much what about the ſpace of two yeares.

Eganus is ſtrangled of his Queene.

Thus both Eganus and Dorſtologus being made away without leauing any iſſue behind them, forſomuch as now there remayned none of the poſteritie of Hungus to ſucceede in gouernment

An Ambaſſadour ſent vnto the Pictes.

ment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, Alpine nephewe to the ſame Hungus, by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, with the aduiſe of king Dongall, made clayme therunto, and therupon ſent his meſſengers vnto the lords and peeres of the Pictiſh dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he myght be receyued to the gouernemente of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they wel vnderſtode: and that if they throughly conſidered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the prouiſion of Almightie God, that for want of lawfull ſucceſſion lineally deſcended from Hungus now to ſuccede in the eſtate of the Pictiſh kingdom, by this meanes both the nations Scottes and Pictes ſhould be ioyned in one, to the aboliſhing of all ſuch mortall warres, as by diſcorde and contention might aryſe betwixte thoſe two people, in lyke ſorte as before tyme there hadde done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

The Pictes choſe Feredeth to be king.

The Pictiſh nobilitie hauing knowledge that theſe meſſengers with ſuche kynde of meſſage ſhould ſhortly come from Alpine, with generall conſent and whole agreemente, choſe one Feredeth to be their king, a man of greate authoritie amongeſt them, ſuppoſing this to be a meane to defeate Alpines title, and that therby he ſhoulde ſeeme to be excluded from any further clayme.

The ambaſſadours come into the courte.

Within fewe dayes after, came vnto Camelon the Scottiſhe ambaſſadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that preſente were aſſembled: they being admitted therfore to declare their meſſage, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Pictes, the people woulde not ſuffer them to proceede any further therein, but began to make ſuche an vprore, that to appeaſe the noyſe, Feredeth himſelfe tooke vpon him to make aunſwere vnto the Ambaſſadors, and therupon commanding ſilence, declared vnto them that the Pictes neyther might nor ought to admitte any ſtranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient lawe amongſt them, of moſte high authoritie, that in caſe of neceſſitie they might tranſpoſe the crowne from houſe to houſe: And further, that by the ſame law ther was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made & created king, he might not be depoſed during his natural lyfe. And therfore though it were ſo, that Alpine were the nephewe of Hungus by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, yet bicauſe he was a ſtraunger borne, and cōſidering withal, that the people by their ful authoritie had tranſlated the regall adminiſtration vnto an other houſe, of the whiche one was alreadie proclaimed and inueſted kyng, there was no reaſon nowe, why Alpine ſhoulde make any further clayme or demaunde vnto the kingdom.

King Feredeth his anſweare vnto the Scottiſhe ambaſſadours.

Dongall hys diſpleazure with the Pictes aunſweare.

Vpon the meſſengers return home with this anſwer, Dongal ſhewed himſelf to be in no ſmal chafe, that the Pictes ſhoulde thus goe aboute by ſuche ſubtill argumentes and contriued inuentions to defraude Alpine of his righte. And therupon the ſecond tyme he ſente his ambaſſadors vnto them, requiring them eyther to doe him reaſon without any further ſurmiſed cauillations, eyther elſe within. iij. monethes ſpace after, to looke for open warres at the Scottiſhe mens handes.

Ambaſſadours are ſent again.

Ambaſſadours are not receyued.

Theſe Ambaſſadours paſſing forth on theyr iourney, at their approching vnto Camelon, certaine ſergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: alſo they further cōmaunded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoyde out of the confines of his dominion within foure dayes ſpace, vpon pain of death.

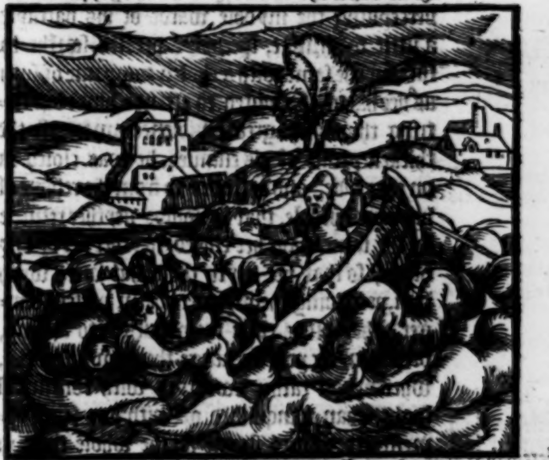
Warre is pronounced vnto the Pictes.

The Ambaſſadors being terrified with ſuche maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commiſſion, they pronoūced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongal, requiring thoſe that thus came to meet them, to giue ſignification therof vnto their maiſter Feredeth, and to the whole Pictiſhe nation: and ſo returned home the ſame way they came.

Then did the Scottiſhe Lordes repaire vnto Dongall, who the ſame tyme laye in Carryke caſtell, and there taking counſell for the mayntenance of theſe warres, not one was founde amongeſt them which offered not to ſpende both lyfe, landes, and goodes in Alpines ryghtuous quarell.

The Scottes willingly giue them ſelues vnto the war.

By this meanes was great preparation made on both ſydes for the warre, the Scottes mynding to ſet Alpine in his right, and the Pictes determining not to receyue any prince of a ſtrange nation to reigne ouer them. But whileſt Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readye for his enterpriſe, he chaunced to be drowned in the riuer of Spey, as he was about to paſſe the ſame in a boate.



This miſhap happed him in the. vj. yeare of

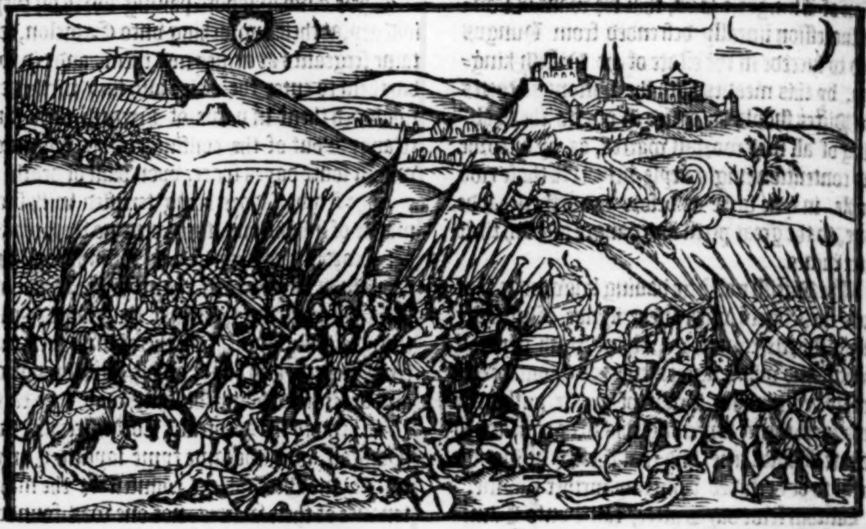
930.

his reigne, and after the birthe of our Sauiour, 830, his bodie was buryed in Colmekill, with all funerall obſequies.

Alpine crouned king of Scotland.

AFter Dongall was Alpyne receyued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme by the generall voyces of all the people, whoſe chiefeſt ſtudie was vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate to followe his ſuite touching his title to the Pictiſh kingdom: and hereupon with all diligẽce preparing a mightie hoſte and all other thinges (which were thought requiſite for the furthering of his enterpriſe) he paſſed forth towardes Angus, not ſtaying till he came to the caſtel of Forfair, whiche he beſieged, but the thirde daye after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictiſhe king with a great armie of his ſubiectes arraunged in good order of battayle, came and preſented himſelfe in ſighte of the Scottes, wherupon immediately neere to the towne of Reſtennoth they mette, and ioynyng there in battayle, foughte

Alpine with an army inuadeth Pictlande.



fiercely: At the firſte encounter the righte wyng of the Scottiſhe armie was neere hand ouerthrowne, but Fenedocht lieutenaunte of Atholl came ſpeedyly to the ſuccours with. 400. of his countreymen, and reſtored the batayle on the Scottiſh ſide: wherby enſued a ryght cruell bickeryng with great ſlaughter, and no ſigne of ſhrinkyng on eyther parte, by meanes wherof it ſemed doubtful for a lõg ſpace to whether ſide the victorie woulde enclyne. At length Feredeth perceyuing the myddle warde of his battayle a little to ſhrinke, ſpeedylye preaſed forthe to ſuccour the ſame with a choſen companie of ſuch as hee hadde appoynted to attende him: but entring thus with greate violence amongeſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, he was cloſed in on eche ſyde, and excluded ſo from the reſidue of hys owne people, that he coulde neyther returne by the ſame waye hee entred, neyther yet by any other, ſo that hee wyth thoſe that were wyth him, perceiuing their lyues to be in preſent danger, they didde caſte themſelues into a ryng, determinyng yet to reuenge theyr owne deaths, whereuppon rather awearyed with continuall fyght, than vanquiſhed or with any feare oppreſſed, they were ſlayne all the whole number of them, togyther with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Pictes giue ouer the battayle, ſo long as any daylyghte was on the ſkye. So that the nyght in the ende parted them in ſunder, bothe the armyes withdrawyng to their campes with ſmall ioye or triumphe, by reaſon of the greate ſlaughter, whiche had bene made on both ſides.

Fenedocht the Thane of Athole.

Feredeth is ſlaine in.

The night parted the armie

¶The Captaines of the Pictes waying with thẽſelues the loſſe of their king & great multitude of their mẽ, thought it not beſt to abide any longer in the field: wherfore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the cãpe, they fled incõtinently the ſame night, ſome into one place, & ſome into an other, where they thought beſt for their owne welth and ſafetie.

The pictes fled by night.

The Scots had fled immediatly likewiſe, but that word was brought them, as they were about to depart how the Picts were gone alredy, and had left their campe voyde of men of warre to defende the ſame. Wherupon the Scottes taryed til it was day not far from the place of the battail. In the morning there wer certain horſmen apoynted to ride abrode, & to viewe yͤ fields, therby to vnderſtand whether yͤ Picts ment any deceite by their departure, as by laying of ſome embuſhmẽts, or otherwiſe, but vpon yͤ return of thoſe horſmẽ: whẽ it was once knowen how ther was no ſuch mater, but yͭ they wer fled in dede, yͤ Scots reioycing therat, fel to & gathered yͤ ſpoile of the fielde, deuiding the ſame amongſt themſelues according to their accuſtomed order.

The Scots deuide the ſpoile.

Alpine

Feredeth is buried.

Alpine himſelfe commaunded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be layde in chriſtian buriall, not farre from Forfair. After this cauſing the muſters of his people to be taken, he found that he had loſt ẏ third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battaile, and thereupon brake vp his campe for that tyme, licencyng thoſe that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes.

The Scottes determine to war only with incurſions.

This battaile being fought in the firſte yeare of the reignes of the two foreſayd kings, weakned the forces of both the natiõs, ſo farfoorth that the Scottes doubting to bring the realme into daunger of vtter ruine (if they ſhoulde committe their whole puiſſance eftſoones to the hazarde of an other foughten field) determined to purſue the warre by making of incurſions and inrodes only vpon their enimies, ſo to vexe the Pictes, and to bring them vnto reaſon, if it were poſſible: and ſo much verily the Scottiſhmẽ did by ſuch their cõtinual rodes and incurſions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left voyd and deſolate of all the inhabitants.

Brudus ſuccedeth his father Feredeth.

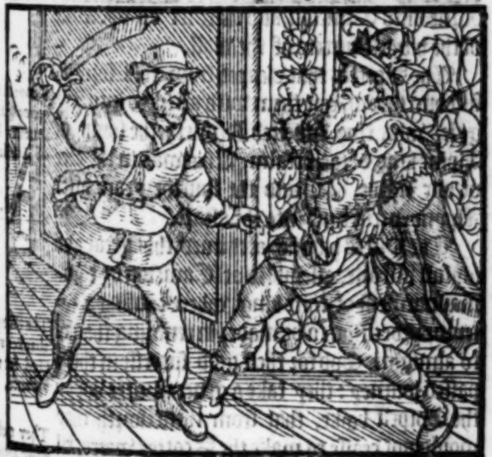
Neyther did Brudus the ſonne of Feredeth, (whome the Pictes had choſen to ſuccede after his father in the kingdome) fynde any ſpeedy redreſſe to withſtande thoſe dayly inuaſions thus made by the Scots vpon his countreis and ſubiectes, for he was but a ſlouthfull perſon, & very negligent in his office, wherupon he was had in deriſion of his own people, who in the end ſlew him amongſt themſelues before he had reigned fully the terme of one whole yeare.

The Pictes ſlew this ſlothfull king.

Keneth king of the pictes.

The king caſting of hys armour fleeth. He was ſlayne by a plough man.

Then ſucceeded Keneth, the ſecond ſonne of Feredeth, with no better happe or ende than his brother. For gathering togither an armie of his ſubiectes, and comming with them into Angus, he came no ſooner within ſighte of his enimyes, but that caſting off his armour, he fled incontinently, leauing his people in the fielde. And for that his haſte, was ſlayne by a Plowman that met him by chaunce, and knew him not, but perceyued yet howe he had fled from his company, and therefore deſerued not to haue any other fauour.



His people ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of their head capitayn and gouernour, retired from their enimies, keeping themſelues in order of batayle without any further attempt.

Brudus kyng of the pictes.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Pictes choſe to their king one Brudus a man of a ſtoute and manlyke ſtomack, who immediately vpon his entring into the aſtate, comming into Angus (which regiõ the Scots had made waſt) catched there certaine Scottiſh robbers, & forthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets.

Brudus ſent vnto Alpyne for renuing their league.

After this, he ſent forth his ambaſſadors vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixte the two nations, and to haue the auncient league renued betwixte them.

Alpyn refuſeth any treatie of peace.

Alpine & the Scotiſh lordes hauing quickely aduiſed what to anſwer, declared vnto the Pictiſh ambaſſadors playnly, that they would not heare any treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire.

Brudus ſedeth an ambaſſador vnto Edwyn king of England for ayde with a ſumme of money.

Brudus vnderſtanding by this anſwere, that the Scots would ſtill follow the warres againſt the Picts, to be the better able to withſtand their malice, he purpoſed to procure the friendſhip of the Engliſhmen, to haue their ayde agaynſt the Scottes. He ſent therfore his ambaſſadors with a great ſumme of money vnto Edwyn king of Northumberlande, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue ſome number of his people for his wages to ſerue him againſt the Scots.

The money is receyued & aide promiſed.

Edwyne receyuing the moneye promiſed to come himſelfe with a myghtie armie, at what tyme and place Brudus ſhould appoint, to goe againſt the Scottes in defence of him and his ſubiectes the Pictes.

The picts ſom doe reioyce, and ſome myſtruſt of the engliſhe mens aſsiſtaunce.

Many of the Pictes reioyced greatly, that they ſhould haue ayde thus of the Engliſhmen, hoping therby to haue aſſured victorie of their aduerſaries. Other myſtruſted not a little the Engliſhmens offers, by reaſon of the olde enimitie betwixt the Pictes and them.

The Scotes take Angus.

In this meane ſeaſon the Scots take & ſeaze vpon all the countrey of Angus, euen from the mountain of Granzbene vnto the riuer of Tay, wherof Brudus being certified, ſendeth a poſte with all ſpeede vnto king Edwin king of Northumberland, requiring him to ſend to his ayde, a power of Engliſhmen, to helpe to reſiſte the Scottes, whiche at that preſente inuaded his countrey.

Brudus ſendeth vnto Edwin for ayde.

Edwyn deferreth his ayde.

Unto which demand, Edwyn made this anſwere, that he was not only troubled with ciuile warre made againſt him by other Engliſhmen, but alſo had bin requeſted by Lewes ſurnamed Pius, as then French king in no wyſe to endomage the Scottes his confederates, ſo that for that yeare preſent he might not cōueniently ſend to him any ſuccoures, but if he wold deferre the warres till the nexte yeare, he ſhoulde haue the beſte helpe that he were able to ſhewe hym.

Brudus perceyuing himſelfe thus mocked ⁊ deluded by the engliſhmē, cōmāded by ſolemne ſummonance that all ſuche of his ſubiectes, as were able to beare armor, ſhould aſſemble in nether Calydone within eighte dayes after, wyth conuenable prouiſion of victuals, there to knowe his pleaſure.

Brudus being deceiued of the engliſhmen called his own ſubiects to the warre, aſſembling them at the foot of Calydon wood.

His commaundement was obeyed: ſo that a mightie armie of men at the daye and place appoynted came togither, whiche beeing muſtred, they ſtreight ways remoue vnto Calydon caſtel, now called Dunkeld, where they paſſe the riuer of Tay, and ſo enter into Angus, not without ſome difficultie, but being once gotten ouer, they marche forthwith towardes the place wher they vnderſtood their enimies did lye.

Brudus entereth into Angus with an army.

Brudns the night before the day in the which he thought they ſhould haue battaile, by the aduice of certaine expert warriours, whiche he had with him, appoynted all the horſes that were in the campe, ſeruing for burden, to bee beſtowed amongſt the women, lackeys and coyſtrels, part of them being clad in armure, and part in white lynnen, with long polles in their handes lyke to ſpeares and iauelius. Among them alſo hee ordeyned an hundred horſmen to be placed, whom he made priuie to his entention, as thē by whoſe leadyng that feate which ſhould be wroughte in this behalfe, was to be atchieued. Theſe he cauſed to lye couertly within a wood neere vnto the place where the battaile ſhould be fought, giuing them in cōmaundment not to ſhewe themſelues till the battayle were begon.

A woonderfull polycie vſed by Brudus.

King Alpine this whyle helde himſelfe in a caſtell, whiche ſtode vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, beyng nowe decayed, ſo that litle therof remaineth to be ſeene at this daye. Vpon the north ſide of the hille, there lyeth a greate large playne, compaſſed on eche ſide with mountains as then full of woodes and laundes, but now for the moſt part bare ⁊ without any trees or buſhes In this playne were the Scottes encamped.

The encamping of Alpyn his armie.

Alpine beholding forth of the caſtell, how the Pictes approched to giue battayle, got him into the campe, ⁊ exhorting his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, diſpoſed them in array.

The Pictsno leſſe deſyrous to fight thā their gouernours woulde haue wiſhed them, beganne the battaile before they had commaundemente with ſuch violence, that the righte wing of the Scottes was ſore diſordered.

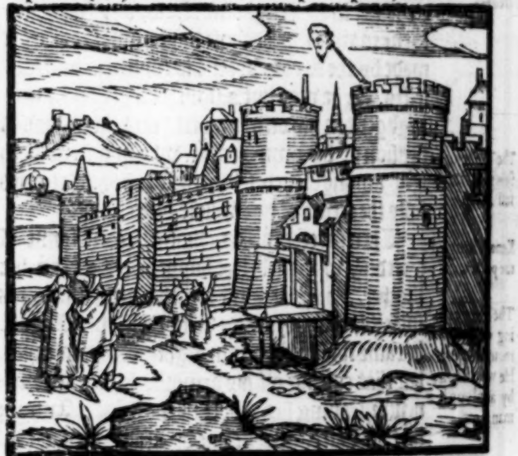
Raſhly the pictes begyn the battayle.

But Alpine perceiuing that, came ſpeedyly to their ſuccours, greatly reprouing them for their fayntneſſe of courage. To be ſhort, he didde ſo muche to enbolden them that by his meanes the fighte was renued in moſte cruell wyſe. In ſo muche that thoſe whiche before were put backe, began to winne grounde agayne, and to beate downe their enimies right fiercely.

But herewith did the counterfaite troupe of horſemen, whiche was hid in the wood ſodainly come forth, and ſhewed themſelues vpon the back half of yͤ Scottiſhmen, appering in ſight to be an huge number, and far more than they were in deede: with whiche ſight the Scottes beeing brought into a ſodain feare leaſt they ſhoulde be compaſſed aboute with multitude of enimies, they brake their aray, threwe off their armoure, and tooke them to their feete, ſo to eſcape ⁊ ſaue themſelues by flight. Thus fewe were ſlayne in the battayle, but a great number died in yͤ chaſe, and were beaten downe on eche ſide as they wer ouertaken by the Picts.

The Scottes being deceiued with a counterfait trowpe of horſmen fled.

Alpine himſelfe was taken, and hauyng his handes bounde behynde him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth yͤ name of him vnto this day, being called Paſalpine. His head alſo was ſet vpon a polle, and borne vnto Camelon, and there ſet vp vpon one of the higheſt turrets of the wall.



King Alpyne taken by hys enemies & after beheaded.

The Scottes that eſcaped from this ſorowfull ouerthrow, got them with all ſpeed into Argyle, wher they inueſted Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine king of their realm. This was in the yere of our Lorde. 834. and the fourthe yeare after Alpyne entred fyrſt into the aſtate.

Kenneth the ſonne of alpine inueſted king of Scotlande.

834.

The Pictes haning atchieued this great and ioyfull victorie, aſſembled at Camelon by commaundement of their king, where cauſing a ſolemne proceſſion to be made, in rendring thanks to almightie God for their good ſucceſſe in theyr paſſed iourney: they take a generall othe vppon the Goſpell booke, that from thenceforth they would not ceaſſe to make the Scottes warre, til they had vtterly deſtroyed the race of them: and herewith ordeyned a law, that if any man made

The Picts giue thankes vnto God, for their victorie.

They make a vowe to contineew the war.

mencion of any peace or league to be had wyth the Scottes, he ſhould loſe his head for it.

The good counſel of graue men is deſpiſed.

There were in deede ſome auncient perſonages amongſt them, that ſpake againſt this inſolent outrage of the people, alledging that in tyme of proſperous ſucceſſe men ought to vſe a modeſtie: but certain youthfull perſons offended with ſuch graue aduiſe, thruſte the authors therof out of the Churche, within the whiche they were as then aſſembled.

The Scots are animated.

The Scottes being certified hereof, were nothing therewith diſcouraged, but rather put in good hope of better ſucceſſe, ſith the enimies abuſed themſelues thus in tyme of felicitie.

The Pictes fall at variaunce within them ſelues.

The next ſommer after, the Pictes aſſembled their power together, and ſetting forwarde towardes the Scottes, thorough a light occaſion they fel at variãce amongſt themſelues, & fought with ſuche hatred together, that the king was not able to apeaſe the fray til nyght parted them in ſunder.

Then calling the lordes afore him, he aſſayde al wayes to haue agreed the parties, but whē he ſaw it would not be, in the morning he gaue thē licence to departe euery man to his owne home, breaking off his iourney for that tyme.

Brudus dyed.

Brudus liued not paſt .iij. moneths after, for through griefe that things wente not forwarde as he wiſhed, he fell into a grieuous diſeaſe, and finally therof dyed.

Druskene king ouer the Pictes.

After whoſe deceaſſe the Pictes choſe his brother named Druſken, to ſucceede in gouernemente of the kingdome, who applied his whole endeuour vpon his firſt entring into the aſtate, to appeaſe the ciuile diſcord amongeſt his ſubiects.

The heade of king Alpine is ſtolne, and ſolemnly buried with the body.

But whileſt he was thus buſily occupied about the ſame, there were certain Scottes, which ſore diſdained to vnderſtand yͤ the head of theyr late king ſhuld remain vnburied in ſuche reprochful ſort amongſt their enimies, wherevpon hauyng perfecte knowledge of the Pictiſhe toung, they fayned themſelues to be merchaunt men of that countrey, and comming vnto Camelon, watched their tyme till they founde meanes in the night ſeaſon, to ſteale to the walles, and ſecretly taking awaye the heade, eſcaped with the ſame home into their owne countreye. This acte of theirs was not a little commended: and ſo now the head of king Alpin being recouered, was cloſed in a leaden coffin, and Kenneth himſelfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmkill, where he buryed it in the abbey, amongſt the ſepultures of his elders, together with the reſidue of the bodye in ryght ſolemne wyſe, as aperteyned. And further thoſe perſons that had put their lyues in aduenture to fetche the ſame head from the walles of Camelon, wer by Kēneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie to remayn to them and to their heires for euer.

Keneth fortified the realem.

After this, Kenneth deuiſing for the ſuretie of his ſubiectes, furniſhed all the holdes and caſtels on the frontiers of his enimies with men & munition, according as he thought expedient. And moreouer toke order, that all the youth of the realme ſhould be in a readineſſe vpon an houres warning, to goe forth againſt the Pictes, if they attempted any new inuaſions.

But the Scottiſh lordes had no great luſt to take any enterpriſe in hand eftſoones againſt the Pictes, remembring how infortunatly they had ſped the laſt time: ſo that for the ſpace of .iij. yeares there was no great exployte atchieued, ſaue certaine roades and incurſions, whiche both the nations cōtinually vſed to make one vpon an other, as tyme and occaſion ſerued.

Keneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

At length king Kenneth beeing very deſirous to be reuenged of the Pictes, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted againſt the Scottiſh natiō, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, he aſſembled the peeres and chiefeſt nobles of his realme, truſting to perſuade them to ayd him in al ſuch enterpriſes as he mente to take in hand againſt the Pictes, whom he purpoſed to purſue with opē warres, till he had them at his pleaſure.

But calling his lordes and peeres thus aſſembled one day before him, and going earneſtly about to moue them to the warres, he could ſtir them no more to his purpoſe, than if he had ben in hand to haue cōſelled them vnto that which in no wyſe had appertained vnto their ducties: which their lacke of ſtomacks, Kenneth perceyuing, he began to deuiſe a pretie ſhift, wherby to induce them to his accorde.

A pretie ſhifte deuiſed by the king to perſwade the nobilitie.

Firſt therfore, breaking vp the aſſemblie for the ſame day, he cōmaunded yͭ they ſhould come togither agayne on the next morow, to conſult further for the ſtate of the realme, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. The ſame euening alſo hee had them all to ſupper, whiche being prolonged tyll farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, ſo that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to reſte, they were ſone broughte into a ſound ſleepe: Now had the king appointed for euery one of their chambers one man apparelled in garmentes pretily deuiſed and made of fyſhe ſkinnes vnſkaled, bearing in one of their hands a ſtaffe of ſuche rotten woode, as ſhyneth in the night, and in their other hand a great oxe horn, to the ende that vttering their wordes thorough the ſame, the ſound of their voyces ſhoulde ſeeme farre differing from the vſuall ſpeeche of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to eche of them aſſigned, where (as is ſayd) the lordes laye faſte a ſleepe, who being at the firſt as it were half awakened, were wonderfully amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſight (doubting whether it wer but a dreame or ſome true and vnfayned viſion.) Herewith alſo were heard certaine ſeueral voyces, farre greater than thoſe of men, declaring that they were meſſengers ſente from almightie God vnto the Scottiſh nobilitie, to commaunde them to obey their king, for his requeſt was iuſt: The Pictiſh kingdome due vnto him by rightefull heritage, ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offẽces and ſinnes towards almightie god ſhould ſhortly come to vtter deſtruction: ſuch was the determinate pleaſure of his diuine maieſtie, againſt the whiche might neyther coũſell nor puiſſance of man be able to reſiſt.

Of ſuch ſlightes there were many in theſe dayes: and oftentimes no doubt eſteemed to be heauenly viſions in deede.

When the counterfaited meſſengers had thus made an ende of their wordes, they ſlighly hid their ſtaues vnder their innermoſt garmentes, & therwith quikly cõueyd their vppermoſt veſtures made of fiſh ſkales (as I haue ſaid) into their boſoms in ſuche ſlight and nimble wyſe, that it ſemed theſe viſions had ſodeynly vaniſhed away.

Thoſe lordes that had ſeene theſe ſightes, lay ſtill for that night, greatly muſing on the mater. In the morning being got vp, and aſſembled in the counſell chamber, they declared to eche other what they had ſeene and heard in the nyght paſſed, and for that all their viſions which they had ſeene by eche others reporte, were in euery behalfe lyke, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleeued verily, that it was ſome celeſtiall oracle and meſſage ſent from God. Therefore preſently they goe vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had been admoniſhed from aboue, to continue the warres with all their forces againſt the Pictes.

The lords declare their viſion vnto the king.

The king tolde them he had ſeene the like viſion, but they ought to kepe it cloſe, leaſt by glorying too much in the fauour ſhewed by almightie God towardes them, they myghte haply diſpleaſe his diuine Maieſtie, which otherwiſe they might perceyue was readie in their ayde. Then finally might the viſion be publiſhed, when thorough his fauourable aſſiſtance, the warres were brought to a luckie ende.

The anſwer of king Kenneth

This aduiſe of the kyng was well lyked of them all, and commaundement giuen, that all maner of prouiſion ſhoulde be prepared with all ſpeede for an armie to be ſet forth into Pictland. The lordes going buſily about to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie, muſtred their men in all partes, ſo that there was leuied a greater hoſte than had bin ſeene in thoſe parties of long tyme before.

When the whole power was come togyther, Kenneth marched forth with the ſame, entring by greate violence into the Pictiſhe borders about Sterling.

Kenneth entred into Starlingſhire.

Druſkene the king of Pictes aduertiſed hereof, and hauing his armie in a readineſſe bothe of Pictes and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had retained to ſerue him for his wages, fetcheth a compaſſe about, and paſſing by the Scottiſhe armie in the night, encampeth betwixt them and home, in ſo muche that the daye did no ſooner appeare, but the one parte deſirous to be in hande with the other, without token of trumpet or commandement of capitayne, they ruſhed togither moſte fiercely. The haſtie ſpede of the Pictes to ioyn, put them to no ſmall diſaduantage, but the departure of the Engliſhmen, withdrawing themſelues aſyde to the next mountayne, moſte of all diſcouraged them: for the Scottes therwith giuing a ſhoute, declared themſelues to bee highly recomforted with that ſight.

Druskene haſtily inuaded his enimies.

The Engliſhmen fled.

Druſkene in all haſt ſent vnto thoſe Engliſhmen a meſſenger, willing them with large promiſes of rewarde to returne to his ayde: but the Engliſhmen aunſwered, that their vſe was not to fyght without order and cõmaundemente of their generall, and that the Pictes lyke vnſkilful men had caſt away themſelues to bee ſlayne by the enemies hande: where it appertained vnto warlyke knowledge to auoyde the battail, when no hope of victorie appeared.

Druskene ſendeth to the Engliſhmen.

The middle warde of the Pictes ſeing themſelues left naked on the one ſyde, and aſſayled on the backes where the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue kept their grounde and defended them, they began to ſhrinke: which the Scottes perceyuing, ſtroke on the more freſhly, til at length the Picts not able to withſtand their force, fell to running away. They made their courſe towards the water of Forth, whiche was not farre from the place of the battaile, where beeing ouertaken, they were beaten downe and ſlayne in greate numbers: for Kenneth gaue cõmandement that they ſhuld ſpare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, yͭ fel into their handes.

The Pictes are vanquiſhed.

The Engliſhemen whyleſt the Scottes and Pictes were thus occupyed in the fyghte and chaſe, withdrewe homewardes with all ſpeede, and by reaſon of the mountaynes whiche they had to paſſe, that tooke awaye the ſight of them from the Scottes, they eſcaped into their countrey without any purſuite.

The Engliſhmen eſcape.

Druſkene himſelfe ſo ſoone as hee perceyued howe the field went againſt him, got him to his horſe, which he hadde appoynted to bee readie for him at hande vpon all occaſions, and ſo eſcaped out of daunger with a fewe other in his companye.

Druskene eſcaped by flight.

The Scottes returning from the chaſe, remayned in the place of the battayle all nyghte, keeping ſtrong watche aboute their campe, for doubt leaſt the Engliſhmen had bene lodged in ſome ſecrete place nere by to haue ſet vpon thẽ at vnwares, if they might haue ſeene any aduauntage; but in the morning when it was knowne howe they were quite gone their wayes, and returned into theyr countreye (as before yee haue hearde) then was the ſpoile of the fielde and Pictiſhe Campe gathered and beſtowed amongeſt the ſouldiers, after the auncient cuſtome of that natiõ. And then were they al licenced to departe euery man to his home, with thankes for their ſeruice and paines in this iourney ſo manfully employed.

The Pictes ſue for peace.

Within fewe dayes after, the Pictiſh king Druſkene ſent his ambaſſadors vnto king Kenneth to ſue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare them, and promiſed to graunt a peace, ſo they would ſurrender into his handes the gouernement of their kingdom due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterly refuſed of the Picts, was ỹ cauſe that the war was eftſones renewed with more crueltie than before. The yeare nexte enſuing this battayle, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fyfe into his handes, furniſhing all the caſtels and holdes with men, munition, and vittuals. But whyleſt hee went about to ſubdue the countreis about Sterlyng, worde was brought him that ſuche as he left thus in gariſon in thoſe countreys, were betrayed by the inhabitauntes, and ſlayne euerye mothers ſonne.

Kenneth getteth Mernes, Angus, and Fyfe.

Kenneth wonderfully kindled in wrathe for the newes, left off his treatie which thẽ he had in hande with the people of Menteth and Sterlingſhire for their ſubmiſſion, and returned in greate haſt towardes Fyfe, where being arriued, he put all to the fire and ſworde, not leauing one alyue of the Pictiſhe nation within all thoſe quarters.

Fyfe is put to the fyre and ſworde.

The lyke crueltie was ſhewed thorough the whole countreys of Mernes and Angus, for an enſample to other to beware howe they falſifyed their fayths once giuen by way of allegiance.

Mernes & Angus is cruelly puniſhed.

In the meane tyme that Kenneth with hys Scottes raged in ſuche wyſe throughe thoſe countreys, Druſkene aſſembling all the power of his countreyes, came forthe into the fielde, to meete the Scottes, meaning eyther to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, eyther elſe to dye with honoure in the attempte therof.

Druskene commeth to reſkue his people.

Thus paſſing through ỹ cõtrey, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwardes ſtod a famous Abbey of Chanons of Saint Auguſtines order, and here he found Kenneth with his army already encãped. The next day when both parties were ready to haue giuen battell, Druſkene wiſhing rather to aſke peace whileſt his power was yet in ſafetie, then after he were once vanquiſhed (if ſuch were his miſaduẽture) to intreate for the ſame in vaine, ſent an heraulde at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before they ioyned, for that he had to ſay certaine things whiche being followed might turne to the great benefite and commoditie of both the Scottiſh and Pictiſh nations.

Kenneth for that he would not ſeeme to refuſe any indifferent offers, was cõtented to come to a cõmunication, & ſo therupon both the kings in preſence of both their armies arraunged in the field ready to fight, came togither in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the heraulds it was accorded.

Here Druſkene with many reaſons going about to perſwade peace, ſhewed howe neceſſary the ſame was betwixt the two nations. And againe how doubtfull fortune was to them that truſted ſo much in hir vnſtedfaſt fauour, at lẽgth he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be cõtẽted to graunt a peace, the Picts ſhould releaſe al ſuch right, title and intereſt as they had in the countreys of Mernes, Angus, & Fyfe, vnto him and his ſucceſſors the Scottiſh kings for euer, ſo that he ſhould make no further clayme to any other of thoſe countreys whiche the Pictes as yet poſſeſſed.

The perſuaſion of peace by Druskene.

Mernes, Angus and Fyfe is required of the Pictes to releaſe.

Herevnto Kenneth anſweared, that he well vnderſtoode how vnſtable fortunes lawes were, but ſithence the Pictes fought in an vniuſt quarell, as to defraude the poſteritie of theyr lawfull king Hungus, who lately reigned amongſt thẽ of the rightfull inheritaunce of theyr kingdome, they themſelues had iuſt cauſe to doubt fortunes chaunce, where the Scots hauing put vpõ lawful armure, and ſeeking to attaine that by warre, whiche by other meanes they could not attayne at the handes of the vniuſt poſſeſſors, they had leſſe cauſe to miſtruſt hys fauour, and therefore if the Pictes were deſirous of peace, they ought to cauſe a ſurrender to be made of theyr kingdome into his handes, accordingly as they well knewe it was reaſon they ſhoulde: and what commoditie might thereof enſue to both nations being by ſuche meanes once ioyned & vnited into one entier kingdome, hee doubted not but they vnderſtoode it ſufficiently enough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainely there would be none accepted.

Kenneth his anſwere.

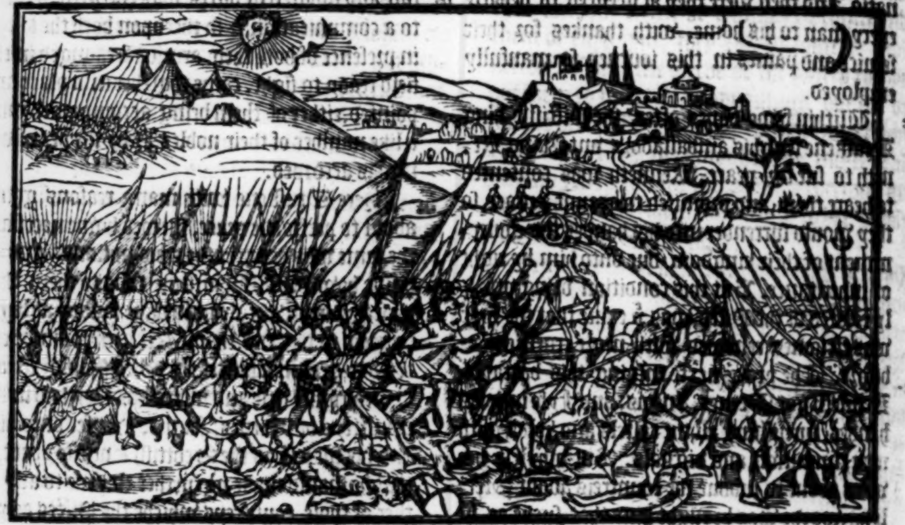
Thus did the kings depart in ſunder, without any agreement concluded: and being returned to theyr armies, they make ready to trie the matter by dinte of ſworde.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to ſhew themſelues menne, ſithe the ſame ſhoulde iudge whether the Scottes ſhoulde rule and gouerne, the Pictes, or the Pictes the Scottes.

The order of the battaile.

Wyth theſe and many other effectual wordes when he hadde encouraged his folkes to the battayle, hee deuided them into three wardes, as two wings and a mayne battayle. In euery of them he ſet fyrſt archers & arkbaleſters, and next vnto them pykes or ſpeares, then bill men and other with ſuche ſhorte weapons, laſt of all, an other multitude with all kynde of weapons as was thought moſte expedient.

The forewarde was committed to the leading of one Bar, a man right ſkilfull in all warlyke knowledge. The ſeconde one Dongal gouerned, and the thirde was leade by Donald the kings brother. The king himſelfe with a troupe of horſemen followed them to ſuccour in all places where he ſaw neede.



Then commanded he his trumpets to ſound to the battail, which the Scots began with ſuch a cheareful ſhoute, that the Pictes euen vpon the firſt onſet were ſo amazed, that if Druſken had not with comfortable wordes relieued their fainting ſtomakes, the moſt part of them had fledde without any ſtroke ſtricken. But beeing encouraged through the preſence of their kyng, ſhewing himſelfe with cheareful countenanuce amongſt them, and therewith exhorting them to ſtande by him at that preſent, there was fought a ryghte ſore and cruell battaile betweene them.

King Druſken enboldeneth his people the pictes.

The women that were amongeſt the Pictes, of whome there was no ſmall number, ſpecially in the right wing, made ſuche a woeful noyſe when they behelde the men one kill an other, that they were a more encumber to the Picts, thā ayd when it came to the poynt of ſeruice: by reaſon wherof, that wing was ſhortly beaten downe, and put to flight.

The women were a cumber to the pictes.

Whiche when Kenneth behelde, hee ſette in with his horſemen on the backes of the Pictes, now left bare by the running thus away of thoſe in the foreſayd wing: and ſo entring in amongſt them, diſordred their aray in ſuche wiſe, that by no meanes they were able to ayde themſelues, or come into any order agayne, ſo that in the ende they were fayne to throw down their weapons, and take them to their feete, thereby to eſcape the daunger.

Kenneth with the horſmen diſordred the pictes aray.

The right wing of the pictes is put to flighte.

Suche heapes of ſlayne men, armure & weapons lay here ſtrewed in the place of the battail, that the Scottes were inforced in followyng the chaſe to breake their araye, ſo to paſſe the more ſpeedily: by meanes wherof, fallyng amongeſt whole bandes of the Pictes, manye of them were ſlayne.

This miſchiefe Kenneth perceyuing, cōmandeth to ſound the retreat, & ſo gathering his people about their ſtanderdes, he appointed certaine cōpanies in warlyke order to purſue in chaſe of the enemies, whileſt he himſelfe with the reſidue aboade ſtill in the place (where the fielde was fought) al that day & the night nexte folowing.

Kenneth cauſeth the retreate to bee ſounded.

The Scottiſhe captaines that were ſente to followe the chaſe, earneſtly in executyng theyr kinges commaundement, made greate ſlaughter of the Pictes in all places where they might ouertake them.

Druſkene the Pictiſhe king himſelfe beeyng purſued to the riuer of Tay, for that he could not paſſe the ſame, was there ſlaine with the whole retinue which he had about him.

The king of the picts ſlain.

It is ſayde, that the Scottiſhemen encountred with the Picts that day ſeuen ſundry times, and in ſeuen ſundry places, and ſtill the victorie abode with the Scottes.

The day after the battaile ſuche as had folowed in the chaſe returned to the camp, where they preſented vnto Kenneth their king, the armure and other ſpoyle of Druſkene the Pictiſh king, which they brought with thē, beſides great aboundance of other pillage and riches, whiche they had got of the enimies that were ſlayne. Diademes armure and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to S. Colme, in the Churche dedicated to his name within the Iſle of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monument of this victorie to ſuch as ſhould come after.

After this the whole pray and ſpoyle was gathered and deuided amongſt the ſouldiers, Kenneth was counſelled to haue diſcharged his armie and to haue departed home, but he purpoſing now to make an ende of the whole warres, ſithe he was in ſuche a forwardneſſe, called togither the multitude, and in this wiſe began to vtter vnto them his minde and purpoſe.

An oration of king Keneth.

It is the duetie of a good Captayne, when he hath the victory in his handes, and as yet the warres not ended, if he minde the preſeruation of himſelfe and his countrey, and to vſe the victorie as hee ought, not to ceaſſe from purſuing the enimies once vanquiſhed, till hee haue eyther made them his frendes, or elſe vtterly deſtroyed and ridde them out of the way: for if any man ſhall thinke it beſte to ſuffer the enimie to remayne in quiet after he be once weakened and brought to a lowe ebbe, till time peraduenture he ſhall haue recouered his forces agayne, he ſhall procure to himſelfe (as I geſſe) more daunger than happely hee is well ware of. And that we may ſpeake ſomewhat of this daunger now preſent, the ſtate of the Pictiſhe kingdome (as yee know) is ſore enfeebled, theyr power being diminiſhed by force of warre, is brought to that poynt, that it reſteth in our handes vtterly to deſtroy and exterminate the whole nation. Whiche act ought to be abhorred if it were poſſible for vs by any meanes to drawe them (our honour ſaued) vnto our frendſhippe. But the Picts are of ſuch a ſtubborne nature, and ſo deſirous of reuenge, that ſo long as there remayneth any one of them aliue, they will beare in theyr hartes a deſire to reuenge all ſuche loſſes as they haue in any wyſe ſuſtayned by this warre. Whereupon I do verily beleeue that there is none of the Pictiſhe nation from hence forth, will beare any faythfull frendſhip towardes the Scottes. Therefore ſithe wee can not make the Pictes, thus lately ſcourged by vs, our frendes, I thinke it beſte (excepte wee will neglect our owne ſafeties) vtterly to deſtroy the whole nation, by putting to the ſworde not onely bothe men and women, but alſo all theyr youth and yong chyldren: leaſt they, beyng diſcended of that lynage, hereafter in time to come, arme themſelues to the reuenge of theyr parentes deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter loſſe of our countrey and kingdome.

The commons allowe the kings ſaying.

This ſentence of the king, though it ſeemed ouer cruell to many, yet whether for that they ſawe the ſame to ſtande with the kings pleaſure, or that they thought it moſte expedient for the ſuretie of the Scottiſhe common wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all.

A cruel acte committed by the Scots vpon the Pictes.

Such crueltie hereupon was forthwith ſhewed through out all the Pictiſh regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humaine ſhape left aliue, ſauing ſuch as ſaued themſelues within the walles of Camelon, or in certaine other holdes and fortreſſes, and alſo aboute two thouſande of thoſe that fledde into Englande: for all the reſidue were moſte vnmercyfully murthered and ſlayne without reſpect eyther to age, ſexe, profeſſion, or eſtate.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

Thus Kenneth hauing diſpatched the inhabitants, ſeaſed the countrey into his owne handes, making particion of the ſame as he ſawe cauſe, and deuiding it amongſt his nobles, accordyng to the merites of euery of them duely wayed and conſidered, he added newe names alſo vnto euery quarter and region (eyther after the name of the gouernour, or els of ſome promontorie, riuer or other notable water or place, accordyng as was the auncient cuſtome of the nation) that the memory of the Pictiſhe names might ende togither with the inhabitants.

Newe names are giuen vnto euery region.

The countrey auncientlie called *Horeſtia*, was giuen vnto two brethren, Anguſian and Mernan, by reaſon whereof the one parte of the ſame countrey was called Angus, and the other the Mernes. The linage of thoſe two noble men remayne vnto this day.

Angus.
Merne.

The region whiche till then was named *Othelinia*, was turned afterwardes to the name of Fyfe, after the name of one Fyfe Duffe: whoſe valiancie was throughly tried in theſe laſte warres with the Pictes.

Fyfe.

There remayne vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a Caſtell ſituate betwixt the riuer of Leuine and Saint Kenneths churche, which (as yet appeareth) was fenſed about with ſeuen rampers and as many diches, wherein the poſteritie of this worthy man after his deceaſſe had theyr habitacion by the ſpace of many hundred yeares.

Louthian.

Louthian reteyned ſtill the former name, ſo honorable was the remembraunce of that famous Prince king Loth amongſt all men.

A rewarde giuen vnto Bar, which was the fortreſſe of Dunbar.

The ſtrongeſt caſtle of the whole countrey Kenneth beſtowed vpon that valiant Capitaine named Bar, whoſe councell and forwarde ſeruice ſtood the Scottes in no ſmall ſteede in thoſe warres, in whiche the Pictes were thus ſubdued. That fortreſſe euer ſithence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar, that is to ſay, the Caſtell of Bar.

The famelie of Dunbar.

There deſcended of hym a noble houſe or family bearyng the name of this Caſtell, continuing in greate fame and honour, euen vnto our tyme, of the whiche the Earles of Marche had theyr beginniug, and continued long in that dignitie from one to an other, with diuers branches of right famous memorie.

The changyng of the names of the Dales.

The names of diuers dales were alſo chaunged, and ſome kepte the olde names ſtill.

Annandale.

Ordolucia ſhortely after beganne to take the name of Annandale, of the ryuer of Annan, that renneth through the ſame.

Tweedale.

And ſo lykewiſe Tweedale toke name of the water of Tweede.

Cludeſdale.

And Cludeſdale of the ryuer of Clud.

In lyke maner many other Countreys, Townes and Caſtels had theyr names chaunged at the ſame tyme, after they came into the poſſeſſion of the Scottiſhmenne, vpon ſundrie conſiderations, for a witneſſe of theyr victorious actes, atchieued agaynſt the Pictes.

The Gentlewomen are preſerued in Camelon.

Furthermore into the citie of Camelon were withdrawen the moſte parte of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts with their chyldren vpõ truſte to be ſafe in the ſame, aſwell by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, as alſo of the ſtrong garyſon whiche was appoynted to defende it.

Kenneth ſendeth vnto Camelon, commaunding thẽ for to yeelde.

Kenneth therefore hauyng taken his pleaſure abroade in the countrey, came thyther with a mighty armie to beſiege the Citie, and firſte ſendyng vnto them within, to knowe if they woulde yeelde, he was aunſwered howe ſithe it plainely appeared that the Scottes coulde be ſatiſfied with nothing but with the ſlaughter of all ſuche as fell into theyr handes, aſwell of women and chyldren, with impotent age, as of other, they were minded neuer to ſurrender theyr holde with lyfe. Whereupon the ſiege continued by the ſpace of many dayes.

They of Camelon require truce for three dayes.

Whyleſt the Scottes in the meane tyme gotte togither greate number of faggottes, and other ſuche bruſheand ſtuffe to fill the ditches withall whiche were very deepe and broade, at length when they within beganne to want vitayles, they requyred a truce for three dayes, in the whiche meane time they might take aduiſe for the ſurrender of the Citie.

Kenneth miſtruſting no deceyt, graunted theyr requeſt, and thereupon commaunded his people to ceaſſe from all maner of annoyance of the enimies, for that terme.

The Pictes iſſue vpon the Scottes with great fortune.

But in the meane tyme the Pictes prepared themſelues of all things neceſſary to make an iſſue vpon the Scottes. There was alſo an olde gate forlet and ſtopped vp with earth and ſtones vpon the one ſide of the Citie, ſo that of a long tyme before there had bene no way forth by the ſame, wherefore in the darke of the night the Pictes ridding away the earth and ramell wherewith it was cloſed vp, aboute the thyrd watche, they paſſe forth at that gate in good order of battayle, ſetting firſte vpon ſuche Scottes as kepte the ſtandyng watche, who were in doubte of nothing leſſe than of any iſſue to be made on that ſide, by meanes whereof they were eaſily oppreſſed, and likewiſe the other that kepte the inner watche, in ſo muche that the ſlaughter went on almoſte, euen to the kings tent with greate noyſe and clamour, as is commonly ſeene in ſuche ſodayne tumultes, eſpecially chauncyng in the night ſeaſon. When the day began once to appeare, the Pictes withdrawyng towardes the Citie by the ſame way they came, were purſued by the Scottes, and no ſmall number of them ſlayne at the entring. The Citie alſo had bene taken at the ſame time, but that the Pictes out of the turrettes and loupes of the walles, diſcharged a wonderfull number of quarrelles, dartes, arrowes, ſtones and other things vppon the Scottes, as they approched neare to the gate, where theyr fellowes (that made the iſſue) haſted to enter againe into the towne.

An extreeme vowe made by king Kenneth.

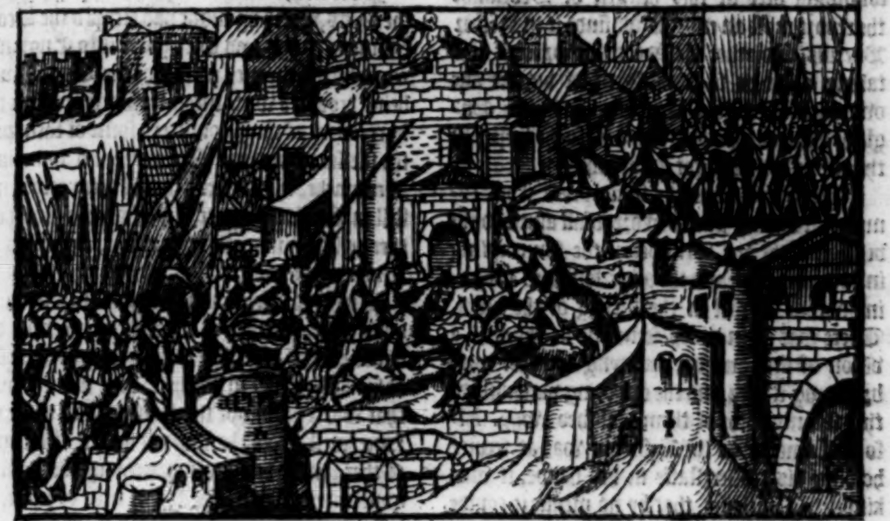
There were ſlayne of the Scottes at this bickeryng aboue ſixe hundred, wherewith Kenneth was ſo kindeled with wrath, that deteſting the falſehood of the Pictes, hee vowed by open othe that he woulde not departe from the ſiege, till he had put the citie and them within to the fire and ſworde, without ſparing of any, eyther one or other.

The conflicte of the Pictes whẽ they were beſieged.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wonne the citie by force of aſſaulte, but the Pictes ſtill defended theyr walles ſo ſtoutly, that he coulde not atchieue his purpoſe. Whereupon the ſiege continued the ſpace of foure monethes togither. So that ſuche ſcarcetie of all kindes of vitayles ſtill roſe amongſt them, that the wretched Citezins abſtayned from nothing that might in any wiſe be eaten, though it were neuer ſo much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought vnto ſuche miſerable ſtay, that there was no hope longer to defende themſelues, if any man notwithſtanding all ſuche extremitie were hearde to make mencion of ſurrendring, he was forthwith ſlayne by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths othe made them ſo obſtinate in theyr wilfull contumacie, bycauſe they ſawe nothing but death whiche way ſo euer they inclined.

A pretty crafte vſed by Kenneth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreeme miſery, & the diches filled with faggottes and other ſuche ſtuffe, Kenneth one night appoynted ſixe hundreth of his choyſeſt Souldiers to lie in ambuſhe within a wood, adioynyng neare to one ſide of the Citie, ſo that in the morning when he ſhoulde gyue the aſſaulte on the contrary ſide; they might ſodenly come forth and ſkale the walles on that other.



Theſe ſouldiers according to that whiche they had in commaundement, ſhortely after the breake of day, hearyng that Kenneth had begon the aſſault on his parte, quickely came forth of the wood, and hauing theyr ladders ready, came to the walles, reared them vp, and ſwiftely getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one parte of the army entred, the cytezins ſtanding in no doubt at all of any attempt on that ſide, ſo as beyng gotten togither to defende the walles on that parte where Kenneth gaue the approche, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on theyr backes they were wonderfully amazed, but yet ſo long as they were able to make any reſiſtāce, they did what lay in theyr vttermoſte power to beate backe the Scots, & to dryue them out of the citie againe. The ſlaughter therefore was great whiche the Scottes made of the Pictes in euery corner of the ſtreetes, in ſo muche that the Scottiſhe Lordes and other Captaynes in reuenge of the late receyued loſſe of theyr men through the falſe practiſed policie of the Pictes, commaunded in a greate furie to ſette fire on the houſes, and to kill and ſlea all ſuche of the Pictiſhe nation as came in theyr way.

The Scottes enter the citie.

The Pictes are miſerably ſlaine without regard of perſon.

Thus the murder proceeded vpon al eſtates, aſwell religious as other, and lykewiſe vppon women and chyldren without any difference.

A number of Ladyes and Gentlewomen, gettyng them into the preſence of kyng Kenneth, beſought him in moſte lamentable wiſe, to haue pytie vpon theyr wofull eſtate, and to ſaue theyr lyues from the handes of his moſte cruell ſouldiers. But ſuche was the rage kindled in the Scottiſhmens hartes, that there was no more fauour ſhewed towardes them than towardes the other, and ſo immediatly were they alſo ſlayne without all compaſſion.

Ladies and Gentlewomen deſire the king to bee pardoned of their liues.

So farre forth was the murder executed on all handes, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictiſh nation, neither man, women nor childe to bewayle that miſerable deſtruction of theyr countrey and kinſfolkes. Then were the walles throwen downe and made euen with the plaine grounde. The houſes and buyldings aſwell priuate as publike with the churches & chapels were ſet on fire, and that which might not be cōſumed with the rage of fire was ruynate and deſtroyed with hande, ſo that there remayned of all that famous citie, nothing but the aſhes with heapes of the broken and brenned ſtones, and likewiſe of the pauement and fundacion of ſome parte of the walles.

All the Pictes natiō deſtroyed.

The citie of Camelon is throwē down.

The ſame time the caſtell of Maydens now called commonly Edenburgh caſtell was ſtill kept with a mightie garyſon of Pictes, but they hearing of the miſerable deſtructiō of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like miſchaunce, left the caſtel voyde, and fled into Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Pictes in Albion in the yeare after they firſte began to reigne therein: 1173. and in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 839: from the firſt cōming of Fergus. 1166: and after the creation of the worlde. 4806. if the Scottiſh chronicles be true.

The caſtell of Maydens is left of the Pictes.

839.

1421. H.B.

6038:H.B.

But where as the truthe concernyng the tyme of the firſte comming into this Iſle, aſwell of the Scottes as Pictes reſteth doubtfull, and that aſwell by authoritie of approued wryters, as by reaſonable coniectures, wee haue in the Hiſtorie of Englande more largely written therof. Wee referre thoſe that bee deſirous to ſee further of that mater, vnto the ſame, following here in this hiſtorie of Scotlande the report moſt an ende, as we finde it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottiſhe wryters, not taking vpon vs ſo frankely to ſet downe our owne opinion in this Scottiſhe, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie through want of ſuche helpes in the one as we haue got in the other.

Prodigious tokens ſeene in the ayre.

There was ſeene the ſame yeare two cometes, or blaſing ſtarres of dreadfull aſpect to the beholders, the one went before the ſunne ryſing in harueſt ſeaſon, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the ſpring of the yeare. There was often times ſeene alſo in the ayre a viſion of firie armies, runnyng togither with brennyng ſtaues, and the one being vanquiſhed, they ſodenly bothe of them vaniſhed away. Alſo at Camelon as the Biſhoppe was at ſeruice holding his croſier ſtaffe in his hande, it was kindeled ſo with fire, that by no meane it coulde be quenched til it was brent euen to aſhes. About noone dayes, the ayre being fayre and cleare, as well in the countreys of the Scottes as of the Pictes, there was heard ſuch a noyſe & clattering of weapons and armure with braying of horſes, as though two armies ſhoulde haue bene togither in fight, whereby many of eyther nation which heard it, were put in great feare.

The interpretation of theſe tokens.

Theſe vnkouth wonders were interpreted by deuinors diuerſly: ſome affirming the ſame to betoken ioy and happie proſperitie, and other alledgyng, how they ſignified rather miſhap and vtter calamitie.

The marble ſtone is remoued frō Argile into Goury, in the place called Scone.

But to returne to our purpoſe, King Keneth hauing thus deſtroyed the Pictiſh kingdome togither almoſt with the whole nation, cauſed the marble ſtone (whiche Symon Breke ſometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, & the firſte Ferguſe out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile, where till that time it had bene diligently kepte) into Goury, whiche region before appertayned to the Pictes, there to remaine from thenceforth as a ſacred token for the ſtabliſhment of the Scottiſhe kingdome in that coūtrey: he placed it at Scone vpō a reyſed plot of ground there, bicauſe that the laſt batayle whiche he had with the Pictes was fought neare vnto the ſame place, the victory as before is ſpecified chaūcing to the Scots. Vpon this ſtone, as before is rehearſed, the Scottiſhe kings were vſed to ſit, when they receyued the inueſture of the kingdome.

Some wryters haue recorded that by commaundement of Kenneth at the ſame time, whē this ſtone was thus by him remoued, thoſe latine verſes were engrauen vpon it, whereof mencion is made before, where we ſpake of the aforeſayd Ferguſe the firſt his cōming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion. there to reygne.

The reſidue of the Picts were diſperſed.

Now in the meane time when thoſe fewe of the Picts, which by flight had eſcaped the Scottiſhmens hands, and were gottē into England, could by no meanes perſwade the Engliſhmen being troubled with inteſtine warre, to ayde thē in recouery of theyr countrey, ſome of them paſſed the ſeas ouer into Norway, and ſome into Denmarke, and diuers other of them remayned ſtill in England, where they got theyr liuing eyther by ſome manuall occupation, eyther els by ſeruice in the warres.

The Scottes liue in quiet.

The Scots from thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of king Kenneth, who deſerued eternal fame, by the enlarging of the boūds of his kingdome, ſo mightily and in ſuche wiſe, that where he founde the fronters, hee made the ſame well neare the middeſt of his kingdome. Other things he did alſo touchyng the politike gouernment of his ſubiectes in time of peace, no leſſe worthie of prayſe than his noble & famous conqueſtes: but ſpecially he ordeyned certayne lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers ſhould procede in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, of the whiche I haue thought requiſite to rehearſe parte as yet beyng vſed, that aſwell the Author, as the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, may the better appeare, to ſuche as ſhall peruſe this hiſtorie.

Kenneth maketh lawes and ordinances.

The Chapters of thoſe lawes whiche yet remayne to be obſerued, are theſe.

Lawyers neceſſarie.

Let euery ſhyre haue certayne men ſkilled in the lawes appoynted to bee reſident in the ſame, accordyng as in the beginning it was inſtituted. Let theyr ſonnes alſo in theyr youth bee brought vp in knowledge of the ſame lawes.

The tables of the law to be kept.

Let them only kepe in their cuſtodies the tables of the lawes, with the regiſter bookes of the kings and peeres of the realme.

Brybers to be hanged.

If any of them be conuicted of extortie brybing or other the like vniuſt dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remayne vnburied.

Puniſhmēt for theft and murther.

Such as are condemned for theft, let them be hanged, and thoſe that are proued giltie of murder, let them loſe theyr heades.

A woman cōdemned to be drowned, or buried quick.

A woman which is condemned to die, eyther let hyr be drowned in ſome riuer, eyther els let hyr be buried quicke.

Blaſphemers haue their toūgs cut out.

He that blaſphemeth the name of God, of the Saintes, of his Prince, or of the Captayne of his trybe, lette him haue his toungue cut out.

The puniſhmēt for a lier.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbors hinderance, let him haue his ſworde taken from him, & be baniſhed out of all mens companie.

A man accuſed to be cōdemned by an od queſt of men.

Suche as be accuſed of any crimes that deſerue death, let them paſſe by the ſentence of. vij. honeſt men, eyther els of. ix. xj. xiij. xv. or moe, ſo that the number be odde.

Robbers to be put to the ſworde.

Robbers by the highe wayes, deſtroyers of corne growyng in the fieldes as is vſed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the ſword.

Vagaboundes to be whipped and burnt in the cheeke.

Fugetiues, vagaboundes, and ſuch other idle perſons, let them be whipped and brenned in the cheeke.

The wife ſhall not ſuffer for the husbandes offence.

Let not the wife ſuffer for the huſbandes offences, but the huſbād ſhal anſwere for the wifes miſdeedes if he be priuie therevnto.

The cōcubine and hyr mate, to haue a lyke puniſhment.

Any mans lemman or concubine, ſhall ſuffer the ſame paynes that he dothe whiche offendeth with hyr.

Rauiſhers of maydes ſhall die.

Hee that rauiſheth a mayde ſhall die for it, onleſſe ſhe requyre for ſauegarde of his life, to haue him to hyr huſband.

Aduoutrers ſhall die.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adultrie, ſhe conſenting vnto him therein, they ſhall bothe ſuffer death for it. But if ſhee conſent not but be forced agaynſt hyr will, then he ſhall die onely for the ſame, and the woman ſhall be releaſſed.

A childe hurting his father ſhall die.

If the childe hurt the father either with tung, hande, or foote, let him firſt be depryued of that member, and then hanged, his body to remayne without buriall.

Who are not to enherite.

A murderer a dumbe perſon, or he that is vnthankefull to his parentes, ſhall not inherite his fathers patrimonie.

Iugglers and Wiſertes &c.

Iugglers, Wyſertes, Nicromancers and ſuch as call vp ſpyrytes, and vſe to ſeeke vpō them for helpe, let them be brent to death.

Sowyng of grayne.

Let no man ſow in the earth any grayne before it be purged of all the weedes.

Euill husbandry.

Hee that through negligent ſlouth, ſuffereth his errable grounde to bee choked vp and ouergrowen with weedes, for the firſte faulte lette him forfeyt an oxe, for the ſecond ten oxen, and for the third let him forgoe the ſame grounde.

Buriall of friends.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend beyng ſlayne, ſee him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied.

Wayſes and ſtreyſes.

Any ſtrayſe catayle that commeth into thy groundes, eyther reſtore them to the owner, eyther els deliuer thē to the ſearcher out of theeues, commonly called *Tonoderach*, or to the perſon or vycar of the towne: for if thou retayne them in thy handes by the ſpace of three dayes, thou ſhalt be accompted giltie of thefte.

Things found.

He that findeth any thing that belongeth to an other man, lette him cauſe it to be cried in the market, or els hee ſhalbe iudged for a fellon.

Aduerſaries in ſuyte of law.

He that ſtriketh him with whome he goeth to the lawe, aboute any mater in controuerſie, ſhall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other ſet free.

Oxen or kyne, hurting eche other.

If oxen or kyen chaunce by runnyng togither to kill one an other, the truthe beyng not knowen whiche it was that did the hurte, that which is founde without hornes ſhall be iudged the occaſion of the ſkathe, and he that is owner of the ſame, ſhall haue the dead beaſt, & ſatiſfie him for the loſſe to whom it belonged.

A Sowe.

If a ſow eate hir pigges, let hyr be ſtoned to death, and buried, ſo that noman eate of hyr fleſhe.

Swyne.

A ſwyne that is founde eating of corne that groweth in the field, or wrooting vpon the tilled groundes, let it be lawfull for any man to kill the ſame without daunger.

Beaſts domage feſant.

Other kindes of beaſtes, wherein other men haue any propertie, if they breake into thy paſtures or eate vp thy corne, impounde them, till time the owner haue ſatiſfied thee for the quantitie of the domage.

Articles touching religiō.

Theſe were cyuill ordinaunces belongyng to the good gouernment of the people, other there were whiche appertayne to religion: as theſe.

Thou ſhalt deuoutly reuerence the Aulters, Tēples, Images, Oratories, Chapels, Prieſts, and all men of religion.

Keeping of holy dayes.

Thou ſhalte obſerue with dewe reuerence feſtiuall and ſolemne holy dayes, faſting dayes, vygiles, and all maner of ceremonies inſtituted by the godly ordinaunce of man, in the honour of our Sauiour Chriſte and his Saintes.

Prieſts.

To hurt a Prieſte let it be accompted an offence worthie of death.

Ground to be left vntilled.

That grounde wherein any that is ſlayne lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for ſeuen yeares ſpace.

Graues.

Repute euery graue holy, and adorne it with the ſigne of the croſſe, ſo as thou ſhalt be well aduiſed that in no wiſe with thy feete thou treade vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his ſubſtaunce.

Buriall of noble men.

The body of a noble man & of him that hath well deſerued of the common wealth, ſhal be buried in ſolemne and pompouſe wiſe, but yet in mourning ſorte and dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or ſquiers to attend his bodie to the graue, the one being mounted vpō a whyte horſe ſhal beare the coate armure of the dead, & the other in mourning apparell with his face couered ſhal ride vpō a blacke horſe: who after the corps is brought to churche, turnyng his horſe from the Aulter, ſhall crie out how his maiſter is dead: & therwith the people making an outcrie againſt him, he ſhall ſtraight wayes departe and get him with all ſpeede to the place frō whence he came, the other going ſtraight to the aulter ſhall there offer vp to yͤ prieſt his coate armure with his horſe, as a token to ſignifie therby that his maſter doth enioy euerlaſting lyfe, in the land of permanent light and ioyes eternall. But this cuſtome of buriall as that whiche was ſuppoſed not appertayning to the order of the Chriſtian religion, the age that followed dyd vtterly aboliſhe, appoynting to the Prieſtes in ſteede of the horſe and armure. v. pound ſterlyng in money for the offering.

With theſe and diuers other ordinaunces, whiche tyme and other ſtatutes by other kings diuiſed haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his lyfe time.

S. Reule his Church, nowe called Saint Andrewes.

The Biſhops ſea, whiche before had bene at Abirnethy, hee tranſlated vnto the Churche of that holy man Saint Reule. Euer ſithe whiche time the towne hath bene called Saint Andrewes, and thoſe whiche gouerned the ſame Churche long time after, were called the greate Biſhoppes of Scotlande: for the realme was not deuided into Dioceſes till the daies of Malcolme the thyrde, who by deuine inſpiration (as is ſayde) ordeyned the ſea of Murthlake, now called Abirden: but ſuche as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meete for the office, vſed the authoritie and rowmeth of Biſhoppes in what place ſo euer they were reſident. Yet ſuche was the continuaunce of thoſe which gouerned the church of Saint Andrewes, that there haue bene aboue the number of fortie Biſhoppes, reſident there ſithe the firſte inſtitution of that ſea: many of them for the opinion conceyued of theyr holineſſe beyng numbred accordyng to the maner in times paſte in the regiſter of Saints.

The boundes of the Scottiſh kingdome.

But nowe to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is ſayde) enlarged the boundes of his kingdome, ſo as the ſame ſtretched forth vnto the confynes of Northumberlande on the one ſide, and to the Iſles of Orknay, on the other. the ſea compaſſing in the reſidue, at the length after hee hadde reygned aboute twentie yeares in greate renowme and glory, hee departed out of this lyfe, through to muche abundance of rewmatike mater, at Fortevoite, in the yeare of our Lorde. 856. His bodie was conueyed into the Iſle of Colmekill, and there honorably buried amongſt his aunceſtours.

King Kenneth departeth out of this life. 855. H.B.

Donald

Donald the fourth of that name ſucceedeth his brother Kenneth.

AFter his deceaſſe ſucceeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the forſayde Kenneth, but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he diſcloſed not his vicious nature, for doubte of offending the king his brother. Neuertheleſſe he had continued vnneth two yeares in the aſtate, but that he had ſubuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie enſamples of diſſolute liuing: for his minde was ſet on nothing but on wanton pleaſures: as in the vnlawfull vſe of concubines, riotous banquetting, keepyng of Hawkes, Houndes, and Horſes for pleaſure, and not for the vſe of warres, whereof hee had no regarde at all: for ſuche charges as hee ſhoulde haue bene at for mayntenance of men of warre to keepe the frounters of his realme, was imployed vpon a ſorte of raſcals, that ſerued him in the furtherance of his wanton delites and voluptuous deſires, as Huntſmē, Fauconers, Cookes, Bawdes, Ruffians, and ſuche lyke.

The king is of diſſolute behauiour.

Whervpon diuers of the Nobles remembring what appertayned to theyr duties, ſpared not but freely admoniſhed the king what daunger woulde enſue of his miſordered behauiour, if hee reformed not his manners, nor reſtrayned the licencious doyngs of his ſeruaunts and familie. But when they perceyued that theyr wordes were not regarded, but for the ſame they themſelues ranne into diſpleaſure, they ſorrowed not a litle to ſee ſo ſmall hope of amendment of ſuche enormities, as euery where reygned through the region: for all youthfull perſons gyuen to ſenſuall luſte followed the ſame without any feare or care of correction, ſo that there was no meaſure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, in ſo muche that ſhortely through wante of all good gouernaunce, wrong was placed in ſteede of righte, and contempt of Goddes honour embraced euery where in place of vertue.

The king is admoniſhed of his Nobles.

In this meane whyle, the reſidue of the Pictes remaynyng amongſt the Engliſhmen, ceaſſed not to ſolicite the gouernours of the countrey to ayde them towardes the recouerie of theyr dominion out of the Scottiſhmens handes, promyſing to be ſubiectes vnto the Engliſh nation, if by their helpe they might be reſtored to their auncient ſeates.

The exiled Pictes requyre ayde of the Engliſhmen.

At length Oſbert and Ella kings of Northumberlande were perſwaded through inſtant ſuyte to take that enterpryce in hande, the rather vpon truſt of good ſucceſſe, for that they vnderſtood what lacke of politike gouernment was then remaynyng amongſt the Scottes, by reaſon of the kinges naughtie demeanour and moſt inordinate trade of lyfe.

Osbert & Ella kings of Northumberland.

But firſt there was a league concluded with newe articles of agreement betwixte the Engliſhmen and Brytons, as yet inhabiting alongſt the coaſtes of Cumberlande, by meanes

The Engliſhmen & Brytons ioyned theyr powers with the Pictes.

of whiche league bothe Brytons and Engliſhmen ioyned theyr powers togither, and in moſte ſpeedy and forcible wiſe paſſed the water of Tweede, firſt pitching theyr campe in the countrey of Mers. From whence immediatly kyng Oſbert (beyng appoynted as generall in that iourney) ſente an Herault vnto Donalde the Scottiſhe king, commaunding him eyther to ſurrender vp vnto the Pictes all ſuche regions as the Scottes had taken from them, eyther els to looke to haue the Engliſhmen and Brytons no leſſe theyr enimies than the Pictes, whoſe cauſe they had taken vpon them to mayntaine and defende.

An Herault is ſent vnto Donald.

Donald being at the firſte ſore troubled with theſe newes, yet at length by the aduiſe of his nobles hee tooke a good harte vnto him, and in defence of his realme, cauſed muſters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and forthwith came into the fielde to encounter his enimies, whom hee founde at Iedworth ready to giue battell, where after ſore fight, in the ende Oſbert with his people was chaſed to the nexte mountaines.

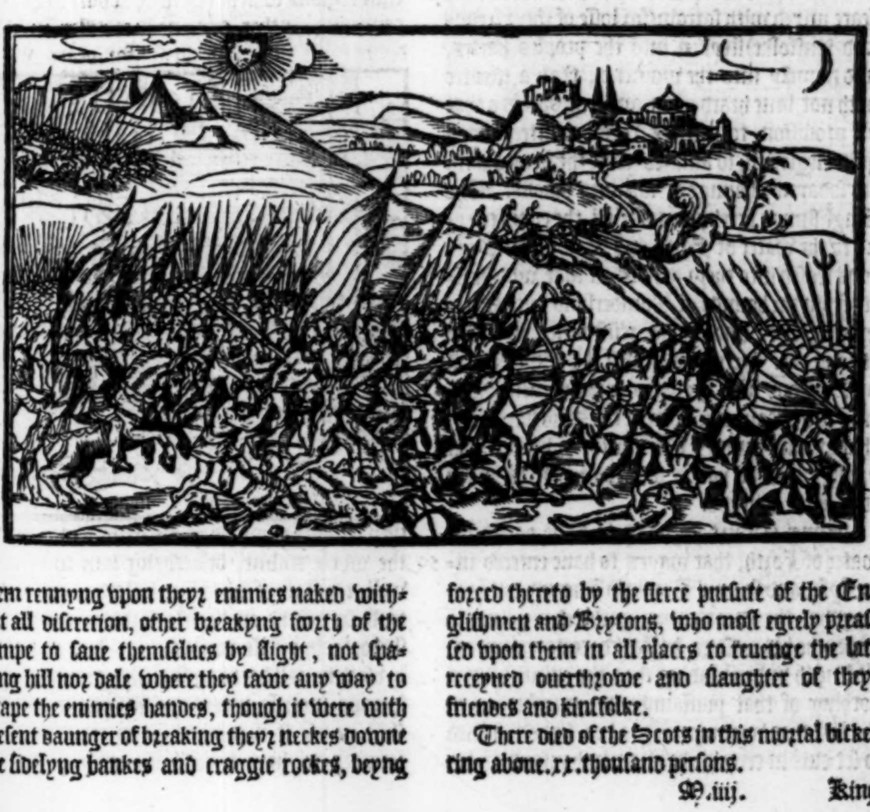
Oſbert is put to the flight, at Iedworth, or Iedburgh.

Donald hauing thus obtayned the victory in this conflict, ſuppoſed all had bene his owne, and therevpon remoued ouer Tweede with all poſſible haſte, marchyng forth till hee came to the mouthe of that ryuer, where there lay at anker certayne Engliſhe veſſels, laden with prouiſion of vitayles and all other things neceſſarie for the furniture of an armie. Donald ſetting vppon theſe ſhippes, with ſmall reſiſtaunce tooke them, ſpoyled them of all ſuche things as were founde aboarde, and after ſet fire on them. The ſpoyle was deuided amongeſt the Souldiers and menne of warre, whiche ſerued them to ſmall vſe or commoditie, for all the youth of the armie through enſample of theyr Prince was ſo corrupted in vicious cuſtomes, that the campe was repleniſhed with Hores and Bawdes, Stewes and dicyng tables, in ſuche wiſe that all ſuche prouiſion as ſhoulde haue ſerued for ſtore and ſtaple of vitayles, was ſpente in riotous banquetting without any order or meaſure: and oftentymes (as it chaunceth where politike gouernment lacketh) there happened amongſt them in the armie, diſcorde and variaunce with ſundry murders and ſlaughters.

Oſbert his prouiſion by water is taken by the Scottiſhmen.

A great diſorder in the Scottiſh campe.

When the enimies were aduertiſed howe farre out of order all things ſtoode in the Scottiſhe campe for wante of good and diſcrete chieftaines, Oſbert with all ſpeede gotte a mightie hoſte togither againe, and before his approche was looked for of the Scottes, he commeth vpon them one mornyng in the breake of the day, and aſſayleth them in theyr lodgyngs, wherein hee founde them ſo vnprouided of al helpes to make reſiſtaunce, that it was a wounder to ſee the diſorder that appeared amongſt them: ſome of them rennyng vpon theyr enimies naked without all diſcretion, other breakyng forth of the campe to ſaue themſelues by flight, not ſparyng hill nor dale where they ſawe any way to eſcape the enimies handes, though it were with preſent daunger of breaking theyr neckes downe the ſidelyng bankes and craggie rockes, beyng forced thereto by the fierce purſute of the Engliſhmen and Brytons, who moſt egrely preaſſed vpon them in all places to reuenge the late receyued ouerthrowe and ſlaughter of theyr friendes and kinſfolke.



The Scottes campe ſuddenly inuaded.

There died of the Scots in this mortal bickering aboue.xx.thouſand perſons.

xx. thouſand Scottiſhmen ſlayne.

King Donald is taken with the nobilitie.

King Donald being faſt a ſleepe at the firſte aſſault of the enimies, as he that had drunken ouer night more than enough, was taken before he coulde make any ſhifte for himſelfe with all the reſidue of the nobilitie, that eſcaped with life.

The campe is ryfled.

The Scottiſh campe, the day next after this ouerthrow, was ryfled, the ſpoyle being deuided amongſt the Engliſhmen and Brytons.

The whole realme of Scotland diſcomfyted.

But when the fame of this infortunate battaile was noyſed once through the realme of Scotland how the king was taken pryſoner, his campe wonne, the armie diſcomfited, and almoſt all the ſouldiers and men of warre ſlayne, thoſe fewe of the nobles whiche were left aliue remayning as pryſoners in the enimies handes, there was ſuche dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had already bene loſte without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, ſome curſed the wicked trade of lyfe in the king: other bewayling the great calamitie of this miſchaũce put the fault in diuers other things, as in ſuch caſes cõmõly it falleth out: for in ſundry heades are euer ſundry opinions. Many ranne vp and downe the ſtreets and high wayes, to enquyre the certaintie of all things, & whether there were any hope at all left to reſiſt the enemies, alſo which way the enimies helde, wherabout they went, & what they purpoſed to do. Anone after, when it was certainely knowen that the Engliſhmen were entred by Lothian, and the Brytons by Galloway, there was ſuch feare mixed with ſorrow (for loſſe of theyr frends and kinſfolke) ſtryken into the peoples hartes, and namely into the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard of in any region. So that all prouiſion to defende theyr countrey was quite neglected, ſo amazed were the Scots with the ſodayne chaunge of fortunes fauour. The Engliſhmen herevpon toke all the countrey euẽ to the water of Forth, and likewiſe the Brytons ſeaſed into theyr handes all that whiche lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterlyng bridge, finding no reſiſtaunce in theyr way at all. Herevnto aſwell the Engliſhmen as Brytons vſed the victorie very cruelly, ſparing neither one nor other of the Scottiſh bloud, that by any meanes fell into theyr handes, but prieſtes and all paſſed one way, that is by the edge of the ſworde.

The Engliſhmen inuade Lothian, the Brytons Galloway.

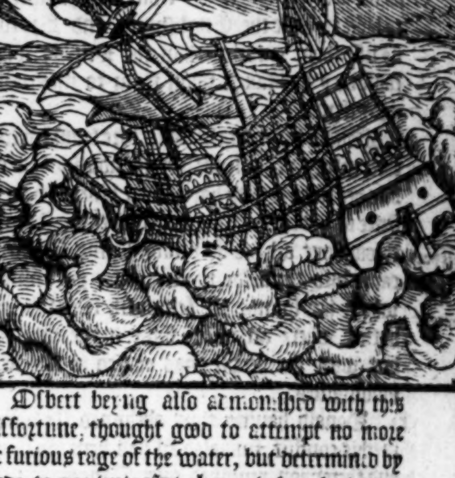
The Scots left comfortleſſe.

The Brytaines as yet kept poſſeſſion of Cumberlande, & thoſe other countreys lying by the coaſt of thoſe weſt ſeas.

The victorie vſed cruelly.

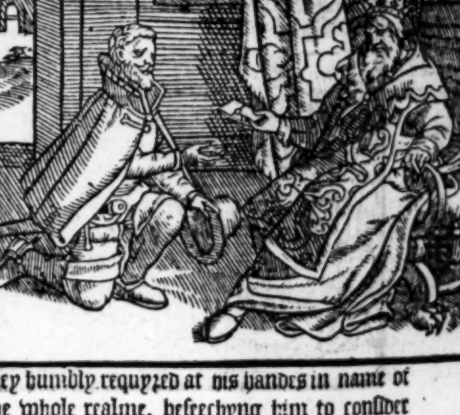
Kyng Oſbert purpoſed to haue paſſed the water of Forth, that wayes to haue entered into Fyfe, and ſo ouer Tay into Angus: but hearing that the Scottes had gathered a power to impeache his paſſage, he ſtayed certayne dayes. At length vnderſtanding that the enimies were nothing of that puiſſaunce nor number, as at the firſt they were reported to bee, he determined to ſet ouer in certaine boates ten thouſand of his men, but through a ſodaine tempeſt of winde and weather, that roſe in that inſtant, there were fiue thouſande of them drowned, the reſidue being conſtrayned to lande agayne on the ſame ſide from the whiche they looſed, hauing loſte through violence of the weather all theyr tackle and whole furniture of theyr veſſels.

A great many of Engliſhmen drowned.



Oſbert beyng alſo admoniſhed with this miſfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by lande to goe vnto Sterlyng, where he vnderſtoode he ſhould finde the Brytons, with whome hee might ioyne his power, and paſſe ouer the brydge there, and ſo inuade other of the Scottiſhe regions whiche lay there aboute: but at his comming thyther, certaine Scottiſhe Ambaſſadours came vnto him to ſue for peace, whiche they humbly requyred at his handes in name of the whole realme, beſeechyng him to conſider well the ſtate of the caſe as it ſtoode, and not to truſt to muche on brytle fortune, the whiche ſheweth hyr ſelfe neuer ſtable, but commonly vſeth to call backe againe hyr graunt of proſperous ſucceſſe, where the receyuour hath not ſkill to vſe it moderately, and the vanquiſhed ſeemeth to haue bene ſufficiently corrected:

Ambaſſadours ſew for peace.



Fortune is brytle.

As for the Scottes, though it might appeare that their force was greatly abated, and that reſiſtance ſhould little auaile them, yet were they mynded to die in defence of their liberties, rather than to ſubmit themſelues vnto any conditions of vile ſeruitude. The wordes of theſe Imbaſſadors being throughly weyed (though ſome toke them in greate diſdaine) yet in the ende it was ſuppoſed that after victorie thus had agaynſt the enimies, honourable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Wherevpon anſwere was made to the Imbaſſadors, that both the Engliſhe and Brytiſhe people with their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scottes, (though it lay in theyr handes, now to deſtroy the whole nation) if ſo be the Scottes woulde agree freely to reſigne aſwell to the Engliſh men as Brytaynes all ſuch lands and Countreys as they had nowe gotten into theyr poſſeſſions, without any clayme or tytle to be made to the ſame from thenceforth, eyther by them or any of their poſteritie, ſo that the water of Forth on the Eaſt halfe, ſhoulde deuide the Scottiſhe dominions from the confines of the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, and be called from that tyme euer after, the Scottiſhe ſea. On the weſt the water of Clyde ſhould deuide the Scottiſh landes from the Brytaynes, the Caſtel of Alcluth, ſtanding at the mouth of the ſame riuer, to remaine in the handes of the Brytaynes, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to ſay, the caſtell of the Brytaynes. And furthermore that if any of the Scottes ſhoulde attempt to paſſe the ſayd boundes into any of the Brytiſh or Engliſhe borders, hee ſhoulde die for that offence, and if by force of tempeſt it chaunced any of them to be driuen a lande on the South ſhore, within any of thoſe parties, they ſhoulde take nothing away with them but water or vytailes, and depart within three dayes, except ſome reaſonable cauſe of ſtay conſtrayned them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they ſhould not fortifie any townes or Caſtels on the frontires neare to the Engliſhe or Brytiſhe confines: And further, they ſhoulde couenaunt to pay vnto the Engliſh men and Brytaynes within the ſpace of twentie yeares, the ſumme of one thouſand pounde of ſiluer. For performance of all which articles of agreement, the Scottes ſhoulde deliuer three ſcore hoſtages, beeing the ſonnes and heyres apparant of the chiefeſt noble men of all theyr Realme and Countrey. And if it ſo were that they miſlyked and refuſed any of theſe articles, hee commaunded that there ſhould no other Imbaſſador come to him for any other treatie of accorde.

Peace graũted with conditions.

Articles of peace propoſed.

The Forth called the Scottiſhe ſea.

Donbriton. It was called before Caer Alcluyth, that is the Citie vpon Cluid as H. Lluyd holdeth

Hoſtages are required.

The Imbaſſadours returning home, and declaring how they had ſped, many of the Scottes thought the Articles nothing reaſonable for free people to accept: Other iudged that eyther they muſt come to ſome agreement with the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, or elſe put the lande in extreeme perill, and thus had the people bin deuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, & gouernor of Angus, with ſober reaſons & ſtrong arguments appeaſed this contention, perſwading them to haue reſpecte to the tyme, and ſithe the force of the Realme was ſo infeebled, abated, and brought vnder foote through aduerſe fortune, better it was to yeelde vnto neceſſitie in ſauing part at that preſent, in hope after when occaſion ſerued to recouer the reſidue, than through obſtinate wilfulneſſe to loſe the whole. For conſidering the preſent daunger, it could be reputed no diſhonour to receyue conditions of peace at the enimies handes, ſithe there wanted not the lyke enſample of the Romaines, who gladly accepted ſuche artycles of peace, as that noble Prince king Eald appoynted them: and yet it is not to be iudged that there wanted men of great knowledge and wiſedome amongſt them, and ſuch as regarded theyr honour, ſo farre forth as reaſon in any wiſe dyd reache.

The Scottes miſlike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counſell taketh place.

The multitude moued with theſe wordes of Calen, whoſe graue authoritie by reaſon of hys age and rowmth was of no ſmall reputation amongſt them, hauing loſt nine of his own ſonnes in the laſt battaile, they finally determined to followe his opinion in receyuing the ſame conditions of agreement which Oſbert had preſcribed: and therevpon ſent agayne theyr Imbaſſadors with the hoſtages appoynted for the eſtabliſhing of the peace in maner as before is reherſed. Which beeing throughly accompliſhed in ſuche ſolemne wiſe as in thoſe dayes, and in the like caſes was accuſtomed, Oſbert ſet Donald with his nobles at libertie, ſending them home togither with the Imbaſſadors, being earneſtly required ſo to doe, both by the Engliſh Lordes, and alſo by the Brytaynes.

The multitude conſented vnto Calene his ſayings.

The Scots receiue the peace

King Donalde with the noble men are ſent home againe.

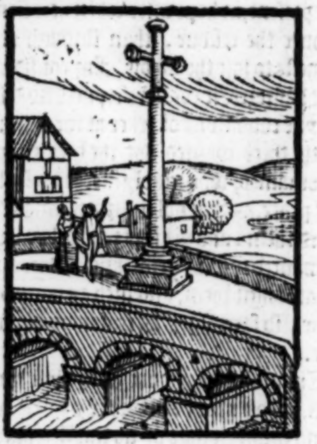
The agreement being thus made, the landes were deuided betwixt the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, in ſuche ſort as the Brytaynes had for theyr parts all that which lyeth from Sterling vnto the Weſt ſea, betwixt the Ryuers of Forth and Clyde, vnto Cumberlande, and the Engliſh men poſſeſſed the other parcels, lying from Sterling vnto the Eaſt ſea, betwixt the Scottiſh ſea and Northumberlande: ſo that by this meanes Clyde water, Forth, and the Scottiſh ſea (where Forth runneth into the maine ſea) deuided the Scottes from the Engliſh men and Brytaynes. And thus was the towne of Sterling common marche vnto thoſe three people, the ſame towne with the Caſtell remayning vnto Oſbert, as it was couenãted amõgſt other articles of this peace

Landes deuided betwixt the Britains & Engliſh men.

Here as the Scottes wryters haue, he ordeyned his mynt, and his coyners of money to inhabite, whereupon came vp the name of Sterling money: but therein they are deceyued, for as in the hyſtorie of England ſhall appeare, that name came not in vſe till many yeares after.

A bridge of ſtone made at Sterling.

Oſbert alſo in this place cauſed a ſtone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in ſtead of the wodden bridge which the Pictes had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midſt of this new ſtone bridge, he ſet vp a croſſe, whereon were grauen theſe verſes.



Anglos à Scotis ſeparat crux iſta remotis,
Arma hic ſtāt Bruti, ſtant Scoti hac ſub cruce tuti.

In Scottiſh thus.

Balantine.

I am free march as paſſengers may ken,
To Scots, to Brytons, and to Engliſh men.

The picts hope is deceiued.

The Pictes which had bene with the Engliſh men in this iourney, euer hoping to be reſtored to their landes and former poſſeſſions by Oſbert, when they ſawe how he reteyned the ſame in his owne handes, appoynting his ſubiectes to inhabite therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to paſſe in deede, leaſt the Engliſhe men of friendes woulde nowe become enimies, ſeeking the deſtruction of the whole Pictiſhe generation, thereby to aſſure themſelues in the poſſeſſion of thoſe landes and liuings, whereunto the Pictes as they thought would euer make ſome clayme and tytle, whileſt any of them remayned aliue.

The picts went into Norwaye and Denmark.

Upon this miſtruſt therfore did thoſe Pictes which were amongſt the Engliſh men, make the beſt ſhift they coulde for themſelues, ſo that many of them got ſhippes, and ſayled into Norway & Denmark, vnto their coūtrey men there: the other that could not make ſhift to get away, were ſlain anon after by the Engliſh men, that one of them was not to bee founde aliue within any of the Engliſh Dominions. And ſuch was the ende of the Pictes that fledde vnto the Engliſh men for ſuccour.

King Donalde falleth to hys old vices againe.

In this meane tyme the Scottiſh king Donald being reſtored againe to his Countrey, was receyued with more ioy and honour than hee had deſerued, in hope yet by this ſcourge of aduerſe fortune, that he woulde haue reformed his former abuſes. Neuertheleſſe, he had not bin at home any long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remouing from his companie ſuche honorable perſonages as wiſhed the ſuretie of his eſtate, with the aduācement of the cōmon welth, to the reliefe and eaſe of his poore miſerable ſubiectes. At length the nobles of the realm perceiuing the daunger that their countrey ſtoode in, by reaſon of Donaldes inſolent miſorder, vndiſcrete rule and gouernment, they found meanes to apprehend and commit him vnto ſafe keeping, but the monſtrous creature within a fewe dayes after he was thus put in ward, in great deſperation ſlue himſelfe, in the firſt yeare after he began his infortunate raigne, & in the yeare of our ſauiour 860.

King Donalde is laid in priſō.

He ſlaieth him ſelfe in priſon. 860.

The ſame yeare that the realme of Scotlande was brought vnto ſuch miſerable ſtate by the puiſſant force of the Engliſh men and Brytains, as aboue is rehearſed, there were ſundrie wonders heard of in the countrey: as in Lothian a childe of one Moneth olde and a halfe, admoniſhed the mother to flie out of that countrey, for it woulde come to paſſe, that the enimies ſhoulde come and take that region out of the Scottiſh mens hands. Beaſts alſo as they were paſturing abrode in the fieldes there, roaring after a ſtraunge ſort, ſodenly dyed. Fiſhes likewiſe in ſhape reſembling the figure of man, were founde deade in the ſandes of the Scottiſh ſea. In Galloway there fell ſuch abundance of Adders and Snakes out of the ſkie, that the ayre being corrupted with the ſauour of them lying on the grounde, both men and beaſtes dyed of certain diſeaſes, which they toke through infection thereof.

A young babe ſpeaketh warnig vnto hys mother.

Beaſtes roaryng dyed.

Fiſhes lyke in ſhape to men.

Adders & ſnakes fell downe out of the sky.

Such as were accounted to be ſkilfull in diuination, affyrmed that theſe things did ſignifie an infortunate raigne with an euill ende vnto king Donalde, as afterwardes it happened, who hauing made away himſelfe in priſon (as before is expreſſed) Conſtantine the ſonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the Chayre of Marble there, according to the maner as then vſed.

The interpretation of the prodigious things.

King Cōſtantine Crowned.

After his firſt entring into the eſtate, he would gladly haue gone in hād with the warres againſt yͤ Engliſh mē, to haue recouered out of their poſſeſſions, thoſe countreys which they had lately taken from the Scottes in his predeceſſors time: but his counſell aduiſed him otherwiſe, declaring that the eſtate of the common wealth was ſo decayed by the miſgouernance of his ſayde predeceſſour, that till the ſame were refourmed, and ſuche inteſtine diſcorde, as through licencious libertie

He fain would recouer his predeceſſours loſſes.

He was aduiſed otherwiſe by his coūſel.

raigned

Miſorders are redreſſed.

Prieſtes ſhould onely attende their vocation.

A penaltie for not doing their duties.

raigned amongſt his ſubiects might be appeaſed and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue anye worthie enterpriſe abrode agaynſt forraine enimies. Hereupon by theyr aduertiſements and good aduice, hee deuiſed a reformation of all ſuch miſorders as were growen vp in al partes of his realme: and firſt for the ſpiritualtie, he ordayned that Prieſtes ſhould attende their cures, and not to intermeddle with any ſecular buſineſſe, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neyther ſhould they keepe horſes, hawkes, or houndes. And if any of them wer found negligent in doing his duetie apperteyning to his vocation, he ſhould for the firſt fault forfeyt a peece of money, but for the ſecond he ſhould loſe his benefice.

Youth ſhoulde eate but one meale a day.

Drunkennes puniſhed with death.

For the youth of his realme he tooke order (to brydle them the better from wanton delites and ſenſuall luſtes) that none of them ſhoulde haue paſt one meale a day, and that of no fine or daintie delicates, and to abſtaine from all ſuch drinke as might diſtemper their brayne, ſo that if anye yong perſon, either man or woman were knowen to be dronken, they ſhould die for it.

Youth to be treined vp in hardneſſe.

He commaunded further, that all the youth of his realme, ſhoulde exerciſe running, wraſtling, ſhooting, throwing of the dart and bowle, to auoyde ſlouthfulneſſe, that their bodies myghte with ſuch exerciſes be made the more able to endure paynes and trauaile: and for the ſame purpoſe he tooke order, that they ſhoulde lye vpon the bare bourdes, with one mantell onely throwne vnder them, ſo that they ſhould taſt nothing neither by day nor night, that might nowzell them in any wanton delytes or effeminate pleaſures.

Kepers of bãketting houſes to be baniſhed.

It was alſo ordeyned, that all ſuch as kept vitayling houſes for banketting cheare, ſhould be baniſhed the realme, with thoſe that kept brothell houſes.

Scottes were made ſober & able to abyde hardnes.

Thus were the Scottes by obſeruing of theſe ordinances, made within ſhort time of gluttons & exceſſiue feeders, ſober and temperate men: of delicate and eaſefull perſons, hard, tough, and able to abide any trauail or labour, were the ſame neuer ſo painfull: and hereof the ſtate of the common wealth began to grow to good perfection, ſo that Conſtantines adminiſtration was lyked of the moſt part of all his ſubiects.

Euan diſquieted the king and realme.

The vnquiet nature of Scottiſh men.

The firſt that went about to diſquiet the proſperous raigne of that worthie Prince, was one Euan, a man of an aũcient houſe, & borne in the Weſterne Iles. Such hath bene the vnquiet nature of the Scottiſh men, euen from the beginning, neuer to liue contented any long tyme eyther with peace or warre, for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they ſtraight wayes wiſhe for peace, and hauing in time of peace heaped togither ſome wealth, then can they not ſuffer the gouernment of their ſuperiours, but either are readie to fall out with ſome forraine enimie, or elſe to raiſe ſome commotion amongſt themſelues.

Euan Lieutenant of Dunſtafage conſpireth agaynſt the king.

The king is aduertiſed of Euan his treaſon.

The king commeth to Dunſtafage with an armie.

Euan is executed.

This Euan therefore being the kings Lieutenant of his Caſtell of Dunſtafage in Louchquhaber, practiſed a conſpiracie agaynſt the king, with a number of other light perſons being gentlemen borne, miſlyking the adminiſtration of things, onely for that they ſawe how their inordinate libertie to oppreſſe inferiour perſons, and to vſe ſuch wilde and inſolent miſdemeanor, as they had done afore time, was nowe reſtrayned by lawfull iuſtice and execution of due puniſhment for the ſame. But as theſe conſpirators went about to haue moued the people of Louchquhaber, Murrey land, Roſſe, and Cathneſſe, to haue ioyned with them in their trayterous enterpriſe: ſome of them in whom Euan put moſt truſt, ſecretely aduertiſed the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made ſuche ſpeedie haſte towardes Dunſtafage, where the chiefe Captaine of the Rebelles as then lay, that he came before the ſame ere any ynkling were knowne to them within of his approch. By meane whereof comming vppon them ſo at vnwares, hee had the Caſtell ſoone at his pleaſure. And immediately hereupon cauſed Euan to bee truſſed vp on a high payre of Gallowes, for a ſpectakle to all his complices.

Many kept in priſon.

One trouble followeth another.

And furthermore, leaſt the other conſpirators might prouide them of ſome other Chiefteine, he apprehended diuerſe of the nobilitie that were accuſed to be of Euans confederacie, the whiche he put in ſtrayte pryſon, there to bee ſafely kept, tyll the Peeres of the Realme had determined wyth good deliberation, what ſhoulde become of them. This buſineſſe being in this wiſe appeaſed, when all men looked for quietneſſe, there ſodenly followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for ſuch is the courſe of the worlde, that when men leaſt thinke of miſchiefe, they fall oftentimes into moſt daunger.

Cadane king of Denmarke.

The cauſe that moued the Danes to make warre againſt England and Scotlande.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all ſuche landes as ſometimes belonged to the Pictes, for that the reſidue of that Nation which had eſcaped the handes of the Scottes and Engliſhe men, had reſigned vnto him all theyr ryght and intereſt of the ſame landes, hee determined in that quarell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Pictes alledged they had ſuſteyned) to make warres both vpon the Scottes and Engliſh men. He cauſed therefore an huge number of ſhippes to be prepared, and a mightie army of men to be put in a readineſſe, to paſſe in the ſame ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of hys two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba.

Theſe two Chieftaines hauing their ſhippes

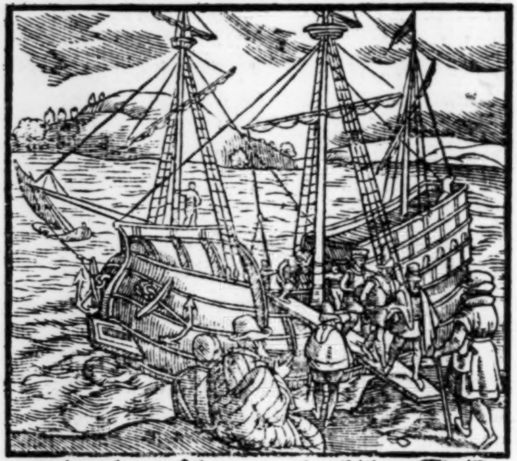
and

A great nauye ſent into Scotland.

The Danes vſe great crueltye.

The inhabitātes fled the countrie.

and men with all prouiſion apperteyning once readie, tooke the ſea, and ſayled forth til they came to the coaſtes of Scotlande, where they tooke land within the Countrey of Fife, before any tidings were heard of theyr comming thither. The Danes being ſet a lande, ſpared no kinde of crueltie that might be ſhewed agaynſt the inhabitantes, and namely for that they had not as yet receyued the fayth of Chriſt, they raged without all meaſure agaynſt Prieſtes and religious perſons, ouerthrowing and burning vp Churches & Chappels, whereſoeuer they found any in theyr waye. Whereupon the Engliſhe men that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots which dwelled in Fife, lefte theyr houſes and poſſeſſions, flying into other parties where they thought they might beſt eſcape the handes of their newcome aduerſaries.



They that fled into May Ilād were ſlaine.

The incerteintie of wryters in this matter of theſe Martyrs.

A great companie alſo of ſuch vertuous and godly perſons as aboute the ſame time laboured buſily in ſetting forth the worde of life vnto the people in thoſe parties, fled with one Adrian as then Biſhop of the Scottiſh men, into the Ilande called May, whiche lyeth in maner in the midway of the paſſage ouer the Forth betwixt Fyfe and Louthian, where as thē there was a famous Monaſterie of Monks: but neither the reuerence of the place, neyther the innocencie of thoſe harmleſſe creatures could refrain the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murthering that deuout companie, as they were then eſteemed. And this is that reuerend band of Martyrs, which the Scottiſh people haue had in ſuch reuerence in the foreſayde Ilande of May. A fewe names of ſome of that multitude as yet remaine in memorie amongſt wryters, as the foreſayde Biſhop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as other write) Monanus Archedeacon of Saint Andrewes, and Byſhop Stolbrande: the names of the reſidue are forgotten. Some there be that affyrme how this company were Hungarians, the whiche fleeing out of their countreys from the perſecution which was there exerciſed by men of miſbeliefe agaynſt the Chriſtians, they arryued here in Scotlande, and applyed themſelues in the inſtructing of the Scottiſhe men in the way of ſaluation. Other write that they were Scottes and Engliſh men thus aſſembled there togither, but of whence ſoeuer they were, certaine it is that by cuſtome they were become Scottiſh men, & inſtructed Scots as before is ſayde in the way of ſaluation.

After this cruell ſlaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their woode rage as they paſſed through Fife and the other countries neare bordering vpon the ſame, till all the inhabitants were auoyded out of their houſes, either by flight or ſlaughter.

Conſtantyne aſſembled a mightie army.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king being kindled in the meane time with paſſing great diſpleaſure, for theſe ſo notable iniuries receyued at the handes of the Danes, thought good with all ſpeed to go agaynſt them, and to attempt the chaunce of battaile before they had waſted any further within his dominions, ſo greatly to the diminiſhing of his royal power and eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects. Hereupon leuying his people, and aſſembling a mightie hoſt togither, he paſſed forth with the ſame towardes his enimies, the whiche were lodged in two ſeuerall campes, the one being diſtant from the other aboute a quarter of a myle, ſeuered in ſunder with the courſe of a little ryuer called Leuyn, the which (vpon the approch of the Scottes vnto that parte of the campe that lay on the further ſyde next vnto them) chaunced to be rayſed on ſuch height through abundance of raine, that in two dayes after vneth it might bee paſſed ouer at the fourdes.

The Scots and Danes ioyne their battailes.

After this ſore and tempeſtuous weather, the ayre cleared vp and waxed verie fayre and calme, giuing occaſion to the Scottes to worke theyr feate agaynſt one part of theyr enimies, whyleſt the other coulde not come ouer vnto theyr ayde and ſuccours. In this campe which lay on that ſide the ryuer next to the Scottes, Hubba was lodged, who did what he coulde to haue ſtayde his men from iſſuing forth of the campe to giue battaile when the Scots drew neare to the ſame, & aſſaied all wayes by prouoking the Danes with ſkirmiſhes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field, but notwithſtanding al that he could do, forth they ruſhed in ſuch wiſe by plumpes, and with ſo great noyſe and claymour, that the Captaines were conſtrayned of neceſſitie to ſet them in order of battaile, ſithe they would needes giue the onſet vpon their preſent enimies.

The Danes apparell.

Their weapons

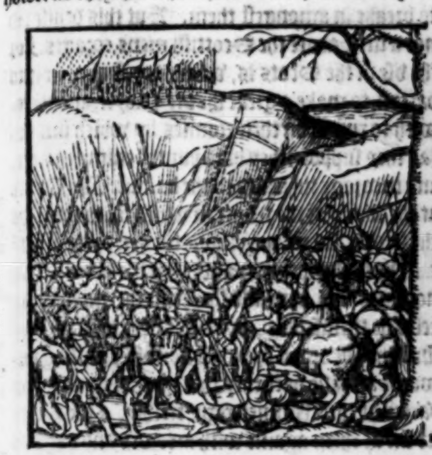
The Danes did weare aloft vppon their armour certaine lynnen garments, wrought with red ſilke, ſhewing fayre and white both at hande and a farre off. Their weapons were of ſuch ſort as ſerued for the puſh rather than for down right blowes, the poynts being of ſuche a handſome

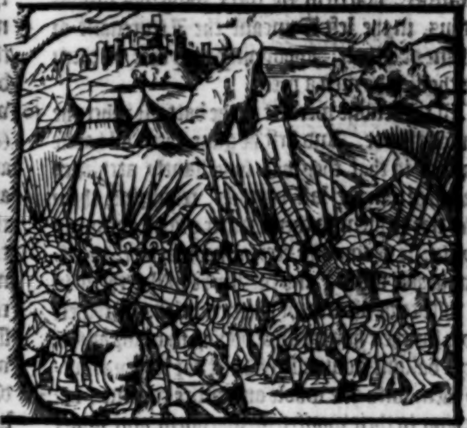
ſtrong

Tall men of body and limmes.

ſtrong faſhion, that no armor might lightly hold for it agaynſt them. Theſe kinde of weapons togither with the muſter of their huge bodies was dreadfull at the firſt for the Scottiſhe men to beholde, as they marched towardes them in aray of battail. But anon comming neare togither readie to ioyne, the Scots manfully taking to them newe courages, ſet vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewiſe beganne the battaile very ſtoutly, ſo that the ſame cõtinued right fierce and cruell a good ſpace.

A battayle.





At length the Danes beeing aſſayled on eche ſide, both a front before, and on their backes behinde, oppreſſed as it were wyth multitude, they threwe downe theyr weapons and fled amain. Many of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and ſlaine, diuerſe of them falling into the ditches were oppreſſed with throng, aſwel of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they paſſed ouer them in following the chaſe, and ſtryuing to enter the campe vpon ſuch as ſtoode to defende them from entring. Other ther were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whorling waues of the ſtreame, though ſome (through helpe of their fellowes whiche ſtoode on the other ſyde readie to haue paſſed the water if they might ſo haue done without maniſeſt daunger of drowning) eſcaped and got ouer, amongſt whom Hubba was one, to the great reioyſing of his brother Hungar, to ſee him thus deliuered twiſe from perill of death, as firſt from amongeſt his enimies, and ſecondly out of the roaring ſtreame of that deepe and ſwift raging ryuer. The Scottes hauing thus put one part of their enimies to the wurſe, with that happie ſucceſſe tooke ſuch comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bin nowe ſure of victorie ouer all the reſidue, ſo that for two dayes togither, there was ſuch dauncing, ſinging, and pyping amongſt them, as the lyke hath not beene heard of. Yea ſo farre proceeded their inſolent outrage, that they began to contend amongſt themſelues for the priſoners and ſpoyle, which they accopted now theyr owne, as though already they had the ſame wholy in their poſſeſſion: and further reaſoned not without altercation, whether the Daniſh Captaines after they had them once in theyr handes ſhould bee put to death, or elſe be kept aliue to be ſhewed to the people in triumph or no. Great a do and many vaine wordes were ſpent hereabout in ſuch earneſt ſort that they were at poynte to haue fallen out amongſt themſelues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battailes and other the neceſſarie proceedings agaynſt the enimies.

The Danes take the flight.

Hubba was ſaued from drowning.

The Scots toke of this victory immoderate ioye.

The Scots for ioy readie to fall out.

At length when the ryuer was fallen & come to his olde courſe againe, ſo that it might eaſily be paſſed, Conſtantine in order of battaile got ouer with his people, to the other ſyde where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more minde to ſet themſelues in ſuch order whereby they might gain the victory, than to deuiſe for the deuiding of the ſpoile, perceyuing occaſion now offred to giue yͤ onſet, forthwith arayed their people in this ſort. Hubba with ſixe thouſande Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Engliſhe man borne, who was fled out of his countrey, for that he coulde not beare ſuche iniuries as Oſbert offred him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and diſhonor of his houſe and name. He had with him in this left wing certaine bandes of Engliſh men with thoſe Pictes that had eſcaped ouer into Denmarke, as before is mencioned. Hungar with all the reſidue of the armie, kept the battaile or myddle warde, exhorting his men to ſhew their force & manhoode that day, ſith the ſame ſhould eyther put thẽ in poſſeſſion of the whole land of Albion, with all the ſubſtance & riches conteyned therein, either elſe bring thẽ perpetuall ſeruitude with ignominie amongſt their moſt cruell & fierce aduerſaries. He therefore himſelf openly in preſence of them al, vowed with ſolemne othe, either to returne with victorie to his campe, eyther elſe to die in the place, willing them

Conſtantine proceeded agaynſt his enimies.

The order and placing of the Danes armie. Hubba had the right wing. Buerne had the left wing.

Hungar kept the battaile.

Hungar made a vowe.

all

The ſouldiers did make the like vowe.

King Conſtantine placed his men in like maner.

all to make the like couenant. Whereupon the vniuerſall multitude allowed him ſo muche for this his motion, that there was not one amongſt the whole number, which agreed not to ſweare the like othe. Conſtantine keeping in maner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the Lieutenant or Thane of Athole, appoyning to eyther of them ten thouſande men a peece.

An incouragement giuen to his ſouldiers.

The Danes approch towards the Scottes.

The Danes ſhot quarels and threw dartes.

The Scottes arrowes and dartes as thicke as haile.

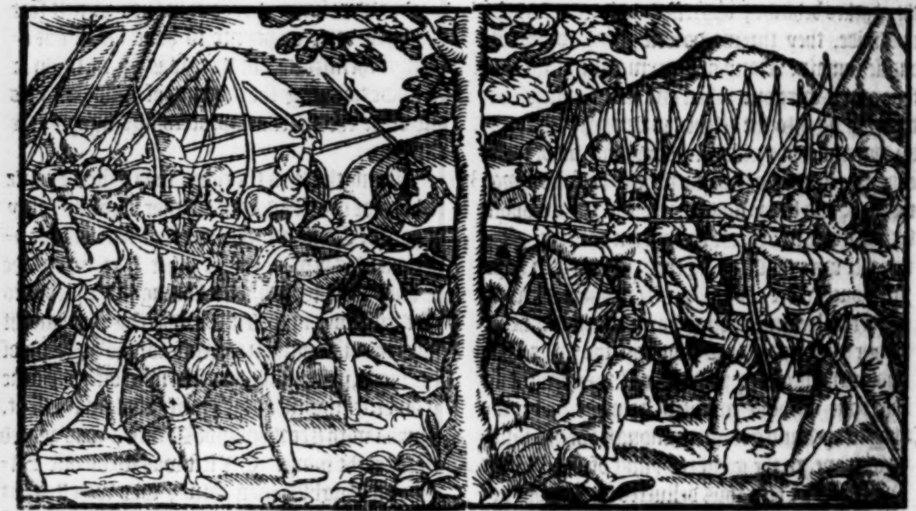
The Scottes are put to flight.

Conſtantine is taken and murthered.

The blacke den or coue.

Ethus brother vnto Conſtantine was ſaued by flight.

All the reſidue were ſet in the battaile where he himſelfe ſtode. And firſt he gaue them all hartie thankes in that they had ſo valiantly atchieued the victorie in the laſt battaile, requyring them now not to blemiſh their former glorie with any fayntneſſe of courage, recreant cowardice, or diſhonourable flight: and further he willed them in no wiſe to be afearde of their enimies, in reſpect more for their hugeneſſe of bodie, than for any of theyr valiant ſtoutneſſe of heart: for if they aſſayled them with one whole and entire conſent, according to their wonted forwardneſſe and manlike prowes, they ſhoulde quickely put them to flight, and obtaine a ioyfull victorie. Herewith he alſo warned them not to runne raſhly vpon the enimies, but to ſuffer thẽ firſt to giue the charge, for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earneſt violence diſorder themſelues, and ſo ſhoulde it bee more eaſie for the Scottes to breake in amongeſt them. But this deuiſe did not a little abate the Scottiſh mens corages. For the vſe of the Scots is, when they ſhal enter into battail, to make a great ſhoute & noyſe, and therewith to run vpon their enimies, by which meanes (as they ſuppoſe) they both put the enimy in feare, and incorage thẽſelues to the battail. The Danes at the ſound of the trũpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they ſtode thus in order of battail, but whẽ they perceiued that the Scots came not forwarde, they alſo ſtayed in the midway to refreſhe themſelues, bycauſe at the ioyning they ſhuld not be out of breath. Anon after, paſſing forwarde an eaſie pace they ſhot quarrels, and threw dartes at their enimies right freſhly, & the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had beene a ſtorme of haile. After this they ruſhed togither with great violence on both



ſides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compaſſing the maine battaile rounde about, they conſtraine the ſame in the ende with greate bloudſhed and ſlaughter to giue back and flee out of the field. Ten thouſande Scottes dyed that day in this infortunate battaile with Conſtantine himſelfe, who being firſt taken was had into a Caue by the Sea ſyde amongſt the Rockes, and there cruelly murthered by the enimies. The place was called certaine yeares after the blacke Denne: but nowe they name it the Diuils den, in memorie of that heynous murther there committed. The Scottiſhe Nation alſo had beene vtterly as then deſtroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Conſtantine, perceyuing howe the fielde was loſt, eſcaped away with two companies of his beſt men of warre, ſo reſeruing himſelfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

Ethus.

874

The people lykewyſe, doubting for want of a gouernor to be yͤ ſooner ouercom by their enimies, ledde the ſayd Ethus vnto Scone wher they crowned him king, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour 874. and the .xiij. after Conſtantine began to rule the eſtate of the realme. The ſame yeare were many wonders and vnketh ſightes ſeene within

Fiſhes like vnto men in ſhape.

Baſſinates.

A long winter.

Frogges in the mud and ſlime.

within the Scottiſh dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwiſe called the Scottiſhe ſea, there appeared fiſhes in great number, like vnto men in ſhape, ſwimming vp and downe in the ſtreame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke ſkinne, which couered their heades and neckes, from the ſhoulders vpwardes like an hoode. Theſe are called Baſſinates, and vſe to goe in great companies togither, as though they were ſkulles of Herrings, ſignifieng when they are ſeene, ſome great miſfortune vnto the Countrey, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Alſo the Loches, Riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter ende of Aprill, and when the froſt brake, and the ſnowes melted, there was ſuch a flood flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the rootes of the Mountaynes, as the like had not bene ſeene. Furthermore when the ſame ſhrunke and went away, in the mud and ſlime there was ſuche a number of Frogges left, that when they were dead, & began to putrifie, the ayre was ſo infected, yͭ many deadly diſeaſes enſued, whereof great nūbers of the inhabitants did periſh.

A Comet.

Moreouer there was a mightie ſtarre or Comet ſeene with firie rayes iſſuing forth of the ſame whiche both night and day followed the Moone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horror of all that behelde it.

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Osbert & Ella ſlaine.

This crueltie inuaded Norfolke alſo.

King Alured redreſſed thoſe harmes.

Hector Boetius miſtaketh diuerſe matters touching the report of our hyſtories.

But to proceede. The Danes as is ſayd, hauing vanquiſhed the Scots, and waſted the coūtrey of Fife, paſſed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and ſpoyling all before them, they purſued the inhabitants into Northumberlande, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being ayded with certain Engliſh mē in fauor of Bruern, ſlue in battaile both Oſbert & Ella, kings of that coūtry. The crueltie of the Danes was ſuch after they had atchieued yͤ victorie, that few eſcaped with life, but ſuch as ſaued thēſelues by flight. But chiefely their rage appeared moſte agaynſte prieſtes and ſuch as profeſſed themſelues men of religion. For the Danes being Ethnikes, perſecuted moſt egerly thoſe that in any wiſe profeſſed Chriſt. The like outragious murthering of the Chriſtians was practiſed throughout the Countrey, and at length came vnto that bleſſed king S. Edmond, raigning as thē ouer the people of the Eaſt angles, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainly may appeare. Howbeit other of the Engliſh kings mainteined the warres with theſe Danes certaine yeares after this, with variable fortune, the moſt part of thoſe people which inhabited on that coaſt towarde the Germaine ſeas, eyther being ſlain or brought into miſerable bondage and thraldome. But Alured which ſucceeded his brother king Ethelred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affyrmeth) but in the kingdome of the weſt Saxons, redreſſed a great part of this miſerie into the which the countrey was thus brought by the Danes, by ſubduing them in ſundrie conflictes, and ſlaying their two Captaines the forſayd Hunger and Hubba, as in the ſame Engliſh hyſtorie is further expreſſed.

Ethus ſurnamed lightfoot

Ethus neglected the oportunitie.

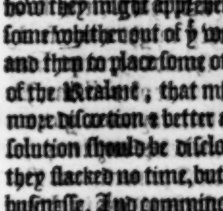
A conſpiracie made agaynſt king Ethus.

King Ethus is areſted, with his fauorers.

Gregorie is choſen king.

But now to returne vnto Ethus, I find that he was of ſuch ſwiftneſſe of foote, that he would matche and make way in running with Hartes and Houndes, and therupon was ſurnamed lightfoote: but of what nymble lightneſſe of bodie ſoeuer he was, truth it is that he was of diſpoſition in minde vnfitte to haue the order of any publike regiment. For where as he might haue recouered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whyleſt the Engliſh men and Danes were togither by the eares, he paſſed ouer that occaſion, deliting more in following the pleaſures of the bodie and ſenſuall luſtes, then to beſtow his time in feates of cheualry and other warlike exerciſes. The Nobles of the Realme perceyuing him thus to abuſe the worthie gyftes of his perſon, miſtruſting leaſt his inſolent doings ſhould endomage the publike ſtate of the cōmon wealth, they tooke counſail togither how they might apprehend him, and to ſende him ſome whither out of yͤ way wher to be ſafely kept, and then to place ſome other in the gouernment of the Realme, that might rule the ſame with more diſcretion & better aduiſe. And leaſt their reſolution ſhould be diſcloſed before it tooke effect, they ſlacked no time, but went ſpedily about their buſineſſe. And comming to the king whom they found a hunting in Calidone wood, they ſodenly arreſted him, and therwith committed him to ſafe keeping: and thoſe whom they knewe to bee fauourers of his euill rule and miſgouernance, they put them alſo faſt in yrons, til they had anſwered to ſuch articles as ſhould be layd to their charge. This done they proceeded to the election of a new king, and in the end by the perſuaſion of one Dōgall gouernour or Thane of Argyle, they choſe Gregorie the ſonne of that Dongall which raigned before Alpyne, who was not paſt two Monethes olde when his father dyed.

Gregorie.

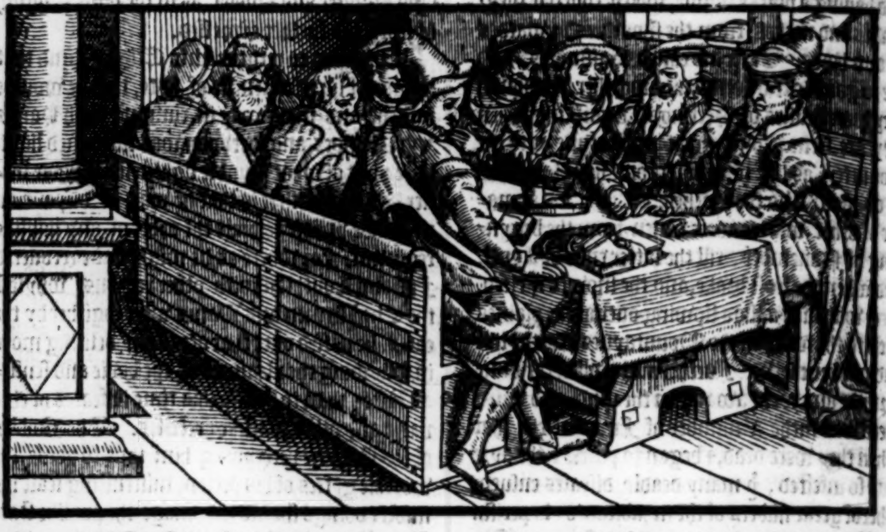


This Gregory being knowne to be a mā worthy of the rowmeth, though he himſelfe only was againſt it, at length by perſuaſiō receyued the inueſture of yͤ kingdome at Scone, with all due ſolemnitie. Ethus hearing therof, through anguiſh of mind died within three dayes after, in yͤ ſecond yere of his raign, and. 876. after the birth of our ſauiour.

876. H.B.

875. Io. Ma.

There be that wryte howe he was ſtrangled in priſon by Dongall his procurement, leaſt by aduenture he might haue bene reſtored vnto libertie, and with all haue made clayme to the crowne againe.



A conuocation of the clergie.

Gregorie being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, conſidering that the ſuretie of all Realmes reſted in the handes of the diuine Maieſtie, to begin his gouernment with ſome luckie enterpriſe, cauſed a conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the aduancement of Chriſtes religion: where amongſt other things, it was ordeyned, that Prieſts from thenceforth (to the ende they might more freely attende to their vocation) ſhould be exempt from paying of trybute and all maner of exactions. Alſo that they ſhould not be conſtrayned to go vnto the warres, neyther to come before any temporal iudges, but only afore their Ordinaries and Biſhops, by whom they ſhoulde be iudged in al cauſes. The ſame Ordinaries and Biſhops ſhould alſo haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aſwell for the keeping of fayth giuen, as to conſtraine them to confirme the ſame, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be founde in the contrarie. Likewiſe in cauſes of controuerſie touching matrimonie, tythes, teſtamentes, legacies, and ſuch like. Moreouer the correcting of thoſe that blaſpheme eyther God or his Saincts. Heretikes and Nicromancers, with other the like offenders agaynſt the lawes and articles of the Chriſtian religiō, was aſſigned vnto the Biſhops and their ſubſtitutes, ſo that all thoſe which were founde diſobedient vnto them, and refuſed to bee at their commaundement, they ſhould haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the Church, and from companying with any of the congregation, ſo that they that were thus excommunicated, ſhould be depriued of all abilitie to enioy any inheritance or right to landes or poſſeſſions whatſoeuer they were. Neither ſhoulde they be accepted as a witneſſe in any maner of cauſe, neyther beare any office or rule in the common wealth. This Gregorie alſo (as is ſayde) was the fyrſt auctour of that ordinance, by the which the Scottiſh kings at their coronation vſe of auncient cuſtome to vowe by ſolemne othe, that during their lyues, they ſhal mainteyn and defend the Church with hir miniſters, in al ancient liberties and priuiledges, and not to ſuffer any man to hurt or infringe the ſame.

Prieſts are free of all tribute.

They ſhoulde not be called to ſerue in the warres.

Authoritie giuen vnto Biſhops to order things.

Whē the Scottiſh kings firſt began to promiſe by othe to maintaine the libertie of the Church.

There was ſurely in this Gregorie a certaine naturall inclination to vertue, with ſuche aduiſedneſſe in all his wordes, that he vttered few or none but that the ſame ſeemed to be ſpoken with right great conſideration. He was neuer maried, but continued in chaſtitie all his lyfe time. Of meate and drinke he was verie ſpare, deliting in all kinde of ſobrietie, more watchefull than giuen to ſleepe. But his fame encreaſed moſte for hys mainteyning of iuſtice and ciuill adminiſtration concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, not omitting the practiſe of warre, where neceſſitie requyred.

King Gregory was giuē wholy vnto godlineſſe.

King Gregory was neuer maryed.

He was ſober.

The firſt expedition which he tooke in hande, he made into Fyfe, to recouer that countrey to the crowne of Scotlande. At whoſe entrance into the ſame, the Pictes whom the Danes had left in thoſe parties at their departure thence, being ſtrike with feare to fall into the handes of the Scottes their auncient enimies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in maner voyde, and without any that woulde offer to defende it agaynſt the Scottes: whereupon Gregorie ſo finding it deſolate of inhabitants, he ſent for people out of other partes of his Realme, appoynting them dwellings in that Countrey as hee thought moſt expedient. This done he paſſed into Louthian, where taking the fortreſſes and places of defence, ſome

He made an expedition into Fife.

The Piſts fel into Louthian

The king ſet inhabitants in Fife.

He ſubdued Louthian.

ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, he eaſily reduced that Countrey into his ſubiection, ſo that within a fewe dayes, hauing there all at his pleaſure, he came vnto Barwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioyned togither with the Piktes, as men not mynding to flee any further, but to fight with the Scottes euen there, if they ſhould come forward vpon them.

The Danes & Piktes ioyne themſelues togither.

But when they ſaw what number the Scottes were of, and therwith doubting the Engliſh men to come on their backs if the matter went not well with thẽ, they thought it beſt yͭ ſuch Danes as were of any great reputation of Nobilitie ſhoulde withdraw into Barwike before the enimies were at hande, and the reſidue to paſſe ouer Twede into Northumberlande, there to ioyne with other Danes that in thoſe parties were lately arriued.

They fled into Northumberlande.

The Daniſh nobilitie fled into Barwike.

But the Engliſhmen within Barwik abhorring nothing more than to be vnder ſubiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Daniſh nobles into theyr towne, deliuered it togither with their gueſtes vnto the Scottiſhmen, who ſuffring the Engliſh mẽ at their pleaſure either to go their wayes with all their goodes, or to remaine ſtill in their houſes, ſlue the Danes without ſparing eyther man, woman, or childe.

The Danes are ſlaine in Barwike.

Then leauing a ſtrong garriſon of Scottiſhmen within Barwik, Gregorie marched forth with the reſidue of hys people into Northumberlande, to vnite that coũtrey to other of his dominions that bordered vpon the ſame. In thoſe parties at that ſelfe time there were two armies lodged in the fieldes, the one of Danes not farre from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had lately taken and ſacked that Citie, and the other of Engliſh men that lay xx. miles off from the ſayd Danes. Herdunt hearing of the ſlaughter which the Scots had made of his countrey men at Barwike, threatned ſore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scottiſh race within any part of all the confines of Albion. Which vowe many of the companie following their Captaines example, likewiſe made.

Herdunt threatned the Scottes.

Shortly after hearing of their enimies approche, the whole hoſt by commaundement of Herdunt iſſued forth of their campe to giue battaile.

The Danes prepare to the battaile.

Here the Scottiſh king ſtanding with his people in order of battaile, had thought to haue vſed ſome cõfortable ſpeach vnto them, thereby to encourage them to fight, but ſuche haſt was made by the Scots to preaſe vpon their enimies, that he ſaw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect array, than to ſtand about to exhort thẽ, whome he ſaw readie ynough of theyr owne accord to fight.

The Scottes egrely inuade their enimies.

Therfore he ſaid no more vnto thẽ, as he went amongſt the ranckes, but only willed them to remember howe cruelly Conſtantine their king was ſometime murthered after he had yeelded himſelfe priſoner to theſe enimies, with whom they ſhould now ioyne.

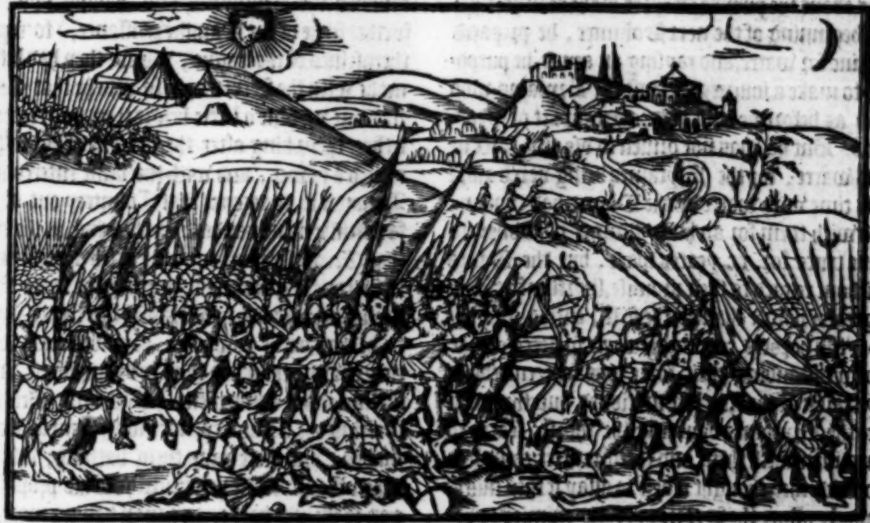
King Gregory his ſaying to the ſouldiers.

The Scots hereupon running to the battaile with no leſſe ſtoutneſſe of minde than violent force, gaue their enimies vneth ſpace to charge their weapõs, but bare them downe with long ſpeares and iauelins, and withall the Bilmen following them made great ſlaughter on eche ſide, ſo that there needed neither exhortation of captaines, nor diligence of wiflers to kepe them in aray. For the wrathfull ſtomackes of the ſouldiers only wrought the feat in ſuch ſort that the Danes were quickly put to flight & chaſed: thoſe that could not eſcape to the campe, got thẽ vnto the next mountaines, who chanced vpon better lucke than thoſe that eſcaped to the campe, for the egreneſſe of the Scots was ſuch in chaſing the enimies, that neither ditch nor rampire coulde ſtay them from entring the campe vpon yͤ Danes where they made greater ſlaughter than they had done in the field.

The Danes fled to their campe.

The next day Herdunt goeth about to aſſemble his men togither againe being

Herdunt aſſembled his men togither.



diſperſed here and there, but when he vnderſtoode how he had loſt the more halfe of his whole hoſt, he curſed that vnhappy day, and determined to retire vnto Raſin, who as then was captain generall of all the Danes that were in Englande: but Herdunt by reaſon of his wounded men, whom he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with any great ſpeede, ſo that he was vneth xl. miles got forth on his way when word came to him, that Raſine fighting with the Engliſhe men vnwarely, at a place called Helcades, chaunced to be ſlaine with a great multitude of his people: and thereunto his head was caried abrode vp and downe the countrey from towne to towne to be ſeene. By ſuch miſhaps the proſperitie of the Danes ſo much flouriſhing of late, began nowe manifeſtly to decay. Herdount although he was not a little diſcoraged herewith, yet he choſe forth a plot of ground moſt meet for his purpoſe, where he determined to remaine in campe till he might vnderſtand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie K. of Scots hauing thus expulſed the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrey vnder his ſubiection: neuertheleſſe he permitted the inhabitants to enioy all their poſſeſſions ſtill, only receyuing of thẽ in name of ſoueraintie a yearely tribute. So that within a few dayes after, he brake vp his armie, & went himſelf vnto Barwike, where he remayned all the winter ſeaſon in conſultation with his nobles about the publike affayres of the realme. In the beginning of the next Sommer, he prepared againe for warre, and rayſing an armie, he purpoſed to make a iourney againſt the Brytains, who held (as before ye haue herd) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vſe any force in this warre, for the Brytaines being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had cõpounded with them for an huge ſumme of money to haue truce for. xx. yeares ſpace, but the Danes without regard to their promiſe, ſhortly after with a greater power than at the firſt, entred into the Brytiſh borders, renuing ẏ warre ſo fiercely, that notwithſtanding their force was ſore enfeebled, by reaſon of the two laſt mẽtioned ouerthrowes, yet the Brytaines doubting the worſt, feared to encounter with them, and therfore after conſultation had, they thought it beſt to aſſay if they might happely allure the Scottes of their enimies to become their friends. And herevpon ſending vnto the Scottiſh King an Heraulde, they requyre to ioyne with them in armes agaynſte the Danes, common enimies to both theyr Countreys, promiſing that if they woulde ſo doe, they woulde willingly ſurrender into his handes all ſuch poſſeſſions which they helde at any time belonging vnto the Scottiſh kingdome.

Herdunt went toward Raſin, chief generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt remayned in campe.

King Gregory ſuffred the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioy their landes

King Gregory wintered at Barwike.

King Gregory prepared an armie againſt the Brytaines.

The Brytaines ſend to king Gregorie.

Gregorie weying with himſelfe how neceſſarie this friendſhip ſhould be, not onely to the publike weale of all the whole lande of Albion, but alſo of the good ſuretie and aduauncement of Chriſtes religion, whereof the Danes were grieuous aduerſaries (for this hee thought, that if Scottes, Engliſh men, and Brytaines did ioyne in one, and knit themſelues togither in ayding ech other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he conſented vnto the requeſt of the Brytaines, and ſo accepting their offer, he had all thoſe regions which appertayned ſometime to the Scottes, and were nowe in poſſeſſion of the Brytaynes, ſurrendered into his handes, and ſo by this meanes were the Scottiſhe confines enlarged and extended vnto their auncient limittes and former boundes. This diſſention and variance being ceaſſed after this maner, greatly reioyced the mindes of all the inhabitantes of thys Ile, but contrariwiſe, the Danes looked for nothing more than preſent deſtruction to enſue vnto them, if this amitie ſhould continue any while amõgſt their enimies, wherfore they practiſed ſundrie meanes to breake the amitie thus remayning betwixt their aduerſaries, Scottes, Engliſh men, and Brytaynes, wherein they needed not greatly to trauayle, for within a ſhort tyme after the concluſion of the ſame league, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Engliſh men, whiche for a ſeaſon had folowed them vnder the conduct and gouernment of their king Alured againſt the Danes, occaſioned the Brytaynes alſo (hauing nowe no further feare of the Daniſhe puiſſance,) to repent themſelues of the league, whiche they had lately made with the Scottes, in ſo muche that Conſtantine whome a little before they had receyued to bee theyr king after the deceaſſe of his father, rayſed a power, and with the ſame entered into Annandale, to recouer that Countrey out of the Scottiſhe mens handes: but hearing in the ende that Gregorie was comming with a great army to ſuccour his ſubiectes, whome the ſayde Brytaynes on eche ſide had ſore afflicted, they began to drawe backe towardes Cumberlande wyth theyr bootie, thinking there to bee in ſafetie vntill a time more conuenient. But king Gregorie coaſting the Countrey, met with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battaile, wherein when Conſtantine perceyued how his people began to ſhrinke backe, as a man hauing more regarde to his honour than to the ſuretie of his life, he ruſhed forth into the formoſt preaſe, there to ſuccour and relieue his Standardes, but being compaſſed about amongeſt a great companie of his enimies, his chaunce was there to bee ſlaine with a number of the chiefeſt Lordes of all the Brytiſh nation. The other multitude ſeeing the day to goe thus agaynſt them, fled to ſaue theyr liues, leauing the victorie ſo to the Scottes.

King Gregory his conſideration.

A peace concluded, and landes ſurrendered to the Scottes.

The Brytaines repent them of the league made with the Scottes.

The Scottes ouerthrow the Brytaynes.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

This ouerthrowe did put the Brytaynes in danger to haue bene vtterly ouerrunne, what by the Scottes on the one ſide, and the Danes on the other; for as for any ayde to be looked for of the Engliſh men, they had plain anſwere they ſhould haue none, ſith they had ſo vniuſtly broken the league cōcluded with their confederates the Scots, to the great hinderance of the proſperous procedings of al the inhabiters of this Ile, againſt their common enimies the Danes. Yet the better to eſtabliſh the eſtate of their countrey, and in hope of ſome recouerie of their former dammages, they crowned to their king one Herbert (or as ſome copies haue Hebert) the brother of the laſt Conſtantine, and herewith ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottiſh men to excuſe themſelues, in that they had ſo wrongfully attempted the warres againſt him and his people, laying all the fault in Conſtantine, who againſt the willes and contrarie to the minds of his ſubiects did take vpon him that diſhonourable and moſt infortunate enterpriſe. Gregorie hauing heard the meſſage of theſe Ambaſſadors, for anſwer declared vnto thē, that he vnderſtood wel ynough that the Brytains now ſued for peace vpon no reuerend conſideration they had vnto their othes of couenāt, but only for that they ſaw howe if they ſhoulde purſue the warre ſtill, they were ſure that in the ende they ſhould be like to haue the foyle: & therefore he was fully thus reſolued, not to conclude any peace or truce with ſuch diſloyall people, till they had reſigned ouer into his hands the whole poſſeſſion of the Countreys of Cumberland & Weſtmerland, with aſſurance neuer to pretende any clayme or title vnto thoſe dominions from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of couenants, to render into his hands not only yͤ keyes of al the townes, caſtels, and fortreſſes in the ſame countreys, and to auoyde quite their wayes into Wales to other their countrey men there, but alſo to deliuer. lx. noble mens ſonnes and heyres apparant as pledges to remain with the Scots. The Ambaſſadors returning home with this meſſage, and reporting it accordingly vnto their king, when all men had ſaid their aduice, in the ende they condiſcended to conclude the peace with the rehearſed conditions preſcribed by the Scottiſh king, ſith they ſawe no better meane to preſerue their nation from preſent deſtruction. And thus deliuering the appoynted number of pledges, they left the countryes of Cūberland and Weſtmerland voyd, ſurrendring into the Scottiſh mens hands the poſſeſſions of all the townes, caſtels & fortreſſes, & therewith departed into Northwales, where they placed thēſelues in the countrey betwixt Conway and the riuer of Dee, out of the which they expulſed the Engliſhe men (that were then in poſſeſſion therof) and therwith they erected a kingdom ther, which they named Stradcluyd, mainteyning warres againſt yͤ Engliſhmen many yeres after. K. Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his kingdome, aſſembled his nobles at Carleil, wher he reſolued with their aduice to follow ſuch good fortune as by Gods prouidence dayly chaunced vnto them. Wherevpon it was agreed, that they ſhould go firſt vnto Yorke to conquer that citie, whileſt the Engliſh men in Kent were occupied with the Danes that were come thither, ſo as neither the one nation nor the other could attend to make any attempt to hinder the Scottiſh mens enterpriſe. But in the meane time came Ambaſſadors vnto Gregorie frō king Alured to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſſe againſt his enimies yͤ Danes & other. Theſe Ambaſſadors alſo willed to haue the auncient league betwixt Engliſhmen & Scottes renued, by which meanes both their powers might ioine togither againſt their common enimies, when they ſhould attempt any wrongfull inuaſion. This requeſt was granted, ſo that ſhortly therevpon peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt thoſe princes & their people, in confirmation of the olde league, whereunto were added theſe articles: that yͤ Scots ſhould enioy the poſſeſſion of Northūberland without any claime to be made to the ſame by the Engliſh men: if the Danes chaunced to inuade either of their dominions, the warre ſhould be accounted as common to them both. Neither ſhould the Scots graunt paſſage to any enimy of the Engliſhmen through Scotlād, neither the Engliſh men ſuffer yͤ Scottiſh mens enimies to paſſe through England. If any Engliſh men did rob or ſteale any thing out of Scotlande that ſhoulde not breake the league, but the offenders with the recepters ſhould be deliuered to the Scottiſh magiſtrats to be puniſhed according to the qualitie of the offence, & the lyke ſhould be obſerued by the Scottes towardes the Engliſhmē. Thus things being quieted with the Engliſhmen, as Gregory was about to lay armor aſide, word came to him of new trouble forth of Galloway, by reaſon of an inuaſion made by the Iriſhmen into that coūtrey. For the Iriſhmē hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had ſpoyled two ſhips of Dublin arryuing on their coaſt, ſent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great ſlaughter of the people on ech ſide. K. Gregory being aduertiſed hereof, ſtreyght wayes made towardes them, but they hauing knowledge of his cōming, drewe to their ſhippes with a great pray of goodes and cattels, and returned therewith immediately back into their own country. Herevpon Gregory without delay got togither his ſhips and folowed the enimies with all his army, & landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention togither whiche of them ſhoulde haue the gouernment, by reaſon

Herbert king of Britain ſent Ambaſſadors.

King Gregory his anſwere.

Gregorie required a reſignation of Cūberlande and Weſtmerland.

Peace was concluded.

Hūfrey Lluid.
870

The pollicy of the Scottes to haue taken Yorke.

K. Alured ſent Ambaſſadours vnto king Gregorie.

Peace confirmed.

New conditions of peace.

No paſſage to be graunted vnto the enimie.

Puniſhment of robbers

Galloway inuaded by the Iriſh men.

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties

The two Iriſh men gather their powers.

theyr king was lately deade, and had left a ſonne behinde him being but a childe in yeares, to ſucceede him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as tendred the wealth of their countrey, went earneſtly about to agree the parties, but when they ſaw that woulde not be, they did ſo much yet, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, leaſt fighting ſtill amongeſt themſelues, they ſhoulde put theyr Countrey in daunger to be ouerrunne of the Scottes: agaynſt whom when they had agreed vpon the foreſayde truce, eyther of the factions rayſed a power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other: for theſe two princes were heades of the parties betwixt whom the controuerſie for the gouernment of the Realme reſted, and therevpon by conſent of the reſidue had the leading of all them that were of their faction. Theſe two Captaynes with their armies encamped themſelues vpon the banke of the Ryuer Bane, vnder the Mountaine called Fute: theyr campes beeing ſeuered by a ſmall diſtance the one from the other, in ſuch a ſtrong place, that it was not poſſible for the enimies to approche them withoute manifeſt daunger to caſt away themſelues. Their chiefe purpoſe was to prolong the tyme here in thys place, till they had famiſhed the Scottiſh armie, and then to deale with them at theyr pleaſure. But the induſtrious prouiſion of Gregorie paſſed the politykc deuiſe of the Iriſhe men: for hee had commaunded that euerie one of thoſe Scottiſh men which paſſed the Seas with him, ſhould puruey hymſelfe of vytayles, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, for fiftie dayes ſpace, as of breade, cheeſe, butter, larde, and powdred biefe: as for drinke they knewe they ſhoulde not neede to care, ſithe they were ſure to finde water ynough in euery place where they chaunced to come: for as yet filthie & ſeruile glutonie had not ſoftened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottiſh people. In the ende Gregorie hauing for certaine dayes reſted himſelf and his men, & deuiſing in the meane time which way he might beſt endomage the enimies. At length concluded to ſende in the night ſeaſon two thouſande of his ſouldiers vp to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called Fute, throughe the thicke buſhes and woods wherewith the ſame was couered, to the ende that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Iriſh campes lay, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the reſt of the armie went about to aſſayle hys enimyes) tumble downe ſtones from the browes of the Hill vpon them, thereby eyther to deſtroy great numbers of them, either elſe to conſtraine them to come forth of their ſtrength into the plaine fields, and ſo to fight with them in a place indifferent. Kenneth Cullan the Thane of Carrick tooke vppon him to haue the conduct of them that ſhoulde goe aboute this enterpriſe, who conueying hys bande ouer the water of Bane, and ſo vp on the backe ſide of the Mountayne, in the morning when their fellowes fell in hande to aſſayle the Iriſhe campe where Bren lodged, they tumbled ſuche plentie of mightie ſtones downe vpon the Iriſhe men, that aboue a thouſande of them beeing ſlaine, all the reſidue were forced to forſake their grounde, and to flee in maner withoute anye ſtroke ſtryken. The Scottes that were ſent to purſue them, tooke a great number of them priſoners, and ſlue but a fewe, hauing before hande ſuche commaundement from their Prince.

Two armies one neare the other.

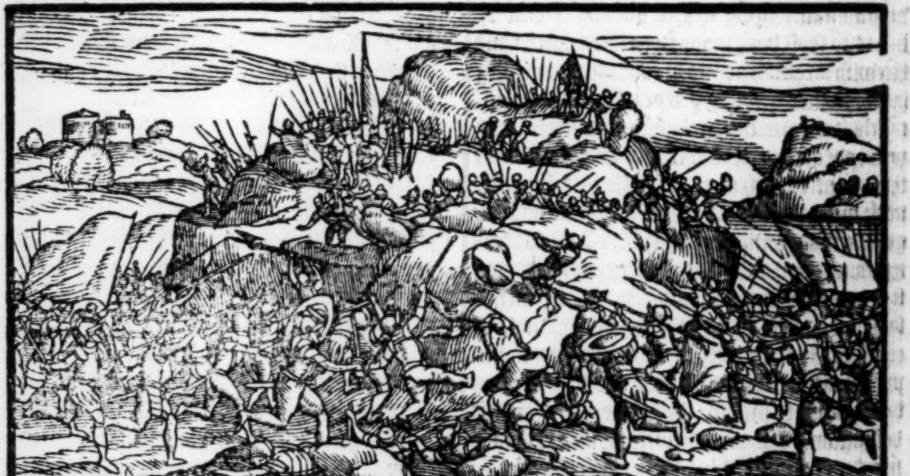
The Iriſh mẽs practiſe.

The Scottes had made prouiſion of vytayles afore hande.

The kings deuiſe.

Kenneth Callan.

King Gregory aſſayled the Iriſhmen.



The Iriſh are purſued.

Whileſt this miſchiefe fell vpon Bren and his people, Cornelius with his folkes curſing that infortunate day, left their lodgings, and marched their wayes in good order of battaile til they were farre ynough out of daunger.

The bodie of Bren alſo was founde amongſt other in the ryfling of the campe, with the heade bruyſed in peeces, and the braynes paſhed oute with ſome ſtone throwne downe by the Scottiſh men from the hyll ſide. Which Gregorie at the requeſt of ſome of the priſoners cauſed to bee buryed in Chriſtian Sepulture. He cauſed alſo women and children to be ſent away harmleſſe, onely retayning the men of able age priſoners. Furthermore he commaunded that they ſhoulde vſe neyther fire nor ſworde, but agaynſt ſuch onely as with weapon in hande made any reſiſtance. and cõmaunded them alſo that they ſhoulde prouide themſelues of vittayles to ſerue them whyleſt they ſhoulde lie abrode and remaine there in that countrey. And hereupon many of the Iriſh people thus taſting the mercifull clemencie of the Scottiſh king, yeelded themſelues vnto him with ſundrie Fortreſſes, ſo that Gregorie finding ſufficient prouiſion of vyttayles to ſerue his hoſt for a long ſeaſon, he went vnto the ſtrong Citie of Doungarge, or Doungarde, which he enuironed aboute with a ſtrong ſiege, and continuing the ſame certaine dayes, at length they within wearyed wyth continuall trauayle and lacke of vittayles, opened the gate, and ſuffered him to enter. He woulde not permit his men to meddle wyth anye of the ſpoyle, but appoynted the Townes men to redeeme the ſame (theyr armour except) of hys Souldiers for a peece of money.

Bren was ſlain.

Women and children are kept harmles.

Vnarmed men were ſpared.

Vitailes were commaunded to be prouided.

Doungarge or Doungard beſieged.

The town was yeelded.

A gentle ranſome.

Afterwarde tarying in this Citie by the ſpace of three dayes, hee departed and came afore another Citie called Pontus, whiche he receyued by ſurrender, and therefore preſerued the Citizens from all hurt and annoyance. From thence hee purpoſed to haue gone vnto Dubline, about .xiiij. myles diſtant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwardes, he was aduertiſed that Cornelius was comming towardes him with ſuch an huge armie, as the like had not beene ſeene within the memorie of man in that Iſle. Whereupon Gregorie chaunging his purpoſe of goyng to Dublin, vpon report of theſe newes, he got him vp into the next mountaine. The next daye came the Iriſh men raunged in three battayles. In the firſt, there was a great multitude of Kernes with Dartes and Bowes: In the ſecond were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in coates of male, with Bucklers and great long Swordes, which they caryed vpon their right ſhoulders, In the thirde battaile, wherein ſtoode their generall Cornelius with all the chiefeſt Nobles of the Countrey, were an infinite companie of all ſortes of Souldiers, choſen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scottes (according to their cuſtome) deuided themſelues into two wings, and a middle warde, in euerie of the which were three ſortes of Souldiers: as fyrſt Archers, and thoſe with long Speares, then Bylmen, and laſt of all, ſuche as bare long Swordes and leaden Malles.

Pontus was ſurrendred alſo.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The Iriſhmen came in three battayles.

Kernes.

Theſe might we name Galloglaſſes, if they had bene furniſhed with Axes.

The Scottes came in two wings.

Thus the battailes beeing ordered on both partes, forwarde they make one towardes another to begin the fight, the Scots (after yͤ the ſhot and throwing of darts was ſpent, and that they came to ioyne) kept off theyr enimies with long Speares or Iauelins, in ſuch ſort, that they were not able to come neare them: which diſaduantage Cornelius perceyuing, commaunded on highe that they ſhoulde with their ſwordes cutte thoſe Iauelynes in ſunder, and as he lyfted vp the viſor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was ſo wounded in the face with a Speare, that he was fain to withdraw apart out of the fielde. The Iriſh men ſuppoſing he had fledde, incontinently to ſaue themſelues, threw off theyr armor and fell to running away. Thus did the victorie encline to the Scottiſhe ſtandardes. There died but a fewe to ſpeake of in the battaile, howbeit in the chaſe there was a wonderfull number ſlaine: for the Scottes purſued them euen vnto Dublin Gates Which Citie the next day Gregorie beſet on eche ſide wyth a mightie ſiege. There was gotte into this Citie at the ſame tyme a wonderfull multitude of people, what of ſuche as were receyued into it fleeing from the battaile, as alſo of other, whiche were there aſſembled before, in hope of aſſured victorie and ſafegarde of their goodes. By reaſon whereof beeing thus beſieged, they beganne quickely to want vytayles, ſo that eyther muſt they of neceſſitie yeelde, eyther elſe by ſome iſſue auoyde that daunger wherein they were preſently bewrapped.

Two battailes ioine.

Cornelius was ſore wounded.

The Iriſh ran away.

Dublin beſieged.

But for as much as they ſaw no great likelyhoode of good ſucceſſe in that exploytt, in the ende it was concluded amongſt them, that (ſithe there was no meane for thoſe Noble men which were incloſed within that Citie to eſcape the enimies handes, and that there were none other of any reputation abrode able to defende the Countrey frõ the Scottiſhmens puiſſance) they ſhould fall to ſome treatie with the Scottiſh king for a peace to be had, with ſo reaſonable conditions as might be obteyned: for other remedie in that preſent miſchief they could deuiſe none, and therfore this was iudged the beſt way of the whole nũber, & namely of Cormach biſhop of Dublin, a man for his ſingular vertue & reputatiõ of vpright life, of no ſmal authority amongſt them. He took vpõ him alſo to go vnto Gregorie to breake yͤ matter, & ſo cõming afore his preſẽce, beſought him moſt hũbly to haue cõpaſſion vpon the poore miſerable citie, and in ſuch ſort to temper his wrath, if he had conceyued any peece of diſpleaſure agaynſt

They conſult vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

Cormach B. of Dublin went vnto king Gregorie.

the Citizens, that it might pleaſe him yet vppon their humble ſubmiſſion to receyue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couſin yong Duncane, vnto whom the kingdome of Irelande was due of right, as all the worlde weil vnderſtoode. He beſought him alſo to remember, that it apperteyned more to the honour of a king to preſerue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet ſtate of Cities and Countreyes, than by violent hande to ſeeke their deſtruction. Wherevnto the king anſwered, that he was not come into Irelande for any couetous deſire he had to the Realme, or to the entent to ſpoyle his kinneſman of the gouernment thereof, but onely to reuenge ſuche iniuries as the Iriſhmen had done to his ſubiectes: not the Scottes but the Iriſhe men themſelues were they that had gyuen the occaſion of the warre, whiche they had dearely bought wyth no ſmall portion of theyr bloud (whiche had beene ſhedde) as puniſhed for that cryme worthily by the iuſte iudgement of almightie God.

Douncane.

A wittie ſaying.

King Gregory his wiſe and godly anſwer.

But as touching an ende to bee had of hys quarell, and for the reſeruing of the Kingdome vnto yong Duncanes behoofe, when hee had the Citie at hys pleaſure, hee woulde then take ſuche order as hee ſhoulde thinke moſt conuenient.

This anſwere of the Scottiſhe king being reported vnto them within the Citie, they determined forthwith to ſet open their gates to receyue him: who, when he had cauſed ſearch to be made whither all things were truely ment according to the outwarde ſhewe or not, he marched forth towardes the Citie to enter the ſame in order of battaile, with all hys whole armie, into the which he was receiued with Proceſſion of al the eſtates: for firſt there mette him all the Prieſtes and men of Religion, with the Byſhop, the foreſayd Cormach, who hauing vpon him his Pontificall apparell, bare in his handes the Crucifixe: then followed the Nobles with the other multitude. Which order when Gregorie beholde, he commaunded his battaile to ſtay a little, and therewith he himſelfe aduaunced forth on foote till hee came to the Biſhop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerently kiſſed the Crucifix, whereupon receyuing humble thankes with high commendation of the Biſhop for ſuche his clemencie, he entred the Citie, not ſtaying till he came into the Market place, where commaunding one part of his armie to keepe their ſtanding, he went with the reſidue vnto the Church of our Ladie, and after to that of Saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine ſeruice when the ſame was ended, hee entred the Caſtell, where his lodging was prepared.

Dublin is ſurrendred vnto king Gregory.

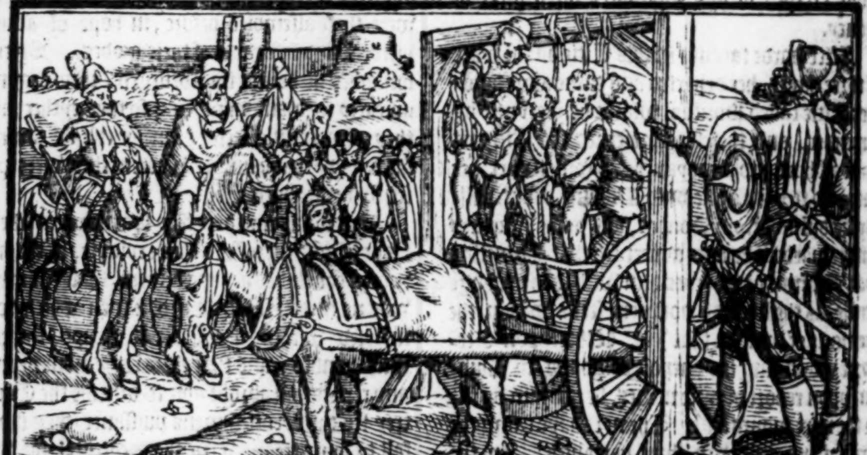
Gregorie was receyued with Proceſſion.

Cormach B. of Dublin becommeth a croſſe bearer.

He kiſſeth the Crucifix.

He entred the Caſtell.

In the morning he cauſed execution to be done of certaine vnruly perſons of his armie, whiche in the night paſſed had broken vp the houſes of ſome of the Citizens, and rauiſhed diuerſe women. And for this acte Gregorie being had in highe reuerence of the Iriſhe people, lodged part of hys armie win the Citie, and part he commaunded to lodge wythout in the campe.



At length hauing remayned a ſeaſon in thys eſtate at Dublin, hee cauſed the Iriſhe Lordes to aſſemble in Counſaile, where in the ende the peace was concluded betwixte him and them, with theſe articles and couenants.

A peace concluded with Irelande.

¶ Firſt it was agreed that the yong king Duncane ſhould be brought vp vnder the gouernment of wiſe and diſcrete perſons, to be inſtructed in all Princely knowledge within a ſtrong Caſtell, (wherein he had hitherto remayned euer ſithe hys fathers deceaſſe) till he came to yeares of diſcretion. And that in the meane tyme Gregorie ſhoulde haue the gouernaunce of the Realme, receyuing all the fortreſſes into his poſſeſſion.

Articles of couenants.

Their yong king to be wel brought vp.

King Gregory to haue the gouernment of the realme.

He ſhould alſo appoynt the Magiſtrates.

he ſhould alſo haue the appoyntment of the magiſtrates, who ſhould ſee iuſtice miniſtred according to the olde lawes and ordinaunces of the Iriſhe kingdome, that the Iriſh men ſhould receyue neyther Engliſhe man, Britaine, nor Dane into theyr Countrey, nor to ſuffer them to trade or marchandiſe, without ſafeconduct to be graunted by him: ſo that things being thus brought vnto a quietneſſe in Irelande, he receyued an othe of the chiefeſt of them for performance of couenants, and herewith taking with him three ſcore hoſtages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotlande.

No man to traffike in Irelande without a paſport.

King Gregory returned into Scotlande.

After this, there chaunced no notable trouble to the Scottes, neyther forraine nor ciuill by all the time of king Gregories reigne, ſo that paſſing the reſidue of his life in quietneſſe, he ſtudied chiefely for the politike gouernment of his people in good order and rule, to the aduauncement of the common wealth: and finally died in happy olde man, in a Caſtell called Dondore within the Countrey of Garioth, in the xviij. yeare after hys entring into his eſtate, and after the byrth of our ſauiour. 892. He was neuer maryed, but lyued in continuall chaſtitie: for his famous victories and other his princely doings deſeruing of the Scottes to be numbred amongſt their moſt high renowmed princes. Amongſt other his princely actes which he ſet forwarde in his life time, to the adornement of his countrey and common welth, Aberdine of a village was aduaunced by him to the ſtate and dignitie of a citie, and the Church there indowed with fayre reuenewes, and ſundry priuiledges. His bodie was conueyed vnto the Abbey of Colmkill, and there buryed with all ſolemne pompe and exequies. Ouer the which hys nexte ſucceſſour Donalde the fift of that name cauſed a fayre tumbe to be erected.

The king died

893

Aberdine is made a Citie.

King Gregory is buried in Colmkill.

In the dayes of this Gregorie alſo, there liued that famous Clerke Iohn Scot, a Scottiſh man in deede borne, but brought vp in ſtudie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Greeke tongue, he was ſent for into Fraunce, to come vnto the Emperour Lewes, with whome he remayned in ſeruice for a time: and by whoſe commaundement he tranſlated the booke of S. Dioniſe, intitled *Hierarchia*, into Latine. Afterwardes being ſent Ambaſſadour from the ſame Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of Englande, he continued with him & taught his children, hauing a place therto appoynted him within the Abbay of Malmeſburie, where he had ſuch reſort of hearers and ſcholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithſtanding, at length when he ceaſſed not to blame and ſharply to reproue the corrupt maners of ſuch his ſchollers as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto

Iohn Scot. Some holde that he was an Engliſh man. Bale.

Dionyſ. Areopagita was tranſlated by Iohn Scot.

He taught K. Alured in England.

He taught in Malmesbury.

He was killed of his ſcholers.

Donald.

Donalde the fifth.

BUt to our purpoſe: after Gregory ſucceeded Donald the fifth in gouernment of the kingdome. He was the Sonne of Conſtantine the ſeconde: and finding the ſtate of the Realme in good quiet and flouriſhing in welth he applied his whole ſtudie to maintaine the ſame in the ſemblable plight and condition. And before all things he cauſed iuſtice to be duely miniſtred, ſo that no wrong were done to any poore perſon vnreuenged. Thus the Lord of heauen had giuen him ſuch a good diſpoſed minde to religion, (to the aduauncement of his glorie) he had the ſame in great reuerence. Amongſt other his good ordinaunces, he made this ſtatute to bee obſerued as a lawe, that ſuch as by ſwearing vnaduiſedly blaſphemed the name of almightie God, or in curſing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fiend, and betooke any Chriſtian creature vnto his helliſhe power and domination (a vice naturally following the people of that Nation) ſhould haue his tongue thruſt through with a burning yron. But wo worth the negligence of ſuch as haue ſucceeded him, in ſuffring ſo neceſſarie an ordinaunce to be aboliſhed and worne out of vſe, conſidering the horrible othes and blaſphemie, with the bitter & dreadfull curſings ſo much frequented of al eſtates in this our time, aſwel in Scotlande as elſewhere, as without great horror of the hearers cannot bee halfe expreſſed. But to our purpoſe touching the gouernment of Donald: it chaunced afterwardes, that he had knowledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puiſſant armie vpon the coaſtes of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe neare vnto the Tyne, without doing any domage to the Countrey: ſo that it was vncertain what he intended, whether to begin a conqueſt there, or to paſſe ouer Humber to make warres on the Engliſhmen. To preuent therefore all daungers, Donalde haſted towardes Northumberlande, howbeit he was not farre forwarde on his iourney, but that worde came to him how Gormond was alreadie paſſed ouer Humber, and entred into the Engliſhe borders. But yet did not Donald ſtay his iourney, til he heard certainly that Gormond keeping vpon his way was aduaunced forwarde at the leaſt xl. miles from the ryuer of Humber, doubting leaſt happely he had ment ſome deceit, as ſodenly to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberlande, when the king had beene once gone backe.

He was a good iuſticier.

He was religious.

A puniſher of blaſphemers.

Good ordinances are ſoone neglected.

Gormond arriued with a nauie in Northumberland.

King Donalde goeth to reſiſt him.

Gormond wet beyond Humber.

Donalde ſent 5000. men to the ayde of the Engliſh men.

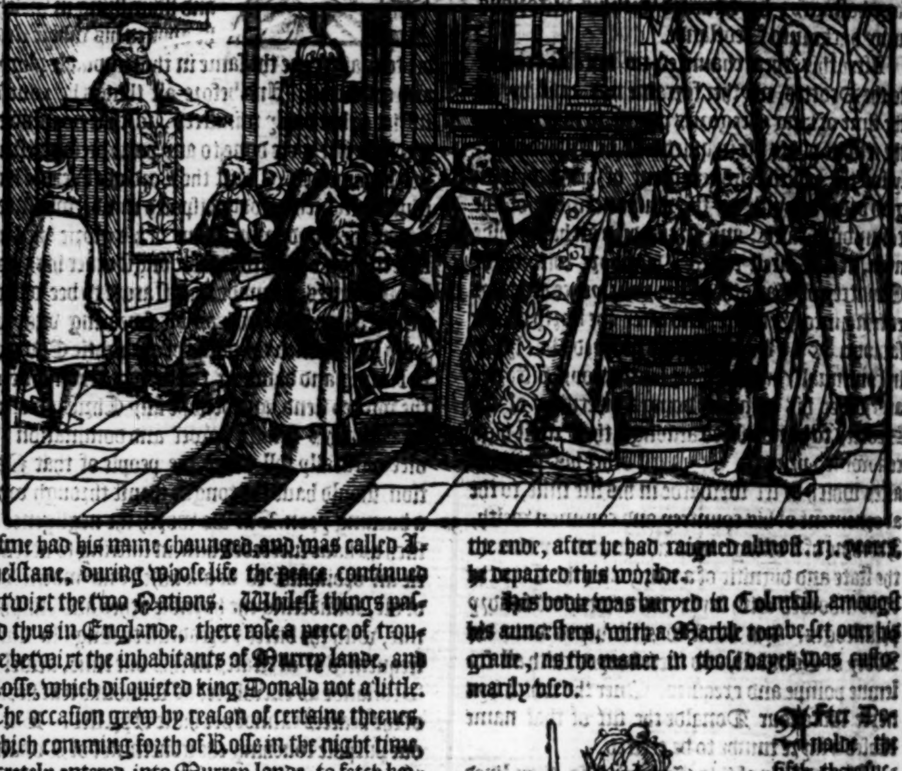
But nowe when it was knowne that hys purpoſe was onely to aſſayle the Engliſh Countreys, according to the league newly confirmed, Donalde ſent fiue thouſande Scottiſh men with the ayde of the Engliſh men. And alſo appoynted two thouſand horſemen to remayne with him in Northumberlande (where he ſtayed for a tyme) diſcharging the reſidue, and licenſing them to returne vnto their homes.

Gormond is ouerthrowne by k. Alured.

Shortly after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the ende the victorie abode with the Engliſh men and Scottes, though the ſame was got with ſuch loſſe of men after long and doubtfull battaile, that they were not able to purſue the enimies any further, but conſtrayned immediatly after, to conclude a perpetuall peace with them, on condition that the Danes ſhoulde enioy common ſeates with the Engliſh men in Albion, ſo that Gormond with his Danes ſhoulde be baptiſed, and profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion. Herevpon alſo were pledges deliuered on both parties, and Gormonde comming to receiue baptiſme had his name chaunged, and was called Athelſtane, during whoſe life the peace continued betwixt the two Nations.

A peace concluded.

The Danes to be baptiſed, & to remaine in England.



Gormonde is baptiſed with many mo.

They of Roſſe inuade Murrey lande.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Englande, there roſe a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey lande, and Roſſe, which diſquieted king Donald not a little. The occaſion grew by reaſon of certaine theeues, which comming forth of Roſſe in the night time, ſecretely entered into Murrey lande, to fetch booties from thence. At the firſt they of Murrey land made reſiſtaunce agaynſt them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to ayde them, they ſkirmiſhed in ſuch wiſe, that within two Monethes ſpace, there were ſlaine betwixt them two thouſand of the one ſyde & of the other.

Two thouſand men ſlaine.

The king wẽt with an armie into Murrey lande.

Donalde beeing not a little offended to haue hys peace broken with inteſtine diſcorde, gathered a great power, and with the ſame haſted into Murrey lande: where calling the chiefeſt doers and mainteyners of this buſineſſe to make anſwere to that which was layde to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themſelues of the cryme, he put them to open execution of death, to the enſample of other. This trouble beeing in this ſort quieted, he went into Northũberland, to be there in a readineſſe, if the Danes or Engliſhe men (whom he ſuſpected) ſhoulde attempt any thing agaynſt his ſubiectes in thoſe parties: where in the ende, after he had raigned almoſt .xj. yeares, he departed this worlde.

The chiefe doers were put to death.

The king went into Northumberlande.

Donald died.

His bodie was buryed in Colmkill, amongſt his aunceſters, with a Marble tombe ſet ouer his graue, as the maner in thoſe dayes was cuſtomarily vſed.

Conſtantine.

After Donalde the fifth, there ſucceeded in rule of the Realme Conſtantine the thirde of that name, the ſon of Ethus the ſwift, beginning his raign in the yeare after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernment, than for the ordering of warlike affayres. King Edwarde that lately ſucceeded Alured in rule ouer the Engliſh men being ware thereof, ſent vnto him an Heralde at armes, commaunding him to reſtore vnto his ſubiectes the Engliſh men, the coũtreys of Northumberland, Cumberlande, and Weſtmerlande (whiche the Scottiſh king Gregorie had in tymes paſt by occaſion of the troubleſome ſeaſon taken from the right

Conſtantine the thirde.

903

King Edward ſent an Herald with defiance.

right owners by force) eyther els to looke for warres at his handes within .xl. dayes after this ſummonance. Conſtantine herevnto anſwered, that if king Edward were minded to make him warre for thoſe landes which he helde by rightfull title, he with his people woulde be ready to defend themſelues, hoping in the almightie God that hee woulde turne the puniſhment on them that vniuſtly had pyked the quarell. Herevpon enſued many rodes and forrayes betwixte the Engliſhmen and Scots made, as occaſion ſerued, into eythers others countrey, with diuers ſkyrmiſhes & light bickerings for a twelue monethes ſpace togither, without any notable encounter of theyr mayne powers. In which meane tyme the Danes encreaſed in puyſſaunce, more than was thought requiſite for the ſuertie eyther of the Engliſhmen or Scottes, whiche moued king Edward by perſwaſion of his Nobles, to make meanes vnto Conſtantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Conſtantine lightly agreede ſo that the league was confirmed agayne with the former articles betwixt the Engliſhe and Scottiſh nations. Shortly after alſo the warre was renewed betwixt the Engliſhmẽ & Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by concluſion of a mariage betwixt Sithrik king of Northumberland and Beatrice the doughter of king Edwarde, till at length Sithrik was poyſoned by his wife the ſayde Beatrice: and then bicauſe Iualaſſus whome the Engliſhe wryters name Anlafe and Godfrey, the ſonnes of Sithrike, put the ſame Beatrice to death, hyr father king Edward moued warre againſt them, & in foughten fielde diſcomfited them, but was ſlaine in that battel himſelfe (as Hector Boetius hath.) But for the further truth of this mater, ye may read more in the Hiſtorie of Englande.

The anſwere of king Conſtantine.

Forewarnings of warres.

The peace was renewed & the league confirmed.

The Danes were diſcomfited.

The Danes being certified, that king Edwarde was thus ſlayne, conceyued ſuch hope of good ſucceſſe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquiſhed, they immediatly made new preparation for the warre, and firſte of all Iualaſſus the one of the two brethern before mencioned, ſent vnto Conſtantine the Scottiſh king, to allure him to ioyne with them agaynſt the Engliſhmen, whiche with great giftes and large promiſes hee eaſily brought to paſſe, the league not withſtandyng whiche remayned betwixt the Engliſhe and Scottiſhe nations. Herevpon bothe the Scottes and Danes made the greateſt prouiſion that might be; thinking verily to ſubdue the Engliſhmen, and to bryng them to vtter deſtruction. Malcolme ſonne to king Donald was appointed by king Conſtantine to haue the leading of the Scottiſhe army, conteyning the number of twentie thouſande men. The ſame Malcolme alſo at the ſame time was created heyre apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland aſſigned vnto him for the mayntenance of his eſtate. And euer then it was ordeyned, that he which ſhould ſucceede to the crowne after the kings deceaſſe, ſhoulde enioy that prouince. Malcolme ioyning his power with Iualaſſus and Godfrey (who had aſſembled in like maner a mightie hoſte of Danes) they all togither brake into the Engliſh confines, leauing no kinde of crueltie that might be deuiſed vnexerciſed vpon the people without any pitie or compaſſion in all places where they came, to the end which the Engliſhmẽ moued with the ſlaughter of theyr kinſfolkes and frendes, ſhould come forth into the field to giue batayle, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtande the force of the Danes and Scottiſhmen nowe ioyned in one army togither. But the more hilanie they ſhewed in theyr doings, the ſorer were they puniſhed for the ſame. For Adelſtane the baſe ſonne of king Edward (whom the Engliſhmen had choſen to ſucceede in gouernment of their kingdome after his fathers deceaſſe) with al ſpeede ſought to be reuenged of ſuch iniurious doings. Wherevpon getting togither an army, he encountred with them at a place called Bruningfield, or Brunenburgh in Iulie, Anno 937. where the Engliſhmen at the firſte of purpoſe gaue ſome thing backe, as though they had fled: which maner when the Danes and Scottes behelde, ſuppoſing the Engliſhmen had fledde in dede, they began to purſue amayne, leauing theyr order of batayle, eche of them ſtriuing who might be the formoſt. The Engliſhmen according to the order appoynted to them by theyr Captaines, ſodenly fell into array againe, and fiercely returning vpon theyr enimies, beat them downe in great numbers, and ſo atteined a moſt triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall batayle many thouſandes of Danes & Scottiſhmẽ, but chiefly the Scottiſh nobilitie bought the bargaine moſt deare, who choſing rather to die in the fielde than to ſuffer rebuke by diſhonorable flight, it came ſo to paſſe that fewe of them eſcaped. There died on that ſide (as ſome wryte) 20000. men in this batayle, togither with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Brytons, and .vij. Dukes that came to helpe the Scottes and Danes. Athelſtane by good aduiſe following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrey diſfurniſhed of menne of warre, he eaſily made a full conqueſt thereof, hauing all the holdes and fortreſſes deliuered into his handes. Then without further delay he paſſed into Weſtmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of bothe thoſe regions came forth with bare heades, in token of moſte humble ſubmiſſion yelded them-

The Danes conceyue hope of good ſucceſſe.

The Scots euer falſe to the Engliſhmen.

The Scots and Danes confederate themſelfe togither.

Malcolme is made chief generall of the armie.

He is created alſo heyre apparant.

The Earle of Cumberland heyre apparāt to the king of Scots.

The Scots and Danes ioyne theyr powers togither.

They began a cruell warre.

Adelſtane baſe ſonne vnto king Edward.

Adelſtane came againſt the Scottes.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowen.

The nobilitie wẽt to wracke.

Adelſtane toke Northumberland.

Weſtmerland & Cumberland recouered.

ſelues vnto him, promiſing from thenceforth to continue as his faithfull ſubiectes. In the meane time Malcolme beyng ſore wounded in the battayle, eſcaped yet with great daunger, and in an horſe litter was conueyed home into his countrey, where he declared vnto king Conſtantine the whole circumſtance of the ouerthrow & loſſe of his countreys aforeſayde. Wherevpon Conſtantine cauſed a councell to be called at Abernethy, where he perceyued howe that his realme was enfeebled through lacke of ſuch of the nobilitie as were loſt in the laſte battayle, by reaſon the reſidue that were left ſeemed through want of yeares, neither able by councell nor force to defend the realme, ſo as he vtterly deſpaired eyther to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in ſuch politike ſorte as he would haue wiſhed. And therefore to rid himſelf of all ſuch cares and troubles, and withall deſpiſing all ſuch worldly pompe as might withdrawe him from deuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partly bent) he gaue ouer his kingly aſtate, and became a Chanon within the Abbey of S. Andrewes amongſt the couent there. This was in the yeare of our Sauiour. 943. and in the .xl. yeare of his owne reygne: as Hector Boetius ſaith: but if he did thus forſake the worlde and entred into religion immediatly after the battayle fought at Broningfielde or Brunenburgh (for ſo we finde it named by ſome wryters) then muſte it needes be afore this ſuppoſed time alledged by the ſame Boetius, for that battayle was fought, Anno. 937. as the beſte approued amongeſt our Engliſhe wryters do report, ſo that it ſhoulde rather ſeeme that Conſtantine refuſed in deede to deale with the gouernment of the realme, about the ſame yeare of our Lord. 937. or ſhortly after, and that Malcolme gouerned as Regent and not as king whileſt Conſtantine liued, who departed this life (after he had cōtinued in the Abbey of S. Andrewes a certayne time) in the foreſayd yeare. 943. falling in the .xl. yeare after he firſt beganne to reygne. He was firſt buried in the church there amongſt the Biſhops, but afterwards he was taken vp & trāſlated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tumbe ſet ouer him, as was conuenient for the memory of his name.

Malcolme eſcaped his hurtes.

A councel called by Conſtantine.

Conſtantine becommeth a Chanon.

943.

M.VVeſtm.

943.

Conſtantine died.

In the .xxxvj. yeare of his reygne there were two monſtruous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongſt the Danes being an *Hermophrodyte*, that is to witte, a childe with bothe ſexes, hauing the head lyke a ſwyne, the breſte ſtanding forth more in reſemblance than the common ſhape of man, a fatte belly, with feete lyke a gooſe, legges lyke a man, full of bryſtels, and a very euill fauoured thing to beholde. The other was borne in Northumberlande, onely hauing a mannes ſexe, with one whole belly from the nauell downe, but aboue, the ſame diuided into two breſtes croſſed or compaſſed ringwiſe and not broade hyther in the ſhape of a ring, beſide this it had foure armes and two heades. And euen as from the nauell vpwardes it was thus diuided into two bodies, ſo did it appeare that there was two ſundry willes or deſires in the ſame, not luſting concordly, as when the one did ſleepe, the other would wake: when the one required to haue meate, the other paſſed for none at all. Oftentymes would they chyde & braule togither, in ſomuche that at length they fell to ſome great variaunce, that they did beate and ſcratch eyther other right pitifully with theyr nayles. At length the one with long ſickneſſe wearying away and finally deceaſſing, the other was not able to abide the greeuous ſmell of the dead carcaſe, but immediatly after died alſo.

A monſter.

An other mōſter.

Two contrary willes in this Monſter.

One part died before the other.

Aboute the ſame tyme there iſſued forth a fountayne of bloude out of the ſide of a mountayne in Galloway, and flowed in great aboundaunce for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither, ſo that all the ryuers there aboute (wherof there is great ſtore in that countrey) had theyr waters mixed with bloude, and ſo renning into the ſea, cauſed the ſame to ſeeme bloudie certaine miles diſtant from the ſhore. Theſe prodigious ſightes put menne in greate feare, for that diuinours did interprete the ſame to ſignifie ſome great bloudſhedde to fall vpon the Scots ſhortly after. They were alſo the better beleeued, for that within a whyle after that greate ouerthrow happened at Bronyngfielde, as before is ſpecified.

Blood iſſued out of an hill.

What was ment by theſe wonders.

Malcolme.

AFter that Conſtantine (as is ſayde) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the ſonne of Donalde was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceiued right wel how the force of the realme was ſo enfeebled, that there was no hope to maintayne warres abroad, yet his chiefe ſtudie was by all meanes poſſible to defende the bordures of the Scottiſhe dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Engliſhmen. But as he was about to haue ſente Ambaſſadours vnto king Athelſtane, to haue treated for peace, he was credibly enformed, howe Athelſtane had gyuen Northumberlande vnto Analaſſus, and made a league with him to haue his ayde againſt the Scottes.

Analaſſus had giuen him Northumberland.

Whiche newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderſtood how his realme was vnpurueyed of ſkilfull Captaines to make reſiſtance. Yet hee cauſed a councell to be called, wherein when ſuche as were aſſembled proponed many fond & childiſhe reaſons, it might appeare there was ſmall hope of any good concluſion: but euen as they were at a poynt to haue broke vp without any certaine reſolution, worde was brought howe through ſeditious diſcorde, whiche had chaunced betwixt the Danes and Engliſhmen being aſſembled togither in campe, they had fought a right bloudy battayle, the victorie in the ende remayning with the Engliſhmen, who ceaſſed not to purſue the Danes in chaſe, ſo long as any day light appeared in the ſkie. Analaſſus with ſuche Danes as he might get togither after that ouerthrowe, fledde into Weſtmerland, and within three dayes after, in ſuche ſhippes as he found there vpon the coaſt, he ſayled ouer into the Iſle of Man, and ſpoyling the ſame, with all the pray he paſſed from thence ouer into Irelande. In the meane time king Athelſtane hauyng loſt no ſmall number of his people in the foreſayde batayle, omitted his iourney into Scotlande, and lay ſtill in Northumberland, no man vnderſtanding what he entended to do. Which newes were ſo pleaſant to the Scottiſhmen, that there was common ſupplications and proceſſions made through the whole realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this meanes frō ſo great and preſent daunger.

A councell called.

The Engliſhmen and the Danes fall out togither, and fight.

Analaſſus fled into Weſtmerland.

Rifled the Iſle of Man, & got him into Ireland.

They goe in proceſſion in Scotlād for ioy

Shortly after came Ambaſſadours from Athelſtane vnto Malcolme to moue meanes for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottiſhe and Engliſh nations according to the articles of the old league. Whiche motion was ioyfully hearde of Malcolme, though he ſet a countenaunce of the mater as though hee paſſed not whether hee had warre or peace: but in the ende for that as he ſayde, peace was moſte neceſſarie for all partes, he ſhewed himſelfe willing to haue the olde former league renewed betwixte the Engliſhmen and Scottes, with any reaſonable conditions whiche ſhould be thought to be requiſite. After the returne of the Ambaſſadours, the league was newly confirmed betwixt the two kings & theyr people, with the ſemblable articles as were compryſed in the olde league, with this article onely added therevnto, that Northumberland being as now repleniſhed moſt with Daniſh inhabitāts, ſhould remaine to the Engliſhmen: and Cumberland with Weſtmerlande to the Scottes vpon this condition, that he whiche ſhould ſucceede as heyre vnto the crowne of Scotlande after the kings deceaſſe, being heyre apparant, ſhould hold thoſe regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vaſſall perpetually for the ſame. The peace being thus eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe nations, Indulphe the ſonne of Conſtantine the thyrde was proclaymed prince of Cumberland and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland. After this, Malcolme paſſed the reſidue of his life in good quiet, without any troubles of warre, as a man onely ſtudying to mainteyne the ſtate of his realme in good order, aſwell for the wealth of the temporaltie as ſpiritualtie, whereunto hee was equally inclined. At length as he rode about the prouinces of his realme to ſee the lawes duely miniſtred, at Urine a village in Murraylād, where he cauſed iuſtice to be ſomewhat ſtraightly executed vpon offendors, he was murthered in the night ſeaſon by treaſon of a fewe conſpiratours, in the .xv. yeare of his reigne. But ſuche as did this wicked deede with theyr complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, ſuffered due execution, according as they had deſerued, being torne in peeces with wilde horſes, and thoſe peeces ſent vnto ſundry cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

Ambaſſadours ſent vnto Malcolme.

The league was confirmed agayne.

Northumberland allotted vnto England.

Cumberlād & Weſtmerland to do homage vnto England.

King Malcolme was murthered.

The conſpirators were put to execution.

The murtherers were torn with horſes.

They that were the deuiſers of the murder alſo, & procured the doers therevnto, were thruſt through vpon ſharpe ſtakes, and after hanged vpon high gybettes: and other of the conſpiratours were put to other kindes of death, as the caſe ſeemed to requyre. The death of Malcolme chaunced in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour .959. Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scottes are deceyued in their accompte of yeares, or els miſtake the names of the kings of Englande, for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the .xxij. yeare of Athelſtane king of England, that can not be if Malcolmes deceaſſe chaunced in the yeare .959. for Athelſtane was dead long before that time, to witte in the yeare .940. and reygned but .16. yeares. Moreouer where the Scottiſhe writers make mencion of the warres which king Edmond that ſucceded Athelſtan had againſt Anlafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the dayes of king Indulfe, that ſucceded Malcolme, it can not ſtande by any meanes (if they miſtake not theyr accompt of yeares,) for the ſame Edmond was ſleyne in the yeare .948. But verily this fault in the falſe accompt of yeares is but to common in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie, and therefore to him that ſhould take vpō him to reforme the errours thereof in this behalfe, it were neceſſarie to alter in a maner the whole courſe of the ſame hiſtorie: and therefore we will not wiſhe any man to giue any credite vnto theyr accompt in yeares touching the reignes of the Engliſhe kings, fur-

ther

The procurers of the murder were ſtaked.

959.

The miſtaking of the names and times of the Engliſh kings, in the Scottiſh wryters.

ther than they ſhall ſee them to agree with our wryters, whome in that behalfe wee may more ſafely followe, and by conferring the ſame with the Scottiſhe wryters in ſome places, happely perceyue the true time aſwell of the reygnes of theyr kings as of actes done, to fall out in yeares and ſeaſons, much differing from their accompt: whereof to admoniſh the Reader, aſwell here as in the Engliſh hiſtorie, wee haue thought it not impertinēt. And albeit that ſome may aſke what reaſon we haue to moue vs to doubt of their accompte of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers, we wil referre the ſame vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauayled indifferently alike, aſwell in peruſing the one as the other without affectiō. But as the errours are ſooner founde than amended, ſo haue wee thought good to ſet downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we finde them noted in the Scottiſh wryters, ſpecially in places where wee differ any thing from them, bicauſe we will not ſeeme by way of controlment, to preiudice the authours further, than by due conſideration the well aduiſed Reader ſhall thinke it expedient.

Indulph

BUt to my purpoſe: after yͤ corps of Malcôlme was once buried according to the cuſtome, amongſt his predeceſſours in the Abbey churche of Colmekill, Indulphe prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble cheare at Scone, there receyuing the crowne and other the inueſtures of the kingdome. In the adminiſtration whereof he continued for the ſpace of fiue yeares without any notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was requyred by meſſengers ſent vnto him from Aualaſſus, to ioyne with him in league agaynſt the Engliſhmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, whiche aſwell the Danes as Scottes had receyued at Broningfield, alledgyng that oportunitie was now offered, ſith after the deceaſſe of Athelſtane the Engliſhmen had created Edmond to theyr king, a man of a dull witte, and not fitte for the adminiſtration of high affayres: neyther did the league concluded betwixt Athelſtane and Malcolme enfôrſe any impediment, but that he might enter the warre againſt the Engliſhmen, conſidering bothe thoſe Princes that were the Authours of that league were departed out of this lyfe, by whoſe deceaſſe the ſayde league was ended.

Indulphe is prouoked by Aualaſſus, to warre agaynſt England.

His perſuaſions.

But Indulph for anſwere herevnto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelſtane, by great deliberation of aduice, and by conſent of all the eſtates of bothe realmes, taking theyr ſolemne othes for the true obſeruing thereof, ſo that he coulde not, onleſſe he ſhoulde violate that othe, attempt any thing to the breache of peace with the Engliſhmen, procuring the iuſte indignation of almightie God againſt him and his people in that behalfe.

Indulph his anſwere.

Herevpon the Danes accompting Indulph but a ſlouthfull and negligent perſon for this kinde of anſweare, as he that regarded not the honour of his realme and people, in letting paſſe ſo great oportunitie to be reuenged of the Engliſhmen for the death of ſuche Scottes as died in the ouerthrow at Broningfield, determined not to be noted with the like ſpotte of reproche, but with all ſpeede ſending for ayde into Norway, prepared to paſſe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualaſſus, who ioyning his power with the Norwaygians whiche came to his ayde vnder the leading of a right valiant Captayne called Raynold, tranſported with all ſpeede ouer into Northumberlande, vnto whom the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himſelfe to be deſcended of the Daniſhe bloud, yeelded all the Caſtels, Townes and Fortes, promiſing to ayde Aualaſſus againſt king Edmond to the vttermoſt of his power.

The Danes not pleaſed with ſuch an anſwer procure warres againſt Engl

The Norwaygians come to the ayde of Aualaſſus.

Raynolde a valiant Captayne.

Elgarine yeelded the fortes vnto the Danes.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmond, with al ſpeede he gathereth his power, and ſending into Scotlande for ſuche ayde as he ought to haue from thence by couenaunts of the league, there came vnto him ten thouſande Scottiſhmen with ready willes to ſerue him in theſe his warres agaynſt the Danes. Then ioyning his owne people with thoſe Scottiſhmen, he ſet forewarde towardes his enimies. There were an eyght thouſande Northumberland men with Aualaſſus, the whiche vpon the firſte encounter with the Engliſhmenne, fell ſtreight vnto running away, whiche made an open and readie breache vnto the Engliſhe part, to attayne the victorie: for the Danes beyng not able to reſiſte the violent force of theyr enimies, encouraged nowe with the flight of the Northumbers, were quickely conſtreyned to giue backe, and in the ende to flee amayne, the Engliſhmen and Scottes following in the chaſe with ſuche fierceneſſe, that all ſuche as they ouertooke died vpon the ſworde, though they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humbly in requiring mercie.

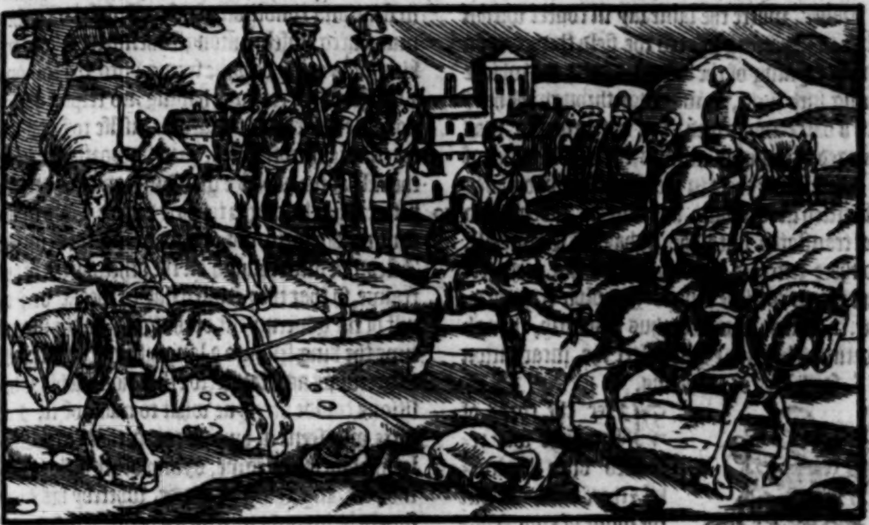
10000. ſouldiours ſent vnto king Edmond.

Elgarine yet chauncing to fall into his enimies handes was taken aliue: for ſo had Edmond commaunded, that if any man might take him, he ſhould in any caſe ſaue his life, that he might put him to death in moſte cruell wiſe, to the enſample of other. After this and for the ſpace of three dayes after the battayle, Edmond

Elgarine taken pryſoner.

lay ſtill in the fieldes neare to the place where they fought, and then repayred vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treaſon was drawen in peeces with wilde horſes.

Elgarine is drawen in peeces.



There chaunced alſo no notable trouble in Albion during the ſpace of foure yeares after this ſayde ouerthrow of the Danes with theyr Captaine Aualaſſus, who is otherwiſe alſo named Inlafe, as is to be ſeene in the Engliſh hiſtories where the ſame make mention of the foreſayde king Edmond, whom likewiſe they affirme to be the brother of Athelſtane and not his ſonne, as before is partely touched. Indulph in this meane time did with greate diligence ſee to the good order of his realme, ſhewyng therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But euen as all things ſeemed to reſt in peace and quietneſſe through the whole Iſle of Albion, Hagon king of Norway, and Helrike king of Denmarke, vpon purpoſe to reuenge the ſlaughter of theyr countrey men lately made in Northumberlande, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coaſtes of Scotland, aſſaying to lande with their whole armie, firſte in the Forth, then in the riuer of Tay, but yet through ſuch reſiſtaunce as the Scottes made, beyng aſſembled togither to keepe them off, they were fayne to withdrawe, & waſting alongſt the coaſtes of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, & Buthqhane, at length faynyng as though they woulde haue taken their courſe homewardes, they launched forth into the high ſeas, but within foure dayes after returning againe to the ſhore, they lãded their people early in one morning vpon the coaſt of Boene, at a place called Cullane, a countrey ioyning vnto Buthqhane, putting ſuche of the countrey people to flight as preſented themſelues to impeach their landing and inuaſion.

King Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke & Norway, enter with an army into Scotland.

The enimies are put off.

They lande in Boene.

But Indulph being aduertiſed hereof, forthwith aſſembling the whole power of his realme, drew towardes that parte with ſuch ſpeede, that hee was come into Boene before his enimies were certified that hee was ſet forwarde. So ſoone therefore as they heard he was come, ſuche as were abroade forraying the ſame countrey, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came ſtil forward, and vpon his approche to the enimies, he prepared to giue battayle, and with a ſhort oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully, but before he coulde make an ende, the Danes gaue the onſet with ſuche violence, that the batayle a long ſpace continued doubtfull on bothe ſides, the Danes on the one parte and the Scots on the other, doyng their vttermoſt endeuours to atchieue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with theyr Captaines Dunbar & Grame began to appeare on the backe half of the Danes, with whiche ſight they were put in ſuche feare, that thoſe which fought in the fore ward, retyred backe vnto the middle warde, whome the Scots egrely purſuyng, beat downe euen till they came vnto the rereward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and ſo to be ſlaine in the chaſe (for thoſe in the rereward were heauie armed men) cõtinued the batayle more with a certaine ſtiffe ſtubborneſſe of minde than with any great force or forecaſt, being ſo ouermatched as they were, and forſaken of theyr fellowes: for other of the Danes, namely the Archers and Kernes fled theyr wayes, ſome towardes theyr ſhippes, and ſome here and there being ſcattered abroade in the fieldes, fell into the moſſes and mareſſe grounds and other ſtreytes, where they were ſlaine euery one by ſuch as followed in the chaſe.

King Indulph draweth neare towardes the enimies.

King Indulph prepared to the batayle.

The Danes gaue the onſet.

A ſupply ſent vnto the Scots

The Danes fielde.

Indulph himſelf with certayne companies about him, departing from his mayne batayle to diſcouer

The king with few in his cōpanie, falleth into the enimies daunger through negligence.

diſcouer the fields as though al had bene quiet on eche ſide, fell by chaunce vpon a whole bande of the Danes, where the ſame lay in couert within a cloſe valley being fled frō the field thither vpon the firſt ioyning of the batayles, with the whiche entring into fight, he was ſhot through the head with a darte and ſo died, but not before he was reuenged of thoſe his enimies, the whole nūber of thē being ſlaine there in the place. His bodie was firſt buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after tranſlated vnto the Abbay of Colmekill, and there enterred amongſt other his predeceſſours the Scottiſhe kings. Indulph reigned about .ix. yeares and died thus valiantly, though infortunately, in the yeare after the incarnation 968. ſaith Hector Boetius.

King Indulph was ſlayne with a darte, & died.

961. hath Io. Ma.

968.

Duffe.

AFter the corps of Indulphe was remoued vnto Colmekil & there buried, Duffe the ſonne of king Malcolme was crowned king at Scone with al due ſolemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne Culene the ſonne of king Indulphe was proclaymed prince of Cumberlande: immediatly wherevpon the king tranſported ouer into the weſterne Iſles to ſet an order there for certaine miſdemeanours vſed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongſt them he called the Thanes of the Iſles afore him, cōmaunding ſtraytly as they would auoyde his diſpleaſure to purge theyr countreys of ſuch malefactours, wherby the huſbandmen & other cōmons might liue in quiet without vexation of ſuche barettours & idle perſons as ſought to liue only vpō other mēs goodes. The Thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, toke no ſmall number of the offenders, partely by publike authoritie, & partly by lying in awayte for thē where they ſuppoſed theyr haunt was to reſort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, cauſed ẏ reſidue of that kind of people eyther to get them ouer into Ireland, eyther els to learne ſome manuall occupation wherewith to get theyr liuing, yea though they were neuer ſo great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreeme rigour ſhewed thus by the king againſt their linage, were much offended therewith, accompting it a great diſhonour for ſuche as were deſcended of noble parentage to be conſtrayned to get theyr liuing with the labour of theyr handes, which only appertayned to plowmen, & ſuch other of the baſe degree as were borne to trauayle for the mayntenance of the nobilitie, & to ſerue at their commaundement by order of their birth, and in no wiſe after ſuch ſorte to be made in maner equall with them in ſtate and condition of life.

The king wēt vnto the weſterne Iſles.

He purged the Iſles.

Barettors takē and put to death.

Vagaboundes compelled to learne an occupation.

The nobles were diſcontented with the kings doyngs.

And further they murmured cloſely amongſt themſelues, how the king was onely become freend vnto the cōmons & clergie of his realme, hauing no reſpect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himſelfe to be an vtter enimie therof, ſo ẏ he was vnworthy to haue the rule of the nobles & gentlemē, onleſſe he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did ſpred not onely among them in the Iſles, but alſo through all the other partes of his realme, ſo that they ceaſſed not to ſpeake very euill of the gouernment of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languiſhing diſeaſe, not ſo greeuous as ſtrange, for that none of his Phyſitions coulde perceyue what to make of it. For there was ſeene in him no token, that either choler, melancolie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abounde, whereby his body ſhould be brought into ſuch a decay & cōſumptiō (ſo as there remayned vnneth any thing vpon him ſaue ſkin & bone:) & ſithence it appeared maniſeſtly by all outward ſignes & tokens, that natural moiſture did nothing faile in ẏ vital ſprits: his colour alſo was freſhe & fayre to behold, with ſuch liuelineſſe of lookes, that more was not to be wiſhed for: he had alſo a tēperate deſire & appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not ſleepe in the night time by any prouocatiōs that could be deuiſed, but ſtill fell into exceeding ſweates, which by no meanes might be reſtreyned. The Phyſitions perceyuing all theyr medicines to wante the effect, yet to put him in ſome comfort of help, declared vnto him that they would ſende for ſome cūning Phiſitions into forraine parties, who haply being inured with ſuch kind of diſeaſes, ſhould eaſily cure him, namely ſo ſoone as the ſpring of the yeare was once come, whiche of it ſelf ſhould help much therunto. Howbeit ẏ king though he had ſmall hope of recouerie, yet had he ſtill a diligent care to the due adminiſtration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuiſing oft with his councel about the ſame: but yet whē it was vnderſtood into what a perillous ſickneſſe he was fallen, there were no ſmall number that cōtemning the authoritie of the magiſtrates, began to practiſe a rebellion. And amōgſt the chiefeſt were thoſe of Murrayland, who ſleyng ſundry of the kings officers began to rage in moſte cruell wiſe againſt all ſuch as were not conſenting to their miſordered tumult. The kings phiſitions forbad in any wiſe, that the king ſhoulde be aduertiſed of ſuch buſineſſe, for doubte of encreaſing his ſickneſſe with trouble of minde about the ſame. But about that preſent time there was a murmuring amongſt the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall ſickneſſe, but

The occaſion of murmuring of the nobilitie.

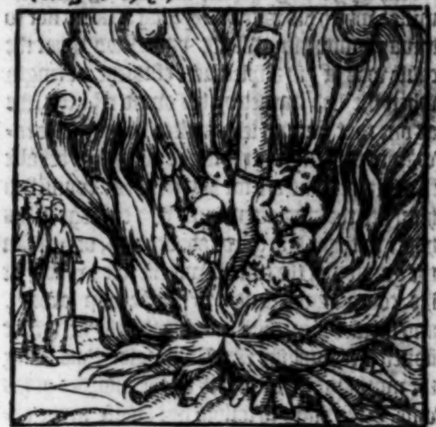
The king fell ſicke.

The king being ſicke, yet he regarded iuſtice to be executed.

A rebellion practiſed.

The rebellion was kept from the kings knowledge.

by ſorcery and Magicall arte, practiſed by a ſort of Witches dwelling in a towne of Murrayland, called Fores. Whereupon albeit, the Authour of this ſecrete talke was not knowen, yet being brought to the kings eare, it cauſed him to ſende forthwith certaine wittie perſons thither to enquyre of the truth. They that were thus ſent, diſſembling the cauſe of theyr iourney, were receyued in the darke of the night into the caſtell of Fores by the lieutenant of the ſame, called Donwald, who continuing faithful to the king, had kepte that caſtell agaynſt the rebelles to the kings vſe. Vnto him therefore theſe meſſengers declared the cauſe of theyr cōming, requiring his ayde for the accompliſhment of the kings pleaſure. The ſouldiers whiche lay there in gariſon had an inkeling that there was ſome ſuch mater in hand as was talked of amongſt the people, by reaſon that one of them kept as cōcubine a yong womā which was doughter to one of yͤ witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vſed by hir mother & other hir cōpanions, with yͤ intent alſo, which was to make away the king. The ſouldier hauing learned this of his leman, told the ſame to his fellowes, who made reporte therof to Donewald, & he ſhewed it to the kings meſſengers, & therwith ſent for the yōg damoſell which the ſouldier kept, as then being within the caſtell, & cauſed hir vpon ſtreyt examination to cōfeſſe the whole mater as ſhe had ſeene & knew: wherupon learning by hir cōfeſſiō in what houſe in the towne it was where they wrought theyr miſcheeuous miſterie, he ſent forth ſouldiers, about the midſt of the night, who breaking into yͤ houſe, found one of the Witches roſting vpon a wodden broche an image of waxe at the fire, reſembling in ech feature the kings perſon, made & deuiſed as is to be thought, by craft & arte of the Deuill: an other of thē ſat reciting certain words of enchauntment, & ſtill baſted the image with a certaine licour very buſily. The ſouldiers finding thē occupied in this wiſe, toke thē togither with the image, & led thē into the caſtell, where being ſtreitly examined for what purpoſe they went about ſuch maner of enchantmēt, they anſwered, to the end to make away yͤ king: for as yͤ image did waſt afore the fire, ſo did the bodie of the king breake forth in ſweate. And as for the wordes of enchauntment, they ſerued to keepe him ſtill waking frō ſleepe, ſo that as the waxe euer melted, ſo did the kings fleſh: by which meanes it ſhould haue come to paſſe, that when yͤ waxe were once cleane cōſumed, the death of the king ſhould immediatly follow. So were they taught by euill ſpirites, & hyred to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrayland. The ſtanders by that herd ſuch an abhominable tale told by theſe Witches, ſtreight wayes brake the image, & cauſed yͤ Witches (according as they had well deſerued) to bee burnt to death. It was ſayd that the king, at the very ſame time that theſe things were a doyng within the caſtell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and ſlepte that night without any ſweate breaking forth vpon him at all, and the next day being reſtored to his ſtrength, was able to do any maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene ſicke before any thing at all. But how ſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is that when he was reſtored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, and with the ſame went into Murrayland againſt the rebels there, and chaſing them from thence, he purſued them into Roſſe, & from Roſſe into Cathneſe, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there cauſed them to be hanged vpon gallowes and gybettes. Amongſt them there were alſo certaine yong Gentlemen right beautifull and goodly perſonages, being neare of kinne vnto Donewald captaine of the Caſtell, and had bene perſwaded to be partakers with the other rebelles more through the fraudulent coūſell of diuers wicked perſons than of theyr owne accorde: Whereupon the foreſayde Donewald lamenting theyr caſe, made earneſt labour and ſuyte to the king to haue begged theyr pardon, but hauing a playne deniall, he conceyued ſuche an inwarde malice towardes the king, (though he ſhewed it not outwardly at the firſte) that the ſame continued ſtill boyling in his ſtomake, and ceaſed not, till through ſetting on of his wife and in reuenge of ſuche vnthankefulneſſe, he founde meanes to murder the king within the foreſayd Caſtell of Fores where he vſed to ſoiourne, for the king beyng in that countrey, was accuſtomed to lie moſt cōmonly within the ſame caſtel, hauing a ſpeciall truſt in Donewald, as a man whome he neuer ſuſpected: but Donwald not forgetting the reproche whiche his linage had ſuſteyned by the execution of thoſe his kinſmen, whome the king for a ſpectacle to the people had cauſed to be hanged, could not but ſhew manifeſt tokens



Witches in Fores.

Inquiſitie was made.

The mater appeared to bee true.

A Witches doughter is examined.

The Witches are found out.

An image of waxe, roſting at the fire.

The Witches were examined.

The whole mater is confeſſed.

The nobles of the countrey, ſet the witches a worke.

The Witches were burnt.

The king is reſtored to health.

The king with an armie purſued the rebelles.

The rebels are executed.

Captaine Donwald craued pardon for thē but not graunted.

Donewald conceyued hatred againſt the king.

Donewaldes wife coũſayled him to murder the king.

The womans euill counſell is folowed.

The king rewarded his frendes.

The king wēt to bedde.

His chamberlayns wente to banqueting.

The ſuborned ſeruauntes cut the kings throte.

The king his buriall.

The poore labourers are ſlaine.

tokens of great griefe at home amongſt his familie: which his wife perceyuing, ceaſſed not to trauayle with him, till ſhe vnderſtood what the cauſe was of his diſpleaſure. Whiche at length when ſhe had learned by his owne relation, ſhe as one that bare no leſſe malice in hyr harte towardes the king, for the like cauſe on hyr behalfe than hir huſband did for his freendes, counſelled him (ſith the king oftentimes vſed to lodge in his houſe without any garde aboute him, other than the garyſon of the caſtell, whiche was wholy at his commaundement) to make him away, and ſhewed him the meanes wherby he might ſooneſt accompliſhe it. Donwalde thus being the more kindled in wrath by the wordes of his wife, determined to follow hyr aduiſe in the execution of ſo haynous an acte. Whereupon deuiſing with himſelfe for a while, whiche way he might beſt accompliſhe his curſed intention, at length he gate oportunitie and ſped his purpoſe as followeth. It chaunced, that the king vpon the day before he purpoſed to departe forth of the Caſtell, was long in his oratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night, at the laſt comming forth he called ſuche afore him, as had faithfully ſerued him in purſute and apprehention of the rebelles, and giuing them hartie thankes, he beſtowed ſundry honorable giftes amōgſt them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accompted a moſte faithfull ſeruaunt to the king. At length hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his pryuie chamber, only with two of his chamberlaynes, who hauing brought him to bedde came forth againe, and then fell to banqueting with Donewald and his wife, who had prepared diuers delicate diſhes, and ſundry ſorts of drinke for theyr arere ſupper or collation, whereat they ſat vp ſo long, till they had charged theyr ſtomakes with ſuche full gorges, that theyr heades were no ſooner got to the pyllow, but a ſleepe they were ſo faſt, that a man might haue remoued the chāber ouer them, rather than to haue awaked thē out of theyr drunken ſleepe. Then Donewalde though he abhorred the act greatly in his harte, yet through inſtigation of his wife, he called foure of his ſeruants vnto him (whom he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpoſe with large giftes) and now declaring vnto them, after what ſorte they ſhould worke the feate, they gladly obeyed his inſtructions, and ſpeedely going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king lay) a litle before cockes crow, where they ſecretely cut his throte as he lay ſleeping, without any buſkling at all: and immediatly by a poſterne gate they caried forth the dead body into the fieldes, and throwing it vpon an horſe there prouided ready for that purpoſe, they conuey it vnto a place, diſtant aboute two myles from the caſtell, where they ſtayed, and gat certayne labourers to helpe them to turne the courſe of a litle riuer running through the fieldes there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the body in the ſame, ramming it vp with ſtones and grauel ſo cloſely, that ſetting the water into the right courſe agayne, no man coulde perceyue that any thing had bene newly digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donewald as is reported, for that the bodie ſhoulde not be founde, and by bleeding (when Donewald ſhoulde be preſent) declare him to be giltie of the murder. For that ſuche an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of any man being ſlayne, will bleede abundantly if the murderer be preſent: but for what cōſideration ſoeuer they buried him there, they had no ſooner finiſhed the worke, but that they ſlew them, whoſe help they vſed herein, and ſtreightwayes thereupon fledde into Orkney.

Donwald kept himſelfe amongſt the watchmen.

Donewalde a very diſſimuler.

Some wyser than other.

The mater ſuſpected.

Prodigious weather.

Donewald aboute the time that the murder was a doing, got him amongſt them that kepte the watch, and ſo continewed in companie with them al the reſidue of the night. But in the morning when the noyſe was reyſed in the kings chamber how the king was ſlaine, his body conueyed away, and the bed all berayed with bloud, he with the watche ran thither as though he had knowen nothing of the mater, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed & on the floore about the ſides of it, he forthwith ſlewe the chamberlaynes, as giltie of that haynous murder, and then like a madde man running to and fro, hee ranſacked euery corner within the caſtell, as though it had bene to haue ſeene if he might haue founde either the body or any of yͤ murtherers hid in any pryuie place: but at lēgth cōming to the poſterne gate, & finding it open, he burdened the chāberlaines whom he had ſlaine with al the fault, they hauing the keyes of the gates cōmitted to their keeping al the night, and therefore it could not be otherwiſe (ſayde he) but that they were of counſel in the committing of that moſte deteſtable murder. Finally ſuche was his ouer earneſt diligence in the inquiſition and triall of the offendours herein, that ſome of the Lordes began to miſlike the mater, and to ſmell forth ſhrewed tokens, that he ſhoulde not be altogither cleare himſelfe: but for ſo much as they were in that countrey, where hee had the whole rule, what by reaſon of his freendes and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought till time and place ſhoulde better ſerue thereunto, and hereupon got them away euery man to his home. For the ſpace of .vj. monethes togither after this haynous murder thus committed, there appeared no ſunne by day, nor Moone by night in any parte of the realme, but ſtil was the ſkie couered with cõtinual clowdes, and ſometimes ſuche outragious windes aroſe with lightnings and tempeſtes, that the people were in great feare of preſent deſtruction.

Culene.

IN the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the ſonne as I haue ſayde of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of Lordes and Nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receyue the crowne according to the maner: but at his comming thither, he demaũded of the Biſhops what the cauſe ſhould be of ſuch vntemperate weather. Who made anſwere, that vndoubtedly almightie God ſhewed himſelfe thereby to be offended moſte highly for that wicked murther of king Duffe, and ſurely onleſſe the offendours were tried forth and puniſhed for that deede, the realme ſhoulde feele the iuſt indignation of the deuine iudgement for omitting ſuche puniſhment as was due for ſo greeuous an offence.

The king aſked the cauſe of the foule weather.

The biſhops anſwere vnto the king.

Culene herevpon requyred the biſhops to appoint publike proceſſiõs, faſtings and other godly exerciſes to be vſed of the prieſtes and people, through all parties of the realme, for the appeaſing of Gods wrath in this behalfe, and in ſuche ſorte and maner as in ſemblable caſes, the vſe and cuſtome in thoſe dayes was. Hee himſelfe made a ſolemne vowe, confirming it with a like othe before all the peeres and nobles there aſſembled, that he woulde not ceaſſe till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the falſe inhabitauntes of Murrayland to the enſample of all other.

The king required publike prayers to be had.

The king made an othe.

The multitude being preſent, getting them to armure followed their prince, taking his iourney without further delay towardes Murrayland, the inhabitauntes of whiche region hearing of his approch and the cauſe of his cõming, were ſtryken with exceeding feare, but namely Donewalde beyng giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt if he were put to torture, he ſhould be enforced to confeſſe the truthe, wherevpon without making his wyfe priuie to his departure, or any other of his family, ſaue a fewe ſuche as he tooke with him, he ſecretely got him to the mouthe of the ryuer of Spey, where finding a ſhippe ready, he wente a borde the ſame, purpoſing to haue fledde his wayes by ſea into Norway: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conſcience to be afrayde of all things, and eyther in geſture or countenaunce to bewray it ſelfe, accompting flight moſte ſure if occaſion may ſerue thereto. For this Donewalde, whome no man (though ſome partely ſuſpected him) might wel haue burdened with the crime of his Maſters death (by reaſon of his faithfull ſeruice ſhewed towardes him afore time) had he not thus ſought to haue auoyded the countrey, was now detected of manifeſt treaſon, euery man deteſting his abhominable facte, and wiſhing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging floudes, ſo to pay the due puniſhment, whiche of right hee ought, for his vile treaſon in murthering his naturall Lorde.

The king wẽt with an armie into Murray lande.

A gilty conſcience accuſeth a man.

Donewalde getteth him ſecretly away.

The murther of the king is reueled.

Culene being hereof aduertiſed, paſſed ouer Spey water, and taking the caſtell of Fores, ſlew all that he founde therein, and put the houſe to ſacke and fire. Donewaldes wife with his three daughters were taken: for Culene commaunded, that who ſo euer coulde light vpon them, ſhoulde in any wiſe ſaue theyr liues, and bring them vnto him. Whiche beyng done, hee had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hyr examination confeſſed the whole mater, how by hyr procuremẽt chiefly hyr huſbãd was moued to cauſe the deede to be done, who they were that by his commaundement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here woulde the multitude haue runne vpon hyr and torne hyr in peeces, but that they were reſtrayned by commaundement of an officer at armes. The king with the reſidue for that night reſted themſelues, and in the morning tooke order for prouiſion of all things neceſſarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conuey it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongſt his predeceſſours. But as they were buſie here about, worde came that the traytour Donewalde was by ſhipwracke caſte vpon the ſhore within foure miles of the Caſtell, as though he were by Gods prouiſion brought backe into his owne countrey to ſuffer worthy puniſhment for his demerites. Wherevpon the inhabitaunts of the places next adioyning, tooke him and kepte him faſt bound till they knewe further of the kings pleaſure: who right gladde of the newes, ſente forth immediatly a bande of men to fetche him. They that were ſent did as they were commaunded: and beyng vnneth returned, there came in diuers Lordes of Roſſe, bringing with them Donewaldes foure ſeruaunts whiche (as before is ſayde) did execute the murder. Thus all the offendours beyng brought togither vnto the place where the murder was bothe contriued and ex-

The caſtell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitãts ſlain.

The murder is wholy confeſſed.

King Duffe his body to be taken vp.

Donewald is taken pryſoner.

Donewaldes foure ſeruants were taken alſo.

cuted, they were arrayned, condemned, and put to death in maner as followeth, to the great reioycing of the people that beheld the ſame. They were firſte ſcourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrailes being throwen into a fire and brente, the other partes of theyr bodies were cut into quarters, and ſent vnto the chiefeſt Cities of the realme, and there ſet vp alofte vpon the gates and higheſt towers, for enſample ſake to all ſuche as ſhould come after, how haynous a thing it is to pollute theyr handes in the ſacred bloud of theyr prince. This dreadfull end had Donewald with his wife before he ſaw any ſunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the moſt rightuous God, the creatour of that heauenly planet and all other things, who ſuffereth no crime to be vnreuenged. Thoſe that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paynes ⁊ trauayle therein ſuſtayned, being exempt from charges of goyng forth into the warres: and alſo of all maner of paymentes belonging to publike dueties, as tributes and ſuche like.

Donewalde with his confederates are executed.

Rewardes giuen vnto the takers of thoſe murderers.

These things being thus ordered, the body of king Duffe was takẽ vp, and in moſt pompous maner conueyed vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the way by Culene, and a great multitude of Lordes both ſpirituall and temporal, with other of the meaner eſtates. There be ỹ haue written how his bodie (though it had layne .vj. monethes vnder the groũd) was nothing empayred eyther in colour or otherwiſe, when it was taken vp, but was founde as whoile and ſound as though it had bene yet aliue, the ſkarres of the woundes onely excepted. But to proceede, ſo ſoone as it was brought aboue the groũd, the ayre began to cleare vp, and the ſunne brake forth, ſhining more brighter than it had bene ſeene afore time to any of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in moſt deepe cõſideration of al, was the ſight of manifold flowers, which ſprang forth ouer all the fieldes immediatly therevpon, cleane contrary to the time ⁊ ſeaſon of the yeare. Within a fewe yeares after, there was a bridge made ouer the water in the ſame place, where the bodie had bene buried, ⁊ a village builded at the one end of the bridge, whiche is called vnto this day, Killflos, that is to ſay, the church of flowers: taking that name of the wonder there happened at the remouing of the kings bodie, as the ſame authours woulde ſeeme to meane. But there is now or was of late a rich abbey, ſtanding with a right fayre church, cõſecrate in the honour of the virgine Marie. Monſtrous ſightes alſo that were ſeene within the Scottiſhe kingdome that yeare were theſe, horſes in Lothian being of ſinguler beautie and ſwiftneſſe, did eate their owne fleſh, ⁊ would in no wiſe taſte any other meate.

The body of king Duffe honorably buried.

Meruaylous things are ſeene.

Kyllflos.

Horſes eate their owne fleſhe.

In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a childe without eyes, noſe, hande, or foote. There was a Sparhauke alſo ſtrangled by an Owle. Neither was it any leſſe wonder that the ſunne, as before is ſayd, was continually couered with clowdes, for .vj. moneths ſpace: But all men vnderſtood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe was the cauſe hereof, whiche being reuenged by the death of the authours in maner as before is ſayde. Culene was crowned as lawfull ſucceſſour to the ſame Duffe at Scone, with all due honour and ſolemnitie in the yeare of our Lord. 972. after that Duffe had ruled the Scottiſh kingdome about the ſpace of foure yeares.

A monſtrous childe.

A ſparhauke ſtrangled by an Owle.

972.

The beginning of Culenes reigne begonne with rightuous execution of iuſtice, promiſed a firme hope of an other maner of prince, than by the adminiſtration whiche followed he declared himſelf to be: for ſhortly after lewſing the reyne of laſciuious wãtonneſſe to the youth of his realme through giuing of lewde enſample by his owne diſordered doings, all ſuche as were enclined vnto licentious liuing followed theyr ſenſuall luſtes, and vnbrydeled libertie abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had bene ſeene or hearde of in any other age. For ſuche was the negligence of the king, or rather mayntenaunce of miſordered perſons, that what ſo euer any of the nobilitie did eyther againſt Merchauntes, Prieſtes, or any of the commons, though the ſame were neuer ſo greate an iniurie, there was no puniſhment vſed agaynſt them: ſo that all men looked for ſome commotion in the common wealth therevpon to enſue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The auncient peeres of the realme alſo beyng greeued thereat, ſpared not to admoniſhe the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what daunger the realme was likely to fall through his negligent behauiour. Culene aunſwered them, that he wiſte well inough howe yonge menne were not at the firſte, borne graue and ſage perſonages lyke to them with hoary heades: wherefore theyr firſte youthfull yeares coulde not be ſo ſtable as they mighte be hereafter by olde age and continuaunce of time: but as for ſuche rigorous extremitie as diuers of his elders had vſed towards theyr ſubiectes, he minded not as he ſaid to folow, being taught by their enſample (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe ⁊ ſuche other) into what daunger he might incurre by ſuch ſharpe ſeueritie ſhewed in the gouernment of the aſtate. Wherevpon he was determined ſo to rule as he might giue cauſe rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onely meane (as he thought) to retayne his ſubiectes in dewe and moſt faithfull obedience. This anſweare was ſuch, that although it ſeemed nothyng agreable for the preſer-

King Culene did not continewe, as his beginning was.

He folowes his ſenſuall luſtes.

Euill doers were not puniſhed.

Good counſell was not heard.

The kings anſwere vnto his graue peeres.

He would not diſpleaſe.

preſeruation of the publike ſtate in quiet reſte and ſafetie, yet was there no man by reaſon of his regall authoritie that durſt reproue the ſame, but diuers there were that prayſed him therein, as thoſe that hated all ſuche as loued the vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice. But ſuche auncient counſellours as had truely ſerued in rule of the cōmon wealth in the dayes of the former kings Indulph and Duffe, miſliking the ſtate of that preſent worlde (wherein the youth of the realme, namely al ſuch as were deſcended of noble parentage, & vſed to be about the king, followed their wilfull and ſenſuall luſtes, growing euery day through want of correction to be worſe & worſe) departed from the court, and withdrew to theyr homes without medling any further with the publike adminiſtration.

Auncient coūſylours leaue the court.

The youthfull court followeth their ſenſuall luſtes.

In whoſe place there crept in other, that with their flatterie corrupted the reſidue of ſuche ſparkes of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if any were at all, in ſo muche that in the ende he meaſured ſupreme felicitie by the plentifull enioying of voluptuous pleaſures and bodily luſtes.

A wicked time of voluptuouſneſſe.

He fancied onely ſuche as coulde deuiſe prouocations thereunto, & in filling the belly with exceſſe of coſtly meates and drinkes, thoſe that coulde excell other were chiefly cheriſhed & moſt highly of him eſteemed.

A lecherous king.

Herewithall he was giuen vnto leachery beyond all the termes of reaſon, ſparing neyther mayde, widowe, nor wife, profane nor religious, ſiſter nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of ſuche vilanie and violent forcings as were practiſed by him and his familiers, it would lothe any honeſt harte to vnderſtande or remember.

Forcing of women kinde ſucceded.

He was ſo farre paſte all ſhame in this behalfe, that when his lecherous luſte by to muche copulation was ſo tyred that he might no more exerciſe his former lewdeneſſe, he tooke ſpeciall pleaſure yet to behold other to do it in his preſence, that his decayed luſt might be the more ſtyred vp with ſight of ſuch filthineſſe.

O beaſtly behauiour.

This abhominable trade of life he practiſed for the ſpace of .iij. yeares togither, giuing occaſion of muche ſpoile, rauine, manſlaughter, forcings, and rauiſhments of women with all ſuch kinde of wicked & diueliſh trāſgreſſiōs: no execution of lawes (inſtituted by authoritie of the former kings, for reſtraint of ſuch flagitious offences) being put in vre, through negligēce of this monſtruous creature.

All honeſty exiled.

Robberie, theft, &c. were maintayned.

So farre forth alſo encreaſed the libertie of theeues, robbers and other offendours, mainteyned by ſuche of the nobilitie as conſented to theyr vnlawfull doings, & were partakers with them in the ſame, that if any man went aboute to withſtand them, or refuſed to accompliſh their requeſtes and demaundes, he ſhoulde be ſpoyled of all that hee had, and happely haue his houſe brente ouer his head, or otherwiſe be miſuſed in ſuch outragious & violent ſorte, that it would greeue all thoſe that had any zeale to iuſtice, to heare of ſuche enormities as were dayly practiſed in that countrey.

Death made an end of all.

Howbeit at length yet the death of king Culene, brought an end to all ſuch wicked dealings: for falling into a filthy diſeaſe (through abuſe of exceſſiue drinking and leacherie,) called the waſting of nature, he conſumed away in ſuch wiſe by rotting of his fleſhe, that he appeared more like vnto a dead carcaſſe, than vnto a liuely creature, in ſomuch that his owne ſeruaunts began to abhorre him.

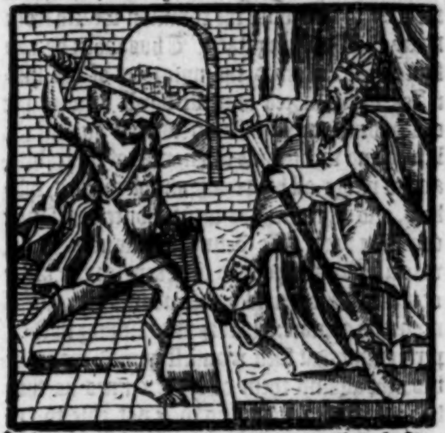
Γονόῤῥοιος.

A parliament.

Whereupon the Lordes and other Honorable perſonages of the realme vnderſtanding his caſe, caused a parliament to be ſummoned at Scone, where they determined to depoſe king Culene, and appoynt ſome other (whom they ſhould iudge moſt meetest) to reygne in his place.

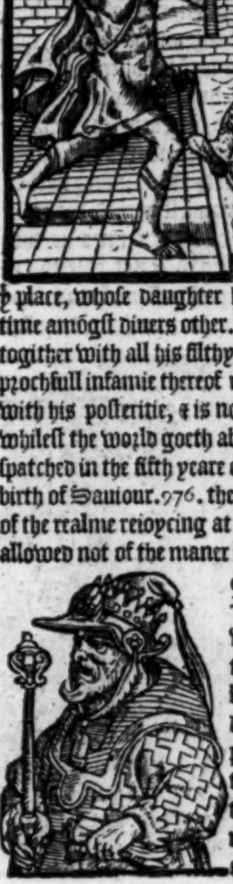
King Culene was murdered

Culene alſo not knowing wherfore this councell was called, as he was going thitherwardes, at Meſſen caſtell being almoſte in the midde way of his iourney, was murthered by one Cadhard the Thane of yͤ place, whoſe daughter he had rauiſhed before time amōgſt diuers other. This end had Culene togither with all his filthy ſenſualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his poſteritie, & is not like to be forgotten whileſt the world goeth about. He was thus diſpatched in the fifth yeare of his reigne, & after the birth of Sauiour. 976. the nobles & great peares of the realme reioycing at his death, though they allowed not of the maner thereof.



976.

Kenneth.



AFter that the bodie of King Culene was once cōueyed vnto Colmekill, & there buried amongſt his elders, the nobles & great peeres aſſembled togither at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the ſonne of Malcolme the firſte, & brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reygne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from theyr wilde ⁊ ſauage kinde of life (into the whiche they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predeceſſour) vnto theyr former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottiſhmen is, that firſte the nobles, and thē all the reſidue of the people tranſforme themſelues vnto the vſage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing ſhewe an enſample of chaſtitie, ſobrietie, liberalitie, and modeſtie, miſuſing himſelfe in no kinde of vice, but refrayning himſelfe from the ſame: hee baniſhed all ſuche kinde of perſons as might prouoke eyther him or other vnto any lewde or wanton pleaſures. He mainteyned amitie aſwell with ſtraungers as with his owne people, puniſhing moſt rigorouſly all ſuche as ſought to moue ſeditiō by any maner of meane. He tooke buſie care in cauſing the people to auoyde ſlouth, and to applie themſelues in honeſt exerciſes, iudging as the truth is, that to be the way to aduaunce the common wealth from decay to a floriſhing ſtate. Thus when he had ſomewhat reformed the miſorders of his ſubiectes, he endeuored himſelfe by all meanes hee coulde deuiſe to puniſhe offendours againſt the lawes and wholeſome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of theeues, robbers, and other ſuche as went aboute to diſquiet common peace. At Lanerk, a towne in Kyle, was a ſeſſions appointed to be kept for execution of iuſtice, where certaine offendours were ſummoned to appeare: but at their comming thither, perceyuing that ſuch manifeſt proofes woulde be brought againſt them of ſuche crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuſe the ſame, through perſwaſion of diuers noble men vnto whom they were a kinne, they fled ſecretely theyr wayes, ſome into the Weſterne Iſles, and ſome into other places, where they thought moſt expediēt for ſafegard of their liues. The king perceyuing that through the diſloyall meanes of the lordes his purpoſe was ſo hindered that he might not miniſter iuſtice according to the inſtitution of his lawes, he diſſembled his wrath for a time, ⁊ licenced euery man to depart to theyr houſes, his trayne onely excepted. Then went he into Galloway to viſite Saint Ninian for performance of his vowe, which he had made ſo to do. Here he inuented (by conference which he had with ſome of his pryuie counſell) a deuiſe, whereby he might fetche againe the offendours vnto iudgement: but this was kepte cloſe till the yeare following, for doubte leaſt if thoſe lordes whiche bare them good will had come to any incklyng thereof, they woulde by vttring it haue diſapoynted his purpoſe. At length, after a yeare was paſſed, he appoynted all the Lordes ⁊ Nobles of his realme to aſſemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue cōmuned about ſome weightie affayres touching the ſtate of the realme. The night then before they ſhould come togither into the counſell chamber, he cauſed by ſome of his faythfull miniſters, a ſorte of armed men to be layde cloſe in a ſecrete place, with cōmaundement giuen to their capitaine, that in no wiſe he ſhould ſtirre with his bande till the nexte day, that all the Lordes were aſſembled togither, and then without delay to execute that whiche ſhould be giuen him in cōmaundement. On the morow after the nobles cōming togither into the counſell chamber, they had no ſooner takē their places, euery one according to his degree about the king, but ẏ the armed men before mētioned came ruſhing into the houſe, placing thēſelues round about them that were ſet according to the order preſcribed by former appointmēt.

Ill life is reformed.

King Kenneth was of a vertuous liuing.

He loued ſtraungers.

He abhorred ſlouth.

He did puniſh offendours.

A ſeſsion kept at Laynrick, or Lanerk.

The giltie ran away.

The king diſſimuled with theſe doings.

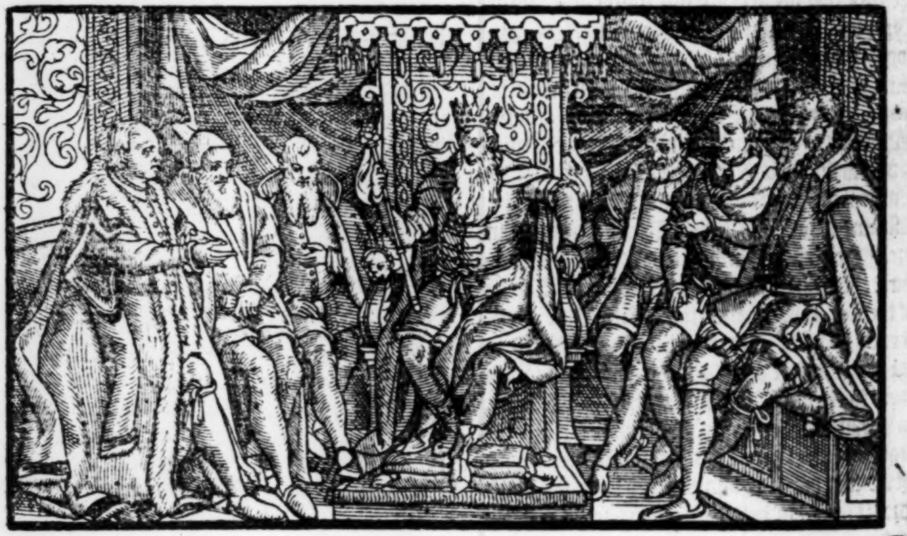
The king went to viſite Saint Ninian.

The king cōſulted how to call the tranſgreſſours vnto iudgement.

An aſſemblie had at Scone.

Armed men layd in wayte.

The king and Lordes ſitting, the armed mē ſtept forth.



The king putteth the lordes out of doubt.

The Lordes with this preſent ſight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durſt not ſpeake a worde. Then the king perceyuing their feare began to declare vnto thẽ the whole cauſe of his calling them to counſell at that time, & why he had appointed thoſe armed mẽ to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto thẽ was, that he had not cauſed thoſe armed mẽ to come into the chãber for any harme, ment towardes any of their perſons, but only for the publike preſeruation of the realme. For aſmuch as they knew, there was one kinde of people muche noyſome vnto the cõmon wealth, being cõfederate as it were togither by one conſent to exerciſe al ſortes of miſchief & oppreſſiõ againſt the poore people, as to robbe, ſpoyle, & take from them all ẏ they had, to rauiſh their wiues, maides, & daughters, and ſome times to brenne theyr houſes: the which licencious libertie in ſuch wicked perſons, through want of due puniſhment in the dayes of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole ſtate of the Scottiſhe cõmon wealth, there was none but might wel vnderſtãd it. For ſith it was ſo that ẏ Lordes & other high eſtates liued by the trauaile of the commons, then if the ſame commons ſhoulde in any wiſe decay, the Lordes & ſuch other high eſtates could in no wiſe proſper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where ſhould the Lord or Gentleman haue whereupon to liue? ſo that thoſe whiche robbed the huſbandman, robbed alſo the Lorde and gentleman: and they that ſought to mainteyne ſuche loytering perſons as vſed to robbe the poore man, went about the deſtruction both of king, lord & gentleman, yea and finally of the vniuerſall ſtate of the whole cõmon wealth. Therfore he that loued the cõmon wealth would not ſeeke onely to defende the cõmons from ſuch iniuries as theeues & robbers dayly offred thẽ, but alſo would helpe to ſee iuſt execution done vpon the ſame theeues & robbers, according to ẏ laudable lawes & cuſtomes of the lande. The laſte yeare (ſayde he) you your ſelfes remember (I thinke) how I purpoſed by your helpe and counſell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes againſt all enemies and perturbers of the peace. At Laynrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouſly diſobeying our cõmaundemẽt kept them away, by whoſe counſel I know not. But I haue bene enformed by ſome howe diuers of you fauouring thoſe rebelles, by reaſon they were of your lynage, were of counſell with them in withdrawing themſelues ſo from iudgement. The oftẽ ſending of meſſengers betwixt them & you, well neare perſwaded vs to thinke that this reporte was true. But yet notwithſtanding I haue put away all ſuche ſiniſter ſuſpicion out of my heade, wiſhing you (as I truſte you bee) voyde of all ſuche diſſimulation. And nowe I requyre you not as fautours of the rebelles, but as defendours of the common wealth, though happely ſomewhat ſlacke heretofore in diſcharge of your dueties, to ſhew your ſelues ſuch in helping to apprehende the offenders, as ẏ the worlde may perceyue you to haue made full ſatiſfaction for your fault & errour, if before in you there were any. In the end he was playne with them, & told them flatly that they ſhould aſſure thẽſelues, to haue thoſe armed mẽ which they ſaw there preſent, to be continually attendant about thẽ, til he might haue all the rebelles at commaundement.

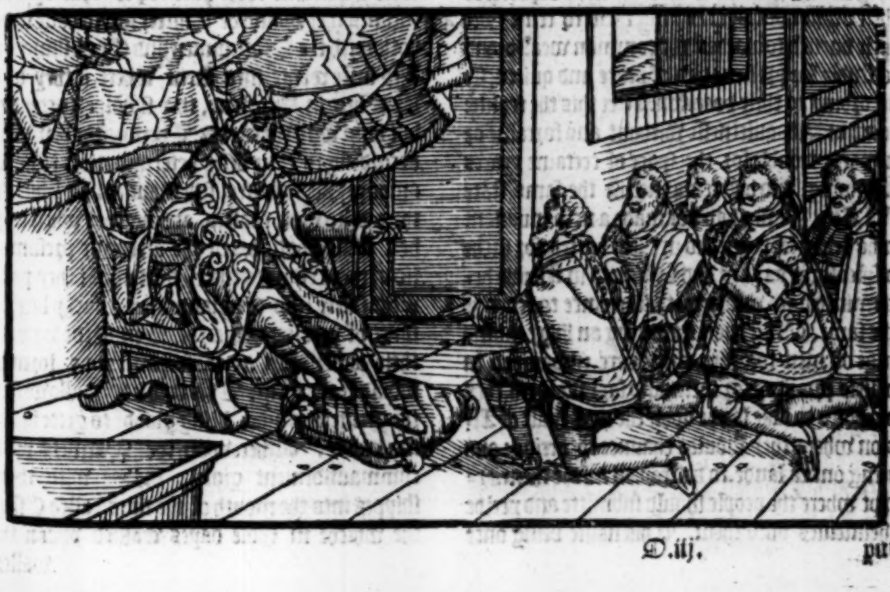
An oration made by the king.

A rehersall of al enormities.

Lainrike, or Lanerke.

The Lordes gẽtle ſubmiſſion, with a large promiſſe

The Lordes hauing heard the kings ſpeach, & perceyuing what his meaning was, firſte partly excuſed themſelues ſo wel as they might of their cloked diſſimulation, and then fallyng downe vpon theyr knees afore him, beſought him to



put away all diſpleaſure out of his minde, and clearly to pardon them, if in any wiſe they had offended his maieſtie, promiſing that they would with all diligence & faithfulneſſe accompliſhe his deſire, in cauſing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to paſſe, they were well contented to remaine in ſuch place where he ſhould appoint thẽ to abide. The councell then being broken vp, the king with thoſe Lordes paſſing ouer the riuer of Tay, wẽt vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in ẏ ſame was ſtreightly kept with watche and warde, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heede thereunto. If any idle perſon were eſpied abroad in the ſtreetes, ſtraightwayes the ſergeants would haue him to warde. The nobles remayned in the kings houſe or in other lodgings to them aſſigned, procuring by their freendes & miniſters to haue ſuche offenders as vſed to robbe & ſpoyle the huſband man, apprehended & brought to the king vnto Bertha, there to receyue iudgement & punition according to theyr demerites: for ſo they perceyued they muſt needes worke, if they minded the ſafegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed alſo, that within ſhort ſpace there were brought vnto Bertha, to the number neare hande of. v. C. of ſuche idle loyterers as vſed to liue by ſpoyle & pillage, many of them being diſcẽded of famous houſes, all whiche companie being condemned for theyr offences to die, were hanged vpon gybets aboute the towne, and commaundement gyuen by the king, that theyr bodies ſhoulde not be taken downe, but there to hang ſtill, to giue enſample to other, what the ende was of all ſuche as by wrongfull meanes ſought to liue idelly, by other mens labours. The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenſed the Lordes to departe to their owne houſes, exhorting them to remember their duties towardes the common wealth, and to ſtudie for preſeruation of peace and quietneſſe according to their vocation. After this the realme continued in quietneſſe without any forraine or inwarde trouble for the ſpace of certaine yeares following, and had remayned in the ſame ſtate ſtill, if the Danes had not made a new inuaſion, who being ſore grieued in their hartes for ſuche diſpleaſures as they had ſuſteyned in Albion determined now with great aſſuraunce to reuenge the ſame. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men togither, they were embarqued in veſſels prouided for them, and ſayling forth, they purpoſed to take lande vpon the next coaſt of Albion where they ſhoulde chaunce to arriue: and being once a lande, to deſtroy all before them, except where the people ſhould ſubmitte and yeelde themſelues vnto them. This nauie being once got abroade, within a ſhort time arriued at that point of lande in Angus, whiche is called the red Brayes, or Read head, not farre from the place where the Abbey of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothok was afterward founded. Here the Daniſh fleete firſt caſting ancre, their captaines fel in cõſultatiõ what they were beſt to do. Some of thẽ were of this opinion, that it was not moſte expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to paſſe from thence into England: for at the Scottiſh mens hands being poore, & yet a fierce and hardy natiõ, there was ſmal good to be got, being then accuſtomed to giue moe ouerthrowes, than they cõmonly receyued. Againe the ſoyle of the countrey was but barrayne, in maner ouergrowẽ wᵗ woodes (as it was in deede in thoſe dayes) fewe townes & ſmall habitations, & thoſe ſo poore, that no man knowing the ſame, woulde vouchſafe to fight for any poſſeſſion of thẽ: wherein contrariwiſe England (that part namely which lieth towards the ſouth) was ſo fruitfull of corne & cattell, ſo riche of mines & repleniſhed with ſo many notable cities & townes inhabited with men of great wealth and ſubſtance, that fewe were to be foũd cõparable thereto. So that the mater being well conſidered, they could not do better than to ſayle into Kent, where they might be ſure of riche ſpoyle without any great reſiſtance. Other there were that held how this iourney was attempted by the counſell of their ſuperiours, only to reuenge ſuch iniuries as the Daniſh nation had receyued at the hãds of the Scottiſhmen, & not to attaine riches or any dominion. The Scots alſo being a cruell people & ready to fight in defence of other mens poſſeſſiõs (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) woulde ſurely be ready to come to the ayd of the Engliſhmẽ into Kent, euen ſo ſoone as it was knowen that the Danes were a lande in thoſe parties, ſo that by this meanes they ſhould be conſtreyned to haue to do both with the Scottiſhmen and Engliſhmen, if they firſte wente into Kent, where if they ſet a lande here in Scotland, they ſhoulde encounter but only with the Scots. Therfore the beſt were according to their firſte determination to lande amongſt the Scottes, ſith chaunce had brought them vnto thoſe coaſtes, adding that when they had ſomewhat abated the arrogant preſumptiõ of theyr enimies there, then might they paſſe more ſafely into England after a lucky beginning of fyre and ſworde, to proceede againſt their aduerſaries in thoſe parties as fortune ſhould leade them. This deuiſe was allowed of the greateſt number, being gladde to gette beſide the water. Wherevpon the Mariners vpon commaundement giuen, drawe with theyr ſhippes into the mouth of the riuer called Eſke, the whiche in thoſe dayes waſhed vppon the walles

The king wẽt to Bertha.

Roges puniſhed.

Iniurious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great nũber of vagabundes were iudged to die.

The Lordes haue licence to departe.

The Danes ſeeke for to reuenge olde loſſes.

The Danes take the ſea to goe into Albion.

The Danes arriue at the Red head, or red Brayes in Angus.

The Danes conſult to goe into England.

They conſult for to ſayle into Kent.

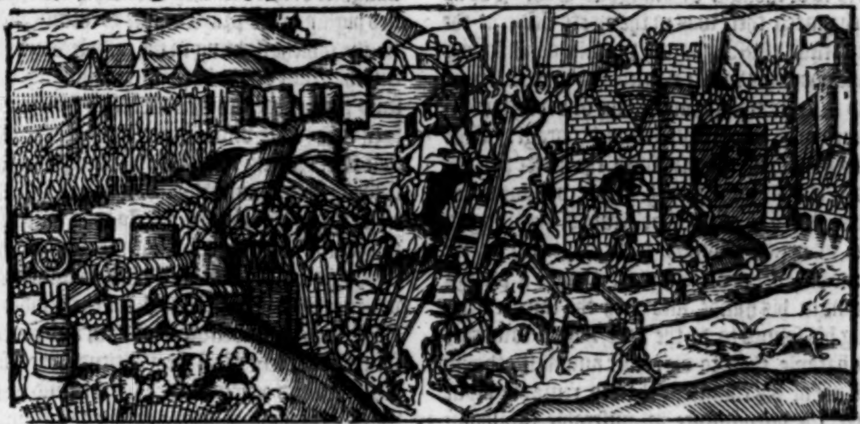
They onely ſought reuenge.

Some thought beſt to lande in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Montros.

walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitaunts of the countrey there aboutes in greate feare, ſo that with all ſpeede for their ſafegarde, they gette them into Mountros, but the towne being quickely aſſailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the ſacke, & after raſed Caſtell and all to the bare grounde, not one lyuing creature beyng lefte aliue of all ſuche as were founde within the ſame.

Montros take, and all within was ſlayne.



The Danes came to the riuer of Tay.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They lay ſiege before Bertha.

From thence, the army of the Danes paſſed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tay, all the people of the countreys by the whiche they marched fleing afore them. King Kenneth at the ſame time lay at Sterlyng, where hearing of theſe grieuous newes, determined forthwith to reyſe his people, and to go againſt the enimies. The aſſemble of the Scottiſhe army was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tay. Here when they were come togither in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following, worde was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing paſſed ouer Tay, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had layde ſiege to the ſame. Then without further delay, he rayſed with the whole armie, and marched ſtreight towardes his enimies, comming that night vnto Loncarte a village not farre diſtant from the riuer of Tay, famous euer after, by reaſon of the batayle fought then neare vnto the ſame. The Danes hearing that the Scottes were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to giue battayle.

King Kenneth ſet his men in array.

The king exhorted the Scottes vnto valiantneſſe.

Kenneth as ſoone as the ſunne was vp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickly brought his armie into order. Then requyring them earneſtly to ſhewe theyr manhood, he promiſeth to releaſſe them of all tributes and payments due to the kings cofers for the ſpace of fiue yeares next enſuyng: and beſides that he offered the ſumme of tenne pound, or els landes ſo muche worth in value to euery one of his armie, that ſhould bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfully, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercie: for eyther muſte they trie it out by dinte of ſworde, or els if they fledde, in the ende to looke for preſent death at the enimies handes, who would not ceaſſe till time they had founde them forth, into what place ſo euer they reſorted for refuge if they chanced to be vanquiſhed. The Scots being not a litle encouraged by the kings wordes, kepte their order of bataile according as they were appointed, ſtil looking when the onſet ſhould be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots: & Duncane lieutenāt of Atholl the left: king Kenneth himſelf gouerned the battell. The enimies on the other parte had taken theyr ground at the foote of a litle moūtaine right fore aneynſt the Scottiſh campe: & thus bothe the armies ſtoode ready araūged in the field, beholding either other a good ſpace, till at length the Scots deſirous of batayle, and doubting leſt the Danes would not come forth vnto any euen grounde, aduaunced forewarde with ſomewhat more haſte than the caſe requyred, beginning the batayle with ſhotte and throwing of dartes right freſhly. The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were conſtreyned to leaue the ſame, and with al ſpeede to come forward vpon their enimies, that by ioyning they mighte auoyde the daunger of the Scottiſhmens arrowes and dartes: by this meanes therefore they came to hand ſtrokes, in maner before the ſigne was giuen on eyther parte to the batayle. The fighte was cruell on bothe ſides: and nothing hindered the Scottes ſo muche as going about to cut off the heades of the Danes euer as they mighte ouercome them: whiche maner being noted of the Danes, and perceyuing that there was no hope of lyfe but in victorie, they ruſhed forth with ſuche violence vppon theyr aduerſaries, that firſte the righte, and then after the lefte winge of the Scottes, was conſtrayned to retyre and flee backe, the middle warde ſtoutly yet keeping theyr grounde: but the ſame

The order of the Scottiſhe batayle aray.

The Danes had the aduantage of a litle mountayne.

The Scottes begin the batayle.

The twoo wings of the Scottes fledde.

Hay with his two ſonnes.

ſtood in ſuche daunger, being now left naked on the ſides that the victorie muſte needes haue remayned with the Danes, had not a renewer of the batayle come in time, by the appointment as is to be thought of almightie God. For as it chaunced there was in the nexte fielde at the ſame time a huſbandman, with .ij. of his ſonnes buſie about his worke named Hay, a man ſtrong and ſtiffe in making and ſhape of bodie, but endewed with a noble and valiant courage. This Hay beholdyng the king with the moſte parte of his Nobles fighting with greate valiauncie in the middle warde now deſtitute of the winges, and in greate daunger to be oppreſſed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plough beame in his hande, and with the ſame exhorting his ſonnes to do the lyke, haſted towardes the batayle, there to die rather amongſt other in defence of his countrey, than to remayne alyue after the diſcomfiture in miſerable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and moſte vnmercyfull enimies. There was neare to the place of the batayle, a long lane fenſed on the ſides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the whiche the Scottes whiche fledde were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

Hay ſtayed the Scottes from running away.

Here Hay with his ſonnes ſuppoſing they might beſt ſtay the flight, placed themſelues ouerthwarte the lane, beate them backe whome they mette fleeyng, and ſpared neyther friende nor foe, but downe they went all ſuche as came within theyr reache wherwith diuers hardy perſonages cried to theyr fellowes to returne backe vnto the batayle, for there was a newe power of Scottiſhmen come to theyr ſuccours, by whoſe ayde the victorie might be eaſily obtayned of theyr moſte cruell aduerſaries the Danes: therfore might they chooſe whether they woulde be ſlayne of theyr owne fellowes comming to their ayde, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies.

The Scottes were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fledde towards their fellowes in great diſorder.

The Danes beyng here ſtayed in the lane by the greate valiauncie of the father and the ſonnes, thought verily there had bene ſome great ſuccours of Scottes come to the ayde of theyr kyng, and therevpon ceaſſing from further purſuyte fledde backe in greate diſorder vnto the other of theyr fellowes fighting with the middle warde of the Scottes. The Scottes alſo that before were chaſed, being encouraged herewith, purſued the Danes vnto the place of the batayle right fiercely.

King Kenneth called vpō his men, to remēber their dueties.

The Danes forſake the fieldes.

Wherevpon Kenneth perceyuing his people to be thus recomforted and his enimies partely abaſhed, called vpon his men to remember theyr dueties, and nowe ſithe their aduerſaries harts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to followe vpon them manfully, which if they did he aſſured them that the victory vndoubtedly ſhould be theyrs. The Scots encouraged with the kings wordes, layd about thē ſo earneſtly, that in the end the Danes were conſtreyned to forſake the fielde, and the Scots egerly purſuyng in the chaſe, made great ſlaughter of them as they fled. This victory turned highly to the prayſe of the Scottiſhe nobilitie, the whiche fighting in the middle warde bare ſtill the brunt of the batayle, continuyng manfully therein euen to the ende. But Hay who in ſuch wiſe (as is before mencioned) ſtayed them that fled, cauſing them to returne againe to the fielde, deſerued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chiefly was the victory atchieued.

The ſpoyle is diuided.

Hay refuſed coſtly garmēts

And therefore on the morrow after whan the ſpoyle of the field & of the enimies cāpe whiche they had left voyde ſhould be deuided, the chiefeſt part was beſtowed on him and his two ſonnes, by cōſent of all the multitude, the reſidue being deuided amongſt the ſouldiers and men of warre, according to anciēt cuſtome vſed amōgſt this natiō. The king hauing thus vāquiſhed his enimies, as he ſhould enter into Bertha, cauſed coſtly robes to be offered vnto Hay & his ſonnes, that being richly clad, they might be yͤ more honored of the people: but Hay refuſing to chaunge his apparell, was cōtented to go with the king in his olde garments whither it pleaſed him to appoint.

The king came to Bertha.

So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with litle leſſe honor than the king himſelf, all the people rūning forth to behold him whom they heard to haue ſo valiātly reſtored the battell, whē the field was in maner loſt without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into yͤ towne he bare on his ſhoulder the plough beame, more honorable to him thā any ſworde or battell axe might haue bene to any yͤ moſt valiāt warriour.

Hay is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenewes aſſigned to him.

Thus Hay being honored of all eſtates, within certaine dayes after at a councel holdē at Scone it was ordeyned, that both he and his poſteritie ſhould be accepted amōgſt the nūber of yͤ chiefeſt nobles & peares of the realme, being rewarded beſides money & other great giftes with lands and reuenewes, ſuch as he ſhould chooſe ſufficient for the maintenaunce of their eſtates.

Hay his requeſt.

The Faulcon meaſured Hay his landes out.

It is ſayde, yͭ by counſell of his ſonnes, who knew the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle, he did aſke ſo much ground in thoſe parties where the riuer of Tay renneth by the towne of Arrole ouer agaynſt Fyfe, as a Faulcone ſhoulde flie ouer at one flight. Which requeſt beyng freely graunted of the king, the place was appoynted at Inſchire for the Faulcone to be caſte off: the whiche taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted til ſhe came to a great ſtone neare to a village called Roſſe, not paſſing foure myles from Dundee. By whiche meanes all that countrey whiche lyeth betwixt Inſchire aforeſayde, and the ſayd ſtone, (being almoſt .vj. myles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto

Hay had armes giuen him.

Hay and his ſonnes, the name of the ſtone alſo being called the Falcones ſtone to this day, doth cauſe the thing better to be beleeued, and welneare all the foreſayd ground ſtill continueth in the poſſeſſion of the Hayes, euen vnto this day. Beſides this to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three ſcutchẽs gules in a field of ſiluer, a plough beame added therevnto which he vſed in ſtead of a battaile axe, when he fought ſo valiantly in defence of his Countrey. Thus had the Hayes their beginning of Nobilitie, whoſe houſe hath atteyned vnto great eſtimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the offite of the Conſtableſhip of Scotlande, by the bounteous beneuolence of Kings that ſucceeded. Theſe things happened in the firſt yeare of King Kenneth. In the reſidue of the time that he raigned, though there chaunced no great buſineſſe by forraine enimies, yet by ciuill ſedition the ſtate of the realme was wonderfully diſquieted.

Ciuill warres in Scotlande.

Firſt a companie of Kernes of the weſterne Iles inuading Roſſe, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the way and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that Countrey. After this ſturre another followed, farre more daungerous to the whole eſtate of the common wealth, reyſed by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefeſt Lords of ỹ Mernes, who was ſonne vnto a certaine Lady named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernour of that part of Angus which lyeth betwixt the two riuers, the one called ſouth Eſke, and the other north Eſke.

An other commotion in Mernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to ſee his grãd father.

So it chaunced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the Caſtell of Delbogin to ſee his Grandfather, the ſayde Cruneth as then lying in the ſame: where vpon light occaſion a fray was begon amongeſt the ſeruing men, in the which two of Cruthlints ſeruantes fortuned to be ſlaine: which iniury when Cruthlynt declared by waye of complaynt vnto hys Grandfather, he was ſo ſlenderly heard, and anſwered in ſuch reprochful wiſe, as though he himſelfe had beene the authour of the buſineſſe: that Crunethes ſeruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maiſter, fell vpon him and beate him, that not without daunger of life he brake forth of their handes, and hardly eſcaped away.

Two of his ſeruants were ſlaine.

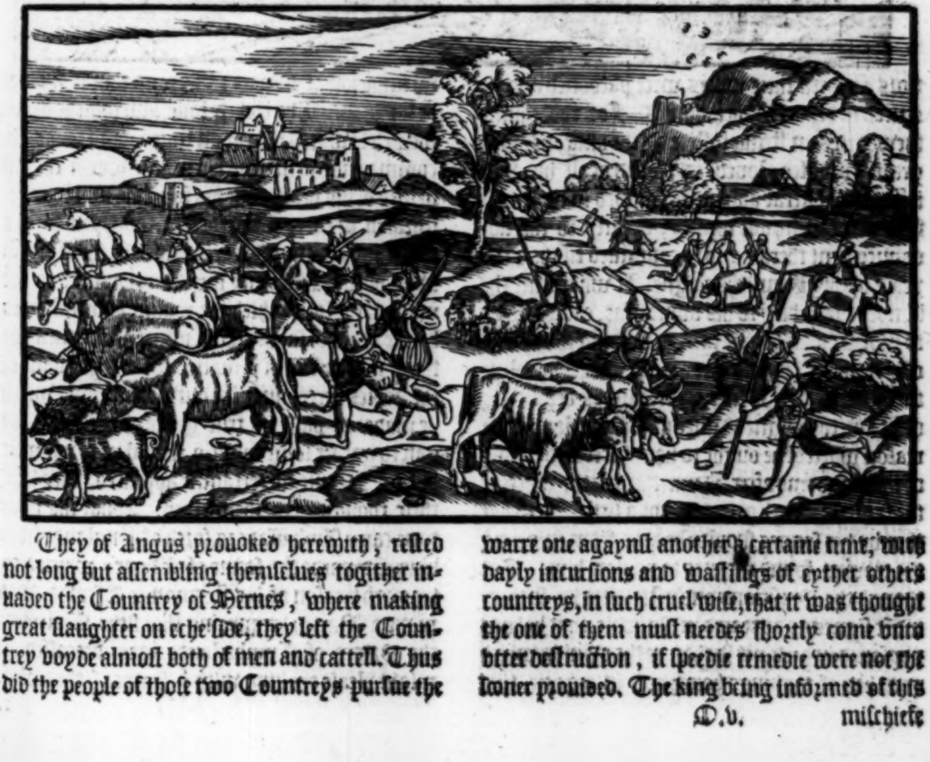
They ſet vpon Cruthlint alſo

In his returne homewardes, he came to his mother Fenella, where ſhe lay within the Caſtell of Fetthircarn, ỹ chiefeſt fortreſſe of all the Mernes. Where being incenſed through his mothers inſtigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receyued: ſo that aſſembling a number of his friendes and kinſfolke ſo ſecretly as he might togither, with a band of the inhabitãts of ỹ Mernes he entreth into Angus, and cõming vnto the caſtell of Delbogin in the night ſeaſon, was ſuffred to enter by the keepers of the gate nothing ſuſpecting any treaſon in the worlde, by reaſon whereof was Cruneth ſodainly oppreſſed, the houſe ſacked and raſed, not one that was founde within the ſame being left aliue. The ſpoyle alſo was deuided by Cruthlynt amongſt them which came with him. The next day likewiſe he forrayed the Countrey all there aboutes, returning home with a great bootie.

Cruthlint was inſtigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the Caſtell.

The Countrey is forrayed.



They of Mernes requit their iniuries.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, reſted not long but aſſembling themſelues togither inuaded the Countrey of Mernes, where making great ſlaughter on eche ſide, they left the Countrey voyde almoſt both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of thoſe two Countreys purſue the warre one agaynſt another a certaine time, with dayly incurſions and waſtings of eyther others countreys, in ſuch cruel wiſe, that it was thought the one of them muſt needes ſhortly come vnto vtter deſtruction, if ſpeedie remedie were not the ſooner prouided. The king being informed of this

The king made a proclamation by an Heralde.

miſchiefe and great trouble which was fallen out through ſedition amongſt thoſe his ſubiectes, hee made proclamation by an Herauld, that thoſe of Angus and Mernes whom he vnderſtoode to be culpable, ſhoulde appeare within. xv. dayes after at Scone, there to make anſwere afore appoynted Judges, to ſuch things as might be layde to their charge, vpon paine of death to euery one that made default.

The culpable ſhould appeare at Scone.

When the day of appearance came, there were but fewe that did appeare. The moſt part of them doubting to bee puniſhed for theyr offences with Cruthlint their Captaine, fled out of yͤ Mernes, taking with them their wiues, theyr children and all theyr goodes.

The faulty mẽ ran away.

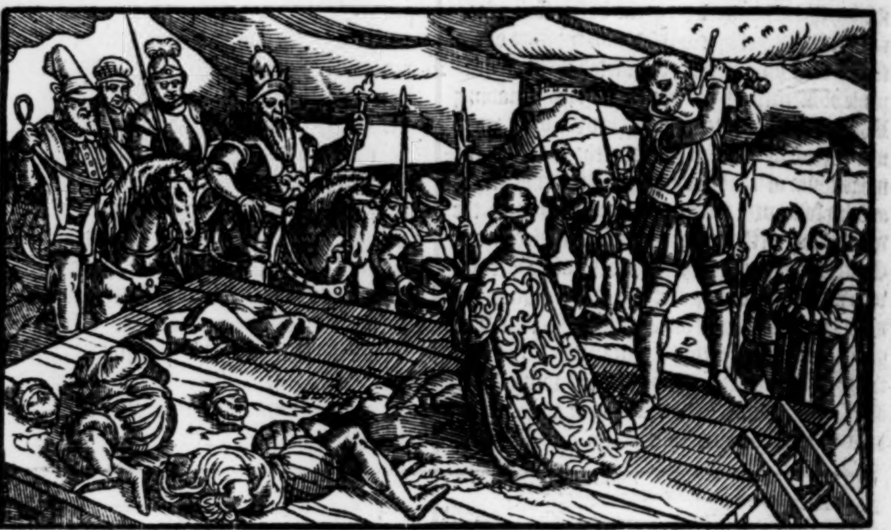
The king beeing ſore moued herewith, perceyued how readie the Scottiſhe people was by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gently vſed: and againe howe they obeyed the Magiſtrates beſt when they were reſtreyned from their wilde outragious doings by due puniſhment and execution of iuſtice. He conſidered therefore that if hee did not cauſe thoſe ſeditious rebelles whiche had thus diſobeyed hys commaundements to bee puniſhed according to the order of the lawes, he ſhoulde haue the whole realme ſhortly diſquieted with ciuill warre & open rebellion. Wherevpon with all ſpeede hee cauſed earneſt purſuyt to be made after Cruthlint and the reſidue of the offenders, the whiche at length being taken in Lochquhabir, were brought vnto a Caſtel in Gowrie called Dounſinnã, where after iudgement pronounced agaynſt them, Cruthlint firſt, and then other the chiefeſt ſtyrrers on eyther ſyde were put to execution, the commons for that it was thought they followed their ſuperiors agaynſt their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houſes.

The king was ſore offended therewith.

The king minded to puniſhe the diſobedient rebels.

Cruthlint taken with many more.

He is executed with certaine others.



For this equitie ſhewed in miniſtring iuſtice by the king, hee was greatly prayſed, loued, and dread of all his ſubiectes, ſo that great quietneſſe folowed in the whole ſtate of the common wealth, greatly to the aduauncement therof, and ſo continued til the. xxij. yeare of this Kenneths raigne. At what time the blinde loue he bare to his owne iſſue, cauſed hym to procure a deteſtable fact, in making away one of his neareſt kinneſmen. This was Malcolme the ſonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths raigne Prince of Cumberlande, by reaſon whereof he ought to haue ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome after Kenneths death, whereat the ſame Kenneth grieuing not a little, for that thereby his ſonnes ſhoulde be kept from enioying the crowne, found meanes to poyſon him. But though the Phiſitions vnderſtanding by ſuch euident ſignes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poyſoned in deed, yet ſuch was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no ſuſpition at all was conceyued that it ſhoulde be his deed.

The king was worthily commended for his iuſtice.

King Kenneth poyſoned his couſin Malcolme.

The king was not ſuſpected of this fact.

The cloked loue alſo whiche he had ſhewed towards him at all times, and to ſodaine commaundement giuen by him vppon the firſt newes of his death, that his funerals ſhould be celebrated in euery Church and Chappell for his ſoule, and againe the teares which he ſhed for him in all places where any mention chaunced to bee made of the loſſe which the realme had ſuſteyned by the death of ſo worthie a prince, made men nothing miſtruſtful of yͤ matter, till at lẽgth ſome of the nobles perceyuing the outward ſorow (which he made) to paſſe the true griefe of the heart, began to gather ſome ſuſpitiõ, that al was not wel: but yet bycauſe no certaintie appeared, they kept their thoughtes to themſelues.

The poiſoning of Malcolme is brought into ſuſpicion.

About the ſame time came Ambaſſadors forth of Englande from king Edwarde the ſonne of Edgar (which after through treaſon of his ſtepmother Eſculda, was made a Martyr) requyring that ſithe Malcolme the Prince of Cumberlande was deceaſſed, it might pleaſe the king with yͤ ſtates of the realme

Ambaſſadours came frõ king Edwarde.

to chooſe ſome other in his place, who doing hys homage vnto the king of England according as it was couenãted by the league, might be a meane to confyrme the ſame league betwixt the two nations for the auoyding of all occaſions of breach thereof that otherwiſe happely might enſue. Kenneth at the ſame time helde a councell at Scone, where hauing hearde the requeſt of theſe Ambaſſadours, in preſence of all his nobles, he anſwered that hee was glad to vnderſtande that king Edwarde was ſo carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his ſubiectes and the Scottiſhmen, according to the articles of the auncient league in times paſt concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for his part, he likewiſe moſt earneſtly deſired, & therefore in rendring moſt hartie thankes vnto him for his gentle aduertiſement, he purpoſed by the aduiſe of his nobles and the other eſtates of his realme as then there aſſembled, to elect a new Prince of Cumberlande, without any further delay: and therupon required the Ambaſſadour to be preſent on the morrowe to heare what he was whom the Nobles ſhould name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The Ambaſſadours hereupon departing forth of the Counſell chamber, were conueyed to their lodging by diuerſe of the nobilitie that were appoynted to keepe them companie. Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to perſwade the Peeres and other the eſtates of the realme there (as I ſayd) aſſembled, to alter the cuſtome and auncient order vſed by their elders in chooſing of him that ſhould ſuccede in gouernance of the realme, after the deceaſſe of him that was in poſſeſſion. He vſed ſo many reaſons as was poſſible for him to deuiſe in that behalfe, therby to enduce them to his purpoſe, whiche was to haue an acte eſtabliſhed for the crowne to go by ſucceſſion, only to this ende that one of his ſonnes mighte enioy the ſame immediately after his deceaſſe. He declared alſo what diſcõmodities, ſeditions, and great incõueniences had growne, in that the crown had gone in times paſt by election: for though it was ordeyned at the firſt that it ſhoulde ſo doe vpon a good intent and great conſideration, yet in proceſſe of time proufe and experience had ſhewed, that more hinderance happened vnto the common wealth therby (beſide the daunger euer enſuing incidently vnto ſuch iſſue as the king left behind him) than profite, if the ſundry murthers, occaſions of ciuill diſcorde and other wicked practiſes were throughly weyed and conſidered, the ſumme whereof he recited from poynt to point, and ſo in the ende with great inſtance beſought them that ſo pernicious a cuſtome might be aboliſhed and taken away, to the great benefite of the whole ſtate of the realme, ſpecially ſith in all realmes commonly the order was, that the ſonne ſhould without any contradiction ſuccede the father in the heritage of the crowne and kingly eſtate.

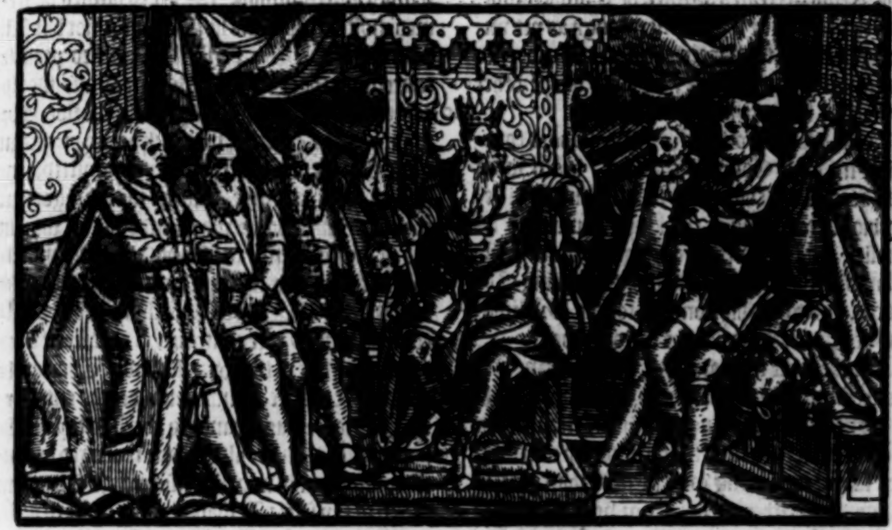
He required a new Prince to be elected.

The king herd a fit meſſage to his purpoſe

The king requeſted that the crowne might come by inheritance

A fit oration for his purpoſe

He had roome ynough to walk in, to gather proues and reaſons to perſwade this matter, it being good of it ſelfe.



The king had no ſooner made an ende of his long oration, which he handled after the pithieſt ſort he coulde, but that diuerſe of the noble men which were there amongſt other, being made priuie to the matter aforehande, mocioned meanes to haue Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth created Prince of Cumberlande, that hee might ſo haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceaſſe of his father. This motion by and by was in many of their mouthes, whiche Kenneth perceyuing, requyred of the moſt auncient Peeres whom they would name to be Prince of Cumberlande, that there might be a meane to ratifie and cõfirme the league betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhe men. Cõſtantine the ſonne of king Cullen, and Grime the nephew of king Duffe by his brother Mogal, howbeit by the force of yͤ former law they might by good reaſon haue looked to haue had the preferment

The Peeres of the realme did willingly graunt to his requeſt.

The Heraulde required Conſtantine hys voice firſt.

Conſtantine his ſaying.

The multitude well pleaſed, crie Malcolm.

ſent themſelues, yet perceyuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they ſhould neuer ſo much ſtand agaynſt it) being firſt demaunded of the Heralde what they thought, they anſwered (notwithſtanding agaynſte theyr myndes in deede,) that the king might order all things as ſhould ſtande with his pleaſure, appoynting whome he thought moſte meeteſt to be Prince of Cumberlande, and to abrogate the auncient lawe of creating the kings in deuiſing newe ordinances for the ſame, as ſhould ſeeme vnto him & thoſe of his counſel moſt requiſite and neceſſarie. The multitude then following their ſentence, cryed with lowde and vndiſcrete voyces, to haue Malcolme the ſonne of king Kenneth created Prince of Cumberlande. And thus the ſame Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voyces of the people ordeyned Prince of Cumberlande, in place of the other Malcolme ſonne to king Duffe.

The day following the Ambaſſadors comming into the Counſell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their requeſt, and then being highly rewarded of the kings bounteous liberalitie, they returned into Englande, and Malcolm with them, to be acquainted with king Edwarde, and to doe his homage for the Principalitie of Cumberlande, as the cuſtome was.

A new act for the ſucceſsion of the crowne.

At the ſame time alſo, there was a newe acte deuiſed and made, the olde being abrogated (by the appoyntment of the king) for the creation of the Scottiſh kings in time to come, many of the nobles rather conſenting with ſilence, than greatly allowing it, either in heartes or voyces, though ſome curriſauours among them, ſet forwarde the matter to the beſt of their powers. The Articles of this ordinance were theſe:

Articles concluded in that Parliament.

The eldeſt heire male of the deceaſſed king, whether the ſame were ſonne or nephew, of what age ſoeuer he ſhould be, yea though he ſhould be in the mothers womb at the time of ẏ fathers deceaſe ſhould from thenceforth ſucceed in the kingdome of Scotlande. The nephew by the ſonne ſhoulde be preferred before the nephew by the daughter, in atteyning to the heritage of the crowne. And likewiſe the brothers ſonne ſhould be admitted before the ſiſters ſonne. The ſame law ſhould be obſerued of all ſuch of the Scottiſh nation, as had any landes or inheritance comming to them by diſcent. Where the king by this meanes chaunced to be vnder age, and not able to rule, there ſhould be one of the chiefeſt peeres of the Realme choſen and elected to haue the gouernance of his perſon and Realme, till he came to .xiiij. yeares of age. The which fourtenth yeare of his age beeing accompliſhed, he ſhoulde haue the adminiſtration committed to his owne handes. The heyres of al other perſons of eche eſtate and degree, ſhould remaine vnder the wardſhip of their appoynted gouernours till they came to the age of .xxj. yeares, and not till then to meddle with any part of their landes and liuings.

King Kenneth miniſtred iuſtice truly.

The good will of the nobility he bought with giftes.

Theſe lawes and ordinances being once publiſhed and confirmed, King Kenneth ſuppoſed the kingdome to bee fully aſſured vnto him and hys poſteritie, and thereupon endeuoured himſelfe to winne the heartes of the people with vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice: and the fauour of the nobles, he ſought to purchaſe with great giftes which he beſtowed amongſt them, aſwell in landes belonging to the crowne, as in other things, greatly to their contentation. Thus might he ſeeme happie vnto all men, hauing the loue both of his Lordes and commons: but yet to himſelf he ſeemed moſt vnhappie, as he that coulde not but ſtill liue in continuall feare, leaſt his wicked practiſe concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe ſhould come to light and knowledge of the worlde. For ſo commeth it to paſſe, that ſuch as are pricked in conſcience for any ſecrete offence committed, haue euer an vnquiet minde. And as the ſame goeth, it chaunced that a voyce was hearde as he was in bed in the night time to take his reſt, vttering vnto him theſe or the like wordes in effecte: Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked ſlaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept ſecret from the knowledge of the eternall God: Thou art he that didſt conſpire the innocents death, enterpryſing by trayterous meanes to doe ẏ to thy neighbour which thou wouldeſt haue reuenged by cruell puniſhment in any of thy ſubiects, if it had bene offred to thy ſelfe: It ſhal therefore come to paſſe, that both thou thy ſelfe, and thy iſſue, through the iuſt vengeance of almightie God, ſhall ſuffer worthie puniſhment, to the infamie of thy houſe and family for euermore. For euen at this preſent are there in hande ſecrete practiſes to diſpatche both thee and thy iſſue out of the way, that other may enioy this kingdome which thou doſt endeuor to aſſure vnto thine iſſue.

The king had a guiltie conſcience.

A voyce heard by the king.

The king confeſſeth his ſinnes.

The king with this voyce being ſtryken into great dread and terror, paſſed that night without any ſleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto Biſhop Mouean, a man of great holyneſſe of life, vnto whom he confeſſed his heynous and moſt wicked offence, beſeching him of counſell, which way hee might obtaine pardon and forgiueneſſe at Gods handes by worthie penance. Mouean hearing how the king bemoaned his offence committed, he willed hym to bee of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by ſinne and wicked offences, ſo was the ſame pacified againe by repentance, if ſo be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiueneſſe by theſe and ſundrie other

The king taketh great repentance.

the like comfortable wordes of the Biſhop, ſtudied vnfeynedly to doe worthie penaunce, leauing nothing vndone which hee thought might ſerue for a witneſſe of his penitent heart, thereby to auoyde the vengeance which he ſtoode in feare of to be prepared for him, by reaſon of his heynous and wicked cryme.

It chaunced herevpon, that within a ſhort time after hee had beene at Fordune a Towne in Mernes, to viſite the Relikes of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the way to lodge at the Caſtel of Fethircarne, where as then there was a Forreſt ful of al maner of wild beaſts that were to be had in any part of Albion. Here was hee receyued by Fenella Ladie of the houſe, whoſe ſonne as ye haue heard he cauſed to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was alſo a kyn vnto Malcolme Duffe whome the king had made away: and in like maner vnto Conſtantine and Gryme, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuiſe of the king, as before is partly mencioned. This woman therefore beeing of a ſtoute ſtomacke, long time before hauing conceyued an immortall grudge towardes the king, vpon the occaſions before rehearſed, (namely aſwell for the death of hir ſonne Cruthlynt, as hauing ſome ynckling alſo of the empoyſoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie thereof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged. She vnderſtoode that the king delyted aboue meaſure in goodly buyldings, and therefore to the ende to cōpaſſe hir malicious intent, ſhe had cauſed a tower to be made ioyning vnto hir owne lodging within the foreſayd caſtell of Fethircarn. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finely engrauen with diuerſe flowers and Images. Hereto was it hung within with riche clothes of Arras wrought with golde and ſilke, very fayre and coſtly. Behinde the ſame were there Croſſebowes ſet readie bent with ſharpe quarrels in them. In the middeſt of the houſe there was a goodly braſen Image alſo, reſembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hande a faire golden Apple ſet full of precious ſtones, deuiſed with ſuch arte and cunning, that ſo ſoone as any man ſhould drawe the ſame vnto him or remoue it neuer ſo little any way forth, the Croſſebowes would immediately diſcharge theyr quarrels vpon him with great force and violence. Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehande, at after meate, deſired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber: into the which being entred, he could not be ſatiſfied of long with the beholding of the goodly furniture, aſwell of the hangings as of diuerſe other things. At the laſt hauing viewed the Image which ſtoode (as is ſayde) in the middeſt of the chamber, he demaunded what the ſame did ſignifie. Fenella anſwered, how that Image did repreſent his perſon, and the golden Apple ſet ſo richly with Smaragds, Iacincts, Saphires, Topaſes, Rubies, Turkaſſes, and ſuch like precious ſtones, ſhee had prouided as a gyft for him, and therfore requyred him to take the ſame, beſeeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthie to bee offred vnto his Princely honor and high dignitie. And herewith ſhe hirſelfe withdrew aſide, as though ſhe woulde haue taken ſomething forth of a Cheſt or Coffer, thereby to auoyde the daunger. But the king delyted in beholding the gemmes and orient ſtones, at length remouing the Apple the better to aduiſe it, incontinently the Croſſebowes diſcharged their quarrels ſo directly vpon him, that ſtryking hym through in ſundrie places, hee fell downe ſtarke deade, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as ſoone as ſhe behelde him fall to the ground readie to die, ſhe got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where ſhe had appoynted horſes to tary for hir, by meane whereof ſhe eſcaped out of all daunger of thē that purſued hir, ere the death of the king were openly knowne vnto them. His ſeruāts ſtil wayting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they ſawe he came not at all, firſt they knocked at the doore ſoftly, then they rapped hard thereat: laſtly doubting that which had happened, they break open doore after doore, til at lēgth they came into the chamber where the king laye colde deade vpon the floore. The clamor and crie herevpon was rayſed by his ſeruants, and Fenella curſed and ſought for in euery place that had committed ſo haynous and wicked a deede: but the vngracious woman was conueyed ſo ſecretly out of the way, that no where coulde ſhe be heard of. Some ſuppoſed that ſhe fled firſt vnto Conſtantine, by whoſe helpe ſhee got ouer into Irelande. The ambitious deſire which the ſame Cōſtantine ſhewed hee had to ſucceede in gouernment of the kingdome after Kennethes deceaſſe, encreaſed that ſuſpition greatly. For immediately after it was knowne that Kenneth was dead, he got his friendes togither, and went vnto diuerſe places requyring the Lordes to aſſiſt him in atteyning to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (inſtituted in the beginning, and obſerued till nowe of late, that Kenneth by his priuate authoritie had gone aboute to abrogate the ſame) ought to diſcende vnto hym, as all the worlde right well vnderſtoode.

The king wēt to Fordune a pilgrimage.

A Parke with wilde beaſtes at the caſtel of Fethircarne.

Fenella was a kinne vnto Malcolme.

She was deſirous for to reuenge.

Fenella hir malicious intent.

Croſſebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

The king was ſlaine with the Croſſebowes.

Fenella eſcaped from them all.

His ſeruants looked for their king.

The doores broken open they finde him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hir ſelfe into Ireland by the helpe of Conſtantine.

Conſtantine aſpired vnto the crowne.

Conſtantine procured friendes.

Conſtantine.

Conſtantine procured friends ſo on eche ſide, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, hee was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king, the .xij. day after Kennethes deceaſſe, in the .xxv. yere after that the ſame Kenneth had begonne his raigne ouer the

Scottiſh

994. Io. Ma.
1000. H.B.

Maruellous happes chaunced.

The moone appeared bloudie.

Scarcitie of corne & cattel

It rayned ſtones.

Preaching was deſpiſed.

Scottiſh men, and in the yeare of our ſaluation a thouſand iuſt, in the which yeare (as is ſayd) ſundrie vnketh ſightes were ſeene aſwell in Albion, as in other places. The ſea left vpon the ſandes on the coaſtes of Buthquane, an infinite multitude of fiſhes, the which lying there dead, cauſed ſuche a filthie ſauour, that the ayre being therewith infected, great death of people enſued. The Moone appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terrour of them that beheld it. The Sommer next following corne fayled, and cattell dyed ſo generally, that if there had not beene more plentie of fiſhe got than was accuſtomed to be, the people had beene famiſhed in many a place. In Albion and alſo Fraunce, it rayned ſtones. But all theſe dreadfull wonders might not withdraw the Scottiſhe men from their wicked vices, whereunto in thoſe dayes they were wholye gyuen, though there wanted not dyuerſe vertuous men, as wel Biſhops as other, that in theyr Sermons exhorted the people to repent and amende theyr naughtie lyuings: for otherwyſe vndoubtedly ſuch gryſely ſightes and tokens as chaunced in thoſe dayes, menaced ſome great myſchiefe to fall vnto the whole Nation. And ſurely their wordes proued true: for the Scottes continuing in their wilfulneſſe, being ſtubborne hearted one agaynſt another, brought theyr Countrey into daunger of vtter deſtruction.

Malcolm ſeeketh friendes againſt Conſtantine.

Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue hearde in hys fathers lyfe tyme) Prince of Cumberlande, hearing that Conſtantine (agaynſt the ordnance lately made) had vſurped the Crowne, as ſoone as his fathers bodie was buryed in Colmkil, with ſuch funeral pompe as apperteyned, he deſyred his fathers friendes to gyue him ſuch faythfull counſell as they thought moſt expedient, whiche way hee were beſt to worke for the appeaſing of the ſedition nowe begunne by reaſon of Conſtantines preſumptuous attempt.

Good counſell was giuen him

Yet other couſel was giuen him.

Malcolme goeth with an armie to fight with Conſtantine.

King Conſtantine went to meete Malcolme.

Malcolme thought himſelf to weake.

Lack of vitails cauſed Conſt. to breake vp his campe.

K. Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchaſed peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to help king Edwarde agaynſt the Danes.

King Edwarde made peace with the Danes.

There were ſome amongeſt that companie that tooke it to bee beſt, firſt to vnderſtande the myndes of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about any exployt agaynſt the tyrant, leaſt whyleſt Malcolme ſhoulde ſeeke to delyuer himſelfe from daunger, he might happely winde himſelfe further into trouble, than without extreeme perill of the common wealth he ſhoulde be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were iudged it beſt ſodenly to goe agaynſt Conſtantine before he had made himſelfe ſtrong: For if they came vpon him ere hee were prouided for theyr comming, many of them that feigned themſelues to bee his friendes, woulde forſake hym ſo ſoone as they ſawe any power of his enimyes at hande. And then ſhoulde he eyther fall into their hands, or be dryuen to flee the realme for ſafegard of his life. The fierce yong man following this counſell as the beſt to his ſeeming, and truſting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduice of men of ſkill, aſſembled togither in all haſt poſſible about the number of ten thouſand men, with whom making towards Conſtantine with ſpeedie iourneys, at length hee came into Louthian. Conſtantine being enformed of all his aduerſaries doings, had got togither alſo an huge power, ſo that paſſing forth with the ſame to encounter them, the brute which ranne of his great number and puiſſance, cauſed Malcolme for verie feare that he ſhoulde not be able in any part to matche him, to breake vp his army and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reaſon whereof he had bene put to ſuch hinderance and diſhonour, as woulde not eaſily haue bene recouered, had not Kenneth the baſtard ſonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth encamped with a mightie power aboute Sterling, and defended the paſſages of the Forth, that Conſtantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then roſe there great famine and penurie of vitayles in both hoſtes, ſo that Conſtantine with great indignation was conſtrained to breake vp his campe, and ſo to leaue his enterpriſe for that ſeaſon. Thus was the Realme deuided into two ſundry factions Whereupon followed waſtings and incurſions made into eche others poſſeſſions, with ſuch crueltie, that the ſame might be a ſufficient inſtruction what miſchiefe happeneth through ciuill diſcorde. The poore commons and huſbandmē were brought to ſuch miſerie through the often ſpoylings and robberies vſed by the men of warre, that they were not able to til their groūdes. Finally there roſe one miſchiefe ſo faſt in the neck of another, that no kinde of crueltie was ſpared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exerciſed on all ſides without hope of any redreſſe or amendment. Whileſt the Scottiſhmen were thus at diuiſion amongſt themſelues, renting and pulling in peeces their own miſerable natiue coūtrey, Edwarde king of England being oppreſſed with inuaſion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their handes, for himſelfe and his people, with right large ſummes of money: but perceiuing that his enimies ceaſſed not dayly to ſpoile and rob his ſubiects, he purpoſed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: And to make his part the ſtronger, he requyred Malcolme prince of Cumberlād to ayde him againſt the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme conſenting to king Edwards requeſt, came with a mightie armie of Cumberlande men to ſupport him: by reaſon wherof the Danes doubting to bee ouermatched, after certain light ſkirmiſhes without any great bloodſhed, cōdiſcēded to haue peace, which was concluded with theſe conditions: that king Edwarde ſhould pay vnto the Danes a M. pounde of golde, for the which they ſhould cōtent themſelues

King Conſtantine renued warre with Malcolme.

Conſtantine ioyned battail with Kenneth the baſtarde.

K. Conſtantine is ſlaine.

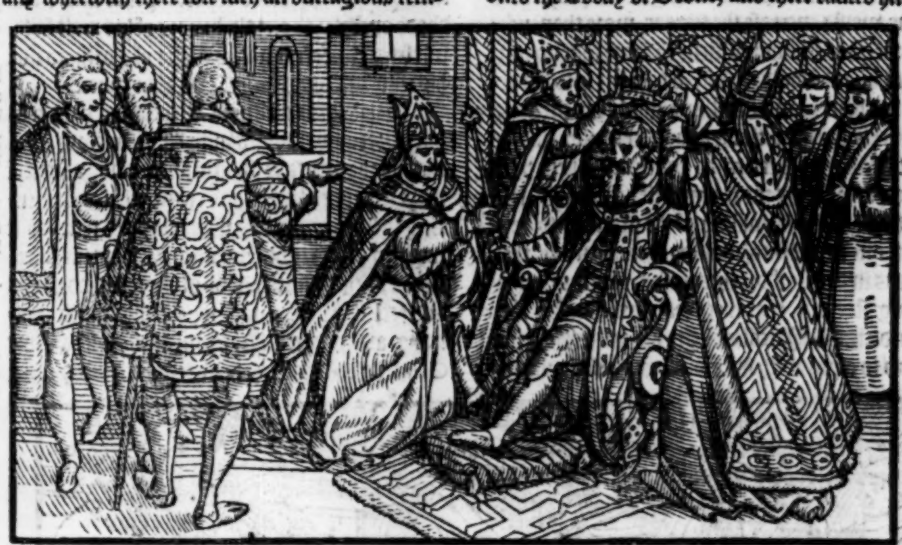
1002.

themſelues with thoſe landes which they had already in poſſeſſion, and to inuade no further vpon the Engliſhmen: but contrariwiſe to be readie to fight in their defence, if any forrain enimie ſought to make any warres vpon them. In the meane time whileſt Malcolm was thus in England occupied in ayde of king Edwarde againſt the Danes, king Conſtantine thought the time to ſerue very well for his purpoſe to reduce all thoſe regions of Scotlād (which tooke part with his aduerſarie the foreſaid Malcolme) vnder his ſubiection. He aſſembled therfore .xx.M. men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the baſtard aforeſaid (being left by his brother Malcolm to reſiſt Conſtantines attempts) had got togither an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, a three miles from Edenbourgh, purpoſing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to aſſaile him. Conſtantine herevpon haſted thitherwards, and comming within ſight of his enimies ſtreightwayes ioined battail with them: immediatly wherwith there roſe ſuch an outragious tempeſt of winde, comming out of the Eaſt, driuing the ſande in the faces of Conſtantines men, that they were not able to ſee about them to make any defence agaynſt theyr enimyes that then preaſſed vpon them right egerly. By meanes whereof the diſcomfiture light vpō Conſtantines ſide, though neyther part had any great cauſe to reioyce: for in the hoteſt of the fight, Conſtantine and Kenneth chaunced to encounter togither, and ſo fighting man to man, either ſlue other. Thus Conſtantine ended his lyfe by dynt of the enimies ſworde, in the thirde yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare after the incarnation 1002. and hys bodie was buryed in Colmekill amongſt his predeceſſours.

Grime.

Grime vſed liberalitie and gentleneſſe towards Conſtantines friendes.

Then Grime nephew to king Duffe hearing of the ſlaughter thus made betwixte king Conſtantine and Kenneth, gathered togither the reſidue of Conſtantines armie, being ſcattered abrode after the ouerthrow, ſuppoſing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was ſore weakned, and therevpon he came vnto the Abbay of Scone, and there cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king, as lawfull ſucceſſor vnto Conſtantine, by force of the olde lawes and ordinance of the Realme. And to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more firmly in the eſtate, he ſhewed great gentleneſſe towardes all them that were friends vnto Conſtantine, and beſtowed vpō them many boūteous gyftes: neyther was his liberalitie ſhut vp from other that had fauoured Malcolme, for to the ende hee might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highly both in landes and treaſure. But other of the ſame faction, whom he ſawe by no meanes coulde be wonne, he cauſed them to bee proclaymed traytours, and confiſcated their goodes as rebelles to his perſon, and enimies to the crowne.



Malcolme prince of Cūberland is ſore moued againſt Grime.

Malcolme Prince of Cumberland ſore moued in his minde that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends togither, requiring to haue their aduice, whiche way he were beſt to worke in this ſo great a matter.

A good coūſel

They counſailed him that in no wiſe he ſhould deſpiſe the force of his enimies, but rather to aſſay by all meanes to drawe thoſe Nobles vnto hys purpoſe, which were aſſiſtant vnto Grime.

Malcolm ſendeth priuily to the Lordes of Scotlande.

Wherevpon Malcolme following the counſaile of his friendes, ſent forth ſecrete meſſengers vnto thoſe Lordes that tooke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promiſed fayth, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obſeruaunce of the lawe eſtabliſhed by their conſente for the ſucceſſion of theyr Kinges: whiche if they woulde doe in renouncying

Malcolme his promiſe vnto the Scottes.

Malcolme hys meſſengers are cōmitted to priſon.

their obeyſance vnto the vſurper Gryme, he promiſed ſo to gouerne the Realme with equall iuſtice, that no eſtate ſhould in reaſon find cauſe to miſlike with his doings. Many of the nobles by meanes of this meſſage reuolted from the ſayde Grime, ſoliciting their friends by earneſt trauaile to do the like. But other and the greater number tooke thoſe that brought the meſſage, and ſent them as priſoners vnto Grime, who incontinently committed them to priſon.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Grime is of greater force thā Malcolm.

Malcolme ſore offended therewith, by counſel of his friends, aſſembled an army to go agianſt them, that contrary to the law of all nations (as he ſeemed to take the matter) had empriſoned his purſeuants and meſſengers: but marching as he was forwarde on his purpoſed iourney, hee heard by the way, howe his aduerſarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had wyth him, not onely of all ſuch of the Scottiſh nation inhabiting beyonde the riuers of Forth & Clyde, but of them alſo of the weſtern Iles.

Malcolm wold not haue his people to vnderſtande the truth thereof.

His aduice auayled not.

A brute ſpred in Malcolmes armie of treaſon.

Malcolme doubting leaſt if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongeſt his people, the ſame would encreaſe the terrour more than needed: he gaue cōmaundement therfore that no maner of wight ſhould be ſuffred to come into his army without he were firſt brought to his preſence. But this deuiſe nothing auayled him: for thereby that which he deſired to be concealed & kept moſt ſecret, became the more manifeſt, by reaſon that ſuch as had ſome ynkling of the matter, tolde it from one to another, making it much more than it was in deed. For there roſe a murmuring amongeſt them, that there was ſuch treaſon contriued, that if Malcolme with his army went forward to ioyne with his aduerſaries, he ſhould not be in daunger onely of them, which he knewe to come againſt him in Grimes hoſt, but alſo of no ſmall nūber of thē which were in his own armie, who vpon the ioyning had determined to turne their ſpeare points againſt him in Grimes quarel.

Marchant men authours of the rumor.

This rumor paſſing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was firſt raiſed by certain marchant men, of whom there was a great nūber in Malcolmes armie, hauing more ſkill in buying and ſelling, than in any warlyke feates or enterpryſes.

These at the firſt ſuing for licence to depart home, and could haue no graunt, beganne to lament their miſeries, in ſuch dolefull wiſe, that all the campe was troubled with the noyſe, inſomuch that euen the olde men of warre, and diuerſe of the Captaines were not a little diſcomforted and amazed with ſuch wailefull clamors.

Malcolme lycenceth the moſt parte of his armie to depart home.

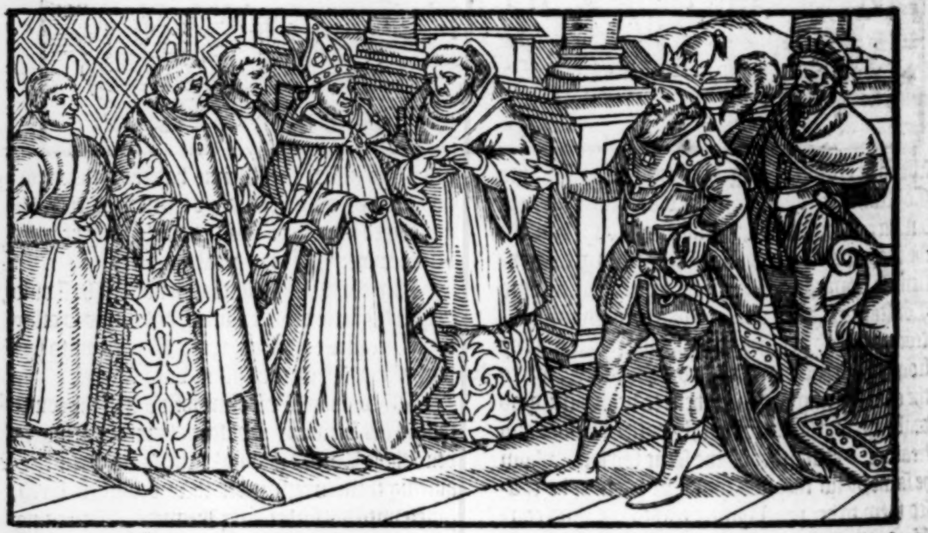
Malcolme intēdeth to ſtop his enimie frō paſſing ouer the Forth.

Malcolme being aduertiſed hereof, thought not good to match in battaile agaynſt his fierce enimies with his people thus aſtonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the moſt part of his hoſt to depart for that time, and abode onely with certain bandes of his moſt faithfull friends neare vnto the water of Forth, to ſtop his enimies from paſſing ouer that ryuer.

The great Biſhop of Scotlande.

Fothadus ſeeketh to take vp the matter.

Whileſt the realme of Scotlande was thus diſquieted and troubled with ciuill diſcorde, Fothadus the greate Biſhop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, ſore lamenting to ſee his countrey thus deuided & rent, as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall veſtures with a multitude of other reuerend prieſts and eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in humble wiſe comming and preſenting themſelues before King Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderſtand the cauſe of their comming. Then Fothadus anſwered, that he was come as the ſeruant of Chriſt, the authour of all peace and concorde, beſeeching him by way of humble ſupplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miſerie fallen to the realme, ſith the tyme



he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the ſtate of things being ſuch, as if ſome redreſſe were not founde in all ſpeedie wiſe, the vtter ruyne of the common wealth muſt needes enſue, by reaſon of the ſundrie debates and factions dayly riſing amongeſt the people of all ſortes and degrees, ſo that murthers, robberies, reife, with al other kinds of iniuries and miſchiefe were ſtill put in practiſe without reſtraynt or puniſhment in ſuch lycentious ſort that no man coulde aſſure himſelfe of his owne: for whether it were within dores, or without, the Robber was as readie to lay handes on it as the owner. Neyther was there hope of any reformation ſo long as the ciuill warres laſted. Therfore if it might ſtande with the pleaſure of king Gryme in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotlande, to condiſcende vnto ſome neceſſarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them in ſuche wyſe as ſhoulde in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honour and royall Maieſtie.

The fruites of ciuil warre.

Fothadus vndertaketh to conclude a peace betwixt the parties.

Grime moued with the wordes of the Biſhop (who moſt inſtantly beſought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart, yet in reſpect of his owne ſuretie, which might not continue if his people were once deſtroyed, to remit part of his high diſpleaſure) anſwered, that peace he could be contented to haue, ſo the ſame might be concluded with his honor ſaued: for ſurely warres he neuer deſired but onely in defence of his good title & right, which he had to the crowne deſcended vnto him by the olde lawes and auncient ordinances of the realm, & therefore he purpoſed not to leaue the ſame with life, but to fight for it agaynſt Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death: But if it were ſo, that Malcolme would content himſelfe with the principalitie of Cumberland, & ſo thervpon breake vp his campe and depart forth of the lands perteyning to the crown, he woulde gladly com to a cōmunication with him for peace, but if Malcolme refuſed thus to do, he aſſured him that he woulde not leaue off to purſue him to the vttermoſt of his power, as his moſt cruel and fierce enimie.

Grymes aunſwere to Fothadus.

Fothadus hauing heard Grymes wordes, beſought hym to ſtay a tyme, tyll hee myght goe vnto Malcolme, to vnderſtande what hys full mynde was in this behalfe, not doubting but to finde him conformable vnto any reaſonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted ſtate of the lande.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

Gryme graunting to this requeſt, Fothadus in like ſort and habite as he came vnto Gryme, went vnto Malcolme, whome he founde at Sterling. Where comming before his preſence wyth a long Oration, hee greatly bewayled the dolorous calamityes of the Scottiſh common weale, into the which it was fallen through ciuil ſedition only: and herewith declared alſo by great likelyhodes of ſubſtantial reaſons, how infortunate and miſerable the ende ſhould be of the warres, if the ſame were purſued to the vttermoſt.

His tale being throughly heard and well digeſted, wrought ſo with Malcolme, that he promiſed to withdraw into Cumberlande withoute any further attempt, if Grime would in like caſe breake vp his camp, and agree to haue a truce for three Monethes ſpace, in which meane time they might by certaine commiſſioners appointed and authoriſed therto, talk and cōmon for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Malcolmes offer.

Grime refuſed not this offer, and ſo therevpon lycenſed his people to depart to their homes, repairing himſelfe with certaine of his nobles into Angus vnto the Caſtell of Forfair, there to take further aduice what was to be done touching the appoynted communication of peace.

Gryme is contented with Malcolmes motion.

But Fothadus would in no wiſe reſt, tyll the commiſſioners were met and aſſembled togither in communication at Scone, where within fiue dayes after (chiefly through his earneſt diligence) peace was concluded with theſe conditions.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agreement.

Firſt that Grime during his life time, ſhoulde enioy the crowne, and after his deceaſſe the ſame to remaine vnto Malcolm and his heires by lineal diſcent for euer, according to the ordinance and decree made & eſtabliſhed by king Kenneth. And whoſoeuer ſhoulde goe about eyther by worde or deed to impeach or hinder the ſaid ordinance and decree, ſhould be reputed for a traytor to the common wealth and realme.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Gryme and Malcolme.

Furthermore all the landes lying betwyxt Louthian and Northumberlande, and betwixt Clyde and Weſtmerland, euen from the Almain ſeas, to the Iriſh ſeas, ſhoulde preſently remaine and be tranſported vnto the dominion & gouernment of Malcolme, with the whiche contenting himſelfe during the naturall life of Gryme, hee ſhould cōtinue in friendſhip with the ſaid Grime, and ſo in no wiſe ſtirre or moue any warre or debate, eyther againſt him or any of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake any of the articles of this peace, he ſhoulde not onely loſe thoſe landes which he now held, but alſo to be depriued of all the right, title, clayme, and intereſt whiche either he or his poſteritie might make or pretende vnto the crowne at any time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themſelues by ſolemne othes to performe euery point & points in theſe articles compriſed, they layd armor aſide, and began to take order for reforming of all miſdemeanours, whiche had happened within the lande, by reaſon of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commaundement was giuen by eyther of theſe

The warres being ceaſſed, the Princes apply their ſtudies to refourme miſdemeanors

Princes, that their ſubiectes ſhould be ſtill in a readineſſe with armure & weapon, if need required to defend themſelues againſt al ſodaine inuaſions of their neighbors, wherby it may be gathered, that the one had the other ſtill in ſome miſtruſt, what countenance ſoeuer they ſhewed outwardly. Yet notwithſtanding for the ſpace of. viij. yeares togither, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto deteſtable vices.

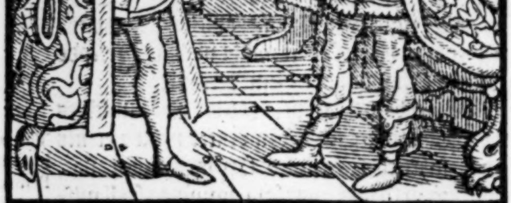
But Gryme at length of a chaſte and liberall Prince, through long ſlouth and encreaſe of ryches, became a moſt couetous tyrant, and ſo corrupted in maners and conditions, that it paſſed the termes of al reaſon and equitie: inſomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerſe of his nobles, to the ende he might haue their landes and goodes as forfeyted by attainder, he oppreſſed the people by continuall exactions alſo eche day more than other.

The common peoples praier.

His ſubiectes being thus brought into extreme miſerie through his wicked & vniuſt gouernmēt, not knowing where to ſeeke for redreſſe, ſaue only at the handes of almightie God, the puniſher of al ſinne, beſought him to haue pitie of their afflictions, and to chaunge the gouernment of the realm into ſome better eſtate.

The Lordes require Grime to reforme the miſdemeanor of his officers.

The Lordes alſo hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings miſgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certaine number of Gentlemen to goe vnto him as Ambaſſadours from them, to requyre him to put away from him ſuch naughtie perſons as by euill councell had peruerted his minde, and moued him to do things contrary to his honour and the wealth of his realme.



One of theſe Ambaſſadors (to whō the charge was giuen) had the wordes in name of them all, who cōming before the kings preſence, declared vnto him howe they were ſent from the reſidue of the nobles and peeres of his realme, to admoniſhe him of things perteyning to yͤ ſuretie of his eſtate and cōmon wealth of his dominions, which was, that where through perſwaſion of euill counſaylers he ſuffred many enormities to be committed by his miniſters and officers againſt his ſubiectes, to their vtter impoueriſhment and vndoing, the rebuke wherof did redound vnto his diſhonor, if it would pleaſe him to remoue out of his preſence & ſeruice all ſuch diſloyal perſons as ſought the hinderance of the common weale, he ſhoulde winne thereby the loue of all his liege ſubiectes, whiche now coulde not but grudge and repine at this his gouernment, as men by the ſame brought into ſuch calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the ſooner had agaynſt ſuche extortions as his ſeruants and officers did dayly practiſe, and for the which no doubt he muſt needes anſwere, ſith the ſworde was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous perſons, nor to oppreſſe innocent and true dealing people, but contrarily to puniſhe and correct guiltie and vniuſt dealers.

The office of the ſworde.

King Grime purpoſed to haue ſlaine the meſſengers.

When king Gryme had heard what meſſage theſe Ambaſſadors had brought, he anſwered to the ſame with fayned wordes, & willed them vnder the pretext of courteſie to a banket, in purpoſe to haue put them all in priſon: But they beeing aduertiſed therof, got them in all haſt to their horſes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the reſidue of the nobles at the ſame time were aſſēbled.

The Lordes of Scotland arrear warre againſt Grime their king.

Gryme thus hauing no regarde to the holeſome aduertiſement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forwarde with ſuch felicitie and happe as he wiſhed, not ceaſſing from rayſing new payments and exactions ſtill of his ſubiectes, till at length he was aduertiſed, how his nobles had rayſed open warre againſt him, at which newes being ſore kindled with diſpleaſure, he got togither a great number of men, & marched forth towards them that had ſo rebelled agaynſt him.

What miſchief enſued.

Then followed more miſchiefe and trouble thā euer had bene ſeene afore that time in Scotlande: for by reaſon of this ciuill diſſention, caſtels were razed & ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne deſtroyed, and fieldes waſted, & the people ſlaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elſwhere.

Malcolme prince of Cūberland hearing of ſuch cruell warres as were thus rayſed in Scotlande betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the daunger of the vtter euerſion of the whole cōmon wealth, returned with al ſpeed forth of Englande (where hee was with an armie as then in ayd of king Egelred agaynſt the Danes) into his owne countrey for defence of his ſubiectes, if any attempt ſhould happely be made againſt them in that troubleſome ſeaſon.

Malcolme is required to relieue the Scottiſh eſtate.

Howbeit he was no ſooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beſeching him to take pitie vpon his miſerable and torne countrey, and to employe hys whole force to remoue away from the people ſuch imminent deſtruction as dayly haſted towards them, which to do they thought it was partly euen his dutie, ſith God had beſtowed vpon him ſuche giftes both of body, minde, and fortune, as moſt plenteouſly appeared in him, not onely for the weale of himſelfe, but alſo of his friends and countrey, and therefore his part was to ſhew his earneſt diligence to deliuer the common wealth of ſuch tyrannie, as was practiſed by the miſgouernment of Gryme and his vnhappie counſellers. Which being done, he might order al things as ſhould like him beſt.

Malcolme conſenteth to make warres againſt Grime.

Malcolme moued with theſe and the like perſwaſions of the Scottiſh Lords, which dayly reſorted vnto him, reſolued with promiſe of their ſupport to leuie warre againſt Grime in this ſo neceſſarie a quarell, & ſo aſſembling a great puiſſance togither, he did ſet forth towards his aduerſarie. By the way alſo there came ſtill vnto him great numbers of men from eche ſide to ayde him in this enterprice, offring by ſolemne othes to become his liege men and ſubiects.

Grime aſſembleth an army to encounter Malcolme.

Gryme likewiſe beeing aduertiſed of thoſe newes, with all ſpeede got togither ſuch people as hee might aſſemble for the time, and comming forwarde with the ſame at the towne of Luchnabart, both the armyes pitched downe theyr tentes, the one faſt by the other, on the Aſcenſion day.

The campes neare the one to the other.

Grimes policie.

Here Grime ſuppoſing that he might take his enimies at ſome great aduantage, if he came vpõ them on the ſodaine, for that being giuen to deuotion, they woulde looke for nothing leſſe than for battaile on yͤ day, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpoſe forthwith to aſſaile them. Notwithſtanding Malcolme being aduertiſed therof, ſent vnto Grime, requeſting him to deſiſt from battaile for reuerence of that bleſſed feaſt, but Grime woulde in no wiſe aſſent thereto, but needes would come on without ſtop or ſtay: wherevpon both the armies ruſhing togither, met right fiercely, ſo that in the beginning there was great ſlaughter made on both ſides, but within a while king Grymes ſide was put to the worſe, and in the ende clearly diſcomfited.

Malcolmes requeſt.

The battaile betwixt Grime & Malcolme.

In the chaſe were many ſlaine, but yet no ſuch number as ſo notable a victorie required.

Grimes part diſcomfited.

It is ſaid that Grime was taken aliue ſtanding at defence moſt fiercely fighting, & being ſore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, & afterwards continuing ſo in great miſerie & languor certaine dayes, at length departed out of this life, in the .ix. yeare of his raigne, and was buried in Colmkill, after the incarnation .1010. yeares.

The ende of king Grime.

1004. Io. Ma

1010. H.B.

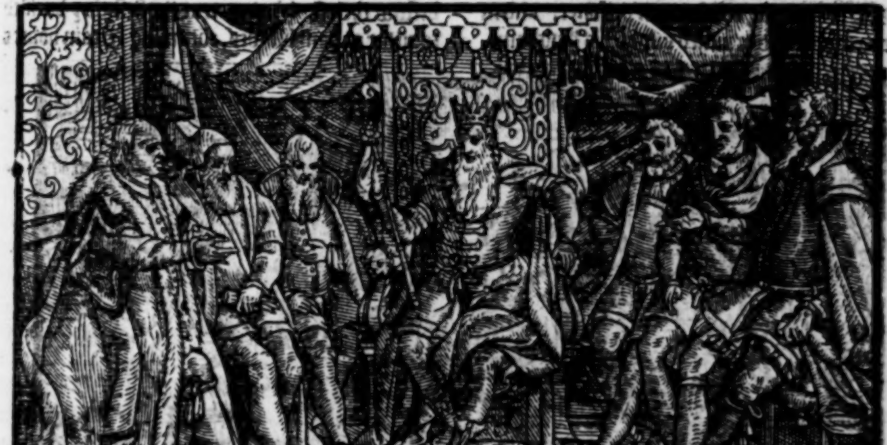
After this victorie thus obteyned by Malcolm, he called ſuch noble men as were taken priſoners in this battaile before him, vſing manye gentle wordes towards them, declaring how the right of the crowne apperteyned vnto him, & that yͤ warres which he had made, were not attempted againſt the cõmon wealth of the Scottiſh eſtate, but rather in reliefe therof, to the ende the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exerciſed by Grime and his counſellors. And when he had thus vttered his minde vnto them, he appointed a publike aſſemble to be kept at Scone (for the electiõ of a new king) there to be holden within .xv. days after. Whither the Scottiſh nobilitie cõming togither at the day and place appoynted, and conſenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterly refuſed to receyue the crowne, except the law eſtabliſhed by his father Kenneth for the ſucceſſion therof were firſt cõfirmed & approbate, whervpon the Lords bounde thẽſelues by ſolemne othes to perform the ſame, & neuer to breake or violate it in any condition.

Malcolmes wordes to the that were taken priſoners.

A Parliament at Scone.

Malcolme refuſeth the crowne but vpon condition

The ordinance of king Kenneth for the ſucceſſion of the crowne is confirmed.



His requeſt herein being graũted with generall conſent both of the nobles and cõmons, the crown was ſet vpon his heade, he beeing placed in the

Chayre of Marble, to the great reioyſing of al the people preſent.

Mal-colme.

Malcolme agreeth the nobles of his realme.

WHen the ſolemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called afore him again al the lords and peeres of his realme, of the which part had ayded him in the laſt warres, & part had bin aſſiſtant vnto his aduerſarie Grime: & there vſed the matter in ſuch wiſe amongſt them, that he made them all friendes, eche one promiſing to other, to forget all former offences, diſpleaſures & controuerſies paſt, which he did to auoid al inteſtine trouble yͤ might grow out of the rootes of ſuch rãcor & malice, as in time of the ciuil diſcord had ſprũg vp amõgſt thẽ.

Malcolmes wiſdome in ordeyning officers.

Further, for the better adminiſtration of iuſtice in due forme and maner, he beſtowed publike offices vpon diſcrete perſons, ſkilful in the lawes and ordinances of the realme. Other offices perteining to the warres & defence of the realm, he committed vnto ſuch as were practiſed & trayned in ſuch exerciſes, ſo that iuſtice was miniſtred on all ſydes throughout the kingdome, with ſuch equitie and vprightneſſe, as had not beene heard of in any age before him. Whileſt the Scottiſh eſtate was gouerned in ſuch happie wiſe, by the prudent policie of K. Malcolme, it chaunced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauy, in purpoſe to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Engliſh men.

Sueno king of Denmark landed in Englande.

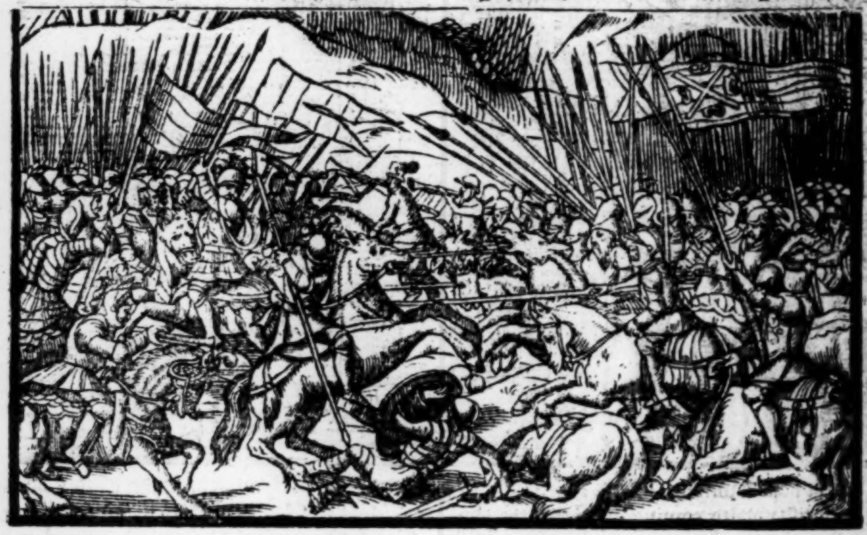
Sueno conuerted to the chriſtian fayth in Scotland.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the hyſtorie of Denmark) firſt being an earneſt perſecuter of chriſtian men, and puniſhed by the deuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe ſhewed by ſundry ouerthrowes receyued at the enimies handes, as in being thriſe taken priſoner, and in the end driuen and expulſed out of his kingdome, he came into Scotlande for relief & ſuccor, where through the holſome inſtruction of godly and vertuous men, he renounced his heathniſh belief, & receiued the chriſtian faith, & being baptiſed, at lẽgth was reſtored home to his kingdõ. Shortly after with a mightie armye of Danes, Gothes, and Norwegians, & Swedeners, with other northern people, he arriued (as is ſaid) in England, & chaſed king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receyuing aide from the Scottes according to the league which lately before he had contracted with thẽ, he determined eftſoones to trie the chaunce of battaile wͭ his enimies. Marching forward therfore towards thẽ, he came to the riuer of Owſe, neare to the banks wherof, not far from Yorke, he pitched down his tents. Then Sueno not forgetful of the benefits & pleaſures receiued lately at the Scottiſhmẽs hands, ſent an herald at armes vnto thẽ, cõmaũding thẽ to depart their wayes home & to refuſe Egeldreds cõpanie, either elſe to looke for moſt cruel battail at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians & others yͤ people of Germany, there redie bent to their deſtruction. Egeldred being aduertiſed that his aduerſaries meſſenger was thus come into his campe, cauſed him to be ſtayed and arreſted for a ſpie. And the ſame day he brought forth his battayles readie raunged into the fieldes to trie yͤ matter by dynt of ſword, if Sueno were ſo minded, who right deſirous to accept the offer, brought forth alſo his people in perfit order & well arrayed to fight, ſo that there was no ſtay on either part, but that togither they flue moſt fiercely, & in ſuch egre wiſe, that neyther ſide had leyſure to beſtow their ſhot, but euen at the firſt they buckled togither at handblowes, cõtinuing certain houres with great & cruel ſlaughter, til at lẽgth the Engliſh men were put to flight, leauing to the Danes a right deare & bloodie victorie. The murther alſo that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Engliſh men. Egeldred himſelf with a fewe other, got a boat and paſſed ouer Ouſe, ſo eſcaping out of the enimies hãds, but the reſt were for the moſt part either taken or ſlaine.

Egeldred (or as the Scottes write Eldred) chaſed into Northumberland, getteth ayde from the Scottes.

Suenos meſſage to the Scottes.

The battaile betwixt Egeldred and Sueno.



The Engliſh men put to flight by the Danes.

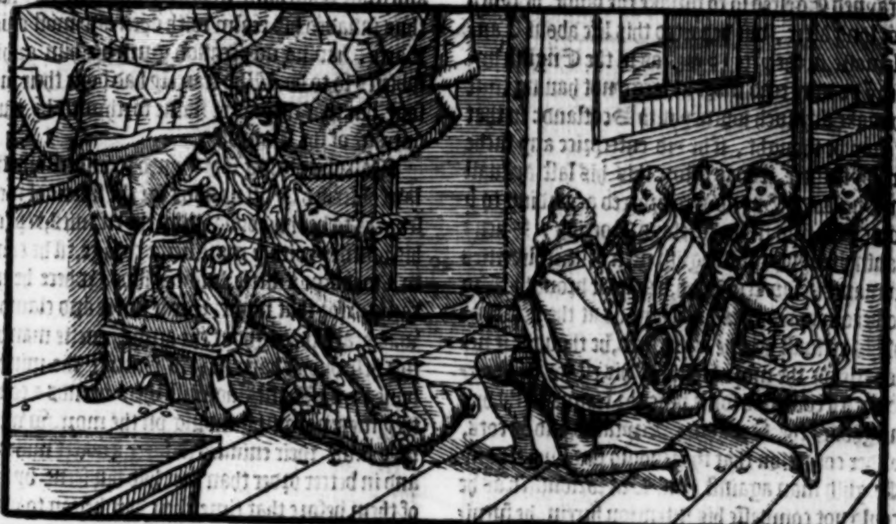
Egeldred eſcapeth by flight.

Thus Egelred being vtterly vanquiſhed and diſpairing of al recouerie, fled out of Englande ouer into Normandie, where he was right friendly receyued of Richard as then Duke of Normãdy, & afterwardes purchaſed ſuch fauor there amongſt the Normans, that he maried the Ladie Emme, daughter vnto the ſayde Duke, and begot of hir two ſonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the Engliſh Chronicles more at large it doth appeare.

Suenoes cruell imagination.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.

Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in poſſeſſion of the whole realm of England, was in mind to haue deſtroyed al the Engliſh generation, ſo to eſtabliſh the kingdome to him and his poſteritie for euer, without any impeachment afterwardes to be made by ſuch as ſhuld ſucceed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of Englãd aduertiſed of Suenoes determination, came humbly before his preſence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, beſought him in moſt pitifull wiſe to haue compaſſion on their miſerable eſtate, who in times paſt being a moſt puiſſant nation, both by ſea and lande, were now ſatiſfied (if he woulde graunt them life) to continue vnder what bondage and ſeruitude it ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure to preſcribe, for they deſired neither poſſeſſion of caſtels, townes, or other ſoueraintie, but onely to liue with their wiues and children vnder ſubiection within their owne natiue Countrey, at the victors will and appointment.



Vnder what conditions Sueno licenced the Engliſhmẽ to liue in their own countrey.

Sueno albeit he was of nature very cruell, yet he qualified his diſpleaſure by this humble ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh nobility, in ſuch ſort, that he vſed the victorie farre more gently, than at the firſt he had purpoſed, cõmaũding that the whole Engliſh nation ſhould remaine in the countrey, but in ſuch wiſe, as by no meanes they ſhuld preſume to beare any armor or weapõ, but to apply thẽſelues vnto huſbandry, & other ſeruile occupations vnder the gouernment of the Danes, vnto whom they ſhuld reſigne & deliuer al their caſtels, forts, & ſtrõg holds, and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno as their ſoueraine lord & king: they ſhould bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vſe) al their weapon & armor with other munition for the warres, alſo all their golde and ſiluer, aſwell in plate as coyne. If any of the Engliſh men refuſed thus to do, proclamatiõ was made that he ſhould immediatly loſe his life as a rebel & a diſobedient perſon.

The Engliſh men were brought to ſuch an extremitie, that they were faine to accept theſe conditions of peace, for other meane to auoyd preſent death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of Englãd cõquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had raigned in the ſame 564. yeares.

529. H.B.

The miſerie of the Engliſhmẽ vnder the bondage of the Danes.

Such tyrannie alſo after this was vſed by the Danes, that none of the Engliſh nation was admitted to any office or rule within the realme eyther ſpirituall or temporall, but were vtterly remoued from the ſame, and ſome of them caſt in priſon and dayly put in hazard of their liues.

Finally, the Engliſhe men were brought into ſuch miſerable thraldome, that euery houſholder within the realme, was conſtrayned to receyue and finde at his owne proper coſtes & charges one Dane, who ſhould continually giue good watche what was ſayde or done in the houſe, and to aduertiſe the king thereof, for doubt of conſpiracies or treaſons to be contriued and practiſed agaynſt his perſon and royall eſtate.

The name of Lordain how it came vp.

This Dane by the good man of the houſe & his family for honour ſake, was called Lord Dane, which word was afterwardes turned to a name of reproch, as where any idle perſon liued loitring without the vſe of ſome honeſt exerciſe to get his liuing withal, ẏ people were & yet are accuſtomed to cal him a Lordain. Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue ſhewed of Suenoes doings in Englãd, which although it agree not in al points

Sueno landed here this laſt time of his comming forth of Denmarke into England in July, in the yeare. 1013. & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yeare. 1014.

Sueno prepareth to inuade the Scottes.

Olauus, and Onetus.

with our Engliſh hyſtories, yet ſith the hyſtorie of Scotlande in this place ſeemeth partly to hang theron, we haue thought good to ſet it down as we finde it in the ſame Boetius: but aduertiſing the reader with all, that if our hyſtories bee true, this which followeth touching Suenoes inuading of Scotland chanced before that Egelred whom the Scottiſh writers name Eldred, was driuen to flee into Normandie. For after that Sueno laſtly returned into Englande, and conſtrayned Egelred ſo to forſake the lande, he lyued not long after, but departed this life about Candlemaſſe, in the yere 1014. (as in the Engliſh hyſtory ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make any ſuch iourney into Scotland: ſo that it may be thought, if he did enterpriſe any ſuche exployte there, it was before this his laſt arriuall in England. But now to proceed according to yͭ which we find in the foreſayd Boetius. Sueno hauing ſpoyled the Engliſh men of their liberties in maner before remēbred, or rather brought them to becom tributaries vnto him, as at the firſt time of his arriuall here he did in deed, he thought it neceſſarie for the more ſuretie of his eſtate in Englande, to conclude ſome peace or league with hys neighbors the Normans, Brytains and Scots, vnder condition that they ſhould not ſupport any Engliſh man againſt him. But forſomuch as he could not compaſſe his intention herein, he furniſhed al the caſtels & fortreſſes on the ſea coaſtes, ouer againſt Normandie with mē, munition, and vitails, to reſiſt al ſoden inuaſions yͭ might be attēpted on that ſide. And on the other part towards the north, he made al the prouiſion he could deuiſe to make mortal warres vpon the Scots: and the more to annoy his enimies, he ſent commaundement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norway, & to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with al yͤ power they might leuie into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

The Danes land in Scotlande.

The crnelty of the Danes.

The caſtell of Narn beſieged

Wherupon ſhortly after thoſe foreſaid captains arriued with an huge army in yͤ mouth of Spay, and landed in ſuch puiſſant order, that the inhabitans of Murreyland fled out of their houſes, with their wiues, children, & goodes (ſuch as they could conuey away with them) into places where they thought to remain moſt out of daunger But the Danes after their maner burne & ſpoyle all before them, aſwel churches and chappels, as other buildings & edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chaunce fell into their handes, were ſlain without all mercie. Alſo al the ſtrengthes and holds in the countrey were taken by the Danes, three caſtels only excepted: that is to wit, Elgin, Fores, and Narne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they truſted when the ſame was won, the other two woulde yeeld without any further defence, they firſt layde ſiege vnto this Caſtel of Narne, enforcing themſelues with all their power to winne it, but in the meane time, they were enformed how Malcolme the Scottiſh king was come within fiue miles of them with al the forces of his realm to giue them battaile.

Incontinently wherupō they rayſed their ſiege, & haſted forth to meet him with no leſſe courage, thā if victory were already preſent in their hands.

Malcolm ſendeth ambaſſadours to the Danes.

The Danes ſlea the Ambaſſadours.

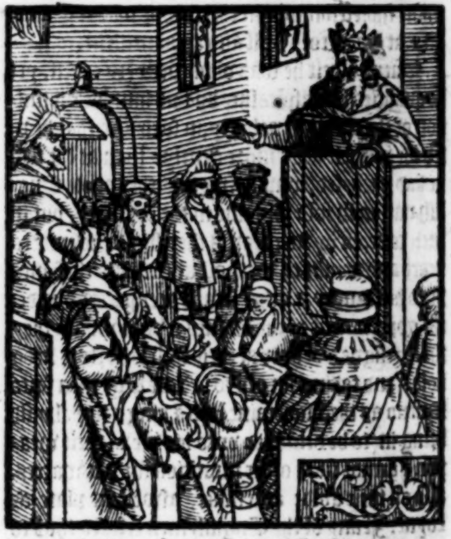
Shortly after, there came vnto them heraldes alſo from Malcolme, to vnderſtand why they had thus inuaded his realm with open and moſt cruel warre, hauing no occaſion giuen by him or his ſubiects ſo to do. Who ſcarcely had done their meſſage, but that they were ſlaine forthwith by cruel outrage of the Danes.

The Scottes through feare are aſtonied.

Malcolme being ſore moued to vnderſtand the law obſerued by all nations for the ſafetie of meſſengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iourney with yͤ more fierce corage, til he came to a medowe a little beſide Killos, where he encamped for that night. Great noyſe and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being deſirous of battaile, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes againſt their friends & countrey men: notwithſtanding on the morrow when they ſaw their enimies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had bin ſeene by any of them before that time, their hart began to waxe faint, hauing greater care which way to ſaue their own liues, thā to giue the onſet vpō their enimies.

Malcolmes wordes to his Nobles.

Malcolme perceiuing ſuch dread to be entred into the hearts of his people, that they were nowe more like to run away than to fight, if he ſhoulde bring them forth to battail, got him to a little hil, & calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but deteſt their great cowardiſe, that were thus aſtonied at the firſt ſight of their enimies, wͭout further trial of their forces.



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At home (ſaid he) ye are moſt hardie and valiant, where no danger appeareth: what rebuke this is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted now that ye are come where valiancie ſhould be ſhewed,) in degenerating ſo far from your worthy fathers & noble progenitors, the which at Loncarte vnder the conduit of my father Kenneth, obteyned ſo famous a victorie of the ſelf ſame nation, whoſe furious puiſſance ye ſeeme now ſo much to feare. There hath bene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, & alſo of England, to the great honor & renowne of our elders. What diſcomfitures the Danes haue receyued are yet freſh in memorie, ſo many of them loſing their liues amongeſt vs, that Albion may well be reckened the ſepulture of Danes, as ſome of you can wel record by your owne remēbrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and anceſters. Ye ought then (ſayde he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at neede, conſidering yee haue to doe with thoſe enimies, which are but the remaynant of the other, whiche before haue bene vanquiſhed and ouerthrowne by Scottiſh men, both at Loncarte, & in diuerſe other places, yea & beſides that, ſuch as mouing warres now at this preſent without iuſt occaſion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deſeruing thereby iuſt vengeance at Gods handes, the puniſher of al ſuch vniuſt offenders. Ther is great hope therfore of victorie (ſaid he) left vnto all ſuch as fight againſt theſe enimies, if we take manly harts vnto vs, and ſhew our ſelues in valiant cōſtancie like to our elders, wherby it ſhall then appeare what outragious folly remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occaſiō of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regarde to to the ſafetie of your frail bodies, which muſt needes at length periſhe, than to the defence and preſeruation of your cōmon countrey, why paſſe ye not forward, ſith ther is now no place nor time to take longer aduice in the matter, as ye may well vnderſtād by ẏ preſence of ẏ enimie redy to ioyne.

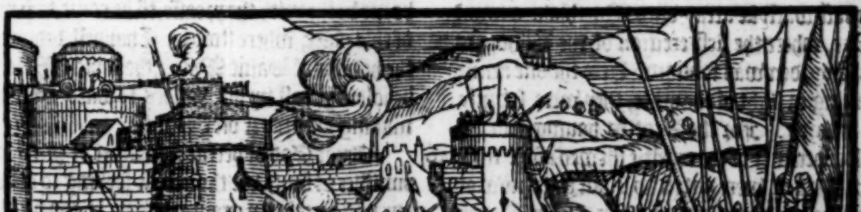
Loncarte.

Albion the ſepulture of Danes.

The nobles moued with theſe wordes of their prince, began boldly to exhort their people to battell. Incontinently wherupon roſe ſuch noiſe and raging fury through the army, that without meaſuring either their owne forces or their enimies, they ruſh forth vpō thē without any order or good aray. Olauus & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouſly againſt them, boldly encountred them with arrayed battels. Wherupō enſued a right terrible fight, with great manhood ſhewed on both ſides, nothing being let paſſe that might apperteyne to worthy captains, the Scots enforforcing themſelues to defend their countrie & auncient liberties, on the one ſide, & the Danes doing their beſt endeuor by valiāt hardineſſe to ſaue their liues & honors on the other. At length after huge murther & ſlaughter made on both parts, ẏ Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was ſore wounded, & had his helmet ſo faſt beaten to his head, that it might not wel be got of, yet was he conueyed out of the field in maner for dead, and kept ſecrete in a wood, til he was ſomwhat amended, and then got him into places out of daunger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the ſpoyle of the field, returned to beſiege eftſoones the caſtell of Narne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scottes without ordet ruſh forth to battaile.

The Scottes put to flight. Malcolme is wounded.



This Caſtell in thoſe dayes was encloſed on eche ſide with the ſea, hauing one narrow paſſage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in maner of a bridge.

Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and loſſe of the field, rendred the fortreſſe, on condition that leauing al their armor, weapō, & other munitions behind thē, they might depart wt their liues & other goods ſaued. Neuertheles the Danes cōtrary to their faith giuē, being

The caſtell of Narne rendred by compoſition.

The Danes breakers of faith and promiſe.

once entred the Caſtell, hanged all thoſe whiche they founde within it ouer the walles, in moſt deſpitefull maner.

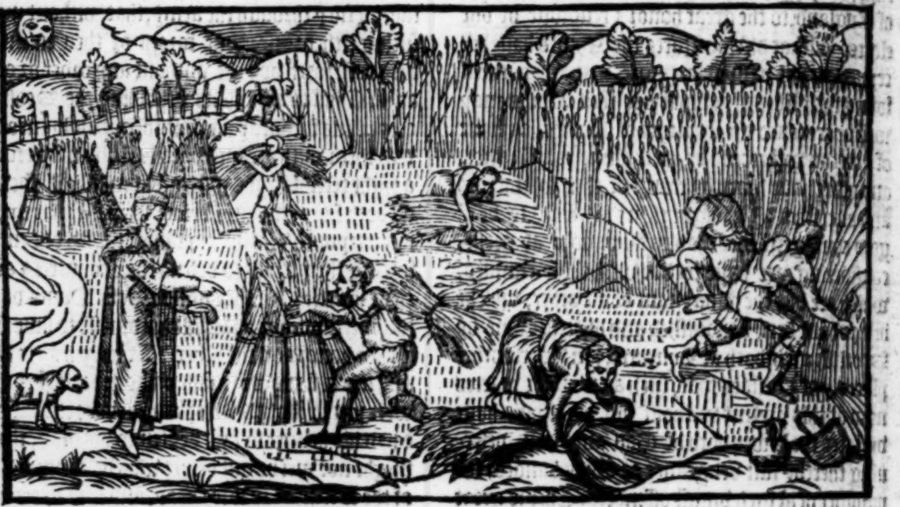
Thus was Narne wonne by the Danes, the ſtrongeſt holde within Murrey lande, and ſo garniſhed with men, munition and vytayles, that it was thought impregnable.

Elgyn and Fores left voyde.

Then thoſe ſouldiers which kept Elgyn and Fores, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vſed, fled out of thoſe Caſtels, and left them voyd without any perſon to defende them.

The Danes reioyſing at this good fortune, truſted to eſtabliſhe thẽſelues ſure ſeates in Murrey lande, and thereupon ſent backe their ſhippes into Norway and Denmarke, to fetch frõ thence their wyues and children.

In the meane time they conſtrayned ſuche Scottes as they had layde handes on, to reape and inne the corne growing abrode in the fieldes, vnto their vſe and commoditie.



King Malcolme being aduertiſed of all theſe doings, doubting leaſt by the arriual of new ayd, his enimies might waxe more puiſſant, in the beginning of the next ſommer, he aſſembled a great multitude of warriours, and came in good order and moſt warlyke array vnto Murthlake, a town of Mar, where the firſt erection of the Biſhoppes ſea of Abyrden was founded. Here the one armie comming in ſight of the other, they were ſodenly both amazed. For the Scottes hauing had too much experience of the crueltie ſhewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no ſmall feare now at the plaine and open ſight of them. The Danes being farre off from the ſea ſide, and vpon an vnknowne grounde, were more afrayde of ſome guilefull practiſe, than of the open violence and force of their enimies. Yet neuertheleſſe in the ende, by the encouragement of the Captaines on both ſides, they buckled togither with great fierceneſſe and moſte cruell malicious hatred on eche hand. In the firſt brunt three valiant Captains, that is to wit, Kenneth of Ila, Gryme of Stratherne, & Patrike of Dunbar, ruſhing ouer fiercely on their enimies, were ſlain, and gaue occaſion to many of the Scottiſhe men to flee, but the place was ſuch, that they coulde not well make theyr courſe any way forth, by reaſon of yͤ narrowneſſe thereof, fenced on either ſide with deepe trenches full of water and mudde, alſo a trauerſe were layd ſundrie trees, as it had bene of purpoſe to impeach the paſſage, deuiſed in that ſort (as was thought) in time of ſome ciuill warres.

Murthlake.

The Scotts and Danes one afrayde of another.

The Scottes forced to retyre.

Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his beſt to ſtay them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preaſſe, til he came to yͤ mids of this place, where ſtoode a Chappell dedicate in the honour of Saint Molok, the which Malcolm beholding, caſt vp his handes towardes heauen, making his prayer on this wiſe.

Malcolmes prayer.

Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and puniſher of ſinne, we thy people ſeeking to defende our natiue cõtrey graunted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now deſtitute of al mortal help, and thus oppreſſed with the iniurious inuaſion of Danes, do flee vnto thee in this our extreeme neceſſitie, beſeeching thee to haue cõpaſſion vpõ our miſerable eſtate: Remoue (oh merciful Lorde) this dreadfull terror frõ the people. And oh thou mother of God, the ſicker refuge of mortall people in their diſtreſſe and miſeries: and thou S. Molok to whom this chappel was dedicate, help vs at this preſent, and in the honor of you, I here make a vow to build a cathedral Church for a Biſhops ſea, to remain as a monument to teſtifie vnto our poſterity, that by your ſupport our realme hath bene defended.

To you, that is to God, and our Ladie, and Saint Molok, for ſo he ioyned them togither according to the maner of that time.

Scarcely had Malcolme made an ende of this prayer, when diuerſe of the Nobles with a loude voyce, as though they had bin aſſured yͭ his praier was herd, cried to their companies: ſtand good fellowes, for ſurely it is the pleaſure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battayle againſt our enimies.

The Scottes oftentimes renew batayle.

Hereupon roſe a wonderfull noyſe amongſt the ſouldiers, ech one encouraging other to withſtand the enimies, and to fight in moſte manfull wiſe in defence of theyr countrey and auncient liberties, and forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon theyr enimies, making great ſlaughter on eche ſide, without regarde to theyr liues or bloudy woundes, which they boldly and without feare receyued.

Herewith Malcolme alſo with a buſhment of ſtoute warriours came vpon Onetus, who was prauncing vp and downe the fielde without any helmet on his head, as though the Scottes had bene already without recouery clearely diſcomfited, and ſo there was he beaten downe, beſide his horſe, and amongſt the footemen ſlayne out of hande. The reſidue of the Danes beholding the ſlaughter of their Captaine, ſtayed from farther purſute on the Scottes. Hereof enſued great boldneſſe to the Scottes and diſcouragement to the Danes. Albeit the batayle continued ſtill a long ſpace, the ſouldiers doying their beſt on eyther ſide, till at length the Danes were put to flight, many of them being ſlaine, and but fewe taken. Olaus beholding the diſcomfiture of his people, and that his companion in authoritie was ſlayne, fled into Murrayland with a ſmall companie about him.

Onetus is ſlayne.

The Danes put to flight.

Olaue fleeth into Murrayland.

The next day, Malcolme conſidering what a number of his moſte valiant Captaines he had loſt in this batayle, deuided the ſpoyle of the fielde amongſt his men, and ceaſſing from further purſute of the Danes at that time, wente into Angus, where he remayned the reſidue of the yeare within the caſtell of Forfayr, taking counſell with his Nobles touching the publike affayres of the realme, and how to recouer his countrey of Murrayland out of the enimies handes.

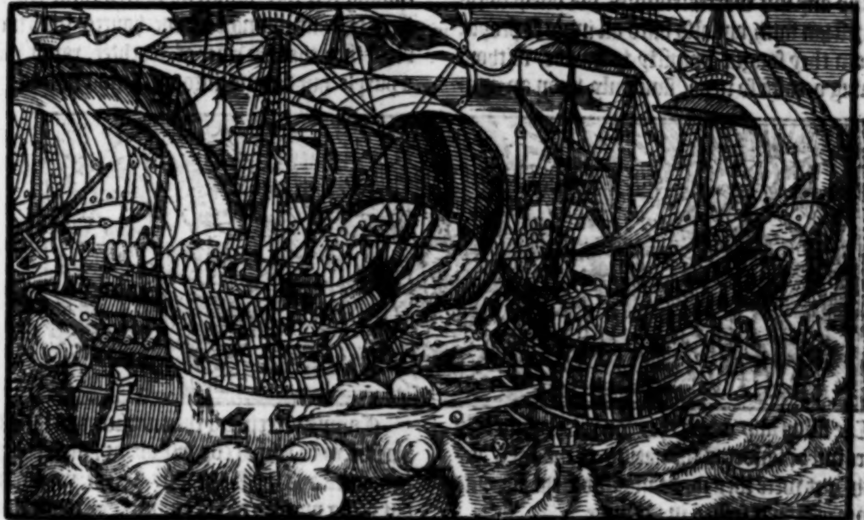
King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunately his people had ſped thus in Scotland at the batayle of Murthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scottes with two mightie nauies, the one to be rigged in England, & to come forth of the riuer of Tames, & the other to be ſente from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane right expert in warlike knowledge, being appoynted to be gouernour of all the men of warre that ſhould come in both thoſe parties.

Sueno prepareth a new army to inuade Scotland.

Camus appointed Captaine generall of the Danes.

The yeare next enſuing, both theſe fleetes according to commaundement & order giuen, arriued and mette togither within the mouth of the Forth neare to Saint Ebbes head.

Saint Ebbes head.



Here Camus going about to lande his men, was kept off by the ſtout reſiſtãce of the Scots, there aſſembled for the ſame intent.

The Scottes kepe off the Danes from landing.

Camus then plucking vp ſayles, directed his courſe vnto the Iſle of Sketh, where riding at an anker for the ſpace of one moneth, abiding for ſome proſperous winde, at lẽgth when the ſame came once about, he paſſed from thence vnto the Redbrayes, called in latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole army, before the countrey coulde be gathered to reſiſt him.

Camus with his army landeth at the Redbrayes.

Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruines of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had bene deſtroyed by the Danes, hee reioyced not a litle for that his chaunce was to come a lande in the ſelfe ſame place, where the Danes had earſt vanquiſhed their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterpryſe and preſent expedition.

After this, he tooke his iourney through Angus, ſparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuiſed: Cities, Townes, villages, & Churches,

Camus marcheth through Angus.

The crueltie of the Danes.

with all maner of other buildings publike and priuate were conſumed with fire.

The towne & church of Brechyn deſtroyed.

At his comming to Brechyn, for that the caſtel there in thoſe dayes was of ſuche ſtrength, that it might not be haſtely wonne, he cauſed the towne and churche being right fayre and ſumptuouſly builde in honour of the trinitie (to whom it was dedicate) to be ſpoyled & ſo raſed to the earth, that one ſtone was not left ſtanding vpon an other.

With theſe and the ſemblable cruelties, Camus raging both againſt God & mã, was finally aduertized that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland.

Then ſodenly he toke the next way towardes the ſea ſide, cõming the day next following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tentes.

King Malcolme haſteth forewarde to fight with the Danes.

Malcolmes oration.

The ſame day, king Malcolme making all haſt poſſible to ſuccour his ſubiects, and preſerue the countrey frõ the cruel outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two litle miles frõ the place, where his enimies were encamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpoſe to giue them bataile. But before he arrayed his batayles, he called his nobles & captains togither, deſiring them to conſider how they ſhould match in fight againſt people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the ſpoyle & pillage, got by theeuery & not by any iuſt warres: enimies not onely to the Chriſtian faith, but alſo vnto all innocẽt people, whom they ſought vniuſtly to inuade, without hauing occaſiõ ſo to do, ſaue only vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by reif of other mennes goodes, wherein they haue no maner of propertie. He willed them therefore, to remember how they were come thus againſt thoſe enimies in defence of theyr natiue countrey, appointed vndoubtedly by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes againſt his name and people that profeſſed the ſame. They ought not then to meaſure force in number of ſouldiers, but rather in manhood and valiancie of harte.

Camus exhorteth his Danes

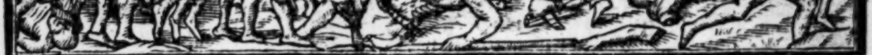
Camus likewiſe exhorted his people, not vſing many wordes, but yet pithie, deſiring thẽ to remember how it behoued them either to winne immortall fame by victorie, either els to die with miſerie in an vncouth lande, by the hand of their moſt fierce and cruell enimies.

The nature of valiaunt hartes and noble ſtomakes.

Herewith Malcolme embatayling his people, brought them forth ſtrongly raunged in good order to encoũter the Danes, which likewiſe approched towards him in good array of battell, his harte was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried ſundry times before ẏ force of the enimies in diuers cõflicts & encoũters. For ſuch is the nature of noble & valiãt ſtomakes, the more experience they haue in honorable enterpriſes, the more are they kindled in deſire to ſhewe their prowes in famous actes & worthy attẽpts.

A bloudy batayle.

The armies herevpon on both ſides, fiercely ruſhing togither, began the battell right cruell & terrible, continuyng certaine houres with ſuche bloudſhed, that the riuer of Lochtee, ranne with a purple hue downe into the Almayne ſeas.



The fields alſo where they fought, though they were full of ſande (as the nature of the ſoyle giueth,) yet were they made moyſt by the aboundance of bloude ſpilled in the ſame.

Malcolme winneth the field.

Many there were ſo earneſtly bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would runne thẽſelues foreward vpõ the aduerſaries weapõ, till they might cloſe with him, enforcing their vttermoſt powers to diſpatch him alſo: ſo that diuers were ſeene to fall to the ground togither faſt graſping one an other, & ſo immediatly both of them to die withall: ſuch brenning hatred kindled theyr harts, that thus were they wholy ſet on reuenge. At length yet the honor of ẏ field remayned wͭ Malcolme.

Camus is ſlaine.

An Obeliſke.

The houſe of Keithes aduaunced to honour.

Camus perceiuing the diſcõfiture to light on his ſide, with a ſmal cõpanie about him, thought to haue eſcaped by flight vnto ẏ next moũtains, but being purſued of his enimies, he was ſlayne by them ere he was got .ij. miles frõ the place of the bataile. The place where he was ſlayne, is named after him vnto this day, & called Camuſtone, where is an Obeliſke ſet vp in memory of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewiſe of thoſe that ſlewe him. The principal ſlear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentelman of right hardy courage, whoſe ſeruice in the batayle was very notable, in recompence whereof he was rewarded by K. Malcolme, with ſundry lands and fayre poſſeſſions in Louthian.

his family (ſaith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honour amongſt Scottiſhmẽ euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the Marſhallſhip of Scotland, to the high renowme and fame thereof, amongſt the chiefeſt peeres of the realme.

Danes ſlaine at Abirlemnon.

An other companie of the Danes fleing from this ouerthrow were ſlayne at Abirlemnon, not paſt .iiij. miles from Brechyn, where is ſet vp a great ſtone or Obeliſke, grauen with certayne characters or letters, to aduertiſe them that paſſe that wayes forth, of this ſlaughter of Danes there made by our worthy elders. The reſidue of the Danes that eſcaped with life from the fielde, hauing certaine Scottiſhmen to theyr guydes corrupted wͭ monie fled to theyr ſhips, declaring to their fellowes what miſhap had fortuned.

The deuiding of the ſpoyle.

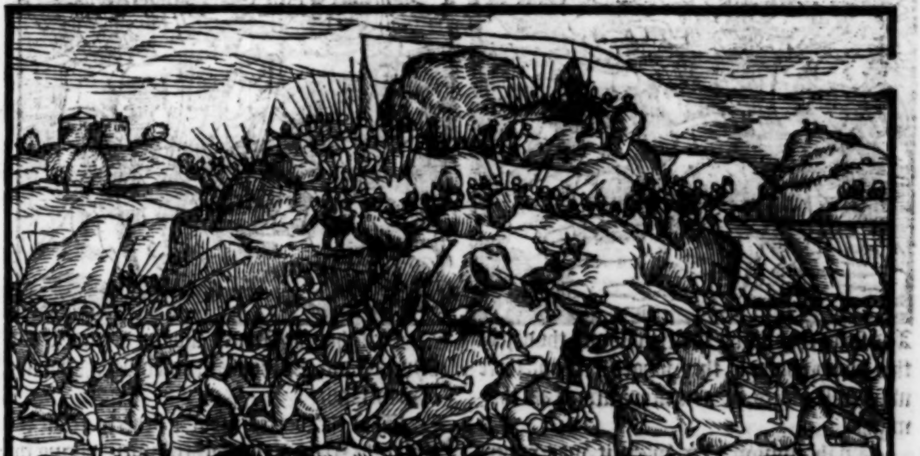
King Malcolme after he had obtayned this famous victorie (as before is ſayde) at Barre, he cauſed the ſpoile of the field to be deuided amōgſt his ſouldiers according to the lawes of armes, and then cauſed the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the fielde had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottiſhmẽ which were found dead, were conueyed vnto places of Chriſtian buriall, and there buried with funerall obſequies in ſundry churches & churchyardes.

Bones of Danes.

There are ſeene many bones of the Danes in thoſe places, where they were buried, there lying bare aboue groũd euen vnto this day, the ſandes as it often chaunceth, being blowen from them.

The other Danes whiche eſcaped to their ſhips, pulled vp ſayles to haue paſſed into Murrayland vnto Olauus, but remayning on the ſeas the ſpace of .iiij. dayes togither, toſſed to and fro by contrary windes, at length by a ſtreyneable eaſt winde, they were driuen vpon the coaſt of Buchquhan, and through wante of conuenable herbrough were in preſent daunger to haue bene caſt away. At length after they had ridden at anker in the Fyrth there, to their great diſpleaſure a long ſpace, and finding no proſperous windes to departe from the ſhore, for that theyr vittayles began to fayle them, they ſet fiue hundred of their beſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers on land to fetch in ſome bootie or pray of catayle, therewith to reſcue their hũger & famine. They that were thus ſent forth being perfectly appoynted with armour and weapon, ranged abrode till they had got togither a great number of beaſtes, with the whiche drawing towardes their ſhippes, they were encountred by the way by Marnachus the Thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrey, whoſe force, when they ſaw how they were not well able to reſiſt without ſome aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high cragge, where with tũbling downe ſtones vpon the Scottiſhmen as they mounted vp towardes them, they cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtay, but at length through the earneſt exhortation of Marnachus, the Scots (as people enflamed with wood deſire to be reuenged,) mounted the hill in deſpite of theyr enimies, though diuers of them were ſlayne in that aſſault. Thoſe whiche wanne the height of the cragge vpon the Danes, made ſuche a cruell batayle with them, that there was not one Dane that eſcaped their handes.

Marnachus Thane of Buchquhane.



Danes ſlaine neare vnto Gemmer.

This conflict was fought neare vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where in memorie thereof, lie many greate bones of the Danes to be ſeene, yet euen vnto theſe dayes. It ſhould appeare by the ſame bones, that men in former time were of more huge bodye and ſtature, than they be at this preſent.

The other Danes which were on ſhip borde, vnderſtanding what had happened to their fellowes (bicauſe they returned not againe to the ſhippes)

ſhippes) ſo ſoone as the winde came aboute for their purpoſe, hoyſed vp ſayles, and tooke theyr courſe forth right towardes Murraylande.

Sueno prepareth the third time to inuade Scotland.

In the meane time king Sueno hearing of theſe ouerthrowes whiche his people had in ſuch ſort receyued at the Scottiſhmens handes, as a prince of a right haulte courage, not lightly ouercome with any aduerſe fortune, made preparation in all ſpeedy wiſe to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the adminiſtration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a newe fleete and army againſt the Scots,

Canute brother vnto Sueno, appointed generall to come againſt the Scottes.

It is ſayd that this Canute according to order preſcribed him by his brother Sueno, landed firſt in Buchquhane, and deſtroyed a great parte of that countrey by fire and ſworde, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of his countrey men the Danes, whiche had bene there made lately before.

King Malcolmes determination.

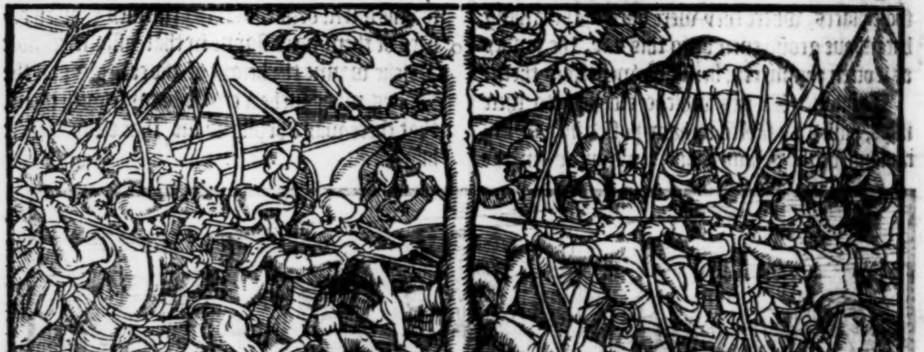
Malcolme ſore kindled in wrath by theſe iniuries, though through cōtinuance of the warres his power was greatly decayed, yet did hee aſſemble an army with all ſpede he could deuiſe, & marched with the ſame towardes the Danes, in purpoſe to ſtay them with often ſkirmiſhes and light encounters, but in nowiſe to ieoparde with them in any pight field or generall bataile, for feare leaſt if he had the ouerthrow, he ſhoulde not be able to furniſh a new power for defence of his countrey, againſt the rage of the enimies.

For the ſpace therfore of .xv. dayes togither, there was often ſkirmiſhing betwixt the parties, the which terme being expired, the Scots beholding ſo huge murder of theyr countreymen and frendes, with the ſpoile of the fieldes, and deſtruction of the townes and villages, brenning and blaſing on eche ſide before theyr faces, they come to king Malcolme, & deſired him that he woulde graunt them licence to fight with theyr enimies, proteſting plainely, that if he would not conſent thereto, they woulde giue batayle at their owne choyce. Malcolme perceiuing yͤ erneſt mindes of his people to encounter their enimies in playne fielde, and that he might no longer protracte the time, he graunted theyr petition, and therewith beſechyng them to remember theyr honors and dueties: incontinently the onſet was giuen with great hatred and malice on eyther parte, ſo that moſte egerly continuyng in fight a long time, they enforſed themſelues to rid eche other out of lyfe, ſo that all the nobles wel neare on both ſides were ſlayne, the name of victorie rather, than the victorie it ſelfe remayning with the Scots, who were ſo feeble and fainte with long fight and ſlaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to purſue thoſe few of the Danes, which eſcaping with life fledde faintly out of the fielde.

The Scottiſhmens requeſt, vnto their king, for licence to fight.

The onſet is giuen.

The Scottes wan the name of victorie, rather than victorie it ſelfe.



And ſo for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie batayle, they lodged here and there in ſeuerall places, at aduenture aſwell as they might.

On the morow after, when it was vnderſtoode on bothe parties, what loſſe they had ſuſtayned, their mindes were conuerted rather to peace than to renewe batayle, bicauſe they were not of power longer to maintaine it. Wherevpon by mediation of ſuch as tooke vpon them to treat a peace, the ſame was concluded with theſe articles.

Peace concluded for want of power to maintayne batayle.

The articles of the peace, betwixt Danes and Scottiſhmen.

Firſt that the Danes ſhoulde departe out of Murrayland, Buthquhan, & all other the bounds of Scotland.

That the warres ſhoulde clearely ceaſſe betwixt the Danes and Scottiſhmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or eyther of them.

That neither of thoſe two nations ſhoulde ayde or in any wiſe ſupporte the others enimies,

That the fielde where the laſt batayle was fought, ſhould be hallowed for Chriſtian burial, within the whiche, the Danes that were ſlayne in the ſame batayle, ſhould be buried; & a churche to be builte there, and landes appointed forth for the maintenance of prieſts, to celebrate there according to the order of the Chriſtian religiõ then vſed by both the people, for the Danes lately before that ſeaſon had alſo receyued the faith.

The holdes in Scotland, deliuered vp by the Danes into the Scottiſhmens handes.

This peace being ratefied by the ſolẽne othes of both the kings Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes reſigning vp the poſſeſſion of ſuch holdes and places, as they held in Murrayland, Buchquhan, or els where within any parte of the Scottiſh dominions, got him to his fleete, & departed with the ſame home into Denmarke.

Canute returneth into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus reſtored his countrey vnto ioyfull peace, thought nothing ſo good as to performe the articles of the agreemẽt accorded betwixt him and the Danes, and therefore cauſed a Churche to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the ſame in honour of S. Olauus patrone of Denmarke and Norway, to ſignifie vnto ſuch as came after, that ſundry nobles of the Danes lay buried in that Church. In memory hereof, the landes that were giuen to the ſame Churche, are called euen yet vnto theſe dayes Crowdan, which ſignifieth as much as if ye ſhould ſay, The ſlaughter of Danes.

A Churche bylded.

Crowdan, what it ſignifieth.

The Church which was firſte builded there, chauncing as often happeneth in thoſe parties, to be ouercaſt with ſandes, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious ſite.

Bones of Danes.

Sundry of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reaſon that the ſandes were blowen away beſides them, Hector Boetius the wryter of the Scottiſh chronicle, behelde in the yeare. 1521. whiche ſeemed more lyke vnto Giants bones, than to menne of common ſtature (as he auoucheth) whereby it ſhoulde appeare, that men in olde time were of much greater ſtature and quantitie of bodie, than any that are to be found in theſe our dayes.

Publike prayers.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, cauſed publike prayers generally to be made throughout the realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God, that it had pleaſed him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He tooke order alſo, that churches ſhoulde be repayred, which by the enimies in time of the warres had bene deſtroyed.

The repayring of Churches.

The reſtoring of lawes and iuſtice.

And further he cauſed the adminiſtratiõ of the lawes and holeſome ordinaunces of the realme to be vſed and put in practiſe, according to the due forme of the ſame, which many yeares afore could haue no place, by reaſon of the warres.

A parliament at Bertha.

He cauſed an aſſemble of all the eſtates of his realme, to be called at Bertha, a caſtell in thoſe dayes ſtanding not farre from the place where the towne of Perth nowe ſtandeth. In whiche conuention were many things enacted, both for the ſetting forth of Goddes honour and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wanne much prayſe amongſt his ſubiectes, to the eternall memorie of his name.

After this, ſuppoſing it moſte honorable to aduaunce the blood of ſuch as had ſerued well in the laſte warres, or had their fathers or other friendes ſlayne in the ſame, he called a parliament at Scone, in the whiche cauſing partition to be made of the realme, by deuiding it into Baronnies, he beſtowed the ſame amongſt the nobles according to the qualitie of euery one his merites, reſeruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onely excepted, with the mountayne wherein the marble chaire ſtood, and a fewe other poſſeſſions whiche he purpoſed to giue vnto churches and chapels.

A parliament at Scone.

Diuiſion of the realme into Baronnies.

The nobles on the other parte, to the ende the king might haue ſufficient wherewith to maintayne his royall eſtate, graunted vnto him and his ſucceſſours for euer, the cuſtodie and wardſhip of theyr heyres, if they chaunced to die leauing them vnder the age of. xxj. yeares: and in the meane time till the ſame heyres came to the ſayd age, they agreed that the king & his ſucceſſours ſhoulde enioy the vſe and profites of theyr landes, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of. xxj. yeares, that then they ſhould enter into the poſſeſſion of their landes, yeelding vnto him or his ſucceſſours one yeares rent in name of a reliefe, and if they chaũced not to be maried before their fathers deceaſſe, thẽ alſo ſhould they marie at the kings appointment, or els compounde with him for the ſame.

The wardſhip of heyres graunted to the king.

Mariage of wardes.

Thus ended the parliament for that ſeaſon with great ioy and comforte on eche hande, for that the king had ſhewed ſuche liberall bounteouſneſſe towardes his Barones, and they no leſſe mindefull of their duetties had declared ſuche beneuolent hartes, as appeared in that theyr free and large gifte graunted in forme and maner as before is expreſſed.

Neyther did Malcolme forget the vowe, whiche he made at Murthlake, when he was in daunger to haue receyued the ouerthrow at the handes of the Danes, for according to the ſame vowe, he cauſed a church to be buylt in the ſame place, erecting a Biſhops ſee there, and endowed it with the landes and poſſeſſions of theſe three places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dummeth, with all Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdictions and tithes apperteyning thereto.

The ſea of Murthlake, otherwiſe Abyrden.

The Biſhops that ſat in this ſee, were called the Biſhops of Murthlake till the dayes of king Dauid the firſt, who chaunging the name, cauſed them to be called the Biſhops of Abyrdene,

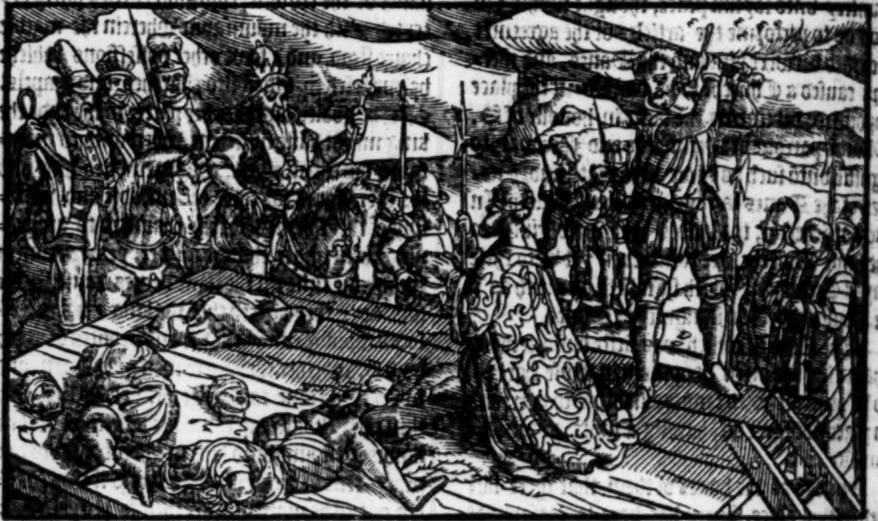
augmenaugmẽting the ſee with ſundry fayre reuenewes to the better mayntenance thereof.

The boke called *Regia maieſtas.*

Malcolme thus hauing purchaſed reſte from farther troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certaine time after in good order of iuſtice, & cauſed a booke to be ſet forth, called *Regiam maieſtatem*, conteyning the lawes & ordinances, whereby the realme ſhould be gouerned: and aſſigning forth in the ſame what fees alſo ſhould be giuen vnto the Chauncellour, Secretarie, Conſtable, Merſhall, Chamberlayne, Iuſtice, Treaſorer, Regiſter, Comptroller, & other the officers of his houſe. Such princely doings and noble vertues were founde in this Malcolme for a ſeaſon, that if the ſame had continued with him in his later age, there had neuer reygned any king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue paſſed him in worthy fame; neuertheleſſe his excellent qualities were ſtayned at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it ofttimes happeneth, couetouſneſſe and age layde holde on him bothe at once. He then beganne to repent in that he had bene ſo liberall in giuing away his landes to his Barones, and to recouer the ſame agayne, hee ſurmiſed fayned mater by vntrue ſuggeſtions agaynſt diuers of the chiefeſt Nobles, putting ſome to death and baniſhing other, that he might by this meanes enioy theyr landes and goodes as confiſcate to the crowne for theyr ſuppoſed offences.

Malcolme wareth auaritious.

Couetouſneſſe and age ariſing together.



The conſpiracie of the ſcottiſh nobilitie againſt Malcolme.

The nobles hauing great indignation at ſuch crueltie vſed by the king againſt them and theyr lynage, and that vpon no iuſte cauſes, but onely vpon forged deuiſes, they conſpired in ſundry meetings ſecretely appointed amongſt them, to finde ſome meanes to diſpatch him out of life.

Malcolme ſlayne at Glamis.

At length he chaunced to haue ſome inckling whereabout they went, and doubting to fall into their handes, fled for ſauegarde of his lyfe vnto Glammis, where diuers of the conſpiratours were brought into his lodgyng, by ſome of his owne houſeholde ſeruantes, and there ſlew him in reuenge of their freendes, whom he before had wrongfully put to death. Theſe murtherers with their complices incontinently fled with all ſpeede poſſible to auoyde further daunger for this their act, but miſſing their way, for ẏ the ground was quite couered as then with ſnowe, they finally came to the Loch of Forfayr, which was the ſame time froſen ouer. They therefore thinking to paſſe ouer it, when they came into the midſt, the Iſe brake vnder thẽ, ſo that ſinking in, they were finally drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawẽ forth of the Loche with dragges, and diſmembred, and the heads and quarters were ſente vnto diuers townes of the realme, and there hung vp for a ſignification of their wicked treaſon.

The murtherers drowned.

This was the ende of king Malcolme in the xxxij. yeare of his reygne, if ye recken from the death of Conſtantine, or xxv. after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our ſauiour 1034. yeares. He was buried in Colmekill with his auncetours.

31. H.B.

1040. H.B.

In this ſeaſon were ſeene many wonders and ſtraunge ſightes in Albion. On Chriſtmas day there was an earthquake, and a great rifte of the earth made therewith in the middeſt of Streuelyng towne, out of the which iſſued ſuch an abundant ſtreame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioyning vnto the ryuer of Forth.

Straunge ſightes.

In the ſommer the ſea roſe higher, and flowed further into the land, than euer had bene ſeene at any other time.

On midſomer day whiche is the feaſt day of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, there was ſuche a vehement froſte, that the corne and other fruytes of the

the earth were blaſted and killed, ſo that therevpon followed a great dearth in al the countrey.

Duncan.

Duncan king of Scotland.

After Malcolme ſucceeded his Nephew Duncan, the ſonne of his doughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, yͤ one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and Thane of the Iſles and weſt partes of Scotlande, bare of that mariage the forelayd Duncan: The other called Doada, was maried vnto Synell the Thane of Glammis, by whom ſhe had iſſue one Makbeth a valiant gẽtleman, and one that if he had not bene ſomewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought moſt worthie the gouernmẽt of a realme. On the other parte, Duncan was ſo ſofte and gentle of nature, that the people wiſhed the inclinations & maners of theſe two couſines to haue bene ſo tempered and enterchaungeably beſtowed betwixt them, that where the one had to much of clemẽcie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt theſe two extremities might haue reygned by indifferent particion in them bothe, ſo ſhoulde Duncan haue proued a worthy king, and Makbeth an excellent captaine.

Makbeth.

Duncan of too ſoft a nature.

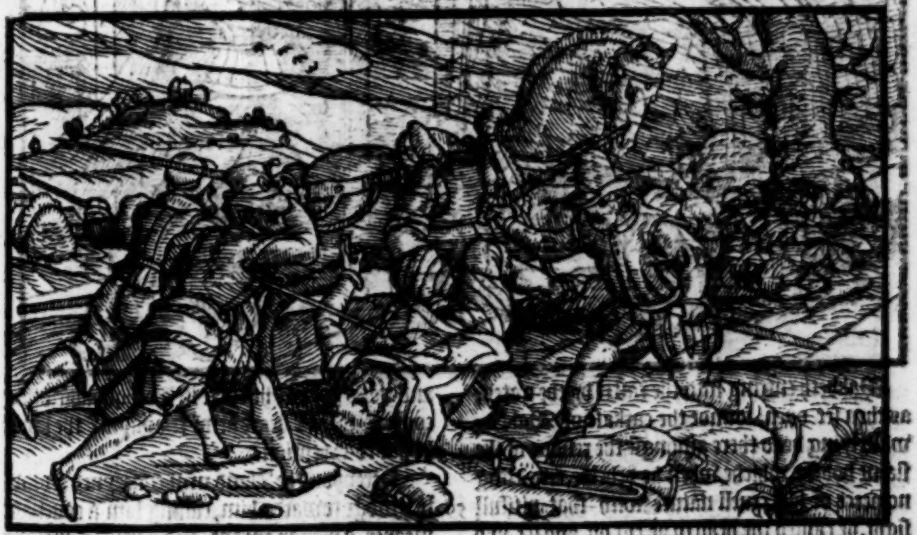
The beginning of Duncanes reigne was very quiet & peaceable, without any notable trouble, but after it was perceyued how negligent he was in puniſhing offenders, many miſruled perſons toke occaſion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet ſtate of the common wealth, by ſeditious commotions whiche firſte had theyr beginnings in this wiſe.

Banquho Thane of Lochquhaber. The houſe of the Stewards.

Banquho the Thane of Lochquhaber, of whõ the houſe of the Stewardes is diſcended, the whiche by order of lynage hath nowe for a long time enioyed the crowne of Scotlande, euen till theſe our dayes, as he gathered the finaunces due to the king, and further puniſhed ſomewhat ſharpely ſuche as were notorious offenders, being aſſayled by a number of rebelles inhabiting in that countrey, and ſpoyled of the money and all other things, had muche ado to get away with life after he had receyued ſundry grieuous woundes amongſt them. Yet eſcaping theyr handes after he was ſomewhat recouered of his hurtes and was able to ride, he repayred to the courte, where making his complaint to the king in moſt earneſt wiſe, he purchaſed at length that the offenders were ſente for by a Sergeant at armes, to appeare to make anſwere vnto ſuche mater as ſhoulde be layde to theyr charge, but they augmenting theyr miſcheuous acte with a more wicked deede, after they had miſuſed the meſſenger with ſundry kindes of reproches, they finally ſlew him alſo.

A mutenie amongſt the people of Lochquhaber.

A ſergeant at armes, ſlayne by the rebels.



Then doubting not but for ſuche contemptuous demeanour agaynſt the kings regall authoritie, they ſhoulde be inuaded with all the power the king coulde make, Makdowalde one of great eſtimation amongſt them making firſt a confederacie with his neareſt frendes and kinſmen, toke vpon him to be chiefe captayne of all ſuche rebelles, as would ſtande againſt the king, in maintenance of theyr grieuous offences lately cõmitted againſt him. Many ſlanderous wordes alſo, & rayling tauntes this Makdowald vttered againſt his prince, calling him a faint harted milkeſop, more meete to gouerne a ſort of idle monkes in ſome cloyſter, than to haue yͤ rule

Makdowald offereth himſelfe to be captaine of the rebelles.

of ſuche valiant and hardy men of warre as the Scottes were.

He vſed alſo ſuche ſubtile perſwaſions and forged allurements, that in a ſmall time he had got togither a mightie power of men: for out of the weſterne Iſles, there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themſelues to aſſiſt him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the ſpoyle came no ſmall nũber of Kernes & Galloglaſſes offering gladly to ſerue vnder him, whither it ſhoulde pleaſe him to lead them. Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puyſſaunce about him, encountred with ſuche of the kings people as were ſet againſt him into Lochquhabir, and diſcomfiting them, by fine force tooke theyr captaine Malcolme, and after the end of the batayle ſmoote of his head.

Makdowald diſcomfiteth the kings power.

The ſmal skil of the king in warlike affayres.

This ouerthrow beyng notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reaſon of his ſmall ſkill in warlyke affayres. Calling therfore his nobles to a counſell, willed them of their beſt aduiſe for the ſubduing of Makdowald and other the rebelles.

Here in ſundry heades (as it euer happeneth) being ſundry opinions, whiche they vttered according to euery man his ſkill, at length Makbeth ſpeaking muche againſt the kings ſoftneſſe, & ouer muche ſlackneſſe in puniſhing offenders, whereby they had ſuch time to aſſemble togither, he promiſed notwithſtanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and to Banquho, ſo to order the mater, that the rebelles ſhould be ſhortly vanquiſhed and quite put downe, and that not ſo much as one of them ſhoulde be founde to make reſiſtance within the country.

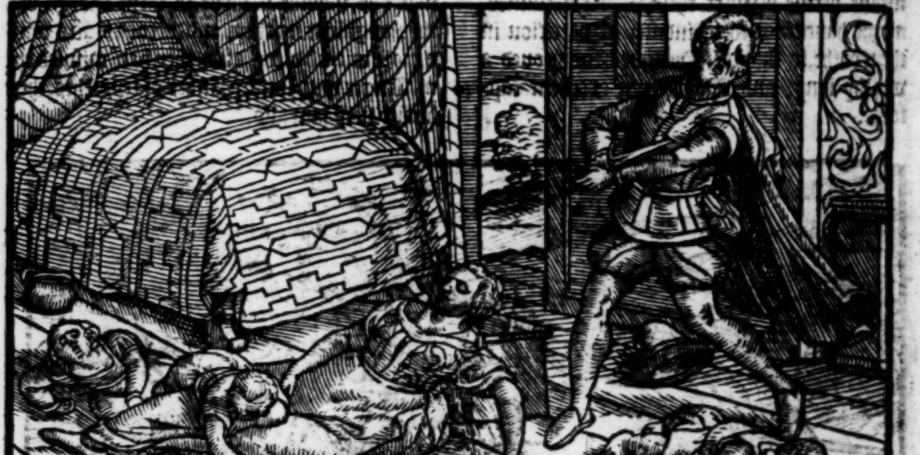
Makbeths ofſer.

Makbeth and Banquho are ſent agaynſt the rebelles.

And euen ſo came it to paſſe: for being ſente forth with a newe power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his cõming put yͤ enimies in ſuche feare, that a great number of them ſtale ſecretely away from theyr captaine Makdowald, who neuertheleſſe enforſed thereto, gaue batayle vnto Makbeth, with the reſidue whiche remained with him, but being ouercome and fleing for refuge into a caſtell (within the whiche hys wyfe and chyldren were encloſed,) at length when he ſaw how he coulde neyther defend the hold any longer againſt his enimies, nor yet vpon ſurrender be ſuffered to depart with lyfe ſaued, he firſt ſlew his wife & children, and laſtly himſelfe, leaſt if he had yeelded ſimply, he ſhoulde haue bene executed in moſt cruell wiſe for an example to other.

The rebelles forſake theyr captayne.

Makdowald ſleeth his wiſe and children, and laſtly himſelſe.



Makbeth entring into the caſtel by the gates, as then ſet open, founde the carkaſe of Makdowald lying dead there amongſt the reſidue of the ſlaine bodies, whiche when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull ſight, he cauſed the head to be cut off, and ſet vpõ a poles ende, & ſo ſent it as a preſent to the king who as then lay at Bertha.

Makdowaldes head ſent to the king.

Makbeths crueltie.

The headleſſe trunke he commaunded to be hong vp vpõ an high payre of gallowes. Them of the Weſterne Iſles, ſuyng for pardon in that they had ayded Makdowald in his trayterous enterpryſe, he fined at great ſummes of money: and thoſe whom he tooke in Lochquhabir, being come thither to beare armure agaynſt the king, he put to execution.

Makbeth defamed by the Iland men.

Hereupon the Iland men conceyued a deadly grudge towards him, calling him a couenant breaker, a bloudy tyrant, and a cruell murtherer of them, whom the kings mercie had pardoned. With whiche reprochfull wordes Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull yre againſt them, had paſſed ouer with an army into the Iſles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for theyr liberall talke, had he not bene otherwayes perſwaded by ſome of his frendes, and partely pacified by giftes preſented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, ſeeking to auoyde his diſpleaſure.

Iuſtice & law reſtored.

Thus was iuſtice and lawe reſtored againe to the old accuſtomed courſe by the diligent meanes of Makbeth. Immediatly whervpon worde came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fyfe with a puyſant army to ſubdue the whole realme of Scotland.

Sueno king of Norway landed in Fyfe.

But here to the intent it may be the better perceyued, what this Sueno was I will ſomewhat touch from whence he diſcended.

This agreeth not with our Engliſh wryters.

That Sueno whiche (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being alſo king of Denmarke and Norway had .iij. ſonnes, Harold, Sueno, & Canute, the firſte he ordeyned to be king of England, the .ij. king of Norway, and the third king of Denmarke.

Harold that reigned king of Englãd, was not the ſonne of Sueno but of Canute, and was not ſlaine, but died of naturall diſeaſe. See more hereof in England.

Canute king of Denmarke. This is cõtrary to our Engliſhe writers.

Edmund Ironſide.

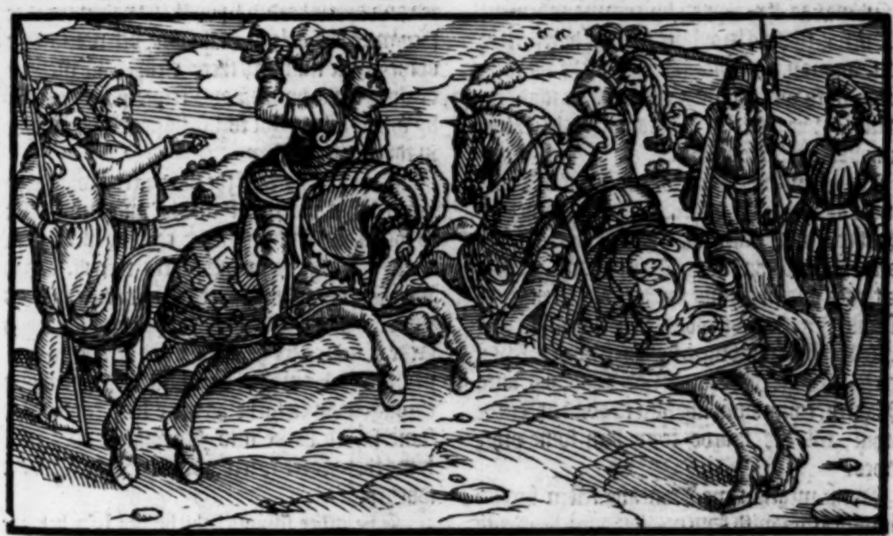
This partely agreeth with our wryters.

Harolde enioyed not the ſame dominion of England paſſing .iij. yeares after his fathers deceaſſe, but was ſlaine by Ethelred or Egelred, whom his father Sueno had chaſed into Normandie. Howbeit yet the ſame Ethelred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mighty hoſte, and ſleaying Ethelred, recouered the kingdome to the vſe of the Danes, but yet one Edmond ſonne to the foreſayde Ethelred, ſurnamed Ironſide, mayntayned the warre agaynſt Canute for a ſeaſon, till at length by bothe theyr conſentes, they agreed to fight a combat ſingularly man to man, ſo to trie the mater betwixt them, who ſhould reigne as king ouer the Engliſhmē.

Canutes words to Edmond Ironſide.

In this fight when they had continued a long ſpace, and ſhewed right notable proofes of theyr manhood: Edmund (ſayth Canute) ſithe it hath pleaſed almighty God, ỹ thou ſhouldſt thus trie the force of my hande without hurte or wound, I thinke it be likewiſe his pleaſure, that thou ſhouldeſt enioy parte of the realme, go to therefore, I receyue thee as partener with me in the kingdome, ſo that (if thou be ſo contented) let vs diuide the kingdome betwixte vs without any more contention.

Edmund gladly accepted this condition of agreement, ſuppoſing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to ſtande to the doubtfull triall of loſing the whole, for he had receyued a wound at Canutes handes, though Canute vnderſtoode not ſo muche: agayne he foreſaw that occaſion hereafter might be offered, whereby he mighte without all trouble come to enioy the whole.



The diuiſion of the realme of England, betwixt Canute and Edmond Ironſide.

Alured & Edward the ſons of king Eldred.

So herevpon eyther of them lept beſide theyr weried horſes in that fierce and earneſt fight, and embracing ech other became good frendes, in deuiding the realme according to the aboue mencioned mocion of Canute. That parte of England that lieth ouer againſt Fraunce, was aſſigned vnto Canute, & the other that is the north partes vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Ethelred, with hyr two ſonnes (whiche ſhee had by the ſame Ethelred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting leaſt this cõcorde betwixt Canute and Edmund ſhould turne finally to hyr aduauncement.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwaygian king in Fyfe, as before is expreſſed, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the pretence of his comming was to reuenge the ſlaughter of his vncle Camus and other of the Daniſhe nation ſlayne at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norway.

Duncane beſturreth him ſelfe in aſſembling an army.

The crueltie of this Sueno was ſuche, that he neyther ſpared man, woman, nor childe, of what age, condition or degree ſo euer they were, whereof when king Duncane was certified, hee ſet all ſlouthfull and lingering delayes aparte, and began to aſſemble an army in moſte ſpeedy wiſe, like a right valiant Captayne: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull cowarde, and ſlouthfull perſon conſtrayned by neceſſitie, becõmeth right hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come togither, he deuided the ſame into three batayles. The firſte was led by Makbeth, the ſeconde by Banquho, and the king himſelfe gouerned in the mayne batayle or middlewarde, wherein were appoynted to attende his perſon the moſte parte of all the reſidue of the Scottiſhe nobilitie.

The ſcottiſhe army deuided into three batayles.

The army of Scottiſhmen beyng thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where encountring with the enimies, after a ſore and cruell foughten batayle, Sueno remayned victorious, and Malcolme with his Scottes diſcomfited. Howbeit the Danes were ſo broken by this batayle, that they were not able to make long chaſe on theyr enimies, but kepte themſelues all night in order of batayle, for doubte leaſt yͤ Scots aſſembling togither againe, might haue ſet vpon them at ſome aduantage.

Sueno vanquiſheth the Scottes.

On the morrow when the fieldes were diſcouered, and that it was perceyued how no enimies were to be founde abroade, they gathered the ſpoyle, whiche they deuided amongſt them, according to the lawe of armes.

Suenoes commaundement to ſpare fire & ſworde.

Then was it ordeyned by commaundement of Sueno, that no Souldier ſhoulde hurte either man, woman, or childe, excepte ſuche as were founde with weapon in hande ready to make reſiſtance, for he hoped now to conquere the realme without further bloudſhed.

Duncane fled to the caſtel of Bertha.

But when knowledge was giuẽ how Duncane was fled to the caſtell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withſtand the incurſions of the Danes, Sueno raiſed his tentes and comming to the ſayd caſtell layde a ſtrong ſiege rounde about it. Duncane ſeyng himſelfe thus enuironned by his enimies, ſent a ſecrete meſſage by councell of Banquho vnto Makbeth, commaunding him to abide at Inchecuthill, till hee hearde from him ſome other newes.

Sueno beſiegeth king Malcolme.

In the meane time Duncane fell in fayned cõmunication with Sueno as though he would haue yeelded vp the Caſtell into his handes vnder certaine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all ſuſpition of any enterpryſe ment againſt them, till all things were brought to paſſe that might ſerue for the purpoſe.

Fayned treatie.

At length when they were fallen at a poynt for rendring vp the holde, Duncane offered to ſende forth of the caſtell into the campe greate prouiſion of vitayles to refreſh the army, whiche offer was gladly accepted of the Danes for that they had bene in greate penurie of ſuſtenaunce many dayes before.

Spyced cuppes prepared for the Danes.

The Scots herevpon toke the iuyce of Mekilwort beries, & mixed the ſame in theyr ale and bread, ſending it thus ſpiced and confectioned in great abundance vnto their enimies.

They reioyſing that they had got meate and drinke ſufficient to ſatiſfie theyr bellies, fell to eating and drinking after ſuch greedy wiſe, that it ſeemed they ſtroue who might deuoure & ſwallow vp moſt, till the operation of the beries ſpred in ſuche ſorte through all the partes of their bodies, that they were in the ende brought into a faſt dead ſleepe, that in maner it was vnpoſſible to awake them.

The Danes ouercome with drinke, fall a ſleepe.

Then forthwith Duncane ſent vnto Makbeth, commaunding him with all diligence to come and ſet vpon the enimies, being in eaſie pointe to be ouercome.

Makbeth aſſayleth the campe of the Danes, being ouercome with drinke & ſleepe.

Makbeth making no delay came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, & firſt killing the watche, afterwards entred the campe, and made ſuche ſlaughter on all ſides without any reſiſtance, that it was a wonderfull mater to behold, for the Danes were ſo heauy of ſleepe, that the moſt parte of them were ſlayne & neuer ſtyrred: other that were awakened eyther by the noyſe or otherwayes forth, were ſo amazed and dyzzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make any defence, ſo that of the whole numbers there eſcaped no mor but onely Sueno himſelfe and tenne other perſons, by whoſe help he got to his ſhippes lying at rode in the mouth of Tay.

The ſlaughter of Danes.

Sueno with ten other eſcaped.

The moſt parte of the maryners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scottes had ſente vnto the campe, came from the ſea thyther to bee partakers thereof, and ſo were ſlayne amongſt theyr fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceyued howe through lacke of maryners he ſhoulde not be able to conuey away his nauie, hee furniſſhed one ſhippe throughly with ſuche as were lefte, and in the ſame ſayled backe into Norway, curſing the tyme that hee ſet forewarde on this infortunate iourney.

Sueno fleeth with one ſhip, leauing the reſidue of his nauie behinde him.

The other ſhippes whiche hee lefte behinde him within three dayes after his departure from thence, were toſſed ſo togyther by violence of an Eaſt winde, that beatyng and ruſſhyng one agaynſt an other they ſuncke there, and lie in the ſame place euen vnto theſe dayes, to the greate daunger of other ſuche ſhippes as come on that coaſte, for being couered with the floudde when the tide commes, at the ebbyng againe of the ſame, ſome parte of them appeare aboue water.

The fleete of the Norwaygians ſuncke by vehement rage of winde.

The place where yͤ Daniſh veſſels were thus loſt, is yet cleped Drownelow ſandes. This ouerthrow receiued in maner aforeſaid by Sueno, was

Drownelow ſandes.

was right diſpleaſant to him and his people, as ſhoulde appeare in that it was a cuſtome many yeares after, that no Knightes were made in Norway, excepte they were firſte ſworne to reuenge the ſlaughter of theyr countreymen and frendes thus ſlayne in Scotland.

The othe that knightes tooke in Norway, to reuenge the death of theyr frendes.

The Scottes hauing wonne ſo notable a victorye, after they had gathered and diuided the ſpoyle of the fielde, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be made in all places of the realme, and thankes to be giuen to almightie God, that had ſent them ſo fayre a day ouer their enimies.

Solemne proceſsions for victory gotte.

But whyleſt the people were thus at theyr proceſſions, worde was brought that a newe fleete of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, ſent thyther by Canute king of England in reuenge of his brothers Suenoes ouerthrow.

A power of Danes arriue at Kyncorne out of Englãd.

To reſiſt theſe enimies, whiche were already landed, and buſie in ſpoiling the countrey, Makbeth and Banquho were ſente with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, encountred the enimies, ſlewe parte of them, and chaſed the other to their ſhippes. They that eſcaped and got once to theyr ſhippes, obtayned of Makbeth for a great ſumme of golde, that ſuche of theyr freendes as were ſlaine at this laſt bickering might be buried in Saint Colmes Inche. In memorie whereof, many olde Sepultures are yet in the ſayde Inche, there to be ſeene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burying noble men ſtill is, and heretofore hath bene vſed.

The Danes vanquiſhed by Makbeth and Banquho.

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inche.

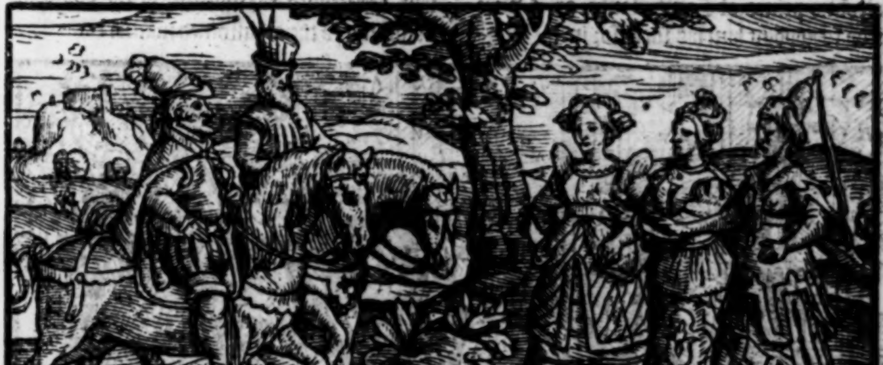
A peace was alſo concluded at the ſame time betwixte the Danes and Scottiſhmen, ratified as ſome haue wrytten in this wiſe. That from thenceforth the Danes ſhoulde neuer come into Scotlande to make any warres agaynſt the Scottes by any maner of meanes.

A peace concluded betwixt Scottes and Danes.

And theſe were the warres that Duncane had with forreyne enimies in the ſeuenth yeare of his reygne.

Shortly after happened a ſtraunge and vncouth wonder, whiche afterwarde was the cauſe of muche trouble in the realme of Scotlande as ye ſhall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth & Banquho iourneyed towarde Fores, where the king as then lay, they went ſporting by the way togither without other companie, ſaue only themſelues, paſſing through the woodes and fieldes, when ſodenly in the middes of a laũde, there met them .iij. women in ſtraunge & ferly apparell, reſembling creatures of an elder worlde, whom when they attentiuely behelde, wondering much at the ſight, The firſt of them ſpake & ſayde: All hayle Makbeth Thane of Glammis (for he had lately entred into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Synel.) The .ij. of them ſaid: Hayle Makbeth Thane of Cawder: but the third ſayde: All hayle Makbeth that hereafter ſhall be king of Scotland.

The propheſie of three womẽ ſuppoſing to be the weird ſiſters or feiries.



Then Banquho, what maner of women (ſaith he) are you, that ſeeme ſo litle fauourable vnto me, where as to my fellow here, beſides highe offices, yee aſſigne alſo the kingdome, appointyng foorth nothing for me at all? Yes ſayth the firſte of them, wee promiſe greater benefites vnto thee, than vnto him, for he ſhall reygne in in deede, but with an vnluckie ende: neyther ſhall he leaue any iſſue behinde him to ſucceede in his place, where contrarily thou in deede ſhalt not reygne at all, but of thee thoſe ſhall be borne whiche ſhall gouerne the Scottiſhe kingdome by long order of continuall diſcent. Herewith the foreſayde women vaniſhed immediatly out of theyr ſight. This was reputed at the firſt but ſome vayne fantaſticall illuſion by Makbeth and Banquho, in ſo muche that Banquho woulde call Makbeth in ieſte kyng of

A thing to wonder at.

Banquho the father of many kings.

Scotland, and Makbeth againe would call him in ſporte likewiſe, the father of many kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that theſe women were eyther the weird ſiſters, that is (as ye would ſay yͤ Goddeſſes of deſtinie, or els ſome Nimphes or Feiries, endewed with knowledge of propheſie by their Nicromanticall ſcience, bicauſe euery thing came to paſſe as they had ſpoken.

The Thane of Cawder condemned of treaſon. Makbeth made Thane of Cawder.

For ſhortly after, the Thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treaſon againſt the king committed, his landes, liuings and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie vnto Makbeth.

The ſame night after, at ſupper Banquho ieſted with him and ſayde, now Makbeth thou haſte obtayned thoſe things which the two former ſiſters propheſied, there remayneth onely for thee to purchaſe that which the third ſayd ſhould come to paſſe.

Makbeth deuiſeth how he might attaine the kingdom.

Wherevpon Makbeth reuoluing the thing in his minde, began euen then to deuiſe howe he mighte attayne to the kingdome: but yet hee thought with himſelfe that he muſt tary a time, whiche ſhoulde aduaunce him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to paſſe in his former preferment.

The daughter of Syward erle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane.

But ſhortely after it chaunced that king Duncane hauing two ſonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Sywarde Earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them cleped Malcolme prince of Cumberlande, as it were thereby to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the kingdome, immediatly after his deceaſſe.

Makbeth ſtudieth whiche way he may take the kingdome by force.

Makbeth ſore troubled herewith, for that he ſawe by this meanes his hope ſore hindered, (where by the olde lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that ſhoulde ſucceede were not of able age to take the charge vpon himſelfe, he that was nexte of bloud vnto him, ſhoulde be admitted) he beganne to take counſell howe he might vſurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iuſte quarell ſo to do (as he toke the mater,) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraude him of all maner of title and clayme, whiche he mighte in tyme to come, pretende vnto the crowne.

Propheſies moue men to vnlawfull attemptes.

Women deſirous of high eſtate.

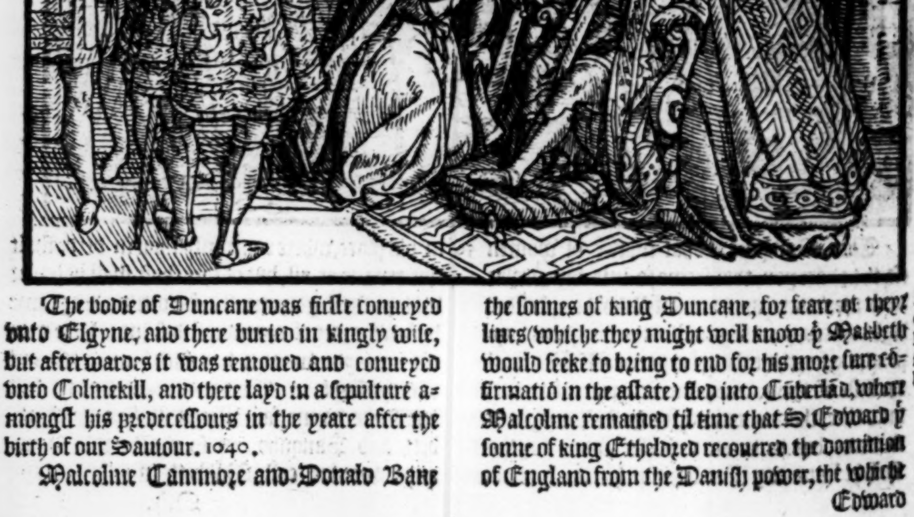
The wordes of the three weird ſiſters alſo, (of whome before ye haue heard) greatly encouraged him herevnto, but ſpecially his wife lay ſore vpon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was very ambitious, brenning in vnquenchable deſire to beare the name of a Queene.

Makbeth ſleeth king Duncane.

At length therefore communicating his purpoſed intent with his truſtie frendes, amongſt whom Banquho was the chiefeſt, vpon confidence of theyr promiſed ayde, he ſlewe the king at Enuernes, (or as ſome ſay at Botgoſuane,) in the .vj. yeare of his reygne.

Makbeth vſurpeth the crowne.

Then hauing a companie about him of ſuch as he had made priuie to his enterpryſe, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaymed king, and forthwith went vnto Scone, where by common conſent, he receyued the inueſture of the kingdome according to the accuſtomed maner.



Duncanes buriall. 1046. H.B.

The bodie of Duncane was firſte conueyed vnto Elgyne, and there buried in kingly wiſe, but afterwardes it was remoued and conueyed vnto Colmekill, and there layd in a ſepulture amongſt his predeceſſours in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour. 1040.

Malcolme Cammore, and Donald Bane, flee into Cumberland.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the ſonnes of king Duncane, for feare of theyr liues (whiche they might well know yͤ Makbeth would ſeeke to bring to end for his more ſure cõfirmatiõ in the aſtate) fled into Cũberlãd, where Malcolme remained til time that S. Edward yͤ ſonne of king Etheldred recouered the dominion of England from the Daniſh power, the whiche

Edward

Malcolme Cā-more receiued by Edward king of England.

Edward receyued Malcolme by way of moſte freendly entertaynement, but Donald paſſed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderly cheriſhed by the king of that lande.

Makbethes liberalitie.

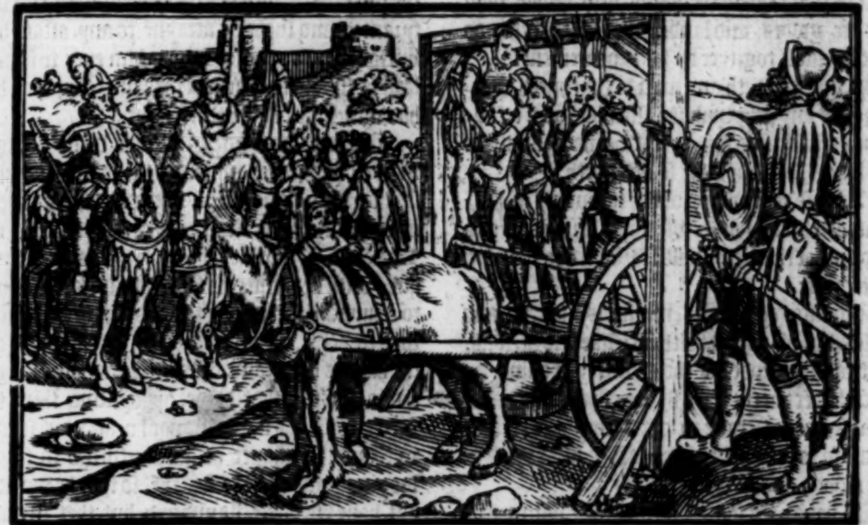
Makbeth after the departure thus of Duncanes ſonnes vſed great liberalitie towardes the nobles of the realme, thereby to winne their fauour, & when he ſaw that no mā went about to trouble him, he ſet his whole intention to maintayne iuſtice, and to puniſhe all enormities and abuſes, whiche had chaunced through the feeble and ſlouthfull adminiſtration of Duncane: and to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe without any trouble or great buſineſſe, he deuiſed a ſubtill wile to bring al offenders and miſdoers vnto iuſtice, ſoliciting ſundrie of his liege people with high rewardes, to chalenge and appeale ſuche as moſt oppreſſed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight ſinguler combates within Barriers, in triall of their accuſations.

Makbeth ſtudieth to aduaūce iuſtice.

Makbeths policie.

Streight iuſtice.

When theſe theeues, barrettours, & other oppreſſours of the innocent people were come to darreigne batell in this maner of wiſe (as ſaid is) they were ſtreight wayes apprehended by armed men & truſſed vp in halters on gibets, according as they had iuſtly deſerued. The reſidue of miſdoers yͭ were left, were puniſhed & tamed in ſuch ſort, that many yeares after all theft & reiffings were litle heard of, the people enioying the bliſſefull benefite of good peace and tranquillitie.



A kingly endeuour.

Makbeth ſhewing himſelfe thus a moſt diligent puniſher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by any miſordered perſons within his realme, was accompted the ſure defence & buckler of innocent people: and hereto he alſo applied his whole endeuour, to cauſe yong men to exerciſe themſelues in vertuous maners, and men of the Churche to attende their diuine ſeruice, according to theyr vocations.

Iuſtice miniſtred without reſpect of perſons.

He cauſed to be ſlaine ſundry Thanes as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, bicauſe through thē and their ſeditious attēpts, much trouble dayly roſe in the realme.

He appeaſed the troubleſome ſtate of Galloway, and ſlewe one Makgill a tyraunt, who had many yeares before paſſed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, ſuch were the worthy doings and princely acts of this Makbeth in the adminiſtration of the realme, that if he had attayned therevnto by rightfull meanes, and continued in vprightneſſe of iuſtice as he began, till the ende of his reygne, he might well haue bene numbred amongſt the moſte noble princes that any where had reygned.

Lawes made by king Makbeth.

He made many holeſome lawes & ſtatutes for the publike weale of his ſubiectes, diuers of the whiche I haue here ſet forth, according as I finde them in Hector Boetius.

Liberties of thē that haue taken orders.

He that is within orders of the churche, ſhall not be compelled to anſwere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

Tythes to be payde to the churche.

The tēth parte of all fruytes that encreaſe on the ground, ſhalbe giuen to the churche, that God may be worſhipped with oblations and praiers.

Perſons accurſed.

He that continueth obſtinatly in the curſe of the church by the ſpace of one whole yeare, cōtemning to be reconciled, ſhall be reputed enimie to the cōmon weale: and if he perſeuer with indurate minde the ſpace of two yeares all his goodes ſhalbe forfayted.

The order of knighthood.

He yͭ receyueth the order of knighthood, ſhall take an othe to defend ladies, virgins, widowes, orphans, & yͤ cōminaltie. And he yͭ is made king, ſhal be ſworne in the ſemblable maner.

Eldeſt daughters.

The eldeſt daughter ſhall inherite hir fathers landes, as well as the eldeſt ſonne ſhould if the father leaue no ſonne behinde him. And if any woman marie with the lord of the ſoyle, ſhe ſhall loſe hir heritage.

The kings gifte.

No man ſhall enioy any landes, rentes, offices, or other poſſeſſions, but onely by gifte and graunt of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

No office ſhall go by inheritaunce, but ſhall ſtill remayne at the kings free diſpoſition, as ſhal ſtande with his pleaſure to aſſigne it.

Iudges.

No man ſhall ſit as iudge in any temporall courte without the kings commiſſion authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and actes of iuſtice, ſhall paſſe in the kings name.

Reteynours.

He that is retayned or becommeth a ſworne mā to any other perſon ſaue only to yͤ king, ſhall loſe his life for it, ⁊ euery man ſhall be bounde to defend the king againſt all other creatures.

Rayſours of the kings people, or vnlawfull aſſembles.

He that rayſeth the kings liege people, ſhall loſe life, goodes, and landes, and ſo ſhall they do that aſſemble togither by his procurement.

Wayters vpō other men.

He that attendeth any man to the church, market, or to any other publike aſſemble, as a retaynour ſhall ſuffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whom he ſo attendeth.

Keeping of horſes.

A horſe kept by any of the commons or huſbandmen to any other vſe than for tillage and laboring of the earth, ſhalbe forfayted to the king by eſcheate.

Counterfayte fooles, with minſtrels and ſuch lyke.

Counterfeyte fooles, minſtrels, ieſters, and theſe kinde of inglers, with ſuch like idle perſons, that range abrode in the countrey, hauing no ſpecial licēce of the king, ſhalbe cōpelled to learne ſome ſcience or crafte to get their liuing, if they refuſe ſo to do, they ſhal be drawen like horſes in the plough and harrowes.

Poſſeſsion of landes.

Though the ſonne chaunce to be put in poſſeſſion of his fathers lande by the kings licence, during the life of his father, yet ſhall the ſame landes be forfayted to the king if his father be afterwardes conuicted of treaſon committed againſt the kings perſon.

Dowrie of wiues.

All ſuche women, that are maried to any Lorde or Baron (though ſhee haue no iſſue by him) ſhall yet haue the thirde parte of his landes after his deceaſſe and the remnaunt ſhall go to his heyres.

Mariage of Lordes and Barons.

All maner of Lordes and great Barons, ſhal not contract matrimony with other, vnder paine of death, ſpecially if theyr landes and rowmes lie neare togither.

Bearing of armour.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defence of the king and realme in time of warres, ſhalbe confiſcate to the kings vſe, with all other moueable goodes of the partie that herein offendeth.

Captaynes.

Bying of lāds.

Suche as be appointed gouernours (or as I may cal them captaines,) that buye within thoſe limites, where their charges lie, any lāds or poſſeſſions, ſhal loſe both the land poſſeſſions ⁊ money, whiche they haue payde for the ſame.

And if any of the ſayde captaines or gouernours mary their ſonnes or daughters vnto any maner of perſon that dwelleth within the boūds of theyr roumes, they ſhall loſe their office, neyther ſhall it be lawfull for any of theyr ſonnes or coperceners to occupie the ſame office.

Makbethes counterfayte zeale and equitie.

Theſe and the like commendable lawes, Makbeth cauſed to be put as then in vſe, gouerning the realme for the ſpace of tenne yeares in equall iuſtice. But this was but a counterfayte zeale of equitie ſhewed by him, partely againſt his naturall inclination to purchaſe thereby the fauour of the people.

Makbeths giltie conſcience.

Shortly after, he beganne to ſhewe what he was, in ſteede of equitie practiſing crueltie. For the pricke of conſcience (as it chaunceth euer in tyrantes, and ſuche as attayne to any aſtate by vnrightuous meanes) cauſed him euer to feare, leaſt he ſhould be ſerued of the ſame cuppe, as he had miniſtred to his predeceſſour.

The wordes alſo of the three weird ſiſters, wold not out of his mind, which as they promiſed him the kingdome, ſo lykewiſe did they promiſe it at the ſame time, vnto the poſteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the ſame Banquho with his ſonne named Fleaunce, to come to a ſupper that he had prepared for them, which was in deede, as he had deuiſed, preſent death at the handes of certaine murtherers, whome he hyred to execute that deede, appoynting them to meete with the ſame Banquho and his ſonne without the palayce as they returned to theyr lodgings, and there to ſlea thē, ſo that he woulde not haue his houſe ſlaundered, but that in time to come he might cleare himſelfe, if any thing were layde to his charge vpon any ſuſpition that might ariſe.

Makbethes deuiſe to ſlea Banquho and his ſonne.

Banquho is ſlayne, but his ſonne eſcapeth.

It chaunced yet, by the benefite of the darke night, that though the father were ſlaine, the ſonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reſeruing him to better fortune, eſcaped that daunger, ⁊ afterwardes hauing ſome inckling by the admonition of ſome frendes which he had in the courte, howe his life was ſought no leſſe then his fathers, who was ſlayne not by chaunce medley (as by the hādling of the mater Makbeth would haue had it to appeare,) but euen vpon a prepenſed deuiſe, whereupon to auoyde further perill he fledde into Wales.

Fleaunce Banquhoes ſonne fleeth into Wales.

The lyne of the Scottiſhe kings.

But here I thinke it ſhall not much make agaynſt my purpoſe, if (according to the order which I find obſerued in the Scottiſh hiſtorie) I ſhall in fewe wordes here rehearſe the originall line of thoſe kings, whiche haue diſcended from the foreſayde Banquho, that they, whiche haue enioyed the kingdome by ſo long continuaunce of diſcent, from one to an other, ⁊ that euen vnto theſe our dayes may be knowen from whence they had theyr firſt beginning.

Fleaunce defloureth the prince of Wales his daughter.

Fleaunce is ſlayne.

Fleaunce therfore (as before is ſayd) fled into Wales, where ſhortly after by his curteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into ſuch fauour and eſtimation with the prince of that countrey, that he might vnneath haue wiſſhed any greater: at length alſo he came into ſuch familiar acquaintance with the ſayd princes daughter, that ſhe of courteſie in the ende ſuffred him to get hir with childe: whiche being once vnderſtood, hyr father the prince conceyued ſuch hatefull diſpleaſure towardes Fleaunce, that he finally ſlewe him, and helde his daughter in moſte vile eſtate of ſeruitude, for that ſhe had conſented to be on this wiſe defloured by a ſtraunger.

Walter the ſonne of Fleaunce.

His bringing vp.

The ſtoute ſtomake appearing in Walter from his childehood.

At the laſt yet, ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne named Walter, who within few yeares proued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than any other had commonly bene founde, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his graũdfathers appointment) amongſt the baſer ſorte of people. Howbeit he ſhewed euer euen frõ his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine ſtoutneſſe of ſtomake, ready to attẽpt high enterpriſes.

It chaunced that falling out with one of his cõpanions, after many taunting wordes which paſſed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a baſtard, & begottẽ in vnlawfull bed, wherewith being ſore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpõ him & ſlew him out of hãd.

Walter fleeth into Scotland.

Saint Margaret.

Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and cõming into Scotland to ſeeke ſome frendſhippe there, he happened into the cõpanie of ſuche Engliſhmen, as were come thither with Queene Margaret, & behaued himſelf ſo ſoberly in all his demeanour, that within a while he was highly eſteemed amongſt them.

Walter ſent with an army to daunt rebelles.

Walter made Lorde Steward of Scotland.

Not long after by ſuch meanes atteyning to the degree of high reputation, he was ſent with a great power of men into the Weſterne Iſles, into Galloway, and other partes of the realme, to deliuer the ſame of the tirannie and iniurious oppreſſion there exerciſed by diuers miſgouerned perſons: which enterpryſe according to his commiſſion, he atchieued with ſuch prudent policie & manhoode, that immediatly vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord Steward of Scotland, with aſſignemẽt to receyue the kings rents & dueties out of all the partes of the realme.

Alane Stewarde.

The iourney into the holy lande.

Alexander Steward.

This Walter Stewarde, had a ſonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfrey of Bullion duke of Lorraine, and Robert duke of Normandy ſonne to king William the baſterd that conquered England, into the holy lande, at what time they with other weſterne Princes made the great iourney thither, in the yere. 1099. Alane had iſſue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbay of Paſley of S. Benedictes order.

Walter Steward.

Alexander ſteward the ſon of Walter.

Robert ſteward.

Iohn ſteward, and Iames ſteward.

Walter Steward whoſe valiancie was wel notified at the batayle of Largis as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed, was the ſonne of the ſayde Alexander. The ſame Walter had iſſue .ij. ſonnes, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantly in defence of his father at the foreſayd batayle, and the other named Robert Steward got the landes of Terbowtoun, and maried the heyre of Crukeiſtoun, from whom deſcended the Earles of Leuenax and Dernly. Moreouer the aboue mencioned Alexãder Steward that founded Paſley, had diuers mo ſonnes, as Iohn & Iames, with ſundry other. Howbeit they toke new ſurnames by the name of thoſe landes, vnto the which they ſucceeded. The afore recited Iohn Stewarde, after the death of his brother Iames, maried the heyre of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hyr Walter Steward that inherited the landes of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rotheſſay, Bute, & Stewartoune, after that his father the forenamed Iohn was ſlayne at Falkyrke.

Walter inheritour of Bonkill, &c.

King Robert the ſecond.

He maried Mariorie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whom he had iſſue king Robert the ſecond of that name.

Iohn ſteward, otherwiſe Robert.

This Robert the ſecond toke to wife one Iſabel Mure, a damoſell of right excellent beutie, ſhe was daughter to ſir Adham Mure knight, and brought forth iſſue, three ſonnes and three daughters. The eldeſt ſonne hight Iohn Steward otherwiſe named Robert, who ſucceeded immediatly after his fathers deceaſſe in gouernaunce of the crowne.

Duke of Albany.

The ſecond called Robert was made Earle of Fyfe and Menteith, alſo he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotlande vnder the name of Gouernour, for the ſpace of xv. yeares.

Alexander ſteward, ſonne to king Robert the ſecond.

The third ſonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot.

Iohn Dunbar.

The eldeſt daughter was maried to Iames, that was the ſonne and heyre of William Erle of Dowglas. The ſecond daughter was maried to Iohn Dunbar, brother to George of Dũbar Earle of Marche, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray.

He got on hyr one onely daughter, that was maried to the Dowglas, and ſo Dowglas came to the Erledome of Murray. The third daughter was maried vnto Iohn Lyoun, that was after made Lorde of Glammis.

Ewſame.

Walter and Dauid, ſonnes to king Robert.

Moreouer the foreſayde Robert that was the firſte of the Stewardes whiche ware the crowne in Scotlande, maried Ewſame daughter to the Earle of Ros, and got on hyr two ſonnes, Walter Earle of Atholl, and Dauid Earle of Stratherne.

Robert Duke of Albany.

This Walter ſolicited Robert duke of Albany, to ſlea Dauid Steward duke of Rothſay.

James the firſt.

And after that James the firſte was returned home forth of England, he did what he could to moue him to ſlea likewiſe all the lynage of the ſame Duke, ſtill beyng in hope after the diſpatch of his kinſmen to come to the crowne himſelfe, whiche hope moued him to procure his Nephew Robert Steward, & Robert Grahã his daughters ſon to ſlea king James the firſt alſo, for the which crime the ſame Walter was after conuicted and deſtroyed with all his ſonnes.

Grayme or Graham.

His brother Dauid erle of Buchquhane died without iſſue, and ſo the landes of bothe theſe bretherne returned againe to the crowne, without any memory of theyr bloud.

Duke Murdo.

Of Robert Steward duke of Albany, came duke Murdo, who maried the Earle of Lennox daughter, and got on hyr three ſonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

King Robert the thirde.

Dauid and James, ſonnes to king Robert the third.

John Beauford earle of Somerſet.

Duke Murdo himſelfe with his two firſte ſonnes were ſlayne at Stryueling by king James the firſt, and the third brother James in reuenge therof brent Dunbertane, and was after chaſed into Ireland, where he deceaſſed without iſſue. Robert the.iij.of that name maried Annabill Drommound, daughter to ſir John Drõmound of Stobhall knight, & got on hyr Dauid & James. The firſte died in Falkeland, and the other atteyned the crowne, & was called James the firſte, and maried the lady Jane daughter to John Beauford earle of Somerſet in England. He had by hir.ij.ſonnes borne at one birth, Alexander & James. The firſt died yong. The ſecõd atteyned the crowne, named James the ſecond.

Iames the firſt and his iſſue.

James the firſt had alſo.vj. daughters, of the whiche the eldeſt was giuen in mariage to the Dolphine of Fraunce, the ſecond to the Duke of Brytayne, the thirde to the Lorde of Feir: the fourth to the Lorde of Dalkeith: the fifth to the Earle of Huntley: and the ſixte had no ſucceſſion.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

James the ſecond maried Margaret daughter to the Duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three ſonnes, and two daughters.

Iames and Alexander.

Duke of Albany the gouernour of Scotland.

The firſt ſucceeded him in the kingdome and was called James the thirde: the ſecond named Alexander was Duke of Albany, & maried firſte the Erle of Orkeneys daughter, and got on hyr Alexander, that was after Biſhop of Murray, and then parting with hyr went into Fraunce, where he maried the counteſſe of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward Duke of Albany, that was gouernour of Scotland many yeares in the minoritie of James the fifte.

The third ſonne, John Steward was Erle of Mar, whoſe chaunce was to be ſlayne in the Cannogat in a Batheſatte.

The lorde Boyd.

The firſt daughter of James the ſecond, was maried to the Lord Boyd, who begot on hyr a ſonne that was ſlayne by the Lord Mongumrie, and a daughter that was maried to the Erle of Caſſelles.

The Lord Hammylton.

After the death of the lord Boyd, the huſband of this firſt daughter of James the ſecõd, ſhe was eftſoones maried to the lord Hammylton, and by that meanes was the houſe of the Hammyltons decorate with the kings bloud.

Lord Creichton.

James the third and his iſſue.

The other ſiſter was maried to the lorde Creichton, of whom came ſmall ſucceſſion worthy to be mencioned. James the thirde maried Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke.

Of the whiche mariage was borne James the fourth: Alexander that was biſhop of Saint Andros and Duke of Albany: And John Stewarde Erle of Mar, but theſe two died without iſſue.

James the fourth.

James the fourth maried Margaret daughter to king Henry the ſeuenth of England, and begot on hyr James the fifth, who marying firſte the Lady Magdalene daughter to Fraunces the French king, had no iſſue by hyr for that ſhe died in the yeare next after hyr comming into Scotland, and then ſhortely after the ſayde James the fifth maried the lady Mary de Lorrain, Duches of Longuile a widow, and by hyr had he iſſue Marie queene of Scotland, that tooke to huſbande Henry Steward lord Dernly, by whom ſhe had iſſue Charles James, nowe king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makbeth, in cõtinuyng the hiſtory, and to beginne where I left, ye ſhal vnderſtãd, that after the cõtriued ſlaughter of Bãquho, nothing proſpered with the foreſayde Makbeth: for in maner euery man began to doubt his owne life, and durſt vnneth appeare in the kings preſence, & euen as there were many that ſtoode in feare of him, ſo likewiſe ſtoode he in feare of many, in ſuch ſorte that he began to make thoſe away by one ſurmiſed cauillation or other, whom he thought moſt able to worke him any diſpleaſure.

Makbethes dread.

His crueltie cauſed through feare.

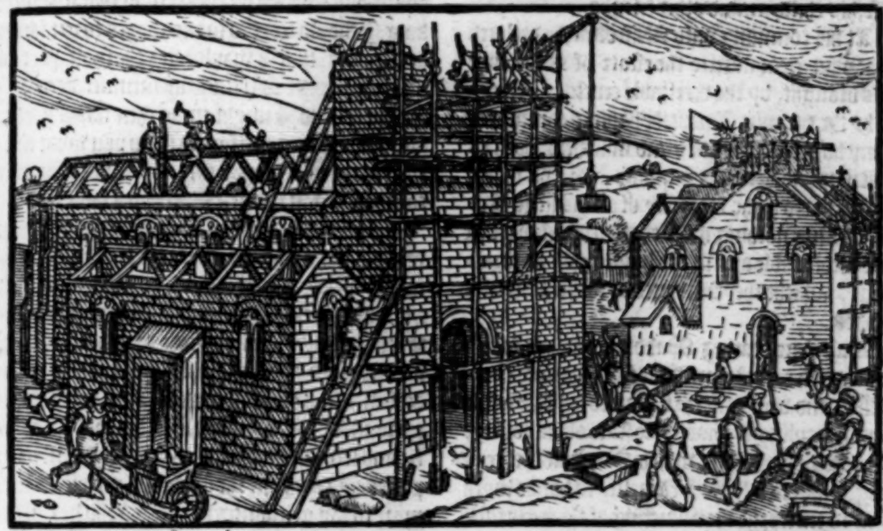
At length he found ſuche ſweeteneſſe by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earneſt thyrſt after bloud in this behalfe, might in nowiſe be ſatiſfied: for ye muſt conſider he wanne double profite (as he thought) hereby: for firſte they were ridde out of the way whome he feared, and then agayne his coffers were enriched by their goodes, whiche were forfeyted to his vſe, whereby he might the better mainteyne a garde of armed men about him to defend his perſon frõ iniurie of them whom he had in any ſuſpition.

The caſtell of Dunſinnane buylded.

Further to the ende he might the more ſickerly oppreſſe his ſubiectes with all tyranlike wrongs, hee buylded a ſtrong Caſtell on the top of an high hill cleped Dunſinnane ſituate in Gowry, ten myles from Perth, on ſuch a proude height, that ſtãding there aloft, a man might behold welneare all the Countreys of Angus, Fife, Stermõd, & Ernedale, as it were lying vndernethe him. This caſtell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was fyniſhed, for al the ſtuffe neceſſarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toyle and buſineſſe.

Dunſinnane.

But Makbeth beeing once determined to haue the worke go forwarde, cauſed the Thanes of eche ſhire within the Realme, to come and helpe towardes that building, eche man hys courſe about.



Makduffe Thane of Fife.

At the laſt when the turne fell vnto Makduffe Thane of Fife to buylde his part, he ſent workmen with all needfull prouiſion, and commaunded them to ſhew ſuche diligence in euery behalfe, that no occaſion might bee giuen for the king to finde fault with him, in that he came not himſelfe as other had done, which he refuſed to do for doubt leaſt the king bearing him (as he partly vnderſtoode) no great good will, woulde lay violent handes vpon him, as he had done vppon dyuerſe other.

Makbeth is offended with Makduffe.

Makbethes confidence in wyſardes.

Shortly after, Makbeth comming to behold howe the worke went forwarde, and bycauſe hee found not Makduffe there, he was ſore offended, and ſayde, I perceyue this man will neuer obey my commaundements, till he be rydden with a ſnaffle, but I ſhal prouide well ynough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the ſayde Makduffe, eyther for that he thought his puiſſance ouer great, either els for that he had learned of certain wyſardes, in whoſe wordes he put great confidence, (for that the prophecie had happened ſo right, whiche the three Fayries or weird ſiſters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heede of Makduffe, who in tymes to come ſhould ſeeke to deſtroy him.

And ſurely herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certaine witch whom he had in great truſt, had told that he ſhould neuer be ſlain with man borne of any woman, nor vanquiſhed till the wood of Bernane, came to the Caſtell of Dunſinnane.

By this prophecie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, ſuppoſing hee might doe what hee would, without any feare to be puniſhed for the ſame, for by the one prophesie he beleeued it was vnpoſſible for any man to vanquiſh him, and by the other vnpoſſible to ſlea him.

This vaine hope cauſed him to doe manye outragious things, to the grieuous oppreſſion of his ſubiectes.

Linxes eyes, and Mydas eares.

At length Makduffe to auoyde perill of lyfe, purpoſed with himſelfe to paſſe into Englande, to procure Malcolme Cammore to clayme the crowne of Scotlande. But this was not ſo ſecretly deuiſed by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof, for kings (as is ſayde,) haue ſharpe ſight like vnto Linx, and long eares like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euery noble mans houſe, one ſlie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was ſayd or done within the ſame, by which ſleight he oppreſſed the moſte parte of the Nobles of hys Realme.

Immediately then, being aduertiſed whereabout Makduffe went, he came haſtily wyth a great power into Fife, and forthwith beſieged the Caſtell where Makduffe dwelled, truſting to haue found him therin.

Machethes crueltie vſed againſt Makduffes family.

They that kept the houſe, without any reſiſtance opened the gates, and ſuffred him to enter, miſtruſting none euill. But neuertheleſſe Makbeth moſt cruelly cauſed the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that caſtell, to be ſlaine.

Alſo he confiſcate the goodes of Makduffe,

Makduffe eſcapeth into Englande vnto Malcolme Cammore.

proclaymed him traytor, and confined him out of al the partes of his realme, but Makduffe was alreadie eſcaped out of daunger and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cãmore, to trie what purchas he might make by meanes of his ſupport to reuẽge the ſlaughter ſo cruelly executed on his wife, his children, and other friends.

Makduffes wordes vnto Malcolme.

At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miſerie the eſtate of Scotlande was brought, by the deteſtable cruelties exercyſed by the tyranne Makbeth, hauing committed many horrible ſlaughters and murthers, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortally of all his liege people, deſiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and moſte heauie yoke of thraldome, whiche they ſuſteyned at ſuche a caytifes handes.

Malcolme ſigheth.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes wordes which he vttred in right lamentable ſort, for pure compaſſion and very ruth that pearced his ſorowfull hart, bewayling the miſerable ſtate of his coũtry, he fetched a deepe ſigh, which Makduffe perceyuing, began to fall moſt earneſtly in hande wyth him, to enterpriſe the deliuering of the Scottiſhe people out of the hands of ſo cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too many plaine experiments did ſhew himſelfe to be, which was an eaſie matter for him to bring to paſſe, conſidering not only the good tytle he had, but alſo the earneſt deſire of the people to haue ſome occaſion miniſtred, wherby they might be reuenged of thoſe notable iniuries, which they dayly ſuſteyned by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths miſgouernãce.

Though Malcolme was right ſorowfull for the oppreſſion of his Countreymen the Scottes, in maner as Makduffe had declared, yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfaynedly as hee ſpake, or elſe as ſent from Makbeth to betray him, he thought to haue ſome further triall, and thervpon diſſembling his minde at the firſt, he anſwered as followeth.

Malcolme Cammore his anſwere.

I am truly right ſorie for the miſerie chaunced to my Countrey of Scotlande, but though I haue neuer ſo great affection to relieue yͤ ſame, yet by reaſon of certaine incurable vyces, whiche raigne in me, I am nothing meete thereto: Firſt ſuche immoderate luſt and voluptuous ſenſualitie (the abhominable fountaine of all vyces) foloweth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I ſhoulde ſeeke to deflower your Maydes and matrones in ſuch wiſe, that mine intemperancie ſhoulde bee more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is.

Makduffes aunſwere.

Hereunto Makduffe anſwered: this ſurely is a very euill fault, for many noble Princes and Kings haue loſt both lyues and Kingdomes for the ſame, neuertheleſſe there are women ynowe in Scotlande, and therefore follow my counſell, make thy ſelfe king, and I ſhall conuey the matter ſo wiſely, that thou ſhalt be ſo ſatiſfied at thy pleaſure in ſuch ſecrete wiſe, that no man ſhall be aware therof.

Then ſaide Malcolme, I am alſo the moſte auaritious creature on the earth, ſo that if I were king, I ſhould ſeeke ſo many wayes to get lands and goodes, that I woulde ſlea the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland by ſurmiſed accuſations, to the end I might enioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions, & therfore to ſhew you what miſchief may enſue on you through mine vnſatiable couetiſe, I will rehearſe vnto you a fable.

A fable of a Foxe.

There was a Foxe hauing a ſore place on him ouerſet with a ſwarme of flies that continually ſucked out hir bloud, and when one that came by and ſaw this maner demaunded whether ſhe woulde haue the flies dryuen beſyde hir, ſhe anſwered no: For if theſe flies that are alreadie full, and by reaſon thereof ſucke not very egerly, ſhould be chaſed away, other that are emptie and felly an hungred, ſhoulde light in theyr places, and ſuck out the reſidue of my bloud farre more to my grieuance than theſe, which now being ſatiſfied doe not much annoy me. Therefore ſayth Malcolme, ſuffer me to remaine where I am, leaſt if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine inquenchable auarice may proue ſuch, that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect of the vnmeaſurable outrage, whiche might enſue through my comming amongſt you.

Couetouſneſſe the roote of al miſchiefe.

Makduffe to this made anſwere, how it was a farre worſe fault than the other, for auarice is the roote of all miſchiefe, and for that crime the moſt part of our kings haue bene ſlain & brought to their finall ende. Yet notwithſtanding follow my counſel, and take vpon thee the crowne, there is golde and riches inough in Scotlande to ſatiſfie thy greedie deſire.

Diſſimulation and deliting in lyes.

Then ſayde Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to diſſimulation, telling of leaſings and all other kinds of deceyt, ſo that I naturally reioyce in nothing ſo muche as to betray and deceyue ſuche, as put any truſt or confidence in my wordes. Then ſith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other laudable felowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onely in ſoothfaſtneſſe, & that lying vtterly ouerthroweth yͤ ſame, you ſee how vnable I am to gouerne any prouince or region: and therfore ſith you haue remedies to cloke and hide al the reſt of my other vices, I pray you find ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Then ſayd Makduffe: this yet is the worſt of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore ſay,

oh

Makduffes exclamation.

oh ye vnhappie & miſerable Scottiſhmen, which are thus ſcourged with ſo many and ſundrie calamities, eche one aboue other. Ye haue one curſed and wicked tyrant that nowe raignes ouer you, without any right or tytle, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie: This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo replete with the inconſtant behauiour and manifeſt vices of Engliſh men, that he is nothing worthie to enioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onely auaritious, and giuen to vnſatiable luſt, but ſo falſe a traytour withall, that no truſt is to be had to any worde he ſpeaketh. Adue Scotlande, for now I account my ſelfe a baniſhed man for euer without comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe wordes the teares trickled downe his cheekes right abundantly.

Makduffe weepeth.

Malcolme comforteth Makduffe.

At the laſt when hee was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the ſleeue, and ſayde, Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of theſe vices before remembred, but haue ieſted with thee in this maner, only to proue thy mind: for diuerſe tymes heretofore, hath Makbeth ſought by this maner of meanes to bring me into his handes, but the more ſlow I haue ſhewed my ſelf to condiſcend to thy motion and requeſt, the more diligence ſhall I vſe in accompliſhing the ſame.

Makduffe and Malcolme embrace ech other.

Incontinently hereupon they embraced eche other, and promiſing to bee faythfull the one to the other, they fell in conſultation, howe they might beſt prouide for al their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good effect.

Makduffe writeth letters to his friends in Scotlande.

Soone after Makduffe repayring to the borders of Scotlande, addreſſed his letters with ſecrete diſpatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring howe Malcolme was confederate wyth him, to come haſtily into Scotlande to clayme the crowne, and therefore he requyred them, ſith he was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their powers to recouer the ſame out of the hãds of the wrongfull vſurper.

Swarde Earle of Northumberlande.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchaſed ſuch fauour at king Edwards handes, that olde Sywarde Earle of Northumberlande, was appoynted with ten thouſande men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right.

The nobles of Scotland deuided.

After theſe newes were ſpred abrode in Scotland, the nobles drew into two ſeuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme.

Hereupon enſued oftentymes ſundrie bickerings, and diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes, for thoſe that were of Malcolmes ſide, woulde not ieoparde to ioyne with their enimies in a pight field, tyll his comming out of England to their ſupport. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to encreaſe, by ſuch ayde as came to them forth of England with his aduerſarie Malcolme, he reculed backe into Fife, there purpoſing to abide in campe fortified, at the Caſtell of Dunſinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to purſue him, howbeit ſome of his friends aduyſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, eyther to make ſome agreement with Malcolme, or elſe to flee with all ſpeed into the Iles, and to take his treaſure with him, to the ende he might wage ſundrie great Princes of the realme to take his part, and retayne ſtraungers, in whom he might better truſt than in his owne ſubiectes, which ſtale dayly from him: but he had ſuche confidence in his prophecies, that he beleued he ſhoulde neuer be vanquiſhed, till Byrnane wood were brought to Dunſinnane, nor yet to be ſlaine with anye man, that ſhould be or was borne of any womã.

Makbeth reculeth.

Makbeth is counſailed to flee into the Iles.

Makbethes truſt in propheſies.

Malcolme folowing haſtily after Makbeth, came the night before the battaile vnto Byrnan wood, and when his armie had reſted a whyle there to refreſhe them, hee commaunded euerye man to get a bough of ſome tree or other of that wood in his hand, as bigge as he might beare, and to march forth therwith in ſuch wiſe, that on the next morow they might come cloſely and without ſight in thys manner within viewe of hys enimies.

Braunches of trees.

On the morow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this ſort, hee firſt marueyled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himſelfe, that the prophecie which he had hearde long before that time, of the comming of Byrnane wood to Dunſinnane Caſtell, was likely to bee now fulfilled. Neuertheleſſe, he brought hys men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doe valiantly, howbeit his enimies had ſcarcely caſt from them their boughes, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers betooke him ſtreight to flight, whom Makduffe purſued with great hatred euẽ till he came vnto Lunfannain, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his back, leapt beſide his horſe, ſaying, thou traytor, what meaneth it that thou ſhouldeſt thus in vaine follow me that am not appoynted to be ſlain by any creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receyue thy rewarde which thou haſt deſerued for thy paynes, and therwithall he lyfted vp his ſworde thinking to haue ſlaine him. But Makduffe quickly auoyding from his horſe, ere he came at him, anſwered (with his naked ſworde in his hande) ſaying: it is true Makbeth, and now ſhall thine inſatiable crueltie haue an ende, for I am euen he that thy wyſards haue tolde the of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of hir wombe: therewithall he ſtept vnto him, & ſlue him in the place. Then cutting his heade from the ſhoulders, hee ſet it

vpon

Makbeth ſetteth his men in order of battel.

Makbeth fleeeth, and is purſued of Makduffe.

Makbeth is ſlaine.

vpon a poll, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had raigned .xvij. yeares ouer the Scottiſhmen.

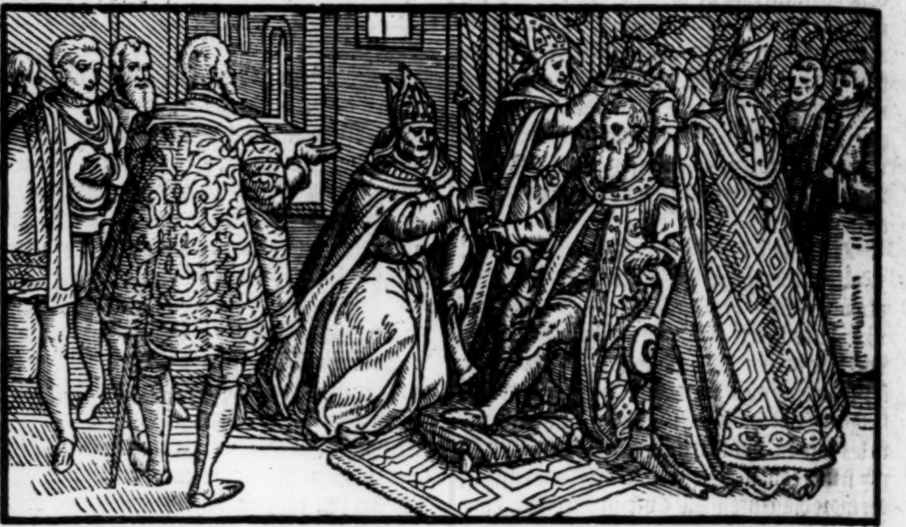
In the beginning of his raigne he accompliſhed many worthie actes, right profitable to the common wealth, (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illuſion of the diuell, he defamed the ſame with moſt terrible crueltie.

He was ſlaine in the yeare of the incarnation 1057. and in the .xvj. yeare of king Edwardes raigne ouer the Engliſh men.

1057. Io.Ma.
1061. H.B.
8. H.B.

Malcolme.

Malcolme Cannmore thus recouering the realme (as ye haue hearde) by ſupport of king Edward, in the .xvj. yeare of the ſame Edwards raign, he was crowned at Scone the .xxv day of April, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1057.



A Parliament at Forſair.

Immediately after his coronation, he called a Parliament at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with landes and liuings that had aſſiſted him agaynſt Makbeth, aduauncing them to fees and offices as he ſaw cauſe, and commaunded that ſpecially thoſe that bare the ſurname of any office or landes, ſhoulde haue and enioye the ſame.

He created many Earles, Lordes, Barons, and Knightes.

Thanes changed into Earles.

Many of them that before were Thanes, were at this time made Earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenox, Murray, Cathnes, Roſſe, and Angus. Theſe were the firſt Earles that haue beene heard of amongeſt the Scottiſhe men, (as their hyſtories make mention.) Many new ſurnames were takẽ vp at this time amongſt them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seyton, Lauder, Wawane, Meldrun, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Rattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Myrtoun, Menzeis, Abercrummy, Leſly, with many other that had poſſeſſions giuen to them, which gaue names to the owners for the time.

Surnames.

Others got their ſurnames by offices, as Stewarde, Durwarde, and Banerman.

Alſo the proper names of many valiant captaynes were turned into generall ſurnames, as Kennedy, Graham, Hay, with dyuerſe other to long here to rehearſe. So that it came to paſſe then, as it hath done many tymes ſithence, that new ſurnames haue worne the olde out of vſe.

In the foreſayde Parliament thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his raign, there were many holeſome ordinances eſtabliſhed, both aperteyning to ciuill adminiſtration, and alſo to the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction.

Makduffes Earle of Fife his aduauncement.

In rewarde alſo of Makduffes ſeruice, who (as ye haue heard) chiefly ayded him to the atteyning of the crowne, he honoured him and his poſteritie with three ſortes of priuiledges.

Priuiledges graunted vnto Makduffes lynage.

Fyrſt that the Earle of Fife for the tyme being, at the coronation of a king ſhould by his office ſet the crowne on the kings head. The ſecond was, that when the king ſhould giue battaile to his enimies, the ſame Earle ſhould leade the vauntgard of his hoſt: The thirde, that the lynage of Makduffe ſhould enioy regall authoritie and power within al their lands & rowmthes, as to appoynt officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuerſies (treaſon onely excepted) and that if any of their men or tenants were called to anſwere in any Court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to bee appoynted as before is expreſſed.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Maior wryteth in his Chronicle, that the thirde priuiledge which Malcolme graunted vnto this Makduffe and his poſteritie, was this, that for euery Gentleman that any of thẽ ſhould hap to kill by chaunce medley, and not vpon pretenſed malice, for the ſumme of .xxiiij. markes, he ſhould redeeme his puniſhment due for the Gentler & for the caſuall ſlaughter of a meaner perſon, he ſhould be fined at .xij. Markes, ſo that murtherers were wont to ſay, that if they were able to pay that ſumme vnto the Kynbot, they ought to be releaſed of further punition by Makduffes priuiledge. But this third priuiledge, togither with the other two former grauntes, the ſayde Maior ſore reproueth, and not without cauſe, as maye appeare, conſidering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nouriſhing ſecrete hatred and malice in theyr heartes, might vnder the cloke of caſuall falling out, ſlea whom they luſted.

Gybets and draw welles.

It was ordeyned alſo at this Parliament, that Barons which had liberties within theſelues, ſhould make gybbets whereon men that deſerued death ſhoulde ſuffer execution: and alſo drawe Welles, wherein women that were condemned ſhould be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vſed in Scotland.

Makbethes lawes abrogated.

Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeyned, were abrogate at this Parliament.

Luktake.

Thus whileſt Malcolme was buſied in ſetting orders amongſt his ſubiects, tydings came that one Lugtake ſurnamed the foole, being eyther the ſonne, or as ſome write, the couſin of the late mentioned Makbeth, was conueyed wyth a great number of ſuch as had taken part with the ſayde Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their ſupport receyued the Crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is ſlaine.

To appeaſe this buſineſſe, was Makduffe Earle of Fife ſent with full commiſſion in the kings name, who encountering with Lugtake at a vyllage called Eſſen in Bogdale, ſlue him, and diſcomfited his whole power ordring the matter with them in ſuch wiſe, that afterwardes there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

A bande of theeues.

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeares, till it chaunced a great number of theeues and robbers aſſembling themſelues togither at Cocbourne pethes, did much hurt by robbing and ſpoyling the people in the countreys of Mers: and Louthian howbeit at length one Patryke Dunbar of Dunbar, by commaundement of the king fought with them, ſlue their captaine, with ſix hundred of his companie, and tooke fourſcore priſoners, the which he cauſed to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrey of thoſe pyllers, with loſſe of fortie of his owne men, hee returned to the king, with the head of the captain of that route, ſo that for his manhood herein ſhewed, he was made by the king Earle of March, and for the maintenaunce of his eſtate, had the landes of Cocbourne pethes, giuen to him and his heyres for euer, vpon this condition, that in tymes comming, the Earles of March ſhoulde purge Mers and Louthian of all theeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, hee was commaunded to beare in his armes a felons heade ſprinckled with bloud.

Patrike Dunbar vanquiſheth the theeues and robbers of the countrey.

Patrike Dunbar Earle of March.

The heade of a theefe or felon giuen in armes.

A conſpiracie.

Shortly after he got knowledge, howe there were certaine Gentlemen that had conſpired to ſlea him, and therefore taking occaſion to goe a hunting, where this act ſhould haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe authour of the conſpiracie apart into a certaine valley, which was cloſed on euery ſide with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reprouing him right ſharply for that hee had ſo traytorouſly conſpired hys death, whoſe preſeruation hee ought chiefly to haue wiſhed, conſidering the manifolde benefites he had receyued at his handes. And herewith leaping from his horſe, drew his ſworde, commaunding the other likewiſe to drawe his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, which ſhould be thought moſt worthie of life, by open force of knightly prowes.

The manly courage of K. Malcolme.

The conſpirator hearing theſe wordes, as a man altogither aſtoniſhed, fell downe vpon hys knees at the kings feete, beſeeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpoſe and haynous offence, who ſeeing him thus penitent, bad him ariſe, and ſayde, I am content herevpon to forgiue thee, ſo that thou be not of counſell hereafter in any ſuch traytorous practiſe.

Whyleſt things paſſed thus in Scotlande, great and maruelous chaunces came to paſſe within the Realme of Englande. For after the death of king Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, Harold the ſonne of Earle Godwin tooke vpon him the kingdome. But William baſtard Duke of Normandie, pretending tytle to the crowne of Englande, at length inuaded the land, & ſleaing Harold in fielde, made a full conqueſt of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred Archbiſhop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that king Edwarde in his life time had ſent for his nephew Edwarde, the ſonne of his brother Edmonde Ironſide, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither after his fathers deceaſſe, he and his brother Edwin had beene ſent away, as in the hyſtorie of Englande it appeareth more at large.

See more hereof in England.

This Edwarde had maried the daughter of the Emperour Henrie, named Agatha, ſiſter to the Queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottiſhe writers do ſo affirme. By hir he had iſſue a ſonne named Edgar and two daughters, the one named Margaret and the other Chriſtyne. King Edward ment that his nephew the ſayd Edwarde ſhoulde haue ſucceeded him, and as ſome wryte, he would in his life time haue reſigned the crown

William Malmesbury.

Hector Boetius.

vnto him. But he (a thing worthie of admiration) vtterly refuſed it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life tyme, and as it chaunced he died whileſt his vncle king Edward was yet liuing. His ſonne Edgar therefore to whom it ſeemed that the crowne was due when he ſawe the realme conquered by the Normans, diſpairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ſhip, and determined with his mother and ſiſters to paſſe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolk there: but by contrary winds he was driuen a ſhore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the Queenes ferrye.

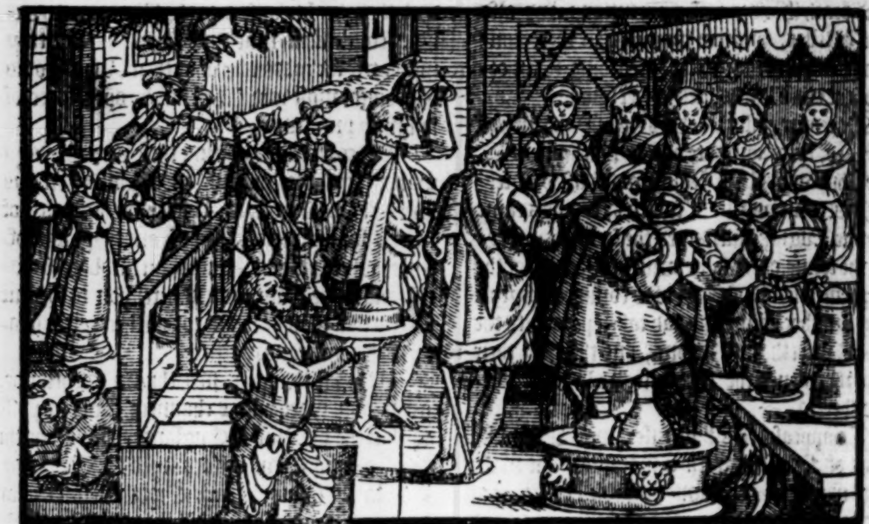
The Queenes Ferrye.

Malcolme being at the ſame time at Dunfermling, when he heard of the arriuall of this ſhip, and vnderſtode what they were that were abourd in hir, he reſorted thither with an honourable cōpanie about him, to viſit them for honors ſake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were diſcended of that noble Prince king Edwarde, in whom afore time he had founde ſo much gentleneſſe and friendſhip.

Finally when he vnderſtood their eſtate, hee brought thē home with him to his palace, ſhewing them all the loue and friendſhip he could deuiſe: and in the end cōſidering the excellent beautie, wiſdome, & noble qualities of the lady Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter vnto the ſame Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, whereunto Agatha gladly condiſcended. Shortly after with an aſſemble of all the nobles of Scotland this mariage was made & ſolemniſed after the Octaues of Paſch, in the yeare 1067. with al ioy and triumph that might be deuiſed.

Malcolm Cammore marieth Margaret ſiſter to Edgar Atheling.

1067. H.B.



King William the Conqueror of England, being enformed hereof, feared leaſt this alliance betwixt Malcolm and Edgar might breed ſome trouble & diſquietneſſe to his eſtate, ſith the ſame Edgar had many friendes through all the partes of England. To preuent therfore the occaſions of inteſtine trouble, he confined all the lynage of the foreſayd Edgar, by reaſon whereof, a great number of Engliſhe men came into Scotlande vnto king Malcolme, and many of them obteyning liuings at his handes, remayned there continually during their liues, leauing to their poſteritie their names and poſſeſſions. Amongſt whō were theſe, Lindſey, Vans, Ramſay, Louell, Towris, Preſtoun, Sandelāds, Biſſart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Marwel, with diuerſe other.

Engliſh men fled into Scotlande.

Surnames of Engliſh men in Scotland.

There came diuerſe alſo oute of Hungarie with Queene Margaret, who likewiſe left theyr names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fotringham, Giffart, Meluil, Borthwike, and other.

Surnames of Hungarians.

Alſo there haue come at ſundrie ſeaſons out of Fraunce diuerſe ſurnames into Scotlande as Fraſeir, Sinclare, Boſwell, Mowtrap, Mountgummery, Campbel, Boys, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, beſides ſundrie other whiche were but ſuperfluous to rehearſe at this tyme.

Surnames of French men.

But to the order of the Hyſtorie: It is recorded by writers, that theſe (which at this time came out of Englande vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of golde and ſiluer with them: alſo many relikes of Saints, and amongſt other that blacke croſſe which king Dauid gaue vnto the Abbey of holy Rood houſe in Louthiā, which he founded at his owne charge.

The blacke croſſe.

Shortly after the proſcriptiō of theſe Engliſh men, William the Conquerour ſent an heralde at Armes vnto king Malcolme, demaunding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refuſed to deliuer him, he woulde ſurely fetch him, and that ſhortly for Malcolmes commoditie.

William Conqueror threatneth king Malcolme.

But Malcolme though he vnderſtode that

he

Malcolmes anſwere.

he ſhoulde bee ſure of warres at king Williams handes, for his deniall declared plainly to the herauld, that his maiſters requeſt was vnreaſonable, and therefore he minded not in any wiſe to gratifie him therein.

Open warre proclaymed by William Conquerour. Northumberlande taketh part with K. Malcolme.

King William receyuing this anſwere from Malcolm, proclaimed opē warre againſt Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberlande tooke part with king Malcolme, for that he was their Earles ſiſters ſonne.

Roger a Norman captaine or rather earle Robert (as I take it.)

See in Englande.

Whereupon king William ſent a valiaunt Captaine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberlande. Whiche Roger gathering a power of men, came haſtily into that Countrey, howbeit he abode ſhort time there in honor, for by the Scots and Northumberlande men his army was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe trayterouſly ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

The Earle of Glouceſter.

Goſpatricke hath Simon Denel.

But king William nothing diſcoraged with this ouerthrow, ſent one Richard Erle of Glouceſter whom amongeſt all the Engliſh men he had moſte in truſt) with a mightie armie into Cumberlande. Agaynſt whome were ſent the Earles of March and Menteith, who defended the Countrey right manly from the inuaſion of the ſayde Earle, ſo that he was not able to take any aduauntage of them.

Odo Biſhop of Bayeux & erle of Kent.

King William aduertiſed hereof, waxed wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done agaynſt his enimies, whereupon hee ſent a newe power thither with all ſpeede, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both Biſhoppe of Bayeux, and Earle of Kent.

Malcolmes enterpriſe againſt his enimies.

By this laſt army, the coūtrey of Northumberlande, was ſore ſpoyled, and a great number both of Scottes and Northumberland men diſcomfited and ſlain. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme with all the power he might make, and giuing an onſet vpon his enimies, ſlue a great number of them, and recouered al the bootie which Odoes mē had got in the countrey, and ſo right ioyfull of that victorie, returned into Scotlande.

Robert the ſon of William Conquerour.

King William yet nothing abaſhed for theſe miſhappes, ſent his ſonne called Robert wyth a farre greater power than at any time he had ſent before, into Northumberland, who remayning a long ſeaſon in campe neare to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterpriſe, ſauing that he

New Caſtell vpon Tine fortifyed.

repayred and newly fortified the towne of newe Caſtell, whiche ſtandeth vpon the ſame ryuer of Tine, and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings vnder theſe conditions, that king Malcolme ſhoulde enioy that part of Northumberland which lyeth betwixt Tweede, Cumberland, and Stainmoore, & to do homage to the king of England for the ſame.

A peace concluded betwixt William Cōquerour, and Malcolme Cammore.

In the middeſt of Stanemoore there ſhall be a Croſſe ſet vp, with the king of Englandes Image on the one ſide, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to ſignifie that the one is marche to England, and the other to Scotland.

The Recroſſe.

This Croſſe was called the Recroſſe, that is to ſay, the Croſſe of the kings.

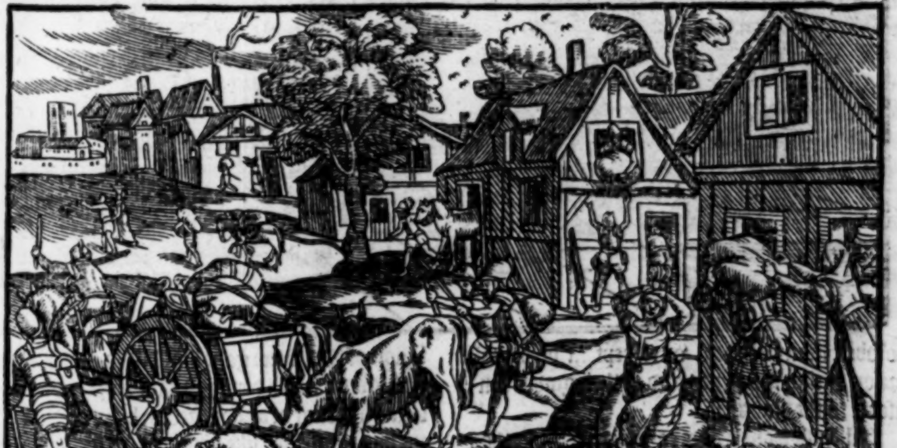
Waltief.

Syward Earle of Northumberlande.

Moreouer it was concluded that Waltheof or Voldoſius (as the Scottiſh writers name him) ẏ ſonne of Sywarde Earle of Northumberlande, ſhould marry king Williams neece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by any maner of prerogatiue or meanes, for the ſpace of .xx. yeares next enſuing.

Rebellion in Galloway.

In the neck of this peace thus cōcluded betwixt ẏ kings, hapned new trouble in Scotlād by reaſō of inteſtine rebelliō, for the people of Galloway, & the Ilād mē, roſe in great nūbers & ſpoiled ẏ borders of their neighbors, not ſparing frō ſlaughter in al parts, where they were any thing reſiſted.



Agaynſt

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

Makglaue.

Againſt theſe rebelles was ſent by king Malcolme, Walter the ſonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, firſt gaue the people of that Countrey an ouerthrow, and ſlue their chiefe captaine Makglaue: Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he ſubdued them in ſuch wiſe, that al things were pacified euen at commaundement. For whoſe high prowes and diligence in this peece of ſeruice ſhewed, he was created by Malcolm high Steward of the realme, ſo that afterwardes both he and his poſteritie euer ſithence haue borne that ſurname, euen vnto theſe our dayes.

Walter created high Steward of Scotlande.

A new rebellion in Murrey lande.

Makduffe.

After the quieting of this buſineſſe, there ſprang a newe tumult more daungerous than the former, for the Murrey lande men procuring them of Roſſe and Cathnes, with diuerſe other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onely ſlea the kings ſeruants, and thoſe that were appoynted vnder him to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, but through ſupport of one Makduncane, whom they choſe to be their captaine, they alſo waſted and deſtroyed the kings poſſeſſions, with more crueltie than euer had beene heard of before. Wherefore to puniſh theſe trayterous attempts, Makduffe was ſent with an armie into Mar.

But the traytors doubting leaſt they ſhould not be able to withſtande his puiſſance, thought nothing more auaylable than to ſtop him wyth money: but in the meane time came the king himſelfe in good ſeaſon vnto Monimuſke, where hee was aduertiſed, that in maner all the north partes of Scotland with the Iles, were confederate with the Murrey land men againſt him.

The kings vow.

The king aſtoniſhed ſomthing at theſe newes, vowed to giue the Barronnie of Monimuſke, (which he vnderſtoode to be landes perteyning to the crowne) vnto the Church of Saint Andrew in Fife, if it might pleaſe God to ſend him victorie ouer his enimies.

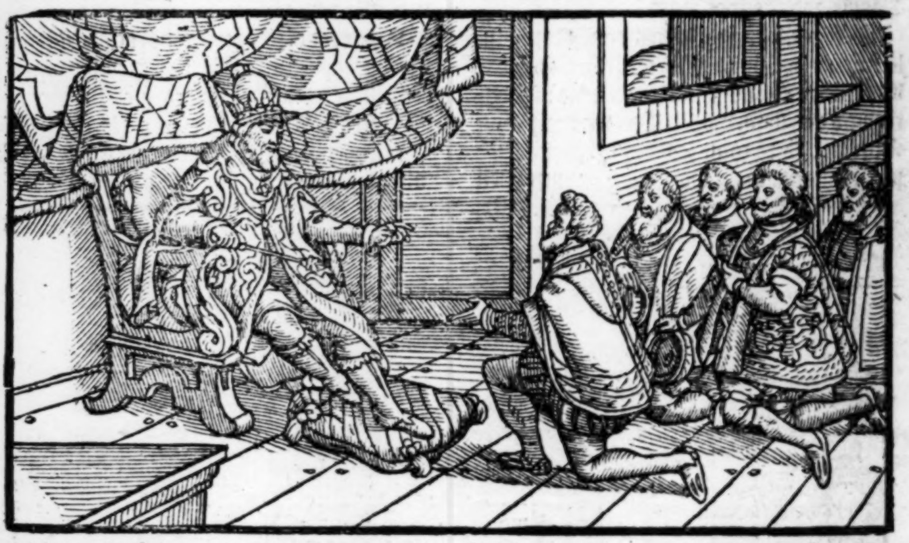
Standard bearer.

Sir Alexander Carron.

A peace concluded.

The ſubmiſſion of Gentlemen.

At length comming vnto the water of Spey, he behelde his enimies on the further ſide in greater number, and in better furniture for armor thã hee thought had beene poſſible to haue founde in all Scotlande, he perceyued alſo that his ſtandardbearer began to ſhrinke, and not to ſhew the like chearefull countenance, as he ought to haue done. Wherfore he pulled the Banner from him, and gaue it to ſir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obteyned ſundrie faire landes and poſſeſſions, to him and to his heyres for euer: but his ſurname was afterwardes chaunged, and called Skrimgeour, of the which is diſcended a noble houſe, continuing yet in great honour in the ſame ſurname and office. When the king was once paſſed the water, and the armies on both ſydes readie to haue ioyned, through mediation of Byſhoppes and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on theſe conditions, that the commons that tooke part with the rebelles, ſhould returne home out of hande, and the Gentlemen to ſubmit thẽſelues to the kings pleaſure, their liues and landes ſaued: howbeit many of them were kept in perpetuall priſon during their liues, and al their goodes confiſcate to the kings vſe.



King Malcolm through exhortation of his wife, gyueth himſelfe to deuotion.

A godly ſtrife.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolm (ſpecially by the good admoniſhment & exhortation of his wife Queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himſelfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie, as in doing of almes deedes, by prouiding for the poore, and ſuch like godly exerciſes, ſo that in true vertue hee was thought to excell all other Princes of his time. To be briefe herein, there ſeemed to be in maner a certaine ſtrife betwixt him, Agatha and Chriſtine renounce the worlde.

him, and that vertuous Queene his wife, which of them ſhall be moſt commended in the loue of god, ſo that many people by the imitation of them were brought vnto better life. Alſo Agatha and hir daughter Chriſtine, by the example of theſe two holy liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuate kinde of life, wherein they gaue themſelues wholy to deuout religion.

Furthermore Malcolme by the ſtirring vp of the Queene his wife, ceaſſed not to ſet his endeuor wholy to the aduauncement of the Chriſtian religion, and to reſtore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predeceſſors. Therfore whereas before his time, there were but foure Biſhops Seas in Scotland, as Saint Androwes, Glaſgew, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to ſay, Saint Androwes and Murthlake, remayning onely in good reparation (the other being decayed) he reſtored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey, and Cathnes, placing men of ſingular vertue and puritie of life in the ſame.

Biſhops ſeas reſtored and newly erected by king Malcolme.

But to proceede. It is ſayd, that ſuch outrageous riot entred at this time, and began to growe in vſe amongeſt the Scottiſhmen, together with the language and maners of the Engliſh nation by reaſon that ſuch a multitude of the ſame, flying out of their Countrey, were dayly receyued as then into Scotlande to inhabite there, as before is ſhewed) that diuerſe of the nobles perceiuing what diſcommoditie & decay to the whole realme would enſue of this kinde of intemperancy, came to the king, lamenting grieuouſly the caſe, for that this venemous infection ſpred ſo faſt ouer the whole realme, to the peruerting and vtter remouing of the auncient ſobrietie of diet vſed in the ſame: wherefore they beſought him to prouide ſome remedie in time, before hope of redreſſe were paſt, that the people might be againe reduced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vſed not to eate but once in the day, and then deſiring no ſuperfluous meates & drinkes to be ſought by ſea & land, nor curiouſly dreſſed or ſerued forth with ſauces, but onely feeding to ſatiſfie nature, and not their greedy appetites.

Riot and ſuperfluous cheare brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scottiſh nobilitie for the intemperate ſurfetting begun to grow in vſe in their Country.

The auncient ſparneſſe of diet amongſt the Scottes.

Through which their ſober fare, with the exerciſing of their bodies herewith in continual trauaile, they grew more ſtrong and greater of bodie, than their ofſpring are founde to be in theſe dayes: for they were more in reſemblance like vnto Giantes than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and lims, preſſing vppon their enimies like fierce Lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any daunger, for that they exceeded all humane ſtrength and power.

Sober fare cauſe of ſtrength and hugeneſſe of bodie.

Hereupon king Malcolme tooke great paines to haue redreſſed this infectiue poyſon, and vtterly to haue expelled it forth of his realme, howbeit the nature of man is ſo prone & ready to giue place to all kinds of vice, that where the Scottiſhe people before had no knowledge nor vnderſtanding of fine fare or riotous ſurfet, yet after they had once taſted the ſweete poyſoned bait thereof, there was no meane to be found to reſtraine their licentious deſires. And yet thoſe corrupted abuſes and riotous ſuperfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Engliſhmen planted therein by the dayes of king Malcolme) are not to bee compared in exceſſe with things vſed in our time, for in thoſe dayes as yet the nature of man was not ſo ouercome with the abuſe of ſuperfluities, as it is now adayes, for then though they were gone fro the auncient ſpareneſſe of diet, they yet did not eate paſt twice a day, and had but two diſhes at a meale: but nowe the greedie taſt of mens inſatiable luſt is ſuche, that no kinde of fleſhe, fiſhe, fruite, or whatſoeuer maye be gotten, is vneth able to quenche their gluttonous appetite and rauenous gurmandize: ſo that neyther lande, Sea, nor ayre, is left vnſought to ſatiſfie the ſame, as though they were worthie of moſt high commendation that may deuoure moſt: wherein they may be iuſtly compared to greedie Wolues and Cormorants.

Mans nature prone to vice.

The greedie taſt of mens inſatiable luſt.

Men compared to Wolues & Cormarãts.

But to bewaile that in wordes which cannot be amended in deedes, is but a folly, for the infection is ſo entred into the inner partes of the intrayles, that neither with purging, cutting, nor ſearing, it may be holpen. Sooner ſhall you deſtroy the whole Nation than remoue this vice.

In the meane tyme, while theſe things thus paſſed in Scotlande, King William the Conquerour dyed in the .xxj. yeare of his raigne, and after the incarnation. 1087.

1086. H.B.

About whiche time King Malcolme cauſed the olde Church of Durham to be plucked downe and buylded vp anewe, beginning euen at the firſt flowre. In which ſeaſon, one Egelwyn or William (as the Scottiſhe wryters haue) was Biſhop of that Sea, and Prior of the Abbay was one Turgot, who afterwarde was made Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and wrote the liues of Queene Margaret and Malcolme hir huſbande in the Scottiſh tongue.

The Church of Durham built by king Malcolme.

Turgot.

Afterwarde hee deceaſſed in Saint Androwes, but hys body was brought vnto Durham, and there buryed, bycauſe hee was fyrſt Prior thereof.

King Malcolme by perſwaſion of this Turgot, builded alſo a Church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeyning fro thencefoorth that the common ſepulture of the kings ſhoulde be there, in like maner as it had bin afore time in the Ile of Iona at the Abbay of Colmekill.

The church of Dunfermling.

The Sepulture of the Scottiſh kings.

Amongeſt other vertuous ordinances alſo

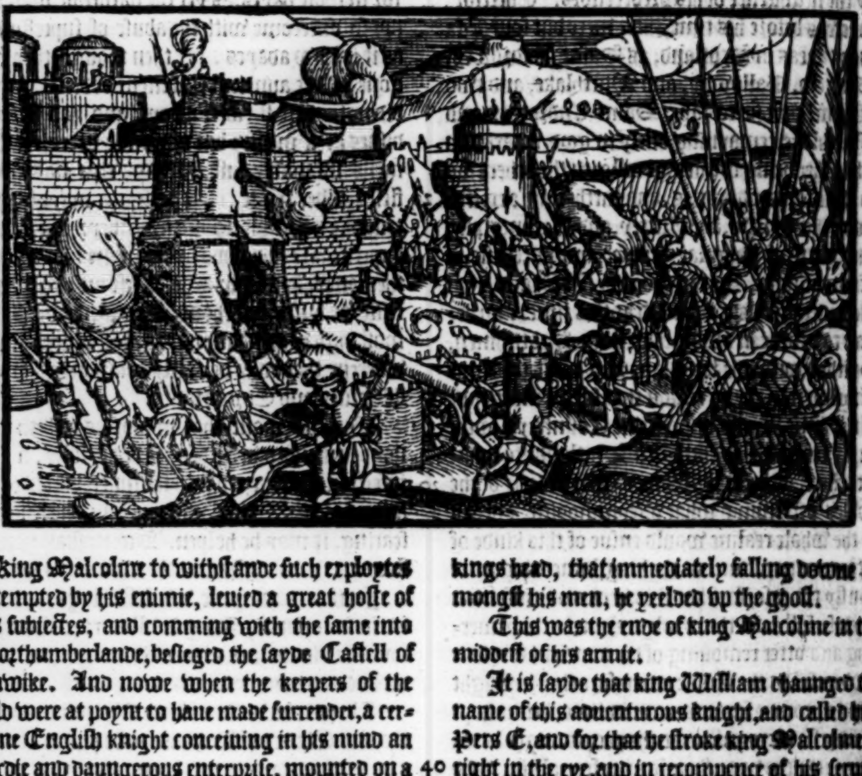
King Ewyns law abrogated or rather altered.

which were deuiſed & made by king Malcolme, (through exhortation of his wife Queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked lawe, eſtabliſhed by king Ewyn the thirde, appoynting halfe a marke of ſiluer to bee payde to the Lorde of the ſoyle in redemption of the womans chaſtitie, which is vſed to be payed yet vnto this day, & is called the marchets of women, where otherwiſe by tenour of king Ewins lawe, the Lord had the vſe of theyr bodyes, for the firſt night after theyr maryage.

William Rufus.

King William ſurnamed the Red, the ſeconde ſonne of king William the Conquerour, and ſucceſſour to him in the kingdome of Englande, not wel contented nor pleaſed in his minde, that the Scottes ſhoulde enioy a great portion of the north partes of England, auncientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he rayſed a great army, and before any denouncing of war by him made, inuaded Northumberland, & tooke the Caſtell of Anwike, putting all ſuche to the ſworde as were founde in the ſame.

The caſtell of Anwike won by the Engliſh men.



The caſtell of Anwike beſieged by the Scottes.

King Malcolme to withſtande ſuch exploytes attempted by his enimie, leuied a great hoſte of his ſubiectes, and comming with the ſame into Northumberlande, beſieged the ſayde Caſtell of Anwike. And nowe when the keepers of the hold were at poynt to haue made ſurrender, a certaine Engliſh knight conceiuing in his minde an hardie and daungerous enterpriſe, mounted on a ſwift horſe without armor or weapon, ſauing a ſpeare in his hand, vpon the poynt wherof he bare the keyes of the caſtel, & ſo iſſued forth at yͤ gates, riding directly towardes the Scottiſh campe.

They that warded, myſtruſting no harme, brought him with great noyſe and claymor vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noyſe, came forth of his pauilion to vnderſtande what the matter ment.

An hardie enterprice.

The Engliſhman herewith couched his ſtaffe as though it had beene to the ende that the king might receyue the keyes whiche he had brought. And whileſt all mens eyes were earneſt in beholding the keyes, the Engliſhe man ranne the king through the left eye, and ſodainly daſhing his ſpurres to his horſe, eſcaped to the next wood out of all daunger.

K. Malcolme is ſlaine.

The poynt of the ſpeare entred ſo farre into the kings head, that immediately falling downe amongſt his men, he yeelded vp the ghoſt.

This was the ende of king Malcolme in the middeſt of his armie.

The name of the Percees had no ſuche beginning, for they came forth of Normandie at the conqueſt, Earles of Northumberland.

It is ſayde that king William chaunged the name of this aduenturous knight, and called him Pers E, and for that he ſtroke king Malcolme ſo right in the eye, and in recompence of his ſeruice gaue him certaine landes in Northumberlande, of whom thoſe Percees are diſcended, whiche in our dayes haue enioyed the honourable tytle of Earles of Northumberlande.

K. Malcolme buryed at Tynmouth.

The Scottes after the ſlaughter of their king brake vp theyr campe, and buried his bodie within the Abbay of Tynmouth in England. But his ſonne Alexander cauſed it to be afterwardes taken vp, and buryed in Dunfermling before the Aulter of the Trinitie.

Edward prince of Scotlande dyed.

The ſame tyme was Scotlande wounded with an other miſſehappe. For Edwarde the Prince of Scotlande, eldeſt ſonne to king Malcolme, dyed of a hurt which he receyued in a ſkirmiſh not farre from Anwike, and was buryed in Dunfermeling, the fyrſt of the bloud royall that hadde hys bones layde in that place.

Queene Margaret being aduertiſed of the

death both of hir huſbande and ſonne, as then lying in Edenbourgh Caſtell, hir diſeaſe encreaſed through griefe thereof ſo vehemently, that within three dayes after ſhe departed out of this life vnto an other more ioyfull and bleſſed.

Queene Margaret died.

King Malcolme was ſlaine in the yeare of of oure redemption 1092. on the .xiij. day of Nouember, and in the .xxxvj. yeare of hys raigne.

1097. H.B.

The Ides of October. H.B.

In the ſame yeare manye vncouth things came to paſſe and were ſeene in Albion.

Straunge wonders.

By the highe ſpring Tydes whiche chaunced in the Almaine Seas, many Townes, Caſtels, and Woddes were drowned, aſwell in Scotland as in England.

A huge tyde.

After the ceaſſing of which tempeſt, the lands that ſomtime were Earle Goodwines (of whom ye haue hearde before) lying not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the Sea, were made a ſande bed, and euer ſithence haue beene called Goodwine ſandes.

Goodwin ſandes.

The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that peece of grounde being poſſeſſed by his poſteritie, for the wicked ſlaughter of Alured, which he ſo trayterouſly contriued.

Moreouer ſundrie Caſtelles and Townes in Murrey lande were ouerthrowne by the ſea Tydes.

Such dreadfull thunder happened alſo at the ſame time, that men and beaſtes were ſlaine in the fields, and houſes ouerturned euen from their foundations.

Thunder.

In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trees and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

Trees & corne burnt.

In the dayes of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous hyſtoriographer Marianus a Scottiſh man borne, but profeſſed a Monke in the Monaſterie of Fulda in Germany. Alſo Veremond a Spaniſh prieſt, but dwelling in Scotland, floriſhed about the ſame time, and wrote the Scottiſh hiſtorie, whome Hector Boetius ſo much followeth.

Marianus.

Veremonde.

Malcolme had by his wife Queene Margaret (otherwiſe called for hir holineſſe of life S. Margaret) vj. ſonnes, Edward (as is ſaid) was ſlain: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmond which renounced the world, & liued an holy life in England: the other three were named Edgar, Alexander and Dauid. There be that write how Edmond was taken, and put to death in priſon by his vncle Donalde Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vſurped the crowne, after the deceaſſe of his brother king Malcolme, and ſo then was Edgar next inheritour to the crowne.

The ſonnes of king Malcolm Cammore.

Donald Bane.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eſchue the tyrannical malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by ſupport of the K. of Norway, vnto whom he couenanted to giue the dominion of all the Iles, if by his meanes and furtheraunce hee might obteyne the crowne of Scotland.

Donalde Bane fled into the Iles.

Donalde Bane returneth into Scotlande.

His couenant for the gift of the Iles to the king of Norway.

Herevpon landing with an armie in the Realme, he founde ſmall reſiſtance, and ſo with little a doe receyued the crowne, for many of the people abhorring the riotous maners and ſuperfluous gurmandice brought in amongſt them by the Engliſh men, were willing inough to receiue this Donalde for their king, truſting bycauſe hee had beene brought vp in the Iles with the olde cuſtomes and maners of their auncient Nation, without taſt of the Engliſh lykerous delicacies, they ſhoulde by his ſeuere order in gouernment, recouer againe the former temperancie of theyr olde progenitors.

The reſpect that the people had to receyue Donald Bane for their king.

As ſoone as Edgar Adeling brother to Queen Margaret was aduertiſed that Donalde Bane had thus vſurped the crowne of Scotland, he ſent ſecretly for his thre nephews, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, with two ſiſters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept thẽ any long while, but that a knight whoſe name was Organ, or Orgar, accuſed him of treaſon, alledging howe he nouriſhed his ſiſters ſonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this falſe ſurmiſe remayned not vnpuniſhed, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to Darraine battaile with Organ, in defence of Edgars innocencie, ſlue him within lyſtes.

K. Malcolmes ſonnes ſent for into Englande by Edgar their vncle.

Orgarus, or one Organ accuſeth Edgar Atheling of treaſon.

Organ is ſlain within lyſtes.

After that Donalde had receyued the crowne at the Abbay of Scone, he perceyued that ſome of the nobles grudged at his prefermẽt, ſhewing by ſome tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him, and therfore he caſt out a worde amongſt his familiers, that ere ought long the nobles ſhoulde repent them of their doings, if they applyed not themſelues the more to his opinion. Which wordes being marked, & deepely imprinted in ſome of their harts, turned afterwards to his great diſpleaſure.

Donald threatneth.

For ſhortly after came Duncan, the baſtard ſon of king Malcolme out of Englande into Scotlande, ſupported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the Kingdome, & to expulſe Donald out of the ſame by force of armes, if he attempted any reſiſtance.

Duncan Malcolmes baſtard ſonne.

Nowe when Donald approched with his puiſſance in purpoſe to haue giuen battaile, the moſt part of his people did forſake him, and drewe vnto Dũcanes ſide, ſo that Donald thus abãdoned of thẽ that ſhuld haue ayded him, was cõſtrained for his refuge to flee again into ẏ weſterne Iles: & ſo Duncan then cõming vnto Scone, receyued

Duncane is crowned king of Scotlande.

the crowne of Scotlande, but for that he had bin trayned the moſte part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had ſmall ſkill in ciuill gouernment, iudging that thing onely to ſtande with iuſtice, wich was decided with ſpeare and ſhielde. By reaſon whereof Scotland was ſhortly filled with newe troubles and ſeditious deuiſions.

Duncane lacked ſkill in ciuil gouernment.

Donalde Bane being aduertiſed of all thoſe things, that hereby happened in Scotland, ſolicited Makpēder Earle of Mernes to take his part, & by ſome meanes to ſlea king Duncane, which enterprice Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Menteth) accompliſhed the ſame in the night ſeaſon, when he had eſpied ſuch aduauntage and opportunitie of time, that not ſo muche as one man was founde to purſue him.

Makpender Erle of Mernes ſlayeth king Duncane.

But to ſay the truth, Duncane was ſo farre out of the peoples fauour, that mo reioyced than were ſorie for his death.

Donalde Bane is reſtored to the crowne.

After he was thus diſpatched, his vncle Donald was reſtored againe to the kingdome, chiefly by ſupporte of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephewe the foreſayde Duncane had raigned one yeare and an halfe, where Donalde himſelfe had raigned before he was expulſed by his ſayde nephewe, the ſpace of ſixe Moncthes, and nowe after he had recouered the Kingdome, he continued in the regiment therof three yeares, not without greate trouble and inteſtine commotions: for the moſte part of the Lordes maligning his aduauncement, ſought occaſions dayly to depoſe him.

In the meane tyme the Ilande men made ſome ſturre, neyther did the warres with Englande ceaſſe, (though without anye greate exployte or enterpriſe worthie of remembrance) ſauing a fewe light incurſions betwixt the parties as occaſion ſerued.

Magnus king of Norway cōmeth into the weſterne Iles.

At length came Magnus king of Norway with a great fleete, and ſayling aboute the Weſterne Iles, garniſhed all the ſtrengthes within them in moſt defencible wiſe, with men, munition and vitayles, vſurping the dominion as ſoueraigne Lord of the ſame Iles: and at the ſame time ordeyned thoſe lawes and conſtitutions which are vſed there amongſt the inhabitants euen vnto theſe dayes.

Edgar king Malcolms ſon is ſent for.

The Scottiſh men hauing great indignation that the Iles beeing aunciently parcell of the crowne, ſhould be thus alienated from the ſame, ſent oratours vnto Edgar (who was as ye haue herd the fourth ſonne of king Malcolm) deſiring him moſt inſtantly to come into Scotlād, to recouer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vſurpers handes.

Edgar ſendeth meſſengers to Donalde.

Edgar taking deliberate aduice touching this requeſt, firſt ſent ambaſſadors vnto Donald promiſing that if he woulde be contented to reſtore vnto him the crowne being due to him by lawful ſucceſſion, he woulde gladly rewarde him with great Lordſhips and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was ſo far from minding to do him reaſon in this behalf, that cauſing the which brought this meſſage to be put in priſō, he finally ſlue thē.

Donald ſlayeth Edgars meſſengers.

Edgar is ayded by king William Rufus.

Then Edgar by counſell of his vncle Edgar Atheling, purchaſing ayde of men at the hands of king Williā Rufus, ſet forward toward Scotland. At his comming to Durham, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in his ſleepe, that if he toke with him the Baner of Saint Cutbert, he ſhould haue victorie.

Saint Cutberts Baner.

On the Morrow after, he came into the Abbey Churche, where firſt hearing diuine ſeruice, when the ſame was ended, he diſplayed the foreſayde Baner, and cauſed it to be borne before him in that iourney. Neuertheleſſe king Donalde met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chaſed into the Iles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar.

King Donalde diſcomfited and chaſed into the Iles.

King Donalde is taken.

Some ſay that when the battayles were readie to haue ioyned, his men beholding the Baner of Saint Cutbert ſpred agaynſt them, immediately forſooke him, ſo that he beeing deſtitute of ſuccour, fled, in purpoſe to haue ſaued himſelfe in ſome one of the Weſterne Iles, but being apprehended by the Inhabitants, was brought (as is ſayde) vnto Edgar, by whom he was (howſoeuer the hap of his taking chaunced) caſt immediatly into priſon, wherein he ſhortly after dyed.

King Donalde dieth in priſō.

The victorie thus atchieued, Edgar went vnto Edenburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to viſite the Sepultures of his mother and brethren.

Edgar.

Afterwardes comming to þ Abbey of Scone and aſſembling the Lordes of the Realme, he receyued þ crowne, and ſhortly after was annointed by the Archbyſhop of Saint Androwes named Godrike, in the yeare of our redemption. 1101. For his mother Queene Margaret purchaſed a little before hir death of Vrbane the Pope, that from henceforth all the Kinges of Scotlande ſhoulde bee annoynted.

Edgar is crowned and annoynted.

A priuiledge for the Scottiſh kings to be annointed.

This priuiledge was confirmed afterwardes by Pope Iohn the ſeconde of that name.

Edgar the firſt annointed king of Scotland.

The firſt King that was annoynted according to that graunt, was this Edgar in the yere aforeſayde.

The paſſage into the holy lande.

About two yeares before, that Edgar thus recouered the Crowne of Scotlande, was that generall paſſage made into the holy lande vnder Godfrey of Bullion, and other Chriſtian Princes.

Robert duke of Normãdie.

Amongeſt them as one of the chiefe, Robert Duke of Normandie went, and ſhould haue bin created king of Ieruſalem, had he not at the ſame time heard howe his brother William Rufus king of England was ſlain by chaunce through glauncing of an arrow, ſhot at a Deare in yͤ new Foreſt, & then hoping to ſucceed him in the kingdome of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he ſawe to be more trauaile than gaine. But at his comming home he found that his yongſt brother Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerke was placed in the kingdome of England, and ſo was Duke Robert his hope fruſtrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthily (as moſte men thought,) for that he refuſed ſo neceſſarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue ſerued the common cauſe of the chriſtian common wealth.

Henrie Beauclerke king of Englande.

Maude king Edgars ſiſter.

Unto Henry Beauclerke in the ſeconde yeare of his raigne king Edgar maried the one of hys ſiſters called Maulde.

Euſtace Earle of Bulloigne.

The other named Marie, hee coupled wyth Euſtace Earle of Bulloigne: Of the whiche mariage was borne a daughter that was the only heyre of the ſame Euſtace in the Countie of Bulloigne, the which when ſhe came to womans ſtate, was maried vnto Stephen Earle of March in England, & of Mortaigne in France, Nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his ſiſter.

The king of Englande Henrie, had iſſue by Queen Mauld, two ſonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eufamie and Maulde.

The landes of Coldingham. Canulph Biſhop of Durham.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to ſhew ſome token of thanks towards ſaint Cutbert for his ayd ſhewed as was thought in the battaile agaynſt his vncle Donalde, he gaue vnto the Monkes of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the Biſhop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike, but for that the ſame Biſhop wrought afterwardes treaſon agaynſt him, he loſt that gyft, and the king reſumed that towne into his handes againe.

Edgar rather reuerenced than dred.

I do not finde that Edgar had any warres any way forth during all the time of his raigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dred amongſt hys ſubiects for his ſingular equitie & vpright dealing.

1107. Io. Ma.
1109. H.B.

He departed out of this life at Dunder, in the ix. yeare of his raigne, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 1107.

Alexander.

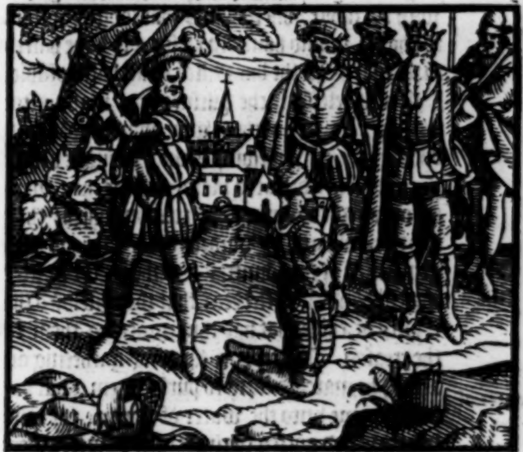
AFter the deceaſe of this Edgar, ſucceded his brother Alexander the fierce, ſo called for his rigorous valiancie in purſuing of theeues and robbers. In the beginning of his raigne, the inhabitants of Murrey lande and Roſſe, beholding him to bee moſte an ende in the Church at his prayers, and diuine ſeruice, after the maner of his parents, ſuppoſed he would proue no great quick iuſticier in puniſhing offenders, & therupon moſt preſumptuouſly they began to rob and reaue on eche ſide, not ſparing to kill and ſlea all ſuche as came in their handes without reſpect to age or ſexe, in ſomuche that the yong infants ſmyling vpon the murtherers, beeing aboute to execute their deteſtable crueltie, paſſed by the Sworde as well as the reſyſters: ſuche roted malice remayned in theyr beaſtly heartes, which vpon renuing theyr olde grudges they now accordingly ſhewed.

Theues of Murrey land and Roſſe.

The crueltie of theeues.

King Alexander therefore aduertiſed hereof, came into thoſe parties with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authours and captaynes, ſtroke of their heades.

Execution.



As he returned backe through the Mernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in lamentable ſorte, who fell vppon hir knees at his feete, beſeeching him to pitie hir caſe, hauing loſt both hir huſbande and ſonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maiſter of Mernes, who for that they had called him afore a iudge in an action of debt, had ſlaine and murthered as well the one as the other.

The Earle of Mernes ſonne.

The king moued with this deteſtable kinde of iniurie, lyght beſide his Horſe, and woulde not alight vp againe, till hee had ſeene the Authour of that heynous treſpaſſe hanged vppon a Gybet.

A righteous Iuſticier.

After this comming into Gourie, hee tooke in hande to finiſhe and make vp the Caſtell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an ayde to chaſtice a ſort of theeues & robbers which haunted the Wooddes thereaboutes, to the great diſquiet of all the Countrey. He gaue alſo to the maintenance of that houſe certain landes, which the Earle of Gowrie had giuen him at the Font ſtone when he became his godfather.

The Caſtell of Baledgar.

Whileſt he was thus buſie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerſe of thoſe theeues that were accuſtomed to liue by robberies in thoſe parts, perceiuing that this caſtell which the king was about to build, ſhoulde turne vnto their deſtruction, they conſpired his death, & winning by rewards & promiſes, the help of the kings chamberlain to the accōpliſhing of their traiterous and moſt diueliſhe practiſes, they entered one night through a priuie into his lodging, in purpoſe to haue ſlaine him as he had ſlept in his bed chāber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their cōming, ſtarted out of his bed, & caught a ſword which hung neare at hand, wherewith he ſlue firſt his chamberlain that had brought them in, and then diſpatched a ſix of the other traitors, (which were alreadie entred his chamber) with ſingular force & manhood: the other fearing leaſt with the noyſe, his ſeruants that lodged within the houſe, ſhould haue bin raiſed, & ſo haue haſted to aſſaile thē on the backs, fled in all haſt poſſible.

Treaſon of conſpirators to haue ſlaine the king.

The kings manhood.

Neuertheleſſe, ſuche purſute was made after them, that many of them were apprehended, and vpon their examination, beeing brought before the king, they declared plainly howe they were encouraged to worke that treaſon whiche they had gone aboute, by ſundrie great Barons and gentlemen of the countrey. Finally, the matter was ſo handled with them, that they diſcloſed the names of thoſe that had thus procured them to the treaſon. Whereupon the king gathering an army, he marched forth to purſue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spay, the conſpirators had gotten togither their power, & were lodged on the further ſide of the ſame water to ſtop him from paſſing ouer.

The water of Spay.

The king ſeeing them thus aſſembled to impeach his paſſage, ſent his Banner man ſir Alexander Carron with a choſen part of his army to paſſe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onſet of the ſayde ſir Alexander, they were quickly put to flight, & many of them that were taken in the chaſe, ſuffered death according as they had well deſerued.

Sir Alexander Carron.

The Rebels are vāquiſhed.

The realme after this execution done of theſe offenders, continued many yeares after in good tranquillitie.

This Alexander Carron alſo for that he was ſeene in the kings ſight that day to fight moſte manfully in ſleaing diuers of the rebelles with a crooked ſworde whiche he had in his hande (of whiche ſort many were vſed in thoſe dayes) he was highly rewarded at the kings handes, and euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to meane, an hardie fighter. He had alſo his armes encreaſed with a rampaunt Lion holding a crooked ſword, as is to be ſeene in the armes of his poſteritie vnto this day.

Skrimgeour.

Other there be that ſay he got the ſurname of Skrimgeour, bycauſe he ſlue an Engliſh man in a ſingular combate.

The principall of this ſurname in our time helde the Conſtableſhip of Dundee, bearing in hys armes a crooked Sworde in faſhion of an hooke.

After that king Alexander had appeaſed the inteſtine commotions thus within his Realme, he ſet in hande to repayre the Abbey of Scone, wherein he placed regular Chanons, dedicating the Church in the honour of the Trinitie, and Saint Michael.

The Abbey of Scone.

Not long after this alſo he chaunced to come into Saint Colmes Inche, where he was conſtrayned to abide three dayes togither through violent rage of weather and tempeſtes: and bycauſe he founde ſome reliefe of meate and drinke, by meanes of an hermit that dwelled within the ſame Inche and kept a Chappell there dedicate to Saint Colme, he made of that Chappell an Abbey of regular Chanons, in the honor of ſaint Colme, endowing it with ſundrie landes and rents for the maintenaūce of the Abbot and conuent of that houſe.

Saint Colmes ynche.

The Abbey of Saint Colmes ynch builded.

He alſo gaue vnto the Church of Saint Androwes, the landes called the Boarrinke, ſo named, for that a great Boare was ſlain vpon the ſayde grounde, that had done much hurt in the Countrey thereabout. The tuſkes of this Boare doe hang in Chaynes vpon the ſtalles of the Quier in Saint Androwes Church afore the high aulter, and are a .xvj. ynches in length, and foure ynches in thickneſſe.

Landes named the Boarrink.

Boare tuskes.

Moreouer the Abbey of Dunfirmling was finiſhed by king Alexāder, and endowed with ſundrie landes and poſſeſſions.

The Abbey of Dunfirmling.

Whileſt king Alexander was thus occupied in buylding and repayring of religious houſes, his brother Dauid liued in Englande with hys ſiſter Queene Maulde, and through fauor which the king hir huſbande bare towardes him, he obteyned in maryage one Maulde, daughter vnto Woldoſius, or rather Waltheof Earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Iudith that was neece vnto king William yͤ Conquerour, & for yͤ the ſayd Woldoſius or Waltheof had no other iſſue to inherite his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Mauld enioyed the ſame, and was made Earle of Huntington & Northumberland, & had iſſue by his wife a ſonne named Henrie, by whom the lands of Huntington, & ſome part of Northūberland were annexed vnto the crown of Scotlād, as after ſhal appeare.

Dauid brother to king Alexander.

Woldoſius Earle of Northumberland & Huntingtō.

The landes of Huntington and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

Mauld the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was maried vnto Henrie the Emperor the fourth of that name, William, Richard, & Euſeme, the reſidue of yͤ iſſue which the ſame Henry had by his wife (ſurnamed for hir ſingular bounteouſneſſe, the good Queene Matilde) in comming forth of France to repaſſe into England, periſhed in the ſea by a tempeſt, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his ſubiects of eche eſtate and degree.

The death of king Alexander.

Their mother the ſayde Maulde was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceaſſed alſo, and was buryed in Dunferniling byſydes hys fathers ſepulture, in the .xvij. yeare of his raigne complete, and from the incarnation of Chriſt 1125. yeares.

1124. H.B.

The beginning of the Cummings.

In the dayes of this king Alexander, the kynred of the Cummings, had their beginning, by one Iohn Cumming a man of great prowes and valiancie, obteyning of the king in reſpect thereof certaine ſmall portions of landes in Scotlande.

The houſe of theſe Cummings roſe in proces of time thus from a ſmall beginning to highe honour and puiſſãce, by reaſon of the great poſſeſſions and ample reuenues which they afterwardes atteyned.

At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this lynage was the onely cauſe of the decay and finall ruine thereof, as in the ſequell of this Hyſtorie ye may at full perceyue.

Knightes of the Rodes.

White Monks

Alſo in the dayes of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rodes had their beginning, and likewiſe the order of white Monkes, the authour whereof was one Nodobert.

Richard de ſancto Victore.

About the ſame time liued that holye man *Richard de Sancto Victore*, a Scottiſh man borne, but dwelling for the more part of his time at Paris in Fraunce, where he dyed, and was buryed within the Cloyſter of the Abbey of Saint Victor, being a brother of the ſame houſe.

David.

David is crowned king of Scotland.

BUt nowe to proceed with the hyſtorie. After the deceaſſe of Alexander the fierce, and firſt of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heyre to his brother, for that he left no heyre behinde him.

This Dauid according to the enſample of his noble Parents, ſet his whole care about the due miniſtring of Iuſtice, to the honour of almightie God, and the weale of his realme.

He had no trouble by warres with any forraine enimies, ſo long as king Henrie Beauclerke liued.

Therefore hauing oportunitie of ſuch a quiet time, he rode about all the parties of his realme, and vſed to ſit in hearing of iudgement himſelfe, ſpecially cõcerning poore mens cauſes and matters, but the controuerſies of the Lordes and barons he referred to the hearing of other Iudges.

The care of king Dauid for the poore.

If he vnderſtoode that any man were endomaged by any wrongful iudgement, he recõpenſed the partie wronged, according to the value of his loſſe & hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

A rightuous iudge.

Thus in the firſt yeares of his raigne, hee did many things to the aduauncement of the common welth, and baniſhed ſuch banketting cheare as was vſed amongſt his people after the enſample of the Engliſhe men, perceyuing the ſame to breede a great weakning and decay of the auncient ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, that was wont to remaine in the Scottiſh nation.

Banketting cheare baniſhed.

He buylded the number of .xv. Abbeyes, part of them in the beginning of his raigne before the warres were begon which he had with the Engliſhe men, and part after the ſame warres were ended.

King Dauid buils .xv. Abbeyes.

The names of thoſe Abbeyes are as followeth: Holy Roode houſe, Kelſo, Iedburgh, Melroſſe, Newbottell, Holmecultrane, Dundranane, Cambuſkenneth, Kynlois, Dunfermling, Holme in Cumberland: alſo two Nunries, the one at Carleil, & the other at north Barwike: with two Abbays beſide Newcaſtel, ẏ one of S. Benedicts order, and the other of white Monks.

The names of the Abbeys buylded by king Dauid.

He erected alſo foure Biſhoprikes within his Realme, Roſſe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, endowing them with riche rentes, fayre landes, and ſundrie right commodious poſſeſſions.

Foure Biſhops ſeas erected in Scotland.

Moreouer he tranſlated the Biſhops Sea of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for ſundrie aduiſed conſiderations, augmenting it with certaine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

There goeth a fond forged tale, that this king Dauid being in the Caſtel of Edenburgh, on the holy Rood day in Haruest, otherwiſe called the Exaltation of the croſſe, it chaunced that through exciting of certaine yong Lordes and Gentlemen, after he had beene at Churche, hee tooke his Horſe and rode forth into the next woodes to hunt the Herte, for in thoſe dayes all that countrey was full of Woods and waſt groundes, repleniſhed with Deare and wilde beaſtes, ſmall tyllage as then beeing vſed in any part of the Realme, for all the people in maner were giuen to breeding of Caſtell, more than to any other trade of liuing.

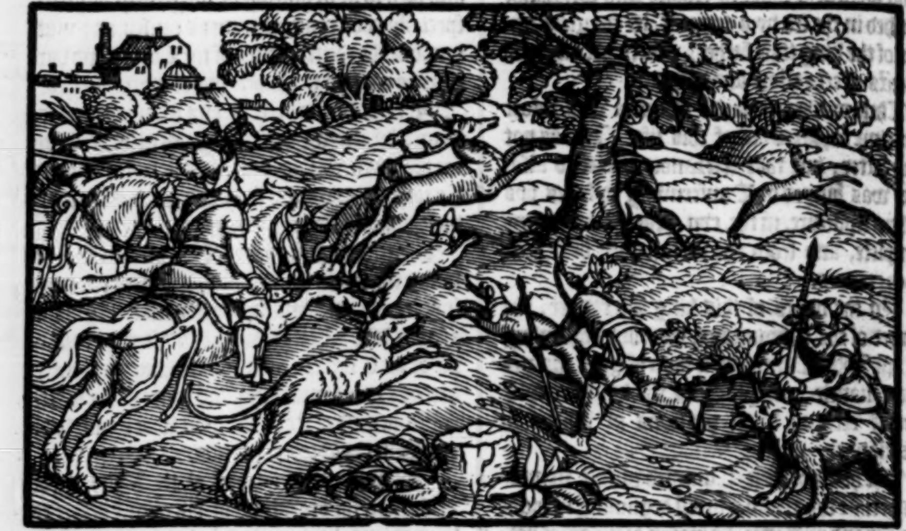
A tale.

The Countrey about Edenburgh in olde time full of Wood.

The king therefore being paſſed through the dale or valley whiche lyeth plaine Eaſt from the ſayde Caſtell (where nowe ſtandeth

Cannogate.

the Cannogate) the Houndes were caſt off, and great noyſe rayſed, what with their opening and blaſt of hornes, that all the wilde beaſtes were ſoone on foot for dread thereof, and diuerſe of them ſtreyght had in chaſe. And nowe was the King come to the foote of the hyll, and all his nobles ſeuered here and there from him, when ſodenly appeared to his ſight the faireſt Hart that euer man ſet eye vpon: The dynne or noyſe of this Hart comming towardes the king with his ful courſe, made the kings horſe ſo afrayde, that he was not able to ſtay him with the reigne, but that he ran quite away with him, through thicke and thin, the Hart ſtill following ſo faſt and with ſuche violence, that at length hee bare both horſe and man to the grounde: And as the king caſt backe his handes betwixt the tyndes of this Hart, to defende himſelfe from hurt, there ſlipped a croſſe into his handes after a myraculous ſort, and immediately therewith the Hart ruſhed away with great violence, and could neuer after be ſeene.



A croſſe falling into the kings handes.

This was in the ſame place where nowe ſprings a fountaine called the Rood Well.

There is no man that could tell of what matter this Croſſe was made, whether of mettall, ſtone, or of tree.

A dreame.

He was admoniſhed alſo, (as the report goeth) in his ſlepe the next night after, that he ſhould buylde an Abbay in the ſame place where thys chaunce happened. Wherupon he ſent for workmen into Fraunce and Flaunders, and ſet them in hande to buyld this Abbey of Chanons reguler, as he was admoniſhed, dedicating it in the honor of the Croſſe.

Holy Rood houſe builded

The foreſayde Croſſe remayned in this Abbey, til the dayes of king Dauid Bruce, who loſt it to the Engliſh men at Durram field where he was takē priſoner. But inough of theſe Mōkiſh deuiſes.

Many prudent men blame greatly the vnmeaſurable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vſed towardes the Churche, in diminiſhing ſo hugely the reuenues of the Crowne, beeing the cauſe that manye noble Princes his ſucceſſours haue come to their final endes, for that they haue beene conſtrayned through want of treaſure to mainteyne their royall eſtates, to procure the fall of ſundrie great houſes, to poſſeſſe theyr landes and liuings.

Liberalitie in king Dauid toward the Church reproued.

Alſo to rayſe paymentes and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoueriſhment of the realme.

And ſometime haue they bene conſtrayned to inuade Englande by warres as deſperate men, not caring what came of their liues.

Otherwhiles haue they beene inforced to ſtampe naughtie money, to the great preiudice of the common wealth.

All which miſchiefes haue followed ſithe the time that the Church hath beene thus enryched, and the crowne empoueriſhed.

The Church enriched, and the crowne enpouerished.

Therfore king Iames the firſt, when he came to king Dauid his Sepulture at Dunfirmling, he ſayd, that he was a ſore Saint for the crown, meaning that he left the Church ouer riche, and the Crowne too poore.

The ſaying of king Iames the firſt. A ſoer Saint.

For he tooke from the crowne (as John Maior wryteth in his Chronicles) Lx. thouſand pound Scottiſh of yearely reuenues, which he endowed thoſe Abbayes with. But if king Dauid had conſidered the maner how to nouriſh true religion, he had neyther endowed Churches with ſuch riches, nor buylt them with ſuch royall magnificence: for the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the Church (as they are now vſed) are not only occaſion to euill Prelates to liue in moſte inſolent pompe and corruption of life, but alſo an aſſured net to drawe all maner of gold and ſiluer out of the

Io. Maior. Lx.M. pounds in lands giuen to the church.

Superfluous poſſeſsions of the Church.

the realme: howbeit leſſe domage would follow if the Abbays were at the prouiſion of their ordinaries without any diſpenſation from theyr habite and religion, and the ordinaries to be placed and admitted by their prymate without exemption, and the prymate by the councel prouincial: For within theſe .lxx. yeares ſayth the tranſlator of Hector Boetius his Chronacles (meaning from the time that he wrote, whiche was aboute the yeare of our redemption. 1530.) no benefices at all were fetched from Rome, ſaue onely Biſhopprickes.

latine.

fices fet-
ched from
me.

Sithe whiche time it is knowen wel inough (ſayth he) what golde and ſiluer hath gone forth of the realme for the purchaſing of ſpirituall promotions.

romotion of
elates.

And therfore it is (as he alſo ſaith) to be doubted, leaſt the realme ſhal be brought to irrecouerable pouertie by continuall promotion of Prelates within theſe fewe yeares, ſo as it ſhal be an eaſie pray to the enimies, ſithe it may not ſuſtayne ſo great charges, nowe (by reaſon herof) in time of warres as it hath done in the dayes of our elders. Thus muche haue I taken forth of the ſaide tranſlators wordes, and of John Maior his booke, touching the abuſe of ſpirituall mens poſſeſſions, the which both of them do earneſtly lament with many moe wordes in the place before alledged, where they make mencion of king Dauid his great munificēce towards the church.

Erle of Wa-
rane.

The iſſue of
Henry.

But nowe to returne where I left, touching the hiſtorie, ye ſhall note that as I ſayde before, king Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritour to parte of Northumberland, Cumberland and Huntington, a ſonne named Henry, who maried the Erle of Warrannes daughter, a lady of high parentage, as diſcended of moſt noble bloud both French and Engliſh. On whom he begat thre ſonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid: alſo three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, & Maulde.

Queene
Mauld deceaſ-
ſed.

But now in the meane time whileſt the aſtate of the common wealth in Scotland, ſtood in high felicitie, vnder the proſperous gouernmēt of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie loſſe: for the Queene his wife the foreſayd Mauld deceaſſed in hyr flouriſhing age, a woman of paſſing beautie and chaſtitie, whiche two poynts (as is thought) commende a woman aboue all the reſt.

1132.

King Dauid therefore tooke ſuche griefe for hyr death, that he woulde neuer after giue his minde to marie any other, but paſſed the reſidue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our lorde God. 1132.

Mauld the
Empreſſe.

Whileſt theſe things came thus to paſſe in Scotland, Henry Beauclerke king of England, cauſed all the nobles of his realme to take theyr othes, that after his deceaſſe they ſhould receyue his daughter Mauld the Empreſſe for their ſoueraine Ladie and Queene.

She was as then returned into England: for hyr huſbande the Emperoure was lately before deceaſſed.

King Stephan.

Homage is
required.

King Dauid alſo tooke this othe, and therefore when king Stephan (who vſurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceaſſe againſt the ſaide Empreſſe) ſent vnto king Dauid to come and to do his homage for the Erledomes of Northumberlande, Cumberlande and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bounde to do) with intimation that if he refuſed, king Stephan woulde inuade him with open warre: King Dauid anſweared, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for thoſe landes vnto the Empreſſe Maulde, which he minded not to breake for the threatening wordes of any new inuaſours.

The Engliſh-
men inuade
Northumber-
land.

King Stephan moued with this anſwere, ſent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland (whiche as then was vnder the dominion of the Scottes) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrey. They that had the charge of this enterpryſe, entring into the landes of theyr enimies, put all to the fire and ſworde that came in theyr way.

The Scottes
make rodes
into England.

The Scottes kindled with that diſpleaſure, roded into England, and did the like diſpleaſures and hurtes there.

The Earle of
Glouceſter Ro-
bert was a-
gainſt K. Ste-
phā, but there
might be ſome
other happely,
vnto whom
K. Stephan had
giuen that ti-
tle.

For the yeare after, the Earles of Marche, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, againſt whom came the Earle of Glouceſter, and giuing them batayle at Northallertoun, loſt the fielde, and was taken pryſoner himſelfe with diuers other nobles of England.

A reſignatiō.

King Stephan therefore, conſtreyned to redeeme the captiues, gaue not onely a great ſomme of money for them, but alſo made reſignation of all ſuch title, clayme and intereſt as eyther he or any of his ſucceſſours might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

King Stephan
repenteth.

Howbeit his nobles were no ſooner returned home, but that repenting him of that reſignatiō, he gathered his puyſance againe, and entring into Northumberland, fought with the Scottes that came forth to reſiſt him, and obtayning the victorie, tooke a great parte of the countrey into his poſſeſſion.

King Dauid to redreſſe theſe iniuries, gathered a mightie army, with deliberate minde, either to expell the Engliſhmen out of all the boundes of his dominions, or els to die in the payne.

Roxburgh in
old time Mar-
ken.

A truce.

But ſhortly after, Thurſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke came vnto Roxbourgh called in thoſe dayes Marken, to treate for a peace, where a truce was concluded for three monethes, with condition that the Engliſhmen ſhould deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henry king Dauid his ſonnes.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

But for ſo muche as this couenant was not performed on king Stephens ſide, king Dauid inuaded that part of the cuntrey which the Engliſhmen helde, making greate ſlaughter of all them that he found there about to reſiſt him.

King Stephan paſſeth vnto Roxbourgh.

King Stephan returneth.

King Stephen moued herewith, leuied his people, and came in puiſſant aray vnto Roxborough: but for that he had ſecrete knowledge that ſome of the nobles in his armie ſoughte hys deſtruction, hee was conſtrayned to returne without atchieuing of any worthie enterpriſe.

The yeare next enſuyng, a peace was talked vpon, the Archbiſhops of Cantorbury & Yorke appointed commiſſioners in the treatie therof on the behalfe of king Stephen, and the biſhops of Glaſgewe, Aberden, and Saint Androwes on the partie of king Dauid. But Maulde queene of Englande, the daughter of Euſtace Earle of Bologne, and neece to king Dauid by his ſiſter Marie, was the chiefeſt doer in this matter, to bring them to agreement.

A peace.

Couenants of agreement.

The one of the kings, that is to ſay Stephen, lay at Dureſme with his nobles, and the other, that is to ſay Dauid, lay at Newcaſtell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length ſorted to the concluſion of a peace, on theſe conditions, that the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon ſhoulde remaine in the gouernement of Henry Prince of Scotland, as heire to the ſame by right of his mother:

But Cumberlande ſhoulde be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid.

Homage.

And for theſe landes and ſeigniories the forenamed Prince Henry and his ſucceſſours Princes of Scotlande ſhould doe homage vnto kyng Stephen and his ſucceſſours kings of England for the tyme being.

Carleil was repaired by William Rufus K. of England, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1092.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kinges and their ſubiectes, kyng Stephen returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleile with new walles and dyches.

Thus paſſed the three firſt yeres of king Stephens reigne.

In the fourthe yeare came Maulde the Empreſſe into Englande to clayme the crown therof (as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie more playnely may appeare.

The death of Henry prince of Scotland.

But whyleſt Englande was ſore tormented with warres by contrarye factions of the nobles for the quarelles of thoſe two perſones, no ſmall ſorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onely ſonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelſo, and was buried in the Abbey church there, in the yeare of our redemption. 1152.

1152.

His death was greatly bemoned aſwel of his father the king, as of all other the eſtates and degrees of the realme, for ſuch ſingular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in hym.

Prince Henry his iſſue.

But yet for that he lefte iſſue behynd him. iij. ſons and. iij. daughters (as before is mencioned) the Realme was not thoughte vnprouided of heires.

The lawe of nature.

The king alſo being mortified from the world, tooke the death of his ſonne very patiently, conſidering that al men are ſubiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are ſure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eterne determination of him that giueth and taketh away lyfe and breath when pleaſeth him, as by dayly experience is moſt manyfeſt.

Therfore that king Dauid wayed the loſſe of his ſonne in ſuche balance, it maye appeare by an Oration which hee made to his nobles, at what tyme after his ſonnes deceaſe, they came to comforte hym. For he perceyuing them to be ryghte heauie and ſorowfull for the loſſe whiche he and they had ſuſteyned by the death of ſo towardly a prince, that was to haue ſucceded him, if God had lent him lyfe therto: in the ende of a royall feaſt the whiche he made vnto thoſe nobles that came thus to viſite hym, hee beganne in this wyſe.

An oration.

Howe great your fidelitie and care is whiche you beare towardes me, although ofttimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this preſent day I haue receyued moſt ample fruite therof: for now do I plainely ſee, that you lament no leſſe for the loſſe of my late deceaſſed ſonne, than if you had buried ſome one of your own ſonnes, & are therefore come to your great trauaile & paine to comfort me, whom you eſteeme to be ſore afflicted for the ouer timely death of my ſayde moſte obedient ſonne: but to let paſſe for this time due yelding of thanks to you for the ſame, till occaſion and leyſure may better ſerue therto: this nowe may ſuffice, that I acknowledge my ſelfe to be ſo much beholden to you, that what ſoeuer thing I haue in the worlde, the ſame is ready to do you pleaſure. But cōcerning the cauſe of your comming hither in ſhewing your courteſies therein, you ſhall vnderſtande, that my parentes whom I truſte to be in heauen, and (as Saintes) enioy the fruytes of their vertuous trauayles here taken on earth, did ſo inſtruct me from my tender youth, that I ſhould worſhip with all reuerence the moſt wiſe creatour & prouident gouernour of all things, and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the ſame is prouided & ordeyned to ſome good vſe by his highe and vnſearchable counſell, and therefore whyleſt day and nighte I haue and do reuolue and call to remem-

His parentes godly inſtructions.

Loſſe of friendes.

His father.

His mother,

His brethren.

His wife.

remembraunce the precepts and inſtructions of my parents, what ſo euer hath chaunced eyther touching aduerſitie or proſperitie, good happe or bad, the ſame hath ſeemed to me (at the firſte) receyuing all things with equall and thankefull minde, and interpreting them to the beſte, farre more light than they commonly ſeeme to others, and leſſe they did diſquiet me, ſo as with vſe I haue learned at length, not onely paciently to beare all aduerſities that may happen, but alſo to receyue the ſame as things pleaſant and euen to be deſired. And verily my happe hath bene to be greatly exerciſed in this behalfe, for I haue firſte ſeene my father, more deare to me thã any earthly treaſure, and no leſſe profitable than greatly deſired of all the people, and yet neyther the loue of the people, nor of his kinſmenne and frendes might warrant him from this fatall neceſſitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the worlde for hyr ſingular vertue to paſſe hence in like maner. My bretherne that were ſo louing, and againe ſo greatly beloued of me, alſo my wife whom I eſteemed more than all other creatures, are they not gone the ſame way, and compelled to beare deaths harde ordinaunce?

Death cannot be diſpenſed with.

So verily ſtandeth the caſe, that no man might yet at any time auoyde the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debte that muſte needes be payd. But this is to be receyued with a thankfull minde, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath graunted that we ſhall be all immortall, if we our ſelues through vice, and as it were ſpotted with filthie diſeaſes of the minde, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherfore of right me thinke I haue cauſe to reioyce, that God by his ſingular fauour hath graunted to me ſuche a ſonne, whiche in all mens iudgement was worthie to be beloued whileſt he was here amongſt vs, and to be wiſhed for now, after he is departed from hence: but ought we to take it heauily, that he to whom he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, ſhould call for him again, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if when I ſee occaſion I ſhall aſke that againe whiche you haue poſſeſſed through my benefite as lent to you for a time? Neyther do I truſte to want him long, if God ſhalbe ſo mercyfull vnto me as I wiſhe him to be, for I hope ſhortly to be called hence by commaundement of that moſt high king, and to be caried vp to reſt among that felowſhippe of heauenly ſpirites, where I ſhall finde my father and mother, my bretherne, wife, and ſonne in far better eſtate than here I knew thẽ. Therfore that I may repete it once again I reioyce (I ſay) to haue obtained in my ſon, by yͤ grace of yͤ ſupernal God, yͭ I am aſſured by faith, he is already in yͤ place to the whiche all we do earneſtly wiſhe that we may atteyne, and do endeuour by all meanes, that when the time cõmeth in whiche our ſoules are to be deliuered forth of theſe frayle bodies of ours as out of pryſons, they may be found worthie of that companie, in which our cõfidence is, that he now moſt bliſſefully is remayning. Except any man may thinke that wee are ſo enuious, that therfore we do lament, bicauſe as yet we ſticke faſt ouerwhelmed & drowned in ſuche fylthye myres and combered in ſuche thornye thickets and buſhes, oute of the whiche he (beeing now deliuered of all cares) hath eſcaped.

Why we ought to take the death of our children and frendes patiently.

But let vs rather by followyng the foote ſteppes of him and other vertuous perſons that are gone afore vs, labour both day & night, that at length through heauenly fauour, wee may come to the place where we do recken that by deuine power he is alreadie arriued. After that the king had made an end of his Oration, and thankes giuen to God for his bountifull munificence, they roſe from the table and departed to theyr lodgings, they all greatly marueyling at the kings highe prudence and godly wiſedome.

Malcolme the ſonne of Henry proclaimed prince of Scotlande.

After this was Malcolme the eldeſt ſonne of the before mencioned prince Henry, proclaymed in his place prince of Scotlande, and conueyed through the moſte partes of the realme by Duncane Earle of Fyfe, and other of the nobles appointed, to attende vpon and to receyue the othes of all the Barons for theyr allegiaunce in his name. William the ſecond ſonne of prince Henry was conueyed into Northumberland by the foreſayde nobles, and there proclaimed and created Erle of that countrey.

Erle of Northumberlande.

Henry the empreſſe hir ſon receyueth the order of knighthode.

Then went king Dauid himſelfe vnto Carleile, where he met with Henry the ſonne of the Empreſſe, who receyued the order of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little before that the ſame Henry came to an agreemẽt with king Stephen, whereby he was admitted to the poſſeſſion of halfe the realme of Englande, and promiſed by othe of aſſurance (as the Scottiſh writers ſaye) that he ſhoulde neuer be aboute to take the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king Dauid taken with a ſore diſeaſe and maladie, which continued wyth him to the ende of his lyfe.

And ſo when hee perceyued himſelfe to waxe faynte and feeble, he required to be borne to the Churche, where he receyued the ſacrament of the Lordes bodie and bloud, with moſt ſolemne reuerence, and then beeing brought againe to hys chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending vnto thẽ his yong nephews, the ſonnes of his ſonne the forenamed prince Henry, he kiſſed eche one of them after an other, moſt inſtantly

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

ly deſiring them in the honour of almighty God, to ſeeke the preſeruation of common quiet, to the aduauncement of the publike weale.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

This done, he departed out of this life in the .xxix. yeare of his raigne, or rather in the .xxx. yere if he reygned .xxix. and two monethes, as John Maior hath.

1153.

His body was buried in Dunfermeling, after the incarnatiō of Chriſt our ſauiour .1153. yeares.

Howe farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and ſober conuerſation of lyfe, I haue thought it better to paſſe ouer with ſilence, than to go about in few wordes to comprehende that, wherein if I ſhoulde ſpende muche time, I were not able yet in any wiſe worthily to performe: for where in ſuche caſes fewe things are ſlenderly ſhewed, the reſidue may ſeeme to be omitted through fault of the writer: but yet this is not to be forgotten that where his ſinguler pitifull regard whiche he had towardes the reliefe of the poore, paſſed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court alſo in ſuche wiſe of all vicious rule & miſordered cuſtomes, ỹ his whole family was giuen onely to the exerciſe of vertue, no riotous banqueting nor ſurfeting cheare was vſed amongſt them, no laſciuious worde heard come forth of any mans mouth, nor yet any wanton ſignes ſhewed to prouoke ſenſuall luſte or carnall concupiſcence.

His ſinguler pitie towardes the poore.

King Dauids court.

King Dauids ſeruantes.

All the wordes, workes, and whole demeanour of his ſeruaunts tended to ſome good concluſion. Nothing moued to ſtyrre ſtryfe or ſedition, but al things ordered in ſuche frendly and peaceable ſorte, that the chayne of brotherly loue ſeemed to haue linked them all in one minde and will. Such a rule was theyr maiſter king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godly life after.

King Dauids example, a rule of godly liuing.

Malcolme.

KIng Dauid being dead and buried (as before is mencioned,) Malcolme nephew to him by his ſonne Henry, ſucceeded in yͤ aſtate.

He was but .xiij. yeares of age, when he began his reygne, but yet his modeſtie and vertuous conditions were ſuche, that all men conceyued a good hope, that he would proue a right noble and worthie prince.

The educatiō of king Malcolme.

He was nouriſhed and brought vp in ſuche vertue, euen from his infancie, that deliting in chaſte conuerſation and cleanneſſe of body and minde, he liued ſingle all the dayes of his life, and without mariage, wherefore he was ſurnamed Malcolme the Mayden.

A death.

About the time of his entring into the poſſeſſion of the crowne, there was a greate death through all the boundes of Scotlande.

A death not contagious.

And ſone after followed a ſore death bothe amongſt men & beaſtes, though it was not perceyued that the diſeaſe wherof they dyed was any thing contagious.

Somerleid Thane of Argile, goeth aboute to make himſelfe king.

Hereof did one Somerleid the Thane of Argile take occaſion to attempt an higher enterpriſe, than ſtoode with the baſeneſſe of his lynage and eſtate: for conſidering that the one halfe of the realme was conſumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe neare hande famiſſhed through lacke of foode, hee thought it an eaſie matter for him, now whileſt the king was vnder yeares of ripe diſcretion, to vſurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne handes, and ſo aſſembling togither an huge companie of ſuch as in hope of pray lightly conſented to his opinion, hee came forward to make as it were a full conqueſt, ſleaing and ſpoyling all ſuch in his way as went aboute to reſiſt him.

Somerleides crueltie.

Gilcriſt ſente with an army againſt Somerleid.

But his preſumptuous enterpriſe was ſhortly repreſſed: For Gylcriſt Earle of Angus lieutenaunt of the kings army, reyſed to reſiſt Somerleides attempts, encountred with him in battayle and ſlew .ij. M. of his menne. Somerleid hauing receyued this ouerthrowe, and eſcaping from the fielde, fledde into Irelande, and ſo ſaued his lyfe.

Henry the ſecond of that name king of Englande, hearing that Malcolme had thus ſubdued his domeſtical enimies, dread leaſt he being enboldened therwith, ſhould now attempt ſomewhat againſt the Engliſhmen, and therefore by counſell of his Nobles, he ſent an Herald vnto king Malcolme, commaunding him to come vnto London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the landes of Cumberland, Northumberlād, and Huntington, in maner and forme as his graundfather king Dauid had before done vnto his predeceſſour Henry the firſt, with certificate, that if he fayled he would take from him all the ſayde landes.

K. Malcolme ſummoned to do homage.

King Malcolme obeyed this cōmaundement of king Henry, but yet vnder condition, (as the Scottiſh wryters affirme) that it ſhoulde in no maner wiſe preiudice the frauncheſſes and liberties of the Scottiſh kingdome.

King Malcolme goeth with king Henry into Fraunce.

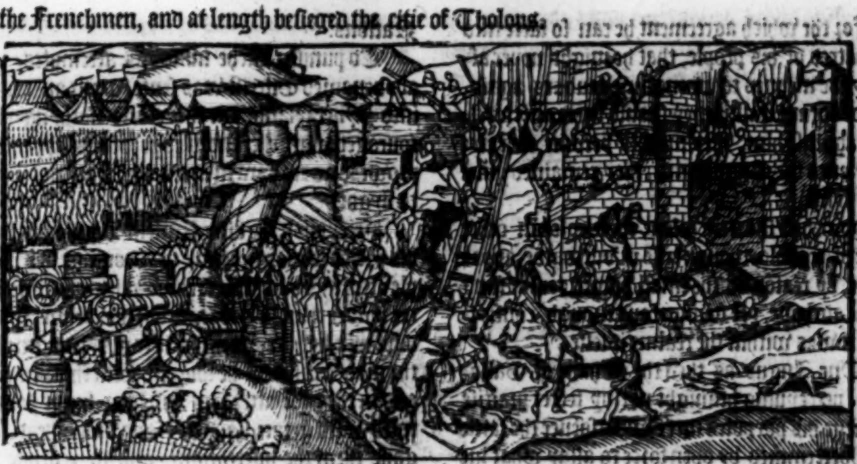
The ſame time king Henry had warres againſt Lewes the .vj. king of Fraunce, and ſo paſſing ouer into that realme, conſtreyned king Malcolme to go with him in that iourney againſt his will, notwithſtanding that hee had a ſafecunduite freely to come and goe.

In this voyage king Henry did much hurte to the

to the

Tholous beſieged.

to the Frenchmen, and at length beſieged the citie of Tholous.



King Henries meaning.

In all whiche enterpryſes he had Malcolme preſent with him, to the ende that Malcolme might enicurre ſuch hatred and diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the band betwixt them and the Scottes might finally be diſſolued: but in the end king Henry hauing loſte diuers of his noble men by ſickeneſſe, hee returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland. Who at his comming home ſent the Biſhop of Murray, and one of his Secretaries unto the ſee of Rome, as ambaſſadours vnto the Pope, whiche as then hight Eugenius the thirde of that name, to recogniſe the obedience which he ought to the Romaine ſea.

Ambaſſadours ſent to Rome.

A parliament at Scone.

Shortly after alſo, there was a parliament holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was ſore rebuked by his Lordes, in that he had borne through his owne folye, armure agaynſt the Frenchmen their olde confederate frendes and auncient alies: but king Malcolme excuſed the mater with humble wordes, ſaying he came vnwarely into king Henries handes, and therefore might not choſe but accompliſhe his will and pleaſure at that time, ſo that he ſuppoſed verily how ye Frēch king would take no great diſpleaſure with his doings, when he once vnderſtode the trouth of the mater.

King Malcolme reproued by his nobles.

King Malcolmes excuſe.

King Henry hauing perfect vnderſtanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottiſh Lordes and their king, thought to encreaſe the ſame with more diſpleaſure, and thereupon ſent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke to a parliament which he held there, where at his comming, he was burdened by a right greeuous complaynt furniſhed againſt him by king Henry, for that he ſhoulde reuele vnto the Frenchmen, all the ſecretes of the Engliſhe army, when hee was with him in Fraunce, at the aboue remembred iourney, alledging the ſame to be ſufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeyte all the landes, which he helde of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland and Huntington.

King Malcolme goeth to Yorke.

And though king Malcolme by many ſubſtanciall reaſons declared, thoſe allegations to be vntrue and vniuſtly forged, yet by king Henries earneſt enforſing of the mater, ſentence was giuen againſt him, by the generall aſſent of all the eſtates there in that parliament aſſembled. And moreouer to bring king Malcolme in further diſpleaſure with his nobles, king Henry gaue notice vnto them before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrey, how he had of his owne accorde renounced all his claym, right, title, and intereſt, whiche hee had to the foreſayde landes, ſuppoſing by this meanes to make king Malcolme far more odious to all his lieges and ſubiectes, than euer he was before.

Fond dealing and not likely to be true.

Sentence giuē againſt king Malcolme at Yorke.

Malcolme therfore, vpon his returne into his countrey, not vnderſtanding any thing of that ſubtile contriued policie and ſlaunderous report, was beſieged within the caſtell of Bertha by the Thane of Ertuvaile and diuers others.

King Malcolme is beſieged.

But after it was knowen how vntruly king Malcolme had bene vſed, & moſt vntruly ſlaundered, they deſired pardon of their offence, as induced thereto by vntrue reportes, which once being graunted, they brake vp their ſiege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiaunce like louing & moſt obedient ſubiectes.

But king Malcolme ſo much the more that he was thus iniuriouſly handled by king Henry, firſte deſiring reſtitution to be made of all ſuch things as had bene wrongfully taken from him, and ſo denyed by the Engliſhmen, proclaymed open warres againſt them.

Open warres proclaymed againſt the Engliſhmen.

At length after ſundry harmes as well done on the one parte as the other, they came to a communication in a certaine place, not farre from Carleil, where by treatie it was finally concluded, that king Malcolme ſhoulde receyue againe Cumberland and Huntington, but for Northumberland he ſhoulde make a playne reſignation thereof, vnto king Henry, and to his ſucceſſours for euer.

A concluſion of agreement.

Foꝛ

King Malcolme hated of his people.

Feare of outwarde enimies cauſeth quietneſſe at home.

For the which agreement he ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after fynde meanes to winne their fauours again, but doubting leaſt if they ſhould ſtirre any rebellion againſt him, they mighte become an eaſye pray vnto the Engliſhmen, they remained quiet for a tyme.

Howebeit ſhortely after, there roſe an other piece of trouble, though leſſe in outwarde apparance, by reaſon of the ſmall power remaynyng in the authour, yet daungerous inough, conſidering it was within the realme it ſelfe.

Angus the Thane of Galloway rayſeth a commotion: vpon what occaſion writers make not anye mencion.

One Angus as then the Thane of Galloway, perceyuing he might not by ſecret practiſe atchieue his purpoſed intẽt (whatſoeuer the ſame was) determined by open force to aſſay what luckie ſucceſſe Fortune wold ſend hym, hoping that thoſe which through feare ſate as yet ſtill, would aſſiſte hym in all his attemptes, ſo ſoone as they ſaw any commotion reyſed by hym to occaſion them thereto.

Angus diſcōfited by Gilcriſt.

Whyterne, a place of ſanctuarie.

Hervpon he aſſembled together a great companie: but before he coulde worke anye notable feate, to make anye accounte of, Gylcriſte Earle of Angus, (whoſe faithfull valiancie was before manyfeſtly approued in the ſuppreſſion of Somerleyds rebellion) diſcomfited his power, in three ſundrye bickerings, chaſed Angus hymſelfe vnto Whyterne, where is a place of ſanctuarie priuiledged for the ſafegarde of all offendours that flee therto for ſuccour in the honour of ſainct Ninian.

Angus beſieged in Whyterne.

Angus yeldeth him ſelfe to the kyng.

Malcolme then, for that he durſte not breake the fraunches of that place, ſette a bande of men of warre round about it, to watch that he ſhuld by no meanes eſcape awaye, ſo that at lengthe awearyed as it had bene with long ſiege, hee yelded himſelfe to the king, who takyng his ſonne to pledge for his good abearing in tyme to come, licenced hym to go whyther it ſhuld pleaſe hym: but the moſt part of his lands and liuings were confiſcate to the kings vſe.

Angus became a chanon.

Whereupon when hee ſawe he myghte not mayntayn his eſtate as he had done before, he became a Chanon in holy Rood houſe, and ther ended his life (as it is reported.)

A rebellion moued by the Murrayes.

Gildo captayn of the rebels.

The cruelte of the rebelles.

It was not long after the pacifying of thys trouble, but that a newe rebellion was rayſed: for the Murray lande men by the prouocation of their Captaine named Gildo, waſted with fyre and ſworde the countreys of Ros, Bowgewal, or Bougdale, Mar, Garroch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell ſorte, than ãny forayne and moſte barbarous Nation wold haue done, in ſo muche that when the kyng ſente dyuers of his ſeruauntes vnto them to vnderſtand the cauſe of their rebellious doings, they ſlewe thoſe meſſengers, contrarye to the lawe of Nations.

Gilcriſt diſcōfited by the Murrayes.

To puniſhe ſuche iniurious attemptes, the abouenamed Gilcriſt was ſente wyth an armie into Murrayland, but the rebels nothyng diſcouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowes, mette hym in the fielde, and put hym to flyght.

The Murrays are ouerthrowen.

Hereupon the king himſelfe ſuppoſing that his preſence was needfull to encourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had ſente forthe before, wyth diſplayed banner, ouer the riuer of Spay, nere to the mouth whereof he foughte with the enimies, and in the ende after ſore and long fyght continued with greate ſlaughter and bloudſhead, hee gaue them the ouerthrowe, and in reuenge of their cruelties ſhewed in tyme of this their rebellion, and to giue enſample to all other hys ſubiectes that ſhoulde goe about to attempte the like, he commaunded that none of thoſe of Murray lande ſhould be ſaued (women, children and aged perſons only excepted) but that all the reſidue of that generation ſhoulde paſſe by the edge of the ſworde.

The Murrayes deſtroyed.

Thus the Murray land men being deſtroyed according to his commaundement thorough all partes of the realme, hee appoynted other people to inhabite their rowmthes, that the countreye ſhould not lye waſt without habitation.

Somerleyd returneth into Scotland.

Somerleid vanquiſhed at Renfrow.

Somerleid is hanged.

In thys meane tyme, Somerleid the Thane of Argyle (who as ye haue hearde was fled ouer into Irelande) vpon truſt of the hatred into the whiche Malcolme was runne with the moſte parte of all his nobles and commons thoroughe this ſlaughter of his people, and namely of them of Murrey lande, he thought to aſſay fortunes chaunce once againe, and ſo thereupon returned with certain Kernes and naked men into Scotlande: but this laſt enterpryſe of his came to a more vnluckie ende than the firſt, for being vanquiſhed in batayle at Renfrowe, he loſt the moſt parte of all his meynye, and was taken priſoner hymſelfe, and after hanged on a gybet, by commaundement of the king, accordyng to that hee had iuſtly merited.

King Malcolme ſiſters maryed.

Malcolme hauing thus ſubdued his aduerſaries, and being nowe in reſt and quiet, he ſette hys mynde wholly to gouerne his realme in vpright Juſtice, & hauing two ſiſters mariageable, he coupled the elder named Margarete, wyth Conone duke of Britayne, and the yonger called Adhama, hee maryed with Florence, Earle of Hollande.

A parliament at Scone.

After thys, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottiſh nobilitie, where when they were aſſembled togyther in the Councell chamber, Arnaulde Archebiſhoppe of Sainct Andrewes ſtoode vp, and by a ryght pithye

The oration of Arnold Archbiſhop of ſaint Androwes.

Oration, tooke vppon him to aduiſe the king to chaunge his purpoſe touching his vow, which (as appeared) he had made to liue chaſte.

He declared vnto him by many weightie reaſons, that it was not only neceſſarie for him and his Realme, that he ſhould take a wife, by whom he might rayſe vp ſeede to ſucceede him in the poſſeſſion of the Crowne) but alſo that he might not chooſe a more perfect ſtate of lyfe (conſidering the office wherein hee was placed) than matrimonie, beeing inſtituted not by this lawmaker or that, but by God himſelfe, who in no one of all his ordinaunces myght erre or bee deceyued.

Matrimonie ordinated by God.

The pleaſure of mariage.

Agayne for pleaſure, hee affyrmed howe nothing coulde bee more delectable to him, than to haue a worthie Ladie to hys bedfellowe, wyth whome hee might conferre all the conceytes of his heart, both of griefe and gladneſſe, ſhee being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in ſickneſſe and health, readie to aſſwage anger, and to aduaunce myrth, alſo to refreſhe the ſpirites beeing wearyed or in any wiſe faynte through ſtudious trauayle and care of mynde. Then ſhewed he what an ayde were children vnto theyr Parentes, namely vnto Kings, howe in peace they might gouerne vnder them to the greate commoditie of the common wealth, & in warre ſupplie theyr rowmthes as Lieutenants in defence of theyr Countreyes, to the no ſmall terrour of the enimies.

The commodities by a wife.

Children an ayde.

Men not born for thẽſelues.

Wherefore ſithe men are not borne onely for theyr owne weale, but alſo for the profite of their friendes; and commoditie of their Countrey, it coulde not bee choſen, but that he ought to perſwade with himſelfe to alter his purpoſed intention, concerning the obſeruance of chaſtitie, and to take a wife to the greate ioy and comfort of hys ſubiectes, ſithe it was commendable bothe before GOD and manne, and ſo neceſſarye withall and profitable, as nothing might bee more.

Cõmendable before God and man.

But theſe and many other moſte weightie reaſons could nothing moue his conſtant minde: hauing euen from his tender yeares fianced hys virginitie vnto Chriſt, truſting that God would ſo prouide, that the Realme ſhoulde not be deſtitute of conuenable heyres, when the time came that it ſhoulde pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie to take him hence to his mercie from amongeſt his ſubiectes.

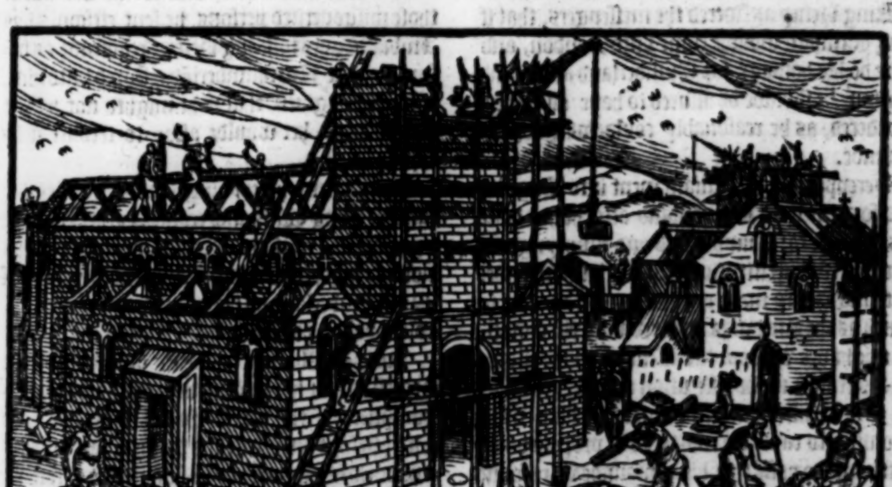
K. Maldolme might not be perſwaded to take a wife.

Thus brake vppe that Counſell wythoute anye effecte of the purpoſe for the whiche it was called.

Shortly after it chaunced that King Malcolme fell ſicke, continuing ſo a long tyme, by reaſon whereof he ſought meanes to conclude a peace wyth Henrie King of Englande, whiche being brought to paſſe, hee ſette worke men in hande to laye the foundation of Saint Reules Abbey, which afterwards bare the name of ſaint Androwes.

A peace concluded with Englande.

The Abbay of S. Androwes buylded.



When hee had finiſhed this houſe, being a goodly peece of worke, and right coſtly, as maye appeare at this day by the viewe thereof, he aſſigned forth certaine rentes for the ſuſtentation of the Chanons, which he placed there of the order of Saint Auguſtine, not ſo largely as ſerued for the mayntenaunce of ſuperfluous cheare, but ſufficient yet for theyr neceſſarie fynding: by reaſon whereof, the Chanons of that Abbaye lyued in thoſe dayes in moſte feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate luſtes and ſenſuall pleaſures, but onelye gyuen to diuine contemplation, wythoute reſpecte to auarice or inlarging the poſſeſſions

Superfluous rentes of Abbeyes, prouocations to inordinate luſts.

and

The abbey of Cowper founded.

and reuenues of their houſe: he founded alſo the abbey of Cowper of the Ciſtieux order, and endowed it with many faire landes and wealthye poſſeſſions.

The death of king Malcolm

Finally being vexed with long infirmitie, hee departed out of this lyfe at Jedburgh the .xij. yeare of his reigne.

A Comete.

A certaine comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared .xiiij. dayes together before his deathe, with long beames right terrible to beholde. His bodie was buryed at Dunfermeling, after the incarnation 1185. yeares.

1185.

Roger archbiſhop of Yorke the Popes legate.

In the days of this Malcolme, Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, conſtituted the Popes Legate, could not be ſuffred to enter into Scotlande, bycauſe he was a man highly defamed for his couetous practiſing to enriche himſelfe by vnlawfull meanes.

William ſurnamed the Lyon.

After Malcolme, ſucceeded hys brother Willyam, ſurnamed for his ſingular iuſtice the Lyon.

Ambaſſadours ſente to the king of Englande.

Shortely after his Coronation, hee ſente Ambaſſadoures vnto Henrye king of Englande, requiring him, that according to iuſtice, he would reſtore vnto him, the Erledom of Northumberland, ſith it appertayned by good & lawfull intereſt vnto his inheritance.

King Williã is required to doe homage.

King Henry anſwered the meſſengers, that if king William woulde come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he ſhoulde be aſſured to haue all things ſo ordered, as he reaſonably coulde wiſhe or demaunde.

King Williãs requeſt for the reſtitution of Northumberlande.

Herevpon king William went into Englãd, and ſo came vnto London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntyngton, he required the reſtitution of Northumberlande,

The anſwer of king Henrye.

but king Henry made anſwer as then, that for ſo much as the ſame was annexed vnto the crowne, he might not without the aſſent of all the eſtates of his realme make reſtitution therof.

Notwithſtanding, in the next parliament, he promiſed to cauſe the matter to be proponed: and if it came to paſſe that his demaunde were found to ſtand with reaſon, he wold doe therein according to conſcience, when tyme expedient ſhould ſerue thereto.

King Henry ſayleth into Normandie. King Willam with manye nobles of Scotlande wente with king Hẽry ouer into Fraunce.

About the ſame ſeaſon king Hẽry paſſed ouer into Normandy with an army, and cauſed king Willyam, with many other nobles of Scotland to goe with him in that iourney, for king Willyam would not diſobey his commaundement at that preſent, in hope to attayne in quiet & peaceable maner his ſuite touchyng the reſtitution of Northumberland, (as the Scottiſh writers doe affirme) but in the ende after he had continued a long tyme with king Henry, and perceyued no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with muche adoe to returne home: & ſo comyng backe into Englãd, paſſed through the realme with his nobles into Scotland, wher he applied his whole endeuour to vnderſtande the ſtate of the common wealth of his ſubiectes, and ſpecially he took order in moſte diligente wyſe, to puniſhe cruelties done by theeues and robbers, which vndoubtedly was one of the moſt profitable acts that he could deuiſe to accompliſhe at that preſent, conſidering the ſtate of his realme, as it then ſtoode.

King Williã zele of iuſtice

Scotlãde more endomaged by domeſticall theeues than by forain enimies.

For if the domages and ſkathes cõmitted by theeues and robbers were equally pondered with the hurtes and hinderãnces whiche dayly growe by open warre againſt any forein nation, it may well appeare, that more harme ariſeth, and more heynous cruelties are exerciſed agaynſt the poore and miſerable commons and innocent people, by ſuch as liue by reife and ſpoyling at home, than by any outward enimies, be they neuer ſo fearce and ſtrong in the field.

And therefore the prudente conſideration of this prince, was no leſſe to be commẽded, in that hee ſought to repreſſe the licentious outrage of ſuch errant theeues, and priuie murtherers, than if he had ſlayne many thouſandes of forraine enimies.

Ambaſſadours ſente to king Henry.

When he hadde once clenſed the Realme of thoſe miſgouerned perſons, he ſent eftſoones hys Ambaſſadours to King Henry, requiring as before, to haue Northumberlãd reſtored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he mighte not haue it with fauour, hee woulde aſſay to recouer it by force.

See more ther of in England.

King Henry perceyuing that he muſt eyther ſatiſfye King Williams requeſt, eyther elſe haue open warres with the Scottes, by aduice of hys nobles, reſtored to king Willyam ſo muche of Northumberland as his grandfather king Malcolme had in poſſeſſion.

A portion of Northumberlande reſtored to the Scottes. King Williã receyueth a piece of Northumberlande with his right ſaued to the reſidue.

King William accepted the offer, but ſo as he proteſted that he receyued not that part in ful recompence of the whole whiche was due vnto him (ſo ſaye the Scottiſhe writers) but ſo as his entier right might always be ſaued as wel to the reſidue as to that which was then reſtored.

King Henrye repẽting him ſelfe of that whiche he had deliuered to the Scots, ſekes new occaſions of warre.

Within fewe yeares after, king Henry feeling what hynderance it was for him to forbeare the commodities of thoſe landes, whiche were thus deliuered vp to the Scottiſhe kings vſe, repented him of that bargaine: and therfore to finde ſome occaſion to recouer the ſame again, he procured his ſubiectes that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forrayes into the landes pertayning to the Scottes, ſo to prouoke them to battayle.

arre with glande.

Complaint of theſe iniuries beyng brought vnto the Wardeyn of the Scottiſhe borders, by ſuch Scottes as had loſte ſuche goodes as were taken away by the Engliſhmen, he ſente to demaunde reſtitution, but for ſo muche as he coulde haue no towardly aunſwere, he got together a great number of men, the which entring into the Engliſhe grounde, did muche hurt on eche ſide where they came.

At the ſame time was king Henry in Fraunce, and therefore the Engliſhmen thought it ſufficient to defend themſelues as wel as they might without attemptyng anye notable enterpriſe in reuenge of theſe diſpleaſures doone by the Scottes.

Harueſt was alſo at hande, and thereuppon they ceaſſed on eyther parte from further inuaſions, tyll the wynter ſeaſon, whyche paſſed alſo without any exployte atchieued worthy to be remembred, ſauing certaine ſmall roades made by the Scottes into the Engliſhe borders, as they ſawe occaſion to ſerue thereto.

ng Williã deth Cum lande.

But in the ſommer nexte followyng, kyng Willyam reyſed a myghtie armie, and came with the ſame into Cumberland, the right wing of the whyche armye was ledde by Gilcriſte, whoſe approued valiauncie often ſhewed in the tyme of king Malcolme, had aduaunced hym to mary with the kings ſiſter.

The lefte wyng was aſſigned vnto the conducte of one Rowlande the kings couſin, who was alſo lieutenant of the horſemen.

The middle warde or battaile, the king hymſelfe ledde.

The offer of the Engliſhmẽ

The Engliſhmen to the intente they mighte haue tyme and leyſure to aſſemble their power, ſente vnto kyng Willyam, offering vnto him, not only large ſummes of money, if he woulde returne back with his armie without further inuaſion, but alſo redreſſe of all manner of iniuries and wrongs if any ſuche on theyr behalfe were to bee proued: but king Willyam for anſwere hereunto declared, that hee had not begun the warre for any deſire he had to money, neyther had he fyrſt giuen the occaſion, as one that was euer willing to lyue vpon his own, ſo that if they could be contented to reſtore Northumberlande being his rightfull heritage, he was not ſo deſyrous of bloud, but that he would gladly ceaſſe from all further attempts.

The anſwer of king William.

The Engliſhmen hauing receyued this aunſwere, to the ende they myght protract the tyme in ſendyng ſtyll to and fro, tyll they myghte eſpye ſome occaſyon to worke ſuche feate as they had imagined, addreſſed forth other ambaſſadours vnto king William, wyth dyuers fayre offers and golden promiſes.

The Engliſhemen ſeeke by policie to vanquiſhe the Scottes.

In the meane tyme, to take the Scottiſhe men at ſome aduauntage, they conueyed their whole power in the night ſeaſon, nere vnto the place where the ſame Scottiſhemen laye in Campe, and deuiding them ſelues into two partes, the one was appoynted to abide in the fieldes, tyl the ſunne were vp, and then to ſhew themſelues to the enimies, to drawe them forth to battail: The other company was layd cloſely in a valley not far off to take the aduauntage as they ſaw their tyme.

In the morning about the riſing of the ſunne, thoſe that were appoynted to procure the ſkirmiſhe, approched ſo neere to the enimies campe, tyl they came euen within ſight of them.

The Scottes amazed, with the ſtraungeneſſe of the thyng, for that they had not heard before of any aſſemble of the Engliſhmen, at the firſte were ſomewhat afrayde: but anone encouragyng one another, they boldly iſſued forth vpon theyr enimies, who of purpoſe at the firſte made but weake reſiſtance, and at length fledde a mayne, to the intente to cauſe the Scottiſhemen to breake their araye of batayle in purſuing them, whyche they did ſo egrely, that they lefte their kyng but ſlenderly guarded with a ſmall companie aboute hym.

The Engliſhe men retyre of purpoſe.

The king lefte but weakely garded.

Then the buſhment lying in the valey, brake forthe vpon hym, according to the order before appoynted, and in the meane tyme, the other that fledde, caſte themſelues aboute, and manly abode their enimyes, ſo earneſtly laying it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and conſtrayned them to flee in good earneſt, whyche they themſelues had but only conterfaited to do before.

The Scots conſtrained to flee.

King William perceyuing his people thus diſcomfited, and himſelfe encloſed on eche ſide, amongeſt his enimies, after he had aſſayed to breake forth on ſome ſyde from amongſt them when he ſawe his endeuour coulde by no meanes preuayle, and that the enimyes made onely at him, he yelded himſelfe.

King Williã yeldeth himſelf priſoner.

There was not muche bloud ſpilled on eyther ſyde at this bickering, for the one parte in the beginning of the fraye (as ye haue hearde) fleing of ſette purpoſe vnto the place where theyr ambuſhe laye, eſcaped without much hurt, and the other feared by the breaking forth of the ambuſhe aboade the brunt but a ſmall whyle, returning immediatly towards the king, and then perceyuing they coulde doe no good, they made the beſt ſhift they coulde eche man for himſelf to eſcape the enimies handes.

King Williã conueyd into Normandie.

The king being thus takẽ of his enimies, was conueyed vnto king Henry ouer into Normandie where he was as then remaining. The yeare that king William was thus taken, was after the byrth of our Sauiour Chriſt. 1174. and the

1174.

nynth of king Williams reigne.

Diſcorde of writers.

Other writers report the maner of his taking not altogether agreeable with that which we haue here aboue remembred, who declare how king William after he had waſted all Cumberlande, came into Northumberlande, not ceaſſyng tyll he came to Anwyke, where he ſtayed for a tyme to haue had battayle, but in the meane whyle the Engliſhmen laye cloſe togither without noyſe or apperance, in ſuche wiſe that no Scottiſhmẽ could haue vnderſtanding where they were.

At length king William awearied with long tarying thus at Anwike, and ſeeing no enimies to appeare, determined to worke ſome exployte yet before his returne, and thervppon ſent forth the moſt parte of all his armie abroade into the countrey, to forrey the ſame, keeping no greate companie about hym, tyll the returne of the other thus ſente forth.

Wherevpon incontinently a great ambuſhement of Engliſhmen came vpon him with counterfayted Scottiſhe enſignes, and were not once ſuſpected for Engliſhmen, til the king was compaſſed in by them on eche ſyde, & ſo finally taken & led away ere any Scottiſhmã wiſt therof, ſaue a few which were left (as is ſayd) wyth hym for ỹ time. In deede Wilhelmus Paruus a Chanon ſomtyme in the abbey of Bridlington in Yorkſhire, in that his book which he writes of ỹ Norman kings of England, affirmeth how ther wer not many moe than aboute three ſcore horſmen with king William whyle he was thus taken; and that the Engliſhemen were not paſte foure hundred horſemen, whiche tooke vpon them that enterpriſe: whoſe capitaines as he reciteth were theſe: Robert de Stuteuille, Ranulfe de Glaunuille, Bernard de Balliole, and diuers other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Capitaines of of the Engliſh men.

W. Paruus.

The ſame authour writeth, that after the taking of the king, there roſe a mutinie amongeſt the Scottes: for where as the Iriſhe Scottes bare a naturall grudge agaynſte the Engliſhe Scottes, yet whyleſt the king was preſente amongſt them, they durſte not vtter their malicious intentions: but nowe that he was thus takẽ from them, ſo many of the Engliſh Scots as fell into the handes of the Iriſhe payd derely for the bargayne, beeyng cruelly murthered and ſlayne: ſo that the reſidue were conſtrayned to get them out of the waye into caſtelles and towres where they myght be receyued.

Gilcriſt and Rouland reſiſt the engliſh men.

But nowe it is to be conſidered, that bicauſe there was no great ſlaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithſtanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before ſpecified chiefetains Gilcriſt and Rouland ſtoutly withſtood the Engliſhmen, & bet them backe as they enterpriſed to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken during the time that king William remayned in captiuitie vnder theſe cõditions, that Northumberland ſhould continue vnder the dominion of the Engliſhmen, and Cumberlande with the Erledome of Huntington to remayne as afore vnder the gouernance of the Scottiſhmen.

Northumberland [illegible] Engliſhmen.

Dauid erle of Huntington.

Immediatly vpon the taking of king William thus at Anwyke, his brother Dauid Erle of Huntington, through licence of king Henrye, came into Scotlande to haue the gouernment of the realm, til ỹ king his brother might be reſtored. So ſoone therfore as he had once eſtabliſhed the realme in good quiet and iuſtice, he ſent Richard the biſhop of S. Andrewes with diuers other noble men ouer into Normandy, to take order there with king Henry, for the raunſome of the king his brother: whiche was agreed in this maner. Firſt it was accorded, that king William ſhould become & acknowledge himſelfe to be the king of Englands liege man againſt al men (for the realme of Scotland and his other landes) and for the ſame ſhould do fealtie to the ſayd king of England, as to his liege ſoueraigne lord, in lyke ſort as other his liege people were accuſtomed to doe. And further he ſhoulde alſo do fealtie vnto the Lorde Henry, the king of Englands ſonne, (ſauing always the faith whiche he ought to the king his father.) And in like maner it was couenanted and agreed, that al the prelates of Scotland, and their ſucceſſours, ſhould recogniſe their wonted ſubiection to the churche of Englande, and doe fealtie to the king of England ſo many of them as he ſhould appoint: And likewiſe the Erle and barons of Scotlande, and their heires for their parte, ſhould do their homage and fealties vnto the ſayd king of Englande, and to the lord Henry his ſonne, ſo many as therevnto ſhuld be required.

The king of Scots doth fealtie to the king of England for Scotlande.

Rog. Houed. Math. Weſtm.

The prelates of Scotland do fealtie to the king of England.

The erles and lords doe homage vnto him.

King Williã raunſomed.

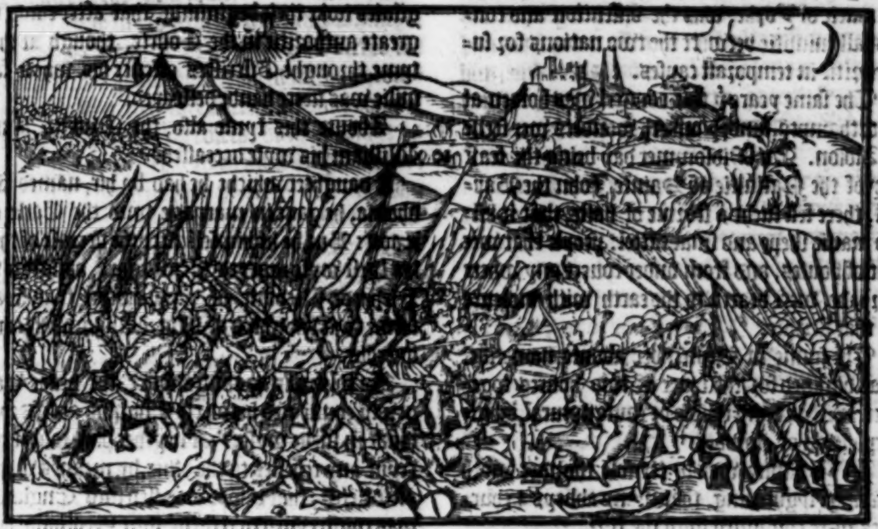
Moreouer the king of Scots ſhould paye for his redemption one hundred thouſande poundes ſterling, the one halfe to be payd in hand: and for ſure payment of the other halfe, the Erledomes of Cumberlande, Huntington, and Northumberlande ſhould be deliuered vnto king Henry in pledge or mortgage, tyll the tyme that the ſayde ſumme was payde. And for the more ſuretie of theſe couenantes, & that the Scots ſhould moue no warre againſt the Engliſhmen, foure of the ſtrongeſt caſtels within Scotlãd, that is to wit, Barwike, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, & Striueling wer deliuered into ỹ Engliſhmens hands. Theſe things being thus ordred the. 8. day of Decẽber, 1175. & ỹ king reſtored home, ther folowed a newe ſturre in Scotlande, for Gilbert of Galowaye, a right cruell & moſt miſcheuous perſon, purpoſing to cõquer ỹ crowne by force, made great ſlaughter on all them that withſtode his deſire. And bicauſe his brother reproued his doings, he put

Foure caſtelles deliuered to the engliſhmẽ in pledge.

1175.

Gilbert of Galoway rebelleth.

out his eyes, and cut off his handes.



Againſt this Gilbert was Gilcriſt ſent with an armie by the king.

There was fought a ſore battayle betwixt them, for the moſte parte of thoſe that followed Gilbertes commaundemente, were deſperate fellowes, ſuche commonly as for murder and other heynous crimes by them committed, were in daunger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon deſired a chaunge: but in the ende yet, Gilcriſt with multitude wanne the field of them, and ſlewe mo in the chaſe than in the batayle.

Gilbert of Galowaye vanquiſht by Gilcriſt.

Gilberte himſelfe eſcaped, and got ouer into the yle of Man, & fled from thence into Irelande.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter ſomewhat otherwyſe, as thus: In the armie of king William (ſaith he) when he was taken nere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilberte and Vared, that were lordes of Galloway, hauing there with them a greate retinue of their countreymen.

Theſe were the ſonnes of Ferguſius, ſometyme lorde of that Prouince, after whoſe deceaſe the kyng of Scottes that is ſuperiour lord thereof, deuided the countrey betwixt theſe two brethren, but Gilbert the eldeſt brother found himſelfe muche grieued to haue any parte of thoſe landes (whiche were his fathers) gyuen from him: but yet doubting puniſhment at the kings handes, he durſte not attempt any thing againſt hys brother till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had ſtayed his miſcheuous purpoſe, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellye murthered hym after no common manner, but rather martyred hym in beaſtly wyſe, ſo to ſatiſfie the inſtincte of his diuelliſhe nature. And immediatlye after inuading the vpper countreyes, he exerciſeth greate ſlaughter of men on eche hande. But his brother had a ſonne called Rowlande, whiche prouing a valiant yong Gentleman, boldly reſiſted his vncles rage, with the aſſiſtance and ayde of his fathers friendes.

And thus was Scotlande brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) til by the foreſayd Gilcriſt the murderer was expulſed, as before is expreſſed.

Hugh cardinall of Sainct Angelo the Popes legate.

In the yeare following, came Hugo Cardinall of Sainncte Angelo as Legate from the Pope into England, with authoritie to reforme the Engliſhe Churches, in ſuche caſes as were thoughte requiſite: And after hee had made an ende there, to doe the like in Scotlande.

The biſhops of Scotlande ſummoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

When he had therfore finiſhed with Englande, he cited all the biſhoppes of Scotlande to appeare before hym at a day prefixed at Northampton.

They came according to his apointment, and being aſſembled there in conſiſtorie, he wente about in moſt earneſt wiſe to perſuade them to receiue the Archbiſhop of Yorke for their metropolitane; but one Gilbert a yong man, howbeit ſingularly well learned, and for his holyneſſe of lyfe much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being ſent of purpoſe by king William vnto this Conuocation, to foreſee that nothing were concluded in the ſame, preiudiciall to the auncient liberties and francheſes of the realme of Scotlande, did argue ſo ſtiffly to the contrary, that the Cardinal left off the purſuite of ſuch maner of matter, and brake vp that counceel without determination of any thing to the purpoſe in that behalfe.

Gilbert a lerned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cauſe & liberties of the Scottiſhe Clergie, was afterwarde made Biſhoppe of Cathnes, and finally after hys departure oute of thys tranſitorie

Gilbert biſhop of Cathnes.

lyfe, regiſtred for his ſuppoſed perfect holyneſſe of lyfe amongſt the number of ſainctes.

The chiefeſt cauſe that moued the Scottiſhe Clergie to withdrawe their obedience from the primacie of Yorke, was the diſſention and continuall enimitie betwixt the two nations for ſuperioritie in temporall cauſes.

Wonders.

Hayle.

The ſame yeare ỹ this councel was holden at Northamptō, ſundry vnketh wonders were ſeene in Albion. On Midſommer day being the feaſt day of the Natiuitie of Sainte John the Baptiſt, there fell ſuche a ſtorme of haile, that it killed manie ſhepe and ſmal cattel: people that were out of houſes, and from vnder couert any where abroade, were beaten to the earth with violence of that ſtorme.

The ſun darkned.

The ſunne in September aboute noonetide. was darkned for the ſpace of two houres togeather, without any eclipſe or cauſe natural by interpoſition of clowdes.

Thunder.

In Yorkſhire was ſo terrible thunder wyth ſtraunge lyghtening, that many abbeys & churches were conſumed with the fyre.

The foundatiō of the abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothok.

About this ſeaſon, the abbey of Arbroth was buylt in moſt magnificent wyſe, and endowed with landes and reuenues in ſuche ample ſorte, that fewe houſes within the boundes of Albion might compare therwith.

1178.

The Churche was dedicated in the yeare of grace.1178. by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Cantorburye, with whome (as is ſayd) he had greate familiaritie in tyme of his yong yeares.

The abbey or Nunrie of Hidington founded.

The ſame time the abbey of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of kyng William, and ſhortly after ſhe had buylt it, ſhe dyed.

Ambaſſadours to the Pope.

Not long after king William ſente as Ambaſſadours John Biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and Reignalde Abbot of Arbroth vnto Pope Alexander the thirde, to preſente vnto him his obeyſance, according as he thought ſtoode with hys duetie.

A roſe of gold

The Pope ſeeming to reioyce thereat, ſente ſhortly after vnto the king a Roſe of gold, filled with balme, and certaine newe priuiledges concerning the libertie of the Church of Scotlande.

Gilcriſt murthereth his wyfe vpon ſuſpition of adulterie.

The ſame tyme Gilcriſt hauing his wyfe in ſuſpition of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwardes ſtrangled hir in a village called Manys, not paſt a myle from Dundee.

The kings indignation againſt Gilcriſt

Gilcriſt proclaimed traytour.

The king (for that ſhe was his ſiſter) tooke ſuch indignation therewith, that he ſeized vpon al his landes and goodes, purpoſing to haue put hym to death if he myght haue got him into his handes: but when he ſawe he coulde not be founde, hee proclaymed hym traytour, and raſed hys Caſtell (wherein hee had dwelled) quite to the grounde, in ſuche wyſe that vneth remayneth any token at this day where it ſtoode.

Bredus the brother of Gilcriſt.

The houſe of the Ogiluies.

This Gilcriſt had a brother that hight Bredus, who before this miſchance had got the landes of Ogiluie: of whome the houſe of the Ogiluies tooke their beginning, that after came to greate authoritie in the Courte, though at this tyme through Gilcriſtes offence his whole familie was neere hande deſtroyed.

Aboute this tyme alſo, the Queene, kyng William his wyfe deceaſſed.

The earle of Laon.

Emengard.

1186.

A daughter whiche he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in maryage vnto the Earle of Laon: But he he himſelf after the deceaſe of this his fyrſt wyfe maryed Ermengard, daughter to Richarde Vicount of Beaumount that was ſonne to a daughter of king William the conquerour.

The peace cōfirmed with Englande.

The miſerable ſtate of Gilcriſt.

By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newly confirmed betwixte England and Scotlande in ſuche wyſe, that neyther part might receyue any rebelles to the other, by meanes whereof Gilcriſt, that before was fled into England, was conſtreyned to returne into Scotland, diſguyſed in poore weede, with two of his ſonnes, & there paſſed foorth his lyfe a long tyme in great myſerie amongſt the woodes and in out places, vnknowne to any man what he was, by reaſon of his poore and ſimple habite.

The caſtell of Edenburgh reſtored.

Somewhat before the aboue remēbred mariage, Henry king of Englande at the motion of Hugh biſhoppe of Durham rendred vp the Caſtell of Edenburghe into kyng William his handes.

Saladine the Souldane.

King Henries purpoſe to go into the holye land againſte the Saraſins. hindered by rebellion of his ſonne.

About this tyme the Souldane named Saladine proſpered hugely againſt the Chriſtians in the holy lande, making ſuche cruell ſlaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all chriſtian heartes were moued to pitifull commiſeration and dolorous teares, in ſo muche that Henrye kyng of Englande vowed to goe thyther wyth an armie to relieue the common neceſſitie of the chriſtian publique weale, and hadde gone in deede, if hee had not bene hyndered by the conſpiracie of his ſonne, whome lately before he had cauſed to bee crowned kyng, that wente aboute to vſurpe the ſole adminiſtration to hymſelfe nowe in his fathers lyfe tyme.

Makulzen and Makbein capitaines of pyrates.

Aboute the ſame tyme king William wente with an armie into Ros, agaynſte Makulzen and Makbein, two Capitaynes of the weſtern Iles, whiche vſed vppon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Ros, Cathnes and Murrayland, ſpoyling and waſting thoſe countreyes, and when they hearde of any power comming agaynſte them, they woulde ſtreyghte returne to their ſhippes, and repaſſe againe to the Iles.

But at this tyme, the king had ſente forth a Nauie to brenne all thoſe veſſelles, wherein the

Deth on the wheele.

robbers hadde paſſed ouer and had left at anker, by reaſon wherof when they were encloſed in on euery ſide by the king, and taken priſoners, they after ſuffered death on the wheele, according to the maner of the ciuill lawe.

Abirbrothok is buylded.

The king in his returne from this iourneye, came by the abbey of Abirbrothok, to viewe the worke of that houſe, how it went forward, commanding them that wer ouerſeers & maſters of yͤ works to ſpare for no coſtes, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with moſt magnificence.

Gilcriſt deluing cloddes.

After his departure frõ thẽce, he toke the way toward Bertha, & by aduẽture eſpied where Gilcriſt was deluing vp turfes togither with his .ij. ſons, & though he knew not what they were, yet he muſed to ſee two ſuch goodly yong men, as by reſemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in ſuche toyling and baſe labour.

Gilcriſt asketh pardon of the king in vnknown habite

Incontinẽtly herewith Gilcriſt with his bald head came afore hym, and falling downe on his knees at the kings feete, ſayde: If there be anye mercie in thee (moſt ruthful prince) for them that are brought through their offences into extreme miſerie, hauing ſuffred condigne puniſhment for the ſame: I beſeeche thee for the loue that Chriſt had to all ſinfull people, not ſparing to ſhead his moſt precious bloud for their redemptiõ, to haue ſome pitie and compaſſion on me, and theſe my pore and miſerable ſonnes, which with me haue ſuffred muche grief and penurie, not hauing deſerued the ſame by any crime by them cõmitted.

Gilcriſt declareth what he is.

At the laſt, when king William had enquired of him what he was, and how it chaunced he fell into ſuch kind of miſerie, the teares came ſo faſte trickling downe frõ his eyes, that of a long ſpace he was not able to declare his owne name.

At length being come to himſelf, he ſaid, I am Gilcriſt (noble prince) yͤ moſt ſorowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy bloud and was therfore diſhinherited of all my lands, and baniſhed with theſe my two ſons out of thy realme, wherupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made againſt outlawes, I was conſtrained to come hyther againe with my ſaid ſonnes, where we haue liued by rotes all the ſommer ſeaſon, and nowe in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauayle of hand thus in digging & deluing of clods: therfore if any ruthe or pitie haue place in thy hearte, or that thy indignation be qualifyed, haue mercy on our ſorowful eſtate, & remit the offence, wherby thou mayſt not only purchaſe greate honour and fame by example of pitie, beeing highly renoumed for that vertue amongſt al nations, but alſo winne great merite afore God, for ſhewing thy ſelfe the folower of Chriſte, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king taketh Gilcriſt to his fauoure, and reſtoreth vnto him his landes.

The king moued by theſe wordes, and remẽbring the good ſeruice whiche Gilcriſte had emploide ſo often tymes afore in defence of the realme; and agayn pitying his caſe to conſyder from what degree of honour he was fallen into the deepeſt bottome of extreme miſerie, hee toke him wholly to his fauour, and not only forgaue him his former offences, but alſo reſtored vnto him, and to his ſonnes, al ſuche landes as ſometymes appertained vnto them, excepte ſo muche as the king had alreadie giuen vnto the Abbey of Abirbrothok.

Gilcriſts gift vnto the houſe of Abirbrothoke.

Gilcriſt euer after perſeuered in due obedience to his prince, and for ſo much as his eldeſt ſonne deceaſſed before him without heires, and that his yonger ſonne by reaſon of ſome impedimente, which he had, was vnmete for mariage, he gaue the moſt part of his lands after his owne deceaſſe vnto the ſayd houſe of Abirbrothok.

His yonger ſonne alſo, no leſſe wel affectionated towardes the ſame houſe, gaue the reſydue of his landes therevnto.

The father and bothe his ſonnes are buryed before the Aulter of Saincte Catherine within the Church of this abbey, as the ſuperſcription of their tombes ſheweth.

Though kyng Willyam was earneſtly occupied in the aduauncing forwarde of the buylding of Abirbrothok, yet did he not forget hys duetie in the adminiſtration of his lawes, but diligently cauſed iuſtice to be executed, to the puniſhing of the wicked, & the rewarding of them that well deſerued.

Lawes deuiſed by king William againſt theeues.

He made alſo ſundry newe lawes for the reſtraining of theeues and oppreſſours of the people, ſo rigorous, that they myght bee in feare to heare him named.

Furthermore, where as the Church of Scotlande was ſubiecte to the church of Yorke, he obtained of Pope Clement the third of that name letters of exemption for his Clergie, wherby the Churche of Scotlande (within the which were conteyned the Biſhoppes ſeas of Saincte Andros, Glaſgo, Dunkelde, Dublayne, Breghne, Abirden, Murray, Ros, and Cathnes) was declared exempte from all other forrayne iuriſdiction except onely from that of the ſea Rome, ſo as it might not bee lawfull from thenceforth to any that was not of the realme of Scotlande to pronounce ſentence of interdiction or excommunicatiõ, or otherwiſe to deale in iudgement of eccleſiaſtical cauſes, except ſuch one as the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome ſhould ſpecially appoint and ſend thither with legantine power. The date of yͤ ſaid bul or letters of exẽption thus obteined was at the Popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March and firſt yeare of the ſaide Pope Clements gouernment. Shortly after, to wit in the yeare. 1198. died Henry king of Englande, after

The death of Henry king of England,

whome ſucceded his ſeconde ſonne Richard: for Henrye his eldeſt ſon deceaſſed before his father.

King Richard.

King Richard after his coronation, prepared himſelf to paſſe with an army into the holy land, and therfore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble ſhuld follow to his realme by reſon of his abſence: & hereupon to kepe the Scots in frendſhip rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendred into their handes the caſtels of Roxburgh, Barwike, and Sterlyng: And moreouer that parte of Northumberlande whiche hys father had taken from king William when hee toke him priſoner.

The caſtels of Roſburgh, Berwik, and Sterling rendred to king William.

He alſo deliuered the Erledomes of Huntingdon and Cumberland, but vnder condition, that all the caſtels and holdes within them, ſhoulde be in the keeping of his captains and ſouldiours, ſuche as he ſhould appoynt.

He releaſed to king William alſo the reſidue of ſuche ſummes of money as were due for the foure caſtels layde to guage, ten thouſand poundes only excepted, which he receyued in hande at that preſent towards the charges of his iourney.

Erle of Huntington.

Scottes with king Richard in the holye lande.

When king William had thus receyued hys lands and caſtels by ſurrender, he made his brother Dauid Erle of Huntington, who therupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the olde ordinance deuiſed by king Malcolme the firſt, wẽt with him alſo in that voyage with fiue hundred Scottiſhemen, or rather fiue thouſande (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath) if no fault be in the printer. As the chriſtian armye laye at ſiege before the citie of Acres, otherwiſe called Acon, it chaunced that one Oliuer, a Scottiſhman born, was within yͤ town reteined in ſeruice amõgſt yͤ Saraſins, for being conuict of felonie in his natiue coũtrey he was baniſhed out of the ſame, & fled to the Saraſins, remaining ſo long amongſt them, yͭ he had lerned their toung very perfectly, ſo that as then fewe knewe what countreyman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keping, on yͤ ſide the towne where was but a ſingle wall without trenches, or any other fortification.

The ſiege of Acres.

Oliuer a ſcottiſhmen.

John Durwarde.

He hapned by ſome good aduenture to eſpy amongſt yͤ watch of thoſe yͭ were of the retinue of Dauid Erle of Huntingtõ, one of his own kinſmẽ named Iohn Durward, with whom of long time before he had bin moſt familiarly acquainted: and incõtinẽtly he called vnto yͤ ſame Durward, deſiring vnder aſſurãce to talke with him. After certain cõmunicatiõ, for yͭ this Oliuer had not as yet vtterly in his hart renoũced yͤ chriſtian faith, he appointed with Durward e to giue entrie at a certaine houre vnto Erle Dauid, & to al yͤ chriſtian army, vpon condition yͭ Erle Dauid wold ſee him reſtored again vnto his land & heritage in Scotlãd. The houre ſet, Erle Dauid came with a great power of mẽ to yͤ gate before reherſed, where he was ſuffred to enter according to apointmẽt, and incontinẽtly with great noiſe and clamour brake into the middeſt of the citie.

Erle Dauid entred the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes king Richard perceiuing the citie thus wonne, entred the ſame, & ſhortly after alſo wan a towre, which the Saraſins for a while mãfully defended: and thus was the citie of Acres won from the Saraſins, chiefly by meanes of the Scottiſhemen. But now touching their returne from this voyage (for ſith in other places more large mencion is made of ſuch exploites as were atchieued therin, I paſſe ouer to make any lõger diſcourſe therof in this place) ye ſhall vnderſtand, yͭ in that ſtreynable tempeſt, in yͤ whiche king Richards nauie was diſperſed in his cõming homewardes (as in the hiſtorie of England is more at large expreſſed) yͤ ſhip alſo that Erle Dauid was in, chaunced to be thrown a lande on the coaſtes of Egypt, where being taken priſoner, & led into Alexandria, at length he was redemed by certain merchants of Venice, & firſt conueyed vnto Conſtantinople, & after vnto Venice, where he was bought out, & redeemed by the Engliſh marchants, & in the end ſuffred to depart home. At his cõming into Flanders, he hyred a veſſell at Sluyce, therwith to returne into Scotland, but beieng lewſed a little off from the ſhore, ſuch a vehement tempeſt ſodenly aroſe that droue him, not without great dãger of life, neere to the coaſtes of Norway and Shetland.

Erle Dauid taken priſoner. He is redeemed.

He wente to Scotlande.

Arriued at Dundee.

Here in the middeſt of this extreme ieopardie (as hath bin reported) after he had made a vowe to buylde a Churche in the honour of the virgin Mary, if he myght eſcape that daunger of ſeas, he arriued at length in Tay water beſyde Dundee, not farre from Sainct Nicholas Chapell, without eyther rudder or tackle.

The name of Dundee.

The place where he arriued before that time hyghte Alectum, but hee as then chaunged the name, and called it Dundee, whiche ſignifieth as though ye ſhould ſay, the gift of God.

Proceſsion was holden.

When his brother the king heard that he was returned, ſuppoſing long tyme before, that hee had bin dead, he came ſpeedyly vnto Dundee to welcome him home, ſhewing himſelf moſt glad of his returne, in ſo muche, that hee cauſed publike proceſsions to be celebrate thorough the realme, to giue God thankes that had thus reſtored his brother home into his countrey.

A Churche buylte.

Erle Dauid alſo according as he had vowed, buylded a Church in the fielde commonly called the Wheate fielde, and dedicating it in honour of the virgin Mary, made it a pariſhe churche.

At a parliamente alſo holden after thys at Dundee, licence was graunted vnto hym to buylde an Abbey in what place it ſhoulde pleaſe hym within Scotlande, and to endowe it with landes and rentes as he ſhoulde thinke good.

Priuiledges graunted to the towne of Dundee.

There were alſo many priuiledges graunted the ſame time vnto Dundee, whiche endure to this daye.

The abbey of Lundoris.

Erle Dauid not refuſing the graunt and beneuolence of the king his brother, buylded an abbey called Lundoris, for monkes of the order of S.Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a ſtrange ſingularitie. For where as that houſe ſtandeth in a valleye, encloſed on eche ſide with wood and water, by reaſon wherof ther is great abundance of adders, yet doth no man catch hurt by any of them, in ſo much as ye ſhal ſee yong children play, and runne vp and down amongſt a great number of them withoute any ſkath or hurt following vnto them therof.

Adders without hurte.

In this meane while Richard king of England (who alſo in his returne out of the holy land was taken priſoner by the Emperor of Almain) was deliuered for a great ſumme of money, and ſo returned into his countrey.

King Richardes returne into England.

King William hearing of kyng Richardes return into England, to congratulate the ſame, toke his brother Erle Dauid with him, & came vnto London, where in token of ioy, that he had vnfainedly conceiued for his ſafe cōmnig home, after all troubles and dangers which he had paſſed, he gaue vnto him.ij. thouſand markes ſterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bin, aſwell for furniſhing of his voyage, as alſo for redeeming of his libertie.

The gifte of king William to kyng Rich.

By theſe frendly points of humanitie ſhewed, there folowed great amitie & loue betwixt theſe two kings. But king William fell ſicke in England, and as it often hapneth, ſuche as wer vnquiet perſons, deſirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were ſtreight way put in an vntrue belief, that he was dead: and cauſing it to bee bruted abrode, began to exerciſe all kinde of miſdemeanors by inuading the poore and ſimple people, with ſpoiling and ſlaughters in all parts.

A brute raiſed that the king was dead.

Herauld thane of Cathnes ſuccourer of rebelles.

But after it was certainly knowne, that the king was not onely alyue, but alſo recouered of his infirmitie, & cōming homewards, thoſe lymmars and wicked rebels withdrew vnder yͤ conduct of one Herald yͤ Thane of Cathnes, & Erle of Orkney vnto the vttermoſt bounds of Scotlande.

Howbeit the king purſued them in ſuch diligent and earneſt maner, that he apprehēded the moſt part of them in Cathnes, & cōmaunded iuſtice to be done on them, in ſuch wyſe, that mercie was not yet wanting: for ſuch as were thought to bee after a ſorte gyltleſſe, were pardoned, and the other puniſhed, euery of them according to the meaſure of his offences.

Iuſtice not deſtitute of mercye.

But the principall leader of them, that is to wite, the forenamed Herald, for that tyme eſcaped into the weſt Iles, but ſhortly after, returning into Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who cauſed his eyes fyrſte to be put out, then gelded, and laſtly to bee hanged on a paire of gallowes.

The Thane o Cathnes take. Seuere punition.

Alſo all thoſe of his lignage that were men, were lykewiſe gelded, that no ſucceſſion ſhould followe of ſo wicked a weed.

Great dearth. 1199.

In the yeare nexte enſuyng was more dearth felte in Scotlande, than euer was hearde off before: for a meaſure of Barley in Scottiſhe called a bolle, was ſold for fiue crownes, and yet in the yeare next following, accompted from the Natiuitie of our ſauiour. 1199. was more plentyfull abundance than euer had bin ſeene afore.

Alexander the prince of Scotlande.

The ſame yeare kyng Williams wife Ermengarde, was deliuered of a yong ſonne named Alexander.

The ſame yeare alſo, dyed Richarde kyng of England, and his brother Iohn ſucceeded in his place. About three yeres after this, was the forſayd Alexander the kings ſonne created prince of Scotland. And the ſame yeare came a legate frō the Pope ſent to king William, preſenting vnto him a ſworde, with a ſheath and hiltes of gold, ſet full of riche precious ſtones.

A legate ſent from the pope

A hatte.

Defendour of the churche.

He preſented vnto him alſo a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purpure hue, in token as it ſhould meane, that he was defendor of the Churche. Manye indulgences and priuiledges were graunted at the ſame time by the Pope, for the libertie of the Church of Scotlande.

Saterday after noone to bee kept holy.

It was ordeined alſo the ſame time, that Saterday ſhould be kept as holyday from noone forwarde, and greate puniſhment appointed for the that tranſgreſſed this ordinaunce, in doing any bodily worke from Saterday at noone, til Monday in the morning.

King Willm̄ did homage to king Iohn of England.

After this king Willyam returned agayne into Englande to doe his homage vnto kyng Iohn, for the landes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland.

Imediatly wherupon king Iohn willed him to paſſe with him into Fraunce, to make warres againſt the Frenchemen, and bicauſe he refuſed ſo to do, king Iohn made clayme to all the forſayd lands as forfayted to the crowne of England, and cauſed a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the ſame: So that open warres had immediatly folowed, if the Engliſh Lords had not compelled king Iohn to make reſtitution of all the goodes ſo taken, bycauſe they thoughte it not expedient in any wyſe to haue warres wyth the Scottes at the ſame tyme, beeing already in trouble with the Frenchmen.

In the wynter following, the froſte was ſo vehement and continued ſo long, that till midde March, no plough might be put into the groūd.

Ale ſolde by weight.

Ale was frozen in ſuch wiſe within houſes & cellars, that it was ſolde by weight.

Such a great ſnow fell alſo therewith, that beaſts dyed in many places in great numbers.

Erthquakes.

Moreouer from the twelfthtide til Februarie, there was euery day righte terrible earthquakes.

After the ende of Winter, king Iohn hauing made an ende of his warres with France, he began to buyld a caſtell in Northumberlande ouer aneynſt Barwike, vppon purpoſe to haue ſome quarell to fall out with the Scottes.

King William being aduertiſed therof, ſente his ambaſſadoures vnto kyng Iohn, requiring him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts, and not to ſeke any occaſion of new trouble: but for ſo much as he receyued no towardly aunſwere agayne from king Iohn, he aſſembled a power, and commyng to the Caſtell, whiche king Iohn had cauſed to be buylded, he ouerthrewe the ſame, and raſed it to the earth.

A caſtel ouerthrowne.

King Iohn ſore offended herewith, reyſed a mightie armie, and came towardes Scotlande, but at his cõming to the bordures, he founde his aduerſarie king William ready to receyue hym by battayle, if he had come forewarde, howebeit through mediation of prudente men the mater was taken vp betwixte them, ſo that on eyther ſyde the armies wer diſſolued, and both the kings repairing to Yorke, eſtabliſhed a peace there, with theſe cõditions, that Margaret & Iſabel daughters to king William, after the terme of .ix. yeares then next enſuing were once expired, ſhoulde be coupled in mariage with Henry and Richard the ſonnes of king Iohn, vpon this paction and couenaunt, that if the one dyed, the other ſhould ſuccede to the crowne.

A peace eſtabliſhed at York betwixt the kings Iohn and William.

The couenãts of the peace.

For the whiche it was couenanted, that king William ſhould giue a right large dower.

Alſo the caſtell which king Iohn had builded and king William raſed, it was agreed that it ſhould remayne ſo defaced, and neuer after again to be repaired.

For the ſure performance of theſe articles thus betwixt the two kings cõcluded, nine noble men of Scotlande were appointed to be deliuered as hoſtages vnto king Iohn.

Scottiſhe hoſtages deliuered to kyng Iohn.

In that aſſemblie there at Yorke, king William alſo ſurrendred into the hãds of king Iohn the landes of Cumberlande, Huntington, and Northumberland, to the intent he ſhuld aſſigne thoſe landes again vnto his ſonne prince Alexãder, and he to do homage for the ſame, according to the maner and cuſtome in that caſe prouided, for a knowlege and recognition that thoſe lands were holden of the kings of Englande, as ſuperiour lordes of the ſame.

A ſurrender made to a vſe.

During the aboade of theſe two kynges at Yorke, there was brought vnto them a chylde of ſingular beautie, ſonne and heire to a Gentlemã of great poſſeſſions in thoſe parties, beeing ſore vexed with diuers and ſundry diſeaſes, for one of his eies was conſumed and loſt through an iſſue which it had of corrupt and filthie humours: the one of his handes was dryed vp, the one of hys feete was ſo taken, that he had no vſe therof, and his toung likewiſe that he could not ſpeake.

The Phyſitions that ſawe him thus troubled with ſuche contrary infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuertheleſſe king William making a croſſe on him, reſtored him immediatly to helth. By reaſon wherof, manie beleeued that this was done by miracle, thorough the power of almightie God, yͭ the vertue of ſo godlie a prince might be notified to the worlde.

A child healed by king Wilyam.

After his returne from Yorke into Scotland, he endowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, holie Rood houſe, Dunfermling, and Abirdene, with many faire poſſeſſions, as the Letters patentes made thereof by him, beare manifeſt teſtimonie.

Churches endowed by K. William.

He alſo erected one new biſhops ſee called Argyle, giuing therto ſufficient landes towardes the mayntenance and ſuſtentation thereof.

The erection of the ſee of Argyle.

After this, cõming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remayned there many dayes, but that there chaunced ſuch a floud, by reaſon of the riſing & inundation of the two riuers Taye and Almound, that through violence of the ſtreame the towne walles were borne downe, and muche people in the town drowned, ere they could make anye ſhifte to ſaue themſelues, in ſo muche that though the king wyth his wyfe and the moſte parte of his familie eſcaped oute of that greate danger and ieopardie, his yongeſt ſonne yet named Iohn, with his nourſe and .xij. other women periſhed, & .xx. other of his ſeruantes beſide.

The towne of Bertha drowned by inundation.

The king in daunger of drowning.

Iohn the kinges ſonne is drowned.

Here was heard ſuch clamour, noyſe and lamentable cryes, as is vſed in tyme when anye towne is ſodenly taken and ſurpriſed by the enimies: for as the common Prouerbe witneſſeth, fyre and water haue no mercie: and yet of theſe two, water is more terrible and daungerous: for there is no force or witte of man able to reſiſte the violence of inundations, wher they ſodeynly breake in.

King William after that the towne of Bertha was thus deſtroyed and ouerflowed wyth water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that oughte the grounde where the ſame towne was buylded.

The towne of Perth buylded.

Furthermore to aduaunce the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king graunted ſundry beneficial priuiledges and freedoms therto, that it myghte the ſooner ryſe in rycheſſe and wealth.

Freedomes granted to the town of Perth.

The firſt foundation thereof was layde after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1210. yeares, but the name was chaunged afterwardes, and called Saint Iohns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day.

Saint Iohns towne.

Gothred moued a rebelliō in Cathnes.

About the ſame time there roſe eft ſones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothred the ſonne of Makuilzem (of whoſe rebellion ye haue heard before) ſpoyled with often incurſions and rodes the Countrey of Roſſe, and other boundes there aboutes.

His companie encreaſeth.

His companie encreaſed dayly more and more, by repayre of ſuch number of Rebelles as came vnto him oute of Lochquhaber and the Weſterne Iles.

The Earles of Fife & Athol ſent agaynſt him.

King William to repreſſe theſe attemptes, ſent forth the Earles of Fife and Atholl, with the Thane of Buthquhane, hauing ſixe thouſande in their companie, the which encountering with the enimies in ſet battail, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothred their chiefe Captaine priſoner, brought him vnto the king, who cauſed both him and diuerſe other which were likewiſe taken priſoners, to loſe their heades.

The Rebelles ouerthrowne. Gothred taken and beheaded.

Gothred himſelfe was ſore wounded before he was taken, ſo that if his takers had not made the more ſpeede in the conueying of him to the king, he had dyed of his hurtes before execution had thus beene done on him accordingly as was appoynted.

The diſſentiō betwixt the Pope and king Iohn.

About this tyme roſe the diſſention and variance, betwixt Iohn King of Englande, and Pope Innocent the thirde, for that the Engliſhe Cleargie refuſed to ayde the ſayde Iohn wyth ſuche ſummes of money as hee demaunded of them.

The cauſe.

The death of K. William.

1214

Shortly after, William king of Scotlande, worne with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the lxxiiij. yeare of his age, and in the. xlix. yeare of his raigne, and after the incarnation of Chriſt. 1214. yeares.

He was buryed in Aberbrothak before the high aulter within the Quiere.

Two blaſing ſtarres.

The yeare afore his death, two Comets or blaſing ſtarres appeared in the Month of March right terrible to behold, yͤ one did ſhine before the ryſing of the Sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof.

A monſtrous Calfe.

The yeare next following, there was a Cow in Northumberlande that calued a right monſtruous Calfe, for the head and necke reſembled a verie Calfe in deede, but the reſidue of the bodye was like to a Colte.

Two Moones.

In the Winter after, there were ſeene alſo two Moones in the Fyrmament, the one beeing ſeuered from the other, and in ſhape naturally horned as yee ſee the Moone in hir encreaſing or waning.

The Abbay of Balmernocht founded.

King William in his life time founded the Abbay of Balmernocht, but his wife Queene Ermengard endowed it with landes and poſſeſſions after his deceaſſe.

In the. xlvj. yeare of this King Williams raigne, two Monkes of the Trinitie order were ſent into Scotlande by Pope Innocent, vnto whome King William gaue his Palace royall in Abirdene, to conuert the ſame into an Abbay for them to inhabite: and was in minde to haue gyuen them many other bountifull giftes, if he had liued any longer time.

Alexander.

Alexander the ſecond is crowned at Scone.

After the deceaſe of king William, his ſonne Alexander the ſecond of that name ſucceded, and was crowned at Scone wyth all due ſolemnitie, which beeing furniſhed, hee went vnto Abirbrothok, where he remayned. xiiij. dayes in attending the funerall obſequies of his father, and commaunded that no publike playes, nor great feaſtes ſhould be vſed or kept of all that yeare, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole Realme.

A tyme of mourning.

The King himſelfe and all his ſeruants alſo were clothed in mourning weed, during the ſpace of one whole yeare.

A Parliament at Edenburgh.

The firſt Parliament which he called, was holden at Edenbourgh, in the whiche he confyrmed all the actes and ordinaunces deuiſed by his father: and further appoynted that all ſuche as had borne offices vnder him, ſhould ſtill enioy the ſame. Namely he commaunded that William Wood Biſhop of Dunblayne ſhoulde ſtill continue Lord Chancellour, and Alane of Galloway high Conſtable, which is an office of moſt honor and reputation next to the king, as hee that hath power of life and death, if any man drawe bloud of an other by violence within two myles of the Court.

Confirmation of Officers.

The office of the Conſtable.

When this Parliament was ended, bycauſe the olde Queene his mother determined to remayne during the reſidue of hir life in the place where that holye woman Queene Margaret ſometyme led hir lyfe, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenaunce of hir eſtate, the Caſtelles and townes of Forfair, with the landes and poſſeſſions to the ſame belonging.

The landes of Forfair giuen to the olde Queene.

He alſo appoynted certaine ſage and moſte graue perſonages, to be choſen forth as Iudges, which ſhould be reſident in euerie Citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due de-

A princely appointment.

termining of all quarels and matters in controuerſie betwixt partie and partie.

Diſſention betwixt K. Iohn & his nobles.

In this meane time great diſſention roſe betwixt John king of Englande, & his barons, by reaſõ wherof great warres enſued, as in the engliſh hyſtorie doth appeare. The Barons made ſute both to the french king, & to yͤ king of Scots for ayd, ſo that at length Lewes the french kings ſonne came ouer to ſupport them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertiſed, he likewiſe came with an army through England vnto London, cauſing his ſoldiers by the way to abſtaine from doing any kinde of domage to the people.

K. Alexander paſſeth to London.

By his comming things were partly quieted for a time, and ſhortly after that he had cõmuned with Lewes touching ſundrie affayres perteyning to both the realmes, they paſſed the Seas with ten veſſels ouer into France, leauing theyr powers behind them to aſſiſt the Engliſh lords,

The Frenche king aduertiſed thereof, came down to Bulleigne, where finding his ſonne and king Alexander, he renued the auncient bonde of amitie betwixt France and Scotlande, with the ſame Alexander, according to the couenantes of the olde league, with this addition, that neyther Prince ſhoulde receyue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marry with any ſtranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto.

The league betwixt Fraunce and Scotlande renued.

These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into Englande: ſhortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguiſh of minde and melancholy, than by force of any other naturall diſeaſe.

The beſt approued wryters affyrme that Lewes wẽt not ouer into France, til after the death of king Iohn.

His ſonne Henrie the thirde of that name, ſucceeded him, and in the meane time had the Pope accurſed both Lewes, & king Alexander, with all thoſe that fauored their cauſe againſt king John, which curſe was pronounced in a generall counſell, which was holden at Rome by Pope Innocent, there being preſent foure hundred and .xij. Biſhops, and .viij. C. Abbots.

Lewes & king Alexander accurſed.

A counſell at Rome.

King Alexander after the deceaſe of king John, returning homewardes with his armie, thought he might haue paſſed quietly without any annoiance by the way, through meanes whereof, hee loſt a certaine number of his men, being ſodenly inuaded by ſuch Engliſh men, as watched theyr time to take the Scottes at ſome aduauntage, in ſtraying abrode out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was ſo moued, that hee ſpoyled and harried all the Countreyes by the which hee paſſed, till he was entred within the confines of his owne dominion.

King Alexander returneth into his countrey.

Shortly after Cardinall Gualo came into England furniſhed with the Popes authoritie, to denounce the excõmunication aboue remembred againſt Lewes & Alexander, with all their fautors, whereupon he accurſed not only the foreſaid perſons, but alſo interdited all the places where they came, inſomuch that in the end Lewes was conſtrayned to buy an abſolution with no ſmall ſummes of money, of that auaricious Cardinall Gualo, and after vpõ agreement alſo made with king Henrie, he returned into France.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.

Not long after, came king Henrie with an army into Scotland, ſore endomaging the cõutry: but ſo ſoone as he was aduertiſed that king Alexander had aſſembled all the power of his realme to giue him battaile, he retyred with al ſpeed into England. The king of Englande had in his army at the ſame time, 1200. men of armes, right perfitly appointed and furniſhed with armor and weapon as was requiſite, and the king of Scots but only .v. C. But of footemen there were in the Scottiſh army 60000. able perſonages well appoynted, with Axes, Speares and Bowes, readie to die and liue with their Prince, conſtantly beleeuing, that to loſe this preſent life here in his defence, was an aſſured way to be ſaued in an other worlde.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotlande.

Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, written by Mathew Paris (as I take it.)

After that King Henrie was gone backe into Englande, King Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew and beate downe many Caſtels and ſtrengthes, which the Engliſh men helde.

K. Alexander in Northumberland.

Then marching through the countrey vnto Carleil, he wan that Citie, and garniſhed it with his people.

Carleil wonne by the Scots.

After this, laying ſiege vnto Norham caſtel, when hee had continued at the ſame a certaine time, and perceiued how he loſt but his trauail, he left it & returned home with great honor and triumph, for his other atchieued enterpriſes in that iourney. King Henrie being once aduertiſed that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinently got eftſoones his people togither, & comming to Barwike, wanne both the towne and Caſtel: After entring into Scotland, he burned and ſpoyled the cõtrey alongſt by the ſea coaſts, till he came as far as Hadington, putting al ſuch to the ſword as were found in the way, women, prieſtes, and children onely excepted.

Barwike won by K. Henrie.

Haddington.

He aſſayed to haue wonne the Caſtel of Dunbar, but miſſing his purpoſe there, he returned into Englande.

In the meane time, the auaritious Prelate Gualo, vppon truſt to purchaſe ſome large portion of mony in Scotlande, put the ſame vnder proces of interditing, & namely he accurſed king Alexander moſt terribly, for that he had inuaded England, (and as he alledged) ſpoyled Churches as well as prophaine places. These curſings ſo inflamed the heartes of the Scottiſh men with hatred agaynſt the Engliſhemen, that the ſame was not like to haue ended without the vtter deſtruction and ruine of both their realmes.

Scotland interdited.

Biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie.

A peace concluded.

Neuertheleſſe at length, by the diligent trauayle of the Biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treate an agreement, a finall peace was concluded, vnder theſe conditions.

The conditiōs

Firſt it was agreed, that King Alexander ſhould render the Citie of Carleil into the Engliſh mens handes, and king Henrie the towne of Barwike vnto the Scottes.

The whole dominion of Cumberland, to remaine vnto king Alexander with the one halfe of Northumberlande, to the Recroſſe. And further that King Alexander ſhoulde be abſolued of the Cenſures of the Churche, which Gualo the Cardinall had denounced agaynſt him.

Thus the two Kings beeing accorded, the two foreſayde Byſhops comming vnto Barwike, aſſoyled King Alexander, and deliuered his Realme of the interdiction, by ſuche authoritie as they had procured of the Cardinall Gualo.

The cleargy of Scotland ſommoned by cardinal Gualo to come to Anwike.

But yet the ſame Cardinall not mynding to depart with emptie handes, ſummoned all the Prelates of Scotlande to appeare before him at Anwike, there to receyue theyr full abſolution, to the intent by ſuch meanes to trouble them, tyll they had diſburſed to his vſe ſome large portion of money.

Sale of ſpirituall promotions.

Sundrie of them which loued quietneſſe more than contention, ſatiſfyed his mynde, but others refuſed vtterly ſo to doe, taking great indignation that ſpirituall cauſes were thus diſpatched for money, & eccleſiaſticall prefermentes bought and ſolde, no otherwiſe than ſecular poſſeſſions and prophane dignities.

The Scottiſh clergie cited to Rome.

Incontinently therevpon Gualo cited them to Rome, ſuppoſing that rather thã to take vpon them ſo long a iourney, they woulde haue compounded with him at his pleaſure.

The cōplaint of the Scottiſh clergie to the Pope.

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

Notwithſtanding they beeing nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at theyr commyng thyther, made vnto the Pope their complaint in moſt grieuous maner, of the inſufferable iniuries attempted in England & Scotland, by his moſt couetous Legate the foreſayde Gualo: By reaſon of which complaint, and of ſundrie ſuch letters and informations as dayly came out of England and Scotland, from other Biſhoppes and Abbots, conteyning right grieuous accuſations concerning the inſatiable auarice of Gualo, the Pope reuoked him home vnto Rome, to make anſwer in his preſence vnto ſuch matters as were layd to his charge.

Cardinal Gualo condemned in a ſumme of money.

At his returne thither, forſomuch as hee was not able to diſcharge himſelfe of ſuche manifeſt crymes wherewith hee was burdened, the Pope condemned him in a great ſumme of money, to bee payed as a fine for his treſpaſſe and tranſgreſſions.

The Scottiſh Biſhops abſolued.

And thoſe Scottiſhe Biſhops, which were come for their abſolution, were abſolued by the Pope, and ſuffered to depart in peace.

Dauid Erle of Huntington deceaſed.

1219

In this meane tyme, Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whom ye haue heard before howe he went in the iourney made by the Chriſtian Princes into the holy lande) deceaſſed, and was buried within an Abbay in England.

An enterviewe betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande.

Henrie king of Englande, after he came to yeares of perfite diſcretion, ſhewed himſelfe to be more deſirous of peace than of warres: Whereupon at Yorke there was a meeting appoynted betwixt him and King Alexander, where mutuall alliaunce was accorded betwixt them, on this wiſe.

Mariages concluded.

Iane the ſiſter of King Henrie, was promiſed to bee giuen in mariage to King Alexander, and two ſiſters of King Alexanders, were deſpouſed vnto two great Princes of the Engliſh Nobilitie.

A Legate ſent from Pope Honorius for a collection.

Theſe maryages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220. In the yeare next following, came a Legate into Scotlande from Pope Honorius, with bulles to gather a ſumme of money towards the furniſhing forth of an armie againſt the Turkes or rather Saraſins.

A Legates excuſe.

This Legate was a Cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchaſed no ſmall quantitie of coyne both of the Cleargie and Laitie of Scotland, ſpent the ſame in riot and outrageous inſolencie, making his excuſe at his returne to Rome, howe it was taken from him by certaine Brygants and robbers.

An other Legate.

Within ſhort while after, was an other Legat with ſemblable commiſſion ſent into Scotland from the foreſayde Pope: But king Alexander being aduertiſed of his comming, called a counſell, in the whiche one of the Biſhops that (as ſhould ſeeme) tooke great indignation to ſee howe couetouſneſſe raigned in moſte ſhamefull wiſe amõgſt the Romiſh Legates, ſpake in maner as followeth.

An oration of a Biſhop.

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of baſe linage.

Howbeeit ſundrie conſiderations there are, which might ſtay me from vttering ſuch things as be moſte preiudiciall to the common wealth, yet (moſt noble Prince) when I conſider thy humanitie, fayth, and conſtancie giuen to nothing more than to the defence and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth, for ſithe all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that, which is exerciſed by Kings or Princes deſcended by liniall ſucceſſion to theyr rightfull herytage: much more is that tyrannie to bee deteſted, whiche is exerciſed by men of vile and baſe lynage. Therefore if the ſundrie and manifeſt

wrongs

Men of baſe lynage.

wrongs done to vs theſe many yeares now paſſed, had come by the Popes themſelues, the ſame might ſomewhat more ſufferably haue beene borne, but ſithe naughtie vile perſons, of baſe byrth and obſcure lynage, promoted to benefices and eccleſiaſticall dignities onely for theyr wicked and horrible vices, haue not onely interrupted our Realme, without lawfull commiſſion, but haue alſo conſumed in maintenaunce of theyr wanton and inſolent vices, that money whiche they gathered in our Countrey by the Popes authoritie, vnder colour of rayſing an army to goe agaynſt the Turkes and Infidels, I am of this opinion, that theyr curſed auarice ought to haue no further place amongſt faythfull people, ſpecially amongſt vs, whoſe ſimplicitie and humbleneſſe they haue in contempt.

The Scottes ſore offended againſt Gualo.

The practiſe of Gualo.

In the yeares paſſed, ye complayned of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your Realme vnder the cenſure of interdyting, and the moſt part of your prelates vnder the curſe, bycauſe they would not anſwere him of money, according to his couetous demaundes, wherewith he might mainteyne his outragious luſtes: which Gualo alſo (as ſhould appeare) by moſt certaine coniectures, was of ſuche a diueliſh nature, that though he were ſent to treate a concorde betwixt the Engliſh men and Scottes, yet to ſatiſfie his auaritious deſire, he miniſtred ſuche occaſion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter beene the ſooner taken vp) were at a poynt to haue entered ſo farre into malicious hatred the one agaynſt the other, that it was not lyke, that any peace would haue taken place, tyll the one or both had bene vtterly deſtroyed. But ſith theſe haynous and terrible dedes are manifeſt ynough, to what ende ſhould I here remember them, ſith the ſame cannot bee done without your great griefe and diſpleaſure?

Moreouer, after we were deliuered of thys Gualo, ſhortly after commeth another, one ſhewing him ſelfe to come forth of the ſame ſhoppe: for in conuerſation of life, he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worſe: for after he had got vp amongeſt vs of this realme large ſummes of money vnder pretence of redeeming the Chriſtian priſoners out of the Saraſins hands, and waging of new armies agaynſt them, he waſted the ſame money in ryotous luſt and inſolencie, fayning, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Brygants.

Therefore ſith we haue had experience, and are alreadie ſufficiently taught by the doings of the two foreremembred Legates, to our heauie griefes and no ſmall domages, we may be worthily reputed vnwiſe and very fooles in deede, if we now admit the thirde.

For it is not to be thought, that this new Legate ſhall vſe the matter in any better ſort, than his fellowes haue done before him.

The Byſhops opinion.

And verily if any man ſhoulde demaunde of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part proteſt, that neither this legate, nor any other in tymes to come, ought to be receyued within this realme, conſidering how the ſame hath beene waſted and robbed by their continuall exactions: if there be any amongeſt you that hath more money than hee knoweth which way wel to ſpend, he may (in the name of God) beſtow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vſe of ſuch vicious Legates, as order it in ſuche ſort, that all men haue cauſe to thinke, whatſoeuer commeth into their hands, is but caſt away and clearely loſt.

Legate cannot be receyued.

Theſe wordes of this Biſhop (whatſoeuer he was) were lyked ſo well of all the Counſell, that the Legate coulde not be receyued into the Realme.

Peace confyrmed with the Engliſh men.

After the breaking vp of this Counſell, the maryage was conſummate betwixt king Alexander and Ioane, ſiſter to Henrie king of Englande: alſo betwixt Hubert de Burgh high Iuſtice of Englande, and Margaret ſiſter to king Alexander, by reaſon of whiche mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Engliſhmen, and as it had beene ſealed vp for a more full and certaine aſſurance.

Gileſpy Ros a rebell.

Enuernes burned by Gileſpy Ros.

Iohn Cumeyn Earle of Buchquhane.

Gileſpy Ros beheaded.

Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotlande, by the motion of one Gileſpy Ros, who hauing liued moſt lycentiouſly in ryotous outrage, at length arreared open warre agaynſt the king, and firſt ſlaying diuerſe ſuch of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewde miſdemeanors, for that they refuſed nowe to ſticke to him in this rebellious enterpriſe, hee went with the reſidue that offred to take his part vnto the towne of Enuernes, which he toke and burned, with diuers other places being of the Kings poſſeſſions, tyll at length Iohn Cumeyn Earle of Buchquhane comming agaynſte hym with an armie deliuered to him by the king, purſued the ſayde Gileſpy in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that finally he tooke him with two of his ſonnes, and ſtriking off all their three heades, ſent the ſame to the king as a witneſſe how he had ſped.

New trouble.

Adam Biſhop of Cathnes ſlaine by the people of that countrey.

This buſineſſe beeing thus quieted, an other enſued after this maner: The men of Cathnes ſore offended with their Biſhop named Adam, for that vpon refuſall to pay theyr tythes, he had accurſed them, fell vppon him within his owne houſe, and firſt ſcourging him with roddes, at length ſet fire vpon him and brunt him within his owne Kitchen

Which act being reported to the king, as then ſoiourning at Edenbourgh, he haſted forth with all ſpeede to puniſh the offenders, not ceaſſing till

he

Strayte execution.

he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he cauſed to be hanged, and for that hee would haue no ſucceſſion to come of ſuch a wicked ſeede, hee appoynted all theyr ſonnes to loſe their ſtones.

The ſtony hil.

The place where they were ſo gelded, is called euen to this day the ſtonie hill.

The Earle of Cathnes loſeth his landes.

The Earle of Cathnes, for that he neyther ſuccoured the Biſhoppe in time of neede, nor yet ſought to puniſh the offenders that did this cruel deed, was depriued of his Earledome, and whole landes belonging to the ſame.

King Alexander commended of the Pope.

The Pope highly commended king Alexander for this puniſhment taken of them, that had ſo cruelly murthered their Biſhop.

The priuiledges of Abyrdene.

After this king Alexander comming vnto Aberdene, gaue many large gyftes and priuiledges therto, although the ſame before this time enioyed ſundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings hys predeceſſors.

The Archdeacon of Marrey.

The Bulles whiche were graunted by ſundrie Popes concerning the libertyes of the churches in Scotlande, were committed by the king to the cuſtodie of one Gylbert Archdeacon of Murrey, who ſucceeded next after the foreſayde Adam in the ſea of Cathneſſe.

In the thirde yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Ermingarde were ſitting at their banquet on the .xij. day in Chriſtenmaſſe, otherwiſe called Yule, the Earle of Cathnes, hauing good oportunitie thereto, preſented himſelfe before the king, and beſought him of grace and pardon for his paſſed offence.

The Earle of Cathnes is pardoned, and reſtored to his landes.

The Earle of Cathnes is murthered by his ſeruants.

King Alexander taking ruth and pitie of him, reſtored him (vpon his fine to be payed in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto al his former honours, landes and poſſeſſions: Neuertheleſſe the offence that was pardoned by man, was afterward puniſhed by the iuſt iudgement (as ſome thought) of almightie God: for he was ſlain as he lay in bed one night by his own menial ſeruants, whome hee had roughly intreated, as the ſame went. The houſe alſo wherin he was thus ſlain, was likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man ſhoulde haue ſuſpition of his ſlaughter, but that it might ſeeme as though it had come by ſome ſodaine aduenture.

The firſt comming of black Friers into Scotlande.

About this time, or ſomewhat before, there came into Scotland ſent by Saint Dominicke, certaine blacke Friers, of whiche order the ſame Dominicke was the firſt author.

Iohn Adamſon.

Theſe men that were firſt ſent by him, lyued according to his inſtitution, more perfectly than ſuch as followed: for as it often happeneth, all things commonly from a good beginning fall into worſe eſtate, ſo that the ſucceſſors of thoſe men declined from al good religion, into moſt inſolent abuſes and miſorders, and ſo continuing in vicious liuing the ſpace of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a Frier named John Adamſon, that proceeded doctor in the profeſſion of diuinitie in the Uniuerſitie of Abyrdene, at the ſame time that Hector Boetius the Scottiſhe Chronographer proceeded there in the ſame facultie.

The firſt comming of friers minors.

On the ſame maner, aboute the ſelfe ſame time, were ſent into Scotlande, aſwell as into all other partes of the chriſtian world, Friers minors of Saint Frances his order.

Many of them alſo, after his deceaſſe fell to diſſolute liuing, keeping no ſuch ſtrayte rules, as both he preſcribed, and alſo obſerued.

The death of Alane Lord of Galloway.

His Baſtarde ſonne rayſeth a commotion.

The Earle of March.

But now to returne to the reſidue of the Hyſtorie: the Scottiſh people enioyed peace a long time after the appeaſing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane Lorde of Galloway and Coneſtable of Scotland departed out of this life, and for that hee had deuided his landes before his death amongſt his three daughters, hys baſtard ſonne gathered an army of ten thouſande men, in hope to attaine the poſſeſſion of Galloway by force of armes: but at length, after hee had wrought much ſcaith in the countrey by his violent inuaſion, he was ſlaine with fiue thouſande of thoſe that toke his part, by the Earle of Marche, and Walter Stewarde of Dunewalde, whiche was ſent agaynſte him wyth a power.

Roger Quincy Earle of Wincheſter Coneſtable of Scotlande.

The eldeſt daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in maryage vnto Roger Quincie Earle of Wincheſter, who after his father in lawe his deceaſſe, was made Coneſtable of Scotland, which office continued in the handes of his ſucceſſion, till king Robert the ſeconde his dayes: In whoſe time this Roger of Quyncyes poſteritie was diſinherited and extinguiſhed, for certaine offences committed agaynſt the kings maieſtie, and then afterwardes the office of the Coneſtable was giuen to the Hayes of Arroll.

The deuiſion of the lands of Galloway.

The ſeconde daughter of the foreſayde Alane, was maryed vnto John Ballyol, and the thirde to the Earle of Albemarle.

Thus was the Lordſhip of Galloway deuided into three, by reaſon whereof the inhabitants of that Countrey taking diſpleaſure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned baſtard, till he was vanquiſhed and ſlaine, as before yee haue heard.

K. Alexander goeth into Englande.

This trouble being appeaſed thus within the realme, king Alexander was aduertiſed of great diuiſion riſing betwixt king Henrie of England and his Nobles, and therefore to helpe towardes an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife Queene Jane & Iſabell his ſiſter.

Through his earneſt diligence, all the debates and quarelles were remoued, and the parties throughly accorded.

Iſabell the ſiſter of king Alexander maryed to the earle of Norffolke.

Which beeing done, hee maryed Iſabell his ſiſter vnto the Earle of Norffolke, and in the meane tyme hys wyfe Queene Jane deceaſſed, wythoute leauing any iſſue behinde hir, whiche chaunce cauſed the King hir huſbande to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotlande.

Iane Queene of Scotlande deceaſſeth.

1239

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation, 1239. King Alexander (bycauſe he had no ſucceſſion of his body begot maryed at Rockeſbourgh the daughter of Ingelram, Lord of Coucie, a virgin of excellent beautie named Mary, on whom he got a ſonne named Alexander, which ſucceeded after his deceaſſe in the gouernment of the realme.

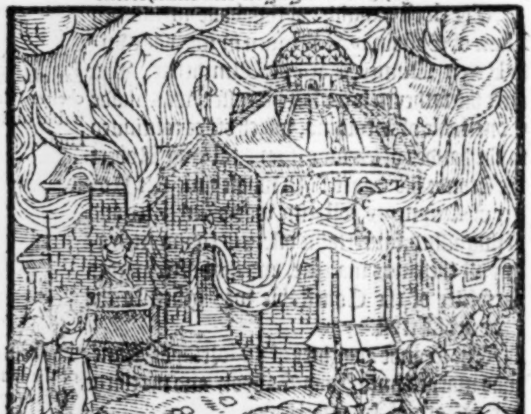
K. Alexander marieth the daughter of the Lord of Coucie.

Aboute the ſame tyme, John Cumyn Earle of Angus being ſent in Ambaſſade to Lewes the French king, dyed by the way.

Iohn Cumyn Earle of Angus departeth this life.

Alſo at Hadynton was holden a royal tournament, where Knightes and Squiers aduaunced themſelues by valiant prowes to winne honor: Neuertheleſſe the ende of all that pleaſure and paſtime ended in ſorow, for Patrike Cumyn Earle of Atholl was ſlaine within his lodging in the nyght, and the houſe ſet on fyre and burned ouer hym, to the intente no ſuſpition ſhoulde riſe, but that it happened by ſome euill miſfortune and negligence of fyre.

Patrike Earle of Athol murthered.



Iohn Byſſart ſuſpected.

But yet was John Byſſart, with Walter Byſſart his vncle ſhrewdly ſuſpected for the matter, inſomuch that though no euident prouſe coulde be had agaynſt them, yet were they baniſhed the Realme, and loſt all theyr goodes by confiſcation to the kings vſe.

A conuocation of the cleargie at Saint Iohns towne.

After theſe things were thus paſſed, a conuocation was called of the Cleargie at Saint Johns towne. In the which were diuers prouinciall ordinances and ſtatutes, made by conſent of the King and Nobles of the Realme, which were obſerued in the Church of Scotland vnto theſe late dayes.

Somerleid Thane of Argile rebelleth.

About the ſame time alſo, one Sommerleid Thane of Argyle, the ſonne of that Somerleyd of whome ye haue hearde before, following his fathers ſteppes, rebelled agaynſt the King, ſore endomaging by rodes and forages the partyes bordering vpon the confines of his Countrey of Argile, till at length the Earle of March brought him to the termes of ſuch extreeme neceſſitie, that he was faine to yeelde himſelf with a corde about his necke in token of ſubmiſſion, and beyng ſo brought before the king, obteyned pardon of his heynous offence.

Somerleides humble ſubmiſſion.

In the ſame ſeaſon, Henrie King of Englande, prouoked by the ſetting on of ſome ſeditious perſons remaynyng in his Court, as truſted by warres to aduaunce theyr priuate gaine, (during whiche time lawe and iuſtice haue no place) beganne to buylde a Caſtell for aneynſt Barwike, in the ſame place where the other was begunne afore by King Richarde, which (as before is ſhewed) was razed and throwne downe by King William, by the articles of agreement with couenant that it ſhould neuer be buylded vp againe.

A Caſtell begonne to be builded by K. Henry aneynſt Barwike.

Mathew Paris diſagreeth frõ the Scottiſhe writers touching the occaſion of this warre, as in the Engliſh chronicle ye may reade.

This attempt of the Engliſhe men had miniſtred ſufficient occaſion of warre, if the Nobles of Englande (conſidering that the buylding vp of this Caſtell was contrary to theyr bande and promyſed fayth) had not ſtayed the worke, and ſo therevppon that begynning of newe trouble betwixt the Engliſh and Scottiſh nations for that preſent ceaſſed.

Ambaſſadours forth of France

In the yeare following, came Ambaſſadors forth of Fraunce into Scotlande, declaring that King Lewes was readie to paſſe forwarde on that iourney whiche hee had taken in hande to make into Jewrie, and therefore deſired ayde of King Alexander, to ſupporte hym in thoſe warres agaynſt Gods enimies. With theſe Ambaſſadours were ſent ouer into France, certayne choyſe bandes of men of warre vnder the leading of Patrike Earle of Marche, Dauyd Lyndſey of Glenneſk, and Walter Stewarde of Dundonalde, three Captaynes of great wiſedome, and perfect experience in feates of chiualrie.

Scottiſh men that went with Lewes king of Fraunce into Egypt.

The moſte part of all thoſe Scottiſhe men that thus went forth in that iourney periſhed, in Egypt eyther on the Sworde or by ſickneſſe, ſo that fewe or none of them returned home agayne.

From henceforth, King Alexander lyued not long, but falling into a ſore and grieuous ſickeneſſe within a certaine Ile called Carnere, not farre diſtant from the coaſt of Argyle, de-

ceaſſed

The death of Alexander the ſeconde. xxviii. Io. M. but that can not be.

ceaſſed in the ſame Iſle ſhortly after, in the .li. yeare of his age the .xxxv. of his raigne, and of our redemption. 1249.

His bodie according as he had commaunded in his lyfe time, was buryed in Melros.

Alexander.

Alexander the third crowned.

After that Alexander the ſecōd was thus dead and buryed, his ſonne Alexander the thirde of that name, not paſſing .ix. yeares of age, was proclaymed King.

There was no ſmall adoe on the day of hys coronation amongſt the Nobles, for that by reaſon of the obſeruation of ſtarres, it was iudged to bee an unfortunate day for him to receyue the Diademe.

An infortunate day.

And againe ſome helde opinion, howe hee ought to bee made Knight firſt, before hee were crowned, ſo that thus they were at ſtryfe togither, in ſuche earneſt maner, that it was doubted, leaſt this contention woulde haue bred ſome great inconuenience, had not the Earle of Fiſe preuented the ſame, in cauſing vpon a ſodayne the Crowne to bee ſette vppon the Kinges heade, beeing placed in the Marble Chayre, according to the cuſtome, without regarde to the friuolous allegations of them that ſpake to the contrarie.

The Earle of Fiſe preuenteth the occaſion of further trouble.

When the ſolemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hielande man (for ſo they call ſuch as inhabite the mountaine Countreys of Scotlande) who in a certaine kynde of meetre of the Iriſh language, ſaluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albyn Alexander, mak Alex, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and ſo forth, recyting in maner of a Genealogie or pedegree all the Kings in order, of whom hee was diſcended, tyll he came vp to Gathelus the fyrſt begynner of the Scottiſhe name and Nation.

The ſalutation of an Hielande man.

The wordes in Engliſhe are as followeth: Hayle king of Albine, Alexander the ſonne of Dauid, the ſonne of Alex, the ſonne of William, the ſonne of Henrie, the ſonne of Dauid, and ſo forth as before.

This Hielande Scot was highly rewarded by the King for his laboure, according as was thought requiſite.

In the ſecond yeare of his raigne, King Alexander, (or rather ſuch as had the gouernment of the Realme vnder him) aſſembled togither all the Prelates and Barons of the realme at Dunfermling, and there ordeyned to take vp the bones of his Grandmother Queene Margaret, which being done, he cauſed them to be put into a Shrine of ſiluer, the .xxj. day of July, and minding to place the ſame where it reſteth at thys preſent, as it was borne forth towarde that place, when the bearers came againſt the Sepulture of hir huſbande King Malcolme, they were not able to remoue the Relykes any further, till by the counſell (as is ſayde) of an aged man that was there preſent, they toke vp the bones of the ſaide Malcolme alſo, and bare them forth with hirs to the place aforeſaid, where they after reſted in great veneration of the people.

The tranſlation of Queene Margarets bones.

Such as were appoynted gouernours during the minoritie of king Alexander, doubting leaſt the tender yeares of their ſoueraigne might embolden the enimies of the Realme to attempt ſome inuaſion, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Henrie king of Englande, requiring that the peace might be ratified of newe with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to bee had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

They were fianced in the dayes of king Alexander the ſayre as in the Engliſh chronicle it may appeare.

Shortly after, vpon this motion, both the kings mette at Yorke with a greate number of Lordes, aswell ſpirituall as temporall of both the Realmes, where king Alexander according to the promiſe before that tyme made, maryed the Lady Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henry, on Saint Stephens day in Chriſtmaſſe, with al ſolemnitie and ioyfull myrth that might be deuiſed.

An enteruiew of the kings of Englande and Scotlande.

1250.

The charges whereof, were borne partly by king Henrie, & partly by the Archbiſhop of Yorke, who in feaſting thoſe princes ſpent right liberally.

At length, king Alexander after he had ſolaced him ſelfe in the companie of his father in lawe King Henrie a certaine tyme, returned into Scotlande wyth hys newe maryed wyfe.

During the minoritie of King Alexander, the realme of Scotlande was gouerned in great proſperitie by the Nobles. But after his comming to rype age, he was enfourmed of certaine extortions done by ſome of the Peeres of hys Realme agaynſt the poore people, and therevpon determined to ſee redreſſe therein.

Amongeſt other there were accuſed of ſuch tranſgreſſion, the Earles of Menteith, Athol and Buchquhane, with the Lorde of Strabogy, which were of one ſurname, that is to wit, of the Cumyns.

Complaint made of the Cumyns.

Theſe being ſummoned to appeare before the Iuſtices, with one Hugh Abernethy, and other of their complyces, vpon theyr contempt ſo to doe, were proclaymed traytors, and as the Scottiſhe men terme it, put to the horne.

The Cumyns put to the Horne.

The foreſayde Lordes moued with this diſpleaſure, purpoſed to reuenge the ſame, and aſſembling their powers in ſecrete wiſe, toke the king at Kynroſſy, & brought him vnto Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in warde a long time after.

The king taken by the Cumyns.

Through which aduenture much harme enſued, by reaſon of miſruled perſons, that wrought many oppreſſions agaynſt the people, in hope to eſcape the due puniſhment for theyr miſchieuous actes prouided, ſithe the king who ſhoulde haue ſeene iuſtice miniſtred, was holde in captiuitie by his preſumptious aduerſaries. But of this matter ye may ſee more in the Engliſh Chronicles about the 39. yeare of Henrie the thirde.

The greate power of the Cumyns.

Thirtie and two knightes of one ſurname.

The houſe of the Cumyns was in thoſe dayes of great power within the Realme, both in multitude of offſpring, riches, landes, poſſeſſions, and manrent. There were at the ſame time to the number of .xxxij. knightes of that ſurname within the realme, all men of fayre poſſeſſions and reuenues.

The height of great families the cauſe oftentimes of their fall.

But as it often happeneth that men of great poſſeſſions and dominion are had in ſuſpition with the Prince, whereby the ſame is for the more part the cauſe of their ruine and fall, ſpecially when they preſume too farre vpon their high power: ſo it chaunced here: for within a ſhorte time after that the king was thus taken (as before is ſhewed) the chiefe authour of the whole conſpiracie, that is to witte, the Lord Walter Earle of Menteth, who was higheſt in authoritie amongſt all thoſe Cumyns, was poyſoned, as was thought by his owne wife, through which miſchaunce the reſidue of the Cumyns were ſo amated, that obteining their pardon for all offences paſſed of the king, they did ſet him againe at libertie.

The Earle of Menteith is poyſoned.

The king ſet at libertie.

This woman did thus make away hir huſband the Earle of Menteith through inſtigation of an Engliſh man called Iohn Ruſſell, as by coniectures it was ſuſpected, namely for that refuſing to marrie with any of the Scottiſh nobilitie, ſhe toke the ſaid Ruſſell to huſband, though in eſtate to be compared with hirs he was iudged a match farre vnmeete, and thereupon conſtrayned to flee with him into Englande, ſhee dyed there in great miſerie.

Iohn Ruſſel an Engliſh man.

About this time Pope Vrbane the fourth of that name, inſtituted the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, to be celebrated eche yeare on the Thurſday after Trinitie Sunday.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti inſtituted.

The Carmelite Friers came at this tyme into Scotland, and erected a Chappell of our Ladie without the walles of Saint Iohns towne, which the Biſhop of Dunkeld appoynted them, therein to celebrate their ſeruice.

The firſt comming of the Carmelite Friers.

It was alſo ſayde, that in this ſeaſon a Monk of Melroſſe was admoniſhed in a dream, where he ſhoulde finde a part of the holy Croſſe, not farre from Peplis in Louthian, encloſed in a Caſe engrauen wyth the tytle of Saint Nicholas.

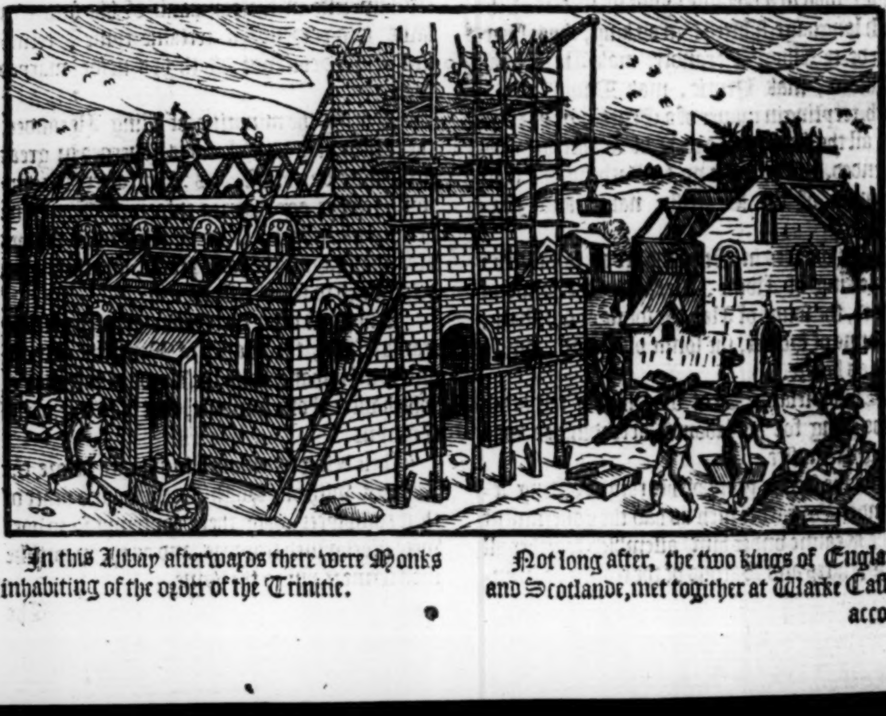
A part of the holy Croſſe founde.

And not farre from the ſame, was lykewiſe founde a ſtone Cheſte, right cunningly wrought and engrauen, wherein were founde certaine bones wrapped in ſilk, but whoſe bones the ſame were, it was not knowne.

As ſoone as the caſe was opened within the which the Croſſe was included, many myracles were wrought (as it was then beleeued.)

King Alexander for deuotion hereof, buylded an Abbay in honor of the holy croſſe, in the ſame place where that peece of the croſſe was ſo found.

An Abbey buylt.



In this Abbay afterwards there were Monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of Englande and Scotlande, met togither at Warke Caſtell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both theyr Realmes, for the redreſſe of certaine miſorders committed betwixt the borderers.

An enteruiew. Mathew Paris wryteth that in the yere 1256 both king Alexander & his wife came into England to viſite king Henrie, whom they found at Woodſtocke, as in the Engliſh chronicle further appeareth.

Suche reformation alſo was here deuyſed, and recompence made on eyther ſyde, that bothe the Realmes continued afterwardes in more perfect tranquilitie for a certayne ſpace, than euer was ſeene in anye Kinges dayes before that tyme.

In this ſeaſon was the Church of Glaſkew finiſhed, in that perfection as it ſtandes to bee ſeene at this day, right ſumptuouſly buylded for the moſt parte at the charges of William Byſhop of that Sea, who lyued not long after the finiſhing of the ſayde worke.

1262.

A great dearth

In the yeare following, whiche was the yeare after the byrth of oure Sauiour 1263. there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, by reaſon of the weate Harueſt preceeding, ſo that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beſide the ground.

Acho king of Norway.

Acho King of Norway, being informed how the Scottes were thus oppreſſed with famine and other miſeryes, by report of them that made the ſame more than it was in deede, ſuppoſed to fynde tyme and occaſion fytte for hys purpoſe, to ſubdue them wholy to his dominion.

Herevpon, preparing an armie and fleete of Shippes, conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe, hee landed with the ſame in the Weſterne Iles, on Lammas daye otherwyſe called Petri Aduincula.

The weſterne Iles vnder ſubiection of the Danes and Norwegians.

Thoſe Iles continued vnder ſubiection of the Norwegians and Danes from King Edgars time vnto the dayes of this Acho.

From thence the ſayde Acho with a mightie power of his Danes & Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, & only at that time amongeſt all the reſidue were vnder the dominion of Scottes.

Acho landed in Albion.

But Acho hauing quickly ſubdued them at his pleaſure, in hope of more proſperous ſucceſſe, tranſported his whole armie ouer into Albion, & landed with the ſame on the next coſtes, where after he had beſieged the Caſtel of Ayre a certain time, he toke the ſame, and began to waſte and ſpoyle all the Countrey there aboutes.

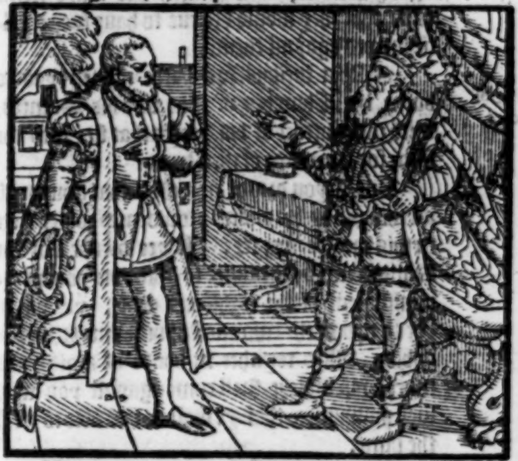
The Caſtel of Ayre beſieged and wonne.

K Alexanders purpoſe to enfeeble his enimies force.

King Alexander beeing ſore aſtonyed with theſe newes, for that he was yong, and not able as it was doubted to reſyſt the force of his enimies, enboldned vpon ſuche frequent victories as they had atchieued; thought beſt to prolong the time by colour of ſome treatie for a peace, that waye to diminiſhe the enimyes force, by long ſoiourning in Campe withoute tryall of anye battayle.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Acho.

Herevpon were Ambaſſadors ſent vnto Acho, of the which one amongſt them appoynted therto, being well languaged and wiſe, at their firſt comming before him ſpake in this maner.



The oration of one of the Ambaſſadors.

Were it not that our King and Nobles of the Realme (by an auncient cuſtome obſerued euen from the begynning) doe vſe fyrſt to ſeeke redreſſe of all iniuryes receyued, before they offer to bee reuenged with the ſworde, ye ſhoulde not nowe beholde Orators ſent vnto you to talke of concorde, but a mightie armie in ordinaunce of battayle comming towardes you to giue the onſet: We are of that opinion, that we neuer get ſo muche gaynes by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and ſpoyled our confines, but that we account it muche better to haue peace, if wee maye haue reſtitution of wrongs done to vs, by ſome maner of honeſt meanes. For what greater follye may be, than to ſeeke for that by fyre and ſworde, which may be purchaſed with fayre and quyet wordes? Neuertheleſſe when our iuſt deſires and reaſonable motions are refuſed of the enimyes, when we finde them not wylling to haue peace, (for the obteyning wherof all warres ought to be taken in hande) but rather that their onely ſeeking is to haue warres, not reſpecting the quarell: wee are readie to riſe wholy togither in reuenge of ſuch cõtempt with all poſſible ſpeed and violence againſt our aduerſaries. We are ſent therfore from our King and Soueraigne, to enquyre what occaſion you haue thus to inuade his Realme and Subiects, in violating that peace and league, whiche hath beene obſerued and kept betwixt vs and your Nation, the ſpace of this hundred yeares, and not onely to take from him hys two Iles of Bute and Aran, but alſo to inuade the mayne lande of hys Dominions, wyth ſuche crueltie, as neyther conſideration of age or perſon ſeemeth to be had, but that women, children, and feeble olde perſons haue paſſed by the Sworde, as well as thoſe that haue ſtand at reſiſtaunce with weapen

Peace to be preferred before warres.

Wherefore warres ought to be moued.

The cauſe of their meſſage.

in hande agaynſt you.

What haynous offence haue the Scottiſhe men at any tyme committed eyther agaynſt you or any other (whoſe reuengers yee maye ſeeme to be that they ſhould deſerue to haue ſuch crueltie ſhewed agaynſt them?

Burning of Churches.

What furious yre hathe moued you to burne the Churches of God and his Saintes, with the murther of his people that flee into the ſame for ſauegarde of their lyues?

But if you dreade not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine prouidence) which here in this worlde wee ſee: If yee dreade not the Saintes nor vengeaunce to come on you by the puniſhment of the righteous God, yee ought yet to dreade the two moſte puiſſaunt Kings of Albion, allied togither in bonde of amitie and maryage, whiche ſhall come agaynſt you with ſuch puiſſaunce, that ye ſhall not be able to reſiſt the ſame.

Therefore ſithe ye maye depart with honour, we on the behalfe of him from whome wee are ſent, doe admoniſhe you, that better it is for you to redreſſe ſuche iniuryes as yee haue alreadie done, and therewith to repayre home, than in aduenture to bee brought to ſuche deſperate termes, that when yee ſhall bee conſtrayned to ſeeke for mercie, the ſame in no wiſe wil be granted vnto you.

Theſe wordes were ſpoken by the Ambaſſadours, vppon purpoſe to put ſome terror into the heart of this hardie king Acho.

Neuertheleſſe hee abaſhed ſo lyttle therewyth, that hee aunſwered them in thys maner.

King Achoes anſwere.

Your beliefe is (I perceyue) ye Ambaſſadors, to abaſhe vs with your fierce and awful wordes, ſuppoſing vs ſo weake hearted, that wee ſhoulde leaue off our enterpriſe through your menaſing threates: but ye are farre deceyued ſurely if your ymagination be ſuch.

And where yee exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certaine Iles, we perceyue you are not meete nor indifferent perſons to be choſen for iudges in that cauſe, neyther doe wee mynde to learne of you, what wee ought to eſteeme right or wrong in ſuch behalfe.

If yee deſyre further to knowe and vnderſtande the cauſe, why wee haue inuaded Arrane and Bute, wee ſay and affyrme, that not onely thoſe two Iles perteyne to vs and oure people by good tytle and auncient right of inheritaunce, but alſo al the other Iles of Scotland, as we are able ſufficiently to proue.

The cauſe of Achoes comming into Scotlande.

And therefore are we come to take preſently ſo muche in value out of Scotlande, as ye haue taken in iſſues and profytes out of thoſe Iles in times paſt from vs.

Shewe then to your King, that wee feare neyther his menacing wordes, nor yet anye other vyolence that hee can ſhewe agaynſte vs: Notwithſtanding, if hee bee more deſyrous of peace than of battayle, and luſteth to auoyde the ſpoyling and burning of hys Townes, the ſlaughter of hys people, or if hee deſyred not to ſee the vtter extermynion of his Realme afore hys eyes, commaunde him to ſende vnto vs forthwith tenne thouſande Markes ſterling for the fruites of oure landes taken vp and receyued by hym and his elders in tymes paſt, and further that hee make a cleare reſignation of all clayme or title that he may ſeeme to pretend vnto the ſayde Iles, in ſuch ſort that the ſame may paſſe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without any contradiction.

His demaund.

When King Alexander had hearde what the anſwere of his enimie was, he was therewith ſore amoued, and perceyuing no waye to eſchue the battayle, but that he ſhoulde bee conſtrayned to trye fortunes chaunce, hee aſſembled togyther an armye of fortie thouſand men, that thoughe hee were not able to matche hys enimyes in prowes, hee might yet paſſe them in number.

King Alexander aſſembleth his power.

Hee deuided this hoſte into three battayles. In the ryght Wing was Alexander Stewart a right valyaunt Knight, Nephewe to that Alexander whiche endowed the Abbey of Paſley. He had with him all the menne that came forth of Argyle, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left Wing was Patrike Dunbarre, hauing wyth him the men of Louthian, Fyfe, Mers, Barwike, and Striueling ſhyre. In the myddle warde was the King himſelfe, with all the remnant people of the other partes of Scotlande to ſuccour the wings when daunger appeared.

The ordering of the Scottiſh hoſt.

Alexander Stewart leader of the right wing

Patrike Dunbar captaine of the left wing.

The king in the myddle warde.

Theſe battayles were ordered in ſuche array, that euerye clan had a Captayne aſſigned to them of theyr owne language, to exhort them to manhoode, thereby to winne prayſe and honour.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came fyrſt within ſight of hys enimies, hee called his people togyther, and exhorted them to doe theyr dutyfull endeuours lyke hardie and valyaunt men, agaynſte thoſe enimies that inuaded theyr Countrey withoute any iuſt cauſe or tytle of warre: and to put their truſte in almightie God, deſyring hym to graunt victorie vnto that parte, which had moſt right and iuſteſt cauſe of battayle. He further ſhewed how neceſſarie it was for them to behaue thẽſelues valiantly, and how much it ſtood them in hand to fight with manly courages, in defence of their wiues, children, lyberties and landes,

K. Alexander exhorteth his people to doe valiantly.

Hope of ſurety in what point reſted.

hauing no hope of ſuretie of lyfe but in the valyaunt vſing of theyr able handes, ſo that theyr whole ſauegarde reſted in thys poynt, eyther to vanquiſhe the enimyes wyth manhode, or elſe

The neceſſitie of the cauſe.

to liue in ſeruile bondage as theyr ſlaues and miſerable thralles, and to ſuffer theyr wyues and daughters to be abuſed at theyr luſte and pleaſure. He willed them therfore to conſider, that not onely hee, but all Scotlande ſhoulde ſee them fight that day, noting both theyr manhode and cowardiſe: but ſithe theyr cauſe was iuſte and moued onely in defence of theyr natiue Countrey and auncient libertyes, hee truſted they woulde ſhewe the more hardyneſſe and courage, namely agaynſte them that ſought onely bloud and ſpoyle.

Seekers of bloud and ſpoyle.

These wyth other the lyke wordes King Alexander vttered wyth bolde ſpirite, to encourage hys people. And on the other part King Acho likewyſe thought it expedient to vſe ſome exhortation vnto hys armye, that they ſhould not bee afrayde of the great number and huge multitude of the Scottes.

Achos exhortation to his people.

The chiefeſt poynt to encourage them to do valyauntly, he ſuppoſed was the hope of ſpoyle, and therefore he put them in remembrance, howe by victorie not onely all ſuch ryches as the Scots had brought thyther wyth them (whiche coulde not bee ſmall) but alſo all the whole ſubſtaunce and treaſure of the Realme to be at theyr commaundement, yea and the Realme it ſelfe, if they mynded to enioye it: ſo that this was the day whiche they had ſo muche deſired, wherein ſufficient oportunitie was offered to ſhewe what rewarde ſhoulde followe to eche man for hys good and valiaunt ſeruice. But for that highe enterpryſes and famous exploytes might neuer bee atchieued without extreeme ieopardie, it behoued them to attaine to theſe ſo greate commodities by perſing through, and ouerthrowing by dynt of ſworde, the arrayed battayles of theyr enimyes, whiche howe eaſie a matter it ſhoulde be for them to bring to paſſe, ſuche as well conſidered the circumſtances, might ſone coniecture: for through dearth and famine whiche ſo long hath raigned amongſt the Scottiſh people, their bodies and forces (ſayth he) are ſo wonderfully enfeebled, that they appeare to repreſent rather ſhadowes than full perſonages of men able to make reſiſtance.

Hope of ſpoile encourageth men of warre.

High enterpriſes archiued with extreeme peril.

Againe, in conſideration howe neceſſarie it was for euery man to fight without faynting, ſithe they were enuironed on ech part without meane to eſcape, he deſyred them, that if it ſo fel out, that they ſhould chaunce to be ouercome, (which as he truſted ſhould not come to paſſe) that in ſuch miſaduenture they woulde yet ſell their lyues dearly and not to die vnreuenged.

Thus hauing opened vnto them what proſperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue ſufficiently inſtructed them to put all feare aſyde, and to doe what lay in their vttermoſt forces to vanquiſh the enimies.

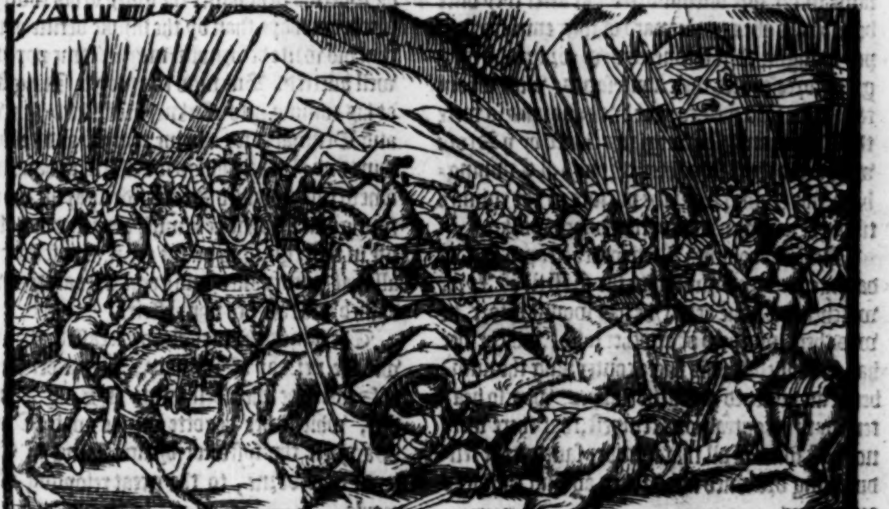
The ordering of the battails.

The Kings on eyther ſide, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their deuoirs, they array their battayles.

Acho diſpoſed all his beſt ſouldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle warde, for that he had knowledge howe the Scottiſh king was placed in the middeſt battaile of his people, wherfore he ſuppoſed, that if he might ouerthrowe and vanquiſh that part where the king ſtood, he ſhould eaſily then put the reſidue to flight.

The battailes ioyne.

His wings (bicauſe he had not number ſufficient to furniſh the fully) were arayed more weakly in ſlender and thin rankes: but yet at the fyrſt encounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them,



The valiancie of the kings.

eſpecially where the two Kinges fought: For they preaſſed ſtill with great violence on that part where they ſay any daunger, not ceaſſing to exhort and encourage theyr men to ſtande to the bargaine with manly ſtomackes, ſo that on eyther ſide theſe two kings playde the partes of right valiant captaynes.

The great nũber of Scottiſh men.

Acho with a bande of right hardie ſouldiers aſſayed ſundrie tymes to pierce and diſorder the battaile where king Alexander fought, notwithſtanding he had ſo great number of people there with him, that he ſtuffed euer the rankes with freſh men where he ſaw it needfull.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Alſo betwixt the wings, there was no leſſe crueltie ſhewed on eyther ſide in the beginning of the battaile, till at length the Norwegians perceyuing themſelues ouerpreſſed with multitude, and compaſſed in on euery ſide, they ſomewhat beganne to ſhrinke, and fyrſt thoſe in the lefte wyng, conſtrayned to breake theyr order, fell to running away.

Achoes nephew is ſlaine.

The maine battaile of the Norwegians fleeth.

The left wing of the Scots in daunger.

The Danes & Norwegians chaced by the Scottes.

Alexander Stewart therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scottes, hauing purſued the enimies a certaine ſpace, and ſlaine Achos nephewe, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongſt the Norwegians, cauſed the retreate to be ſounded, and gathering his men againe into array, brought them agaynſt the enimyes of the myddle warde, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battaile continuing with great ſlaughter on both partes, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would encline: but the Norwegians being now aſſayled on the backes by a new power of theyr enimies, at length they began to flee amaine: but in the meane time the left wing of the Scottes wherof one Patrike had the leading, was in great daunger, by reaſon the Captain himſelf was ſore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the ſame wing ſore diſcomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new corages, & with great force cauſed their aduerſaries, with whom they were matched, to giue back alſo: and ſo were the Danes and Norwegians chaſed by ỹ Scots with right cruel ſlaughter through al Cunningham, not ceaſing from the purſute of the enimies til night made an ende of that dayes worke.

The loſſe of Achoes ſhips by tempeſt.

King Acho with a few other eſcaped out of daunger, and comming to the Caſtell of Ayre, which (as ye haue heard) he had wonne before, he was there informed of another loſſe, whiche hee had ſuſteyned: for his fleete conteyning the number of an hundred and fiftie ſhippes, were ſo beaten wyth an outragious tempeſt, that there were not paſt foure of all that number ſaued, the reſidue being drowned and broken againſt the rocks and clyues.

The loſſe of the mariners.

The Mariners alſo, beeing conſtrayned to come a lande for ſafegarde of their lyues, were ſlaine by the people of the countrey, ſo that few of them or none at all eſcaped.

Acho retireth into Orkney.

Acho being thus abaſhed with theſe two infortunate miſchaunces, aſwell for the loſſe and diſcomfiture of his armie by lande, as for the periſhing of his Nauie on the Seas, got him vnto thoſe foure ſhippes that were ſaued, and ſayled with them aboute the coaſt, till he arryued in Orkney.

1263.

In thys battayle whiche was foughten at Largis, the thirde daye of Auguſt in the yeare 1263. there were ſlaine of Danes and Norwegians .xxiiij. thouſande, and of Scottes about fiue thouſand.

Iohn Fourdon.

Acho prepareth to make a new inuaſion into Scotland, but dieth before his prouiſion was readie.

Thus hath Hector Bo. But Fourdon ſeemeth not to agree altogither herewith, who writing of this inuaſiõ made by ỹ Norwegians into Scotland, ſaith, that they were but .xx. M. men of war in al embarked in .lxxx. ſhips, which comming to the new caſtel of Aran, beſieged aſwel ỹ ſaid caſtel of Aran, as the caſtel of Bute, & toke the both, ſpoyling alſo the churches alongſt the ſea coaſt, & after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham on the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, loſt the moſt part of their veſſels, whiche were drowned togither with thouſands of men in the ſame. The reſidue that got to land, encoũtering with ỹ Scots led by Alexander Stewart of Dondenald, were diſcõfited, put to flight, chaſed & drowned in the ſea, into the which they were driuen. Amongſt other that were ſlaine, a nephew of king Acho was one, a yong Gentleman of great valiancie, and ſore lamented of his Uncle. Acho had muche adoe to eſcape himſelfe he was ſo egrely purſued of his enimies. Thus haue I thought good to ſhew the diuerſitie of writers in this behalf, that it may appere how things are ſomtimes amplified by Boetius to aduance the glory of his coũtrymẽ further perhaps than by the ſimple veritie of thoſe that did write before him may in ſome poynts be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his cõming into Orkney, ſent into Norway and Denmarke for a newe army, and prouided ſhips and al other things neceſſarie, to haue made a new inuaſion into Scotlande agaynſt the next ſpring: but for that he himſelf departed out of this life in the beginning of the yeare next following, all that purueyance and great preparation was daſhed and came to none effect.

Alexander Prince of Scotland, as eldeſt ſonne to the king is borne.

The ſame day, that Acho deceaſſed, that is to wit, the .xxi. day of January, Alexander Prince of Scotlande the eldeſt ſonne of King Alexander, whiche hee begotte on his wyfe Queene Margaret the ſyſter of Henrie King of Englande was borne, to the great reioyſing of the people.

For the people conceiued double ioy and gladneſſe hereof, bycauſe that both a newe Prince was borne, and that enimie dead which ſought the deſtruction of the whole Realme.

After the deceaſſe of king Acho, his ſonne Magnus ſucceeded him, a right faythfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eyes.

Ambaſſadours ſent frō Magnus king of Norway to K. Alexander.

In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, he ſent his Imbaſſadours (of whome the chiefe was the Chauncellor of Norway) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at Saint Iohns towne, and there ſignified to him that king Magnus their maiſter, would willingly giue ouer all his tytle, right and claime vnto Arrane and Bute, ſo that the reſidue of the Iles might remaine in quiet poſſeſſion of him and his ſucceſſours in tyme cōming. Hereunto was anſwere made by K. Alexander, that the Iles by right of olde inheritance perteined vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, til he had recouered the ful poſſeſſion of ye ſame Iles.

In time of the trouble betwixt the ſonnes of Malcolm Cāmore and their vncle Donald Bane, Magnus K. of Norway the ſon of Olaue ſubdued theſe Iles.

Ri.Southwel.

The Imbaſſadors being diſpatched and ſent away with this anſwere, incontinently Alexander Stewart of Paſley, and Iohn Cumyn were ſent with an armie ouer into Man, which Ile they then recouered (though not without bloud) forth of the handes of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the ſame in poſſeſſion nowe for the ſpace of 167. yeares paſſed, but not without ſome alteration and trouble, as may appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as ſhould ſeme) wel inſtructed in matters aſwel touching Scotland and the North partes, as alſo concerning the ſtate of the out Iles. And therfore that the ſame maye the better appeare to the Readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe what I haue read in the ſame Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroyes of Man, and thoſe Iles which for a ſeaſon as ſhuld ſeeme in deede, were ſubſtituted by the kings of Norway, although it may alſo appeare, that ſomtime there was a certaine ſucceſſion in them, as from the father to the ſonne, and from the brother to the brother, &c. in maner as if it had beene by way of inheritance.

Guthred king of Man.

Reginauld. 1228.

Olaue, or Olauus.

1230.

Husbac.

Inſule Sodorenſes.

Olauus and Godredus.

In the dayes of king Iohn therfore as ſaith the foreſayd Southwel one Guthred raigned as king in Man. And in the yeare 1228. one Reginald being king of thoſe Iles, was murthered by wicked perſons, and thē his brother Olaue raigned in his place. In the yeare 1230. the King of Norwaye appoynted one Huſbac, the ſonne of Oſmond (ſurnamed Hacon) to gouerne the ſayd Iles called Sodorenſes, that is to meane, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coaſts of Scotlande; the which Huſbac, togither with other two Captaynes Olaue and Godred ſurnamed Don came by ſea, and arryued at Bute, where they wanne the Caſtell: but Huſbac was ſlaine with a ſtone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foreſayde Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they deuided the Kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, ſo as Olaue had Man alotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was alſo ſlaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (thoſe excepted which the ſonnes of Somerleid helde in poſſeſſion.) In the yeare 1237. in the moneth of May, Alane king of Man, the ſonne of Godred, and brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whoſe deceaſſe his ſonne Harolde ſucceded him, & raigned .xij. yeares, being but .xiiij. yeares of age whē he began his raigne. In the yere 1247. Hacon king of Norway ſent for Harolde king of Man to come vnto his coronation. Who comming thither, was honorably receyued, & obteyned king Hacons daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence in the yeare 1249. togither with his wife, they periſhed in the ſeas by a tempeſt on the coaſtes of Irland. Then ſucceeded his brother Reginald, who raigned but .xxvij. dayes, for he was ſlaine the firſt of Iune the ſame yeare, by the ſeruants of a knight called Yuarus. Then Harald the ſon of Godred Don gouerned Man one yere, being remoued by the king of Norway: and after him Magnus the ſon of Olaue began his raigne ouer Man and the other Iles, by conſent of the Manſke men themſelues. But in the yere 1254. one Yuarus was ordeyned king, or rather viceroy of thoſe Iles, and gouerned the ſame, tyll the foreſaid Magnus king of Norway reſigned his tytle to all the ſayd Iles vnto K. Alexander, (as ye haue heard) who placed his Lieutenants there, of whō the firſt hight Godred mac Marts, the ſecōd Alane. And after him Maurice Okarefair ſucceeded: and then folowed one that was the kings Chaplain. For the time of the reſignatiō made, I followe Hector Boetius, by reaſon of ſome contrarietie which appeareth in Southwel in the accoūt of the yeares aſſigned to the raignes of thoſe Iland kings, if you cōferre the ſame with the time of the foreſayd reſignation. But now to the matter: the lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of thoſe yles now, yt they were thus come into the handes of the Scots, was bound by his office to be redy with .xiij. ſhips, and .v.C. mariners to come to the ayd of the Scots, at al times whē he ſhould therto be required. After this, were the erles of Athol, Carik, & March, Alexāder Stewart, & the Thanes of Argile, & Lennos, ſent wt a puiſſāt army vnto the other of ye weſtern Iles, the which thoſe that were greateſt, they brought with much ado vnder the obeyſance of the crowne of Scotland, the reſidue ſubmitted themſelues.

Bute.

Husbac ſlaine.

Olauus and Godredus deuide the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them.

1237.

Alane.

Harolde.

1247.

Harold paſſeth into Norway.

Is drowned in his returne.

1249.

Reginald.

He began to raigne the firſt of May.

Yuarus.

Harald.

Magnus.

1254.

Yuarus.

Lieutenant or Baylife of the Ile of Man vnder the Scots.

The weſterne Iles recouered out of the handes of the Norwegians.

The Chancelor of Norway ambaſſador to K. Alexander.

Magnus King of Norway informed hereof, ſent eftſoones his Chauncelour in Ambaſſade vnto King Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe thoſe Iles: and if he might not bring that to paſſe, yet to compounde with him for a yearly tribute.

The firſt motion of the Chauncelor woulde in no wiſe be heard, therefore ſurceaſſing to ſpend any longer tyme aboute it, they fell in communication touching the ſeconde, which toke effect at length in this wiſe.

The releaſe of Magnus king of Norway to the Scottiſh Iles.

King Magnus by his Letters vnder hys greate Seale, renounced and gaue ouer all ryght or clayme that hee had or myght haue, both for him and his ſucceſſours to all the Iles of Scotlande.

A yearely pencion.

Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

And King Alexander for this reſignation was agreed to paye to the ſayde King of Norway, foure thouſande Markes ſterling, togither wyth a penſion or trybute of an hundred Markes by yeare: And for the more confyrmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of King Alexander being not paſt one yeare of age, was promiſed in maryage vnto Hannigo, the ſonne of King Magnus, the ſame maryage to be conſummate when ſhe came to yeares maryageable.

Further, in place where the greateſt ſlaughter of Danes and Norwegyans had bene made, it was couenaunted that an Hoſpitall ſhoulde bee erected and founded there, for the ſuſtentation of poore folkes.

Warres in Englande.

Aboute thys ſeaſon, there was great warres in Englande betwixte King Henrie and hys Barons, of whome the chiefe was Symon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, and dyuerſe other.

King Henrie requireth ayd of Scottes.

King Henrie beeing not well able to wythſtand his aduerſaries attempts, requeſted King Alexander to ſende him ſome ayde of Scottes to ſubdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres agaynſt him.

Alexander Cumyn ſent into England.

Hereupon ſhortly after, was Alexander Cumyn with fiue thouſand choſen mē ſent by king Alexander into Englande, who right valiantly bare themſelues in that warre whiche king Henrie held againſt his Barons, wherof in the Engliſh Chronicle ye may read more at large.

Robyn Hood and little Iohn his cōpanion.

In theſe dayes (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath wrytten) that notable and moſte famous outlawe Robyn Hode lyued, with his fellow little Iohn, of whom are many fables and mery ieaſtes deuiſed and ſung amongſt the vulgar people.

But Iohn Maior wryteth, that they liued as he doth geſſe, in the dayes of King Richarde, the firſt of that name, which raigned in England about the yeare of our Lord. 1198.

A Legate from Pope Clemēt.

In the yeare next after that Henrie king of England had ſubdued his domeſticall enimyes, there came a Legate from Pope Clement the fourth, requiring hym to haue a collection of money in Scotlande towardes the charges of leuying an armye agaynſt the Saraſins: But thys Legate was not receyued into the Realme, but commaunded to ſhewe his meſſage vppon the borders.

The Legates demaunde.

Hee demaunded therefore of euery Pariſhe Church in Scotland foure Markes ſterling, and of euery Abbey 80. Markes: and to the ende hee might the ſooner purchaſe fauour to the furtherance of his purpoſe, he deuiſed by the way certaine ſtatutes and ordinances right profitable to be vſed in the realme of Scotland as he iudged.

The anſwer of K. Alexander to the Legates meſſage.

The more precepts, the more offenders.

But king Alexander for anſwere herevnto alledged, that the Scottes minded not to receyue any ſtatutes or decrees other than ſuch as were ordeyned by the Pope, or ſome generall Counſell: For by a generall rule the more precepts, the more offendours are alwayes found.

And as touching the requeſte made for the collection of ſo greate ſummes of money, it was not thought neceſſarie, that ſo much coyne ſhoulde goe forth of the Realme: Neuertheleſſe if it were thought expedient, he woulde bee contented to ſende forth at his owne proper coſts and charges, a number of armed men to go with the Chriſtian armie agaynſte the Turkes: but for money otherwiſe forth, the Realme woulde not depart with any, leaſt it ſhoulde be waſtfully ſpent, or taken by the way of theeues, as it had beene afore time.

K. Alexanders wiſdome prayſed by king Henrie.

Henrie King of Englande prayſed much the wiſedome of king Alexander for this his anſwer, as he declared ſhortly after by his ſonne Prince Edwarde (who came to viſite his ſiſter the Queene, and his brother in lawe King Alexander at Rokeſbourgh, where they met him) for ye muſt vnderſtand that king Henrie had alſo learned (by experience) to be wiſe in that behalfe, as well as other.

A thouſande Markes ſent to the Pope.

Scottiſh captaynes ſent into Affrike.

King Alexander yet after this, ſent vnto the Pope a thouſande Markes in ſiluer: and vnto Lewes the French King that requyred his ayde in that iourney whiche hee made into Affrike agaynſt the Saraſins there, a thouſande Souldiours vnder the leading of the Earles of Carrike, and Atholl, Iohn Stewart the brother of Alexander Stewart, Alexander Cumyn, Robert Keth, George Durwarde, Iohn Quincie and William Gordon.

1270.

All theſe going ouer with King Lewes into Affrike, dyed there, either vpō the enimies ſword, or by the intemperate heate of that Countrey, (wherevnto they had not bene accuſtomed) in the yeare after the incarnation. 1270.

Thomas earle of Carrike.

The Earle of Carrike, whoſe name was Thomas, periſhing thus amongſt the reſidue in Affrike, left no inheritor behinde him to enioy his landes, ſauing a daughter named Martha, being then aboute .xv. yeares of age.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

This yong Ladie chauncing to ryde a hunting in the Woods for paſtime and ſolace, as the vſe is, fortuned by aduenture to meete with a noble yong man, one Robert Bruce the ſonne and heyre to Robert Bruys the Lorde of Anandale in Scotland, and Clevelande in England, begot of Iſabel the ſecond daughter of Dauid Earle of Huntington.

Robert Bruce.

The Lady immediately became ſo enamoured of this yong Gentleman, that ſhee ledde him with hir home vnto Carrike, where without making hir friendes priuy to the matter, ſhe maryed him in all haſt, leaſt any man ſhould be about to hynder hir determinate purpoſe.

Robert Bruce maryed to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Of this maryage was borne that Robert Bruce whiche afterwardes (through want of heyres of the lynage of King Alexander) atteyned the Crowne of Scotlande.

As ſone as King Alexander was aduertiſed hereof, he toke ſuch indignation that ſhe ſhoulde beſtow hir ſelf ſo lightly vpon one whom ſhe neuer ſaw before, that he toke hir Caſtel of Turneberie into his own handes with al hir other landes and poſſeſſions, as it were by eſcheit, for that ſhe had maried without his conſent.

K. Alexander diſpleaſed with the foreſayd Martha.

Notwithſtanding, within ſhort while after, he toke pitie on hir caſe, and for an eaſie compoſition of money which ſhe payed for hir mariage, reſtored vnto hir againe all hir landes & liuings, ſuffering hir to enioy hir huſbande without any more trouble or vexation.

In the thirde yeare after, the ſayd Ladie was deliuered of the afore remembred Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the ſame yeare which was the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour 1274, Dauid the ſeconde ſonne of king Alexander deceaſſed: and the thirde yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to viſite the Queene their ſiſter, and their brother in lawe the King, and after did attend them both in theyr iourney to London, whither they went to be preſent at the coronation of the foreſayde Edwarde, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceaſſe of his father King Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernment of the Kingdome deſcended vnto him by right of inheritance.

Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland is borne.

1274.

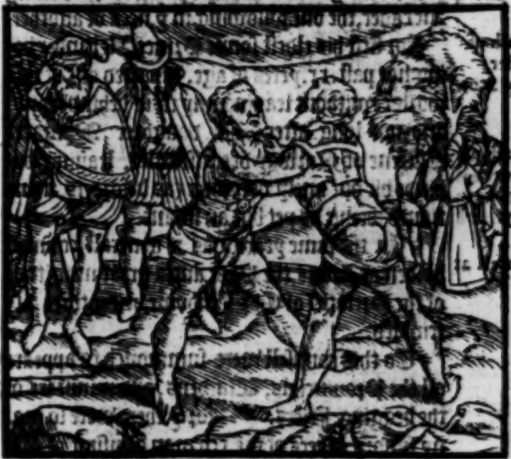
K. Alexander with his wife the Queene came to London.

He was crowned the ſame yeare on the day of the aſſumption of our Ladie in Auguſt, wyth great ſolemnitie and tryumph

The ſame time there was a Norman in king Edwardes Court, of ſuche paſſing ſtrength of bodye, that he ouerthrewe all men with whome he wraſtled, tyll at length one Ferquhard a Scottiſh man borne, of the Countrey of Roſſe, deſcended of noble parentage, vanquiſhed him to his great prayſe and aduauncement in honour, for King Alexander in guerdon of ſo worthy a dede there done in the preſence of ſo honourable an aſſemble, gaue vnto him the Earledome of Roſſe for euermore.

A Norman of paſſing ſtrength.

Ferquhard a Scottiſh man ouerthrew the ſayd Norman.



Of this Ferquhard ſucceeded fiue Earles all of his ſurname, but the firſt Earle was named William Roſſe, otherwiſe Leſly, in whoſe ſonne the ſeuenth Earle, fayled the dignitie of that houſe for fault of ſucceſſion. At the ſame time prince Alexander king Alexanders ſonne did homage vnto king Edward for the Earledome of Huntington, as the Scottiſh writers do teſtifie.

The Earldome of Roſſe giuen William Roſſe alias Leſlie.

Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of Englande at that time into Scotlande, his wife Queene Margaret deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfermling.

The death of Queene Margaret.

She bare by him two ſonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the aſſurance before made) was maried about three yeares after hir mothers deceaſſe, vnto Hango, or rather Aquine king of Norway, and deceaſſed in the ſeconde yeare after the ſolemnization of the maryage, leauing behinde hir a daughter named alſo Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

But before this happe fell ſo oute, euen immediately after the death of Queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger ſonne Dauid deceaſſed: By reaſon whereof, King Alexander being carefull for his ſucceſſion, procured a maryage for his elder ſonne Prince Alexander, wyth the Earle of Flaunders his daughter, the whiche beeing brought into Scotlande, was maryed vnto the ſayd Prince at Iedworth, on the Sunday after the feaſt of Saint Martyn in Winter, in the yeare 1279.

The death of Dauid ſonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotlande.

1279.

The feaſt of this maryage was holden with great tryumph and ſolemnitie continually the ſpace of .xv. dayes togither.

This yeare a number of the Scottiſh nobiliſſe which had attended the Ladie Margaret into Norway, were loſt by ſhipwracke, as they would haue returned backe againe into Scotland after the conſummation of hir maryage there with king Hanigo or Aquine.

Shortly after, by force of deathes dreadfull dint, two grieuous loſſes chaunced vnto King Alexāder, the one following in ẏ neck of another.

The death of Alexander prince of Scotlande.

For firſt his eldeſt ſonne Prince Alexander being not paſt .xx. yeres of age, departed out of this worlde, without leauing any iſſue behinde him: and not long after, his daughter Margaret Queene of Norway deceaſſed alſo, leauing behinde hir one onely daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of Margaret Queene of Norway.

A Counſell at Lions.

In the ſame yeare was a generall counſell holden at Lions, the Pope and a great multitude of the Prelates of Chriſtendome being there aſſembled.

To this counſell were ſummoned to appeare all the Prouincials, Wardens, and miniſters of the begging Friers. And for ẏ there were ſo many ſundry orders of thē, ech man deuiſing of hys owne brayne ſome newe alteration, all thoſe orders were reduced into the foure orders which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A general cōmandement was alſo giuen, that no man ſhould go about to begin any newe forme of ſuch vaine ſuperſtitious orders, whiche appoynt themſelues to eſchue labour, to the ende they may liue in pleaſure, luſt and ydleneſſe, by the trauaile of other mens browes.

The foure orders of Friers.

A commaundement giuen againſt deuiſing new orders of Friers.

In this meane time, after that the Chriſtian army was returned home out of Affrike, by reaſon of a truce concluded with the Soldane, the ſame Soldan (that truce notwithſtanding) ceaſſed not to make great ſlaughters and inuaſions vpon thoſe chriſten men that remayned behinde.

The Soldane contrary to the truce inuadeth the Chriſtians.

The chriſtian Princes ſore moued herewith, made their appeales for a new expedition into the holy land. The Scots gaue the tenth pennie of all their landes, or rather (as ſome bookes haue) the tenth part of all tythes belonging to churches to the furtherance of this iourney, notwithſtanding through ſuch enuie and contentions as roſe amongeſt the ſayde Princes, that iourney brake, to the great domage and preiudice of the Chriſtian fayth.

The Scottes contribution for a iourney into the holy lande.

King Alexander hauing loſt his wife and children, in maner as is before expreſſed, not only he himſelf, but alſo all Scotland was in great penſiueneſſe and ſorrow, eche man by a certaine forciudgement and miſgiuing in minde, doubting the miſhap that might therof enſue. But yet did king Alexander by aduice of his Nobles, in hope of new iſſue, marrie the daughter of the Erle of Champainge in Fraunce, named Iolant.

K. Alexander maryed the daughter of the Earle not of Champaign but of Dreux, ſayth Southw.

The mariage was celebrate at Iedburgh with greate feaſting and triumph: but that ioye and gladſome blythneſſe endured not long after.

Ri. Southwel varieth ſomewhat from the Scottiſh writers in report of K. Alexanders death. See in Englande.

For the ſame yeare on the .xviij. day of April, as he was gallopping vpon a fierce horſe at Kingorn, forcing him in his race ſomwhat raſhly, he was throwne ouer the weſt clife towards the Sea by a wonderfull miſfortune ſo rudely, that hee brake his necke, and ſo therewyth immediatly dyed in the .xlij. yeare of hys raigne.

35. H.B.

He was buryed at Dunfermling in the yeare after the Incarnation. 1290.

1290.
1285. H.B.
1286. Io.Ma.

It is ſayde, that the day before the Kings death, the Earle of Marche a little before night demaūded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwiſe named Thomas the rymer, or as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath, Tho. Erſilton who in thoſe dayes was reputed for a notable propheſier

Thomas of Erſilton or the rymer.

or, as we may cal him) Erſolthder) what wether they ſhoulde haue on the morowe? To whome the ſayd Thomas anſwered, that on the morowe before noone, ſhoulde blowe the greateſt wynde and tempeſt, that euer was heard of in Scotlande at any time before.

A propheſie of a tempeſt.

On the morowe when the ſkyes appeared cleare and bright, without cloude or any other ſigne of foule weather, and that it drewe neare vnto the middeſt of the day, and no wynde heard from any ſyde, but all calme and quiet, the Earle of Marche ſente for the forenamed Thomas, and tolde him that hee had myſtaken his markes, in propheſying of any ſuche notable tempeſt as he had ſpoken of the nighte before, conſidering it prouch ſo lythe a day without appearance of any tempeſt to enſue.

This Thomas ſayd little therto, ſauing that he alledged how it was not yet paſt noone.

And incontinently herevpon came a poaſt to the caſtell gate of Dunbar, where this Earle of March as then lay, bringing woorde of the kings ſodaine death, as before is recited.

Then ſaid the Propheſier: That is the ſcathfull winde and dreadfull tempeſte, whiche ſhall blowe ſuche calamitie and trouble to the whole eſtate of the realme of Scotland.

This Thomas was a man in greate admiration of the people, ſhewing ſundrye thinges, as they afterwardes chaunced: howbeit they were euer hidde and inuolued vnder the vayle of darke and obſcure ſpeeche.

Many ſtrange wonders and vnketh ſightes were ſeene in the dayes of this Alexander the thyrde.

Vnketh ſightes & wonders.

In the .xvij. yeare of his reigne, there was ſuche an infinite number of wormes through al the parties of Albion, that not onely the leaues and fruites of trees, but alſo flowres and herbes in gardens, were eaten vp and conſumed with them.

High tides.

And in the ſame yeare, the waters of Furth and Tay roſe with ſuche high tydes in flowing ouer the bankes, that many townes and villages were drowned, to the great deſtruction both of men and beaſtes.

A blazing ſtarre.

In the .xx. yeare of his reigne, there was a Comete or blaſing ſtarre ſeene of a meruailous quantitie, ſhyning euery day towarde the ſouth, euen about noone dayes.

Great wyndes.

On the Epiphanie day next after, roſe ſo great windes, with ſtormes of ſuch vnmeſurable great hayle ſtones, that many townes were throwne downe by violence thereof.

Fire cauſed through wind

In the meane tyme, roſe thorough the vehemente rage of windes a ſodaine fyre, in manye boundes within the realme of Scotlande, that did muche hurt in buyldings and edifices, brenning vp ſteeples with ſuch force of fyre, that the belles were in diuers places melted, as though it had béen a furnace.

Amongeſt other, thoſe of the abbey of Abirbrothok were moſt precious, which were as then conſumed together with the ſteeple wherin they hung. The townes of Abirden and Perth, were brent the ſame tyme: Alſo parte of Laynrike, with the temple and all the townes and villages in Clow a part of Angus; and lykewyſe manie townes and other buyldings in Lowthian, and in dyuers other partes of the realme, too long here to rehearſe.

Belles melted

In the .xxvj. yeare of his reigne was the firſt commyng of the peſtilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bin herd, that euer this ſickneſſe had come within that realme before that tyme.

The firſt comming of the peſtilence into Scotland.

In the ſolemnization of the ſeconde mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome according to the maner, ledde the bryde in a daunce, a great number of lordes and ladies folowing them on the ſame daunce, there appeared in their ſight as it were cloſing vp the hindermoſte of the dauncers, a creature reſembling deathe, all naked of fleſhe and lyre, with bare bones right dredfull to beholde, through whiche ſpectacle the king and the reſidue of all the companie were ſo aſtonyed, and put in ſuch fright and feare, that they hadde quickly made an ende of their daunce for yͤ time.

A ſtrange ſight in daunſing.

In the days of this king Alexander the third, lyued ſundry great clarkes.

Learned men.

Amongſt other one Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent Phyſition, and for his ſingular practiſe and knowledge in that profeſſion was no leſſe eſteemed and hadde in high fauour, with Edward king of England, than wyth K. Alexander during his lyfe tyme.

Michaell Scot a phiſition.

King Alexander the thirde, being in ſuch miſerable wiſe deceaſſed, as before is ſpecified, the realme remained in great diſcomfort, by reaſon he had neyther left any iſſue behynde him to ſuccede in the gouernement therof, neyther taken order in his lyfe tyme by teſtamente, or otherwiſe, for any other to ſupply the roomth of a gouernoure, ſo that hereof did enſue infinite miſorders, by the preſumption of wicked and vngracious perſons, the which vpon hope to eſcape vnpuniſhed (bicauſe Juſtice was lyke to wante due proceſſe,) ceaſſed not to attempt many vnlawfull actes, to the grieuous oppreſſion of the people: whiche miſruled demeanours and diſordred enterpriſes of thoſe outragious perſõs, whẽ ſuch as had any zeale to the welth of their countrey, vnderſtood daily to multiply & increaſe, they thought it apertained to their duties to prouide ſome remedie in tyme, and therevppon called a councell together, wherin after ſundry conſulta-

Scotland without a king and gouernour.

Miſcheues enſuing for lacke of a ruler.

Six gouernors choſen to haue the rule of Scotland.

tations had, & many matters debated touching ẏ rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, ẏ ſix gouernors ſhould be elected & thoſe, of the which three ſhould haue the adminiſtration and rule of the north partes, and theſe were William Fraſer biſhop of ſaint Androwes, Duncane Erle of Fyfe, and John Cumyne Erle of Buchquhane.

The other three were appointed to the gouernance of the South countreys, that is to ſaye, Robert biſhop of Glaſgew, ſir John Cumyn (a man of high eſtimation for his wyſedome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) & James high Steward of Scotland.

But in the meane tyme Edwarde king of Englande, ſurnamed Longſhankes, caſt in hys mynd, howe he might make ſome conqueſte of Scotlande, nowe that the ſame was thus deſtitute of an head to gouerne it.

How can this be true when king Edwarde had a wyfe at that tyme? but verily the Scots writers ſhewe themſelues ouercome with too much malice in moſte things whyche they write in the defamatiō of king Edwarde.

And for that he well vnderſtode ẏ the daughter of Norway (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though ſhe were but very yong in yeres, and not able for mariage: yet to cōpaſſe his purpoſe that wayes forth, he ſente his ambaſſadors vnto the Lordes of Scotlande, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as dewe vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance.

The lords after long deliberation herein had, conſented to his deſire, vnder theſe conditions, that the realme ſhould remain in all freedomes & liberties, without any kind of ſeruile ſubiection, in the ſame maner and ſtate as it was vſed in ẏ days of king Alexander laſt deceaſſed, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chaunced, that no iſſue came of this mariage to ſucceede them, then ſhould the crowne returne by remaynder ouer, to the next heires of king Alexander, without any clayme or pretexte of title to bee made by kyng Edwarde, or any of his ſucceſſours in time to come. Immediatly herewith, two noble knights ſir John Scot of Albawore, & ſir James Wemys were ſent into Norway to fetche the bryde ouer into Scotlande: but before their comming thyther, ſhe was deceaſſed, and ſo they returned backe into Scotland againe withoute effecte of their errande. And thus by meanes of hir death all amitie and frendſhip betwixt Engliſhemen & Scots ceaſſed. Then began to enſue great trouble & buſineſſe in Scotland, by reaſon of the contention whiche ſprang betwixte the kinſemen of king Alexander, for the title & claym which they ſeuerally made and pretended to the crowne.

The daughter of Norway deceaſſeth.

The cōtention betwixte the kinſmen of K. Alexander for the crowne.

See more of this matter in the Engliſhe hiſtories.

The aunceſtors of Robert le Bruce.

There were .iij. chiefly that ſemed by nereneſſe of bloud to haue moſt right, and therfore made moſt earneſt ſuite in their claime, John Ballyol, Robert Bruce, and John Haſtings. This Robert Bruce, was ſonne to the ſon of that Robert Bruce, which maried Iſabell the yōgeſt daughter of Dauid Erle of Huntington, on whome he got a ſon named alſo Robert, that maried the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue ſhewed before, whoſe ſonne this Robert Bruce was, that now clamed the crowne. John Ballol came of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to the foreſaid Dauid erle of Huntington, & Alane lorde of Gallowaye, which maryed the ſayde Margarete, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldeſt named Dernogil, was giuen in mariage vnto ſir John Ballyol, father vnto this John Ballyoll, ẏ thus made clayme to the crowne, alledging that forſomuch as he was come of the eldeſt daughter of Earle Dauid the brother of king William, hee ought by reſon to be reputed as next heire to the ſame king William, ſith none other perſon then approched ſo neare vnto him in bloud.

The lyne of the Ballyoſe with his title to the crowne.

On the other ſyde Robert Bruce, albeit hee was deſcended of the youngeſt daughter to Earle Dauid, yet was he come of the firſte iſſue male, for his father was firſt borne, and therefore if king William had deceaſſed without iſſue, the crowne had deſcended vnto him: for which conſideration, he mainteyned that he ought nowe to be preferred. Haſtings alſo for his part, bycauſe hee was come of the yongeſt daughter of king Dauid, maryed to his father Henrie Haſtings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he ought to be admitted. Beſides theſe, there were other alſo that made claim to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter ſufficiēt to mainteyn their ſute. This controuerſie being brought before the gouernors, was at ſundry times argued with much cōtention, not without the aſſiſtance of the nobles fauoring the parties, as occaſion of frendſhip or kynred moued them, namely Ballyol & Bruce had no ſmall nūber ẏ leaned vnto their parts, by reaſon wherof, ẏ gouernors were in doubt to proceed to any definite ſentēce in the mater, leſt if they declared one of thē king, an other wold attēpt to vſurpe the crowne by force.

The title of Robert Bruce.

Haſtings.

The doubt of the gouernors.

Hervpon they iudged it beſt to refer the deciſion of all this whole mater vnto ſome mightye king, whiche was of puiſſance able to conſtrayne the parties repugnant, to obey his ſentence.

Herevnto was none thought ſo meete as Edward king of Englād, & therfore they choſe him, who taking the charge vpon him as competent iudge, promiſed by a certayne daye to come vnto Barwike, willing that their counſell might be aſſembled there againſt that time.

At his comming thither, at the day aſſigned, and hauing hearde what coulde be ſayd on eache part, and throughly conſidering at length their allegations, he perceyued the ſame doubtfull, and required a longer time to diſcuſſe ẏ troth by good aduiſe of counſel, & therfore required to haue .xij. Scottiſhmē, ẏ beſt lerned & moſt ſkilful lawyers of all

The title doubtfull.

of al the realme to be aſſociate with .xii. Engliſh men, whiche he promiſed to chooſe foorthe of the moſt perfect and wyſeſt clerkes that myght bee founde within all his dominions, to the intente that by their ripe & aduiſed debating of the matter, the trouth might appeare, according to the whiche, he mynded to giue ſentence, without fauour eyther of one parte or other.

When all ſuche matters and proues as were proponed by the parties alleged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of recorde, he returned backe agayne into Englande.

This report of the Scottiſhe writers ſmelleth altogether of malice conceyued againſt him for that he ſcourged them ſo ſore for their vntruths.

Here the Scottiſhe writers reporte, that king Edwarde vſed himſelfe nothing vprightely in this matter, but accordingly as it often happeneth, had the eyes of his conſcience blynded, vpon hope to gayne ſomewhat by this credit thus to him cõmitted. But how vniuſtly he is ſlaundered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferente readers to conſider, by conferring that which the Scottes doe write thereof, with that which is to be founde in our Engliſhe hiſtorie. But to procede as we fynd it in the Scottiſh writers: king Edward to be ſatiſfied in knowlege of the truth, ſent into France for men lerned & of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demandes of yͤ parties for their doutfull rightes. But (ſayth Hector Boetius) he firſt cõmaunded them in no wiſe to agree vpon any reſolute poynte, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plea ſhould ſeme doubtfull by reaſon of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he mighte the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which parte he thought moſt expedient to ſerue his purpoſe.

Reſpect of perſons in deciding controuerſies is not to be conſidered.

Howbeit the moſt parte of the lawyers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his perſon, and alſo for that hee was come of the fyrſt iſſue male.

But ſome there were that gaue ſentence with Iohn Ballyole, for that he was deſcended of the eldeſt ſiſter.

King Edwarde ſuppoſing this to be the time moſte conuenient for his purpoſed intention to conquere the realme of Scotlande, returned to Barwik, where he had appointed the .xxiiij. learned men before ſpecified, to be preſent, that finall ſentence myght be giuen, according as he had before promiſed.

King Edwarde commeth to Barwike.

When he was come thus vnto Barwik, and the foreſayd .xxiiij. learned lawyers aſſembled, as aſſiſtantes with him, and the parties appearing before him in a chamber prouided for yͤ purpoſe, he cauſed the doores to bee ſurely kepte, and the entries ſtrongly warded, that no man myghte come in or out, but by his appointment & licence.

The purpoſe of king Edwarde, as the Scots doe vntruly reporte.

His purpoſe was to make hym king, that would be ſworne to holde the crowne of Scotlande of him, as ſuperiour lorde therof.

And bycauſe he knewe that Roberte Bruce was a man of ſingular manhode and wyſedom, he thought beſt to aſſay hym firſt, and if he foũd him not cõformable to his purpoſe, then he mynded to trie what the Balliol would doe.

The anſwere of Roberte Bruce.

When Robert Bruce had throughly hearde king Edwardes motion, he aunſwered that hee wayed the libertie of his countrey, more than his priuate preferrement, and therfore mynded not to deliuer his countrey, (whiche euer to that day had bene free) into the bondage and ſeruitude of the Engliſhmen.

King Edwarde perceyuing his ſtouteneſſe of ſtomacke, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Ballyole, who had ſuche blynde deſire to attayne the crowne, that hee paſſed not whether he enioyed the ſame in libertie or ſeruitude, ſo he might haue it.

The Ballyol promiſeth to do homage to king Edward.

Hereupon when this Ballyoll had giuen hys fayth by aſſured othe vnto king Edward, that he woulde doe homage vnto him for the realme of Scotlande, and acknowledge to holde the ſame of him as ſuperiour lorde, king Edwarde gaue ſentence with him, to haue moſte ryghte to the crowne and realme of Scotlande nowe thus in controuerſie.

The ſaying of the Earle of Glouceſter (as the ſcots write but not lyke to be true.) K. Edwarde was no man ſo to be delt with.

It is ſayde, that the Erle of Glouceſter, a mã of great prudence and authoritie in Englande, (ſeyng the Ballyol thus made king, and Robert Bruce without reaſon put backe) ſpake in thys ſort to king Edward: Oh king, remembre what is done by thee this day, ſparing to giue righteous ſentence in this matter, for though the ſame bee nowe couered and hidde, it ſhall be reuealed, when the great iudge that ſearcheth conſciences and the ſecretes of euery mans mynd, ſhal cauſe thee to anſwere for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuerſall iudgement: thou haſte nowe giuen ſentence on a king, but then ſhall iudgemente be giuen on thee.

Iohn Ballyol crowned king of Scotlande.

Shortely after, Iohn Ballyol went in great aray vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotlande on ſaint Andrewes day, in the yere from the incarnation. 1292.

1292.

Iohn Ballyol doth homage to king Edward.

So ſaye the Scottiſhe writers, but howe truely, reade more hereof in England.

In the yeare next enſuing, on ſaint Stephens day in Chriſtmaſſe, he came to Newcaſtel vpon Tyne, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotlande, contrarye to the mynde and conſent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, hee ſeemed to ſubmitte his realme (whiche had remayned in freedome vnto thoſe dayes) into the ſeruitude of the Engliſhemen: but ſmall felicitie ſucceeded thereof: for within fewe yeares after, king Edwarde commaunded hym by tenour of his bonde of homage to come with all the power he mighte make to ayde him in his warres againſt the king of Fraunce.

John Ballyoll repenteth him

King John incontinently herewith, became repentaunt, in that he had indaungered hymſelfe thus by doing his homage: and therupon ſent his ambaſſadours to king Edward, as then ſoiorning at London, to renounce his acte touching the ſame homage, alledging that forſomuche as it was done without the aduiſe of the three eſtates of Scotland, it was of no force in law, and not meete to be obſerued.

The anſwere of king Edwarde to the Scottiſh ambaſſadours.

King Edward anſwered theſe ambaſſadors thus: Sith we perceiue your king will not come vnto vs, we intend ſhortly to come vnto him. Herewith alſo he depriued him according to the maner, (ſo farreforth as mighte bee done in hys abſence) of all his kingly authoritie.

And the better to accompliſh his purpoſed intention againſt the Scots, he founde meanes to conclude a peace with the king of Fraunce, and for the more confirmation of the ſame peace, the Frenche kings daughter was giuen in mariage to king Edward his ſon, neuertheleſſe (as ſayth the Scottiſh Chronicle) he purpoſed (when hee had wrought his will once againſt the Scottes) to inuade France as fiercely as before, notwithſtanding any bonde of amitie, or maryage by him contracted.

After this, he procured ẏ frendſhip of Robert Bruce, and vpon promiſe (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the ſame Robert deliuered into king Edwarde his handes all ſuche caſtels as he helde in Scotlande.

The league renewed betwixte France and Scotland.

John Ballyol the Scottiſh king, vnderſtanding that king Edwarde mynded to make a cōqueſt vpon him, ſent William biſhop of Sainte Androws, & Mathew biſhop of Dunkeld, with ſir John Sowlis, and ſir Ingrame Umfrayuile into Fraunce, to renewe the auncient league betwixte him and Philyp the fourth as then king of Fraunce: whyche accordyngly was donne: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldeſt daughter of Charles Earle of Valloys and Angiewe, brother to king Philippe, was promiſed in mariage vnto Edwarde Ballyoll, the ſonne of king John, whiche Edward ſhould enioy landes of yearely rente and reuenues to the ſumme of .xv.C.li. ſterling, in places not of the demains belonging to the crown, as Ballieulle, Dampiere, Harecourte, and Horney, which his father helde in Fraunce with Lanarke, Kidion, Maldeſey, Cunyngham, and the caſtell of Dundee, with the apurtenaunces in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prouiſo, that if thoſe ſeignories and places exceeded the value of .xv.C.li. of yearely reuenues, then ſhould the ſurpluſage remaine to the king of Scotland: but if the ſame amounted not to that ſumme, then ſhoulde the ſayd king make them good & ſupply ẏ ſame, with other rentes in Scotlande, or otherwiſe, as ſhuld be thought meete. And further, the ſayde ſumme of .xv. C. li. in yearely rente was aſſigned as it were the dower of the ſayde Ladye, to enioye to hir ſelfe during hir lyfe after hir huſbandes deceaſſe, if hir happe were to ſuruiue him. In conſideration wherof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the mariage mony, the ſum of .l. M. crowns, or (as other write) .xxv. thouſande pound Turnoiſe. The charter conteyning the articles, couenants and agreementes of this mariage & league aboue mencioned, beareth date at Paris, the .23. day of October, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John vnto the ſaid biſhop of Saint Androws and the other his aſſociates, bare date at Striuelyng, the third Nonas of July the ſame yeare.

Ex Chron. Abindon, as I take it.

Hector Boetius. Abyndon.

1295.

The gentlemen of Fyfe, and Louthian ſent to Barwike to defēd it againſt the Engliſhmen.

Shortly herevpon, king John was aduertiſed that king Edwarde purpoſed to come and beſiege Barwike: wherfore by aduiſe of his nobles he ſent the moſt parte of all the lordes and gentlemen of Fyfe and Louthian vnto Barwike, to defende the towne againſt the enimie, if he came to beſiege it.

Engliſhe ſhips taken at Barwike.

The Engliſhmenne came not onely with a myghtie power by lande, but alſo wyth a greate nauye by ſea towardes the ſaide towne of Barwyke: Of whoſe commyng the Scottes being aduertiſed, came forth againſte thoſe that approched by ſea, toke .xviij. of their ſhippes, and chaſed awaye the reſidue.

Barwike beſieged.

King Edwarde rather prouoked than feared with this miſaduenture, came with a far greater puiſſance than before, to renewe the ſiege: but when he perceyued his purpoſe toke not ſo ſpedy effect as he hoped it ſhoulde haue done, he deuiſed howe to take this towne by ſome ſlightefull policie.

The policie of king Edwarde to winne Barwike.

Herevpon he fayned as though he wold haue broken vp his ſiege, & ſo reyſing his camp, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing prouided baners and enſignes, reſembling altogither ſuch as diuers noble men in Scotland vſed, he ſodeynly returned towards the towne, euery one of his ſoldiors wearing a croſſe of ſaint Androws aboue on their harneis, after the maner of the Scottiſhmen.

There were alſo ſente before vnto the towne certayne Scottes that ſerued the kyng of England, whiche gaue knowledge to the capitaynes within the towne, that their lord king John was comming with his armie to their ſuccours.

The Scots deceyued and entrapped.

The Scottes that were within the towne, beleeuing it had bin moſt true, ſet open the gates and came forth againſt their king (as they ſuppoſed) to haue receyued him with all ioye and gladneſſe.

The crueltie of the Engliſh men.

But when they came nere vnto the Engliſhmen, they perceyued both by their language and habite what they were: but this was not before the Engliſhmen were harde at the gates, ſo that when the Scottiſhmen would haue fledde backe to haue got into the towne agayne, the Engliſh men purſued them ſo faſte at the heeles, that they entred the gates with them, & ſo tooke the towne with great ſlaughter, as well of the ſouldiours and men of warre, as alſo of women, children, & aged perſons, without all ruth or compaſſion, ſo that they lefte not one creature alyue of the Scottiſhe bloud within all that towne.

Barwike is wonne.

of Marche being good Friday, Anno 1295. H.B.

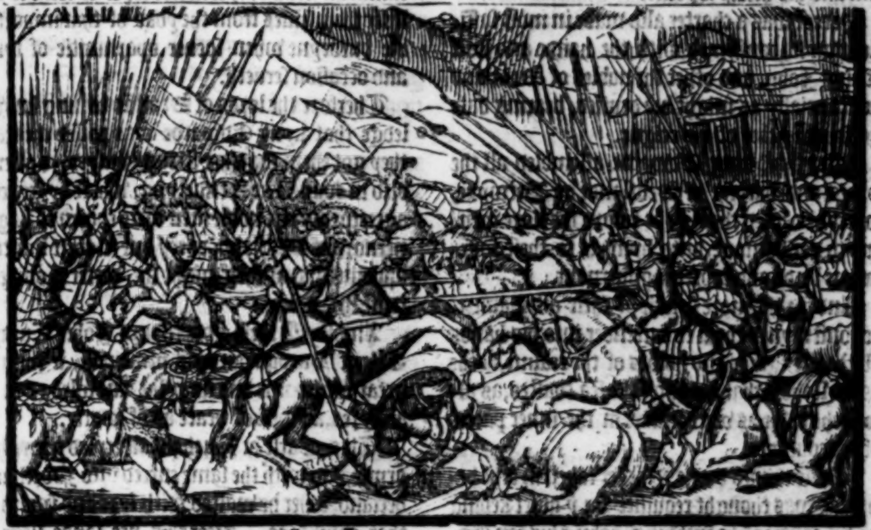
Thus was Barwike wonne the. xxx. day of Marche in the yere. 1296.

The abundāce of bloud ſpilled.

Streames augmented with bloud.

Suche abundance of bloud was ſpilled thorough all partes of the towne (as the Scottiſhe Chronicles teſtifie) that where at a falling tyde the water was not able to dryue aboute the milnes, ſome of the ſame mylnes yet, were nowe at a lowe water ſet on gate, by reaſon the ſtreames were ſo hugely augmented with bloud.

There were ſlayne aboue. vij. thouſand perſons that day, with the greateſt parte of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fyfe and Louthian.



The Scots diſcomfited at Dunbar.

Kyng John hearing of this ſlaughter of his people at Barwyk, in great deſire to be auenged, gathered his power, and ſent the ſame forth agaynſt king Edwarde, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar, and there encountring with hym in battayle, the Scottiſhe hoſte was diſcomfited, the moſte part of the Scottes being eyther ſlayne or taken.

The caſtel of Dunbar rẽdred to K. Edward.

The Erles of March and Menteth with lxx. knightes, fled to the caſtell of Dunbar, but they were beſieged ſo ſtraightly by the Engliſhe power, enuironning the Caſtell on eche ſide, that in the end they were conſtrayned for lack of victuals to yelde themſelues to king Edwarde, on condition to haue their lyues ſaued, which couenant was not obſerued (as the Scottiſhe wryters affirme:) for king Edwarde hauing got thē into his handes, cauſed them forthwyth to bee put to death.

Robert Bruce occaſion of the ouerthrowe of Scottes at Dunbar.

It was reported that Robert Bruce vpon ſecrete conference had with king Edwarde before this battaile at Dunbar, ſolicited all his frends in the Scottiſhe armie to flee vpon the firſt ioyning, whiche the reſidue perceyuing, were ſo diſcomforted, that incontinently they threw away both armour and weapon, and ſo were vanquiſhed without reſiſtance.

Robert Bruce ſubmitteth himſelfe to K. Edwarde.

The anſwere of king Edwarde to Robert Bruce.

Trouth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce ſubmitted himſelfe vnto king Edwarde, requiring him to performe his promiſe touching the right whiche he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he receyued no anſwere to his lyking touching that requeſt: for king Edwarde had no leſſe deſire to enioy the kingdom of Scotland, than Bruce (as the Scottiſhe writers affirme.) Therfore to caſt off Robert Bruce concerning his demaunde, he anſwered thus (as is ſayd) Beleeueſt thou that we haue nothing elſe a doe but to conquere realmes, and to delyuer them ouer againe vnto thee?

Roberte Bruce hereby perceyuing the ſuttle meaning of king Edwarde, returned righte ſorowfull vnto his landes in Englande, hauyng great indignation in his mynde, that he had obeyde king Edwards requeſts: but yet conſidered with himſelf that he muſt ſuffer for the time, tyll occaſion ſerued to reuenge the iniuries receiued whiche he mynded to doe, and that in moſte cruell maner, as afterwardes it will appeare.

The caſtels of Edenburgh & Striueling wonne.

King Iohn driuen into the caſtell of Forfaire.

King Edwarde after he had thus wonne the caſtell of Dunbar, got lykewiſe both the caſtels of Edenburgh and Striueling, & purſued king John till he had conſtrayned him to take for his refuge the caſtell of Forfair.

Herewith John Cumyn lorde of Strabogy

came to kyng Edwarde, and was ſworne his liege man.

Shortly after, by a politik practiſe of the ſame John Cumyn, king John with his ſon Edward Ballyol came to Mounteros, where perceyuyng himſelfe vnwyſely fallen into the handes of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reaſon of the menacing wordes of king Edward, he ſuffred himſelf to be ſpoyled of al his kingly abilimentes, and with a white wande in his hande (as the maner is) preſented himſelf before king Edward, reſigning there vnto him all the right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, vtterly renouncing the ſame both for him and his heires for euer.

John Ballyol king of Scotland reſigneth all his right to king Edward.

Hereof was a charter alſo made in moſt ſufficient wyſe, confirmed with the hande and ſeale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland ſubſtancially as might bee deuiſed, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne.

A chartour.

After this, king Edwarde aſſembled all the lordes and barons of Scotlande at Berwyke, where he cauſed them to be ſworn his liege men, and to doe homage vnto hym as to their ſoueraigne lorde and ſupreme gouernour.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward.

And for the more ſuretie of their allegiaunce, he conſtrayned them to ſurrender into his hands all the ſtrengthes and holdes of the realme, bothe as well thoſe that ſtoode on the ſea coaſtes, as alſo ſuche other as were ſituate in the inner partes of the countrey.

The holdes of Scotland deliuered into K. Edwarde his handes.

Theſe things don, and order taken in eche behalf as was thought requiſite for yͤ quiet keping of the coũtrey, he ſent king John & his ſon Edwarde Ballyoll vnto London, where they were kept in ſtrong ward, tyll at length he ſuffred the ſayd king John to returne into Scotlande, but leauing ſtill his ſonne in pledge behynd him, leſt he ſhould attempte any newe rebellion after his departure.

John Ballyol kept as priſoner in Englãd.

King John vpon his returne into Scotland, perceyuing that he was in the hatred both of his lordes and commons, he withdrewe agayne of his owne accord into England, forſaking wholly the adminiſtration of the Scottiſh dominion, and finally wente ouer into Normandie to hys auncient inheritance and landes there, where at length falling blind, and waſting away by long age, he departed out of this worlde in the caſtell Gallyard, leauing thoſe landes which he poſſeſſed on that ſide the ſea, vnto his ſonne Edward Ballyoll, who beeing releaſed out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his deceaſſe.

He returneth into Scotland.

He renoũceth the adminiſtration of Scotland.

He returneth into France, & deceaſſeth in caſtel Galliard

In the mean time king Edward hauing wel in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make againſt Frãce, had he not bin ſtayed thorough the buſineſſe of Scotlande, purpoſed now to purſue the ſame with all diligence: and therefore firſt garniſhing all the ſtrengthes and forts in Scotland to withſtãd the Scots, if they attempted any rebellion againſt him in his abſence, he appointed Hugh Creſſingham to be regent there, whileſt he ſhuld be occupied in Frãce, which Creſſingham before was Treaſourer.

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade Frãce.

Hugh Creſsingham regente of Scotland.

Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ſhips, hee paſſed ouer into Fraunce, truſtyng that the Scots would not ſturre, ſith they had of late ſuſteyned ſo many ouerthrows and ſore loſſes one after an other by the laſt warres: but tyrannie is of ſuch a nature, that by no kind of prouiſion it may any long tyme be ſurely defended.

For thoſe people that be oppreſſed by any tyrannicall ſeruitude, will not fayle to ſeeke to deliuer themſelues from the yoke of that importable burdeyne when ſoeuer oportunitie of tyme and occaſion ſerueth.

King Edward burdened by the Scottiſhe writers of tyrannie.

Therfore the lords of Scotlãd hauing knowledge that kyng Edwarde was paſſed the ſeas, they got them together ſtreightwayes, & aſſembled in councel at Striuelyng, where by general agreement. xij. noble men were choſen to be gouernors of Scotland, euery one in their limittes appointed, that they might the better prouide to reſiſt the enimie.

The Scottiſhe lordes aſſemble at Striueling.

xii. gouernors elected in Scotland.

Amongeſt theſe gouernours John Cumyn Erle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wyſedome and ſingular knowledge in all affayres, as well of peace as of warre.

This Earle of Buchquhan reyſed a myghtie armie, and with the ſame entred into Northumberland, wher he waſted with fyre and ſword all that countreye. After this, hee layde ſiege to Carleile, but he wanne nothing there, the towne was ſo well defended.

John Cumyn.

In that ſeaſon alſo, the fame of Wyllyam Wallace began to ſpring, a yong gentleman of ſo huge ſtature and notable ſtrength of bodye, with ſuche ſkil and knowlege in warlike enterpryſes, and hereto of ſuch hardineſſe of ſtomacke in attempting all manner of daungerous exploites, that his matche was not anye where lyghtly to be founde.

Williã Wallace beginneth to waxe famous.

He was ſonne to one ſyr Androw Wallace of Cragy, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inwarde hatred agaynſt the Englyſh nation.

Sir Androwe Wallace knight father to Williã Wallace.

Sundry notable feates alſo he wroughte agaynſt the Engliſhmen in defence of the Scots, and was of ſuche incredible force at his commyng to perfecte age, that of him ſelfe alone, without all helpe, he woulde not feare to ſette vpon three or foure Engliſhemen at once, and vanquiſhe them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie actes was notified thorough the realme, manye were put in good hope that by his meanes the realme ſhoulde bee deliuered from the ſeruitude of the Engliſh

Engliſhemen within ſhorte tyme after: And herevpon a great number of the Scottiſhe nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readye to aſſiſte him in all his enterpriſes. By reaſon wherof he myght not bee eaſily entrapped nor taken of the Engliſhmen, that went aboute to haue got him into their handes.

At length, when occaſion ſerued to vſe the helpe of ſuche a notable chieftayne, he was choſen by generall conſente of the Scottiſhmen as gouernour vnder Iohn Ballyoll, to deliuer his countrey from bondage of the Engliſh nation.

Abbeyes of Scotlande in Engliſhmens handes.

At the ſame tyme many Abbeyes and ſpirituall benefices in Scotlande were in Engliſhe mẽs hands. Neuertheleſſe this William Wallace by commiſſion hadde of Willyam Fraſer Biſhop of Sainct Androwes, auoyded and put them forth of all partes of Scotlande, leauing neyther temporall nor ſpirituall perſon of theyr bloud within that realme.

Caſtels wonne by William Wallace.

For ſhortely after, by publike authoritie, he receiued the armie that Iohn Cumyn Erle of Buchquhan had led before, & conſtrayned thoſe Scottes that fauoured kyng Edward, to obey his commaundementes, in renouncing all ſuch faith and promiſe as they had giuẽ or made vnto him. This done, he paſſed forth with greate puiſſance againſt the engliſhmen, that held ſundry caſtels within Scotlande, and with greate hardineſſe and manhode he wan the caſtelles of Forfair, Dundee, Brechen, & Mountros, ſleaing all ſuch ſouldiers as he founde within them.

Dunoter won by William Wallace.

Wallace nowe ioyfull of this his proſperous ſucceſſe, and hearing that certaine of the chiefeſt capitaines and officers of thoſe Engliſhemen ỹ kepte the caſtell of Dunoter, were gone forth to conſulte with other Engliſhemen of the fortes nexte to them adioyning, came ſodeynly to the ſayd caſtel, and toke it, not leauing a man aliue of all thoſe whiche he found as then within it.

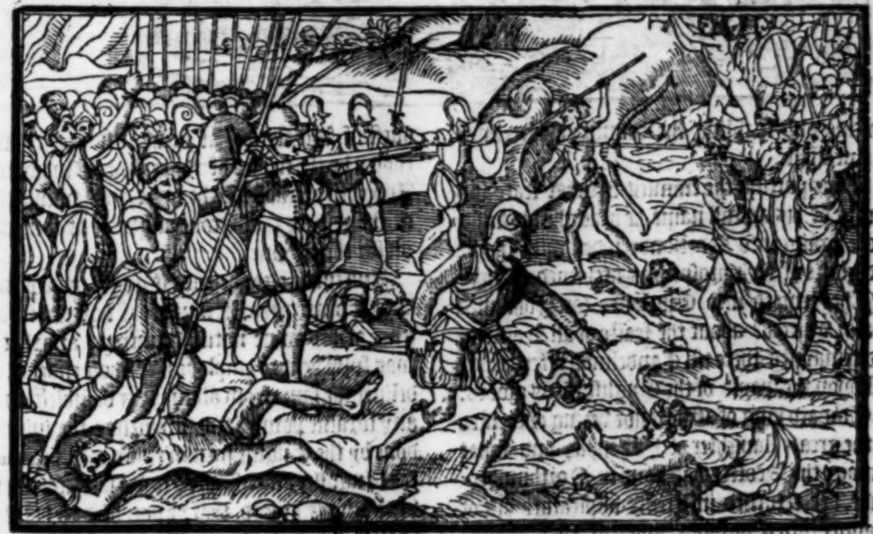
Then after he had furniſhed that holde wyth his owne ſouldiors in moſte defenſible wiſe, hee went to Abyrden.

The towne he founde in maner voyde of all the inhabitants, but the caſtell was ſo ſtrongly garniſhed with men and munitiõ, that conſidering it might not be won without great murder, he reyſed from thence and returned into Angus.

Hugh Creſſingham ſent into Scotlande.

King Edwarde as then beeing in Fraunce, hearing of theſe exploits atchieued by this Wallace his aduerſarie, ſent dyuers noble capteines vnto his lieutenãt Hugh Creſſingham with an armie into Scotland to redreſſe the matter.

Wallace in the meane tyme had layde ſiege vnto the caſtell of Couper, but nowe being aduertiſed of the comming of this armie againſte hym, he reyſed his ſiege, and wente to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Creſſingham with his armye ſhoulde not paſſe the ſame, according (as the reporte wente) his intent was to doe.



Hugh Creſſingham ſlayn at Striueling and his army diſcomfited by Willyam Wallace.

Heere encountryng with the enimies the thirde Ides of September, he obtayned a righte worthie victorie, for he ſlewe not only the forſayde Creſſingham with a greate parte of his armye beeing paſſed the ryuer, but alſo forced the reſidue to flee, in ſuche ſorte, that a greate number of them were drowned, and fewe eſcaped awaye with lyfe.

The caſtell of Couper rendred to Wallace.

Thus hauing gotten the vpper hande of his enimies here at Striueling, hee returned againe to the ſiege of Couper, whyche ſhortely after vppon his returne thyther, was rendred vnto hym by thoſe that were within in garriſon.

There were many of the Scottiſhe nobilitie the ſame tyme, that ſente vnto hym, offeryng to leaue the king of Englands part, and to ayde him with money and victuals, if he would onlye receyue them into fauoure, whereunto hee graunted.

By which meanes ſundry other caſtels were yelded vnto him, the whiche after he had garniſhed with men, munition, and victuals (accordingly as was thought requiſite) he brake vp his campe, and went with ſundrie of his moſt faithfull frendes vnto the caſtell of Striueling.

Dearth in Scotlande.

The policie of Wallace to relieue the peoples lacke in tyme of dearth.

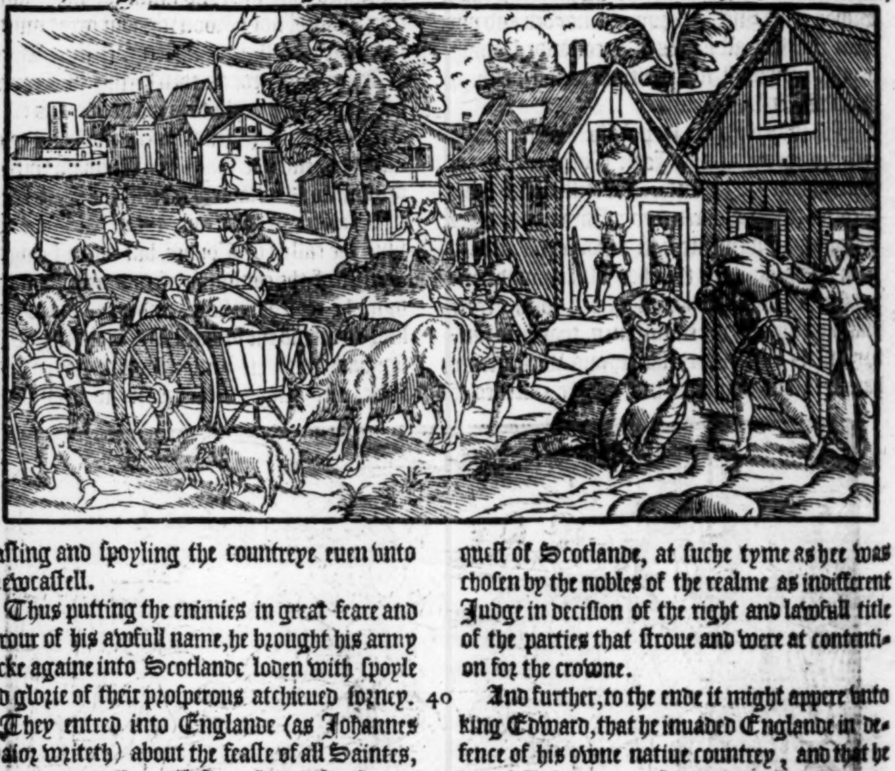
Afterwardes perceyuing that through ſcarcitie of corne, great dearth roſe on eche ſide within the realme of Scotland, he deuiſed which way he might beſt relieue the peoples neceſſitie & lack in that behalfe, and hereuppon he determined to paſſe with a mightie armie into Englande, and to ſoiorne there the moſte parte of the winter in ſuſteyning the whole number of his men of war on ſuche prouiſion as they mighte fynde within the boundes of their enimies countrey.

Diſobedience puniſhed.

He commaunded therfore that all the Scots appointed to goe with him in that iourney, ſhuld be readie at a certaine day and place prefixed, but dyuers of the Northerne Scottes (as they of Abirden and other,) for that they diſobeyed his cōmaundements ſette forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebelles and traytours to theyr countrey.

Wallace inuadeth Northumberland.

By whoſe example, other being put in feare, his commaundementes were the better obeyed, ſo that hauing got togither an huge hoſt of men, he entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, waſting and ſpoyling the countreye euen vnto Newcaſtell.



Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terrour of his awfull name, he brought his army backe againe into Scotlande loden with ſpoyle and glorie of their proſperous atchieued iorney.

They entred into Englande (as Johannes Maior writeth) about the feaſte of all Saintes, and remayned there till Candelmas after, liuing ſtill vpon the ſpoyle of the Engliſhmens goodes.

King Edwards meſſage vnto Wallace.

Edward king of Englande beeing enformed of the greate ſlaughter of his people, and what damage the Scottes had done in Northumberlande, hee returned in greate diſpleaſure out of Fraunce into Englande, and ſent his ambaſſadors vnto Wallace, ſore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in ſuche cruell wiſe in his abſēce, which he durſt (as he ſent him word) ful little haue done, if he had bin at home himſelf.

The anſwere of Wallace to king Edwards meſſage as the Scots do write

Wallace hereunto anſwered, that he had taken the aduauntage for the atchieuing of his enterpriſe, touching the inuaſion of Englande, in lyke ſort as king Edward had done for the conqueſt of Scotlande, at ſuche tyme as hee was choſen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent Judge in deciſion of the right and lawfull title of the parties that ſtroue and were at contention for the crowne.

And further, to the ende it might appere vnto king Edward, that he inuaded Englande in defence of his owne natiue countrey, and that he was fully bent to employe his whole endeuor to deliuer the ſame from all manner of ſubiection to any forraine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done by the Engliſhmen in tyme paſt, he willed the Engliſhe ambaſſadors to declare from hym vnto king Edward, that he purpoſed to hold his Eaſter in Englande (if God fortuned him lyfe) and that in deſpite of king Edward and al ſuch as would beare armour againſt him.

Wallace entred England with an armie of .xxx. thouſand menne.

And vndoubtedly according to his promiſe, he kept his day: for aſſemblyng together an armye of .xxx. thouſand men, he entred into Englande at the tyme before appoynted, where king Edwarde was readie with an armie vpon Stanedmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battayle: but when the tyme came, that both parties were ready to haue ioyned, the Engliſhemen withdrewe, hauing no luſt (as ſhould ſeeme) to fyght with the Scottes at that tyme, who perceyuing them to giue back, incontinently woulde haue ruſhed forthe of their rankes to haue purſewed in chaſe after them: but Wallace doubting leaſt the Engliſhemen had ment ſome policie, cauſed the Scottes to keepe together in order of battayle, and ſo preſeruing them from the deceytfull malice of their enimies, broughte them backe into Scotlande with lyues and honours ſaued, beſides the infinite ſpoyle and booties, which they got in this iorney.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to ſupport Wallace in all exployctes and enterpriſes which he toke in hand, ſo afterwards whē his fame began to waxe great, to the derogation of other mennes renoumes, ſuche as were farre his ſuperiours in birth and lignage, that fauour which many bare him at the firſt, was now turned into Enuie, hauyng no ſmall indignation, that a man of ſo baſe parentage, ſhoulde ſo ſurmount them in all honour and dignitie.

Wallace is enuyed.

Thoſe that enuied him moſt, were of the Cumyns bloud, and Robert Bruce.

King Edward inuadeth Scotlande.

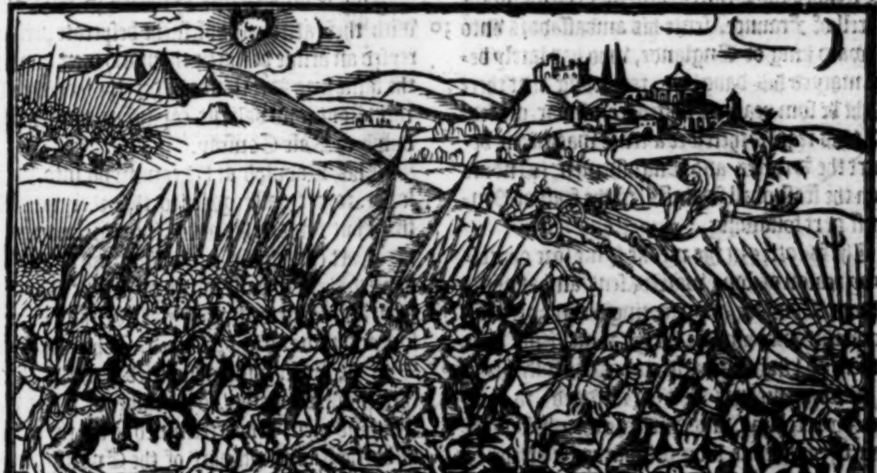
Wallace rayſeth a power to reſiſt him.

King Edwarde beeing aduertiſed of this enuious grudge and new ſedition amongſt the nobles of Scotlande, had ſecrete conference by his agentes with the chiefeſt amongeſt thoſe that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallace, and vpon truſt of ſuche practiſe as was concluded by reaſon of the ſame conference, hee came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkyrke mette with this Wallace, who myſtruſting no guyle, had rayſed a power to reſiſt him: but now being come in ſight of the Engliſhmen, ther roſe a ryght odious contention betwixte the head capitayns, who ſhuld haue the leading of the vantgarde, whiche is reputed a moſte high honour amongſt the Scottiſhmen.

Strife for the leading of the vauntgarde.

And amongſt other, Stewarde and Cumyn thought ſkorne, that Wallace, a man of ſo low beginning, ſhoulde bee preferred before them in that honour: But on the other parte, Wallace conſyderyng that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto hym by agreemente and conſente of the three eſtates, thoughte it no reaſon that hee ſhould giue place to any of them.

In the meane tyme came the Engliſhemen vpon thē right fiercely, before the Scottiſh chieftains (hauing their breſtes filled with more malice one againſt an other, than with deſire to defend theyr countrey againſt their enimies) could bryng their men into any perfecte araye.



The Cumyns fledde.

Herewith at the cōming to the poynt of ioyning, the Cumyns wyth theyr retinues fled out of the fielde, and lefte the reſidue of the Scots in all the daunger.

Robert Bruce ſeruing that day amongſt the Engliſhmen, fetched a compaſſe about an hill, & came on the backes of the Scottes, ſo that they were in maner compaſſed in, & beaten downe on eche ſide: Yet Wallace left nothing vndon that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant captain. But at length all his endeuors notwithſtāding, the Scots (ouerſet with multitude of enimies) (as the Scottiſh writers affirme) were ſlayne in ſuch huge numbers, that he was conſtrayned to draw out of the field with ſuche ſmall remnant, as were left alyue.

The Scottes diſcomfited at Falkyrke.

Frere Bryan Iay ſlayne by the hand of Williā Wallace.

The Engliſhmen purſued fiercely after hym, and namely one valiant captayne named Frere Bryan Iay, a Templer, whome Wallace perceyuing to be within his daunger, ſtepped forthe vnto hym, and ſlewe him there in fyght (as it is ſayd) of all the Engliſhe armie: Whiche valiaunt acte of Wallace, cauſed the Engliſhmen ſomewhat to ſtaye, for doubt of further perill by their vnwyſe purſuite.

Nobles of Scotland ſlayn at the battayle of Falkyrke.

In this infortunate battaile wer ſlain on the Scotiſhe ſide, Iohn Stewarde of Bute wyth his Brandanes (for ſo they name them that are taken vp to ſerue in the warres forth of the Stewardes landes) Mackduff erle of Fyfe, with ſir Iohn Graham, whoſe death was much lamented by Wallace, as one whome he highly eſteemed for his great experience in warlyke knowledge.

Many other noble and valiant men dyed in this conflict, whoſe names wold be to long to reherſe.

Mary Magdalens day proſperous for the Engliſhemen to fyghte againſte Scots.

This batail was ſtricken on Mary Magdalens day, in the yere of our Lorde. 1298. and therfore the Engliſhmẽ haue holden it euer ſithence an happy day for to fight againſt Scottes.

1298

Wallace renounceth his office.

Wallace after thys diſcomfiture, came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles againſt hym, he renoũced and diſcharged hymſelfe of all the auctoritie which had bin committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme.

Philip king of Fraunce.

The ſame tyme, Philip king of Fraunce the fourth of that name, and ſurnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his heart for the miſerable calamities thus chaunced to his auncient confederate frendes the Scottes, and that chiefly for the quarell of Fraunce, ſente his ambaſſadors vnto Edward king of Englande, who had lately before maryed his daughter, requiryng that there might be ſom peace or abſtinẽce of war grãted.

A truce.

At his requeſt therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhemen, to endure from the feaſt of all Saincts, til the feaſt of Pentecoſt next following.

Scottiſh ambaſſadors ſent to Pope Boniface.

The Scottes in the meane tyme ſore oppreſſed by reaſon of long warres, ſent ambaſſadors to Pope Boniface, in preſenting a right greuous complaint vnto him for the great affliction done to them by king Edwarde, who was fully bente by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquere their realme, and therefore they beſoughte hym to conſtreyne king Edwarde by vertue of his prerogatiue which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of Englande, to ſtand to his order in deciding the right cõcerning yͤ liberties of Scotland, which might no otherways be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people thorough blynd deſire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne.

The opinton of the Pope.

The Pope (as is ſaid) after he had by good and deliberate aduiſe heard the matter, gaue ſentence with the Scottes, that they had iuſte cauſe of warres in defence of the liberties of their cõtrey againſt king Edward and his fautors.

Iohn Cumyn elected gouernour of Scotland.

An armie of Engliſhmen ſent into Scotlande.

The Scots ſomewhat recomforted herewith, ſhortly therevppon choſe Iohn Cumyn to their gouernour, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhemen for their liberties. Wherof king Edwarde being aduertiſed, ſente forthwith an armie into Scotlande, which paſſed thorough the countrey to Saint Iohns towne, with greate damage of thoſe that were adiudged rebelles to king Edwardes Empire.

All the countrey in manner vnto Forthry at this ſeaſon was ſubiect to the Engliſhemen, ſauing ſuche fewe of the inhabitauntes, as lyued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countreye, than to any deſire of preſeruing their goodes or lyues.

King Edwards officers chaſed out of Scotlãd

Iohn Cumyn therefore deſirous to redreſſe this heauie miſerie and lamentable caſe of his countrey, admitted Symon Fraſer fellow with him in the adminiſtratiõ of the wars, againſt the Engliſhmen, and therwith gathering an army of. viij. thouſand hardy men of warre, ſetteth in hande to reuẽge the iniurious doings of the enimies, chaſing out of the realme all ſuch officers with their ſeruauntes as king Edward had placed in any roumthes within the bounds of Scotland, and ſuche as reſiſted hee purſued in moſte cruell wyſe, not ſparyng to put them vnto the ſworde in all places where hee mighte fynde them.

Scotlande agayn inuaded.

King Edwarde ſore kyndeled in diſpleaſure with theſe attemptes of ſuche deſperate perſons, reyſed an armie of thirtie thouſand men, and ſent the ſame into Scotlande vnder the leading of a right ſtoute and valiant capitayne named Radulph, or Rafe Confray.

Radulph Cõfraye.

I remember not that any of the Engliſh nobilitie bare this ſurname in theſe days, wherefore I thinke it was the lord Iohn Segraue.

Io. Cumyn & Symon Fraſer

This Radulph at his commyng into Scotlande, tooke ſmall regarde to the orderyng of his field, but deuided his armie into three partes, euery part conteining. x. thouſand men, and appointed them to paſſe forth to forraye the countrey, and to mete altogither at Roſlyn, in ſuche ſort and tyme as he preſcribed. Iohn Cumyn & Symon Fraſer being aduertiſed hereof, gathered their powers together, to the nũber of. vij. or viij. thouſand men, and determined to try the chance of battayle with one part of the Engliſh armye firſt, truſting that if they hapned to haue the vpper hande of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more eaſy to deale with.

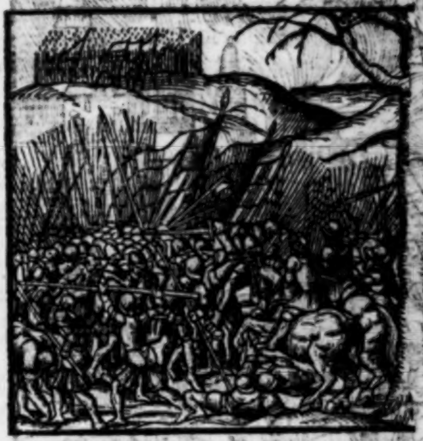
The Scottiſh captains reſolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remẽber how they were to fight in defence of their wiues, their children, their goods and liberties of their countreye, againſt ſuch as ſought to bring them into thraldome and vile ſeruitude.

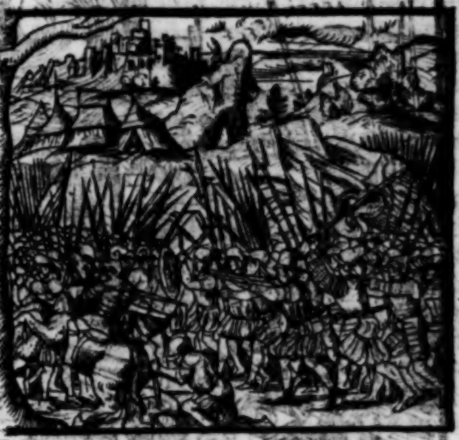
With which wordes the Scottes were ſo emboldned, that minding either to die or to winne the victorie, they gaue the onſette ſo fiercely on their enimyes, that the fyrſte battayle of the

Engliſh-

The firſte battaile of the engliſhmen ouerthrowne.

Engliſhmen was quickely ouerthrowen and vanquiſhed.





A ſeconde battayle ouercome.

But ſcarſely hadde they gathered the ſpoyle, when an other part of the Engliſhmen came vpon them with more fierceneſſe than the other before: neuertheleſſe the Scottes encouraged with theyr freſhe wonne victorie, got themſelues ſpeedyly into array, and receyued their enimies with ſuche incredible manhood, that they had quickely got the vpper hande of theſe alſo. But vneth had they made an ende with this ſeconde battayle, when the thirde parte was at hande readie to charge them, beeing nowe ſore enfeebled, what thorough wearyneſſe and woundes receyued in the two former encountres, beſydes the want of ſuche of theyr numbers as were ſlayne: yet by exhortation of theyr Capitaynes, and the valyaunt preſence of the officers of bandes beſyde, they ruſhed forthe on their enimies wyth ſuche earneſt forwardeneſſe to receyue them, that after a ryghte ſharpe bickeryng, they put the whole number of them to flight.

Fewe of the Engliſhmen hadde eſcaped the Scottiſhmens hands, had they not ben ſo awearyed wyth continuall fyghte, that they were not able to followe anye greate waye in the chaſe.

The third battaile of the engliſhmen vanquiſhed at Roſlyn.

1302.

Thys victorie fell to the Scottes in manner as before is rehearſed vppon Sainct Mathewes daye, in the yeare after the byrthe of oure Sauiour. 1302. The glorye of thys victorie was greate, conſydering that thirtie thouſand Engliſhemen well furnyſhed, and thoroughly appoynted for warre, ſhoulde be thus in one daye vanquiſhed wyth an handfull of Scottiſhmen. For as theyr hyſtories make mention, they paſſed not eyghte thouſande at the moſte: and therefore all menne ſuppoſed, that it came to paſſe by the ſingular fauoure and grace of almyghtie GOD. But yet the Scottes dydde not long enioye the benefytes of ſo notable a victorie.

The matter is amplified by the Scottes to the vttermoſt.

The great preparation of K. Edward to inuade the Scottes.

For kyng Edwarde hearyng of thys diſcomfiture of his people at Roſlyng, gathered a myghtie armye of Engliſhemenne, Gaſcoynes, Iriſhemen, and ſuche Scottes as toke hys parte, and hauyng all hys furniture and purueyaunce readye bothe by ſea and lande, he ſet forwarde with the ſame to inuade the Scots on eche ſide.

The Scottes withdraw to their holdes.

The Scottes perceyuyng they were not of puiſſaunce able to reſiſt his inuaſion, withdrewe to their ſtrengthes: by meanes whereof the Engliſhe armie paſſed through all Scotland, euen from the South partes to the North, and founde fewe or none to make reſiſtance, excepte Wallace and ſuche as followed his opinion, whyche were fledde to the mountaynes and woddes to eſchewe the malice of the Engliſhmen.

The engliſhe armie paſſeth through Scotland from the South parts to the North.

King Edward ſendeth vnto Wallace.

It is ſayde, that king Edwarde requyred by a meſſenger ſente vnto thys Wallace, that if he woulde come in and be ſworne his liege man and true ſubiecte, he ſhoulde haue at his handes greate Lordſhippes and poſſeſſions within Englande to mayntayne his porte as was requiſite to a manne of righte honourable eſtate. But Wallace refuſed theſe offers, ſaying that he preferred libertie wyth ſmall reuenues in Scotlande, before any poſſeſſion of landes in Englande, were the ſame neuer ſo greate, conſideryng he myght not enioye them, but vnder the yoke of bondage.

Wallace refuſeth the offers of K. Edward.

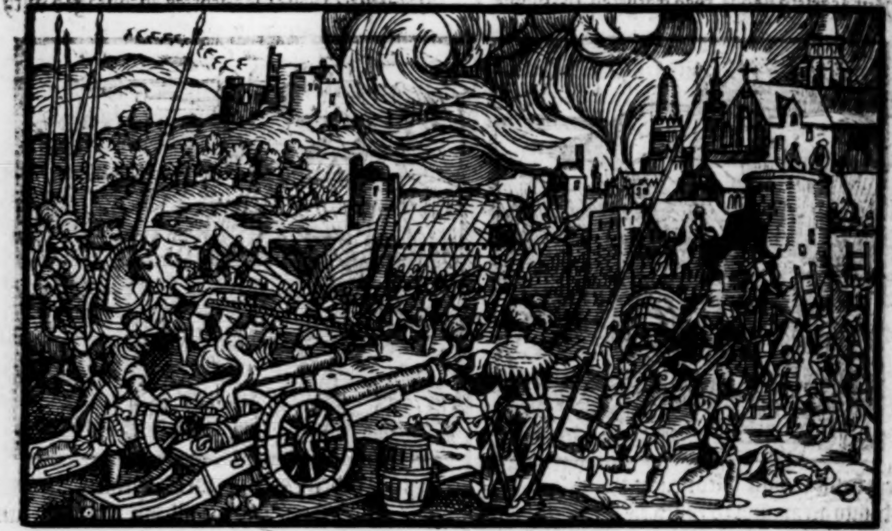
The Caſtell of Sterlyng at the ſame tyme was in the kepyng of one ſir William Vthred knighte, who woulde not render it to king Edwarde by any ſummonaunce or other meanes, tyll after three moneths ſiege he was conſtrayned to gyue it ouer vnder theſe conditions, that all perſons being within the caſtell, ſhoulde departe by ſafe conduyt with bagge and baggage at their pleaſure.

The caſtell of Sterling rendred.

Neuertheleſſe K. Edward cauſed the ſaid ſir Williã Vthred to be conueyd to London, wher he remained as priſoner many yeares after.

This Vthred the Scottiſhe bookes name Oliuer.

Sundry other Caſtelles were taken by force the ſame tyme by king Edwarde, and all ſuche as reſiſted, beyng founde within anye of them, ſlayne without mercie or raunſome.



The caſtell of Vrquhard taken by force.

Amongeſt other, the caſtell of Vrquhard in Murraylande was taken by force, and not one lefte alyue that was founde in the ſame (one Gentlewoman only excepted) who beyng great with chylde was in that reſpecte preſerued.

She was the wyfe of Alexander Boyis lord of that houſe, though by reaſon ſhe was got into poore apparell, the Engliſhmen tooke hir but for ſome other woman of meaner eſtate.

She therefore with hir lyfe ſaued being ſuffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where ſhe was delyuered of a ſonne, that was named at the Font ſtone Alexander, the whiche when Scotlãd was recouered out of the Engliſhmẽs hands, came to king Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be reſtored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other poſſeſſors.

King Robert doubtfull what to doe heerein, for he thought it neyther cõuenient that a prince ſhoulde take landes or poſſeſſions from noble menne, whyche hadde bene gyuen to them in rewarde of theyr manhoode, ſhewed in defence of the realme, neyther iudged hee it reaſon to keepe hym from his rightfull inheritaunce that hadde loſte hys father, his friendes, and all his whole ſubſtaunce in the lyke cauſe and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies. Wherefore to qualifie the matter, hee deuyſed thys meane: he gaue vnto thys Alexander Boyis certayne other landes in Mar, nothyng leſſe in value, (conſideryng the largeneſſe and fertilitie) than the other of Vrquharde were: and willed hym to content hym ſelfe with thoſe, in recompence of ſuche as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties myght bee ſatiſfied, and no man ſhoulde ſeeme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull poſſeſſions.

This Alexander Boyis hadde afterwardes hys name chaunged, and was called Forbes, for that he ſlewe a Beare in thoſe parties by greate and ſingular manhoode.

The begining of the name of the Forbeſſes.

And ſo the ſurname of the Forbeſſes had beginning, as deſcended from hym.

Scotlande beyng ſubdewed by the mightye puiſſaunce of kyng Edwarde, he wente aboute to abolyſhe all the olde Statutes and auncient conſtitutions of the Realme, truſtyng by that meanes, that Scottes lyuyng togyther wyth Englyſhemen, vnder one vniforme maner of Lawes, they ſhoulde fynally ſort themſelues to bee of one mynde and opinion, as wel touchyng the ſupreme gouernemente of theyr publyque weale, as alſo in all other thyngs, touchyng the frendly ſocietie of lyfe.

Chronicles & other bookes brent.

Hee brente all the Chronicles of the Scottyſhe Nation, with all manner of Bookes, as well thoſe conteynyng diuine ſeruice, as any other. Treatyſes of prophane matters, to the ende that the memorye of the Scottes ſhoulde periſhe: and thereto appoynted greeuous puniſhementes for them that ſhoulde diſobeye hys commaundementes herein, in keeping any of the ſayde bookes vndefaced. And he ordeyned alſo, that the Scots ſhuld occupie church bookes after the vſe of Sarum, and none other.

Scottiſhmen learned, commaunded to be reſident in Oxforde.

Moreouer, he cõpelled al ſuch ſcottiſhmen as wer of any ſingular knowledge in lerning or literature, to be reſident in Oxford, doubting leſt the Scottiſh nobilitie encreacing in politik prudence by their inſtructions, ſhould ſeeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottiſh writers do report) to extinguiſh the name of Scots together with their rule & empire, paſſed through the moſt part of all the boundes of Scotlande, and vppon verye hate whyche he hadde to the Scottiſhe antiquities, at his comming to Camelon, he commaūded the round temple ſtanding ouer againſt the ſame, to be throwne downe, which was builded (as before is ſhewed) in the honour of Claudius the Emperor, and the goddeſſe Victoria. But for that his cōmandemēt was not immediatly put in execution, he chaunged his purpoſe and apointed only that the monumēts of Claudius with the ſuperſcription of his name ſhould be taken away, and in place therof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be ſet vp, commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoiſ (as ye woulde ſay) Arthurs Courte.

The temple of Claudius was at Colcheſter, & not in Scotland, what ſoeuer Hector Boetius or other dreame thereof.

Arthurs hoiſe.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into Englād, toke the chaire of Marble with him, and cauſing it to be conueyd vp to London, dyd place it at Weſtminſter, where it remaineth yet vnto this daye. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotlād, he apointed al the Scottiſh lordes to aſſemble at Scone, where he cauſed them to take a newe othe, that from thenceforth they ſhoulde take him for their ſoueraigne lord, & to obey him in al things as loyal ſubiects,

The Marble chaire is conueyd into Englande, & placed in Weſtminſter.

The nobilitie of Scotlande ſworn to king Edward.

All the nobilitie of Scotlande was ſworne to hym that daye (Wallace onely excepted) who eſchewed more than the companye of a ſerpent, to haue any thing to doe with the Engliſhmen, touching any agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their deſires.

Wallace eſcheweth to agree with the Engliſhmen.

Moreouer to kepe the Scottes from rebellion, king Edwarde ordeyned Odomare de Valence to be gouernor there as his general lieutenaunt ouer the whole realme of Scotlande in his abſēce. And hauing thus ſet al things in good and quiet order (as he ſuppoſed) he returned into Englande with great ioy and triumph.

Odomare or Aymer de Valence gouernourr of Scotlande vnder king Edwarde.

In the meane time Iohn Cumyn ſurnamed the redde, and Roberte Bruce hauing conference together, complayned the one to the other of the myſerable ſeruitude wherein the Realme of Scotlande as then ſtode, by the oppreſſion of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixte them, it was agreed, that if by anye meanes they myght delyuer the Realme out of the Engliſhmens hands, the one of them ſhould be king, that is to witte the Bruce, and the other that is to ſay the Cumyn, ſhoulde enioy all the Bruces landes and poſſeſſions, with many other prefermentes of honoures and dignities as nexte vnto him in all authoritie touchyng the gouernement of the realme.

Cōference betwixt the Cumyn & Bruce.

There were Indentures made betwene them, ſubſcribed wyth theyr names, and ſealed with theyr ſeales interchaungeably, for the full ratifying of couenauntes agreed in thys confederacie betwixte them.

Indentures of agreement betwixt Cumyn & Bruce touching the cōſpiracie.

And ſhortely after vppon deliuerie of thoſe wrytings, Bruce wente into Englande, for he myght not remayne long in Scotlande, for doubte of ſuſpition, whiche kyng Edwarde had in hym, bicauſe of the title whiche he had to the Crowne of Scotlande, as before is ſpecifyed, inſo muche (as was thoughte) kyng Edwarde woulde haue put bothe hym and his bretherne vnto death long before, if he myght haue ones got them all into his handes.

Iohn Cumyn (after that hee and Bruce were thus agreed vppon Articles, and departed the one from the other) beganne to doubt, leaſt this conſpiracie deuiſed betwixte them, woulde not ſorte to anye luckye concluſion for his purpoſe, eyther for that hee feared the greate puiſſaunce of kyng Edwarde, eyther elſe for that his auctoritie and power (as hee myſtruſted) woulde not bee greate, if the Bruce once attayned the Crowne: And hereuppon hee ſente one of his ſeruauntes vnto kyng Edwarde, with his counterpane of the Indenture conteynyng the couenauntes of the conſpiracie, ſigned and ſealed wyth Bruces owne hande and ſeale.

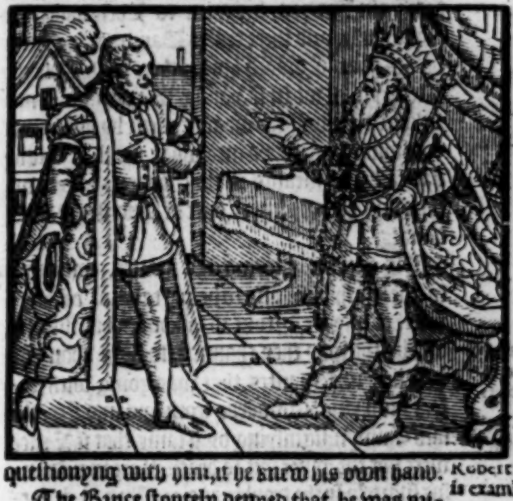
Iohn Cumyn doth doubt.

Cumyn diſcloſeth the conſpiracie.

The meſſenger delyuered this writing in ſecrete wyſe vnto king Edwarde, declaryng vnto him the whole matter as it was paſſed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his maiſter, accordyng to inſtructions gyuen hym in ẏ behalf.

But king Edwarde at the firſt gaue lyght credite eyther to the writings or wordes of the Cumyn, ſuppoſyng that the ſame proceded only through enuie, whiche he bare towardes the Bruce, euer dreading leaſt he ſhoulde beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruce once attained any authoritie within the ſame.

At length yet, king Edward pondering with himſelfe the whole circumſtance, and beeing in ſome doubte of the matter, he ſhewed the counterpane of the Indenture vnto Bruce himſelfe, queſtionyng with hym, if he knew his own hand.



Robert Bruce is examined.

The Bruce ſtoutely denyed that he was pri-

He denieth his writing.

nie to any ſuche deuyſe or wrytyng, and therefore deſyred of kyng Edwarde to haue the ſame for one nyghte to peruſe and ſcanne ouer at leyſure, and then if he were not able to proue that it was forged and maliciouſly deuiſed vpon an enuious purpoſe to put him in daunger of lyfe, he would forfait all his landes and lyuings that he helde eyther within the realme of Englande or elſe where.

King Edwarde bicauſe he coniectured at the fyrſte howe thys accuſation of Cumyn was, nothing lyke to bee true, graunted his requeſt, wherein many iudged he dydde vnwyſely: but ſuche was the ordinaunce of almightie GOD, that Bruce ſhould eſcape that danger to accompliſhe that wherevnto he was appointed.

The Erle of Gloceſter immediatly after that Robert Bruce was departed frō the kings preſence, ſent vnto him .xij. ſterling pennies, wyth two ſharpe ſpurres, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the beſt ſhift for him was to auoyde out of the waye in moſte ſpeedy wyſe, wherevpon he cauſyng a ſmyth to ſhoe. iij. horſes for him, contrarily with yͤ calkyns forward, that it ſhould not bee perceyued whiche way he had taken by the tracke of the horſes, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter ſeaſon) was couered with ſnowe: hee departed oute of London aboute midnighte, accompanyed onely with two truſtie ſeruantes.

Robert Bruce doth flee.

It chaunced alſo, that ther fell the ſame night more ſnow aloft vpon the other ſnow that was fallen before, by reaſon whereof it coulde not bee iudged in the morning which way he was gon, though king Edward vpon knowlege had that he was fled, ſent out a great maynie of horſmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might any where haue founde him.

He commeth to Lochmaben.

But the Bruce haſted forth with ſuch ſpeede in his iourney, that the .vij. day after his departure from London, hee came to Lochmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid (or as ſome bookes haue Edward) his brother, with Roberte Flemeyn, a worthie young Gentleman, vnto whom (they muſing what he ment by his ſodain comming) he declared into what perill of lyfe he had fallen by meanes of the Cumyn, and howe narowly he had eſcaped oute of king Edwardes handes.

A ſeruaunt of Cumyns taken with letters on him.

His brother hearing the matter, conſented to goe wyth him, and to be partaker of all happes that mighte fortune to fall out in his flighte: and by the way they chaunced to light vpon one of Cumyns ſeruantes, that was going with letters vnto king Edwarde from hys mayſter, the ſaid Cumyn, ſignifying by yͤ ſame, that if Bruce were not the ſooner put to death, there would enſue ſhortely ſuche trouble and ruffling in Scotlande agaynſte kyng Edwarde, that it woulde bee muche adoe to appeaſe it.

Cumyn was at the Fryers in Dunfreis.

Theſe letters beyng founde vppon Cumyns ſeruaunt, thorough meanes of yong Flemeyn, the Bruce after he had appoſed the bearer thoroughly in eche behalfe, and learned of him that his maiſter the ſayde Cumyn was in the Fryers at Domfryſe, he firſt ſlewe this fellow that was thus ſente with the letters, and after in all haſte poſſible came to Dounfryſe by the guyding of the ſame Flemeyn, where in the Quyer of the the Fryers churche there, he found the Cumyn: and reaſoning the matter with hym, for that he had vſed him ſo euill, and withall ſhewing hym the indenture whiche king Edwarde had deliuered to him, as before is mencioned, in the ende after ſome multiplying of wordes together, Robert Bruce plucked forth his ſworde, and ſtroke the foreſayde Cumyn a ſore blowe in the belly, and therevpon fleeing out of the Churche, mette with two of his deareſt frendes, Iames Lyndſey, and Roger Kyrkpatryke, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the churche in ſuche haſte, demaunded of hym what was the matter: I trowe (ſaid he) that Cumyn is ſlayne.

Why (ſayd they againe) haſt thou attempted ſo hyghe an enterpryſe, and lefte it doubtefull? And immediatly herewith they went to the place where Cumyn lay wounded (as before is mencioned) and aſked of hym whether he thoughte he had any deathes wounde or, hoped to recouer if he myght haue a good Surgion, and for that he anſwered howe he truſted to doe well ynough if he might haue a good ſurgion in tyme: they gaue him three or foure other woundes ſo greuous and deadly, that forthwith vppon the ſame, he yelded vp the ghoſt.

Cumyne is ſlayne.
1305.

This chanced in the yeare of our Lord. 1305. the fourth Ides of Februarie.

Aboute the ſame tyme was William Wallace taken at Glaſkow by the means of ſir Iohn Menteth and other, in whome he had euer put a moſte ſpeciall truſte: but they beeing corrupted with the offers of large rewardes promyſed by king Edwarde to ſuche as coulde helpe to take him, wrought ſuche fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valance Erle of Penbroke, who with a greate power of men brought him to London, where hee was put to death, and his quarters ſent into Scotlande, and ſet vp in ſundry great townes there for a ſpectacle, as it were, to giue enſample to other. Thys was the ende of that puiſſant champion Williā Wallace, prayſed amongeſt the Scottiſhemen aboue all other in that age, for ſo muche as hee woulde neuer yelde or conſent to acknowledge any ſuperioritie in the Engliſhemen ouer hys

Wallace is taken.

Wallace is brought to London.

He is put to death.

countrey, no not when all other had ſubmitted themſelues to king Edward as his liege ſubiects and moſt obedient vaſſals.

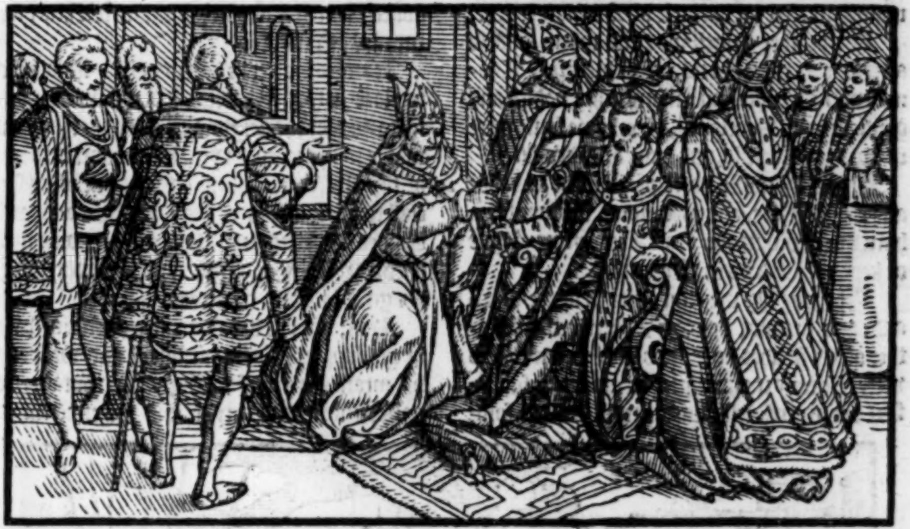
It is ſayde, that when hee was young and went to ſchole, he learned by hearte two verſes of his ſcholemaiſter, which euer after hee bare in mynde, and vſually woulde reherſe them, which were as followe.

Io. Fordon.
Iohn Maior.

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam ſeruili, ſub nexu viuito fili.

Whiche maye be Engliſhed thus.

My ſonne, I ſay, freedome is beſt,
Then neuer yelde to thralles arreſt.



Abſolution from Rome.

But now touchyng the Bruce: after hee hadde ſlayne the Cumyn (as before is mencioned) he purchaſed an abſolutiõ from Rome for that acte, & to ẏ end he might then through authoritie obtaine ſome ayde to reſiſt ẏ puiſſance of his aduerſarie K. Edward, he went by ſupport of frends vnto Scone, & there cauſed himſelf to be crowned king, on the 27. day of Marche, though he had no great nũber that tooke his parte in the beginning, as ſhortely after well appered. For when he ſhould aſſemble an armie againſt a power of Engliſhmen that were ſent againſt him by K. Edward, immediatly vpon knowledge had of his attemptes, hee was not able to get togither any ſufficiẽt number to reſiſte his aduerſaries, though with thoſe few which came vnto him, he thought to try the chaunce of batayle, and ſo encountryng wyth Odomare de Valence lieutenant of the engliſh armye at Meſſene the. xix. daye of Iune, in the yeare. 1306. he was ther put to flight: and though the ſlaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill ſigne to haue ſuche infortunate lucke vpon his entring into the aſtate, the peoples fauour ſhranke greatly from him.

Robert Bruce is crowned king of Scotland, the firſte of that name.

Io. Maior.
King Roberte is diſcomfited at Meſſene.

Odomare de Valence after he had obteyned this victorie againſt king Roberte, baniſhed the wiues of all thoſe that ſupported the ſame Robert, by meanes whereof many ladies and gentlewomen were conſtrayned to flee into woodes, and other deſert places, to eſchewe the crueltie of their aduerſaries. King Robert alſo after this ouerthrow, fled into Athole, where the. iij. Ides of Auguſt at a place called Dalry, he fought agayne with the Cumyns and other ſuche Scots and engliſhmen as were aſſembled in thoſe parties readie to purſewe him, and had the like luck here that had chaunced to him before at Meſſen, for he was put to flight after the ſame manner, though he loſt here but fewe of his men, neither in the fyght nor chaſe.

K. Robert eftſoones diſcõfited in Athol.

Wherupon fynding Fortune thus contrarie vnto him in theſe two ſeuerall bataytes, he was left ſo deſolate and vnprouided of all frendſhip, that he was conſtrayned for his refuge to withdrawe into the woodes and mountaynes, with a fewe other in his companye, and there lyued on herbes and rootes, oftentymes for want of other foode.

The miſerable ſtate of king Robert in the beginning of his reigne.

Whyleſt he remayned in this eſtate of aduerſe Fortune, there were two that ſhewed themſelues ryghte truſtie and faithefull ſeruantes vnto hym aboue all the reſte, the Earle of Leuenax, and Gilberte Hay: for though eyther enforced by perſecution of enimyes, or conſtrained through ſome other neceſſitie, they departed ſometymes from his preſence, yet didde they euer acknowledge hym for theyr Souerayne

The Earle of Leuenax and Gilbert Hay faithful ſeruitours to king Robert.

lorde and only king, readie at all ſeaſons to ſerue and obey hym in eche behalfe.

The moſte parte of all other his frendes yea and ſeruauntes, in that preſent miſerie, did clerely forſake hym, ſo that ſometymes he was lefte wyth onely one or two in his companye, and gladde to keepe hymſelfe ſecrete in deſerte places, where no perſon vſed lyghtly to reſort.

King Roberts wyfe taken.

His wyfe the Queene fledde to Sainct Dutho, and chaunced to be taken by William Cumyn Earle of Ros, who delyuered hir to kyng Edward, by whoſe commaundemente, ſhe was cōmitted to ſafe keping at London, where ſhe remained til after the battayle of Bannockſborne.

Nigell, Thomas and Alexander brethrē to king Robert are taken and put to death.

His brother Nigell was alſo taken, and ſo afterwardes were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexāder, with many other nobles and gentlemen of Scotlande, of whome ſome were executed at Carleile, and ſome at Barwike.

Finally the moſte parte of all ſuche as hadde ayded him before, and were nowe ſhrunke from him, were within one yeare after eyther ſlayne or kept as priſoners in Englande.

Yet though he was thus lefte deſolate of all ayde and ſuccour, hauyng his bretherne and other of his frendes murthered and ſlayne to hys vtter diſcomfort and ruine (as was to be ſuppoſed) hee neuertheleſſe liued euer in hope of ſome better fortune, whereby in tyme to come, hee myght recouer the realme oute of the enimies handes, and reſtore the auncient libertie thereof to the former eſtate.

King Roberts good hope in tyme of extreme aduerſitie.

As for the paynes whiche he tooke in lyuing hardly for the moſt part by water and rootes, and lodging oftentymes on the bare earth withoute houſe or other harborough, he was ſo accuſtomed therto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the ſame greeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, ſuche was his valiauncie and moſt excellent fortitude of mynde and courage, that no iniurious miſchance of frowarde aduerſitie coulde abaſhe his inuincible heart and manlyke ſtomacke.

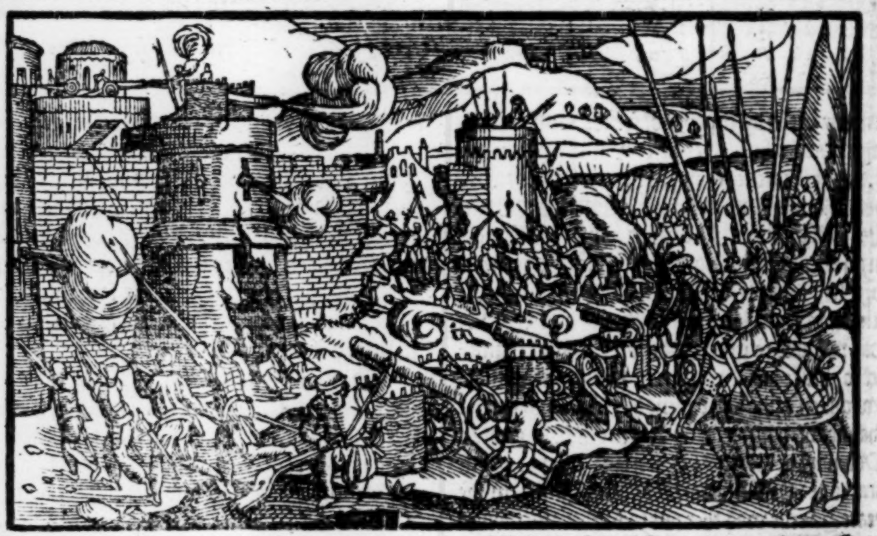
His inuincible hart and vndaunted ſtomacke,

At length, after he had wandred from place to place in ſundry partes of Scotlande, the better to auoyde the ſleightes of them that lay in awayte to apprehende hym, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his ſpeciall frendes, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in thoſe parts, he was moſt hartily welcome, and gladly of him receyued, to his great eaſe and comforte.

King Roberte getteth ouer into the Iles.

Here, after he had remayned a certain ſpace, he got ſupport of men, armour, and weapons, by meanes whereof taking newe courage, hee paſſed ouer into Carryke, and winning the caſtell there that belonged to his fathers inheritaunce, he ſlewe all the Engliſhemen, whiche hee founde within it, and beſtowed all the ſpoyle of money and goods gotten there amongeſt his ſouldiers and men of warre.

King Roberts purchaſeth ayde in the yles.



He winneth the caſtell of Carryke.

His frendes that laye hidde in couerte and ſecrete corners, hearyng of theſe his doings, beganne from eche ſyde to reſorte vnto hym, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhortely after he wan the caſtell of Innerneſſe, and ſlew all them that were within there in garryſon.

His power increaceth.

Innerneſſe caſtell taken.

With the lyke felicitie he got the moſt part of all the Caſtels in the north, raſing and brenning vp the ſame tyll hee came to Glenneſke, wher being aduertiſed that John Cumyn with ſundry Engliſhemen and Scots were gathered againſte him, bicauſe hee was vppon a ſtrong groūd, he determined there to abide thē: but they being thereof infourmed, and wondryng at his manly courage, durſt not approche to giue him battaile, but ſent Imbaſſadors vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of ſome communi-

King Roberte commeth to Glenneſke.

cation for a peace, till they might increaſe theyr power more ſtrongly agaynſt him: whiche being done, they purſued him more fiercely than before.

Neuertheleſſe King Robert receyued them at all tymes in ſuche warrelike order, that they might neuer take him at any aduauntage, but were ſtill dryuen backe with ſlaughter and loſſe, though the ſame was of no great importance to make account of, but ſuche like as happeneth oftentymes in ſkirmiſhes and lyght encounters, where the battayles come not to ioyne puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance. The ſame whereof yet procured him the fauour of ſundrie great Barons in Scotland.

James Dowglas gueth to king Robert.

Amongeſt other, James Douglas a man of great courage and ſingular valiancie, couſin to William Lamberton Biſhop of S. Androwes, and remayning with the ſayde Biſhop in houſeholde, tooke all the Biſhops golde, and certaine of his beſt horſes, with the which hauing in his cõpanie diuers other hardie yong gentlemen priuie to his doings, he fledde with all ſpeed vnto King Robert, offring him his ſeruice, and to ſpende his life in his quarell and defence.

A craftie diſſembling Prelate.

The Biſhop was priuie to his couſins going away, yea and counſelled him therto, though he would by no meanes it ſhoulde outwardly ſo appeare, for doubt leaſt if things had not come to paſſe as he wiſhed, he might haue run in daunger for his cloked diſſimulation.

The Dowglas was ioyfully receyued of king Robert, in whoſe ſeruice he faythfully continued both in peace and warre, to his liues ende.

The riſing of the Dowglaſſes to honour.

Thoughe the ſurname and family of the Dowglaſſes was in ſome eſtimation of Nobilitie before thoſe dayes, yet the ryſing thereof to honour chaunced through this James Dowglas, for by meanes of his aduauncement, other of the ſame lynage tooke occaſion by theyr ſingular manhoode and noble prowes ſhewed at ſundrie tymes in defence of the Realme, to grow to ſuch heigth in authoritie and eſtimation, that theyr mightie puiſſance in manrent, landes, and great poſſeſſions at lẽgth was (through ſuſpition conceyued by the kings that ſucceded) the cauſe in parte of their ruinous decay. Edwarde king of England hearing of the doings of his aduerſarie king Robert, doubted (if ſome redreſſe were not founde in tyme) leaſt the Scottes reioyſing in the proſperous ſucceſſe of his ſayde aduerſarie, would reuolt wholy frõ the Engliſh obeyſance: and herevpon purpoſing with all ſpeede to ſubdue the whole Realme of Scotlande from ende to ende, he came with a farre greater armie than euer he had raiſed before to the borders, but before his entring into Scotlande, he fell ſicke of a right ſore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died ſhortly after at Burgh vpon ſandes, as in the Engliſhe hyſtorie more plainly it doth appeare.

The death of king Edwarde Longſhankes.

The crueltie of king Edwarde as is noted by the Scottiſh wryters.

The Scottiſh wryters make mention that a little before he departed out of this worlde, there were brought vnto him .lv. yõg ſtriplings, which were taken in the Caſtell of Kildrummy, after it was wonne by the Engliſh men, and being aſked what ſhould be done with them, he commaũded they ſhould be hanged incontinently, without reſpect to their yong yeares, or other conſideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pitie.

Edwarde of Carnaruan, ſonne to Edward Longſhankes.

After his deceaſſe, his ſonne Edward of Carnaruane ſucceeded in the gouernment of England, who following his fathers enterpriſe, called a counſell at Dunfreis, ſommoning the Lordes of Scotlande to appeare at the ſame, and cauſed a greate number of them at theyr comming thither to doe their homage vnto him, as to their ſuperiour Lorde and gouernour: But diuerſe yet diſobeyed his commaundements, and would not come at his ſummoning, vppon truſt of ſome chaunge of fortune by the death of his father, for that the ſonne was muche giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewde counſell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namely of the Lordes and chiefe Nobles of his realme.

Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan.

Shortly after this, the ſayde Edwarde of Carnaruane returned into Englande, and in the meane time John Cumyn Erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scottes and Engliſh men to reſiſt agaynſt king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faythfull affection towardes the new Engliſh king.

He truſted onely with multitude of people to cauſe his enimies to giue place: But K. Robert though he was holden with a ſore ſicknes at that time, yet he aſſembled a power, and cauſed himſelfe in a horſelitter to bee caried forth with the ſame agaynſt his enimies, who abiding him at a ſtreyght, ſuppoſed it had bene an eaſie matter for them to haue put him to flight: but it chaunced quite contrarie to their expectation: for in the end the Cumyn with his whole armie was diſcomfited, and a great number of King Roberts aduerſaries ſlaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerroure, tenne myles diſtant from Abyrdene, on the Aſcention daye, wherewith king Robert was ſo muche refreſhed in contentation of minde, that hee was ſodenly therevpon reſtored to his former health.

Iohn Cumyn diſcomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour.

1308.

Donald of the Iles diſcomfited by Edward Bruce.

The ſame yeare Donalde of the Iles came with a great armie of Engliſh men and Scottes agaynſt King Robert, and was on the feaſt day of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule diſcomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Dee.

At this battaile was a right valiant knight named Rowlande, ſlaine of the Engliſh parte, with a great number of other aboute him, and Donalde himſelfe was taken priſoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of proſperous fortune, obteyning the victorie in ſundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argyle, and not onely ſubdued the Countrey to his obeyſance, but alſo toke Alexander Lorde of Argyle out of a ſtrong Caſtel in that Countrey, and baniſhed him with all his friendes into Englande, where ſhortly after he deceaſſed.

Argyle ſubdued by King Robert.
This was, An. 1309. as Iohn Maior hath.

In the yeare next following king Edwarde came with an armie into Scotlande, where ioyning with an other armie of Scottes that were aſſembled readie to ayde him, he paſſed through the countrey vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchieuing any notable enterpriſe worthy the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

King Edwarde commeth into Scotlande. Anno 1310. as ſhould ſeme by Io. Ma.

The ſame yeare, through continuall warres, there roſe ſuche dearth and ſcarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vytayles could be had for money, for the ground in maner generally through the countrey lay vntilled, and beaſtes with all kind of Cattel were driuen away as booties taken by the enimies.

A ſore dearth.

By reaſon wherof famine ſo encreaſed on ech ſide, that the people were conſtrayned to eate horſes and other lothſome fleſh and meates, thereby to ſuſteyne theyr liues.

In the yeare following, which was after the incarnation 1311. king Robert chaſed the Engliſh men out of all partes of Scotlande, winning many caſtels out of their handes, diuerſe of the which he razed and conſumed with fire.

1311.
Caſtels recouered by king Robert.

After this entring at ſundrie times into England, with his fierce armie, he brought frō thence innumerable booties of cattell and other ryches, afflicting the Engliſhe men with like ſlaughter and calamities as the Scottes had ſuffered in the yeres before by the outragious force and puiſſance of king Edwarde.

King Robert inuadeth Englande.

On the eight day of Ianuarie next enſuing, King Robert wanne by fine force the ſtrong towne of Perth, ſleaing and hanging all the people both Engliſh, and Scottiſh, which were found in the ſame.

The towne of Perth recouered, otherwiſe called S. Iohns towne.

He threw alſo the walles of that town to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampyre.

The ſame yeare the Caſtelles of Dunfreis, Ayre, Lanarke, with many other ſtrengthes and Caſtelles were rendred vnto him, and caſt to the ground.

Caſtels won.

The Caſtell of of Rokeſbourgh was taken by ſir Iames Dowglas on feaſtings euen, in the yeare 1313. when they of the garriſon were ouercome with immoderate ſurfeyting by meates and drinkes exceſſiuely taken, according as on that day the accuſtomed vſe is.

Rokesbourgh wonne on Shroueſtuiſday.

1313

In that yeare alſo Thomas Randall afterwardes created Erle of Murrey wanne the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh wonne.

And the ſame yeare Edwarde Bruce beſieged the Caſtell of Striueling: but the ſtrength of the houſe was ſuch, what by nature of the highe cragge whereon it ſtoode, and what by fortification of mans hand beſide, all his trauaile and inforcement diligently employed to winne it, proued vaine for the time.

Striueling caſtell beſieged.

Within this Caſtell, as Captaine thereof, was a right valiant Knight named ſir Philip Mowbray, a Scottiſhe man borne, but taking part with the Engliſh men, who feared nothing the ſiege, for he had ſufficient ſtore of ink, vitails, munition, & all maner of puruey ance ſufficient to defend the holde for a long ſeaſon: ſo that finally Edward Bruce perceiuing no means wherby to atchieue yͤ enterprize which he had raſhly tak? in hand, was abaſhed therof: for by force he ſaw wel

Sir Philip Mowbray.

ynough it coulde not be brought to paſſe, and by large offers made to the Captaine if hee woulde render the place and become ſeruant to the King his brother, he coulde not once moue him to giue any eare therto, inſomuch as at length he ſought to trie him another way forth, which in yͤ ende tooke better effect than was likely it would haue done, conſidering the lacke of circumſpection vſed in the bargain making: as thus.

After long ſiege, and (as before is ſayde) no good done, there was a motiõ made betwixt him and the Captaine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wiſe: that if the fortreſſe were not ſuccoured within .xij. monthes next enſuing, it ſhould then be rendred to king Robert, and in the meane time no force ſhould be vſed againſt it.

An vnwiſe cõpoſition.

This compoſition was vnwiſely made, as moſte men iudged: for euery man of any wiſedome might eaſily coniecture, that king Edward hauing ſo long day to make his prouiſion, would come in ſupport of them within the Caſtell, and that ſo ſtrongly, as would be hard for the Scots to reſiſt him.

King Robert offended with his brother.

King Robert himſelfe alſo was ſore offended with his brother for his follie ſhewed in this behalfe, but yet he would not goe aboute to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to loſe his brother, whoſe ayde he might not well want.

King Edwarde taketh vp ſoldiers,

In the meane time king Edwarde ſent forth meſſengers with letters, not onely vnto all hys ſubiects, but alſo vnto all his confederates and allyes, to haue men of warre taken vp and retayned to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Scots which he intended to follow to the vtter deſtruction of the whole nation.

There came therefore in hope of ſpoyle, not onely ſuch as were appoynted by commiſſioners of the muſters, but alſo a greate number of other that offered themſelues of their owne accorde to go in that iourney, namely ſuch as had lyttle to liue vpon at home, and truſted to amend the matter by ſome good fortune in the warres abrode.

Out of what countreys K. Edwarde had ayde of men.

The Countreys out of the which it is reported by the Scottiſh writers, that ſuch ayde came to the Engliſhe men, were theſe, Hollande, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bologniois, Gaſcoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois, for all theſe at that time were either ſubiect to the King of Englande, or elſe in confederate league with him.

There were alſo many Scottes that were Engliſhe by deuotion, and ayded king Edward at this tyme.

But the number of natural Engliſhmen exceeded any one nation beſyde, inſomuch that the whole armie what of one and other conteyned (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thouſanc footmen, and almoſt as many horſemen, beſide carryage men, coyſtrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the ſooth.

Fame oftentymes exceedeth the ſooth

For it is not to bee thought (as John Maior himſelfe wryteth) that he ſhould get ſuch a number togither, not for that Englande it ſelfe is not able to ſet forth ſuche a power: For as the ſame Maior ſayth, as many men as are to be founde in Englande of lawfull age, ſo many able perſonages may be found there to paſſe for able ſouldiers.

But either kings are not of abilitie to finde ſo greate a multitude with vitayles and ſufficient prouiſion, or elſe they will not ſtraine themſelues thereto.

Neuertheleſſe the whole number by all likelyhoode was great, for manye aſwell ſtraungers as Engliſhmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole houſeholde meinie with them, in hope after the Countrey were ſubdued, to haue dwelling places appoynted them in the ſame, there to inhabite: For ſo had king Edward promiſed them.

King Edwards promiſe.

By reaſon whereof the diſorder was ſuch, that no warlike diſcipline might be obſerued amongſt them, for men, women, and children were all myxt togither, with ſuche clamour and noyſe through the huge number of people, and diuerſitie of languages, that it was a thing right ſtraunge to beholde a campe ſo confuſedly ordered.

The confuſed order.

King Edward himſelfe moſt proude and inſolent of ſuch incredible number, tooke no heed at all to the gouerning of them, ſuppoſing victorie to be alreadie in his handes, inſomuch that at his comming to the borders, he tooke aduiſe with his counſell to what kinde of torment and death hee might put king Robert, for he put no doubtes of catching him at all.

Fiſhing before the net.

Hee alſo brought with him a religious man ſomewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to deſcriue the whole maner of his conqueſt and victorie ouer the Scottes, ſo ſure hee thought himſelfe, that all things woulde come to paſſe as he could wiſhe or deuiſe.

King Edwarde thinketh himſelfe ſure of victorie.

This Carmelite, as maye appeare in John Bales booke intytled a ſummarie of the writers of great Brytaine, was named Robert Baſton, and had the gouernaunce of an houſe in Scarbourgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is ſayde) of that cote himſelfe.

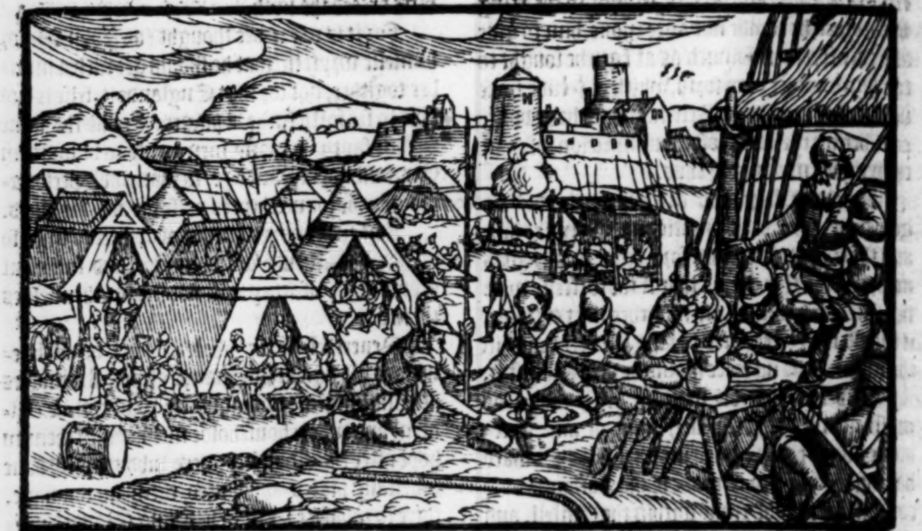
Robert Baſton a Carmelite.

On the contrarie part king Robert ordred al his doings by good and prudent aduice, and with xxx. thouſande men right hardie and throughlye exerciſed in warres, came forth agaynſt his enimies, ſhewing no token of feare in the worlde, but boldly pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike array, vpon a plaine, a little aboue Bannocks borne.

Iohn Maior hath in his booke, xxxv. thouſande.

King Robert his comming towardes the battaile.

Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardineſſe of his people, or for that he woulde ſhewe howe little he doubted the puiſſance of his enimies, leaſt they ſhould haue him in contempt, it is vncertaine.



The opinion of expert warriours of king Robert.

In deede there were diuerſe expert warriours amongſt the Engliſh men, that ſayde when they heard howe the Scottes were thus aſſembled to fight, that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearely bought: the wiſedome and manhood of king Robert was knowen ſo wel amōgſt them, that they were aſſured he woulde not ieoparde himſelfe in ſuch a caſe, but that he knew he had ſuch fellowes about him as woulde ſticke to their tackle.

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Engliſhe men.

Moreouer the Scottes by appoyntment of their king to the furtherance of his hardie enterpriſe, had caſte deepe pyttes and dytches in the place where it was iudged the battayles ſhoulde ioyne, and pitched ſharpe ſtakes within the ſame, and after couered them ouer ſlightly with greene turfes or ſoddes, in ſuch wiſe that a few footemen might paſſe ouer well ynough, but if any great number ſhoulde come preaſſing togither, or that any horſemen came therevpon, the ſoddes would ſhrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreeme perill of the men and horſes, that were ſure to fall vpon the ſtakes ſet there for that purpoſe, or elſe to be ſo encloſed, that they ſhould not be well able to get out of thoſe pitfalles.

Bannockſborne.

By the place where king Robert was thus encamped there runneth a greate Brooke or water called Bannockeſborne, ſo named of Ote cakes called Bannockes, which were vſed to be made commonly at the Mylnes ſtanding on the banks of the ſame water.

It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwardes by reaſon of this battaile foughten neare to the ſame.

The fight of Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scottiſh men in his companie agaynſt. viii. hundred Engliſhe men.

When both the armies were approched within a myle togither, King Edwarde ſent an eight hundred horſemen by a ſecret way, vnto the Caſtell of Striueling, to giue notice to ſir Philip Mowbray the Captain, that he was come with his armie to ſuccour him. King Robert beeing aduertiſed of their gate, & beholding them whiche way they toke, he ſent Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scottiſh horſmen to ſaue the countrey from ſpoyle, who with ſingular manhoode encountering with thoſe Engliſh men in ſight of both yͤ armies, there enſued a cruel fight betwixt them for ſo ſmall a number, continuing a long ſpace with vncertaine victorie.

In the meane time ſir Iames Dowglaſſe dreading that his ſpeciall friende the ſayde Thomas Randall ſhoulde be ouerſet with multitude of the Engliſhe men, came to king Robert, and falling on his knees before him, requyred licence to go forth to the ſupport of them that were thus fighting with their enimies: whiche bycauſe the king would not graūt at the firſt, he ruſhed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his cōpanie a ſmall bande of men, but yet choſen out for the purpoſe, that if it were but by ſhewing himſelfe, he myght put the enimies in ſome feare.

Notwithſtanding, when he was come neare to the place where they fought, and ſawe how the Scottes had got the victorie with great murther of the Engliſh men, he ſtayed and went no further, leaſt he ſhould by his comming ſeeme to bereue them the glorie of yͤ victorie which had wonne it with ſo great prowes and ſingular valiancie.

All thoſe in the Scottiſh campe were relieued in good hope of greater ſucceſſe to followe in the whole enterpriſe by ſo happie a beginning.

The Engliſh men determin to giue battaile.

The Engliſh men paſſed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots ſhoulde not waxe prowde, and take ouermuch courage thereby, they determined to giue them battaile the next morow.

King Robert prepareth to receyue the enimies by battaile.

King Robert with great diligence cauſed his people to prepare themſelues readie to receyue the enimies, though he was nothing able to matche them in number, deuiſing which way hee might traine them into the ditches before prepared.

He commaunded through the armie that euery man ſhould on the next morow receyue the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, throughe the which they might haue the better hope of victorie againſt the vniuſt inuaders of theyr Realme and Countrey.

On the other ſide, the Engliſh men truſted that al things would proſper with them, euen as they could beſt deuiſe: for by one ſmall dayes labour they hoped to be Lordes of all Scotlande, and to diſpoſe of the landes and goodes of theyr enimies as ſhoulde ſeeme to them good and moſt for their owne auaile.

Saint Phillane

But king Robert all the night before the battaile tooke little reſt, hauing greate care in hys mynde for the ſuretie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his conſideration this chaunce, and an other while that, yea and ſometymes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his prayer to God and Saint Phillane, whoſe arme as it was ſet and encloſed in a ſiluer caſe, he ſuppoſed had bene the ſame time within his tent, truſting the better fortune to follow by preſence thereof.

A ſutle chaplaine.

In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the caſe ſodenly opened, and clapped to againe. The Kings Chaplaine being preſent, aſtonied therewith, went to the aulter where the caſe ſtoode, and finding the arme within it, hee cried to the king and other that were preſent, how there was a great myracle wrought, confeſſing that he brought the emptie caſe to the fielde, and left the arme at home, leaſt that Relyke ſhoulde haue beene loſt in the fielde, if any thing chaunced to the armie otherwayes than well.

A matter deuiſed betwixt the king and his chaplaine, as is to bee thought.

The King right ioyfull of this myracle paſſed the remnant of the night in prayer and thankeſgiuing.

On the morowe he cauſed all his folkes to heare diuine ſeruice, and to receyue the Sacrament as ouer night he had appoynted.

The Abbot of Inchechaffray did celebrate before the king that day, and miniſtred vnto him and other of the Nobles the communion, other Prieſtes being appoynted to miniſter the ſame vnto the reſidue of the armie.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

After this, when ſeruice was ended, the king called the people to his ſtandart, and firſt declared vnto them from poynt to poynt how neceſſarie it was for them to ſhewe their wonted manhood, conſidering that ſuch an huge multitude of people was brought thither agaynſte them by king Edwarde, not of one Nation or dominion, but of ſundrie languages and parties, aſwel ſubiectes as alyes to the Engliſh men, with ful purpoſe vtterly to extinguiſh the Scottiſh name and memorie, and to plant themſelues in their ſeates and rowmeths, as in poſſeſſions vtterly voyded of all the auncient and former inhabitants.

To encreaſe the fierce ſtomacks of the Scottiſh men agaynſt the enimies, he recounted vnto them what hee heard by credible report touching the menacing wordes and inſolent brags of the ſame enimies, able to moue right quiet mindes vnto full indignation.

Againe, to auoyde feare out of their heartes, which they might conceiue by reaſon of the multitude of their aduerſaries, hee rehearſed what a number of raſkals were amongſt them, without any ſkill of warrelike affayres, not taken vp by choyſe and election in appoynted muſters, but reſorting withoute difference togither, in hope of ſpoyle and bootyes, hauing not elſe wherevpon to liue at home in their countreys.

Moreouer, if nothing elſe might rayſe theyr hearts in hope of victorie, their iuſt cauſe ſith they come in defence of their countrey againſt iniurious inuaders, was matter ſufficient to aduaunce their manly ſtomackes, in truſt of Gods ayde in that quarell, hauing partly aſſured them thereof, by notable myracles ſhewed in the night laſte paſſed.

Hereto hee added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more ſpoyle and ryches was to be got, if they atteyned the victorie.

Finally, the more to ſtyrre their heartes to do valiantly, he required thē of one thing, which he truſted (their manhoode being ſuch) they woulde not thinke harde for them to atchieue, and this was, that euerie of them woulde but diſpatch one of the enimies, whiche if they performed he promiſed them aſſured victorie.

As for ten thouſande, he knew to be amongſt them of ſuch approued ſouldiers, and olde men of warre, as he durſt ſafely vndertake for them that they would ſlea two of the enimies a peece at the leaſt. Such maner of perſwaſions king Robert vſed to encourage his people.

The exhortation of king Edwarde.

On the other part king Edwarde cauſed the Coronels of eche Nation within his campe to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantly for one houre or two, they ſhuld purchaſe infinite ryches with the whole Realme of Scotlande in reward of their labor: for he deſired nothing for himſelfe, but the ſuperioritie.

Againe, hee willed they ſhoulde haue in remembrance what irrecouerable ſhame would follow (ſith they had departed out of their countreys in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptye handes, and voyde of victorie, not without ſome reproche and note of cowardice. But yet when they ſhould marche forwarde in array of battaile

towardes

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the Engliſh battayles.

The appoynting of the Scottiſh battayles.

The firſt battaile.

towardes the Scottes they might warth be ſeuered from their wiues and children which they had there in campe with them: Neuertheleſſe at length by the ſharpe calling vpon of theyr Captaines, they were brought into order of battaile, not without much a doe, by reaſon of the vnruly multitude. The Archers were placed in wings, mingled amongeſt the horſemen on the ſides of the wardes and battayles, which ſtoode encloſed in the middeſt of the ſame wings. King Robert appoynting all his battayles on foote, deuided the ſame into three partes, the forewarde he committed to Thomas Randulf, and Iames Dowglas captayns of right approued valiancie: vnder whō went ſeuen thouſande of the borderers, and three thouſande of the Iriſhe Scots, otherwiſe called Katerancs or Redſhanks: Theſe no leſſe fierce & forward, than the other practiſed and ſkilfull.

The ſeconde.

The ſecond ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thouſande men: but for that he was ſuſpected of too muche raſhneſſe, there was ioyned with him certain ancient gentlemen of greate ſobrietie and circumſpection, to qualifie his haſtie and hote nature.

The thirde.

The thirde battaile, in the whiche were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftene thouſand fighting men the king himſelfe led, ſhewing a right chearfull countenance amongeſt them, ſo farforth that euery one that beheld him, conceyued in his mind an aſſured hope of victorie to ſucceede.

The Abbot of Inchchaffray bearing a croſſe.

The Abbot of Inchechaffray aforeſayd (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the King) came forth before the battayles with the Crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a ſtandart.

Incontinently wherevpon, the Scottiſh army fell on knees before it, deuoutly commending themſelues to almightie God.

The Engliſh armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verely they had yeelded themſelues without ſtroke ſtryken.

The firſt ioyning.

But when they ſawe them riſe againe, and to come forward, they began to be ſomwhat doubtfull. And herevpon ruſhing togither, at the firſte ioyning, a great number of people on eyther ſyde were beaten downe and ſlaine. The Archers whiche were arrayed on the vtter ſkirtes of the Engliſh wings, ſore annoyed the Scottes, till finally Edwarde Bruce came on theyr backes with a thouſande Speares, and brake them aſunder, in ſuche wiſe that they did but little more hurt that day.

Thirtie thouſand Engliſh horſemen ouerthrowne in trenches.

Albeit incontinently herewith a battaile of horſemen to the number of .xxx. thouſande, came ruſhing togither all at once in ſhocke, to haue borne downe and ouerridden the Scots, but being ſo in their ful race gallopping with moſt violente towards thē, they tumbled into the foſſes & pittes before mentioned, in ſuch wiſe one vpon an other, that the moſt part of thē were ſlain, without all recouerie. Neuertheleſſe the Scots in maner oppreſſed through the huge multitude of the enimies, were neare at the point to haue bin vanquiſhed.

The Engliſh mens hearts begin to faint.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

But herevpon thoſe that were appointed to attend the cariage, as carters, wainmen, lackeys, & the women, beholding in what danger their maiſters, friends, & countrymen ſtood, put on ſhirtes, ſmockes, and other white lynens aloft vpon their vſuall garments, and herewith binding towels & napkins to their ſpeares, and to other ſuch ſtaues as they got in theyr handes, placed themſelues as wel as they might in array of battail, and ſo making a great muſter & ſhew of new, came downe the hill ſyde in the face of their enimies, with ſuch a terrible noyſe & hideous clamor, that the Engliſh men fighting as then with moſt fury againſt the Scots with vncertaine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming down the hill on their faces, ſuppoſing verily it had bene ſome new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deede, for that they ſaw themſelues vneth able to ſuſtain the violent encounter of the Scots thē preſent. And herevpon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearly vanquiſhed: on whom the Scottes folowed with inſatiable yre, & ſlue thē downe on all ſides where they might ouertake thē. Sir Iames Dowglas with .iiij C choſen horſmen, was cōmaunded by king Robert to purſue the king of England with all ſpeede, to trie if he might ouertake him.

King Edwarde eſcapeth.

The vnſicker ſtate of worldly puiſſance.

The Dowglas (according to his charge) folowed him in chaſe vnto Dunbar, & caſting betwixt that and the borders, lay in awayt to haue taken him, if he had returned by land: but hee being receyued into the Caſtell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar Erle of March, with .xv. Erles in his companie, was by the ſame Earle of Marche conueyed into certaine veſſels, lying there at anker, with the which he paſſed alongſt by the ſhore into England, to ſhew an example of the vnſicker ſtate and glorie of princes: for though thys Edwarde was that daye in the morning right proude of the great puiſſance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike ſomtime to the great armie of king Xerxes, yet he was cōſtrayned before the Euening of the ſame day, to ſaue his life in a poore fiſhers boate.

In this battail were ſlain .l M. Engliſhmen (as the Scottiſh writers affyrme) amongſt whō was the Erle of Gloceſter, with .ii. C knightes.

The number of Scottes ſlaine.

On the Scottiſh part were ſlaine about foure thouſand, & amongſt other two valiant knights, ſir William Wepount, and ſir Walter Ros.

The ſpoyle was ſo great of golde, ſiluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottiſhe armie was made riche thereby: and beſyde thys, they got lyttle leſſe money and ryches by raunſoming of priſoners taken at this battaile, than of ſpoyle gotten in the fight, campe and field.

Sir Gyles Argentyne ſlain.

But the death of ſir Giles Argentine, that dyed amongſt other in this mortall battaile, was ſo diſpleaſant to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had ſometymes with him in England, that he reioyced little of all the gaine got by ſo famous a victorie.

He cauſed his bodie to be buryed right honourably in Saint Patrikes Church, beſyde Edenbourgh.

The Queene king Roberts wife reſtored to hir husbãd.

The Queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept in captiuitie the ſpace of .viij. yeares in Englande, was now deliuered by exchaunge for one of the nobles of Englande, which was taken at this battaile.

The rich clothes of Silkes, Veluet, and golde, which were founde in the Engliſh campe, were diſtributed to the Abbayes and Monaſteries of the realme, to make therof veſtments, copes, and frountalles for aulters.

Verſes made by Robert Baſton the Carmelite.

The Carmelite Frier, of whom ye heard before, brought thither by king Edward to deſcribe the victorie of the Engliſhmen, was taken priſoner amongeſt other, and commaunded by King Robert to write contrarily the victorie of the Scots, according as he had ſeene: who therevpon made certaine rude verſes begynning thus.

De planctu cudo, metrum cum carmine nudo,
Riſum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.

Which may be engliſhed thus.

VVith barraine verſe this rime I make,
Bewayling whilſt ſuch theme I take.

There be ſome that haue iudged howe thys victory was attayned by the ſingular fauor of almightie God, by reaſon of myracles whiche they rehearſe to happen at the ſame time.

Miracles, if ye liſt to beleue them.

The night before the day of the battaile, there came to the Abbay of Glaſtenburie two men in complete armour, deſiring to lodge there for that night: The Abbot keeping an houſe of great hoſpitalitie, receyued them right gladly, and making them good cheare, demaunded what they were, & whither they wer going, who anſwered that they were the ſeruants of God, and going to helpe the Scottes at Bannockeſborne.

On the morrow the chamberlain found them departed before any of the gates were opened, and the beddes fayre made, and not ſtyrred otherwiſe than as they left them ouer night.

The ſame day that the battail was foughten, a knight clad in fayre bright armour, declared to the people at Aberdene, how the Scots had gotten a famous victorie againſt the Engliſh men, and was ſene ſhortly after to paſſe ouer Pictland Fyrth on horſebacke.

It was ſuppoſed by the people that this was S. Magnus, ſomtime prince of Orkney, and for that cauſe K. Robert endowed yͤ church of Orkney wͭ.v.li. ſterling of yͤ cuſtoms of Aberdene, to furniſh the ſame church, with bread, wine, & wax.

Many noble men for their approued manhood ſhewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at the handes of king Robert.

Robert Flemeyn rewarded for his faythful ſeruice.

One Robert Flemeyn, by whoſe meanes he reuenged the treaſon wrought agaynſt him by John Cumyn, with ſlaughter of the ſame John, had the lands of Cumnernald giuen him, whiche were of the inheritãce beloging to yͤ ſaid Cumin.

It is reported by writers, that two knights of Brabant that ſerued amongſt the Engliſh men, chaunced to heare many reprochfull wordes ſpoken in the Engliſhe campe againſt king Robert, who being ſomewhat moued therewith, & miſlyking ſuch diſmeaſured talke, wiſhed in wordes that the victorie might chaunce vnto him.

For the which wiſh king Edwarde informed thereof, cauſed them by a trumpet to be conueyed vnto the Scottiſh campe, with commaundement to ayde King Robert to the vttermoſte of theyr powers, purpoſing to puniſh them according to his minde, if he atteyned the victorie, as hee put no doubt, but he ſhoulde.

A proclamation.

And herevpon, before the ioyning of the battayles, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that whoſoeuer brought their heades vnto him, ſhould haue an hundred Markes in rewarde.

The Scottiſh houſe in Andwarpe buyld.

King Robert hearing in what daunger they had run for his ſake, rewarded them with great riches of the ſpoyle got in the field, with the which they returning into Brabãt, buylt a goodly houſe in Andwarpe, naming the ſame Scotlande, and cauſing the Scottiſhe armes, and the picture of Bruce to be ſet vp in the ſame, appoynted it for a lodging to receyue them of the Scottiſhe nation that ſhoulde reſort vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this day.

And this was done for a memoriall, to ſhew what loue and heartie beneuolence theſe two knights bare towardes king Robert & his people, for the great liberalitie receyued at his handes.

1314

This glorious victorie chaunced to the Scots on the day of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, in the yere. 1314. Immediatly after, K. Robert called a Parliamẽt at Ayre, where by cõſent of the three eſtates he was cõfirmed king, & the crown entailed to the heyres males of his bodie lawfully begotten, & for want of ſuch heyres to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, & to the heyres male of his body: and if he chanced to die without ſuch heyres, thẽ ſhould the crowne deſcend vnto Mariory the daughter of K. Robert, and to the heyres generall of hir bodie, by lawfull ſucceſſion.

The crown of Scotlande entayled.

Mariorie the daughter of king Robert by his firſt wife.

This Mariorie was gotten by king Robert on the Earle of Mar his ſiſter, his firſt wife, and was maryed by the aduice of his Nobles, vnto Walter great Steward of Scotlande.

The ſeconde maryage of king Robert.

Alſo K. Robert, for that his firſt wife aforeſaid was deceaſſed, maried ſhortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the Earle of Vlſter, on whom he got a ſonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maulde.

The iſſue of king Robert by his ſeconde wife.

The firſte was maryed to the Earle of Sutherlande, and bare him a ſonne named John.

The ſeconde departed this worlde in hir infancie.

After the maryage ſolemnized betwixt hys daughter Mariorie, and the foreſayde Walter Steward, King Robert went through all the boundes of his Realme, and did not onely confirme the auncient lyberties and priuiledges of the Burrowes and townes in al places where he came, but alſo augmented the ſame, and graunted vnto diuerſe aſwel townes as baronies, ſundrie newe prerogatiues and franchiſes, as maye appeare by his charters made vnto them of the ſame, ſpecially to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdene.

Liberties by king Robert.

1315

In the yeare following, whiche was in the yeare 1315. the Princes of Irelande oppreſſed (as they tooke it) with long and inſufferable tyrannie of the Engliſh men, and truſting by ſupport of Scottes to recouer their libertie, now after ſo notable an ouerthrowe of the whole Engliſhe puiſſance, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto king Robert, requyring that it might pleaſe him to ſende hys brother Edwarde Bruce, to receyue the crowne and gouernment of theyr Countrey of Irelande.

The Lordes of Irelande require ayde of king Robert.

This requeſt being graunted, Edwarde prepared to take that iourney in hande, and ſo with a ſmall power of Scottiſh men tranſporting ouer into Irelande, and ioyning with an army of ſuch as were readie to aſſiſt him there, he tooke the town of Vlſter, and ſlue a great number of Engliſh men which were found in the ſame.

Vlneſter.

Then afterwardes, by the generall conſent of all the eſtates of Irelande, Edwarde Bruce was proclaymed king of that Realme, and certaine of the Iriſh Nobilitie ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Pope, to ſewe for a ratification of theyr act and proceedings, for the ſuretie and weale of theyr Countrey, ſithe they were not able longer to ſuſteyne the grieuous yoke of the Engliſh thraldome.

Edward Bruce proclaimed K. of Irelande.

These Ambaſſadours, through their earneſt diligence, got ſuch fauour in theyr ſute, that the Pope ſundrie tymes charged the Engliſh men to auoyde out of Irelande, howbeit they ſeemed to paſſe little of his commaundements in that behalfe, for they dayly ſought how to make themſelues ſtrong in that part, leaſt they ſhoulde loſe the poſſeſſion of that Countrey, whiche theyr enimies were aboute to get forth of their handes.

The Engliſh men paſſe litle on the Popes commaundements.

King Robert being enformed howe through the reenforcement of the Engliſhe armie being dayly refreſhed with newe ſuccours, his brother was like to runne in perill and daunger to be caſt away, he left ſir James Dowglas gouernour in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himſelfe with a great power of other ſouldiers and men of warre, went ouer into Ireland to ſupport his brother: but ſuffering great diſtreſſe at his firſt comming thither, for want of vitayles and other prouiſions, he loſt almoſt the one halfe of his folkes throughe verye famine and hunger, & the reſidue were conſtrayned to eate Horſes, and other ſuche lothſome meates, therewith to ſuſteyne theyr languiſhing lyues.

See more hereof in Irelande.

King Robert paſſeth ouer into Irelande.

At length beeing approched within a dayes iourney of his brother, in purpoſe to haue ſupported him with thoſe people which he had left, hys brother not abyding his comming, fought vnwiſely with the Engliſhe men at a place called Dundach, & receyuing the ouerthrow, was ſlaine himſelfe with a great number of other.

Edward Bruce is ſlaine in Irelande.

It is vncertaine whether hee had any knowledge of the cōming of his brother king Robert, or that through deſire of fame he feared leaſt if he ſtayed till his brother came, a greate parte of the prayſe (if they got the victorie) ſhould remaine to him: and therfore he made ſuch haſt to fight. But howſoeuer it was, thus he was ſlaine the .xiiij. of October, in the yeare 1317.

See more of th is matter in Irelande.

Edwarde King of Englande, hearing that K. Robert was paſſed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to ſerue well for his purpoſe, eftſones to inuade Scotlande: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purpoſed to haue done ſome great feate: but ſir James Dowglas the gouernor hauing likewiſe gathered an army, gaue him battaile, and put both him and his people to flight.

In this battail were ſlain three notable Captaynes on the Engliſh ſide: as ſir Edmond Lylaw a Gaſcoigne, Captaine of Berwike, with ſir Robert Neuill, and the thirde ſir James Dowglas ſlue with his owne handes.

King Edward perceyuing it was not like that he ſhould doe any good at that time agaynſt the Scottes by land, thought it beſt to aſſayle them by ſea, which way forth the Engliſh men commonly were euer too good for the Scots.

He rigged therefore a fleete of ſhippes, and ſent the ſame into the Forth, which burned the Countrey on ech ſide, and tooke many rich booties from the inhabitants neare to the ſhore. Duncan Erle of Fyfe, hearing of theſe crueltyes done by the Engliſh men, came forth with fiue hūdred hardy

King Edwarde ſendeth a nauie into Scotlande.

ſouldiers to defende the Countrey from ſuche inuaſions: but when hee perceyued that the enimyes were of greater number than hee was able well to encounter, hauing but an handful of men in compariſon to them, he gaue ſomewhat back, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare Biſhop of Dunkelde, hauing about.lx.armed menne in his companie, who blaming the Earle for his faintneſſe of courage, cauſed hym to ſet forward againe towardes the enimies, and finding them buſie in ſpoyling and harrying the cuntrey, they gaue an onſet vpon them ſo fiercely that there was ſlaine at the firſt encounter to the number of fiue hundred of the Engliſh men, & the reſidue chaſed to their boates lying at Dunbryſſel, which they entred in ſuch haſt, that one of the boates being peſtred with ouer great number, ſank with thẽ before they could get to their ſhips.

Engliſh men diſcomfited.

William Sinclare called king Roberts Biſhop.

King Robert euer after cuſtomarily called thys W.Synclare his owne Biſhop, for the noble prowes which he thus ſhewed in this enterpriſe.

Robert Steward borne.

In the ſame yeare Robert Steward the ſonne of Walter Steward, and Mariorie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of king Dauid le Bruce, was preferred to the Crowne.

1318

Barwike recouered.

After this, Thomas Randol Earle of Murrey, the ſecond day of Aprill recouered the towne of Barwike out of the Engliſhe mens handes, whiche they had helde for the ſpace of twentye yeares before.

It was taken nowe by practiſe, through meanes of one Spaldeyn an Engliſh man, who for his labour had certaine landes giuen him in Angus, whiche his poſteritie enioyeth vnto theſe dayes.

Ri. Southwel.

The Scots entred further into England than they were accuſtomed, euẽ vnto Wetherbe (as Fourdon ſayth.)

After that the Earle of Murrey had recouered Barwike, he & the Lord James Dowglas in the Month of May inuaded Englande with a puiſſant army, paſſing further into the countrey than the Scots had bene accuſtomed to do afore time, burning as they wente forwarde the townes of Northallerton, and Burrow brig, and comming to Ripon, they ſpoyled the towne of all the goods found therein: but compounding with them that kept the Churche agaynſt them for a thouſande marks, they forbare to burn any of the buildings. After they had taried here three dayes, they departed thence and went to Knareſbourgh, whiche towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawn with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Skipton in Crauẽ, they firſt ſpoyled the towne, & after burnt it, & ſo marching throughe the Countrey, came backe into Scotland with their ſpoyles and priſoners without any reſiſtance.

1319

Barwik beſieged.

In the yeare following, king Edwarde came and laid ſiege vnto Barwike, but the towne was ſo well defended, that he was conſtrayned with ſmall honor to returne home, and leaue it as hee founde it.

Ri. Southwel.

For in the meane time, whilſt king Edward lay at ẏ ſiege before Barwike, Thomas Randoll Erle of Murrey, and the Lord James Dowglas aſſembled their forces togither, but perceyuing thẽſelues too weake to remoue the ſiege by force, they paſſed by, & entring into Englande, waſted and ſpoyled all before them, keeping on their way vnto Borrow bridge: whereof when the Citizens of Yorke were aduertiſed, with their Captaines William Melton their Archbiſhop, & the Biſhop of Ely, not making them of the countrey once priuy to their purpoſe, but hauing in their company a great number of prieſts and men of religion, they gaue battaile to the Scots one day in the after noone, not farre from the towne of Miton vpõ Swale.xij. miles diſtãt from Yorke northwards. But forſomuch as the more part of the Engliſh men were not expert in the feates of warre, and came not in any orderly aray of battail, they were eaſily vanquiſhed and put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receyue them in good order, cloſe togither in one entier ſquadrone, and after their accuſtomed maner, at their firſte ioyning they gaue a great ſhowte, wherwith the Engliſh men out of hand began to giue backe: which whẽ the Scots perceyued, they got them to their horſes, and followed the chaſe moſte egrely, beating downe and ſleaing the Engliſh men, neither ſparing religious perſon nor other, ſo that there died to the number of.iiij.M. Engliſh men that day, and amongeſt the reſt was the Maior of Yorke or.c. In the water of Swale (as was ſayde) there were drowned to the number of a thouſand: to be ſhort, if night had not come the ſooner vpon, it was thought vneth there ſhould any of the Engliſh part haue eſcaped. When K. Edward lying as yet at the ſiege of Barwike, vnderſtoode what miſchief the Scots did within his realme, he rayſed his ſiege, in purpoſe to haue encountered with his enimies: but the Scots aduertiſed of his purpoſe, returned with all their priſoners and ſpoile by Stanemore and ſo through Gilleſlande, and the weſt marches, wᵗdrew home into their cũtry.

William Melton Archbiſhop of York.

The batail of Miton vpon Swale.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

The Maior of Yorke ſlaine.

King Edwarde leuieth his ſiege.

The Scots inuade England.

About the feaſt of al Saints, when the inhabitants of the north partes had got in their harueſt, ſo that their barnes were now ſtuffed with corn, of the which prouiſion they were to liue all ẏ yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the ſaid two captains, the Erle of Murrey, & the Lord Dowglas, entred into England, and burnt the country of Gilliſlãd, taking away both ſuch people as they toke priſoners, and alſo all the cattell which they might meete with, and ſo kept vpon their iourney till they came to Bourgh vnder Stanemore, deſtroying all afore them, and then returning

Bourgh vnder Stanemoore.

through Weſtmerland, practiſed the like miſchief there, in burning vp houſes and corne in all places where they came, as they had done before in Gillſlande. And finally paſſing through Cumberlande with the like hauocke, at length they drewe home into their owne Countrey with no ſmall number of pryſoners, and plentie of great ryches which they had got in that iourney.

Mariory Bruce deceaſſeth.

About the ſame time dyed Mariorie Bruce, king Roberts daughter. Shortly after alſo was a truce taken betwixt the two Realmes of England and Scotlande for a certaine time.

A Parliament at Perth.

Then king Robert hauing no trouble, neyther within his Realme, nor without, cauſed a Parliament to be holden at Perth, where he requyred the Lordes to ſhew their deedes and charters whereby they helde their landes.

The euidence and charters whereby the Lords of Scotlande helde their landes.

The Lords after long aduiſement taken herein, at length pulled out theyr ſwordes all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor Charters to ſhewe for the tenure of theyr landes.

King Robert was ſomewhat amaſed of this ſight, and tooke no ſmall indignation therewith, but yet he diſſembled for the time, and commended them for their noble heartes and valiant ſtomacks: neuertheleſſe he purpoſed to be reuenged of their proude preſumptions when more opportunitie of time ſerued thereto.

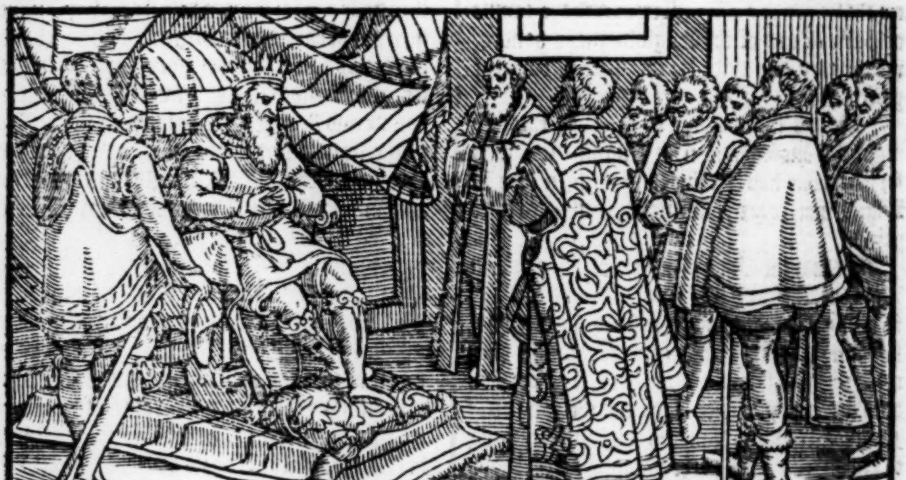
Conſpiracie of the Lordes agaynſt king Robert.

Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inwarde grudge towardes them for this matter, deuiſed amongſt thẽſelues how to deliuer him into king Edwardes handes, ſo to auoyd all daunger that might folowe of his diſpleaſure conceyued thus agaynſt them.

For the accompliſhment of this their treaſonable practiſe, they made a bonde in wryting, confirmed with their handes and ſeales betwixt thẽ, and minded to ſend the ſame into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing ſome ynkeling of this their purpoſe, cauſed diligent watch to be layde by the way for ſuch as ſhoulde paſſe into England frõ them with the ſaid band, inſomuch that in the ende a Palmer or Pylgrym was apprehended which had the bonde and other wrytings encloſed within his pylgrimes ſtaffe.

A Palmer taken with writings on him.

King Robert vnderſtanding by theſe writings all the maner of the treaſon, and what they were that had conſented to the ſame, he haſtily ſent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene ſome matter in hand wherein he wiſhed to haue their aduiſe.



They were no ſooner come, but ſtreyghtwayes calling them before him, hee queſtioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and ſeales, and immediately therewith ſhewed the wrytings, which were found in the Palmers ſtaffe: and bycauſe they coulde not denie theyr owne acte, they were committed to warde within ſundrie Caſtelles, till he had taken further aduiſe in the matter.

The Lordes that had conſpired are cõmitted to warde.

Incontinently after, he went to Barwike, and there arreſted the captaine of the towne named ſir William Soulis, and cauſed him to bee conueyed vnto Perth, where ſhortly after he called an aſſembly of all the eſtates of the realme.

The blacke Parliament.

1320

This was called the black Parliament, kept in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1320. In this Parliament at the beginning therof, was Dauid Abernethy, the ſiſters ſonne of K. Robert, accuſed as party to the treaſon aforeſayd, though being labored vnto by the reſt of the conſpirators to ioyne with them therein, he refuſed ſo to doe, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed with them, he was condẽned & loſt his head, the people ſore lamenting his miſhap, for the great valiancy which was knowne to be in him, hauing ſerued honorably many yeares

David Abernethy loſeth his heade.

before agaynſt the Saraſins, and other miſcreants in the parties of beyonde the ſeas, where he was cleped the flower of chiualry.

In deed the king himſelfe would gladly haue ſaued his life, but for that he minded to do iuſtice on the reſidue, and finding no man to make ſute for hym, he permytted the execution to proceede agaynſt him.

Among other were theſe, Gilbert de Malet, John Cogi knights, and Richard Bron a noble warriour. John Maior.

On the morrowe after, he cauſed all the reſidue of the traytors to be brought forth to iudgement, and ſentence being giuen agaynſt them, he commaunded without delay that they ſhould be executed.

Then came diuerſe and ſundry perſons in moſt humble wiſe to make ſute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinſmen: but he made them plaine anſwere, that there was none to bee founde that would make interceſſion for the ſauing of his kinſmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing ſo grieuouſly in compariſon to them for whome they now made ſute, & therefore he bad them be contented, for they ſhould aſſuredly haue according to yͤ which they had deſerued. And therwith were the officers cōmaunded to make haſt with the execution, which was done incontinently without any further reſpite.

Execution without reſpite.

There were ſome that were accuſed to bee partakers in this treaſon, but yet for that no euident proues could be produced againſt them, they were diſmiſſed, as Walter Maxwel, with Walter Berclay Shirif of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Neydrinton, and Euſtace a Rathre, knights, beſide eight others. But yet the Counteſſe of Stratherne, and William de Soulis, were condemned to perpetuall priſon.

The Earle of Buchquhanes landes, who ſuffred at that preſent, were deuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Hay that was made Coneſtable of the realme in place of John Quincie, who likewiſe ſuffred the ſame time: and the other part was giuē vnto William Keth, togither with the office of the Stewardſhip of the Realme.

A Legate ſent from Rome to the Scottes.

About the ſame time the king of England by complaynt made to the Pope, purchaſed that a Legate was ſent from the Sea Apoſtolike into Scotland, to admoniſh king Robert to ceaſſe frō further diſquieting the realme of Englande, by ſuch cruell inuaſions, as were ſurmiſed that hee wrongfully exerciſed againſt the ſame Realme. But anſwer was made herevnto by the king and other the nobles of the realme of Scotlande, that all the worlde might well vnderſtande that the whole occaſion of al the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland, did only proceed of the couetous deſire in the Engliſh mē, ſeeking to conquer that realm without any iuſt claym or title: and therefore they thought it reaſon firſt to ſuppreſſe the loftie ſtomacks of the Engliſh men, and then if there were any thing worthie to be reformed on theyr behalues, they would be contented to ſtand vnto the order of the Popes authoritie therein.

The anſwere made to the Legate.

And thus was the Legate diſpatched home, without other effect of his errant.

King Robert with an army in Scotlande.

Shortly after K. Robert entred with an army into Englād, & waſted the country before him, til he came to the Recroſſe, which ſtandeth vpon Stanmore.

Ri. Southwel.

1321

The Biſhoprike of Durham burnt by the Scottes.

Richmondſhire redemed from ſpoyle with a ſumme of money.

The Duke of Lancaſters diſloyaltie.

King Robert inuadeth Englande.

The Abbey of Holme burnt.

Fourneis Abbey.

Howbeit it ſhould ſeeme by that which R. Southwell writeth hereof, that K. Robert was not preſent himſelfe in perſon in this iourney, but that he appointed the Erle of Murrey to be his Lieutenant, who with an army after yͤ feaſt of the Epiphanie entred into England, & comming to Darington, ſtayed there for a ſeaſon, whileſt the Lord James Dowglas, and the Lord Steward of Scotlande went abroade to harie and ſpoyle the countrey on eche ſide, the one of them paſſing forth towardes Hartilpoole, & Cliueland, and the other towardes Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmond ſhire hauing no captain amongſt them to defend their countrey from that grieuous inuaſion of the enimie, gaue a great ſumme of money in like maner as at other times they had don, to haue their coūtry ſpared from fire & ſpoyle. The Scots taryed at this time about. xv. dayes within Englande & in the end returned without battaile. For when the Knightes of the north Countreys repayred to the Duke of Lancaſter then lying at Pomfret, and offred to goe into the field with him agaynſt the Scots, he would not once ſtyrre his foote by reaſon of the diſcorde that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howſoeuer the matter went, king Edward ſore grieued in hys minde with ſuch inuaſion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leuie an army of an hundred thouſand men, what on horſebacke and on foote, (as the report went) appoynting them to be readie to enter into Scotlande at Lammas next: wherof king Robert being aduertiſed, ment to preuent him, and therevpon in the Octaues of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt, hee entred into Englande with an armie neare to Carleil, & burnt a manor place that ſometime belonged to him at Roſſe, & Allerdale, & ſpoiled the monaſtery of Holme, notwithſtāding his fathers corps was there interred. Frō thence he marched forward, deſtroying and ſpoyling the country of Copland, & ſo keeping vpon his iourney paſſed Doden ſandes towards the Abbay of Furneis: but yͤ Abbot meeting him on the way, redeemed his landes from ſpoile, and brought king Robert to his houſe, and made to him great chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their handes from burning and ſpoyling

Leuyn ſandes.

The towne of Lancaſter brunt.

Preſton in Anderneis burnt.

dyuerſe places. And marching forwarde vnto Cartmele beyond Leuyn ſands, brent & ſpoyled all the countrey about, except a Priorie of blacke Chanons which ſtood there. Paſſing from thence they came to Lancaſter, which towne they alſo brent, ſaue onely the Priorie of blacke Monkes, and a houſe of preaching Friers. Here came to them the Erle of Murrey, and the Lorde James Dowglas with an other armie, whereupon marching further ſouthwards, they came to Preſton in Anderneis, & brent that towne alſo, the houſe of Friers minors only excepted. And thus being lxxx. miles within England frõ their owne borders, they returned homewards wͭ al their priſoners, cattel, & other booties which they had got in that iorney, cõming to Carleil in the vigill of S. Margaret, & lodging about that towne the ſpace of v. dayes, they waſted & deſtroyed the corne & al other things yͤ came within their reach. Which done, on S. James euen they entred into Scotland again, hauing bene within England at this time three weekes and three dayes.

King Edwarde rayſeth an armie.

He entred Scotlande.

Immediately herevpon, to wit about the feaſt of Lammas, King Edwarde with his armie came to Newcaſtell, and deſirous to be reuenged of ſuche iniuries done to his ſubiects, entred into Scotlande, and paſſing forth till he came to Edenbourgh, through want of vitayles and other neceſſarie prouiſion, he was conſtrayned to returne home within the ſpace of. xv. dayes. For king Robert aduertiſed of his cõming, had cauſed all the corne and cattell in the Countrey to be conueyed out of the way into certain ſtrengthes, where the Engliſh men might not come to get it into their handes, ſo to relieue themſelues therewith. But in their returning homewardes, ſomewhat to reuenge their diſpleaſures, they ſpoyled & brunt the Abbayes of Melroſe, and Drybourgh, with diuerſe other religious houſes & places, not ſparing any kinde of crueltie agaynſt all thoſe of the inhabitants that fell into their handes.

The Abbeyes of Mewroſe or Melroſe, and Drybourgh burned.

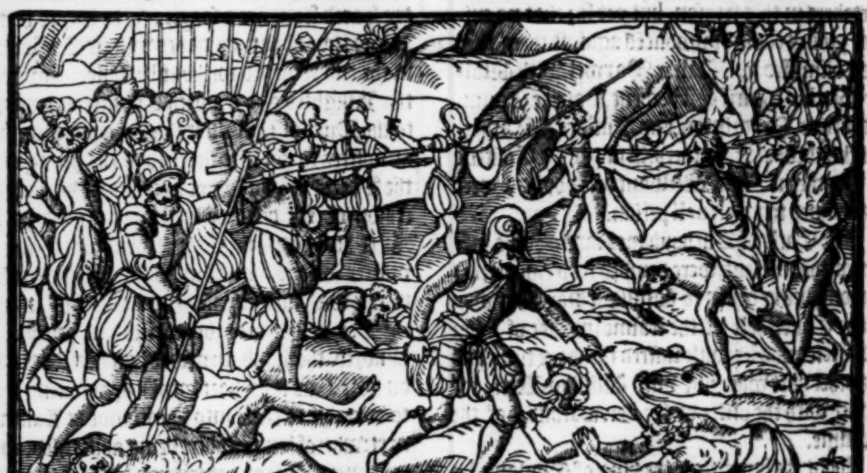
King Robert inuadeth the north partes of England, approching almoſt to York.

In reuenge hereof, King Robert ſhortly after entred with a puiſſant army into England, ſpoyling and waſting the Country, till he came almoſt to Yorke.

King Edwarde is put to flight.

The Earle of Richmont is taken.

At length hearing that king Edwarde was comming towards him with an army, he choſe a plot of grounde betwixt the Abbay of Bylande and S. Sauiour, there to abyde battayle, whiche King Edward refuſed not to giue, though in the end, he was put to flight with his whole power, and chaſed with great ſlaughter both of Engliſh men and Normans, whiche were there in hys ayde. Diuerſe alſo of the Nobilitie were taken priſoners, as John de Brytaine Earle of Richmont, and Henrie Sowly, with others.



1323

This battaile was fought in the yeare of our ſauiour 1323. xv. dayes after the feaſt of Saint Michael the Archangell.

Ri. Southwel.
Riuale Abbay.

King Edward lying the ſame time at the Abbay of Riuale, aduertiſed of this ouerthrowe, fled and got him into Yorke, leauing his plate and much other ſtuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his ſodaine departure, which the Scottes comming thither founde, and tooke away with them.

Yorkeſwolde waſted by Scottes.

And from thence they paſſed forth into Yorkeſwolde, ſpoyling and waſting the countrey euen vnto Beuerley, which town for a ſumme of money they were contented to ſpare, and ſo then they returned homewardes, entering agayne into Scotlande on all Soules daye, whiche is the ſeconde of Nouember, after they had remayned wythin Englande at that tyme the ſpace of a Month and foure dayes.

Shortly after king Robert ſent an Ambaſſadour to the French King, to renue the auncient bonde of amitie betwixte the two Realmes of

Scotland

The bande of amity betwixt Scotlande and Fraunce renued with new articles.

Scotlande and Fraunce, which was accompliſhed with this newe condition added to the former articles, that if it chaunced that ſucceſſion fayled touching the enheritance of the crowne of eyther Realme, ſo that a doubt ſhould riſe, who ought by right to enioy the ſame, the clayme and tytle thereof ſhoulde be tryed and decyded by the nobles of both the realmes, and further, that they ſhould not onely remoue and exclude all ſuche as went about wrongfully to vſurpe the crowne, but alſo to defend and maintayne the true inheritour to the vttermoſt of their powers.

A prouiſo.

In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receyued the Sacrament: and for the further ratifying of it, they made a prouiſo, ỹ where (as then) they had the Popes conſent hereto, neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors hereafter ſhoulde diſpence with them for the breaking of that bond, and if they did, euery ſuch diſpenſation ſhould be reputed voyde and of none effect.

R. Southwel.

In this yeare 1321. as Richard Southwell reporteth, about the Aſcention day came commiſſioners from the two kings of Englande and Scotlande, vnto Newcaſtell, there to treate of ſome agreement of peace. For the king of Englande came Amerie de Valence Erle of Pembroke, the Lorde Hughe Spencer the yonger, and foure other perſons ſufficiently authoriſed. And for the King of Scottes came the Biſhop of Saint Androwes, Thomas Randell Earle of Murrey, and foure other perſons likewiſe of good calling. After much talke, in the ende they agreed vpon a truce to endure for .xiij. yeares, which was proclaimed in both realmes about the feaſt of Saint Barnabie next enſuing.

Hamton an Engliſh man of whom the Hamiltons are deſcended.

About this time alſo, or not lõg before, an Engliſh man diſcended of noble lynage called Hamton, chaunced for ſpeaking certaine wordes in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwardes priuie Chamber named Iohn Spencer, inſomuch that fighting togither about the ſame wordes, Hamtons hap was to ſlea this Spencer, and thervpon knowing there was no way but death if he ſhould hap to be caught, he fled with al ſpeed into Scotland, where he was receyued of the king in moſt friendly wiſe, & had giuen to him for the maintenance of his eſtate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow.

The Hamiltons mingled with the kings blood.

The poſteritie of this Hamton remayneth in Scotland vnto this day, increaſed ſo in kinred & honor, by reaſõ it was in proces of time mingled with the kings blood, that few linages within ỹ realme are of like eſtimation. They are now called Hammiltons, ſomewhat chaunged from the name of their firſt beginner.

King Edwarde depoſed.

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogither by two of the Spencers, as Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, cam to ſuch hatred of his people, aſwel the nobles as commons, that in the end he was depoſed of all kingly authoritie, committed to priſon, and in fine ſecretly murthered as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainly appeareth.

His ſonne Edward the third crowned.

1326

His ſonne Edward the third was placed in his rowme, and crowned the .xxv. day of Ianuary in the yeare .1326.

R. Southwell.

The Caſtell of Norham.

In the night of the ſame day in which he receyued the crowne, the Scottes ment to haue wonne the Caſtel of Norham by ſtealing, and they went ſo cunningly about their purpoſe, that there were to the number of .xvj. of them got vp on the walles: but ỹ captain of this caſtell Robert Manners being warned aforehand of their comming by one of his ſouldiers that was a Scottiſh man borne, ſodeinly aſſailed them, ſlue .ix. or .x. of them, and toke .v. priſoners aliue, but he was wounded, ſo as this miſfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue bene a forewarning of their loſſes to follow in the dayes of his gouernment.

James Dowglas ſent into Fraunce to the Ballyoll.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Englande, King Robert though he might ſeeme to haue title iuſt ynough to the Crowne of Scotland, which he had poſſeſt now not only by rightfull conqueſt, but alſo by lawfull increaſe of inheritaunce for a certaine number of yeares, by conſent of all the eſtates of the Realme, yet to the ende to put away all doubtes, and to conclude the ſucceſſion of the Ballyoll from all clayme, which hereafter they might pretende to the Crowne of Scotlande, hee ſent ſir Iames Dowglas into Fraunce vnto the Lorde Iohn Ballyoll, to require him to renounce and reſigne all the chalẽge of right and intereſt which he might ſeeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, aſwell for himſelfe as his heyres & ſucceſſors for euer to K. Robert le Bruce and his heyres.

In conſideration of which reſignation he offred fayre landes and rentes vnto him to bee appoynted forth in Scotland.

The Ballyol being now ſore worne with age, and therewith blinde of bodily ſight, lightly conſented vnto this motion, conſidering (as he ſayde) he tooke it to be the ordinance of almightie God that king Robert ſhould enioy the gouernment of the Scottiſh kingdome, as moſte worthie and moſte meete thereto, hauing deliuered the ſame and defended it moſt valiantly from the handes of moſt cruell enimies.

The reſignation of the Ballyoll to king Robert.

He called therefore his friendes and kynſemen togither, in the preſence of whome he wholy reſigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which hee or any other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotlande, concerning any intereſt or clayme which might be auouched for any cauſe or conſideration, from the beginning of the worlde vnto that preſent day.

A Parliament at Cambulkenneth.

An act for the ſucceſsion of the crowne.

After the returne of ſir James Dowglas forth of Fraunce, with ſo good expedition and diſpatch of that buſineſſe where aboute he was ſent, King Robert right ioyfull thereof, aſſembled a Parliament of the Nobles and other eſtates of the Realme at Cambuſkenneth, where hee procured a new acte to be eſtabliſhed touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne, which was, that if his ſonne Dauid deceaſſed without heires of his body lawfully begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Mariorie Bruce his daughter, ſhould ſucceede in poſſeſſion of the Crowne.

All the Lordes at the ſame time, were ſworne to mainteyne this ordinance.

In the meane while, King Edward the thirde ſent vnto king Robert for peace, but forſomuche as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretence, no concluſion thereof enſued, but preparation made on eyther part for warres.

The rule of things committed to Thomas Randall, and to James Dowglas.

King Robert ſhortly after fell ſicke, by reaſon wherof, being not able to ride abrode nor to trauaile himſelfe, he committed the adminiſtration of all things touching the common wealth and other the affayres of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, Earle of Murrey, and to the Lorde James Dowglas, two Captaynes, for theyr high prowes and noble valiancie in thoſe dayes greatly renowmed.

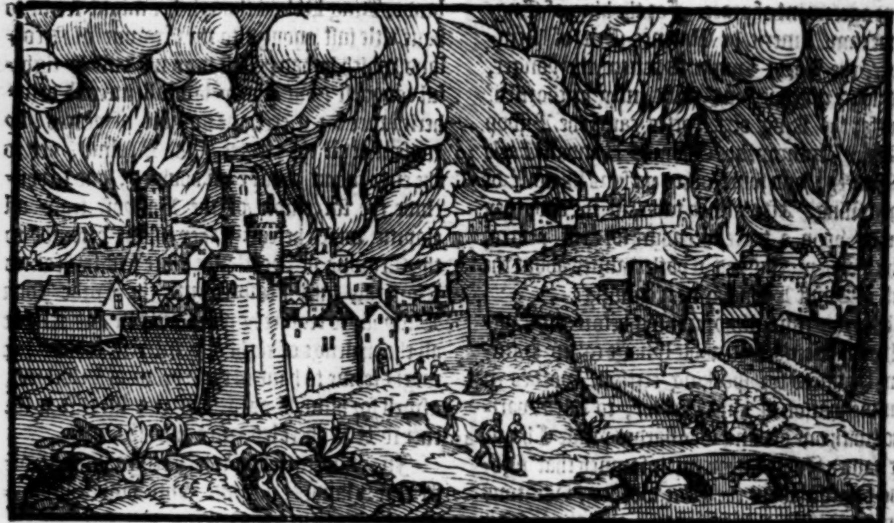
They inuade Northumberlande.

Theſe two hardie chieftaynes aſſembling an armie of .xx. thouſande men, or as ſome writers haue .xxv. thouſande, entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey on eche ſide.

1327

King Edwarde the third commeth with an army agaynſt them.

Agaynſt whom came king Edward with an army of an hundred thouſand men: of the which number there were (as Froiſſart hath) an eight thouſande horſemen, and .xxiiij. thouſande Archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might wel perceyue by the ſmoke of the fiers which the Scottes made in burning of villages, houſes, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet bycauſe they taryed not long in a place, but paſſed on withoute ſoiourning here or there, the Engliſh men might not come neare to fight wyth them.



King Edwarde therefore, was councelled to draw towardes Scotlande, that lying betwixt them and home, he might haue them at ſome aduauntage as they ſhoulde returne, whiche was thought woulde bee ſhortly, as well for lacke of vitayles, as alſo to defende theyr owne borders, when they hearde once that the Engliſhe armye drew that wayes forth.

But comming to the riuer of Tine, through abundance of rain lately fallen) the ſtreame was ſo ryſen, that neither horſe nor man might paſſe, ſo that the armie was conſtrayned to encampe there for the ſpace of three dayes, in great ſcarcity of vitails, till they were faine to ſend vnto Newcaſtell, (whiche was diſtant from thence. xxvj. myles,) and to Carleil, (whiche was aboute xxij. myles thence,) for prouiſion, which was ſent them from thoſe places in great plentie.

In the meane tyme were thus certayne lyght horſemen ſent abroade into the Countrey to vnderſtande where the Scottes were, and to viewe their doings.

The Scots are encamped on a hyll.

Thoſe that were ſente, finding where the Scottes were encamped, vppon the toppe of a mountain, not paſſing ſixe myles from the Engliſh campe, they returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had ſeene and learned of the enimies doings.

King Edwarde right ioyfull of the newes, cauſeth his armie to be deuyded into three battailes, tayles, and forthwith marcheth on towardes the place where his enimies laye. And comming about Noone dayes within ſight of the Scottes, he perceyued at length that the place whiche they kept was ſo ſtrong, what with the heigth of the ground, and thereto defended on the one ſide with the courſe of a Ryuer, that by no meanes they might bee aſſayled wythout great and manifeſt daunger.

The Engliſhe men ſent to the Scottes.

The Engliſh men in the ende, thought it beſt to chooſe forth a place to encampe in for yͤ night, and ſo doing ſent an Heralde at armes vnto the Scottes, requyring them to come downe vnto ſome euen grounde where battaile might bee giuen: but the Scottes refuſed ſo to doe, alledging that ſithe the Engliſhe men were three to one of them in number, it was no reaſon to wil them to forſake their grounde of aduauntage which they had taken and choſen forth for their own defence.

The anſwer of the Scottes.

Thus were they encamped neare togither eyther in ſight of other for the ſpace of three nights, euery day ſhewing themſelues in order of battail, without breaking their array, except certain of yͤ horſmen which on either part now and thẽ came forth & fel in ſkirmiſh, ſo yͤ ſomtimes a mã might haue ſeene good emptying of ſaddles betwixt thẽ.

On the fourth day in the morning, when the Engliſh men beheld the hill where the Scots had lyen the night before, they perceyued howe they were gone, & therevpon ſending forth light horſmen to trie out which way they were takẽ, word was brought howe they were but remoued to an other hil a litle of, lying faſt by the ſame riuer, and there lay encamped more ſtrongly than before.

The Scottes diſlodge.

Incontinently herevpon king Edward rayſeth his camp, and remoueth to an other hil lying ouer againſt that hil where the Scots were now lodged.

The Engliſh armie rayſed.

At length, after that both the armies had lyen thus a good ſpace the one fore anenyſt the other, James Dowglas tooke aduiſe with himſelfe to exployt a right hardie enterprice.

He choſe forth two hundred of perfite good horſemen, mounted vpon very ſwift and readie geldings, with the which in the night ſeaſon hee paſſed ſlily by the Engliſh watche, that he was not once diſcryed by any of them, till he was entred into their campe, where by the dyn and noiſe made by the mouing of the horſe feet, ſome chanced to awake that lay and ſlept, but yet ere the alarme were rayſed to any purpoſe, the Scottes thus led by yͤ Dowglas had pierced throughout vnto the kings tent, & cut two cordes of the ſame in ſunder, ſo that the king was in no ſmal danger to haue beene ſlaine; had not the Scottes withdrawne yͤ ſooner for doubt of being incloſed with their enimies as now rayſed on eche ſide to come to his ſuccours, but the Dowglas yet returned in ſafetie with his number back againe to the Scottiſh campe, hauing ſlaine (as ſome bookes report) three hundred Engliſh men at this brunt.

An enterpriſe exployted by ſir Iames Dowglas.

The Engliſh men warned hereby, tooke better heede after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one againſt an other for the ſpace of. xviij. dayes, till at length the Scottes priuily in the night conueyed themſelues away, and returned home in moſte ſpeedye wiſe, ſuppoſing they had done ſufficiently inough for that tyme.

The Scottes ſecretely returne home to their countrey.

It chaunced that in the Euening before the Scottes went thus their wayes, there was a Scot taken by the Engliſh watch, who beeyng brought before the king, confeſſed that there was cõmaũdement giuẽ through the Scottiſh camp, that euery man ſhould be ready with his armour and weapon to follow the ſtandart of the Dowglas at a certaine houre the ſame night, but whither they intended to go it was vnknowne, ſaue onely amongſt the Captaines.

Herevpon the Engliſhmen doubting leaſt the Scots minded to giue thẽ a camiſado that night, placed themſelues in order of battail, & ſo ſtood till the next morning readie to haue receyued them, if they had come. The Scots alſo made great fires within their camp, that they might ſee about thẽ.

In the breake of the day, there were two Scottiſh Trumpetters taken by the Engliſh ſcoutes, the which being brought before the king, declared how the Scottiſh armie was broken vp and returned, & further ſhewed how they were appoynted thus to declare vnto him, hauing ſuffred them ſelues to be taken for the ſame intent.

As ſoone as the Engliſh men were aduertiſed that the Scots were thus departed, they haſted to the place where they had lyen encamped, in hope to haue founde ſome riches, which for haſt they had left behind them: but at their cõming thither, they found nothing, but, x. M. payre of Hielande ſhooes, which are made of greene hydes of beaſtes vntanned: Alſo they found three hundred hydes of ſauage beaſts ſet vpon ſtakes in ſtead of Cauldrons, therein to ſeeth their meate.

Moreouer, they had left behinde them fiue hundred dead carkaſſes of beaſtes & ſheepe, which for that they coulde not driue them away, they killed, to the ende the Engliſhe men ſhoulde haue no gaine by them.

There were likewyſe founde fiue Engliſhe men wyth theyr legges broken, and bounde naked vnto trees, which were quickly looſed and cõmitted to the cure of Chirurgians.

The enimyes beeing thus departed, king Edwarde by aduice of his Counſell brake vp hys campe, and returned to London, ſuppoſing it but loſt labour to trauaile his people any further at that tyme.

King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

In this yeare dyed Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotlande.

1326. as Io. M. hath, but that cannot be, if ſhe died the ſame yeare that the Scots were beſieged in Stanhop parke.

Notham Caſtell wonne.

Alnewike beſieged.

And in the yeare following, or rather the ſame yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruce the Prince deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfermiling in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1328. In the ſame yeare, king Robert wanne the Caſtell of Norham, and ſhortly after beſieged the Caſtel of Alnwike, where were ſlain William de Mountalte knight, John Clapanen and Maliſius de Dunbar, with diuerſe other of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

Ambaſſadors ſent from K. Edward for a peace.

In the ende of the ſame yeare, there were Ambaſſadours ſent from king Edwarde into Scotland for the concluſion of a peace, which was accorded in this wiſe: That king Edward ſhoulde renounce all his right & clayme which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of K. Alexander the third, vnder theſe cōditions, that Northūberland ſhould be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the eaſt part, and Cumberland on the weſt.

A peace concluded with England in the yeare 1328. after the account of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe.

For the which renunciation thus to be made, and for the domages done to Englande by the Scots, it was couenanted that K. Robert ſhould pay to K. Edward. xxx. M. Markes ſterling.

And for the more ſuretie & ratification of this finall agreemēt & peace betwixt the two nations, it was cōcluded that Jane the ſiſter of King Edward ſhould be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruce the Prince of Scotland.

Iane, or rather Ione, the ſiſter of king Edward, maryed to Dauid Bruce Prince of Scotland.

Al which articles were put in writing, whereunto all the ſeales of the great Lordes within both the realmes were ſet in moſt ſubſtantiall wiſe.

The ſolemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Barwike within a while after, on the. xviij. day of July, in the preſence of a great number of the Nobilitie, both of England and Scotland.

The death of king Robert.

King Robert liued not paſt a tweluemonth after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the ſeuenth day of July in the yeare of our Lorde. 1329.

1329

In the latter ende of his dayes, he was grieuouſly vexed with a leproſie, which thus finally made an ende of him, in the. xxiiij. yeare of hys raign. being one of the moſt valiant princes knowen in any part of the whole worlde in thoſe his dayes, hauing felt in his time the force of eyther fortune: for in the beginning of his raigne, ſuche ſtormes of aduerſitie ſurrounded him on ech ſide, that if his conſtant manhode had not beene the greater, it might haue brought him in diſpayre of all recouerie: for beſides ſundrye diſcomfitures, which he receyued at the handes of the enimies, with loſſe of all his brethren (his brother Edward only excepted) the moſte part of all the Lordes of Scotlande were againſt him, and ayded his aduerſaries to the vttermoſt of their powers: yet he nothing diſcouraged herewith, ceaſſed not to employ all induſtruous meanes to deliuer his countrey from the yoke of ſeruile bondage (which hee beleeued would ſucceed by the gouernment of the Engliſh kings) til at length (as it were in deſpite of all former chances) he atteyned the effect of his whole indeuours, ſo much the more to his praiſe, as he had found the hinderance & difficultie great in bringing the ſame fully to paſſe.

King Robert taſted both proſperous & aduerſe fortune.

The fame of king Robert.

His fame therfore did ſpread hugely, not onely amōgſt his own people, but alſo amongſt ſtrangers, inſomuch as his due praiſe was not wanting, no not euen amongſt and in the middeſt of his verie enimies.

His prayſe amongſt the enimies.

For (as it is ſayde) on a tyme it chaunced that king Edward the thirde, ſitting at a banket amongeſt his Nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterpriſes, and of ſuche notable Captaynes, as had excelled in knowledge in yͤ behalf.

A queſtion proponed to an Engliſh Heralde by king Edwarde the third.

At length after much reaſoning to and fro, he propounded this queſtion to the king of Heralds, that as then ſtood by, cōmaunding him to declare which were the three moſt worthie and valiant captains that he had knowne in all his dayes.

The Herald aduiſing with himſelf of this matter, ſtayed a ſpace, in which meane while all the cōpanie were quiet, longing to heare his anſwere therein, both for that they knew his ſkil was ſuch as was able beſt to giue ſentence in ſuch a matter, and againe, for that many of them thought he woulde haue numbred ſome of thoſe that were there preſent, amongeſt thoſe three. But the Herald did not onely know all the noble men within the realme of England, but alſo al ſuch ſtrangers as had in any wiſe excelled in martiall prowes, hauing all their actes and valiant doings in freſh memorie, and thervpon boldly vttered his mind as followeth:

The Heraldes anſwere to the queſtion.

The firſt, moſt worthie and valiant chieftain (ſayd he) that hath liued in theſe our dayes, was Henrie the Emperor, for he ſubdued three kings and three realmes, and mainteyned his imperiall eſtate with proſperous felicitie to his liues ende.

The ſecond, was ſir Giles of Argentine, who in three ſundry battails againſt the Saraſins got the victorie, and ſlue two of their principall Captaynes with his owne handes.

The thirde (if vnder your graces correction I may prayſe the enimie) I muſt iudge to be Robert Bruce king of Scotlande: whome the Herald had no ſooner named, but all thoſe that were preſente with ſkornefull laughter began to ieaſt at the Heraldes preſumption, for that he durſt ſo malapertly in the kings preſence honour the enimie with ſo high prayſe.

The Heralde is ſcorned.

At length, at the Heraldes requeſt, the King commaunded them to be ſtyll: the Harold then began againe thus: I beſeeke youre highneſſe, (ſayd he) if I haue oughte offended, to take my wordes in good part: for I haue bene euer of this opinion, that the trouth ſhould in euery caſe bee vttered, receiued and allowed in your graces preſence, namely where your highneſſe commaundeth any man to declare the ſame.

The Heraulds excuſe.

This one thing therefore, I ſhall deſyre you to conſider, that if a man muſt needes bee vanquiſhed, it is leſſe diſhonoure to bee vanquiſhed of him that is knowne for a right valiant perſonage, than of him that is but a coward.

The Heraulds opinion.

Moreouer, to ſhew playnly vnto your grace, how much I eſteeme the valiancie of king Robert (whom I perceiue ſome here may not abide to haue numbred with the .ij. former moſt valiant capitains) if the trouth mighte appeare, I durſt be bold to preferre him with good cauſe before them both: for the valiaunt actes atchieued by Henry the Emperour may be aſcribed rather to the wiſedom of his counſellors, than to hys own valiantneſſe and prudencie: but contraryly King Robert being confined out of his co͂trey, and deſtitute of frendes and all conuenable ayde, recouered the realme of Scotlande, by his ſingular manhood out of the handes of your noble father, and eſtabliſhed it with ſuche tranquillitie that he appeared more terrible to his enimies of Englande, than euer they hadde bin afore to hys ſubiects of Scotland.

The opinion of the herauld concerning K. Roberts valiancie.

These or the ſemblable wordes vttered by the Heraulde, were well allowed of the kyng, and ſtopped the mouthes of them that tooke the matter ſo ſtraungely at the firſt.

But now to return to the purpoſe, King Roberte a little before the tyme of his death, called togither into the chamber where he lay, the chiefeſt peeres of his realme, and there in preſence of them all, committed vnto them the gouernment of his ſonne Dauid, a child as then not paſt ſeuen yeares of age.

He alſo aduiſed them of ſundry things touching the rule of the Realme after his deceaſe, whiche he perceyued was at hand.

The aduice giuen by K. Robert vnto his nobles before his deceaſe.

And firſt he counſelled them that in no wyſe they ſhould at any tyme make an abſolute lord ouer the Iles, bycauſe the people of the ſame are of nature vnſtedfaſt, & ſoone ſeduced & broughte to moue rebellion againſte the Kyng, into the which beeing once fallen, they are not eaſily reduced to their due obedience againe, by reaſon theyr countreys are of ſuche ſtrength, that they can not be approched but by ſea, as enuironned with the ſame.

Secondarily, hee aduiſed them neuer to appoynt any ſette battayle with the Engliſhmen, nor to ieoparde the realme vpon the chaunce of one fielde, but rather to reſiſt and keepe them off from endomaging their countrey, by often ſkirmiſhing and cutting them off at ſtraits and places of aduauntage, to the intent that if Scottes be diſcomfited, they maye yet haue ſome power reſerued to make new reſiſtance.

Thirdly, he forbad them in any wiſe to make any long peace with Englande, for naturally men ware dull and ſlouthfull by long reſte and quietneſſe, ſo that after long peace, through lack of vſe and exerciſe of armes, men are not able to ſuſtaine any great paines or trauaile.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Engliſhmen woulde continue in peace no longer than there wanted opportunitie and conuenient occaſion for them to attempt the warres, and therfore he iudged it beſt, that the Scottes ſhoulde neuer conclude any perpetuall peace with them, nor take any truce longer than for three or foure yeares at the moſte.

He willed them farther to conſider one thing, that when there appeared leaſt occaſion of warres with England, then they ought to be moſte circumſpecte, in aduenture their enimies ſhould come at vnwares, and fynde them vnprouided, for tymely reſiſtance.

Hereunto hee deſired them, that after his deceaſſe, they woulde chooſe ſome one of the moſte worthie capitaines within the whole realme to beare his heart vnto Hieruſalem, and there to ſee it buried within the temple, before the holy Sepulchre of our Lorde.

His deſire to haue his harte borne to the holy ſepulchre

For if he had not bin for a long ſpace hyndered by vrgent buſineſſe of warres at home, and laſtly preuented by death, he had vowed to haue paſſed with an army into the holy lande, in defence of the chriſtian faith, againſte the Turks and Saraſins.

Hereupon, when he was dead, the lordes by one aſſent, appointed ſir Iames Dowglas, to take this enterpriſe in hande, who willingly obeyed their order, as he that had euer duryng the lyfe of king Roberte ſerued moſte faithfully the bodie wherin the ſame hart was incloſed.

Sir Iames Douglas appointed to goe with K. Roberts heart to the ſepulchre.

And for this cauſe, the Douglaſſes beare the bloudy heart in their armes.

The cauſe why the Douglaſſes bear the bloudye heart.

Syr Iames Douglas then, choſen as moſte worthy to paſſe with king Robertes heart vnto the holy lande, cloſed the ſame in a caſe of golde, enbalmed with ſweet ſpices, and right precious oyntmentes. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongſt whome ſir William Synclare, and ſir Robert Logan were chiefe, he paſſed forth tyll he came to the Citie of Ieruſalem, where hee buried the hart aforeſayd, with al reuerence and ſolennitie that he might deuiſe.

This done, he reſorted with ſuch number as

The valiancie of Iames Douglas ſhewed agaynſte the Turkes.

he had brought thither with him vnto ſuch other Chriſtian princes as at the ſame tyme were gathered with great puiſſance, from ſundry partes of Chriſtendome to warre againſt the Turkes, and there in companye with them, he did ſo noble ſeruice agaynſt the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honour to the Chriſtian name.

Iames Douglas cometh a land in Spayn.

At lengthe, hauing accompliſhed his charge in thoſe parties, with no leſſe fame and glorye, than princely magnificence, he toke the ſeas to haue returned home into Scotland, but by force of contrary wynds he was driuen on the coaſt of Spayne, landyng there vppon the bordures of Granado, where at the ſame tyme, he found the king of Aragone, readie to make warres againſt the Saraſins that inhabited in thoſe parties.

The Douglas to make his manhod and prowes the more knowne in all partes where hee came, offered the king of Aragone, to ſerue vnder hym in thoſe warres againſt the infidels, and ſo fought at ſundry times in his ſupport againſt the enimies with proſperous ſucceſſe, til at lēgth hauing to much confidence in fortunes fauour, (whiche hathe broughte ſo manye noble men to their deaths) he waxed negligent, and toke ſmall regarde of daungers that myghte enſue, ſo that in the ende he was incloſed by an ambuſhe layde for him by the enimies, and there ſlayn amongſt them with all ſuche as he had about him.

Iames Douglas ſlayne by the Saraſins in Spayne.

How often Iames Douglas had got the victorie.

This was the ende of that noble Douglas, one of the moſt valiant knightes, that lyued in his days. He had gotten the victorie. lviij. ſundry tymes in fight againſt the Engliſhmen, & . xiij. tymes againſte the Turkes, as it is written at length (ſayth Balentine) in Scoticronicon.

He might haue bin right neceſſary for the defence of Scotland, if his chance had bin to haue returned home in ſafetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mencioned) on the. xxvj. day of Auguſt, in the yeare of grace. 1330.

1330.

King Dauid.

BUt now to procede in order with the hiſtorie, ye ſhal note yᵗ after yͤ deceaſe of K. Robert, his ſonne Dauid a childe vneth. vij. yeres of age, was proclaimed king, & afterwardes crowned at Scone, the. 23. day of Nouember, in the yere of our lord. 1331. During yͤ time of his minoritie, Erle Thomas Rādal was ordeined gouernor of yͤ realm, who for the ſpace of four yeres, in the later ende of K. Roberts reigne, had yͤ whole adminiſtration of things cōmitted to his charge by the ſame king, for that by reaſon of ſicknes, he was not able to attēd yͤ ſame himſelf. This Erle Thomas then beeing elected gouernour by the generall conſent of al the nobles of the realm, cōſidered with himſelf, how neceſſarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had ſomewhat recouered their hynderance and loſſes chāced to them by the former warres. He addreſſed therfore certaine ambaſſadors immediatly after the death of king Robert vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a ſeaſon.

1331.

Erle Thomas Randall gouernoure of Scotland.

Ambaſſadours ſent into England.

These ambaſſadours founde the king of England eaſy ynough to be intreated for the graunt of their ſuite, ſo that a generall truce was taken for the ſpace of. iij. yeares.

A truce for three yeares.

In that meane tyme, Erle Thomas applied his whole ſtudie for the mayntenance of iuſtice and equitie thorow the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that menne ſhoulde be prouided of armoure and weapon for defence of the countrey, if neceſſitie ſo requeſted.

Moreouer, for the better proofe of exercyſing Iuſtice amongeſt them that coueted to lyue by truthe, and to haue more readie occaſion to puniſhe other that ment the contrarie, he commanded yͤ ſaddles and brydles with all other ſuch inſtruments and ſtuffe as perteined to huſbandry, ſhoulde be left abroade both day and night withoute the dores: and if it chaunced that anye of them were ſtollen or taken awaye, the Sheriffe of the ſhyre ſhoulde eyther cauſe the ſame to be reſtored agayne, or elſe to paye for it on hys owne purſe.

A meane to haue iuſtice executed.

Finally ſuche puniſhment was exerciſed againſt theeues in all places, that both thefte and pickerie were quite ſuppreſſed, and the Realme broughte to more tranquillitie than euer it was in any kings dayes before.

Puniſhment of theeues.

Many inſolent and miſruled perſons wer tamed by his ſeuere chaſtiſement and iuſtice.

Alſo that vertue might be cheriſhed within the realme, he commaunded that no vagabunde nor ydle perſon ſhould be receiued into any towne or place, except they had ſome craft or ſcience wherwith to get their lyuing.

A laudable ordināce againſt vagarant perſons.

By this means he purged the realm of Scotlande of many idle and ſlouthfull roges and vagabundes.

It is ſaide, that during the tyme whyleſt ſuch ſtraight puniſhment was exerciſed againſt offendors by the miniſters of the lawes therto by him auctoriſed & aſſigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrey, bicauſe he durſt not ſteale other mens goodes, ſtale his owne plough yrons, yᵗ he might haue the value of them recōpenced to him by the Sheriffe: Neuertheleſſe ſuch earneſt diligence was vſed in the ſerche and triall, who had the plough yrons, that finally the trouth came to light, wherupon for his craftie falſhood the partie giltie was hanged, as he had well deſerued.

Vpright iuſtice.

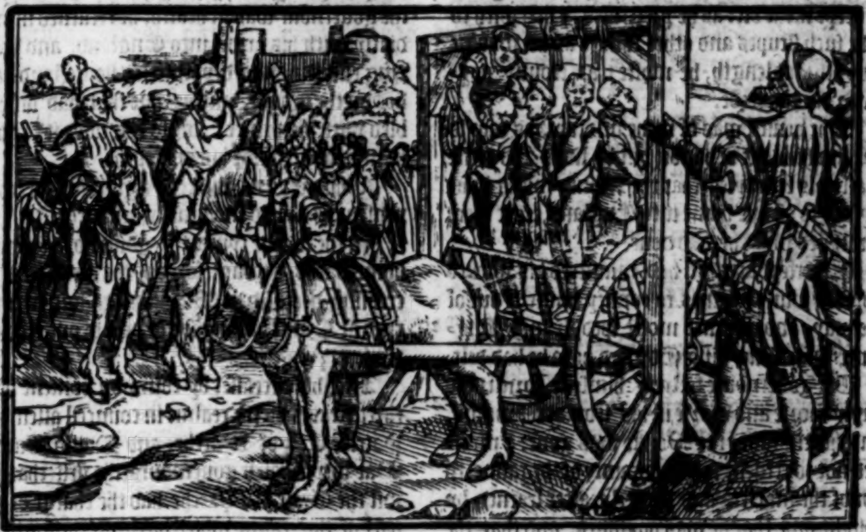
The gouernor himſelf for yᵗ he ſaw how hard it was to reduce them that had bin brought vp in ſlouthfull loytering, vnto honeſt exerciſe, helde euer aboute him a guarde of warlyke perſons, that he myght the more eaſly oppreſſe all ſtubborne offenders, which would not ſubmit themſelues to his commaundementes.

Iuſtice tempered with mercie.

Those that appeared before him, vppon ſummonance giuen, had fauorable iuſtice, tempered with muche mercie miniſtred vnto them.

Others, that refuſed to obey, were purſewed with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happned on a tyme at Hadington, wher threeſcore euil and naughtie diſpoſed perſons being gathered together, robbed & ſpoyled the people on eche ſyde: and for that they regarded not, but rather myſuſed a purſeuaunt, which he ſent vnto them, they were all taken incontinently by his foreſayd gard, which followed the ſayd purſeuaunt at the heeles, and without reſpite hanged thē vp on gybets to giue enſample to others.

Stubborne rebelles ſharply puniſhed.



King Edwarde enuieth the felicitie of Scots.

Through ſuche rigorous iuſtice, no rebellion was hearde of within the realme of Scotlande many yeares after, ſo that ſuche tranquillitie folowed, that not only theeues and loytering limmers were daunted, but the realme alſo aduaunced in wealth and riches, to the greate terrour of all the foes and enimies therof.

King Edward aduertiſed of this great felicitie chaunced to the Scottes, by this meanes began to enuie the ſame, and imagined with hymſelfe, that if Erle Thomas, the auctor of yͤ ſame felicitie were diſpatched out of the way, it ſhuld not onely impeache the proceeding of ſo greate wealth to the Scots, but alſo make for the ſuretie of the realme of Englande: for the ſingular manhood and high prowes of this Erle, was by him and other his nobles ſore ſuſpected.

He thought good therfore to attempt the thing by ſleight, that myght not be done by force, that afterwrads the realme of Scotlande myght bee the more enfeebled, and as it were made open to receyue diſpleaſure at his handes.

King Edwards purpoſe to deſtroy Earle Thomas (as the Scottes do write.) But this is a kinde of practiſe amongſt men to forge ſlanderous reports to bring princes in cōtempt

For king Dauid was yong, and many of his nobles bare ſmall good will towards either hym, or his houſe, for the ſlaughter of their fathers and frendes in the blacke parliament.

Herevpon he deuiſed, whiche way hee myght beſt deſtroy Erle Thomas, the only confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchieue any luckie enterpriſe againſt the Scots.

At lengthe hee deuiſed to diſpatche hym by poyſon: and after hee hadde long debated by whome he mighte worke that feate: fynally hee founde none ſo fitte for his purpoſe, as a Monke of the order and facultie of thoſe, that wandring from place to place, can with diſſembling viſage ſay that thing with mouthe, whiche they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order put no difference betwixte ſhame and honeſtie, cloking their execrable wickedneſſe vnder the fayned ſhadow of their hypocritical cowles.

A Monke ſent into Scotlande to poyſon the gouernor. The fitteſt inſtrument to bring ſuch a thing to paſſe.

This Monke, fully inſtructed in that whereabout he was ſent, came into Scotland, and faining himſelfe to be a Phyſition, got credit within a whyle amongeſt the people, to be a man of moſt excellente knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that beeing made priuie to the matter, ſette forth his cunnyng and practiſe to the vttermoſte, declaryng what notable and moſte deſperate cures he had taken in hande, and made the pacientes perfectly whole of the ſame, where al other had quite giuen them ouer, namely he bruted it abroade, that for healing of the ſtone and grauell, his lyke was not to be found in all Chriſtendome, as euidently had appeared by cures whiche he had ſhewed vpon ſundry noble men, both in England and Fraunce.

This he ſpake, for that it was knowne, how the Lorde gouernour was ſore vexed with that diſeaſe, hoping by this meanes to haue hym in cure, that he might therby the more eaſily work his diueliſhe enterpryſe.

And euen accordyng to his deſire it came to paſſe: for being taken for ſuch a man as he was named to be, he was ſent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handled the matter ſo with wordes, that the gouernor was contented he ſhould take him in hande, whiche he didde with ſuch wicked intention, that perſuading him to keepe ſuche diet as he preſcribed, & herewith to take ſuch ſirupes and other things as he woulde giue him, at length, he moſte trayterouſly poyſoned him in deede.

The gouernor is poyſoned.

The venim was of ſuche mixture, as would not ſlea him out of hande, but by little and little waſte his entrayles, that the Monke might haue leyſure to eſcape home into England, ere it were perceyued what he had done.

The Monke fleeth.

He therfore after he had miniſtred his wicked poyſon, found meanes to conuey himſelfe out of the way, and returned moſte ſpedyly into England, informing King Edward how he had delt.

The gouernoure feelyng himſelfe tormented dayly worſe and worſe in his ſtomack & womb, and hearing that the Monke was gone, & mynded not to returne to him againe, he beganne to doubt the matter, and ſhortely after learned by Phyſitions that he was poyſoned, and that the venym had taken ſuch holde within his bowels, that it was not poſſible to remoue it.

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade Scotland.

In the meane tyme, was king Edward come with an armie vnto the borders, purpoſing to inuade Scotlande, for that he thought how the gouernour was eyther dead, or at the verie poynt of death, and therfore he was in hope, that comming in tyme of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he ſhoulde finde occaſion to atchieue ſome enterpriſe, highly to his aduantage.

The gouernor in an horſe litter is caryed forth to encounter the Engliſhmen.

But the gouernour aduertized hereof, rayſed a power, and though he were not able eyther to ryde or goe, he yet cauſed himſelfe to bee caryed forth in an horſe litter.

An heraulde ſent to the gouernour.

King Edwarde hearing that the gouernoure was comming towardes him with an armie, and that himſelfe in perſon quite contrary to his expectation, he ſent an herauld vnto him for meane of communication of ſome peace, as was outewardly pretẽded, though nothing elſe was ment but that he ſhoulde eſpye howe all things in the Scottiſhe campe ſtoode.

The gouernour hearing of this heraulds cõming, arayed hymſelf in his beſt apparell, that it might appeare he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than otherwyſe weake and feeble thorough his diſeaſe, and then cauſing the Herauld to be brought afore him, where he was ſette in a chaire, to heare what his meſſage was, which cõſiſting in certain demaundes not greatly agreable to reaſon, the gouernour with bolde countenãce anſwered, that he truſted within ſhort time to make it knowne, what right the Engliſhmen had to moue ſuche vnreaſonable requeſtes, and thus diſpatching the heraulde, he gaue him all ſuche gorgeous and riche apparel as he ware the ſame tyme when he thus talked with hym.

The gouernours anſwere to the herald.

King Edward at the returne of the Heralde, not perceyuing otherwiſe by his report, but that the gouernour was in health, he returned immediatly with his armie into England, and licencing euery man to depart to his home, layd handes on the monke, and as one that had diſſembled with his prince, (for ſo hee tooke it) cauſed hym to be brent for his vntrouth.

The monke is brent.

Thus was the wretche rightuouſly recompenſed, as he had moſt iuſtly deſerued.

In the meane tyme, the gouernor returning homewards, through force of the venym ſtil encreaſing, deceaſed at Muſculburgh, and was buryed at Dunfermlyng in the yere of our redemption. 1331.

After his deceaſſe, by common conſent of the three eſtates of the realme in councell aſſembled, Patrike Erle of Marche, and Dauid Earle of Mar were choſen gouernours, the firſt (that is to wit the Earle of Marche) had the charge of that part of the realme which lyeth on the ſouth ſide of the Furth, and the other (that is to ſaye, the Erle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne al that on the north ſyde.

Two gouernours choſen to rule Scotland.

Shortly after roſe great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edwarde Ballyoll, the ſonne of John Ballyoll before remembred, as thus: It chaunced there was one Twynam Loriſon, a Gentleman borne, but ſpotted with vile conditions, as adulterie & diuers other, for the whiche being put vnder cenſures of the church by the officiall of Glaſgewe: he tooke at length the ſame Officiall as he was going toward the towne of Ayre, and helde him in captiuitie till he had paid two hundred poundes for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remayned not long vnpuniſhed: for ſir James Douglas before his paſſage to the holy lande, would not ſuffer him to reſt, till he had conſtrayned hym to flee into Englande for his more ſafegarde.

Twynam Loryſon.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauyd Cumyn Earle of Athole, and many other Scottiſhmen, which wer baniſhed in tymes paſt by king Robert, for ẏ they aſſiſted the king of England againſt him.

Scottiſh lords baniſhed into England.

These perſons being driuen out of the realme and confederate altogither in one bande, remayned in Englãd long time after, euer truſting to ſee ſome occaſion offred, wherby they might one day return agayn into their own natiue countrey.

And now, hearing that Erle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceaſſed, this Twynant

Terram Lotyſon ſent vnto Edwarde Ballyoll.

nam Laryſon in name of them all was ſent ouer into Fraunce to perſuade Edwarde Ballyoll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotlande, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and diſcended vnto him as lawfull & rightfull heire.

Though the Ballyoll had no regard to make any claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this tyme, yet through the pithye perſuaſiõs of the earneſt meſſenger, declaring howe eaſy a matter it were for him to atchieue, conſidering the ayde which he ſhould haue in England, both at the kings handes, and alſo by the Scottiſhemen, whiche remayned there in exile, by whoſe meanes he mighte aſſure himſelfe of ſupport ynough within Scotlande it ſelfe, after hee was once entred: finally he concluded to paſſe ouer into Englande, to proue what purchaſe he myght make there.

Edward Ballyoll cometh into England.

At his comming thither, he made ſuite to the king, to ayde hym in his rightuous quarell towards the atteyning of the crowne of Scotland, whiche if he mighte bring to paſſe with proſperous ſucceſſe, hee promiſed to holde the ſame of him and his ſucceſſors as ſuperior lords thereof.

The promiſe of the Ballyol to king Edw.

King Edwarde doth agree to ayd the Ballyoll.

King Edward gladly vpon that condition, condiſcended to his requeſt, notwithſtanding the alliance contracted with king Dauid, by the mariage of him with his ſiſter.

The Engliſhe writers ſpeake but of .ii. thouſand, or .2500. at the moſt.

Herewith he appoynted forth .vj. thouſande men well apparayled and arayed for the warre, to paſſe by ſea with the Ballyol & other the confederates into Scotlande, truſting that vppon their arriuall there, they ſhoulde fynde no ſmall number of frendes to aſſiſt them.

R. Southwell.

For beſide the Ballyoll, there was the lorde Henry Beaumount a Frenchmā, who had maryed the erle of Buchquhanes daughter & heire: Alſo the Erles of Athole and Angus, and other ſuche Scottiſhe lordes as were baniſhed Scotlande, when king Robert le Bruce recouered it out of the Engliſhe mens handes.

Theſe were appointed to goe with the Ballyoll to aſſiſte him in that enterpryſe: and lykewyſe the lorde Stafforde and diuers other Engliſhe capitaynes, wherupon when al their prouiſion was once ready, with the number apointed them by king Edwarde, and a fewe others, they got them a ſhipborde, and ſaylyng forth by the coaſte till they entred into the Forth, at length they came a lande neare to the towne of Kingorne, and ſhortly after, encountring with Alexander Seyton, they ſlewe him, and put his folkes to flight.

Edward Ballyoll landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Seiton is ſlayne.

The Earles of Mar & March gather their people.

Ballyoll ryght ioyful of this happie ſucceſſe, came with his people to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, wherof the erles of Mar and March being aduertiſed, they reiſed two mightie armies, and haſted towarde the enimies, not as though they ſhuld haue to doe with men of war, but to chaſtiſe a number of theeues & robbers that were come out of Englande.

At length yet they concluded to ioyn both together in Stratherne, that they might ioyntly ſet vpon their enimies both at once.

The Ballyoll ſeeing the matter broughte ſo farforth, that no feare of death nor ſtarting hole by flight might auayle him, boldly came forward, and pitched downe his tentes at Duplyn neare to the water of Erne, truſtyng that if his armie would ſtande to it, and fighte with manlyke conſtancie, he ſhould weyld his enimies wel ynough, notwithſtanding their huge number.

Edward Ballyol at Duplin

The ſame night came the Erle of Mar with his power, and encamped with the ſame within ſight of the engliſh armie, but the erle of March lodged about fiue myles from thence, at Othirardour.

The Scots that were with the Erle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the ſmall number of theyr enimies, made no accompts of them, ſo that they neither toke heede to their watche, nor to any other order for defence of themſelues, but fell to ſinging, dauncing, reuelling and drynkyng in moſte diſſolute maner.

The neglig̃ece of the Scottes.

The Ballyol taking occaſion hereof, determined to aſſayle them ẏ ſame night in their campe: and therevpon cauſing his people to make them readie to accompliſhe that enterpriſe, in the dead of the night he iſſued forth of his campe, & comming vnto the water of Erne, paſſeth the ſame by the forde, where one Andrewe Murraye of Tullybarde had pight a ſtake of ſet purpoſe, in midſt of the ſtreame, to ſhewe them the way.

Thus hauing got all his armie ouer ẏ water, without any noyſe or dinne, ſo ſecretly as might be deuiſed, he entred the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the Erle of Mar the Scottes general, before he was once deſcryed.

The Earle of Mar is ſlayn in his bedde.

Here at the firſt was the Earle himſelf ſlayne lying faſt a ſleepe in his bed, and after with huge noiſe they ſet vpon the whole camp, murthering the Scottes as then buried in ſleepe without al defence. And therupon folowed ſo cruel ſlaughter, that nothing was hearde but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes redie to dye, weltring togither in their owne bloud.

See more hereof in Scotland.

And if it had not bin that Edward Ballyol had cauſed eche of his men to wrappe a whyte cloth aboute his arme, no man might haue knowen (by reaſon of the myrkneſſe of the night) his frende from his foe.

The Engliſhemen were ſo earneſtly bente to the ſlaughter of Scottes, that they myghte not bee ſatiate with the bloud and murder of them, The greate ſlaughter of Scottes.

Sixtene thouſand ſayth R. Southwell.

The Earle of Mar was not ſlayne in the night as before ye haue heard, but now in the morowe folowing as hath Southwel.

ſo that they ſaued none whom they myght ouertake. There were ſlain of nobles ⁊ gentlemen, to the number of.iij.thouſand, beſides innumerable of the commons. A certain number of the Scots that eſcaped out of the place, cloſed themſelues together, and in purpoſe to bee reuenged on the Engliſhemen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were ſlaine them ſelues euery mothers ſonne.

Noble men ſlayne at Dupline.

The chiefeſt nobles that wer ſlayn at this batayle, were theſe the erle of Mar generall of yͤ armie, Roberte Bruce erle of Carryke, Alexander Fraſeyr knight, William Hay cõſtable of Scotlande, with al his lygnage ſo wholly, yͭ had not his wyfe as then being great bellyed, bin afterwardes deliuered of a ſonne, all his ſurname had bin vtterly extinguiſhed.

There were ſlayne alſo Robert Keyth Marſhail of the realme, with many of his ſurname, Dauid Lyndſey of Glenneſk, Alexander Beyton, George Dunbar, Roberte Strathaquhen, Thomas Halyburton, and John Stirymgeour knightes, with many other ouerlong to reherſe.

The Earle of Fife taken.

The Erle of Fyfe with a few other be taken.

This batayl was foughten the thirteenth day of Auguſt, in the yeare. 1332.

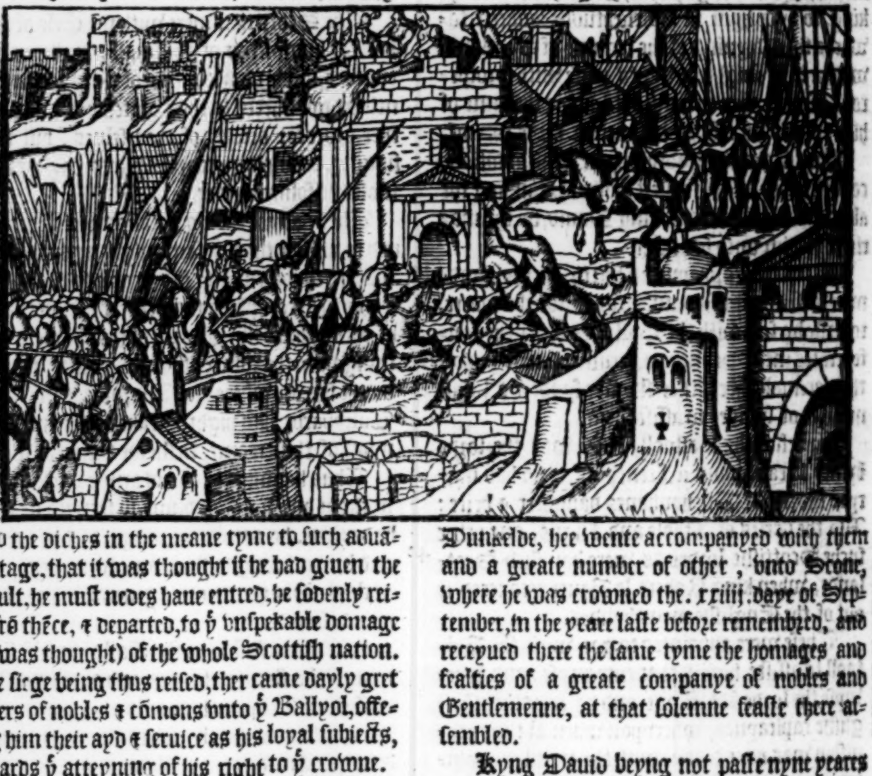
1332. H. B.

Perth woone by the Balliol.

After that Edwarde Ballyoll had atchiued this victorie thus at Duplyn, he wente ſtraighwayes vnto Perth, (otherwyſe called Saynct Johns town) and giuing aſſault therto, quickly entred it by force, without any great reſiſtance.

The Erle of March that lodged (as is ſayd) the ſame night that the battaile was fought, not paſt fiue myles off, hearyng what had chaunced bothe of the battayle and towne, came wyth his people arayed in good and perfecte order vnto Perth aforeſayde, to beſiege the Engliſhmen with Edwarde Ballyoll and other as then within it.

Perth beſeged by the Earle of March.



He rayſeth his ſeege.

But hauyng layne there a certayn ſpace, and filled the diches in the meane tyme to ſuch aduãuantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the aſſault, he muſt nedes haue entred, he ſodenly reiſed frõ thẽce, ⁊ departed, to yͤ vnſpekable domage (as was thought) of the whole Scottiſh nation. The ſiege being thus reiſed, ther came dayly gret nũbers of nobles ⁊ cõmons vnto yͤ Ballyol, offering him their ayd ⁊ ſeruice as his loyal ſubiects, towards yͤ atteyning of his right to yͤ crowne.

Herevpon perceiuing his power ſufficientlye increaſed, and receyuyng the Othes of the Erle of Fyfe, and William de Saint clare Byſhoppe of Dunkelde, hee wente accompanyed with them and a greate number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the. xxiiij. daye of September, in the yeare laſte before remembred, and receyued there the ſame tyme the homages and fealties of a greate companye of nobles and Gentlemenne, at that ſolemne feaſte there aſſembled.

Edward Balliol crowned King of Scotland, not the 24. of Septẽber, but the fourth of October as R. Southwell hath.

King Dauid is conueyed ouer into Fraunce.

Kyng Dauid beyng not paſte nyne yeares of age, to auoyde all daungers in that troubleſome tyme, as deſtitute of ſuccoures, by aduiſe of his Counſel, was conueyd ouer into France, wyth Queene Jane hys wyfe, ſiſter to Edwarde kyng of Englande, and was moſt frendly receyued by Philippe King of Fraunce the ſixte of that name, ſo that they remayned there with him for the ſpace of nine yeeres, and in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remayned at the deuotion of King Dauid vnderſtandyng that King Edward le Balliol ſoiourned within the

R. Southwell.

Saint Johns towne beſeeged.

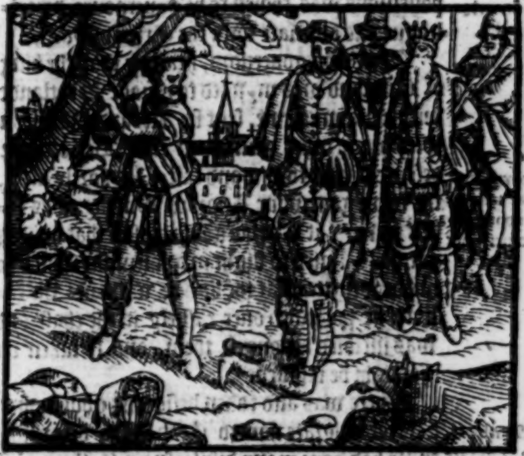
Galloway inuaded.

Saint Johns towne fortified.

Saint Johns towne wonne.

the towne of Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, which ſtandeth almoſt in the middle part of the Realme, and was at that preſent not cloſed with any wall, or rampire, they reyſed theyr powers, and beſeeged him within ẏ ſame towne, he hauing as then no great company about him. Whereof whē they of Galloway had aduertiſemente, bycauſe the Kyng was their ſpecial Lord and chiefe gouernoure, they aſſembled togyther vnder the conduct of the Lorde Euſtace de Makeſwel, and inuaded the lands of thoſe Scottiſhmen that had thus beſeeged their Lorde King Edward Ballyol, and by that meanes conſtreyned the aduerſaries to leuie their ſeege. Wherevpon Earle Patricke & the newe Earle of Murrey, with the Lord Andrewe de Murrey, and the Lord Archēbald Dowglas, with an army aſſēbled in all ſpeede, entred into Galloway, doing al the miſchiefe they coulde deuiſe, with fire and ſworde, taking and bringing away from thence a great number of Cattell and other goodes, but they ſlewe no greate number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of ẏ way for feare of this terrible inuaſiō. Thus did the Scottes in that part of the Realm ſpoyle and harrie each others countreys. In the meane time, King Edwarde le Balliol fortifyed the towne of Perth, appoynting the Earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whileſt he with an army paſſed into the countrey, but before he retourned, hys aduerſaries, to witte, the ſonnes of them that had bin ſlain at the battel of Duplyn, Robert Keith, Alexāder Lindſey, James and Simon Fraſeir, wanne Saint Johns towne in the third moneth after they had layde ſeege therto, as Hector Boetius hath, but whether that is to be intended after the firſt beſeeging thereof, or now after theyr laſt comming thither I can not affirme, but as the ſame Boetius writeth: now when the towne was won, the Earle of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Tullybard, were taken with other of their complices.

The Earle was ſent to ẏ Caſtle of Kyldrūmy, there to remayne vnder ſafekeeping: but Andrew Murray for his treaſon afore committed, was beheaded.



The towne being thus won, was deliuered to the keeping of John Lindſay.

The gayning of this towne, put the Scottes in hope of more proſperitie to ſucceede.

And therevppon John Randoll the Earle of Murrey, ſon to Earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Douglas Lorde of Galloway, the brother of James Douglas lately ſlayne (as before is mentioned) in Spain with Symon Fraſeir and others, gathered a great army, and came with the ſame againſt the Balliol, who being aduertiſed thereof, mette them in Annandale, where encountring togither after cruell fight, and great ſlaughter on both partes, at length Ballyols part was put to the worſt, ſo that he him ſelfe was glad to flee, hauing got an horſe without a bridle, & reſted not till he came to Roxburgh or rather to Carleil, as Richarde Southwell hath.

The battell diſcomfited and put to flight in Annandale.

In this battel wer ſlayn Sir Henry Ballyol, a man of great valiancie, Sir John Mowbray, Walter Cumyn, and Richard Kyrkby: but Alexander Bruce Erle of Carryke, and the lorde of Galloway were taken priſoners, and ſaued by the helpe of the Earle of Murray, for that they hadde ſubmitted them ſelues to the Balyoll but lately before.

Androw Murray choſen fellow gouernor with the erle of Marche.

Shortly after the atchieuing of this victorie, Androw Murray a man of great puiſſance and poſſeſſions was choſen to be gouernoure, as colleague and aſſociate with the Erle of March.

Androw Murray the newe gouernour is taken priſoner

Theſe two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was mynded to inuade Scotlande with a mayne armie, ſent ſir Alexander Seyton with many other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defence of that towne and caſtell. Shortly after, the newe gouernour Androw Murray was taken priſoner at Roxburgh, by reaſon that hauing put his enimies to flight in a ſkirmiſhe which he made with them at the bridge withoute the caſtell, he purſewed ouer raſhely in the chaſe, and was incloſed amongeſt them, and ſo taken ere he might be reſkued.

Ric. Southwel. Crab, a pyrate taken.

There was alſo taken beſide the gouernoure, a notable pyrate named Crab, who before that tyme had done many diſpleaſures to the engliſh men both by ſea and lande: and now bicauſe his countreymen woulde not raunſome him, but to his further griefe, had ſlayne his ſonne within Barwike, he becam the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more domage afterwards, thã euer he had done to the Engliſhmen before. The gouernour at length was raunſomed for a great ſumme of golde.

William Douglas of Liddeſdale taken priſoner.

About the ſame tyme William Douglas of Lyddeſdale named for his ſingular manhod, the floure of chiualrie, fought with the Engliſhmen in Annandale, where himſelfe was taken, and his people diſcomfited.

Bothe theſe noble men thus taken priſoners, were deteyned in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths ſpace, and then raunſomed for a great ſumme of golde.

This William Douglas was ſonne to ſir James Douglas, of whome ſo often mention is made heretofore.

Edward king of Englande purpoſeth to ſubdue the Scottes.

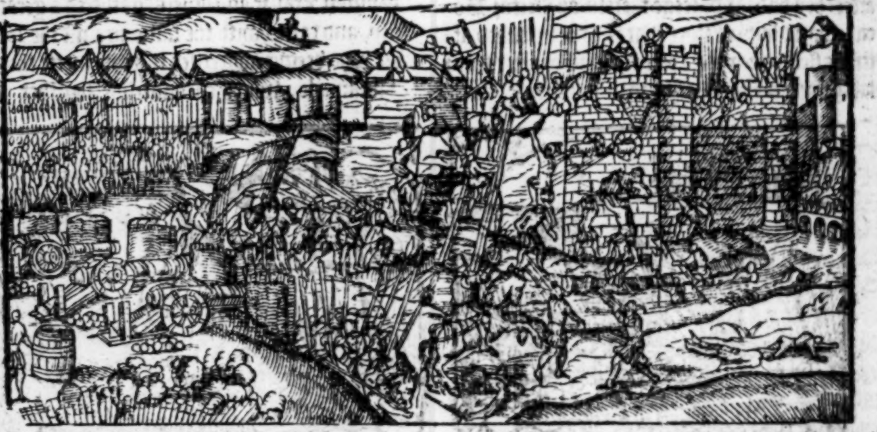
The realme of Scotlande being thus deuyded in two partes, the one aſſiſting the Ballyol, & the other continuing in their allegiance ſworn and promiſed to king Dauid: Edwarde king of England iudged yͤ time to ſerue wel for his purpoſe to make a conqueſt on the Scots, and herevpon gathering a mightie armie both of Engliſh men, and ſtrangers, as well ſuche as were ſubiectes to hym as other, whome he reteyned out of Normandie, Aniou, and Flanders, he came with the ſame to ſubdue (as he outwardely pretended) only ſuch Scottes as woulde not yelde themſelues to the Ballyoll.

The Erle of Murray is ſent into Fraunce.

The Scots perceyuing themſelues thus ouerſet with enimies on ech ſide, ſent John Randoll Erle of Murray into Fraunce vnto kyng Dauid, that by his meanes they might purchaſe ſome ayd of the French kyng to defend yͤ realme from the force of the enimies.

Barwike is beſieged.

In the meane tyme the king of England beſiegeth Barwike both by ſea and land, notwithſtandyng ſuche as were within it, defended the towne ſo manfully that he got but ſmall gaynes



by aſſaultes, by reaſon whereof, the ſiege contynued for the ſpace of four months: during which tyme many iſſues and ſkirmiſhes were made betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, whereat manye propre feates of armes were atchieued with varyable fortune.

William Seyton ſonne to the captaine of the towne was taken priſoner, and his baſterde brother, as he aſſayled the engliſh ſhippes one night ouerfiercely, was drowned by miſchaunce in the ſea.

Sir Alexander Seiton captain of Barwike.

At length when they within the towne began to want victuals, the captain ſir Alexander Seiton ſent vnto king Edward, promiſing that if he would graunt a truce for the ſpace of. vj. dayes, if no ſuccour came in the meane tyme, to reyſe his ſiege, the towne ſhould be delyuered into hys handes at the ende of that terme, and for the aſſurance thereof, he was contented that his eldeſt ſonne and heire Thomas Seiton ſhould remain with the ſayd king in hoſtage.

Archembalde Douglas choſen gouernour in place of Androw Murray.

Whyleſt things paſſed thus at Barwyke, the nobles of Scotland by common conſente, choſe Archembald Douglas to be gouernour in place of Androw Murray.

This Archembald Douglas reyſing a mightie armie of Scottiſhmen, entred with the ſame into the bordures of Englande, ſo to withdrawe king Edward from the ſiege of Barwike to defende hys owne landes from brennyng and ſpoiling.

But king Edwarde aduertiſed hereof, deuiſed an other ſhift, for immediatly ſending a meſſenger vnto ſir Alexander Seiton captain of the towne, he certified him playnly, that onleſſe hee rendred the town forthwith into his hands, both his ſonnes whiche hee had with him, the one as hoſtage, and the other as pryſoner, ſhoulde bee without further delay hanged vpō a gybet there in ſight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton herevnto aunſwered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, and therfore deſyred the King eyther to obſerue the couenauntes, or elſe to deliuer the pledges, that he mighte be at his aduauntage: But King Edward (as ſaith the Scottiſh chronicle) immediately cauſed a payre of gallows to bee reyſed afore the towne, and bothe the ſonnes of the ſayde ſyr Alexander to be led thyther, to ſuffer on the ſame without further reſpite.

Sr Alexander Seiton in dout what to do.

Sir Alexander Seiton beholdyng that pityfull ſighte, and weying with himſelfe, that hee myght ſaue the lyues of thoſe innocent creatures, if he woulde, was broughte into great perplexitie of mynde, the naturall affection & compaſſion which he bare towardes his ſonnes, mouing him to haue rendred the towne on the one ſide, and the duetie with faithe promyſed to his king and countrey, reſtrayning him from all ſuche reſolution on the other: but in the end the tender regard he had to ſaue the lyues of his ſonnes, had ouercome him, and cauſed him to haue rendred the towne into his enimies hand, had not his wyfe and mother to his ſayd ſonnes, exhorted him moſt earneſtly to the contrary, alledging that ſuche reproch and diſhonour ſhuld redounde vnto them, and their poſteritie, if through their fault the towne were trayterouſly deliuered into the enimies hande, that from thenceforth they ſhoulde be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their ſonnes, it was not to bee accompted a loſſe, for by this kynde of death, they ſhuld win immortall name, and leaue to their parentes the high honoure and renoume of faythfull and loyall ſubiectes.

The manlye ſtomacke of Alexander Seitons wife.

Agayne, they were yong ynough to begette and bryng forth newe chyldren, where they ſhould be neuer able to recouer honour once loſt, if by deliuering the towne into the enimies handes, they ſhoulde ſeeme to betray their countrey, and falſe their faithe to their naturall prince and ſoueraigne.

With ſuche and many other the lyke wordes, thys noble and worthie Ladye perſwaded hir huſbande to reſtrayne his inwarde griefe, and broughte hym with ryghte ſorowfull and heauie cheere vnto hir chamber, that through commiſeration hadde of his ſonnes, he ſhould commit nothyng eyther agaynſt his honor or weale of the towne.

Sir Alexander Seitons ſonnes executed.

In the meane tyme, his two ſonnes were put to death, endyng their lyues (ſayeth Hector Boetius) with moſte honour, for the righteous quarell of their countrey.

Archembald Douglas purpoſeth to giue battaile.

Archembalde Douglas the gouernour, beyng at that preſente entred into Northumberlande with his armye, hearing that king Edward had thus cruelly put to death thoſe two yong Gentlemen, came the thirde daye after wyth all his power, and pitched downe his tentes not farre from King Edwardes armye, fully reſolued to giue him battaile, as well to reuenge the diſpleaſure for the death of the ſaid gentlemē, as to deliuer the towne of Barwike from further danger of the enimies force.

Yet were there ſundrie prudent counſellors in the Scottiſhe armie, that for diuers reſpectes aduiſed him in no wiſe to fight with the enemies at that preſent, conſidering the huge number of practiſed ſouldiours whiche they had amongeſt them, and the wante of ſkilfull warrioures on his ſyde, hauing fewe wyth hym ſaue young menne, and ſuche as lacked experience in the warres, for that they hadde bin but little trayned therein.

Notwithſtanding, he hymſelf was of a contrary opinion, iudging that the good willes and deſyre whyche his people hadde to fighte wyth the Engliſhmenne, ſhoulde ſupplye their lacke of ſkill: and thereuppon determynyng to trye the chaunce of battayle wyth them, commaunded his armye to refreſhe themſelues with meat, drinke and ſleepe for that nyght, and to prouide them ſelues readye for battayle on the nexte mornyng.

The apointing of the Scottiſh battails.

In the breake of the daye he arayed his people in order of battayle. The vauntgarde was giuen to Hugh, lorde Roſſe, hauing with him Kenneth Earle of Southerlande, Symon and John Fraſeyr, and John Murraye Lieutenaunt to the Earle of Murray, who as then was ſore tormented with a grieuous maladie or ſyckneſſe.

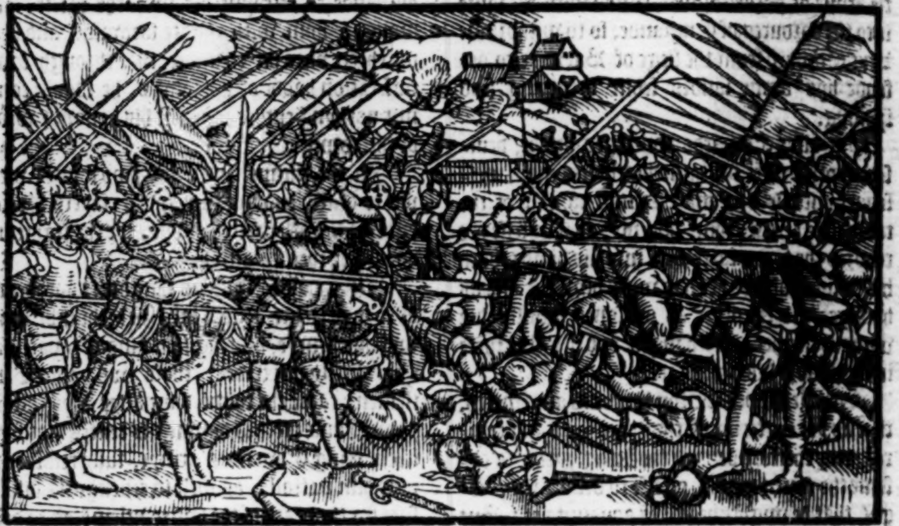
The ſeconde battayle was committed to

the gouernaunce of Alexander Lyndſey, with whome were ioyned Alexander Gordon, Reynolde Grahame, and Robert Kenneth.

In the thyrde battayle was the gouernoure hymſelfe, accompanyed with James, John and Alane, Stewardes, the ſonnes of Walter great Stewarde of Scotlande.

The policie of the Engliſh men.

On the other part, the Engliſhmen were nothyng ſlacke to come forwarde to encounter the Scottes, but at the firſt to take the vauntage of the grounde, they gaue ſomewhat backe, withdrawyng to the ſide of an hill, whiche they hauing once got, boldely turned themſelues to the Scottes that purſued them ouer raſhely, in hope that the victorie had bin alreadie theirs: but being here fiercely receyued by the engliſhmen, and beaten downe in heapes on eche ſyde, thoughe they enforced themſelues with all their might to be reuenged both for olde & new iniuries whiche they had receyued, and ſo ſlewe no ſmall number of the enimies: yet in the end was the Scottiſh army put to flight, and more ſlaughter made in the chaſe, than was afore in the battayle: for one wing of the Engliſhmen making forwarde to get before the Scottes, ſo ſtopped their paſſage, that they were ſlayne miſerablye on eche ſyde, as they had bin encloſed within a toylle or deere ſtall. There were but few in number that were taken priſoners, thoſe on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a ſmall number whiche were kept ſecrete by ſome of the Engliſhemen for profite of their raunſome. There were ſlayn on that day of the battayle, to ye number of. xiiij. thouſande men, amongeſt whome were theſe as principall, Archembald Douglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Stewarde, and Alane Stewarde the ſonnes of Walter Stewarde: the Earle of Ros, the Earle of Suthirlande, Alexander Bruce Erle of Carryke, Andrew, James, and Symon Fraſeir. This batayl was fought on the Magdalene day, in the yeare. 1332.



The Scottiſhe Armie put to flight.

The greate ſlaughter of Scottes.

The number of Scottes ſlayne at Halydowne hill.

1333.H.B

That this number and therewith many mo doe abounde by one yeare, William Haryſon dothe gather by the feries, bicauſe Adam Meremouth ſayeth, that Magdalene day fell on the Monday this yeare, and that the morrowe after being Tuiſday, Barwike was ſurrendred. But for ſo much as the ſame Meremouth may be perhappes deceyued, or miſtaken herein, I haue here thought good as in other places, to note in the margent the yeere, according to the accompt of Hector Boetius, ſpecially in this place, the rather bicauſe he agreeth with Richard Southwel, Robert Aueſburie, and other of our Engliſh writers, concerning this yeere in whiche this battell was fought: but where the ſame Boetius ſayth, that it was fought on Magdalen day, Richarde Southwell, Robert Aueſburie, Thomas Wall, and diuers other affirme, that it was foughte the xix. of July being Saint Margarets euen. But now to proceede.

The place where this battell was ſtriken, is called Halidown hill.

Immediatly vppon this ouerthrowe of the Scottiſh power, Alexander Seyton and Patrick Dunbar captaynes of Barwicke, deſpayring of all ſupport, yeelded the towne to King Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goodes ſaued, and to become ſubiectes vnto King Edward.

The towne of Barwike yeelded to King Edward on S. Margarets day, as R. Southwell hath.

Herevpon, when they had receyued their othes, Patricke Dunbar was commaunded by K. Edward, to builde vp agayne the Caſtel of Dunbar vppon his owne coſtes and charges, for that hee had throwne it downe, when he ſawe he was not able to defend it againſt the Engliſh power comming towards hym.

King Edwarde hauing thus accompliſhed

hys deſyre, returned backe into Englande, leauing behynde hym wyth the Ballyoll, manye greate Lordes of Englande (amongeſt whome as chiefe was Rycharde Talbot) that vſyng the aduice and councell of them hee myght rule the Realme of Scotlande as ſhould be thought expedient.

Richard Talbot.

Edwarde Ballyoll hereuppon wente thorough all the boundes of Scotlande, placing garnyſons of Engliſhmen in moſte part of all the ſtrengthes and caſtels of the realme, for he had them al at his commaundement, fiue of them onely excepted, whyche were kepte by ſuche Scottiſhmen, as woulde not renounce their allegiance promiſed to king Dauid.

Al the fortreſſes of Scotlād in the Balliols handes, fiue only except.

For Dounbryton was kepte by Malcolme Flemmyng of Cummirnalde: Lochleuyn by Alane of Vepount: The Caſtell of Kyldrummy by Chriſtine Bruce: And Vrquharte by Roberte Lawder: The yyle of Lowdoun, a ſtrong thyng of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, was in the keeping of one Iohn Thomſon.

Theſe Capitaines would by no meanes neyther yeeld themſelues nor their fortreſſes to Edward Ballyol, but defend them to the vtterance for the behoofe of their ſoueraine Lord and maiſter king Dauid.

In the meane tyme, Philip king of Fraunce laboured to the Pope, that he mighte by his authoritie cauſe the Engliſhmen to ſurceaſſe from further vexing the Scottes, by their cruell inuaſions made into their countrey: But when the Popes ambaſſadours came aboute this matter into Englande, they were ſo little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare yͤ meſſage, & ſo were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were ſent.

The Popes ambaſſadours not regarded.

Shortlye after was a Parliamente called at Perthe, where Edwarde Ballyoll was confirmed Kyng of Scotlande, a greate number of the nobles promiſing there by ſolemne othes neuer to moue anye rebellion agaynſte him in tymes to come.

A parliamente at Perth.

In the meane tyme roſe great altercation betwixt Henry Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbraye for certaine landes in Buchquhane: Henry Beaumount claymed thoſe lands by the right of his wyfe, that was daughter to the ſayd Alexander, but the Mowbraye claymed them as heire to his brother.

Stryfe betwixt Mowbray and Beaumount.

After long contention, Mowbray hadde the landes adiudged to him by ſentence of the Ballyoll, by reaſon wherof, Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole, and Richarde Talbot, fauouring the cauſe of Henry Beaumont, began to practiſe ſuche conſpiracies againſt the Ballyoll, that to auoyde further daunger, he was glad to repeale the former ſentence by him gyuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbraye, and by newe ſentence adiudged the landes vnto Henry Beaumounte, for that (as was alledged) he had maryed the inheritour therof.

Thus thoroughe puiſſaunce of the parties, the truthe in decydyng of the Controuerſye, myghte not haue place; and alſo the Ballyoll conſtrayned to haue the one of them to hys enimyes.

Not long after this, Edward Ballyol came to Rainfrewe, and there receyuyng the people into his obeyſaunce, hadde the keyes of the caſtell of Rothſaye and Dunnone broughte vnto hym by ſir Alane Lyle Sheriffe of Bute.

The caſtels of Rothſay and Dunnone deliuered to the Ballyoll.

Thus didde the Ballyoll encreaſe in puiſſaunce by ſuche confluence of people, as daylye ſubmitted them ſelues vnto hym, and hee enryched them liberally wyth landes and goodes ſtill as they came vnto him, therby to winne their good willes.

He ſoughte by all meanes poſſible to haue gotten Roberte Stewarde into hys handes, as the perſone whome hee knewe to haue moſte ryghte next vnto kyng Dauid to the Crowne of Scotlande: but thorough the dyligent forſyghte of hys friendes: Thys Roberte Stewarde beeyng aboute the age of fyfteene yeares, was conueyed to the caſtell of Dunbreton, where hee was ioyefully receyued by Malcolme Flemyng the Captais.

Robert Stewarde.

The Ballyoll beeyng ſore offended, that ſuche Caſtelles as were kepte by his enimies, were ſo greate an impedimente to hys enterpriſes, by ſuccouring and relieuyng hys aduerſaryes to mayntayne warres agaynſt him, he got togyther an armye, and the nexte yeare layde ſiege vnto the Caſtell of Lochleuyn: But perceyuyng that thys Caſtell myghte not bee wonne without long ſiege, he appoynted Syr Iohn Striuelyng to continue the ſiege wyth a greate power of menne, vntill the Caſtel were yeelded.

Lochleuyn beſieged.

There were lefte alſo with him Michaell Hereot, Dauid Wemis, and Richarde Maleuille, with diuers other. Theſe capitaines aduiſing the place and ſyte of the Caſtell, lodged themſelues within the Churcheyarde of Sainte Serfs, beſide Kinroſſe, makyng Baſtyles and other defenſes within the ſame, for their more ſafegarde.

Within the Caſtell were two valyant captaynes to defende it, the one named Alane Vepount, and Iames Lamby Citeſins of Saint Androwes.

Alane Vepont & Iames Lamby captains of Lochleuyn.

The enimies aſſayd al the means that might be deuiſed to haue wonne this caſtel, but al was in vayne.

At length they deuiſed a ſubtill ſleight, whereby to compaſſe their intent on this wyſe:

A deuyſe to drowne the caſtell.

They wente aboute to damme vp the mouth of the ryuer where it iſſueth out of the Loche, wyth earth, trees, and ſtones, that the water beyng ſo kepte in, might ryſe to ſuch an heighte, that it ſhoulde ouerflowe the Caſtell, and ſo drowne all the people wythin it: and to cauſe the Loche to ſwell more ſpeedyly, they turned the courſe of dyuers ryuers and brookes in the countrey thereaboutes, and broughte them into the ſame loche.

It chaunced at the ſame tyme, that ſir John Striuelyng capitayne of the ſiege, with a great parte of the armie, went vnto Donfermling for deuotion ſake, to viſite the ſhrine of Saint Margaret, ſometyme Queene of Scotlande.

Whereof Alane Vepount then capitayne of the Caſtell, hauyng vnderſtanding, about midnight prepared three boates, and takyng certayn ſouldiours with hym, rowed forth to the heade of the damme or water, and there with ſuch engines as he had deuyſed for the purpoſe, aſſayed to boare thorough and make a hole in the banke or rampier that kepte vp the water, which when they had brought to paſſe, they returned quickely agayne to the caſtell.

The baſtiles and tentes of them that laye at ſiege drowned.

The water hauing once gotten an iſſue, within a whyle ware the hole ſo large, that entryng with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, & ruſhed forth with ſuch an huge ſtream, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning vp the baſtils and tentes of them that lay at ſiege there, and carryed the ſame with men and all downe into the deepe ſea, they were ſo ſodenly taken, ere they could make any ſhift to eſcape.

Alane Vepount, whē the water was fallen to the olde marke, iſſued forth of the caſtel, and ſetting vpon thoſe that had eſcaped the daunger of the water, ſlew part of them, and put the remnant to flyght.

John Striuelyng hearing the miſchiefe that had hapned to his folks, returned to the ſiege, and made a vowe neuer to departe from thence, til he had taken the caſtel, and ſlayn al them within it.

But yet after he had layne there a long tyme, and ſawe it was not poſſible to wynne that fortreſſe, he was conſtrayned to reyſe his ſiege, and to goe his wayes, after he had loſt therat no ſmal number of his people. This ſiege of Loche Leuyn chanced in the Lent ſeaſon in the yere. 1335.

1335.

In the yeare following, King Edward prepared an armie both by ſea and land to enter into Scotlande.

King Edward inuadeth Scotlande both by ſea and lande.

He ſent by ſea. lxx. ſhips well and ſufficiently decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a ſore tempeſte many of thoſe veſſels periſhed betwixt Inchkieth and the north lande.

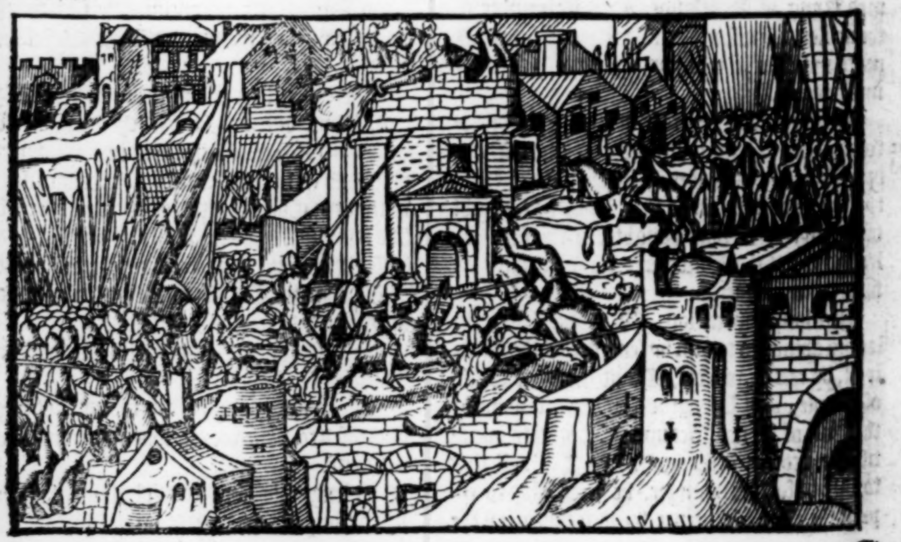
He himſelf hauing the Ballyol in his companie with fiftie thouſande menne, came by lande vnto Glaſgow, and perceiuing there was little for him to doe, for that no rebellion greatly anye where apeared, he returned back again into England with the Ballyol, and left Dauid Cumyn Erle of Athole gouernor in his roomth to ſubdue the reſidue of the rebels, and to win thoſe ſtrengthes, which as yet were defended againſt him.

Dauid Cumyn erle of Athole gouernour for the Balliol in Scotlande.

Dauid Cumyn lefte thus to be gouernoure in Scotlande, tooke vpon him to rule in name both of the king of Englād, and alſo of the Ballyoll, and ſeaſed into his handes all thoſe landes in Murray and Buchquhane, whiche pertayned to Robert Stewarde, confiſcatyng all the goodes of ſuche the inhabitauntes, as woulde not bee ſworne vnto him.

The caſtell of Dunnone takē.

Incontinently wherVppon, Robert Stuarde aſſembled his frendes by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhow, and ſodeinly tooke the caſtell of Dunnone, ſleying all the Engliſhmen and other which were found therin.



The Sheriffe of Bute ſlayne.

The commons of Bute and Arrayne glad of this proſperous beginning, aſſembled together to the number of. iiij. hundred perſons, and ſet forward, that they mighte come to ſupport Robert Steward in ſuche his late begon enterpriſe: and beeing encountred by the waye by Alane Lyle ſheriffe of Bute, they layd ſo luſtily about them, that they ſlewe the ſheriffe there in the field, and diſcomfited all his people.

A releaſement of tribute.

Dyuers of them taken priſoners, were brought away and preſented vnto Robert Steward, who in recompence of this ſeruice, graunted ſundrye priuiledges vnto the inhabitantes of Bute and Arrane: As among other things, to bee free from paying tribute for their corne and grayne.

Suche felicities ſucceedyng one an other, cauſed manye of the Scottes to ioyne themſelues wyth Roberte Stewarde, in hope to recouer the Realme oute of the Engliſhmennes handes.

Amongeſt other, Thomas Bruce Earle of Carryke, and William Canthere, with a number of the commons came vnto hym.

The Earle of Murray returneth foorth of Fraunce.

About the ſame tyme, the Earle of Murray returned forth of Fraunce, and landed at Donbryton, where he was moſt ioyfully receyued by the ſayd Robert Steward.

Countreys reduced to the obeyſance of king Dauid.

The Erle of Athole fleeth into the mountaynes.

Shortlye after the ſayd, Stewarde and the ſayde Earle, hauing with them a greate power of their frendes and allies, came into Clydeſdale, Ranfrew, Kyle, Cunyngham, and Ayre, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obeyſance of king Dauid. The Earle of Murraye alſo, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Earle of Athole, wente vnto Abyrden, and there learning where hee ſoiourned, made thither with all ſpeede: but the Earle of Athols vnderſtanding howe all the countrey tooke parte with his aduerſaries, fled into the mountains, where hee ſuſteyned his lyfe wyth hearbes and rootes for a tyme, and durſte not come forth to ſhewe his head.

He ſubmitteth himſelfe.

At length when he ſawe no waye to eſcape, he came forth and in moſt humble wyſe ſubmitted himſelfe to the lordes that defended the parte of king Dauid.

They receyuing him vppon his ſubmiſſion, ſware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhortyng him to bee as diligente in reconcilyng the people vnto king Dauid, as he hadde ben afore to ſubdewe them to the obedience of the Ballyoll, they ſuffred him to departe.

Sir Wylliam Douglas, and Androw Murray ranſomed.

Aboute the ſame tyme, ſir Wylliam Douglas of Lyddyſdale, and Androwe Murraye were raunſomed home oute of Englande, for a great ſumme of moneye, after they had bene kepte there by the ſpace of three yeares in captiuitie.

The Earle of Murray, and Robert Stuard elected gouernours.

At theyr commyng to Edenburgh, they founde the Lordes aſſembled in Councell, at the whyche the Earle of Murray and Robert Stewarde, wyth generall voyces were elected gouernours.

Many Scottiſhemen at thys tyme reuolted from the Kyng of Englande, in ſubmyttyng themſelues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramſay, a ryghte ſkylfull warryour, Laurence Preſton, John Herryng, and John Halyburton knyghtes, with diuers other.

Not long after, was an other Parlyamente called by the gouernours at Darſe, to deuiſe for the ordering of things perteyning to the common wealth: but for ſo muche as Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole came thyther with a greater power than was thought expedient for ſuche an aſſēble, other miſtruſting his meaning, grudged therat, and alledged howe they myghte not with ſuretie proceede in theyr doyngs, and ſo by that meanes the aſſemble brake vp for that tyme, withoute effect of that whereabout they were come.

Ye may reade more of thys matter in the hiſtorie of Englande.

A nauie ſente into Scotland.

Edwarde Kyng of Englande vnderſtandyng the Rebellyon of the Scottes, determyned to aſſayle them bothe by ſea and lande: and ſo prouydyng a Nauye of an hundreth and fourescore ſhyppes, ſente the ſame well victualled and manned to ſayle into the Forth, the whyche beeyng there arryued, brente and ſpoyled the townes on bothe ſydes that ryuer, but returnyng backe into Englande, they loſte many of their veſſels by a tempeſt.

Shipwracke.

King Edwarde inuadeth the Scots by land.

Kyng Edwarde hymſelfe, together wyth Edwarde Ballyoll entred by lande, wyth an armye of fyftye thouſande menne, leadyng the ſame vnto the towne of Perth, otherwyſe called Saynte Johns towne, and there lodged in Campe, abydyng for the commyng of the Earle of Athole, who as then beeyng ſolicited thereto by the Kyng of Englandes agentes, was readye to tourne agayne incontinently to hys ſyde.

Not the Duke of Gelderland, but the Erle of Namure, named Guy.

The ſame tyme whyleſt the kyng of Englande laye thus at Perth, the Earle of Namure (whome the Scottiſhe wryters wrongly name the Duke of Gelderlande) came into Englande wyth an armye, and purpoſyng to paſſe thorough Scotland vnto the place where Kyng Edwarde laye in Campe, to come to hys ayde, was diſcomfyted on the Borrowe Moore, beſyde Edynburghe, by the power of the Gouernoures, and others, whiche were there aſſembled agaynſt him.

Iohn Fourdon.

There died many on bothe partes in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth) for the ſtrangers fought right valiantly: in ſo muche, that if William Douglas with diuers other, had not come

Williā Douglas commeth to the ſuccour of the Scots.

downe from Picklande hilles to the ayde of the Scottes, whyleſt they were thus fightyng, the ſtrangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now diſcouraged with the ſodayne comming of this freſhe ayde to theyr aduerſaries, they began to giue place, and drewe towardes Edenburgh, neuertheleſſe keppyng themſelues in order of battayle, they fought ſtill: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were driuen vp thoroughe the Fryers ſtreete, and ſo by an other ſtreete, called Saint Marie Wynde, where one ſir Dauid de Anand a right valiant knight chaunced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reaſon whereof he was ſo kindled in wrathfull deſire to be reuenged, that with an axe whiche he had in his hande, he raughte his aduerſarie (that had hurt him) ſuche a blow on the ſhoulder, that he cloue hym downe togither with his horſe, that the axe ſtayed not till it light vpon the verie harde pauement, ſo as the print of that violēt ſtroke remained to be ſene a long tyme after in one of the ſtones of the ſame pauement. The Strangers ſtill retiring, and manfully defending themſelues, at lengthe got to the hill where Edenburgh caſtell ſtandeth, and there ſlew their horſes, made as it were a rampier of their carcaſſes, ſo to defend thē ſelues from the force of their enemies: but being enuironed by the Scots on eche ſide all yͤ night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke wherwith to ſuſtain their languiſhing bodies, the which beſide hunger and thirſt were ſore tormented with cold alſo and wante of conuenient lodging, they yelded themſelues the next day, with cōdition to haue their lyues saued. When the ſpoyl of yͤ field (where they firſt ioyned) was gathered, amongſt the dead bodies, there was found a woman of an huge ſtature, who in the begynning of the battayle, ſtept forth before hir companie, & encountring in ſingular fight with an eſquire of Scotland named Richard Shaw, ſhe ouerthrew him & afterwards beating down hir enimies on eche ſide, long it was ere ſhe might be ouerthrowne, which chanced not before ſhe was enuironed about on eche ſide with hir enimies.

Dauid de Anand, a Scottiſh knight.

A woman of manlyke force and ſtature.

The Erle of Namure hauing yelded himſelf into the handes of the gouernours, was ryghte curteouſly vſed, the Erle of Murray not onely rendring vnto him all his goodes, but alſo granting him licēce to depart: and for his more ſuretie, he went himſelfe in perſon with hym to the borders, to ſee hym ſafe deliuered oute of all daungers.

The Earle of Murray is taken priſoner.

But by an ambuſhe that laye in awayte for the Erle of Murray, he was taken priſoner, and brought to king Edward.

Dauid Cumyn Erle of Athole, hearing that the Erle of Murray one of the gouernours was thus taken, ſuppoſing king Edwards parte to be muche aduaunced thereby, came ſtreightwayes vnto Perth, & gaue his faith eftſones vnto Edwarde Ballyoll, and was agayne eſtabliſhed by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England hauing in the meane tyme gotten the towne of Perth, returned into Englande, and toke the Ballyoll with him, for doubte leaſt when he had recouered the whole gouernemente of the realme, he ſhoulde ſhrinke away from him.

The erle of Athole reuolting to the Ballyoll, is eftſones eſtabliſhed gouernour.

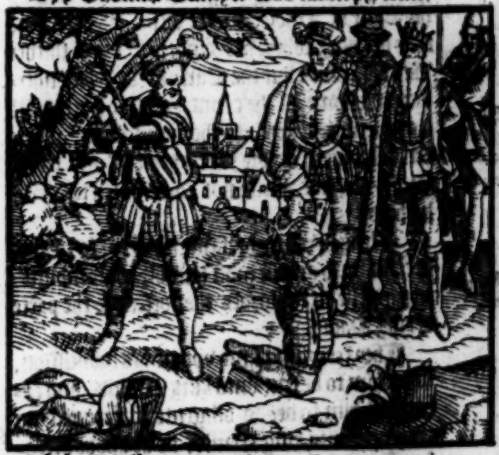
The king of England returneth home taking the Ballyoll with him.

The Earle of Athole hauing now regayned his former authoritie, began to exerciſe greate crueltie againſte all thoſe that were enimies to the Ballyoll.

The nobles of the contrarye faction (as Patrike Dunbar Erle of Marche, Androwe Murray, and William Douglas with other) toke greate deſpite thereat, and reyſing an armye to reſtrayne his inſolente doings, came towardes him, whereof he being aduertiſed (as then lying at ſiege before the caſtell of Kyldrummy) roſe and met them in the fieldes within the forreſt of Kilblayn, where hee gaue them a ſore battayle, and hadde gone away with the victorie, had not John Crag Captayne of Kildrummy ſallyed forth of the caſtel with three hundred freſh men, and comming to the ſuccour of his frendes, renewed the battaile in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that the aduerſaries therby were diſcomfited, Earle Dauid their chieftayne beeyng ſlayne in the fielde, with Walter Bryde, Robert Cumyn, and a greate number of other, bothe Gentlemen and commons.

The Earle of Athole is ſlain

Syr Thomas Cumyn was taken pryſoner, and beheaded the next day, being Newyeres day. For the battayle before mencioned, was fought the laſte daye of December (as Fourdone noteth.) Who further ſayeth, that the Earle of Athole had with hym three thouſand menne agaynſt his aduerſaries, whyche were not paſte xj. hundred.



Fourdon.

After that Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole was ſlayn on this wiſe, Androw Murray was choſen

Andrew Murray choſen gouernour.

choſen gouernour in place of the Erle of Murray. taken (as before is ſayde) by the Engliſhemen. This Androw Murray in the beginnyng of his new office, layd ſiege to the caſtel of Couper with a myghtie power of men, but hearyng that the Cumyns made fowle work in the north partes of the realme, againſt ſuche as fauoured not the Engliſhe parte, he left that ſiege, & went againſt them, with whom encountring in battayle, he ouerthrewe their armye, and put them all to flyght.

The Cumyns put to flighte.

At this bickering were ſlaine two of the Cumyns, Roberte and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuers other valyant men, though enimies for the tyme vnto the gouernour.

The north partes of Scotlãde reduced to the obeyſance of king Dauid.

This victorie reduced all the north partes of Scotland vnto the obeyſance of king Dauid.

Few Engliſhmen after the ſame, abode within the north boundes of Scotlande, excepte thoſe that were within the Caſtell of Dungarde in Buchquhane.

The caſtel of Dungard won.

At length this caſtel was wonne, and all that kepte it ſlayne, excepte Henry Beaumount the captayne, who being ſworne neuer to returne againe into Scotlande, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into Englande without any interruption.

The caſtell of Lochyndoris beſieged.

After this, the gouernor came to the caſtell of Lochindoris, and layde ſiege to it, where within was the Counteſſe of Athole, the wife of the late ſlayne Erle Dauid.

This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir houſe ſhoulde be beſieged, had ſente vnto the king of England, and to Edward Ballyoll for ſuccours.

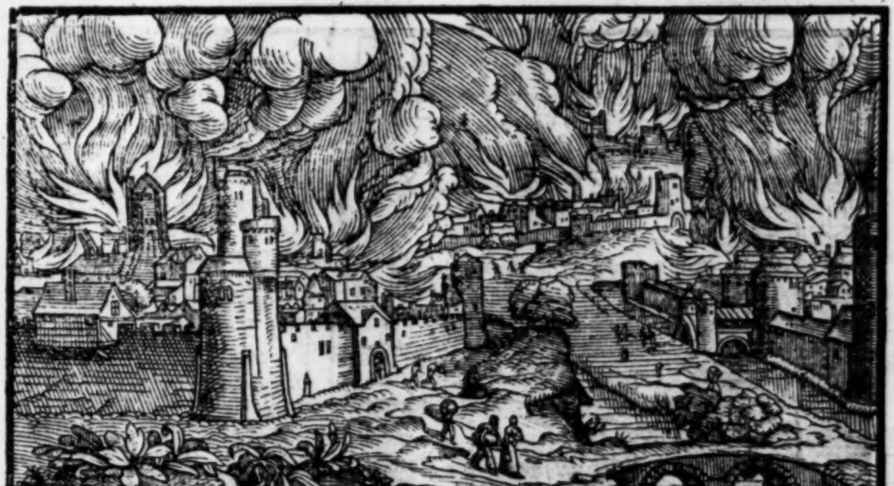
The king of England commeth to rayſe the ſiege of Lochindoris.

The king of Englande doubting leaſt all the ſtrengthes in Scotland kept by ſuch as were his frendes woulde be loſt without recouerie, if the ſame were not the ſooner reſkued, hee reyſed an armie of fortie thouſand men, and entryng therwith into Scotlande, came to the caſtell of Lochindoris aforeſayde.

The Scots that lay there at ſiege vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence.

The towne of Abyrden brẽt by the Engliſh men.

Herevpon, whẽ he had refreſhed the hold with newe men, munition, and victuals, he toke the counteſſe forth with him, and paſſed with bloudye ſworde thorough Murray, euen vnto Elghyne, and returnyng by Mar, brente the town of Abyrdene.



His nauie being on the ſea, the ſame time, entred into the Forth, and ſpoyling (as other had done afore tyme) the church of ſaynt Colme, felt reuenge thereof ſhortly after: for that ſhippe (as they tell the tale) wherin Saint Colmes goodes (for ſo they call them) were laden, ſonke to the bottome of the ſea, without force of tempeſt, or other apparant occaſion.

The towne of Perth newly fortified.

The king of Englande at his commyng to Perth, forth of the north partes of Scotlande, and finding the town vnfortified, cauſed the ſame to be newly fenſed with walles and bulwarks at the charges and only expẽſes of theſe. vj. abbeys, Abirbrothok, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfermlyn, and ſaynt Androws.

Henry Beaumount alſo, who contrarye to his othe before taken, was nowe returned with kyng Edwarde into Scotland, was made captaine of Saint Androws.

Alſo Henry Ferrar was made captaine of the caſtel of Lucres: Williã Mountagew of Striueling: Williã Felton of Roxburgh: and the keping of the towne of Perth, was committed vnto one Thomas Uthred.

Whileſt king Edward ordred things in Scotlande after this manner, his brother ſurnamed by the Scottiſhe writers Heltham, came vnto him at Perth, who in the Weſt partes of Scotland, had exerciſed much crueltie, aſwell againſt the enimies of the Engliſhmen, as againſt thoſe that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in ſo much, that paſſing through Galloway, Caryck, Kyle, and Cunyngham, he put al to the fire and ſword that came in his wayes.

His crueltie.

He brenned the Churche of Saint Bute, and a thouſand perſons within it, whiche were fledde thither for ſafegard of their liues.

At his comming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the Churche there, who being ſore offended with him for his miſordred doings, right ſharply reprwued him for the ſame, and for as muche as he aunſwered him ſomewhat frowardly, he plucked forth hys ſworde: and there thruſt him through the body euen before the alter of Saint John, wiſhing that all ſuche might periſh on the ſame wiſe, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed or vnhallowed, as being no reaſon, that the Church ſhould be any more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

King Edwarde ſleyeth his brother Holtam.

It may bee that Kyng Edward ſlewe ſome other man in thys ſorte, as the Scottes here doe write, but for the Earle of Cornwall that was brother to King Edward, & ſurnamed John of Eltham bycauſe he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true, that he was ſo made away, for hee dyed of a naturall infirmitie, as by our Engliſhe writers it manifeſtly appeareth. But nowe to proceede with the hiſtory as we finde it written.

He dyed of a naturall infirmitie, as by the Engliſhe writers it appeareth.

Such things accompliſhed in Scotlande as before ye haue hearde, King Edward retourned into Englande, and lefte the Ballyoll behynde him with a great power of men at Perth.

King Edwarde returneth into England.

About the ſame time Henry Beaumont ſlew all ſuch Scottes as he might lay hands on, that had bin at the battell of Kylbleyn, where hys couſin Dauid Cumyn was ſlayne.

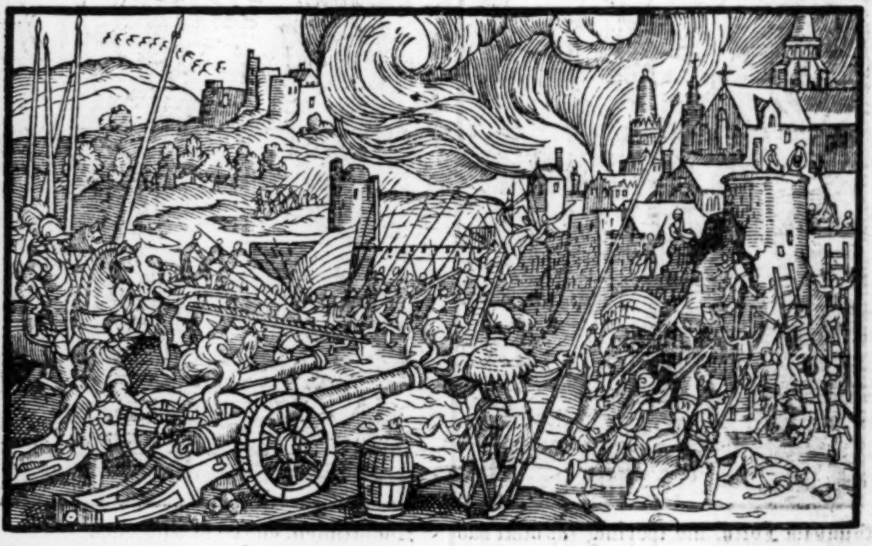
Moreouer nowe, after that King Edwarde was returned into England, Androw Murray came forth of the Mountaynes, into the which he was before withdrawen to eſchew the fury of the Engliſhmen, and by the aſſiſtance of ſundry of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the Caſtell of Kyncleuyn, and raſed it to the earth.

Androw Murray commeth foorth of the mountaynes.

He winneth the caſtell of Kyncleuyn.

Shortly after, hee came into Mernes, and there toke the Caſtell of Kylneſſe, and likewyſe raſed the ſame.

Then paſſing forwarde hee brenned Dunnoter.



And on the other part, the Engliſhmen made no leſſe ſpoyle and deſtruction on each ſide where they came, ſo that the Mernes, Angus, Stermond, and Gowry through reif, murder, and other diſgraces, chauncing by continuall warre, were left in manner waſt and deſolate.

The calamitie chauncing to ſundry countreys of Scotland thorough continual warres.

At length, this Androw Murray aſſembling a great power, with ſupport of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enimies at Pannor in Angus, where hee obtayned the victory with huge ſlaughter of Engliſhmen, and other his aduerſaries.

The victorie of Androwe Murray gotte at Panmore.

In this battell was ſlayne Henry Mountfort, who lately before had bene ſente by Kyng Edward into Scotland to ſupport the Ballyol, beſides foure thouſande others, the moſt parte gentlemen, ſo that this ouerthrowe was ryghte diſpleaſant to the King of England, hauing hys ſyde ſore weakened thereby.

Henry Mounfort ſlayne.

After the gayn of thys victory, Androw Murray paſt through Fife and Angus, ouerthrowing the caſtell of Lucres, wyth all the other ſtrengthes of Fyfe, the Caſtell of Couper onely excepted.

The caſtell of Lucres ouerthrowne.

Two armies ſent into Scotlande.

So that king Edwarde hearing of ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe chauncing to his aduerſaries, ſent incontinently two captaynes with two armies into Scotlande, to the ſupport of the Balyoll.

William Talbot, or rather Tailboys is taken priſoner.

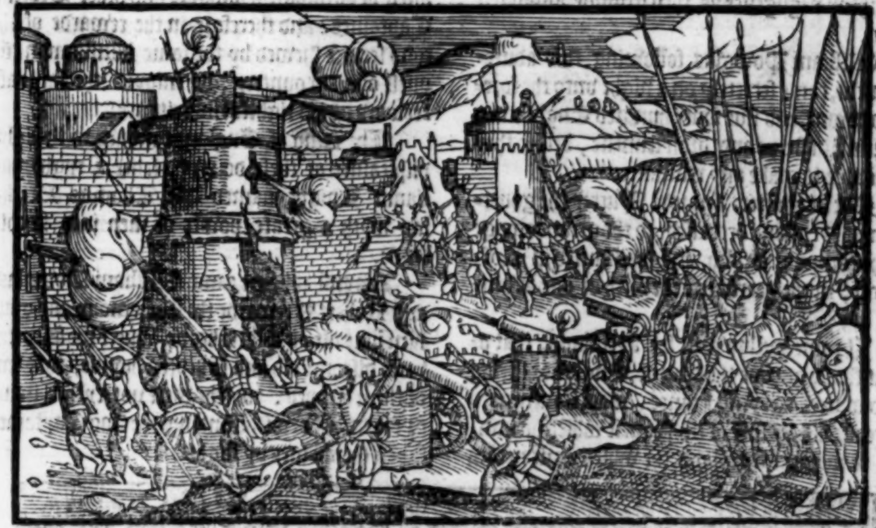
William Tailbois a man of notable prowes hauing the conducte of the one of theſe armyes, was encountred by William Keith, and after the diſcomfiture of his people being taken priſoner, was kept in captiuitie til he payde two thouſand Markes for his raunſome.

Richarde Mountfort or Montagew is ſlaine.

The other was led by Richarde Mountfort, with whome Laurence Preſton & Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battaile, ſlue the ſame Richard with the moſt part of all his companie.

The Caſtell of Dunbar is beſieged by the Earles of Saliſburie and Arondall.

About the ſame time ſir William Mountagew Erle of Saliſburie, togither with the Erle of Arondall came into Scotland with a great power of men, & beſieged the caſtell of Dunbar, lying at the ſame for the ſpace of. xxij. weekes.



Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

Within the whiche Caſtell was the Counteſſe hir ſelfe, ſurnamed black Agnes of Dunbar, who ſhewed ſuch manly defence, that no gayne was to be got any wayes forth at hir handes, ſo that in the ende they were conſtrayned to rayſe theyr ſiege, and to depart without ſpeede of their purpoſe.

It is ſayde, that this Counteſſe uſed manye pleaſant wordes in ieaſting and taunting at the enimies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir ſouldiers.

An engine called a Sowe.

One day it chaunced that the Engliſhe men had deuiſed an engine called a Sow, under the pentiſe or couer wherof they might approch ſafely to the walles: ſhe beholding this engine, meryly ſayde, that oneleſſe the Engliſh men kept their Sow the better, ſhe woulde make hir to caſt hir pigges.

A great dearth and alſo a death in Scotlande.

In the yeare next after this ſiege, there was ſuch a dearth through all the boundes of Scotland, which ſuch mortalitie of people, as a greater had not lightly beene ſeene nor heard of. The cauſe of whiche mortalitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay untilled and not occupied, by reaſon of the continuall warres before paſſed.

The Caſtell of Cowper left voyde.

All the ſouldiers that kept the Caſtel of Cowper, for lacke of vytayles left the houſe voyde, and comming to the ſea ſide, hyred a ſhippe to haue paſſed into Englande, but through negligence of the maiſter Mariner, they fell upon a ſande bed, and ſo were caſt away.

The Caſtels of Louthian in the handes of the Engliſh men.

About the ſame time the moſt part of all the ſtrengthes and fortreſſes in Louthian were kept by Engliſh men.

The towne of Edenbourgh was ſtuffed with a great number of ſouldiours, both Engliſh men and Scottes. Amongſt whom there was a Scot of a right ſtoute ſtomacke named Robert Pendergeſt: he, for that it was perceyued hee loued but little the Engliſh nation, was euill entreated and uſed amongeſt them, in ſomuch that one day hauing his heade broken by the Marſhall named Thomas Knatoun, hee ceaſſed not to ſeeke ſome meane to be reuenged, tyll he brought his purpoſe to paſſe, ſo that ſhortly after he ſlue the ſayde Marſhall, and afterwarde to auoyde the daunger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome hee perſwaded with all diligence to paſſe vnto Edenbourgh, where he might finde his enimies at ſome greate aduauntage, by reaſon of the ſlouthfull negligence as then growne amongeſt them.

William Dowglas following this aduertiſement, came ſecretely on a night vnto the foreſayd towne, and ſlue foure hundred Engliſhmen ſnorting in ſleepe and dronkenneſſe, before they were able to make any reſiſtance.

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernour.

Not long after, Androw Murrey the gouernour of Scotland deceaſſed, to the great domage of the common wealth, and was buried in Roſmarky, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1338.

1338

It came well to paſſe for Scotland, that about the ſame time the king of England entring into warres agaynſt France, was conſtrayned to ceaſſe his purſute of the cõqueſt which he minded to make in Scotland, the which muſt needes haue come to full effecte, if he had followed hys former purpoſe and intent.

But to proceede, after the deceaſſe of Androw Murrey the gouernour, Robert Stewarde tooke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the Realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himſelfe.

Tiuidall recouered out of the Engliſh mens handes by William Dowglas.

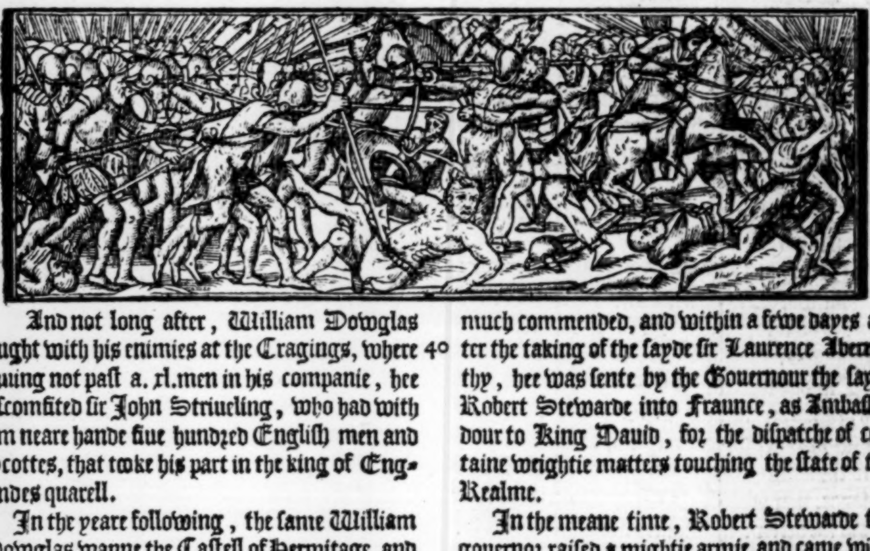
Tiuidall alſo was recouered out of the Engliſh mens handes, with diuerſe other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manly valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scottiſh Captaines: and therefore in the rewarde of the good ſeruice ſhewed by the ſame William in cõqueſt of that countrey, he enioyed the ſame afterward as his rightful inheritance.

Sir Thomas Bercklay.

The King of Englande moued with highe diſpleaſure at theſe doings, ſente a ryght valiaunt Knight named Sir Thomas Bercklay wyth a greate power of men into Scotland:.

The battail of Blackborne.

Agaynſt whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewarde the Gouernour, and gaue him battaile at Blackeborne, where the Scottes were diſcomfited and ſo beaten downe, that fewe of them eſcaped, whiche were not eyther ſlaine or taken. Notwithſtanding, the two Captaines ſaued themſelues by flight.



Sir Iohn Striueling diſcomfited.

And not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not paſt a. xl. men in his companie, hee diſcomfited ſir Iohn Striueling, who had with him neare hande fiue hundred Engliſh men and Scottes, that tooke his part in the king of Englandes quarell.

The Caſtell of Hermitage wonne.

In the yeare following, the ſame William Dowglas wanne the Caſtell of Hermitage, and ſlue all them that were found within it.

Sir Laurence Abernethy taken priſoner.

In the yeare next after, he fought fiue times in one day with ſir Laurence Abernethy, principall Captayne vnder the Ballyoll, and beeing put to the worſe at foure of thoſe tymes, at the fifth he vanquiſhed his enimyes, and tooke priſoner theyr Captaine the ſayde ſir Laurence, who was ſent to the Caſtell of Dunbryton, there to remaine in ſafe keeping for a time.

Sir William Dowglas ſent into France.

For theſe and ſuch worthie enterpryſes hardely atchieued, thys William Dowglas was much commended, and within a fewe dayes after the taking of the ſayde ſir Laurence Abernethy, hee was ſente by the Gouernour the ſayde Robert Stewarde into Fraunce, as Anbaſſadour to King Dauid, for the diſpatche of certaine weightie matters touching the ſtate of the Realme.

1339

The towne of Perth beſieged

In the meane time, Robert Stewarde the gouernor raiſed a mightie armie, and came with the ſame vnto ẏ towne of Perth, planting a ſtrõg ſiege rounde aboute it: for deuiding his hoſt into four partes, he lodged them with their Captaines in foure ſeuerall places.

There was alſo in that army beſide other noble mẽ William Keth of Galleſton.

The fyrſt conſiſting for the moſte parte of Weſterne Scottes, he gouerned himſelfe: the ſeconde he committed to Patrike Dunbar Erle of Marche: the thirde to William Earle of Roſſe: and the fourth, to Maurice of Mowbray Lorde of Clydeſdall.

Theſe lay thus at ſiege of this towne for the ſpace of ten weekes, and though ſundrie tymes they gaue alarmes and aſſaultes to it, yet was it ſo ſtoutly defended by Engliſhe men and other within, that the Scots for a long time loſt more than they wanne.

William Dowglas returneth out of France.

At length when they were in maner out of all hope to get the towne, and readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Tay, bringing with him out of Fraunce in fiue ſhippes, both men of warre, and alſo munition of armure, artillerie, and weapons, which ſerued the Scottiſh men in that ſeaſon greatly to purpoſe.

John Fourdon

Amongſt other, there were two knightes of the family of Caſtelgaliard, and two Eſquiers, Giles de la Hois, and John de Breyſe; alſo a noble Pirate, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the foreſayde fiue ſhippes.

About the ſame time, one William Bullok had taken eftſoones the Caſtell of Cowper to the king of Englandes vſe, but by perſwaſion of this William Dowglas, he rendred it vp againe and departed with bagge and baggage.

The towne of Perth rendred to the gouernour.

Those Scots that had ſerued vnder him likewiſe, were contented to forſake the king of Englandes wages, and to ſerue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the ſiege of Perth, the which towne ſhortly after his cōming was rendred into the gouernors handes, by Thomas Vthred the Captaine, in the thirde moneth after it was firſt beſieged, and in the yeare after our redemption. 1341.

1341

Iohn Fourdon

Among other exploytes attempted at thys ſiege after the comming of the Lorde William Dowglas, the French man Hugh Handpile, taking vpō him one day to approch the towne with his ſhippes, & to giue an aſſault therto, he loſt the chiefeſt veſſell he had, although afterwardes when the towne was now rendred, the Lord William Dowglas cauſed the ſame ſhippe to be to him againe reſtored, and with great thankes and liberall rewardes giuen as well to him as to the other of the French men, he ſent thē backe into France greatly to their pleaſure and contentation, although in theyr returne, as they paſſed oute of Drumley Fyrth they eſcaped very hardly from the ſhore.

A ſore dearth.

Children eatē.

In which ſame yeare (as ſome do write) or according vnto other, in the yeare following, there was ſuch a miſerable dearth, both through England and Scotlande, that the people were driuen to eate the fleſh of horſes, dogges, cattes, and ſuch like vnuſed kindes of meate, to ſuſtaine their languiſhing lyues withall, yea inſomuch that (as is ſayde) there was a Scottiſh man, an vplandiſhe fellow named Tryſticlok, ſpared not to ſteale children, and to kil women, on whoſe fleſh he fed, as if he had bene a Wolfe.

The Caſtell of Striueling rendred.

Alias Rugby.

Perth being once deliuered (as before is ſayd) to the gouernour, hee went with his armye to Stryueling, and beſieging the Caſtell, had it rendred vnto him, the viii. dayes after his comming thither, on theſe conditions, that Thomas Foulky the Captaine, with his wife and children might ſafely paſſe into Englād, without fraud or guile of any empeachment.

Edward Balliol withdraweth into Englande.

Edward Ballyoll, by ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe as did thus dayly fall vnto his enimies, to auoyde further daunger, after oft remouing from place to place, at length hee was conſtrayned to flee into Englande, leaſt hee ſhoulde haue light into his aduerſaries handes.

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh wonne.

Not long after, the Caſtell of Edenbourgh was wonne by policie on this wiſe: William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, cauſed him to prouide a ſhip, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feyning as though he were a Marchant, and to offer wines to ſell vnto the garriſon that kept Edenbourgh Caſtell.

A policie.

This Towers according to inſtructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, and ſo comming into the Forth with his ſhip, came a lande himſelfe, and brought with him vnto Edenbourgh two punchions of wine, which he offred to ſell vnto the ſtewarde of houſholde to the Captaine of the Caſtell, who falling at a price with him, appoynted that hee ſhoulde bring them early in the morning vp to the Caſtel, that they might be receyued in.

Towers hyring a Cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the Caſtell gate early vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his Cart, and being come within the gates with it, hee plucked forth a wedge or pynne deuiſed of purpoſe, and immediately therewith the Cart with the punchions fell downe, ſtopping ſo the entrie of the gates that in no wiſe they might bee ſhut or cloſed againe.

The Dowglas hauing in his cōpanie William Bullock, Walter Fraſeir, & John Sandlandes, right valiant knightes, with diuerſe other hardie and bolde perſonages, lay in couert not farre off from the Caſtell, and hauing knowledge giuen him by ſound of horne or otherwiſe whē to come forth, he haſted therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, firſt ſlue the porters and after into the Caſtell, within a while had diſpatched all them within, and ſo became maiſters of that fortreſſe, within the which for Captaine, they left one William Dowglas, the baſtard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whoſe conduct chiefely, both this enterpriſe and diuerſe other were luckily atchieued.

Thus was the Realme of Scotland clearely recouered out of the enimies handes, the Engliſh men and all other that tooke part with the Balliol conſtrayned to auoyde out of all the partes and boundes thereof.

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh was thus recouered by the Scottes in the yeare laſt before remembred, to wit, 1341.

1341. H.B.

1342. Io.M.

King Dauid returneth into Scotlande.

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare next enſuing, the ſecond of June, King Dauid with his wyfe Queene Jane, and ſundrye nobles both Frenche and Scottiſhe, came ſafelye through the Seas, and arryued at Innerberuy, from whence wyth no ſmall tryumphe they were conueyed vnto Perth.

Alexander Ramſey rodeth into Englande.

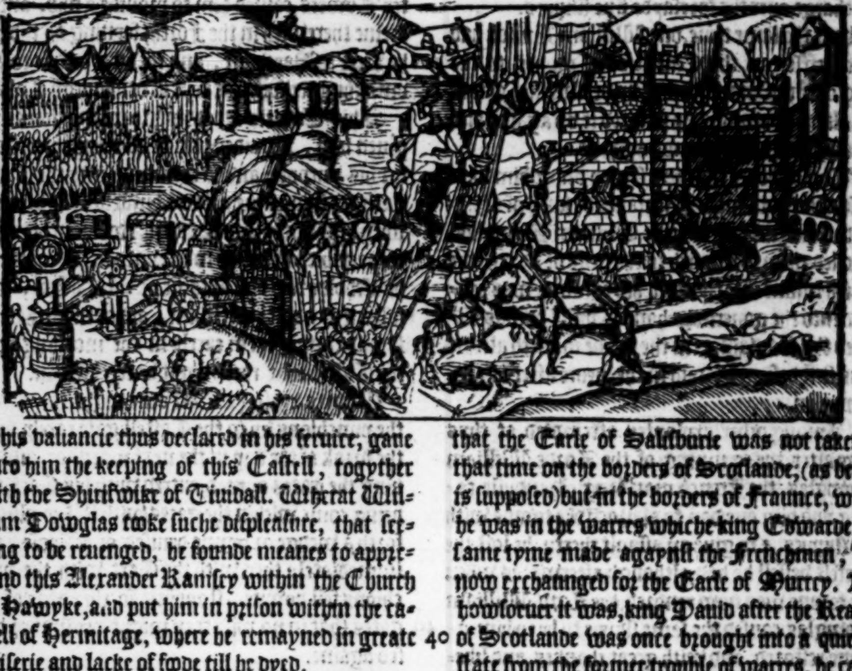
About the ſame tyme, Alexander Ramſey of Dalehouſe, one of the moſte valiant Captaynes knowne in thoſe dayes, gathering a great power of men, entred into England, and hauing knowledge that the Engliſhe men were aſſembled, in purpoſe to giue him battaile, layde an ambuſhe for them, and traynyng them within daunger thereof, by ſuch a fierce and newe onſet as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chaſed them moſte egrely, kyllyng and ſleaping a greate number of them at his pleaſure.

This Ramſey was ſo renowmed, that euery noble man was glad to haue his ſonne and kinſman to ſerue vnder him.

Amongeſt the pryſoners that were taken, the Earle of Salyſburie (as the Scottiſhe hyſtorie ſayeth) was one, and the Captaine of Rokeſbourgh another.

The Earle of Saliſburie taken afterwards in the borders of Picardie, & not here, as afterwardes I haue noted.

Sir Alexander Ramſey perceyuing that the moſt part of the garriſon of Rokeſbourgh were eyther ſlain or taken in this laſt conflict, togither with their Captaine came haſtily thither, and gyuing a right fierce aſſault thereto, by fine force tooke it. Wherefore king Dauid in recompence of his valiancie thus declared in his ſeruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this Caſtell, togyther with the Shirifwike of Tiuidall. Wherat William Dowglas tooke ſuche diſpleaſure, that ſeeking to be reuenged, he founde meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramſey within the Church of Hawyke, and put him in priſon within the caſtell of Hermitage, where he remayned in greate miſerie and lacke of foode till he dyed.



The Caſtell of Rokeſbourgh wonne by Alexander Ramſey.

Alexander Ramſey taken by William Dowglas, and empriſoned.

King Dauid was ſore moued herewith, purpoſing to ſee ſuch puniſhment done on William Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might ſerue for an enſample to all other how they went about any the lyke offence.

Neuertheleſſe the Dowglas kept himſelfe out of the way amongſt the Mountaynes and other deſart places, till finally Robert Steward and other Nobles purchaſed his pardon, ſo that at length he came into fauour again, and had al his landes and liuings reſtored vnto him, as well in Tyuidall as elſewhere.

The Earle of Saliſburie exchanged for the Earle of Murrey.

Soone after the Earle of Saliſburie taken by ſir Alexander Ramſey (as before is ſayd) was exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey, that had bene holden many yeares before as priſoner in Englande. But it ſhoulde appeare by other wryters, that the Earle of Saliſburie was not taken at that time on the borders of Scotlande, (as before is ſuppoſed) but in the borders of Fraunce, where he was in the warres whiche king Edwarde the ſame tyme made agaynſt the Frenchmen, and now exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey. But howſoeuer it was, king Dauid after the Realme of Scotlande was once brought into a quiet eſtate from the former trouble of warres, he called a Parliament at the towne of Perth, where hee rewarded verye liberally all ſuche as had eyther done any notable ſeruice themſelues, or had loſt any of theyr friendes or parents in defence and recouerie of the Realme oute of his aduerſaries handes.

Froiſſart.

1342

A Parliament at Perth.

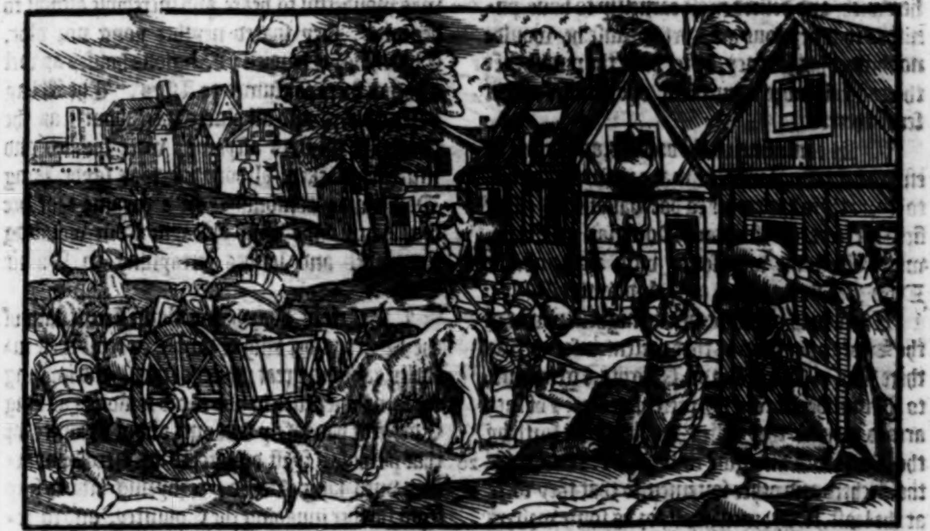
The bountious liberalitie of K. Dauid.

Amongſt other, Hugh Boece had in recompence of his fathers ſlaughter at Dupline the inheritour and Ladie of the Baronie of Balbride giuen to him in mariage, which Baronie is yet poſſeſſed by the heyres of the ſayde Hugh.

This Hugh was Grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

Shortly after vpon the breaking vp of thys Parliament, king Dauid rayſed a mightie armie, and entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, but committing the whole charge to the Earle of Murrey as lieutenant Generall, he woulde not that any of his owne Baners ſhoulde be ſpread and borne in all that voyage, in the which the moſt part of al Northumberland was burnt and ſpoiled, for they remained there a Moneth before they returned, conueying away with them great ryches whiche they got abroade in all places where they came.



King Dauid the ſeconde time inuadeth the Engliſh borders.

Shortly after he came with a newe armie into Englande, cauſing his owne ſtandard to bee borne afore him at that time, as he that tooke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterpriſe himſelfe.

The Engliſhe men withdrawing all theyr goodes into ſtrengthes, mynded not to giue the Scottes any ſet battaile, but to take them euer at ſome aduauntage, if they ſtrayed abroode any where vnwarely to fetch in booties.

Fiue Scottiſh knightes taken priſoners.

Neyther were they altogyther diſappoynted of their hoped pray, for fiue Scottes knightes, whoſe names were Steward, Eglyntō, Cragy, Boyd, and Fullarton, purſuing their enimies one time ouer fiercely, were taken priſoners, and after redeemed for great ſummes of money.

At length king Dauid, perceyuing that hee waſted but tyme, returned into Scotlande.

King Dauid the third time inuadeth Englande.

Foule weather

But not long after he went againe into Englande, in which iourney his people were ſo beaten with vehement ſtormes of rayne and hayle, that they had much adoe to ſaue themſelues from periſhing through the vnmeaſurable force of that ſo rigorous weather.

On the other ſide, the Engliſh men that were gathered to reſiſt agaynſt him, were in ſemblable maner neare handes deſtroyed with the lyke rage of tempeſt.

Herevpon King Dauid to the ende that his enterpriſe ſhoulde not ſeeme altogither to want effect, ouerthrewe ſundrie ſtrong houſes on the Engliſh borders, and ſo returned home without other domage eyther done or receyued.

Calice beſieged.

Ambaſſadours frō the French king into Scotlande.

About the ſame time did Edwarde King of England beſiege the towne of Calice: the French king therefore deuiſing all wayes poſſible wherby to ſaue that towne, and to cauſe his aduerſarie to reyſe hys ſiege, ſent Ambaſſadours into Scotlande, to require king Dauid, that with an army he would enter into Englande, and do what domage he might vnto the Engliſhe men, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be conſtrayned to leaue his ſiege, and to returne home for defence of his owne Countrey and ſubiects.

Ambaſſadours from the king of England into Scotland.

The king of Englands offers.

In the meane time alſo (as I finde in the Scottiſhe Chronicles) king Edwarde addreſſed his Orators into Scotland, offring vnto K. Dauid, vpō cōdition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not only the town of Barwik, but alſo Edwarde Ballyoll his olde aduerſarie, for whoſe cauſe the warre had ſo long continued betwixt them.

The Scots readie to help the French, and hinder their neighbours the Engliſh.

Theſe offers beeing propoſed in counſaile, though ſome of the wiſer ſort gaue aduice that in no cōdition they ought to be refuſed, yet the king himſelfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought vp) and other of the Nobles hauing yong heades, vppon deſire to be reuenged on the Engliſhe men by practiſe of warres (wherevnto they were enclined) woulde needes condiſcende to the French kings chargeable requeſt, and refuſe the king of Englands beneficiall offers.

An army rayſed to inuade Englande.

The Lorde of the Iles ſlaine by the Earle of Ros.

Wherevpon an army was leuied, and ſolemne proclamation made that al ſuch as were able and meete to beare armour, ſhould meete the king at a certaine day and place which was to them in the ſame proclamation aſſigned. The Earle of Ros therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his muſters before the king, but in the night following he ſlue the Lord of the Iles with ſeuen of his kinneſmen as they were in their beds, and therevpon fledde and got him with all ſpeede againe into Ros.

King Dauid though hee was ſore diſpleaſed herewith, and deſired moſt earneſtly to haue puniſhed that heynous act, yet bycauſe he woulde not hinder his iourney, he let paſſe the puniſhmẽt thereof, tyll more conuenient oportunitie might ſerue thereto.

At his comming to the borders, and before he entred into Englande, he made many knightes, to ſtyrre them the rather to doe valiantly. But firſt hee created William Dowglas an Earle, which William was ſonne vnto Archembalde Dowglas, ſlaine before at Halydowne hill.

William Dowglas created Earle of Dowglas.

There was vndoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots aſſembled at that preſent, inſomuch as there was of Erles, Lords, Knights, & gentlemẽ, to the number of two M. men of armes, & of ſuch armed men as they called Hoblers, ſet forth by the Burrowes and good townes. xx. M. beſyde the Archers and other footemen, ſo that they were at the leaſt. xl. M. men in all, or as ſome writers affyrme. lx. thouſande. King Dauid wyth that his puiſſaunt armie, the ſixth of October entred Northumberlande, and comming to a fortreſſe not farre off from the borders called Lydell, they lay rounde about that place for the ſpace of three dayes, without giuing thereto any aſſault: but the fourth day they aſſayled it right fiercely, and in the ende entred by fine force, ſleaing the mors part of all thoſe whiche they founde wythin the houſe. The Captaine ſir Walter Selby was taken aliue, but immediately by king Dauid his commaundement had his head ſtryken off, and was not permitted to haue ſo muche time as to make his confeſſion, which he inſtantly deſired to haue done, but it woulde not be graunted.

Ri. Southwell.

Two thouſand men of armes. XX. thouſand Hoblers.

King Dauid inuadeth England.

The Fort of Lydell.

Sir Walter Selby beheaded by the Scottes.

From thence the army remoued, and went vnto the Abbey of Lauercoſt, which they ſpoiled, and that done they departed, and paſſing by Nawarde Caſtell, & the town of Redpeth, kept on tyll they came vnto yͤ Priorie of Herham, which they ſacked, but the Towne was ſaued from fire by commaundement of King Dauid, who in this iourney appointed to preſerue foure townes onely from burning, to witte, Herham aforeſayde, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the ende he might in them lay vp ſuch ſtore of vitayles, as he ſhould prouide abrode in the Countrey, wherewith to ſuſteyne his army during the time of his abyding in thoſe parties.

Lauercoſt.

From Herham, where he lay three dayes, he marched to Ebcheſter, waſting and ſpoyling the Countrey on eche hande, and after turned towardes the wood of Beaurepaire, and comming thyther, lodged himſelfe in the Manour, and ſet his people abrode into the Countrey to fetch in bootyes and to burne vp the townes and houſes in all places where they came.

King Dauid lodged in the Manour of Beaurepaire.

The ſpoyle, waſt, deſtruction, and ſlaughter which the Scottes practiſed with fire and ſword, was wonderful to heare, and incredible almoſt to bee tolde, they ſpared neyther yong nor olde, Church nor Chappell: Religious houſes as wel as other were conſumed to Aſhes. The Abbay of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottiſhe wryters affyrme) were ſpoyled and miſerably ſacked, although it was ſayde King Dauid was admoniſhed in a dreame that hee ſhoulde in anye wyſe abſtayne from violating the goodes and landes pertayning to Sainct Cutbert.

The Abbey of Durham ſpoyled.

The Erle of Northumberland Lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward to reſiſt theſe iniuries, rayſed a great power of men, and ioyning the ſame with ſuch bands of old ſouldiers as king Edwarde had lately ſent ouer out of Fraunce for that purpoſe, fyrſt diſpatched an Heralde at armes vnto king Dauid, requyring him to ſtay from further inuading the Countrey, and to returne into Scotlande till ſome reaſonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maſter: otherwyſe he ſhould be ſure to haue battaile to the vtteraunce within three dayes after.

The Earle of Northumberland Lieutenant of the north.

A Heralde.

King Dauid contemning thys meſſage, requyred his folkes to make them readie to receyue theyr enimyes if they came to aſſayle them, and on the next morrowe, he deuided hys armie into three battayles: in the fyrſt was Robert Steward Prince of Scotlande, and Patrike Dunbar Earle of Marche: In the ſeconde were appoynted Iohn Earle of Murrey, and William Earle of Dowglas: In the thyrde was the King himſelfe, with all the reſidue of the Nobles.

The appoynting of the Scottiſh battayles.

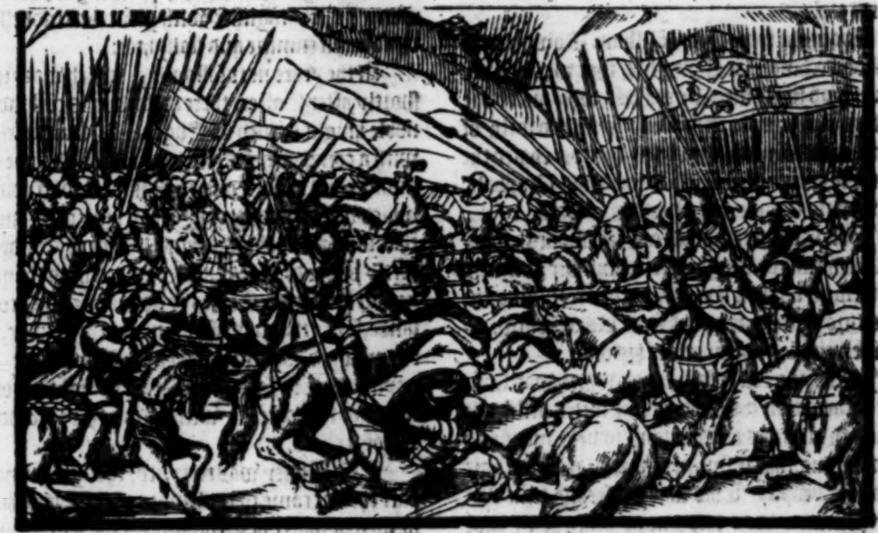
In the morning early before the battayle, the Earle of Dowglas departed frõ the armie to deſcrie the Engliſh hoſt, and to vnderſtande their force and order (if it were poſſible) but entring ſomewhat vnwarely within daunger of his enimies, he was chaſed, and that to ſuch diſaduantage, that he loſt fiftie or rather fiue hundred (as ſome bookes haue) of yong Gentlemen, and ſuch other light horſemen as he tooke forth with him, eſcaping verie narowly himſelfe alſo from beyng taken at the chaſe.

The Earle of Dowglas chaſed.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Engliſh hoſt deuided likewyſe into three battayles, approched forwarde, and came wythin ſyght of the Scottiſh armie. Wherevppon Dauid Graham wyth a wing of fiue hundred well appoynted horſemen, gaue a full charge on the ſkyrtes of the Engliſh Archers, thinking to haue dyſtreſſed them: but he was ſo ſharpely receyued and beaten with arrowes, that loſing a great number of hys men,

Dauid Graham driuen backe.

he was conſtrayned to flee backe to the maine battaile, and that not without great daunger of beeing taken in his flight by ſuche as followed him.



These two diſcomfitures notwithſtanding, the Scots ruſhed fiercely vpon their enimies, and fought with great manhode a long ſeaſon, but in the ende, Robert Stewarde and the Earle of March perceyuing their people partly to ſhrinke backe, cauſed the retreate to be ſounded, in hope to ſaue their men by withdrawing into ſome ſicker place: but this fleeing backe of the Earle of Marche and Robert Stewarde, brought the diſcomfiture vpon all the reſidue of the Scots, for that battaile of Engliſh men that was firſt matched with the, came now with ſuch violence vpon the maine battail where king Dauid fought, that within a ſhort while after, the ſame was vtterly diſcomfited and put to flight.

The cauſe of the ouerthrow

The Scottes diſcomfited.

In this buſineſſe king Dauid himſelfe did in euery poynt play the part of a moſt valiant chieftaine, encouraging hys people as well wyth wordes as notable examples to doe theyr deuoires.

King Dauid his valiancie.

Neyther woulde he flee after he ſawe himſelfe deſtitute of all conuenable ayde, but ſtil continued in earneſt fight, deſiring nothing ſo much (as ſhoulde appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more diſpleaſaunt than lyfe, after the ſlaughter of ſo manye of his Nobles and liege people.

King Dauid taken by Iohn Coplande.

At length hauing his weapons ſtricken oute of his handes, one Iohn Coplande came vnto him, and wylled him to yeelde, but he with one of his fiſtes gaue this Coplande ſuche a blowe on the mouth, that by force of the Gauntlet he ſtrake out two of his teeth before hee did yeelde vnto him. Which Coplande is myſnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onely called Couptaunt, but alſo reported by him to be a Gaſcoigne, whereas it is euident by our Hyſtories, that hee was named Coplande and a mere Engliſh men.

But to our purpoſe. The Scottes that fought in the rerewarde had no better ſucceſſe than the other: for that battaile was alſo broken and put to flight, with great ſlaughter as well of the nobles as other commons, beſides thoſe that were taken.

Nobles ſlaine in this battail.

There were ſlain in this dolorous conflict, the Earle of Murrey, the Earle of Stratherne, the Coneſtable, the Marſhal, the Chamberlaine and Chauncelor of Scotlande, with a great number of other nobles and commons.

Priſoners taken.

There were taken with the king fiue Earles, that is to witte, Dowglas, Fife, Sutherlande, Wigtoun, and Menteith.

And beſydes other great ryches loſt in thys fielde, the holye Croſſe (as they call it) of holye Rode houſe, was founde vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in truſt that by vertue thereof he ſhould be inuincible: but he was ſpoyled both of that and al other his iewels which were found vpon him at the ſame time.

This battayle was ſtryken neare vnto Durham, the .xvij. day of October in the yeare 1346. What Countreys and places the Engliſhe men got after thys victorie, ye may read in the Engliſh Hyſtorie.

In the yeare following, the Ballyoll, wyth the Earle of Northumberlande made a rode into Louthian, and Clyddeſdale, bringing a greate bootie of goodes and cattaile out of thoſe Countreyes into Galloway, in which Countrey the Ballyoll abode a long time after.

The Ballyoll ſoiourneth in Galloway,

At length the Scots recouering thẽſelues with much paine, after the ſlaughter of ſo many of their nobles and commons, beſide the diſcomfort for the taking of their king, choſe and appointed Robert Stewarde as gouernor to haue the rule of the realme.

Rober Steward gouernor of Scotlande.

About the ſame time William Dowglas the ſon of Archimbalde Dowglas, that was brother vnto good ſir James Dowglas, who (as before is ſayde was ſlaine in Spaine) returned forth of France, and by ſupport of his friends chaſed the Engliſhe men out of Douglaſdale, Tiuydale, Twydale, Etrike Foreſt, and Twedale.

Countreys recouered out of the Engliſhe mens hands.

John Copland captain of Rokeſbourgh to reſiſt ſuch enterpriſes, gathered a number of men, & came forth againſt his enimies, but receyuing the ouerthrow, he was chaſed into Rokeſbourgh againe, with loſſe of diuerſe of his men.

Iohn Copland chaſed.

In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1349. there came ſuch a peſtilence through al partes of Scotland, ſo vehement and contagious, that it ſlue neare hande the third part of all the people. This was the ſecond time that the peſtilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland.

1349

The ſeconde peſtilence that was heard of in Scotland.

The ſame yeare (or as other bookes haue, the yeare next enſuing) one John Saint Mighell ſlue ſir Dauid Berclay knight at Aberdene in the night ſeaſon, by procurement of ſir William Dowglas of Liddeſdale, as the priſoner in England with the Earle of Dowglas, both of them beeyng taken at Durham fielde.

Sir Dauid Berclay ſlaine.

The occaſion was, for that this ſir Dauid Berclay had aforetime ſlaine one John Dowglas, brother to the ſayd ſir William, and father to ſir James Dowglas of Dalkeeth.

In the yeare folowing, was the ſame ſir William Dowglas, being lately before ranſomed out of England, ſlain, as he was a hunting in Etrik Foreſt, by his couſin and godſon William Erle of Dowglas, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of Alexander Ramſey, and other olde grudges.

1353. Io. Ma.

Sir William Dowglas ſlain.

Thus was the houſe of the Dowglaſſes deuided amongſt themſelues, purſuing eche other many yeares togither with great vnkindneſſe, vnnaturall enmitie and ſlaughter.

1354

In the yeare next following, which was 1355 ſhortly after Eaſter, there arriued in Scotland a noble knight named ſir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though fewe in number, yet valiant and right ſkilfull warriours, which were ſent thither by John king of France, that ſucceeded his father king Philip of Valoys, lately before deceaſſed, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other Nobles of the realme of Scotlande, fortie thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, to be employed aboute the leuying of an armye agaynſt the Engliſh men, that they might be conſtrayned the ſooner to withdrawe theyr powers out of France.

1355

Sir Eugeny de Garenteris a French man arriued in Scotland.

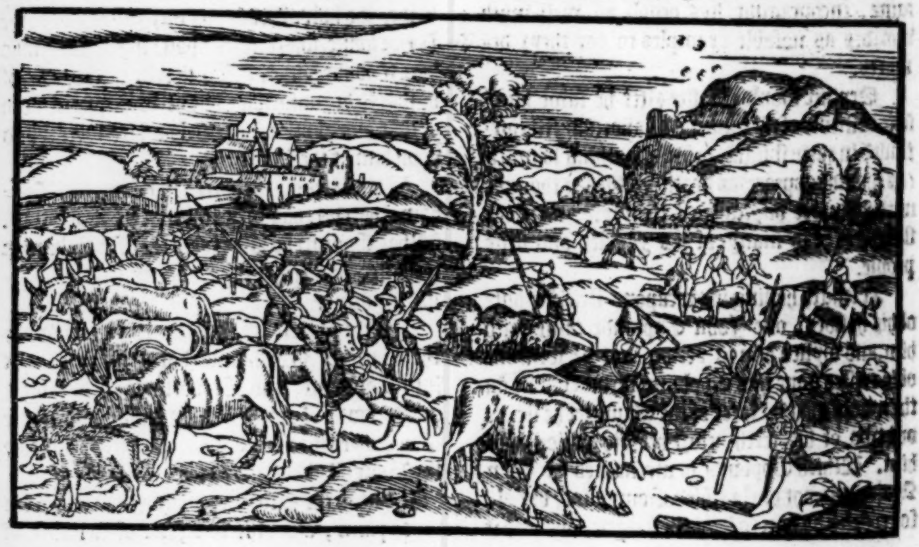
Forty thouſand crownes.

This money was receyued, though a ſmall part thereof came to the handes of the Souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the Lordes and nobles kept it ſafe ynough to their owne vſe. Yet neuertheleſſe, the Earle of March, and William Dowglas gather their people, & paſſe forth with the ſame to the borders, and entring into Englande, appoynt William Ramſey of the Dalehouſy, to ride afore with a number of light horſmen, to the ende, that if the Engliſh men did aſſemble and come forth to ſtrong agaynſt him, hee might retyre backe to the mayne battayle, where they lay in couert at a place called Nyſbet More.

The Earle of March and William Dowglas enter into Englande with an army.

William Ramſey of the Dalehouſy.

This Ramſey doing as he was commaunded, made a great forrey through the Countrey, and hauing got togyther a greate bootie of Cattaile, withdrew with the ſame homewardes: but being ſharpely purſued by the Engliſhe men in hope to recouer theyr goodes, he fledde amayne,



and they following egrely in the chaſe were vpon the Scottiſh army before they were ware.

The Engliſh men entrapped

The Scottiſhe men, and thoſe fewe Frenche men that were there, ſette vppon the Engliſhe men right fiercelye, and finallye putte them to flight, though not withoute ſome ſlaughter on theyr part: for there were ſlaine of Scottes ſir John Holyburton, and ſir James Turnebull knightes.

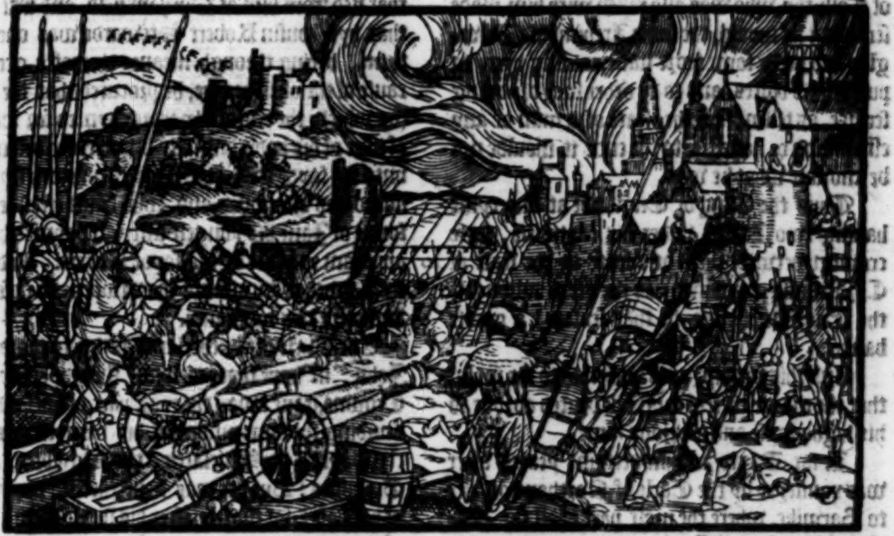
Put to flight.

There were taken priſoners of Engliſh men, ſir Thomas Gray, and his ſonne, with John Darcas, and many other Engliſh men.

Priſoners taken.

The Erles of March and Dowglas, after the obteyning of this victorie, came ſodenly in the night ſeaſon vnto the towne of Barwike, and rayſing vp Ladders to the walles wanne the towne, but not without loſſe of diuerſe Scottiſhe gentlemen, as Thomas Vaus, Andrew Scot of Balwery, John Gordon, William Syncler, Tho. Preſton, & Alexander Mowbray knights.

Barwike wonne.



Of Engliſh men were ſlaine Alexander Ogyll Captaine of the towne, Thomas Percye, brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, and Edward Gray, with other.

Eugeny de Garenteris with his French men did right valiauntly beare himſelfe in this enterpriſe, whome Robert Stewarde the gouernour rewarding with great gyftes, ſent backe into Fraunce, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his duetie in euery behalfe right throughly.

The Caſtell of Barwike notwithſtanding that the towne was thus wonne, helde forth the Scots and French men, by reaſon whereof when an armye of Engliſhe men came to the ſuccours thereof, they razed the walles, and burnt the houſes of the towne, and ſo departed.

rwik walles ſed.

King Edwarde himſelfe comming to the reſcue, when he ſawe the towne thus defaced, hee tooke order for the repayring thereof againe, went to Roxbourgh, and there receyued of the Ballyol a full reſignation of all his pretenced right to the crowne of Scotlande, and after paſſing forth to Hadington, ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey by the waye on eche hande as hee marched forwarde: and for diſpleaſure that his Nauie on the Sea (after the ſouldiers and mariners had beene a lande and burnt a Church of our Ladie in thoſe parties called Whitekyrke) had with force of a rygorous tempeſt beene ſore ſhaken, and manye of the Shippes loſt and drowned togyther with men and all, he fell into ſuch a rage, that he cauſed all the buyldings in thoſe partyes to be burnt and ſpoyled, as well Abbeys as all other Churches and Religious houſes, as though hee mynded (ſay the Scottiſhe wryters) to make warre both agaynſt God and all his Saints.

rwike is repared againe by king Edwarde.

The Ballyoll reſigneth his right.

Whitekyrke burnt.

These things chaunced in the yeare. 1355. after our common account, about the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, and by reaſon that the Engliſh men did ſo muche hurt at that tyme in thoſe parties by fyre, it was cleped euer after the burnt Candlemaſſe.

1355

The burnt Candlemaſſe.

Shortly after that King Edwarde was returned into Englande, William Dowglas of Niddeſdale recouered out of the Engliſhe mens poſſeſſion the landes of Galloway, and the landes of Driſdale, were in ſemblable maner recouered by one Kyrkpatrike.

Galloway recouered.

The ſame yeare on the. xx. day of October, was the battaile of Poyters fought, where Edwarde Prince of Wales, otherwiſe named the blacke Prince, ouerthrew the armie of Fraunce, and tooke king John priſoner; with his yongeſt ſonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French Nobilitie beſide.

The battaile of Poyęters.

The French king John taken priſoner.

There was at this battaile with king John, the Erle William Dowglas, and to the number of three thouſand Scots, hauing diuerſe knightes and Gentlemen to their Captaynes, of whome there dyed in the ſame battayle Androwe Stewarde, Robert Gordon, Androwe Holyburton, and Androw Vaus, knightes.

Archimbalde Dowglas taken priſoner.

The Erle of Dowglas eſcaped with life and vntaken, but Archimbald Dowglas, ſonne to ſir James Dowglas ſlaine in Spaine, was taken priſoner, albeit his taker ſuffred him to depart for a ſmal raunſom, by reaſon ꝧ William Ramſey of Colluthy, who was alſo taken with him, made ſemblant as though the ſame Archimbald Dowglas had beene ſome poore ſlaue, cauſing hym to pull off his bootes, and to do other ſuch drudging ſeruice, as fell not for the eſtate of a man of any eſtimation or honeſtie, to the ende it ſhoulde not be knowne what he was.

A ſubtile policie.

Two kings priſoners in England at one time.

Thus the King of Englande at one tyme hauing two Kings vnder his captiuitie, ſatte crowned betwixt them at meate in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, making (as the vſe is amongeſt the Engliſhe menne in that ſeaſon) a greate banket.

And this hee did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bruted abrode to his high prayſe and glorious fame.

King Dauid within certaine yeares after was conueyed by the Earle of Northamton vnto Barwike, where the moſt part of all the Nobles of Scotlande aſſembled togyther to conſult with him touching ſome agreement to bee had for hys raunſome, but bycauſe they coulde growe to no certayne poynte therein, hee was brought backe agayne to London, and there remayned in priſon as before.

Roger Kyrkpatrike ſlaine.

In the meane time Roger Kirkpatrike was ſlaine by James Lyndſey, in a Caſtell where the ſayde James dwelled, and receyued the ſaid Roger as his gueſt.

This Lyndſey fledde vpon the acte committed, but yet beeing apprehended and brought to the gouernour Robert Stewarde, he ſuffred death for that offence.

Shortly after, that is to witte at Michaelmaſſe nexte enſuyng, after King Dauid hadde beene at Barwike, there was an agreemente made for his raunſome, wherevppon beeing delyuered, hee returned into Scotlande, in the eleuenth yeare after hys takyng at Durham fielde.

King Dauid is deliuered.

It was agreed that there ſhoulde be payde for his raunſom one hundred thouſand Markes ſterling, at ſundrie dayes of payment, as was accorded betwixt them.

Truce for. 14. yeares.

Truce alſo was taken for the ſpace of. xiiij. yeares betwixt both Realmes, and dyuerſe Nobles of Scotlande were appoynted to lye as Hoſtages in Englande, tyll the money were payde, as is before mentioned. King Dauid was alſo bounde by couenaunt of agreement to raze certayne Caſtelles within Scotlande, whiche ſeemed moſte noyſome to the Engliſhe Borders, whiche couenaunt hee performed, for vpon hys returne into Scotlande, hee caſt downe the Caſtelles of Dalſwynton, Dunfreys, Mortowne, and Durysdere.

Caſtels raced.

A Parliament.

He alſo called a Parliament, wherin he enacted ſundrie things for the puniſhment of them that fled from him at Durham field, and firſt for that hys couſin Robert Stewarde was one of them, beeing through meanes thereof a greate cauſe of the ouerthrowe, he procured that the act (by whiche the crowne was appoynted for want of iſſue of his bodie lawfully begotten, to deſcende vnto the ſayde Robert Steward) was vtterly reuoked and diſanulled, and John Sutherlande the ſonne of Jane his yongeſt ſiſter, appoynted heire apparant in place of the ſayde Robert. And all the Lordes of Scotlande were ſworne to obſerue and keepe this ordinance.

Robert Stewarde diſinherited of the crowne.

John Sutherlande made heyre apparant.

The Earle of Sutherlande, father to the ſayde John, in hope that his ſonne ſhoulde enioy the Crowne, gaue away the moſt part of his landes, deuiding the ſame amongeſt his friendes, as to the Hayes, the Sinclares, the Ogylbies, and Gordones: But hee was neuertheleſſe deceyued of his hope, for ſhortly after his ſonne beeing one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the money for the kings raunſome was payde, dyed there of the Peſtilence, in ſuche ſorte as the moſte part of the other pledges likewiſe did.

The death of John Sutherlande.

And ſhortlye after his deceaſſe, Robert Stewarde was reconciled to the Kings fauour, and ordeyned heyre apparaunt to the crowne in ſemblable maner as he was before.

Robert Stewarde againe ordeined heire apparant.

The Cleargie of Scotlande condiſcended to giue the tenth pennie of all theyr fruites and reuenues towardes the payment of the Kinges raunſome.

The contribution of the Cleargie.

Not long after, King Dauid called an other Councell, wherein according to hys promyſe made to the King of Englande before hys delyueraunce, he moued the Lordes and Barons of Scotlande in a matter whereof hee wyſhed not to haue of them anye towardlye aunſwere, and that was thys: Whether they coulde bee contented, that after his deceaſſe, the crowne of Scotlande ſhoulde bee transferred vnto the King of Englandes ſonne, and to hys lawfull heyres.

A demaunde proponed to the Lordes of Scotland.

The Lordes hearing what was proponed vnto them, aunſwered wythoute anye long ſtudie, that ſo long as anye of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer conſent thereto.

Theyr anſwere.

King Dauid right ioyfull to heare them at this poynt, thought himſelfe diſcharged, for that he was not bounde to labour further in this ſuite, bycauſe his promiſe made to the King of England touching this poynt, onely was, that if the Scottiſh Lordes would agree, then he ſhould entaile the crowne to his ſonne.

1357

Queene Ianes death.

In the yeare next following which was from the Incarnation 1357. Queene Iane the wife of king Dauid went into Englande to ſee hir brother king Edwarde, and died there before ſhe returned, leauing no iſſue behinde hir.

King Dauid marryeth Margaret Logy.

He repenteth his mariage.

King Dauid after hir deceaſſe maryed a yong luſtie Gentlewoman named Margaret Logy, daughter to ſir Iohn Logy Knight, but wythin three Monethes after, hee repented him for that hee had matched himſelfe wyth one of ſo meane Parentage, to the diſparagement of his bloud.

He baniſheth hir.

And herevpon he baniſhed both hir and all other that had counſelled him to mary hir, confining them for euer out of all the parties of his dominions.

She complayneth to the Pope.

Sentence giuē in hir part.

Shee hirſelfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the Pope with his conſiſtorie remained, and entring hir plaint there in the Court, followed the ſame with ſuch diligence, that in the ende ſentence was giuen on hir ſyde, that is to witte, that King Dauid ſhoulde receyue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vſe hir as his iuſt and lawfull wyfe.

She departeth this worlde.

Thus ſhoulde the Realme of Scotlande haue runne in trouble and daunger of interdiction h[illegible] ſhe not departed out of this life by the way in returning homewardes.

Dauids tower buylt.

King Dauid in the meane time repayred ſundrie places and ſtrengthes of his realme, and buylt a tower in Edenbourgh Caſtell, bearing the name after hym vnto thys day, called Dauids Tower.

The death of king Dauid.

1370

After this, appeaſing certaine Rebelles that ſought to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Realme, he purpoſed to haue gone to Ieruſalem, but hauing prouided all things neceſſarie for ſuche a iourney, he fell ſicke of a burning feuer, and died wythin the Caſtell of Edenbourgh, in the xxxix. yeare of hys raigne, and xlvij. of hys age. Which was from the incarnation. 1370. His bodie lyeth in holy Royde houſe, where it was buryed in the yeare aforeſayde.

Straunge wondeſs.

Sundrie marueylous things were ſeene in the dayes of this king Dauid within the bounds of Albion.

In the xvj. yeare of his reigne, Crowes, Rauens, and Pyes, in the Winter ſeaſon brought forth theyr broode, and ceaſſed in the Sommer and Spring tyme, contrarie to theyr kynde.

Yewes barren.

All the Yewes in the countrey the ſame yeare were barren and brought no lambes.

There was ſuch plentie of Myſe and Rattes both in houſes and abrode in the fieldes, that they might not be deſtroyed.

Great rayne.

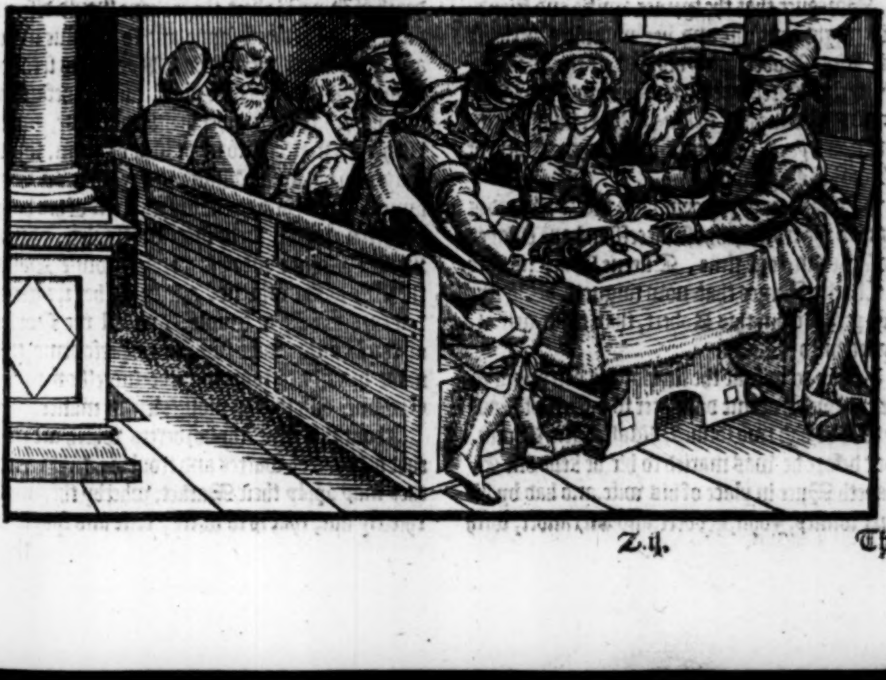
In the xxviij. yeare of hys reigne the Riuers and other waters roſe on ſuche heigth through the aboundaunce of rayne that fell in the latter ende of Harueſt, that breaking forth of theyr common Chanelles, wyth theyr violent ſtreame manye houſes and townes were borne downe and deſtroyed.

Iohn Duns.

About thys tyme lyued diuerſe notable Clerkes, as Iohn Duns of the order of Saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with other.

The aſſemble of the Lordes for the election of a new king.

King Dauid beeing thus deade and buryed, the Nobles aſſembled at Lythquo aboute the election of hym that ſhoulde ſucceede in hys place.



William Erle of Dowglas clayme th the crowne.

The greater part of the Nobilitie, and ſuche as were of the ſounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Stewarde, but William Erle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edwarde Ballyoll and the Cumyn, which right he pretended to haue receyued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertеined by iuſt title vnto them, as all the worlde knewe, and therfore ſith he had both their rightes, he mainteyned that he was true and indubitate inheritour to the crowne.

It appeared that the ſayde Earle Dowglas purpoſed to vſurpe the Crowne by force, if hee might not haue it by friendly and quiet meanes: But neuertheleſſe he was diſappointed of his purpoſe, by reaſon that George Earle of March, and John Dunbar Earle of Murrey, with the Lorde Erſkyne and others (of whoſe friendly furtherance hee thought himſelfe aſſured) gaue theyr voyces with the Stewarde, aſſyſting his ſide to their vttermoſt powers.

He reſigneth his right to the Stewarde.

The Dowglas perceyuing hereby that hee ſhould not be able to mainteyne his quarel, reſigned therevpon his pretenſed title, which in effect was of no importãce, nor worthy the diſcuſſing.

Robert.

Robert Stewarde is crowned king of Scotlande.

Then was Rob. Stewarde conueyed vnto Scone, and there crowned to great ſolemnitie, and was called Robert the ſecõd. This came to paſſe in the .xlvij. yeare of his age, on our Ladye daye in Lent, called the Annuntiation.

Moreouer that the former amitie and friendſhip might continue and bee nouriſhed betwixt this King Robert and his ſubiect the Earle of Dowglas aforeſayde, it was accorded that Euſame eldeſt daughter to king Robert ſhould be giuen in maryage to James ſonne to the Earle of Dowglas aforeſayde.

The firſt comming of the Stewardes to the Crowne.

Thus ye may perceyue how the Stewardes came to the crown, whoſe ſucceſsion haue enioyed the ſame vnto our time. Queene Mary mother to Charles James that now raigneth being the viij. perſon from this Robert, that thus firſt atteyned vnto it.

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

He had to wife at the time of his atteyning to the crowne, Euſame daughter to yͤ Erle of Ros, by whõ he had two ſonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was maried to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir three ſonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerſe daughters, of the which one was maried to John Dunbar Erle of Murrey, and an other to John Leon Lord of Glames.

How the Dow glaſſes came t the Erledome of Murrey.

The Erledome of Murrey continued in poſſeſsion of the Dunbars onely during the lyfe of this Erle John and his ſonne, in whom the ſucceſsion failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioying of that Erledome: for leauing a daughter behinde him that was maryed to the Dowglas, the ſame Dowglas came by that meanes to the ſayd Erledome of Murrey.

King Robert after his coronation made ſundrie Erles, Lordes, Barons and Knightes. Amongſt other James Lindſey of Gleneſk was made Erle of Crawford.

Euſame the Queene deceaſſeth.

His wife Queene Euſame deceaſſed the third yeare after hir huſband atteyned the crowne, and then incontinently hee maryed Elizabeth Mure his olde lemman, to the ende that the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie ſubſequent.

Elizabeth Mure maried to K. Robert.

The preferment of the kings ſonnes to dignitie.

Not long after by authoritie of a Parliament aſſembled, he made his eldeſt ſonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Mure aforeſayde, Erle of Carrik: his ſecond ſonne begotte on hir Erle of Menteith and Fife: and his third ſonne Alexander begotten likewiſe on the ſame mother, he created Earle of Buchquhane, and Lorde of Badzenocht.

Hys eldeſt ſonne Walter, begotten on Euſame his fyrſt wyfe, was made Earle of Atholl, and Lorde of Brechin: his ſeconde ſonne Dauid, begotten on the ſame Euſame, was made Earle of Stratherne.

The ſayde Walter procured the ſlaughter of James the firſt, for that hee pretended a right to the crowne, as after ſhall appeare.

An Act for ſu ceſsion of th Crowne.

Shortly after, he called another Parliament at Perth, where it was ordeyned, that after the death of King Robert, the crowne ſhould diſcend vnto John his eldeſt ſonne, and to his iſſue male, and for default thereof vnto Robert his ſeconde ſonne, and to his heyres male, and for default of ſuch heyres, to Alexander his thirde ſonne, and to his heyres male. And in default of them, to remayne to his ſonne Walter, begotten on Euſame his wife, and to the heyres male of his body begotten: and if ſuche ſucceſsion fayled, then it ſhoulde diſcende vnto his yongeſt ſonne Dauid the Erle of Stratherne, and to his heyres generall eyther male or female, and all the Nobles of the Realme were ſworne to perfourme this newe ordinance touching the ſucceſsion to the Crowne, and that in moſt ſolemne maner.

The borderers deſirous of warre.

About this time, the borderers which are men euer deſirous of warres and trouble, to the ende they may apply their Market, wherby they moſt chiefely liue, that is to witte, reiſe and ſpoyle of their neighbours goodes, through enuie of long peace and quietneſſe, vpon a quarell pyked, ſlue certaine of the houſeholde ſeruauntes of George Earle of Dunbar at the Fayre of Roxbourgh, which as then the Engliſh men helde.

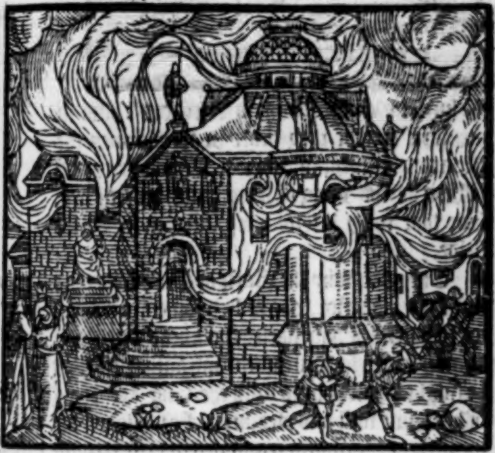
Roxbourgh fayre.

Earle George ſore offended herewith, ſent an Heralde vnto the Earle of Northumberlande Warden of the Engliſhe Marches, requyring that ſuche as had committed the ſlaughter might bee deliuered to receyue according to that they had deſerued: But when hee coulde get nought but dilatorie anſweres, full of deriſion rather than importing any true meaning, he paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure tyll more oportunitie of tyme might ſerue.

The truce violated.

In the yeare following agaynſte the nexte Fayre to be holden at Roxbourgh aforeſayde, the ſayd Erle of March, with his brother the Erle of Murrey gathered a power of men ſecretely togither, and cōming to the ſayd towne tooke it, ſlue all the Engliſh men founde within it, put theyr goodes to the ſack, and after ſet the towne on fire, and ſo departed.

Roxbourgh ſurpriſed by the Earle of March.



The Engliſh men inuade Scotlande.

Herevpon the Engliſh men ſhortly after enter with an armie into Scotlande, burning & doing much hurt vpon the landes of ſir Iohn Gordon, for that they ioyned to the Erle of Marches lāds.

Sir Iohn Gordoun right deſirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into Englande with an armie, and getting togither a great bootie of Cattell, returned therwith homewardes, but being encountred by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by Iohn Lilborne and other Engliſh men, there was a ſore fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time ſhewing it ſelfe ſo variable and vncertaine, that ſir Iohn Gordon was ſore wounded, and the Scottes were fiue tymes that day had in chaſe, and as often got the like aduantage of their enimies.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited.
Sir Iohn Lylborne taken.

In the ende the Engliſhe men were clearely diſcomfited, and theyr Captayne ſir Iohn Lylborne, with his brother & diuerſe other brought priſoners into Scotlande.

Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland.

To reuenge theſe diſpleaſures, Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland, entred into Scotlande with ſeuen thouſande men, and comming vnto Duns, there pytched downe his tents, but in the night following came the Herdes and other people of the countrey, hauing prepared certayne bagges made and ſowed togither of drie leather like to Bladders, into the whiche they had put ſmall pebble ſtones, and running vp and downe about the place where the Engliſh men were encamped, made ſuche a noyſe with thoſe bagges full of ſtones, that the Engliſhe mens Horſes breaking theyr Halters and Brydles, wherewith they were tyed, ranne from theyr maiſters and keepers, and were ſcattered ſo abrode in the countrey, that the Scottiſhe men got holde of them, and ſo in the morning the Engliſh men that had watched al night (for doubt to haue beene aſſayled by theyr enimies) perceyuing themſelues ſet on foote, returned home without any further attempt.

A policie to afright horſes.

Thomas Muſgraue captaine of Barwike taken priſoner.

In the meane time, Thomas Muſgraue captaine of Barwike comming to the ſuccors of the Earle of Northumberlande, chaunced to meete with ſir Iohn Gordon vpon the way, by whome he was takē, & led into Scotland as his priſoner.

Neyther had the Scottes the better thus onely on the Eaſt Marches, but alſo on the Weſt, where ſir Iohn Iohnſtoun had ſundrie ſkyrmiſhes with the Engliſh men, and went euer away with the vpper hande.

A Legate from the Pope.

About this time, Pope Gregorie the .xj. ſent a Legate from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wiſe to meddle with the goodes perteining to the Church after the deceaſſe of any Biſhop, perſon, or vicar.

1378

On the .xxij. day of October, in the yere. 1378. Dauid Stewarde was borne, which afterwardes was made Duke of Rothſay, and on Saint Androwes day next following, the towne of Barwike was taken by ſir Iohn Gordon and .vj. or .vij. other knightes, but it was not long kept: for a number of Engliſh men entring by a poſterne of the Caſtell, recouered the towne eaſily againe out of the Scottiſh mens handes.

Barwike taken by Scottes.

Recouered againe out of their handes.

1380

The Fayre of Pennyre.

After this, William Erle of Dowglas came with .xx. thouſande men to the Fayre of Pennire within England, and ſpoyled all the goods found as then in the ſame Fayre, and ſo returned with great ryches into Scotlande: but the Scottiſhe men ſmally reioyſed at this gaynes, for with ſuch cloth & other wares as they brought away with them from the foreſayde Fayre, they brought into the Countrey ſuche a violent and ſore peſtilence, that the thirde part of all the people where it came dyed therof.

The thirde time that the peſtilēce came in to Scotland.

This was the third time that the peſtilence was

1380

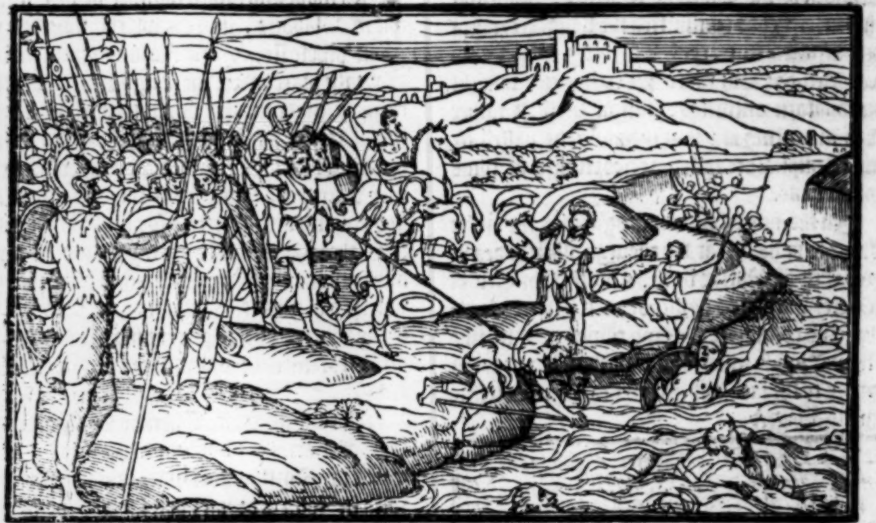
knowne to haue don any great hurt in Scotlãd, being in the yeare after the incarnation.1380.

The Engliſh men inuade the Scottiſh borders.

The Engliſh men to reuenge the diſpleaſure done by the Earle of Dowglas at Pennyre, rayſed a great army, and came with the ſame ouer Sulway, & inuading yͤ Scottiſh borders on that ſide moſt cruelly, ſpared neither fire nor ſworde.

English men ſlaine and drowned.

In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiue.C.men, and ſtood at a ſtrayt, tyll the Engliſh men ſhould come to paſſe by them, & then with ſuch huge noyſe and clamor they ſet on the Engliſh men, that in giuing backe there was foure.C.of them ſlaine, & a great number of the reſidue for haſte drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bootie of cattaile and goodes recouered againe by the Scottes, and the moſt part of it reſtored to the owners.



Ambaſſadours frõ the French king.

Charles the fift as then French king, hearing of ſuche proſperous aduentures dayly chauncing to the Scottes, ſent ouer his Ambaſſadours vnto king Robert, exhorting him to followe his good fortune and occaſion thus offered, to reuenge old iniuries agaynſt the Engliſhe men, nowe that their heartes ſeemed to fayle them through loſſes ſuſteyned diuerſe wayes of late at the Scottiſhe mens handes.

The renuing of the league betwixt Scotlande and Fraunce.

An other cauſe of their meſſage was alſo, (as the Scottes doe write) to renue the olde league and bande betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in ſolemne wiſe according to the maner, they returned into Fraunce, and with them went Ambaſſadors from king Robert vnto their maiſter the ſayd King Charles, Walter Wardlaw, Cardinall and Biſhop of Glaſgew, wyth many other noble men, who in like maner there renued the ſame league and bond of friendſhip, to the high contentation of both the Princes. This was in the eleuenth yeare of King Robert hys raigne.

The Chauncelor of Scotland ſlaine.

In which yeare John Lion Chauncelor of Scotlande was ſlaine by James Lyndeſay Erle of Crawford.

This John Lion grewe into ſo high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the Ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerſe poſſeſſions and landes called Glammis. Of him the ſurname of the Lions is deſcended: and in memorie thereof they beare in their armes the Lion and Lillyes, wyth the treſſe in fourme and faſhion as the King of Scotlande beareth hys, ſaue that theyr Lions are placed in a blacke fielde.

Enuie and ſpite.

The cauſe why the Earle of Crawford thus ſlue the Chancelor, was only vpon enuy & ſpite, for that after he had maried the kings daughter, he atteyned to ſuch eſtimatiõ and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king according to his owne will and pleaſure. For this offence the Erle of Crawford remayned in exile certaine yeares after, and durſt not returne home, til finally through earneſt ſute made to the king by the Erles of Dowglas, and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings fauour.

The Earle of Crawford in exile.

His pardon is begged.

In the meane time Edward king of England the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaux, ſonne to the blacke Prince, Edward, that was ſonne to the ſaid K. Edward, ſucceeded, in the fourth yeare of whoſe raigne being after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1381, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, with other Engliſhe Lordes came into Scotlande in Ambaſſade, to treate for the appeaſing of the diſcorde as then continuing betwixt the two Realmes: and in the ende the matter was ſo handled, that a truce was concluded to endure for three yeares.

1381

English Ambaſſadors ſent into Scotland.

A truce taken.

As the ſaid Duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and inſurrection made

Rebellion in Englande.

made by the commons of England againſt the nobles, hauing one Iacke Staw ⁊ others to their captaines, wherupon doubting to paſſe thꝛough his owne countrey till things were better appeaſed, he returned into Scotlande, ⁊ was conueyed by William Erle of Dowglas, and Archymbald Dowglas Loꝛde of Galloway, vnto holy Roode houſe beſide Edenbourgh, where he remayned till he heard that the rebels were ſuppꝛeſſed, and their captaynes ſlaine oꝛ taken and put to execution.

Iacke Straw.

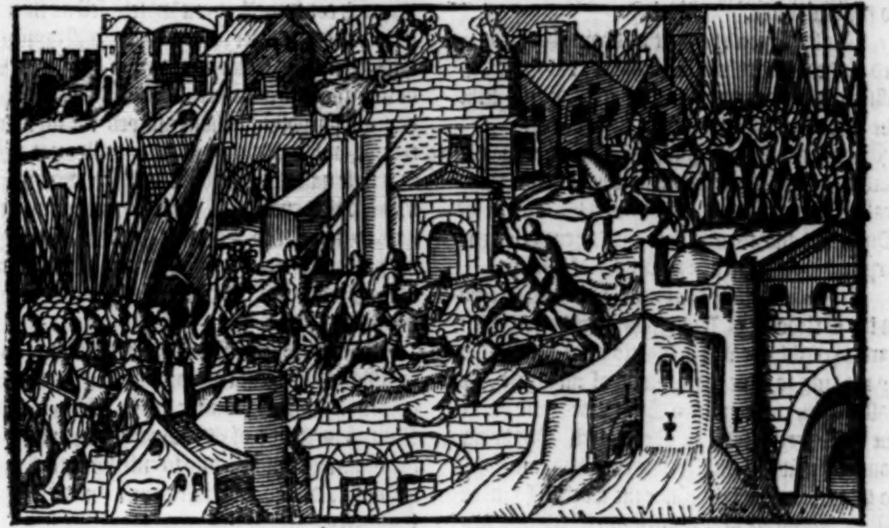
As ſoone as the truce was expyꝛed, Archymbalde Dowglas Loꝛde of Galloway, diſpleaſed in his minde that the Engliſhmen lying in gariſon within the Caſtell of Lochmaben did dayly harie and robbe the villages and country townes of Galloway ⁊ Annandall, rayſed a great power by ſuppoꝛt of the Earles of Dowglas, ⁊ March, ⁊ therwith layd a ſtrong ſiege vnto the ſayd Caſtell of Lochmaben, and hauing lyen thereat the ſpace of ix. dayes, they fought with a number of Engliſh men that came out of Carleil to reſcue this caſtel, whom hauing put to flight, they gaue therewith alſo a ſharpe aſſault to the Caſtell, and put them within in ſuche feare, that ſir William Fetherſton then captaine thereof, and the reſidue conſented to yeeld the houſe vnto the Scots euen the ſame day wͭout moꝛe ado, vpõ condition they might depart wͭ their goods in ſaftie into Englãd

The truce expired.

The gariſon of Lochmaben

1384

The caſtell of Lochmaben rendred to the Scottes.



But Fourdon wꝛiting of the winning of this Caſtell, ſpeaketh not of any ouerthꝛow giuen to thoſe that ſhould come from Carleil in maner as other wꝛite. Foꝛ thus he ſayth. Whẽ Archimbald Dowglas had got knowledge that the ſame Caſtell was vtterly vnpꝛouided both of men and vitails neceſſarie foꝛ the defence therof, he aſſembled an army togither with the helpe of the Earles of Dowglas ⁊ Dunbar, who ioining with him, enuironed the Caſtell about with a ſtrong ſiege, ſo that no ſuccour coulde enter to the reliefe of them within at any hande. Herevpon the captaine ſir William Fetherſton knight, ſent letters vnto the loꝛd wardens of the Engliſh marches, requiring ayde, ⁊ letting them to vnderſtande in what daunger hee ſtoode foꝛ lacke of men and vitayles. The wardens wꝛote to him again, that he ſhould do his beſt foꝛ. viij. dayes to holde out, ⁊ if no ſuccoꝛ came within that terme, thẽ to do as he ſhuld ſee cauſe. Herevpon ſir William Fetherſton requyꝛed a truce of the Scottiſh loꝛds foꝛ the ſpace of thoſe. viij dayes, within which terme if no ſuccoꝛ came to remoue their ſiege, he would yeeld the caſtel vnto them, the liues and goods of thẽ within ſaued. This was granted, ⁊ the Scots ceaſſed further to annoy them within by aſſaultes: and when the. ix. day was come, and no ayde from Englande appeared, they receyued the caſtel into their poſſeſſion, accoꝛding to the couenãt. And ſo the Scottes hauing thus wonne the Caſtell of Lochmaben, razed it quite downe to the earth.

Fourdon.

Sir William Fetherſton.

It is raſed.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchieued this enterpꝛiſe, appoynted the Baron of Grayſtocke with a certaine number of men to go with vitayles and munition vnto Roxbourgh, foꝛ doubt leaſt if the Scottes came to lay ſiege to that foꝛtreſſe, ⁊ finding it vnpꝛouided, they might peraduenture bꝛing it into further daunger than would lightly be remedied.

As this Baron was come within a myle of Roxbourgh, he was takẽ by the Erle of March, and bꝛought to Dunbar with all his pꝛouiſion.

The Baron of Grayſtocke taken.

The king of England being infoꝛmed alſo of this miſhap, appoynted two armies, one by ſea, ⁊ another by land, to inuade the Scots, ẏ Duke of Lancaſter hauing the general charge ⁊ conduit of thẽ both, who giuing oꝛder to thẽ that ſhuld paſſe by ſea what they ſhuld do, entred himſelf by land, and waſting the cõtryes of March ⁊ Louthian, came to Edenbourgh, ⁊ toke ẏ town, but whereas

An army by ſea and an other by lande prepared againſt the Scottes.

The Duke of Lancaſter commeth with an army to Edenbeurgh.

his ſouldiours woulde haue ſpoyled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitantes for a ſumme of money, and ſo returned without doing any more domage.

His nauie being as then arriued in the Forth, taryed behinde, and firſt burning the Abbay of Saint Colmes Inche, a number of the Souldidiers with their Captaynes landed in Fife, and ſpoyled diuerſe townes and villages there: but in the ende, Thomas and Nicholas Erſkynnes being brethren, Alexander Lindſey, and William Cunningham of Kylmauris, ſet vpon them, and ſlue the moſt part of them, ſo that few in number eſcaped againe to their ſhips, being purſued hard to the water ſide.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited in Fife.

The ſtrengthes of Tiuidale recouered.

The ſame yere the Erle of Dowglas recouered al the ſtrengthes of Tiuidale out of the Engliſh mens handes, which they had helde euer ſithe the battaile of Durham vnto thoſe dayes.

The Earle of Dowglas deceaſſeth.

This Erle of Dowglas, one of the moſt valiãt perſonages in thoſe his dayes within the whole realme of Scotlande, died within his Caſtell of Dowglas, ſhortly after he had atchieued this enterpriſe, & was buried in the Abbey of Melros.

Iames Earle of Dowglas.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

After his deceaſſe, his ſonne Iames ſucceeded in the Erledome of Dowglas, a right fierce and hardie knight, the which ſhortly after appoynted by the king to haue the guyding of an armie, he paſſed with the ſame into Englande, and burnt the Countrey ſo farre as Newcaſtell. But being countermaũded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where hee founde the Lorde Iohn de Vian, Admirall of Fraunce and Earle of Valentinois, who about the ſame time was arriued in Scotlande with two hundred and. xl. ſhippes well and perfitely furniſhed for the warres, and in them two thouſand and fiue hundred armed mẽ, diuerſe of them beeing Lordes and Barons, beſides Gentlemen and others. Alſo there was amongſt them 400. Hagbutters, (as Balentine ſayth) and two hundred with Croſbowes: the reſidue bare pykes, halberts, & ſuch like weapons.

Iohn de Vian Admirall of France.

26. Barons, 800 men of armes or knights. I. Fo. I doubt whether there were any Hagbuttes vſed in thoſe dayes, though gonnes were ſomewhat before that time inuẽted.

They were payde theyr wages for one whole yeare aforehande, and had brought vitayles with them to ſerue them as long. They had brought alſo with them. 400. hundred payre of white Curets, foure hundred halfe lang ſwordes, and fiftie thouſande Frankes to to bee giuen among the Nobles of Scotlande, accordingly as king Robert ſhould appoynt and thinke expedient.

The Admirall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotlande to make warres on the Engliſhe men, were highly feaſted by the king and Lordes of the Realme, as then preſent with him, and when the Erle of Dowglas was once come, by common conſent of them all there aſſembled togither in Counſell, it was ordeyned that an army ſhould be rayſed with al ſpeed, that ioyning with theſe French men they might paſſe immediately into Englande.

The Earle of Fife.

The Earle of Fife ſonne to king Robert was appoynted to bee generall of this armie, hauing with him the Earles of Dowglas, and Marche, Archymbald Dowglas Lord of Galloway, and diuerſe other of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

An armie of Scottes and French men enter into England.

This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thouſande men, the which entring into England, tooke the caſtels of Warke, Fourde, and Cornwall.

Caſtels wonne.

After this, by robbing and ſpoyling the countrey betwixt Barwike and Newcaſtell, they did much hurt in all parties where they came, but through continuall rayne whiche fell as then in greate aboundaunce, they were conſtrayned to returne into Scotlande, where they pytched downe theyr fielde neare to the Caſtell of Rokeſbourgh, purpoſing to haue aſſayed the wynning thereof, but foraſmuche as they coulde not agree in whoſe name it ſhoulde be kept, if it were won, they left that enterpriſe. For the French men requyred that if they wanne it, that then it might bee kept by them, in the name, and to the behoofe of the French King, wherunto the Scots would not agree.

The French men & Scots cannot agree.

Yet after this the French men wiſhing to accompliſh ſome other enterpriſe, went to the weſt borders, where ioyning wyth Archymbalde Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, they paſſed ouer Sulway ſandes, and ſo entring into Cumberlande, did wonderfull muche hurte in that Countrey.

They inuade Cumberland.

At length they determined to laye ſiege vnto Carleil, but being called frõ thence, they returned into Scotland, and then (as ſome authors write) and not before, they laid ſiege vnto Rokſbourgh, and rayſed from thence within. viij. dayes after, by reaſon of the variance before alledged.

At Alhallowentide next enſuing, the French men returned into Fraunce, hauing endured no ſmall trauail and paynes ſith their firſt comming forth of their Countrey.

The French men returne into France.

After they were gotten a Shippe boorde to returne homewardes, the Scottes againe enter into England with an armie, remayning there for the ſpace of two monethes, (as the Scottiſh writers ſay.) And in the meane time king Richarde aſſembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, paſſed through the Mers, and Louthian, putting all the townes, countrys and houſes vnto vtter ruine, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly it may appeare.

King Richard inuadeth Scotlande.

1387

In the yeare next enſuing, Walter Wardlaw Biſhop of Glaſgewe and Cardinall departed this life. Alſo within a while after that king Richard was returned back into England, Robert Steward Erle of Fife, wͭ Iames Erle of Dowglas, An Army of thirty thouſand Scottes inuaded England by the weſt marches. Cokermouth taken vpon the ſuddayne.

glas, Archinubald Dowglas, L. of Galloway entred into Englande with an army of thirtie M. men, comming ſo ſecretely through the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in ſuch ſpeedy wiſe vppon the ſuddayne, that the people had not leyſure to conuay away their goodes, ſo that the Scottes remayning there for the ſpace of three dayes, got a riche bootie togither, and returned with the ſame through ỹ countreys of Weſtmerland and Northumberlãd ſafe, and without encounter agayne into Scotlande.

Amongſt certayne other things, found in rifeling and ranſacking of houſes in thys iourney, there was a Chartor found of certayne lands giuen by King Athelſtane in this forme:

The forme of an old deede of gifte.

I Kyng Athelſtane gyues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als fayre, als euer yay mine wayre, and yarto witneſſe Malde my wife. By tenoure of whiche deede it may appeare, that our aunceſtors gaue more credite to the true meaning of a fewe wordes barely expreſſed in their writings, than that there needed ſo long proces and circumſtaunce as is nowe vſed with long ſtudie of penning, nothyng beeyng thought ſufficiente to aſſure the parties of theyr couenaunted bargaynes, and concluded agreementes.

The true meaning of men in olde time.

Williã Dowglas honored for his high prowes.

In this laſt iourney againſt the Engliſhmen, William Dowglas ſon to Archimbalde Dowglas Lord of Galloway, wanne greate fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie, ſhewed as well in certayne approches made vnto Carlile, as in diuers other ſkirmiſhes elſe where.

The King alſo herevpon began to fauour him in ſuch wiſe, that he thought him worthy of ſome high aduancement: and therevpon gaue hym hys daughter in marriage named Giles, a Ladye of ſuch excellent beautie, as hir match in thoſe dayes was not to be found.

He begote on hir a daughter, whiche was after maried to the Erle of Orkeney. This William Dowglas, as John Furdon noteth, was of a blackiſh or ſwart couloure, not ouercharged with fleſh, but bigge of bone, a mightie perſonage, vpright and tall, valiant, curteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, mery, faithfull, and pleaſaunt in company, but herewith he was of ſuche ſtrength, that whome ſoeuer he ſtroke eyther with mace, ſword, or ſpeare, downe he wente were hee neuer ſo well armed. At one time, as the ſame Furdon ſayeth, he hauing with him but eight hundreth, foughte againſt three thouſand Engliſhmen, of whome, two hundred he ſlewe in the fielde, and broughte fiue hundred priſoners with him into Scotland.

1388.

In the yeere 1388. Roberte Earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, entred with a proude army into Englande, and in the meane time, came ſundry Iriſhmen by Sea, to the coaſtes of Galloway, and landing in dyuers places, fetched away great booties of Cattel, and other goodes of the inhabitauntes, whereof William Dowglas, ſonne of the ſaide Archembald being enformed, gote a conuenable power of men togither, by ſupporte of his brother in lawe, Robert Earle of Fife, and by licence of the King paſſed ouer with the ſame, ſhipped in certayne veſſels into Ireland, where being gote a lande, he layd ſiege to the towne of Carlingford.

Iriſhmen fetch prayes in Galloway.

Williã Dowglas inuadeth Ireland with fiue hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon hath.

Carelingforde beſeeged.

The craftie dealing of the towneſmen.

The towneſmen doubting to be taken by aſſalt, purchaſed a truce for certayne dayes, promiſing to giue a greate ſumme of money to haue their towne ſaued: but in the meane time, they aſſembled the number of an eight hundred menne, through help of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioyning with them, they deuided them ſelues into two partes, one parte ſetteth vpon Robert of Duryſdeir, who hauing the conduit of the Earle of Fifes men, was gone abroade into the Countrey to fetch in ſome pray, and the other part aſſayleth William Dowglas, that lay ſtill afore the towne.

The Iriſhmen aſſayle the Scottes in two ſeueral places.

Neuertheleſſe, the ſayd Robert and William receyued the enimies with ſuche manhoode, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediately after, gaue aſſaulte to the towne, and entring the ſame perforce, put all the goodes founde therein to the ſacke, and then ſet it on fire, and brenned it to aſhes.

The Iriſhmen put to flighte.

Carelingforde won by aſſalt.

This done, they toke threeſcore ſhippes whiche they found in diuers hauens and creekes there on that coaſt, and fraughting. xv. of them with ſuch ſpoyle as they had gote, they brenned the reſidue, and then returning homewards, ſpoyled the Ile of Man by the way as they paſſed.

The Ile of Man ſpoyled.

Shortly after their returne home, the King of England ſent an Army into Scotlande, whyche did muche hurt in the Mers, in brenning and ouerthrowing diuers towres and houſes. Kyng Robert being certifyed hereof, as then remayning in the North partes of Scotlande, aſſembled the Nobles of his Realme at Aberdene, and there by all their aduiſes it was concluded, that the whole puiſſance of the Realme ſhould be reiſed with all ſpede, to reuenge thoſe iniuries done by the Engliſhmen.

Engliſhmen brenne in the Mers.

Herevppon were two Armies aſſembled, the one, wherein was a. xv. thouſande men, was cõmitted to the gouernaunce of the Earle of Fife, hauing with him the Earle of Menteith, Archebald Douglas Lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindſay of Walcop.

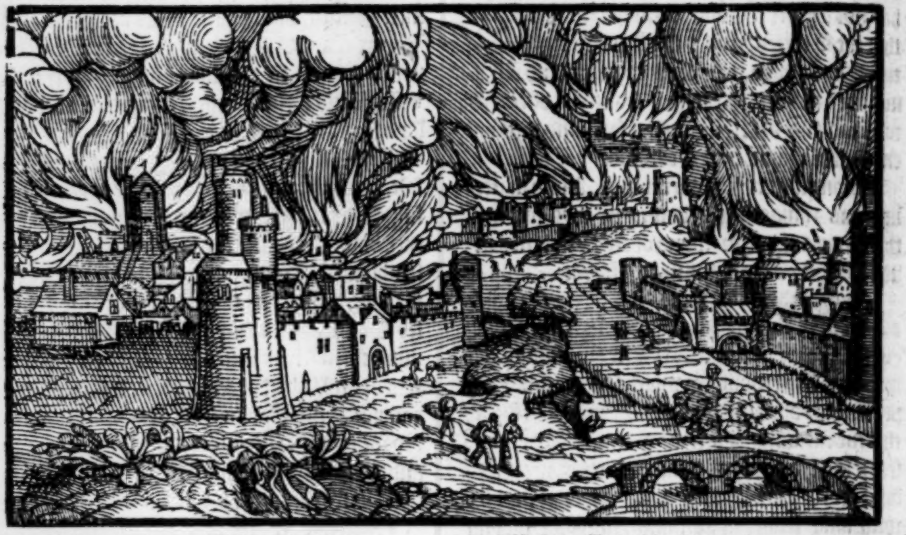
Two armies of Scottiſhmen aſſembled.

The other containing the like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the Earles of Douglas and March, hauing with them James Lindſay Earle of Crawforde, John Dunbar Earle of Murray, and the Lorde Hay the Cunſtable of Scotlande, with diuers other of the nobilitie.

Cumberland inuaded.

Northumberland inuaded.

These two armies parting in ſunder at Jedworth, the Earle of Fyfe with his people entred into Cumberlande by the weſt marches, and the Earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entred on the other ſide into Northumberland, paſſing through the countrey ſpoyling and waſting the ſame, till as farre as Durham, and on the other part, the Earle of Fiſe ſparrd neyther fire nor ſword, all the way as he paſſed.



At length both theſe armies met togither about a tenne miles from Newcaſtle.

Tenne thouſand of the choyſeſt men with the Earle of Dowglas.

Heere the Earle of Dowglas choſe forth ten thouſande of the moſt able men that coulde bee found amongſt all the numbers, with the whiche he went to Newcaſtle, to trie if by any meanes he might take the towne.

The aſſemble of the Engliſhmen at Newcaſtell.

There was gathered into Newcaſtell before hys comming thither, the moſt part of al the choſen men from Yorke to the bordures, with the Earle of Northumberland, who by reaſon of extreame age, was not able to ſturre abroade (any thing to purpoſe) him ſelfe, but he had with hym two of his owne ſonnes, the one named Henry, and the other Rauſe, very forwarde and luſty gentlemen.

Henry hoteſpurre.

This Henry beeing the elder, was ſurnamed for his often pricking, Henry hoteſpure, as one that ſeldome times reſted, if there were any ſeruice to be done abroade.

The Earle of Dowglas encampeth faſt by Newcaſtle.

The Earle of Dowglas comming to Newcaſtell, encamped with his people on that ſide the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earneſtly, which way he might beſt come to giue aſſalt to winne it.

Henry Percy deſirous to ſhewe ſome proofe of his ſingular manhoode, wherein hee greatly truſted, required to fight with the Earle of Dowglas man to man, which requeſt the Earle graunting, togither they ranne mounted on two great courſers with ſharpe ground Speares at the vtterance.

The Earle of Dowglas and Henry Percy runne togither

The Percy diſmounted beſide hys Horſe.

The Earle of Dowglas in this encoũter bare himſelfe ſo well, that in the end he droue the Percy out of his ſaddle.

The Engliſhmen yͤ ſtoode without the gates made to the reſkew, recouered him on foote, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne.

An aſſalt giuen to Newcaſtle.

Incontinently herevpon, yͤ Earle of Dowglas cauſed the aſſault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with hay and fagottes, came with ladders to the walles: but the Engliſhmen ſo well defended them ſelues, that the Scottes were beaten backe not withoute greate loſſe and ſlaughter of theyr people.

Froiſart ſomewhat varyeth from the Scottiſh writers.

Froyſart making mention of this enterprice thus made by the Scottes, varieth ſomewhat frõ the Scottiſh writers in this place, for he ſpeaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Percy ſhould thus runne togither on horſebacke as before is ſpecifyed, but that in giuing aſſault to the towne, it chanced that as the Engliſhmen defended their barriers withoute the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hãd with Henry Percy, and there by force plucked the Percyes ſtaffe from him, and in retourning hoyſted it vp on heigth, ſaying, he woulde carrie the ſame for hys ſake into Scotlande: and the nexte day after, hee reyſed his campe and departed homewardes toward the bordures, and comming to a place called Otterborne, about a twelue or fourtene miles from Newcaſtel, pitched downe his tentes there, that his ſouldiours might take ſome reſt and refreſhe themſelues after their greate trauell, for they had not reſted of all the day nor night before, nor to any purpoſe, ſith their firſte entring into Englande.

Dowglas encamped at Otterborne.

In

The Engliſhe power encreaſed.

In the meane time the Engliſhe power was highly encreaſed at Newcaſtle, for a great number of the Countrey came, and entred into the Towne the ſame night that followed the day of the aſſault.

Henry Percy followeth the Scottes.

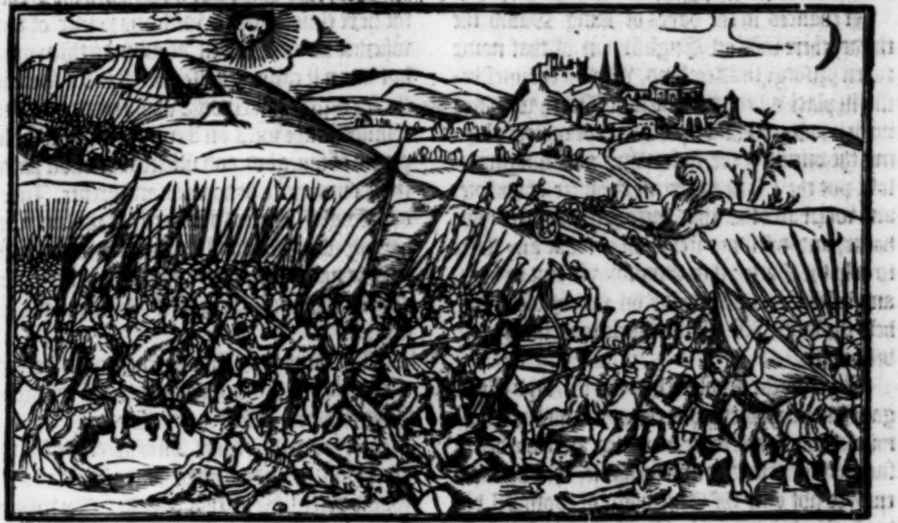
Henry Percy then perceyuing his number ſufficient to fyghte with the Dowglas, ſet them in order of battayle, and determined to iſſue forthe vpon the Scottes, and to giue them an encounter: but when he vnderſtoode that they were gone homewardes, he followed them with all ſpeede, for he would by no meanes that they ſhould paſſe into Scotlande without battayle, truſting to recouer the diſhonor whiche he had ſuſteyned by loſing his ſtaffe at the barryers before the gate of Newcaſtell.

The Dowglas exhorteth hys men to fyghte manfully.

Earle Dowglas aduertiſed that the enimies were cumming to giue hym battell, exhorted his people with fewe wordes to remember their wonted manhoode, that by gayning the victory, they might winne interminable fame and honor, with ſafegard to themſelues and their countrey.

The Percy with comfortable wordes, encourageth his men.

The Percy likewiſe for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fyghte manfully in reuenge of the iniuries done to them and theyr friends by the Scottes, and herewith commaunding the Trumpettes to ſounde, he gaue the onſet fiercely.



The onſet is giuen.

They were ſeuered by comming on of the night.

Here both the armies ioyning togither, a right terrible encounter enſued, but bycauſe the nighte was at hand, before they began to ioyne, through want of light to ſee what was to doe, they were ſeuered in ſunder for that time: but remembring that the Moone would ſhortly ryſe, they determined ſo ſoone as ſhe began to giue lighte, to renewe the battell againe.

The battell is renewed.

As ſoone therefore as the Moone began to appeare, they ioyned agayne with more malice than afore.

Patricke Hepborne releeueth the Scots in point to be ouercome.

The Engliſhmen foughte ſo egrely, that putting the Scottes abacke, and cauſing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottiſh ſtanderts, and ſo by all likelihood gote the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his ſonne, and ſuch other of his company as attended him, come to the reſkew, by whome the fight was begunne afreſhe.

The valiancie of the Earle of Dowglas.

Herewith alſo came the Earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand, layd ſuch ſore ſtrokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The Engliſhmen put to flight.

Finally, the whole number of the Scottiſhmē bare themſelues ſo manfully, that the Engliſhmē being broken and put to flighte, were ſlayne and borne downe.

The chaſe continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in ſuche caſes is euer ſeene, though the more parte indeede were taken with their liues ſaued after they once fell in chaſe.

Rauſe and Henry Percy taken priſoners.

Amongſt other, Rauſe Percy and his brother Henry, were taken by Keith, the Merſhall of Scotland, ſomewhat before the Engliſhmen began to turne.

Other perſons taken.

There were alſo taken beſydes the two Percies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilborne, William Wauchlute, Robert Heron, the Baron of Hilto, John Colwell, and Patrike Louel Knightes.

The number of priſoners taken.

There were taken in all of Engliſhmen, to the number of a thouſande and fortie, and ſlayne what in the fielde and chaſe (as Froyſart recounteth) aboue an eyghteene hundred.

There were ſlayne but fiue hundreth Engliſhmen as Hector Boetius hath.

But yet the Scottiſh writers themſelues report, a leſſe number. Neyther did this victory chaunce to the Scottes withoute greate loſſe and ſlaughter.

The death of Iames Earle of Dowglas.

For amongſt other, the Earle of Dowglas himſelfe was thrice ſtriken through the body, and alſo

See more of this matter in Englande.

alſo wounded ſo mortally on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he dyed of thoſe hurtes immediately after, to the greate diſcomforte of all his armie, conceyuing more dolorous griefe for the loſſe of ſo worthy a chieuetayne, than ioy for the gayne of ſo greate a victory. His body was conueyed vnto Melros, and buryed beſide his father Earle William in the Abbey church there. And bycauſe this Earle Iames had no heires of his body begotten, his Couſin Archembald Dowglas Lord of Galloway ſucceeded him in the Earledome.

Archimbalde Dowglas ſucceeded the Earle Iames of Dowglas.

The houſe of the Hepbornes (of the whyche this Patrike Hepborne that fought ſo valiauntly in this battell at Otterborne did diſcend) aroſe in Scotland after this wiſe.

It chanced in the dayes of King Dauid the thirde, there was an Engliſhman of that name taken priſoner in Scotland, who by chaunce being in place where the Earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the whiche playing the vnruly Iade in fetching and flinging aloft, put the Earle in greate daunger of his lyfe, and when all other that were preſente there gaue backe, and durſt not ſteppe in to make any ſhifte to help the Earle: this Engliſhman lept to hym, and boldly catching holde on the bridle reyne, held the Horſe faſt till the Earle was ſafely gote beſide him.

The firſt aduancement of the Hepborns.

The Earles of Bothwell.

In rewarde of which benefite the ſayd Earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certayn lands in Lowthian, whoſe poſteritie increaſed afterwardes in ſuch power of landes and ſurname, that the ſame enioyed not only the Earledome of Bothwel, but was alſo deuided into ſundry braunches, and many Knightes thereof haue riſen of right worthy fame and eſtimation.

This battell of Otterborne was foughte on ſaint Oſwaldes day, which is the fifth of Auguſt, in the yeere. 1388.

1388.

The Biſhop of Durham approcheth the Scottes with an armie.

The Biſhop of Durham was comming the day nexte following with a newe power to haue ayded the Percies, but hearing of the ouerthrowe, and beeing come within a little of the Scottiſhe camp, hee was enformed that the Scottes were as ready to defende, as hee was to aſſayle, and thereupon doubting the iſſue of his enterpriſe, if he ſhoulde giue battell, he turned backe to Newcaſtell, and ſuffered the Scottes to returne into their countrey without any further purſute.

He retireth.

A Parliament at Perth.

Robert Earle of Fyſe is choſen gouernoure of the Realme.

In the yeere following, a Parliamente was holden at Perth, in the whiche demonſtratiō was made by King Roberte, that for aſmuche as hee was brokē by great age, and might not through feebleneſſe occaſioned thereof attende to his office in gouernemente of the Realme, it was neceſſay that ſome gouernoure ſhould be choſen, and therfore hee required that his ſeconde ſonne Roberte Earle of Fife might enioy that office, conſidering his eldeſt ſonne Iohn Earle of Carrike (by reaſon of a ſtripe which he had receyued on the legge by an horſe of Sir Iames Douglas of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, & mighte ſturre no way forth abroade.

The Lordes conſented to the Kings requeſt, and ſo the Earle of Fife was conſtituted gouernour of Scotland, by common conſente of all the Lords of the Realme.

The Earle Marſhal of England, warden of the Marches.

Alſo the Earle Marſhall of Englande, was ſent by King Richard to the bordures, to remain there as Warden in the place of Henry Percye priſoner in Scotland. It is reported by yͤ Scottiſhe writers, that this Earle ſhould make ſtoute bragges, that he woulde fighte with the Scottes the next time he mette with any power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not, but when it came to paſſe that Robert Steward the Scottiſhe gouernoure was entred into Northumberlande with an Army, he withdrewe into places of ſauegard, and ſuffered the moſt parte of the Countrey to be harryed and brente. Indeede our Engliſh writers affirme, that the ſayd Earle hauing with him but fiue hundred men of armes, he was not able to accompliſh any great exploite auaylable againſt the greate multitude of hys enimies.

The gouernour of Scotland inuadeth Northumberlande.

A truce taken.

The ſame yeere was a truce taken betwixte England and France, the Scottes (if they would ſo agree) being compriſed therein.

Engliſh ambaſſadors ſent into Scotland.

The King of Scottes agreeth to the truce.

Herevpon there came Ambaſſadours forthe of England, to vnderſtād what the King of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whome it was aunſwered, that he woulde with good will ſtand to the ſame truce according as it was concluded.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, Alexander Stewarde Earle of Buchquhan brente the Cathedrall Church of Murray, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſte the Byſhop of the ſame place. Whereat his father the Kyng tooke ſuche indignation, that when his ſonne the ſaid Alexander was broughte to his preſence, hee commanded him to be committed vnto ſtraight priſon, wherein he remayned till after hys fathers deceaſe.

The Cathedrall Church of Murray brente.

The Earle of Buchquhane empriſoned.

The deceſſe of King Robert the ſeconde.

1390

The Realme being in this manner broughte to good tranquilitie, King Roberte falling into great infirmitie and feebleneſſe, by reaſon of extreame age, withoute any manner of other accidentall ſickneſſe, deceaſſed at his Caſtel of Dundonald, the ninetenth day of Aprill, in the yeere after our redemption. 1390. beeing as then aboue threeſcore and fifteene yeeres of age, and hauing reigned the ſpace of nineteene yeeres, his body was buried at Scone before the high aulter.

This

His happy ſucceſſe in warres.

This Robert the ſeconde, though by reaſon of his great age, he wente not forth into the warres him ſelfe, yet was there neuer Prince afore hym that had more happie ſucceſſe by the conduit of his Captaynes whiche he ſente forth as Lieutenaunts vnder him, for they neuer lightly returned home but with victory.

The conſtancie of King Roberte in word and promiſe.

He was a Prince of ſuch cōſtancie in promiſe, that he ſeldome ſpake the worde which he performed not.

His vpright iuſtice.

Suche an obſeruer he was alſo of iuſtice, that when ſoeuer hee remoued from any place, hee would cauſe proclamation to be made, that if any of his men or officers had taken vp any thing vnpayde for, the partie to whome the debte was due ſhould come in, and immediately he ſhoulde be ſatiſfyed.

His diligence to redreſſe poore mens wrongs.

He willingly hearde the complayntes of the poore, and was no leſſe diligent to ſee their wrongs redreſſed.

Robert.

Iohn Stewarde Earle of Carricke admitted to the Crown.

After the deceaſſe of King Roberte the ſeconde, hys ſon Iohn Steward Earle of Carricke was admitted to the Crowne, which hee receyued at Scone on oure Ladye the Aſſumption.

1396

The name of Iohn chaunged and called Roberte the third.

And for ſo much as Iohn was thought to bee an infortunate name for Kings, they chaunged his name and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name.

William Dowglas of Niddeſdale choſen Admirall by the Lordes of Pruzzen.

About the ſame time, William Dowglas of Niddeſdale was choſen by the Lordes of Pruzzen, to be Admirall of a nauy, conteyning two hundred and fortie ſhippes, whiche they had rigged, and purpoſed to ſet forthe againſte the miſcreaunt people of the Northeaſt partes, but being appealed by the Lord Clifford an Engliſhman, (who was there likewiſe to ſerue with the foreſaid Lords in that iourney) to fight with him in a ſingular combate. Before the day came appoynted for them to haue darreigned the battell, the Lorde Clifford lay in awayte for the Dowglas, and vppon the bridge of Danzke mette with him, and there ſlew him, to the great diſturbance and ſtay of the whole iourney.

He is ſlayne by the Lorde Clifforde.

Duncane Steward inuadeth Angus.

Moreouer, ſhortly after the coronation of king Roberte the thirde, tidings came that Duncane Stewarde, ſonne to Alexander Stewarde the Kings brother afore reherſed, was entred into Angus with a greate number of men, and ſlewe Walter Ogiluy Shirefe of the countrey, that came forth with a power to reſiſt him from ſpoiling the people whom he miſerably afflicted, howbeit theſe his inſolent doings were not long vnpuniſhed, for the Earle of Crawfort beeing ſent againſt him with an army, cauſed him to diſperſe his company, and to flee his wayes, but beeyng apprehended with the moſt part of his ſayd company, they were puniſhed according to their demerites.

The North partes of Scotland ſore diſquieted by two Clannes.

At this time alſo the moſt parte of the North countrey of Scotland, was ſore diſquieted by two Clannes of thoſe Iriſh Scots, cleped Kateranes, whiche inhabite the hye lande countreys, the one named Clankayes, & the other Clanquhattanes.

Wild Scots cleped Kateranes.

Theſe two being at deadly fude, robbed and waſted the countrey with continuall ſlaughter and reiſe.

A battell of thirtie againſt thirtie.

At length it was accorded betwixt yͤ parties, by the aduice of the Earles of Murray & Crawfort, that thirtie perſons of the one Clan, ſhoulde fight before the King at Perth againſte thirtie other of the other Clannes men with ſharp ſwords to the vtterance, without any kind of armoure or harneſſe, in triall and deciſion of the quarell, for the which the varyance betwixt them firſt roſe.

Both theſe Clannes right ioyfull of this appointmente, came to Perth with their number, where in a place cleped the North Inche, a little beſide the Towne in preſence of the King and other iudges aſſigned thereto, they foughte according as it was agreed, and that with ſuch rage and deſperate furie, that all thoſe of Clankayes part were ſlayne (one onely excepted) who to ſaue his life after he ſawe all his fellowes ſlayne, lepte into the water of Tay, and ſwamme ouer, and ſo eſcaped.

A deſperate fighte.

There was a.xi. of Clanquhattanes ſyde that eſcaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded, and that very ſore.

At their entring into the fielde or liſtes where they ſhould darraigne yͤ battell, one of yͤ Clannes wanted one of hys number, by reaſon that hee which ſhould haue ſupplyed it, was priuily ſtollen away, not willing to be partaker of ſo deere a bargaine, but there was a Countrey felowe amōgſt the beholders, being ſory that ſo notable a fighte ſhoulde be paſſed ouer, offered himſelfe for a ſmall ſumme of money to fyll vp the number, though the matter apperteyned nothing to him, nor to any of his friends.

This battell was foughte betwixt theſe two Clannes, in manner as before is remembred, in the yeere.1396.

1396

1398

In the thirde yeere after a Parliamente was holden at Perth, wherein, beſides diuers conſtitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduauncement of the common wealth, the King made his eldeſt ſonne named Dauid (that was as then about an eighteene yeeres of age) Duke of Rothſay, and his brother Roberte (that was Earle of Fife and gouernour of the Realme, as before yee haue heard) hee created Duke of Albany. Theſe were the firſte Dukes that hadde bin hearde of in Scotland, for till thoſe dayes there was neuer any within yͤ Realm that bare that tytle of honor.

The firſte Dukes that were created in Scotlande.

Iuſts and combates betwixte Scottes and Engliſhmen.

During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two Realmes of England and Scotland, there were ſundry iuſts and combates put in vre, and exerciſed betwixt Scots and Engliſhmen, for proofe of their valiant actiuitie in feates of armes, to winne thereby fame and honor.

But amongſt the reſidue that was moſt notable, whiche chaunced betwixt Dauid Earle of Crawford Scottiſhe, & the L. Welles Engliſh.

It was agreed betwixte theſe two noble men, to runne certayne courſes on horſebacke, with ſpeares ſharp grounde, for life and death.

The Earle of Crawfort of Scotland, and the Lord Wels of England iuſted for life and deathe.

The place appoynted for theſe iuſtes, was London bridge, and the day the three and twentie of April, being the feaſt of Saint George.

At the place and day thus prefixed, they came ready to furniſhe their enterpriſe, and being mounted on their mighty courſers, they ranne togither right egrely.

At the firſte courſe, though they atteynted, yet kepte they their ſaddles withoute anye perill of falling.

The people beholding howe ſtiffely Earle Dauid ſate without mouing, cryed that yͤ Scottiſhman was locked in his ſaddle.

He hearing this, lepte beſyde his Horſe, and right deliuerly mounted vp agayne into the ſaddle, armed as he was, to the greate wonder of the beholders.

This done, he tooke another ſtaffe, and ſo togither they runne againe right fiercely the ſecond time, and yet without any great hurte on eyther part, but the thirde time, the Lorde Welles was borne out of the ſadle, and ſore hurt with the fall.

The Lorde Welles borne out of his ſaddle.

And bycauſe the Earle of Crawford thus vanquiſhed his aduerſarie on ſaint Georges day, he founded a Chanterie of ſeuen Prieſtes to ſing in our Ladies Church of Dundee, in memorie of Saint George, which they did vnto our time, not withoute ſingular commendation of the ſayde Earle. After this, hee remained three monethes in Englande, in ſporting and feaſting amongſt the nobles, before he returned into Scotlande, highly prayſed of all eſtates for his noble port and great liberalitie there ſhewed amongſt them.

Prayſe of the Earle of Crawfort.

Sir Roberte Morlay.

Not long after, one Sir Roberte Morlay an Engliſhman came into Scotlande to trie hys manhoode in ſingular battel, with whome ſo euer woulde come againſte him, hee vanquiſhed one Archembald Edmounſton and Hew Wallace, but at length, hee was ouercome by one Hewe Trail at Berwike, and dyed ſhortly after vppon diſpleaſure thereof conceyued.

Richard King of Englande goeth into Irelande.

King Richard is depoſed.

He is adiudged to perpetuall priſon.

The ſame yeere, Richard King of England maried Iſabell daughter to the Frenche King, and ſone after, went into Ireland to ſubdue ſuch Iriſhe Rebells, as troubled the quiet ſtate of the Countrey. But in the meane time, his Lords at home rebelled againſt him, and determined to depoſe him from the Crowne, ſo that vpon hys returne into Englande, hee was apprehended and put in ward, and ſhortly after, conſtrayned to renounce all his righte to the Crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall priſon: yet at length, (as the Scottiſh Chronicle telleth) he gote forth of priſon diſguiſed in womans apparell, & came into Galloway, where hee fell in ſeruice with a Scottiſhman named Makdonald, but at yͤ laſt, being bewrayed and knowen what he was, and thervpon brought to King Robert, he was right honorably by him entertained, neuertheleſſe, knowing him ſelfe depoſed from his royall eſtate, hee gaue himſelfe wholly to contemplation, til finally he departed this world at Striueling, and was buried in the blacke Friers there within the ſame towne as the ſame Scottiſh Chronicles vntruely do report. But to the matter, Henry the ſonne of Iohn of Gaũt ſometime Duke of Lancaſter, after yͤ King Richard was depoſed, was Crowned King of England at Weſtminſter the .xiij. day of October, in the yeere. 1399.

He eſcapeth foorth of priſon.

King Richard dieth at Sterling and lyeth buried there.

Henry the fourth King of Englande is crowned.

1399. I.M.

1400

In the yere next enſuing, that is to wit. 1400. King Robert in conſideratiõ of a ſumme of money to him aforehand payd, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwixt his ſonne the Duke of Rothſay, and the Earle of Marches daughter, but Archembalde Earle of Dowglas hauing indignation yͤ the Earle of March ſhould be preferred before him, by ſupport of the Duke of Albany, procured a counſel to be called, in yͤ whiche hee founde meanes to aſſure his daughter the Lady Mariory vnto the ſayd Duke of Rothſay, and with al ſpeede went about to conſummate yͤ mariage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt.

The occaſion of the falling foorth betwixt King Robert, and the Earle of March.

The Earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the King, and required to know his pleaſure, if he minded to performe the couenantes cõcluded, concerning the mariage betwixt yͤ prince & his daughter or not, making as it were a great complainte of that which was already done to yͤ breach thereof, and receyuing anſwere nothyng agreeable to his minde, hee departed in a greate fume, not ſticking to ſay, hee woulde be reuenged on ſuch vntruth ere it were long.

Shortly after he fled into England, leauyng his Caſtell of Dunbar, well ſtuffed of all thyngs neceſſary for defence, in the keeping of his ſiſters ſonne named Robert Maitland, but when Ar-

The Earle of March fleeth into E

chembald Dowglas came thither in the Kyngs name, and required to haue the Caſtell rendred into his handes, this Robert Maitland obeyed the kings commaundemente, and deliuered the houſe to the ſayd Dowglas.

The Caſtell of Dunbar yeld to the Kings vſe.

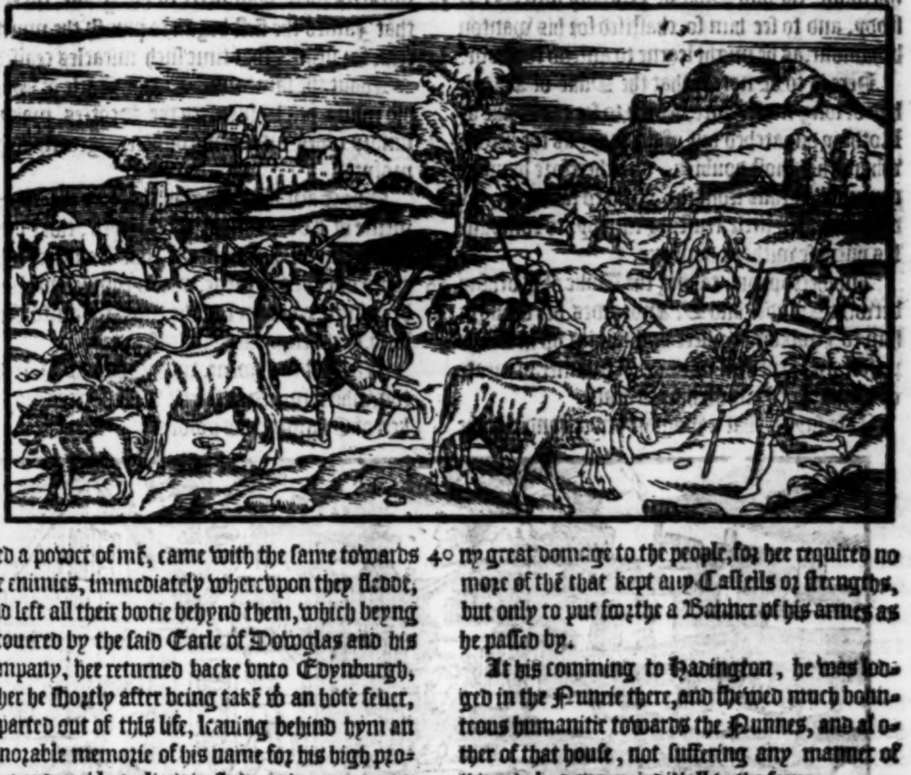
George Earle of March enformed hereof, procured all his friendes to conuey themſelues into England, and determined with himſelfe to do all the diſpleaſure and miſchiefe he mighte inuente agaynſt his owne natiue countrey.

King Roberte writeth vnto the Earle of Marche.

King Roberte ſore dreading, leaſt by thys Earles procuremente ſome trouble might hap to folowe amongſt his ſubiectes, ſente an Herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promiſing by the tenor of the ſame, not only to pardon him of all offences committed, but alſo to redreſſe all wrongs or iniuries which he hadde any wayes forth receyued, if hee woulde returne into Scotlande: & for as much as the Earle of March refuſed this offer, the ſame Heralde according to inſtructions giuen him at his departure frõ King Roberte, wente immediately to Henry King of Englãd with other letters, earneſtly deſiring him to cauſe the Earle of March to depart out of hys Realme, and not to receyue any Rebelles out of Scotlande into his boundes, whereby the peace mighte bee violated, whiche as yet remayned betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Sent letters alſo vnto the King of Englande.

King Henry vpon reaſonable allegations as he pretended, refuſed to ſatiſfye King Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reaſon whereof the peace brake betwixte them and their ſubiects, withoute any further tracting of time.



Henry Hoteſpurre and the Earle of March enter into Scotland.

For ſhortly after, Henry Percy ſurnamed as is ſaid, Henry Hoteſpurre, & the Earle of March entred into Scotland, and gote togither a greate bootie of goods and Cattell, but for returne thereof, Archembald Earle of Dowglas hauing aſſembled a power of mẽ, came with the ſame towards the enimies, immediatly wherevpon they fledde, and left all their bootie behynd them, which beyng recouered by the ſaid Earle of Dowglas and his company, hee returned backe vnto Edynburgh, wher he ſhortly after being takẽ wᵗ an hote feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind hym an honorable memorie of his name for his high prowes and noble valiancie ſhewed in many and ſundry enterpriſes by him luckily atchieued for the wealth of his countrey.

The deceſſe of Archymbald Erle of Dowgla.

He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadful lookes, the grimme Dowglas.

After his deceaſſe, his ſeconde ſonne that hight likewiſe Archembald, was made Earle of Dowglas, for his eldeſt ſonne William Dowglas dyed in the yeere afore his father.

Henry King of Englande inuadeth Scotlande.

Shortly after, Henry King of England came into Scotland with an Army, without doing any great domage to the people, for hee required no more of thẽ that kept any Caſtells or ſtrengths, but only to put forthe a Banner of his armes as he paſſed by.

At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the Nunrie there, and ſhewed much bounteous humanitie towards the Nunnes, and al other of that houſe, not ſuffering any manner of thing to be done preiuditiall to the ſame.

The like gentleneſſe he vſed towardes them of the holy Roode houſe at his comming to Edynburgh, wherein he likewiſe lodged.

It is thoughte, that in memory of the friendly entertainemente, whiche his father the Duke of Lancaſter founde in theſe Abbeys, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chaunced in England, through Iacke Strawe and his complices, he ſhewed ſuche fauor towardes them at this preſent.

To bee brieſe it ſhoulde appeare, that King Henry came into Scotlande, as it were enforced, more through counſell of his nobles, than for any hatred he bare towardes the Scottes, as hee well ſhewed in returning backe againe, without doing them any further iniurie.

The death of Queene Annabell.

In the yeere after, deceaſſed the Scottiſhe Queene Annabell Drommond, after whoſe deceſſe hir ſonne Dauid the Duke of Rothſay that vnder hir gouernemente had bin well and vertuouſly broughte vp, hauing nowe gote once the reyne at liberty, fell to al kind of inſolent outrage, ſeeking to defyle Wiues, Virgines, Nunnes, and al other kind of womẽ in al places wher he came.

The inſolent outrage of the Duke of Rothſay.

At length, his Father perceyuing his ſonnes youthful nature to rage after that manner in vnbrideled luſt beyond the tearmes of all meaſure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the Duke of Albany, requiring him to take his ſonne, the ſaid Duke of Rothſay into his cuſtody, and to ſee him ſo chaſtiſed for his wanton behauiour, as he might learne to amend the ſame.

Here is to be noted, that the Duke of Albany had of long time before, deſired to ſee the Duke of Rothſay diſpatched out of the way, as the perſon whome hee moſt doubted, and therefore hauyng commiſſion thus from the King to take him, hee reioyced not a little, truſting thereby, to compaſſe his purpoſe without daunger.

And herevppon, taking the Duke of Rothſay betwixt Dundee and S. Andrewes, hee brought him to Faulkland, where he ſhut him vp in ſtraite priſon, and kept him without al manner of meate or drinke, ſo to famiſh him to death.

The Duke of Rothſay cõmitted to priſon.

It is ſayde, that a woman vnderſtanding the Duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull caſe, found meanes to let meale fall downe through a rift of the loft of that towre wherein he was encloſed, by meanes whereof, hys life was certayne dayes ſuſteyned, but after thys was once knowne, incontinently was the woman made away.

In the ſame maner, another woman through a long reede, fedde him with milke of hir owne breſts, and was likewiſe diſpatched as ſoone as hir doings were perceyued.

The Duke of Rothſay famiſhed to death.

Then after this, the Duke deſtitute of all worldly ſuſtenaunce through very famine, was conſtreyned to eate not onely all ſuche filth as hee could finde within the Towre, but alſo in yͤ end, hee gnawed off his owne fingers, and ſo finally in this miſerable ſtate of Martirdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buryed in Lundoris, where (as the fame wente) many fayre miracles were done neere to his graue, till tyme that James the firſt began to puniſh the murtherers, for ſithens that time ſuch miracles ceaſſed.

Miracles.

The diſpleaſures done by George Earle of March.

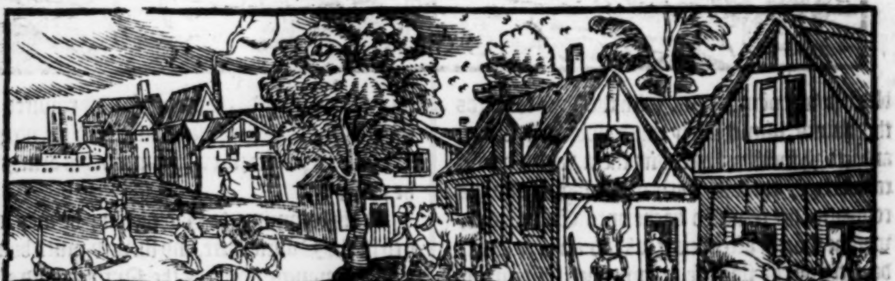
About the ſame time, George Earle of March did many diſpleaſures to the Scottes, makyng ſundry rodes into their countrey, greatly to hys profyte.

The Earle of Dowglas gouernoure of Louthian.

The Earle of Dowglas that had the gouernmente of Lowthian in thoſe dayes, tooke order, that certayne Captaines of that Countrey, ſhuld euery one for his turne, with a competente number aſſigned to him for the time, rode into England, to reuenge ſuch diſpleaſures.

Thomas Holyburton.

The firſt that went, was Thomas Halyburton, who returned in ſafetie with a great pray taken of Engliſhmens goodes.



Next vnto him, was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the yonger, appoynted to goe forthe as Captayne generall with a certaine number, who entring into Englande, gote a great bootie togither, but the Engliſhmen following therevppon to recouer it, encountred with hym at Neſbet in the

the

Patricke Hepborne ſlayne at Nisbet.

the Mers, and there not onely ſlew him, but alſo diſtreſſed his people.

Beſides them that were ſlayne with theyr Captayne, there were alſo many that were taken, as John and William Cokborne, Roberte Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with many other.

Almoſt all the floure of Lowthian (as Johannes Maior writeth) periſhed in this battell, whiche was fought the. xxij. of June, in the yere. 1402.

1402

Archembald Dowglas inuadeth Englande

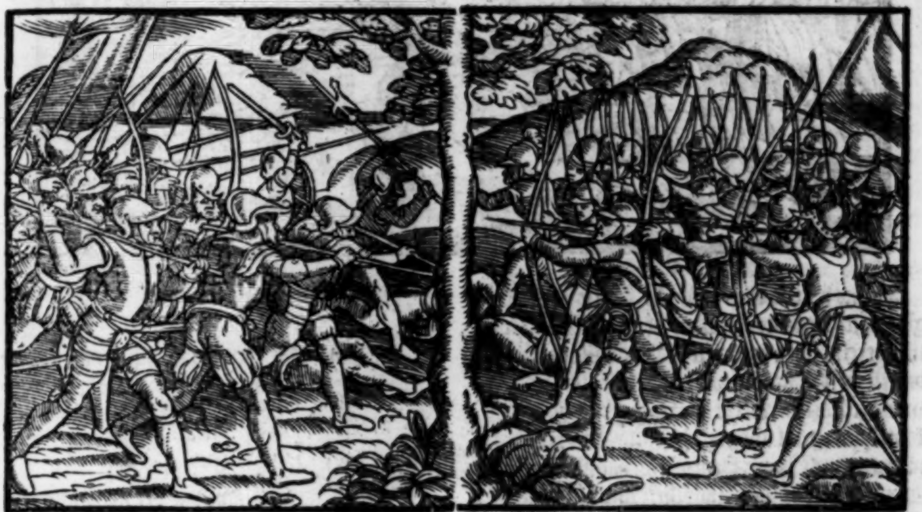
Archembald Earle of Dowglas ſore diſpleaſed and wonderfully wroth in his minde for this ouerthrowe, gote commiſſion to inuade Englande with an army of tenne thouſand men, and hauing the ſame once ready with all thyngs neceſſary for his voyage, hee ſet forwarde, and entring into Englande, brente and harried the countrey, not ſtaying till hee came as farre as Newcaſtell.

The Nobles of Scotland in this army.

In this army there was with the Dowglas Murdock eldeſt ſonne to Duke Robert Earle of Fife, Thomas Earle of Murray, George Earle of Angus, with many other Lordes and nobles of Scotlande.

Henry Hoteſpurre and the Earle of March aſſayle the Scottes at Homyldon.

At the laſt, when they were returning homewards with a pray of infinite goodes and riches, Henry Hoteſpurre, and George Earle of March, with a great power of men, met them, and aſſayled them ſo, with ſuch inceſſant ſhot of arrowes, that where the Earle of Dowglas with his army had the aduantage of an hill, cleped Homyldon, he was conſtreyned to forſake the ſame, and comming downe vppon the Engliſhmen, was neuertheleſſe put to the worſe, the moſte parte of his people being eyther taken or ſlayne.



The Scottes through force of the Engliſhmens ſhot diſcend the hill.

The Scottes are put to the worſſe.

Adham Gordon.

It is ſayde, that after the Scottes were once put to flight, they gathered agayne, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon and ſir John Suynton, but that dyd little auayle them, for they were ſtill beaten downe and ſlayne.

Men of name ſlayne.

Amongſt other of thoſe that were ſlaine, were the ſame ſir John Swynton and Adham Gordoun: Alſo John Leuynſton of Kalendare, Alexander Ramſay of Dalhowſy, with ſundry other gentlemen and nobles of Scotland.

Priſoners taken.

Archembald Earle of Dowglas, Mordo Stewarde eldeſt ſonne to Duke Robert the gouernour, George Earle of Angus, Roberte Erſkyn of Alloway the Lorde Saulton, James Dowglas maiſter of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the moſt part of all the Barons of Fyfe and Lowthian were taken priſoners.

This battell was fought on the Roode day in Haruest, in the yeere. 1403. vpon a tuiſday.

H. B. 1402

The Caſtell of Cocklauis beſeeged.

Henry Percy righte proude of this victory, came with the Earle of March vnto the Caſtell of Cokclauis in Teuidale, and layde ſeege to the ſame, but John Greynelow Captayne thereof defended it ſo manfully, that they gote no greate aduauntage, yet at length he fell to this compoſition with them, that if he had no reſkewe within the ſpace of three moneths, the Caſtell ſhoulde be then rendred into their hands.

A compoſition.

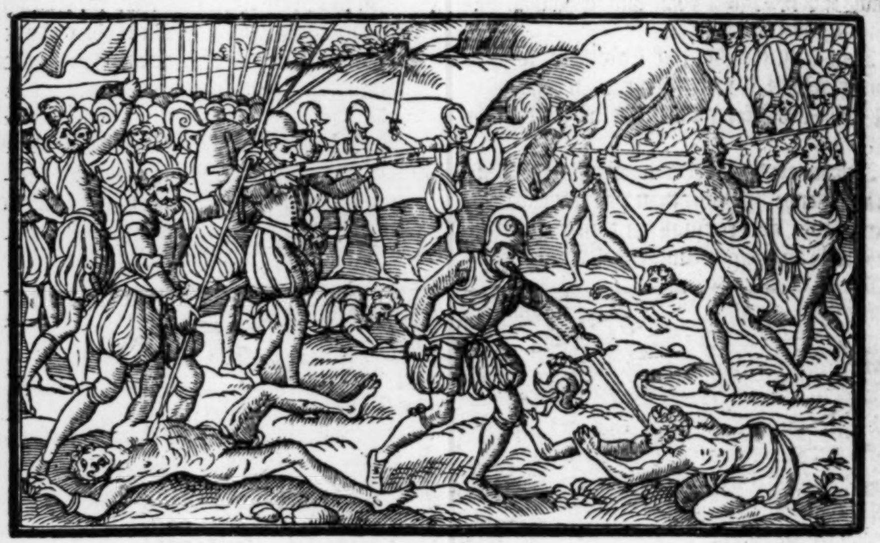
When the gouernour of Scotlande was enformed what agreement the Captayne of Cokclauis had made, he aſſembled the Lordes in coũſell to haue their aduice for the leuying of an army againſt the time appoynted.

There were many of this opinion, that it was better to loſe the Caſtell than to ieoperde the liues of ſo many men as were neceſſary to furniſh that enterpriſe for the ſauing of it: but yͤ gouernor ſhewed, that hee weyed the loſſe of it ſo much, that if none of the nobles would paſſe with him to the reſkew thereof, he would yet goe himſelfe to doe what in him might lie to ſaue it. But in the meane time, ſuch trouble roſe in England, A conſpiracie againſt Kyng Henry by the Percies and other.

that there needed no power to be leuied for the defence of Cokclauis. For by a conſpiracie practiſed agaynſte Kyng Henry, certayne of the Engliſh nobilitie were alyed togither to haue deſtroyed him, but amongſt the reſidue, the Percies were as chiefe.

Shrewesburie fielde.

They fought togither at Shrewesbury a right bloudy battell, where the King gote the victory, and ſlewe the Lorde Percy ſurnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henry Hoteſpurre.



The Earle of Dowglas at Shrewesburie field in ayd of the Percies.

At this battell was alſo the Earle of Dowglas, with a greate company of Scottiſhmen on the Percies ſide, for beeing taken priſoner at the battell of Homnyldoun (as before is ſayde) it was accorded betwixte hym and the ſayd Henry Hoteſpurre, that ayding hym and other his complices againſt King Henry, if it chaunced the ſaid Kyng Henry to be vanquiſhed and put from the Crowne, according to their intente and purpoſe, then ſhould the ſayd Earle Dowglas be releaſed of his raunſome, and haue the towne of Barwike rendred vnto hym in rewarde of hys ayde and aſſiſtaunce.

He led the foreward ther.

He fought (as is reported) with ſingular manhoode, and hadde the fore warde on the Percies ſide.

He is taken priſoner.

He ſlewe that day with his owne hands three gentlemen arrayed in the Kings coate armour, and finally when the battell was loſt, he was taken in the chaſe and ſaued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scottes eſcaped with life, but were all ſlayne out of hande.

Neyther was this victory gotten by Kyng Henry withoute greate ſlaughter of thoſe that were on his parte, for he loſt foure right valiaunt Knights, as Staluart, Blont, Maſſie, and Pottok, with ſeuen hundred other ſouldiers and men of warre, as the Scottiſhe writers haue, but the Engliſh auctors name a farre greater number, as ſixteene hundred at the leaſt.

King Henry (as the ſame Scottiſhe writers doe recorde) vſed the councell & aduice of yͤ Earle of March in the obteyning of this victory, being fled lately before from the Rebelles ſyde vnto him.

The Earle of Dowglas in reſpect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was right tenderly cheriſhed by King Henry, who for that hee hadde ſeene him doe ſo valiantly in the day of that battell, reputed hym worthy of all honor.

The Earle of Dowglas infortunate in battell. His ſurname Tinneman.

This Earle of Dowglas yet was righte infortunate in moſt of his enterpriſes, ſo farre forth that he neuer wanne battell wherein he chaunced to be, & was therefore named Archebald Tinneman, though there was no default to be found at any time in his owne perſon, for he euer foughte with great manhoode.

At the battell of Homnyldoun he loſt one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he loſt one of his ſtones.

The Earle of Northumberland fled into Scotlande.

The olde Earle of Northumberland, hearing what euill ſucceſſe his ſonne and other his kinſmen had founde in their rebellious enterpriſe at Shrewesbury, with one of his Nephewes (that was his ſonnes ſonne) and other of his frieds and kinſmen withdrew into Scotland, where he was receyued by Henry Wardlaw biſhop of Sainte Androws, and lodged with him at his eaſe and in good ſuretie within his Caſtell of Sainte Androws aforeſayde.

The death of the Duke of Rothſay commeth to the knowledge of his father.

About the ſame time, King Robert was aduertiſed, that his ſon the Duke of Rothſay was pyned to deathe in Falkland (in maner as before is expreſſed) which newes were ſo greeuous vnto him, that he grewe eache day more and more in ſorowe and melancoly.

The Duke of Albany kepte it ſo long as was poſſible from the Kings knowledge, and beeing nowe ſente for by the Kyng to aunſweare hym for ſuche treaſonable ſlaughter of hys ſonne, hee came and ſo excuſed the matter with a fayre paynted tale, as though hee had bin nothing giltie in the cauſe, and for further declaration of his innocēcie, he promiſed if it might pleaſe the Kyng to come vnto Edynburgh, hee woulde bring in the offendors which were culpable of the murder.

The Duke of Albany excuſeth himſelfe.

The Kyng as then remayning in Bute (where for the moſt part he euer ſoiourned) thogh hee were not well able to trauell by reaſon of long ſickneſſe, yet in a chariot hee came vnto Edynburgh, vpon the earneſt deſire he had to ſee his ſonnes death puniſhed. And at his comming thither, the Duke of Albany deliuered vnto hym certayne naughty perſons, and ſuche indeede as for their haynous actes and vngratious conditions deſerued well to die (though not for thys matter) whiche neuertheleſſe by vntrue ſuggeſtions and forged accuſements, beeyng broughte afore corrupt iudges, (and ſuche as the Duke of Albany had prouided for his purpoſe) were condemned as giltie of his deathe, whome in al theyr lyfe time they neuer ſawe.

The Kyng commeth to Edynburgh.

Gildleſſe perſons condemned.

Though thys matter was handled as finely as was poſſible, and made ſo ſounde and cleere as coulde bee deuiſed, yet was not the Kyng ſo ſatiſfyed in hys mynde, but that hee hadde a greate ſuſpicion in the Duke of Albany as authour of hys ſonnes deathe: but for ſo muche as the Duke had all the Realme vnder hys obeyſance, partly by policie, & partly by authoritie of his office, beyng gouernour therof, yͤ King durſt not attempt any thing agaynſte hym, but rather doubted, leaſt hee hauing an ambitious deſire to the Crowne, woulde compaſſe alſo to haue the lyfe of his ſeconde ſonne named James as then Prince of Scotlande, and therefore by the faithfull helpe and good aduice of Walter Wardlawe the Biſhop of Sainte Androwes, he prouided a Shippe, and ſente the ſayde Prince forth in the ſame to paſſe into Fraunce, deliuering hym alſo a letter written and directed vnto the King of England in his fauoure, if he chaunced to fall at vnwares by any fortune into the Engliſhmens handes.

The ſuſpicion of the Kyng towards the Duke of Albany.

The Kyng ſendeth away his ſonne the Prince.

Henry Lorde Synclare the ſeconde Earle of Orkney, was appoynted to haue the connoye of hym, who hauing all his purueyance ready, tooke the Shippe that was appoynted for them at the Bas, where it lay at ancre, and lewſing from thence, they ſayled forwarde till they came to Flamburgh heade, where (as ſome ſaye,) they were taken on the Sea by Engliſhmen, the whiche hearing howe the Prince of Scotlande ſhould paſſe that wayes, lay in awayte for hym.

Other write, that his deſire was to be ſet on land there, bycauſe he mighte not away with the ayre of the ſea, being brought farre out of quiet in hys head and ſtomacke therewith. But howſoeuer it was, the troth is, taken he was in the .ix. yeere of his age the .xxx. day of March in the yere after the incarnation .1406. and was kept in captiuitie of the Engliſh men by the ſpace of eighteene yeeres.

Iames Prince of Scotland taken by the Engliſhmen. H.B.1404

At his comming to the preſence of King Henry, he deliuered vnto him the letters directed from hys father Kyng Robert, the tenor whereof here enſueth, as in Scottiſh they be written.

Robert King of Scottes to Henry Kyng of Englaund greeting. Thy greate magnificence, humilitie, and iuſtice, are righte patente to vs, by gouernaunce of thy laſt army in Scotlande, howbeit ſic things had bene vncertayne to vs afore. For though thou ſeemed as enemie with moſt awfull incurſions in our Realme: ȝit wee faund mair humanities and pleaſyres than dammage (be thy cūming) to our ſubdittes. Specially to yame that receyuit thy noble father yͤ Duke of Longcaſtell the time of his exill in Scotlande. We may not ceys yairfore, whille wee are on life, bot aye luyf and loif thee as maiſt noble and worthy Prince, to ioys thy Realme. For yocht Realmes and nations contende amang themſelfe for conqueſts of glory and laundes, ȝit na occaſion is amang vs to inuade athir Realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to cōtend amang our ſelfe, quhay ſall perſew othir with maiſt humanitie and kindneſſe. As to vs we will meis all occaſion of battell, quhare any occurres at thy pleaſure. Forther, bycauſe we haue na leſſe ſollicitude in preſeruing our children fra certayne deidly enimies, than had ſometime thy nobill fader, we are conſtreyned to ſeeke ſupporte at vncowth Princes hands. Howbeit, the inuaſion of enimies is ſa greate, that ſmall defence occurres agaynſte yame without they be preſerued by anitie of nobill men. For the warld is ſa full of peruerſit malice, that na crueltie nor offence may be deuiſit in erd, bot the ſamine may be wrocht be motion of gold and ſyluer. Heirfore, bycauſe we knawe thy hieneſſe full of mony nobill vertues, with ſic pyſſaunce and riches, that na Prince in our daies may bee compard thairto. We deſire thy humanitie and ſupport at this time.

The tenor of a letter as it is written in the Scottiſh tong.

We traiſt it is not vnknowin to thy Maieſtie, howe oure eldeſt ſonne Dauid is ſlayne miſerably in Priſon be oure Brothir the Duke of Albany, quhome wee cheſit to be gouernoure (quhan wee were fallen in decrepit age) to oure ſubdittes and Realme, beſeekaund thy hienes thairfore to be ſa fauorable, yͤ this bearer James our ſecound and allanerly ſonne may haue targe to leiſe vnder thy faith, and iuſtice, to be ſome memory of our poſteritie, knawaund the vnſtable condition of mans life ſa ſodanly altered: Now flutiſaund, and ſuddaynely falling to vtter conſumption.

Forthir beliefe well, quhan Kings & princes hes na other beild bot in thair awyn folkes, thayr empyre is caduke and fragill. For the minde of common pepyll, ar euir flowaund and mair inconſtant than wind. Zit quhen princes ar roborat be amitie of othir vncowth Kings thair brethir and nyghtbouris, na aduerſitie may occurre to eiect thaym fra thair dignitie ryall.

Forthir gif thy hienes think nocht expedyent (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr deſires.

Zit we requeſt ane thyng quhilk was ratifijt in our laſt trewes and condition of peace, that yͤ ſupplication made be ony of the two Kings of Ingland and Scotland ſall ſtaund in manner of ſaufeconduct to the bearer. And thus we deſire to be obſeruat to this our allanerly ſonne, And the gratious God conſerue thee maiſt noble Prince.

After that King Henry had cauſed theſe letters to be opened and redde, hee aduiſed himſelfe thereon with great deliberation, but in the end, he determined to ſtay this James Prince of Scotland as his lawfull priſoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreouer, there were diuers Rebelles of Englande ſuccoured within the boundes of his fathers dominion, to the high diſpleaſure of the ſayde Kyng Henry.

Iames the Prince of Scotland ſtayed as priſoner in England.

But ſuch was the fauour ſhewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to hys honor, profite, and commoditie, than any other worldly hap that might by any meanes haue otherwiſe chaunced vnto him.

His bringing vp.

An happy captiuitie.

He had ſuch perfect inſtructors to teach hym, aſwell the vnderſtanding of tongs as the ſciences, that he became right experte and cunning in euery of them.

His inſtructors in the tongs.

He was taughte alſo to ride, to runne at the tilt, and to handle all kind of weapons conuenient to be vſed of ſuch a perſonage, wherevnto hee was ſo apt and ready, that fewe in any poynte of actiuitie might ouermatch him.

His trayning in warlike exerciſes.

He had good knowledge in muſike, and coulde play on ſundry inſtruments right perfectly.

His knowlege in muſike

To be briefe, it appeered in all his behauioure and manners, in what company ſo euer he came, that his bringing vp had bin according to hys nature, neyther of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and moſt vertuous prince.

After it was ſignifyed vnto his father Kyng Roberte, that his ſon was thus arreſted in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, ſore lamenting that euer he matched himſelfe in mariage with a woman of ſo meane degree (to the diſperagement of his bloud) as was Queene Annabell, on whome he begate his ſonnes, whiche (as he tooke it) was the onely cauſe why aſwell forayne Princes as his owne ſubiectes had hym thus in contempt.

The griefe of his father king Robert.

He tooke this matter ſo ſore to hart, that within three dayes after the newes came vnto hym, he departed this world through force of ſickneſſe, now encreaſed by melancoly, whiche had vexed hym a long time before.

The death of King Roberte the thirde.

He dyed in the ſixtenth yeere of his raigne cõplete, and from the incarnation. 1408.

1408

His body was buryed at Paſley, with hys wife Queene Annabell before reherſed.

His buriall.

He was a man of a mighty ſtature, very liberall and gentle, ſo that if he had not bin maymed with an Horſe, and thereby grewe lame, that hee might not trauell about the affayres of yͤ Realm himſelfe, it was thoughte the common wealthe ſhould haue proſpered vnder his gouernemente, as much as euer it did vnder any of his predeceſſors.

His ſtature and qualities.

The gouernour Robert Duke of Albany, after the deceſſe of his brother King Roberte, was by new election choſen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernoure, which he exerciſed more vprightly, and with better iuſtice now after his brothers death, than before.

The Duke of Albany confirmed gouernoure of the Realme.

In the meane time, the Caſtell of Jedworth (whiche the Engliſhmen had helde euer ſith the battell of Durham) was taken by Tyuydale men, and raſed downe to the earth.

Iedword Caſtell taken.

Archembald Earle of Dowglas, as yet remayning captiue in Englãd, after he had knowledge of King Roberts death, made ſhift to agree for his raunſome, and ſo being ſet at libertie, returned with all ſpede nowe at lengthe into Scotlande.

The Earle of Dowglas is releaſed and returneth into Scotland.

Shortly after, there was a councell called, wherein was a motion made for the reſtoring of George Earle of Marche to his countrey, lands, and bloud.

A motion made for the reſtoring of the Earle of March to his countrey.

After long debating of the matter, and harde hold two and fro both with him and againſt him, it was in the end cõcluded, that he ſhould returne into Scotland, and be receyued as a true Scottiſhman, but vnder this condition, that he ſhould forgoe his lands of Annerdale, and Lochmaben, which ſhould for euer remayne to the Dowglas, and to his heires.

The Earle of March reſtored home.

All his other landes and poſſeſſions, it was accorded, that he ſhoulde enioy as in his former righte and eſtate. And thus was the Earle of Marche pardoned of all paſſed offences committed agaynſte the Crowne of Scotlande, and receyued home, to the greate comfort of hys friendes.

Rebellion moued by Donald of the Iles.

About the ſame time, there roſe greate trouble in Scotlande, by the Rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who claymining by ryght of his wife, a title to the Earledome of Ros, was defeated of the ſame, by practiſe of the gouernoure, hauyng by ſubtill conueyance, aſſured the ſayde Earledome vnto his ſecond ſonne the Earle of Buchquhane that hight Iohn.

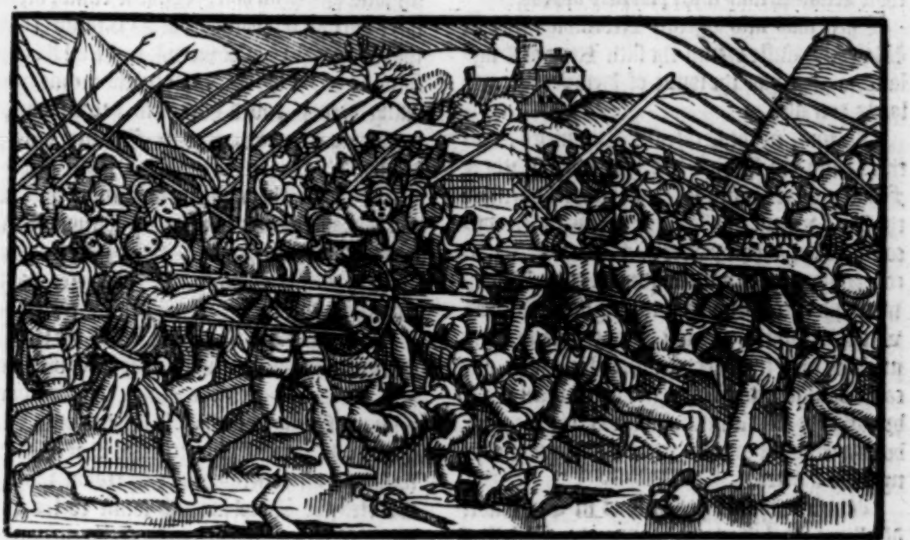
The foreſayde Donald, by way of ſupplication, beſoughte the gouernoure to doe hym reaſon, but he receyued nought, except it were frowarde ſpeeche, wherewith hee toke ſuche diſpleaſure, that rayſing all the power of the Iles, he came into Roſſe, and ſubdued the ſame at his pleaſure, but not ſatiſfyed with this, hee paſſed thorough Murray, Boghcual, and other boundes thereaboutes, till hee came into Garioch, purpoſing to brenne Abyrdene.

Donald ſubdewed Rós.

The Earle of Mar.

But Alexander Stewarde Earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to reſiſt this Donalde, mette with him at a Village called Harlow, and incontinently not ſtaying for more ayde that was commyng towardes hym, ſet on the enimies more raſhly than orderly, and more fiercely than diſcretely, not paſſing for keeping any accuſtomed aray of battell as had bin requiſite, by reaſon wherof, great ſlaughter was made on eyther parte, the victory in the ende beeing ſo doubtfull, that both partes were fayne to withdrawe out of the fielde, and flee to the nexte Mountaynes, as glad to be ſeuered the one from the other.

The battell of Harlowe.



Doubtfull victory.

The number ſlayne.

There was ſlayne on Donaldes parte nine hundred menne, with Maklane and Makynthos.

On the Earle of Mars ſyde, there dyed Alexander Ogiluy Sherife of Angus, with ſeuen Knightes of name, and dyuers other gentlemen, with Commons, to the number of ſixe hundred.

This battell was ſtryken on Saint Iames euen, in the yeere. 1411.

1411

Donald of the Iles fleeth.

Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholy graunted the victory to his enimies in fleeyng all the night long after the battell towardes Ros, and from thence with like ſpeede hee paſſed ouer into the Iles.

1412

In the yeere nexte following, the gouernoure prepared to make a iourney into the Iles, to chaſtiſe the foreſaid Donald, but he through feare of further domage, ſubmitted him ſelfe, and was ſworne neuer to procure any trouble to yͤ Realm in tyme to come.

Donald of the Iles ſubmitteth himſelfe.

Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, ſeconde ſonne to the Earle of Marche, with one hundred of hardy perſons, came early one morning ſomewhat before the breake of day to Faſt Caſtell, and wanne the ſame, takyng the Captayne priſoner, whoſe name was Thomas Holdon.

Faſt Caſtell wonne.

The bridge of Roxburgh broken down.

At the ſame time, was yͤ bridge of Roxburgh broken downe, and the towne brent by William Dowglas of Drumlanerike, Gawayn Dunbar, another of the Earle of Marches ſonnes, and diuers other.

1411

The firſt beginning of the vniuerſitie of Saint Androwes.

In the ſame yere, (or rather in the yere before) the vniuerſitie of ſaint Androwes was firſte foũded, which afterwardes was furniſhed with dyuers notable learned men brought in and placed there by King Iames the firſte, to the ende, that by their inſtructions hys people mighte encreaſe in learning, to the further aduauncemente of vertue, lawdable manners, and all ſortes of other ciuill cuſtomes.

Doctors of Diuinitie, and of the Canon lawe.

Amongſt ſundry other expert men in all ſciences which he brought into Scotlande, there were eighteene Doctors of Diuinitie, and eight Doctors of the law Canon.

The Earle of Stratherne ſlayne.

Muchwhat about ẏ ſame time, John Drummound ſlewe Patricke Graham Earle of Stratherne, by a trayterous meane, and therevpon fled into Irelande: but as he was about to haue paſſed from thence ouer into England, the veſſel wherein he ſayled, was driuen on the coaſt of Scotlād, where hee was taken, and ſhortly after loſt hys head for the ſayd offence.

Warres betwixt England and Fraunce.

Shortly after alſo, there roſe great warres betwixt Englād and France, as in the Hiſtories of thoſe Realmes may more playnely appeare.

Rebellion in Wales.

There was alſo a greate Rebellion reyſed in Wales againſte Henry the fifth King of England, whiche was the ſonne of Henry the fourth lately deceaſſed.

Henry the fifth diſcomfited by the Welchmen. He ſubdueth them.

We finde in the Scottiſhe Chronicles, that this Henry the fifth at hys returning forthe of Fraunce, after his firſt iourney thither (hauyng in the ſame wonne the Towne of Harflete, & diſcomfited the whole power of Fraunce at Agyncourt) was conſtreyned to goe againſt ẏ Welchmen, and encoūtring with the Prince of Wales, was diſcomfyted, and loſt tenne thouſand of hys men, but after this, hee reenforced his power, and came agayne into Wales, not ceaſſing, til he had brought the Welchmen ſubiect at his pleaſure, but the Engliſh writers make no mention of any ſuche matter.

The Caſtell of Werke wonne.

It is againe recouered.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Englande, William Halyburtoun wanne the Caſtell of Warke, and ſlew all ſuch as he found within it, howbeit, ſmall while endured the ioy of thys fortunate ſucceſſe to the Scottes: for ſundry Engliſhmen that knewe all the ſecretes of the houſe, found meanes to enter through a gutter, that ſerued in manner of a Sinke, to auoyde al the filthe of the Kitchin into the Riuer of Tweede, breaking downe a pane of an olde wall, and ſo made entrie for the reſidue of their fellowes, by reaſon whereof, they eaſily recouered the Caſtell, and in reuenge of them that were ſlayne there when the Scottes wanne it, they likewiſe ſlew al thoſe whiche were as then within it, withoute any reſpect of one or other.

1419

The deceaſſe of Roberte Duke of Albany.

After this, in the yeere. 1419. the thirde daye of September, Robert Duke of Albany, that hadde bin gouernour of Scotlande for the ſpace of. xv. yeeres, after the death of King Robert the thirde, departed out of this life, hauing borne hymſelfe in all his time, as a righte valiaunte and noble Prince.

Ambaſſadors from the French King.

A little before his deceaſſe, there came from Charles the Frenche King, the Earle of Vandoſme, and chauncelor of France, both to renewe the auncient league betwixt the two Realmes of Scotland and Fraunce, and alſo to get ſome power of Scottes to paſſe into Fraunce, to ſupport the ſayd Charles againſt the Engliſhmen, whiche as then ſore inuaded his Realme.

An army of Scottes ſent into Fraunce.

Wherevpon ſhortly after by decree of councell it was ordeyned, that John Stewarde Earle of Buchquhane, ſecond ſonne to Duke Robert, and Archimbald Dowglas Earle of Wigton, ſhould paſſe into Fraunce with. vij. thouſande armed men.

The King of England menaceth the Scottes.

The King of Englande enformed heereof to cauſe the Scottes to keepe their menne at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puiſſant army, and that in all haſt. Whiche rumor beeyng ſpred ouer all the boundes of his Realme, cauſed the Scottes for doubt thereof, to lie all the nexte ſommer on the borders: but in the meane tyme, King Henry paſſed ouer into Normandy, to purſue his Warres agaynſte Fraunce with all diligence.

The King of Englande marieth the daughter of Fraunce.

At length, through procurement of the Duke of Burgoine, vnder certayne conditions and couenauntes of agreemente, King Henry tooke to Wife the Lady Katherine daughter to the French King.

The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of Fraunce maynteyneth the warre againſt the Engliſhmen.

And amongſt other Articles of the ſame agreement it was concluded, that after the deceſſe of Charles the Frenche King, the Crowne of Fraunce ſhould immediately deſcend vnto King Henry, as lawfull inheritour to that Realme, withoute all contradiction, by reaſon whereof, Charles the Dolphine and ſonne to the ſayde King Charles, was cleerely excluded from all clayme to the ſame: but this notwithſtandyng, the Dolphine did not only refuſe to ſurrender hys title, but alſo ſoughte to mainteyne the warre againſte King Henry, as his aduerſarie and open enimie to the Realme.

Scottiſh ſouldiours arriued in Fraunce.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottiſhmen.

In the meane while alſo, the Earles of Buchquhan and Wigton with Alexander Lindſay brother to the Earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swyntoun Knightes, accompanyed with ſeuen thouſand well armed men, arriued in Fraunce, to the greate reioycing of the Dolphine, as hee well declared in the thankfull receyuing and moſt hartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne & Caſtell of Chatelone in Tourayne was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to reſorte vnto, at their owne will and pleaſure.

The battell of Bauge. The Duke of Clarēce ſlaine.

Shortly after, they were employed in ſeruice at the battell of Bauge, foughte on Eaſter euen, where ẏ Duke of Clarence brother to the King of Englāde, the Earle of Riddiſdale, otherwiſe called the Earle of Angus, the Lord Roſſe, ẏ Lorde Gray, & diuers other great Barons were ſlayne, beſide other of the meaner ſort, in all to the number

ber of ſixteene hundred.

Priſoners taken.

There wer alſo a great company of priſoners taken at the ſame iourney, amongſt whome as principall were theſe, the Earle of Huntington, and the Earle of Sommerſet, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the Lady Jane that was after married to King James the firſt, Kyng of Scotlande. For the high valiauncie of the Scottiſhmen ſhewed in this battel, the Dolphin created the Earle of Buchquhan high Cõneſtable of Fraunce, & gaue him ſundry townes, Caſtels, and Lands, therwith the better to maintayne his eſtate.

The Earle of Buchquhane is created Conneſtable of Fraunce.

The King of Englande ſore moued for the death of his brother, came ouer with all ſpeede into France with a mighty hoſt, and had with him James the Scottiſhe King, or rather Prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scottes reputed him not as King, for ỹ he was not as yet crowned, nor ſet at libertie out of the Engliſhmens hands, into the which as before ye haue hearde, he chaunced to fall by his fathers life time.

The King of England taketh the Prince of Scotland ouer with him into Fraunce.

The cauſe why King Henry did take thys James ouer with him at ỹ preſent into Fraunce was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottiſhmen that were in ſeruice with the Dolphin to forſake him, and to returne home into their owne countrey: but when he had broken thys matter vnto the ſaide James, and promiſed, that if he could bring it to paſſe, he woulde not only remitte his raunſome, but alſo ſend hym into Scotlande highly rewarded with greate riches. James aunſwered herevnto, that hee maruelled much, why he did not conſider how he had no auctoritie ouer the Scottes ſo long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receyued the Crowne, but (sayeth he) if it were ſo that J might be ſet at libertie & had receyued ỹ Crowne according to the accuſtomed manner, togyther with the othes and homages of my ſubiectes, J could thẽ in thys matter do, as ſhould be thought to ſtande with reaſon, but in the meane time J ſhall deſire your grace, to holde mee excuſed, and not to will mee to doe that whiche J may in no wiſe performe.

The anſwere of James the king or rather prince of Scotlande.

King Henry maruelling at the high wiſedome which appeared to be planted in the head of that yong Prince, left off to trauell with hym any further in this matter.

King Henry tooke it for a ſufficient aunſwere.

In the meane time the warres continuing betwixte the King of Englande and the Dolphin of Fraunce, many townes were beſieged, wonne, and ſacked, and ſundry light bickerings and ſkirmiſhes chaunced betwixte the parties as occaſion ſerued.

But the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues to beare ſuche hatred towarde the Scottes, that ſo many as fell into their handes neuer needed to ſtrayne their friendes for their raunſomes, which crueltie they put not in practiſe againſt their enimies being of any other nation.

The crewell dealing of the Engliſhmen towardes the Scottes.

At length, King Henry fell into a greeuous diſeaſe, whiche in ſhorte time made an ende of hys lyfe, notwithſtandyng all the helpe that eyther by Phiſicke or otherwayes, myght be miniſtred vnto him.

The death of Henry King of Englande.

The ſame yeere, that is to witte. 1422. the French King Charles the ſyxt of that name deceaſſed, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Charles the ſeuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the cuſtome there is.

1422

The death of Charles the French King.

By the death of theſe Kings, the warres were not altogither ſo earneſtly followed as before, wherevppon the Earles of Buchquhane and Wigtoun returned into Scotlande, and ſhortly after was an army leuyed, and ſiege layde, both to Roxburgh and to Barwike, but for that they lay long abroade and did no good, returnyng home withoute gayne, this iourney in deriſion was called the durty rode, or as the Scots terme it, the dirtin rayde.

Roxburgh and Barwike beſeeged.

The Dyrtin rayde.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat, concerning the order of the common wealth in Scotlande, yee ſhall vnderſtande, that after the deathe of Roberte Duke of Albany, his ſonne Mordo Stewarde Earle of Fife and Menteith, was made gouernoure, continuing in that office for the ſpace of foure yeeres, though (to confeſſe the trouth) hee was farre vnmeete thereto, differyng muche from the wiſedome and manhoode of hys Father, for in him remayned ſundry vices, greatly variable and contrary one to another.

Mordo Steward Earle of Fyſe elected gouernour of Scotlande.

The repugnaunt vices reigning in Mordo Stewarde.

In time of any aduerſitie hee ſhewed hymſelfe as a man deſpayring of all comforte or helpe: In proſperitie ſo lifte vp in carleſſe inſolencie, that he hadde no ſtay of himſelfe, by reaſon whereof, ſometymes he ſuffered haynous offenders through dread of theyr puiſſant friendes (a thyng not to bee ſuffered in Scotlande) to eſcape vnpuniſhed, and at other tymes agayne, hee ſhewed hymſelfe more ſeuere and cruell in executyng of iuſtice than the matter required.

Thus was hee ſtill in extremities, keepyng no temperaunce nor laudable meane in any of hys doings. Herreto was hee ſo negligente in chaſtiſing hys ſonnes Walter and Alexander, (whether through ſoftneſſe and lacke of witte, or by reaſon he bare ſuche a fonde and tender fatherly loue towardes them) that they hauyng hym in ſmall regarde, played many outragious partes, to the ſore offendyng of a number. At length, one of them taking diſpleaſure with hys Father, for that hee woulde not gyue hym a Faulcone, the whyche hee hadde long before greatly deſyred, ſtepped to hym, and

His negligẽc in chaſtiſing his ſonnes.

An inſolent part of one of his ſonnes.

The words of Duke Mordo to his ſonne.

Duke Mordo trauelleth for the redeeming of Iames the firſt.

plucking hir beſide his fiſt, wrung hir necke from hir body euen preſently before his face. Whereupon the father ſomewhat kindled with this preſumptuous deede of the ſon: Walter (ſaid hee) for ſo was his name that had thus miſuſed him, ſith it is ſo that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my ſoft and gentle gouernemente, I ſhall bring him home ere ought long, that ſhall chaſtiſe both you and me after another manner. And after this, he reſted not to trauell ſtill for the redeeming of Iames the firſt out of captiuitie, till at length hee brought hym home indeede, to the greate wealthe, ioy, and good happe of all the Scottiſhe nation.

In the meane time, ẏ French King Charles the ſeuenth, beeing ſore vexed with warres by the Engliſhmen, ſente to the Earle of Buchquhan his conneſtable, requiring him to returne againe with all ſpeede into Fraunce, and to bring ſo many Scottiſhmen with him, as hee conueniently myghte.

The Earle of Buchquhan returneth into Fraunce.

This Earle therefore, founde meanes to perſwade Archimbald Earle of Dowglas father to the foreſaide Earle of Wigtoun to paſſe with him into Fraunce, whiche two Earles with an army of fiue thouſand mẽ (or after ſome writers tenne thouſand) toke the Seas, and arriued with proſperous winde and weather at Rochell, and comming to the Frenche King, were receyued of him with all ioy and gladneſſe.

The Earle of Dowglas made Duke of Tourayne.

The Earle of Dowglas was made incontinently Duke of Tourayne, thereby to aduance him in further honor.

The ſlaughter of Scottes at the battell of Vernoill.

But ſhortly after, at the battell of Vernoill, both the Earle of Buchquhan, the conneſtable of Fraunce, and this Duke of Touraine, with his ſonne the Earle of Wigtoun, and the moſt parte of all their retinewes were ſlayne by the Engliſh puiſſance, as in the French and Engliſh hiſtores more plainely may appeare.

Enuy and diſcorde.

The Scottiſh Chronicles declare, that ẏ loſſe of this fielde, chaunced ſpecially through enuy & diſcorde, which reigned amongſt ẏ chieftaines.

For the Duke of Alanſon enuying that the Scots ſhuld dayly riſe in honor within Fraunce, kept himſelfe backe, till time the Scottes were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter deſtruction.

Againe, euen vpon the ioyning, ther roſe great ſtrife and contention betwixt the Conneſtable & the Duke of Tourayne, who ſhoulde haue the ſupreme rule of the Scottiſhe legher, the one diſdayning to giue place to the other.

Thus yee may perceyue, how the Scots with loſſe of many of their liues, and much bloudſhed, ſupported the ſyde of Charles King of Fraunce, agaynſte the Engliſhmen. And though there came dayly newes of dyuers great ouerthrowes giuen by ẏ Engliſhmen vnto ſuch Scottiſhmen and other as ſerued the ſayde King Charles, yet did not the Scottes therefore ſtay at home, but at ſundry times, and vnder ſundry Captaynes repayred into Fraunce: as amongſt other one Robert Patillock of Dundee, with a newe power of Scottes, went ouer to King Charles the ſeuenth aforeſayde, ſhewing ſuche proofe of his ſingular manhoode and valiancie in thoſe warres, as in recouerie of the Realme of France out of ẏ Engliſhmens hands, his ſeruice ſtoode King Charles in notable ſteede.

Robert Patyllock Captaine of a power of Scottiſhmen ſente into Fraunce.

Chiefely, his diligence and prowes well appeared in reducing the parties of Gaſcoigne vnto the Frenche ſubiection, whiche hadde remayned a great number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the Engliſh Kings.

Robert Patillock cleped Le Petit roy de Gaſcoigne.

And herevpon was he called by the inhabitãts euer after, *Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne*.

Archimbalde the third, Erle of Dowglas.

But now to returne to the buſineſſe of Scotland as the ſame paſſed in this meane time, here is to be noted, that after the ſlaughter of Archimbald earle of Dowglas and Duke of Towrain, his ſonne Archimbald the third of that name, ſucceeded in the Earledome of Dowglas.

Scottiſhe Ambaſſadours ſent into Englande.

This Earle of Dowglas, and William Hay Conneſtable of Scotlãd, with Henry Biſhop of Abirden, were ſente Ambaſſadours into England, to make ſute for ſome agreement to be had, concerning the redemption of King Iames.

The raunſome of King Iames.

Theſe Ambaſſadours behaued themſelues ſo ſagely in this matter whiche they had in charge, that in the end, they brought it to good concluſiõ: As thus, Firſte it was agreed, that King Iames ſhoulde be ſet at libertie, and to pay for his raunſome, ẏ ſumme of one hundreth thouſand marks ſterling, the one halfe to be payd in hand, and for the other halfe, to leaue ſufficient pledges behinde him, till it were payde.

Iane daughter to the Earle of Sommerſet married to King Iames the firſte.

Albeit ſome writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was diſcharged of the other, in conſideration that hee toke to wife the Lady Iane, daughter to ẏ Earle of Sommerſet.

The ſaide Earle, and the Cardinall of Englande hys brother, conueyed hym with hys Queene their neece, vnto the bordures of both the Realmes.

Giftes giuen to king Iames by his wiues friendes.

And at their taking leaue eache of other, there was preſented vnto King Iames and to the Queene hys wife, beſides a Cupborde of maſſie plate, ſundry faire clothes of rich and coſtly arras by his wiues friendes, with many other iewelles and things of great price and valure.

King Iames commeth to Edynburgh.

King Iames then departed on this wiſe from his wiues brethren, and other ſuche his deere friends as his vertue and princely behauiour had procured him during his abode here in England, entred into Scotlande, and came to Edynburgh on Care ſunday, otherwiſe called Paſſiō ſunday in Lent, where he was receyued with all honour, ioy, and triumph that might be deuiſed.

James.

He is crowned at Scone togy-ther with his wife.

AND after y^t, aſſone as the ſolemnitie of ye feaſt of Eaſter was fyniſhed, hee came to Perth, and ſhortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife Queene, by Duke Mordo the gouernor, and Henrie Biſhop of S. Androwes, the xxj. day of May, after the incarnation. 1424.

1424

There came forth of Englande with thys James the fyrſt, diuerſe Engliſhe Gentlemen, which remayning euer after in ſeruice with him, were aduaunced to certaine landes, poſſeſſions, and liuings in Scotlande. Amongſt whome (as one of the chiefeſt) was Androw Gray, who afterwardes by the Kings ayde and good furtherance, got in maryage the daughter and heyre of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that meanes came the Lordſhip of Foulis vnto the handes of the Grayes, whoſe ſurname and poſteritie continueth yet in Scotlande, inueſted with great landes and dignities, both in Gowry and Angus.

Andrew Gray.

The ſurname of the Grayes in Scotland.

King James keepeth an audite.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called afore him all thoſe that bare any authoritie in the adminiſtration of the common wealth during the time of the gouernours Duke Robert, and Duke Mordo, namely the Chancellour, the Treaſurer, the Clearkes of the Regiſter, the Comptroller, the Auditors, and Receyuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had any thing to do concerning the kings rents.

At length, when hee perceyued by theyr accompts made, that the moſt part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues perteyning to the Crowne, were waſted, beſtowed, aliened, and tranſported by the two foreſayd gouernors, vnto their friends and fautours, contrary to all right or good conſideration (the cuſtomes of Burrowes and good townes onely excepted) hee was not well content herewith, though for the tyme he paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure, in ſhewing outwardly no ſemblaunce, but as if hee had lyked all things well.

A Parliament at Edenburgh.

In the meane tyme, he aduiſedly peruſed all euidences, rolles, and Charters perteyning to the Crowne, and ſhortly therevpon called a Parliament a Edenbourgh, in the which, by aduice of the three eſtates, a generall taxe was ordeyned and graunted, to be rayſed through the Realme: as. xij. pence of the pounde to be payed of al lands within Scotlande, both ſpirituall and temporall, and foure pence for euery Cowe, Oxe, and horſe, to be payde for the ſpace of two yeares togither.

Taxe leuied.

The commōs grudge at payments.

This payment was leuyed the fyrſt yeare wythout any trouble, but the ſeconde yeare there roſe ſuch murmure and grudging amongeſt the poore commons about the payment thereof, that hee remitted the reſidue that was behinde, and tooke neuer any taſke after of hys ſubiectes, tyll hee maryed his daughter wyth the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

Bylles of complaynt exhibited againſt the ſonnes of duke Mordo.

Amongeſt other bylles put vp in this laſt mencioned Parliament, there were diuerſe complayntes exhibited by the people, for ſundrie oppreſſions vſed and done by the ſonnes of Duke Mordo, and other great Peeres of the Realme, before the kings returne into Scotlande.

Walter Stewarde put in priſon.

Wherevpon Walter Stewarde one of the ſonnes of the ſayde Duke Mordo, was arreſted, and ſent to a Caſtell ſituated vpon a rocke within the ſea called the Bas, there to remaine in ſafe keeping.

Alſo Malcolme Flemming of Cumernalde, and Thomas Boyd of Kylmarnoke, were committed to warde in Dalkeith, but theſe two at the interceſſion of diuerſe noble men were pardoned of all offences for an eaſie fine, with condition, that they ſhoulde ſatiſfie all ſuch perſons as they had in any wiſe wronged.

The othe of king Iames.

In the foreſayd Parliament alſo, king Iames tooke a ſolemne othe, to defende as well the liberties of his Realme, as of the Church, during the courſe of his naturall life.

The like othe by his enſample did all the reſidue of the Barons take at the ſame preſent time.

A Parliament holden at Perth. Duke Mordo with his ſonne Alexander, and diuerſe other Peeres of the Realme arreſted.

Not long after, an other Parliament was called & holden at Perth, in the which Duke Mordo with his ſonne Alexander, were areſted and committed to ward. So was alſo Archymbalde Earle of Dowglas, with his brother William Earle of Angus, George Earle of Marche, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and many other great Barons of Scotland, euery of them being put in ſundrie Caſtels and ſtrengthes to remaine there vnder ſafe keeping.

Duke Mordo was ſent to Carlaurok, and his Duches was put in Temptalloun.

1425

In the yeare following, on the holy Roode day called the Inuention of the Croſſe, Iames Stewarde the thirde ſonne of Duke Mordo moued with great yre, for that his father & brethren were holden in priſon, came with a great power to the towne of Dounbrytaine, and brunt it after he had ſlaine Iohn Stewarde of Doundonalde and .xxxij. other perſones which were found in the ſame towne, but the king kindled in greate diſpleaſure for this attempt, purſued this Iames ſo fiercely, that he was faine to flee into Irelande, where he afterwardes deceaſſed.

The towne of Dunbrytaine burnt.

A Parliament holden at Sterling.

1426

In the yeare next enſuing, king Iames called a Parliament at Sterling, in the which he himſelfe ſitting with ſcepter, ſworde, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with hys brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinently were led forth to a place before the Caſtell, and there beheaded.

Walter and Alexander the ſonnes of duke Mordo beheaded. Duke Mordo and Duncane Steward Erle of Lennox beheaded.

On the Morrow after, Duke Mordo hymſelfe, and Duncane Stewarde Earle of Lennox were conuicted of highe treaſon, and beheaded afore the Caſtell in ſemblable maner.

Thus by the attainder of Duke Mordo and his ſonnes, the Erledomes of Fife, Menteith, and Lennox came into the kings handes.

The reſidue of the Lordes and Larons remayning as then in priſon, and abyding the kings pleaſure, were ſore afrayd when they heard what rygorous iuſtice had beene executed on Duke Mordo and his ſonnes: notwithſtanding within a tweluemonth after they were all ſet at libertie, and receyued into the kings fauour, on promiſe of their loyall demeanour and duetifull obedience euer after to be ſhewed during their naturall lyues.

1427 Alexander Lorde of the Iles areſted.

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation. 1427. Alexander Lorde of the Iles, was areſted by the king at Inuernes, for that he was accuſed to be a ſuccorer & mainteyner of theeues and robbers in the countrey: but foraſmuch as he promiſed in tyme comming to refourme his former miſdemeanors, he was pardoned and ſet at libertie, whereof enſued greate trouble immediatly after.

He is ſet at libertie.

He rebelleth.

The towne of Inuernes burnt.

For ſhortly vpon his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked ſcapethriftes, and with the ſame comming vnto Inuernes, burnt the towne, and beſieged the Caſtell, enforcing with all diligence to wynne the ſame, tyll he was aduertiſed, that the King was comming towardes him with a great power, whereupon he fledde incontinently to the Iles, and finally hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay dayly in awayte to take him, that they myght preſente him to the Kings handes, he came diſguyſed in poore aray to the holy Rood houſe, and there fynding the King on Eaſter daye deuoutly in the Churche at hys prayers, he fell downe on hys knees before hym, and beſought hym of grace for hys ſake that roſe as that day from death vnto lyfe.

Alexander of the Iles commeth to the king and aſketh pardon.

At requeſt of the Queene, the King pardoned him of lyfe, but he appoynted William Dowglas Erle of Angus to haue the cuſtodie of him, and that within the caſtel of Temptalloun, that no trouble ſhould riſe by his meanes thereafter.

His mother Eufame, daughter to Walter ſometime Earle of Ros, was alſo committed to warde in Saint Colmes Inche, bycauſe it was knowne that ſhe ſolicited hir ſonne to rebell in maner as is aforeſayd agaynſt the king.

Donalde Ballocht inuadeth Lochquhaber.

Not long after, Donald Ballocht, brother to the ſayd Lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber.

The Erles of Mar and Cathnes, came with ſuch number of their people as they could rayſe to defend the countrey againſt the inuaſion of thoſe Ilandmen, and fought with the ſaid Donald at Inuerlochtie, where the Earle of Cathnes was ſlain, and the Erle of Mar diſcomfited.

The Earle of Cathnes ſlaine.

Donalde Ballocht returneth with victorie & ſpoile into the Iles.

Herewith did Donald returne with victorie & a great pray of goodes and riches into the Iles.

The king ſore moued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie vnto Dunſtafage, purpoſing with all ſpeede to paſſe into the Iles.

The Clannes and other chiefe men of the ſaid Iles aduertiſed hereof, came to Dunſtafage, and

ſubmitted

The Clannes of the Iles ſubmit themſelues to the king.

ſubmitted themſelues vnto the King, excuſing their offence, for that (as they alledged) the ſayde Donald had conſtreyned thẽ againſt their willes to paſſe with him in the laſt iourney.

All thoſe Clannes vpon this their excuſe, were admitted to the kings fauour, and ſworne to purſue the ſayd Donald vnto death.

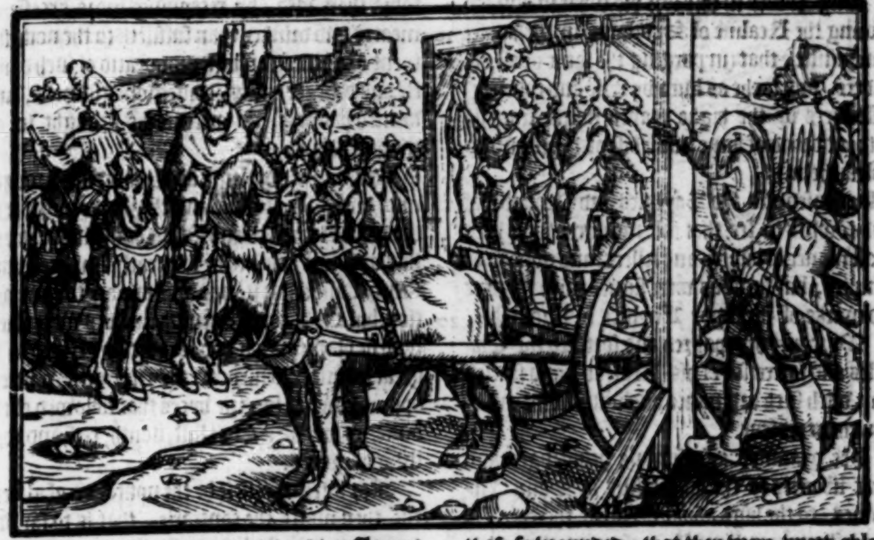
Donald fleeth into Irelande.

His heade is ſent as a preſent to the king.

Shortly herevpon, this Donald fled into Irelande, where he was ſlaine, and his head ſent by one Odo a great Lorde of Irelande (in whoſe countrey he lurked) as a preſent to the king that lay as then at Sterling.

Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged.

There were alſo three hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commaundement hanged for theyr offences within three weekes ſpace, after his fyrſt fleeing into Irelande.



This trouble being thus quieted, king Iames paſſed through all the boundes of his Realme to puniſh all offenders and miſruled perſons, which in any wiſe wronged and oppreſſed the poore people.

Pardons graunted by the gouernour are voyde.

He allowed no pardon graunted afore by the gouernour, alledging the ſame to be expyred by his death. For he thought indeede it ſtoode neyther with the pleaſure of God, nor wealth of the Realme, that ſo many ſlaughters, reiffes, and oppreſſions, as had beene done afore in the countrey, ſhoulde remayne vnpuniſhed through fault of iuſtice.

Three thouſand offenders put to death within two yeares ſpace.

It is ſayde, that within the fyrſt two yeares of his raigne, there were three thouſande perſons executed by death, for ſundrie olde crymes and offences.

Angus Duffe.

A cruell fight.

And though ſuch extreeme iuſtice might haue bene thought ſufficient to giue enſample to other to refourme their naughtie vſages, yet one Angus Duffe of Strathern nothing afrayd thereof, came with a company of theeues and robbers, and tooke a great pray of goodes out of the countreys of Murray and Cathnes: for recouerie whereof, one Angus Murrey followed with a great power, and ouertaking the ſayde Angus Duffe neare to Strachnauern, fiercely aſſayled him. Who with like manhoode made ſtoute reſiſtance, by reaſon whereof, there enſued ſuche a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remayned in the ende but onely .xij. perſons aliue, and thoſe ſo wounded, that they were vneth able to returne home to theyr houſes, and lyued but a few dayes after.

Makdonalde Ros, a notable robber.

About the ſame tyme, there was alſo another notable theefe named Makdonalde Ros, whiche grew with ſpoyles and robberies to great riches.

He ſhodde a wydow.

This wicked oppreſſor ſhod a poore widowe with horſe ſhoone, bycauſe ſhe ſayd ſhe would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings.

As ſoone as ſhe was whole and recouered of hir woundes, ſhe went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngracious perſon Makdonalde.

He was taken and executed.

The king made ſuch diligent ſearche to haue him, that in the ende hee was taken with .xij. of his complices, and put to moſt ſhamefull death, as they had well deſerued.

1410

The Queene deliuered of two ſonnes at one byrth.

In the thirde yeare after, which was from the incarnation. 1430. on the .xj. day of October, Iane the Queene of Scottes was delyuered of two ſonnes at one byrth, Alexander and Iames.

The firſt deceaſſed in his infancie. The other ſucceeded after his fathers deceaſſe in the kingdome, and was named Iames the ſeconde.

Fiftie knights dubbed.

At the baptiſme of theſe two infantes there were fiftie knightes made.

Amongſt the which, and firſt of all other was William the ſonne of Archembalde Earle of Dowglas, that ſucceeded his father in the Earledome of Dowglas.

His father the ſayde Archymbalde Dowglas

ſomewhat

Archymbalde Earle of Dowglas, arreſted and put in priſon.

ſomewhat before this time, or as other Authors haue, in the yeare next enſuing, was areſted by the Kings commaundement, and put in warde, remayning ſo a long time, till at length by ſupplication of the Queene and other Peeres of the Realme, the king pardoned him of all offences, and ſet both him and alſo Alexander Erle of Ros at libertie.

King Iames deſirous to purge his realme of vnruly perſons.

King Iames in this ſort did what in him lay to bring the Realme of Scotlande in ſuch quiet tranquilitie, that (in purging the ſame of all offenders, and ſuche as liued by reiſe and robbing) paſſengers by the highe wayes might trauaile without dread of anye euill diſpoſed perſons to moleſt them.

An ordinance for meaſures.

He cauſed alſo the Baylyfes and Prouoſts of good townes to ſee that iuſt meaſures were vſed by all maner of buyers and ſellers, and none to be occupied, but ſuche as were ſigned with the note and marke of the ſayde Baylifes or Prouoſtes.

Caſtels repayred and munited.

Moreouer he repayred and fortified the Caſtelles and fortreſſes of his Realme, and ſtuffed them with ſuch ordinance and munition as was thought expedient.

Priuiledges graunted to the vniuerſitie of S. Androwes

Hee graunted alſo ſundrie priuiledges and great liberties to the vniuerſitie of Saint Androwes, to the high aduauncement thereof, and was oftentymes himſelfe preſent at theyr diſputations, taking great pleaſure therein.

Suche as were knowne to bee learned men, and were preſented to him by the Vniuerſitie, he preferred to great benefices and other eccleſiaſticall lyuings, ſtyll as the ſame chaunced to bee vacant.

Organes brought into Scotlande.

By ſuche meanes, all maner of vertue and good learning encreaſed dayly through the realme during his time, and namely Muſicke was had in great price, which he appoynted to bee vſed in Churches with Organes, the which before hys time were not muche knowne amongeſt the Scottiſh men.

A Parliament at Perth.

Biſhop Wardlaw inueyeth agaynſt ſuperfluous fare.

Much what about the ſame time, there was a Parliament holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw Biſhop of Saint Androwes, in name of al the three eſtates there aſſembled, made a long and right pithie Oration to this effect, that where by the highe policie and prudent diligence of the kings Maieſtie there preſent, iuſtice, and all maner of due adminiſtratiō of lawes and good ordinances were ſo reuiued, that nothing ſeemed to be ouerpaſſed that might aduaunce to the profite and cōmoditie of the common wealth, yet was there one wicked vſage crept in of late, increaſing ſo faſt, that if ſpeedie remedie were not had in time, all thoſe commodities brought into the Realme by his comming, ſhoulde be of ſmall auaile, and that was ſuche ſuperfluous ryot in banketting cheare, and numbers of coſtly diſhes, as were then taken vp and vſed after the Engliſh faſhion, both to the great hinderaunce of mans health, and alſo to the vnprofitable waſting of their goodes and ſubſtance.

If the laudable temperancie vſed amongeſt the Scottiſhe men in olde time were well conſidered, nothing might appeare more contrary and repugnant thereto, than that new kinde of gluttonie then vſed, by receyuing more exceſſe of meates and drinkes than ſuffiſeth to the nouriſhment of nature, through prouocatiō of ſuch daintie and delicate diſhes, confectioned ſawces, and deuiſed potions, as were nowe brought in amongſt them.

Vices following delicate fare.

As for ſuch gentlemē as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthie in deed to be cheriſhed and had in high fauour, neyther was this abuſe to be ſo greatly imputed vnto them, conſidering it was appropriate to their nation: but the Scottiſhmen themſelues were chiefly to be blamed, that had ſo quickly perſued to ſo great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the ſundrie vyces that followed of the ſame, as exceſſe, ſenſual luſt, ſlouth, reif, and waſting of goodes.

For if temperancie be the nouriſher of al vertue, then muſte the contrarie, that is to ſay, intemperancie, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice.

If it might therfore pleaſe the kings highneſſe to ſhewe his accuſtomed wiſedome and prouidence in repreſſing this abuſe of coſtly fare, ſo much domageable to his people, he ſhoulde do the thing that was meritorious before God, and no leſſe profitable & neceſſary for the publike weale of all his ſubiects.

Order taken for ſuppreſsing of coſtly fare.

Vſe of baked meates in Scotland when it began.

By theſe and many other the like perſwaſions, Biſhop Wardlaw vſed to diſſwade the king and his people from all ſuperfluous courſes of delicate diſhes and ſurfetting bankets. Inſomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dyſhes and more ſpare dyet ſhould be vſed through the Realme, licencing Gentlemen only, and that on feſtiuall dayes, to be ſerued with Pies, the vſe of them not being knowne in Scotland tyll that ſeaſon.

The greedie appetite of gluttons neuer ſatiſfied.

Neuertheleſſe, ſuch intemperancie is riſen in proceſſe of time following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be ſatiſfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be ſo ſtuffed with inmoderate gurmandice, that they may vneth fetch breath, through which their noyſome ſurfetting, they fall dayly into ſundrie ſtraunge and lothſome kindes of diſeaſes, being oftentimes killed by the ſame in their flouriſhing youth, as by dayly experience plainly appeareth.

A terrible Eclipſe.

In the ſame yeare the .xvij. day of Iune, was a terrible Eclipſe of the Sunne at three of the clocke at after noone, the day being darkned ouer heade for the ſpace of one halfe houre togither, as though it had beene night, and therevpon it was called the blacke houre.

Roxbourgh beſieged.

At the next Lammas after, the king rayſed an armie, and came with the ſame to Roxburgh, beſieging the Caſtell for the ſpace of .xv. dayes togyther.

is huge armie.

He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thouſande men, accounting caryage men and all other ſuch as followed the campe: yet notwithſtanding all this huge multitude, hauing waſted his powder and other munition before he coulde doe any great hurt to his enimies, hee was conſtreyned to rayſe hys fielde, and leaue the Caſtell in the Engliſh mens handes as he found it.

Men of occupatiõs brought into Scotland to inſtruct the Scottiſhmen therein.

Ydleneſſe the roote of all miſchiefe.

After this, King Iames perceyuing how the knowledge of handicraftes and manuall occupations was decayed in Scotlande, through continuall exerciſe of warres, ſithe the dayes of Alexander the thirde, to the further aduauncement of the common wealth, and that his ſubiects might haue occaſion to auoyde ſlouth and ydleneſſe (the roote of all miſchiefe) he brought a great number of cunning crafteſmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to inſtruct his people in theyr artes and faculties.

Paule Craw burnt.

Not long after, one Paule Craw a Bohemian borne, was burnt at Saint Androwes, for preaching and ſetting forth the doctrine of Iohn Hus, and Iohn Wikclife.

Iohn Fogo.

Iohn Fogo beeing one of them that helped chiefely to condemne him, was made for his great and earneſt diligence therein ſhewed, Abbot of Melros.

The Abbay of Charturate Monks buylt beſides Perth by K. Iames.

About the ſame time was the Abbay of Charturare Monkes founded beſydes Perth, by king Iames, with great coſt and magnificence.

The Lorde Scrope Ambaſſador into Scotlande.

Alſo the Lord Scrope and other aſſociat with him, came in Ambaſſade from Henrie the ſixte, king of England.

The offer of the Engliſhmẽ to haue the Scots to ioyne with them in league.

The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to haue the auncient league betwixt the Scots and French men diſſolued, promiſing that if the Councell of Scotland would conſent therto, and ioyne in league with the Engliſhe men, that both the towne and Caſtell of Berwike with all the lands lying betwixt Tweed and the Recroſſe (as the Scots write) ſhoulde be deliuered into the Scottiſh mens handes.

King Iames hauing ſmall credite in ſuche fayre promiſes, perceyued the ſame to tende only to this ende, that the league betwixt the French men and Scottes might be once clearly broken, and then to vſe the matter as occaſion ſhoulde ſerue their turne.

This matter therefore being proponed before the Councell, it was concluded that in no wyſe the ſayde league betwixt the Frenche men and Scottes ſhould be diſſolued, and ſo therevpon the Engliſh Imbaſſadors were diſpatched without more talke concerning that matter.

1433

George Erle of March areſted and put in warde.

In the ſame yeare, that is to wit. 1433. the king cauſed George Dunbar Earle of March, ſonne to that Erle which rebelled agaynſt his father King Robert the thirde, to be areſted and put in ſafe keeping within the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

He ſent alſo the Earle of Angus with his Chauncellor William Creichtoun. and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the Caſtell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters ſigned with his hande, and directed to the keepers of the ſayde Caſtell, that they ſhould deliuer vp the houſe immediatly vpõ ſight of thoſe his letters vnto the bringers of the ſame. The keepers durſt not diſobey his commaundement, but ſuffered them to enter according to theyr commiſſion.

A Parliament at Perth.

The Erle of March diſinherited.

Within a tweluemonth after a Parliament was holden at Perth, where the forſayd George Earle of March was diſinherited of al his landes and liuings for his fathers offence committed agaynſt king Robert the thirde.

Thus the houſe of the Dunbars loſt the Erledome of March, wherein the ſame had flouriſhed ſo many yeares togither, to the great defence and ſafegarde of the realme of Scotland on that ſide, againſt both ciuill and forraine enimies.

The Erledome of Buchquhan giuen to George Dunbar.

The king yet moued with ſome pitie toward ſo noble a linage, within ſhort time after gaue the Erledome of Buchquhan to the ſaid George, and after the Kings deceaſſe, the Lordes of the Councell thinking the ſame to little, aſſigned forth to him and to his ſonne Patrike, the ſumme of foure hundred markes yearely, to be receyued out of a parcell of his owne auncient inheritance, of the Erledome of March, to enioy the ſame till Iames the ſecond came to full age.

1435
The death of Alexander Stewarde Earle of Mar.

In the yeare. 1435. Alexander Steward Erle of Mar departed out of this life.

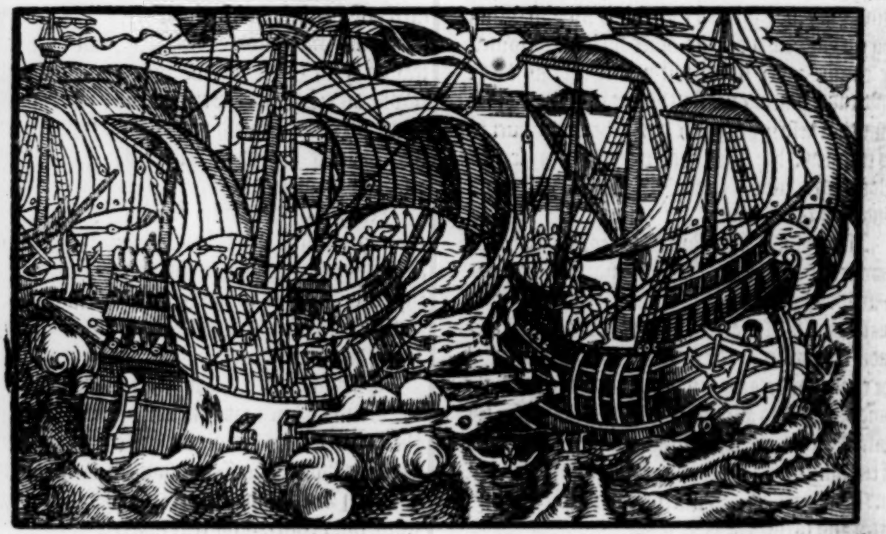
This Alexander was a Baſtard ſonne of the Erle of Buchquhan, that was one of the ſonnes of king Robert the ſeconde. He was a man of right ſingular prowes, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip Duke of Burgoigne at the ſiege of Liege, or Luik, where he bare himſelfe ſo manfully, that few wanne the like honor at that iourney.

Leodium.

Not long after, to his high aduauncement, he got in mariage the Ladie Iacoba Countes of Hollande: Notwithſtanding, he continued but a while with hir, being enforced to forgo hir companie, eyther for that ſhe had an other huſband, either for that the inhabitants woulde not ſuffer a ſtraunger to raigne ouer them.

Warres betwixt the Erle of Mar and the Hollanders.

After his returne into Scotlande, he ſent meſſengers into Hollande, requyring to haue the iſſues and profites of ſuch lands as were due vnto him in right of the ſayde Counteſſe his wife, but receyuing nought but a frowarde anſwere, hee prouided him of ſhippes, and made ſore warres on the Hollanders by ſea: firſt being put to the worſe, but at length he tooke a nũber of their ſhips laden with Marchandize, as they were returning homewardes from Dantzicke.



Truce betwixt the Scots and Hollanders for terme of one hundred yere.

The Mariners were drowned, and the ſhips burnt. Through which loſſe, the Hollanders being ſore abaſhed, fell to a compoſition wyth him, and tooke truce with the Scottes for an hundred yeares.

This Earle of Mar ſo long as he lyued had the gouernaunce of the North partes of Scotlande vnder king Iames the firſt, for he was a right prudent perſon, aſwell in warlike enterpriſes, as in ciuill adminiſtration.

Stood Mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotlande for breede.

He brought forth of Hungarie ſundrie great horſes and Mares for generation, that by ſuche meanes the countrey might be prouided of great horſes of their own race, where til that time there was none bred within Scotland, but ſmal nags, more meet to ſerue for iourneying hackneis than for any ſeruice in the warres.

Ambaſſadors out of Denmarke.

Their requeſt.

Not long before this time, there came an Ambaſſade from the King of Denmarke vnto king Iames, requiring him to make payment of ſuch yearely tribute as was due to the ſayde king of Denmark, being alſo king of Norway, for the weſterne Iles, according to the promiſe and agreement made by Alexander ſometime king of Scotland, the thirde of that name, vnto his predeceſſor Magnus, at that time king of Norway.

The Ambaſſadours that came with this meſſage, were honourably receyued, and in like ſort enterteyned by king Iames, who at their departure gaue to thẽ ſundry rich gifts, and appointed

Sir William Creighton ſent into Denmark.

ſir William Creichtoun to goe with them into Denmarke, Ambaſſadour from him, to the king there, who vſed himſelfe ſo ſagely in this buſineſſe which he thus went about, that renuing the olde league betwixt the two Realmes of Denmarke and Scotlande, ſtedfaſt peace and aſſured amitie without any more ado thereof enſued.

Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke.

Ambaſſadours forth of France

The old league renued betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to K. James.

Much what about the ſame time, there came Ambaſſadors from the French king Charles the vij. not onely deſiring to haue the olde league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that preſent by a new confirmation, but alſo to confyrme the ſame with better aſſurance, Margaret eldeſt daughter to King James, at requeſt of the ſayde King Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldeſt ſonne to the ſayde king Charles.

Engliſh men lie in awayte for the Scottiſh fleete.

The Engliſh men encounter a fleet of Spaniardes.

Many great Lordes of Scotlande were appoynted to haue the conueyaunce of hir into Fraunce, and great prouiſion of ſhippes made for that voyage, bycauſe the king was aduertiſed that the Engliſh men had a fleete abrode on the ſeas, to take hir if they might meete with hir by the way. But as the hap fel, it chaunced the ſame time, as the Scottiſh ſhippes ſhoulde paſſe, there appeared on the coaſt of England, a great fleete of Spaniardes, which the Engliſh men ſuppoſing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with lxxx. veſſels of one and other, thinking verely to haue had theyr wiſhed pray, euen according to theyr expectation: but beeing receyued with as hote a ſtorme as they brought, they quickly vnderſtode how they were in a wrong boxe, and ſo ſhrewdly amazed (as Hector Boetius hath) they ſuſteyned great loſſe both in men and ſhips, and in the meane time the Scottiſhe nauie paſſed by quietly without domage, encountring not one ſhippe by the way that ſought to impeache theyr paſſage.

The arriual of the Lady Margaret of Scotland in France

There went. Cxl. Ladies and Gentlewomen forth of Scotland to attende this Ladie Margaret into France, amongeſt which number there were fiue of hir owne ſiſters.

Henry Percie inuadeth Scotlande.

In the meane time, whileſt ſuch things were a doing, Henry Percy of Northumberland inuaded Scotland with foure thouſande men, not being knowne whether he had commiſſion ſo to do from the king of Englande, or that he made that enterpriſe of himſelfe.

William Dowglas Erle of Angus to reſiſt this inuaſion, gathered a power of choſen men; amongſt whom were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramſey of Dalehouſy, and Alexander Elphingſton, with other.

The battayle of Pyperdene fought betwixt Henrie Percie and the Earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Engliſh men ſlaine.

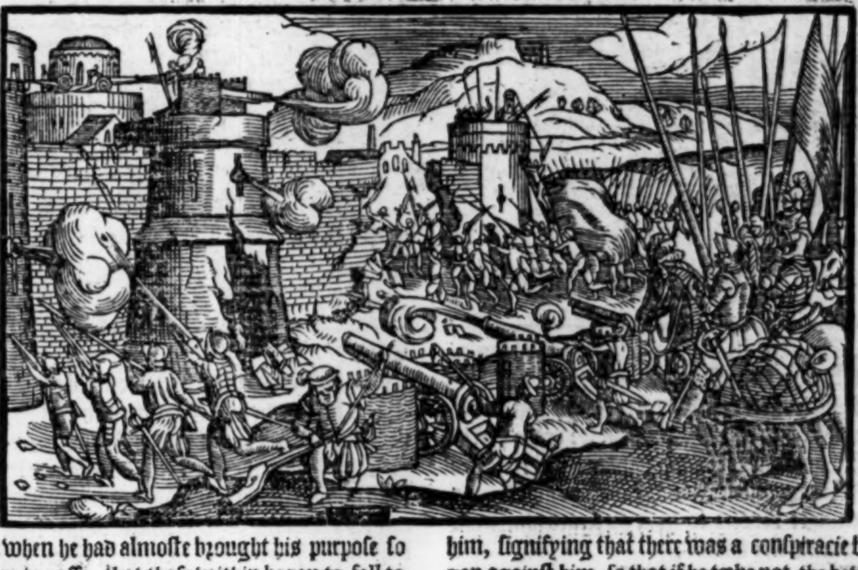
The Erle of Angus being thus aſſociat, met the Percie at Pyperdene, where a ſore battaile was foughten betwixt them, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, but at length the victorie fell to the Scottes, though there were ſlaine togyther with Alexander Elphynſton two hundred Gentlemen and commons of Scotlande: and of the Engliſh part, there dyed Henrie of Clyddeſdale, John Ogyll, and Richarde Percie, with. xv. C. other of Gentlemen and commons, of the which Gentlemen. xl. were knightes.

Priſoners taken.

There were taken alſo and brought home by the Scottes as priſoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Roxbourgh beſieged.

Shortly herevpon king James rayſed a mightie armie, and beſieged the Caſtel of Roxbourgh,



but when he had almoſte brought his purpoſe ſo neare to paſſe, that thoſe within began to fall to communication for the rendring of the place, the Queene came to the campe in great haſt vnto him, ſignifying that there was a conſpiracie begon againſt him, ſo that if he toke not the better heed, he was in great danger to fal into the handes of thoſe that ſought his life.

The king informed of a conſpiracie made againſt him, rayſeth his ſiege.
The Earle of Athol head of the cōſpiracy.

The king doubting the matter, raiſed hys ſiege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne ſuretie: but that preuayled little, for Walter Stewarde Earle of Athole, and heade of the whole conſpiracie, pretending euer a right to the Crowne, by reaſon that hee was procreate by king Robert the ſeconde on his firſt wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewarde, and his couſin Robert Graham, to ſlea the King by one meane or other, which finally they accompliſhed in this wiſe.

Robert Graham.

This Robert Graham for diuerſe wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the Realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, ſo that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but preſent death, and therefore hated the king moſt deadly: and though by the Queenes diligence both his and other of the conſpirators purpoſes were now diſappointed, hauing contriued to diſpatch the king at ẏ ſiege of Roxbourgh, yet forſomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped ſtill to finde occaſion to atchieue their deteſtable intention, ſith they were no more miſtruſted than the others.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murtherers of the king.

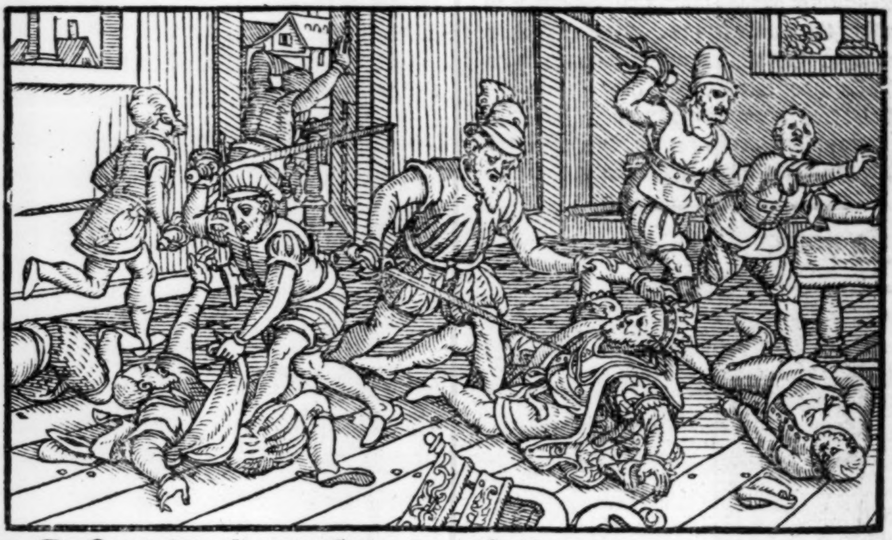
Herevpon the ſayde Stewarde and Graham came one Euening to the blacke Friers of Perth where the king as then was lodged, and by lycence of the Porters comming into the houſe, entred vp into the Gallerie before the kings chāber dore, mynding to haue ſtayed there till one of the kings ſeruants that was priuie to their diueliſh purpoſe ſhould come, by whoſe helpe they were promiſed to haue entrie into the Chamber. But before the comming of this Judaſlike traytor, an other of the kings ſeruants named Walter Strayton came forth of the chamber dore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduiſed of theſe two traytors ſtanding there at the dore, either of them hauing a long ſworde gyrded to him, he ſtept backe, and cried treaſon: but ere hee could get within the dore to haue made it faſt, they leapt vnto him, and ſlue him there outright.

Walter Strayton is ſlaine.

Katherin Dowglas.

Whileſt this was a doing, not without great noyſe and rumbling, a yong virgin named Katherin Dowglas (that was after maried to Alexander Louel of Bolunny) got to the dore, & ſhut it: but bycauſe the barre was away that ſhoulde haue made it faſt, ſhe thruſt hir arme in the place where the barre ſhoulde haue paſſed, ſhe was but yong and hir bones not ſtrong, but rather tender as a gryſtle, and therefore hir arme was ſoone craſht in ſunder, and the dore broken vp by force. Herewyth entring the Chamber, they ſlue ſuch of the ſeruaunts as made defence, and then the King himſelfe with many cruell and deadly woundes.

The murtherers enter the kings chamber, and ſlea the king.



The Queene is hurt.

The Queene was alſo hurt as ſhe was about to ſaue hir huſbande.

Patrike Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defence.

Patrike Dunbarre, brother to George ſometime Earle of March, was left for deade on the flore, by reaſon of ſuch woundes as he receyued in the kings defence, doing moſt manfully his vttermoſte deuoire to haue preſerued him from the murtherers handes.

James the firſt murthered.

Thus was James the firſt murthered the. 21. day of Februarie, the. xliiij. yeare of his age, the xiij. of his raigne, and from the Incarnation of Chriſt. 1436.

1436

His bodie was buried in the houſe of the Charterares at Perth, which he founded in hys lyfe time, but had not as yet throughly finiſhed it.

His ſtature & forme of body

This James the firſt was of a meane ſtature, with brode ſhoulders, and ſmal in the waſt, all other his members ſo well proportioned therto, that nothing wanted to comlineſſe of perſonage that might be giuen by nature.

An vpright iuſticier.

How vpright a iuſticier he was, and vertuous in all his demeanours, it maye appeare by that which before is wrytten of hys gouernment.

The ſearche made for the traytors.

The Nobles and Peeres of the Realme right ſorrowfull for his death, aſſembled togyther, and made ſuche earneſt and diligent ſearche for the Traytours before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenbourgh, where they were executed on thys maner.

The execution of the Earle of Athole.

The Earle of Athole, whiche was not onely principall in practiſe of thys treaſon concerning the kings death, but alſo in tymes paſt was chiefe of counſell with Robert Duke of Albanie in the making awaye of Dauid the Kings eldeſt brother, and after the Kings returne forth of Englande, did moſte earneſtly ſolicite him to put Duke Mordo to death, with all other of hys lynage, truſting that when they were diſpatched, he ſhoulde finde meanes to rid the King alſo, and his children out of the way, and ſo at length attayne to the crowne without any obſtacle. This Earle (I ſay) was firſt ſtripped of all his clothes, ſaue only his ſhyrt, and then was an inſtrument of wood made like to the drawer of a well, ſet faſt in a Cart with a frame.

At the one ende of whiche Inſtrument, was the Earle faſtened and bounde, and ſo caryed aboute the towne, ſometyme rayſed on high, that the people might ſee hym aloft in the ayre, and ſometyme let fal againe with a ſway downe vpō the pauement.

The prophecie of a Witche.

After this, beeing brought to an open place, where moſte reſort of people was, they crowned him with an hote Iron, for that (as was ſayde) a Witche had tolde him, that before hys death he ſhoulde be crowned openly in ſight of the people. Through whoſe illuſion being deceyued, hee lyued vnder vayne hope to attaine the Crowne, dyrecting all hys ymaginations to compaſſe the meanes thereto. Thus was hee ſerued on the fyrſt day.

On the ſecond, he was drawne with his complyces layde on Hyrdels, rounde about the towne at an horſe tayle.

The thirde day, hys belly was rypt, and his bowelles taken forth, and throwne in the fyre flickering before hys eyes, and then was hys heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewiſe in the fire: and laſt of all, his heade was cut off, and his bodie deuided in foure quarters.

Robert Stewarde executed.

The ordering of Robert Grahams execution.

His nephew Robert Stewarde was not altogither ſo cruelly executed: But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he ſlue the king wyth his owne handes, was put into a Carte, the hande that did the deede being faſtened to a payre of Gallowes, whiche were reared vp in the ſame Carte, and then were three perſons appointed to thruſt him through in all partes of his bodie wyth hote Irons, beginning firſte in thoſe places where it was thought no haſtye death woulde thereof enſue, as in the legges, armes, thighes and ſhoulders, and thus was hee caryed through euery ſtreete of the towne, and tormented in moſt miſerable wiſe, and at length had his belly ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before.

Chriſtopher Clawn.

Chriſtofer Clawn alſo, and other that were of counſayle in the conſpiracie, were putte to moſte ſhamefull kyndes of deathes, as they had iuſtlye deſerued, fewe or none lamenting theyr caſe.

Straunge ſightes.

In the dayes of King Iames the firſt, ſundrie ſtraunge and monſtruous things chaunced in Scotland.

Pigges with heades like to Dogges.

At Perth there was a Sowe that brought forth a lytter of Pygges with heades lyke vnto Dogges.

A Calfe with a heade like a Colte.

A Cow alſo brought forth a Calfe, hauing a head like a Colt.

A blaſing ſtarre.

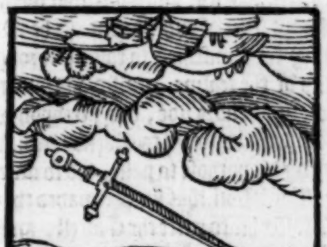
In the Harueſt before the Kings death, a blaſing Starre was ſeene wyth long ſtreaming beames.

A great froſt. Ale and wine ſold by pound weight.

And in the Winter following, the froſt was ſo vehement, that Ale and Wine were ſolde by pounde weight, and then melted agaynſt the fire.

A ſword ſeene in the ayre.

A ſworde was ſeene glyding vp and downe in the ayre, to the no leſſe dreade than wonder of the people.



Iames.

1436

IAmes yͤ firſt made away through the traiterous practiſe of the Erle of Athole, (as before is ſpecified) hys eldeſt ſon Iames the ſecond of that name being as then but ſixe yeares of age ſucceeded to the crowne, as lawful heyre to the ſame, and by his mother and the Nobilitie of the Realme, was brought to Scone, where by the vniuerſall conſente of the three eſtates he was cotwned king of Scotlande, being the .102. King of that realme from Ferguſe the firſt. He was ſurnamed Iames with the fierie face, by reaſon of a brode red ſpot which he had in one of his checkes.

The daughter of the Duke of Gelderlãd maried to James the ſeconde.

This James at his comming to mans ſtate proued a ſtoute Prince, and maried the daughter of the Duke of Gelderlande as after ſhall appeare.

In the beginning he had ſome trouble and buſineſſe, by reaſon of the great authoritie and rule which the high Barons of the Realme ſought to beare and maintaine, as the Dowglaſſes and other, but in the ende he ſubdued them all.

Sir Alexander Leuingſton gouernour. Sir William Creichton L. Chancellor.

Diſobedience in the Dowglas.

1437

A policye wrought by the Queene.

The king was conueyed vnto Striueling.

Shortly after his coronation, bycauſe he was not of himſelfe able to gouerne by reaſon of his tender age, the nobles and eſtates of the Realme choſe ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Calender knight, gouernor of the king and realme, and ſir William Creichton knight, was confyrmed in his office to enioy the ſame as before he had done, the king being committed to his keeping, togyther with the Caſtell of Edenbourgh. Archebald Erle of Dowglas remayned in his countreys of Dowglas & Annardale, and would neither obey gouernor nor Chancellor, whereby great trouble was rayſed within the realme. Within a ſhort time alſo the gouernor and chancelor were deuided. The gouernor with the Queene remayned at Striueling: but the Chancelor had the K. ſtill with him in the Caſtel of Edenburgh, & what the one cõmaũded to be done, the other forbad: wherby neither of them was obeyed, nor any executiõ of iuſtice put in practiſe, ſo that through all the countrey, reif, ſpoyles, and oppreſſion were exerciſed without feare of puniſhment. The Queene perceyuing ſuch miſchiefe to raigne throughout all parties of the realme, deuiſed a meane to aduance the gouernors ſide, and herevpon with a ſmall companie repayred to Edenbourgh, where ſhe to bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, did ſo muche by great diſſimulation, that ſhe perſwaded the Chãcellor to ſuffer hir to enter the Caſtell, and to remaine with the king: but within three dayes after, ſhe feyned one morning to go on pilgrymage vnto the white Kirke, and cauſed the king hir ſon to be handſomly couched in a Trounke, as if he had beene ſome fardell of hir apparell, and ſo packed vp, ſent him by one of hir truſtie ſeruauntes layde vpon a Sumpter horſe vnto Lieth, from whence he was conueyed by boat vnto Striueling, where of the gouernor he was ioyfully receyued, commending the Queene highly for hir politike working, in deceyuing ſo wiſe a man as the Chauncelor was. Then rayſed hee a great power of his friendes and well willers, and beſieged the Chauncellour in the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

The Byſhop perceyuing in what daunger he ſtood through the womans deceyt, ſent to ẏ Erle of Dowglas, deſiring his aſſyſtaunce agaynſte the Queene and gouernor. But the Earle refuſed either to helpe the one or the other, alledging that they were both ouer ambicious in ſeeking to haue the whole gouernment of the Realme in their handes.

An agreement made.

The Chauncellor then perceyuing himſelfe deſtitute of all helpe, made agreement with the gouernor, vnder certain conditions, that he ſhould retaine ſtill the Caſtell of Edenbourgh in hys poſſeſſion, and likewiſe continue ſtill in his office of Chancellor.

The Earle of Dowglas departeth this life at Leſtelricke.

1439

Shortly after the Earle of Dowglas deceaſſed at Leſtelrig, in the yeare. 1439, agaynſt whõ aſwell the gouernor as Chancellor had conceyued great hatred.

He left behinde him a ſonne (begot of the Erle of Crawfords daughter named William, a child of fourtene yeares of age, who ſucceeded hys father in the Earledome of Dowglas, appearing at the firſt to be well inclyned of nature, but afterwardes by euill companie hee waxed wylde and inſolent.

The Queene impriſoned.

About this ſeaſon, James Stewarde ſonne to the Lorde of Lorne, maryed the Queene Dowager, and fauoured the Earle Dowglas in his vnruly demeanor, wherevpon both the ſayd James and his brother William, with the Queene, were committed to priſon in the Caſtell of Striueling by the gouernors appoyntment, but ſhortly after they were releaſed by the ſute of the lord Chancelor Sir William Creichton, and Alexander Setõ of Gurdun, who became ſureties for their good abearing, vnder greate forfeyture of ſufficient bande.

Alane Steward is ſlaine.

The great port of the Earle of Dowglas.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, Alane Steward Lord of Dernlye was ſlain at Palmais thorne, by ſir Thomas Boyd. And in the yeare following, the ſame ſir Thomas was ſlaine by Alexander Steward of Bolnict and his ſonnes, wherethrough there roſe great troubles in the weſt partes of Scotland. William Erle of Dowglas ſent Malcolm Flemming of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles the ſeuenth, king of France, to obteyne of him the Duchie of Towraine, which was giuẽ to Archebald Dowglas at the battaile of Vernoile in Perch, & the laſt Erle, father to this Erle Williã, had enioyed the ſame all his life time, wherevpon that ſute was the ſooner obteyned: which made ẏ yong Earle more inſolent than before. He kept ſuch a port, and vſed to haue ſuch a traine attending vpon him, ſpecially when he came to the court, that it might ſeeme he had the king in ſmal regard, for he thought himſelfe ſafe ynoughe in mainteyning the lyke ſtate and porte, or rather greater than euer hys father at anye tyme had mayntayned before hym. Inſomuche as hee woulde ryde with two thouſande horſe, of the whiche number there were diuers errant theeues and robbers, that were borne out in their vnlawfull and wicked practiſes by the ſame Erle.

Certaine Captaines of the Iles, as Lachlan, Makclayn, and Murdac Gypſon, with a wicked number of the inhabitants of the ſame Iles, haried ſpoyled, and burnt the countrey of Lennox, and ſlue Iohn Colquhouen laird of Lute vnder aſſurance. They alſo ſlue women and children, without reſpect to age or ſexe.

Lenox is haried.
John Colquhouen, or Coguhuyn slaine.

This yeare chaunced a great dearth in Scotland, the like was neuer heard of before, and ſuch a death by peſtilence, that few eſcaped that were taken therwith, and ſo the Realme was plagued with reif, oppreſſion, dearth, and death of people.

A dearth.

Pestilence.

This yeare alſo the gouernour toke the whole adminiſtration vpō him, wherwith the Chancellor was diſpleaſed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repayred to Edenbourgh, where he deuiſed the way how to recouer the king from the gouernor, & ſo one morning toke .xxiiij. men with him, & rode to the parke of Strineling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor abſent at Perth, ſo that the Chancellor did ſo much that he perſwaded the king to goe with him to Edenbourgh. The Chancellor (as Hector Boetius hath) had cauſed the number of foure thouſande horſemen of his ſeruants, tenants, and friends, ſecretly to be readie that morning about the towne of Striueling, to reſiſt his aduerſaries if they ſhould haue vſed any force againſt him, and now vnderſtanding of the kings going thus with the Chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attēding him, brought him ſafely and without further trouble vnto Edenbourgh.

The king went with the Chancellor to Edenbourgh.

The gouernor when he was aduertiſed herof, was grieuouſly diſpleaſed: but bycauſe he knew not how to remedy the matter, he went to Edenbourgh, & there got Iohn Iunes Biſhop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton Biſhop of Abirdene, to labour ſome agreement betwixte him and the Chancelor: which they did in this wiſe. The king to remaine in keeping of the Chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And ſo by this accord they were made friendes.

The gouernoor and Chancelor are made friendes.

The gouernor and Chancelor being thus agreed, called a counſell of the nobles of the realme to be holden in Edenbourgh caſtell, to the which amongſt other came the Erle of Dowglas, and as they were ſet to dinner, the meate was ſodenly remoued, and a Bulles head preſented to the Erle of Dowglas, which in thoſe dayes was a token of execution. And immediatly therevpon the ſayde Earle with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Flemming of Cumernald, were beheaded before the caſtell gate.

1440

The Earle of Dowglas is beheaded.

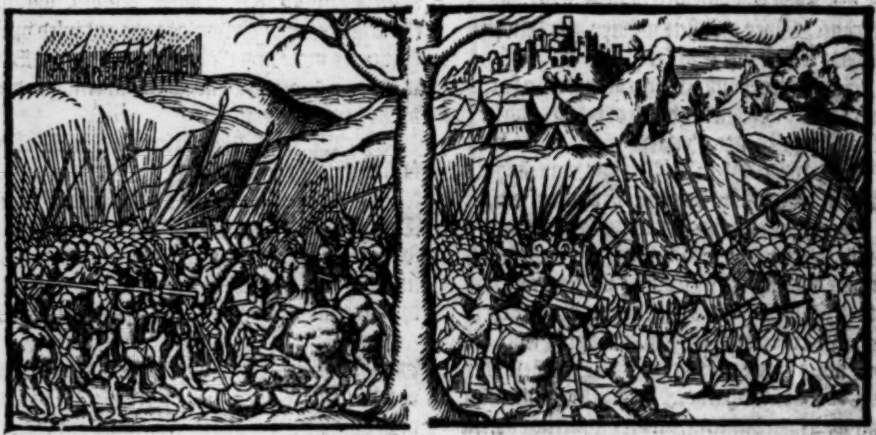
After the death of the ſayde Earle, the ſtate of the realme became more quiet, for his vncle Iames Dowglas Baron of Abircorne that ſucceded him, being a man of great ſtature, and verie fat, gaue himſelfe to quietneſſe, and liued but three yeares after. The foreſaid William had but one ſiſter, that was called the fayre mayden of Galloway, and was maried vnto one William Dowglas, ſonne to this erle Iames before his deceaſſe, that the heritage ſhoulde not be deuided, bycauſe the Earledome of Dowglas was entayled vpon the heyres male, and the landes of Wigton, Balwanye, Annardale, and Ormont remayned to hir as heyre generall.

This Earle William, after the deceaſſe of his father Erle Iames, began to wax vnruly, and to followe the maners of the other William Earle Dowglas lately beheaded (as before ye haue heard) ſo that by ſupport many diſobediēt perſons wold not obey the gouernor & Chācellor, wherevpō ſundry great ſlaughters & oppreſſions were cōmitted

1444

The king will rule himſelfe.

The king after he came to the age of .xiiij. yeres woulde not any longer be vnder the gouernment of others, but toke the rule vpō himſelf. The Erle of Dowglas enformed thereof, came vnto him at Striueling, and put himſelfe and all he had, to remaine at his pleaſure: wherevpon the king receiued him, pardoned all his paſſed miſdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his ſpeciall friends and priuie Councellers in al his affayres. By his perſwaſion ſhortly after, ſir Alexander Leuingſton, and William Creichton being diſcharged of their offices, were alſo put of, from the Counſell, and all their friends baniſhed the Court, and they themſelues were ſommoned to appeare before the king, which bycauſe they refuſed to do, they were proclamed rebels, and put to the horne. The Erle Dowglas then for the olde grudge he bare them, rayſed an army & haried their lands. In reuenge wherof, ſir William Chrichton ſpoyled the Erle of Dowglas his lands, ſo that great trouble was rayſed through the whole countrey, & the lands of Strabroke, Abircorn, & the towne of Blackneſſe were burnt & deſtroyed. The Earle of Dowglas ruled wholy about the king, & made Archebald his brother Erle of Murrey, by ioyning him in mariage with a Lady of the houſe of Dunbar heretrix therof. Moreouer Hew Dowglas was made erle of Ormont. Thus the Erle of Dowglas aduanced his name, & ioyned in friendſhip with the Erle of Crawford, wͭ Donald Erle of the Iles, & with the Erle of Ros, to yͤ end that ech of thē ſhould be aſſiſtāt to others. In this meane time the Erle of Crawford at the requeſt of the Erle of Dowglas toke a great pray of goodes forth of the Biſhop of S. Androws lands in Fife, which Biſhop hight Iames Keneder, ſiſters ſon to K. Iames the firſt, where through the Erle of Crawford on the one part, and the Earle of Huntley with the Ogylvies on the other, met at Arbrothē in ſette battaile, where the Erle of Crawford was ſlain, and diuerſe Barons on his ſide, although the victorie and field remayned with his ſonne the maiſter of Crawforde, who ſucceeded his father, and was called Earle Beirdy. On the Erle of Huntleys ſyde were ſlaine, John Forbes of Petſlege, Alexander Berckley of Gartulye, Robert Maxwell of Telyne, William Gurdun of Burrowfielde, Sir John Oliphant of Aberdagie, and fiue hundred more on theyr ſyde: and one hundred of the victorers were alſo ſlaine, as Hector Boetius hath.



Who likewiſe reporteth that the occaſion of thys battayle dyd chaunce through the varyaunce that fell oute betwixt the Earle of Crawfordes eldeſt ſonne Alexander Lyndſey, and Alexander Ogilbye, or Ogiluie, (as ſome write him) aboute the office of the Baliſewike of Arbroth, the which the Maiſter of Crawforde enioying, was diſplaced and put out by the ſayde Ogiluie. Wherevpon the Maiſter of Crawforde to recouer his right (as he tooke it) got a power togither with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the ſame ſeaſed vpon the Abbay, and Ogiluie with helpe of the Erle of Huntly, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduerſaries handes, and ſo vpon knowledge hereof gyuen vnto the Earle of Crawforde, he himſelfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth at the very inſtant when the battails were readie to ioyne, cauſed firſt his ſonne to ſtay, & after calling forth ſir Alexander Ogiluie to talke with him in purpoſe to haue made peace betwixt him & his ſonne, was thruſt into the mouth with a ſpeare, by a cõmon ſouldier that knewe nothing what his demaund ment, ſo that he fel downe therewith, and preſently died in the place: wherupon togither the parties went incõtinently without more protracting of time, and ſo fought with ſuch ſucceſſe as before ye haue heard. The Erle of Huntley eſcaped by flight: but Alexander Ogiluie being taken and ſore wounded, was led to the caſtel of Fincluin, where ſhortly after he died of his hurtes.

This battaile was fought the .xxiij. of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1445.

1445

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh beſieged.

This yeare alſo, or (as Hector Boetius hath in the yere next inſuing) the caſtell of Edenburgh was beſieged by the ſpace of .ix. monethes by the king & the Erle of Dowglas, ſir Williã Creichton being within it. At length it was giuen ouer vpon certain cõditions, & the ſaid ſir William reſtored to the office of Chancellor againe; but hee would not meddle with the ordering of the kings buſineſſe, ſtaying for a time more conuenient.

James Steward is baniſhed the realme.

Sir James Stewarde ſurnamed the blacke knight, huſband to the Queene the kings mother, was baniſhed the realme for ſpeaking wordes againſt the miſgouernment of the king & realme, wherwith he offended the Erle of Dowglas. As he paſſed the ſeas towards Flanders, he was takẽ by the Flemings, & ſhortly after departed this life. The queen his wife being aduertiſed of his death, died alſo within a while after, & was buried in the Charterhouſe of Perth the .xv. of July in yͤ yeare 1446. Hir name was Jane Somerſet, daughter to the Erle of Somerſet. James the firſt maried hir (as before ye may reade) in England. She had by him .viij. childrẽ, two ſonnes, & .vj. daughters, which were all honourably maried, the firſt named Margaret, to the Dolphin of Fraunce: the ſeconde Eleanore, to the Duke of Brytayne: the thirde, to the Lorde of Teruere in Zelande: the fourth, to the Duke of Auſtrich: the fifth, to the Earle of Huntley: and the ſixth, to the Earle of Morton. And by James Stewarde hir ſeconde huſbande ſhe had three ſonnes: John Earle of Athole, James Erle of Buchquhan, and Androw Biſhop of Murrey.

He dyed.

The Queene dyed.

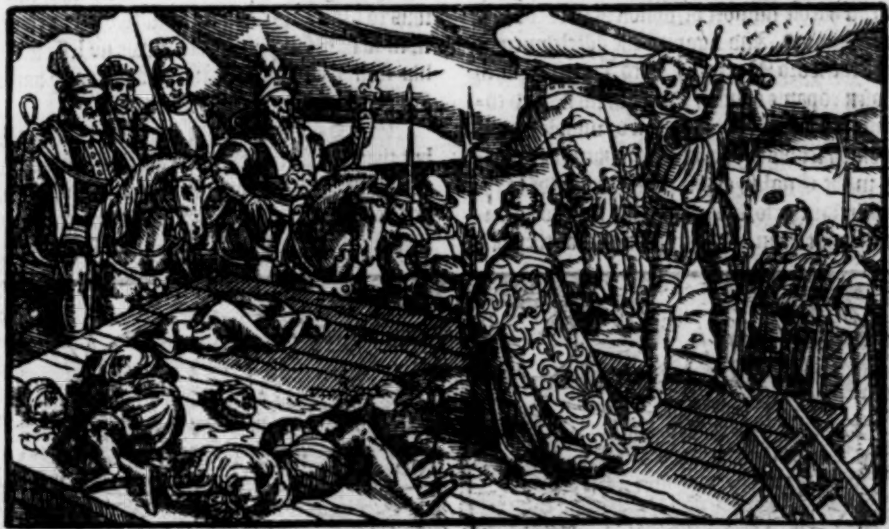
1446

King James maryed a daughter of Gelderland.

Soone after, ſir William Creichton, with the Biſhop of Dunkelde, & Nicholas Oterburn a Canon of Glaſgew were ſent in ambaſſade vnto the duke of Gelderland for his daughter called Marie, to be ioyned in mariage with K. James. Their ſuite was obteyned, & the Ladie ſent into Scotland nobly accõpanied with diuerſe Lordes both ſpirituall and temporall.

At hir arryuall ſhee was receyued by the king with great triumph, and the maryage ſolemnized by the aſſiſtaunce of all the Nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioyfull myrth, and all pleaſant intertainment of thoſe ſtrangers that might be.

1447 In the yeare. 1447. ther was a Parliament holden at Edenbourgh, in the which ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Calender late gouernor, James Dundas, and Robert Dundas knightes, at the purſuite of the Earle of Dowglas were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall priſon in Dunbrytan, and James Leuingſton his eldeſt ſonne, Robert Leuingſton Treaſorer, and Dauid Leuingſton knights, loſt their heades.



James Leuingſton made an Oration.

W. Creichton condemned.

Incurſions made.

1448

James before his execution made a very wiſe oration to the ſtanders by, declaring the inſtabilitie of fortune, & chaũge of court, exhorting al perſons to beware thereof, ſith enuye euer followed high eſtate, and wicked malice neuer ſuffred good men to gouerne long. In the ſame Parliament ſir William Creichton was alſo forfalted for diuerſe cauſes, but principally for that his ſeruants would not deliuer the houſe of Chreichton to the kings heralde, who charged them ſo to do. This forfalture was cõcluded in parliament by vertue of an act which the ſaide William (when he was Chancellor) cauſed to be made, & ſo being the firſt inuenter, was alſo the firſt againſt whom it was practiſed. The yeare next enſuing were ſundrie incurſions made betwixt Scots and Engliſhmẽ on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewiſe Anwike in Englãd: but ſhortly after a truce was concluded for. vij. yeres, great offers of friendſhip made by the Engliſh men for to haue the warres ceaſe on that ſide, bicauſe the warre betwixt thẽ & Fraunce was very hotely purſued, and ciuill diſſention diſquieted the ſtate of Englãd which was rayſed betwixt ẏ two houſes of Lãcaſter & York.

1450

Engliſh men fetch booties out of Scotlande.

The Scottes inuade England.

A knight named Magnus.

The Engliſh borderers of the weſt Marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotlande, notwithſtanding the truce, in reuenge whereof, the Scots inuading England, waſted the countrey, burnt townes and villages, ſlue the people, and with a great praye of priſoners, goodes, and cattel, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed dayly rodes and forrayes made on both ſides betwixt the Scottes and Engliſh men, and that with ſuch rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in maner layde waſt: for on that ſide the Scots chiefly made their inuaſions, bycauſe that from thence the firſt occaſion of all this miſchiefe might ſeeme to haue had the beginning. Whẽ ſuch things were certified to the king of Englandes counſell, an army was appointed forthwith to inuade Scotlãd, vnder ẏ leading of the Earle of Northumberland, & of one Magnus ſurnamed redbeard, a captain of great experience, as he that had bene trayned vp from his youth in the warres of Fraunce. The Scottes bycauſe of his long red beard, called him in ſcorne and deriſion, Magnus with the red mane.

The Earle of Ormont generall of the Scottiſh armie.

The Engliſh armie inuadeth Scotland.

The Scottes hearing of the approch of thys armie towarde theyr borders, leuyed a power: Georg, or rather Hugh Dowglas Earle of Ormont by the kings commiſſion, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderſtanding that the enimies woulde enter into Annardale, drew thither with the ſayd army to reſiſt their attempts. The Engliſh men paſſing ouer the riuer of Sulwey & Annande, came to another riuer called Sarc, and there pight downe their tentes. And on the next day they began to robbe and ſpoyle the countrey on eche ſyde: but aduertiſed that the Scots were at hande with an army, they that were thus gone forth, were with all ſpeede called backe to the campe by ſounde of trumpet, and forthwith theyr army was brought into order of battaill. Magnus with the red mane was appoynted to leade the

Sir Iohn Penneynton.

right wing, and ſir Iohn Pennyngton a right ſkilfull warriour gouerned the left wing in the which the Welchmen were placed. The battaile or middle warde, the Earle of Northumberlande himſelfe ruled.

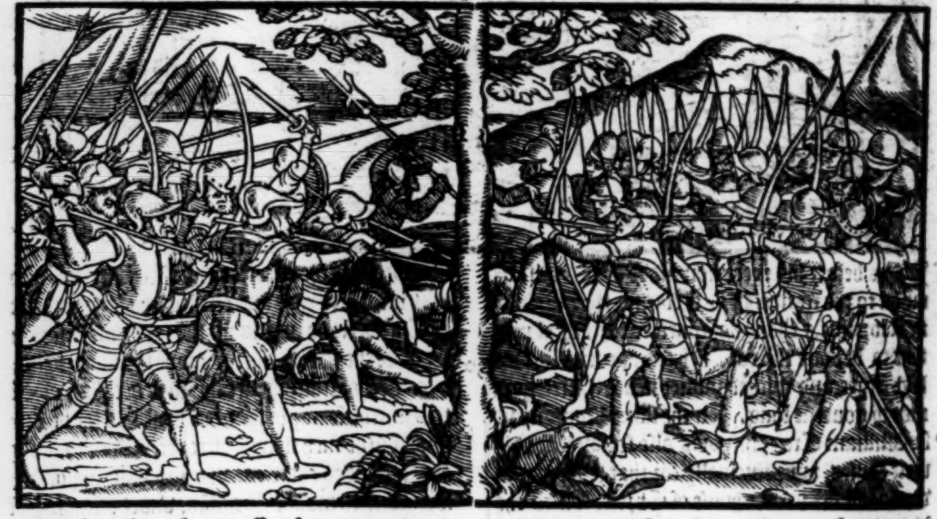
Wallace of Craggy.

The Earle of Ormonte exhorteth his armie.

The Earle of Ormonte on the other ſyde ordered his battailes in this wiſe: He appointed a right valiant knight called Wallace of Craggy, with an hardie number of ſouldiers to encounter with Magnus. And agaynſt the Welchmen he placed the Lord Marwel, & Lard Iohnſton, with a choſen cōpanie of luſtie Scottiſh men, and cōmaunding himſelf in the battail or middle ward, had vneth ſet his people in aray, when the trumpets in the Engliſh armie began to ſounde to the battaile. He therfore exhorting his men to do valiantly, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had firſt offred them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victory by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hād (for the moſt part) to that ſide that hath iuſt cauſe to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their heartes, and as they had force ynough to vāquiſh their enimies that came thus to brag & threaten them with vtter deſtruction: ſo he beſought them to ſhewe no leſſe manlike ſtomacks to deliuer theyr countrey by hardie fight from iniurie of the ſame enimies.

The battaile is begun.

He had no ſooner made an ende of his ſpeech, but that the Arrowes came ſo thicke from the Engliſhe Archers, that the Scottes beganne to looke about them, as it were to ſee whiche waye they might beſt eſcape by flight. But Wallace perceyuing theyr fayntneſſe of courage, wyth lowde voice reproued theyr cowardice, and with moſt pithie wordes exhorted them to remember theyr dueties, and to followe the example of him theyr leader, whome they ſhoulde perceyue to haue fully vowed to ſpende his lyfe in defence of his countrey.



Magnus is ſlaine.

The Scots herewith ſeeme to be ſo encouraged that they ruſhed forward with great egernes vpon the right wing of the Engliſh men, where Magnus ſtood, & ſo laid about them with ſpeares, axes, and ſuch like hand weapons, that with great ſlaughter they driue the Engliſhe men to breake aray and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chaufed than afrayde as ſhould appeare, preaſſed forward vpon Wallace with great violence, and ſeeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his grief vpon him, was incloſed among the Scottiſh troupes & ſlaine with a few other of his friends and ſeruants that followed him. The ſlaughter of this man in whom conſiſted no ſmal hope of victorie on the Engliſh part, put the reſidue of their army in ſuch feare that they were not able lōger to reſiſt the Scottiſh mens violent impreſſion, but turning their backs fled amain, whō the Scots purſued in chaſe right fiercely, ſo that many of the Engliſh men died in the battail, but more now in the chaſe, for the tide being come in, ſtayed many of them that made their courſe to haue eſcaped through ẏ riuer, whereby diuerſe that ventured into the water were drowned, and other that durſt not take the water were oppreſſed by the Scottes that followed them.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

The number ſlaine.

There died in this battaile of Engliſh men, to the number neare hand of three. M. and amongſt other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with .xi. other knights of no ſmall account & eſtimation. Of Scots were loſt ſomwhat aboue ſix hundred.

Priſoners taken.

The Earle of Northumberland eſcapeth by flight.

There were taken priſoners of Engliſh men ſir Iohn Pennynton, and ſir Robert Harington knightes, and the Lorde Percie, ſonne to the Earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horſebacke, whereby he eſcaped by flight: and beſide theſe, a great number of other were by the Scottes taken priſoners, whome the ſworde and water had ſpared.

The Erle of Ormond hauing got this honorable victorie, conueyed the chiefeſt of the priſoners to the caſtel of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king ioyfully receiued, honorably feaſted, and highly rewarded.

A truce for three yeares betwixt England and Scotlande.

The Earle of Douglas goeth into Italy.

After this, the Scottes that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a ſeaſon in better quiet: for although the Engliſh men wiſhed to haue bene reuenged of this loſſe and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reaſon of ciuil warres that ſhortly after followed, they were conſtrained to forbeare to make any further warres againſt the Scots, till better occaſion might ſerue. And for the auoyding of danger that might enſue in time of this inteſtine trouble by forraine enimies, they ſued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for ẏ terme of three yeres was granted. In this yeare, William Erle of Dowglas, with a great cōpanie of nobles and gentlemen, as the Lords Hamilton, Gray, Salton, Seiton, & Oliphāt. Alſo, Calder, Vrquhart, Cambel, Fraſer, and Lauder knights, went into Italy, & was at Rome in time of ẏ Iubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behinde him to gouerne his landes in Scotlande, Hugh Earle of Ormōt that was his brother: but in his abſence (through coūſel of ſuch as were about him) the K. ſommoned the Erle to appeare before him within .xl. dayes, and bycauſe he came not within that prefixed time, he was put to the horne, & his lands inuaded & ſpoiled. The caſtel of Dowglas bicauſe they that kept it defended themſelues & the place right ſtoutly againſt the king, was razed & broken downe. But Lochmaben being yelded, was furniſhed with a gariſon of the kings friends.

The Earle of Douglas goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots.

The Earle of Douglas sueth for pardon.

The Earle aduertiſed of theſe things, with all ſpeed returned home, comming through Englād, & ſent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleaſure: who cōmaunding the Erle to ſet his countreys (namely Annandal) purged of theeues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receyued him into fauor againe, ſo that he was alſo eftſoones proclamed the kings lieutenant: but ſhortly after going into Englād wᵗout the kings licence, to cōmen with the king of Englande about the recouerie of loſſes ſuſteined by the Engliſhmen by certain inrodes (as he alledged) the K. tooke the matter in very euil part, for that he ſhuld ſeme ſo to be had in cōtempt of the Erle: & withal he miſtruſted alſo, leaſt there were ſome ſecrete practiſes in handè to the preiudice of him and hys realme: ſo that he ſtormed not a little towards the Erle, who being thereof aduertiſed, came in hūble wiſe to the king, & beſought him of pardō, if he had in any wiſe offended him, aſſuring him that from thenceforth he would neuer commit any act that might tend to his Ma. diſpleaſure. Herewith the Queene alſo & other noble men, made ſuite to the king for the Earles pardon, ſo that in the ende he was receiued again into fauor, but yet diſcharged of bearing any publike office, which pinched him ſo ſore, namely for that his aduerſaries (William Chrichton lord Chancellor, & the Erle of Orkney ſeemed to beare all the rule about the king) he ſought to diſpatch the Chancellor, procuring certaine of his ſeruants & friendes to aſſault him one morning as he was comming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he eſcaped to his caſtel of Chrichton, although wounded indeed right ſore, & within few dayes after, gathering a power of his kinſmen, friends, and allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had deſtroyed (as was thought) the Earle of Dowglas at that preſent, if hee had not ſhifted awaye the more ſpedily, who being thus to his great griefe, & no ſmall diſhonor chaſed out of Edenbourgh, deuiſed which way he might beſt be reuenged: and for the more eaſie accompliſhment of his purpoſe, he procured the Erles of Crawford and Roſſe to ioyne with him in that quarell agaynſt Chrichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie, they couenanted to aſſyſt one another agaynſt the malice of the ſayde Chrichton, and all other their aduerſaries.

He enuieth thoſe that bare rule about the king.

He ſeeketh to deſtroy the L. Chancellor.

1451

The Dowglas conſtrayned to flee out of Edenbourgh.

He maketh a part.

The Earle of Dowglas preſumeth of the aſsiſtance at the handes of his friendes.

The Lorde Herres his lands ſpoyled.

The Lorde Herres hanged

The Erle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himſelfe very highe, in preſuming further therof than ſtood with reaſon: and this was one great cauſe of the kings diſpleaſure nowe paſſingly increaſed agaynſt the ſayde Erle. Another cauſe was this: a ſort of theeues and robbers brake into the landes of the Lorde John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faythfull to the king, taking with thē out of the ſame landes a great bootie of Cattell. And whereas the ſayde Lorde Herres complayned vnto the Earle of Dowglas of that wrong, bycauſe the offendours were inhabyting within his rowmith, and yet coulde haue no redreſſe, he attempted to fetche oute of Annardale ſome praye, wherewith to ſatiſfie in parte the wrong which had bene offred him by thoſe lymmers and robbers. But ſuch was his euil happe, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to priſon, and ſhortly after by commaundement of the Earle of Dowglas, he was hanged as a fellon, notwithſtanding that the king by an Herald cōmaunded the contrarie.

The king being ſore offended herewith (as he had no leſſe cauſe) paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure with ſilence, til he ſaw time and opportunitie to reuenge the ſame: but in the mean ſeaſon many an honeſt man bought the bargain right dearly, being ſpoyled of that he had, & otherwiſe euil entreated, and yet durſt not the meaner ſort once complaine, for feare of further miſchief, where the higher powers alſo ſore lamented the great diſorders dayly increaſing, and were not able yet in anye wyſe

The cõfederacie miſtruſted.

The king ſendeth for the Erle of Dowglas.

1451

to reforme the ſame, inſomuch as it was greatly doubted, leaſt the Earles of Dowglas, Crawforde, Roſſe, Murrey, and other of that faction, ment to put the king beſide his ſeate: which doubt being put into ẏ kings head, brought him into no ſmall perplexitie, whervpon by courteys meſſages he ſent for the Earle of Dowglas, wylling hym to repayre to his preſence, ſoiourning then in Striueling Caſtell, which he refuſed to do, till he had aſſurance vnder the kings great ſeale for his ſafe comming and going (as ſome haue ſaid.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare. 1451. he came to the court at Striueling, where the king tooke him aſide, and in ſecret talk moued and requeſted him to forſake the league and bonde of friendſhip betwixt him and the Earle of Crawford, and other ſuch his confederates.

There was a ſecrete murmuring amongeſt a number, that this Erle of Dowglas purpoſed to make a proofe one day to get the garlande beſyde the kings heade.

In deede by reaſon of his kinneſmen and alyes, he was of more puiſſaunce in the Realme, than (as it was thought) ſtoode wyth the ſuretie of the Kings eſtate, vnleſſe hee were the more faythfull.

Earles of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes.

The lynage and great aliance of the Dowglaſſes.

He had at the ſame time two brethren that were alſo Earles, as Archymbalde Erle of Murrey, and Hugh or (as other haue) George Erle of Ormont, beſyde the Earle of Angus, and the Erle of Mortoun, that were of his ſurname and bloud, with a great nũber of other lords, knights, and men of great poſſeſſions & liuings, all of the ſame ſurname, and linked in friendſhip & aliance with other the chiefeſt linages of all the realme.

The loue that the people bare towarde the name of the Dowglaſſes.

Hereto by reaſon there had bene ſo many valiant men and worthie Captaines of the Dowglaſſes one after another, as it had beene by ſucceſſion, the people and cõmons of Scotland bare ſuch good will and fauour towardes that name, that they were ready to ride or go with thẽ, they cared not whither, nor agaynſt whom.

It is ſayde, that the Earles of Dowglaſſes might haue rayſed. xxx. or. xl. thouſande warlike perſons readie at theyr commaundement, whenſoeuer it had pleaſed them to call.

In deede the Dowglaſſes had euer the gouernment of al matters perteyning to the defence of the realme, ſo that the men of warre had them ſtill in all the eſtimation & honor that might be.

The Earle of Dowglas anſwereth the king ouerthwartly, and is ſlaine.

But nowe to the purpoſe touching the conference had betwixt king Iames the ſeconde, and the Erle of Dowglas: It chaunced in the ende (vpon what occaſion I knowe not) that the Erle anſwered ẏ king ſomwhat ouerthwartly, wherwith the king tooke ſuche indignation, that the Erle hereupon was ſlaine by him and ſuch other as were then about him on Shroue euen.

His brethren make warre againſt the king.

Then after the Earle was thus made away, his brethren made open warre agaynſt the king, and ſlue all ſuch of his friendes and ſeruantes, as they might encounter with: Inſomuch that thoſe which trauailed by the high wayes were in doubt to confeſſe whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglaſſes.

Striueling is burnt.

The king would haue fled.

The Lorde of Cawzow beeing in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the Erle of Dowglaſſes friendes, in reuenge of his death incontinently burnt that towne, and did many other great diſpleaſures to the King and hys ſubiectes, ſetting forth Proclamations agaynſt the King and his Councell, for the violating of the aſſurance graunted (as before is ſayde) to the Earle of Dowglas. Whereby the King was put ſo to his ſhiftes, that hee was determined to haue left the Realme, and to haue fledde by Sea into Fraunce, had not Iames Kenedee the Byſhop of Saint Androwes cauſed him to ſtay, on the hope he had of aſſyſtaunce onely by the Earle of Huntley, whiche Erle hearing that the Dowglaſſes had gathered an armie in the South agaynſte the King, rayſed another armie in the North to ayde the king.

On the other ſyde, the Earle of Crawford hauing aſſembled a great power, encountred him at Breithune, in purpoſe to ſtoppe the Earle of Huntleys paſſage, where betwixte them was fought a ſore battayle, and the Earle of Crawford chaſed into Fynnewyn, ſo that many noble men, gentlemen, and commons were ſlaine, and amongſt other, the Erle of Crawfordes brother was one.

Cullace of Bannamwin betrayeth the Erle of Crawford.

The Earle of Huntley victorer.

Hector Boetius writeth, that Iohn Cullace of Bannamwin, whom the Erle of Crawford had appointed to lead thẽ that bare ẏ battail Axes, or as I may terme them, the Bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpoſe in the hotteſt of the fight, and ſo left the middle ward naked on the one ſide of the chiefeſt ayde ẏ the ſaid Erle had, & ſo the victorie by that meanes only inclined to the kings ſtandard, which the Earle of Huntley had there with him. But howſoeuer it was, the ſayd Erle of Huntley had the honor of the fielde, who neuertheleſſe, loſt diuerſe of his men alſo, though nothing ſo many as his aduerſaries did.

1452

This battaile was fought the. xviij. of May, being the Aſcention day. 1452.

Landes giuen to the Erle of Huntley.

The Earle of Murrey.

The Earle of Huntly the ſame day before the battails ioyned, gaue lãds to the principal men of thoſe ſurnames that were with him, as to ẏ Forbeſſes, Leſlies. Iouings, Ogilvies, Grantes, & diuerſe other. Which boũtifulnes of the Erle made thẽ to fight more valiantly. In recõpence wherof the king gaue to the ſaid Erle the lands of Badzenot, & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archbalde Dowglas Earle of Murrey, brent the pill

of

The Earle of Crawford attainted.

Lordes cited to appeare.

Writings ſet vp in cōtempt of the King.

The Earle of Dowglas marieth his brothers wife.

The Earle of Crawfort ſubmitteth hymſelfe to the King, and is pardoned.

He departed this life.

1454

A Parliament.

The Dowglaſſes forfalted, or as I may ſay atteynted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglas dale giuē in ſpoile to the men of warre.

The counſell of the Lorde Hamylton.

Io. Maior.

of Straboggy, perteyning to the Earle of Huntley, and harried the landes there abouts. In reuenge whereof, the Earle of Huntley at his returning backe, brent and harried all the landes of the Earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a Parliament holden at Edynburgh, the Erle of Crawford was denounced a traytor, and all his landes and goodes decreed to be forfeyted into the Kings handes. James Earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hammilton, the Erles of Murrey, and Ormont, the Lord of Baluay, and many other of that faction, were by publike Proclamation made by an Herault, commaunded to appeare by a day to vnderly the law: but in the next night that folowed the day of this Proclamatiō, certayne of the Dowglaſſes ſeruauntes that were ſent priuily to Edynburgh, to vnderſtande what was done ther, faſtned writings vpō the Church dores, ſealed with the Dowglas his ſeale in this fourme. The Earle from henceforth will neyther obey citation nor other commaundement. Beſyde this, in the ſame writings, they charged the King with many haynous crymes, callyng hym a murtherer, periured, falſe, and a bloodſucker. The King therefore aſſembled an army, and went forth againſte them: but bycauſe the tyme of the yeere was contrary to his purpoſe, he could do no great hurt to his enimies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue away their cattell. But the Dowglas ſeemed to paſſe little for the kings malice, and the Earle himſelfe married his brothers wife the Counteſſe Beatrice, and ſente to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the Kings agents in that Court, the Earles ſuite might not be obteyned. Neuertheleſſe, hee kepte hir ſtill in place of his wife, and continuing in Rebellion againſte the King, the nexte ſpring, and for the more part of the whole tearme of two yeeres nexte enſewing, he harried and ſpoyled the Kings poſſeſſions, and the King on the other part, waſted Annandale, and all other the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the ſayde Earle of Dowglas or his friendes: but ſhortly after, as the King paſſed through Angus, to goe into the Northe partes of the Realme, the Earle of Crawford came and ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him, crauing mercy in moſt humble and lamentable wiſe, and obteyned the Kings pardon, through mediation of James Kenedie Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and ſir William Creichton, but the ſaide Earle lyued not paſt ſixe monethes after, departing this life by force of a hote Agewe in the yeere. 1454. The ſame yeere, the King called a Parliament at Edynburgh, in the whyche James Earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the Counteſſe Beatrice (whome hee hadde taken to him by way of a pretenſed and fayned mariage) Archbald Dowglas, Erle of Murrey, George Dowglas Earle of Ormont, and John Dowglas Baron of Baluay, were forfalted and condemned of Treaſon. The Earledome of Murrey was giuen vnto ſir James Creichton, or rather reſtored to him, frō whome it had bin wrongly taken by the vniuſt ſentence of William Erle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be aſſigned vnto his brother the foreſaide Archebalde, although the right remayned in the ſayd ſir James Creichton. But yet when the ſayd Sir James Creichton could not kepe that Earledome without enuy of diuers and ſundry perſons, hee handled the matter ſo, that ſhortly after it returned agayn to the kings hands. Moreouer, at this Parliamente, George Creichton was created Earle of Cathnes, William Hay Conſtable of Scotlād, was made Earle of Erroll. Ther were alſo diuers created Lordes of the Parliamente, whoſe titles were as folow, Darley, Halis, Boyd, Lyle, and Lorn. After the breaking vp of the Parliament, the King made a iourney againſt his aduerſaries into Galloway, and with ſmall adoe, brought all the Caſtels of that Countrey into his poſſeſſion, and then turning into Dowglas dale bycauſe the inhabitants thereof would not obey him, hee abandoned the ſpoyle thereof vnto his ſouldiers, who practiſed no ſmall crueltie againſt the inhabitants. Hereupon, ẏ Dowglaſſes beeing driuen to their ſhiftes, the Lorde James Hamilton of Cadzow was ſente from them into England to ſeeke for ayde, but in vayne, for none there would be graunted: whereupon, returnyng to his friendes, he counſelled the Earle of Dowglas to truſt to his owne forces, and ſith the ſame were farre ſuperior in number of men, to ẏ Kings power, he gaue likewiſe councell without delay, to ſet vpon the King, that the matter mighte bee tryed by chaunce of battell, the only meane to aſſure them of their liues and eſtates, for otherwiſe he ſaw not how any vnfayned agreement might bee concluded, the matter beeing nowe paſſed ſo farforth to an extremity. But ẏ Earle of Dowglas vtterly (as ſome write) refuſed to fight againſt his ſoueraigne and true liege Lord, if any other meane might be founde: whereupon dyuers great Lordes whiche were with him there on his ſide, being men of greate witte and no leſſe experience, aduiſed him yet to keepe togither his hoſt, till by their trauell and aſſiſtaunce, a peace were concluded and pardon obtayned for all parties: for if the army were once broken vp, all hope was then paſt (as they alledged) for any indifferente conditions of peace to be obtayned.

The Lord Hamylton departeth from the Dowglas.

Herewithalſo, the Lorde Hamylton beeing wiſer than the reſidue, bad the Dowglas fare well, and ſo departed, concluding that hee ſhould neuer ſee ſo faire a day agayne, wherein he might haue caſt the dice for the whole Kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, hee repayred to the King as then lying at the ſeege of Abircorne, who ſente him to the Caſtell of Roſleyn, there to remayne vnder ſafekeeping with the Earle of Orkney, to whom the ſame Caſtell belonged: but at length, yͤ King did not only pardon this Lorde Hamilton of all paſſed offences, but alſo receyued hym into ſuch fauour, that he gaue to him his eldeſt daughter in mariage, as after ſhall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the ſayd Lorde Hamilton from the Dowglas, bycauſe the King had ſet forthe alſo an open proclamation of pardon to all thoſe that woulde forſake the Earle of Dowglas, the moſt part of the ſame Earles company departed from him, by reaſon whereof, he fledde into Englande togither with his brethren.

The Earle of Dowglas his company ſhrinketh from him.

He withdraweth into England.

The King lying at the ſeege of Abircorne loſt diuers of hys men, beſydes many that were wounded, but yet taking firſte a ſtrong Towre, being one of the chiefeſt lymmes of that fortreſſe, ſhortly after he wanne the reſt.

The Earle of Dowglas beeing withdrawen (as ye haue heard) into Englãd, within a whyle after gote togither certayne companies of men, and with the ſame returned agayne into Scotland by the weſt bordures, in hope to find friends in thoſe parties: but ſuch as the king had appointed there to defend the countrey, aſſembling themſelues togither, and ſetting vpon hym, diſcomfited his people, ſlewe his brother Archebalde, and tooke the Earle of Ormont priſoner, being firſte ſore wounded. The Baron of Baluay eſcaped into a Wood and ſo gote away. The Earle himſelf alſo as Hector Boetius hath, eſcaped by flight and gote him vnto Dunſtafage, where finding Donalde Earle of Roſſe and Lord of the Iſles, he procured him (beeing of nature enclined and ready ynough to followe ſuch counſell) to make warre in his fauoure againſte the King. And after hee hadde once ſet hym a worke, he gote hym backe agayne into Englande. Donalde waſted not only the Kings poſſeſſions that lay neere to Dunſtafage, but alſo paſſing through Argile, dyd muche hurte in all places where hee came. He inuaded alſo the Iſle of Arrane, and chaſed the Biſhoppe of Liſmore, conſtreyning hym to take Sayntuarie. This done, hee entred into Lochquhabir, and ſo into Murray lande, where he brente the towne of Inuernes, and wanne the Caſtell by a guilefull trayne.

He inuadeth Scotland.

The Earle of Dowglas diſcomfited. Archebalde Dowglas Earle of Murrey ſlayne. Earle of Ormond taken. Donald Earle of Roſſe.

In the meane time, the Earle of Ormont after he was recouered of his hurtes (as the ſayde Boetius writeth) was preſented to the Kyng, and after he had remayned in priſon a certayne tyme, hee was at length beheaded. Moreouer, the Counteſſe Beatrice, after ſhe ſawe no hope left that the Earle of Dowglas ſhoulde recouer his former eſtate, came to the King, and ſubmitted hir ſelfe, laying all the blame in the Earle, who had procured hir vnto ſuch vnlawfull mariage with him, being hir former huſbandes brother. The king receyued hir right curteouſly, and gaue to hir the Baronie of Baluay, to mayntayne therewith hir eſtate. Shortly after alſo, the Counteſſe of Roſſe fledde from hir huſbande, and came to the King for feare of hir huſbands crueltie, whereof ſhe had alredy partly taſted. The King, bycauſe hee hadde made the marriage betwixt hir and hir huſband, aſſigned hir forth ſufficient reuenewes alſo for the mayntenaunce of hir eſtate.

The Earle of Ormont beheaded.

The Coũteſſe of Dowglas Beatrice, ſubmitteth hirſelfe to the King.

The Coũteſſe of Roſſe.

About the ſame time, Patrick Thornton one of the Kings ſeruauntes, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, ſlewe Iohn Sãdelands of Calder the Kings Couſin, and Alane Steward at Dunbriton, for that they fauored the contrary faction: but the King getting the offender into his hands, cauſed him and his complices to die for theyr wicked offence committed.

Patricke Thornton.

The vniuerſitie of Glaſgew was foũded about this tyme by one Turnebull, Byſhop of that ſea.

The vniuerſitie of Glaſgew founded.

1455

In the yeere following, dyed William Hay, Earle of Errole, and Coneſtable of Scotlande. Alſo George Creichton Earle of Catneſe, and William Creichton chiefe of that family.

Death of noble men.

In this meane while, the Earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Engliſhmẽ diuers times to make roades into Scotlande, whereby he loſt as yͤ Scottiſh writers affirme yͤ loue of his owne coũtreymen, whẽ they ſaw him thus ioyne with the Engliſhmen to the domage of his natiue land. At one time, Henry Earle of Northumberland, & the ſaid Earle of Dowglas inuaded the Mers, but taking little heede to thẽſelues, and ſuffering their people to ride abroade to harrie the countrey without order. Dowglas Earle of Angus with a mightie army of Scottiſhmen ſet vppon them, and put them to flighte, ſleaing diuers, and taking to the number of ſeuen hundred priſoners.

Thus as ſhould appeare, the Earle of Dowglas in vayne ſought to diſquiet his countrey, for all his friendes in Scotlande continued faithfull to the King, who had graunted peace to all other of yͤ Dowglaſſes and their complices: for it was Gods will that the matter ſhoulde bee taken vp without more bloudſhed, that the right line of the Scottiſh Kings might be preſerued.

And though the almighty God mighte haue brought that to paſſe by other meanes, according as it ſhould haue pleaſed hys good wil & omnipotent power, yet he choſe this way, whereby the effuſion of much bloud might be auoyded, whiche by ciuill battell had bin ſpylled, if the parties hauing their harts fylled with rancoure and yre, had

buckled

buckeled togyther in battayle.

James Kenedy Archbiſhop of Saint Androws chiefe Chauncellor to the King.

But the King vſing the aduiſe of his kinſman James Kenedie Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, compaſſed his purpoſe in the end, diſpatching out of the way all ſuche as he any wayes ſor the miſtruſted, of which nũber namely were the Dowglaſſes, whoſe puiſſance and authoritie not without cauſe he euermore ſuſpected.

Many haue reported (as before is ſaid) that in the beginning, King James the ſecond, through feare of yͤ great power of theſe Dowglaſſes, was in mind to haue fled the Realme, but being recõforted by the counſell and authoritie of the ſayde Biſhop James Kenedy, he aduaunced his ſtudie to matters of greater importaunce.

The ſayde Kenedy turned the Earle of Angus being of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes and brother to him by his mother, to take parte with the King.

The practiſe of Biſhop Kenedy.

He procured alſo diuers other of yͤ ſame bloud and ſurname, to reuolte from the other confederates, and to ſubmitte themſelues vpon promiſe of pardon vnto the Kings mercie, and ſo enfeebling the forces of ſuch as were aduerſaries to the King, in the ende, he had them all at his pleaſure.

Great power cauſe of ſuſpicion.

It was thoughte, that for ſo muche as the Dowglaſſes had their lãds lying ſo vpon yͤ weſt and middle Marches of the Realme (that no mã might beare any rule in thoſe partes, but onely they them ſelues,) if they had happily ioined with the Engliſhmen, conſidering the greate intelligence beſide which they had in all other partes of the Realme, what by kindred and aliaunce, the Realme mighte haue falne into greate perill: for truely it is a daungerous thing (as Johannes Maior ſaith) for the eſtate of a Realme to haue men of greate power and authoritie, inhabiting on the borders and vttermoſt partes thereof, for if they chaunce (vpon any occaſion gyuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall Prince and ſupreme gouernoure, the preiudice may bee greate and irrecouerable, that oftentimes thereof enſueth, as well appeareth in the Erles of March and other before mentioned in this hiſtory: and likewiſe in Fraunce by the Dukes of Burgundy, Brytayne, and Normandy: for till thoſe cõtreys were incorporate and annexed vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, the Kings of that Realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through Rebellion by them whome they accompted for their ſubiects.

But nowe to returne where I lefte, after the Dowglaſſes were once diſpatched, and things quieted, King James the ſeconde began then to raigne and rule really, not doubting the controlement of any other perſon. For then he ordeyned lawes for his people as ſeemed beſt to his lyking, commaunding the ſame to be kept vnder greate penalties and forfeytures. And, being counſelled chiefly by the Biſhop of S. Androwes, James Kenedie that was his vncle, and the Earle of Orkney, hee paſſed through all the partes of hys Realme, graunting a generall pardon of all offences paſſed. And ſo hee ruled and gouerned hys ſubiects in greate quietneſſe, and cauſed iuſtice ſo duely to be miniſtred on all ſides, that it was ſaid in his days, how he cauſed the raſhe buſh to keepe the Cowe.

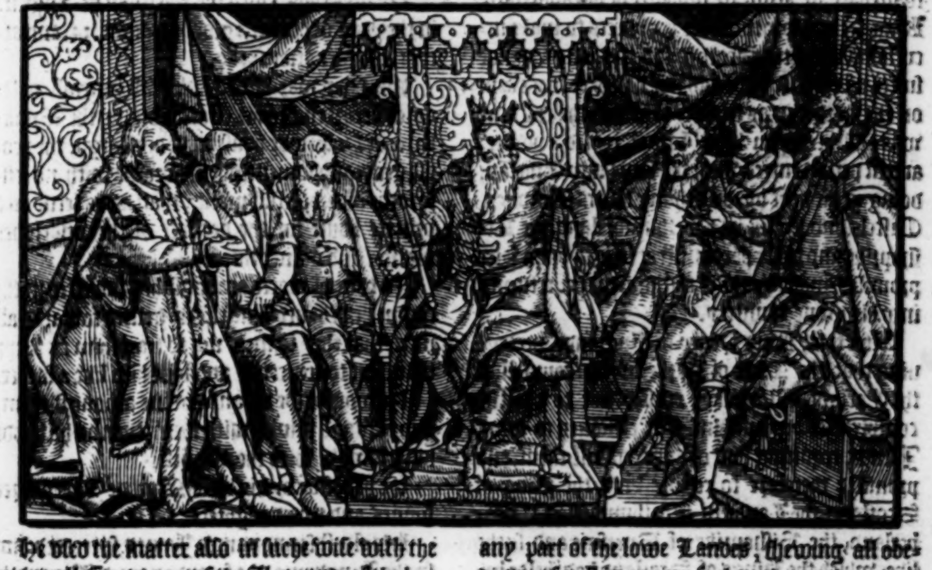
Lawes ordeyned.

A general pardon graunted.

In the yeere. 1455. the King helde a Parliamente, in whiche were many good lawes made and eſtabliſhed for the weale of all the Realm, as in the bookes of yͤ actes of Parliamẽt is cõteyned.

1455

A Parliament holden.



The Iſles and high lande quietly gouerned.

He vſed the matter alſo in ſuche wiſe with the principall Captaynes of the Iles, and of the hye lands, that the ſame were as quietly gouerned, as any part of the lowe Landes, ſhewing all obedience aſwell in paying ſuch duties as they owed to yͤ King for their lands, as alſo in readineſſe to

ſerue

Donald Earle of Roſſe, and Lord of the Iles.

Diſſencion in England.

King Iames inuadeth Englande.

ſerue in the warres with greate companyes of men as became them to do. Specially Donalde, Lord of the Iſles and Earle of Roſſe, who hadde before ioyned hymſelfe in confederacie with the Earles of Dowglas and Crawfort agaynſt the King, and had taken into his hands the Kyngs houſe, and caſtel of Inuerneſſe (as before ye haue heard) namyng hymſelfe King of the Iles. Neuertheleſſe, he was now at length recōciled to the King, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwardes brought to the King three thouſand men in ayde at the ſeege of Roxburgh. In this meane while greate diſſention roſe in Englande betweene the two houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke, the King being principall of the houſe of Lancaſter, was taken himſelfe at the battell of Saint Albons. But the Queene with hir ſonne the Prince, and Henry the yong Duke of Sommerſet, and diuers other, fled into yͤ North parts of England, and ſent to the King of Scotlande to deſire him of ayde, who vppon good aduice taken with his counſell, for that King Henry hadde euer kept well yͤ peace with the Realme of Scotland, and alſo for reuenge of his vncle the Duke of Sommerſet his deathe, prepared an army of twentie thouſande men to paſſe into Englande, and in the meane time all the North partes of England, hearing that King Iames was ready to ſupport the Queene of England, ioyned with hir, and paſt forward into the South partes, conſtrayning the Duke of Yorke to flee the Realme, and ſo king Henry enioyed the gouernemente of his Realme agayne, and for that time concluded an agreemente with the Duke of Yorke his aduerſarie whiche laſted not long. The Duke of Yorke remembring how ready king Iames was to prepare an armie in ſupporte of his aduerſarie King Henry, procured the borderers to make incurſions vpon the Scottiſh ſubiectes, and woulde ſuffer no redreſſe to be had nor dayes of truce kept on the borders, as in time of peace the cuſtome was. Wherevpon king Iames reyſed a power, and in perſon entred with the ſame into Englād, doing great hurt by deſtroying diuers Townes, Caſtels and Pyles in Northumberland, the Biſhoprike and other partes, till at length vpon faire promiſes made by the Engliſhmen, hee returned into his owne countrey.

1458.

1459

1460

King Iames the ſecond is ſlayne.

After this, King Henry of Englande, perceyning that the Duke of Yorke by the counſell of the Earle of Warwike, ceaſſed not to practiſe conſpiracies againſt him, ſent eftſoones to kyng Iames, requiring him of ayde againſt them, and promiſed therefore to reſtore vnto the King of Scotland, the Lands in Northumberlād, Cumberland, the Biſhoprike of Dureſme and ſuche like, which the Kings of Scotland had helde before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, ſealed, and enterchanged betwixt the two Princes (as the Scottiſhmen alledge.) The yeere next following, at the Queene of Englandes deſire to ſupporte hir againſte the houſe of Yorke, King Iames with a great army entred England, but after that the Queene in the meane time had ſlayne the Duke of Yorke, and gote the vpper hande of hir enimies, at the ſame Queenes requeſt, hee retired into Scotlande againe. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after, when yͤ Erles of March and Warwike ſought ſtill to mayneteyne their quarrell againſt the Queene of Englande, ſhe was conſtreyned to withdraw into the North partes, and to deſire King Iames to approche eftſoones with his armie vnto the bordures whiche he did, meaning to winne the Caſtels of Roxburgh and Warke, whiche were amongſt other things promiſed to bee deliuered vnto him by King Henry: and ſo comming to Roxburgh, laide his armie round about that Caſtell, and planted his ſeege in full warlike manner. Here the King hauing greate experience in knowledge of ſhooting greate artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanyed with the Earle of Angus and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordynaunce was planted, which he cauſed to be ſhot off. And here by great miſfortune, this worthy Prince Iames the ſeconde, was ſlayne by the ſlice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and ſlewe not only the King ſtanding ſomewhat neere it, but alſo hurte the Earle of Angus with other, being a notable preſident from henceforth, how ſuch great Princes approch ſo neere within daunger of ſuch peeces of ordynance when they are ſo ſhotte off.

Alias. 17.

1480

He was thus killed the third day of Auguſt, in the yeere of his life. 29. of his raigne. 24. and after the incarnation. 1480.

The buriall of Iames the ſeconde.

The lamentation of the people.

His body was buried with all funerall obſequies according to his eſtate, within the Monaſterie of Holyroode houſe at Edynburgh, the people generally lamenting his deathe with no leſſe ſorowe and dolefull mone, than as is ſeene in a priuate houſe for the deceaſſe of the welbeloued maiſter and owner thereof.

The amiable conditions of Iames the ſeconde.

In time of warre amongſt his ſubiectes in the campe he behaued himſelfe ſo gently towardes all men, that they ſeemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence and loue him like a father.

He would ride vp and downe amongſt them, and eate and drinke with them euen as he hadde bin felowlike with the meaneſt.

The iſſue of Iames the ſeconde.

He had iſſue by his wife Queene Mary three ſonnes, and two daughters.

Iames the third King of Scotland.

Alexander Duke of Albany.

His eldeſt ſonne named Iames, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, the ſeconde named Alexander, was created Duke of Albany, and his third ſonne called

Earle
ile.

called John, was made Earle of Mar.

The eldeſt of his daughters the Hamilton had in mariage, as before is, and alſo after ſhall bee mentioned.

blaſing
arre.

Some ſtraunge ſightes there appeared before the death of this King James the ſecond, for the day before he was ſlayne, a blaſing Starre was playnely ſeene, which ſignified as was thought, the death of the ſayd King.

Hermo-
podite, that
a perſon
ng both
n and wo-
n.

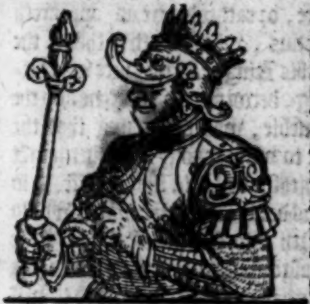
In the yeere before the ſeege, there was in Dundee an Hermophrodite, that is, a perſon with both ſhapes, but eſteemed for a woman onely, till it was proued, that lying with hir maſters daughter nightly where ſhe dwelt, ſhe had gote ẏ yong Damoſell with childe, for the whiche acte, bycauſe ſhe had counterfeted hir ſelfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, ſhe was condemned to be buried quicke, and ſuffered according to that iudgement.

wicked
theefe that v-
ſd to kill
yng perſons
nd to eate
em.

About the ſame time, there was a certayne theefe, that with his familie, liued apart from the company of men, remayning ſecretely within a denne in Angus called Feniſden, who vſed to kill yong perſons, and to feede on their fleſh, for the whiche abhominable offence, being apprehended with his wife & all his familie, they were burnt to death, one of his daughters that was vnneth. 12. monethes of age, only excepted, the which being preſerued and brought vp in Dundee, before ſhee came to the age of twelue yeeres, ſhee was taken in the like crime for the whiche hir father dyed, wherevpon ſhee was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitude followed hir, in wondering at ſo horrible an offence committed by one of hir age and ſexe, ſhee turned to them that thus deteſted hir wicked doing, and with a countenance repreſenting hir cruell inclination, ſayde to them: what neede you thus to rayle vpon me, as if I had done an heynous acte contrary to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleaſant mans fleſhe is in taſt, there would none of you all forbeare to eate it. And thus with an impenitente and ſtubborne minde, ſhe ſuffered the appoynted execution.

daughter
ſlech to the
ke practiſe.

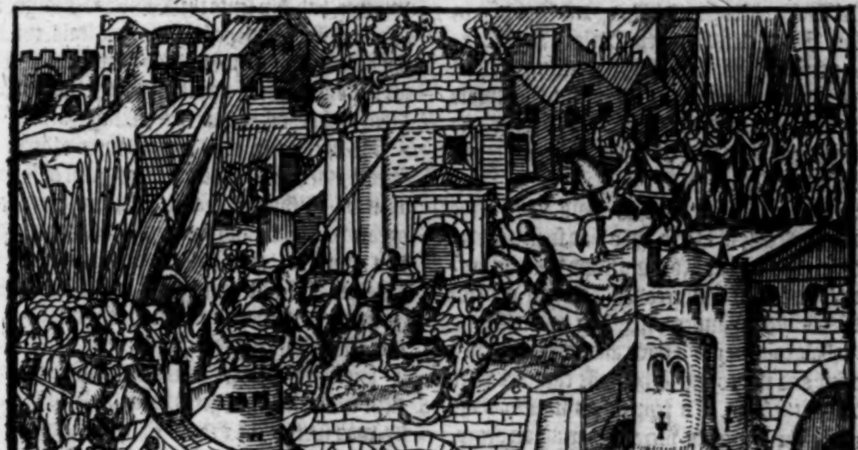
Hir wordes going to execution.



After the Deathe of James the ſecond, his ſonne James ẏ third a childe of ſeauen yeeres of age ſucceeded him, & forthwith was ſent for to the ſeege of Roxburgh, whither he was conueyed by the Queene, a woman of a ſtout ſtomacke, repreſenting the manlike race of hir countrey Gelderland, of the which ſhe was diſcended. For comming with hir ſonne thus to the ſeege, ſhe ſpent not time in lamenting and womaniſh bewayling the irrecouerable loſſe of hir huſbãd, but rather in comforting ẏ Lords, whoſe parte had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue al things ſhe exhorted thẽ with al diligence to imploy their whole indeuours and forces to ẏ winning of that Caſtel. Whoſe wordes ſo encouraged the Captaynes and whole army, that the ſeege was continued till the Caſtell was wonne,

The ſtout ſtomacke of the Queene.

Roxburgh Caſtell taken and broken downe.



raced, and beaten downe flat to the grounde: and the yong King was Crowned at Kelſo, with the vniuerſall conſente and great reioycing of all the noble men, and other being there preſente in the army. This done, they beſeeged the Caſtell of Warke, whiche likewiſe they toke, and threwe downe, and afterwardes the King with the nobles of his Realme, came to Edynburgh, to take

Warke beſeeged and won.

Seuen gouernours choſen.

order for the quiet gouernemente of the Realme, and bycauſe the King was yong, there were choſen ſeauen regentes to gouerne both King and Realm, as theſe, the Queene his mother, James Kenedie Biſhop of Saint Androwes, that was ſiſters ſonne to James yͤ firſt, the Biſhop of Glaſgow, the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Argile, and Orkney. Theſe ſo long as James Kenedy liued, agreed well togither about the gouernemente of the Realme, but within a while after his deceſſe, they fell at ſquare, or rather before as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who ſayeth, that in the ſecond yeere of this Kings raigne, there was diſcorde in brewing, betwixte the Queene and the Archbiſhop Kenedie, who perceyuing that the woman ſought to vſurp wholly the gouernemẽt vnto hir ſelfe, withſtoode hir in that behalfe, in ſo much that it was doubted leaſt the matter would haue broken forth into ſome ciuill warre, if the Biſhops of Glaſgow, Dunkelde, and Abirden, & certayne Abbots had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an atonement, who dyd ſo much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wiſe. The Queene mother was appoynted to haue the charge of the Kings perſon, and of his brethren, Alexander Duke of Albany, and John Earle of Mar, and likewiſe of his two ſiſters, but as for the adminiſtration and gouernance of the Realme, ſhe ſhoulde leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common conſente as rulers, the Biſhops of Glaſgow and Dunkeld, the Earle of Orkney, the Lorde Graham, Thomas Boyd, and the Chancellor. About the ſame tyme, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother John Laerd of Lorne tooke him, and kept him in priſon. But Colen Cambell Earle of Argile, taking great indignation with ſo preſumptuous a parte, gathered a power, and comming agaynſte Keir, tooke him, and ſet his brother at libertie, and brought the offendour vnto Edinburgh, where he dyed in priſon.

Donald of the Iles eftſoones rebelleth.

Moreouer, ſhortly after Donald Lord of the Iles and Earle of Roſſe, who had ſerued obediently in the army at Roxburgh and was (as outwardly appeared) well reconciled, began of newe to vſe his olde manners, ſpoyling and harrying the whole countrey of Athole, and tooke the Earle thereof, and the counteſſe his wife captiues with him into the Iles. To repreſſe his iniurious attemptes: the Regents were preparing an army, but therewith came true aduertiſements, that the ſayd Lord of the Iles, and other the principall offendors of his company, were ſtriken through the hand of God with a certayne frenſie or madneſſe, and had loſt all their ſhippes and ſpoyles in the ſea, ſo that yͤ Earle of Athole and his Lady were reſtored, and thoſe frentike perſons were brought vnto Saint Brides Kirke in Athole, for the recouery of their health, but it woulde not be. Donalde him ſelfe was afterward, ſlayne in the Caſtell of Jnuernes by an Iriſhman that was a minſtrell.

Donald became madde.

Hitherto ha Hector Boe us continue the Scottiſh hiſtorie.

He was kille

1461

Henry King of England ſafecunduct commeth into Scotlande.

In the yeere. 1461. Henry the ſixte King of Englande, beeing vanquiſhed by hys aduerſarie Edwarde the fourth, purchaſed of King James the thirde a ſafecunduct for him ſelfe and a thouſande Horſe to enter into Scotlande, and hereupon hee came to Edynburgh, and was lodged in the houſe of the Friers Preachours, with hys wife Queene Margaret, and hys ſonne Prince Edwarde.

There was alſo with him the Duke of Exceter, and the Duke of Sommerſet, with many other of the Engliſh nobilitie.

The Queene went into Fraunce for ayde.

The Queene with hir ſon went into Fraunce, to trie what purchaſe for ayde & ſupport againſte hir huſbandes enimies, ſhe might make there amongſt hir owne friendes and kinſmen.

Barwike deliuered to the Scottiſhmen.

The ſame time, King Henry deliuered the towne and Caſtell of Barwike into the Scottiſhmens handes, whether by couenant thereby to haue the foreſaid ſafecunduct graunted, or of his owne voluntary will, to the ende he mighte haue the more ſupport and fauoure amongſt them, it is vncertayne by the variable reporte of writers.

A truce for 15. yeeres.

Neuertheleſſe, ſhortly after a truce was taken betwixt King James and King Edwarde, for the tearme of fifteene yeeres, vpon what conditions or promiſes made on King Edwardes parte J fynde not.

1462

This truce was concluded in the Moneth of May, in the yeere. 1462. at the Citie of Yorke, whither had bin ſente the Biſhop of Glaſgo, the Earle of Argile, keeper of the priuie ſeale, the Abbot of holy Roode Houſe, Sir Alexander Boyde, and ſir William Crawſton Knightes, Ambaſſadors and commiſſioners for King James.

James Kenedy the Archbiſhop gouerneth the Realme.

All thyngs in thys ſeaſon were ordered in Scotlande by the aduice and counſell of James Kenedy Biſhop of Saint Androwes, a man of greate wiſedome and policie, as well appeared in hys prudente and ſage gouernemente of the Realme, aſwell during the minoritie of thys James the thirde, as alſo in the dayes of hys father King James the ſeconde.

Monſieur de la Varenne ſent foorth of Fraunce to ayde the part of Margaret Queene of Englande.

Pierre de Brezey, otherwiſe called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great Seneſhal of Normãdy, was ſent by the French King Lewes the eleuenth, with two thouſande fyghting men to ayde the parte of Kyng Henry agaynſte King Edwarde.

This Brezey was one, that was moſt in fauoure with King Charles the ſeuenth, father vnto the ſayde Kyng Lewes, and therefore (as many dyd ſuppoſe) hee was appoynted by Kyng

Lewis (who greatly loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourney, to the end his life might be put in hazarde and aduenture, notwithſtanding after ſome danger both of tempeſt on the Sea, and alſo of the enimies handes, hee wanne the Caſtels of Bamburgh and Dunſtanburgh which he caſt to the grounde, and after tooke in hande to keepe the Caſtell of Anwike, and beeing beſeeged therein, ſent for ayde to the Scottes.

He keepeth Anwike Caſtell, and is beſeeged.

George Dowglas Earle of Angus as then Warden of the Marches, immediately reyſed a power of. 23000. men, and comming with the ſame to the bordures, choſe forth of all his numbers fiue thouſande of the moſt able horſemen in al his army, and comming with them to the Caſtell about the middeſt of the day, tooke the Frenchmen away with him into Scotlande, the Engliſh army whiche lay there at ſiege beholding the manner, and not once making profer to fyghte with him. Some Engliſhmen there were, that woulde fayne haue foughten with the Scottes, but other (whoſe counſell was followed) were otherwiſe minded, alledging, that better it were to let them paſſe without encounter, ſith they left the Caſtell voyde, than to ieoperd vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not greate, yet were they piked and choſen men, able to atchieue a great enterpriſe.

He is reſcowed by the Erle of Angus.

Alias. 13000.

1463

The Queene mother dyed.

After this, the ſixteenth of Nouember, in the yeere. 1463. the Queene of Scottes, mother to James the thirde, dyed at Edynburgh, and was buryed in the Colledge of the Trinitie, which ſhe hir ſelfe had founded.

This woman, after the deceſſe of hir huſband James the ſeconde, liued ſomewhat diſſolutely, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a married mã to keepe hir ſuch familiar company, as ſounded greatly to hir diſhonor, for that ſhe could not within the whole Realme fynde ſome ſingle man amongſt all the nobilitie, with whome ſhe might haue married, and ſo in parte to haue auoyded the greater open ſlander and infamy.

Adham Hepbornes familiaritie with the Queene of Scottes, mother to James the thirde.

The ſame yeere, Alexander Duke of Albany, and brother to the King, was taken on the Sea by the [illegible]men in the month of June, as hee was re[illegible] from his Graundfather the Duke of G[illegible] the Biſhop of Saint Androwes James [illegible], cauſed both the ſayde Duke and alſo the Ship with all the goodes there inbeing, at the time of the taking of it, to bee reſtored, for otherwiſe as hee flatly proteſted, hee woulde not haue kept the truce any longer concluded betwixt the two Realmes.

Alexander Duke of Albany taken on the Sea.

1464

King Henry returneth into Englande.

The Duke of Sommerſet, in hope of great fauor which he ſhuld finde in England, perſwaded King Henry to paſſe thither, and with a greate company of Scottiſhmen he entred Englande, and many of the North parts reſorted vnto him, but at length, at his comming to Exam, yͤ Lord Montagus with a greate power was ready to giue him battell, and there diſcomfited hym and his whole army. The Duke of Sommerſet and the Lords Hungerford and Roſſe, were taken & put to death, the Duke at Exham, and the Lords at Newcaſtell. King Henry eſcaped very hardly into Scotland againe, and there remayned a certayne ſpace after, till at length he thought to returne into Englande in ſuche ſecrete wiſe, as hee ſhould not haue bin once knowen, till hee mighte haue gote amongſt his friendes, whiche woulde haue ſupported him: but ſuch diligent watch was layde for him all alongſt the bordures, that hee was eſpyed taken and deliuered to King Edward his aduerſarie, who ſhut him vp in yͤ Tower of London till he was at lẽgth therein made away, as in the Hiſtory of England ye may ſee more at large.

King Henry is impriſoned.

1466

In the yere. 1466. that famous Biſhop James Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the Colledge of S. Sauiour, foũded by him within yͤ town of S. Androwes in moſt ſumptuous wiſe.

This Prelate in prudent policie excelled al other Scottiſh Biſhops, of whom any writer maketh mentiõ. He kept yͤ Realme in good quiet, and obſerued yͤ truce concluded with yͤ Engliſhmẽ, to yͤ great weale and cõmoditie of yͤ pore commõs.

He was very rich, as appeared by ſundry buildings and workes which he left behinde him, as a memoriall of his name.

Beſide his Biſhopricke, he helde in his hands the commaundary of the Abbey of Pettinweme, whiche was worth vnto hym. 800. crownes by yeere.

1469

The mariage of Iames the thirde.

In the yeere.1469.on the tenth day of Iuly, king Iames the third being as then about [illegible] [illegible] yeeres of age, married in the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe neere Edynburgh, the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmarke and Norway, whiche Lady was at the ſame tyme not paſt twelue yeeres of age, ſome ſay ſixteene.

The King of Norway reſigneth his title to the out Iles.

Hir father the King of Denmarke and Norway, in name of hir dower, tranſported and reſigned to King Iames all his right, title, and intereſt which he pretended to the out iles. The Ambaſſadours that were ſent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conuey the Bride into Scotland, were theſe: Andrew Duſdeir Biſhop of Glaſgo, the Biſhop of Orkney, the Lorde Auandale Chancellor of Scotlande, and Thomas Boyd Earle of Arrane, who had married the kings ſiſter, and was now in his abſenſe rūne into the Kings diſpleaſure, whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir huſbands arriual with yͤ other in the forth, gote out of Edinburgh, and comming a ſhipborde vnto him, gaue hym to vnderſtande what diſpleaſure the King hadde conceyued againſt him: who perceyuing himſelfe in what daunger he ſtoode if he tooke lande, returned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with him. The King herewith was ſo offended, that he cauſed both the ſayd Earle and his father to be atteynted of high treaſon, and ſente for his ſiſter backe into Scotlande, cauſing a diuorſe in abſence of hir huſbande to be ſewed, and gote forthe betwixt them, marrying hir afterwardes to the Lord Hamilton, to whome hee gaue the Earledome of Arrane, which hir former huſband had in gift before. Of this marriage, thoſe of the houſe of Hamilton are diſcended, & are neereſt of bloud to yͤ Crowne of Scotland as they pretend.

The Earle of Arrane in the Kings diſpleaſure.

The Lord Hamilton marieth the kings ſiſter.

But nowe to ſhewe further what wee finde written concerning the manner and cauſe of the baniſhmente of the afore remembred Thomas Boyd, Giouan Ferrerio, in his appendix of the Scottiſh hiſtorie annexed vnto Hector Boetius laſtly imprinted at Paris anno.1574.agreeth not with that which ye haue red before, for as hee telleth the tale, the ſayd Lord Boyd being one of the gouernours of the Realme, elected thereto (as before ye haue heard) within ſhorte time grewe ſo farre in fauoure with the King, that he might do all things with him at his pleaſure, although hys aſſociates in authoritie did neuer ſo much goe about to hinder his deuiſes, by reaſon whereof, hee ſeemed to vſurp the whole rule and adminiſtration of the Realme into his owne handes, ſore to the greefe of thoſe his ſaid aſſociates being ioyned with him in like office.

Giouan Ferrerio in hys appendix of the Scottiſh hiſtory.

The Lorde Boyd beareth all the rule about the King.

Hereof the ſtate of the cōmō wealth through the diſſention thus bred among the gouernours, was brought into a miſerable plighte: for iuſtice in moſt places wāted hir due courſe, ſo as theeues and robbers taking boldneſſe thereof not only vpon the bordures, but alſo elſe where, beganne to exerciſe greate outrage, to the breache of publike peace, and namely yͤ inhabitants of the out Iſles fell to their wonted trade of pilfering, ſo that paſſing ouer in their long boates or Barges, and landing here and there on the ſhore, they tooke prayes of Cattell and other goodes, greatly to their profite, and no leſſe domage of the people that inhabited on the coaſtes ouer againſt thē.

Through default of agrement in the gouernors, euill diſpoſed men waxe bolde to worke miſchiefe.

In the North parts alſo, ſeditious tumults amongſt the nobles gentlemen and people, were reyſed, to the great diſquieting of the whole countrey. Suche diſorders continued no ſmall time, and bycauſe the ſayde Thomas Lord Boyd bare greateſt rule about the King, the blame (as it cōmonly happeneth was imputed to him. At lēgth when the King was growen to ripe yeeres, and able to ſee to the adminiſtration of the common wealth him ſelfe, he was admoniſhed by certaine graue perſonages to haue ſome regard, that ſuche miſorders as diſquieted the whole ſtate of the Realme, might be reformed. Wherevpon he called a Parliament, in the which whether through enuy that the Lordes had conceyued againſte the Lord Boyd, or for that his doings no leſſe deſerued ſuch complaynte, was exhibited by generall voyces of the eſtates againſt him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole aſſembly, that he ſhould come to aunſwer in iudgemēt ſuch crimes wherewith he was charged: but when hee refuſed ſo to do, and in contempt of the Kings authoritie gote togither a power of armed men, to defende him frō iniurie that might ſeeme (as he pretēded) to be offered him. Atlength the King was driuen of neceſſitie to make preparation for the leauying of an army to apprehende him by force. Whereof Boyd being aduertiſed, fled into England, bycauſe he perceiued himſelfe not able to reſiſt the Kings power. The King aſſured that hee was thus auoyded out of his Realme, baniſhed him for euer, and ſeaſed vpon his lands and goods as forfeted. After this, when the ſayd Boyd ſawe no hope to returne againe into the Kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Engliſhmen, he paſſed from thence into Denmarke, where he remayned till the mariage was concluded betwixt the King and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmarke, as yee before haue heard: and then in hope by occaſion of thys

marriage

They that be in authoritie be euer ſubiect to the ſpiteful blowe of enuies dart.

The Lorde Boyd is accuſed.

He refuſeth to be tryed by way of arreinment.

He fleeth into England.

He paſſeth into Denmarke.

His wyn hope to obtayne pardon.

He goeth into Italy. He is murdered.

marriage to obtayne pardon, returned nowe in company of the Bride, and of thoſe Ambaſſadors that were ſent to haue the conueyance of hir into Scotlande: neuertheleſſe, vnderſtanding by hys wife that came to him a ſhipborde before he ſet foote on land, that the kings diſpleaſure continued ſtill towardes him ſo greatly, that if he came a land, he ſhuld be ſure to loſe his head, he returned into Denmarke, and tooke his wife with hym (as before is mẽtioned.) Finally he went into Italy, where at length he was murthered by one, whoſe wife he went about to allure for the ſatiſfying of his ſenſuall luſt. Before he was diuorced frõ hys wife the kings ſiſter, he begate on hir a ſonne, the which in the dayes of king Iames the fourth, in a priuate quarrell that roſe betwixte him and an other noble mã, chanced to be ſlayne. This much touching the Lord Thomas Boyd of Kalmarnock out of Ferrerio: who alſo in report of yͤ matter touching the marriage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, ſomewhat varieth from [illegible] other that write thereof.

1468

The Ambaſſadors ſent into Denmark as Ferrerio ſaith.

The marriage concluded. The Iſles of Orkney and Shetland engaged.

The Ambaſſadors yͤ were ſent vnto Chriſtiern King of Denmarke and Norway in the yeere 1468. as yͤ ſaid Ferrerio affirmeth, were theſe, Androw Biſhop of Glaſgow, William Biſhop of Orkney, Androw Lorde of Iuandale, Chancellor of the Realm, Martine Wane the great aulmoner, and the kings Confeſſor, Gilbert de Kerrick Archdeacon of Glaſgow, Dauid Creichton of Crauſton, and Iohn Shaw of Haly. Theſe Ambaſſadors beeing diſpatched into Denmarke in Iuly, in the yeere aforeſaid, came at length vnto Haffnen, where king Chriſtierne then remayned, and were of him ioyfully receyued and well heard concerning their ſuite, in ſo much at length after he had proponed the matter to his counſell about the eighte of September, it was agreed in this ſorte, that the Lady Margaret, daughter to the ſayd king Chriſtierne, ſhould be giuen in marriage vnto king Iames of Scotland, and that yͤ Iſles of Orkney, beeing in number. 28. and likewiſe the Iſles of Shetland, of which there are. 18. ſhuld remayne in poſſeſſion of the kings of Scotland, till eyther the ſayd king Chriſtierne or hys ſucceſſors in name of the marriage money ſhould pay vnto King Iames, or to his ſucceſſors, the ſumme of. 50. thouſand Florens of the Rhine. This marriage was thought, by reaſon of thys engaging of thoſe Iſles, right profitable vnto the Realm of Scotland, bycauſe of the controuerſie and variance whiche had continued long before thoſe dayes betwixt the Kings of Scotlande and Denmarke, about the righte of poſſeſſing thoſe Iſles. In the moneth of Nouember next enſuing, after the marriage had bin conſummate in Iuly before, within the Abbey Churche of Holy Roode houſe (as before ye haue heard) or in Saint Giles Church in Edenburgh (as other write) the three eſtates were called to aſſemble in Edenburgh, where the Queene was Crowned, and the Parliamente holden, the moſt parte of the Lordes remayning ſtill in Edenburgh all the next Winter: And in the Sommer following, the king and Queene made their progreſſe into the Northe partes, and were honorably receyued in the principall cities and townes where they came, and likewiſe by the Nobles of the countrey, to the greate reioycing of the whole Realme. After their returning to Edenburgh, the king called a Parliament in the moneth of May 1471. in the whyche amõg other things it was ordeyned, that Lords, Barons, and the burroughes of the Realme ſhoulde builde Shippes and boates, and prouide nettes for fiſhing. Alſo it was ordeined, that none ſhould weare ſilkes in doublet, gowne, or cloke, except Knights, Minſtrels and Heraulds, excepte they mighte diſpende one hundred poundes in lands by yeere: and that yͤ footeball and other vnlawfull games ſhoulde be debarred, and the exerciſe of ſhooting mainteyned. Iames eldeſt ſonne to king Iames the thirde, was borne yͤ tenth day of March, in the yeere. 1472. who afterwardes ſucceded his father, and was called Iames yͤ fourth. Chriſtierne king of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this yong Prince beeing his Nephewe by his daughter, releaſed all the righte, title and clayme which he or his ſucceſſors might haue to the Iſles of Orkney and Shetland.

1469

1470

1471

The like act for ſhooting was inſtituted by king Iames the firſt. Anno 1425. Iohn Maior.

1472

The right to Orkney and Shetlande reſigned.

A blaſing Starre.

1473

A Shipwracke.

Abbayes giuen by vnlawful meanes.

A ſtraunge comete or blaſing Starre (as wee call it) appeared in yͤ South, from the ſeuenteenth day of Ianuarie, vnto the eyghteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt yͤ Pole and the Pleiades, that is to wit, the ſeuen Starres. A greate Ship built by the late Archbiſhop of Sainte Androws Kennedie, called the Biſhops Barge, brake and was loſt beſide Banburgh, beeing fraughte with marchandiſe, the twelfth of Marche. Many Merchant mens ſeruantes and other paſſengers were drowned wͭ hir, ſome eſcaped by boate, and were taken by the Engliſhmen, amongſt whome was the Abbot of S. Colme, who was cõſtreined to pay vnto his taker one Iames Kar, 80. poundes for his raunſome ere he could be ſuffered to depart. The Abbacie of Dunfermeling being vacant, the couent choſe one of their owne Monkes called Alexander Thomſon, and yͤ king promoted Henry Creichton Abbot of Paſlay thereunto, whome the Pope admitted, and Robert Shaw parſon of Minto, was preferred by yͤ king vnto the Abbacie of Paſlay, and thus in ſuch wiſe began promotings of Secular Prieſts vnto Abbacies at the Princes requeſt, and the laudable elections auncientely vſed, made voyd: bycauſe the Court of Rome admitted ſuche as the Princes made ſuite for and named, getting greate rewardes and notable ſummes of mony therby, ſo that neither the biſhops durſt admit ſuch as yͤ couents elected, nor ſuch as were elected durſt purſue their righte, & ſo the Abbeys were beſtowed vpon ſuch as followed the Court, & liued courtly, ſecularly, & voluptuouſly, to yͤ great ſlāder of religious mē, which by yͤ naughty exāples of their gouernors, fel to the workes of wickedneſſe, wherupon daily much euil encreaſed, & vertue in al eſtates decayd.

The Biſhop of Saint Androwes made Achbiſhop.

1474

This yere in Septēber, yͤ indulgēce of the ſea of S. Androws was publiſhed by Patricke Grahā, Biſhop therof, & the ſame ſea erected into the dignitie of an Archbiſhops ſea, at ſute of the ſaid Patrick, who gaue information to yͤ Pope, yͭ bicauſe yͤ archbiſhop of York was Metropolitan of Scotland, and yͭ ther was oftentimes war betwixt the realms of England & Scotlād, the Scottiſhmen could not haue acceſſe to their Metropolitan, ſpecially in caſes of appellation.

Primate and Metropolitan. Twelue Biſhops in Scotland.

And therefore the Pope, as ſom write, thought it reſon to make S. Androws primate & Metropolitan of Scotlād, & ordeined yͭ the twelue other Biſhops of Scotlād ſhuld be vnder his primacie, who would not agree therunto, but promiſed yͤ K. by way of a taxatiõ xj. M. markes for his maintenāce againſt yͤ ſayd Archbiſhop: & the Prelates ſente to Rome about this matter.

1476

This yere was a greate death in the Realme of Scotland, ſo that where a Parliamēt was called in Septēber, it was prorogued vntil yͤ twelfth day after Chriſtmas.

The Lord of the Iſles atteynted.

In January yͤ Parliament was holdē at Edēburgh, in which John Lord of the Iles & Erle of Roſſe, was atteynted partly for his own euil deedes, but moſt ſpecially, for yͤ defaultes of his father Donald Lord of the Iles.

The king rayſed an army.

In May in the yere. 1477. the king rayſed a puiſſant army of the moſt able mē vpō the North ſide of the water of Forth, to purſue the Lord of yͤ Iles both by ſea & land. The Erle of Crawfordē was made Admirall of the army by Sea, and the Erle of Athole. the kings vncle by his father, was Lieutenant of yͤ Army by land. But ſuch means was vſed by yͤ Erle of Athole, that the Lord of yͤ Iles humbled himſelfe to the kings pleaſure vpon certayn cōditions,

The Lord of the Iſles ſubmitteth himſelfe.

& therupon in the beginning of July next enſuing, the ſaid lord of the Iles came to yͤ Parliament vnto Edenburgh, & there was yͤ agreement made & confirmed betwixt the king & him: he reſigned into the kings hands all his right which he had to the Erledom of Roſſe, yͤ lands of Cantyre & Knapden,

He reſigneth Roſſe, Cantyre and Knapden.

which Earledome the king annexed to yͤ Crowne, & pardoned him & his ſeruants of al offences & tranſgreſſions before yͤ day committed, & inueſted him of new in yͤ Lordſhip & Seigniorie of the Iles, & other his lands not releaſed, to holde yͤ ſame of the king by the ſeruice of warde and reliefe. The king alſo gaue vnto the Erle of Athole for his diligence ſhewed, in reducing the ſaid Lord of the Iles vnto order, the lāds and foreſt of Clouy.

1477

An inquiſitor ſent from the Pope.

There was an Inquiſitor this yere ſent by Pope Sextus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his cōmiſſion Patrick Graham Archbiſhop of S. Androwes, whoſe examination and proues being ſent vnto the Pope, hee pronounced him an Heretike, Sciſmatike, & Symoniake, & declared him accurſed, condemning him to perpetual priſon:

The Archbiſhop is not wel handled.

Depriued.

and ſo he was degraded from all orders, cure, & dignitie of Eccleſiaſticall office, and William Schewes Archdeacõ of the ſame ſea, was promoted in his place, to whom he was alſo committed to ſee him ſafely kept in priſon.

Put in priſon.

He was firſt ſent vnto Saint Colmes Ins, and from thence to Dunfermling, and laſtly to Lochleuin, where he dyed, and was buried in S. Sarffis Ile in Lochleuin.

1479

William Schewes is cõſecrated Archbiſhop.

The ſayd William Schewes was conſecrate Archbiſhop of Sainte Androwes on paſſion Sunday in Lente, within Holy Roode houſe, the king being preſent, & many of the nobles of the Realm. And there yͤ ſayde Archbiſhop receiued yͤ pall, as a ſigne of his Archbiſhops dignitie, & ſo was cōfirmed primate & legate of yͤ Realm, notwithſtāding yͤ impediment made againſt Graham before by the Biſhops about yͤ ſame.

The Duke of Albany impriſoned.

This yere alſo, Alexander Duke of Albany was committed to priſon by the king his brother, within yͤ Caſtel of Edenburgh, through euil counſel, but he brake out & eſcaped to Dũbar, wher he cauſed the Caſtel to be furniſhed with al neceſſaries, & leauing his ſeruants within it, paſſed himſelf into France, & was there of yͤ king honorably receyued and louingly intreated.

He eſcaped.

Edenburgh beſieged.

In the beginning of May following, the king beſieged yͤ Caſtel by his Lieutenant the Erle of Annandale, who loſt at that ſiege. 2. good knights, the Lord of Luce, ſir John Schaw of Sauche, & the Lorde of Cragiwallace, with yͤ ſhot of a gun, & John Ramſay was ſlain with a ſtone caſt by hād. Whē thei within ſaw they could not lōg endure, they left yͤ Caſtel & fled away by ſea, & the Erle of Annandale entred & found it void of al things wherof any accõpt was to be made.

Doctor Ireland ſent vnto the king of Scottes.

Doctor Irelād being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was ſent from yͤ Frēch king vnto yͤ king of Scottes, to perſwade him to make war into Englād, to yͭ end yͤ king Edward ſhuld not aid yͤ Duke of Burgundy. And moreouer, he had in charge to moue for the Pardon of yͤ Duke of Albany, and ſhortly after returned with anſwer.

1480

John Steward a priſoner.

The Erle of Mar called John Steward yͤ kings yōger brother, this yeere in the moneth of December, was taken in the nighte within hys owne houſe, & conueyed vnto Cragmillar, where he was kept as priſoner by the kings commaundement, and after was conuict of conſpiracie for witchcraft which he ſhuld practiſe againſt yͤ king: & herupon in Cannogate beſide Edenburgh, hys vaynes were cut & ſo he bled to death.

Was pained death.

Ther were many & diuers Witches & ſorcerers aſwel men as women cōuicted of yͤ crime, & burnt for yͤ ſame at Edēb. The K. ſent Ambaſſadors into Englād to

riage cõ-
ed.

make ſuite to haue the Lady Cicill daughter to king Edward, ioyned in mariage with his ſonne James yͤ Prince, which was grãted, and yͤ mariage concluded to be ſolemnizate, when yͤ prince of Scotland ſhould come to perfect age: as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it more playnely appeareth.

p Spen-
yed.

Doctor Irelande, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to perſwade him to make warre againſt England: and at length, King James & his nobles cõdiſcended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spens Biſhop of Abirdene that was full tenderly beloued of king Edwarde, and had bin euer a mediator for peace betwixte the kings of England, France, and Scotlãd, and the Duke of Burgongne, when he heard that warre would folow, he dyed through griefe of mind and melancoly at Edenburgh, in the moneth of April. The king ſente two Heraldes vnto King Edwarde, requeſting him not to ayde the Duke of Burgongne, nor any other againſt yͤ King of France: for if he did, hee muſt needes ſupporte the Frenchmen by reaſon of yͤ league betwixt France & Scotland, but king Edward would not admit thoſe Heraldes to his preſence, but kept them ſtill without anſwer, till he had ſent forth a nauie of Ships into yͤ Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenwenne, & thẽ were the Heralds licenſed to returne. The Engliſhe fleete entring the Forth, tooke eight great ſhippes which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blackneſſe, brent yͤ towne, and a great Barge that lay there at rode, and ſo returned. The king aſſembled an army from all partes of the Realme, and amongſt other, yͤ Lord of the Iles came with a great cõpany: and nowe the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a meſſenger of king Edward, ſente from a Cardinall Legate that was reſidente as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apoſtolike, not to proceede any further in his purpoſed iourney, to the ende that peace being obſerued, all Chriſtian Princes might bende their powers againſte the Turke and Infidels. This commaundemente did king James obey, and ſo diſcharged his army, notwithſtandyng, that king Edwarde ſent forth his nauie agayne into the Forth, vnto the Ile of Ins Keith, but they did no hurt, for the countreymen kept them off. The Scottiſh borderers inuaded yͤ Engliſhe marches, deſtroyed townes, and led many priſoners away with them into Scotland. The king of Englande cauſed Berwike to be aſſieged both by ſea and lande all the winter ſeaſon, and ouerthrew a wall that was newly made about it for defence thereof: but the Scottes within it defended the towne for that time ſo ſtoutly, that the enimies might not winne it from them.

1481
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1482

The Duke of Albany after his wiſe was dead which he had married in France, perceyuing himſelfe not ſo well entreated as before, came ouer into Englande, where king Edwarde receyued him righte honorably, promiſing as ſome haue written, to make him king of Scotlande: & thereupon aſſembled an army of thirtie thouſand men, with a great nauie by Sea to inuade Scotland, and appoynted Captaynes and leaders of the army by land, his owne brother yͤ Duke of Glowceſter, the Duke of Albany and others. The king of Scottes hearing of their approche to inuade his Realme, reiſed a puiſſant army to reſiſt them, and came forward with the ſame vnto yͤ towne of Lowder, where beeing encamped, the principall nobles of his Realme, as Archembalde Earle of Angus, George Erle of Huntley, John Erle of Lenox, James Erle of Buthquhã, Androw lord Grey, Robert Lord Lile, and diuers other, beeing armed, entred the kings lodging, where they accuſed him of diuers things done and practiſed by him contrary to his honor & the common weale of his Realme, and ſpecially, bycauſe he vſed yͤ counſell of lewde perſons, vnworthy and baſe of birth, ſuche as Thomas Cochram, whome of a Maſon, he had made erle of Mar, through whoſe deuiſe and counſell, hee had cauſed to bee coigned certayne money of copper, not conuenient to bee currant in any Realme, which the people refuſed, and ſo great dearth & hunger was reyſed through the countrey. Moreouer, that he would not ſuffer the noble men to come neere his preſence, nor to take their counſell in gouerning the Realme, but gaue himſelfe to voluptuous pleaſure, ſetting nought by yͤ Queene his lawfull wife, keeping a naughty harlot called the Dayſie in hir place.

The Duke of Albany commeth into England.

The preſumptuous demeanor of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

Thomas Cochram.

Embaſing of cogne.

The kings concubine named Dayſie.

Alſo they layde to his charge, yͭ he had put hys brother the Earle of Mar vnto death, & baniſhed his other brother the Duke of Albany, & therefore they could not ſuffer him and the whole Realme to be longer miſledde by ſuche naughty perſons. And hereupõ they tooke Thomas Cochram Erle of Mar, William Roger, and James Hommill Taylor, who with others being conuict, were hanged ouer the Bridge at Lowder. Only John Ramſey a yong man of eyghteene yeeres of age, for whome the king made great inſtaunce, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edenburgh, and appoynted the king himſelfe to bee kept in the Caſtel by the Erle of Athole, and in yͤ meane time, the ſecond of Auguſt, they ſente Androw Steward elect Biſhop of Murray, & John Lord Darneley, to the Engliſh army lying then at Tuyder, to take truce for three moneths: but yͤ Dukes of Glowceſter and Albany came forward vnto Reſtalrig, where they encamped withoute any reſiſtance. The Engliſh nauie lying alſo in the Forth, was readie to aſſiſt their fellowes by land. Hereupon certaine noble men of Scotland,

Cochram Erle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arreſt.

The Duke of Albany is reconciled.

as the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, Colin Erle of Argyle, and Androw Steward Lord Auendale great Chancellor of Scotland, wente to the Engliſh camp, and treating with the two Dukes, agreed vpon certayne articles, whereby the Duke of Albany was receyued into his countrey againe in peaceable wiſe, and had giuen to him the Caſtell of Dunbar with the Erledomes of March and Mar. He was proclaymed alſo generall Lieutenant to the King: And ſo the Engliſhmen returned homewards, and came to Berwike where they hauyng wonne the towne as they paſſed that wayes into Scotlād, had left the Lord Stanley and ſir John Eldrington with foure thouſand men, to keepe a ſiege before the Caſtell, and nowe they enforced the ſame: but the Lorde of Halis then Captayne within that Caſtell, defended it right manfully, ſending to the Duke of Albany and other the Lords of the counſell, for reliefe to reiſe the ſiege.

The Caſtell of Barwike is taken.

The Duke in deede reyſed an army, and came to Lamer More, but when they within perceyued that through diſſention betwixte the King and the nobles of the Realme, they were not like to be reſkewed, they yeelded the Caſtell into the Engliſhmens handes the. 24. of Auguſt in that yeere 1482. after it had remayned nowe at this time in the Scottiſhmens handes the ſpace of. 21. yeeres.

1482

The king a priſoner.

The king remayning as priſoner in Edenburgh Caſtell, all things were ordered by the Duke of Albany, Androwe Stewarde Lord of Auendale Chancellor, & others, till the ſayd Duke, yͤ Archbiſhop of Sainte Androwes, the Chancellor, the Erle of Argile & diuers others wēt vnto Striueling to viſit the Queene and Prince, where the Duke was perſwaded by the Queene withoute knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to goe vnto Edenburgh, and to reſtore the king vnto libertie.

The king is ſet at libertie.

The Duke accordingly to the Queenes pleaſure comming to Edenburgh, beſeeged the Caſtell & wanne it, remoued the Earle of Athole, and ſet yͤ king and all his ſeruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king ſhewed great tokens of loue to his brother the Duke, although it laſted not long. The Earle of Argile, the Biſhop of Sainte Androwes, the Chancellor and others which remayned at Striueling, when they hearde thoſe newes, fled into their owne countreys: and ſhortly after, the Biſhop of Sainte Androwes at requeſt of the king, reſigned his Biſhoprike in fauor of maſter Androw Steward prouoſt of Elenelowden, and was content in recompence thereof, with the Biſhoprike of Murray.

The Archbiſhop reſigneth.

1483

This yeere there was great theft, reife, & ſlaughter in diuers partes of the Realme, by occaſion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

Poyſon giuen.

The Duke of Albany for that he vnderſtood there was poiſon giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore ſtoode in feare of his life, fledde from the Court vnto the Caſtell of Dunbar, whereby enſewed great diſcord. The king fearing the diſpleaſure of his nobles, gote him alſo into yͤ Caſtel of Edenburgh.

The king is forſaken.

The Erles of Angus, Buchquhan, and others left the king, and aſſiſted the Duke of Albany.

Lords are ſummoned.

And the king through counſell of certain meane perſons whome he had againe taken vnto him, ſummoned the Duke and others his aſſiſtantes to come to anſwer for ſuch treaſon as hee had to lay againſt them, and withall prepared an army to beſeege Dunbar, whereof the Duke being aduertiſed fled into Englande, & afterwardes being accompanyed with the Earle of Dowglas and a great nūber of Engliſhmen inuaded Scotland vpon the weſt marches, where many Engliſhmen were ſlaine and taken by the reſiſtaunce of the Lards Cokpule, Johnſton and others, the Duke was put to flight, and the Erle Dowglas taken and brought to the king, who bycauſe hee was an aged man and had bin long baniſhed his countrey, was ſente to the Abbey of Lundoris, where hee remayned the reſt of his dayes, and at length, depating this life, was buried there.

Scotland inuaded.

Erle Dowglas ſent vnto an Abbey.

The Duke of Albany for the loſſe of that army, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpō taking a miſliking, ſecretely departed ouer into France by the help of John Liddell, ſonne to Sir James Liddell knighte, who afterwards loſt his life for the ſame.

The Duke of Albany is blamed.

The Duke was well enterteyned in France by the King there: and finally rūning at tilt with Lewes Duke of Orleance, was hurt with the ſplint of a Speare and thereof died. He lefte behinde him two ſonnes, John Duke of Albany, that was after gouernor and tutor to king James the fift, & Alexander that was after Biſhop of Murrey and Abbot of Scone. Thys yere the Lords Hume, Torreklis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made Lordes of the Parliament.

1484

The Archbiſhop is ſent to Rome.

In the yeere. 1484. the king ſent the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes vnto Rome for certayne priuileges which he obteyned. And yͤ ſame yeere, Pope Innocente the eighte of that name, ſent the Biſhop of Imola to treate of peace betwixt Richarde King of Englande and James king of Scotlād.

The Pope ſent to entreate for peace.

James king of Scottes hauing not long before made diuers incurſions & roades into England, and that to his profite, hee ſewed therevpon for a truce, which came to paſſe euen as king Richarde wiſhed, ſo that condiſcending to haue a communication, commiſſioners were appoynted for both partes to meete at Notyngham yͤ ſeuenth day of September nexte enſuing.

Commiſſioners appoynted on the behalfe of th king of England and Sotlande to treat for a peace at Notingham.

For the King of Scottes there appeared Colin Earle of Argile, the Lorde Cambell, and the Lord Chancellor of Scotlād, William Biſhop of Abirdene, Robert Lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Drummound of Stubhall, Archybald Quyteſaw Archdeacon of Lawden, and Secretary to king James, Lyon king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard Biſhop of S. Aſaph, John Duke of Norfolke, Henry Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, George Stanley Lord Straunge, John Gray Lord Powes, Richarde Lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe, keeper of the Kings priuie ſeale, Thomas Barrow maſter of the Rolles, ſir Thomas Bryan chiefe iuſtice of ẏ common place, Sir Richarde Ratcliffe Knighte, William Cateſby, & Richard Salkeld Eſquires. Theſe counſellers in the latter end of September after ſundry meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to bee had betwixt both the Realmes for ẏ ſpace of three yeeres, the ſame to begin at the riſing of the ſunne on the.29.of September in the yeere.1484.and to continue vnto the ſetting of the ſunne on the.29. of September, in the yeere.1487.during whyche tearme, it was agreed, that not onely all hoſtilitie and warre ſhuld ceaſſe betwixt ẏ two Realmes, but that alſo al ayde and abaitement of enimies ſhould be auoided, and by no colorable meanes or way in any caſe vſed. The towne and Caſtell of Barwike to remayne in the Engliſhmens hãds, for the ſpace of the ſayde tearme, with the ſame boundes as the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed it at that ſeaſon, when it was deliuered to the Scottiſhmẽ by king Henry the ſixt. It was likewiſe condiſcended, that all other Caſtels, holdes, and fortreſſes during the tearme of the ſayde three yeeres, ſhould abide in the hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the Caſtell of Dũbar only excepted. This Caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen by the Duke of Albany, when he fled into France, and ſo remained in their hãds at that time of concluding this truce. Hereuppon (by reaſon the Scottiſh commiſſioners had not authoritie to conclude any ful agreement for that Caſtell, vnleſſe the ſame might be reſtored vnto ẏ king their maſters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots within the ſpace of. 40. dayes next enſewing, did intimate his reſolute refuſall to be agreeable, that the ſayd Caſtell ſhoulde remayne in the Engliſhmens hands aboue ẏ ſpace of ſixe moneths, that then during that tearme of ſixe moneths, thoſe that kepte the Caſtell for the Engliſhmen ſhould remayne in quiet, and not be troubled nor moleſted by any kind of meanes by the ſayde King of Scottes, or any other by hys procurement, ſo that they within ẏ Caſtell likewiſe abſteyned from making any iſſues or reiſſes vpon the Scottiſhe people. And if after that the ſayd tearme of ſixe moneths were once expired, it ſhould chance, that any warre aroſe for defending or recouering the ſayd Caſtell, yet the truce ſhuld endure for all other rightes and poſſeſſions, notwithſtãding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in any of their powers, eyther for winning, or defending the foreſaid Caſtel, as though no truce had bene concluded. It was further agreed, that no traytor of eyther Realme ſhoulde be receyued by ẏ Prince of ẏ other Realm, and if any traytor or Rebell chanced to arriue in eyther Realme, the Prince thereof to deliuer him vpõ demaũd made. Scottes already abiding in England & ſworne to the king there, may remain ſtil, ſo their names be certified to ẏ Scottiſh King, within.40.days. If any Warden of eyther Realm ſhuld inuade ẏ others ſubiects, he to whome ſuch Wardẽ is ſubiect, ſhal within ſixe days proclaime him traytor, & certifie the other Prince thereof within.12.days. And in euery ſafeconduct this clauſe ſhoulde be conteyned. Prouided alwayes that the obteyner of this ſafeconduct be no traytor. If any of the ſubiects of eyther Prince do preſume to ayde, help, mainteyne, or ſerue any other Prince againſt any of the contractors of this truce, then it ſhall be lawfull to him, to whome hee ſhewed himſelfe enimie, to apprehende and attach the ſayd ſubiect, going, comming, or tarying within any of hys dominions. Colleagues compriſed in this truce (if they woulde aſſente therto) on the Engliſhe part were theſe, the king of Caſtell and Leon, the king of Arragone, ẏ king of Portingale, ẏ Archduke of Auſtrich and Burgoine and the Duke of Britaine. On the Scottiſhe partie, Charles the French king, John King of Denmarke & Norwey, the Duke of Gelderlãd & the Duke of Britayne. The Lordſhip of Lorne in the Realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lunday lying in the riuer of Seuerne, in the Realme of Englande, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appoynted to be publiſhed ẏ firſt day of October, in the moſt notable cities and townes of both the Realmes. For ẏ ſure obſeruation, keeping & performance of this truce and league, there were appointed for conſeruators on ẏ Scottiſh ſide Dauid Earle of Crawford & Lord Lindſey, George Erle of Huntley Lord Gordon and Badzenoth, John Lord Darnlye, John Lord Kenedy, Robert Lord Liſle, Patrick Lord Halcene, Lawrence Lord Oliphant, William Lorde Borthwike, ſir John Roſſe of Halkhed, ſir Gilbert Johnſon of Elphynſton, ſir John Lundy, ſir John Ogiluy of Airly, ſir Robert Hamilton of Fingaltan, Sir Williã Balze of Lamington, ſir John Kenedy of Blarqhone, ſir John Wemes, ſir W. Rochwen, Edward Stochton of Kirſe paty, John Dũdas, John Roſſe of Mountgrenan Eſquires.

A peace concluded for three yeeres.

The Caſtell of Dunbar in the Engliſhmens hands.

An article for the Caſtell of Dunbar.

An article for Traytors.

An article for Scottiſhmen already being in England.

An article for the Wardens of the marches

A clauſe to be put in ſafeconducts.

An article for ſuch as ſhould ſerue eyther Princes in warre.

Colleagues compriſed in the truce.

Lorne and Lunday excepted.

It was further agreed, that Commiſſioners ſhoulde meete at Loughmaban the eyghteene day of Nouember, aſwell for redreſſe of certayne offences done on the Weſt marches, as alſo for

Commiſsioners appointed to meete at Loughmaban.

Commiſſioners to meete at Roydenborne. And at Haldan Stanke.

The batable grounde.

A marriage concluded betwixt the Duke of Rothſay and the Lady Anne de la poole.

declaring and publiſhing the peace. On yͤ Engliſh part, the Lord Dacres, the Lord Fitzhugh, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Moreſbye, ſir Richard Salkeild, or three of thẽ. For yͤ Scots, the Lorde Kenedy, the Lord Mountgomery, the Lord Lile, Iohn Marwel Steward of Annandale, Robert Creichton of Sanquhan, or three of them. Alſo, there were aſſigned commiſſioners to meete at Roydenborne for the Eaſt marches, the firſt day of December, and at Haldan Stanke for the middle marches on the fourthe daye of the ſame moneth. At which two places for Scotlãd there were aſſigned to appeare the Earle of Hũtley, the Erle of Angus, the Erle of Argyle Chãcellor of Scotlãd, the Lord Auandale, the Lord Seyton, the Lord Oliphaunt, the Lord Stobhal with other. For Englãd, the Erle of Northumberland, the Lord Greyſtocke, the Lorde Scrope of Maſſan, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Roberte Conſtable and other. The ſame Commiſſioners had authoritie to aſſigne certayn perſons, to view and declare the boundes and limits apperteyning to Berwike, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell grounde it was accorded, that the ſame ſhoulde remayne without ſowing, or earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after yͤ concluding of thys truce, King Richard entreated for a marriage to be had betwixte the Prince of Rothſay, eldeſt ſonne to king Iames and Lady Anne de la Poole, daughter to Iohn Duke of Suffolke, and to the Lady Anne his wife, that was ſiſter to the ſayde King Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the Kings ſent their Ambaſſadours agayne vnto Notyngham, where their treatie had ſuche ſucceſſe for that time, that the marriage was agreed vpon, and writings therof drawen, engroſſed, and ſealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both partes. The foreſayd yong Lady was immediately called Princes of Rothſay, but by the ſhort life of King Richarde hir vncle, ſhe ſhortly after loſt that name.

King Iames by letters ſignifieth hys minde touching the articles of Dunbar.

King Iames within a while after the concluſion of this league and marriage aforeſayde, for the expreſſing and declaring of his opinion touching the Caſtell of Dunbar, whether he woulde be agreeable that the ſame ſhould remayne onely ſixe monethes, or elſe during the tearme of yͤ whole truce in the Engliſhmẽs poſſeſſion, he wrote vnto King Richard a louing letter, ſignifying vnto him, that he was not minded to ſeeke the recouerie of the ſayd caſtell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce, neuertheleſſe, he inſtantly required hym for the bonde of that loue and familiaritie, which nowe by treatie and aliance was ſprong vp betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the ſaid Caſtell into his handes, according as reaſon mighte moue him thereto, conſidering the Engliſhmen had no right to it, being only deliuered to them by traitors of their natiue cõtrey, without any reaſonable cauſe, or commiſſiõ lawfully authoriſed.

King Richar would not deliuer the Caſtell of Dunbar.

1486

King Richard ouerthrowen by the Earle of Richmond.

An ambaſſage ſente vnto Scotlande.

The Kings aunſwere.

His promiſe.

King Richard dalied in this matter with pleaſant letters & faire wordes, ſo feeding forth King Iames without minding to gratiſfie him in that ſuite, ſo that as long as king Richard liued, king Iames could neuer get it, for any thing he might do. In the yeere.1486. Henry Erle of Richmont comming out of France with a power of men, of the whiche Bernard Stewarde a Scottiſhman was chiefe Captaine, landed in Wales, & paſſing through yͤ cuntrey into Englãd, at lẽgth encoũtred King Richard & ſlew him, ſo obtayning the Crowne of that Realm. And after he was ſomewhat quietly eſtabliſhed in the ſame, he came into the North partes where hee remayned the moſte part of the next ſommer, and regarding nothing more than to haue yͤ loue & friendſhip of his neybors, & to be confederate with the Kings & Princes ioyning next vnto him, he ſent from Newcaſtell one of his counſellors Richard Foxe Biſhop of Exceter, and ſir Richard Edgecombe knight, Ambaſſadors vnto King Iames, to treat cõtract & renew the band of peace & truce betwixt the ſaid Kings and their Realmes. Theſe Ambaſſadors were gladly receiued of King Iames, who declared vnto them, yͭ he bare great fauor & loue vnto their maiſter, & woulde be glad to pleaſure hym in al he might: howbeit, that his ſubiects were not of ſo good a mind towards the Engliſh nation as he himſelfe wiſhed, & therefore he willed them to bee contented with a truce for ſeuen yeres, for further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie & ſubiects: but he promiſed ſecretly, that when thoſe ſeuen yeeres were expired, hee woulde renue the ſame for the tearme of other ſeauen yeeres, and ſo from ſeuen yeres to ſeuen yeres ſo lõg as he liued. This he did, bycauſe he perceyued that his people had him in ſuch hatred, that they would not conſent to any band that he ſhuld make: the Ambaſſadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henry, confirmed the truce for thoſe ſeuen yeeres, and ſo returned home to King Henry, who was right glad of that they had done.

A Parliament.

1487

No pardon to be graunted to offendors for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the King of Romanes.

Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt yͤ two Realmes, king Iames cauſed the three eſtates to aſſemble in Parliamẽt at Edinburgh yͤ firſt of October in the yere.1487. in the which order was takẽ, yͭ iuſtice aires ſhuld be holden through all partes of the Realm, & that no pardons ſhuld be granted for any great crime that ſhuld be cõmitted for the ſpace of ſeuẽ yeres to come, ſo that the king began to vſe ſharp execution of Iuſtice in all parts, which was right diſpleſant to many. The ſame time was an Ambaſſador ſent to the king of Romans, for the calling

ling in of a letter of Marque, which had bin grãted againſt Scottiſh Merchants, at the ſuite and inſtance of certayne Hollanders ⁊ Burgonions, and was ſhortly after herevpon reuoked. After yͤ Parliament was ended, the King remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the Queene, and hir ſonne the Prince in Edenburgh Caſtell, whileſt he keeping perſons about him of meane calling, gaue himſelfe to take his pleaſure with women, and to gather vp golde and ſiluer, greatly to the offence of his ſubiects. Yet in the mean time now after the death of king Richarde, whether it was by treaſon or appoyntment, the Caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king Iames, ⁊ that to his greate ioy and high contentation: for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with any tractable mean of fauorable iuſtice, ſtood euer in feare of ſome troubleſome tumult yͭ might be raiſed by his own people, if occaſiõ were miniſtred either through hope of forrayn aide or otherwiſe. So long therefore as this Caſtell was in yͤ Engliſhmens handes, he doubted, leaſt through practiſe ſome conſpiracie ſhould be contriued betwixt his own ſubiects and the Engliſh nation, greatly to the anoyance of his eſtate, and therevpon he was the more deſirous to reduce the ſame Caſtell into his poſſeſſion. But the only mean to haue aſſured himſelfe from the handes of ſuch as ſought his life, had bin to haue changed his wilful maner of gouernemẽt, and to haue leaned vnto ſuch councell as would haue aduiſed him for yͤ wealth of his whole Realme, ⁊ not vpon deſire to pleaſe, haue maynteyned his vndiſcreet opiniõs to yͤ wronging aſwel of his commõs as of yͤ nobles ⁊ peeres of his Realm: for yͤ nobilitie of Scotlãd, namely, the Earles of Angus, Argile, ⁊ Lennox, the Lords Halis, Hume, Drowmound, Grey and others, perceyuing themſelues oppreſſed by ſuche as frõ baſe birth had riſen, (without worthy deſeruing) to the degree of cõſellors, and therwith aduanced to ſo high authoritie, as al things were ordered at their appoyntment, conſpired togither, ⁊ determined by force of armes to ſee a reformation in ſuch a diſordred manner of gouernement: but yet bycauſe it ſhould not be thought that they minded the deſtruction of their countrey, but rather yͤ aduancement thereof, they made the Lorde Iames Duke of Rothſay ſonne to the King (a child borne to goodneſſe ⁊ vertue) the chiefe Captayne in this their enterpriſe, ⁊ that in manner againſt his wil, hereby openly proteſting, that they minded ⁊ purpoſed the ſuppreſſing ⁊ confuſion of an euil king, ⁊ not yͤ ſubuerſion of their natiue cũtrey. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all ſuſpition of their purpoſed vntroth ⁊ ſhamefull diſloyaltie. They had ſente to the Earle of Dowglas, who remayned priſoner (as ye haue heard) in the Abbey of Lundoris, and required him to aſſiſt them in their begun enterpriſe, promiſing that they would reſtore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wiſe, ⁊ ancient Erle, being already ſchooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience to his great griefe what ſuch matter meant, refuſed to breake his warde, or to aſſiſt them in any wiſe, diſwading them from their enterpriſe, bycauſe it ſeemed to him neither godly nor honorable, ſithence both himſelfe and his friends had taſted for yͤ like, great hinderãce, which might be an enſample to him ⁊ others to beware in time to come. The King being once enformed of this rebelliõ ⁊ conſpiracie againſt him, was ſore diſquieted in his mind, ⁊ to meete their miſcheuous attempts, gathered an army. Yet before the vſing of any force, he ſent meſſengers to his ſon, ⁊ to the nobles wᵗ him, to trie if he might come to ſome agreemente with them. He ſente alſo letters to the king of England, ⁊ to the French king, requiring thẽ to take ſome paines in yͤ mater, to procure an atonement betwixt him and his nobles. And beſides this, he wrote to Pope Innocent for yͤ ſame purpoſe, praying him to intermedle his authoritie by ſending ſome legate into Scotlãd, to apeaſe the troubles thereof. But the Scottiſh nobilitie, ⁊ ſuch of the people as were vp in armour againſte him, were ſo deſperately ſet ⁊ wholly bent on reuẽge, that no wholeſom counſell nor medicinable aduice might apeaſe their furious rage, ſo that for anſwere to his meſſengers, they ſent him worde, that if he would reſigne the title of his Crowne ⁊ Realm, ⁊ depoſe himſelfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to ſome cõmunication with him, or elſe not. The like anſwere was giuẽ to yͤ Imbaſſadors of England and France, that were ſente vnto them from yͤ Kings of both thoſe Realmes, which ſore lamented the fortune of their friend ⁊ alie the Scottiſh king. But Adrian yͤ Biſhop of Romes Legate came too late, as who ſhuld ſay, a day after yͤ fayre: for when their groũded malice ⁊ ſpiteful hatred cõceyued againſt him mighte not beẽ qualified by any manner of meanes, but yͭ they wer now cõming forward wᵗ al their puiſſance to Striueling where he then remayned, he would not ſtay til yͤ Erles of Hũtley Errole, Athole, Crawfort, Rothus, Sutherlãd, Cathnes, ⁊ Marſhall, the Barõs Forbes, Ogiluy, Granth, Frayſer and other, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thouſand men with the which they were cõming forth of yͤ North partes to his aide, but raſhly, ⁊ without good aduice he iſſued out of the town, accompanied with the Erles of Glencarne ⁊ Montros, the Lordes Graham, Ruthuen, Maxwell, and certayne others, and forthwith ioyned battell with hys aduerſaries at Bannockeſ-

The King giueth himſelfe wholſie his lif in keping women and gathering treaſure.

After the deth of King Richard Dunbar deliuered.

The meane whereby King Iames might haue auoyded danger of death by his ſubiects.

The conſpiracie of the Scottiſh Lords againſt King Iames the third.

King Iames gathereth an army.

He ſendeth letters to the Kings of England & France

The anſwere of the Rebels to the kings meſſage.

They meete in a pitched fielde.

The King is put to the woorſe.

He is ſlayne.

burne, within two miles of Striueling: and ſo when nothing mighte quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched fielde, where after greate ſlaughter and murder made of an huge multitude of people, the King beeing put to the worſe fledde into a Mill, whither beeing fiercely followed and founde therein, hee was cruelly ſlayne, and vnreuerẽtly left ſtarke naked: A notable mirror to all earthly princes, that calling to remembrance ſuch a miſerable and moſt dolorous ſight, they may take heede by what manner of perſons they ſuffer them ſelues to be led and abuſed. For if this Prince King James the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretence and obſtinate minde the councell and aduice of vauntperlors, & ſuche as (being aduanced from baſe degree vnto hygh authoritie) ſtudyed more to keepe them ſelues in fauoure, than to giue true aduertiſementes, and faithfull aduiſe vnto their Prince, he myghte haue reigned longer by many dayes and yeeres, in great and high felicitie.

1488

He was thus ſlayne neere to Sterling, on the eleuenth day of June, the yeere after the incarnation. 1488. being alſo in the. 29. of his raigne.

James.

Nowe then, after that the Barons of Scotland hadde thus ſlayne their ſoueraigne Lorde and liege King James, the third of that name: his eldeſt ſonne James the fourth was crowned King of Scotlande, and beganne hys raigne the. 24. of June, in the yeere. 1488. being not paſt ſixteene yeeres of age, who notwithſtanding that he had bin in the fielde with the Nobles of the Realme againſte his father that contrary to his mind was ſlayne, yet neuertheleſſe afterwardes, he became a ryght noble Prince, and ſeemed to take great repentãce for that his offence, and in token thereof, he ware continually an Jron chayne about his middle all the dayes of his life. He was greatly giuen to deuotion and prayer, viſiting religious houſes, and beſtowing on them ſundry giftes.

The King was repentãt.

The King wore an yron chayne.

Was giuen to deuotion.

He was a great iuſticer.

He gouerned his Realme in greate reſt, peace, Juſtice and quietneſſe, riding him ſelfe in proper perſon diuers dayes and nightes, to ſuppreſſe and take theeues, robbers, and oppreſſors of his ſubiects in all parts of the Realm, til he had brought the countrey to great quietneſſe.

He was learned.

He was learned and liberal, and endewed with many other good vertues and qualities.

The nobles rayſe an army agayne.

They were ouerthrowen.

Anone after his Coronation, yͤ Earle of Lennox, and the Lord Lille, with diuers other theyr aſſiſtantes, notwithſtanding that they had bene with him at the ſlaughter of his father, ſeing that things went not as they wiſhed, reiſed an army, & cauſed the dead Kings bloudy ſhirt to be borne afore thẽ for a Banner: and comming forwards towardes Striueling againſte the yong King, were ouerthrowen at Tolymoſſe, where yͤ Lennox men, and ſundry other of the Barons ſide were ſlayne, as the Lorde of Kiltrucht and other taken and hanged for their offences.

A Parliament.

A generall pardon.

The King called a Parliamẽt at Edinburgh, which was holden the ſixt of October, where hee being moued of clemencie, graunted a generall pardõ to al thoſe that came in field at Striueling wͭ his father againſt him, & appoynted euery one to haue ſpeciall pardons thervpõ vnder his ſeales.

He likewiſe diſpenſed with the heires of them that were ſlayne with his father there in field, appoynting thẽ their particuler diſpenſations vnder his ſeales, after the ſame manner. Further it was ordeyned, that all Juſtices, Sherifes, Stewards, Baylifes, Lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the fielde, ſhoulde bee ſuſpended from the ſame offices for the tearme of three yeares: and thoſe which had offices for life, or for tearme of yeares, ſhould be vtterly excluded from the ſame.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all ſuch goodes as had beene taken from landed men and burgeſſes, ſhould be reſtored to them againe, except that which was taken from ſuch landed men and burgeſſes as were in the fielde agaynſt him, for that was deemed a lawfull pray.

It was alſo iudged that the death of his father came vppon him through his owne default, and that king Iames the fourth then raigning, and al his adherents and partakers in that field were innocent and guiltleſſe of all ſlaughter made there at that time, and clearely acquit of al purſuit and occaſion thereof, the three eſtates graunting to giue their ſeales to teſtifie the ſame, with yͤ kings great ſeale of the realme to be ſhewed to the Pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederates.

And for the ceaſſing of theft, reif, and ſuch other great enormities, the king was appoynted to ryde in perſon once euerie yeare through all partes of the Realme. And certaine noble men were ordeyned to exerciſe iuſtice in euerie ſhire next adioyning to the places where they had theyr chiefe reſidence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the adminiſtration of iuſtice.

Thoſe ordinances were right well obſerued all the dayes of king Iames the fourth his life tyme, ſo that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iuſtice.

Furthermore, all giftes made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the ſeconde day of Februarie immediatly preceding his death, to the day in which he was ſlaine.

1489 A mariage ſought for the king.

Alſo an Eſquier, and an Heralde were ſente into Fraunce, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might bee a ſuter for ſome greate Ladie to ioyne with him in mariage.

Moreouer beſide theſe, there were ſent honourable Ambaſſadors into Fraunce, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renue the olde amities and leagues betwixt thoſe Realmes and Scotland, as had bin vſed in the dayes of this kings progenitors.

His two brethren, the Duke of Roſſay, and the Earle of Mar, he cauſed to be brought vp in good nuriture and vertuous exerciſe, appointing to them ſuch liuings for maintenaunce of their eſtates, as his father had aſſigned them.

For his Counſell he choſe a certaine number of the Prelates, noble men, and barons of his realm, ſuch as were thought moſt meeteſt, taking thys order, that ſixe of them at the leaſt ſhoulde continually remaine aboute him, by whoſe aduiſe hee ſhoulde do all things that touched the affayres of the Realme: and in caſe anye thing was done without their aduice, the ſame ſhoulde be adiudged voyde, and not to be obeyed, and this was inviolably kept all his dayes.

1491

When the Eſquier and Heralde were returned againe into Scotland, which had beene to viſite ſtraunge Countreys, and made report of that they had ſeene, there was a Parliament holden, in which it was ordeined that the Biſhop of Glaſco, the Erle Bothwell, and others ſhould go as Ambaſſadours to ſue for the kings mariage in place where it ſhoulde be moſt expedient, and moſte to the kings lyking.

Two Archbiſhops ſtriue for the preheminence.

Great variance roſe betwixt the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, and the Biſhop of Glaſco, touching the preheminence of theyr iuriſdiction, which drewe the noble men into factions, tyll the king commaunded the ſame to ceaſſe, and that they ſhould trie it by law afore competent iudges.

Prouiſion is made for ſhippes.

The king about the ſame time tooke order for the encreaſe of ſome number of ſhippes to bee had in his Realme, and that euery hauen town ſhould build ſome aſwel for fiſhing, as to tranſport marchandiſe from place to place.

The Lordes and Barons, and ſuch other as woulde, were commaunded to helpe the Marchantes towarde the buylding of ſuche ſhippes: and for good enſample, the king cauſed to make certain ſhippes at his owne charges, which might vſe the trade of fiſhing.

Prouiſion made for learning.

Moreouer, the king conſidering the ignorance that was amongeſt the landed men of his realme when they ſhould paſſe vpon Inqueſts, he ordeyned that euery landed man ſhoulde put his eldeſt ſonne to ſchole, that he might learne perfitely the lawes of the realme, & this vpon great forfeyture.

Thus in the beginning of his raigne, diuerſe good lawes and conſtitutions were made for the aduauncement of the common wealth, which he cauſed to be duely obſerued and kept during hys tyme.

A Protonotary ſent into Scotlande with a Roſe.

The Pope ſent a Protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a Roſe and a Scepter of gold, to be preſented vnto the king, deſiring him to perſeuer in godlineſſe, honour, and vertue, as he had begonne.

1492

The king goeth on progreſſe.

The moſt part of this yeare, the king ſpent in ryding abrode through all partes of his realme to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, ſpecially in the North parts, where the people are cōmonly furtheſt out of order.

There was ſhortly after ſome appearance of warres betwixt Englande and Fraunce, whereupon king Charles ſent vnto king Iames, requiring him of aſſyſtance, if it came to paſſe that the Engliſh men did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richarde Duke of Yorke, ſeconde ſonne to king Edwarde the fourth, who had beene preſerued now many yeares ſecretely by his Aunt Margaret Duches of Burgoin, and therfore was iuſt inheritor vnto the realm of England, whō he would ſend into Scotlande, praying the king to aſſyſt him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the ſaid realme of England. And ſhortlye after herevpon, the ſayde feyned Duke (whoſe ryght name was Perkin Warbecke as in the Engliſhe Hyſtorie it appeareth) arriued in Scotlande well and honourably accompanied, to trie what purchaſe he might make there for ſuccours to attayne his pretended right to the crowne of Englande.

Perkyn Warbecke.

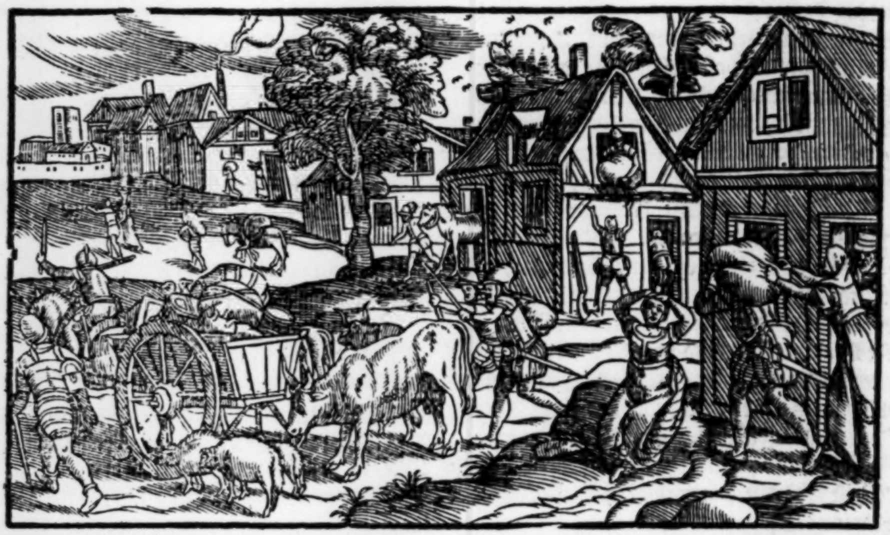
This Perkyn Warbecke did vſe the matter in ſuche ſubtill wyſe, that King James eyther gyuing, or ſeeming to gyue credite to his wordes, after aduiſe and deliberation had and taken wyth hys Counſell, receyued him in honourable wyſe, naming and reputing him Duke of Yorke, and therefore promiſed him to ayde him in all that he myght, and ſhortlye after, hee maryed hym to his neare kynneſwoman the Ladie Katheryn, daughter to the Earle of Huntley, and moreouer, rayſed a great armie, ſpecially of the borderers, and with the ſame hauing this pretenſed Duke in companie wyth him, inuaded England, burnt townes, ſpoyled houſes, tooke great booties and riche prayes both of goodes and priſoners, and allected with the ſweetneſſe of ſuch ſpoyle and gain, waſted al the Countrey of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he coulde perceyue no ayde comming in vnto this new found Duke, cōtrarie to ſuche golden promiſes as he had made, that aſſoone as they were entred into Englande, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

Perkyn Warbecke marieth the Earle of Huntleyes daughter.

1495

King Iames inuadeth Northumberland.

1495



King James perceyuing no ſuche matter, thought it better to returne with aſſured gaine, than to tarie this newe ſprong Dukes doubtfull and vncertaine victorie.

King Iames returneth without proffer of battaile.

And ſo hauing his people laden and peſtered wyth ſpoyle and pryſoners, he drewe backe into Scotlande.

The king of England aduertiſed hereof, made preparation for the rayſing of an armie, meaning to ſend the ſame againſt the Scottes: but the rebellion of the Corniſh men which chaunced the ſame tyme about a taxe leuied then of the people, conſtrayned him to imploye that armye to repreſſe the enterpriſe of thoſe rebelles. Yet neuertheleſſe he ſent the Erle of Surrey to the borders, that with the power of the Countrey adioyning, he might defende the ſame from the inuaſions of the Scottes, if they attempted to breake in. And ſo the Earle lay on the borders all that yeare.

A rebellion in Cornwale.

The Earle of Surrey ſent into the north.

King James then perceyuing that no maine armie came agaynſt him, inuaded eftſoones the borders of England, and layde ſiege to the Caſtell of Norham, ſending hys lyght Horſemen abroade into Northumberlande, and the Byſhoprike of Durham, where they burned and ſpoyled all aboute in the Countrey: But hearing that the Earle of Surrey had rayſed an armye, and was comming towardes them, they returned to the Hoſte lying before Norham, where King James perceyuing he coulde not wynne the Caſtell, notwythſtanding hee had done greate hurte and domage thereto, hee rayſed hys ſiege, retyred into hys Countrey, and left greate companyes on the borders for defence thereof. And ſo before the comming of the Engliſhe armye, King James was returned.

1498

The Scots inuade the borders of Englande.

The Earle of Surrey rayſed an army.

The Scottes rayſe their ſiege.

The Earle of Surrey yet (as the Engliſhe wryters affyrme) followed into Scotlande, and tooke diuerſe Caſtels & towers remayning within the Countrey, the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen dayes, and then came backe without battaile or any notable ſkirmiſh offered.

The Earle of Surrey went into Scotland.

About

Peter Hialas an Ambaſſador from the K. of Spaine.

Aboute the ſame time was one Peter Hialas ſent Ambaſſador from Ferdinando K. of Spaine to treate as a Mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande, which Hialas trauayled ſo earneſtly in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certain Commiſſioners of both the realmes ſhould meete at Melroſſe, where for the king of England, doctor Fore, then Biſhop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue perſonages met the Scottiſh Commiſſioners.

Commiſsioners met at Melroſe. or ledworth (as ſome ſay.)

A truce concluded for yeares.

After long conference and much talke had, for the concluſion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeares, though Hialas did what hee poſſible might, to haue agreed them for all maner of matters, quarrels, demaundes and cauſes, whatſoeuer the ſame had beene, that a perpetual peace might haue bene concluded, bycauſe he was cheifely ſent for that intent.

The cauſe why Hialas was ſent.

An article for Perkin Warbeck.

The king of Englande requyred to haue the counterfeyte Duke of Yorke (otherwiſe named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered vnto him: but king James (eſteeming his honour more than anye earthly thing) woulde in no wiſe ſeeme to betray him that fled to him for ſuccor, and with whome he had coupled one of his owne kinneſwomen in mariage, but he was contented to couenant, that the ſame Perkyn ſhoulde be conſtrayned to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further ayded by him, or by any other through his meanes or procurement.

K. James reaſoneth with the counterfeyt Duke of Yorke.

The king of Scottes to keepe promiſe made in the ſayde treatie of peace, and knowing himſelf to be abuſed by the ſayde Richarde, whom he had reputed to be verily Duke of Yorke, although hee was not ſo, called him before his preſence, and declared to him the greate fauour and good wyll which he had borne towardes him, putting him in remembraunce that for his ſake he had taken warre in hande agaynſt Englande, and inuaded the Countrey in hope of aſſyſtance by his friends within the lande, where not one reſorted to him. And albeit he had maried his neare kinſwoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with Englande for his ſake onely, except he might be ſure of ſome ayde through his meanes, wherof he could ſee no appearance.

Perkyn Warbecke went into Irelande.

Came into Flanders.

He deſired him therefore to withdraw forth of his Realme, eyther into Flanders to his Fathers ſiſter the Ladie Margaret, or into ſome other place where it pleaſed him to abide, and expecte ſome better time moſt conuenient for his purpoſe. The ſayde Richarde gaue the king thankes, and obayed his pleaſure, departing ſhortly after out of Scotland, and ſayled into Ireland, from thence to tranſport into Flaunders. But finally making an attempt into Englande, he was taken priſoner in the Abbay of Beaulieu togither with his wife, whoſe beautie was ſuch, as king Henrie thought hir a more meete pray for an Emperor, than for ſouldiers, and therefore vſed hir right honourably, appoynting hir to remaine in the court with the Queene his wife: where ſhee continued ſo long as the ſayde king lyued.

1499

The truce lik to be broken.

This yeare the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the ſame was neare at poynt to haue beene broken, by reaſon that the Engliſh men which lay in gariſon within the caſtell of Norham, did make a fray with certaine Scottiſh men that came ryding neare to the Caſtell as it had bene to haue viewed it, but although they ment no euill, yet diuerſe of the Scottiſhmen were ſlaine, and many wounded and ſore hurt, ſo that king James hauing information therof, was ſore diſpleaſed therwith, thinking and ſaying that there was no more vncertaine thing, than to haue peace with Englande. And herevpon he ſent his Heralde Merchmount with ſharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of Englande, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to hys ſubiectes by thoſe within the Caſtell of Norham, but receyuing moſte reaſonable letters for excuſe of that which was done, as well from the king of Englande himſelfe, as from the Biſhop of Durham owner of the Caſtell, hee was indifferently well appeaſed and ſatiſfied, ſo that he requyred to haue the Biſhop to come into Scotlande vppon ſafeconduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

King James requireth to talke with the Biſhop of Durham.

King James purpoſeth to be a ſuter for mariage in England.

The Biſhop by licence of the king his maſter accompliſhed the Scottiſh kings requeſt, ſo that comming into Scotland, he was receyued by him right honourably at Melroſe, where after certain talke had betwixt them for the appeaſing of thys laſt diſpleaſure, the king brake with the Biſhop for the hauing of the Ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Henrie the ſeuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to ſende his Orators vnto hir father the ſayde king Henry about the ſame matter.

And forasmuch as he knewe that the Biſhop was one that might doe much with king Henrie, who highly fauored him for his ſingular wiſdom, and learning, he deſired him to be a meane to further his ſute, which if it were obteyned, he truſted ſhould highly redounde to the honour and wealth of both the Realmes.

The Biſhop conſidering herein as muche as the king was able to tell him, did not onely promiſe to doe all that in him lay, but alſo encouraged him to ſende his Orators with all ſpeede, truſting that they ſhould receyue a right towardly anſwere.

King Iames following the Biſhops aduiſe, anone after his returne into Englande, ſent certaine perſons Imbaſſadours vnto King Henry, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned.

mbaſſadors nt into Eng- ande.

These Imbaſſadors were highly welcomed, & verie well heard, ſo that to be briefe, their requeſt ſeemed ſo agreeable to king Henries minde, that the mariage was ſhortly therevpon concluded, (but not coſummate betwixt the foreſaid Iames king of Scotlande, and the ſayd Ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie, in the. xvij. yeare of the ſayd king Henries raigne.

1500

mariage cō- luded be- wixt king ames and the ady Marga- et.

At the ſame time, when this mariage was ſo agreed vpon, a peace alſo was concluded betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande, for the tearme of theyr two lyues. And to auoyde that none of eyther of the ſayde kings ſubiects that had offended the lawes ſhould be receyued into any of theyr dominions, it was accorded that no Engliſh man ſhoulde come within Scotland without his Princes letters ſupplicatorie vnto the king of Scottes, nor any Scottiſh man to come within England without the like letters from his prince, deſiring ſafeconduct and paſſeport.

A peace con- luded be- wixt Eogland nd Scotland.

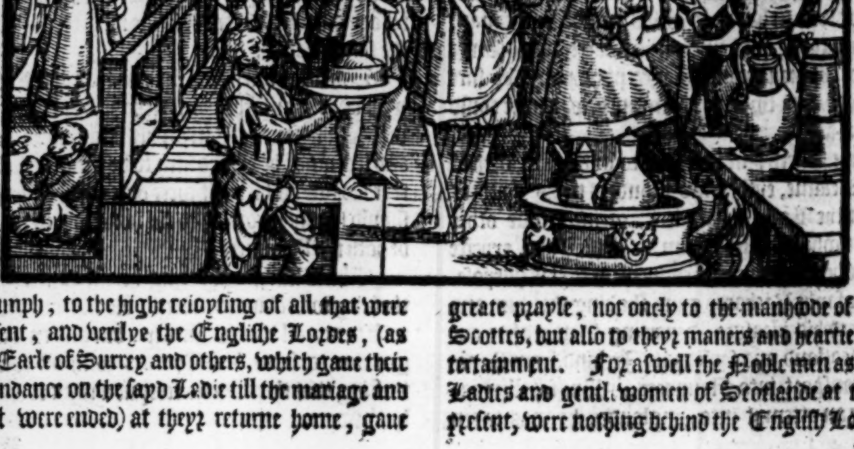
1501

In the yeare nexte enſuing, the Biſhoppe of Glaſgew, the Earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotlande, were ſent in Imbaſſade from king Iames vnto the king of Englande, for the perfiting of the foreſayde mariage betwixt King Iames, and the Ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to king Henrie, which Earle by letters of procuracie and Mandate, in the name of his maiſter king Iames, affied and handfaſted the foreſayde Ladie Margaret in all ſolemne wiſe, according to the maner: which aſſurance and contract thus made, was publiſhed at Paules Croſſe in London, on the day of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in reioyſing whereof *Te Deum* was ſung, and Fiers made, with great feaſting and banketting throughout that Citie.

This was in the yeare. 1502

This done, the Imbaſſadors returned into Scotlande, and then afterwardes was great preparation made in Englande for the conueying of the ſayde Ladie into Scotlande: and lykewyſe great puruеyance there for the receyuing of hir.

The. xvj. of Iune, King Henrie tooke hys iourney from Richmont with his daughter the ſayde Lady Margaret, and came to Colliweſton, where his mother the Counteſſe of Richmont then lay. And after he had remayned there certaine dayes in paſtime and great ſolace, he tooke leaue of hys daughter, giuing hir his bleſſing with a fatherly exhortation, and committed the conueyance of hir into Scotland vnto the Earle of Surrey and others.



The Erle of Northumberlande as then warden of the Marches, was appoynted to delyuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And ſo this fayre Ladie was conueyed with a greate company of Lordes, Ladies, knightes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen, vntill ſhe came to the towne of Barwike, and from thence vnto Lambert kirke in Lamer moore within Scotland, where ſhe was receyued by the King and all the Nobles of that realme, and from the ſayde place of Lamberton kirke, ſhe was conueyed vnto Edenbourgh, where the day after hir comming thither, ſhe was maried vnto the ſayde king with great and ſolemne tryumph, to the highe reioyſing of all that were preſent, and verilye the Engliſhe Lordes, (as the Earle of Surrey and others, which gaue their attendance on the ſayd Ladie till the mariage and feaſt were ended) at theyr returne home, gaue greate prayſe, not onely to the manhoode of the Scottes, but alſo to theyr maners and heartie intertainment. For aſwell the Noble men as the Ladies and gentlewomen of Scotlande at that preſent, were nothing behind the Engliſh Lordes and

The conſummation of the mariage betwixt king Iames the fourth, and the Ladie Margaret.

and Ladies in coſtly apparel, maſſie Chaynes, & other furniture, aſwel for themſelues as their horſes, and made great bankets to the Engliſh men, and ſhewed them ſuch Iuſtes and other pleaſant paſtimes in honour of the mariage, ſo well as after the maner of the Countrey coulde be deuiſed. By reaſon of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfite peace and ſincere amitie ſhould continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after; and verily during the life of king Henry the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred betwixt him and his ſonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of Denmark commeth into Scotlande.

About this time, the king of Denmark through deuiſion that did riſe betwixt him and his Lordes, was conſtrayned to forſake his Countrey, and to come for ayde into Scotlande, where the king receyued him louingly, and vpon his earneſt ſute, for that he was both his couſin and confederate, and alſo the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings requeſt and perſwaſiō, he prepared an armie of tenne thouſande men, the whiche vnder the conduct of the Erle of Arrane, he ſent with the ſayde king of Denmarke to aſſiſt him againſt his aduerſaries.

He is reſtored to his kingdome by the Erle of Arrane Lieutenant to king Iames.

The Earle of Arrane according to his commiſſion, attending the Daniſh king into his coūtrey, reſtored him to his kingdom and former gouernment, and ſo leauing him in peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honour both to himſelfe, the king, and realme.

Shortly after was a Parliament called, during the which the Queene was crowned, and many good actes and conſtitutions made, eſpecially touching the lymitting of places where iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred in the Iles and hie lands, whereby it came to paſſe, that the king was aſwel obeyed, and his lawes were as duely obſerued and kept by the hie lande men as by thoſe that dwelled in any part of the low land.

The hyeland men obedient to lawes.

1504

The king then being at peace with England, and iuſtice ſo miniſtred amongeſt his owne ſubiects, that they liued in greate reſt and quietneſſe, certaine of his counſell deuiſed wayes to winne the king great profite and gaynes by calling hys barons and all thoſe that helde any landes within his realme, to ſhew their euidence by way of recognition, and if they had not writings to ſhewe, (according to the auncient inſtruments & lawes of the realm ſufficient for their warrant, the lands ſhoulde remaine at the kings pleaſure: but when the king perceyued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cauſe, as with a thing deuiſed to diſquiet his people and the whole countrey, of his owne curtrous and gentle nature, he eaſily agreed with the poſſeſſors of ſuch lands: for the whiche he purchaſed great loue amongeſt his people, and the deuiſors of that ordinaunce wanne paſſing great hatred and malice.

A deuiſe to get the king money.

1506

This yeare in May the king helde his court of Iuſtice at Lowder, and remouing it to Edenbourgh, there continued the ſame, where the Lord of Thornton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore loſt his head.

There came an Ambaſſadour this yeare alſo from the Duke of Gelderland to renue the league betwixt the King and the ſayde Duke.

Alſo an Heralde came oute of Fraunce that brought newes which the king liked well.

A great ſhip made.

This yeare alſo, the King cauſed a mightie Shippe to be made, the which was put forth into the road the ſeuenth of Iuly, and the king ſayled himſelfe into the May, an Ilande in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempeſt: but the ſame ſhippe was after appoynted forth, and ſent to the Sea with ſundrie valiant Gentlemen in hir, to meete with the Hollanders whiche had taken and ſpoyled diuerſe Scottiſh ſhips, and throwne the Marchantes and other that were in the ſame ouer boorde. For reuenge whereof Andrew Barton tooke many ſhippes of the Hollanders and filled certaine Pypes with their heades, whiche he ſent vnto the king for a witneſſe how he had ſped.

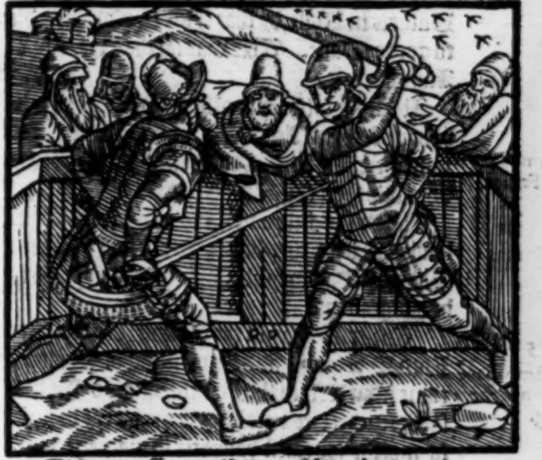
The Hollanders ſhips are taken.

A ſtarre like a Comet appeared the .x. of Auguſt, giuing great light in the night ſeaſon lyke to the Sunne beames.

A bright ſtarre appeareth in the Skie.

A Frenche man named ſir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterwarde Le ſire de la Bawtie, came through Englande into Scotland to ſeeke feates of armes. And comming to the king the xxiiij. of September, the Lorde Hamilton fought with him in armor right valiantly, and ſo as neither of them loſt any peece of honour.

Anthonie Darcy.



1507

This yeare Iames Prince of Scotlande and of the Iles was borne in the Abbey of the holye Rood houſe, the .xxj. of Ianuarie, & on the .xxiij. of yͤ ſame Moneth he was baptiſed in yͤ ſayd Abbay Church. His Godfathers were theſe, Robert Bi-

Prince Iames is borne.

ſhop of Glaſgew, & Patrike Erle Bothwell, and the Counteſſe of Huntley was his Godmother.

The Queene after ſhee was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great ſickeneſſe, ſo that ſhe lay in great danger: for recouerie of whoſe health the king went a foote vnto Saint Ninians in pilgrymage: and afterwards in July, both the King and the Queene went thither to viſite that Saint.

he K. went o pilgrimage

Pope Julius the ſecond ſent an Ambaſſador vnto king James, declaring him protector & defender of the faythe, and in ſigne thereof ſent vnto him a purpure diademe or crowne wrought with floures of gold, togither with a ſword, hauing the hylts & ſkabbert of gold ſet with precious ſtones, which were preſented vnto him by the ſaide Ambaſſador, and the Abbot of Dunfermling, within the Abbay Church of holy Roode houſe, at what time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed.

he Pope declared K. Iames protector f the faith.

The Lorde of Teruert or Camfire in Sealande (whoſe aunceſters not long agone came forth of Scotland) ſent his meſſenger the Bayliſe of Teruert to the king, who preſented vnto him certaine great horſes and other riche preſentes, in remembrance that he came of the Scottiſh race: and the king in recompence thereof, ſent vnto the ſaid Lorde his order, and made his Ambaſſadour knight, rewarding him at his departure (whiche was in Auguſt) with right honorable gyftes.

orſes preſented vnto the ing.

The whole Realme remayned in ſuch peace and quietneſſe in theſe dayes, that the king rode one day himſelfe alone in poſt from Sterling, by Saint Johns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin, and repoſing a little part of the night in the houſe of maiſter Thomas Leſlie then parſon of Angus, went to horſe againe, and came to Saint Duthois in Roſſe, by that tyme they were readie to goe to Maſſe. This was on the .xxxj. day of Auguſt.

eace and quietneſſe in cotlande.

About the latter ende of September, the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, and the Erle of Arrane, were ſent Ambaſſadors into France. They toke ſhip the .xxviij. of September.

n Ambaſſage into Frauce.

The .xvij. of Februarie, James prince of Scotlande departed this life at Striueling, and the Biſhop of Galoway alſo, who was appoynted to be his gouernor.

1508

n Ambaſſade ent vnto the ing.

The .ix. of May in the yeare next enſuing, the Lord D'obigny, and the preſident of Tholous, came from Lewes the Frenche king as Ambaſſadors, to declare vnto king James, that he ment to matche his eldeſt daughter in maryage wyth Frances de Vallois Dolphin of Vien and Duke of Ingoleſme, notwithſtanding that Charles K. of Caſtel that was after Emperor, made ſuite for hir. Bycauſe therefore he ment not to conclude any thing in ſuche a weightie matter withoute conſent of his confederates, of which he eſteemed king James as chiefe: he required him of his aduiſe and counſell therein, who after aduiſement taken, made anſwere, that albeit the King of Fraunce had ſufficient Counſell about him, yet ſith he had deſired his aduiſe, he would friendly giue the ſame: which was, that he ſhould rather marie his daughter within his owne Realme, vnto ſuche one as ſhoulde ſucceede him, than to beſtowe hir vpon any forrayne Prince, ſithe otherwiſe ſome clayme myght bee made in tyme comming vnto the Crowne by ſuche as ſhoulde match with hir. And ſo with this anſwere the preſident of Tholous departed, reporting yͤ ſame at his coming home vnto the French king, who therupon folowed his own determination therin, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederate the king of Scotland.

The kings anſwere.

The Lord D'obigny toke a ſickneſſe and died thereof at Corſtorphyn, in the Moneth of June, and cauſed his heart to be ſent vnto Saint Ninians in Galloway, bycauſe he had vowed a pylgrimage thither whileſt he remayned the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieued many high enterpriſes agaynſt his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of thoſe men of warre whiche Charles the .viij. of that name king of Fraunce did ſend with Henrie Erle of Richmond into England, when yͤ ſame Erle came againſt king Richard, whom he vanquiſhed, and therby got the Crowne. And ſo after many noble victories and valiant actes atchieued, this Lorde D'obigny ended his life in his owne countrey of Scotland where he was borne.

The Lorde Obignie died.

This yeare alſo in May and June, there was kept great Juſtes and tourneys in Edenbourgh, by one calling himſelfe the wilde knight, who counterfeyted the round table.

This was the king himſelfe.

There were diuers Ambaſſadors ſent forth this yeare alſo, as the Archdeacon of Saint Androws, and ſir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the Biſhop of Murrey into England.

Ambaſſages ſent.

The .xv. of July, the Queene was deliuered of a daughter, which ſhortly after ſhe had receyued baptiſme deceaſſed, and the Queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death.

The Biſhop of Glaſgew died this yeare in his iourney to Jeruſalem, the .xxix. of July. James Beton ſucceded him in that ſea.

The Archbiſhop of Glaſgew died.

The .xxx. of July, there was a great fray betwixt the Lord Maxwel, & the lord Creichton of Sanchar, where the Lord Creichton was chaſed with his company from Dunfreis, & the Laird of Daliel, and the yong Laird of Crauthlay with diuerſe other were ſlaine.

A bickering.

The .xix. of September was a great earthquake in many places both in England and Scotland, namely the ſame was perceyued in Churches.

An earthquake

The

Horſes ſent vnto king James.

The king of England ſent a Gentleman with horſes trymly trapped with bardes of ſteele to be preſented to king James, who thankfully receyued thẽ, & right honorably rewarded ẏ meſſenger.

The Archdeacon of S. Androwes came out of France.

The Archdeacon of Saint Androwes returned forth of Fraunce in a greate ſhippe called the Threaſourer, which ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of England, and the Archdeacon and foure C. perſons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the Archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenbourgh.

The Erle Bothwell dyed.

Adam Earle of Bothwell and Lorde Hales departed this life at Edenbourgh the .xviij. day of October, and Erle Patrick ſucceeded him.

1509

King Henrie the eight ſucceedeth his father.

Henrie the ſeuenth king of England, paſſed out of this world the .xxij. of Aprill, in the yeare .1509. and his ſonne Henrie the eight ſucceeded him, after whoſe coronation king James ſent an honorable Ambaſſade of certaine Lordes, and a Byſhop to congratulate him at his firſt entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in ſuch caſes apperteyneth.

Letters of marke againſt the Portingals.

About the ſame time, John Barton & Androw Bartõ, hauing letters of Marke of ẏ king againſt the Portingales, tooke diuers of their ſhips laden with rich marchandiſe, which they brought into Scotland.

The king went on pilgrimage.

This Sommer the king went in pilgrimage vnto S. Duthois in Roſſe, & the Queene remayning at holy Rood houſe, was brought to bed of a prince, the .xx. day of October, the which the third day after was baptiſed and named Arthur.

A ſhip with munition.

1510

Two great ſhippes came forth of Fraunce to the king, fraught with Gunnes, Speares, and all other kinde of munition for warre.

The Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes.

Alexander, baſtard ſonne to the king, newly made Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, who had bin long in Germany ſtudent there in the ſcholes with that famous Clearke Eraſmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flaunders by ſea into Scotlande, and was ioyfully receyued, bycauſe he had beſtowed his time ſo well in vertues and learning.

The Laird of Faſtcaſtel went into Turkie.

The Laird of Faſtcaſtell came ouer with him, who had trauailed through a great part of Chriſtendome: and moreouer paſſing into Turkey, came to the Emperour of Turkey at the Citie of Caire, who retayned him in ſeruice, and gaue him good entertaynment, ſo that hee remayned with him, tyll he heard that the lyuing of Faſtcaſtell was fallen to him by lawfull ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding that when he departed oute of Scotland, there were .viij. ſeuerall perſons before him to ſucceede one after another, which in the meane time were all deceaſſed.

Prince Arthur deceaſſed.

The .xiiij. of July, Arthur Prince of Scotlande and the Iles, departed this life in the Caſtel of Edenbourgh.

Two Scorpions founde in Scotland.

Two Scorpions were found, the one quicke and the other dead, in the Orchard of the Caſtell of Cragmyller, which thing was reputed for a marueylous great wonder, that any ſhould be ſeene within the Ile of Brytaine.

Stoupe gallant A ſickneſſe.

In the Moneth of September, an vniuerſall ſickneſſe raigned through all Scotlande, whereof many died. It was very contagious, and they called it Stoupe gallant.

Katherin Gordon.

There came alſo a paſſing fayre woman into Scotlande about the ſame time, naming hirſelfe Katheryn Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himſelfe Duke of Yorke, but at length beeing brought to the king, ſhe confeſſed what ſhe was, and ſo auoyded the realme. In which meane while, the Lady Katherin Gordon hirſelfe remayned in England, and had right good maintenance, ſo that ſhe liued there very well and honourably many yeares after.

The Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

Furthermore, the king vpon the .viij. of Nouember comming from Edenbourgh to the water of Rule, tooke diuerſe miſgouerned perſons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principals of the Trumbils, with naked ſwordes in theyr handes, and wythes about theyr neckes met with him, putting thẽſelues in the kings mercy, which were ſent to ſundry places to bee kept in warde, with diuerſe other of thoſe countreymen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwardes: and from thence the king paſſed to S. Johns towne, where iuſtice was holden the reſidue of ẏ winter.

1511

The next yeare in the beginning of May, the Queene went from Dunfermling toward ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, and was all the way right honourably vſed and entertayned.

An ambaſſage from the king of England.

About the .x. of July, ſhe returned to Edenbourgh, where ſhe founde the Lorde Dacres, and ſir Robert Drurie knight come thither as Ambaſſadors from the king of Englande hir brother, who were honourably receyued.

1512

1512

In the yeare next enſuing, in June, Androw Barton being on the Seas to meete with Portingals (agaynſt whom he had a letter of marke) Sir Edmond Haward Lord Admirall of Englande, and the Lorde Thomas Hawarde, ſonne and heyre vnto the Erle of Surry, were appointed by the king of Englande to go likewiſe to ſea with certaine ſhippes, and meeting with the ſayd Androw as he returned homewardes neare to the Downes, hauing with him onely one ſhippe, and one Barke. The Engliſh men at the firſt made ſigne vnto the Scots as though they meant none euil, ſaue only to ſalute thẽ as friends, but getting within them, they ſet vpon thẽ right fiercely, & the Scots for a while did as valiantly defend thẽſelues, ſo ẏ many were ſlain on both ſides: but in the end the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand, wounded Androw Barton chief captaine of the Scots ẏ he

Two ſhippes taken by the Engliſh men.

died

dyed of the hurtes which he there receyued, and his ſhip called the Vnicorne, and the barke called Ienny Pyrwine, were both taken, with all the Scottiſh men that remayned aliue in the ſame, which were had to Londō, & ſtayed as priſoners in the Biſhop of Yorke his houſe for a time, and after ſent home into Scotland.

King Iames was ſore offended with thys matter, and therevpon ſent an Heralde with letters, requyring redreſſe for the ſlaughter of hys people, and reſtitution of his ſhips, ſith otherwiſe it might ſeeme to giue occaſion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denyed that the ſlaughter of a Pirate (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake any bonde of peace, yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners to the borders that ſhould entreate of that matter, and other enormities chaunced betweene the two realmes.

The king of France requyred ayd againſt England.

The French King, and the Duke of Gelderlande perceyuing that the king of Englande was mynded through procurement of the Pope and others, to make them warres, eyther of them ſent Ambaſſadors into Scotlande vnto king Iames, requyring his aſſyſtance agaynſt England: but king Iames mynding to mainteyne peace and concorde betwixt the parties, ſent an Ambaſſador vnto the king of Englande, deſiring him in brotherly and moſte louing wiſe to liue in peace and quietneſſe, and not to make anye warres agaynſt his confederate friendes, offring himſelfe to take in hande to agree and compound any difference that was fallen betwixt the king of Englande and the ſayde Princes.

King Iames perſwadeth to peace.

The king of Englande who had alreadie ſent ayde vnto the Ladie Regent of the lowe Countreys agaynſt the Duke of Gelderlande, made ſuch fayre anſwere herevnto as he thought ſtoode wyth reaſon, and ſo diſpatched the Ambaſſadour backe againe to his maiſter without any more a doe in that matter, aboute the which he came for that tyme.

The kings baſtard maried.

Iohn Lorde Gordon, ſonne and heyre to Alexander Gordon Earle of Huntley, returned out of Fraunce, and was maried vnto the Kings baſtarde daughter in Nouember following in thys preſent yeare. 1512. of whom the houſe of Huntley is deſcended.

1512

A Sinode kept at Edenburgh.

Benefices were taxed.

There was aboute the ſame time a Synode holden in the blacke Friers of Edenbourgh, by the whole Cleargie of the Realme, as Biſhops, Abbots, Priors and other Prelates, where there was a Legate of the Popes, who cauſed all the churches that were aboue .xl. pound to be taxed. This was called Bagimunts taſke, whereby the Pope and the king might knowe the value of the benefices, and to haue taxes of the ſame accordingly, as the Pope for his annates and Bulles, and the king when he ſtoode in neede. This was conſented and agreed vnto by the Cleargie.

The Biſhop of Murrey came home.

Shortly after came the Biſhop of Murrey home, hauing bene at Rome, in Fraunce, and England, bringing with him from the Pope, and the kings of Fraunce and Englande, many good and pleaſant letters: and with him came a clearke of Spaine in Ambaſſade vnto the king.

A yong Prince borne in Scotlande.

This yeare the .xj. day of Aprill, the Queene was deliuered of a yong Prince in the Palace of Lithgo, who was ſhortly after baptiſed, and named Iames the fift Prince of Scotlande and of the Iles, that after ſucceeded his father in the Kingdome.

The French king ſent to perſwade the king of Scots to warres.

The Lorde Dacres, and Doctor Weſt, came in Ambaſſade from the king of Englande, and *Monſieur de la Mote* came wyth Letters from the French King, to perſwade king Iames to make warre agaynſt Englande, promiſing him money, munition, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions of warre.

In his way as he paſſed the Seas towardes Scotlande, he had drowned three Engliſh ſhips, and brought ſeuen away with him vnto Lieth for pryſes, in the which were but three Engliſhe men left aliue.

Shortly after maiſter Iames Ogiluie Abbot of Drybourgh, came forth of France with letters of the like effect.

Fourtene priſes of Engliſh men taken.

After this Robert Barton went to the Sea, and in Iuly brought into Scotland .xiiij. priſes of Engliſh men which he had taken.

About this ſeaſon, the Layrde of Drumwedy was ſlain in Edenbourgh by two perſons, which tooke ſanctuarie in holy Roode houſe, and ſo eſcaped. Iohn Earle of Athole deceaſſed the .xix. of September, and Lion Harold king of Armes deceaſſed the firſt of October.

Miſrule exerciſed.

Great miſrule was exerciſed on the borders in this ſeaſon, and therfore the king aſſembled the Lordes in Edenbourgh for reformation therof, & while they were there, the Queen was brought to bed of a childe, which dyed ſhortly after it was chriſtened.

The Queene brought to bed of a child.

The league renued with France.

There came a great ſhip into Scotland which the king of Fraunce had ſent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder and wines, and then was the league and bande renued betwixt Scotlande and France. The ſame ſhippe landed at Blackneſſe the .xix. of Nouember.

Purſeuants ſent into England & France.

King Iames ſent a Purſeuant called Vnicorne into Fraunce, and another into Englande called Ilay, which Ilay requyred a ſafeconduct for an Ambaſſador to be ſent from the king hys maiſter vnto the King of Englande; but thys would not be graunted. Vpon the ſayde Ilays returne, *Monſieur de la Mote* was ſent backe into France, and with him ſir Water Ogiluy, and a meſſinger which the Pope had ſent into Scotlande. And the .xvj. of March next enſuing, Doctor Weſt came as Ambaſſador into Scotlande from the king of England, appoynting that certaine Commiſſioners ſhoulde meete on the borders for redreſſe of all quarels betwixt the two realms, in the Month of June next enſuing. And this appoyntment was kept: but no good could be done, as after ſhall appeare.

Doctor Weſt ſent into Scotland Ambaſſador.

1513

The King ſent the Biſhop of Murrey into France, to ſignifie vnto the French king the meſſage of the ſayde Doctor Weſt, and other things.

Munition for warre ſent out of Denmarke.

In the Moneth of May, there came certaine ſhippes out of Denmarke laden with Gunnes, powder, armour, and other kind of munition.

Prouiſion ſent out of France.

Alſo *Monſieur de la Mote* landed in the weſt part of Scotlande, the .xvj. of May, with foure ſhippes fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the .xix. of the ſame Moneth.

Odonel profeſſed friendſhip vnto K. James.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenbourgh, the firſt of June, offring his friendſhip and ſeruice to him before all other Princes, and ſpecially agaynſt the king of England: wherupon he was thankfully receyued, honourably enterteyned, and richly rewarded. And ſo the band of friendſhip being with him concluded, he returned into his countrey.

A nauy ſent.

The king prepared a great nauie of ſhippes, the principall whereof were the Michael, Margaret, and James. They made ſayle towardes the ſea the .xxvij. of July, and the king ſayled in the Michaell himſelfe, till they were paſt the Ilande of May, James Gordon ſonne to George Earle of Hũtley being one of the captains of the ſame ſhip.

Commiſsioners met at the borders.

The Engliſh men detract the time.

A king of armes ſent vnto king Henrie of England.

The Commiſſioners met on the borders in June, according to the appoyntment: but bicauſe the Engliſhmen would not conſent to make any redreſſe or reſtitution till the .xv. of October next, thinking by that delay and continuance of tyme, they ſhould vnderſtãd the ſtate of their kings proceedings in Fraunce, and in the meane time reteyne in theyr handes the Scottiſh mens goodes which they had taken both by ſea and land (as the Scottiſh writers affyrme,) the king of Scottes being thereof aduertiſed, ſent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lying at ſiege before Terwine with letters of complaint, commaunding him that if King Henrie refuſed to accompliſhe the contents of his ſayde letters, hee ſhoulde denounce warre vnto him. Wherevpon Lion arryuing in the Engliſhe armie with his cote of armes on his backe, about the middeſt of Auguſt, deſired to ſpeake with the king, and was within a ſhort ſpace by Garter chiefe king at Armes of England, brought to the kings preſence, hauing his nobles and counſellers about him, where with due reuerence, and ſome good wordes firſt vttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof enſueth.

The tenor of the king of Scottes letter.

RIght excellent, right high & mightie prince, our dearest brother and couſin, we cõmaund vs vnto you in our maiſt hartie maner, & receiued fra Raff herauld your letters, quharvntil ye approue and allow the doings of your cõmiſſioners lately being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redreſſe quhilk is thought to you and your counſel ſhould be continuet & delart to the .xv. day of October. As ye write ſlaars by ſee aught not compere perſonally, but by their attourneys, & in your letters with our herauld Ilay, ye aſcertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treux taken betwixt the maiſt chriſtian king and your father of Aragon, bycauſe ye & others of the hale liege nether ſhould nor may take peace, treux nor abſtinence of warre with your cõmon enimy without conſent of all the confederates. And that the Emperor, King of Aragon, yea and euery of you be bounden to make actuall warre this inſtãt ſommer againſt your cõmon enimy. And that ſo to do is cõcluded & openly ſworne in Paules kyrk at London vpõ S. Markes day laſt by paſt. And farther haue denied ſafeconduit vpõ our requeſts, ẏ a ſeruitor of ours might haue reſorted to your preſence (as our herauld Ilay reports:) Right excellẽt, right high & mightie prince, our derreſt brother & couſin, the ſayd meeting of our & your commiſſioners at the borders was peremptorily appointed betwixt you & vs after diuerſe dietes, for reformation before continued to the cõmiſſioners meeting, to effect that due redreſſe ſhould haue bin made at the ſaide meeting, like as for our part our cõmiſſioners offred to haue made that time. And for your part no malefactor was then arreſted to the ſaid diet, & to gloſe the ſame, ye now write ẏ ſlaars by ſee need not compere perſonally, but by their attourneis quhilk is again law of god & mã. And gef in criminal action al ſlaars ſhuld naught compere perſonally, na punition ſuld follow for ſlaughter, & then vane it were to ſeke farther meetings or redreſſe. And hereby apperes (as the deed ſhewes) ẏ ye wil nouther keep gud ways of iuſtice & equitie nor kindnes with vs: the great wrongs & vnkindnes done before to vs & our leiges we põderat, quhilk we haue ſuffred this long time in vpbering, mainſwering noundreſſing of attemptates, ſo as the bil of the taken of inhalding of baſtard Herõ with his cõplices in your contry quha ſlue our wardan vnder truſt of dayes of meeting for iuſtice, & therof was filat & ordeynt to be deliuered, inſlaing of our liege noble mẽ, vnder color by your folks, in taking of vthers out of our realm priſonet & chanet by the crags in your cuntry, withhalding of our wiues legacie promiſt in your diuers letters for deſpite of vs, ſlaughter of Andrew Barton by your awn commaund, quha then had naught offẽded to you nor your lieges vnredreſt, and breaking of the amitie in that behalf by your deed, and with halding of our ſhips and artillarie to your vſe, quharvpon eft our diuers requiſitions at your Wardens, Cõmiſſioners, Ambaſſadors, and your ſelfe, ye wrate and als ſhewe by vthers vnto vs, that full redreſſe ſuld be made at the ſaid meeting of Commiſſioners, and ſa were in hope of reformation, or at the leſt ye for our ſake wald haue deſiſted fra inuaſion of our friendes and couſings within theyr awne Countreys that haue naught offended at you, as we firſt requyred you, in fauour of our tender couſing the Duke of Gelder, quham to deſtroy and diſinherite ye ſent your folkes and dud that was in them. And right ſa we lately deſired for our brother and couſin the maiſt chriſten king of France, quham ye haue cauſed to tine his Countre of Millaigne, and now inuades his ſelf, quha is with vs in ſecond degree of blude, and haſe bene vnto you kind without offence, and more kindar than to vs: notwithſtanding in defenſe of his perſon we mon take part, and thereto ye bycauſe of vthers haue geuen occaſion to vs & to our lieges in tyme bypaſt, nouther doing iuſtly nor kyndely towardes vs, proceeding alwayes to the vtter deſtruction of our neereſt frends; quha mon do for vs quhã it ſhall be neceſſarie. In euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs quhã ye lightly fauor, manifeſtly wranged your ſiſter for our ſake incõtrary our writtes. And ſaying vnto our herauld yͭ we giue you faire wordes and think the contrary, in deed ſuch it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, truſting that ye ſuld haue emended to vs, or worthin kynder to our frends for our ſakes, & ſuld naughtight haue ſtopped our ſeruitors paſſage to labour peax that they might as yͤ Papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And thervpon we were contented to haue ouerſene our harmes, & to haue remitted the ſame though vther information was made to our haly father Pape July by the Cardinal of York, your Ambaſſador: & ſen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premiſſes, & ſpecially in denying of ſafeconduit to oure ſeruants to reſort to your preſẽce, as your ambaſſador Doctor Weſt inſtantly deſired we ſuld ſende one of our counſel vnto you vpõ great matters, & appointing of differences debatable betwixt you & vs furthering of peax if we might betwixt yͤ moſt chriſten king & you we neuer hard to this purpoſe ſafeconduit denied betwixt infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at lẽgth plaines of our minde, yͭ we require and deſire you to deſiſt fra farther inuaſiõ & vtter deſtruction of our brother & couſin yͤ maiſt chriſten king, to quhã by al confederation, blude & alie, and alſo by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs lately to take through your iniuries and harmes without remedie done dayly vnto vs, our lieges & ſubiectes, we are bõden & obliſt for mutual defence ylk of vthers, like as ye & your confederates be obliſt for mutual inuaſiõs & actual war. Certifying you we will take part in defence of our brother & couſin the maiſt chriſten king, and will do what thing we truyſt may cauſe you to deſiſt fra purſute of him, & for deuit & poſtponit iuſtice to our lieges we mon giue litters of marque according to the amitie betwixte you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by paſt, as we haue ordaint our Herauld the bearer hereof to ſay, gif it like you to here him and gif him credence: right excellent, right highe and mightie prince, our dereſt brother & couſin. The Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our ſignet at Edenbourgh the .xxvj. day of July.

The Heralde is ſent for.

King Henry hauing read the letter, & conſidered therof with aduice of his counſel, ſent for yͤ herald again, and told him that he had read and wel perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, & woulde make him anſwere with condition, that he woulde promiſe to declare the ſame to his maiſter. Whereunto Lion made this anſwere: Sir, I am his natural ſubiect, and he is my naturall Lord, and what he cõmaunds me to ſay, I may boldly ſay with fauor, but the cõmandements of others I may not, nor dare ſay vnto my ſoueraigne Lorde, but your letters ſent by me may declare you M. pleaſure, albeit your anſwere requireth doings and not ſayings, that is, that you immediately ſhould returne home. Then ſaid the king: I will returne at my pleaſure to your domage, & not at thy maiſters ſommonance. And herewith he cauſed an anſwere to be writtẽ vnto the king of Scots in forme as followeth.

The Heraldes anſwere.

King Henrie his anſwere.

RIght excellent, right highe and mightye Prince. &c. and haue receyued your writing dated at Edenbourgh the. xxvj. day of Julye by your Heralde Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearſall and accumulation of manye ſurmyſed iniuries, griefes and daungers done by vs and our ſubiectes to you and your lieges, the ſpecialties wherof were ſuperfluous to rehearſe, remembring that to them and euery of them in effect reaſonable anſwere founded vpõ law and conſcience hath tofore bene made to you & your counſell, ye not only require vs to deſiſt from further inuaſion and vtter deſtruction of your brother and couſin the French king, but alſo certifie vs that you will take parte in defence of the ſayde King, and that thing which ye truſt may rather cauſe vs to deſiſt from purſute of him, with many contriued occaſions & communications by you cauſeleſſe ſought and imagined, ſouning to yͤ breache of yͤ perpetuall peace paſſed, concluded, and ſworne betwixt you & vs, of which your imagined quarels cauſeleſſe deuiſed to breake to vs contrary to your othe promiſed, al honor & kindneſſe, we cannot maruel conſidering the auncient accuſtomed maners of your progenitors, which neuer kept lõger fayth &

promiſe then pleaſed them. Howbeit if the loue and dread of God, nighneſſe of bloud, honor of the worlde, lawe, and reaſon had bound you, we ſuppoſe ye woulde neuer haue ſo farre proceeded, ſpecially in our abſence. Wherein the Pope and all Princes chriſtened may well note in you, diſhonourable demeanour, when ye lying in wayte, ſeeke the wayes to doe that in our ſayde abſence, which ye would haue bin wel aduiſed to attempt we being within our Realme and preſent. And for euident approbation hereof we neede none other proues ne witneſſes, but your own writings heretofore to vs ſent, we being within our realm, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the Frenche King, but paſſed the time with vs till after our departure from our ſayde Realme. And nowe percaſe ye ſuppoſing vs ſo farre from our ſayde Realme to bee deſtitute of defence agaynſt your inuaſions, haue vttered the olde rancour of your mynde, whiche in couert maner ye haue long kept ſecrete. Neuertheleſſe, we remembring the brittleneſſe of your promiſe, and ſuſpecting though not wholy beleeuing ſo much vnſtedfaſtneſſe, thought it right expedient and neceſſarie to put our ſayd realme in a readineſſe, for reſiſting of your ſayd enterpriſes, hauing firme truſt in oure Lorde God and the righteouſneſſe of our cauſe with the aſſiſtaunce of our confederates & Alies we ſhall be able to reſyſt the malice of Sciſmatikes and their adherents, being by the generall counſell expreſſely excommunicate and interdicted, truſting alſo in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, whiche by ſuch vnnaturall demeanor haue giuen ſufficient cauſe to the diſheriſon of you and your poſteritie for euer from the poſſibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the Realme, which ye now atempt to inuade. And if the example of the King of Nauarre being excluded from his Realme for aſſyſtaunce gyuen to the Frenche King cannot reſtrayne you from thys vnnaturall dealing, we ſuppoſe ye ſhall haue like aſſyſtaunce of the French King as the King of Nauarre hath nowe: who is a King without a Realme, and ſo the French King peaceably ſuffereth him to continue, whereunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in this our wryting, wee neede not to make any further anſwere to the manifolde griefes by you ſurmyſed in your letter: foraſmuch as if any lawe or reaſon coulde haue remoued you from your ſenſuall opinions, ye haue beene many and oftentymes ſufficiently anſwered to the ſame: Except onely to the pretended griefes touching the denying of our ſafeconduct to your Ambaſſadour to be laſt ſent vnto vs: whereunto we make this anſwere, that we had graunted the ſayd ſafeconduct, and if your Heralde woulde haue taken the ſame with him, like as he hath bin accuſtomed to ſolicite ſafeconducts for marchants and others heretofore, yee might as ſoone haue had that, as any other, for we neuer denied ſafeconduct to any your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to paſſe, but we ſee well lyke as your ſayde Heralde had heretofore made ſiniſter report contrarye to the truth, ſo hath he done nowe in this caſe, as it is manifeſt and open. Finally, as touching your requiſition to deſiſt from further attempting agaynſt our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent Iudge of ſo high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe: wherefore (God wylling) we purpoſe with the ayde and aſſyſtaunce of our cōfederates and Alies to proſecute the ſame, and as ye do to vs and our realme, ſo it ſhal be remembred & acquited hereafter by the helpe of our Lord and our patron S. George. Who right excellent, right high and mightie Prince. &c. Yeuen vnder our ſignet in our camp before Tyrwin, the xij. day of Auguſt.

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottiſhe Herald, he departed with the ſame into Flanders, there to haue taken ſhippe: but for want of readie paſſage he ſtayd and returned not into Scotland till Floddon field was fought, and the king ſlain. For king Iames perceiuing al the Engliſhmens doings to tende vnto warre rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the aſſembling of his people immediately after he had ſent forth his Heralde wyth commaundement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the Engliſh confines, and firſt before his maine force was come togither, the Lorde Humes that was Lord Chāberlaine and warden of Scotland, the. xiij. day of Auguſt, hearing that the Engliſh men had fetched a bootie within yͤ Scottiſh ground, aſſēbled a power and followed them into Northumberland, but ere he could returne he was forlayd by yͤ Engliſhmen, which breaking out of their embuſhes, put the Scottiſh men to the worſe, and of them tooke and ſlue many.

Engliſh men fetched a bootie in Scotlande.

In the meane tyme was the whole power of Scotlande aſſembled, with the which king Iames approching to the borders, and nothing abaſhed of the euill lucke thus at the beginning chaunced to his people, purpoſed with greater aduantage of victorie to recouer that detriment: and herevpō he made ſuch haſt, that he would not ſtay for the whole power of his realme which was in preparing to come forwarde vnto him, but comming to the borders, he paſſed ouer the water of Tweed the. xxij. of Auguſt, & entred into Englād, lodging that night nere to the riuer of Tuiſel: & the next day laid ſiege to the caſtel of Norham, & within ſhort ſpace wan the Brayes, ouerthrew the Barmkine, & ſlue diuers wͭin the caſtel, ſo yͭ the captain & ſuch as had charge within it, deſired the

King Iames approched nere vnto England with his power

The king of Scots made to much haſt.

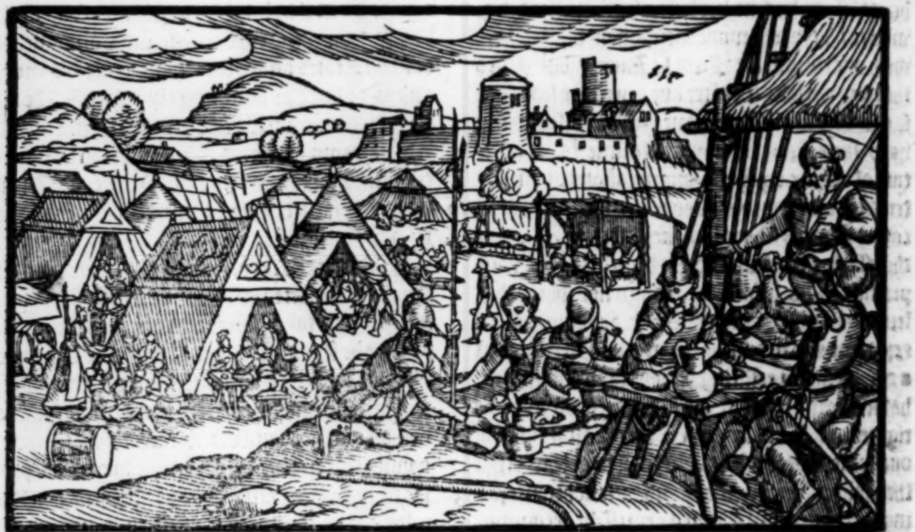
Norham.

The Brayes.

Barnekyne.

Fourd and Etell taken.

king to delay the ſiege, while they might ſende to the Earle of Surrey alreadie come with an army into the North partes, couenanting if they were not reſcued by the. xix. day of that Moneth, they ſhould deliuer the caſtel vnto the king. This was graunted: and bycauſe none came within the time to the reſkue, the caſtell was deliuered at the appointed day: a great part of it was ouerthrowen and beaten downe. After this he wanne the Caſtels of Fourd and Etell, and diuerſe other places of ſtrength, of which part were ouerthrowne. He alſo tooke many priſoners, and ſent them away into Scotland, and diuerſe he aſſured: and thus he abode an. xviij. dayes within England, til two parts of his armie were ſcaled and departed home from him.



The power of the north coũtrey rayſed.

The Engliſh campe in ſight of the Scottiſh campe.

King James was minded to kepe his grounde.

Paulus Iouius.

The Earle of Huntley his counſell.

His ſperſwaſions.

In which meane time the Earle of Surrey Lieutenaunt to the king of Englande hauing rayſed all the power of the North partes of Englande, came with the ſame towardes the place where he heard that king James was encamped, and approching within three myles of the Scottiſh campe in full ſight of the Scottiſh men, pight downe his tentes, and encamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great deſire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe, yet bycauſe hee was encamped in a place of great aduantage, ſo as the enimies could not approche to fight with him but with greate loſſe and daunger to caſt themſelues away, hee thought good to kepe his ground, ſpecially bicauſe all thoſe of the nobilitie which were knowne to be of experience, did not holde with their aduiſe that counſailed him to giue battaile (at what time the Erle of Surrey had ſent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his ſtrength vnto ſome indifferent ground where he would be readie to encounter him) and namely the Erle of Huntley, a mã for his high valiancie ioyned with wiſedome and policie, had in moſt reputation of all the reſidue, affyrmed in plaine wordes, that nothing could be either more fond or fooliſh than to fight at pleaſure of the enimie, and to ſet all on a maine chaunce at his wil and appoyntment, and therefore it ſhoulde be good for them to remayne there in that place of aduantage, and with prolõging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whoſe campe there was alreadie great ſcarcitie of vyttayles, neither was it poſſible that they ſhould be vitayled from the inner partes of the realme, by reaſon of the comberſome wayes for caryage to paſſe nowe after ſuch abundaunce of continuall rain as of late was fallẽ, & not like as yet to ceaſe, ſo that in ſitting ſtill & attempting nothing raſhly without aduiſement, the K. ſhould haue his enimies at his pleaſure, as vanquiſhed withoute ſtroke ſtriken through diſaduantage of the place, & lack of vitailes to ſuſtaine their languiſhing bodies.

Foule weather.

King James ſent his quarel vnto the Earle of Surrey.

And ſurely beſide the want of vitails, yͤ foule and euill weather ſore annoyed both parties: for there had not beene one fayre day, no ſcarce one houre of fayre weather of al the time the Scottiſh armie had lyen within England, but great colde, wind and rain, which had not only cauſed many of the Scots to returne home, but alſo ſore vexed the Engliſh men, as well in theyr iourney thytherwards, as alſo while they lay in camp aneinſt the Scottiſh army. There was ſending of meſſengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had ſent his quarell in writing vnto the Erle of Surrey by his herald Ilay the night before the battail, cõteyning as followeth: Where it is alledged that we are come in England againſt our band & promiſe, thereto we anſwere: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, & when we ſware laſt before his ambaſſadors in preſence of our counſel, we expreſſed ſpecially in our oth, yͭ we would keepe to our brother if our brother kept to vs, and not elſe: wee ſweare that our brother brake firſt to vs, and of his breach we haue required him diuerſe tymes of amendes: and lately we warned him, as he did not vs ere we brake: and this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace ſhall defende the ſame at your affyred tyme, which with Gods help we ſhal abide. Thus was the K. verie deſirous to trie the matter by battail, although the wyſeſt ſort of his Nobles wiſhed not that he ſhould do any thing ouer raſhly.

There chaunced alſo many things taken (as ye woulde ſay) for warnings of ſome great miſchance to follow, which though ſome reputed but as vaine and caſuall happes, yet the impreſſion of them bred a certaine religious feare and new terrour in his heart. For as he was in counſell wyth his Lordes, to vnderſtande their opinions touching the order of his battayles, there was an Hare ſtart amongeſt them, which hauing a thouſand arrowes, daggers, and other kinde of things beſtowed at hir, with great noiſe & ſhowting, yet ſhe eſcaped from them all ſafe and without hurt.

Prodigious chaunces.

A Hare.

The ſame night alſo Miſe had gnawne in ſunder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherwith he ſhoulde faſten the ſame to his head. And moreouer, the cloth or vaile of his inner tent (as is ſayde) aboute the breake of the day appeared as though the deawie moyſture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour. Hereupon the king keeping himſelfe within his ſtrength, the Erle of Surrey conſtrayned by neceſſitie to ſeeke all wayes whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where hee was lodged, remoued his campe towardes the hilles of Floddon, where the king of Scottes lay encamped: and on the .ix. day of September paſſed the water of Tyll at Twiſell bridge, the rereward going ouer at Mylford, putting themſelues as neare as they coulde betwixt the Scottiſhe campe and Scotlande.

The buckle lether of hys helmet gnawē with mise.

The cloth of his tent of bloudie color.

The Engliſh campe remoued by the Erle.

King James perceyuing the Engliſh men to paſſe the water, iudged that they had ment to winne an hill that lay betwixt them & his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he cauſed his fielde to be rayſed, and fire to be ſet on theyr litter and cabans, which they had made of boughes, and ſo with all ſpeed remoued to the other hill being gotten thither ere the Engliſhe men coulde perceyue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, bicauſe the ſmoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrey betwixt the two armies. In the meane while were the Engliſhmē aduaunced to the foote of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduauntage: for the Scottiſh ordynance coulde not muche annoy them in marching vpwards vnder the leuell thereof, and they again might gall the Scots in ſhooting of at them, as they came downwardes vpon them. For king James hauing diſappoynted the Engliſh men of the hill, thought verily it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beſide the place where they intended (as hee thought) to haue camped, would neuer abyde the countenance of his puiſſant armie, if he might attaine to ioyne with them. Therefore the Scottiſh armie making downwards, encountred with the Engliſh hoſt neare to the foote of the mountaine called Branxton, and firſt ſir Edmond Hawarde leading one of the outwings of ẏ Engliſh army, hauing with him three. M. men, being fiercely aſſayled by the Scottes on foot, hauing ſpeares and long weapons, & alſo by certain horſmen, was in the end diſcomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, ſo that being of thē forſaken, he was conſtrayned to follow. But yet he & diuerſe other which eſcaped, ioyned thēſelues to the next battaile as well as they might. This ſo proſperous a beginning, who would thinke ſhould haue turned to the loſſe of ẏ Scots part & aduancemēt

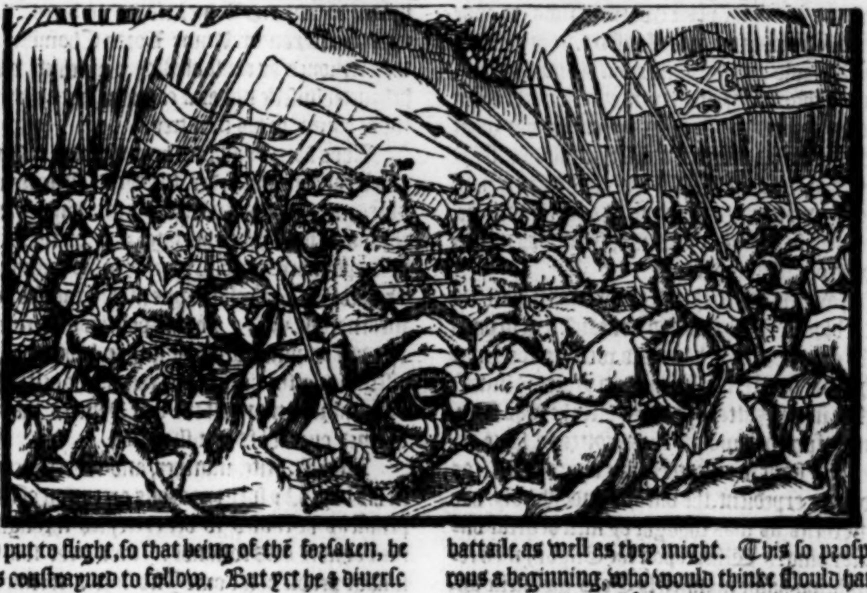
The Scottes campe remoued alſo.

Aduauntage gotten by the grounde.

King James his practiſe.

Sir Edmonde Haward was fiercely aſſayled.

A good beginning had an euill ending.



of the Engliſh ſide? But ſo it came to paſſe, for K. James no ſooner ſaw that wing of the Engliſh hoſt ouerthrowne and diſcomfited, but that he deemed how al the whole power of yͤ Engliſhmē had bin fleeing away: & therefore alighting beſide his horſe, & cōmaunding thoſe yͭ were about him to folow, prepared himſelf to purſue the chaſe. His captaines did what they coulde by wordes to remoue him from his purpoſe, declaring to him the dutie of a prince, which is not raſhly to enter the fight, but to prouide and ſee that euery thing bee done in order: & where as cōming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can do no more than an other man, yet keeping his place as apperteyneth to his perſō, he may be worth many thouſands of other. The king nothing moued wͭ theſe exhortatiōs, breaking his array of battaile, with a cōpanie of noble men, ruſhed forward into the fore ward, where accompliſhing the office of a footman, foūd the Engliſh men not fleeing, but manfully ſtanding at reſiſtance, ſo that there was a right harde reencoūter, and many arrowes ſhot on euery ſide, and great hurt done therewith. At length ſir Edward Stanley with the reregard of the Engliſhe mē came fiercely downe frō the hil of Branxſton vpon the backe of the kings army, wherein they fought cruelly on both partes for a long ſpace, but at length the victory inclined to the Engliſhmen, for the king himſelf was there beaten downe and ſlaine, with all that whole battaile which firſt entred the fight.

King James deceyued himſelf and alighted from his horſe.

The Captains good counſell not regarded.

The kings hardineſſe marred all.

Sir Ed~~mond~~ warde Stanley inuaded the backe of the reregarde.

firſt Lorde mounteagell

King James ſlaine.

The other part of the Scottiſh hoſt, whereof Alexander Hume Lorde Chamberlaine had the gouernaunce, although he ſawe where the other Scottiſhmen were in daunger and cloſed in on euery ſide, yet would he not once remoue one foote forwarde out of the place (where he ſtood) to ayde them. Moreouer the lack of diſcretion in the king which would needes runne vpon his owne death, amazed the mindes of all men, and brought them into ſuch a perplexitie, that they knewe not what to do, but looked one vpon another without ſtyrring to or fro, as thoſe that were in dyſpayre now after the death of their king to recouer the victorie, which by ſo ſtrange a chaunce, ſeemed as it were ſlipped out of their handes.

The Lorde Chamberlaine ſtood ſtill.

Howbeit the Lorde Chamberlaine bare the moſt blame, for that he did not cauſe a new onſet to be giuen. But it happened well for the Engliſh men: for if king James had ordered himſelfe wiſely in this battaile, or that after he was ſlain, a newe furie had moued the Scottes to haue renued the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had beene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedly had beene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderſtanding.) Whervpon the Engliſh men remembring howe manifeſtly Gods goodneſſe appeared towards thē in this battail, cōfeſſed themſelues long after bounde to God for their ſafetie and deliuerance out of that preſent danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and cōtinued three houres, in the which .xv. M. men were ſlaine on both partes: and of that nūber a third part at the leaſt was of Engliſhmē, (as was credibly reported) but (as our Engliſhe writers affyrme) there died of Engliſh men not paſt .xv. hundred, but yet the Scottiſh men holde, that there died more of the Engliſh men than of their nation at this field, and that many thought it was not the bodye of King James whiche the Engliſhmen found in the field and toke it for his, but rather an other Scottiſh mans corps, called the Laird of Bonchard, who was alſo ſlain there. And it was affyrmed by ſundry, that the K. was ſeene the ſame night aliue at Kelſo: and ſo it was commonly thought that he was liuing lōg after, and that he paſſed the ſeas into other Countreys, namely to Jeruſalem to viſite the holy ſepulchre, and ſo to driue forth the reſidue of his days, in doing penance for his former paſſed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles Duke of Burgoine did appeare in his coūtreys after the battail of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he eſcaped from that diſcomfiture aliue.

The Lorde Chamberlane beareth the blame.

The Engliſh men thanked God for this noble victorie.

15000. men ſlaine.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battaile, the reſidue of the Scottiſh armie returned homewardes the ſame way they came, waſting & ſpoyling the Engliſh borders as they paſſed. At their comming home, euery man ſpake euil of thē, for that as cowards & naughtie perſōs, they neyther ſought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to ſuccor their felowes yͭ were beaten downe and ſlaine before their faces. But namely Alexander Hume Lorde Chamberlaine was reproued, as cauſe of all that miſchiefe, which behaued himſelfe not as a captaine, but as a traytor or enimie to his countrey.

The Scottiſh men returne home againe.

They were reuiled of their owne people.

Thus haue you heard how through raſhneſſe and lacke of ſkilful order, the Scottiſh army was ouercome, and that worthie Prince king James the fourth brought to his fatal ende, on the .ix. day of September, in the .xxv. yeare of his raigne, and .xxxix. of his age, which was in the yeare from the incarnation. 1513. For his politike gouernment and due adminiſtration of iuſtice, which he exerciſed during the time of his raigne, he deſerued to be numbred amongeſt the beſt Princes that euer raigned ouer the Scottiſh nation.

All theft, reife, murther, and robberie ceaſſed in his dayes, by ſuch rygorous execution of lawes penall as he cauſed to bee exercyſed through all the boundes of Scotlande: Inſomuche that the ſauage people of the oute Iles ſorted themſelues through terror and dreade of due puniſhment to liue

The ſauage people reformed themſelues.

liue after the order of lawes and Juſtice, where otherwiſe of themſelues they are naturally inclyned to ſedition and diſquieting of eche other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleaſed the high determinate purpoſe of almightie God to haue lente to him longer lyfe, hee ſhoulde haue brought the Realme of Scotlande to ſuche a flouriſhing eſtate, as the lyke in none of hys Predeceſſours tymes was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that vnfortunate battaile, of noble men, beſide other of the meaner ſort: The Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes his baſtard ſonne, the Biſhop of the Iles. The Abbots of Inchaffray and Kylwenny, the Erles of Montros, Crafford, Argile, Lenox, Glencar, Cathnes, Caſſelles, Bothwel, Arrel high Conſtable of Scotland, Addel, Athol, & Morton: the Lords Louet, Forbos, Elueſton, Ros, Inderby, Saintcleare, Maxwel, & his three brethren, Daunley, Simple, Borthick, Bogony, Arſkil, Blackater, & Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, ſir John Dowglas, Cutbert Hume of Faſtcaſtell, ſir Alexander Seton, ſir Dauy, maiſter John Grant, ſir Dunkin Cawfield, ſir Saunder Lowder, ſir George Lowder, maiſter Marſhal, maiſter Key, maiſter Ellot, maiſter Cawell clerke of the Chauncerie, the deane of Elleſter, Mack Kene, Mack Clene, with many other.

James.

AFter the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, ſlaine at Branxton (as before yee haue heard) his ſonne James the fifth ſucceeded him: for after the returne of thoſe that eſcaped from the ſayde field, the Queene aſſembled the Lordes and eſtates of the realme togither at Striueling, where the .xxj. day of September. 1513. hir ſonne the foreſayde James the fifth, a child of one yeare fiue Monethes, and tenne dayes of age, by vniuerſall aduice and conſent was crowned King, and his mother the Queene appoynted Regent of the Realme, vſing the counſaile of the reuerend father James Betō Archbiſhop of Glaſgew the Erles of Huntley, Angus, and Arrane. But ſhortly after they fell at variance among themſelues about the beſtowing thoſe benefices which were vacant by the deaths of thoſe perſons which had beene ſlaine at the fielde, by reaſon whereof ſome of them writte letters ſecretely into France to John Duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the Realme, as he that was next of bloud to the king, and neareſt to the crowne, in caſe the kings childe deceaſſed without iſſue. He therfore ſent *Monſieur de la Bawtie*, into Scotland, who in company of the Erle of Arrane, the Lord Fleming, and Lion the Herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the weſt coaſt the thirde of Nouember, and ſhortly after the ſaid *Monſieur de la Bawtie* deliuered his letters to the Queene and Lordes, who therupon met at S. Johns towne, and there by vniuerſall conſent it was accorded, that the Duke of Albany ſhoulde be admitted tutor and gouerner to the king and realme, and that the ſame ſhoulde be confirmed in Parliament by yͤ three eſtates which ſhuld be kept at Edēburgh the .xiij. day of March next for the ſame intent.

aſſemble at Striueling.

1513

The king crowned, and the Queene appoynted Regent.

A debate.

The Duke of Albanie is ſent for.

Monſieur de la Bawtie is ſent into Scotland.

An aſſembly had at Striueling.

The great diſquietnes raigning in Scotland during the minoritie of James the fifth.

To reherſe the troubles and great diſquietneſſe that chaunced during the minoritie of this king, through lack of due adminiſtration of Juſtice, & by diſcord and variance dayly riſing amongſt the Lords & Peeres of the realme, a man might haue iuſt cauſe greatly to wonder therat, & in waying the ſame throughly, no leſſe lament the oppreſſion done to the poore commons in that wicked and moſt miſerable time when iuſtice ſeemed to ſleep, and rapine with all the other ſortes and rabble of iniurious violence inuaded hir emptie ſeate, triumphing ouer all as a conquerour.

The king of England wryteth to his ſiſter.

The Queene ſent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace; whervpō a truce was takē betwixt yͤ two realms of Englande & Scotland for the ſpace of one yere & a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England hearing that a Parliament ſhould be holden in Scotlād for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his ſiſter that ſhe ſhoulde in any wiſe impeach & ſtay his comming thither, declaring howe daungerous it was, not only for hir, but alſo for hir ſonne to haue him gouernor, which was to ſucceede if hir ſonne were once out of the way. But the chiefeſt cauſe that moued the king of Englande to labour that the Duke ſhould haue nothing to doe in Scotlande, was (as many thought) for that he knew how the Duke in fauour of the king of Fraunce woulde ſhewe himſelfe an enimie agaynſt Englande with all the force he might make or procure. And ſhortly after that the peace was cōcluded betwixt him and the king of Fraunce, he ſent a letter alſo, requiring him not to ſuffer the duke to paſſe into Scotland for the reaſon firſt alledged. But notwithſtanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the ſtates in Parliament aſſembled in Edenburgh at the time prefyxed, that ſir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of Armes ſhoulde be ſent into Fraunce, to procure the Duke to come into Scotlande, being nowe confyrmed Tutor and Gouernour, according to the lawes of the Realme in ſuche caſes prouyded. Wherevppon in Aprill then nexte

The Duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by Parliament.

following they tooke the Seas, and paſſed into Fraunce accordingly as by the eſtates had beene deuiſed.

1514

A Legate from Rome.

This yeare came a Legate into Scotlande from the Pope, with certaine priuiledges granted to the king and realme.

The Queene deliuered of hir ſecond ſon Alexander.

The. xxx. of Aprill was the Queene deliuered of a Prince in the Caſtell of Striueling, whiche was baptiſed by the poſtulate of Dunfermling, being Archedeane of Saint Androwes, and inſtantly confirmed by the Biſhop of Cathnes, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the Queene lay in childbed, great diſcord fell out betwixt the Lords of the weſt partes, and the other Lords of the realme: but ſhortly after the Queene called an aſſembly at Edenbourgh the. xij. of July, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the Cleargie were ſent into Englande for peace, and the. xxviij. of the ſame moneth maiſter James Ogilbie Abbot of Drybourgh, and ſir Patrick Hamilton, & Lion the Herald came forth of France with Articles in writing from the king there, and the Duke of Albanie, by the which the Dukes comming was excuſed, bycauſe the king could not want him, till ſome ende were had touching the warres betwixt him and the King of England, which was concluded in October next enſuing.

The mariage of the Queene mother.

This yeare the. vj. of Auguſt, the Queene maried Archebald Dowglas Erle of Angus, and immediately after in Saint Johns towne tooke the great Seale from the biſhop of Glaſgew that was Chancellor of the realme. Whervpon the ſayde Byſhoppe got him to Edenbourgh, where many Lords aſſyſted him, & kept out the Queene and hir new huſbande, ſo that they might not enter there, whereof greate diſcorde roſe within the Realme amongeſt the Nobles and Peeres of the ſame.

The great ſeal taken from the Biſhop of Glaſgew.

A peace concluded betwixt Englande and Fraunce.

In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the xij. of that name king of France, and Henrie the eight king of Englande, no mention was made of the Realme of Scotlande, for the whiche the Scottiſhmen thought great fault in the Frenche king, ſeeing that for his cauſe the warre had beene attempted betwixt them and England.

The deceaſe of the Biſhop of Aberdene.

The ſame yeare, about the. xxv. of October, William Elphingſton Biſhop of Aberdene, and Lord keeper of the priuie ſeale, departed this life at Edenbourgh. He had bene a faythfull Counſeller to James the fourth, by whoſe helpe he founded & endowed the Colledge in the olde towne of Aberdene, for the encreaſe of learning & vertue, which hath floriſhed with good wittes of ſtudents there euer ſithence euen vnto theſe our dayes.

Monſieur de la Bawtie.

The. xx. day of Nouember *Le ſire de la Bawtie* receiued the caſtell of Dunbar in the name of the Duke of Albany, at the handes of the Deane of Glaſgew brother to the Biſhop of Murrey, cleped Forman.

Alſo ſhortly after, the Prior of S. Androwes then elect Archbiſhop of that ſea, beſieged the Caſtell of Saint Androwes, and wanne it by force from the keepers of it, which were appoynted to defend it in the name of Gawin Dowglas, wherwith the Queene and the Earle of Angus were highly offended.

The Caſtell of Dunbrytaine taken.

The. xij. of Januarie being a very myrke windie night, the Earle of Lenox, and the maiſter of Glencarne vndermyned the nether groundſoyle of the Caſtell gate of Dunbrytaine, and entred thereby into the caſtel, and ſo tooke it, putting out therof the Lorde Erſkin.

Shortly after, to witte the. xv. of that Moneth, a greate aſſemble was made betwixt the Earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cauſe & beginning of great trouble that enſued.

The Popes Bulles publiſhed.

Contention about the enioying of the ſea of Saint Androwes.

The ſame day in Edenburgh were the Bulles publiſhed which the Biſhop of Murrey Forman had purchaſed at Rome for the obteyning of the Archbiſhoprike of S. Androwes, the Abbacies of Dunfermeling, & Arbroeth, through ſupplication of the Queene and Duke of Albany: frō whiche Bulles, the prior of Saint Androwes appealed, pretending title to the Archbiſhops See by election and generall gift of the Lordes of the Realme. And herevpon gote togither his friends in Edenburgh, as the Maſter of Hales and other. And on the other parte, the Lord Chamberlayne, and diuers of yͤ Biſhop of Murreys frīds gote the kings letters, by vertue whereof, they proclaymed the ſayde Maſter of Hales, and the prior of Saint Androwes rebells, with al theyr aſſiſtants, putting them to the horne: wherevpon they were cōſtreyned to depart out of Edēburgh. And in May following, the Prior wente vnto Rome, there to iuſtifie his appeale.

1515

Truce betwixt England and Scotland.

The Duke of Albany his arivall in Scotland.

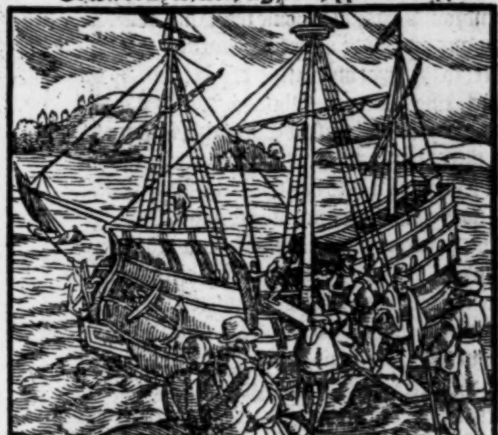
The Duke of Albany receyued into Edenburgh.

A Parliament ſummoned.

The king deliuered to the keeping of certayn Lords.

The Lorde Hume denounced a Rebell.

The foure and twentie of February, a Parliamente was aſſembled at Striueling, but bycauſe the Lordes coulde not agree amongſt themſelues, it was proroged till the comming of the Duke of Albany, which was looked for to bee in Scotland, in Aprill, or at the furtheſt in May next enſuing, as he had ſent worde by Sir John Sterling of the Keir, that was lately come from him with letters vnto the Lords and Peeres of the Realm. The fiftenth of May, truce was proclaymed betwixt England and Scotland to endure for three yeeres, but the ſame day at ſixe of the clocke in the after noone, the Engliſhmen entred the borders of Scotland vppon the water of Rule, and forrayed the countrey, doing greate hurt therein, notwithſtanding the truce. The ſeuententh day of May, John Duke of Albany, tutor and gouernor of Scotlande, arriued at the Town of Ayre, with eight Shippes well appointed and furniſhed with men and all kind of neceſſary prouiſion for his eſtate. From thence taking the Sea agayne, he ſayled alongſt the coaſt till he came to Dunbritaine, and there came a land, and on the next day paſſed forth to Glaſgo, where all the Weſtland Lords receyued him with greate ſemblance of reioycing for his arriuall. The .26. of May, he was receyued into Edēburgh, a great number of Lords meeting him on the way. The Queene alſo came from hir owne lodging and met him, to do him honor. Sundry Farces, Pageants, & playes were ſhewed by yͤ burgeſſes, for to honor his entrie in the beſt manner they coulde deuiſe. Shortly after his cōming to Edenburgh, there came thither forthe of all partes of the Realme, the Lords and Barons, where they being aſſembled in counſell, hee tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Realme, which he promiſed to vſe by their aduice, ſo that they woulde aſſiſt him in ſetting forthe of iuſtice and good orders, whiche they vndertooke to do. Herevpon was the Parliament which had bin proroged till his cōming, ſummoned to be kepte at Edenburgh the twelfth of July, in the whiche, diuers Actes were concluded and made, and the Lord Drummand was adiudged in the Dukes mercie, for ſtriking Lion King of Armes. The Duke pardoned him of life and honor, but his landes and goodes remayned in the kings hands: notwithſtanding, he was afterwards reſtored to the ſame againe. In this Parliamente alſo the Duke of Albany was confirmed by the three ſtates of the Realme tutor and gouernor to the King, the Scepter and Sword being deliuered to him, his oth alſo was taken by the Lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them ſhould be faithful to others, & namely, to their King and ſoueraigne Lorde, and alſo ſhould maintayn iuſtice to the vttermoſt of their powers, for the aduancemente of his honor, and ſuretie of the Realme. In the meane time, whileſt this Parliamēt was in hand, the gouernour was aduertiſed, that the king ſhould haue bin conueyed forth of the Realme ſecretly into Englande, wherevpon he ſuddaynely departed in the nighte time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, and came to Striueling, where the King, with his brother Alexander, lay in the Caſtell with the Queene, whiche Caſtell, togither with the Kings perſon, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the thirde day of Auguſt, wherevpon hee committed them and the Caſtell to the keeping of foure Lordes of the Realme, whereof the Earles of Eglenton and Montrous were two. The Lord Hume, bycauſe he had aſſiſted the Earle of Angus and the Queene againſt yͤ gouernor, was denounced a Rebell, & the Erles of Lennox and Arrane with many other, were ſent to his houſes to ſeaze the ſame into the kings hands. In yͤ Caſtel of Hume was layd gunpoulder by a trayne, whereby diuers of thē that entred firſt into the ſame Caſtell were burnt. The Lord



Hume himſelfe gote him into Englãd, & ſore diſquieted the Marches, ſo that no day of truce was holden, neither on the Eaſt nor middle Marches. The twelfth of Auguſt, yͤ Quene, yͤ Erle of Angus, & his brother George Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, & frõ thence paſſed to the Nunry of Caudſtreame, whervpõ aduertiſemente being giuen to the king of Englande, & his pleaſure therein knowne, the .xxvj. of that moneth, ſhe was receiued by the Lord Dacres, & cõueyed to Harbottell Caſtell, where ſhe remayned till ſhe was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglas, afterwardes maried to the Erle of Lennox, (as in place conuenient it ſhal further appeare.) There was no Scottiſhman at this time receyued into Englande with hir. The gouernor perceyuing yͤ Rebellion of yͤ Lord Hume, paſſed to the borders with his Frenchmẽ, where the ſixt of October, the ſayd Lord Hume came & ſubmitted him ſelfe to the gouernors pleaſure, and his brother ſhortly after did the ſame, and they were both deliuered to the Earle of Arane, who was appoynted to keepe them in ſafetie within the town of Edenburgh. But the twelfth of October next enſewing, the ſayd Erle of Arrane departed from thence in the night ſeaſon, with thoſe his priſoners, ſtealing their wayes a foote. Hereupon, the gouernour cauſing the Parliamente to be holden that was ſummoned to begin the .24. of October, the ſayde Lord Hume, Maſter William Hume, and Dauid Hume, were conuict of treaſon by all yͤ eſtates, to loſe their liues, lands, & goodes. This Parliamente was prorogued till a fifteene dayes after, within which time, the Earle of Arrane was appoynted to make appearance, or elſe it was agreed, that they ſhoulde proceede againſt him in like manner. And in that meane ſpace, the gouernor wente to beſiege the Caſtell of Hamilton, where that noble aged Lady, yͤ olde Counteſſe of Arrane, daughter to king James yͤ ſecond, and Mother to the Earle of Arrane, and Aunt to the Duke by his fathers ſide, cauſed not only yͤ Caſtel to be ſurrẽdred at the Dukes pleaſure, but procured alſo the Erle of Arranes peace, which Earle, the twelfth of Nouember next enſuing, came with the Biſhop of Glaſgo vnto Edenburgh, & there ſubmitted himſelfe to yͤ Dukes will. About the ſame time, certayne Lords toke part with the Erle of Murrey the kings baſtard brother againſt the Earle of Huntley, and reyſed a cõmotion, ſo that being gote into Edenburgh, there was muche adoe, and the Towne greatly diſquieted. The gouernor lying in yͤ Abbey, came into the towne, and toke the Erles of Huntley, Erroll, Murrey and others, and committed them to ward within the Caſtel while he tried yͤ cauſe, and finding that Maiſter William Hay beeing with the Erle of Murrey had rayſed yͤ ſturre, hee ſent the ſame Hay into France, there to remayne during his pleaſure, and forthwith yͤ ſayd Earles were ſet at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to goe into England with letters to king Henry, was ſtopped at Caldſtreame by the Lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, & kept him priſoner, til Alexãder Humes mother, yͭ remained priſoner in Dunbar was exchãged for him. The .18. day of Decẽber, Alexãder duke of Roſſey yͤ kings brother, departed this life at Striueling. The .17. day of January, a truce was takẽ betwixt England & Scotlande, til the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte. This truce was agreed vpon at Coldingham, by certayn Commiſſioners, apointed on eyther part there, to treate for peace. For the Realm of Scotland were theſe, *Monſieur de Planes* the Frenche Imbaſſador, Archdeacon of Saint Androwes, Maſter Gawin de Dunbar, and Sir William Scot of Baluerie knightes. The Engliſh men compriſed for their part, yͤ Earle of Angus & the Lord Hume within yͤ compaſſe of this truce. In the meane time, the Erle of Arane departed frõ yͤ gouernor again, & repaired to yͤ weſt parts, where hee confederate himſelfe with certayne Lordes, notwithſtanding that Sir James Hamiltõ, and the Lorde of Cauder remayned pledges for hys good demeanor within yͤ Caſtell of Edenburgh. The Erles of Lenox, Glencarne, and other cauſed the Caſtell of Dunbertaine and diuers other to be furniſhed, and toke the Caſtell of Glaſgo with the kings great artillerie that lay within it, and ſpoyled the ſame. The gouernor aduertiſed thereof, rayſed an army & went to Glaſgo, where by the labor of the Biſhop an appointment was taken, ſo that yͤ Caſtel was deliuered into yͤ Biſhops handes. The Erle of Lenox came in to the gouernor, and toke a new reſpite, & about the beginning of Marche next following, the Earle of Arrane did the like. Forman yͤ Archbiſhop of S. Androwes, againſt whome the Prior of S. Androwes did ſtande as ye haue heard for that benefice, to the great vnquieting of yͤ Realme, by ſuch partakings as chanced therabout amõg yͤ Lords, came now to yͤ town of Edẽburgh, & reſigned all yͤ three benefices wherof he had purchaſed Bulle of yͤ Pope, that is to ſay, the Archbiſhoprick of S Androwes, yͤ Abbacies of Arbroth & Dunfermling in yͤ gouernors hãds, to beſtowe the ſame a his pleaſure: who by the counſel of certayn Lords to ſatiſfye ſuche as claymed intereſt to the ſame, and pacifying of all debates, beſtowed thẽ as followeth. Firſt, the ſaid Archbiſhoprick he gaue vnto the foreſaid Forman with yͤ Abbacies of Dũfermeling, & to maſter James Hebborne, he gaue yͤ Biſhoprik of Murrey, & benefices worth a M. Markes by yere vnto yͤ Prior of S. Androws for a recõpence: the Abbacie of Dũburgh, he gaue vnto maſter James Ogiluy, and the Biſhopricke of Aberdene

The birth of the Counteſſe of Lenox.

The Lord Hume ſubmitted him ſelfe.

The Earle of Arrane ſtealeth away.

The Lord Hume and other conuicted of treaſon.

The olde Counteſſe of Arran purchaceth hir ſons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the Erles of Murrey and Huntley.

Lion king of Armes, ſtayed by the Lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England and Scotland.

The Erle of Arrane eftſoones reuolteth from the gouernor.

The Earle of Lenox furniſheth Dunbertayne.

The Erles of Lenox and Arrane take a reſpite.

Forman reſigneth his title to the Archbiſhops See.

Beſtowing of benefices.

Aberdene then vacant, vnto Alexāder Gurdon, & to ẏ Archbiſhop of Glaſgo called Beton, he gaue the Abbacie of Arbroth, aſſigning to the Earle of Murrey a large penſiō out therof: one of ẏ Hamiltons was made Abbot of Kylwynning. And thus he beſtowed the benefices which had bin vacant euer ſithence Flodden fielde, vnto dyuers Lordes, or to their kinſmen, that by ſuche liberalitie vſed towards them, all debates and diſcords might ceaſſe which had happened amōgſt them, ſpecially, about the beſtowing of the ſame benefices: this was done in the moneth of February.

1516

The Earle of Angus and other, receyued into fauor.

Shortly after, the gouernor by counſell of the Lords, to ẏ end the Realm might come to a perfect quietneſſe, and the noble men vnited togither, receyued into fauor the Erle of Angus, and maſter Patrick Pantoun Secretary, who for hys cauſe had bin kept as priſoner in Juſche gay. He likewiſe receyued the Lorde Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offences paſt. And in Parliament holden the fift of May, they were reſtored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the Lord of Strawen in Athole, cōmitted diuers great offences & crimes, for the whiche, hee was taken by the Earle of Athole, and beheaded at Logiraith by the gouernors commiſſion.

The Parliament began agayne.

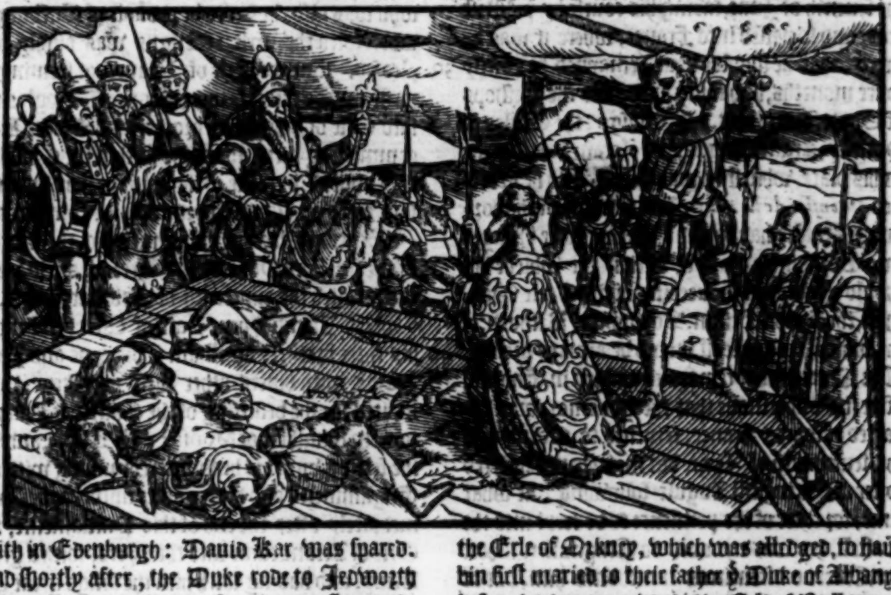
All this while, the Parliament was not diſſolued but vpon prorogation, and ſo the ſame began agayne the firſt day of July, at what tyme the king of Englande, at requeſt of his ſiſter the Queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the Lords now aſſembled in Parliament, requeſting them to expell the gouernor forth of the Realme, but all the Lordes and eſtates with vniuerſall conſente, ſente Albany the Heralde with letters to the ſayd King, excuſing them, that they myghte not in any wiſe ſatiſfie his deſire therein, the ſame beeing againſte reaſon and the lawes of theyr country.

The king of Englands letters to the Lords.

The Lorde Hume, and other arreſted, and cōmitted to warde.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commaunded the Lord Hume, with his brother Maiſter William Hume, & Dauid Kar of Fernihurſt to be arreſted and beſtowed in ſeuerall places, that better rule mighte be kept vpon the borders, but they lying nowe in warde, ſundry informations were giuen vp againſt them, and thervpon the eyght of October, the ſaide Lorde Hume and his brother were conuict of Treaſon, for aſſiſting and mainteyning of the theeues vpō the borders, and other crimes, for the whiche, he was beheaded, and on the morrow after, his brother ẏ foreſaid William Hume was likewiſe beheaded, and their heads were ſet vpon the Tolbuith in Edenburgh: Dauid Kar was ſpared. And ſhortly after, the Duke rode to Jedworth with a greate company of men, and ſtayed the greate robbing and reuing which had bin vſed on the borders, and left there good wardens to keepe good rule in thoſe partes, and ſo returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another Parliament was holdē, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor ſhoulde be deemed and reputed for ſecond perſon of the Realm, notwithſtanding the clayme made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the Erle of Orkney, which was alledged, to haue bin firſt maried to their father ẏ Duke of Albany, before hee was maried to the Erle of Bullognes daughter, on whome hee begate the gouernor, wherevpon this Alexander made proteſtation to be heire to his father, but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in hys brothers fauor, and was made Biſhop of Murrey, and Abbot of Scone. At this Parliament, the gouernor required licence to goe into Fraunce, and to be abſent there. vj. moneths: but this ſuite was not graunted till Aprill following.

The Lorde Hume beheaded.



The Duke of Albany viſiteth the borders.

Another Parliament.

The Duke of Albany ſecond perſon of the Realme.

The gouernor asketh licence to goe into France.

The Erle of Lenox in warde.

Monſier de la Bautie made warden of the Marches.

1517

Ambaſſadors from France.

An Ambaſſage into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

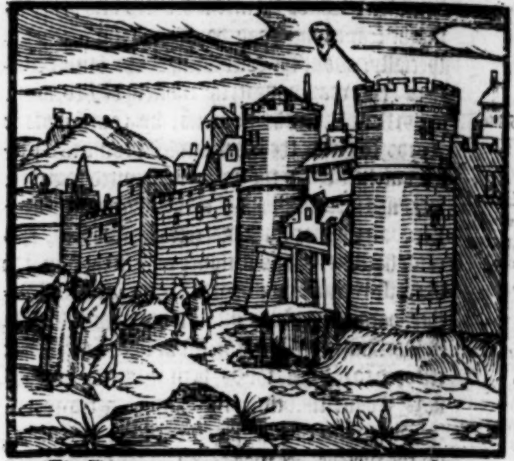
Gouernors appoynted to the kings perſon.

The king remoued.

The doubte which the Scottes had in the Quene.

The ſame time, was the Earle of Lenox put in warde within the Caſtell of Edenburgh, till he had cauſed the Caſtell of Dunbritaine to bee deliuered vnto one Allane Steward in the Cūſtables name, and then he was ſet at libertie. In yͤ moneth of December, *Monſier de la Bautie* was made Warden of the Eaſt marches in ſteede of the Lord Hume, and kept dayes of truce, whiche procured him ſuche hatred, that it coſt him afterwardes his life. In the moneth of Ianuarie, the gouernor wente to S. Iohns towne, and there held his ſeat of Iuſtice, where the Lord Fleming for the time, was made greate Chamberlayne of Scotlande, with all the fees thereof. In the yeere 1517. there came Ambaſſadors from Francis the new French king, to deſire, yͭ the auntient league might be renued betwixt him and yͤ K. of Scotland, their Realmes, Dominions, and ſubiects: for the which cauſe, all the Lords of the Realme were aſſembled at Edenburgh, where by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himſelfe ſhuld paſſe yͤ Seas into France, & alſo, that the Biſhop of Dunkeild, the ſecretarie, & the maſter of Glencarne as Ambaſſadors ſhould goe thither, yͤ whiche the thirtenth of May, went a Shipborde, and by the Eaſt ſeas ſayled thither, and the gouernor tooke Ship at Newmarke beſide Dunbertayne the ſeuenth of Iune, taking his courſe by yͤ Weſt ſeas, and ſo paſſed into France, where it was agreed, that he ſhoulde haue remayned but onely foure moneths, he hauing appointed the Biſhops of Saint Andrewes and Glaſgo, the Earles of Huntley, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whileſt he was abſent. Alſo he ordeined *Monſier de la Bautie* Lieutenante of the bordures. He alſo had cauſed the King to be brought into Edenburgh Caſtell, within the whiche hee ſhould remaine in the keeping of the Earle Marſhall, the Lords Erſkin, Borthwike, Rithuen: of the which, two at leaſt ſhould be always preſent. The Queene that remayned as then in Englād, after ſhe vnderſtoode that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the ſeuententh of Iune, but ſhe was not ſuffered to ſee the King till Auguſt following, at what time, for feare of the peſtilence to be crept into the Caſtell, hee was remoued to Cragmiller, where the Queene oftentimes came vnto him, but at length, through ſome ſuſpition conceyued, leaſt the Queene might conuey him from thence into Englād, he was eftſoones brought vnto the Caſtell of Edenburgh, in whiche he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe. The Lard of Wederborne & other bordurers, hauing conceyued no ſmall grudge for the death of the Lord Hume, and further to ſee *De la Bautie* exerciſe his office, and to rule ouer them, they conſpired againſte him, and thereupon beſieged the houſe of Laughton, wherupon, whē *De la Bautie* came forthe of Dunbar, to aſſemble the men of the countrey to rayſe the ſiege, as Lieutenant of the bordures, he was chaſed by the ſayde Larde of Wedderborne & other ſo fiercely, that in the end he was ſlayne, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the ſhoulders, and ſet vp in the towne of Duns the nineteenth of Ianuary.

Monſier de la Bautie ſlaine by the Lard of Wedderborne



The Lordes regents were herewith marueilouſly offended, and choſe the Earle of Arrane to be warden of the bordures in De la Bauties place, who was alſo choſen to be prouoſt of Edēburgh: wherewith the Erle of Angus was highly diſpleaſed. But the Erle of Arrane, not ſeeming to paſſe muche thereof, tooke George Dowglas the ſaid Erle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to warde within the Caſtel of Edenburgh, bycauſe of the fauor he bare vnto the ſaid Lard of Wedderborne and his complices.

A Parlament called.

The Lard of Wedderborne indited.

The Erle of Arrane commeth into the Mers.

The maſter of Hales.

Moreouer, for due puniſhmente of the murder of the foreſayd De la Bautie, there was a Parliament called the nineteenth of February nexte, in yͤ which, Dauid Hume Lard of Wedderborne, & his three brethrē, William Cokborne and Iohn Hume, with diuers other their partakers, were indited for the beſieging of the Caſtell of Laughton, the ſlaughter of Monſier de la Bautie, and for the ſetting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Engliſhmen, and diuers other miſdoings. Immediately after the end of this Parliamente, the Erle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great Army, and hauing with him the kings great Artillerie, meante to haue beſieged ſuche places, as wold haue reſiſted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keyes of yͤ Caſtell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morow he receyued, and put men within it to keepe it as hee did in Laughton and Wedderborne, which he receyued at the ſame time. The maſter of Hales was alſo ſought for at that time, that hee mighte haue bin apprehended to anſwere the ſlaughter of Dauid Hume, Prior of Coldingham, whome hee had ſlayne trayterouſly. A little before this Parliamente, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was returned frõ ẏ French King with a bande of ẏ league renued betwixt Scotland and France. And at that ſame time, was one Captayne Mores a Frenchman ſent forth of France, with a certayne number of men, to receyue the Caſtell of Dunbar into hys keeping, which accordingly he did, ẏ ſame beeing deliuered vnto him.

The band of league betwixt Scotlād and France.

Captayne Mores.

1518

The Erle of Lenox, who had bin with ẏ gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, and with him came a Frenche Heralt from the king with letters, and maſter Walter Stewarde Abbot of Glenluce came likewiſe from ẏ gouernoure. And about that time, bycauſe the Queene and Lordes were aduertiſed that the French king had contracted newe bandes of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotlande, they thought themſelues euill vſed, being his confederate friends, and thereupon ſent ſharp letters to the King of Fraunce, and to the gouernour, by Albany the Heralde.

The Abbot of Glenluce

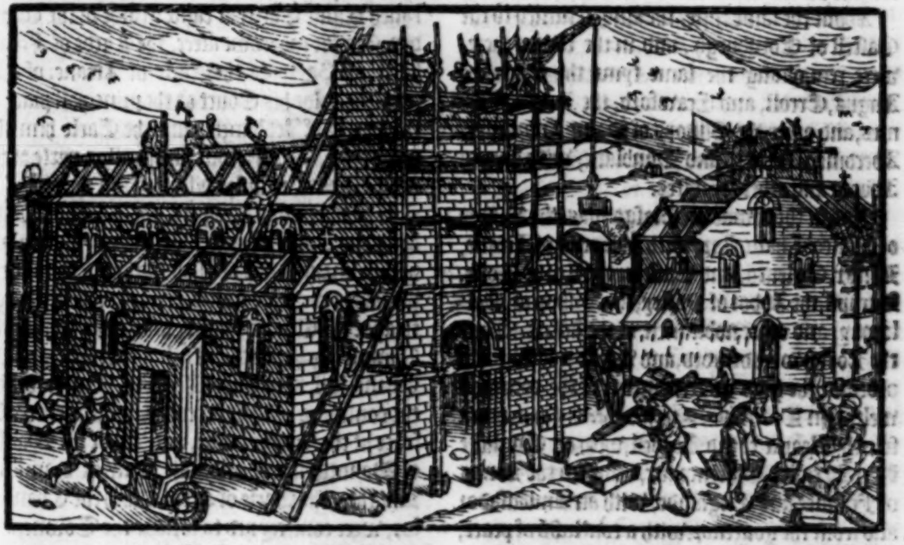
The Scots euil vſed at the French kings hands.

In the moneth of June, Maſter Gawin Dũbar, Archdeane of Saint Andrewes, and Clearke of the Regiſter, was preferred to the Biſhops ſeate of Abberdene ẏ was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon. This Gawin founded an Hoſpitall in Abberdene, and endowed the ſame with lands for ſuſtenance of twelue poore men, with a prouoſt to haue care ouer them.

The Biſhop of Aberdine a builder.

He alſo builded a faire bridge, with ſeuen arches ouer the water of Dee beſide Aberdene, and purchaſed landes, for the perpetuall vpholding thereof.

He alſo builded two Steeples in the Cathedrall Church, with halfe of the croſſe Church and a faire Palace for the ſmall Prebendaries, called the Chaplaynes.



Moreouer, hee beſtowed many rich precious ornaments vpon the ſame Church of Abirdene, as Copes, Chalices, and other ſuche like things, which remayned there long after.

Many right commendable works were accompliſhed by this diligente Prelate, greatly to his praiſe and high renowne, for he ſpent not the frutes of his benefice in vayne, but on ſuche manner of buildings.

The ſeuenteenth of June, there roſe greate ſturre in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the Erle of Rothes, and the Lord Lindſey, about the enioying of the Sheriſwecke of Fife, by reaſon whereof, they were both put in warde, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbertayne.

Contention betwixt the Erle of Rothes and the Lorde Lindſey.

About the beginning of Auguſt, the Queene remayning in Edenburgh, vnderſtoode that the Erle of Angus hir huſband as then ſoiourning in Dowglas Dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in thoſe partes, and kept hir as his concubine, for the which acte ſhe conceyued ſuch hatred againſte him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a Clearke as Ambaſſador from the Frenche King with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, whiche meſſage the Lords made ſmall account of, bycauſe the king had omitted to comprehend Scotlande in the league which he laſtly made with England.

The cauſe of the hatred betwixt the Queene and hir huſband.

1519

The ſeuenth of June, a madde man in Dundee ſlew in his wood fitte a Lady of inheritance, a Nunne, with two other women, the one of the being great with Childe, and alſo two men.

A mad man.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the Frenche King, deſiring him to ſtay the Duke of Albany, that he might not come into Scotland, and furthermore, he layde Ships of warre in the

The king of England ſeeketh to keepe the Duke of Albany foorth of Scotland.

pace vpon the Seas to watche for his comming, and to take him by the way as he ſhoulde paſſe.

In September, the King was remoued forth of the Caſtell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the peſtilence, which was ſuſpected to be in the Caſtell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the Earle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh, to haue bin eftſoones elected regent and prouoſt of that Towne: but he miſſed his purpoſe, for yͤ towneſmen woulde not ſuffer hym to enter, but repulſed hym backe, ſo that diuers were hurt on both ſides.

The Earle of Arrane.

Diſſention betwixt the Earles of Arrane and Angus.

Hereuppon, greate diſſention roſe betwixte the ſayde Earle of Arrane, and the Erle of Angus, bycauſe of his repulſe in that ſuite, whereby the whole Realme was deuided into partakings, ſo that ſundry ſlaughters thereof enſued, as of the Prior of Coldingham, and ſixe of his men murthered, by the Lard of Wedderborne at Lamerton, the ſixt of October.

About the ſame time, the king returned to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there, were remayning the ſame tyme the Earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crawford, the Lorde Glames, and other the Biſhops of Saint Androwes, Aberdine, Orkney, and Dunblane, with dyuers Abbots and other Prelates.

And in the towne of Glaſgo was the Biſhop of Glaſco Chancellor, with yͤ Earles of Arrane, Lenox, Eglentõ, and Caſſels, the Lords Roſſe, Sempſl, the Abbot of Paſley, the Biſhop of Galloway, and other noble men of the Weſt. Thus the Lords were deuided, and would not take any order for the good gouernemente of the common welth. In December, *Monſieur de la Fayot*, and a french Clearke called Cordell, with an Engliſhe Herrald called Clarenceaux, came frõ the Kings of Fraunce and Englande, with an Ambaſſador alſo from the gouernor, with a concluſiõ of peace, taken for one yeere, betwixt Scotland and England, who comming to Edenburgh, were receyued by the Earle of Angus and the other Lordes there with him, the whiche ſent for the Chancellor and the Earle of Arrane to come thither, but they wold not come any nerer, thã to Linlithgo. The Ambaſſador therefore tooke in hand to perſwade, that an aſſemble might be had in Striueling, but the Earle of Angus woulde not come there. Neuertheleſſe, the ſaid Ambaſſadors wente thither, where the Erle of Arrane and his partakers, as the Chanceller and others, receyued them thankfully, and proclaymed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and ſo with courteous anſwer and great rewards licenced thẽ to depart.

Monſieur de la Fayot.

The peace proclaymed.

But in their returne towarde Englande, the Earle of Angus with a greate number of menne met thẽ at Carlancrok, reprouing them ſharply for their demeanor, and for taking their anſwere of the Chancellor, ſo that they were not a little afraid, leaſt yͤ Erle in his diſpleaſure, would haue vſed ſome outrage towardes them, which otherwiſe than in words it ſhould appeare, he did not.

1520

Variance betwixt the Erle of Angus, and the Lord of Ferniherſt.

In Ianuary, about the keeping of a Courte at Iedworth, there was riſing of people betwixte the Earle of Angus on the one part, and the Lorde of Fernihurſt, in whoſe ayde, Iames Hamilton came with foure hundred Mers men, but the Lorde of Seſſeforde then Warden, aſſiſting the Erle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelſo with a greate company, and when they were light a foote, and ſhoulde haue foughten, the Mers men left ſir Iames Hamilton in al yͤ danger, with a fewe of his owne men about him, ſo that with muche payne he was horſed, and eſcaped in greate daunger vnto Hume, with loſſe of foure of his ſeruantes which were ſlayne, and on the other parte, there was an Engliſhman ſlayne called Rauſe Car, that came in aide of the Warden. On the morrowe after, the Larde of Fernihurſt, as Bayly to the Earle of Arrane, of that regalitie helde his Court at the principall place of the forreſt of Iedburgh, and the Earle himſelfe helde his Courte likewiſe in an other parte of the ſame lande three miles diſtant from the other.

The thirtie day of Aprill, the Larde of Wedderborne, and Maiſter William Dowglas, newly made Prior of Coldingham, with theyr partakers in greate number, came to Edenburgh to ayde the Erle of Angus, who was within the Towne agaynſte the Earle of Arrane and the Chancellor, who were alſo there. But nowe by the comming of theſe ſuccours, whiche entred by force at the neather bowe, and ſlewe the Maiſter of Mountgomery, and Sir Patrick Hamilton Knighte, the Earle of Arrane, and the Chancellor, were conſtreyned to forſake the Towne, and to paſſe through the North loch.

The one and twentie of Iuly, yͤ Erle of Angus beeing in yͤ Towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late Lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the Abbot of Coldinghã, brother to the Earle of Angus, and Dauid Hume of Wedderborne, & a great company of Gentlemen & others, and paſſed to the Tolbuith, where they remayned till the heads of the Lorde Hume & of his brother William were taken downe beſide the place where they were faſtned on a gabil, and this was done in preſence of the prouoſt for the time being.

The Lorde Humes head taken downe.

The next daye they went to Linlithgew, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the Chancellor, and ſome other of that faction there, but miſſing of their purpoſe, they returned to Edenburgh agayne, and cauſing ſolemne funerall obſequies to be kepte in the blacke Friers, for them that ought thoſe heads, with offerings and banquets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting any other thing for that preſent.

The Duke of Albany returneth into Scotlande.

In Nouember, the Duke of Albany arriued in Scotlād on the weſt partes, at an Hauen called Grawrach, the nineteenth of the ſame moneth, and on the three and twentie he came to Edenburgh, accompanyed with the Queene, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgo Chancellor, the Earle of Huntley, and many other Lords, Knights, Barons, and Gentlemen, and within ſixe dayes after their cōming thither, the Prouoſt and Bayliffes were depoſed, bycauſe they had bin choſen in fauour of the Earle of Angus, and other appoynted in their roomthes. Then was there a Parliament ſummoned to be kepte at Edenburgh, the ſixe and twentie of Ianuarie next folowing, and on the ninth of Ianuary, a general ſommonance of forfalture was proclaimed at yͤ market Croſſe in Edenburgh, wherein were ſummoned yͤ Earle of Angus & his brother, the Prior of Coldinghā, the Lorde of Wedderborne, the Lorde of Dalehouſy, Iohn Sommerwell of Cawdſtreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with theyr complices, to make their appearance in the ſayde Parliament, to be tried, for ſundry great offences by them committed. Maſter Gawin Dowglas Biſhop of Dunkeld, hearing of this Proclamation, fledde into England, and remayned in Lōdon at the Sauoy, where hee departed this lyfe, and is buried in the Church there. He was a cunning Clearke, and a very good Poet: he tranſlated the twelue bookes of the Eneidos of Vergill in Scottiſh Metre, and compiled alſo the Palace of honor, with diuers other treatiſes in the Scottiſh language, which are yet extant. The Earle of Angus, fearing the ſentence of forfalture to bee layd againſt him at the Parliament procured his wife (although there was ſmall liking betwixte them) to labor for his pardon vnto the gouernor. Whervpon it was agreed, that the Earle, and his brother George Dowglas ſhoulde paſſe out of the Realme into France, and there to remayne during the gouernours pleaſure: and ſo they departed into Fraunce, and remayned there all the next yeere following. The king of England hearing that the Duke of Albany was arriued in Scotlād, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting leaſt he ſhoulde perſwade the Scottiſhmen to aſſiſt the French king, againſt whome, by perſwaſion of the Emperour he meante ſhortly to make warre, ſente this Herald Clarentieux into Scotlande, to require the Duke to departe from thence, alledging, that it was promiſed by the K. of Fraunce at the laſt enterveiwe betwixte them, which chanced the Sommer before, that he ſhuld not come into Scotland. And moreouer, wheras, the king of Englande was vncle vnto yͤ King of Scots, he conſidered with him ſelfe that by nature he was bounde to defend his Nephew as hee ment to do, & therefore he thought it not reaſon yͭ the Duke being next to yͤ Crowne to ſucceede, if ought came to yͤ yong king, ſhould haue the gouernement of him, leaſt he might be made away, as other yong kings had bin. He further complained, that yͤ Erle of Angus ſhould be ſent forth of yͤ Realme, ſo yͭ he could not enioy yͤ company of his wife, ſiſter to the ſame K. of England. Clarentieux had therefore commandement, that if yͤ Duke refuſed, to depart out of yͤ Realm of Scotland, he ſhould intimate a defiance with opē war againſt him, which the ſaide Clarentieux did, declaring his meſſage vnto the Duke from point to point at Holy Roode houſe, as he had in cōmandement. To whom yͤ Duke anſwered, that neyther yͤ king of France, nor the king of Englande ſhoulde ſtay him from comming into his countrey, and as touching the King, who was as yet yong in yeeres, hee loued him as his ſoueraigne Lord, and woulde keepe him & defend both him & his Realm againſt all other that would attempt to inuade yͤ ſame, according to his conſcience, honor & dutie. And as touching the Erle of Angus, he had vſed towards him all clemencie & mercie, notwithſtāding his euil demerites, and that principally for the Queenes cauſe, whom he woulde honor as mother to his ſoueraigne Lorde. Thys anſwer being reported to the king of Englande, cōtented him nothing at all, and therefore prepared to make warre. The tenth of Aprill, there came ſeuē great ſhips into yͤ Forth, vnto Inchkeith to haue ſpoyled yͤ Ships, & inuaded yͤ coaſt there. But they were ſo ſtoutly reſiſted & kept off, yͭ they were not ſuffered to do any great exploit, & ſo they returned without pray or priſe. In thys ſeaſon, Androw Formā Biſhop of S. Androws deceaſed, and Biſhop Iames Beaton Archbiſhop of Glaſgo, Chancellor of Scotlād was remoued to S. Androws, & made Abbot alſo of Dūfermeling, & the Archbiſhoprike of Glaſgo was giuē to a yong man one Gawin Dunbar, that was the kings Scolemaſter. In the moneth of May, ther was a great adoe in Edenburgh, by yͤ falling out of yͤ ſeruants of yͤ Erles of Murrey & Errol with the ſeruauntes of the Earle of Huntley, by reaſon whereof, the whole towne fell to partakings, but the Duke comming ſuddenly from the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe, ſtayed the matter, & committed the ſaid Earles vnto warde within yͤ Caſtell. The Emperour came into Englād & perſwaded yͤ K. there to moue warres againſt yͤ French K. and ſo not only yͤ Frenchmen but alſo the Scots were commaunded to auoide out of Englād, their goodes confiſked, & they ſhewyd forth of yͤ land, wͭ a white croſſe ſowed vpō their vppermoſt garmēt

In

The prouoſt Bayliffes of Edenburgh depoſed.

A Parliamente ſummoned.

1521

Gawin Dowglas Biſhop of Dunkelde fleeth into Englande.

The Earle of Angus feareth the ſentence of forfalture.

He and his brother baniſhed.

Clarētieux an Engliſh Herald ſent into Scotlande.

The King of Englād doubteth to haue the Duke of Albany gouernour to the king his Nephewe.

Warre denoūced by Clarētieux againſt the Duke of Albany.

The Dukes anſwere.

1522

The death of the Archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes. Iames Beaton ſucceded him.

A ſturre in Edenburgh.

The Emperor commeth into Englande.

Scottes and Frenchmen baniſhed forth of Englande.

The Earle of Shreweſburie inuadeth Scotland.

In July, the Erle of Shreweſburie was ſente by the king of England vnto the borderers, with commiſſion, to rayſe the power of the Northe partes to inuade Scotlande, who vpon the ſuddayne entred and came to Kelſo, where he burnt one parte of the towne, but the borderers of the Mers and Teuidale not being halfe ſo many in number as the other, ſet vpon them, ſlewe, & tooke many priſoners, and ſo conſtreyned them to returne into Englande with ſmall honor.

The Duke of Albany reyſeth an Army to inuade Englande.

The words of a Counſeller.

The Duke of Albany, hearing of the greate preparation that ẏ Erle of Shreweſburie made, to raiſe an army of foureſcore thouſande men to inuade Scotlande, hee likewiſe ſente vnto all the Earles, Lords, and Nobles of the Realme, willing them to raiſe all ſuche power as they coulde make in defence of their coūtrey, which they did, and ſo being aſſembled, the Duke with a mighty army of Scottiſhmen and certayne Frenchmen, with greate artillerie, marched forwarde, till hee came to the water of Eſke foreanenſt Carlile, and perceiuing that the Engliſh army came not then forwarde, he did what he could to perſwade the Noble men to enter into Englande, but as they were in counſell togither about that earneſt motion made to them by the Duke, a certayne graue perſonage ſayde to them in this manner: My Lords, hither be we come by the commaundement of my Lord gouernor Duke of Albany, & albeit we be ready to defende our owne natiue Realm, cōtraire ẏ inuaſiō of our auld enimies of Englande, yet neuertheleſſe it ſeemeth not guid, nor for the weale of our realme of Scotlande to paſſe within England with our army to inuade the ſame at this time, and the earneſt perſwaſiōs whilke the gouernoure makes to vs to doe the ſame, proceedes alanerly for ẏ pleaſure of Frāce, it appeareth to be ſufficiēt ynough for vs ſo lang as the king our ſoueraigne Lord is within age to defende our owne Realme, and not to inuade: otherwiſe, we may put the hayle countrey, and nobilitie thereof in hazard of Tinſall. for K. James the fourth brought the Realme of Scotlande to the beſt that it euer was, and by the warre, it was brought to the worſt almoſt that might bee: for by that warre, was hee and his nobilitie tinte, whilke Scotlande ſare laments. Wherefore by mine aduice, let vs goe to the gouernor, & knowe of him the cauſe why he waulde perſwade vs to inuade England.

The Earle of Arrane declareth to the gouernor the mind of the Lordes.

The Duke anſwere to the Erle of Arrane.

Then they all came to the gouernours tente, and the Earle of Arrane, an auncient wiſe man ſpake for them al, and ſayd. My Lord gouernor, by your will and commandement, here is aſſembled the maiſt of the nobilitie of Scotlande with their power, vpō a pretēce to enter within England, my Lords here wauld know the cauſe and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it myghte pleaſe your goodneſſe it ſhould well ſatiſfie their mindes. The Duke ſtudied a little ſpace, and ſayde, this queſtion woulde haif bin demaunded ere now, for well you know, that I for very luſe I beare to the Realme of Scotland (of ẏ whilke I haue my name, honor and lignage) haife paſſed the Seas from the noble Realme of Fraunce, into this Realme of Scotlande, and great cauſe there was for me ſo to do, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye ware in diuiſion, by reaſon whereof, youre Realme was like to haue bin conquered and deſtroied. And alſo the king of France, by my ſuites & interceſſion, will ioyne with you in aide againſt ẏ Engliſh nation: and when this warre was determinate in the Parliamente, you made me Captayne, authoriſing me to inuade England with Banner diſplayde. Then was no demaund made of the cauſe or quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your aſſente and agreemente, and that I will iuſtifie. But to anſwere youre demaund, me thinke you haife iuſt cauſe to inuade England with fire, ſworde, and bloud, gif ye bee not forgetfull, and without you will beare diſhonor and reproch for euer. For yet knowe, that this Realme of Scotland is our inheritance, as a portion of the worlde allotted to our nation and aunceſtors whome we ſucceede, then where may there bee better warre, than to maintayne thys our naturall inheritance? Is it not dayly ſeene, the greate inuaſions that the Engliſhmen on vs make, the greate manſlaughter and murders, with thefts and ſpoyles that they do daily? Is not this one cauſe of warre? to defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the very ſeruice of chiualrie, and the dutie naturall of the communaltie: for I thinke it a iuſt quarrell, gif we mighte conquere the Realme of England, and annex it to our owne Realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that Nation to vs and our predeceſſors: for ſeene the beginning of our habitation in this Ile of Brytayne, the Engliſhmen and we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withſtand them. Suppoſe, we at the laſt battell of Flodden by chance, loſt our ſoueraigne Lorde, and diuers noble men, whilke was rather by treaſon of the Lorde Chamberlayne than otherwiſe, who woulde not relieue the kings army when he might. And yet I thinke we wanne the field, whilke murder all we noble men oughte to reuenge. Therefore I woulde that you ſhoulde couragiouſly aduance your ſelues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged. Then one wiſe man that was preſident of the counſell anſwered the gouernour, ſaying. My Lord, fortune of weir is led by him, that al leydes, and he ſtrikes the ſtrake, we can warke na miracles, and heare are the Lords of England ready to encoūter vs.

The reply of a wiſe Counſeller.

And

The gouernours words to the preſidents reply.

Meanes made for peace.

The Lorde Dacres.

And gif we inuade their Realme, ſurely they will fighte, for their power ſall increaſe dayly, and oures will diminiſh. And gif God graunt vs the victory (as I truſt he ſhall) yet haue we not wonne the field, for ready comming is the Earle of Shrewſbury a mikell lorde in Fraunce as ye knawe weel, with an great puiſſant army, and there is na doubt, but the King of England will ſend or bring another army gif we ſhould chaunce to get the firſt battayle, and gif we get the ſecond field, that will not be without great loſſe of many nobles, by reaſon whereof, the Realme ſhall be weaker, and gif we be ouercommen, how many ſould be ſlayne, God knawes. They that ſic are worthy to be reputed as Traytors to the K. and ſo by wilfulneſſe and fule hardineſſe, the Realme may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I ſay, while the king is within age, we aught to moue na weir, leaſt by weir, we maye bring him to deſtruction. Then ſayd the valiant gouernour, here is an puiſſant army of Scotland, gif we returne, we ſall encourage our enimies. Therefore ſeeme you thinke it not gude to inuade, my counſel is, that we camp ſtill on the bordures, while we ſee what the Engliſhmen pretends to doe againſte our Realme, to the which, the nobles conſented, and lay ſtill there in camp certayne dayes after. After this conference had betwixte the Nobles, and the gouernour, the Queene as then beeyng not with them, but aduertiſed of all the proceedings and determinations, ſent word to the gouernour, and deſired him, that there might bee a treatie of peace had, and ſhee promiſed to get the Warden of the Engliſh marches to come to the gouernours camp, vpon pledges, whervnto the gouernour condiſcended. Heerevpon the Lorde Dacres, Warden of the Weſt Marches of England, came vnto the gouernours camp, and thither alſo at that time, was the Queene hir ſelfe comen, & ſo vpon the eleuenth of September, an abſtinence of war was taken and couenanted, yͭ in the meane time, yͤ Duke and Queene ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into England, to treate and conclude a reſolute peace.

The Earle of Northumberland made Lord Warden.

The Earle of Surrey.

The Lorde Marques Dorſet.

The Lorde Dacres.

The Duke of Albany goeth ouer into Fraunce.

His requeſt.

His vayne bragge.

1523

The borders watched.

The Duke of Albany returneth into Scotlande.

The Earle of Surrey inuadeth Scotland

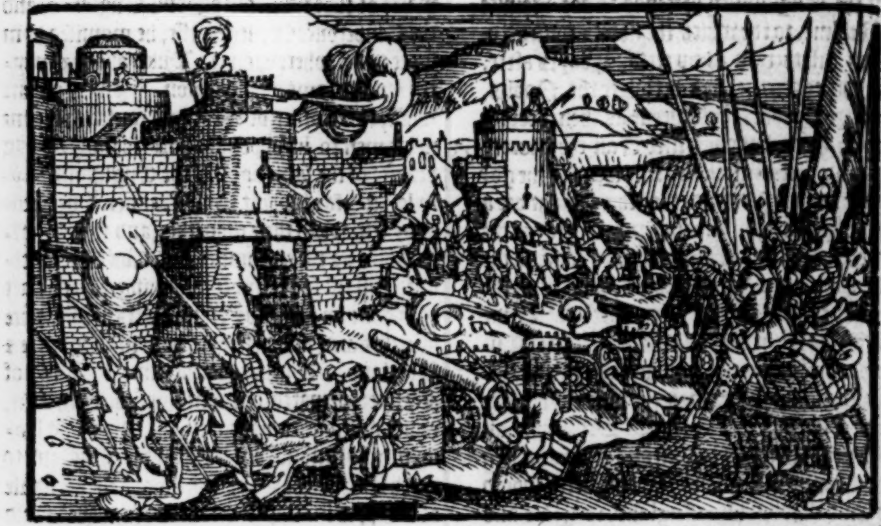
In the moneth of October next enſuing, there were three Ambaſſadors ſent into England, according to the agreemente in the laſt treatie, but there were ſo hard and extreame conditions proponed on the King of Englands behalfe, that the ſame could not be accepted, as being contrary to the honour & weale of yͤ Realme of Scotlande, as the Scottiſhmē toke the matter. And ſo thoſe Ambaſſadors returned, withoute agreemente or concluſion of peace, whervpon folowed greate trouble betwixte them of the borders of bothe Realmes. The Earle of Northumberland was made Warden of the whole marches, but ſhortly after, he began to make ſute to bee diſcharged of that office, and ceaſſed not till he obteyned, and then was the Earle of Surrey made generall warden, & the Lorde Marques Dorſet, warden of the Eaſt and middle marches, the Lord Dacres continuing ſtill in his office of Wardenſhip ouer the Weſt marches. About the fifth day of March, the ſayd Lordes came to the borders, about which time, the Duke of Albany conſidering that the warres betwixte Scotlande and England were paynſome to the nobles of the Realme, bycauſe the ſame warres were taken in hande, chiefly to ſerue the Frenche Kings turne, therefore he paſt by the Weſt Seas into Fraunce, and in the beginning of March where he was ryght hartily and gladly receyued of the King, his requeſt was onely to haue fiue thouſand horſemen, and ten M. footemen of Almaynes, to bee tranſported into Scotlande, and doubted not, if hee mighte haue this graunted, but that with that power, and the aſſiſtance of the Scottes, he ſhould be able to ouerthrowe the K. of England in battel, or elſe to driue him out of his Realme. But the French K. neyther beleued this vayne bragge, nor yet myghte ſpare anye ſuch power, hauing warre at that time both agaynſt Englande, and the Emperoure, neuertheleſſe, he promiſed hym ſome ayde, whervpon the Duke abode & wayted for the ſame a long ſeaſon. In the meane while, the Lordes of Scotland cauſed certayne noble men to lie vppon the borders monethly in defence of the ſame againſt the Engliſhmē, dayly looking for ſupport from Fraunce. Euery company remayned their monethes, and then departed home as the cuſtome is, and thus they continued ſtill till September following. Much hurt was done on eyther part, and diuers houſes were ouerthrowen and deſtroyed both in Englande & Scotland. During whiche time, the King of Fraunce prepared certayne ſhippes, with men, and munition, to paſſe with the Duke of Albany into Scotland, but the King of England to catch him by the way, had layde a greate nauie of Shippes in the paſe on the Seas, as he ſhould make his courſe: but the Duke embarquing himſelfe with his people at Breſt in Brytayne, ſayled by the Weſt parts of Englande, and the one and twentith of September, landed at Kirkcowbre in the Weſt partes of Scotlande: hee broughte with hym beſide a good number of Frenchmen, Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and baniſhed hys Countrey. Whileſt the Duke was on the ſea, making ſayle towarde Scotlande, the Earle of Surrey, with an army of twentye M. men, entred Scotlande, and comming to Edenburgh, brenned the Towne and the Abbey. It was thought they meant to haue paſſed further, but the Scottiſhmen aſſembling themſelues againſt theyr inuaſions, they were conſtreyned to returne with loſſe (as ſome Scottiſhmē haue written.) The D. immediately after his ariual came to Edenburgh, where he cauſed all the Lordes of the Realme to aſſemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the K. of Fraunce bare to the Realme of Scotlande, in ſo muche, as hearing of the ſlaughters, murthers, and brennings, practiſed by the Engliſhmen, he thought that he felt the ſame done vnto him, reputing himſelfe one of their members, and for reuenging thereof, he woulde be partner with them as their member, for more credite whereof, he ſhewed the Kings letter, confirming his declaration. Hee therefore exhorted them to aſſemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries and wrongs done to them and their Countrey, for he had brought with him money, men, and artillerie, to the furtherance thereof. Herevpon it was concluded, yͤ the army ſhould aſſemble at Dowglas dale the eyghtenth of October, the whyche concluſion they kept, & from thence they marched to Caldſtreame vpon Twede, and ſent ouer the water certayne of their greate artillerie, with a company of frenchmen and Scottes, by yͤ guyding of Dauid Car, and being got ouer, they lay ſiege to the Caſtel of Warke, which was kept by ſir Wil. Liſle Captaine therof, hauing with him a ſtrong garriſon of Engliſhe ſouldiers, & greate prouiſion of artillerie, and all things neceſſarie, yet at the firſte aſſault, the vtter Barnekin was wonne, and the ſaide company of Scottiſhmen and frenchmē lay within the ſame, endomaging the Caſtell in all they mighte. The Earle of Surrey and diuers other of the Engliſh nobilitie, with an army of fortie thouſande men, were at Anwyke, not farre diſtante from Warke, and the Marques Dorſet was ſente with a greate companye to keepe the Towne of Barwike, for doubt leaſt the ſame ſhuld haue bin beſieged. Alſo in the meane time, a newe aſſaulte was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the ſame won likewiſe as the other had bin before. After thys, was the Caſtell aſſayled, and parte of it beaten downe with the artillerie lying on the Scottiſh ſide of the water of Twede. At which breach, the aſſault was giuen, and the ſame continued, till that through mirknes and lacke of lighte, the aſſaylants were driuen to retire.

Dauid Car, Warke Caſtl beſieged.

The Erle of Surrey with an army of fortie thouſand men.

The Marques Dorſet appoynted to kepe Barwike.

Warke aſſaulted.



Greate ſlaughter was made at that aſſaulte on both ſydes, but eſpecially of them within the houſe. The aſſaylantes meante to haue gyuen a freſhe aſſaulte the nexte day, beyng the fourthe of Nouember, but a ſore and vehemente ſtorme and tempeſt of rayne chanced that nighte, that they were conſtreyned to leaue off that enterpriſe, and to get themſelues ouer the riuer again vnto the army, leaſt by the riſing of the water of Twede, they myght haue bene cutte off by theyr enimies, before they coulde haue bin ſuccoured.

The Scottes and French retire backe ouer the water.

In the meane time, whyleſt this ſiege continued, a number of Scottiſhmen made a roade into the Countrey of Glendale within the Engliſhe marches, and brente and ſpoyled dyuers Townes, caſt downe ſundry piles, and returned without anye reſiſtance: for the Earle of Surrey woulde ſuffer none of his people to depart from the army, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience.

Glendale burned by the Scottes.

The Duke of Albany lying on the Scottiſhe ſyde of Twede, ſent an Herrault vnto the Earle of Surrey, willing him to call to remembrance, howe in his abſence he had inuaded Scotlande with fire and ſworde, for the whiche cruell dealing, he required him vpō his honor to come forward, & he would meete him in yͤ cōfines of both yͤ realmes, & giue him battel, to which the Earle aunſwe-

An Herrault ſent.

giue him battell, to the which meſſage the Earle aunſwered, that he had no commiſſion to inuade Scotland at that time, but only to defend, and (as ſome haue reported) hee cauſed a ſecrete meſſenger to paſſe to the Queene, as then lying a good way diſtant from the army, to moue for ſome abſtinence and truce, and further to perſwade the Duke to retire home, which hee did, for that by hir labour, a truce was taken for that inſtant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the Duke returned with honour (as the Scottiſhmen report.) This truce was wel kept all the next Winter following, and no inuaſion made, till the moneth of May. And then was the Earle of Surrey ſente agayne to the Engliſhe borders, and the Lordes of Scotlande on the other parte monethly lay on their borders by quarters, for defence of their Countrey as the vſe is.

On Trinitie Sonday, being the one and twentith of May, a fiue hundred Scottes entred Englande, to ſurpriſe the Engliſhe Merchantes, and others, going that daye vnto Berwike, where yearely on that daye the fayre is kept, and ſo by reaſon thereof, they met with diuers of them that went to this fayre, and tooke to the number of two hundred priſoners, whome they ledde with them into Scotlande, but Hall ſayeth, that by the comming of the yong Lorde of Fulbery to the ſuccours of the Engliſhmen, the Scottes were chaſed, and loſt two hundreth of their numbers.

The ſixth of July, Sir William Fenwicke, Leonarde Muſgraue, and Baſterde Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundreth Engliſhmenne, entred into the Mers, and began to ſpoyle and robbe the Countrey, but they were ſhortly compaſſed about with Scottiſhmen, and ſo hardly aſſayled, that although they fought valiantly a good while, yet by fyne force they were compelled to giue grounde, and ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight; in which, a two hundred of them were taken priſoners, and Baſterd Heron with diuers other ſlayne.

Engliſhmen inuade Scotlande.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

Baſterd Heron ſlayne.

Amongſt the priſoners, were Sir Rauf Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and dyuers other Gentlemen of good calling.

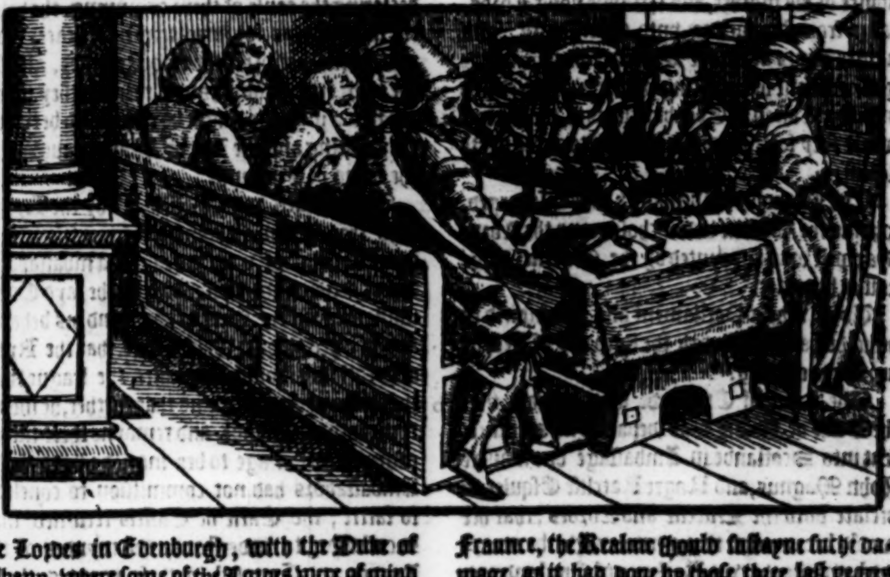
The ſeuenteenth of July, the Lord Maxwell, and Sir Alexander Jordeyne, with diuers other Scottiſhmen in great number, entred Englande at the Weſt marches by Carleſle, with diſplayed banners, and began to harrie the Countrey, and brente diuers places. The Engliſhmen aſſembled on euery ſide, ſo that they were far mightier in number than the Scottiſhmen, and therupon ſet fiercely vppon their enimies, in ſo muche, that for the ſpace of an houre, there was a ſore fighte continued betwixt them, but the Lord Maxwell like a right politique Captayne (as of all that knewe him hee was no leſſe reputed) ceaſed not to encourage his people, and after that, by the taking of Alexander Jordayne and diuers other, they hadde bin putte backe, hee broughte them in aray agayne, and beginning a newe ſkirmiſhe, recouered in a manner all the priſoners, toke and ſlewe dyuers Engliſhmen, ſo that hee returned with victorie, and ledde aboute three hundred priſoners with hym home into Scotlande.

Four thouſand ſaith Hall.

The Lorde Maxwel inuadeth England.

After this iourney, there was an aſſemble of the Lordes in Edenburgh, with the Duke of Albany, where ſome of the Lordes were of minde that the warre ſhoulde continue: other thought it not reaſon, that for the pleaſure onely of Fraunce, the Realme ſhould ſuſtayne ſuche damage, as it had done by thoſe three laſt yeares warre now paſſed, and therefore they perſwaded peace.

An aſſemblye of the Lordes.



Moreouer, there was alſo muche debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernemente of the King, ſome of the Lordes holding, that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himſelfe, and that the gardenſhip or tutorie of a King expired, ſooner than of another priuate perſon.

The Duke of Albany perceyuing howe the Lordes were deuided amongſt themſelues, and neyther content with his gouernement, nor willing to mayntayne the warres which hee had ſo earneſtly perſwaded for the pleaſure of Fraunce, he declared to them that hee would returne into Fraunce, and ſo taking his leaue of the nobilitie, wente to Striueling, where the King was, of whome hee tooke leaue, alſo giuing vnto hym ſuche louing and faithfull counſell, as to hys knowledge ſeemed expedient, and ſo wente into the Weſt Countrey, where hee tooke the Seas in September, and ſayled forth into Fraunce.

The Duke of Albany returneth into Fraunce.

The King of Englande hauing in the moneth of June ſent ouer into Fraunce, vnto Archibald Earle of Angus, that remayned there vpon cōmaundement of the Duke of Albany, perſwaded him to come from thence ſecretly into England, which accordingly he dyd, and being ſafely arriued in Englande, Kyng Henrye procured hym to paſſe into Scotlande, that with the aſſiſtance of ſuche Lordes as would bee ready to take his part, he myghte reyſe warre agaynſt the Duke of Albany, which ſought by all meanes (as the Kyng of Englande was enformed) to deſtroy hym and his, but ere the Earle could come into Scotlande, the Duke was departed toward Fraunce.

The Earle of Angus commeth into England.

The ſixe and twentith of July, the Kyng by aduice of his mother, and certayne yong Lordes, came from Striuelyng vnto Edenburgh, and a three dayes after, the Queene tooke the whole gouernement of the King vppon hir, and entred into the Caſtell of Edenburgh with the Kyng, where they ſoiourned the moſt parte of the nexte Winter.

The Queene taketh the gouernement into hir hands.

The Prouoſt of Edenburgh was diſcharged, whome the Towne hadde choſen, and the Lorde Maxwell was appoynted by the Queene, Prouoſt in his place.

There was a Parliament alſo ſommoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of February nexte enſuing.

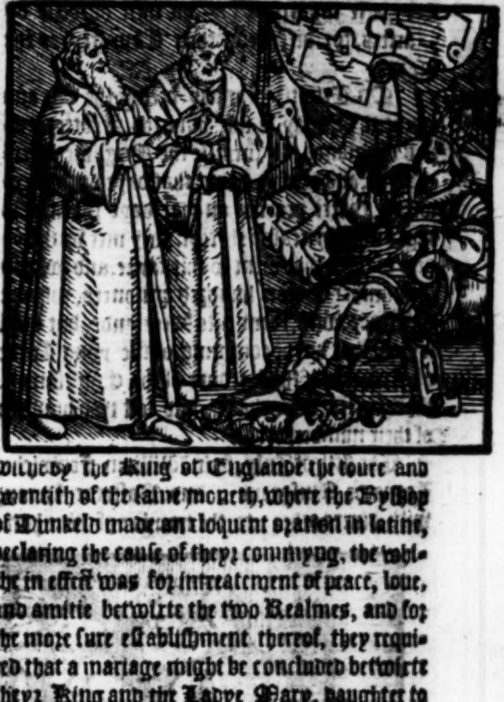
A Parliament ſommoned.

The King of Englande glad to heare that the Duke of Albany was departed into France, ſent into Scotlande in Imbaſſage one maiſter John Magnus, and Roger Ratcliffe Eſquier, to declare vnto the Queene and Lordes, that hee would bee content that a truce might be accorded betwixte the two Realmes of England and Scotlande, nowe that the Duke of Albany was returned into Fraunce, who had bin the onely procurer of the warres: herevpon, they agreed to take truce to endure for one yeare, and in the meane tyme, they appoynted to ſende Imbaſſadors into Englande to treate vpon a continuall peace, aliaunce, and amitie to be hadde betwixte both the Realmes.

A truce taken for one yeare.

In this meane whyle, the Earle of Angus came into Scotlande, and bycauſe of the diſpleaſure whiche the Queene bare him, there enſued occaſion of greate diuiſions within the Realme, notwithſtanding the Queene by aduice of certaine Lordes, ſente the Lord Gilbert Earle of Caſſels, Robert Cockburne Byſhoppe of Dunkeld, and the Abbot of Cambuſkenneth, Imbaſſadors into Englande, in the moneth of December, the whiche were receyued at Grenewiche by the King of Englande the foure and twentith of the ſame moneth, where the Byſhop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in latine, declaring the cauſe of theyr commyng, the whiche in effect was for intreatement of peace, loue, and amitie betwixte the two Realmes, and for the more ſure eſtabliſhment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixte theyr King and the Ladye Mary, daughter to the King of England.

Ambaſſadors into England.



This requeſt was well heard by the Kyng, who therevppon appoynted commiſſioners to common thereof with the ſayde Imbaſſadors, diuers articles were proponed by the ſayd Commiſſioners on the King of England his behalfe, and in eſpeciall one, whiche was, that the Kyng of Scotlande ſhoulde renounce the league with the King of Fraunce, and that further, he ſhould come into Englande, and remayne there till hee came to perfect age to bee maried: bycauſe the Imbaſſadors had not commiſſion to conclude ſo farre, the Earle of Caſſels returned into Scotlande, to vnderſtande the myndes of the Lordes and Counſell in theſe poyntes, the other remayning at London till his returne to them agayne.

When the day of the Parliament appointed to be holden in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh was come, the King, Queene and Lordes fearing ſome tumult in the Towne to be rayſed by the Earle of Angus, woulde not paſſe forth of the Caſtell, but kept the Parliament within the ſame.

The Earle of Angus and Lennox and dyuers other, to the number of two thouſand men, came in the night ſeaſon vnto Edenburgh, bycauſe they durſt not enter the towne in the daye time, for feare of the gunnes that lay in yͤ Caſtel.

The next day, being the fourtenth day of Februarie, the ſaide Earles with the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, the Biſhop of Aberden, that by the Queenes appointment had bin kepte before in warde, the Biſhop of Dunblane, the Erle of Arguile, and diuerſe other Lordes and Barons being in the Towne, ſente to the Caſtell, alledging, that the King was kepte as priſoner by the Queene, and iuſtice ſuppreſſed, with great domage of the common wealthe, and therefore hee deſired, that the King might bee deliuered vnto them to be gouerned by the aduice of the three eſtates, and if they refuſed to deliuer hym, they would beſiege the Caſtel, and if they wanne it, all their liues within ſhold reſt at their pleaſures, the kings only excepted.

The Queene by the counſell of the Earles, of Arrane and Murrey, refuſed not only to deliuer the King, but ſente them worde, that excepte they did depart the Towne, they woulde ſurelye diſcharge all the artillerie of the Caſtel againſte them.

He forſetteth the Caſtel of Edenburgh. The parties are agreede.

Hervppon, greate feare roſe in the towne, ſpecially among the burgeſſes, but by the diligẽce of certaine perſons that trauelled betweene the parties, an aſſuraunce was taken on eyther ſide for certaine dayes. In the meane time, the Earle of Angus cauſed the Caſtell to bee forſette, that neyther meate nor other thing might be ſuffered to be conueyed into it, except ſo muche as might ſerue for the ſuſtentation of the Kings owne perſon. At length, all the parties were agreed, ſo that the foure and twentith day of February, the King came vnto the Parliament holden in the Tolbuith in moſt honorable wiſe, with the aſſiſtaunce of all the eſtates, hauing the Crowne, Scepter, and ſword borne before him, and from thence hee was broughte to the Abbey, where he remayned.

Counſelors appointed.

In this Parliament, there were eight Lordes choſen to bee of the Kinges priuie counſell, the whyche tooke the Gouernemente of the Kyng and Realme vpon them, as theſe: The Archbiſhops of S. Andrews and Glaſquho, the biſhops of Aberden and Dunblane: The Earles of Angus, Argyle, Arrane, and Lennox: the Quene was adioyned to them as principall, withoute whoſe aduiſe nothing ſhould be done. From this Parliament alſo was the Erle of Caſſels ſente, with anſwere vnto the King of Englande: hee came to London the nintenth of Marche. But bicauſe the King had knowledge, that the French King was taken at the battaile of Pauie, hee woulde not proceede in the treatie of marriage betwixte the kyng of Scotlande and his daughter, till he had the Emperours aduice, whome he affirmed to bee his confederate friend, and ſo renuing the truce for three yeares and ſyxe monethes, the Ambaſſadours returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next enſuing, without any contract of mariage at that time. The Argument betwixt the Queene and Lordes continued not long, for anone after died the Biſhop of Dũkeld, whoſe benefice the E. of Angus obtained of, the king for his brother W. Douglas, without the aduice of the Queene and other Lordes, wherevpon the Q. departed and went vnto Striueling, leauing the king wͭ the Erle of Angus, who togither wͭ the Erle of Lennox toke the whole rule and gouernemẽt of yͤ Realme and K. vpon him, & made his Uncle Archimbald Douglas, treaſourer of the Realme, and then the ſaide Earles of Angus and Lennox beſtowed benefices, offices, and al other things, by the aduice of George Douglas, brother to the ſaide Earle of Angus and others of that faction.

Truce renued.

The King set in his owne power.

In this meane time, the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, and the Earles of Arrane, Arguile, and Murrey, remaining with the Queene at Striueling, alledged that the king was wythholden frõ them by the E. of Angus, for againſt his wil, and therefore they ſente vnto the Earle, requiring him to deliuer him: but yͤ Erle cauſed the K. to giue the anſwere him ſelf, that he would not come from the Erle of Angus, albeit he wold gladly haue bin out of his handes if he might, as by ſecret meſſage ſent to ſundry of the lordes, likewiſe at that time it appeared, for he willed thẽ by priuie meanes to aſſemble an army, and to come & fetch him out of their handes that thus deteined him. Hereupon ſhortly after, they rayſed a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purpoſed to paſſe vnto Edenburgh, yͭ they might get the K. out of the Erle of Angus his handes: the ſaid Erle wͭ the Earle of Lennox & other his aſſiſtants being thereof aduertiſed, came to yͤ fielde wͭ the kings banner diſplayed, & brought the king with him, although partly againſt his wil.

The Queene mother in armes.

The Queene with ſuch Lordes as were with hir there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare to the Kyngs perſon, and fearing the daunger that mighte chaunce vnto them, if they buckled togither in a foughten field, they withdrew thẽſelues to Striueling, and from thence the Queen went into Murrey lãd with yͤ Erle of Murrey, and there remayned a long time after.

The Earles of Arrane and Argyle went into the Weſte Countrey, and the Biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes to Dunfermeling, and then the Earle of Angus toke vppon him more boldly the gouernement of the King and Realme, and ſent to the Biſhoppe of Saint Androwes (who was chauncellour) for the great ſeale, which was deliuered to them that were ſo ſent for it.

The great ſeale deliuered.

The nobles of the Realme remaining thus at variance, and deuided amõg themſelues, there was ſmall obedience of lawes and iuſtice, diuers ſlaughters in ſundry parts were committed, great theftes and robberies made by the borderers vpõ the Inland Countries.

Moreouer, this yere yͤ diſpleaſure ſtill continuing betwixt the Queene the kings mother and hir huſband the Earle of Angus, ſhe clerely forſooke him and ſo vſed the matter that ſhe was married to . Henry ſtewarde, brother to Andrew Stewarde Lorde Auendale to whome ſhe had borne good wil (as hath bin reported) long before which Henry was after created by the king Lorde of Methwen.

1526.

The foure and twentith of Iulye, the King being accompanied with the Earle of Angus, yͤ Lorde Hume, the Karres and others, roade vnto Iedburgh, in purpoſe to haue reformed the miſgouernaunce of yͤ borderers, but after that they had remained there three dayes with little obedience ſhewed towards them, they returned, and on the nine and twentith day of Iuly at the Bridge of Melroſe, the Lard of Boclough, accompanyed wͭ aboue a thouſand horſemen, began to ſhew himſelfe in ſighte, whoſe principall purpoſe was to haue taken the King from the Earle of Angus & his aſſiſtantes, being requeſted and commaunded by the King himſelfe ſo to do.

The Lard of Boclough his enterprice, to take the king from the Earle of Angus.

The Erle of Angus incontinently ſente an Herrault vnto the Larde of Boclough, to know what his intention was to doe, who aunſwered, that he came to do the King honour and ſeruice, and to ſhewe his friends and power as the vſe is of the borderers.

The Earle of Angus wͭ the Lorde Hume, and the reſt, not being contente wyth thys aunſwere, bicauſe of the great feude betwixte hym and the Humes and the Karres, ſente vnto him a commaundemente in the Kings name to departe, and not to approche neere to the kinges preſence, vnder paine of high treaſon, wherevnto he anſwered, that he knew the kings mind wel ynough, and would not ſpare for his commaundemente to come to his graces preſence, whyche aunſwere receiued from him, incontinentlye the Earle of Angus, the Lordes Fleming and Hume, the Karres, the Larde of Seſſeford, with theyr friendes, alighted on foote, the King remayning on horſebacke, accompanied with the Erle of Lennox, the Lord Maxwel, George Douglas, and Ninian Crechton. Tutor of Sanquhar.

The Lard of Bouclough lighted alſo on foote, but bicauſe the moſt parte of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders commonly called broken men, vppon their firſte approche to the ioyning with their ſpeares, they fledde, leauing the Larde of Boclough with a ſmal number of his owne ſeruauntes aboute him in all the daunger yet they defended themſelues righte mãfully, and ſlewe the Larde of Seſſeforde and diuers other on the Earle of Angus his ſide, but finallye, ouerpreſſed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foureſcore of Bocloughes men ſlaine in the chaſe.

The Lard of Seſſeforde ſlaine.

The Lard of Boclough put to flight.

After this, the King retourned to Iedburgh, and remained there the ſpace of foure dayes, and then returned to Edenburgh.

All this while, the King was gouerned and holden againſt his will, by the Earle of Angus and his aſſiſters, although he did not outwardly ſhewe ſo in countenaunce, but diſſembled the matter as well as hee mighte, yet perceiuing two enterpriſes to haue quayled that hadde bene attempted for his deliueraunce, he thought to aſſaye the thirde: and hereuppon, procured the Earle of Lennox to aſſemble an armye wyth aſſiſtance of the Queene and hir frendes, to helpe to deliuer him from the handes of his enemies. The Earle of Lennox did ſo, and came with ſuch power as he could raiſe frõ the Weſt partes vnto Linlithgew.

The E. of Lennox gathereth power.

The Earle of Angus being aduertiſed, that the Earle of Lennox was gathering men, ſente to the Earle of Arrane for ayde, requiring him to come with ſuche power as he could make, and to meete him at Linlithgew.

The Earle of Arrane immediatly herewith, gathered a power, and with the ſame came to Linlithgewe before the Earle of Lennox, who ſhortelye after comming wyth hys people, approched that Towne, vnto whom the Earle of Arrane ſente a meſſenger, requiring hym to tourne and ſaue his enterpriſe, aſſuring him, that albeit hee was hys ſyſters ſonne, hee woulde not ſpare him, if hee helde forwarde vppon his iourney.

The Earle of Arrane gathereth a power.

The Earle of Lennox herewith aunſwered in a great rage, that hee woulde not ſtay, till hee came to Edenburgh, or elſe dye for it by the way.

The Earle of Arrane therefore not ſtaying for the Earle of Angus hys comming from Edenburgh, iſſued forthe of Linlithgewe at the Weſte ende of the Towne, and encountred the Earle of Lennox and his companie where there was a cruell onſette gyuen on bothe ſides, but ſuddaynely the Earle of Lennox hys company fledde, and he himſelfe with the Lorde of Hauſton and diuers other Gentlemen, were ſlayne.

The Erle of Lenox ſlaine.

In the meane time, the Erle of Angus bringing the King with him arriued, and haſted towarde to the battell: but that the King was vnwilling to come forthe of Edenburgh in that quarell (as ſome haue written) and therefore made excuſes, as he did alſo by the way, faynyng himſelfe ſicke, but George Dowglas droue and called vppon his horſe very ſharpely, and conſtreyned hym to ride forth with faſter pace than hee woulde haue done, giuing him many iniurious wordes, which hee remembred afterwardes, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and ſhortly after, paſſed through Fife, ſearching for the Queene, and the Biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, and bycauſe they were kepte ſecretely in their friendes houſes, ſo that they could not bee heard of, they ſpoyled the Abbey of Dunfermeling, and the Caſtell of Saint Andrewes, taking away all the moueables which the Archbyſhoppe had within the ſame.

The Queene ſought for.

This done, they returned to Edenburgh.

At this ſeaſon by reaſon of this diſcord, diuers and ſundrye murthers and heynous ryots were committed in many partes of the Realme, namely, the Earle of Caſſels was ſlayne by the Sheriffe of Ayre, and greate ſpoyle done on the borders. This yeare, the Kyng by counſell of the Earles of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight M. men vnto Jedburgh, to ſet ſome order amongſt the borderers, for the keeping of better rule, and ſo on the eight of June, the principals of al the ſurnames of the clannes on the borders, came to the King, binding themſelues, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanours.

Diſorders in a Realm, where ciuill diſcorde reigneth.

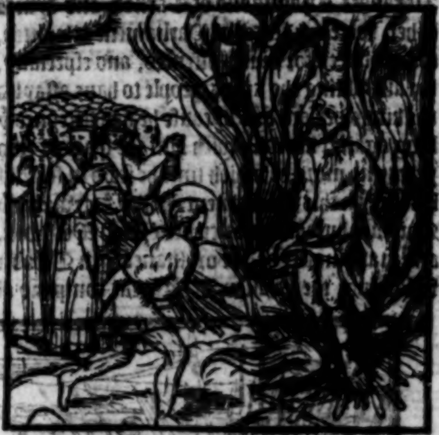
The Earle of Caſels ſlayne.

The ſeuenteenth of July, there was a greate aſſembly of the Lordes at Holirood houſe, at what time, there came a ſimple fellowe to looke vpon, ſeruaunte ſomtime to the Earle of Lennox, and in the middes of a greate companye of people in the Abbey cloſe, ſtrake Sir James Hamilton Knight right deſperately with a ſhorte prage or dagger in the bellie three ſeuerall ſtripes vp to the haft, and yet the ſame Sir James dyed not of thoſe hurtes. The man beeyng taken, ſtraight wayes confeſſed the deede withoute repentance, ſhy on the feoble hand quilke wald not doe that thing the hart thought, and was determinate to doe: a beeyng enquired what he was, and who cauſed him to doe the ſame, he aunſwered, that hee was an ſeruant of God, ſent by him to doe that deede: and albeit he was put to great torture and paines daily by ẏ ſpace of a moneth, yet would hee neuer giue other aunſwer, and ſo he was hanged, and hys head ſet ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh Towne.

Sir James Hamilton hurt by a deſperate perſon.

About the ſame time, there came out of Germany maiſter Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, brother ſonne to the Earle of Arrane, who hadde bin ſcholler to Martin Luther, and others there. This man beeyng conuented and examined vpon certaine articles, as of iuſtification, predeſtination, of free will, and ſuche like, contrarye to the doctrine taught by the Churche in that time, bycauſe hee did affirme, and conſtantly defende them, hee was declared an Heretike and burned.

The Abbot of Ferne brent.



The eyghtenth of Marche, the Kyng beſeged the Caſtell of Edenburgh, the Queene and hir huſband Henrye Steward, with James hys brother beeing within it. But as ſoone as the Queene vnderſtoode, that hir ſonne the Kyng was therein perſon, ſhe cauſed the gates to be ſet open, and vpon hir knees, beſought him of grace for hir huſband and his brother, and woulde not reſt, till ſhee hadde obteyned the ſame, but yet they were kept in warde within the Caſtell, tyll the King afterwards releaſed them.

Edenburgh Caſtell beſieged.

In the yeare following, the King being now come to the age of ſeauenteene yeares, and of good diſcretion and witte for his time, would not longer remayne vnder the gouernemente of the Earle of Angus and his companye, and therevpon aſſembled diuers noble men at Striueling, and by their counſell, ſent an Herraulte vnto the Earle of Angus and his aſſiſters reſident as then in Edenburgh, commaundyng them on payne of high treaſon, that they ſhoulde departe forthe of that Towne, and that none of them ſhoulde come within foure myles of the Courte, whereſoeuer the ſame chanced to bee: and ſhortly after, the Kyng hymſelfe with two thouſande menne, followed the Herraulte, wherevpon, the Earle of Angus, both beeing charged by the Herraulte, and aduertiſed of the Kynges commyng towarde the Towne, departed thence immediately.

The Kyng being ſeuenteene yeares of age, refuſeth to bee longer vnder gouernement.

And ſhortly after, the ſame Herrault was ſent vnto him againe with commaundement fro the K. that he ſhould remayne priſoner within ward in the Countrey of Murrey, till the Kings pleaſure were further knowen: which he woulde not obey: wherefore both he and his adherents were ſommoned to appeare in Parliament to be holden at Edenburgh, in September nexte following. In this Parliament begun at Edenburgh the ſixth of September in this yeare. 1528. ÿ Erle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his Uncle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnok, and dyuers other, were by decree of Parliament atteynted, and forfaited for diuers offences, and eſpecially, for aſſembling the kings people to haue aſſayled the kings perſon, and bycauſe he had deteyned ÿ king againſt his will with him the ſpace of two yeres and more, al which time he ſtood in feare of his life. In this Parliament, Henry Stewarde, ÿ Queenes huſband, was created L. of Methwen, and made maſter of the ordinance. In October following, the K. aſſembled a great company of mẽ, victuall, artillerie, and diuers kinds of munitiõs, to beſiege the Caſtell of Tantallon, which the Erle of Angus helde, who aduertiſed of the preparatiõ made for ÿ ſame ſiege, furniſhed the Caſtell with mẽ, & al kind of neceſſaries, & went himſelfe into England. When the ſiege therof was laid about the Caſtell, it was ſo ſtrong and ſo well prouided, that it might not be wonne for all that could bee done at that ſeaſon, inſomuch, ÿ after Dauid Fauconer, principal gunner of the kings ſide was ſlayne, the K. cauſed ÿ ſiege to be reiſed: yet at lẽgth (though not til a lõg time after this) it was deliuered to the King by appoyntmente.

The Earle of Angus forfalted.

The Earle of Angus attainted by Parliament.

Hẽry Steward created Lorde of Methwen.

The Caſtell of Tantallon beſieged.

Dauid Fawconer ſlayne.

1529

The eightenth of May, in the yeare. 1529. the Earle of Cathnes and the Lord of Sincler with a greate armye by Sea, paſſed into Orkeney to haue taken that Iſle into poſſeſſion, but the people of the Countrey aſſembled at the commaundemente of James Sincler of Kirkewall their Captaine, who gaue battell to the Earle and his army with ſuch courage, that he diſcomfited the enimies: the Earle with fiue hundred of his men was ſlayne, and drowned in the Sea, vnto the

The Earle of Cathnes paſſeth ouer into Orkeney.

The Earle of Cathnes ſlaine.

which they were driuen.

The L. Sincler and all the reſidue wer takẽ.

The Orkney men held opinion, that their patrone S. Magnus was ſeene that day to fighte in the field on their ſide againſt their enimies.

The blindnes of the Orkney men.

The ſame moneth on the fiftenth day, there was a greate aſſembly of the Lordes in Edenburgh where the K. himſelfe ſate in iudgement: The Lard of Hinderlãd called Cockeborne, and one Adam Scot of Tuſhlaw, who was named king of theeues, were accuſed of theft, and of receiuing and mainteining of theeues, ſlaughters, and other crimes, of the which being conuict, they loſt their heads, which were ſet ouer ÿ Tolbuith of Edenburgh. The ſame day, ÿ Erle of Bothwel was alſo cõuict for mainteining thẽ & their crimes, & his life, lands & goodes wer in the kings hands. He was therfore kept in ward within Edenburgh Caſtell, and after ſente into Murrey land, and laſtly baniſhed the Realme during the kings dayes. Alſo, the Lord Maxwell, the Lorde Hume, the Lards of Balglueth, Fernyherſt, Polloxt, Johnſon, Marke Kar, and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by aſſiſe, and putte in warde, by reaſon whereof, the borderers kepte better rule euer after during the Kings raigne.

An aſſembly of the Lords.

King of Theeues.

Execution.

The Earle of Bothwell conuict.

Baniſhed the Realme.

Other Lords conuict, and put in warde.

About this ſeaſon, a landed man named John Scotte, that had trauelled abroade in the world, and nowe beeyng returned into Scotland, & bycauſe it was bruted in other Countreys hee had faſted. xl. dayes without either meate or drinke, was

Iohn Scotte faſted fortie dayes, without receyuing any foode.

was for tryall thereof put in Dauids Tower in Edenbourgh Caſtell, and diligent watch ſet vpon him to ſee that hee had no ſuſtenaunce to releeue him withall, and ſo kept for fortie dayes, hee faſted all that tyme wythout any kinde of nouriſhment, to the greate wonder of the people.

1529

In the Sommer of this yeare. 1529. Archimbalde Dowglas, that had beene forfalted (as yee haue heard) came alone to the King while he was a hunting in Striueling Parke, and beſought his grace of pardon, which he had obteyned fully at his handes, bycauſe he fauoured him more than any of that ſirname, if hee had not beene (as hee was in deede) altogither determined that none of them ſhoulde remaine wythin the land at that tyme, and ſo he baniſhed him into France, where ſhortly after through griefe of mynde he departed this life.

Archimbalde Dowglas baniſhed.

The king commeth to the borders.

In the Moneth of June, the King with an armie, went to the borders to ſet order there for better rule to be kept, and to puniſhe ſuch as were knowen to be moſt culpable, & herevpon he cauſed .xlviij. of the moſt notable theeues, with theyr Captaine John Armſtrong to bee apprehended, the which being conuict of murther, theft, and treaſon, were all hanged on growing trees, to the enſample of others.

Theeues hanged.

A theefe burnt to death.

There was one cruell theefe amongeſt the reſt, which had burned a houſe with a womā and hir children within it, he was burned to death.

George Armeſtrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the ende he ſhoulde appeache the reſidue, which he did, ſo that they were apprehended by the Kings commaundement, and puniſhed for theyr miſdoyngs according as they had deſerued.

Wonders ſeen in the firmament.

In Auguſt following, many marueylous ſightes were ſeene about Striueling, as Candels burning vpon the toppes of hilles in the nightes, and in the morning afore Sunne ryſing: diuerſe armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of ſome trouble to enſue in thoſe parties.

A Ferrie boat drowned.

The .xv. day of Auguſt, a greate number of people being aſſembled at the Market in Campſcenneth .lij. perſons were drowned in the Ferrie boate: amongſt the which were diuerſe honeſt men and women of the countrey.

1530

An Abbot murthered.

The firſt of Marche, in the yeare. 1530. the Abbot of Culroſe called Inglis, was cruellye murthered by the Lorde of Tulliallan and hys ſeruants, amongeſt whome there was a Prieſt called ſir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the ſayde ſir William the .xxvij. of the ſame moneth, vpon a publike ſkaffolde in Edenbourgh was degraded, (the King, Queene, and a great companie of people beeing preſent) and after his degradation, he was delyuered to the Earle of Argile high Juſtice, and the next day the ſayd Tulliallan, and the ſame prieſt were beheaded.

The Seſſions inſtituted.

This yeare the Colledge court of Juſtice called the Seſſions, was inſtituted in Edenbourgh by the King, with conſent of the three eſtates in Parliament aſſembled, and after confirmed in Rome, in the which are fifteene Counſaylers ordinarie, eight of them being ſpirituall perſons, of the which the moſt auncient is preſident, and ſeuen temporall men, but ſo as by this number the Chancellor of the realme is aboue the preſident, when he is preſent. There are alſo foure counſaylers extraordinarie, remoueable at the princes pleaſure.

1531

In the yeare. 1531. I finde little done to make account of, for the Earle of Angus remayning in Englande, coulde not perſwade the King of England in his fauour to breake the peace wyth Scotlande, though the ſame Earle earneſtly laboured to bring that to paſſe.

1532

Sir Arthure Darcie ſent to the borders.

But in the yeare. 1532. ſir Arthure Darcy was ſent to the borders, who being at Barwike, by the counſaile of the Erle of Angus then being there, they made a roade into Scotlande, and burned certaine places, wherevpon the Scots aſſembling themſelues to defende theyr Countrey, made towardes the Engliſhmen, who retyred themſelues to Barwike againe.

He maketh a road into Scotland.

After this were diuerſe inuaſions made on euery ſide vpon the borders, and ſhippes likewiſe taken by Sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed.

1533

In September, in the yeare. 1533. certaine Commiſſioners of either Realme were at Newcaſtell to treate for redreſſe, and recompence to be made for the burning of townes and villages, taking of goodes, downe caſting of pyles, taking of ſhips, ſlaughters of men, and diuerſe other ſpoyles and iniuries done, as well by the Sea as by the lande, from the .xxiij. day of Aprill in the yere 1532. vnto the day of the meeting of the ſame cōmiſſioners, which doings were little leſſe in effect than had bene vſed in tyme of open warre, although the ſame was not proclaimed. Bycauſe therefore that the ſkath and iniuries fell out to be ſo greate on both ſides, that particuler redreſſe coulde not bee had, the order thereof was referred to the pleaſure of both the Princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certaine Commiſſioners ſhould be appoynted to treate thereof at London, as afterwardes they did. For the king of Scotlande there were ſent as Commiſſiōners aboute this treatie, William Stewarde Biſhop of Aberdine, the Abbot of Kinlos, & ſir Adam Otterburie knight, the which accompanied with diuers other knightes, barons, and gentlemen, came to

London,

1524

London, and were there right honourably receyued the .xxv. of March, after they had beene before the kings preſence, there were certaine Commiſſioners appointed by him to treate with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certaine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yeare after the deceaſe of that prince, which firſt channced to depart this worlde, and ſo the Commiſſioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of May next enſuing.

A peace concluded.

About the ſame tyme, were ſent into France Dauid Beton Abbot of Arbroith, and James Erſkyn Secretarie as Ambaſſadors to require the Duke of Vandoſmes ſiſter in mariage for the King, with which motion the Ladie and hir friendes were verie well contented, neuertheleſſe (as afterwardes ſhall appeare) the King himſelfe paſſing ſecretely into Fraunce in proper perſon, when he had once ſeene the Ladie, he liked hir not, and ſo became a ſuyter to the French king his eldeſt daughter Magdalen, whome hee obteyned, wherefore the duke of Vandoſmes ſiſter woulde neuer after match hirſelf with any other in mariage, but profeſſed hirſelf in a houſe of Religion, where ſhe remained the reſidue of hir life time.

Ambaſſadors into France.

The king himſelfe paſſeth ſecretly into Fraunce.

The king of Englande ſente Ambaſſadors into Scotlande, the Biſhop of Duriſme, Sir Thomas Cliforde, the Prior of Duriſme, and one Doctor Magnus, who were honourably receyued in the Moneth of Julie, and then was the peace before concluded by the Ambaſſadours at London, confirmed by the king himſelfe, and the charter thereof interchaungeably ſealed, with the great Seales of both the Realmes duryng the lyues of both the Princes, (as before yee haue hearde.)

The peace concluded wyth England.

The ſame yeare, the king paſſed through the north partes of his realme, and holding Juſtice eers, cauſed Juſtice, dulye to be miniſtred in places where he came agaynſt offenders.

Juſtice miniſtred.

Moreouer in Edenbourgh was great inquiſition made, and puniſhment exerciſed agaynſt ſuch as were detected to holde opinions agaynſt the religion then vſed, the king himſelfe aſſiſtant thereto. Maiſter Normand Gorley that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that woulde not renounce his opinion were burned.

The Sherife of Linlitgew and diuerſe other that were fled for feare of puniſhment, were conuict of hereſie.

Diuerſe Engliſh men that helde agaynſt the deuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the Lady Katherin Dowager, fledde this yeare into Scotlande, and were receyued.

Engliſh fugitiues receyued into Scotland.

1535

In the yeare .1535. the Pope ſent a meſſenger into Scotlande requiring king James to aſſyſt him agaynſt the King of Englande, whome hee had decreed an Heretike, a Sciſmatike, a wedlock breaker, a publike murtherer, and a ſacrileger, and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the ſayd kingdome, the which he would beſtow vpon him, and other catholike Princes.

The Pope ſendeth into Scotlande.

1536

In the yeare .1536. the King toke the Sea, with fiue ſhippes, without knowledge of the moſt part of the Lordes of his Realme, and ſayled aboute the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iſles, and by ſtorme was driuen to take lande at Saint Ninians in Galoway, and ſo returned to Striueling from whence he paſſed a foote in pylgrimage vnto our Ladie Chapell of Lauret beſide Muſkelbourgh, and afterwarde ſent for diuerſe of his Lordes, and by their counſaile toke his voyage againe by ſea with fiue ſhips to paſſe into Fraunce, as he was minded to haue done the firſt time, but what cauſed him to alter his purpoſe then, we find not.

The kings voyage about the Iſles.

This ſecond time he embarked at Kirkaldy the laſt of Auguſt, and with good and proſperous winde, he ſhortly after arriued in Fraunce, there being with him in companie the Earles of Argile, and Arane, the Lordes Boyd and Fleming, with diuerſe other barons, knights, & gentlemen, and before him there were in Fraunce the Erles of Murrey, Lennox, and Caſſels, the Lorde Erſkyn, the Abbot of Arbrothe and other.

He ſayleth into Fraunce.

Immediately after his arriuall, he rode in ſecrete maner diſguiſed vnto Vandoſmes in Picardie, taking with him but one ſeruaunt named John Tennent, whom he cauſed to take vppon him as he had beene maiſter, and ſo comming to the Duke of Vandoſme his place, got ſight of the Ladie who ſhuld haue bin his wife, but not liking hir, hee returned againe without talking eyther with hir or hir friendes, and comming to Rouen where his companie were abyding for him, hee paſſed from thence towarde Paris, where the Dolphin of Fraunce was appointed by the king his father to meete him ſeuen leagues from the Citie, who brought him to the King, who recey-

He rydeth to Vandoſme.

He is receiued into Paris.

ued him in ſuch heartie maner, as if he had beene his owne ſonne, and with as muche honour as might haue beene ſhewed to the greateſt Prince in earth.

There were Iuſtes, Tourneyes, and other princely paſtimes practiſed and ſet forth, in which Iuſtes and other exerciſes of warrelike feates, hee ſhewed himſelfe as hardie, cunning and valiaunt as any other perſon within all the Realme of Fraunce, for the which hee wanne paſſing great prayſe.

He is a ſuyter for mariage.

In the meane tyme he cauſed his Ambaſſadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of Fraunce, that the cauſe of his comming was for maryage to be had betweene him and the Ladie Magdalen, eldeſt daughter to the King, whome he loued and fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king being glad hereof, that the auncient bande betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therfore declared that hee woulde willingly giue him hys daughter in mariage, but herewith he let him vnderſtand that his daughter was much ſubiect to ſickneſſe, and therefore he referred that to the king of Scotland his own pleaſure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongeſt daughter the lady Margaret, whiche was after maried to the Duke of Sauoy, which offer of choiſe being reported to the king of Scotlande, hee continued in his former purpoſe, whiche was to matche with the Ladie Magdalen, who was in deede a pleaſant yong Ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louely countenance, and comely maners aboue al others within that Realme. Whereupon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thouſand crownes of the ſunne promiſed with hir in dower, with .xxx. thouſande frankes of pencion during the life of king Iames, which mony was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewardes, beſides many rich hangings, Cupbordes of plate, ſumptuous apparell, and riche Iuels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the ſumme of an other hundred thouſand crownes, with two great ſhips (the one called the Salamander) and greate plentie of Artillerie, powder, and other munition.

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scottes and the Lady Magdalen.

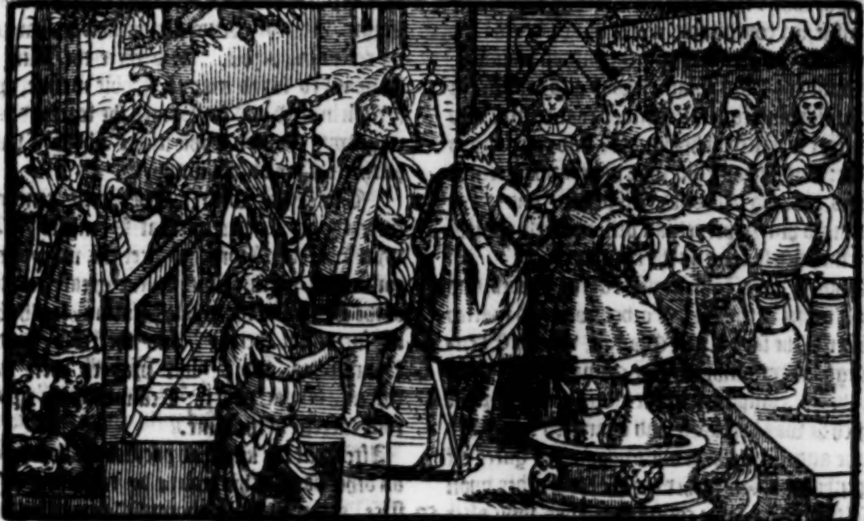
Moreouer all his charges and expences were borne by the French king during his being within the realme of France.

The ſame time alſo was the auncient league and bande of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renued, and the day of the ſolemnization of the mariage appoynted to bee holden the firſt of Ianuarie.

1639

The mariage ſolemniſed.

In the meane time great preparation for the ſame was made, and all the Nobles of Fraunce ſent for to be there at that day. On the whiche within the Church of Noſtre dame in the Citie of Paris, the King of Scotlande openly maried the ſayd Ladie Magdalen, in preſence of the king hir father, the king of Nauarre, ſeuen Cardinals, and dyuerſe great Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Lordes, Barons, Biſhops, and other.



After the ſolemnization of the Mariage, king Iames remayned in Fraunce, till the Moneth of May, paſſing the time with all kinde of pleaſure and diſport that might be deuiſed for his honourable entertainment.

Finally, the king and his wife Queene Magdalen tooke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter ende of Aprill, and ſo roade to Rouen, where they were receyued with great triumph, and from thence they paſſed downe the ryuer to Newhauen where they embarked, being accompanied by the Admirall of France, and many other noble men of the realme appoynted by the French king to attende vpon them into Scotlande, and ſo they ſayled forth

The king with his Queene returneth into Scotland.

with pleaſaunt winde and proſperous weather, through the Seas, vntill they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Lieth Hauen, the .xix. of May, in the yeare .1537. where a great number of Earles, Biſhoppes, Barons, and other Noble men and Gentlemen of Scotlande were readie to receyue them with paſſing ioy and gladneſſe, and from thence with greate tryumph they were conueyed to the Abbey of Holyroode houſe.

Queene Magdalen departeth this life.

This noble Ladie with hir louely countenance and ſeemely demeanour, at hir firſt arriuall wanne the loues and heartie good willes of all the Nobles and people of the Realme, & withall contented ſo highly the minde and fantaſie of the king hir huſband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and proſperitie to ſucceede within the realme, than at that preſent: but fortune enuying ſo greate felicitie, woulde not ſuffer them to continue any long tyme togyther: for aboute the ende of June ſhee fell ſicke of a vehement Feuer, whereof ſhee departed thys lyfe the tenth of Julye nexte enſuyng, and was buryed in the Churche of holye Roode houſe, for whoſe death the Kyng was ryghte ſorrowfull, and ſtyrred not abroade of a long time after.

The Ladye Glames and hir husbande conuict of treaſon.

In the Sommer of this yeare, the Ladie Glames, Syſter to the Earle of Angus was apprehended, and likewyſe hir Huſbande Dauid Lion, and both of them brought to Edenbourgh, where they were accuſed and conuict by an aſſiſe, for conſpiracie of the kings death: the ſayd Lady was burned, and hir huſband hanged, hir ſonne the Lord Glames, was alſo conuict for miſpriſion and concealement of that crime, and therefore forfalted of his landes, and condemned to die: but bycauſe he was yong and of tender yeares, the king pardoned him of life, and commaunded him to perpetuall priſon, in the whiche he remayned ſo long as the king liued.

The maſter of Forbes beheaded.

Shortly after John maiſter of the Forbes, and eldeſt ſonne to the Lord Forbes, who had maried a ſiſter of the ſayd Ladie Glames, was at Edenbourgh likewiſe indyted and conuict by an aſſiſe for the like conſpiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and hys heade and quarters ſet aloft vppon the gates of Edenbourgh. His father the Lorde Forbes vpon ſuſpition of the ſame conſpiracie was long after kept in priſon within the caſtell of Edenbourgh, but at length when nothing might be proued againſt him, he was releaſed and ſet at libertie.

Iuſtices appoynted to ſit in diuerſe partes of the realme.

This yere the king in September cauſed Juſtices to ſit in the north partes of the realme, and likewiſe in October, and in the winter following he cauſed the like to bee done in the South and weſt parts.

The king himſelfe was oftentymes preſent, aſſyſting the Lordes which he had appoynted his Commiſſioners for the furtheraunce of Juſtice, and maintenance therof through all partes of his realme.

The king is a suter for mariage to the Dutcheſſe of Longuile.

The king by the aduice of theſe noble men of his realme, thinking it neceſſary for him to match againe in mariage with ſome noble princeſſe, ſent into France vnto the Erle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton Abbot of Arbroth, his Ambaſſadors there reſident, willing them by the aduice of the French king, to treate for a mariage to bee had betwixt him and the Ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutcheſſe of Longuile, widdow, daughter to the Duke of Guiſe, and being aduertiſed from his ſayde Ambaſſadors, that the King of France, the Lady hir ſelfe, and hir friendes, were well contented therewith, he ſent in the beginning of May the Lorde Marwell, and the maiſter of Glencarne, well accompanied into Fraunce, to ioyne with hys other Ambaſſadours for the contracting of that maryage, the which according to their Commiſſion treated thereof, and concluded vpon reſolute articles, and ſo eſpouſed hir by procurators, as the vſe is among ſuch eſtates, with great triumph in the Citie of Paris, whereat the king and many noble men were preſent.

The mariage ſolemnized.

After this ſhe was conueyed to Newhauen, and there taking the Seas, paſſed through the ſame till ſhe came to Carell in Fife, where ſhee landed the tenth of June, and from thence ſhee was conueyed to the new Palace in the Abbay of Saint Andrewes, being honourably prepared for the receyuing of hir. And there the King accompanyed wyth manye Noble menne, openlye ſolemnized and confyrmed the foreſayde mariage with the ſayd Ladie in the Abbay Church, with great ioy and triumph.

The King with hys Queene remayned there the moſte part of that Sommer. And wythin a fewe Monethes after the maryage, ſhe conceyued wyth childe, to the greate comforte of the King and the whole Realme, for the hope of ſucceſſion thereby, and therefore generall Proceſſions and publike prayers were made through all partes of the Realme for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the ſame.

Great quietneſſe in Scotland.

After that the king had pacified the borders and all other partes of his realme by exerciſing of Juſtice, and trauailing about the ſame in his owne perſone through all places (where neede requyred) ſo that there was as greate quietneſſe, reſt, and policie vſed in Scotlande, as euer was in anye Kings dayes before him: Yet neuertheleſſe there were certaine diſobedient perſons in the Iſles.

The King therefore to bring them to order, cauſed to prepare a good nauie of ſhippes, and in

king ſay-
North-
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Orkney
others.

the Moneth of May went aboorde the ſame in the road of Lieth, hauing with him the Earles of Arrane, Huntley, Argile, and diuerſe other Erles, Lordes, and Barons, with whom he ſayled forth by the coaſtes of Fiffe, Angus, Aberdin, by Murrey fyrth, Southerlande, and Catheneſ, tyll hee came to Orkeney, where he landing and all hys companie with him, were receyued right honourably by the Biſhop Robert Maxwell. Here they furniſhed themſelues with freſh vittailes, and other ſuch things as were neceſſarie, and taking the ſeas againe, ſayled to the Iles of Skie, and Lewis, where Mac Clewd of the Lewis, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who ſent forth alſo a cõpanie vnto Mac Clewd haugh, who came likewiſe out of his Ile, and preſented himſelfe to the king.

From thence the king ſayled by the coaſt of Roſſe by Kyntaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerſe of the Maconiles, ſuch as the Lord Clagarty, Iohn Moydart and others, (who alledged themſelues to be of the principall bloud, and Lords of the Iles) were brought alſo to the kings preſence.

Iles
to
inder.

From thence trauayling through the reſidue of the Iles, Maclane, and Iames Macohile of Kinter, being the two principal Captaines of the ſmall Iles, came likewiſe to the king, who at length landed at Dunbretaine, and ſent the captayns and ſhips with priſoners to paſſe the ſame way he came rounde aboute the coaſt ſo to come to Edenbourgh, where the ſame priſoners beeing arriued, the chiefe heades of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their Countries, and were not ſuffred to depart ſo long as the king liued, whereby there followed greate quietneſſe, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout al the Iles, as there was in any part of the realm, and as good account and payment made to the kings Comptroller in his Exchequer, for the lands of the ſame Iles perteyning to the crowne, as for any part of the reuenues belonging thereunto within the maine land.

Queene
ed of

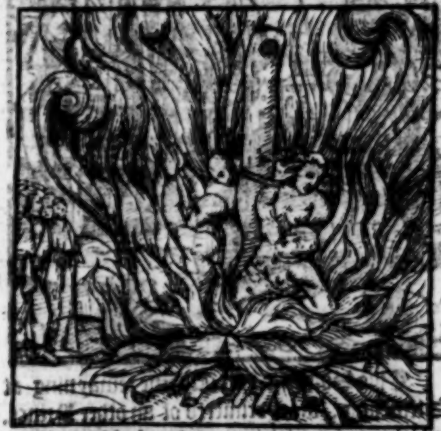
Whileſt the king was in this voyage, the Queene was deliuered of a ſonne at Saint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertiſed at hys landing, haſted with all poſſible diligence to the Queene, and ſhortly after was the childe baptiſed, and called Iames. The Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, and the Earle of Arrane were Godfathers, and the Queene the Kings mother was Godmother. For the byrth of this Prince, there were bonefires made through all partes of the Realme, wyth greate triumph and gyuing of thankes vnto God for the ſame.

The Queene mother departed this life.

After this the Queene, mother to the K. returned vnto Methwen, where after ſhe had remayned a certaine tyme, a ſickneſſe tooke hir, of the which ſhortly after ſhe departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouſe Churche of Saint Iohns Towne, by the Tombe of King Iames the firſt. The king himſelfe and many Nobles of the Realme were preſent at the funeralles, which were kept in moſt ſolemne and pompous maner.

Certaine perſons burnt for religion.

The ſame yeare, were burnt at Edenbourgh for hereſie, as it was then taken, a regular Chanon, two blacke Friers, and a ſecular man.



Alſo two Prieſtes were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall priſon.

The ſame time there was a gray Frier in the Citie of Glaſcew burnt for the like cauſe, and many other ſummoned, and bycauſe they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes.

The death of Iames Beton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.

About the ſame tyme, Iames Beton Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, a man of great age, departed this life, and was buried in Saint Andrewes. Before his departure, he had prouided ſucceſſors to all his benefices, firſt to his Archbiſhop his ſea, and to the Abbay of Arbroth, maiſter Dauid Beton, afterwards Cardinall, and to the Abbey of Dunfermling maiſter George Dury, that was Archdeane of Saint Androwes. These men without any gainſaying of the King entred with his good will into the ſame benefices, immediately after his deceaſe.

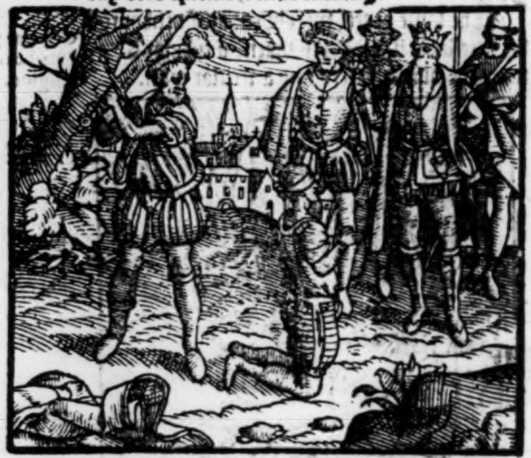
This Iames Beton buylded a great part of the new Colledge of Saint Andrewes, and left great ſummes of money & treaſure to go through to make an ende of the ſame worke.

1540

Sir Iames Hamilton areſted

This yeare in the moneth of Auguſt ſir Iames Hamilton of Finhart knight, remayning as then in the towne of Edenbourgh, was arreſted by Dauid Wood Comptroller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go vnto ward within the Caſtell of Edenbourgh, which commaundement he willingly obeyed, thinking himſelfe ſure ynough, as well by reaſon of the good ſeruice he had done to the king ſpecially in repairing the Palaces of Striueling & Linlithgow, as alſo for that the king had him in ſo high fauour, that he ſtoode in no feare of himſelfe at all. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after he was brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenbrough, of certaine poyntes of treaſon layde agaynſt him, which he would neuer confeſſe, but that notwithſtanding, he was beheaded the day of September next enſuing.

Sir Iames Hamilton beheaded.



This Sommer the Queene remayning at Striueling, was deliuered of an other Prince, which was baptiſed in the Chapel of Striueling, and cleped Arthure, but within eight dayes after, the ſame Prince deceaſſed at Striueling aforeſayde, and the verie ſame daye, Prince Iames the kings eldeſt ſonne being at Saint Andrewes departed this life alſo, in ſuch wiſe that there was but onely ſixe houres betwixt the time of theyr departures out of this worlde: which cauſed no leſſe lamentation through the whole Realme, than there was ioy at their byrthes.

The Queene deliuered of another ſonne.

The two yong princes departed this life.

After this, the Queene wente vnto Saint Iohns towne, where ſhe was honourably receyued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the Countrey, and from thence ſhee roade to Aberdine, the king being then come vnto hir, where by the Towne and Vniuerſitie, they were receyued with great ioy, triumph, Pageants, verſes, and playes, ſet forth in yͤ beſt maner for their paſtime. They remayned there the ſpace of fifteene dayes, and were highly enterteyned by the Biſhop of that place. There were exerciſes and diſputations helde in all kinde of ſciences in the Colledges and Schooles, with diuerſe Orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high prayſe and commendation of the maiſters and ſtudents in that Vniuerſitie.

The King and Queene at Aberdine.

From thence the king with the Queene returned to Dundee, where a coſtly entrie was prepared for them alſo; & after they had bin right princely enterteined there, they came to Falkelād.

In the Moneth of May, ſir Iohn Borthwike, commonlye called Capitayne Borthwike, ſuſpected, defamed, and accuſed of hereſie, was ſommoned to appeare in Saint Andrewes before the Cardinall, and diuerſe other Biſhops and Prelates there preſent, where notwithſtanding his abſence, the ſame being proued by ſufficient witneſſe agaynſt him (as was thought) hee was conuict and declared an heretike: An ymage was made to reſemble him, and at the Market croſſe of the ſayd Citie, as a ſigne and a memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare and example of other, but he himſelfe eſcaped their handes and got into Englande, where he was receyued.

Captain Borthwake accuſed of hereſie.

1541

The king of Englande ſendeth to the K. of Scotes.

This yeare the King of England aduertiſed of the meeting of the Emperor, the French King, and Pope, at the Citie of Nice, doubting ſome practice to be deuiſed there agaynſt him, ſent to the king of Scotland, the L. William Howard, deſiring him as his moſt tender kinſman and nephew, to meete him at the citie of Yorke in Englande, where he would communicate ſuch things with him, as ſhoulde be for the weale of both the realmes: and therewith the King of Englande truſting that the king of Scotlande would haue fulfilled his deſire, cauſed great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receyuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotlande was willing of himſelfe to haue paſſed into Englande, to haue met and ſeene his Vncle, yet after long reaſoning and deliberation of his Counſaile and Prelates aſſembled for that purpoſe, caſting in their mindes (as they tooke it) what daunger might fall to him and his realme, if he ſhould paſſe into Englande, in caſe he ſhould be ſtayed and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king Iames his predeceſſor was, hauing no ſucceſſion of his bodie: and againe, for that it was certainly knowne, that the principall cauſe why the King of Englande required this meeting or enteruiew, was to perſwade the king of Scotlande to vſe the like order in Scotlande, as he had done within his realme of England, in aboliſhing the Popes authoritie, making himſelfe ſupreme heade of the Churche, expulſing religious perſons oute of their houſes, and ſeaſing the iewels of their houſes, their lands and rentes, with ſuch like information: and if it chaunced their king ſhould attempt the like, they thought he ſhould loſe the friendſhip which was betwixt him, the Pope, the Emperor and French king, that were his great friendes and confederates. Herevpon they perſwaded him to ſtay, and by their aduiſe ſent pleaſant letters and meſſages vnto the ſayd king of Englande, deſiring him to haue him excuſed, for that he could not come into Englande at that time, hauing ſuch letters and cauſes of abyding at home, as ſhortly he ſhoulde vnderſtande by his Ambaſſadors, which he ment to ſende to him, as well for this matter as other cauſes.

ames
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1542
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cauſes. And ſhortly after ſir Iames Leyrmouth was appoynted to go as Ambaſſador into England, as well to make the kings excuſe for his not comming to meet the king of England at Yorke, as alſo to make complaint vpon certaine inuaſions made by the borderers of Englande into Scotland, and alſo for the vſing of the debatable ground betwixt the two Realmes. But the king of England ſore offended that the king of Scotlande woulde not ſatiſfie his requeſt, to meete him at Yorke (as before is recited) would admitte no excuſe, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scottiſhmen alledge, hee would not ſuffer the ſame to be vnderſtood, till he had prepared all things in a readineſſe: and in the meane time ſent Commiſſioners to meete with the Scots cõmiſſioners vpon the debatable groũd to talk for redreſſe to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good concluſion coulde be agreed vpon by theſe commiſſioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for reparing of wrongs done by inuaſions.

But that the truth concerning the cauſes of this warre moued at this preſent by that noble Prince king Henrie the. viij. may the better appeare, I haue thought good here to ſet downe the ſame as they were drawne forth and publiſhed in print to the whole worlde by the ſayde king in a little Phamplet vnder this title.

A declaration conteyning the iuſt cauſes and conſiderations of this preſent warre with the Scots, wherein alſo appeareth the true and right title that the kings moſt royal Maieſtie hath to his ſoueraintie of Scotlãd, and thus it beginneth.

declaration
the iuſt cau-
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nſt the
g of Scots.

BEing now enforced to the warre which wee haue alwayes hitherto ſo much abhorred and fled, by our neighbor & nephew the king of Scots, one who aboue al other for our manifold benefits towarde him, hath moſt iuſt cauſe to loue vs, to honor vs, and to reioice in our quietneſſe: we haue thought good to notifie vnto the worlde his doings and behauior in the prouocatiõ of this war, and likewiſe the meanes and wayes by vs to eſchew and auoyd it, and the iuſt and true occaſions whereby we be now prouoked to proſecute the ſame, and by vtterãce and deuulging of that matter, to diſburden ſome part of our inwarde diſpleaſure and griefe: and the circumſtaunces knowne, to lament openly with the worlde the infidelitie of this time, in which things of ſuche enormitie do bruſt out and appeare. The king of Scottes our nephew and neighbour, whom wee in his youth and tender age preſerued and maintayned from the great daunger of other, and by our authoritie and power, conducted him ſafely to the royall poſſeſſion of his eſtate, he now compelleth and enforceth vs for preſeruation of our honour and right, to vſe our puiſſaunce and power agaynſt him. The lyke vnkindneſſe hath bene heretofore ſhewed by other in ſemblable caſes, agaynſt Gods lawe, mans lawe, and all humanitie: but the oftener it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the perſons of Princes, for the raritie of them can ſo happen but ſeldome, as it hath now come to paſſe. It hath bene verie rarely and ſeldome ſeene before, that a king of Scottes hath had in maryage a daughter of Englande. We cannot, ne will not reprehende the king our fathers acte therein, but lament and be ſorie it toke no better effect. The king our father in that matter mynded loue, amitie, and perpetual friendſhip betweene the poſteritie of both, which how ſone it fayled, the death of the King of Scottes, as a due puniſhment of God, for his vniuſt inuaſion into this our Realme, is and ſhal be a perpetuall teſtimonie of theyr reproch for euer, and yet in that preſent time coulde not the vnkindneſſe of the father extinguiſh in vs the naturall loue of our nephew his ſonne, being then in the miſerable age of tender youth: but we thẽ forgetting the diſpleaſure that ſhould haue worthily prouoked vs to inuade that realm, nouriſhed and brought vp our nephew, to atchieue his fathers poſſeſſiõ & gouernmẽt, wherein he now ſo vnkindly vſeth and behaueth himſelfe towards vs, as he cõpelleth vs to take armor & warre agaynſt him. It is ſpecially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be cõpelled to this war, wherein among other is our chiefe griefe and diſpleaſure, that vnder a colour of faire ſpeech & flattering wordes, we be in deed ſo iniuried, cõtemned and deſpiſed, as we ought not with ſufferance to permit, and paſſe ouer: wordes, writings, letters, meſſages, ambaſſades, excuſes, allegations, could not more pleaſantly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuiſed & ſent, than hath bin made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs, & euer we truſted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of ſo good a ſtocke, and cõtinually in apparance put forth ſo fayre buddes: and therfore would hardly beleeue or giue eare to other, that euer alledged the deedes of the contrarie, being neuertheleſſe the ſame deeds ſo manifeſt as we muſt needes haue regarded them, had not we beene ſo loth to thinke euill of our nephew, whom we had ſo many ways boũd to be of the beſt ſort toward vs, and therefore hauing a meſſage ſent vnto vs the yeare paſt from our ſayde nephew, and a promiſe made for the repayring of the ſayde King of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, and after greate preparation on our part made therefore, the ſame meeting was not onely diſappoynted, but alſo at our being at Yorke in the lieu therof, an inuaſion made by our ſayd nephew his ſubiectes into our lande, declaring an euident contempt and diſpite of vs: we were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduiſe of his counſaile, and the inuaſion of the lewdneſſe of his ſubiectes, and according thereunto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to ſuch Ambaſſadours as repayred hither at Chriſtmaſſe afterwarde, as if no ſuch cauſe of diſpleaſure had occurred, ſpecially conſidering the good wordes, ſweete wordes, pleaſant wordes, eftſoones proponed by the ſayde Ambaſſadors, not onely to excuſe that was paſt, but alſo to perſwade kindneſſe and perfite amitie to enſue.

And albeit the king of Scottes hauing contrarie to the article of the league of amitie receyued and interteyned ſuche rebels as were of the chief and principal, in ſtirring the inſurrection in the North agaynſt vs, with refuſall before time, vpon requeſt made to reſtore the ſame, yet neuertheleſſe, vpon offer made, the ſayde Ambaſſadors to ſende commiſſion to the borderers, to determin the debates of the confines in the ſame with ſo great a pretence of amitie, and ſo fayre words as coulde be in ſpeech deſired, we were content for the time to forbeare to preſſe them ouer extremely in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the ſame, but deſirous to make triall of oure ſayde nephew in ſome correſpondence of deedes, condiſcended to the ſending of Commiſſioners to the borders, which to our great charge wee did, and the king of Scottes our ſayde nephew the ſemblable: where after great trauaile made by our Commiſſioners, this fruite enſued, that being for our part chalenged, a peece of our grounde plainly vſurped by the Scottes, and of no greate value, being alſo for the ſame ſhewed ſuche euidence, as more ſubſtanciall, more autentique, plaine and euident, cannot bee brought forth for any part of grounde within our Realme: the ſame was neuertheleſſe by them denied, refuſed, and the euidence onely for this cauſe reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Engliſhmen. and yet it was ſo auncient, as it coulde not bee counterfeyt now, and the value of the ground ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weight as no man woulde haue attempted to falſifie for ſuch a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wiſe made vnto our Commiſſioners, they neuertheleſſe by our commaundement departed as friends from the commiſſioners of Scotlande, taking order as hath beene accuſtomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their receſſe, the Lorde Marwell warden of the weſt Marches of Scotland, made Proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotlād ſhould withdrawe their goodes from the borderers of Englande, and incontinent the Scottiſh men borderies, the fourth of July entred into our Realme ſodainly, and ſpoyled our ſubiectes contrarie to our leagues, euen after ſuch extremitie as it hath beene in the time of open warre: whereat we much marueyled, and were compelled therefore to furniſh our borders with a garriſon for defence of the ſame. Whereupon the king of Scots ſent vnto vs James Leyrmouth maiſter of his houſholde, with letters deuiſed in the moſt pleaſaunt maner, offring redreſſe and reformation of all attemptes. And yet neuertheleſſe, at the entrie of the ſayd Leyrmouth into England, a great number of the Scottes then not looked for, made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our ſubiects, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith, and with that vnſeemly diſſimulation, we were not a little moued, as reaſon woulde wee ſhould: and yet did we not finally ſo extremely proſecute and continue our ſayde diſpleaſure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the ſayd Leyrmouth, and ſuffred our ſelfe to bee ſomewhat altered by his wordes and fayre promiſes, tending to the perſwaſion that we euer deſired to find the king of Scottes ſuch a nephew vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud, with our gratuitie vnto him did require.

In the meane time of theſe fayre wordes, the deedes of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our ſubiects ſpoyled: and in a road made by ſir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert Bowes, ŵ many other were taken priſoners, & yet deteyned in Scotlād without putting them to fine or raunſome, as hath beene euer accuſtomed. And being at the ſame time a ſurſeyance made on both ſides, at the ſuyte of the ſayde Leyrmouth for a ſeaſon: the Scottes ceaſed not to make ſundry inuaſions into our realm, in ſuch wiſe, as we were compelled to forget faire wordes, and onely to conſider the king of Scots deedes, which appeared vnto vs of that ſort, as they ought not for our duetie in defence of oure ſubiects, ne could not in reſpect of our honour, be paſſed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readineſſe our armie as a due meane whereby we might attaine ſuch a peace, as for the ſafegarde of our ſubiects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scottes ceaſed not to vſe his accuſtomed meane of fayre wordes, which in our naturall inclination wrought eftſoones theyr accuſtomed effect, euermore deſirous to finde in the King of Scottes ſuch regarde and reſpect to be declared in deedes, as the correſpondence of naturall loue in the nephew to ſuche an vncle as we haue ſhewed our ſelfe towarde him, doth requice. Wherefore vpon new requeſt and ſuyte made vnto vs, we determined to ſtay oure armie at Yorke, appoynting the Duke of Norfolke ſolke our Lieutenant, the Lorde priuy ſeale, the Biſhop of Durham, & the Maſter of our horſes, there to commen, treate, and conclude with the Imbaſſadours of Scotland, for an amity and peace, vpon ſuche condition, as by reaſon and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eſchewed, being by ſundry inuaſions of the Scottes then opened and manifeſte. In this communication betweene our and their commiſſioners, after diuers degrees of commiſſion ſhewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by our Commiſſioners allowed, matters were proponed for concluſion of amitie, nothing difficile or harde of our parte, but ſo agreeable to reaſon, as the commiſſioners of Scotland ſayde they doubted not but if it might be brought to paſſe that the King of Scottes our Nephewe might haue a meeting with vs, al matters ſhuld eaſily be componed and determined: wherevpon they left ſpeaking of any articles of amity, and the Imbaſſadours of Scotlande made muche outwarde ioy in cõmunicatiõ of meeting. They ſhewed themſelues in wordes, faſhion and behauiour much to delight in it, to reioyce in it, and therewith, thought it eaſie and facile to bee concluded and accompliſhed, and for their parte they tooke it then for a thing paſſed, a thing concluded, and moſt certayne to take effect, and only deſired ſixe dayes to obtayne anſweare from their Maſter, and our army from that time to ſtay and goe no further: whereunto our Commiſſioners then agreed. After theſe ſixe dayes was ſent a commiſſion out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting preciſely at ſuch a place, as they knew wel we ſhould not, ne could not in Winter obſerue and keepe, wherewith when our Cõmiſſioners were miſcõtent, the Imbaſſadours of Scotlande to releue that diſpleaſure, and to temper the matter whereby to winne more tyme, ſhewed forth their inſtructions, wherein liberty was giuen to the Imbaſſadours to exceede their commiſſion in the appointment of the place, and to conſent to any other ẏ by our commiſſioners ſhould be thought conuenient: which manner of proceeding when our Cõmiſſioners refuſed, alleaging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commiſſion thereunto, the Imbaſſadours of Scotland vpon pretence to ſende for a more ample and large commiſſion, agreeable to their inſtructions for appoyntment of the place, obtayned a delay of other ſixe dayes to ſende for the ſayde ample commiſſion without reſtraint of place: And after theſe ſixe dayes they brought forth a newe commiſſion, made in a good forme and without exception: but therewith alſo they ſhewed newe inſtructions, contayning ſuche a reſtraynt as the former commiſſion did cõtaine, ſo as the liberty giuen to the Commiſſioners in the commiſſion was now at the laſte remoued and taken away by the inſtructions, with addition of a ſpeciall charge to the Imbaſſadours, not to exceede the ſame. And thus firſt the Imbaſſadours of Scotland ſeemed to haue a will and deſire to conclude a place ſeemely and conuenient, whiche for want of commiſſion they might not do, and at the laſt might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commiſſiõ, and then for feare of the commaundement in their ſecond inſtructions they durſt not. And ſo they ſhewed their firſt inſtructions partly to excuſe their King, who ſhould ſeeme ſecretely to will more, than in the commiſſion he did openly profeſſe. And then with an ample commiſſiõ from the King they ſhewed their ſecrete inſtructions for defence of themſelues, why they proceeded not according to their commiſſion, not caring how much they charged therin the king, whoſe faulte they diſcloſed, to diſcharge themſelues, truſtyng that by benefite of the Winter approching, and the time loſt in their communicatiõ, their Maſter ſhould be defended againſt our power for this yeere, without doing for their parte that by honour, right lawe, and leagues they be obliged and bounde to do. And in this meane time our ſubiectes being taken pryſoners in Scotlande, coulde not be deliuered vpon any raunſome, contrary to all cuſtome and vſage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre. And in this meane tyme ſtayed a great part of our army already preſſed, and in our wages to go forwarde. In this time Imbaſſadours (as ye haue heard) aſſembled to talke of an amitie, but cõcluded none. The treating of amity was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was ſo handled by alteration of commiſſion and inſtructions on their behalf, as it appeareth a playne deuice only inuented for a delay, whiche hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certaynely to iudge the King of Scottes inward affection towarde vs, whoſe deedes and wordes well wayed and conſidered, doth vs plainely to vnderſtande how he hath cõtinually labored to abuſe vs with ſweete and pleaſant wordes, & to falſifie the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkinde & diſpleaſant deedes. In his wordes he profeſſeth an indiſſoluble amity, he alledgeth kinred, he knowledgeth benefites, onely the faulte is, that hee ſpeaketh an other language to all the worlde in deedes, and thereby ſo toucheth vs in honour and denegation of Iuſtice, as we be inforced and compelled to vſe the ſworde whiche God hath put in our handes as an extreeme remedy, whereby to obtayne bothe quietneſſe for our ſubiectes, and alſo that is due vnto vs by right, pactes and leagues. Wee haue paciently ſuffered many deluſions, and notably the laſte yeere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs. But ſhould we ſuffer our people and ſubiectes to be ſo oft ſpoyled without remedy? this is done by the Scottes what ſoeuer their wordes be. Should wee ſuffer our rebels to be detayned cōtrary to the leagues without remedy? this is alſo done by them what ſoeuer their wordes be. Should wee ſuffer our lande to be vſurped contrary to our moſt plaine euidence, onely vpon a will, pryde, & arrogancie of the other party? this is done by them whatſoeuer their wordes be. And all theſe be ouer preſumptuouſly done agaynſt vs, and giue ſuche ſignification of their arrogancy, as it is neceſſary for vs to oppreſſe it in the beginning, leaſt they ſhould gather further courage, to the greater diſpleaſure of vs and our poſterity hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if wee had not euidently perceiued the lacke of ſuch affection as proximity of bloud ſhould require, we would much rather haue remitted theſe iniuries in reſpect of proximity of bloud to our Nephew, than we did heretofore the inuaſiō of his father. But conſidering we be ſo ſurely aſcertayned of the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there frozen with the colde ayre of Scotlande, there was neuer Prince more violently compelled to warre, than we be by the vnkind dealing, vniuſt behauiour, vnprincely demeanor of him that yet in nature is our Nephew, and in his actes and deedes, declareth himſelfe not to be moued therwith, ne to haue ſuch earneſt regarde to the obſeruation of his pactes and leagues, ne ſuch reſpect to the intertaynement of the adminiſtration of Juſtice, as naturall equitie bindeth, and conſeruation of equity doth require: whiche wee much lament and be ſory for, and vſe nowe our force and puiſſance againſt him, not for reuēgement of our priuate diſpleaſure (beyng ſo often deliuered as wee haue bene) but for recouery of our right, the preſeruation of our ſubiectes from iniuries, and the obſeruation of ſuche leagues as haue paſſed betweene vs, firmely truſting, that almighty God vnder whome we raygne, will aſſiſt and ayde our iuſt proceedings herein to the furtheraunce and aduancement of the right, whiche wee doubte not ſhall euer preuayle againſt wrong, falſhood, deceyte, and diſſimulation. Hitherto it appeareth howe this preſent warre hath not proceeded of any demaūd of our right of ſuperiority, whiche the Kings of Scots haue alwayes knowledged by homage & fealty to our progenitors euē from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked & occaſioned vpō preſent matter of diſpleaſure, preſent iniury, preſent wrong miniſtred by the Nephewe to the Vncle moſt vnnaturally, & ſupported contrary to the deſertes of our benefits moſt vnkindly, if we had minded the poſſeſſion of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attayne the ſame, there was neuer King of this realme had more opportunitie in the minority of our Nephew, ne in any other realme a Prince that hath more iuſt title, more euident title, more certaine title, to any realme that he can clayme, than we haue to Scotland, not deuiſed by pretēce of mariage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineally deſcended from the beginnyng of that eſtate eſtabliſhed by our progenitors, and recogniſed ſucceſſiuely of the Kings of Scotlād, by deedes, wordes, actes and writings continually almoſt without interruption, or at the leaſt intermiſſion, till the raigne of our progenitor King Henry the ſixte, in whoſe time the Scots abuſed the ciuil warre of this realme, to their licence and boldneſſe, in omitting of their duetie: whiche for the proximity of bloud betweene vs, we haue bene ſlacke to require of them, beyng alſo of our ſelfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer ben alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omitte to demaund our right if it might conſerue peace, than by demaunding thereof to be ſeene to moue warre, ſpecially agaynſt our neyghbour, agaynſt our Nephew, againſt him whom we haue preſerued from daunger, and in ſuch a time as it were expedient for al Chriſtendome to be in vnitie and peace, wherby to be more able to reſiſt the common enimy the Turke.

But for what conſiderations we haue omitted to ſpeake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheleſſe true, that the kings of Scottes haue alwayes knowledged the Kings of England ſuperior Lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and haue done homage & fealty for the ſame. This appeareth firſt by Hiſtory written by ſuche as for confirmation of the truthe in memory haue truly noted and ſignified the ſame. Secondly it appeareth by inſtruments of homage made by the Kings of Scottes and diuers notable perſonages of Scotlande, at diuers ſundry tymes ſealed with their ſeales, and remayning in our Treaſory. Thirdly it appeareth by Regiſters and Recordes iudicially & autentiquely made, yet preſerued for confirmation of the ſame. So as the mater of title being moſte playne, is furniſhed alſo with all manner of euidences for declaration thereof. Firſt as concernyng Hiſtories which be called witneſſes of times, the light of truth, and the lyfe of memory, and finally the conuenient way and meane, whereby the thinges of antiquity may be brought to mens knowledge, they ſhewe as playnly this matter as could bee wyſhed or requyred, with ſuche a conſent of wryters, as coulde not ſo agree vpon an vntruth, contayning a declaration of ſuche matter as hath moſte euident probabilitye and apparance. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better adminiſtration of Iuſtice amongſt rude people, twoo or more of one eſtate might be rulers in one countrey, vnited as this Iſle is: ſo it is probable and likely, that in the beginnyng it was ſo ordered for auoyding diſſention, that there ſhoulde be one Superiour, in right of whome the ſayd eſtates ſhould depend.

According wherevnto we reade, how Brute of whome the Realme then called Brytayne tooke firſt that name, (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Gyaunts, people without order or ciuility) had three Sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determining to haue the whole Iſle within the Ocean ſea to bee after gouerned by them three, appoynted Albanact to rule that now is called Scotlande, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whome as beyng the eldeſt Sonne, the other twoo bretherne ſhould do homage, recognyſing, and knowledging him as their ſuperior.

Nowe conſider if Brutus conquered all this Iland, as the Hiſtory ſayth he did, and then in his owne tyme made this order of ſuperiority as afore: howe can there be a title deuiſed of a more plaine beginning, a more iuſt beginning, a more conuenient beginnyng, for the order of this Iland, at that time ſpecially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continuall ſtryfe and variaunce contayne twoo or three rulers in all poyntes equall without any manner of ſuperiority, the inwarde conſcience and remorſe of whiche ſuperiority ſhoulde in ſome parte dull and diminiſhe the peruerſe courage of reſiſtence and rebellion.

The firſt diuiſiō of this Iſle, wee finde written after this ſorte, without cauſe of ſuſpition why they ſhoulde write amiſſe. And according herevnto wee finde alſo in Hiſtory ſet forth by diuers, how for tranſgreſſion againſt this ſuperiority, our predeceſſours haue chaſtiſed the kings of Scottes, and ſome depoſed & put other in their places: we will here omitte to ſpeake of the rudeneſſe of the antiquity in particularity, whiche they cared not diſtinctly to committe to writing, but ſome authors, as *Anthonius Sabellicus* amongs other diligently enſearchyng what he might truly wryte of all Europe and the Ilandes adioyning, ouer and beſides that whiche he wryteth of the natures, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who ſo liſte to reade, ſhall finde to haue bene the very ſame in times paſte, that wee finde them nowe at this preſent, he calleth Scotland, parte of England, whiche is agreeable to the diuiſion aforeſayde being in deede as in the lande continuall without ſeparation of the Sea, ſo alſo by homage and fealty, vnited vnto the ſame, as by particular declarations ſhall moſt manifeſtly appeere, by the teſtimony of ſuche as haue lefte wrytyng for proofe and confirmation thereof.

In whiche matter paſſing the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald King of this realme, the diuiſion of Belyn and Brenne, the victories of king Arthur, we ſhall beginne at the yeare of our Lorde D. C C C C. whiche is a D.Cxlij. yeares paſſe, a time of ſufficient auncienty, from which we ſhal make ſpeciall declaration & euident proofe of the execution of our right and title of ſuperiority euermore continued and preſerued hitherto.

Edwarde the firſte before the conqueſt, Sonne to Alured King of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and manifeſt, as Maryon a Scot wrytyng that ſtory in thoſe dayes, graunteth, confeſſeth, and teſtifieth the ſame: and this dominion continued in that ſtate xxiij. yeares.

At whiche tyme Athelſtane ſucceeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Conſtantine king of that party, to rule and gouerne the country of Scotlande vnder him, addyng this Princely worde, that it was more honorable to him to make a King, than to be a King. Xxiiij. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde, 947, Eldred King our progenitour Athelſtanes brother, tooke homage of Iriſe then King of Scottes. Xxx. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord 977, King Edgar our predeceſſour tooke homage of Kynald kyng of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of Saint Edward kyng and Martyr, deſtroyed by the deceyte of his Mother in lawe: but yet within memory, xl. yeares after the homage done by Kynald to kyng Edgare, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lorde 1018, Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to Knute our predeceſſour.

After this homage done, the Scottes vttered ſome peece of their naturall diſpoſition, whervpon by warre made by our progenitour Sainct Edwarde the Confeſſor, xxxix. yeare after homage done, that is to ſay, the yeare of our Lorde 1056, Malcolme king of Scottes was vanquiſhed, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his Sonne, by our ſayde progenitour S. Edwarde: vnto whome the ſayde Malcolme made homage and fealty, within eleuen yeares after that William Conquerour entred this realme, whereof hee accompted no perfect conqueſt, untill hee had likewyſe ſubdued the Scottes, and therefore in the ſayde yeare which was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1068, the ſayde Malcolme King of Scottes did homage to the ſayde William Conquerour, as his ſuperiour by conqueſt King of England. Xxv. yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord, 1093, the ſayde Malcolme did homage and fealty to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſayde William Conquerour, and yet after that was for his offences and demerites depoſed, and his ſonne ſubſtitute in his place, who lykewiſe fayled of his duetie: and therefore was ordeyned in that eſtate by the ſayde William Rufus, Edgar brother to the laſt Malcolme, & ſonne to the firſt, who did homage & fealty accordingly.

Seven yeares after, that was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1100, the ſayde Edgar King of Scottes did homage to Henry the firſt our progenitour. xxxviij. yeare after that David King of Scottes did homage to Mathild the Empreſſe, as daughter and heyre to Henry the firſte. Wherefore beyng after required by Stephen, then obtayning poſſeſſion of the realme, to make his homage, he refuſed ſo to do, bicauſe he had before made it to the ſayde Mathild and thereupon forbare. After which Davids death, whiche enſued ſhortely after, the Sonne of the ſayde David made homage to the ſayde King Stephen. Xiiij. peares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde. M.Cl. William king of Scottes, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotlande, made homage to Henry the ſeconds ſonne, with a reſervation of their duety to Henry the ſecond his father. xxv. yeres after, which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1175. William king of Scotlande after muche rebellion and reſiſtence, accordyng to their naturall inclination, King Henry the ſecond then beyng in Normandy, William then king of Scottes knowledged finally his errour, and made his peace and compoſition, confirmed with his great ſeale, and the ſeales of the nobility of Scotland, makyng therewith his homage and fealty.

Within. xv. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lorde, 1190. the ſayde William kyng of Scottes came to our Citie of Cantorbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richarde the firſt. Xiiij. yeares after that the ſayde William did homage to our progenitour king John, upon a hil beſides Lincolne, makyng his othe upon the croſſe of Hubert then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, beyng their preſent, a marvelous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe. Xxvj. yeares after that. whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1216, Alexander King of Scottes maried Margarete, the daughter of our progenitour Henry the thirde, at our Citty of Yorke, in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, at whiche tyme the ſayde Alexander dyd his homage to our ſayd progenitour, who raigned in this realme lvj. yeares. And therefore betweene the homage made by the ſayde Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, ſonne to the ſayde king of Scots, to Edwarde the firſte at his Coronation at Weſtminſter, there was aboute fifty yeares, at whiche tyme the ſayd Alexander king of Scots repayred to the ſayde feaſt of Coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforeſayd. Within xxviij. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde, 1282, John Baliol Kyng of Scots made his homage, and fealty to the ſayd king Edwarde the firſte our progenitour.

After this beganne Robert Bruſe to uſurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to move ſedition therefore, againſt them of the houſe of Balliol, whiche made for a ſeaſon ſome interruption in the ſayde homage, but yet no intermiſſion without the termes of memory. for within. xliiij. yeares after, which was the yeere of our Lorde, 1326, Edward Balliol after a greate victory had in Scotland agaynſt the other faction, and enioying the crowne of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thirde. And twenty yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde. 1346, David Bruſe, who was ever in the contrary faction, did neverthe leſſe in the Title of the crowne of Scotlande, wherof he was then in poſſeſſion, make homage to our ſayde progenitour Edwarde the thirde.

Within. ix. yeres after this, Edward yͤ third, to chaſtiſe the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre agaynſt them: when after greate victories, Edward Balliol having the iuſt and right title to the realme of Scotland, ſurrendred clearly the ſame to our ſayde progenitour, at the towne of Rokeſborough in Scotlande, where our ſayde progenitour accepted the ſame, and then cauſed himſelfe to be crowned Kyng of Scotlande, and for a tyme entertayned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on the one party by confiſcation acquited, and on the other part by free will ſurrendred unto him. And then after the death of our ſayde progenitour Edwarde the thirde beganne ſedicions and inſurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Richard the ſecond, whiche was augmented by the alteration of the ſtate of the ſayde Richarde, and the devolution of the ſame, to Henry the fourth, ſo as the Scottes had ſome leyſure to play their vagues, and follow their accuſtomed manner. And yet Henry the fifth for recovery of his righte in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende upon him in that iourney. And in this

time

ſince the realme of Scotlande beyng diſcended to the houſe of the Stewardes, of whiche our Nephew directly commeth.

James Stewarde kyng of Scottes in the yeere of our Lorde. 1423, made homage to Henry the ſixte at Windſore, whiche homage was diſtaunt frõ the time of the other homage, made by Dauid Bruſe. lx. yeares and more, but farre within the freſhe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by ſtory to haue bene made and done at times and ſeaſons as afore, ſo do there remayne inſtrumentes made thervpõ, and ſealed with the ſeales of the kings of Scotlande teſtifying the ſame. And yet doth it appeare by ſtory, how the Scottes practiſed to ſteale out of our treaſury diuers of theſe inſtrumentes, whiche neuertheleſſe were afterwarde recouered againe.

And to the intent yee may knowe of what fourme and tenour the ſayd inſtrumẽts be, here is inſerted, the effect in worde and ſentence as they be made, whiche we do, to meete with the cauillation and contriued euaſion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntington, whiche is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to ſay he was cut with a ſickle: And therfore the tenour of the homage is this.

I John N. king of Scottes ſhalbe true and faythfull vnto you Lord Edwarde by the grace of God king of Englande, the noble and ſuperiour Lorde of the kingdome of Scotlande, as vnto you I make my fidelity of the ſame kingdome of Scotlande, the whiche I holde and clayme, to hold of you, and I ſhall beare to you my fayth and fidelity of life and limme, and worldly honour agaynſt all men, and faythfully I ſhall knowledge, and ſhall do to you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforeſayde, as God ſo helpe and theſe holy Euangelies.

Now for the thirde part touching Recordes and Regiſters, we haue them ſo formall, ſo autentiquall, ſo ſeriouſly handled and with ſuche circumſtaunces declaryng the matters as they be and ought to be, a great corroboration of that hath bene in Stories written and reported in this matter. For amongs other things we haue the ſolempne acte and iudiciall proceſſe of our progenitour Edwarde the firſt, in diſcuſſion of of the Title of Scotland, when the ſame was chalenged by twelue competitours, that is to ſay,

Florentius comes Holandie.
Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.
Willielmus de Veſci.
Willielmus de Ros.
Robertus de Pinkeni.
Nicholaus de Soules.
Patritius Galighely.
Rogerus de Mundeuile.
Ioannes de Comyn.
D. Ioannes de Haſtings.
Ioannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruſe.
Ericius rex Norwegie.

And finally, after a great conſultation and mature deliberation, with diſcuſſion of the allegations proponed on all parties, ſentence was giuen for the Title of Balliol, according wherevnto, he enioyed the realme, but for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obſerued by the Kings of Scottes, it appeareth in thoſe Recordes, howe when thoſe competitours of the realme of Scotlande repayred to our ſayde progenitour, as to the chiefe Lorde for diſcuſſion of the ſame, in as much as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended therevpon: it was then ordered that the whole Parliament of Scotlande, ſpirituall, temporall, and of all degrees aſſembled for that purpoſe, and conſideryng vpon what grounde and fundation the Kings of Scotland had in times paſt made the ſayde homages and recognition of ſuperiority, the ſaid Parliament findyng the ſame good and true, ſhoulde if they ſo deemed it, yeelde and gyue place, and by expreſſe conſent recogniſe the ſame.

At whiche Parliament was alleged vnto them, as appeareth in the ſame Recordes, not onely theſe Actes of the Princes before thoſe dayes, and before rehearſed: but alſo beſides the teſtimony of ſtories, the wrytings and letters of foreyne Princes at that tyme recityng and rehearſing the ſame: wherevpon the ſayd Parliament dyd there agree to this our ſuperioritie; and enſuyng their determination did particularly and ſeuerally make homage and fealty with proclamation, that who ſoeuer withdrew himſelfe from doing his dutie therein, ſhoulde be reputed as a rebell.

And ſo all made homage and fealty to our progenitour Edwarde the firſte. And the realme of Scotlande was in the time of the diſcuſſion of the Title ruled by Gardiãs deputed by him; all Caſtels and holdes were ſurrendred to him as to the ſuperiour Lorde, in the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions paſſed in that tyme from the meere gifte of our ſayde progenitour, as in the right of this crowne of Englande, Shyriffes named and appoynted, writtes and precepts made, obeyed and executed: and finally all that we do now in the Duchie of Lancaſter, the ſame did our progenitour for the tyme of the contention for that Title in the realme of Scotlande, by the conſent of an agreement of all eſtates of the realme aſſembled and conſulted with for that purpoſe. At whiche tyme the Biſhops of S. Andrewes and Glaſquo, were not as they now be Archbiſhops, but recogniſed the Archbyſhop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer all that country.

Now if the Scottes will take exception to the homage of their Princes as made in warre, and by force whiche is not true: what will they ſay: or can they for ſhame alledge agaynſt their owne Parliament, not of ſome but of all confirmed, and teſtified by theyr writings & ſeales: whereunto nothing enforced them but righte and reaſon, beyng paſſed in peace & quiet without armour or compulſion. If they ſay they did it not, they ſpeake lyke thēſelues: if they ſay they did it, then do they now lyke themſelfe, to withdrawe their duetie, not ſo much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth vnto you the beginnyng of the right of ſuperiority, with a perpetuall cōtinuance, without intermiſſion within memory, certayne omiſſions and forbearyngs vpō the groundes and occaſions before ſpecified we denie not, whereby they haue many tymes ſought and taken their oportunities, to withdrawe the doing of their duety in knowledge of our ſuperioritie ouer them, whiche to auoyde, they haue not cared what they ſayde or alledged, though it were neuer ſo vntrue, lying alwayes in a wayte when they might annoy this realme, not without theyr owne greate daunger and perill, & alſo extreeme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their duety, ſo God graūted vnto this realme force to compell them thervnto within memory, and notwithſtandyng any their interruption by reſiſtaunce, whiche vnto the tyme of our progenitour Henry the ſixte, neuer endured ſo long as it made intermiſſion within tyme of minde, whereby the poſſeſſion might ſeeme to be empayred: from the time of Henry the ſixte vnto the ſeuenth yeare of our raygne, our realme hath bene for a ſeaſon lacerate, and torne by diuerſitie of Titles, till our tyme, and ſithence by warre outwardly vexed and troubled, the ſtory is ſo lamentable for ſome part thereof, as were to tedious to rehearſe.

Sithence the death of our progenitour Henry the ſixte, our Graundfather Edwarde the fourth raygned, who after greate trauayles to attayne quietneſſe in his realme, finally in the tyme of preparation of warre agaynſt Scotland died.

Richarde the thirde, then vſurped for a ſmall tyme in yeares, whom the King our father by ẏ ſtrength of Gods hande ouerthrew in battayle, and moſte iuſtly attayned the poſſeſſion of this realme, who neuertheleſſe after the great tempeſtuous ſtormes, findyng all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and reſte, ceaſſed and forbare to requyre of the Scottes to do their duety, thinkyng it policy rather for that time to aſſay to tame their nature by the pleaſant coniunction and conuerſation of affinity, than to charge them with their faulte, and requyre duety of them, when oportunity ſerued not by force and feare to conſtraint and compell them.

And thus paſſed ouer the raygne of our Father without demaunde of this homage. And beyng our raygne nowe. xxxiiij. yeares, we were. xxj. yeares letted by our Nephew his minoritie, beyng then more carefull how to bring him out of daunger, to the place of a kyng, than to receyue of him homage, when we had full poſſeſſion of the ſame. Wherefore beyng nowe paſſed, ſithence the laſte homage made by the King of Scottes, to our progenitour Henry the ſixte 122. yeares, at whiche tyme the homage was done at Windſore by James Steward, then King of Scots, as afore, fiftie ſixe of theſe yeares the Crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof engendred alſo ſome buſineſſe in the tyme of the King our Father, whiche was. xxiiij. yeare: and in our tyme, xxj. yeares hath paſſed in the minority of our Nephew. So as finally, the Scottes reſorting to their onely defence of diſcontinuance of poſſeſſion, can onely alledge iuſtly but. xiij. yeare of ſilence in the tyme of our raygne beyng all the other times ſithence the homage done by James Stewarde, ſuch, as the ſilence in them (had they bene neuer ſo long) could not haue engendred preiudice to the loſſe of any right that may yet be declared and proued one. For what can be imputed to King Edwarde for not demaundyng homage beyng in ſtryfe for that eſtate, whereunto the homage was due? What ſhoulde Richarde the thirde ſearche for homage in Scotlande, that had neyther right ne leyſure to haue homage done vnto him in Englande? who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they would eſchew if they might, beyng his realme not clearly then purged from ill ſeede of ſedition, ſparkled and ſcattered in the cruell ciuile warres before?

Lawe and reaſon ſerueth, that the paſſing ouer of tyme not commodious, that the purpoſe is not alledgeable in preſcription for the loſſe of any right. And the minority of the King of Scots hath endured. xxj. yeares of our raigne, whiche beyng an impediment on theyr parte, the whole preſcription of the Scots, if the matter were preſcriptible, is thus deduced euidently to. xiij. yeare, whiche. xiij. yeare without excuſe we haue ceaſſed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottes haue lykewiſe ceaſſed to offer and tender the ſame, for which cauſe neuertheleſſe we do not enter this warre ne minded to demaunde any ſuche matter now being, rather deſirous to reioyce and take comforte in the frendſhip of our Nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of diſpleaſure, whereby to alienate ſuche naturall inclination of loue as he ſhoulde haue towarde vs: but ſuche be the workes of God ſuperiour ouer all, to ſuffer occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby our ſuperioritie may be knowne, demaūded ⁊ required, to yͤ intent yͭ according therevnto al things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleaſure paſſe ouer this life to his honour and glory whiche he graunt vs to do, in ſuche reſte, peace, ⁊ tranquillitie, as ſhall be meete and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the kyng of England had ſet forth this declaration of the cauſes that moued him to make warre agaynſt Scotlande, he prepared to proſecute the ſame bothe by ſea and lande, and hauing rigged and furniſhed diuers ſhips of warre, he ſent the ſame forth to the ſea that they might take ſuch Scottiſhe ſhippes as were to returne from their voyages made into Fraunce, Flaunders, Denmarke, and other countreys, whether they were gone for trade of Marchandize, with whiche the Engliſh ſhippes encountred, tooke .xxviij. of the principal ſhippes of all Scotland fraught with all kinde of Merchādize ⁊ riche wares, which they brought with them into the Engliſh portes.

ottiſhe ſhips
ken.

The king of Scotland aduertiſed therof, ſent with all ſpeede an Herrault, deſiring reſtitution of his ſhippes as he thought ſtoode with reaſon, ſeing no warre was proclaymed, but the King of England thought it no reaſon to departe with them ſo ſoone, til other articles of agreemēt might be concluded, ⁊ therefore refuſed not only to deliuer their ſhippes, but alſo ſent ſir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuyng him in charge to inuade Scotlande, who according to his cōmiſſion with three thouſand men rode into Scotland, ⁊ began to brenne and to ſpoyle certayne ſmall townes, whervpon the fray being reyſed in the countrey, the Erle of Huntley who was appointed to remaine as Lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of ſuch ſodden inuaſiōs, immediatly gathered a number of borduters, and ſet vpon the Engliſh men, and put thē al to flight, Sir Robert Bowes and his brother Richard Bowes with diuers other to the number of vj hundred were taken priſoners, and the ſaid ſir Robert Bowes ⁊ other yͤ principal lāded men were kepte ſtill in Scotlande till after the kings death. This victory chanced to the Scots at a place called Halden Rigge in the Mers, vpō S. Bartholomewes day, whiche is the .xxiiij. of Auguſt. After this the king of England ſent the Duke of Norffolke with the Erles of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertforde, Angus, Rutland, ⁊ the Lords of yͤ North partes of England, with an army of .xl. thouſand men as the Scots eſteemed them, though they were not many aboue .xx. thouſand, who entred into Scotland the .xxi. of October, ⁊ brent certayne townes vpon the ſide of the water of Tweede, but the Erle of Huntley hauing with him a ten thouſand of the borderers and other, ſo wayted vpon them, giuing them now ⁊ then ſkirmiſhes and allarums, that they came not paſt two miles from the water of Tweede within the Scottiſh boundes at that ſeaſon. In the meane time the king of Scotlande beyng aduertiſed hereof, gathered a greate army through all the partes of his realme, and came to Sowtray hedge, where they muſtered, ⁊ were numbred to be a .xxxvi. thouſand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, ⁊ there encāped, determining to giue battel to the Engliſhmen, as he pretēded: howbeit if yͤ Duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of yͤ yeere ⁊ prouiſion of vitailes had ſerued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduiſed before they had ioyned wͭ him in a pight field: but true it is that after yͤ Duke had remayned there ſo long as vitayles might be had ⁊ recouered frō any part, he retyred with his army backe into Englād, not without ſome loſſe of mē, horſe, ⁊ ſpoiles, which yͤ Scots vnder the Erle of Huntley ⁊ others tooke fro the Engliſhmē in that their retire, ſpecially as they paſſed ouer the riuer of Tweede. After the Engliſhmē were thus departed ⁊ withdrawē home forth of Scotlād, king James being of an high ⁊ manly courage, in reuenge of the harmes done by the Engliſhmē within his countrey, thought good yͭ his whole army ſhould paſſe forwarde ⁊ inuade England, himſelf to go therwith in proper perſon. And herein he requeſted the cōſent of his nobilitie, who after long reſoning ⁊ good aduiſement takē in the mater, gaue anſwere to the king in this ſort, yͭ they could not thinke it good that they ſhould paſſe within Englād, ⁊ to ſeeke battayle, yͤ king himſelf being with thē, conſidering yͭ his .ij. ſonnes were lately diſceaſed, ſo yͭ he had no ſucceſſiō of his body: for in caſe that they loſt the field, as the chaūce of battell is moſt vncertaine, then the king of England hauing great ſubſtance, might therewith folow the victory ⁊ put the realme of Scotlande in greate hazarde. Therefore they thought it ſufficiently to defend their owne boundes, ⁊ to conſtrayne the enimie for feare to leaue the inuaſion therof, as preſently they had done and declared that they were deter-

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determined to haue giuen battayle to theyr enimies if they had cõtinued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe, and being inuaded in theyr countrey, but that they ſhoulde haue obteyned the victory. The King hearyng theyr determination, albeit his high courage preſſed him to inuade, yet the approued witte of his nobles and Coũſellours cauſed him to follow their aduiſe, and ſo returned with his army backe againe the firſt of Nouember, the army of England being firſt diſcharged, and the Duke of Norffolke in his returne towardes London.

The king breaketh vp his army.

The king goeth to the weſt borders.

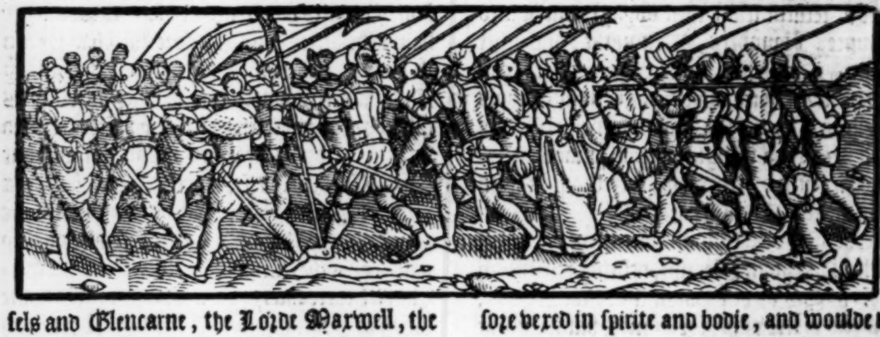
Shortly after, the kyng of Scotlande went himſelf in perſon vnto the Weſt marches of his realme, where the Lord Maxwell was Warden, whom togither with the Erles of Caſſels, and Glencarne, and certaine other Lordes there with him, the king appointed to inuade the Engliſh marches on that ſide, taking with them the power of the borduters, and ſente alſo with them Oliuer Sincler, & the reſidue of the Gentlemen of his houſholde. Theſe Erles & Lordes entring into Englande on S. Katherines euen beyng the .xxiiij. of Nouember, began to burne certayne townes vpõ the water of Eſke: but as ſone as the ſcrye was rayſed in the countrey, the Lord Dubarton Warden of the weſt marches of Englande, ſodenly rayſed the power of the countrey, and came to a little hill, where they ſhewed themſelues in ſight vnto the Scottiſhe army. The Scottiſhe Lordes perceyuyng the Engliſhmen gathered, aſſembled thẽſelues togither, and enquired who was Lieutenaunt general there by the Kings appointmẽt, and incontinently Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on twoo mennes ſhoulders, where he ſheweth forth the Kings commiſſion, inſtituting him Liuetenant to the Kyng of that armie: but how ſoeuer that was redde, the Erles and Lordes there preſent, thought themſelues embaſed too much to haue ſuche a meane Gentleman aduaũced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder ſuche a Captayne, but willyngly ſuffred themſelues to be ouercome, and ſo were taken by the Engliſh men, not ſhewyng any countenaunce of defence to the contrary, and without ſlaughter of any one perſon on eyther ſide.

Oliuer Sincler.

The Lorde Wharton.

The enuy of the Lordes agaynſt Oliuer Sincler.

The Scottes diſcomfited by the Engliſh men.



This rode was called Soloway Moſſe, at the whiche were taken pryſoners men of name, theſe perſons followyng: The Erles of Caſſels and Glencarne, the Lorde Maxwell, the Lord Flemyng, the Lord Somerwel, the Lord Oliphãt, Oliuer Sinclare, the Lord of Cragy, and ſundry other Gentlemen, the whiche were ledde pryſoners to London, where they remayned till after the King was dead.

The kyng being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Soloway Moſſe, when this miſfortune fell vpon his men, after he heard thereof he was maruellouſly amaſed, the more in calling to remembrance the refuſall made by his Nobles, aſſembled with him in campe at Fala vpon his requeſt to inuade Englande. Herewith ſuch an impreſſion entered his minde, that he thought with himſelf that all his whole nobilitie had conſpyred agaynſt him, and therevpon tooke ſuch a vehement and high diſpleaſure increaſed with a melancolious thought, that he departed ſodenly from thence to Edenburgh, and after remoued to Faulkeland, where he remayned as a man deſolate of comforte, beyng ſore vexed in ſpirite and bodie, and woulde not permitte any maner of perſon to haue acceſſe vnto him, his ſecrete and familiar ſeruants only excepted. And as he was thus vnquieted, newes was brought him that the Queene his wyfe was brought to bedde of a fayre yõg Princeſſe the .vij, day of December, the whiche newes he lyked very euill, and added the griefe thereof to his former diſpleaſantneſſe, in ſo muche that he perceyued the ende of his lyfe to approche, and withall ſayde, that hee forſawe great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotlande, for the purſuit whiche the King of England was like to make therevpon agaynſt the ſame, to the end hee might bryng it vnder his ſubiection eyther by mariage or by ſome other meane. It was reported that he was diſquieted with ſome vnkindly medicine: but how ſoeuer the matter was, he yeelded vp his ſprite to almighty God, & departed this worlde the .xiiij. of December, in the yeare of oure redemption. 1542. the .xxxiij.

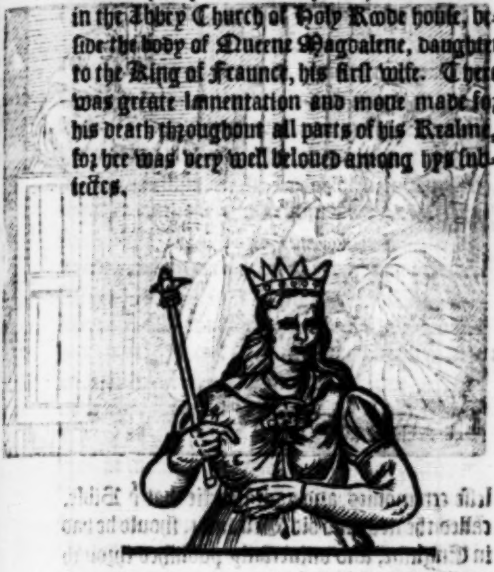
The griefe of the king for the ouerthrow of his men.

The birth of the Scottes Queene.

e death of
e King of
cottes,

yeares of his age, and .xxxij. of his raigne.

Shortly after hys departure, hys body was conueyed from Falkland vnto Edenburgh in moſt honorable wiſe, the Cardinall, the Erles of Arrane, Arguile, Rothes, Marſhall, and dyuers other noble men being preſent, and with all funerall pomp as was requiſite, it was buried in the Abbey Church of Holy Roode houſe, beſide the body of Queene Magdalene, daughter to the King of Fraunce, his firſt wife. There was greate lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his Realme, for hee was very well beloued among hys ſubiectes.



Queene Mary.

1542

The Eternall God calling to his mercy James King of Scotland, the fifth of that name, Mary his only daughter and heire began hir raigne ouer the Realme of Scotland the eyghtenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord. 1542. Fraunceis the firſte of that name then raigning in Fraunce, and Henry the eyght ouer the Engliſhmen.

e Lor e
ingſton.

She was not paſt ſeuen dayes olde when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lying in childbed in the Caſtel of Lithquo, of which place, yͤ Lord Leuingſton being Captayne, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter and mother, with the mothers good agreement and free conſent.

aid Beaton
ardinall,

is forging of
will.

Moreouer, immediately after the Kynges death (bycauſe he deceaſſed without making any will, or taking any direction for the gouernemente eyther of the Realme, or cuſtody of the yong Queene hys daughter) Dauid Beaton, Cardinall and Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes, the ſpeciall miniſter and factor of the Frenche cauſes, to the aduancement and continuaunce thereof, inuented and forged a will and Teſtament of the late King now departed, in whiche among other things, hee eſtabliſhed hymſelfe chiefe regent, adioyning with him the Earles of Murrey, baſe brother to the Kyng deceaſſed, Huntley and Argile, not once mentioning the Earle of Leuenox, then abſent in Fraunce, nor yet James Earle of Arraine his Couſin, beeing there preſent in Scotland. Those that profeſſed the reformed Religion, being then called Proteſtantes, to whome the ſayde Cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and ſharp ſcourge, eſpyed forth his vniuſt dealing in this behalfe, and truſting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the ſayd Earle of Arraine, to haue ſome libertie to imbrace the Goſpell, ſet him againſt the Cardinall, ſo that by the helpe of his owne and their friendes, he remoued the Cardinall and his adherents from the vſurped rowmth and authoritie, and therewith was the ſayde Earle of Arraine proclaymed gouernour and protector of the Realme.

The Proteſtants eſpyed the Cardinals craftie iuggling.

This Earle of Arrane made a title to haue and enioy that office and rowmth, as nexte in bloud to the yong Queene, as diſcended from a ſiſter of King James the third, married to his Grandfather Lord Hamilton in the yere. 1475. by reaſon of whiche marriage, hee was created Earle of Arrane, as by acte of Parliament holden the ſame yeare at Edenburgh, it was agreed and ordeyned.

The King of Englande that noble Prince Henrye the eyght, aduertiſed of the death of the King of Scottes, conſidered with good aduiſe, that now there was offered a moſt ready meane and iuſt occaſion, whereby the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland might be broughte into one entier Monarchie, without warre or bloudſhed, by the marriage of his ſonne Prince Edwarde, beeyng then little paſt ſixe yeares of age, with the yong Queene of Scotlande. Hee therefore being reſolued fully to bring the ſame to paſſe eyther by quiet meanes or by force, and ſending for the Erles of Caſſill and Glencarne, the Lordes Maxwell, and Fleming, and other Priſoners yͭ had bin taken at Soloway Moſſe, cauſed them to bee conueyd vnto Hampton Court, where the ſeauen and twentith of December they being right curteouſly enterteined, hee made vnto them an ouerture of his purpoſe and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requeſting them for their partes to help with their conſents, that a contract of marriage mighte bee made betweene his ſonne the Prince, and their yong Queene, promiſing to them libertie without raunſome, beſydes other pleaſures and benefytes, if they would doe theyr indeuour to perſwade the Gouernoure, and other of the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereunto.

The King of England talketh with the Lords of Scotlãd priſoners, for a marriage betwixt his ſonne, and their Queene.

The Scottiſhe Earles and Lordes accepted the Kings offer, and withall promiſed to doe their diligence to perſwade the reſt of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: wherevpon they were licenced to depart, and ſo comming to Newcaſtell, remayned there with the Duke of Suffolke, then the Kings Lieutenant of the North partes, till he had receyued for the of Scotlande certayne pledges of the chiefeſt of theſe Lordes, for performance of their promiſes.

The Earle of Angus ſente home into Scotlande.

1542

A conuention of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

The Cardinall committed to warde.

Likewiſe the King of England ſent wyth them the Earle of Angus, and his brother Sir George Dowglas, with his letters to the Gouernoure, requeſting effectuouſly, yͭ they mighte be reſtored to their rowmthes, landes, and poſſeſsions in that Realme. Theſe Lordes arriuing at Edenburgh aboute the middes of January, declared to the Gouernoure their meſſage and propoſition made by the King of Englande, with ſuch efficacie, that the Gouernour beeyng perſwaded thereto by their wordes, ſente for the Lordes and nobilitie of the Realme to come vnto Edenburgh to a conuention, there to be holden the ſeauen and twentith of that preſent moneth, where they concluded that a Parliamente ſhoulde bee kepte in Marche next enſuing, and doubting leaſt the Cardinall (beeing there preſent) ſhould goe about to perſwade the nobilitie not to conſent to their deſires, they cauſed hym to be put in warde within the Caſtell of Dalketh, the Lord Seton being appoynted to haue the cuſtody of him.

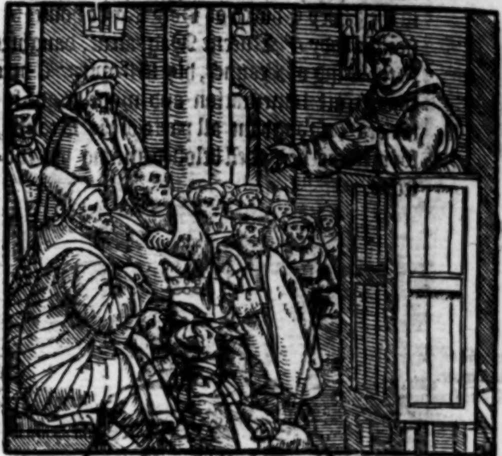
Halden rig.

Sir Rauſe Sadler.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Englande.

The Mariag confirmed

Aboute the ſame time, Sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Engliſhmen that were priſoners, and had bin taken at Halden rigge on S. Bartholmewes day (as before ye haue hearde) were ſente home by the Gouernoure into Englande, and Sir Rauſe Sadler was ſente Ambaſſador from King Henry vnto the ſaide Gouernoure, and other the Lordes of Scotland, and came thither before the Parliamente, to perſwade the Lordes to agree vnto the Kyng hys maiſters motions, trauelling ſo diligently in the matters whereabout he was thus ſent, that it was concluded by acte of Parliament to ſend Ambaſſadors into Englande, for the better ſatiſfaction of King Henries deſires. and ſo the Earle of Glencarne, Sir George Dowglas, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Leyrmouth, and the Secretary being named and appoynted thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the King, remayned there till the latter end of July. in which meane time, ſuche couenants, contractes, and promiſes were had and concluded, paſſed and ſealed interchangeably, as ſtood with the pleaſure and good liking of King Henry, ſo as the mariage was fully contracted, and a peace concluded for tenne yeares, by authoritie of the aforeſayd Parliament. Herewith alſo the Lorde Gouernour ſhewed himſelfe to embrace the reformed Religiō, cauſing one Frier Guilliam to Preache agaynſt Images, and fruteleſſe ceremonies, and gaue libertie that yͤ Bible, called the new and old Teſtamēt, ſhould be had in Engliſhe, and vniuerſally publiſhed through the Realme of Scotlande.



Alſo hee commaunded not onely the Cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but alſo ordeyned that the Queene mother ſhould remayne in Lithgow with the yong Queene hir daughter, vnder ſome maner of ſafe cuſtody, and the Cardinall to be remoued vnto his owne Caſtell of Saint Andrewes, with warders about hym to ſee him ſafely kept.

The French King miſliketh of the match with Englande.

Mathew Earle of Lennox.

The Realme beeing thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French King ſore miſliking this new coniunction of yͤ Scots with England, and doubting leaſt the olde former bond of aliance betwixt France and Scotland might therby be vtterly diſſolued and ſhaken off, he ſent for Mathew Earle of Leuenox, then abrode in his ſeruice in the warres of Italy, and vppon his comming backe from thence to the Court, hee declared to him the deceaſſe of the late King of Scottes, the intruſion of Arrane, and the attemptes in that Realme begun, with all the circumſtances from poynt to point as he knewe, and further diſcourſed with hym what wrong hee had to be ſette aſide, and diſplaced from hys ryghte of gouernemente, and therefore exhorted hym to repayre home to recouer the ſame, offering not only to aſſiſt him with men, money, and munition, but alſo to ioyne hys friendes in Scotlande with hym in ayde to attayne the place of regimente, and to remoue Arrane and others from it. The

Earle of Leuenox herevpon with commiſſion and inſtructions deliuered to him by the French King, had alſo letters from him directed to the Lordes that were of the French faction, wherein the ſayde Kyng requeſted them to remaine and continue in their former good meaninges towards him, and to aſſiſt the Erle of Leuenox in all things, as ſhould be thought expedient.

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into
land.

The Earle therefore fully inſtructed by the Frenche Kyng, howe to deale and proceede, tooke his leaue, and with all ſpeede taking the Sea, directed hys courſe into Scotlande, where after his arriual, he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the Lordes being aſſembled togither with the Gouernoure, hee declared to them the effect of hys commiſſion from the French Kyng, his requeſt to them, and good affection to mayntayne them againſt England, if in caſe they woulde continue the olde league with him, and not ſeeke to make any new alliance with the King of Englande: but perceyuing that the Gouernour and his friends were minded to ſatiſfie the Kyng of Englandes deſires, he would not tarrie for a reſolute aunſwer, but by the counſell of the Earle of Arguſle, William Earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he ſuddaynely departed forth of Edenburgh towarde the Weſt Countrey, highly diſpleaſed as ſhould ſeeme with the Gouernoure, and taking Lithgow in his way, hee conferred with the Queene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuiſing how to aſſemble the noble men of the Frenche ſide, to bring hir and hyr daughter to libertie, out of the daunger of the Lorde Gouernoure, bycauſe it was ſuppoſed that hee meante to conuey hyr into Englande.

e Earle
Lennox
ferreth
th the Q.
ager.

About the ſame time, through practiſe of the Abbot of Paſley, brother to the Gouernour, and others, the Caſtell of Edenburgh was got out of the handes of Sir Peter Chreichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the Gouernours appoyntment, vnto James Hamilton, Lard of Stanehouſe: but the Earle of Lennox, with the aſſiſtance of the Earles of Huntley, Argile, and others of the Frenche faction in Auguſt following, conueyd the yong Queene with hir mother from Lithgow vnto Sterling. The Cardinall alſo was there with them lately before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroade at libertie. Herewith was a day appoynted and proclaymed for the Coronation of the yong Queene. The Earle of Arrane then gouernour, with the Erles of Angus, Caſſils, the Lordes Maxwell, Someruile, and diuers others, called the Engliſh Lords, remayning ſtil at Edenburgh, aduertiſed the King of Englãd of all the driftes of Leuenox, and other of that faction, requiring his aduice and counſell howe to deale for the diſappoynting of their purpoſes, that ſoughte to continue the amitie ſtill wyth Fraunce, to the preiudice of peace with England.

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The King of England aduertiſed hereof, as wel thus from the Gouernour, and other the Scottiſh Lordes, as alſo from Sir Rauſe Sadler, his Maieſties Imbaſſadoure there, doubted greatly leaſt theſe Lordes, in whoſe handes the Queene then was, in reſpect of the fauour whiche they bare to the Frenche King, ſhould conuey hir ouer into Fraunce, whereupon, he requeſted the Gouernour, and the other Lordes that fauoured his ſide, ſo to deale, that ſhe might bee ſente into Englande, there to remayne, till the marriage mighte bee conſummate betwixt hir, and his ſonne Prince Edwarde: hauing in the meane time ſuch Lordes of hir Countrey about hir to attende vppon hir, and to ſee to hir brynging vp, as ſhould be thought expedient. To conclude, his Maieſtie not only ſent his princely comfort by way of counſell and good aduice, but alſo according to their deſire (and as by the Duke of Suffolke his highneſſe Lieutenaunte then in the North it was thought expedient.) Thomas Lorde Wharton with two thouſande menne from the Weſt marches, and the Lord Euers with other two thouſand from the Eaſt bordures, were appoynted to enter Scotland, and to ioyne themſelues with the Gouernour and hys friendes, to aſſiſt them againſte their aduerſaries, but as they were in a readineſſe to marche, through the ſecret labour of the Cardinall, wiſhing the aduauncemente of the Erle of Arrane his kinſman (whom he thought hee ſhoulde well ynough frame to be at his appoyntmente) rather than Leuenox that was knowen to be of a greater ſtomacke, the matter was ſo handled, what by the Cardinall and the Erle of Huntley of the one part, and yͤ Queene Dowager on the other, that the Earle of Arrane reuolting from the Kyng of Englande, came in to the Dowager, and ioyned himſelfe with the Cardinall, and other the Lordes of the Frenche faction, by reaſon whereof, they all concluded to mayntayne him in the eſtate of Lorde Gouernour, and not to place Leuenox as their purpoſe was to haue done, if Arrane hadde continued faythfull to the King of Englande.

The King of Englandes doubt.

The Lorde Wharton. The Lorde Euers.

The Earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

Shortlye after, the yong Queene was Crowned at Striueling, the Cardinall taking vpon him to order things as hee thought good, appoynting the Gouernour to beare yͤ Crowne as chiefe perſon, & next in bloud to the Queene, and the Erle of Lennox to beare the ſcepter. After yͤ Coronatiõ, a Parliamẽt was called and holden

The Coronatiõ of Queene Mary.

A Parliament.

The Patriarke of Apuleia.

Order for the cuſtody of the Queene.

holden at Edenburgh, at the whiche in preſence of the Patriarche of Apulia the Popes Agent, and of the Frēch Kings Imbaſſadours, Monſieur la Broſſe, and Monſieur Menage lately before come into the realme, the Erle of Arrane was newly confirmed gouernour: and for the ſure preſeruation (as they pretended) of the yong Queene, it was agreed by the gouernour and the eſtates, that ſhe ſhoulde remaine with the olde Queene hir mother in Sterlyng Caſtell, during her mynoritie, and certayne rentes of that Seigniory was aſſigned for the mayntenaunce of ſuche trayne as was thought expedient to bee attendant aboute hyr: and further the Lordes Leuingſton, Erſkin, and Fleming, were apoynted to abide continually with hyr, for the better ſauegarde of hyr perſon.

The Erle of Lennox his diſpleaſure.

Thus was euery thing ordered as ſeemed to ſtand with the pleaſure of the Cardinall: wherevpon the Erle of Lennox perceyuyng how vncurteouſly he was vſed, to haue his aduerſary thus confirmed in auctoritie by the Frenchſide, and himſelfe reiected, he firſte ſente to the Frenche King, infourmyng him throughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promiſes made to him when hee departed from him: alſo the conſtantneſſe of his ſeruice, the haſarde he had put himſelfe in for his ſake, and notwithſtandyng howe hee was yet vnkindely dealte with, that through truſte of his promiſed ayde and aſſiſtaunce, he was brought out of credite in his countrey, and ſubiected vnder the commaundement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfully diſappoynted of his right, whiche he looked to haue recouered, and to haue bene mainteyned therein, by his ſupporte.

He renoūceth his ſeruice to the French kyng.

Ciuill diſſentiō in Scotlād.

In conſideration whereof, he renounced his ſeruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the ſame any more at his handes. Herewith Leuenax ioynyng himſelfe with the Erles of Angus, Caſſilles, and Glencarne, the Lords Maxwell, and Someruille, the Sheriffe of Ayre, the Larde of Drumlanrig and other of that ſide, called the Engliſh Lordes, ſet himſelfe agaynſt the Gouernour, the Cardinall and others of that faction, ſo that the reſidue of this yeare was ſpente in ciuill diſſention betweene them.

French ſhips arriuyng in the riuer of Clyde.

And here is to bee noted that a little before that the Erle of Arrane reuolted to the French parte, there were arryued in the mouth of the riuer of Cloyde on the weſt coaſte fiue ſhippes which the Frenche King had ſent to the ayde of his freendes in Scotland, vnder the conduction of Iames Stewarde of Cardonold, and of the forenamed Monſieur de la Broſſe, and Monſieur Menage, the French kings Ambaſſadors.

The Erle o
Lēnox ſeaſ
vpō the Fre
ſhippes.

There came with them alſo the Patriarke of Apulia, of whome ye haue lykewiſe hearde before, they had brought aboorde in theſe ſhippes fifty thouſande Crownes, and munition to the value of tenne thouſand Crownes. The Erle of Lennox therefore when he firſt reſolued to turne to the Engliſhe parte, with the aduiſe of his confederates, ſeyſed vpon thoſe ſhippes, got the fiftie thouſand Crownes, and the moſt parte of the munition into his handes: and brought it to the Caſtell of Dunbertayne, reteyning it to his owne vſe, where it was ſente to haue bene employed to the maintenaunce of the Frenche faction, agaynſt the King of England and the Lordes that leaned to his ſide.

The Erle of
Lennox ry
leth an army

An appointment taken.

Pledges deliuered.

The Erle of Lennox therefore, rayſing a power of menne of warre with the aſſiſtaunce of the Lordes of his faction, came with them vnto Leith agaynſt the Gouernour, that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauayle of the Cardinall, the Erles of Huntley, Murrey, and Argyle, the matter was taken vp and an appoyntment accorded: ſo that ſir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the Erle of Angus, the Maſter of Glencarne, for his father the Erle of Glencarne, the Abbot Caſiaghole, for his brother the Erle of Caſſilles, to remayne in ſafe keepyng where it pleaſed the Gouernour to appoynt.

The Erle o
Lennox com
meth to the
gouernour.

He departed
from him a-
gayne.

He fortifieth
Glaſquo.

Glaſquo wo
by the gouer
nour.

The Erle o
Angus, and
the Lorde
Maxwell c
mitted to
warde.

The Erle of Lennox came vnto Edinburgh to ẏ Gouernor, but within ſixe dayes after they went bothe to Lithquo, from whence the Erle of Lennox ſecretely departed from the Gouernour without biddyng him farewell, and comming to Glaſquo, fortified both the Caſtell and Steeple there with menne and munition. The Gouernour aduertiſed thereof, paſſed thither with the power of the whole realme, entred the towne, aſſieged the Caſtell and ſteeple whiche he wanne, hanged certen Gentlemen whiche he tooke there to the number of ſixtene, and pardoned the other inferiour Souldiours. The Erle of Lennox withdrewe into Dunbertayne. The Erle of Angus, and the Lorde Maxwell hearyng of thys ſturre, came vnto the Gouernour vnto Glaſquo before the ſiege was layde, to intreate of ſome accorde betwixte him and the Erle of Lennox. But the Gouernour cauſed them both to be ſecretly conueyed frō the counſell by the backſide of the blacke Fryers of Glaſquo, vnto the Caſtell of Hamilton, and from thence the Erle was ſente to Blackneſſe. The Lorde Maxwell was kepte ſtill in holde at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the Maſter of Glencarne in Edenburgh Caſtell: theſe perſons thus impryſoned ſtoode in greate doubte of theyr lyues as ſome ſuppoſed, but as diuers other did ſuſpect, they were rather committed

mitted for a colour than for any euill that was meant towarde them.

...gus.
1544.
...Erle of ...ox ſen... to the ...d Lin-...

How ſoeuer it was with them, the Erle of Lennox by the aduiſe of his friendes, ſent the Erle of Glencarne, & a Gentlemã called Thomas Biſhop, vnto the king of Englande with offer of his ſeruice, and requeſt to haue in mariage the Lady Margarete Dowglas daughter to the Erle of Angus, and neece to the ſayde Kyng. They that were ſente ſo ſolicited the Erles cauſe, that in the ende the King beyng perſwaded that Lennox ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotlande, and to be ſeconde perſon in the ſame, and herewith in conſideration how vniuſtly not onely his Maieſtie had bene dealt with, but alſo how vnthankefully and diſcourteouſly Lennox had bene vſed both at the handes of the French king and alſo of his adherentes in Scotland, by the Cardinall and others, he bothe thankefully receyued his gentle offer of ſeruice, and alſo promiſed to ayde him in his Title and all other lawfull cauſes: and herewith prepared an army to paſſe into Scotlande by ſea, appoynting the Erle of Hertforde, and the Lorde Liſle to haue the conduction of the ſame, who ſhippyng at Tynmouth with theyr people, arriued in the Forth vnder Werdie Caſtell, a myle and a half aboue Leith the thirde of May, the whole nauie conteyning aboue the number of two hundred ſhippes. Here at Newhauen a quarter of a myle from the ſayde Caſtell they landed theyr armie of tenne thouſande men of warre, with great artillery and all kinde of munition.

...e kyng of ...gliſh mea-...to ayde ...e Erle of ...nox.

...e Engliſhe ...y landeth ...Leith.

The Lorde Gouernour beyng at that preſent within the towne of Edenburgh, hearyng of their arriuall wente forth of the towne accompanied with the Cardinall, the Erles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell and others, purpoſing to ſtoppe theyr landing, but perceyuing the puyſance of the aduerſaries to be ſuche, as they coulde not reſiſt the ſame, they returned to Edenburgh agayne, and ſente Maiſter Adam Otterburn prouoſt of Edenburgh, and two of the Bayliffes to the Erle of Hertforde, to vnderſtande the cauſe of his comming, and withall offered, that if there were any iniuries or wrõgs done by any of the Scottes nation, hee woulde appoynt Commiſſioners to talke with ſuche as by him ſhoulde be authorized thereto, for the full anſwearing thereof, and to that effect he woulde gladly receyue them into the towne of Edenburgh. The Erle of Hertford anſweared that he had no commiſſion to talke of any ſuche mater, but rather to take reuenge of the vniuſt dealing and breache of promiſe on thoſe that had falſified their fayth. And therfore minding to burne the towne of Edenburgh as wel as other within that realme, hee willed the inhabitantes and all thoſe that were within the ſame to come forth, and ſubmitte themſelues before him the kings Lieutenant, to ſtand vnto the Kings will and pleaſure, or els he would not fail to procede in execution thereof. The Prouoſt anſweared, that he would rather abyde all extremities than to accompliſhe his requeſt and deſire in that behalfe, and therevpon returned to the towne.

...e Prouoſt ...Edenburgh ...e to the ...e Hert-...

...e Erles an-...ere.

After the Gouernour had hearde what anſweare was made to the Prouoſt, he cauſed the Caſtell to be furniſhed with all things neceſſary for defence, and departed ſtraight wayes to Striuelyng. The Engliſh army lodging that night in Leith, marched the nexte day towarde Edenburgh, paſſing vp the Cannogate ſtrete to enter at the nether bowe, where they founde ſome reſiſtaunce made by Scottes, ſo that diuers were ſlayne on bothe partes. Towardes night, the Engliſhmen after they had continued long in ſkirmiſhyng that day with the Scottiſhmen retyred to Leith. The nexte day the whole army with the great Artillery came forwarde towardes the towne, and breakyng open the Cannogate, they entred the towne by the ſame, bryngyng their ordinaunce within ſight of the Caſtell, purpoſing to plante the ſame in battery agaynſt it, but the Capitayne of the Caſtell cauſed the Artillery within to ſhoote of at them in ſo great aboundance, and ſo good meaſure, that they ſlew diuers Engliſhmen and diſmounted one of their peeces, ſo that in the ende they were conſtrayned to drawe backe their ordinaunce and retyred, but yet in the meane time they ſet fire on the towne, and brent the moſte parte of all the houſes in the ſame. They brent alſo the Cannogate ſtreete, and the Abbey of holy roode houſe. The Gouernour at that preſent releaſed out of pryſon the Erle of Angus, the Lorde Maxwell, the Maſter of Glencarne, ſir George Dowglas and others.

Edenburgh entred by force.

See more hereof in Englãd.

Edenburgh brent.

Pryſoners ſet at liberty.

In this meane time alſo there came from the Borders by lande foure thouſande of Engliſh horſemenne, vnder the conduction of the Lorde William Euers, & his ſonne ſir Raufe Euers, who ioyning with the army at Leith, ſkoured the countrey on euery ſide the towne of Edenburgh, finally after that the Engliſh army had layne in Leith a certayne ſpace, they brent that towne alſo, and ſent their ſhippes away fraught with pillage & ſpoyles (got aſwell in that towne as in Edenburgh, and abrode in the countrey) backe towardes England. And therewith the Erle of Hertford, the Lord Admirall and others returned by land through the cõtry vnto Barwike, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie more at large appeareth. Whyleſt the Engliſhe army was thus occupied in that part of Scotlãd the Erle of

Leith brent.

The Erle of Lennox.

of Lennox with an army of menne whiche he had rayſed was ready to come on the backes of the Gouernour and his adherentes, if they had aſſembled their forces and come forwarde to haue gyuen the Engliſh men battayle. For all this ſeaſon the ciuill contention ſtill continewed, and ſundry conflictes and ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the parties.

The Engliſh army hauing brent Edenburgh and harried the countrey aboute, departed from Leith (whiche towne they alſo brent) and drew homewardes, brenning and ſpoyling ſundry Caſtelles, Piles, Villages, & Townes in their way. Alſo where the Lorde Maxwell came in to the Erle of Hertforde, for his double dealyng hee was ſtayed and brought into Englande. Shortly after the returne of the Engliſh armie the Gouernour, and the Lord Boyd came with an army to beſiege the Caſtell of Glaſquo, which yͤ Erle of Lennox had lately againe recouered. The Erle of Glencarne, and other of the Erle of Lennox his friendes, being at that preſent within Glaſquo, iſſued forth, & vpon Glaſquo Moore gaue the Gouernour battayle, in the whiche the Larde of Campſketh mayſter of the houſholde to the Gouernour, and vij. ſcore others, of the ſurname of the Hamiltõs loſte their lyues, but the victory yet remayned vpõ the Gouernours ſide, Andrew Coningham ſonne to the Erle of Glencarne, & James Coningham, with George Tullough Captaine of the Erle of Lennox his ſhotte, being ſlayne on that parte, beſides others of the meaner ſorte.

The battayle of Glaſquo wonne by the Gouernour.

Shortly after this ouerthrow, the Erle of Lennox accompanied with Alexander the maſter of Glencarne, otherwiſe called Lord of Kilmawſe, Walter Graham brother to the Erle of Montroſe, ſir John Borthwike knight, and ſundry other Gentlemen tooke the ſea to paſſe into England, & arriued at Weſtcheſter aboute Midſomer: paſſing from thence to the Court, he was ioyfully receyued, and immediatly therevpon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the Lady Margaret Dowglas daughter & heyre to the Erle of Angus, & to Margaret his wife queene of Scottes, ſiſter to king Henry the eight, at what time there was aſſured to him by way of inheritaunce, Landes to the valewe of xvij. hundreth markes of yearely rent of aſſiſe, in conſideration of this mariage with the Kings neece, & in recompence of landes loſte by him in Fraunce, to the whiche he was inheritour after the deceaſe of Robert Steward Lorde Obenie, one of the foure Marſhals of Fraunce.

The Erle of Lennox goeth into England.

He marrieth the Lady Margaret Dowglas

Lord Obney.

Moreouer kyng Henry beyng now vpon his iourney towardes Bullongne, aſwell for the annoyance of his highneſſe enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the ſayde Erles right in that realme, appointed the ſayd Erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of Auguſt, accõpanied with ſir Riſe Maunſfield, ſir Peter Mewtas knights M. Thomas Audley, M. Thomas Brooke, old M. Winter cõptroller of the Kings ſhips, & his ſonne ſir William Winter that now is, & ſundry other Capitaynes, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hakebutters, two hundred Archers with long bowes, and two hũdred armed pikes, beſide the Mariners belonging to thoſe ſhippes, that were appoynted to goe forth in this iourney, beyng in number aboute xij. or xiiij. ſayle, belonging to Briſtow, and other of the Weſt partes.

The Erle of Lenno deth into S land.

Vpon their arriual on the coaſt of Scotland they brent the Iſle of Arrane, and raſed the gouernours Caſtell there to the grounde. And afterwardes arriuing at the Iſle of Bute, they entred the ſame, and tooke the Caſtell of Roſey ſtanding therein (from whence the Stewardes kings of Scotland had theyr originall) the Capitaine they had away priſoner with them into England. Here alſo they tooke two Frenche ſhippes laden with wines, and this done they entred the Firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their frendes in the Caſtell of Dunbertane: but the truth is, that in this meane time the Erle of Glencarne with ſundry gentlemen being left in that Caſtell, with the Capitayne thereof called Houſon, to keepe it in the name and to the behouſe of the Erle of Lennox, were in his abſence perſwaded through practiſe of the queene Dowager, not onely to renounce theyr promiſed faith to him, in defrauding him of that Caſtell, but alſo to entrappe and winde him within their daunger to take him pryſoner.

The Iſle of Bute take

For whiche purpoſe they ſo diſſembled the matter, that they had gotte him a lande onely with three hundred menne, and ſo farre forth they were growen in talke, that the Erle of Lennox beyng entred into the Caſtell with a fewe other with him, the money was layde downe on the borde, to be payde to the Capitayne for his ſatiſfaction.

The Erle o Lennox in daunger to betrayed a taken.

But in the meane tyme the Erle of Lennox and ſuche as were with him, perceyuing ſome treaſonable practiſe in hande, gotte forth of the houſe agayne vnto theyr companie below, leauing the money behinde them, and after made ſhifte to gette to theyr ſhippes, and not before it was high time, for if they had ſtayed that night, they had bene entrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thouſande menne was ſecretely drawen thitherwardes and entred the towne of Dunbertane, ſhortly after yͭ the Erle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his ſhips lying there at hande in the riuer of Clyde, downe the whiche he retyred to the ſea, not without daunger to haue loſt the ſame ſhippes by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the water: for the Erle of Argyle beyng gotten betwixte him and the ſea, with a great power of men, with Baners diſpleyd hoiſſed the ſhippes with ſhotte of ordinãce from the caſtel of Dynnune, annoying the Erle of Lennox his paſſage as much as he coulde. But he eſcaping with the Engliſh gentlemen, and the ſhippes out of daunger, tooke aduiſe togither at the Iſle of Bute what they had to do. The Erle ſore moued to haue bene thus repulſed frõ Dunbretayn, & ſtomaking the matter ſore, to be ſo contenanced by his enimy the Erle of Argyle, with the aduiſe of the Engliſh Gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great ſhew of manhood taking lande beſide the Caſtel and towne of Dynnune, where the Erle of Argyle with ſeuen hundred men was ready to encounter him, and to keepe him of from landyng, but by the helpe of the ſhotte out of the ſhippes, and great ſtore of boates, the Engliſhmen landed, ſlew lxxx. of the enimies moſt part Gentlemen, & put the reſidue to flight, with the loſſe of three men onely on the Engliſh ſide. This done the towne of Dinnune was brente and the Churche ſpoyled, that was full of goods and ornamentes. When the night approched, by reaſon the Engliſhmenne had no pouder nor other prouiſion a lande, the Erle with his people returned to ſhippeborde in ſafetie, though not without offer of ſkirmiſhe made by the enimies though to theyr loſſe, namely of thoſe that aduaunced themſelues moſte forwarde. Aboute foure or fiue dayes after the Erle of Lennox with fiue hundreth menne landed in an other parte of Argyle, and remayning on lande a whole day togither, brent, ſpoyled, and waſted the countrey: the Erle of Argyle with two thouſande men giuing the looking on and not ones offering the ſkirmiſhe, ſo that the Erle of Lennox with his Souldiers retyred to his ſhippes without encounter.

Erle of
lan-
Din-

owne of
biet

Erle of
lan-
againe in
gyle.

After this they inuaded the Iſle of Kinter where Iames Macconell dwelled, brent many places in that countrey, tooke and caried away great booties of cattayle and other goodes. All the coaſtes of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and likewiſe of Galloway remayned in continuall feare, so that oftentimes theyr beakons were fyred, and many of the Noble menne conſtrayned to come to the Erle of Lennox, ſewing to him for aſſurance.

Mac-

In theſe exploytes the Erle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbatt, and ſeuen ſcore men of the head of Lennox, that ſpake bothe Iriſhe and the Engliſh Scottiſh tongues, light footemen well armed in ſhirtes of mayle, with bowes, and two handed ſwordes, and beyng ſoyned with the Engliſh Archers and ſhotte, did muche auayleable ſeruice in the ſtreyghts, mariſhes, and mountayne countreys.

To conclude, after the Erle of Lennox and his company had atchieued theſe enterpriſes afore mencioned, he returned towardes England, and ſente ſir Peter Mewtas knight, and Thomas Biſhoppe a Scottiſh gentleman, to aduertiſe the King of Englande of his proceedings, who found him at the ſiege of Bulloigne, where they declared to him the whole circumſtance of euery thing as the ſame had paſſed in the Erles iourney, which the king tooke in very good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the cõqueſt of Bullongne, the Erle of Lennox was alſo called home to the Courte by letters to him directed, he beyng then at Briſtow. About the middeſt of February, Syr Rauf Eure commonly called Euers, Lorde warden of the Engliſhe middeſt Marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thouſand Engliſhmen, Iriſhmen, and aſſured Scottes, and comming firſte vnto Iedworth, lodged there that night, and therewithall vnderſtanding that the gouernour and the Erle of Angus were at the Abbey of Melros, aboute an eight myles diſtaunt from thence, the nexte morning he was gotte forth ſo early, that he was almoſte vpon the enimies in ſuche wiſe on the ſudden, that they fledde out of theyr lodgings, and lefte their beddes and all theyr houſeholde furniture which they had there with them, not hauing time to conuey it away at theyr departure, their warning was ſo ſhort. Syr Rauf Eure at his comming thyther finding them fledde and gone, ſpoyled the towne and Abbey, vtterly defacing the Tumbes and Monumentes of the Erles of Dowglas, greatly to the diſpleaſure of the Erle of Angus, and thoſe of his linage.

Sir Peter Mewtas.

1545.

Sir Raufe Euers inuadeth Scotland.

He defaceth the Monuments of the Dowglaſſes.

The Gouernour and the ſayde Erle ſore agreeued to be thus foyled at the Engliſhmens handes, aſſembled togither all ſuche forces as they might recouer, ſo that they had quickly got vnto them aboue fiftene hundred menne, whereof eight hundreth at the leaſt were Gentlemen, and hearyng that the Engliſh men were retyring towardes Iedworth, they mette them at a place called Pannyer Hugh, where bothe the parties alighting on foote, ment to trie the quarell by playne force of hande, but as they were ready to ioyne, the aſſured Scots to the number of ſeuen or eight hundred reuolted vnto the parte of their countrey men, by reaſon whereof after a right ſharpe and fierce conflict the Engliſhe menne in the ende were conſtreyned to flee, whome the Scottes right egrely purſewed, ſlewe Sir Rauſe Eure, the Lorde Ogle, Sir Bryan Layton, and other Gentlemenne and

Sir Rauſe Eure and others ſlayne.

Souldiers to the number of eight hũdreth, they tooke alſo about a two thouſand priſoners, with certayne peeces of Artillery and other munition. This victory fell to the Scottes the xvij. of February, the report whereof was right diſpleaſant to the Engliſh nation, but ſpecially the loſſe of that worthy Gentleman ſir Rauf Eure, was greatly bemoned, and that euen of the King him ſelfe, for the noble prowes and great loyaltie whiche at all times had bene founde in him.

His ſeruice agaynſt the Scottes.

His ſeruice had ben ſuch in theſe warres againſt Scotland, that he had brought the more parte of all the Scottes within xx. miles ſpace of the Engliſh borders, vnto the obeyſance of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confuſion as before you haue hearde: and here I haue thought (good although out of place) to ſay ſomewhat further in the dew commendation of this noble Gentleman.

His ſeruice in the rebellion tyme.

He is beſieged in Scarborough Caſtell.

In time of the great rebellion in the North partes, whiche chaunced in the xxviij. yeere of King Henry the eight, when many other the Noblemen and Gentlemen of thoſe parties had conſpired togither with the commons by leuying warre to reſiſt the Kings proceedings, this Sir Rauſe Eure beyng then within Scarborough Caſtel, accõpaned onely with his friends, ſeruants and tenants, whiche of very good will were contented to ſerue vnder him, was beſieged in the ſame Caſtell, and kept from all reliefe & ſuccours that might come or be brought vnto him from any parte, during the terme of ſixe weekes or there about, ſo that for the ſpace of xx. dayes after theyr prouiſion was ſpent, they liued onely with bread and water, hauing little or no other ſuſtenance, whiche extremitie notwithſtanding, he kept the fortreſſe in ſafetie to the Kings vſe vnto the ende of that dangerous rebellion, and then to his high prayſe and commendation deliuered it like a faithful Gentlemã into the Kings hands. This I ſhould haue ſet downe in place where mencion is made of that rebellion, but the note came not to my hand till that parte of the booke was paſte the preſſe, and ſo rather here than not at all, I haue thought good to imparte it to the Reader. But now to returne to the purpoſe for the doings in Scotlande.

Death of Byſhops.

About the ſame time that the victory before mencioned chanced to the Scottes, Robert Carncroſe biſhop of Roſſe departed this life, to whome ſucceeded Dauid Pantane, Secretary to the gouernour and Priour of S. Mary Ile.

In Aprill William Steward biſhop of Aberden likewiſe deceaſed, and maſter William Gordon Chãcellor of Murray, vncle to George Erle of Huntley, was by the Cardinals ſuyte promoted to that ſee, greatly to the diſpleaſure of the Erle of Angus that laboured to haue preferred an other thereto. For this & other cauſes the Cardinal was greatly in hatred of ẏ Dowglaſſes.

Monſieur d
Lorges ſen
into Scota

This yeere alſo Montgomery otherwiſe called Monſier de Lorges, knight of the order of S. Michael, was ſent by the French king with iiij. thouſand Frenchmen into Scotlande to aſſiſt the Scottes againſt England, he landed at Dunbertayne, and came in good order to Edenburgh the xiij. of May: he brought with him from the French king the order of S. Michaell, to inueſt therewith the Lord gouernour, the Erles of Angus, Huntley, and Argile.

Knights of
Michaels o
der.

An army of
Scots lieth
the bordur

Herwith alſo was an army of Scottes reyſed, and ioyning with the Frenchmen, they approched ẏ bordures where they lay for a ſeaſon, but the Erle of Hertford Lieutenant generall of the North partes comming downe, tooke ſuch direction for the ſafe keeping of the Engliſh bordures, that after the Scottes had layne there in campe a certayne ſpace without atchieuing any great enterpriſe, though ſome notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that preſent, they brake vp theyr armie and returned home.

French me
and Scots o
uerthrowen

The .xvj of September about three or foure hundred Scottes and Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the eaſt bordures, but the Engliſhmen perceyuing where they were aboute to paſſe by a certayne ſtreyt, they ſet vpõ them with their Archers, diſcomfited them, ſleying, and taking to the number of ſeuen ſcore of them. Amongſt other that were taken, one of the Sonnes to the Lord Hume, with a French capitayne, and George Elphinſton Archer of the corps to the French king, were accompted chief.

The Lorde
Maxwelles
ſonne taken
pryſoner.

Alſo on the Weſt bordures Robert Maxwell eldeſt ſonne to the Lord Maxwels, was taken in a roade made by him & others into the Engliſh confines on that ſide, although at an other time certaine Engliſhmen making a roade into Scotlande were diſtreſſed, the more parte of them beyng taken or ſlayne. At a Parliamẽt holden at Linluchque, begonne there the .xxviij. of September, and continued til the firſt of October, Matthew Erle of Lennox, and Thomas biſhop of were forfalted, & al their lãds and goodes giuen away aud annexed to the Crowne.

The Erle of
Lennox pr
cureth the
of the Iles
ſerue the ki
of England.

In this meane time the king of England deſirous to haue the ſeruice of the Iles of Scotland for ſundry great cauſes and reſpects, moued the Erle Lẽnox to deale with them to ẏ ende, whiche hee did, and his trauell tooke ſuche effect, that the Iland men were cõtented to reſt at the king of Englande his deuotion, partly for that they were in a maner ſworne enimies to the Erle of Argyle and his family, and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puyſſance if he ſhoulde attempt to inuade thoſe parties:

…lorde of …ſles ele- …being …of the Ma- …les.

parties: and againe, bearing an olde ſpeciall fauor to the Earle of Lennox and his houſe, hauing an auntient bonde of alliance and amitie with the ſame, they were the more ready to ſatiſfie his motion. Hereupon, they elected amongſt them a Lorde of the Iſles, nexte of the bloud, a title long ſithence righte odious to the ſtate of Scotland, and by the inducement of the Earle of Lennox, hee was contented as the Kyng of Englands pentioner, to receyue two thouſand Crownes of him yeerely, with certayne riche apparel of cloth of golde and ſiluer from the ſaid Earle.

…n Rey- …ſlayeth …Lorde- …at.

The firſt proofe he attempted to ſhew of hys ſeruice in the King of Englands behalfe, was this, hauing inſtructions thereto from the Erle of Lennox, vnder colour of a conference, for matters touching the eſtate of the Countrey, he had ſuborned one of his aliance and ſeruantes, called ẏ Clane Reignald, to entrappe the Erles of Arguile and Huntley, and although they eſcaped very narrowly, the Lord Louet an auntient Baron, and greate friende to thoſe two Earles, was ſlayne by the ſayd Clane, togyther with ſeauen hundred of his kinſmen and friẽds, in ſo muche, that there remayned not but one yong boy of that lignage to ſucceede in that Lords lands.

…e Lord of …Iles in- …deth Carike.

…mmeth …Ireland.

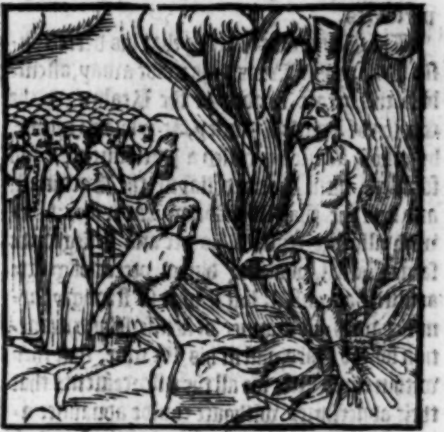
…departeth …life.

…eighte M. …ame ſay.

After this, the L. of the Iles with ſixe M. men embarqued in certayne veſſels, paſſed ouer into Carrike, harried and brent the lands of the Erle of Caſſels, then a great enimie to the Kyng of England. In this voyage he got great ſpoiles, and ſlew many of the enimies: after which enterpriſe ſo atchieued, he came with his power by Sea, and landed in Irelande, where the Earles of Lennox and Ormonde were, with twelue hundred Iriſhmenne, appoynted to ioyne with him, that with their whole power they myghte inuade the Earle of Arguiles Countreys, and conſequently the mayne lande of Scotlande at the brode ſyde. But before the preparation could be made ready for that iourney, the newe Lord of the Iles deceaſſed, whoſe buriall in Irelande to honor the Earle of Lennox, ſtoode the Kyng of England in foure hundred pounds ſterling. But now to returne vnto ẏ doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in thys ſeaſon. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after the army of Scotland was broken vp, the Earle of Hertford by vertue of his cõmiſſion reyſed an army in the Countreys of the further ſide of Trente Northwardes, ſo that when the ſame was aſſembled togither with ſuch ſtraungers as were then in the Kynges wages, they were in all of Horſemenne and footemen twelue thouſande fighting men. With thys army garded with great ſtore of artillerie, munition, and all maner of furniture neceſſary, the Earle of Hertford entred Scotlande, and marching to Coldingham, paſt vp by the water of Tweed, and brent a great part of the Mers and Tiuidale, the Abbeys of Kelſey, Melros, Driborne, and Iedworth, with Townes and Villages, to the number of fiue ſcore, but yet he entred not farre within the countrey beyond the ſaid water, but kept alongſt neere to the ſame, & returned back without any encounter: for after the Scottiſh armye was broken vp, it was not like they woulde aſſemble agayne, and ſo the Earle of Hertford taking the time that ſerued hys purpoſe, ſore endomaged the Scottiſh borders at that preſent. Many other ſmal inuaſions were made, as wel by the one parte as the other, and ſome ſkirmiſhes fell out betwixt them, ſometime to the loſſe of the Scottiſhe, and ſometime of the Engliſhe, according to the courſe of warre. In the Lent ſeaſon the Cardinall of S. Andrewes cauſed al the Biſhoppes and Prelates of the Realme to aſſemble at the towne of S. Andrewes, where a learned man, named M. George Wiſchart, that had bin in the Schooles of Germany, was accuſed of Hereſie, which he had (as was alledged againſt him) publiquely preached and priuately taught in Dundee, Brechin, and dyuers other parts of Scotlãd, ſince hys returne home. This matter was ſo vrged againſt him, that he was conuict, and brente there in the Towne of Saint Andrewes during the time of that conuention and aſſembly.

The Earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotlande.

George Wiſhart a learned man brent.



The thirtith of May the Cardinall beeyng within his Caſtell of S. Andrewes, certaine of his owne friends as he tooke them, to wit, Norman, Lord Leſlie, William Kirkaudie, ẏ yong Lard of Grange, with ſixteene choſen men, entred the Caſtell very ſecretely in the morning, tooke the Porter, and all the Cardinals ſeruantes, thruſting them out of the place by a poſterne gate, and that done, paſſing to hys Chamber where he lay in bedde, as hee gote vp, and was opening his Chamber dore, they ſlew him, and ſeiſed vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortreſſe was right plentifully furniſhed, and likewiſe with rich hangings, houſholde ſtuffe of all ſortes, apparell, copes, iewells, ornaments of Churches, great ſtore of golde and ſiluer plate, beſide no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in ready coyne. Sir James Leirmouth Prouoſt of Saint Andrewes, aſſembled all yͤ people of that Towne for the reſcue of the Cardinall, after he heard that the conſpirators were entred the Caſtel, but they ſhewed the dead body of the Cardinall ouer the walles, as a ſpectacle to the people, and ſo they made no further attempte, ſith they ſawe no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that preſent. The cauſe that moued the conſpirators thus to kyll the Cardinall, was thought to be partly in reuenge of the brenning of M. George Wiſhart, fearing to be ſerued with the ſame ſauſe, and in the ende to bee made to drinke of the ſame cuppe. Partly alſo it was thoughte they attempted it through counſell of ſome greate menne of the Realme, that hadde conceyued ſome deadly hatred againſt him.

The Cardinall of S Andrewes murthered.

The ſame euening, the olde Lard of Grange, Maiſter Henry Bailnanis, one of the Counſell of the Realme, and ſundrye Gentlemen of the ſurname of the Meluines, John Knoxes and others, to the number of ſeuen ſcore perſons, entred the Caſtell to their ſupporte, taking vppon them to keepe it againſt the gouernour and hys partakers.

The Gouernour hearing that his deere couſin the Cardinall was thus made away, aſſembled the greate Lordes of the Realme, as the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, and others, by whoſe aduiſe hee called a Parliamente, and forfalted them that had ſlayne the Cardinall, and kept the Caſtell of Saint Andrewes: herewith alſo hee reyſed a power and beſieged the ſame Caſtell, planting diuers peeces of greate artillerie againſt it, but it was ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with all manner of artillerie and munition by the Cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the enforcements that their aduerſaries withoute coulde aduaunce againſt them, wherevpō, after that the ſiege had continued the ſpace of three monethes, the Gouernour was glad to take an appoyntmēt with them within, to the end he might get out of their handes his eldeſt ſonne, who was remayning with the Cardinall at the time when hee was murthered, and ſo kepte by them that dyd the murther, tyll nowe they agreed to delyuer hym to his father, with condition that hee ſhoulde reyſe his ſiege.

The ſlayers of the Cardinall forfalted.

The Caſtell of Saint Andrews beſieged.

The ſiege reiſed.

They deliuered alſo the dead bodye of the Cardinall, after it had layne buried in a dunghill within the Caſtell, euer ſithence the daye in which they ſlew him.

In the yeare next enſuing, King Henry the eyght departed this life, after whome, ſucceeded his ſonne Edward, the fyrſt of that name King of England, France and Ireland.

1547 The Kyng of Englande deceaſed.

Shortly after, to witte, the laſt of Marche, Francis the Frenche King deceaſſed, and hys ſonne Henry, the ſecond of that name ſucceeded him, who at yͤ deſire of the gouernoure of Scotland, appoynted Leone Strozzi Prior of Capoa, a Knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of ſixteene Galleys fraughte with menne of warre, and munition, to paſſe into Scotlande, to help to winne the Caſtell of S. Andrewes.

The death of the Frenche

The Gouernour in the meane time with an army paſt to the Weſt borders to beſiege the Caſtell of Laugham, the whiche was kepte at that preſente by Michaell Wharton, hauyng then with him but ſixteene Engliſhmenne, who neuertheleſſe abid three or foure dayes ſiege, and ſeauen Canon ſhottes, and ſo yeelded the houſe to the Gouernoure, and hereby was the peace broken, firſte by the Scottes, euen as the Engliſhmen could haue wiſhed.

Moreouer the ſame time, the Earle of Rothons was acquit by an aſſiſe as they call it of Earles & Lords, of an accuſation wherewith he was charged as confederate and partie with thē that had murthered the Cardinall.

Whileſt the Gouernoure was thus paſſed with his armye to the Weſt borders, hee was aduertiſed that the Prior of Capoa was arriued, and entred into the Towne of Sainte Andrewes, wherevppon the Gouernoure, with all the Nobilitie that were then about him, haſted thyther to aſſiſt the Prior, and ſo the ſiege was ſtrongly layd aboute the Caſtell there.

The Caſtell of Saint Andre beſieged by the French.

The Prior cauſed certaine peeces of artillerie to bee drawen vppe, and mounted on the toppe of a Churche, whiche was higher than the Caſtell, ſo that thoſe peeces ſhot plump into the Caſtell, that none durſt ſhewe themſelues on the walles, or abyde in the yarde within the Caſtell.

Hee cauſed alſo certayne Canons to bee drawen with ingins, neere to the verye walles of the Caſtell, whyche battered the ſame in ſuche ſorte, as the ditches were neere hand filled with the rubbiſhe and ſtones of the walles that fell downe.

Moreouer, the Galleys at an high water approched on the Riuer ſide ſo neere to the Caſtell, that with ſhot of Cannons and other artillerie, they ſore annoyed them within, and ſlew diuers.

The defendants perceiuing themſelues thus beſieged on all ſides, and not able long to holde out, put forth a token vpon a ſpeares poynt, to ſignifie that they deſired parlee, whiche was graunted, and certaine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the Gouernoure, the Queene, and the Prior of Capoa. They offered to render the Caſtell, ſo they mighte depart, and haue their liues ſaued with bagge and baggage, but this would not bee graunted, the Gouernour vtterly refuſing it, at lẽgth he was cõtented to pardon thẽ of their liues, if the french King ſhould thinke it good, elſe to ſtande to hys pleaſure. The ſpoyle of the Caſtell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the ſurrender entring the ſame, lefte nothing behinde them that might ſerue them to any vſe in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the Galleys, and conueyd away into France priſoners at the Frenche kings diſcretion. Diuers of them were committed to ſundry priſons on the coaſt of Britaine, and others were appoynted to rowe in ẏ Galleis till ẏ yeare. 1550. in which the priſoners were ſet at libertie, and the others that were in the Galleis were redeemed by their friends for certayne ſummes of money.

ſtell of
e An-
yelded.

Thus was the Caſtell of Sainte Andrewes rendred the nine and twentith of July, foureteene dayes after the arriuall there of the Prior of Capoa, whereby his greate valiancie, well knowen afore that time, was ſo renued, as hys prayſe for his ſpeedie diſpatch and good ſucceſſe therein was much aduanced.

hior of

Shortly after the Duke of Somerſet, heretofore in this Booke named Earle of Hertford, Uncle by the mother vnto the yong Kyng of England, and admitted gouernour of his perſon, and protector of all his Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, minding the aduancement of the yong King his nephew, thought good wyth all ſpeede to procure the conſummation of the marriage, betwixte him, and the yong Queene of Scottes, but perceyuing that the ſame coulde not be brought to paſſe withoute force, hee ſeemed loth to let paſſe the opportunitie of time then offered (as hee tooke it) to ſerue his purpoſe: and therevpon by aduiſe of counſell leuied an army with all expedition, & came to Berwike, aboute the later ende of Auguſt, and in the beginning of September entred Scotlande with the ſame armye, conteyning a ſeauenteene or eyghteene thouſande men, whiche was deuided into three principall wardes, a vantgard led by the valiant Earle of Warwike, the battayle by the D. of Somerſet himſelfe, and the rerewarde by the Lord Dacres of the North. There were certaine wings and troupes of men of armes demilances, and light horſemen, and alſo of Harquebuſiers, that attended vpon theſe. iij. wards, garded with diuers peeces of great artillery: the lord Grey of Wiltõ high marſhall of the army, had the generall conductiõ of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Frauncis Brian, liuetenaunt of the light horſemen, with. viij. C. of them was appoynted to the vantgarde, Syr Peter Mewtas captaine of. v. C. Hagbutters, and ſir Frauncis Fleming, maiſter of the ordinaunce with a. M. light horſmen were appointed to the battaile, and ſir Richarde Manners, with. vj. C. light horſemen attended vpon the rerewarde. In this order marchyng throughe the Mers, and Louthian, they came at lengthe vnto a place called Buckling Brayes, neere to the Fourth ſide, in which riuer ẏ Engliſh fleete was arriued, and laye before the Towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay neerer to the army. The gouernour of Scotland aduertiſed of the comming of this army of Englande thus to inuade Scotland, with al diligẽce ſent abrode ſolemne ſummonance for the leuying of a newe army forth of all partes of the Realme, the which being aſſembled togither, hee encamped therewith neere to Muſkelburgh water, within leſſe than two miles of ẏ place where the Engliſh army came now to encamp.

Duke of
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gliſhe
e.

The Engliſhe fleete.

The Gouernour raiſeth an armye.

Heere we haue to vnderſtãd, that the Scots light Horſemen oftentimes woulde come pricking almoſt within theyr ſtaues length of the Engliſhmen as they marched, whooping & ſhouting, to the ende they mighte trayne them forth frõ their ſtrẽgth, and with rayling wordes would ſtil be in hand to prouoke thẽ therto, but the D. of Somerſet doubting the goodneſſe of thoſe Scottiſh prickers, gaue ſecret cõmandmẽt that no offer of ſkyrmiſh by the Scottiſh Horſmen ſhould be taken: but at length the L. Grey of Wilton, not well able to beare ſuch bold preſumption in the Scots, aduẽturing as he tooke it ouer raſhly, & more thã ſtood with their owne ſuretie, made ſute to the D. of Somerſet, that if they continued in ſuch brauerie, it mighte bee lawfull for him to ſet them further off. The D. at the firſt would by no meanes aſſent thereto, telling the L. Grey, that hys deſire proceeded more of a iolitie of courage, than of any knowledge of the enimie, and ſeemed to defende the goodneſſe of the Scottiſh Horſemen, but whẽ the L. Grey perſiſted in his ſute, and the Earle of Warwike aſſiſted his requeſt, the Duke in the ende yelded thereto. Herevppon when the Scottes the next time, whiche was on the Friday the ninth of September came forth to offer the ſkirmiſh after their wonted manner, the L. Grey taking with him certayne bandes of Horſmenne both menne of armes, Demilaunces,

The goodnes of the Scottiſh horſemen feared of the Engliſhemenne.

The Lorde Grey deſireth to encounter the Scottiſh horſemenne.

Order gyuen by the Lorde Grey.

Nicholas Gayneſford.

The Scottes Horſemen put to flight.

English Captaynes taken.

The Scottes meant not to haue gyuen battayle.

and alſo lighte Horſemenne, deuided them in troupes, appoynting the Spaniſh and Italian hagbutters on Horſebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermoſt troupe of the Engliſh Horſemenne, giuing order to the leaders of euery troupe, that to which ſo euer the enimie ſhould once offer, in any wiſe that no aunſwer by ſkirmiſhe were made them, but after they had drawen them to their accuſtomed play, and proffer of charge, that troupe that it was offered vnto, preſently vppon the enimies wheeling about ſhould throughly gyue it them, and that ſo giuen, the nexte troupe preſently to giue it in the face, and ſo as occaſion required, both thoſe troupes wholly togyther to help other without breaking. The Scottes comming forward, pricking and whouping after their olde wont, the Engliſhmen forbare a great whyle, tyll at the laſt, four or fyue hundred of them comming ſkattered vppon the ſpurre, with a maruellous ſhoute within their ſtaues length of the foremoſt troupe, and thinking then to haue wheeled about, Maiſter Nicholas Gayneſford, the leader of that troupe, and Lieutenant of the Lorde Greys band of his men of armes of Bulloigne, cryed a charge, whyche as ſpeedily on the Engliſh parte as vnlooked for of the Scottes beeing giuen, from charging at that time in ſport, the Scottes wer driuen to gallop away ſo faſt, as theyr Horſes myghte beare them, loſing of their companyes that were taken and ſlayne to the number of an eyght hundred or more (as ſome haue written) but yet as dyuers of the Engliſhmen aduentured too farre in following the chaſe, they were diſtreſſed, and ſundrye of them taken priſoners, among the whiche were ſome of theyr Captaynes, as Sir Rauſe Bulmer, Thomas Gower, and Robert Crouche, eache of them hauing in charge the leading of ſeueral bandes of lighte Horſemenne. Thus muche for this Fridayes ſkirmiſh, wherein the chiefeſt force of the Scottiſh Horſemen was defeated, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt. But nowe to proceede to the chiefeſt poynt of the Scottes infortunate proceedings. True it is (as the Scottes haue reported) that the Gouernoure, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazarde battayle within theyr owne Realme, but rather to lye ſtyll and defend their ground, if the Engliſhmenne ſhoulde come forwarde to gyue them battayle there.

The purpoſe of the Engliſh men.

The Engliſhmen aduertiſed therof the morrow after this great ſkirmiſh, reyſed theyr field verye earely, purpoſing to take an hyll called Pinkhill, where they myghte place their ordinance, and to ſhoote into the Scottiſh Campe, whereby they ſhoulde force the Scottes to diſlodge from theyr ground of aduantange.

The Gouernour and the Scottiſhe Lordes beholding their enimies thus marching forwarde, thoughte beſt to ſtay theyr enterpriſe, and therefore ſuddaynely notwithſtandyng theyr former determination, ruſhing forthe of theyr camp, paſſed forwarde to encounter theyr enimies.

The orderl o the Scottiſh battayl

The Engli Horſemen beaten bac

The valian neſſe of the Earle of W wike.

The Galle and two pi neſſes.

They were deuided into three battayles, the Earle of Angus wyth certayne Lordes with him, leading the vantgarde, the Earle of Huntley and his friendes the rerewarde, and the Gouernoure accompanyed with the Earle of Argile and the reſt of the noble menne, were in the maine battayle. The Engliſhmen hauyng gote the hyll, and perceyuing the Scottes to come forwardes with greate haſt, ſtayed for their comming, but the Scottes were ſo raſhe and haſtie paſſing firſte through the water in their armour, and ſo vp towardes the hill, that continuing their marche with ſuche ſpeede as they ſeemed, rather to trotte than to keepe anye ordinarie marching pace, before they coulde come to ioyne with the Engliſhmen, they were almoſt out of breath, yet the Earle of Angus & the other in the vantgard boldly abid the charge of al the Engliſh horſemen, & ſo rigorouſly rencountred them, that ſlaying & beating downe no ſmall nūber both of mē and horſes, they put the reſt to flight, ſo that no ſmall part of them retired backe in ſuch diſorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of yͤ footemen in the foreward, wherewith ſuche feare entred among the Engliſhmē, that as hath bin reported, they had vndoubtedly fledde, if the manfull courage of the Earle of Warwike had not bin ſhewed at that preſent, according to the wonted valure of hys often approued prowes, wherby he cauſed them to ſtay, and relie themſelues agayne. In the meane time, the battayle & the rerewarde of the Scottes aduaunced forwarde with great courage, but ther was a Galley, and two pineſſes of the Engliſhe fleete which from the ſea ſhotte ſo terribly at the Scottiſh army, that yͤ ſame was not only ſore galled and endomaged therby, but alſo ſtayed, that they could not come eaſily forward, and herewith the Engliſh vantgard encouraged with the comfortable wordes and behauiour of the Earle of Warwike, and other the Captaynes, made towards the Scottiſhe vantgard agayne, the whyche not able of it ſelfe to reſiſt, retired in good order to the greate battayle of Scotlande, wherevppon the multitude fearing, by reaſon they ſawe them in the foreward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all hadde bin loſt, gaue backe, and tooke them to flight, whome the Engliſhmenne followed amayne, ſlaying the Scottiſhmenne downe on heapes in paſſing great numbers.

Many were alſo drowned in the water of Undereſke, through the whiche they tooke their flight.

Earle of
ley ta-
priſoner,

The Earle of Huntley and the reregarde ſtoode ſtill with their enſignes and banners, tyll the chaſe was paſt by them, but at length were driuen to make away as well as the reſt, and the Earle himſelfe in the retire beeing taken a foote, well clad in gilte armour enameled, was ledde priſoner to the Lorde Protector. Dyuers other menne of name, Barons, and Knightes, were taken priſoners. There were ſlayne no ſmall number of perſonages of good accompte. Among other, the Lorde Fleming, the Maiſter of Erſkin, the Maiſter of Graham, the Maiſter of Meffyne, the Maiſter of Ogiluy, the Maiſter of Leuingſton, the M. of Ros, the Larde of Lochinwar, the Larde of Glencarnocke, and others. The next day, the Engliſh army remoued to Leith, where the Priſoners were put into a Church, diuers of them beeing ſore wounded, but the Earle of Huntley entring bond for them that they ſhould well and truely pay their raunſomes agreed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or elſe to come and preſent themſelues priſoners in England by a certaine daye, they were ſuffered to depart. The Gouernour eſcaping from the battayle, came to Striueling, where the Queene Regent was, togyther with hir daughter the yong Queene. Here by the counſell and aduiſe of the Earle of Angus, and dyuers other Lordes that were alſo withdrawē thither after the battayle, they were conueyd to the Countrey of Menteith, where they remayned in the Abbey of Inch Mahome, til the Engliſh armye was departed out of the Realme, and then they remoued agayne, and came to Striueling.

of name

Earle of
ley en-
bonde
his Coun-
men.

Queene
ued
Sterling.

The Engliſhe nauie wanne the Iſle of S. Colmes Ins, and did ſundry other exploytes by Sea, as in the Engliſh Hiſtorie it may appere.

Iſle of
S. Colmes
wonne by
liſhmen.
Earle of
well.

Moreouer, the Earle of Bodwell, whome the Gouernour had before kepte in priſon, and was the night after the battayle ſet at libertie, repayred to the Duke of Somerſet with diuers other Lordes and Gentlemen of Louthian, whileſt he lay at Lieth, offering themſelues to be at the King of Englands commaundement, and ſo were aſſured from receyuing hurte or domage by the Engliſh power.

Engliſhe
retur-
home-

The Duke of Somerſet hauing remayned at Leith an eight dayes, and demaunding the Caſtell of Edenburgh, could not obteyne it, departed from thence the eyghteenth of December homewardes the nexte way, ouer the Mountaynes of Soutrey, comming the thirde day before the Caſtell of Hume, where they dyd ſo muche by countenancing to win that fortreſſe, that within three or foure dayes after their cōming thither, it was ſurrendred.

Home Caſtell rendred to the Engliſhmen.

This Caſtell beeing wonne, and a garniſon left therein to keepe it, they remoued to Rockeſburgh, where within the compaſſe of the ruinous walles of an olde Caſtell they builte a forte, and after returning into England, lefte a conuenient garniſon to keepe it.

Faſt Caſtell wonne by them.

They gote alſo about the ſame time a ſtrōg fortreſſe, called Faſt Caſtell, ſtanding neere to the Sea ſyde, and placed a garniſon within it.

Broughtie Crag wonne.

And moreouer in this meane tyme, theyr Fleete by Sea wanne the Caſtell of Broughtie Crag, and putte in like manner a garniſon within it to keepe the ſame (as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie it may further appeare:) and in what ſort alſo all the chiefeſt Lordes and Gentlemen of the Mers and Tiuidale, came in, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Duke of Somerſet, vpon aſſurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whileſt the Duke of Somerſette with hys armie dyd thus inuade Scotland on the Eaſt parte, it was ordeyned by the ſayde Duke, and other of the Counſell to the Kyng of Englande, that Mathewe Earle of Lennox, and Thomas Lorde Wharton, then Warden of the Weſt Marches of Englande, ſhould with a power inuade Scotlande on the Weſt ſyde, to the end that there ſhould not any of the Weſt bordures nor Countreys come to aſſiſt the Gouernour, againſt the Duke of Somerſettes armye, but bee driuen to remayne at home to defend their owne Countrey. Hereupon, there was an army leuied to the number of fiue thouſande footemenne, and eyghte hundred light Horſemen, with whiche power, the Earle of Lennox and the Lorde Wharton entring Scotlande the eyght of September, encamped the firſte night vpon the water of Eſke, & marched the nexte daye through the nether parte of Annandale, till they came to the Caſtell of Milke, a fortreſſe of good ſtrength, ẏ walles being fourteene foote thicke. Captain of this Caſtell was one Io. Steward, brother to the Laird thereof, who vppon the approch of the Earle of Lennox, yeelded the houſe vnto him, withoute any ſhewe of reſiſtance, whereupon Ferguſe Graham, brother to Richie Grahame of Eſke, was appointed with a garniſon of Souldiers to keepe that Caſtell to the vſe of the yong King of Englande, and was afterwards confirmed Captayne there with fiftie light Horſemen, by appoyntmente of the Duke of Somerſette, and the Counſell, ſo that during the warres, he remayned there to the great annoyance of the Scottes, enimies to Englande, and preſeruation of the Countrey thereaboutes, to the King of Englands vſe.

The Caſtell of Milke yeelded

The twentith of September, the Earle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton encamped neere to the Towne of Annande, and the morrow after approching neerer to the ſame, gaue ſommonaunce vnto the Captaine thereof, called Lion, of the houſe of Glames, who with an hundred Scottes kept the Churche and ſteeple of Annand, beeyng peeces of themſelues verye ſtrong and mightily reenforſed with earth: they within therefore refuſed to yeelde, and valiantly defended themſelues.

The greateſt peeces of artillerie whych the Engliſhmen hadde there at that time, were certayne double and ſingle Falcons, wherewyth they beate only the battlements, till they myght with certayne engines approche harde to the walles, and vndermine the ſame, ſo as the roofe of the Church was ſhaken downe, and a greate number of them within the Church ſlayne and cruſſhed to death. Suche as eſcaped fledde into the Steeple. Two of the Engliſhmen that wroughte aboute the mynes were ſlayne, but at length, the Captayne moued by perſwaſion of the Erle of Lennox, to whome hee claymed to bee of kynne, rendered the Steeple vnto hym, with hymſelfe, and. 96. Scottes Souldyers, with condition to haue their lyues onely ſaued, and the Captayne to remayne priſoner, and to goe into England. Immediatly vpon theyr comming forth of the Steeple, fyre was giuen to the traines of powder in the mynes, and ſo both the Church and Steeple were blowen vp into the ayre, and raſed downe to the grounde. Thys done, they brente the Towne (after they hadde ſacked it) and left not a ſtone ſtanding vppon an other, for that the ſame Towne hadde euer bin a right noyſome neyghbour to Englande. The Engliſhmen had conceyued ſuche ſpite towardes thys Towne, that if they ſawe but a peece of timber remayning vnbrente, they would cutte the ſame in peeces with theyr bylles. The Countrey herewith was ſtriken in ſuch feare, that the next daye all the Kilpatrickes and the Iordeynes, the Lards of Kirkmichel, Ipilgirtht, Cloſbourne, Howmendes, Nuby, and yͤ Irrewings, the Belles, the Rigges, the Murrayes, and all the clanes and ſurnames of the nether part of Annerdale, came in, and receyued an oth of obeyſance, as ſubiectes to the King of Englande, deliuering pledges for their aſſured loyaltie.

The Church of Annand vndermined.

The Steeple yeelded.

The Church and Steeple of Annand blowen vp with powder.

The Scottes that came to aſſure them ſelues.

The reſidue that woulde not come in and ſubmitte themſelues, hadde theyr houſes brent, their goodes and cattell fetched away by the Engliſhe lyghte Horſemen, that were ſente abrode into the Countrey for that purpoſe.

Theſe things thus executed, the Earle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton returned backe into Englande wyth theyr priſoners, booties and ſpoyles, receyuing greate thankes and commendations by gentle letters, of the fyue and twentith of September, from the Duke of Somerſet, then lying at Rockeſburgh, aboute fortifying of that place.

The gouernour perceyuing thus that without the aſſiſtance of Fraunce hee ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhmen, hauing now gote ſuch foote hold within the Realme of Scotland, required the Queene Dowager, and Monſieur Doyſell, Liger Ambaſſador for the Frenche Kyng to perſwade with him by letters, to ſend an army into Scotland, to the aide of his frẽds there. The Queene, and Monſieur Doyſell, perceyuing a ready way prepared to bring that to paſſe which they moſt deſired, which was, to haue the Queene of Scotlande ordred in all things by the Frenche Kyngs aduice, they vndertooke to procure an army out of Fraunce, according to the gouernours deſire, if hee wyth the ſtates of the Realme woulde agree that the Queene myghte bee ſente into Fraunce, and a contract made for hir beſtowing in marriage, as ſtoode with the French Kings pleaſure. The Gouernour condiſcending herevnto, aſſembled the ſtates, and by their aduiſes, paſſed certayne couenantes to the effect aforeſayd, and ſente the ſame in writing by certayne meſſengers into Fraunce.

The Gouernours ſuite the Queene Dowager,an to the Frenc Ambaſſado

The Queene Dowager p miſeth ayde out of Frau with condi

The Frenche King gladly accepting thys meſſage, prepared a nauie of Shyppes and Galeys to tranſporte an army into Scotland the next Sommer. In the meane time, the Gouernour laid ſiege to Broughtie Crag, and the D. of Somerſet as well for meane to cauſe the Scottes to retire that ſiege, as alſo for the annoyance of Clideſdale, apperteyning to yͤ Gouernour and yͤ Erle of Angus, and other Scots yͭ would not come in to the obeyſance of the K. of England, appoynted the Earle of Lennox to make a new inuaſiõ into Scotland, & to vſe for triall of their fidelities, the help of two thouſand Scottiſh light horſemen, that were already aſſured and ſworne to ſerue the Kyng of England in all ſuch exploytes in which they ſhould be employed. The Earle of Lennox deſirous to aduaunce the King of Englands affayres, & hauing receyued letters from William Earle of Glencarne, with promiſe of hys aſſiſtance, and likewiſe of his father in lawe the Earle of Angus, the Larde of Drumlenrig, and thoſe Lardes and Gentlemenne of the Countreys of Kile, Cunningham, Renfreu, & Lennox, entred Scotlãd about the twelfth of Decẽber, accompanyed with Henry Whartõ, ſecond ſon to the L. Wharton, with two C. light horſemen, of the garniſons in Scotland, and comming firſt

The Gouernour ſendet into France for aide.

Broughtie Crag beſieg by the Gouernoure.

The Earle o Lennox entreth into Scotlande.

to Dunfreis, where the generall aſſemblie was appoynted of the two thouſande aſſured Scottiſhe lyght Horſemen, when the muſters ſhould bee taken, hee founde vnneth three hundred, and thoſe for the more part of the broken countreys of Annãdale, Ewiſdale, Eſdale, and Liddeſdale. The Earle of Glencarne came thither indeede, but vnder a counterfeit ſhewe of good meaning, where in trueth hee meante nothyng but crafte to diſcouer all the Earle of Lennox hys purpoſes, who perceyuing his double dealing, and fynding no ſuche forces ready to aſſiſt hym as he looked for, and moreouer miſtruſting the loyalties of the maiſter of Maxwell, & the Gẽtlemẽ of Nideſdale, meaning as he tooke it, to entrappe hym, and delyuer hym to the Queene Dowager, and the Lorde Gouernour, ſtoode in ſome perplexitie what way ſhould bee the beſt for hym to followe, thinking it not to ſtande wyth hys honor to returne, without atchieuing ſome enterpriſe.

The Earle of Glencarne his double dealing.

Lord Haries,

The Earle of Lennox in doubt what to do.

The Earle of Glencarne had ſhewed to him two letters written by the Larde of Drumlanrig, ſignifying, that if the Earle of Lennox came, accompanyed onely with Scottiſhmen, he woulde both ſerue him and honor him in the beſt wiſe hee myghte, but if hee broughte thoſe Engliſhmenne in his company, he would not onely refuſe to ayde hym, but alſo reyſe all the power hee myght make, eyther by his friends or otherwiſe to reſiſt him.

The Lard of Drumlanrig.

The Earle thus perceyuing that hee was in daunger to bee betrayed among them, and that there was all the deuiſes practiſed that myghte bee to ſtay thoſe that ſhoulde come to the deuotion of the King of Englande, diſſembled the matter with Glencarne and other that were ſuborned to betray hym, pretendyng to them, that hee would followe the courſe of theyr deuiſes, but in the meane tyme hee gote togither the Engliſhe Captaynes that were appoynted to attende hym, and alſo ſuche Scottiſhmen as hee knewe hee myghte truſt, and meaning to ſcourge Drumlanrig, and to cutte hym ſhorte, for that hee was the chiefe inſtrument to ſtay all the Scottiſhmenne in thoſe parties from entring friendſhippe wyth the Engliſhmenne: hee gaue ſecret warning to all the Captaynes and leaders aboute nine of the clocke at night, that they ſhould be ready wyth theyr men to mount on Horſebacke at the firſte ſounde of the Trumpette, and keeping wyth them the Erle of Glencarne, the M. of Maxwel, the Lardes of Cloſborne, Kirkmichel, and others the Gentlemenne of Nideſdale and Innandale, hee ſente forthe ſyxe hundred choſen Horſemenne vppon ſounde of the Trumpette, at twelue of the clocke at nyghte, vnder the leadyng of Henrye Wharton, and other the Captaynes of the garniſons, who in the dawning of the nexte morrowe, arriued neere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appoynted foure hundred of theyr Horſemenne to paſſe to the forrey, who reyſed fyre, and brente two myles in length, both Townes and Villages on each ſide, euen harde to the gates of Drumlanrig, ſpoyled the houſes of goodes and riches, worth to the value of two thouſande markes, gote three thouſande Sheepe, two thouſande hearde of great Cattell, beſide nine ſcore horſes and mares. The Innandallers laden wyth ſpoyle and Cattaile, beeing in number a foure hundred men, departed with their pray homewards. The Lard of Drumlanrig lying al thys while in ambuſh with ſeauen hundred men, forbare to breake out to gyue anye charge vppon his enimies, doubting leaſt the Earle of Lennox hadde kepte a ſtale behynde, but nowe

The Earle of Lennox diſſembleth with diſſemblers.

Horſemen ſent forth to ſcourge Drũlanrig.

They harry the Countrey about Drumlanrig.

after he perceyued that the moſt part of the enimies were departed, and that the reſidue of the Gentlemenne and Captaynes of the Engliſhe Horſemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreys, being not paſt a ſixe ſkore men, he fiercely followed after them with hys power, in hope not onely to ouerthrowe and diſtreſſe them, but alſo to take the Earle of Lennox at Dunfreys.

Drumlanrig purſueth the Engliſhmen.

Maiſter Henrye Wharton and thoſe ſixe ſcore Horſemen, retiring beyonde the water of Nith, and perceyuing that Drumlanrig and his mẽ entred the water raſhly to purſue them, returned, and gaue ſuch a deſperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his company were ſcattered and putte to flighte, yet Drumlanrig himſelfe, although there were ſome ſpeares broken vppon hym, through the goodneſſe of hys Horſe eſcaped.

He is put to flight.

Two Gentlemen of his ſurname and traine, that were in no ſmall eſtimatiõ with him, were ſlayne, and ſixe ſcore priſoners taken, and ledde to Dunfreis.

The terrour of this ouerthrowe, and ỹ bruite of the Earle of Lennox hys entrie thus made into Scotland, cauſed the Gouernoure to leuie his ſiege frõ Broughtie Crag, and with ſpeede to come from thence, the better to defende hys Countreys of Cliddeſdale, and Dowglaſdale.

The ſiege of Broughtie Crag reyſed.

Sir Andrew Dudley, Captayn of Broughtie Crag, bare himſelfe right valiantly, in defending the Caſtell during thys ſiege, ſo that the Scottes certeſſe loſt diuers hardy perſonages, and among other Gawen Hamilton, the Gouernoures kinneſman, was ſlayne at the ſame ſiege.

The Prior of Whiterne.

Moreouer, the Prior of Whiterne by hys letters and meſſengers, offered himſelfe to obey the King of Englande: and the inhabitantes of the burroughe and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirckowbre, the Knightes of Loghinwar and Garleis, the Laird and tutor of Bomby, ỹ Lairde of Cardines, and all the Gentlemen of Annandale, Nideſdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, beeyng. 80. myles in length from Carelile, through the inducemente of the foreſayd Prior, and of the Knightes of Loghinwar and Garleis (for the fauor they bare to ỹ Earle of Lennox) within two dayes after the diſconfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receyued an oth to be true to the Kyng of Englande, and afterwardes wente with the Earle vnto Carelile, leauing the Countrey in good quiet, and the King of England acknowledged for Lorde of Galloway, Nideſdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

And after that the forenamed perſons hadde remayned for a ſpace at Carlile, they deliuered pledges, and returned home, into their Countreys, as aſſured men and ſubiects to the Kyng of England.

The Scottes deliuer pledges.

In thys meane whyle, the Gouernoure hauing helde ſiege before the Caſtell of Broughtie Crag, by the ſpace of thirtie daies, and nowe retiring from thence (as before yee haue hearde) by the aduice of the principall Lordes aboute hym, hee cauſed Maiſter Iames Halibourton, tutor of thoſe parties, to reyſe certaine companies of Horſemen, and appoynted hym wyth Captaine Leiremouth, whome he left in Dundee with certayne footemenne) to defende the Countrey againſt the Engliſhmenne, if they iſſued forthe of Broughtie crag, to atchieue anye enterpriſe anye where neere thereabontes.

Iames Holburton.

Captayne Leitmouth.

The Duke of Somerſet by aduice of the reſidue of the counſell in England, myndíng to bridle the Scottes that refuſed to come in and ſubmit themſelues to the King of Englande, tooke order for the building of one Forte at Lawder, and an other at Hadington, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie it may appeare.

Forts built.

1548

And further it was appoynted alſo, that about the ende of February, the Earle of Lennox and the Lorde Wharton with ſeauen hundred Engliſhe horſemenne, beſyde the aſſured Scottes Horſemenne, and aboute a foure or fyue thouſande Engliſhe footemenne, ſhoulde by the Weſt bordures inuade Scotlande: they accordyng to theyr commiſſion ſette forward, and the fyrſte nyghte came to Lochmaben, and there lodged.

The Earle of Lennox and the L. Wharton inuade Scotland.

The nexte daye they marched to Dunfreis, and whyleſt they remayned there, the Earle of Angus beeyng come to Drumlanrig, by meſſengers entred ſome talke wyth hys ſonne in lawe the Earle of Lennox: but ſyth it was perceyued that thys was done, rather to entrappe the Earle of Lennox, or at the leaſtwiſe to driue tyme, vppon conſultation hadde wyth the Maiſter of Maxwell, the Larde of Cloeſborne, and others the Gentlemen aſſured of Nideſdale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the Townes of Morton, Duſdere, and others, neere adioyning togyther in thoſe parties, ſhoulde bee brente, to the ende, that the Earle of Angus myghte ſo bee drawen to the fielde, and caughte by ſome one meane or other.

The diſsimulation of the Earle of Angus.

Aboute midnighte therefore the forrey beeyng ſette forthe, vnder the leading of Maiſter Henry Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred lyght Horſemenne, the Maiſter of Maxwell, nowe Lorde Herries, and the reſidue of the aſſured menne beeyng amongſt them,

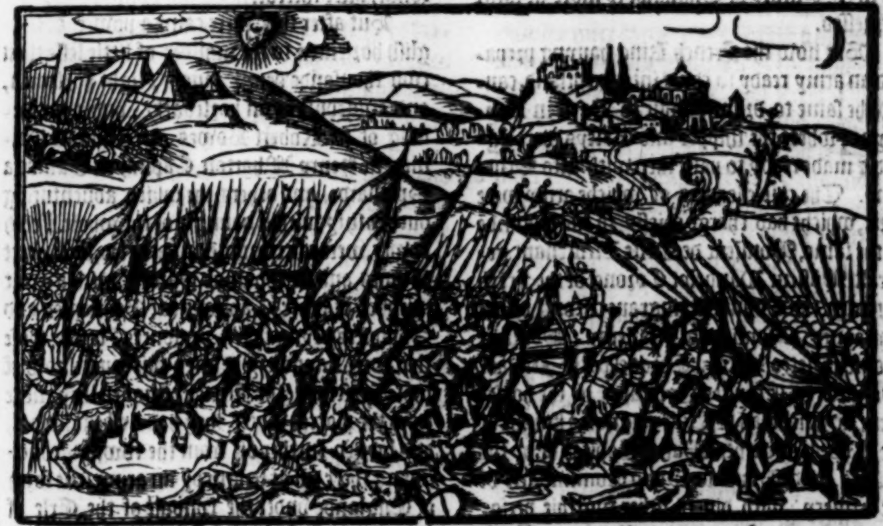
Maiſter Henry Whatton.

kept forewarde, and in the mornyng the Erle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton marched forth with the footemen, till they came tenne miles beyond Dunfreis: And where the Erle of Angus was drawen to the Caſtell of Drumlanrig vnder pretence to commune with his ſonne the Erle of Lennox (but meanyng to entrappe him) if it were poſſible he was ſo enuironned by the Engliſh footemen ere he coulde haue ſufficient warnyng, that he was forced to flee onely with fiue perſons in his company. But nowe the Engliſhe horſemen beyng come to Duſdere. xlviij. miles within ẏ realme of Scotland, hauing paſſed ſundry great riuers, they ſet that towne on fire. But the maſter of Maxwell with the other Scottiſh gentlemen & light horſemen borderers, to the nũber of foure hundred, beyng in company of the Engliſhe horſemen, as before ye haue heard, had contriued the deſtruction of the Engliſhmen afore hande, and the better to worke their feate, they had procured as ye haue hearde, the Erle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a choſen power of men for that purpoſe. There were alſo vpon euery hil about, great numbers of footemen Scottes, with ſpeares and lance ſtaues to aſſiſt the Erle of Angus and his complices agaynſt the Engliſhmen. The Lairde of Drumlanrig with a number of choſen horſemen was aduaũced forward in ſight of the Engliſhmen as they were buſie in firyng the towne of Duſdere. The aſſured Scottes therefore thinking the enterpriſe to be ſurely inough conueyed for their contriued purpoſe, openly vpon the field neare to Duſdere, hoyſting vp a blacke penſill vpon a ſpeare poynt for a token, reuolted wholy, and ioyned themſelues to the Laird of Drumlanrig & other their countrey men, and thruſt in betwixt the Engliſh horſemen and footemen, to the great perill of diſtreſſing aſwell the one as the other: for making towardes the place where the Erle of Lennox, and the Lord Wharton were comming forwarde with their footemen, neere to the olde caſtell of Dauſwynton, ſometime the houſe of the Cumynes, they bruyted it abroad that the Engliſh horſemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The reuolting of the aſſured Scottes.

A falſe rumor ſpred.

The Erle of Lennox beholding the manner of his aduerſaries, alighted afoote from his horſe willing the Lorde Wharton to do the like: for this day (ſayd he) I will die a true Engliſhman. At length the Engliſh horſemen fetching a cõpaſſe in retyring backe frõ Duſdere, came neare to the place where the Erle & the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell, and thinking no leſſe but that their horſemen had bene ouerthrowen, were ready to marche backe towardes Dunfreis. But their horſemen thus commyng in, and perceyuing how the matter ſtode, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scottes that ſtode countenauncyng the footemen, and ready to take the aduantage if they might haue dryue them through ſhrinkyng backe into any diſorder: but ſuch was the violence of the ſhocke giuen at that inſtant with great manhode vndoubtedly by the Engliſh horſemen, that the Scottes were therewith put out of array, ſcattered & quyte put to flight: the Lairde of Drumlanrig beyng taken pryſoner corrupted his taker and ſo gotte away. The maſter of Maxwell eſcaped in great daunger of life, for he had ſundry ſpeares broken on him in the chaſe as he fledde away. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of .400. beſide ſundry that were drowned in the water of Nyth. Amõgſt the priſoners were theſe men of name, the Abbot of new Abbey, Chriſty Irrewyng of Bonſhaw, a brother of the Laird of Hempſfield, and many other Gentlemen of name. Dunfreis



Dunfreys ſpoyled.

was rifled and ſpoyled: as the Erle of Lennox and the Engliſhmenne returned thither, and a Marſhall courte appoynted there for execution of pledges, but yet ſuſpended and ſtayed, till the Counſels pleaſure might bee knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the firſt euill newes ſpredde abrode, and certified to the court of England of this iourney, howe the Erle of Lennox and the Engliſh army was ouerthrowẽ, ſo that it was by order appoynted, that the Erle of Derby, the Lords Scroupe, & Coniers, with their powers ſhould repayre to the Weſt borders to garniſhe the ſame for defence agaynſt the enimies: but vpon the true reporte how the mater had paſſed, made by Maſter Henry Wharton, and one Biſhop a Scottiſhman, ſent in poſt for that purpoſe, that appoyntment was ſtayed, and maſter Wharton was at that time made Knight, and the ſayde Biſhop richely rewarded for bringing ſo good newes. Herewith were letters directed downe from the counſell to the Lorde Wharton, for the executiõ of certaine pledges, to witte the maſter of Maxwels pledge, beyng one of his neareſt kinſmen, of the houſe of the Herries, alſo the Warden of the Grey friers in Dunfreis, the Vicar of Carlauerock, and diuers other whiche were executed at Carliſle.

Pledges executed.

In this meane time were the fortes at Lawder, and Hadyngton buylte, the caſtels of Yeſter and Dawkith wonne, al the Milles brent within foure myles of eche hande of Edenburgh, and other exploytes atchieued by the Engliſhmen, as in the Hiſtory of Englande is more at large expreſſed.

A nauy prepared at Breſt in Brytayne.

The chiefe capitaines of the French army that came into Scotland.

But now the French King hauyng prepared an army ready to come into Scotland, cauſed the ſame to drawe downe to Breſt in Brytayne, where the ſhippes and Galeys were rigged & made ready to paſſe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of whiche army were theſe, whiche had charge chiefly to commaunde in the ſame, Monſieur de Deſſe Lieutenant generall, Mõſieur Dandelot Coronel of the Frẽch footmen, the Counte Reingraue coronel of the Almaynes, Monſieur de Malleray, Monſieur Doyſel, Pietro Strozzi Coronel of the Italiãs, Monſieur de Etauges Capitayne of the horſemen, ſir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rodes, or rather Malta Capitayne of the Galeys, and Monſieur Duno Commiſſarie of the artillery, with diuers other worthie perſonages and men of approued valiancy. Theſe Capitaynes with theyr powers beyng embarqued at Breſt, ſayled alongſt by the Eaſt ſeas, and at length aboute the middeſt of Iune came into the Rode before Leith, where they landed theyr people and ordinaunce, and afterwardes with the aduiſe of the Gouernour, and other of the Scottiſh Lordes, they went to beſiege Hadington, and commyng thither, encamped thẽſelues in places of aduantage about the towne, caſte trenches, planted their ordinaunce, battered the rampyres, and kept them within ſtraytly beſieged on eche hande, vſing all the wayes they coulde deuiſe to cõſtrayne the Engliſhmen to yeelde: they forbeare yet to giue a generall aſſaulte, bycauſe they would not hazarde (as they haue reported) the loſſe of ſo many menne, as might haue bene ſlayne and maymed thereby, to the greate weakenyng of their power there, hauyng not mean to ſupply it whã they would, and yet they had a great army of Scottes with them for a ſeaſon, and had made the breaches ſo reaſonable, that with ſmall payne they mighte haue entred by the ſame, if the force of the defendants had not ſuffiſed with handeblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubte there was no want of good willes in them ſo to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this ſiege, they within ſtoode in great neceſſitie of things behouefull for the defenſe of the towne. Wherevpon ſir Henry Wharton with a band of light horſemen of the Weſt borders and others, came and put into the towne a certayne number of men with powder, & other neceſſaries, greatly to the reliefe of the beſieged, and no leſſe diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen and Scottes, that were not aware of this enterprice till it was done in the night ſeaſon, by the good and fortunate conduction of them that had the conueyance thereof.

Hadyngton beſieged.

Why the Frenchmen forbare to giue an aſſault.

But after this, there came a power of Engliſh horſemen to the number of little leſſe than two thouſande demie lances, light horſemen, and arquebuſiers on horſebacke, vnder the leading of ſir Robert Bowes, ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Henry Wharton, Capitayne Gamboa a Spaniarde, and others, the which aduenturing ouer raſhly within daunger of the whole Frẽch power, were ouerthrowẽ, and chaſed, ſir Robert Bowes, and ſir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other Capitaynes, Gentlemen and Souldiers beyng taken pryſoners, beſide thoſe that were ſlayne. Yet after this ouerthrow of thoſe horſemen, the French remoued theyr ſiege from the places where they had firſt planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuyng there till at length by an army ſent forth of Englande vnder the conduct of the Erle of Shrewſbury, the Lorde Grey, and others, they were conſtreyned to retyre from thence, as in the Engliſh hiſtory ye may finde more largely expreſſed, to the whiche for further report of the euentes chauncyng duryng that ſiege, I referre the reader.

The Engliſ horſemen o uerthrowe

The Erle of Shrewſbury remoueth t ſiege from Hadington.

But this is to be remembred, that whyleſt the ſiege remayned at Hadyngton, by a conuention or aſſemble of the Lordes it was decreed, that the Queene ſhoulde be ſente into Fraunce, and thereupō Monſieur de Villegaignon with foure Galleys departing from Leith, made ſemblance as though he would haue ſayled into Fraunce, but hauyng paſſed the mouth of the Fourth he turned his courſe on the left hand to paſſe alōgſt the ſhoore Northward by the Germayne ſeas, ỹ compaſſing the lande on the Eaſt ſide, he might paſſe about by the Iſles of Orkney, and ſo by the Weſt Iſles till he came to Dunbretayne where the yong Queene lay.

Nicholas
Villegaig=
n.

This iourney he fortunately atchieued, the ſame neuer afore that tyme to mans remembrance beyng made or attempted with Galeys. At his arriuall at Dunbretayne, he founde all things ready prouided neceſſary for the embarquyng of the Queene, that he might conuey hir into Fraunce, for the accompliſhment wherof he had taken that iourney in hande. Herevpon ſhe beyng brought aborde into the Kings owne Galey, wherein Monſieur de Brezze was alſo appoynted to be abourde with hyr, as hee that had bene ſent with expreſſe commaundement to ſee hir conueyed into Fraunce, who togither with Villegaignon ſhewed ſuch diligēce in atchieuyng that enterpriſe, that finally they arriued with proſperous winde and weather in the hauen of Breſt in Brytaine with that yong Queene, beyng as then betwixte fiue and ſixe yeares of age.

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But now to the doyngs in Scotlande concerning ỹ warres there, after that ỹ ſiege of Hadington was reyſed by the Engliſhe armie as before ye haue hearde, the Frenchmenne thereupon retyred themſelues vnto Muſkelbourgh, and chooſing forth a plot of grounde for theyr aduātage, kept themſelues within the ſame, and herewith there came to them a fiftene thouſande Scottiſhmen to aſſiſte them, ſo that when the Engliſhmen came forewardes to aſſayle them, they found them ſo ſtrongly embattayled, that whether their cōmiſſion did not ſo farre extend, or whether they had no likyng of the matche, they forbare to ſet vpon them in that grounde of ſo great diſauantage for the aſſaylantes, & ſo returned back to Hadington, & after homewardes, hauing furniſhed the towne with newe ſupplies of men, munition, and vitayles ſufficient.

e Frēchmē
mpe at
ſkelburgh

wore here=
ā England.

Here is to be noted ỹ the engliſh fleete entring into the Fourth was ready to haue ayded ỹ army by lande as occaſions might haue bene offered, but the Lord Admirall perceyuing no likelyhood of battayle by lande, tooke vpon him to atchieue ſome other enterpriſes, and firſt comming to Brent Iland ſet certaine ſhippes a fire there, of the chiefeſt in the riuer, and ſaluting the towne of Leith as he paſſed by, with Canon ſhotte, he determined to lande ſome of his men on the North ſide of the Fourth, to make ſome ſpoyle within the countrey of Fife. But Iohn Erſkin Lard of Dun, as then ſomewhat diſeaſed and returned home from the campe, cauſed ſuch dayly and nightly watche and warde to be kept, that this enterpriſe coulde not be ſo ſecretely conueyed by the Engliſhmen, but that the ſame was perceyued, & ſo preuented, that vpon theyr landyng they were forced to retyre with loſſe, and happy was he that might firſt get agayne to ſhippeborde.

e Lord ad-
rall of En-
d.

The Laird of Dun.

The Engliſh men repulſed at S. Menettes.

The Erle of Shrewſbury beyng come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the buylding of a forte there, as in the Engliſh hiſtory further may appeare, and in the meane tyme Monſieur de Deſſe remaynyng in campe at Muſkelbourgh, hearing that the Engliſh armie was remoued homewardes, & how diuers newe bandes of horſemen and footemen, beyng lefte in Hadington, were ready to come forth to ſkirmiſh abroade vpon ſight of the enimy, he tooke aduiſe to trie if he might drawe them forth to their loſſe, and therevpon was Monſieur Dandelot & the Reingraue appoynted to chooſe forth a thouſande of their luſtieſt footemen, the whiche with three hundred horſemen were conueyed and layde cloſely in ambuſhe, behinde a litle hill not farre from the towne. This done, a few horſemē were ſent forth to drawe the Engliſhmen out of the towne to ſkirmiſh with thē. The Engliſhmē wer no ſooner aduiſed that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horſemen iſſued out of the towne backe with certayne footemen, and ſtreight had the Frenchmen in chaſe, who retyring, mainteyned the ſkirmiſh, of purpoſe to make the Engliſhmē more earneſt to come forewarde: but immediatly as Mōſieur de Deſſe ſaw his time, he gaue ſigne by ſounde of Trumpet to the footemen to breake forth, who togither with the horſemen gaue ſo fierce an onſet vpon the enimies, that they were incontinently diſcomfited, and fleyng toward the towne, were followed by the Frenchmen harde to the Walles, diuers were ſlayne, and about an hundred taken pryſoners.

The Engliſh mē put to the worſe at a ſkirmiſh neare to Hadington.

After this Monſieur de Deſſe reyſed from Muſkelbourgh, and commyng to Lieth ſette in hande to fortifie that towne. The Marſhall Strozzi, and Monſieur Dandelot, with diuers other Capitaynes embarqued themſelues in the Galey that yet remayned, tooke their courſe to returne into Fraunce, one of the ſame Galeys (they beyng eight in number, beſide a foyſt and a Brigandine) was taken by an Engliſh ſhippe called the Faucon, as ſhee paſſed through the

Leith fortified

A galley takē.

narrow ſtas at a place named the Southfurlong, ſhe beyng alone as it chanced the hindermoſt of all the companie.

After the departure of Monſieur Dandelot, Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron remayned Coronell of the French footmen in Scotland. As to the furniture on the water there remained now but foure Galeys vnder the guiding of one capitayne Bache an Italian, a man of great experience and approued ſkill. For ye muſt vnderſtand, that before the arriuall of the Engliſh nauie and armie to the ſuccours of them in Hadington, Monſieur de Mallerie vice Admirall of Fraũce returned home with the fleete of ſhips yͭ had brought the French armie into Scotlãd.

Capitayne Bache.

Monſieur de Mallerie vice Admirall of Fraunce.

In what ſort the Lord Grey of Wilton afflicted the countreys of Tiuidale & Liddeſdale, after the returne of the Erle of Shrewſbury, is partely touched in the hiſtory of England.

About the ſame time, there chãced a mutinie to ryſe betwixt the Scottes and Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reaſon that a French ſouldier fel a quarelling with two or three Scottiſhmen, & falling togither by the eares, diuers Scots that came to departe the fray, woulde haue had the Frenchman to pryſon, but other Frenchmẽ beyng there alſo preſent, woulde not ſuffer the Scottes to take him away. Wherevpon aroſe a great tumult and hurle amõg them, in ſo much that there were diuers ſlayne on bothe partes, namely James Hamilton Lard of Stanhouſe knight, capitayne of the Caſtel, and Prouoſt of the towne of Edenburgh with his ſonne, and M. William Steward one of the Queenes ſeruants beſide ſundry others. For the Frenchmen doubting ſome contriued commotion agaynſt them, aſſembled togither in order of battayle in the ſtreetes, ſo that before the mater mighte bee appeaſed by the Capitaines that ſhewed theyr diligent endeuors therein, they had inough to do to bryng it to paſſe as they wiſhed.

An affray betwixt the frẽch ſouldiers, and the towneſmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this buſineſſe was hanged the ſame day in the market place of Edẽburgh, where he began firſt to pyke the quarell.

Monſieur de Deſſe to ſhew that this variãce had not proceeded ſo farre as the bruyte thereof gaue forth (for it was rather increaſed ye may be ſure than diminiſhed) vndertooke an enterpriſe in hand to winne the towne of Hadington by a camiſado, but in what ſorte they miſſed theyr purpoſe, and howe they were well beaten backe, and ſente away by the valiant manhood of the Engliſh capitaynes & ſouldiers thẽ within that towne, ye may reade further thereof in the Engliſhe hiſtory. There were ſeuen ſcore, ſome ſay three hundred ſlaine in the baſe court.

The Frenchmẽ giue a camiſado to Hadington, & are beaten backe.

Vlpian Ful.

But now for ſomuche as I haue ſayde nothing of Broughtie cragge, ſithẽce the Lord gouernour rayſed his ſiege from thence, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that (as ſome haue written) ſhortly after the Erle of Arguile came thither with an armie of his Iriſhe Scottes and beſieged it: but when he ſaw that he could not preuaile, he tooke truce with them within for a tyme; and before the ſame was expyred, there came new ſuccours to the Engliſhmen, ſo that the Erle of Arguile (by reaſon his people had remayned there the ful terme of their bounden & ordinary ſeruice) was conſtrained to leaue his ſiege, and ſuffer the Engliſhmẽ to become Maſters of a litle hill, where afterwardes they buylded a forte, and nowe in the later end of this yeare, they purpoſed alſo to haue fortified Dundee, & to haue kepte the ſame with a garriſon of Souldiers, but hearing that Monſieur de Deſſe with his Frenchmen was cõming thitherwardes, they auoyded the towne of their owne accorde, hauing firſte ſpoyled the houſes and after ſet them on fire.

Broughtie crag beſieged by the Erle of Argyle.

He rayſeth his ſiege.

The fort buil by the En gliſhmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee aban doned of the Engliſhmen.

The Reingraue with two bandes of his Almaignes, and Monſieur de Etauges with his company of horſemen were ſent before, who cõming to Dundee and finding the Engliſhmen gone, encamped there, ſtaying till Monſieur de Deſſe was come, that followed at hande with the French footmen.

Within two dayes after, they goyng forth to vew the forte, were in daunger to haue bene caught ere they coulde get backe againe, for the Engliſhmen and Lanſquenetz that were there with them (parte of Conrad Phennings bãdes) iſſued forth, & droue them to retyre, not without danger to haue bene diſtreſſed, if the Reingraue had not vſed the greater policie in retyring the troupe. To be ſhort, Monſieur de Deſſe to ſtop the Engliſhmen from entring any further into the countrey on that ſide, lefte .vij. enſeignes of Frenchmen, & two enſeignes of Scottiſh within Dundee, with artillerie & Pioners to fortifie the town, & to keepe it in ſafetie frõ the Engliſhmẽ.

The Reingraue.

Dundee fort fied by the Frenchmen.

This done he returned to Edenburgh, & ſent the reſidew of his people abrode into the cũtrey to lodge in townes and villages here and there as was thought moſte expedient, for the better refreſhyng of them after their long trauell.

On S. Stephens day at night the caſtell of Hume was ſkaled & wonne out of the Engliſhmens hãds. One of the ſurname of the Humes a man of .lx. yeares of age was the firſt that entred on the wall, ſleaying one of the watchemen that kept his walke on that ſide. About the ſame time the Reinſgraue returned into France, leauing his fiue enſeignes of Almaynes behind him vnder the charge of Capitayne Retouz a good man of warre and of great experience.

Hume caste recouered b the Scots.

1549.

The Reingraue returneth into Fraunce.

Alſo Mõſieur de Etauges was takẽ in a ſkirmiſh at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the Engliſh

Mõſieur d Etauges ta pryſoner b the

Engliſh hiſtory, and about the ſame tyme there landed at Dunbrytaine foure bandes of Souldiers, Prouancois and Gaſcoignes, bryngyng money with them to pay the Souldiers theyr wages behinde as then for the ſpace of three monethes.

James
lford takẽ.

Sir James Wilforde alſo was taken about the ſame tyme by the Frenchmen in a ſkirmiſhe at Dunbar, as I haue alſo noted in the hiſtory of England.

Not long after Monſieur de Deſſe was appointed by the Queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth to preuent that the Engliſhmenne ſhoulde not fortifie there, whereof ſhee ſtode in ſome doubte.

Immediatly vpon his commyng thither, the Lard of Ferniherſt requeſted him to helpe to recouer his Caſtell of Ferniherſt out of the Engliſhmens handes, whiche they had taken from him and kepte, greatly to the annoyance of all the countrey therabouts. Monſieur de Deſſe taking with him Mõſieur de Oyſel, and Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biton, haſted thither with the chiefeſt parte of his army, ſendyng before certayne Capitaynes with their bandes to ſuruey the houſe, who at theyr cõming thither, vſed ſuche diligence in following the offered occaſiõ, that they both repulſed theyr enimies that came forth to giue them the ſkirmiſhe, and purſuyng them with great rigour, wanne the lims of the houſe vpon them, forcing the capitayne & ſouldiers to retire within the dongeon, and kept them ſo ſhorte therein, that they had oportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of ſuch largeneſſe as a man might eaſily enter by the ſame. Herewith a greate number of Scottes hauyng broken open the gate of the baſe court, where the Frenchmen were buſie to aſſaulte the dongeon, bruſt in on heapes vpon deſire to be reuenged vpon the Engliſhmen, and namely of their capitayne, who as they ſayde, had done them many great diſpleaſures. The Capitayne perceyuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottiſhmens handes he ſhould die for it, he preſented himſelfe at the hole, whiche the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himſelfe to Monſieur de Duſſac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who myndyng to vſe him as became mẽ of warre, would haue ledde him out of the preſſe, but ſodenly a Scotte comming behinde him, whoſe wife (as was reported he had rauiſhed) ſmote of his head ſo iuſt from the ſhoulders, that it leapt a foure or fiue yeardes quyte from the body.

e caſtell of
ernherſt
ne by the
nchmen.

e cruelty
a Scot.

Many other cruell partes the Scottes ſeemed to ſhewe againſt other Engliſhmen taken here at Ferniherſt: but they excuſed the mater by the euill dealyngs of the Engliſhmen to thẽ wardes before that time.

Monſieur de Deſſe returnyng to Jedworth ayded by the furtherance & counſell of the Scots ceaſſed not in occaſions of aduauntage to attempt newe enterpryſes agaynſt the Engliſhmen, as time and oportunitie ſerued, and among other exploytes the caſtell of Cornewall an old houſe buylte after the auncient maner of fortifiyng was taken by the Frenchmen, and ſpoyled of al things worth the bearyng away.

The caſtel of Cornewall wonne.

Alſo Capitayne Cobios a Frenchman hauing a bande of fiftie light horſemen Scottes ſeruyng vnder him, one night had a fayre hande againſt a number of Engliſh horſemen, whom he charged ſo on the ſudden, as he ſaw them out of order, that he eaſily diſcomfited them, & tooke mo pryſoners (whom he brought to Jedworth) than he had perſons in his company to aſſayle them.

Capitaine Cobios.

Monſieur de la Chapell de Biron, was ſent forth by Monſieur de Deſſe, with the company of horſemen that belonged to Monſieur de Etanges then pryſoner, and fiue hundred footemẽ beſide Scottes, to make a roade into England, whiche enterpriſe hee atchieued in brennyng townes and villages, and returned without any great loſſe ſuſtayned at that time.

A roade made by Monſieur de la chapelle de Biron.

Within two dayes after his returne to Jedworth, Monſieur de Deſſe diſlodged frõ thence, and taking with him foure fielde peeces and all his men of warre, entred into Englande, tooke the caſtell of Fourd, and brent it with ten ſmall villages in the coũtrey thereabout, ſituate within halfe a myle eche of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that caſtel of Fourd, which was kepte by Thomas Car, ſo that the French men could not winne it, for they had no time to ſtay long about it, remouing that night ouer the water, and encamped there within the Scottiſh grounde.

An other made by Mõſieur de Deſse.

Fourd caſtell wonne.

Thomas Car.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed theſe enterpriſes, they were coaſted by certayne light horſemen, but neuertheleſſe the Frenchmen returned in ſafetie to Jedworth, hauyng ſore endomaged the Engliſhe borderers by that roade, in ſo much as it was thought the Scots (which were with them at that roade) gayned at that time, by pillage and booties to the valew of.ix. thouſand crownes.

Scottes gayne by ſpoyle.

The Engliſhmenne ſore agreeued, that the Frenchmen lying thus in Jedworth, ſhoulde in ſuch wiſe addreſſe one enterpriſe after an other againſt them, ſo greatly to theyr annoyance, aſſembled a power togither at Roxburgh, purpoſing to haue aſſayled the Frenchmen in theyr campe at Jedworth: but Monſieur de Deſſe hauyng warning thereof, departed from thence firſt to Melroſe, and after farther off within the countrey, fearing to be conſtreyned to giue battayle

Monſieur de Deſse fleeth out of Jedworth, for feare of the Engliſhmen.

tayle, whiche he coulde not haue done without manifeſt loſſe of his feeble army, hauyng not paſt xv. hundreth footmen, and fiue hundred horſemē able to haue done ſeruice: for ſuch was the miſerie whiche they had in maner continually ſuſtayned through want of vitayles, and other neceſſary helps duryng the time of their encamping at Jedworth, that what through ſickenes and hurtes receyued in aſſaultes and ſkirmiſhes, no ſmall number of them were dead, and many other ſo feeble, that they were not able to ayde themſelues, in ſomuch that now being got out of daunger, they thought themſelues happily eſcaped.

The miſerable ſtate of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the ſōmer, the Engliſhmen armed a. xxv. ſayle of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Baſſe, neare to the mouth of the Fourth, aſſayed by fayre and pleaſant wordes to haue perſwaded the keepers of the caſtell there ſtanding on the height of a great rocke to haue yeelded the place into theyr hands, but perceyuing their perſwaſions would not be regarded, they tooke their courſe vp into the Fourth, & finding in their way. iiij. ſhippes of Frenchmen & Scottes, ſeaſed vpon them as a wiſhed pray, & the morrow nexte enſewyng at the very breake of day they came before Leith, & ſaluting the towne with Canō ſhot, remayned there at ancre. x. or. xij. dayes, in which meane while they landed their people at Jnſkith, and beganne to fortifie with all diligence, but before the place coulde be put in any ſtrength, the ſhips departed frō thence backe towards the ſea, & left in the yland iiij. enſeignes of Engliſhmē, & one enſeigne of Jtalians to defende the pioners and the Jland againſt the Scots and Frenchmen, if they ſhould attempt to aſſayle them.

Inskith fortified by the engliſhmen.

After the Engliſh nauie was thus departed, Monſieur de Deſſe & the Queene mother being at Edenburgh, determined with all diligence to employ all ſuche forces as they might make about the recouering of the yſle before the fortifications begonne by the Engliſhmen ſhoulde be brought to any perfection.

Herevpō Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron embarqued in the Galley of Monſieur de Villegaignon, rowed forth to view the maner of the Engliſhmens dealing within the Jſle, whiche he did in ſuch effectuous wiſe, that approchyng within Harquebuſe ſhot, he brought knowledge with hym not only of the ſtate & whole circumſtances of their buyldings, but alſo of the perfect number of their enſignes, & the qualitie of the mē of warre that ſerued vnder the ſame. At that preſent alſo Mōſieur de Thermes lately before arriued at Dunbrytane with an hundred men of armes, & ij. hundred light horſemen after the maner of Fraunce, & one thouſand footmē was come to the Queene, buſie nowe to further this enterpriſe. She had got togither within Leith hauē all the boates that belōged to al the creekes and hauens of the Fourth, ſo that on thurſday after Trinitie ſonday euery thing beyng prepared ready for the purpoſe, in the mornyng by the breake of day the Queene was come to Leith to ſee the enbarquing of the men of warre appoynted that day to trie what ſucceſſe fortune would ſende them.

La chapelle de Biron.

The diligēce of the Scottiſh Queene.

There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scottes nor Frenchmen to beſtowe themſelues aborde, & the cōfortable wordes of yͤ Queene greatly encouraged thē thereto beholding them, & deuiſing with Mōſieur de Deſſe & the other capitaynes til they were al ſet forward.

The forwardneſſe of the ſouldiers.

Villegaignon with his galleys paſſed on before to keepe the Engliſhmē occupied, ſo as they ſhould not perceyue the Frenchmens meaning: but they diſcouering the veſſels at their ſettyng forth, conceyued ſtreightwayes what was intended, & thervpon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, ſo that vpon the Frenchmens approche, they ſaluted them with arrowes and Harquebuzeſhot very hotely: at lēgth yet by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got a land, and droue the Engliſhmen and Jtalians backe frō the ſea ſtronde vp to the higher grounde, where they ſtoode at defenſe on a plompe togither, doyng their beſt to defende the place agaynſt the aſſaylantes: but finally their generall named Cotton, being ſlaine with George Applebie Eſquyer a Capitayne of an enſeigne of footemen ſent forth of Derbyſhire, & one Gaſpar Pizoni, that was capitaine of the Jtalians beſide diuers other gentlemen and the moſt principall men of warre and ſouldiers among them: the reſidue were cōſtreyned to retyre vnto a corner or point of the Jlande, where they were taken without further reſiſtāce, although before they had made right ſtoute defenſe, hurte & ſlayne diuers Scots & Frenchmen, both at their landyng, & alſo after they were entred on lande. Among other Mōſieur de la chapelle de Biron was ſtrikē through the hand with an harquebuzeſhot, and his burgenet beaten ſo into his head, that his frendes that were about him, were fayne to conuey him into one of the Galleys to be dreſſed of his hurtes by a Chirurgian. Alſo a Gentleman named Deſbories, whiche bare the ſayde Monſieur de la Chapelle, his Coronell enſeigne was ſlayne with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the Engliſh generall.

Inskith aſſailed by the Frenchmen.

Capitayne Cotton generall of Inſkith and others ſlayne.

Monſieur la Chappelle hurte.

Thus was Jnſkith recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, after it had bene in their poſſeſſion by the ſpace of. xvj. dayes, the more to the highe contentation of Monſieur de Deſſe, for that the ſame time he ſtoode vpon his diſcharge

Insketh recouered out by the Frenchmē

and returne into Fraunce, beyng appoynted to ſurrender vp his place to Mõſieur de Thermes, lately before arriued (as ye haue heard) with cõmiſſion to receiue the ſame. So that Monſieur de Deſſe to ende his charge with the glory of this atchieued enterpryſe, eſteemed it muche to ſtande with his honour.

Shortly after he returned into Fraunce with the Galleys, and Monſieur de Thermes ſucceeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French army in Scotland. Who by the aduiſe of the gouernour and other of the Scottiſh lords determined with a ſiege volant to keepe the Engliſhmen in Hadington from vitayles and all other reliefe. Firſt therefore after that Deſſe was departed towardes Fraunce, Monſieur de Thermes with his Frenchmẽ and ſome Scots encamped at Abirladie, where they beganne the fundation of a forte, ſo to impeach the Engliſhmen from ſetting a lande any victuals, there to be conueyed from thence to Hadington as before they had done.

In this meane tyme the Engliſhmen had increaſed theyr nũbers of Almaignes and other ſtraungers, and not onely furniſhed their fortes with new ſupplies of men, but alſo had an army in the fieldes whiche lay moſt an ende at Dunglas, and one while beſieged Hume caſtell, but after they ſawe themſelues diſappoynted of the meane, wherby they ſuppoſed to haue recouered it, they reyſed from thence and ſpoyled the moſt parte of Tiuidale and other the Marches thereabout, in reuenge as they alledged, of the diſloyaltie and breache of promiſe proued in the aſſured Scottes. Generall of this army was the Erle of Rutland, Lieutenant at that preſent of the North partes, a noble man right valiaunt, wiſe, well aduiſed, and ſtayed in his dealings, very honorable & courteous in al his demeanor. He was accompanied with Capitaynes of good eſtimatiõ and approued prowes, as ſir Richard Maners, ſir Fraunci Leake, ſir John Sauage, ſir Thomas Holcroft, ſir Oſwald Wulſtroppe and others. He ſo behaued himſelfe in that daungerous time of the vprores and rebellious commotions of the commõs, through the more parte of the realme of Englande, that although the appoynted forces agaynſt Scotlande were ſtayed, and turned to the ſuppreſſion of the rebelles, to the encouragement no doubte bothe of Scottes and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were ſo fronted and kept in awe by that army vnder the ſayde Erle of Rutland, that they rather loſt than gayned in this ſeaſon at the Engliſhmens handes.

At one tyme the ſame army vnder the conduct of the ſayde Erle, paſſing forth with a conuoy of vitayles vnto Hadington, came ſo ſuddenly vpon the Frenchmen where they lay in campe, that whether through defaulte of theyr ſkowtes or other negligence vſed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forewardneſſe ſhewed by the Engliſhmẽ, the Frẽch men were in ſuche hazarde to haue bene vtterly diſtreſſed, that if the Engliſhmen had not doubted more than by many was thought needefull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken and ſlaine the Frenchmen, as was ſuppoſed at theyr pleaſure. But the Engliſhmen at theyr firſt comming in ſight of them (as it ſtoode with the reaſon of warre, ſith by aduenturyng raſhly oftentimes in ſuch caſes to late repentance eaſily enſueth) ſtayed, the better to cõceyue of that which they had to do: whereby the Frenchmenne had leaſure to marche their wayes a mayne pace, till they were got out of daunger: for after they ones beheld the troupes of the Engliſh horſemẽ almoſt at their elbowes, and herewith the battayle of the Almaignes ſuddenly appearyng on the hill toppe ready to come downe vpon them; it was no neede to bidde them packe away.

The Frenchmen in danget to haue bene diſtreſsed.

The Frenchmen retire.

The Scottes light horſemen commyng on the backe of the Engliſh army, perceyued where the Almaignes (to make them ready to giue battayle) had throwen of their clokes and lefte the ſame with all other their baggage and ſtuffe whiche they had aboute them in the keepyng of none, but of their women and boyes, whereupon thoſe Scottes horſemen not minding to ſuffer ſuch a pray to eſcape theyr handes came gallopping in, and tooke all the beſte ſtuffe they coulde lay holde vpon, and returned in ſafetie before any enimy might come backe to the reſkew.

The baggage of the Engliſh lanſquenetz ſpoyled by the Scottiſh horſmen.

The Almaignes were in no ſmall chauſe for the loſſe of their garments and other neceſſaries, but there was no helpe then to ſeeke remedy in that behalfe, for the Scottes were withdrawen and got quite out of daunger.

The Engliſh army after that the Frenchmen were thus fledde and gone, paſſed forth to Hadington with their cariages laden with vitailes, to the great comforte of them within that fortreſſe, ſtanding in great neceſſitie before this cõuoye came. This ſommer alſo and a litle before the vittellyng thus of Hadington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Romero with his bande of Spaniardes, wherof he was Captaine ſeruyng the king of Englande, was lodged in Coldingham a ſixe miles diſtant frõ Berwike, certaine bandes of Almaignes and Frenchmen came thither vpon the ſuddẽ, and ſurpriſing the Spanyardes before they were aware of theyr approche, ſet vpon them in their lodgings, tooke and ſlew in maner the whole number of them. Moreouer about the ſame time Faſt caſtel was recouered by a trayne out of the Engliſhmens

Hadington vitayled.

Iulian Romero diſtreſsed.

Faſt caſtell recouered by Scottes.

handes, certayne Scottiſhmen fayning themſelues to bryng prouiſion of vittayles to them that kepte it, and getting entrie within the gate, firſt ſlewe the porters that warded at the gate, and after aſſayling the other within the houſe, ſlew the moſt parte of them, & tooke the reſidue, obteyning thereby poſſeſſion of the Caſtell.

Things paſſing in this wiſe in Scotland in ẏ ſommer of this yeare. 1549. the Engliſhmẽ were not onely in the meane time ſore troubled with commotions reyſed by the commons of that realme, but alſo with the warres which the Frenche king made agaynſt them, within the countrey of Boullongnoys, ſo that they had not meane to imploy their forces againſt Scotland as they had determined to haue done, as partely before and more largely in the hiſtory of England is mentioned, by reaſon whereof, anone after Michaelmas they gaue ouer ẏ keeping of Hadingtõ, & raſing their fortificatiõs there, they returned into England to the great reioyſing of the inhabitants of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occaſion of greate troubles & calamities. Upon the giuing ouer thus of Hadington, the Gouernour & the Queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recouer againe al that the Engliſhmẽ helde within the boundes of Scotland, but firſt it was thought good to aſſay the winning of Broghtie Crag, for it ſounded (as was thought) greatly to the diminiſhing of the eſtimation, aſwell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the Engliſhmen ſhould keepe foote ſo farre within the realme, in diſpite of their whole puyſſance.

Hadington raſed and left by the Engliſh men.

1550.

Herevpon Monſieur de Thermes about Cãdelmas, hauing all things in a readineſſe for the ſiege, came thither, and did ſo much, what with ſhot of Canon, to make batterie, & other meanes of enforcements, that giuing the aſſault both with Scots & Frenchmen, they entred the forte the .xx. of February by fine force, ſo that al thoſe within were eyther taken or ſlayne, wherevpon thoſe Engliſhmen alſo that kept the caſtel, rendred vp the ſame without further reſiſtance, amongſt other pryſoners ſir John Lutterell the Capitayne was one.

Broughty crag wonne by the Frenchmen.

In this meane time there were certayne cõmiſſioners appointed betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce to commune of a peace, but bicauſe they continued long in their treatie ere they could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen ſurceaſſed not in occaſions of aduantage to purſue the warre, ſo that comming before Lowder they beſieged that fortreſſe, & ſkirmiſhing with the Engliſhmen that iſſued forth, to encounter them, droue thẽ in at the gates with ſome loſſe on either parte, and this done, the French helde them within ſo ſtraytly beſieged, that if the peace had not ben the ſooner cõcluded, ſir Hugh Willoughby capitayne of that forte, muſte needes haue yeelded through lacke of ſhotte, & other neceſſary things ſeruing for defence: whiche were ſpent ſo, that they were conſtrayned to vſe theyr pewter veſſell in ſteede of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was accorded, paſſed & confirmed, that very ſelfe time betwixte the two kings of England & Fraunce, through the diligent & orderly trauell of the Cõmiſſioners appoynted to deale therein, whoſe names enſue: firſt for ẏ king of England, the right honorable John Erle of Bedford, knight of the Garter, and Lorde priuy ſeale: Williã Paget lord of Beaudeſert, knight alſo of the Garter: ſir William Peter knight, chief ſecretary to the ſayd king: & ſir John Maſon knight, ſecretary to him for ẏ French tong. For the French king were appoynted Frances de Montmorance, Lord of Rochepot, knight of the order of S. Michael, and Lieutenant for the ſame king of Picardie, in abſence of Monſieur de Vandoſme: Gaſper de Colignie, Lorde of Chaſtillon, knight alſo of the order, and Capitayne generall of the footemen of Fraunce, & the ſayde kings Lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullongne: Andrew Guillard lord of Mortier, knight alſo of the order, and one of the ſame kings priuy Counſell: & Guillaume Bouchetell lord of Saſſy, knight likewiſe of the order, and Secretary of the eſtate of the finances.

A treaty for peace.

Sir Hugh W
loughbie.

A peace co
cluded.

The names
the commiſ
ſioners appo
ted to treat
of peace.

Among other articles cõpriſed in this peace, it was couenanted, that all ſuch fortes, caſtels & places as the Engliſhmẽ held in any part within the Scottiſh dominions, ſhoulde be deliuered & reſtored to the Scots: & that the fortes of Dũglas, Roxburgh, and Aymouth, which the Engliſhmen had buylte & reyſed out of the groũde, ſhould be raſed and throwen downe, to auoyde all occaſions of new controuerſies, that might growe by reaſon of keepyng or defending the ſame, ſo as the peace nowe concluded, mighte in all poynts be firmely and truly kepte & obſerued, aſwell betwixt England and Scotland, as England & Fraunce, and betwixt all and euery the ſubiectes of the ſame realmes, bothe by ſea & lande. Monſieur de Mourret was ſente into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whoſe meanes it was proclaymed anone after Eaſter about the beginning of Aprill, and euery thing vſed and ordered according to the articles of the agreement concluded.

The article
of the peace

Monſieur de
Mourret.

In May the Frenchmen & Almaignes were embarqued at Leith in .xvi. French ſhippes, and certayne Scottiſh ſhippes, and departing from thence returned into Fraunce. A fewe there were as Nigropellice and S. Faleiſe, Capitaynes of light horſemen, with others that paſſed through Englande, and ſo home into theyr coun-

The Frenchm
returne hom

e Marques Mayne.

countrey. Moreouer the Marques de Maine, after Duke Daumalle cõmyng ouer into England about the ſame time for an hoſtage, paſſed afterwardes through the realme into Scotland, to viſite his ſiſter Queene Dowarier, and ſhortly after returned. They mourned both for the death of theyr father Claude de Lorayne, yͤ firſt Duke of Guyſe, who deceaſſed the .xviij. of Aprill this preſent yeare 1550.

he death of e firſt Duke Gyſe.

e queene wrier ſay- into Frãce

In Septẽber followyng, the queene Dowarier accompanied with the Earles of Huntley, Caſſils, Marſhall, & Southerlande, and diuers other of the Scottiſh nobilitie tooke the ſea, and ſayling to Fraunce landed at Diepe: ſhe was conueyed thither by the Prior of Capoa, Leone Strozzi, ſent and appointed with .vj. Galeys to haue the conduction of hir. From Diepe ſhe remoued to Rowen, where the king then lay, of whome ſhee was right courteouſly receyued. The maſter of Erſkin, & maſter Henry Sinclar Deane of Glaſquo ſayled into Flaũders, where they paſſed & confirmed a peace betwixt Scotlande and the lowe countreys. After that the Queene Dowarier had remayned aboute a .xij. monethes or more in Fraunce, this yeare in October, ſhe returned homewardes to paſſe thorow Englãd: ſhe landed at Porteſmouth, and the ſecond of Nouẽber ſhe came frõ Hampton courte by water, and landed at Powles wharfe in the after noone, and from thence roade to the Biſhop of Lõdons palace by Paules, and there lodged. The .iiij. of Nouember ſhe roade in hir charet to the kings palace of the white Hall, accõpanied with the Ladie Margaret Dowglas, the three Ducheſſes of Suffolke, Richmont, & Northumberland, & diuers other great Ladies & Gentlewomen both Scots and Engliſh. At the courte gate the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke, & the Lord Threſorer were ready to receyue hyr, and at hir entring into the Hall, the king ſtood in the vpper ende therof, & the Erle of Warwike holding the ſworde before him. She at hyr approching to him, kneeled downe, & he courteouſly tooke hir vp, kiſſed hir, & taking hyr by the hand, ledde hir vp into his owne chamber of preſence, & after into the Queenes chamber of preſence, where he kiſſed al the Ladies of Scotlande, & ſo departed for a while. She dined on the Queenes ſide that day with the King, his ſeruice & hirs cõming both togither, the kings being placed on the right hande of the table, and hyrs on yͤ left. What plẽty of all maner of coſtly meates and drinkes there was, & what riche furniture of plate & all other things was ſhewed to ſet forth the feaſt it wer ſuperfluous to write. All the Ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the Queenes great chamber. After diner the king ſhewed hyr his Galerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke he brought hyr downe agayne by the hand into the Hall, where he firſt receyued hir, & there kiſſing hir, ſhe tooke hir leaue & returned to the Biſhops palayce frõ whence ſhe came. The .vj. of Nouẽber ſhe departed towardes Scotlande, riding frõ Poules through the citie, paſſing forth at Biſhops gate. The Duke of Northumberlande, the Earle of Pembroke, & the Lord Threſorer brought hir to Shordich church, & there tooke their leaues of hir. The Duke of Northũberland had an .100. men on horſebacke with Iauelins, whereof .xl. were gẽtlemen clad in blacke veluet coates, garded wt white, & hattes of blacke veluet with white feathers, & chaynes of gold about their neckes. The erle of Pẽbroke had .vj. ſcore men well apointed alſo, with blacke Iauelins & hattes with fethers, & the Lord Threaſorer had an .100. gentlemẽ & yemen with Iauelins, in like maner wel apparelled: which three companies of horſemen furniſhed the ſtreetes on either ſide, frõ the croſſe in Cheap, to Birchẽ lane end as ſhe paſſed yͤ way. The Sherifes of Londõ had the conduction of hir to Walrã towne end, where ſhe lodged that night: & in euery ſhire through which ſhe paſſed yͤ Sherife with the gentlemẽ of the ſame ſhyre receiued hir, & gaue their attendãce on hir till ſhe came to enter into the next ſhire, where yͤ Sheriffe & gentlemen there, receyued hir, & that order was obſerued till ſhe came to the borders of Scotland, & al hir charges for meate, & drinkes, aſwell for hir ſelfe, and whole trayne, as alſo the prouiſion for theyr horſes, was borne & allowed by the King. The erle of Huntley & diuers other of the Scottiſh Lordes returned home by ſea, the ſayde Earle landing at Montros, aboute the later ende of December.

ce be- n Scotlã & the lowe treys of chland.

1551.

e Queene wrier cõ- h home le tho- h Englãd.

nteyning

The Archbiſhop of Armachane.

Doctor Wanthope a Scottiſhman borne, Archbiſhoppe of Armachane, ſo nominated by Pope Paule the thirde, and after created *Legatus à latere*, by Iulius the thirde, deceaſſed this yeere in Paris the .x. of Nouember. This man was blynde from his infancie, but yet gaue him ſelfe ſo vnto ſtudie, that he was firſt made Doctor of Diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Paris, and after atteyned to ſuch eſtimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foreſayde Popes aduaunced as before ye haue heard.

1551.

1552.

Wrongs don, are by iuſtice redreſſed.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune the queene Dowarier, and the Gouernour, wente into the North partes of Scotlande, and at Inuernes, Elgin, Bamf, Abyrdene, and Perth, the Gouernour ſatte in Iuſtice for redreſſe of wrongs and adminiſtration of rightuous lawes and orders. And afterwardes they repayred to the Weſte partes, and ſatte lykewiſe in Iuſtice at Dunfreis, and in other places in that countrey, where diuers were put to their fines for tranſgreſſing the lawes, but fewe or none touched by corporall puniſhment. In this iourney the Queene ſecretly trauayled with the Lordes, bothe ſpirituall and temporall, to haue their conſentes to be regent of Scotland, immediatly after hir doughter the Queene came to ſufficient yeres, and that the time of hyr Tutoriſhip were accōpliſhed, or ſooner if the lawes of the realme would ſo permitte: and to aſſure hir ſelfe of their good willes in this behalfe, ſhe contracted ſundry priuy bādes wͭ thē, making large promiſes of great rewardes vnto euery of them.

The Queene mother ſeketh to be gouernour.

1553.

The gouernment is reſigned vnto the Queene.

To conclude, this matter was ſo handled by hir & others to whom ſhe committed the doings therein, that in the yeare following the Gouernour agreed to ſurrender vp the gouernance into hyr handes, hyr doughter the young Queene beyng not yet full .xij. yeares of age. The Gouernour was promiſed not only a full diſcharge and a *quietus eſt* of al his doyngs, aſwell for receipt of money, iewels, and other things duryng the time of his gouernment, but alſo a confirmation of the heritable gifte of the Dukedome of Chatelerault, likewiſe an other confirmation of all giftes and reſtitutions by him made, during the time he had exerciſed the office of Gouernour. And forthwith the Queene Dowarier ſent into Fraunce to get all theſe things diſpatched with ſuche aſſuraunces of wrytings vnder handes and ſeales as was expedient, & to be ſent home into Scotlād for his ſecuritie in al things.

This yeare the ſixte of July Edwarde the ſixte of that name kyng of Englande departed this life, and after him ſucceeded his ſiſter Marie, eldeſt doughter to King Henry the .viij.

The counāts & articles are perfected.

1554.

A Parliament.

Edenburgh caſtell deliuered to the Lorde Erskin to kepe

In the lente, all the Lordes of the realme of Scotlande aſſembled at Striueling, where all the coucnaunts and articles of agreement, betwixte the Queene and the Gouernour were perfected and fully concluded, and therevpon a Parliament appoynted to be holden in Edenburgh, the .x. of Aprill nexte enſewyng: and in the meane time yͤ gouernour deliuered the caſtel of Edēburgh, vnto the Lord Erſkin to keepe as it were by way of aſſuraunce for his parte, that al things at that Parliament ſhould be accōpliſhed accordyng to the pointes of the agreement.

The queene made gouernour by Parliament.

The gouernour made Duke.

The gouernour reſigned his office vnto the Queene.

The Queene giueth the gouernāce of the realme vnto the Queene mother.

The Lordes then aſſemblyng in Parliament at Edenburgh on the ſayde twelfth day of Aprill, all the coucnants of agreement had and made betwixte the Queene Dowarier and the Gouernour, were preſented and redde, touching the dimiſſiō and giuing ouer of the Gouernours authoritie confirmed by the Queene hir ſelfe in Fraunce, with conſent of the King of Fraunce hir huſband, the Duke of Guyſe, and the Cardinall of Lorayne hir curators, with a gifte of the Dukedome of Chatelerault vnto the Gouernour, vnder the greate ſeales of Fraunce, and others to whom it appertayned. After this there was redde a confirmation of the three eſtates of Scotland touching the premiſſes, in which they bound themſelues to warrant the Queenes diſcharge made to him, & to eſtabliſh him as ſecōd perſon of the realme, with other things conteyned in the contract, to the whiche there in open Parliament all the eſtates ſubſcribed & put therevnto their ſeales: whiche done, the Gouernour gaue vp his office of Tutoriſhip, in preſence of the ſayd eſtates, the Queene mother, & Mōſieur Doyſell beyng there preſent, who receyued the ſame in the Queenes name at that time remaynyng in Fraunce: and herewith preſently was a cōmiſſion ſhewed, giuē by the Queene of Scotlande in Fraunce with conſent of hir curators, making the Queene Dowarier hir mother, regent of hir realme, whiche office ſhe tooke vpon hir, & was thereto admitted by the eſtates of the realme. Then was the Parliament newly authorized in the Queenes name, with conſent of hir curators, & in name of the Queene regēt.

Therle of Hūtley is pryſoner.

Officers are chaunged.

The Earle of Huntley renounced many things.

The Queene regent ſent the Erle of Huntley to yͤ hie lāde, to take John Moodyeart, who returned without him, wherevpon Huntley was called before the Queene & Counſayle, & put in warde in the caſtell of Edenburgh, the .xj. day of October. The Queene chaunged al the officers, & made the Earle of Caſſels threſorer, and Veilmort a Frenchman cōtroller: alſo an other Frenchman called Mōſieur Rubie, keeper of the great ſeale, in place of the Erle of Huntley, who was Chauncellour and then in warde. Theſe mens counſell and Monſieur Doyſels ſhe vſed principally in al things. The Earle of Huntley to be deliuered out of warde, renounced his title to yͤ Erledome of Murrey, whereof he had a gift in heritage. Alſo he renoūced his intereſt to the fermes of Orkney & Sheitland, & to the Erledome to Mar, & of the queenes lādes of Straits Dic. And further was cōtented to go ouer into Fraūce, there to remaine for yͤ ſpace of .v. yeres. But yet afterwards yͤ Queene was cōtented, yͭ he ſhould ſtil remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir .v. thouſād poūd in money.

1555.

A Parliament.

An ambaſſadour ſent.

In yͤ moneth of July there was a Parliamēt holdē at Edēburgh, in yͤ which many acts and ſtatutes were made, right profitable as was then thought for the cōmon weale of yͤ realme. The ſame yeere there came an Ambaſſadour forth of englād, to cōfirme yͤ treatie of peace before takē.

1556.

The queene regēt maketh a progreſſe.

In the moneth of July yͤ queene went northward to Inuernes, accōpanied wͭ the Earles of Hūtley, Argile, Rothes, Caſſils & Merſhal, yͤ B. of Abirdene & Roſſe, M. Doyſel, Rubie & others holding iuſtice ayres (as they terme it) firſt at

Inuerneſs aforeſayd, & after at Elgine, Banke, Aberden, and Saint Iohns towne.

Commiſſio- ſent.

In the meane time there were ſent commiſſioners to the borders, as the Biſhop of Dumblane, the Lard of Lethyngton, and maſter Iames Macgill, where Doctor Tunſtall Biſhop of Dureſme, and certayne others for England mette them, and remayned there till the Queenes cõming backe forth of the North in September following.

Parliament

Gentlemen ſtored.

yearly taxe ſubſidie leuied is propoſed.

This taxatiõ not grãted.

This yere was a Parliament holde in which the Lardes of Brimſton, Ormiſton, & Grange, with M. Henry Balnaues & others, which were forfalted in the gouernours time, were reſtored. The ſame time the Queene by counſel of Monſieur Doyſell, & Rubie, and certaine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requeſted, that a newe order might be made, whereby euery mans ſubſtance ſhould be put in an inuentorie, and according to the rate thereof to pay an yearely taxation to be put and kept in the treaſure houſe til warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged therewith to lie vpon the borders, & none in that caſe to be charged to come from their owne houſes, but when any great army came forth of England to inuade Scotlande. Diuers of the great Lords were agreed to this ordinance, but the moſt part of the Barons hearyng thereof, aſſembled togither in Edenburgh, to the nũber of two hundred and aboue, & ſent the Lardes of Calder in Louthian, and of Wemis in Fife, to the Queene and Lordes, beſeching them not to ſet ſuche newe taxations vpon them, for they could not beare ſuch burdens, but would defend the realme as before time their elders had done, not meanyng to put their goodes in inuentorie, as if they ſhould already make their laſte will & teſtaments: & ſo by this meanes that deuiſe was daſhed to the griefe of the inuentors.

1557.

Queene deſi- warres.

aſſemble Carleill.

occaſion the Q. Regent deſi- to haue

This yeare in Iuly the Queene ſent for the Lordes to cõmune with them at New bottell, where ſhe opened to thẽ diuers wrongs done on the borders by Engliſhmen, & how no redreſſe could be got, wherfore ſhe required that warres might be moued agaynſt Englãd in reuenge of thoſe iniuries, although the Biſhop of Orkeney was ỹ ſame time at Carleill in talke with Cutbert Tunſtal biſhop of Dureſme & others, commiſſioners for Englãd. The principall cauſe ỹ moued the Q. Regent to ſeeke to make warre againſt England, was for that the Engliſhmẽ ayded ỹ Emperour in fauour of his ſonne king Philip agaynſt the French king, bycauſe their Queene had taken to huſbande the ſame King Philip, & ſent the Erle of Pembroke ouer with an army to ioyne with king Philips power. It was thought therfore, that if the Scots inuaded the Engliſh bordures, it might cauſe thẽ to call backe their power forth of Fraunce to defende their owne countrey. But the Scottiſh Lordes woulde not conſent in any wiſe to beginne any warres: whiche their dealing when Monſieur Doyſell perceyued, he ſpeedely went vnto Haymouth beſide Berwike, & fortified the ſame with all diligence, making inuaſions into England: wherupõ the Scottiſhmen in their owne defence were conſtreyned to make warre, & the Earle of Hũtley was made Lieutenãt vpõ the bordurers, who came thither, and remayning there by aſſiſtãce of the Frenchmẽ, made ſundry inuaſions & roades into England, brent diuers townes and villages, & caſt down many ſtone houſes, piles, & ſtrengths. In this meane while were the Scottiſh commiſſioners at Carleill, and the Maſter of Marwell Warden of the weſt bordures, beyng there with them, with much a do got away and came home into Scotlãd. The Queene aſſembled a great army out of al parts of the realme, the whiche came foreward to Kelſo in the moneth of October, where the Queene and Frẽchmen perſwaded them to enter by inuaſion into England, but they meaning to take further aduiſe, paſſed ouer Twede to Marwell hughe, where they encamped, & afterwardes approched the caſtell of Warke, enuironing the ſame with a ſiege for the ſpace of two or three dayes. Capitayne Read at that preſent had charge of that caſtell, with three or foure hundred footmen, & one hundred horſemen, ſeemyng to care litle for the Scottiſhmens forces.

The Scottiſh Lordes refuſe to take warre in hande.

Haymouth is fortified.

Inuaſions are made into England.

An army aſſembled.

The Lordes do not cõſent therevnto.

The caſtell of Warke beſieged by Scots.

Capitayne Reade.

The earle of Weſtmerlãde gathereth an army to reſiſt the Scots.

The Erle of Weſtmerlãd being then Lieutenant of the North partes, gathered ſuch power togither as he mighte make, & came to Lowike accompanied with the Lord Talbot, ſir Iames Croftes, & others, to ſuccour where moſte neede ſhould appeare. The Scottiſhe army perceyuing the Engliſhmen thus in a readineſſe to reſiſte theyr attempts, tooke aduiſe togither, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that tyme to hazarde battell forth of the boundes of theyr own land, theyr Princeſſe beyng abſent and as yet in hir minoritie, conſidering alſo that the warre was not taken in hãd for their owne quarell, but for the pleaſure of Fraunce. Theſe and other the lyke reaſons beyng alledged by the Earles of Arrane, Huntley, Argile, Caſſilles, and other, to the Queene and French Capitaynes, they were nothing ſatiſfied therewith, but the Scottiſhe Lordes woulde attempte no further, but retyred backe and ſhaled their army. In remouing from Warke, they were purſued by certayne bandes of the bordurers and others, which were repulſed and ſtoode in daunger to haue bene diſtreſſed if Capitayne Read had not with noble courage iſſued forth, and in tyme relieued them that

The Scottes breake vp their army.

were reticing, whereby they ſtayed and gaue a new charge, in ſuche ſorte as the Scottes were beaten backe agayne and chaſed ouer the water to theyr mayne armie that was already paſſed ouer. The Queene and Monſieur Doyſell perceyuing that they coulde not get the Scottiſhe Lordes to make any further exployte at that preſent, ſhe retired home, but Doyſell with his Frenchmen were appoynted to remayne ſtill in Haymouth to contergarriſon the Engliſhmen within Berwike. There were diuers foote bāds of Scottes waged by the French King, whiche were appoynted to lie in places aboute the bordures, as at Kelſo, Rockeſburgh, and ſuche like for defence of the countrey, and the annoyance of the Engliſhmen as occaſions might ſerue.

After this, Sir Andrewe Car and diuers other entred Englande with a power of men about Martilmas, but the Earle of Northumberlande beyng then Lieutenant of the North partes of Englande, and lying on the bordures aſſembled his forces togither, and commyng to encounter the Scottes on the very bordure ſide neare to Cheuiot, at the firſt the Engliſhmenne were put to the worſe, but yet at length the Scottes were ouerthrowen, and chaſed ſir Andrew Car and many other beyng taken pryſoners. Sir Iohn Forſter bare himſelf very valiantly at this encoūtre, ſo that his ſeruice might not well haue bene ſpared. He was thruſt thorow the mouth into the necke, and alſo through the thigh. Moreouer his horſe was ſlayne vnder him. The conflict was ſharpe, for both the horſemen and footemen came to make proufe of theyr forces. The warre thus being begonne and followed, the Scottes kept theyr quarterrage, and euery noble man as hee was appoynted, lay on the bordures with a thouſand horſemen, during his ordinary terme, & on the other ſide the Engliſh bordures were furniſhed with new ſupplies of mē of warre, ſo that there were dayly roades and incurſions made by the parties, to the greate domage and ſpoyle of the townes & villages ſituate neare to the confines of bothe the realmes.

The Scottes diſcomfited by the erle of Northumberland.

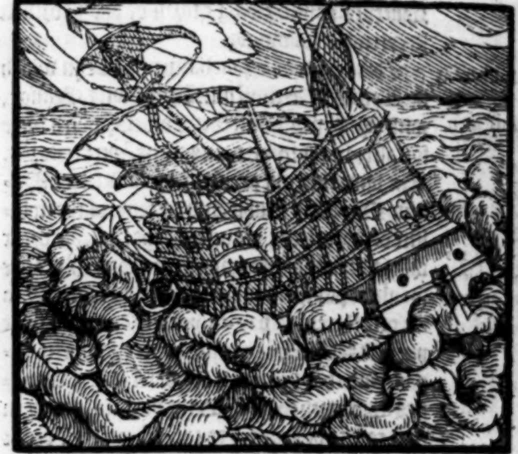
Sir Iohn Forſter.

Quarterrage kept by the Scots for defence of theyr bordures.

1558.

A Parliament

In December the Queene aſſembled a Parliament at Edenburgh, where by conſent of the whole eſtates, there were elected and choſen Iames Beton Archbiſhop of Glaſquo, Robert Read biſhop of Orkney, George Leſley Earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kenedy Earle of Caſſels, Iames Steward prior of ſ. Androwes, George Lord Seaton, Iames Flemmyng, and Iohn Erſkin Lard of Dun, Ambaſſadours and commiſſioners to go into Fraunce, and there to contract mariage, betwixte Marie queene of Scotlande, and Fraunces Dolphyn of Fraunce, and to ſolempniſe the ſame mariage. Whereupon ſufficient commiſſions and inſtrumentes were made to them by the eſtates of the Parliamēt, & they acceptyng the ſame, made preparatiō for yͤ iourney, and departed in the moneth of February forth of the roade of Leith, and with greate windes and boyſterous ſtormes, came into Fraunce, loſing in theyr iourney one of theyr ſhippes, with men and horſes before S. Ebbes head in the Forth of Scotlande, and an other with great riches and many Gentlemen, with the Capitayne called Waterton in the roade of Bullongne. The Ambaſſadours themſelues neuertheleſſe eſcaped, and commyng ſauſe vnto the French courte in the moneth of March were honorably receiued of the King at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and threeſcore thouſand Frankes aſſigned in Dower to yͤ Queene of Scotland, & .xxx. thouſand Frankes of yearely penſion with many riche Iewels.



Ambaſſadours ſēt into Frāce to cōſummate the mariage betwixte the Queene of Scotlande, and the Dolphin of Fraunce.

1558.

Two ſhippes loſte.

The aſsigne ment of the Scots queen dower.

There was alſo a perpetuall bande of league concluded betwixte Fraunce and Scotlande, and greate preparation made for the mariage, whiche was ſolemniſed in Paris with greate triumphe and aſſiſtaunce of all the Cardinals, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Lordes, and Biſhops of the realme in the Churche of *Noſtre dame*, the xxiiij. of Aprill in that preſent yeare, 1558.

But now to leaue this triumphant Mariage, and the Scottiſhe Lordes Ambaſſadours there in Fraunce for a tyme, we will returne to ſhewe what happened betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhmen at home where the warres were purſued to the loſſe or litle gayne of both partes.

About Whitſontyde ſir Henry Percy with diuers bandes of the countrey garniſons, and ſir George Bowes then Marſhall of Berwike, with ſundry bandes of the garniſon of that towne paſſed forth into Scotland, they beyng in all aboute a.vij.or.viij.hundred horſemen, & two thouſand footemen. They brent the townes of Duns and Langton, & hauing got togither a great number of cattell returned homewardes.

A roade into Scotland:

Duns and Langton bre

The Scots that lay in Kelſo and other places keeping their quarteerage on the borders, (for the realme as ye haue heard was quartered, euery parte keeping theyr turne as the matter is) aſſembled togither to the number of two thouſande horſemen or fewe leſſe, and three bandes of footemen, haſting forth to defende the countrey. And perceyuing where the Engliſhmen were, followed and coaſted them as they returned with theyr bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and ſkirmiſhed with them ſharpely as they were paſſing through the towne.

he Scottes
ſyle the
gliſhmen at
ynton.

The Scottiſhe footemen beate backe parte of the Engliſhmens ſhotte into theyr battell, and preaſſed very forewarde in hope to be aſſiſted by their horſemen, the whiche (as ye haue heard) ouermatched greatly, the Engliſh horſemen in number, but the fight growyng ſomewhat hote, and the more to the diſaduantage of the Engliſhmenne, for ſomuche as their ſhotte and powder beganne to fayle them, by reaſon the miſtie mornyng had made muche of theyr powder dankiſhe, ſo that they coulde haue no vſe thereof. But herewith ſir Henry Lee, captaine Read and others, bryng in the battell, behaued themſelues very ſtoutly, cauſing the footemen to ſtay, and boldly to abide the enimy, and herewith procured the horſemẽ to giue a charge in ſuch conuenient time, as if the ſame had bene protracted, it might haue turnd very euil to the Engliſh ſide: but now as well the horſemen, as footemen playing theyr partes, the Scottiſhe horſemen abidyng without the towne in troupe whileſt their footemen were in ſkirmiſhe fledde away, leauyng theyr footemen to be ſlayne and ſpoyled of the Engliſhmen, and yet thoſe foote men fought it out right manfully, ſo that if the Scottes horſemen had done their partes ſo well as the footemen, it was likely to haue gone harder on the Engliſh ſide than it did. But now the Scottiſhe horſemen entring not the fight, theyr footemen were encloſed by the Engliſhmen, for thoſe that were in the fore warde and were paſſed by, returned, and commyng behind theyr enimies, holpe to beate them downe, ſo that fewe or none of the Scottes or Frenchmen (whereof there were ſome fewe amongſt them) eſcaped, but were eyther taken or ſlaine.

he Scottes
orſemen flee.

he Scottes
mē ſlaine.

Amongſt others, capitayne Cullane, and capitayne Kenedie two chiefe leaders of the footemen were taken: diuers of theyr horſemen alſo in the retire were taken, amongſt whome the Lorde Keith, ſonne to the Earle Marſhall of Scotland was the chiefeſt. But this victorie was not atchieued without loſſe of diuers Engliſhmenne. Amongſt other one Pel, enſeigne bearer to ſir John Markhams bande of footemẽ was ſlayne. Alſo maſter Edrington a capitayne of light horſemen, was taken pryſoner by the Lard of Edmonſton at the firſte charge giuen vpon the Scottiſh horſemen, and led away without reſcue.

he Lorde of
eith with o-
ters taken
pyſoners.

M.Edrington taken.

Beſide the manfull prowes of Sir Henry Percy, and other the Engliſh capitaynes before mentioned, the forwarde valliancie ſhewed that day of ſir William Brereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father Sir John Markhams bande of footemen, alſo of Raufe Elleker a Capitayne of horſemen, is not to be forgotten, who with diuers other Capitaynes and Souldiers behaued themſelues in ſuch wiſe at that preſent ſeruice, as theyr dealings therein deſerue ſpeciall memory.

Sir William Brereton.

Moreouer at an other tyme the Scottes and Frenchmenne entryng into England, the Scottiſhe horſemenne to the number of a thouſande or there aboutes, paſſed forth to brenne and forray the countrey, but the Earle of Northumberlande, and his brother Sir Henry Percy, aſſembled togither a power of horſemenne, and Sir Henry Percy meetyng with them at Grendon, ſet vpon the Scottes and chaſed them ouer the water of Twiſell, vnto the foote battayle of the Frenchmenne, who retyring to the riuer of Twede, paſſed ouer the ſame at Chapell Fourde, where they were aſſayled bothe by certayne foote bandes of the garniſon of Berwyke, that were come forth to ayde the Earle, and alſo by the Horſemenne, ſo as diuers were drowned in the ryuer before they coulde gette ouer, but after they were once got to the further ſide, they put themſelues in order of battayle agayne, and retired in a ſquadrone very ſtrongly, ſuſteyning litle or no hurte at all, notwithſtanding that the Earle of Northumberland (beyng then come) and his brother Sir Henry Percy, with the reſte of the Capitaynes and Gentlemen of the countrey, purſued them ouer the water for the ſpace of two myles, ſkirmiſhing with them ſtill as they marched away, but coulde do them no harme, bycauſe they kepte themſelues in ſo good order, & the Engliſh footemen were not able to reache them. Whervpon the Engliſh horſemenne ſuffryng the Frenchmen to departe, left them, and paſſing into the countrey, brente Long Ednam, and diuers other Hamlettes and Villages, and ſo returned.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Edaam brent.

Diuers Scottes that day at the ouerthrow & chaſe of their horſemen were taken pryſoners, as the Lord Grey and others.

The Lorde Grey of Scotland take pryſoner.

After this the Engliſhmen wanne the ſtrong pile of Caw milles, wherin were a .xvj. Frenchmen, that defended it for the time very ſtoutly, ſo that it coſte the liues of diuers Engliſhmen

Caw milles woone by the Engliſhmen.

before they could take it.

Shortly after, there was a ſore ſkirmiſhe at Halidon hill: for where as the moſt parte of the Sommer it was ordeyned that euery day certayne bandes of Souldiers ſhoulde warde on the ſame hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitantes of Berwike, to mowe and carrie in theyr haye, they continued for a tyme without any trouble offered by the Scottes or Frenche, ſo that the warders ſtandyng in no doubte of the enimies, vſed out of theyr armour to ſhoote, boule, coyte, and exerciſe ſuch lyke games of pleaſure, whereof the Scottes and Frenchmen beyng aduertiſed, came one day from Iymouth in ſo ſecrete wiſe, that they were drawen very neare to the Engliſhmen, ere they had any warning of their approche, ſo that before they could be gotte into order, the Scottes and Frenchmen were almoſt at theyr elbowes, and falling in ſkirmiſhe with them, handled them very roughly, although ſir William Breretõ, ſir Iohn Markham, maſter William Drurie, Cutbert Vawghan and other the Capitaynes of the Engliſhmen did behaue themſelues right manfully, bryngyng their men in order, encouragyng them; and doyng what appertained vnto hardie and ſkilful warriours, but yet three tymes that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the heigth of the hill, till at length ſir Iames Croft comming from Berwike, vſed ſuche diligence and policy in the mater, that the Scottes and French were repulſed and conſtreyned to retyre, withdrawing backe vnto Iymouth, after they had continued in ſkirmiſhe from one of the clocke till it was paſte foure, with no ſmall loſſe on bothe partes.

A ſore skirmiſh on Halidone hill.

After this the Earle of Bodwell lying on the bordures as Lieutenant accordyng to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred one day into England, & ſent his forrey to brenne Fenton towne, keeping himſelfe in ambuſh at Haltwel Sweyre. Sir Hẽry Percy aduertiſed that yͤ Scottes were thus entred, got togither a thouſande horſe, and makyng forth to defende the countrey, ſet vpon the Earle at the foreſayde place of Haltwell Sweyre, but ſome feare entring into the harts of the Engliſhmen, by reaſon of certayne ſhotte, whiche the Scottes had there with them, fledde, and were purſued by the Scottes ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboue ſixe ſkore Engliſhmen, amongſt whom capitayne Erington, & capitayne Car, that had the leadyng of light horſemen, were twoo, beſide diuers other men of good accompte in ſeruice, as one Vaughan a Gentleman and ſuche lyke.

The Erle of Bothwell.

Haltwell Sweyre.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

Aboute this time whyleſt the Lorde Eure commonly called Euers, remayned capitayne of Berwike, one Kirkaudye couſine to ſir William Kirkaudye Lard of Grange, chanced to be taken pryſoner into Berwike, and afterwardes beyng ranſoned, at his commyng home to Iymouth, he made reporte that hee had bene to ſtraytly vſed during the tyme that he remayned pryſoner, at the handes of the ſayde Lord Eure, by reaſon whereof, vpon a chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the Lord Eure, the mater grewe to this iſſue, that where their degrees were not equall, Rauſe Eure brother to the Lorde Eure, vndertooke in his brothers behalf to breake a ſtaffe with the Lard of Grange vpon the ſide of Halidon hill at a day appoynted, where they mette, eyther of them bringing twelue Gentlemen with them, to ſee the triall of this chalenge performed. But when they came to haue theyr armour and weapons vewed, the truth is ſo, that Grange was armed in a coate of plate, and a cuirace alofte vpon it, wherewith ſome faulte was founde, bycauſe Maſter Eure was cladde only in a ſingle coate of plate, without any other peeces of armour for defence of his body: but yet ſuche was the great courage of the ſayd Maſter Eure, that he would not refuſe the chalenge notwithſtãding his aduerſaries aduantage of armour. Whereupon they rãne togither, and brake both theyr ſtaues: and as it fortuned Maſter Eure was hurte in the flanke.

The Lard of Grange chale geth the Lo Evre.

The Lard of Grange, and maſter Rauſe Evre ranne o againſt another.

The warre beyng thus purſued betwixte Englande and Scotland, beſide the encounters and roades whiche are before mencioned, there were twoo great roades made into Scotlande, the one by the Earle of Weſtmerlande, and the other by the Earle of Northũberland, the Lord Talbot beyng there, and hauing the leadyng of certaine Demilãces. Moreouer it was thought good by the Engliſhmenne, not onely to annoy the Scottes by lande but alſo by ſea: wherevpõ ſir Iohn Clere with certayne ſhippes of warre ſayled forth alongſt the coaſte, till at length he arriued at the Iſles of Orkenay, where goyng a lande aboute an enterpryſe, and ſtaying longer than was requiſite, he was encountred by his aduerſaries; and ſlayne with many of his people, whiche were there a lande with him.

Sir Iohn Cle ſlayne in the Iſle of Ork

But although the Scottes had good ſucceſſe in that parte, they ſuſteyned greate domage on the Weſt ſide of the realme, by a iourney which the Earle of Suſſex then Lorde deputie of Irelande attempted agaynſt them. For the better vnderſtãding wherof ye ſhal note, that after the Lord Clinton high Admirall of Englande had brent the towne of Cõqueſt in Brytaigne, there were ſeuen ſhippes of warre appoynted to paſſe into Irelande, as the Marie Willoughbie, the New barke, the Sacret, the Gerfaucon,

faucon, and three other that were Merchãtes, and appointed that yeare to ſerue the Queene of Englande in hir warres. There were alſo beſide thoſe ſeuen ſhippes of warre, two vitaylers appoynted to attende vpon them: ſir Thomas Cotton was ordeined theyr Admirall, and one Southweke of Douer theyr vice Admirall. Upon their arriuall in Yrelande the Earle of Suſſex hauyng alſo prepared three other ſhips, with ſufficient and neceſſary prouiſion for his iourney, imbarqued with ſo many ſouldiers as conueniently might be beſtowed aborde in that fleete, contayning xij. ſayle in the whole: and departyng towarde the Weſt of Scotland, landed in a parte of the countrey called Kentyre, with as many Souldiers & Mariners as might be ſpared out of the ſhippes, leauyng them furniſhed with competent numbers for theyr ſauegarde: and being got to land, he paſſed forth into the countrey, and brent two houſes that belonged to James Maconnel chiefe Gouernour of thoſe parties and a greate enimie to the Engliſhmẽ. He brent alſo diuers townes, villages, and hamlettes belongyng vnto the ſayde Maconnell, with great ſtore of corne & other things which came in theyr way. The Scottes oftentimes ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhmenne; but durſt not aduenture to ioyne with them in battayle, they kepte ſo good order by the Earle of Suſſex his politike and valiant conduction.

iourney
earle of
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lande.

tire.

Macon-

There were a ſorte of Scottes gotten into a boate meanyng to haue fled, but being apprehẽded by ẏ Engliſhmẽ, they were executed. Finally after the Earle had remayned there on lande in brennyng and ſpoylyng the countrey for the ſpace of three dayes, he returned to his ſhippes, & in ſafetie wente aborde agayne with his men; and making ſayle to the Iſle of Arrane, entred the hauen called Amalaſche, and lãdyng at that place, brente the countrey, and after wente to Cumber where he likewiſe brent & haried that Ile. This done, he meante to haue gone vnto two other Ilandes Play and Jurey, but the windes grewe ſo terrible with tempeſtes & foule weather, that they loſt one of theyr ſhippes, and ſome of the reſt were ſo rent and ſpoyled of their tagle and furniture, as they eſcaped in great hazarde of beyng caſte away alſo. There were xxvj. Mariners drowned, the which perceyuing the ſhippe to be in daunger of ſinkyng, fled into the boate and ſo periſſhed. The other that remayned in the ſhippe were ſaued, as Maiſter Fraunces Randoll and others. By reaſon therfore of ſuch foule weather the Earle of Suſſex was conſtrayned to returne into Yrelande, ariuing at Cragfergus, where he landed with his Souldiers, and appoynting the ſhips to returne into England, he paſſed by land vnto Dublyn, ſpoyling the enimies countreys by the way, and takyng from them a greate pray and bootie of cattell; notwithſtanding the paynefull paſſage whiche he had to make through the comberſome wayes, bowgges, and wooddes, without reliefe of all neceſſarie things in that ſo troubleſome a iourney.

earle of
brent
le of Ar-

le wea-

earle of
retour-
into Ire-

Thus farre for thoſe two yeares warre in the dayes of Marie Queene of Englande, betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, whereof ſith I finde none that hath written any thing at all, I haue yet ſette downe theſe odde notes, as I haue learned the ſame of ſuch as had good cauſe to knowe the truth thereof, beyng eye witneſſes themſelues of ſuche enterpryſes and exploytes as chanced in the ſame warres, namely capitayne Read, capitayne Wood, capitayne Erington, and captaine Gurley, capitaine Markham, with others, whiche of their courteſie haue willingly imparted to me the reporte of diuers ſuch things, as I wiſhed to be reſolued in, which accordingly ſo farre as my remembrance hath ſerued, I haue here deliuered, to the end the ſame may giue occaſion to others (that may happely light vpon more full inſtructions) to imparte to poſteritie a more perfect diſcourſe, where otherwiſe the mater might peraduenture wholy paſſe in forgetfulneſſe.

And now to returne vnto the Scottiſh Ambaſſadours that were ſent into Fraunce, for the cõcluſiõ of the mariage betwixte their Queene & the Dolphin: after that ẏ ſame mariage was cõſummate, & euery thing ordered & brought to paſſe accordyng to the effect of theyr commiſſion, in the moneth of Auguſt they tooke their leaue of the Frenche King, the Queene, and Nobilitie there, to retourne homewardes into Scotland, albeit fewe of thẽ came home, for the Biſhop of Orkeney departed this life in Diepe, the xv. of September: the Earle of Rothes deceaſſed there the ix. of Nouember: the Erle of Caſſiles departed in the ſame place the xiiij. of Nouember: and the Lorde Flemming deceaſſed in Paris the xviij. of December. And ſo onely the Archebiſhoppe of Glaſquo, the Prior of ſaincte Andrews, and the Lorde of Dun retourned into Scotland in October. After whoſe commyng, there was a Parliament ſommoned by the Queene, to be holdẽ in December next.

The Embaſſadours died almoſt all.

Three came home agayne.

Lorde of Dun.

A Parliament.

This yeare alſo in Auguſt the Earle of Argile deceaſſed, and likewiſe in September Andrew Durry Biſhoppe of Galloway, departed in Edinburgh, and David Panton Biſhop of Roſſe deceaſſed the firſt of October in Striueling. In the Parliament holden in Edinburgh in December, the proceedings of the Ambaſſadours were allowed, and a diſcharge giuen to them for the ſame.

The Queenes requeſt in the Parliament.

After this the Queene regēt requyred to haue a crowne matrimoniall graunted to the Dolphin of Fraunce, that he ſhoulde be called king of Scotlande during the Matrimonie: to the which when the aſtates had agreed, the Erle of Argile, & the Prior of S. Andros, were appointed to paſſe into Fraunce, but they went not, bicauſe of other weighty buſineſſe whiche ſhortly after they attempted.

An aſſemble of the clergy.

Cōmon prayers to be had in the vulgate tongue.

A prouinciall counſell.

Requeſtes made by the Laytie.

Marie Queene of Englande departed this life, the .xvij. of Nouember, & then the moſt excellēt & noble Queene Elizabeth ſucceded. In July & Auguſt there was a conuention of al the prelates & Clergie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certaine men and women of Edenburgh were accuſed of Hereſie, & abiured at the towne croſſe with faggottes on their backes. In this aſſemble it was required, that the cōmon prayers might be red in the Scottiſh tong in Churches, with certaine other articles of reformatiō, wherof the anſwere was deferred till March, in whiche moneth a prouinciall counſell was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh. The .ij. of Marche, the ſayde prouinciall counſell of all the Prelates and Clergie of Scotlande began, wherein diuers Articles were proponed by the temporalty, as to haue the prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Scottiſh lāguage, the election of Biſhops and all beneficed men to paſſe by the voyces of the temporall Lordes & people of their Dioceſſes and pariſhes, with diuers other reformations, al the which the Biſhops refuſed to graunt, wherethrough there aroſe ſhortly after great trouble in Scotlande.

1559.

Iohn Knox with other are ſummoned.

Images and Frierhouſes pulde downe.

The Queene regent came to Perth.

The Queene regent cauſed ſummonance to be giuen vnto John Knox, John Wullock, & Paule Meffane, to appeare at Striuelyng the .x. day of May, and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebelles, and put to the horne. Whervpon the ſayde John Knox beyng in Perth, perſwaded the maſter of Lyndſay, the lardes of Tulibardin, Dun Pettarrow, and diuers other beyng there aſſembled with the burgeſſes of yͤ townes of S. Johns towne & Dūdee, to pull downe the images and altares in all Churches, and to ſuppreſſe the houſes of Frears and other religious places, who after a Sermon made by him to that effect, the ſame .x. day of May they began in S. Johns towne, and caſt downe the Abbay of the Charterhouſe, and the blacke & Carmelite Frears, called the Tullelum, & reformed all other Churches thereabout, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parties there nexte adioyning. The Queene regent being aduertiſed thereof, ſent for the Duke of Chatellerault & diuers other of the nobilitie, as the Erles of Atholl, Argile and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, hauing with them .ij. thouſand Frenchmen, who entred the towne vpon appointment, & ſo receyuing it, gaue it in keeping to Capitaine James Stewarde, and capitaine Cullane, with their bandes of men of warre.

S. Andros.

Cowper.

Twoo armies were pacified.

In the meane time the Erle of Argile, & the prior of S. Andros left the Queene in Perth, & went to S. Andros, ioyning themſelues with the other, & made reformation of the Churches, caſting downe Altars, images, houſes of frears, & Abbeys in that towne and in Cowper and other places thereabout: & aſſembling a great cōpany of coūtrey men, came to Cowper to make reſiſtance againſt the Frenchmen that were in Falkelande with the Queene. But when they ſhould haue met on Cowper More in battayle, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Erle Marſhal, and others laboured betwixte them, ſo that the battayle was ſtayed, and the Queene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

S. Iohns town beſieged.

Scone abbay brente.

The friers in Sterueling deſtroyed.

The Queene departed frō Edenburgh.

The Erle of Argile, the priour of S. Andros & theyr aſſiſters came to S. Johns towne & beſieged it, till it was to thē ſurrendred. The Erle of Huntley was ſent to them from the Queene to treat with them of ſome accord, but he profited not. At the ſame time a certayne number of perſons of the townes of Dundee and Perth, came to the Abbey of Scone, and ſpoyling the Church, brēt it with the moſt part of the houſe, the Erle of Argile, and the priour of S. Andros beyng with them in company. After this, they wēt to Striueling, where they cauſed yͤ houſes of the black Friers, & gray Friers to be throwen downe. From thēce they paſſed to Edenburgh, where the Queene hearyng of theyr comming, departed with the Frenchmenne vnto Dunbar, the Duke of Chatellerault, & the Erle of Huntley bring with hyr in company.

The Frierhouſes ouerthrowen.

The Erle of Argile, & his cōpany, called the Lordes of the congregation, were receyued into Edenburgh by the baylifes of the towne, where the places of the blacke & Grayfriers were ſuddenly ouerthrowen, & the Churche a Field, and Trinitie colledge, & S. Giles church were reformed, and the images and altares pulled downe. The Lordes remaynyng thus in Edenburgh, toke the Abbey, the coygning houſe, & the coygning yrons, and ſeaſed vpō the Queenes moueables which they found in the Palayce, and kept the ſame.

Two armies pacified.

Monſieur Doyſell and the Frenchmenne came from Dunbar to the Linkes of Leith, accompanied with the Duke of Chatelerault, the Erles of Huntley, Bothwell, Mourton, and others, and the Lordes of the Congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpoſe to haue gyuen battayle to the Frenchmen,

men, albeit they were not ſufficiente partie to reſiſt them: but the Earle of Huntley trauelled betwixte them, by whoſe meanes there mette twelue on euery ſide, who agreed vpon certaine articles, & ſo the Queene and Frenchmē entred into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

ith forti-
d.

Shortly after this, the Duke of Chatellereault, partly through perſwaſion of the Earle of Arguile his ſiſters ſonne, and the Weſt lande Lordes, and partly bycauſe he vnderſtoode that his ſonne the Earle of Arrane was fled forth of Fraunce to Geneua for the Religion, hee tooke parte with the Lordes from that time forthe againſt the aduice of the Biſhop of Sainte Andrewes, and diuers other his friends.

e Chatel-
ault ta-
h part with
e reformers
e Chur-

This yeare in June, Henrye the Kyng of France, at the trumph of the mariages betwixt the King of Spaine and his daughter, and the Duke of Sauoy and his ſiſter, was wounded in Juſtes at the Tourneillis in Paris by the Counte Montgomerie, and dyed of the hurtes the tenth of July nexte enſuing, beeing the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his ſonne, that hadde married the Queene of Scotland, was crowned King at Sainte Denis, and annoynted at Reymes in September following.

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phin suc-
d his fa-

Herewith the Duke of Chatellereaulte, and the Lordes of the congregation, ſent to the Queene, beſeeching hir to leaue off from making of fortes within the Realme, but ſhe would not graunt ſo to doe: wherefore they aſſembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and beſieged the Towne of Leith in October, the Queene and Frenchmenne, with the Biſhops of Sainte Andrewes, Glaſquo, Dunfreys, the Lorde of Seton, and diuers other Scottiſhmen beeyng within it, but the Frenchmē of war iſſued forth of Leith, and mette neere to the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe, with the Scottiſhe Lordes and their company, where many Scottiſhmē were ſlayne, and the reſt chaſed into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen alſo following them to the gates of Edenburgh, hadde entred, if thoſe within the Caſtell had not ſhot off the artillerie at them, to ſtay the ſlaughter and purſute.

th beſie-
d.

e Scottiſh-
ne are
quiſhed.

In the time of this ſiege, the yong Larde of Lethington, Secretary to the Queene, beeyng with hir in Leith, left the Towne, and ſecretely departing, gote him to the Lordes, and holp greately afterwardes to obteyne ayde forthe of England.

After this, the Queene and Frenchmē came to Edenburgh, whiche was peaceably rendred to them, where they remayned all that winter.

The Queene
me to Edē-
rghe.

About the ſame time, the Biſhop of Amiẽs, Monſieur de la Broſſe, and two Doctors of Diuinitie, came into Scotland in September, and La Broſſe was made Leuetenaunt of the Frenche armye: Monſieur Martigues, coronell of the footemen, and with them came a greate company of Frenche Souldiers to the Queene Regent, ſo that then the Frenche power was thirtie fiue hundred good men of warre, beſyde two bands of Scottes ſouldiers, vnder the leading of Captayne Anthony Kenedie, & James Steward of Cardonald. The Lords of Scotlande perceyuing the Frenchmen encreaſed, ſo that they by their owne forces onely, were not able to reſiſt them, ſente to the Queene of Englande Elizabeth for aſſiſtaunce, to expell the Frenchmen, which the Queene of Englande graunted, not onely for to ſerue the Scottiſhmens turne, but ſpecially for the ſuretie of hyr owne Realme and ſtate, whiche as then was thought ſtoode in daunger of trouble, in caſe the Frenchmen were ſuffered to remayne in Scotland, conſidering the euill dealing of the french King and his counſell in ſome pointes alreadye ſhewed. The Queene of England therefore ſent the Duke of Northfolke to Berwike, whither came to him the Earle of Argile, the Prior of Sainte Andrewes, the Maiſter of Maxwell, and the yong Lorde of Ledington Secretarie, and made agreement to haue ayde of Englande, to the effect aforeſaide. And for ſure keeping hereof, the Scottiſh Lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the King of Fraunce, and one yeare after his deceaſe. The pledges were theſe: Dauid Hamilton, ſonne to the Duke of Chatellereault, an other called Campbell, Couſin to the Earle of Argile, Robert Dowglas, brother to yͤ Prior of S. Andrews, and the Lard of Lochleuin, and a ſonne of the Lord Ruthuenne.

Newe men
e into
tlande.

The lords ſẽt for aide vnto the Queene of Englande.

They had theyr requeſte graunted thē.

Pledges ſente into England.

Aboute the ſame tyme, James Hamilton Earle of Arraine, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Chatellereault, and Captaine of the Scottiſhe Companie of mē of armes & archers in France, being fledde for Religion ſecretely to Geneua, from thence came by the conuoy of M. Randall Engliſhman into England, which at hys comming into Scotlande hee performed, and ioyned himſelfe with the Earle of Argile, and other Lords in the cauſe aforeſayd.

Lorde Hamilton taketh parte with the erle of Argile.

The Duke of Chatellereault, the Earles of Arguile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glaſquo, and cauſed yͤ Images and Altares to be taken downe, ſeiſing the Biſhops liuing into their hands, and tooke the Caſtell of Glaſquo perteyning to the Biſhoppe, and put certayne Gentlemenne into it to keepe it, whereof the Frenchmen beeing aduertiſed, marched forward to Glaſquo, to the number of fiue thouſande men, the Biſhop of Glaſquo, the Lordes Sempell, Seton, Ros, and diuers other wyth

The towne of Glaſquo is taken.

them, tooke the Caſtell againe, and ſtaying one night in the Towne, returned on the next morrowe to Kirkintulloch, and frō thence to Lithquo and Edenburgh.

After their returne from Glaſquo, a certaine number of Frenchmenne went to Striueling, and paſſing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fiffe, in purpoſe to haue gone vnto Saint Andrewes, and to haue fortified the Towne, but they being in Kingcorne, there aſſembled togyther in Fiffe the Earles of Arrane and Rothes, the Prior of Saint Andrewes, the Lord Ruthuen, the Maiſter of Lindſey, and diuers other, hauing with them no greate number, but yet they daylye ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, and would not ſuffer them to come from the Sea ſyde, where diuers Frenchmenne were ſlayne, and one of their Captaynes, with thirtie of his Souldiers, and few Scottiſhmen or in manner none, excepte that the Earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was ſore hurt in the arme with the dredge of a calliuer ſhot.

Certaine frenchemenne ſlaine.

As the Frenchmen were in their progreſſe, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fiffe, there arriued in their ſight a nauie of Shippes, which at the firſt kenning, they tooke to be frēch Shippes, but ſhortly after, perceyuing them to be the Engliſh nauie, they returned with greate diligence to Brunt Iland, where they paſt the ferrie of Kingcorne in boates and crayers to Leith, and inſtantly beganne to fortifie that Towne, caſting greate trenches about it, and making great blockhouſes for their defēce. The Engliſh Shippes came to the roade of Leith, where they caſt ancars the   day of Ianuary.

The Towne Burnt Ilande is fortified.

An Engliſhe nauye.

The Queene Regente ſente vnto the Vice Admirall of that fleete, named Maiſter Winter, requiring to knowe of him, for what cauſe hee was come into thoſe waters, who aunſwered, that he had bin abrode on the Seas ſeeking after Pirates, and in caſe anye of them came thither, hee was arriued there in the Forthe to waite on them, where the principall cauſe indeede was to impeache, that no Frenchman ſhoulde lande there, in caſe any came forthe of Fraunce, and alſo to keepe thē that lay in Inſkeith from vittayles, and that no Frenchman ſhould paſſe by Sea forth of Leith.

A Scottes Herrault ſente to the Duke of Norffolke.

Aboute the ſame time, the Queene Regent, hearing that the Duke of Norffolke was come to Newcaſtell, as generall Lieutenaunt of the Northe, ſente an Herrault with a letter to him, in whiche letter it was ſignified, that the Herrault had credite to declare further matter than was conteyned in the ſame letter, but when hee was demaunded what hee had to ſaye, he denyed to haue anye credit at all, wherevpon William Flower, then Cheſter Herraulte, and now Norrey Kyng of Armes, was ſente vnto the Queene, who commyng to Holy Roode houſe neare to Edinburgh, was receyued by ſundry Herraultes, and ſo was had to one of theyr houſes, and there kepte for that nyght.

An Engliſh Herrault ſente to the Queen of Scottes.

The nexte daye after hee had dyned, he was brought to the Court, and at his entryng within the gates, there were a number of Harquebuſiers readye wyth their peeces that diſcharoged, and ſhot off the ſame.

At hys commyng to the preſence of the Queene, hee with duetifull obeyſaunce, deliuered his letters, and after the ſame had bin redde, he was demaunded what credit he had to vtter, whervpon he declared, that the Duke of Norffolke being the Queenes Maieſties liuetenaunt in the Northe partes of Englande, marueyled greately that ſhe woulde ſend an Herrault with letters, and write therein howe ſhee had giuen credite to hym, and yet when he was demaunded to vtter his credite, hee ſhoulde confeſſe that he had none.

The Queene heerewith called for the Herrault, to vnderſtande whether he had credite or not, who denyed to haue had any at all, wherewith the Queene ſeemed to be ſomewhat abaſhed, but neuertheleſſe ſhe brake forth and ſayd, that ſhe maruelled greately that the Queene of Englande ſhoulde ſend hir ſhippes into hir Riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforehand. Cheſter aunſwered thereto, that where it was certaynely knowen that the French King had prepared to ſend a power of men of Warre into Scotlande, without aduertiſing hir thereof, ſhee coulde not but thinke that dealing verye ſtrāge, & therfore had in very deede ſent certaine of hir Shippes with vittayles, for prouiſion to be laid within hir Townes and Caſtels on the fronters, the whiche Shippes by tempeſt beeing diſperſed, mighte happily be driuen into the riuer there, albeit hee hadde not ſpoke with any of them ſince their comming forthe, but yet as hee had hearde by others, they had bin very vncurteouſly vſed: for comming in after that manner for ſuccour, the Canon had bin bent againſt them.

Herewith the Counte Martigues ſtandyng by, beganne to ſpeake very ſtowte wordes vnto Cheſter, alledging, that where it was perceyued well enoughe, that the Queene of Englande mente to make warre againſte his Maiſter the Frenche Kyng, hee truſted ſhee ſhoulde gaine as little thereby, as his ſiſter had done in breaking with hir father Henry the late French King. Cheſter heerevnto aunſwered, that hee thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland

Martigues a forwarde captaine, but an vntrew prophet.

land, to whome he ſhoulde neede to make aunſwere, whervpon Martigues was commaunded to ſilence.

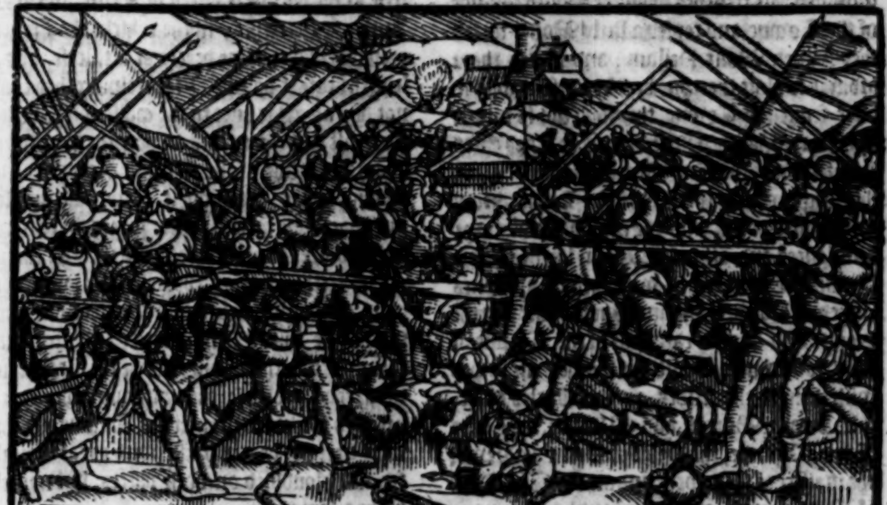
All this while the Queene had talked with Cheſter in the Scottiſhe tong, and bycauſe hee did not ſo well vnderſtande hir, hee beganne to ſpeake in the French language, whereat the Q. ſeemed greately to reioyce, and beganne agayne to diſcourſe with hym of hir griefes, & he on the other part made hir aunſwer as fell to purpoſe, and at length, when hee was demaunded what further credite he hadde, he declared, that where ſhe hadde requeſted a ſafeconduct for Monſieur la Broſſe to paſſe through Englãd into Frãce, if ſhee woulde ſee hym ſafely conueyd to Berwike, he durſt aſſure hir of a ſufficient ſafeconduct for his ſafe paſſage: through the Queene his miſtres Realme, but at length, there was another Gentleman commended to him, in lieu of La Broſſe, that was his Couſin. And nowe when Cheſter ſhould take his leaue, he declared that he had not bin courteouſly dealte with, for ſithence his comming thither, hee coulde not bee ſuffered to paſſe anye where abrode out of hys Chamber, but at meale times, and therfore if any of hir meſſengers ſhould chance to come into the Queene his miſtreſſe dominions, hee would procure (if he might) that they ſhould taſt of the like entertaynement: but the Queene ſeemed not to vnderſtande that he had bin in anye wiſe ſo hardly dealt with, ſhewing that ſhe was not well contented therewith, and ſo Cheſter toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without any reward for his paynes taken in that iourney, at the handes of the Scottiſh Queene, howſoeuer ſhe liked of his meſſage.

1560

A Engliſhe armye.

In the meane time, there was an army prepared in England, of ſeauen or eight thouſande men, who were ſent into Scotland, the Lorde Grey of Englande beeing appointed generall, who came to the Linkes, beſide the Towne of Leith, on Satterday the ſixth of Aprill: before they pight downe their field on the ſaid Linkes, Monſieur Martigues, coronell of the Frenche army, iſſued forthe of Leith, with nine hundred Harquebuſiers of Frenchmen, to a little knolle, called the Halke hil, where a ſore continual and hote ſkirmiſh was begun betwixt the Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuttes, caliuers, and piſtoletz, which ſkirmiſh continued fyue or ſixe houres, in the whiche there were manye ſlayne on both parties, and diuers hurte. At length, Martigues was forced with his cõpany to retire backe to the Towne of Leith, and the Engliſhmẽ pight downe their Campe, and planted their ordinance beſide the ſaid hill.

They were backed wyth a fiue. C. pikes whiche kepte aloofe.



he lord Grey nte vnto the Queene.

The Lord Grey being in Muſkelburgh, ſent to the Queene Regente, that lay as then in the Caſtell of Edenburgh, deſiring an abſtinence of warre for foure and twenty houres, that in the meane time he might ſende ſome of his Counſell to declare vnto hir the cauſe of his comming with that army, and to cõmune of ſuche things as might ſtaunch the ſhedding of bloud. The Queene graunted herevnto, and ſent an Herault to Leith, to cauſe the ſaid aſſurance to bee taken, but ere he came to the Towne, the Skirmiſh aforeſayd was begun.

Meſſẽgers ſente to ſpeake with the Queene mother.

In this meane time, the Lord Grey ſent ſir George Howard, and Sir James Croftes to yͤ Caſtell of Edenburgh, to ſpeake with yͤ Queene to that effect, who had long conference with hir vppon the Blockhouſe, at the vtter gate of the Caſtell, during the time of the ſkirmiſh, where they declared, that the occaſiõ of the cõming of the armye, was for the cauſe aboue mentioned, deſiring the Queene to procure the Frenchmen to departe the Realme of Scotlande: and they

The Frenchmẽ to departe the Realme.

they promiſed in that caſe to returne againe into their owne Realme, and neyther to diſquiet Frenchmen nor Scots, wherupon the Queene tooke time to be aduiſed till the nexte daye, that ſhe might conſult with yͤ principall perſonages within the Towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to ſend to them to that effect, which was graunted, and ſo the next day ſhe ſent one Drummond a Trumpetter with a letter to Monſieur de la Broſſe, to the effect aforeſaid, directing him to paſſe to the Engliſhe Campe, and to get a guide with him to goe to the Towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to goe with him. But immediatly after his departing from the Engliſh Camp, he was ſuddainely called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commaunded to repaire to the Caſtell of Edenburgh to the Queene, and to declare to hir that they woulde not haue any talke, but woulde bee reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the ſlaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlee ceaſſing, the ſiege was enforced with righte ſharpe purſute, and ſtrong defending on either parte. The Engliſhmen caſt trenches vpon the South eaſt ſide of the Towne, and reyſed a little Mont, which they named Mont Pellam, and placed theyr ordinance aloft thereon, but bycauſe it was ſo farre from the Towne, they dyd not ſo muche ſkath therto, as they intended. The Lord Grey Lieutenant of the Engliſh army lodged during this ſiege within the Towne of Leſtalrike, in the Deanes houſe, and the moſt parte of theyr demilances and other Horſemen, lay in yͤ ſame Towne. The footemen with their Captaynes lodged in Hales, tents, and Pauillions, vpon the South and South eaſt ſyde of the Towne of Leith, and diuers Scottiſhe Lordes encamped with them in the fieldes, as the Earles of Argile, Arrane, Morton, and Glēcarne, the Lords Boyd, Ogiltree, the Prior of Saint Andrewes, the maiſter of Marwell, and others. The Duke of Chatellerault and diuers with him remayned in Holy Roode houſe. And with yͤ Queene in the Caſtell, the Biſhop of Saint Andrewes, the Biſhoppe of Dunkeld, the Earle Marſhall, the Lorde Erſkin, Captaine of the Caſtell, M. James Macgill, Clearke of the Regiſter, the Prouoſt of Dunglas, called Maiſter Abraham Crichton, and diuers other.

The Engliſhe are deſirous to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them.

A trench caſt to little purpoſe.

On Eaſter Euen, Captaine Wood, and Captaine Dethicke, ſeruing on the Sea vnder M. Winter the Engliſh Admirall there, were appointed by him to paſſe vp yͤ riuer to Blackneſſe, who with their bands going aboorde into a Barke, prepared for that purpoſe, ſayled forward, and on Eaſter daye in the morning preſenting themſelues before the Caſtell, it was yelded to them by certaine Frenchmenne that were within, and thervpon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an auntiente Gentleman, and Captaine Wood, beeing ſet on ſhore, came to the Camp before Leith by lande. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmenne iſſuing forth of Leith, ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their trenches, and did muche harme, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie it further appeareth. Duryng the ſiege thus afore Leith, the Queene Regent was ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, but neuertheleſſe, ſhe continued to labour for agreemēt, not ceaſſing to ſend to the Lordes for to haue the matter taken vp: and for the better accompliſhing of hir deſire, ſhee procured the Earle of Huntley to come forth of the North, who tooke vp his lodging in Edenburgh, and tooke greate paynes to treate betwixt the Queene and Lords for ſome agreement: but when he perceyued his trauayle to be in vaine, hee returned into the Northe againe, and left the ſiege lying ſtill as he founde it. In this meane while, the Engliſhmen lodging on the South ſyde of the Towne beſide Mont Pellam, battered with their greate artillerie at the pariſhe Church of Leith, and at S. Anthonies Steeple, in the whiche the Frenchmen had laid certaine peeces of artillerie, and at length beate it downe, but perceiuing they could not do any great hurt to the walles on that ſide, they caſt newe trenches vppon the South and Southweſt ſide of the Towne, and reyſed a Mount there, naming it Mont Somerſet, and placed thereon certaine peeces in batterie, and ſo beate the walles, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowen, and breach made, wherevpon the Engliſhmenne and Scottes one morning came with their ladders, and preſenting themſelues to the aſſault, founde the breache nothing reaſonable, ſo that although they egerly preaſſed forward to enter the Towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed on both partes, but namely of the aſſaylants.

The Caſtell
Blackeneſſe wonne.

See more hereof in Eng
lande,

The Queene laboured for an agreeme

Saint Antho
nyes ſteple beaten down

Mont Somerſet.

They are beaten backe,

The Engliſhmen perceyuing that they were too raſh in aſſaulting the Towne, beeing not aſſaultable, deuiſed other ſhifts to obteyne theyr purpoſe, reyſing an other Mount of earth on the Weſt ſide of the water of Leith, and named it Mont Faulcon. Aloft on this Mount when it was brought vp to a great heigth, they planted their greate artillerie, whiche continually beate into the Towne, ſore annoying them within, but ſpecially beating the houſes and places by the ſhore ſide, ſo that none mighte goe vppe nor downe the Towne on that part, without daunger to be ſlaine with ſhot from that Mount.

Mont Faulc

The Frenchmenne during the time of the ſiege, many times iſſued forthe towardes the ſandes, and ſometimes towardes the trenches, ſo that ſundry ſore ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixte the Engliſhmen and them, with the ſlaughter of diuers, both of the one part and the other.

Amongſt other of them within, there were ſlayne two Scottiſhmenne of name, to witte, Captayne Kenedie, and yong Henry Drummond: and of them without, there was ſlayne a Scottiſh Gentlemã, called the Lard of Cleiſch.

The Engliſh army was throughly furniſhed with vittayles forth of all partes of the Realme, and that vpon reaſonable priſes, but the Frẽchmenne within the Towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the comming of the Engliſh army, whiche when it beganne to fayle them, they were conſtreyned to eate theyr owne Horſes, whoſe fleſhe ſeemed to them in that neceſſitie more delitious, than before that time any manner of veniſon. Thoſe within Inſkeith alſo were in greate neceſſitie of vittayles, but yet neither they within the one place nor thoſe within the other, woulde render theyr ſtrengthes, looking ſtil for ayde forth of France.

In the meane time the Queene Regent perceyuing hir ſickneſſe ſo to encreaſe, that ſhee looked for preſent death, ſent for the Duke of Chatellerault, and all the Lords of Scotland that were in the Towne of Edenburgh, and in the Camp, who came vnto hir altogither into the Caſtell of Edenburgh, where ſhee made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, perſwading them to vnitie and concorde with theyr auncien[illegible]iendes of Fraunce, and nowe more ſtedfaſt to them than at any time before, by reaſon of the marriage of their Queene their Soueraigne, with the King of France: and herewith brake out with certaine wordes, to diſſuade them from the amitie contracted with the Engliſhmen, declaring that the Engliſhmen aided them not for any other reſpecte, than for theyr owne tourne and commoditie. Moreouer for hir owne parte ſhee ſayd, that ſhee fauoured the weale of the Realme of Scotland, aſmuche as Fraunce, conſidering ſhee had the honour to be Queene and Regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable Queene of the ſame: and if ſhee hadde attempted any thyng, that ſeemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie therevnto, the ſame came to paſſe rather for lacke of wiſedome, and iudgemente, than for wante of any good will: and if it pleaſed God to prolong hir dayes, ſhee woulde bee glad to amende that had bene done amiſſe: and if hee called hir to his mercy, ſhee prayed them moſt hartily to acknowledge their duetie vnto the Queene their ſoueraigne, and to maintaine their auncient amitie with the King and Realme of Fraunce, and to make ſome good accorde with the Frenchmenne that were within the Towne of Leith, who would gladly accepte the ſame, to the end that as well they as the Engliſhmẽ ſhould departe this Realme, for ſhee feared greatly (as ſhee ſaide) leaſt if the Frenchmen departed, the Engliſhmenne would ſtill remaine, and ſubdue the land to theyr obedience, and therfore ſhe beſought all good Scottiſhmen to haue reſpect to the libertie and weale of their Countrey.

A miſtruſtfull minde.

After ſhe had talked thus a good while with many teares, ſhee deſired the Lordes to forgiue hir in any thing wherein ſhe had offended anye of them during the time of hir beeing in Scotlande, whiche they gladly ſeemed to doe: and on the other parte ſhee forgaue them with all hir heart (as it appeared) all offences which they had committed againſt hir, and thus diuers of them weeping, ſhee tooke euery of them by the hande, and ſo they taking leaue of hir departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their Campe.

The Queene taketh hir leaue.

Whileſt the ſiege thus lay before the Towne of Leith, diuers great troubles roſe in ſundrye partes of the Realme, and ſpecially betwixt the Erle of Huntley, and the Erle of Atholl, ſo that there was taking of Priſoners, and ouerthrowing of houſes on either part, and greate preparation made, and armies put in a readineſſe to inuade either others Countreys: but this buſines was pacified by the trauaile and good mediation of Maiſter Alexander Gordõ, then Poſtulat of Galloway, Maiſter John Leſlie, officiall of Aberdene, and William Leſlie, the yõg Lard of Buchquhane, who agreed thẽ for all matters in controuerſie, and cauſed them to goe to eyther others houſe.

The Earle of Huntley and Atholl are at variance.

The matter is pacified.

The ſame time, one Maiſter Donald Fraſher, Archdeacon of Roſſe, tooke the Byſhoppes Caſtell of the Chanourie of Roſſe, and kept the ſame againſte Maiſter Henrye Sincleir, then Biſhop there, and the chiefeſt men of authoritie in that Dioceſſe, as Machenzee, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the Sheriffe Tramercy, who aſſẽbled aboute the ſame, and beſieged the Caſtell, where great force was vſed, both by them without to winne it, and of them within to defende it.

The Caſtell of Roſſe taken.

The Caſtell is beſieged.

The Biſhop being then reſident in Cromercy Caſtell, hearing that the houſe would not be gotten withoute great ſlaughter, thought it againſt his conſcience, his profit, and honor, to winne it in that manner, and therefore ſending for Maiſter John Leſlie, officiall of Aberdene, and Maiſter Alexander Dunbarre, Subchauntour of Murrey, by their labour, & diligent treating in the matter, the Biſhop by reaſonable apoyntmente recouered his Caſtell of them that held it againſt him.

The Caſtell was reſtored againe.

The Frenche K. vnderſtanding in what di-

ſtreſſe

Ambaſsadors ſente.
Monſieur Monluc Biſhoppe of Valence.

ſtreſſe his menne remayned that were beſieged within Leith, and perceyuing himſelfe not able to find an army to ſuccour them within ỹ time that their neceſſitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp. and to that effect ſent two Ambaſſadors, the Earle of Randon, and Monſieur Monluc Biſhoppe of Valence, who declared to the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande the cauſe of their comming, whiche was, to deſire hir to retire hir armye forthe of Scotland, vpon ſome ſuche reaſonable conditions as might be agreed vpō, and herewith they declared, that they were ſent to the Queene, and not vnto the ſubiectes of Scotlande, for it was not meete that the king ſhould ſend to his owne ſubiects (as they were by the marriage of their Queene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

An Ambaſſage ſent by the Queene of Englande.

The Queenes Maieſtie of Englande therefore ſente Sir William Cecill Knighte, hir principall Secretarie, and Doctor Wotton, Deane of Canterbury and of Yorke, one of the priuie Counſel, with the frēch Ambaſſadors into Scotland.

The Scottiſhe Queene mother departed 1560

Whileſt they were yet vpon their iourney, the Queene Regent (whome they thoughte to haue found aliue, and to haue vſed hir helpe as an inſtrumente to haue furthered the treatie to ſome good ende) conſumed partly through melancolie, thought, and greeuous diſpleaſure, and partly with long and incurable ſickneſſe, departed this life in the Caſtell of Edenburgh the tenth of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord. 1560.

Hir body afterwards was conueid by ſea into Fraunce, and buried in the Abbey of Feſcamp.

The praiſe of the Queene Dowager.

She was a wiſe and righte prudente Princeſſe, and in hir time had learned good experiēce of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that ſhe was Regent, ſhee kepte good iuſtice, and was well obeyd in all partes of the Realme in Orkney, and the Weſterne Iſles: and if ſhee had to hir owne experience ioyned the Counſell of the Nobles and wiſe men of the Realme of Scotland, without following the aduiſe of ſtraungers, there hadde bin neuer queſtion nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie as ſome deemed: but bycauſe that others, and namely, Monſieur Doyſell and Rubee were adioyned to hir by the eſtates of Scotland, who dayly preſſed hir to deuiſe new alterations of lawes, impoſitions, taxations, & ſuche things as were not in vſe in Scotlande: therefore the eſtates and people of the lande did grudge, although not for anye miſliking they hadde of hir, who ſurely deceaſſed, to the great griefe and lamētation of the whole number of the eſtates and people of the Realme.

The Ambaſ dours came Edinburgh.

They haue conference. Peace is con cluded.

The deathe of that noble Princeſſe, made the Frenchemen within Leith, and alſo the Ambaſſadours more diſcouraged, than otherwiſe they woulde haue bin. But neuertheleſſe theſe foure Ambaſſadours of Englande and Fraunce comming to Edinburgh, entred in conference amōg themſelues, vppon articles proponed aſwell for reliefe of the Scottiſhemen, as for the weale and ſuertie of the Queene of England and hir Subiectes, wherevpon certaine Lordes of Scotland were admitted to talke wyth them alſo: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Iulye, in the yeare of God. 1560. wyth certaine articles touching aſwell Scottes, and Frenche, as Engliſhemen, the effect whereof here enſueth.

Articles of th peace.

Frenche ſoul diers departe the Realme.

Fyrſte, it was agreed, that all the Frenchemen ſhould departe forth of the realme of Scotlande by Sea into Fraunce, and to that effect ſhould embarke, & make ſaile within ỹ ſpace of xx. days next following: and bycauſe ỹ Frenchmen hadde no ſhips, the Engliſhemen ſhoulde lende them ſhips, and certayne of the Frenchemenne remaine as pledges in Englande till the ſame ſhips were retourned.

Leith they ſhoulde ren der it.

Item, that they ſhould render the Towne of Leith: and the Frenchemen to haue their munition, bagges, and baggages, to conuey away with them at their pleaſure, and that the walles of the Towne ſhoulde be throwen downe and demoliſhed.

The forte be fore Dunbar to bee raced.

Item, they ſhoulde cauſe Monſieur Charleboys Capitaine of Dunbarre to demoliſhe and race the forte, whiche they had builte before the Caſtell there.

The Engliſh men ſhould departe alſo.

Item that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde raiſe their ſiege and departe forthe of Scotland, after the departure from thence of the Frenchmenne, and raſing of the walles of Leith and Dunbarre.

An acte of ob liuion to be made.

Item, that there ſhoulde bee made an acte of obliuion, in which the Q. of Scotlād, wyth cōſent of the french K. hir huſbande ſhoulde forget and burie in obliuion all attemptes made by the Lordes of Scotland, againſt their authoritie, frō the tenth daye of March. 1558. to the firſt day of Auguſt, in the yeare of grace. 1560. And for cōfirming thereof, a Parliament ſhould be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of Auguſt nexte enſuing, in which Parliamente the ſame ſhould bee ratified and allowed by the aduice of the eſtates of the Realme of Scotland.

A Parliament to be kept.

Alſo it was agreed, that there ſhoulde bee a commiſſion ſent from the Frenche King, and the Queene of Scotlāde, to hold the ſame Parliament to the effect aforeſaide.

To put away the armes and clayme of Englande.

Item, that the Queene of Scotlande and King of France, ſhould cauſe to blot out and

put

and put away the bearing of the armes of Englande out of theyr ſkutchens.

Item it was agreed, that there ſhoulde remayne ſtill in the Iſle of Inſkith threeſcore Frenchmenne, and as manye in the Caſtell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) poſſeſſion to the Queenes vſe.

The whole number of the Frenchmenne (a fewe except that paſſed through England) went aborde the Engliſh Shippes in July, and ſayled into Fraunce, and in companye with them went the Biſhop of Glaſquo and the Lord Seton. The Engliſhmen departed alſo, & in their way cauſed the forte of Dunbar to be raſed, as by the agreemente of the peace it was appoynted.

A Parliamente holden in Auguſt, and the acte of obliuion ratified by the eſtates, and a cōfeſſion of faith publiſhed in the ſame: it was cōcluded alſo to ſend Ambaſſadors into Englād, which was done.

And ſhortly after, the Lordes ſummoned the Principall learned men of the Realme, forthe of the Vniuerſities of Saint Andrewes, Aberden, Glaſquo, and other partes, to giue a reaſon of their faith: and amongſt other, thoſe of Aberden toke vppon them to diſpute with John Knox, John Wullock, and Maiſter Goodman.

In the Winter, the Lordes of the Counſell gaue faculties of benefices to dyuers of theyr friends, who put forthe the Prelates, and receyued the fruites.

The Erle of Argile diſpoſed Dunkeilde and Dunblan.

The Earle of Arran had the ordering of the Byſhopprickes of Saint Androwes: alſo of the Abbacies of Dunfermlyng, and Melros, and other ſmall benefices. The like was vſed by other noble menne, throughe all partes of the Realme.

Shortely after Fraunces the Frenche King, huſbande to the Queene of Scotlande departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The Queene beyng then widowe, and Dowager of Fraunce, departed from Orleaunce (where the Courte laye when hir huſbande deceaſſed) and wente to the Towne of Reimes in Champaigne, where ſhe remained till the fifteenthe daye of Aprill following, & then purpoſing to retourne into Scotlande, ſhe toke hir iourney towardes Janville, and ſo into Loraine, there to take leaue of hir kinſfolke by hir mothers ſide. The Biſhoppe of Glaſquo, & the Abbot of Dunfermlyng Scottiſhemen, were ſtill attendaunt on hir in this iourney.

There were with hir alſo the Cardinals of Lorayne and Guyſe, the Duke Daumale, and the Marqueſſe Dalbeuf hir Vncles.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Englande.

Before this, in the beginning of the Winter this yeare, the Lords ſent the Earle of Morton and Glencarne, and the yong Lard of Ledington Secretarie, Ambaſſadors into England, to giue thankes to the Queenes Maieſtie of England, for the aide whiche they had receyued of hir, to expulſe the Frenchmen.

1561

The Earle of Murrey paſſed through Englande into Fraunce. He departed from Edenburgh the eyghtenth of Marche, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, where he found the Queene.

The daye before, Maiſter Liſter officiall of Aberdene was come thither, who was ſent from the Earle of Huntley, and other the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of the North partes: hee toke ſhippe in the Rode of Abberdene, and landing at Brule in Hollande, paſſed through the lowe Countreys in poſt till hee came to Paris, and from thēce vnto Vitrie aforeſaid, where he knew to find the Queene.

The Earle of Murrey wente with the Q. vnto Janville, and taried there a fiue or ſyxe dayes, and then taking his leaue, returned into Scotland.

The Nobles aſſemble at Edenburgh.

The Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Huntley, Atholl, Merſhall, and all other the noble mē of the realme, aduertiſed of the Queenes comming, aſſembled at Edinburgh wyth all poſſyble diligence.

Shippes waite in the narrowe Seas.

A ſafeconduit required.

Certain Ships taken.

In the meane time whiles the Queene was preparyng to take hir iourney, and to come into Scotlande, the Queene of Englande ſet forth ſome of hir greate ſhippes to the ſeas to watche and garde the coaſtes of hyr Realme. Wherof they beyng aduertiſed in Fraunce, ſent the Abbot of S. Colmes Inche to the Queene of Englande, to deſire of hir a ſafeconduit, in caſe by winde or tempeſt ſhee chaunced to land in Englande: but before hee was retourned to Calais therewyth, as hee was appoynted, the Queene and hir retinue were ſafely landed in Scotlande; neuertheleſſe, the Engliſh ſhippes toke ſome of the Scottiſh Lords, as the Earle of Egleton his ſhippe and others, whiche were brought into Englande, and ſtayed for a tyme, but were after releaſſed, and ſente home into Scotland.

Monſieur Doyſell.

The Queene alſo by the aduiſe of the King of Fraunce, ſente Monſieur Doyſell into England, to paſſe through the ſame into Scotland before hir comming, there to haue receyued the fortes of Dunbar and Inſkrith, of Monſieur Charleboys, and to haue kepte the ſame till hir comming, but he was ſtayed, and paſſed no further than to London, for it was thoughte that his going into Scotlande woulde turne to no great benefite of that Realme, bycauſe that hee and Monſieur Rubey were the principall authours of all the troubles in Scotlande, betwixte the Queene Regente, and the nobilitie there.

The Queene was companyed vnto Calais.

She was attended on from Paris vnto Calais with many noble menne, namely hir ſyre Uncles, the Dukes of Guiſe, and Daumale, the Cardinals of Lorayne and Guyſe, the Grand Priour, and yͤ Marques Dalbeuf, alſo yͤ Duke de Nemoures, and other of hir friends and kinſmen.

She taketh hir iourney towards Scotlād.

There were two Galleys prepared, and certaine other Shippes to goe with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir ſayde Uncles, the Duke Daumale, the Graund Priour, and the Marques Dalbeuf: alſo Monſieur Dauuille the Conneſtables ſonne, and dyuers other.

The Queene arriued at Leith.

Shee arriued at Leith the twentith daye of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1561. where ſhe was honorably receyued by the Earle of Argile, the Lorde Erſkin, the Prior of Saint Andrewes, and of the burgeſſes of Edenburgh, and conueyghed to the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe.

Coſtly Iewels.

She brought with hir into Scotland many rich and coſtly iewelles of gold worke, precious ſtones, orient pearle, and ſuch like, as excellente and faire as were to bee found within Europe, with riche furniture of houſholde, as hangings, carpets, counterpointes, and al other neceſſaries for the furniſhing of hir princely houſes.

Hir houſhold ſtuffe.

The chiefeſt parte of the hangings and other furniture of houſholde, was ſhipped at Roane, and arriued at Leith in the moneth of October next following.

An acte made concerning Religion.

After the Queene of Scottes had remayned the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes at Holy Roode houſe, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earle of Argile, and diuers other of the nobilitie beeyng preſent, there was an acte made by the Lords of the Counſell, with conſent of the Queene, that to remoue all cauſes of trouble in time to come, for the matter of Religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the eſtate of Religion publikely ſtanding within the Realme, at hir arriuall in the ſame, ſhoulde bee made, and that nothing ſhoulde bee attempted, eyther publikely or priuately to the contrary, vpon great payne, which was ſet forth and publiſhed through all partes of the Realme with great diligence.

Some appointed to be of the Queenes Counſell.

Secretary. Comptroller. Lords of the priuie Counſel

After this, there were eleuen temporal Lords and one Biſhop choſen, to be of the Queenes ſecret counſell, by whoſe aduice ſhee ſhoulde rule and gouerne things, ſixe of them to remayne continually with hir, in roomth of officers, as the Secretary, Comptroller, and others. The Lordes of the priuie Counſell were theſe, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earle of Huntley Chancellor, the Earle of Argile, the Earle of Atholl, the Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Glencarne, the Earle of Morton, the Erle of Montroſe, the Earle of Erroll, Maiſter Henrye Sinclar Biſhoppe of Roſſe, and the Lorde Erſkin.

Daumall w with the tw Galleys int Fraunce,

The Duke Daumalle, after he had remayned with the Queene a certayne time, toke leaue of hir, and with the Galleys returned into France.

The reſt w through En gland into France.

The Graunde Priour, and Monſieur Danuille, tarried ſomewhat longer, and paſt through England into France.

The Marqueſſe Daulbeuf tarried in Scotlande all the nexte Winter, till the ſpring of the yeare, and then returned into France through England.

A preparati of triumph

The Towne of Edenburgh prepared greate and coſtly triumphes for the Queenes entring whiche ſhee made into that Towne the day of September.

The Queen viſited the Townes.

After this, ſhe paſſed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and after to Sainte Andrewes, into which townes ſhee was receyued with greate honor and triumph.

From Saint Andrewes ſhee returned vnto Edenburgh, where ſhee remayned all the nexte Winter.

An aſſemble of the Lords.

The thirde part of the Spirituall liuings dema ded.

In December, there was a great aſſemble of all the principall Lords, Spirituall and temporall of the Realme, where it was demaunded of the Prelates, to graunte the third part of the fruites of their benefices to yͤ Queene, towards the bearing of hir charges, for the maintenance of hir trayne, and to ſuſteyne the Miniſters, tyll ſome order were taken to mayntayne hir houſholde, and a garde to attende on hir, by the aduiſe of the eſtates.

The Prelates agreed, for the Queenes pleaſure to ſupporte hir with the fourth parte of the fruites of their benefices, for one yeares ſpace only, to help to beare hir charges, and to ſuſteine hir garde, and in the meane time order myghte bee taken by the aduiſe of the whole eſtates for the ſame.

An acte for the Clergy.

But notwithſtanding the refuſall of the Prelates to pay the third part, the Lords of the priuie Counſell made an acte, and ſet forth letters, that all the Prelates and beneficed menne ſhould be charged to pay yeerely to yͤ Queenes Comptroller and his Collector, the hole thirds of all fruites of their benefices: and that it ſhould be lawfull to the Controller and his deputies to take the thirde of what parte of euerye benefice where he beſt pleaſed, and to deale therewith at his pleaſure.

Alſo to haue to doe with the rentes of Brotherhoodes of common Churches, and ſuch like.

This order hathe bin obſerued euer ſithence, not without greate grudge of the Prelates, and other beneficed menne of the Realme, and theyr friends, as well thoſe that profeſſed the reformed Religion, as others.

1562

es Steward
e Earle of
rey.

The Sunday before Shrouetewſday, being the eyghth day of February, as ſome write, James Stewarde then Priour of Sainct Androwes, and Earle of Mar, baſe brother to the Queene, was made Earle of Murrey by the Queenes ſpeciall gifte, and was married the ſame daye vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the Earle Marſhall, wyth greate feaſtes and triumphe, laſtyng three dayes.

e Queene
England de-
s to
te wyth
Queene of
lande.

The Queene of Englande deſirous to haue a meeting betwixt hir & the Queene of Scotts hir couſin, ſent dyuers meſſengers with letters, deſiring hir moſt inſtātly to come vnto Yorke, where ſhee woulde meete hir, to talke wyth hir of dyuers matters, that myght make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendeſhippe, whiche nature hadde knitte betwixt them, by coniunction and affinitie of bloud: and after conſultation hadde wyth hir counſell, the Queene of Scottes agreed thereto: and ſo they were appoynted to meete at Yorke in the Monethe of Julye nexte followyng: but when thyngs were prepared, and put in a redineſſe for the iourney, the Queene of England ſente worde to the Q. of Scottes, that ſhee coulde not keepe the appointemente made for theyr meeting, deſiring hir to haue hir excuſed for that time, whyche meſſage was accepted, and ſo ẏ iourney ſtayed.

e meeting
was diſ-
inted.

e Queene
e hir pro-
e into
Northe
s of Scot-
e.

Shortely after the Queene of Scotts tooke hir iourney towardes the North partes of Scotland, and ſette from Striueling in the Moneth of Auguſt.

e Ogilwy
John Gor-
fight togi-

Aboute this tyme it chaunced that the lord Ogilwy, and John Gordon of Finnater, ſonne to the Earle of Huntley mette on the Calſey of Edenburgh & fought, where after many blowes & ſtripes gyuen and taken, the Lorde Ogilwy, and his companye were hurte, wherefore John Gordon was taken, and putte in warde at the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of whyche hee eſcaped, after he hadde remayned priſoner therein aboute twentye dayes, and gotte his waye Northewarde, wherevppon followed greate trouble ſhortely after to the houſe of Huntley.

n Gordon
kes pryſō.

n Gordon
ſommoned
the Q.

The Queene accompanyed with ẏ Earles of Argile, Murrey, and Morton, the Lord Erſkin, and others, paſſed forwarde in hir iorney towardes the Northe parte, and cauſed John Gordon of Finnater to bee ſommoned to appeare, and aunſwere the lawe at Aberdine for breaking priſon, and hurting the L. Ogilwy.

Gordon is accōpanied with a greate companye.

The Queene comming to the Towne of Aberdine, was honorably receyued with dyuers Orations, and Latine Enterludes, before the Grammer ſchoole and Colledge.

The Earle of Huntley hearyng that hys ſon was thus ſommoned, aſſembled the principall Earles, Lordes, Barons, and Gentlemenne of the Northe, who came wyth hym to Aberdene to helpe his ſonne at the lawe daye appointed for his appearaunce, whyche was in September.

Gordon is cōmaunded to Striueling Caſtell.

Hee diſobeyed

The Earle came to the Queene hymſelfe, and at length it was agreed, that his ſonne the ſayd John Gordon ſhould returne to priſon againe in Striueling Caſtell, there to remaine during the Queenes pleaſure: but hee followyng the euill counſell of ſome yong heades that were wyth hym, neyther fulfilled the Queenes pleaſure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreame handling (as he tooke it) vpon the Earle of Murrey, whome he put moſt in blame, for the rigor ſhewed againſte him, but his enterpriſe tooke not effect: and the Queene aduertiſed of his diſobedience, went not to Strabogy, notwithſtanding there was greate preparation made for hir in ẏ place, for the receiuing of hir and hir trayne: but ſhee wente vnto Balwany, the Earle of Athols place, and from thēce to Kinlos, to Tarneway, and ſo came to Jnuerneis, and there lodged.

The Queene ſuſpected the Earle of Huntley.

In this meane while, the Earle of Huntley purpoſing to attende on the Queene at Jnuernes, cauſed prouiſion to be made in the Caſtell for his lodging.

The Queene ſuſpecting hys dealing, leaſt this ſhoulde bee done vppon ſome policie, commaunded the keepers of the Caſtell to render the ſame to one of hir Herrauldes, but it was not deliuered till the nexte daye, and therefore the Captayne of that Caſtell called Alexander Gordon, for refuſing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne bridge.

Alexāder Gordon was hāged

The Lorde Gordon, and his brother John Gordon of Finnater, came that night within a little ſpace diſtant from the Towne of Jnuerneis, which cauſed great feare in the Towne, ſo that there was a diligente watch all that night.

The Earle of Huntley beeing come to Kinlos, and hearing that the Caſtell of Jnuerneis was commaunded to be giuen vp to the handes of an Herrault, ſente with all diligence to the keepers, that they ſhould deliuer it, and returned himſelfe to Strathbogy.

The Queene remayned in Jnuerneis the ſpace of foure or fyue dayes, where the principal Captayne of the Clanis of the Countrey came to hir, and with a greate company conueyd hir to Spyne, where ſhee was enformed that the Erle of Huntley had gathered an armey to come againſte hir, and made their aſſemble at Spey.

Heerevppon, they tooke wyth them all the artillerie ouer Spanye, and carried the ſame in cartes, and all other kynde of munition, and paſt forwarde to Bamf that nighte.

The Earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strathbogy.

The Queene as ſhee paſſed forwarde, rode to the place of Findlater, and there in hir owne preſence, cauſed the keepers thereof to bee charged to deliuer it, whyche they refuſed to doe.

She came vnto Aberdyne.

From Bamf, the Queene rode to the Lairde of Geychtis place, called Geicht, and the nexte daye, there was greate preparation for hir entrie into the newe Towne of Aberdene.

She lodged one night in the Biſhops palace, and the next daye ſhee was honorably receyued, and lodged in the Prouoſts houſe of the towne, where ſhe remayned all the tyme of hir abode in Aberdene.

The Earle of Huntley is ſẽte for.

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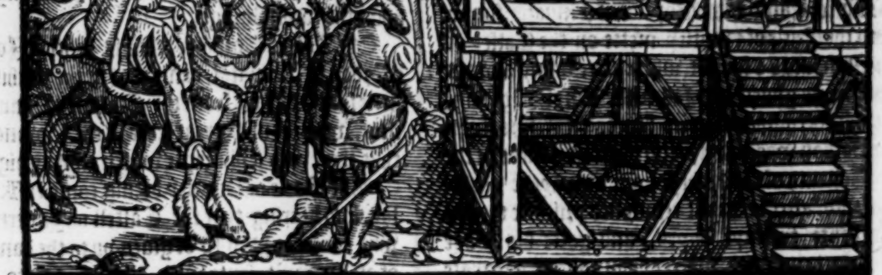

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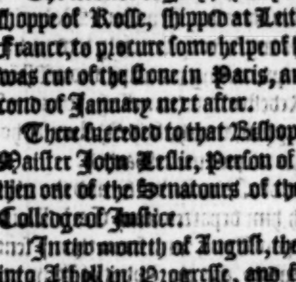

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Heerevppon, they tooke wyth them all the artillerie ouer Spanye, and carried the ſame in cartes, and all other kynde of munition, and paſt forwarde to Bamf that nighte.

The Earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strathbogy.

The Queene as ſhee paſſed forwarde, rode to the place of Findlater, and there in hir owne preſence, cauſed the keepers thereof to bee charged to deliuer it, whyche they refuſed to doe.

She came vnto Aberdyne.

From Bamf, the Queene rode to the Lairde of Geychtis place, called Geicht, and the nexte daye, there was greate preparation for hir entrie into the newe Towne of Aberdene.

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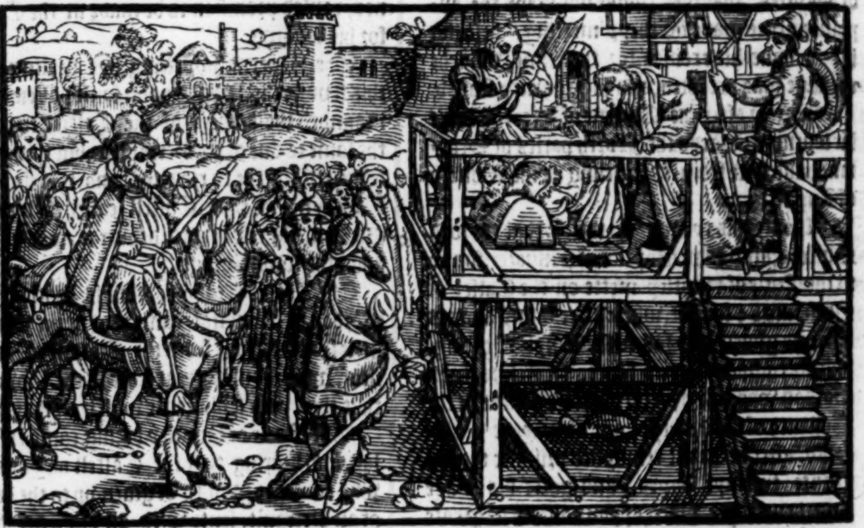

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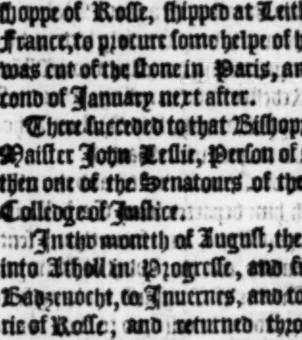

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Bothwell is ſent for.

She alſo ſent for the Erle of Bothwel to returne home, who was baniſhed, and was then in Fraunce.

Lord Darneley is made Duke of Albany.

Lord Darneley is proclaymed King.

The Queene is married.

In the moneth of July, the Lord Darnely Earle of Roſſe, was made Duke of Albany, and on Saterday at euen, the eyght and twentith daye of the ſame moneth, before the mariage, he was proclaymed King by yͤ Queenes commaundemente at the Market croſſe of Edenburgh, and on the nine and twentith daye of the ſame moneth, he was married to yͤ Queene in the Chappell of Holy Roode houſe, at fiue of the clocke in the morning.

Certaine lords refuſe to appeare before the Queene.

Shortly after, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Argile, Murrey, and their complices, were ſommoned to appeare before the Queene and hir Counſell within ſixe dayes, and bycauſe they refuſed ſo to do, they were put to the Horne.

An army gathered againſt them.

The L. wente vnto Dunfreis.

The Queene aſſembled an army, and wente to Glaſquo to purſue them, and the Duke and Erles, with other of their company came to Edenburgh, where the Caſtell ſhotte off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receyued by the Lord Heris.

The Queene hearing thereof, by aduiſe of hir Counſell, aſſembled forth of all the partes of the whole Realme an army, appointing yͤ ſame to bee at Beggar in the beginning of October, to purſue the Rebels.

Certayne Townes are puniſhed.

In the meane tyme, ſhee hearing that the Townes of Sainte Andrewes, Dundee, and Sainte Johns Towne, had helped the Lordes to reiſe men of Warre for their ſupporte, paſſed thither hirſelfe, and toke inquiſition thereof, gyuing order in thoſe Townes, that no ſuch thing ſhoulde afterwardes be put in practiſe: but there were none that ſuffered deathe for that matter, but diuers were committed to priſon in the North partes of the Realme, as the Prouoſt and Bailʒeeis of Sainte Andrewes; alſo certaine of the Towne of Dundee; and Sainte Johns Towne, and other were baniſhed; and diuers Barons, as Lundy, Lango, and Balward, were ſent to Aberden, and to other partes, where they remayned the winter following.

Aboute this time, the Queene toke the Caſtell of Tantallon from the Earle of Morton, bycauſe he was ſuſpected to fauor the Rebelles.

The keeping thereof was giuen to the Earle of Atholl.

A greate army.

The Queene returning to Edenburgh in September, prepared al things neceſſary for the army, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noble men with theyr retinues were aſſembled the eyght of October.

From thence they paſſed forwarde to Dunkeys.

The Lordes fledde into England.

In the meane time the Duke of Chatellerault, the Erles of Murrey, Glencarne, Rothes, the Lord Ochiltre, the Abbot of Kilwinning, yͤ Lardes of Grange, Cunningham, Herdy, Pettarro, Maiſter James Holiburton tutor of Pettcur, and others, hearing of the Queenes comming with an armye, fled into Englande, and came to Carleill, where they were receyued, the Earle of Bedforde at that time beeyng Lorde Lieutenant of the North.

Their conueyers gote theyr pardon.

The lorde Heris then maiſter of Marwell conueyed them to the water of Sulwey, and afterwardes returned to Dunfreiſe to the Queene, where of hir clemencie he gotte pardon of his offence: and the Lards of Lochinwar, and Drumlanrig likewiſe.

The Queene returned agayne to Edenburgh.

After the armye had tarryed certayne dayes putting directiō for obſeruing of good order in yͤ Countrey, the Queene returned to Edinburgh, where ſhee remained all the nexte Winter.

The Queene ſent into France for ayde.

The Queene ſente Mayſter Dauid Chalmer Chauncellor of Roſſe into Fraunce to the King wyth letters for hys aſſiſtaunce againſte hir Rebelles, and ſhortely after the French king ſente a Gentleman called Monſieur Maluoiſier into Scotlande wyth very frendely letters vnto the Queene, promiſing his helpe and aſſiſtāce againſte the Rebelles: which meſſage was moſt thankfully receyued, and the ſaid Maluoiſer honourably at his departure rewarded.

The Lordes ſend to the Queene of Englande.

The Queene of England ſent vnto the Queene of Scottes.

The Duke of Chatellerault, and the other Lordes wyth him departed from Carleill vnto Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and from thence ſente the Erle of Murrey, and the Abbot of Kilwynnyng to the Queene of England, makyng ſuite to hir grace for ayde to be reſtored to their countrey againe. The Queenes Maieſtie promiſed them, that ſhee woulde ſende a Gentleman to the Queene hir ſiſter, and moue hir in theyr fauours as ſhee did, and ſo they retourned againe to Newcaſtell, where the Duke of Chatellerault perceyuing no other helpe appearing, ſente the Abbot of Kilwennyng into Scotland to the Queene with letters, ſubmitting himſelfe to hir graces will, and ſo he obteigned pardon for him and his friends, with licence to paſſe into Frāce, there to remayne the ſpace of fiue yeares, and ſhortely after hee paſſed through Englande, and ſo ouer into France, accordyng to his appointment.

The King went Hawking.

The King paſt the moſt part of that Winter in the Countreys of Fiffe, Strathertne, Striuelingſhire, and Louthian, ſpending hys time in Hawking.

The Queene remained at Edinburgh wyth the Nobilitie, and bycauſe ſhee was conceyued wyth childe, trauailed little abroade.

A Parliament.

In the meane time a Parliament was called to bee holden in the moneth of Marche nexte enſuing, and ſommonaunce decreed agaynſte the Earle of Murrey, and the other Lordes that remayned in Englande, and alſo againſte the Earle of Argile, lying then in hys Countrey of Argile to heare them forfalted.

he Lords at exiled are ummoued.

The Frenche King ſent Monſieur Rambeueuillet into Scotlãd, as Ambaſſador from him to the Queene, with commiſſion, to make the King hir huſbande Knighte of the order of S. Michaell, which with great ſolemnitie and reuerence, was accompliſhed in the Chappell of Holy Roods houſe the tenth of February, beeing Sonday. After the which, the ſaid Rambeueullet returned into Fraunce, being hyghly rewarded.

e King re- yued the rder of Sainte ichaell.

1566

From ẏ time that the Parliament was proclaymed, and the ſommonance publiſhed, the Earle of Murrays friends being in Scotlande, neuer ceaſſed to ſeeke all the wayes and meanes they coulde deuiſe to ſtay the ſame, in ſo muche that the Earle of Morton, the Lorde Ruthuen, and the Lorde Lindſey, ſecretely perſwaded the King to ſtay the Parliamente, and alſo to conſent to the reſtoring of the Earle of Murrey, and hys complices, makyng to hym faithfull promiſe, that if hee would followe their counſell, hee ſhoulde bee made Crowned King of Scotlande abſolutely, and the Queene ſo to haue leſſe to doe with the gouernemente afterwardes, wherethrough hee agreed to them.

hey per- ade with e King.

e King me perſwa- d.

And ſo after the Parliamente was aſſembled, the Lordes of the Articles being choſen the ſeauenth daye of Marche, they perceyuing the forfalter like to procede, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of Marche nexte following, the King with the aſſiſtance of the ſayde Earle of Morton, the Lordes Ruthuen, and Lindſey, entred into the Queenes priuie Chãber about eyght of the clocke in the nighte, beeing Saterday, and the ninth of March, where beeing arrayed in warlike manner, the Lorde Ruthuen declared vnto the Queene, that they would not ſuffer hir any longer to haue the gouernemente of the Realme, to abuſe the ſame by the counſell of ſtraungers, as ſhe had done, and therefore pulled violentlye forthe of hir Chamber Dauid Richeo, an Italian, that was one of hir Secretaries, crying piteouſly, *Iuſticia, Iuſticia:* and in hir vtter Chamber they ſuddaynely ſlewe hym with greate crueltie: the Kyng himſelfe was alſo preſent, and his dagger was likewiſe found ſticking in the dead body.

e King is into the ueenes pri- chamber,

id Ryche ſlaine.

The Queene was ſhut vp within hir Chãber, and certaine appoynted to attende hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates aboute the Palaice.

The Earles of Huntley and Bothwell eſcaped by a backe windowe forth of their chamber, whereof the Kyng and his company were right ſorye.

The Earle of Huntley is fled and the reſidue alſo.

The Earle of Atholl and others beeing wyth hym, departed in the nyghte ſeaſon by a Ferrie ouer the Forthe, called the Queenes Ferrie, and wente to Saint Iohns Towne.

On the morrow, being Sunday (the Queene beyng ſecretely kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in Parliament, ſhould departe forth of the towne of Edenburgh: and after noone the ſame day, the erles of Murrey and Rothes with other of their companies that came forth from Newcaſtell the Saturday beefore, came to the Abbey of Holy Roode Houſe, about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, where they were thãkfully receiued by the king and his company.

The exiled Lords came in to Scotlande.

They ſpake alſo with the Queene, who had no greate comforte of their commyng.

The morrowe following, beyng Monday, the erle of Murrey and the other that were ſommoned, paſt to the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, and made their proteſtation there, that they were readye to aunſwere in Parliament, and none appeared to accuſe them.

They make their proteſtation.

After this, it was concluded to keepe the Queene in ſtraight warde, but by hir pollitike demeanor, their purpoſe in that behalf was broken: for by ſecret conference wyth the Kyng, ſhe perſwaded hym to thinke that he had ioyned himſelfe with thoſe that woulde be his deſtruction, if it happened with hir otherwiſe than well, as was no leſſe to bee doubted, by reaſon of the highe diſpleaſure that ſhee hadde taken beeyng quicke with childe: through the which perſwaſion, and other miſlikyng of things, hee departed ſecretely with hir in the night ſeaſon, accompanied onely wyth two men, and fyrſte came vnto Seiton, and from thence to Dunbar, whyther the Earles of Huntley and Bothwell haſtily repaired, by whoſe counſell, and other then with hir, ſhee cauſed Proclamation to bee made in dyuers partes of the Realme, charging al manner of menne in feate of warre, to come vnto hyr to Dunbar, to paſſe from thence vnto Edenburgh, within ſyxe dayes after.

The Queene had conference wyth the king,

The King was ſoone perſwaded.

Huntley and Bothwell.

Proclamatiõ made.

Shee alſo ſente letters to the ſame effect vnto dyuers noble menne of the Realme, who prepared themſelues with greate diligence to meete hir.

The Earle of Murrey and the reſte of the Lordes beeyng wyth hym, hearyng

Pardon is craued and obteyned.

the preparation that was made agaynſt them, and perceyuing themſelues not able to reſiſte, thought good euery of thẽ to ſeke ſome particular meane, to obteyn remiſſion at the Queenes handes, which they obteyned all of them, except the erle of Morton, the Lords Ruthuen, Lindſey, and ſuche other as were wyth them at the ſlaughter of Dauid Richeo. Wherevpõ they diſpairing of pardon, fled into England, where the Lorde Ruthuen died at Newcaſtell ſhortly after as in place ye ſhall heare.

The murtherers are excepted.

Many pardoned.

The Earle of Lennox beeyng partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and gote pardon: the Earle of Glencarne and the Liarde of Cunningham head came thither alſo, and were pardoned.

Likewiſe the Earle of Rothes purchaſed his pardon the ſame time.

The Earles of Argile and Murray, and the Lord Boyd, beeing at Lithquo, ſente to the Q. for their pardon, and obteyned it, beeing commaunded neuertheleſſe to paſſe into Argile, and to remayne there during hir graces pleaſure, which commaundement they obeyd.

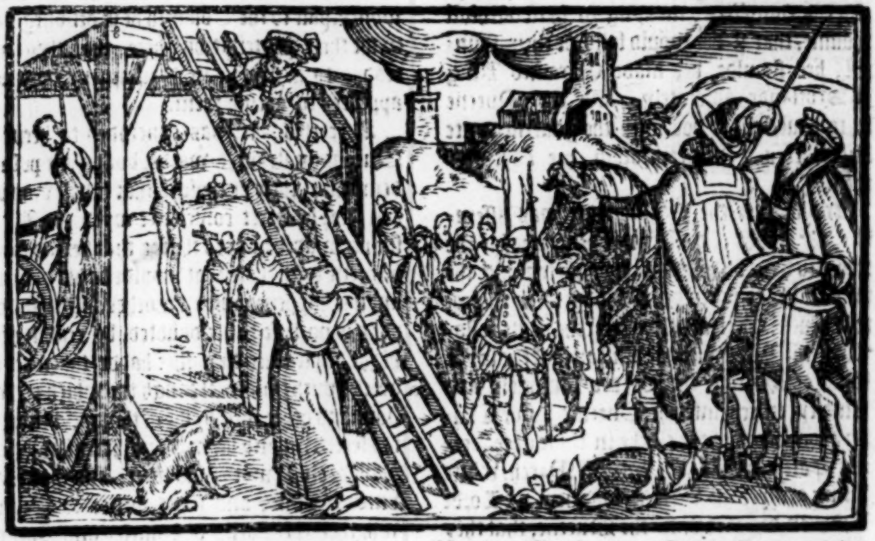
The Queene commeth to Edenburgh.

The eyghtenth of March, the Queene wel accompanyed, came to Hadington towardes nyghte, and on the nineteenth day, the Biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, and the Hamiltons mette hir at Muſkelburgh, and ſo likewiſe dyd the Lords Leuingſton, Flemming, Hume, Borthwike, and manye other noble menne, and conueyd hir vnto Edenburgh: ſhee lodged in the Byſhoppe of Dunkeldes lodging, and tarried there a certaine ſpace, hauing with hir the Erles of Huntley, Athole, Bothwell, Crawfourde, Merſhall, Sutherland, Cathnes, the Biſhop of Sainte Andrewes and Roſſe, the Lordes Leuingſton, Flemming, and diuers other noble men, by whoſe counſell order was taken for redreſſing of the ſtate of the Realme, whereby the ſame was ſhortly broughte to greate quietneſſe.

After this, the Queene perceyuing hirſelfe to drawe neere the tyme of hir deliuerance, wente to the caſtell of Edenburgh, there to remayne til ſhe were deliuered of hir birth.

Execution done vppon the murtherers.

In the moneth of May Thomas Scot ſheriffe deputie of Perth, and a Prieſte called ſir Henry Yair ſeruant to the Lord Ruthuen, were apprehended for being doers in the ſlaughter of Dauid, and were hanged and quartred. Their heades were ſette the one alofte on the Tower in the Abbey, and the other on the nether bow.



In the moneth of Aprill this yeare the Byſhop of Brechin preſidente of the Seſſion, deceaſſed, and in his rowmth ſucceeded to that biſhoprike, a friende and Couſin to the Earle of Argile, called Campbell.

The Queene agreeth all the Lords.

In the ende of Aprill, the Queene willing to haue the Earles of Argile and Murrey ioyned with the reſidue of the Counſell, ſente for them to come to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, where all griefes and controuerſies that reſted betwixt them on the one ſide, and the Earles of Huntley, Athole, and Bothwell on the other ſide, were referred to the Queene, who agreed them, and they all remayned with hir the reſt of the Sommer.

The Queene made lute to the Queene of England.

The Queene hearing that the Earle of Morton, the Lorde Ruthuen, and the other their aſſiſtantes were receyued in Englande, and remayned at Newcaſtell, ſhe ſente Maiſter James Thorneton, Chantor of Murrey, with letters to the Queene of Englande, and alſo to the King of France, and other hir friends, there declaring by the tenor of the ſame letters, the abuſe and preſumptuous attemptes of certayne hir ſubiectes againſt hir, deſiring them not to receiue them within their Realmes nor Dominions: and ſhortly after, the Queene of Englande ſente a Gentleman called Henry Killigrew into Scotlande, with letters and meſſage to the Queene, promiſing to cauſe them to departe forthe of hir Realme of Englande, and withall ſente vnto them warning to departe betwixte that preſente time, and Midſommer then nexte enſuing. But in the meane time the Lorde Ruthuen departed this life at Newcaſtell, with great repentance of his former life, giuing God thankes for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercy and forgiueneſſe whereof he did aſſure himſelfe.

The Queene
England
aunſwere.

he Lorde
Ruthuen
parted.

And from thenceforth the Earle of Morton and the maiſter of Ruthuen remayned ſecretely neere to Anwicke, and other places on the borders, till they obteyned pardon, and were reſtored.

About this time, there came from the King of Fraunce a wiſe aged Gentleman, named Monſieur la Croc, as his Imbaſſador, and remayned in Scotlande all the Winter following.

Ambaſ-
from the
ing of
ance.

In the moneth of June, the Queene perceiuing the tyme of hir deliuerance to approche, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir Realm, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they aſſembled, and the King hir huſbande, with the Earles of Argile, Murrey, Atholl and Mar, remained with hir in the Caſtell, and the Erle of Huntley, Bothwel, & the remaynant of the Lords, lodged in the towne, and vppon the nineteenth daye of the ſame moneth of June, betwixte tenne and eleuen of the clocke before noone, hir grace was deliuered of a goodly manchild, to the greate comforte of hir highneſſe, and all hir ſubiectes, whereof the nobilitie did greately reioyce, and incontinently all the artillerie in the Caſtell was ſhotte off, and all the Lords and people came togither in the Church of Saint Giles, to giue thankes to Almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodneſſe ſhewed to thẽ, in giuing to thẽ a Prince, and withall made their humble prayers vnto hys deuine Maieſtie, to endue hym wyth the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the Realme, and Subiectes thereof, whenſoeuer the ſame ſhoulde fortune to come into his handes.

Prince
ne.

The ſame nyghte at euen, there were greate fyres of ioy made in the Towne of Edenburgh, and in all the Countrey aboute, and likewiſe through all the whole Realme, as the aduertiſementes were certifyed thereof.

The Queene remayned ſtill in the Caſtell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Julie following, till ſhee hadde recouered hir healthe and ſtrength.

In the beginning of Auguſt, ſhe paſſed vppe the water of Fourth to Alloway, where ſhe remayned certaine dayes, the Earles of Murrey and Mar beeing in companye wyth hyr, and there the Kyng hyr huſbande came to viſit hir.

The ſame time Monſieur Maluoiſir came into Scotland from the King of France, bringing letters to the Queene, who was conueyd by the Biſhoppe of Roſſe to Alloway, where he was ioyfully receyued, courteouſly enterteyned, and highly rewarded.

The Q. of Englande ſent M. Henry Killegrewe to the Queene with the like meſſage, reioyſing for hir ſafe and happye deliuerance, who likewiſe was receyued in moſt thankefull manner, and well rewarded.

Heere is to bee noted, that ſhortly after ſhee was broughte to bedde, ſhee ſente one of hyr Gentlemen called Monſieur Clarimoiche with letters to the King of Fraunce, and to the Duke of Sauoy, deſiring them to ſende Imbaſſadors, whyche in their name as Godfathers, myghte receyue hir ſonne at the Baptiſme.

The Princes Godfathers and Godmothers.

Moreouer, ſhe ſente James Meluine to the Queene of Englande wyth the lyke meſſage, deſyring hyr Maieſtie to bee Godmother.

These Princes were glad hereof, and promiſed to ſende Imbaſſadors to that effect, as afterwards they did.

In the later ende of Auguſt, the Queene accompanyed with the Kyng hir Huſbande, the Earles of Huntley, Murrey, Bothwell, and dyuers other, wente into Meggat lande, there to paſſe the tyme in Hunting, where they remayned certayne dayes, and returning to Edenburgh, cauſed the Prince to be conueyd vnto Striueling Caſtell, where he was committed in keeping to the Lord Erſkin, after Earle of Mar, and his Ladye. And from thence, the Queene wente a Progreſſe, into Glen Arknay.

1567

In January, the Kyng came to Glaſquo, where he fell ſicke, and remouing from thence, wente to Edenburgh, and the Queene accompanyed him.

She lodged at Holy Roode Houſe, but hee was lodged in a houſe within the towne neere to the Kirk a field, within the whiche, the tenth of February in the nighte, hee was ſhamefully murthered, togyther wyth one William Parat.

The Kyng murthered.

Hee was caſte into an Orcharde, and heerewith the houſe was blowen vp wyth gũpowder.

The Earle of Bothwell murthered the King.

The Earle of Bothwell was euen at the firſt vehemẽtly ſuſpected to be yͤ principall offẽdor in this moſt hainous & deteſtable murther, but the matter was ſo handled, that he was not only acquite by an aſſiſe, as they call it, but alſo ſhortely after married the Queene, by reaſon whereof, the ſuſpition which mẽ had alreadye conceyued that ſhee ſhoulde be alſo priuie to the murder, was nothyng diminiſhed. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, ſo yet it is manifeſt, that ſome of the Scottiſhe nobilitie ſore repinyng and malignyng at ſuche the ſpeedye aduauncement of Bothwell (who as euery mã perſwaded hymſelfe, was the principall author of the murther) gote them to armes on the ſuddayne, before the Queene or Bothwell were aduertiſed of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike Caſtell, eyght myles diſtante from Edenburgh.

The Lords get them to armes.

The chiefe mouers of the quarrell againſt the Q. and Bothwell.

The deuiſers and procurers of this enterpriſe were knowen to bee the Lardes of Talibardin and Grange, who moued it firſte to the Earle of Morton, then remaynyng in Dowglas: William Maitlãd the yong Lard of Lethington, principall Secretary to the Queene, beeing departed from hir eyghte dayes before had alſo procured the Lord Hume to ioine with the other in that quarrell.

Liberton Kirke.

The place of their meeting was appoynted at Liberton Kirk, two myles from Edenburgh, on Tewſday in the night the tenthe of Iune, whyther the Earle of Morton came firſt, the Lord Hume next.

And in the morning beeing Wedneſday, there came to them the Earle of Mar, who hadde the Prince in his keeping within the Caſtell of Striueling, but bycauſe the Earle of Glencarne, the Lordes Lindſey, Ruthuen and Simple, the Maiſter of Grahame and others, came not to the place at the preciſe appoynted houre, they miſſed their purpoſe to take the Queene and Bothwell at Borthwike, as they had deuiſed, and ſo the Queene and Bothwell aduertiſed of their aſſemble, ſlipte away to the Caſtell of Dunbar.

The Lordes diſappoynted of theyr purpoſe.

The Lordes heerevppon came the ſame Wedneſday vnto Edenburgh, and within two dayes after, the Earle of Atholl alſo came vnto them.

The Queene gathereth forces.

The Queene in the meane time vſed what diligence ſhee mighte to gather forces, ſpecially in the Mers and Eaſt Louthian, and thinking that the enterpriſe of the Lords had bin broken and diſappoynted, marched from Dunbar on Saterday the fourteenth of Iune, firſt to Hathington, and there reſting till the euen, ſet forwarde to Gladiſmore, and taking there deliberation in the matter, they lodged that nyghte at Seaton, and in the morning marched in order of battaile towardes Carbarry hill, and there choſe forthe a plotte of ground of greate aduantage, appoynting to fyghte on foote, bycauſe the power of the Lordes in number of Horſemenne, was ſtronger than the Queenes, and of greater experience.

Carbarry hil

There were with the Queene and Bothwell the Lordes Seaton, Yeſter and Borthwike: alſo the Lardes of Wauchton, Bas, Ormiſton, Weaderburne, Blackater, and Langton.

They hadde with them alſo two hundred Harquebuſiers waged, and of greate artillerie, ſome fielde pieces. Their whole number was eſteemed to bee aboute two thouſande, but the more part of them were commons and Countreymen.

The number o the Queen Power.

The Earles of Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencarne, the Lords of Hume, Lindſey, Ruthuen, Simple and Sauquhar. The Lardes of Drũlanrig, Tulibarden, Grange, and yong Seſforde, were aſſembled togither in Edenburgh with a power like in number to the Queenes, but for the more part conſiſting of Gentlemen, although not furniſhed with anye number of Harquebuſiers, excepte a fewe of the Towneſmen of Edenburgh, that willingly ioyned with them in that quarrell.

The power of the Lordes.

Vpon the fiftenth of Iune, they came forthe of the Towne, and approched their aduerſaries, but there was Monſieur La Croque, the french Kings Imbaſſadors, who tooke greate paine in trauelling betwixte the parties to reduce them to ſome agreemente, but ſtill the Queenes part beganne to decreaſe, dyuers ſhrinking away from hir, ſo that after it beganne to growe towardes the euening, Bothwell fledde to the Caſtell of Dunbar, but the Queene deſirous to talke with the Larde of Grange, wente to hym, accompanyed only with one Captaine, and after ſome talke wyth hym, ſhee paſſed to the Lordes, who tooke hir with them to Edenburgh.

The Queene commeth to the Lords.

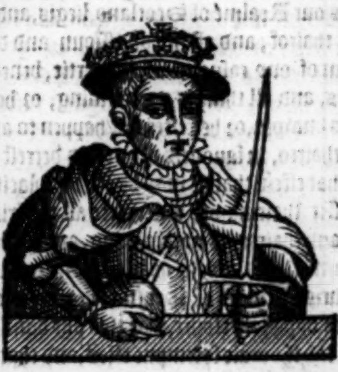
The Hamiltons were on the way commyng to aſſiſt the Queene, wyth ſeauen or eyghte hunnred Horſemenne, but before they coulde reache to the place, the Queene was in the handes of the Lordes, and ſo they returned.

The Larde of Cragmiller, then prouoſt of Edenburgh, and Sir Iames Balfour, alſo the Captaine of the Caſtell, were ioyned in this cõfederacie with the Lordes, as ſhortly after it appeared. The Queene after this, was

conueyd

he queene ſent to chleuen.

conueyed ouer the Forth and brought to Lochleuen, where ſhe was appoynted to remayne in warde vnder the ſaue keeppyng of Williã Dowglas Lard of that place. The Erle Bothwell eſcapyng to Dunbar founde meanes to flee into Denmarke, where he was ſtayed and committed to pryſon: wherein at length he died. Diuers perſons afterwardes were apprehended as parties to the murder of the King, and therevpon condemned, were executed, confeſſing the ſayd Earle to be the principall executour of the ſame murder.



King ames he ſixt.

xxix

The ~~nintẽth~~ of Iuly Charles Iames the yong Prince of Scotlande, after a Sermon made by Iohn Knokes, was crowned Kyng of Scottes in Sterling Church, where were redde certayne letters of commiſſion and procuration with the Queenes priuy ſeale at thẽ for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame coronation. The firſt for hyr reſignation of the crowne and gouernment of the yong Prince hyr Sonne. The ſeconde to authoriſe the Earle of Murrey to be regent during the Kings minoritie. The thirde, to giue authoritie, and power to ſeuen other ioynyng with the ſayde Earle of Murrey, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to exerciſe the ſame alone, that is to ſay, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Lennox, Argile, Athol, Morton. Glencarne, and Mar.

The tenors of whiche letters of commiſſion and procuration do here enſue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekprevic, Printer to the King of Scottes, the .vj. of Aprill *Anno Chriſti*, 1568. among the Actes of Parliament begonne, and holdẽ at Edenburgh the .xv. of Decẽber in the yeare. 1567. by Iames Earle of Murray Lord Abernethie, &c. Regent to the ſayde King.

MArie be the grace of God Quene of Scottis, To all and ſundrie our Iudgeis and Myniſteris of lawe, liegis and ſubiectis quhome it efferis to quhais knawlege thir our letters ſall cum, greeting. Forſamekle as by lange irkſum and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme & liegis thairof, we are ſa verit and weryit, that our bodie, ſpirite and ſencis, are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme. And thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernement of this our realme and liegis thairof, in fauouris of our onely maiſte deir Sonne, natiue Prince of this our realme. And becauſe of his tender youth and inhabillitie to vſe the ſaide gouernement in his awin perſoun, during his mynoritie, we haue conſtitute our deereſt brother Iames Earle of Murray, Lorde Abyrnethie, &c. Regent to our ſayde ſonne, realme and liegis foyrſaydis. And in reſpect that our ſaide deereſt brother is actually furthe of our realme, and cannot inſtantly be preſent to accepte the ſayde office of Regentrie vpon him, and vſe and exerce yͤ ſamyn during our ſaydis deereſt ſonys mynoritie: we quhill his returning within our Realme or in cais of his deceis haue maide, cõſtitute, namit, appointit, and ordaynit, and by thir our letteris makis, conſtitutis, namis, appointis and ordanis our traiſt conſingis and counſalouris, Iames Duke of Chatellerault, Earle of Arrane, Lorde Hammiltoun, Matho Erle of Leuinax, Lorde Dernley, &c. Archibald Erle of Argile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, &c. Iohn Erle of Athole, Iames erle of Mortoun, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, & Iohn Erle of Mar, Regentis to our ſaid deereſt ſonne, realme and liegis, and in cais our ſaide brother Iames Erle of Murray cum within our realme, and refuſis to accept the ſayde office of Regentrie vpon his ſingulare perſoun, we make, conſtitute, name, appoint, and ordeyne, our traiſt, conſingis and Counſallouris foyrſaydis, and our ſayd brother Regentis of our ſaide deir ſonne, realme and liegis.

Geuand, grantand and comittand, to thame or ony Fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our ſaide ſonne, and in his name to reſſaue reſignacyonnis of landis, make diſpoſitionnis [illegible] wairdis, nonentreſſis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eſchetis, officis and vtheris, caſualiteis and priuiledgeis, quhat ſumeuer concerning the ſaid office, Signatouris thayr vpon to make, ſubſcriue, and cauſe be paſſe throuch the ſeillis. And to vſe and exerce the ſaide office of Regentrie in all thingis, priuiledgeis and comoditeis, ſiclike as freelie and with als greit libertie as ony regẽt or gouernor to vs or our predeceſſouris vſit the ſamin in ony tymes bygane. Promyttand

to halde firme and ſtabill in the worde and faith of ane Prince to quhatſumeuer thingis our ſaidis traiſt couſingis dois in the premiſſis. Charginge heirfore zow all and ſundrie our Iudgeis and myniſteris of law, lieges and ſubiectis forſaydis, to anſwer & obey to our ſaidis traiſt conſingis, Regentis forſaidis in all and ſundry things concerning the ſayde office of regentrie during our ſaide derreſt ſonis minoritie, and ay and quhil he be of the age of ſeuintene zeiris compleit, As ze and ilk ane of zow wil declair zow luiſinge ſubiectis to our ſayd maiſt deir ſone, zour natiue Prince, & vnder all paine, charge and offence that ze and ilk ane of zow maie commit and inrin agains his maieſtie in that pairt. Subſcriuit with our hande, and giuē vnder our priuy ſeill, at Lochleuin the .xxiiij. day of Iulij, and of our reigne the twentie fiue zeir.

Marie be the grace of God Quene of Scottis. To all and ſundrie our Iudgeis, and Miniſteris of Law, liegis, and ſubiectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knawlege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting. Forſamekle, as ſen our arriuall, & returning within our Realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profit, and quietnes thairof, lieges, and ſubiectis of the ſamin, haue employit our body, ſpirite, haill ſencis, and forcis to gouerne the ſamin, in ſic ſort that our royall, & honorabill eſtate mycht ſtand, and continew with vs, and our poſteritie, and our luiſing, and kynde liegis mycht enioy the quietnes of trew ſubiectis. In trauelling quhairin, not onlie is our body, ſpirite, & ſencis ſa vexit, brokin, and vnquyetit, that langer we are not of habilitie be ony meane to indure ſa greit and intollerabill panis & trauellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weryit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis, be ſindrie occaſiounis in the meintyme hes enſewit thairin to our greit greif. And ſeing it hes bene the pleſour of the eternall God, of his kyndlie luſe, mercie, & gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin perſoun, ane Sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be deceit, will, and of rycht, and of equitie man, and aucht to ſucceid to vs and to the gouernment of our Realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar ſubiect to that immutabill decreit of the eternal, ains to rander and gif vp this lyfe temporall, (the hour and tyme quhairof is maiſt vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this lyfe, during the tyme of his minoritie, it may be dowtit greitlie that reſiſtance, and troubill may be maid to our ſaid Sone, now natiue Prince of this our Realme, in his tender zeires (being ſwa deſtitute of vs) to ſucceid to that rowme & Kingdome quhilk maiſt iuſtlie of al Lawis appertenis to him. Quhilk inconuenient be Godis help and gude prouidence, we mene to preuent, in ſic maner, that it ſall not ly in the power of ony vnnaturall ſubiectis to reſiſt Godis ordinance in that behalf. And vnderſtanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioyous, and happy to vs, nor to ſe our ſaid derreſt Sone, in our awin lyfe time peciablie placit in that rowme, and honorabill eſtate quhairto he iuſtlie aucht & man ſucceid to. We of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our ſaid onlie Sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris, frelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, and dimittis the gouernement, gyding and gouerning of this our Realme of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiectis thairof, and all intromiſſioun and diſpoſitioun of ony caſualiteis, propertie, benefices, offices, and all thingis appertening, or heirtofoir is knawin, or heirefter ſall happen to appertene thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid derreſt ſone. To that effect, that he may be plantit, placit, and poſſeſſit thairin, vſe and exerce all thingis belangand thairto, as natiue King, and Prince of the ſamin, and ſiclyke as we or ony our predeceſſouris, Kingis of Scottis, hes done in ony tymes bypaſt. Attoure, that this our dimiſſioun may tak the mair ſolempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorāce thairof, we haue geuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letters geuis grantis, and committis our commiſſioun full, frie, and plane power, generall, and ſpeciall cōmand, to our traiſt couſingis, Patrik Lord Lindeſay of the Byris, and Williame Lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctly & ſeuerally, to compeir before ſa mony of the Nobilitie, Clergie, Burgeſſis, & vther pepill of our Realme, as ſall happin to be aſſemblit to that effect in our Burgh of Striuiling or ony vther place. or placis quhair it ſalbe thocht maiſt conuenient, at ony day or dayis, and thair publicklie in thair preſence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, gyding, and reuling of this our Realme, liegis, and ſubiectis thairof, all intromiſſioun with the propertie, caſualitie, or vtheris thingis appertening to vs thairby, and all rycht, and tytle that we had, hes, or may haue be ony maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid Sone, to that effect, that he may be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the Crowne royall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the ſamin, as we, or our predeceſſouris hes bene in times bypaſt. And in likewiſe be thir preſentis geuis, grantis, and committis our full, frie, and plane power, to our rycht traiſt couſingis, Iames Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeith. Iohne Erle of Athole. &c. Iohne Erle of Mar. &c. Alexāder Erle of Glencarne, William Erle of Menteith, Iohn Maiſter of Grahame, Alex-

ander Lord Hume, Adam Biſchop of Orknay, the Prouiſtis of Dundie, Montrois, or ony of thame, to reſſaue the ſaid renunciatioun, and dimiſſioun in fauouris of our ſaid Sone, & thairefter the reſſauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the Kingdome, and with all ceremonies requyſit to put the Crowne royall vpon his heid, in ſigne and takin of the eſtabliſing of him thairin, and in his name to mak, and gif to the ſaidis Nobilitie, Clergy, Burgeſſis, and vtheris our liegis, his Princely and Kingly aith detfully, and lauchfully as effeiris. And to reſſaue thair aithis for dew and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all tymes cuming, as becumis ſubiectis to thair natiue King and Prince. And generally all and ſundrie vther thingis to do, exerce, and vſe, that for ſure performance and accompliſhment heirof may, or can be done, firme and ſtable haldand, and for to hald all and quhatſumeuer thingis in our name, in the premiſſis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promis of ane Prince. And ordanis thir our letters (gif neid beis) to be publiſt at all places neidfull. Subſcriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preuie Seil. At Lochleuin the .xxiiij day of Julij. And of our Regne the .xxv. zeir. 1567.

MArie be yͤ grace of God, Quene of Scottis, to all and ſindrie our Jugeis, and Miniſteris of our Lawis, liegis, and ſubiectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knawlege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting. Forſamekle, as efter lang, greit, and intollerabill panis, & labouris takin be vs ſen our arriuall within our Realme, for gouernement thairof, and keping of the liegis of the ſame in quyetnes, we haue not onlie bene vexit in our ſpirite, body, and ſences thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder ſa vexit thairof, that our habilitie, and ſtrenth of body is not habill langer to indure the ſamin.

Thairfore, and becauſe nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabil and happy to vs in this eird, nor in our lyfetime to ſe our deir Sone, the natiue Prince of this our Realme, placit in the Kingdome thairof, and the Crowne royall ſet on his heid, we of our owin fre will, and ſpeciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernment, gyding, & gouerning of this our Realme, of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiectis thairof, in fauouris of our ſayd Sone, to that effect, that in all times heirafter, he may peciablie, and quietly enioy the ſamin without troubill, and be obeyit as natiue King, and Prince of the ſamin be the liegis thairof. And vnderſtãding that be reſſoun of his tender zouth, he is not of habilitie in his awin perſoun to adminiſtrate in his Kinglie rowme, and gouernement, as equytie requyris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the zeires of diſcretioun. And als knawing the proximitie of blude ſtandand betuix vs, our ſaid Sone, & our derreſt brother James Erle of Murray, Lord Abirnethie, &c. And hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderly luſe he hes in all tymes borne, and preſently beiris towardis vs, honour, and eſtate of our ſaide Sone. Of quhais luſe, and fauour towardis him we can not bot aſſure our ſelf. To quhome na greter honour, ioy, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to ſe our ſaid Sone inaugurat in his Kingdome, feirit, reuerencit, and obeyit be his liegis thairof. In reſpect quhairof, and of the certanetie, and notoritie, of the honeſtie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and ſufficiencie of our ſaid derreſt brother, to haue the cure and Regiment of our ſaid Sone, Realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during our ſaid Sonis minoritie. We haue maid, namit, appointit, conſtitute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, appointis, makis, cõſtitutis, and ordanis our ſaid derreſt brother James erle of Murray, Regent to our ſaid derreſt Sone, Realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of ſeuintene zeiris compleit. And that our ſaid brother be callit during the ſaid ſpace, Regent to our ſaid Sone, his Realme, and liegis. Swa that our ſaid Sone efter the completing of the zeiris foirſaidis, in his awin perſoun may tak vpon him the ſaid gouernement, and vſe, & exerce all and ſindrie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immuniteis that appertenis to the office of ane King, alſweill in gouerning his Realme & pepill, according to the Lawis, as in repreſſing the violẽce of ſic as wald inuaid, or iniuſtlie reſiſt him or thame, or his authoritie Royal. With power to our ſaid derreſt brother James Erle of Murray in name, authoritie, and behalf of our ſaid maiſt deir Sone, to reſſaue reſignatiounis of quhatſumeuer landis haldin of him, or zit of offices, Caſtellis, Towris, Fortalices, mylnis, fiſchingis, woddis, benefices, or pertinentis quhatſumeuer, the ſamin againe in our ſaid Sonis name to gif, and deliuer ſignaturis thairvpon, & vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentreſſis, and releues of landis, and mariageis of airis falland, or that ſall happin to fall in our ſaid Sonis handis as ſuperiour thairof. And als vpon preſentatioun of landis, benefices, eſcheitis of guids mouabil and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, reſpittis remiſſiounis, ſuperſedereis, and vpon the diſpoſitioun of offices vacand, or quhen thay ſall happin to vaik, to ſubſcriue, and cauſe be paſt the Seillis the ſaid office of Regentrie, to vſe & exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, ſiclyke as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony Regent, or Gouernour to vſe, or our predeceſſouris vſit in ony tymes bygane,

gane, and ſiclyke as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the ſaid office wer at lenth expreſſit, and amplifyit in thir our letteris.

Promiſand to hald firme and ſtabill in the word and faith of ane Prince, to quhatſumeuer thingis our ſaid derreſt brother in the premiſſis happinnis to do: Chargeing heirfoir ȝow all, and ſindrie our Jugeis, & Miniſteris of Law, liegis, and ſubiectis foirſaidis, to anſwer and obey to our ſaid derreſt brother, in all and ſindrie thingis concerning the ſaid office of Regentrie, as ȝe and ilk ane of ȝow will declair ȝow luifing ſubiectis, to our ſaid maiſt deir Sone; and vnder all paine, charge, and offence that ȝe and ilk ane of ȝow may commit, and inrin againis his Maieſtie in that pairt. Subſcriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preuie Seill, At Lochleuin the .xxiiij. day of Julij. And of our Regne, the twentie fyue ȝeir.

The kings othe.

These Commiſſions being redde, the Biſhop of Argile with two ſuperintendentes proceeded to the Coronation, the Erle of Morton, and the Lord Hume tooke the othe for the king, that he ſhould rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteyne the religion then preached & exerciſed in Scotlande, and to perſecute all aduerſaries to the ſame. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scottes Engliſhe tongue, the Queene mother to the King remayning at that tyme pryſoner in Lochleuin.

A Parliament holden at Edenburgh.

The .xv. of December a Parliament begonne being holden at Edenburgh before the Earle of Murrey Lord Regent, in the which diuers actes and Statutes were deuiſed, made and ratified: as firſte concernyng the Queenes demiſſion of hir Crowne, and reſignation thereof made to hyr Sonne King James the ſixte. And likewiſe concernyng the inſtituting of the Earle of Murrey in the Regencie of the Realme, which he tooke vpon hym the two and twentie day of Auguſt laſte paſte, accordyng to hir letters of commiſſion and procuration aboue ſpecified.

An acte for the aboliſhing of the Popes authoritie in Scotland.

Alſo there was an Acte made for the aboliſhyng of the Pope, and his vſurped authoritie, and an other Acte for the annullyng of former Actes made in Parliament for mayntenaunce of ſuperſtition and Idolatrie, and hereunto was annexed a confeſſion of the fayth and doctrine receyued by the Proteſtantes of the Realme of Scotlande, authoriſed in the ſame Parliament. There was alſo an acte made for the indempnitie of thoſe that had leuied warre, and apprehended the Queene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of July laſt paſt, and concernyng the deteyning of hir in Lochleuin.

The caſtell of Dunbar, and the fortreſſe of Inchkeith to be raſed.

Moreouer it was ordeyned by an acte paſſed in this Parliament that the Caſtell of Dunbar, and the fortreſſe of Inſkeith, ſhoulde bee demoliſhed and raſed downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one & fourtie Actes or Statutes made and eſtabliſhed in this Parliament; as by the Regiſter thereof it may appeare.

1568

The queenes eſcape out of Lochleuin.

On Sunday the ſeconde of May, in the yeare 1568. at ſupper tyme the Queene eſcaped out of Lochleuyn, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the Laird of Lochleuyn. The Lorde Seaton, the Laird of Ricartou and James Hamilton of Orbiſton were ready to receyue hyr, and conueyed hyr ouer the Queenes Ferry, firſte to Nudry the Lorde Seatons houſe, and from thence to Hamilton Caſtell, where ſhe remayned till the thirtenth day of May beyng thurſday, gathering in the meane time ſuch forces as ſhe might from all places.

The Queene gathereth a power.

The Regents determination to ſtay at Glaſquho.

The Earle of Murrey Lorde regent was in Glaſquho, at what tyme ſhee thus eſcaped out of Lochleuin, and vpon knowledge had thereof, meant at the firſte to haue withdrawen himſelfe vnto Sterlyng, but ſuddenly changing his purpoſe in that behalf, he determined to continue at Glaſquho, whiche is not paſte an eyght myles from Hamilton, bycauſe hee was perſwaded, that if he ſhould ſhrynke backe neuer ſo little, he ſhoulde encourage his aduerſaries, and diſcourage his frendes, and ſo conſequently weaken his parte greatly.

The armies meete at the Largſide.

Hereupon the thirtenth day of May afore mencioned, the Queene with hyr power marched from Hamilton, by the South ſide of Clede towarde Dunbertane, and out of Glaſquho on the other parte marched the Lorde Regent with his forces, ſo as at length bothe the armies mette at a place called the Langſide, neare to the houſe of Catcart within two myles of Glaſquho.

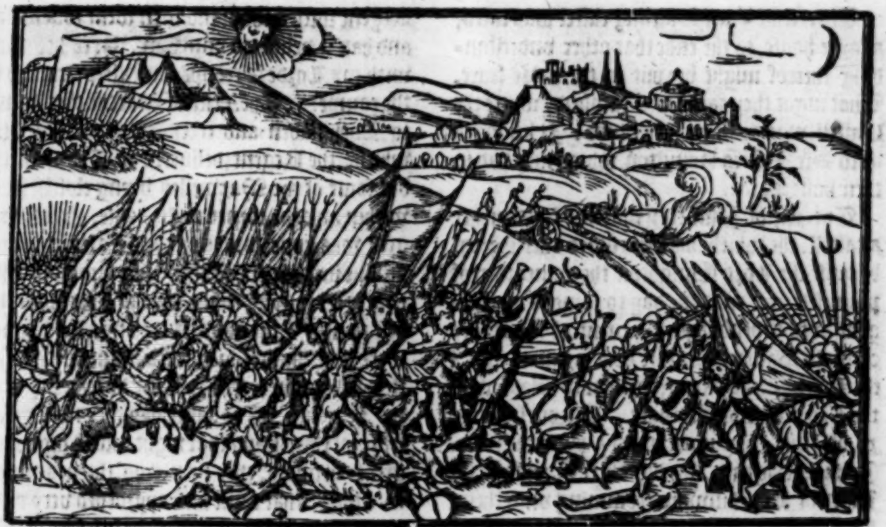
Lordes vpon the Queenes parte.

Lordes on the Regents part.

There were on the Queenes parte the Earles of Argile, Caſſilles, Eglinton and Rothes, Claude Hamilton ſonne to the Duke of Chatellerault, the Lordes Seaton, Somerville, Yeſter, Borthwike, Leuingſton, Heries, Maxwell, Sauquhar, Bord and Ros, Lairdes & Knights Lochinwar, Bas, Wauchtō, Dalhowſy, Roſlen yͤ Sheriffe of Air, ſir James Hamilton & many other. On the regents part were theſe accōpted as principall, yͤ erles of Morton, Mar, Glēcarne, Menteith, the M. of Graham, the Lordes Hume, Lindſey, Ruthuen, Simpil, Ogiltree & Cathcart, of lairdes & knights, Bargawy, Blacquhā, Drumlanrig, Seſſord, Lus, Buchannane, Tulibardin, Petcur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and ſir James Balfour. At the firſte ioyning there was a righte ſharp encoūter, for after they had beſtowed their ſhotte of Harquebuſies and arrowes, they fell to it with ſpeares and ſwordes, but at length af-

They ioyne battayle.

ter



Queenes discom-

of Hamiltōs

ners ta-

ter.iij.quarters of an houres fight, the Queenes parte was put to flight, the victory remayning with the Regent, who ſuffered none to be ſlaine but thoſe that were killed in the fighte, before they turned their backes: among the whiche were.xiiij. of the ſurname of the Hamiltōs killed. There were taken pryſoners about a three hundred, of whiche number the principall were theſe: The Lordes Seaton, & Ros, Sir Iames Hamilton, and many other of that ſurname. Of the Regents parte, the Lorde Hume was hurte in the legge and face, and the Lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Heries: the Lorde Lindſey, and the Lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themſelues right valiantly that day, fayling not in any poynt that belonged to the duetie of hardie Capitaines. The Queenes partie was thought to be neare at the poynt of vj.thouſande men, & the Regents was reconed to be foure thouſand, ſo that there were a tenne thouſand men on the fielde that day, what vpon the one ſide and the other.

Earle of ley cō- g forward yde the ne.

The Earle of Huntley was comming forewardes to haue aſſiſted the Queenes parte, but the battel was ſtrikē, and hir people diſcomfited as ye haue heard ere he could come, and ſo he returned: In this battayle the valiancie of an Hicland Gentleman named Macferlane, ſtood the Regents part in great ſteede, for in the hotteſt brunte of the fight, he came in with two hūdred of his friendes and countreymen, & ſo manfully gaue in vpon the flanke of the Queenes people, that he was a great cauſe of the diſordering of them. This Macferlane had bene lately before as I haue heard cōdēned to die for ſome outrage by him committed, and obtayning pardon through ſuyte of the Counteſſe of Murray, he recompenſed that clemencie by this peece of ſeruice now at this battayle.

The Queene perceyuing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where ſhe ſtoode to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawforde towne, and ſo by the Sauquhar to Dūdrenane in Galloway, and after ſhe had taried there two or three dayes, ſhe tooke ſhip and paſt to Workington in England, where ſhe was ſtayed and conueyed to Carlile, and from thence to Bolton caſtel belonging to the lord Scroupe, who with Sir Rauſe Sadler beyng ſent downe for that purpoſe, had the cuſtodie of hir, till at length ſhe was committed vnto the Erle of Shrewſbury, with whom ſhe yet remayneth.

The Queene of Scots fleeth into England.

But now to the doings in Scotlande, the morrow after the battel being the.xiiij. of May, the Regent ſent to ſomon Hamilton caſtell, but the anſweare was reſpited till the next day, and then he that had the charge came to Glaſquho, and offered the keyes to the Regent. The caſtell of Draffan was alſo yeelded the ſame time vnto the Regent.

The.xviij. of May the Regent made proclamatiō, that the inhabitāts of the ſhyres of Mernes, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile and Carrick, ſhoulde prouide themſelues of vitailes for.xv. dayes, and to meete him at Begger the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the Southweſt partes of Scotlande, to chaſtiſe certayne theeues and other diſobedient perſons.

The Regents iourney into the Southweſt parts of Scotlande.

Hereupon the.xj. of Iune the Regent marched forth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Begger. The army being aſſembled conteyned a.iiij.or.v.thouſand horſemen very well appointed beſide a thouſande footemen, gunners and halberdiers, of boyes and yong men that went with the cariage, there were aboute foure thouſande.

The Caſtell of Boghall.

The Caſtell of Boghall perteyning to the Lorde Flemmyng was ſurrendred to them.

The

Skirling caſtell.

The.xij.of June Skirling caſtel was raſed, a fayre houſe, to the ende that other vnderſtanding thereof might bee put in the more feare.

Crawford.

That night they came to Crawford, where the Caſtell was to them ſurrendred. It belonged vnto Sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their handes.

Saucher.

The.xiij.of June they marched to Saucher a caſtell, the whiche beyng rendred they ſpared, bycauſe the Lord Chrighton the owner thereof promiſed at a certayne day to come to the Regent vnto Edenburgh.

Barbacaſt.

The.xiiij.of June they came to Barbacaſt, where they lay that night, & the Laird Wederborne was ſent to ſpeake with the Laird of Louchinware.

Saint Iohn Sclaghan.

Wedneſday the xv.of June, they marched to a place called S. John Sclaghan, ſtaying there in truſt of the Laird of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not, whervpon the next day being

Kenmure.

the.xvj.of June, they raſed ẏ houſe of Kenmure & an other houſe alſo, for that the owners were frendes to the ſayde Louchinware.

The water of Vr.

The.xvij. of June they came to a Gentlemans houſe, ſtāding by the water of Vr, where diuers Gentlemen came in, and were receyued.

Dunfreis.

The.xviij. of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remayned there all the nexte day. A ſtrong houſe ſtanding in that towne and apperteyning to the Lord Maxwell was offered vnto them. Diuers of the Maxwels, Johnſtons, Prrewines, Grahames & Belles came into the Regent, and offering themſelues to be obedient, were receyued. Twoo dayes before this, the lord Maxwell, the Lairdes of Johnſton, Cowhill, & Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thouſand men and ſpent al the vitayles. It was thought that the Lord Maxwell woulde haue come in if the other had not counſayled him to the contrary.

The.xx of June they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the Lorde Haries, a thouſand of the broken men were aſſembled and offered ſkirmiſhe, twoo or three were taken: they lay within a myle of the Regent that night.

Hoddom yeeldeth to the Regent.
The Laird of Drumlanrig.

The.xxj. the houſe was yeelded, and the cuſtodie thereof committed to the Laird of Drumlanrig that was appoynted Warden of thoſe marches. It was thought very ſtrong, ſo that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene diſpoſed. Great hunger began to pinch in the armie, a pinte of wine was ſolde at.vij. ſhillings Scottiſh, and no bread to be had for any money. The Regent ſente forth the Earle of Morton, & the lord Hume with a thouſande men, to trie if they might haue drawen the broken men to a chaſe, but it would not be, for they went theyr wayes, and would not tarrie it.

Annand d
uered to th
gouernour.

The.xxij.of June the campe lay ſtill, but the Regent with a thouſand men went to Annand and had it deliuered vnto him. Here hee mette with my Lorde Scroupe, and after returned to the campe.

Lochmabe

The.xxiij.of Marche they wente to Lochmaben and receyued the Caſtell, the whiche the Regent deliuered to Drumlanrig, but ſome of the Maxwelles beyng cloſely hidde within an odde corner of the houſe, after the regent was gone, brake out and ſeaſed the houſe againe into theyr handes.

Two houſ
of laird Io
ſton taken
the regent.

The ſame day twoo houſes belongyng to the laird of Johnſtone, the one named Lochwood, & the other Lowhowſy were takē, but not brent bicauſe the laird Johnſton had put in ſuretie to come in by a day vnto the Regent. The ſame day they tooke greate ſtore of cattell, and that night with a ſhot of the greate artillery, they ſlew two theeues among lx. others, that came and approched very neare to the army as the maner of the prickers is. The army lay that night at Milton holmes.

The.xxiiij. of June they came to Peeples, & the next day to Edenburgh, ſo ending that iourney, in the whiche they had paſſed through the coūtreys of Clideſdale, Galoway, Nitheſdale, Annandale, and Tweedale.

Great tr
in Scotla

Muche a doe and greate trouble aroſe within Scotlande, by reaſon that the Hamiltons and their adherents made partes againſt the Regēt, and thoſe other Lordes that gouerned vnder the King, whereof as I haue no certayne notes, ſo I muſt paſſe the ſame with ſilence.

Rebellion
the North,
England, b
the Earle o
Northumb
lād and W
merland.

In the yeere.1569. the Erles of Northumberlande and Weſtmerlande reyſed a rebellion againſt the Queenes Maieſtie of England, but by the good diligence and prouident circumſpection of the Erle of Suſſex, then Lieutenant of the North partes, and of ſuch direction as was giuen by hir Maieſtie and hir Counſell, for the leuying of an armie vnder the leadyng of the Erle of Warwike, & the Lord Admirall Clinton, the ſayd two Earles were kept ſo in feare, that they durſt not aduaunce farre forwarde in theyr wicked begonne enterprice, but were conſtreyned to retyre backe towardes Dureſme, wherevpon the Earle of Suſſex ſuppoſing that theyr meaning was for their laſt refuge and ſauegard to take the caſtels of Alnewike & Warkworth, he wrote vnto Sir John Forſter Lord Warden of the middle Marches, eyther by force policie or ſome other meane, to gette into his handes the poſſeſſion of thoſe two Caſtels, and the ſame to fortifie with ſuche number and gariſons of menne, as to his diſcretion ſhoulde be thought conuenient, for the ſaufe cuſtodie and garde thereof. Sir John Forſter beyng at his houſe neare to Alnewike, when he receiued theſe letters, accompanied with his ſeruants, frendes, and tenants, and ſome ſouldiers that were come

lamation
n Alne-
by ſir
Forſter.

to him from Berwike, marched vp to the caſtell on foote, where finding the houſe garded with a great number of the Earle of Northumberlãds ſeruants and tenaunts, he made Proclamation before the caſtell gate, that euery of them within the caſtell ſhould come forth and withdraw to theyr owne houſes, vpon payne to be reputed rebelles to the Queenes Maieſtie, and that which of them ſoeuer did refuſe to obey this Proclamatiõ, ſtaying either in the caſtell or els where in any vnlawfull aſſembly, it ſhould be lawfull for euery man to ſpoyle his goodes, and him to kill if he made reſiſtance. This Proclamation notwithſtanding, they within the Caſtel, at the firſt refuſed to yelde it vp, & therevpon ſir Iohn Forſter marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the lyke Proclamatiõ in behalf of all the inhabitants that were the Earle of Northumberlandes tenauntes, for their repayring home to their houſes, and comming herewith backe towardes the caſtell, they within perceyuing themſelues deſtitute of ſuccour, & Sir Iohn Forſter to increace in power, they vpon better aduiſe yelded themſelues vnto him, who ſaued all theyr liues. After the ſame maner he got alſo the caſtell of Warkworth, & fortified them bothe with ſufficient numbers of men.

caſtell of
wike and
worth
ded by ſir
Forſter.

This done, he aſſembled ſuche forces as hee was able to make, ſo that he got togither to the number of .xj. hundred horſemen, & tooke order to forlay, & ſtoppe the paſſages, ſo as the Erles frendes and tenants in Northumberlãd, ſhould not go vnto him. After this hauing in his company the Lord Ogle, and Thomas Forſter his brother and other Gentlemen, to new Caſtell, where with Thomas Gower Eſquire, yͤ had the principal rule therof at that preſent, he tooke order for the defence of that towne agaynſt the rebelles. Hither came to him ſir Henry Percy, offeryng his ſeruice agaynſt his brother and other the rebelles to the vttermoſt of his power.

For-
kepeth
caſtell a-
the re-
ls.

Hẽry Per-
gainſt his
ther the
of Nor-
berland.

Herevpon diuers excurſions were made forth of Newcaſtell into the Biſhoprike, where the two Earles were encamped, and ſundry ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixte the parties, though no great hurte followed thereof. The Earles yet one day came from Durham, and with theyr army marched towards Newcaſtell. Sir Iohn Forſter & ſir Henry Percy, hauing intelligence thereof, iſſued forth of Newcaſtell with all their forces and certayne peeces of great ordinance. They had alſo with them certaine bands of the Souldiers of Berwike, meanyng verily to haue ioyned battel with the Erles, Sir Henry Percy ſhewyng himſelfe as willing & forward therto as any other in all the cõpanies. At Cheſter Dean, midway betwixte Durham and Newcaſtel, the armies approched the one neare to the other, a ſmall broke renning in a hollow, deuided them in ſunder, ſo that there was no paſſage for them to conuey their ordinaunce ouer, the bankes on eyther ſide beyng ſo ſteepe and comberſome. Wherevpon the Earles perceyuing that they were diſappointed of their purpoſe, after ſome ſkirmiſhes betwixt the horſemen, they returned vnto Durham, and frõ thence the next day they went to Hexham, and after beyng in vtter diſpaire fledde into Scotlande, where the Erle of Weſtmerlande light among thoſe that ſhifted him away ſo from place to place, that he eſcaped out of that realme, when he coulde no longer remayne there in ſuertie: but the Earle of Northumberland fell into their handes, whiche deliuered him vnto the Regent, who thought he coulde do no leſſe than to put him in ſafe keping, conſidering the amitie that was betwixte the two Princes, the Queenes Maieſtie of England and the King of Scottes.

ſter Dean.

Therles of Northumberland & Weſtmerland flee into Scotland.

But ſhortly after the Regent as he was riding through Lithquho, was wickedly ſhotte in with an harquebuſe by one Iames Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that the next day he died of the hurte. After whoſe death the Lordes of the Kings parte with generall conſent wrote letters vnto the Earle of Lennox then remaynyng in England, to repayre home with all conuenient ſpeede into Scotland. Ye may reade in the hiſtory of England, in what ſorte the Earle of Suſſex Lorde Lieutenant of the North partes entring into Tinidale the .xviij. of Aprill, brent the Moſſe tower, the towne of Crawling, the caſtell of Ferniherſt, the towne of Howike, and the caſtell of Brauxton, that belonged to the laird of Bucleugh, with diuers other caſtelles, Piles, Townes, and Villages, and Hamlettes belongyng to the lairdes of Ferniherſt, Bucleugh and others in thoſe parties: alſo how the Lorde Scroupe inuaded the Weſt borders of Scotlande the ſame time. And likewiſe how the ſayde Earle of Suſſex wanne the Caſtell of Hume, with diuers other maters whiche here I paſſe ouer, referring you to the ſayd hiſtory.

1570.

The earle of Murrey Lord Regent ſlaine.

Page. 1842.

Page. 1843.

Pag. 1844. & 1845.

But now about the ſame time the Earle of Leuenox hauing gotte licence of the Queene of Englande to make his returne into Scotlande, was ſet forwarde & came to Berwike towardes the later ende of Aprill, where being viſited with ſickeneſſe, he remayned by the ſpace of fourtene dayes or more.

The earle of Lennox ſent forewarde to returne into ſcotland.

In the meane time the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Huntley, and Caſſels, the Lord Flemmyng and ſundry others of that faction, ſeeyng the time ſerued well for their purpoſe, now that the Regent was ſlayne and diſpatched out of the way, gathered a power to the

The Duke of Chatelleraulte gathereth a power.

number of thꝛee thouſande men, & came downe to Edenburgh, but after they had knowledge that the Earle of Lennox was cōming out of England with a power of Engliſhmen by the Queenes Maieſties appointment, aſwel for the ſafegarde of the yong king, as alſo for the ſafeconduict of the Erle of Lennox home into Scotlande, the Duke and Erles aforeſayde retyred themſelues from Edenburgh to Glaſquho, where they beſieged the Caſtell by the ſpace of fiue or ſixe dayes, vntill the Earle of Lennox approched thitherwardes. For ye haue to vnderſtand that after the Earle of Lennox was recouered of his ſickneſſe, there was appoynted a power of horſemen and footemen, to goe with him into Scotlād, vnder the leading of ſir Williā Drurie, as in the Engliſh hiſtory ye may reade more at large. There were diuers valiant capitaines and Gentlemen, that wente with him in that iourney, aſwell ſuch as had charge as thoſe that went with him of their owne good willes, to ſee the order of things, and to help to aduance their Princes ſeruice. With charge there were theſe: Sir George Carie Capitayne of one hundreth lances, Henry Iuſtell capitaine of fiftie lances, William Gurley capitaine of fiftie lances: Maſter Henrie Carie Capitayne of two hundred light horſemen: Capitayne Caſe Lieutenant of the generals bande of light horſemen, beyng alſo two hundreth: Sir Robert Conneſtable Sergeant Maior of the footebandes: Sir Thomas Maners, capitayne Brickwell, capitayne Caruille, Capitayne Game, Capitayne Lambarde, capitayne Erington, John Conneſtable, and Humfrey Berwike leaders of the footemen. Capitayne Erington was alſo Lieutenant to ſir George Caries company of lances. Other Gentlemen that went of their owne good willes there were diuers, as Maſter George Deuereux, Sir Jerome Bowes, Maſter Williā Knolles, Maſter Robert Knolles, Maſter Michell Carie, Maſter Gawdie, Maſter William Drury of Suffolke couſin to the General, Maſter Greuille; brother to Sir Foulke Greuille, Maſter Conwey, brother to ſir John Conwey, Maſter Edmund Verney, & many other, whoſe names I coulde not learne.

The Duke retireth to Glaſquho.

Captaynes and Gentlemenne that wente wyth the Earle of Lennox into Scotlande.

The footemen lay the firſte night at Coldingham, the nexte day the Earle of Lennox himſelfe with ſir William Drurie and the horſemē ouertooke the footemen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made ſuch ſpeede in theyr marche, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the Earles of Morton, Murrey, Glencarne, the Lordes Ruthuen, Lindſey, Simpil, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltree, and Catcart, with diuers Gentlemenne of the Kings ſide, who receyued the ſayde Earle of Lennox, and the Engliſhmē very courteouſly. From Edburgh they paſſed to Lithquho, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie it may appeare, and from thence the footemē paſſed to Faukirke, and there lodged, but the Earle of Lennox, and the Scottiſh Lordes, with Sir William Drury, and the horſemen rode to Sterlyng where the king lay, then beyng in the cuſtodie of the Earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glaſquho, where the Duke had beſieged the caſtell, whiche was valiantly defended by the Laird of Minto and his bretherne, with theyr ſeruantes being not paſt an eightene perſons in all, and yet they kepte it fiue or ſixe dayes agaynſt the Duke and his whole power, ſlaying as hath bene reported aboue fourtie or fiftie of his menne, but in the ende they were in greate daunger to haue bene takē, if they had not bene yͤ more ſpeedely relieued, but the Duke and his adherentes vnderſtandyng of the commyng forwarde of the Erle of Lennox with the Engliſh forces, brake vp his ſiege and fledde away, with loſſe and diſhonour as in the Engliſh hiſtorie we haue likewiſe noted.

The earle of Lennox wyth the Englyſhemen comme to Edenburgh.

Faukirke.

The Earle Lennox ſir Will Drury Sterlyng

The Caſtel Glaſquho ſieged by Duke of C telleraulte.

He breake vp his ſiege

After that the Earle of Lennox and his frendes were thus commen to Glaſquho, findyng the ſiege rayſed, he remayned there by the ſpace of fiue or ſixe dayes, duryng whiche tyme there came to him of his kinrede and frendes, whiche ought to him their ſeruice, accordyng to the vſe of the countrey, the number of a foure thouſande men, very well appoynted after their maner, the more parte out of the countreys of Lennox, and Darneley, whiche muſtered before the ſayde Earle, and ſir William Drurie generall of the Engliſhmen there.

A muſter of iiij. thouſa Scottes.

See more h of in Engl

This done the Earle of Lennox accompanied with the Earles and Lordes afore mentioned, and lykewiſe with the Engliſhmenne, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the Palayce belonging to the Duke, and lodged therein that night.

The nexte day they beſieged the Caſtell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Merinton was Capitayne, hauing vnder him fiftie Souldiers to defende it, and woulde not therefore deliuer it till that two peeces of greate ordinaunce being brought from Sterlyng, were planted in batterie: for then perceyuing themſelues in danger to be taken by force, the Capitayne offered to yeelde the houſe to the Engliſhmenne, but not to the Lordes of Scotlande, with condition to haue the liues of al them within ſaued, which was graunted, vpon promiſe, that they ſhoulde neuer after beare armes agaynſt theyr King, and to departe the Realme within a certayne terme, and hereunto they were ſworne, but they kept not long their othe: for the night nexte enſuyng,

The Caſtell Hamilton ſieged.

It is deliuer to the Engli menne.

ſuyng, they beſette the Lorde Simpil that was lodged at that preſente in a houſe not farre off, and not able to keepe it, till reſkewe came, yeelded it, and himſelfe priſoner, ſo that he was kepte by the Hamiltons in ſafe cuſtodie by the ſpace of a twelue moneth after.

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aken.

The Caſtell of Hamilton beeing yeelded (as ye haue hearde) was blowen vp with powder.

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Diuers other houſes there in the Countrey about were brente alſo, as Raplocke, the Abbot of Kilwynnings houſe, with diuers other of the Hamiltons houſes in Cliddeſdale.

After the Caſtell of Hamilton was thus wonne and ouerthrowen, the Lordes returned to the Palace, and lodged there againe that nighte, and on the morrowe, they ſet fire both vpon the ſame Palace, and alſo vpon the towne of Hamilton, and therewith the Engliſhmen taking leaue of the Lords in Scotlande, departed homewards (as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie yee may reade more at large. The Earle of Morton wente with them, but the Earle of Lennox and the other Earles and Lordes with theyr companies tooke their way toward Glaſquho, and from thence euery of the noble men departed home to their houſes.

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Shortly after, there was a conuention of the Lordes at Striueling, where the Earle of Lennox was made lord Lieutenant of Scotlande, and afterwardes in Auguſt followyng, there was an other conuention at Edenburgh, where by the conſent of the three eſtates of the Realme, the ſayd Earle was made Regent of Scotlande.

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Lordes.

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And about the ſame time, the Erle of Huntley tooke vpon him to be Lieutenant of Scotland for the Queene of Scottes that remayned ſtill in Englande, and therevpon in hir name ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentith of September then next following, vnto the which Parliament, as well the Earle of Lennox then Regente, as all the reſidue of the Lordes of both the parties were ſommoned, whereof the Regent being aduertiſed, cauſed a Parliamente to be ſommoned in the Kings name to be kept likewiſe at Lithquho, at the ſelfe ſame daye whiche was appointed by the Earle of Huntley, at which day, there appeared the Lordes of the Kings partie, and alſo ſundry greate Lairdes, Knightes, and Gentlemen, to the number of eyghte thouſand, verye well furniſhed, looking for the Earle of Huntleys commyng, according to his appointed order, but hee came no neerer than Brechin, whervpon it was decreed by the Regent and nobilitie there to purſue hym, and to that ende the Earle of Morton was ſente before with a thouſande Horſemen to haue taken him vpon the ſuddayne in the Towne of Brechin, before he ſhould haue had any warning of their comming. the Regent following after with an army, but Huntley hauing warning of their approch, eſcaped their handes, although very narrowly, in ſomuche, that ſome of his footemenne were ſo put to their ſhiftes, that they were driue for their refuge (being ſo beſet on the ſuddayne) to take the Caſtell of Brechine, the Earle of Huntley promiſing before he went from them, to ſuccour them within eyght dayes: but they being ſtraitely beſieged, and the Earle not keping promiſe with them, after thoſe eyght dayes were expired, they yeelded themſelues and the Caſtell vnto the Regents mercy.

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The Earle of Huntley eſcapeth.

They were in all aboute three hundred, of which number. xxxj. of the chiefeſt were executed. Some of them had borne armes agaynſte the King before that tyme, and had bin pardoned, and therefore were nowe thoughte by the Regent and his friendes. the more worthy to die. After this, the Regent returned to Striueling, and from thence paſſed to the Caſtell of Downe, and beſieged it, beeing kepte by the ſeruaunts of the Lorde of S. Colmes Inch, who yeelded it to the Regent after three dayes ſiege.

Execution.

The Caſtell of Downe yeelded.

During the time of the Regents being there, he ſent one of his ſeruants called John Moone, with letters into Englande, directed to the Q. of Englands Counſell, who for his ſecret practiſing and conference had with ſuche as were enymies to the King and Regente before his departure out of Scotland, and for receyuing of their letters to be conueyd alſo, and herewyth diſcouering ſundry ſecretes to them the whych were committed to his credite and truſt, he was apprehended, and the ſame letters which he had ſecretely receyued beeing founde vpon him, and the matters aforeſaid being proued againſt him he was executed.

About the ſame time the Erle of Morton, the Abbot of Dunfermeling, and James Magil, Clearke of the Regiſter, wer ſent into England Commiſſioners, vpon the Kings partie the Biſhop of Roſſe, the Abbot of Kilwinning, and the Lord Leuingſtō, appointed for the Q. then being in Englād. In January following, the Regent then beeing at Edenburgh, Claude Hamilton, one of the Duke of Chatelleraultes ſonnes entred the houſe of Paſlay, then beeyng kepte by the ſeruauntes of the Lord Simpil, and ſeazing vpon all things which he there found as ſtoode with his pleaſure, hee fortifyed the houſe with men, munition, and vittayles, ſuch as he could get either in the towne of Paſlay, or neere thereabouts. The Regent aduertiſed therof, repaired thither with a power in all ſpeedy wiſe, and layd ſiege to the houſe. They within ſeemed

Commiſſioners ſent into England.

Paſlay taken and kept by Clawde Hamilton.

The Regent beſiegeth Paſlay.

for a truce whiche was graunted to them for the ſpace of ſixe dayes, the better to aduiſe of their owne eſtate, which tearme being expired, Proclamation was made by the Regent, that if they would yeeld the houſe, ſo many of them as had not borne armes before yͤ time againſte the King and Regent, ſhoulde haue their lyues ſaued, the reſt to remaine at the Regents pleaſure.

Heereupon contention roſe among them within the houſe: for whereas the more part of thē hauing not ſerued in any iourney or exploit againſt yͤ King before that time, would needes yeelde, the other, beeyng the leſſe number, were not able to defend it of themſelues, wherevpon they were ready to drawe their weapons one againſt another, but yet in the ende they al agreed to ſurrender the houſe, and yeelded them ſelues, vpon ſuch condition as the Regente had preſcribed, whereupon fyue of them were executed, and all the reſt were pardoned of theyr liues, the Captayne Iohn Hamilton, Lard of Coughnall and his two brethren excepted, who were ſente to the Caſtell of Glaſquho, there to remayne in priſon, and ſhortly after the ſayd Iohn Hamilton was executed.

Puſlay is ſurrendred to the Regent.

1571

In Marche following, the Regent returned to Glaſquho, and for that the Earles of Caſſill and Eglenton refuſed to ſhew themſelues obedient to the King, and woulde not come in to the Regent, who had ſente for them by letters, at ſundrye tymes, the Regent gathered his power at Glaſquho, and with the ſame marched towards Vrwin and Air, and ſo forward to the Earle of Caſſils Countrey, who hearing of the Regents comming, ſent forth his brother to offer his ſubmiſſion, wherevpon it was concluded that the meſſenger ſhoulde remayne wyth the Regente as pledge for his brother by the ſpace of twenty dayes, and then the ſaide Earle to make his appearance before the Regente at Striueling, to aunſwere ſuch matters as ſhuld be layd to his charge.

The Regent goeth againſte the Earle of Caſſels.

The ſame time alſo the Earle of Eglenton layd his hande in alſo to appeare and aunſwere in like ſort, and as well the one as the other according to their aſſurance giuen, appeared at the day appointed, but yet not agreeing to ſuch articles as were required of them, they were both committed to priſon, the one in the Caſtell of Dunbretayne, and the other in the Caſtell of Downe.

The Earles of Caſsils and Eglenton committed to warde.

A truce for twenty dayes.

Afterwardes there was a truce taken betweene the Regent and the Hamiltons, and their adherentes for twenty dayes, viz. vntill the laſt of March, whiche truce once ended, the Regente determined with hymſelfe to giue an attempte to the Caſtell of Dunbretayne, which had bin long kepte by the Lorde Flemming againſte the King, and the Earle of Murrey, late Regente, who hadde beſieged it for the ſpace of halfe a yeare or more, but coulde not by any meanes compaſſe to winne it: but nowe the firſte of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the Regent going forwarde with his purpoſe, cauſed all the paſſages round about the Countrey to be ſtopped, as well by land as by water, and the ſame night ſente thytherwarde Captayne Crafort, and Captayne Hume, with an hundred Souldiers, choſen out for the purpoſe, who the ſeconde of Aprill, aboute foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the Caſtell, where the Souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuiſes, found meanes to climbe vppe the Rocke, whiche is of an exceeding great heigth, and ſo with greate paine and more daunger, at length gote vp to the wall of the Caſtell, ſtanding vpon the heigth of the Rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the whiche entred firſte one Ramſey, enſigne bearer to Captaine Crafort, and leaping ouer the wall, was ſtraightwayes aſſayled by three of the watchmen, of the whiche hee ſlewe one: and a Souldiour named Wederborne that followed him, beeyng the ſecond that entred, ſlewe another of them. The thirde of thoſe watchmen was alſo ſlayne, as hee was aboute to flee from them.

The Ca
Dunbreta
taken by
policy.

Heerewith Captayne Craforte and Captayne Hume gote ouer the wall, and entring the Caſtell with the reſt of their Souldiers, ſtroke vp the drumme, cryed a Derneley, beeing their watch worde, and ſeaſing vpon the ordinance, manned the ſame.

Captayne Crafort a
Captayne Hume.

The Lord Flemming Captayne of the Caſtell, hearing that ſuddayne fright and tumulte within the houſe, fledde out by the poſterne gate at the neather baile, and ſo eſcaping, gote a fiſhers boate, and paſſed into Argile.

The Lord
Flemming
eſcapeth.

The Souldiours of the Caſtell perceyuing theyr Captayne fledde, and the Caſtell poſſeſſed by the enimies, yeelded themſelues, and were pardoned. There were taken within the Caſtell the Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, Monſieur de Viracke a Frenchman, ſente thyther by the French King, alſo the Lady Flemming, wife to the Lorde Flemming, and Iohn Flemming, Laird of Boghall, and Iohn Hall, an Engliſhman, being partner of a new intended conſpiracie in England, as was after proued agaynſte hym, for the whyche hee was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London, (as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie appeareth.) The thirde of Aprill, beeyng the morrowe after that Dunbretaine was thus ſtraungelye wonne, the Regente came

Iohn Hal

thither, and entred the ſame, where hee calling the Capitaines and Souldiers togither cauſed them with him to kneele down vpō their knees, & to giue to God humble thankes for their good ſucceſſe in that enterprice, brought to paſſe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwiſe, ſithe the Caſtell ſeemed to all thoſe that knewe it impoſſible in maner to be wonne, by reaſon of the great heyght of the rocke, and the ſtrange ſituation, beyng enuironed almoſte rounde aboute with the water of Clide on the one ſide, and the water of Leuin on the other.

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pe.

The reporte of the winnyng of this Caſtell was ioyfull to the Townes and Countries aboute, which before had bene a cōtinuall ſcourge to them, by reaſon that the Souldiers that kept it woulde iſſue out at ſundry times, robbyng ſpoyling and carying away the commodities of the inhabitants thereaboutes, aſwell by land as by water.

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The Regent dealt very honorably with the Ladie Flemming, ſuffryng hir to departe away with all ſuche plate and Iewels, as apperteyned eyther to hyr or to hyr huſband. He graunted alſo a ſauſeconduct vnto Monſieur de Verack, to peſſe homewardes through the countrey, but the Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrewes was ſent pryſoner to Sterlyng. The ſpoyle of the goodes founde in the Caſtell was giuen to the Souldiers that ventured ſo daungerouſly to atchieue ſo highe an enterpryce, brynging it to the wiſhed effect by policie with ſo litle bloudſhed as deſerueth perpetuall remembraunce.

The day next enſewing beyng the fourth of Aprill, the Regent appoynted Iohn Cunningham Laird of Drumwhaſſell, a man of good ſeruice, and ſeruaunt to the Regent to be Capitayne of that Caſtell, and leauyng him therein, departed to Sterlyng, where he cauſed the Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrewes to be examined vpon certayne Articles, aſwell touchyng the murder of the late King Henry, as alſo for the death of the Earle of Murrey the late Regent, at what time there came in a Prieſt without compulſion of any, as hath bene ſayde, and before the Regent declared, that one Iohn Hamilton beyng in extreeme ſickneſſe vnder confeſſion, tolde him that the Biſhoppe did ſende him with three others to the murther of the King. And as touching the murther of the Erle of Murrey, the Biſhoppes anſwere was, that hee might haue letted it if hee woulde: therewith the people that hearde him, cryed away with him, hang him, and ſo for theſe and other offences, for the whiche he had bene forfalted afore that tyme, he was nowe executed on a Gibette, ſette vp in the market place of Sterlyng towne.

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After this, the Regent ſummoned a Parliament to beginne at Edenburgh the .xiiij. of May nexte enſuyng, & paſſed from Sterlyng to Lithquho, where the Earle of Morton with the reſte of the Cōmiſſioners for the kings part, beyng returned out of Englande with other of the Nobilitie mette the Regent, and then they paſſed towards Edeburgh, where they thought to haue bene receyued, and ſo to haue kepte the Parliament there, but they were not ſuffered to enter that towne nor yet the Caſtell, the ſame beyng defended agaynſt them by the Laird of Grange, who after the death of the Earle of Murrey, was reuolted from the Kings parte to the Hamiltons ſide, and had fortified bothe the towne and Caſtell, ſo that the Regent and Nobilitie beyng kepte out there, helde theyr Parliament in the Cannogate ſtreete within the Suburbes of the towne, where ſundry of the Queenes parte were forfalted.

A Parliament ſummoned.

The caſtell of Edenburgh kept by the laird of Grāge againſt the Regent.

This beyng done, and ſundry ſkirmiſhes had with them that iſſued forth of the towne agaynſte them without, the Regent returned to Sterlyng there to remayne for a ſeaſon.

In this meane time the Earle of Morton hauing certaine ſtuffe come forth of Englande by ſea, and brought to lande at Leith, ſente the Laird of Carmichell with his houſeholde ſeruants, and two hundred ſhotte, to fetche the ſame from thence vnto Dalkith, beyng a fiue myles diſtant from Leith. At theyr returne with the ſtuffe, they were ſet vpon by the Earle of Huntley, and the Lorde Hume, who iſſued out of Edenburgh with their power, ſo that betwixte them there was a very hoate ſkirmiſhe, but in the ende the Earle of Huntley, and the Lord Hume were conſtreyned to flee, and were purſued by Carmichell and his company euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, ſome of theyr menne beyng ſlayne and other taken pryſoners.

The laird of Carmichell.

The Erle of Huntley and Lord Hume put to flight.

For reuenge of which ouerthrow, ſhortly after the Earle of Huntley, and Claude Hamilton with theyr forces marched from Edeburgh to Dalkeith, purpoſing to haue ſpoiled the town, but the Earle of Morton hauing knowledge of theyr intention and commyng, ſallyed forth of Dalketh with the power whiche hee had there with hym, although not comparable in number to his aduerſaries and meetyng them in the field, there was a ſharp ſkyrmiſh betwixt them, and many hurte on bothe parties, but in the ende the Earle of Morton was put to the worſe, fourtie or more of his menne beyng taken pryſoners, and the cauſe was for that his footemen were to forwearie, wanting help of their horſemen that ſhould haue ſuccoured them.

The Erle of Morton put to the worſe.

Aboute the fiue and twentie of May followyng Capitayne Cullen iſſued forth of Edenburgh with two hundreth ſhotte, meanyng to intercept certayne Harquebuſiers which were appoynted to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Fourth, vnto the Earle of Morton, who kepte ſtill at Dalketh, whereupon the ſayd Erle hauyng knowledge of Cullens enterpriſe, aduertiſed the Regent thereof, who beyng then at Sterling, the nexte day came downe to Dunfermlyng in Fife, but before his cõming thither Cullen had met wͭ a boate vpon yͤ water, wherin were aborde .xxv. ſhot, whom he toke priſoners, & led them away with him to Edenburgh.

Capitayne Cullen.

The next day the Earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with ſir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The nexte mornyng Sir William Drurie paſſing forth of Leith towardes Edenburgh, accompanied with ſundry capitaynes and other Gentlemen for his conuoy thither, they within Edenburgh perceyuing them comming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a ſkirmiſh, whereupon they iſſued out of the towne and caſtell to encoũtre them, ſo that beyng readie on eyther ſide to beginne the ſkirmiſhe, ſir William Drurie beyng come to talke with the parties for ſome accorde to be had, toke in hande with great diligence to appeaſe them, and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to endure till eyght of the clocke at night, but yet when bothe partes ſtayed in the fieldes for the ſpace of an howre, bycauſe they coulde not agree whether companie ſhoulde firſte retyre from the fielde, they fell at length in ſkirmiſhe, notwithſtandyng the truce, and fought right ſharpely for the tyme, till in the ende they of the Towne and Caſtell had the ouerthrow, the Abbot of Kilwinnyng beyng ſlayne with diuers other, and there were taken aboue an hundred pryſoners, amongſt the whiche the Lorde Hume, and capitayne Cullen were accompted principall. Thoſe that eſcaped were chaſed and conſtreyned for theyr ſafegarde to flee into the towne of Edenburgh, capitayne Cullen was afterwardes beheaded.

A skirmiſh.

The abbot of Kilwinnyng ſlayne.

The lorde Hume and capitaine Cullen taken.

The Regent immediatly after this ſkirmiſh came with all ſpede vnto Leith, aſwell to fortifie the towne, as to make ſome further attempt againſt his aduerſaries within the towne and caſtell of Edenburgh. Hereupon was Leith entrenched rounde aboute, beyng eſteemed a place of great importance ſtandyng bothe in the face of the enimies, and ſo ready to annoy thẽ, and alſo ſeruyng well to preuent them of ſuche ſuccour as they loked for dayly out of France.

Leith fortified

A Proclamation.

In this meane time the Laird of Grange then Capitayne of the Caſtell, and Prouoſt of the towne of Edenburgh, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that all thoſe inhabitantes whiche were not willing to take parte with him in his doyngs, ſhould departe out of the towne, whereupon many of them departed thence, togither with theyr wiues and children, and toke with them alſo ſuche goodes as they coulde ſecretely conuey, & cõming to Leith, offered theyr ſeruice vnto the Regent, who thankfully accepted theyr offer, and ſo they remayned at Leith, ſeruing againſt the cõtrary factiõ vpõ their own expẽces.

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Grange.

After this, the Laird of Grange vnderſtandyng that reporte had bene made by ſome of the Kings parte, that he was a traytour to the king and an enimy to his countrey, offered the combatte to any that would iuſtifie the ſame: which beyng aduertiſed to them within Leith, diuers Gentlemen were deſirous to vndertake the challenge, but the Regent graunted it to the Laird of Garliſch, beyng a Stewarde, and his Kinneſman, who had earneſtly requeſted it, whereupon after diuers meſſages by Heraultes ſente to and fro betwixte them, the tyme and place was appoynted, but the matter wente not forwarde, excuſe beyng made on the behalfe of the Laird Grange, that by reaſon of the charge which was cõmitted to him, it was not thought conuenient that hee ſhoulde hazarde the whole cauſe vpon his owne perſon.

The Lord Garliſch.

Shortly after, there came out of France one John Cheſeholme, who was ſente with money to the Laird of Grange for the payment of his Souldiers: he brought with him alſo a certaine quãtitie of powder and three hundred calliuers. Vpon his entring into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the ſame, he learned how the Regent was in Leith, wherupõ he lãded at Brentyland, and afterwardes for feare hid himſelf betwixte two clifes of a rocke, not farre from the Queenes ferie: but at length he was foũd out by the Abbot of S. Combes Inche, and deliuered to the Regent at Leith, in which towne the ſaid Regent lay aboue two monethes, vſing ſundry meanes, aſwell by practiſe & policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time ſundry ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, & diuers pryſoners were taken on eyther part. At length the Regent cauſed a Parliamẽt to be ſummoned, appointing the ſame to be holden at Sterling the .xxij. of Auguſt nexte enſuing. And when that day approched, he lefte the Lord Lindſey at Leith in charge, as his Lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in garde therof, and repayred himſelfe vnto Sterling, where at the prefixed day there aſſembled the Erles of Morton, Mar, Crafort, Sotherland, Montros, Eglinton, Glencarne, the Lordes Ruthuen, Glamis, Methuen, Semple, Ogiltrie, and Catcart, with many Lairdes and Gentlemenne.

Iohn Cheſeholme.

A Parliament ſummoned.

The firſt day of this Parliament the King was conueyed thither, the Crowne, Scepter, & ſword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he vttered certaine ſpeech as had bin taught hym, touching the aſſembling of that Parliament, which matter the Regent more at large declared vnto the whole houſe; and this done, they proceeded further to other affayres, concerning the ſtate of the common wealth.

Duke of
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falted.

Moreouer in this Parliamente, the Duke of Chatelleraulte with his two ſonnes, the Abbot of Arbroth, and Claude Hamilton, the Earle of Huntley, the Laird of Grange, and ſundry others were forfalted.

This Parliament continued by the ſpace of ſeauen dayes, at the ende wherof, to witte, vpon the ſeconde of September, Claude Hamilton, the Laird of Bucleugh, the Lairde of Ormiſton, and diuers other, to the number of three hundred horſemen, very early in the morning, entred the towne of Striueling, and ſuddainely beſet not only the Regent, but alſo the reſt of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

Earle of
was taken
his lodging

The Regente hearing a great vprore reyſed within the Towne, and not vnderſtanding the cauſe, nor who were the authours thereof, after hee perceyued how the houſe wherein he lodged was beſette on each ſide, he defended the ſame againſt his enimies for a good ſpace, but at length, deſpairing of ſuccoures, and doubting leaſt the houſe had bin vndermind with ſome barrels of powder, and that it woulde be blowen vp if hee yeelded not as ſome told him: and the enimie to encreaſe that doubte, crying ſtill blowe vp the houſe, what ſhoulde we ſtande longer about him, at length he was contented to yeelde to the Laird of Ormiſton, but not before he ſaw that ſome of his ſtouteſt Captaines had yeelded themſelues before his face. He yeelded, with condition to haue his life ſaued: but promiſe in that behalfe was not long kepte, for thoſe that hadde thus taken him, when they perceyued reſcue comming downe from the Caſtell, ſo that they ſhoulde not bee able to carrie him away, Captayne Calder with a piſtolet, ſhotte him into the body before he could be recouered out of their handes: The reſt of the nobilitie, to witte, the Earles of Morton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuers other beeing taken priſoners, were preſently reſcued by thoſe that iſſued out of the Caſtell.

Earle of
was wou-
d.

The Earle of Morton beeing in the handes of the Laird of Boucleugh, tooke the ſame Laird priſoner, hee yeelding himſelfe vnto him: and likewiſe the Earle of Glencarne tooke his keeper priſoner, and ſo did ſundry others take their takers: but Claude Hamilton, and others with their companies, hauing firſte got all the horſes that were founde in the Towne into theyr handes, when they hearde that the reſcue was comming, ſhifted for themſelues, and fled away.

The Regent beeing mortally wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, ridde vp to the Caſtell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his ende to approch, hee vſed theſe wordes or the like in ſubſtance, as followeth.

The Earle of Lennox his words before his death.

My Lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you al, that my comming hither to take this regimente vppon me, was not of mine owne ſeeking, but at the requeſt of you all: and that which chiefly moued me herevnto, was, for the defence of the Kings perſon, beeyng yet as you ſee an infante, of whome by nature and duetie I was bounden to haue carefull conſideration, and that in hys minoritie, the good and quiet gouernement of this common wealthe might bee aduanced, and iuſtice executed vpon thoſe that moſt cruelly dyd murther the late King, my ſonne the Kyngs father, and his vncle the good Earle of Murrey, late Regent, whoſe miſchieuous and diueliſh deuiſes if in time you doe not preuent, by your wiſedomes and diſcretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrowe and deſtruction of you all.

In this action as you ſee, I haue ſpente my bloud, and haue plaid the laſt part of my Tragedie, and nowe I feele death to drawe neere at hande, wherefore I require you all, for the due regarde that you haue of youre dueties, firſte to Almighty God, and next to the king, your moſt lawfull and naturall Prince nowe in theſe hys tender yeares, wholly to employ your ſeruice in his defence, with care to mayntayne the ſtate of this common wealthe, whereby you ſhall not onely accompliſhe youre dueties towards God, but ſhall be aſſured to find in your King in time to come (God lending him life) all that good whych you can iuſtly requite.

And I ſhall further committe to your friendly protection, my poore ſeruantes, who for theyr good ſeruice haue well deſerued, and yet remaine vnrecompenced, deſiring you all to be good vnto them.

And laſtly, I deſire you to commend me to my Lady Margaret my deere Wife, now beeing in England, vnto whome I beſeech God to be a comforter.

And now ſith my ſpirites begin to fayle, and that my life draweth neere to an ende, I take my leaue of you al, deſiring you to pray for me.

The Earle of Lennox departeth this life.

Theſe wordes beeyng ended, hee called to God for mercy, and continuing in prayer vnto the ende, within a while after hee departed thys life, and was buryed in the Kyngs

Chappell within the Caſtell of Striueling.

The Earle of Mar choſen Regent.
The Earle of Morton Regent.

After his deceaſſe, the Lordes aſſembled togither in the Towne of Sterling, and choſe the Earle of Mar to bee Regent, who continued in that office till hee dyed, and then was the Earle of Morton elected Regente, who gouerneth at this day: of whoſe doings, for that I haue no certaine inſtructions, I omitte to make further report, hauing hitherto continued this hiſtorie of Scotlande not ſo largely nor perfectly as I could haue wiſhed, but ſcambled forwarde with it in ſuch ſort as you may ſee, hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credite of the Scottiſh nation, otherwiſe than I haue founde in Authours, or learned by credible reporte, as I take it, hauyng put off the parciall affection, whiche I beare of duty to mine owne countrey, in this reſpect, that I ſhould not ſeeme to wraſt the wordes of Writers, eyther to the aduantage of the Engliſhe people, or diſaduantage of the Scottes, ſpecially in politique gouernemente, warlike exploytes, ciuill demeanor, and other vertuous exerciſes, whiche as I haue founde them eyther in anye one perſon particularly, or in the multitude in generall, ſo I haue reported the ſame, not ſparing the trueth herein as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuy: but yet in no wiſe preſuming (as elſe where I haue ſayde) to vſe mine owne cenſure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reportes vnto the Readers diſcretion, to whome I wiſhe ſuch vnderſtanding and knowledge in yͤ trueth, as may ſatiſfie him ſelfe, and redounde to the publique commoditie of hys Countrey, and pleaſure of the almighty, in whoſe hands are the harts of Kings, and gouernours, guiding the ſtates of Realmes, and common wealthes, as to his diuine wiſedome ſeemeth moſt expedient: To whom be glory, honor and prayſe for euer.

FINIS.

A Table of the principall matters touched in the Hiſtorie of Scotland, where note that the firſt number ſignifieth the page, the ſecond the line, not accounting aboue 58. line in the firſt Colume at the moſt.

A.

Abbey of Saint Colmes Inche builded. 262.80
Abbey of Dunfirmeling finiſhed. 262.03
Abbey of Foſſe in Fraunce founded. 147.36
Abbey of Colmekill reedified. 149.90
Abbey of Lũdoris builded. 279.7
Abbey of Lauercoſt ſackt. 350.39
Abbey of Durham ſpoyled. 350.65
Abbey of Balmernocht founded. 281. 60.
Abirlemnon. 235.8
Abbey of Colmkil appoynted for the buriall of the Scottiſh kings 100. 19
Abbey of Holme ſpoiled. 323.107
Abbey of Furneirs ſaued frõ ſpoiling. 323.114
Abbeys of Melros, & Dryburgh burnt by the Engliſh mẽ. 324.38
Abbey of Riuall. 324.61
Abbeyes buylded by Dauid the firſt. 263.83
Abbey of Abirbroth or Abirbrothock buylded. 276.24
Abbey of Couper of the Ceſteaux order founded. 272.2
Abbey of Haddington buylded. 276. 34.
Abbey of Colmekill founded. 100 .17.
Abbey of the holy Croſſe builded 288. 73.
Abbey of Paſley by vvhom buylded. 247 58
Abbey of Charturare buylded. 381. 37.
Abbanath Crinen, Thane of the vveſt part of Scotland. 239.11
Abernethy Laurence knight, taken priſoner. 346.69
Abernethy Dauid beheded 722.76
Abirden burnt by the Engliſhmẽ. 343. 50.
Aberlady fortified. 479.18
Abirdin aduaunced from a village to a Citie. 199.31
Albions and Saxons encounter in battaile. 121.76
Abirdin indovved vvith manye priuiledges. 285.17
Abirden burned. 297.65
Achaius king of Scotland, chaunged the forme of the Scottiſh crovvne. 11.102
Achaius eſtabliſhed a perpetuall league vvith Charles the Emperour. 11
Achaius created king of Scotland. 158. 101.
Achaius ſetteth agreement betvvene his Nobilitie. 158.114
Achaius doeth ayde the Pictes agaynſt the Engliſh men. 165.23
Achaius dieth. 167.47
Acho king of Norvvey arriueth vvith an armie in the vveſterne Ilandes. 289.32
Acho tranſporteth his armie into Albion. 289.45
Acho ſhevveth the cauſe vvhy he came into Scotland. 290.55
Achos nephevv ſlaine. 292.25
Achos fleet drovvned and brokẽ by a tempeſt. 292.54
Acho eſcapeth & flieth into Orkney. 292.69
Acho dyeth in Orkney. 292.106
Acon, or Acres beſieged by Richard the firſt. 278.33
Acon taken by the Engliſhe men and Scottes. 278.66
Acta biſhop of Pictinia. 155.1
Adelſtane purſueth the Pictes into their ovvne countrey. 165.35
Adelſtanes cruel proclamation agaynſt the Pictes. 165.45
Adelſtane ſlaine. 160.23
Ayliſtone or Adelſtanes foorde, vvherof ſo named. 166.25
Adelſtane vvhere buried. 166.77
Adelſtane King of vveſt Saxons inuadeth Deira. 165.6
Adelſtane vvaſteth Deira vvith fire and ſvvorde. 165.24
Ada daughter of Aurelius Ambroſius maried Conranus generall of the Scots. 121.66
Adam biſhop of Cathnes, vilaynouſly miſuſed and killed by the inhabitantes of that Countrey. 284. 110.
Adamiſon Iohn doctour of diuinitie in Abirden. 285.63.
Adannan biſhop. 151.108
Adhama daughter to king VVilliam maryed to the Erle of Lauon. 276.70.
Adhama ſiſter to king Malcolme, maryed to Florence Earle of Holland. 370.110
Adders vvhich do not hurt. 279.12
Adrian Emperour of Rome. 61.58
Adrian Emperor tranſporteth into Britaine. 61.72
Adrian remoueth to Yorke. 61.81
Adrian afflicteth the Scottes and Pictes, vvhich fled to the mountaynes. 61.97
Adrian maketh a vvall betvveene the Brytaines and Scots. 61.109
Adrian returneth tovvard Rome. 62. 14.
Adrian a biſhop. 188.21
Adrians vvall repayred. 92.74
Aduerſarie in ſute of lavv not to be ſtroken. 181.59
Adulterie death. 181.23
Age of Marie Quene of Scotland vvhen ſhee began his raigne. 457. 28.
Agricola Lieutenant of Britaine. 49. 39.
Agricola goeth agaynſt the Scots. 49. 47.
Agricola ſtudieth too bring the Scottes to ciuilitie. 50.33
Agricola returneth into Pictland. 51. 47.
Agricola diſcomfiteth the Scottes and Pictes. 52.93
Agricola maketh a bridge ouer the riuer Tay, and paſſeth, ouer vvith his army. 54.19
Agricolas name dreadfull to the Scots and Pictes. 67.23
Agatha daughter to Henrie the Emperour. 253.108
Agatha and Chriſtine renounce the vvorlde. 257.6
Agaſia daughter to the King of Brytaynes. 21.50
Agreement made betvvene Scots and Pictes. 139.60
Ayde ſent into Scotlande to the Earle Lennox from the king of England. 461.23
Aydan ſon to Conran returneth into Scotland. 137.73
Aydan receyueth his inueſture in the kingdome of Scotland at the handes of ſaint Colme. 138.30
Aydan biſhop dyeth. 149.6
Ayde ſent oute of Fraunce to the Scottes agaynſt the Engliſhmẽ. 464. 61
Ayde ſent out of Englande to the gouernour of Scotlande vnder the conduction of Thomas L. VVharton, and the Lorde Euers. 459.85
Aydans diligence in prouiding to reſiſt his enimies. 141.23.
Aydan dyeth. 142.16.
Aydan requireth certaine Scottiſh outlavves of the Pictes. 139. 10
Alexander the firſt ſurnamed the fierce, created King of Scotlande. 261.54
Alexander goeth vvith an armye agaynſte theeues and robbers in Murrey land and Ros. 261.74
Alexanders manhoode in ſlaying the theeues that vvoulde haue ſlaine him. 262.12
Alexander purſueth the Rebelles that conſpired vvith the theues and vanquiſhed them. 262.42
Alexander dieth. 263.9
Alane Lorde of Gallovvayes baſtarde ſonne rayſeth a commotion. 285.82
Alane Lorde of Gallovves baſtarde ſon ſlaine, and his povver diſcomfited. 285.86
Alexander leadeth an armie into Englande to ayde the Barons agaynſt king Iohn. 282.10
Alexander paſſeth ouer into Fraunce, to renue the league vvith the French king. 282.17
Alexander and Levves accurſed by the Pope. 282.36
Alexander prouoked by certaine Engliſhmen, harrieth the countreys at hee vvent home into Scotland. 282.50
Alexander purſueth k. Henrie the third vvith an armie into Northumberland. 282.72
Alexander and his realm of Scotland abſolued. 283.13
Alexander of Scotlande, and Hẽrie the thirde of England meet at Yorke to conclude and eſtabliſh peace. 283.72
Alexander goeth into Englande to ſet agreement betvvene K. Henrie and his Nobles. 285.116
Alexander maryeth Mary daughter to Ingelram, Lorde of Coucie. 286.15
Alexander ſendeth ayde to King Levves of Fraunce, tovvardes his iourney into the holy land. 286. 85.
Alexander dyeth. 287.1
Alexander the third, ſonne to Alexander the ſeconde crovvned king of Scotland. 287.11
Alexander the third marieth Margaret daughter to Henrie the thirde of England. 287.87
Alexander ſonne to VVilliam prince of Scotlande borne. 279. 76.
Alexander graunteth to paye a yearely penſion to the King of Norvvey for the vveſterne Iles. 294.20
Alexander ſendeth money to the Pope tovvardes the ſetting forth of an armie into the holye lande. 294.102
Alexander and his Queene come to London to the coronation of king Edvvard the firſt. 295.47
Alexander Prince of Scotlande, maryeth the Erle of Flaunders daughter. 295.92
Alexander prince of Scotland dieth. 296.11
Alexander the thirde marieth Iolant, daughter to the Earle of Champaigne in Fraunce. 296.58
Alexander the third dieth. 296.68
Alexander the thirde taken priſoner, and kept by the Cumeyns. 288.4.
Alexander aſſembleth a povver agaynſte Acho and his Norvvegians. 290.81
Alexander prince of ſcotlande, ſonne to Alexander the thirde borne. 292.115
Alexander the ſecoude ſonne to king VVilliam, crovvned king of Scotland 281.79
Alexander Lorde of Arguile baniſhed by king Robert. 314.
Alexander Lorde of the Iles moueth a rebellion agaynſte K. Iames the firſt. 378.74
Alexander Lorde of the Iles ſubmitteth himſelfe to the king and is pardoned. 378.91
Alexander duke of Albanie taken priſoner on the ſea by the Engliſh men. 399.45
Alexander duke of Albanie committed to priſon by the king his brother. 402.83
Alexander duke of Albanie eſcapeth into Fraunce. 402.88
Alexander Duke of Albany commeth into England. 403.60
Alexander Duke of Albanie reſtored. 404.7
Alexander Duke of Albany poyſoned. 404.57
Alexander Duke of Albanye flyeth into England. 404.71
Alexander duke of Albany inuading Scotlande vvith an army is diſcomfited and flieth. 404.77
Alexander duke of Albanie dyeth. 404.91
Alexander Archebiſhop of ſaint Androvves ſtudent vvith Eraſmus Roterodamus. 415.39
Alexander Archebiſhop of ſaint Androvves returneth home frõ ſtudie into ſcotland. 415.40
Alexander ſecond ſonne to Iames the fourth borne. 424.13
Alexander ſecond ſonne to Iames the fourth dieth. 426.68
Albion perſvvadeth the ſcottes to conclude a league vvith the Frenchmen. 162.38
Ale ſolde by vveight. 280.2. and 385. 83.
Albion the ſepulture of the Danes 231. 15.
Alane Lord of Gallovvay. 281.99
Alaricke king of Gothes generall of the Northren conſpiratours. 94. 71.
Alectum novv called Dundee. 278. 98.
Alcluth. 51.29
Alpine conſtrayned to graunt to be crovvned king of ſcotlande 167. 97.
Alpine eſcapeth the confederates, and cõmeth to Dongal. 168.2
Alpine makes claim to the crovvn of Pictland. 169.3
Alpine crovvned King of ſcotlande. 170.5
Alpine inuadeth Pictlande vvith an army. 170.12
Alpine refuſeth to ioyne in league vvith Brudus. 171.63
Alpine and his armie put to flight by the Pictes. 172.72
Alpine taken and beheaded. 172. 80.
Alpines head ſtolne and ſolemnly buried. 173.46
Alured king of VVeſtſaxons ſubdueth the Danes in ſundrie conflictes. 191.56
Alured vanquiſheth Gormond at Abingdon. 200.11
Ambaſſadors ſent vnto France to come and receyue the kingdom of

of ſcotland. 145.57
Amberkeleth created king of ſcotland. 152.30
Amberkeleth turneth from vertue to all licencionſneſſe. 152.45.
Ambirkeleth leadeth forth an armie againſt the Pictes. 152.63
Ambirkeleth ſlaine vvith an arrovve, no man knovving from vvhence it came. 152.94
Ambaſſadors ſent oute of Scotlande to the king of Romaines to call in a letter of Marque. 406. 116
Ambaſſador ſent from Henry the eight, king of Englande to the gouernour and Nobilitie of Scotland, to perſvvade aboute the mariage to be had betvvene Edvvarde ſonne to king Henrie the eight, and the yong Qu. of Scottes. 458.39
Ambaſſadours ſent oute of Scotland to ſatiſfie King Henrie the eight concerning the mariage. 458. 47
Amphibalus, a famous Chriſtian Brytaine. 83.2
Ambaſſadours ſent from the Romains, to the Brytains. 31.8
Ambaſſadours ſent from Aulus Planctius to Caratake. 37.41
Aurelius Ambroſius poyſoned by a Monke 123.102
Antenous Lieutenant of Brytain. 60. 57
Antenous vvounded vvith an arrovv. 60.28
Antenous vvriteth to Rome of the ouerthrovv of the Romains 61. 57
Anguſianus fleeth into the VVeſterne Ilandes. 84.81
Anguſianus proclaymed King of Scottes. 85.27
Anguſianus ſore troubled of the Picts. 85.47
Anguſianus diſcomfiteth Nactanus and his armie. 85.65
Anguſianus ſueth to Nactanus for peace. 86.34
Anguſianus ſlaine. 86.52
Angus Thane of Gallovvay rayſeth a commotion againſt Malcolme. 270.16
Angus and his armie diſcomfited in three ſeuerall bickerings. 270. 28
Angus fleeth to VVhitern, vvhere he is beſieged. 270.34
Angus yeeldeth himſelfe to the king. 270.38
Angus becommeth a Chanon. 270. 45
Androgeus eloquence in vttering his meſſage. 28.27
Androgeus is ſent vnto the Pictes in the like meſſage, and hath the like ſucceſſe. 28.43
Androgeus taken priſoner by the Romaines. 28.86
Androgeus chiefe of the Britishe Ambaſſadours, ſent vnto Ederus for ayde agaynſt Iulius Cæſar. 28.25
Anand Dauid knight, and his valiancie. 342.11
Antoninus ſonne to Seuerus fortifieth Adrians vvall vvith Baſtilions. 72.82
Analaſſus and Godfrey putte to flight. 201.35
Antoninus in hope to bee Emperour, concludeth a peace vvith the enimies. 72.89
Analaſſus flieth into VVeſtmerland. 203.18
Anne daughter of Aurelius Ambroſius maried vnto Loth King of Pictes. 122.61
Anaſtaſius Emperour. 123.20
Androenus king of Brytaine Armoricke. 110
Angleſey in the Brytish tongue hovv called. 21.16
Angres Erle & ſir George Dovvglas his brother ſent home out of England into ſcotlande. 458.12
Angus vvhy ſo called. 177.90
Annandale hovve called in olde time. 178.11
Annand tovvne beſieged, taken, and burnt by the Engliſhmen. 470.3. the Churche vndermined and ſhaken dovvne. 470.18
Antenous departeth out of Brytaine. 62.15
Angus ſubdued by the Romaines. 56. 12
Antonius Commodus Emperour of Rome. 67.34
Appointment taken betvvene the gouernour of ſcotland and the Earle of Lennox and his ſide. 460. 80
Appurtenances to religion to bee reuerenced. 181.86
Appleby George ſlaine. 478.90
Arbroth Abbey. 445.80
Archimbald Douglas erle of Angus ſent for to come into England, is ſent into ſcotland vvith an armie. 430.21. made Treaſorer of ſcotland. 437.82. diuorced from the Queene mother. 438.16. atteynted of treaſon by Parliament. 440.10. banished into Fraunce. 441.8. departed this life through griefe of mind. 441.18
Arguile in ſcotlande firſt vvhiche by ſcottes vvas poſſeſſed. 5.66
Arguile vvhy ſo called. 5.98
Arguile infeſted by the Ilandmen. 68. 35
Argadus ſent into Arguile agaynſt the Iland rebels. 68.41
Argadus ſlaine. 68.62
Arrane Earle gouernour of ſcotlande, breaketh his fayth and reuolteth from k. Henry. 459.100
Aruiragus and the Romains. 33.17
Arrane Erle nevvly cōfirmed gouernour. 460.5
Arguile for Argathile. 100.8
Archers called Kernes. 54.00
Argentine Giles knight ſlain. 319.6
Armes of the family of the Hayes. 217. 7
Armes of Alexander Carron encreaſed. 262.56
Armes of the Coneſtable of Dundee. 262.64
Armes of the Erle of March 253.61
Armes of ſcotland vvith their interpretation. 163.91
Armes of the Citie of Florence. 164. 15
Armes of the Lions in Scotlande. 358. 48
Armie of ſcottes and Frenchmen inuade England. 360.68
Armie of ſcottes ſent into France againſt the Engliſhmen 374.68
Armed angels ſeene at Glaſtenburie. 310.42
Armour borne, but in the Kinges defence too bee confiſcate. 246. 49
Armed men appeare fighting vppon the grounde before ſunne riſing. 441.41
Armorike Britaines order in fight 121. 80
An army of ſcottes lyeth on the borders of England, and returneth home vvithout doing anye thing. 464.73
Arraine Earle enclyned too the Goſpell. 457. 56. hee is proclaymed gouernour and Protectour of the Realme of Scotland. 457.63
Arthures hoiſſe. 309.14
Arthure Prince of ſcotlande, borne. 415.30
Articles of the league betvveene Fraunce and Scotlande. 163. 60
Aruiragus by force caryed out of the field by his ovvne menne. 35. 66
Aruiragus ſendeth Meſſengers of ſubmiſsion to Veſpaſian. 36. 8
Aruiragus reſtored agayne to the kingdome. 36.14
Arnolde archbishop of ſaint Androvves. 270.115
Arthure the greate, baſtard ſonne to Vter. 124.7
Arthure appoynted heyre of the crovvne of Brytaine. 124.19
Arthure proclaimed king of Brytaine. 126.110
Arthure goeth forth agaynſt the ſaxons. 126.113
Arthure vanquisheth the ſaxons at tvvo ſeuerall tymes. 127. 4
Arthure Prince of ſcotland dyeth. 415. 57
Armorike Brytaynes come ouer to ayde Arthure. 127.1
Aruiragus taketh part agaynſt the Romaines. 34.42
Argadus choſen gouernor of ſcotlande. 64.33
Argadus of an vpryght Iuſticier, vvaxeth contentious and euill. 64. 43
Argadus is rebuked. 64.57
Argadus amendeth his former miſgouernance. 65.5
Argadus created Lorde Preſident of the Counſaile. 65.52
Argadus ſent foorth agaynſt rebel, in the Iles. 65.67
Aran and Bute taken by the Norvvegiaes. 189.40
Arthurnus King Aydanes ſonne ſlaine. 130.37
Aruiragus King of Brytayne. 32. 60
Aruiragus forſaketh hys vvife Voada. 32.62
Aruiragus maryeth Geniſſa a Romaine Ladie. 32.64
Aruiragus ouerthrovveth his enimies. 32.82
Arthure rayſeth his ſiege of York and returneth into VVales. 127. 70
Arthure diſcomfiteth the ſaxons, tvviſe in battail, and then vvinneth Yorke. 127.87
Arthure taketh the ſaxons too mercie vpon condition. 129.32
Arthure repayreth Churches in Yorke and elſevvhere defaced by the ſaxons 129.32
Arthure purpoſeth to deſtroy the vvhole race of ſaxons in Albion. 129.45
Arthures badge. 129.71
Arthures munificence tovvardes the ſcottes and Pictes vvhiche ayded him agaynſt the ſaxons. 130. 72
Arthure vvhat tyme hee lyued. 132. 38
Arthure and his armie ſlaine. 134. 61
Athirco elected king of Scottes. 73. 50
Athirco chaungeth his conditions from good to bad. 37.74
Athirco vilaynouſly abuſeth tvvo yong Gentlevvomen. 74.7
Athirco flieth. 34.37
Athirco flieth himſelfe. 74.44
Athalſus ſucceſſour to Alaricke. 94. 100
Athole aſsigned to the Pictes to dvvell in. 97.65
Athalus vſurpeth the Romaine Empire in Affrike. 98.94
Athole. 100.5
Athelſtane baſe ſonne to Edvvarde, created king of Englande. 201.80
Athelſtane giueth the Scottes and Picts a great ouerthrovv. 201.95
Athelſtane recouereth Northumberland, Cumberland & VVeſtmerlande. 201.108
Athelſtane of England, and Malcolme of Scotland renue theyr auncient league. 203.44
Aulus Planctius ſente into Brytaine. 21.88
Aulus Planctius ſendeth a Meſſenger to Rome to the Emperour, of the daunger of Brytaine. 34.19
Aulus Planctius ſendeth Ambaſſadours to Caratake. 34.[illegible]
Aulus Planctius leadeth an armye agaynſt Caratake. 36.76
Aulus Planctius ſetteth vppon the Scottiſh campe. 37.14
Aulus Planctius prepareth to meet the Scottes. 38.[illegible]
Aulus Planctius ſicke of the flux 38. 19
Aulus Planctius dyeth. 38.44
Aulus Didius commeth into Britaine. 42.[illegible]
Aulus Didius maketh peace vvith the Scottes and Pictes. 43.17
Aulus Didius dyeth. 43.[illegible]
Aulus Atticus a Romaine ſlaine. 55. 45
Authoritie of the Coneſtable in Scotland. 281.100
Authorities of Bishops and Ordinaries. 191.20
Audſey Thomas. 462.61
Auguſtine and Mellitus ſent into Albion. 142.11
Auguſtus Cæſar Emperour of Rome. 29.62
Aurelius Ambroſius, and Vter, ſonnes to Conſtantinus King of Brytaine. 117.44
Aurelius Ambroſius and Vter arriue in Brytayne, and beſiege Vortigerne. 117.75
Aurelius Ambroſius ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Scottes and Pictes, to require theyr ayde agaynſt the ſaxons. 120.100
Aurelius Ambroſius proclaymed king of Brytaine. 121.46
Aurelius Ambroſius receyueth the Citie of London and Tovver into his handes. 122.10
Aurelius Ambroſius falleth ſicke of a conſumption. 123.68
Aurelius Probus Emperour. 77. 51

B.

BAle Iohn cited. 147.31
Bale Iohn cited. 315.103
Balentine cited. 339.36
Balentine cited. 242.9
Bache an Italian Capitaine, a manne of great experience and ſkill. 476.9
Bagimunts taxe. 426.55
Balbrid a village in Scotlande. 200. 80
Ballioll Iohn ſvveareth to do homage to king Edvvard of Englande, for the Realme of Scotland. 209.80
Ballioll Edvvarde ſonne to king Iohn, maryeth the eldeſt daughter of Charles Earle of Valoys. 300.44
Ballioll Edvvard requireth ayde of king Edvvarde, to recouer the crovvne of Scotland. 331.20
Balliol Edvvard landeth in Scotlande vvith an armie. 333.62
Ballioll Edvvard crovvned king of Scotland. 334.64

The Table of Scotlande.

Balioll Edvvard vvithdravveth him into England. 347.71
Balioll Edvvarde reſigneth hys righte in the Crovvne of Scotland to King Edvvard. 353.41
Balloch Donald inuadeth Lochquhaber vvith an armye of Rebels. 378.103
Balloch Donald diſcomfiteth and ſlayeth the Kings povver, and returneth home vvith greate booties. 378.108
Balloch Donalde taken, and hys head ſente for a preſente to the King. 379.9
Bane Makedonald, looke Makedonald.
Banquho ſlayne. 246.97
Bane Donalde Crovvned Kyng of of Scottes. 259.67
Bane Donalde fleeth againe into the Iles. 259.115
Bane Donald reſtored to his kingdome. 260.22
Bane Donald ſlayeth Edgars meſſengers. 260
Bane Donald put to flight by Edgar, and chaſed into the Iles. 260. 79
Bane Donald dieth in priſon. 260. line. 90
Banketting cheere baniſhed out of Scotland. 263.72
Bannockeſbourne. 316.32
Bannockes vvhy ſo called. 310.33
Banquho Thane of Lochquhaber. 239.40
Barōs to make Gibbets & dravvvvels in their liberties. 253.17
Barons of England ſue for ayde to the Frenchmē and Scots againſt King Iohn. 282.7
Baron Grayſtocke and his prouiſion taken by the Scots. 350.69
Barons rebell againſt King Iames the fourth. 408.59
Barons diſcōfited & ſlaine. 408.63
Barre, a tovvne in Scotlād. 234.21
Barre, a ſkilful vvarriour. 176.12
Barton Andrevve ſente to ſea againſt Hollanders. 413.82
Barton Andrevv and Iohn by letters of Marque, bring Portingales goodes into Scotlande. 415. 23
Barton Andrevv ſlayne vpon the Sea. 416.1
Barton Roberte taketh certayne Engliſh priſes. 416
Barvvike reſtored to the Scottes. 283. 9
Barvvike both Caſtel and tovvne vvonne by the Engliſhmē. 282.97
Barvvike beſieged by the Engliſhmen. 300.03
Barvvike taken by the Engliſhmen. 301.8
Barvvike vvonne by the Scottes from the Engliſhmen. 321.28
Barvvike beſieged by King Edvvard the third of England. 336. line. 65
Barvvike yeelded to Kyng Edvvarde. 338.68
Barvvike recouered by the Scots. [illegible]. 86
Barvvike taken by the Engliſhmē and repayred agayne. 353.39
Barvvike vvonne by the Scottes, and recouered by the Engliſhmen. 357.83
Barvvike deliuered by K. Henry the ſixth to the Scottes. 398.81
Barvvike Tovvne and Caſtel taken by the Engliſhmē. 404.13
Baſſianus Lieutenant of Britaine, leadeth his army againſt Carauſius. 81.70
Baſſianus the Lieutenant ſlayne. 81. 106
Baſton Roberte the Carmelite taken by the Scottes. 315.27
Baſtō Robert a Carmelite. 315.104
Baſſinates, a kinde of fiſh ſeene in greate number, and vvhat they ſignifie. 191.10
Battayle of. 30. Clannes agaynſte. 30. 79
Battayle of Harlovv. 373.26
Battaile of Bauge. 374.11
Battayle betvveene Victorinus, and Ferguſius ſeuered by a ſtrōg tempeſt. 97.40
Battaile betvveene Crovves and Pies on the one ſide, and Rauens on the other. 135.51
Battaile of Bannockeſbourne. 319. line. 44
Battaile of Murthlake. 233.37
Battayle of Halidovvne hil. 338.21
Battaile of Blackbourne. 346.50
Battaile of Duplin. 353.94
Battaile of Poicters fought. 353.70
Battaile of Piperden. 383.56
Battaile of Saint Albons. 396.17
Bataile of Floddon. 421.64
Battaile of Glaſquho vvonne by the gouernour of Scotlād. 461.28
Beton Iames made Archbiſhoppe of Glaſgevv. 414.106
Beaton Iames, Archbiſhoppe of Glaſgo, tranſlated to Saint Andrevves. 431.99
Beton Dauid, Abbotte Arbroith, ſente Ambaſſadour into France. 442. 13
Beaton Iames Archbiſhoppe of S. Andrevvs, departeth this life. 445. 75
Beaton Dauid Cardinal and Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrevves, his forging of a vvill. 457.39. he eſtabliſheth himſelfe chiefe regente of Scotlande. 457. 45. hys crafty iugling eſpied by the Proteſtāts. 457.51. he is committed to vvarde in the Caſtell of Dalketh. 458.31
Beaton Dauid the Cardinall, corrupteth his keepers, and getteth abrode at libertie. 459.48
Beatrice Counteſſe Dovvglas, married to hir huſbands brother. 393. 32
Beatrice Countes Dovvglas ſubmitteth hirſelfe to the Kyng. 394. 59
Beatrice daughter to King Edvvard, married to Sithrike king of Northumberland. 201.28
Beatrice poyſoneth hir huſbande. 201. 29
Beatrice put to death. 201.33
Beaſts dye roaring after a ſtrange ſort. 186.73
Beaſts doing harme in paſture or corne to be impounded. 181.79
Beauclerke Henry created Kyng of England. 261.16
Beauclearke Henrye marrieth Maude ſiſter to K. Edgar. 261.24
Beauclerke Henries iſſue by Maude. 261.34
Beauford Iohn, Erle of Somerſet. 248. 30
Beda cited. 154.98
Beda cited. 17.69
Belles melted in the Steeples by fire. 207.64
Benefices beſtovved after Floddō field in Scotland. 426.109
Berckley Thomas Knight ſent into Scotlande vvith a greate povver. 345.45
Berklay Dauid knight ſlain. 352.26
Bertha drovvned by inundation of vvaters. 280.87
Beuerley ſaued from the ſpoyle of the Scottes for a ſumme of money. 324.69
Bible in Engliſhe publiſhed vniuerſally through the Realme of Scotland. 458.65
Biſhop Thomas. 461.5
Biſhop Thomas ſent by the Earle of Lennox to the King of Englande, to aduertiſe the King of his proceedings. 463.66
Biſhop Thomas of Vtheltree forfalted in Scotlād by acte of Parliamente, and all his landes and goodes giuen and annexed to the Crovvne. 464.100
Biſhops ſeat of Candida Caſa firſt inſtituted. 94.113
Biſhops trauell betvvixt the Britaines and Picts to bring them to communication of peace. 133.65
Biſhops ſea planted at Dunkelde. 157. 49
Biſhops ſea at Abirnethy tranſlated to Saint Andrevves. 182.18
Beringonium, looke Caſtell of Beringonium.
Biſhops vvithout any certain Dioceſes. 182.28
Biſhoppes and ordinaries to haue authoritie to looke to all mennes faith, as vvell of them that are publique as priuate. 1[illegible]2.20
Biſhops ſea of Abirden vvher firſt erected. 232.27
Biſhops ſeas reſtored, and nevvly erected by Malcolme. 257.20
Biſhopprickes erected by Dauid the firſt. 263.91
Biſhops of Scotland ſommoned to a Conuocation at Northampton. 275.56
Biſhoppes Sea at Arguile erected. 280. 81
Biſhop a Scottiſhman, richly revvarded by King Henrye the eyght. 474.16
Biſſart Iohn, and VValter Biſſart baniſhed the Realme. 286.37
Biron Chapelle Monſier, a french Captaine. 477.23
Bredus choſen K. of Pictes. 170.24
Blacke Prince taketh the King of France, and his ſonne priſoners. 353. 73
Blacke Agnes of Dunbar. 345.22
Blacke den, or Diuels den. 190.58
Blacke houre. 381.4
Blacke Friers ſent into Scotlande. 285. 50
Blacke Parliament. 322.67
Bladus King of Orkney ſleyeth himſelfe. 26.46
Blaſpheny and ſvvearing notably puniſhed. 199.80
Blaſphemers to haue their tongs cut out. 180.113
Bloudy cuſtome of Scottes. 17.23
Bloudy bickering for a Greyhoūd. 80. 26
Boares tuſkes of exceeding bignes. 262.98
Boarrinke landes vvhy ſo called. 262. 86
Boclough Lord comming to aſſiſt King Iames the fifth vvith a povver. 438. is diſcomfited and put to flight. 438.73
Bogdale vvherof ſo named. 99.74
Boyd Thomas Earle of Arrane in the Kings diſpleaſure. 400.26
Boyd Thomas Earle of Arrane, diuorced from his vvife. 400.37
Boyd Thomas Earle of Arrane, being cited, refuſeth to appeare. 400. 97
Boyd Thomas Earle of Arrane fleeth into Englande, and from thence into Denmarke. 400.104
Boyd Thomas Earle of Arrane murthered. 401.11
Bonifacius Quirinus a godly preacher, commeth into Scot. 144.10
Bonifacius Quirinus buildeth many Churches in Scotlād. 144.27
Bonifacius Quirinus dyeth in Roſſe. 144.75
Booke called Regia Maieſtas. 2[illegible]8
Bookes of Chronicles, and other Scottiſh matters burnt. 308.49
Borderers deſirous of vvarre. 356. line. 114
Borthvvike Iohn accuſed of hereſie, condemned, and his picture burned. 446.41
Boundes betvveene England and Scotland, in the dayes of VVilliam Cōquerour and Malcolme. 255. 58
Bounds of the Scottiſh kingdome. 182. 41
Bouchetell Guillame Knight. 480. line. 86
Bovves Robert Knight takē priſoner, and deteyned in Scotlād. 447.88. & 474. 97
Bovves Robert knight ſent home out of Scotlande into Englande. 458. 34
Bourgh vnder Stanemore ſacked by the Scottes. 321.115
Boyd Thomas Knight ſlaine. 386. line. 94
Boys Alexanders vvife, and hyr aduentures. 308.10
Braccahara a Citie in Portingale builded. 2.27
Brayes, a point of land in Angus. 214. 61
Brechin vvith the Churche there deſtroyed by the Danes. 234.5
Bredus inuadeth the Scots vvith a povver of Iriſhmen. 27.54
Bredus Shippes burned. 27.60
Bredus and his povver vanquiſhed. 28.3
Bredus brother to Gilchriſt. 276. line. 60
Brek Simon a valiant Scot ſente for into Ireland. 5.31
Brek crovvned King of Scottes in the marble ſeate. 5.41
Brek firſt King of Scots in Irelād. 5. 45
Brek brought the marble ſeate into Ireland. 5.38
Brek dyeth. 5.58
Bren and Cornelius heads of a faction in Ireland. 196.13
Bren and his army ſlaine and chaſed. 196.67
Brenna daughter to the Kyng of Mertia. 168.54
Brenna married vnto tvvo brothers. 168.55
Brennius Lieutenaunte, or the Thane of the Ile of Man ſlain. 140. 88
Brezey Pierce ſent into Englande vvith an army, to aide K. Henry the ſixt againſte Edvvarde the fourth. 398.107
Brezey Pierce beſieged by Engliſhmenne, and reſcued by the Scottes. 399.16
Bridge ouer Dee nigh Aberdene builded. 429.31
Bright Starre like a Comete appeareth in the Skie. 413.86
Britaines driuen from their ſeates by the Pictes. 6.23
Britaines miſlike the Scottes and Pictes alliance. 6.62
Britains practiſe to ſet diſcord betvvene the Picts and Scots. 6.72
Britaines ſende Ambaſſadours to the Picts. 6.93
Britaines and Picts come againſte the Scottes. 7.83
Britains purpoſed to deſtroy both Picts and Scottes. 8.9
Britaines treaſon reuealed vnto Ferguſius. 8.13
Britaines reputed cōmon enimies both to Scottes and Pictes. 9.3
Britains rob both Scots and Picts to ſet them at diſcord. 9.50
Britiſh armye put to flight by the Scottes and Picts. 9
Britaines require peace of the Scottes and Pictes. 10.9

Britaines inuade the Pictes. 15.74
Britaines inuade the Scottes. 16. line. 18
Britaines diſcomfited by the Scots and Pictes. 17.51
Britaines proude for repulſing the Romanes. 28.63
Britaines refuſe ayde againſte the Romaynes at their ſeconde cõming. 28.72
Britaines vanquished by the Romaines. 28.85
Birth of our Sauioure Chriſte. 31. line. 32
Britaines vv eeried through trauel and hunger. 33.90
Britaines leule an army againſt the Romaines. 39.10
Britaines pardoned for their Rebellion. 36.16
British lavves abrogated in Britaine, and the Romaine eſtabliſhed. 36.23
Britaines eftſoones rebell. 30.1
Britaynes by Oſtorius, the moſt part ſlayne and taken. 30.33
Brigantes vvhere they inhabited. 39. 43
Birth of a monſtrous childe. 41.5
Britaines moue a nevve Rebelliõ. 43. 80
Barvvike and Carelile burnt. 44. line. 16
British commons riſe againſte the Romanes. 67.98
Britaine receyueth the Chriſtian faith. 70.18
Britaines vvith the Scottes and Pictes ſpoile their ovvne countrey. 71.66
Buckle of King Iames the fourthes helmet, gravven vvith Mice. 421. 24
Britaines betray the Romanes. 81. line. 97
Britaines by the Scottes ſharpely repulſed out of V Veſtmerland. 64. 4
Britishe Kings conſtreyned to gouerne at the Romaines appointment and order. 93.30
Britaines ioyne vvith Maximianus againſt the Scottes. 101.25
Britaines require aide of Valentinianus the Emperoure. 103.33
Britaines flee out of Pictand, and come ouer the Riuer of Tine. 104. 53
Britaines ſend to Etius in Fraunce for aide agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes. 104.86
Britaines though forſaken of the Romanes, determine to reſiſt the Scottes and Pictes. 104.107
Britaines ſue to the Scottes and Pictes for peace. 105.89
Britaines ſend to Etius into Fräce for aide. 105.92
Britaines put to flight, and ſlayne by the Scottes and Picts. 107.32
Britaines made tributaries to the Scottes and Pictes. 108.4
Britaines ſende into Britaine Armorike for aide. 110.41
Britaines great earneſtneſſe to recouer their libertie. 110.76
Britaines put to flighte and ſlaine. 111. 27
Britaines flee from the Scots. 114. line. 100
Britaines ſente to defend the borders, are diſtreſſed. 115.51
Britaines put to flight, and chaſed by the Pictes. 117.4
Britaines require aide of Scottes and Pictes againſte the Saxons. 117. 89
Britaines conſtreyned to flee into V Vales. 119.71
Britaines refuſe to receyue Loth or any of his ſonnes to reigne ouer them. 126.100
Britaines through reſt and eaſe, become vnapte to ſuſteyne the paynes of vvarres. 128.23
Britaines make ſuddaine inuaſion into the Saxons camp, and vtterly diſcomfite and ſlay them. 130. line. 30
Britaines repẽt thẽ of their league made vvith the Pictes. 132.56
Britaines, Scottes, and Picts, pitch their tentes to fight neere the bankes of Humber. 133.59
Britaines vvill not conſente to haue peace vvith the Scottes and Pictes. 134.11
Britains put to flight by the Scots and Pictes. 134.43
Britaines and Scottes put the Saxons to flight. 140.47
Britaines and Scots diſtreſſed by the Pictes and Saxons. 140.84
Britaines and Scots depart ſecretly into Northumberlande, and vvaſt it. 141.37
Britaines buy peace of the Danes for money. 194.38
Britaines require to ioine in armes vvith the Scottes agaynſte the Danes. 194
Aymouth Caſtell raſed. 480.94
Britaines enter into the Scottishe confines, and carrie avvay booties. 194.96
Britaines ouerthrovven by the Scottes. 194.115
Britaines ſue to Scottes for peace. 195. 15
Brian Frauncis an Englishe Captayne. 467.63
Bribers to be hanged. 180.103
Brigantia a Citie in Spayne, novv called Compoſtella builded. 2.39
Broken men are theeues and outlavves vpon the borders. 438.65
Broughtie Crag Caſtell vvonne by the Englishmen. 469.71
Broughtie Crag Caſtell beſieged by the Lorde Gouernour. 470. 92. forſaken, and the ſiege broken vp. 472.27
Broughty Crag holden by the Englishmen. 480.29. vvonne by the Frenchmen. 480.40
Broningfielde, or Brunenburgh battayle. 201.84
Brookes Thomas. 462.62
Bruce Roberte marrieth Martha daughter to the Earle of Carrike. 295.17
Bruce Roberte aftervvard Kyng of Scotland borne. 295.38
Bruce Roberte occaſion of the ouerthrovve of the Scottes at Dunbar. 301.48
Bruce Roberte ſubmitteth hymſelfe to King Edvvard. 301.35
Bruce and Cumeyn conſpire againſt King Edvvard. 309.45
Bruce Roberte crovvned King of Scotland. 311.28
Bruce Edvvard, brother to Kyng Robert. 313.114
Bruce Edvvard proclaymed King of Irelande. 320.45
Bruce Mariorie, daughter to king Robert Bruce. 247.80
Brudeus K. of Pictes. 137.13
Brudeus denieth to deliuer certain Scottish outlavves vnto Aydan. 139. 23
Brudeus proclaymeth vvarre againſt the Scottes. 140.9
Brudeus vntroth oftẽ notified. 146
Brudeus entreth Northumberland vvith an army. 151.79
Brudus ſlaine by his ovvne ſubiects. 171.30
Brudus created King of Picts. 171. line. 50
Brudus hangeth vp certaine Scottish robbers vpõ gibbets. 171.55
Brudus ſendeth to the Scottes to renevv their league. 171.59
Brudus ſendeth to Edvvin Kyng of Northumberland for ayd againſt the Scottes. 171.70
Brudus entreth into Angus vvith an army. 172.17
Brudos dyeth. 173.30
Buerne an Englishman fledde to the Danes. 189.66
Bulles head, a token of execution. 387. 50
Bulmer Rauſe taken priſoner. 468 line. 36
Buriall of noble menne to bee ſolemnely fulfilled. 181.105
Buriall of companions and friends in the vvarres commaunded. 181. line. 46
Burnt Candlemaſſe. 353.62
Bute and Aran taken by the Norvvegians. 280.40
Buthquhane vvhereof ſo named. 99. 71

C.

Cadallanus ſent againſt Murketus. 29.49
Cadallanus proclaymed Gouernour of the Realme. 30.41
Cadall of Gallovvay created Gouernour of the Realme. 25.30
Cadall made generall of an armye into Ireland. 25
Cadals armye moſt part drovvned by a tempeſt. 26.4
Cadall revvarded for his faythfull ſeruice. 26.27
Cadall deceaſſed. 26.77
Cadals Image erected in the market place at Epiack, and honored vvith diuine ceremonies. 27. line. 11
Cadhard, Thane of Meſſen Caſtell. 211.80
Cadvvall King of Britaynes vanquished, and chaſed into Scotland. 143.57
Cadvvall goeth into Fraunce, and obteineth ayde againſt the Saxons. 143
Cadvvall reſtored agayne to hys Kingdome. 143.63
Cadvvall of Britaine, and Penda of Mertia, ioyne their povvers againſte Edvvine of Northumberland. 146.50
Cadore Duke of Cornevvall, father to Conſtantinus. 132.75
Cadane K. of Denmarke, pretendeth title to the Picts lãds. 167. line. 101
Cæſius Naſica entreth vvith an army into Gallovvay. 42.52
Cayme, a noble man of Britayne ſlayne. 134.67
Calfe vvith an head like a Colte. 385. 77
Calphurnius ſent Lieutenant into Britaine. 66.93
Calphurnius entreth into the bordures of the Scottes and Pictes. 66. 105
Caldſtreame vpõ Tvveed. 434.23
Calphurnius ſente for home to Rome. 67.33
Caldorus Captaine of the Britishe Rebels. 67.100
Caldorus eſcapeth. 67.108
Calene a noble man, and hys vviſe counſell. 185.64
Calaice beſieged by the Englishmen. 349.41
Camus Captayne generall of the Danish fleete. 233.49
Camus ſlayn by the Scots. 234.80
Camelõ chiefe ſeate of the Pictish Kings vvonne. 29.17
Camelon vvonne by force. 49.59
Camelon taken by force and ſacked. 102.31
Cameſtone vvhy ſo called. 234.86
Camelõ takẽ by the Romans. 93.91
Candles ſeene burning vppon the toppes of hilles in the nightes. 441. 39
Canute brother to Sueno, landeth in Buchquhane vvith an armye of Danes. 236.14
Camelon kept by the Picts againſt the Scottes. 178.22
Camelõ taken by the Scots. 179.10
Camelon burnte, and raſed to the ground. 179.50
Canute ouerthrovven by Malcolme King of Scotland. 236.52
Canute returneth into Den. 237.15
Canute and Edmonde Ironſide fight a Combate. 241.31
Canute receyueth Edmonde vnto halfe the Kingdome of England. 241. 41
Canute King of Denmarke recouereth the kingdome of England to the Danes. 241.26
Cãdida Caſa firſt inſtituted. 94.113
Carauſius or Carantius brother to Findock, and priuie to his murthering. 77.54
Canulph Biſhop of Durhã. 261.42
Cannogate. 264.2
Camus landeth his armye at Redbrayes in Scotland. 233.66
Cantyre and Kile vvaſted. 39.63
Captaines of diſcorde apprehended and executed. 149.76
Captaynes prohibited to buy lãds vvher their charge lyeth. 246.54
Captaynes prohibited to marrie their children to anye vvhere their charge lyeth. 246.59
Car Thomas a vvorthy Englishe Captayne. 477.98
Camelon beſieged by Veſpaſian. 36. 41
Camelon ſurrendred. 36.45
Camelõ peopled vvith Romanes. 36. 60
Caratake ſonne to Cadallane proclaimed King. 31.56
Cariſtonium Metropolitane of Scotland. 31.66
Caratake borne in Carrick. 31.72
Caratakes counſell agaynſte the Romanes. 31.95
Caratake choſen Captayne of the Britaines againſt the Romanes. 33. 57
Caratake promiſeth to ayde the Britaines againſt the Romanes. 33. 57
Carell in Fiſe. 444.38
Caratake returneth to Cariſtonium. 34.24
Caratakes aunſvvere to the Romaine Ambaſſadoures. 34.24
Caratake eſcapeth by flighte into his Countrey. 35.69
Caratake aſſembleth an armye in Gallovvay. 36.71
Caratake and his armye putte to flighte. 37.22
Caratake refuſeth the Romaines friendship. 37.46
Caratake aſſembleth a nevv army. 38. 8
Caratake ſeeketh reuenge for Kile and Cantire. 39.66
Caratake and his armye ouerthrovven by the Romaines. 40
Caratakes vviſe, children, and breethren taken. 40.31
Caratake betrayed by his ſtepmother. 40.35
Cartamandua ſtepmother to Caratake. 40.34
Caratake is ſente to Rome. 40. line. 40
Caratake is shevved to the people in triumph. 40.48
Caratake reſtored to libertie, and ſent home. 40.56
Caratake dyeth. 40.66
Carantius or Carcaſſius troubleth the ſtate of Britaine. 80.83

Carausius sente by Dioclesian against Rouers, taketh parte of the spoyle vvith them. 80.04
Carausius arriueth in VVestmerlande, and causeth the people to take his parte against the Romaynes. 80.110
Carausius requireth aid of Crathlint against the Romaynes. 81.6
Carausius is promised ayde of the Pictes against the Romaynes. 81. line. 33
Carausius vsurpeth the kingdome of Britayne. 82.3
Carausius deuideth parte of the land gotten, to the Scottes and Pictes. 82.30
Carausius slayne. 82.15
Cardinall of Sainte Andrevves murthered. 466. 2. his ritches. 465. 3
Cardinall Gualo arriueth in England vvith the Popes authoritie. 282.54
Carleill vvonne by the Scottes. 282. 87
Cardinall Gualo selleth spirituall cures and quietnesse for money. 282.33
Car Dauid, guide of a bande of Scottes. 434.36
Caron Alexander, surnamed Skringeour. 262.54
Caron Alexander Knighte, made Malcolmes standerde bearer. 256. 50
Carlingford in Ireland vvonne by the Scottes by assault. 364.87
Cartimandua emprisoneth hir husbande and his breethren. 42.76
Carcilla Emperour of Rome. 70. line. 34
Carus Emperour. 77.52
Cartimandua buried quicke. 42.80
Carleill fortified vvyth nevve vvalles, and ditches. 266.44
Carleile restored to the Englishemen. 283.7
Carleill and Barvvike burnt. 44. line. 16
Carmelite Friers come into Scotland. 288.53
Carrike. 463.47
Castell of Rockesbourgh beaten flatte to the grounde. 327.71
Castell of VVarke throvvne dovvne. 327.76
Castell of Bambourgh. 309.6
Castell of Dunstanbourgh. 390.6
Castell of Anvvike left voide. 390. line. 25
Castell of Hermitage. 346.63
Castell of Edenburgh vvonne by policie. 347.74
Castell of Rockesbourgh vvonne by the Scottes. 348.33
Castell of Rosleyne. 394.3
Castell of Norham besieged by the Scottes. 410.57
Castell of Cragmiller. 415.61
Castell of Norham deliuered to the Scottes. 420.7
Castell of Fourd vvonne by the Scottes. 420.10
Castel of Etel taken by the Scots. 420. 10
Castell of Harbottell. 426.11
Castell of Hume. 428.93
Castell of Dungard vvonne. 343.22
Castell of Lochindoris. 343.29
Castell of Kincleuin. 344.46
Castell of Kilnesse. 344.49
Castell of Lucres. 344.74
Castell of Couper left voide. 345. line. 47
Castell of Iedvvorth. 372.00
Castell of Fast vvonne. 373.60
Castell of VVarke lost, and recouered. 374.34
Castell of Temptallon. 378
Castell of Metfen. 311.78
Castell of Euonium by vvhome builded. 24.9
Castell of Norham. 325.70
Castell of Norham vvonne by the Scottes. 329.9
Castell of Fineluin. 388.40
Castell of Dunbar seised into the Kings handes. 361.78
Castles of Elgin and Fores lefte voyde. 341.10
Castell of Tvvhancastre giuen to the Saxons. 117.70
Castell of Dundonald. 306.111
Castell of Cocklaues. 309.50
Castell of Lochmaben rendred to the Scottes. 337.26
Castles of Rothsay and Dunnone deliuered to the Balliol. 330. line. 71
Castell of Lochleuin. [illegible]
Castles rased in agreement betvveene the Kings of Englande and Scotlande. 354.60
Castell of Alcluth. 185.29
Castell of Marne, named aftervvarde Burg, besieged by the Danes. 230.19
Castell of Marne rendred to the Danes vppon composition. 231. line. 74
Castell of Dunbar in Angus, a place of great strength. 135
Castell of Maidens in Edenburgh. 10. 110
Castle of Edenburgh restored to the Scottes. 276.90
Castle of Ayre besieged and taken by the Norvvaygians. 280.47
Castle of Dunsinnane builded. 228. line. 113
Castels in Scotland vvon from the Englishmen. 303.30
Castell of Roxburgh taken by Iames Dovvglas. 314.53
Castell of Edenburgh vvonne by Thomas Randall. 314.50
Castell of Dunoter vvonne by the Scottes. 303.39
Castell of Gaillard. 302.50
Castell of Bute taken. 303.60
Castell of Elgin. 210.55
Castell of Sterling yeelded to the Englishmen vppon conditions. 307. 88
Castell of Vrquhard taken by force. 308.5
Castell of Maydens forsaken by the Pictes. 179.64
Castell of Baledgar finished. 261. line. 92
Castell begun agayne to be buylded by King Henry against Barvvike. 286.63
Castell of Bergonium in Loughquhaber builded. 10.70
Castell of Sainte Andrevves holden by the Cardinall. 465.92
Castell of Saint Andrevves besieged in vayne. 466.43
Castell of Saint Andrevves besieged by Frenchmen and vvonne by them by surrender. 466.97. 467. 10
Castles vvonne by King Robert. 314. 49
Castell of Dovvnske besieged by Englishmen. 151.13
Castels in Scotlande, beeing in the keeping of the Englishmen, deliuered to the Scottes. 278.9
Castell of Anvvike vvon by the Englishmen. 283
Castell of Fores taken, and all the inhabitantes slayne. 209.67
Castell of Fores. 207.9
Castell of Sterling repaired. 50. line. 61
Castell of Dunbriton besieged. 51. line. 25
Castell of Calidon, called novve Dunkeld. 51.84
Castell of Dunbar rendred to the Englishmen. 301.39
Castell of Fethircarne sacked. 227. line. 49
Castell of [illegible]. 218.90
Castell of Norham besieged, but not vvonne by the Scottes. 361. line. 89
Castell of Carrike vvonne by K. Robert. 312.52
Castell of Inuernesse vvonne. [illegible]
Castell of Kildrummy. [illegible]
Castell of Brechin. 314.3
Castell of Turnberie. 209.27
Castell of VVarke. 286.78
Castell of Forfare. 55.74
Castell of Couper rendred to VVilliam VVallace. 303.73
Castell of Bertha. 257.57
Castell of Delbogin. 217.54
Castell of Dounedore. 210.24
Cassybilane requireth ayde of the Scottes against Iulius Cesar. 28. line. 12
Cassybilane yeeldeth to Iulius Cesar. 28.90
Castius ordeyned Lieutenante of Britaine. 100.50
Castius sendeth to the Scottes and Pictes to vvithdravv their povver. 100.61
Castius ioyneth battayle vvyth the Scottes and Pictes. 100. line. 96
Castius the Lieutenant slaine. 100. line. 102
Cathedrall Church of Murrey brent. 364.97
Catus Procuratoure of Britayne, fleeth into Fraunce. 43.105
Cathnesse, vvhereof so named. 99. line. 62
Catus armye ouerthrovvne. 44. line. 65
Catus vvounded. 44.66
Celurke a Citie in Angus, called novv Montros. 215.1
Celius generall of the Romaines. 56. 109
Ceauline or Coelin, K. of VVest Saxons. 140.38
Centine King of VVest Saxons slayne. 141.91
Caesar, looke Iulius Caesar.
Cerialis footemen slayne by the Pictes. 43.99
Certaine persons burnte for Religion at Edenburgh. 445.66
Cecrops builder of Athens. 1.9
Charamat King of Pictes. 44.10
Charles Iames novve Kyng of Scotland. 248.87
Charles Earle of Valloys eldest daughter married to Edvvarde Balliol, sonne to Kyng Iohn. 300. 44
Charles Dolphin of Fraunce mainteyneth vvarre against the Englishmen. 374.5
Chateion in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen. 374.106
Charles King of France dieth. 375. line. 68
Cheape side in London opened, and many houses vvere svvallovved vp. 108.62
Cheese conuerted into a bloudye cake. 152.23
Cheldricke a chiefe Captayne of the Saxons slayne. 128
Chestes of Ashes founde in the ground. 38.58
Chest of stone found vvith bones in it. 288.65
Childe that hurteth his father anye vvayes, must die for it. 181.29
Child vnthankefull to his parents, shall not inherite his fathers patrimonie. 181.33
Childe of one moneth olde speaketh. 186.68
Child seeming vncurable, miraculously cured by the K. of Scots. 280. 70
Christians deuotion in seruing the Gods. 12.7
[illegible] King of Picts requireth to haue the league vvith the Scots renued. 12.73
Chrichtoun VVilliam Knyghte, sometime Lord Chancellour of Scotland, proclaymed Rebell, and put to the horne. 387.91
Christians excessiue banketting and feasting reproued. 125.6
Christmas excessiue banketting and feasting, vvhen and by vvhom first instituted. 127.111
Chronicles and other Scottishe Bookes burnt. 298.59
Cruthneus built a Citie vpon the Riuer Carone. 40.97
Church of Durham plucked dovvne and builded vppe a nevve. 257. line. 97
Children and vvomen eaten. 147. line. 57
Church of Dunfermeling builded. 272. 35
Church of Scotland exempt from the iurisdiction of Yorke. 277. line. 98
Church of Glaskevv finished. 289. line. 3
Churchmens goodes not to bee medled vvithal by the Kyng. 357. line. 77
[illegible] slayne. 141.57
Cingentorige taken prisoner by the Romaynes. 26.87
Ciuil discorde amongst the Lords of the Iles. 65.61
Cinigell King of VVest Saxons. 143. line. 54
Ciuil discorde betvveene Kyng Constantine and Malcolme prince of Cumberland. 188.64
Ciuil dissention in Scotland. 410. line. 47
Clane Reynolde slayeth the Lord Louet. 418.84
Clattering of armoure hearde in Camelon Church. [illegible]
Clattering of armoure hearde in the aire. 309.65
Clayvne Christopher executed. 385. 66
Claudius Emperoure of Rome. 31. line. 86
Claudius the Emperour commeth into Britayne. 38.12
Claudius sayleth into the Orkenies. 38.17
Claudius taketh Ganus, Kyng of Orkenies. 38.37
Clergie of Scotlande summoned by Cardinall Gualo to assemble at Anvvike. 283
Clide Firth. 463.83
Clintrees. 462.115
Clifforde Thomas Knighte, sente Ambassador into Scotlande. 442. line. 28
Clergies contribution to the kings raunsome. 354.97
Cloyde riuer. 460.53
Clovvys King of France. 147.36
Clovve, a parte of Angus. 207. line. 68
Cludesdale vvhy so called. 178.15
Cocbourne pethes. 353.43
Cochram Thomas, of a Mason made Earle of Mar. 403.83
Cochram Thomas Earle of Mar hanged. 403.103
Cockburne Lord of Hinderlande, accused of thefte, and beheaded. 440.55
Cockburne Roberte Bishoppe of Dunkeld, sent Ambassadour into England. 436.71
Cobios a vvorthy Frenche Captayne. 477.60. taketh moe Englishmen prisoners than he had persons to assayle them vvyth. 477. 75

Cardinall Gualo condemned by the Pope in a ſumme of money. 283.57
Cardinall Gualo accurſeth Scotland. 282.108
Cardinall Egidius commeth into Scotland. 283.67
Carolus Magnus maketh a league vvith the Scottes. 170.76
Carolus Magnus honorablye receyueth the Scottiſhmen that vvere ſente into Fraunce. 163. line. 43
Cartandis Queene of Scottes lamentation for hir huſbande. 91. 10
Cartandis ſpoyled by a ſorte of Pictiſh riders. 91.26
Cartandis findeth pitie in the ſight of Maximus the Lieutenante. 91. 66
Coile King of the Britaynes. 9.31
Coile deuiſeth ſubtiltie againſte the Scottes and Pictes. 9.39
Coile entreth Scotlande vvith an army. 9.68
Coile ſpoyleth the VVeſterne borders of Scotlande, and taketh priſoners. 9.69
Coile ſlayne by the Scottes and Pictes. 9.112
Coile buryed at Troynouant. 9. line. 115
Coyning of Golde and ſiluer in Scotland firſt begun. 73.18
Cokermouth taken vppon a ſuddayne by the Scottes. 361.4
Colledge of the Trinitie in Edenburgh by vvhom founded. 399. line. 33
Colledge of Sainte Sauioure in S. Andrevves by vvhome founded. 399.81
Colledge in the old tovvne of Aberdene, by vvhome founded. 424. 51
Colledge Courte of Iuſtice called Seſſions inſtituted. 441.63
Colane Lorde of Cantir and hys men ſlayne. 16.60
Colgerne ſlayne. 128.107
Colgerne a Saxon ſent for to come into Brytayne. 125.21
Colgerne arriueth vvith an armye in Northumberland. 125.30
Colgerne created Duke of Northumberland. 126.49
Colgerne reproueth Loth of vntruſtineſſe. 128
Colman confeſſour to Ferquhard. 148. 45
Colman and Finnan excommunicate Ferquhard. 147.94
Colman remoued to the Byſhopricke of Lindeſerne. 140.21
Colman conuerteth the Saxons to the Chriſtian faith. 140.23
Colman fleeth out of England bycauſe of the Peſtilence. 150.5
Colman erecteth a Monaſterie in one of the VVeſterne Ilandes. 150. 7
Colman gouernour of Mar, a man of great authoritie. 160.24
Colman miſliketh to conclude a league vvith the Frenchmenne. 161. 49
Commotion againſt Aruiragus and the Romanes. 33.4
Commotion rayſed in Mertia againſt Adelſtane. 165.12
Commotiō of the people in Lochquhaber. 230.47
Cometes ſeene in the aire. 180.10
Comete appeareth. 191.25
Comete ſeene betvveene the Poale and Pleiades. 401.93
Comete ſeene in the aire. 307.7
Comete ſeene in the South ſhining at noone dayes. 207.48
Comete appeareth before Kyng Malcolmes death. 272.7
Comete appeareth in the ayre, 385. 79
Comfray Radulph ſente vvith an army into Scotland. 304.98
Comfray Radulph and hys army.
Commiſſioners ſente to conclude peace betvvixt Englande and France. 480.68
Complaintes made againſt the Cumines in Scotlande. 287.107
Complayntes exhibited to Iames the firſte againſte the ſonnes of Duke Mordo. 377.72
Commons of Britayne conſpire agaynſte theyr Nobilitie. 109. line. 53
Compoſtella a Citie in Spayne builded. 2.39
Commodities of Matrimonie, and ſpecially vnto Kings declared. folio. 271
Commendable ordinances concerning Orphanes and VVidovves. 132.15
Conus, a graue noble man of VVales. 33.35
Conſtantinus Emperour of Rome. 83. 24
Conſtantius Emperour of Rome. 84. 31
Concluſion of peace betvveene King Richard of Englande, and Iames of Scotland. 405.15
Conſpiracie of the Scottiſh Lords againſte Iames the thirde. 407. line. 42
Conflicte on the Sea betvveene certayne Engliſh and Scottiſhe Shippes. 415.112
Contention betvveene tvvo Prelates for the Archbiſhopricke of Saint Andrevves. 425.6
Couiers. 474.22
Concubines to haue like puniſhmente vvith their leachers. 181. line. 17
Conditiōs of the peace betvveene Grime and Malcolme. 225.84
Conditions of life and peace giuen to the Engliſhmē by the Danes. 219. 36
Conditiōs of agreement betvvene Henrye the third of Englande, and Alexander of Scotlande. folio. 283
Controuerſie of the ſucceſſion of Scotlād committed to Edvvard the firſte King of Englande. 298. line. 105
Contention betvveene Crathlints iij. Nephevvs for the Crovvne. 84. 53
Contention in Albion, for celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter. 147. line. 39
Contention betvveene the kinſfolke of Alexander the thirde for the Crovvne of Scotlande. 298. 48
Contention betvveene the Nobilitie of Scotlande. 387.91
Contention betvveene the Gouernoure and Chancelloure of Scotlande, for keeping of the yong Kings perſon. 386. 22, and 387. 14
Conſpiracie againſt King Henrye of England, moued by the Percies and others. 370.2
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt King Robert. 322.32
Conſpiratours againſte King Roberte committed to priſon. 322. line 59
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Grime. 226.77
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Thereus the King. 18.104
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Dardan the King. 46.26
Conſpiracie againſte Conſtantius, 187. 64
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Conarus. 63.47
Conſpiracie attempted agaynſte Mogall. 82.43
Conſpiracie in Scotlande againſte King Edvvard. 305.45
Conſpiracie of Theeues to haue ſlayne Alexander. 262.6
Conſpiracie againſt Durſtus for his vvickedneſſe. 22.5
Conſpiracie practiſed againſt Coran King of Scottes. 131.9
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Romacus. 85.7
Conſpiracie of certaine Gentlemen againſt Malcolme. 253.64
Conſpiracie againſte King Malcolme. 265.75
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Dongall. 167.97
Conſpiracie of the Nobles againſt Malcolme. 238.34
Conſpiracie againſt Gillus. 25.15
Conſpiracie of the Nobilitie againſt Ethus. 161.83
Conſpiracie made againſte Iames the firſt by VValter Stevvarde Earle of Athole. 384.3
Conſtantinus Chlorus perſecuteth the Chriſtians in Britaine. 82. line. 45
Conſtantine choſen one of the Lieutenauntes of Britaine. 95. line. 71
Conſtantine ſlayne in France by Conſtantius. 95.72
Conſtantinus ſonne to Androenus King of Britaine Armorike arriueth in Britaine vvith an armye. 110. 56
Conſtantinus proclaymed Kyng of Britaine. 110.50
Conſtantinus brother to Eugenius created King of Scottes. 111. line. 44
Conſtantinus King of Scottes, far vnlike in noble conditions vnto Conſtantinus Kyng of Britaines. 111. 49
Conſtantinus King of Scottes grāteth peace to the Britaines, and deliuereth dyuers Caſtels into their hands. 111.60
Conſtantinus Kyng of Britayne ſlaine by treaſon. 111.105
Cōſtantinus King of Scottes ſlaine by one, vvhoſe daughter he had rauiſhed. 112.14
Conſtantius ſonne to Conſtantinus a Monke, aduanced to the kingdome of Britayne. 112.47
Conſtantinus proclaymed heyre apparant, and Prince of Britain. 132. 83
Conſtantinus crovvned Kyng of Britaine. 135.73
Conſtantinus driuen vvith his Britaines into VVales. 135.95
Conſtantinus becommeth a Mōke in Ireland. 135.106
Cōſtantinus murthered in Scotlād. 135. 110
Conſtantinus ſonne to Kenneth, Crovvned King of Scotlande. 186. 87
Conſtantinus taken by the Danes and murthered. 190.55
Conſtantinus King of Brytayne. 194. 92
Conſtantinus ſlayne. 104.112
Conſtantinus the thirde created Kyng of Scotlande. 200.62
Conſtantinus gyueth ouer the Crovvne, and becommeth a Chanon. 202.22
Conſtantinus dyeth. 202.40
Conſtantinus ambition to atteyne to the Crovvne of Scotlande. 221. 97
Conſtantinus Crovvned King of Scotland. 221.14
Conſtantinus goeth foorthe vvyth an armye to meete Malcolme. 222. 70
Conſtantinus and Kenneth Baſtard fight. 223
Conſtantinus breaketh vp his campe for lacke of vittayles. 223.79
Conſtantinus and Kenneth Baſtarde, ſlay one the other. 223. line. 9
Conuention of the Scottiſh Nobilitie holden at Edenburgh. line. 24
Conuentions, offices, and writs of iuſtice to paſſe in the Kyngs name. 24
Continuaunce of the league betvveene the Scottes and Pictes. 86. 42
Coningham Andrevv ſlayne. 403. line. 29
Coningham. 403.47
Congall King of Scottes. 113.105
Congall Kyng of Scottes dyeth. 123. 3
Congall ſore vvounded, and his armye putte to flighte. 117.15
Conkill King of Pictes. 31.74
Conkill king of Pictes. 44.42
Conuall elected King of Scottes. 136. 14
Conuals deuotion to the Image of the Croſſe. 136.11
Conuals affectiō tovvards churchmen. 136.46
Conuall dyeth. 137.77
Conuall created King of Scotland. 167. 65
Conuall dyeth. 167.87
Conranus generall of the Scottes againſt the Saxons. 121
Conranus admitted King of Scottes. 123. 18
Conranus greate diligence for maintenance of good orders amongſt his ſubiectes. 123.16
Conrane by treaſon murthered in his bed chamber. 131.77
Conarus made King of Scottes. folio. 63
Conarus priuie of the conſpiracie againſt his father. 63.43
Conarus giuen to exceſſiue gluttonie. 63.46
Conarus requireth a ſubſedie to maynteyne his riot. 63.51
Copland Iohn taketh Dauid King of Scottes priſoner. 331.18
Conarus committed to cloſe priſon. 64.25
Conarus Miniſters puniſhed for their miſdeedes. 64.27
Conarus dyeth in priſon. 65.3
Conanus choſen Gouernoure of Scotland. 10.7
Conanus diligently puniſheth offendours. 19.21
Conanus renoūceth the gouernement. 19.24
Conanus Camber councelleth the Britaynes to ſeeke for peace at the Scottes hands. 105.4
Conanus councell verye euill taken. 105.11
Conanus murthered by the Brytaynes. 105.38
Conanus, ſonne to Conanus Camber, perſvvadeth his Countreyfolke to breake peace vvith the Scottes and Pictes. 108. line. 95
Corman a Preacher, ſente to inſtructe the Northumberlande men in the Chriſtian faithe. 146. line. 107
Corbreid choſen King. 41.23
Corbreide ſlayeth a greate number of the Romaynes. 44.12
Corbreid dyeth. 46.56
Corbreide leaueth three ſonnes vnder age. 46.50
Corbreide Galde choſen Kyng. 46. 31

The Table of Scotlande.

Corbreide Galde punisheth all tranſgreſſours. 46.56
Corbreid Gald goeth about to abrogate vvicked lavves. 46. line. 77
Corbreid Gald aſſembleth an armye agaynſte the Romaynes. 47. 13
Corbreid Galde made generall againſt the Romaynes 52.52
Corbreid Galde ſetteth vpon one battaile of the Romanes. 52.68
Corbreid Gald commeth to Dundee to vvelcome Gildo. 53
Corbreide Gald, Garnarde, and Gildo aſſemble a Counſel. 53.74
Corbreide Gald maketh ſpeede to ioyne vvith Pictes, Danes, and Norvvegians againſte the Romaines. 54.55
Corbreide Galde exhorteth hys people to fight manfully. 54.47
Corbreid Gald purſueth the Romaines. 56.52
Corbreid Galde ſtudyeth for the quiet of his Countrey. 59.4
Corbreid Gald dyeth. 59.17
Corinnum hovve novve called. 13. 10
Corpus Chriſti feſtiuall inſtituted. 188. 50
Coronation of Marye Queene of Scottes. 459.110
Coranus gouernoure of Arguyle. 12. 66
Corne appeareth bloud. 152.24
Cornana in Scotland hovv novve called. 99.56
Corne faileth, and Cattayle dyeth. 111. 11
Corniſhmen rebell. 410.46
Cornevvall Caſtell ſpoyled. 477. line. 64
Cornecorſe Robert Byſhoppe of Roſſe dyeth. 464.49
Cornelius Tacitus cited. 21. 38. and. 41. 98. and. 43. 81. and. 45. 13. and. 46. 47. and. 55. 31
Cornelius runneth agaynſte the Scottes vvith three armies. 197. line. 39
Cornelius vvounded in the face, forſaketh the fielde. 197. 74
Cormach Byſhoppe of Dublin. 197. 109
Cornelius and Bren heads of a faction in Ireland. 196.13
Cotton Captayne of Inskith ſlain. 478. 90
Countreye aboute Edenburgh in olde time ful of vvodde. 263.108
Counterfaite fooles, minſtrels, ieſters, and iuglars to bee puniſhed. 246.27
Counterfeit viſions. 173.105
Couetouſneſſe and olde age come togither. 238.11
Counterfeite reioycing to cloake lamentation. 55.61
Countreys lying Northe from Adrians vvall deuided amongſt the Scottes and Pictes. 104.70
Countreys out of vvhiche menne came to ayde King Edvvarde againſt the Scottes. 315.45
Countreys recouered out of the Engliſhmens handes by VVilliam Dovvglas. 352.10
Covv bringeth foorthe a monſtrous Calfe. 281.49
Covv bringeth forth a Calf vvith tvvo heads. 135.44
Craftſmen brought into Scotland to inſtruct the people. 18.36
Crab, a Pirat taken. 336.24
Cravvmond. 223.17
Cravv Paule a Bohemian burnte. 381. 30
Crathlint ſonne to Kyng Findock, chiefe conſpiratoure of the death of Donald of the Iles. 76. 83
Crathlint created King of Scottes. 79. 28
Crathlint goeth to the Mountaines to hunt. 79.56
Crathlint deſtroyeth the Temples of the falſe Gods in Man. 82. line. 51
Crathlint dyeth. 82.64
Creichton VVilliam Knight, ſent Ambaſſadoure into Denmarke. 383. 2
Creichton, Peter Knight. 459.41
Creſſingham Hugh appoynted regent of Scotland. 302.62
Creſſingham Hugh goeth into Scotland vvith an army. 303.52
Creſſingham Hugh ſlayne, and hys army diſcomfired. 303.64
Croſſes commaunded to bee ſette vppon toppes of Steeples and Tovvers. 136.40
Croſſe of holy roode houſe taken. 351. 58
Crovvne of Scotland entayled to King Roberte and hys heyres. 319. 109
Crouch Roberte taken priſoner. 468. 38
Crovves, Rauẽs, and Pyes, bring foorth yong in VVinter. 355. line. 54
Crovvdan vvhat it ſignifieth. 237. line. 26
Cruthlint ſonne to the Ladye Fenella. 217.27
Cruthlint goeth to viſite hys Grandfather. 217.34
Cruthlint beaten by hys Grandfathers ſeruants. 217.44
Cruthneth gouernour of a part of Angus. 217.30
Cruthneth and hys family ſlayne. 217. 60
Cruthlint forrayeth the Countrey of Angus. 217.65
Cruthlint and his cõpeeres executed. 218.31
Cruel conflicte. 34.4
Cruel execution of the Earle of Athole. 385.20
Cruel fighte betvveene the Romanes and Scottes. 61.18
Crueltie of the Britaines in murthering the innocent children of Mordred. 135.78
Crueltie of Pictes tovvardes certaine Scottish Gentlevvomen. 91. 3
Crueltie of the Scottes agaynſte the Pictes. 177.67
Crueltie of Scottes and Pictes tovvards the Britaines. 105.74
Cruthneus Camelonus Kyng of the Pictes. 10.55
Cullane a Tovvne in Boeme. 206 line. 10
Culene proclaymed Prince of Cumberland. 206.28
Culene crovvned King of Scotland. 210.68
Culene maketh a ſolemne vovve to reuenge the murther of King Duffe. 209.29
Culene giuen ouer to follovv ſenſuall luſts. 210.78
Culenes auntiente Counſelloures forſake the Courte. 211.15
Culenes abhominable lecherie paſſeth the boundes of reaſon. 211. 28
Culene falleth into a filthye diſeaſe. 211.66
Culene murthered. 211.80
Cumberland and VVeſtmerlande deliuered to the Scottes. 195.51
Cumberland aſſigned to remayne alvvayes to the heyre apparant of Scotland. 201.61
Cumberland and VVeſtmerlande to doe homage to the Kyng of England. 203.58
Cumeyn Iohn Earle of Buchquhane ſent vvith an army againſt Gileſpy and hys confederates 284. 99
Cumein Iohn Earle of Angus departeth this life. 286.22
Culdei, vvhy ſo called in the auntient Scottish tong. 83.15
Cumeyn Patricke Earle of Atholl murthered. 286.28
Cumeyns and others putte to the horne. 287.116
Cumein VValter Earle of Menteth, chiefe of that family poyſoned. 288.33
Cumeine Alexander ſente vvith an army into Englande to ayde King Henry againſt his Barons. 294. 43
Cumeine Iohn Lord of Stragoby ſvvorne liege man to King Edvvard. 301.116
Cumein Iohn entreth into Northumberlande vvyth an armye. 302. 50
Cumeine Iohn elected gouernour of Scotland. 306.59
Cumeine Iohn diſcomfited by K. Robert at Enneriour. 313.102
Cumeine ſlayne. 310.96
Cumeine bevvrayeth the conſpiracie to King Edvvard. 309.78
Cumeine and Bruce conſpire againſt King Edvvard. 309.45
Cumeins letters to King Edvvard intercepted. 310.61
Cumein Dauid left Gouernour of Scotland for the Balliol. 340.63
Cumeine Dauid ſlaine in the field. 342. 88
Cumein Thomas beheaded. 342. line. 93
Cumyns and their armye vanquished and ſlayne. 343.10
Cuſtome of ſetting the ſicke and diſeaſed in the ſtreetes. 18.56
Cuſtome of Scottes to burne dead bodyes. 38.51
Cuſtome of Scottishe ſouldioures in prouiding themſelues of vittayle. 196.34
Cutha Cenlines ſonne ſlayne. 140. line. 45

D.

DAcres Lorde, VVarden of VVeſt Marches of England. 433.37
Dayſie concubine to King Iames the third.
Dalkeith Caſtell. 458.31
Danes and Norvvegians come to aide the Scottes and Picts. 53.38
Danes arriue in Scotland. 188.3
Danes apparrell and vveapons. 188. 55
Danes ioyne in battayle vvith the Scottes. 189.9
Danes vanquished and putte to flight. 189.15
Danes giue the onſet vppon the Scottes. 190.42
Danes put the Scottes to flighte. 190. 51
Danes baptiſed remayne in England. 200.19
Danes diſcomfited by the English men. 201.35
Danes and Scottes enter into the English confines. 201.67
Danes putte to flighte by the Englishmen. 203.15
Danes paſſe ouer into Irelande. 203. 23
Danes procure aide out of Norvvay againſte the Englishmen. 204. 74
Danes vanquished and chaſed by the Englishmẽ & Scots. 204.104
Danes vanquished and ſlayne by the Scottes. 205
Danes arriue vvith a great armye at Brayes, or Read head in Angus. 214.51
Danes put to flight by the Scottes and chaſed. 216.61
Danes conclude peace vvith the Englishmen vppon conditions. 222. 114
Danes putte the Englishmenne to flight. 228.72
Danes appointed to lie in euerye English houſholders houſe. 229. line. 62
Danish Lieutenãts arriue in Scotlande vvith a nevve ſupplye of men. 230.42
Danes ſlay the Scottishe Heraldes. 230.73
Danes put the Scottes to flighte. 231. 60
Danes breake theyr promiſed faith. 232.4
Danes ſende for their vviues and children into Denmarke, and Norvvay. 232.16
Danes and Scottes one afraide of another. 232.30
Danes arriue vvyth an armye at Redbrayes in Scotlande. 233.66
Danes vvith Camus their Captain ouerthrovven and ſlaine by the Scottes. 234.79
Danes ſlayne at Abirlemnõ. 235.8
Danes bones yet to be ſeene. 235. 28. & 235. 71
Danes ſlayne that came to ſacke Buchquhane. 235.67
Danes foyled in fighte by the Scottes. 236.56
Danes and Scottes conclude a peace. 236.67
Danes ouerthrovv the Scottes at Culros. 242.15
Danes ouercome vvyth drinke, fall aſleepe. 242.70
Danes ſlayne vvithout reſiſtance. 242. 86
Danes arriue at Kingcorne vvyth a nevv povver. 243.15
Danes vanquished and chaſed by Makbeth and Banquho. 243. line. 22
Danes buried at Sainte Colmes Inch. 243.29
Danes and Scottes conclude a peace. 243.33
Danish fleete brent. 56.29
Danſvvinton Caſtell. 473.44
Danishe nobilitie flee into Bervvike. 193.18
Danes in Bervvike deliuered to the Scottes and ſlaine. 193.25
Danes put to flighte and chaſed. 193. 69
Dardan made K. of Scottes. 45.62
Dardan falleth into all kynde of vices. 46.11
Dardan beheaded. 46.35
Darcy Arthure Knighte ſente to the borders. 441.81
Dury George made Abbotte of Dunfermeling. 445.81
Darcie Anthony a French knighte commeth into Scotland to ſeeke feates of armes. 413.89
Dauid brother to King Alexander, marrieth Maude daughter to VVoldoſius or VValtheof Earle of Huntington and Northumberland. 262.108
Dauid made Earle of Huntington and Northumberland. 262. line. 108
Dauid the firſte created Kyng of Scotland. 263.50
Dauids too muche liberalitie to the Church reproued. 264.40
Dauid a ſore S. for the Crovvne. 264. 64
Dauid inuadeth Northumberland vvith an army. 266.5
Dauid falleth ſicke. 267.106
Dauid dyeth. 268.4
Dauids life, an example of godlye liuing.

liuing. 268.36
Dauid Earle of Huntington appointed gouernour of Scotland. 274. 66
Dauid Earle of Huntington goeth foorthe vvith King Richard of Englãd tovvard the holy land. 278. 29
Dauid driuen by a tempeſt to the coaſtes of Ægypt, and there taken priſoner. 278.78
Dauids daungerous aduentures in his returning home. 278.84
Dauid buildeth a Church in honor of the virgin Mary. 278.110
Dauid Erle of Huntington dyeth. 283. 67
Dauid ſeconde ſonne to Alexander the thirde dieth. 295.41
Dauid the ſecond crovvned king of Scotland. 330.45
Dauid and hys vviſe flee into Fraunce. 334.73
Dauid entreth into Englãd vvith a mightie army. 350.24
Dauids dreame concerning Sainte Cutberts lands. 350.69
Dauid taken priſoner, and his army vanquished. 351.32
Dauid and his vviſe returne into Scotland. 348.8
Dauid inuadeth Northumberland vvith an army. 348.83
Dauid ſundrye tymes inuadeth the frontiers of Englande. 349.7. & 24. 37
Dauid refuſeth Englishmens large offers for peace. 349.53
Dauid ranſomed, departeth home into Scotland. 354.48
Dauid marrieth Margaret, daughter to Sir Iohn Logy Knyghte. 355. 14
Dauids Tovver in Edenburgh builded. 355.39
Dauid dyeth. 355.45
Dauid eldeſt ſonne to Robert the thirde created Duke of Rothſay. 366.1
Dauid Duke of Rothſay famished to death. 368.53
Davvkith Caſtell vvonne by the Englishmen. 474.31
Death of Roberte Corncorſe Byshoppe of Roſſe. 464.49
Deathe of VVilliam Stevvarde Byshoppe of Aberden. 464.53
Deathe is a due debte that muſt needes be payde. 267.29
Death ſeene dauncing. 297.83
Devve vppon Iames the fourths tente of bloudy coulour. 421.28
Deuiſe to drovvne the Caſtell of Lochleuin. 340.1
Dearth and great death in Scotland. 387.9
Dearthe through Englande and Scotlande. 347.50
Dearthe of corne in Scotlande. 279. 67
Dearth in Scotlande for vvant of tillage. 314.20
Dearth and greate death in Scotland. 345.39
Dearth in England and Scotland. 289. 20
Declaration of the iuſt cauſes of the vvarre, moued by K. Henry the eyght of England, againſt King Iames the fifth of Scotland. 447.37
Deſperate practiſe of inhabitants of the Ile to drovvne the Romane shippes. 54.5
Deglaſton in Britaine. 140.103
Dead to bee buried according to their ſubſtance. 181.103
Deſſe Monſieur a frẽch Captaine. 477.11. fortifieth Iedvvorth in Scotlande. 477.13. beſiegeth the Caſtell of Fernihurſt, and taketh it. 477.30. taketh the Caſtell of Cornevvall. 477.64. maketh a roade into Englande. 477.86. is forced by the Englishmenne to flee from Iedvvorth. 477.114
Diana Goddeſſe of Huntyng. 12. 96
Didius, looke Aulus Didius.
Dinnune Caſtell. 463.6
Diocletianus Emperour. 77.52
Dionethus ſonne to Octauius, ſometime King of Britaine, feared. 100.53
Dionethus ioyneth vvyth the Scottes and Pictes agaynſte the Romanes. 100.86
Dionethus proclaymed Kyng of Britayne. 101.2
Dionethus eſcapeth into VVales. 102. 20
Dionethus reputed ſecond perſon of the Realme of Brytayne. 102. 76
Dion Caſsius cited. 32.46
Dirtin rayde, or durtie roade. 375. 80
Diſcommodities of ciuill diſſention. 222.84
Diſagreemente among VVriters of the place vvhere S. Colme dyed. 142.1
Diſagreemente of VVriters concerning the Martirs of the Ile of May. 188.39
Diſorder of King Edvvardes army agaynſte Kyng Roberte. 315. 81
Diſorder in Scotlande during the minoritie of Iames the fifthe. 423. 73
Diſſention betvveene the Scottes and Irishmen. 4.101
Diſſention betvveene King Iohn of England, and the Pope. 281.32
Diſſention betvveene King Iohn of Englãd and hys Barons. 282.3
Diſſention betvveene King Henry the third of England, and hys Nobles. 285.114
Diſſention betvveene the Earles of Angus and Arrane. 430.13
Diſſention betvveene the Earle of Angus, and the Lord of Fernihurſt. 430.65
Diſſention and the cauſe thereof betvveene King Roberte, and George Erle of March. 366.90
Diſſentiõ betvveene the inhabitãts of Angus & Mernes. 217.67
Diſobedience in the Scottish nobilitie punished. 304.25
Diſcommodities vvhich inſue the Princes minoritie. 11.15
Diuers opinions for the impriſoning of the Earle of Angus and the Lord Maxvvell. 460.114
Diuers heads, diuers opiniõs. 8.57
Diuels den, or blacke den. 100.58
Donalus gouernour of Brigantia conſpireth agaynſte Nothatus. 14. 32
Donalus army put to flight tvvice in one day. 15.28
Donalus ſlayne in fight. 15.46
Donald dyeth. 73.29
Donall brother to Finnanus. 25.60
Donald made King of Scots. 71.1
Donald conuerted to the Chriſtian faith. 72.103
Donald firſte cauſed gold and ſyluer to be coyned in Scotlande. 73. 18
Donalde a Gentleman of the Iles rebelleth. 76.55
Donalde of the Iles is drovvned. 76. 74
Donalde ſonne of Donalde of the Iles rebelleth. 77.2
Donalde offereth to yeelde hymſelfe vpon certayne conditions 77. 16
Donaldes deuice to murther King Findocke. 77.24
Donalde third ſonne to Athirco, choſen King. 77.90
Donald of the Iles inuadeth Scotland. 78.1
Donalde of the Iles aſſayleth the Kings camp. 78.18
Donalde the King and hys armye vanquished. 78.34
Donald the Kyng dyeth. 78.39
Donalde of the Iles taketh vppon him to be King. 78. 44
Donalde of the Iles beloued of fevve. 78.76
Donalde of the Iles murthered. 78. 78
Donalde of the Iles kinſfolke put to death. 79.46
Donald gouernour of Atholl conſpireth to murther Conran the King. 131.53
Donalde of the Iles maynteyneth robbers and ſpoylers. 155.57
Donalde of the Iles and his complices apprehended and put to death. 155.100
Donald brother to Kenneth, choſen King of Scotland. 182.55
Donald liueth in all diſſoluteneſſe. 182. 63
Donalde putteth Osbert Kyng of Northumberlãd and his people to flight. 183
Donalde and his nobilitie taken. 184. 3
Donalde and his noble men reſtored to libertie. 185.96
Donalde committed to priſon. 186. 58
Donald ſlayeth hymſelfe. 186. 60
Donalde the firſt, created King of Scotland. 199.63
Donalde ſendeth ayde to the Englishmenne againſte the Danes. 200. 5
Donald appeaſeth a commotion in Murrey lande. 200.40
Donald dyeth. 200.52
Donalde of the Iles diſcomfited vvith his armye by Edvvarde Bruce. 313.113
Donalde of the Iles rebelleth againſte the Gouernour of Scotland. 373.4
Donald of the Iles ſubdueth Ros. 373. 6
Donald of the Iles ſubmitteth himſelfe. 373.53
Donald Lord of the Iles rebelleth vvyth the Dovvglaſſes. 304.40
Dongard created King of Scottes. 109. 99
Dongardes diligence in peace to prouide for vvarres. 110.3
Dongardes bounteous liberalitie tovvardes the Churchemenne. 110. 20
Dongard ſlayne. 111.18
Dongall a noble man of Gallovvay. 111.83
Dongall ſonne to Dongarde proclaymed King of Scottes. 112.21
Dongals policie in gouerning hys Realme. 112.32
Dongall inueſted Kyng of Scotland. 167.91
Dongall apprehendeth the Rebelles that vvere vp agaynſte hym, and executeth them. 168. line. 40
Dongall cauſeth open vvarre againſte the Pictes. 169.79
Dongall drovvned in the riuer of Spey. 169.98
Donvvald inueſted King of Scotland. 146.33
Donvvalde maketh meanes that Eufrede is reſtored to hys fathers kingdome. 146.66
Donvvald drovvned. 147.3
Donvvald Lieutenant of the Caſtell of Fores. 207.11
Donvvalde conceyueth vnquencheable hatred agaynſte Duffe. 207. 87
Donvvaldes deepe diſsimulation cõcerning Duffes murther. 208. line. 89
Donvvaldes giltie conſcience enforceth hym to flee. 209.50
Donvvald taken priſoner. 209.95
Donvvald vvith hys confederates executed. 210
Doruadille King of Scottes. 13.19
Doruadille makes a league vvyth the Britaynes. 13.21
Doruadille confirmeth the auntiente alliance vvyth the Pictes. 13. 26
Doruadille ſet all his delite in hũting. 13.29
Doruadille eſtablisheth nevve lavves. 13.68
Doruadille dyeth. 14.16
Dovvglas Iames fleeth to kyng Robert to ayde hym. 313.16
Dovvglaſſes vvhat cauſed them to riſe to great honor. 313.37
Dovvglas Iames choſen to goe vvith king Roberts heart to Ieruſalem. 329.99
Dovvglaſſes vvhy they beare the bloudye hearte in theyr armes. 329. 104
Dovvglas Iames ſerueth in Aragon againſte the Sarazens. 330. line. 20
Dovvglas Iames ſlaine by the Sarazens. 330.49
Dovvglas Archembalde choſen gouernour in place of Andrevv Murray. 337.6
Dovvglas VVilliam knight ranſomed out of England. 341.54
Dovvglas VVilliam ſlayeth [illegible] hundred Englishmen at Edenburgh. 346.45
Dovvglas VVilliam created Erle Dovvglas. 350.12
Dovvglas VVilliam knight ſlain. 352. 57
Dovvglas Archembald taken priſoner by the Englishmen eſcapeth vvyth a ſmall raunſome. 354. 7
Dovvglaſſes hovve they come to the Earledome of Murrey. 356. line. 66
Dovvglas Iames Earle of Dovvglas entreth Northumberlande vvith an army. 360.29
Dovvglas VVilliã marrieth Giles daughter to K. Roberte. 361.37
Dovvglas VVilliam paſſeth ouer into Irelande vvith a povver. 361. 65
Dovvglas VVilliam choſen Admirall of a nauie to goe againſte the people in the Northeaſt partes. 365.38
Dovvglas VVilliam ſlayne. 365. line. 51
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle Dovvglas dyeth. 367.45
Dovvglas the grimme. 367.51
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle Dovvglas inuadeth Englande vvith an army. 369.14
Dovvglas Archimbald taken priſoner, and hys armye ſlayne at Homildon by the Englishmen. 369. 48
Dovvglas Archimbalde aideth the Percies at Shrevvſburie fielde. 370. 11
Dovvglas Archimbalde taken priſoner at Shrevvſburie field. 370. 29
Dovvglas Archimbald releaſſed, returneth into Scotlande. 372. line. 97
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle Dovvglas impriſoned, and ſet at libertie. 380.3
Dovvglas VVilliam Erle of Angus

The Table of Scotlande.

gas ouerthrovveth Henry Percie and his armie at Piperden. 53. 58
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle of Dovvglas dyeth. 386.68
Dovvglas VVilliam yong Earle Dovvglas made Duke of Touraine. 386.105
Dovvglas VVilliam, Earle of Dovvglas beheaded. 387.53
Dovvglas Iames baron of Abircorne dieth. 387.50
Dovvglas Hugh Erle of Ormond general of an armie agaynſt the Engliſhmen. 389.64
Dovvglas Hugh ouerthrovveth the Engliſhmen, and taketh many priſoners. 390.58
Dovvglas VVilliam Earle of Dovvglas, vvith many other nobles of Scotland trauaile into Italy. 391.22
Dovvglas VVilliam Earle of Dovvglas put to the Horn, and his landes ſpoyled. 391.29
Dovvglas VVilliam Earle of Dovvglas, proclaimed the kings Lieutenant. 391.41
Dovvglas VVil. Earle of Dovvglas, for reuenge of priuate iniuries incurreth the kinges diſpleaſure. 391.64
Dovvglas VVil. Earle of Dovvglas ſlaine. 392.57
Dovvglaſſes made open vvarre agaynſt the king. 392.61
Dovvglas Iames Earle of Dovvglas diſobeyeth the Kings citation. 393.20
Dovvglas Iames marieth his brothers vvife. 393
Dovvglas Iames dieth. 393.52
Dovvglaſdale giuen in ſpoyle too the kings ſouldiours. 393.83
Dovvglas Iames Earle of Dovvglas flieth into England. 394.16
Dovvglas Iames Earle of Dovvglas, inuadeth Scotland vvith a povver, and is diſcomfited. 394. 26
Dovvglas Archimbalde ſlaine. 394. 31
Dovvglas Hugh Earle of Ormont taken priſoner. 394.32
Dovvglas Hugh Erle of Ormont beheaded. 394.56
Dovvglaſſes puiſſaunce in Scotland ſuſpected. 395.7
Donald of the Iles reconciled too the king. 396.9
Donald of the Iles eftſoones rebelleth. 398.46
Donald of the Iles and his confederates fall frantike. 398.55
Donald of the Iles ſlaine. 398
Donald ſonne to the aforeſayde Lorde of the Iles, attainted by Parliament. 402.32
Donalde Lorde of the Iles after ſubmiſsion to the King reſtored. 403. 51
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle of Angus maryeth Margaret Queene mother of Scotland. 424.30
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle of Angus taketh a Concubine in ſtead of the Queene mother his vvife. 429.56
Dovvglas Gavvin Biſhop of Dūkelde flieth into Englande, and there dieth. 431.30
Dovvglas Gavvin Biſhop of Dūkeld, his learning & his vvorks. 431. 32
Dovvglas Archimbalde Earle of Angus baniſhed into Fraunce. 431. 44
Dovvglaſdale. 434.20
Dovvglas George attaynted of treaſon. 440.11
Dovvglas Margaret. 461.8
Dovvglas George Knight, ſent home out of England into Scotlande. 458.12
Doctor Ireland ſent Ambaſſadour into Scotland from the French King, to cauſe the Scottes too make vvarre agaynſt England. 403. 9
Doctour VVeſt ſent Ambaſſador into Scotland. 416.73
Dolorous mountaine vvhy ſo called. 50.50
Dominicke firſt Authour of black friers. 285.52
Domitian Emperour of Rome. 46. 39
Domitian the Emperour enuieth the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola in Brytaine. 56
Dounſtafage by vvhom buylded. 24. 10
Dounſtafage in olde tyme called Berigonium. 14.16
Dounkeld hovv in olde time called. 137.40
Doorus brother to Athirco flieth into Pictland. 74.51
Doorus vvriteth to certaine Scottiſh Lords, to moue them to rebellion. 75.11
Dorſtolorgus K. of Pictes. 167.84
Dorſtolorgus murthered. 168.47
Dothan and Dorgall tvvinnes, ſonnes to Durſtus. 24.27
Dothans tvvo ſonnes cruelly murthered. 24.100
Doungarge, or Doungarde in Irelande taken. 197.26
Doubtfull battaile betvveene the Brytaines, and Scots, & Picts. 23. 71
Doubts that Henrie the eight king of England had concerning the conſummation of the maryage betvvixt the yong Queene of Scotlande, and prince Edvvard his ſonne. 459.67
Drommound Iohn knight. 248.25
Drommound Annabell, maried to king Robert the third. 248.25
Drommonde Annabell, vvife too king Robert dyeth. 368.7
Drommond Iohn traiterouſly ſlayeth Patricke Graham Earle of Stratherne. 374.5
Drommonde Iohn taken and beheaded. 747.12
Drommond Alexander attaynted of treaſon. 440.13
Drovvnelovv ſands. 242.115
Druides ordeyned. 21.7
Druides office vvhat it vvas. 21.8
Druides hovve called in the olde Scottiſh tongue. 21.10
Druides place of abode. 21.12
Druides authoritie encreaſed. 21. 27
Druides religion caryed ouer into Fraunce. 21.44
Druides Temples and religiō deſtroyed. 82.53
Drusken choſen king of Pictes 173. 32
Drusken and Kenneth common of peace in ſight of both their armies. 175.60
Druskin ſlaine. 176.69
Druskins armour offred at Saint Colme. 177.5
Drunkenneſſe puniſhed vvyth death. 187.23
Drumlanrig vanquiſhed and put to flight. 472.16
Drumlanrig taken priſoner, and eſcapeth. 467.67
Dubline beſieged. 197.84
Dublin ſurrendred to the Scots. 198. 35
Dudley Andrevve, Captaine of Broughtie crag Caſtel. 472.31
Duetie of a good ghoſtly father. 148. 52
Dutie of a prince in battel. 422.10
Duetie of a good Prince. 23.36
Duetie of all men to defend their natiue Countrey. 432.92
Duffe ſonne to Malcolme, crovvned king of Scotland. 206.22
Duffe bevvitched. 206.72
Duffe falleth into diſpleaſure of his Nobilitie. 206.52
Duffe reſtored to his former helth 207. 62
Duffe murthered in his bed. 208.55
Duffes maner of buryall 208.64
Duffes bodie taken vp and honorably buried. 210.25
Duffe Angus of Stratherne rebelleth. 379.36
Duke of Albanye choſen, and by Parliament confirmed tutor to Iames the fifth, and to the realm of Scotland. 423.114
Duke of Albanye gouernour of Scotland cōming out of France arriueth in Scotland. 425.38
Duke of Albanye Gouernour of Scotland departeth into France 428. 29
Duke of Albanye Gouernour of Scotlande returneth into Scotlande. 431.5
Duke of Albanie inuadeth Englād vvith a mightie armie. 432.19
Duke of Clarence ſlain in France. 374. 113
Dukes firſt created in Scotlande. 366. 5
Duke of Somerſet made Protector to king Edvvarde the ſixth, 467.37. hee entreth Scotlande vvith an armie. 467.50
Dauid duke of Rothſaye apprehended and committed to pryſon. 368.30
Duncane created King of Scotlande. 239.5
Duncanes diſpoſition ouer gentle. 239. 21
Duncane and hys armye ouerthrovvne by the Danes. 242.15
Duncane ſlaine by Mackbeth. 244. 56
Duncane Malcolmes baſtarde ſon commeth into Scotlande vvyth an army to claime the crovvne. 259. 106
Duncane crovvned king of Scotland. 260.1
Duncane decydeth iuſtice vvyth ſpeare and ſhield. 260.6
Duncane ſlain at Menteth 260.14
Dunfermeling Abbey ſpoyled. 439. 21
Dunfreis. 471.1. rifled and ſpoyled by the Engliſhmen 473.474.1
Dunbar vvhy ſo called. 177.115
Dumbe perſon ſhall not inherite his fathers patrimonie. 181.33
Dunbar Patricke, vanquiſheth a band of theeues in Mers. 253.45
Dunbar Patricke created Erle of March. 253.54
Dunbar George Earle of March, areſted and put in vvard. 381.67
Dunbar George Earle of March diſinherited of all his landes & liuings. 382.4
Dunbar George made Earle of Buchquhan. 382.14
Dunbar Gavvin made Biſhop of Abirdene. 429.45
Dunbar Gavvin made Archebiſhop of Glaſgo, 431.102
Dundee vvhy ſo called. 278.99
Dundee ſpoyled and abandoned by the Engliſhmē. 476.77. fortified by the Frenchmē 476.98
Dunglas fort defaced and razed. 480. 94
Dunbryton vvhy ſo named. 185.31
Dunbertane Caſtell reuolted frō the Earle of Lennox. 462.84
Dunbritten Caſtell. 460.69
Dunfreis battaile fought by the Engliſhmen agaynſte the Scottes 473. 46
Dungal ſonne to Aydan ſlaine. 149. 90
Dundach in Ireland. 320.81
Dungesbie head in Cathnes, 32.24
Duncane beſieged by the Danes, in the Caſtell of Bertha. 242.38
Duncane king of Irelande. 198.4
Duncane Lieutenaunt of Athole. 215. 56
Durſtus ſlaine. 102.17
Duns Iohn a famous learned man flouriſheth. 355.72
Durſtus ſucceedeth his father Finnanus in the Kingdome. 21.62
Durſtus giuen to banquetting and drunkenneſſe. 21.72
Durſtus forſaketh the company of his lavvfull vvife Agaſia. 21.81
Durſtus cauſeth his vvife too bee forced by vile perſons. 21.82
Durſtus deepe diſsimulation. 22.14
Durſtus periurie. 22.27
Durſtus committeth a foule murther. 22.30
Durſtus beſieged. 22.46
Durſtus ſlaine. 22.52
Durſtus children flee into Ireland 22. 57
Durſtus tvvo ſonnes ſlaine. 24.39
Dutchmen arriue in Scotlande. 44. 16
Durſtus choſen king of the Pictes. 93. 81
Durſtus taken and brought priſoner to London. 93.98
Durſtus thirde of that name King of Pictes. 98.110
Duſſac Mounſieur a French captaine. 477.47
Duſdere tovvne burnt. 472.105

E.

EArle of Glouceſter vvith dyuerſe other nobles of Englād taken priſoners. 265.98
Earle of Huntleyes armie taken and ſlaine by the Engliſh menne. 419. 100
Earle of Surrey Lieutenant to K. Henrie the eight cōmeth vvith an army to meete Iames the .iiij. King of Scottes. 420.20
Earle of Arrane ſtealeth avvaye vvith the Lorde Hume and hys brother. 427.27
Erle of Arrane pardoned. 426.44
Earles of Lennox and Derneley, vvhence diſcended. 247.67
Earldomes in Scotlande. 252.27
Earle of Glencarne, ſent by Lennox to the King of Englande. 461. 5
Earle of Hertfort and the Lorde Liſle conductors of the armye ſent into Scotlande by the Erle of Lennox. 461.25
Erle of Cathnes depriued of hys Earledome and landes 285.11
Erle of Angus & the L. Maxvvel committed to vvard by the gouernor of Scotland. 460.106
Earle of Namure landeth in England vvith an army to ayde king Edvvarde agaynſte the Scottes, 311. 103
Earle of Namure and his armye diſcomfited. 341.109
Erle of Murrey taken priſoner by the Engliſh men. 342.54
Earle of Athole reuolteth to the Balioll, and is made gouernor of Scotland. 342.60
Earle of Athole ſlaine in battaile. 342. 88
Earle of Glencarne falſe to the Earle of Lennox, and goeth about to betray him. 462.85
Earle of Argyle ſhooteth at the Erle of Lennox ſhips out of the

caſtell of Dynnune. 463.3
Earle of Saliſburie taken pryſoner by the Scots. 348.26
Earle of Saliſburie exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey. 348.58
Erle of Northumberland Lieutenant of the North, and generall againſt the Scottes. 350.73
Earle of Marche, and VVilliam Dovvglas enter into Englande vvith an armie. 352.65
Earle of Mar ſlain in his bed, and his armie diſcomfited. 333.101
Erles of the ſurnames of the dovvglaſſes. 302.27
Earle of Murrey returneth forth of France. 341.24
Earle of Athole ſubmitteth himſelfe to King Dauid. 341.44
Earle of Cathnes pardoned and reſtored to his landes. 285.36
Earle of Cathnes murthered by his ovvne ſeruants. 285.41
Earle of Surrey inuadeth Scotlãd vvith an armie. 410.73
Earle of Shrevvesburie inuadeth Scotlãd vvith an army, & returneth vvith ſmall honour. 432.10
Earle of Huntley taken priſoner by the Engliſhmen. 469.8. entereth band for the raunſomes of his Countreymen. 469.22
Earle of Lennox beſiegeth and vvinneth the tovvne of Annand 470.2. returneth back into Englande. 470.58. entreth into ſcotland vvith an armie. 470.112. his truſtineſſe vnto the king of England. 473.50
Earle of Dovvglas dieth. 360.22
Earle of Dovvglas taketh avvay Hẽrie Percies ſtaffe at the barriers. 362.66
Earle of Dovvglas ſlaine. 364.3
Erle of Northumberland and his kinſſolkes flee into Scotlande. 370. 66
Earle of March reſtored home into Scotlande. 373.1
Earle of Buchquhan created high Coneſtable of Fraunce. 375.10
Earle of Dovvglas duke of Touraine ſlaine. 376.36
Earle of Dovvglas made Duke of Touraine. 376.32
Earle of Buchquhane high Coneſtable of France ſlaine. 376.35
Ebba taketh the ſea vvith a boate alone, and arriueth at ſaint Ebbas head. 143.90
Ebba profeſſed a Nunne. 143.97
Eclipſe of the ſunne vvith terrible darkeneſſe. 380.116
Ederus eſcapeth murdring. 24.108
Ederus ſente too Epiake to bee brought vp in princely nurture. 25. 46
Ederus receyued for king. 27.33
Ederus muche delited in hunting, and keeping of houndes. 27.40
Ederus ſendeth ayde to the Brytains againſt the Romains. 28.43
Ederus dieth. 21.69
Edelfred king of Northumberlãd. 139. 75
Edelfredes policie in egging the Pictes to make vvarre agaynſte the Scottes. 139.85
Edelfred and Brudeus vvith their Saxons and Pictes inuade Gallovvey. 140.106
Edelfred King of Northumberland ſlaine. 143.65
Edenburgh in olde tyme called Agneda, by vvhom builded. 10. 108
Edenbourgh taken by the Engliſhmen. 301.77
Edenbourgh taken by the Engliſh men, and redeemed for money. 359. 78
Edenbourgh tovvne and Abbay burnt. 433.113
Edenburgh Caſtell furniſhed for defence. 461.68
Edẽburgh entred by force by the Engliſh men 461.82. and burnt vvith the Abbey of holy Rood houſe. 461.93
Edenburgh Caſtell recouered too the gouernours vſe. 459.40
Edelfred King of Northumberland defieth the Kentiſh, South, and Eaſt Saxons for receyuing the Chriſtian fayth. 142.56
Edelfrides ſonnes receyue the Chriſtian fayth in Scotlande. 143. 110
Edelfredes ſonnes flee into Scotland. 143.83
Edgar dyeth. 261.51
Edgar ſonne to Malcolme, ſente for into Scotland. 260.52
Edgar crovvned king of Scotlãd. 260. 101
Edgar firſt king of Scots that vvas annoynted. 260.114
Edmond created King of Englãd. 204. 46
Earthquake on Chriſtmaſſe daye. 238. 66
Earthquake through England & Scotland. 414.114
Edvvarde King of Englande demaundeth Northumberlande, Cumberland and VVeſtmerlãd of the Scottes. 200.75
Edvvard King of England ſlaine. 201. 35
Edvvard ſonne to Edgar King of England, ſendeth Ambaſſadors into Scotlande too renue theyr league. 218.74
Edvvard ſonne to Edgar ſlain by the treaſon of Eſculda his ſtepmother. 218.75
Edvvard king of England buyeth peace of the Danes for money. 222. 100
Edvvard requireth ayde of Malcolm againſt the Danes. 222.107
Edvvarde maketh peace vvyth the Danes. 222.113
Edvvard the thirde of Englande dyeth. 358.66
Edvvarde prince of Scotlande dieth. 258.70
Edvvard the firſt crovvned king of England. 295.53
Edvvard paſſeth ouer into France vvith a greate nauie of Shippes. 302. 65
Edvvard inuadeth Scotland vvith an armie. 305.35
Edvvardes officers chaſed oute of Scotland, 306.80
Edvvard King of England ſurnamed Longſhanke, ſeeketh meanes to obteyne the Kingdome of Scotland. 298.15
Edvvarde returneth to Barvvike to giue ſentence vvho ſhall bee King of Scotland. 299.47
Edvvard checked by the Earle of Glouceſter for his vntrue dealing. 299.91
Edvvard cõcludeth a peace vvith the French King. 300.19
Edvvardes ſonne maried too the French Kings daughter. 300.22
Edvvard king of England dyeth. 313. 58
Edvvards crueltie noted by Scottiſh VVriters. 313.61
Edvvard the ſecond, called Edvvarde of Carnaruan crovvned King of England. 313.72
Edvvarde goeth into Scotlande vvith an armie. 314.13
Edvvardes vvonderfull prouiſion to conquer Scotland. 315.30
Edvvardes huge armie vanquiſhed and put to flight by the Scottes. 318. 84
Edvvard brother to King Robert of Scotland proclaimed king of Ireland. 320.45
Edvvard king of Irelande ſlaine. 320. 82
Edvvard inuadeth Scotland vnto Edenbourgh. 324.27
Edvvarde and his armie putte to flight by the Scottes. 324.51
Edvvard depoſed and murthered. 325. 61
Edvvard the third crovvned king of England. 325.66
Edvvard goth forth vvith a mightie armie agaynſt the Scottes. 326. 37
Edvvardes demaunde to an Heralde at armes, concerning the three moſt valiant captaynes of that tyme. 328.81
Edvvard commeth vvith an armie to inuade Scotlande. 332.30
Edvvard returneth home booteleſſe, and diſchargeth his army. 332. 67
Edvvarde the firſt crovvned king of Scotlande, 334.64
Edvvardes army diſcomfited, and put to flight. 335.61
Edvvard purpoſeth to make a cõqueſt of Scotland. 336.51
Edvvarde inuadeth Scotlande againe both by ſea and lande. 340. 58
Edvvard entreth into Scotlande vvith an army. 341.93
Edvvarde the fourth inuadeth Scotland by Sea and lande. 403. 65
Edvvard commeth into Scotland vvith an army to rayſe the ſiege of Lochyndoris. 343.40
Edvvarde ſlayeth his ovvne brother Heltam. 344.17
Edvvard prince of VVales, ouerthrovveth the Frenche armie, and taketh King Iohn and hys yongeſt ſonne priſoners. 353.72
Edvvine promiſeth ayde too the Pictes agaynſte the Scottes. 171. 75
Edvvine King of Northumberlãd ſlaine. 146.55
Edvvine made King of Northumberland. 143.74
Edvvine pretendeth cauſes that hee can not ayde the Pictes. 171. 55
Eganus murthereth his brother Dorſtologus. 168.47
Eganus created king of Pictes. 168. 50
Eganus maryeth his brothers vvidovv. 168.54
Eganus ſtrangled in his bed by his vvife. 168.70
Egelred king of England. 226.93
Egelred chaſed by the Danes into Northumberland. 228.44
Egeldred hauing gotten ayde of the Scottes agaynſt the Danes, ioyneth bataytle vvith them. 228. 67
Egeldred and his army diſcomfited by the Danes. 228.72
Egeldred eſcapeth into Normandie. 229.3
Egeldred maryeth Emme daughter to Richarde Duke of Normandie. 229.6
Egelred ſlaine by Canute. 241.26
Egelvvin or VVilliam Biſhop of Durham. 257.99
Egfred King of Northumberland 150. 37
Egfred breaketh the truce betvveene him and Eugenius. 150. 56
Egfred denonnceth open vvarre agaynſt Eugenius. 150.68
Egfred ſlaine. 151.48
Egfred ſlaine by Pictes and not by Scottes, as Beda vvryteth. 151. 10
Egypt plagued. 147
Elanius, or Eſdadus King of Brytaine. 10.94
Element appeareth full of ſtarre tvvo vvhole dayes togither. 135. 4
Elgarine reſigneth the Fortes i Northumberland vnto the Danes. 240.8
Elgerine taken and dravvne i peeces vvith vvilde horſes. 205. 4
Elizabeth Queene, mother to Dauid Bruce, Prince of Scotlande, dyeth. 228.
Eliduius King of Brytaine. 13.26
Ella and Osbert Kinges of Northumberlande. 182.105
Ella and Osbert ſlaine by the Danes. 191.37
Elphinſton George Archer of the corps to the French King, taken priſoner on the borders by the Engliſhmen. 464.9
Elphingſton VVilliam, Biſhop of Aberdene dieth. 424.49
Emme daughter to Richard duke of Normandie, maryed to Egeldred of England. 229.6
Emperor commeth into England. 431.
Engid called a Sovv. 345.32
Engliſh armie diſcomfited & ſlain by the Scottes. 151.40
Engliſhmen flee from the Pictes, bycauſe of their vnrulineſſe. 174. 73
Engliſh Saxons breakers of promiſe. 161.75
Engliſhmen put to flight and ſlain by the Pictes. 166.9
Engliſhmen vanquiſhed by myracle. 166.55
Engliſhmen and Brytaynes promiſe to ayde the Pictes exiled agaynſt the Scottes. 182.107
Engliſhmen and Brytaynes conclude a league. 182.113
Engliſhmen, Brytaines, and Pictes inuade Scotland. 183.3
Engliſh Ships vvith prouiſion taken by the Scottes and burnt. 183. 33
Engliſhmen drovvned by a tempeſt. 184.61
Engliſhmen graunt peace too the Scots vpon conditions. 184.26
Engliſhmen deliuer the Daniſhe Nobilitie in Barvvike vnto the Scottes. 193.21
Engliſhmenne renue their olde league vvith the Scots, adding nevv conditions. 195.79
Engliſhmen and Danes confederate, fall out and fight. 203.13
Engliſhmen and Scottes conclude a peace. 201.30
Engliſhmen and Danes conclude a peace. 201.26
Englãd deuided into tvvo realmes 241. 56
Engliſhmen inuade Northumberland vvith an armie. 265.79
Engliſhmen diſcomfited at Northallerton by the ſcottes. 265.98
Engliſh borderers make forreyes into Scotland. 271.25
Engliſh men vanquiſh the Scottes by policie. 273.63
Engliſhmen retire from the Scots of purpoſe. 273.79
Enuernes taken and burned by rebels. 284.67
Engliſhmen come vvith a greate povver by ſea and lande to beſiege Barvvike. 300.85
Engliſh Shippes ſome taken, ſome chaſed by the Scottes. 300.39
Engliſhmenne auoyded out of all ſpirituall and temporall preferments

in Scotland. 303.19
Engliſh army ſent into Scotland, againſt the rebels to king Edwarde. 306.62
Engliſhe armye paſſeth through Scotland from the ſouth to the North. 307.55
Engliſh armye vnder conduct of Iohn Cumin diſcomfited. 313.102
Engliſhmen diſcomfited and ſlaine by the Scottes vnder conduct of Sir Iames Dovvglas. 329.63
Engliſhmen complaine to the Pope of the Scottes iniuries. 323.50
Engliſhmenne paſſe little for the Popes commaundement. 320.56
Engliſh nauie ſent into Scotland. 336. 85
Engliſh nauie loſt and drovvned in a tempeſt. 353.50
Engliſhmen inuade Scotlande with an army. 357.25
Engliſh armie and their Captaine Sir Iohn Lilborne diſcomfited by the Scots. 357.40
Engliſhmen diſcomfited and drovvned in the vvater of Sulvvey. 358. 14
Engliſh army ſent by ſea and land againſt the Scottes. 359.72
Engliſh armie diſcomfited by the Scottes in Fiffe. 360.13
Engliſh fleet encountereth a fleet of Spaniardes. 383.28
Engliſh nauie inuadeth and doeth harme in Scotland 403.29
Engliſh Ships taken and drovvned by the Frenche menne. 416. 80
Engliſh Shippes taken by Robert Barton a Scottiſhe Pirate. 416. 88
Engliſh fugitiues vvhich miſliked of the diuorce of king Henrye the eight of England, from Qu. Katherine dovvager, receyued into Scotland. 442.52
Engliſh armie marcheth tovvards Edenbourgh. 461.73
Engliſh armie landeth by Lieth. 461. 27
Engliſhmen prouoked too fight with the Scottes. 467.91
Engliſh horſemen beaten back by the Scottes 468. 5
Engliſhmen diſcomfited by the Scottes in entring into Mers. 473.36 horſemen ouerthrovvne at Hadington. 474.03
Engliſhmen repulſed by the Scots at Saint Mennettes. 475.70. put to the vvorſt at a skirmiſh nere to Hadington. 475.103
Eppa, or Copa a Saxon Monke. 143. 103
Epiake vvoon by the Romaines. 47. 81
Epiake taken and burnt. 408.55
Epiake chiefe Citie of Gallovvay 25. 46
Erles of Lennox and Ormounde agree vvith the Lorde of the Iles to inuade all Scotlande 465. 36
Erles of Fiffe and their poſterities priuileges. 252.58
Ermengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumount, maryed to king VVilliam of Scotlande. 276. 72
Erſkin Iames ſecretarie, ſent Ambaſſador into France. 442.13
Erſilton Thomas, a great propheſier. 296.74
Erſkin Iohn, Lord of Dun. 475.63
Erthus ſon to Ethodius. 54.73
Erthquakes right terrible. 280.6
Elſrida ſtepmother to Edvvarde K. of England. 218.75
Eſten in Bogdale. 253.36
Eaſt ſaxons and South ſaxons refuſe the chriſtian faith. 242.51
Ethiopians inuade Egypt. 1.19
Ethion ſon to Fanduſus king of Scottes. 5.60
Ethus king of Pictes. 10.109
Ethodius choſen king. 66.43
Ethodius requireth of the Romans reſtitution of his ſubiects goods. 66. 12
Ethodius exhorteth the king of Pictes to make warre agaynſt the Romaines. 66.35
Ethodius ſuppreſſeth the Ilande rebelles. 68.75
Ethodius murthered by a Muſitian. 69.52
Ethodius the ſecond of that name created K. of Scots. 73.38
Ethodius the ſecond proued a verie foole. 73.56
Ethodius being giuen to couetouſneſſe is ſlaine by his ovvne ſeruants. 73.52
Ethodius and Eugenius ſonnes to Fincormak, conueyed into the Ile of Man. 84.115
Ethodius ouerthrovveth the Picts 89. 50
Ethodius ſore vvounded, committed to the cure of Surgeons. 90. 59
Ethodius baniſhed into Denmark. 92. 4
Ethodius liueth in Denmarke in right honourable eſtate, 94.50
Ethelbert king of Kentiſh Saxons baptiſed. 142.85
Ethelbreth King of the middle Angles. 143.67
Ethfine inueſted king of Scotland 155. 25
Ethfine appoynted foure gouernors ouer the realme. 155.43
Ethfine dieth. 155.79
Ethus brother to Conſtantinus crovvned King of Scotlande. 190. 76
Ethus for his ſvviftneſſe in rũning ſurnamed lightfoot. 191.69
Ethus areſted by his Nobles, and committed to priſon. 191.53
Ethus dieth. 151.114
Etius Lieutenant of Fraunce, ſendeth an armie into Britain. 101.13
Etius refuſeth to ayde the Brytaynes. 104.55
Euan Lieutenaunt of Dunſtafage, conſpireth againſt Cõſtantinus. 187. 2
Euan is taken and hanged. 187.86
Euers VVilliam Lord, and his ſon ſir Rauſe Euers, conductours of the horſmen ſent out of Englãd into Scotland. 461.103
Euers Rauſe Knight, inuadeth Scotland. 463.76. ſpoyleth the tovvne and Abbey of Melros, vtterly defacing the tumbes & monumentes of the Earles of Dovvglas. 463.93. he is ſlaine at Pannier Hugh. 463.115. his deth much bemoned of the Engliſhe men. 464. 8. his commendation & good ſeruice againſt the ſcots 464.31. his ſeruice in the north rebellion, and his valiant keeping of Skarborrough Caſtell at that time to the vſe of K. Hẽrie the eight 464.20
Euerlochtey builded. 26.52
Eucineſſe builded. 26.63
Euſame mother to Lord Alexander of the Iles priſoned. 378.97
Euſame vvife to king Robert dyeth. 356.74
Eulred inueſted king of Bernitia. 146. 71
Eufred and Oſrike forſake the chriſtian fayth. 146.84
Eufred and Oſrike diſcomfited & taken priſoners. 146.94
Eufrede and Oſrike ſlay eche other. 146.95
Eugenius the eight inueſted King of Scotland. 155.95
Eugenius reuengeth ſharpely the vvinking at crimes in his Nobilitie. 155.115
Eugenius peruerted vvith ſenſuall luſt and concupiſcence. 155.58
Eugenius ſlaine by his Nobilitie, 156. 37
Eugenius euill Counſaylours hanged. 156.45
Eugenius the fift dieth. 151.104
Eugenius the ſixt created king of Scotland. 151.106
Eugenius maketh a league vvith the Northumberland men. 151. 110
Eugenius taketh truce vvyth the Pictes. 151.113
Eugenius the ſixt dyeth. 152.8
Eugenius the ſeuenth elected king of Scotland. 153.1
Eugenius concludeth a peace vvith the Pictes. 153.31
Eugenius marieth the K. of Pictes daughter. 153
Eugenius ſuſpected of his vviues death, arraigned and acquited. 153. 32
Eugenius commaundeth the Hyſtories of his predeceſſors to be vvritten. 154.8
Eugenius the ſeuenth dieth. 154.23
Eugenius the fift created King of Scottes. 150.30
Eugenius and Egfred conclude a truce. 150.45
Eugenius the fourth choſen King of Scottes. 143.7
Eugenius liberalitie tovvards ſeruitors and their children. 135.57
Eugenius dieth. 135.13
England deuided into ſeuen ſeuerall Kingdoms. 139.71
Eugenius nephevv to Conran inueſted King of ſcotland. 131.87
Eugenius ſuſpected to be priuie of his Vncles death. 131.97
Eugenius reedifieth Churches in Gallovvay and other places. 143. 113
Eugenius dieth. 144.7
Eugenius aduaunceth the ſtate of his Countrey more than any of his predeceſſours before him. 109. 51
Eugenius dieth. 108.59
Eugenius ſlaine. 90.2
Eugenius bodie ſolemnly buryed by the Romaines. 90.53
Eugenius ſonne to Fergeſius created king of ſcottes. 102.84
Eugenius inueſted king of ſcottes. 87. 51
Eugenius encountring the Romains is vvith his armie diſcomfited. 88.29
Eugenius giueth the onſet vpõ the Romaines. 80.37
Euill counſaylours iuſtly puniſhed 156. 45
Euill husbandrie puniſhed. 181.43
Euidence and Charters vvhereby the Lordes of Scotlande holde their landes. 322.20
Eubonides Iles poſſeſſed by the Scottes. 5.70
Euonium, looke Caſtel of Euoniũ.
Europeia ſiſter to king Metellanus. 31.55
Euſtace Earle of Bollongne marieth Marie ſiſter to King Edgar. 261.26
Evvin exiled into Pictland. 22.75
Evvin choſen King. 22.73
Evvin aydeth the Pictes agaynſte the Brytaines. 23.60
Evvin dyeth. 24.14
Evvin ſecond of that name created King. 25.59
Evvin nephevve to Finnanus. 25.60
Evvin vvaxeth ſick for the death of Cadall. 19.108
Evvin reſigneth the eſtate to Rederus. 27.22
Evvin deceaſſeth. 27.24
Evvin thirde of that name made king. 29.70
Evvin infamed in all kinde of vyces. 29.76
Evvin forſaken of his ſubiectes. 30. 31
Evvin condemned to perpetuall priſon. 30.38
Evvin ſtrangled to death. 30.47
Evvins lavv altered to the Marchets of vvomen. 256.10
Evve bringeth forth a lambe both male and female. 155.46
Expedition into the holy lande. 247.64. and 261. 84

F.

FAire of Pennire ſacked. 397.92
Faire Mayden of Gallovvay. 267. 68
Fauconer Dauid, principall Gunner to King Iames the fifth ſlaine 440. 33
Falcons ſtone, vvhy ſo called. 217. 8
Family of the Stevvardes, from vvhence diſcended. 239.41
Falkeland. 446.40
Familie of Skringeour vvhence diſcended. 256.58
Familie of the Percies, vvhence diſcended. 258.55
Family of the Grainings in Scotland, vvhence diſcended. 263.15
Familie of Cumeyns, their povver and multitude. 288.16
Familie of the Grayes in Scotland vvhence diſcended. 377.28
Familye of the Huntleys, vvhence diſcended. 416.46
Family of the Forbeſſes, vvhence diſcended. 308.46
Familie of the Hammiltons, from vvhence diſcended. 325.50
Familie of the Ogiluies, vvhence diſcended. 276.69
Familie of the Lions in Scotlande, vvhence diſcended. 358.47
Family of the Hepborns, in Scotland, vvhence diſcended. 364.13
Famous families diſcending from Hyberus. 4.88
Fardufus ſucceedeth Brek in the kingdome. 5.59
Faſt Caſtell recouered by a train. 479. 115
Faſt Caſtell vvon by the Engliſh men. 469.67
Fealtie done to the Captaynes of tribes. 22.16
Feare of Corbreid Galdes puyſſance put the Romaines in feare. 52. 32
Fenellas malicious and craftie deuice to reuenge hirſelfe vpon K. Kenneth. 221.33
Fenella eſcapeth into Irelande. 221 96
Fenella daughter to Cruthneth. 217. 18
Fenedocht Thane of Athole. 170. 13
Fernihurſt caſtell vvon. 477.58
Frenchmen in greate miſerie in Scotland. 478.10
Finvvicke VVilliam taken priſoner by the Scottes. 435.33
Feritharis choſen and crovvned king of Scots. 11.94
Ferrerio Giouan cited. 400.48
Feredeth ſlaine, and his army fleeth by night. 170.47
Feredeth the fourth, king of Pictes. 167. 5
Feredeth taketh avvay the priuiledges from the Cleargie, and giftes from Saint Andrevves

Church

Church vvhich Hungus gaue them. 167.7
Feredeth choſen king of Pictes. 169. 14
Feredethes anſvvere to the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors. 169.36
Ferlegus ſonne to Ferguſius, demaundeth the crovvne of Feritharis. 12.15
Ferlegus almoſt torn in peeces by the people. 12.18
Ferlegus vvith his complices fleeth to the Pictes, and aftervvard to the Brytaines. 12.33
Feritharis dieth ſodainlye in the night. 12.28
Feritharis death ſuſpected. 12.30
Ferguſius ſon to Ferquhardus. 7.34
Ferguſius ſent vvith an huge army into Scotland to ayde the Scots. 7. 36
Ferguſius carieth the Marble ſeat vvith him into Scotlande, in hope to be king. 7.38
Ferguſius crovvned king of Scotlande. 7.72
Ferguſius the firſt abſolute gouernour of the Scottiſhe Nation that ruled in Albion. 7.73
Ferguſius banner diſcribed. 7.91
Ferguſius firſt bare the rampaunt Lion in Albion, vvhiche the Kings ſince ſucceſsiuely haue borne. 7.98
Ferguſius aſſembleth a greate povver agaynſt the Britaines. 9.81
Ferguſius firſt coūſayled the Scots to occupie their landes in ſeuerall. 10.30
Ferguſius deuiſeth lavves and ſtatutes. 10.65
Ferguſius ſayling into Irelande, vvas drovvned returning home vvarde. 10.88
Ferguſius ſonne to Erthus. 94.57
Ferguſius ſent vvith a povver agaynſt the Romains. 94.73
Ferguſius bringeth a cheſt of monuments from Rome. 94.85
Ferguſius returneth into Denmarke. 94.105
Ferguſius ſendeth meſſengers to the diſperſed Scottes, concerning their returne intoo Scotlande. 95.36
Ferguſius prepareth to come ouer ouer into Scotland. 95 45
Ferguſius arriueth in Murrey Fyrth. 95.100
Ferguſius renueth the auncient league betvveene the Scottes and Pictes. 96.38
Ferguſius proclaimed K. of Scotland. 96 38
Ferguſius proclaimed k. of Scotland. 96.58
Ferguſius firſt King of Scottes in Scotlād, as ſome ſuppoſe. 96.80
Ferguſius and the Romains ioyne in battaile. 97.26
Ferguſius maried to Graius daughter. 97.104
Ferguſius inuadeth the confines of Brytaine. 98 10
Ferguſius repayreth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious perſons. 100.10
Ferguſius in time of peace repayreth his caſtels. 100.24
Ferguſius ſlaine. 102.17
Ferguſius bodie taken vp and buried at Colmekill. 102.90
Ferguſius the thirde created King of Scotland. 156.54
Feguſius the patterne of a vvicked prince. 156.60
Ferguſius ſtrangled in his bed by his vvife. 157.17
Ferguſius vvife voluntarily confeſſeth the murdering of hir huſband. 157.45
Fergu. vvife ſlaieth hirſelf. 157.87
Ferguſiana ſiſter to Hungus King of Pictes. 169 2
Ferquhardus king of Scots in Ireland. 7.31
Ferquhard gouernor of Lorne and Cantire. 15.3
Ferquhard fleeth into Ila. 15.12
Ferquhard returneth into Scotlād to reuenge his iniurie. 15.24
Ferquhard is ſlaine. 15.49
Ferquhard king of Scottes. 144.
Ferquhard mainteyneth ciuill diſcord among his nobilitie. 145
Ferquhard infected vvith Pelagius hereſie. 145.18
Ferquhard committed to cloſe priſon. 145.32
Ferquhard ſlayeth himſelfe. 146.22
Ferquhard the ſecond ſon to the laſt Ferquhard enthroniſed K. of Scotland. 147.49
Ferquharde of a good prince becōmeth a naughtie king. 147.54
Ferquhardes exceſsiue couetouſneſſe. 147.79
Ferquhard excommunicate for his levvdneſſe. 147.98
Ferquhard giuen to immoderate gluttonie. 147.105
Ferquhard giuen to beaſtly drunkenneſſe. 147.115
Ferquharde defileth his ovvne daughters. 148. 8
Ferquhard ſlaieth his ovvne vvife. 148. 10
Ferquhard bitten by a VVolfe in hunting. 148.25
Ferquhard ſicke of moſt lothſome diſeaſes. 148.29
Ferquhard penitent for his offences. 148.48
Ferquhard dyeth. 148.51
Ferquard ouerthrovveth a ſtoute Norman in vvraſtling. 205.61
Fethelmacus created king of ſcots. fol. 86
Fethelmacus leadeth an armye agaynſt the Pictes, and diſcomfiteth them. 86.85
Fethelmacus murthered in his bed. 87. 12
Fetherſtone VVilliam knight, capitaine of Lochmaben caſtell. 350. 24
Fiacre ſonne to Eugenius, giueth himſelf to a ſolitarie life. 144.77
Fiacres prayer to continue hys contemplatiue life. 145.43
Fierce onſet of the Brytaines vpon the Scottes and Pictes. 107.13
Fife, vvhy ſo called. 177.95
Fighting of horſes ſeene. 40.71
Filthie lavves. 30.13
Fincormake created K. of Scotes. 82. 71
Fincormakes fidelitie tovvardes the king of Brytaine. 83.32
Fincormake dieth. 84.42
Fin Makcoel the great Hunter. 108. 65
Finnan made Biſhop of Lyndeferne. 149.15
Finnan dyeth. 149.10
Fine cookerie baniſhed. 65.18
Finnanus ſonne to Ioſina proclaimed king. 20.80
Finnanus firſte inſtitutour of the Druides. 21.7
Finnanus dieth at Camelon. 21.54
Finnanus vvhere buried. 21.58
Findock ſonne to Athirco choſen king. 76.27
Findocke paſſeth into the Iles agaynſt the rebels. 76.61
Findocke goeth the ſeconde tyme into the Iles agaynſt the rebels. 77. 7
Findock ſlain by treaſon. 77.43
Findour in Merne. 58.56
Firſt comming of the Stevvardes to the crovvne of Scotlande. 356. 47
Fire ryſing through the force of vvindes. 207.46
Firie armies ſeen in the aire. 250.16
Fire and vvater hauing mercye. 280. 101
Firth of Clyde. 462.63
Fiſhes found in ſhape like men. 186. 74
Fiſhes like men, called Baſsinates ſeene in great number. 101.4
Fife vvith other coūtries brought intoo ſubiection to the Romaynes. 50.67
Fleance ſonne to Banquho eſcapeth into VVales after his fathers ſlaughter. 446.99
Fleance defloureth the Prince of VVales daughter. 247.9
Fleance ſlaine. 247.12
Fleming Fraunces maiſter of the ordinance. 407.67
Florence in Italye reedified. 264.2
Fraſer VVilliam Biſhop of Saint Andrevves. 301.16
Fray betvveene the French ſouldiours, and the tovvneſmen of Edenbourgh. 476.10
Fray amongſt the nobles in hunting. 130.9
Frier Brian Iay ſlaine by the hand of VVilliam VVallace. 305.77
Frier in Glaſgevv burnt for Religion. 445.21
Friers Minors ſent into Scotland. 285. 70
Frenchmen cōclude a league vvith the Scottes againſt the Engliſh men. 150.76
Frenchmen commended for their fayth and ſtedfaſtneſſe of promiſe. 262.68
Frenchmenne ſue too enter intoo league vvith the Picts. 163.17
Frenchmen ſend ayde to the Barons of Englande agaynſt King Iohn. 262.8
French king deſireth the king of Scots to make vvarre vpon the Engliſhmen. 349.45
Frenchmenne egge the Scottes agaynſt England. 358.21
Frenchmen and Scottes baniſhed forth of England. 431.113
French king miſliketh of the mariage concluded to be had betvveene the yong Queene of Scotland, and Prince Edvvarde 458.78. he ſetteth the Earle of Lennox on, to alter all that vvas alreadie begon and ended in Scotland. 458.86
French armie ſent into Scotlande agaynſt the Engliſhmen. 474.36
French Galleys compaſſe aboute the realme of Scotland by Dungesby head. 475.8
Frenchmen encampe at Muskelbourgh. 475.38
Frenchmen giue a camiſado too Hadington, and are beaten backe. 476.45
Froſt vpon Midſommer day. 238. 78
Fruite of vvicked counſaylors. 21. 76
Fogo Iohn, made Abbot of Melros. 381.35
Founde things to bee cried in the market. 181.57
Foundation of Saint Revvles Abbey layde. 271.60
Fountaine of bloud iſſueth out of a mountaine in Gallovvay. 202. 79
Foillane martired. 147.34
Fortune aduaunceth the Romains. 35. 55
Fort of Lidell taken by the Scots 350. 30
Fort builded by the Engliſhmen at Broughtie crag. 476.71
Fortie thouſand crovvnes ſent out of Fraunce into Scotland, to [illegible] an armie agaynſt the Engliſhmen. 37
Forman made Archbiſhop of Saint Andrevves dyeth. 426.40
Football and other vnlavvfull games debarred. 401.79
Forbes Iohn, conuicted of treaſon, and beheaded and quartered. 444. 42
Fortunes flatterie not to bee truſted. 184.79
Fothadus the great Biſh. of Scotlande. 224.65
Fothadus trauailleth to make peace betvveene Grime and Malcolme. 224.74
Fothadus bringeth Grime and Malcolme to agreement vpon conditions. 225
Forth called the Scottiſh Sea. fol. 18
Foure vvardens choſen to gouern the ſtate of Scotland. 126.25
Forman Protonotarie ſent too Iames the fourth, vvith a Roſe & a ſcepter. 409.
Fordune a tovvne in Mernes. 221. 4
Foure orders of Friers appointed. 296. 36
Frontinus ſent into Brytayne. 48. 7
Frontinus requireth to ioyne amitie vvith the Picts. 48.
Frontinus diſcomfiteth the Br. 49. 1
Frontinus vexed vvith ſickneſſe, returneth to Rome. 49.
Foure Scottiſh ſhippes ſpoiled by the Engliſhmen. 478.24
Fourme of an olde deede of gi. 361. 6
Fourdon Iohn cited. 341.114. and 342.95. and. 350.39. and. 361.42.
Fourdon Iohn cited. 261.
Fox Richard Biſhop of Excetor, ſent Ambaſſadour into Scotland. 408.
Furious rage of the Scottiſh Caters. 99.
Furniture of the Iriſh armies. 177. 48
Furſeus profeſſed a Monke. 147.
Fulgentius made Capitaine of a Britiſhe rebellion agaynſt the Romaines. 71.
Fulgentius ſendeth to the Scottes and Pictes for ayde againſt the Romains. 71.
Fulgentius ſendeth Ambaſſadours to Seuerus the Emperour, for intreatie of peace. 71.47
Fulgentius and his armie put too flight and diſcomfited. 72.30
Fulgentius vvithdravveth intoo Pictland. 72.8

G

GAinſforde Nicholas a leader of men of Armes. 468.24
Galde, vvhat it ſignifieth amongſt the Scots. 46.
Galde king of Scottes, looke Corbreid Galde.
Gallovvay, vvhy ſo called. 59.19
Galdia. 59.40
Galitia not ſufficient for the Scots 5. 65
Galghetes vvife to Philtan. 147.19
Galanus king of Picts. 112.15
Galgacus. 46.48
Callovvay in feare of the Earle of Lennox. 463.48
Gallio Rauennas ſent into Brytayne vvith an armie. 103.40
Gallio purſueth and ſlayeth the Scottes and Picts in great number. 50
Gallio cauſeth the vvall of Abercorne to be repayred. 103.59
Gallio

The Table of Scotlande.

Gillo ordeyneth that vvatch bee kept vpon the vvall. 103.69
Gillo returneth into Frãce. 104.4
Ganus king of Orkeneis beſieged. 32. 35
Ganus taken and led to Rome. 32. 38
Garnard choſen king of Pictes. 52. 8
Garnard ioyfully receiued Gildo and his companie. 53.52
Garnard king of Pictes inuadeth Scotland. 152.52
Garenteris Eugenye a Frenche knight arriueth in Scotlande. 352. 46
Gaſpar de Collignie generall captaine of footmen in Fraunce. 480 80
Gathelus ſonne to Cecrops. 1.8
Gathelus baniſhed by his father. 1. 17
Gathelus fled into Egipt. 1.19
Gathelus goeth agaynſt the Ethiopians. 1.23
Gathelus enterteyned of Pharao. 1. 20
Gathelus maried vnto Scota Pharaos daughter. 1.37
Gathelus forſaketh Egypt, to ſeek other Countreys. 2.6
Gathelus repulſed by the people of Barbarie. 2.10
Gathelus landed in Portingall. 2.11
Gathelus vanquiſheth the Spaniardes. 2.6
Gathelus leaueth Portingall, and goeth to Galitia. 2.38
Gathelus maketh lavves for hys people. 3.7
Gathelus entituled by the name of a king. 3.4
Gathelus dyeth. 4.59
Garvan ſlaine. 134.61
Garvolane ſlaine. 134.67
Garvolene a noble man of Brytaine. 128.39
Geffray of Monmouth cited. 12. 50
Gemmer a tovvne in Buchquhan. 335. 69
Geniſſa Aruiragus vvife dyeth with thought. 34.56
Gentlemen taken in Glaſquo caſtell, hanged by the commaundement of the gouernour of Scotland. 460.98
Gentlemen for miſintreating the commons, puniſhed. 123.56
George Erle of March vpon diſpleaſure fleeth into Englande. 366. 113
Germans come to ayde the Picts. 17. 32
Germaine Souldiours ſlay their Captaines. 53.16
Germain Souldiours flee too the Scottes and Pictes. 53.24
Germanes reſtore the Romaines almoſt vanquiſhed. 55.12
Gernadius a notable Preacher in Murrey land. 167.57
Gethus king of Pictes ſlaine. 15.44
Gethus made kings of Pictes, brother to Gethus before named. 16. 3
Gethus keepeth reſiance in Pomonia. 17.10
Gilbert of Gallovvay purpoſeth to conquere the Crovvne of Scotland. 274.112
Gilberts crueltie tovvardes hys brother that reproued his doings. 275.1
Gilbert and his army vanquiſhed. 275. 11
Gilbert eſcapeth into Irelande. 275. 16
Gilbert a learned man defendeth the liberties of Scotland. 275.63
Gilbert made Biſhop of Cathnes. 275. 77
Gilbert Archdeacon of Murrey. 285. 25
Gilbert Earle of Caſſels, ſent Ambaſſadour into England. 436.70 ſlaine by the Sheriffe of Ayre. 439 29
Gildo and his army arriue in Tay vvater. 53.45
Gildo captain of the Rebelles in Murrey land. 270.50
Giles daughter too king Robert, maried to VVilliam Dovvglas. 361. 37
Gileſpy Ros rebelleth agaynſt K. Alexander. 284.91
Gileſpy and his tvvo ſonnes taken and beheaded. 284.104
Gilcriſt ſtrangleth his vvife vpon ſuſpitiō of aduoutrie. 276.49
Gilcriſt proclaimed traitor, and his caſtell raſed. 276.56
Gilcriſt returneth into Scotland. 276. 80
Gilcriſt asketh pardon of the king to vvhom he vvas not knovvne. 277. 21
Gilcriſt and his tvvo ſonnes delue turfes. 277.14
Gilcriſt taken to fauor, and reſtored to his landes. 277.64
Gilcriſt and his army diſcomfited and put to flight by the rebels in Murrey lande. 270.64
Gilcriſt and Roulande ſtoutly reſiſt the Engliſh men. 274.55
Gilcriſt vanquiſheth Gilbert and his army. 275.11
Gilcriſt Earle of Angus ſent forth agaynſt Somerleid vvith an army. 262.84
Gilcriſt Earle of Angus ſent forth agaynſt Angus a rebell vvyth an armie. 270.24
Gilſlande vvaſted and burnt by the Scottes. 321.112
Gillo and his armye of baniſhed Scottes ſlaine by the Pictes. 92. 15
Gillequhalm ſonne to Donald rebelleth agaynſt Soluathius. 158. 74
Gillequhalm and his confederates ſuppreſſed. 158.79
Gillus Evvins baſtard ſonne. 24.15
Gillus craft to ſlay Durſtus tvvo ſonnes. 24.35
Gillus created king. 24.69
Gillus ſlayeth tvvo of Dothans ſonnes. 24.100
Gillus counterfeyteth a zeale too iuſtice. 25.3
Gillus fleeth ſecretly into Irelãd. 25. 28
Gillus purchaſeth ayde in Ireland. 25. 53
Gillus fleeth. 25.89
Gillus taken. 25.95
Gillus beheaded. 25.98
Glacian a Biſhop. 167.58
Glames Ladie apprehended for treaſon and burned. 444.28
Glammis. 238.4
Glaſquo Caſtell and ſteeple fortified by the Earle of Lennox, vvith men and munition. 460. 93. beſieged and vvonne by the gouernour. 97
Glaſquo caſtell again beſieged by the gouernor. 462.19
Glaucus ſonne too Ethion king of Scottes. 5.60
Glendale burned and ſpoyled by the Scottes. 434.64
Gods vvrath prouoked by ſinne, and pacified by repentance. 220. 112
Godred king of the Iles ſlaine. 293. 67
Godfrey of Bullion his expeditiō into the holy land. 247.51
Godvvines landes ouerflovvne vvith the ſea. 259.16
Godrike Archbiſhop of ſaint Andrevves. 260.106
Gordon Alexander made biſhop of Aberdene. 427.1
Gordian the thirde Emperour of Rome. 74.47
Gordian Iohn Lorde, marieth the baſtarde daughter to Iames the fourth. 416.44
Gordon VVilliam Chauncellour of Murrey, vncle too George Earle of Huntley, promoted to the Biſhoprike of Aberdene. 464. 54
Gorley Normand abiured, and burnt for religion. 442.46
Goranus othervviſe called Conranus. 123.22
Gormond a Dane, arriueth vvyth an armie in Northumberlande. 199. 98
Gormond and his armye vanquyſhed by king Alured. 209.12
Gormond is baptiſed and named Athelſtane. 200.23
Gothes made an expedition agaynſt the Romaine Empire. fol. 94
Gothlois duke of Cornevvall executed. 124.14
Gothred moueth Rebellion in Cathnes. 281.7
Gothred diſcomfited, taken, and beheaded. 281.21
Gouernours names reuerenced. 23. 50
Gouernours had in greate reuerence. 5.106
Gouernours appoynted ouer euerie ſhire by lottes. 10.55
Gouernement of yong Princes daungerous. 11.40
Gouernment of Scotlande vnder king Roberte committed vnto tvvo valiant Captaines. 326.29
Gouernour of Scotland ſhevveth himſelfe to imbrace the reformed religion, and vvherein. 458. 62
Gouernour of Scotland breaketh his fayth, and revolteth from the king of Englande. 459.100
Govver Thomas taken priſoner. 468. 36
Graſſe and hearbes ſtained vvith bloud. 135.42
Graues to be reuerenced. 181.99
Gracian Emperor of Rome. 52.15
Gracian vſurpeth the gouernment of Brytaine. 95.65
Gray Androvv marieth Helene, heyre too Henrie Mortimer of Foulis in Scotland. 377.25
Graim or Graham a noble man of the Scots, and his linage. 97.94
Graim and his people aſſault the vvall of Abircorne. 104.31
Gramiſdike vvhereof ſo named. 105. 46
Graham Richie of Eske. 469.106
Graham Patrike Earle of Stratherne ſlain traiterouſly. 374.5
Graham Ferguſe, appoynted gouernour of Milke Caſtell. 469. 105
Graham Robert one of the murtherers of king Iames the firſt. 384. 9
Graham Robert cruellye executed. 385.51
Graham Patrike Archbiſhop of Saint Andrevves pronounced an heretike by the Popes inquiſitour. 402.63
Graham Patrike late Archbiſhop of Saint Andrevves dyeth. 408. 72
Greate ſeale of Scotlande taken from the Biſhop of Glaſgevv. 424. 32
Great froſtes and floudes, the lyke hath not beene ſeene. 191.14
Gregorie the firſt inueſted king of Scotland. 191.110
Gregories lavves and ordinaunces. 192.12
Gregorie continued his life vnmaried. 192.55
Gregorie recouereth his dominions from the Danes and Pictes. 192. 70
Gregorie purſueth the Iriſhmen vvhich ſacked Gallovvay, into Ireland. 195.113
Gregorie returneth into Scotlande. 199.12
Gregorie dieth. 199.20
Grimme Dovvglas. 367.51
Grime crovvned king of Scotlande. 232.47
Grime altered from noble qualities, vnto deteſtable vices. 226. 10
Grime purpoſeth to impriſon the Ambaſſadours ſent to him from the nobles. 226.67
Grime aſſembleth an army to encounter Malcolme. 227.24
Grimes army diſcomfited and chaſed. 227.45
Grime dieth. 227.52
Ground to be left vntilled vvhere ſlaine men lie buried. 181.96
Gneus Senſius ſent into Brytaine. 31. 89
Guiderius King of Brytayne rebelleth agaynſt the Romaines. 31. 83
Guiderius vanquiſhed in battaile by the Romaines. 31.91
Guiderius ſendeth to the Scottes for ayde agaynſt the Romains. 31. 92
Guiderius ſlaine. 32.8
Guillarde Andrevv knight, one of the French kings priuie Counſaile. 480.84
Guytellus prince of VVales, ſent vvith an army againſt the Scots and Pictes. 112.69
Guytellus hangeth vp fiue hundred Scots and Pictes. 112.83
Guytellus and his armie fighteth a pight field vvith the Scots and Picts. 112.110
Guytellus and his army diſcomfited and ſlaine. 113.25
Guthred king of Man. 293.48

H.

HAco K. of Norvvay. 293.71
Hadington fort buylded by the Engliſhmen. 472.82. beſieged by the Scottes, vvho are repulſed. 474.60. and. 474.108
Hadington kept from vitayles through ſiege. 479.14. vitayled by the Engliſhmen. 479.58. raſed by the Engliſhmen. 480.20
Hagon king of Norvvey, & Helrike king of Denmarke, arriue in Scotland. 205.33
Hagon king of Norvvay, & Helrike King of Denmarke, vvith their armies vanquiſhed and ſlaine. 205.59
Haile and a greate ſtorme vppon Midſommer day. 276.12
Hamilton Iames Larde of Stanehouſe, appointed too keepe the caſtell of Edenbergh. 459.43
Hamilton Caſtell. 460.109
Haliburton Iames, left to defende the Countrey agaynſt the Engliſh men. 472.68
Hamton ſlayeth Iohn Spencer. 325. 43
Hammiltons houſe decorate vvith the kings bloud. 248.65
Hammiltons from vvhence diſcended. 325.50
Hammilton Lorde married to the k. of Scots ſiſter lately diuorced

from

from hir husband the Earle of Arrane. 400.39
Hamiltons hovv they be neare of the bloud roiall of Scotlande. 400. 43
Hamilton Iames Knight, deſperatelye vvounded by a ſimple fellovv. 430.40
Hamilton Patrike, Abbot of Ferne returneth out of Germanie, and is burned for an heretike. 420. 61
Hamilton Iames knight arreſted, and commaunded to vvard. 445. 91. beheaded for treaſon at Edenbourgh. 446.6
Hamilton Gavvin. 472.35
Hanigo ſonne to Magnus king of Norvvay. 294.25
Hamilton Iames, captain of Edēbourgh caſtell, ſlaine. 476.30
Hanvvald king of Brytaines ſlain. 201. 105
Hardie enterprice by ſir Iames Dovvglas. 327.43
Harington Robert knight, taken priſoner by the Scots. 390.74
Harold ſonne to Earle Godvvin taketh vpon him the Kingdome of England. 253.93
Harold ſlaine in the field. 253.97
Hat of Purpure made in maner of a Diademe ſent to King VVilliam from the Pope. 27[illegible].25
Harolde paſſeth ouer intoo Norvvay. 293.77
Harold marieth Hacoes King of Norvvayes daughter. 293.79
Harolde and his vvife drovvned. 293. 81
Harold ſon to Godred Don, made gouernor of man. 293.86
Hay and his tvvo ſonnes. 216.7
Hay and his tvvo ſonnes ſtay the Scottes from running avvay. 216. 27
Hay and his tvvo ſonnes revvarded vvith the chiefeſt part of the ſpoile. 216.75
Hay is made one of the Nobilitie. 216. 99
Hayes lands graunted him by the flight of a Faulcon. 216.107
Hayes armes blaſoned. 217.7
Hayes Coneſtables of Scotlande. 217. 14
Hare eſcapeth out of the middeſt of the Scottiſh campe. 421.19
Harolde king of the Ile of Man. 293. 73
Harold ſlaine by Egelred vvhich vvas driuen into Normandie. 241. 20
Hariſons Chronologie cited. 5.12. and. 7.76. and. 28.56. and. 31.41. 72.11. and. 73.15. and. 74.49. and 82. 20
Hariſon cited. 338.44
Hebrides called the VVeſterne Iles nigh Scotland poſſeſſed by the Scottes. 5.70
Hebborne Iames made Biſhop of Murrey. 426.112
Hector Boetius cited. 10.94. and 43.66. and. 43.86. and. 48.1.
Hector Boetius credite doubted of. 17.76. and. 32. 42
Hector Boetius truſt doubted of 103. 98
Heltams crueltie to friendes and foes. 344.2
Hector Boetius credite doubted of. 102.26
Hector Boetius cited. 22[illegible]. 76. and 235.1 and. 237.36. 245. 58
Helen daughter and heyre to Hērie Mortimer of Foulis, maried to Andrevv Gray. 377.25
Hector Boetius cited. 275. 65. and 2[illegible]2.[illegible]5.2[illegible].2[illegible] and. 335. 35
Hector Boetius doctor of diuinitie in Abirdeue. 265.65
Hector Boetius cited. 383. 34. and 387.24. and. 388.9. and. 388.44. and. 392.43. and. 394.35. and. 394 54. and. 398. 12
Helrike King of Denmarke, and Hagon king of Norvvay, arriue in Scotland. 205.33
Heirdorſtane and his povver put to flight by Scottes and Iriſhe men. 92.52
Hengiſt after victorie ouer the enimies returneth to London. 119. 24
Hengiſt purpoſed at the firſt too make a conqueſt of the Brytaynes. 115.20
Hengiſt offereth to ſend for more ayde into Germanie. 115.28
Hengiſts offers miſliked of ſome of the nobilitie of Britaine. 115.35
Hengiſt and Occa flee ouer intoo Saxonie. 119.24
Hengiſt returneth into Brytaine, getting poſſeſsion of the more part thereof. 110.68
Hengiſt ſlaine in flight. 122.7
Helrike King of Denmarke, and Hagon King of Norvvay vvith their armies vanquiſhed & ſlain. 205. 59
Hengiſt and Horſus reteyned in ſeruice vvith Vortigerne. 113
Henrie the firſte ſurnamed Beauclearke, created King of England. 261.16
Henrie Prince of Scotlande dieth. 266. 55
Henrie ſonne to Maulde the Empreſſe receyueth the order of Knighthoode. 267.96
Henrie the ſeconde King of England, conſtrayneth Malcolme to go ouer vvith him into Frāce 268. 112
Henrie the ſeconde of Englande paſſeth ouer intoo Normandie vvith an armie. 272.53
Henrie the ſeconde of Englande reſtoreth part of Northumberland to King VVilliam. 272.99
Henrie the ſeconde king of England, purpoſing to go agaynſte the Saraſins into the holy land, hindred by rebellion of hys ſonne. 276.101
Henrie the ſeconde of Englande dyeth. 277.116
Henrie the thirde ſonne to King Iohn created King of Englande. 282. 34
Henrie the thirde inuadeth Scotland vvith an armie. 282.66
Henrie the third of Englande and Alexander of Scotlande, meete at Yorke to conclude and eſtabliſh peace. 283.72
Heltam ſlaine. 344.17
Henrie the third of England, and his barons at vvarre. 294.34
Henrie the third ſendeth intoo Scotlande too Alexander for ayde agaynſte the rebelles in England. 294.40
Henrie Hotſpur. 362.29
Henrie Hotſpur vnſadled by erle Dovvglas. 362.46
Henrie the fourth King of England crovvned. 366.86
Henrie Hotſput and the Earle of March enter into Scotlād vvith a povver. 367.34
Henrie inuadeth Scotlande vvith an armie. 367.57
Henrie ouerthrovveth the rebels at Shrevvſburie. 370.8
Henrie Hotſpur ſlaine. 370.9
Henrie the fiſt of England, maryeth Katherine daughter too the French King. 374.82
Henrie goeth ouer into Fraunce vvith a great army. 375.35
Henrye King of Englande dyeth. 375.64
Henrie biſhop of S. Andrevves. 377. 16
Henrie the ſixth returneth vvith an army into Englande, and is diſcomfited. 399.62
Henrie the ſixt impriſoned and made avvay in the Tovver of London. 399.75
Henrie the ſixt taken priſoner at the battaile of Saint Albones. 396. 16
Henrie the ſixt vnder ſafe conduct commeth into Scotlande. 398. 67
Henrie the ſeuenth King of England dieth. 415.15
Henrie the eight crovvned king of England. 415.18
Henrie the eight King of Englande talketh vvith the Lordes of Scotland priſoners, for a mariage betvvixt his ſonne prince Edvvard, and the yong Quene of Scotland. 457.74
Henrie the eight King of England dyeth. 466.63
Hepbornes in Scotlande hovve firſt aduaunced. 364.30
Hereſie of Pelagius reigneth in Scotlande. 108.14
Hepborne Adams familiaritie vvith Marie of Gelderlande Queene of Scottes. 399.35
Hiraclianus ſent into Brytaine agaynſt Victorinus. 98.82
Hiraclianus ſent for to go into Affrike. 98.93
Herdunt Captaine of the Danes, that ſacked Yorke. 193.34
Herdunt and his armie putte too flight 193.69
Hermofrodites getteth a damſell vvith childe. 397.15
Hepborne Patrike ſlaine. 369.1
Heron baſtard ſlaine by the Scots 435. 44
Hermoneus Metellus eldeſt ſon. 5. 9
Herres Iohn Lord, his lands ſpoiled by theeues. 391.89
Herres Iohn Lorde hanged. 391. 103
Hermoneus returneth into Spaine 5. 16
Heralde Thane of Cathnes, captaine of rebels in Scotlande. 479. 46
Heralde taken and ſeuerely puniſhed. 279
Herald at armes anſvvere to king Edvvardes demaunde concerning the three moſt valiant captaines of that time. 328.99
Henrie the ſeuenth obteyneth the crovvne of England. 406.74
Herbert crovvned King of Brytaine. 105.13
Hialas Peter ſent from the King of Spain, to reconcile the kings of England and Scotlande. 411. 1
Hieland mans ſalutation vnto Alexander the thirde at his corōnation. 287.30
Hiberus and Himecus arriue at Dundalke in Ireland. 4.17
Hiberus returneth intoo Spaine. 4. 58
Hiberus ſuccedeth his father Gathelus. 4.59
Hiberus a couragious conqueror. 4. 62
Hierguſt choſen king of Pictes. 86. 104
Hierguſt reneweth the olde league betvveene the Romaines and Pictes. 87.83
Hierguſt deſireth the vtter deſtruction of the Scots. 90.71
Hiberus eldeſt ſonne to Gathelus and Scota. 4.22
Hieland men obedient to lavves, 413. 48
Hierguſt ſlayeth himſelfe. 97.63
Himecus ſeconde ſonne to Gathelus and Scota. 4.22
Himecus is left too gouerne the Scottes in Ireland. 4.54
Hercius the Romaine Emperours Procurator ſlaine. 81.107
Himecus gouernour of the Scots in Ireland. 4.61
Hibertus Metellus yongeſt ſonne. 5. 10
Holcroſt Thomas knight, an Engliſh Captaine. 479.41
Hollanders heades ſent in Pypes into Scotland. 411.84
Holdes and Caſtelles of Scotlande deliuered too King Edvvarde. 302. 28
Horſes kept by the commons or huſband men, but onely for tillage to be forfeyt. 246.33
Hoode Robin and little Iohn time. 294.71
Horſes ſent too Iames the fourth, from the Lorde of Temeer. 414. 25
Holiburton Thomas. 368.68
Horſemenne ſent into Scotlande from England, too ioyne vvith the Engliſh armye there. 461. 100
Horeſtia a part of Pictlande. 177. 67
Hovvell leader of the Armorike Brytaynes. 127.29
Horſes ſent to Iames the fourth from the King of Englande. 415. 3
Hoſpitall in Aberdene founded. 420. 33
Horſes eate their ovvne fleſh. 220. 57
Houſon captaine of the Caſtell of Dunbretaine. 461.[illegible]
Hoblers. 350.39
Helcades. 194.2
Holyroode houſe builded. 254.[illegible]
Honorius Emperour of Rome. 95. 70
Hubba and Hungar brothers too Cadane K. of Denmark. 187.114
Hubba eſcapeth ſlaughter and drovvning. 189.28
Hubba and Hunger ſlaine. 191.64
Humber, a fatal place for the Britaines to be vanquiſhed at. 133. 60
Humber colored red vvith bloud. 134. 51
Hume Alexander Lord Chamberlaine blamed for the loſſe of Floddon field. 422.[illegible]
Hume Alexander Lord, denounced a rebell. [illegible]
Hume Alexander Lorde, ſubmitteth himſelfe to the gouernour 426. 10
Hume Alexander Lorde, ſtayeth Lion King at armes, and taketh his letters from him. 425.64
Hume Alexander Lorde, vvith other cōmitted to vvard. 427.43
Hume Alexander Lord, vvith other beheaded. 427.52
Hume Alexander Lordes heade vvith others, ſette vppon the Tolbuth in Edenbourgh. 427. 54
Hume Alexander Lordes heade vvith others taken dovvne. 430. 107
Hume Lorde his ſonne taken priſoner by the Engliſh menne. 464. 51
Hugh Cardinall, ſent too reforme the Churches of Englande and Scotlande. 275.49
Hungus king of Pictes, refuſeth to conclude a league vvith the Frenchmen. 103.23

Hungus

The Table of Scotlande.

Hungus with his army inuadeth Northumberland. 165.26
Hungus dreame and the euent thereof. 166.30
Hungus repayreth S. Andrewes Church. 166.88
Hungus dyeth. 167.83
Hungar and Hubba brothers too Codine King of Denmarke. 187. 114
Hunting a warlike exercise. 6. 88
Hume Castell besieged in vaine. 479. 27
Hume Castell recouered by the Scottes. 476.105
Hume Castell rendred to the Englishmen. 469.57
Hugh Bishop of Durham. 276.89
Hurt done to Priestes, to bee punished by death. 181.94
Husbacke appoynted gouernour of the Iles. 253.53
Husbacke slaine. 253.61

J.

Iack Straw captaine of a rebellion in England. 359.2
Iacoba countesse of Hollande, maried to Alexander Stewward Earle of Mar. 382.35
Iames the first slaine. 248.8
Iames the second marieth Margaret daughter to the daughter of the Duke of Gelderlande. 248.41
Iames the thirde marieth Margaret daughter too the king of Denmarke. 248.69
Iames the fourth marieth Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seuenth of England. 248.76
Iames the fift marieth Marye de Lorraine Dutchesse of Longuile a widow. 248.83
Iames Prince of Scotland sent into France. 371.44
Iames Prince of Scotlande taken prisoner by the Englishmen. 372. 65
Iames Prince of Scotlande goeth ouer into Fraunce with King Henrie. 375.17
Iames Prince of Scotland marieth Iane daughter too the Earle of Somerset. 376.100
Iames Prince of Scotlande set at libertie returneth intoo Scotlande. 376.116
Iames the first, and Iane his wife crowned King and Queene of Scotlande. 377.14
Iames the first king of Scotlande, slaine. 384.55
Iames the second crowned King of Scotland. 385.101
Iames with the firie face. 385.104
Iames conueyed in a Trunke from Edenbourgh to Striueling. 386. 46
Iames maried to Marie, daughter too the Duke of Gelderlande. 389. 1
Iames aydeth the Queene of Englande against the duke of York. 396. 25
Iames inuadeth the borders with an armie. 396.43
Iames slaine. 396.67
Iames the thirde crowned King of Scotland. 397.72
Iames marieth Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. 400. 10
Iames eldest son too K. Iames the thirde borne. 401.61
Iames preparing an armye to inuade Englande, is inhibited by the Popes Legate. 403.40
Iames arested and imprisoned by the Nobilitie of Scotlande. 403. 106
Iames set at libertie by the Duke of Albanie his brother. 404. 38
Iames forsaken of his nobilitie. 404. 63
Iames Duke of Rothsay enforced to be captaine of the Conspiracie of the Nobles agaynst his father. 407.48
Iames sendeth letters to the pope, Kings of England and France, to perswade with the Nobilitie which conspired agaynst him. 407.78
Iames gathereth an army agaynst the rebels. 407.75
Iames with his armie discomfited and slaine. 408.7
Iames the fourth crowned King of Scotland. 408.33
Iames weareth an Iron Chaine aboute his middle all his lyfe tyme. 408.43
Iames inuadeth England with an armie too ayde Perkin Warbecke. 410.25
Iames desireth too common with the Bishop of Durham. 411.89
Iames marieth Margaret daughter to King Henrie the seuenth of England. 412.67
Iames Prince of Scotlande, and of the Iles borne. 413.97
Iames declared by the Popes Legate Protector of the fayth. 414. 11
Iames presented from the Pope with a Diademe, and swoorde with scabberd and hiltes of golde. 414.13
Iames Prince of Scotlande dyeth. 414. 46
Iames the fifth Prince of Scotlande, and of the Iles borne. 416. 70
Iames inuadeth Englande with a mightie armie. 419.101
Iames slaine in the field, and hys armie discomfited. 422.30
Iames the fifth crowned King of Scotland. 423.45
Iames the fifth not in his owne gouernment. 437.94. brought into the field against his will. 437.108
Iames the fifth taketh vppon hym the gouernment of the Realme himselfe. 439.82
Iames the fifth obteyneth Magdalene the French kings daughter in mariage. 442.21. his voyage about the Iles. 442.64. sayleth intoo Fraunce, and is honourably enterteyned. 442.78. rideth secretly to see the Duke of Vandosmes daughter. 442.87. his hardinesse in practice of warlike feates. 443.5. is maried to the Ladie Magdalene, daughter to the Frenche King. 443.57. returneth intoo Scotland with his wife. 443.69. espouseth the Ladie Marie de Lorraine, Dutchesse of Longuile. 444.82. receyued into the Iles of Orkney. 445.8. refuseth to meete the King of Englande at Yorke. 446.56
Iames Prince, eldest sonne too K. Iames the fifth departeth this life. 446.13
Iane daughter to Iohn Beauforde Earle of Somerset, maried to K. Iames the first. 248.30
Iane sister to Henrie the thirde of England, promised in mariage to King Alexander. 283.76
Iane sister to King Edward, maryed to Dauid Prince of Scotlande. 328.31
Iane wife to King Dauid dyeth. 355. 13
Iane daughter to the Earle of Somerset, maried too Iames prince of Scotland. 376
Iane Queene of Scottes deliuered of two sonnes at a burthen. 379. 68
Iane wife to King Alexander dieth. 286
Iceni, an auncient people where they dwelt. 39.23
Idlenesse the breeder and nourisher of all sensuall lusts. 152.74
Iedbourgh. 438.26
Iedworth. 463.81
Ienny Pyrnine a Scottish Barke taken. 416.3
Ile of Gowere. 25.62
Ile of Ila. 25.76
Ile of Wight rebelleth agaynste the Romaines. 37.72
Ile of Wight rebelling brought to obedience. 67.15
Ile of Anglesey conquered. 43.66
Ile Anglesey submitteth it selfe to the Romaines. 50.15
Iland rebels yeeld themselues too King Ethodius. 68.75
Ile of Colmkill, in olde time called Ile of Iona. 75.39
Ile of Man spoyled by the Danes. 203.21
Ile of Man spoyled by the Scots. 301. 94
Ile of Man recouered by the Scottes. 293.27
Ile of Sketh. 233.61
Iles resigned ouer to the Scots. 301. 400
Ilād of Lunday in Seuern. 405.52
Iles of Lewis. 445.13
Iles of Skie. 445.12
Iles of Tranternes. 445.19
Ile of Arrane burnt, and the Gouernors castell of Scotland there razed to the ground. 462.74
Ile of Bute taken. 462.76
Ile of Rinter inuaded by the erle of Lenrox. 463.43
Iles of Scotlande at the King of Englandes commaundement, and seruice. 464.110
Ile of Saint Colmes Ins woon by the Englishmen. 469.39
Illusions of euill spirites. 50.55. and. 119.91. and. 120.28. and 120. 45
Images of Christ and the twelue Apostles of Golde and Siluer. 366. 54
Images preached agaynst in Scotlande. 458.64
Impudent seruilitie intruded vpon the Britaines by the prowd and cruel Scots and Picts. 109.25
Ingelram Lord of Coucie. 286.15
Inglis, Abbot of Culros cruellye murthered. 441.51
Inhabitantes of Orkeney inuade Cathnes. 26
Inhabitantes of Orkeney vanquished. 26.39
Inhabitants of Galloway submit themselues to the Romaines. 37. 94
Inhabitantes of Galloway beaten and pacified. 30.60.
Inhabitantes of Wales offer aide to the Scottes agaynst the Romaines. 57.10
Inhabitantes of the Iles inuade Rosse and Murrey. 76.55
Inuernes burnt by Alexander L. of the Iles. 378.76
Inscription of the Scottish Kings seate of Marble stone. 3.51
Inscription engrauen vppon Saint Colmes tombe. 142.6
Inscription of the Scottish marble seate, by whom ingrauen. 180.57
Insketh fortified by the Englishe men. 478.30.
Interpretation of the Kinges crowne scepter & sword. 11.96
Inundation of water at Barthas 280. 47
Illythara called otherwise Thara, king of Pictes. 35.24
Iohn Bishop of Saint Andrewes. 276. 38
Iohn the first crowned King of England. 279.79
Iohn causeth booties to be set out of Scotland. 279.106
Iohn maketh restitution too the Scottes of their goodes lately taken away. 279.109
Iohn falleth out with the Pope. 281. 32
Iohn falleth out with his Barons 282. 3
Iohn King of Englande dyeth. 282. 31
Iohn Maior cited. 254. 55. and 304.39. and. 315.62 and. 318.26
Iohn the first crowned King of Scotlande. 295.102
Iohn the first doeth homage too King Edwarde of Englande for the Realme of Scotlande. 299. 107
Iohn renounceth his allegiaunce promised by homage vnto the King of Englande. 300.6
Iohn sendeth Ambassadors intoo Fraunce too renue the auncient league with the Frenchmen. 300. 58
Iohn pursued into the Castell of Forfaire. 303.79
Iohn resigneth all his right in the crowne of Scotlande to King Edwarde. 302.13
Iohn and his son sent to London, and there kept in prison. 302.35
Iohn set at libertie returneth into Scotland. 302.40
Iohn renounceth the administration of the realme. 302.49
Iohn dieth. 302.49
Iohn King of Fraunce, and hys yongest sonne taken prisoners. 353. 73
Iohn the second crowned king of Scotland. 365.25
Iohn the second called Robert the thirde. 365.36
Iohn Maior cited. 252. 73. and 264. 67. and. 263. 25. and 268. 6
Iohn Maior cited. 369.9
Iohn Maior cited. 395.35
Iohn Earle of Bedford a commissioner for peace. 480.70
Iordayne Alexander, taken prisoner by the Englishmen. 435. 63
Iosina elected King. 19.28
Iosina had Phisitions in great estimation. 19.34
Iosina cunning in Phisicke. 19.37
Iosina friendly interteyneth Philosophers. 20.23
Iosina dieth. 20.16
Ireland called Hibernia of Hiberus. 4.15
Irishmen liue by Mylke and Hearbes. 4.27
Irishmen submit themselues to the Scottes. 4.40
Irishmenne ayde the Scottes agaynste the Romaines. 51. 44
Irishmen lande in Argile to ayde the Ilandmen. 68.51
Irishmen conclude too ayde the Scottes, and lande in Cantyre. 92. 51
Irishmen slaine which arriued in Cantyre. 93.9
Irishmen without a king. 190.24
Irishmen drowned in a Tempest which had robbed Ih. 155. 39
Irishmen sue too the Scottes for peace, and obteyne it. 179.42

Iriſh men inuade Gallovvay. 105. 101
Iriſh men flee to their ſhips vvith great pray of goods and cattel. 105. 109
Iriſh nobilitie at variance for the gouernāce of their realm. 105.116
Iriſhmen ſlaine and purſued by the Scots. 106.67
Iriſh men run out of the field, and are chaſed. 107.78
Iriſh men and Scottes conclude a peace vpon conditions. 108.68
Iriſh Scots bear a natural grudge to the Engliſh Scots. 274.40
Iriſh men require ayde of the Scottes agaynſte the Engliſhmen. 320.32
Iriſh men diſcomfited and ſlaine by the Engliſhmen at Dundach. 320.82
Iriſhmen make roades ouer intoo Gallovvay. 361.59
Ironſide Edmond fighteth a combat vvith Canute. 241.31
Iſabell ſiſter to King Alexander, maried too the Earle of Norfolke. 286.9
Iſabel daughter to the French K. maried too Richarde King of Englande. 366.62
Iſraeli oppreſſed by the Egyptians. 1242
Inchtuthill hovv in olde time called. 53.6
Iudges not to ſit in any temporall Court vvithout the Kings cōmiſsion. 246.7
Indulphe proclaimed inheritor to the crovvne of Scotland. 203.61
Indulph inueſted King of Scotlande. 204.36
Indulph ouerthrovveth the kings of Denmarke and Morvvey. 205. 59
Indulph ſhot through the heade vvith a dart dieth. 206.7
Iulius Ceſar cited. 21.38
Iulius Ceſar Emperor of Rome. 28. 14
Iulius Ceſar firſt arriuall into Britaine. 28.53
Iulius Ceſar ſecond arriuall intoo Britaine. 28.81
Iulius Ceſar ſendeth Ambaſſadors to the Scots and Pictes. 28.66
Iulius Ceſar ſendeth ſharper meſſage vnto the Scots and Pictes. 28. 111
Iulius Ceſar called backe from inuading the Scots and Pictes by commotions in France. 29.10
Iulius Ceſar came too Kalender vvood. 29.16
Iulius Hoff builded. 29. 30. and 36. 66
Iunes Iohn Biſhop of Murrey. 387. 37
Inch Mahome Abbey. 469.35
Iurmyrike concludeth a peace vvith the Scottes and Pictes. 136. 6
Iurmitike firſt king of the Engliſh men from Hengiſt. 156.2
Iuſtinianus Emperour. 131.81
Iuſting for life & death betvvene Lorde VVelles Engliſh, and Dauid erle of Cravvford Scottiſh. 366.17

K.

Karanach K. of Picts diſcomfited. 42.52
Karanach aſſayleth Sterling bridge. 50.72
Karanach diſcomfited & fled. 50.81
Karanach ſendeth to the Scots for ayde againſt the Romains. 50.109
Karanach ſlaine by miſſortune of one of his ovvn ſubiectes. 51.05
Katherine daughter to the French King, maryed too King Henrie the fifth of Englande. 374. 62
Katherine daughter to the Earle of Huntley maryed to Perkin VVarbecke. 410.20
Katherine Gurdon counterfeyte commeth into Scotland. 416.70
Kateranes. 318.17
Keepers of banquetting and brothell houſes banyſhed. 187. 35
Keith ſlayeth Camus, Generall of the Danes. 233.00
Keithes family aduaunced to the office of Marſhalſhip of Scotlande. 235.4
Keir Alane dieth in priſon. 398.42
Kentiſhmen rebell agaynſte the Romaines. 37.72
Kent yeeldeth riches vvithout any great reſiſtance. 214.85
Kenethus Keir proclaimed King of Scottes. 142.78
Kenethus Keir dyeth of the revvme. 143.2
Keneth created K. of Picts. 171.23
Keneth fleeth out of the fielde at the ſight of his enimies. 171.38
Keneth ſlaine by a Plovvman. 71. 40
Kenneth ſonne to Alpine inueſted king of Scots. 172.87
Kenneth fortifyeth and furniſheth the frontiers of his Realme. 173. 62
Kennethes deuice to prouoke his Nobles to make vvarre againſt the Pictes. 173.105
Kenneth inuadeth Pictlande, and vvynneth certaine Countreys. 175. 24
Kennethes gariſons ſlaine by treaſon of the Picts. 175.49
Kenneth and Drusken commen of peace in ſight of both their armies. 175.69
Kenneth beſiegeth Camelō. 178.29
Kenneth an enlarger of his Countrey. 180.74
Kennethes lavves and ordinaunces. 180.90
Kenneth dieth. 182.47
Kenneth Cullan, Thane of Carricke. 196.58
Kenneth brother too Duffe, proclaimed King of Scotlande. 211. 99
Kenneth inſueth a vertuous and commendable life. 212.11
Kennethes deuice too apprehende malefactors. 212.65
Kennethes large promiſe vnto his ſouldiours. 215.37
Kenneth puniſheth the rebels of Angus and Mernes. 218.31
Kenneth poyſoneth his couſin Malcolme Duffe, Prince of Cumberland. 218.55
Kenneth altereth the order of the ſucceſsion in the Crovvn of Scotland, from election, too inheritance. 220.38
Kenneth heareth a ſtrange voyce in the night. 220.82
Kenneth confeſſeth the poyſoning of Malcolme Duffe, prince of Cumberland, vnto Biſhop Mouean. 220.106
Kenneth goeth to Fordune to Paladius reliks in pilgrimage. 221.110
Kenneth ſlaine by Fenellas treaſon. 221.76
Kenbacten in Mar 38.63
Kenneth baſtarde ſonne to King Kenneth. 222.74
Kenneth baſtarde, and Conſtantinus fight. 223.22
Kenneth baſtard, and Conſtantinus ſlay one the other. 223.33
Kentigerne Biſhop of Glaskevv. 137. 18
Kenedee Iames, Biſhop of Saint Andrevves. 387.411
Kenedee Iames, Biſhop of Saint Andrevves dieth. 399.89
Kernes of the VVeſterne Iles rebell. 317.21
Killes. 230.79
Kile. 470.112
Kile and Cantire vvaſted. 39.62
Kilſos vvhy ſo called. 210.48
Kimbaline king of Brytaine. 31. 8
Kimbaline exhorted to keepe his ſubiectes in peace. 31.12
Kimbaline dieth 31.77
King of Irelande ſueth to the Romaine Lieutenant for peace. 92. 79
Kinges of Britaines, Scottes and Pictes aſſembled agaynſt the Romaines. 101.32
Kings of Scottes and Pictes preſcribe nevv articles to the Britaynes to bee perfourmed. 105. 21
Kings of Scottes and Pictes applie their people too reſt and peace. 109.80
King of Scottes ſeate of Marble ſtone. 3.42
King of Pictes ornaments founde and taken. 36.47
King of Pictes ſvvorde diſcribed. 36. 50
Kingdome of Scots conueyed by election. 11.56
Kingquellers aboue others ought to be puniſhed. 131.100
Kingdome of Scotlande brought from election to inheritaunce. 220. 38
King of Denmarke driuen out of his realme, fleeth into Scotland. 413. 16
Kings haue ſharpe eies, and long eares. 240.59
King of Denmark reſtored by the Earle of Arrane. 413.29
King of England acknovvledged Lord of Gallovvay, Nideſdale, and Annandale. 472.57
Kynnatill elected King of Scotlande. 137.85
Kynnatill courteouſly receyueth Saint Colme and Aydan. 137
Kynnatill prophecieth of Aydan and his poſteritie. 137.05
Kynnatill falleth ſicke. 138.8
Kynnatill reſigneth the Kingdome to Aydan vpon his death bed. 138.18
Kynnatill dieth. 138.14
Kingorne. 206.65
Kintaile in Roſſe. 445.19
Kirkevvale hovve in olde time called. 32.33
Kirkruill erected, 87.38
Kirkpatrike Roger ſlaine. 354.36
Kirckaldy. 442.78
Kirkaudie VVilliam, one of the murtherers of the Cardinall of Saint Andrevves. 465
Kirckovvbre. 472.42
Knightes of the Rhodes vvhen firſt inſtituted. 263.30
Knights to ſvveare to defend Ladies, virgines, vvidovves, orphanes, and the communaltie. 245. 72

L.

Layton Brian knight ſlaine by the Scottes. 403.116
Lanerke a tovvne in Kile. 212. 31
Lancaſter tovvne burnt by the Scottes. 324.5
Langham caſtell beſieged. 466.77
Lavv for election of Kings eſtabliſhed. 11.56
Lavves made for hunting. 13.48
Lavviers to interpret the lavves 14.
Lavv for Phiſitions and Chi gians.
Lavves for pluralitie of vvi 50.
Lavv for abuſing poore vviues abrogated. 46
Lavve of leaſing lands and goods vvithout any conſideration. 61. 48
Lavves for maintenance of hunting. 62
Lavves and ordinances made by Kenneth. 180
Lavviers appointed to bee reſidens in euerie ſhire.
Lavviers ſonnes to be brought vp in the knovvledge of the lavves 160 97
Lavviers to keepe the Tables of the lavves, and regiſter books of the realme. 170
Lavvder fort buylded by the Engliſh men. 472
League concluded betvvene the Britaines, Scottes, and Pictes, againſt the Saxons.
League concluded betvvene the Saxons and Pictes againſt the Brytaynes.
League concluded betvvene Arthure of Britaine and Loth of the Pictes.
League concluded betvvene the Brytaines and Scottes againſt the Pictes and Saxons.
Leagues publiſhed by Heraldes. 163. 64
League betvveene Fraunce and Scotlande renued vvith addition
League renued betvveene the Scottes and French men, vvith condition and prouiſo.
Leake Frances knight an Engliſh Captaine. 470
Legate ſent from Pope Honorius to gather money in Scotland to furniſh an armie againſt the Sarazins.
Legates levvde excuſe for licentious expences.
Legate of Rome not ſuffered too come into Scotland. 284.77
Legate from the Pope for a nevv ſupplie to the maintenance of an armie agaynſt the Sarazins. 204. 61
Leirmōt Thomas, or Thomas Erſilton, or Thomas the rimer, a notable propheſier.
Lierniouth Iames, ſent Ambaſſadour into England. 447
Leirmouth Iames prouoſt of Andrevves.
Leith burnt by the Engliſhmen. 461. 107
Leuingſtō Alexander knight choſen gouernour of Scotland, and K. Iames the ſecond,
Leuingſton Alexander knight, ſometime gouernor of Scotland proclaimed rebel and put in the horne.
Leuingſton Iames, ſonne to Alexander, beheaded.
Leuingſton Robert treſorer, beheaded.
Leuingſton Dauid knight, beheaded.
Lennox haried by robbers.
Lennox and Arguile fall at great variance.
Lennox Earle Mathevv, ſet on by the French King to alter and vndo all that vvas done in Scotlande concerning a contract of mariage to bee had betvvene the yong Queene, and Prince Edvvarde ſent too King Henrie the eight of England.

he paſſeth ouer ſea out of Frāce into Scotland his talk vvith the Gouernor and nobilitie there, at Edenburgh, his departure from Edenbourgh ſodainly tovvarde the vveſt countrey, and his cōference by the vvay vvith the Quene dovvager. 459.9. his conueying of her avvaye from Lithgevv vnto Sterling. 459. 44. his diſappointment of hys purpoſe, his diſpleaſure, his ſending to the French king, he renounceth his ſeruice to the Frēch king, he ioyneth vvith the Engliſh Lordes agaynſt the Gouernour. 460.19. he ſeaſeth vpō the French ſhippes, money, and munition, to his ovvn vſe. 460. 66. he rayſeth an army of men, and goeth againſt the gouernor 460.74. he commeth to the gouernor to Edēburgh, they both go togither to Lithquo, he ſtealeth ſecretelye avvaye from the gouernor, fortifieth the Caſtell, and ſteeple of Glaſquo, and ſo vvythdravveth hymſelfe into Dunbretayne. 460. 88. hee ſendeth too the King of Englande, offereth his ſeruice, and requeſteth the Ladye Margaret Dovvglas the Kings neece in mariage. 461.3
Lennox Earle goeth intoo Englande accompanyed vvyth dyuerſe Noble men and Gentlemen. 462.34. he maryeth the Ladie Margaret Dovvglas. 462.43. hee returneth againe into Scotlande vvith ayde out of Englande from the King. 462.50. the daunger hee vvas in to bee betrayed and taken at Dunbretaine Caſtell. 462.95. hee landeth at Dinnune, encountereth vvith the Earle of Argile, putteth Argyle too flight, burneth the Tovvne of Dinnune, ſpoyleth the Church, and returneth too Shipboorde in ſafetie. 463. 16. and after many other enterpriſes atchieued, hee returneth tovvardes England. 463.64
Lennox Earle forfalted by Parliament, his goodes and landes giuen avvay, and annexed too the Crovvne. 464.100. he procureth them of the Iles of Scotland to ſerue the King of England. 464.110
Leo vſurper of Conſtantinople. 180. 96
Letters ſent by the Brytaynes to Etius for ayde. 105.94
Levves ſonne to the French king commeth vvith an army intoo Englande too ayde the Barons agaynſt king Iohn. 282.8
Levves and Alexander King of Scotland, accurſed by the Pope. 282. 56
Levves returneth into Fraunce. 282. 64
Levves King of Fraunce ſendeth to king Alexander for ayde in his iourney tovvardes the holy lande. 286.83
Leuingſton Lorde Capitaine of Lithquo Caſtell. 457.31
Leitſ to looſe their ſvvorde, and be baniſhed all mens company. 82. 2
Liberall artes profeſſed in Scotlande. 18.39
Lichton Henrie, Biſhop of Abirdene. 367.37
Leith fortified by the Frenchmen. 475. 108
Liborne Iohn Knight taken priſoner by the Scots. 357.43
Line of Robert Bruce. 398.56
Line of Iohn Balioll. 498.63
Linlithgevv. 437.103
Linage and friendes of Edgar proſcribed out of Englande. 254. 41
Linage and great alliance of the Dovvglaſſes. 392.30
Lions had in great honour at Florence. 164.29
Lion Iohn Chauncellour of Scotlande ſlaine. 358.49
Lion Dauid conuicted of treaſon and hanged. 444.30
Lithquo Caſtell vvhere Marie Queene of Scotland vvas borne. 457. 30
Little Iohn and Robin hoodes time. 294.51
Liuings appoynted to profeſſours of Artes and Sciences. 18. 40
Lochmaben in Annandale. 316. 41
Lochquhaber vvhereof ſo named. 99. 77
London recouered by the Saxons 126. 63
London recouered from the Saxons. 127.12
Lordane vvhereof it ſprang, and vvhat it ſignifieth. 229.76
Lordes and Barons not too contract matrimonie, vvhoſe landes lie neare togither. 246.45
Lords offended at Donalus death. 14. 52
Lordes and Gentlemen of Fiffe, and Louthian ſent too defende Bervvike agaynſt the Engliſh men. 300.80
Lordes and Barons of Scotland doe homage to king Edvvarde. 302. 24
Lord of the Iles ſlaine in his bed. 349. 78
Lord of Thorneton beheaded for killing his vvife. 413.66
Lorde of Dobigny, looke Stevvarde Bernard.
Lorde of Faſtcaſtell ſerueth the Turke. 415.88
Lord of Drumvveydy ſlain. 416.91
Lorde of Strayven in Athole beheaded. 417.26
Lord Maxvvell ſlayd & brought intoo England by the Earle of Hertford. 462.14
Lorſon Tvvinam ſent into Frāce vnto Edvvarde Balliol, to perſvvade him to claym the crovvn of Scotland. 333.2
Lorison Tvvinam a Gentleman, fleeth into England. 332.103
Loth king of Pictes. 121.2
Loth ſendeth Ambaſſadors to diſſvvade Vter from making Arthure his heyre. 124.26
Loth taketh part vvith Occa againſt Vter. 124.35
Loth contrarie to his othe of credence, ayded the Brytaines againſt the Saxons. 125.14
Loth requireth the crovvne of Brytaine, as due vnto him. 126. 81
Loth dyeth. 132.93
Lothian, or Louthian vvhy ſo called. 132.96
Lothian a countrey in Pictlande, vvhy ſo named. 177.106
Loue of the people tovvardes the name of the Dovvglaſſes. 392. 40
Louthian VVilliam Prieſt, degraded and beheaded. 441.53
Lovvden Fortreſſe beſieged. 480. 53. yeelded vpon concluſion of peace. 480.66
Lucius king of Brytain. 67.43
Lucius king of Britain receyueth the Chriſtian faith. 70.18
Lucius dieth. 71.14
Lugthake K. of Scots. 53.39
Lugthakes beaſtly incontinencie. 59. 48
Lugthakes diſordred gouernment 59. 54
Lugthake murthered vvith his adherents. 59.70
Lugthake a rebell, crovvned king of Scotland. 253.31
Lugthake ſlaine, and his army diſcomfited. 253.46
Lunfannain. 251.99
Lutterell Iohn taken priſoner. 480. 45

M.

MAc Clevvd of the Levves, a principal Clan. 445
Mac Clevvde preſenteth himſelfe too King Iames the fifth. 445.15
Maclane, a Captaine of the Iles. 445. 26
Maconile Iames, a captaine of the Iles. 445.26
Maconiles. 445.20
Maconell Iames. 463.44
Machonell appoynted to be lord of the Iles. 465 5. he is a Penſioner to the King of England. 465. 10
Macferlane VValter of Tirbat. 463. 54
Madman ſleaeth a Ladie 420.69
Magnus King of Norvvay inuadeth the vveſterne Iles. 260.42
Magnus ſonne too Acho ſucceedeth his father in the crovvne of Norvvay. 293.6
Magnus ſonne too Olane made King of Man, and the other Iles. 293.88
Magnus King of Norvvay releaſeth the VVeſterne Iles to the Scottes. 294.13
Magnus vvith the red Mane, Generall of the Engliſh armie agaynſt the Scots. 389.56
Magnus vvith his armie inuadeth Scotlande. 389
Magnus ſlaine in the fielde, and his armie putte too flight. 390. 53
Magnus Iohn ſent Ambaſſadour into Scotland. 436.53
Magnentius Emperour of Rome. 91. 91
Magdalene daughter to the King of Fraunce, maried to Iames the fifth, King of Scotland. 443.57. falleth ſicke of a Feuer and dyeth. 444.21
Mahesbell. 121.68
Maior of Yorke ſlaine. 322.92
Mainus choſen King of Scotland 12. 38
Mainus mainteyned iuſtice at quietneſſe. 12.55
Mainus himſelf determined great matters in controuerſie. 12.64
Mainus dieth. 13 14
Makbeth and Banquo ſent vvith an armie agaynſt the rebelles in Lochquhaber. 240 36
Makbeth reuiled by the Ilande men. 240.70
Makbeth made Thane of Cavvder. 244.12
Makbeth ſtudyeth hovve too inuade the Kingdome by force. 244. 40
Makbeth ſlayeth King Duncane. 244. 56
Makbeth inueſted king of Scotland. 244.63
Makbethes policie to apprehende offenders. 245.14
Makbeth miniſtreth iuſtice vvithout reſpect of perſons. 245.40
Makbethes deuiſe too ſlay Banquho and his ſonne. 246.81
Makbeth ſore offended vvyth Makduffe. 249.13
Makbeth putteth great confidence in VViſards. 249.34
Makbeth fleeth. 251.97
Makbeth ſlaine. 251.115
Makulzen and Makbein captaines of rebelles and theeues in the VVeſterne Iles. 276.107
Makulzen and Makbein taken, and put to death on the vvhele 277. 3
Makpender Earle of Marnes. 260. 11
Makglane captaine of the rebels, in Gallovvay. 256.6
Makduncane capitaine of the rebels in Murrey lande. 256.22
Makdonalde and his povver put to flight by the Kings armie. 158. 37
Makdonalde and his povver ſlain euerie mothers ſonne. 158.66
Makdonalde gouernour of the Iles rebelleth agaynſt Soluathius. 158.12
Makdonalde and his povver inuade Lorne and Cantire. 158.32
Makedovvald captaine of rebels in Lochquhaber. 239.66
Makdovvalde diſcomfiteth the Kings povver. 240.15
Makdovvalde and the rebels put to flight. 240.43
Makdovvalde ſlayeth his vvife and children, and laſtlye hymſelfe. 240.50
Makgill a Tirant ſlaine. 243.45
Makduffe Thane of Fiffe. 249
Makduffes vvife, children, and familie ſlaine. 249.75
Makduffe eſcapeth into England. 250. 3
Makduffe exhorteth Malcolme to take the crovvne of Scotlande vpon him. 250.24
Mukduffe prepareth a povver in the borders agaynſt Makbeth. 251. 34
Makduffe ſlaieth Makbeth. 251.115
Makduffe ſent agaynſt Lugtake vvith an army. 253.24
Makduffe ſent vvith an armie againſt the Rebelles into Mar. 256. 26
Maldvvine inueſted K. of Scotlande. 149.40
Maldvvine reedifieth the Abbey of Colmkill. 149.90
Maldvvine ſtrangled in his bedde by his ovvne vvife. 150.18
Maldvvines vvife vvith hir conſpirators burned. 150.23
Malefactours apprehended by King Kennethes policie. 214. 20
Malcolme Generall of the Scottiſh armie againſt the Engliſhe men. 201.54
Malcolme created heyre apparant of Scotland. 201.59
Malcolme ſore vvounded. 202.3
Malcolme created King of Scotland. 202.108
Malcolme murthered by treaſon. 203. 73
Malcolmes murtherers torne in peeces vvith horſes. 203.80
Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberlande. 215.54
Malcolme Duffe, Prince of Cumberlande poyſoned. 218.53
Malcolme ſonne too King Kenneth made prince of Cumberlande. 220.19
Malcolme Prince of Cumberland goeth vvith an armie too fight vvith Conſtantinus. 222.63
Malcolme ſendeth ſecrete Meſſengers to the Nobles of Scotlande. 223.72

Malcolmes meſſengers taken and impriſoned. 224.9
Malcolme aydeth king Egelred of England, againſt the Danes. 226. 03
Malcolme conſenteth too make vvarres againſt Grime. 227.15
Malcolme diſconfiteth Grime and his armie. 227.45
Malcolm crovvned king of Scotland. 227.79
Malcolme vvounded by the Danes eſcapeth. 231.60
Malcolmes prayer to God, our Ladie and ſaint Molock. 60
Malcolme maketh ſpeede to ioine in battaile vvith Camus and his Danes. 234.19
Malcolme ouerthrovveth Camus and his armie of Danes. 234. 79
Malcolmes exceeding couetouſneſſe. 238.20
Malcolme ſlaine. 238.42
Malcolmis murtherers drovvned. 238. 53
Malcolme Canmore. 249.56
Malcome prince of moſt vvorthie fame among all his predeceſſors. 238.8
Malcolme beheaded by the Rebels in Lochquhaber. 240.17
Malcolmes anſvveres too Makduffes exhortation in diſabling himſelfe. 250.43
Malcolme commaundeth his armie euery man to beare a bough of a greene tree. 251.81
Malcolmis valiant courage againſt a chiefe conſpirator. 253.74
Malcolmes curteſie tovvarde the Ladie Agatha mother to Edgar and hir companie. 254.14
Malcolme marieth Margaret ſiſter to Edgar. 254.31
Malcolme refuſeth to deliuer Edgar to VVilliam Conqueror. 253. 4
Malcolme through exhortation of his vvife, giueth himſelfe too deuotion. 256.73
Malcolme ſlaine by an Engliſhe man. 258.50
Malcolme ſonne to Prince Henrie proclaimed prince of Scotlande. 267.84
Malcolm cronvved king of Scots 268. 44
Malcolme the mayden. 268
Malcolme ſummoned to doe homage to the king of Englande. 268. 98
Malcolme ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Pope, to recognize hys obedience to the ſea of Rome. 269. 17
Malcolme meeteth vvith the K. of Englande at Yorke, at a Parliament. 269.48
Malcolme beſieged in the Caſtell of Bertha, by the Thane of Erndale. 260.62
Malcolme runneth in hatred of his people. 270.2
Malcolme vvill not bee perſvvaded to take a vvife. 271.43
Malcolme dyeth. 272.5
Manlius Valens lieutenãt of Brytaine. 41.100
Manlye ſtomacke of Alexander Seytons vvife. 337.45
Manye Brytaynes flee too the Scottes to auoyde perſecution. 82. 46
Manners Richarde captaine of light horſemen. 467.69
Mar for Marthea. 100.8
Mares brought into Scotlande, out of Hungarie for broode. 382 59
Mariage betvveene Durſtus and Agaſia. 21.49
Mariage in talke to bee contracted betvveene prince Edvvard ſon to king Henrie the eyght of England, and the yong Queene of Scottes Marie. 457.74. The ſame fully contracted and confirmed, vvith a peace concluded for ten yeares. 458.59
Marcus Antonius Aurelius Emperour of Rome. 66.76
Marken novv called Roxburgh. 265. 115
Marble ſeat of the Scots remoued into Goury. 180.43
Marble ſeate of the Scottiſhe Kings placed at VVeſtminſter. 309. 19
Marnachus Thane of Buchquhane ſlayeth the Danes that come to pray and forrey the Countrey. 235. 52
Mariorie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce. 247.80
Mariorie daughter to King Robert, maried to VValter greate Stevvard of Scotland. 320.1
Mariorie daughter to King Robert dieth. 322.9
Martyrs of the Iſle of May. 188. 81
Martha heyre to the Erle of Carrike, maryeth Robert Bruce heyre of Annandale in Scotland 295. 17
Marianus Scotus time vvhen hee liued. 259.37
Martius one of the Lieutenants of Brytaine. 93.38
Martius ſlaine. 95.68
Marius marieth Queene Voadas eldeſt daughter. 45.32
Marius created King of Britaine. 45. 34
Marius doubteth rebellion of his ſubiectes. 57.25
Margaret ſiſter to king Malcolm maried to Conone duke of Britaine. 270.109
Margaret vvife to Alexander the thirde dieth. 295.77
Margaret daughter to Alexander the thirde, maried to Hanigo K. of Norvvey. 295.82
Margaret vvife to Hannigo king of Norvvey dieth. 206.14
Margaret K. of Norvveys daughter dieth. 298.44
Margaret daughter too ſir Iohn Logy knight, maried to King Dauid. 355.14
Margaret and hir friendes baniſhed the realme. 355.20
Margaret dieth. 355.34
Margaret eldeſt daughter to king Iames, maried to the Dolphin of Fraunce. 383.15
Margaret vvife too Henrie the ſixt, goeth into France for ayde agaynſt Edvvarde the fourth. 398. 76
Margaret daughter to Alexander the thirde, promiſed in mariage to Hannigo ſonne to the king of Norvvey. 294.23
Margaret daughter to the King of Denmarke, maried to Iames the thirde King of Scotlande. 400. 10
Margaret of Denmarke crovvned Queene of Scotland. 401.61
Mariage concluded betvveene the Prince of Rothſay, & Anne de la Poole. 406.28
Margaret daughter to K. Henrie the ſeuenth, maried too Iames the fourth of Scotland. 412.67
Margaret Queene of Scotlande crovvned. 413.35
Margaret Queene mother of ſcotlande maryed Archimbalde Dovvglas Earle of Angus. 424. 30
Margaret Dovvglas born. 426.12
Mary Quene of ſcotlande. 248.85
Mary Queene of ſcotland maried to Henrie Stevvard lord Dernley. 248.86
Mary Magdalen day proſperous for the Engliſh men to fight againſt the ſcots. 306.17
Marie, mother to Charles Iames, that novv reigneth, the eight perſon of the Stevvardes that haue obteyned the crovvne of ſcotland. 356.40
Marie of Gelderland Quene, appoynted keeper of the King hir ſonnes perſon 398.25
Marie daughter to the Duke of Gelderlande, maried to Iames the ſeconde King of ſcotlande. 389. 1
Marie of Gelderlande Queene of ſcottes dieth. 399.35
Marie of Gelderlandes diſſolute life vvith Adam Hepborn. 399.35
Marie de Lorraine, Dutcheſſe of Longuile, eſpouſed to Iames the fifth king of ſcotlande. 444.71. conueyed ouer into ſcotlande. 444.87. deliuered of a ſonne. 445. 45
Marie de Lorraine, deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne Arthure. 446. 9
Marie onely daughter and heyre to the King of ſcottes begynneth hir raigne ouer ſcotlande 457. 19.
Marie Queene and hir mother is conueyed from Lithgevv vnto Sterling by the Earle of Lennox and other. 459.44
Marie Quene of ſcotlande crovvned at Striueling. 459.110
Maſon Iohn knight, ſecretarie to king Henrie the eight. 480.74
Maunſfield Riſe, knight. 462.61
Maide eateth mans fleſh. 397.30
Maulde daughter to King Henrie Beauclearck maryed to Henrie the fourth the Emperour. 262. 114
Maulde vvife to King Dauid dyeth. 265.45
Maulde the Empreſſe commeth into Englande too clayme the crovvne. 266.49
Maxvvell Lord, a politique captaine. 43c.48. appointed Prouoſt of Edenburgh. 436.45
Maxvvel Robert, Biſhop of Orkney. 445.0
Maxvvell Robert eldeſt ſonne to the Lorde Maxvvell, taken priſoner by the Engliſhmẽ. 464.94
Maximus ouerthrovveth the Britayns in battaile. 85.33
Maximus practiſe to ouerthrovv the Scottes. 87.63
Maximus ſendeth letters too the king of Pictes., to renue the old league betvveene them and the Romaines. 87.67
Maximus requireth reſtitution of the Scots for iniuries done vnto the Pictes. 87.100
Maximus inuadeth the Scottiſhe confines vvith a mightie armie. 88. 14
Maximus eftſoones inuadeth the Scottes 88.82
Maximus graunteth peace to the Iriſhmen. 02.84
Maximus exceeding liberalitie to his ſouldiours. 92.04
Maximus choſen Emperour in Brytaine. 92.110
Maximus paſſeth ouer intoo Fraunce vvith a mightie armie. 93. 12
Maximus ſlaine at Aquileia in Italy. 03.21
Maximianus ſent ouer into Brytaine vvith an armie. 101
Maximianus ouerthrovveth the Scottes and Pictes. 102.14
Maximianus ſpoileth the confines of the Scottes and Pictes. 102. 16
Maximianus taketh vpon him the Emperiall title of Brytaine. 102. 63
Maximianus maryeth Othilia daughter to Dionetus. 102.66
Maximianus graunteth peace too the Scottes ſuying for the ſame. 102 110
Maximianus ſayleth ouer into Fraunce, and proclaymeth himſelfe Emperour. 103.15
Maximinus ſouldiours in Brytaine reuolt too the Emperour Valentinianus. 105.8
Meane for princes to auoyde the daunger of their ſubiectes. 407. 27
Meanes deuiſed too haue iuſtice executed. 330.76
Meklevvort berries and theyr operation. 242.59
Melton VVilliam Archbiſhop of Yorke. 322.71
Melros bridge. 438.31
Melros Abbay. 463.83. ſpoyled. 463. 94
Melethon father to Brudeus king of Pictes. 117.35
Men appoynted too deuide the Countrey of Scotlande into equall portions. 10.44
Men accuſed too bee condemned by an odde queſt of men. 180. 7
Men of occupation brought into Scotlande, to inſtruct the Scottiſhmen therein. 38.25
Meremouth Adam cited. 338.45
Merhernes people of goodly ſtature. 44.34
Mertia vvhat ſhyres it conteyned 143. 71
Merline the Britiſhe Soothſayer. 119. 78
Mernes, vvhy ſo called. 177.98
Merueylous things ſeene at the taking vp of king Duffes bodie. 210. 19
Metellus ſendeth his three ſonnes to ayde the Scottes in Ireland. 5. 6
Metellus reigneth ouer the Scots in Spaine. 4.83
Metellanus created king. 30.56
Metellanus becommeth friend to the Romaines. 31.24
Metellanus ſendeth gifts to Rome 31. 26
Metellanus dyeth. 30.57
Mevvtas Peter knight. 462.61
Mevvtas Peter knight, ſente by the Earle of Lennox too the King of England, to aduertiſe him of the Earles proceedings. 463. 65
Mevvtas Peter, a captaine of fiue hundred Hagbutters. 467.66
Middleton Richarde, a learned man liueth. 355.71
Mightie borderers to be dangerous. 395.16
Milke turned into bloud. 162.12
Milke Caſtell yeelded to the Engliſh men. 469.09
Milnes driuen vvith ſtreames of bloud and vvater. 302.31
Miracle vvrought by Saint Phillanes arme. 317.30
Miſerie of the Engliſh men vnder the Danes. 229.40
Miſe and Rattes ſuch plentie that they cannot bee deſtroyed. 335. 61
Mitton vpon Svvale. 322.76
Modan, and Medun, tvvo brethren and preachers. 167.58

Moderation

The Table of Scotlande.

Moderation ought to be vſed in time of proſperous ſucceſſe. 173. 5
Mogall admitted King of Scottes. 60. 4
Mogall beloued of his ſubiectes. 60. 17
Mogall prepareth an armie agaynſt the Romaines. 60.41
Mogall giueth battaile too the Romaines. 61.7
Mogall through pride falleth into ſundrie kindes of vices. 61. 32
Mogall fleeth oute of his ovvne houſe by night. 62.58
Mogall murthered. 62.68
Moydart Iohn, one of the principall bloud, of the Iſles. 245. 21
Monke a godlye preacher in Scotlande. 144.38
Monaſterie of Iona buylded by baniſhed Scottiſh Monkes. 91. 75
Monaſteries in Germanie for Scottiſhmen onely. 164.44
Monkes and other religious men laboured in the Lordes Vineyarde. 147.37
Monk ſent into Scotland to poyſon the Gouernor. 331.59
Monke burnt for his diſſimulation. 332.72
Monimuske a Baronie in Scotlande. 256.37
Monſieur de la Bavvtie ſent into Scotland. 423.60
Monſieur de la Bavvtie made vvarden of the marches. 428.6
Monſier de la Bavvtie ſlaine. 428. 64
Monſieur de Villegaignon, tranſporteth the yong Queene of Scots into Fraunce. 475.5
Monſieur de Brezze, appoynted to tranſport the yong Queene of Scottes into Fraunce. 475.24
Monſieur de Deſſe, ouerthrovveth the Engliſhmen in a ſkirmiſhe neare to Hadington. 475.77
Monſieur de Eurages, taken priſoner by the Engliſhmē. 476.115
Monſieur de la Broſſe, and Monſieur Menage, ſente from the French King Ambaſſador into Scotlend. 460.57
Monan a Biſhop of great holyneſſe. 220.104
Monſtrous childe borne among the Danes. 202.50
Monſtrous childe borne in Northumberland. 202.58
Mountaine called Fute in Irelande. 106.21
Montmorance Frances Lieutenant of Picardie. 480.77
Monſtrous childe borne in Angus. 210.60
Mongomerie, othervviſe called monſieur de Lorges Knight of the order of ſaint Michael, ſent into Scotlande by the Frenche king, vvith aide againſt the Engliſhmen. 464.61. he inueſteth knightes of ſaint Michaels order there. 464.67
Moone appeareth of a bloudye colour. 222.9
Moone at the full appeareth in a quadrant forme. 108
Moone nor ſunne ſeene the ſpace of ſixe monethes. 209.2
Mordred and Gavvan ſonnes to Loth. 126.95
Mordred appoynted heyre of the crovvne of Brytaine. 128.31
Mordred marieth Gavvolanes daughter. 126.30
Mordred ſucceedeth Loth in the kingdom of Pictland. 132.97
Mordred complaineth to Arthure for creating Conſtantine hys heyre apparant. 132.102
Mordred king of Pictes ſlaine. 134. 55
Mordreds linage clearly extinct. 135. 85
Mordacke created King of Scotlande. 154.34
Mordack a great louer of peace. 154. 48
Mordacke dyeth. 154.89
Mordacke lieutenaunt of Gallovvay beareth vvith offenders. 155. 67
Mordacke lieutenaunt of Gallovvay put to death. 155.109
Morley Robert knight, and hys valiancie. 366.53
Mores a French captaine ſent into Scotland 429.5.
Mortalitie of peſtilence throughout moſt part of the vvorlde. 149. 98
Morton tovvne burnt. 472.105
Moſes Captaine generall vnder Pharao. 1.24
Moſes conquered Saba. 1.25
Moſes choſen captain vnder Pharao by diuine oracle. 1.23
Moſes doings miſliked of. 1.29
Moſes fled into Madian. 1.34
Moſes by Gods appointment returneth into Egypt. 1.44
Mountforde Simon, chiefe of the barons of Englande that ſtroue vvith K. Henry the third. 294.35
Mountfort Henrie ſlaine in Scotland. 344.65
Mountfort Richard ſlaine, and his armie diſcomfited by the Scots. 345. 14
Mount Benart. 50.66
Mount Granzbene. 51.96
Monſtrous child borne. 56.42
Mountros a citie in Angus, hovv in olde time called. 215.4
Mountros taken by the Danes, and razed to the grounde. 215. 7
Mountbray Philip Knight, Captaine of Striueling Caſtell. 314. 70
Mendus novv called Bracchara, a Citie in Portugall buylded. 2. 27
Mungo Biſhop of Valco. 137.18
Munition ſent out of France into Scotlande. 416.103
Munition ſent out of Denmarke into Scotland. 416.14
Murketusmen taken. 29.53
Murketus hanged. 29
Mutherers of Adam biſhoppe of Cathnes puniſhed. 285.2
Murther revvarded. 30.49
Murther ſeuerely puniſhed. 70.11
Murtherers of Fethelmacus iuſtly puniſhed. 87.21
Murther deſeruedly puniſhed. 112
Murtherers of Spontana apprehended, and iuſtly executed. 113. 42
Murtherers to be beheaded 180. 108
Murtherer ſhall not inherite hys fathers patrimonie. 181.33
Murther duly puniſhed. 203.80
Murtherer puniſhed. 261.89
Murrey lande. 45.48
Murrey lande. 100.6
Murrey Andrevve beheaded for treaſon. 335.46
Murray Andrevve made one of the gouernours of Scotlande. 336. 9
Murray Andrevv the nevve gouernor taken. 336.21
Murray Andrevve ranſomed out of England. 341.44
Murray Andrevv choſen gouernor of Scotland. 343.1
Murray Andrevv gouernour of Scotland dieth. 346.19
Murrey Erle, baſe brother to the K. of Scots. 457.47
Murdo duke ſlaine. 247.16
Mure Adham knight. 247.85
Mure Elizabeth concubine to K. Robert the ſeconde. 356.56
Mure Elizabeth maried to King Robert. 356.76
Murranians apprehended theeues and other offenders. 46.76
Murketus inuadeth the VVeſtern Ilandes. 29
Murthlak a tovvn of Mar. 232.16
Muſkelbourgh fortified by the Frenchmen. 475.38
Muſgraue Thomas Capitaine of Barvvike taken priſoner 357.65
Muſgraue Leonard taken priſoner by the Scots. 435.34

N.

NActanus king of Picts maketh ſore vvarre vpō the Scots. 85. 48
Nactanus and his armie diſcomfited. 85.66
Nactanus againe inuadeth the Scottiſh confines. 86.11
Nactanus refuſeth all offers of peace vvyth Anguſianus. 86. 35
Nactanus ſlaine. 86.60
Nactanus the ſeconde, brother to the other Nactanus, King of Pictes ſlaine. 86.91
Names of Scottes ſlaine, in a conflict going tovvardes Lieth. 469. 12
Names of the lordes that vvent againſt the gouernor. 460.41
Names of diuerſe places in Scotlande chaunged. 99.54
Nathaliod generall of the Brytaynes, ouerthrovvne vvyth his armie. 125.2
Nature of the Scottiſhmen. 212.7
Natholocus tvvo daughters vilanouſly abuſed by Athirco the King. 74.7
Natholocus Kinſmen and friendes conſpire agaynſt Athirco. 74
Natholocus choſen King of Scots. 74. 73
Natholocus procureth the loue of the Nobilitie through brybes. 74. 95
Natholocus putteth ſuch to death as he ſuſpecteth to fauour Doorus. 75.26
Natholocus ſendeth to a vvitche for counſaile. 75.38
Natholocus murthered by hys ovvne ſeruant. 76.11
Nature of the Scottiſh ſoyle declared. 20.37
Nature vvorſhipped for a God. 20. 51
Nature of valiant hearts and noble ſtomacks. 234.5
Nauie of Engliſh ſhips ſent to inuade Scotland. 320.111
Necromanſers, Iuglers, and VViſards to be burnt. 181.36
Nero Emperor of Rome. 43.38
Nevv moone vvorſhipped. 13.3
Nevv caſtell vpon Tine fortified. 255.50
Nevv Colledge of S. Andrevves builded. 445.87
Nith riuer. 472.12
Noble courage of the Brytaines, Scottes and Pictes. 35.50
Noble men not regarded. 50.54
Nobles of Scotlande ſent Ambaſſadours to King Grime, for the amendmente of certayne defaultes in his gouernement. 226. 30
Nobles require Malcolme to relieue the Scottiſh eſtate. 226.97
Nobles of Englande their humble petition too Svveno King of Danes. 229.18
Nobilitie of England conſpire agaynſt King Henrie the fourth. 370. 2
Nodobert Authour of the vvhite Monkes. 262.32
Noitafilus ſonne to Glaucus king of Scotes. 5.61
None to bee ſvvorne too other than to the king, vpon paine of death. 246.12
Northumberlande, vvhen it firſt beganne to bee ſo called. 117. 64
Northumberland men and Pictes make ſundrie roades intoo the Scottiſh borders. 150.10
Northumberlande gyuen to Anlaffus the Dane. 202.114
Northumberlande taketh parte vvith Malcolme agaynſt VVilliam Conqueror. 255.8
Northumberlande in parte reſtored to the Scots. 272.99
Norvveygian and Scottiſhe battayles ioyne in fight. 291.77
Norvveygians put too flight, and chaſed by the Scottes. 292. 45
Norman chalenger in vvraſtling, foyled by a Scottiſhmanne. 295. 61
North partes of Scotlande reduced to obedience of King Dauid. 343.16
North part of Scotland ſore diſquieted by tvvo Clannes. 365.68
Norvveygian Fleete ſuncke by vehement rage of vvinde. 242. 109
Norman one of the murtherers of the Cardinall of S. Andrevves. 465. 94
Nothatus crovvned king of Scotlande. 14.22
Nothatus playeth the Tyrant. 14. 29
Nothatus murdered. 14.44
Nouium a citie in Spaine, novve called Compoſtella builded. 2.39

O.

OBeliskes deuiſed for buryals. 18.29
Obſtinacie of the Pictes being by the Scottes beſieged in Camelon. 178.110
Occa ſon to Hengeſt cōmeth ouer vvith a povver of Saxons. 117.58
Occa vanquiſhed, fleeth by Sea into Kent. 118.75
Occa and Paſcentius returne into Brytaine. 123.71
Occa ouerthrovveth the Brytiſh Generall and their armie. 124. 116
Occa ſlaine in purſuyt of the Brytaynes. 125.4
Occa nephevv too the other Occa, created king of Saxons. 125. 11
Occa taketh truce vvith Vter, vvhileſt he ioyneth vvith Colgerne. 125.40
Occa giueth the Britaines a great ouerthrovv in battell. 126.58
Occa hauing eſcaped avvay from the Saxons ouerthrovv, returneth out of Germanie vvith a nevv povver. 127.58
Occa eſcapeth vvounded, & fleeth ouer into Germanie. 129.3
Ocham VVilliam, a learned man floriſheth. 355.73
Octauius K. of Britain vanquiſhed by the Romaines. 83.25
Octauius fleeth intoo Scotlande for refuge, and is friendlye receyued. 83.28

Octauius recouereth againe the kingdome of Brytaine. 83.83
Octauius periurie and vnkindeneſſe. 83.110
Octauius vãquished, fleeth for refuge into Norvvey.. 84.11
Octauius returneth intoo hys Kingdome, and is reconciled to the Scottes. 84.17
Octauius entreth amitie vvith the Pictes. 84.26
Octauius becommeth tributarie to the Romains. 84.34
Octauius dieth. 85.36
Octauius ſonne to King Octauius, fleeth into the Iſle of Man. 85. 39
Octauius receyued as king of Britaine. 93.29
Odo Biſhop of Bayeux, and Erle of Kent, ſent vvith an armie into Scotland agaynſt Malcolme. 255. 31
Odo diſcomfiteth and ſlayeth many Scottes and Northumberlande men. 255.36
Odo and his armie diſcomfited by the Scots. 255.40
Odomare de Valence made Gouernor of Scotland vnder king Edvvard. 309.33
Odonell of Irelande profereth his friendship to the Scottes agaynſt the Englishmen. 417.20
Offenders put in feare of miſdoing. 156.6
Offer of the Englishmen to haue the Scottes breake their league vvith the Frenchmen, and ioine vvith them. 381.45
Office of the ſvvorde. 226.59
Offices not to go by inheritaunce, but at the Kings diſpoſition. 246. 6
Ogle Lorde ſlaine by the Scottes at Panier Hugh. 463.115
Oſcus brother to Occa the former. 125.12
Oyſell Monſier, a French Capitaine. 477.22
Olanus Lieutenant of Norvvey. 230. 37
Olanus fleeth. 233
Olaue king of the Iles. 293.51
Olagarry Lorde of the principall bloud of the Iles. 445.21
Oliuer a Scottish man, deliuered the Citie of Acres too the English men and Scottes. 278.60
Old lavves allovved, and nevve eſtablished. 13.68
One eſtate of menne can not liue vvithout helpe of another. 100. 63
Onetus Lieutenant of Denmarke. 230. 38
Onetus ſlaine. 233.20
Open vvarre betvvixt the Scots and Pictes. 7.15
Open vvarres proclaimed betvvene king Iohn of England, and king VVilliam of Scotland 279. 107
Open Barritors and offenders puniſhed. 155.33
Oracles ſought to knovve vvhat the plagues of Egipt ment. 1.49
Order of the Scottish battaile againſt Acho, and his Norvvegians. 290.83
Order taken for the cuſtody of the yong Queene. 460.6
Order of the Scottes and Pictes armie vvhen they entred into the landes of the Brytaynes. 106. 85
Order of burying noble men, and ſuch as haue deſerued vvell of the common vvealth. 181.109
Ordolucia hovv novv called. 178. 10
Ordouici, vvhere they inhabited. 30.48
Ordinances for burying of princes and noble men. 18.24
Ordinances of king Kenneth for ſucceſsion of the Crovvne of Scotland confirmed. 227.71
Organes brought into Scotlande. 380. 59
Organ, or Orgarus accuſeth Edgar Atheling of treaſon. 259.85
Organ ſlain vvithin liſtes. 259.92
Originall of the familie of Stevvards in Scotland. 256.12
Orkeneyes inſtructed in the fayth of Chriſt. 108.40
Orkeney vvhy called the aunciẽt kingdome of the Pictes. 16.11
Osbert and Ella kings of Northũberland. 182.105
Osbert & his people put to flight and chaſed. 183.22
Osbert and Ella ſlaine by the Danes. 191.37
Oſtorius Scapula ſent to gouerne Brytaine. 38.40
Oſtorius chaſeth the rebels of the VVeſterne Ilandes. 39.19
Oſtorius encountereth the Pictes. 41. 56
Oſtorius vvounded. 41.62
Oſtorius ſendeth purſeuaunt too Rome. 41.81
Oſtorius dyeth. 41.95
Oſrike inueſted king of Deira. 146. 76
Oſrike perſvvadeth Eufred to returne to infidelitie. 146.81
Oſrike and Eufrede diſcomfited, and taken priſoners. 146.94
Oſrike and Eufrede ſlay eche other. 146.95
Oſvvalde made king of Northumberland. 146.98
Oſvvald ſlaine. 146.110
Otholinia a Countrey in Pictland. 177. 93
Othe of Knightes made in Norvvay. 243.4
Otterburne Adam preuoſt of Edenburgh. 461.43
Outragious lightnings and tempeſts. 209.5
Out Iles of Scotland brought too good order, 445.36
Oxen or Kine killing eche other, recompence to bee made too him vvhoſe is kylled. 181. 63

P.

Paladius a learned man ſent into Scotland. 108.18
Paladius firſt biſhop in Scotland that had his inueſture from Rome. 108.23
Paladius accounted the Apoſtle of Scotland. 108.32
Palace for the ſmall Prebendaries in Aberdine buylded. 429.37
Paget VVilliam Lord of Beudeſert. 480.71
Palmer apprehended vvith letters and vvritings of treaſon 322.44
Palmer Thomas knight, taken priſoner at Hadington. 474.97
Panier Hugh a place vvhere the English men and Scots met and fought. 463.106
Pantane Dauid Secretarie to the Gouernour and prior of ſaint Mary Ile biſhop of Roſſe. 464. 51
Parliament holden at Yorke, for the inlarging of the British confines. 83.101
Parlament holden at Edenbourgh 459. 116
Parliament holden at Linlithquo, vvherein Mathevv Erle of Lennox and Thomas biſhop of Vtheltree vvere forfalted, and all their landes and goodes giuen avvay and annexed too the Crovvne of Scotlande. 464. 100
Pardons forbid for ſeuen yeares. 406. 111
Part of the holy Croſſe found by a dreame. 288.60
Paſalpine vvhereof ſo named. 172. 81
Paſcentius brother to Occa, arriueth vvith ayde for the Saxons. 123.93
Patyllocke Robert, ſent intoo France vvith a povver of Scottishmen. 376.62
Patriarke of Apulia the Popes agent in Scotland. 460.2
Paule Svvetonius returneth into Brytaine. 45.2
Paulinus Svvetonius Lieutenant of Britaine. 43.60
Paulinus Svvetonius ſent for into Gallia. 43.77
Peace concluded betvveene the Scottes and Spaniardes. 3.32 and 4.71
Peace betvveene Scottes and Pictes ſolemnly confirmed. 12.3. and 26.23
Peace concluded betvveene the Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes. 17. 61
Peace concluded betvveene the Romaines, Scottes, and Pictes. 43. 17
Peace vvith forraine enimies oftentymes breedeth ciuill diſcord at home. 76.52
Peace confirmed agayne betvvene the Scottes and Pictes. fol. 81
Peace cõcluded betvvene VVilliam Conqueror and Malcolme. 255. 52
Peace concluded betvveene king Stephen of Englande, and Dauid of Scotlande vpon conditions. 266.29
Peace concluded betvvene Henrie the ſeconde of Englande, and Malcolme of Scotland vpon conditions. 269.80
Peace concluded betvveene the English men and Scottes during the captiuitie of King VVilliam of Scotlande vpon conditions. 274.58
Peace eſtabliſhed at Yorke, betvvene K. Iohn of England, and VVilliam of Scotlande, vppon conditions. 280.29
Peace concluded betvvene Englande and Scotlande for thirtene yeares. 325.33
Peace and amitie concluded betvveene Scotlande and Denmarke. 383.6
Peace concluded betvvene Henrie the eygth of Englande, and Levves the. xij. of Fraunce. 424. 40
Peace concluded betvvene Englande and Scotlande for tenne yeares. 458.60
Peace concluded betvvene England, Scotlãd & France. 480.65
Penda K. of Mercia conuerted to the chriſtian fayth. 140.25
Pendergeſt Robert, and his treacherie. 345.58
Penneynton Iohn knight, taken pryſoner by the Scottes. 390. 74
Percie Henrie looſeth his ſtaffe at the Barriers to Earle Dovvglas. 362.66
Percie Henrie, and Raufe brethren, taken priſoners by the Scottes, and their men diſcomfited. 363.60
Percie Henrie of Northumberlande inuadeth Scotlande vvith an armie. 363.45
Percie Henrie and his armie diſcomfited by the Scottes. 383. 51
Perkin VVarbecke ſent oute of France into Scotlande. 410.7
Perkin VVarbecke maryeth the Earle of Huntleyes daughter. 410. 20
Perkin VVarbecke departeth into Irelande, to tranſport intoo Flaunders. 411.56
Perkin VVarbeck taken. 411.58
Perth builded, and vvhy ſo named. 230.105
Perth burned. 297.65
Perth, or Saint Iohns tovvne vvon by king Robert. 334.44
Perth tovvne fortified. 344.73
Perth beſieged by Robert Stevvarde the gouernour of Scotlande. 346.85
Perth rendred to Robert Stevvard Gouernour of Scotland. 347. 18
Pertinax ſent Lieutenaunt intoo Brytayne. 68.18
Pertinax driueth the Scottes and Pictes vvithout Adrians vvall. 68. 36
Pertinax choſen Emperour of Rome. 68.40
Pertinax Emperour of Rome. 68. 80
Perſecution of Chriſtians vnder Diocleſian. 81
Perſons continuing accurſed, too be reputed enimies to the common vvealth. 245.63
Peſtilence firſt comming into Scotlande. 297.73
Peſtilence ſeconde comming into Scotland. 353.21
Peſtilence thirde comming intoo Scotlande. 357.[illegible]
Peſtilence reigneth fiercelye in Scotland. 382.11
Peter VVilliam knight, ſecretarie to King Henrie the eyght. 480. 73
Petilius Cerialis ſent intoo Brytaine. 46.90
Petilius ouerthrovveth the Pictes. fol 47
Petilius policie in defending hys Tentes. 48.40
Petilius dieth. 48.76
Pharao Orus King of Ægypt. 1. 20
Pharao Chencres. 1.42
Pharo Biſhop of Meaux in France 144. 79
Phennings Conrad, a Captaine. 476. 90
Phiatus Albus king of Pictes. 62. 72
Philtan king of Irelande and his three ſonnes. 147.9
Pictes a people of Germanie. 5. 26
Pictes ſet foote in a part of Scotlande. 6.3
Pictes as ſome ſay, a people of Scithia. 6.4
Pictes, vvhy ſo called. 6.7
Pictes came firſt into Orkeney. 6. 16
Pictes came ouer intoo the maine lande. 6.20
Pictes poſſeſſe manye Places in Scotlande. 6.24
Pictland Firth. 6.19
Pictes driue avvaye Brytaynes from theyr habitations. 6. 33
Pictes builde ſtrong holdes for defence. 6.31
Pictes require vvines of the ſcots. 6. 37
Pictes giuen to tillage, and building holdes. 6.41

Pictes

Pictes much moued by Prophecies. 6. 106
Pictes conclude a league vvith the Britaines. 6.111
Pictes become enimies to the Scots 7. 3
Pictes by lamentation of theyr vviues, moued to peace vvith the Scots. 8.97
Pictes and Scots conclude a peace. 9. 17
Pictes flee into the Iles of Orkeney 16. 77
Pictes require aid of the Scottes againſt the Britaines. 21.56
Pictes ioyne vvith Scottes and Britaines againſt the Romaines. 33. line. 71
Pictes ayde the Britaines againſte the Romaines. 35.25
Pictes aſſaulte the Romaines, and ſlay them. 41.50
Pictes are appointed to be vtterly deſtroyed. 41.90
Pictes ſende to the Scots for ayd againſt the Romaines. 42.36
Pictes refuſe to be in amitie vvith the Romaines. 49.3
Pictes ſend to Corbreid Galde for aid againſt the Romanes. 50.109
Pictes require aide of Mogall againſt the Romaines. 60.20
Pictiſhe vvoman tyed in a ſacke, and throvven into a riuer. 75.20
Pictes renue their league vvith the Scottes. 79.53
Pictiſhe Gentlemen ſteale one of the King of Scots Greyhounds. 80. 12
Pictes earneſt ſute to haue the Scots expulſed Britaine. 90.81
Pictes quarrell vvith Maximus for executing certayne robbers of their nation. 91.38
Pictes diſcomfited by the Scots and Iriſhmen. 92.56
Pictes repine to obey the Romaine lavves. 93.43
Pictes are forbidden to create a King. 93.68
Pictes become tributaries to the Romaines. 93.101
Pictes commaunded to dvvell beyond the vvater of Forth. 94.11
Pictes ſend into forraine Countries to call home the Scots. 95.9
Pictes ſtande in feare of Conſtantine King of Britaine. 111.96
Pictes conſpire treaſon againſt Cōſtantinus King of Britaine. 111. line. 105
Pictes certaine of them vvinne the Britaines camp. 113.15
Pictes ſend to the Scots for ayde againſt the Saxons. 113.104
Pictes vanquiſhed by the Saxons. 113. 115
Pictes eftſoones ſolicite the Scots for aide. 114.15
Pictes fall at variance among themſelues. 173.18
Pictes ſolicite both Scots and Saxons to make vvarre vppon the Britaines. 133.40
Pictes infected vvith Pelagius hereſie. 137.6
Pictes and Saxons enter vvith an armye into the lands of the Britaines. 140.30
Pictes and Saxons diſcomfited and chaſed by the Britaines and Scots. 141
Picts fall togither by the eares for the ſpoyle of Northumberland. 163. 88
Pictes take an othe to deſtroy all the Scottiſh race. 172.80
Pictes vanquiſhed and ſlayne in a greate battayle by the Scottes. 174. 93
Pictes ſue to the Scottes for peace. 175. 16
Picts putte to flight and ſlayne by the Scots. 176.46
Picts vtterly deſtroyed. 177.71
Pictes ouercome the Scottes by vvonderfull policie. 171.25
Picts anoy the Scots at the ſiege of Camelon. 178.65
Pictes remainder vvhere they became, vvhich eſcaped frō theyr Countreis deſtruction. 180.66
Picts flee from the Engliſhmen into Norvvay and Denmarke. 186. 35
Pictland parted among the Conquerours. 177.77
Pictimia. 154.99
Pies and baked meates ſeldome vſed in Scotland. 380.102
Pigges vvith heades like dogges. 385. 75
Pizoni Gaſpar an Italian Captain ſlaine. 478.92
Placidus Lieutenant of Britaine. 98. 100
Placidus & his army ouerthrovvē by Scots and Pictes. 99.15
Placidus eſcapeth, and fleeth to Yorke. 99.16
Placidus concludeth a peace vvith the Scots and Picts. 99.49
Placidus dyeth. 100.36
Planctius, looke Aulus Planctius.
Pledges deliuered betvveene the Gouernour of Scotland, and the Earle of Lennox, & the nobles of his ſide. 460.82
Plinius cited. 21.38
Ploughes not able to bee put into the ground for the froſt tyll the middle of March. 279.116
Policie of Scots to anoy the Saxons. 116.35
Policie of the Picts to eſcape from the Saxons. 117.27
Policie of the Pictes to diſcourage the Britaines in the battell. 134. line. 33
Policie of the Scottes to daunt the Iriſhmen. 196.45
Policie of King Edvvard to vvin Barvvike. 309.97
Policie of VVilliam VVallace, to relieue the Scottiſh peoples lacke in time of dearth. 304.18
Policie of the Scottes to entrappe the Engliſhmen. 316.17
Policie of VVilliam Dovvglas to vvinne Edenburgh Caſtell. 347. line. 74
Policie of the Scottiſh heardes to affrighte the Engliſhmens Horſes. 357.48
Pomonia chiefeſt of the Iles of Orkney. 17.11
Pontus in Irelande ſurrendred to the Scottes. 197.34
Poole Richarde, a man of greate parentage, borne in Englande, and baniſhed the Realme. 433. line. 108
Pope Celeſtinus ſendeth Paladius into Scotland. 108.16
Popes Ambaſſadours not regarded in England. 339.34
Portingale, a corrupted name of Port Gathele. 2.13
Pouertie of Scotland. 214.68
Praiſe of Scottiſh dogges. 80.6
Prelates ordeyned in Religiō. 21.7
Preſton in Andemeis brente by the Scots. 324.11
Preſumptious demeanoure of the Scottiſh nobilitie to their king. 403. 77
Preaching againſte Images, and fruteleſſe Ceremonies in Scotland. 458.63
Prieſts liuing appoynted of the ſacrifice. 13.9
Prieſtes to attende their vocation only. 187.8
Prieſts fined for not doing theyr dueties. 187.14
Prieſts exempte from tribute, and all manner exactions. 192.15
Prieſtes not to bee conſtreyned to goe vnto vvarres. 192.16
Prieſtes not to come before anye temporall Iudge, but only theyr Biſhops and Ordinaries. 192.17
Princes of Albion cōſpire againſt Oſrike and Buſrede. 146
Priſoners ſente home out of England into Scotlande, and alſo out of Scotland into Englande. 458.5.458. 34
Priſoners ſette at libertie by the Gouernour of Scotland. 461.98
Priſoners Scottes and Frenchmen taken by the Engliſhmen. 464 line. 90
Priſoners taken in the Caſtell of S. Andrevves, put into the French Galleis. 467.23
Priuiledges graunted to Makduffe and his poſteritie. 252.58
Priuiledge for the Scottiſh Kings to be annoynted. 266.110
Priuiledges graunted to the Vniuerſitie of S. Andrevves. 380.25
Prophecie, that Scots ſhoulde deſtroy the Picts. 6.107.8. 65
Prophecie of Colman againſt King Ferquhard the ſecond. 148.19
Prophecie of three vvomen vnto Makbeth and Banquho. 243.54
Proſperitie, the mother of contention. 5.23
Proſperitie changeth conditions. 63. 42
Proteſtants in Scotlande eſpie the craftie iugling of Dauid Beatō, Cardinall and Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrevves. 457. 50. they ſet the Earle of Arrane againſte the Cardinall. 457.58
Prouiſion for Shippes in euerye Hauen tovvne. 409.78
Prouiſion for good literature. 408 line. 89
Prouoſt of Edenburgh ſent to the Earle of Hertford, to vnderſtād the cauſe of comming into Scotland. 461.43
Ptolomeus Metellus ſeconde ſon. 5. 9

Q.

QVarrell of Iames the fourth, for the battayle foughte at Floddon. 420.70
Queene Margaret vvife to Malcolme dyeth. 250.4
Queenes ferrie. 254.13
Queene Spontana ſlaine in hir bed in ſted of hir husband. 163.26
Queene mother to Iames the fifth departeth this life. 445.59
Queene Dovvager fleeth vvyth hir tvvo ſonnes into Irelande. 131. 101
Queene Dovvager dyeth in Irelande. 132.1
Queene Guaynore vvife to Arthure, vvith many moe Britiſhe Ladyes, taken priſoner. 134.75
Queene Guaynore deteyned perpetuall priſoner in the Caſtell of Dunbar in Angus. 135.15
Queene Dovvager married to Iames Stevvard. 366.80
Queene Dovvager and hir husband impriſoned, and releaſſed. 386. 84
Queene Dovvager dyeth. 388.61
Queene mother called Dovvager, and Mary the yong Queene of Scotland hir daughter, reſtreyned of their libertie by commaundement of the Gouernour, and kept in Lithgovv. 458.71
Quhitelline or VVhiteline ſlayne. 141. 95
Quhitreme firſt inſtituted. 94.113
Quincie Roger, Earle of VVincheſter, made Conneſtable of Scotland. 285.55

R.

RAineth frogges. 96.41
Rayneth birds. 98.108
Rayneth bloud. 108
Rayneth bloud. 152.26
Raineth adders and ſnakes. 186.77
Raineth ſtones. 222.15
Rainolde Captayne of the Norvvegians. 204.79
Raiſers of the people to leeſe life, goodes, & lands, and the people rayſed to leeſe the ſame. 246.16
Ramſie Alexander inuadeth England vvith an army. 346.17
Ramſie Alexander impriſoned by VVilliam Dovvglas, dieth there in great miſerie. 348.41
Randall Thomas choſen Gouernoure of Scotlande during the minoritie of King Dauid the ſecond. 330.53
Randall Thomas poyſoned by a Monke. 332.11
Randall Thomas Gouernoure dieth. 332.67
Raſhe buſhe keepeth the Covve. 305. 77
Raſin, generall of all the Danes in England. 204.4
Raſin ſlayne. 204.12
Ratcliffe Roger eſquier, ſent Ambaſſadour into Scotland. 436.53
Rauiſhers of Maidens to dye for the offence. 160.20
Redde head, a point of land in Angus. 224.69
Rebellion of Britaines appeaſed. 46. 94
Rebellion of the people agaynſte Natholocus the King. 75.26
Rebellion in Kent. 88.57
Rebelliō moued in the Iles againſt Soluathius. 158.19
Rebellion moued in Cathnes againſt King VVilliam. 281.7
Rebelles of Cathnes ouerthrovvē and puniſhed. 282.20
Rebellion moued by the inhabitants of Murrey land. 270.49
Rebels in Murrey lande ſlay the Kings meſſengers. 270.57
Rebellion moued againſte Kyng Duffe. 206.106
Rebels of Murrey land ouerthrovven, and the people putte to the ſvvorde. 270.74
Rebellion moued in Gallovvay. 255. 75
Rebellion moued in Murrey land. 256. 17
Rebels in Murrey land pardoned vpon their ſubmiſſion. 256.63
Riot and ſuperfluous chere brought into Scotland. 257.23
Rebellion againſte King Alexander. 262.34
Rebellion againſt king VVilliam. 279. 30
Rebels ſeuerely puniſhed. 279.68
Rebels at Hadington ſharply puniſhed. 331.16
Rebellion moued in Englande by Iacke Stravve. 359.2
Rebellion moued by Donalde of the Iles, againſt the Gouernour. 373. 4
Rebellion moued in VVales againſt King Henrie the fifth. 374. line. 16
Rebellion moued againſte Kyng Iames, by Alexander Lorde of the Iles. 376.74
Rebellion moued by Donald Balloch of the Iles. 378.101
Rebellion moued by Angus Duffe of Stratherne. 379.16
Rebellion of the Dovvglaſſes a-

gainſt the King. 302.61
Rebellion of the Barons againſte King Iames the fourth. 408.50
Rebellion in Cornevvall. 410.46
Redvvalde King of Eaſt angles. 143. 67
Recroſſe in Stainemore vvhy ſo called. 155.64
Redbrayes. 233.66
Redſhankes. 318.17
Reginald Abbot of Arbroth. 276. line. 39
Reginalde King of the Iles murthered. 203.60
Reginald brother Harold created King of Man. 283.83
Reginald ſlayne. 292.84
Regulus Albatus a Greekiſhe Monke. 87.30
Renfrovve. 270.99
Reſignation of Iohn Balliol to King Roberte of all hys title in the Crovvne of Scotlande. 325. line. 113
Ros Makdonald, a notable robber. 379.52
Ros Makdonalde taken and executed. 379.63
Retainers to ſuffer death. 146.20
Rethirdaill vvhy ſo named. 17.56
Reuther onely ſonne to Doruadille. 14.18
Reuther crovvned King. 14.50
Reuther fleeth to a Caſtell in Cathneſe. 15.60
Reuther purſued and taken. 15.60
Reuther pardoned. 15.62
Reuther and Nobilitie of Scotland flee to Beringonium. 16.33
Reuther eſcapeth the ſiege. 16.63
Reuther paſſeth into Irelãd. 16.71
Reuther ſent for out of Irelande. 17. 14
Reuther, vvhome Beda calleth Reuda. 17.70
Reuther ſuppoſed to be the firſte Prince of Scottes that ſet foote in Britaine to inhabite. 17.72
Reuther dyeth. 18.9
Reutha choſen King. 18.15
Reutha calleth a Parliamẽt. 18.74
Reutha reſigneth the gouernemẽt of the Realme. 18.84
Revvard for killing a VVolfe. 13. line. 39
Richard Duke of Normandy. 229. line. 4
Richardus de Sancto Victore borne. 263.34
Richarde Earle of Glouceſter inuadeth Cumberlande vvith a mighty army. 255.20
Richard the firſt crovvned Kyng of England. 278.1
Richard the firſte goeth tovvarde the holye lande vvith an army. 278. 4
Richard the firſte takẽ priſoner by the Emperoure of Almaine. 279 line. 19
Richarde the firſt of England dyeth. 279.77
Richard the firſt crovvned Kyng of England. 358.66
Richard inuadeth Scotland vvyth an army. 360.107
Richarde marrieth Iſabell, daughter to the French King. 366.62
Richarde goeth into Irelande to ſubdue Rebels. 366.63
Richard depoſed frõ the Crovvne of England. 366.69
Richard dyeth. 366.81
Richard Biſhoppe of Sainte Andrevvs. 274.71
Richarde the third of England, ouerthrovven and ſlayne by Hẽry Earle of Richmond. 406.73
Richmondſhire redeemed from ſpoyle of the Scottes vvith a ſumme of money. 323.85
Righte miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe. 101.47
Riotouſneſſe the mother of ſickneſſes. 149.112
Riuer of Cree. 88.28
Riuer of Tine. 61.83
Riuer of Munda. 88.100
Riuer of Lochtee runneth vvyth bloud. 234.63
Riuer of Caron. 29.25
Riuer of Lochtey. 26.51
Riuer of Lochneſſe. 26.63
Riuer of Ovvſe. 228.49
Riuer of Carron runneth vvyth bloud. 97.33
Riuer of Almound. 180.88
Riuer of Tay. 50.83
Riuer of Clide. 51.25
Riuer of Armound. 52.107
Riuer of Erne. 233.70
Riuer of Levviſſe. 151.19
Riuer of Deir. 313.115
Riuer of Forth. 94.11
Riuer of Dune ran vvith bloud. 91. 100
Riuer of Bane in Ireland. 196. 20
Riuer of Sulvvay. 358.14
Riuer of Svvale. 321.93
Riuer of Leuine. 177.100
Riuer of Annan. 178.11
Riuer of Tvvede. 178.14
Riuer of Clud. 178.15
Riuer of Sulvvey. 389.69
Riuer of Annand. 389.70
Riuer of Sare. 389.70
Riuer of Rule. 415.80
Riuer of Tvveede. 419.111
Riuer of Tuyſell. 419.112
Riuer of Tyll. 421.36
Riuer of Eske. 432.21
Robbers on the high vvaye to be put to the ſvvord. 181.8
Robert ſonne to VVilliam conqueror ſent into Northumberlande vvith a mightye povver. 255. 45
Robert the ſeconde ſun to VValter Stevvarde, and Margerye Bruce. 246.81
Robert the ſeconde marrieth Iſabell Mure. 247.83
Robert the ſecõd firſt of the Stevvards that vvare the crovvne of Scotland. 247.111
Robert duke of Albanie, ſlayeth Dauid Stevvard duke of Rothſay. 247.116
Robert the firſt crovvned king of Scotland. 311.28
Robert and his armie diſcomfited at Meiſene by the Engliſhmen. 311. 41
Robert and his armie diſcomfited by the Engliſhemen at Athole. 311. 57
Roberts miſerable ſtate in the beginning of his reigne. 311.66
Roberts vvife taken, and impriſoned in London. 312.10
Roberts brother taken and put to death. 311. 15
Roberte goeth into the Iles, and there purchaſeth ayde of men and munition. 312.53
Robert vanquiſheth the Engliſhmen in many encoũters and ſkirmiſhes. 313.8
Robert inuadeth Englande vvith an armie. 314.35
Robert cõmeth againſt King Edvvard vvith his armie. 315.111
Roberte vanquiſheth, and putteth to flighte the huge armye of the Engliſhmen. 318.84
Roberts vvife reſtored. 319.17
Robert paſſeth ouer into Irelande vvith an army. 320.69
Roberts Nobles conſpire againſt him. 322.30
Roberte entreth into Englande vvith an army. 323.67
Robert inuadeth Englande vnto Yorke. 324.45
Robert dyeth. 327.42
Roberts fame and commendation amongſt his enimies. 328.75
Robertes aduice to the nobles for the gouerning of the Realme. 329. 44
Roberts hearte carried to Ieruſalem, and there buried. 329.113
Robert the ſecond Crovvned K. of Scotland. 356.31
Robert Erle of Fife, ſecond ſonne to King Robert, choſen Gouernoure of Scotland vnder hys father. 364.66
Robert the ſeconde King of Scots dyeth. 364.111
Robert the third Crovvned king of Scotland. 365.29
Roberte commeth to knovvledge of the deathe of hys ſonne the Duke of Rothſay. 370.71
Robert dyeth. 372.69
Robert Duke of Albany, Gouernour of Scotland dyeth. 374.53
Roxburgh called in olde tyme Marken. 265.114
Rockeſbourgh ſacked and burnt by the Earles of Marche and Murrey. 357.22
Rockeſbourgh bridge broken dovvne, and the tovvne brente. 373. 63
Rockeſbourgh beſieged by Iames the firſt. 381.7
Rockeſbourgh Caſtell reedified by the Engliſhmen. 469.62
Rockeſbourgh fort raſed. 480.93
Rock Ferguſe, vvhy ſo called. 10. line. 91
Rocha vvife to Erthus, a Lady of greate parentage in Denmarke. 94. 54
Roderike, a famous Captayne of the Dutchmen. 44.23
Roderike and hys armye ſlayne. 45. 25
Roger a Norman inuadeth Northumberland vvith an army. 255. line. 14
Rogers army diſcomfited, and hee himſelfe trayterouſly ſlayne. 255. line. 17
Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke defamed for couetouſneſſe. 272.12
Romero Iulian a Captayne ouer Spanyardes. 479. 106. ſurpriſed and ſpoyled vvith hys vvhole band of men. 479.100
Romaines repulſed by the Britaines. 28.60
Romaines righte vving of the army like to be diſtreſſed. 35.38
Romaines ouerthrovve the Britaines. 61
Romaine Iudges appointed in euery prouince. 36.25
Romaines vanquiſhe the Scottes by policie. 38.18
Romaines trayned into ambuſhes by the Pictes and ſlayne. 41.74
Romanes diſcomfited by the Picts 42. 8
Romaines flee and are ſlain. 43.94
Romaines put to flight and ſlain. 44. 65
Romaines ſvvimme ouer the golfe into Angleſey. 50.8
Romaine Marriners finde out Pictland Firth. 53.109
Romaine Shippes drovvned in Pictland Firth. 54.13
Romaine Souldiers chooſe Silinnius to be their generall, vvhich he refuſeth. 56.65
Romaines diſcomfited and chaſed. 56.77
Romaines putte to flight and chaſed. 56.112
Romaines ſende to Marius Kyng of Britaine for aide. 57.150
Romaines retire from the Scottes and Picts. 57.46
Romanes fiercely aſſalle the Scots 57. 80
Romaines chaſed to their Camp. 57. 98
Romaines require a communication vvith the Scottes. 57.111
Romaines ſubmit themſelues vnto the Scottes as vanquiſhed. 58.4
Romaines receiue conditions of peace of the Scots. 58.25
Romanes departe out of Gallovvay. 58.43
Romanes inuade the Scottiſh borders. 60.25
Romaines put to flight. 61.31
Romanes inuade the Scottiſh and Pictiſh bordures. 66.5
Romaines encountred by the Scottes and Pictes. 66.61
Romaines chaſed and ſlain. 67.74
Romaines purpoſe to make a prouince of the Kingdome of the Britaines. 71.10
Romacus ſeeketh meanes to deſtroy his Couſins. 84.65
Romacus vanquiſheth his Couſins Anguſianes. 84.81
Romacus receyued as King. 84.89
Romacus gouerneth tyrannically. 84. 100
Romacus apprehended and putte to death. 85.8
Romanes follovving the Scots in chaſe receyue damage. 88.54
Romaine lavves enforced by ſtraight commaundement vpon the Britaines and Pictes. 91.13
Romaines driue the Scottes out of the confines of Britaine. 98.26
Romane Empire inuaded by barbarous nations. 98.46
Rome ſacked. 94.52
Romaine armye vanquiſhed, and put to flight. 100.104
Roode vvell. 364.25
Roſey Caſtell (from vvhence the Stevvardes Kings of Scotlande had their originall, taken by the Earle of Lennox. 481.77
Roſe of Gold full of Baulme ſente to King VVilliam from the Pope. 276.44
Roſe and Scepter ſente by the Pope to Iames the fourth. 409. line. 101
Roſſe vvhereof ſo named. 90.64
Rothſay ſonne to Notaſilus King of Scottes. 5.61
Rothſay the Ile, called after the Kings name. 5.75
Rothſay returneth into Irelande. 5. 80
Rothſay ſucceedeth his father in the Kingdome. 5.80
Rouge Mouth, a Frenche Captayne. 477.46
Rouland and Gilchriſt ſtoutely reſiſt the Engliſhmen. 274.55
Rovvland Couſin to King VVilliam. 273.31
Rovvlande an Engliſhe Knyghte ſlayne. 314.1
Roxena or Rovven, daughter to Hengiſt, arriueth in Britaine. 115. 72
Ruſſell Iohn an Engliſhman. 288. line. 41
Rubrum promontorium. 233.65

S.

SAba chiefe citie of Meroe. 126
Sadler Raufe Knight, ſent Ambaſſador from Henrye the eyght Kyng of Englande, into Scotland. 458.50
Saint Colme or Colomb runneth forth of Ireland into Scotlande. 136. 67
Saint Colme conuerteth Brudeus King of Pictes from Pelagius hereſie. 137.13

Saint Colme & Kentigerne teach and preach at Dounkeld.137.40
Saint Colme returneth into Ireland. 137.57
Saint Colme commeth againe into Scotlande, bringing vvith hym Aydan ſonne to King Conran. 137. 66
Saint Colmes exhortation at the Coronation of Aydan, to the Prince and the people. 138.35
Saint Colme maketh agreemente betvveene the Scottish and Pictish Kings. 139.60
Saint Colme indevved vvith the ſpirite of ſecrete knovvledge, prayeth for the good ſucceſſe of the Scottes in battayle. 141.74
Saint Colme dyeth. 141.114
Saint Colmes prophecie of Eugenius the fourth. 143.16
Saint Cutbert by deuout prayers, preſerueth Northumberlande from deſtruction. 151.83
Saint Cutberts banner. 160.71
Saint Iohns Tovvne, hovv in old time called. 181.4
Saint Germane Biſhop of Auxer. 114. 38
Saint Germane preacheth vnto the Britiſh army. 124.51
Saint Germane and hys Prieſtes leade the forevvarde of the Britiſh army. 124.58
Saint German beareth the Kynges ſtandard. 65
Saint Ebbes head. 233.56
Saint Ebbars head, vvhereof it tooke that name. 143.94
Saint Phillanes arme. 317.25
Saint Magnus ſpirit armed. 319.61
Saint Andrevv the Apoſtls bones brought into Scotland. 87.30
Saint Andrevves Croſſe. 166.36
Saint Andrevve patrone of the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe nations. 166. 43
Saint Andrevves ſhrine of beaten golde. 166.96
Saint Andrevves Caſtell ſpoyled. 435. 22
Saint Andrevves made an Archbyſhoprike, and Primate of all Scotland. 402.12
Saint Olanus patron of Denmarke and Norvvay. 237.20
Saint Olanus Churche builded 237. 21
Saint Peters Church at Tulline, by vvhome builded. 144.30
Saint Peters Churche at Roſtenoth by vvhome builded.144.32
Saint Edmonde King of the Eaſt angles. 191.48
Saint Ninian buried at Qhuitterne. 154.96
Saint Reulo commeth into Scotland. 87.32
Saint Sauious Church in Man, otherwiſe called Sodorenſis eccleſia. 83.5
Saladine the Souldane diſtreſſeth the Chriſtians in the holy lande. 276. 92
Sanctuaries eſtabliſhed. 110.30
Saterday after noone commaunded to be kept holy day. 179. 91
Sarahell choſen King of Scottes. 70. 30
Sarahell, a deepe diſſembler. 70. line. 40
Sarahell ſtrangled by his ovvne ſeruants. 70.60
Sauage Iohn Knight an Engliſhe Captaine. 479.42
Saxons ſent for into Germany to ſerue in Britaine. 113.55
Saxons vvith a povver of Britaines ſente into the Borders of the Scottes and Pictes. 113.86
Saxons in hope of good ſucceſſe, begin the vvarres vvith bloud. 113. 94
Saxons vvinne greate name for their high valiancie. 114.2
Saxons cuſtome in tyme of daunger. 114.110
Saxons ſlay the Scottes and Picts diſordred in purſute of the Britaines. 115.4
Saxons firſte inhabited Linſey after their comming into Britain. 115. 89
Saxons placed in Kent. 117.50
Saxons the thirde time come ouer vnder Occa. 117.46
Saxons put to flight by the Scots. 118. 63
Saxons vanquiſhed by Britaynes. and expulſed out of Kent. 119.7
Saxons armye diſcomfited and ſlayne. 122.1
Saxōs burned for Idolatrie. 122.81
Saxons miraculouſly diſcomfited. 124. 80
Saxons vanquiſhe and chaſe the Scottes and Pictes. 126.57
Saxons vanquiſhed, are conſtreyned to pay tribute to the Britaines. 127.6
Saxons in the Northe, and the Pictes put to flight. 127.41
Saxons putte to flight by the Britaines and Pictes. 129.114
Saxons make offer to depart peaceably out of Britaine. 129.83
Saxons ſetting vpon the Britaines at vnvvares, putte them to the vvorſe. 129.108
Saxons excuſe the raſh onſette of their people vpon the Britaines, vvithout conſente of their gouernoures. 130.15
Saxons returne into England, and driue the Britains into VVales. 135. 92
Schevves VVilliam conſecrated Archbiſhop of Saint Andrevvs. 402. 74
Scorpions found in Scotland. 415. line. 59
Scots originall. 1.4
Scota Pharaos daghter, of vvhom the Scots ſo called. 1.37
Scotia, ſo called of the Scottes dvvelling there. 1.38
Scottes vanquiſh the Spanyards in battayle.2.21.and.3. 27
Scottiſh Kings ſeate of Marble ſtone. 3.42
Scota had tvvo ſonnes. 4.11
Scots firſt arriuall at Dundalke in Ireland. 4.18
Scottes ſeeke nevv ſeates.4.3.and 5. 69
Scottes ſend an Ambaſſadour into Spayne for aide. 4.112
Scots ſet in quiet poſſeſſiō of their lands in Ireland. 5.13
Scottes poſſeſſe the VVeſterne Iles called Hebrides. 5.70
Scots inhabite the maine lande of Scotland. 5.90
Scots reuerence their gouernors. 5. 106
Scottes by peace grovv to a mightie nation. 5.111
Scots graunt the Pictes vviues. 6. line. 47
Scottes make a league vvyth the Pictes againſt the Britaynes. 5.52
Scottes giuen to hunting & fovvling.6.83.and.11.97. and.27. 45
Scottes ſend for aid into Irelande. 6. 18
Scottes carrie their vviues, children, and goodes into vvarre vvith them. 7.42
Scottes and Pictes inuade Britaine 9. 60
Scots call a Parliament. 10.19
Scottes ocupyed their lande in cōmune. 10.32
Scottes, greate vvorſhippers of Diana. 11.94
Scots ouerthrovven by the Britaynes. 16.24
Scots beſieged, eate one another. 16. 41
Scots Idolatrie reproued. 20.44
Scottes and Picts aunſvvere vnto Iulius Cæſars Ambaſſadors. 28. line. 106
Scottes and Picts vtterly refuſe all bondage and friendſhip of the Romanes. 28.116
Scottes glory gotten by [illegible]. 32. 55
Scottes aide the Britaines againſte the Romaines. 37.24
Scottes agree to fighte vvyth the Romaines. 47.49
Scottes diſcomfited and chaſed. 47. 61
Scots in Annandale beate dovvne the Romaines. 49.41
Scottes in Annandale murthered by their vviues. 49.73
Scottes ſlea the Romaine Souldyers lying in garriſon. 51.48
Scottes require ayd of the Danes, Norvvegians, and Iriſhmenne againſt the Romanes. 52.12
Scottes and Pictes depart ſecretely in the night from their Camp. 55. 72
Scottes paſſe ouer the Riuer of Tay. 56.98
Scottes giue battayle to the Romaines. 56.105
Scottes ſet vpon the Romaines. 56. line. 69
Scottes preſcribe conditions of peace to the Romaines. 58.25
Scottes and Picts deuide the lands beyond Tyne betvvixte them. 62. 23
Scottes and Picts renevve vvarre againſt the Romaines. 67.66
Scots receyue the faith of Chriſte. 73. 10
Scottes proclaymed open enimies both to Romaines, Britaynes, and Pictes. 87.02
Scottes endamage the Pictes by incurſions. 88.70
Scottes hauing vanquiſhed the Pictes, are ſlayne by the Romaynes. 89.64
Scottes commaunded by Proclamation, to auoide the vvhole Iland of Britayne. 90.99
Scottes repaire into Irelande for ſuccoure againſt the Romaynes and Pictes. 92.13
Scottiſhe and Iriſhe confederates vtterly ouerthrovven and deſtroyed. 92
Scottes make ſhift to liue in other Countreys. 94.37
Scottes reſtored to theyr Countreys. 96.44
Scottes vvhen firſt they obteined certayne ſeates in this Ile, as is verily ſuppoſed. 96.80
Scottes and Pictes interrupte the making of Victorinus vvall. 97. 84
Scottes and Pictes inuade & ſpoile the Romane confines. 98
Scottes and Pictes inuade VVeſtmerlande and Cumberlande as their ovvne. 100.41
Scottes and Picts vvithdravve beyond the VVall of Abircorne. 102. 37
Scottes and Pictes outragiouſly inuade the Britaines. 103.19
Scottes and Pictes refuſe to gyue battayle to the Romaynes. 103. 47
Scottes and Pictes approche the vvall of Abircorne to aſſaulte it. 104.30
Scots raſe the vvall of Abircorne to the ground. 105.44
Scottes and Pictes inuade all betvveene Tvvede and Tyne. 104. 55
Scottes make incurſions ouer all betvveene Tine and Humber. 105. 79
Scottes and Pictes offer peace to the Britaines vppon vnreaſonable conditions. 106
Scots and Pictes graunte peace to the Britaines vppon conditions ſpecified. 107.54
Scottes and Pictes approch vvith their armies neere to the Britaines. 110.89
Scottes and Pictes in diſpleaſure of Vortigerne, inuade the Britiſh borders. 112.59
Scottes and Pictes heartes faint at ſight of the Saxons. 114.68
Scottes ouerthrovve certain companies of Saxons. 140.116
Scottes and Pictes giue a valiante charge vppon the Britaines and Saxons. 115.101
Scottes put to flighte by the Saxons. 117.10
Scots and Pictes ayd the Britaines againſt the Saxons vpon conditions. 118.14
Scottes and Pictes ayde Aurelius Ambroſius againſte the Saxons. 121. 53
Scottes and Pictes readie to flee from the Saxons for feare, before they ſee them. 125.64
Scottes agree to ayde the Pictes againſt the Britaines. 133.46
Scottes and Pictes agree to make peace vvith the Britains. 134.8
Scottes ouercome the Pictes in a foughten field. 139.57
Scotlande free from the Peſtilence vvhiche afflicted moſt parte of the vvorld. 140.106
Scottes vvhy they vveare Sainte Andrevves Croſſe in vvarfare. 166. 79
Scottiſhe Ambaſſadours arriue at the Pictiſh Courte vvyth meſſage from king Dongall. 169.30
Scottes vexe the Pictes by incurſions and inrodes. 171.16
Scottes crueltie againſt the Pictes. 177. 67
Scottes vanquiſhed and ſlayne by the Engliſhmen. 183.55
Scottes ſend Ambaſſadours to the Engliſhmen for peace. 184.75
Scots giue onſet vpon the Danes. 189. 8
Scottes putte the Danes to flighte 189. 35
Scottes contende for the Daniſhe ſpoyle and priſoners before the Conqueſt. 189.42
Scots put to flight by the Danes. 190. 59
Scottiſh Kings vovve to defende the liberties and priuiledges of the Church. 191.47
Scottes recouer Fife and Lothian from the Danes and Pictes. 192. 71
Scottes egerly inuade the Danes. 193. 40
Scottes bring Northumberlande into their povver. 194.14
Scottes graunte peace to the Britaynes vppon certaine conditions. 195.31
Scottes take Dublin in Irelande. 198. 35
Scottes graunt peace to the Iriſhmen vpon conditions. 198.68
Scotte Iohn, a famous Clearke. 199. 40
Scotte Iohn ſlayne by his Schollers. 199.58
Scottes breake their faith vvyth the Engliſhmen. 201.40
Scottes and Danes confederate againſt

againſt the Engliſhmen. 201.48
Scottes and Danes receiue a great ouerthrovv of the Engliſhmen. 201. 96
Scottiſh vvriters not to be credited in the accompt of the yeares of the reignes of the Engliſhe kings. 203.115
Scottes giue the onſet vppon the Danes. 215.66
Scottiſhe Herraldes ſlayne by the Danes. 230.73
Scottes aſtonied for feare of the Danes. 230.87
Scots put to flight by the Danes. 231. 60
Scottes and Danes one afrayde of another. 232.30
Scottes vanquiſhe the Danes, and put them to flight. 233
Scottiſh army ſueth to their Kyng for licence to fighte vvyth the Danes. 236.37
Scottes vvinne the name of victorie, rather than victorie it ſelfe ouer the Danes. 236.51
Scottes and Danes conclude a peace. 236.67
Scotlande deuided into Baronies. 237. 70
Scottes and Northumberlande menne ouerthrovve Roger the Norman and his armie. 255.17
Scottes and Northumberlande men diſcomfited and ſlayne by Odo. 255.36
Scottes diſcomfite Odo and hys army. 255.40
Scottes auntient frugalitie in dyet. 257. 40
Scottes make roades into Englãd. 265. 87
Scottes proclayme open vvar againſt the Engliſhmen. 260.75
Scotland more endomaged by domeſticall theeues, than by forrayne enimies. 272.77
Scottes make irruptions into the Engliſh borders. 273.8
Scottes diſcomfited, and conſtreyned to flee. 273.91
Scotland accurſed. 282.108
Scotland abſolued. 283.13
Scottiſh Cleargie cited to appeare at Rome. 283.36
Scottiſh Cleargie complayneth to the Pope of Cardinall Gualo. 283. 43
Scottiſhe and Norvvegians battayles ioyne in fight. 291.77
Scottiſh Captaynes ſent to goe againſt the Sarazens. 294.107
Scottiſhe nobilitie loſt by Shypvvracke. 296.63
Scottes contribute largely to a iourney into the holy land. 296. line. 42
Scot Michael, an excellent Phiſicion. 297.91
Scotland vvithout a King and gouernour. 297.101
Scotland ruled by ſixe gouernors. 298. 2
Scottes diſcomfited and ſlayne at Dunbar by the Engliſhmenne. 301. 32
Scottes vanquiſhed and ſlayne by the Engliſhmenne at Falkirke. 305. 69
Scottes complayne to the Pope of the Engliſhmen. 306.39
Scottes vanquiſh three battayles of the Engliſhmenne at Roſlin. 307. 22
Scottiſhmenne learned, commaunded to be reſident in Oxforde. 308. 72
Scottes diſcomfited by the Engliſhmen at Meffen. 310.41
Scottiſh houſe in Andvvarp builded. 310.94
Scottes enter into England vvyth an army further than euer they vvere accuſtomed. 321.40
Scottiſh army ſecretely returneth home to their Countrey. 327.66
Scottiſh army vanquiſhed by king Edvvard, at Halydovvne hyll. 338. 22
Scottes diſcomfited and ſlayne by the Engliſhmen at Blackborne. 346. 51
Scottes refuſe Engliſhmens large offers for peace. 349.53
Scottiſh army vanquiſhed at Durham, and the King taken. 351.13
Scottes inuade England vvyth an army. 357.29
Scottiſh Lordes conſpire agaynſt Iames the third. 407.42
Scottes and Frenchmen baniſhed foorth of England. 431.113
Scotland vvhen at the beſt that euer it vvas. 432.44
Scottes chaſed, that robbed the Engliſhmenne commung to Bervvike. 435.20
Scotte Iohn faſteth fortie dayes, vvithout receyuing any foode. 440. 74
Scotte Adam, called Kyng of Theeues, accuſed of theft, and beheaded. 440.56
Scottes and Frenchmen enter the Eaſt borders of Englande, but they returne ſhort home. 464. line. 83
Scotland inuaded by the Earle of Hertforde, and muche ſpoyled. 465. 60
Scottes aſſured to the Engliſhmen reuolte. 473.36. ouerthrovven and ſcattered by the Engliſhmẽ at Dunfreis. 473.66. drovvned in the vvater of Nith in flight. 473.74
Scottiſh Horſemen put to flyghte. 468.30. eyght hundred of them ſlayne. 468.32
Scottiſh armye very muche endomaged by an Engliſhe Galley, and tvvo pineſſes. 468.99
Scottes deale cruelly vvith Engliſhmen. 477.53
Scottes at a pillage gayne nyne thouſand Crovvnes. 477.105
Scottes ſpoyle the Lanſquenets of their baggage. 479.90
Sea caſteth vp fiſhe in great number vpon the ſands. 222.4
Sergeant at armes ſlayne by Rebelles. 239.62
Selby VValter, Captayne of Lidell fort beheaded. 350.34
Seyton Alexander and his armye ſlayne. 333.53
Seyton Alexanders ſonnes executed. 337.74
Sepulture of the Scottiſhe Kyngs appoynted at Dunſermeling. 257. 113
Seruan Biſhop of Orkeney. 108.38
Seton Lorde appoynted to haue the cuſtody of Dauid Beaton, Byſhoppe of Saint Andrevves and Cardinall. 458.32
Seuen Gouernoures of Scotlande choſen. 308.3
Seuerus the Emperoure commeth vvith an army into Britaine. 71. line. 80
Seuerus refuſeth to graunte peace to the Britiſh Rebels. 71.88
Seuerus commeth to Yorke. 72.13
Seuerus vanquiſheth the Britiſhe Rebels. 72.30
Seuerus falleth ſicke at Yorke. 72. line. 70
Seuerus dyeth. 72.87
Sheriffe of Bute ſlayne by the Commons. 341.8
Shyres in Scotlande called by the firſte Gouernoures names vnto this day. 10.59
Shippes ſeene vppon Humber, as furniſhed foorth to the vvarres. 152. 16
Shippe vvherein Sainte Colmes goodes lay, drovvned. 343.57
Shippes and nets for fiſhing commaunded. 401.74
Shippe called the Biſhops Barge, caſt avvay. 401.79
Shippe called the Treaſourer caſt avvay. 415.7
Shippes, money, and munitiõ, ſent out of Fraunce into Scotlande. 460.52.560. 61
Shippes ſente avvay out of Scotland home into Englande, laden vvith ſpoyle of Edenburgh and Leith, vvyth the Countreye thereaboutes. 461.108
Shippes of Fraunce laden vvyth vvines, taken by the Earle of Lennox. 462.81
Shrevvſburie field. 370.7
Sijora daughter to Gethus Kyng of Pictes, married to Ederus. 26. line. 27
Silkes forbidden to bee vvorne. 401. 76
Silures vvhere they inhabited. 39. line. 43
Sinell Thane of Glammis. 239.10.
Sincler Iames, Captayne of Orkeney, diſcomfiteth his enimies. 440. 42
Sinclare VVilliam, Biſhoppe of Dunkelke. 321.6
Sira ſiſter to Fiacre becommeth a Nunne in Fraunce. 146.3
Siſellius ſucceedeth his father Coile in the Kingdome of Britaine. 29. 116
Siſinnius receyueth a mortall vvound. 56.75
Sithrike King of Northumberlãd marrieth Beatrice daughter to King Edvvard. 201.27
Sithrike poyſoned by hys vvife Beatrice. 201.29
Sivvarde Earle of Northumberland. 244.29
Sixe gouernoures choſen to rule Scotland. 298.2
Skrimgeour, vvhat it ſignifieth. 262. 55
Slaughter of manye Nobles and Gentlemen. 15.50
Sober fare, cauſe of ſtrength, and hugineſſe of body. 257.48
Sodorenſis eccleſia, firſte Byſhops Sea in Scotland. 82.60
Soluathius admitted King of Scotland. 158.5
Soluathius vvaxeth impotente of the goute. 158.20
Soluathius dyeth. 158.94
Somerleid Thane of Arguile goeth aboute to make hymſelfe K. 268. 68
Somerleid ouerthrovven, fleeth into Ireland. 268.88
Somerleid returneth into Scotlãd vvith a povver of Iriſhmenne. 270. 96
Somerleide ouerthrovven vvyth his people at Renfrovve. 270.99
Somerleid hanged vpon a Gibet. 270. 101
Somerleid Thane of Arguile, ſon to the aboue ſo named, rebelleth againſt the King. 286.49
Somerleid pardoned of hys rebellion. 286.56
Sovving of grayne in the earthe, not purged of vveedes forbidden. 181.39
Sovve eating hir Pigges, to bee ſtoned, or buryed. 181.70
Sovvthvvell Richard cited. 325.21
Sovvthvvell Richarde a vvriter cited. 203.32
Souldane contrarie to a truce made, ſlayeth the Chriſtians in Africa. 206.57
Spaldeyn an Engliſhman, and hys treaſon. 321.32
Sparhauke ſtrangled by an Ovvle. 210. 61
Spanyardes and Scottes become one people. 4.70
Spencer Iohn ſlayne by Hamton. 325. 48
Spencer Thomas Biſhop of Aberdene dyeth. 401.17
Spirituall preferments vnlavvfully and diſorderly beſtovved. 401. 111
Spirituall perſons not to be compelled to aunſvvere before temporall Iudges. 167.2
Spirituall perſons to be compelled to aunſvvere before temporall Iudges. 167.10
Spirituall perſons vvealth, to bee iudged caſt avvay. 167.18
Spite of the Britaines againſt the Romanes. 68.1
Spontana daughter to Garnarde King of Pictes, married to the King of Pictes. 153.23
Statute forbidding ſtrong drinkes in officers. 65
Sterling. 50.50
Sterling Caſtell. 460.10
Sterling money vvhy ſo called. 186. 8
Sterling bridge buylded. 185.7
Stenennes Caſtell buylded. 24.11
Sterburie Adam Knight ſent commiſsioner into England. 441.114
Stephen Earle of March. 261.13
Stephen vſurpeth the Crovvne of England. 263.64
Stephen reſigneth Northumberlande and Cumberlande to the Scottes. 265.97
Stephan inuadeth Northumberlande vvith an army, and vanquiſheth the Scottes. 265.107
Stevvards originall in Scotlande. 247. 47
Stevvard VValter borne. 247.17
Stevvarde Alane goeth into the holy land. 247.51
Stevvard Alexander founded the Abbey of Paſley, beyng of Saint Benedictes order, ſonne to Alane. 247.57
Stevvarde VValter, ſonne to Alexander. 247.59
Stevvarde Roberte getteth the lands of Terbovvroun. 247.66
Stevvard Iohn marrieth the heyre of Bonkill. 247.75
Stevvard Iohn ſlayne at Falkirke. 247. 79
Stevvard VValter marieth Mariorie Bryce, daughter to Kyng Robert Bruce. 247.80
Stevvarde Iohn Duke of Albany, Gouernour of Scotland. 248.51
Stevvard Robert borne. 311.22
Stevvarde Roberte taketh vppon him to be Gouernoure of Scotland. 346.31
Stevvarde Robert choſen Gouernour of Scotlande, after that K. Dauid vvas taken. 352.3
Stevvarde Robert diſinherited of the Crovvne of Scotlande. 354. line. 75
Stevvarde Roberte ordeyned againe heire apparante of Scotland. 93
Stevvard Robert crovvned king of Scotlaud. 356.31
Stevvardes firſte comming to the Crovvne of Scotland. 356.47
Stevvarde Iohn Earle of Murrey Crovvned King of Scotlande. 365. 25
Stevvard Duncane inuadeth Angus vvith a povver of men. 365. line. 96
Stevvarde Mordo Earle of Fife, elected

ected Gouernour of Scotland. 379. 95
Stevvarde Mordo ouer fooliſh in cockering his children. 375.106
Stevvarde VValter, ſonne to D. Mordo, impriſoned. 376.3
Stevvard Iames, third ſonne to D. Mordo, entreth Dunbreton, and burneth it, 378.34
Stevvard Iames fleeth into Ireland, and there dyeth. 376.38
Stevvarde VValter beheaded. 376. 45
Stevvarde Alexander beheaded. 378. 46
Stevvard Mordo Duke beheaded 376. 50
Stevvard Duncane Earle of Lennox beheaded. 378.50
Stevvarde Alexander Earle of Mar dyeth. 382.22
Stevvarde Alexander marrieth Iacoba Counteſſe of Hollande. 38. 35
Stevvarde VValter Earle of Atholl, conſpireth againſte King Iames the firſt. 384.3
Stevvard Robert, one of the murtherers of K. Iames the firſt. 384.8
Stevvard VValter Erle of Athole cruelly executed for conſpiring K. Iames the firſt death. 385.20
Stevvard Robert executed. 385.50
Stevvard Iames marrieth Queene Dovvager. 386.80
Stevvard Iames, and Queene Dovvager his vvife, impriſoned and releaſſed. 386.84
Stevvard Alane Lord of Darnely ſlayne. 386.92
Stevvarde Iames, husbande to the Queene baniſhed the Realme. 388. 55
Stevvard Iames dyeth. 388.59
Stevvard Iohn, Erle of Mar, brother to the King, put to deathe for VVitchcraft. 402.114
Stevvarde Andrevve, Prouoſt of Glenlovvden, made Archbyſhop of S. Andrevves. 404.51
Stevvard Bernard Lord Dobigny, ſent from Levvis the french King in Ambaſſade into Scotland. 414.50
Stevvard VValter Abbot of Gleluce. 429.13
Stevvard Henry marrieth the Q. mother of Scotlande, and is made L. of Methvven. 436.16
Stevvard VVilliam Biſhop of Aberdine, ſent Commiſſioner into England. 441.113
Stevvarde Iames of Cardonalde conductour of fiue Ships, ſente by the French King into Scotland to ayde his friendes there. 460. 56
Stevvarde Robert Lord Obenie, one of the foure Marſhals of France. 462.53
Stevvard Iohn, Captayn of Milke Caſtell. 469.102
Stevvarde VVilliam, one of the Queenes ſeruants ſlayn. 476.34
Stone hill vvhy ſo called. 2866
Stoupe Gallant an vniuerſall ſickneſſe in Scotland. 415.67
Strabo cited. 21.38
Strange voice heard in the nighte by King Kenneth. 220.82
Strange ſightes appeare in the aire 47. 10
Strange viſions ſeene in the ayre. 56. 34
Strange accidente of the Biſhops crotier ſtaffe at Camelon. 180.16
Strange dealing in vvomen, and contrary to nature. 47.93
Strange miracle of Valdredes bodye. 142.61
Strength of the place vvhere Caratake vvas incamped. 39.79
Strange ſightes ſeene. 40.71
Strife betvveene Henrye Beaumount, and Alexander Movvbray, for landes in Buchquhane. 339. 44
Striueling Iohn and his army diſcomfited. 346.58
Striueling taken by the Engliſhmen. 301.77
Striueling burnt by rebels. 392. 69
Stratton Andrevve, burnt for Religion. 442.147
Strayton VValter ſlayne. 384.41
Strozze Leone Prior of Capoa, and knight of the order of Malta. 466.71
Succeſsion in the Pictiſh gouernement appointed. 6.50
Stradcluyd, Kingdome of the Britaynes, and the boundes thereof. 125.55
Sueno King of Danes arriueth in England vvith an army. 228. 25
Sueno conuerted to the Chriſtian faith in Scotland. 228.39
Suenos cruell determination againſt the Engliſhmen. 229.12
Sueno prepareth a nevv armye to inuade Scotland. 233.42
Sueno King of Norvvay landeth in Fife vvith a puiſſante armye. 241 6
Sueno diſcomfiteth Duncane and his army. 242.15
Sueno fleeth into Norvvay in one ſhippe. 242.100
Sunne darkened tvvo days vvithout Eclipſe. 276.17
Sunne appeareth bloudy. 135.47
Sunne nor Moone ſeene the ſpace of ſixe monethes. 209.1
Sonnes landes to be forfait by the fathers treaſon. 246.34
Superfluous poſſeſſions of the Church condemned. 264.74
Superfluous rents of Abbayes are prouocations to inordinate luſts. 271.73
Superfluous vvelth miniſtreth occaſion of vice. 209.72
Supplye of Saxons commeth ouer into Britaine. 115.68
Surfetting, cauſe of many & ſtrāge diſeaſes. 20.6
Surnames taken frō offices. 252. 41
Surnames taken frō proper names. 252. 44
Sutherland Iohn, made heyre apparant of the Crovvne of Scotland. 254.76
Sutherlande Iohn dyeth in England. 354.60
Svvearing of fealtie firſt inſtituted 23. 13
Svvorde ſeene gliding in the aire. 385. 85
Svvord vvith a ſheath and hiltes of golde, ſent to King VVilliam from the Pope. 279.83

T.

Tale of a vvoman abuſed by a Spirit. 119.91
Tale of a yong man haunted vvith a Spirit like a faire vvoman. 120.28
Tale of a yōg Gentlevvoman, gote vvith childe by a Spirite. 120. 45
Tale of the Chappel vvher Fiacre lyeth buried. 144.83
Tale of Queene Guaynores graue in Angus. 135.23
Tale of a Croſſe miraculouſly falling into King Dauid the firſte handes. 264.19
Talboyes VVilliam taken priſoner by the Scottes. 345.0
Tantalion caſtell beſieged, and deliuered. 440.26
Temple of Claudius and Victoria altered. 109.7
Tenantius taken priſoner by the Romaines. 28.67
Tenthes of fruites appoynted to the Prieſtes. 136.48
Tenthes giuen vnto the Cleargie. 166. 98
Thaara King of Pictes. 13.18
Teruan Archbiſhop of Pictland. 108. 49
Thanes changed into Erles. 252.27
Tharan King of Pictes ſlaine. 35.73
Thametes or Thamevv, daughter to Loth King of Pictes. 137.27
Thebes giuen to Gathelus and his people. 1.35
Theefe hanged for ſtealing hys ovvne. 330
Theefe eateth mans fleſh. 307.24
Theodoſius Emperoure of Rome. 93. 31
Theobald ſlayne. 140.95
Thelargus King of Pictes. 70.49
Thereus ſonne to Reuther Kyng of Scottes borne. 17.13
Thereus made King. 18.25
Thereus neglecteth Iuſtice, and embraceth all vices. 18.92
Thereus fleeth to the Britaines. 18. 109
Thereus dyeth miſerably in exile. 18. 114
Thermes Monſieur a french Captayne. 478. 55. made generall conduct of the French armye in Scotland. 479.10
Thomas the rimer, a notable propheſier. 296.74
Thornton Patrike executed. 394. line. 79
Thunder and lightning ſettyng Churches on fyre in Yorkeſhire. 276.21
Therſtone Archbiſhop of Yorke. 265. 113
Tinneman Archbald, name giuen to Earle Dovvglas. 370.54
Tyrannie iuſtly revvarded. 24. 44
Title of Iohn Balioll to the Crovvne of Scotland. 298.63
Title of Roberte Bruce to the Crovvne of Scotland. 298.76
Title of Iohn Haſtinges to the Crovvne of Scotland. 298.83
Tiuidale recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands. 346.35
Toncet Chancellour of Murreyland. 131.12
Toncet playeth the parte of a vvicked officer. 131.19
Toncet ſlayne as he ſate in iudgement. 131.38
Tovvnes and Villages drovvned by inundations of vvaters. 296. line. 44
Tovvnes and Villages throvven dovvne vvith hayle ſtone. 297. line. 53
Traherus a Romaine Captayne, vanquiſheth Octauius. 83. 25. inuadeth the Scottes dominions. 83.38. is put to flight. 83. 65. fleeth ouer into France. 83. 100. returneth into Britaine. 84.6. murthered by a conſpiracie. 84.17
Trebellius Lieutenant of Britain. 56. 53
Trebellianus Couſin to Agricola, beloued of the Romayne Souldyers. 56.55
Trebellius not regarded of the Souldiers. 56.64
Trebellius Publius, ſente Lieutenant into Britaine. 67.37. gyuen to couetouſneſſe. 67.40. hated of the Britaines. 67.56. is ouerthrovvē. 67.74. vvriteth to the Emperour Commodus for ayd. 68. 6
Treatie of peace betvvixte the Scottes and Pictes. 8.35
Treaſon pretended againſte Fethelmacus. 88.198
Treaſon duely revvarded. 205.4
Trees and corne burnt vvith fire, no man knovveth hovv. 250.35
Truce concluded betvveene the Scottes and Pictes. 80.74
Truce concluded betvveene the Engliſhmen and Scottes vpon condition. 265.116
Truce taken betvveene Kyng Edvvard the firſt, and the Scots. 306. 34
Truce concluded betvveene the Scottes and Hollanders for one hundred yeares. 362.52
Turnebull Biſhop of Glaſgevve. 394. 82
Turine a Citie burned. 52.119
Tumulte rayſed in the Saxons Campe. 116
Turgot, Prior of Durham Abbey. 257. 103
Turgot vvrote the liues of Malcolme and Queene Margaret his vvife. 257.103
Tvveedale vvhy ſo called. 178.13
Tvvelue Gouernoures choſen to rule Scotland. 302.81
Tvvhangcaſtre vvhy ſo called. 115. 83
Tvvo Kings priſoners in England at one tyme. 354.18
Tovvnes and houſes drovvned vvith fall of rayne, and riſing of vvaters. 355.69
Tvvo Scottiſh armyes inuade England at once. 361.108
Tvvo Romane Lieutenants ſente into Britaine. 53.36
Tvvo Cometes ſeene before K. Malcolmes death. 181.44
Tvvo Moones ſeene in the firmament. 181.56
Tvvo Philoſophers by Shypvvracke arriue in Scotlande. 20. 13
Tvvo Gouernoures choſen to rule Scotland. 332.82
Tvvo Engliſh armyes ſente togither into Scotland. 345.3
Tvvo ſpeciall pointes in a vvoman. 265.47

V.

Vacation in the Sea of Pictlandia. 155.5
Vagarant perſons vvithoute ſome craft or ſcience, not to be receiued into any tovvn. 350.94
Vagabounds to be vvhipped, and burnt in the cheeke. 101.12
Vagabounds compelled to learne occupations. 206.47
Valdred or Baldred, Doctor of the Pictes. 142.45
Valentinian Emperour of Rome. 84. 40
Valentinianus Emperoure of Rome. 101.8
Valiancie of Iames Dovvglas ſhevven againſte the Turkes. 330. 7
Vengeance threatned to ſucceede vitious liuing. 124.108
Venterous enterprice of an Engliſh Knight. 258.29
Venuſius, husband to Cartimandua. 42 64
Venuſius reuolteth from the Romaynes. 42.72
Verannius appointed Lieutenant of Britayne. 43
Verannius maketh a roade into the marches of Scotland. 43.47
Verannius dyeth. 43.54
Verenundes time vvhen he flouriſhed. 250.39
Vertue made of neceſſitie. 54.53
Veſpaſian arriueth in Britaine 34. line. 74
Veſpaſian aſſayleth the Britaines
in

in their campe. 35.34
Veſpaſiā ſetteth forvvard againſt the Scottes and Pictes. 36.34
Veſpaſian puniſheth rebels. 38.1
Veſpaſiā returneth to Rome. 38.4
Vian Iohn Admirall of Fraunce, arriueth vvith an army in Scotland, to aide the Scottes againſt the Engliſhmen. 360.32
Vian Iohn Admirall of Fraunce, returneth home vvith his army. 360. 98
Vices repugnāt reigning in Mordo Stevvarde Earle of Fiſe. 375. 92
Vices follovving delicate fare. 380. 81
Victories and conqueſtes aſcribed to Arthure. 132.20
Victorinus Lieutenante of Britaine. 62.17
Victorinus ſendeth letters vnto Rome, of the ſtate of Britayne. 66. 75
Victorinus ſet for home to Rome, 66. 92
Victorinus one of the Lieutenāts of Britayne. 93.39
Victorinus ioineth battayle vvith Ferguſius. 97.26
Victorinus inuadeth Gallovvay. 98. 31
Victorinus accuſed vnto Honorius the Emperour of certaine trecherous practiſes. 58.64
Victorinus proclaimed Emperour in Britaine. 98.78
Victorinus is deliuered into the hands of Heraclianus. 98.88
Villages drovvned by inundatiōs of vvaters. 207.44
Vnbrideled luſt of Dauid Duke of Rothſay. 368.12
Vndereſke riuer. 469.2
Vlſter taken from the Engliſhmē. 320. 40
Vniuerſities of Paris and Pauia founded and inſtituted. 164.54
Vniuerſitie of Sainte Andrevves firſt founded. 373.69
Vniuerſitie of Glaſgevv founded. 304. 81
Vnicorne, a Scottiſhe Ship taken. 416. 2
Vnipanus King of Pictes. 60.51
Vnmercifull murther. 55.30
Vpright liuing vvell revvarded at Gods hands. 20.61
Vnquiet nature of Scottiſhmen. 187. 51
Vnſicker ſtate and glory of Princes expreſſed. 318.102
Voada vvife to Aruiragus refuſed 32. 62
Voada empriſoned. 32.76
Voada vvith hir children conueid into vvales. 32.78
Voada deſireth ayde of Corbreid againſt the Romanes. 43.108
Voada aſſembleth an army againſt Suetonius. 45.6
Voadas armye and confederates ouerthrovven. 45.21
Voada ſlayeth hir ſelfe. 45.27
Vodicia, daughter to Aruiragus, renevveth vvarres vvyth the Romaines. 48.30
Vodicia aſſayleth the Romayne Camp in the nyghte. 48.37
Vodicia and hir povver putte to flight. 48.51
Vodicia taketh and burneth Epiake. 48.55
Vodicia taken and ſlayne. 48.66
Voldoſius or VValtheof, marrieth VVilliā Conquerors neece. 255. 66
Vortigerne made Gouernoure of Britaine, vnder Conſtantius. 112. 48
Vortigerne cauſeth Conſtantius to be murthered. 112.54
Vortigerne maketh himſelfe king. 112. 57
Vortigerne doubting the hatred of his ſubiects, vvoulde flee out of his Realme. 113.42
Vortigerne gyueth Lindſey to Hengiſt and his Saxons. 115.74
Vortimere ſonne to Vortigerne Lieutenant of the Britiſh army. 115. 102
Vortigerne marrieth Roxena, Hengiſts daughter. 117.68
Vortigerne depoſed from the Crovvne. 117.86
Vortimere ſonne to Vortigerne, made King of Britaine. 117.87
Vortimere vſeth the vanquiſhed Saxons vvith courteſie. 119.30
Vortimere poyſoned, and dyeth through treaſon of his ſtepmother. 119.45
Vortigerne reſtored agayne to the Crovvne. 119.47
Vortigerne beſieged and brente in a Caſtell. 119.76
Vter, brother to Aurelius Ambroſius, made King of Britaine. 124. 6
Vter begetteth Arthure the great. 124. 18
Vter is fayne to vvithdravve into VVales. 126.61
Vter poyſoned, by drinking vvater of a Fountaine. 126.74
Vtred VVilliam Knight, kept priſoner in London. 307.93

VV.

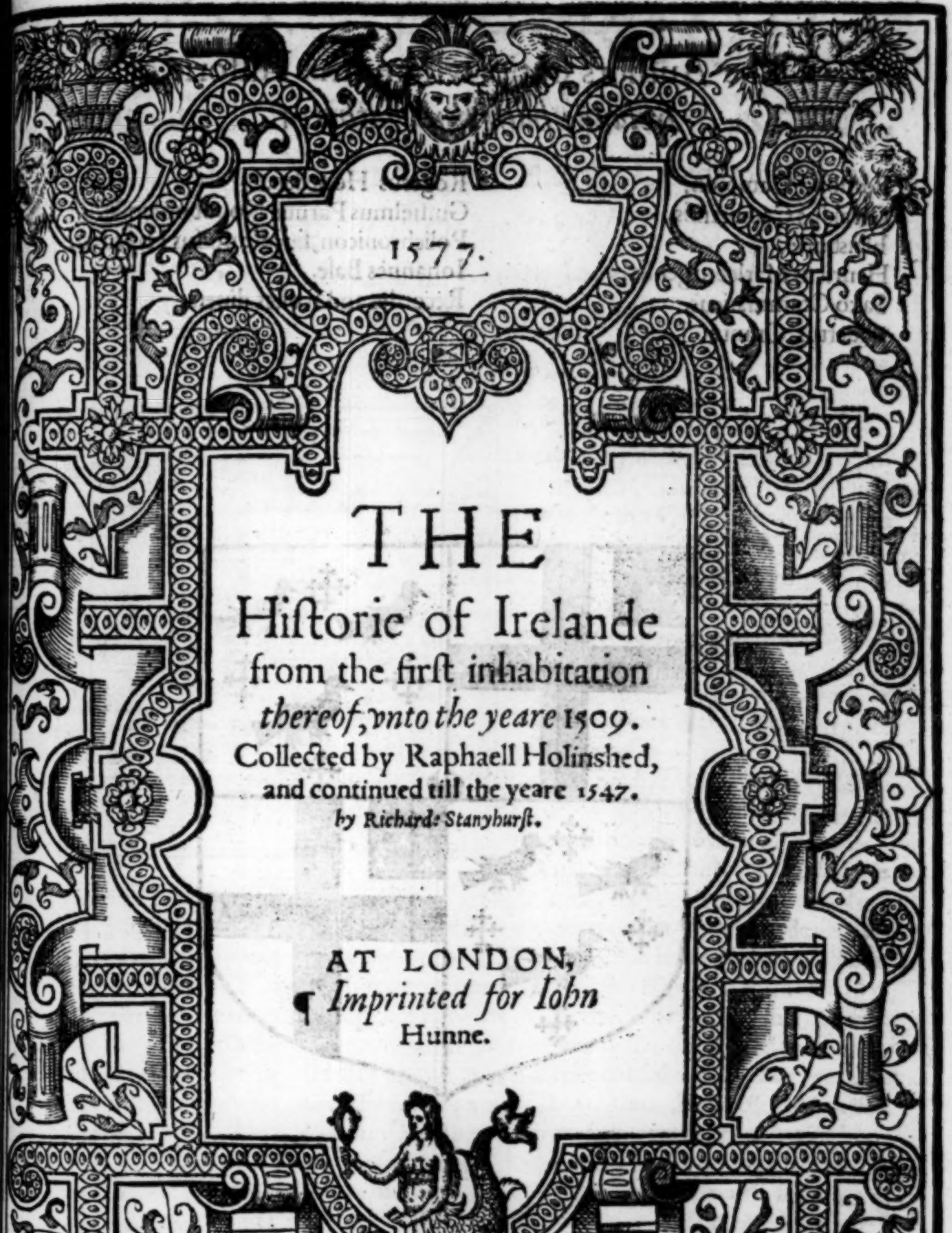
VVAles revolteth from the Romaines. 57.4
VVayfes and ſtrayſes, hovv to be diſpoſed. 181.49
VVall and trench made betvvene the Britains and Scottes. 61.109
VVall made to deuide the Britaines from the Pictes. 94.23
VVall of Abircorne vndermined and ouerthrovven. 104.39
VVall of Adrian repaired by the Britaynes. 104.63
VVall of Adrian vndermined and ouerthrovven. 105.61
VVallace VVilliams valiancie and ſtature. 302.95
VVallace Andrevve, father to VVilliam VVallace. 302.103
VVallace VVilliam, made gouernour of the Scottiſhe army vnder Iohn Ballioll. 303.11
VVallace V.Villiam inuadeth Northumberland vvith a mighty army. 304.32
VVallace VVilliā entreth againe into England vvith an armye, & returneth vvith greate ſpoyles. 305. 12
VVallace VVilliam enuied at for his fame and vvorthines. 305.23
VVallace VVilliam and his povver diſcomfited at Falkirke by the Engliſhmen. 305.69
VVallace VVilliam renounceth his authoritie in Scotlād. 306.22
VVallace VVilliam refuſeth greate landes and honor in England. 307.67
VVallace VVilliam eſchueth to haue any thing to do vvith the Engliſhmen. 309.28
VVallace VVilliam put to death. 310. 108
VVallace of Craggy knight. 300.8
VValter ſonne to Fleance borne. 247. 17
VValter fleeth into Scotl. 247.31
VValter made Lord Stevvard of Scotland. 247.47
VValter ſon of Fleāce, ſet againſt the Rebels in Gallovvay. 256.2
VValter diſcomfiteth the Rebels in Gallovvay. 256.8
VValter created high Stevvarde of Scotland. 256.12
VVarlike ordinances. 23.43
VVarre breedeth good ſouldiers, and peace by iuſtice riddeth thē out of the vvay. 58.70
VVarre vvithout any notable encounter betvveene the Scottes and Pictes. 152.5
VVarres renued betvveene the Engliſhmē & the Danes. 201.24
VVarres betvveene the Scottes and the Hollanders. 382.44
VVarre denounced by the Engliſhmē againſt the Scots. 431.72
VVardſhip of heyres graunted to the King. 237.62
VVardlovv VValter, Cardinall and Byſhop of Glaſgevv dyeth. 360. 112
VVarke Caſtell beſieged, and beaten dovvne. 434.27
VVealth of England. 214.78
VVelchmen rebelling, broughte to their former obediēce by the Romaynes. 67.13
VVelchmen rebelling againſt K. Henry the fifth ſubdued. 374.27
VVeſterne Iles recouered out of the handes of the Norvvegians. 203. 115
VVeſtmerl. vvhy ſo called. 45.40
VVharton Thomas Lorde ſente into Scotland vvith ayde to the Gouernoure. 459.85
VVharton Michael Captayne of Langham Caſtell. 466.79
VVharton Henry, made Knyght. 474.19. his valiancie in relieuing the Tovvne of Hadington againſt the Scots. 474.83. takē priſoner by the French povver. 98
VVhere vvordes fayle, giftes preuayle. 90.97
VVhite Monkes vvhen firſt inſtituted. 263.31
VVhitekirke burnt. 353.48
VVhole Realme of Scotlande in vvofull diſcomfort and lamentation. 184.16
VVidovv ſhodde vvith Horſeſhoes. 279.54
VVife not to be puniſhed for the husbands offences. 181.14
VVild Knight. 414.95
VVilfert K. of Guſte ſlain. 201.105
VVilliam brother to K. Achaius ſent into France. 162.109. he is in greate reputation vvith Carolus Magnus. 163. 106. and made Lieutenant of Tuſcane. 163.114
VVilliams cogniſance. 164.27
VVilliam one of the Scotteſgylmore. 164.36
VVilliam buildeth Monaſteries in Germanie. 164.40
VVilliam baſterde Duke of Normandie, conquereth Englande, and is crovvned K. at London. 253. 97. requireth of Malcolme to haue Edgar deliuered vnto him. 254.74. he proclaymeth opē vvar againſt Scotland. 255.6
VVil. Conquerour dyeth. 257.93
VVilliam Rufus inuadeth Northumberland vvith an army. 258. 20. he ſucceedeth VVilliam Cōquerour his father in the Kyngdome of Englande. 258.26. hee is ſlayne by the glauncing of an arrovve. 261.11
VVilliam ſurnamed the Liō, created King of Scotland. 272.20. he ſendeth Ambaſſadors into Englande, to require reſtitution of Northumberlande. 272. 20. hee commeth to London to do homage. 272. 30. and vvith manye nobles of Scotlande, paſſe ouer into Normādy vvith Henry the ſeconde of England. 272.54
VVilliam inuadeth the confines of England vvith a mighty armye. 273.44. hee is taken priſoner by the Engliſhmen. 273.100
VVilliam conueyd into Normandy to the K. of England. 273.[illegible]
VVilhelmus Paruus cited. 274.27 and 275. [illegible]
VVilliam raunſomed vppon conditions. 274. 77. he ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Pope, to preſent his obedience to him. 275.[illegible]
VVilliam marrieth Ermengarde, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumount. 276.[illegible]
VVilliams firſt vvife dieth. 276.[illegible] he deuiſeth ſharp lavves againſt theeues and robbers. 277.[illegible] miraculouſly healeth a childe in Yorke. 280.70.
VVilliam King of Scotland dieth. 281. 38. his liberalitie vnto Richard the firſt of England. 279.[illegible]
VVilliam doeth homage to Kyng Iohn of England. 275.[illegible]
VVilliam ouerthrovveth the Caſtell, vvhich K. Iohn had builded in Northumberland. 280.[illegible]
VVine and ale ſould by vveights. 186. [illegible]
VViues to haue the thirds of the Lorde or Baron their husbandes lands. 246.40
VVinter, Comptroller of Kyng Henry the eight Ships. 462.[illegible]
VViſartes, Iugglers, and Necromancers, to be burnt. [illegible]
VVitches vvords if they be credited, vvhat hapneth thereby. [illegible]
VVitchcraft practiſed by an Image of vvax. 207.[illegible]
VVitches propheceie. [illegible]
VVitches and Sorcerers burnt in Edenburgh. [illegible]
VVolfe the heardmans foe. 27.4[illegible]
VVolfes carie avvay a Shepherd. 46. [illegible]
VVomen encamped. [illegible]
VVomen appointed in battayle aray among men. 404
VVomen aſſiſt Queene Voada againſt the Romaines. 44.44
VVomen vvell appointed vvyth armour and vveapon. 44.49
VVomen as readie to battayle as men. 61.64
VVomen in Scotland accuſtomed to the vvarres. [illegible]
VVomen and aged perſons ſlaine 90. 52
VVomen diſcomfortable. 176.[illegible]
VVomen cōdemned to be drovvned, or buried quicke. 180.[illegible]
VVoman marrying vvith the L. of the ſoyle, to leeſe hir heritage. 245.77
VVoman of manlike force & ſtature. 342.[illegible]
VVomen & children eaten. 347.[illegible]
VVonderfull policie of Brudus againſt the Scottes. 171.[illegible]
VVood Dauid, Cōptroller to K. Iames the fifth. 445.94

Y.

YEvves a vvhole yeare bryng foorth no lambes. 335.[illegible]
Yorke yeeldeth vnto Octauius. 83.74
Yorke commeth into poſſeſſion of Hengiſt. 117.79. beſieged by Arthure. 127. 45. alſo taken and ſacked by the Danes. [illegible]
Yorkeſvvolde ſpoyled by the Scottes. 324.67
Youth to eate but one meale a day. 187.[illegible]
Youth to bee trayned vp in hardneſſe. 187.20
Yule, that is, the tvvelfth dayes in Chriſtmaſſe. 253.31

FINIS.

Sam Stanley.



1577.

THE
Hiſtorie of Irelande
from the firſt inhabitation *thereof, vnto the yeare 1509.*

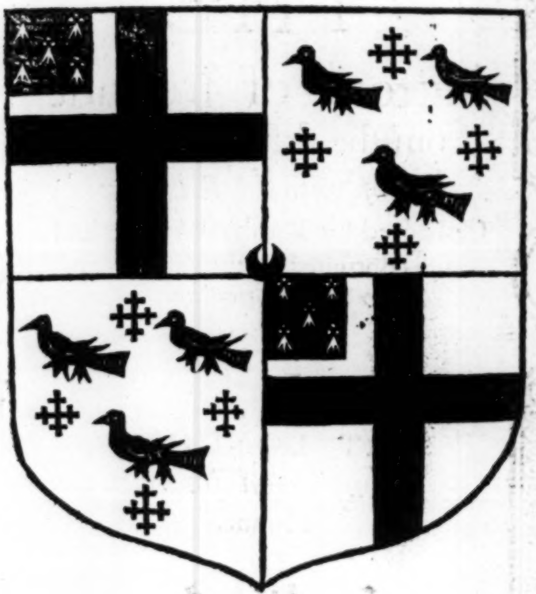
Collected by Raphaell Holinſhed,
and continued till the yeare 1547.
by Richard: Stanyhurſt.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for Iohn*
Hunne.

God ſaue the Queene.

¶ The Authors out of whome this Hiſtorie of *Irelande hath bene gathered.*

- Edmond Campion.
- Giraldus Cambrenſis.
- Flatsburie.
- Henricus Marleburgenſis.
- Saxo Grammaticus.
- Albertus Crantz.
- Rogerus Houeden.
- Guilielmus Paruus Nouoburgenſis.
- Polichronicon, ſiue Ranulfus Higeden.
- Iohannes Bale.
- Recordes and Rolles diuers.



TO THE RIGHT Honourable ſir Henry Sydney Knight, Lorde Deputie Generall of Irelande, Lorde preſident *of Wales, Knight of the moſte noble Order of the* Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priuie Counſel within hir Realme of Englande.

T*Aking in hande right Honorable*, to gather the perticular Hiſtories of diuers Countries and Nations, to ioyn vvith a Coſmographie, vvhich one Reginald VVoulfe late Printer to the Queenes Maieſtie, meant to publiſhe in our Engliſh tounge: vvhen I came to cōſider of the Hiſtories of Ireland, I founde my ſelfe ſo vnprouided of helpes, to ſet dovvne any perticular diſcourſe therof, that I vvas in diſpaire to enterprice to vvrite any thing at all concerning that realme, othervviſe thā incidently, as fell to purpoſe, to touche the ſame in the Hiſtorie of England. At length yet as Maiſter VVoulfes vſe vvas to imparte to me all ſuche helpes as he might at any hande procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other Hiſtories, vvherevvith I ſpecially dealte, his happe vvas to light alſo vpon a copie of tvvoo Bookes of the Iriſhe Hiſtories, compiled by one Edmond Campion, fellovv ſomtime of S. Iohn Baptiſts Colledge in Oxforde, very vvell penned certenly, but ſo briefe, as it vvere to be vviſhed that occaſion had ſerued him to haue vſed more leyſure, and thereby to haue deliuered to vs a larger diſcourſe of the ſame Hiſtories: for as he himſelfe confeſſeth, hee had not paſte tenne vveekes ſpace to gather his mater: a very ſhorte time doubtleſſe for ſuche a peece of vvorke. But hovve breefe ſo euer I founde him, at the perſuaſion of Maiſter VVoulfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I reſolued to make ſhiſt to frame a ſpeciall Hiſtorie of Irelande, in like maner as I had done of other Regions, follovvyng Campions order, and ſetting dovvne his ovvne vvordes, excepte in places vvhere I had mater to enlarge that (out of other Authours,) vvhich he had vvritten in briefe: and this I haue thought good to ſignifie, the rather for that I eſteeme it good dealing in no vviſe to defraude him of his due deſerued prayſe.

But novv after I had continued the Hiſtorie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cambrenſis, Flatsbury, Henry of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare. 1509 in vvhich that famous Prince Henry the. viij. began his reigne, ſome of thoſe that vvere to beſtovv the charges of the Impreſſion, procured a learned Gentleman Maiſter Richard Stanyhurſt, to continue it from thence forvvarde as he ſavv occaſion, being furniſhed vvith mater to enlarge the vvorke, vvhereof for thoſe later times I founde my ſelfe vtterly voyde, more than that vvhiche Campion had deliuered. VVhat I haue done herein, your Honours diſcretion ſhall eaſily cōceyue. For the imperfection ſith it is the firſt that hath bene ſet forth in Printe, I craue moſt humbly pardon of your good Lordſhippe, beſeeching you rather to reſpect my good vvill than the perfectneſſe of the vvorke, vvhiche the vvantes conſidered for the orderly furniſhyng thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, muche leſſe in me the meaneſt of all, and leaſt able to performe it. Hauing preſented the right Honorable the Erle of Leyceſter vvith the Hiſtorie of Scotlande, to vvhome (as I haue hearde) Campion made Dedication of his booke, I coulde not remember me to vvhome I might more conueniently offer this my trauell in this Hiſtorie of Ireland, than to your Lordſhip, being hir Maieſties Lieutenant in that Realme. And therfore in moſt humble vviſe I exhibite the booke to your Honour, beſeeching the ſame to beare vvith my bolde attempt therein, and to receyue it in good parte from him that vviſhed to haue more amplie ſatisfied your good Lordſhippes expectation, if abilitie might haue anſvvered good vvill.

Thus I beſeech the Lorde to guyde your harte in his holy vvayes, and to furniſh you vvith politike prudence and skilfull knovvledge, to gouerne in your eſtate and office, ſo as your doyngs may redounde to his glorie, the ſuretie of hir Maieſties dominion there, your ovvne aduancement in Honour, and conſequently to the ſure ſupporte and peaceable quietneſſe of the true and loyall ſubiectes of that Realme.

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde,
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

¶ A Treatiſe contayning a playne and perfect Deſcription of Irelande, with an Introduction, to the better vnderſtanding of the Hyſtories, appartayning to that Iſlande: compyled by

Richard Stanyhurſt, and written to the Ryght Honorable, Syr Henry Sydney
Knight, Lorde Deputie of Irelande, Lorde preſident of Wales,
Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and
one of hir Maieſties priuie Counſell with-
in hir realme of England.

MY VERY good Lorde, there haue beene diuers of late, that with no ſmall toyle, and great commendacion, haue throughly imployed themſelues, in culling and packing togither the ſcrapings and fragments of the Hyſtorie of Ireland. Amõg which crew, my faſt friende, & inwarde companion, M. Edmond Campion, dyd ſo learnedly bequite himſelfe, in the penning of certayne briefe notes, cõcerning that countrey, as certes it was greatly to be lamented, that eyther hys theame had not béene ſhorter, or elſe his leaſure had not béene longer. For if Alexander were ſo rauiſht with Homer hys hyſtorie, that notwithſtãding Therſites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outwarde feature ſo deformed, and in inwarde conditions ſo croked, as he ſéemed to ſtande to no better ſtéede, then to leade Apes in hell, yet the valiaunt capitayne weighing, howe liuely the goldẽ Poet ſet forth the ougly dandeprat in his coulours, dyd ſooner wyſhe to be Homer his Therſites, then to be the Alexander of that doltiſh rythmour, which vndertooke, with his wodden verſes to blaſe his famous and martiall exploytes: howe much more ought Irelande (being in ſundry ages ſeized of diuers good and couragious Alexanders) ſore to long, & thirſte after ſo rare a clarcke, as M. Campion, who was ſo vpright in conſcience, ſo déepe in iudgement, ſo rype in eloquence, as the countrey might haue bene wel aſſured, to haue had their hyſtorie truely reported, pithily handled, and brauely poliſhed.

Howbeit, although the gloſe of his fine abridgement, being macht with other mens doings, bare a ſurpaſſing kinde of excellencie, yet it was ſo hudled vp in haſte, as in reſpect of a Campion his abſolute perfection, it ſéemed rather to be a worke roughly hewed, then ſmoothly planed. Vpon which grounde the gentleman being willing, ẏ his ſo tender a ſuckling, hauing as yet but gréene bones, ſhould haue béene ſwadled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of tyme the ioyntes thereof were knit, and growen ſtronger, yet notwithſtanding he was ſo croſt in the nycke of thys determination, that his hyſtorie in mitching wyſe wandred through ſundry handes, and being therwithall in certaine places ſomewhat tyckle tongued (for M. Campion dyd learne it to ſpeake) and in other places ouer ſpare, it twiſled more tales out of ſchoole, and drowned weightyer matters in ſilence, then the Auctor vppon better view, and longer ſearche woulde haue permitted. This much being by the ſager ſorte pondered, and the perfection of the hyſtorie earneſtly deſired, I, as one of the moſt, that could doe leaſt, was fully reſolued, to enriche M. Campion his Chronicle, with further additiõ. But weighing on the other ſide, that my courſe pack thréede coulde not haue béene ſuteably knit with his fine ſilcke, & what a diſgrace it were, bungerly to botch vp a riche garment, by clowting it with patches of ſundrye coulours, I was forthwyth reclaymed from my former reſolution, reckening it for better, that my penne ſhoulde walke in ſuch wyſe in that craggie and balkiſhe way, as the truth of the matter being foreprized, I would neyther openly borrow, nor priuily imbezell, ought to any great purpoſe from his hyſtorie. But as I was hammering that worke by ſtealthes on ẏ anuille, I was giuen to vnderſtande by ſome of mine acquaintaunce, that others had brought our rawe hyſtorie to that rypeneſſe as my paine, therein woulde ſéeme but néedeleſſe. Wherevpon being willing to be eaſed of the burden, and loath alſo in lurching wiſe to foreſtall any man his trauayle, I was contented, to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlye to repayre to mine vſuall and priſtinate ſtudies, taking it not to ſtande with good maners, lyke a flittering flye, to fall in an other man his diſhe. Howbeit, the little payne I tooke therin was not ſo ſecretly mewed within my cloſet, but it ſlipt out at one chincke or other, and romed ſo farre abroade, as it was whiſpered in their eares, who before were in the hyſtorie buſied. The gentlemen conceyuing a greater opinion of mée, then I was well able to vpholde, dealt very effectually with mée, that aſwell at their inſtaunce, as for the affection I bare my natiue countrey, I woulde put mine helping hand, to the building and perfecting of ſo commendable a worke. Hauing breathed for a fewe dayes on this motion, albeit I knewe, that my worke was plumed with Downe, and at that time was not ſufficiently feathered to flie, yet I was by them weighed not to beare my ſelfe coy, by giuing mine entier friendes in ſo reaſonable a requeſt a ſquamiſh repulſe. Wherfore, my ſingular good Lorde, here is layde downe to your Lordſhippe his view a briefe diſcourſe, with a iagged hyſtorie of a ragged Wealepublicke. Yet as naked as at the firſt bluſhe it ſeemeth, if it ſhall ſtande wyth your Honour his pleaſure (whome I take to be an experte Lapidarie) at vacant houres to inſearche it, you ſhall finde therein ſtones of ſuch eſtimatiõ, as are worthy to be coucht in riche and precious collets. And in eſpeciall your Lordſhip, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrey, may here be ſchooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in peruſing this hyſtorie, you ſhall finde vice puniſhed, vertue rewarded, rebellion ſuppreſſed, loyaltie exalted, hautineſſe diſlyked, curteſie beloued, brybery deteſted, iuſtice embraced, polling Officers to their perpetuall ſhame reproued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And truely, to my thinking, ſuch magiſtrates, as meane to haue a vigilant eye to their charge, can not beſtow their tyme better, then when they ſequeſtre themſelues frõ the affayres of the wealpublicke, to recreate & quicken their ſpirites by reading the Chronicles, that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublicke. For as it is no ſmall commendacion, for one to beare the doings of many, ſo it breedeth great admiration, generally to haue all thoſe qualities in one mã herboured, for which particularly diuers are eternized. And who ſo will be addicted to the reading of hyſtories, ſhall readily finde diuers euentes worthy to be remembred, and ſundry ſounde examples daily to be followed. Vpon which grounde the learned haue, not without cauſe, adiudged an hyſtorie to be, the Marrowe of reaſon, the creame of experience, the ſappe of wyſedome, the pith of iudgement, the library of knowledge, the kernell of pollicie, the vnfoldreſſe of treacherie, the kalender of tyme, the lanterne of trueth, the lyfe of memorie, the doctreſſe of behauiour, the regiſter of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiualrie. And that our Iriſhe hyſtorie being diligently heeded, yeeldeth al theſe commodities. I truſt the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwyning thereof, will not denie. But if any man his ſtomacke ſhall be founde ſo tenderly niced, or ſo deintily ſpyced, as that he may not, forſooth, digeſt the groſe draffe of ſo baſe a countrey, I doubt not, but your Lordſhip, who is throughly acquaynted with the worthineſſe of the Iland, will be thus perſwaded, to leaue ſuch quaint and licourous repaſtures, to feede on their coſtly and delicate Woodcockes, & willingly to accept the louing preſent of your hearty welwiller.

The gift is ſmall, the giuer hys good wyll is great, I ſtand in good hope, that the greatneſſe of the one wyll countrepoiſe the ſmalneſſe of the other. Wherefore, that I may the ſooner vnbroyde ye pelfiſh traſh, that is wrapt wythin thys Treatiſe, I ſhall craue your Lordſhippe, to lende me eyther your eares in hearing, or your eyes in reading the tenour of the diſcourſe following.

The greater parte as well of Coſmographers, as Chronographers, with one accorde affirme, that Irelande (the vttermoſt Weſterne Iſle knowne) is halfe as bigge as Britannia. Which I take to be true, if the worde Britannia ſo farre diſplaye the ſignification, that it compriſe England, Wales, & Scotland. To which opinion, Giraldus Cambrienſe cleyueth, ſaying, that Britannia conteineth in length 800. myles, and 200. in breadth. Ireland he taketh to be in length from the mountaynes called Torrache (the author of Polychronicon termeth them Brendan hys hils) to S. Colũbe his Iland, eight dayes iourney, rating of long Iriſh myles, 40. miles to the day: and in breadth from Dublin to S. Patricke his hilles, & the ſea of Connaght foure dayes iourney, according to the former rate. So as by Cambrienſe his ſuruey (who was a curious enſearcher thereof) Ireland is 320. myles long of Iriſh myles, and 160. myles broade. And accompting 320. Iriſh myles to amount to 400. engliſh miles, which maye well be reckoned according to their iudgementes, that haue trauayled in the Iriſh territories. Ireland wil be found halfe as big as Britannia, which Giraldus Cambrienſe auoucheth, ſaying: that Irelande is as bigge as Wales and Scotland. Irelande hath on the eaſt, England, within one dayes ſaylyng: on the ſouth eaſt, it hath Fraunce: Hiſpayne on the ſouth, diſtant three dayes ſayling: on the weſt the mayne Ocean ſea.

The le
and bre
of Irela

Girald.
Cambrien
lib.1.topo
diſt.1. rub
Polich.lib
cap.32.

Touching the name Ibernia, Hiſtoriographers are not yet agreed frõ whence it is deducted. Some write it Hybernia corruptly, & ſuppoſe that the eſtraungers finding it in an odde end of the world, foiſty and moiſty, toke it at the firſt for a very cold countrey, & therof named it Hybernia, as to ſay, the Winterland. But this errour beyng vpon ſhort experiẽce reformed, it could not be, that the name ſhould haue liued long, eſpecially the firſt impoſi-

The nam
Ibernia
whence it
proceedeth.

poſitours fulfilling the triall, are able to alter the firſt nominatiō. Others bring a gueſſe, that it ſhould be named of Irlamale. But becauſe I reade nothing of them in any probable hiſtory, I purpoſe not to builde vpon that coniecture. Moſt credibly it is holden, that the Hiſpaniardes, the founders of the Iriſh, for deuotion towardes Hiſpayn, called then Iberia of Iberus the ſonne of Iuball, and the rather, for that themſelues had dwelled beſide the famous riuer Iberus, named the land Hiberia (for ſo Leland and many forreine chroniclers write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter N. for difference ſake. And frō Ibernia procedeth Iberland or Iuerland, from Iuerlande, by contractiō, Ireland, for ſo much as in corruption of commō talke we finde that V. with his vocale, is eaſily loſt, and ſuppreſſed. So we ſay ere for euer, nere for neuer: ſhole for ſhouell: ore for ouer: ene for euen: dyle for deuil. At the ſame tyme it was alſo named Scotia in reuerence of Scotach, the wyfe of Gathelus, auncient capitayne of thoſe Iberians that flitted from Hiſpayne into Ireland, and the ſayd Scotach was olde grandame to Hiberus and Hermon after the Scottiſh Chronicles, who in any wiſe will haue their countrymen deriued from the Iriſh, and not frō the Britōs. The name Scotia is of late yeres ſo vſually taken for that parte of Britayne, that compriſeth Scotland, that diuers auncient Iriſh authours are holden to be borne in Scotland, whereas in very dede their natiue ſoyle is Ireland. As the famous ſchole man Iohannes Duns Scotus, otherwiſe named, doctor Subtilis, for his ſubtill quiddities in ſcholaſticall controuerſies, was an Iriſhe man borne, and yet is taken for a Scotte. Some hold opinion, that he was born in Cathmon, a market towne, fiue myles diſtaunt from Weiſeford. Others auouche, and that more truely, that he was borne in Doune, an olde auncient ciuitie in the North of Ireland, and therof they geſſe hym to be named Dunenſis, and by contraction Duns, which terme is ſo triuiall and common in all ſchooles, that who ſo ſurpaſſeth others either in cauilling ſophiſtry, or ſubtill philoſophy, is forthwith nicknamed a Duns. Wherfore as Scotlande is named Scotia minor, ſo Irelande is termed Scotia maior, as the hed from whence ỹ name of Scotia minor tooke his oſpring. The Iriſh alſo were named of the foreſayd Gathelus, or Gaudeilus, Gaudeili. In their Iriſh rythmes, they terme Ireland very often Banno. I can not deuine what reaſon ſhould lead their makers therto, vnleſſe it be the riuer in the countie of Weiſeford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the conqueſt firſt arriued. The place otherwiſe is called Bagganbun, according to the olde auncient rithme.

At the creeke of Bagganbunne
Ireland was loſt and wunne.

Bagganbunne.

For the remembraunce of which riuer ſo notoriouſly famouſed, it carieth great likelyhode that the name ſhould be to the whole realme generally aſcribed. Sundry latin authors write Ireland, Iuerniam; Others Iuerna; diuers Ierna, Claudius nameth it Iberne. The diuerſitie of which names groweth, for that in their tyme the true and certayne name was not knowen, ſo that they were contented to take it, as they found it, which matter is handled by Hermolaus Barbarus.

Inuerna. Ioan. Camertes in cap.35. Solini.

Hermol. Barb. c.16. in lib.4. Plin. caſtig.

There are ſome of the ruder ſort ſo quaint in ſeuering the name Iriſh and Ireland, as that they would be named Ireland men, but in no wyſe Iriſhmen. But certes, in my fantaſie ſuche curious diſtinctors may be very aptly reſembled to the fooliſhe butcher, that offred to haue ſold his mutton for xv. grotes, and yet woulde not take a crowne. Who ſo will grate vpō ſuch nice diuerſities in reſpect ỹ he is aſhamed of his country, truly in mine opinion, his country may be aſhamed of him.

The name Iriſhe and Ireland curiouſly ſeuered.

Ireland is deuided into foure regiōs, Leinſter, eaſt: Connaght, weſt: Ulſter, north: Mounſter, ſouth: and into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth parte, and yet meering on eche part, called therof Media, Meeth, compriſing as well eaſt Meeth, as weſt Meeth. Leinſter butteth vpō England: Ulſter vpō ỹ Scottiſh Iſlands, which face wᵗ Hebriades ſcattered betweene both the realmes, wherein at this day the Iriſh Scot, ſucceſſor of ỹ elder Scythian, Pict, or Redſhanke dwelleth. Eche of theſe fiue, where they are framable to ciuilitie, and aunſwer the writtes of the Princes courtes, be ſundred into Shieres or Coūties in this maner. In Leinſter lyeth the Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weiſeford or Gueiſford, Catherlach, Kilkenny, the Countyes of Leiſe and Ophaly, called the King & Queenes counties, theſe two lately ſo named by Parliament, in the raignes of Phillip and Mary, hauing ſhiere townes accordaunt, Phillipſtowne and Maryborough. Connaght hath the countie Clare: Ulſter the countyes of Louthe, Doune, Antrim, one moyetie of the towne of Droghedagh (for ỹ reſt is in Meeth) and Carregfergus: In Mounſter, lye the Countyes of Waterforde, Lymmericke, Corke, Countie Palentine of Typperary, Keary, and the croſſe of Typperary. Mounſter was of olde tyme deuided into eaſt Mounſter, Ormond, Weſt Mounſter, Deſmonde, South Mounſter, Toomound. The occaſion why Ireland was parted into theſe v. princi-

1. Lagenia.
2. Cōnatia.
3. Hultonia.
4. Momonia.
5. Media.

Weſt Meeth, & eaſt Meeth

Hebriades.

The ſhires and counties of Ireland.

An.mundi. 2533.
Cambrienſ. lib.1.diſt.3. rub.5.&6.

Meeth whence it is named.

Meeth appointed for yͤ king his table.

Cantared.

Slane.

pall regions grew of this. There arriued in Ireland fiue brethren, that were fiue valiant and martiall gentlemen: to witte, Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, otherwyſe named Gangandius, Rutheragus, or Rutheranius, and Slanius. These fiue perceiuing that the countrey was not ſufficiently peopled, were agreed, as it were, to caſt lottes, and to ſhare the whole realme betwene themſelues. The foure elder brethren ſeueryng the country into foure partes, and beyng loath to vſe their yongeſt brother lyke an outcaſt or ſtepſonne, condeſcended that eche of them foure, ſhould of their own portion allotte to Slanius a paryng or parcell of their enheritaunce. Which beyng as hartily receiued by Slanius, as it was bountifully graunted by them, he ſetled himſelfe therin, and of that particion it tooke the appellation of Media, Meethe. The foure partes meete at a certayne ſtone at Meethe, neere the caſtle of Kilayre, as an indifferent meare to ſeuer the iiij. regions. But although Slanius in the beginning had the leſt parcel, yet in ſhort ſpace he ſtoode ſo well to his tacklinges, and encroacht ſo far vpon his neighbors, that he obtayned the whole Monarchie of Irelād. At which tyme he did not ſuppreſſe in obliuion his enheritance of Meethe, but did enlarge it, and decreed it ſhould be a country appendant to the Monarch his diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by Slanius ſtretched, yet it conteyneth not ſo much land, as any of the other foure partes comprehendeth, but rather by indifferent ſurvey, the halfe deale, wherof alſo it is not vnlikely, named Meeth. For whereas in the tyme of Slanius eche of the foure partes compriſeth 32. cantaredes. Meeth conteineth but xvj. cantaredes. A cantarede is named ſo much land as conteyneth an hundred towneſhips. This Slanius is entoombed at an hill in Meethe, which of hym is named Slane.

Galfride Geneuile.

There hath bene in ancient tyme one Galfride Geneuile, Lord of the liberty of Meeth. This noble man became a Frier preacher, and deceaſed in the yeare of our Lorde, 1314. the xx. of October, and was entoombed in the Abbey of the blacke Friers at Trimme.

The Engliſh pale.

There is alſo an other diuiſion of Irelande, into the Engliſh pale and Iriſhry. For when Ireland was ſubdued by the Engliſh, diuers of the conquerors planted themſelues neere to Dublyn and the confines thereto adioyning, and ſo as it were encloſing and empalyng themſelues within certayne liſtes and territories, they feazed away the Iriſh, in ſo much as that countrey became meere Engliſh. And therof it was termed, the Engliſh pale: which in auncient tyme ſtretched from Dundalke to Catherlagh or Kilkenny. But now, what for the ſlackneſſe of marchoures, and the encrochyng of the Iriſh enemy, the ſcope of the Engliſh pale is greatly empayred, and is cramperned and coucht into an odde corner of the countrey named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land, Meeth, the countries of Kyldare & Louth, which partes are applied chiefly with good huſbandry, and take for the richeſt and ciuileſt ſoyles in Ireland. But Fingall eſpecially from tyme to tyme hath bene ſo addicted to all the poyntes of Huſbandry, as that they are nicknamed by their neighbors, for their continuall drudgery, Collonnes of the latin worde Colonus, wherunto the clipt Engliſh worde, Clowne, ſeemeth to be aunſwerable. The worde Fingall, countervayleth in engliſhe, the race or ſept of the engliſhe or eſtraungers, for that they were ſoly ſeized of that part of yͤ Iland, gripyng with their tallantes ſo firmely that warme neaſt, that from the conqueſt to this day, the Iriſh enimy could neuer rouſe them from thence. The inhabitantes of the engliſh pale haue bene in olde tyme ſo much addicted to all ciuilitie, and ſo farre ſequeſtred from barbarous ſauageneſſe, as their only mother tongue was Engliſh. And truely as long as theſe empaled dwellers did ſunder thēſelues as wel in land as in language, frō the Iriſhe: rudenes was day by day in the countrey ſupplanted, ciuilitie engraffed, good lawes eſtabliſhed, loyaltie obſerued, rebellion ſuppreſſed, and in fine the cyone of a yong England, was lyke to ſhoote in Ireland. But whē their poſteritie became not all togither ſo wary in keeping, as their aunceſtors were valiant in conquering, and the Iriſh language was free dennized in yͤ Engliſh pale: this canker tooke ſuch deepe roote, as the body that before was whole and ſounde, was by little and little feſtered, and in maner wholy putrified. And not onely this parcel of Ireland grew to that ciuilitie, but alſo Vlſter and the greater part of Mounſter, as by the ſequele of the Iriſhe hiſtory ſhall plainely appeare. But of all other places, Weiſeforde with the territorye bayed, and percloſed within the riuer called the Pill, was ſo quite eſtranged from Iriſhry, as if a trauailer of the Iriſh (which was rare in thoſe dayes) had picht his foote within the pile and ſpoken Iriſhe, the Weiſefordiās would commaunde hym forthwith to turne the other ende of his tongue, and ſpeake Engliſhe, or elſe bring his trouchman with him. But in our dayes they haue ſo aquainted thēſelues with the Iriſhe, as they haue made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both the languages, and haue in ſuch medley or checkerwiſe

Fingal excelleth in huſbandry

Collonne of Fingal. Clowne.

Fingall, why ſo na med.

The ciui litie of Ireland i auncient tyme.

weiſeforde wholy Engliſh.

The Pill

kerwyſe ſo crabbedly iumbled them both togyther, as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner ſort ſpeake neyther good Engliſh nor good Iriſhe.

ye ſay- ga no man ching Eng- of ſhe.

There was of late dayes one of the Peeres of England ſent to Weiſeford as Commiſſioner, to decide the controuerſies of that countrey, and earing in affable wiſe the rude complaintes of the countrey clownes, he conceyued here and ther, ſometyme a worde, other whyles a ſentence. The noble man beyng very glad that vpon hys firſt commyng to Ireland, he vnderſtood ſo many wordes, told one of hys familiar frends, that he ſtode in very great hope, to become ſhortly a well ſpoken man in the Iriſhe, ſuppoſing that the blunte people had pratled Iriſhe, all the while they iangled Engliſhe. Howbeit to this day, the dregs of the olde auncient Chaucer Engliſh, are kept as well there as in Fingall. As they terme a ſpider, an attercop, a wiſpe, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket or a pucket, a Sillibuck, a copprouſe, a faggot, a bleaſe, or a blaze, for the ſhort burning of it, as I iudge, a Phiſition, a leache, a gappe, a ſharde, a baſe court or quadrangle, a bawen, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, a barton: ẏ houſehold or folkes, meany: Sharppe, keene, eſtraunge, vncouth, eaſie, eeth or eeſe, a dunghill, a mizen, as for the worde bater, that in Engliſh purporteth a lane, bearing to an high way, I take it for a meere Iriſhe worde, that crepte vnawares into the Engliſh, thorough the daily entercourſe of the Engliſh and Iriſh inhabitants.

n Eng- in ſhed Fingall.

And where as commonly in all countreys, the women ſpeake moſt neately and pertely, whiche Tully in hys thirde booke de Oratore, ſpeakyng in the perſon of Craſſus, ſeemed to haue obſerued, yet notwithſtandyng in Ireland it falloth out contrary. For the women haue in theyr Engliſh tongue an harriſh and broade kynd of pronunciation, with vtteryng their wordes ſo peeuiſhly & faintly, as though they were halfe ſicke, and ready to call for a poſſette. And moſt commonly in wordes of two ſillables, they giue the laſt the accent. As they ſay, Markeate, Baſkeate, Goſſoupe, Puſſoate, Robart, Niclaſe, &c. which doubtleſſe doth diſbeautifie their Engliſhe aboue meaſure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt cuſtom, there is none that could diſlyke of their Engliſh.

e pro- nciation Iriſhe men.

Here percaſe ſome ſnappiſh carper will take mee at rebounde, and ſnuffingly ſnibbe me, for debacing the Iriſh language. But truely whoſoeuer ſhall be founde ſo ouerthwartly bent, he takes the matter far awrie. For as my ſkill is very ſimple therein, ſo I woulde be loath, to diſmeyle my raſhneſſe, in giuing light verdict in any thing to me vnknowen: But onely my ſhort diſcourſe tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient, that the Iriſhe tongue ſhoulde be ſo vniuerſally gagled in in the Engliſh pale, bycauſe that by proofe & experience we ſee, that the pale was in neuer more floriſhing eſtate, thē when it was wholly Engliſh, & neuer in worſe plight, thē ſince it hath enfraunchyſed the Iriſhe.

The ſuperſtition of Gameſters.

But ſome will ſay, that I ſhewe my ſelfe herein as friuolous, as ſome loſing gameſters ſeeme ſuperſtitious, when they play themſelfes drye, they gogle wyth their eyes hither and thyther, and if they can prye out any one, that giueth them the gaze, they ſtande lumping and lowring, fretting and fuming, for that they imagine, that all theyr euill lucke proceeded of hym. And yet if the ſtander by departe, the looſer may be founde as dryſhauen, as he was before. And euen ſo it fareth wyth you, bycauſe you ſee all things runne to ruine in the Engliſhe pale, by reaſon of great enormities in the countrey, eyther openly practiſed, or couertlye wyncked at, you glaunce your eye on that, which ſtandeth next you, & by beating Iacke for Iyll, you impute the fault to that, which perhappes woulde little further the wealepublicke, if it were exiled. Now truely you ſhoote very neere the mark. But if I may craue your patience, to tyme you ſee me ſhoote my bolt, I hope you will not deny, but that as neere the pricke as you are, & as very an hagler as I am, yet the ſcantling ſhall be myne.

A conqueſt implyeth 3. thinges.

Firſt therefore take this wyth you, that a conqueſt draweth, or at the leaſt wyſe ought to drawe to it, three things, to witte, law, apparayle, and language. For where the countrey is ſubdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the ſame law that the cōquerour is gouerned, to weare the ſame faſhion of attyre, wherewith the victour is veſted, & ſpeake the ſame language, that the vanquiſher parleth. And if anye of theſe three lacke, doubtleſſe the conqueſt limpeth. Now whereas Irelande hath beene, by lawfull conqueſt, brought vnder the ſubiectiō of Englande, not onelye in king Henry the ſecond his reigne, but alſo as well before, as after (as by the courſe of the Iriſh hyſtorye ſhal euidently be deciphered) & the conqueſt hath beene ſo abſolute and perfect, that all Leinſter, Meeth, Vlſter, the more parte of Connaght and Mounſter, all the Ciuities & Burroughes in Irelande, haue beene wholly Engliſhed, and with Engliſhe conquerours inhabited, is it decent, thinke you, that theyr owne auncient natiue tongue ſhal be ſhrowded in obliuion, and ſuffer the enemies language, as it were a tettarre, or ringwoorme, to herborow it ſelf within the lawes of Engliſhe conquerours? no truely. And nowe that I haue fallen vnawares into this diſcourſe, it will not be far amiſſe to ſtande ſomewhat roundly vpon this poynt. It is knowen, and by the hyſtorie, you maye in part perceyue, how brauely Vlſter Whillon floriſhed. The Engliſhe families were there implanted, the Iriſh, eyther vtterly expelled, or wholly ſubdued, the lawes duely executed, the reuenue great, and onely Engliſh ſpoken. But what brought it to this preſent ruine and decaye? I doubt not, but you geſſe, before I tell you. They were enuironned & cōpaſſed with euill neighbours. Neighbourhoode bredde acquaintance, acquaintance wafted in yͤ Iriſh tōgue, the Iriſhe hooked with it attyre, attyre haled rudenes, rudeneſſe engendred ignorāce, ignoraunce brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebelliō, rebellion raked thereto warres, and ſo cōſequently the vtter decay and deſolatiō of that worthy countrey.

If theſe chinkes, when firſt they beganne to chappe, had béene diligently by the dwellers ſtopt, hir Maieſtie at this daye, to hir great charges, ſhoulde not haue béene occaſioned, to damme vp with many thouſand poundes, yea & with the worthy carkaſſes of valiaunt ſouldiours, the gaps of that rebellious Northren countrey. Now put the caſe that the Iriſhe tongue were as ſacred as the Hebrewe, as learned as the Gréeke, as fluent as the latin, as amarous as yͤ Italian, as courtious as the Hiſpaniſh, as courtelike as yͤ French, yet truely (I know not which way it falleth out) I ſée not, but it may be very well ſpared in the Engliſhe pale. And if reaſon will not leade you to thinke it, truely experience muſt force you to graunt it. In olde time when the Romaines were firſt acquaynted wyth the Gréeke tongue, as it is cōmonly the nature of mā to be delighted with newfangle wares, ſo he was accompted no gallant among the Romaines, that coulde not prattle & chatte Gréeke. Marcus Cicero, father vnto Tully, being at that tyme ſtept in yeres, perceyuing hys countreymen to become changelings, in being bylwyſe and polmadde, & to ſuck with the Gréeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in wordes talkatiue, in behauiour light, in condicions quaint, in maners haute, in promiſes vnſtedfaſt, in othes raſh, in bargaines wauering (which were reckened for Gréekiſh properties in thoſe dayes) the olde gentleman not ſo much reſpecting the neateneſſe of the language, as the naughty fruite it brought wyth it, ſayde, that his countreymen, the Romaynes, reſembled the bonde ſlaues of Siria. For yͤ more parfit they were in the Gréeke, the worſe they were in theyr maners and lyfe. If this gentleman had bene now liuing and had ſéene what alteratiō hath happened in Irelād, through the entrecourſe of languages, he woulde, I dare ſaye, breake patience, & woulde demaunde, why the Engliſhe pale is more giuen to learne the Iriſhe, then the Iriſhman is willing to learne Engliſhe? we muſt embrace their language, and they deteſt oures. One demaunded meryly, why O Neale, that laſt was, would not frame himſelfe to ſpeake Engliſh? what? quoth the other, in a rage, thinkeſt thou, that it ſtandeth with O Neale his honor, to wryeth his mouth in clattering Engliſhe? and yet forſooth we muſt gagge our iawes in gybbriſhing Iriſh. But I dwelt to long in ſo apparēt a matter. As all the ciuities and townes in Irelande, wyth Fingall, the king his lande, Méeth the Coūtey of Kildare, Louth, Weiſford, ſpeake to this day Engliſhe (whereby the ſimplicitie of ſome is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitantes of the Engliſhe pale, vpon their firſt repayre to England, to learne their Engliſh in thrée or foure dayes, as though they had bought at Cheſter a groates worth of Engliſhe, and ſo packt vp the reaſt to be caryed after them to London) euen ſo in all other places their natiue language is Iriſhe.

Cic lib.2.
de orat.

O Neale
why he
would n
lerne En
gliſhe.

I finde it ſolemly auouched, aſwel in ſome of the Iriſh pamphlets, as in Giraldus Cambrienſe, that Gathelus or Gaidelus, and after him Simon Breck deuiſed the Iriſh language, out of all other tongues then extant in the worlde. And thereof, ſayeth Cambrienſe, it is called Gaydelach, partly of Gaidelus the firſt founder, partly for that it is cōpounded of all languages. But conſidering the courſe of enterchaunging and blending of ſpeaches togyther, not by inuention of arte, but by vſe of talke, I am rather led to beléeue (ſéeing Irelande was inhabited within one yeare after the deuiſion of tongues) that Baſtolenus a braunche of Iaphet, who firſt ſeized vppon Irelande, brought thither the ſame kinde of ſpeache, ſome of the 72. that to this familie befell at the deſolatiō of Babell. Vnto whom ſucceeded the Scitians, Grecians, Egiptiās, Hiſpainyardes, Danes, of all which, the tongue muſt néedes haue borowed part, but eſpecially retayning the ſteps of Hiſpaniſh, then ſpoken in Granado, as from their mightieſt aunceſtours. Since then to Henry Fitz Empreſſe the Conquerour, no ſuch inuaſion happened them, as wherby they might be driuen to infect their natiue language, vntouched in maner for the ſpace of ſeauentéene hundred yeres after the arriuall of Iberius. It ſéemeth to borow of yͤ Hiſpaniſh the commō phraſe,

Camb. lib.
diſt.3.rub.

The foun
der of the
Iriſh lan
guage.

Baſtolenus.

Epiphan.
cōt.har.lib.
1.tom.1.

Commeſtato, that is, how doe you? or howe fareth it with you? It fetcheth ſundry wordes from the Latine, as Argette, of Argentum, money: ſallē, of Sal, ſalt: Cappoulle, of Caballus, a plough horſe, or according to the olde Engliſh terme, a caballe, or capler: Birreate, of the olde motheaten Latine worde, Birretum, a bonnet. The tongue is ſharpe and ſentencious, offereth great occaſion to quicke apothegmes and proper alluſions. Wherefore their common ieſtours & rithmours, whome they terme, Bardes, are ſayde to delight paſſingly thoſe that conceyue the grace and propertie of the tongue. But the true Iriſhe in déede differeth ſo much from that they commonly ſpeake, that ſcarſe one in fiue hundred can eyther, reade, wryte, or vnderſtande it. Therfore it is preſerued amóg certaine their poetes and antiquaries. And in very déede the lánguage caryeth ſuch difficultie with it, what for the eſtraungeneſſe of the phraſe, and the curious featneſſe of the pronounciation, that a very fewe of the countrey can attayne to the perfection thereof, and much leſſe a forreinner or eſtraunger. A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported that he dyd ſée a woman in Rome, which was poſſeſt with a babbling ſpirite, that coulde haue chatted any language ſauing the Iriſhe, and that it was ſo difficult, as the very Deuyll was graueyled therewith. A gentleman that ſtoode by, aunſwered, that he tooke the ſpeache to be ſo ſacred & holy, that no damned fenne had the power to ſpeake it, no more then they are able to ſay, (as the reporte goeth) the verſe of S. Iohn the Euágeliſt. Et verbũ caro factũ eſt. Nay by God his mercy, má, quoth the other: I ſtande in doubt, I tell you, whether the Apoſtles in theyr copious marte of languages at Ieruſalem, coulde haue ſpoken Iriſhe, if they were opposed, wherat the company hartily laughed. As fluent as the Iriſhe tonge is, yet it lacketh diuers wordes, & borroweth thē, verbatim of the Engliſh. As there is no vulgare Iriſh word, (vnleſſe there be ſome odde terme) yͭ lurcketh in any obſcure ſhrowds or other of their ſtorehouſe) for a Cote, a Gown a Dublet, an Hatte, a drinking Cup, but only they vſe yͤ ſame wordes wͭ a little inflexion, they vſe alſo yͤ contracted engliſh phraſe, god morrow, yͭ is, God giue you a good morning.

eſtato.

rdes.

he ob-
uritie of
e true
iſh.

he diffi-
ltie.

hn. 1.
erſ. 14.

he want
the I-
iſhe.

o Iriſhe
orde for
naue.
Lib. 1. de
Orat.
Ineptus.

I haue opposed ſundry times, the experteſt menne, that coulde be had in the country, and all they coulde neuer fynde out an equiualét Iriſh word for Knaue. The Grecians according to Tully his iudgement, were in yͤ ſame predicament, as touching the terme, Ineptus. His wordes are theſe. Ego mehercule ex omnibus latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam ſemper putaui: Quem enim nõs ineptũ vocamus, is mihi videtur, ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non ſit aptus, idque in ſermonis noſtri conſuetudine perlaté patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid poſtulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut ſe oſtentat, aut eorum, quibuſcum eſt, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus eſt, is ineptus eſſe dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata eſt erudiſſima illa græcorum natio: Itaque ꝙ vim huius mali Græci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio impoſuerunt. Vt enim quæras omnia, quomodo Græci Ineptum appellent, non reperies.

Certes, I haue béene of opinion, ſayeth Tully, that among the whole crue of Latine termes, the worde, Ineptus, hath béene of greateſt importance or weight. For he whome we name Ineptus, ſéemeth to mée, to haue the etimologie or offſpring of his name, here hence deriued, that he is not apt, which ſtretcheth farre and wyde, in the vſuall cuſtome of our dailye ſpeache or communication. For he that doth not perceyue, what is fitting or decent for euerye ſeaſon, or gabbleth more then he hath commiſſion to doe, or that in bragging, boaſting, or peacockwiſe ſetteth hymſelfe forth to the gaze, by making more of the broth, then yͤ fleſh is worth, or he yͭ regardeth not the vocation and affayres of them, with whō he entermedleth: or in fine, who ſo is ſtale wͭout grace or ouer tedious in any matter, he is tearmed Ineptus, (which is aſmuch in Engliſhe, in my phantiſy, as ſauſy, or malapart) The famous and learned Gréeke nation is generally duſked with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not eſpy the innormity therof, they haue not ſo much framed a term therto. For if you ſhould ranſacke the whole Gréeke language you ſhall not finde a worde to counteruayle Ineptus. Thus far Tully, yet Budæus, woulde not ſéeme to acknowledge this barrenneſſe, but that the Gréeke word ἀπειρόκαλος, is equipolent, to Ineptus, but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being very willing to finde out ſome other Budæus, that coulde faſhion an Iryſhe worde for Knaue, whereof this diſcourſe of Ineptus grewe. As the whole realme of Ireland is ſundred into foure principall parts, as before is ſayd, ſo eche parcell differeth very much in yͤ Iriſhe tongue, euery country hauing his dialect or peculiar maner, in ſpeaking the language: therfore commonly in Irelande they aſcribe a propertye to eche of the foure countryes in this ſorte. Vlſter hath the right Iriſhe phraſe, but not the true pronunciation: Mounſter hath yͤ true pronunciation, but not the phraſe: Leinſter is deuoyde of the right phraſe, and true pronun-

Saucineſ.

Budæ. lib. 1.
de Aſſe. &
part. eius.

Iriſhe Boagh.

Foagh.

ciation. Connaght hath both the right phraſe and true pronunciation. There is a cholerike or diſdainfull interiection vſed in the Iriſhe language, called Boagh, which is as much in Engliſh as twiſh. The Iriſh both in auncient tyme and to this day commonly vſe it, & therfore the Engliſh Conquerors called them Iriſhe poghes, or pogh Maurice, which tauntyng terme is at this day very wrongfully aſcribed to them of the Engliſh pale. The Engliſh interiection, foagh, which is vſed in lothing, a ranke, or ſtrong ſauour, ſéemeth to be ſibbe to the other.

Of the nature of the ſoyle, and other incidentes. Chap. 2.

Aqua vitæ.

Theoric. Epiſc. Hermenenſis in Romanula iuxta Bononiam.

The commodities of Aqua vitæ.

Vlſt. in cœlo philoſ. vel de ſecret. nat. cap. 11.

THe ſoyle is lowe and watriſh, encludeth diuers little Iſlandes, enuironned wyth lakes and marriſh. Higheſt hilles haue ſtandyng pooles in theyr tops. Inhabitantes eſpecially new come, are ſubiect to diſtillations, reumes and flixes. For remedy wherof, they vſe an ordinary drinke of Aqua vitæ, ſo qualified in the makyng, that it dryeth more, and enflameth leſſe then other whote confections. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatiſe of Aqua vitæ, wherein he prayſeth it to the ninth degrée. He deſtinguiſheth thrée ſortes therof, Simplex, compoſita, and Perfectiſſima. He declareth the ſimples and ingrediences thereto belongyng. He wiſheth it to be taken as well before meate as after. It dryeth vp the breakyng out of handes, and killeth the fleſhe wormes, if you waſh your handes therewith. It ſkoureth all ſkurfe and ſkaldes from the head, beyng therewith daily waſhte before meales. Beyng moderately taken, ſayth he, it ſloeth age, it ſtrengtheneth youth, it helpeth digeſtion, it cutteth fleume, it abandoneth melancholy, it reliſheth the hart, it lighteneth the mynd, it quickeneth the ſpirites, it cureth the hydropſie, it healeth the ſtrangury, it poũceth the ſtone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth away all Ventoſitie, it kepeth and preſerueth the hed from whirlyng, the eyes from dazelyng, the tongue from liſpyng, the mouth frõ mafflyng, the téeth frõ chatteryng, the throte from ratling, the weaſan from ſtieflyng, the ſtomacke from wambling, the harte from ſwellyng, the belly from wirtchyng, the guts from rumblyng, the handes from ſhiuering, the ſinowes from ſhrinkyng, the veynes frõ crumpling, the bones from akyng, the marraw from ſoakyng. Vlſtadius alſo aſcribeth thereto a ſinguler prayſe, and would haue it to burne beyng kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodneſſe therof. And truly it is a ſoueraigne liquour, if it be orderly taken.

Poli. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Wyly pye.

Camb. par 1. diſt. 3.

No venemous worme in Ireland.

Camb. par 1. diſt. 1.

The ayre is very holeſome, not generally ſo cleare and ſubtill as that of Englande. The weather is more temperate, beyng not ſo warme in Sommer, nor colde in winter, as it is in Englande and Flaunders. The countrye is ſtoared with Bées, contrarye to the opinion of ſome wryters, who both in this & other errours, touching this countrye, maye eaſily be excuſed, as thoſe that wrote by hereſay. No Vineyards, yet Grapes growe there as in Englande. They lacke the Roe buck, as Polichronicon writeth. They lack yͤ Bird called the Pye. Howbeit in the Engliſhe pale to thys daye, they vſe to tearme a ſlye coſener, a wyly Pye. Cambrienſe in his time cõplaineth, that Irelande had exceſſe of woode, and very little champayne grounde, but now the Engliſh pale is to naked. Turfe is their moſt fewell and ſeacoale. No venemous créeping beaſte is brought forth, or nouriſhed, or can liue in Irelande, being brought or ſent. And therfore the ſpyder of Ireland is wel knowen not to be venemous, onely becauſe a frogge was found lying in the medowes of Waterforde ſomewhat before the conqueſt they conſtrued it, to importe their ouerthrowe.

Bed. lib. 1. Angl. Hiſt. cap. 1.

The controuerſie of the Il of man decided.

Orcades appendaun to Irelãd.

Hector Boeth. in Scot reg. deſcrip pag. 9. Sect 50.

Camb. topo. lib. 1. diſt. 1. rub. 28.

Cam. ibid. rub. 30. 31.

Bede wryteth that ſerpentes conueighed to Irelande did preſently die, beyng touched with the ſmell of the lande, that whatſoeuer came from Irelande was then of ſoueraigne vertue againſt poyſõ. He exemplifieth in certayne men, ſtung of Adders, who dranke in water, the ſcrapings of bookes, that had béene of Irelande, and were cured. Generally it is obſerued, the farther weſt, the leſſe annoiance of peſtilent creatures. The want whereof is to Irelande ſo peculiar, that whereas it laye long in queſtion, to whether realme Brytayne or Irelande the Ile of man ſhould appertayne, the ſayd controuerſie was decyded: that forſomuch as venemous beaſtes were knowen to bréede therein, it coulde not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrarywiſe the Orchades are adiudged to be appendaunt to Irelande, becauſe thoſe Iſlandes, neyther bréede nor foſter any venemous worme, as Hector Boethus auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrienſe, writeth that he hearde certayne Merchaunts affirme, that when they had vnladen theyr ſhippes in Irelande, they founde by hap ſome toades, vnder theyr balaſt. And they had no ſooner caſt them on the ſhore, then they would puffe and ſwell vnmeaſurably, & ſhortly after turning vp theyr bellyes, they would burſt in ſunder. And not onely the earth & duſt of Irelande, but alſo the verye thonges of Iriſhe leather, haue the ſame force and vertue. I haue ſene it, ſaith Cambriẽſe, experimẽted, that

Iriſh leather expelleth venemous wormes.

that a toade being encompaſſed with a thong of Iriſhe leather, and creepyng thitherward, endeuouring to haue ſkipt ouer it, ſodenly reculed backe, as though it had bene rapte in the hed: wherupon it began to ſpraule to the other ſide. But at length perceiuyng that the thong did embay it of all partes, it began to thyrle, and as it were to dig the earth, where findyng an hole, it ſluncke away in the preſence of ſondry perſons.

Cambri. in eodem loco.

It happened alſo in my tyme, ſayeth Giraldus Cambrienſe, that in the North of Englãd a knot of yongkers tooke a nap in the fieldes. As one of them lay ſnorting with his mouth gaping, as though he would haue caught flies, it happened that a Snake or Adder ſlipt into his mouth, and glyded downe into his bellye, where herboring it ſelfe, it beganne to roame vp and downe and to feede on the young man his entralles. The pacient being ſore diſtracted and aboue meaſure tormented wyth the byting pangues of this greedie gueſt, inceſſantly prayed to God, that if it ſtoode wyth his gracious will, eyther wholly to bereue him of his lyfe, or elſe of his vnſpeakeable mercie to eaſe him of his payne. The worme woulde neuer ceaſe from gnawing the pacient his carkaſſe, but when he had taken his repaſt. And his meate was no ſooner digeſted, then it woulde giue a freſhe onſet in boaring his guttes. Diuers remedies were ſought, as medicines, pilgrimages to Sainctes: but all could not preuayle. Being at length ſchooled by the graue aduiſe of ſome ſage and expert father, that willed him to make his ſpeedie repayre to Ireland, would tract no time, but buſked himſelfe ouerſea, and arriued in Irelande. He dyd not ſooner drinke of the water of that Iſlande, and taken of the victuals of Ireland, but forthwith he kilde the Snake, auoyded it downewarde, and ſo being luſtye and liuely he returned into Englande. Thus farre Giraldus Cambrienſe. There be ſome, that mooue queſtion, whither the want of venemous Wormes be to be imputed to the propertie of the ſoyle, or to be aſcribed to the prayers of S. Patricke, who conuerted that Iſlande. The greater parte father it on S. Patricke, eſpecially ſuch as wryte hys lyfe aſwell a parte, as in the legende of Iriſhe Sainctes. Giraldus Cambrienſe diſaffirmeth flatly that opinion, and taketh it to be a ſecret or hidden propertie naturally vnited to the ſoyle, from whome Polichronicon doth not ſwarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, ſo I woulde haue beene eaſily perſwaded being neyther hote nor colde in the matter, to reſt as a lukewarme Neuter in omitting the one and the other vnſkande, were it not that one M. Alan Cope, or ſome other that maſketh vnder hys viſours, more ſclaunderouſly then pithily had buſied himſelfe therin. Wherfore ſith I may with better warrant defende my natiue coũtrey, then he or his betters may reproue it, eſpecially, where his ſclaunderous reportes are vnderpropt wyth ſlimme ſlamme ſurmiſes: I purpoſe vnder M. Cope his correction to coape and buckle with hym herein, and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trippe him, if I may, in the way. And becauſe (gentle Reader) I minde to make thee an indifferent vmpyre in this controuerſie, for the better vnderſtanding of the matter, I will laye downe M. Cope his wordes, in ſuch wiſe as they are imprinted in his booke. Firſt therfore thou muſt vnderſtande, that his booke is made in dialogue wiſe, a kinde of writing as vſed, ſo commended of the learned. In theſe dialogues Ireneus an Engliſh man and Critobulus a Germaine play the partes. Ireneus entreth into the ſtage; and in this wyſe beginneth.

Whether venemous wormes wer expelled Irelãd through yͤ prayers of S. Patricke.

Polichr. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Alan. Copus dialog. 3. acd. 28.

Incipiã à S. Paulo: noſti in Melita (quam hodie Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam à manu pendentem in ignem excuſſiſſe. In ea inſula Scorpiones, qui alibi ſunt letales, Pauli, vt creditur, munere ſunt innoxij.

Critobulus. Fortaſſe hoc habet à naturâ.

Act. [illegible] Vs. 6

Iren. Falleris: nam inſulani, vt Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eo patricidã, cui cum mare peperciſſet, irati dij ſerpentes, qui eum tollerẽt, immiſiſſent: nec quicquam magis quàm præſentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cùm ille tantum abeſſet, vt nihil omninò damni aut doloris inde ſentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè ſupra hominem eſſe, & deum ſub humana ſpecie.

Crit. Sic eſt, vt dicis.

Iren. Cætera itaq; audi: E ſpecu, ad quem diuertiſſe dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota ferme Europa ſalutares. Adhæc, quos naſci octauo Calendas Februarij contingit (qui dies conuerſionis eius memoriæ dicatus eſt) quæcunq; eos orbis pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis eſt, ſola ſaliua horum morſibus medentur. Id quod homo doctiſſimus & diligentiſſimus Thomas Fazellus nuper prodidit, vſu ipſo rerum, & certis, ni fallor, exemplis ab eo obſeruatum.

Thomas Fazellus.

Crit. Iſta quidem digna ſunt obſeruatione: & iam recordor, me legiſſe ac ſæpius audiſſe, precibus beati Patricij Hiberniæ apoſtoli, ei regioni ſimile beneficium indultum, ne ea inſula aliquid letale pariat. Dici fortaſsè inde à nonnullis ſolet, nihil eſſe in Hibernia venenati præter ipſos homines, quod propter feros & agreſtes eorum mores dictum à plæriſq; accipitur.

B_d.lib.1. Ang.hiſt. c.1.

Sententia definitiua. Solin.c.35.

Iren. Eam regionem nihil peſtiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum ſermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adeò vt terra illius regionis exportata, peſtifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verùm id quicquid eſt, non Patricio, ſed naturę regionis tribuo, propterea quòd longè ante Patricium natum cōſtet, eam fuiſſe eius regionis dotem, quam non eſt difficilè alibi reperiri.

I will begin ſayth Ireneus, with S. Paule. You know that in Melita (which at this day is called Malta) S. Paule flung into the fire a Viper that ſtucke or did cleaue to his hand. In that Iſlande, Scorpions which are elſewhere deadly or venemous, are become thorow the gift of S. Paule (as it is ſuppoſed) harmeleſſe.

Tuſh, quoth Critobulus, that may be percaſe incident to the nature of the ſoyle.

Nay then, replyeth Ireneus, you are in a wrong boxe. For the Iſlanders, as S. Luke mencioneth, ſhowted, that a parentquellour was brought thither, and becauſe he was not ſwalowed in the gulfes of the ſea, the Gods beyng in their fuſtian fumes, ſent ſerpentes to ſlay hym. And they looked for nothyng ſooner, then to ſée hym euen at a twincklyng to periſh. But whē they perceyued hym to be ſo far diſtant frō death, as that he ſuſteyned no harme, ne felt any paine, the people therwith amazed, ſayd, he far ſurpaſt mans eſtate, and that he was a God inueſted in mā hys ſhape.

You haue reaſon, anſwereth Critobulus, you haue hit the nayle on the hed.

Yea, but I pray you, clip not my tale, ſayth Ireneus, but take me with you. Stones are culled in the caue or denne, wherin S. Paul is ſayd to haue bayted or ſoiorned, which ſtones in maner in all Europe are ſoueraigne medicines to cure the bitynges and ſtinges of Scorpions and ſerpentes. Furthermore they that are borne the xxv. of January (which day is named the conuerſion of S. Paul) in what part ſo euer of the world they are borne, they feare not or grudge not at ſnakes: Yea, that which is more to be admyred, the ſtinginges of poyſoned wormes are healed by the very ſpittle of this January brood. Which thyng hath bene of late publiſhed by a well lettered man, Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curiouſly noted of hym as well by proofe and experience, as by ſure and ſubſtantiall examples, if I take not the matter amiſſe. Thē commeth in Critobulus, whom M. Cope maketh, I will not ſay the vice or hickſcorner, but the pleaſaunt conceited gentleman of hys enterlude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am ſure he could not iumpe ſo farre) from Malta to Ireland, and frameth hys tale in this ſort.

By the fayth of my body ſir, here is ſtuffe worth the noting. And now I call to mynde, that I haue red and often heard, that the like benefite hath bene imparted to Ireland, thorough the prayers of S. Patrike the Apoſtle of the ſayd Iſland, that is to ſay, that Ireland bréedeth no venemous worme. And therupon percaſe ſome are accuſtomed to ſay, ẏ there is no poyſoned or venemous thing in Irelād, but onely the people, which is taken to haue bene ſayd of moſt men for their brutiſhe and ſauage maners.

To this ſayth Ireneus. I am done to vnderſtand by the report of diuers, & alſo by Bede, that no poyſoned or venemous thing is bred in that realme, in ſo much, that the earth of ẏ countrey being brought into other realms, killeth all venemous and poyſoned wormes. But let the matter fall out which way it wil. I aſcribe that propertie not to S. Patricke, but to the nature of the ſoyle, becauſe it hath bene knowen long before S. Patricke was borne, that Irelande was indued with that property, which is elſewhere eaſy to be foūd. Hitherto M. Cope.

Iudgement.

In thys diſcourſe (gentle Reader) thou ſéeſt that M. Cope handleth two principall points, the propriety of Malta and the nature of Irelande in deſtroying venemous wormes, the one he aſcribeth to ẏ bleſſed Apoſtle ſ. Paule, the other he will not in any wyſe impute to S. Patricke. Touching the firſt, as I haue no occaſion to entermeddle therin, ſo I purpoſe not, for the quarell I haue to the perſon, to diſproue hys opinion ſo farre as it ſtandeth with troth. Wherefore that God, that of his bountifull goodneſſe gaue the grace to Moſes, to turne Aaron his rod into a ſerpēt, to turne the riuer into bloude, and to worke diuers other effectes that are mencioned in the ſcripture. To a Joſue, to ſtay the ſonne, To b Elias to raiſe ẏ dead childe, to c Peter to make the lame go, to heale d Æneas, to reuiue e Tabytha, yea with his very f ſhadow to cure the ſicke, & the God that gaue to that Paule, of whome M. Cope ſpeaketh, his gracious gift to make the g lame go, to h quickē and rayſe the deceaſed, and for his ſake to i ſalue his fellow paſſangers: it is not to be denyed, but that God woulde imparte his goodneſſe to any region, euen the ſooner that any of his bleſſed ſeruauntes woulde herborowe there. And as I doubt not, but Simon the Tanner his houſe was nothing ẏ worſe, for lodging ſo happie a gueſt as Peter, ſo I am ſure, Malta was far the better, for herbowring ſo bleſſed a traueyler or paſſenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they, which were ſicke in the

Exod.c.7. verſ.10.
a. Joſu.c.10, verſ.13.
b.1.Reg.17 verſ.22.& Eccleſ.48. verſ.50.
c.Act.3. verſ.7.
d.Act.9. verſ.34.
e.Act.9. verſ.40.
f.Act.5. verſ.13.
g.Act.14. verſ.10.
h.Act.20. verſ.10.& 11.
i.Act.27. verſ.23.
Act.9. verſ.43.
Act.28. verſ.9.

the Iſland, flocked to Paule and were cured: and alſo that the pacient that was father to Publius, in whoſe houſe they were three daies very courteouſly intertayned, was by Saint Paule healed. Which cure aſwell of that pacient, as of the reſidue of the Iſlanders, dyd not onely extende to their bodies, but chiefly and eſpecially to their ſoules, according to the opinion of the learned Diuines. For as our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt was neuer thought to cure any one his bodie, but he woulde alſo heale his ſoule, ſo it muſt be thought of his Apoſtles, in whoſe ſteppes both in lyfe and myracles they traced. And therefore the learned holde opinion, that S. Paule, being in Malta, expelled from diuers of their ſoules the olde Serpent, that deceyued our Progenitours, Adam & Eue. For which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to enſert, as a clauſe not wholly ſwaruing from that we treate of, and alſo that I woulde be founde preſt and readie, as farre as my ſimple ſkill ſtretcheth, to vnderpinne any opinion, that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God. Howbeit for ſo much as M.Cope hath ſo ſtraightly dealt with Irelād, as wyth a countrey nothing appertayning to his matter, I truſt he will pardon me, to be ſomewhat bolde with him, touching the hyſtorie of Malta, that as his negligence ſhal be in the one diſſhrowed, ſo his ſclaunderous iudgemēt may be in the other reuerſed. Firſt therefore where he writeth, that the inhabitantes of Malta clamabant, that is, cryed, or ſhowted, it was not ſo. The Greeke text runneth, ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Dicebant adinuicem, that is to ſay, they muttred one to another. And S. Luke paraphraſeth his meaning after. For when they perceyued, that the Viper dyd not anoy Paule, then ſayth S. Luke, Conuertentes ſe, dicebant, eum eſſe Deum. They turning one towardes the other, whiſpered or mutterd, that Paule was a God. Nowe put the caſe they cryed, as M. Cope ſayeth, is it lyke that Paule was ſo buſie in making of a fire, or that his eares dyd wander ſo far of, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard thē, thinke you that he would haue beene whiſt, in hearing God ſo far blaſphemed, as that he woulde ſuffer himſelfe to be deified? No truely. He woulde haue taken on, as he and Barnabas dyd at Lyſtris, whē the inhabitants named them Goddes, Barnabas to be Iupiter, and Paule, for that he was well ſpoken, to be Mercurie. For when the Apoſtles hearde of their Idolatrie, renting their clothes, they ruſht into the thrōge, crying and ſpeaking, that they were mortall men. &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expreſſe difference, as it were of ſet purpoſe, betweene both the wordes, Clamantes & Dicentes. M.Cope addeth further, Delatum eo paricidam, and yet the Greeke hath πάντως φονεὺς, Omnino interfector, or as the Vulgar text is, Vtiq; homicida eſt homo hic. So that they tooke him to be but a manquellour, yet M.Cope maketh hym a Paricide, which is worſe. For although euerye Paricide be a manquellour, yet è conuerſo, euery manquellour is not a Paricide.

Augu.tract. 9. in Iohā. & Th.p.3.q. 44.a.3.ad.3

Geneſ.3. verſ.13.

Act.28. verſ.4.

S. Paule hard not the inhabitants of Malta.

Act.14. verſ.11. 12.13.14.

M.Cope proceedeth further, Irati dij, ſerpē- „
tes, qui eum tollerent, immiſiſſent. The Gods „
being angry ſent ſerpents to diſpatch Paule. „
And yet forſooth, all theſe ſerpentes were but one Viper, as is plainely expreſt in the text, vnleſſe M.Cope would teache S. Luke, to tell his tale after the fineſt faſhiō, leaſt the Apoſtle ſhould haue bene thought to haue ſtoned. As the Parſon that preached to his Parochians of the Goſpell, wherin mention is made of them that Chriſt fed in the deſert, or wilderneſſe. O, quoth the Parſon, what a Chriſt that was, that with fiue barly loaues, & fiue fiſhes fed fiue hundred perſons. The clarcke hearing his maiſter to grate ouerlōg on that point, for he dyd often iterate that ſentence, ſtole vp to the pulpit, & plucking the perſon by his gowne, whiſpered in his eare ỳ Chriſt fed fiue thouſand. Holde thee contented thou fooliſhe fellow, quoth the Parſon, if I ſhoulde tell mine hearers of ſo great a nūber, I ſhold but diſcredite the Goſpeller, and they woulde not beleeue me. So it fareth with M.Cope, belike he miſtruſted, that if he had ſayde, that one Viper coulde haue ſlayne Paule, the reader woulde haue ſuſpected the vntruth of the matter, bycauſe it caryeth great likelyhoode with it, that one man coulde withſtande one Viper, and therefore to ſaue S. Luke hys credite, he increaſeth the number by putting the plurall for the ſingular. Whereas therefore it ſtandeth with M.Cope his pleaſure, to floriſh in his rhetoricall figure, named, Veritatis ſuperlatio, in terming muttering, ſhowting, a manquellour, a paricide, one Viper, ſerpentes: he muſt be borne withall, if in the heate of his figure he ſteppe a little awrie in the remnaunt of his diſcourſe. For thus he ſayeth.

A Parſon his ſermō.

M.Cope his rhetoricke.

And thereuppon it is reported perchaſe by „
ſome men, that there is nothing venemous „
or poyſoned in Irelande, but the men and wo- „
men. Which is taken to haue bene ſpoken by „
moſt men for their brutiſh and ſaluadge maners. Here (good Reader) thou muſt vnderſtande that M.Cope putteth the text downe & the gloſe, the text is, there is nothing in Irelande venemous but the inhabitauntes. The

gloſe is, this is ſayde to haue bene ſpoken for their brutiſh and ſauage conditiōs. Now well harpt by S. Lanckfield. Here is a gloſe, I vndertake you, ſuteable to the text. But let vs ſee, how cunningly M. Cope bequiteth him ſelfe. Firſt he obſerueth not decorū perſonæ, ſecondly he followeth not decorum dialogi, thirdlye he ſheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the firſt point, who knoweth not, that theſe iapes and gybes are onely fitte for ruffians, vices, ſwaſhbucklers and toſpottes. And truly they beſet a diuine aſwel, as for an Aſſe to twange chypaſſa on a harpe or gyttarne, or for an Ape to friſcke trenchemore in a payre of buſkins and a dubblet.

Cic. lib. 2. de Orat.

The heathen miſliked in an orature ſquirilitie, what ſhoulde be thought then of a diuine, whom S. Paule would haue to be ſober, modeſt, graue and wiſe.

1. Timot. 3 verſ. 2. & 3.

Vnleſſe M. Cope leaning to the letter of S. Paule his wordes woulde beare vs in hande, that S. Paule would haue modeſtie to reſt onely in byſhops. We are commaunded, in the olde and newe teſtament, to loue our neighbors as our ſelues. Which doth imply, that we ought not to ſclaunder our neighbours. And ſhall a diuine then ſpeake vncharitably, not onely of one, but of an whole royalme, and not only ſpeake but alſo write, yea and that in the language that is vniuerſally ſpoken, through out the greater part of the worlde, vpon no ſure ground, but onely vpon hearſay weighing not what yͤ Prophet writeth, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciū, thou ſhalt deſtroye all them that ſpeake vntruthes.

Pſal. 5. verſ. 7. Sapient. 1. Vide Auguſt. in eūdem Pſal.

And were it that any ſuch ſlimme ſlamme ſlirtes were ſoothed by any perſonne of credite, yet, as me ſeemeth, it would ſtand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that ſuch childiſhe quippes, & ſcornefull tauntes ſhould ſooner by his meanes charitably bee whiſted, thē through his procuremēt carpingly publiſhed. I will ſtand no longer on this point, but onelye craue M. Cope to reſort to the fift of Mathew, and there peruſe Chriſt his verdict, touching ſclaunderous tongues.

Math. 5. verſ. 22.

To come to the ſeconde parte, in which he obſerueth not decorum dialogi, thou ſhalt vnderſtand (good Reader) that Critabulus, or Critobulus, whom M. Cope maketh his bagpipe to belche out his rancour, is a Germaine borne, as M. Cope ſaith, who ſemeth to be Critobulus his godfather. Now let any one, that is acquainted wt the maners of Germaines, iudge, if it be decent, that one of thē ſhoulde ſcoffe & ſcorne the conditions and faſhions of other countries. I wil not ſpeake by heare ſay, as M. Cope doth, but by eyeſight. I could neuer eſpye nor probably haue I hearde it reported no not of the meere ſauage Iriſh, ſuch quaffing, ſuch ſwilling, ſuch bowling, ſuch gulling, ſuch brutiſh drunckenneſſe, ſuch ſurfeyting, ſuch vomiting as I haue ſeene ſome Germaines doe.

The Germaine his friendſhip.

In good ſooth it is knowen, and for my part I haue ſeene it being beyonde the ſeas, that in their carowſing & cup friendſhip, they threaten ſuch kindneſſe on their companions, that leaſt their felowes ſhould miſtruſt them with double dealing, they will not ſticke to ſhewe them the botome of their ſtomackes, & to the ende they ſhould take the better view therof, they will place it now & then in their neighbours boſome.

Thus whē they haue caſt their gorges, they clap on theyr thrumde hats, and runne lyke bedlem barretors into the ſtreetes with their naked ſlatchets, and there they keepe ſuch a ſtinkyng ſturre with hackyng of ſtones, with hewyng of blockes, with thwitting of ſtocks, with ſtrikyng of ſtalles, with thumpyng at dores, that it would make a horſe breake hys halter, to ſee ſo dronken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is ſo naturally engraffed in the greater part of them, that a famous deuine did not ſticke of late to ſay openly in his Lecture that dronkennes in that countrey men, was eyther peccatum originale, or accidens inſeparabile. I write not this, I take God to record, to the reproch or ſlaunder of that coūtrey (beyng lothe to commit the ſelfe ſame fault that I reprehend in any other,) but only my meanyng is to ſettle before the Reader his eyes the abſurditie of M. Cope, in framyng poore Critabolus to flout Ireland, conſideryng that if he caſt his eye homeward, he ſhall finde as filthy puddle in his owne countrey, as in other realmes. And therfore thys quippe ſate as vnſeemely in his mouth, as for an whoore to reprehend bitchery, or for an Vſurer to condemne Simonie. For as there is nothyng leſſe to be tollerated, thē for any one to haue an other to accompt for his lyfe, that can yeelde no accompt of his owne; ſo there is nothyng that ought to moozell vp any one from rebuking other nations, then to ſee the miſdemeanor of hys owne natiue country. I would wiſhe M. Critabolus or M. Cope, if it ſhall pleaſe him to make vp the muſter, with indifferency to weigh the eſtate of Ireland, and ſo without parciality to frame his iudgement.

Irelande how it may be reformed.

Ireland, and eſpecially the ruder part is not ſtored with ſuch learned men as Germany is. If they had ſounde preachers, & ſincere liuers, that by the embawming of theyr carian ſoules with the ſweete and ſacred flowers of holy writ, would enſtruct them in the feare of God, in obeying their prince, in obſeruyng the lawes, in vnderproppyng in eche man his vocation the weale publike, I doubt not, but with [illegible] or th[illegible] as M. Critabulus his heyres ſhould heare ſo good a reporte run of the reformatiō of Irelād, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the beſt part of Germany. Let the ſoyle be as fertile and bette as any would wiſh, yet if the huſbandman will not manure it, ſome tyme plough and eare it, ſometyme harrow it, ſometime tyll it, ſomtyme marle it, ſometyme delue it, ſometyme dig it, and ſowe it with good and ſound corne, it will bring forth weedes, bynde corne, cockle, darnell, brambles, bryers, and ſondry wylde ſhootes. So it fareth with the rude inhabitantes of Irelande, they lacke Vniuerſities, they want inſtructors, they are deſtitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoyde of all ſuch neceſſaries as appertayne to the trayning vp of youth, and notwithſtandyng all theſe wantes, if any would be ſo frowardly ſet, as to require them to vſe ſuch ciuilitie, as other regions, that are ſufficiently furniſhed with the lyke helpes, he might be accompted as vnreaſonable, as he that would force a cripple that lacketh both hys legs to runne, or one to pipe or whiſtle a galliard that wanteth hys vpper lippe. But ſuch is the corrupt nature of vs worldlings, and me thinketh ſuch vayne humors are not vtterly dryed vp in our ſage & mortyfied diuines, we are moſt commonly giuen rather to taunt that which is amiſſe, then to prayſe that which is good, and rather we followe the ſpider in ſoakyng the poyſon, then in imitatyng the Bée by ſucking the hony. Now that it appeareth, that it was not fittyng for the author beyng a deuine, to write ſo vncharitably, nor for M. Critabulus beyng a Germain, to carpe other countreys ſo ſnappiſhly: let vs ſée, what wholeſome diuinity hath bene here vttered, and how well the ſinewes of M. Critabulus his argument ſhall be found to hang togither, when the Anatomy therof by péecemeale ſhall be examined.

“ I call to mynd, q M. Critabulus, that I haue
“ read & often heard that the like benefite hath
“ bene graūted to Irelād through the prayers
of S. Patricke. M. Critabulus hath read & heard, that by the prayers of S. Patricke, Ireland hath no venemous worme: ergo ſome holde opinion, that the poyſon reſteth onely in the people.

Truly this argument hangeth togyther by very ſtraunge gymbols. And I dare ſay, M. Cope neuer learned this kynde of reaſonyng in the famous colledge of Magdalene in Oxford, what ſo euer M. Critabulus did in Germany. But let vs put the Logique apart, and ſcan the ſingular poynt of diuinitie. I would gladly learne in what part of ſcripture, or in what [illegible] rather M. Critabulus reade or heard (for much of hys learning hath bene, as it ſemeth, purchaſed by herſay) that any holy prelate, that came of meere charitie, to conuert a countrey from night to light, from darkneſſe to knowledge, from infidelitie to Chriſtianitie, from vice to vertue, from the deuill to God, (which doth implye an eſpeciall zeale in ſauyng their ſoules) ſhould purge the ſoyle of all venemous wormes, and leaue the ſoule [illegible] to be [illegible] wholy enfected with the contagion of venime. Whereby enſueth that the place is better then the inhabitantes, and ſo conſequently the ſaying of the Machabees ſhall be falſified. Non propter locum gentem, ſed propter gentem, locum Deus elegit. God did not choſe the people for that place, but hée elected the place in reſpect of the people. Our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt diſpoſſeſſing the pacient of the legion of deuills, permitted them to enter into an hierd of hogges. Critabulus would haue Chriſtes ſaintes do the contrary, to diſpoſſeſſe the hogs, and to leaue the men poſſeſſed with deuils. For ſo he reporteth S. Patricke to haue done, by riddyng the lande of all poyſoned wormes, and leauyng the rancour to lurke in the people. Truly if the matter ſtode ſo farre out of ioynt, I doubt not, but the Iſlanders mought haue come as lawfully to hym, as the Geraſines came ingratefully to Chriſt, requiring hym to depart their country. For ſuch a ſcoffing prelate, hys rowme had bene better thē his company, ſith his abode would tende rather to the peruerting, then the conuertyng of their Iſland.

Machab. 2. c. 5. verſ. 19

Luc. 8. verſ. 32.

Luc. 2. verſ. 37.

Hitherto thou haſt heard (gentle Reader) how gallauntly Critabulus hath played hys parte, now ſhall I deſire thée to viewe, how ſagely Ireneus claſpeth vp all the whole controuerſie. He ſaith it is the nature of the ſoile, not to bréede any venemous worme, and that was incident thereto, before S. Patricke was borne. How proue you that ſir? Pleaſeth you to ſkew your eye towardes the margent, and there ſhall you finde the 35. chapter of Solinus ſolemnly quoted. Touchyng this matter, there is nothyng in Solinus but this. Illic anguis nullus, auis rara. In Ireland is no ſnake, and ſeldome a byrde, and yet byrdes are as commonly there as in any other countrey. But I would gladly vnderſtand how this authoritie of Solinus furthereth M. Ireneus hys opinion. Ireland bred no ſnake before S. Patrick was borne: ergo, it engēdered no toade, no Adder, no Frogge, nor any other virulent worme. As if a man would reaſon thus. Before S. Patricke his tyme there was no horſemyll in Ireland: ergo, before his tyme there was no myllhorſe. Certes he that woulde winde vp his concluſion ſo fondly, might be thought, to haue aſmuch witte, as a roſted horſe. This authoritie of Solinus is ſo farre from vpholding Ireneus his aſſertion, as that it plainely ſeemeth to quite ouerthrow it, and as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cauſe why S. Patricke was moued, to expell all the venemous wormes out of Irelande, might probably haue beene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this, þ he perceyuing, the lande to breede no Snakes, thereof was occaſioned, for the furthering of Chriſtian fayth, to expell other kinde of wormes, that lurcked there before his comming, as Toades, Adders, Blindwormes, Frogs. &c.

Obiection.

Here perchaunce M. Cope may blenche me, in replying that Anguis may be conſtrued generally for all kynde of Vermine, and ſo I might be taken tardie in buylding my diſcourſe vpon a miſconſtruction.

Aunſwer.

In good ſooth to omitte what ſtraunge and abſurde ſignification Anguis ſhould beare, by notifiyng a poyſoned ſpider and ſuch lyke, and, in mine opinion, further from the purpoſe, thẽ the father that diſwading his ſonne from playing on Sunday fortified his reaſon with the olde ſayde ſaw, non eſt bonum ludere cum ſanctis, it is not good, quoth he, to play on Sondayes or holy dayes, is it, thinke you, fellonie or treaſon, to bring the credit of Solinus in queſtion, for miſtaking Anguis as well as Auis. For as he was groſly deceyued in the one, in writing, that birdes were rare in Ireland, ſo might he haue ſtrayed as likely in the other, by diſburdening Irelande of all venemous wormes, bycauſe the Iland wanted in his time but one or two kindes, as a Snake and a Toade. Where a man buyldeth vpon euerye twatling and pratling rumour, and his eye is not his iudge, he may be ſure, that ſuch flying tales will catche many feathers before they come at him, that is as farre diſtaunt from their neſtes, as Solinus was frõ Ireland, when he wrote his pamphlet. The proofe whereof as it is dayly tryed, ſo not many yeres paſt hath ben very pretily veryfied. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that mette his enemie in the fieldes, where they both vpon a tryfling quarell fought ſo friendly as they had more neede to haue beene grapled togither with cables, then parted by indifferent ſticklers. Howbeit bycauſe the gentleman was neuer before fleſht, and yet nothing at all that day, for eche of their blowes dyd commonly light on the medowe, where they fought, a friende of hys reported well of him to an other, ſaying, that he was lyke in tyme to proue a proper man of hys handes, for the well handeling of hys weapon in his late combate. Whereuppon one after the other doubling the gentleman his prayſe, gaue notice to an other, that ſuch a gentleman, naming him, fought valiantly ſuch a day, in ſuch a place. Immediatly vpon this in a ſhyre or two of, it was noyſed that the partie prayſed, fought with two at once in ſuch a place, naming the medowe. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure ſeuerall daies, and I am well aſſured that was the firſt fray that euer he made, & I thinke it will be the laſt, vnleſſe he be forced maugre his heart, to the contrarie. Not long after, it happened, that a gentleman and I traueyled abroade the countrey of ſet purpoſe to diſport our ſelues, and ſo to returne a freſhe to our bookes, where entering in communication with a blunt countrey lobbe (yet ſuch an one as tooke his halfe peny to be good ſyluer) that knew the foreſaid champion. My companion and I made wyſe, as though we were not acquainted wyth him, or euer heard of the combate, now in good fayth gentlemen, quoth he, you would doe very well to enter in acquaintaunce with him, for ouer this, that he is a gentleman aboundantly endued wyth ſingular good qualities, he is become of late ſo valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his dayly breakefaſt. By S. Mary, quoth my companion, that is very colde roſte, & if his breakfaſtes be no better then a peece of colde Iron, I little weigh, howe ſeldome I take a repaſt in his companie at any ſuch ordinarie. Nay my meaning is, quoth the other, that he vſeth to fight freſhe and faſting euery morning, in ſo much þ of late, I dare byde by it, he fought eyght dayes in one weeke. At which wordes I for my part coulde not refrayne frõ laughing, ſeeing how demurely the fellow kept his countenaunce, & how that he ſpake bona fide. Whereupon I ſhaped him an aunſwere, and ſayde, that I neuer hearde of any that fought eyght dayes in one weake, but onely in olde tyme, when fiue quarters made vp the yeare. The fellow perceyuing, that he ouerſhot himſelfe, replyed: Sir, you take me very ſhorte, as long and as very a lowbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eyght ſeuerall tymes in one weeke. Eyght tymes? quoth my companion, then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you tolde vs right now, that he made his fray his morning breakefaſt, and whereas there are but ſeuen dayes in the weeke, and he fought, as you reporte, eyght times, and you know, that eyght maketh one aboue ſeuen, & ſeuen maketh ſixe & one vnder eight, eyther you muſt con-

Rumour catcheth fethers.

A friendly commendation.

con

confeſſe that he ſought out his breakfaſt, dinner, beuer or ſupper, or elſe you muſt graunt, that there be eyght dayes in one weeke, or at the leaſt two breakefaſtes in one day, & that, I am ſure, you will confeſſe to be as great an abſurditie, as yͤ other. Nay, quoth the clowne, and you intrap me with ſuch ſophiſtrie, you ſhall dine, ſuppe and breake your faſt alone for me, and therewithall departed. Wherby may be gathered, that if he had béene ſoothed vp, and his tongue let to run at libertie vncontrouled, like a bowle that runneth in a ſmooth alley without any rub, he would haue brought himſelfe to that bay, as he would not ſticke to ſay, that his friende had fought eight dayes in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his pricke grewe at length by reportes to an huge poſte, ſo the want of one venemous worme in Irelande, being bruted in forraine royalmes, might haue béene ſo thwytted and mangled in the caryage before it came to Solinus his eares, as he might haue béene enformed, that the countrey was deuoyde of all venemous Wormes, whereas in déede there lacked but one kinde.

Lyke as God of his iuſtice puniſheth a countrey, that is harde hearted, with outwarde wormes, ſo of his mercie, they are remoued from a royalme, that is plyaunt, to followe his lawes and preceptes. As when Pharao woulde not liſten to God his threates denounced hym by the preaching of God, Moſes and Aaron, Egypt was puniſhed with frogges & diuers kinde of flyes, as is expreſt at full in holy writte, and agayne vpō Pharao his feyned promiſes (the ſecretes of whoſe hollowe heart God perfectly knewe) at the inſtaunce of Moſes, theſe plagues were appeaſed, & the vermine quite extinguiſhed, ſo, I pray you, is it ſo abſurde a poſition to holde, that Saint Patricke finding the Iriſh prieſt to embrace the Goſpell, as he dyd in very déede, might ſtande ſo highly in God his fauor, as through his earneſt peticion made to God, the poyſoned wormes ſhoulde be abandoned? This is not ſo rare a thing vppon the implanting of Chriſtian faith in any region, but rather a propertie incidēt thereto, according to Chriſt his promiſe. Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc ſequentur, In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient: linguis loquentur nouis: Serpentes tollent: & ſi mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: ſuper ægros manus imponēt, & bene habebunt. And theſe tokens ſhal follow them that beléeue, In my Name ſhall they caſt out Deuils, they ſhall ſpeake with new tongues: they ſhall dryue awaye Serpentes, and if they drinke any deadly thing, it ſhal not hurt them: they ſhall lay handes on the ſicke, and they ſhall be cured. Wherefore, ſith it is ſo euidētly warranted by Scripture, that in the name of Ieſus, Serpentes may be driuen away, if Irelande be found through any ſuch meanes to be deuoyde of poyſoned wormes, we are to aſcribe the glory hereof to God, according to the ſaying of the Prophete, A domino factum eſt iſtud, & eſt mirabile in oculis noſtris, That hath béene done by God, and it ſéemeth wonderfull in our eyes.

Exod. 8. verſ. 7. and 24. Vide Apoc. verſ. 3. at Reg. 8. verſ. 37.

Gregor. homel. 29. in euang. Marc. 16. verſ. 17.

Pſal. 117. verſ. 22.

Thus farre (gentle Reader) enchroching vpon thy pacience I haue employed my trauaile in defending my natiue countrey, againſt ſuch as labour to diſtayne it with their ſclaunderous ſcoffes. Touching the principall queſtion, whether S. Patricke dyd expell poyſoned Wormes out of Irelande, or whether it be the nature of the ſoyle, as I ſayd in the entrie of this diſcourſe, ſo I ſaye agayne, that I weigh not two chippes, which way the winde bloweth, bycauſe I ſée no incōuenience that may inſue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modeſtly as Cambrienſe, the auctour of Polichronicon, or others, that ſtoode to the verpall, haue done, he ſhoulde haue gone ſhotfrée with his complices, and haue made in Mounterbanckwyſe the moſt he coulde of his wares. But for that he woulde néedes ſée further in a milſtone, then others, & not onely ſclenderly diſprowe the triuiall opinion, but ſhamefullye ſclaunder an whole royalme, wherein he ſhall finde his ſuperiours in honour, his betters in parentage, his Péeres in learning, his mates in wiſedom, his equalles in courteſie, his matches in honeſtie: I muſt craue him, to beare it paciently, if, by crying him quittaunce, I ſerued him with a diſhe of his owne cokerie. And if for this my ſtraight dealing wyth him (whereto I was the ſooner led, for that as it is courteſie to mollifie wilde ſpeaches with milde aunſweres, ſo I recken it for good pollicie nowe and then to cleaue knurd knobbes with crabbed wedges) he will ſéeme to take pepper in the noſe, for any recompence he is like to haue at mine handes, he may wype his noſe in his ſléeue. And if it ſhall ſtande with his pleaſure, to reply either in Engliſh, or in Latine (the occaſiō of which is rather of him growen then by me giuen) he ſhall finde me willing, if God ſpare me health, to reioyne with him in ſo good a quarell, eyther in the one language or the other, and when both tales are hearde, I beſhrowe him, for my part, that ſhall be driuen to the wall.

The Bernacle.

Cambrienſe reporteth of hys owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible perſons, that Bernacles thouſandes at once are noted

noted along the ſhores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified tymber, as ſhips, oares, maſtes, anckerholdes, & ſuche lyke, which in proceſſe takyng liuely heate of the ſunne, become waterfoules, and at their tyme of ripeneſſe eyther fall into the ſea, or flye abroad into the ayre. The ſame do neuer couple in yͤ act of generatiõ, but are frõ time to tyme multiplied, as before is expreſſ.

Sabel.part. 3.Ene.10. lib.5. Camb.lib. topog.diſt. 1.rub.15. Thom.p.3. q.31.ar.4. corp.

Æneas Syluius writeth hymſelfe to haue purſued the like experiment in Scotlande, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Iſlandes Orchades. Giraldus Cambrienſe gathereth hereof a pretye concluſion againſt the Iewes in this wyſe,

Reſpice infœlix Iudæe, reſpice, vel ſerò, primam hominis generationem ex limo ſine mare & fœmina: Secundamque ex mare ſine fœmina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non audes: Tertiam ſolam ex mare ſcilicet & fœmina, quia vſualis eſt, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam veró, in quâ ſola ſalus eſt ex fœmina ſcilicet ſine mare obſtinata malitia in propriam perniciem deteſtaris. Erubeſce miſer, erubeſce, & ſaltem ad naturam recurre, quę ad argumenta fidei, ad inſtructionem noſtram noua quotidie animalia ſine omni mare vel fœmina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hæc vltima ex ligno, illa quidem quoniam à domino naturæ tantum ſemel, ideò ſemper obſtupenda proceſſit. Iſtam verò non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia ſæpe fit) imitatrix natura adminiſtrat. Sic enim compoſita eſt humana natura, vt nihil, pręter inuſitatum & rarò contingens vel precioſum ducat vel admirandũ. Solis ortum & occaſum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil ſtupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, ſine omni admiratione præterimus. Eclipſin verò ſolis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obſtupeſcit. Ad idem etiam facere videtur, flatu ſolo, & occulta quadam inſpiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.

Marke thou wretched Iew, ſayth Cambrienſe, marke yet at length, the firſt creation of man (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the ſeconde, of a man without a woman (that is to ſaye Eue) for that thou haſt the olde law in reuerence, thou dareſt not deny. As for the third, both of man and woman, becauſe it is daily vſed as ſtiffeneckt as thou art, thou doeſt acknowledge and confeſſe. But the fourth procreation, in which conſiſteth our onely iuſtification (he meaneth the incarnation of Chriſt) of a woman without man, with ſturdy and obſtinate rancor to thine vtter deſtruction thou doeſt deteſt. Bluſh therfore thou vnhappy Iew, be aſhamed of this thy folly, and at the leſt wyſe haue recourſe to nature, and ſettle hir works before thine eyes, that for the encreaſe of fayth, & to the leſſonyng of vs, daily breedeth and engendreth new liuing creatures, without yͤ coupling of maſcle or female. Adã was created of earth, the Bernacles are engendered of wood, becauſe Adam was once created by him, who is Lord of nature, therfore it is continually admired. But for that dame nature the counterfaytreſſe of yͤ celeſtial workman, eftſones breedeth Bernacles, therefore theyr brode is accompted more marueilous, then to be marueiled, more wonderfull then wondered. For ſuch is the framyng of man his nature, as he deemeth nothing precious or wonderfull, but ſuch thinges as ſeldome happen. What may be thought more beautifull then the courſe of the ſunne? And yet becauſe we ſee it daily riſe and ſet, we let it ouerſlip vs, as an vſuall cuſtome, without any ſtaring or gazyng. Yet we are amazed and aſtonied at the Eclipſe, becauſe it happeneth very ſeldome. The Bees that are engendred of the hony combe onely by a puffe or ſecrete breathing, without any coupling, ſeme to vphold this procreation of Bernacles. Hitherto Cambrienſe, with whome concerning the engendryng of Bees, Iohannes de ſancto Geminiano accordeth.

Bees how they are increaſed.

Iohan.de ſ. Gem.in lib. de exempl. & ſimili.rerum lib.4. c.31.

The inhabitantes of Ireland are accuſtomed to moue queſtion, whether Bernacles be fiſhe or fleſhe, and as yet they are not fully reſolued, but moſt vſually the religious of ſtricteſt abſtinence doe eate thẽ on fiſh dayes. Giraldus Cambriẽſe, and after him Polichronicon, ſuppoſe, that the Iriſhe cleargy in this poynt ſtray. For they hold of certaintie, that Bernacles are fleſhe. And if a man ſay they had eaten a collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten fleſh. And yet Adam was not engendred of maſcle or female, but only created of clay, as the Bernacles of wood and rotten timber. But the Iriſhe clergy did not ſo farre ſtraye in their opinion, as Cambrienſe and Polichronicon, in their diſprowſe. For the framing of Adam and Eue was ſupernatural, only done by God, and not by the helpe of Aungels, or any other creature. For like as it ſurpaſſeth natures courſe to raiſe the dead, to lighten or enſight the blynd, ſo it ſtoode not with the vſuall and common linage of nature, but onely with the ſupereminent power of God, to frame a man of clay, & a woman of a mans rib. But the engendring of Bernacles is naturall, and not ſo wonderfull as Cambrienſe maketh it. And therfore the examples are not lyke. Now it ſhould ſeeme that in Cambrienſe his tyme, the Iriſhe clergy builded their reaſon vpõ thys plot. What ſo euer is fleſh, is naturally

whether yͤ Bernacle be fiſhe or fleſhe.

Cambri.lib. 1.topog. diſt.1.rub.15 Polichr.lib. 1.c.32.

Adam and Eue onely by God created.

Auguſt.ſuper Geneſ. ad lit.lib.9. c.18.

turally begotten oꝛ engendꝛed of fleſh. Bernacles are not naturally engendꝛed of fleſhe, but onely of tymber and wode, Bernacles therfoꝛe are not fleſh, vnleſſe you would haue them to be wooden fleſh. And if the reaſon be ſo knit, it may not be diſioincted by Cambrienſe his example. As if a man ſhould argue thus. She that is begotten of any man, muſt be of foꝛce daughter to that mã. Melcha was begotten of Aran: ergo, Melcha was Arans daughter. This argument is of all partes ſo foꝛtified, as it ſéemeth of all ſides to be empꝛegnable. Yet a buſie bꝛayne Sophiſter cauilling on the terme (begottẽ) might ſay, that Eue was begotten of Adam, and yet ſhe is not Adams daughter. True it is that Adam was not Eues father, no moꝛe thẽ Eue was Adames mother, neither by that engendꝛing was there any degrée of conſanguinitie ſpꝛõg betwene them. But becauſe the woꝛd (begotten) is taken in the argument foꝛ the naturall engendꝛing of man and woman, the inſtance giuẽ of Eue doth not diſpꝛoue the maior. And foꝛ the better vnderſtandyng of the queſtion, it is to be noted that the philoſophers diſtinguiſh animalia ſenſitiua, that is, ſẽſible liuing thinges, into two ſoꝛtes, perfect and imperfect. The perfect are they that are engendꝛed of ſéede, the vnperfect without ſéede. Thoſe that are naturally engendꝛed with ſéede, can neuer be naturally engendꝛed without ſéede. Albeit Auicenna very erroniouſly holdeth yͤ contrary. As foꝛ example. Becauſe man is naturally engendꝛed of man and woman, no man may naturally be engendꝛed without the copulation of man and womã: yet ſupernaturally it may be. As Adam was made without man and woman: Eue framed without woman: Our Sauiour Chꝛiſt begotten without man. And therfoꝛe the Deuill could not haue attainted hym of oꝛiginall ſinne. Contrarywiſe, the vnperfect may be engendꝛed without ſéede by myꝛe, mudde, dung, carien, rotten timber oꝛ any other thyng, and chiefly by the ſecret influence and inſtillation of the celeſtiall planets, as the ſunne and ſuch other. As if you put the heire of an hoꝛſe taile, in mire, puddle, oꝛ in a dunghill foꝛ a certayne ſpace, it will turne to a little thin ſpꝛawlyng woꝛme, which I haue often ſéene and experimented. And they are termed vnperfect, not in reſpect of their own nature, in which they are perfect, but in compariſon of other ſoꝛte of liuyng thinges. Amonge this crew muſt Bernacles be ſetled. But here ſome will ſay: let them be perfect oꝛ vnperfect. What then? I would fayne knowe, whether Cambrienſe be in an errour, oꝛ the Iriſhe cleargy. Foꝛ hitherto I ſée nothyng, but Cambrienſe his reaſon diſpꝛoued. And it is often ſéene that a ſound opinion may be weakened by a féeble reaſon, as we ſée many fayꝛe garmentes marde in the makyng. It is true: And if any be deſirous, to know my mynd herein, I ſuppoſe, accoꝛding to my ſimple iudgement, vnder the coꝛrection of both parties, that yͤ Bernacle is neither fiſhe noꝛ fleſhe, but rather a meane betwene both. As put the caſe it were enacted by parliament, that it wer high treaſon, to eate fleſh on Friday, and fiſh on Sonday. Truely I think that he that eateth Bernacles both theſe dayes, ſhould not be within the compaſſe of the eſtatute: yet I would not wiſh my frend, to hazard it, leaſt the Bernacle ſhould be found in law fiſhe oꝛ fleſhe, yea and perhaps fiſhe and fleſh. As when the Lyon, king of beaſtes made pꝛoclamation, that all hoꝛned beaſtes ſhould auoyde his courte, one beaſt hauing but a bunche of fleſhe in hys foꝛehead, departed with the reaſt, leaſt it had bene founde in law that his bunche were an hoꝛne. But ſome wyll peraduenture meruaile, that there ſhould be any liuyng thyng, that were not fiſhe noꝛ fleſhe. But they haue no ſuch cauſe at all. Neates, fleſhewoꝛmes, bées, butterflies, caterpillers, ſnailes, graſſehoppers, béetels, earewickes, reremiſe, frogs toades, adders, ſnakes, and ſuch other, are liuyng thinges, and yet they are neither fiſhe, noꝛ fleſh, noꝛ yet red hering. As they that are trayned in ſcholaſticall poyntes may eaſily iudge. And ſo I thinke, that if any were ſo ſharpe ſet (the eſtatute, aboue reherſed, pꝛeſuppoſed) as to eate fryed flies, butterd bées, ſtued ſnailes, either on Friday oꝛ ſonday, he could not be therefoꝛe endited of haute treaſon, albeit I would not be his gueſt, vnleſſe I toke his table to be furniſhed with moꝛe wholſome and lickeꝛous viaund. The like queſtion may be moued of the ſell, and if it were well canuaſſed, it would be found at the leaſt wyſe a moote caſe. But thus farre of Bernacles.

Irelande is ſtoꝛed of Cowes, of excellent hoꝛſes, of hawkes, of fiſhe and of foule. They are not without wolues and grayhoundes to hunt them, bigger of bone and limme then a colt. Their cowes, as alſo yͤ reſt of their cattaile, and commonly what elſe ſo euer the countrey engendꝛeth (except man) is muche leſſe in quantitie then thoſe of England, oꝛ of other realms. Shéepe few, and thoſe bearing courſe fléeſes, whereof they ſpin notable rug. Their ſhéepe haue ſhoꝛt & curt tailes. They ſhéere their ſhéepe twiſe yearely, & if they be left vnſhoꝛn, they are therwith rather pained then otherwiſe. The countrey is very fruitefull both of coꝛne and graſſe. The graſſe (foꝛ default of good huſbandꝛy) ſuffered vncutte,

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The Bernacle neyther fiſhe noꝛ fleſh.

The ſell whether it be fiſhe oꝛ fleſh.
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Shéepe.

Egle.

The Iriſh hobby.

The Nagge.

The chiefe horſe.

The mongrel hobby.

Volat lib.3. Geog.

Aſturcones

groweth ſo rancke in the north partes, that oftentymes it rotteth theyr cattell. Egles are well knowen to breede in Ireland, but neither ſo big, nor ſo many as bookes tell. The horſes are of pace eaſie, in running wonderful ſwift in gallop both falſe and full indifferent. The nagge or the hackney is very good for traueiling, albeit others report the contrary. And if he be broken accordingly, you ſhall haue a litle titte, that will traucyle a whole day without any bayt. Their horſes of ſeruice are called chiefe horſes, being well broken, they are of an excellent courage. They reyne paſſingly, and champe vppon their bridles brauely, commonly they amble not, but galloppe and run. And theſe horſes are but for ſkirmiſhes, not for traueilyng, for their ſtomackes are ſuch, as they diſdaine to be hacknied. Thereof the report grew, that the Iriſh hobby wyll not hold out in traueilyng. You ſhall haue of the third ſort, a baſtarde or mongrell hobby, neere as tall as the horſe of ſeruice, ſtrong in traueilyng, eaſie in amblyng, and very ſwift in running. Of the horſe of ſeruice they make great ſtore, as wherin, at tymes of nede, they repoſe a great peece of ſafetie. This broode Volaterane writeth to haue come from Aſturea, the countrey of Hiſpayne, betwene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Aſturcones, a name now properly applied to the Hiſpaniſh Genet.

The names of the ciuities, borroughes and hauen townes in Irelande.

Cap. 3.

Dublinium.

Dublyne buylded.

Auellanu the foūde of Dubli

Auellana. Eblana.

Dublyne the Iriſh London.

The ſitu tion of Dublyne.

The Liffye.

The ſworde giuen to Dublyne.

Shyriffs of Dubli 1547.

Dublyne gouerned by a Prouoſt.

DUblin, the beautie and eye of Irelande, hath beene named by Ptolomie, in auncient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublina, others Dublinia, many write it Dublinum, auctours of better ſkill name it Dublinium. The Iriſh call it, Ballee er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdelles. For the common opinion is, that the plotte, vppon which, the ciuitie is buylded, hath beene a marſhe ground, & for that by the arte or inuention of the firſt founder, the water could not be voyded, he was forced to faſten the quakemyre with hurdles, and vpon them to buylde the citie. I heard of ſome that came of buildyng of houſes to this foundation: and other holde opinion that if a carte or wayne runne wyth a round and maine pace, through a ſtreete called the high ſtreete, the houſes on eche ſide ſhal be perceyued to ſhake. This Citye was builded, or rather the buildings therof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord. 155. For about this tyme there arriued in Ireland three noble Eaſterlings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Yuorus. Auellanus beyng the eldeſt brother, builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterforde, and Yuorus Limmerick. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of ſpeache Eblana. This Citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to any citie in Irelande, ſo in pleaſaunt ſituation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chiualrie, in obedience and loyaltie, in the aboundaunce of wealth, in largenes of hoſpitalitie, in maners and ciuilitie it is ſuperiour to all other Cyties and townes in that realme. And therfore it is commonly called the Iriſhe or yong London. The ſeate of this citie is of all ſides pleaſant, comfortable, and wholſome. If you would trauerſe hils, they are not farre of. If champion ground it lyeth of all partes, if you be delited with freſhwater, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnium, runneth faſt by. If you will take the view of the ſea, it is at hande. The onely faulte of thys Citie is, that it is leſſe frequented of merchant eſtrangers, becauſe of the bare hauen. Their charter is large, King Henry the fourth gaue this Citie the ſworde, in the yere of our Rord 1409. and was ruled by a Mayor and two Bailifs, which were chaunged into Shirifs by a charter graunted by Edwarde the ſixte, in the yeare of our Lorde 1547. In which yeare Iohn Ryan and Robert Ians, two worſhipfull gentlemen, were colleages in that office, and therof they are named the laſt Bailifs and firſt Shrifes, that haue bene in Dublin. It appeareth by the aunciēt ſeale of thys Citie, called Signum præpoſituræ, that this Citie haue beene in olde tyme gouerned by a Prouoſt.

The hoſpitalitie o ẏ Mayor & Shiri

The Hoſpitalitie of the Mayor and the Shyriffes, for the yeare being is ſo large and bountifull, that ſothly, London forepriced, a very few ſuch Officers vnder the crowne of Englande keepe ſo great a porte, none, I am ſure, greater. The Mayor, ouer the number of Officers, that take their daily repaſt at his table, keepeth, for his yeare, in mãner, open houſe. And albeit in tearme time his houſe is frequented aſwell of the Nobilitie as of other Potentates of great calling, yet his ordinarie is ſo good, that a very few ſet feaſtes are prouided for them. They that ſpende leaſt in their Mayoraltie (as thoſe of credite, yea and ſuch as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinary accōpt of 5. hundred poūds for their viaunde & dyet that yeare. Which is no ſmall ſomme to be beſtowed in houſekeeping, namelye where victualles are ſo good cheape, and the preſentes of friendes diuers and ſundry.

There

1551. Patricke Sarſefield Dublin his hoſpitalitie.

There hath bene of late yeares a worſhipfull gentleman, named Patricke Sarſefield, that bare the office of the Mayoraltie in Dublyn, who kept ſo great porte in his yeare, as his hoſpitalitie to his fame and renowme reſteth as yet in freſh memorie. One of his ſpeciall and entyre friendes entring in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expyred, mooued queſtion, to what he thought his expenſes all that yeare amounted. Truely James (ſo hys friende was named) quoth M. Sarſefield, I take it to be no wiſe mans part, when I entered into mine office, the laſt S. Hieroms day, (which is the morrowe of Michaelmaſſe, on which day the Mayor taketh his othe before the chiefe Baron, at the Eſchequer, within the caſtle of Dublinne) I had then my barnes well ſtored, and thwackt with corne, and I aſſured my ſelfe, that any one of theſe barnes had bene ſufficient to haue ſtored myne houſe with breade, ale, and beere for this yeare. And nowe God and good companie be thanked, I ſtande in doubt, whether I ſhall rubbe out my Mayoraltie with my thirde barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing ſmiteth me ſo much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellowes, that you ſee here (he ment the ſergeauntes and officers) are ready to flit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next Mayor. And certes I am ſo much wedded to good fellowſhippe, as if I coulde maintayne mine houſe to my contentation with defraying of fiue hundred poundes yearely, I woulde make humble ſute to the citizens, to be their officer theſe three yeeres to come. Ouer this, he dyd at the ſame tyme proteſt with othe, that he ſpent that yeare in houſekeeping twentie tonnes of Claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, Sacke, Malmeſey, Muſcadel, &c. And in very deede it was not to be marueiled. For during his Mayoraltie his houſe was ſo open, as commonly from fiue of the clocke in the morning to tenne at night his buttrey and cellars were with one crewe or other frequented. To the haunting of which, gueſtes were the ſooner allured, for that you ſhould neuer marcke him or his bedfellowe (ſuch was their buxomneſſe) once frowne, or wrinckle their foreheads, or bende their browes, or glowme their countenaunces, or make a ſower face at any gueſt, were he neuer ſo meane. But their entertaynment was ſo notable, as they woulde ſauce their bountifull and daintie fare with heartie and amiable cheere. His Porter or any other Officer durſt not for both his eares giue the ſimpleſt man, that reſorted to his houſe, Tom drum his entertaynement, which is, to hale a man in by the heade, and thruſt him out by both the ſhoulders. For he was fully reſolued, that his worſhippe and reputation coulde not be more diſtayned, then by the curriſh entertaynment of any gueſt. To be briefe (according to the golden verſes of the auncient and famous Poet, Geffray Chaucer.

The Mayor of Dublyne when he is ſworne.

Tom Drum his entertaynement.

Chaucer in the prologue of his Caunterbury tales.

An houſholder, and that a great, was he,
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.
His breade, his ale, was alway after one,
A better enuyned man was no where none.
Without bake meate was neuer his houſe,
Of fiſhe and fleſhe, and that ſo plenteouſe,
It ſnewed in his houſe of meate and drinke,
Of all deinties that men coulde thinke.
After the ſundrie ſeaſons of the yere,
So chaunged he his meate, and his ſuppere.
Full many a fat Partrich had he in mewe,
And many a breame, and many a luce in ſtewe.

Some of his friendes, that were ſnudging pennyfathers, woulde take him vp verye roughly for his lauiſhing and his outragious expenſes, as they tearme it. Tuſhe, my maiſters, woulde he ſaye, take not the matter ſo hote. Who ſo commeth to my table, and hath no neede of my meate, I knowe, he commeth for the good will he beareth me, and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he reſorte for neede, how may I beſtowe my goodes better, then in releeuing the poore? If you had perceyued me ſo farre behinde hande, as that I had beene like to haue brought Haddocke to Paddocke, I woulde paciently permit you, both largely to controule me, and friendly to reproue me. But as long as I cutte ſo large thonges of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I kepe my ſelfe ſo farre a flote, as that I haue as much water as my ſhip draweth, I pray you, pardon me, to be liberall in ſpending, ſith God of his goodneſſe is gracious in ſending.

And in deede ſo it fell out. For at the ende of his Mayoraltie he ought no man a dotkin. What he deſpended was his owne. And euer after during his life, he kept ſo worthy ſtanding houſe, as that he ſeemed to ſurrender the Princes ſworde to other Mayors, and reſerued the porte and hoſpitalitie to himſelfe. Not long before him was Nicolas Stanihurſt their Mayor, who was ſo great and good an houſeholder, that during his Mayoraltie, the Lord Cancellour of the royalme was his dayly and ordinarie gueſt. There haue beene of late worſhipfull portes kept by M. Fyanne, who was twyſe Mayor, M. Sedgraue, Thomas Fitz Symons, Robert Cuſack, Walter Cuſack, Nicholas Fitz Symons, James Bedlow, Chriſtofer Fagan, and diuers others.

Nicholas Stanihurſt.

The hoſ-pitalitie of Dublyne.

thers. And not onely their officers ſo farre excell in hoſpitalitie, but alſo the greater parte of the ciuitie is generally addicted to ſuch ordinarie and ſtanding houſes, as it woulde make a man muſe, which way they are able, to beare it out, but onely by the goodneſſe of God, which is the Upholder and Furtherer of hoſpitalitie.

What ſhoulde I here ſpeake of their charitable alemoyſe, dayly and hourely extended to the needie? The poore priſoners both of the Newgate and the Caſtle, with three or foure hoſpitalles, are chiefly, if not onely, relieued by the citizēs. Furthermore there are ſo many other extraordinarie beggers, that dayly ſwarme there, ſo charitablye ſuccoured, as that they make the whole citie in effect theyr hoſpitall. The great expenſes of the citizens may probably be gathered by the worthy and Fayrelike marckets weekely on Wenſday and fryday kept in Dublinne. Theyr ſhambles is ſo well ſtored with meate, and their market with corne, as not onely in Ireland, but alſo in other countreys you ſhall not ſee any one ſhambles, or any one market better furniſht with the one, or the other, then Dublinne is. The Citizens haue, from time to time, in ſundry conflictes, ſo galde the Iriſhe, that euen to this daye, the Iriſhe feare a ragged and iagged blacke ſtandarde that the Citizens haue, almoſt, through tract of tyme, worne to the harde ſtumpes. This ſtandarde they carie with them in hoſtings, being neuer diſplayed, but when they are readie to enter in battaile, and to come to the ſhocke. The ſight of which daunteth the Iriſh aboue meaſure. And, for the better training of their yougth in martial exploytes, the Citizens vſe to muſter foure times by the yere: on Blackmonday, which is the morow of Eaſter day, on Mayday, S. Iohn Baptiſt his eue, and S. Peter his eue. Whereof two are aſcribed to the Maior & Shiriſes, the other two, to witte, the muſters on Maydaye & S. Peter his eue are aſſigned to the Mayor and Shiriſes of the bullering. The Mayor of Bullering is an office elected by the citizens, to be, as it were capitaine or gardayne of the batchelers and the vnwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeare he hath auctoritie to chaſtiſe & puniſhe ſuch, as frequent brothelhouſes, and the lyke vnchaſt places. He is termed the Mayor of the Bull ring, of an Iron ring that ſticketh in the corne market, to which the bulles, that are yearely bayted, be vſuallye tyed: which ring is had by him and his companye in ſo great price, as if any citizen batcheler happe to marry, the Mayor of the bulring & his crewe conduct the bridegrome, vpon hys returne from Church, to the market place, & there with a ſolemne kiſſe, for hys *Vultum in vale*, he doth homage to the bullring.

The ſham-bles and markets of Du-blyne.

The black ſtandarde.

The mu-ſterres of Dublyne.

The Maior of the bul-ring.

The bla monday.

The Blackmonday muſter ſprong of this occaſion. Soone after Irelande was conquered by the Britons, and the greater part of Leinſter pacified, diuers townes men of Briſtow flytted from thence to Dublin, and in ſhorte ſpace the ciuitie was by them ſo well inhabited, as it grewe to be very populous. Whereupon the citizens hauing ouer great affiaunce in the multitude of the people, and ſo conſequently being ſomewhat retchleſſe in heeding the mountayne enemie, that lurked vnder their noſes, were wont to romme and royle in cluſters, ſomtime three or foure myles from the towne. The Iriſhe enemyes eſpying, that the Citizens were accuſtomed to ſette ſuch odde vagaries, eſpeciallye on the holy dayes, and hauing an inckling withall by the meanes of ſome falſe claterfert or other, that a companie of them woulde haue ranged abroade, on mondaye in the Eaſter weeke, towards the woodde of Cullen, which is diſtaunt two myles from Dubline, they lay in ſtale very well appointed, and layde in ſundry places for their comming. The Citizens rather minding ÿ pleaſure, they ſhoulde preſently enioy, then forcaſting the hurt, that might enſue, flockt vnarmed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them, that lay houing in ambuſh, they were to the number of fiue hundred miſerably ſlayne. Whereupon the remnaunt of the Citizens deeming that vnluckie time to be a croſſe or a diſmalle daye, gaue it the appellation of Blackmondaye. The Citie ſoone after being peopled by a freſhe ſupply of Briſtollians, to dare the Iriſhe enemie, agreede, to bancket yearely in that place. Which to this daye is obſerued. For the Mayor and the Shiriſes with the Citizens repayre to the wood of Cullen, in which place the Mayor beſtoweth a coſtly dinner within a mote or a roundell, & both ÿ Shiriſes within an other, where they are ſo well garded with the yougth of the citie, as the mountayne enemie dareth not attempt, to ſnatche as much, as a paſtey cruſt from thence.

Dublyne inhabited by ÿ Bri-ſtollians. This about the yeare of our Lo 1209.

The chur-ches of Dublyne.

Dubline hath at this daye within the citie and in the ſuburbes theſe churches that enſue, of which the greater number are paroche churches, onely Chriſt his church with a fewe oratories and chappels excepted.

Chriſt-church.

Chriſtes his church, otherwiſe named ecclesia S. Trinitatis, a cathedrall church, the ancienteſt that I can finde recorded of all the churches now ſtandyng in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus hys tyme, yet ſone after by the Danes. The building of which, was both repayred and enlarged by Citrius prince of Dublin, at the earneſt requeſt of Donate the biſhop, and ſone after the conqueſt it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephens & Strangbowe the erle of Penbroke, who with his ſonne is in the body of the church entumbed. The chapell that ſtandeth in the chore, commonly called the new chappell, was builded by Girald fitz Thomas, erle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510. where he is entumbed.

S. Patrikes churche, a cathedrall churche, endued with notable liuings, and diuers fatte benefices. It hath a chappell at the north dore which is called yͤ paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commyn, about the yeare of our Lord. 1197. This foundation was greatly aduaunced by yͤ liberalitie of king John. There hath riſen a greate contention betwixt thys churche and Chriſtes churche for antiquitie, wherein doubtleſſe S. Patricke hys churche ought to giue place, vnleſſe they haue further matter to ſhew, and better reaſons to builde vpon, then their foundations, in whiche this churche by many yeares is inferiour to the other.

he con= uerſie twene Chriſt= urch and Patriks urch.

S. Nicholas.

S. Michael.

S. Werberoſſe, or S. Warburge, ſo called of a Cheſſhire Virgin. The citizens of Cheſter founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed, the one called our Ladies chapel, the other S. Martines chappel. Hir feaſt is kepte the third of February. This churche, wyth a great parte of the Citie was burnt in the yeare 1301. but agayne by the parochians reedified.

S. John the Euangeliſt.

S. Audoen, which is corruptly called ſaint Ouen, or Owen. His feaſt is ſolemniſed the xxiiij. of Auguſt. The paroche of this churche is accounted the beſt in Dubline, for that the greater number of the Aldermē and the worſhippes of the Citie are demurraunt within that paroche.

S. Tullock, now prophaned. In this church in olde tyme, the familie of the Fitzſymons was, for the more part, buried. The paroche was meared from the Crane caſtle, to the fiſhambles, called the cockehil with Preſton hys Innes, and the lane thereto adioyning, which ſcope is now vnited to S. John hys paroche.

Fitzſy= mons.

S. Katherine.

S. Michan, or Mighanne.

S. James: his feaſt is celebrated the xxv. of July, on which day in ancient time was there a worthy fayre kept at Dubline, continuing ſixe dayes, vnto which reſorted diuers merchantes as wel frō England, as frō France, & Flaunders. And they afourded their wares ſo doggecheape, in reſpect of the Citie merchantes, that the countrey was yere by yere ſufficiently ſtored by eſtrangers, and the citie merchants not vttering their wares, but to ſuch as had not redy chinckes, and therupon forced to run on yͤ ſcore, were very much empoueriſhed: wherfore partly thorough the canuaſſing of the towne merchantes, & partly by the wincking of the reſt of the Citizens beyng wan vpon many gay gloſed promiſſes, by playing boepéepe to beare themſelues euenly in the matter, that famous marte was ſuppreſt, and all foreyne ſale wholy abandoned. Yet for a memoriall of this notable faire a fewe cottages, bouthes, and alepoles, are yerely pitcht at S. James his gate.

S. James his fayre.

S. Michael of Poules, aliâs Paules.

S. Brigide.

S. Keuyn.

S. Peter de monte, or on the hil, appendant to S. Patrikes church.

S. Stephen. This was erected for an hoſpitall, for pore, lame, & impotent lazers, where they abide to this day, although not in ſuche chaſte and ſincere wiſe, as the founders wyll was vpon the erection thereof. The Maior with his brethren on S. Stephen his daye (which is one of their ſtation daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer.

S. Andrew, now prophaned.

The names of the gates of the citie, and ſuburbes of Dublin.

BOth the gates nere the white friers.
S. Keuen his gate.
Hogs gate.
Dammes gate.
Poule gate, aliâs Paules gate.
Newgate, a gaole or priſon.
Winetauerne gate.

S. Audoen his gate, hard by the church goyng downe towardes the cockeſtréete. The reaſon why this gate, and the wynde taberne gate were builded, procéeded of this. In the yeare 1315. Edward Bruiſe a Scot, and brother to Robert Bruiſe king of Scottes arriued in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forward with his army, vntil he came as farre as Caſtleknock. The citizens of Dubline being ſore amazed at the ſodayne & ſearborough approche of ſo puiſſaunt an enemy, burned all the houſes in S. Thomas his ſtréete, leſt he ſhould vpon his repayre to Dubline haue any ſuccour in the ſuburbes.

The Mayor (named, Robert Notingham) and communaltie being in this diſtreſſe razed down an Abbay of the Fryer preachers, called S. Saluiour his Monaſtery,& brought the ſtones thereof to theſe places, where the the gates now ſtande, and all along that way dyd caſt a Wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, miſtruſting that the Walles that went along both the keyes, ſhoulde not haue béene of ſufficient force to outholde the enemie. The Scottes hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublyne, and reckening it a folye to laye ſiege to ſo impregnable a ciuitie, marched towarde a place not far from Dublyne, called the Salmon leape, where pytching there tentes for foure dayes, they remoued towardes the Naas. But when the ciuitie was paſt this danger, king Edwarde the ſeconde gaue ſtraight commaundement to the citizens to builde the Abbey they raſed, ſaying that although lawes were ſquatted in warre, yet notwithſtanding they ought to be reuiued in peace.

Gurmund his gate, harde by the cuculle, or Cockolds poſt. Some ſuppoſe, that one Gurmundus buylded this gate, and therof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Iriſhe aſſaulting the ciuitie, were diſcomfited by the Earle of Ormonde, then by good hap ſoiourning at Dublyne. And bycauſe he iſſued out at that gate, to the ende the valiaunt exployte and famous conqueſt of ſo worthy a Potentate ſhoulde be engrayled in parpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Ormonde his gate.

The Bridge gate.
S. Nicholas his gate.
S. Patricke hys gate.
Bungan hys gate.
The Newſtreate gate.
S. Thomas his gate.
S. James his gate.

The names of the ſtreetes, bridges, lanes and other notorious places in Dublyne.

The Dammes ſtréete.
The Caſtle ſtréete, ſtretching to the Pyllorie.
S. Werberoſſes ſtréete.
S. John his ſtréete, aliâs fiſheſhamble ſtréete.
The Skinner rew retching from the Pyllorie, to the Tolehall, or to the high Croſſe.
The high ſtréete, bearing to the hygh Pype.

John Decer. This Pipe was buylded in the yeare 1308. by a worthie Citizen, named John Decer, being then Mayor of Dublyne. He buylded not long before that tyme the bridge harde by S. Woolſtans, that retcheth ouer the Lyffie.

The Newgate ſtréete, from the Newgate to S. Audoen his Church.
S. Nicholas his ſtréete.
The Wyne taberne ſtréete.
The Cokeſtréete.
The Bridge ſtréete. This ſtréete wyth the greater parte of the keye was burnt in the yeare 1304.
The Woodkey. The Merchant key.

Oſtmantowne, ſo called of certayne Eaſterlings or Normans, properly the Danes that were called Oſtmanni. They planted thēſelues harde by the waterſide néere Dublyne, & diſcōfited at Clontarfe in a ſkyrmiſhe diuers of the Iriſhe. The names of the Iriſhe Captaynes ſlayne, were, Bryanne Borrough, Miagh mack Bryen, Tady O kelly, Dolyne Mertegan, Gylle Barramede. These were Iriſhe Potentates, and before their diſcomfiture they ruled ẏ roſte. They were interred at Kilmaynanne ouer againſt ẏ great croſſe. There arriued a freſh ſupply of Eaſterlings at Dublyne in the yeare 1095. & ſetled themſelues on the other ſide of the ciuitie, which of them to this day is called Oſtmantowne, that is, the towne of the Oſtmannes, wherof there aryſeth great likelyhoode to haue béene a ſeparate towne from the Citie, being parted from Dublyne by the Liffye, as Southwarcke is ſeuered frō London by Thameſſe.

Oſtma

1050.

1095.

Oſtman towne, why ſo called.

S. Thomas his ſtréete. This ſtréete was burnt by miſhappe in the yeare 1343.
The New buyldinges.
The New ſtréete.
S. Fraunces his ſtréete.
The Kowme.
S. Patricke his ſtréete.
The backeſide of S. Sepulchres.
S. Keauen his ſtréete.
The Poule, or Paulemyll ſtréete.
S. Brigides ſtréete.
The ſhéepe ſtréete, aliâs, the ſhippe ſtréete.

For diuers are of opinion, that the ſea had paſſage that way, and thereof to be called the Ship ſtréete. Thys as it ſéemeth not wholy impoſſible, conſidering that the ſea floweth & ebbeth harde by it, ſo it caryeth a more colour of truth with it, bycauſe there haue bene founde there certayne yron ringes faſtened to the towne Wall, to holde & graple boates withall.

The lanes

S. Werberoſſes lane, vp to ſ. Nicholas his ſtréete, now encloſed.
S. Michaell his lane, beginning at S. Michael his pype.
Chriſtchurch lane.
S. John his lane.
Ram lane, aliâs, the ſchoolehouſe lane.
S. Audoen his lane.

Keaſers

Braſers lane. This lane is ſtéepe and ſlipperie, in which otherwhyles, they that make more haſte, then good ſpéede, clincke there bummes to the ſtones. And therefore the ruder ſorte, whether it be through corruption of ſpeache, or for that they gyue it a nickename, commonly terme it, not ſo homely, as truely, kiſſe arſe lane.

Rochell lane, aliâs backlane, on the ſouthſide of the fleſheſhambles.

The Cokeſtréete lane.

Frapper lane.

Giglottes hyll.

Mary lane.

S. Tullock his lane.

Scarlet lane, aliâs, Iſoudes lane.

S. Pulchers lane.

S. Kenyn his lane.

The whyte Friers lane.

S. Stephane his lane.

Hogges lane.

The ſea lane.

S. George his lane, where in olde tyme were buylded diuers olde and auncient monumentes. And as an enſearcher of antiquities may by the view, there to be taken, coniecture, the better parte of the ſuburbes of Dublyne ſhould ſéeme to haue ſtretched that way. But the inhabitantes being dayly and hourely moleſted and preded by their prowling Mountaine neighbours, were forced to ſuffer their buyldinges fall in decay and embayed themſelues within the citie Walles.

The olde Eſcacar.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets Innes, which in olde tyme was the Eſcacar, or erchequer. Which ſhoulde imply that the Princes court woulde not haue béene kept there, vnleſſe the place had béene taken to be cockſure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the Baron ſitting there ſolemlye, and as it ſéemed, retchleſly: the Iriſhe eſpying the oportunitie, ruſhed into the court in plumpes, where ſurpriſing the vnweaponed multitude, they cōmitted horrible ſlaughters, by ſparing none that came vnder their dynte: and withall, as far as their ſcarborough leaſure coulde ſerue them, they ranſacke the Prince his theſaure, vpon which miſhappe the erchequer was frō thēce remoued.

S. George his chappel

There hath béene alſo in that lane, a chappell dedicated to S. George, likelye to haue béene founded by ſome worthye knight of the Garter. The Mayor with hys brethren was accuſtomed with great triumphe and pageantes yearely on S. George his feaſt to repayre to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath béene of late razed, and the ſtones thereof by the conſent of the aſſembly turned a common Ouen, conuerting the auncient monumēt of a doughty, aduenturous, and holy knight, to the coalerake ſwéeping of a puſloafe baker.

The bridges.

The great Bridge, going to Oſtmantowne.

S. Nicholas his bridge.

The Poule gate bridge, repayred by Nicholas Stanihurſt about the yéere 1544. 1544.

The Caſtle bridge.

S. Iames his bridge.

The caſtell.

The Caſtle of Dublyne, was buylded by Henry Loundres (ſometyme Archebiſhop of Dublyne, and L. Iuſtice of Irelande) aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1220. 1220. This caſtle hath beſide the gatehouſe foure goodly and ſubſtātiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghames dyd enlarge the buylding thereof, or elſe that he was long in dureſſe in that tower.

Bermingham his towre,

1566.

This Caſtle hath béene of late much beautified wyth ſundrye & gorgious buildinges in the tyme of Sir Henry Sydney, as nowe, ſo then, L. Deputie of Irelande. In the commendacion of which buyldings an eſpeciall welwiller of his Lordſhippe penned theſe verſes, enſuing.

Geſta libri referunt multorum clara Virorum,
Laudis & in chartis ſtigmata fixa manent.
Verùm Sidnæi laudes hæc ſaxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in ſolis gloria tanta libris.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaq; ſi pereant, non ergo ſaxa peribunt,
Saxaq; ſi pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minimè conſumitur æuum,
Quod cum principio, ſed ſine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dū viuere poſſunt,
Dum quoq; cum lignis ſaxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tēpus, dū deniq; permanet æuū,
Laus tua, Sidnæi, digna perire nequit.

There ſtandeth néere the caſtle, ouer againſt a voyde rowme, called Preſton his Innes, a tower, named, Iſoudes tower. It toke the name of La Beale Iſoude, daughter to Anguiſhe, king of Irelande. It ſéemeth to haue béene a Caſtle of pleaſure for the kinges to recreat thēſelues therin. Which was not vnlike, conſidering that a meaner tower might ſerue ſuch ſingle ſoale kinges, as were at thoſe dayes in Irelande. There is a village harde by Dublynne, called of the ſayde La Beale, Chappell Iſoude.

Iſowdes towre.

Chappell Iſoude.

S. Sepulchers.

S. Pulchers, the Archbiſhop of Dublin hys houſe, as well pleaſantly cited, as gorgeouſly builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this houſe was of ſet purpoſe fired by an Archbiſhop, to the ende the Gouernors (which for the more part lay ther) ſhould not haue ſo good likyng to the houſe: Not far diſagréeyng frō the pollicy, that I heard a noble man tell, he vſed, who hauing a ſurpaſſing good horſe, and ſuch one as ouerran in a ſet race other choyſe horſes, did bobtayle him vpon his returne to the ſtable, leſt any of his friends caſting a fantaſie to the beaſt, ſhould craue him. The noble man beyng ſo bountifully giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not and of diſcretion he would ſeeme to giue hys friend the repulſe in a more weighty requeſt then that were.

The names of the fieldes adioyning to Dubline.

Saint Stephens greene.
Hoggyng greene.
The Steyne.
Oſtmantowne greene. In the further ende of this field is there a hole, commonly termed Scald brothers hole, a Laberinth reachyng two large myles vnder the earth. This hole was in olde tyme frequented by a notorious theefe named ſcaldebrother, wherin he would hyde all the bag and baggage he could pilfer. The varlet was ſo ſwifte on foote, as he hath eftſoones outrun the ſwifteſt and luſtieſt yong men in all Oſtmantowne, maugre theyr heds, bearing a potte or a panne of theyrs on his ſhoulders, to his den. And now and then, in deriſion of ſuch as purſued hym, he would take hys courſe vnder the gallowes, which ſtandeth very nigh hys caue (a fitte ſigne for ſuch an Inne) and ſo beyng ſhrowded within his lodge, he reckened himſelf cockſure, none beyng found at that tyme ſo hardy as would aduenture to entangle himſelfe within ſo intricate a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home brokē: ſo this luſty youth would not ſurceaſe from open catchyng, forcible ſnatchyng, and priuy prowling, to time he was by certain gaping groomes that laye in wayte for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauyng vpon his apprehenſion no more wrong done hym, then that he was not ſooner hanged on that gallowes, through which in his youth & iollitie he was woont to run. There ſtandeth in Oſtmantowne greene, an hillocke, named little John hys ſhot. The occaſion proceeded of this.

Scald brother.

Scald brother executed.

Little John.

1189. In the yere 1189. there ranged three robbers and outlawes in England, among which Robert hoode and little John were chiefetaines, of all theefes doubtleſſe the moſt courteous. Robert hoode beyng betrayed at a Noonry in Scotland, called Bricklies, the remnaunt of the crue was ſcattered, and euery man forced to ſhift for himſelfe. Wherupō little John was fayne to flie the realme, by ſayling into Ireland, where he ſoiourned for a few dayes at Dubline. The citizens beyng done to vnderſtand, the wanderyng outcaſt to be an excellent archer, requeſted hym hartily to trie how far he could ſhoote at randone. Who yeldyng to their beheſt, ſtoode on the bridge of Dublin, and ſhotte to that mole hill, leauyng behynde him a monument, rather by his poſteritie to be woondered, then poſſibly by any man liuyng to be counterſcored. But as the repayre of ſo notorious a champion, to any countrey, would ſoone be publiſhed, ſo his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore, to eſchew the daunger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he dyed at a towne or Village called Morany. Gerardus Mercator, in his Coſmographye affirmeth, that in the ſame towne the bones of an huge and mighty man are kept, which was called little John, amōg which bones, yͤ huckle bone or hipbone was of ſuch largeneſſe, as witneſſeth Hector Boethius, yͭ he thruſt his arme through yͤ hole therof. And the ſame bone beyng ſuted to the other partes of his body, did argue the man to haue bene 14. foote long, which was a prety length for a little John. Whereby appeareth, that he was called little John ironically lyke as we terme him an honeſt man, whom we take for a knaue in grayne. Nere vnto the citie of Dubline are the foure auncient Manours annexed to the crowne, which are named to this day, the kinges lande: to wit, Newcaſtle, Taſſaggard, Eſchyre, & Crumlyn. The manour of Crumlyn payeth a greater chiefe rent to the prince, then any of the other three, which proceeded of this. The Seneſchall beyng offended with the tenants for their miſdemeanor toke them vp very ſharply in the court, and with rough and minatory ſpeaches began to menace thē. The lobbiſhe and deſperate clobberiouſneſſe, takyng the matter in dudgeon, made no more wordes, but knockt their Seneſchald on the coſtard, & left hym there ſprawling on the grounde for dead. For which deteſtable murder their rent was enhaunced, and they pay at this day ix. pence an acre, which is double to any of the other three manours.

Robert hoode.

Little John deceaſed.

The king his land.

Crumlyn.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus, as is aforeſayd in the yere 155. Ptolome nameth it Manapia, but why he appropriateth yͤ name to this citye, neither doth he declare, nor I geſſe. This city is properly builded, and very well compacte, ſomewhat cloſe by reaſon of their thicke buildinges and narrowe ſtreetes. The hauen is paſſing good, by which the citizens through the entercourſe of foreyne traphike in ſhort ſpace attayne to aboundaunce of welth. The ſoyle about it is not all of the beſt,

Waterford.

Manapia.

beſt, by reaſon of which the ayre is not very ſubtill, yet natheleſſe the ſharpneſſe of theyr wittes ſeemeth to be nothyng rebated or duld by reaſon of the groſeneſſe of the ayre. For in good ſooth the townesmen, and namely yͤ ſtudentes are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in takyng, and ſure in keppyng. The citizens are very heedy and wary in all their publique affairs, ſlow in determining matters of weight, louing to loke ere they leape. In choſing their magiſtrate, they reſpect not onely his riches, but alſo they weigh his experience. And therfore they elect for their Maior neyther a riche man that is young, nor an olde man that is poore. They are cherefull in the entertaynement of ſtraungers, hartye one to an other, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchewhiſtlers, nor luſkiſhe faytoures, for yong and old are wholy addicted to thriuing, the men commonly to traffike, the women to ſpinnyng and carding. As they diſtill the beſt Aqua vitæ, ſo they ſpin the choyſeſt rugge in Ireland. A friend of myne beyng of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reaſon of an hard hoare froſte beyng ſomewhat nippyng, repayred to Paris garden, clad in one of theſe Waterford rugs. The maſtiefes had no ſooner eſpyed him, but deeming he had bene a Beare, would fayne haue bayted him. And were it not that the dogs were partely mozeled, and partly chayned, he doubted not, but that he ſhould haue bene well tugd in hys Iriſhe rugge, wherupon he ſolemnly vowed, neuer to ſee Bearebayting in any ſuch weed. The city of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of Englande ſo loyall, that it is not found regiſtred ſince the cõqueſt to haue bene diſteyned with the ſmalleſt ſpot, or duſked wͭ the leaſt freckle of treaſon, notwithſtandyng the ſundry aſſaults of trayterous attemptes, and therfore the cities armes are deckt with this golden worde, Intacta manet, a poeſie as well to be hartily followed, as greatly admired of all true and loyall townes.

Thepoeſie
water-
d.

Limmericke, called in Latine Limmericũ, was builded by Yuorus, as is before mentioned, about the yere 155. This citie coaſteth on the ſea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, wherby are moſt notably ſeuered Mounſter and Connaght: the Iriſh name this city Loumneagh, and thereof in Engliſhe it is named Limmerick. The town is planted in an Iſland, which plot, in olde tyme, before the buildyng of the citie, was ſtored with graſſe. During which tyme it happened, that one of the Iriſhe potentates rayſing warre againſt an other of his pieres, encamped in that Iſle, hauyng ſo great a troupe of horſmen, as the horſes eate vp the graſſe in xxiiij. howers: wherupon for the notorious number of horſes, the place is called Loum ne augh, that is, the horſe bare, or a place made bare or eaten vp by horſes. The very maine ſea is three ſcore myles diſtaunt from the towne, and yet the riuer is ſo nauigable, as a ſhip of 200. tunne, may ſayle to the key of the city. The riuer is termed in Iriſhe, Shaune amne, that is, the olde riuer: for ſhaune is olde, and amne is a riuer, deducted of the latine worde amnis. The buildyng of Limmericke is ſumptuous and ſubſtantiall.

imme-
ke.

ennan
the riuer of
mricke.

imme-
cke, why
called.

Corcke in Latine, Coratium, or Corratium, the fourth citie of Irelande, happily planted on the ſea. Their hauen is an hauen royall. On the landſide they are encombred with euill neighboures, the Iriſhe outlawes, that they are fayne to watch their gates howerly, to kepe them ſhut at ſeruice times, at meales from ſunne to ſunne, nor ſuffer any eſtraunger to enter the citie with his weapon, but yͤ ſame to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at ſeaſons for recreation wͭ power of men furniſhed. They truſt not the countrey adioining, but match in wedlock among themſelues only, ſo that the whole city is wel nigh lincked one to the other in affinitie.

Corcke.

Drogheda, accounted the beſt towne in Ireland, and truely not far behynde ſome of their cities. The one moyetie of this towne is in Meeth, the other planted on the further ſide of the water lieth in Vlſter. There runneth a blynde propheſie on this towne, that Roſſe was, Dubline is, Drogheda ſhall be the beſt of the three.

Drogheda.

Roſſe, an hauen towne in Mounſter not far from Waterford, which ſeemeth to haue ben in aunciẽt tyme a town of great port. Wherof ſondry and probable coniectures are giuẽ, as well by the olde ditches that are nowe a myle diſtaunt from the walles of Roſſe, betwene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the aunciẽt walles, gates and towers placed betwene both are yet to be ſeene. The towne is builded in a barren ſoyle, and planted among a crew of naughty and prowlyng neighbours. And in olde tyme when it flouriſhed, albeit the towne were ſufficiently peopled, yet as long as it was not cõpaſſed with walles, they were formed with watche and warde, to keepe it from the greedy ſnatchyng of the Iriſhe enemies. With whome as they were generally moleſted, ſo the priuate coſenyng of one peaſaunt on a ſodayne, incenſed them to inuiron their towne with ſtrong and ſubſtantiall walles. There repayred one of the Iriſhe to this towne on horſebacke, and eſpying a piece of cloth on a merchants ſtall, toke holde thereof, and bet the clothe to the

Roſſe.

loweſt pryce he could. As the Merchaunt and he ſtoode dodging one wyth the other in cheaping the ware, the horſman conſidering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growen to a pryce, made wyſe as though he woulde haue drawen to his purſe, to haue defrayed the money. The cloth in the meane whyle being tuckte vp and placed before him, he gaue the ſpurre to his horſe and ranne away with the cloth being not imbard from his poſting paſe, by reaſon the towne was not percloſed eyther wyth ditch or wall. The townes men being pincht at the heart, that one raſcall in ſuch ſcornefull wyſe ſhould giue them the ſlampame, not ſo much weighing the ſclenderneſſe of the loſſe, as the ſhamfulneſſe of the foyle, they put their heades togither, conſulting how to preuent eyther the ſodaine ruſhing, or the poſthaſt flying of any ſuch aduenterous rakehell hereafter.

Roſe, of Roſſe.

In which conſultation a famous Dido, a chaſte wydowe, a politicke dame, a bountifull gentlewoman, called Roſe, who repreſenting in ſinceritie of lyfe the ſwéetneſſe of that herbe, whoſe name ſhe bare, vnfolded the deuiſe, howe any ſuch future miſchaunce ſhoulde be preuented, and withall opened hir coffers liberally, to haue it furthered: Two góod properties in a counſaylour. Hir deuiſe was, that the towne ſhoulde incontinently be incloſed with walles, and there wythall promiſed to diſcharge the charges, ſo that they would not ſticke to finde out labourers. The deuiſe of this worthie Patrone being wyſe, and the offer liberall, the townes men agréed to follow the one, and to put their helping handes to the atchieuing of the other. The worke was begunne, which through the multitude of handes ſéemed light. For the whole towne was aſſembled, tagge & ragge, cutte and long tayle: none exempted but ſuch as were bedred & impotent. Some were taſked to delue, others appointed wt mattockes to digge, diuers allotted to the vnheaping of rubbiſhe, many beſtowed to the caryage of ſtones, ſundry occupyed in tēpering of morter, the better ſorte buſied in ouerſéeing the workmen, eche one according to hys vocation employed, as though the ciuitie of Carthage were a freſhe in buylding, as it is featly verified by the golden Poet Virgil, and neately Engliſhed by M. Doctour Phaer.

The Moores with courage went to worke
  ſome vnder burdens grones:
Some at the walles and towers with handes
  were tumbling vp the ſtones.
Some meaſured out a place to buylde
  their manſion houſe within:
Some lawes and officers to make
  in Parliment dyd begin.
An other an hauen had caſt,
  and deepe they trenche the grounde,
Some other for the games and playes
  a ſtately place had founde.
And pyllers great they cut for kings,
  to garniſh forth their walles.
And lyke as Bees among the flowers,
  when freſh the ſommer falles,
In ſhine of ſunne apply their worke,
  when growne is vp their yong:
Or when their hiues they ginne to ſtoppe,
  and hony ſweete is ſprong,
That all their caues and cellers cloſe
  with dulcet liquour filles,
Some doth outlade, ſome other bringes
  the ſtuffe with ready willes.
Sometime they ioyne, and all at once
  doe from their mangers fet
The ſlouthfull drones, that woulde conſume,
  and nought woulde doe, to get.
The worke it heates, the hony ſmelles
  of flowers and time ywet.

But to returne from Dido of Carthage, to Roſe of Roſſe, and hir worke, the laboures were ſo many, the worke, by reaſon of round and exchequer payment, ſo well applyed, the quary of fayre marble ſo néere at hand. (For they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampyers, the ſtones were had, and all that plot is ſo ſtony that the foūdation is an harde rocke) that theſe Walles with diuers braue turrettes were ſodainly mounted, and in maner ſóoner finiſhed, then to the Iriſhe enemies notified. Which ywiſſe was no ſmall corſie to them. Theſe walles in circuit are equall to Londō walles. It hath thrée gorgious gates, Biſhoppe his gate, on the Eaſt ſide: Allegate, on the Eaſt ſoutheaſt ſide: And South gate, on the ſouth parte. This towne was no more famouſed for theſe walles, then for a notable wóodden bridge that ſtretched from the towne to the otherſide of the water, which muſt haue béene by reaſonable ſuruey xij. ſcore, if not more. Diuers of the poales, logges & ſtakes, with which the bridge was vnderpropt, ſticke to this daye in the water. A man woulde here ſuppoſe, that ſo floriſhing a towne, ſo firmely buylded, ſo ſubſtantially walled, ſo well peopled, ſo plenteouſly with thryftie artificers ſtored, woulde not haue fallen to any ſodaine decay. But as the ſecret & déepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerture of his diuine Maieſtie, ſo it ſtandeth not with the dulneſſe of man his wit, to beate his braynes in the curious enſearching of hidden miſteries.

Roſſe decayed.

ries. Wherefore I, as an hyſtorian vndertaking in this Treatiſe, rather plainely to declare, what was done, then raſhly to inquyre, why it ſhoulde be done: purpoſe, by God his aſſiſtaunce, to accompliſh, as néere as I can, my duetie in the one, leauing the other to the friuolous deciding of buſie heads. This Roſe, who was the foundreſſe of theſe former rehearſed walles, had iſſue thrée ſonnes, (howbeit ſome holde opinion, that they were but hir Nephewes): who beyng bolſtered out through the wealth of their mother, and ſupported by their trafficke, made diuers proſperous voyages into forraine countreys. But as one of the thrée chapmen was imployed in his trafficke abroade, ſo the prettie popelet his wyfe began to be a freſhe occupying giglotte at home, and by report fell ſo farre acquainted wyth a religious cloyſterer of the towne, as that he gate wythin the lyning of hyr ſmocke. Bothe the partyes walowing ouerlong in the ſtincking puddle of adulterie, ſuſpicion beganne to crépe in ſome townes mens braines, and to be briefe, it came ſo farre, through the iuſt iudgement of God, to light, whether it were, that ſhe was with childe in hir huſbande his abſence, or that hir louer vſed hir fondly in open preſence, as the preſumption was not onely vehement, but alſo the fact too too apparent. Hir vnfortunat huſband had not ſooner notice gyuen him vpon his returne of theſe ſorowfull newes, then his fingers began to nibble, hys téeth to grinne, hys eyes to trickle, his eares to tindle, his heade to dezell, inſomuch as his heart being ſkeared wyth ialouſie, & his wits enſtalde through Phreneſie, he became as madde, as a marche hare.

The panges of ialouſie.

But howe heauily ſoeuer hir huſbande tooke it, Dame Roſe and all hir friendes (which were in effect all the townes men, for that ſhe was their common benefactreſſe) were galde at their hearts, aſwell to heare of the enormyous aduoutrie, as to ſée the bedlem panges of brainſicke ialouſie. Wherevpon diuers of the townes menne grunting and grudging at the matter, ſayde that the fact was horrible, and that it were a déede of charitie vtterly to grubbe away ſuch wilde ſhrubbes from the towne: and if thys were in any diſpuniſhable wyſe rakte vp in the aſhes, they ſhoulde not ſooner trauerſe the ſeas, then ſome other woulde enkendle the like fire a freſhe, and ſo conſequently diſhoneſt their wyfes, and make their huſbands to become changelinges, as being turnde frō ſober moode to be hornewood, becauſe rutting wyues make often rammiſhe huſbandes, as our prouerbe doeth inferre. Others ſoothing their fellowes in theſe mutynies turned the priuate iniurie to a publicke quarell; and a number of the townes men conſpiring togyther flockt in the dead of the nyght, well appointed, to the Abbeye, wherein the fryer was cloyſtered (the monument of which Abbaye is yet to be ſéene at Roſſe on the South ſyde) where vnderſparring the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doore, they ſtabbed the adulterer with the reaſt of the couent through wyth their weapons.

The fryers murthered.

Where they left them goaring in their bloude, roaring in their cabannes, and gaſping vp their flitting goaſtes in their couches. The vproare was great, and they to whom the ſlaughter beforehande was not imparted, were wonderfully thereat aſtonyed. But in eſpeciall the remnant of the cleargy, bare very hollow hearts to the townes men, and howe friendly theyr outward countenances were, yet they would not with inwarde thought forget, nor forgiue ſo horrible a murder, but were fully reſolued, whenſoeuer oportunitie ſerued them, to ſit in their ſkirtes, by making thē ſoulſe as ſorowfull a kyrie. Theſe thrée brethren not long after this bloudy exployte ſpedde thē into ſome outlandiſh countrey to continue their trade, The religious men being done to vnderſtād, as it ſéemed, by ſome of their neighbours, which foreſayled them homeward, that theſe thrée brethren were ready to be imbarckt, ſlunckt priuily out of the towne, and reſorted to the mouth of the hauen, néere a caſtle, named Hulck tower, which is a notable marck for Pilottes, in directing them, which way to ſterne their ſhips, and to eſchew the daunger of the craggy rockes there on euery ſide of the ſhore peaking.

Hulck tower.

Some iudge, that the ſaid Roſe was foundreſſe of this tower, and of purpoſe dyd buylde it for the ſaftie of hir childrē, but at length it turned to their bane. For theſe reuengers nightly dyd not miſſe to laye a lanterne on the toppes of the rockes, that were on the other ſide of the water. Which practiſe was not long by thē continued, when theſe thrée paſſengers bearing ſayle with a luſty gale of winde made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Hulck tower. But they tooke theyr marke ſo farre amiſſe, as they were not ware, to tyme theyr ſhip was daſht and paſht agaynſt the rockes, & all the paſſengers ouerwhyrled in the ſea. This heauy hap was not ſo ſorowfull to the townes men, as it was gladſome to the religious, thincking that they had in part cryed them acquittaunce, the more that they, which were drowned, were the Archebrochers of their brethrens bloude. Howbeit they would not crye hoa here, but ſent in poſte ſome of their couent to Rome, where they inhaunced the

the ſlaughter of the fraternitie ſo haynouſly, ⁊ concealed their owne pranckes ſo couertly, as the Pope excōmenged the towne, ẏ towne accurſed the Friers: ſo that there was ſuche curſing and banning of all handes, and ſuch diſcentious hurly burly rayſed betwéene thē ſelfes, as the eſtate of that flouriſhing towne was tourned arſye verſye, topſide thother way, ⁊ from abundaunce of proſperitie quite exchanged to extréme penurye.

The preſent eſtate of Roſſe.

New roſſe old Roſſe.

Roſſe Ibarcan.

The walles ſtand to this day, a few ſtréets ⁊ houſes in the towne, no ſmall parcell thereof is turned to Orchardes and Gardeines. The greater part of the towne is ſtéepe and ſteaming vpwarde. Theyr church is called Chriſtchurche, in the northſide whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke hys tumbe, whereby coniecture maye ryſe, that the Danes were the founders of that church. This Roſſe is called Roſſe noua, or Roſſe ponti, by reaſon of theyr brydge. That which they call olde Roſſe, beareth eaſt thrée myles from thys Roſſe, into the countrye of Weiſforde, an auncient manour of the Earle of Kyldares. There is the thyrde Roſſe on the other ſyde of the water, called Roſſe Ibarcanne, ſo named, for that it ſtandeth in the coūtrey of Kylkenny, which is deuyded into thrée partes, into Ibarcanne, Ida and Idouth.

weiſforde.

Weiſford, an hauen towne not farre from Roſſe. I finde no great matters therof recorded, but only that it is to be had in great price of all the Engliſhe poſteritie planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the firſt foſtreſſe ⁊ harboreſſe of the Engliſh conquerors.

Kylkennie

Kilkenny, the beſt vplandiſh towne, or, as they terme it, ẏ propreſt dry towne in Irelād. It is parted into the high towne, ⁊ the Iriſhe towne. The Iriſh towne claymeth a corporation apart from the high town, wherby great factiōs growe daily betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Iriſh towne is the auncienter, and was called the olde Kilkenny, beyng vnder the biſhop his becke, as they are, or ought to be at this preſent. The high town was builded by the Engliſhe after the conqueſt, and had a parcell of the Iriſhe towne therto vnited, by the biſhop his graunt, made vnto the founders vpon their earneſt requeſt.

1400.

Robert Talbot.

William Marſhall.

1234.

In the yere 1400. Robert Talbot a worthy gentleman, encloſed with walles the better part of this towne, by which it was greatly fortified. This gentleman deceaſed in ẏ yeare 1415. In this towne in the chore of the Frier preachers, William Marſhal Erle Marſhal and Erle of Penbroke was buried, who departed this lyfe in the yere 1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritaunce deſcended, within thrée yeres after deceaſed at Kilkenny, beyng wounded to death in a field giuen in the heath of Kyldare, in the yere 1234. the xij. of Aprill, ⁊ was entumbed wyth hys brother, according to the olde epitaph.

Hic comes eſt poſitus Richardꝰ vulnere foſſus,
Cuius ſub foſſa Kilkenia continet oſſa.

The churches of Kylkenn

The Grā merſchol

Pierce Butler.

Margaret Fitz Girald.

Peter whyte.

This town hath thre churches, S. Kennies church, our Ladies churche, alias S. Maries church, and S. Patrikes church, with the abbey of S. Iohn. S. Kennicks churche is theyr chiefe and cathedrall church, a worthy foundation as well for gorgeous buildinges, as for notable liuyngs. In the Weſt ende of the churchyard of late haue bene founded a Grāmer ſchoole by the right honourable Pierce or Peter Butler Erle of Ormond and Oſſory, and by his wife the counteſſe of Ormond, the lady Margarete fitz Girald, ſiſter to Girald fitz Girald the Erle of Kyldare that laſt was. Out of which ſchoole haue ſprouted ſuch proper ympes through the painefull diligēce, and the labourſome induſtry of a famous lettered man M. Peter White (ſometyme fellow of Oriall colledge in Oxford, and ſcholemaiſter in Kilkenny) as generally the whole weale publike of Ireland, and eſpecially the ſoutherne partes of that Iſland are greatly therby furthered. This gentlemans methode in trayning vp youth, was rare and ſinguler, framyng the education according to the ſcholers vaine. If he found him frée, he would bridle hym like a wyſe Iſocrates frō his booke: if he perceiued hym to be dull, he would ſpur hym forwarde: if he vnderſtode that he were ẏ worſe for beating, he woulde win him with rewardes: finally, by interlacing ſtudy wyth recreation, ſorrow with mirth, payne with pleaſure, ſowerneſſe with ſwéeteneſſe, roughneſſe with myldeneſſe, he had ſo good ſucceſſe in ſchooling his pupils, as in good ſooth I may boldly byde by it, that in the realme of Irelād was no Grāmer ſchoole ſo good, in Englande I am well aſſured, none better. And becauſe it was my happy happe (God ⁊ my parentes be thanked) to haue bene one of his crewe, I take it to ſtand with my duety, ſith I may not ſtretch myne habilitie in requiting hys good turnes, yet to manifeſt my goodwill in remēbryng his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my ſelfe ſo much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his ſake, I reuerence the meaneſt ſtone cemented in the walles of that famous ſchoole.

Kylkenny why ſo called.

The lyfe of Kanicus.

This town is named Kilkenny of an holy and learned Abbot called Kanicus, borne in the countie of Kilkenny, or (as it is in ſome bookes recorded) in Connaght. This prelate beyng in his ſuckling yeres foſtered, through the prouidence of God, with the wiſh of a child, and baptized and biſhopped by one Lurinus, thereto by Gods eſpeciall appointment deputed, grewe in proceſſe of tyme to ſuch deuotion and learnyng, as he was reputed of all men, to be as well a mirrour of the one, as a patterne of the other: whereof he gaue ſufficient euidence in his infancie. For beyng trayned in the keeping of ſheepe, and his fellow ſhepheardes, while yelding themſelues like laſhly vagabonds to ſloth and ſluggiſhneſſe, yet would he at all times himſelfe occupied in framing with Oſiers and twigs, little wodden churches, and in faſhioning the furnitures thereto appertaining. Beyng ſtepte further in yeares, he made his repayre into England, where cloyſtering himſelfe in an abbey, whereof one named Doctus, was abbot, he was wholy wedded to his booke and to deuotion: wherein he continued ſo painefull and diligent, as being on a certaine time penning a ſerious matter, and hauing not fully drawen the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tinged to aſſemble the couent to ſome ſpirituall exerciſe. To which he ſo haſtened, as he left the letter in ſemicirclewyſe vnfiniſhed, vntill he returned backe to his booke. Soone after being promoted to eccleſiaſticall orders, he trauailed by the conſent of his fellowmonkes to Rome, and in Italy he gaue ſuch manifeſt proofe of his pietie, as to this day in ſome partes thereof he is highly renowmed.

Thomaſtowne. Thomas fitz Antonie.

Thomas towne, a proper town builded in the countie of Kilkenny, by one Thomas fitz Antony an Engliſh man. The Iriſh thereof name it Bally macke Andan: that is, ye towne of fitz Antony. This gentleman had iſſue two daughters, the one of them was eſpouſed to Derene, the other maried to Archdeacon, or Mackodo, whoſe heyres haue at this day the towne betwene them in coparcenary. But bicauſe the reader may ſee in what part of the countrey the cities & chiefe townes ſtand, I take not farre amiſſe to place them in order as enſueth.

The names of the chiefe townes in Vlſter.

Drogheda.
Carregfergus.
Downe.
Armach.
Arglaſh.
Cloagher.
Muneighan.

Doonnegaule.
Karreg mack Roſſe.
Newry.
Carlingford.
Ardy.
Doondalke.
Louth.

The names of the chiefe townes in Leinſter.

Dubline.
Luske.
Swordes.
Taſhaggard.
Lyons.
Newcaſtle.
Rathcoule.
Oughter arde.
Naas.
Clane.
Maynooth.
Kylcocke.
Rathaymgan.
Kyldare.
Luianne.
Caſtletowne.
Phillipstowne.
Maryborough.
Kylcullen.
Caſtle marten.
Thyſtledermot.

Balradry.
Kylca.
Athy.
Catherlagh.
Laighelen.
Gouranne.
Thomas towne.
Eneſtyocke.
Caſhelle.
Callanne.
Kylkenny.
Knocktofer.
Roſſe.
Clonmelle.
Weiſeforde.
Fernes.
Fydderd.
Eneſcorty.
Tathmon.
Wyckloa.
Arckloa.

The names of the chiefe townes in Mounſter.

VVaterford.
Liſnore.
Doongarvan.
Yoghill.

Corcke.
Lymmerick.
Kylmallock.

The names of the chiefe townes in Connaght.

Aloane.
Galuoy.
Anry.
Louaghryagh.
Clare.

Toame.
Sligagh.
Roſſecomman.
Arctlowne.

The names of the chiefe townes in Meeth.

Trymme.
Doonſhaghlenne.
Rathlouth.
Nauanne.
Abooy.
Scryne.

Taraugh.
Kemles.
Doonboyne.
Greenock.
Duleeke.

The names of the townes in Weſtmeeth.

Molingare.
Fowre.
Loughſeude.

Kylkenyweſt.
Moylagagh.
Deluynne.

In the xxxiiij. yeare of the reigne of King Henry the eight, it was enacted in a parliament, holden at Dublyne before ſyr Anthonie Sentleger knight, Lorde deputie of Irelande, 1542.

Irelande, that Meth ſhoulde be deuided and made two ſhyres, one of them to be called the countie of Meth, the other to be called the county of Weſtmeth, and that there ſhoulde be two ſhyreffes and offycers conuenyent within the ſame ſhyres, as is more expreſt in the acte.

The names of the chiefe hauen townes in Irelande.

1 Loughfoyle.
2 The Banne.
3 Wolderfrith.
4 Craregfergus.
5 Strangforde.
6 Ardglas.
7 Lougheuen.
8 Carlingforde.
9 Kylkeale.
10 Dnndalk.
11 Kylclogher.
12 Dunnany.
13 Drogheda.
14 Houlepatrick.
15 Nany.
16 Baltray.
17 Brymore.
18 Balbriggen.
Roggerstowne.
19 Skerriſh.
20 Ruſhe.
21 Malahyde.
22 Banledooyle.
23 Houth.
24 Dublynne.
25 Dalkee.
26 Wickincloa.
27 Arckloa.
28 Weisford.
29 Bagganbun.
30 The Paſſage.
31 Waterforde.
32 Dungaruan.
33 Roſſe noua.
34 Youghylle.
35 Corck mabegge.
36 Corck.
37 Kynſale.
38 Kyerye.
39 Roſſe Ilbere.
40 Dorrye.
41 Baltynymore.
42 Downenere.
43 Downeſheade.

Downelounge.
Attannanne.
Craghanne.
Downeneburyne.
Balyneskilvlodge.
Daugyneſchouſe.
Traly.
Senynne.
Caſſanne.
Kylnewyne.
Lymmerick.
Innyskartee.
Belalenne.
Arynenewyne.
Glanemaughe.
Ballyweyham.
Bynwarre.
Dowrys.
Woran.
Roſkam.
Galway.
Kyllynylly.
Innesboſynne.
Owran Moare.
Kylcolken.
Burſke.
Belleclare.
Ratheſilbene.
Byerweiſowre.
Buraueis hare.
Ardne makow.
Rosbare.
Kilgolynne.
Wallalele.
Rabranne.
Strone.
Burweis now.
Zaltra.
Kalbalye.
Ardnock.
Adrowſe.
Sligaghe.
Innes Bowſenne.

85

Camb.lib.1. Top.diſt. 2. rub.3.& 4.

Cambrienſe obſerued in his time, that when the ſea doth ebbe at Dublyne, it ebbeth alſo at Briſtow, and floweth at Mylford & Weiſford. At Wyckloe the ſea ebbeth which in all other partes is commonly floweth. Further here vnto this be noted, that the ryuer, which runneth by Wycklow, vpon a lowe ebbe is ſalte, but at the flowing, the nerer it cometh, the ryuer is freſher when the ſea is at full. Alſo in the territory that not farre from Ardglas there is a rocke, and when the ſea ebbeth it is moiſte therof, it floweth the other [illegible] faſt. Cambrienſe goeth with a naturall Philoſophicall reaſons in finding out the cauſe, by obſeruing the courſe of the Moone, which is the empreſſe of moyſture. But the reſolution I leaue for the ſchole ſtreetes.

Of the ſtraunge and wonderfull places in Irelande. Cap. 4.

S. Patricke his Purgatorie.

I Thinke it good to beginne with S. Patricke his Purgatorie, partly bycauſe it is moſt notoriouſly knowen, & partly the more, that ſome wryters, as the auctor of Polichronicon, and others that were miſcaryed by him, ſeme to make great doubt, where they nede not. For they aſcribe the finding out of the place not to Patricke that conuerted the countrey, but to another Patricke an Abbot, who likewiſe they affirme to haue bene employed in conuerting the Iſlande from heathenrie to Chriſtianitie.

But the auctor, that broacheth this opinion, is not founde to carie any ſuch credite with him, as that a man may certainly affirme it, or probably coniecture it, vnleſſe we cleaue to the olde wythered wormeeaten Legend, loded with as many lowde lyes, as lewde lines. The better and the more certaine opinion is, that the other Patricke founde it out, in ſuch wiſe as Cambrienſe reporteth. There is a poole or lake, ſayeth he, in the partes of Ulſter that enuironneth an Iſland, in the one part wherof there ſtandeth a Churche much lightned with the brightſome recourſe of Angelles: the other part is ougly and gaſtly, as it were a bedlem allotted to the viſible aſſemblies of horrible and griſly bugges. This part of the Iſlande contayneth nyne caues. And if any dare be ſo hardye, as to take one night his lodging in any of theſe Innes, which hath beene experimented by ſome raſhe and harebrayne aduenturers, ſtraight theſe ſpirites claw him by the back, and tugge him ſo ruggedly, and toſſe him ſo crabbedly, that nowe and then they make him more francke of his bumme then of his tongue, a payment correſpondent to his intertaynemēt. This place is called S. Patricke his purgatorie of the inhabitours. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuerſion of the people of Ulſter by ſetting

Camb.lib.2. Topog.diſt. 2.rub.6.

ting before their eyes in great heate of ſpirite, the creation of the worlde, the fall of our progenitours, the redemption of man by the bleſſed and precious bloude of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, the certayntie of death, the immortalitie of the ſoule, the generall reſurrection, our latter dumbe, the ioyes of heauen, the paynes of hell, howe that at length euery man, ſmall and great, young and olde, riche and poore, king and keaſer, potentate & peaſaunt muſt eyther through God his gracious mercy be exalted to the one, to floriſh in perpetuall felicitie, or through his vnſearcheable iuſtice tumbled downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miſerie: theſe and the like graue and weightie ſentences, wherewith he was aboundantly ſtored ſo farre ſuncke into their heartes, as they ſéemed very flexible in condeſcending to hys beheſt, ſo that ſome proofe of his eſtraunge preaching coulde haue béene veryfied. Whereupon, wythout further delay, they ſpake to the prelate in this wyſe.

“Syr, as we like of your preaching, ſo we diſlyke not of our libertie. You tell vs of many gye gawes and eſtraunge dreames. You woulde haue vs to abandonne infidelitie, to cage vp our libertie, to bridle our pleaſure: For which you promiſe vs for our toyle and labour a place to vs as vnknowen, ſo as yet vncertayne. You ſermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offenders and miſcreauntes. In déede, if we coulde finde that to be true, we woulde the ſooner be weaned from the ſwéete napple of our libertie, and frame our ſelues plyaunt to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. ſ. Patricke cōſidering, that theſe ſealy ſoules were (as all dulcarnanes for yͤ more part are) more to be terryfied from infidelitie through the paynes of hell, then allured to Chriſtianitie by the ioyes of heauen, moſt heartily beſought God, ſo it ſtoode wyth his gracious pleaſure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out ſome euident or glimſing token of the matter they importunatly requyred. Finally by the eſpeciall direction of God, he founde in the North edge of Vlſter a deſolate corner, hemmed in rounde, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a Church, called Reglis or Reglas, at the Eaſt end of the Churchyarde a doore leadeth into a cloſet of ſtone lyke a long ouen, which they call S. Patricke hys purgatorie, for that the people reſorte thither euen at this day for pennaunce, and haue reported at their returne eſtraunge viſions of paine and bliſſe appearing vnto them.

Reglaſſe.

Polichr.lib. c.36. 1138.

The auctor of Polichronicon wryteth that in the reigne of king Stephane a knight named Owen, pilgrimaged to this purgatorie, being ſo appalled at the ſtraunge viſions that there he ſawe, as that vpon his returne from thence, he was wholly mortyfied, and ſequeſtring himſelfe from the worlde, he ſpent the remnaunt of his lyfe in an Abbay of Ludenſis. Alſo Dioniſius a Charterhouſe Muncke recordeth a viſion ſéene in that place by one Agnkius, or Egneius, wherof who ſo is inquiſitiue, may reſorte to his Treatiſe written De quatuor nouiſsimis. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he ſurmiſeth vpon the gueſſe of other, that Claudius wryteth of this Purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place muſt haue béene extant before S. Patricke, but not ſo famouſly knowen. The Poet his verſes are theſe.

Dyon.Cart. in lib.de quatu. norciſſ.art.48.

Iohan Camert.in lib. Solini. cap. 35.

Eſt locus, extremū, pandit, qua Gallia littus.
Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Vliſſes
Sanguine libato populum mouiſſe ſilentum.
Flebilis auditur queſtus, ſimulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctaſq; vident migrare figuras.

Claud.lib.1. in Ruffin.

There is a place towarde Ocean ſea
  from brimme of Galliſh ſhoare,
Wherein Vlyſſes pilgrime ſtraunge
  wyth offred bloude ygoare,
The people there dyd mooue,
  A ſkritching ſhrill from dungeon lugge
The dwellers all appale
  wyth gaſtly galpe of griſly bugge.
The lonely ſhapes are ſeene to ſtare
  with viſage wanne and ſad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,
  in elfiſhe skippes to gad.

They that repayre to this place for deuotion his ſake vſe to continue therein foure and twenty houres, which doing otherwhyle with ghoſtly meditacions, and other whyle a dread for the conſcience of their deſertes, they ſaye they ſée a playne reſemblaunce of their owne faultes and vertues, with the horrour & comfort thereunto belonging, the one ſo terrible, the other ſo ioyous, that they verily déeme themſelues for the time to haue ſight of hell & heauen. The reuelatiōs of men that went thither (S. Patricke yet lyuing) are kept wrytten within the Abbeye there adioyning: When any perſonne is diſpoſed to enter (for the doore is euer ſparde) he repayreth firſt for deuiſe to the Archebiſhop, who caſteth all pericles, and diſwadeth the pylgrime from the attempt, bicauſe it is knowen, that diuers entering into that caue, neuer were ſéene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fully reſolued, he recommendeth him to the Prior, who in like maner fauourably exhorteth him to chooſe ſome other kinde of pennaunce, and

The ceremonies vſed in entering S. Patricke his Purgatorie.

not to hazard ſuch a daunger. If notwithſtanding he finde the partie fully bent, he conducteth him to the Church, enioyneth him to beginne with prayer, and faſt of fiftéene dayes, ſo long togither as in diſcretion can be endured. This tyme expyred, if yet he perſeuer in his former purpoſe, the whole conuent accōpanyeth him with ſollem proceſſion and benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and ſo barre vp the dore vntill the next morning. And then wyth lyke ceremonies they awayte his returne and reduce him to the Churche. If he be ſéene no more, they faſt and pray, fiftéene dayes after. Touching the credite of theſe matters, I ſée no cauſe, but a Chriſtian being perſwaded, that there is both hell and heauen may without vanitie vppon ſufficient information be perſwaded, that it might pleaſe God, at ſometyme, for conſiderations to his wiſedome knowen, to reueale by myracle the viſion of ioyes and paynes eternall. But that altogyther in ſuch ſorte, and by ſuch maner, and ſo ordinarily, and to ſuch perſons, as the common fame doth vtter, I neyther beléeue, nor wiſhe to be regarded. I haue conferde with diuers, that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premiſſes to be true, but that they ſaw no ſight, ſaue onely fearefull dreames, when they chaunced to nodde, and thoſe they ſayde, were excéeding horrible. Further they added, that the faſt is rated more or leſſe according to the qualitie of the penitent.

Camb.lib.1. topog.diſtinct.2.rub. 5.

Cambrienſe affirmeth, that in the North of Mounſter there be two Iſlándes, the greater and the leſſe. In the greater there neuer entereth womā or any liuing female, but forthwith it dyeth. This haue béene often proued by bytches and cattes, which were brought thither to trie this concluſion, and preſently they dyed. In this Iſland the cocke or maſcle byrdes are ſéene to chirppe, and pearche vp & downe the twigs, but yͤ hēne or female by inſtinct of nature abādoneth it, as a place vtterly poyſoned. This Iſlande were a place alone for one that were vexed with a ſhrewd wyfe. The leſſe Iſlande is called Inſula viuentium, bicauſe none died there, ne may dye by courſe of nature, as Giraldus Cambrienſe ſayeth.

Inſula viuentium.

Howbeit the dwellers, when they are ſore fruſht with ſickeneſſe, or ſo farre wythered with age as there is no hope of life, they requeſt to be cōueighed by boate to yͤ greater Iſland, where they are not ſooner inſhored, then they yélde vp their ghoſtes. For my part, I haue béene very inquiſitiue of this Iſland, but I coulde neuer finde this eſtraunge propertie ſoothed by any man of credite in the whole country. Neither truely would I wiſh any to be ſo light, as to lende his credite to any ſuch fayned gloſes, as are neyther veryfied by experience nor warranted by any coulourable reaſon. Wherefore I ſée not why it ſhoulde be termed Inſula viuentium, vnleſſe it be that none dyeth there, as long as he liueth. Cambrienſe telleth further, that there is a Churchyarde in Vlſter, which no female kinde may enter. If the Cocke be there, the Henne dareth not followe. There is alſo in yͤ weſt part of Connaght an Iſlande, placed in the ſea, called Aren, to which S. Brendan had often recourſe. The dead bodies néede not in that Iſland to be graueled. For the ayre is ſo pure that the contagiō of any carryen may not infect it. There, as Cambrienſe ſayeth, may the ſonne ſée his father, his graundefather, hys great graundefather. &c. This Iſland is enemie to Myze. For none is brought thither, but eyther it leapeth into the ſea, or elſe being ſtayed, it dyeth preſently.

Cambr.i eodē loc

Arenne.

There was in Kyldare an auncient monument named the Fyrehouſe, wherein, Cambrienſe ſayeth, was there continuall fire kept day and night, & yet the aſhes neuer encreaſed. I traueyled of ſet purpoſe to the towne of Kyldare to ſée this place, where I dyd ſée ſuch a monument lyke a vaute, which to this day they call the firehouſe.

The fyr houſe of Kyldare.

Touching the heath of Kyldare Cambrienſe wryteth that it maye not be tylde, and of a certayntie within theſe fewe yeares it was tryed, and founde, that the corne, which was ſowed, dyd not proue. In this playne, ſayth Cambrienſe, ſtoode the ſtones that now ſtande in Saliſbury playne, which were conueyed from thence by the ſleight of Merlyne the Welſhe prophete, at the requeſt of Aurelius Ambroſius king of the Britons.

The heat of Kildar

The ſtones of Saliſbury playne.

There is alſo in the countye of Kyldare a goodly fielde called Mollcaghmaſt betwéene the Norrough and Kylka. Diuers blinde prophecies runne of this place, that there ſhall be a bloudie fielde fought there betwene yͤ Engliſhe inhabitantes of Irelande and the Iriſh, and ſo bloudy forſooth it ſhall be, that a myll in a vale harde by it ſhall run foure & twentie houres with the ſtreame of bloude that ſhall powre downe from the hill. The Iriſh doubtleſſe repoſe a great affiaunce in this baldocktom dreame. In the top of this height ſtande motes or roundels very formally faſhioned, where the ſtrength of the Engliſh armie, as they ſay, ſhall be encamped.

Mollcagh maſt.

The Earle of Suſſex being Lorde Liuetenaunt of Irelande was accuſtomed to wiſhe, that if any ſuch propheſie were to be fulfilled, it ſhoulde happen in his gouernement, to the ende he might be generall of the fielde.

The Erle of Suſſex.

Not farre from Mallaghmaſt, and within a myle of Caſtelmartin, or little therabouts, is there a place neare to the kinges highway [illegible] that is named the Giraldine his throwe or caſt. The length of which is kept by [illegible]full. The occaſion proceeded thus. One of the Giraldines, who was [illegible], that now are [illegible] enemies. The Earle of Kyldare hauing intelligence thereof, ſuppreſſing affection of kinred, and moued by zeale of iuſtice, purſued him with a great troupe of horſemen, & [illegible] other [illegible] by keeping of the [illegible]. The Giraldine hauing intelligence that the Earle was in hote purſute, and therewithall being warned by the meſſenger to ſhyft with all the haſte poſſible, the gentleman being nettled, that his kinſman would ſeeme to venture the [illegible] of his deadly [illegible] in ſuch [illegible] he brake out theſe colericke wordes: [illegible] my coſin Kyldare purpoſed me to haue? Now in good faith, whereas he ſeemeth to be a deare pledge of his kinred, and an vpholder of my mortall enemies, I would wiſh him no more harme, than that this dart were as farre in his bodie, as it ſhall ſticke preſently in the grounde: and therewithall geuing the ſpurres to his horſe, he hurled his dart ſo farre, [illegible] aghaſt with the length thereof [illegible] the champaigne, as his poſteritie. The Giraldine was not very farre from thence, when the Earle with his bande made haſte after, & iudging ſtill the track of the horſeboies, he came to the place, where the dart was hurled, where one pickthanke or other lette the Earle to vnderſtande of the Giraldine his wordes and ſpeaches there deliuered. And to inhaunce the haynouſneſſe of the offence, he ſhewed how farre he hurled his dart, when he wiſhed it to be pitcht in his Lordſhip his body. The Earle aſtonied at the length thereof, ſayde: Now in good faith my coſin in behauing himſelf ſo couragiouſly is worthie to haue his pardon for the ſhotte. And for my parte, I purpoſe not ſo much to ſtomacke his colericke wiſhe, as to imbrace his valiaunt prowesse. And therewithall commaunded the retraite to be blowen and recoiled backe. There is in Meth an hill called the hill of Taragh, wherein is a playne [illegible] lea, which was named the king his hall. There the countrey had their meetinges and folkmotes, as a place that was accompted the high pallace of the Monarch. The Iriſh hyſtorians fayne many fables in this forge of Finne macke Coyle & his champions, as the Frenche hyſtorie doth of king Arthur and the knightes of the rounde table. But doubtleſſe the place ſeemeth to beare the ſhewe of an auncient and famous monument.

he Earl
yldars
ſwere.

he hill
f Taragh

Caſtle-knock.

There is in Caſtleknock, a village not farre from Dublyne, a windowe not glaſed nor latiſed, but open, & let the weather be ſtormie, & the winde bluſter bouſterouſly on euery ſide of the houſe, and place a candle there, and it will burne as quietly, as if no puffe of winde blewe. This might be tryed at this day, who ſo ſhall be willing to put it in practiſe. Touching the eſtraunge Welles that bene in Ireland, I purpoſe to ſpeake little more then that which I finde in Cambrenſis, whoſe wordes I will Engliſhe, as they are lattined in his booke.

The e-ſtraunge Welles.

Cambri. lib.1.topog. diſt.1.rub. 8.&10.

There is, ſayth he, a Well in Mounſter, with the water of which if any be waſht, he becommeth forthwith hoare. I haue ſeene a man that had one halfe of his bearde, being bathed with that water, hoare, the other halfe vnwaſht was browne, reteyning ſtill his naturall colour.

Hector Boeth. in Scotorg. deſcrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50.

Contrariwiſe there is a fountayne in the furtheredge of Vlſter, and if one be bathed therewith, he ſhal not become hoare, in which Well ſuch as loath gray heares are accuſtomed to dine. There is in Connaght a Well that ſpringeth on the top of an hill farre and diſtaunt from any ſea, ebbing and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the ſea doth, and yet the place is vplandiſhe, & the water freſh. There is an other ſpring in the ſame countrey, the water of which is very wholeſome to man and woman, but poyſon to beaſtes, & if a man put but the grauell of this Well into his mouth, it quencheth preſently his thirſt.

There is in Vlſter a ſtanding poole thirtye thouſande paces long, and fifteene thouſande paces broade, out of which ſpringeth the noble Northiſh riuer, called the Bane. The fiſhers complayne more often for burſting of their nettes with the ouer great take of fiſhe, then for any want. In our time vpon the conqueſt a fiſhe ſwamme from this poole to the ſhore, in ſhape reſembling a Salmon, but it was in quantitye ſo huge, that it could not be drawen or carted wholly togyther, but the fiſhmongers were forced to hack it in gobbets, and ſo to cary it in peecemeale throughout the countrey, making thereof a generall dole. And if the report be true, the beginning of this poole was ſtraunge. There were in old time where the poole now ſtandeth vicious & beaſtly inhabitants. At which time was there an olde ſayde ſaw in euery man hys mouth, that as ſone as a Well there ſpringing (which for the ſuperſtitious reuerence they bare it, was continually couered and ſigned) were left open & vnſigned, ſo ſone wolde ſo much water guſh out of that Well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole territorie. It happened at length, that an olde trot came thether, to fetche water, and hearing hir childe whine, ſhe came wyth might and mayne to dandle hir babie forgetting the obſeruaunce of the ſuperſtitious order to fore vſed. But as ſhe was returning backe to haue couered the ſpring, the lande was ſo farre ouerflowen, as that it paſt hir helpe, and ſhortly after ſhe, hir ſuckling and all thoſe that were within the whole territorie were drowned. And this ſemeth to cary more likelyhoode with it, bicauſe the fiſhers in a cleare ſunny daye ſee the ſteeples and other pyles playnly and diſtinctly in the water. And here woulde be noted, that the ryuer of the Bane flowed from this headſpring before this floude, but farre in leſſe quantitie, then it doth in our tyme. Hitherto Giraldus Cambrienſe. Hector Boethius recordeth an eſtraunge propertie of a poole in Irelande, and for that he maketh himſelfe an eye witneſſe of the matter, he ſhall tell his owne tale. Ac quoniam Hiberniæ incidit mentio, præter infinita in ea rerum miracula haud importunum fore exiſtimem, ſi vnum, quod ob portentuoſam nouitatẽ fidem omnium excedere videatur, nos tamen verũ experti ſumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in ea eſt, circa quem ampliſsimo circunquaq; ſpatio nec herba, nec arbor vlla naſcitur. &c. in quem ſi lignum infigas anni circiter vnius curriculo id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem conuertetur, quod deinceps aquâ operietur, in ferrum: reliquum aquâ exſtans ligni formam naturámq; ſeruabit. Ita coniunctã, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in ſtipite inaudita nouitate conſpectatur.

Hector Boeth. in Scot. reg. deſcript. pag. 9. Sect. 50.

But for that mention is made of Irelande ouer and aboue the infinite number of wonders in that lande, it will not be wholly beſide the purpoſe, to inſert one marueylous thing, which although it may ſeeme to ſome, to haue no coulour of truth, yet bycauſe it hath beene by vs experimented, and found out to be true, we maye the better auouche it. There is a ſtanding poole in that Iſlande, neere which of all ſydes groweth neyther herbe, ſhrubbe, nor buſhe. If you ſticke a rod or peece of tymber in this poole, that which ſticketh in the earth within the ſpace of one yeare turneth to a ſtone, aſmuch as is dipt in the water, is conuerted to yron, all that is aboue the water remayneth ſtill in the priſtinate and former wodden ſhape. So that you may ſee, that which is eſtrange, in one ſtock, or ſticke, ſtone, yron and woode linckt and knit togither. This much Hector Boethius. In the countrey of Kylkenny and in the borders thereto confining, they vſe a ſollem tryall by a water they cal Melaſhe, the propertie of this water is, as they ſay, that if a periurde perſon drinke therof, the water ſhall guſhe out at his belly, as though the wine barrell were bored with an auger. The riuer, that runneth by Dublin named the Liffie hath this propertie in carriyng: and I haue obſerued that ſundry times as long as it rayneth, yet if it be a drying fayre daye, you ſhal finde the riuers ſhallow ynough, and the riuer will be nothing thereby encreaſed, but within foure and twentie houres after the ſhowres are ceaſed, you ſhall perceyue ſuch a ſwayne ſpring flowe, as if the ſhowres rayne were great: inſomuch as places of none at all will be founde paſſable. Cambrenſe wryteth, that in the ſouth part of Mounſter betweene the mayne ſea coaſting on Spayne, and S. Brendane his hilles, there is an Iſlande of the one ſide encompaſſed with a riuer abundantly ſtored with fiſh, and on the other part encloſed with a litle brooke. In which place S. Brendane was very much reſiant. This plotte is taken to be ſuch a ſanctuary for beaſtes as if any hare, foxe, ſtagge, or other wylde beaſt, be chaſed neere that Iſlande by dogges, it maketh ſtraight vpon the brooke, & as ſoone as it paſſeth the ſtreame, it is ſo cocke ſure, as the hunter may perceyue the beaſte reſting on the one bancke, and the dogs queſting on the other bottome, being as it were by ſome inuiſible rayles imbarde from dipping their feete in the ſhallow forde to purſue the beaſt chaſed. On the other ſide of this Iſlande their runneth a ryuer ſtored aboue meaſure with freſhe water fiſhe, and in eſpeciall with Salmon. Which abundaunce, as Cambrenſe wryteth, proceeded of God, to maintayne the great hoſpitalitie, that was kept there. And bycauſe the dwellers thereabout ſhall not, like pinching coyſtrels make any ſale of the fiſhe, let it be powdered as artificially as may be, yet it will not keepe as though it were Manna, aboue the firſt night or day that it be taken, ſo that you muſt eate it wythin that ſhorte compaſſe, otherwyſe it putrifyeth and ſtandeth to no ſteede. This ryuer ouerfloweth a great rocke, vſually called the Salmon leape, for as it is commonly the property of all fiſh to ſwim againſt the tyde, as for byrdes to flitter againſt the winde, ſo it is naturally giuen to the Salmon to ſtruggle agaynſt the ſtreame, and when it approcheth neere this highe rocke, it bendeth his tayle to his heade, and ſometime taketh it in his mouth, and therewythall beareth it ſelfe ouer the water, and ſodaynly it fetcheth ſuch a round whiſke, that at a trice it ſkippeth to the top of the rocke. The lyke Salmon leape is neere Leyſlippe, but not ſo highe as this. There be alſo, as witneſſeth Cambrenſe, in the

Melaſhe.

Cambr. li

2.diſt.2.c

41.

The Sal

mon leape.

the further parte of Ulſter, Cranes (?) bee bred neere to S. Bean his Church, where cranes yearely breede. And when they haue layde their egges, if any purpoſe to ranſacke their neſtes, let him but attempt to touch the egges, they will ſhew like young ſwallowing pulletts without fether or downe, as though they were newe hatched, and preſently brought out of their ſhels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the neſt forthwith they ſhew (whether it be by any Metamorphoſis, or ſome iugling legier de mayne by dazeling the eyes) as though they were tranſformed into egges. And further, ſayeth Cambrenſis, let two of one inſtrument be at the neſt, and let the one of them onely giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take away the egges, they will ſeme to the looker on egges, and to the taker as yong red little crannettes, being as bare as a byrde his arſe.

The towne of Armach is ſayde to be enemy to rattes, and if any be brought thither, preſently it dyeth. Which the inhabitantes impute to the prayers of S. Patricke.

But to omitte the ſtraunge places, that eyther by falſe reportes are fayned, or by proofe and experience dayly knowen: there are in this Ilande ſuch abundant quarries of grey marble and touch, ſuch ſtore of pearle & other riche ſtones, ſuch aboundaunce of cattel, ſuch plentie of leade, tynne, iron and ſtone, ſo many rich mynes furniſhed with all kinde of metals, as nature ſeemeth, to haue framed this couutrey, for the ſtorehouſe or iewelhouſe of hir chiefeſt threaſure. Howbeit ſhe hath not ſhewed hirſelfe ſo bountifull a mother in powring forth ſuch riches, as ſhe procureth hir ſelfe an enuious ſtepdame, in that ſhe inſtilleth in the inhabitants a drouſie lythernes to withdrawe them from the enſearching of hir hoorded and hidden iewelles. Wherein ſhe fareth lyke one, that, to purchaſe ye name of a ſumptuous francklene or a good viander, woulde bidde diuers gueſtes to a coſtly and daintie dinner, and withall for ſauing of his meat by ſome ſecrete inchauntment would benumme them of their limmes, or with ſome hidden lothſomneſſe would dull their ſtomackes, as his gueſtes by reaſon of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking theyr repaſt, to refreſh themſelues, in ſo much as in my phantaſie it is harde to decide whether eſtate is the better: eyther for a diligent labourer to be planted in a barrayne or ſtony ſoyle, or for a luſkiſhe loyterer to be ſetled in a fertill grounde, bycauſe the one will, & may not, the other may and will not through hys paynfull traueyle reape the fruite and commoditie, that the earth yeeldeth.

Of the Lordes Spirituall of Irelande.

Chap.

The ſpirituall iuriſdiction is diuided into foure prouinces, whereof the primacie was euer giuen (in reuerence of S. Patricke, that conuerted the countrey) to the Archbiſhop of Armach, who is called Primas totius Hiberniae, and the Archebiſhop of Dublyne Primas Hiberniae. This cuſtome was firſt confirmed by Eugenius tertius, in the yeare 1148. or rather 1152. who ſent withall three other palles of Archbiſhoppes to be placed, one at Dublyne, one at Caſhill, ye laſt at Tuen. To theſe are ſuffraganes in right and obedience, as they all to the Primas of Armach, vnder whoſe prouince are the Biſhoppes of Methe, Derrie, Ardach, Kylmore, Clogher, Downe, Coner, Clonmacnos, Raboo, Dromore. **Armach.**

Under Dublyne whereunto Innocentius the thirde vnited Glandelagh, the biſhop of Elphine, Kyldare, Fernes, Oſſory and Leighlyne. **Dublyn.**

Under Caſhill, the biſhop of Waterforde, to whome Liſmore is vnited, Corke & Clone, Roſſe, Ardagh, Lymmericke, Emely, Kyllaloe, and Ardfert. **Caſhyll.**

Under Tuen, Kylmaco, Elphin, Anaghdoune, Clonfert, Mayo. **Tuen.** In this reckening ſome difference happeneth by reaſon of partition and vnion of the ſees, and ſuch other alterations. I haue obſerued in penning of this booke the names of certayne Byſhoppes and Archbiſhoppes of Dublyne, and albeit I could not finde a iuſt regiſter or catalogue of them, yet I tooke it to be better to place ſuch as I coulde finde, then to omitte the whole.

Cormachus was one of the firſt Biſhoppes that I haue reade of, but I am well aſſured, that there were dyuers others before hys time. He floriſhed about the yeere 893. of this Biſhoppe Hector Boethius maketh mention. Lib.10.Scot. Hiſt.fol.212. ſect.40.

Dunanus was Biſhop of Dublyne long after Cormachus, for Dunanus dyed in the yere 1074. He was buryed in Chriſtchurch in Dublyne, in the vpper part on the chauncell on the right hande.

Patricius was conſecrated Biſhop of Dublyne in Paule his Church at London, by the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury Lanfranke, or Lancfrancus. The reaſon of this conſecration was, for that as yet ye Metropolitanes of Irelande receaued not theyr palles. 1074. A pall is an ornament appropriated to Archbiſhoppes, made of white ſilke the breadth of a ſtole, but it is of another faſhion. And where you ſhall eſpie the armes of any Archebiſhoppe blazed, there you may perceyue the pall ſet **Pall what it is.**

cut in white wyth a great manye of blacke croſſes vpon it. An Archbiſhop within thrée monethes after his conſecration or confirmation ought to demaunde his pall, otherwyſe he may be remoued: neyther ought he to name himſelfe Archbiſhop before the receypte, neither may he before ſummon or call a councell, make Chriſme, dedicate churches giue orders, conſecrate Biſhoppes. He may not were his pall withont the church, neither in other prouinces, albeit in an other prouince he may be in his Pontificalibus, ſo that Pontificalia differeth from the pall.

c.quoniam. c.diſ.

c.quod ſicut de elect. penul. De priuil. & exceſ. priuil.cap. Archie.& in gloſ.

Furthermore, an Archbiſhop may not lend his pall to an other, but it ought to be interred wyth him. But to returne to Patricius, hys tyme was but ſhort, for ſone after, as he was croſſing the ſeas to Dublyne warde, he was drowned with his copaſſengers, ỹ ſame yeare that he was conſecrated, the nynth of October.

c.ex tuarũ, & c.adhoc. de auct.& vſu pal.

1075. Donatus of ſome called Dungus ſucceeded Patricious & likewyſe conſecrated by Lanfrancus Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, at the inſtaunce of Terdilnacus king of Irelande, the biſhoppes of Irelande, the cleargie & the Citizens of Dublyn, he deceaſed in the yeare 1095. Samuel ſucceeded Donatus, and dyed in the yeare 1122. Gregorius dyd not ſucceede immediately after Samuel for there be thirtie yeares betwéene them both. This Gregorius was the firſt Metrapolitan of Dublyne and was conſecrated Archbiſhop in the yeare 1152. and dyed in the yeare 1162.

1095.

1152.

S. Laurentius Othothille. This Prelate was firſt Abbot of S. Keuins in Glindelagh, and after he was ſolemnely conſecrated and inſtalled in Chriſtchurch at Dublyne by Gelacius the Primas of Armach, and not by Canterbury as the Biſhoppes of Dublyne were before the pall giuen them. He dyed in Normandie, and was buryed in our Ladye churche of Angy in the yeare 1180. the fourtéene of Nouember.

1162.

Johanne Commin, an Engliſhman ſucceeded Laurence. This famous Prelate being cloyſtered vp in the Abbeye of Eueſham in Worceſterſhyre was highly renowmed of all men as well for his déepe learning, as for the integritie of his lyfe. The cleargie of Dublyne being giuen to vnderſtande of ſo worthie a clarcke became hũble peticioners to the king his maieſtie, Henry the ſeconde, that through his meanes ſuch an vnualuable iewell ſhoulde be inſtalled in Laurence hys dignitie. The king bowing to their earneſt ſuite agréed, he ſhoulde be conſecrated their Archbiſhop. Which was an happy houre for that countrey. For beſides the great trauaile he endured in edifying his flocke in Chriſtian religion, he was founder of S. Patrike his church in Dublyne, as is before ſpecifyed, He deceaſed in the yere 1212. and was entombed in the choare of Chriſt church.

1180.

Henry Londres ſucceeded Commin. This man was nicknamed Scorchevyll, or Scorchevilleyn, through his occaſion. Being ſetled in his ſée he gaue cõmaundement to all his tenauntes to make their apparaunce before him at a day appointed, and for that he was rawe as yet in his reuenues, he tooke it to ſtande beſt with their eaſe and quietneſſe, and his cõmoditie, that eche of them ſhould ſhew their euidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they héelde of him. His tenants miſtruſting no ſubtill dealing, but eſtéeming all to be ment for the beſt, deliuered their euidences to their Lorde, who dyd ſcantly well peruſe them, when he flung them all in the fire. The poore tenauntes eſpying this ſubtyll pranche to be verye vnfitting for a Biſhoppe, could not bridle their tonges, but brake out on a ſodayne: Thou an Archebyſhop? Nay, thou art a Scorchevilleyn. But it could not be gueſſed to what ende this fact of his tended, for notwithſtanding this, the tenants enioyed their landes. And that he did it bycauſe they ſhould be but tenauntes at will, and ſo to ſtande to his deuotion. This prelate doubtleſſe was politicke & well lettered, and for his wyſedome and learning he was elected L. Iuſtice of Irelande. He was the founder of the caſtle of Dubline as is before mentioned. He deceaſed in the yeare 1225. & lyeth buryed in Chriſtchurch. Whereby appeareth that Mathæus Pariſienſis dyd ouerſhoote himſelfe in writing one Hu, or Hugo, to be Archbiſhop of Dublyne in the yeare 1213. wheras Londres at that tyme was in the ſée, as from his conſecration to his death may be gathered, being the ſpace of thirtéene yeares.

Scorche villaine.

Math, Pari in vitam Ioan.pag. 316.

Johanne Satanforde ſucceeded Londres, but not immediately, and was conſecrated in the yeare 1285. this man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne, Archbiſhoppe of Tune, was made L. Iuſtice of Ireland in the yeare 1287. And ſone after being in Englande he was ſent from Edwarde the firſt as Ambaſſadour to the Frenche king, and vpon his returne he deceaſed in England, and ſone after was buryed in S. Patricke his Churche at Dublyne.

1285.

1294.

Willelme Hothom is placed by ſome antiquaries to be Archbiſhoppe of Dublyne much about this time, but whether the man haue béene inſtalled in this Sée at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to denye, but certayne it is that the date is miſtaken, for vpon Johanne

1297. Ioan.Ca de antiqu Cant.Aca dem.lib.1.

Johanne Sanforde his death, Richard Fleringes was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublyne, betwéene whome & the Lord Edmund Butler there aroſe a great controuerſie in law, touching the maner of Hollywood wyth the appurtenances. Which manour the Lord Butler recouered by an arbitrement or compoſition taken betwéene them in the king his benche at Dublyne. This prelate departed this lyfe in the yeare 1306.

Edmund Butler. 1032.

Hollywood in Fingall.

1306.

Richard de Haueringes was ſucceſſour to Fleringes, who after that he had continued néere the ſpace of fiue yeares in the Sée, was ſore appalled by reaſon of an eſtraunge and wonderfull dreame. For on a certayne night he imagined that he had ſéene an vglye monſter ſtanding on his breaſt, who, to his thinking, was more weightie, then the whole worlde, in ſo much as being, as he thought in maner ſquiſed or preſt to death with the heft of this huge monſter, he woulde haue departed with the whole ſubſtaunce of the worlde, if he were thereof poſſeſt, to be diſburdened of ſo heauie a loade. Upon which wiſh he ſodaynly awoke. And as he bette his braynes in diuining what this dreame ſhould import, he bethought himſelf of the flocke committed to his charge, howe that he gathered their fléeces yearely by receyuing the reuenue and perquiſites of the Biſhopricke, and yet ſuffered his flocke to ſtarue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former ſlackneſſe, ſore wounded in conſcience, he traueyled with all ſpéede to Rome, where he reſigned vp his Biſhopricke, a burden to heauie for his weake ſhoulders, & being vpon his reſignation competently beneficed, he beſtowed the remnant of his life wholly in deuotion.

Haueringes. dreame.

1311.

Johanne Leche nephew to Haueringes, vpon the reſignation, was conſecrated Archbiſhop. This prelate was at contention with the Primas of Armach, for their iuriſdictions, inſomuch as he did imbarre the Primas fro hauing his croſſe borne before him within the prouince of Leinſter, which was contrarie to the Canon law, that admitteth the croſier to beare the croſſe before his Archbiſhop in another prouince. This man deceaſed in the yeare 1313.

De priui.& exceſt.pri. & Archiep.

1313.

Alexander Bigenor was next Leche conſecrated Archebiſhop with the whole conſent aſwel of the chapter of Chriſtchurch as of S. Patrickes. Howbeit vpon the death of Leche there aroſe a ſyſme and diuiſion betwéene Walter Thorneburye L. Cãcellour of Irelande & Bigenor then threaſurer of the ſame countrey. The Cancellour to further his election determined to haue poſted to Rome, but in ye way he was drowned wt the number of 156. paſſengers. Bigenor ſtaying in Irelande, with leſſe aduenture and better ſpéede with the conſent of both the chapters was elected Archbiſhop. And in the yere 1317. there came bulles from Rome to confirme the former election. At which tyme the Archbiſhop and the Earle of Ulſter were in Englande. This prelate ſone after returned L. Juſtice of Irelande, and ſone after he had landed at Yoghyll, he went to Dublyne, where as well for his ſpirituall iuriſdiction, as his temporal promotion he was receyued with proceſſion and great ſolemnitie. In this man his tyme was there an Uniuerſitie founded in Dublin, whereof M. William Rodyarde was chauncellour, a well learned man and one that procéeded Doctor of the canon lawe in this Uniuerſitie. Bigenor deceaſed in the yeare. 1349.

1318.

1320.

1349. Johanne de ſaint Paule was conſecrated Archbiſhop vpon Bigenor his death. He deceaſed in the yeare. 1362.

1363. Thomas Mynot ſucceded Johanne, & dyed in the yeare 1376.

1375. Robert Wyckeford ſucceded Thomas, & dyed in the yeare 1390.

1390. Robert Waldeby ſucceded Wykeforde. This prelate was firſt an Auguſtine Fryer, and a great Preacher, and accompted a vertuous and ſincere liuer. He deceaſed in the yeare 1397.

1397. Richard Northalis was remoued from an other Sée and choſen Archbiſhop of Dublyn, who likewiſe deceaſed the ſame yeare that he was elected.

Thomas Cranly an Engliſhe man ſucceded him the ſame yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the Duke of Surrey. This Archbiſhoppe was choſen L. Juſtice of Ireland in the yere 1413. In whoſe gouernement the Engliſh did ſkirmiſh with the Iriſh in the countye of Kyldare néere Kilka, where the Engliſh vanquiſhed the enemie, ſlue and hundred of the Iriſhe, during which time the Archbiſhop being Lord Juſtice went in proceſſion with the whole cleargy in Triſteldermot, or Caſtledermot, a towne adioyning to Kylka, praying for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the ſubiects, that went to ſkirmiſhe with the enimie. This prelate was of ſtature tall, well feautured, and of a ſanguine complexion, decking his outwarde comlyneſſe with inwarde qualities. For he was ſo liberall to the riche, ſo charitable to the pore, ſo déepe a clarcke, ſo profounde a Doctor, ſo ſounde a Preacher, ſo vertuous a liuer, and ſo great a builder, as he was not without good cauſe accompted the Phoenix of his time. In daily talke as he was ſhort, ſo he was ſwéete. Harde in promiſing,

1414.

The ſkirmiſh of Kylka.

bountifull in performing. In the yere 1417. he ſayled into England, and ended his life at Faringdō, and was buried in New colledge at Oxford.

1439. In the yere 1439. There hath bene one Richard Archbiſhop of Dubline, and L. Juſtice of Ireland, before whom a Parliament was holden at Dublin, in the xvij. yeare of the reigne of king Henry the ſixt.

1460. In the yeare 1460. Walter was Archbiſhop of Dublin, and deputie to Jaſper Duke of Bedford, lieuetenaunt of Ireland. I found in an auncient regiſter the names of certain

The Biſhoppes of Kyldare. biſhops of Kyldare, that were in that ſée ſince the tyme of S. Brigid: the names of whome I thought good here to inſert.

Lony was biſhoppe in S. Brigides tyme, which was about the yeare of our lord. 448.

448.

2. Inor.
3. Conly.
4. Donatus.
5. Dauid.
6. Magnus.
7. Richard.
8. Iohn.
9. Simon.
10. Nicholas.
11. Walter.
12. Richard.
13. Thomas.
14 Robart.
15. Bonifacius.
16. Madogge.
17. William.
18. Galfride.
19. Richard.
20. Iames.
21. Wale.
22. Baret.
23. Edmunde Lane, who flouriſhed in the yeare, 1518.

There hath bene a worthy prelate, canon in ẏ cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Jak, who among the reſt of his charitable déedes, builded the bridge of Kilcollenne, and the next yeare followyng, he builded in lyke maner the bridge of Leighlinne, to the great and daily commoditie of all ſuch as are occaſioned to trauaile in thoſe quarters.

Maurice Jak.

1319. The bridg of Kylcollenne, and Leighlinne.

The lordes temporall, as well Engliſh as Iriſhe, which inhabite Ireland.

Chap. 6.

Girald fitz Girald, Erle of Kildare. This houſe was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence to Normandy, and ſo with Erle Strangbow his kinſmā, whoſe armes he giueth, into Wales, néere of bloud to Riſe ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Neta the mother of Maurice fitz Girald and Robart fitz Stephannes, with the ſayd Earle Maurice fitz Girald remoued into Ireland, in ẏ yeare

1169. 1169. The family is very properly toucht in a Sonet of Surreys, made vpon the Erle of Kildares ſiſter, now Counteſſe of Lincolne.

From Tuſcane came my Ladies worthy race,
Fayre Florence was ſometyme hir auncient ſeate:
The Weſterne Iſle, whoſe pleaſant ſhoare doth face
Wylde Cambers cliffes, did gyue hir liuely heate.
Foſtred ſhe was with milke of Iriſh breſt,
Hir ſire an Earle, hir dame of princes bloud,
From tender yeares in Britayne ſhe doth reſt
With kinges childe, where ſhe taſteth coſtly foode.
Hunſdon did firſt preſent hir to mine eyne,
Bright is hir hew, and Giraldine ſhe hight,
Hampton me taught, to wiſhe hir firſt for myne:
And Wyndſor, alas, doth chaſe me from hir ſight.
Hir beauty of kinde, hir vertues from aboue,
Happy is he, that can obteyne hir loue.

The corrupt Orthography that diuers vſe in writing this name, doth incorporate it to houſes thereto linked in no kinrede, and conſequētly blemiſheth diuers worthy exploites atchieued as well in England and Irelande, as in forreine countreis and dominiōs. Some write Gerolde, ſundry Geralde, diuers very corruptly Gerrot, others Gerarde. But the true Orthography is Giralde, as may appeare both by Giraldus Cambrienſe, and the Italian authors that make mention of the family. As for Gerrot, it differeth flatte from Giralde, yet there be ſome in Irelande, that name and write themſelues Gerrottes, notwithſtanding they be Giraldines, whereof diuers gentlemen are in Méeth. But there is a ſept of the Gerrots in Irelād, and they ſéeme forſooth by threatning kyndneſſe and kinréde of the true Giraldines to fetch their petit degrées from their aunceſtours, but they are ſo néere of bloud one to the other, that two buſhels of beanes woulde ſcantly counte their degrées.

An other reaſon why diuers eſtrange houſes haue bene ſhuffled in among this familie, was, for that ſundry gentlemē at the chriſtenyng of their children, would haue them named Giraldes, and yet their ſurnames were of other houſes; and if after it happened that Girald had iſſue Thomas, John, Robert, or ſuch lyke, then would they beare the ſurname of Girald, as Thomas fitz Girald, and thus takyng the name of their aunceſtour for their ſurname, within two or thrée diſcentes they ſhewe themſelues among the kinrede of the Giraldines. This is a generall faulte in Ireland and Wales, and a great confuſion and extinguiſhment of houſes. This noble & auncient family of the Giraldines, haue in ſundrye ages flouriſhed in the moſt renowmed countries of Europe. Warring fitz Giralde Math. pari. in vita Joh. pag. 316. verſ. 40. was one in great credite with king John. I finde an other Giraldine Archiepiſcopus Burdegalenſis, who flouriſhed in king Henry the thirde his tyme. There was an other Giraldine Patriarch of Jeruſalem, in the yeare 1234. 1229. as witneſſeth Mattheus Pariſienſis. There was one Girald of Berneyl an excellēt Poet pag. 480. in the Italian tongue: an other named Baptiſt Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert phisition, and an exquisite philosopher, and is publike professor of philosophy in the same city, [illegible]

I haue seene a worke of one Gregorius Giraldus Ferrariensis de deis gentium, dedicated to Hercules Duke of Ferrara, [illegible] and very well penned. Silvester Giraldus Cambrensis hath ben [illegible] of Maurice fitz Gerald. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the worde Cambria, that in olde tyme was ascribed to that part of Britannia. He was very familiar with Henry the second, Conquerour of Ireland, being at that tyme the kinges secretary. And for the special affiance king Henry reposed in him, he was appointed to accompany Iohn the kinges sonne into Ireland, as one of his chiefe and secret counsailers. This gentleman was very well learned, a commendable diuine, a commended philosopher, not raw in phisike, skilfull in Cosmography, a singuler good antiquary, an orator, in endeuour incomparable to himselfe, [illegible] the name of a rude writer, then purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among [illegible] the conquest of Ireland, [illegible] Iohn the Abbot of [illegible] he [illegible] hee bare anye one. Howbeit, I may [illegible] so he was somwhat [illegible] But what his iudgement is of the Giraldines may plainly appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled [illegible]

Haec est natura generis [illegible] Semper in primis [illegible] semper rebus in Martijs ausu nobili [illegible] [illegible] liuor ad plenum extirpare non [illegible] vlla [illegible] Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penetralia? Giraldidae? Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldidae? Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldidae? Qui sunt, quos liuor detractat? Giraldidae? Si principem [illegible] tis meritis digne pensantem reperissent, [illegible]

vnquestioned [illegible] This hath ben [illegible] Cambrensis, a destenye or fatall propertie annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broyles they are [illegible], they are called, they are [illegible] But when those martiall garboyles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfully debated, or else by enuious carpers sinisterly suspected. [illegible] with all his malicious [illegible] could neuer wholy supplant the fertile [illegible] of this [illegible] noble progeny. And maugre the [illegible] of all malicious [illegible], this sept, yea euen at this day [illegible] in Ireland. Who are they that [illegible] the enemies forces? the Giraldines. Who are they that defend their countrey? the Giraldines. Who are they that make the enemie quake in his skinne? the Giraldines. And who are they whom enuy backbiteth? the Giraldines. If it had stoode with the good fortune of the Giraldines, that a king with equall balance would poise their valure, long ere this had all Ireland ben put in quiet and peaceable stay. But their valiantnesse and power hath bene from tyme to tyme without sufficient cause suspected [illegible] Giraldine the fourth [illegible] saying of this historiographer, I may not [illegible] (which was [illegible] 1490 [illegible] ceiue, that the [illegible] themselues valiantly in warre, and [illegible] peace, yet [illegible] such [illegible] such [illegible] God, [illegible] powers [illegible] of cruel [illegible] secondly that the Giraldines [illegible] their affaires so [illegible] be not able to [illegible] their forged gloses with any probable [illegible] small suspicion be [illegible] all malicious [illegible] be [illegible]

ted,

ted; ſo ſhall that noble houſe by [illegible], and conſequently the battered weale publique of Ireland [illegible]. The family is Engliſh, & it is well knowen, that the Iriſh rather feare their force, then loue their perſons. And reaſon good parde. For the Iriſhe bearing in mynde, that the Giraldine beyng thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their landes, abated their courages, diſcomfited their men, vanquiſhed theyr armies, daunted theyr power, ſuppreſſed their force, and made them become true and tributary ſubiectes to the crowne of England, they haue good cauſe to beare that ſept but hollow harts, what ſhew ſo euer they make in outward apparaunce. This much generally of the Giraldines, now I purpoſe perticulerly to treat of the houſe of Kyldare.

Maurice fitz Girald, one of the Erles progenitors, was L. Juſtice of Ireland in ẏ yere 1242. at which tyme he builded the caſtle of Sligagh.

The caſtle of Sligagh.

Tyrconil.

This Maurice was L. of Tyrconnille, and beyng entierly ſeiſed of the whole country, he gaue the one moyetie thereof to O[illegible], mack Dermot, mack Rory.

Baron of Ophaly.

I read the Giraldine baron of Ophaly in the yere 127[illegible].

I haue ſeene it regiſtred, that there dyed a Giraldine the fourth Erle of Kyldare, in the yere 1287. But I take that calender to beare a falſe date.

The firſt Erle of Kyldare.

Wherefore the truth and certaintie is, that John fitz Giralde, ſonne to Thomas fitz Girald, was the firſt Erle of Kyldare, and was created Erle vpon this occaſion.

1290. Veſcy L. Juſtice.

In the yere 1290. and in the 18. yere of Edward the firſt, William Veſcy was made L. Juſtice of Ireland. This man beyng eyther negligent or [illegible] in the gouernment of the country, emboldened the Iriſh enemy to endamage the kinges ſubiectes more oftſones then they were accuſtomed. Theſe enormities beyng for the ſpace of three yeres tolerated, the ſubiectes imputing to the ſlackneſſe of their Gouernour, gaue out ſuch ſiniſter ſpeaches of the L. Juſtice, as he was galled to the hart roote. Some one day the nobles in open aſſembly wer ripping vp by peecemeale the ſeuerall harmes their tenauntes ſuſteyned, the L. Juſtice willing to diſburden himſelfe of the crime, began with a mildy kynd of ſpeaches to lay the whole fault on the L. John fitz Giraldes ſhoulders, ſaying in parable wyſe, that he was a great occaſion of theſe diſorders, in that he bare himſelfe in priuate quarels as fierce as a Lyon, but in theſe publike iniuries he was as meeke as a Lambe. The Baron of Ophaly ſpelling and putting theſe ſillables together, ſpake in this wyſe.

Veſcy accuſeth the L. fitz Girald.

The L. Giraldes anſwer.

My Lord I am hartily ſory that among all this noble aſſembly, you make me your onely marke whereat to ſhoote your bolt. And truely were my deſertes ſo hainous, as I ſuppoſe you would wiſh them to be, you would not labour to cloude your talk with ſuch darke riddles, as at this preſent you haue done, but in playne flat Engliſh, your Lordſhip would not ſticke to empeache of felony or treaſon. For as myne aunceſtours with ſpending of theyr bloud in their ſoueraignes quarell aſpired to this tippe of honour, in which at this day (God and my king be thanked) I ſtande: ſo your Lordſhip taking the nigher way to ẏ [illegible], by charging me with treaſon, would gladly trip ſo roundly on my top, that by the [illegible] of my bloud, and by catching my landes into your clouches, that but ſo nere lye your manours of Kyldare and Rathymgan, as I dare ſay they are an eye ſore vnto you, you might make my maiſter your ſonne a proper Gentleman.

The L. Juſtice replieth.

A Gentleman quoth the L. Juſtice. Thou bald Baron, I tell thee the Veſcies wer gentlemen before the Giraldines were Barons of Ophaly, yea and before that Welſh bankrupt thyne aunceſtour (he ment ſir Maurice fitz Girald) fethered his neſt in Leinſter. And whereas thou takeſt the matter ſo farre in ſnuffe, I will teache thee thy lerripups after an other faſhion, then to be thus malapertly cocking and billing with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are ſuch, as they might force the pacienteſt philoſopher that is, to be cholerike with choler: yet I would [illegible] my ſpeaches, as though I deliuered them in my moſt ſober and quiet moode. I ſay to the face of thee, and I wyll auowe what I ſay vnto thee, that thou art a ſupporter of theeues, a bolſterer of the kynges enemies, an vpholder of traytors, a murtherer of ſubiectes, a firebrand of diſſenſion, a rancke theefe, an arrant traytor. And before I eate theſe wordes, I will make thee eate a piece of my blade.

The Baron bridelyng with might & maine his choler, bare himſelfe as colde in countenaunce, as the L. Juſtice was hote in wordes, and replied in this wyſe.

My Lorde I am very glad, that at length you vnwrapped your ſelfe out of that nette, wherein all this while you maſked. As for myne aunceſtor, whome you terme a bankerupt, how rich or how poore he was vpon his repayre to Irelād, I purpoſe not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldly ſay, that he came hither as a byer, not as a begger.

gee, he bought the enemies land by ſpending his bloud: but you lurking lyke a ſpider in this [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] to beg ſubiectes liuinges wrongfully by diſpoyling them of their innocent lyues. And whereas you charge me with malipertneſſe, in that I preſume to chop Logike with you beyng Gouernour, by anſwering your ſnappiſh quid, with a knappiſh quo, I would wiſhe you to vnderſtand, now that you put me in minde of the diſtinction, that I as a ſubiect honour your royall authoritie, but as a noble man I deſpiſe your dunghill gentilitie. Laſtly, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traytor, murtherer, and the lyke, I there with all you with me [illegible] my ſelfe, that you reſt vpon reaſon, not vppon rage. If theſe wordes proceede from your Lordſhippe, as from a magiſtrate, I am [illegible], to be tryed by order of lawe, and am ſory that the Gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publike autoritie to be my Iudge, is by reaſon of priuate malice become my accuſer.

But if you vtter theſe ſpeaches as a priuate perſon, then I Iohn fitz Gerald, baron of Ophaly, doe tell thee William Weſcy, a ſingle ſole gentleman, that I am no traytor, no felon, and that thou art the onely buttreſſe, by which the kinges enemies are ſupported, the meane and inſtrument by which his maieſties ſubiectes are dayly ſpoyled. Therefore I as a loyall ſubiect ſay traytor to thy teeth, and that ſhalt thou wel vnderſtand whenſoeuer both ſhal be brought to the rehearſall of theſe matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the tyme you beare office, I am reſolued to gyue you the maiſtry in wordes, and to ſuffer you lyke a brawling curre to barcke; but when I ſee my tyme, I will be ſure to byte.

The L. Girald ſpedeth into England.

Theſe bitting ſpeaches paſſing too and fro, great factions on both ſides were raiſed, with high and mighty wordes, and diuerſe others on eyther part appeaſed his owne. The baron of Ophalye not ſleeping nor ſlacking his matter, ſhipped with al haſte into England, where he was no ſooner arriued, than Weſcy, after he had ſubſtituted William Darcy in his roume, was imbarked, making as haſte ſone after the baron as he could. The king and his counſaile vnderſtanding the diſagreeing of their royall officers, to the end the truth ſhould be brought to light, appointed a ſet day for the deciding of their controuerſie, and that eche of them ſhould ſpeake for himſelfe what he could. Whereupon Weſcy being commaunded to beginne, ſpake to this effect.

Weſcy foloweth.

Weſcies oration.

My dread ſoueraigne, as I muſt acknowledge my ſelfe ſomewhat agreeued, to be intangled in ſo intricate a matter, ſo I am as glad, as heart can thinke, that ſo weightye a controuerſie is brought to the deciding of ſo vpright an vmpire. And whereas it ſtoode to your Maieſties pleaſure, with the aduiſe of this your honourable counſaile, that I, as vnworthy, ſhould haue the gouernment of your royalme of Ireland, and during my time, your Maieſties ſubiectes haue beene, I may not denye it, diuerſly annoyed, for my diſcharge, as I ſayde in Irelande, ſo I auow here in England, that he kneleth here before your highneſſe (poynting to the baron of Ophaly) that is the roote and crop of all theſe enormities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that ſtroke with the Iriſh, as if he once but frowne at them, they dare not be ſo hardy as once to peake out of their cabans. And whereas his force doth greatlye amaze them, thinke you but his countenaunce doth wonderfullye encourage them? To the furtherance of which, it is apparantly knowne, and it ſhall be proued, that he hath not onely in hucker mucker, by ſundry meſſages, emboldened your Maieſties enimies, to ſpoyle your ſubiectes, but alſo by his perſonall preſence, in ſecrete meetinges, he gaue them ſuch courage, as neyther the royaltie of your highneſſe, nor the autoritie of your deputie, neyther the force of your lawes, nor the ſtrength of your puiſſant army, was able to quenche the flame of theſe hurlye burlyes, that through his trayterous driftes were enkindled. Theſe and the lyke enormities through his priuye packing with rebels being dayly committed, to bring me, your Maieſties gouernour, in the hatred of the people, his adherentes both ſecretly muttered, and openly exclaimed againſt me and my gouernment, as though the redreſſe of all theſe harmes had wholy lyen in mine handes.

Whereupon being in conference with ſuch as were the chieftains of your royalme of Ireland, albeit I take it, to be expedient to point with my finger to the verye ſinke or headſpring of all the treaſons, that by ſecrete conſpiracies were [illegible] and practiſed againſt your Maieſtie and your ſubiectes, yet notwithſtanding hauing more regarde to modeſtie, then to the deſertes of the Baron of Ophalie, I did but glaunce at his packing in ſuch ſecret ſort, as none, or a very fewe of the company could gueſſe, whome with my milde ſpeaches I did touche. And as commonly the galde horſe doth ſooneſt kick, ſo this gentleman being pricked, as it ſhould ſeeme with the ſting of his guiltye conſcience, brake out on a ſodaine, and forgetting his allegeaunce to your highneſſe, and his duty to me your deputy, he tooke me vp ſo roughly, as though I had bene rather his vnderling thē his gouernour. The ſumme of which pitifull ſpeaches, I referre to the teſtimonye of the honourable audience where they were deliuered.

As for hys manifolde treaſons, I am aſhamed to rehearſe ſuch thinges, as he dyd not ſticke, to committ. And if it ſhall ſtande wyth your Maieſties pleaſure, to adiourne the tryall for a fewe dayes, I will charge hym wyth ſuch apparent Items, as were his face made of braſſe, he ſhall not be able to deny any one article that ſhall be booked agaynſt him.

When Weſcye had ended, the Baron of Ophaly preſt himſelfe ſomewhat forward, and in this wiſe ſpake.

The Lord Giraldes oration.

Moſt puiſſaunt Prince, and my dread ſoueraigne, were maiſter Weſcy his mouth ſo iuſt a meaſure, as what he ſpake, ſhould be holden for goſpell, this had beene no fit place for to arraigne a traitour, as he with his feigned gloſing woulde gladlye prooue me to be. But ſith it pleaſed your Maieſtie, wyth ſo indifferent ballance, to ponder both our tales, I am throughly perſwaded, that my loiall innocencie ſhall be able, to ouerpoyſe his forged treacherye. Your Maieſtie haue hard many wordes to ſmall purpoſe. And as his complaynt hytherto haue beene generallye hudled vppe, ſo mine aunſwere thereto may not particularly be framed.

Whereas therefore he termeth me a ſupporter of theeues, a pacher with rebels, a conſpiratour with traytours, if I ſhoulde but with a bare worde deny the premiſſes, all his gaye gloſe of glittering ſpeaches woulde ſo vaniſhe ſade away. Yea, but he craueth reſpit, for the vowing of his articles. Truely ſo he hath neede. For loytering and lingering is the onely waye he maye deuiſe, to cloake hys feigning and forging. Wherein he ſheweth himſelfe as craftye, as the Philoſopher was accounted wiſe that promiſed a tyraunt, vpon menacing wordes, to ſchole his Aſſe in philoſophy, ſo he had ſeuen yeares reſpite, bycauſe that in that ſpace he was perſwaded, that eyther the tirauntes Aſſe or he would be dy. In likewiſe maiſter Weſcy, dyd reſpite graunted him, woulde hang in hope, that eyther the life of your Maieſtie (which God forbid) ſhoulde be ſhortned, or that I, in tract of time, woulde be diſhonoured, or that he by one ſubtill prank or other ſhould be of this heauy loade diſburdened.

But if I haue beene as many yeares a traitour, as he auoucheth, howe happeneth it, that his tongue was tyed, before this late diſcention begun? why did he not from tyme to tyme aduertiſe the counſaile of my treaſons? Whereas nowe it may be probablye coniectured, that he was egd to this ſeruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, then for any loue he oweth your royall Maieſtie.

Touching the wordes I ſpake in Irelande, I purpoſe not, for ought I heard as yet, to eate them in England. And when I ſhall be called, to teſtify ſuch ſpeaches, as I deliuered there, I will not be founde ſo rawe in my matter, as to loſe my errand in the carriage, as maiſter Weſcy hath done, or to craue further reſpite, for the regiſtring of his manifolde treaſons. As for my ſecret metings with Iriſh rebels, were I perſwaded, maiſter Weſcy, that you were able to prooue them: I would be founde willing, to acknowledge them. For if my conſcience were ſo deepelye ſtunge, as you pretende, I woulde take it for better pollicie, by acknowledging my treſpaſſe, to appeale to my King his mercye, then, by denying my faultes, to ſtand to the rigour of his iuſtice.

And as for metinges, I had neuer ſo many in woods wyth rebels, as you, maiſter Weſcy, haue had in your chamber with colnes. For it hath béene manifeſtlye apprehended, that when the Baron of Ophalye, and the beſt of the nobilitie of Irelande, haue béene embarred frequenting your chamber, an Iriſhe colne ſhoulde haue at all times acceſſe vnto you. For maiſter Weſcye: a colne, an horſe, an hauke, and a ſiluer cup haue béene the occaſion of your ſlackneſſe. When the ſubiects were preyed, you woulde be contented to winke at their miſeryes, ſo that your mouth were ſtopt wyth bribes. And when you had gathered your commiſſions ſufficiently togither, you held it for a pretye pollicie (and yet it was but a bare ſhifte) to charge the nobilitie wyth ſuch packing, as you only did practiſe.

But you muſt not think, that we are babes, or that wyth anye ſuche ſtale deuiſe, or groſſe iuggling tricke, you may ſo eaſily bliſſe or ba[illegible] eyes.

Can any man, that is but ſclenderly witted, ſo farre be carryed, as to beleeue, that maiſter Weſcy, being the Kinges deputie in Ireland, hauing hys Maieſties treaſure, hauing the nobilitie at his beck, the Kings armie at hys commaundement, but that, if he were diſpoſed to beſtirre himſelf, he were able to ferret out ſuch barelegged beaſtes, as ſwarme in the Engliſh pale. If he ſay he could not, we muſt ſmyle at his ſimplicitie: if he could and would not, how may he coulour hys diſloyaltie? Yea, but I beare ſuch ſtroke with the Iriſh, as that vpon any priuate quarrel I am able to annoy them. What then? Bycauſe the baron of Ophaly can reuenge his priuate iniuryes without the aſſiſtaunce of the deputye, therefore the deputy may not baniſh weake and naked rebels without the furtheraunce of

“ of the baron of Ophaly, whereas the contrary
“ ought to be inferd, that if a pryuate perſon can
“ tame the Iriſh, what may thē the publique Magiſtrate
“ doe, that hath the Princes pay.

“ But in deede it is harde to take Hares with
“ Foxes. You muſt not thinke, maſter Veſcy, that
“ you were ſent gouernour into Ireland, to dandle
“ your trulles, to penne your ſelfe vp within a
“ towne or citie, to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the
“ ſubiects, to animate traytors, to fil your cofers,
“ to make your ſelfe by marring true men, to gather
“ the birdes whileſt other beate the buſhes, &
“ after to impeach the nobilitie of ſuch treaſons, as
“ you onely haue committed?

“ But for as much as our mutual complaints
“ ſtande vpon the one his Yea, and the other hys
“ Nay, and that you would be taken for a champion,
“ and I am knowen to be no cowarde: let
“ vs, in Gods name, leaue lying for varlettes,
“ berdyng for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting
“ for twatlers, ſcoldyng for callets, bookyng
“ for ſcriueners, pleadyng for Lawyers, and lette
“ vs try with the dynt of ſworde, as become martiall
“ men to doe, our mutuall quarrelles. Wherfore
“ to iuſtifie that I am a true ſubiect, and that
“ thou, Veſcy, art an archetraytor to God and to
“ my King, here in the preſence of hys highneſſe,
and in the hearyng of this honourable aſſembly I challenge the combat. Whereat all the auditory ſhouted.

he combat lenged.

Nowe in good faythe, quoth Veſcye, with a right good will. Whereupon bothe the parties beyng diſmiſt vntill the Kings pleaſure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the counſayle, that the fitteſt tryal ſhould haue bene by battayle. Wherefore the parties beyng as well thereof aduertiſed, as the day by the King appoynted, no ſmall prouiſion was made for ſo eager a combat, as that was preſuppoſed to haue bene. But when the prefixed day approched neere, Veſcy, turnyng his great boaſte to ſmall roſt, beganne to crye creake, and ſecretely ſayled into Fraunce. King Edwarde, thereof aduertiſed, beſtowed Veſcyes Lordſhips of Kyldare and Rathymgan on the Baron of Ophaly, ſaying that albeit Veſcy conueyed hys perſon into Fraunce, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

Veſcye fled to Fraunce. Kyldare beſtowed on the Lord Girald.

The Baron returned to Irelande with the gratulation of all his friendes, and was created Earle of Kildare, in the ix. yeere of Edward the ſecond his raigne, the xiiij. of May. He deceaſed at Laraghbrine (a village neere to Maynoth) in the yeare 1316. and was buried at Kildare, ſo that he was Erle but one yeare.

The firſte Earle of Kyldare created. 1315.

The houſe of Kildare among diuers giftes, wherewith God hath aboundauntly endued it, is for one ſinguler pointe greatly to bee admired, that notwithſtandyng the ſeuerall aſſaults of diuers enimies in ſundry ages, yet this Earle that now liueth, is the tenth Earle of Kildare, to whom from John the firſt Earle, there hath alwayes continued a lineall deſcent from father to ſonne, which truely in mine opinion is a great bleſſing of God.

The nūbers of the Erles of Kyldare.

And for as much as this Erle now liuyng, as his Aunceſters before him, haue bene ſhrewdly ſhoued at by his euill willers, ſaying that he is able, but not willyng to profite hys countrey: the Poeſie that is framed for him, runneth in this wiſe.

Quid poſſim, iactant: quid vellem, ſcire recuſant:
Vtraque Reginæ ſint, rogo, nota meæ.

His eldeſt ſonne is Lorde Giralde, Baron of Ophaly, for whom theſe verſes are made.

L. Girald.

Te pulchrum natura facit, fortunæ potentem,
Te faciat Chriſti norma, Giralde, bonum.

Syr Thomas Butler Erle of Ormond and Oſſery. The Butlers were auncient Engliſh gentlemen, and worthy ſeruitors in all ages.

Earle of Ormond.

Theobald Butler Lorde of Carrick, & John Cogan were Lorde Iuſtices of Ireland. This Butler died in the Caſtle of Arckelow, in the yeare 1285.

1247. The Butlers (as I am enformed) are found by auncient recordes too haue bene Earles of the Carrick.

The Lord Theobald Butler the yonger, and Sonne to the elder Theobald, was ſente for by Edwarde the firſt, to ſerue againſt the Scots. This noble man deceaſed at Turuy, and his body was conueighed to Weney, a towne in the countie of Lymmericke. 1299.

Sir Edmund Butler a wiſe and valiaunt noble man, was dubbed knight at London by Edward the ſecond. 1309.

This man beyng appoynted lieutenant of Irelande, vppon the repayre of John Wogan, (who before was Lorde Iuſtice) to Englande, 1312. beſieged the Obrenies in Glyndalory: and were it not that they ſubmitted themſelues to the Kyng and the Lieuetenantes mercy, they had not bene onely for a ſeaſon vanquiſſhed, but alſo vtterly by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernment ſuche an encourager and furtherer of ſeruitors, as that hee dubd on Saint Michael the Archangels day: 30. knights 1313. in the caſtle of Dublin. Hee was a ſcourge to the Scottes that inuaded Ireland, when he was Lieuetenant. 1315. He diſcomfiteth Omourgh a notorious rebell, neare a towne named Baly kethan. After diuers victorious exploites by him 1316. atchieued, he ſayled into England, and ſo to Hiſpayne in pilgrimage to S. James. Upon his 1321. returne to England, he deceaſed at London, and his body beyng conueyghed into Ireland, was entombed at Ballygauran.

James Butler Erle of Ormond, was Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, in the yeare, 1359. 1359.

The Lord Butler and Vicecount Thurles,
was dubd knight by Henry the ſixte in Englande,
1425. in the yeare 1425. at whiche tyme ſir
Iames Butler, ſir Iohn Butler, ſir Raſe Butler,
were in like maner knighted.

1327. The firſte Earle of Ormond. Iames Butler, who maryed the Earle of
Herfordes daughter, was preferred to the Erledome
of Ormond in the firſt yeare of Edwarde
the thirde: whiche fell vpon the heyres generall,
laſtly vpon ſir Thomas Butler Erle of Wilſhyre,
after whom it reuerſed to Pierce Butler,
whom a little before King Henry the viij. had
created Erle of Oſſery. I read Butler Erle of
Tipperary. Tipperary in the yeare 1300. The Latin hiſtory
calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the Engliſh
le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, hee had
ſome ſuch honour aboute the Prince. His very
ſurname is Becket, who was aduaunced by
Henry the ſecondes eldeſt ſonne, Lorde Butler
in recompence of the death of Thomas of Canterbury
theyr kinneſman. His eldeſt ſonne is
Lord Butler, Vicounte Thurles. For the Erle
now liuyng, theſe verſes are made.

Magnus Auus, maiorque pater, ſed Natus vtroque
Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.

Deſmon. Girald fitz Girald Erle of Deſmond.

Maurice fitz Thomas a Giraldine, was
created Erle of Deſmond the ſame yeare, ſone
after that Butler became Erle of Ormonde.
His eldeſt ſonne is Lord fitz Girald of Deſmōd.
The Erle now liuyng, thus ſpeaketh.

Euaſi tandem, iactatus fluctibus alti,
Et precor, in portu ſit mea tuta ratis.

Clenrickard. Sir Richard Bourke Erle of Clenrickard.
A braunche of the Engliſhe family *de Burgo*.
The Bourkes haue bene auncient noble menne
before theyr commyng to Ireland: and in olde
tyme they haue bene Erles of Vlſter. Hys eldeſt
ſonne is Lorde Bourke Baron of Enykelline.
His verſe is this.

Quam mihi maiorum famam bona geſta dederunt,
Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.

Tomond. Connogher Obren Erle of Tomonde: the
name of Erle giuen to Murragh Obrene for
1550. terme of lyfe, and after to Donogh Obrene,
in the fifte yeare of the raigne of Edwarde the
ſixte, nowe confirmed to the heyres males. Hys
eldeſt ſonne is Baron of Ibracan. Vpon the
Erle now liuyng, this fantaſie was deuiſed.

Non decet externos, ſine cauſa quærere reges,
Cum licet in tuta viuere pace domi.

Clencare. Mack Carty More Erle of Clencare, created
in the yeare 1565.

Barry. Vicecount Barry.

Roche, Vicecount Roche.

Gormanſtowne. Preſton Vicecount of Gormanſtowne: whereto
is lately annexed the Barony of Lawnedreſſe.
One of theyr aunceſtours Sir Robert
Preſton, then chiefe Baron of the Eſchequer
was dubd knight in the field by Lionel Duke of 1361.
Clarence. This gentleman matcht in wedlocke
with Margaret Bermingham lady of Carbry,
who deceaſed in the yeare 1361. After whoſe
death ſir Robert Preſton was ſeyſed of the ſayd
Lordſhip in the right of his wife, and beyng moleſted 1367.
by rebels, placed a garriſon in the caſtle,
whereby the ſubiects were greatly eaſed, and the
rebels dayly annoyed.

There hath bene another ſir Robert Preſton
of this houſe, greate graundfather to the Vicecount 1476.
now liuyng. This gentleman was deputie
to Richard, ſecond ſonne to Edward the
fourth, in the xvj. yeare of the reygne of his father:
and after likewyſe in the reigne of Henry
the ſeuenth, hee was deputie to Iaſper Duke of 1492
Bedford, Erle of Pembroke, and Lieuetenaunt
of Ireland, & at the ſame time was he appointed
by the King generall receyuer of his reuenue in
Ireland. How wiſely this noble man behaued
hymſelfe in peace, and how valiauntly he bequit
himſelfe in warre, ſundry of King Henry the ſeuenth
his letters to him, beyng deputie, addreſſed,
do manifeſtly witneſſe. There was a parliament
holden before him at Drogheda, whiche
was repealed in the x. yeare of Henry ẏ ſeuenth. 1494

Sir Chriſtopher Preſton was dubd knight
in the fielde by Edmund Erle of March, Lorde
deputie of Ireland. William Preſton was L. 1397
Iuſtice of Ireland in Henry the eyghts reigne.
The houſe is auncient planted in Lankaſhyre, Preſton came from Lanchiſhire.
and from thence departed into Ireland, beyng
to this day ſeyſed of a manour in Lankaſhyre,
named of the houſe Preſton. The Vicount now
liuyng ſpeaketh in this wyſe.

Si quantum vellem, tantum me poſſe putarem,
Nota eſſet patriæ mens mea firma meæ.

Euſtace *aliâs* Powar, Vicounte of Baltinglaſſe, Baltinglaſſe
Lord of Kylcullen to him and his heyres
males, the 34. yeare of Henry the eight. Theyr
aunceſtor Robart le Pouar, was ſent into Irelande 1542
with commiſſion, and hys offpryng hath
reſted there ſince the yeare 1175.

Powar *aliâs* Euſtace is written Baron of 1175
Donuyle in the yeare 1317. The Vicountes
poeſie now liuing, is this.

Cùm bonus ipſe manes, an non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cuiuis poſſe placere viro?

Sir Richard Butler Vicount Mountgaret Moūtgaret.
to him and his heyres males in the fift yeare of
Edward the ſixt. 1550

Vicount Decce. Decce.

Lord Bermingham Baron of Athenry, now athenry.
degenerate and become meere Iriſhe, agaynſt
whom his aunceſtors ſerued valiauntly in the
yeare 1300.

Iohn

John Bermyngham was Lord of Athenry, anno 1316. John Bermyngham Baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de Atrio dei, in the yere 1318.

Mack Morice, alias fitz Giralde, Baron of Kery.

urcy. L. Courcy not very Iriſhe, the auncient diſcent of the Courcies, planted in Ireland wyth the conqueſt.

lane. Flemmyng Baron of Slane. Simō Flemmyng was Baron of Slane, anno 1370. The L. now liuyng thus ſpeaketh.

Slanius inuictus princeps mihi nomē adoptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.

ylline. Plunckett Baron of Kylline, his family came in with the Danes, whereof they bore as yet ſpeciall monumentes. Syr Chriſtofer Plunket Lord of Kylline, was Lord Liuetenaunt of Irelande, which title is to be ſene at thys day in Kylline, engraued on hys tombe. The Baron that now lyueth, thus frameth hys poeſie.

Ornant viuentem maiorum geſta meorum,
Talia me nequeunt viua cadente mori.

Delwyn. Nugent, Baron of Deluyn, an auncient houſe. Syr Gilbert de Nugent, or Nugent came into Irelande, with ſir Hugo de Lacy one of the firſt and valiaunt conquerours of the countrey. This Gilbert matcht with Roſa de Lacy, ſiſter to Hugo de Lacy. He had giuen hym vpon the conqueſt the Baronies of Foure, and of Deluyn, by the ſaid ſir Hugh, of whoſe brother Richard de Nugent, otherwyſe called Richardus de Capella, the houſe of Deluin is deſcended. In a conueighaunce, paſt from ſir Gylbert to hys brother Richard, theſe wordes are inſerted.

Dedi & conceſſi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conqueſtum meum in Hybernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, quæ vocatur Deluyn, & totam terram meam in Anglia. The Baron now liuing, thus ſpeaketh.

In patria natus, patriæ prodeſſe laboro,
Viribus in caſtris, conſilijsq; domi.

Howth. S. Laurence, Baron of Howth in this wyſe he ſpeaketh.

Si redamus, redamo, ſi ſpernis, ſperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet abſq; tuis viuere poſſe bonis?

Dunſany. Plunket Baron of Dunſany. Vpon the Baron now liuyng, this deuiſe was framed.

Gratia quod dederat, ſi non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam præclaro ſtemmate dignus eris.

Trimle= ſtowne. Barnewal, Baron of Trimleſtowne. They came from little Britayne, where they are at this day a great ſurname. Vpon their firſt arriuall, they wan great poſſeſſions at Beirhauen, where at length by conſpiracy of the Iriſh, they were all ſlayne, except one yong man, who then ſtudied the common lawes in Englād, who returning, dwelt at Drimnagh beſides Dublin, where his heyres to this day are ſetled. Drim= nagh.

This houſe as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worſhipfull gentlemen that be of the ſurname, beareth no ſmall ſtroke in the Engliſh pale of Ireland. Howbeit of late it hath bene greatly maymed through the deceaſe of thre worthy and famous Barnewalles. The firſt was Robert Barnewall L. of Trimleſtowne that laſt was, a rare noble man, and endued with ſundry good giftes, who hauyng wholy bended hymſelfe to the reformation of hys miſerable countrey, was reſolued, for the whetting of his wit, which natheleſſe was pregnant & quicke, by a ſhort trade and methode he toke in his ſtudy, to haue ſipt vp the very ſappe of the common law, and vpon this determinatiō ſayling into England, ſickened ſhortly after at a worſhipfull matrones houſe at Cornbery, named Margaret Tyler, where he was to the great griefe of all hys countrey pierced with death, when the weale publike had moſt nede of his lyfe. Robert Barnwal. 1571.

1574. Marcus Barnwal. The ſecond Barnewall, that deceaſed, was M. Marcus Barnewall of Dowdzon, whoſe credite and authoritie had it bene correſpondent to hys valure and abilitie, he would, I doubt not, haue bene accompted and knowen for as proper a gentleman ([illegible]) as any in the Engliſh pale of Ireland.

Sir Chri= ſtofer Barnewal knight. The third of the ſurname that departed this lyfe, was ſir Chriſtofer Barnewall knight, the lanterne and light as well of his houſe, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who, beyng ſufficiently furniſht as well wyth the knowledge of the latin tongue, as of the common lawes of Englande, was zealouſly bent to the reformation of his countrey. A depe and a wyſe gentleman, ſpare of ſpeache, and therwithall pithy, wholy addicted to grauitie, beyng in any pleaſaunt conceit rather giuen to ſimper, the ſmile; very vpright in dealing, meaſuring all his affayres with the ſafety of conſcience, as true as ſtele, cloſe and ſecret, faſt to his friend, ſtoute in a good quarell: a great houſeholder, ſparing without pinching, ſpending without waſting, of nature mylde, rather choſing to pleaſure, where he myght harme, then willyng to harme, where he might pleaſure. He ſickened the 23. of July of an hote burning ague, and ended his lyfe at his houſe of Turuy the fift of Auguſt, to the great loſſe as well of his friendes as of hys countrey, vpon whoſe death a ſonne in law of his framed this epitaph. 1575.

Læta tibi, ſed mœſta tuis mors accidit iſta.

Regnā

Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat ampla tuis.
Lætus es in coelis vllo ſine fine triumphans,
Moeſtus at in terris diues inopſq; iacet.
Nam ſapiente caret diues, qui parta gubernet,
Nec, qui det miſero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipſe caret, viduat, te ruſtica turba,
Atq; vrbana cohors, te (ſocer alme) caret.
Non eſt digna viro talis reſpublica tanto,
Nam ſanctos ſedes non niſi ſancta decet.
Mira loquor, ſed vera loquor, nõ ficta reuoluo,
Si maiora loquar, nil niſi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? nobis hoc crimina noſtra dederũt.
Mortuus es? virtus hoc tibi ſacra dedit.
Viuus es in coelo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Chriſti
Viuus vt in mundo ſis, tibi fama dabit.

For the L. of Trimleſtowne now liuing, this was deuiſed.

Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors ſæua negauit
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.

Dunboyn. Edward Butler Baron of Donboyne, giuen to Edmund Butler Eſquier, & his heires males, anno H. octaui. 33. For the Baron now liuyng, theſe verſes are made. 1541.

Dum ſequitur natus ſummi veſtigia patris
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.

Upper Oſſery. Syr Barnaby fitz Patricke Baron of Upper Oſſery, giuen to Barnaby Mack gillo patricke & his heyres males in the xxxiij. yere of Henry the eight. 1541. Donat Clonnagh mack gylpatrike was a pereleſſe warriour in the yere 1219. Syr Barnaby fitz Patrike, now L. of Upper Oſſery, was dubt knight by ẏ duke of Northfolke at the ſiege of Lieth in Scotland: 1558. for whom theſe verſes are made.

Principis in gremio ſummi nutritus & altus
Hauſit ab illuſtri regia dona ſchola.

Louth. 1541. Plncket, Baron of Louth, to ſir Chriſtofer Plncket and his heyres males, anno H. 8. 33. This Barony was an Erledome perteynyng to the Berminghams, in the yere 1316. and ſoner. For the Baron now liuyng, this was deuiſed.

Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoq; firmus amicis,
Nubila ſeu coelum luxue ſerena regat.

Dungauõ. Oneyle, Baron of Dongauon, to whom the Erledome of Tyrone was entayled by gifte of Henry the eight.

Curraghmore. Powar, Baron of Curraghmore.

Deſert. Mack Surtan, L. Deſert, hys aunceſtours were Lordes in the tyme of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Erle of Ulſter, in the yeare 1360. now very wyld Iriſh.

Inſirkoin. 1543. Murragh Obrene, Baron of Inſirkoyne, to hym and his heyres males an H. 8. 35.

Baronets. There are beſides theſe noble men, certain gentlemen of worſhip, commonly called Baronets, whom the ruder ſort doth regiſter among the nobilitie, by termyng thẽ corruptly Barons, wheras in very dede they are to be named neyther Barons, nor Baronets, but Banrets. He is properly called a Banret, Banre what it ſignifie whoſe father was no carpet knight, but dubd in the field vnder the banner or enſigne. And becauſe it is not vſuall for any to be a knight by birth, the eldeſt ſonne of ſuch a knight with his heyres, is named a Banneret, or a Banret. Such are they that here enſue.

Sentleger, Banret of Flemarge, mere Iriſhe.
Den, Bãret of Pormanſtowne, waxing Iriſh.
Fitz Girald, Banret of Burnchurch.
Welleſly, Banret of the Norragh.
Huſey, Banret of Galtrim.
S. Mighel, Banret of Berne.
Nangle, Banret of the Nauan.

Engliſh gentlemen of longeſt continuance in Ireland, are thoſe which at this day eyther in great pouerty or perill do kepe the properties of theyr aunceſtors landes in Ulſter, beyng then companions to Courcy the conquerour and Erle of that part. These are the Sauages, Jordanes, fitz Symons, Chamberlaines, Ruſſels, Benſons, Audeleis, Whites, fitz Urſulies, now degenerate, and called in Iriſh Mack Mahon, the Beares ſonne.

The names or ſurnames of the learned men and authours of Ireland.

Chap. 7.

Ardericus. Ardericus, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barboſus, becauſe of his long beard a learned man greatly in olde time renowmed in Irelande. But for as much as in his age the countrey was not ſtored with ſuch as employed theyr labours in getheryng together the ſayings and doyngs of ſage perſons, the diſcontinuaunce of hys fame is rather to be imputed to the ignoraunce of the tyme, than to the want of hys deſertes. He flouriſhed in the yere 1053.

Alen. Alen, a learned Phiſition.

Archer. James Archer, a ſtudent of diuinitie.

Argobaſtus. Argobaſtus, the ſecond biſhop of Argentine, ſucceſſor to the holy prelate S. Amand, borne in Ireland, a learned and deuout clarke: who leauyng his country and liuyng in Heremite wyſe, in certayne ſolitary places of France, inſtructed the people of that realme in ẏ feare of God, and the knowledge of the ſcriptures. In hys preaching he was noted to haue ſo ſinguler a grace, and ſo proſperous ſucceſſe, that ſuch as were by any worldly miſaduenture afflicted, vpon the hearyng of his godly ſermons would ſodenly be cõforted. The French kyng Dagobertus, aduertiſed of his lerning and vertue, cauſed hym to be ſent for, vſing hym as hys chief counſailor in all his waighty his aduerſaries. And after a [illegible] to be biſhop of Argentine. He wrote a booke of homilies. He deceaſed in the yere 678. and was buried hard by a gybbet neare the citie, which on the top of an hill called [illegible] which he did by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of his maiſter Chriſt, who did vouchſafe to ſuffer without the city of Jeruſalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Brendan.

Brendan, an Abbot borne in Connaght, in hys youth trayned vp vnder Hercus a biſhop and hauyng further ſlept in yeres, he trauelled into England, where he became a profeſſed Monke, vnder an Abbot named Congellus. He flouriſhed in the yere 560. and wrote theſe bookes enſuyng.

Confeſſio Chriſtiana.lib.1.
Charta cœleſtis hereditatis.lib.1.
Monachorum regula.lib.1.

Bernerde.

Edmund Bernerden a Frier, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Dublin in the yere 1320.

Brigide.

Brigide the virgin, borne in Leynſter, ſhe flouriſhed in the yere 510. She wrote a booke of her reuelations.

Browne.

Browne, a Ciuilian.

Burnell.

Burnell.

Butler.

Butler, a Waterfordian, ſometime ſcholer to M. Peter White. He tranſlated Maturinus Corderius hys booke of phraſes into Engliſh, in the yere 1562.

Cadell.

James Caddell, he wrote diuerſa epigrammata.

Carbery.

Carbery, a profound ciuilian.

Celſus.

Celſus Archbiſhop of Armach, borne in Ireland and ſcholed in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, he flouriſhed in the yeare 1128. he wrote theſe bookes followyng.

Teſtamentum ad Eccleſias.lib.1.
Conſtitutiones quaſdam.lib.1.
Ad Malachiam epiſtolæ complures.

Clere.

Clere, borne in Kylkenny, and proceeded Maſter of Arte in Oxford.

Clin.

John Clinne, borne in Leinſter, beyng profeſſe a gray Frier, he beſtowed his tyme in preaching chiefly in the towne of Kylkenny. This man was a good antiquary, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginnyng at the Natiuitie of Chriſt, and ſtretching to ẏ yere 1350. in which yeare he flouriſhed. He wrote theſe bookes followyng.

Annalium chronicon.lib.1.
De regibus Anglorum.lib.1.
De cuſtodijs prouinciarum.lib.1.
De Franciſcanorum cœnobijs, & eorum diſtinctionibus.lib.1.

Cogy.

Henry Cogy, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuerſitie of Dublyne, in the yeare,

Colman.

Colman, a learned and an holy Monke. He flouriſhed in the yeare 676. he wrote a booke entituled, Pro ſocijs Quartadecimanis.

Colūbanus. 558.

Columbanus, borne in Vlſter, and trayned in learnyng and knowledge as well in England as in Fraunce. For his learnyng & vertue, was elected to be Abbot. Hauyng trauelled diuers countreys, at length repayred to Italy, and there in an Abbey by hym founded, called Monaſterium Bobienſe, he ended his lyfe, the 21. of Nouember. He left to hys poſteritie theſe bookes.

In pſalterium commentarios.lib.1.
Collectiones ad Monachos.lib.1.
De moribus Monachorum metricé.lib.1.
Monaſticorum methodos.lib.1.
Epiſtolas ad commilitones.lib.1.
Aduerſus regem adulterum.lib.1.

Conganus. Bernardus in vita Malachiæ in prefat.

Conganus an Iriſhe Abbot, of whom Saint Bernard maketh great accompt. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1150. and wrote to S. Bernarde.

Geſta Malachiæ Archiepiſcopi.lib.1.
Ad Bernardum Clareuallenſem epiſt.plures.

Connour.

Connour.

Conton.

Walter Conton. He wrote in the latin tongue diuers epigrames and epitaphes.

Coniel.

Symon Coniel a deuine.

Cornelius. Hector Boet.in preful.Scot. Hiſt.

Cornelius Hybernus, otherwyſe named Hiſtoricus, by reaſon that he was taken in hys tyme for an exquiſite antiquary, as may appeare by the Scottiſh hiſtorian Hector Boecius, by whom he acknowledgeth hymſelfe to be greatly furthered. He flouriſhed in the yere 1230. and wrote, Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib.1.

Creagh.

Richarde Creagh borne in Lymmericke, a deuine, he wrote

Epiſtolas complures.
Reſponſiones ad caſus conſcientiæ.
De vitis ſanctorum Hyberniæ.
Topographiam Hyberniæ, with diuers other bookes.

Crump.

Henry Crumpe borne in Ireland, & brought vp in ẏ vniuerſitie of Oxford, where he grew by reaſon of hys profound knowledge in diuinitie, to no ſmall credite. Hauing repayred to his natiue countrey, myndyng there to defray ẏ talent wherwith god had endued him, he was ſodenly apprehended by Symon byſhoppe of Meth, and kept in dureſſe by reaſon that he was ſuſpected to be of no ſound religion. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1392. and wrote theſe bookes.

Determinationes ſcholaſt.lib.1.
Contra religioſos mendicantes.lib.1.
Reſponſiones ad obiecta.lib.1.

Curren. Edmund Curren, archdecon of old laghlin, there hath bene an Iriſh Biſhop of the name.

Cuſack. Patricke Cuſacke, a Gentleman borne, and a ſcholler of Oxforde, ſometime ſcholemaſter in Dublinne, and one that wyth the learning, that God did imparte hym, gaue great light to his countrey. He imployed his ſtudies rather in the inſtructing of ſchollers then in penning of bookes. He floriſhed in the yeare, 1566 and wrote in latine

Diuerſa epigrammata.

Daly. Daly, ſcholed in the vniuerſitie of Pariſe, hauing a pretty inſight in ſcholaſticall Diuinitie, he made Diuerſas Conciones.

Darcy. Sir Williame Darcy Knight, a wiſe gentleman, he wrote a booke entituled, The decay of Irelande.

Delahide. Dauid Delahide, an exquiſite and a profoũd Clarke, ſometime fellow of Merton colledge in Oxforde, very well ſéene in the latine and gréeke tongue. Expert in the Mathematicals, a proper antiquary, & an exact Diuine. Whereby I gather, that his penne hath not bene lazie, but is dailye bréeding of ſuch learned bookes, as ſhal be aualleable to his poſteritie. I haue ſéene a proper Oration of hys, in the praiſe of maſter Heiwood being Chriſtmaſſe Lorde in Merton colledge, entituled,

De ligno et fœno, [illegible]

Scemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta.

Deurox. Deurox, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was ſometime ſcholemaſter in Weiſeford.

Dyllon. Peter Dyllon, a Diuine, and Iohn Dyllõ likewiſe a ſtudent in Diuinitie.

Doudal. Doudall, ſometime primas of Armach, a graue, a learned, and a politique prelate. Very zealouſly affected to the reformation of his countrey, he made,

Diuerſas conciones.

Dormer. Dormer, a lawyer, borne in Roſſe, ſcholler of Oxford. He wrote in ballade royall,

The decay of Roſſe.

Duns. Iohannes maior.li.4. cap.16.

Iohannes duns ſcotus, an Iriſhe man borne, as in the forefront of this treatiſe I haue declared. Howbeit Iohanes maior, a Scottiſh Chronicler, woulde faine proue him to be a Scotte. Lelande on the other ſide ſayeth, he was borne in England: ſo that there ſhall as great contencion riſe of him, as in olde tyme there roſe of Homers coũtrey. For the Colophoniãs ſaid that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chyans claymed him to be theirs, the Salamynians auouched, that hée was their countrey man, but the Smyrneans wer ſo ſtiflye bent, in prouing him to bée borne in their territory, as they would at no hand take no nay in the matter, and therevpon they did conſecrate a church to the name of Homer.

Cic.in orat. pro Arch. poëta.

But what countrey man ſo euer he was, he was doubtleſſe a ſubtill and profound clearke. The onely fault, wherewith he was diſtayned, was a litle ſpice of vaineglory, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predeceſſours in diuines, rather for blemiſhing the fame of hys aduerſaries, then for aduauncing the truth of the controuerſie. Wherevpon great factions are growen in the ſchooles, betwéene the Thomiſtis and Scotiſtis, Thomas being the ringleader of the one ſect, and Scotus the belweather of the other. He was firſt fellow of Merton colledge in Oxforde, and from thence he was ſent for to Pariſe to be a profeſſour of Diuinitie. Finally he repayred to Colen where in an Abbey of gray fryers (of which profeſſion he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote, are theſe.

Thomiſtes. Scotiſtes. 1308.

Commentarij Oxonienſes. lib.4.
Reportationes pariſienſes. lib.4.
Quodlibeta ſcholaſtica. lib.1.
In Analiticu poſteriora. lib.2.
In Metaphiſicam quæſtiones. lib.1.
De Cognitione dei. lib.1.
De perfectione ſtatuum. lib.1.
Sermones de tempore. lib.1.
Sermones de Sanctis. lib.1.
Collationes pariſienſes. lib.1.
Lectura in Geneſim. lib.1.
De rerum principio. lib.1.
Commentarij in euangelia. lib.4.
In epiſtolas pauli. lib. plures.
Quæſtiones Vniuerſalium. lib.1.
Quæſtiones prædicamentorum. lib.1.
In Ariſtotelis phiſica. lib.8.
In Categorias Ariſtotelis. lib.1.
Tentagreumata quædam. lib.1.
Commentarij imperfecti. lib.1.

Euſtace. Euſtace, a Doctor of Diuinitie, a very good ſchooleman, he floriſhed in the yeare 1536.

Oliuer, or Oliuer Euſtace, a ſtudent of the ciuile and Cannon lawe, a good humanitian, & a proper philoſopher.

Nicolas Euſtace, a Gentleman borne, ſurpaſſing birth by learning, and learning by vertue.

Maurice Euſtace, a ſtudent of Diuinitie, one that notwithſtanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholy ſequeſter himſelfe from the worlde.

Fagane. Fagan, bachyloúr of Arte in Oxford, and ſchoolemaſter in Waterford.

Ferraple. Daniell Ferraple, a Diuine, and a ſcholemaſter.

Fergusius Fergutius, ſonne to Ferquhardus king of Irelande, the firſt king of Scottes, whome ſome affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the

more

moſt part ſuppoſe to haue bene an Iriſhmā. He flouriſhed in the yeare of the worlde 3678. and before the Incarnation 302. in the twentie fiue yeare of hys reigne. He was by miſaduenture drowned nere a rocke in the north of Irelande that of him is called to this daye Carregfergus. Vpon whoſe miſhappe theſe verſes were made. arreg= gus.

Icarus Icariis nomina fecerat vndis
Fergusius petræ ſic dedit apta ſuæ.

This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicæ.lib.1.

Finnanus, ſcholer to one Deinius and Segenius, taken for a deepe Deuine in his age. He flouriſhed in the yeare 666. he wrote Pro veteri paſchali ritu.lib.1.

Fielde a phiſition. fielde.

Thomas Fielde, a maiſter of Art.

John fitz Girald, commonlye named John fitz Edmund, a very well lettered Ciuilian, a wyſe gentleman, and a good houſeholder. itz Gi= alde.

Robert fitz Girald, alias Robert fitz Maurice, borne in the Countie of Kyldare.

Dauid fitz Giralde, vſually called Dauid Duffe, borne in Kery, a Ciuilian, a maker in Iriſh, not ignorant of muſike, ſkilful in phiſike, a good and a generall craftes man, much lyke to Hippias, ſurpaſſing all men in the multitude of craftes: who comming on a tyme to Piſa, to the great triumph called Olympicum, weare nothing but ſuch as was of hys owne makyng. His ſhoes, his pattens, hys cloke, hys cote, the ryng that he dyd weare, with a ſignet therin very perfectly wrought, were all made by hym. He played excellently on all kynde of Inſtrumentes, and ſang therto hys owne verſes, which no man coulde amend. In all partes of Logike, Rhetoricke, & Philoſophie he vanquiſhed all men, and was vanquiſhed of none. ippias.

Richard fitz Rafe, primate of Armach, ſcholer in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, to Bacōthorp a good Philoſopher, and no ignoraunt deuine. An enemy to Friers, namely ſuch as went begging from dore to dore, whereby he purchaſed the hatred of all religious perſons. He was by Edward the third hys meanes made Archdeacon of Lichfielde, after created Primate of Armach, beyng cited before Pope Clement the ſixt, for reprouyng the beggyng Friers. In the heat of the ſayd contention he deceaſed in Italy, whoſe bones were caryed into Ireland, and buried at Dondalk, where he was borne. He wrote theſe bookes enſuing. itz afe. 1360.

De paupertate ſeruatoris.lib.7.
Contra fratres mendicantes.lib.16.
In Extrauagantem Ioannis.23.lib.1.
Determinationes ad eundem.lib.1.
Contra ſuum Archidiaconum.lib.1.
Propoſitiones ad Papam.lib.1.
Contra fratrum appellationem.lib.1.
Sermones ad crucem Pauli.lib.1.
Sermones coram Pontifice.lib.1.
De ſtatu Vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ.lib.1.
Lectura ſententiarum.lib.4.
Quæſtiones earundem.lib.1.
Lectura theologica.lib.1.
Sermones ad clerum.lib.1.
Sermones de tempore.lib.1.
Sermones de Sanctis.lib.1.
Mariæ laudes Auenioni.lib.1.
Illuſtrationes Euangeliorum.lib.4.
De paſſione dominica.lib.1.
De peccato Ignorantiæ.lib.1.
De Iure ſpirituali.lib.1.
De Vafritiis Iudæorum.lib.1.
Propoſitionum ſuarum.lib.1.
Epiſtolæ ad diuerſos.lib.1.
Dialogi plures.lib.1.

Walter fitz Symons, Archbiſhop of Dublyn, L. Iuſtice and L. Chauncellor of Irelād at one tyme, a famous clarke, and exquiſitely learned both in Philoſophy and deuinity: beyng in company with king Henry the vij. and hearyng an Oration that was made in hys prayſe, the kyng demaunded hym, what fault he founde moſt in the Oration: truly quoth he, and it lyke your highneſſe, no fault, ſauyng onely that the Oratour flattered your Maieſtie ouermuch. Now in good fayth, our father of Dublyn (quoth the kyng) we minded to find the ſame fault our ſelues. Fitz Symons.

Thomas fitz Symons, a very proper deuine. He wrote in Engliſh, a treatiſe of the Church.

Leonard fitz Symons, a deepe and pithye clarke, well ſeene in the Greeke and Latine tongue, ſomtyme fellow of Trinitie colledge in Oxford, perfect in the Mathematicals, and a paynefull ſtudent in deuinitie. He hath a brother that was trayned vp in learnyng in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim.

Michael fitz Symons, ſcholemaiſter in Dublyn, a proper ſtudent, and a diligent man in hys profeſſion, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Eſſexiæ Dublinium.
Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihurſti.
Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Phillip Flatiſbury, a worthy gentleman, and a diligent antiquary, he wrote in the Latin tongue, at the requeſt of the right honourable Girald fitz Girald Erle of Kyldare, Flatiſbury.
Diuerſas chronicas.

He flouriſhed in the yere 1517. and deceaſed at hys towne named Iohnſtowne neere the Naas.

Thomas Flemmyng: there is a Flemmyng now liuyng, of whome I heare great Flemming report to be an abſolute deuine, and a profeſſor therof.

Foillanus. 654. Foillanus a learned Monke, he traueiled into Fraunce, where through the liberalitie of an holy Uirgin, named Gertrude, he founded an Abbey called Monaſterium Foſſenſe, where at length he ſuffred martyrdome.

Furſæus. 647. Furſeus peregrinus, ſo called, becauſe he was borne in Ireland, and did beſtow his yeares as an eſtraunger in Fraunce, where he founded an Abbey named Cœnobium Latiniacenſe. He wrote certayne pamphlets, that by tract of tyme are periſhed. He flouriſhed in the yere 650. and was buried in his owne monaſtery.

Garuye. Robert Garuy, fellow of Orial colledge in Oxforde, a ſtudent of both the lawes, a man well ſpoken as well in the Engliſhe, as in the Latine.

Gogan. Robert Gogan a preacher.

Hardite. William Hardite a doctor of Deuinitie, proceeded in the Uniuerſitie of Dublynne, in the yere 1320.

Hycky. Hicky, Phiſitions, the father and his ſonne.

Hugo. Hugo de Hybernia, ſo called becauſe his ſurname is not knowen. He was a gray Frier, and a great traueller. He floriſhed in the yere 1360. He wrote, Itinirarium quoddam. lib.1.

Huſey. Oliuer Huſey, a profeſſour of the Artes in Doway.

Hurly. Derby Hurly, a ciuilian, and a commendable Philoſopher: he wrote In Ariſtotelis Phyſica.

Ioiſe. Robert Ioiſe, borne in Kylkenny, a good humanitian.

Kelley. Radulphus Kelley, a Monke, brought vp in the knowledge of the latin tonge in Kyldare, in which he profited ſo well, that for hys eloquence and wiſedom, he was ſent to Clemēt the ſirt, as the ſpeaker or prolocutor of all hys order, and alſo was appoynted the generall aduocate or deputie vnder Petrus de Caſa, maiſter generall of the order. After he was aduaunced to be Archbiſhop of Caſhell, in which honour he deceaſed, hauyng at vacant houres written. 1342.

In iure canonico.lib.1.

Epiſtolarum familiarium.lib.1.

Kenedy. Thomas Kenedy, a Ciuilian.

Kerny. Kerny, he wrote in Iriſh Catachiſmum.

Tranſlationem bibliæ.

Keuannagh. Cagher, a noble man borne, in his time called Mack Murrough, deſcended of that mack Murrough that was ſomtyme king of Leinſter, he was a ſurpaſſing deuine, and for hys learnyng and vertue was created biſhop of Leighlyn, and Abbot of Grage. He flouriſhed in ths yeare 1550. and was an hundred yeres olde when he deceaſed.

King. James king, borne in Dublyn, and ſcholer to M. Patrike Cuſack, vnder whome beyng commendably trayned, he repayred to the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he deceaſed before he coulde attayne to that rypeneſſe of learnyng, whereto one of ſo pregnaunt a wit was lyke in tyme to aſpire. He wrote 1563.

Carmina in laudem Henrici Sydnei.

Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Ley. Ley, a learned and an expert Phiſition.

Leurouſe. 1556. Leurouſe a learned deuine, ſometyme biſhop of Kyldare, and Deane of S. Patrikes in Dublyn.

Loghlen. Æneas Loghlen, or Mackleighlen, M. of Arte, and a preacher.

Long. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare 1576. in Auguſt. he is a proper philoſopher, no ſtraunger in ſcholaſticall deuinitie, a pretty Latiniſt. He wrote

De ſpeciebus contra mendacem Monachum.

In Ariſtotelis phyſica.

Theſes ex præcipuis iuris vtriuſque partibus ſelectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali conſecratas.

Lumbard. Peter Lumbard borne in Waterford, ſcholer to M. Peter White, hauing imployed two yeres and a halfe in the ſtudy of philoſophy at Louaine, he was choſen when he proceeded M. of Arte, Primus Vniuerſitatis, by the vniforme conſent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in ſuch conſenting wiſe, in many yeres before, he wrote Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicolai Quemerfordi.

Mackcragh. Derby Mackcragh, a ſtudent in deuinitie.

Magrane. Magrane, a ſcholemaiſter in Dublinne, he wrote Carols and ſundry balladeſ.

Malachias. Malachias borne in Ulſter. His lyfe is exactly written by S. Bernard, in whoſe Abbey he died in the yeare 1148. He wrote

Conſtitutorum communium, lib.1.

Legum cœlibatus.lib.1.

Nouarum traditionum.lib.1.

Ad D.Bernardum, epiſt. plures.

Malachias minorite. Malachias, the minorite or gray frier, a ſtudent in the Uniuerſitie of Oxford, where he attained to that knowledge in deuinitie, as he was the onely man in his tyme that was appoynted to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a ſharp reprouer of vice, a zealous embracer of vertue, enemy to flattery, friend to ſimplicitie. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1310. he wrote

De peccatis & remedijs, lib.1.

Conciones plures, lib.1.

Mauricius. Mauricius Hybernus, of hym Ioannes Camertes thus writeth.

Iohannes Camert. in cap.35. Soli. Annis ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea inſula oriundus Mauricius, D. Franciſci ordinis profeſſus, In dialecticis, vtraq; phyloſophia, metaphiſicis, literis, ac ſacra theologia plurimum in ſtudiis [illegible] inſuper dici poteſt, qua humanitate, [illegible] plurimis in Patauino Gymnaſio bonas artes docu[illegible] cum ſumma [illegible] gratia, [illegible] a Iulio ſecundo pontifice maximo [illegible] archiepiſcopus [illegible] multum poſt, magna ſtudioſorum iactura, [illegible] dum quinquageſimum ætatis ſuæ attigiſſet annum, [illegible] Dum uiueret [illegible] ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quanta fuerit inter eum et me dum uiueret, [illegible] epiſtolæ, quas plenas charitatis [illegible] dedit. [illegible] poſt eius obitum, relegens ſolor [illegible].

There was (ſayth Ioannes Camertes) of late yeres one Mauricius borne in Irelande, a Frier Minor by his profeſſion, very well ſeene in Logike, deepely grounded in philoſophy, both diuine and naturall, learned in the Metaphyſikes, in diuinitie peereleſſe. Secondly I will ſhew how great curteſie and vertue he was endued withal: he had profeſſed at Padua the liberall Artes many yeres, with no ſmall commendation. He was created by Iulius the ſecond, not onely for his profound knowledge, but alſo for the ſinceritie of his lyfe, Archbiſhop of Tuam. Whereas he was trauellyng thitherward, beyng departed from Italy, by reaſon of the vnwholſome aire there contagiouſly encreaſing, he ended his lyfe to the great loſſe of learnyng, before he was full fifty yeres olde. He had ſundry workes in hand, which he coulde not haue finiſhed by reaſon of his vntimely death. How dere and entier friendes he and I were one to the other duryng his life, the letters he addreſſed me from tyme to tyme, to the number of fiue hundred, thwackt with loue and kyndneſſe, do manifeſtly declare. And by peruſing of them after his death (ſuch is the force of friendſhip) I am greatly comforted. Thus far Camertes. This Mauritius wrote.

Commentarios ſuper Scotum in prædicabilia.

In magiſtrum ſententiarum, lib. 4.

Mauritius Cassilienſis. Mauricius Archbiſhop of Caſhill, he floriſhed in king Iohns raigne. Giraldus Cambrienſis, vpon his commyng into Irelande, and debaſing the country in the hearyng of this prelate, ſaying that albeit the inhabitauntes were wont to brag of the number of their Saintes, yet they had no Martyrs. You ſay very well ſir (quoth the Archbiſhop) in deede as rude as this countrey is or hath bene, yet the dwellers had the ſaintes in ſome reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrey is come to your kings handes, we ſhall (I truſt) ſhortly be ſtored with Martyrs.

Magh. John Magh [illegible], he wrote a treatiſe, de poſſeſſione Mendicantium.

Malley. [illegible]

Neilan. Neylan, ſometime fellow of Alſoules colledge in Oxford, a learned phiſition.

Nigran. Patrike Nigram [illegible].

Norris. Phillip Norris, ſcholer of Oxford, and after Deane of S. Patrikes in Dublyn. He floriſhed in the yeare [illegible] & wrote theſe workes.

Declamationes quaſdam, lib. 1.

Lecturas ſcripturarum, lib. 1.

Sermones ad populum, lib. 1.

Contra mendicitatem validam, lib. 1.

Nugent. Nugent, baron of Deluin, ſcholed in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge.

William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a ſinguler good wit, he wrote in the Engliſh tongue diuers Sonets.

Obuge. Dauid Obuge, borne in the town of Kildare. For hys learned lectures, and ſubtile diſputations openly publiſhed in Oxford and Treuers in Germany, he was taken for the gemme and lanterne of his country. In his tyme Giraldus Bononienſis, beyng maiſter generall of the Carmelites, was at iarre with William Lydlington, the prouinciall of the Engliſh Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wiſeſt and learnedſt Carmelits, that then were reſiant in Englande, beyng elected to reſiſt their generall, Obuge was choſen to be the formoſt of al the crew. Giraldus Bononienſis. Giraldus Bononienſis vnderſtandyng that he beyng an Iriſhman, was ſo hote in the controuerſie, was egerly bent agaynſt Obug, becauſe he aſſured hymſelf to haue had fauour at his handes, by reaſon Obuge was borne in that countrey where the Giraldines his kinſmen were planted, and therupon he was baniſhed Italy. This ſtorme in proceſſe of tyme beyng appeaſed, the outcaſt Carmelite was made the generall gardien of all his fraternitie in Irelande, which countrey by his continuall teaching & preaching was greatly edified. Ouer this he was ſo politique a counſailor, that the nobilitie & eſtates in cauſes of weight, would haue recourſe to hym as to an oracle. He was in philoſophy an Ariſtotle, in eloquence a Tully, in diuinitie an Auguſtine, in the ciuill law a Iuſtinian, in the canon a Panormitane. He floriſhed in the yere 1320. he deceaſed at Kyldare, leauyng theſe learned workes enſuyng to poſteritie.

Sermones ad Clerum, lib. 1.

Epiſtolæ 32 ad diuerſos, lib. 1.

Propoſitiones diſputatas, lib. 1.

Lectiones Treuerenſes, lib. 1.

Regulæ Iuris, lib. 1.

Contra Giraldum Bononienſem.

Odewhe. Owen Odewhe, a preacher, and a maker in Iriſhe.

Oheirnain. Thomas Oheyrnayne, Deane of Caſhell, a learned deuine, he wrote in Latine,
Ad Iacobum Stanihurſtum, epiſt. plures.

Oheirligh. Thomas Ohyrlegh, biſhop of Roſſe, an exquiſite deuine, brought vp in Italy.

Pander. Pander, a man zelouſly addicted to the reformation of his countrey, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latin, entituled Salus populi.

Patricius. Patricius, who notwithſtanding he be no Iriſhman borne, yet I may not ouerſlip hym in the catalogue of Iriſh authors, for as much as hys whole workes tended to the conuerſion and reformation of that countrey, he was ſurnamed Succetus or Magonius, an abſolute deuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therin with ſyncerity of lyfe. 432. Beyng ſent into Ireland by the appoyntment of Cœleſtinus the firſt, accompanied with Segetius a prieſt, he conuerted the Iſland from idolatry and paganiſme, to chriſtianitie. He wrote theſe bookes followyng.

De antiquitate Aualonica, lib. 1.
Itinerarium confeſſionis, lib. 1.
Odorporicon Hyberniæ, lib. 1.
Hiſtoria Hyberniæ ex Ruano, lib. 1.
De tribus Habitaculis, lib. 1.
De futura electorum vita. lib. 1.
Abiectoria quædam, 366. lib. 1.
Sermones, lib. 1.
Ad Cereticum tyrannum, epiſt. 1.
Ad Aualonicos incolas, epiſt. 1.
Ad Hybernicas eccleſias, epiſt. plures.
Ad Britannos, epiſt. plures.

He deceaſed, beyng 122. yeres old, in the yeare 458. or as ſome ſuppoſe 491. and lyeth buryed in an auncient city, in the North of Irelande, named Downe, accordyng to the old verſe.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno.
Brigida, Patricius, atq; Columba pius.

Patricius Abbas. Patricius Abbas, a learned man, and much geuen to the edifiyng of his countreymen. He floriſhed in the yere 850. and deceaſed at Glaſcobury. Some aſcribe the findyng of S. Patrikes purgatory to this Abbot, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrey, but that errour hath bene before ſufficiently reproued. This Abbot wrote,

Homelias, lib. 1.
Ad Hybernos, epiſt. plures.

Petrus Hybernicus. Petrus Hybernicus, profeſſor of philoſophy in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lantern of ſcholemen, both in philoſophy and deuinitie, was hys ſcholer, beyng therfore as highly renowmed, as Socrates is for beyng M. to Plato, or Plato is, for hauyng Ariſtotle to hys ſcholer. This Petrus flouriſhed in the yere 1230. he wrote,

Quodlibeta theologica. lib. 1.

Plunckett. Plunckett, baron of Dunſany, ſcholer in Ratough, to P. Staghens, after ſent by ſir Chriſtofer Barnewall knight, hys friendly father in law, to the vniuerſitie of Oxforde. Wherein how well he profited in knowledge, as ſuch as are of hys acquaintaunce, perfectly perceyue, ſo hereafter when hys workes ſhall take the ayre, that now by reaſon of baſhfull modeſtie, or modeſt baſhfulnes are wrongfully empriſoned, and in mewes ſtifled in ſhadowed cowches, I doubt not, but hys fame and renowme in learnyng, ſhall be aunſwerable to his deſert and valure in writyng.

Pomrell. Pomrell, a bacheler of deuinitie, ſometyme chapleine in newe colledge at Oxford, after returnyng to his countrey, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence ſitted to Louayne, where through continuall hearyng of lectures and diſputations, more then by his priuate ſtudy, he purchaſed a laudable knowledge in deuinitie. Wherby he gaue manifeſt ſhewe of the profite that riſeth of exerciſe and conference. The force of exerciſe. Vpon this occaſion one of hys acquaintaunce was accuſtomed to tell hym that he had all hys deuinitie by hearſay. He deceaſed at Louaine in the yere 1573.

Quemerford. 1575. Nicholas Quemerford, doctor of deuinitie, proceeded the 23. of October, he wrote in Engliſh a very pithy and learned treatiſe, & therewithall exquiſitely pend, entituled,

Aunſwers to certayne queſtions propounded by the citizens of Waterford.
Diuerſe ſermons.

There lyued lately of the ſurname, a graue prelate in Waterford, and properly learned.

Ryan. Ryan, there floriſhed two brethren of the ſame name, both ſcholers of Oxford, the one a good Ciuilian, the other very well ſeene in the Mathematicals.

Richard. Richard, Archdeacon of S. Patrikes, Chauncellour of the Vniuerſitie of Dublinne, proceded Doctor of the Canon law, in the yere 1320.

Rochefod. Robert Rocheforde, borne in the Countye of Weiſford, a proper deuine, an exact Philoſopher, and a very good antiquary. There is an other Rochford, that is a ſtudent of philoſophy.

Roth. Roth, bacheler of law, proceeded in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford. There hath bene an other Roth Vicar of S. Iohns in Kylkenny, pretily learned.

De ſacro boſco. Ioannes de ſacro boſco, borne in Holywoode, and therof ſurnamed de ſacro boſco. He wrote an excellent introduction, Bernard Halys x m Cod. 581.

De Sphæra.

Sedgraue. Sedgraue, two brethren of the name, both ſtudentes in deuinitie.

Shaghens. Shaghens fellow of Baliol colledge in Oxford, after ſcholemaiſter in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man.

Sheyne. Sheyne, ſcholer in Oxforde and Paris. He wrote, De repub.

Elias Sheth, borne in Kylkenny, ſometyme ſcholer of Oxforde, a gentleman of a paſſing good wit: a pleaſant conceyted [illegible], full of mirth without gall. He wrote in Engliſh diuers Sonets.

Michael Sheth, borne in Kylkenny, [illegible]

[illegible] borne in Corchy [illegible]

Moghyll.

Richard Smyth, borne in a towne, named Rackmackney, thre myles diſtant frō Weiſford, ſurnamed Smyth of hys father, who was by occupation a ſmith, being .xv. yeres of age, he ſtole into England, and repaired to Oxford, where in tract of tyme he [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] taken in thoſe dayes for the [illegible] of all the deuines in Oxforde, as well in ſcholaſticall as in publicke deuiniting. Upon the death of Queene Mary, he went to Louayne, where he [illegible] with little admiration and leſſe reprehenſion. He wrote in Engliſh agaynſt licentious faſtyng, or the liberty of Faſtyng.

The aſſertion of the ſacrament of the aulter.

A defence of the ſacrafice of the maſſe. lib. 1.

Of unwritten verities. lib. 1.

Retractations. lib. 1.

In the latin tongue he wrote de coelibatu ſacerdotum. lib. 1.

De votis Monaſticis. lib. 1.

De Iuſtificatione hominis. lib. 1.

Nicholas Stanihurſt, he wrote in Latine, Dietam Medicorum, lib. 1. He dyed in the yeare 1554.

James Stanihurſt, late recorder of Dublyn, ouer hys exacte knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good oratour, and a proper deuine. He wrote in Engliſhe, beyng ſpeaker in the parliamentes. An oration made in the beginnyng of a parliament holden at Dublyn before the right honourable Thomas Erle of 1557. Suſſex, &c. in the third and fourth yere of Phillip and Mary.

An oration made in the beginnyng of the parliament holden at Dublyn, before the right 1560. honourable Thomas Erle of Suſſex, in the ſecond yere of the raigne of our ſoueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth.

An oration made in the beginnyng of a parliament holden at Dublyn, before the right honourable ſir Henry Sidney knight, &c. in the 1568. xj. yeare of the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth. He wrote in Latin,

Pias Orationes.

Ad Corcacienſem decanum, epiſt. plures.

He deceaſed at Dublyn, the 27. of December, 1573. beyng 51. yeres olde. Upon whoſe death, I, as nature and duty bound me, made this epitaph.

Vita breuis, mors ſancta fuit (pater optime) viſa,
[illegible] mors ſola [illegible] bona.
Vrbs eſt orba Sopho: legum rectore tribunal,
Cauſidicisque cliens, [illegible] parente puer.
Plurima proferrem, ſed me prohibere videntur,
Pungens vere dolor, fingere falſa pudor.
Non opus eſt falſis, ſed quae ſunt vera loquendo,
[illegible] penna nocet, buccina fama ſonet.
Hoc ſcripſiſſe [illegible] parentem
Eſt [illegible], ſed [illegible]
Filius haec [illegible]
Vnus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe par[illegible]
Mortuus [illegible] pater, [illegible]
Viuis enim mundo nomine, mente deo.

Walter Stanihurſt, ſonne to James Stanihurſt, he tranſlated into Engliſh, Innocentius de contemptu mundi.

There flouriſhed before any of theſe, Stanihurſt, that was a ſcholer of Oxford, brother to Gennet Stanihurſt, a famous and an auncient matrone of Dublyn, ſhe lieth buried in S. Michaels church. Circa annū dom. 1506.

Sutton, one of that name, is a very good maker in Engliſh. **Sutton.**

Mathew Talbot ſcholemaſter, a ſtudent in Cambridge, William Talbot. **Talbot.**

John Talbot, ſonne to William, a M. of Art, he wrote in Latine

Orationem in laudem comitis Eſſexiae,

Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Edmund Tanner, a profound deuine, he wrote Lectiones in ſummam D. Thomae. **Tanner.**

Taylor, bacheler of Arte, proceeded in the uniuerſitie of Oxford, he wrote in Latine, Epigrammata diuerſa. **Taylor.**

Thomas Hybernus, borne in Palmerſtowne nere the Naas. He proceeded doctor of deuinitie in Paris, a depe clearke and one that red much, as may eaſily be gathered by his learned workes. He flouriſhed in the yere 1290. and wrote with diuers other workes, theſe bookes enſuyng. **Thomas Hybernus.**

Flores bibliae.

Flores doctorum, lib. 1.

De Chriſtiana religione, lib. 1.

De illuſionibus daemonum. lib. 1.

De Tentatione diaboli, lib. 1.

De remedijs vitiorum, lib. 1.

Laurentius Toole, Archbiſhop of Dublyn. **Toole.**

Trauerſe doctor of deuinitie, he floriſhed in the raigne of Henry the 8. There hath bene after hym a ſcholemaſter in Dublyn of ẏ name. **Trauerſe.**

Tundalus Magus, a knight, after he became a charterhouſe monke, much giuen to contemplacion, wherin he is reported to haue ſene diuers viſions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote Apparitionum ſuarum, lib. 1. **Tundalus.**

He floriſhed in the yere 1149.

Virgilius Soliuagus, a noble man borne, being ſtept in yeares, he trauelled into Germany, **Virgilius Soliuagus.**

754. where beyng knowen for a vertuous and learned prelate, he was choſen by Otilon Duke of Bauaria, to be their rectour or gardein of an auncient Abbey, named S. Peters Abbey, placed in the citie of Saliſburge, after he was created Epiſcopus Iuuauienſis, and founded in the ſaid towne of Saliſburge a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Engliſh man, beyng generall viſitour in Bauaria, rebaptiſed certaine, whome he ſuſpected not to haue bene orderly baptiſed. Virgilius deteſting the facte, hauyng conſulted with Sydonius Archbiſhop of Bauaria, withſtood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuerſie beyng brought before Pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an errour, and that Virgilius and Sydonius publiſhed in that poynt ſounde doctrine, as who ſo wyll read Zacharias hys epiſtle to Bonifacius, ſhall playnely finde. Virgilius deceaſed in the yeare 784. and lyeth buried in hys church at Saliſburge. He wrote,

Tomo primo conciliorum.

Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epiſt. 1.

Vltagh. Owen Vltagh a phiſition. His father proceeded doctor of Phiſike in Paris.

Vltanus. Vltanus a learned monke, felow to Foillanus, with whom he traueiled into Fraunce, & wyth continuall preachyng edified the inhabitantes of that realme. He floriſhed in the yere 640.

Vrgalius. Gilbertus Vrgalius, a profeſt Carmelite, and a ſtudent in Oxford. He floriſhed in the yere 1330 he wrote in two great Tomes.

Summam quarundam legum.

De rebus theologicis, lib. 1.

Vſher. Vſher, or Vſcher, a ſtudent in Cambridge, and a preacher.

Wadding. Wadding, a proper verſifier, he wrote in latine vpon the burnyng of Paules ſteple.

Carmen Heroicum.

Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Walſhe. Edward Walſhe, he floriſhed in the yeare 1550. and wrote in Engliſh,

The duety of ſuch as fight for their countrey.

The reformation of Ireland by the worde of God.

Iames Walſh, M. of Arte, and ſtudent in diuinitie, he tranſlated into Engliſh, Giraldum Cambrienſem, he wrote in latine,

Epigrammata diuerſa.

Richard Walſhe M. of Art, and ſtudent in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patrikes church in Dublynne, ſtudent in Cambridge, and now a preacher.

Peter Walſhe a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his country, if God had ſpared him lyfe. He dyed of a ſurfet at London, about the yere 1571.

There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the ſurname, who writeth a very proper Latine verſe.

Welleſley. Welleſley deane of Kyldare. There lyueth another learned man of the name, who is Archdeacon of S. Patrikes.

White. Peter White, borne in Waterford, fellow of Orial colledge in Oxford, the lucky ſcholemaiſter of Mounſter. He beſtowed his tyme rather in the makyng of ſcholers, then in the pennyng of bookes, and to the inſtruction of youth he wrote

Epitomen copiae Eraſmi.

Epitomen Figurarum rhetoricarum.

Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poeta.

Annotationes in orat. pro T. Annio Milone.

Epigrammata diuerſa.

Iohn White bachelor of diuinitie, borne in Clonmel, he wrote in latin,

Diuerſa epigrammata.

Andrew White a good humaniſt, a pretty philoſopher.

Wiſe. Wiſe, of this ſurname there floriſhed ſundry learned gentlemen. There liueth one Wiſe in Waterford, that maketh very well in the Engliſh.

Andrew Wiſe, a toward youth, and a good verſifier.

William. William, an Abbote, and as it is thought a ſothſaier. He floriſhed in the yere 1098. & wrote

Prophetias rerum futurarum, lib. 1.

Wolfe. Dauid Wolfe, a deuine.

Thus farre gentle reader, haue I endeuoured to heape vp together a Catalogue of ſuche learned Iriſhmē, as by diligent enſearch could haue ben found. Howbeit, I am to requeſt thee not to meaſure the ample number of the learned of that countrey by this briefe abſtract: conſideryng, that diuers haue ben, yea and are yet liuyng, of profound knowledge that to me are vnknowen, and therefore in this regiſter, not recorded.

The diſpoſition and maners of the meere Iriſh, commonly called the wyld Iriſhe.

Chap. 8.

BEfore I attempt the vnfoldyng of the maners of the meere Iriſh, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne thee reader, not to impute any barbarous cuſtome that ſhall be here layde downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and the inhabitants of the engliſh pale, in that they differ little or nothyng from the auncient cuſtomes and diſpoſitions of their progenitors, the Engliſh and Walſhmen, beyng therfore as mortally behated of ẏ Iriſh, as thoſe that are borne in England. For the Iriſhe man ſtandeth ſo much vpon hys gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the Engliſh ſept, and planted in Irelād, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, Engliſh churle: but if he be an Engliſhman borne, then he nameth

Iriſh gentilitie.

meth hym, Bobdeagh Saxonnegh, that is, a Saxon churle: ſo that both are churles, and he the onely gentleman, and therupon if the baſeſt peſant of them name hymſelfe with hys ſuperior, he wil be ſure to place himſelfe firſt, as I and Oneyle, I and you, I and he, I & my maiſter, whereas the curteſie of the Engliſhe language is cleane contrary.

The incli-
nation of
the people.

The people are thus enclined, religious, frank, amorous, irefull, ſufferable of infinite paynes, very glorious, many ſorcerers, excellent horſemen, delighted with warres, great almeſgiuers, paſſing in hoſpitality. The lewder ſorte both clearkes and lay men are ſenſuall & ouer looſe in liuyng. The ſame beyng vertuouſly bred vp or reformed, are ſuch myrrors of holynes and auſteritie, that other nations retaine but a ſhadow of deuotion in compariſon of them. As for abſtinence and faſting, it is to them a familiar kynd of chaſtiſement.

They folow the dead corpes to the graue with howlyng and barbarous outcries, pitifull in apparance, wherof grew, as I ſuppoſe, the prouerbe, to weepe Iriſh.

To weepe
Iriſhe.

Greedy of prayſe they be, and fearefull of diſhonor, and to this ende they eſteme theyr Poets, who wryte Iriſh learnedly, and pen their ſonets heroicall, for the which they are bountifully rewarded, if not, they ſende out libels in diſprayſe, whereof the Lordes and gentlemen ſtand in great awe. They loue tenderly theyr foſter children, and bequeath to them a childes portion, wherby they nouriſh ſure friendſhip, ſo beneficiall euery way, that commonly, v. C. kyne & better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans childe to foſter, they loue & truſt theyr foſter brethren, more then their owne.

Poets
eſteemed.

Foſter
children.

The ſta-
ture of the
people.

The men are cleane of ſkin & hew, of ſtature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big and large, ſuffered frõ theyr infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of theyr feature and proportion of body.

Infants.

Their infantes of the meaner ſort are neither ſwadled nor lapped in lynnen, but folded vppe ſtarke naked in a blanket till they can go.

Glibbes.

Proud they are of long criſped buſhes of heare which they terme glibs, and the ſame they nouriſh with all their cũning, to crop ÿ front thereof, they take it for a notable piece of villany.

Their
dyet.

Water creſſes, which they terme ſhamrocks, rotes and other herbes they feede vpon, otemeale and butter they cramme together, they drinke whey, mylke, and biefe brothe. Fleſhe they deuour without bread, and that halfe raw: the reſt boyleth in their ſtomackes with Aqua vitæ, which they ſwill in after ſuch a ſurfet by quartes & pottels: they let their cowes bloud, which growen to a gelly, they bake and ouerſpred with butter, and ſo eate it in lumpes. No meat they fanſie ſo much as porke, and the fatter the better. One of Iohn Oneales houſhold demaunded of his fellow whether biefe were better then porke, that, quoth the other, is as intricate a queſtion, as to aſke whether thou art better then Oneale.

Porcke.

Coſhering

Folowers.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenauntes now and then make a ſet feaſt, which they call coſhering, wherto flocke all theyr retayners, whom they name folowers, their rithmoures, their bardes, theyr harpers that feede thẽ with muſicke: and when the harper twangeth or ſingeth a ſong, all the company muſt be whiſt, or elſe he chafeth like a cutpurſe, by reaſõ his harmony is not had in better price. In their coſhering they ſit on ſtraw, they are ſerued on ſtraw and lie vpon mattreſſes and pallets of ſtrawe. The antiquitie of this kynde of feaſting, is ſet forth by Uirgill, where Dido enterteyneth the Troyan prince and his company. They obſerue diuers degrees, according to which ech man is regarded. The baſeſt ſort among them are little yong wags, called Daltinnes, theſe are lackies, & are ſeruiceable to the gromes or horſeboyes, who are a degree aboue the Daltins. Of the third degre is the kerne, who is an ordinary ſouldior, uſing for weapon his ſworde & target, and ſometimes hys peece, beyng commonly ſo good markemen as they will come within a ſcore of a great caſtle. Kerne ſignifieth, as noble men of depe iudgement informed me, a ſhower of hell, becauſe they are taken for no better then for rakehels, or the deuils blacke garde, by reaſon of the ſtinkyng ſturre they kepe, where ſo euer they be.

Lib. pri. En.
circa finem

Daltyn.

Grome.

Kearne.

Kigheyren

Gallo-
glaſſe.

The fourth degre is a galloglaſſe, uſing a kind of pollax for his weapon. Theſe men are commonly waywarde rather by profeſſion then by nature, grim of countenãce, tall of ſtature, big of lymme, burly of body, wel and ſtrongly timberd, chiefly ſeeding on beefe, porke and butter.

Horſeman.

The fift degree is to be an horſman, which is the chiefeſt next the lord and capitaine. Theſe horſemen when they haue no ſtay of their own, gad and range from houſe to houſe like arrant knightes of the round table, and they neuer diſmount vntill they ride into the hall, and as far as the table.

Karrow.

There is among them a brotherhod of Karrowes, that profer to play at chartes all ÿ yere long, and make it their onely occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare ſkin, and then truſſe themſelues in ſtrawe or in leaues, they wayte for paſſengers in the high way, inuite them to game vpon the grene, & aſke them no more but companions to holde them ſporte. For default of other ſtuffe, they pawne theyr glibs, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their dimiſſaries, which they leeſe or redeeme at the curteſie of the wynde.

A taleteller.

One office in the houſe of noble men is a taleteller, who bringeth his lord a ſleepe with tales vayne and friuolous, whereunto the number giue ſoth & credite. Without eyther preceptes or obſeruation of congruitie, they ſpake latin lyke a vulgar language, learned in their common ſchooles of leachcraft and lawe, whereat they begin children, and hold on ſixtene or twenty yeres, conning by rote the Aphoriſmes of Hypocrates, and the ciuill Inſtitutes, with a fewe other parings of thoſe faculties. In their ſchooles, they groouel vpō couches of ſtrawe, their bokes at their noſes, themſelues lye flat proſtrate, & ſo they chaunt out with a lowd voyce their leſſons by peecemeale, repeating two or thre wordes 30. or 40. tymes together. Other lawyers they haue lyable to certaine families, which after the cuſtome of the countrey determine & iudge cauſes. Theſe cōſider of wrongs offered and receyued among their neighbors: be it murther, felony, or treſpaſſe, all is remedied by compoſition (except the grudge of parties ſeeke reuenge) and the tyme they haue to ſpare from ſpoyling and preying, they lightly beſtowe in parling about ſuch matters. The Breighon (ſo they call this kinde of lawyer) ſitteth on a banke, the lordes and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they procede. To robbe and ſpoile their enemies they deme it none offence, nor ſeke any meanes to recouer their loſſe, but euen to watch them the lyke turne. But if neighbors and friendes ſend their purueyors to purloyne one an other ſuch actions are iudged by the Breighons aforeſaid.

Latin ſpoken as a vulgare language.

Breighon.

Religious fauoured.

They honour and reuerence Friers and pilgrimes, by ſuffring them to paſſe quietly, and by ſparing theyr manſiōs, whatſoeuer outrage they ſhew to the countrey beſides them. The lyke fauour do they extend to their Poetes and Rithmours.

Matrimony abuſed.

In olde tyme they much abuſed the honourable ſtate of marriage, either in contractes vnlawfull, meetyng the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorcementes at pleaſure, or in retayning concubines or harlots for wyues: yea euen at this day where the clergy is fainte, they can be content to marry for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeres ende, or any tyme after, to returne hir home with hir marriage goodes, or as much in value, vpon light quarrels, if the gentlewomans friendes be vnable to reuenge the iniury. In lyke maner may ſhe forſake hir huſband.

Superſtitiō in baptiſme.

In ſome corner of the land they vſed a damnable ſuperſtition, leauyng the right armes of their infantes vnchriſtened (as they terme it) to the intent it might giue a more vngracious & deadly blowe. Others write that gentlemens children were baptiſed in milke, and the infantes of poore folke in water, who had the better, or rather the onely choyce.

Irelande why ſuperſtitious.

Diuers other vayne and execrable ſuperſtitions they obſerue, that for a complete recitall, would require a ſeueral volume. Whereto they are the more ſtiffly wedded, becauſe ſuch ſingle preachers as they haue, reproue not in theyr ſermons the peeuiſhneſſe and fondneſſe of theſe friuolous dreamers. But theſe and the like enormities haue taken ſo depe rote in that people, as commonly a preacher is ſoner by their naughty lyues corrupted, then their naughty lyues by his preaching amended. Againe the very Engliſh of birth, conuerſant with the ſauage ſort of that people become degenerate, & as though they had taſted of Circes poyſoned cup, are quite altered. Such a force hath education to make or marre.

God with the beames of hys grace, clarifie the eyes of that rude people, that at lēgth they may ſee theyr miſerable eſtate: and alſo that ſuch, as are deputed to the gouernment therof, bend their induſtry with conſcionable pollicye to reduce them from rudeneſſe to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trechery to honeſty, from ſauageneſſe to ciuilitie, frō idlenes to labour, from wickedneſſe to godlyneſſe, wherby they may the ſoner eſpy their blyndeneſſe, acknowledge their loſeneſſe, amende their liues, frame thēſelues plyable to yͤ lawes
and ordinaunces of hir Maieſtie, whom God
with his gracious aſſiſtance preſerue, as
wel to the proſperous gouernment of
hir realme of England, as to the
happye reformation of hir
realme of Ireland.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE of Irelande.

Although vndoubtedlye, the Originall of all nations for the more part is ſo vncertaine, that who ſo euer ſhall enter into the ſearche thereof further than hee fyndeth in the holie ſcriptures, may ſeeme (as it were rather to talk with men that dreame) than to gather authorities ſufficient wherevpon to grounde any warranted opinion: yet for as muche as the authors (whom in this Iriſh hyſtorie we chiefly followe) haue ſet downe what they haue founde in the Iriſhe antiquities, concerning the firſte inhabitation of this countrey of Ireland: and bycauſe the reader alſo maye be peraduenture deſirous to vnderſtande the ſame, we haue thoughte good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauyng the credite vnto the due conſideration of the circumſpecte reader, and where the errours are to groſſe, giuing by the waye ſome cautions, in lyke ſorte as oure Authours themſelues haue done.

mond Campion.
Giraldus Cambrenſis.

According therfore to the order of al other nations and people that ſeeke to aduaunce the glory of their countreyes in fetching their beginnyng with the fartheſt from ſome one of auncient antiquitie: ſo lykewiſe the Iriſhmen haue regiſtred in their Chronicles, that their Countrey was firſte inhabited by one of Noes neeces after this manner.

In the yeare of the world. 1525. the Patriarke Noe began to admoniſh the people of vengeance to followe for their wickedneſſe and abhominable ſinnes, to buyld his arke, to foreſhew his kinſfolk and frendes, of that vniuerſal floud whiche was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earthe ſhoulde be couered with water, and that within fewe yeeres, except they amended in tyme. This did he before the generall Floud one hundred and .xxv. yeeres. But when euery man ſeemed to neglect this wholſom admonition, one Ceſara that was neece to Noe, hearyng hir vncles fearefull prophecie, doubted leaſt the ſame ſhould come to paſſe, and therfore determined with certayne hir adherentes to ſeeke aduentures in ſome forrayne region, perſuading hir ſelf, that if ſhe might finde a countrey neuer yet inhabited, and ſo with ſinne vnſpotted, the generall ſentence of Gods wrathe ſhould not there take effecte. Wherevpon rigging a nauie, ſhe committed hir ſelf to the ſeas, ſayling forth, till at length ſhe arriued in Irelande only with three men, and fiftie women, hauing loſte the reſidue of hir companie by miſfortune of ſundrie ſhipwracks made in that hir long & troubleſome iourney. The names of the men wer theſe, Bythi, Laigria, and Fintan. The coaſt where ſhe fyrſt ſet foote a lande, and where alſo ſhe lyeth buried, is called *Nauicularū litum*, yͭ is the ſhipping riuage or ſhore. The ſtones wherin the memorie hereof was preſerued from violence of waters, haue bin ſeene of ſome (as they them ſelues haue reported,) but how truly I haue not to ſay. Within .xl. days after hir comming a land there, the vniuerſall floud came and ouerflowed al that coaſt as well as all other partes of the worlde.

Ceſara nece to Noe.

Anno mundi. 1556.

But where this tale bewrayeth it ſelfe too manifeſtly to be a mere vntruth, if the time & other circūſtances be throughly examined, I wil not ſtand longer about the proofe or diſproufe therof, ſauing that it is ſufficient (as I thinke) to bring it oute of credite, to conſider, how that the Arte of ſayling was vnknowne to the world before the vniuerſall floud, and no parte inhabited excepte the continent of Syria, and thereaboutes. But to paſſe ſuch a forged fable, with the recorde thereof grauen in a ſtone (A deuiſe borowed from Joſephus, as ſome thinke) it ſhal be ſufficient for the glorie of the Iriſh antiquitie to graunt that Irelande was diſcouered and peopled by ſome of Noes kinrede, euen with the firſt Ilandes of the world (if they will needes haue it ſo, as the likelyhood is great) according to that whiche is ſette forth in their hiſtories, when aboute. 300. yeeres after the generall Floud immediatly vpon the confuſion of toungs, Japhet and his poſteritie emboldened by Noes example, aduentured to cōmitte themſelues by ſhippe to paſſe the ſeas, and to ſearche out the vnknowne corners of yͤ world, and ſo finding out diuers yles in theſe weſt parts of the worlde.

Rab. Iſaac in Gene. 5.

Anno mundi. 1557.
After the beſte authours make 300. yeres. and not. 100. betvvene Noes floud and Babell.

There was (ſaye they) in that retinue one of the ſame progenie named Bartolenus, or Baſtolenus, who encouraged with the late attempte and ſucceſſe of Nimrod, kinſeman to Ninus, (then newely intruded vppon the Monarchie of Aſſyria) ſtretched ſo farre weſt, intending to atteyn vnto ſome gouernement where hee mighte rule

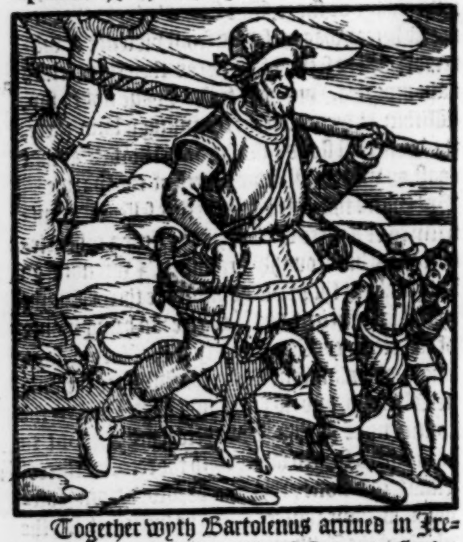
Bartolenus, or Baſtolenus.
Clem. lib. 4.
Cambreid. li. 3.

without any partener in authoritie) till at length Fortune broughte him and his people vppon the coaſt of Irelande. Here he ſettled himſelfe with his three ſonnes, Languinna, Salanus, and Ruthurgus, right actiue and ſtout Gentlemen, who ſearching the lande from ſyde to ſyde, and from ende to ende, lefte remembraunces of their names in certayn notable places named after them as Languini, Stragruus, and mount Salanga ſince named Sainte Dominickes hill, and Ruthurgus his poole. Little is remembred of Bartolenus, ſauing that in ſhorte ſpace with many handes working at once, he ridde and made playne a great part of the countrey ouergrowen with woddes and thickets.

Ruthurgi ſtagnum.

Ireland firſt inhabited.

Thus was Irelande inhabited by this people vnder the gouernemente of thoſe three ſonnes of Bartholenus and their offſpryng, aboute the ſpace of three hundred yeares.



Gyants.

Bergon the ſonne of Neptune and brother to Albiō, as I. Bale hath, cōquered Irelande, and the Orkneys.

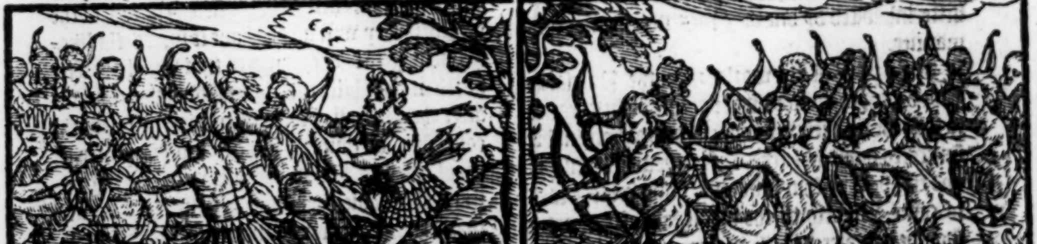
Euil examples ſoon folovved

Rebellion againſt gouernours.

A vvorthy reſolution.

Together wyth Bartolenus arriued in Ireland certayn godleſſe people of Nemrods ſtocke, worthily termed Giants, as thoſe that in bodily ſhape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vſed their ſtrengthe to gayne ſoueraigntie, and to oppreſſe the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (Chams brode) grewe in ſhorte whyle to greate numbres, and alway endeuored them ſelues where ſo euer they came to beare yͤ rule ouer others. One cauſe hereof was, their bodily ſtrength anſwerable to their hugeneſſe of ſtature, an other the examples of Cham or Zoroaſtres that Magicien & Nemrod grandfather to Ninus. Whiche two perſons in themſelues & their progenies were renowned through the world, as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mighty kingdoms, Egypt and Aſſyria. A thirde cauſe ther was, as this: They repined at the bleſſings beſtowed vpō Sem and Iaphet, thinking it neceſſarie to withſtand and preuent all lawfull rule and dominion, leſt the curſe of ſlauerie prophecied by Noe ſhould light vpon thē as at lēgth it did. Hereupon rebelliouſly withdrawing theyr due obedience from their lawfull gouerners here in Ireland, and taking head, ſet vp a king of their own faction, mainteyning his aſtate to yͤ oppreſſion of the ſubiects, by bringing them into continual bondage. The ſucceſſe was variable on both ſides, betwixt the lawful gouernors & theſe vſurpers, with dayly reiſes & ſkirmiſhes, ſo much to yͤ grief of them that coueted to liue in quiet vnder their rightful Princes, that they determined with the chaunce of one general battayle eyther wholly to ſubdue thoſe proud rebellious tyrants, or els to end their lyues in freedom, & ſo to be rid of further miſerie. But firſt, where there had growen certain debate & enimitie amōg thēſelues, wherby they had enfebled their own forces, they thought good to make peace togither, before they put their whole ſtate in hazard of one bataile againſt the Giants, concluding therfore an agreement, & ioyning in league, with promiſe to aſſiſte eche other to ſubdue their cōmon enimies, they aſſemble theyr power forth of all parts of the land, and comming to ioyne batail with the Giants, after they had fought righte fiercely togither for the ſpace of certaine houres, the victorie enclined to

the



Victorie too cruelly vſed.

Anno mundi. 2257.

the rightful part, ſo that the lawful kings preuayling againſt yͤ wicked tyrāts, gret ſlaughter was made on the whole brode of that miſcheuous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer them ſelues of all daunger in tyme to come, vſed theyr happie victorie with great crueltie, whiche turned to their owne confuſion: for where they neyther ſpared man woman nor chylde that came in the way for more deſpite, & fuller ſatiſfying of theyr whole reuenge, they did not vouchſafe to bury the carkaſſes of their ſlayne enimies, but caſte them out lyke a ſort of dead dogges, wherof thorough ſtenche of the ſame, ſuche an infectiue peſtilence enſewed in all places through corruption of ayre, that fewe eſcaped with lyfe, beſyde thoſe that got them away by ſea.

Ruanus hovve long he lyued.

Forged tales & fables vvinne credit in tyme, to paſſe among the vnſkilfull people for true hiſtories.

And hereby lyeth a vayne tale among the Iriſhmen, that one of the Giants named Ruanus chauncing to be preſerued from this mortalitie, liued forſooth about. 2041. yeres, which is more thā twice the age of Mathuſalem. By this man (ſay they) S. Patrike was enformed of all the eſtate of the coūtrey: and after that vpon requeſt he had receiued baptiſme of the ſayd Patrike, he deceaſed in the yere after the birth of our ſauior. 430. as in the Iriſhe hiſtories hath bene vnaduiſedly regiſtred. But ſuche fooliſhe tales and vayne narrations may warne the aduiſed reader how to beware of yelding credite vnto the lyke idle fantaſies & forged tales, when they hap to lyght vpon ſuche blynde Legendes. For where ſome of the Poets vſed for inuention ſake to fayne ſuch dreaming Fables, for exerciſe of their ſtiles and wits, afterwarde thorough errour and lacke of knowledge, they haue ben taken with the ignorant for verie true and moſte aſſured hiſtories.

But nowe to the matter as we fynde it recorded of an infinite number of Giants ſlayne and made away in maner afore reherſed, certain there were that got them into ſome lurking dennes or caues, and there kepte them till lacke of victuals enforced them to come forth, and make ſhift for ſuſtenaunce, and perceyuing no reſiſtance bycauſe the lande was in maner lefte deſolate, they waxed bolder, and when they vnderſtoode howe things had paſſed, they ſettled them ſelues in the beſt part of the countrey, eaſily ſubduing the poore ſillie ſoules that remayned, and ſo reuiuing theyr lignage, they became lordes of the whole Iland, keping the ſame in ſubiection for the ſpace of thre ſcore yeares together.

Gene.10.

Anno mundi. 2317. Nemodus with his foure ſonnes.

Irelande eftſones inhabited by the offſpring of Iaphet.

The Giaunts preuayle.

Among Iaphets ſonnes we reade in Geneſis, that Magog was one, who planted his people in Scythia neere Tanais, from whence aboute the yeere of the world. 2317. Nemodus with his. iiij. ſonnes Starius, Garbaneles, Anninus, Ferguſius capitaynes ouer a faire companye of people, were ſent into Ireland, who paſſing by Grecia, and taking there ſuche as were deſirous to ſeeke aduentures with them, at length they landed in Irelande inhabited the countrey, and multiplyed therein, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giantes, for the ſpace of two hundred and ſixteene yeres, in the ende of whiche terme the Giauntes preuayling, chaſed them thēce again, ſo that they retired into Syria.

2533.

The ſonnes of Dela a Grecian ſkilfull in the arte of ſayling.

They paſſe into Ireland, and deſtroyed the Giaunts.

They deuide the countrey into four parts.

This was aboute the yeere after the creation (as by their accoumpte it ſhoulde ſeeme) 2533. from whiche tyme the Giauntes kepte poſſeſſion of the lande without forrain inuaſion till the yeare. 2714. but yet in all that ſpace they were not able to frame a common welth: for falling at variaunce among them ſelues, and meaſuring all things by might, ſeditiouſly they vexed ech other. Whiche thyng comming to the knowledge of the Grecians, moued fiue brethren, ſonnes to one Dela, being notable ſea men and ſkilfull Pilots to rigge a nauie, and to attempte the conqueſt of this Ilande. Theſe were of the poſteritie of Nemodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutheranius, and Slanius. When all things were readye and their companies aſſembled, they tooke the ſea, and finally arriuing here in Irelande, founde the puiſſance of the Giants ſore weakened throughe their owne ciuill diſſention, ſo that with more eaſe they atchieued theyr purpoſe, and wanne the whole countreye, vtterly deſtroying and rootyng out that wicked generation, enimies to mankinde, and after deuided the Ilande into fyue partes, and in eche of them they ſeuerally reigned.

Furthermore to ſatiſfie all ſydes, and auoyde contention, they concluded to fixe a mereſtone in the myddle poynte of Irelande, to the whiche eche of their kyngdomes ſhoulde reache, ſo as they myght bee equally partakers of the commodities founde within that countrey ſoyle.

A cantred.

Deſire of ſoueraintie cauſe of variance.

Theſe are alſo ſuppoſed to haue inuented the diſtribution of ſhires into Cantredes, euery cantred or baronie conteyning one hundred towneſhippes. At length the deſyre of ſoueraigntie ſette the fyue brethrene at variance, and greatly hindered theyr growyng wealthes. But Slanius getting the vpper hende, and bringing his four brethren to a lowe ebbe, tooke vpon him as chiefe aboue his other brethren, encroching rounde about the myddle ſtone for the ſpace of certayne myles, whiche plotte in tyme obteyned the priuiledge and name of one entier parte, and nowe maketh vp the number of fyue partes, (into the whiche Irelande is ſayde to bee deuided) and is called Methe, and in Latine *Media*, taking that name (as ſome haue gueſſed) for that in reſpecte of the other, it conteyned but the moytie of cantredes, that is. xvj. (where eche of the other comprehended. 32. a peece) or elſe for that it lyeth in the

Slanius departed thys lyfe.

middeſt of the lande. This parte Slanius ioyned as a ſurpluſage ouer and aboue his inheritaunce, vnto the Monarchie, whiche parte notwithſtanding grewe to a ſeuerall kingdome. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finally Slanius departed this lyfe, and was buryed in a mountayne of Meth, that beareth hytherto (as they ſay) the name after him.

Then the Princes ſubiecte to him, beganne to ſtomacke the matter, and denied their obeyſaunce to his ſucceſſour, wherevpon enſued continuall warres betwixte them, falling ſtill at debate for the lande of Methe, whiche ſtrife of long tyme might neuer fully be appeaſed.

A nevv armie of Scythians lande in Irelande.

Parttakings.

In the necke of theſe troubles alſo there arriued in Ireland a new armie of Scythians, who made clayme to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their forfather Nemodus: & ſo taking and making partes, they ſet all in an vprore, that hauocke was made on eche ſide with fire and ſworde in moſte miſerable maner.

To be ſhort, they ſpent themſelues in purſuing one an other with ſuche outrage, that nowe they cared not what nation or what Souldiour they receiued to theyr ayde, to keepe vp or beate downe a ſyde.

Brennus called into Ireland to ayde one parte of the factious people.

Segvvyne. Allobroges.

By whiche occaſion the Brytons alſo put in a foote among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus, to directe his courſe thyther with the ſame nauie whiche he had made ready to paſſe ouer into Gallia, now called Fraunce, to the ayde of Segwin then kyng of the Allobroges that inhabited the countreis called Sauoy and the Delphinate.

But his enterpriſe into Ireland tooke ſmal effect though there were other kings of the Britons that got dominion there, in ſo muche that Gurguntius, or Gurgwintius, the ſonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions, to belong to him by lineall deſcente, notwithſtanding the Brytiſh Princes neuer enioyed the quiet poſſeſſion thereof longer than they helde it by mayne force, but were often repulſed and put to the worſe with ſeekyng after it, fynding there ſmall gaine other than ſtripes, whereof they bare away great plentie.

But nowe to come to the Spanyards, that laſtly vnder the conducte of foure Capitains paſſed into Irelande from Biſkaye, and inhabited that Ilande, it ſhall not bee impertinent in following the order whiche oure Authour keepeth, to ſpeake ſomwhat of their originall, that it maye appeare from whence the Iriſhe nation had their firſt beginning.

2436.

In the yeare of the worlde, 2436. after the vniuerſall floud. 780. whyleſt the Iſraelites ſerued in Egypte, Gathelus the ſonne of one Neale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon diſfauorexiled his countrey with a number of his factious adherents and frendes. This noble Gentleman being right wiſe, valiant, and wel ſpoken, comming into Egipte, gote honourable entertainmente of Pharao ſurnamed Orus, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie more plainly appereth. And afterwardes departing that countrey, trauerſed the ſeas, and landing firſt in Portingall, after ſome bickering with the inhabitants, at lẽgth yet he got by their conſent a portion of the countrey lying by the banks of the riuer auncientely called Munda, and now Mondego, where ſhortly after he began to buyld a citie firſt named Brachara but now Barſalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Gathelus his people began to increaſe in power, thorough perſuaſion of the Spanyardes their neighbors, they remoued into Galicia, where they alſo builded a citie named Brigantium, whiche is nowe called Coruna. Finally when they grew into ſuche an huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to ſuſteyn them, Gathelus with a certain number of thẽ paſſed ouer into Ireland, and there grewe into ſuch eſtimatiõ with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge ſpecially in all languages, he was highly honored: for he not only enriched and beautified the Iriſh toung, but alſo taught them, letters, ſought vp their antiquities, practiſed their youth in warlyke feates after the manner of the Grekes and Egyptians, from whence he deſcended.

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottiſh hiſtorie.

The ryuer of Munda, novve Mondego. Brachara. Brachara novv Braga.

Brigantion.

See more hereof in Scotland. Gathelus paſſeth into Irelande.

The names of Irelande, and vvherof the ſame vvere deriued, as they hold opinion.

To conclude, he was ſo acceptable to thẽ, that to gratifie ſuch a benefactor, they agreed to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wyfe Scotia.

This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onely to Humfrey Lluyd, but alſo to other learned men, and diligent ſearchers of antiquities, by reaſon of the ſundry arguments of improbabilitie, aſwel in the miſcompt of yeres, as other vnlikelyhoods found therin, when the circumſtances come to be duly examined, throughly weyed and well conſidered.

Yet certaine it is, that Irelande was aunciently named Scotia, and the people Scottes, as by diuers olde writers it may bee ſufficiently proued, albeit by what occaſion it firſt tooke that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted.

But to procede with the hiſtorie as we fynde it. The reſidue of Gathelus his people whiche remayned in Spayn, founded the citie of Bayon in the confines of Gaſcoigne, and repleniſhed the ſea coaſtes of Spayn with ſtore of inhabitants, and well neere aboute two hundred yeeres after their firſt arriuall there, when they were eftſoones peſtered with multitude of people) they beganne to fanſye a newe voiage, but whether at that tyme they paſſed ouer into Irelande, or ſome whither elſe it is vncertayne.

Notwithſtanding, ſure it is, that in the days of Gurguntius kyng of the Britons the chiefe gouernour of Bayon with .iiij. brethren Spaniardes of the whiche two are ſayde to be Hyberus and Hermion not the ſonnes (ſome thynke) of Gathelus, (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but ſome other perhappes that were deſcended from him, who vnderſtanding that diuers of the Weſterne Iles were emptye of inhabitantes, aſſembling a greate number of men, women, and children, embarqued with the ſame in .60. great veſſels, and directing their courſe Weſtward, houered a long time in the ſea aboute the Iles of Orkeney, vntill by good happe they met with Gurguntius then returning frõ the conqueſt of Denmarke (as in the Brytiſhe hiſtorie it appeareth) whome they beſoughte in conſideration of theyr wante of victuals and other neceſſaries, being ſuche as they were not able longer to abyde the ſeas, encombred with a ſort of women and children, to directe and appoynt them to ſome place where to inhabite, promiſing to holde the ſame of hym, and to become liege people to hym and to his heyres for euer.

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius aduiſing himſelf hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Iriſhe in ſubiection, and conceyuing hope that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould eyther ſubdue or wholly deſtroy that vnruly generation, toke the othes of thoſe Spanyardes with hoſtages, and furniſhyng them and theyr ſhippes with all things needfull ſet them ouer into Irelande, where aſſiſted with ſuch Brytons as Gurguntius had appointed to goe with them for their guides, they made a conqueſte of the whole countrey, and ſettled them ſelues in the ſame.

Gurguntius appoynteth the Spanyards ſeates in Irelande to liue vnder his ſubiection.

The arriuall of the Spanyards in Irelande.

Some write, that Ireland was before ỹ preſent, voyde of all inhabitants, yet they agree that theſe Spanyards wer guided thither by the Britons, and that vnder ſuche conditions (as before is recited) ſo that it apereth, the kings of thys our Britayn had an elder right to the realme of Ireland than by the conqueſt of Henry the ſeconde, whiche title they euer mainteyned, and ſomtimes preuayled in purſuing thereof, as in the dayes of king Arthure, to whome the Iriſhe (as in ſome hiſtories is remembred, (acknowledged their due ſubiection, with payemente of their tribute, and making their appearance at the Citye called in in the Brytiſhe toung Caer Leon. Whereunto when their owne free aſſente, the ſubmiſſion of their princes with lawfull conqueſt and preſcription are adioyned, an inuincible title muſte needes be enforced.

Geffrey Mon.

The Iriſh vver ſubiect to king Arthure.

VVeſtcheſter.

But now to oure purpoſe. The Spanyardes ſubſtanciallye ayded by the Brytons, ſettled them ſelues, and deuided theyr ſeates in quarters, ỹ foure brethren raigning ſeuerally a part in foure ſundry portions in good quiet and increaſe of wealth vntill their pryde and ambition armed two of them agaynſt the other two, as Hiberus and one of his brethren, againſte Hermion and the other brother. In this diſſention Hermion ſlewe his brother Hiberus. Of whome at the ſame tyme the countrey (as ſome holde) was named *Hybernia*, as in the deſcription therof further appeareth, althoughe ſome rather holde, that it toke the name of yron, of the plentifull mynes of that kinde of mettall wherwith that lande aboundeth: And ſo thoſe auncient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptely after the ſpeeche of the inhabitantes than others, whiche name it *Hibernia*.

Diſſention betvvixt the brethren.

Suche are the frutes of ambition.

See more hereof in the deſcription.

But to procede, Hermion hereupon to auoide the yll opinion of men for that he had thus attained to the ſouerantie by the vnnaturall ſlaughter of his brother in that vnhappie ciuill warre purged hymſelfe to his ſubiects, that neyther maliciouſly nor contentiouſly, but for his neceſſarie defence and ſafetie he had borne armes againſte his brethren: and to witneſſe how farre he was from all deſire to rule alone, he appointed certaine Capitaines as kings, to rule vnder him ſeuerall countreys, reſeruing to hymſelfe but one fourth parte, and the portion of Meth allotted to the Monarchie for the better mayntenance of his eſtate.

No crime ſo manifeſt or deteſtable that vvanteth a colourable preteuce to excuſe it.

Theſe partes appoynted forth in thys wyſe at lengthe grew to fiue kingdoms, Leyniſter, Conagh, Vlſter, and Mounſter deuided into two partes, and ſometyme to more, by vſurping or compoundyng among themſelues, but euer one was choſen to be chief ſoueraigne Monarke ouer them all.

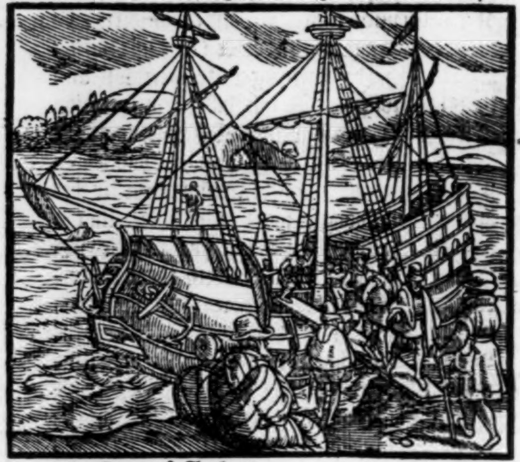
Irelande deuided into fiue kingdomes.

One ſouerayne ruler ouer the reſt.

Thus it ſeemeth that certaynely the Spanyardes of the north partes of Spayne, inhabiting the countreys about Biſkeye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne hiſtories and the Britiſhe do wholly agree) but frõ whence they came firſte to inhabite thoſe countreyes of Spayne, verily I haue not otherwiſe to auouch: For no other writers that I can remember, but (ſuch as haue regiſtred the Scottiſh Chronicles) make mencion of the commyng thither of Gathelus with his wyfe Scota and their people, in manner (as by the ſayde Chronicles is pretended.

But nowe to oure purpoſe: An hundred and thirtie chief kings are reckned of this nation from Hermion to Laogirius, the ſonne of Nealus Magnus, in whoſe tyme that holye eſteemed man Patrike conuerted them to Chriſtianitie.

But nowe in the meane tyme whyleſt the Iriſhmenne lyued in ſome tollerable order and reſte vnder their ſeuerall kings, one Rodorike a Scythian Prince with a ſmall companye of men, being weather driuen rounde about the coaſts of Britayn, was by chaunce caſt vpon the ſhore of Irelande.



Picts arriue in Irelande.

These were Pictes, and the firſt that hadde bin heard of in theſe parties (as ſome authors haue recorded) a people from their verie cradle giuen to diſſention, landeleapers, mercyleſſe, fierce and hardy. They being brought and preſented to the Iriſhe king, craued interpreters, which granted, Roderike their chieftain made this requeſt for him and his, as followeth:

The oration of Roderik K. of the Pictes king of Ireland

eare is an euell orrator.

Not as degenerate from the courage of our anceſtours, but faſhioning our ſelues to Fortunes courſe, wee are become to craue of Irelande, as humble ſuppliantes that neuer before this preſent haue ſo embaſed our ſelues to any other nation. Beholde ſir king, and regarde vs well, no light occaſion cauſeth theſe luſty valiant bodies to ſtoupe. Scythians we are, and Pictes of Scythia, no ſmalle portion of glorie reſteth in theſe two names. What ſhal I ſpeake of the ciuill warre that hath expulſed vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp old hiſtories to moue ſtraungers to bemoane vs, let our ſeruantes and children diſcourſe therof at leyſure, if perhappes you will vouchſafe to graunt vs ſome time of abode in your land, to the whiche effecte and purpoſe our vrgent neceſſitie beſecheth your fauors, a king of a king and men of men, are to craue aſſiſtance: princes can well diſcerne and conſider howe neere it toucheth their honour and ſuretie to vphold and relieue the ſtate of a king, by treaſon decayed: And manifeſt it is to all men of reaſonable conſideration, that nothing more beſeemeth the nature of mã, than to be moued with compaſſion, and as it were to feele themſelues hurte, when they hear and vnderſtand of other mennes calamities. Admit (we beſeeche you) and receyue amongſt you theſe fewe ſcattered remnauntes of Scythia: if your roomes bee narrowe, wee are not manye: if the ſoyle of your countrey be barreyne, wee are borne and enured to hardeneſſe: if you liue in peace, wee are at commaundemente as ſubiectes: if you warre, we are readie to ſerue you as ſouldiours: we demaunde no kingdome, no ſtate, no pompous triumph in Irelande: we are heere alone, and haue lefte ſuche things behynde vs with our enimies: howſoeuer you eſteeme of vs, we ſhall content our ſelues therwith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mynd not what we haue bin, but what we ar.

Doubtfull conſultation.

The anſvvere of the Iriſhe to the requeſt of the Picts.

Great conſultation was had about this requeſt of theſe ſtrangers, and many things debated to and fro. In concluſion, the Iriſhe layde forth for anſwere the opinions of theyr Antiquaries, that is, ſuche as were ſkilfull in old hiſtories & ſayings of their elders, wherunto they gaue credite, & therfore they gathered, it coulde not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme, bredeth quarels: moreouer that the multitude of the inhabitantes was ſuche, as roomth in the whole Ile was vneth able to receyue them, and therefore thoſe fewe newe commers being placed among ſo many olde inhabitants, might breede quickely ſome diſturbance to bring al out of ioynt. But (ſaid they) though we may not cõueniently receiue you among vs, yet ſhall you fynd vs readie to further you to be our neighbours.

The Iriſh perſuadeth the Picts to place themſelues in Britayn.

Not farre hence there lyeth the great Ile of Britayne, in the northe parte whereof, beeing voyde of inhabitantes, your manhode and policies maye purchaſe for you roomthes to place yourſelues at eaſe, we ſhall appoynt you captaines to guide you thither, we ſhall aſſiſt to ſettle you with oure forces in that countreye, make readie your ſhippes that ye maye paſſe thither with all conuenient ſpeede. Encouraged with this perſuaſion they toke their courſe towards the north parts of Britain now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britayne was readye to awayte their comming, and with ſharp batayle vanquiſhing them in fielde, ſlewe Roderike with a greate number of his retinues. Thoſe that eſcaped with lyfe, and ſoughte to him for grace, he licenced to inhabite the vttermoſt end of Scotland. This Marius Hũfrey Lluyd taketh to bee the ſame whome the Romain writers name Aruiragus, and reigned about the yere of our Lord. 70. a Prince of a noble courage and of no ſmall eſtimation in his dayes (as ſhould ſeeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the ſayde Humfrey Lluyd auoucheth) was Meurig.

Marius other vviſe called Aruiragus king of Britons.

But now concerning the Pights, whether that thoſe that eſcaped with lyfe, got ſeates by king Meurigs graunte (as aboue is ſpecified,) or that getting to their ſhippes, they withdrew into the Iles of Orkeney, and there remayned. Wyues they wanted alſo to increaſe their iſſue: and bycauſe the Britons thought ſkorne to matche their daughters with ſuch an vnknowen and newe comen nation, the Pictes continued theyr firſte acquaintaunce with the Iriſhe, and by entreatie obteyned wyues from them, with condition, that if the crowne ſhould happe to fall in contention, they ſhoulde yelde thus muche to the prerogatiue of the woman, that the Prince ſhoulde be elected rather of the bloud royall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (ſayth Beda) the Picts were well knowne to keepe vnto his tyme.

Picts mariyng with the Iriſh, & couenaunte the ſucceſsion of their kings.

But howe ſoeuer wee ſhall giue credit to this hiſtorie of the firſt comming of Pictes into this lande, if we graunt that to be true which Geffrey of Monmouth reporteth of this victorie obteyned by Marius agaynſt the Pictes, yet haue I thought good to aduertiſe the Reader, that the Brytons of this Ile were diſquieted by yͤ nation long before the ſuppoſed tyme of the ſayde king Marius. For Mamertinus in his Oration entitled *Panægiricus,* Max. Dictus hathe theſe wordes, (ſpeakyng of the conqueſt whiche Iulius Ceſar had heere agaynſt the Brytons) but in that age (ſayeth he) Brytayn was neyther furniſhed with anye ſhippes of warre for battayle on the Sea, and the Romaynes after the warres of Affrike and Aſia, were well practiſed wyth the late warres agaynſte Pyrates, and after that agaynſte Mithridates, in whiche they were exerciſed as well by ſea as lande.

Moreouer, the Brytiſhe Nation was then vnſkilfull, and not trayned to feates of warre, for the Brytons then beeyng onely vſed to the Pictes and Iriſhe enimyes, people halfe naked through lacke of ſkill, eaſily gaue place to the Romayns force, ſo that Ceſar myght onely as it were glorie in this, to haue paſſed in that iourney ouer the Ocean ſea.

Hereby it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the Pictes and Iriſhe, did diſquyet the Brytons before the commyng of Iulius Ceſar into thys Ile of Brytaine: But whether they inhabited at that tyme in ſome parte of Irlande, or in ſome of the out Iles by Scotlande, eyther in any parte of Germanye, or Scandinauia, or elſe whether they were already ſettled in the fartheſt partes of Scotlande, as in Cathneſſe, towardes Dungeſbie heade, wee haue not to affirme, other than that whyche in Scotlande wee haue written, in followyng Hector Boetius, whoſe opynion howe farre it is to bee ſuſpected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the conſideration of others.

See Diodorus Siculus lib. 6. cap. 9. vvho ſayeth they ſhould inhabite a portion of Breayne.

Hector Boetius.

But for the fyrſte comming as well of the Pictes as Scottes, (whome hee maketh inhabitauntes within thys Iſle ſo long before) eyther the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had any gouernement heere, by any auncient or approued writer. I can not perſwade my ſelfe, that eyther Scottes or Pictes hadde any ſettled ſeates within the boundes of this Ile of Britayne, till after the birthe of oure Sauiour: but that rather the Scottes, as yet inhabiting in Irelande, and in the weſterne Iſles called by the Romayne writers Hebrides, and the Pights, in the Iſles of Orkneye called in Latin *Orchades,* dyd vſe to make often inuaſions vppon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coaſtes that lye neere to the ſea ſyde ouer againſte thoſe Iſles.

From whence they comming ouer in ſuche veſſells or boates, as the Fiſhermenne yet vſe, at length the Pights firſt aboute the yeare of our Lord. 190. as Humf. Lhuyd hath noted, entred generally into Cathneſſe, and other the north partes of Britaine, where they ſettled them ſelues, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and ſhortely the Scottes likewiſe came ouer and got ſeates in the weſt partes ouer againſte the Northe of Irelande, and in thoſe Weſtern Iles, which Iles they firſt got into their poſſeſſion. And in this ſorte thoſe nations Pightes and Scottes came firſt to inhabite here in this our Iſle of Britayn, as the ſayd Humfrey Lhuyd not without aduiſed coniectures grounded vpon good reaſon and ſufficient authoritie to leade him ſo to eſteeme, hath written in his ſhort commentaries of the deſcription of Britayn.

See more here of in England.

The Pictes vvhen they firſt inhabited Britayn.

The Scottes in Britayne.

Hũfrey Lhuyd

And verily I thinke we maye more ſafely beleue that whiche he auoucheth in this behalf than that which Hector Boetius ſetteth down, ſith for any thing I can perceiue, his authorities beyng no ſuche warrant with them, but wee may with good reaſon ſuſpecte them. But for the man himſelfe, euen as he hath verie orderly, and with no leſſe cunning than eloquence, ſet downe dyuers thinges incredible, and reported ſome other contrarie to the truth of the hiſtorie, for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it, ſo in his excuſe it may be alledged, that hee was not the Authour of thoſe matters, but wrote what hee founde in Cambell, Veremounde, Cornelius Hibernenſis, and ſuche other in lyke caſe, as Geffreye of Monmouth wrote what hee founde in olde auncient Brittiſhe monumentes, and was not the deuyſer him ſelfe (as ſome haue ſuſpected) of ſuche thinges as in hys Booke are by hym expreſſed.

Geffrey Monmouth the trãſlater not the authour of the Britiſh hiſtory.

But now to returne to the Pictes. It may be that they came at ſeuerall tymes in like manner as the Scottes didde out of Irelande, of whome the fyrſte is remembred to be Ferguſe, the ſonne

The doubt of of the tyme of the cõming of Picts & Scots into Britayne.

Ferguſe kyng of Scots.

The marble ſtone.

of Ferquhard, a man right ſkilful in blaſon of armorie, hee himſelfe bare a Lion gules in a field of gold. The marble ſtone wherof in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie is mencioned, brought into Ireland by Symon Brechus, and kepte tyll thoſe dayes as a precious iewell, this Ferguſe obteyned towardes the proſpering of his iourney, for that it was thoughte, who ſo had the ſame in poſſeſſion, coulde not but obteyne ſouerayntie and rule ouer others as a king, namely thoſe of the Scottiſhe nation.

This ſtone Ferguſe bryngíng into Scotland, left it there. But although that Ferguſe be put in ranke among thoſe Scottiſhe kings that ſhuld reigne in Britayn, yet he bare ſmal rule there, and was diuers tymes beaten back into Irelande, where finally he was drowned by myſfortune within the creeke of Knockfergus.

Knockfergus.

124.

That hee encountred with Coilus king of Britons (as the Scots write) is not poſſible, as oure author hathe verie well noted, excepte they myſtake the name of Coilus for Cailus, with whome the age of Ferguſe mighte well meete: the rather for that in the firſte yeare of Cailus reigne the Pictes entred, Ferguſe immediately after them. 330. yeeres ere Chriſte was borne, where Coilus reigned in the yeare after the incarnation. 124. about whiche tyme befell the ſecond arriuall of the Pictes in Britayne.

And thus it maye bee they miſtake, by errour of the name, Coilus for Cailus, and the ſecond arriuall of the Picts for the firſt.

But now to the courſe of the hiſtorie. Whileſt the Picts were ſeated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude, the Iriſh made ſundry errandes ouer, to viſite theyr daughters, nephues and kinsfolk: and by their often comming and going, they were aware of certayn waſte corners, and ſmall Ilandes voyd of inhabitants, as that which ſeemed rather neglected and ſuffred to lye waſte.

Reuther, or Reuda.

Hereof they aduertiſed their princes, namely Reuther or Reuda, who beeing deſcended of Ferguſe, determined to inueſt himſelf in certaine portions of lande beſide the Pictes. He therfore wel appointed, paſſed ouer, and partly by compoſition, & partly by force, got poſſeſſion of thoſe quarters, whiche were deſolate, and began to erecte a kingdome there, by little and little encreaſing his limites: and finally got betwixte the Pictes and Britayns, poſſeſſing that countrey which toke the name of him called Rheuderſdahal, and now Riddeſdale, (as you would ſay) Rheudas part, for dahal in ẏ old Scottiſh tong, ſignifieth a part.

The amitie betwixt Scottes and Piſts.

In theſe quarters he coulde not ſettle hymſelfe, but that he was oftentymes aſſayled by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chaunce was to be ſlayne, but the kingdome continued ſtill in the handes of his ſucceſſours: and the Pictes and Scottes grew in frendſhip togither, permitting eche other to lyue in quyet.

Their fallyng out.

The Scots neſtled them ſelues in the Iles and coaſts alongſt the ſea ſide. The Picts held the middle part. But ſhortely after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuerſitie of people, place, cuſtom & language, together with the memorie of olde grudges, moued ſuch iealoſy and inward hate betwixte thoſe nations, that it ſeemed they were redy to breake out into open diſſention vpon the firſte occaſion. And as in ſuche caſes there neuer wanteth one deuiſe or other to rayſe tumults: it chaunced that certaine of the Scottiſh nobilitie had got out of Greece (as ſome write) a Moloſſian hound, which both in ſwiftneſſe of foote, and pleaſantneſſe of mouth, was accompted peerleſſe.

Stryfe about a dogge.

This hounde being ſtollen by a Picte, was cauſe of the breache of peace, ſo that cruell warres therof enſued (as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie more at large appeareth. But where ſome write, that Eugenius ſhoulde reigne ouer the Scottes when this quarell fell out for ſtealing of this hound, Hector Boetius ſayeth, it was in king Crathlinths dayes.

Moreouer it ſhould ſeme by that which the ſame Boetius writeth, that the hound or greihound for the which this trouble roſe, was not fetched ſo far as out of Grecia, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithſtãding bicauſe the Latiniſts call ſuch kinde of dogs *Moloſsi*, for that the firſt generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grecia called Moloſſe, it may be, that ſome haue thoughte, that this greyhounde came from thence, for that he was ſo called after the name of that place frõ whence the breed of him firſt came. But to returne to the hiſtorie.

Carauſius agreeth them. Anno Chriſti 288.

After the Scottes and Pictes had tugged togither a whyle, at lengthe one Carauſius a Bryton, labored a frendſhip betwixt them, and bringing his purpoſe to paſſe, perſwaded them to lend him their help to expulſe the Romaines out of Britayne: but his happe was ſhortly after to be ſlayne by the Romaine capitayne Alectus. And ſo newe ſturres were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romaines, the Scottes and Pictes for the moſt parte taking parte with the Britons, till at length Maximus the Romayne lieutenant founde meanes to ſet the Scots and Picts at variance, & ioyning with the Picts in league, vſed their ayde

againſt

The Scots expulſed. See more of this matter in Scotlande. 316.

againſt the Scots, whome he ſo earneſtly purſued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were vtterly expulſed out of all the coaſtes of Britayne, ſo that they fledde ſome into one parte, ſomme into an other, but the moſte number gotte them ouer into Irelande, and the Iles, wher they remained for the ſpace of .43. yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Ferguſe, being the ſecond of that name, as they accompt him. From thenceforth the Scots kepte ſuche foote in Britayn, that they encroched vpon their neighbors, in ſuche wyſe as they waxed ſtronger than the Pictes, whom in the end they quite rooted forth, and neſtled themſelues in their ſeates, althoughe nowe at their firſte retourne, they concluded a firme amitie with the ſame Pictes, that ioyning theyr forces together, they might the better make head agaynſt bothe Romayns and Brytayns, whome they reputed as common enimies to them bothe.

The Picts rooted foorth by the ſcots.

Thus the Scots a liuely, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Iſle of Britayne, mixed firſt with Britons, ſecondly with Pictes, thirdly and chiefly with the Iriſhe, whiche after this tyme lefte their name of Scots vnto thoſe in Britayne, and choſe rather to be called Iriſhe: and then came vp the diſtinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Irelande, *Scotia minor*, for the countreye inhabited by the Scots within Britayne.

Giraldus Cambrenſis.

But Cambrenſis ſayth, that the Scots chiefly preuailed vnder the leading of .6. valiant gentlemen, ſonnes to Murious king of Vlſter, who in the time of Neale, ſurnamed the greate, that enioyed the Monarchie of Ireland, paſſing ouer into Scotlād to ſuccour their coūtreymen there, at length tooke vp for themſelues certain parcels of grounde, which their poſteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrenſis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord. 1200. who treateth hereof more largely in his Booke intitled *Topographia Britannia.* Sith which time they haue bene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictiſh nation beeing driuen into corners, albeit the mountaine partes and out Iles euen vnto thys day are inhabited with a wilde kinde of people called Redſhankes, eſteemed by ſome to be mingled of Scots and Pictes.

Gregorie king of Scots ſubdueth Ireland. 875.

The Scottes write, that their king Gregorie the ſonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of oure Lorde. 875. pretending a title to Irelande, as belonging to hym by ryghte of lawfull ſucceſſion, made a iourneye thither, and wythin a ſmall tyme made a conqueſte of the countrey.

Thys Gregorie lyeth buryed in one of the out Iſles called Iona, or Colmekyll, where they ſpeake naturally Iriſhe: and therefore ſome of the Scottes woulde ſeeme to make the conqueſt of Henry the ſeconde in Irelande, a reuolting from the righte inheritours, although they confeſſe they can not tell howe they came from the poſſeſſion of it, otherwyſe than by forging a tale that they willingly forwent it, as reaping leſſe by reteyning it, than they layde forthe, and ſo not able to diſcharge that whiche was to bee defrayed aboute the keeping of it, they gaue it ouer, perſwading themſelues, that the Kyngs of Englande haue gayned little or nothyng by the hauyng of Irelande. And yet in the tyme whyleſt ſyr Henry Sydney was gouernor there, when the Countie of Vlſter was auouched to belong to the Crowne, it was proued in open Parliament, that the reuenues of that Erledome, in the dayes of Edwarde the thirde were reckened, and founde to amounte vnto the ſumme of xxxj. thouſande markes yearely, the ſame being but a fyfte parte of Irelande: ſo that if thinges were well looked vnto, and ſuche improuementes made as mighte bee, Irelande woulde ſuffice to beare the neceſſarie charges, and yelde no ſmall ſurpluſage vnto the Princes coffers.

Sir Henry Sydney.

But nowe as it falleth forthe in the hiſtorie. We haue thoughte good heere to ſhewe in what ſorte Irelande came to receyue the Chriſtian fayth. We fynde in deede that immediatly after Chriſtes tyme, Saynt James the Apoſtle, and other, trauayling into theſe Weaſt partes, didde firſt inſtructe the Iriſhe people, and teache them the glad tidyngs of the Goſpell, ſo that dyuerſe amongeſt them euen then were chriſtened, and beleeued, but not in ſuche numbers (as maye be thought) wherby it ſhould be ſayd, that the coūtrey was generally conuerted.

Ireland inſtructed in the faithe by S. James the Apoſtle.

Notwithſtanding, the Scottiſhe Chronicles auouche, that in the dayes of their king Fincomarke, who departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Redemption three hundred fyfty and eyght, Irelande was conuerted to the faithe by this meanes.

A woman of the Pictiſh bloud, chaunced (ſay they) to ſerue in thoſe dayes the Queene of Irelande, whiche woman being a chriſtian hir ſelfe, firſt inſtructed hir miſtreſſe in the faith and true pointes of Chriſtianitie, and the queene hir huſbande, who conuerted the whole Iriſhe nation. Howbeit, by report of yͤ Iriſh writers thēſelues, this ſhoulde not ſeeme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrey was rather ſtil eſteemed as one of the vnchriſtened Iſles, tyll about the yeare foure hundred twentie and ſixe, whileſt Celeſtine the firſt of that name, gouerned the ſea of Rome, who vpon conference hadde wyth his Clergie, touching the reſtoring of the chriſtian Faythe in the Weaſte partes of the Worlde greatly decayed there by the hereſie of Pelagius, underſtode that Ireland alſo by reſon of diſtance from the hart of Chriſtendome, and rudeneſſe of the nation, had receyued little fruite at all of true religion, a thing muche to be lamented.

Paladius offereth to go into Irelande.

Among other that then were aſſembled to treate of thoſe matters was one Paladius Archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauayle towardes the conuerſion of any of thoſe landes whether it ſhould pleaſe them to appoynt hym to goe.

He is conſecrated biſhop.

Celeſtine knowing the ſufficiencie of the mã, conſecrated him Biſhop, authoriſed his iourney by letters under his ſeale, furniſhed his wantes, and aſſociating to him ſuche Religious perſones and other, as were thoughte neceſſarie to aſſiſte him, deliuered to him the Bible with greate ſolennitie and other monumentes in furtherance of his good ſpeede.

Paladius landed in Irelande.

At length he landed in the north of Irelande, from whence he eſcaped ryght hardely with hys lyfe into the Iles adioyning, where hee preached the Goſpell, and conuerted no ſmal number of Scots to the chriſtian beleef, and purged that part that was chriſtened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie more at large apereth. He was required by. yͤ Scots that inhabited here in Britayne, to leaue the Iles & to come ouer unto them, there to inſtruct the people in the way of true ſaluation, to the whiche with the Popes licence, he ſeemed willyng ynough, and the Biſhop of Rome the more readily condeſcended thereto, for that in the inſtante tyme when Paladius was to departe, one Patrike attended at Rome ſuyng for licence to be ſent into Irelande.

Patrike ſente into Ireland.

Paladius apointed to go into Scotland.

The Pope therefore graunted, that Paladius might paſſe ouer to the Scottes in Britayn, and appoynted Patrike to goe with authoritie from hym into Ireland, where upon his arriuall hee founde the people ſo well bent to heare his admonitions, coutrarye to their accuſtomed frowardneſſe, that a man woulde haue thought that had ſeene their readineſſe, howe that the lande hadde bin reſerued for him to conuerte, and bycauſe it pleaſed God to beſtow ſuche an uniuerſall benefite to thys lande by his meanes, we haue thoughte good in following our Authour herein to touche ſome part of the courſe of his life.

The tovvardneſſe of the Iriſhmen to hear Patrikes preaching.

VVhere ſaint Patrike vvas borne.

This Patrike in Latin called Patricius, was borne in the marches betwixte Englande and Scotland, in a towne by the ſea ſyde called Eyburne, whoſe father hight Calphurnius, a Deacon and ſonne to a Prieſt. His mother named Conches, was ſiſter to Saint Martine that famous Biſhoppe of Towers in Fraunce.

The life of S. Patrik in brief.

Patrike of a chylde was brought up in learning, and well inſtructed in the faith, and muche giuen to deuotion.

The Iriſhmenne in thoſe dayes aſſiſted with Scottes and Pictes were become archpyrates, ſore diſquieting the ſeas about the coaſts of Britayne, and uſed to ſacke little ſmall villages that laye ſcattered along the ſhore, & wold often leade awaye captiue the inhabitantes home into theyr countrey.

S. Patrike vvas taken priſoner vvhen he vvas yong.

And as it chaunced, Patrike being a ladde of xvj. yeares olde, and a ſcholer then in ſecular lerning, was taken among other, and became ſlaue to an Iriſh lord called Mackbuain, from whom after. vj. yeares terme he redeemed himſelfe with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the ſwyne had newly turned up as he followed them in that tyme of his captiuitie, beeyng appointed by his maiſter to keepe them.

Affliction maketh men religious.

And as affliction cõmonly maketh men religious, the regarde of his former education, printed in him ſuche remorſe and humilitie, that beyng thenceforth weaned from the worlde, he betooke himſelfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truthe in that land: and herewith not diſpairyng, but that in continuaunce, ſome good night bee wrought upon them, he lerned their tong perfectly, and alluring one of that nation to beare him companie for exerciſe ſake, he departed from thence, & got him into France, euer hauing in his mynd a deſire to ſee the conuerſion of the Iriſhe people, whoſe babes yet unborne ſeemed to him in his dreames (from oute of theyr mothers wombes) to call for chriſtendome.

He paſſeth into Fraunce.

In this purpoſe he ſought out his uncle Martine, by whoſe meanes he was placed with Germanus the biſhop of Auxerre, continuing wyth him as ſcholer or diſciple for yͤ ſpace of. xl. yeres: Al whiche tyme he beſtowed in like ſtudie of the holie ſcriptures, prayer, and ſuch godly exerciſes. Then at the age of. lxij. yeares, being renoumed through the Latine Churche for his wiſedome, vertue and ſkill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation, from the Frenche biſhops unto Pope Celeſtine, to whome he uttered his full mynde and ſecrete vow, which long ſithence he hadde conceyued touching Irelande.

Patrike is inueſted archbiſhop of Irelande.

Celeſtine inueſted him Archbiſhoppe and primate of the whole Ilande, ſette him forwarde with all fauor he could deuiſe, and brought hym and hys diſciples onwarde of theyr countrey.

410.

In the 23. yere therfore of the Emperor Theodoſius the yonger, beyng the yeare of our Lorde 430. Patrick landed in Irelande, and bycauſe hee ſpake the tong perfectly, and withall beeing a reuerente perſonage in the eyes of all menne, many lyſtened and gaue good eare to hys preachyng, the rather for that as wryters haue recorded) hee confirmed his doctrine wyth diuers miracles: but ſpecially thoſe regarded his wordes before all other that had ſome taſte of the chriſtian faith aforehande, eyther by the cõming into thoſe parties of Paladius and his diſciple one Albius an Iriſhe Biſhoppe, or otherwyſe, by ſome other: for it is to be thought, that continually there remayned ſome ſparke of knowledge of Chriſtianitie, euer ſith the firſte preaching of the Goſpel, (whiche was ſhortly after the Aſcention of our Sauior) by S. Iames, (as before is mentioned.) In continuaunce of time Patrike wan the better part of that kingdom to the faith.

Albius an Iriſh biſhop, diſciple to Paladius.

Laigerius ſon of Neale the great Monark, although he receyued not the Goſpell him ſelfe, yet permitted all that would to embrace it. But ſith he refuſed to be baptiſed, and apply to his doctrin, the Biſhop denounced agaynſt him a curſe from God accordingly, but tempered yet with mercye and iudgement, as thus: that during his lyfe he ſhoulde be victorious; but after him neyther the kingdom ſhould ſtande, nor his lignage inherite. From thence he toke his way vnto Conill lorde of Conagh, who honourably receyued him, and was conuerted with al his people. And after ſent hym vnto his brother Logan king of Leyniſter, whome he likewyſe conuerted.

Laigerius ſon of Neale the great Monarke of Ireland permitteth the Iriſhmen to become chriſtiãs.

Conill lorde of Conagh. Logan king of Leyniſter.

In Mounſter he found great frendſhippe and fauour by meanes of an Erle there, called the erle of Daris, who honoured him highly, and gaue hym a dwelling place in the eaſt angle of Ardmagh called Sorta, where he erected many celles and monaſteries both for religious men and women. He trauailed .xxx. yeres in preachyng thorough the lande, planting in places conuenient Biſhops and Prieſtes, whoſe learning and vertuous conuerſation by the ſpeciall grace and fauour of GOD, eſtabliſhed the fayth in that rude nation. Other thirtie yeares he ſpent in his prouince of Ardmagh among his brethren, placed in thoſe houſes of Religion, whiche by his meane were founded, and ſo he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and lyeth buryed in Downe.

The Erle of Daris.

Of Saint Patrikes Purgatorie, ye ſhal fynd in the deſcription of the countrey, and therefore we doe here omitte it: but yet bicauſe we are entred to ſpeake of the fyrſt fundation of Churches and religious houſes here in Irelande, in following our Authour in that behalfe, wee will ſpeake ſomewhat of ſuche other holye men and women as are renoumed to haue liued in Irelande, as ornamentes to that Ile, more glorious than all triumphes and victories of the worlde, if their zeale hadde bin ſeazoned with true knowledge of the Scriptures, as it maye well be, that in ſome of them it was, howſoeuer myſtaken by the iudgement and report of the ſimple, which hath reiſed not only of theſe perſons, but alſo of the very Apoſtles themſelues, certaine fantaſticall tales which with the learned are out of all credite.

S. Patrikes Purgatorie.

Religious houſes & churches founded.

Mens doings miſtaken.

But this matter I will leaue to diuines to diſcuſſe, truſting that the Reader will contente himſelfe to heare what we fynde recorded by olde writers, whiche we ſhall ſette downe, and offer to their conſiderations to thinke therof, as reaſon may beſt moue them.

Giral. Camb. telleth, that in S. Patriks tyme flouriſhed Sainte Bride the Virgine, and S. Colme, which two, with the ſame Patrike, were buryed in Downe, (as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye may fynde) and (as the ſame Giraldus ſayth) their three bodies were founde there ſhortly after the conqueſt.

Giraldus Cambrenſis.

Sir Iohn Conway being preſidẽt of Vlſter, in viewyng the ſepulture, teſtifyed to haue ſeene three principall iewels, whiche were then tranſlated, as honourable monumentes worthie to be preſerued. Of ſaincte Colme it is doubted in what age he lyued. Brigide, otherwyſe called Bride, was baſe daughter to one Dubtactius, a Capitayne in Leyniſter, who perceyuyng the mother wyth chylde, ſolde hir ſecretely (fearing the iealouſie of his wyfe) to an Iriſhe Peet, reſeruing to himſelfe the fruite of hir wombe.

Sir Iohn Convvey preſident of Vlſter.

Saint Colme.

Peet, that is, Magus in latin or (as vve may ſay) a Magiciã or foothſayer in Engliſh.

She was there delyuered of thys Bridget, whome the Peet trayned vp in learning, and vertuous education, and at length broughte hir home to hir father.

An.do.439.

The damoſell alſo was inſtructed in the faith by ſaynte Patrike, that preached then in thoſe quarters, whervpon ſhe became ſo religious and ripe in iudgement, that not only the multitude of people, but alſo a whole Synode of Biſhops aſſembled neere to Diuelyn to heare hir aduiſe in weightye cauſes. Suche eſtymation they had of hir. One fact of hir beyng yet a childe, made hir famous.

The eſtimation vvherin ſhe vvas had.

The king of Leyniſter had giuen to hir father Dubtactius as a tokẽ of his good liking towardes him for his valiant ſeruice a riche ſworde, the furniture wherof was garniſhed with many coſtly iewels. And as it chaunced, the Damoſel viſiting the ſicke neighbours, diuerſly diſtreſſed for wante of neceſſarie reliefe (hir father beeing a ſterne man and his ladie a cruell ſhrew) ſhe could deuiſe no other ſhift to helpe to relieue the wante of thoſe poore and needye people, but to imparte the ſame iewelles of that yole ſworde among them.

The king of Leyniſter.

This matter was heynouſly taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chaunced that ſhortely after he came to a banket in hir fathers houſe, and calling the maide afore him that was not yet paſt .ix. yeres of age: He aſked hir howe ſhee durſte preſume to deface the guyfte of a king in ſuch wiſe as ſhe had done his. She anſwered that the ſame was beſtowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth ſhee) finding in ſuch extremitie, I woulde haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your ſelues to and all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Chriſt ſhould ſtarue.

She profeſſed virginitie.

She profeſſed virginitie, and allured other noble yong Damoſels vnto hir felowſhip, with whō ſhe continued in hir owne Monaſterie, where ſhe was firſt profeſſed, vnto the yere of our lord. 500. and then departing this life, ſhee was buryed in Downe in Saint Patrikes tombe.

Anno 500 Brigit departed this life.

A concordance of the foure Euangeliſtes.

Geraldus Cambrenſis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monumentes of hirs, there was founde a Concordaunce of the foure Euangelyſtes, ſeeming to be written with no mortall hande, beautifyed with myſticall pictures in the Margent, the colours and cunning workemanſhippe whereof, at the firſt bluſh appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull viewe of the diligent beholder, very liuely and wonderfull artificiall.

Cenanus firſt a man of war, and after a biſhop.

Cenanus that was firſt a Souldier, ſucceded Saint Patrike in the Sea of Ardmagh, after he had certaine yeares followed the warres.

Abbot Brendan.

Brendan Abbot, at the age of tenne yeares was of ſuch incomparable holyneſſe (as they ſay) and therewith ſo wiſe and learned, that hys father and mother thinking themſelues to haue gayned the moſte worthie fruite that myght enſue of theyr maryage, by mutuall conſent profeſſed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flouriſhed in the dayes of Saint Brydget, and lyued in familyer ſocietie wyth Saynt Arons the Byſhoppe, and Fyntan the Abbot.

Madoc.

Madoc, alias Edan of noble parentage taken pryſoner by the king of Temore and kept in his Court with dyuerſe yong men his ſchoolefelowes, openly adiured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might ſerue God as they were accuſtomed, yͤ which being now kept in ſunder and reſtrayned of libertie, they were forced to diſcontinue. Hereupon immediately they were diſmiſſed.

He dyed Biſhoppe of Fernes, and layde the foundation of that Borow.

Melingus.

His ſucceſſor Melingus, although hee was Biſhop, gaue himſelfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne handes deriued and brought a running ſpring to his Monaſterie, induring that trauayle dayly after prayer and ſtudie, for the ſpace of. viij. yeares togither.

Colm king of Leyniſter.

Fyntan Abbot was had in ſuch reuerence, that where as Colm king of Leyniſter kept Cormake the kings ſonne of Tenſil priſoner, he went boldly with. xij. of his diſciples through the preaſe of all the ſouldiers, and in ſight of the king was ſuffered to borrow the yong Prince. For the Iriſhe are not ſterne agaynſt thoſe of whome they haue conceyued an opinion of holineſſe.

The anſwere of the archbiſhop of Caſhell to Geraldus Cãbrenſis.

I remember (ſayth our Author) that Cambrenſis writeth himſelfe merily to haue obiected to Morice then Archbiſhop of Caſhell, that Ireland in ſo many hundred yeares had not brought forth one Martyr. The Biſhop anſwered pleaſantly (alluding to the late diſpatching of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury) our people (quoth he) notwithſtanding their other enormities, yet haue ſpared euer the bloud of vertuous men. Marie now we are deliuered to ſuch a nation that is well acquainted with making Martyrs, ſo that from henceforth I truſt no complaynt ſhall need for want of Martyrs.

Malachias.

Malachias was borne in Ardmagh of noble progenie, brought vp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trayned forth in learning, profited greatly in deuotion, ſo that beeing yet a very babe, he was eſpied dyuerſe tymes to ſteale away from his companions to pray in ſecrete. He was ſo graue and modeſt, that of himſelfe he choſe the moſt graue and ſeuere Schoolmaiſters, refuſing an excellent Clearke, bycauſe he ſawe him ſomewhat lightly demeaning himſelfe at game.

In the beginning of his youthfull yeares, he became the diſciple of Imarius an olde recluſe, whoſe auſteritie of conuerſation the whole towne had in great reuerence.

There hee became a Deacon, and at. xxv. yeares a Prieſt. The Archbiſhop for the fame and opinion of his worthineſſe receyued him to be aſſiſtant to him in office, in the which he ſo behaued himſelfe, that he reformed ſuperſtitions, and reuiued yͤ force of religion, namely in the vniformitie of their Church ſeruice, wherein before time they iarred.

The Monaſterie of Banchor repaired.

The famous Monaſterie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vncle left him. The ſame Monaſterie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of many religious houſes in Fraunce.

This Abbey being ſpoyled, and nintie of the brethren murthered in one day by the Prior, the poſſeſſions whereof being come to the handes of Malachias by his vncles aſſignement, he reſtored forthwith and aduaunced the foundation. At the age of. xxx. yeares, he was by canonicall election forced to accept the Biſhoprike of of Conereth, a people of all the Iriſh then moſt ſauage and wild, whome with ineſtimable trauaile he reclaymed from theyr beaſtly maners.

In the meane while died Celſus Biſhop of Ardmagh, after whom ſucceeded Malachias, at the age of. xxxviij. yeares. But before this neare

hande

Married biſhops held the ſea ſucceſsiuely of one familie, neither woulde the Iriſh haue had any other than of the houſe. See S. Bernard in vita Malachi. Bale. &c.

The Bible and ſtaffe.

hande the ſpace of two hundred yeares togither, a cuſtome had crepte into the countrey, that the Metropolitane ſea was conferred vpon ſuch Biſhops as were maried, and were of the bloud royall) in maner by way of inheritance: Wherfore Nigellus or Neale the next of kinred, animated by the parcialitie of ſome princes, and getting into his cuſtodie the Bible and ſtaffe, & other monumentes of S. Patrike, whereunto opinion of the common people tyed the prelacie, came to his Palace with a bande of ſouldiors to haue ſlayne the Biſhop: When al the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone ſtepped into the boſome of his enimies, demaundyng what was theyr purpoſe: The blodie ſouldiers letting fall theyr weapons in ſted of executing the pretenced murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as freendes.

For lineall deſcent of biſhops.

Three yeares he ſate in the primacie rather to diſcontinue the horrible corruption before vſed, than with intent to ſettle himſelfe there.

After he hadde remoued the abuſe, he procured Gelaſius to ſucceede him in the Archbiſhops ſea, and he returned to his former ſea of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the Biſhoprike of Coner, but Malachias vnderſtanding that in tymes paſt they were. vj. ſeuerall ſeas, he deuided them againe, & ordeined an other to the Biſhoprike of Coner, deſirous rather to leſſen his cure than to enlarge the fruites by taking more charge vpon hym.

Malachias being demaunded of his brethren the Monkes of Benchar, where and when hee would wiſh to die and to be buried, if it lay in his choyce, he anſwered: If in Ireland, beſide the bodie of S. Patrik, if beyond the ſeas at Clareuale where S. Bernarde was then reſiant, and in the feaſt of all ſoules. He purpoſed within few dayes to ſue to Pope Eugenius for increaſe of the nũber of Metropolitans, whiche requeſt was ſhortly after accompliſhed. And in this voyage which he thus made, hee ſtayed at Clareuale, and there diuers tymes openly foreſhewed, that the yere of his departure forth of this world was come, and accordingly when he had taken leaue of Sainte Bernarde and the brethren, hee wente downe from his chamber to the churche, and there didde communicate: Whiche done, hee returned to his lodgyng, and there on All Soule daye in the yere of his age. 54. he gaue vp the ghoſt ſo myldly and quietlye that it ſeemed rather a ſleepe than a death.

Malchus.

Malchus, though borne in Irelande, yet he ſpente the moſte parte of his tyme in the monaſterie of Wyncheſter in Englande, and from thence was taken & admitted biſhop of Liſmore. Saint Bernard remembreth of him by occaſion, he cured a lunatike childe in confirming, or elſe (as they termed it, in biſhopping him.) This miracle ſeene and confeſſed by many hundredes of people was blowen through the world.

Diſcorde betwixt the king of Mounſter and his brother.

The ſame tyme happened diſcord betwixt the king of Mounſter and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, wher he viſited Malchus in his Abbey, and would by no meanes departe from hym, but remayne there vnder his rule and gouernmente ſo long as it pleaſed God to denie hym quiet returne into his countrey: hee contented himſelfe with a poore celle, vſed dayly to bathe himſelfe in colde water, to aſſuage the wanton motions of his fleſhe, and for his dyet receyued none other delicates than breade, water and ſalte, daye and nyghte ſobbing and bewayling with greate remorſe of conſcience his former myſdemeaned lyfe.

At length the other Kings and people of Irelande beganne to repine at the vſurper, ſet vpon him with open warre, vanquiſhed him in a pight fielde, and called home the rightfull Prince his brother agayne, to reſume his kingdome, who with many earneſt perſwaſions of Malchus and Malachias coulde vneth bee broughte to forſake that trade of lyfe and companye, the whyche he had wyth ſuche delectation enured him ſelfe vnto.

Thus farre of the Iriſhe Saincktes. Of the whyche (as ſome of them are to bee eſteemed right vertuous and godlye menne, ſo other of them are to bee ſuſpected, as perſons rather holye by the ſuperſtitious opinion of the people, than endued with any ſuche knowledge of true godlyneſſe and ſyncere Relygion, as are worthye to be Regiſtred in the number of thoſe that of right ought to paſſe for ſayntes, as by certayne late writers may appeare.

Foxe. Bale.

But this we leaue to the iudgemente of the aduiſed Reader, for that in ſuche matters wee mynde not to preiudice any mans opinion, but onely wiſhe the Reader to take heed howe he giueth credite to that whych oftentymes is found written by Authoures touching feigned miracles, and other vayne ſuperſtitious dealings, wherethorough many zelous perſons haue often bene deceyued.

Nowe therefore to leaue Sayntes, and returne to other matters, touchyng the Iriſhe hiſtorie.

586.

The Norwegians ſkoure the ſeas, and inuade the yles of Orkney.

In the yeare. 586. the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Ilandes in the north Weaſt Ocean called the Iles of Orkeney, and ſkoured the Seas that none other nation durſte vnnethe appeare in ſight for dread of them. A people giuen greatly to ſeeke the Conqueſtes of other Realmes, as they that coulde not fayle to fynde more warme and fruitefull places for to inhabite than theyr owne.

They inuade Irelande.

Theſe fellowes chaunced to light into Irelande by this meanes, Caraticus king of Brytaine ranne into ſuche hatred of his people that they rayſed warres agaynſt him.

Gurmundus an Archpyrate of the nation of Norway.

The Saxons that poſſeſſed now ſixe ſeuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Brytayne, reioyſed not a little at this ciuill diſcorde betwixt the Brytayne king and his ſubiectes, whereupon meaning to make a full conqueſt of the Brytaines, and vtterly to expulſe them forth of the whole Ile, aſſembled their powers & ioyned to the ſame Gurmūdus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all tymes a Nauie in a readineſſe, and men to furniſhe it, holpe the Saxons to chaſe the Brytaynes into the Marches of Wales. For from thence (being retyred into the Mountaynes and Woddes) they coulde not dryue them.

This Gurmound (as ſome thinke) buylded at the ſame tyme the towne of Gurmondcheſter, and after beeing aſſyſted by the Saxons, hee made a voyage into Irelande, where hee ſpedde not greatly to his deſire, and therefore the Iriſhe account not this for any of theyr conqueſts, as ſome of their antiquaries infourmed oure Authour.

Champion.

Gurmounde therefore fynding but ſorie ſucceſſe, buylt a fewe ſleight Caſtelles and Fortes in the frontiers, and ſo lefte the lande, and ſayled from thence into Fraunce, where at length hee was ſlaine. Our Chronicles in deede name him King of Irelande, but the Iriſhe affyrme that before Turgeſius there was none of the Eaſterne people that obteyned dominion in theyr Countrey.

Turgeſius.

Geraldus Cambrenſis, to make the matter whole, (a Gods name) thinketh Turgeſius to haue conquered the lande as Lieutenaunt or Deputie vnder Gurmundus. But thys being graunted, there ryſeth a more manifeſt contradiction than the former, for hee hymſelfe numbreth betwixte Laogirius King of Irelande, that lyued in the yeare. 430. and Edlumding, whom Turgeſius vanquiſhed, xxxiij. Monarkes, whoſe raignes comprehended foure hundred yeares, ſo that Turgeſius lyued in the yeare after the incarnation. 830.

Laogerius. 430

Then it is too playne, that hee coulde not haue any doyngs wyth Gurmundus, who ioyned with the Saxons agaynſt Careticus, in the yeare. 586.

The doubt reſolued.

This knotte (ſaith our Authour) might be vntwyned with more facilitie thus. Gurmundus made much of that little he gotte, and wrote himſelfe King, which tytle our Hyſtories doe allowe him, bycauſe hee made the waye playne, enioyed it a whyle, and ſet open the gate vnto his Countreymen.

Turgeſius atchieued the whole exployte, and brought it to perfection, and in theſe reſpectes eyther of them may bee called King and Conquerour of Irelande.

Turgeſius what he did.

Turgeſius therefore with hys Norwegyans the ſeconde tyme inuaded Irelande, ſuſteyned diuerſe loſſes and ouerthrowes: but in the ende fortefying himſelfe by the Sea coaſtes, and receyuing thereby hys friendes at hys pleaſure, wared ſo ſtrong that hee ſubdued the whole Ile, ſtyll erecting Caſtelles and Fortreſſes as hee wanne grounde, ſo to mayſter the Iriſhe, that with ſuch maner of ſtrengthes of Walles and Rampyres had not as yet beene acquaynted, for tyll thoſe dayes they knewe no defence but Woods, Bogs, or ſtrokes.

He buyldeth Fortreſſes.

Turgeſius ſo brydled the Iriſhe Kinges, and kepte them in awe, that without interruption hee raigned lyke a Conquerour thirtie yeares.

Turgeſius raigned in Ireland. xxx. yeares.

He cryed hauocke and ſpoyle where anye riche pray was to bee had, ſparing neyther thoſe of the laytie, nor of the Cleargie, neyther Church nor Chappell, abuſing hys victorie verie inſolently, Omalaghlilen King of Methe, was in ſome truſt with the tyrant. His onely daughter Turgeſius craued for his Concubine.

Omalaghlilen king of Methe.

The father hauing a readie witte, and watching his tyme, beganne to breake with Turgeſins in this wiſe, ſauing your fancie (my Lorde quoth he) there are dyuerſe Ladyes of bloud in thys Countrey meeter bedfellowes for a King than that browne gryſtle, and therewyth he beganne to recken vppe a number of hys Neeces and Couſins, indowed (as he ſet them forth) with ſuch ſingular beautie, as they ſeemed rather Angels than mortall creatures.

The tyraunt as it were rauiſhed, and doting in loue of thoſe Peerleſſe peeces before hee ſawe them, by reaſon of ſuch exceeding prayſes as hee thus heard of them, doubted yet leaſt Omalaghlilen extolled them to preſerue his daughter out of hys handes, and the ſubtile father cloked his drift with modeſt behauiour, lyngering tyme to enflame the Leachers folly, as he that wiſhed anye thing more to bee ſuſpected than that which hee ment moſt earneſtly to bring to paſſe.

The policie of Omalaghlilen.

At length when Turgeſius ſeemed to take his delaying thus of tyme ſomewhat dyſpleaſantly, he vſed thys or the like ſpeech.

If I ſhoulde ſaye (quoth hee) that I gaue you my ſole daughter wyth good wyll to be deflowred, your highe wiſedome woulde ſoone geſſe that I didde but flatter you, and yet if tenne Daughters were dearer to mee than your good pleaſure and contentation, by whoſe bountifull goodneſſe both ſhee and I, and wee all are ſupported, I were vnworthie that ſecrete and neare frendſhip wherin it lyketh you to vſe me. As for the wenche it will be in parte honourable to hir to be required to the bedde of ſuch a prince, ſith Queenes haue not ſticked to come from far and yelde the vſe of their bodyes to noble conquerors, in hope by them to haue iſſue: and howſoeuer it be taken, tyme will weare it out, and redeeme it: but ſuche a friende as you are to mee and myne, neyther I nor myne ſhall lyue to ſee. And verily I mean not to hazard your diſpleſure if it were for a greater matter than the value of twentie maydenheads, ſeeyng fathers haue not ſticked to giue vp their own wiues to quench the luſtes of their ſonnes. Therefore am I thus agreed, name the daye and place, ſeparate youre ſelfe from the viewe of your court, conferre with thoſe that haue a deyntie inſight and ſkilfull eyes in diſcerning beauties, I wil ſend you my daughter, and with hir the choyce of .xij. or .xvj. gentlewomẽ, the meaneſt of the which may be an Empreſſe in compariſon: when they are before you, make youre game as you lyke. And then if my chylde pleaſe your fantaſy, ſhe is not too good to be at your cõmaundement. Only my requeſt is, that if any other ſhall preſume vpon youre leauings, your maieſtie will remember whoſe chyld ſhe is. This liberal proffer was of Turgeſius accepted (whoſe deſire was inſaciable) with many good wordes, thankes and faire promiſes.

To be ſhorte, the ſame day Omalaglilen put his daughter in princelyke apparell, attired after the trimmeſt wyſe, and with hir .xvj. proper yong men, beautifull and amiable to behold: and ſo being ſent to the king were preſented vnto him in his priuie chamber, hauyng none aboute him but a fewe diſſolute youthfull perſons whervpon thoſe diſguiſed yong ſtriplyngs drew forth from vnder their long womanniſhe garmentes theyr ſkeynes, and valiauntly beſturring them ſelues, firſt ſtabbed their weapon poyntes, thorough the bodie of the tyrant, and then ſerued all thoſe youthes that were aboute him with the lyke ſawce, they making ſmall or no reſiſtance at all.

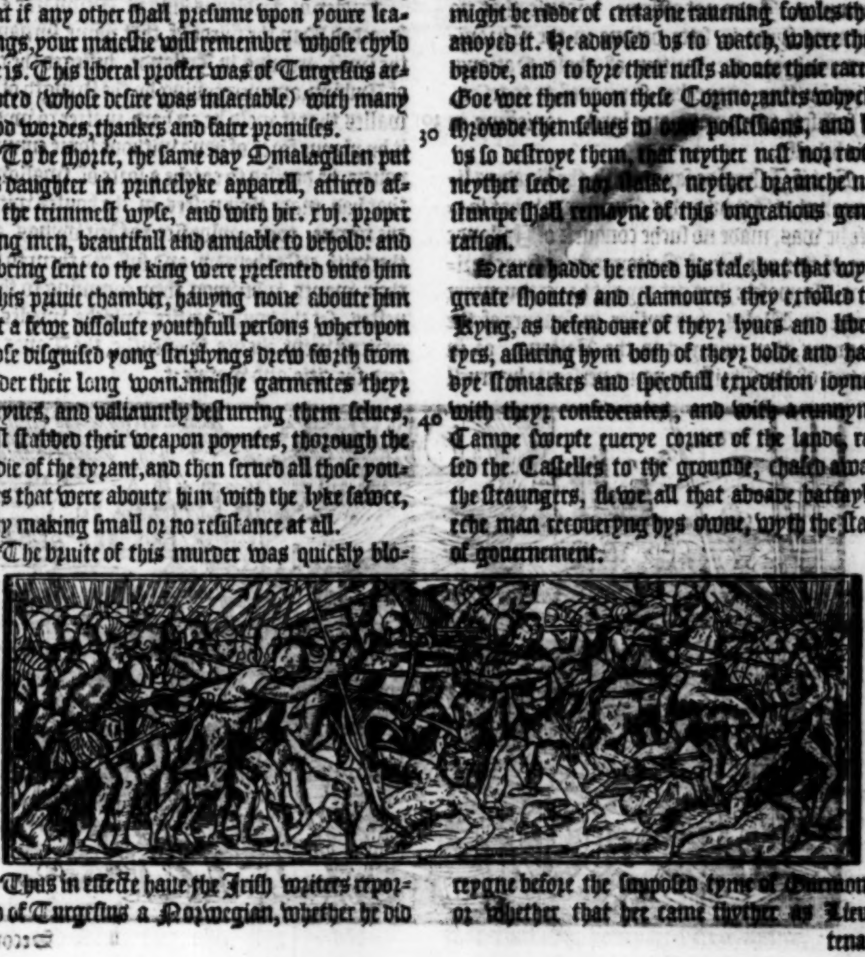
The lyke vvas practiſed by Alexander, ſon to Amyntas king of Macedonie agaynſte the Perſian ambaſſadours. Carion. lib. 3. fol. 109.

The bruite of this murder was quickly blowen abroade thoroughe all Irelande, and the Princes readye to catche holde on ſuche aduauntage, roſe in armes wyth one aſſente in purpoſe to delyuer themſelues from bondage, and recouer libertie.

Al Methe and Leyniſter were ſpeedyly got together, reſortyng vnto Omalaglilen the authour of this practiſe, who lyghtly lept to horſſe, and commendyng their forwarde readyneſſe in ſo naturall a quarrell, ſayd: My lordes and frendes, this caſe neyther admitteth delaye, nor requireth a policie, harte and haſte is all in all, whyleſt the matter is freſhe and greene, and that ſome of oure enimies lye ſtill and ſleepe, ſome lamente, ſome curſe, ſome are togither in counſell, and all the whole number diſmayed, lette vs preuente theyr furye, diſmember theyr force, cut off their flyght, ſeyſe vppon theyr places of refuge and ſuccoure. It is no victorie to plucke their feathers, but to break their neckes: not to chaſe them in, but to rouſe them out: to weede them, not to rake them: not to treade them downe, but to roote them vp. This leſſon the tyraunt himſelfe did teache me: I once demaunded of him as it were in a parable, by what good huſbandrie the lande might be ridde of certayne rauening fowles that anoyed it. He aduyſed vs to watch, where they breede, and to fyre their neſts aboute their eares. Goe wee then vpon theſe Cormorantes whyche ſhrowde themſelues in our poſſeſſions, and let vs ſo deſtroye them, that neyther neſt nor roote, neyther ſeede nor ſtalke, neyther braunche nor ſtumpe ſhall remayne of this vngratious generation.

The perſwaſion of Omalaglilen.

Scarce hadde he ended his tale, but that wyth greate ſhoutes and clamoures they extolled the Kyng, as defendoure of theyr lyues and libertyes, aſſuring hym both of theyr bolde and hardye ſtomackes and ſpeedfull expedition ioyned with theyr confederates, and with a runnyng Campe ſwepte euerye corner of the lande, raſed the Caſtelles to the grounde, chaſed away the ſtraungers, ſlewe all that aboade battayle, eche man recouerying hys owne, wyth the ſtate of gouernement.



Thus in effecte haue the Iriſh writers reported of Turgeſius a Norwegian, whether he did reygne before the ſuppoſed tyme of Gurmond, or whether that hee came thyther as Lieuetenaunt to him, whiche if it ſhoulde bee true, no doubte the ſame Gurmonde was ſome Kyng of the Danes, or Norweygians, and not of the Affricanes, (as ſome of our countreymen name hym.) Which errour is ſoone committed, in takyng one Heatheniſhe nation for an other, as thoſe haue doone that haue named the Hungarians (when they inuaded Gallia before they were Chriſtians) Sarazins: And ſo lykewyſe might that authour (who ſo euer he was) whom Geffrey of Monmouth foloweth, fyndyng Gurmonde written to be a king of the myſcreantes, miſtake the Norwegians for Affricanes, bicauſe both thoſe nations were Infidels: and therefore ſith haply the Affricanes in the dayes when that Author lyued, bare al the brute aboue other Heatheniſhe nations then, as the Turkes do nowe, he named them Affricanes.

Gurmonde.

Howe ſoeuer it was, certayne it is, that the Danes or Norwegians made ſundrie inuaſions into Irelande, and that at ſeuerall tymes. But for Turgeſius, whether hee were an abſolute Kyng, or but a Lieutenant of ſome armye, vnder ſome other king named Gurmonde, or peraduenture Gormo, (as ſuche names are ſoone corrupted,) I can not affirme, bycauſe that no certayne tyme is ſette downe in the Chronicles, whyche are written of thoſe Nations, whereby they maye bee ſo reconciled together, as ſuffiſeth to warrant any lykely coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I ſhoulde ſaye, (with the Readers licence) what I thinke, this Gurmonde what ſo euer he was, made no ſuche conqueſt of Irelande nor of this our Iſle of Britayn (as by ſome writers is ſuppoſed:) but yet myght he peraduenture lande in Wales, and eyther in fauoure of the Saxons, then enimyes to the Britons, or in hatred of the Chriſtian name, perſecute by cruell warres the Brytiſhe nation, and vſe ſuche crueltie as the Heatheniſhe nations then were accuſtomed to practiſe agaynſt the Chriſtians, in all places where they came, and chaunced to haue the vpper hande. The chiefeſt cauſe that moueth me to doubte therof, is for that I fynd not in any of our approued auncient Engliſhe writers, as Bede, Malmeſburye, Huntingdon, Houeden, or ſuche lyke, anye playne mention made of hym, whereby I may be throughly induced to credite that whyche I fynde in Geffrey Monmouth and others, recorded of hym, except his name be miſtaken, and ſo therby ſome errour crept in, which I am not able to reſolue.

But ſith we are entred to ſpeake thus farre of the Norwegians, heere by the waye I haue thoughte it not impertinente to the purpoſe of thys Iriſhe hiſtorie to write what wee fynde recorded in the Chronicles of thoſe northernlye Regions Denmarke, Norwey, and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Crantz, and others, concernyng the ſundry inuaſions made by the Danes, Norweygians or Normans, (whether we lyſt to cal them) into Irelande.

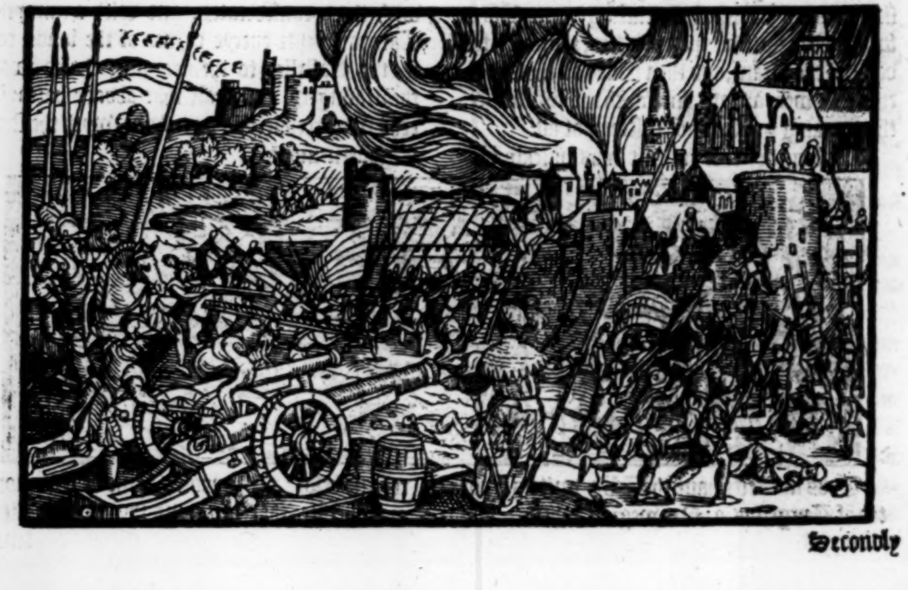
Alber.Crantz, Saxo Gram.

Fridley or Fridleuus king of Denmarke, that ſucceded Dan the thirde of that name, ſurnamed the ſwift, arriuing in Irelande, beſieged the citie of Dublyn, and perceyuing by the ſtrength of the walles, that it wold be an hard matter to wynne it by playne force of hand without ſome cunning policie, he deuiſed to catche a ſorte of ſwallowes that had made their neſtes in the houſes within the towne, tyed wylde fire to their wyngs, and therwith caſte them vp, and ſuffered them to flye their wayes, wherupon they comming to theyr neſtes, ſet the houſes on fire, whiche whyles the citziens went aboute to quenche, the Danes entred the citie, and wanne it.

Fridleuus.

Dublyn beſeged.

Dublyn ſet on fyre, and wonne by the Danes.

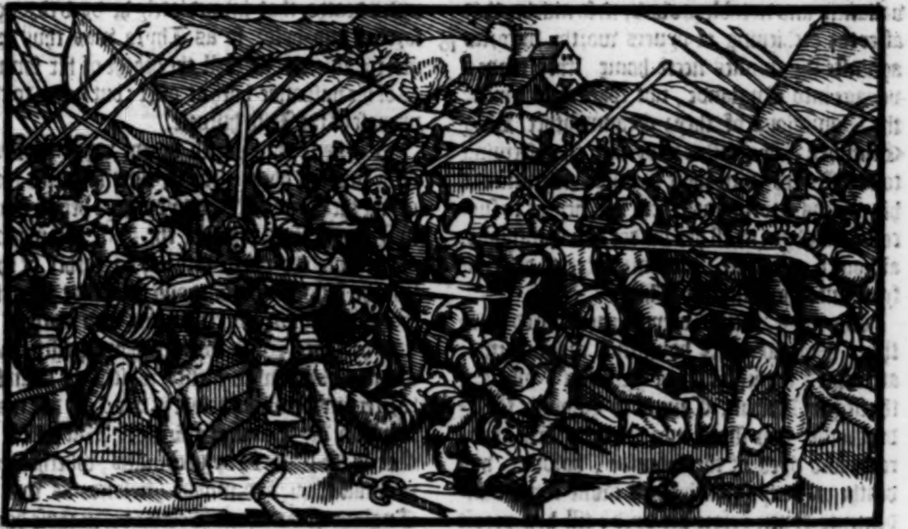


Frotho the thirde.

Caltrops ſtrawed by the Iriſh to anoy the Danes.

Keruil gouernor of the Iriſhmẽ ſlayne.

Secondly, Frotho King of Denmarke, the thirde of that name, after he had ſubdued the Britons here in this Iſle, made a voyage into Ireland alſo, where hee landed with ſome daunger, for the Iriſhmen had ſtrawed all alongſt yͤ ſhore a great number of Caltroppes of iron, with ſharp prickes ſtanding vp to wounde the Danes in the feete as they ſhoulde come forth of theyr Ships to follow them, for they meant to flee of a pretẽſed policie for that purpoſe. But Frotho perceyuing their deceytfull craft, followed them more aduiſedly than raſhly, and ſo put their Captayne named Keruill to flighte, and ſlewe him in the fielde, whoſe brother remayning in life, and miſtruſting his owne puiſſance, yeelded hymſelfe to Frotho, who deuiding yͤ pray amõgſt his Souldiers and men of warre, ſhewed thereby, that hee only ſought for glory, and not for gayne, reſeruing not a peny of all the ſpoyle to his owne vſe.



Frotho the fourth.
Starcater a Giant.
Huglet King of Irelande.

Gegathus and Suibdauus.

Haco woũded.
Starcather wounded.

Hugler ſlaine.

After this, in the dayes of king Frotho the fourth of that name, which raigned ouer the Danes, one Starcater a Giant, in cõpany of Haco a Daniſh Captaine, made a iourney likewiſe into Ireland, where in the ſame ſeaſon, one Huglet raigned as Monarke ouer that Iſle, who hauing plentie of treaſure, was yet ſo giuen to couetouſneſſe, that by ſuch vnprincely partes as he played, to ſatiſfie his gredy deſire to fill his cofers, he became ryght odible, and farre out of all fauor with his ſubiectes, yet there were of his nobles, very valiaunte and worthy men, namely two, Gegathus, and Suibdauus: wherevpon, when it came to paſſe that he ſhoulde ioyne in battell with his enimies the Danes, the moſt parte of all his people fledde out of the fielde, ſo that Gegath and Suibdaue were in maner left alone: for they regarding their honors and dutie that apperteyned to menne of their calling, woulde not flee, but manfully dyd what lay in theyr powers, to beate backe the enimies, in ſo much, that Gegathus raught Haco ſuch a wounde, that the vpper part of his liuer appeared bare. Hee alſo wounded Starcather in the head righte ſore, ſo that in all his life days, he had not before that time receyued the like hurt, in the ende yet Huglet the Monarke of Irelande was ſlayne, and Starcather obteyning the victory, made greate ſlaughter of the Iriſhe ſubiectes the which had followed their King to this battell, being menne through his corrupt example and ſlouthfull trade of lyfe, degenerate from all warlike order and vſe of manlike exerciſe.

Dublin wonne

After this, the Danes went to Dublin, which towne they eaſily tooke, and founde ſuche ſtore of riches and treaſure therein, that euery man hadde ſomuche as hee coulde wiſhe or deſire, ſo as they needed not to fall out among themſelues for the partition, ſith there was ſo muche for each mans ſhare as hee coulde conueniently carrie away.

Thus hath Saxo Grammaticus written in effect of Starcaters comming into Irelande, of whome the Daniſh writers make ſuch mention, both for his huge ſtature and greate manhoode. Some haue thoughte, that Starcater was the very ſame man whiche the Scottes name Finmackcole, of whome in the Scottiſhe Hiſtorie we haue made mention: but where as the Scottiſh writers affirme that he was a Scottiſhman borne, the Daniſh writers reporte that hee was borne in Eaſtlande, among the people called Eſtones.

Reignirus.

Melbrick K. of Irelande ſlayne.

Reignirus the ſonne of Siwardus, the ſecond King of Denmarke, hauyng atchieued ſundry victories in Englande and Scotlande, and ſubdued the Iſles of Orkney, hee paſſed likewiſe into Irelande, ſlewe Melbricke King of that lande, and tooke the Citie of Dublin by ſiege, where hee remayned the whole tearme of twelue monethes before he departed from thence.

Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke.

He marieth Thira daughter to Ethelדred King of Englande.

Canute and Haroldе.

After this, Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke, although an Infidell hymſelfe, and a cruell perſecuter of the Chriſtian Religion, yet tooke to wife a Chriſtian Ladie named Thyra, daughter to Ethelred King of Englãd, who had iſſue by him two ſonnes Knaught, or Canute, and Harold, prouing men of high valiancie and notable prowes, in ſo muche, that after the atchieuing of dyuers worthy victories againſte the enimies neere home, they made a voyage into Englande, not ſparing to inuade the Dominions of theyr Graundfather King Ethelred, who rather reioycing, than ſeeming to be offended with thoſe manlike enterpriſes of his couſins, proclaymed them hys heyres to ſucceede after hym in all hys landes and dominions, although of ryghte, the ſame were to deſcende fyrſt vnto theyr mother Thira.

They inuade Irelande.

Canute is ſlayne.

The yong menne beeyng encouraged with theyr Graundfathers bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuaſion of Irelande, where at the ſiege of Dublin, Canute or Knought the elder brother was ſhotte into the body with an arrowe and dyed of the wounde, howbeit, hys deathe was kept cloſe by hys owne commaundemente gyuen before hee dyed, till hys people hadde gote the Citie into their poſſeſſion. But the gayne was ſmall in reſpect of the loſſe whiche was thoughte to redounde vnto the whole Daniſhe nation by the deathe of that noble yong Gentleman Canute, who for hys hygh proweſſe and valiancie was moſt tenderly beloued of all menne, but namely, of his father King Gormo, in ſo muche, that hee ſware to kill hym with hys owne handes who ſo euer ſhoulde firſt tell hym newes of hys deathe.

The policie of Thira to ſignifie to hir husband the death of theyr ſonne Canute.

This Gormo was nowe a man farre ſtriken in age, and blinde, hauyng ſmall ioy of anye worldly pleaſures otherwiſe, than to heare of the welfare & proſperous proceedings of his ſonnes. When therefore hys wife Queene Thira hadde perfect aduertiſemente of hir ſonnes deathe, and that neyther ſhe nor any other durſt breake the matter vnto hir huſbande, ſhe deuiſed a ſhifte how to ſignifie that to hym by outwarde ſignes, whyche by worde of mouth ſhe was afrayde to expreſſe, as thus, She cauſed moorning apparell to be made for hir huſbande, and putting off hys royall robes, cladde hym therewith, and other thyngs apperteyning to moorners, ſhe alſo put about hym, and prepared all ſuche furniture and neceſſaries as were vſed for funerall exequies, witneſſing the lamentable griefe conceyued for the loſſe of ſome friende, with that kinde of mourning weede and funerall ceremonies. Whiche when Gurmo perceyued: Woe is mee (ſaith hee) you then ſignifie the death of my ſonne Canute. Whereunto ſhee made aunſwere, that hee and not ſhee dyd diſcouer the trueth of that whiche was meante by thoſe moorning garmentes, and with that ſpeeche miniſtred cauſe of hir huſbandes deathe, whereby ſhee became preſently a Widdowe, not openly moorning for hir ſonne, before ſhee mourned likewiſe for hir huſbande: for hee tooke ſuche griefe for Canutes deathe, that immediately he dyed through ſorowe and dolor, ſo as Thyra was thus giuen to lamente, as well the deathe of hir ſonne, as of hir huſbande both at once: but nowe to the purpoſe of the Iriſh hiſtorie.

Gurmo dyeth of ſorowe.

Yee haue thus partly hearde what the Daniſhe writers doe recorde in their hiſtories touchyng the Conqueſtes whych theyr people made in Irelande, but whether the ſame bee meante of that whyche goeth before, or rather of that whiche followeth, touchyng the trade whyche the Norwegian Merchauntes vſed thither, or whether the Iriſhe writers haue paſſed theſe iourneys ouer with ſilence whiche the Daniſhe writers in forme (as before is touched) doe make mention of, I cannot affirme: But lyke it is that as the Danes, or Normans, whether you will call them, dyd inuade Irelande as well as England, France, and Scotlande, in thoſe days, according to the reporte of theyr writers, and that by way of open warre, as well to conquere the countrey, as to take prayes, priſoners and booties, and not for trade of Merchandiſe, onely albeit that they myghte peraduenture ſo get entrie at the firſte, as by the Iriſh hiſtories it ſhould ſeeme they dyd ſhortly after the ſlaughter of Turgeſius, and afterwards when they ſaw thẽſelues ſetled, and perceyued that they beganne to growe to be enuyed of their Iriſhe neybors, who thereupon woulde not ſticke to moleſt them as occaſions ſerued, they ſaw no better meane to aſſure themſelues againſt their aduerſaries, than to ſend vnto their coũtreymen, which in thoſe dayes roued abrode (as before I haue ſaid) in euery quarter of this our weſt Ocean, wayting for oportunitie to aduance their conqueſts in each countrey where any thing might be gottẽ: and ſo this may agree very well with the Iriſhe writers, whome as I do not take vppon me to controll, but rather to report the hiſtorie as I find it by them writtẽ, I will proceede with the order whiche they followe. After the countrey was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppreſſed by the ſame Turgeſius and his people Danes or Norwegiãs whether they were (for ſo Cambrenſis eſteemeth them) the Iriſhe deliuered of ſeruile bondage, fell to their old wonted vomit, in perſecuting each other: and hauing lately defaced theyr fortifyed Townes and Caſtels, as receptacles & couertes for the enimie, all ſides lay more open to receyue harme.

This beeing perceyued and throughly conſidered, the Princes that in ẏ late rule of Turgeſius, had eſpied ſome towardneſſe to wealth & eaſe, fell in hand to diſcourſe the madneſſe and folly of their aunceſtors, whiche ſawe not the vſe of that which their enimies abuſed; they beganne to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to wiſh eyther leſſe diſcord, or more ſtrẽgth in each mans dominion, to caſt the danger of naked countreys, ready to call in the enimies, as the ſtrength of fortes and Caſtels was a meane to preſerue them from loſſe. Fayne would they haue prouided remedie in this caſe, if they had knowne how.

The former ſubiection, though it ſeemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding ſteppes towards peace. The gayne that roſe of Merchãdiſe, reſt and ſuretie to the whole eſtate of the Country. For the differẽce was great betwixt the endeuors of the two nations, Norwegians and Iriſh.

The firſt knew the way to thriue, might they get ſome commodious ſeates and ſoyle. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the Princes and Potentates ſtayed vpon ſuche a good conſideration, certayne Merchants of Norway, Denmarke, & of other thoſe parties called *Oſtmanni*, (or as in our vulgar lãguage we tearme them, Eaſterlings) bycauſe they lie Eaſt in reſpect of vs, although indeede they are by other named properly Normans, and partly Saxons, obteyned licence lately to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to vtter the ſame.

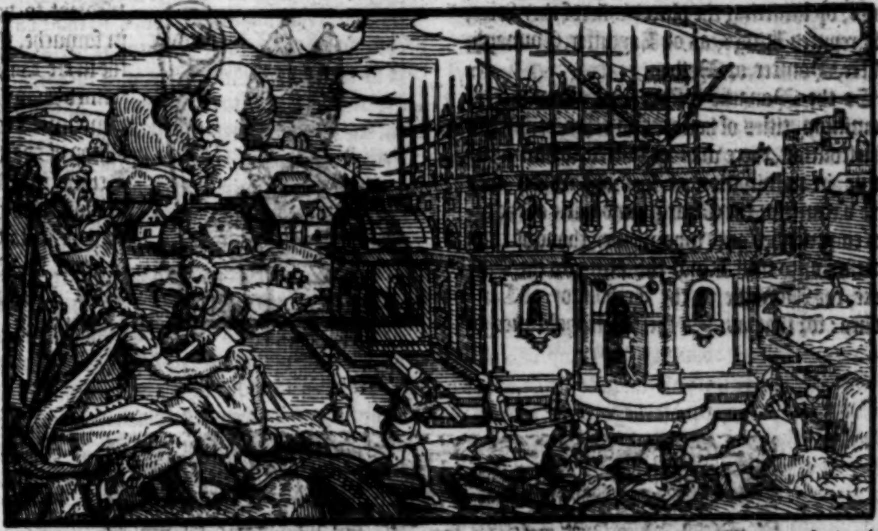
Eaſterlings began to trade into Irelande.

Hereupon, the Iriſh, through traffike and bartering with theſe Normans or Danes, (for ſo are they called alſo) in our Engliſh Chronicle by exchanging of wares and money) finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting alſo with gay conceipts brought in to them by thoſe Merchãts, (ſuch, as till they ſawe them) they neuer eſteemed needefull, they began to enter into a deſire, that a trade mighte be open betwixt them, and the other nations, wherevpon, to allure other, they licenced theſe Merchãt ſtrangers to build, if they thought good, hauen Townes in places moſt commodious: this was no ſooner graunted, then begunne, and with ſpeede finiſhed.

They builde townes on the Sea coaſts.

Imilanus founded Waterforde, Sutaricus, Limerick, Iuorus, Dublin: & ſo by others diuers other townes were built as leaſure ſerued.

Waterforde, Lymerike, Dublin.



Then by the help and counſell of theſe men, many Caſtels, Fortes, Steeples, and Churches euery where were repaired. And thus are the Iriſhe mingled alſo with the bloud of the Danes, Norwegians or Normans, who from thenceforth continually flocked into Irelande, to the greate commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing amongſt them obediently, till welth pricked and moued them to reyſe rebellion, but they could not haue holden out, had not the conqueſt enſuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became Lordes of the hauens and burrowe townes, planted men of warre in the ſame, and oftentimes ſkirmiſhed with their aduerſaries, but yet meaſured their fortune with indifferent gain, and crept no higher than the ſame woulde gyue them leaue, onely a memorie is left of their fielde in Clontars, where diuers of the Iriſhe nobilitie were ſlayne, that lie buried before the Croſſe of Kylmaynã. Theſe are by our author not without good iudgemẽt reported to be Danes, which people then beeing Paganes, ſore afflicted Englande, and after that France, from whence they came again into England with William Conqueror, ſo that thoſe people called *Oſtmanni*, Eſterlings, Normãs, Danes, Norwegiãs, & Suedeners, are in effect al one nation, borne in ẏ huge

The Merchant ſtrãgers moue Rebellion.

The fielde of Clontars.

The ſeuerall names of the ſtrangers whiche in theſe dayes afflicted France, England, Scotland and Irelande.

1095

region called Scandinauia, and as it appeareth by conference of times and Chronicles, muchwhat about one ſeaſon, vexed the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, ſubdued Englande, and multiplyed in Irelande. But in the yeere of Chriſt 1095. perceyuing greate enuie to remayne and lurke in the diſtinction of the names Eaſterlings and Iriſhe, that were altogither Weſterne, and the Eaſterlings not Eaſterne indeede, but rather ſimplye Northren: in conſideration whereof, and bycauſe they magnifyed themſelues in the late conqueſt of theyr countreymen, who from Normandie comming ouer into Englande ruled there at their pleaſure, theſe ſtrangers in Ireland would algate nowe bee alſo called and accompted Normans.

The Eaſterlings will be called Normans.

Long before this tyme (as ye haue heard) Irelande was beſtowed into two principall kingdomes, and ſometime into more, whereof one was euer elected and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a Monarke, whome in their Hiſtories they name *Maximum Regem*, that is, the greateſt King, or elſe without addition, *Regem Hiberniæ*, the King of Ireland, the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to witte, ſmall Kings, or elſe kings, by limitting the places whereof they were, to be reputed Kings, as of Leyniſter, Connagh, Vlſter, Monſter, or Meth.

Maximus Rex The great king or Monarke of Irelande.

To the Monarke beſides hys allowance of Dominion, titles of honor, and other priuileges in iuriſdiction, there was graunted to him a negatiue in nomination of Biſhops when they were vacant: for the Cleargie and laitie of the dioces commended one, whome they thought conuenient vnto their King, the King to the Monarke, the Monarke to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: for that as yet the Metropolitanes of Ireland had not receyued their palles.

The power of the Monarke in election of Biſhops.

In this ſorte was nominated to the Biſhoprike of Dublin then voyde, in the yeere of Chriſt 1074. at the petition of Goderius King of Leyniſter by ſufferance of the Cleargie and people there, with the aſſente of Terdienatus the Monarke, a learned Prelate called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canterbury conſecrated in Paules Churche at London, and ſware hym to obedience after the manner of his aunceſtors.

Goderius king of Leyniſter.

Terdienatus the Monarke.

Patricius conſecrated Biſhop of Dublin by Lanfranke.

1152

Chriſtian Biſhop of Liſmore legate to Eugenius the thirde, ſummoned a prouinciall councell in Irelande, wherein were authoriſed foure Metropolitane Seas, Ardmach, Dublin, Caſſel, and Tuen, of the whiche places were Biſhops at that preſente, Gaelatius, Gregorius, Donatus, Edonius, for hitherto though they yeelded a primacie to the Biſhop of Ardmach in reuerence of Saint Patricke the firſte Biſhop there, yet the ſame was but of good will, and confirmed rather by cuſtome than by ſufficient decree, neyther dyd that Archbiſhop take vppon him to inueſt other Biſhops, but ſente them to Canterbury (as before is mentioned) whiche from henceforth they vſed not to doe, in ſomuche, that the nexte Biſhop named Laurẽce, ſometime Archbiſhop of Sainte Keuins in Goladilah, was ordered & inſtalled at home by Gelaſius Primate of Ardmach.

Chriſtian Biſhop of Liſmore.

Foure Metropolitane Seas in Irelande.

The Biſhop of Ardmach.

Laurence Archbiſhop of Saint Keuins.

1162

The ſeconde Booke of the Hiſtories of Irelande, in which the conqueſt made by Henry the ſecond of that name, King of Englande, is comprehended.

Anno. 1167.

Dermote Macmurche.

DErmucius or Dermote Macmurche Kyng of Leyniſter, and gouernor of the fifte parte of Irelande, poſſeſſed all yͤ Eaſt partes of the Iſle alōgſt by yͤ Sea coaſt, an oppreſſor of the nobilitie, vſing much crueltie towardes the Lords and great men of his countrey. To ſerue his lecherous luſt, hee ſecretely made ſute in diſhoneſt wiſe vnto the Queene of Meth, the daughter of Amalachelmus, and wife vnto Morice King of Meth, which Morice going vpon a iourney into farre parts forth of his countrey, left his Queene in a certayne ile in Meth, but before his returne, ſhee condiſcending vnto Dermotes deſire, was voluntarily ſtolne away by the ſame Dermucius. King Morice of Meth hir huſband ſore moued herewith, determineth to bee reuenged, and the better to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, he maketh complaynte of the whole iniurie vnto Rotherick Ochonor King of Connagh, that was in thoſe dayes Monarke of Ireland, beſeeching him of aſſiſtance in that enterpriſe, which he meant to take in hand againſt that vile adulterer Kyng Dermote. The people of Leyniſter deteſting the quarrell, and hauing long agoe conceyued no ſmal hatred againſt theyr K. for his outragious crueltie vſed againſt his ſubiects, forſooke hym in his greateſt neceſſitie, ſo that hee being left deſolate of all comforte, with muche difficultie gote a veſſell, and fledde for ſuccour vnto Henry the ſecond King of Englande then remayning in Aquitayne, where hee was occupied in warres againſt the Frenchmen.

Amalachelmus Morice K. of Meth.

Dermote abuſeth the wife of King Morice.

Rotherick Ochonor Monarke of Irelande.

Dermucius fleeth out of Irelande. He commeth to the King of Englande Henry the ſeconde.

Somewhat before this preſente ſeaſon it chaunced, that Adrian, the fourth of that name, then Pope of Rome, an Engliſhman borne, in the towne of Saint Albons, who before time had bin ſente into Norway, to inſtruct that lande in the Chriſtian religion, where he learned perfectly the ſtate of Ireland, & how that although Chriſt was there taught and beleeued, yet the multitude being a furious and ſauage generation, were growen to ſuche a licentious and ſhamefull kinde of libertie, making no accounte of the neceſſarie pointes of doctrine, more than ſerued their ſenſuall and wilfull luſtes, that it was greatly to bee doubted, leaſt they would at length vtterly abandon Chriſtianitie, and giue themſelues ouer to a beaſtly order of liuing, nothing agreeable with the lawes and rites of other people that profeſſed Chriſtes Religion.

Adrian the fourth Biſhop of Rome an Engliſhman borne.

Hereto Henry the ſecond, preſuming vpon the Popes fauour, that was his borne ſubiect in the very firſt yeere of his raigne, had ſente Ambaſſadors to Rome for licence, to attempt the conqueſt of Irelande. Pope Adrian wiſhing that a reformation of the abuſes in that people might be had, granted his Bull for proofe of his conſent to king Henries requeſt, which Alexander that ſucceeded him confirmed and ratifyed with like conditions as his predeceſſor Adrian had giuē forth yͤ ſame.

Henry the ſecond of that name King of England.

Now when Dermote was come in the nicke to further by occaſion this enterpriſe thus pretended by Henry aforehand, hee preſented his complaint, profering the intereſt of his Crowne, with condition hee mighte be reſtored to ſome parte of his lands.

The offer of Dermucius to king Henry

See more here in England.

This matter beeyng thus broched, although King Henry had his handes full of warres with the Frenchmen, yet hee receyued Dermote into his protectiō, taking of him both his bond of ſubiection and othe of fidelitie: and where the Kyng coulde not then attende to goe with hym ouer into Irelande, yet, bycauſe of the earneſt ſuite that Dermote made, for ſpeede of aſſiſtaunce hee ſente him into Englande, honorably attended and furniſhed with hys letters patents, the tenor whereof enſueth.

Henry King of Englande, Duke of Normandy, and Aquitaine, and Earle of Aniou, to all our faithfull ſubiects Engliſhmen, Normās, Welchmen, and Scottes, and to all other nations whatſoeuer ſubiecte to our Dominion, ſendeth greeting.

The tenor of King Henries letters with the whiche Dermote returneth into England.

When theſe letters ſhall come to your handes knowe ye that we haue receyued Dermot, Prince of Leyniſter, into ẏ boſome of our grace and beneuolence. Wherefore, whiche of you ſoeuer oure louing ſubiectes within the limits of our dominions, will imploy your aids to help him forewarde, and reſtore him as our liege man and faithfull ſubiect, be you aſſured by theſe preſentes, to haue not only in that behalfe our licence, but alſo fauour and thankes at our handes. With theſe letters and many further promiſes, hee arriued at Briſtow, where he remayned for a time, that by ſuche as came forthe of Irelande by Sea and landed there, hee mighte learne and vnderſtande in what ſtate thyngs ſtoode in hys countrey.

He commeth to Briſtowe.

While he continued thus at Briſtowe, procuring by all meanes to get ſome ayde, it chaunced, that vppon conference hadde with Richarde Strangbowe Earle of Penbroke, ſonne to Gilbert Earle of Penbroke, to whome he couenanted to giue to him his daughter and heire in mariage, vppon promiſe, that the nexte Spring hee ſhoulde helpe to bring hym home into his countrey, and place hym agayne in hys Kingdome, whyche in remaynder was, to diſcend vnto the ſayde Earle, by the marriage promiſed to him of Dermots daughter.

Richard Strangbowe Earle of Penbroke.
Dermucius or Dermotes couenants with him.

When all the couenauntes and agreementes were concluded vpon in order, whyche were neceſſary to paſſe betwixte them, Dermote departed from Briſtowe, and wente into the parties of South Wales towardes Sainte Dauies, that hee myght bee the neerer vnto hys Countrey.

The ſame tyme, there were planted in Wales two Gentlemen, the one named Roberte Fitz Stephens, and Maurice Fitz Geralde, brethren of one Mother, alied to Riſe ap Griffin then Prince of Wales, whoſe Grandfather was ſurnamed Riſe the greate, whoſe daughter named Veſta, was Mother to the ſayd Fitz Stephans, and Fitz Gerald.

Robert Fitz Stephans and Maurice Fitz Geralde.
Rice ap Griffin Prince of Wales.
The Lady Veſta mother to Fitz Stephans and Fitz Geralde.
Abertciui.

Fitz Stephās dwelled at Abertciui in Southwales, and had bin high Conneſtable there vnder the King of England, and for his rigorous dealing againſt the Prince of Wales his ſeruantes, hee was layde for, and through treaſon of hys owne menne taken, and kepte in priſon three yeeres by the Prince, and woulde neyther raunſome nor accept libertie promiſed him, but with ſuche conditions as ſtoode with his honor, and ſo as his loyaltie to the Crowne myghte in each behalfe remayne vnſpotted. At length, by the mediation of Dauid Biſhop of Sainte Dauid (that was brother vnto the ſaid Fitz Stephans and of his other brother Fitz Gerald, and alſo at the inſtante ſuite of Dermote (whome the Prince of Wales fauored in his enterpriſe for recouerie of his Kingdome,) Fitz Stephans was conditionally deliuered, that hee and his brother Maurice ſhould the next Spring (while the Earle of Penbroke prouided his army) aſſiſt Dermote to make entrie into his countrey, who in conſideration thereof, aſſured them of an eſtate for euer in the towne of Wexforde, with two cantredes adioyning. Thus muche firmely concluded on eache ſide, King Dormote came to the towne of Saint Dauid about the Kalendes of Auguſt, and watching till a fauorable winde blewe, when the ſame came once about, hee ſtale ouer into Irelande and at Fernes wintered in ſecrete wiſe amongſt the Cleargie there, that receyued hym with as muche fauour as coulde bee deuiſed, keeping hym cloſe withoute making any greate brute of his there being, till the next ſpring, that Robert Fitz Stephans with thirtie Knightes of his bloud, threeſcore Eſquires or men at armes (as wee may tearme them) and three hundred archers footemen, according to couenaunte, embarqued in three Shippes, paſſed ouer, and landed at Banman aboute the kalendes of May.

Fitz Stephans taken and committed to priſon

Fitz Stephans deliuered.

Promiſe of reward to Fitz Stephans and Fitz Geralde.

Fitz Stephans paſſeth ouer into Irelande.

1169

The morrowe after their arriuall, a righte valiaunte Captayne, one Maurice de Prendelgaſt, following Fitz Stephans to the ayde of King Dermote, landed there alſo with a tenne Knightes, and a good bande of Archers, whome hee hadde Shipped at Milleforde Hauen in Wales in two veſſels prouided for that purpoſe.

Maurice de Prendelgaſt.

Dunwald baſtard ſonne to Dermote.

Dermote aduertiſed of their landing, forthwith ſente one of his baſe ſonnes named Dunwalde with fiue hundred menne to ayde them, whereupon they marched forth toward the towen of Wexforde.

The Towneſmen vnderſtanding that they were comming towardes them, iſſued forthe againſt them: but after they were aware of ſuche a power of armed menne, ſet in order of battell, diuerſly arrayed and weaponed, with barded horſes, and all other furniture of warre neceſſarie, they began to ſhrinke, and loſing courage, retired backe to their Towne, brenning the Villages rounde aboute them, and all the prouiſion of victayles which they could not conuey with them, they made themſelues within ſo ſtrong as they coulde deuiſe, and ſtoode manfully at defence of theyr gates and walles agaynſte theyr enimies.

They were ſharply aſſayled for the ſpace of three dayes togither.

On the fourth day, by mediation of a certaine Biſhop that lay in that Towne, the Towneſmen were perſwaded to yeeld themſelues to their King, ſo that they rendred the Towne into hys handes.

Wexforde yeelded.

King Dermote hauing ſeene the proofe of the Welchmens prowes, meante not to deale with them otherwiſe than promiſe, and therefore deliuered forthwith the poſſeſſion of the towne of Wexforde, with the appurtenances, vnto Fitz Stephan and to hys brother Maurice Fitz Geralde.

It is giuen to Fitz Stephan.

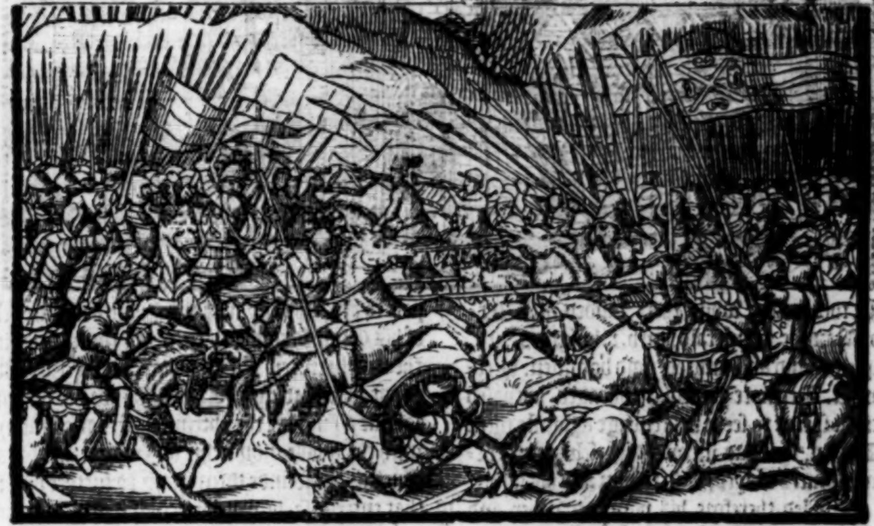
Heruie de Monte Mauriſco.

To Heruie de Monte Mauriſco, he gaue two Canthredes that lie betwixt yͤ townes of Wexford and Waterfourde, alongſt by the Sea ſide, to hold the ſame in fee.

After this, they gote togither to the number of three thouſand mē, with the ſupply of yͤ towneſmen of Wexforde, and marched forth towardes the vpper Oſſorie, to be reuenged of the Lordes there, that had ſhewed themſelues moſt cruell and ſpitefull of all other towards the king in time of his troubles and baniſhment.

Duneuald a prince of the vpper Oſſorie.

The chiefe gouernour of that quarter named Duneuald, gathering togither the people to defende their countrey, was trayned forth into the playnes and harde grounde, where with a violent charge of the horſemen, his army was eaſily diſcomfited and broken in peeces, so that the Iriſhe footemen following, and comming in among them, ſlew thoſe that they found borne downe by the horſemen, and brought two hundred of theyr heads whiche they had cut off, and threw them downe at Dermote his foote. The valiancie of two yong Gentlemen appeared greatly in thys exployt, the one called Robert de Barre, and the other Meiller, both Nephewes to Fitz Stephan, the one by hys brother, and the other by hys ſiſter.



The valiancie of Robert de Barre, and Meller, Nephewes to Fitz Stephan.

The Lords of vpper Oſſorie reduced to ſubiection.

Rodericke the Monarke.

To be ſhorte, thoſe Lordes of vpper Oſſorie, were cōpelled to returne to their olde ſubiection, & ſweare fealtie. Roderike the Monarke appalled with the brute hereof, reyſed all the vnder Kings to defend the land from this inuaſiō of ſtrangers, fearing leaſt all woulde goe to naughte, if timely prouiſion were not had. But yet firſt they ſent to Fitz Stephan certaine perſonages of credite, with courteous wordes and riche preſentes, requiring him to depart the land quietly, and not to moleſt them by warre without cauſe. His anſwer was, that he maruelled much at yͤ follie of thoſe Princes, who to ſatiſfie their diſpleaſure and malice, had opened ſuch a gappe to their owne deſtructiō, not conſidering howe the ſubiectes whome they had ſchooled to breake their allegaunce agaynſt theyr naturall Prince the King of Leyniſter, would not be as ready to rebell againſt the King of Connagh. But for his owne parte, althoughe hee myghte with better reaſon inuade ſtraungers, than they mighte expell theyr neyghbours, and one that was their paire, yet if they would ſuffer the Kyng of Leyniſter to repoſſeſſe and enioy hys righte, they ſhoulde not fynde hym vnreaſonable. Otherwiſe, they ſhoulde well perceyue, that the Welchmen wanted neyther habilitie nor faithe to mayncteyne theyr worde.

Meſſengers ſent to Fitz Stephans.

Fitz Stephans anſwere.

Welchmen.

The agreemente betwixt Roderike and Dermote.

Rodericke perceyuing it was no boote to ſtriue againſte the ſtreame, reſolued to growe vnto ſome agreemente, whiche at length was concluded, with theſe conditions. Firſte, that Dermote Macmourche, receyuing a newe othe of allegeance to the Monarchie, ſhould quietly repoſſeſſe thoſe partes of the Kingdome of Leyniſter, whyche Rodericke withhelde by ſuſpenſion.

Secondly, that for aſſuraunce thereof, hee ſhoulde pledge hys deereſt baſe begotten ſonne Conthurus, to whome Rodericke promiſed hys daughter if this peace continued effectuall.

Thirdlye, that beeyng eſtabliſhed in hys Kingdome, hee ſhoulde diſcharge the Welſche Armye, and from thenceforthe, ſhoulde at no time call them ouer againe in his defence. About the ſame time, the King of Arglas founded the Abbey of Melleſunt, the eldeſt that is recorded ſince the arriuall of the Danes, excepte Sainte Mary Abbey beſyde Dublin erected. Anno.948.

Maurice Fitz Gerald landed at Wexforde.

In this meane while, there landed at Wexford, Maurice Fitzgerald, with .x. knightes. xxx. Eſquires, and an hundred good bowmen. Herevpon K. Dermote greatly encouraged, purpoſed with all ſpeede to ſeeke his reuenge againſte them of Dublin, that had ſhewed themſelues great enimies diuers wayes, both to him and his father. He aſſembled therefore his power togither, and marched toward Dublin, whileſt Fitz Stephen remayned two miles from Wexforde, where on the height of a Rocke called Karreck, hee built a Caſtell. But Fitzgerald with the Engliſh army went forth with King Dermote againſte Dublin, hauing the chiefe conduct of all the whole enterpriſe. They ſo beſturred them, that all the territorie about the Citie, and the countreys adioyning, were in manner brought to vtter ruine, with ſpoyle, ſlaughter, and fire, in ſomuche, that the towneſmen of Dublin, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, ſubmitted them ſelues, and put in good ſuretie for their loyall demeanor in time to come.

Dublin ſubdued.

When Dublin and the Countrey about were thus recouered and reduced to their former ſubiection, there fell out variance betwixt Rodorike the Monarke, and Dunenald King of Limerik. To whoſe ayde his father in lawe Dermote ſent Fitz Stephans with his power, by whoſe high prowes, Roderike in diuers conflictes was put to the worſt, and forced to withdrawe home into his countrey with diſhonor.

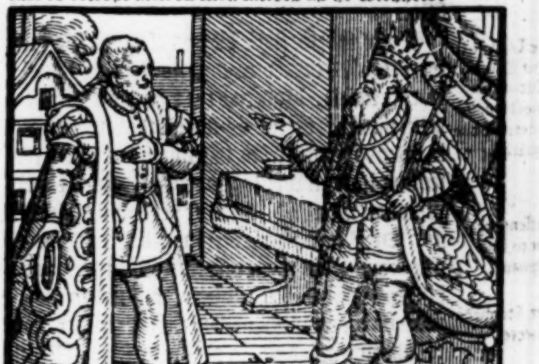
Variance betwixt the Monark and the king of Lymerike.

Nowe was Dermote growen into ſome fauor and liking of his people, inſomuche that hee began to fancie a further conqueſt, hauing already recouered his whole kingdome of Leymſter. And bycauſe he knewe it ſhoulde be to ſmall purpoſe to attempt any ſuch thing, without the help of his Engliſh confederates, hee conſulted with the two brethren Fitzſtephans, and Fitzgerald, about the inuading of Connagh, for hee meante to giue a puſh for the obteining of that countrey, with the whole monarchie of Ireland, and for as much as hee founde them ready to further him in that enterpriſe, he wrote ouer into England vnto yͤ Erle of Penbroke, requiring his aſſiſtãce, in renuing yͤ former couenants paſſed betwixt thẽ.

Dermucius ſendeth to the Earle of Penbroke.

This Erles anceſtors came into this Realme of Englãd with William Conqueror, but now eyther through riotous prodigalitie, or diſfauor of the Kings, they were runne farre behinde hand with the world, and therefore this man gaue the more willing eare vnto Dermotz letters, & therevpon paſſed ouer to the King, beſeeching him eyther to reſtore him to ſuch landes as he withhelde of his, or elſe licence him in forraigne parts to ſeke his fortune. The King as one yͤ ſpake in ſkorne,

bade



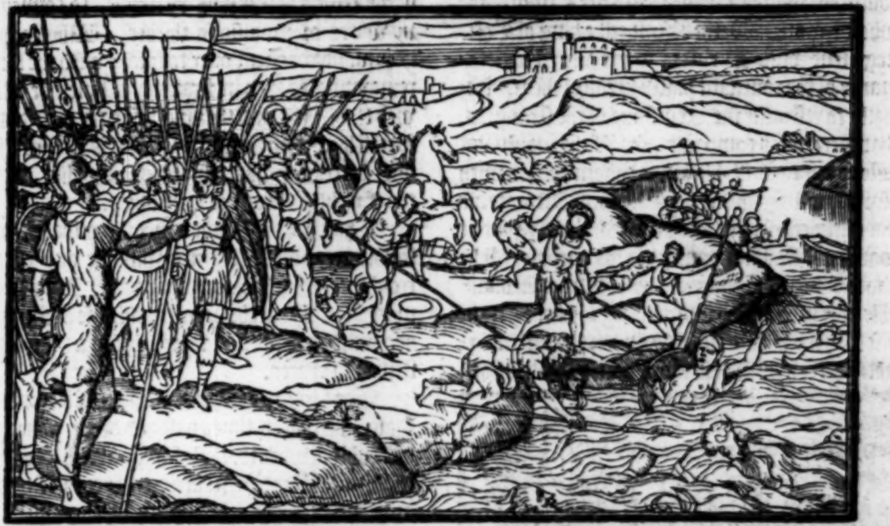
bade him go forward in the name of God ſo farre as his feete woulde beare him.

Reymond le Grace is ſent ouer from the Erle of Pem- broke into Irelande.
1170

The Earle diſſembling to vnderſtand the hollowneſſe of the Kings heart and good will towardes his preferment, firſt furniſhed forth hys couſin Reymond le Grace, nephew by an elder brother vnto Fitz Stephans, and Fitz Geralde, with .x. knightes and .lxx. Archars about the Kalendes of May, appoynting him to paſſe ouer before him into Irelande. Who landing neare to a rocke by the Sea ſide called Dundenolfe (foure myles from Waterforde, towarde Wexforde by ſouth) began there on the ſayde rocke to buylde a Fort of earth and fagots. The Citizins of Waterforde, and with them Machlachelin Ophelan hauing in a iealouſie the neighborhood of ſtraungers, aſſembled togither three thouſand men and paſſed ouer the ryuer that deuideth the Countrey of Deſmound from Leyniſter vnder their towne walles towardes the Eaſt, and deuiding themſelues into three battails marched forth, and valiantly approched to the ditches where Reymonde with his companie was intrenched. Reymonde perceyuing them thus to approche, boldly iſſued forth agaynſt them with ſuch ſmall companie as he had there with him. Howbeit not able to make his partie good, he was forced to retyre vnto hys ſtrength, but beyng purſued vnto the very gates by the Iriſhe, thinking to enter with the Engliſhe men, Reymond at the very entring of the gate turned backe vppon them, and thruſt his ſworde through the firſt of his enimies that preſſed next to follow him at the heeles, and calling to his people to turne vpon the aduerſarie, he ſo encouraged his companye, and ſtroke ſuche a feare into the Iriſh mens heartes, that they toke themſelues to flight, and were ſo egrely followed of their aduerſaries, that aboue fiue hundred of thẽ were ſlaine, beſide a great number that were dryuẽ to take the ſea, where they were loſt & drowned.

The Citizins of Waterford ſeke to reſiſt Reymond.

The Iriſh men diſcomfited.



William Ferrando.

The valiancie of one William Ferrando a knight was much noted in this conflict. Seuenty townesmen of Waterford were taken, and afterwardes (contrarie to the minde of Raymond) caſt into the ſea and drowned, through the perſwaſion of Heruie de Monte Mauriſco, in which doing the Engliſh men did great hurt to themſelues, for the aduauncement of their proceedings in Ireland. In the meane time the Erle of Pembroke hauing made all his prouiſion readie, toke the ſea in Mylforde hauen with two hundred knightes, and a thouſand other men of warre, and arriued at Waterforde on Bartholmewe euen, and the morow after Bartholmew day, being Tueſday, they aſſaulted the Citie, and were twiſe repulſed, but yet at length breaking downe an houſe that ioyned to the wall, they entred by force, and ſleaing the Citizins, obteyned a bloudie victorie.

The Earle of Pembroke paſſeth into Irelande.

Shortly after came king Dermote thither with Fitz Stephans and Reymonde, and there according to couenant, gaue vnto Erle Strangbow, his daughter Eue in mariage, with the ſucceſſion of his kingdome. When Waterford was thus gotten, and Leyniſter pacified, and the princes of Oſſorie tamed, and a choſen power of men of warre placed in gariſon, King Dermote was become ſo terrible that none durſt ſtyrre agaynſt him.

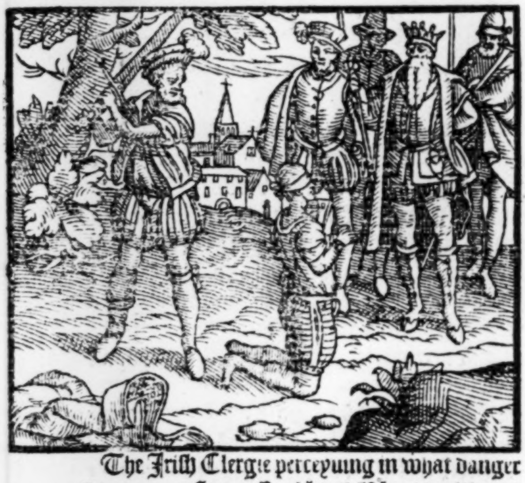
Dermote not yet ſatiſfyed in his mode agaynſt them of Dublin, got his army on fote, and drew towardes that Citie by the bending coaſtes of the Mountaynes of Glindelachan, auoyding the wayes that lay through the woddes, bycauſe hee knew ẏ ſame to be beſet with his enimies. Therfore hauing ſtill in remembrance the iniurie done to his father, kept him out of the woods, hating the Citizins of Dublin chiefely bycauſe they had trayterouſly ſlaine his father in tyme paſt, in the middeſt of a great houſe, whither they were wont to repayre as to a place where cauſes were vſually heard: and to adde a reproche to their cruell murthering of their Prince, they buried him togither with a dog. At the kings approch to the city, whileſt Imbaſſadors were ſent, and that by mediation of the Archbiſhoppe of that Citie named Laurence, a treatie of peace was in hande, while Reymond on the one ſide, and Myles Cogan a right valiant knight on the other, with their companies of yong luſtie ſoldiers aſſaulting yͤ walles forthwith obteined the victorie, not without great ſlaughter of the Citizens, the better part of them yet with Captaine Haſtulf got them to ſhipboord with their beſt goods, ⁊ haſted thẽce vnto yͤ north Iles. Dermote hauing thus wonne the Citie of Dublyn, ⁊ ſet things in order there, he left Miles Cogan to gouern the ſame, ⁊ marched forth togither with the Erle of Pẽbroke, ⁊ the reſt of the army into Methe, ⁊ entred into the confines of that countrey, waſted ⁊ ſpoiled with fire ⁊ ſworde the whole region of Methe. Rotherike king of Connagh ſent vnto Dermote to put him in remembrance of the couenant paſſed betwixt them, ⁊ ſpecially to reſtraine the excurſions of the ſtrangers, that were in his companie, for elſe he would not faile to put to death his ſonne whom he had with him as a pledge. Which to do, when Dermote did not onely refuſe, but alſo declared plainly that he would not ſtay from purſuing his purpoſe, till he had ſubdued al Cõnagh, ⁊ obteyned the Monarchie of yͤ whole Ile apperteining to him by right diſcẽded frẽ his anceſters: Roderik taking indignatiõ hereat, cauſed his ſõnes head to be ſtrikẽ off.

Dublin taken.

Miles Cogan left in Dublyn to keepe the Citie.

Rotherike ſendeth meſſengers to Dermote.

Roderike cauſeth the heade of Dermot his ſonne to be ſtriken off.



The Iriſh Clergie perceyuing in what danger the countrey ſtood, aſſembled thẽſelues togither at Ardmagh, and with one accord proteſted, that for their ſinnes, ⁊ ſpecially for their barbarous kind of tyrannie which they vſed in buying and ſelling, and vilely abuſing ſuch Engliſh captiues as they bought, aſwel of Merchants as Pirates, the land was now like to be tranſlated to that nation whõ they had ſo cruelly intreated. Therfore to appeaſe the wrath of God, they decreed that all the Engliſh people whereſoeuer any of them remayned in ſeruitude within the Ile, ſhoulde forthwith be releaſed, and if it pleaſed God to lay his ſcourge vpon them, they determined to ſuffer the ſame paciently, as a puniſhment a great way beneath the fulneſſe of their deſertes.

King Henry although he was well contented to forbeare the preſence of the Erle of Pembroke, yet he liked nothing at all to ſee him thus aduanced in Irelande, ſith he might in time atteyne to ſuch power there, that the ſame adioyned to hys faction in Wales, he ſhould be able to cõtenance the Crowne of Englande. An Edict therfore was made and publiſhed, charging all ſubiects to returne home into Englande before Eaſter next, vpon perill to forfeyt landes and goodes, and to be baniſhed the Realme for euer. Alſo that none ſhoulde preſume to paſſe into Irelande from any of the Kings dominions by ſhippe, to conuey any wares or prouiſions thither. Whereuppon Reymond was ſent ouer to ſpeake with the king, remayning as then in France. Whileſt he followed the Court, and the king lingring time to deſpatch him with anſwere, Thomas Archebiſhop of Canterburie was diſpatched out of life, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie is mentioned.

King Henrie miſtruſteth the increaſing ſtate of the Erle of Pembroke.

An Edict ſet forth to reuoke the Engliſhmen forth of Irelande.

Reymond is ſent to king Henrie.

1171

Thus had the Iriſhe a breathing ſpace, and ſo continued all the Winter without any greate troubles, which ſeaſon being paſt, King Dermote Mac Mourche departed this life at Fernes, about the Kalendes of May, being a man well ſtriken in yeares.

The deceaſe of Dermote Mac Mourchie.

The ſame time, that is, about Whitſuntide, Haſtulfus that in times paſt had beene gouernor of Dublyn, with .lx. ſayle fraught with Norwegians and Iland men, arriued neare to Dublin, and landing his people vnder the gouernment of one that had the leding of thẽ, named Iohn Henuode, a forwarde man of warre, they prepared themſelues to aſſault the Citie. They were well appoynted for the warre, clad in long habergeons or plate cotes cunningly wrought, with rounde targettes coloured redde, and bound about with a ring of yron, ſo that both themſelues and theyr weapons were couered with yron. They aſſaulted the Citie at the Eaſt gate, but Miles Cogan then captain of that Citie manfully made a ſally forth vpon the enimies, but not able to abyde the impreſſion of ſuche an huge multitude, hauing loſt part of his ſmall number, he was conſtrayned to retyre backe into the Citie, till his brother Richard Cogã iſſuing forth wͭ a few at the poſterne of the ſouthſide, ſet vpõ the enimies behind, raiſing ſuch a noiſe ⁊ hobub, yͭ ſtriken vpon a ſodain with a maruellous feare, they toke themſelues to flight, ſo that being fiercely purſued, yͤ moſt part of them

Haſtulfus.

Iohannes Inſanus.

The Norwegians aſſault Dublin.

They are diſconfited.

were

Johannes Inſanus.

were ſlaine togither with John Henwode theyr Captaine.

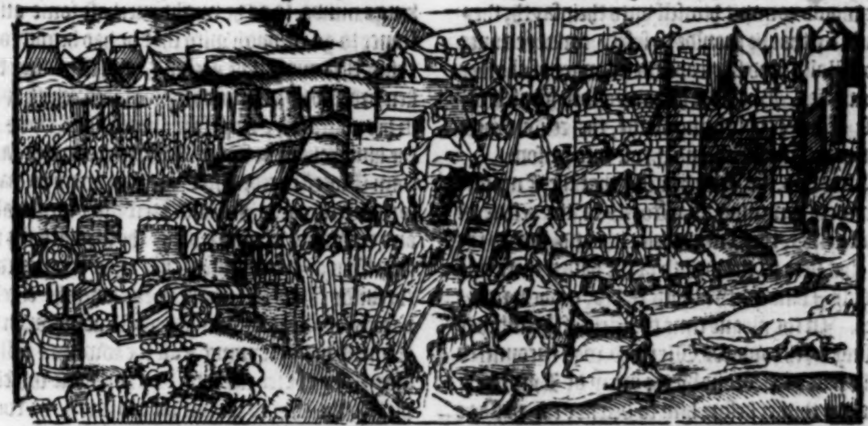
Haſthulf alſo as he woulde haue fledde to the ſhips, was ouertaken by one Manne Giſſ, and brought priſoner into the Citie. He was at the firſt courteouſly vſed, but when he began arrogantly to forget himſelfe, vttering certaine preſumptuous ſpeeches, ſaying, well, we came now but with a ſmall power to trie what might bee done, this is but a beginning of a proufe made, for if God ſpare me life, greater attemptes ſhall follow. Theſe wordes comming to the knowledge of Myles Cogan, hee commaunded that he ſhould forthwith be brought to a blocke, where he was puſht downe and had his head ſwapped off: and ſo for his vntemperate tongue hee loſt his life, that otherwiſe with great curteſie had bin preſerued.

Hiſtulf taken priſoner.

His intemperate talke coſt him his life.

After this the Iriſhmen aſſembled theyr powers togyther on eche hande, ſo that with an infinit number of men they came and beſieged Dublin, at the procuring of Laurence Archbiſhop of that Citie, who vpon a zeale to his Countreymẽ trauayled earneſtly therein.

Dublin beſieged.



Gothred king of Man.

Gothredus king of Man being writtẽ vnto, as well by the Archbiſhop, as by Rotherike king of Connagh, came to further this enterpriſe with other Iland men embarked in. xxx. ſhips fraught full of warlike people, and aryuing in the hauen of Hauenliph, came forwarde to cloſe by the hauen of Dublin.

After that the Earle of Pembrooke being ſhut vp within the walles of Dublin, had abyd the ſiege for the ſpace of two Monethes togither, and coulde recouer no vytayles for the reliefe of hys people, ſo that famine began ſore to annoy them within: The malice of theyr enimies was not thus contented to moleſt the Engliſh men with keping them beſieged within Dublin, but Dunevalde, Mac Dermicius or Dermote, alſo comming forth of the confines of Kencelie, got togither an armie (what of ſuche as he brought with him forth of Kencelie, and of the towneſmen of Wexford) in all to the number of three thouſand, with which power hee enuironed Fitz Stephan that with a fewe lay within his Caſtel of Karrec, and conſtrayned him ſo ſore, that he wrote vnto the Earle, aduertiſing him, that if he were not reſcued within three dayes, all ſuccour would come to late. There were beſieged within Dublyn in company of the Erle Maurice, Fitz Geralde and Reymonde that was lately returned from King Henrie: the one brother, and the other nephew to Fitz Stephan: whereupon when aduertiſement was come in what daunger he ſtood, being ſo beſet of enimies that he might by no meanes eſcape without preſent reſcue, they vſed ſuch perſwaſion with the Earle, that it was reſolutely determined to make a ſally forth vpon the enimies, and to trie the hazarde of battaile, ſo to delyuer themſelues and other from inſtant perill: eyther with victorie or death, ſithe otherwiſe they knewe not howe to prouide remedie in ſuch deſperate ſtate of things.

Dunevalde Mac Dermitius.

The beſieged determin to ſally forth vp their enimie

Hereupon they choſe forth a conuenient number to leaue behinde them in the Citie for the garde thereof, and with the reſidue marched forth, deuided into three troupes, the firſt being led by Reymonde accompanied with. xx. knightes. The ſecond was gouerned by Myles, who had wyth him. xxx. knightes: and laſtly in the rerewarde went the Erle himſelfe, and Fitz Geralde, hauing with them. xl. knightes beſide other horſmen, and a fewe Citizens that were ioyned with them in eche of thoſe three wardes ſome: with ſo ſmall a cōpanie they manfully ſet vpon the whole campe of theyr enimies, being fewe leſſe than. xxx. thouſand, and ſo beſtyrred themſelues, that with great ſlaughter they obteyned a glorious victorie, chaſing their enimies, and ſleaing them as they ouertooke them, till the euening came vpon them, and cauſed them to returne into the Citie wyth ſuch vytayles and other ſpoyles as they founde in the enimies campe. Rotherike being in his bane when the fight firſt began, got away as well as he might, and ſo eſcaped.

A notable vi torie gotten by a fewe agaynſt a great number.

The

Fitz Stephan yeeldeth himſelfe to the enimies.

The Engliſh men hauing thus got the victory and deliuered the citie quite from the ſiege on eche ſide, the next day leauing a competent gariſon within Dublin, they marched forth with theyr victorious enſignes towards Wexford to the ſuccor of Fitz Stephan, but before their comming he had yelded himſelf to the enimies: for cauſing him to beleeue by the aſſured report of the Biſhops of Wexford and Kildare, that Dublin was taken, & all the Engliſh men put to the ſworde, they perſwaded with him to yeelde before that the armies of Connagh and Leyniſter came, promiſing that if he would commit himſelf vnto their fayth, they would ſee that he ſhoulde be ſafely conueyed ouer into Wales, and ſo eſcape the daunger of al other his enimies. But after he had yeelded himſelf diuerſe of his people being ſlaine, the reſidue were beaten and maymed, and thruſt into priſon.

Meſler.

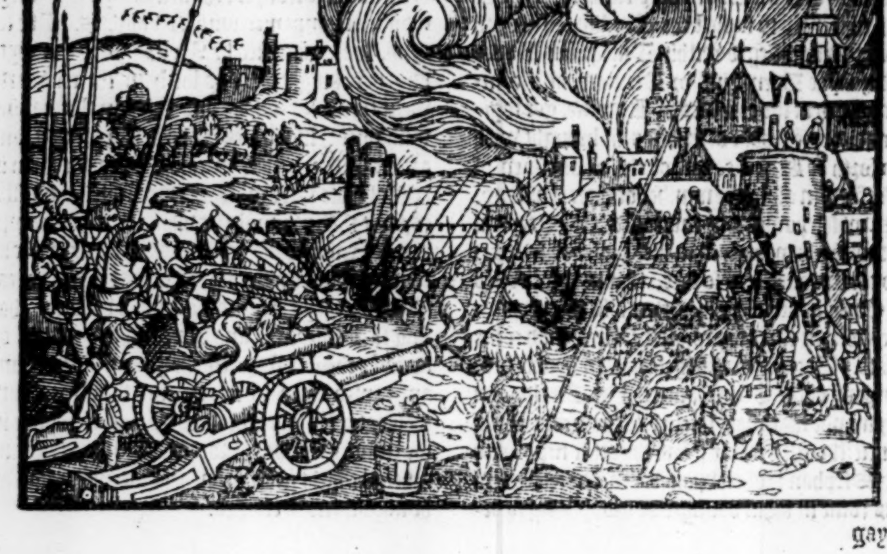
Heruie returneth from the king of Englande.

The Earle of Pembrocke receyued into the kings fauor againe.

1171

Ororike king of Meth commeth to aſſaile Dublin.

After this, the Iriſh hearing that the Engliſhe men were comming as victorers to the reſcue of their friends, they burnt their citie and fled to the Ile that lieth in the mouth of the hauen there called holy Iland, with al their riches, goodes, & captiues. In the meane time the Erle of Pembroke paſſing forth towards Wexford, was encountred at the paſe of Odrone by the army of Lymrike yͭ was got thither before him to defende the paſſage there againſt him. But ſuch was the force of the Engliſh power (though but a handfull in cōpariſon to the number of their aduerſaries, that with ſlaughter of a great number of the Iriſh, they got through into the plaines without any loſſe at all, except of one yong gentleman. In this cōflict the accuſtomed prowes of Meiller was ſufficiently apparāt. The Engliſhmē then drawing towards Wexford, & hearing what had chaūced vnto Fitz Stephans, they were highly diſpleaſed & troubled in mind, and forthwith turning on the right hand toward Waterford, where they foūd Heruey that was come from the king of Englād, to whom he had bin ſent, and now vpon his returne, brought letters, by the tenor wherof he was authoriſed to perſwade the Erle to returne home into Englād, who not only ſhewed the letters, but alſo in ſpeech vſed what perſwaſions he might to induce yͤ Erle to accompliſh the kings pleaſure. The Erle perceyuing the kings iealouſie ſtill to continue, & again (how no ſmal part of his army was decayed through ſicknes, & in defēce of diuerſe good towns which king Roderik had aſſaulted,) he determined to returne into Englande, & to ſeeke to pacifie the kings minde, ſo as he might purchaſe ſome aſſyſtance to go through with that he had begon touching the conqueſt of Ireland, and ſo hauing taken order for yͤ defence of thoſe places which were in his poſſeſſion, he paſſeth the ſea, and came to the king whom he found at Mirwcham, not farre from Gloceſter redy there with an army to paſſe forward towards Ireland. Here after much talke and reaſoning of matters, by the mediation & interceſſion of Heruey, the Earle was reconciled to the kings fauor, yeelding to the king the chiefeſt parcels of all his winnings, as Dublyn with the Canthredes adioyning, & all the townes & caſtels alongſt by the ſea ſide, and for the reſidue which it pleaſed the king to permit him to inioy, he couenanted to acknowledge that he helde the ſame of the king & his heyres for euer. Theſe things thus accorded, the K. toke his iourney directly towards Milford hauen, where he rigged a goodly nauy of ſhippes. About this time the Abbay *de caſtro dei* was founded. In the meane time Ororike ſurnamed *Monoculus*, that is with the one eie, King of Methe, taking occaſion by the abſence of the Erle & alſo of Reymond that remained as yet at Waterforde about the kalendes of September, came to Dublin with a great multitude of men, and finding in the Citie but a fewe tō defende it a-



gaynſt

Miles Cogan iſcomfiteth e enimies.

gaynſt him with great noyſe and violence aſſayled the walles and rampyres, in hope to haue entred by fine force at the firſt aſſault: but Myles Cogan gouernour of the Citie, although he had no great number to make account of about him at that preſent, yet knowing that thoſe few which he had, were men of approued manhoode, ſallyed forth, and ſetting vpon the enimies on the ſodain, made ſuch ſlaughter amongſt thẽ, that the whole number beeing vtterly diſcomfited, he returned backe into the Citie with a glorious victorie. Among other of the Iriſh that were ſlaine, a ſonne of king Morice a iolly luſtie yong Gentleman was one.

The arriual of ing Henrie i Ireland.

1172

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Ireland king Henrie was buſie to prouide all things readie to paſſe ouer, and ſo taking the Sea, landed at Waterford about Saint Lukes day, with fiue hundred knightes, beſide other horſemen, and a great number of Archers. This was in the .xvij. yeare of his raigne. and .xlj. of his age. Whileſt he remayned for a fewe dayes ſpace in Waterford, thither came vnto him the towneſmen of Wexford to make their way for pardon and fauour at his handes, and for a policie to nouriſh the ſuſpition which was entred the kings minde againſt thoſe gentlemen that firſt had attempted the inuaſion of Irelande, they preſented vnto him Fitz Stephans in Irons, as it were to gratifie him, for that contrarie to his aſſent he had bene the firſt that came thither, and occaſioned al the other that after followed to do the like.

Fitz Stephans reſented to the king of ngland by is takers.

The king for that cauſe ſeeming highly offended agaynſt him at the firſt, dealt verie ſtraitly with him, and ſent him back togither with one of his fellowes to be kept bounde and chained in fetters within Reighnaldes tower.

Immediatly hereupon, Dermote or Dermucius king of Corke, came to the king of England, and ſubmitting himſelfe to his obeyſance, made his othe of fidelitie, and deliuering pledges for further aſſurance thereof, couenanted to pay a certaine yearely tribute.

The king departeth from Waterford.

Donald prince of Limerike ſubmitteth

The king of England departing from Waterford, went to Liſmore, and ſtayed there but two dayes, and frõ thence went to Caſſill where Doualde the Prince of Limerike the morrow after came to him at the Water of Suir, and couenanting for a tribute to holde his landes of king Henrie, became his liegeman, vpon good aſſurance by ſolemne oth, and deliuering ſufficient pledges. Theſe and other the Princes of the South partes of Ireland, as Doualde, and Omalaghlen, right puiſſant Lordes, and as they were termed kings of Oſſorie, hauing ſubmitted themſelues to king Henrie, and eche of thẽ being ſent home into their countreys with honourable giftes and good enterteynment, he returned to Waterford, cauſing Fitz Stephan to be brought vnto him, and cõſidering the high manhood of that noble Gentleman, and what daungers he had paſſed in aduenturing about the conqueſt of that Countrey, he reſtored him to libertie, and through the earneſt ſuyte of diuerſe noble men, receyued him into fauor, confirmed the grauntes made to him by king Dermote, of Wexforde and the Canthredes adioyning, taking from him onely the towne of Waterford, and the appurtenances.

The kings of Oſſorie ſubmit themſelues.

King Henrie returneth to Waterford.

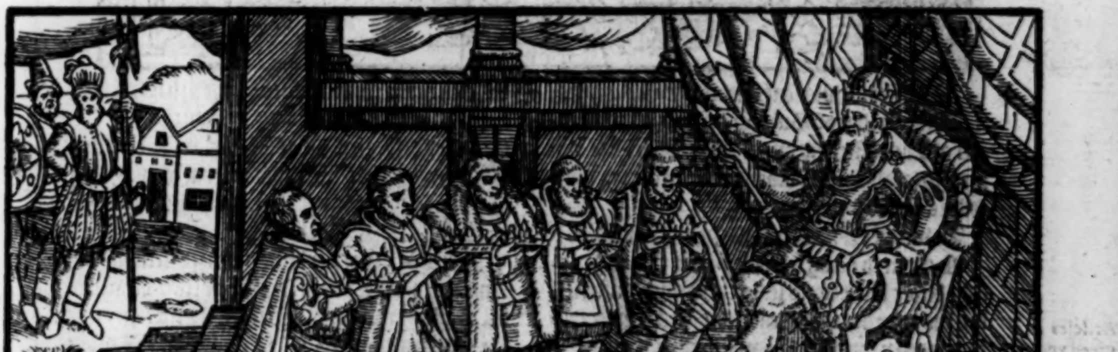
Fitz Stephans reſtored to libertie.

Robert Fitz Barnard.

The king goeth to Dublin.

Princes that ſubmitted themſelues to the king of Englande.

The king leauing in Waterford Robert Fitz Bernard for the ſafe keeping of that towne, departed from thence towardes Dublyn through Oſſorie, and comming thither, remayned there for a time, during the whiche, all the Princes of thoſe parties, came in and humbly ſubmitting thẽſelues to his obeyſaunce beſought him to graunt them peace, and to receyue them into his protection, as Machelan, Ophelan, Omachealewy, Othuetheli, Gillemcholmoch, Otadheſi, Ocaruell



of Vriell, and Ororick of Methe.

Roderik king of Connagh the Monark of of Ireland ſubmitted himſelf

Roderike king of Connagh, mette the kings Ambaſſadours, Hugh Lacie, and William Fitz Aldelme at the water of Shenyn, which deuideth Meth & Connagh aſunder: where the ſayde Roderike obteyning likewiſe the kings peace and appointing what tribute he ſhould pay, aſſured hys fidelitie with firme bonds of ſubiection.

King Henrie acknowledged to be ſupreme Prince of all Irelande.

Thus all the Princes of the whole Iland, and ſpecially this Roderike King of Connagh that was reputed Monarke of Irelande for himſelfe and al other, acknowledged king Henrie for the ſupreme Lorde and ſoueraigne Prince of all the Ilande, ſo that there was not one of any name or accompt within the boundes thereof (thoſe of Vlſter onely excepted) that refuſed to exhibite due reuerence vnto hys royall Maieſtie. And ſo was the prophecie of Merlyn fulfilled (as ſome tooke it.)

The Prophecy of Merlin.

The ſixt ſhall ouerthrow the Walles of Irelande, and againe fiue portions ſhall be brought into one.

This ſixt they conſtrued now to be this king Henrie in whome the fiue vnderkingdomes were vnited.

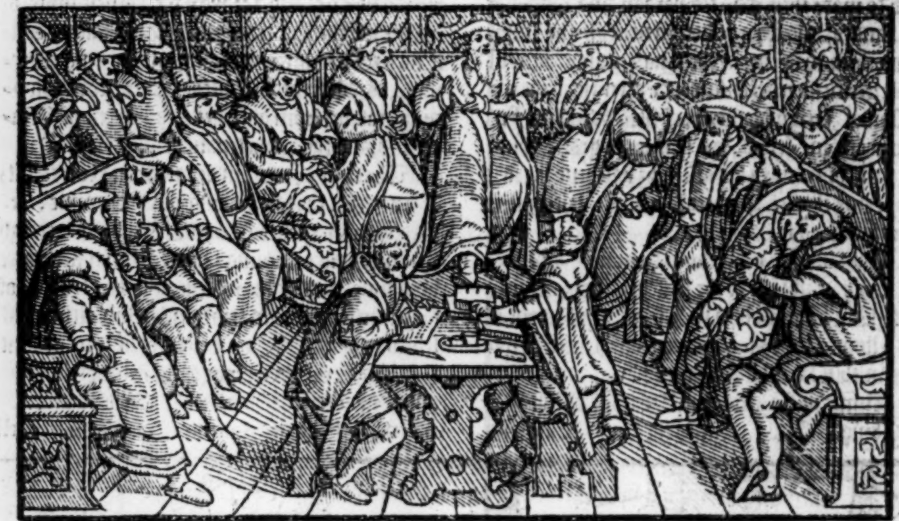
Of the ſame conqueſt propheſied their foure notable Saints, Patrike, Brachan, Colme, and Moling.

King Henry feaſted the Iriſh Princes. Cranes fleſh not in vſe in Ireland till the comming of the Engliſh.

In Chriſtmaſſe hee called all theſe Princes that were thus become his ſubiects vnto Dublyn where he made them a royall dinner. Here they began firſt to feed on Cranes fleſh, a foule til that ſeaſon vtterly abhorred of the Iriſh. The ſumptuous ſeruice, and noble traine of thoſe that wayted at this feaſt, was marueylous in the eyes of thoſe coũtrimẽ that had neuer ſene the like before.

A Sinode or Counſell of the Cleargie holden at Caſſhill.

King Henrie not vnmyndfull of his charge enioyned him by the Popes Adrian and Alexander, for a reformation to bee had in matters of the Iriſh Churche, called a Synode of all the Iriſhe Clergie at Caſhell, whither came as chiefe the biſhop of Liſmore, Legate of the ſea of Rome, Donate of Caſſhell, Laurence of Dublyn, & Catholicus of Thomond, Archbiſhops with their Suffraganes & felow Biſhops, Abbots Archdeacons, Priors, Deanes, and other prelates of the land.



There were alſo ſent thither from king Henrie, Raufe Abbot of Buldewis, Raufe Archedeacon of Landaffe, and one of his Chapleynes named Nicholas, with other Chapleynes & Counſellors of the ſame king.

In which Synode the enormious abuſes of ẏ Iriſh Church being proponed and put in wryting vnder the Legats ſeale, they fel in conference for the reforming thereof, and in the ende they concluded vpon the ſame, which were regiſtred in eight articles.

Articles agreed vpon in this counſell.

Mariages.

Fyrſt, that they ſhoulde not contract any vnlawfull mariages with their couſins or neare allyes, but in the ſame obſerue the rules of the Canons.

Infantes baptized.

Secondly, that their Infants ſhould be Catechiſed at the church doores by the prieſts, & after baptized in the Fontes of their Churches.

Tythes to be payed.

Thirdely, that all thoſe that tooke themſelues for Chriſtian men ſhoulde duelye pay their Tythes of corne and Catell, and other increaſing things.

Liberties of the Church.

Fourthly, that the landes and poſſeſſions belonging to the Church, ſhoulde be enfranchiſed of all ſecular exactions, and ſpecially that neyther the Kinges nor Erles, nor anye other Lordes of Irelande nor theyr ſonnes, with theyr familyes ſhoulde demaunde nor preſume to exact violently from thence forth any meate or drinke, or harborow within the Church poſſeſſions, as they had beene vſed, and that the dyet which had beene exacted foure tymes in the yeare of Churche mennes fermes ſhould not any more be demaunded nor anſwered.

Murthers.

Fiftly, that for murthers committed, when the offender compounded with the kinſmen of the partie dead, Churchmen that were couſins to the offender ſhould not be forced to beare any part of the fine, except they were acceſſaries to the offence.

Teſtaments how they ſhoulde be made.

Sixtly, that the ſicke ſhould cauſe his teſtament to bee made and read in preſence of credible perſons, and if they had wyues, theyr debts and ſeruantes wages deducted, the reſidue of theyr goods ſhould be deuided into three parts, whereof ẏ wife was to haue one, the children another, and the thirde to be employed about his funerals, and otherwiſe as he ſhould appoynt. If he had no lawfull iſſue, then his goodes to bee deuided betwixt him and his wife, and if he had children and hys wife deceaſſed, then the ſame to bee deuided betwixt him and his children.

Funerals.

Seuenthly, that the funerals of the dead be deuoutly and ſolemnly kept and executed.

Vniformitie in Church ſeruice with the Engliſh church.

Eightly, for as much as it had pleaſed God to deliuer them vniuerſally into the gouernment of the Engliſhe Nation, it was decreed that in all poyntes, rytes and ceremonies, they ſhould agree in forme with the Church of England.

Thus where in many things before the king of Englands comming into Irelande, many inordinate and heynous cuſtomes were crept into the gouernment, as well eccleſiaſticall as ciuil, by his good diligence and politike meanes, the ſame were in part reformed, ſo that what good orders either for maintenance of peace or increace of religion, remayned afterwardes among them, was to bee aſcribed to him.

The Articles before rehearſed were eſtabliſhed and confyrmed with conſent of all the Synode.

Galas Primate of Ardmagh.

Galas the Primate of Ardmagh was not there by reaſon of infirmitie and great age, but yet he came afterwardes to the King at Dublyn, and gaue his conſent in all things, fauoring the kings order and diſpoſition herein. He dyed two yeares after, ſo aged a man, that his onely ſuſtenaunce was the mylke of a white Cowe, which he toke with him whither ſoeuer he trauayled.

A tempeſtuous winter.

The winter was ſo tempeſtuous, that vneth any ſhip durſt venter to paſſe either to or fro betwixt Englande and Irelande, ſo that aduertiſements were verye geaſon both with the king in Irelande, and with his counſell at home here in Englande, not hearing (but very ſeldom) they frō him, or he frō them. Thus whileſt he lay for the moſt part of ẏ winter ſeaſon in Waterford, longing dayly to here forth of Englād, he practiſed to procure certain knights that ſerued vnder the Erle of Pembrook, as Reymond, Miles Cogan, Williā Maſkarel, & others being mē of right approued valiancie & experience in warlike exploytes to forſake the Erles ſeruice, & to ſerue him, taking it to be no ſmal policie ſo to make his part the ſtrōger, & the Erles the weaker, for he had the Erle ſtil in a ielouſie, & miſtruſted leaſt his puiſſance might in time breed danger to his eſtate. After midlent ſhips arriued there, both forth of England and Aquitaine, by whō it was ſignified that there were come into Normandie two Cardinals frō Pope Alexander the third, menacing to put the K. & his whole dominions vnder the ſentence of interditing, if he came not the ſooner to meete them, & to excuſe himſelf of things they had to charge him with, touching the death of the Archbiſhop Thomas. And hereunto an other miſchief appeared, for it was informed him ẏ his ſonne Henry whō his father had for good purpoſe crowned king, was through euill aduice ſo miſled, that he ment to thruſt himſelf into the actuall poſſeſſion of the crowne, in his fathers life time. This newes ſore troubled the king, bycauſe he muſt needes returne home & leaue Irelande for that time, where he ment to haue remayned til in the ſommer following, he might aſwell with building caſtels & fortreſſes haue made himſelf ſtrong, as alſo eſtabliſhed the cuntry in perfect peace, whiche he much deſired. But ſith there was no helpe but ẏ vrgent occaſiō of buſineſſe (as ye haue heard) called him thence, he took order for the ſafe keeping of the cuntry in his abſence, & appoynted captaines with cōpetent numbers of men of warre to lie in gariſon within ſundrie townes where he thought neceſſarie. In Dublin he left Hugh Lacy (to whō he had giuen the cuntry of Meth to hold of him in fee) & with him .xx. knights: Robert Fitz Stephā, and Maurice Fitz Gerald with .xx. other knights were alſo appoynted to the gard of the ſame citie, Humfrey de Bohun, Rober Fitzbernard, & Hugh de Gundeuile with .xl. knights were left in Waterford. Williā Fitz Adelme, Philip de Haſtings & Philip de Breuſe wt .xx. knights had the charge of Wexford cōmitted to them. The king hauing thus prouided for the ſafe keeping of theſe townes & other places, & leauing order for the gouernmēt of the cuntry in the beſt wiſe he might, he toke the ſea at Wexford on Eaſter Monday in the morning, & with proſperous wind and weather paſſed the ſeas, & landed in Southwales in an hauē there not paſt .xij. miles diſtāt frō Hauerford weſt, & ſo haſted forward, not ſtaying much till he got ouer into Normandy, where he met the Cardinals at Conſtance (as in the Engliſh hyſtorie you may read more at large.) After that the king was thus departed forth of Ireland, Ororick king of Meth ſurnamed Monoculus, that is, with the one eye, made ſuite to come to a Parley with Hugh de Lacie, but Ororick had deuyſed to murther the ſayde Lacie, and had brought hys purpoſe to paſſe, if a Knight that was Nephewe to Maurice Fitz Geralde named Griffyn admoniſhed

Cardinals ſent to the king.

Hugh Lacie.

The king returneth forth of Irelande.

Ororick king of Meth.

Maurice Fitz Geralde.

by a dreame had not deliuered him from that daunger.

This Griffin (geſſing by interpretation of his dreame, that ſome ſuch thing would come to paſſe as followed in deede) in tyme of the parley with ſeuen knightes of his lynage, whom he had choſen forth of purpoſe to that effect, withdrewe a part to the backe ſide of the hill (on the whiche they were appoynted to meete and talke togyther) were furniſhed with ſhieldes and ſpeares, the ſaid Griffyn and his mates mounted on horſbacke, exerciſed themſelues in running and turneying, after the maner of Fraunce, in whiche meane while Ororike (after they could not agree in talke, but that they grewe to open defiance,) he gaue ſigne to ſuch as he had layde in ambuſh for that purpoſe, to come forth and help to worke the feate which he had determined before hande to accompliſh. And he himſelfe being withdrawen by a certaine ſpace from the ground where they had talked, after his companie was once come forth vnto him, he with his Axe maketh againe towardes the place where Hugh Lacie ſtoode, and had ſlaine him vpon the ſodaine, if Maurice Fitz Gerald drawing forth his ſworde had not warned him to take heede and to looke about him: and yet ſuch was the violent rage of the traytor, that ſtryking at Lacie, he cut off the arme of one that was interpretour betwixt them, who faythfully thruſt himſelfe betwixt Lacie and the blow. Beſide this, ſo fierce were the Iriſh vpon Hugh Lacie, that twice by reaſon of haſt in ſtepping backe he fell, and vneth eſcaped by the helpe of Fitz Gerald, who manfully layde about him to beate backe the enimies. Herewith no ſmall number of thoſe that brake out of the Ambuſhe came with an hideous noiſe, running to the place, that they might make an ende of Lacie and Fitz Geralde, which vndoubtedly they had eaſily done (for by appointment they came to the grounde where they thus talked but with a fewe about them and thoſe vnarmed) if Griffyn with his companions hearing the noyſe and clamour, had not come to the ayde of theyr friendes. But they perceyuing how the game went, came gallopping in vpon the ſpurres with ſuch violēce that they diſperſed the enimies, and Griffyn with his ſpeare running at Ororike as he was about to haue mounted on horſebacke, ſtroke through both horſe and man, and ſo the diſloyall wretch ended his life. Three of his ſeruants alſo that brought him his horſe, were there ſlaine. The reſidue of the Iriſhe were ſlaine, as they coulde bee ouertaken, being followed by the Engliſh men euen vnto the entrie of the Woods, to the which (being a good way of) they fled ſo faſt as their feete might beare them.

A trayterous practiſe.

Ororike ſlain.

The head of the king of Methe was ſent ouer into Englande vnto king Henrie, for a witneſſe of that which had chaunced.

Ororikes head ſent to king Henrie.

Among other, deſeruing great commendation for their manhoode ſhewed in this bickering, one of Fitz Stephans ſonnes named Rauſe, was highly commended.

The Engliſh men perceyuing ſuch diſloyall practiſes to bee dayly attempted agaynſt them, tooke from the Iriſh (as farre as they might) all truſt of gouernment, fenced themſelues with gariſons, placed Captaynes, Gouernours, and Coneſtables euerie where within the compaſſe of theyr conqueſtes.

But king Henrie was troubled with the rebellion of his ſonnes, which brake forth in Aprill next after his returne forth of Ireland, that he had no leyſure to attend greatly to the doings in Irelande. But ſtill yet his ielouſie increaſed towardes Earle Strangbow, whom he miſtruſted as one eaſie to be caried away by any light occaſion of chaunge of fortune.

King Henrie ielouſie towardes Earle Strangbow.

The Earle was a man of great byrth, but (as ye haue partly heard) as well by his aunceſters diſfauour with their Princes, as his owne, and likewiſe his ryotous expences in his youth, hee bare no great name, till the good happe of his mariage had aduaunced him, and euen after alſo knowing himſelfe neyther brooked in ſight, nor truſted in abſence, kept ſtill one rate in all his doings, bare a low ſaile, fed no quarels, and ſhunned all ſuſpitious conference.

Earle Strangbow his wiſe dealing.

Thus whileſt the king was diſquieted at home, and doubting of the ſtate of Ireland, bycauſe letters came dayly ouer, how faintly the Princes in Ireland performed their obedience, for (except in Leyniſter, all other partes reteyned theyr auncient kinde of gouernment, and onely acknowledged a tribute) it was thought expedient by king Henries Counſell, to eaſe his mynde of that care, and ſeeing there was buſineſſe more than ynough on all ſides, and that it was harde to prouide remedie eche way forth at once, they determined to venter the keeping of Irelande to the fidelitie of Strangbow, who was like for his owne wealth and aſſuraunce to procure all poſſible meanes to brydle and keepe vnder the Iriſh, with a kinde of ſome conſtrayned obedience, for otherwiſe it woulde not be.

The Erle therfore being about the ſame time come ouer to the king into Normandie, who remayned as then in the Citie of Rouen, he was made gouernor, (or Lorde Deputie as we call him) of Ireland, hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned with him in commiſſion, for otherwiſe the Erle refuſed to take the charge vpon him.

Earle Strangbow made the kings lieutenant in Ireland hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned with him.

The King alſo the ſame time gaue to the Earle the Citie of Wexforde, with the Caſtell of Guikalone.

The Earle thus with his commiſſion returning

Heruey taketh vpon him to lead the ſouldiers.

They require to be led by Reymond.

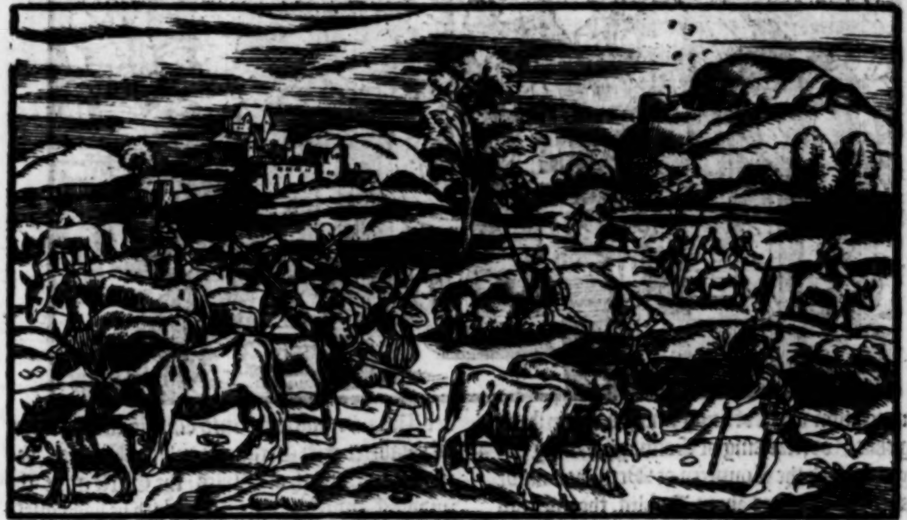
ning into Irelande appointed Lord Lieutenant, found the countrey farre out of order, for in maner all the princes were become rebelles, ſo that within ſhort time hee had ſpent all the treaſure which he brought ouer with him, and nowe that he wanted to pay his men of warre their wages, they began to mutine, finding themſelues grieued againſt Heruey, that in Reymonds place had taken vpon him as quarter maſter to lead them: and bycauſe alſo they were now kept ſhort, ſo as they profited not by gayning of booties as they were wont to do, they came to the Earle and told him flatly, that if Reymonde were not appointed to lead them againe, they would ſurely forſake him, and eyther returne into Englande, or elſe withdrawe to the aduerſaryes, and ſerue amongeſt thẽ. Hereupon Reymond being appoynted to gouerne them, forth they went agaynſt certaine rebelles, and wanne great plentie of booties to refreſh their wantes, and furniſhed themſelues with horſe and armor.

Liſmore ſpoyled.

Adam de Hereforde.

Reymonde diſcomfiteth the king of Deſmond.

The citie and prouince of Liſmore, they ſpoyled, and meaning to returne vnto Waterforde by water, they fraught with ſpoyle .xiij. ſhippes, of the which ſome they founde there in the hauen, and the reſidue were come thither from Waterforde. Whileſt they ſtayed for a proſperous wind, there came .xxxij. ſhippes, which they of Corke had made forth, well appoynted and throughly manned, the which aſſayled the Engliſh men in their ſhips with great fury, ſo that the battail was right dangerous, whileſt the one part with ſtones and Axes, and the other with arrowes and other weapons, enforced to bring eche other to deſtruction. At lẽgth yet the Iriſh were vanquiſhed, and their captain ſlain, ſo that the Engliſh men with their captaine Adam de Herrforde, hauing encreaſed the number of their ſhips with thoſe which they toke from their enimies, returned with honor vnto Waterford. Reymond that was aduertiſed of this victory, marching thitherwards alõgſt the ſhore with .xx. knights, & .lx. other horſmen, met with Dermote K. of Deſmond cõming towards Liſmore with a great power to ayd thẽ of Corke, but Reymõd putting him to flight, got & brought wͭ him to Waterf. a booty of .4000. head of cattel.



William Fitz Gerald father of Reymond departeth this life.

Donald of Lymerike diſcõfiteth foure hundred men of Dublyn.

Rotherike king of Connagh.

About the ſame time, William Fitz Geralde, father to Reymond, departed this life, and therefore Reymond returned home into Wales, & in the meane time Heruey eftſoones toke vpon him to gouerne the men of warre, & brought the Erle with his houſhold vnto Caſſhell. The Citizens of Dublin by appoyntment comming to theyr ayde, and lodging one night in Oſſorie, Donald of Lymerike a prince in that nation not improuident about his buſineſſe, early in the morning aſſayling them that thus were come from Dublyn in their lodging, toke them ſo at vnwares, that he ſlue foure hundred of them, togither wyth foure knights that had the leading of them. By reaſon of this chance, the reſidue of the Iriſh princes toke ſuch courage and boldneſſe, that vp they ſtart in euery corner, ſagge and ragge, in purpoſe to expell the Engliſhmen out of the whole Countrey, ſo that the Erle being returned vnto Waterford, was kept ſo ſhort, that he durſt vneth peepe out. Rotherike king of Connagh paſſing ouer the ryuer of Shenyn, with a mightie power inuaded Meth, and finding the caſtels in that Countrey voyde without garde, he brought into aſhes and layd flat with the ground all that he met with by the way, euen hard to the walles of Dublyn.

Earle Strangbow ſendeth for Reymond promiſing him his ſiſter in mariage.

The Erle remẽbring how Reymond had bin an earneſt ſuter to his ſiſter Baſill, to haue hir in mariage, & that there was no ſtay but the graunt of his good will, to bring him ouer againe wyth more ſpeede to his ayde, he wrote to him louing letters, with promiſe that if hee woulde make haſt to come, and bring with him ſome power to ſtrengthen his parte agaynſt the Rebelles, hee ſhoulde haue hys ſyſter and all things at hys pleaſure.

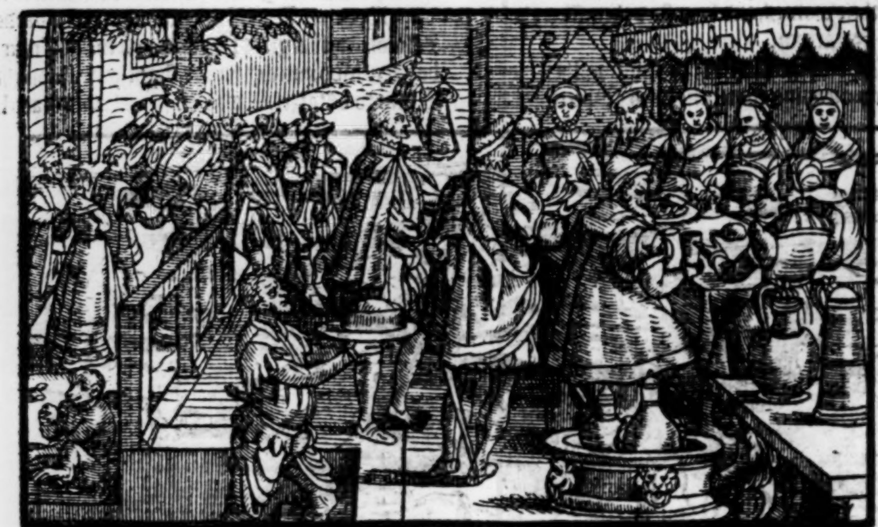
Reymonde vnderſtanding in what diſtreſſe the Earle and other his friendes ſtoode in Irelande, and deſirous withall to enioy the Ladie Baſill whome he entirely loued, hee communed with his couſin Meiller, and other worthie Gentlemen of his lynage, whome he perſwaded eaſily to goe ouer with hym: ſo that hauing aſſembled thirtie luſtie Knightes, with an hundred other horſemen, and three hundred Archers footemen, choſen forth of the Welche Nation, he embarked them in .xv. ſhippes, paſſed ouer with them and landed at Waterford, where the Citizens the ſame time rayſing a tumult, were about to haue ſlain the Engliſh men, but by the arriual of Reymond which chaunced ſo in the nicke, the vprore was pacified, and all things brought to quiet. This done, Reymõd brought the Erle to Wexford, and as Frecell gouernor of Waterford was about to follow the Erle in a veſſell by the water of Suire, he with diuerſe of his companie were ſlaine by thoſe mariners that vndertooke to paſſe him ouer, which murther committed, the murtherers returning to the Citie, ſlue all ſuch Engliſhe people as they mette with, either in the ſtreetes or houſes, not ſparing either ſexe or age. But they miſſed yet of winning the full poſſeſſiõ of the city. For an Engliſh gẽtleman yͭ remayned in charge with keeping it, ſo handled yͤ matter, that the traitors were ſubdued and brought to quiet, with worſe opinion and ſtate than they were in before.

eymond
ndeth at
aterford.

Frecell gouernor of Waterford ſlaine by the Mariners that vndertook to conuey him ouer the water there.

Reymond not forgetting the Earles promiſe conteined in his letters, would not depart forth of Wexford, till the Ladie Baſill was fetched from Dublyn, and coupled with him in mariage. The ſolemnization whereof being finiſhed, vnderſtanding that Roderike king of Connagh, hauing vtterly deſtroyed the Countrey of Meth, had nowe inuaded the confines about Dublin, the morrow after his maryage feaſt, Reymonde with his bandes of men of warre, iſſued forth and marched towardes thoſe parties, wherof Roderike hauing knowledge, withdrew backe into his Countrey.

Reymonde marieth the Ladie Baſill, ſiſter to Erle Strangbow.



Thoſe parties then once reformed, and the caſtels of Trim, and Duuels being eft ſoones repayred, that had beene forſaken of Hugh Tirell theyr keeper and deſtroyed, the whole Ile for a time reſted in meetly good quiet. So that the Engliſhe Nobilitie that lay there, had tyme the better to ſettle themſelues, and for more increaſe of ſtedfaſt amity, to match themſelues in mariage according to their degrees. Heruey maried Reymonds ſiſters daughter, whiche Ladie was the daughter of Maurice Fitz Geralde, and by procurement of Reymond, the Erle gaue his daughter Alma in mariage vnto Williã the eldeſt ſon of Maurice Fitz Gerald, to which Maurice (being ſente for forth of Wales) the Earle gaue the middle Candred of Ophelan (which he had poſſeſſed before by the kings aſſignment) togither with the caſtel of Guikinlou, to holde the ſame in fee.

he Caſtels of
rim and Du-
els.

lariages.

Wicklowe.

Ye muſt here note, that the king of Englãd to aſſure his title to Ireland with a color of further right, procured of Pope Adriã that was an Engliſh man borne (as before ye haue heard) bulles of confirmation, to the ende (as the tenor of thoſe bulles ſignified) that he ſhould root out ſuch abuſes & euill cuſtomes as were commonly practiſed there among the people, cõtrarie to the order of all Chriſtianitie. And ſo in reforming the ſtate of religion, and reducing the people to liue within the compaſſe of honeſt lawes & more ciuill ordinances, he graunted to him the ſupreme dominion of that land, commanding all the inhabitants therof to receiue him for their ſouerain lord & gouernor.

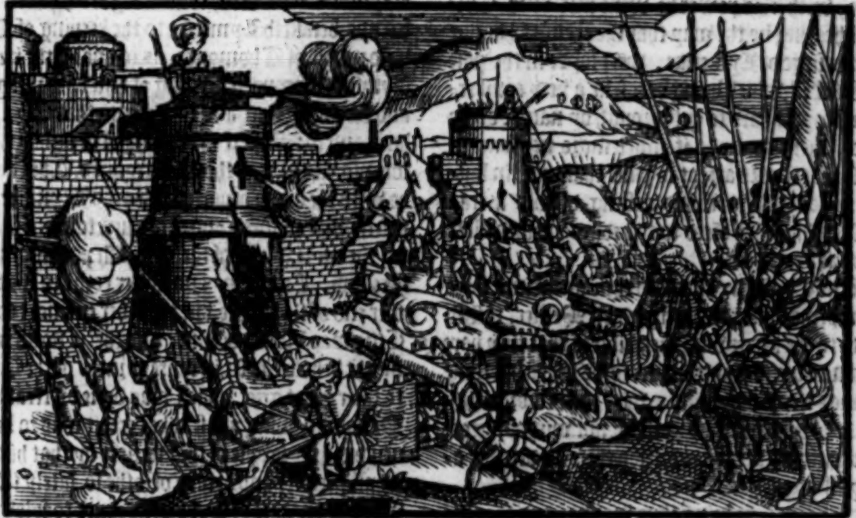
The Clergie therfore now of late hauing peruſed thoſe Bulles, and perceyuing that vnder ſtreight paynes they were commaunded to owe their allegiance vnto the king of Englande, they buſily did their diligence to repreſſe the furie of their Countrey men, and by authoritie aſwell of the Bulles of Pope Adrian, as Pope Alexander, which had beene publikely read in the Counſel at Caſſhell, they denounced all thoſe accurſed that maliciouſly ſhoulde withſtande or ſeeke to make fruſtrat the ſame. By ſuch meanes ẏ land reſting from any great troubleſome rebelliōs for a while, the firſt that began to ſtyrre, was Donalde king of Lymerike, who leaping out, renounced his allegiance to the king of Englād, wherupon Reymond aſſembling togither an army of .C. and .xx knights wͭ .CCC. other horſmē, & .CCCC. archers on foote, about the Kalends of October marched boldly towards Lymerike, & cōming to the water that runneth round about that towne, paſſeth the ſame, notwithſtanding the aduerſaryes were readie there to keepe him off. One of Reymonds nephews, a yong ſtripling called Dauid, and ſurnamed Welch, bycauſe he was borne in Wales, though not of the Welch linage, was the firſt that lept into the riuer, & led the way to giue example to others. The ſecond (ſaue one knight that was drowned) was Meiller, and Reymond the third that entred the water. When the whole army was once got ouer, with ẏ loſſe only of that one knight that hight Guy, & two other horſmen, they folowed their enimies, and making of them great ſlaughter, ceaſſed not til they brake into the citie, and wan the ſame with great riches which they founde within it. Here is to be noted, that Lymerik was taken vpon a Tueſday, and Waterford likewiſe was taken vpon a Tueſday, and alſo Dublyn. Neither came this to paſſe of any purpoſe, but fell out euen ſo as chaunce gaue it.

Curſing.

Reymonde marcheth toward Limerik.

They paſſe the riuer.

Limerike wonne.



sday fortunate to the Conquerers of Irland.

Reymond diſpoſing things in order for the ſure gard of that citie, cauſed vitails from ech ſide to be brought into it, and leauing there .l. knights two hundred horſmen, and .CC. archers, vnder the gouernment of Miles of S. Dauid hys couſin that was appoynted captaine of that citie, he returned and drew into Leymſter with the reſidue of his people in ſafetie, hauing thus obteyned a notable victorie. But as enuie is euer a companion to well doing, though not to further, but readie ſtill to hinder the ſame, ſo Heruie bearing a continuall ſecrete grudge agaynſt Reymondes glorie, that neyther reſpect of affinitie, nor other reaſonable conſideration coulde cauſe him to forget it, ſticked not to ſende Meſſengers to the King, with ſiniſter informations agaynſt Reymonde, wrongly interpreting all hys doings, in ſo muche that he put into the kings head, how he went about as one fully determined therupon, not onely to vſurpe to hymſelfe and his, the Citie of Lymerike, but alſo all Irelande, greatly agaynſt the kings honour and his owne promiſed fidelitie.

iles of Saint aid.

ouey enuy- Reymonds orie.

The king crediting ſuch reports, ſent ouer foure commiſſioners into Ireland to examine the matter, & to make a true certificat of the ſtate of that land. The names of thoſe commiſſioners were theſe, Robert Poer, Oſbert de Herloter, Adam de Gernemuth, and William de Bendenges. Two of them he appoynted to returne backe, & to bring Reymonde with them: the other two hee commaunded to remaine there with the Erle.

Foure Commiſſioners ſent into Irelād to enquire of Reymondes demeanor.

As Reymond then was readie to paſſe the ſea to come ouer, ſtaying only for a proſperous wind, there came meſſengers from them that lay in Lymerike, bringing word ẏ Donald prince of Thomond had beſieged thē with an infinit multitude of people, and bycauſe they had ſpent all their prouiſiō of vitails, there was no remedie but to ſuccor

Donald Prince of Thomond.

them with ſpeed, for otherwiſe they could not endure agaynſt the force of their aduerſaries.

The Earle carefull to ſend ayde to relieue his men thus brought into that extremitie, vpon mouing the matter to his men of warre, whome he ment to ſent forward about that enterpriſe, hee found them ſo diſmayd for the departing of Reymonde, that with one generall voyce they flatly denied to go on that iourney without him.

The loue which the ſoldiers bare to Reymond.

The Erle conferring vpon this refuſall of his men of warre with the Commiſſioners, it was agreed by their conſents, that Reymonde ſhoulde haue the leading of the army vnto Lymerike, and ſo ſetting forward with. lxxx. knightes, two. C. other horſemen, and three hundred archers, beſide ſuch Iriſhe men as he toke with him, vnder the conduct of Murchard Kenceili, & Dunald of Oſſorie, with this power he went firſt vnto Caſhell, hearing by the way that the enimies hauing left the ſiege of Lymerike, were layde in the paſe of Caſhell, which being of it ſelfe a very comberſom ſtrayt, & hard to get through by nature of the place, they had made it much more noyſome to thoſe that ſhould attẽpt to paſſe that way, in laying trees ouerthwart and caſting ditches a trauerſe, which they fẽced with hedges plaſhed aloft vpon the rampire.

Murcharde Kenceili.

The Engliſhmẽ deuided their army into three wards, the vantgard being led by Meiller, ruſhed forth to the hedge with ſuch violẽce, that they bare down & tore the ſame in peeces, as it had bin ſome ſtrange tempeſt of wind, & with their ſwords they made way & opened yͤ paſſage, not without great ſlaughter of them that ſtood there at defẽce agaynſt them.

1175

The paſſage being thus wonne, and the enimies put to flight on Eaſter eue, vpon the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke they came through like victorers vnto Lymerike, and as it was wonne vpõ a Tueſday (as before ye haue heard) ſo nowe it was likewiſe reſcued vpon a Tueſday.

The kings of Connagh, and Thomond come to a parley with Reymond.

After this, the king of Connagh, and the king of Thomond came to a parley with Reymonde about. xvj. myles diſtant from Lymerike beyond Kelleleonyne in one ſelfe day, though not togyther, nor in one ſelfe place. They grew in both the places to this effect in their talk, that either prince deliuering hoſtages, renued their othes of fidelitie vnto the king of Englande, and ſo in louing wiſe they departed eche from other.

Dermucius Marcharthy prince of Deſmond vexed by his ſonne Kormac Olecham.

The ſame time Dermote or Dermucius Macharthy, prince of Deſmond, was by his eldeſt ſon Kormac Oletham in maner expulſed out of his countrey, wherevpon he ſued vnto Reymond for ayde againſt his vnnaturall ſon. Reymond moued aſwel at the erneſt prayer, as promiſe of large entertainment, toke vpon him that enterpriſe, and turning his victorious enſignes towards Cork, he ſo vſed the matter that his armye was in ſhort ſpace greatly enriched, what with ſpoile & wages, & plenty of vitailes, which they recouered in thoſe parties, in ſuch wiſe that they ſent great abũdance vnto Limerik, for Dermote Macharthy by yͤ help of Reymond reſtored now wholy again vnto his dominion, ſought to pleaſure him and his cõpany in all things he might. But yet Kormac vnder colour of peace, led forth his father Dermote craftily with fayre wordes, till he got him into his hands, & committed him to priſon, but within a while after, the father recõpenſing his ſonne with like curteſie, practiſed his ſonnes death, whileſt he ſo remayned in priſon, and bringing his purpoſe to paſſe, was ſo deliuered.

The crafty diſſimulation of the ſonne to intrappe the father.

To what ende it came.

1177

About the kalends of Iune, Richard Strangbow Erle of Pembroke departed this life, wherof Reymond aduertiſed, conſulting with his truſtie friends, betaketh Lymerike to the keeping of Donald prince of Thomonde, as to one of the kings faythfull Barons, receyuing of him both pledges, and ſwearing him alſo to preſerue that Citie frõ hurt, and to reſtore it to the king of Englands vſe whenſoeuer he was therunto required. This done, he with the army departed towards Leyniſter, to defend that countrie and the hauen townes there, for the more ſuretie of the Engliſh poſſeſſions in Ireland. But he was no ſooner come to the further end of the bridge, but the other end next to the Citie was broken downe, and the Engliſh men might behold fire ſet in foure corners of the Citie, to their great grief, which was done by treaſon of Donald, ſhewing a taſt what credit was to be giuen vnto the people of that nation by that his diſloyall periurie and breach of othe ſo lately taken, without all feare of Gods vengeance to folow, or ſhame of the world that might be imputed to him amongſt mẽ of honeſt reſpect.

The treaſon of Donalde.

At Reymonds comming to Dublin, the bodie of the Earle was buried in Chriſtes Church within that Citie, the Archebiſhop Laurence doing the office of the funerals. For the Earle in his life time had commaunded that his bodie ſhoulde be kept aboue grounde till Reymond were come, and till his comming the Earles death in deede was kept ſecrete, ſo that few vnderſtood therof.

Earle Strangbow buried.

This Earle was of colour ruddye and freckled, with great eyes, of a feminine vyſage, ſmall voyce, ſhorte necke, of ſtature tall, and a goodly perſonage, lyberall and curteous, and where ſubſtaunce wanted to ſhewe his franke heart, hee ſupplyed it with gentle wordes, more readie to obey than to commaunde. At home more lyke a Souldier than a Captayne, but abrode in the warres he ſhewed himſelfe a Captayne, and not a Souldier. Although he neuer would enterpriſe any exployt of himſelfe without the aduice of other, being once ioyned in fight with his enimies, he ſtoode as an aſſured ſtandard for his people to haue recourſe to, for their ſafetie. And howſoeuer the chance of battail turned he was euer conſtant and ſtable, neyther drowping as one in diſpayre whẽ fortune ſeemed to frown, nor too ioyful whẽ ſhe was diſpoſed to fawne. He left no iſſue behind him in life but one daughter named Iſabell, maried after .xiiij. yeares to William Earle Marſhall.

William Marſhall marieth the daughter of Erle Strangbow.

After this, the king of Englands Commiſſioners perceyuing what eſtimation and opinion the ſouldiers & men of warre had conceyued of Reymonde, they authoriſed him lieutenaunt, tyll the kings pleaſure therein might be further knowne: and herewith they returned into Englande to informe him of the chaunge of things in Irelande by the Earles death. The king throughly informed how things ſtoode, ſent William Fitz Aldelme, one of his truſtie ſeruants as his lieutenãt into Ireland with .xx. knights, ioyning with him in commiſſion Iohn de Curcy, with other tenne knights, alſo Fitz Stephans & Miles Cogã, with .xx. knights, which two laſt remembred captaines had ſerued the king right valiauntly in thoſe late ciuil warres, which his ſonnes had reyſed againſt him. Reymond vnderſtãding that they were arriued, met them with a braue number of knights, in the borders of Wexford, deliuering all the Cities, townes, & caſtels togither with ſuch hoſtages as he had into Aldelmes hands as the kings lieutenant of that kingdome. Fitz Aldelme moued with enuie, to ſee Reymond furniſhed with ſuch a traine of luſtie youthes, he threatned to abate ſuch pride, and to make a ſcatter of thoſe ſhieldes. Frõ that time forth, aſwell he as other lieutenãts of Irelãd that ſucceeded him, ceaſed not (as it had bene by ſome purpoſed conſpiracie) to hinder the good fortune of Reymond, Meiller, Fitz Morice, Fitz Gerald, Fitz Stephans, & all that whole generation, although no cankred enuy was able to roote out the plants of ſo plentifull an offpring.

Reymond cõſtituted the kings lieutenant.

William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant of Irelande.

Iohn Curcy.

Williã Cogan

The kinred of Reymond enuyed.

Now foraſmuch as we haue to make ſo often mention of Reymond, Meiller, Heruie, Fitz Aldelme, & Fitz Stephans, being chiefe doers in the reducing of Irelãd vnder the Engliſh ſubiection, we haue thought it not impertinent to ſhew what maner of men in perſonages and qualities they were, as Giraldus Cambrenſis doth deſcribe thẽ.

The diſcription of Reymond.

Reymond therefore was of a large & mightie ſtature, with yellow heares a little curling, great eies, gray and round, his noſe ſomewhat in height rayſed, well coloured of viſage, with a pleaſant & merrie countenance. And although he was verie corpulent, yet with a liuelineſſe of ſpirit he recompenced the vnweldineſſe of his fleſhe, and ſo ouermatched the groſſenes of his bodie with the vertue of his mind. He would paſſe the nights without ſleep, to ſee to the ſafetie of his army, and as a ſurueyer of the watch, he would go vp and down about the campe with marueylous care and diligence, ſo that ſuche bandes as were vnder hys charge, ſeldome or neuer attempted anye thing raſhly, or through negligẽce came to hinderance, neither delicate in his feeding, nor fine in his apparell. He would endure both heate and cold alike, yeelding to neither of them both, able to brydle wrath, & to abide al maner of painful trauails. He ſeemed rather to profite than to rule ouer thẽ that were vnder his gouernment, rather as a ſeruant than a maiſter: and to conclude, he was bountifull, curteous, and wiſe. And although he was right vertuous, and readie to bidde battaill, yet he excelled moſte in prudent policie and prouident foreſight, ſo as he iuſtly deſerued to be cõmended, both for a valiant ſouldiour, and a circumſpect Captaine. Thus much for Reymond.

The deſcriptiõ of Meiller.

Meiller was browne of colour, with black eies, and of countenaunce grim and ſterne, of ſtature ſomewhat leſſe than the common ſort, but yet of paſſing ſtrẽgth for the quantitie of his body, with a brode breaſt, and ſlender waſt, his armes and other limmes being greater of bone and ſinewes than filled with fleſh, a right hardy knight & ready to attẽpt any enterprice yͭ was to be atchieued either alone or accõpanied: the firſt to giue the onſet in euery battel, & the laſt yͭ ſhould depart forth of yͤ field, & nothing in him might be diſpraiſed, but yͭ he was giuen ouer much to ſpilling of bloud, and ſo deſirous of praiſe, that he eſteemed honor more than life. This with more doth Giraldus Cambrenſis report of the foreſayd Meiller.

The diſcriptiõ of Heruey.

Now as cõcerning Heruey, he was of perſon beautiful, with gray eies, & ſomwhat ſtãding outward, or (as we terme it) bol eied, a round vpright neck, crump ſhoulders, with lõg armes & handes, brode breſted, but in yͤ waſt ſlẽder with due proportiõ, thighes, legs, & feet anſwerable to yͤ ſame, in height not much exceeding the cõmon ſtature. But as nature had garniſhed the outward partes of the man with ſundry graces, ſo had ſhe diſgraced the inner parts with ſundry vices, for euen frõ his youth he was giuẽ to ſenſuall luſt, not caring with what womã he delt, ſo he might ſatiſfie hys liking, not ſparing kinſwoman nor other. Beſide this, he was enuious, ſlanderous, a ſower of ſiniſter reports, & double in all his dealings, crafty, fair ſpokẽ, & deceitful: in incõſtancy only cõſtant, ſomtime ſet aloft through fortunes fauor, & after caſt downe without hope of recouery. In the French warres he had ſhewed good prouf of his valiancy, but after his cõming into Ireland, his praiſe wõderfully decayed. As by Giral. Cam. it ſhould appere. At length he becam a Monk at Canterbury, as in another place is ſpecified.

Giral. ſeemeth to ſpeake enuiouſly of this man.

The diſcription of Fitz Aldelme.

Now as cõcerning Fitz Aldelm, he was of ſtature ſomwhat bigger thã yͤ mean ſort, of hãdſom proportion, a man liberall and pleaſant, but ſubtill and deceytfull ynough, in outwarde countenaunce curteous, friendly, and gentle, but inwardly contryuing more gall than honie, hys wordes were as ſoft as Oyle, but they proued pearcing Dartes: whom this day he honoured, to morow he would ſpoyle, oppreſſing the weake and bearing with the rebell: harde to thoſe that were ouercome, and eaſie to them that helde good agaynſt him, giuen to wine and women, and as he was Courtly, ſo was he couetous.

Fitz Stephans was a man of a large and ſound body, of a right ſeemely countenance, of ſtature ſomwhat exceeding the common ſort, bountifull, liberall, and pleaſant, but giuen to wine and women aboue all meaſure.

Thus much of theſe gentlemen, being accounted among the chiefe of thoſe Captaynes that cōquered Ireland. Of Earle Strangbow hath bene ſayde before, of Curcy and Lacie ye ſhall heare partly hereafter.

But now to returne where we left: The firſt attempt that Fitz Aldelme made to the hynderance of that progenie, was agaynſt the ſonnes of Maurice Fitz Gerald, taking occaſion by the deceaſſe of the ſame Maurice, who departed this life about the Calendes of September.

Maurice Fitz Gerald departeth this life.
1177

After whoſe death Fitz Aldelme tooke from his ſonnes the Caſtelles of Guikinlo by a craft, aſſigning to them as it were by exchaunge, the towne of Ferue, where although it ſtoode in the myddeſt of the enimies Countrey, they had buylded a ſtrong Caſtell.

Walter Almain alſo Aldelmes nephew tooke from Reymond ſuch lands as he was ſeyſed of in Dublin dale, and aboute Wexford.

Walter Almaine.

Moreouer, where Aldelme had in commaundement from the king, to reſtore vnto Fitz Stephans the Canthred of Ophelan, being brybed to the contrarie, he did not as he was commaunded, but ſtill remoued thoſe captaines yͭ were knowne to be of any approued valiancie into places farre within the Countrey, and where moſt daunger was ſuſpected: ſpecially he ſought by all wayes & meanes to keepe vnder thoſe of the lynage of Fitz Gerald, deuiſing how to bring them out of credit, and to depriue them of ſuch liuings, rowmthes, and offices as they helde, and had bene gyuen to them in recompence of their good ſeruice.

But whileſt Fitz Aldelme went about only to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his friendes in the beſt and moſt quiet partes of Irelande, his aſſociate that valiant knight Iohn de Curcy victoriouſly conquered the countrey of Vlſter, which hitherto had not bene ſubiect to the king of England.

We reade in Giraldus Cambrenſis, that he fought fiue times with the enimies before he could eſtabliſh his conqueſt there in any ſuretie, twiſe at Doune, as firſt ſhortly after Candlemaſſe, ſecondly about Mydſommer, where with a ſmall power of men he diſcomfited. xv. thouſand of his enimies.

The third conflict chaunced at Ferly in taking a bootie, where by reaſon of the ſtraytes & narrow paſſages, his people were put to the worſe, ſome ſlaine, and ſome ſcattered and diſperſed here and there among the Woodes, ſo that he had vneth xj. knightes left with him, and yet through hys high valiancie and manhood, with thoſe few he retyred ſtill in keeping off the enimies, paſſing by the ſpace of. xxx. myles a foote (for they had loſt theyr horſes) and at length got home to his caſtell, after he had bene purſued by his enimies for the ſpace of two dayes and two nightes, not once ſuffred to reſt, nor to take any refection in all that time. A thing ſtraunge and worthy to be had in memory.

The fourth battayle which he fought wyth his aduerſaryes, was at Vrcell, where alſo hee loſt many of his men, and the reſidue were put to flight.

The fifth encounter was at the bridge of Iuory, vpon his returne forth of England, in which place he went away with the victorie. And thus in three battayles he had the vpper hande, and in two taſted the chaungeable fortune of warre, although with no leſſe domage redounding to the enimie than to him ſelfe at both thoſe times when he was ſo foyled at their handes.

To eſtabliſh the conqueſt of Vlſter, and other the parties of Irelande before enioyed, Alexander the thirde of that name Biſhop of Rome, ſent a Cardinall named Viuianus to ſignifie the tytle that king Henrie had to the ſoueraigne gouernement of that lande, with a reſeruation of Peter pens to be payde to the Church of Rome, and beſide to denounce them accurſed that woulde not yeeld and ſubmit themſelues vnto the ſayd king, but ſhew themſelues rebels contrarie to their dutifull allegiance, who being as they were deſpiſers and breakers of the eccleſiaſticall Canons, yet for a colour to mainteine their vnruly miſdemeanors they had deuiſed to make Churches their barnes, filling the ſame full of their corne & graynes, that the vitaylers and purueyours of the kings campe ſhould not in any wiſe meddle with the ſame, for feare to run into the offence of ſacrilege. Therfore he licenced the kings officers in this behalf, in curteous wiſe & diſcretly to cōmune with ſuch perſōs as made the Church a ſanctuarie for their graine, and in time of neede to take thereof at reaſonable pryces. Little good did Fitz Aldelme, and leſſe was he like to do, bycauſe he went about to croſſe his Peeres, and was therewith croſſed agayne in his courſe of gouernment, whereupon Hugh Lacie was made generall lieutenant ouer the whole Ile, vnder whō Miles Cogan, Philip de Brewſe

Fitz Stephans,

Iohn de Curey conquereth Vlſter.

Peter pens.

Churches made Barnes.

Hugh Lacie made lieutenant of Ireland

buyldeth ſtelles.

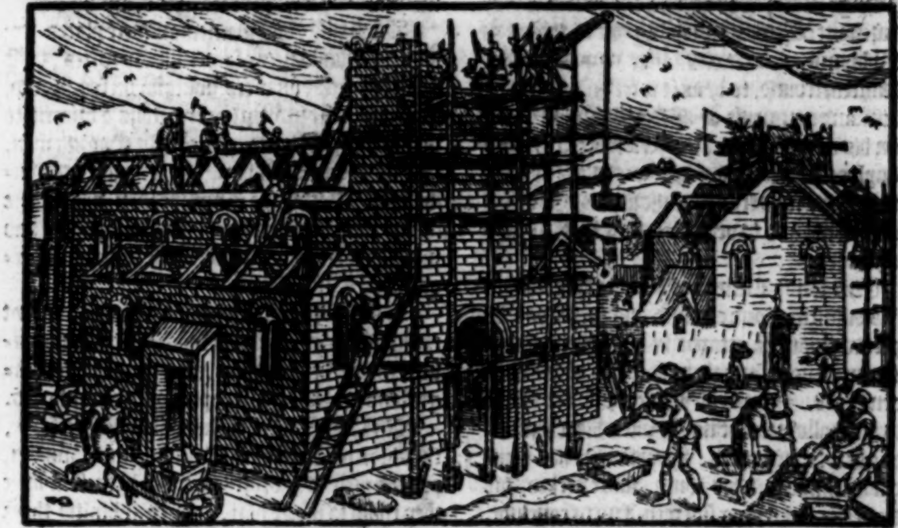
Miles Cogan and Raufe Fitz Stephans ſlyne.

Fitz Stephans, Power and diuers other were appointed to the rule of diuerſe countreys ſeuerally & apart by themſelues. Lacy builded diuerſe caſtels and fortreſſes through the coūtreys of Leyniſter & Meth. The ſame yeare Miles Cogan & his ſonne in law Rauf Fitz Stephans, the ſonne of Robert Fitz Stephans, were ſlaine betwixt Waterforde and Liſmore by a traytor named Machtire, as they ſat abrode in the fieldes togither, ſtaying for the men of Waterforde, with whom they ſhoulde haue talked: but the traytor with other in his cōpanie came behinde them, & with their Axes ſlue them out of hand. They were appoynted to haue lodged with the ſayde Machtire the night following, as with him whome they toke to be theyr aſſured friend. And immediately hereupon, al the countreys of Deſmond and other there about, beganne to reuolte from the Engliſhe obedience after that the ſame had continued in meetely good quiet vnder the gouernment of Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan, for the ſpace of .v. yeres but togither nowe the rebels ſtarting vp in euery corner, ſet all in a broyle, and droue Fitz Stephans to that extremitie, that he was glad to kepe him within the Citie of Corg, beſet on eche ſide by his enimies that lay rounde about him, till hys couſin Reymond came by water from Wexford with .xx. knightes, and diuers other men of armes and archers to his ayde, by whoſe aſſyſtance the enimies were in ſundrie conflictes ouerthrowne, and partly driuen out of the Countrey, and partly reduced to their former obedience: and ſo that tempeſtuous ſtorme within a while was well calmed, and all things brought into quiet: for ſhortly after, Richard Cogan, brother to Miles Cogan, was ſent from the king of Englande to ſucceede in rule of the Countrey in his brothers place. And ſhortly after there arriued Philip de Barre, the nephew of Fitz Stephans, aſwell to ayde his vncle as to defende his poſſeſſions of Olethan giuen to him by Fitz Stephans, and after iniuriouſly taken frō Raufe the ſon of Fitz Stephans. The ſame time Giraldus Cambrenſis, brother to the ſame Philip de Barre, and Nephewe likewyſe to Fitz Stephan, came ouer in companie with his brother to ſuruey the Countrey, the deſcription whereof, with the hiſtorie, he afterwardes wrote, out of whom we haue gathered the moſt part of that whiche we haue written here in the beginning of this Iriſhe hiſtorie, the whiche for want of getting ſight of his booke in time, we haue bene conſtrayned to inſert confuſedly, for yͤ leyſure hath not ſerued vs to write out the copy again after we had firſt writtē it, as firſt we found it briefly cōpiled by Campion, who gathering forth brief notes, hath handſomely ioyned them togither, but omitted many things likewiſe for haſt, where otherwiſe that which he hath done in this behalf, deſerueth vndoubtedly ſingular cōmendation. But now to the matter. In this ſeaſon diuers caſtels, abbeys, & bridges were erected, & builded in Ireland. For the Engliſh & Welch nobilitie now ſetled there, ſtudied both to reduce yͤ people to ciuilitie, & likewiſe to beautify the cūtry wͭ buildings, ſeruing both for defēce & cōmoditie.

Richard Cogā.

Philip de Barre.

Giraldus cambrenſis goeth into Ireland.



1179 Heruey becometh a Monke.

The Abbey of Roſglas was founded about the ſame time. And the Welchman Heruey, one of the ſpeciall conquerors of Irelande, founded the Abbey of Donbrothy. And afterwards about this ſeaſon, to wit, in the yeare .1179. he renounced the world, & became a Monke in Trinity Abbey at Canterbury. In this meane while, Hugh Lacie had fenced the countreys of Meth & Leyniſter wͭ diuers caſtelles & fortreſſes which he had built, the better to bridle the Iriſh from their rebellious attempts, and with ſuch politike gouernment as he vſed to bring the people in loue with lawes, and to like of reſt and quietneſſe. The ſtate of thoſe

Countreyes whereof he had the rule, was in ſhort time brought to a perfite frame of a well ordered Prouince, for he behaued himſelfe ſo courteouſly among them that ſhewed themſelues duetifull, and hampered the other that woulde abyde no order, ſo as he was both greatly loued and feared, inſomuche at length ſome ſuſpition grewe, leaſt hee woulde haue vſurped a Kingdome to himſelfe, whereupon John Lacie the Coneſtable of Cheſter, and Rycharde de Peche were ſent ouer into Irelande from king Henrie to take vppon them the gouernment in Hugh Lacyes rowmth, who was commaunded to returne into England to the king.

1182

They arryued in Irelande aboute the latter ende of Aprill, remayning there all the Sommer following: diuerſe Caſtelles were by them builded with the aduiſe of Hugh Lacie before he departed homewardes, as at Fothred, Oualan, at Treſteldermot, at Collacht, and ſundrye other.

Where as Meiller enioyed the Countrey of Kildare giuen to him by Earle Strangbow, they remoued him from thence into the Countrey of Leys, exchaunging with him in the Kings behalfe to haue the one for the other. And this was done of purpoſe, that he being a warrelyke perſonage, ſhoulde poſſeſſe a Countrey wylde and full of enimies, whereby to bring the rebels into ſome conformitie by force, ſith otherwiſe they were not to be tamed.

In the Winter following, the Coneſtable of Cheſter and his aſſociate returned into England, and Hugh Lacie was againe appoynted Lorde Lieutenant of Irelande, hauing one of the kings Chaplaynes ioyned with him, named Robert de Shrewesburie, to be as it were an aſſyſtaunt to him, and a witneſſe of all his dealings. Who vpon his returne nowe into Irelande, fell in hand to buylde more Caſtelles in places where he ſawe it expedient, ſo to reſtrayne the attemptes of vnruly perſons, and to defende others from ſuſteyning iniurie.

The deſcription of Hugh Lacie.

This Hugh Lacie was a man right diligent in his buſineſſe, and carefull, and as he was an expert warriour, ſo yet was he not verie fortunate in iourneys nowe and then which he made vpon the enimyes. He was of vyſage browne, blacke eyed and hollowe, flat noſed, with his cheeke on the right ſyde diſfigured, by reaſon hee had beene burnt by chaunce in his youth, ſhort necked, his bodie hearie, but ſtrong ſinewed. And to conclude, of ſtature ſmall, and of ſhape deformed.

After the deceaſſe of his wife, he was noted to be verie diſſolute of lyfe, vſing the companie not of one but of manye Concubines, couetous to heape vppe ryches, and ambicious beyonde meaſure.

But nowe to the hyſtorie. In the yeare laſt paſt, to witte, 1182. (or as others haue) in the yeare. 1180. dyed Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublyn, after whõ ſucceeded John Cumyn an Engliſh man, that was brought vp in the Abbey of Eueſham founder of Saint Patrikes in Dublyn, which before that time was a pariſh Church, and by him conuerted into a Colledge, with ſufficient reuenues aſſigned for the maintenaunce of parſons, vicars, clearkes and choriſters.

Contention betwixt Churches for preeminence of antiquitie.

There hath riſen great contention betwixt this and chriſts Church for antiquitie, wherin doubtleſſe (ſayth our Author) Saint Patrike ought to giue place. They are in deed both written cathedrall Churches, and both reputed the Biſhops Chapiter, in whoſe electiõ they ought to come togither in the Church of the Trinitie, commonly called Chriſts Church, which in all recordes hath the preeminẽce of place. The party diſturbing this order of election, forfeyteth to the Archebiſhop of Dublyn. 200. li. The foundation of S. Patrikes was greatly aduaunced by king John.

1183

The death of king Henrie the ſonne.

Ireland giuen to Iohn the ſonne of king Henrie.

1185

In the yeare. 1183. died king Henrie the ſonne reconciled to his father, but preparing a new war agaynſt his brother Richard Duke of Aquitaine. And ſhortly after died another of king Henries ſonnes named Geffrey Erle of Brytaine. And ſo were left Richard, and John that was after Erle of Glouceſter, ſurnamed without land, to whome the father conueyed all his intereſt and Lordeſhip of Irelande, and ſent him thither honourably accompanied, being then but. xij. yeares olde, & with him in eſpecial truſt Geraldus Cambrenſis a lerned man, and a diligent ſearcher of antiquities.

Counſellers about the lord Iohn the kings ſonne.

About this yong gentleman were placed ſeruants & Counſellers of three ſundry ſortes, fyrſt Normãs great quaffers, ſlouthful perſõs, prowd, gluttons, trayned vp in extorcions & briberie, to whom he moſt leaned. Secondly Engliſh men, that went ouer with him, bad ynough and vnſkilfull. Thirdly the Engliſhe men whiche hee founde in the land, whom being beſt worthy and moſte forwarde in all good ſeruice, hee leaſt regarded.

Hereof ſprung factions and diſdaine, ſo that the knightes whiche were moſte valiant and readieſt to doe their duetyes, were greatly diſcouraged, and the enimies in hope highly recomforted.

With the bruite of his arriual at Waterforde, the kings of Thomond, Deſmõd, and Connagh, put themſelues in order after the braueſt maner they could to meete him, and to ſubmitte theyr Countreys to his grace. Before they came the Iriſh franklins with rich preſents (and as they are verie kynde hearted where they are willing to ſhew obedience) made vnto the childe their ſoueraine Lorde, the moſt ioy and gladneſſe that might bee, and though rudely, yet louingly, and

after

The lacke of diſcretion in two of his garde.

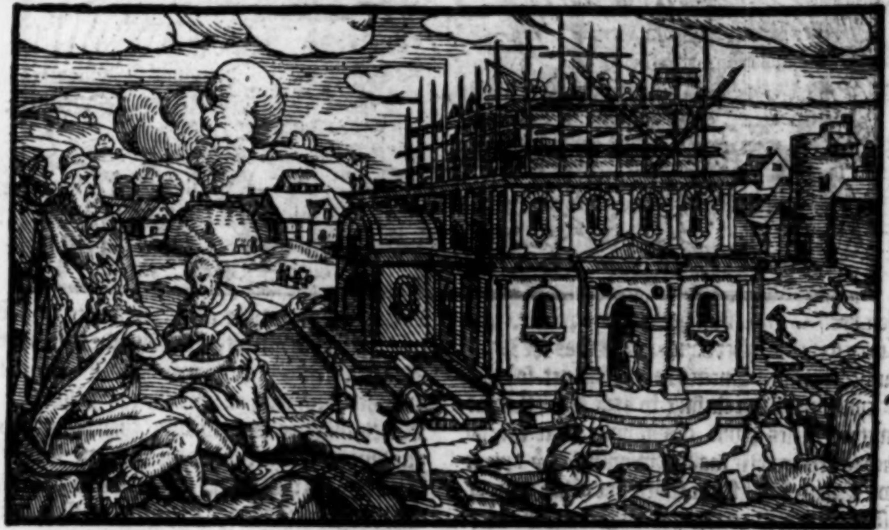
after the vſage of their countrey offered to kiſſe him after ſuch a friendly familiaritie as they were accuſtomed to ſhewe towardes their Princes at home. Two Normans that were of the garde pikethankes, and diſdaynefull clawbackes ſhooke and put backe the Clownes very roughly, tearing them by their clibbe heads and beardes churliſhly and vnmannerly, thruſting them out of preſence, whome they ſhoulde rather haue borne with, and curteouſly inſtructed. The Iriſhmen thus miſuſed, went againſt the forenamed kings, ſhewed the rebukes and villanies done to them in recompence of their humbleneſſe and meeke demeanor, declaring playnely, that their Lorde to whome they were going to do honor, was but a boy, peeuiſh and inſolente, gouerned by a ſorte of yong flattering bribers, that ſith to them whyche were buxome and tractable, ſuch deſpite and diſhonor (for that tearme they vſed, hauing borrowed it of the Spanyardes) little good mighte the ſtates of Irelande looke for in continuance, when the Engliſh once had yoked thẽ and pawed them in their clouches. This reporte lightly alienated the mindes of thoſe princes, not yet very reſolute, and turned them with greate othes and leagues concluded among them ſelues, and cauſed alſo the mightieſt Captaynes elſewhere to ſticke togither, couenanting not to giue ouer whileſt their liues laſted for any manner earthly thing, but manfully to ſtande in defence of their auncient liberties. Immediately hereupõ, ſeditious ſturres, mutinies, and commotions were reyſed in ſundry partes, ſo that the yong gentleman and hys company were glad to referre the quieting of ſuch broyles vnto Lacie, Brewis, Curcy, Fitz Gerald and others, he himſelfe returned backe into England the ſame yeere he came, leauing the Realme by a great deale in worſe plight than he found it. Thus farre Cambrenſis, and now for that which followeth: Our Authour (as he himſelfe writeth) vſed ſuche notes as were written by one Philip Flatſburie, out of a certayne nameleſſe authour, from this place vnto the yeere. 1370. and we: hauing none other helpe beſide (except only Henry of Marlebourrow,) do ſet downe that whiche wee finde in our oftmentioned authour, and in ẏ ſame Marleburgh in all the whole diſcourſe that followeth, excepte in ſome certayne particuler places, where we ſhew from whence we haue drawẽ that whiche we write as occaſion ſerueth. To proceede then with the matter where we left, Lacie the rather to meete with ſuche hurlyburlies as were like to put the ſtate of the countrey in danger if the ſame were not the ſooner broughte to quiet, erected and built a number of Caſtels in places conuenient, well and ſufficiently garniſhed with men munitions and vitayles, as one at Derwath, where diuers of the Iriſh prayed to be ſet a worke for wages.

Commotions reyſed.

The Lorde Iohn returneth into Englande.

Giraldus Cambrenſis endeth his Chronicle.

A Caſtel built at Derwath.



Lacie came ſundry tymes thither to further the worke, full glad to ſee them fall in vre with any ſuch exerciſe wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and taſt the ſweeteneſſe of a true mans life, he thought it no ſmall token of reformation: for whiche cauſe hee viſited them the oftner, and merily would commaund his gentlemen (to giue the labourers example) to take theyr tooles in hande, and to worke a ſeaſon, whyle the poore ſoules looking on might reſt them. But this paſtime grewe to a tragicall end: for on a time as each man was buſily occupied, ſome lading, ſome heauing, ſome plaſtring, ſome grauing, the generall alſo himſelfe digging with a pickaxe, a deſperate villayne among them, whoſe toole the noble man vſed, eſpying both his hands occupyed, and his body enclining downewardes, ſtill as he ſtroke watched when hee ſo ſtouped, and with an axe cleft his head in ſunder, little eſteeming the tor-

1186

Lacy is trayterouſly ſlayne

nients that for this trayterous acte enſued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that hee was the firſte that broughte it to any due order of obedience to the Engliſhe power. His body the two Archbiſhops, Iohn of Dublin, and Mathew of Caſſell buried in the Monaſterie of Bectie, and his head in Sainte Thomas Abbey at Dublin.

Curcy and Hugh Lacy the yonger keepe the Realme in quiet.

1199

King Iohn ſlayeth his nephew Arthur.

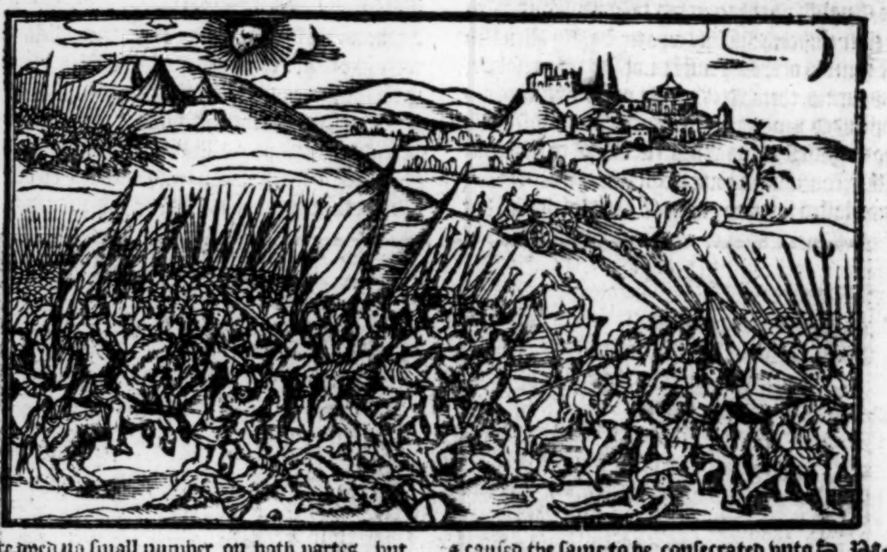
Curcy vttereth diſpleaſant words againſt King Iohn.

He is accuſed.

He is proclaymed traytor.

He is taken.

By occaſion of this murder committed on the perſon of Hugh Lacie, Iohn Curcy and Hugh Lacie the yōger, with their aſſiſtants, did ſtraight execution vpon the Rebels, and preuenting euery miſchiefe ere it fell, ſtayed the Realm from vprores. Thus they knitting themſelues togither in friendſhip, continued in wealth and honor vntill the firſt yeere of King Iohns raigne, who ſucceding his brother King Richard, tooke his nephew Arthur, ſonne to his brother Geffrey Earle of Britaine, and diſpatched him, ſome ſayde with his owne handes, bycauſe he knew what clayme he made to the Crowne, as diſcended of the elder brother, and therefore not only the French King, but alſo certayne Lordes of Englande and Ireland fauored his title, and when they vnderſtoode that he was made away, they tooke it in maruellous euil part. And Curcy either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring ſuch barbarous crueltie, whereof al mens eares were full, ſpake bloudy wordes againſt K. Iohn, whiche his lurking aduerſaries (yͭ lay ready to vndermine him) caught by yͤ end, & vſed yͤ ſame as a mean to lift him out of credit, which they did not only bring to paſſe, but alſo procured a commiſſion to attach his body, & to ſend him ouer into England. Erle Curcy miſtruſting his part, & by like getting ſome inckling of their drift, kepte himſelfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacy lorde Iuſtice was fayne to leuie an army & to inuade Vlſter, from whence he was oftētimes put backe: wherevpō he proclaimed Curcy traytor & hired ſundry gētlemē with promiſe of great recōpence, to bring him in, eyther quicke or dead. They fought once at Doune, in whiche battell, there dyed no ſmall number on both partes, but Curcy gote the vpper hand, and ſo was the Lord Iuſtice foyled at Curcies hands, but yet ſo long hee continued in practiſing to haue him, that at length Curcies owne Captaynes were inueyghed to betray their maiſter, inſomuche, yͭ vppon good Friday, whileſt the Earle out of his armour viſited barefooted certayne Religious houſes for deuotion ſake, they leyde for him, tooke him as a Rebell, and ſhipped him ouer into Englande the next way, where hee was adiudged to perpetuall priſon. One Saintleger addeth in his collections, as Campion ſaith, that Lacie payed the traytors their money, and forthwith therevppon hanged them.



Tranſlation of Prebendaries to Mōks.

A chalenge for a combate made by certayne French Knightes.

Curcies anſwer to king Iohn.

He taketh vpon him to defende the chalenge.

This Curcy tranſlated the Church and Prebendaries of the Trinitie in Doune, to an Abbey of blacke Monkes brought thither from Cheſter, & cauſed the ſame to be conſecrated vnto S. Patrick: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature, he deemed himſelfe worthily puniſhed. Not long after (as ſay the Iriſh) certain French knightes came to king Iohns court, and one among them required the combate for triall of the right to the Duchie of Normandy. It was not thought expedient to ieoperd the title vpō one mans lucke, yet the chalenge they determined to anſwer. Some friende put them in minde of the Erle impriſoned, a warriour of notable courage, and in pitch of body like a Giant. K. Iohn demāded Curcy, whether he could be content to fighte in his quarrel, not for thee ſaid yͤ Erle, whoſe perſon I eſteme vnworthy yͤ aduēture of my bloud, but for yͤ crowne and dignitie of the Realme, in which many a good man liueth againſt thy will, I ſhall be content to hazard my life.

Theſe wordes were not conſtrued in the worſt part as proceeding from an offended minde of him that was therein eſteemed, more playne thã wiſe. Therefore being cheriſhed and muche made of, he was fedde ſo wõderfully (nowe he came to large allowaunce in dyet after harde keeping) that the Frenche chalenger toke him for a Monſter, and fearing to deale with him, priuily ſtale away into Spayne. It is further reported, that the French King, being deſirous to ſee Curcy, requeſted K. Iohn that he might come before them, and ſhewe of what ſtrength hee was by ſtriking a blowe at an helmet. Hereupon forth he was broughte, and preſented before the Kings, where was an Helmet ſet vpon a blocke. Curcy taking a ſworde in his hande, and with a ſterne frowning countenance caſt vpon the Kings, gaue ſuch a ſtroke to the helmet, that cleauing it in ſunder, the ſworde ſticked ſo faſt in the logge, that no mã there was able to plucke it forthe, excepte Curcy him ſelfe. When he therefore had plucked forth the ſword, the Kings aſked him what he meant to looke vpon them with ſuch a grimme and froward cõtenance before he gaue the blowe to the helmet, he aunſwered, that if he had miſſed in his ſtroke, he would haue killed all the whole company, as well the Kings as other. Then was he releaſed of bondes, and croſſing the Seas towards Ireland whether he was boune, was fifteene times beaten backe agayne to the Engliſhe ſhore: and going into France to change the coaſt dyed there. This Curcy was whyte of colour, mightie of limmes, with large bones and ſtrong of ſynews, tall and broade in proportion of body, ſo as hys ſtrength was thought to excede, of boldneſſe incomparable, and a warriour euen from his youth, the formoſt in the front of euery battell where hee came, and euer ready to hazard himſelfe in place of moſt daunger, ſo foreward in fight, that oftentimes forgetting the office of a Captaine, he toke in hande the part of a Souldiour, preſſing forthe with the formoſt, ſo that with his ouer raſh violence, and deſire of victory, he might ſeeme to put all in daunger. But although he was thus haſtie and hote in the field againſt his enimies, yet was hee in conuerſation modeſt and ſober, and very religious, hauing Churchmen in great reuerence, aſcribing all to the goodneſſe of God, when he had atchieued any prayſeworthy enterpriſe, yeelding thankes to his diuine Maieſtie accordingly. But as ſeldome times any one man is founde perfecte in all things, ſo theſe vertues were ſpotted with ſome vices, namely too much nigardneſſe in ſparing, and inconſtancie. He maried the daughter of Godred King of Man, and after many conflicts and battayles had againſt the Iriſhe, he conquered (as before ye haue heard) the countrey of Vlſter, and building diuers ſtrong Caſtels therein, he eſtabliſhed the ſame vnder his quiet rule, and gouernement, till he and Lacy fell out as before is expreſſed.

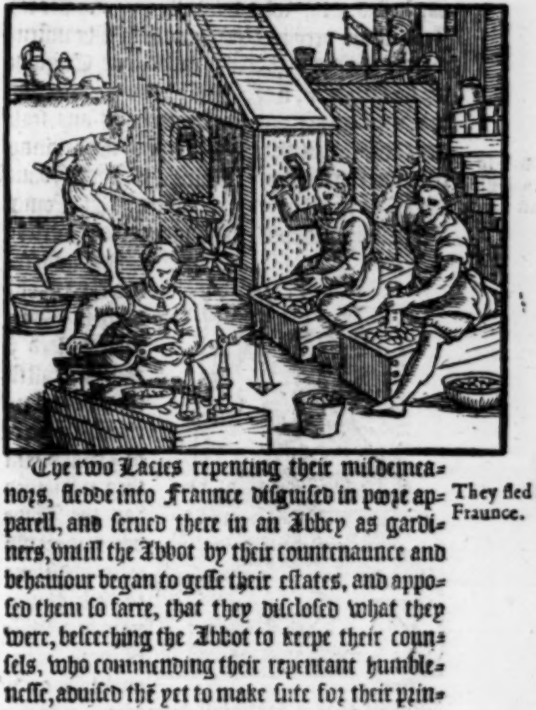
Curcy departeth this life.

The deſcription of Curcy.

After Curcies deceſſe, bicauſe he left no heires, the Earledome of Vlſter was giuen vnto Hugh Lacie, in recompence of his good ſeruice. There was one of the Curcies remayning in Irelande, that was Lorde of Rathermy and Kilbarrocke, whome (as an eſpiall of all their practiſes, and informer thereof to the Kyng Walter and Hugh, the ſonnes of Hugh Lacy ſlew, by reaſon wherof, great trouble and diſquietneſſe enſued, thoſe Lacies bearing themſelues (nowe after the deceſſe of their father) for gouernors out of checke. To ſet the Realme in quiet, King Iohn was fayne to paſſe thither himſelfe in perſon with a mayne army, baniſhed the Lacies, ſubdued the reſidue of the countrey, yet not conquered, toke pledges, puniſhed malefactors, eſtabliſhed the execution of Engliſh lawes, coyned money of like valew currant ſterling in both Realmes.

king Iohn wẽt into Ireland.

See more hereof in England.



The two Lacies repenting their miſdemeanors, fledde into Fraunce diſguiſed in poore apparell, and ſerued there in an Abbey as gardiners, vntill the Abbot by their countenaunce and behauiour began to geſſe their eſtates, and appoſed them ſo farre, that they diſcloſed what they were, beſeeching the Abbot to keepe their counſels, who commending their repentant humbleneſſe, aduiſed thẽ yet to make ſute for their princes fauor, if it mighte be hadde, promiſing to doe what he could in the matter, and ſo tooke vppon him to bee a ſutor for them vnto the King, that was his godcept and well acquainted with him. He trauelled ſo earneſtly herein, that at length he obteyned their pardons. But yet they were fined, Walter at four thouſand, and Hugh at fiue and twentie hundred markes, and hereupon, Walter was reſtored vnto yͤ Lordſhip of Meth, & Hugh, to the Earledome of Vlſter.

They fled into Fraunce.

They are pardoned and put to their fynes.

King Iohn appoynted his Lieutenauntes in Ireland, and returning home, ſubdued yͤ Welchmen,

men, and ſone after, with Pandulfus the Legate of Pope Innocentius the thirde, who came to releaſſe hym of the cenſure, wherein hee ſtode excommunicate, to whome as to the Popes Legate he made a perſonal ſurrẽder of both Realms in way of ſubmiſſion, and after hee was once aſſoyled, he receyued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue away his kingdomes to yͤ Sea of Rome for him and his ſucceſſors, recogniſing to holde the ſame of the Popes in fee, paying yeerely therefore one thouſand markes, as ſeuen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus ſaith *Centum pro vtroque auri marchias.* Sir Thomas More (as Campion ſaith) a man both in calling and office, likely to ſound the matter to the depth writeth preciſely, that neither ſuch writing the Pope can ſhew, neyther were it effectuall if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a Prince maye, or maye not addict hys realm feodarie to an other. Iohn Maior a Scottiſh Chronicler, and a Sorboniſt, not vnlearned, partly ſcanneth, who thinketh. 300. markes for Ireland no very hard penyworth? The inſtrumẽt (as Campion thinketh,) which our Engliſhe writers rehearſe, might haply bee mocioned and drawen, and yet not confirmed with any ſeale nor ratifyed: but though the copie of this writing remayne in record, yet certaine it is, King Iohns ſucceſſors neuer payed it. After Iohn Comin Archbiſhop of Dublin, & founder of S. Patricks Church, ſucceded Hẽry Loũdoris in yͤ See, who builded yͤ Kings Caſtell there, being lord chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland, him they niknamed (as the Iriſhe doe commonly giue additions to their gouernors in reſpecte of ſome fact or quality) Scorch Willein, that is, burne bill, bycauſe hee required to peruſe the writings of his tenantes, colorably pretending to learne the kinde of eache mans ſeuerall tenure, and brent the ſame before their faces, cauſing them eyther to renue their takings, or to hold at will.

An hundred markes of gold. Blondus.

Iohn Bale in his Apologie againſt vowes.

In the yeere. 1216. King Iohn departed thys life. In his dayes, diuers monaſteries were builte in Ireland as (beſide thoſe that before are mentioned in the fourth yeere of his raigne, the Abbey of Dowiſh was founded, in the ſixt the Abbey of Wetherham in yͤ countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler Lorde of Carracky, and in the twelfth yeere, Richard Oute builded the Monaſterie of Grenard. In the dayes of Henry yͤ thirde that ſucceded his father K. Iohn, great warres were reyſed in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacy and William Marſhal, ſo that the countrey of Meth was greeuouſly afflicted.

Henry the third.

Warres betwixt Lacy and Marſhall.

1228

In the yeere. 1228. after the death of Loundoris Archbiſhop of Dublin, that was Lord chiefe Iuſtice, King Henry the third vnderſtanding the good ſeruice done by the Giraldines euer ſith their firſt comming into Irelande, though by wrong reportes the ſame had bin to their preiudice for a time ſiniſterly miſconſtrued, ſo as the Gentlemẽ had ſtill bin kept backe, and not rewarded according to their good deſertes: The King nowe enformed of the troth, made Morice Fitz Geralde, the ſonne of Morice aforeſaid, Lord chiefe iuſtice of Ireland. Lucas ſucceeded Loundoris in the Archbiſhops See, and was cõſecrated in the yere 1230.

The Geraldines.

Morice Fitz Geralde.

Lucas Archbiſhop.

1230

1234

Richarde Marſhall was taken priſoner in battell at Kildare. Some write, yͭ he was wounded there, and within fewe dayes after died of the hurt at Kilkenny, and was buried there in the quier of the Churche of the Friars Preachers, neere to the place where his brother William was enterred, who departed this life in the yeere 1231.

1241

In the yeere. 1241. Walter Lacy Lorde of Meth departed this life in Englande, he left two daughters behinde hym that were hys heires, Margaret maried to the Lord Verdon, and Mathild wife to Geffrey Genneuille. King Henry in the. xxxvj. yeere of his raigne, gaue to Edward his eldeſt ſonne, Gaſcoigne, Irelande, and the county of Cheſter.

The Lorde Verdon. Geffrey Genneuille.

1252

1253

In the yeere following, Hugh Lacy Earle of Vlſter departed this life, & was buried at Cragfergus, in the Church of the Friers Minors, leauing a daughter behind him, that was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke married, and in right of hir, was created Earle of Vlſter, as after ſhall appeare.

Morice Fitz Gerald Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, being requeſted by this Prince to come and aſſiſt him with a power of men againſte the Welche Rebels, left a ſufficiente garriſon of menne in the Caſtell of Scligath, which he had lately builded, and then came ouer with Phelin Ochonher, and a luſty bande of Souldiers, and meeting the Prince at Chepſtow, behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, that returning with victory, they greatly encreaſed the fauoure of the Kyng and Prince towardes them: and vppon theyr returne into Irelande, they ioyned with Cormacke Mack Dermote Mack Rori, and made a notable iourney againſte Odonil the Iriſhe enimie, that

The Caſtell of Scligath.

Odonil.

when Lacie was once dead, inuaded and ſore anoyed the Kings ſubiectes of Vlſter. Odonil being vanquiſhed, the Lord Juſtice forced pledges and tribute of Oneale to keepe the Kings peace, and diuers other exploytes prayſeworthy dyd he, during the time of his gouernement, as Flatſbery hath gathered in his notes, for the Lorde Gerald, Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kildare in the yeere 1517. After Morice, Fitz Gerald ſucceeded in office of Lord Juſtice, John Fitz Geffrey Knight, and after him Alayne de la Zouch, whome the Earle of Surrey Fitz Warren ſlew. And after de la Zouch, in the yeere. 1258. being the. 42. of Henry the third his raigne, was Stephan de lõg Eſpee ſent to ſupply that roome, who ſlew Oneil with. 352. of his men in the ſtreetes of Downe, & ſhortly after departed this life, then Williã Dene was made Lorde Juſtice, & Greene Caſtell was deſtroyed. Alſo Mac Carey played the Deuill in Deſmonde.

John Fitz Geffrey Lorde Iuſtice.
Alayne de la Zuch Lorde Iuſtice.
Stephan de long Eſpee.
William Dene Lord Iuſtice.
Greene Caſtel deſtroyed.
Mac Carey.

1261

In the yeere. 1261. Sir William Dene Lord Juſtice of Irelande deceaſſed, and Sir Richarde Rochell (or Capell as ſome copies haue) was ſent to be Lord Juſtice after him, who greatly enuyed the familie of the Giraldines, during his gouernemente, the Lorde John Fitz Thomas, and the Lord Morice his ſonne were ſlayne.

Sir Richarde Capell Lorde iuſtice.
Lord Iohn Fitz Thomas ſlayne.

In the yeere. 1264. Walter de burgh was made Earle of Vlſter, and Morice Fitz Morice tooke yͤ Lord Juſtice of Irelãd togither with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuers other greate Lordes at Triſtildermot, on S. Nicholas day. And ſo was Irelande full of warres, betwixt the Burghes and Giraldines.

The Lorde iuſtice taken.

1266

In the yeere. 1266. there chanced an Earthquake in Ireland.

1267

In the yeere following, King Henry tooke vp the variance that was in Ireland betwixt yͤ parties, and diſcharging Dene, appoynted Dauid Barry Lord Juſtice in his place, who tamed the inſolent dealings of Morice Fitz Morice, couſin Germaine to Fitz Gerald.

Dauid Barry Lord iuſtice.

1268

In the yeere. 1268. Conhur Obren was ſlaine by Dermote Mack Monerd, and Morice Fitz Gerald Earle of Deſmond, was drowned in the Sea, betwixt Wales and Ireland. And Roberte Vffort was ſente ouer to remayne Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and Barry was diſcharged, who cõtinued till the yeere. 1269. and then was Richarde de Excester made Lord Juſtice. And in the yeere following, was the Lorde James Audley made Lord Juſtice. Richard Verdon, and John Verdon were ſlayne, and Fulke Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed. Alſo the Caſtels of Aldeck, Roſcoman, and Scheligagh, were deſtroyed. The ſame yeere was a greate dearth and mortalitie in Irelande.

Robert Vffert
Richard de Excester.
1270
1271

In the yere. 1272, the Lorde James Audley was ſlayne by a fal from his horſe in Thomond, and then was Morice Fitz Morice made Lorde Juſtice of Irelande, and the Caſtell of Randon was deſtroyed.

The Lord Audley.
Randon.

In the yeere. 1272. King Henry the thirde departed this life, and the Lorde Walter Geneuille lately returned home from his iourney into the holy land, was ſent into Ireland, and made Lord Juſtice there.

The deceſſe of king Henry the thirde.
1272
Walter Geneuille.

1275

In the yeere. 1275. the Caſtell of Roſcoman was eftſoones repaired and fortifyed.

1276

In the yeere. 1276. there was an ouerthrowe giuen at Glenbury, where William Fitz Roger, Prior of the Knightes Hoſpitallers, & many other with him, were taken priſoners, and a greate number of other were ſlayne.

An ouerthrow at Glenburry.

The ſame yere, John de Verdon departed this world, and Thomas de Clare, married yͤ daughter of Morice Fitz Morice.

In the yeere following, Robert Vffort was appointed to ſupply yͤ roumth of Geneuille, being called home, and ſo was this Vffort the ſeconde time ordeyned Lord Juſtice of Irelande. He hauing occaſion to paſſe into Englande, made hys ſubſtitute Fulborne Biſhop of Waterford til his returne, and then reſumed the gouernemente into his owne handes agayne.

1277

In the yeere. 1277. Thomas de Clare ſlewe Obrenroth King of Tholethmond, and yet after this, the Iriſh cloſed him vp in Slewbany, togither with Maurice Fitz Maurice, ſo that they gaue hoſtages to eſcape, and the Caſtell of Roſcoman was wonne.

1278

In the yeere next enſuing, was John de Derlington cõſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. There was alſo a Councell holden at Gernok, & Macke Dermot ſlewe Cathgur O Conthir King of Connagh.

In the yeere. 1279. Robert Vffort vpon occaſion of buſineſſe, came ouer into Englande, and left Friar Fulborne Biſhoppe of Waterforde to ſupply his roumth, and Rauff Piphard, and O Haulan chaſed Oneil in a battell.

In the yeere. 1280. Roberte Vffort came the third time to occupie the roumth of Lorde chiefe Juſtice in Irelande, reſuming that roumth into his handes againe.

1281

In the yeere following, the Biſhop of Waterford was eſtabliſhed by the King of England Lord Juſtice of Irelande. Adam Cuſack yͤ yonger ſlewe William Barret, and many other in Connagh. And in the nexte yeere to witte. 1282. Penquitt ſlew Murtagh, and his brother Arte Mac Murch at Athlone. Alſo the Lorde James de Brimmingham, and Peers de Tuyt departed this life. Alſo the Archbiſhop Derlington deceaſſed. And about the ſame time, the Citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, & the Steeple of Chriſts

Church

Chriſt Church repaired.

Donat Biſhop of Dublin.

Church vtterly deſtroyed. The Citizens before they wente about to repaire their owne priuate buildings, agreed togither to make a collection, for repayzing the ruines of that auntient building firſt begun by the Danes, and continued by Citrius Prince of Dublin at the inſtaunce of Donate ſometime Biſhop of that Citie, and dedicated to the bleſſed Trinitie. At length Strangbow Erle of Pembroke, Fitz Stephans, and Laurẽce, that for his vertue was called S. Laurẽce Archbiſhop of Dublin, and his foure ſucceſſors, John of Eueſham, Henry Seorchbill, and Lucas, and laſt of all, John de Saint Paule finiſhed it. This notable builoing, ſith the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bin beautifyed in diuers ſorts by many zealous Citizens. Strangbowes tombe defaced, by the fall of the roofe of the Church, Sir Henry Sidney, when he was Lord Deputy, reſtored, and likewiſe did coſt vpon the Earle of Kildares Chappell for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left alſo a monumente of Captayne Randolfe, late Coronell of the Engliſhe bandes of footemen in Vlſter that dyed there valiantly, fighting in his Princes ſeruice as after ſhall appeare.

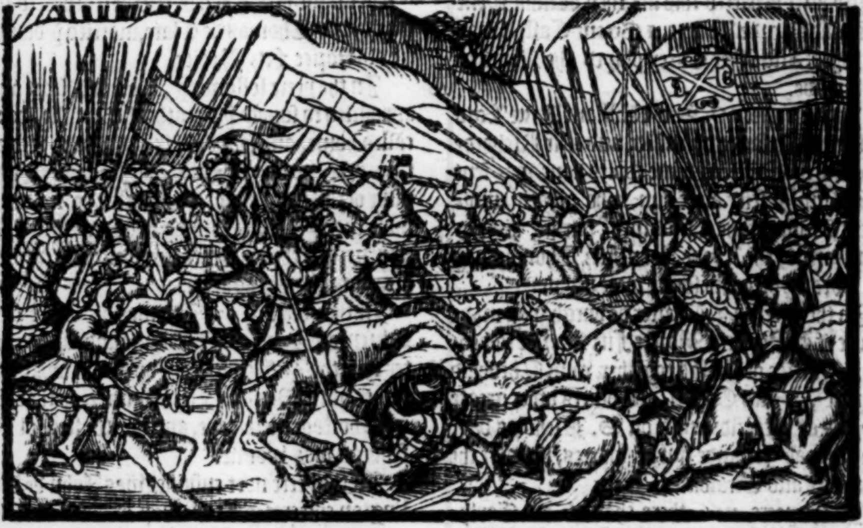
Strangbewes tombe reſtored by Henry Sidney.

Captayne Randol.

In the yeere. 1283. Furnund, Chancellor of Ireland, and Richarde Tute departed this life, and Friar Stephan Fulborne was made Lorde Juſtice of Irelande.

1285

In the yeere. 1285. the Lorde Theobald butler fled from Dublin, and died ſhortly after, and the lord Theobald Verdon loſt his men and Horſes as he went towards Ofali, and the next daye Gerald Fitz Maurice was taken, and John Sãford was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.



John Samford conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

An ouerthrow at Rothode.

Norwagh and Ardſcol brent.

1286

Moreouer at Rathode, the Lord Geffrey Geuille fled, and ſir Gerard Doget, and Raufe Petit were ſlayne, with a great number of other.

The Norwagh & Ardſcoll with other townes and villages were brente by Philip Stanton the xvj. day of Nouember, in the yeere. 1286. Alſo Calwagh was taken at Kildare.

In the yeere. 1287. diuers nobles in Irelande deceaſſed, as Richard Deceter, Gerald Fitz Morice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Taffy, and Nicolas Teling Knightes.

1288

Samfort Archbiſhop of Dublin Lorde Iuſtice.

The yeere next enſuing, deceaſſed Friar Fulborne Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and John Sãfort Archbiſhop of Dublin, was aduaunced to yͤ rowmth of Lorde Juſtice. Alſo Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter beſieged Theobald Verdon in the Caſtell of Athlone, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

1290

In the yeere. 1290. was the chaſe or diſcomfiture of Offali, and diuers Engliſhmen ſlayne.

Alſo Mack Coghlan ſlewe O Molaghelin King of Meth, and William Burgh was diſcõfited at Deluin by Mac Coghlan.

William Veſcy Lorde Iuſtice.

The ſame yeere. 1290. William Veſcy was made Lord Juſtice of Irelande, and entred into that office on Saint Martins daye. Vnto thys Juſtice, Edward Balliol King of Scotland did homage for an Erledome which he helde in Ireland, in like manner as he did to king Edwarde for the Crowne of Scotland.

In the yere. 1292. a fiftenth was graunted to the King of all the temporall goodes in Ireland, whileſt Veſcy was as yet Lord Juſtice.

1294

This Veſcy was a ſterne manne and full of courage, he called John Earle of Kildare before him, charging him with riots foule & miſdemeanors, for that he ranged abroade, and ſoughte reuenge vpon priuate diſpleaſures out of all order, and not for any aduauncemente of the publike wealth or ſeruice of his ſoueraigne.

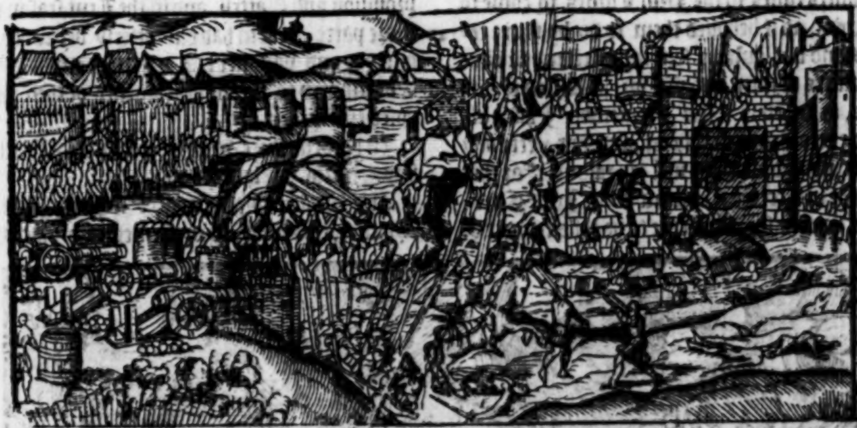
The Earle of Kildare.

The Earle as impaciente to heare himſelfe touched as the Juſtice to ſuffer euill doing, aunſwered thus, By your honor and mine my Lord, and by King Edwardes hand (for that was accompted no ſmall oth in thoſe dayes among the Iriſh) you would if you durſt appech me in plain tearmes of treaſon or felonie: for where I haue the title, & you the fleece of Kildare, I wote well how great an eye ſore I am in your ſight, ſo that if I might be handſomly truſſed vp for a fellone, then mighte my maſter youre ſonne become a Gentleman: a Gentlemã quoth the Iuſtice, thou proude Erle, I tell thee, the Veſcies were Gẽtlemen before Kildare was an Earledome, & before that Welch bãkrupt thy couſin, fethered hys neſt in Leyniſter. But ſeeing thou dareſt me, I will ſurely breake thy hart, and therewith he called the Earle a notorious theefe and a murderer. Then followed facing and bracing among the Souldiers, with high wordes, and terrible ſwearing on both ſides, vntil either parte appeaſed his owne. The Lord Iuſtice ſhortly after, leauing his deputie William Hay, toke the ſea, and haſted ouer to yͤ King. The Earle immediatly followed, and as heynouſly as the Lorde Iuſtice accuſed him of felony, Kildare no leſſe appealed hym of treaſon. For triall hereof, yͤ Erle aſked yͤ cõbate, & Veſcy refuſed not: but yet when the liſtes were prouided, Veſcy was ſlipt away into Fraunce, & ſo diſenherited of all his lãds in yͤ countie of Kildare, which wer beſtowed vpõ yͤ Erle & his heires for euer. The Erle waxing loftie of mind in ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe, ſquared with diuers nobles, Engliſh & Iriſh of yͤ land. The ſame yeere dyed Iohn Samford Archb. of Dublin, & Iohn Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare, & Iohn de la Mare toke priſoners, Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter, & William Burgh within yͤ countrey of Meth, & the Caſtell of Kildare was taken, and all yͤ coũtrey waſted by the Engliſh on the one ſide, and the Iriſh on the other, and Calwagh brent al the Rolles and tailes concerning the recordes and accomptes of that countie. Great dearth and death raigned in Ireland this yeere, and the two yeeres nexte enſuing. The Earle of Kildare deteyned the Earle of Vlſter priſoner, vntill by authoritie of a Parliamente holden at Kilkenny, he was deliuered out of the Caſtell of Ley, for hys two ſonnes, and for the inuaſion which the Erle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other hys vnruly and miſordered partes was diſſeyſed of the Caſtell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

1294

The death of the Archbiſhop Samford. The Earle of Vlſter taken priſoner.

at dearth
death.



illiam Dodingſels Lord ſtice.

1295

William Dodingſels being this yere made Lord Iuſtice of Irelande, after Veſcy dyed, in the yeere next following, that is. 1295. and. 23. of King Edwarde the firſte. After hym ſucceeded in that roomth the Lorde Thomas Fitz Maurice. In the yeere. 1296. Friar William de Bothum was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

homas Fitz Morice Lorde ſtice.

1296

1298

In the yeere. 1298. and. xxvj. of Edwarde the firſt, the Lorde Thomas Fitz Maurice departed this life, and an agreement was made, betwixte the Earle of Vlſter, and the Lorde Iohn Fitz Thomas, Earle of Kildare, by Iohn Wogan that was ordeyned Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande.

Record Turris.

1299

In the yeere. 1299. William Archbiſhop of Dublin departed thys life, and Richarde de Fringis was conſecrated Archbiſhop in hys place. The King wente vnto Iohn Wogan Lorde Iuſtice, commaunding hym to gyue ſommonaunce vnto the nobles of Irelande, to prepare themſelues with Horſe and armour to come in theyr beſt aray, for the warre, to ſerue hym againſte the Scottes: and withall, wrote vnto the ſame Nobles, as to Richarde de Burgh Earle of Vlſter, Geffrey de Genuill, Iohn Fitz Thomas, Thomas Fitz Maurice, Theobalde Lorde Butler, Theobalde Lorde Verdon, Piers Lorde Brimingham of Thetemoy, Euſtace Lorde Power, Hugh Lorde Purcel, Iohn de Cogan, Iohn de Barry, William de Barry, Walter de Laſtice, Richarde de Exeter, Iohn Pipard, Walter Lenfante, Iohn of Oxforde, Adam de Stantoun, Symon de Pheybe, Phepbe, William Cadell, John de Vale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roche, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitz Thomas de Kerto, commaunding them to bee with him at Withwelaun the firſt of March. Such a precept I remember I haue redde, regiſtred in a cloſe rolle among yͤ recordes of the Tower, but where Marleburrow ſayeth, that the ſayde John Wogan Lord Juſtice of Irelãd, and the Lord John Fitz Thomas, with many other, came to King Edward into Scotland in the. xxix. yeare of Kyng Edwards raigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yeare. 1299. which fell in the. xxvij. of the raigne of King Edward, and if my remembrance fayle me not, the cloſe rolle aforementioned beareth date of the. xxiiij. yere of King Edwards raygne: all which notes may bee true, for it is very lyke, that in thoſe warres againſt the Scottes, yͤ King ſent diuers times to the Iriſh Lordes to come to ſerue him, as it behoued them to do by theyr tenures: and not only he ſent into Ireland to haue the ſeruices of men, but alſo for prouiſion of vittayles, as in cloſe rolles I remember I haue alſo ſeene recorded of the. xxvij. and. xxx. yeere of yͤ ſayd King Edward the firſt his raigne. For this we finde in a certaine abſtract of the Iriſh Chronicles, whiche ſhoulde ſeeme to be collected out of Flatſburie, whome Campion ſo much followed, that in the yeere. 1301. the Lorde John Wogan Lorde Juſtice, John Fitz Thomas, Peter Bermingham, and diuers other went into Scotland in ayde of King Edward, in whiche yeere alſo a great part of yͤ Citie of Dublin, with the Church of Saint Werburgh was brente in the nighte of the feaſt daye of Sainte Colme. Alſo the Lorde Genuille married the daughter of John de Mótfert, and the Lorde John Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuille, alſo the Lord Theobald de Verdon, married the daughter of the Lorde Roger Mortimer. The ſame yeere in the winter ſeaſon, the Iriſhe of Leyniſter reyſed warre againſt yͤ townes of Wicklow, and Rathdon, doing muche hurte by brenning in the countrey all about, but they were chaſtiſed for their wickedneſſe, loſing the moſt part of their prouiſion and Cattell, and in the Lent ſeaſon the more parte of them had bin vtterly deſtroyed, if diſcorde and variance had not riſen among the Engliſhmen to the impeachmente of their purpoſed enterpriſes.

Chr. Pembrig.

1101

Iriſhmen in-
uade Scotla

In haruest, there were three hundred theeues ſlayne by the Phelanes.

Walter Power.

Alſo Walter Powir waſted a greate parte of Monſter, brenning many fermes and places in that countrey.

1302

In the yeere. 1302. Pope Boniface demaunded a tenth of all the ſpirituall liuings in Englande and Ireland, for the ſpace of three yeres, to maintaine warres in defence of the Church of Rome, againſt the King of Arragone.

1303

The Erle of Vlſter.

In the yeere. 1302. the Earle of Vlſter, and Richard Burgh, and ſir Euſtace le Power, with a puiſſant Army entred Scotlãd. The Earle made xxxiij. knightes at Dublin, before he ſet forward. The ſame yeere Geralde, ſonne and heire to the Lord John Fitz Thomas, departed this life, and likewiſe the counteſſe of Vlſter. William de Welliſley, and Sir Roberte de Perciuall were ſlayne the. xxij. of October.

1304

In the yeere. 1304. a great parte of the Citie of Dublin was brent by caſuall fire.

In the yeere next enſuing, Jordayne Comin with his complices, ſlew Maritagh Oconghure King of Offalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuers other within the Courte of Peeres de Birmingham at Carrick in Carbrie. Alſo, Sir Gilberte Sutton, Stewarde of Wexforde, was ſlayne by the Iriſhmen, neere to the Ferme of

Raymond

Haymond de Grace, which Haymond bare himſelfe right valiantly in that fighte, and in the ende through his great manhoode eſcaped.

1306

A diſcōfiture at Ofalie.

In the yeere 1306. a great ſlaughter was made in Offalie neere to the Caſtell of Geſhil, the thirteenth day of Aprill vpon Oconchur and his friends by the Odempſies, in whiche place were ſlayne a great number of men. Alſo Obren King of Thomond was ſlayne. Moreouer, Donalde Oge Maccarthy ſlewe Donald Ruſſe King of Deſmond, and vpon the twelfth of May in the confines of Meth, a great ouerthrow chanced to ẏ ſide of the Lord Peers Butler, and Balymore in Leyniſter was brent by the Iriſh, where Henry Calfe was ſlayne at that preſent time.

Balimore brent.

Warres in Leyniſter.

Hereof followed great warres betwixt ẏ Engliſh and Iriſh in Leyniſter, ſo that a great army was called togither forth of diuers partes of Ireland, to reſtrayne the malice of the Iriſh in Leyniſter, in which iourney, Sir Thomas Mandeuill Knight entred into a conflict with the Iriſh neere to Glenfell, in the which he bare hymſelfe right manfully, till his horſe was ſlayne vnder him, and yet then to his greate prayſe and hyghe commendation, he ſaued both himſelfe and many of his company.

The Lorde Chancellor conſecrated Biſhop of Imaley.

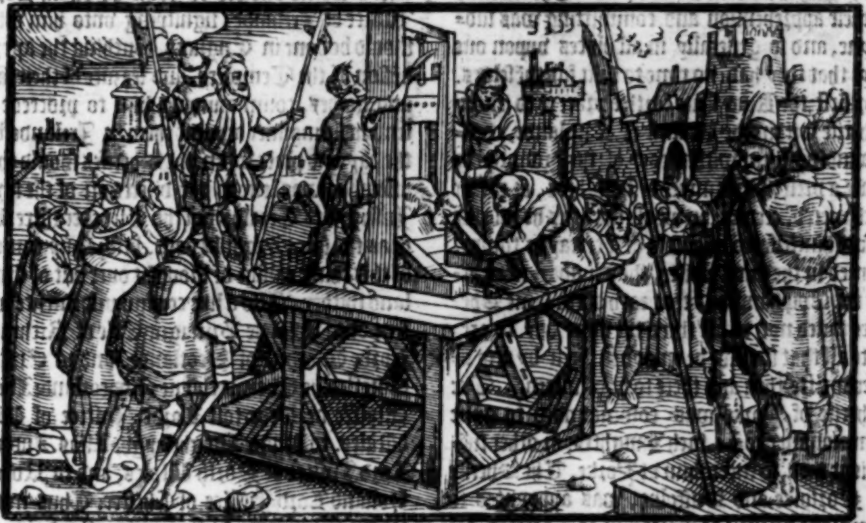
The Lord Chancellor of Irelande, Thomas Cantocke, was conſecrated Biſhop of Imaley, within the Trinitie Churche at Dublin, and kept ſuch a feaſt, as the like had not lightly bene ſeene, nor heard of before that time in Ireland, firſt to the Rich, and after to the poore.

The Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed

Richarde Ferings Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed on the euen of Saint Luke the Euangeliſt, to whom ſucceeded Richard de Hauerings, who after he had continued in that Sea about a fiue yeeres, reſigned it ouer by diſpenſation obteined from Rome, and then his Nephewe Iohn Leech was admitted Archbiſhop there.

1307

In the yeere 1307. the firſt of Aprill Murcod Ballagh was beheaded neere to Merton by Sir Dauid Caunton Knight, and ſhortly after was Adam Dawn ſlaine.



A diſcomfiture in Connagh.

Alſo, a greate diſcomfiture and ſlaughter fell vpon ẏ Engliſhmen in Connagh by ẏ Oſcheles the firſt day of May, and the robbers that dwelte in ẏ parties of Offaili, raſed ẏ Caſtel of Geiſhell, and in the vigil of the tranſlatiō of Thomas Becket, being ẏ ſixth of July, they brent ẏ towne of Ley, and beſieged the Caſtell: but they were conſtreyned to depart from thēce ſhortly after, by Iohn Fitz Thomas & Edmond Butler ẏ came to remoue that ſiege. In the yere 1308. King Edward ẏ firſt departed this life the ſeuenth of July.

1308

1308
The order of the Templers ſuppreſſed.

Richard Archbiſhop of Dublin, after he hadde gouerned that Sea the ſpace of fiue yeeres, by reaſon of a viſion that he ſawe in his ſleepe, feeling himſelfe troubled in conſcience, with conſideration of that dreame, reſigned the nexte morrow al his title to the Archbiſhops dignitie (as before ye haue hearde) and contented himſelfe with other eccleſiaſticall benefices, as ſeemed conuenient to his eſtate. This yeere by vertue of letters directed from the Pope to the K. of England, hee cauſed al the templers as wel in Englãd as Ireland, to be apprehended, & committed to ſafekeeping. The profeſſion of theſe templers beganne at Ieruſalem, by certayn Gentlemen yͭ remained in an Hoſtell neere to the Temple, who til yͤ counſel of Trois in France, were not increaſed aboue the number of. 9. but frõ that time forth, in little more than fiftie yeeres, by the zealous contributiõ of al Chriſtian Realmes, they had houſes erected euery where, with liuings bountifully aſſigned to yͤ ſame for their maintenance, in ſo much, as they were augmented vnto the number of three hundred, that were Knightes of that order, beſide inferiour brethrẽ innumerable: but now with welth they ſo forgot themſelues, that they nothing leſſe regarded, than the purpoſe of their foundatiõ: and withal being accuſed of horrible hereſies (whether in all things iuſtly or otherwiſe the Lorde knoweth) they were in the counſel at Lions in Frãce condemned, and their liuings tranſpoſed to the knights Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called yͤ Knights of the Rodes, and nowe of Malta. The manner of their apprehenſion and committing was ſuddayne, and ſo generally in all places vppon one day, that they had no time to ſhift for thẽſelues. For firſt, the King ſente forth a precept to euery Sherife within the Realme of Englande, commaunding them within each of their roomths to cauſe a preſcribed number of Knightes, or rather ſuch men of credite, on whoſe fidelities he mighte aſſure himſelfe, to aſſemble at a certayne towne, named in the ſame writte, the Sunday next after the Epiphany, and that each of the ſame Sherifes failed not to bee there the ſame day to execute all that ſhoulde be enioyned them by any other writte, then and there to be deliuered. The Sherife of Yorke was commaunded to gyue ſommonance to. 24. ſuch Knightes, or other ſufficient men, to meete him at Yorke. The Sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, was appoynted to ſommone twentie to meete him at Thetford, the other Sherifes were appoynted to call to them ſome tenne, ſome twelue, or ſome fourteene, to meete them at ſuch Townes as in their writtes were named. The date of this writte was, from Weſtminſter the fifteenth of December, in the firſte yeere of thys King Edwarde the ſecondes raigne: the other writte was ſent by a Chapleyne authorized both to deliuer the ſame writte, and to take an othe of the Sherife, that he ſhould not diſcloſe the contentes, till he had put the ſame in execution, which was, to attache by aſſiſtance of thoſe aforementioned Knightes, or as many of them as he thought expedient to vſe, al the templers within the precinct of hys roomth, and to ſeaze all their landes, goodes, and Cattells, into the Kings handes, and to cauſe an Inuentarie of the ſame indented be made in preſence of the Warden of the place, whether he were Knighte of the order, or any other, and in preſence of other honeſt men neyghbours thereaboutes, keeping the one counterpane with himſelfe, ſealed with hys ſeale that made the ſeazure, and leauing the other in the handes of the ſayde Warden: and further to ſee the ſame goodes and Cattels to bee put in ſafekeeping, and to prouide that the quicke goodes mighte be well kept and looked vnto, and the groundes manured to the moſt profit, and to cauſe the bodies of the templers attached, to be ſo deteyned in al ſafetie, as that they be not yet cõmitted to Irons nor to ſtreyght priſon, but to remayne in ſome conuenient place other than their owne houſes, and to be found of the goods ſo ſeazed, accordingly as falleth for their eſtates, till he haue otherwiſe in commaundemente from the King: and what is done herein, to certifie into the Eſcheker the morrowe after the Purification. The date of this ſeconde writte was, from Biſlet the twentith of December. There was lykewiſe a writte directed to Iohn Wogan, Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande, ſignifying vnto him what ſhould be done in England, touching the apprehẽſion of the Templers, and ſeazure of their lãds and goodes, commaunding him to proceede in ſemblable manner againſt them in Irelande: but the day and place when the Sherifes ſhould there aſſemble, was lefte to the diſcretion of the ſayde Iuſtice and Treaſorer of the Eſcheker there, but ſo as the ſame might be done, before any rumour of this thing coulde be brought ouer out of England thither. Alſo a like commaundemente was ſent vnto Iohn de Britaigne Erle of Richmõd, Lorde Warden of Scotlande, and to Euſtace Coteſbache Chamberlayne of Scotland: Alſo to Walter de Pederton Lorde Iuſtice of Weſt Wales, to Hugh Audigheleygh, Alias Auderley Lord Iuſtice of North Wales, and to Roberte Holland Lord Iuſtice of Cheſter. Thus muche for the Templers. But now to other doings in Irelande. In the yeere. 1308. the. xij. of April, deceaſſed Peter de Birmingham a noble warriour, and one that had bin no ſmall ſcourge to the Iriſh. The eleuenth of May, the Caſtell of Kennun was brente, and dyuers of them that hadde it in keeping were ſlayne by William

1308

Mackalther

This Macbalther was after hanged at Dublin.
The Lord Iuſtice diſcomfited.
1308

Macbalther, and other of the Iriſhe, and likewiſe the towne of Courcouly was brente by the ſame malefactors. And the ſixth of Iune, Iohn Lorde Wogan Lorde Iuſtice was diſcomfited neere to Glindelorie, where Iohn de Saint Hogelin, Iohn Norton, Iohn Breton, and many other were ſlayne.

The ſixteenth of Iune, Dunlouan, Tobir, and many other Townes were brent by the Iriſh Rebels.

John Deecr Maior of Dublin.

About thys ſeaſon, Iohn Decer Maior of Dublin builded the highe Pipe there, and the bridge ouer the Liffie towardes Saint Wolſtons, and a Chappell of our Ladie at the Friers Minors, where he was buried, repaired the Churche of the Friers Preachers, and euery Friday tabled the Friers at his owne coaſtes.

urgh.

Piers Gaueſton ſent into Irelande.

Iohn Wogan hauing occaſion to paſſe into England, William Burgh ſupplied his roomth, vnto whome Kyng Edwarde recommended Peers de Gaueſton, when contrary to the kings minde he was baniſhed by the Lordes of Englande, and about the Natiuitie of oure Lady, hee came ouer into Irelande, beeyng ſente thyther by the King with many Iewels, and beſide the letters which he brought of recommendation from the King, he had aſſigned to him the commodities royall of that Realme, whiche bredde ſome trouble and bickerings there, betwixte Richarde Burgh Earle of Vlſter, and the ſayd Gaueſton, who notwithſtanding bought the good willes of the Souldiers with his liberalitie, ſlew Dermot Odempcy, ſubdued Obren, edifyed ſundry Caſtels, Cauſeys, and bridges, but the next yeere, he was reuoked home by the King, as in the hiſtory of England it may appeare.

Lord Roger Mortimer.

In the vigill of Simon and Iude, the Lorde Roger Mortimer landed in Irelande with hys wife, righte heire to the Seigneurie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuille, that was ſonne vnto the Lord Geffrey Genuille, whiche Geffrey became a Frier at Trym of the order of yͤ Preachers: by reaſon wherof, the Lorde Mortimer and his wife entred into poſſeſſion of the landes of Meth. In the yeere. 1309. on Candlemas day, the Lorde Iohn Bonneuill was ſlayne neere to the towne of Ardſcoll, by the Lorde Arnold Power, and his complices, his body was buried at Athy in the Church of the Friers Preachers. In the yeere following, at a Parliamente holden at Kildare, the Lord Arnold Power was acquit of that ſlaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defence.

1309
Lord Iohn Bonneuille ſlayne.
1310

1311
A Parliament at Kelkenny.

In the yeere. 1311. or (as ſome bookes haue) the yeere. 1309. Iohn Wogan Lord Iuſtice ſummoned a Parliamente at Kilkenny, where dyuers wholeſome lawes were ordeyned, but neuer executed. There fell the Biſhops in contention about their iuriſdictions, namely, the Biſhop of Dublin forbade the Primate of Ardmagh to reyſe his croiſier within the prouince of Leyniſter.

Campion.

Shortly after, Rowland Ioice the Primate ſtale by night in his Pontificals, from Howthe, to the Priory of Grace dieu, where the Biſhops ſeruants met him, and with force chaſed him out of the dioceſſe. This Biſhop was named Iohn a Leckes, and was conſecrated not long before hee kept this ſturre.

Sir Richard de Clare.

John Lacy ſlayne.

Richard Earle of Vlſter with a greate armie came to Bonrath in Thothmond, where Sir Roberte or rather ſir Richard de Clare diſcomfited his power, tooke Sir William de Burgh priſoner, or (as ſome bookes haue) the Earle hymſelfe. Iohn Lacie the ſonne of Walter Lacie, & diuers other were ſlayne. The. xij. of Nouẽber this yere Richard de Clare ſlewe. 600. of the Galagheghas, & Iohn Margoghedan was ſlaine by

Omolmoy. Alſo Donat Obꝛene was murthered by his owne men in Tothemonde.

1312

Robert Verdō reyſeth a riotous tumulte. John Wogan Lord iuſtice.

The one and twentie of Febꝛuarie, beganne a riot in Urgile, by Roberte Uerdon, foꝛ the appeaſing whereof, an Army was ledde thither by John Wogan Loꝛd chiefe Juſtice, in the beginning of July, bnt the ſame was diſcomfited, and diuers men of accompt ſlayne, as Sir Nicholas Auenell, Patricke de Roch, and other. At length, yet the ſayde Roberte Uerdon, and many of hys complices came, and ſubmitted themſelues to pꝛiſon, within the Caſtell of Dublin, abidyng there the Kings mercie.

The Loꝛd Edmond Butler was made deputie Juſtice vnder the Loꝛde John Wogan, who in the lent next enſuing, beſieged the Obꝛenes in Glindelowe, and compelled them to yeelde themſelues to the Kings peace.

Alſo in the yeere abouesayde. 1312. Maurice Fitz Thomas married the Ladye Katherine, daughter to the Earle of Ulſter, at Greene Caſtell, and Thomas Fitz John married an other of the ſayd Earles daughters in the ſame place, but not on the ſame day: foꝛ the firſt of thoſe two marriages was celebꝛated the moꝛrow after S. Dominikes day, and this ſeconde marriage was kept the moꝛrow after the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Lady.

Alſo Robert de Bꝛuce ouerthꝛew the Caſtell of Man, and tooke the Loꝛde Donegan Odowil on Saint Barnabies day.

1313

Campion.

In the yeere. 1313. John a Leekes Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life. After whoſe deceaſe were elected in ſciſme and deuiſion of ſides two Succeſſoꝛs, Walter Thoꝛneburie Loꝛd Chancelloꝛ, and Alexander Bignoꝛ Treſurer of Ireland. The Chancelloꝛ to ſtrengthen his election, haſtily went to ſea, and togither with. 156. other perſons periſhed by Shipwꝛacke.

The other ſubmitting his cauſe to the pꝛoces of lawe, tarried at home and ſpedde.

The Earle of Vlſters ſonne and heire deceaſſeth.

Moꝛeouer, the Loꝛde John de Burgh, ſonne and heire vnto the Earle of Ulſter, deceaſſed at Galby on the feaſt day of Sainte Marcell and Marcellian.

1314

Alſo the Loꝛd Edmond Butler created. xxx. Knightes in the Caſtell of Dublin, on Sainte Michaels day, being Sunday. The Knightes Hoſpitallers oꝛ of Sainte Johns as they were called, were inueſted in the lāds of the Templers in Ireland.

The ſame yeere was the Loꝛde Theobalde Uerdon ſent Loꝛd Juſtice into Irelande.

1315

Edward Bruce inuadeth Irelande.

In the ninth yeere of King Edwards raigne, Edward Bꝛuce, bꝛother to Robert Bꝛuce King of Scottes, entred the Noꝛthe part of Irelande with ſixe thouſand men. There were with hym diuers Captaynes of high renowne among the Scottiſhe Nation, of whome the chiefe were theſe, the Earles of Murrey and Menteth, the Loꝛd John Stewarde, the Loꝛd John Cambell, the Loꝛde Thomas Randolfe, Fergus de Andꝛeſſan, John Wood, and John Biſſet. They landed neere to Crag Fergus in Ulſter the fiue and twentith of May, and ioyning with the Iriſh, conquered the Earledome of Ulſter, and gaue yͤ Engliſh there diuers great ouerthꝛowes, tooke the towne of Dundalke, ſpoyled and bꝛente it, with a greate parte of Urgile: they bꝛente Churches and Abbeyes, with the people whome they founde in the ſame, ſparing neyther manne, woman noꝛ childe. Then was the Loꝛd Edmonde Butler choſen Loꝛde Juſtice, who made the Earle of Ulſter and yͤ Giraldines friends, and reconciled himſelfe with Sir John Mandeuill, thus ſeeking to pꝛeſerue the reſidue of the Realme which Edwarde Bꝛuce meant wholly to conquere, hauing cauſed himſelfe to be crow-

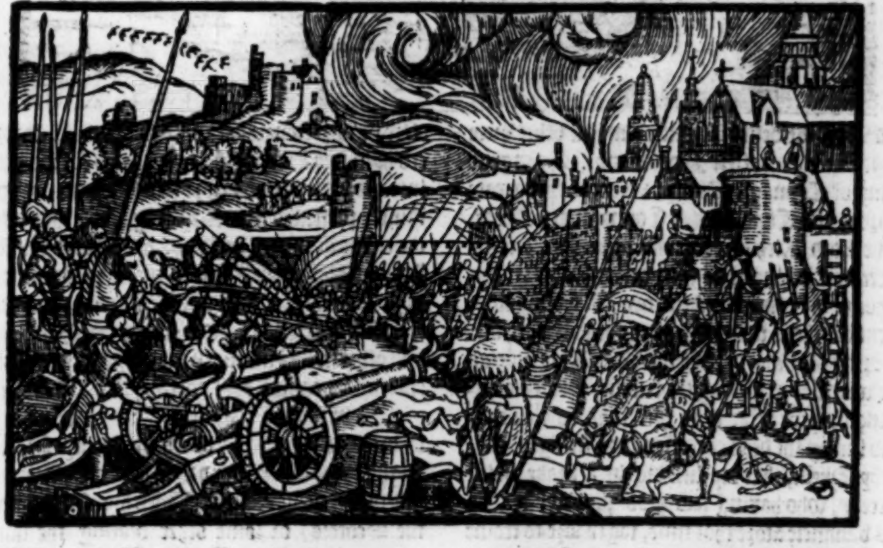
Captaynes of name with Bruce.

Dundalke taken and brent

Edmonde Butler Lord iuſtice.

ned K. of Ireland. The Lord Iuſtice aſſembled a great power out of Mounſter and Leyniſter, and other parties thereaboutes, and the Earle of Ulſter with an other armie came vnto him neere vnto Dundalke, where they conſulted togyther how to deale in defending the countrey agaynſte the enimies: but hearing the Scottes were withdrawen backe, the Erle of Ulſter followed them, and fighting with them at Coyners, hee loſt the fielde.

There were many ſlayne on both partes, and William de Burgh the Earles brother, Sir Iohn Mandeuill, and Sir Alane Fitz Alane were taken priſoners. Herewith the Iriſhe of Connagh and Meth began forthwith to rebell againſt the Engliſhmen, and brente the Caſtell of Athlon and Randon. And the Bruce comming forwarde, brente Kenlis in Meth, and Granard, alſo Finnagh and New Caſtell, and kept his Chriſtmas at Loghſudy. From thence he went through the Countrey vnto Rathymegan and Kildare, to the parties about Triſteldermot and Athie, then to Raban and Sketlier nere to Ardſcoll in Leyniſter, where the Lord Iuſtice Butler, the Lord Iohn Fitz Thomas, the Lorde Arnold Power and other the Lords and Gentlemen of Leyniſter and Mounſter came to encoũter the Bruce: but through diſcorde that roſe among them, they left the field vnto the enimies, Sir William Prendergaſt Knighte, and Haymond le Grace a righte valiaunte Eſquire were ſlayne there. And on the Scottiſhe ſide, Sir Fergus Andreſſan, and Sir Walter Morrey, with diuers other that were buried in the Churche of the Friers Preachers at Athy. After this, the Bruce in his returne towardes Meth, brente the Caſtell of Ley, and ſo paſſed forthe till hee came to Kenlys in Meth. In which meane time, Roger Lorde Mortimer, truſting to winne hymſelf fame if he might ouerthrow the enimies, called forthe fifteene M. men, and vnderſtanding ẏ the Scottes were come to Kenlys, made thytherwards, and there encountring with them, was put to the worſe, his men (as was ſuppoſed) wilfully ſhrinking from him, as thoſe that bare him hollow hartes. With the newes of this ouerthrowe, vpſtart the Iriſh of Monſter, the Otwlies, Obrienes, Omores, and with fire & ſworde waſted all from Arclowe to Leix. With them coped the Lorde Iuſtice, and made of them a great ſlaughter. 80. of their heades were ſente to the Caſtell of Dublin.



The Lorde Mortimer diſcomfited by the Scots.

In time of theſe troubles and warres in Irelande by the inuaſion thus of the Scottes, certayne Iriſhe Lordes, faithfull men and true ſubiects to the King of England, did not only promiſe to continue in their loyall obeyſance towards him, beeing their ſoueraigne Prince, but alſo for more aſſurance, deliuered hoſtages to bee kept within the Caſtell of Dublin. The names of whiche Lordes that were ſo contented to aſſure their allegiance were theſe, Iohn Fitz Thomas Lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Morice Fitz Thomas, Thomas Fitz Iohn le Power Baron of Donoille, Arnolde le Power, Morice de Rochfort, Dauid de la Roche, and Miles de la Roche. Theſe and dyuers other reſiſted with all their might and mayne the iniurious attempts of the Scottes, although the Scots had drawen to their ſide, the moſt parte of the wilde Iriſh, and no ſmall number alſo of the Engliſhe Iriſhe, as well Lordes, as other of meaner calling, ſo that the countrey was miſerably afflicted, what by the Scottes on the one parte, and the Iriſh Rebels on the other, which Rebels notwithſtandyng were ouerthrowen in diuers par-

Aſſurance giuen by the Lords of Irelande for their loyaltie.

A great ouerthrowe.

The King of Connagh ſlayne.

Okelly ſlaine.

Sir Thomas Mandeuill ſlayne.

ticuler conflictes. But yet to the further ſcattering of the Engliſh forces in Irelande, there roſe foure Princes of Connagh, but the Burghes and Birminghams diſcomfyted them, and ſlewe ele-

uen M. of thẽ beſide Athenri. Amõgſt other were ſlayne in this battell Fedelmicus, Oconghur King of Connagh, Okelly, & diuers other greate Lordes and Captaynes of Connagh and Meth. The Lord Richarde Birmingham had an Eſquire that belonged to him called John Huſey, whome by commaundemente of his maiſter, went foorthe to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him worde, whether Okelli his mortall foe were ſlayne among the reſidue. Huſſey comming into the fielde with one man to turne vp and ſuruey the dead carcaſſes, was ſtraight eſpyed by Okelli, that lay lurking in a brake buſhe thereby, who hauing had good proofe of Huſſey his valiancie afore that time, lõged ſore to traine him from his Captayne, and preſuming nowe vpon this good oportunitie, diſcouered hymſelfe, not doubting, but eyther to winne him with curteous perſwaſions, or by force to worke hys will of hym, and ſo comming to him, ſayde: Huſſey, thou ſeeſt I am at all poyntes armed, and haue my Squire here likewiſe furniſhed with Armour and weapon, ready at myne elbow, thou arte naked with thy Page, a yongling, and not to bee accõpted of, ſo that if I loued not thee, and ment to ſpare thee for thyne owne ſake, I might nowe do with thee what I would, and ſlea thee for thy maſters ſake, but come and ſerue me vpon thys requeſt heere made to thee, and I promiſe thee by Sainte Patricks ſtaffe, to make thee a Lorde in Connagh of more poſſeſſions, than thy maiſter hath in Irelande. When theſe wordes mighte nothing way him, his owne man (a great ſtoute lubber) beganne to reproone hym of follie, for not conſenting to ſo large an offer, which was aſſured with an oth, whereuppon he durſt guage hys ſoule for performance. Now had Huſſey three enimies, and firſt therefore turning to his knaue, he diſpatched him, next he raught vnto Okellyes Eſquire ſuch a knocke vnder the pitte of the eare, that downe he came to the grounde, and there hee laye. Thirdly he layd ſo about hym, that ere any help coulde be looked for, he had alſo ſlaine Okelly, and perceyuing the Eſquire to be but aſtoniſed he recouered him, and holp him vp againe, and after he was ſomewhat come to hymſelfe, he forced hym vpõ a troncheõ, to beare his Lords head into the high towne before him, who did ſo, and Huſſey preſented it to Brimingham, who after the circumſtaunces declared, hee dubbed Huſſey Knight, aduauncing him to many preferments. The ſucceſſors of that familie afterwardes were Barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Mandeuill and other in this meane while made oftentymes enterpriſes againſt the Scottes, and ſlew diuers of them in ſundry conflictes. But howſoeuer it chanced, wee fynde recorded by Henry Marlebugh, that eyther the ſayd Sir Thomas Mandeuill (that thus valiantly behaued hymſelfe againſt the Scottes) or ſome other bearing the ſame name, and his brother alſo called John Mandeuill were both ſlayne ſhortly after at Downe vppon their comming foorthe of Englande, by the Scottes that were readye there to aſſayle them.

Thus may wee ſee, that thoſe Lordes and Knightes, whiche had giuen pledges for theyr loyaltie to the King of Englande, ſought by all wayes and meanes howe to beate backe the enimies, whiche they mighte haue done with more eaſe, if the Iriſh had not aſſiſted the Scottes, and preſuming of theyr ayde, rebelled in ſundry parts of the countrey, who neuertheleſſe, were oftentimes well chaſtiſed for their diſloyall dealings, as partly we haue touched, although wee omitte diuers ſmall ouerthrowes and other particuler matters, ſith otherwiſe wee ſhould encreaſe thys Booke further than our firſte purpoſed intente woulde permitte.

Campion.

1316

The King of Scottes in Irelande.

Whileſt the Scottes were thus holden vp in Irelande that they could not in all things worke theyr willes, Roberte le Brews King of Scots came ouer himſelfe, landed at Cragfergus to the ayde of his brother, whoſe Souldiers moſt wickedly entred into Churches, ſpoyling and defacing the ſame of all ſuche tombes, monumentes, plate, Copes, and other ornamentes whiche they founde, and myghte lay handes vppon.

The Caſtell of Cragfergus, after it had bene

Cragfergus deliuered vp to the Scottes.

ſtraightly beſeeged a long time, was ſurrendred to the Scottes, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittayles were driuen to eate lether, and eyght Scottes (as ſome write) whiche they had taken priſoners.

Men eaten.

The Lorde Thomas, ſonne to the Earle of Vlſter departed this life.

John Fitz Thomas the firſt, Earle of Kildare deceaſſeth.

And on the Sunday next after yͤ Natiuitie of our Lady, yͤ Lord John Fitz Thomas deceaſſed at Laragh Brine neere to Maynoth, & was buried at Kildare, in the Church of yͤ Friers Preachers. This John Fitz Thomas, a little before his deathe, was created Earle of Kildare, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Thomas Fitz John a right wiſe and prudent perſonage.

The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mackele, and fiue hundred Iriſhmen were ſlayne by the Lord William de Burgh, and Lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Alſo on yͤ Monday after the feaſt of all Saintes, John Loggan and Sir Hugh Biſſet ſlewe a great nūber of Scots, among the whiche were. 100. with double armours, and. 200. with ſingle armours: ſo that of their men of armes, there dyed three hundred beſide footemen.

Scottes ouerthrowen.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a mighty tempeſt of wynde and rayne, whiche threwe downe many houſes, with the Steeple of the Trinitie Church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water.

A great tēpeſt.

The fifth of December, Sir Alane Stewarde that had bin taken priſoner in Vlſter by John Loggan, and Sir John Sandale, was brought to the Caſtell of Dublin.

1317

After Candlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, and procured an inqueſt to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanor, for that they were accuſed to haue procured the Scottes to come into Irelande: but by that inqueſt they were diſcharged, and therewith tooke an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to deſtroy the Scots to the vttermoſt of theyr power.

In the beginning of Lent, the Scottes came in ſecret wiſe vnto Slane, with twētie thouſand armed mē: and with them came the army of Vlſter, deſtroying all the countrey before them.

Moreouer, on Monday before the Feaſt of S. Mathias the Apoſtle, the Earle of Vlſter lying in the Abbey of Sainte Mary neere to Dublin, Robert Notingham Maire of that Citie, with the communaltie of the ſame went thither, tooke the Earle, and put him in priſon within the Caſtell of Dublin, ſlew. vij. of his men, and ſpoyled the Abbey.

The Earle of Vlſter apprehended.

The ſame weeke, Edwarde Bruce marched towardes Dublin, but herewith, turning to the Caſtell of Cnocke, he entred the ſame, and tooke Hugh Tyrrell the Lorde thereof, togither with his wife, and raunſommed them for a ſumme of money. The Citizens of Dublin brent all theyr ſuburbes for feare of a ſiege, and made the beſt purueyance they coulde to defende their Citie, if the Bruce had come to haue beſieged them: but he turning another way, went vnto the towne of Naas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, cōtrary to their othe.

Hugh Tyrrell taken by the Scottes.

From thence, he paſſed vnto Triſteldermot, and ſo to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Lymerike, and there remayned till after Eaſter.

They of Vlſter ſent to the Lorde Juſtice lamentable informations of ſuche crueltie as the enimies practiſed in thoſe partes, beſeeching hym to take ſome order for their releefe in that theyr ſo miſerable eſtate. The Lorde Juſtice deliuered to them the Kings power with his ſtanderd, wherewith vnder pretence to expell the Scottes, they gote vp in armour, and raunging through the countrey, did more vexe and moleſt the ſubiectes, than did the ſtrangers. The Scots proceeded and ſpoyled Caſſhels, and whereſoeuer they lyghte vpon the Butlers lands, they brente and ſpoyled them vnmercifully.

The Kings ſtanderd deliuered to them of Vlſter.

In this meane while, had the Lord Juſtice, and Thomas Fitz John Earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare, and Arnold le Power, Baron of Donnoill, leuied an armie of thirtie thouſande men, readie to goe againſte the enimies, and to giue them battayle, but no good was done, for about the ſame time, the Lord Roger Mortimer was ſent into Irelande as Lord Juſtice, and lāding at Poghall, wrote his letters vnto the Lord Butler, and to the other Captaynes, willing thē not to fighte, till he came with ſuch power as he had brought ouer with him. Whereof the Bruce being warned, retired firſt towardes Kildare: but yet after this he came wͭin four miles of Trym, where he lay in a wood, and loſt many of his men through famine, and ſo at length, about the beginning of May, he returned into Vlſter.

Roger Mortimer iuſtice of Irelande.

The Lorde Edmonde Butler made greate ſlaughter of the Iriſhe neere to Triſteldermot, and likewiſe at Balitchan, hee hadde a good hande of Omorche, and ſlewe manye of hys men. The Lorde Mortimer pacifyed the diſpleaſure and variance betwixt Richarde Earle of Vlſter, and the Nobles that had put the ſayde Earle vnder ſafekeping within yͤ Caſtell of Dublin, accuſing him of certaine riots committed to the preiudice and loſſe of the Kings ſubiectes, whereby the Scottes increaſed in ſtrength and courage, whoſe ſpoyling of the countrey cauſed ſuch horrible ſcarcitie in Vlſter, that the Souldiers which the yeere before abuſed the Kings authoritie to puruay themſelues of ouer fine diet, ſurfetted with fleſhe and Aqua vite all the Lente

Slaughter of Iriſhmen.

1317

The Earle of Vlſter deliuered out of priſon.

Scarcitie of vittayles in Vlſter.

long, prolled ⁊ pilled inſatiably, whereſoeuer they came without neede, and withoute regarde of the poore people, whoſe onely prouiſion they deuoured.

Theſe people nowe liuing in ſlauerie vnder the Bruce, ſterued for hunger, hauing fyrſt experienced many lamentable ſhiftes, euen to the eating of dead carcaſſes.

The Earle of Vlſter deliuered.

The Earle of Vlſter was deliuered by maine price, and vpon his oth, by the whiche hee vndertooke neuer to ſeeke reuenge of hys apprehenſion otherwiſe, than by order of lawe, and ſo had daye giuen him vnto the feaſt of Natiuitie of Sainte John Baptiſt, but he kept not his day, whether for that hee miſtruſted to ſtande in triall of hys cauſe, or through ſome other reaſonable let, I can not tell.

Great dearth.

A great dearth this yeere afflicted the Iriſhe people, for a meaſure of Wheate called a chronecke was ſold at foure and twentie Shillings, and a cronecke of otes at ſixteene Shillings, and all other vittayles likewiſe were ſolde, accordyng to the ſame rate, for all the whole countrey was ſore waſted by the Scottes and them of Vlſter, in ſo muche that no ſmall number of people periſhed through famine.

About the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the Lord Iuſtice Mortimer tooke his iourney towards Droghda, and ſent to the Lacies, commaunding them to come vnto him: but they refuſed ſo to do: whereupon he ſente Sir Hugh Croftes vnto them to talke with them about ſome agreement of peace, but they ſlew the meſſenger, for whome greate lamentation was made, for that he was reputed and knowne to be a right worthy knighte.

Sir Hugh Croſts ſlayne.

The Lord Iuſtice ſore offended herewith, gathereth an army, and goeth againſte the Lacies, whome he chaſed out of Connagh, ſo that Hugh Lacie, withdrewe into Vlſter, and there ioyned himſelfe with Edward Bruce. Whervpon, on the Thurſday nexte before the feaſt of Sainte Margaret, the ſaid Hugh Lacie, and alſo Walter Lacie, were proclaymed Traytours.

The Lacyes reuolt to the Scottes.

This yeere paſſed very troubleſome vnto the whole Realm of Irelãd, as wel through ſlaughter betwixt the parties enimies one to another, as by dearth and other miſfortunes.

1318

Hugh Cannon the Kyngs Iuſtice of hys bench was ſlayne by Andrew Bermingham, betwixt the towne of Naas and Caſtell Marten.

Alſo in the feaſt of the purification, the Popes Bulles were publiſhed, wherby Alexander Bignore was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. About the ſame time was great ſlaughter made of Iriſhmen, through a quarrell betwixt two greate Lordes in Connagh, ſo that there dyed in fighte to the number of foure thouſande men on bothe parties.

Bignore conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

After Eaſter, Walter Iſlep Treaſurer of Ireland, was ſent ouer into yͤ Realme, who brought letters to the Lorde Mortimer, commaundyng hym to returne into England vnto yͤ king: which he dyd, and departing forth of Ireland, remayned indebted to yͤ Citizens of Dublin for his prouiſiõ of vittayles, in the ſumme of a thouſand pounds, wherof he payde not one farthing, ſo that many a bitter curſe he carried with him to the ſea leauing William Archbiſhop of Caſſhell Lord Chancellor, gouernor of the lande in his place: ⁊ ſo by this meane was the ſayd Archbiſhop both Chancellor and Iuſtice, and ſo continued till the feaſt of S. Michael, at what time Alexander Bignor Archbiſhop of Dublin arriued at Yoghall, beeing conſtituted Lorde Iuſtice, and came to Dublin on Saint Dioniſe day, being yͤ ſeuenth of October.

Walter Iſlep treaſorer of Irelande.

But here is to be remembred, yͭ a little before the departure of the Lord Mortimer forth of Ireland, to witte the fifth of May, the Lord Richard de Clere with foure Knightes, ſir Henry Capell, Sir Thomas de Naas, Sir James Caunton, and Sir John Caunton.

The Lord Richard de Clare ſlayne.

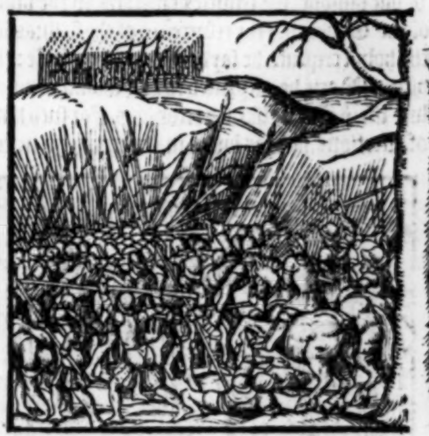
Alſo Adam Apilgard and other, to the number of foureſcore perſons, were ſlayne by Obrene and Maccarthy.

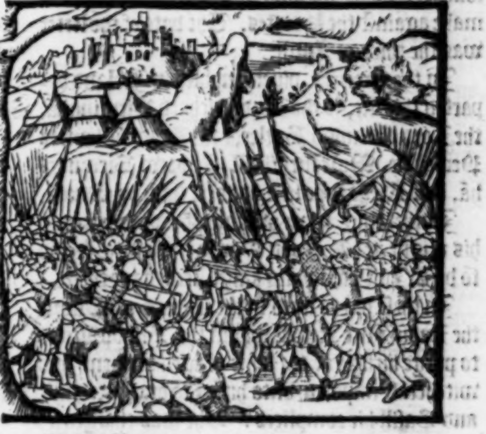
It was ſayde, that the enimies in deſpite, cauſed the Lorde Richardes bodie to bee cut in peeces, ſo to ſatiſfye their malicious ſtomackes: but the ſame peeces were yet afterwardes buried in the Churche of the Friers Minors at Limerike.

Alſo before the Lorde Mortimers returne into Englande, John Lacye was hadde forthe of the Caſtell of Dublin, and carryed to Trim, where hee was arreygned and adiudged to be preſſed to death, and ſo he died in priſon.

The Lord Birmingham and other captaines agaynſt the Scottes.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of Bignors gouernment. Immediatly vpon his arriuall the Lorde Iohn Birmingham being generall of the fielde, and hauing with him diuerſe Captaines of worthie fame, namely ſir Richarde Tute, ſir Miles Verdon, ſir Hugh Trippetton, ſir Herbert Sutton, ſir Iohn Cuſacke, ſir Edmōd Birmingham, ſir William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the primate of Ardmagh, ſir Walter de la Pulle, and Iohn Maupas, ledde forth the kings power to the number of. 1324. able men againſt Edward Bruce, who being accompanied with the Lord Philip Mowbray, the lord Walter de Soules, the Lorde Alaine Stewarde, with his three brethren, ſir Walter, and ſir Hugh, ſir Robert, and ſir Aymeric Lacies, and others, was encamped not paſt two miles from Dundalke with three thouſande men there abyding the Engliſhmen, to fight with them if they came forward, which they did with all cōuenient ſpeed, being as deſirous to giue battaile as the Scottes were to receyue it.





The Primate of Ardmagh.

The Primate of Ardmagh perſonally accompanying the Engliſh power, and bleſſing their enterpriſe, gaue them ſuch comfortable exhortation as he thought ſerued the time, ere they began to encounter. And herewith buckling togither, at length the Scots fully and wholy were vanquiſhed, and two thouſande of them ſlaine, togither with their captaine Edward Bruce. Mawpas that preſſed into the throng to encoūter with Bruce hande to hande, was founde in the ſearche deade aloft vpon the ſlaine bodie of Bruce.

The battaile of Ardmagh. The Scottes vanquiſhed.

Edward Bruce ſlaine.

The victorie thus obteyned vpon Saint Calixtus day, made an end of the Scottiſh kingdom in Irelande, and Lorde Birmingham ſending the head of Bruce into Englande, or as Marleburgh hath, being the meſſenger himſelfe, preſented it to king Edwarde, who in recompence gaue to him and his heyres Males, the Earledome of Louth, and the Baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heyres generall for euer.

Birmingham made Erle of Louth.

Sir Richard de Clare ſlaine.

1319

Shortly after ſir Richard de Clare with foure other knightes of name, and many other men of warre were ſlaine in Thomond, the Lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as Lorde iuſtice there nowe the ſecond time, and the townes of Atheſſell and Plebs were brent by the Lorde Fitz Thomas, brother to the Lorde Maurice Fitz Thomas. And about this ſeaſon the bridge of Kilcolyn was buylded by Maurice Iakis.

1320

The Earle of Kildare Lord Iuſtice.

In the yeare following, to wit. 1320. which was the. xiiij. of king Edwards raigne, Thomas Fitz Iohn Erle of Kildare was made Lord Iuſtice of Irelande.

An Vniuerſitie erected at Dublyn.

Here is to be remembred, that about this time alſo, Alexander Bignore Archbiſhop of Dublyn, ſent to Pope Iohn the. xxij. for a priuiledge to inſtitute an Vniuerſitie within the citie of Dublyn, and his ſuite toke effect. And the firſt three Doctors of Diuinitie did the ſayde Archbiſhop himſelfe create, William Hardity a Frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a Frier minor, and Frier Edmond Bernerden: and beſide theſe one Doctor of Canon, to wit, Richard Archdeacon of S. Patrikes, that was Chauncellor of the ſame Vniuerſitie, who kept their termes and Cōmencements ſolemnly: neyther was this vniuerſitie at any time ſince diſfranchiſed, but onely through chaunge of tymes diſcontinued, and now ſince the diſſoluing of Monaſteries vtterly decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a Parliament holden there whileſt ſir Henrie Sidney was the Queenes Lieutenant to haue it againe erected, by way of contributions to be layd togyther, the ſayde ſir Henry offring. xx. pounde landes, and an hundred pound in money: Other there were alſo, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuiſed, A worthie Plantation of Plantagenet and Bulleigne But while they diſputed of a cõuenient place for it, & of other circumſtances, they let fall the principall.

1321

In the yeare.1321. there was a great ſlaughter made of the Oconhurs at Balibagan, by yͤ Engliſh of Leyniſter & Meth. And John Birminghã Earle of Louth was made L.iuſtice of Irelande.

Rec.Turris.

Vnto this man whileſt he was Lord iuſtice, the king wrote, cõmaunding him to be with him at Carleil in the Octaues of the Trinitie, in the.xv. yeare of his raigne, with.three. C. men of armes, one.M.hobellares, and ſixe.M.footemen, eche of them armed with an aketon, a ſallet, and gloues of Male, which number was to be leuied in that land, beſide three.C. mẽ of armes which the Erle of Vlſter was appoynted to ſerue with in that iourney, which the king at that time intended to make againſt the Scottes. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill.

1322

In the yere.1322. diuerſe nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the Lord Richard Birminghã, the Lord Edmond Butler, & the Lorde Thomas Perceuale. Moreouer the L. Andrew Birminghã, & ſir Richard de la Lõd were ſlain by Onolã.

1323

John Darcie Lord iuſtice.

The Ladie Alice Kettle accuſed of ſorcerie.

In the.xviij. yeare of King Edward yͤ ſecond his raigne, the L. John Darcie came into Irelãd to be L.Juſtice, and the kings lieutenant there.

In theſe dayes liued in the Dioces of Oſſorie the Ladie Alice Ketell, whom the Biſhop aſcited to purge hirſelfe of the fame of inchantment and witchcraft impoſed vnto hir, & to one Petronille and Baſill hir complices. She was charged to haue nightly cõference with a ſpirit called Robin Artiſſon, to whõ ſhe ſacrificed in the high way.ix. red cockes, &.ix.peacocks eies. Alſo that ſhe ſwept the ſtreetes of Kilkenny betwene Cõpleine & twilight, raking al the filth towardes the doores of hir ſon William Outlaw, murmuring theſe words:

To the houſe of VVilliam my ſonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.

At the firſt conuiction they abiured and did penance, but ſhortly after they were found in relapſe, and then was Petronille burnt at Kilkenny, the other twaine might not be heard of.

She at the houre of hir death accuſed the ſayd William as priuie to their ſorceries, whome the Biſhop helde in duraunce. ix. weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or to drinke with him, or to ſpeake to him more than once in the day. But at length through the ſuite and inſtance of Arnold le Poer then Seneſhall of Kilkenny, he was delyuered, and after corrupted with brybes the Seneſhal to perſecute the Biſhop, ſo that he thruſt him into priſon for three Monethes. In rifeling the cloſet of the ladie, they found a Wafer of ſacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name ſtamped thereon in ſtead of Jeſus Chriſt, and a Pipe of oyntment, wherewith ſhe greaſed a ſtaffe, vpõ the which ſhe ambled and galloped through thick and thin, when and in what maner ſhe liſted.

This buſineſſe about theſe witches troubled al the ſtate of Ireland, the more, for that the Ladie was ſupported by certaine of the nobilitie, & laſtly conueyed ouer into England, ſince which time it could neuer be vnderſtood what became of hir.

In the yeare.1326. and laſt of king Edwarde the ſeconds raigne, Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter departed this life.

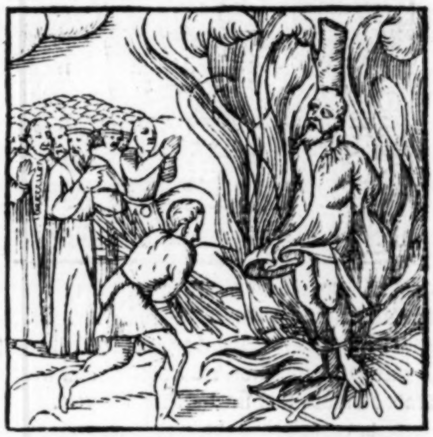
Edward the third.

1326

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.

VNneth was the buſineſſe about the Witches at an ende, when it was ſignified that a gentleman of the familie of the Otooles in Leyniſter named Adam Duffe, poſſeſſed by ſome wicked ſpirit of error, denyed obſtinately the incarnation of our ſauiour, the trinitie of perſons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the reſurrectiõ of the fleſh: as for the holy ſcripture, he ſayde it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affyrmed to be a womã of diſſolute life: yͤ Apoſtolike ſea erronious. For ſuch kind of aſſertions, he was burnt in Hogging grene beſide Dublin. About the ſame time, Fitz ark Macmorch, & ſir Henry Trahern were takẽ priſoners.



The Prior of Kilmaynam Lord iuſtice.

In the yeare folowing, the lord Thomas Fitz John Earle of Kildare, and the Lorde Arnolde Poer, and William Erle of Vlſter, wer ſent ouer into Ireland, and Roger Outlaw prior of ſaint Johns of Jeruſalem in Ireland, commonly called the prior of Kilmaynam, was made Lorde Juſtice. This man by reaſon of variaunce that chaunced to riſe betwixt the Giraldines, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one ſide, and the Poers and Burghes on the other, for terming the Earle of Kildare a rimor, to pacifie the parties called a Parliament, wherin he himſelfe was fain to make his purgation of a ſlaunder impoſed to him, as ſuſpected of Hereſie.

Arnald Poer accuſed of hereſie.

The Biſhop of Oſſorie had giuen an information agaynſte Arnalde le Poer conuented and conuicted in his Conſiſtorie of certaine hereticall opinions, but bycauſe the beginning of Poers accuſation concerned the Juſtices kinſman, and the Biſhop was miſtruſted to proſecute his own wrong, and the perſon of the man rather than the fault: a day was limitted for the iuſtifying of the byll, the partie being apprehended and reſpited therevnto.

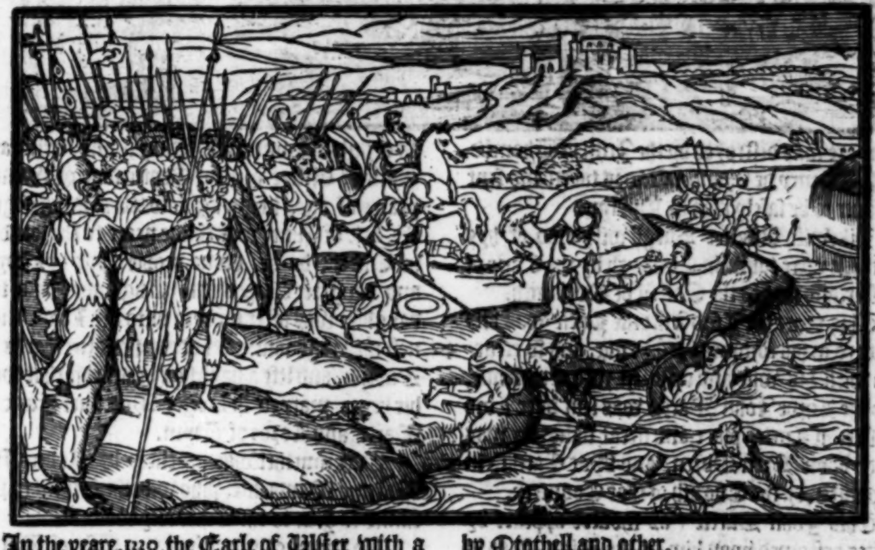
This dealing the Biſhop (who durſt not ſtyrre out of Kilkenny to proſecute his accuſation) was reputed partiall, and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in ſuſpence, he infamed the ſayde Prior as an abettor and fauourer of Arnolds hereſie. The Prior ſubmitted himſelfe to the tryal, and therevpon were ſeuerall Proclamations made in Court, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull to any man to come into the Court, and to inferre, accuſe, and declare what euidence he coulde, agaynſt the Lorde Iuſtice, but none came. Then paſſed a decree by the Counſaile, commaunding all Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, & the Maiors of Dublyn Corke, Lymerike, Waterford, and Droghdagh, the Shiriffes, Knightes, and Seneſhals of euerie ſhire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongſt all theſe, they appointed .vj. inquiſitors, which examining the biſhops & other perſons aforeſayd ſingularly one by one, found that with an vniuerſal cōſent they depoſed for the Prior, affyrming that to their iudgments he was a zealous and a faithfull childe of the Catholike Church. In the meane time, Arnold le Poer the priſoner deceaſed in the Caſtel, and bycauſe he ſtoode vnpurged, long hee lay vnburied.

1329

The Earle of Louth ſlaine.

In the yeare .1329. John de Birmingham Erle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that ſurname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were ſlain on Whitſon euen at Balibragan by men of the Countrey. Alſo the Lord Thomas Butler, and diuerſe other noble men were ſlaine by Mac Gogoghdan and other Iriſh mē neare to Molinger, for the Iriſh aſwell in Leyniſter as in Meth, made inſurrections in that ſeaſon, and ſo likewiſe did they in Moūſter vnder the leading of Obren, whom William Erle of Vlſter, and James Erle of Ormond vanquiſhed. So outragious were the Leyniſter Iriſh, that in one Church they brunt foure ſcore innocent ſoules, aſking no more but the life of their prieſt thē at Maſſe, whō they notwithſtāding ſticked with their Iauelins, ſpurned the hoſt, & waſted al with fire, neither forced they of yͤ Popes interdictiō, nor any eccleſiaſticall cenſures denoūced againſt thē (matters of no ſmal cōſideratiō amōg thē namely in thoſe days) but maliciouſly perſeuered in yͤ courſe of their furious rage, till the citizens of Werford ſomwhat tamed thē, & ſlue .400. of thē in one ſkirmiſh, yͤ reſt fleeing were all drenched in the water of Slane.

The Lorde Butler ſlaine.



1330

The Prior of Kilmaynam Lord Iuſtice.

In the yeare .1330. the Earle of Vlſter with a great army made a iourney agaynſt Obren, and the prior of Kilmaynā Lord iuſtice put Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond in priſon in the Marſhalſee, out of the which he freely eſcaped, and the Lord Hugh Lacie returned into Ireland, and obteyned the kings peace and fauour.

1331

In the yeare. 1331. the Earle of Vlſter paſſed ouer into Englande, and great ſlaughter was made vpon the Iriſh in Okenſly. Alſo the caſtell of Arclo was taken by the Iriſh men, and great ſlaughter made of the Engliſhe in the Cowlagh by Otothell and other.

Anthony Lucy Lord Iuſtice.

Alſo the Lorde Anthonie Lucie was ſent ouer Lorde Iuſtice into Irelande, and great ſlaughter was made of the Iriſh at Thurlis by the knightes of the Countrey, and at Finnath in Meth; there were manye of them ſlaine by the Engliſh, but yet was the Caſtell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Iriſh.

The Earle of Deſmond apprehended.

On the feaſt day of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, which falleth on the .xv. of Auguſt, Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond was apprehended at Limerike by the Lorde Iuſtice, and ſent vnto the Caſtell of Dublyn.

Moreouer the Lord Iuſtice toke ſir William Birmingham at Clonell by a wile, whileſt hee was ſicke in his bed, and ſent him togither with his ſonne Walter Birmingham vnto the Caſtel of Dublyn, the .xxx. of Aprill.

1332

William Birmingham executed.

In the yeare.1332. the ſayde ſir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reaſon he was within orders.

Campion.

Campion following ſuche notes as he hath ſeene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chaunced in time of the gouernment of William Outlaw Prior of Kilmaynã, being lieutenant vnto Iohn Lorde Darcie, that was made Lorde Iuſtice (as the ſayd Campion hath noted) in the yeare. 1329. Although Marleburgh affyrmeth that hee came thither to beare that office, in the yeare. 1332. after the Lord Lucie was diſcharged, as hereafter ſhall be recyted. But whenſoeuer, or vnder whom ſoeuer Birmingham was executed, hee was accounted an odde Knight, and ſuche one as for his valiancie, hys matche was not lyghtly to bee any where founde.

The Caſtell of Clonmore was taken the ſame yeare by the Engliſhmen, and the caſtell of Bonrate was deſtroyed by the Iriſh of Thomond.

Alſo Henry de Mandeuile was taken and ſent priſoner to be ſafely kept in Dublyn.

Likewiſe Walter Burgh with two of hys brethren were taken in Connagh by the Earle of Vlſter, and ſent to the Caſtell of Norburgh.

The Lorde Darcie iuſtice.

This yeare the Lord Antonie Lucie was diſcharged of his rowmth by the king, and ſo returned with his wife and children into Englande, and the Lorde Iohn Darcie was ſent ouer Lord Iuſtice in Lucies place, and great ſlaughter was made vpon Bren Obren, and Mac Carthi, in Mounſter, by the Engliſh of that Countrey.

The Earle of Ew.

This Iohn Darcie (as ſhoulde appeare by gyftes beſtowed vpon him by the King) was in ſingular fauour wyth him. Amongeſt other things which hee had of the kings gyft, we fynde that hee had the Manours of Louth, and Baliogarie, and other landes in Irelande which belonged to the Earle of Ew, and for that the ſayd Earle was a French man, and toke part wyth Philip de Valois the kings enimie, they were ſeyſed into the kings hande.

1333

A Parliament.

The Earle of Vlſter ſlaine.

The Earle of Deſmonde vpon ſureties was ſet at libertie, and by the Parliament holden at Dublyn in this yeare. 1333. was ſent ouer into Englande vnto the King, and William Earle of Vlſter a yong Gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in goyng towardes Knocfergus the .vij. of Iune, was ſlaine neare to the fourdes in Vlſter, by his owne people: but hys wyfe and daughter eſcaped into Englande: and the daughter was after maryed vnto the Lorde Lionell the kings ſonne. She deceaſſed afterwardes at Dublyn, and left a daughter behind hir that was hir heyre, maryed to Roger Mortimer Earle of March, and Lorde of Trym.

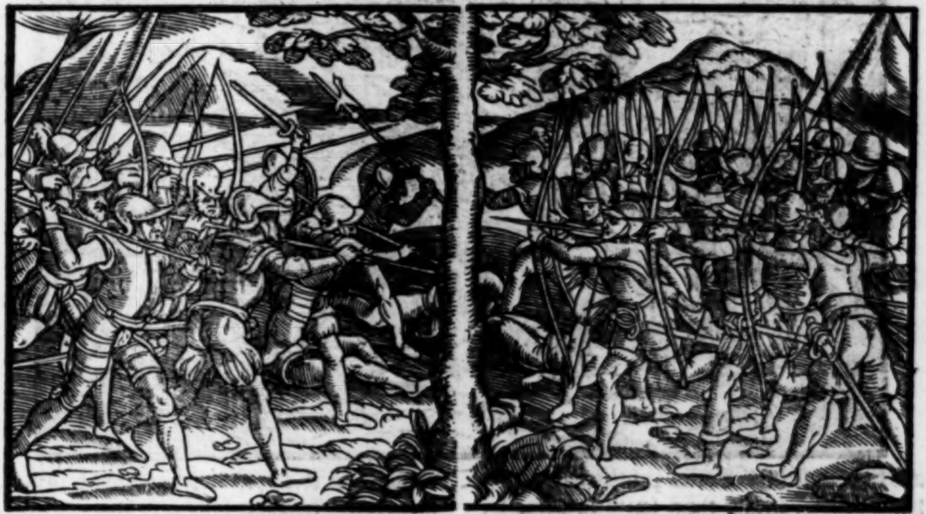
This murther was procured by Robert Fitz Martine Mandeuile, who was the firſt that preſumed to giue to the Earle any wounde.

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The Lorde Iuſtice inuadeth Scotland.

To reuenge the death of this Erle of Vlſter (ſlaine as ye haue heard beſide Knocfergus) the Lorde Iuſtice Darcie with a great power went into Vlſter, to purſue thoſe that through Mandeuiles ſeditious tumultes had ſo trayterouſly murthered their Lord. At his ſetting forward, the ſaide Iuſtice Darcie appoynted ſir Tho. Burgh Treaſurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his abſence. When the Lorde Iuſtice had puniſhed the trayters in Vlſter, hee paſſed ouer into Scotlande, there to make warre agaynſte the Scottes that were enimies at that preſent to the king of England, and on the feaſt day of Saint Margaret, greate ſlaughter was made of the Scots by the Iriſh men, and ſo what by the king in one part, and the Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande in another, Scotland was in maner wholy conquered, and Edwarde Balliol was eſtabliſhed king of Scotland. The Lord Iuſtice might haue poſſeſſed the Iles if they had bene worth the keeping, into the which Iles, except the ſayd Darcy & the Earle of Suſſex late Lieutenant of Irelande, no gouernor at any time yet aduentured.

At Darcyes comming backe into Irelande, and exerciſing the office of Lorde Iuſtice, he deliuered Walter Biriningham out of the Caſtell of Dublin.



1336 In the yeare. 1336. and tenth of Edward the thirdes raigne, on Saint Laurence day, the Iriſh of Connagh were diſcomfited and put to flight by the Engliſh men of the Countrey there, with the loſſe of one Engliſh man, and ten thouſande of the enimies. 1337 Sir Iohn Charleton Iuſtice. The Lord Iohn Charleton barō came into Irelande to be Lord Iuſtice, and with him his brother Thomas Biſhop of Herforde Lord Chancelor, & Iohn Rice Lorde Treaſorer, and two hundred Welchmen ſouldiers. 1338 The Biſhop of Hereford lorde Iuſtice. The Biſhop was ordeyned afterward Lorde Iuſtice, in whoſe time all the Iriſh of Ireland were at defiance with the Engliſh, & ſhortly brought againe into quiet by the Erles of Kildare and Deſmond. 1340 Iohn Darcie Lorde iuſtice during life. The Lorde Iohn Darcy by the kings letters patents, was during life ordeyned Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande, in the .xiiij. yeare of king Edwarde the thirds raigne, Calling in of liberties. which king abuſed by euill counſell and ſiniſter informers, called in vnder his ſignet royall, the franchiſes, liberties and grants whatſoeuer had bin deuiſed, made & ratified to ẏ realm of Ireland, and to euery eche perſon thereof. This reuoking of liberties was diſpleaſantly takē. The Engliſh of byrth, and the Engliſh of bloud falling at wordes, were deuided into factions about it, for which contention the Iriſh ſtill wayted, ſo as the realme was euen vpon the point to giue ouer all and to rebel. For redreſſe wherof the lorde Iuſtice called a Parliament at Dublin, to the which the nobles refuſed to come, & in quiet wiſe aſſembled thēſelues togither at Kilkenny, where they with the commons agreed vpon certain queſtions to be demaūded of the king by way of ſupplication; ſignifying in the ſame partlye their griefs. Which queſtiōs were in effect as foloweth.

Articles or queſtions. Howe a Realme of warre might bee gouerned by one both vnſkilfull and vnable in all warlike ſeruice.

How an officer vnder the king that entred very poore, might in one yeare grow to more exceſſiue wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelode in many yeares.

Howe it chaunced, that ſithe they were all called Lordes of theyr owne, that the soueraigne Lord of them all, was not a pennie the rycher for them.

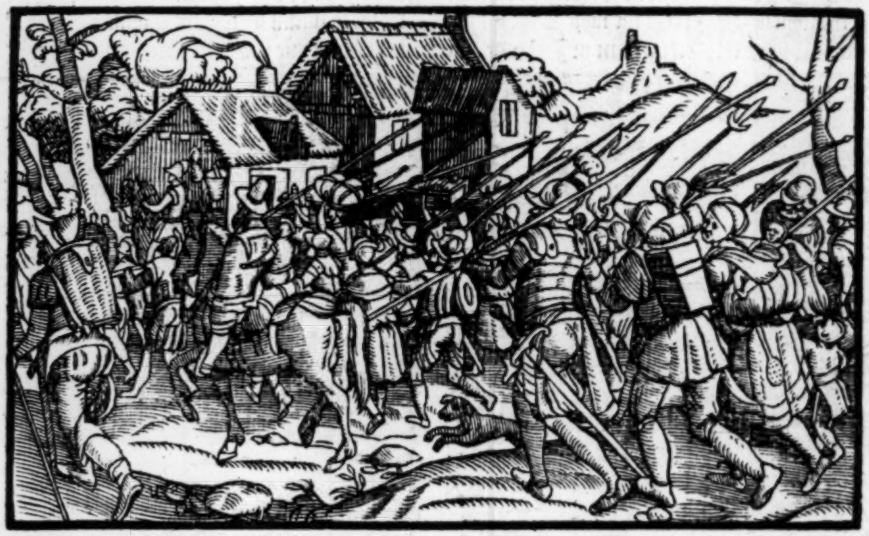
The chiefe of them that thus ſeemed to repine with the preſent gouernment, was Thomas Fitz Maurice Erle of Deſmonde, through whoſe maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the Countrey was in great trouble, ſo as it had not lightly beene ſeene, that ſuche contrarietie in myndes and diſlyking had appeared amongeſt thoſe of the Engliſh race in that realme at any time before.

1343 Raufe Vffort Lord iuſtice. Herewith Raufe Vfford was ſent ouer Lorde Iuſtice, who bringing hys wyfe wyth him, the Counteſſe of Vlſter arryued about the .xiij. of Iulie.

Thys man was verye rygorous, and through perſwaſion (as was ſayde) of his wyfe, he was more extreeme and couetous than otherwyſe hee woulde haue beene, a matter not to bee forgotten: for if thys Ladie had beene as readie to The Counteſſe of Vlſter. moue hir huſbande to haue ſhewed hymſelfe gentle and mylde in his gouernment, as ſhe was bent to pricke him forwarde vnto ſharpe dealing and rygorous proceedings, ſhee had beene nowe aſwell reported of, as ſhee is infamed by theyr pennes that haue regyſtred the doyngs of thoſe tymes.

The Earle of Deſmonde.

But to yͤ purpoſe. This Vffort Lord iuſtice in paine of forfeyture of all his lands commaunded the Erle of Deſmonde to make his perſonall appearance at a Parliament which he called to bee holden at Dublin, there to begin the vij. of Iune, and bycauſe the Erle refuſed to come (according to the ſummonance, he rayſed the kings Standard, and with an army marched into Mounſter, and there ſeyſed the Earles poſſeſſions into the kings handes, letting them forth to ferme for an annuall rent vnto other perſons.



Sureties for the Earle of Deſmonde.

And whileſt hee yet remayned in Mounſter, he deuiſed wayes how to haue the Earle of Deſmonde apprehended, whiche being brought to paſſe, hee afterwarde deliuered him vpon mainpriſe of theſe ſureties whoſe names enſue: William de Burgh Earle of Vlſter, Iames Butler Earle of Ormonde, Rycharde Tuyt, Nicholas Verdon, Maurice Rochefort, Euſtace le Power, Geralde de Rochefort, Iohn Fitz Robert Power, Robert Barry, Maurice Fitz Girald, Iohn Wellesley, Walter le Fant, Richard Rokelley, Henrie Traherne, Roger Power, Iohn Lenfaunt, Roger Power, Mathew Fitz Henrie, Richarde Walleys, Edmonde Burgh ſonne to the Earle of Vlſter, knightes: Dauid Barry, William Fitz Gerald, Foulke de Frarinus, Robert Fitz Maurice, Henry Fitz Berkley, Iohn Fitz George de Roche, Thomas de Lees de Burgh.

Theſe (as ye haue heard) were bounde for the Earle, and bycauſe hee made default, the Lorde Iuſtice verily tooke the aduauntage of the bonde agaynſt the mainpernours, foure of them onely excepted, the two Earles, and two knightes.

Vffort euill ſpoken of.

The lord Iuſtice is charged with ſtrayte dealing by wryters in this behalfe, for that the ſame perſons had aſſiſted him in his warres agaynſte Deſmond: but truly if we ſhal conſider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law & reaſon required. For if euery ſurety vpõ forfeyture of his bonde ſhoulde be forborne, that otherwyſe doth his ductie, what care woulde men haue eyther to procure ſureties, or to become ſuretyes themſelues?

But ſuch is the affection of wryters, ſpecially when they haue conceyued any miſlyking towardes thoſe of whome they take occaſion to ſpeake, ſo as many a worthie man hath bene defamed, and with ſlaunder greatly defaced in things wherein he rather hath deſerued ſingular commendation. But howſoeuer this matter was handled touching the Earle of Deſmonde, vpon the death of the Lord Iuſtice, whiche enſued the nexte yeare, Bonfyres were made, and greate ioye ſhewed through all the Realme of Irelande.

Ioy conceyued for the death of the lord Iuſtice Vffort.

His Ladie verily (as ſhoulde appeare) was but a miſerable woman, procuring him to extortion and bryberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the Churche, and was ſo hated, that euen in the ſight of the Countrey he was robbed without reſcue by Mac Cartie, notwithſtanding he gathered power, and diſperſed thoſe Rebels of Vlſter.

1346

Robert Darcie Lord iuſtice.

Robert Darcy was ordeyned Iuſtice by the Counſell, till the kings letters came to ſir Iohn Fitz Morice, who releaſed Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare left in durance by Vfford at his death.

Iohn Fitz Morice Iuſtice.

Lord Birmingham Iuſtice.

Fitz Morice continued not long, but was diſcharged, and the Lorde Walter Birningham elect to ſucceede in that rowmth, who procured a ſafeconduct for Deſmonde to pleade his cauſe before the King, by whome he was liberally entreated, and allowed towarde his expences there twentie ſhillings a day at the Princes charge, in conſideration of whiche curteſie ſhewed to hys Kinneſman, the Earle of Kildare, accompanied with dyuerſe Lordes, Knightes, and choſen Horſemen, ſerued the King at Calyce, a towne thought impregnable, and returned after the winning thereof in greate pompe and ioylitie.

1347 Record Tur.

Wee finde that Thomas Lorde Berkeley, and Reignalde Lord Cobham, and Sir Morice Berckley became mainpernours for the ſayde Earle of Deſmonde, that hee ſhoulde come into England and abide ſuch tryall as the law would awarde.

1348 The Prior of Kilmaynam. Baron Carew Iuſtice. Sir Thomas Rokesby Iuſtice. Record Tur.

Iohn Archer Prior of Kylmaynam was ſubſtituted Lieutenaunt to the Lorde Iuſtice. To whome ſucceded Baron Carew, and after Carewe followed Sir Thomas Rokeſbye Knight, vnto whome was aſſigned aboue his ordinarie retinew of twentie men of armes, a ſupplie of tenne men of armes, and twentie Archers on Horſebacke, ſo long as it ſhould bee thought needfull.

Greate mortalitie chaunced this yeare, as in other partes of the worlde, ſo eſpecially in places aboute the Sea coaſtes of Englande and Irelande.

1349

Iohn de Saint Paule Archbiſhop of Dublin.

In the yeare following, departed this life Alexander Bignor Archbiſhop of Dublin. And the ſame yeare was Iohn de Saint Paule conſecrated Archbiſhop of that ſea.

1350 Kenwrike Sherman.

This yeare deceaſed Kenworyke Sherman ſometime Maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euery Churche and religious houſe within .xx. myles rounde aboute the Citie. His legacies to the poore and other, beſides his liberalitie ſhewed in his lyfe tyme, amounted to three thouſande Markes.

Sir Robert Sauage.

In this ſeaſon dwelled in Vlſter a wealthie knight, one ſir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preſerue his owne, began to wall and fortifie his Manor houſes with Caſtelles and pyles againſt the Iriſh enimie, exhorting his heyre Henrie Sauage to applie that worke ſo beneficiall for himſelfe and his poſteritie. Father (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the prouerbe, Better a Caſtell of bones than of ſtones: where ſtrẽgth & courage of valiant men are preſt to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) comber my ſelfe with dead walles. My fort ſhall bee where ſoeuer yong bloods be ſtyrring, and where I finde rowmth to fight.

The father in a fume left lie the buylding, and forſware to goe any further forwarde in it. But yet the want therof and ſuch like, hath beene the decay as well of the Sauages, as of all the Engliſhe Gentlemen in Vlſter: as the lacke alſo of walled Townes is one of the principall occaſions of the rude wildeneſſe in other partes of Irelande.

This Sauage hauing prepared an armie agaynſt the Iriſhe, allowed to euerie Souldier before they ſhould buckle with the enimie, a mighty draught of Aqua vite, Wine, or olde Ale, and killed in prouiſion for their returne, Beefe, Veniſon, and fowle, great plentie: which doing diuers of his captaines miſliked, bycauſe they conſidered the ſucceſſe of warre to be vncertaine, and therefore eſteemed it better policie to poyſon the cates, or to do them away, than to keepe the ſame, and happely to feede a ſort of rogues with ſuch princely foode, if ought ſhoulde happen to themſelues, in this aduenture of ſo fewe agaynſte ſo manye. Hereat ſmyled the Gentleman and ſayde, Tuſhe, ye are too full of enuie: This worlde is but an Inne, to the which ye haue no ſpeciall intereſt, but are onely tenants at will of the Lorde. If it pleaſe him to commaunde vs from it, as it were from our lodging, and to ſet other good fellowes in our rowmthes, what hurt ſhall it be for vs to leaue them ſome meate for their ſuppers, let them hardly winne it and weare it. If they enter our dwellings, good maner woulde no leſſe but to welcome them with ſuch fare as the Countrey breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it do them. Notwithſtanding I preſume ſo farre vpõ your noble corages, that verily my mind giueth me we ſhal returne at night, & bãket our ſelues with our owne ſtore, and ſo they did, hauing ſlain three. M. Iriſhmen.

1355 The Earle of Deſmond lord iuſtice deceaſſeth.

In the yere. 1355. deceaſed Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond L. iuſtice of Ireland, that had that office of the kings graunt for terme of life.

Thomas Rokesby Lorde Iuſtice. His ſaying.

After him ſucceeded in yͤ rowmth Thomas de Rokeſby, a knight ſincere & vpright of conſcience, who being cõtrolled for ſuffring himſelf to be ſerued in treen cups, anſwered: thoſe homely cups & diſhes pay truly for that they cõtein: I had rather drinke out of treen cups, & pay gold & ſiluer, than drink out of golde and make wodden payment.

1357 Diſſention betwixt the Primate of Ardmagh, and the foure orders of Friers.

This yeare began great controuerſie betwixt Richard Rauſe Primate of Ardmagh, and the foure orders of begging Friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the ſayd Richarde Rauſe, and Richarde Kilminton, in the yeare. 1360. Rauſe deceaſſing in the Popes Court, and Kilminton in England.

Three Lorde Iuſtices.

Almerike de Saint Amand, Iohn, or as other haue Iames Butler Erle of Ormõd, and Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Kildare, were appointed Lord Iuſtices of Ireland by turnes.

Record Tur.

In Ormonds time, and in the .xxxiij. yere of king Edward the thirds raigne, order was taken that the Iriſh Lordes ſhould remaine & dwell in their houſes vpon the marches to defend the ſubiects from inuaſions of enimies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no mere Iriſh borne ſhould be made Maior, Bailife, porter, officer or miniſter, in any towne or place within the Engliſh dominiõs: nor that any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Abbot, prior, or any other being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeyture of al that he might forfeit, ſhould aduance any that was mere Iriſh borne to the rowme of a Canon, or to haue any other eccleſiaſticall benefice that lay among the Engliſhe ſubiects.

The Earle of Kildare Lorde iuſtice.

To Maurice Thomas Erle of Kildare, when he was ordeyned Lord Iuſtice, the kings letters aſſigned in yearely fee for his office fiue hundred poundes, with condition that the ſayde gouernor ſhould find .xx. great horſes to ſerue in the field, he himſelf to be the twentith man in going agaynſt the enimie: whiche alowance and conditions in thoſe dayes (ſo farre as I can geſſe) ſhould ſeeme to be ordinarie to the office.

Lionell Duke of Clarence.

Lionell Duke of Clarence, ſonne to king Edward the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord Iuſtice there. He was in right of his wife Erle of Vlſter. He publiſhed an inhibition to all of the Iriſh birth, not once to approch his army, nor to be in any wiſe imployed in ſeruice of the warres. He vanquiſhed Obren, but yet ſodenly no man vnderſtãding how, an hundred of his ſouldiers were wanting, as they lay in gariſon, the loſſe of whõ was thought to be occaſioned by that diſpleaſant decree afore rehearſed: wherevpon he tooke better aduiſe, and receiued the Iriſh into like fauor as other lieutenants had them in before that preſent, ſhewing a tender loue towards them all, & ſo euer after proſpered in his affayres. He created diuerſe knights, as Preſton, now knowne by the name of the familie of Gormaunſton, Holywood, Talbot, Cuſac, De la Hide, Patrike, Robert and Iohn de Fraxinis. All theſe being Gentlemen of worthie fame in chiualrie.

The Eſchequer he remoued to Catherlagh, & beſtowed in furniſhing that towne .v.C. poundes.

1362

In the yeare. 1362. Iohn de Saint Paul Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life the fifth Ides of September. And in the yeare following was Tho. Minot conſecrated Archbiſhop of yͤ place.

1367

The Lorde Winſorde lieutenant.

Gerald Fitz Maurice Erle of Deſmond was appoynted Lord iuſtice, vntil the comming of the Lord William Winſore, the firſt lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare. 1369.

1369

Record Turris

A Parliament.

A Subſidie.

This Winſore called a Parliament at Kilkenny, in the which was graunted to the king a ſubſedie of three thouſand poundes to be leuyed of the people, ſubiects to the king in that land: and in an other Parliament holden by him at Balydoill they graunted two thouſande poundes to be likewiſe leuyed. Which ſayde ſummes were graunted of the mere and free good willes of the Nobles and Communaltie of the lande, towardes the maintenaunce of the Kings expences in his warres. Yet the King in the .xliiij. yeare of hys raigne, directing his letters vnto the ſayde Lorde Wynſore, commaunded him to ſurceaſe from leuying the foreſayde money, although afterwardes he commaunded againe that the arrerages ſhould be leuyed and payde to his lieutenant the ſayde Winſore.

Mortalitie of people.

The third peſtilence in Ireland made away a great number of people in the yeare. 1370.

1370

The Lord Gerald Fitz Morice Earle of Deſmond, and the Lord Iohn Fitz Richard, and the Lorde Iohn Fitz Iohn, and many other noble men, were ſlaine by Obren, and Mac Connard of Thomond in the moneth of Iuly.

Conhur.

1372

Sir Richarde Aſhton lorde iuſtice.

In the yeare. 1372. ſir Richarde Aſhton was ſent ouer to be Lorde Iuſtice in Irelande.

1373

In the yeare following great warre was reyſed betwixt the Engliſh of Meth, and Ocerolle, in the whiche manye vppon both ſydes were ſlaine.

Slaughter.

In May, the Lorde Iohn Hulley Baron of Galtrim, Iohn Fitz Richarde Sherife of Meth, and William Dalton were ſlain in Kynaleigh.

1375

In the yeare. 1375. Thomas Archbiſhop of Dublyn departed this life, and the ſame yere was Robert de Wikeforde conſecrated Archebyſhop there.

¶ Richard the ſeconde.

1381

The Earle of Marche the kings lieutenant.

EDmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche and Vlſter was made the Kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande.

1383

In the yeare. 1382. a greate mortalitie raigned in that countrey. This was called the fourth peſtilence.

1385

In the yeare. 1385. Dublyn bridge fell. Beſide Edmond Mortimer Erle of Marth, Campion affyrmeth, that in this Richard the ſeconds dayes, there are Iuſtices and lieutenants of Irelande ſpecially recorded, Roger Mortimer ſonne to the ſayd Edmond, Philip Courtney the kings couſin, Iames Earle of Ormonde, and Robert Vere Erle of Oxford, Marques of Dublyn lorde Chamberlaine, who was alſo created Duke of Irelande by Parliament, and was enriched with the whole Dominion of the Realme by graunt for terme of life, withoute paying anye thing therefore, paſſing all writtes, and placing all officers as Chauncellor, Treaſurer, chiefe Iuſtice, admirall, his owne Lieutenant and other inferiour charges vnder his owne teſte.

1390

In the yeare. 1390. Robert de Wikeforde Archebiſhoppe of Dublyn departed thys lyfe, and the ſame yeare was Robert Waldeby tranſlated vnto the Archebyſhop of Dublyn, an Auguſtine Frier.

1394

ng Richard
eth ouer in-
Irelande.

In the yere.1294. K.Richard ſore afflicted and troubled in minde with ſorrow, for the deceaſe of his wife Queene Anne that departed this life at Whitſuntide laſt paſt, not able without teares to beholde his Palaces and Chambers of eſtate, that repreſented vnto him the ſolace paſt, and doubled his ſorrow, ſought ſome occaſion of buſineſſe: and now about Michaelmaſſe paſſed ouer into Irelande, where dyuerſe Lordes and Princes of Vlſter renued theyr homages, and placing Roger Mortimer Erle of March his Lieutenant, returned about Shrouetide.

oger Morti-
er lord lieu-
nant.
hom. Walſ.

1397

In the yeare.1397. Richarde de Northalis Archebiſhop of Dublyn departed this life, that was the ſame yeare from an other Sea remoued thither. He was a Frier of the order of the of the Carmelites.

Six hundred Iriſh mē ſlain.

The ſame yeare Thomas de Crauly was choſen & conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublyn. Alſo ſir Thomas de Burgh, & ſir Walter de Birmingham ſlue.vj.C.Iriſh men, with their Captaine Macdoun. Moreouer, Edmond Erle of March Lorde Deputie of Irelande, with the ayde of the Erle of Ormond, waſted the countrey of an Iriſh Lord called Obren, and at the winning of his chiefe houſe he made.vij. knightes, to wit, ſir Chriſtofer Preſton, ſir Iohn Bedlew, ſir Edmond Loundris, ſir Iohn Loundris, ſir William Nugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Cadel. But after this it chaunced, that on the Aſcention day, certaine Iriſh men ſlue.xl. Engliſh men, and among them theſe were accounted as principall, Iohn Fitz William, Thomas Talbot, & Thomas Cambry. But ſhortly after Roger Mortimer Erle of March and Vlſter the kings Lieutenant was ſlain with diuerſe other, by Obren and other Iriſhmen of Leyniſter at Kenlis. Then was Roger Gray elected Lorde Iuſtice of Ireland. The ſame yere on the feaſt day of S. Marke the Pope, the duke of Surrey landed in Ireland, & with him came ſir Thomas Crauly the Archbiſhop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the vnruly parts and rebellious ſturres of the Iriſhmen, minded to appeaſe the ſame, and ſpecially to reuenge the death of the Erle of March: wherevpon with a nauie of two hundred ſayles he paſſed ouer into Irelande, and landed at Waterford on a Sunday being the morrow after S. Petronilla the virgins day.

Roger Gray
lord Iuſtice of
Ireland.

1398

King Richard
paſſeth the ſecōd time ouer
into Irelande.

The Fryday after his arriuall at Forde in Kenlis, within the Countie of Kildare, there were ſlaine two.C. Iriſhmen, by Ienicho de Artois a Gaſcoigne, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the Citizens of Dubling brake into the countrey of Obren, ſlue.xxxiij of the enimies, & tooke.lxxx. men with children.

The King commeth to Dublyn.

The.iiij. Kalends of Iuly, king Richard came to Dublin and remayned there for a time, during the which diuerſe Lordes and Princes of the countrey came in and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, by whom they were curteouſly vſed, and trayned to honourable demeanor and ciuilitie, as much as the ſhortneſſe of time would permit, as in ẏ Engliſh hiſtorie you may find ſet forth more at large.

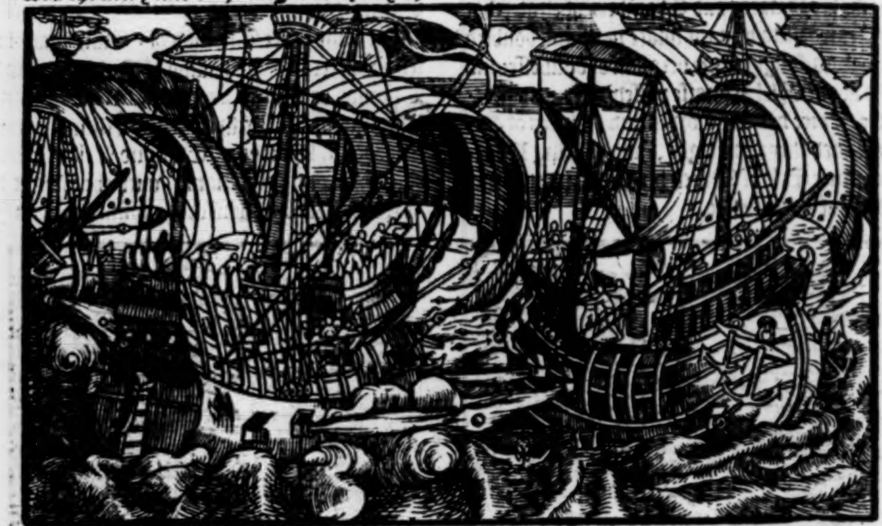
See more hereof in England.

Whileſt king Richard thus lay in Dublin to reduce Ireland vnto due ſubiection, he was aduertiſed that Henry duke of Lancaſter, that lately before had bene baniſhed, was returned, and ment to bereaue him of the crown. The ſonne of which Duke, togyther with the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne, the King ſhutte vp wythin the Caſtell of Trim, and then taking the Seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he founde hys defence ſo weake and vnſure, that finally he came into his aduerſaries handes, and was depoſed by authoritie of Parliament, and then was the ſayd Duke of Lancaſter admytted to raigne in hys place.

¶ Henrie the fourth.

1400

AT Whiſuntide in the yeare. 1400. whiche was the firſt yeare of the raigne of Henry the fourth, the Coneſtable of Dublin Caſtell, and diuerſe other, at Stranford in Vlſter fought by Sea with Scottes, where many Engliſh men were ſlaine and drowned.



1401

Sir Iohn Stanley lord lieutenant.

In the ſecond yeare of king Henrie the fourth, ſir Iohn Stanley the kings lieutenant in Irelande returned into Englande, leauing his vnder lieuetenant there ſir William Stanley.

Sir Stephen Scrope.

The ſame yeare on Bartholmew euen, ſir Stephen Scrope, deputie vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings brother, and Lorde lieutenant of Irelande, arriued there to ſupplie the rowmth of Alexander Biſhop of Meth, that exerciſed the ſame office vnder the ſayd Lord Thomas of Lancaſter, before the comming of this ſir Stephen Scrope, which ſir Stephen for his violence and extortion before time vſed in the ſame office vnder king Richard, was ſore cried out vpō by the voyces of the poore people, inſomuch that the Ladie his wife hearing of ſuch exclamations, would in no wiſe continue with him there, except he would receiue a ſolemne othe on the Bible, that wittingly he ſhoulde wrong no Chriſtian creature in that lande, that truely and duly he ſhoulde ſee payment made for all expenſes, and hereof (ſhee ſayd) ſhee had made a vow to Chriſt ſo determinately, that onleſſe it were on his part firmly promiſed, ſhe could not without peril of ſoul go with him. Hir huſband aſſented, and accōpliſhed hir requeſt effectually, recouered a good opinion for his vpright dealing, reformed his caters & puruyers, enriched the coūtry, mainteined a plentiful houſe, remiſſion of great offences, remedies for perſons endaungered to the prince, pardons of landes and liues he graunted ſo charitably, and ſo diſcreetly, that his name was neuer recited amōg thē without many bleſſings and prayers, and ſo cheerfully they were redy to ſerue him againſt the Iriſh vpō all neceſſarie occaſions. The Lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne and Lorde lieutenant of Ireland, arriued the ſame yeare at Dublin, vpon Saint Brices day.

The Iriſh ouerthrowne by the Maior of Dublin.

The Maior of Dublin Iohn Drake, with a band of his Citizens neare to Bre, ſlue foure M. of the Iriſh Outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Chriſtes Church:) But Marlb. ſpeaketh onely of. 493. And theſe being all men of warre.

The verie ſame day that this victorie was atchieued, to wit, the. xj. day of Iulie, the Church of the Friers Preachers in Dublin was dedicate by the Archbiſhop of that Citie.

The ſame yeare in September, a Parliament was holden at Dublin, during the whiche in Vrgile Sir Bartholmew Verdon Knight, Iames White, Stephen Gernon, and other theyr complices, ſlue the Shirife of Louth Iohn Dowdall.

In the yeare. 1403. in May, ſir Walter Beterley Stewarde of Vlſter, a right valiant knight was ſlaine, and to the number of. xxx. other with him. The ſame yeare aboute the feaſt of Saint Martin, the L. Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne returned into England, leauing the Lorde Stephen Scrope his Deputie there: who alſo in the beginning of Lent ſayled ouer into England, and then the Lordes of the land choſe the Earle of Ormond to be Lord Iuſtice.

Stephen Scrope.

The Erle of Ormond *Lor* iuſtice.

1404

The Archbiſhop of Ardmagh deceaſſed.

In the fift yeare of Henrie the fourth, Iohn Colton Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, the. xxvij. of Aprill departed this life, vnto whome Nicholas Stoning ſucceeded.

The ſame yeare on the day of Saint Vitale the martir, the parliamēt of Dublin began before the Erle of Ormond then lord Iuſtice of Irelād, where the ſtatutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were confirmed, and likewiſe the charter of Ireland.

1405 In the ſixt yeare of Henry the fourth, in the Month of May, three Scottiſh barks were takẽ, two at greene caſtell, and one at Ilkey, with captaine Macgolagh.

The ſame yeare the Marchants of Drodagh entred Scotland, and toke prayes and pledges.

Alſo on the euen of the feaſt day of the .vij. brethren, Ogbgord was burnt by the Iriſh.

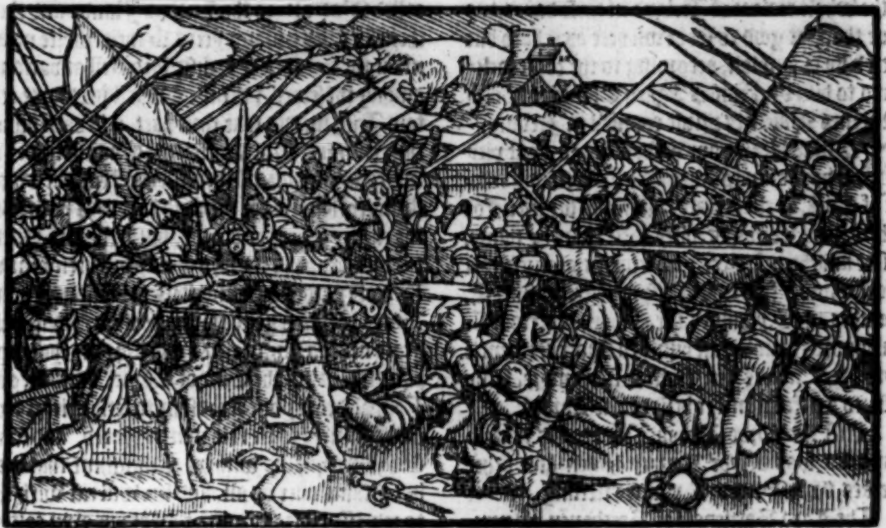
And in June Syr Stephen Scrope that was come again into Ireland, returned eftſoones into Englande, leauing the Earle of Ormonde Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande.

The Citizens of Dublin inuade Scotland.

They inuade Wales.

The Erle of Ormond deceaſeth.

About the ſame time they of Dublin entred Scotland at Saint Ninian, and valiantly behaued themſelues agaynſte the enimies, and after croſſing the Seas, directed theyr courſe into Wales, and did muche hurt to the Welchmen, bringing from thence the ſhrine of Saint Cubins, and placed it in the Churche of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler Earle of Ormonde dyed at Baligam, whileſt he was Lorde Iuſtice, vnto whome ſucceeded Geralde Earle of Kildare.



In the .vij. yeare of king Henrie, on Corpus Chriſti day, the Citizens of Dublin with the Countrey people about them, manfully vanquiſhed the Iriſh enimies, and ſlue diuerſe of them, and toke two enſignes or Standards, bringing with them to Dublyn the heades of thoſe which they had ſlaine.

The ſame yeare the Prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfully with the Iriſh, and vanquiſhed two hundred that were wel armed, ſleaing part of them, and chaſing the reſidue out of the field, and the Prior had not wyth him paſt the number of .xx. Engliſh men, but god (as ſaith mine Author) aſſiſted thoſe that put their truſt in him.

H. Marl.

A Parliament at Dublin.

The ſame yeare after Michaelmas, Stephen Scrope Deputie Iuſtice, to the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Irelande, and in the feaſt of Saint Hillarie was a Parliament holden at Dublyn, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Meiller de Brimmingham ſlue Cathole Oconhur aboute the ende of Februarie.

Corbi what it it ſignifieth.

1407 In the yere .1407. a certaine falſe and heathniſh wretch, an Iriſhman, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had cauſed .xl. Churches to be deſtroyed, as he that was neuer chriſtened, and therfore called Corbi, chaunced to take priſoner one Patrike Sauage, and receyued for his raunſome two .M. Markes, though afterwardes hee ſlue him togither with his brother Richard.

Okeroll ſla

The ſame yere in the feaſt of the exaltation of the Croſſe, Stephen Scrope deputie to the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter, with the Earles of Ormonde and Deſmond, and the Prior of Kilmaynam, and diuerſe other captaynes and men of warre of Meith, ſet from Dublin, and inuaded the lande of Mac Murche, where the Iriſh came into the field and ſkirmiſhed with them, ſo as in the former part of the day, they put the Engliſh power to the worſe, but at length the Iriſhe were vanquiſhed & chaſed, ſo that Onolan with his ſonne and diuerſe other were taken priſoners. But the Engliſh captaines aduertiſed here yͭ the Burkeyns, & Okerol in the countie of Kilkenny, had for the ſpace of two days togither done much miſchief, they rode with al ſpeed vnto the towne of Callã, & there encountring with the aduerſaries, manfully put thẽ to flight, ſlue Okerol, & .viij.C. others. There went a tale and beleeued of many, that the Sunne ſtood ſtil for a ſpace that day, tyll the Engliſhmen had ridden ſixe myles, ſo muche was it thoughte that GOD fauoured the Engliſhe part in this enterpriſe, if wee ſhall beleeue it.

The ſame yeare the Lorde Stephan Scrope paſſed once againe ouer into Englande, and Iames Butler Erle of Ormonde was elected by the countrey Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

In the dayes of this king Henry the fourth, the Inhabitants of Corke beeing ſore afflicted with perpetual oppreſſions of their Iriſh neighbors, cõplained themſelues in a generall writing directed to the lord of Rutland & Corke, the kings deputie there, & to the counſell of the realme then aſſembled at Dublin: which letter bycauſe it openeth a window to behold the ſtate of thoſe parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in thoſe dayes, we haue thought good to ſet down here as it hath bin entred by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard Eſquire, one of yͤ Queenes Maieſties priuie counſell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old recorde that beareth no date.

IT may pleaſe your wiſedomes to haue pity on vs the kings poore ſubiects within yͤ coũtie of Cork, or elſe we are caſt away for euer. For where there are in this coũty theſe lords by name, beſide knights, eſquiers, gentlemen & yeomen, to a great number that might diſpend yerely. viij. C. poundes, vj. C. poundes. iiij. C. poundes, two. C. an hundred pounds, an hundred Marks, twentie pounds. xx. marks, ten pounds, ſome more, ſome leſſe, to a great number beſide theſe Lordes.

Firſt the Lorde Marques Caro, his yearely reuenues was beſyde Dorzey hauen and other creekes, two. M. two. C. pounds ſterling.

The Lord Barneuale of Beerhauen his yerely reuenues was beſide Bodre hauen and other creekes, M. vj. C. pounds ſterling.

thinke rather greene caſtell.

The Lorde Uggan of the great Caſtell hys yearely reuenue beſide his hauens and creekes, xiij. thouſand poundes.

The Lord Balram of Enfort, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes. M. CCC. pound ſterling.

The Lorde Curcy of Kelbretton, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes, a thouſande two hundred pound ſterling.

The Lorde Mandeuile of Barenſtelly, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes, M. two hundred pound ſterling.

The Lorde Arundell of the Strand, his yearely reuenues beſide hauẽs and creekes, a thouſand, fiue hundred pounds ſterling.

The Lord Barod of the gard, his yearely reuenue beſide hauẽs & creekes. M. C. poũds ſterling.

The Lord Steyney of Baltmore, his yearely reuenue beſides hauens & creekes. viij. C. li. ſterl.

The Lord Roch of Poole caſtell, his yearly reuenues beſyde hauens and creekes, ten thouſande poundes ſterling.

The kings Maieſtie hath the landes of the late yong Barry by forfeyture, the yearely reuenue whereof, beſide two riuers and creekes, and al other caſualties, is. M. viij. C. pound ſterling.

And that at the ende of this Parliament, your Lordſhip with the kings moſt noble coũſell may come to Corke, & call before you al theſe Lords, & other Iriſh men, and bind them in pain of loſſe of life, lands & goods, that neuer one of them do make warre vpon an other, without licence or commaundement of you, my lord deputie, & the kings counſel: for the vtter deſtruction of theſe partes, is that only cauſe. And once all the Iriſh men, & the kings enimies were driuẽ into a great valley called Clane onighte betwixt two great mountains called Maccort, or the leprous Iland: and there they liued lõg & many yeres wͭ their white meat, till at the laſt theſe Engliſh lords fell at variance among thẽſelues, & thẽ the weakeſt part tooke certain Iriſh men to take their part, & ſo vanquiſhed their enimies. And thus fell the Engliſh lordes at warre among themſelues, till the Iriſh men were ſtronger than they, & draue thẽ away, & now haue the cuntry whole vnder thẽ, but yͭ the lord Roch, the lord Barry, & the lord Curcy only remaine wͭ the leaſt part of their anceſters poſſeſſions, & yong Barry is there vpõ the kings portion, paying his grace neuer a penny rent: wherfore we the kings poore ſubiects of the Citie of Corke, Kinſale, and Yoghal, deſire your Lordſhip to ſende hither two good Iuſtices to ſee this matter ordred, and ſome Engliſh captains with. xx. Engliſhmẽ that may be captains ouer vs all, and we will riſe with thẽ to redreſſe theſe enormities all at our own coſtes. And if you will not come nor ſend, we will ſende ouer to our liege lorde the king and complaine on you all. Thus farre that letter.

The Citie of Corke.

And as ſaith Campion, at this day the citie of Cork is ſo encombred with vnquiet neighbors of great power, yͭ they are forced to gard their gates continually, & to kepe thẽ ſhut at ſeruice times, at meales, & from ſunne ſetting to ſunne riſing, not ſuffring any ſtranger to enter the towne with his weapõ, but to leaue yͤ ſame at a lodge appointed. They dare vneth at any time walke abrode farre from the towne for their recreation, except at ſeaſons, and then with ſtrength of men furniſhed with armour and weapon for their ſafegarde. They match in wedlocke among themſelues, ſo that well neare the whole Citie is allied and ioyned togither in conſanguinitie.

1408

A Parliament at Dublin.

But nowe to returne vnto the doings of the Erle of Ormonde that was placed Lord Iuſtice in Scropes rowmth. We find yͭ in the yere. 1408. he called a Parliament at Dublin, in which the ſtatutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were eftſoones reuiued, and certain ordinances eſtabliſhed vnder the great ſeale of England againſt purueyors.

The ſame yeare, the morrow after Lammas

day

The lord Tho. of Lancaſter commeth ouer into Irelande.

day, the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter ſonne to king Henry the fourth, Lorde Lieutenaunt of Irelande, landed at Carlingforde, and in the weeke following, he came to Dublin, and put the Erle of Kildare vnder arreſt, cõming to him with three of his family. He loſt all his goodes being ſpoyled and rifeled by the Lorde Lieutenants ſeruants, and himſelfe deteyned ſtill in priſon in the Caſtell of Dublin, till hee had payde three hundred markes for a fine.

The Lorde Scrope deceaſeth.

On the the day of S. Marcel the Martyr, deceaſſed ẏ lord Stephã Scrope at Triſteldermot.

The ſame yeare alſo was the Lord Thomas of Lancaſter at Kilmaynam wounded (I knowe not howe,) and vneth eſcaped with life, and after cauſed ſommonance to be giuẽ by proclamation, that all ſuch as ought by their tenures to ſerue the king, ſhould aſſemble at Roſſe. And after the feaſt of S. Hillarie, he helde a Parliament at Kilkenny for a tallage to be graunted. And after the. xiij. of March, he returned into England, leauing the Prior of Kylmaynam for his Deputie in Irelande.

The lorde Thomas returneth into England.

This yere alſo Hugh Macgilmore was ſlaine in Cragfergus within the Church of the Friers Minors, which Church hee had before deſtroyed and broken downe the glaſſe Windowes to haue the Iron barres, through which his enimies the Sauages entred vpon him.

1409

James de Artoys.

This yeare, beeing in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June Janico de Artoys with the Engliſh men ſlue. 80. of the Iriſh in Vlſter.

The ſworde giuen to the citie of Dublin.

This yere king Henrie gaue the ſword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was firſt gouerned as appeareth by their ancient ſeale called *Signũ præpoſituræ*, by a Prouoſt. And in the. xiij. of Henrie the thirde by a Maior and two Baylifes, whiche Baylifes were chaunged into Shrifes, by Charter graunted by Edward the ſixt. 1547.

Baylifes changed into Shirifes.

This Maioralitie, both for ſtate and charge of office, and for bountifull hoſpitalitie, exceedeth any citi in England, London excepted.

1410

In the yeare following, the. xxj. day of May, a Parliament beganne at Dublin, whiche laſted three weekes, the Prior of Kilmaynam ſitting as Lorde Juſtice.

The ſame yeare, the. xxij. day of June, the ſame Juſtice tooke the Caſtels of Mibraclide, Oſerol, and de la Mare.

Irelande this yeare was ſore afflicted for want of corne.

A iourney made by the lorde iuſtice.

The Lorde Juſtice entred into the lande of Obren with. 1500. Kernes, of which number. 800 reuolted to the Iriſh, ſo that if the power of Dublyn had not beene there, it had gone euill with the Lorde Juſtice, and yet he eſcaped not without loſſe, for John Derpatrike was ſlaine there.

1411

Mariages.

In the yeare. 1411. before Shroue Sunday, mariages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Irelande. William Preſton maryed the daughter of Edwarde Paris, and John Wogan matched with the eldeſt daughter of Chriſtofer Preſton, and Walter de la Hide, with the ſeconde daughter of the ſame Chriſtofer.

1412

Oconthir.

In the yeare. 1412. about the feaſt of Tiburtius and Valerianus, which falleth on the. x. of April Oconthir did much miſchiefe in Meth, and tooke 160. Engliſh men.

The ſame yeare Croics a knight, & Thomas Fitz Morice fought togither, & either ſlue other.

The Biſhop of Meth deceaſeth

The. xxiiij. of May, Robert Mountain Biſhop of Meth departed this life, to whom ſucceded Edwarde de Audiſey ſometime Archdeacon of Cornewall. This yeare on Saint Cutberts day king Henry the fourth departed this life.

The death of king Henrie the fourth.

¶ Henrie the fift.

1413

John Stanley the kings lieutenant in Irelande.

IN the firſte yere of this king, the. xxv. of Sept. landed in Irelãd at Clawcarf, John Stanley the kings lieutenant of that lande. He departed this life the. xviij. of Januarie next enſuing, at Arthirde in Latine called Atrium dei. After his deceaſe, Thomas Cranley Archbiſhop of Dublin was choſen L. iuſtice of Ireland. Janico de Artoys ledde forth a power agaynſte Magynors,

Tho. Cranley Archbiſhop Dublin.

a great Lord of Ireland, but neare to a place called Inor many Engliſhmen were ſlaine.

A Parliament.

The morrow after S. Mathias day, a Parliament began againe at Dublin, which continued for the ſpace of. xv. dayes, in which meane tyme the Iriſhe did muche hurt by inuaſions made into the Engliſh pale, and burning vp all the houſes afore them that ſtoode in theyr way, as their vſuall cuſtome was in tymes of other Parliaments, wherevpon a tallage was demaunded, but not graunted.

1414

In the yeare. 1414. the Engliſh men fought with the Iriſh neare to Kilka, and ſlue an hundred of the enimies, whileſt the Archbiſhop being Lord Iuſtice in Triſtel Dermote, went in proceſſion with his Cleargie, praying for the good ſpeede of his men and other of the Countrey, that were gone forth to fight with the aduerſaries.

Engliſh men ſlaine.

In the feaſt of S. Gordian and Epimachus, to wit, the. x. of May, were the Engliſh of Meth diſcomfited by Oconther & his Iriſh, where they ſlue Thomas Maureuar baron of Serin, & there were taken priſoners, Chriſtofer Fleming, Iohn Dardis, & diuers other, beſide many ỹ were ſlain.

Iohn Lorde Talbot of Sherfield.

On Saint Martins euen, ſir Iohn Talbot of Holomſhire, Lorde Furniuale, landed at Dalkey, the kings lieutenaunt in Irelande, a man of great honour.

1415

Robert Talbot deceaſeth.

In the yeare. 1415. in Nouẽber, Robert Talbot a right noble man, that walled the Suburbs of Kilkenny, departed this life. Alſo Patrike Barret Biſhop of Fernis deceaſed, and was buried among the Canons at Kenlis.

1416

The Archbi-
hop of Ard-
nagh decea-
eth.

This yeare in the feaſt day of Geruaſius and Prothaſius which falleth on the. xix. of Iune, the Lord lieutenants wife, the Ladie Furniuall was brought to bed at Finglaſſe of a ſonne named Thomas. About the ſame time alſo, Stephen Fleming Archbiſhop of Ardmach departed thys life, after whõ ſucceded Iohn Suanig. On ỹ day of S. Laurence, the Lord Furniuals ſonne Tho. Talbot that was borne at Finglaſſe in Nouẽber laſt paſt, departed this life. and was buried in the Quier of the frier preachers church in Dublyn.

About the ſame time the Iriſh fel vpõ ỹ Engliſhmen, and ſlue many of them, among other Thomas Balimore of Baliquelan was one.

he Parlia-
ent remoued
Trim.

The Parliament which the laſt yeare had bene called and holden at Dublyn, was this yeare remoued to Trim, and there began the. xj. of May, where it continued for the ſpace of xj. dayes, in the which was graunted to the lord lieutenant, a ſubſidie in monie.

ubſedie.

1417

e Archbi-
p of Dublin
eaſed.

In the yeare following, the Archebiſhop of Dublyn paſſed ouer into England, and deceaſſed at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new Colledge at Oxforde. This man is greatly prayſed for his liberalitie, hee was a good almes man, a great Clearke, a Doctor of Diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great buylder, beautifull, tall of ſtature, and ſanguine of complexion. He was lxxx. yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the Church of Dublyn in good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yeares.

prayſe.

1418

This yeare, ſhortly after Eaſter, the Lord deputie ſpoyled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bethat.

Alſo at Olane on the feaſt day of Saint Iohn and Saint Paule, the Erle of Kildare, ſir Chriſtofer Preſton, and ſir Iohn Bedlow were arreſted and committed to warde within the Caſtell of Trim, bycauſe they ſought to commune wyth the Prior of Kilmaynam.

The xxix. of Iuly, Mathew Huſee Baron of Galtrim deceaſed, and was buried at the Friers preachers of Trim.

1419

A counſell or Parliament holden.

In the yeare. 1419. a counſell royall was holden at Naas, where was graunted to the Lorde Lieutenant a ſubſedie in money.

The ſame yeare vpon Cene Thurſday, Othoel tooke. 400. kine ỹ belonged vnto Balimore, ſo breaking the peace contrarie to his othe.

Mac Murche taken priſoner

The fourth Ides of May, Mac Mourch, chief captain of his nation, and of all the Iriſh in Leyniſter, was taken priſoner, and the ſame day was ſir Hugh Cokeſey made knight.

Okelly taken.

The laſt of May, the Lord lieutenant, and the Archebiſhop of Dublin with the Maior, razed the Caſtel of Kenini. The morow after the feaſt day of Proceſſus and Martinianus, that is the. xx. of Iune, the lord William de Burgh, & other Engliſhmen, ſlue. v. C. Iriſh men, and tooke Okelly.

On the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the Lorde lieutenãt Talbot returned into Englãd, leauing his deputie there the Archbiſhop of Dublin.

The Prior of Kilmaynam went to ſerue the king in Fraunce.

This yeare about Saint Laurence day, dyuerſe went forth of Irelande to ſerue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was Prior of Kilmaynam, and many other. John Fitz Henry ſucceded the ſaid Butler in gouernment of the Priorie of Kilmaynam.

The Archbiſhop of Dublin that remayned as Lorde Deputie, ſlue .xxx. Iriſh men neare vnto Rodiſton. Alſo the .xiij. of Februarie, John Fitz Henry Prior of Kilmaynam departed this life, & Williã Fitz Thomas was choſen to ſucceede in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after Saint Valentines day.

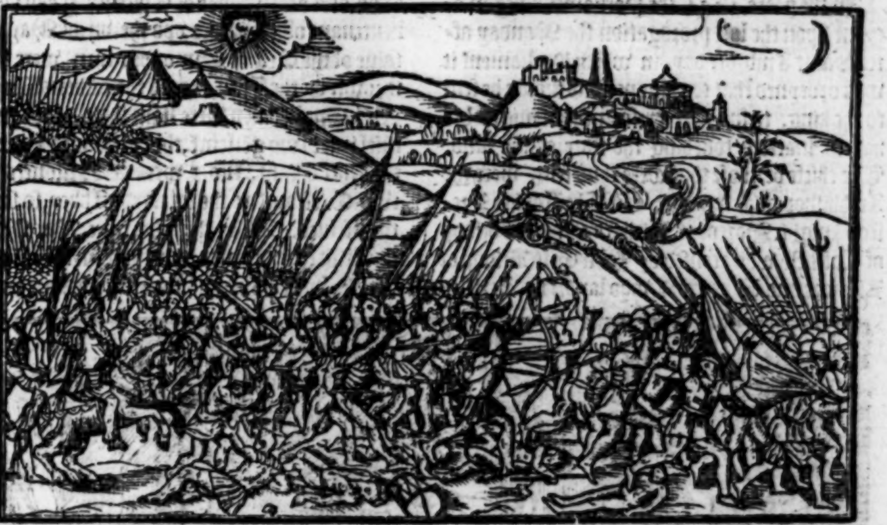
1420

James Butler Erle of Ormond Lorde Lieutenant.

James Butler Erle of Ormond, appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland in place of John L. Talbot, & Furniual, landed at Waterford about the .iiij Ides of Aprill, and ſhortly after his comming ouer, cauſed a combat to be fought betwixt two of his couſins, of whō the one was ſlain in yͤ place, and the other caried away ſore wounded.

A Parliament ſommoned.

On Saint Georges day, he held a counſell in Dublin, and ſummoned a Parliament to begin there the .vij. of June. In the meane while he fetched great booties out of the Countreys of the Iriſh Lordes Oraly, Mac Mahun, & Magynoys. But firſt ere we go further to ſhew what Marlb. hath noted of the doings whileſt this Erle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Irelande, we haue thought good to ſet downe what Campion alſo writeth thereof, as thus:



Iames Yong an Author alledged by Campion. The Sunne ſtayeth his courſe.

In the red Moore of Athie (the Sunne almoſt lodged in the weſt, & miraculouſly ſtanding ſtill in his epicicle by the ſpace of three houres till the feat was accompliſhed, and no hole nor quakmire in all that bog annoying either horſe or mã of his part) he vanquiſhed Omore and his terrible army with a few of his owne meiny, & with the like nũber he ouercame Arthur Mac Murrow, at whoſe might & puiſſance al Leyniſter trembled. To the inſtruction of this mans worthineſſe, the cōpiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a common welth exciteth his lord the ſaid erle in diuerſe places of that work incidently, eftſoones putting him in mind that the Iriſh are falſe by kind, yͭ it were expedient and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them wilfull & malicious tranſgreſſors, the kings lawes ſomwhat ſharply, yͭ Odempſi being winked at awhile, abuſed that ſmall time of ſuffrance to the iniurie of the erle of Kildare, intruding vniuſtly vpō the caſtel of Ley, frō whence yͤ ſaid deputie had iuſtly expelled him, & put the erle in poſſeſſion therof, that notwithſtanding their othes & pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feel themſelues the weaker. This Deputie tamed the Brenes, the Burghs, Mac Banons, Oghaghuraght, Mores Mac Mahun, all the captaines of Thomōd, & all this he did in three Moneths, the Clergie of Dublin twiſe euery weeke in ſolemne Proceſſion praying for his good ſucceſſe agaynſt thoſe diſordred perſons, which now in euery part of Ireland degenerated from the Engliſh ciuility to their old trade of life vſed in that coũtrey, repyned at the Engliſh maner of gouernment. Thus far Cãpion. Diuers parliamēts vpō prorogatiōs were holdē in time yͭ this erle of Ormōd was gouernor. The firſt began at Dublin yͤ .vij. of June in this yere. 1420. which cōtinued about .xvj. days. At this parliament was granted to the L. lieutenant a ſubſidie of .vij. C. Marks. At the .xvj. days end, this Parliamēt was adiourned til the Monday after Saint Andrews day. In yͤ ſame parliament the debts of the L. John Talbot which were due to certain perſons for vitailes and other things takē vp whileſt he was L. lieutenãt there, were reconed vp, which L. Talbot verily for that he ſaw not yͤ creditors ſatiſfied before his cōming away, was partly euil ſpoken of in the Countrey.

1420

The Parliamēt began.

The Caſtell of Colmolin.

The Earle of Ormondes ſon and heyre borne.

The morrow after the feaſt of Simon and Jude, the Caſtell of Colmolyn was taken by Thomas Fitz Geralde. And on Saint Katherins euen, the ſonne and heyre of the Erle of Ormond Lord Lieutenant was borne, for the which there was great reioyſing,

In the Parliament begon againe at Dublin the Monday after Saint Andrews day, an other ſubſidie of. CCC. markes was graunted vnto the Lord Lieutenant. And after they had ſit. xiij. dayes, it was eftſoones adiourned till the Monday after Saint Ambroſe day. Then rumors were ſpred abrode, that Thomas Fitz John Erle of Deſmond was departed this life at Paris vpon Saint Laurence day, after whome ſucceded his vncle James Fitz Gerald, whom he had three ſeueral times renoũced, as one that was a waſter of his patrimonie, both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to any good prouſe.

1421

A Parliament.

The Biſhop of Caſſhell accuſed.

In the yeare. 1421. the Parliament began againe vpon the laſt prorogation the Monday after Saint Ambroſe day, in which Parliament it was ordeyned that certaine perſons ſhould be ſent to the king, to ſue that a reformation might bee had in matters touching the ſtate of the land. The chiefe of thoſe that were thus ſent, were the Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, & ſir Chriſtopher Preſton knight. Moreouer, Richard Ohedian biſhop of Caſſhell, was accuſed by John Geſe Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, who layd. xxx. Articles to his charge. Amongſt other, one was for that he loued none of the Engliſh nation, and that he beſtowed not one benefice vpon any Engliſh man, and counſelled other biſhops that they ſhould not beſtow any within their Dioces vpon any Engliſh man. Moreouer, an other Article was for counterfeyting the kings ſeale, and an other for that he went about to make himſelf K. of Moũſter, and had taken a ring from the Image of S. Patrike (which the Erle of Deſmond had offred) and giuen it to his lemman. Many other crymes were layd to him, by the ſayd Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing.

Alſo in the ſame Parliament, there roſe cõtention betwixt Adam Pain biſhop of Clone, & an other prelate whoſe church he would haue annexed vnto his ſee. At length after the Parliament had continued for the ſpace of xviij. days, it brake vp. Herewith came newes of yͤ ſlaughter of the Lord Tho. of Lãcaſter duke of Clarence, yͭ had bin L. lieutenant of Ireland, & vpõ the. vij. of May, certaine of the Erle of Ormondes men were ouerthrowen by the Iriſh, nere to the Abbey of Leys, & xxvij. Engliſhmen were ſlain there, of whom the chief were two gẽtlemẽ, the one named Purcel, & the other Grant. Alſo. x. were takẽ priſoners, and two. C. eſcaped to the foreſayde Abbey, ſo ſauing themſelues. About the ſame time, Mac Mahun an Iriſh lord, did much hurt within the coũtry of Urgile, by burning and waſting all afore him.

The Duke of Clarence ſlaine in Fraunce.

Mac Mahun.

Alſo vpon the morrow after Midſommer day, the Erle of Ormond Lord lieutenant entred into the Countrey about Leys vpon Omordris, & for the ſpace of foure dayes togither did muche hurt in ſleaing and ſpoyling the people, till the Iriſh were glad to ſue for peace.

¶ Henrie the ſixt.

Lieutenants to Henrie the ſixt ouer the realme of Irelande were theſe, Edmonde Earle of March, and James Erle of Ormond his deputy. John Sutton Lord Dudley, & ſir Tho. Strange knight his deputie. Sir Thomas Stanley, and ſir Chriſtofer Plunket his deputie. [Thys ſir Thomas Stanley, on Michaelmaſſe day, in the twelfth yeare of King Henrye the ſixth, wyth all the Knightes of Methe and Irrell, fought agaynſte the Iriſhe, ſlue a greate number, and tooke Neill Odonell priſoner.]

Henry. Marle

Here endeth Marleburgh, and all that foloweth is taken out of Campion.

Lion Lord Welles, & the Earle of Ormonde his deputie. Iames Earle of Ormonde by hym ſelfe, Iohn Erle of Shrewesburie, and the Archbiſhop of Dublin Lorde Iuſtice in his abſence. Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, father to King Edwarde the fourth and Earle of Vlſter, had the office of Lieutenaunte by the Kings letters patents, during the tearme of tenne yeeres, who appoynted to rule vnder him as his deputies at ſundry times, the Baron of Deluin, Richarde Fitz Euſtace Knight, Iames Earle of Ormōd, and Thomas Fitz Morice Erle of Kildare. To this Richard Duke of Yorke and Vlſter then reſident in Dublin, was borne within the Caſtell there his ſecōd ſonne the Lord George, that was after Duke of Clarence: his Godfathers at the fonteſtone were the Erles of Ormond and Diſmonde. Whether the commotion of Iacke Cade an Iriſhman borne, naming himſelf Mortimer, and ſo pretending coſinage to diuers noble houſes in this land, proceeded from ſome intelligēce, with the Dukes friends here in Ireland, it is vncertayne: but ſurely the Duke was vehemently ſuſpected, and immediately after began the troubles whiche through him were reyſed. Whyche broyles being couched for a time, the Duke helde himſelfe in Ireland, being lately by Parliamente ordeyned protector of the Realme of Englande: he left his agent in the Court, his brother yͤ Erle of Saliſburie, Lord Chancellor, to whom he declared the troth of the troubles then towarde in Ireland: which letter exemplyfyed by Sir Henry Sidney Lorde Deputie, a greate ſearcher and preſeruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by hym ſet downe, we haue thoughte good likewiſe to preſent it here to your viewe.

Campion out of the Records of Chriſts Church.
George Duke of Clarence borne at Dublin.
Iacke Cade.

To the right worſhipfull, and with all mine
hart, intierly beloued brother, the
Earle of Salisburie.

The copie of a letter.

RIght Worſhipfull, and with all my harte, intierly beloued brother, I recommende me vnto you as hartily as I can. And like it you to witte, ſith I wrote laſt vnto the King our Soueraigne Lorde his highneſſe, the Iriſh enemie, yͭ is to ſay Magoghigam, and with him three or foure Iriſhe Captaynes, aſſociate with a greate felowſhip of Engliſh Rebells, notwithſtandyng that they were within the King our Soueraygne Lord his peace of greate malice, and againſte all truth haue maligned againſt their legiance, and vengeably haue brent a great towne of myne inheritance in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereaboutes, and murthered and brēt both men, womē and children, withouten mercy: the whiche enimies be yet aſſembled in Woods and fortes, awaighting to do the hurt and greeuance to the Kings ſubiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For whiche cauſe, I write at this tyme vnto the Kings highneſſe, and beſeeche his good Grace for to haſten my payment for this lande, according vnto his letters of warraunt nowe late directed vnto the Treaſorer of Englande, to the intente I may wage men in ſufficiente number, for to reſiſt the malice of the ſame enimies, and puniſh them in ſuch wiſe, that other which wolde do the ſame for lacke of reſiſtance, in time maye take example. For doubtleſſe, but if my paymente be had in all haſt, for to haue men of warre in defence and ſafegard of this land, my power cā not ſtretch to keepe it in the kings obeyſance, and very neceſſitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poore liuelyhood: for I had leuer be dead than any inconuenience ſhoulde fall therevnto in my default: for it ſhall neuer bee chronicled nor remāyne in Scripture by yͤ grace of God, that Ireland was loſt by my negligēce. And therfore I beſeeche you right Worſhipfull brother, that you will holde to your handes inſtantly, that my paymente may bee had at thys time in eſchewing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places, (more pitie it is) for to dread ſhame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the Kings highneſſe as my duetie is. And thys I pray and exhort you good brother, to ſhewe vnto his good grace, and that you will be ſo good, that this language may bee enacted at this preſente Parliamēt for mine excuſe in time to come, and that you will be good to my ſeruant Roger Roe the bearer of theſe, and to my other ſeruaunts, in ſuch things as they ſhall purſewe vnto the kings highneſſe, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the ſaid Roger, touching the ſayde matters. Right worſhipful, and with all my hart intierly beloued brother, our bleſſed Lorde God preſerue and keepe you in all honor, proſperous eſtate, and felicitie, and graunte you righte good life & long. Writtē at Dublin yͤ .15. day of Iune.

Roger Roe.

Your faithfull true brother
Richarde Yorke.

Magoghigam his power.

Of ſuche power was Magoghigam in thoſe dayes, who as he wan and kept it by the ſworde, ſo nowe his ſucceſſors in that ſtate liue but as meane Captaines, yeelding their winnings to yͤ ſtronger. This is the miſerie of lawleſſe people, reſembling the rudeneſſe of the rude world, wherin euery mā was richer and poorer than other, as he was in might & violence more or leſſe enabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Irelande, fauoring diuers ſides that ſtroue for the Crowne of England. For the Duke of Yorke in thoſe ten yeeres of his gouernemente, exceedingly wanne the hartes of the noblemen and Gentlemen of that land, of the whiche diuers were ſlayne with him at Wakefielde, as the contrary part was the next yeere by his ſonne Edward Erle of Marche at Mortimers Croſſe in Wales. In which meane time the Iriſhe grewe hardy, and vſurped the Engliſhe countreys inſufficiently defended, as they had done by like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the ſecond. Theſe two ſeaſons ſet thē ſo a flote, yͭ hēceforward they could neuer be caſt out from their forcible poſſeſſions, holding by playne wrong all Vlſter, and by certayne Iriſhe tenures no ſmall portions of Monſter and Conagh, leaſt in Meth and Leyniſter, where the ciuill ſubiects of the Engliſhe bloud did euer moſt preuayle.

Edwarde the fourth,
And Edward the fifth.

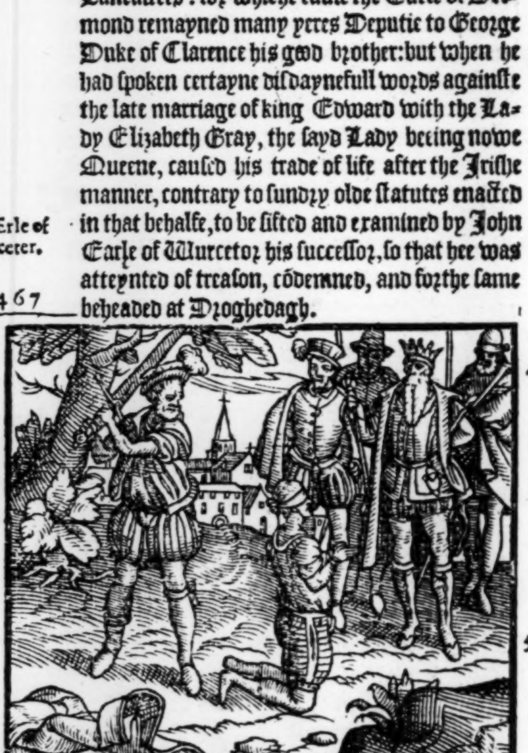
Lieutenaunts and Deputies in king Edward the fourth his dayes.

Thomas Fitz Morice Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice vntill the thirde yeere of Edward the fourth, after whiche time the Duke of Clarence, brother to the King, had the office of Lieutenant while he liued, and made his deputies by ſundry turnes, Thomas Erle of Deſmond, Iohn Tiptoft Erle of Wurcetor the Kings couſin, Thomas Earle of Kildare, and Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin. Great was the credit of the Giraldines euer whē the houſe of Yorke proſpered, and likewiſe the Butlers thriued vnder the bloud of the Lancaſters: for whiche cauſe the Earle of Deſmond remayned many yeres Deputie to George Duke of Clarence his good brother: but when he had ſpoken certayne diſdaynefull wordes againſte the late marriage of king Edward with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, the ſayd Lady beeing nowe Queene, cauſed his trade of life after the Iriſhe manner, contrary to ſundry olde ſtatutes enacted in that behalfe, to be ſifted and examined by Iohn Earle of Wurcetor his ſucceſſor, ſo that hee was atteynted of treaſon, cōdemned, and for the ſame beheaded at Droghedagh.

The Butlers.

The Erle of Wurceter.

1467



Campion out of Saint leger in his collections.

Iames the father of this Thomas Earle of Deſmond, being ſuffered and not controlled, during the gouernemēt of Richard Duke of Yorke his godcept, and of Thomas Erle of Kildare his kinſman, put vpon the Kings ſubiects within the countries of Waterford, Corke, Keary, and Limirike, the Iriſh impoſitions of Quinio and Liuery, Cartings, Cariages, lodings, Cocherings, Bonnaght and ſuch like, which cuſtomes are the very breeders, maynteyners and vpholders of all Iriſhe enormities, wringing from the poore tenantes euerlaſting ceaſſe, allowāce of meate and money, whereby their bodies and goodes were brought in ſeruice and thraldome, ſo that the mē of warre, Horſes, and their Galloglaghes lye ſtil vpon the fermors, eate them out, begger the coūtrey, foſter a ſort of Idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their Lord commaund them, euer nouſled in ſtelth and robberies. Theſe euill preſidents giuen by the father, the ſonne did exerciſe, being L. Deputie, to whome the reformation of that diſorder ſpecially belonged. Notwithſtanding the ſame faulte beeing winked at in other, and with ſuch rigor auenged in him, was manifeſtly taken for a quarrell ſought and procured. Two yeeres after, the ſayd Earle of Wurcetor loſt his head, while Henry the ſixt takē out of the Tower was ſet vp againe, & king Edward proclaymed vſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteynted, they thought alſo to haue rydde, and ſhortly both the Earles of Kildare and Deſmond were reſtored to their bloud by Parliamēt. Sir Rouland Euſtace, ſometime Treaſorer and Lord Chancellor, was laſtly alſo Lord Deputie of Ireland. He founded S. Francis Abbey beſide Kilcollen bridge. King Edwarde a yeere before his death, honored his yonger ſon Richard Duke of Yorke, with the title of Lieutenant ouer thys lande, which he enioyed til his vnnaturall Vncle bereft both him and his brother King Edwarde the fifth of their naturall liues.

Iriſh impoſitions.

1469

Reſtitution to bloud.

1470

Flatsbery.

¶ Richard the third.

Richard the third.

VVhen this Monſter of nature and cruell Tyrant Richard the third had murthered his two yong Nephewes, and taken vpon hym the Crowne and gouernement of England, hee preferred his owne ſonne Edward to the dignitie of Lorde Lieutenante of Ireland, whoſe deputie was Geralde Earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of King Richard, and a while in Henry the ſeuenth his dayes.

¶ Henry the ſeuenth.

Henry the ſeuenth.

Sir Richard Simōd Prieſt.

Lambert coūterfeyt to be the Erle of Warwicke.

To the which Earle came the wilie Prieſt, ſir Richard Simond, bringing with him a lad that was his Scholer, named Lambert, whome hee feygned to bee the ſonne of George Earle of Clarence, lately eſcaped forth of the Tower of London. And the boy could reckon vp his pedegree ſo redily, and had learned of the Prieſt ſuche Princely behauiour, that hee lightly moued the ſayde Earle, and many other yͤ nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the lignage royal of Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, and hys ſonne George their Countreymã borne, as alſo maligning the aduancement of the houſe of Lancaſter in Henry the ſeuenth) eyther to thinke or to faine, yͤ the world might beleeue they thought verily this child to be Edward Earle of Warwike, the Duke of Clarence his lawfull ſonne.

e Lorde
ell.
Thomas
ughton.

And although King Henry more than halfe marred their ſporte, in ſhewing the right Earle through all the ſtreetes of London, yet the Lady Margaret, Duches of Burgongne, ſiſter to Edwarde the fourth, hyr Nephewe Iohn de la Poole, yͤ Lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton Knighte, and dyuers other Captaynes of this conſpiracy, deuiſed to abuſe the coloure of this yong Earles name, for preferring their purpoſe: which if it came to good, they agreed to depoſe Lamberte, and to erect the very Earle indeede, nowe priſoner in the Tower, for whoſe quarrell, had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likely hee ſhoulde haue bin made away. Wherefore it was blazed in Irelande, that the King to mocke hys ſubiectes, had ſcholed a boy, to take vppon hym the Earle of Warwikes name, and hadde ſhewed him about London, to blinde the eyes of the ſimple folke, and to defeate the lawfull inheritour of the good Duke of Clarence theyr countreyman and protector duryng his life, vnto whoſe lignage, they alſo deriued title in right to the Crowne.

mberte
wned,

In all haſt, they aſſembled at Dublin, and there in Chriſts Churche, they Crowned thys Idoll, honoring him with titles imperiall, feaſting and triumphing, reyſing myghtie ſhoutes and cryes, carrying him from thence to the Caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that hee myghte bee ſeene and noted, as hee was ſure an honorable childe to looke vpon.

Herewith, aſſembling their forces togither, they prouided themſelues of Shippes, and embarquing therein, they tooke the Sea, and landing in Lancaſhire, paſſed forwarde, till they came to Newarke vpon Trent: thereupon enſued the battell of Stoke, commonly called Martin Swartes field, wherein Lambert and hys maiſter were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed.

The Earle of Lincolne, the Lorde Louell, Martin Swart, the Almayne Captayne, and Maurice Fitz Thomas, Captayne of the Iriſh, were ſlayne, and all their power diſcomfited, as in the Engliſhe hiſtory it may further appeare.

1460

Iaſper Duke of Bedford Lieutenant.

Iaſper Duke of Bedford, and Erle of Pembroke Lieutenant, and Walter Archbyſhop of Dublin his Deputie.

Perkin Warbecke.

In this time, befell another like Iriſhe illuſion, procured by the Duches aforeſayd, and certayne nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull King of Englande, and vndoubted Earle of Vlſter, the counterfeyte Richarde Duke of Yorke, preſerued from kyng Richards crueltie (as the adherentes faced the matter downe) and with thys Maygame Lorde, named indeede Peter (in ſcorne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themſelues manye yeares after.

1494

Sir Edward Poynings L. Deputy.

Then was Sir Edward Poynings Knight ſente ouer Lorde Deputie, with commiſſion to apprehende Warbeckes principall partners in Irelande: amongſt whome, was named Giralde Fitz Girald Earle of Kildare, whoſe purgation the Kyng (notwithſtandyng dyuers ſurmiſing and auouching the contrarye) dyd accept.

Perkin Warbecke taken.

After muche adoe, Perkin beeing taken, confeſſed by hys owne writing the courſe of hys whole life, and al his proceedings in thys enterpriſe, whereof in the Engliſhe hiſtorie, as wee haue borowed the ſame forthe of Halles Chronicles, yee may reade more, and therefore heere we haue omitted to ſpeake further of that matter.

1501

Henry Duke of Yorke, after King Henry the eyght, L. Lieutenaunt.

In the yeare. 1501. King Henrye made Lieutenant of Ireland his ſecond ſonne Henry, as then Duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henry the eyght.

The fielde of Knocktowe.

To him was appoynted Deputie, the foreſayd Giralde Earle of Kildare, who accompanyed with Iohn Blake Maior of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obrene, and Mack Nemarre, Ocarroul, and foughte wyth the greateſt power of Iriſhmen that hadde bin togither ſince the Conqueſt, vnder the hyll of Knocktowe, in Engliſhe, the hyll of the Axes, ſixe miles from Galoway, and two myles from Belliclare Burghes manour Towne: Mack William and his complices were there taken, hys Souldyers that eſcaped the ſworde were purſued fleeing, for the ſpace of fyue myles, great ſlaughter was made of them, and many Captaynes caughte, without the loſſe of one Engliſhman.

The Earle of Kildare, knight of the Garter.

The Earle of Kildare at hys returne, was made Knighte of the noble order of the Garter, and lyued in worthy eſtimation all hys lyfe long, as well for thys ſeruice, as diuers other his famous exploytes.

The thirde Booke of the Hiſtorie of Ireland, compriſing the raigne of Henry the eyght: continued by Richard Stanihurſt, and vvritten to the right honorable Sir Henrie Sidney Knight, Lord Deputie of Ireland, Lord preſident of VVales, Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priue Counſayle within hir Realme of Englande.

HOw comberſome (ryghte honorable) & daungerous a taſke it is, to engroſſe & diuulge the doings of others, eſpecially whē the parties regiſtred or their iſſue are liuing: both common reaſon ſufficiently acknowledgeth, and dayly experience infallibly approueth. For Man by courſe of nature is ſo partially affected to himſelf, and his bloud, as hee will bee more agreeued with the Chronicler for recording a peeuiſh treſpaſſe, than hee will be offended with his friende, for cōmitting an heynons treaſon.

Ouer this, if the hiſtorian be long, hee is accompted a trifler: if he be ſhort, he is taken for a ſummiſter: if he commende, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reproue, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleaſant, he is noted for a ieſter: if hee bee graue, he is reckened for a drouper: if he miſdate, he is named a falſyfyer: if he once but trippe, hee is tearmed a ſtumbler: ſo that lette hym beare himſelfe in hys Chronicle, as vprightly and as conſcionably as he may poſſible, yet hee ſhall bee ſure, to fynde them that wyll bee more preſt to blabbe forth his pelfiſh faultes, than they will be ready to blaze out his good deſertes.

Others there bee, that although they are not able to reproue what is written, yet they will bee ſure, to caſt in hys diſhe what is forgotten. Heere, ſaye they, thys exployte is omitted: there that policie is not detected: heere thys ſaying woulde haue beene enterlaced: there that treacherie ſhoulde haue beene diſplayd.

Theſe and the lyke diſcommodities, wyth which Hiſtoriographers are vſually cloyd, haue borne backe diuers and ſundry willing mindes, who taking the way to bee thorny, the credite ſlipperie, the carpers to bee many, woulde in no caſe bee medlers, chooſing rather to ſitte by theyr owne fyre obſcurely at home, than to bee bayted with enuious tongs openly abrode.

Others on the contrary ſide, beeyng reſolute fellowes, and trampling vnder foote theſe curious faultfynders, would not ſticke to put themſelues forthe in preſſe, and maugre all theyr heartes, to buſkle forwarde, and ruſhe through the pykes of theyr quipping nippes, and bityng frumpes.

But I, takyng the meane betweene both theſe extremities, helde it for better, not to bee ſo feynte and peeuiſhe a meacocke, as to ſhrinke and couche myne head, for euery mizeling ſhoure, nor yet to beare my ſelfe ſo high in heart, as to praunce and iette lyke a proude gennet through the ſtreete, not weighing the barking of curriſh bandogges.

And therefore, if I ſhall be founde in my hyſtorie ſometyme too tedious, ſometime too ſpare, ſometime too fawning in commendyng the lyuing, ſometime too flatte in reprouing the dead: I take GOD to witneſſe, that myne offence therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of ſette wilfulneſſe.

But as for the paſſing ouer in ſilence of dyuers euentes (albeit the lawe or rather the libertie of an hyſtorie requireth, that all ſhoulde bee related, and nothing whuſted) yet I muſt confeſſe, that as I was not able, vppon ſo little leaſure, to knowe all that was ſaid or done, ſo I was not willing, for ſundry reſpects, to write euery trim tram, that I knew to be ſaid or done. And if any bee ſo ouerthwartly waywarded, as he wil ſooner long for yͭ I haue omitted, than he will be cōtented with that I haue chronicled, I cannot deuiſe in my iudgement a better way, to ſatiſfye his appetie, than wͭ one Doly, a peictour of Oxford, his anſwere: who being appointed to tricke out the tenne commaundementes, omitted one, and pourtrayed but nyne, which faulte eſpied by hys maiſter, yͭ hyred him: Doly aunſwered, that in very deede, he poynted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderſtood, yͭ his maiſter had well obſerued and kepte the nine commaundements,

ments, that already were drawen, hee gaue hys worde at better leyſure thoroughly to finiſhe the tenth. And truely ſo muſt I ſay: I haue layde downe heere to the Reader his view, a briefe diſcourſe, wherof, I truſt, hee ſhall take no greate ſurfet. And when I am aduertiſed, that hee wyll digeſt the thinne fare, that heere is diſht before hym: it may be, God willing, heereafter, that hee ſhall finde any Booke, with ſtore of more licorous deynties farſed and furniſhed, leauing to hys choyſe, eyther nicely to pickle, or greedely to ſwallow, as muche as to his contentation ſhall beſt beſeeme him.

Wherefore, my good Lorde, ſith I may not denye, but that the worke is painefull, and I doe forecaſt, that the miſconſtruction may be perillous: the toyleſomneſſe of the payne, I referre to my priuate knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I committe to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby, to be ſhielded agaynſt the ſiniſter gloſing of malitious interpretors.

Thus betaking your Lordſhippe to God, I craue youre attentiuenes, in peruſing a cantell or parcel of the Iriſh Hiſtorie, that here inſueth.

1514

Gerald Fitz Giralde, Earle of Kildare, ſonne to Thomas Fitz Girald, of whom mention was made in the later ende of the ſecond Booke, a mightie man of ſtature, full of honoure and courage, who had bin Deputie, and Lorde Iuſtice of Ireland firſt and laſt, three and thirtie yeares, deceaſſed at Kildare the thirde of September, and lyeth entombed in ẏ chore of Chriſtes Church at Dublin, in a Chappell by hym founded.

he occaſion the diſſen- on betweene ildare and mond.

Betweene him and Iames Butler Earle of Ormond (their owne ielouſies fedde with enuy and ambition, kindled with certaine lewde factious abettors of eyther ſide) as generally to all noble men, ſo eſpecially to both theſe houſes very incident, euer ſince the ninth yeare of Henrye the ſeuenth, bred ſome trouble in Irelande. The plot of whiche mutuall grudge, was grounded vpon the factious diſſention, that was rayſed in England, betweene the houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter, Kildare cleauing to Yorke, and Ormond relying to Lancaſter. To the vpholding of whiche diſcord, both theſe noble men laboured, with tooth and nayle, to ouercrowe, and conſequently to ouerthrow one the other: And for aſmuch as they were in honour Peeres, they wrought by hooke and by crooke to be in authoritie ſuperiours. The gouernement therefore in the reignes of Henry the ſeuenth, being caſt on the houſe of Kildare, Iames Earle of Ormond, a deepe and a farre reaching mã, giuing backe, like a butting Ramme, to ſtrike the harder puſh, deuiſed to inueigle his aduerſarie by ſubmiſſiõ and courteſie, being not then able to ouermatch him wͭ ſtoutneſſe or preheminence. Whereupon, Ormonde addreſſed his letters to the Deputie, ſpecifying a ſlaunder rayſed on hym and his, that hee purpoſed to deface his gouernemente, and to withſtand his authoritie, and for the clearing of himſelfe and of his adherentes, ſo it ſtoode with the Deputie his pleaſure, he woulde make his ſpeedy repayre to Dublin, and there in open audience, woulde purge hymſelfe of all ſuche odious crimes, of whiche he was wrongfully ſuſpected.

Ormonde marcheth to Dublin.

To this reaſonable requeſt had the Lorde Deputie no ſooner condiſcended, than Ormond with a puiſſant army marched towardes Dublin, encamping in an Abbey in the ſuburbes of the Citie, named Saint Thomas Court. The approching of ſo greate an army of the Citizens ſuſpected, and alſo of Kildares counſayloures greatly diſliked, laſtly the extortion, that ẏ lawleſſe Souldyours vſed in the pale by ſeuerall cõplaintes detected: theſe three poyntes, with dyuers other ſuſpitious circumſtances laid and put togither, did miniſter occaſion rather of further diſcorde, than of any preſent agreement.

Ormonde perſiſting ſtill in his humble ſute, ſent hys meſſenger to the Lord Deputie, declaring, that he was preſt and ready to accompliſhe the tenoure of his letters, and there did attende (as became him) his Lordſhip his pleaſure. And as for the company, he brought with him from Mounſter, albeit ſuſpitious braynes did rather of a malitious craftineſſe ſurmiſe the worſt, thã of charitable wiſedome dyd iudge the beſt, yet notwithſtanding, vppon conference had wyth his Lordſhippe, hee woulde not doubt to ſatiſfye hym at full in all poyntes, wherewith hee coulde bee with anye couloure charged, and ſo to ſtoppe vppe the ſpring, from whence, all theſe enuious ſuſpitions guſhed. Kildare with this mild meſſage entreated, appoynted the meeting to bee at S. Patricke his Churche: where, as they were ripping vp one to the other their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they ſuſteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the Citizens and Ormond his army, fell at ſome iarre, for ẏ oppreſſion & exaction with whiche ẏ ſouldiers ſurcharged them. With whome, as part of the Citizens bickered, ſo a round knot of archers ruſht into the Churche, meanyng to haue murthered Ormond, as the Captaine and belweather of al theſe lawleſſe rabble. The Erle of Ormond ſuſpecting that he had bin betrayd, fled to the Chapitre houſe, put too the dore, ſparring it with might and mayne. The Citizens in their rage, imagining that euery poſt in the Churche had bin one of ẏ Souldyers, ſhot habbe or nabbe at randon vppe to the Roode lofte, and to the Chancell, leauing ſome of theyr

The Citie in an vprore.

arrowes ſticking in the Images.

Kildare purſuing Ormond to the Chapiter houſe dore, vndertooke on hys honor, that hee ſhould receyue no villanie. Wherevpon, the recluſe crauing his Lordſhips hand to aſſure hym his life, there was a clift in the Chapiter houſe dore, pierced at a trice, to the end both the Erles ſhould haue ſhaken hands, and bee reconciled.

The Earles reconciled.

But Ormond ſurmiſing that this drift was entended for ſome further treacherie, that if hee woulde ſtretche out his hande, it had bin percaſe chopt off, refuſed that proffer, vntill Kildare ſtretcht in his hand to him, and ſo the dore was opened, they both embraced, the ſtorme appeaſed, and all their quarrels for that preſente, rather diſcontinued than ended.

Blanchfielde ſlayne.

In this garboyle, one of the Citizens, ſurnamed Blanchfield, was ſlayne.

This later quarrell beeyng lyke a greene wounde, rather bunglerly botcht, than ſoundly cured, in that Kildare ſuſpected, that ſo greate an army (which the other alledged, to be brought for the guarde of his perſon) to haue bin of purpoſe aſſembled, to outface hym and his power in his owne Countrey: and Ormonde miſtruſted, ẏ this treacherous practiſe of the Dublinians, was by Kildare deuiſed. These and the like ſurmiſes lightly by both the noble men miſdeemed, and by the continuall twatling of flyring clawbackes in their eares whiſpered, bred and foſtered a malice betwixte them and theyr poſteritie, many yeares incurable, which cauſed muche ſturre and vnquietneſſe in the Realme, vntill the confuſion of the one houſe, and the noneage of the other, ended and buryed theyr mutuall quarrels.

The deſcription of Ormond

Ormond was nothing inferioure to the other in ſtomacke, and in reach of policy, farre beyond him.

The deſcription of Kildare.

Kildare was in gouernemente milde, to hys enimies ſterne, to the Iriſhe ſuch a ſcourge, that rather for deſpite of him, than for fauoure of anye parte, they relyed for a tyme to Ormond, came vnder hys protection, ſerued at hys call, performed by ſtartes (as theyr manner is) the duetie of good ſubiects.

Ormonde was ſecrete, and of great forecaſt, very ſtayed in ſpeech, daungerous of euery trifle that touched his reputation.

Kildare was open and playne, hardly able to rule hymſelfe when hee were moued, in anger, not ſo ſharp as ſhort, being eaſily diſpleaſed, and ſooner appeaſed.

Boyce.

Being in a rage with certayne of his ſeruãts, for faultes they committed, one of hys horſemẽ offered maiſter Boyce (a Gentleman that reteyned to him) an Iriſh Hobby, on condition, that hee woulde plucke an heare from the Earle hys berde. Boyce taking the proffer at rebound, ſtept to the Earle (with whoſe good nature hee was throughly acquainted) parching in the heate of his choler, and ſayd: So it is, and if it like youre good Lordſhippe, one of youre Horſemen promiſed mee a choyce Horſe, if I ſnippe one heare from your berde. Well quoth the Earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anye more than one, I promiſe thee to bring my fyſt from thine eare.

The braunche of this good nature hathe bin deriued from him to an Earle of his poſteritie, who beeing in a chafe, for the wrong ſaucing of a Partridge, roſe ſuddaynely from the Table, meanyng to haue reaſoned the matter wyth hys Cooke: hauyng entred into the Kitchen, drownyng in obliuion hys chalenge, hee began to commende the buyldyng of the roome, wherein hee was at no tyme before, and ſo leauyng the Cooke vncontrold, he returned to his gueſts meryly.

Thys olde Earle beeyng, as is aforeſayde, ſoone hote and ſoone colde, was of the Engliſhe well beloued, a good Iuſticier, a ſuppreſſor of the Rebels, a warrioure incomparable, towards the nobles that he fanſyed not, ſomewhat headlong and vnruly: beeyng charged before Henrye the ſeauenth, for burning the Churche of Caſhell, and manye witneſſes prepared, to auouche agaynſte hym the trouth of that article, hee ſuddaynely confeſſed the fact, to the greate wondering and deteſtation of the counſell: when it was looked how hee woulde iuſtifye the matter: by Ieſus (quoth hee) I woulde neuer haue done it, hadde it not bin tolde me, that the Archebyſhoppe was within: and bycauſe the ſame Archebyſhoppe was one of hys buſyeſt accuſers there preſent, the Kyng merily laughed at the playneſſe of the noble man, to ſee hym alledge that thing for excuſe, whiche moſt of all did aggrauate hys offence.

The laſt article agaynſte hym, they conceiued in theſe tearmes: Finally, all Irelande can not rule thys Earle. No? quoth the Kyng, then in good fayth ſhall this Earle rule all Irelande.

Kildare returneth Lorde Deputie.

Thus was that accuſation turned to a ieſt: the Earle returned to hys Countrey Lord Deputie, who notwithſtanding hys ſimplicitie in peace, was of that valoure and policie in warre, as his name bred a greater terrour to the Iriſh, than other mens armyes.

Kildares policie in warre.

In hys warres hee vſed, for policie, a retchleſſe kynde of diligence, or a headye careleſneſſe, to the ende hys Souldyers ſhoulde not faynte in theyr attemptes, were the enimie neuer of ſo greate power. Beeyng generall in the fielde of Knocktowe, where in effect, all the Iriſh Rebelles of Irelande were gathered againſte the Engliſhe pale, one of the Earle hys Captaines preſented him a wad of Kearnes, euē as they wer ready to ioyne battayle, and withall demaunded of the Earle, in what ſeruice hee would haue them employd? Mary (quoth hee) let them ſtande by and gyue vs the gaze.

Suche was hys courage, that notwithſtanding his enimies were two to one, yet woulde hee ſette ſo good a face on the matter, as hys Souldyers ſhoulde not once ſuſpect, that hee eyther needed, or longed for any further help.

Hauing triumphantly vanquiſhed the Iriſhe in that conflict, hee was ſhortly after, as well for that, as other his valiāt exploytes, made knight of the garter, and in the fifth yeare of Henry the eyght in that renowme and honoure hee dyed, wherein for the ſpace of manye yeares hee lyued.

1514

No maruayle if this ſucceſſe were a corſy to the aduerſe part, which the longer it held alooſe, and bit the bridle, the more egrely it followed the courſe, hauing once gott ſcope and roomth at wyll, as ſhall bee hereafter at full declared.

The Dublinians accuſed.

Ormond bearing in minde the treachery of the Dublinians, procured ſuch as were the graueſt Prelates of his Cleargie, to intimate to the Court of Rome the heatheniſh riot of the Citizens of Dublin in ruſhing into the Churche armed, polluting with ſlaughter the conſecrated place, defacing the Images, proſtrating the reliques, racing downe Aultars, with barbarous outcries, more like miſcreante Sarazens, than Chriſtian Catholiques. Whereuppon, a Legate was poſted to Ireland, bending his courſe to Dublin, where ſoone after, he was ſolemnely receyued by Walter Fitz Simons, Archbyſhop of Dublin, a graue Prelate, for hys learnyng and wiſedome choſen to be one of King Henry the ſeuenth hys Chaplaynes, in which vocation hee continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be Archbyſhop of Dublin.

A Legate ſente from Rome.

Walter Fitz Simons.

The Legate vppon his arriuall, indicted the Citie for his execrable offence: but at length, by the procurement as well of the Archbyſhoppe as of all the Cleargie, hee was weighed to gyue the Citizens abſolutiō, with this caueat, that in deteſtation of ſo horrible a fact, and *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the Maior of Dublin ſhould goe barefooted through the Citie in open Proceſſion before the Sacrament, on Corpus Chriſti day, whyche penitente ſatiſfaction was after in euerye ſuche Proceſſion duely accompliſhed.

Penaunce enioyned to the Citizens of Dublin.

The Earle of Kildare Lorde Deputie.

Girald Fitz Girald, ſonne and heire to the aforeſayd Earle of Kildare, was ſhortly after his father his deceaſſe, conſtituted Lorde Deputie of Irelande, before whome, in the ſeuenth yeare of Henry the eyght, there was a Parliamente holden at Dublin, wherein it was eſtabliſhed, that al ſuch, as bring out of England the kings letters of priuate ſeale, for particular cauſes againſt any of the King his ſubiects in Irelande, ſhoulde finde ſufficient ſureties in the King hys Chancerie in Ireland, to bee bound by recogniſance, that the playntife ſhall ſatiſfye the defendante, that purgeth or acquiteth himſelfe of the matter to hym alleged for hys coſtes and damages ſuſteyned by ſuche wrongfull vexation.

A Parliamente holden at Dublin.

This noble man being valiant and well ſpoken, was nothing inferioure to hys father in martiall prowesse, chaſing in the time of his gouernemēt the family of the tooles, battering O Carrell his Caſtels, and bringing in awe all the Iriſh of the land.

Pierce Butler, and Margaret Fitz Girald eſpouſed.

This Earle of good meaning, to vnite the houſes in friendſhip, matched his ſiſter Margaret Fitz Giralde, with Pierce Butler Earle of Oſſorie, whome he alſo help to recouer ẏ Erledome of Ormond, into the which, after the deceaſſe of the Earle James, a Baſterde Butler, had by abatement intruded.

Greate and manifolde were the miſeries the Lady Margaret ſuſteyned, hir huſband Pierce Butler beeing ſo egrely purſued by the vſurper, as hee durſt not beare vp head, but was forced to houer and lurke in Woodes and Forreſtes.

The noble woman being great with childe, and vppon neceſſitie conſtreyned to vſe a ſpare dyet (for hir onely ſuſtenaunce was milke) ſhe longed ſore for wine, and calling hyr Lorde, and a truſty ſeruaunte of hys, James White, vnto hir, ſhee requeſted them both, to helpe hyr to ſome Wyne, for ſhee was not able any longer to endure ſo ſtreight a life.

Iames White.

Truely Margaret, quoth the Earle of Oſſorie, thou ſhalt haue ſtore of Wine within thys foure and twentie houres, or elſe thou ſhalte feede alone on milke for me.

The nexte daye following, Pierce hauyng intelligence, that hys enimie the bace Butler woulde haue trauayled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithſtanding hee were accompanyed with ſyxe horſemenne, yet Pierce hauyng none but hys Lackey, did forſtalle hym in the way, and with a couragious charge, gored the Baſterd through with his ſpeare.

The Baſterde Butler ſlayne.

Thys proſperous calme ſucceeding the former boyſterous ſtorme, the Lady Margaret began to take hearte, hir naturall ſtouteneſſe floted, as well by the remembraunce of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match.

Kildare ſent for into England.

Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithſtanding the puſhes giuen againſte him by ſecrete heauers, that enuyed his fortune, and ſought to nouriſh the olde grudge, was at lẽgth by their priuie packing, fetched vp to the Court of Englande by commiſſion, and cauſed hym to bee examined vppon dyuers interrogatories touching the affayres of Irelande.

Maurice Fitz Thomas Lord Iuſtice.

Surrey Lord Lieutenant of Irelande.

1521

A Parliamente holden at Dublin.

Hee left in hys roomth Maurice Fitz Thomas, of Lackragh Lorde Iuſtice: and ſhortly after came ouer Lorde Lieutenaunt Thomas Howarde Earle of Surrey, who was after Duke of Northfolke, Grandfather to the laſt Duke, accompanyed with two hundred yeomen of the Crowne: before whome, ſhortly after his repaire thither, there was a Parliamente holden at Dublin, in whiche, there paſt an acte, that al wilful burning of corne, as wel in reekes in the fields, as in Villages and Townes, ſhuld be high treaſon.

Item an acte agaynſte lodyng wolles and flore, vppon payne of forfayture of the double value of the ſame, the one halfe to the Kyng, and the other halfe to him that will ſue therefore.

Item that any perſon ſeiſed of lands, rentes, or tenementes in poſſeſſion or in vſe, vnto the yerely value of tenne markes aboue the charges, in fee ſimple, fee tayle, or for tearme of lyfe, copy holde, or aunciente demeane, ſhall paſſe in euery attaint.

The Moores in Rebellion.

While the Lord Lieutenante ſate at dynner in the Caſtle of Dublin, hee hearde newes that the Moores with a mayne army were euen at the entrie of the bordures, readye to inuade the Engliſh pale.

Iohn Fitz Simons.

Immediately menne were leuyed by Iohn Fitz Simons, then Maior of Dublin, and the nexte morrowe ioyning them to his bande, the Lieutenant marched towardes the Frontiers of Leixe.

The Moores vppon the Lieutenant hys approche, ſeuered themſelues into ſundry companies, and vnderſtandyng that the carriage was dragging after the army, and ſlenderly mãned, certayne of them charged the Lieutenante hys ſeruauntes, and ſuche of the Citizens as were appoynted to guarde the carriage.

Patricke Fitz Simons.

Patricke Fitz Simons, a ſtrong ſturdy yonker, kept the enimies ſuch tacke, as he ſcared part of them away, reſcued the carriage, ſlewe two of the Rebelles, and broughte their heads wyth him to maiſter Maior his tent.

The next morning, two of the Lieutenaunte his men, that ſlunke away from Fitz Simons, thinking that the carriage had bin loſt, aduertiſed their Lorde, that Fitz Simons fledde away, and the Moores were ſo many in company, as it had bin but folly for two to bicker with ſo great a number.

The Lieutenante poſted in a rage to the Maior his pauilion, telling hym, that his man Fitz Simons was a cowardly Traytor in rũning away when hee ſhoulde haue defended the carriage.

What am I, my Lord, quoth Patricke Fitz Simons, ſkipping in his ſhirt out of the tente, with both the heads in his hand. My Lorde, I am no cowarde, I ſtoode to my tacklings, when your men gaue me the ſlippe, I reſcued the carriage, and haue heere ſufficiente tokens of my manhoode, tumbling downe both the heads. Saiſt thou ſo Fitz Simons quoth the Lieutenant? I crie thee mercie, and by this George, I woulde to God it had bin my good hap, to haue bin in thy companie in that ſkirmiſh. So drinking to Fitz Simons in a bolle of wine, and honorably rewarding him for his good ſeruice, he returned to his pauiliõ, where hauing knowledge of Omore his recule, he purſued him with a troupe of horſemen.

A valiant wiſh

The Earle of Surrey in daunger to haue bin ſlain.

The Lieutenant thus paſſing forward, was eſpyed by a gunner of Omores, who lodged cloſe in a woodde ſide, and watching hys time, hee diſcharged his peece at the verye face of the Lieutenante, ſtrake the viſer off hys helmet, and pierced no further as God would.

This did he (retchleſſe in manner what became of himſelfe, ſo hee might amaze the armye for a time) and ſurely hereby he brake the ſwiftnes of their following, and aduantaged the flight of his Captaine, which thing hee wanne with the price of his owne bloud. For the Souldyers would no further, till they hadde ranſackt all the nookes of thys woodde, verily ſuſpecting ſome ambuſh thereabout, and in ſeueral knottes ferretted out thys gunner, whome Fitz Williams and Bedlowe of the Roche, were fayne to mangle and hew in peeces, bycauſe the wretche would neuer yeelde.

Fitz Williams Bedlowe.

1523

Surrey ſent for home.

In the meane whyle, defyance was proclaymed with Fraunce and Scotlande both at once, whiche moued the Kyng to call home Surrey out of Irelande, that hee myghte employ hym in thoſe warres. Hys proweſſe, integritie, good nature, and courſe of gouernement, the Countrey muche commended.

Piers Butler Earle of Oſſorie Lord Deputie.

Piers Butler Earle of Oſſory, was appoynted Lorde Deputie.

In the meane time, Kildare attending the King his pleaſure for his diſpatche, recouered fauoure through the inſtance of the Marques Dorſet, whoſe daughter dame Elizabeth Grey, he eſpouſed, and ſo departed home.

1524

Robert Talbot of Belgard

Now was partaker of all ỹ Deputies counſell, one Roberte Talbot of Belgarde, whome the Gi-the Giraldines deadly hated: him they procured to keepe a Kalender of all their doings, who incenſed brother againſt brother. In which rage, James Fitz Girald meeting the ſayde Gentleman beſyde Ballimore, ſlewe him euen then vpon his iourney towarde the Deputie to keepe his Chriſtmas with him.

Margaret Counteſſe of Oſſorie.

With thys deſpitefull murther, both ſydes brake out into open enmitie, and eſpecially the Counteſſe of Oſſorie, Kildare hys ſiſter, a rare womã, and able for wiſedome to rule a realme, had not hir ſtomacke ouerruled hir knowledge.

Heere began informations of newe treaſons, paſſing to and fro, with complayntes and replyes.

But the Marques Dorſet had wroughte ſo for his ſonne in lawe, that he was ſuffered to reſt at home, and onely commiſſioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the roote of their griefes, wherein if they found Kildare any thyng at all purged, theyr inſtructions were to depoſe the plaintife, and to ſweare the other Lord Deputie.

Commiſsioners ſent to Irelande.

Commiſſioners were theſe, Sir Rauſe Egerton, a Knighte of Cheſhire, Anthony Fitz Herbert, ſeconde Juſtice of the common place, & James Dẽtõ, Deane of Liechfield, who hauing examined theſe accuſatiõs, ſuddaynely tooke the ſworde from the Earle of Oſſorie, ſware Kildare Lorde Deputie, before whome, Con Oneale bare the ſword that day.

Kildare ſworn L. Deputie.

Cardinall Wolſey enimie to the Giraldines.

Concerning the murtherer whome they myght haue hanged, they brought him priſoner into Englande, preſented him to the Cardinall Wolſey, who was ſayde to hate Kildare hys bloud: and the Cardinall intending to haue put him to execution, with more reproche and diſhonour to the name, cauſed him to bee ledde about the ſtreetes of London haltred, and hauing a taper in hys hande, which aſked ſo long time, that the Deane of Liechefielde ſtepped to the King, and begged the Gentleman hys pardon.

Pardon granted.

Kildare acuſed The Articles

The Cardinall was ſore inflamed heerewith, and the malice not hitherto ſo ranke, was throughly ripened, and therefore hence forewarde, Oſſorie broughte forthe diuers profes of the Deputie his diſorder, for that (as hee alledged) the Deputie ſhoulde winke at the Earle of Deſmonde, whome by vertue of the King hys letters, he ought to haue attached.

Alſo, that he ſought for acquaintance and affinitie with meere Iriſh enimies, that hee hadde armed them againſt him, then beeing the Kyng his Deputie, hee hanged and headed good ſubiectes, whome he miſtruſted to leane to the Butlers friendſhip. Kildare was therefore preſently commaunded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his roomth his brother Fitz Girald of Lexlip, whome they ſhortly depoſed, and choſe the Baron of Deluin, whome Oconor tooke priſoner, and then the Earle of Oſſorie (to ſhewe his habilitie of ſeruice) brought to Dublin an army of Iriſhmen, hauing captaines ouer them Oconnor, Omore, and Ocarrol, and at Saint Mary Abbey, was choſen Deputy by the King hys counſell. In whiche office being himſelfe (ſaue only in feates of armes) a ſimple Gentleman, hee bare out his honoure, and the charge of gouernement very worthely, through the ſingular wiſedome of his Counteſſe: a Lady of ſuche a port, that all eſtates of the Realme crouched vnto hir: ſo politique, that nothing was thought ſubſtantially debated without hir aduice: manlike and tall of ſtature: very liberall and bountifull: a ſure friende, a bitter enimie, hardly diſliking where ſhe fanſied, not eaſily fanſying wher ſhe diſliked: the only meane at thoſe days wherby hir huſbande his Countrey was reclaymed from ſluttiſhnes and ſlouenry, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie. But to theſe vertues was lynked ſuche a ſelfe liking, ſuche an ouerweening, and ſuche a maieſtie aboue the tenure of a Subiect, that for aſſurance thereof, ſhee ſticked not to abuſe hir huſbands honoure agaynſt hir brothers folly.

Fitz Girald Lord Iuſtice.

The Earle of Oſsorie choſen L. Deputie.

The Countes of Oſsorie.

Notwithſtandyng I learne not that ſhee practiſed his vndoyng (whiche enſued, and was to hir vndoubtedly greate heauineſſe, as vppon whome, both the blemiſhe thereof, and the ſubſtance of the greater part of that family depended after) but that ſhe by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credite, to aduance hir huſbãd, the commõ voice, and the thing it ſelfe ſpeaketh. All this while abode the Earle of Kildare at the Court, and with muche adoe, found ſhift to bee called before the Lords to aunſwere ſuddaynely. They ſate vpon him diuerſly affected, and namely ẏ Cardinall Lord Chancellour miſliking the Erle his cauſe, cõforted his accuſers, & enforced the articles obiected, & what elſe ſo euer could be gathered thereof in theſe words:

Kildare conuented before the Counſell.

The Cardinall L. Chanſellor chargeth Kildare.

I wote well (my Lorde) that I am not the meeteſt at this boorde to charge you with theſe treaſons, bycauſe it hathe pleaſed ſome of youre pewfellowes to report, that I am a profeſſed enimie to all nobilitie, and namely to the Giraldines: but ſeeing euerye curſt boy can ſay as muche when hee is controlled, and ſeeing theſe poyntes are ſo weightie, that they ſhould not bee diſſembled of vs, and ſo apparant, that they cãnot be denyed of you, I muſt haue leaue (notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlaunder) to bee the mouth of theſe honorable at this preſent, and to trumpe your treaſons in youre way, howſoeuer you take me. Firſt you remember, how ẏ lewde

Earle of Deſmond your kinſman (who paſſeth not whome hee ſerueth, mighte hee change hys maſter) ſent his confederates with letters of credence to Fraunçis the Frenche Kyng: and hauyng but colde comfort there, went to Charles the Emperoure, profering the help of Mounſter and Connaght, toward the conqueſt of Irelãd, if either of them woulde helpe to winne it from our King. Howe many letters, what preceptes, what meſſages, what threats haue bin ſent you to apprehende him, and yet not done? Why ſo? forſooth I could not catch him: nay nay Earle, forſooth you would not watche him. If hee bee iuſtly ſuſpected, why are you partiall in ſo great a charge? if not, why are you fearefull to haue him tryed? yea for it will be ſworne and depoſed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfully, ſhunned his ſighte, altered youre courſe, warned hys friendes, ſtopped both eares and eyes againſte his detectors, and when ſo euer you tooke vppon you to hunte him out, then was hee ſure before hande to bee out of your walke. Surely, this iugling and falſe play little became either an honeſt man called to ſuch honour, or a noble man putte in ſo greate truſt. Had you loſt but a Cowe or an Horſe of youre owne, two hundred of youre reteyners woulde haue come at your whiſtle to reſcue the pray frõ the vttermoſt edge of Vlſter: all the Iriſhe in Ireland muſt haue giuen you the way. But in purſuing ſo needeful a matter as this was, mercifull God, howe nice, how daungerous, howe wayward haue you bin? One while he is from home, another while he kepeth home, ſometimes fledde, ſometimes in the bordures, where you dare not venter. Iwiſſe my Lorde, there bee ſhrewde bugges in the bordures for the Earle of Kildare to feare, the Earle, nay the Kyng of Kildare: for when you are diſpoſed, you raigne more lyke than rule in the land: where you are malitious, the trueſt ſubiects ſtand for Iriſhe enimies: where you are pleaſed, the Iriſh enimie ſtandeth for a ductifull ſubiect: harts and hands, liues and landes, are all at your courteſie: who fawneth not thereon, he cannot reſt within your ſmell, and youre ſmel is ſo ranke, that you trake them out at pleaſure.

Whileſt the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chaufed and changed coloure, and ſundry profers made to aunſwere euery ſentence as it came: at laſt hee brake out, and interrupted hym thus.

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals tale

My Lord Chancellor, I beſeech you pardon me, I am ſhort witted, and you I perceyue intende a long tale: if you proceede in this order, halfe my purgation will be loſt for lacke of carriage. I haue no ſchoole trickes, nor arte of memorie: excepte you heare me while I remember your wordes, your ſecond proceſſe will hammer out the former.

The Lordes tender Kildare.

He anſwereth the Cardinals obiection.

The Lords aſſociate, who for the moſt parte tenderly loued him, and knew the Cardinall his manner of tauntes ſo lothſome, as wherewith they were inbred many yeares agone, humbly beſought his grace, to charge him directly with particulars, and to dwell in ſome one matter, vntill it were examined throughly: that graunted, it is good reaſon (quoth the Earle) that youre grace beare the mouth of thys borde, but my Lorde, thoſe mouthes that put theſe things into your mouth, are verye wyde mouthes, ſuche in deede as haue gaped long for my wracke, and nowe at length, for wante of better ſtuffe, are fayne to fill their mouthes with ſmoke. What my couſin Deſmonde hathe compaſſed, as I knowe not, ſo I beſhrew his naked hearte, for holding out ſo long. If hee can bee taken by my agents, that preſently waite for him, then haue mine aduerſaries bewrayed their malice, and this heape of heynous wordes ſhall reſemble a ſcarcrowe, or a man of ſtrawe, that ſeemeth at a bluſhe to carrie ſome proportion, but when it is felt and peyſed, diſcouereth a vanitie, ſeruyng only to feare Crowes: and I verily truſt, youre honours ſhall ſee the proofe by the thing it ſelfe, within theſe few dayes. But go too: ſuppoſe hee neuer be hadde, what is Kildare too blame for it more than my good brother of Oſſorie? who notwithſtanding his high promiſes, hauing alſo the King his power, is yet content to bring him in at leyſure. Cannot the Earle of Deſmonde ſhift, but I muſt be of counſell? cannot hee hyde him, except I winke? if hee bee cloſe, am I hys mate? if he be friended, am I a Traytour? This is a doughty kynde of accuſation, whiche they vrge agaynſte me, wherein they are ſtabled and mired at my firſte deniall. You woulde not ſee him (ſay they) who made them ſo familiar with mine eyeſight? or when was the Earle within my viewe? or who ſtoode by, when I let hym ſlippe? or where are the tokens of my wilfull hudwinke? but you ſente him worde to beware of you: who was the meſſenger? where are the letters? conuince my negatiues, ſee how looſely this idle geare hangeth togither. Deſmonde is not taken. Well, you are in fault, why? bycauſe you are: who proueth it? no body: what coniectures? ſo it ſeemeth: to whome? to your enimies: who tolde it them? they will ſweare it. What other groũd? none: wil they ſweare it my Lord? why then of like they know it, eyther they haue mine hãd to ſhewe, or can bring forth yͤ meſſenger, or were preſent at a conference, or priuie to Deſmonde, or ſome body bewrayed it to them, or they themſelues were my carriers or vicegerentes therein: whiche of theſe partes wyll they chowſe, for I knowe them too well. To recken my ſelfe conuict by their bare wordes or headleſſe ſayings, or frantike othes, were but a mere mockerie. My Letter were ſoone read, were any ſuch wryting extant, my ſeruants and friendes are readie to be ſifted: of my couſin of Deſmonde they may lie lewdly, ſince no man here can well contrarie them. Touching my ſelfe, I neuer noted in them eyther ſo much wit, or ſo faſt fayth, that I would haue gaged vpon their ſilence the life of a good hounde, much leſſe mine owne. I doubt not, may it lyke your honours, to appoſe them, how they came to the knowledge of thoſe matters, which they are ſo readie to depoſe: but you ſhall finde their tongues chayned to an other man his trencher, and as it were knightes of the poſt, ſuborned to ſay, ſweare, and ſtare the vttermoſte they can, as thoſe that paſſe not what they ſay, nor wyth what face they ſay it, ſo they ſaye no truth. But of an other ſide it grieueth mee, that your good grace whom I take to be wiſe & ſharpe, & who of your bleſſed diſpoſition wiſheth me well, ſhoulde be ſo farre gone in crediting theſe corrupt informers, that abuſe the ignorance of your ſtate and Countrey to my perill. Little knowe you, my Lorde, how neceſſarie it is, not onely for the gouernour, but alſo for euery Noble man in Irelande to hamper his vnciuil neighbours at diſcretion, wherein if they wayted for proceſſe of lawe, and had not thoſe lyues and landes you ſpeake of within theyr reach, they might happe to loſe their owne liues and landes, without lawe. You heare of a caſe as it were in a dreame, and feele not the ſmart that vexeth vs. In Englande there is not a meane ſubiect, that dare extend his hande to fillippe a peere of the Realme. In Irelande except the Lord haue cunning to his ſtrength, & ſtrength to ſaue his crowne, and ſufficient authoritie to take theeues and varlets when they ſturre, he ſhal finde them ſwarme ſo faſt, that it will be to late to call for iuſtice. If you wil haue our ſeruice take effect, you muſt not tie vs alwayes to theſe iudiciall proceedings, wherewith your realme (thanked be God) is inured. Touching my kingdome I know not what your Lordſhip ſhoulde meane thereby. If your Grace imagin, that a kingdom conſiſteth in ſeruing God, in obeying the prince, in gouerning with loue the common wealth, in ſhouldering ſubiects, in ſuppreſſing Rebelles, in executing iuſtice, in brideling blind affections, I would be willing to be inueſted with ſo vertuous and royall a name. But if therefore you terme me a king, in that you are perſwaded that I repine at the gouernment of my ſoueraigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppreſſe ciuill liuers, I vtterly diſclayme in that odious tearme, marueyling greatly, that one of your Grace his profound wiſdome, would ſeeme to appropriate ſo ſacred a name to ſo wicked a thing. But howſoeuer it be, my Lorde, I woulde you and I had chaunged Kingdomes but for one Moneth, I woulde truſt to gather vp more crummes in that ſpace, than twiſe the reuenues of my poore Earledome: but you are well and warme, and ſo holde you, and vpbrayde not me with ſuch an odious terme. I ſlumber in an hard Cabyn, whẽ you ſleepe in a ſoft bed of downe: I ſerue vnder the Kyng̃ hys Cope of heauen, when you are ſerued vnder a canapie: I drinke water out of my ſkull, when you drinke wine out of golden cuppes: my courſer is trayned to the fielde, when your Genet is taught to amble: when you are begraced and belorded, and crouched and kneeled vnto, then find I ſmall grace with our Iriſh borderers, excepte I cut thẽ off by the knees.

h what caſe
and the noble
en of Irelād
ith rebels.

At theſe gyrdes the Counſayle woulde haue ſmyled, if they durſt, but eche man bit his lippe, and held his countenaunce: for howſoeuer ſome of them inclined to the Erle of Oſſorie, they hated all the Cardinall, who perceyuing that Kildare was no babe, roſe in a fume from the Counſayle table, commytted the Earle, and deferred the matter, till more direct probations came out of Irelande.

The Cardinall not beloued.

The Duke of Norffolke who was late Lieutenant in Ireland, perceyuing the Cardinal to be ſore bent agaynſt the noble man, rather for the deadly hatred hee bare his houſe, than for anye great matter he had wherwith to charge his perſon, ſtept to the king, & craued Kildare to be his priſoner, offring to be bound for his forth cōming, ouer and aboue all his landes, bodie for bodie. Whereupon to the Cardinall his great griefe, the priſoner was bayled, and honourably by the duke entertayned.

The Duke of Norffolke bounde for Kildare.

1528

The Iriſh in rebellion.

During his abode in the duke his houſe, Oneyle, and Oconor, and all their friendes and alyes, watching their time to annoy the pale, made open inſurrection agaynſt the Earle of Oſſorie then Lord Deputie of Irelande, inſomuche that the nobleman miſtruſting the fickleneſſe of Deſmond on the one ſide, and the force of theſe newe ſtart vp Rebels on the other ſide, ſtood halfe amazed, as it were betweene fire and water. For remedie wherof, letters thicke and three folde were addreſſed to the Counſaile of Englande, purporting that all theſe late hurly burlies were of purpoſe rayſed by the meanes of Kyldare, to the blemiſhing and ſteyning of his brother Oſſorie his gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare commaunded his daughter Elice Fitz Gerald, wife to the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the aforeſaid traitours to this open rebellion.

Kildare a freſh impeached.

The Cardinall hereupon cauſed Kildare to be examined before the counſaile, where he preſſed

The Earle of Kildare committed.

him ſo deepely with this late diſloyaltie, that the preſumption being, as the Cardinall did force it, vehement, the treaſon odious, the king ſuſpicious, the enimie egre, the friendes faint, (which were ſufficient groundes to ouerthrow an innocent perſon) the Earle was repriued into the tower.

The noble man betooke himſelfe to God, and the king, he was heartily beloued of the Lieutenant, pitied in all the Court, and ſtanding in ſo harde a caſe, altered little of his accuſtomed hue, comforted other noble men priſoners with him, diſſembling his owne ſorrow.

A mandatum to execute Kildare.

One night when the Lieutenant and he for their diſport were playing at ſlidegrote or ſhofleborde, ſodainly commeth from the Cardinall a *Mandatum*, to execute Kyldare on the Morrow. The Earle marking the Lieutenants deepe ſigh, by S. Bryde, Lieutenant (quoth he) there is ſome madde game in that ſcrole: but fall how it will, this throwe is for an huddle. When the worſt was tolde him, nowe I pray thee (quoth he) do no more but learne aſſuredly from the king his owne mouth, whether his highneſſe be witting thereto, or not. Sore doubted the Lieutenant to diſpleaſe the Cardinall: yet of verie pure loue to his friend, he poſteth to the king at midnight, and deliuered his errand: for at all houres of the night the Lieutenant hath acceſſe to the Prince vpon occaſions. The king controlling the ſaucineſſe of the Prieſt (for thoſe were his termes) deliuered to the Lieutenant his Signet in token of countermaunde, which when the Cardinall had ſeene, he beganne to breathe out vnſeaſoned language, which the Lieutenant was lothe to heare, and ſo left him pattring and chaunting the Deuill his *Pater noſter*.

The Cardinal his preſumptuouſneſſe blamed of the king.

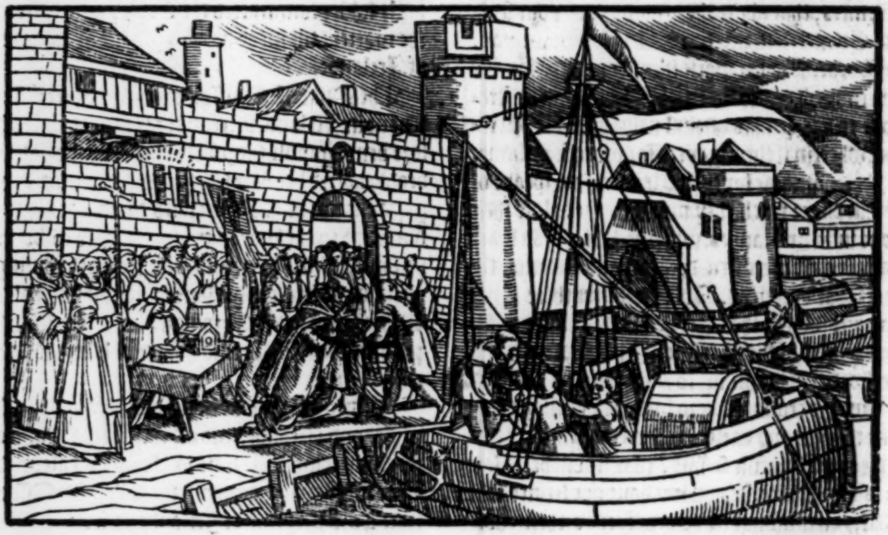
1529

Thus broke vp the ſtorme for that time, and the next yeare Woolſey was caſt out of fauour, and within few yeares, ſir William Skeffington was ſent ouer L. Deputie, and brought with him the Erle pardoned and ryd from all his troubles.

Sir William Skeffington Deputie of Irelande.

Edward Staples Biſhop of Meeth.

When it was bruted, that Skeffington, the Earle of Kildare, and Edward Staples Biſhop of Meth landed neare Dublyn, the Maior and Citizens mette him with a ſolemne Proceſſion on Saint Marie Abbayes greene. Where maiſter Thomas Fitz Simons recorder of Dublyn made a pithie Oration to congratulate the Gouernour and the Earle his proſperous aryuall, to whom Skeffington ſhaped an anſwere in this wiſe.



Thomas Fitz
imons.

kefſington
is anſwere.

‘ Maſter Maior, and maiſter Recorder, you
‘ haue at length this noble man here preſent, for
‘ whom you ſore longed, whyleſt he was abſent.
‘ And after many ſtormes by him ſuſteyned, hee
‘ hath nowe to the comfort of his friendes, to the
‘ confuſion of his foes, ſubdued violence with pa-
‘ cience, iniuries with ſufferance, and malice with
‘ obedience: and ſuch Butchers as of hatred thyr-
‘ ſted after his bloud, are nowe taken for outcaſte
‘ Maſtiues, littred in curriſh bloud. How well my
maiſter the king hath beene of his gracious incli- ,
nation affected to the Earle of Kildare, (his backe ,
friende being by his iuſt deſert from his Maieſtie ,
weeded) the credit wherein this noble man at this ,
preſent reſteth, manifeſtly declareth. Wherefore it ,
reſteth, that you thanke God and the King for his ,
ſafe arriuall. As for his welcome, maiſter Re- ,
corder his courteous diſcourſe, your great aſſem- ,
blies, your cheerfull countenaunces, your willing ,
meetings, your ſolemne Proceſſions. doe ſo farre ,
ſhewe it, as you miniſter mee occaſion on hys ,
Lordſhip his behalf, rather to thanke you for your ,
courteſie, than to exhort you to any further cere- ,
monie. ,

He glaunceth
t the Cardinal
ho was taken
o be a but-
her his ſonne.

Hauing ended his Oration, they road all into the Citie, where ſhortlye after the Earle of

Oſſorie ſurrendred the ſworde to ſir William Skeffington.

ldare inua- th the oles.

During the time that Kildare was in Englande, the ſept of the Tooles, making his abſence their harueſt, ceaſed not to moleſt and ſpoyle his tenants, and therefore the Earle meaning not to wrap vp ſo lightly their manifold iniuries, was determined preſently vpon his arriuall to crie the quittance: to the ſpeedineſſe of which ſeruice he requeſted the ayde of the Citizens of Dublyn; and expecting in Chriſtes Church their anſwere touching thys motion, the Maior and his brethren promiſed to aſſyſt him with two C. Archers.

eth his eſtion.

The late come Biſhop of Meth being then preſent, moued queſtion, whether the Citizens were pardoned, for crowning Lambert contrarie to theyr duetie of allegeance, and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might aduantage the king thereby. Whereat one of their ſageſt and experteſt Aldermen, named John Fitz Simons, ſtept forth and ſayde:

hn Fitz Si- ons anſwe- th Meth.

My Lorde of Meth, may I be ſo bolde as to craue what Countrey man you are? Mary ſir (quoth the Biſhop) I woulde you ſhoulde knowe it, I am a Gentleman, and an Engliſhe man. My Lorde (quoth Fitz Simons) my meaning is to learne, in what ſhire of Englande you were borne? In Lyncolnſhyre, good ſir, quoth Staples. Why then my Lorde, quoth Fitz Simons, we are no traytors, bycauſe it was the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lorde Louell that crowned him, and therefore if you be a Gentleman of Lincolnſhyre, ſee that you be pardoned, for God and our King be thanked, we haue need of none.

At this anſwere Meth was ſet, and ſuche as were preſent were forced to ſmyle, to ſee what a round fall he caught in his owne turne.

Henry White ayſed an vp- ore in Dublin

In the ſeconde yeare of Skeffington his gouernment, it happened that one Henrie White, ſeruant to Benet a Marchant of Dublyn, was pitching of a Cart of hay in the high ſtreete, and hauing offred boyes play to paſſengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his hay fall on a ſouldiers Bonet, as he paſt by his Cart: the ſouldiour taking this knauiſhe knacke in dudgeon, hurled his Dagger at him, and hauing narowly miſt the princocks, he ſticked it in a poſt not farre off. White leapt downe from the Cart, and thruſt the ſouldiour through the ſhoulder wyth hys pyke. Whereupon there was a great vprore in the Citie, betwene the Souldiours and the apprentiſes, inſomuch as Thomas Barby beyng the Maior, hauing the King his ſworde drawne, was hardly able to appeaſe the fray, in which dyuerſe were wounded, and none ſlaine.

Thomas Barby Maior.

The Lorde Deputie iſſued out of the Caſtel, and came as farre as the Pyllorie, to whome the Maior poſted through the preaſe with the ſworde naked vnder his arme, and preſented White that was yͤ brewer of all this garboyl to his Lordſhip, whom the Gouernour pardoned, as well for hys courage in bickering, as for his retchles ſimplicity and pleaſantneſſe in telling the whole diſcourſe. Wherby a man may ſee how many bloudie quarels, a brawling ſwaſhbuckler may pyke out of a bottle of hay, namely when his braynes are forebitten with a bottle of nappie Ale.

White pardoned.

About this time ther was a great ſturre reiſed in Englãd, about the king his diuorſe, who thinking it expedient in ſo fickle a worlde to haue a ſure poſt in Irelande, made Kildare Lorde Deputie, Crommer, the Primate of Armach, Lorde Chancellour, and ſir James Butler Lord Treaſorer.

Kildare Lorde Deputie. Croomer. Butler.

Skeffington ſuppoſing, that he was put beſide the quiſhion by the ſecrete canuaſſing of Kildare his friendes, conceyued thereof a great ielouſie, being therein the deeper drenched, bycauſe that Kildare hauing receyued the ſworde, woulde permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane priuate perſon, to daunce attendance among other ſuiters in his houſe at Dublyn, named the Carbry.

Skeffington offended with Kildare.

Skeffington playing thus on the bit, ſhortly after ſayled into England, vpon whoſe departure the Lorde Deputie ſummoned a Parliament, at Dublin, where there paſt an Act agaynſt leazers of corne: Item, for the vniting and appropriation of the perſonage of Galtrim, to the Priorie of Saint Peters by Trim.

He ſayleth into Englande.

1532

A Parliament ſummoned at Dublin.

In the Parliament tyme, Oneale on a ſodaine inuaded the Countrey of Vriell, ryfling and ſpoyling the king his ſubiects, at which tyme alſo was the Earle of Oſſorie greatly vexed by the Giraldines, by reaſon of the olde quarelles of either ſide a freſh reuiued.

Vriell inuaded by Oneale.

The next yeare, the Lorde Deputie going agaynſt Ocarroule, was pitifully hurt in the ſide, with a Gunne at the Caſtell of Byrre, ſo that he neuer after enioyed his lymmes, nor deliuered his wordes in good plight, otherwiſe like ynough to haue bene longer forborne, in conſideration of his many noble qualities, great good ſeruices, and the ſtate of thoſe tymes.

Kildare hurt.

Streight wayes complayntes were addreſſed to the king of theſe enormities, and that in moſt heynous maner that could be deuyſed, boulting out his doings as it were to the leaſt brake of ſiniſter ſurmiſes, turning euerie priuate iniurie to be the king his quarell, and making euerie Puddings pricke as huge in ſhewe as Sampſom hys Piller. Whereupon Kildare was commaunded by ſharpe letters to repayre into Englande, leauing ſuch a perſon for the furniture of that realm, and the gouernance of the lande in his abſence, for whoſe doings he would anſwere.

Kildare accuſed.

He is ſent for to Englande.

Being

Thomas Fitz Girald.

Being vpon the ſight of this letter prepared to ſayle into England, he ſate in counſaile at Dublyn, and hauing ſent for his ſonne and heyre the Lorde Thomas Fitz Giralde (a yong ſtripling of xxj. yeares of age, borne in England, ſonne to the Lorde Souch his daughter, the Erle of Kyldare his firſte wife) in the hearing of the whole borde thus he ſpake.

Kildare his exhortation to his ſonne the L. Thomas.

Sonne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my ſoueraigne Lord the King, hath ſent for me to Englande, and what ſhall betyde me, God knoweth, for I know not. But howſoeuer it falleth, both you and I know, that I am well ſtept in yeares: and as I may ſhortly die, for that I am mortal, ſo I muſt in haſt deceaſe, bicauſe I am olde. Wherefore in as much as my Wynter is well neare ended, and the Spring of your age nowe buddeth, my will is that you behaue your ſelfe ſo wiſely in theſe your greene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friendes, you may enioy the pleaſure of your Sommer, gleane and reape the fruite of your Harueſt, that with honour you may growe to the catching of that hoarie Winter, on whiche you ſee me your father faſt pricking.

And whereas it pleaſeth the king his Maieſtie, that vpon my departure here hence, I ſhoulde ſubſtitute in my rowme ſuch one, for whoſe gouernment I woulde anſwere: albeit I knowe, that your yeares are tender, your wit not ſettled, your iudgement not fully rectified, and therefore I myght bee with good cauſe reclaymed, from putting a naked ſworde in a yong mans hande: yet notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as I am your father, and you my ſonne, I am well aſſured to beare that ſtroke with you in ſteering your ſhip, as that vpon any information I may commaunde you as your father, and correct you as my ſonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that ſit at this bourd, far more ſufficient perſonages for ſo great a charge than you are. But what then? If I ſhoulde caſt this burthen on their ſhoulders, it might bee, that hereafter they woulde bee ſo farre with enuie caryed, as they woulde percaſe hazard the loſſe of one of their owne eyes, to be aſſured, that I ſhould be depriued of both mine eyes. But foraſmuche as the caſe toucheth your ſkinne as neare as mine, and in one reſpect nigher than mine, bycauſe (as I ſayde before) I reſt in the Winter, and you in the Spring of your yeares, and nowe I am reſolued day by day to learne, rather howe to die in the feare of god, than to liue in the pompe of the worlde, I thinke you will not be ſo braineſicke, as to ſtabbe your ſelfe through the body, only to ſkarrifie my ſkinne with the poynt of your blade. Wherefore, my ſonne, conſider, that it is eaſie to raze, and harde to buylde, and in all your affayres be ſchooled by this borde, that for wiſedome is able, and for the intier affection it beareth your houſe will be founde willing, to leſſon you with ſounde and ſage aduiſe. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counſaile they muſt rule you.

My ſonne, you know that my late maimes ſticketh my talke: otherwiſe I would haue grated longer on this matter. For a good tale may be twiſe tolde, and a ſounde aduiſe eftſoones iterated, taketh the deeper impreſſion in the attentiue hearer his minde. But although my fatherly affection requireth my diſcourſe to be longer, yet I truſt your good inclination aſketh it to be ſhorter, and vpon that aſſurance, here in the preſence of this honourable aſſembly, I delyuer you thys ſworde.

Kildare ſayleth into Englande.

Thus he ſpake for his laſt farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he ſtoode, embraced the Counſaile, committed them to God, and immediately after he was embarked.

His oration miſconſtrued.

But although with his graue exhortation the frozen heartes of his aduerſaries for a ſhort ſpirt thawed, yet notwithſtanding they turned ſoone after all this gay *Gloria patri*, to a further fetche, ſaying that this was nothing elſe but to dazell their eyes with ſome iugling knacke, to the ende they ſhoulde aduertiſe the king of his loyall ſpeeches, adding further, that he was too too euill, that coulde not ſpeake well. And to force the prepenſed treaſons, they layde to his charge, with further ſurmiſes, they certified the counſaile of Englande, that the Erle before his departure, furniſhed his owne Piles and fortes with the King his Artillerie and Munition taken forth of the Caſtel of Dublin.

He is accuſed for taking the king his artillerie.

The Erle being examined vpon that article before the Counſaile, although he anſwered that the fewe potte Gunnes and Chambers hee tooke from thence, were placed in his Caſtell to ſtrengthen the borders agaynſt the inroades of the Iriſh enimie, and that if he intẽded any treaſon, he was not ſo fooliſh, as to fortifie walles and ſtones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands, yet notwithſtanding he deliuered his ſpeeches by reaſon of his Palſey, in ſuch ſtaggering and maffling wiſe, that ſuch of the Counſaile as were not his friends, perſwading the reſt that he had ſunke in his owne tale, by imputing his liſping and dragging anſwere, rather to the guilt of conſcience, than to the infirmitie of his late maime, had him committed, vntill the king his pleaſure were further knowne.

Kildare committed.

But before we wade any further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it woulde be noted, that the Earle of Kildare among diuerſe hidden aduerſaries, had in theſe his later troubles foure principall enimies, that were the

Kildare his chiefe enimies

the Belweathers and Caterpyllers of his ouerthrow, as in thoſe dayes it was commonly bruted.

John Alen Archbiſhop of Dublin.

The firſt was Iohn Alen Archebiſhoppe of Dublin, a Gentleman of a good houſe, Chaplayne to Cardinall Woolſey, and after by the Cardinall his meanes conſtituted Archbiſhop of Dublin, a learned Prelate, a ſingular good Cãnoniſt, a good houſeholder, of the people indifferently beloued, and more woulde haue bene, had he not ouerbuſied himſelf in ſupplanting the houſe of Kildare.

And although it were knowne, that his firſte grudge towardes the Giraldines, proceeded from the great affection he bare his Lorde and maiſter the Cardinall, inſomuch as he would not ſticke, were he able, for the pleaſuring of the one to vndoe the other, yet ſuche occaſions of greater hatred after enſued (namely for that hee was diſplaced from beeyng Lorde Chauncellour, and Cromer the Primate of Armache by Kildare his driftes ſetled in the office) as notwithſtanding the Cardinall his combe were cut in England, yet did hee perſiſt in purſuing his wonted malice toward that ſeat.

Sir Iohn Alen knight.

The ſeconde that was lynked to this confederacie, was ſir Iohn Alen Knight, firſt Secretarie to this Archbiſhop, after became mayſter of the Rolles, laſtly Lorde Chauncellor. And although ſir Iohn Alen were not of kinne to the Archebiſhop, but onely of the name, yet notwithſtandyng the Archebiſhop made ſo greate reckenyng of him, as well for his forecaſte in matters of weyght, as for hys faythfulneſſe in affayres of truſt, as what ſoeuer exployte were executed by the one, was forthwith deemed to haue bene diuiſed by the other.

Thomas Cannon.

The thirde of this crewe was Thomas Cannon, Secretarie to Skeffington, who thinkyng to be reuenged on Kildare for puttyng his Lord and maiſter beſide the Cuſhen, as hee ſurmyſed, was very willyng to haue an Oare in that Boate.

Robert Cowly.

The fourth that was ſuſpected to make vp the muſter, was Robert Cowly, firſt Baylife in Dublin, after ſeruaunt to the Ladie Margaret Fitz Giralde Counteſſe of Ormond and Oſſorie, laſtly maiſter of the Rolles in Ireland, and finally hee deceaſſed at London.

This Gentleman for his wiſedome and policy was very inwarde with the Lady Margaret Counteſſe of Oſſory, as one by whoſe aduiſe ſhee was in all hir affayres directed. Whervpon ſome ſuſpicious perſones were perſwaded and brought in mynde, that hee was the ſower of all the diſcorde that reſted betweene the two brethrene Kyldare and Oſſory, as though hee coulde not bee rooted in the fauour of the one, but that hee muſt haue profeſſed open hatred to the other.

Theſe foure as byrdes of one feather, were ſuppoſed to bee open enimies to the houſe of Kyldare, bearyng that ſway in the common wealth as they were not occaſioned, as they thought, eyther to craue the friendſhippe of the Giraldines, or greatly to feare theyr hatred and enimitie.

There were beſide them diuerſe other ſecrete vnderminers, who wrought ſo cunningly vnder the thumbe, by holdyng with the Hare, and runnyng with the Hounde, as if Kyldare had proſpered, they were aſſured, theyr malice would not haue bene in maner ſuſpected, but if hee had bene in hys affayres ſtabled, then theyr fine deuiſes for theyr further credite ſhoulde haue bene apparented. Wherefore the heauyng of hys backe friendes not onely ſurmiſed, but alſo manifeſted, by Kildare, the Lorde Thomas being Lorde Iuſtice, or vice Deputie, in his father hys abſence, fetcht both the Alens ſo roundly ouer the hippes, as well by ſecrete driftes as open tauntes, as they were the more egerly ſpurrde, to compaſſe his cõfuſion. For the Lord Iuſtice and the Counſayle, with diuerſe of the Nobilitie at a ſolemne banquet, diſcourſing of the auncientie of houſes, and of theyr armes, ſir Iohn Alen ſpake to the Lorde Iuſtice theſe wordes.

The L. Thomas enkindleth the Alens agaynſt him.

The propertie of the Marmoſet.

My Lorde, your houſe giueth the Marmoſet, whoſe propertie is to eate his owne tayle. Meanyng thereby as the Lorde Thomas ſuppoſed, that Kildare did vſe to pill and poll hys friendes, tenants and reteyners. Theſe wordes were no ſooner ſpoken, than the Lorde Thomas ſtrikyng the ball to Alen agayne, anſwered, as one that was ſomewhat ſlipper tongued, in this wiſe.

You ſay truth ſir, in deede I heard ſome ſay, that the Marmoſet eateth his owne tayle. But although you haue bene fedde by your tayle, yet I woulde aduiſe you to beware, that your tayle eate not you.

Shortly after this quippyng gamegall, the Lord Iuſtice and the Counſaile road to Drogheda, where hauyng for the ſpace of three or foure daies ſoiourned, it happened that the Cõſaylours awayted in the Counſayle Chamber the gouernour his commyng, vntill it was hard vpon the ſtroke of .xij. The Archbiſhop of Dublyn rawly digeſtyng the Vicedeputie his long abſence, ſayde:

My Lordes, is it not a pretie matter, that all wee ſhall ſtay thus long for a boy? As he vttered theſe ſpeeches, the Lorde Iuſtice vnluckily was commyng vp the Stayres, and at hys entrie taking the wordes hoate from the Biſhop his mouth, and iterating them very coldly hee ſayde:

The Archbiſhop his taũt.

My Lordes, I am heartily ſory, that you ſtayed thus long for a boy. Whereat the Prelate was appalled, to ſee how vnhappily he was galde with his owne caltrop.

The enimies conſpire the ouerthrow of the Giraldines

The occaſion of Thomas Fitz Giralde his rebellion.

Theſe and the like cuttyng ſpeeches, enkindled ſuche coales in both theyr ſtomackes, as the flame coulde not any longer be ſmouldered, but at one clift or other muſt haue fumed. The enimies therefore hauing well nighe knedded the dough that ſhould haue beene baked for the Giraldines bane, deuiſed that ſecrete rumors ſhould ſprinckle to and fro, that the Earle of Kildare his execution was intended in Englande, and that vpon his death the Lorde Thomas and all his bloud ſhould haue bene apprehended in Irelande.

As this falſe muttering flewe abrode, it was holpen forwarde by Thomas Cannon, and other of Skeffington hys ſeruauntes, who ſticked not to write to certayne of theyr friends, as it were, very ſecrete letters, howe that the Earle of Kyldare theyr mayſter hys ſecrete enimie (ſo they tooke hym, bycauſe hee gotte the gouernment ouer hys heade) was already cut ſhorter, as his iſſue preſently ſhoulde bee, and nowe they truſted to ſee theyr mayſter in hys gouernment, after whiche they ſore longed, as for a preferment, that woulde in ſhorte ſpace aduauntage them. Suche a letter came to the handes of a ſimple Prieſt, no perfect Engliſhman, who for haſte hurled it among other Papers in the Chimneys ende of hys Chamber, meaning to peruſe it better at more leyſure. The ſame very night, a Gentleman retayning to the Lord Thomas, the lord Iuſtice or Vicedeputie, as is before ſpecified, tooke vp his lodgyng with the Prieſt, and raught in the morning when he roſe for ſome Paper, to drawe on his ſtrayte ſtockings, and as the Diuell would, he hit vpon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his ſtocke, no earthly thyng miſdeeming. At night againe he founde the Paper vnfretted, and muſing thereof he beganne to poare on the writing, which notified the Earle his death, and the apprehenſion of the Lorde Thomas. To horſe goeth he in all haſt, brought the letter to Iames Delahide, who was a principall counſaylour to the Lorde Thomas in all his doings. Delahide hauing ſcantly ouerread the letter, making more haſt than good ſpeede, poſted to the Lorde Thomas, imparted him that letter, and withall putting fire to flaxe, before hee diued to the bottome of this treacherie, hee was contented to ſwim on the ſkum and froth thereof, as well by ſoothing vp the tenour of the letter, as by inciting the Lorde Thomas to open rebellion, cloaking the odious name of treaſon, with the zealous reuengement of his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie defence of his owne perſon.

Iames Delahide.

The Lorde Thomas being youthfull, raſh, and headlong, and aſſuryng himſelfe, that the knot of all the force of Ireland was twiſted vnder his gyrdle, was by Delahide his Counſaile ſo farre caryed, as he was reſolued to caſt all on ſixe and ſeuen. Wherefore hauing confedered with Oneale, Oconor, and other Iriſh Potentates, he road on Saint Barnabies day, accompanied with ſeuenſcore horſemẽ in their ſhirtes of Maile, through the Citie of Dublin, to the Dam his gate, croſt ouer the water to Saint Marie Abbey, where the Counſayle accordyng to appoyntment, awayted his comming, not being priuie to his intent, onely Croommer the Lord Chauncellour excepted, who was ſecretly aduertiſed of his reuolt, and therefore was very well prouided for him, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

Croommer L. Chancellor.

This Croommer was a graue Prelate, and a learned, well ſpoken, milde of nature, nothing wedded to factions, yet a well willer of the Giraldines, as thoſe by whoſe meanes he was aduaunced to that dignitie.

When the Lord Thomas was ſet in counſaile, his horſemen and ſeruants ruſht in to the counſaile Chamber armed and weaponed, turning their ſecrete conference to an open parlee. The Counſaile hereof amazed, and ſilence with ſecuritie commaunded, the Lorde Thomas in this wiſe ſpake.

Thomas Fitz Girald his rebellious Oration.

Howſoeuer iniuriouſly wee be handled and forced to defend our ſelues in armes, whẽ neither our ſeruice nor our good meaning towardes our prince his Crowne auayleth, yet ſay not hereafter, but in this open hoſtilitie which here we profeſſe and proclayme, we haue ſhewed our ſelues no villaynes, nor churles, but warriours and Gentlemen. This ſworde of eſtate is yours, and not mine, I receyued it with an othe, and haue vſed it to your benefite. I ſhould deſteyne mine honour, if I turned the ſame to your annoyance. Nowe haue I neede of mine owne ſworde, which I dare truſt. As for the common ſworde it flattereth me with a painted ſcabberde, but hath in deed a peſtilent edge, already bathed in the Giraldines bloud, & now is newly whetted in hope of a further deſtruction. Therefore ſaue your ſelues from vs, as from open enimies, I am none of Henrie his Deputie, I am his fo. I haue more mind to conquer, than to gouerne, to meete him in the field, than to ſerue him in office. If al the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cauſe thereto, would ioine in this quarell (as I hope they wil) then ſhould he ſoone aby (as I truſt he ſhal) for his crueltie and tyranny, for which the age to come may lawfully ſcore him vp among the auncient Tyrants of moſt abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Hauing added to this ſhamefull Oration many other ſlaunderous & foule tearmes, which for diuerſe reſpects I ſpare to pen, he would haue ſurrendered the ſworde to the Lord Chancellor, who, as I ſayd before, being armed for the Lord Thomas his cõming, and alſo being loath, that his ſlackneſſe ſhould ſeeme diſloyall in refuſing the ſworde, or his frowardneſſe ouer cruell in ſnatching it vpon the firſt proffer, tooke the Lord Thomas by the wreſt of the hand, and requeſted him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three wordes the hearing, which graunted, the reuerend father ſpake as enſueth.

The Chancel-lor his oration.

My Lorde, although hatred be commonly the handmayden of truth, bycauſe we ſee hym, that plainely expreſſeth his minde, to be for the more part of moſt men diſliked: yet notwithſtãding I am ſo well aſſured of your Lordſhip his good inclination towardes me, and your Lordſhip ſo certaine of mine entire affection towardes you, as I am emboldned, notwithſtanding this companie of armed men, freely and franckly to vtter that, which by me declared, and by youre Lordſhip folowed, wil turne God willing, to the auayle of you, your friends, alies, & this cõutrey.

I doubt not, my Lord, but you know, that it is wiſdome for any man to looke before he leape, and to ſowne the water before his ſhip hul theron, and namely where the matter is of weight, there it behoueth to follow ſounde, ſage and mature aduiſe. Wherefore, my Lorde, ſithe it is no Maygame, for a ſubiect to leuie an armye againſt his prince: it lyeth your Lordſhip in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by forecaſting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What ſhould moue your Lordſhip to this ſodaine attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but ſecretly muttered, not manifeſtly publiſhed. And if I ſhould graunt you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in ſome reſpect to be commended: yet reaſon would you ſhould ſuſpend the reuẽge vntil the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it ſtandeth with the dutie and allegeance of a good ſubiect (from whom I hope in God, you meane not to diſſeuer your ſelfe) not to ſpurne and kicke againſt his prince, but contrariewiſe, if his ſoueraigne be mightie, to feare him: if he be profitable to his ſubiects, to honour him: if he commaunde, to obey him: if he be kinde, to loue him: if he bee vicious, to pitie him: if he be a Tyrant, to beare with him, conſidering that in ſuche caſe it is better wyth pacience to bowe, than with ſtubburneſſe to breake. For ſacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God ſhielded, the other in hell forged, and by the Diuell executed. And therefore who ſo wyll obſerue the courſe of Hyſtories, or weigh the Iuſtice of God in puniſhing malefactours, ſhall eaſily ſee, that albeit the Sunne ſhyneth for a tyme on them that are in Rebellion, yet ſuche ſweete beginnings are at length claſped vp with ſharpe and ſowre endes.

The ſubiects dutie towards his king.

The name of a king ſacred.

Rebellion his whence it ſpringeth.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armoure agaynſt your King, it reſteth to diſcuſſe whether you bee able, although you were willing to annoy your King. For if among meane and priuate ſots it be reckened for a folly in a ſecrete grudge to profeſſe open hatred, and where hee is not able to hynder, there to ſhewe a willing mynde to hurte: muche more ought your Lordſhippe in ſo generall a quarell as thys, that concerneth the King, that toucheth the Nobilitie, that apperteyneth to the whole common wealth, to foreſee the King his power on the one ſide, and your force on the other, and then to iudge if you bee able to cocke with him, and to put hym beſide the Cuſhion, and not whyleſt you ſtriue to ſit in the Saddle, to loſe to your owne vndoyng, both the Horſe and the Saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to bee in theſe our dayes ſo puiſſant a Prince, and ſo victorious a worthie, that he is able to conquere forreine dominions: and thinke you, that he cannot defend his owne? He tameth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne ſubiectes? Suppoſe you conquere the lande, doe you ymagine that hee will not recouer it? Therefore my Lorde, flatter not your ſelfe ouer muche, repoſe not ſo great affiance either in your troupe of horſmen, or in your bande of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face ſoeuer they put now on the matter, or what ſucceſſe ſoeuer for a ſeaſon they haue, bycauſe it is eaſie for an army to vanquiſh them that doe not reſiſt, yet hereafter when the king ſhall ſend his power into this Countrey, you ſhall ſee your adherents like ſlipper chaungelings plucke in theyr hornes, and ſuch as were cõtent, to beare you vp by the chin, as long as you coulde ſwim, when they eſpie you ſinke, they will by little and little ſhrinke from you, and percaſe will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your ſayles, doubt not but diuerſe wil aneerre vnto you, and feede on you, as Crowes on carion. But if any ſtorme happen to bluſter, then will they be ſure to leaue you poſt alone ſticking in the myre or ſands, hauing leaſt helpe, when you haue moſt neede. And what will then enſue of this. The braunches will be pardoned, the roote apprehended, your honour diſteyned, your houſe attainted, your armes reuerſed, your Manours razed, your doings examined, at whiche time God knoweth, what an heartburning it will be, when that with no colour may bee denied, which without ſhame cannot be confeſſed. My Lorde I poure not out Oracles as a ſoothſayer, for I am neyther a Prophet, nor the ſonne of a Prophete. But it may be, that I am ſome frãtique Caſſandra being partner of hir ſpirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of hir miſfortune, in that I am not when I tell the truth beleeued of your Lordſhip, whome God defende from being Priamus.

Caſſandraes prophecie.

Weigh therefore, my Lord, the nobilitie of your aunceſters, remember your father his late exhortation, forgette not your duetie to your Prince, conſider the eſtate of this poore Countrey, with what heapes of curſes you ſhall bee loden, when your ſouldiours ſhall rifle the poore Subiectes, and ſo farre endamage the whole Realme, as they are not yet borne, that ſhall hereafter feele the ſmart of this vprore. You haue not gone ſo farre, but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offence as yet not ouerheynous, cleaue to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folly. Which I craue in moſt humble wiſe of your Lordſhip, for the loue of God, for the duetie you owe your Prince, for the affection you beare the Countrey, and for the reſpecte you haue to youre owne ſafetie, whome God defende from all trayterous and wicked attempts.

Hauing ended his Oration, which hee ſette forth with ſuche a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horſemen, namely ſuch as vnderſtoode not Engliſhe, began to diuine what the Lorde Chauncellour meant with all this long circumſtance, ſome of them reporting that hee was preaching a Sermon, others ſayd, that he ſtoode making of ſome Heroicall Poetrie in the prayſe of the Lorde Thomas. And thus as euery Idiot ſhot his fooliſhe bolt at the wiſe Counſalour his diſcourſe, who in effect did nought elſe but drop precious ſtones before Hogges, one Bard de Nelan, an Iriſhe rithmour, and a rotten ſheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Iriſh verſes, as though his tongue had runne on pattens, in commendation of the Lorde Thomas, inueſting him with the tytle of ſilken Thomas, bycauſe his horſemens iacks were gorgeouſly embrodered with ſilke: and in the ende he tolde him that hee lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the Lorde Thomas being quickned, did caſt hys eye towardes the Lorde Chauncellour, and ſayde:

Bard de Nelan

Silken Thomas.

He replyeth.

My Lorde Chauncellour, I come not hither to take aduice what I ſhoulde doe, but to giue you to vnderſtande what I minde to doe. It is eaſie for the ſounde to counſaile the ſicke: But if the ſore had ſmarted you as much as it feſtereth me, you woulde bee percaſe as impacient as I am. As you woulde wiſhe me to honour my Prince, ſo duetie willeth mee to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will wyth ſuch tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my deſtruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitours haue beene before him. But if it bee my hap to miſcarie, as you ſeeme to prognoſticate, catche that catche maye, I will take the Market as it ryſeth, and will chooſe rather to die with valiantneſſe and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as ſtrong as hee is, and as weake as I am, I ſhal be able like a fleſh worme to itch the bodie of his Kingdome, and force him to ſcratch deepely before he be able to pike me out of my ſeame. Wherefore my Lorde, I thanke you for your good counſaile, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in deſcant to bee nowe tuned, it might be, that I woulde haue warbled ſweeter harmonie than at this inſtaunt I mean to ſing.

Henrie Lorde of Irelande,

With theſe wordes he rendred vp the ſword, and flung away like a bedlem, beeing garded wyth hys brutiſhe droue of braineſicke Rebelles.

Thomas rendreth vp the ſworde.

The Counſaile ſent ſecretely vpon his departure to maiſter Maior and his brethren, to apprehende, if they conueniently might, Thomas Fitz Giralde, and his confederates. But the warning was ſo ſkarborowe, the enimie ſo ſtrong, the Citie by reaſon of the plague that raunged in towne and in country, ſo diſpeopled, as their attempt therein would ſeeme but vaine and friuolous.

Ouer this, the weaker parte of the Rebelles would not penne vp themſelues within the Citie walles, but ſtood houering alooſe off towards Oſtmantowne greene, on the toppe of the hyll where the gallouſe ſtoode (a fitte center for ſuche a circle) till tyme they were aduertiſed of theyr Captayne Thomas his returne.

len.
Finglaſſe.

ohan White.

This open Rebelliō in this wiſe denounced, parte of the Counſell, namely Alen Archbyſhop of Dublin, Finglaſſe chiefe Baron, hyed wyth bagge and baggage to the Caſtell of Dublin, whereof Joan White was Conſtable, who after was dubbed Knight by the Kyng in England, for hys worthy ſeruice done in that vprore.

Thomas and his crew, ſuppoſing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they ſhould finde no blocke to ſtumble at ſauing the Earle of Oſſorie, agreed to trie, if by any allurements he could be trayned to their cōfederacy. And for as much as the Lorde James Butler was linckt with Thomas Fitz Girald in great amitie and friēdſhippe, it was thought beſt to giue him the onſette, who if he were wonne to ſway with them, they woulde not weigh two chippes the force of his father, the Earle of Oſſory.

Thomas forthwith ſent his meſſengers and letters to his couſin the Lord Butler, couenanting to deuide wyth hym halfe the Kingdome, would he aſſociate him in this enterpriſe, wherupon, the Lorde Butler returned Thomas hys brokers with this letter.

e Lorde
ler his let-
to Thomas
z Girald.

TAking penne in hand, to write you my reſolute aunſwere, I muſe in the very firſte line, by what name to call you, my Lord, or my Couſin: ſeeing your notorious treaſon hath diſteyned your honour, and your deſperate lewdeneſſe ſhamed youre kinred: you are ſo liberall in parting ſtakes with mee, that a man woulde weene, you had no right to the game: ſo importunat in crauing my company, as if you would perſwade me to hang with you for good fellowſhip. Do you thinke that James was ſo madde, as to gape for Gogions, or ſo vngracious, as to ſell his trueth for a peece of Ireland? Were it ſo (as it cannot bee) that the chickens you recken, were both hatched and feathered, yet bee thou ſure, I had rather in this quarrell dye thine enimie, than liue thy partner: for the kindneſſe you proffer me, and good loue in the ende of your letter, the beſt way I can, I purpoſe to requite, that is, in aduiſing you, though you haue fetched your feaze, yet to looke well ere you leape. Ignorance and errour wyth a certayne opinion of duetie, haue carried you vnawares to this follie, not yet ſo ranke, but it may be cured. The King is a veſſell of bounty and mercy, youre wordes agaynſte his Maieſtie ſhall not be accompted malitious, but rather belched out for heate and impotency, except your ſelfe, by heaping offences, diſcouer a miſcheuous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitz Girald netled with this round aunſwere, was determined to inuade the Coūtrey of Kilkenny, firſte forcing an othe vpon the Gentlemen of the pale: and ſuche as woulde not agree thereto, he tooke priſoners.

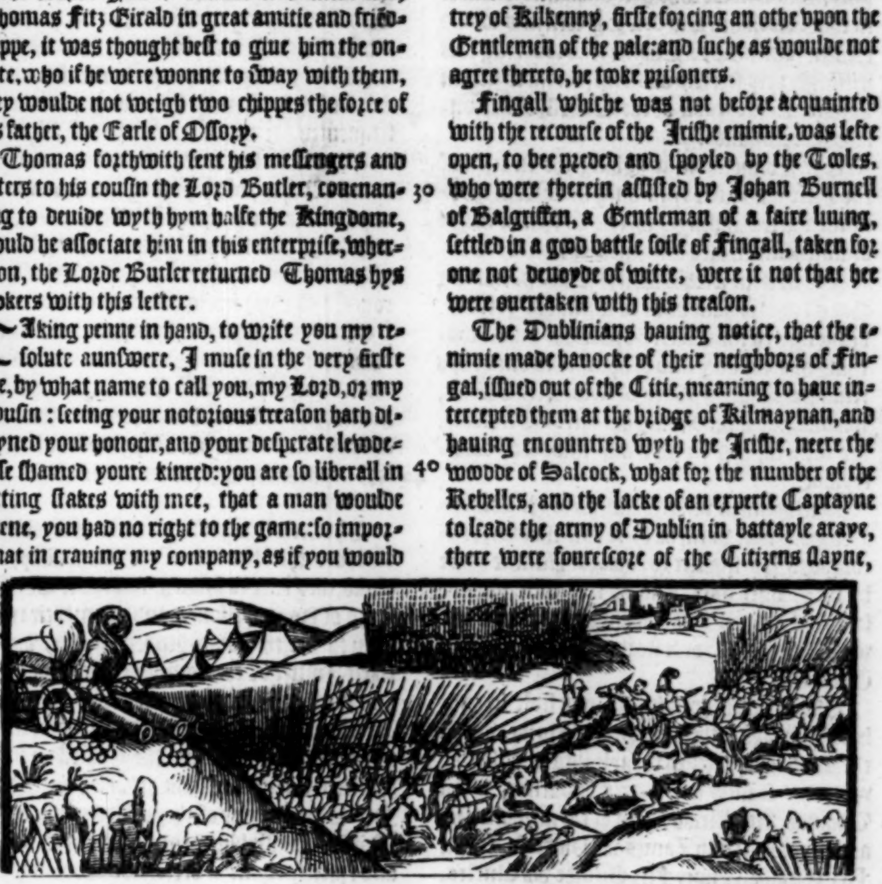
Fingall ſpoyled.

Iohan Burnell of Balgriffen.

Fingall whiche was not before acquainted with the recourſe of the Iriſhe enimie, was lefte open, to bee preded and ſpoyled by the Tooles, who were therein aſſiſted by Johan Burnell of Balgriffen, a Gentleman of a faire liuing, ſettled in a good battle ſoile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoyde of witte, were it not that hee were ouertaken with this treaſon.

The Dublinians diſcomfited.

The Dublinians hauing notice, that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingal, iſſued out of the Citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bridge of Kilmaynan, and hauing encountred wyth the Iriſhe, neere the woodde of Salcock, what for the number of the Rebelles, and the lacke of an experte Captayne to leade the army of Dublin in battayle araye, there were fourеſcore of the Citizens ſlayne, and the prede not reſcued.



ick Fitz
ns ſlaine.

In this conflicte, Patricke Fitz Simons, wyth dyuers other good houſholders miſcaried.

Meſſengers ſente from Thomas to Dublin.

This victory bred ſo greate an inſolencye in Thomas Fitz Giralde, as hee ſente his meſſengers to the Citie, declaring, that albeit they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue free paſſage with hys companye too and fro in the pale, and therefore would he vſe the benefyte of his late ſkirmiſhe, or bee aunſwerable in iuſt reuenge to their due deſerte, he mought by lawe of armes put their Citie to fire and ſword: yet this notwithſtanding, if they would but permit his men to lay ſiege to the Caſtell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would vndertake to backe them in ſuch fauorable wiſe, as the ſtouteſt Champion in his army ſhoulde not be ſo hardy, as to offer the baſeſt in their Citie ſo much as a fillip.

Francis Herbert ſent into England.
Euſtace of Balicutlan.

The Citizens conſidering that the Towne, by reaſon of the ſickneſſe, was weakened, and by this late ouerthrowe greatly diſcouraged, were forced to make a vertue of neceſſitie, by lighting a candle before the Deuill, til tyme the Kyng hys pleaſure were knowen, to whome wyth letters they poſted one of their Aldermen, named Francis Herbert, whome ſhortly after, yͤ King for his ſeruice dubbed knight, enfeoffing him with parte of Chriſtopher Euſtace of Balintlan his landes, who had vnaduiſedly a foote in this Rebellion. But before yͤ Citizens would returne aunſwere to Thomas, as touching this meſſage, they ſecretly aduertiſed maiſter Johan White, Conneſtable of the Caſtell, of this vnlawfull demaunde.

The Conneſtable weighing the ſecuritie of the Citie, and little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willingly thereto, ſo that he might be ſufficiently ſtored with men and vittayles.

The Archbyſhop of Dublin meaneth to ſayle into England.
Bartholmew Fitz Girald.

Johan Alen Archbyſhop of Dublin, fearyng that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the Caſtell, brake his minde touching hys ſayling into Englande to one of hys ſeruauntes named Bartholmewe Fitz Giralde, whome, notwithſtanding hee were a Giraldine, hee helde for hys truſtieſt and inwardeſt counſaylour.

Bartholmew vndertaking to be the Archbyſhop his Pilot, vntill he were paſt the barre, encouraged his maiſter to embarke himſelfe harde by the Dames gate. And as they were hulling in the Channell that euening, they were not ware, vntill the Barke ſtrake on the ſands neere Clontarfe.

1534

Teling.
Waffer.

The Archbyſhop with his man ſtale ſecretely to Tartayne, there meaning to lurke, vntyll the wind hadde ſerued to ſayle into Englande, where hee ſcantly ſixe houres ſoiourned, when Thomas Fitz Girald knew of his arriuall, and accompanyed with James Delahide, ſir Johan Fitz Giralde, Oliuer Fitz Giralde his Vncles, timely in the morning, being the .28. of July, he poſted to Tartayne, beſet the houſe, commaunded Johan Teling, and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the Archbiſhoppe, whome they halled out of his bedde, brought him naked in his ſhirt, barefooted and bare headed, to their Captayne, whome when the Archbyſhop eſpyed, incontinẽtly he kneeled, and with a pitiful countenãce, and lamentable voice, he beſought him for yͤ loue of God, not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his preſent calamitie, and what malice ſo euer he bare his perſon, yet to reſpect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a Chriſtian, and hee among Chriſtians an Archbiſhop. As he ſpake thus, bequeathing his ſoule to God, his body to the enimies mercy. Thomas being ſtriken with ſome compaſſion, and withall inflamed with deſire of reuenge, turned hys Horſe aſide, ſaying in Iriſh (*Bir wem è boddeagh*) which is as muche in Engliſhe, as awaye with the Churle, or take the Churle from mee, whyche doubtles he ſpake, as after he declared, meaning the Archbiſhop ſhould bee deteyned as priſoner. But yͤ caitiffes that were preſent, rather of malice than of ignorance, miſcõſtruing his wordes, murthered yͤ Archbiſhop without further delay, brayned and hackt hym in gobbets, hys bloud with Abell crying to God for reuenge, whiche after befell to all ſuch as were principals to this horrible murther. The place is euer ſince hedged and embayed on euery ſide, ouergrowen and vnfrequented, for deteſtation of the fact. This Alen as before is declared, was in ſeruice with Cardinall Wolſey, of deepe iudgement in the lawe Canon, the onely match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Wolſeys Chaplaynes, for auoiding of which emulation, he was preferred in Irelãd, rough and rigorous in iuſtice, deadly behated of yͤ Giraldins, for his maiſters ſake and his owne, as he that croſſed them diuers times, and muche bridled both father and ſonne in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accuſations, and to haue bin a forger of the letter before mentioned, whiche turned to his finall deſtruction.

Alen Archbyſhop o Dublin, murthered at Tartayne.

The Lord of Houth taken priſoner.
Iuſtice Luttrell taken.

The Rebelles hauing in this execrable wiſe embrued their handes in the Archbiſhoppe hys bloud, they rode to Houth, tooke Sir Chriſtofer Lord of Houth priſoner, and vpon their returne from thence, they apprehended Maiſter Luttrel, chiefe Juſtice of the common place, conueying him with them as their priſoner.

Iohan Fitz Simons.

The Dublinians during this ſpace, hauing reſpite to pauſe, ſent into the Caſtell by nyghte ſufficient ſtore of victuals, at which time, Johan Fitz Simons, one of theyr Aldermen, ſente to Maiſter Cunſtable twenty tunne of wine, four and twenty tunne of beere, two thouſande dryeling, ſixteene hoggeſheads of poudred beefe, and twenty chambers, with an iron chayne for the drawbridge of the Caſtell, yͭ was newly forged in his owne houſe, for yͤ auoiding of all ſuſpitiõ.

The Caſtell of Dublin beſieged.

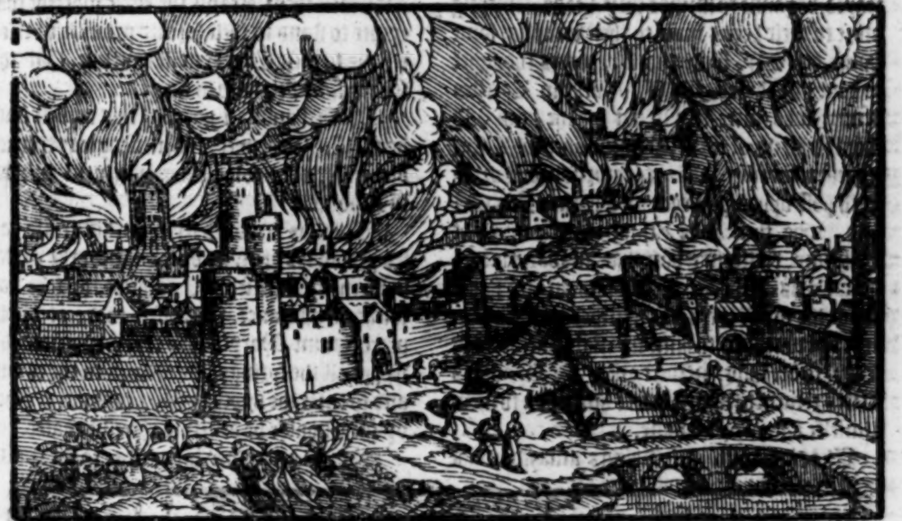
Field. Waffer. Teling. Roukes.

The Caſtell beeyng wyth men, munition, and vittayles, abundantly furniſhed, aunſwere was returned to Thomas Fitz Girald, purporting a conſent for yͤ receyuing of his Souldiers, which graunted, he ſent thither Iames Field of Luſke, Nicholas Waffer, Iohan Teling, Edward Roukes (who was likewiſe a Pirat, ſcouring the coaſt, and greatly annoying all paſſengers) Broade and Purſel with an hũdred ſouldiers attendant on thẽ, as on their Captaynes. Theſe valiant ruttrekinnes planted neere Preſton his Innes, right ouer againſte the Caſtell gate two or three Falcons, hauyng with ſuche ſtrong rampiers entrenched their company, as they little weighed the ſhot of the Caſtell, and to withdrawe the Conneſtable from diſcharging yͤ ordinance, they threatned to take the youth of yͤ Citie, and place them on the toppe of theyr trẽches for maiſter Conſtable to ſhoote at, as at a marke he would be loath to hitte.

The Engliſh pale in this wiſe weakened, the Citizens appeaſed, and the Caſtell beſieged, Thomas Fitz Girald and his confederates were reſolued to trie if the Lord Butler would ſtand to his doughty letter, and ſith he woulde not by faire meanes be allured, he ſhould be maugre his head by foule meanes compelled to aſſiſt them in this their generall attempt.

Thomas Fitz Girald inuadeth the Coũtrey of Kilkenny.

Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanyed wyth O Neale, dyuers Scottes, Iames Delahide, his principall Counſayloure, Iohan Delahide, Edw. Fitz Girald his vncle, Sir Richarde Welſhe, perſon of Loughſewdy, Iohan Burnel of Balgriffen, Iames Gernon, Walter Walſh, Rob. Walſh, Maurice Walſh with a mayne army, inuaded the Earle of Oſſorie, and the Lord Butler his landes, brenned & waſted yͤ Coũtrey of Kilkennie to Thomas



Towne, the poore inhabitants being conſtreined to ſhunne hys force, rather than to withſtande his power. Fitz Girald his approch towardes theſe confines bruted, the Earle of Oſſory, and his ſon the L. Butler, with all the Gentlemen of the Cuntrey of Kilkẽny, aſſembled neere Ieripõ, to determine what order they myght take, in withſtanding the inuaſion of the Rebelles. And as they were thus in parley, a Gentleman of yͤ Butlers accompanyed with ſixteene horſemen, departed ſecretely from the Falckmote, and made towardes Thomas Fitz Girald and hys army, who was then ready to incamp himſelfe at Thomas Towne. Whẽ the challenger was eſcried, and the certayne number knowen, ſixteene of Fitz Giralde his Horſemen dyd charge him, and preſently followed them ſeuen ſcore Horſemen, with two or three banners diſplaid, purſuing them, vntil they came to the hil, where all the Gentlemen were aſſembled, who beeyng ſo ſuddaynely taken, coulde not ſtand to bicker, but ſome fledde this way, ſome that way, the Earle was ſcattered from his company, and the Lord Butler vnawares was hurte, whome when ſuche of the Rebelles knewe, as fauoured him, they purſued him, but coldly, and lette hym eſcape on Horſebacke, taking hys way to Downemore (neere Kilkennie) where hee lay at Chirurgerie.

The Earle of Oſory fleeth. The Lorde Butler wounded.

Frances Herbert returneth from England.

Shillingforth.

Thomas Fitz Simons.

During the tyme that Thomas with his army was ranſacking the Earle of Oſſory hys landes, Francis Herbert returned from Englãd to Dublin with the Kyng and Counſells letters to Maiſter Shillingforth then Maior, and his brethren, with letters likewiſe to maiſter White the Conſtable, to withſtande (as theyr ductie of allegiance bound them) the trayterous practiſes of Thomas and hys complices, & that with al ſpeede they ſhould be ſuccoured vpon the ſight of theſe letters. M. Thomas Fitz Simons

No league to be kept with Traytors.

Recorder of the Citie, a Gentleman that ſhewed himſelfe a politique and a cōfortable Coūſayler in theſe troubles, paraphraſing the Kyng his gratious letters, with diuers good and ſound conſtructions, emboldned the Citizens to breake their new made league, which with no Traytor was to be kept.

The Dubliniãs breake with Thomas Fitz Girald.

Field and his company taken.

The Aldermen and communaltie, wyth thys pithie perſwaſion eaſily weighed, gaue forthwith order, that the gates ſhould be ſhutte, their perculliſſes diſmounted, the Traitors that beſieged the Caſtell apprehended, flagges of defyance vpon their walles placed, and an opē breach of truce proclaymed. Field and his companyes (who did not all this while batter aught of the Caſtell, but only one hole that was bored through the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demy Canon, planted within the Caſtell) vnderſtanding that they were betrayed, beganne to ſhrinke their heads, truſtyng more to their heeles than to their weapōs, ſome ranne one way, ſome another, diuers thoughte to haue bin houſed, and ſo to lurke in Lorelles denne, who were thruſt out by the head and ſhoulders: few of them ſwamme ouer the Liffy, yͤ greater number takē and empriſoned. Forthwith poſt vppon poſt rode to Thomas Fitz Girald, who then was rifling the Countrey of Kilkenny, certifying him that all was marde, the fat was in the fire, he brought an olde houſe about his owne eares. the Paltockes of Dublin kept not touche with him, the engliſh army was ready to bee ſhipt, Herbert with the Kyng hys letters returned, now it ſtoode him vpon to ſhew himſelfe a man or a mouſe.

The youth of Dublin taken priſoners.

Thomas with theſe tidings amazed, made ſpeedy repaire to Dublin, ſending his Purſeuāts before hym, to commaunde the Gentlemen of the Engliſhe pale to meete hym with all theyr power neere Dublin. And in his way towards the Citie, hys company tooke diuers children of the Dublinians, that kepte in the Countrey, (by reaſon of the contagion that then was in the Towne) namely Michaell Fitz Simons, Patricke Fitz Simons, William Fitz Simōs, all ſonnes to Walter Fitz Simons late Maior, at whiche tyme was alſo taken James Stanhurſt, with diuers other yonglings of the Citie.

Meſſengers ſent to Dubli
Trauerſe,
Lince.
Grace.

Hauing marched neere Dublin, hee ſente Doctor Trauerſe, Peter Lince of the knocke, and Oliuer Grace, as meſſengers (for I maye not rightly tearme them Ambaſſadors) to the Citizēs, who croſſing the Liffy from the blacke Friers to the key, explayned to the Maior and Aldermen theyr errand, the effect whereof was, eyther to ſtand to their former promiſe, or elſe to reſtore to their Captayne his menne, that they wrongfully deteyned in goale.

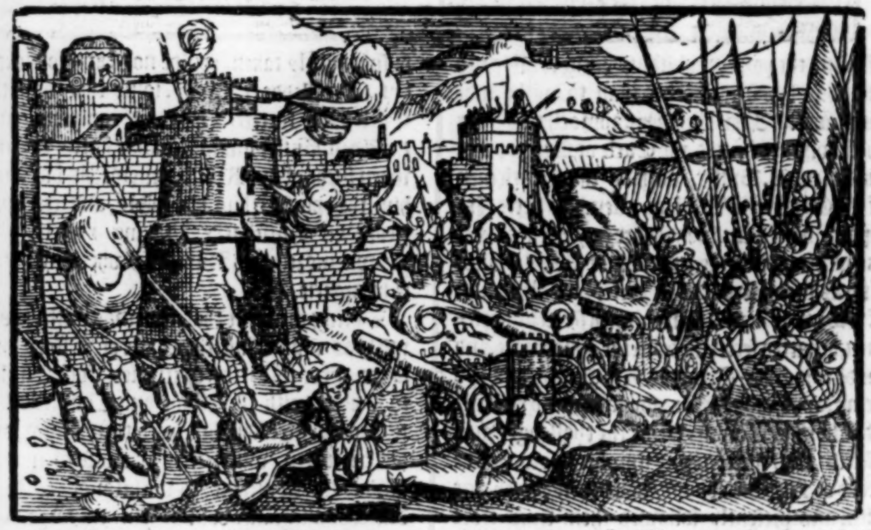
The firſt and laſt poynt of this requeſt flatly by the Citizēs denyed, the meſſengers returned, declaring what colde enterteynement they had in Dublin.

Dublin beſieged.

Thomas herewith frying in his greaſe, cauſed part of his armȳ to burne the Barke wherein Herbert ſayled from Englande, whiche done without reſiſtance, the veſſell roade at anchor neere Saint Mary Abbey, they endeuoured to ſtoppe all the ſprings that flowed to the towne, and to cutte the pypes of theyr conduites, whereby they ſhoulde be deſtitute of freſhe water.

The Ship-ſtrete fired.

Shortly after, they layde ſiege to the Caſtell in the Shipſtreete, from whence they were haſtily by the ordinence feazed, and all the thatche houſes of the Streete were burnt with wildefire, whych maiſter White deuiſed, bycauſe the enimie ſhould not be there reſcued.



When no butter coulde ſticke on their bread in that parte of the Citie, the greater number of the Rebelles aſſembled to Thomas court, and marched to Sainte Thomas his ſtreete, razing downe the partitions of the rewe of houſes before them on both ſides of the ſtreete, findyng none to withſtande them, for the inhabitantes fledde into the Citie, ſo that they made a long lane on both the ſides like a gallerie, couered all ouer head, to ſhield as well their horſemen, as their footmen from gunſhot.

This done, they brent the newe ſtreete, planted a falcon right againſte the newe gate, and it diſcharged, pierced the gate, and kild an apprentice of Thomas Steuens Alderman, as hee wente to bring a baſon of water from the hygh pipe, whiche by reaſon the ſprings were damde vp, was at that time drie.

Richarde Stanton.

Richard Stanton, commonly called Dicke Stanton, then gaylour of the new gate, a good ſeruitoure, an excellente markman, as his valiant ſeruice that time dyd approue. For beſides that hee galde dyuers of the Rebelles as they woulde ſkippe from houſe to houſe, by cauſing ſome of them with hys peece, to carrie theyr erraundes in their buttockes, hee perceyued one of the enimies, leueling at the windowe or ſpike at which he ſtoode: but whether it were, that the Rebell his pouder faylde him or ſome gimbol or other was out of frame, Stanton tooke hym ſo truely for his marke, as hee ſtrake him with hys bullet full in the forehead vnder yͤ brimme of hys ſcull, and withall, turned vp his heeles.

Stanton not ſatiſfyed with his death, iſſued out at the wicket, ſtripte the varlet mother naked, and broughte in his peece and hys attire.

ggottes yd to the w gate.

The deſperateneſſe of thys facte diſlyked of the Citizẽs, and greately ſtomacked by the Rebelles, before Stanton returned to his ſtanding, the enimies broughte faggottes and fyers to the new gate, and incontinently fyred them.

The Townesmen perceyuing that if yͤ gate were brent, the enimies woulde bee encouraged vpon hope of the ſpoyle, to venter more fiercely, than if they wer encountred without yͤ walles, thought it expedient preſently to charge them; to this exployte they were the more egrely moued, bycauſe that notwithſtanding Thomas his Souldyers were many in number, yet they knewe that the better parte of his company bare but hollowe hartes to the quarrell: for the number of the wiſe Gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing encline to his purpoſe. And therefore when hee beſieged the Citie, the moſt parte of thoſe arrowes, which were ſhot ouer the walles, were vnheaded, and nothyng annoyed them: ſome ſhotte in letters, and foretolde them of all the treacherous ſtratagemes that were in hammering.

That eſpyed the Citizens, and gathering the faintneſſe of his Souldyers thereby, blazed abrode vppon the walles triumphante newes, that the King hys army was arriued, and as it hadde bin ſo in deede, ſuddaynely to the number of foure hundred, ruſhed out at the newe gate through flame and fyre vppon the Rebelles, who at the firſt ſighte of armed men, weening no leſſe, but the trueth was ſo, otherwiſe aſſured, that the Citie woulde neuer dare to reencounter them, gaue grounde, forſooke theyr Captaynes, diſperſed and ſcattered into dyuers corners, theyr Falcon taken, an hundred of their ſtouteſt galloglaſſes ſlayne.

The Citizens bicker with the Rebelles.

Thomas Fitz Giralde fledde to the grey Friers in Sainte Frauncis his ſtreete, there coucht that nyghte, vnknowen to the Citie, vntyll the next morning, hee ſtale priuily to his armye not farre off, who ſtoode in wonderfull feare, that he was apprehended.

Thomas Fitz Girald fleeth.

Thomas hys courage by thys late ouerthrowe, ſomewhat cooled, and alſo beeyng aſſuredly tolde, that a fleete was eſpyed a farre off, bearyng full ſayle towardes the coaſt of Irelande, hee was ſoone entreated, hauyng ſo manye irons in the fyre, to take egges for hys money: and wythall, hauyng no forrayne ſuccoure, eyther from *Paulus tertius*, or Charles the fyft, whyche dayly hee expected, hee was ſore quayled, beeyng of hymſelfe, though ſtrong in number of Souldyers, yet vnfurniſhed of ſufficiente munition and artillerie, to ſtande and wythſtande the Kyng hys army in a pitcht fielde, or a mayne battaile.

Vppon thys and other conſiderations, to make as fayre weather as hee coulde, hee ſente James Delahyde, Lime of the knocke, William Bath of Dollardeſtowne, Doctor Trauerſe, Thomas Fielde of Payneſtowne, as meſſengers to the Citizens, to treate with them of a truce, who beeyng let in at the newe gate, repayred to William Kelly his houſe, where maiſter Maior and hys brethren were aſſembled.

Delahide.
Lime.
Bath.
Trauerſe field.

The Articles propounded by them to the Citizens, were theſe.

The Articles propounded to the Citizens.

In primis, that Thomas Fitz Girald hys men, who were deteyned in priſon, ſhould be redeliuered.

2 Item, that the Citizens ſhoulde incontinently deliuer him at one payment, a thouſande poundes in money.

3 Item, that they ſhoulde delyuer him fyue hundred pounds in wares.

4 Item, to furniſh him with munition and artillery.

5 Item, to addreſſe their fauorable letters to

the King for their Captaine his pardon, and all his confederates.

The Citizens aunſwer theſe articles.

The Maior and Aldermen hauing ripely debated the tenour of theſe Articles, agreed, that maiſter Fitz Simons their Recorder, ſhould anſwere to the firſte; that they would not ſticke, to ſet his ſeruaunts at libertie, ſo he woulde rediliuer them the youth of the Citie which was nothing elſe in effect, but tit for tat.

As for the ſeconde and thirde demaunde, they were ſo greatly by his warres empouriſhed, as they myght hardly ſpare money or wares: and as touching implementes for warre, they were neuer ſuch fond nidicockes, as to offer any mã a rodde to beate their owne tayles, or to betake their maſtiues to the cuſtodie of the Wolues, maruelling much, that their Captayne woulde ſo farre ouerſhoote himſelfe, as to bee taken with ſuch apparant repugnancie. For if hee intended to ſubmitte himſelfe to the King his mercy, and to make them humble meanes to his highneſſe for the obteining of his pardon, he ought rather to make ſute for ſome good vellam parchmente for the ingroſſing thereof, than for munitiõ and artillerie to withſtande his Prince: wherefore that three vnlawfull demaundes reiected, they would willingly condiſcend to the firſt and laſt, as well requeſting hym to deliuer them the youth of the Citie, as to ſubmitte himſelfe and his company to the King his mercy, promiſing not only with their fauourable letters, but alſo with their perſonall preſences to further, as far as in them lay, hys humble ſute to the King and Counſell.

William Bath

As they parled thus too and fro, William Bath of Dollardeſtowne, a Student of the cõmon lawes ſpake: My maiſters, what needeth all thys long circumſtance, lette vs all drynke of one cuppe, whiche wordes were ſhortly after vpon Skeffington his arriuall, ſo crookedly glozed, as by drinking of a ſoure cuppe, hee loſt the beſt ioynte of hys body. For albeit vpon his tryall, hee conſtrued his wordes to importe an vniforme conſente, towards the obteyning of Fitz Giralde hys pardon, yet all this coulde not coulloure hys matter in ſuche wiſe, but that hee and Euſtace of Balicutlan, wer executed at the Caſtell of Dublin.

Euſtace of Balicutlan.

The meſſengers knowing their Captaine to bee at a lowe ebbe, were agreed to take the offers of the firſt and laſt conditions, and that to the accompliſhing of theſe Articles, hoſtages ſhoulde bee gyuen of eyther parte.

Hoſtages taken.

The meſſengers deliuered to the Citizens Doctor Trauerſe and others, the Citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Alderman, Rochford and Rery.

Doctor Trauerſe.
Talbot.
Rochforde
Rery.

Theſe were committed to the cuſtody of Dauid Sutton of Rabride, who redeliuered the to the Citizens, immediately after vpon the certayne rumour of Skeffington his repaire.

Dauid Sutton.

Thomas growen to thys poynte with the Dublinians, rayſed his ſiege, cauſed his artillerie to be cõueyd to Howeth, marching after with his army, to the ende he might well as bulche the Engliſh Shyppes, if they durſt auerre the coaſt, as to bicker with the Souldiers vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his iourney to Howeth, he rode to Maynoth, to ſee that the Caſtell ſhuld be of all ſtores fortifyed, where being done to vnderſtand, that a companye of white cotes, with redde croſſes, landed at Dublin ſecretely in the dead of the night, and alſo that another band arriued at Howeth, and were ready to marche towardes Dublin, hee poſted incontinently wyth two hundred Horſemen towardes the water ſyde, encountred neere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and couragious Gentlemen, hauing in theyr company fourſcore Souldyers, where they foughte ſo valiantly for theyr liues, as ſo fewe footemen coulde haue done againſte ſo greate a troupe of Horſemen: for they did not onely mangle and hacke dyuers of the Rebelles, but alſo one of the Hamertones wounded Thomas Fitz Girald in the forehead.

The white coates land at Dublin.

The Hamertones ſlayne.

Thomas Fitz Girald wounded.

Mooſgraue.

Some reporte, that one of the Moolgraues, who was of kinne to Fitz Giralde, was ſlayne in this conflict, whoſe deathe hee is ſaid to haue taken greately to hearte. The Rebelles fleſht with the ſlaughter of the Engliſhe, hyed with al ſpeede to Howeth, ſhotte at the Shyppes that rode at anchor, cauſed them to flie from thẽce, and to make towardes Skerriſh, where landed both the Eglebees, and the Dakers with theyr horſemen. Roukes, Fitz Girald his Pirat, was ſent to ſcoure the coaſt, who tooke an Engliſhe barke laden with very faire geldings, and ſente them to hys Captayne.

Eglebees.
Dakers.

Engliſh geldings taken.

After that Thomas hadde returned with this booty, and the ſpoyle of ſuche as were ſlayne to Maynoth, Sir William Brereton Knyghte, with hys ſonne Iohn Brereton, was enſhoared at Howeth with two hundred and fiftie Souldyers, very well appoynted, and maiſter Saliſbury with two hundred archers.

Sir William Brereton
Iohn Brereton

Salisbury.

Laſtly landed at the ſlippe neere the bridge of Dublin, Sir William Skeffington knight, Lorde Deputie, whome the Iriſhe call the Gunner, bycauſe hee was preferred from that office of the King hys maiſter Gunner, to gouerne them, and that they can euill brooke to bee ruled of anye that is but meanely borne.

Sir William Skeffington Lord Deputy landeth.

The Maior and Aldermen receyued the gouernor wyth ſhot, & great ſolemnity, who yeelding them heartye thankes, for theyr true and

loyall

etters of hankes from e King to e Dubliniās.

loyall ſeruice, deliuered them the King & Counſell his letters, purporting the ſame effect in writing, that he before expreſſed in wordes.

The Lord of Trimleſtowne rrendreth e ſwarde.

Barnewell Lord of Trimleſtowne, who had the cuſtody of the ſword, dyd ſurrender it to Sir William Skeffington, according to the meaning of the King his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitz Girald goeth wards Conught.

The Caſtell f Maynoth eſieged.

Sir William reton ſommoneth the aſtell.

Thomas Fitz Giralde hauing intelligence that the whole army was arriued, warded the Caſtel of Maynoth ſo ſtrongly, as he tooke it to be impregnable. And to the ende he might gyue the gouernoure battayle, he rode towards Conaght, to leuie all ſuch power of the Iriſh, as either for wages, or for good will he could winne, to aſſiſt him. The Lord Deputie forewarned of his driſt, marched with the Engliſhe army, and the power of the pale to Maynoth, and layde ſiege to the Caſtell on the North ſide, towardes the parke. But before any peece was diſcharged, Sir William Brereton, by the Deputie his appoyntment, did ſommone the Caſtell, offering ſuche as kepte it, to depart with bagge and baggage, and beſides their pardon, to bee liberally rewarded for their good and loyall ſeruice. But ſuch as warded the Caſtell, ſcornefully ſcoffing the Knight his offer, gaue him heartie thankes for his kindneſſe, which they ſayd, proceeded rather of his gentleneſſe, than of their deſeruing, wiſhing him to keepe vp in ſtore ſuch liberall offers for a deere yeare, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withal, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was lyke to haue but a colde ſute: finally not to take ſuche keepe of their ſafetie, in that they were aſſured, that he and his fellowes ſhoulde bee ſooner from the ſiege raiſed, than they from the holde remoued. Vpon this round aunſwere, the ordinances were planted on the North ſide of the Caſtell, whiche made no great batterie for the ſpace of a fortnight, yet the Caſtell ſo warely of eache ſide enuironed, as the Rebelles were imbard from al egreſſe and regreſſe. Chriſtopher Pareſe, foſter brother to Thomas Fitz Girald, to whome of eſpeciall truſt, the charge of yͤ Caſtel was chiefely committed, proffering his voluntarie ſeruice, (which for the more part is ſo thankeleſſe & vnſauory, as it ſtinketh) determined to goe an aſſe beyond his fellowes, in betraying the Caſtell to the gouernoure. In this reſolution, he ſhot out a letter endorced to the Lorde Deputie, the effect whereof was, that hee would deuiſe the meanes the Caſtell ſhoulde be taken, ſo that hee myghte haue a ſumme of money for hys paynes, and a competent ſtay during his life. This motion by letters to & fro agreed vpon, Pareſe cauſed ſuch as kept the warde, to ſwill and boll ſo much, as they ſnorted al the night like grunting Hoggꝭ, little miſdeeming that whileſt they ſlepte, their Iudas had bin waking within the Caſtel. The occaſion of this extraordinary exceeding, was coloured, for ſnatching into the Caſtell a field peece the day before, from the army, for which, they kept ſuch pot reuels, and triumphāt carowſing, as none of them could diſcerne his beddes head, from the beddes feete.

iſtopher rese betray- the Caſtell Maynoth.

ffered ſerce ſtinketh.

Pareſe taking his tide and time, made ſigne to the army, betweene the twilight and dawning of the day, who hauing ſcaling ladders in a readineſſe, would not ouerſlip the opportunitie offered. Holland, petite captaine to Saliſburie, was one of the forewardeſt in this exploite, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by miſhap into a pipe of feathers, where he was vp to the arme pittes, ſo ſtiffely ſticking therein, & alſo ſo vnwealdye in his armour, as hee coulde not helpe himſelf neither in or out. Sir William Brereton and his bande hauing ſcaled the walles cried on a ſodaine, S. George, S. George. Thoſe drunken ſwaddes that kepte the caſtell thought that this ſhoute was noughte elſe but a dreame, til time they eſpied the walles full of armed mē, & one of thē withal perceiuyng Hollād thus entangled in yͤ pype, beſtowed an arrow vpō him, which by good hap did miſſe him. Hollād forthwith reſcued by his fellowes, ſhot at the other, & ſtrake him ſo full vnder the ſkull, as he left him ſprawling. The reſiſtance was faint, when the Souldyers entred, ſome yeelding themſelues, others that withſtood them ſlayne. Sir William Brereton ranne vp to the higheſt turret of the Caſtel, and aduaunced his Standerd on the top thereof, notifying to the Deputie, yͭ the fort was wonne. Great and rich was the ſpoile, ſuch ſtore of beddes, ſo many goodly hangings, ſo riche a Wardrob, ſuch braue furniture, as truely it was accompted for houſholde ſtuffe and vtenſiles, one of the richeſt Earle his houſes, vnder the Crowne of Englande. The L. Deputie entred yͤ Caſtell in the after noone, vpon whoſe repaire, Iames Delahyde, and Hayward, two ſinging men of the Earle his Chappell, that were taken priſoners, proſtrated themſelues on the ground, pitifully warbling a ſong, named *Dulcis amica*.

Holland, Petit Capitaine to Salisburie.

The Caſtell taken.

Brereton ſcaleth the walles

Brereton aduaunceth hys Standerd.

The Lorde Deputie entreth the Caſtell.

Iames Delahide.

Haywarde.

Dulcis amica.

The gouernour rauiſhed with the ſweete and delicate voyces, at the inſtaunce of Girald Aylemer chiefe Iuſtice, and others of the counſell, pardoned them. Chriſtopher Pareſe not miſdoubting but yͭ he ſhould haue bin dubd knight for his ſeruice done that day, preſented hymſelfe before the Gouernoure, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance, as who ſhould ſay, heere is he that did yͤ deede. The Deputie very coldly & half ſternely caſting an eye towards him ſaid:
, Pareſe, I am to thank thee on my maſter yͤ K.
, his behalfe, for this thy proffered ſeruice, which I
, muſt ac-

Girald Aylmer.

Pareſe commeth before the Gouernoure.

acknowledge to haue bin a ſparing of greate charges, and a ſauing of many valiant Souldyers liues to his highneſſe, and when his Maieſtie ſhall bee thereof aduertiſed, I dare be bolde to ſay that hee will not ſee thee lacke during thy life.

And bycauſe I may be the better inſtructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladly learne, what thy Lorde and maiſter beſtowed on thee. Pareſe ſet a gogge with theſe milde ſpeeches, and ſuppoſing the more he recited, the better hee ſhoulde bee rewarded, lefte not vntolde the meaneſt good turne, that euer he receyued at his Lords hands.

A notable iudgement.

Why Pareſe, quoth the Deputie, couldeſt thou finde in thine hearte to betray his Caſtell, that hath bin ſo good Lord vnto thee? truly, thou that art ſo hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs, and therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commaundement, to deliuer Pareſe the ſumme of money that was promiſed him vpon the ſurrender of the Caſtel, and after, to choppe off his head. Pareſe at this colde ſalutation of farewell and behangd, turning his ſimpring to wimpring, ſayd:

My Lord, had I wiſt you would haue dealte ſo ſtraitely with me, your Lordſhip ſhoulde not haue wonne this fort with as little bloudſhed, as you dyd.

Boice.

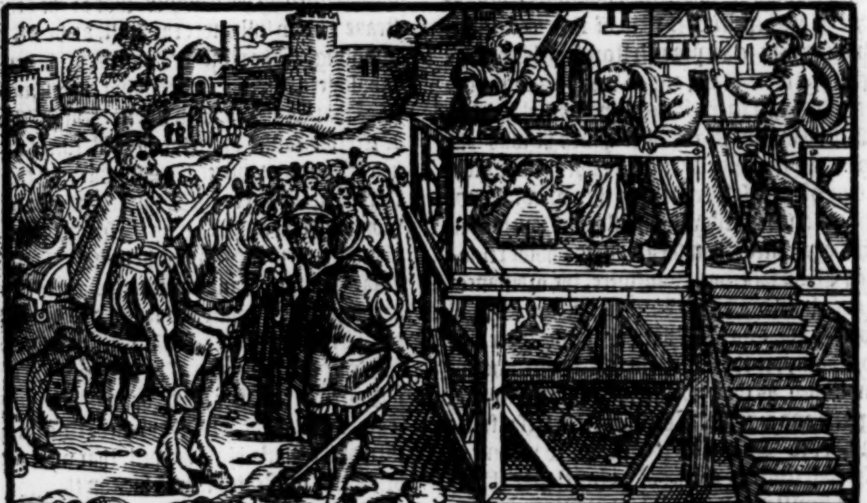
Antragh.

The Prouerb, Too late quoth Boyce.

Whereat, M. Boice, a Gentleman of worſhip, and one that reteyned to that olde Earle of Kildare, ſtanding in the preaſſe, ſaide in Iriſhe, *Antragh*, whiche is aſmuch in Engliſh, as too late, whereof grewe the Iriſh prouerbe, to thys day in yͤ language vſed, Too late quoth Boice, as we ſay, beware of had I wiſt, or after meate muſtard, or you come a day after yͤ faire, or better done than ſayde. The Deputie demaunded them that ſtoode by what was that he ſpake, M. Boyce willing to expounde his owne wordes, ſtept forth and anſwered, my Lord, I ſaid nothing, but that Pareſe is ſeized of a towne neere the water ſyde named Baltra, and I woulde gladly know how he wil diſpoſe it before hee bee executed. The gouernoure not miſtruſting, that M. Boice had glozed (for if he had vnderſtood yͤ true ſignification of the tearme, it was very like that too late had not bin ſo ſharp to Pareſe, but too ſoone had bin as ſoure to him) willed the money to bee tolde to Pareſe, and preſently cauſed him to be cut ſhorter by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time he embraced the benefyte of the treaſon, yet after he could not digeſt the treacherie of the Traytor.

Baltra.

Pareſe behea ded.



The Deputie returneth to Dublin.

Thomas Fitz Girald marcheth towards Maynoth.

The Deputie hauing left a garriſon in yͤ Caſtell, returned with the army triumphantly to Dublin. Thomas Fitz Girald not miſdoubting but ſuche as hee left in the Caſtell were able to ſtand to their tacklings, leuied an huge army in Oconoure his Countrey, and in Connaght, to the number of ſeuen thouſande, marching with them towards Maynoth, minding to haue remoued the king his army from the ſiege, but being certified, that Pareſe his foſter brother, yelded vppe the Caſteil to the Deputie, the better part of his company gaue him the ſlippe Al this notwithſtanding he made with ſuch as woulde ſticke to him to Clane.

Brereton lef to defende Dublin.

Galloglaſſes taken and ſlayne.

The Lord Deputie hauing intelligence of his approch, left Sir William Brereton at Dublin to defende the Citie, and marched with the army to the Naas, where he tooke ſeauen ſcore of Thomas his galloglaſſes, and led them all vnarmed toward Ioneſtowne. The ſkoutewatch eſpying Thomas to march neere, imparted it to the gouernour, who incontinently commaunded eache man to kyll hys priſoner before the charge, whyche was diſpatcht, only Edmond

Oleyne

nōd Oleyn
apeth.

Oleyn eſcaping mother naked by flight to Thomas his companie, leauing his ſhyrt in his keepers hande. Both the armies aduaunced themſelues one agaynſt the other; but the horſemen of eyther ſyde coulde not charge, by reaſon of a mariſh or quakemyre that parted thē. Wherfore the Deputie cauſed two or three field peeces to be diſcharged, which ſkattered Thomas and his rablement, inſomuch as he neuer in ſuch open wiſe durſt after beare vp head in the Engliſh pale, but rather by ſtartes and ſodaine ſtratagemes, would now and then gal the Engliſh. As when the Caſtell of Rathimgan was won, whiche was ſoone after the ſurrender of Maynoth, hee cauſed a droue of Cattell to appeare timely in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the Fort ſuſpecting it to be a bootie, were trayned for the more part out of the Caſtel, who were ſurpriſed by Thomas, that lay hard by in Ambuſhe, and the greater number of them ſlaine.

homas and
s companie
th.

z Girald his
tagems.

In other tyme hee fired a Village harde by Trim, and deuiſed ſuch of his horſemen that coulde ſpeake Engliſh, beeing clad and horſed like Northerne men, to ryde to Trim, where a garniſon lay, with hue and crie, ſaying that they were Captaine Saliſburie his ſouldiours, and that the traytour Thomas Fitz Giralde was burning a village harde by. The ſouldiours ſuſpecting no coſinage, iſſued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, and a great number of them ſlaine, ſome chaſed to the towne, and forced to take Sanctuarie in the Church yarde, which thoſe dayes was highly reuerenced.

Theſe and the like knackes vſed Thomas, being for his owne perſon ſo well garded, and for defect of a maine armie ſo naked, as neyther he was occaſioned to feare the Engliſh, nor the Engliſh forced to weigh him.

During this tyme, there arriued with a freſh ſupplie of horſemen and Archers, ſir William Sentlo knight, and his ſonne, ſir Rice Manſwell knight, ſir Edward Griffeth knight, who were diſperſed to ſundrie partes of the Pale, to defende the Countrey from the enimyes inuaſion.

William Sentlo, Rice Manſwel Edward Griffeth.

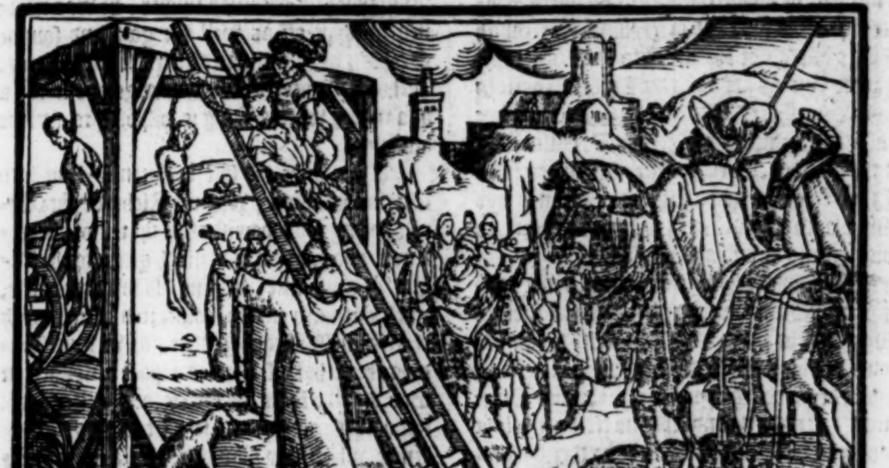
When the heate of this Rebellion was in this wiſe aſſwaged, the Lorde Deputie finding out no deuice to apprehende the Captaine, employed his induſtrie to intrap his confederates.

Burnel of Balgriffen ſeeing all go to wrack, fled to Mounſter, where hee was taken by the Lorde Butler Vicecount Thurles, and being conueied to England was executed at Tiburn. Doctor Trauerſe, who was left as hoſtage with the Citizens, was by them deliuered to the Lord Deputie, and after with Roukes the Pirate executed at the gallowes on Oſmantowne greene.

Burnell of Balgriffen taken and executed.

Trauerſe executed.

Roukes executed.



alter Dela-
de and his
die Gennet
ſtace ap-
hended.

Sir Walter Delahyde knight and his wife the Ladie Gennet Euſtace, were apprehended, and brought as priſoners by maiſter Brabſon Vicetreaſorer from their towne of Moyclare to the Caſtell of Dublin, bycauſe theyr ſonne and heyre James Delahyde was the onely bruer of all this rebellion, who as the gouernour ſuſpected, was ſet on by his parents, and namely by his mother.

The knight and his wife, lying in durreſſe for the ſpace of twelue Monethes, were at ſeuerall tymes examined, and notwithſtanding all preſumptions and ſurmiſes that coulde bee gathered, they were in the ende founde guiltleſſe of their ſonne his folly. But the Ladie was had in examination apart, and intyced by fayre meanes, to charge hir huſbande with hir ſonne hys rebellion, who being not wonne thereto with al the meanes that coulde be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt, and ſo with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentleneſſe ſhe could not be allured to acknowledge theſe apparant treaſons, that neyther hir huſbande nor ſhe coulde without great ſhew of impudencie denie.

Gennet Euſtace dieth.

The gentlewoman with theſe continuall ſtormes heartbroken, deceaſſed in the Caſtell: from thence hir bodie was remoued to the gray Friers with the Deputie his commaundement, that it ſhould not be enterred, vntill his pleaſure were further knowne, adding withall, that the carkaſſe of one who was the mother of ſo arrant an Archtraytor, ought rather to be caſt out on a Dunghill to be carion for Rauens and Dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be layd in any Chriſtian graue. The corps lying foure or fiue dayes in this plight, at the requeſt of the Ladie Gennet Golding, wife to ſir John White knight, the gouernour licenced, that it ſhould be buried.

Skeffington deceaſed.

Leonard Gray Lord deputie.

Sir William Skeffington a ſeuere and vpright Gouernour dyed ſhortly after at Kilmaynan: to whome ſucceeded Lorde Deputie the Lorde Leonard Gray, who immediately vpon the taking of his othe, marched with his power towardes the confines of Mounſter, where Thomas Fitz Girald, at that tyme remayned.

Breerton ſkirmiſheth with Fitz Girald.

With Fitz Giralde ſir William Brereton ſkirmiſhed ſo fiercely, as both the ſides were rather for the great ſlaughter diſaduantaged, than eyther part by any great victorie furthered. Maiſter Brereton therefore perceyuing that rough Nettes were not the fitteſt to take ſuch peart byrdes, gaue his aduice to the Lorde Deputie to grow with Fitz Girald by faire meanes to ſome reaſonable compoſition. The Deputie liking of the motion, craued a parlee, ſending certaine of the Engliſhe as hoſtages to Thomas hys campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleaſure.

Thomas Fitz Girald ſubmitteth himſelfe to the deputy.

The ſacrament receyued.

Being vpon this ſecuritie in conference with the Lorde Gray, hee was perſwaded to ſubmyt himſelfe to the King his mercie, with the gouernours faythfull and vndoubted promiſe that he ſhould be pardoned vpon his repayre into Englande. And to the ende that no trecherie might haue bene miſdeemed of eyther ſide, they both receyued the Sacrament openly in the campe, as an infallible ſeale of the couenants and conditions of eyther part agreed.

Thomas ſayleth into England.

1535

He is committed to the Tower.

Hereupon Thomas Fitz Giralde ſore agaynſt the willes of his Counſaylours diſmiſt his armie, and roade with the Deputie to Dublyn, where he made ſhort abode when hee ſayled to Englande with the fauourable letters of the gouernour and the Counſayle. And as hee woulde haue taken his iourney to Windſore where the Court lay, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London way, and conueyed with haſt to the Tower. And before his impriſonment were bruted, letters were poſted into Irelande, ſtraytly commaunding the Deputie vpon ſight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitz Girald his vncles, and to ſee them with all ſpeede conuenient ſhipt into England. Which the Lorde Deputie did not ſlacke. For hauing feaſted three of the Gentlemen at Kylmaynan, immediately after their banquet (as it is nowe and then ſeene, that ſweete meate will haue ſowre ſauce) he cauſed them to be manacled, and led as priſoners to the Caſtell of Dublin: and the other two were ſo roundly ſnatcht vp in villages hard by, as they ſooner felt theyr owne captiuitie, than they had notice of theyr brethrens calamitie.

Thomas his vncles taken.

The next winde that ſerued into Englande theſe fiue brethren were embarked, to wit James Fitz Giralde, Walter Fitz Girald, Oliuer Fitz Girald, John Fitz Girald, & Richard Fitz Girald. Three of theſe Gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richarde, were knowne to haue croſſed their Nephew Thomas to their power in his Rebellion, and therefore were not occaſioned to miſdoubt any daunger. But ſuch as in thoſe dayes were enimies to the houſe, incenſed the king ſo ſore agaynſt it, perſwading him, that he ſhould neuer conquer Irelande, as long as any Giraldine breathed in the Countrey, and for making the pathway ſmooth, he was reſolued to loppe off as well the good and ſounde Grapes, as the wilde and fruiteleſſe Beries. Whereby appeareth howe daungerous it is to be a rubbe, when a King is diſpoſed to ſweepe an Alley.

Thus were the fiue brethren ſayling into Englande, among whome Richarde Fitz Giralde being more bookiſh than the reſt of his brethren, and one that was much giuen to the ſtudies of antiquitie, veyling his inwarde griefe, with outward myrth comforted them wyth cheerefulneſſe of countenance, as well perſwading them that offended to repoſe affiaunce in God, and the King his mercie, and ſuch as were not of that conſpiracie, to relie to theyr innocencie, which they ſhould hold for a more ſafe & ſtrong Barbican, than any rampire or Caſtell of Braſſe.

Innocencie a ſtrong fort.

Thus ſolacing the ſely mourners ſometyme with ſmiling, ſomtime with ſinging, ſometyme with graue & pithie Apophthegmes, he craued of the owner the name of the Barcke, who hauing anſwered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman ſore appalled thereat ſayd:

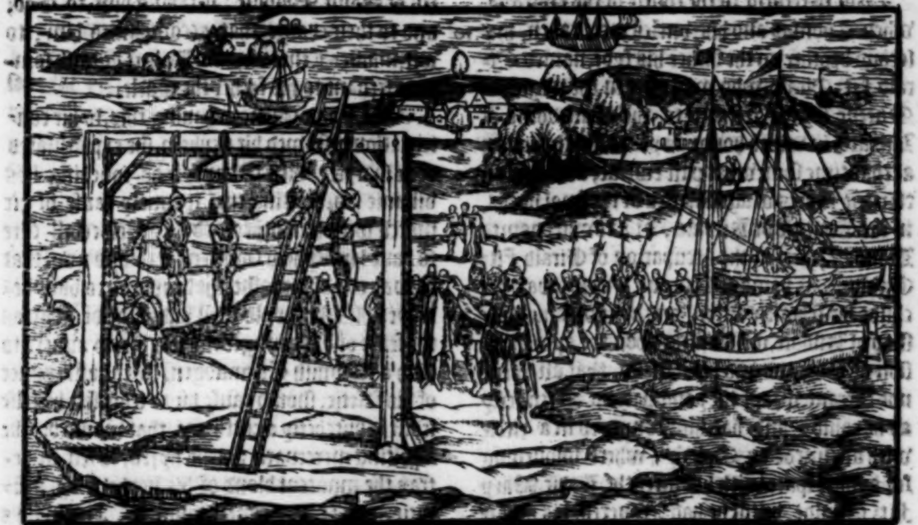
The Cow.

Now good brethren I am in vtter diſpaire, ,
of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mynde, ,
an olde prophecie, that fiue Earles brethren, ,
ſhould be caryed in a Cowes bellie to England, ,
and

and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the reſt began a freſh to houle and lament, which doubtleſſe was pitifull, to behold fiue valiant Gentlemen that durſt meete in the fielde fiue as ſturdie Champions as coulde bee picked out in a realme, to bee ſo ſodainly terrified with the bare name of a wodden Cow, or to feare lyke Lions a ſilly Cocke his combe, being mouued, as commonly the whole Countrey is, with a vaine and fabulous old wiues dreame. But what blinde prophecie ſoeuer hee read or heard of any ſuperſtitious Beldame touching a Cowe his belly, that which hee foretolde, then was founde true. For Thomas Fitz Giralde the thirde of Februarie, and theſe fiue brethren hys vncles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, whiche was incontinently bruted as well in Englande and Irelande, as in forayne ſoyles.

1536
Thomas Fitz Girald and his vncles executed.



Dominick Power.

For Dominicke Power, that was ſent from Thomas to Charles the fift, to craue hys ayde towards the conqueſt of Irelande (lyke as Chale in Grauil, otherwiſe called Charles Reinolde, was directed to *Paulus tertius*) preſenting the Emperour with twelue great Haukes and fourtene fayre Hobbies, was aduertiſed by hys Maieſtie, that he came too late, for his Lord and maiſter, and fiue of his Vncles were executed at London the thirde of Februarie: How be it the Emperour procured King Henrie to pardon Dominicke Power, which notwithſtanding he obteyned, yet woulde he not returne to Irelande, but continued in Portugall, hauing a ducket a day of the Emperour during his life, which he ended at Liſborne,

Charles Reynolde.

James Delahyde.

James Delahyde, the chiefe Counſaylour of Thomas Fitz Giralde, fled into Scotlande and there deceaſſed.

To this miſerable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to yͤ vtter vndoing of diuerſe auncient Gentlemen, who trayned with fayre wordes into a fooles Paradice, were not onely diſpoſſeſſed of theyr landes, but alſo depriued of theyr lyues, or elſe forced to forſake theyr countreys.

Thomas Fitz Girald was not Earle of Kildare.

Stow. Pa. 434.

As for Thomas Fitz Giralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tyburne, I would wiſh the carefull Reader, to vnderſtand that he was neuer Earle of Kildare, although ſome wryters; rather of error than of malice, tearme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father lyued in the Tower, when hee was in open Rebellion, where for thought of the yong man his follye hee dyed, and therefore Thomas was attaynted in a Parliament holden at Dublyn, as one that was preſumed, reputed, and taken for a traytour before his fathers deceaſſe, by the bare name of Thomas Fitz Giralde. For this hath beene obſerued by the Iriſh hyſtoriographers euer ſince the conqueſt, that notwithſtanding all the preſumptions of treaſon wherewith any Earle of Kyldare coulde eyther faintly be ſuſpected, or vehemently charged, yet there was neuer any Erle of that houſe read or heard of, that bare armour in the fielde agaynſt his Prince. Which I write not as a barriſter hyred to pleade theyr cauſe, but as a Chronicler mooued to declare the truth.

No Earle of Kildare bare armour at any time agaynſt his prince.

The deſcription of Thomas Fitz Giralde.

This Thomas Fitz Giralde, as before is ſpecified, was borne in Englande, vpon whom nature poured beautie, and fortune by byrth beſtowed Nobilitie, which had it beene well employed, and were it not, that his rare gyftes had bene blemiſhed by his later euill qualities, hee would haue proued an ympe worthie to bee engraft in ſo honourable a ſtocke. Hee was of ſtature tall and perſonable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall ſomewhat ruddie, delicately in eche lymme featured, a rolling tongue,

tongue and a riche vtterance, of nature flexible and kinde, verie ſoone caryed where hee fanſied, eaſily with ſubmiſſion appeaſed, hardly wyth ſtubbornneſſe weyed, in matters of importance an headlong hoteſpurre, yet natheleſſe taken for a yong man not deuoyde of witte, were it not, as it fell out in the ende, that a foole had the keping thereof.

The aduentures of the yong Fitz Girald, ſonne to the Lady Gray Counteſſe of Kildare.

But to returne to the courſe of the Hyſtorie, when Thomas and his vncles were taken, hys ſecond brother on the father his ſyde, named Girald Fitz Girald (who was after in the raigne of Queene Marie reſtored to the Earledome of Kildare, in which honor as yet he liueth, beeing at that time ſomewhat paſt twelue, and not full thirtene yeares of age, lay ſick of the ſmal pocks, in the Countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitz Giralde. Thomas Lenrouſe, who was the childe his ſchoolemaiſter, and after became Biſhop of Kildare, miſtruſting vpon the apprehenſion of Thomas and his Vncles, that all went not currant, wrapt the yong pacient as tenderly as he could, and had him conueyed in a cleefe with all ſpeede to Ophaly, where ſoiourning for a ſhort ſpace with his ſiſter the Ladie Mary Fitz Giralde, vntill he had recouered his perfite health, his ſchoolemaſter caryed him to Odoon his Countrey, where making his aboade for a quarter of a yeare, he trauayled to Obrene hys Countrey in Mounſter, and hauing there remayned for halfe a yeare, hee repayred to hys aunte the Ladie Elenore Fitz Giralde, who then kept in Mack Carty Reagh, hir late huſband his territories.

Donoare.

Thomas Lenrouſe.

Elenore Fitz Giralde.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwayes knowne and accounted of eche man, that was acquainted with hir conuerſation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindneſſe, in all hir actions vertuous and godly, and alſo in a good quarell rather ſtout than ſtiffe. To hir was Odoneyl an importunate ſuyter, and although at ſundrie tymes before ſhe ſeemed to ſhake him off, yet conſidering the diſtreſſe of hir yong innocent nephew, how hee was forced to wander in Pilgrimwiſe from houſe to houſe, eſchuing the puniſhment that others deſerued, ſmarted in his tender yeares with aduerſitie, before he was of diſcretion to enioy any proſperitie, ſhe began to encline to hir wooer his requeſt, to the ende hir nephew ſhould haue bene the better by his countenaunce ſhouldered, and in fine indented to eſpouſe him, with this caueat or prouiſo, that he ſhoulde ſafely ſhield and protect the ſayde yong Gentleman in this his calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, ſhee road with hir nephew to Odoneyl his countrey, and there had him ſafely kept for the ſpace of a yeare.

But ſhortly after, the Gentlewoman either by ſome ſecrete friend enformed, or of wiſedome gathering, that hir late maryed huſbande entended ſome trecherie, had hir nephew diſguiſed, ſtoring him like a liberall and bountifull Aunt, with ſeuen ſcore Porteguſes, not onely in valoure, but alſo in the ſelfe ſame coyne, incontinently ſhipped him ſecretly in a Brytons veſſell of Saint Malouſe, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, maiſter Lencouſe, and Robert Walſh ſometime ſeruant to his father the Earle.

The Ladie Elenors liberalitie.

Fitz Giralde ſayleth to Fraunce.

The Ladie Elenore hauing this, to hir contentation beſtowed hir nephew, ſhe expoſtulated verie ſharpely with Odoneyle as touching hys villanie, proteſting that the onely cauſe of hir match with him proceeded of an eſpeciall care to haue hir nephew countenanced: and now that he was out of his laſhe, that mynded to haue betrayed him, he ſhould well vnderſtande, that as the feare of his daunger moued hir to annere to ſuch a clowniſh Curmudgen, ſo the aſſuraunce of his ſafetie, ſhould cauſe hir to ſequeſter hirſelfe from ſo butcherly a cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patche hyred, to ſell or betray the innocent bloud of his nephew by affinitie, and hirs by conſanguinitie. And in thys wiſe truſſing vp bag and baggage, ſhe forſooke Odoneyle, and returned to hir countrey.

The paſſengers with a proſperous gale arriued at Saint Malouſe, which notified to the gouernour of Brytayne, named Monſieur de Chaſteau Brian, he ſent for the yong Fitz Giralde, gaue him verie heartie entertaynment during one Monethes ſpace.

Chaſteau Bri

In the meane ſeaſon the gouernor poſted a Meſſenger to the Court of Fraunce, aduertiſing the King of the arriuall of this Gentleman, who preſently cauſed him to be ſent for, and had him put to the Dolphyn named Henrie, who after became king of France.

Sir Iohn Wallop demaundeth Fitz Giralde.

Sir Iohn Wallop (who was then the Engliſh Ambaſſadour) vnderſtanding the cauſe of the Iriſh fugitiue his repayre to Fraunce, demaunded him of the French king, according to the newe made league betwene both the princes, which was, that none ſhoulde keepe the other his ſubiect within his dominion, contrarie to eyther of their willes, adding further, that the boy was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland, was executed at London.

The king denyeth him.

To this anſwered the King. firſt, that the Ambaſſadour had no Commiſſion from hys Prince to demaunde him, and vppon his Maieſtie his letter he ſhoulde knowe more of his mynde: ſecondly that hee did not deteyne him, but the Dolphyn ſtayed him: laſtly, that howe grieuouſly ſoeuer his brother offended, hee was well aſſured, that the ſilly boy neither was nor coulde be a traytour, and therfore there reſted no cauſe why the Imbaſſadour ſhoulde in ſuche wiſe craue him, not doubting that although hee were deliuered to his king, yet he woulde not ſo farre ſwarue from the extreeme rigour of Iuſtice, as to embrew his handes in the innocent his bloud, for the offence that his brother had perpetrated.

Maiſter Wallop herevppon addreſſed his Letters to Englande, ſpecifying to the Counſaile the French kings anſwere, and in the mean tyme the yong Fitz Girald hauing an ynckling of the Imbaſſadour his motion, fledde ſecretely to Flaunders, ſcantly reaching to Valencie, when Iames Sherelocke, one of Maiſter Wallop his men, did not onely purſue him, but alſo did ouertake him, as he ſoiourned in the ſayd towne.

Fitz Giralde flieth to Flanders.

Iames Sherlocke purſueth Fitz Giralde.

Wherevpon maiſter Leurouſe, and ſuch as accompanied the childe, ſtept to the Gouernour of Valencie, complayning that one Sherelocke a ſneaking ſpie, lyke a pykethanke promoting Varlet, did dogge their maiſter from place to place, and preſently purſued him to the towne; and therefore they beſought the gouernour, not to leaue ſuch apparant villaynie vnpuniſhed, in that he was willing to betray not onely a guiltleſſe child, but alſo his owne Countryman, who rather ought for his innocencie to bee pityed, than for the deſerte of others ſo eagerly to bee purſued.

The Gouernour vpon this complaint ſore incenſed, ſent in all haſt for Sherlocke, had him ſodainly examined, and finding him vnable to colour his lewde practiſe with any warrantable defence, he layd him vp by the heeles, rewarding his hote purſute with colde interteynment, and ſo remained in gaole, vntill the yong Fitz Giralde requiting the priſoner his vnnaturall crueltie with vndeſerued curteſey, humbly beſought the gouernor to ſet him at libertie.

Sherlocke impriſoned.

Crueltie requited with curteſie.

This brunt eſcaped, Fitz Giralde trauayled to Bruxelles, where the Emperour kept his Court.

Doctour Pates being Imbaſſatour in the low Countreys, demaunded Fitz Giralde of the Emperour on his maiſter the King of Englandes behalfe. The Emperour hauing anſwered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knewe, was not mynded to make any great abode in that Countrey, ſent hym to the Biſhop of Liege, allowing him for his penſion an hundred Crownes Monethly. The Biſhop enterteyned him very honourably, had him placed in an Abbey of Monks, and was ſo careful of his ſafetie, that if any perſon ſuſpected, had trauayled within the circuit of his gleebe, hee ſhould be ſtraytly examined, whether he would, or from whence he came, or vpō what occaſion he trauayled that way.

Doctor Pates.

The Emperor beſtoweth a pencion on Fitz Giralde.

Hauing in this wiſe remayned at Liege for halfe a yeare, the Cardinall Pole (Fitz Giralde his kinneſman) ſent for him to Rome, wherevpon the Gentleman as well with the Emperour his licence, as with ſurrendring his penſion, trauayled to Italy, where the Cardinall woulde not admit him to his companie, vntill he had atteyned to ſome knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing him an annuitie of three C. crownes, he placed him with the Biſhop of Verona, and the Cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua.

Cardinal Pole ſendeth for Fitz Giralde.

Leurouſe in the meane while was admitted through the Cardinall Pole his procurement to be one of the Engliſhe houſe in Rome, called Saint Thomas his Hoſpitall.

Leurouſe placed in the Engliſh Hoſpitall.

Robert Walſhe, vpon his maiſters repayre to Italy, returned to Ireland.

Robert Walſh returneth to Irelande.

Fitz Girald hauing continued with the Cardinall, and the Duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was ſent for by the Cardinall Pole to Rome, at which tyme the Duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall penſion three hundred Crownes.

The Cardinall greatly ioyed in his kinneſman, had him carefully trayned vp in his houſe, interlacing with ſuch diſcretion his learning and ſtudies, with exerciſes of actiuitie, as he ſhoulde not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of actiue Gentlemen for a deade and dumpiſh meacocke. If he had committed any fault, the Cardinall would ſecretly commaund his Tutors to correct him, and all that notwithſtanding, hee woulde in preſence dandle the boy, as though he were not priuie to his puniſhment: and vpon any complaint made he vſed to checke Fitz Giralde his maiſters openly for chaſtiſing ſo ſeuerely his pretie darling.

Cardinal Pole his order in trayning yong Fitz Girald.

In this wiſe hee reſted three yeares togither in the Cardinall his houſe, and by that tyme hauing ſtept ſo farre in yeares (for hee was pricking faſt vpon nineteene) as he began to knowe himſelfe, the Cardinall put to his choyſe, eyther to continue his learning, or by trauayling to ſeeke his aduentures abroade. The yong ſtripling (as vſually kinde doth creepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantneſſe, than wedded to bookiſhneſſe, choſed to be a trauaylour: and preſently with the Cardinall his licence, repayred to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with Knightes of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thence he ſayled to Tripoly (a Fort apperteyning to the aforeſayde order, coaſting vpon Barbarie) and there he aboade ſixe

Fitz Giralde trauayleth to Naples.

Tripoly.

weekes

Mounbriſon.

weekes with Mounbryſon, a commaunder of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that holde.

At that tyme the knightes ſerued valiantly agaynſt the Turkes and Miſcreantes, ſpoyled and ſacked their villages and townes, that lay neare the water ſyde, toke diuerſe of them pryſoners, and after ſolde them to the Chriſtians for bond ſlaues.

Fitz Girald returneth to Rome.

The yong Fitz Giralde returned with a rich bootie to Malta, from thence to Rome, hauing ſpent in thys voyage, not fully one yeare.

The Cardinall enhaunceth Fitz Giraldes penſion.

Proude was the Cardinall to heare of hys proſpereus exploytes, and for his further aduauncement, he enhaunced his pencion of three hundred Crownes, to three hundred poundes, ouer and aboue three hundred crownes, that the Duke of Mantua allowed him.

Shortly after he preferred him to the ſeruice of the Duke of Florence, named Coſmo, wyth whom he continued maiſter of his horſes three yeares, hauing alſo of the Duke three hundred Duckets for a yearely penſion during life, or vntill he were reſtored, in like maner as the Cardinall Poole and the duke of Mantua in th eir annuities had graunted him.

He is Maſter of the horſe to the Duke of Florence.

During the time that he was in ſeruice with the Duke of Florence, he trauayled to Rome a ſhrouing, of ſet purpoſe to be merie: and as hee road an hunting with Cardinall Ferneiſe the Pope his nephew, it happened that in chaſing the Bucke, he fel into a pitte .xxix. fatham deepe, and in the fall forſaking his horſe within two fathams of the bottom, he toke holde by two or three rootes, grypping them faſt, vntill his armes were ſo wearie, as he coulde hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himſelfe to God, he let goe his gripe by little and little, and fell ſoftly on his horſe, that in the bottome of the pit lay ſtarke dead, and there he ſtode vp to the Anckles in water, for the ſpace of three houres. When the chaſe was ended, an exceeding good Greyhoũd of his named Griſhound, not finding his maiſter in the companie, followed his tracte vntill hee came to the pitte, and from thence woulde not depart, but ſtoode at the brimme inceſſauntly houling. The Cardinall Ferneiſe and his traine miſſing Fitz Girald, made towardes the dogge, and ſurueying the place, they were verily perſwaded that the Gentleman was ſquiſed to death.

He falleth into a deepe pit.

His Greyhoũd findeth him out.

Hauing therefore poſted his ſeruantes in haſt to a village harde by Rome (named Trecappan) for Ropes and other neceſſaries, he cauſed one of the companie to glide in a Baſket, downe to the bottom of the hole. Fitz Giralde reuiued with his preſence, and willing to bee remoued from ſo darkſome a dungeon to the open ayre, beſought the other to lende him his roome, whereupon he was haled vp in the Baſket, as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the ſingular gratulation of the Cardinall and all his friendes, rendring moſt heartie thankes to God his diuine Maieſtie, for protecting the Gentleman with his gracious guerdon.

Trecappan.

And thus ſurceaſſing to treate any further of his aduentures, vntill the date of time trayne my penne to a longer diſcourſe, I will returne to the inhabitantes of the Engliſh Pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitz Giralde, through rigour of iuſtice, and the due execution of lawes, were greatly moleſted. For ouer this, that ſuch as were knowne for open and apparant traytours in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with rounde ſummes fined, or from the realme exiled: certaine gentlemen of worſhip were ſent from Englande, with Commiſſion to examine eche perſon ſuſpected wyth Thomas his treaſon, and ſo according to theyr diſcretion, eyther with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all ſuch as they could proue to haue furthered hym in his diſloyall Commotion.

Commiſſioners ſent to Ireland.

Commiſſioners were theſe, ſir Anthonie Sentleger knight; ſir George Paulet knight, maiſter Moyle and maiſter Barnes.

Their names.

Much aboute this tyme was there a Parliament holden at Dublin before the Lord Leonarde Gray Lorde Deputie, beginning the firſt of May, in the .xxviij. yeare of the raigne of Henrie the eight. In this Parliament there paſt

A Parliament. 1539

An Act
- For the attainder of the Erle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitz Giralde, with others.
- For the ſucceſſion of the King and Queene Anne.
- Of abſenties, wherein was graunted to the king the inheritance of ſuch landes in Irelande, whereof the Duke of Norffolke, and George Talbot Earle of Waterford and Solop were ſeyſed, with the inheritances of diuerſe other corporations and couents demurrant in Englãnd.
- For the repeale of Ponings Act.
- Authoriſing the king, his heyres and ſucceſſoures to be ſupreme heade of the Church of Irelande.
- That no ſubiects or reſiantes of Irelande ſhall purſue or commence, vſe, or execute any maner of prouocations, appeales or other proceſſe from the Sea of Rome, vpon paine of incurring the premunire.

In Act

- Agaynſt ſuch as ſlaunder the King, or his heyres apparant.
- For the firſt fruites.
- Of ſir Walter Delahyde knight his landes in Carbery graunted to the king.
- How perſons robbed ſhall bee reſtored to theyr goodes.
- Reſtrayning trybutes to be graunted to Iriſhmen.
- Agaynſt Proctors to be any member of the Parliament.
- Agaynſt marying or foſtering with or to Iriſhmen.
- Agaynſt the authoritie of the Sea of Rome.
- For the twentith part.
- For the Engliſh order, habite, and language.
- For the ſuppreſſing of Abbayes.
- For the lading of Wooll and flockes.
- For the prouſe of Teſtaments.
- Of faculties.
- Declaring the effect of Ponings Act.
- Of penall ſtatutes.
- For the weres vpon Barrou, and other waters in the Countrey of Kilkenny.
- For the perſon of Dongarun.
- For leazers of corne.

The olde Erle of Kildare his wiſhe before his death.

As for the olde Earle of Kildare, who in this Parliament was attainted for diuerſe preſumptions in the preamble of the ſayde Act rehearſed, certaine it is, that the reuolt of his ſonne Thomas Fitz Giralde, ſmote him ſo deepely to the heart, as vpon the report thereof hee deceaſſed in the Tower, wiſhing in his death bed, that eyther he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his brainleſſe boy, had neuer liued to rayſe the like commotion.

His ſeruice.

This Earle, of ſuch as did not ſtomacke his proceedings, was taken for one that bare hymſelfe in all his affayres verie honourably, a wiſe, deepe, and farre reteching man: in warre valyant without raſhneſſe, and politique wythoute treacherie. Such a ſuppreſſour of rebelles in his gouernment, as they durſt not beare armour to the annoyance of any ſubiect, whereby he heaped no ſmall reuenues to the crowne, enryched the king his treaſure, garded with ſecuritie the pale, continued the honour of his houſe, and purchaſed enuie to his perſon.

His hoſpitalitie and deuotion.

His great hoſpitalitie is to this day rather of eche man commended, than of any one followed. He was ſo religious addicted to the ſeruing of God, as what tyme ſoeuer he trauayled to any part of the Countrey, ſuch as were of his Chapell, ſhould be ſure to accompanie him. Among other rare gyftes, hee was with one ſingular qualitie endued, which were it put in practiſe by ſuch as are of his calling, might miniſter great occaſion as well to the abandoning of flattring cary tales, as to the ſtayed quietneſſe of noble potentates.

The olde Erle of Kildare hys policie when his death was conſpired.

Iohn Olurckā, Iames Graunt.

For if any whiſpered vnder *Benedicite* a ſiniſter report or ſecrete practiſe, that tended to the diſteyning of his honour, or to the perill of hys perſon, he woulde ſtraytly examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were paſt, or to come. If it were ſayde or done, he was accuſtomed to lay ſore to his charge, where, and of whom he heard it, or how he could iuſtifie it. If he found him to halte in the prouſe, he woulde puniſh him as a pikethanke makebate, for being ſo maliciouſly caried, as for currying fauour to himſelfe, he woulde labour to purchaſe hatred to another: But if the practiſe were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then woulde hee ſuſpende the credite, vſing withall ſuch wary ſecrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinche, the aduerſarie ſhould thinke that hee was moſte ignorant, when he was beſt prouided. As being in Dublyn forewarned, that John Olurckan with certaine deſperate Varlets conſpired his deſtruction, and that they were determined to aſſault him vpon his returne to Maynoth, hee had one of his ſeruants named James Graunt, that was much of his pitche, and at a bluſh did ſomewhat reſemble him, attyred in his ryding apparaile, and namely in a ſkarlet Cloake, wherewith he vſed to be clad. Graunt in thys wiſe maſking in his Lordes attyre, roade as hee was commaunded in the beaten highe way towardes Manoth, with ſixe of the Earle his ſeruantes attending vpon him. The Conſpiratours awayting towards Lucan the comming of the Earle, encountered the diſguiſed Lorde, and not doubting but it had beene Kildare, they began to charge him, but the other amazed therwith, cryed that they tooke theyr marke amiſſe, for the Earle roade to Manoth on the further ſide of Liffie. Wherewith the murtherers appalled fled away, but incontinently were by the Earle apprehended, ſuſteyning the puniſhment that ſuch caytifes deſerued.

The Ladie Grayes kindneſſe to hir husband.

This noble man was ſo well affected to his wife the Ladie Gray, as he woulde not at any tyme buy a ſute of apparell for himſelfe, but hee woulde ſute hir with the ſame ſtuffe. Whiche gentleneſſe ſhe recompenced with equall kindeneſſe. For after that he deceaſſed in the Tower, ſhe did not onlyeuer after liue as a chaſt and honourable Vidue, but alſo nightly before ſhee went to bed, ſhe would reſort to his picture, and there with a ſolemne congee, ſhe woulde bid hir

Lorde goodnight. Whereby may bee gathered with howe great loue ſhee affected his perſon, that had in ſuch price his bare picture.

An other Act that did paſſe in this Parliament touching abſenties, proceeded of this occaſion.

Giralde Aylmer.

Maiſter Girald Aylmer, who firſt was chief Baron of the Exchequer, after chiefe Juſtice of the Common place, was occaſioned, for certain his affayres, to repaire to the Court of Englād. Where being for his good ſeruice greatly countenanced by ſuch as were in thoſe dayes taken for the pillers of the weale publike, namely of the Lorde Crumwell it happened that through his Lordſhip his earneſt meanes, the king made maiſter Aylemer chiefe Juſtice of his Bench in Irelande. This aduauncement diſliked by certaine of Waterford and Weiſeforde, that were not friended to the Gentleman, they debaced him in ſuche diſpitefull wiſe, as the Earle of Shrewſburie, who then was likewiſe Earle of Waterforde, was by theyr lewde reportes caryed to chalenge the king, ſo farre as with his duetie of allegeance he durſt, for beſtowing ſo weightie an office vpon ſo light a perſon, beyng ſuch a ſimple John at Stile as he tearmed him, no wiſer than Patche, the late Lord Cardinall his foole. The king herevpon expoſtulated with the Lorde Cromwell, who being throughly acquainted with the Gentleman his rare wiſedome, aunſwered, that if it woulde ſtande with his Maieſties pleaſure to enter into conference with him, hee ſhoulde bee ſure to finde him no babe, notwithſtanding the wrong informations of ſuche as laboured to thwart or croſſe hym. Whereto the King vpon further leyſure agreed, and ſhortly after according to his promiſe, beſtowed two or three houres with maiſter Aylemer, who vpon the Lorde Cromwell his forewarning, was ſo wel armed for his highneſſe, as he ſhewed himſelfe in his diſcourſe, by anſwering *ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthie to ſupplie an office of ſo great credite.

In this conference the King demaunded him, what he toke to be the chiefe occaſion of diſorder of Irelande, and howe hee thought it might beſt be reformed?

Truly and it like your Maieſtie (quoth Aylmer) among ſundrie reaſons that might be probably alledged for the decay of that your Kingdome, one chiefe occaſion is, that certaine of your Nobilitie of this your realme of England are ſeyſed of the better part of your Dominion in Irelande, whereof they haue ſo little keepe, as for lacke of theyr preſence, they ſuffer the ſayde landes to be ouerrunne by Rebelles and traytours. Wherefore if your highneſſe would prouide by Acte of Parliament, that all ſuche landes which by reaſon of their abſence may not be defended, ſhould be to your highneſſe by the conſent of the Nobilitie and Communaltie graunted, you might therby enrich your crown, repreſſe rebels, and defend your ſubiects from all trayterous inuaſion.

The king tickled with this plauſible deuiſe, yelded maiſter Aylemer heartie thankes for his good counſaile, and in this Parliament had the tenour thereof put in effect. Which redowned chiefly to the Lorde of Shrewſburie hys diſaduauntage, as one that was poſſeſt of dyuerſe auncient Lordſhippes and Manours in that countrey.

Oneale rebelleth.

Soone after this Parliament, Oneale ymagining that he was able to make hys partie good agaynſt the Engliſh Pale, conſpyred with Odoneyle Maggadneſh, Ocaghan, Mack Kwylen, Ohanlan, and other Iriſh Lords, and on a ſodain inuaded the Pale, came to the Na-

uan,

nan, burnt all the townes of eche ſide confining, after marched to Taraghe, muſtering wyth great pride hys armie vpon the toppe of the hill: and hauing gathered togither the ſpoyle of the Pale without reſiſtance, hee beganne to recule Northwarde, making his full account to haue gone ſcot free.

VVilliam eton ſent to Irelād.

The Lord Leonard Gray being then Lord Deputie forecaſting the worſt, certified the king and counſaile of Oneal his rebellion, and withall humbly beſought a freſh ſupply of ſouldiors to aſſiſt the pale in reſiſting the enimie and that ſir William Brereton (who was diſcharged & returned into Englande) ſhoulde bee ſent into Irelande, as one that for his late ſeruice was highly commended of the Countrey.

VVilliam eton ſent Ireland.

The King and Counſaile condiſcending to the Deputie his requeſt, appoynted ſir William Brereton to hie thither with ſpeede, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie Souldiours of Cheſhire men. In which ſeruice the Gentleman was founde ſo preſt and readie, that notwithſtanding in muſtering his bande, he fell by miſhap off his horſe, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than hee woulde retire homeward, he appointed the Mariners to hale him vp to theyr Barke by Pulleyes, and in ſuch impotent wiſe arriued in Irelande, ſuppreſſing the feebleneſſe of his bodie, with the couragious valour of his minde.

foord of ahon.

The Lorde Deputie in the meane while marched wyth the force of the Pale, the Maior and the Citizens of Dublin to Drogheda, from thence likewiſe accōpanied with the Maior and Townesmen, he marched Northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale and his companie on the furtherſide of the water, laye encamped with the ſpoyle of the Pale.

The Deputie by Spyes and ſecrete Meſſengers hereof certified, cauſed the armie to trauaile the better part of the nyght, in ſo muche as by the dawning of the day, they were neare the Ryuer ſyde: where hauing eſcried the enimies, namely Magennoſſe, and the Galloglaſſes, that were placed there to keepe the ſtraytes, (for Oneale wyth the mayne armye lurked in a Groue not farre off,) they beganne to ſette themſelues in battayle array, as menne that were reſolued wyth all haſte and good ſpeede to ſurpriſe the enimye wyth a ſodayne charge.

es Fleming on of Slane.

At which tyme James Flemming Baron of Slane (commonlye called blacke James) garded wyth a rounde companye, as well of horſemen as footmen, humbly beſought the Deputie, to graunt him that day the honour of the onſette. Whereto when the Lorde Gray had agreed, the Baron of Slane wyth cheerefull countenaunce, imparted the obteyning of hys ſuyte, as pleaſant tydings to Robert Halfepennie, who wyth hys aunceſtours was Standert bearer to the houſe of Slane. But Halfepennie ſeeing the further ſyde of the water ſo beſet with armed Galloglaſſes, as he tooke it, as likely an attempt to raze downe the ſtrongeſt Fort in Irelande wyth a fillippe, as to ruſhe through ſuche quicke Iron walles, flatlye aunſwered the Baron, that hee woulde rather diſclayme in his office, than there to gyue the onſette, where there reſted no hope of lyfe, but an aſſured certaintie of death. And therefore hee was not as yet ſo wearie of the worlde, as lyke an headlong hoteſpurre voluntarilye to runne to hys vtter and vndoubted deſtruction. Wherefore hee beſought his Lordſhip, to ſet his heart at reſt, and not to impute his denyall to baſeneſſe of courage, but to waryneſſe of ſafetie, althoughe hee knewe none of anye ſtayed mynde, but woulde ſooner chooſe to keepe in an hole ſheepe hys pelte, than to walke in a torne Lyon hys ſkinne, namely when all hope of lyfe was abandoned, and the certaintie of death aſſuredly promiſed.

Robert Halfpennie.

Robert Beto

The Baron with this anſwere at his wittes ende, roade to Robert Betoa of Downcore, brake with him as touching Halfepennie hys determination, and withall requeſted hym (as he did tender hys honour) nowe at a pinche to ſupply the rowme of that daſtardly cowarde, as he did terme him.

Betoa to thys aunſwered, that although it ſtoode wyth good reaſon, that ſuche as heretofore taſted the ſweete in peace, ſhoulde nowe be contented to ſippe of the ſowre in water: yet notwythſtanding, rather than the matter ſhoulde to hys honour lye in the duſt, he promiſed to breake through them, or elſe to lye in the water: and withall beeing ſurpaſſinglye mounted, for the Baron gaue hym a choyſe horſe, hee tooke the Standarde, and wyth a ſodayne ſhowte, hauing wyth him in the foreranke Mabe of Mabeſtowne (who at the firſt brunt was ſlaine) hee flung into the water, and charged the Iriſhe that ſtoode on the further ſhore.

Mabe of Mabeſtowne ſlain.

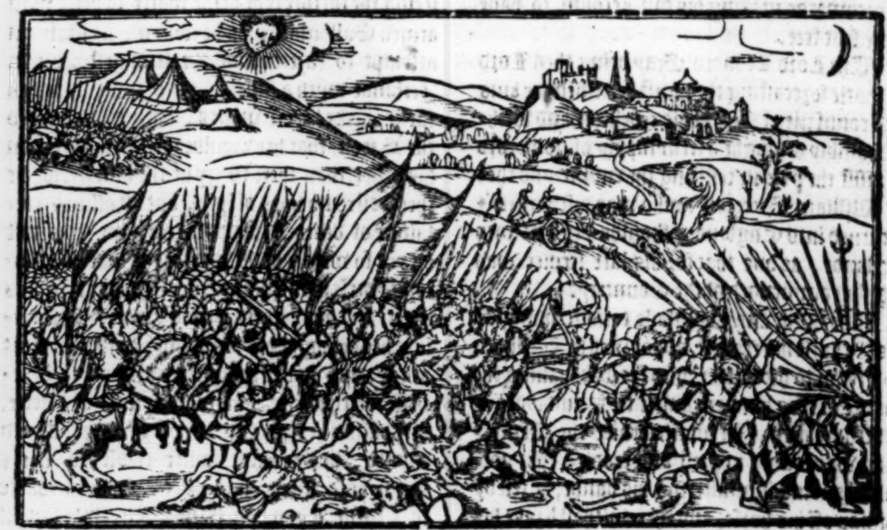
After followed the Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Pale, that wyth as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage reſiſted their aſſault.

To this ſtouteneſſe were the enimies more boldly pricked, in that they had the aduauntage of the ſhore, and the gentlemen of the Pale were conſtrayned to bickre in the water.

But the longer the Iriſh cōtinued, the more they were diſaduauntaged, by reaſon that the Engliſh were ſo aſſiſted with freſh ſupplyes, as their enimies coulde not any longer withſtande them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forſake the banke, and to giue the armie free paſſage.

The Iriſh diſcomfited. Oneale put to flight.

The Engliſhe taking heart vpon theyr fayntneſſe, brake through the Galloglaſſes, ſlue Maggannouſe theyr Captaine, purſued Oneal with the remnaunt of his Lordes, leauing behinde them for lacke of ſafe cariage the ſpoyle of the Pale, ſcantly able to eſcape wyth hys owne life, being egrely purſued by the army vntill it was Sun ſet.



King. Barnevvall. Baſnet. Fitz Simons.

In this conflict Mathew King, Patricke Barnewall of Kylmahyocke, Sir Edwarde Baſnet Prieſt, who after became Deane of Saint Patrickes in Dublin, and was ſworne one of the priuie Counſaile, and Thomas Fitz Simons of Curduffe, were reported to haue ſerued verie valiantly.

The Maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubt knightes. Aylmer. Talbot.

Moreouer Iames Fitz Simons Maior of Dublin, Michael Curſey Maior of Drogheda, Girald Ailmer chiefe Iuſtice, & Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in yͤ field.

The valiantneſſe of the Lord Gray.

But of all others, the Lord Gray then Lord Deputie, as hee was in authoritie ſuperiour to them all; ſo in courage and manlyneſſe hee was inferiour to none. He was noted by the armye to haue endured greate toyle and paine before the ſkirmiſhe, by poſting bareheaded from one bande to another, debacing the ſtrength of the enimies, enhauncing the power of the Pale, depreſſing the reuolt of rebellious traitours, extolling the good quarell of loyall ſubiectes, offring large rewardes, which with as great conſtancie he perfourmed, as with liberalitie he promiſed. Ouer this he bare himſelfe ſo affable to his ſouldiours, in vſing them like friendes and fellowes, and terming thẽ with curteous names, and mouing laughter with pleaſant conceyts, as they were incenſed as well for the loue of the perſon, as for the hatred of the enimie, wyth reſolute mindes to bicker with the Iriſhe. In whiche conflict the Deputie was as forwarde as the moſte; and bequitte himſelfe as valiaunt a Seruitour as the beſt.

The Gouernour turning the oportunitie of this ſkirmiſhe to his aduauntage, ſhortly after roade to the Northe, preding and ſpoyling Oneale with his confederates, who by reaſon of the late ouerthrow, were able to make but little reſiſtance.

In this iourney he razed Saint Patricke his Churche in Doune, an olde auncient Citie of Vlſter, and burnt the monuments of Patricke, Briged, and Colme, who are ſayd to haue bene there entumbed, as before is expreſſed in the deſcription of Ireland.

The Lord Gray accuſed.

This fact loſt him ſundrie heartes in that coũtrey, alwayes after deteſting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conſpyring wyth ſuch of Mounſter as were enimyes to his gouernment, they hooked vp diuerſe complaintes agaynſte him, which they did exhibite to the king and counſell. The Articles of greateſt importaunce layde to his charge were theſe.

The articles that vvere layd to his charge.

In primis, that notwithſtanding hee were ſtraitely commaunded by the king his Maieſtie, to apprehend his kinneſman, the yong Fitz Girald, yet did he not onely diſobey the kings letters, as touching that point, by playing boapepe, but alſo had priuie conference with the ſaid Fitz Girald, and lay with him two or three ſeuerall nights before he departed into France.

Item, that the chiefe cauſe that moued him to inueigle Thomas Fitz Giralde wyth ſuche fayre promyſſes proceeded of ſette purpoſe to haue him cutte off, to the ende there ſhoulde be a gap ſet open for the yong Fitz Girald, to aſpire to the Earledome of Kildare.

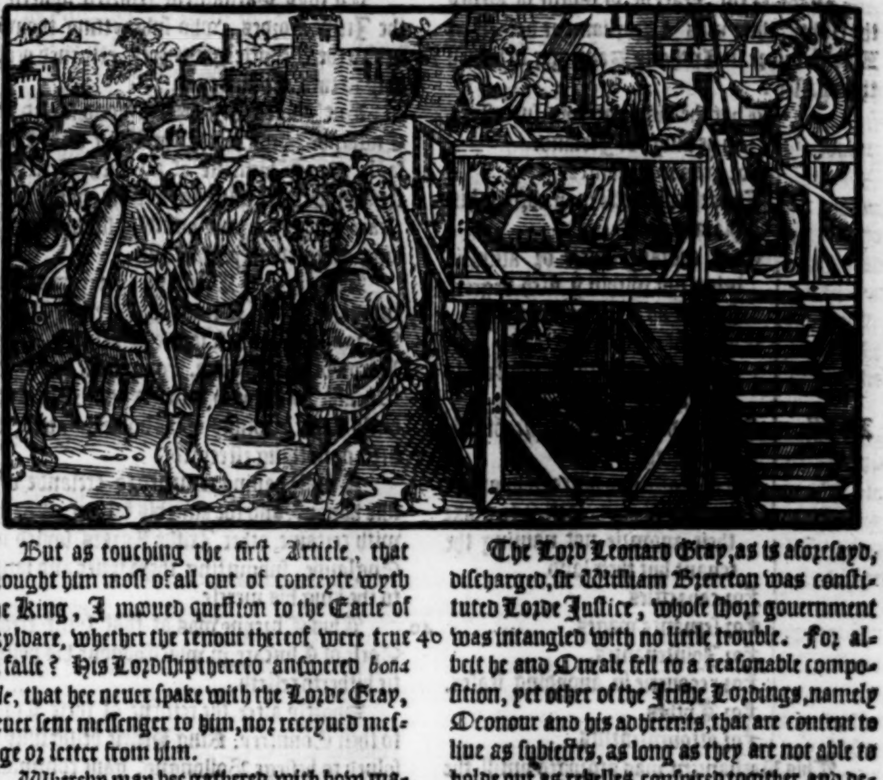
Item, that hee was ſo greedily addicted to the pilling and polling of the King his Subiectes, namelye of ſuche as were reſiaunt in Mounſter, as the beddes he lay in, the cuppes he dranke in, the plate with which he was ſerued in any gentlemans houſe, were by his ſeruants agaynſt right and reaſon packt vp, and caried with great extortion away.

Item, that without any warrant from the King or Counſaile, he prophaned the Church of Saint Patrickes in Downe, turning it to a Stable, after plucked it downe, and ſhipt the notable ring of belles that did hang in the Steple, meaning to haue ſent them to Englande, hadde not God of his iuſtice preuented hys iniquitie, by ſinking the Veſſell and paſſengers, wherein the ſayde Belles ſhould haue bene conueyed.

These and the lyke Artycles, were wyth ſuch odious preſumptions coloured by his accuſers, as the King and Counſayle remembring his late faultes, and forgetting hys former ſeruices (for commonly all men are of ſo harde happe, that they ſhall bee ſooner for one treſpaſſe condemned, than for a thouſande good deſertes commended) gaue commaundement that the Lorde Gray ſhoulde not onely bee remoued from the gouernment of the Countrey, but alſo had him beheaded on the Tower hil the xxviij. of Iune.

The Lord Gray beheaded.

1541



The Lorde Gray guiltleſſe of the firſt Article.

But as touching the firſt Article, that brought him moſt of all out of conceyte wyth the King, I moued queſtion to the Earle of Kyldare, whether the tenour thereof were true or falſe? His Lordſhip thereto anſwered *bona fide*, that hee neuer ſpake with the Lorde Gray, neuer ſent meſſenger to him, nor receyued meſſage or letter from him.

The daungers at happen to uernours of rouinces.

Whereby may bee gathered, with how many daungers they are inwrapped that gouerne Prouinces, wherein diligence is thwackt with hatred, negligence is loaden with tauntes, ſeueritie with perilles menaced, liberalitie with thankeleſſe vnkindneſſe contemned, conference to vndermining framed, flatterie to deſtruction forged, eche in countenaunce ſmyling, diuerſe in heart pouting, open fawning, ſecrete grudging, gaping for ſuche as ſhall ſucceede in gouernment, honouring Magiſtrates with cappe and knee, as long as they are preſent, and carping them with tongue and penne, as ſoone as they are abſent.

Sir VVilliam Brereton Lorde Iuſtice.

The Lord Leonard Gray, as is aforeſayd, diſcharged, ſir William Brereton was conſtituted Lorde Iuſtice, whoſe ſhort gouernment was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Oneale fell to a reaſonable compoſition, yet other of the Iriſhe Lordings, namely Oconour and his adherents, that are content to liue as ſubiectes, as long as they are not able to holde out as rebelles, conſpired togither, and determined to aſſemble their power at the hyll of Fowre in weſt Methe, and ſo on a ſodaine to ranſacke the Pale.

The Lorde Iuſtice forthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thouſand of the Pale, of which no ſmall number were eccleſiaſticall perſons, made towardes the rebelles, who vpon the approche of ſo greate an armie gaue grounde and diſperſed themſelues in woods and marriſhes. The Lorde Iuſtice this notwithſtanding inuaded Oconour his Country, burnt his tenements, and made all his trenches with the multitude of Pioners ſo paſſable, as foure hundred Cartes, beſide light cariage, were led without let through the Countrey. Oconnour ſone after ſubmitted himſelfe, and ſent his ſonne Cormacke to the Lorde Iuſtice as hoſtage for his future obedience and loyaltie to the king his highneſſe.

Oconour ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Lorde Iuſtice.

After this iourney was ended, ſir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was conſtituted Lord Deputie, and ſir William Brereton lord high Marſhal, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be Marſhall, trauayling by the Lord Deputie his appointment to Limmerick to bring in James Erle of Deſmond, who ſtood vpon certaine tickle poyntes with the gouernor, ended his life in that iourney, and lyeth entumbed at Kilkenny in the Chore of Saint Kenny his Church.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger Lord deputie

Sir VVilliam Brereton Lord high Marshall.

He dyeth.

1542

In the .xxxiij. yeare of the raigne of Henry the eight, there was a Parliament holden at Dublin before ſir Anthony Sentleger, in which there paſſed:

In Act
- That the king and hys ſucceſſors to be kings of Ireland.
- For gray marchantes.
- That the plaintife may abridge his plaint in aſſiſe.
- That conſanguinitie or affinitie being not within ye fifth degree, ſhall be no principall chalenge.
- That maketh it felony to any man to run away with his maſter his caſket.
- For the adnihilating of precōtracts in mariage.
- For al Lordes to diſtreyn vpon the lands of them holden, & to make their auowrie not naming the tenant but their land.
- For capacities.
- For ſeruants wages.
- For Iointenantes.
- For recouerie in auoyding leaſes.
- For Tythes.
- For attournements.

This Parliament was prorogued vntill the .xv. of Feb. & after was continued at Limmerick before the ſaid deputie, at which time there paſt.

In Act
- For the adiournement of the Parliament, and the place to holde the ſame, and what perſons ſhall bee choſen Knightes and Burgeſes.
- For the election of the L. Iuſtice.
- Touching miſpleading and ieoyfailes.
- For landes giuen by the king.
- For the ſuppreſſion of Kilmainam and other religious houſes.

1543

This Parliament was likewiſe prorogued, and after was continued and holden before the ſayde gouernour at Dublin, the ſixthe daye of Nouember, in the .xxxiiij. yeare of the raigne of king Henry the eight, wherein there paſſed:

In Act
- For the deuiſion of Meth into two ſhires.
- For perſons ſtanding bounde in any Court for theyr apparaunce, and being in ſeruice, to bee diſcharged by writ.

This Parliament was further prorogued vntill the .xvij. of Aprill, and at that time before the ſayd Gouernour it was holden and ended; in which there paſſed an Act touching the manour and Caſtle of Dongaruan to be vnited and annexed to the crowne for euer.

To thys Parliament reſorted dyuerſe of the Iriſhe Lordes, who ſubmytting themſelues to the Deputie hys mercy, returned peaceably to their Countreyes.

But James Erle of Deſmond ſayled into Englande, and before the King and Counſayle purged himſelfe of all ſuche Articles of treaſon, as were falſly layd to his charge, whoſe cleare purgation and humble ſubmiſſion the king accepted very gratefully.

Iames Earle of Deſmonde.

Shortly after Deſmond his returne homewarde, the great Oneale was created Earle of Tyron, and his baſe ſonne Mathewe Oneale Baron of Dongaruan. For in thoſe days John Oneale, commonly called Shane Oneale, the onely ſonne lawfully of his bodie begotten, was little or nothing eſteemed.

Oneale Erle of Tyron.

Oneale hauing returned to Irelande wyth this honour, and the king his fauour, Obreyne with certaine other Iriſhe Lordes ſayled into Englande, ſubmitting theyr lyues and landes to the king his mercie.

This Obreyne was at that tyme created Earle of Clincare, in which honour his poſteritie hitherto reſteth.

Obreyne created Earle of Clincare.

1544

Shortly after the returne of theſe Lordes to their Countrey, King Henrie being fully reſolued to beſiege Bollongne, gaue commaundement to ſir Anthonie Sentleger deputie, to leuie an armie of Iriſh men, and with all expedition to ſende them to England.

The Iriſh ſent for to the ſiege of Bollongne.

To theſe were appoynted Captaynes the Lord Power, who after was dubt knight, Surlock, and Finglaſſe with diuerſe others. They muſtred in Saint James his Parke ſeuen hundred.

In the ſiege of Bollongne they ſtoode the armye in verye good ſteade. For they were not onely contented to burne and ſpoyle all the villages thereto adioyning, but alſo they would raunge twentie or thirtie miles into the maine lande, ir policie in eying for mie.

lande, and hauing taken a Bull, they vſed to tie him to a ſtake, and ſcorching hym with fagottes, they woulde force him to roare, ſo as all the Cattell in the Countrey woulde make towardes the Bull, all which they woulde lightly leade away, and furniſh the campe with ſtore of biefe.

If they tooke anye Frenche man pryſoner, leaſt they ſhoulde bee accounted couetous in ſnatching wyth them hys intyre bodye, hys onelye raunſome ſhoulde bee no more but hys heade.

The French wyth this extraordinarie kind of warfaring aſtonyed, ſent an Imbaſſadour to King Henrie, to learne whether he brought menne wyth hym or Diuelles, that coulde neyther bee wonne wyth rewardes, nor pacifyed by pitie: whiche when the King had turned to a ieaſt, the French menne euer after, if they coulde take anye of the Iriſhe ſcattering from the companie, vſed fyrſt to cutte off theyr genitours, and after to tormente them with as greate and as lingring paine as they could deuiſe.

french chalenger vanquid,

After that Bollongne was ſurrendred to the King, there encamped on the Weſt ſyde of the Towne beyonde the Hauen an armye of French menne, among whome there was a Thraſonicall Golias, that departed from the armye, and came to the brincke of the Hauen, and there in ſitting and daring wiſe chalenged anye one of the Engliſhe armye that durſt be ſo hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hande.

ichol Welsh.

And albeit the diſtaunce of the place, the depth of the Hauen, the nearneſſe of hys companie emboldned him to thys chalenge, more than any great valour or pithe that reſted in him to indure a combate, yet all this notwithſtanding, an Iriſhe manne named Nicholl Welſhe, who after reteyned to the Earle of Kyldare, loathing and diſdeyning his prowde bragges, flung into the water, and ſwamme ouer the Ryuer, fought wyth the chalenger, ſtroke him for dead, and returned backe to Bollongne wyth the Frenchman his heade in hys mouth, before the armie coulde ouertake hym. For which exployte, as hee was of all his companie highly commended, ſo by the Lieutenant he was bountifully rewarded.

1545

he Earle of enox aſied by king nrie.

Much aboute this tyme the Earle of Lennox, verie wrongfully inquieted in Scotlande, and forced to forſake his Countrey, became humble peticioner to King Henrie, as well to relieue him in his diſtreſſed calamitie, as to cōpaſſe the meanes, how he might bee reſtored to his landes and liuing.

The King his highneſſe moued wyth compaſſion, poſted the Earle ouer to Irelande, with letters of eſpeciall truſt, commaunding ſir Anthonie Sentleger then Deputie, to aſſiſt and further the Scottiſh Outcaſt, with as puiſſant an armie, as to his contentation ſhould ſeeme good.

Iames Butler Earle of Ormond.

The Deputie vpon the receypte of theſe letters, ſente for Iames Butler Earle of Ormonde and Oſſerie, a noble manne, no leſſe politique in peace, than valiaunt in warre, made hym priuye to the Kyng hys pleaſure, and wythall in his Maieſties name dyd caſte the charge hereof vppon the ſayde Earle, as one that for hys tryed loyaltie was willing, and for his honour and valour able to attempt and atchieue ſo rare and famous an exployte.

The Lorde of Ormonde as wylling to obey, as the Gouernour was to commaunde, leuyed of hys Tenauntes and Reteynours, ſixe hundred Gallowglaſſes, foure hūdred Kearnes, three ſcore Horſemen, and foure hundred and fortie ſhot: ſo in the whole he muſtered on Oſmantowne greene neare Dublyn, fiftene hundred ſouldiours

Sir Iohn Trauerſe knight.

The Lorde Deputie yeelding hys honour ſuche thankes in wordes, as hee deſerued in deede, leuyed in the Pale fifteene hundred Souldiours more, to bee annexed to the Earle hys companye. Ouer them he conſtituted Sir Iohn Trauerſe Capitayne, but the Earle of Ormonde was made Generall of the whole armie.

When the Souldiours were wyth Munition and vittualles aboundauntlye furnyſhed, the Earle of Ormonde and the Earle of Lennox tooke ſhypping at Skeriſh, hauing in theyr companie twentie and eight Shippes well rigged, ſufficiently manned, and ſtronglye appoynted.

From thence they ſayled Northwarde, and roade at anchor without the hauen of Oldfleete beyond Karregfergus.

The Earle of Ormonde and the Earle of Lennox in danger to bee drovvned.

Where hauing remayned hulling wythoute the mouth of the Hauen contrarye to the aduiſe of the Maiſters of theyr Shippes (who prognoſticated the ſpeedie approche of a ſtorme, and therefore did wiſhe them to take a good harborrowe) it happened, that the ſayde nyght there aroſe ſo boyſterous a Tempeſt, that the whole fleete was lyke to haue beene ouerwhelmed.

The Maryners betaking theyr paſſengers and themſelues to the mercye of God, dyd cutte theyr mayne Maſtes, lette ſlippe theyr Anchors, and were weather driuen to the hauen of Dunbrytaine in Scotlande, where as they were like to runne their ſhippes on ground, and conſequently they all ſhoulde either haue beene plunged in the water, or elſe haue beene ſlaine on the lande by a greate number of Scottes that awayted theyr approche, God with hys gracious clemencye preuenting theyr imminent calamitie, ſent them not onely a wiſhed calme, but alſo a proſperous gale of wynde, that blewe them backe in ſafetie to the Iriſhe coaſt, from whence they were ſcattered.

The Earle of Lennox aduertiſed by certain of his friendes that met with him on the Sea, that the Scottes contrarie to theyr promiſe, dealt verie doubly with him (for although they gaue theyr worde to ſurrender vppe to hym the Caſtell of Dunbrytaine, yet they did not onelye fortifie that Holde, but alſo were readie to encounter wyth his Souldiours vppon theyr arryuals) he concluded to returne to Irelande.

The Earle of Ormonde verie loath, that ſo greate an attempt ſhoulde take ſo little effecte, dealt wyth him verie earneſtly, notwithſtanding his counſayle were bewrayed, to inuade his enimies, and his Lordſhippe ſhould be ſure to finde the armie ſo forwarde in aſſiſting hym in ſo famous an enterpriſe, as they would ſhew themſelues more willing to bicker wyth hys foes in Scotlande, than without ſkirmiſhing to returne to Irelande. For the Earle of Ormonde was of this nature, that as hee woulde not beginne any martiall broyle raſhly or vnaduiſedly, ſo he woulde not ſeeme to put it vppe lightly or eaſily.

The Earle of Ormonde his propertie.

Further whereas the Earle of Lennox ſtood in hope, that the Lorde of the out Iſles would ayde hym, it was thought by Ormonde not to be amyſſe, to expect his comming, and ſo ioyning his company to the armie, there reſted no doubt, but that the Scottiſhe enimies woulde bee forced to plucke in theyr hornes, although at the firſt bluſh they ſeeme to put a good face on the matter.

Lennox ſomwhat with this perſwaſion caryed, gaue his conſent to expect the Lorde of the oute Iſle his determination, who notwithſtanding all the fetche of the enterprice were diſcried, would not ſlip from his word, but perſonally ſayled to the Iriſh fleete, with three Gallies verie well appoynted.

The Lorde of the out Iles fayleth to the Erle of Lennox.

The noble man was with ſuch martiall triumphes receyued, as warlike ſouldiours coulde on the ſea afoord him. But of al others, both the Earles gaue him heartie intertaynment for his true and honourable dealing, that to bee as good as his worde, woulde not ſeeme to ſhrinke from his friend in this his aduerſitie.

And ſhortly after as they craued his aduiſe, what were beſt to bee done, eyther to lande in Scotlande, or elſe to returne homewarde, hys flatte reſolution was, at that tyme to retyre, bycauſe theyr drift was detected, theyr feyned friendes fainted, the Caſtels were fortified, and the Shoares on all partes wyth ſwarmes of Scottes peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie, to giue out in open rumours, that they meant not at any hande to inuade Scotlande, but to retire to their Countrey.

And after that the Scottiſhe Souldiours ſhoulde be diſmyſt, which woulde bee incontinent vpon theyr returne, by reaſon of the exceſſiue charges, then myght the Earle of Lennox with leſſe preparation, and more ſecrecye gyue a freſhe onſette, that the enimyes ſhoulde ſooner feele his force, than heare of his arriuall.

Ormonde and Lennox land.

Ormonde and Lennox vpon this determination landed with the greater parte of the armie and appoynted the Shippes to bende theyr courſe to Dublyn.

The Lorde of the out Iſles, and his three Gallyes ſayled with the Fleete, for he was not able by reaſon of the feebleneſſe of his bodie to trauaile by lande, or ſcantly further to prolong his life, whiche hee ended at Howeth preſently vppon hys arriuall, and was with greate ſolemnitie buryed in Saint Patricke his Church at Dublyn, vppon whoſe death this Epitaph was framed:

The Lord of the out Iles dyeth.

Viq; manuq; mea patriæ dum redditur exſul,
Exſul in externa cogor & ipſe mori.

His Epitaph.

Both the Earles marched wyth the armye on foote to Carregfergus, where they brake company. For Lennox and ſir John Trauerſe taking as hee thought the ſhorter, but not the ſafer way, trauayled through the Ardes, with the number of fiue hundred Souldiours, where the Iriſhe inhabitantes ſkyrmiſhed with them, and put them to ſuche ſtrayte plunges (for they woulde gladly haue ſeene what a clocke it was in theyr Budgets) as they wiſhed they had not parted from the reſt of the army.

The Iriſh ſkirmish vvith the Erle of Lenno

The Earle of Ormonde with his Souldiours (which were a thouſande fiue hundred, as before is expreſſed) marched on foot to Belefaſt, which is an arme of the ſea, a quarter of a mile broade, or little leſſe, and albeit their weather were bitter and ouer nipping, and no ſmall parcell of the water were congealed with froſt, yet the Earle and his armie waded ouer on foote, to the great daunger as well of his perſon, as of the whole companie, whiche doubtleſſe was a valiaunt enterpriſe of ſo honourable a perſonage.

The Earle of Ormonde his toylſome trauaile.

From thence hee paſſed to Strangforde, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he diſcharged his Souldiours, and hauing preſented himſelfe to the Gouernour at Dublyn, he roade homewarde to the Countie of Kilkenny.

Shortly

he Deputie d Ormond ebate.

Shortly after, ſir Anthonie Sentleger lorde Deputie, and the Earle of Ormonde fell at debate, inſomuch as eyther of them layde articles of treaſon one to the others charge.

The chiefe occaſion of their mutuall grudge, proceeded of certaine newe and extraordinarie impoſitions, wherewith the Deputie woulde haue charged the Subiectes. Whereat the Erle of Ormonde as a zealous defender of his countrey, beganne to kicke, and in no ſort coulde bee wonne to agree to any ſuch vnreaſonable demaunde.

monde his tters intercepted.

Herevpon Ormonde perceyuing, that the Gouernour perſiſted in his purpoſe, addreſſed Letters of complaynte to ſuche as were of the priuie Counſayle in Englande, whiche letters were by one of Sir Anthonie his friendes intercepted at Sea, and preſented to him to bee pervſed.

Sir Anthonie hauing ouerread the wrytings, ſent Maiſter Baſnet in poſt haſt with the packet to Kylkenny, where the Earle of Ormonde kept his Chriſtmaſſe, requeſting hys Lordſhippe to take in good parte the opening of hys Letters, which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaynte, than in any ſort to inbar his writings from comming to the counſaile his handes.

The Earle anſwered that his quarell was ſo good, his dealing ſo opẽ, as he little weighed, who tooke a view of his letters. And for hys part, what he wrote hee ment not to vnwryte, but in ſuch ſort as they came from the Gouernour, they ſhould be ſent to the Counſaile, and if theyr honours woulde allow any Subiect to bee ſo hardie, as to intercepte and open Letters that were to them indorced, hee coulde not but dygeſt any ſuch iniurie, that they woulde ſeeme to beare.

The Lord Deputie and Ormond ſent for to England.

With this annſwere Baſnet returned, and the Earle performed his promiſe. Whereupon the Gouernour and he were commaunded, to appeare before the priuie Counſaile in Englande, where they were ſundrie tymes examined, and their accuſations ripely debated. In fine, the Counſaile equallye to bothe partes in theyr complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due deſert of both their loyall ſeruices, than the vaine preſumption of their mutuall accuſations, wrapped vp theyr quarelles, and made them both friendes, wyth ſuch indifferencie, as neyther part ſhould bee eyther with anye conqueſt exalted, or wyth anye foyle debaced.

They are made friends.

Sir Iohn Alen Lord Chancellour committed to the Fleete.

And for ſo muche as ſir John Alen knight, then Lorde Chauncellour of Irelande, was founde to limpe in this controuerſie, by playing as it was ſuppoſed, more craftily than wiſelye, with both the handes, in that hee ſeemed to bee rather a foſterer of theyr malice, than an appeaſer of theyr quarelles, hee was likewiſe ſent for into Englande, and being tript by the Counſaile in his tale, was committed to the Fleete, wherein he remayned a long tyme.

Sir VVilliam VViſe knight.

In this trouble the Earle of Ormond was greatly ayded by ſir William Wiſe Knight, a worſhipfull Gentleman, borne in the Citie of Waterforde, who deſeruing in deede the prayſe of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grewe to bee of great credite in the Court, and ſtoode highly in king Henrie his grace, whiche hee wholy vſed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abuſed to the annoyance of his foes.

This Gentleman was verye well ſpoken, mylde of nature, wyth diſcretion ſtoute, as one that in an vpright quarel would beare no coles, ſeldome in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all aſſayes to be of a pleaſant and preſent wit.

Hauing lente to the King his Signet to ſeale a Letter, who hauing powdred Ermites engrayled in the Seale, why howe now Wiſe quoth the King, what? haſt thou Liſe here? And if it like your Maieſtie, quoth ſir Williã, a louſe is a riche Coate, for by giuing the Louſe, I part Armes with the French King, in that he gyueth the Floure de Lice. Whereat the king heartily laughed, to heare how pretily ſo byting a taunt (namely proceeding from a Prince) was ſodaynly turned to ſo pleaſaunte a conceyte.

Anon after the agreement made betweene Ormonde and Sentleger, the Earle his Seruants (which hee kept at that time in his lyuerey to the number of fiftie) beſought his Lordſhip to take at the Lymehouſe his part of a ſupper, which they prouided for him. The noble man wyth honour accepting their dutifull offer, ſupped at theyr requeſt, but not to their contentation at the place appoynted. For whether it were that one caytiſe or other did poyſon the meate, or that ſome other falſe meaſures were vſed (the certaintie with the reuenge, whereof to God is to bee referred) the noble man wyth thirtie and fiue of his ſeruaunts preſently that night ſickned, one James White, the Earle his Stewarde, with ſixtene of his fellowes died, the remnant of the ſeruauntes recouered, but theyr Lorde, whoſe health was chiefly to bee wiſhed, in the floure of his age deceaſſed of that ſickneſſe, at Elie houſe in Holborne, muche aboute the .xxviij. of October, and was buried in Saint Thomas of Acres his Churche, whoſe death bred ſorrow to his friendes, little comfort to his aduerſaries, great loſſe to his Countrey, and no ſmall griefe to all good men.

The Earle of Ormonde deceaſeth.

1546

This

His deſcription.

This Earle was a goodly and perſonable noble man, full of honour, which was not onely lodged inwardly in his mynde, but alſo hee bare it outwardly in countenaunce. As franke and as liberall as his calling required. A deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather ſtout than ſtubborne, bearing himſelfe with no leſſe courage, when he reſiſted, than with honourable diſcretion, where he yeelded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that preferred vnlawfull quietneſſe before vpright troubles, beeing notwithſtanding of as greate wiſedome in the one, as of valour in the other. An earneſt and a zealous vpholder of his countrey, in all attemptes rather reſpecting the publique weale, than his priuate gaine. Whereby he bounde his Countrey ſo greatlye vnto him, that Irelande might with good cauſe wiſh that eyther he had neuer beene borne, or elſe that hee had neuer deceaſſed, ſo it were lawfull to craue him to bee immortall, that by courſe of nature was framed mortall. And to giue ſufficient prouſe of the entyre affection he bare his Countrey, and of the zealous care he did caſt thereon, he betooke in his death bed his ſoule to God, his carkaſſe to Chriſtian buriall, and his heart to his Countrey, declaring thereby, that where his minde was ſetled in his life, his heart ſhoulde be there entombed after his death. Which was according to his will accompliſhed. For his heart was conueyed to Irelande, and lyeth engraued in the Chore of the Cathedrall Church in Kilkennie, where his aunceſters for the more part are buried. Upon which kinde legacie this Epitaph was deuiſed.

His Epitaph.

Cor patriæ fixum viuens, iam redditur illi,
Poſt mortem, patriæ quæ peracerba venit.
Non ſine corde valet mortalis viuere quiſq̃,
Vix tua gens vita permanet abſq; tua.
Quæ licet infœlix extincto corde fruatur,
Attamen optato viuere corde nequit.
Ergo quid hæc faciat? quem re non poſsit amorem
Cordi vt tam charo reddere corde velit.

The effect of which Epiteph is thus Engliſhed.

The liuing heart where lay engrauen
the care of Countrey deere,
To Countrey liueleſſe is reſtorde
and lies engrauen heere.
None heartleſſe liues: his countrey then
alas what ioy is left,
Whoſe hope, whoſe hap, whoſe hart he was,
till death his life bereft.
And though the ſoyle here ſhrowdes the heart,
which moſt it wiſht tenioy,
Yet of the change from nobler ſeate,
the cauſe doth it annoy.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what worthie rite?
But that eche heart with heartieſt loue,
his worthieſt heart may quite.

This Earle was of ſo noble a diſpoſition, as he woulde ſooner countenaunce and ſupport his poore well willer in his aduerſitie, than hee woulde make or fawne vpon his welthie friend in proſperitie.

The kindneſſe of Iames Earle of Ormonde to his friendes.

Hauing bid at London, not long before his death, the Ladie Gray Counteſſe of Kildare to dinner, it happened that a ſouldiour, ſurnamed Power, who lately returned freſh from the Emperour his warres, came to take his repaſt with the Earle before the meſſenger. When the Erle and the Counteſſe were ſet, this royſting rutterkin, wholy then ſtanding on the Soldado hoigh, placed himſelfe right ouer agaynſt the Counteſſe of Kildare, hard at the Earle of Ormonde his elbow, as though hee were haile fellow, well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent ſaucineſſe of the malapert ſouldiour, (who notwithſtanding might be borne withal, bycauſe an vnbidden gueſt knoweth not where to ſit) beſought him courteouſly to giue place. The Earle when the other roſe, taking vppon him the office of a Gentleman Uſher, placed in Power his ſeate, his couſin Edwarde Fitz Giralde now Lieutenant of hir Maieſties Pencioners, who at that time being a yong ſtripling, attended vpon his mother the Counteſſe, and ſo in order he ſet euery Gentleman in his degree, to the number of fiftene or ſixtene, and laſt of all the companie, he licenced Power, if he woulde, to ſit at the lower ende of the Table, where hee had ſcantly elbow rowme.

Edvvard Fitz Girald.

The Counteſſe of Kildare perceyuing the noble man greatly to ſtomacke the Souldiour his preſumptuous boldneſſe, nipt him at the elbow, and whiſpering ſoftly, beſought his Lordſhip not to take the matter ſo hote, bycauſe the Gentleman (ſhe ment Power) knewe, that the houſe of Kildare was of late attainted, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in ſuch wiſe to be regarded.

No Ladie, quoth the Earle, with a lowde voyce, and the teares trilling downe his leeres, ſay not ſo, I truſt to ſee the day, when my yong couſin Edwarde, and the remnant of your children (as little reckning as hee maketh of them) ſhall diſdain the cōpanie of any ſuch ſkip Jack. Which prophecie fell out as truly as he foretold it, only ſauing that it ſtoode with God his pleaſure, to call him to his mercie before he could ſee that day, after which doubtleſſe he longed and looked, I meane the reſtitution of the houſe of Kildare.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger returneth Lorde Deputie.

After this noble Earle his vntimely deceaſe, ſir Anthony Sentleger was returned into Irelande Lorde Deputie, who was a wiſe and a wary Gentleman, a valiant ſeruitour in warre, and a good Juſticer in peace, properly learned, a good maker in the Engliſhe, hauing grauitie ſo enterlaced with pleaſantneſſe, as with an exceeding good grace he would attaine the one without pouting dumpiſhneſſe, and exerciſe the other without loathfull lightneſſe.

There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as Lord deputie had the preſentation. When diuerſe made ſuyte to him for the benefice, and offred with diſhoneſtie to buy that which with ſafetie of conſcience he could not ſell, hee anſwered merily, that he was reſolued not to commit Simonie: yet notwithſtanding he had a nagge in his Stable that was worth fortie ſhillings, and he that woulde giue him fortie poundes for the nagge, ſhoulde bee preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleaſure vttered, than of any vnconſcionable meaning purpoſed to haue done.

His gouernment had beene of the Countrey very well lyked, were it not, that in his time he began to aſſeſſe the Pale with certaine new impoſitions, not ſo profitable (as it was thought) to the Gouernours, as it was noyſome to the ſubiectes. The debating of which I purpoſe to referre to them, who are diſcourſers of publique eſtates, and the reformers of the cõmon wealth, praying to God, that hee with his grace direct them ſo faythfully to accompliſh the duties of good Magiſtrates, that they gouerne that poore battred Iſland, to his diuine honour, to hir maieſties contentation, to the ſuppreſſing of Rebels, to the vpholding of ſubiectes, and rather to the publique weale of the whole countrey, than to the priuate gaine of a few perſons.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine inſtructions directed me, and my leyſure ſerued mee, haue I continued a parcell of the Iriſh hiſtorie, and haue ſtretched it to the raigne of Edwarde the ſixth, Whereupon I am forced to craue at thyne handes pardon and tollerance: pardon for any errours I ſhal be found to haue committed, which vpon friendly admonition I am ready to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the hiſtorie which is not continued, till time I be ſo furniſhed and fraught with matter, as that I may employ my trauaile to ſerue thy contentation. And albeit I might with ſome enquirie, tumble vp theſe latter yeares, and ſo make the booke to beare a ſhewe of a complete Hiſtorie, yet notwithſtanding, I am ſo preciſely ſet vpon ſo tickle a taſke, and ſo fickle a grounde, that rather concerneth the liuing, than apperteyneth to the deade, as I woulde be lothe to be taken in anye part thereof, not onely to ſtumble, but alſo once to trippe. For as the Philoſopher reproued the aſtronomer, which was ſo buſie in gazing on the ſkie, as that he tumbled headlong in a pitte that was digged at his feete, ſuppoſing that hee, which was ignorant of ſo neare a marke, was not like to prognoſticate future euentes by Planets and Starres, that were ſo farre diſtant of: ſo if a Chronicler ſhoulde miſreport exploytes that were enterpriſed but yeſtern day, the reader might probably ſurmiſe, that hee which is rawe in theſe latter yeares, were like to bee verie vnripe in rehearſing matters that happened many yeares paſt. Theſe and the like reaſons, reclaymed mee from perfecting at this preſent the Iriſh Hiſtorie, requeſting thee, gentle Reader, friendly to accepte, what is alreadie written, which I craue, as one that wiſheth thee rather pleaſure in the reading, than regardeth hys owne payne in the pennyng of the ſayde Treatiſe.

FINIS.

The names of the Gouernors, Lieutenants, Lord Iuſtices, and *Deputies of Ireland, ſince the conqueſt thereof* by king Henrie the ſecond.

The yeares of our Lorde.	
1174	Richard Strangbow Erle of Pembroke gouernor, hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned in commiſſion with him.
1177	Reymond le Grace Lieutenant by himſelfe.
	William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing John de Curcy, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioyned in commiſſion with him.
	Hugh Lacie Lieutenant.
1182	John Lacy Coneſtable of Cheſter, Richard de Pecche } Gouernors
	Hugh Lacie againe Lieutenant.
	Hugh Lacie the yonger Lorde Juſtice.
1227	Henry Loandoris Archb. of Dublin L. Juſtice.
1228	Morice Fitz Girald Lord chiefe Juſtice.
1253	John Fitz Geoffrey knight, Lorde Juſtice.
	Alain de la Zouch Lorde Juſtice.
1258	Stephen de Long Eſpe Lord Juſtice.
	William Deane Lorde Juſtice.
1261	Sir Richard Rochell or Capell Lord Juſtice.
1267	Dauid Barry Lorde Juſtice.
1268	Robert Vfforde Lord Juſtice.
1269	Richarde de Exeter Lord Juſtice.
1270	James Lorde Audley Lorde Juſtice.
1272	Morice Fitz Morice Lorde Juſtice.
	Walter Lorde Genuille Lord Juſtice.
	Robert Vfforde againe Lord Juſtice.
1281	Fulborne Biſhop of Waterford Lord Juſtice.
	John Samford Archbiſhop of Dublin L. Juſtice
	William Veſci Lorde Juſtice.
1295	William Dodingſels Lorde Juſtice.
	Thomas Fitz Morice Lorde Juſtice.
1298	John Wogan Lorde Juſtice.
1314	Theobald Verdon Lorde Juſtice.
1315	Edmond Butler Lorde Juſtice.
1317	Roger Lorde Mortimer Lorde Juſtice.
	Alexander Bignor Archb. of Dublin L. Juſtice.
1319	Roger Lord Mortimer ſecond tyme L. Juſtice.
1320	Thomas Fitz John Erle of Kildare L. Juſtice.
1321	John Birmingham Erle of Louth L. Juſtice.
1323	John lorde Darcie Lord Juſtice.
1327	Roger Outlaw Prior of Kilmaynan L. Juſtice.
	Anthonie Lord Lucie Lord Juſtice.
1332	John Lord Darcy ſecond time Lord Juſtice.
1337	John Lord Charleton Lord Juſtice.
1338	Thomas Biſhop of Hereford Lord Juſtice.
1339	John lord Darcy ordeyned Lord Juſtice by patent during his life by Edward the thirde.
	Raufe Vfford Lord Juſtice.
1346	Robert Darcy Lord Juſtice.
	John Fitz Morice Lorde Juſtice.
	Walter lord Bermingham Lord Juſtice, his deputies were John Archer prior of Kilmaynan, Baron Carew, and ſir Thomas Rokeſby.
	Maurice Fitz Thomas Earle of Deſmond had the office of Lorde Juſtice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his graunt.
1355	Thomas Rokeſby knight Lord Juſtice.
1357	Almerick de Saint Amand John Butler Erle of Ormond Maurice Fitz Th. erle of Kild. } appointed L. J. by turnes.
1361	Lionel duke of Clarence Lord Juſtice.
1367	Gerald Fitzmaurice Erle of Deſmond L. J.
1369	Williã L. Winſor the firſt lieutenant in Ireland
1772	Richard Aſhton Lord Juſtice.
1381	Roger Mortimer Philip Courtney James erle of Orm } Juſtices & lieutenãts ſpecially recorded in Richard the ſeconds dayes.
	Robert Vere Earle of Oxforde Marques of Dublin, created duke of Irelande.
1394	Roger Mortimer Erle of March Lieutenant.
	Roger Mortimer erle of March & Vlſter lieut.
	Roger Gray Lorde Juſtice.
	John Stanley knight Lorde Lieutenant.
1401	Thomas of Lancaſter brother to king Henry the fourth Lord Lieutenant, whoſe Deputies at ſundrie tymes were, Alexander Bi. of Meth, Stephen Scrope knight, and the Prior of Kilmaynam.
1403	James Butler Erle of Ormond Lord Juſtice.
	Girald Erle of Kildare Lord Juſtice.
1407	James Butler Erle of Ormonde, ſonne to the foreſayd James Lord Juſtice.
1413	John Stanley againe Lord Lieutenant.
	Thomas Crauley Arch. of Dublin lord Juſtice.
1414	John Lord Talbot of Shieffield Lieutenant.
1420	James Butler erle of Ormond, the ſecond time Lieutenant.
	Edmond Erle of March, James Erle of Ormond his deputie. John Sutton L. Dudley, ſir Th. Straunge knight his deputie. Sir Thomas Stanley, ſir Chriſtopher Plunket his deputie, Lion Lorde Welles the Earle of Ormond his deputie. James erle of Ormõd by himſelf John Earle of Shrewſburie, the Archbiſhop of Dublin in his abſence Lorde Juſtice. } Lieutenãtes to king H. the ſixt.
	Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edwarde the fourth, had the office of Lieutenant by king Henrie the ſixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at ſundry times were. The Baron of Deluin, Richard FitzEuſtace knight, James erle of Ormond, & Thomas FitzMorice erle of Kildare.
	Thomas FitzMorice Erle of Kildare Lord Juſtice in king Edward the fourth his dayes, vntill the third yeare of his raigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the King had the office of Lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by ſundrie tymes theſe.
	Thomas Erle of Deſmonde, John Tiptoft erle of Worceter, Thomas Erle of Kildare, Henry Lord Gray of Ruthine. } Deputies to the duke of Clarence.
1470	Sir Rouland Euſtace Lord Deputie.
	Richard duke of Yorke yonger ſon to king Edward the fourth Lieutenant.
	Edward ſon to Richarde the third Lieutenant, his deputie was Gerald Erle of Kildare.
	Jaſper duke of Bedford and Erle of Penbroke Lieut. his deputy was Walter Archb. of Dub.
1494	Edward Poynings knight, Lord deputie.
1501	Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, Lieutenant, his deputie Girald Erle of Kildare.
	Girald Fitz Girald Erle of Kildare L. deputie.
1520	Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, after duke of Norffolke, Lieutenant.
1523	Piers Butler Earle of Oſſorie Lord deputie.
	Girald Fitz Girald erle of Kildare again L. dep.
	The Baron of Deluin Lord deputie.
1529	Piers Butler Erle of Oſſorie again L. deputie.
	William Skeffington knight Lord deputie.
	Girald Fitz Girald erle of Kildare again L. dep.
	William Skeffington again Lord deputie.
1534	Leonard Lord Gray, Lord deputie.
1540	Sir William Brereton knight, Lord Juſtice.
1541	Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, Lord deputie.

A TABLE EXACTLY DRAVVEN for the Hiſtorie of Irelande.

A.

Abbay *de caſtro dei*, founded. 28
Adam de Hereford an Engliſh captaine, vanquiſheth the Iriſh in a daungerous battail. 33
Alayn de la Zouch Lorde Juſtice, ſlaine by the Erle of Surrey. 45
Albius an Iriſh biſhop. 11
Aldiecke caſtle deſtroyed. 45
Alen John, Archbiſhop of Dublin, enimie to the Giraldines. 90. fleeth to the caſtel of Dublin. 91. is apprehended by the rebelles, and ſhamefully murdered. 92
Alen John, knight. 90. Alice Kettle a witch. 58
Alina earle Strangbow his daughter, maried to william eldeſt ſon to Maurice FitzGirald. 14
Ambition ſetteth one brother agaynſt another. 3.5
Anninus. 3. Antragh. 78
Ardſcoll burnt. 46
Articles agreed vpon in the counſel at Caſhil. 10
Arthur Mac Murrow, ouercome by James erle of Ormond. 71
Arthure king of Brytaine, had the Iriſh in ſubiection, and tooke tribute of them. 5
Articles of agreement betweene Rotherick Monarke of Ireland, and Dermote king of Limſter. 23
Arundell Lord of the Strand, his yerely reuenues in Henrie the fourth his dayes. 68
Atheſſell burnt. 57. Athlone caſtell burnt. 59
Aylmer Gerald chiefe Juſtice. 99. his conference with king Henrie the eight of the diſorder of Irelande. 106

B.

Balimore burnt. 49
Balioll Edw. king of Scots doth homage. 46
Balram Lord of Enford his yearely reuenues in Henrie the fourth his dayes. 68
Banchor. 12
Barnevale of Beerehauen, his yearely reuenues in Henrie the fourth his dayes. 68
Barnewell Lorde of Trimleſton, ſurrendereth the ſword to ſir william Skeffington. 97
Barod Lord of the garde his yearely reuenues in Henrie the fourth his dayes. 68
Barby Thomas Maior of Dublin. 85
Barre Philip. 39
Barre Robert a valiant Gentleman. 23
Bard de Nelan an Iriſh Rithmour. 93
Bartolenus. 1. Barre Robert. 23
Bath william of Dollardeſtowne his wordes. 96
Battail of Ardmeigh 57. Battail of Knoctone. 75
Battaile agaynſt the Giants. 2
Bedlow John. 65. Bedlow of the Roche. 80
Bonneuille John. 51. Beterley walter. 66
Bignore Alexander Archbiſhoppe of Dublin 56. erecteth an Vniuerſitie. 57
Birmingham walter his notable act. 65
Birmingham John vanquiſheth the Scottes. 57. is made erle of Louth. 57 is made L. iuſtice. 58
Birmingham Peter. 50
Birminghams famous captaines. 57
Biſſet Hugh. 55
Biſhops how they were elected 20. maryed Byſhops. 13
Bithi one of the firſt finders out of Ireland. 1
Blanchfield a Citizen of Dublin ſlaine. 73
Blake John Maior of Dublin. 75
Boice his wordes to the Erle of Kildare. 73
Bothum william, Archbiſhop of Dublin. 47
Bowreate caſtle. 60. Bownaght. 74
Brennus king of Brytaine called into Ireland. 4
Brewſe Philip. 31. Bren Obren. 60
Brendan Abbot. 12
Brereton william knight, landeth with his ſouldiours. 96. ſommoneth the caſtell of Maynoth, ſcaleth the walles, and aduaunceth his ſtandart on the higheſt turret. 97. hee is left to defende Dublyn againſt the rebels. 99. ſkirmiſheth with the rebelles. 100
Brytayne John Erle of Richmonde Lord warden of Scotlande. 50
Britons when firſt they entred Ireland. 4
Bride Saint hir life. 11
Broughton Thomas knight. 75
Bruce Edwarde, brother to the king of Scottes inuadeth Irelande, and cauſeth himſelfe to bee crowned king. 52. his actes there. 53. 55. ſlaine at the battaile of Ardmagh. 57
Bruce Robert king of Scottes landeth in Irelande, 54
Bruce Robert. 52
Burgh william. 70 Burgh Thomas. 60. 65
Burghes and Birminghams. 54
Burgh william. 51. 55
Burgh Rich. erle of Vlſter beſiegeth Athlone. 46. is taken priſoner. 47. inuadeth Scotland. 48
Burkeyns. 67
Burnell John of Balgriffin. 91. executed at Tyburne. 99
Butler James eldeſt ſonne to the Erle of Oſſory his letter to the Lorde Fitz Giralde. 91. hee is wounded by the rebels, 93
Butler James Earle of Ormonde marcheth to Dublin with a great power. 77. is purſued by the Citizens into Saint Patrickes church. 78 his deſcription. ibid.
Butler James Lorde of Ormonde vanquiſheth Omore and his horrible armie. 71. his famous exployttes. 73
Butlers fauourers of the houſe of Lancaſter. 3
Butler Piers Erle of Oſſorie, marieth Margaret ſiſter to the erle of Kildare. 79. ſlayeth James a baſtard Butler ibid. is appoynted Lord deputie 80. accuſeth the erle of Kildare. 83
Butler Edmonde his exployttes. 52. 55
Butler Thomas. 59
Butler walter made Erle of Vlſter. 44. 45
Butler Theobalde. 44
Butler James knight Lord Treaſorer. 83

C.

Calfe Henrie. 49
Caltropes ſtrawed by the Iriſh to annoy the Danes at their landing. 17
Cannon Thomas. 90
Carrew. 63. the Marques Caro his yearely reuenues. 68
Cardinals ſent to king Henrie the ſeconde. 32
Carauſius. 8
Caraticus king of Britaine. 14
Caſhels ſpoyled by the Scottes. 55
Cotesbach Euſtace Chamberlaine of Scotland. 50
Catholicus Archbiſhop of Thomond. 30
Catherlaghe. 64
Cathgur Oconthir king of Connagh. 45
Cantred what it is, and by whom inuented. 3
Canute ſlaine at the ſiege of Dublin. 18
Cainton Dauid knight. 49
Caucocke Thomas L. Chancellour of Irelande cōſecrated bi. of Imaley, kepeth a great feaſt. 49

Celeſtine. 9
Celſus biſhop of Ardmagh. 12
Cenanus firſt a man of warre, then a biſhop. 12
Ceſara neece to Noe, firſt finder out of Ireland. 1
Charter of Ireland confirmed by Parliament. 67
Chriſtian biſhop of Liſmore, ſummoneth a prouinciall counſaile in Ireland. 20
Chriſtchurch ſteeple in Dublin quite burnt. 46
Citrius Prince of Dublin. 46
Clare Thomas ſine Obrenroth king of Tholethmond. 45. dyeth. 46
Clare Richard diſcomfiteth Richard earle of Vlſter with a great armye 51. ſlayeth. 600. of the Galagheghas. ibid is ſlaine. 56
Clergie denounceth curſing agaynſt the breakers of their allegiance to the king of England. 35
Clentars field. 19. Cocherings. 74
Cogan Miles a valiant knight, captaine of Dublin, repulſeth the enimies from the ſiege thereof. 26. his good ſeruice in the ciuill warres agaynſt king Henrie the ſeconde. 37. is ioyned in commiſſion with William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant of Ireland ibid trayterouſly ſlaine. 39
Cogan Richard. 39. Cokeſey Hugh. 70
Colton John Archbiſhop of Ardmagh. 66
Colmolin caſtel taken. 72
Commiſſioners ſent into Irelande to examine the controuerſies betweene the Earles of Kildare and Oſſorie. 81
Commiſſioners ſent into Irelande by king Henrie the ſecond. 35
Combat. 71
Comyn Jordayne ſlayeth Maritagh Oconguir king of Offalie. 48
Combat chalenged by certain French knights. 42
Commiſſioners ſent into Ireland, to examin ſuch as were ſuſpected with the Lord Fitz Giralde his rebellion. 104
Contention for preheminence of churches. 40. 51
Con Oneale beareth the ſworde before the Lorde deputie. 81
Conereſh a ſauage people of Ireland. 12
Centhurus. 23
Conway John knight preſident of Vlſter. 11
Corbi what it ſignifieth. 67
Corke the reuenues of the Baronies within the ſame. 68. waſted by Reymond le Grace with the Engliſh armie. 36
Cormacke Mack Dermote, Mack Rori, ioyneth with the Lorde Juſtice, and vanquiſheth Odonill the Iriſh enimie. 44
Councell at Grenocke. 45
Councell of the cleargie holden at Caſhill. 30
Counteſſe of Vlſter a cruell woman. 61
Cowes belly. 100
Cowly Robert Baylife of Dublin, after maiſter of the Rolles in Ireland. 90
Crauley Thomas Archbiſhop of Dublin a great benefactor, his death and deſcription. 70
Cragfergus beſieged by the Scottes, and yelded to them. 55
Cromner primate of Ardmagh. 85. his deſcription. 91. his good exhortation to the Lorde Fitz Girald at his reuolting. 92
Crauly Thomas Archbiſhop of Dublin, choſen Lord Juſtice. 69
Crathlinth king of Scottes. 8
Croftes Hugh. 56
Cumin Archbiſhoppe of Dublin. 40. buildeth the kings caſtell there 44. he foundeth S. Patricks church. 44
Curcy John conquereth Vlſter. 38. his fiue battails. ibid he rebelleth and is taken. 42. his ſtout anſwere to king John. ibid. his act before king John & the French k. his death & deſcriptiõ. 43
Curcy Lord of Kelbretton his reuenues. 68
Cuſacke John. 57. Cuſacke Adam. 45

D.

DArcy John L. Juſtice inuadeth Scotlãd. 6
Daris. 11
Dearth great. 47 Deceter Richard. 4
Decer John maior of Dub. a great benefactor. 52
Delahide John. 93
Delahide Walter knight, and the lady Genet Euſtace his wife. 99. 100
Delahide James principall counſaylor to the lord Fitz Girald in his rebellion. 91. 93. flieth into Scotland and there dieth. 101
Dela a Grecian his fiue ſonnes with a power cõquere Ireland. 3
Dermote king of Cork ſubmitteth himſelf to Henrie the ſeconde. 2. 29
Derwarth caſtell buylded. 41
Dermote king of Deſmonde, with a great power is diſcomfited in battail. 33. is expelled out of his countrey by his ſonne, and reſtored by Reymond le Grace. 36
Donate Biſhop of Dublin. 46
Donald prince of the vpper Oſſorie. 23. 26
Donald prince of Thomõd beſiegeth Limerick. 35. playeth the periured traytour. 38
Doſkrothy Abbay founded. 39
Donalde prince of Limericke ſubmitteth himſelfe to Henrie the ſecond. 29. diſcomfiteth the Dublinians. 33. rebelleth and is ſubdued. 35
Donate Obren 52. Donegan Odowill. 52
Dowdall John sherif of Louth ſlaine. 66
Downe. 11 Dowiſh Abbay founded. 44
Dradargh ỹ marchãts thereof inuade Scotlãd. 67
Drake John Maior of Dublin his worthie exployte. 66
Dublin, fired by a policie, and ſo won by the Danes, 16. againe won and rifled by the Danes. 17 taken by ſiege againe by the Danes. ibid. againe wonne by the Danes. 18. founded by Juorus an Eaſterling. 19. ſubdued by the Engliſhe armye vnder the leading of Maurice Fitz Girald. 24. taken by Dermote king of Leinſter by aſſault 26. aſſaulted by the Norwegians, but defended, ibid. beſieged by an huge power of Iriſhmen. 27 aſſaulted by Ororicke king of Meth. 28. defaced by fire. 45. a great part burnt. 48. indicted by the Popes Legate 59. beſieged by Thomas Lorde Fitz Girald and his rebels. 94. the Maioraltie and officers of the citie. 69
Dublinians inuade Scotland and Wales. 67. ſlay and take a great nũber within Obren his countrey 65. ruſhe into Saint Patrikes churche in warlike maner 78. are diſcomfited by Fitz Girald and his rebels 91. their youth are takẽ priſoners by the rebels. 93. they vanquiſh the Rebelles. 95
Dubtactus Saint Brides father. 11
Duffe Adam an heretike burnt. 58
Dundenolfe. 25
Dundalke taken and burnt by the Scots. 52
Dunlouan burnt. 51

E.

EAſterlings trade into Ireland 19. build diuers townes. ibid. what they are. ibid.
Earthquake. 45
Edward the firſt writeth to the Iriſh Lords. 47
Edward the ſecond writeth to the Lorde Juſtice of Ireland. 58
Engliſhmẽ reuoked forth of Ireland by Edict. 26
Eſchequer remoued. 64

Euſtace of Ballicutlan. 92.96
Euſtace Jenet. 99
Euſtace Rowland knight. 74

F.

Field James of Luſke. 93
Field Thomas of Payneſtowne. 95
Fernes founded. 12. Ferrando William. 25
Ferguſe king of Scottes drowned. 8
Fernis caſtell taken and burnt. 57
Ferguſius. 3. Fifteenth graunted. 45
Fintan. 1.12. Fingall ſpoyled. 91
fitz Girald Thomas, eldeſt ſonne to the erle of Kildare, Lord deputie to his father. 59. his anſwere to ſir John Aleyns taunt 90 the occaſion of his rebellion, and his procedings. 91.92.93.94.95.96. his ſtratagemes 99. he is executed. 101. his deſcription. ibid.
fitz Giralde Marie. 102
fitz Girald Elenor. 102
fitz Thomas Morice Erle of Kildare, his ſeruice at the ſiege of Calais. 63. his allowance being Lord Juſtice what it was. 64
fitz Morice Girald erle of Deſmōd ſlain. 64
fitzgiralde Girald reſtored to the Erledome of Kildar. 102. his aduentures in his youth in France, Flaunders and Italy. 102.103
fitz Giralde Richarde, his prophecye of the Cowes help. 100
fitz Giralde Maurice one of the chiefe conquerors of Irelande his pedegree. 22. hee ſayleth into Ireland with a power. 24. his dealings. ibid. and. 31. his death. 38
fitz Giralde Morice his ſonne. 44.45
fitz Giralde Morice Earle of Deſmonde drowned. 45
fitz Roger William, Prior of the knightes hoſpitallers taken. 45
fitz Stephens Rauſe trayterouſly murthered. 39
fitz Stephens Robert, one of the chief conquerors of Irelande his pedegree. 22. paſſeth into Irelād with a power. 23. his proceedings there. 27.&.28. his deſcription. 38
fitz Aldelme Lord Deputie his deſcription. 37. his dealings. 38
finglaſſe chiefe baron. 91
fitz Simons John, Maior of Dublin his good ſeruice in repulſing the Moores 80. his anſwere to the Biſhop of Meth. 85. he vittayleth the caſtell of Dublin. 92
fitz Simons Patricke, his worthie exployte. 80.91
fitz Simons Tho. recorder of Dublin. 84
fitz Giralde Margaret, his doings and deſcription. 79.81
fitz Girald of Lexlip. 81
fitz Thomas John the firſt Earle of Kildare. 55. falleth out with Veſcie Lord Juſtice. &c. 44
fitz Thomas Morice Earle of Deſmonde his troubles. 59.60.62.63
fitz Morice Morice. 45
fitz Giralde Bartholomew. 92
fitz Giralde John knight. 92
fitz Girald Oliuer. 92
fitzGirald James, Walter, Oliuer, John, & Richarde, apprehended. 100. executed. 101
fitz william John. 65
fitz Thomas Morice captaine of the Iriſh at Stoke battaile. 75
fitzGiralde Giralde Erle of Kildare Lord Deputie to Edwarde King Richarde the thirde his ſonne. 74. and to Henrie duke of Yorke. 75. a fauorer of Lambart and Parkyn Warbecke. ibid. vanquiſheth the Iriſh at Knoctowe fielde. ibid. his aunſwere to Boice one of his Gentlemen. 78. his aunſwere at his examinatiō before Henrie the ſeuenth. 78. his death and deſcription. 79.78
FitzGirald Giralde his ſonne Earle of Kildare, Lorde deputie his victories agaynſt the Tooles and Ocorell. &c. 79. his accuſations, examinations and aunſweres before the Counſaile. 82.83.84.85. his exhortation to his ſonne. 89. hee dyeth in the Tower. 101. his wiſh before his death, his attainder. 105
Flerings Richard Archbiſhop of Dublin. 49
Fothred caſtell buylded. 40
Fraxinis John. 64
Frecell gouernour of Waterford ſlaine. 24
Fridley king of Denmark inuadeth Irelād, and winneth Dublin by a policie. 16
Frotho king of Denmarke hys voyage into Irelande. 17

G.

Glas Primate of Ardmagh. 31
Galloghlaſſes. 98
Gandius. 3 Garbaneles. 3
Gathelus a Grecian arriueth with his people in Irelande. 4
Gaueſton Peirs ſent into Irelande. 51. his proceedings there. ibid.
Gegathus. 17
Geiſchell Caſtell razed. 49
Genandus. 3
George duke of Clarence his byrth. 73
Geffrey Mommouth 7
Gernon James. 93
Giantes. 2. are vanquiſhed in battaile. 3. they preuaile. ibid. are vtterlye rooted oute of Irelande. ibid.
Gillemcholmoche. 29
Giraldus Cambrenſis his firſt cōming into Ireland. 39.40
Giraldines, fauourers of the houſe of Yorke. 74.44
Glenbury ouerthrow. 45
Goderius king of Limſter. 2
Gormaunſton family whence. 64
Gregorie king of Scottes. 6
Griffin. 31
Gurguntius king of Brytaine. 4.5
Gurmundus. 14.16
Gunno K. of Denmark dyeth for ſorow. 2

H.

Hico a Daniſh Captaine. 12
Hamertons, Captaynes of the Engliſhe footemen ſlaine. 96
Harolde the king of Denmarks ſon, and his brother Knought inuade Irelande. 18
Haſtings Philip. 51
Haſtulfe with an armye of Norwegians aſſaulteth Dublyn. 26. is taken priſoner, and for hys intemperate talke beheaded. 27
Hauerings Richard Archb. of Dublin. 49
Hector Boetius the Scot excuſed. 7
Henrie the ſeconde obteyneth Pope Adrians licence to attempt the cōqueſt of Irelande. 21. hee ſayleth into Irelande. 29. Roderick the Monarke and all the Princes of the whole Ilande (they of Vlſter onely excepted) acknowledge him ſupreme Prince of all, and become his liegemen. 30 he feaſteth al the Iriſh princes, and calleth a Sinode of the Cleargie. ibid. he appoynteth Captaines for the ſafe keeping of the countrey, and returneth into England. 31
Herbert Francis Alderman of Dublin, ſent to king Henrie. 92
Hermion ſlayeth his brother Hiberus. 5
Heruie de Monte Mariſko rewarded by Dermote king of Lemſter. 23. taketh vpon him to lead the ſouldiours. 33. enuieth Reymonde le Grace and accuſeth king Henrie agaynſt him 35. his deſcription. 37 foundeth the Abbey of Dōbrothy, and becommeth a Monke. 39
Hibernia, why ſo called. 5
Hiberus, the Spaniard his arryuall in Irelande. 22
Holland Robert lord Juſtice of Cheſter. 50
Holywood. 64
Hollande petit Captaine to maiſter Saliſburie. 97
Hoſtages deliuered to be kept within the caſtel of Dublin by the lords of Ireland for their loyaltie to king Henry the ſecond. 53
Howard Thomas erle of Surrey, and after duke of Norfolk is appoynted lieutenant, 80. repulſeth the Moores readie to inuade the Engliſhe pale. ibid. his prayſe. ibid. is bound for the Erle of Kildare. 81
Huſſey John a truſtie and a valiant eſquire, his worthie exploit. 54. his ſucceſſors made Barons of Galtrim. ibid.

I.

Jacke Cade. 73. John a Leekes. 51
John ſonne to king Henrie the ſecond, after king of Englande ſent into Irelande 40.41. ſlayeth his nephew. 47. his voyage into Irelande. 43. of his ſurrender thereof into the Popes handes. 44
John de la Mare. 47. John of Eueſham. 47
John de Saint Paule. 46
Joice Rowlande. 51
Irelande by whome firſt inhabited. 1.3. conquered by the Grecians, and deuided by them. 3. inuaded and ſpoyled by the Scithians. 4. how it was named. ibid. conquered by the Spaniardes. 5. ſubiect to Arthur king of Britayn. ibid. deuided by the Spaniards. ibid. inuaded and conquered by the Norwegians. 14. inuaded by the Danes. 16. againe inuaded by the Danes. 17. again inuaded by the Danes. ibid. again by them ibid. againe by them. 18. ſubiect to Henrie the ſecond. 29. giue by him to his ſon John after king. 40. giuen to Edwarde ſonne to Henrie the third. 44. inuaded and waſted by the Scottes. 55
Iriſh ſtriplings their [illegible]. 40
Iriſhe their outrages in time of Parliments. 70
Iriſh borne 64. Illy Walter. 58
Iuorus an Eaſterling founder of Dublin. 12

K.

Karreck caſtell built by Fitz Stephen. 24
Kemwrike Sherman Maior of Dublin, a great benefactor. 63
Kemun Caſtell burnt. 50
Kenini caſtell razed by the L. lieutenant. 70
Kormacke Olethan ſonne to the Prince of Deſmonde, committeth his father to priſon. 36
Keruill gouernour of the Iriſh men ſlain in battaile by the Danes. 17

Kettle Alice a witch. 58
Kildare Caſtel taken. 47
Kilkenny the Suburbes walled by Robert Talbot. 70
Knoctow field.75. Knights created 47.52
Knought ſonne to Gurmo king of Denmark ſlaine at the ſiege of Dublin. 18

L.

LAcy Iohn. 51
Lacy Hugh.31. buildeth diuerſe fortreſſes.39.and.41. his good gouernment and deſcriptiõ 40.is trayterouſly murthred.41
Lacy Richard made Lord deputie, buyldeth dyuerſe Caſtels. 40
Lacye Hugh the yonger, rewarded with the Erledome of Vlſter, his actes.43. dyeth without iſſue male. 44
Lacy walter Lorde of Meth dyeth. 44
Lacies their behauiour enquired of by an inqueſt impanelled.55.their traiterous practiſes with the Scottes. ibid. proclaymed traytors. 56
Laigria. 1
Lambert the counterfeit erle of warwike.75
Languinna.2. Laogerius. 5.11
Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublin. 26.46
Lech Iohn.49. Legate from Rome 79
Lemſter Iriſh their outragious actes. 59
Lenronſe Thomas. 102.103
Letters from the Duke of yorke to the erle of Saliſburie. 73
Letters of priuate ſeale. 79
Letters from the Lorde Butler to Thomas Fitz Giralde. 91
Ley towne burnt. 49
Liberties called in, what proceded therof. 61
Limerick by whõ founded.19. takẽ by Reymond le grace.35 .beſieged.36 burnt. ibid.
Lionell duke of Clarence his mariage.60 he commeth into Irelande.64. his dealings there. ibid.
Liſmore ſpoyled.33. Liuery. 74
Loggan Iohn 55. Lorde Louell. 75
Lordes of Ireland deliuer hoſtages. 53
Luttrell chiefe Iuſtice of the cõmon place.92

M.

MAc Adam Mac Gilmore. 67
Mac Nemorre. 75
Mac William.75. Mac Mourche. 70
Mac Mahun 72. Macgolagh. 67
Machelan.29. Macbalther. 50
Macgilmor Hugh ſlaine in a Church. 68
Mac Coghlan 46 Macbuayn. 10
Mac Carey.45. Madock. 12
Maginors.69. Maggoghigam. 73
Maynoth Caſtell fortified by the rebels. 96 beſieged by Skeffington Lorde Deputie, and betrayed. 97
Maureuar Thom. baron of Serin ſlaine. 70
Malachias.13.12. Malchus. 13
Mandeuile Lorde of Barenſelly his yearely reuenues in Henrie the fourth his dayes, what. 68
Mandeuile Iohn. 52.53.
Mandeuile Thomas knight. 54
Maurius king of Britaine. 6
Maritagh Oconghuir K. of Offaly ſlain.48
Mariges made for yͤ increaſe of amity.34.69
Martyrs of Ireland. 12
Maurice de Prendelgaſt. 22
Maupas Iohn. 57
Meiller his valiancy.23.28.one of the chiefe conquerours of Irelande.37. his deſcription.ibid. Kildare giuen to him. 40
Melbrick king of Ireland ſlaine. 17
Melingus. 12
Melleſunt Abbey founded. 24
Men eaten for want of vittailes. 55
Marlyn his prophecie fulfilled. 20
Meth, why ſo called. 3. ſpoyled by Dermote king of Lemſter.26. giuen to Hugh Lacy 31. ſpoiled by Radericke K. of Cõnagh.32
Metropolitane Seas in Irelande, which.20
Mites of Saint Dauid. 35
Minot Thomas Archbiſhop of Dublin. 64
Moloſſian hound. 8
Monark of Ireland how he was reputed.20
Moores inuade the Engliſh pale. 80
Morice king of Meth his wife abuſed. 21
Morice Archbiſhop of Caſhell, his anſwere touching the martyrs of Irelande. 12
Mortimer Roger Lorde of Meth.51.is diſcomfited by the Scots.53. is made Lorde Iuſtice.55. chaſeth the Lacies out of Cõnagh.56.is ſlaine by the Iriſh 65
Mount Salanga.2. Muridus. 9

N.

NAuiculari littus.1. Neale. 4
Neal the great Monarch of Ireland.9
Neil Odonel takẽ priſoner by ſir Thomas Stanley Lord Lieutenant. 72
Nemodus wyth his foure ſonnes ſent into Irelande. 3
Nigellus. 12
Nobles of Irelãd in king Edward the firſt his dayes. 47
Norwegians inuade Irelande. 14. are expulſed. 15
Norwagh burnt by Philip Stanton. 46
Notingham Robert, Maior of Dublin, apprehendeth the Erle of Vlſter, and ſpoyleth yͤ Abbey of S. Mary nere to Dub.53

O.

OBren king of Thomond ſlaine. 49
Obren. 64
Obrenroth king of Thomond ſlaine. 45
Oconghur king of Connagh. 54
Ocaruell. 29
Oconther his victories. 69.70
Odempſi.71.49. Odoles. 69
Offali chaſe.46.. Oghgard burnt. 67
Ohedian Rich. Biſhop of Caſhel accuſed.72
Okeroll.67. Okely. 54.70
Oleyn Edmond.99. Omachcalewy. 29
Omalaghlilen king of Meth his policie to ſaue his daughters chaſtitie. 14
Omalaghlen king of Oſſorie. 29
Omolmoy.51. Omore. 71
Onalan Caſtell buylded. 40
Oneale. 45
Oneale Con.81.his rebellions. 83.85.106
Onolan.67. Ophelan. 29
Oration of the Lord Fitz Giralde at his reuolting. 91
Oration of a Scithian Prince to the king of Irelande. 6
Oration of Omalaghlilen. 15
Oration of Crommer Lord Chancelor. 92
Originall of nations vncertaine. 1
Orlaſius. 13
Orozicke king of Meth aſſaulteth Dublin. 29.is ſlaine 32
Oſcheles.49. Otadheſi. 29
Othuttheli.29. Otothell. 59
Othaell breaketh his othe. 79
Outc Richard. 44
Outlaw Roger Prior of Kilmaynam Lord Iuſtice accuſed of hereſie.38. maketh his purgation. 59

P.

PAladius. 10
Pareſe Chriſtopher betrayeth Maynoth 97. is beheaded. 98
Parliament at Kildare.51. at Kilkenny. ibid. at Dublin 60.61.62. at Kilkenny. 64. at Balidoill. ibid. at Dublin.66 &c.
Patricke Saint his whole life. 10
Patricius.20. Pederton walter. 50
Poet what it is. 11
Perkin warbecke. 75
Peſtilence great whereof it came.3. agayne 64.againe. ibid.
Peter pens.38. Phelanes. 48
Phelin Oconher. 44
Picts arriue in Ireland 6.plant themſelues in the Iles of Orkeney 7. when they firſt came to inhabite Brytaine. ibid. their couenants with the Iriſhe for the ſucceſſion of their kings. ibid. they fall out with the Scottes. 8
Piphard Raufe.45. Plebs towne burnt.57
Poetes fables how they haue bene taken. 3
Poole Cardinall. 103
Power Dominicke, ſent to the Emperour Charles the firſt. 101
Power.39. Power walter. 48
Power Euſtace his voiage into Scotland.48
Preſton. 64
Prior of Kilmaynam. 71.69
Prior of Conall. 67
Prouinciall Councell. 20
Pulle walter. 57

Q.

QVeſtions propounded by the Nobles of Ireland to king Edward the third.61
Quinio and Liuerey. 74

R.

RAndon Caſtle deſtroyed 45. burnt. 51
Randoll Coronell of the Engliſh bands, his monument. 46
Rebellion when firſt attempted in Ireland. 19. moued by marchaunt ſtraungers. ibid. the ende thereof. 92. moued by Thomas Fitz Girald. 91
Reguli or Reges, what they are taken to bee amongſt the Iriſh. 20
Reynold Charles ſent to the Pope from the Lorde Fitz Giralde. 101
Reymond le Grace, is ſent ouer into Ireland from Erle Strangbow with a power. 25. buildeth a fort at Dundenolf, is reſiſted by the Citizens of Waterforde, and diſcomfiteth them. ibid. is ſent into France to king Henry the ſeconde. 26 is intierly beloued of the ſouldiours.33. diſcomfiteth the king of Deſmond. ibid. is ioyned in commiſſion with Erle Strangbow in the gouernment of Ireland.32 returneth into Wales.33 is ſent for into Irelande by Earle Strangbow, and marieth the Ladie Baſil ſiſter to the Earle.34 ſubdueth Donalde king of Limericke, and taketh the Citie.35. is enuied for his glorious victories, and ſuſpected of king Henry. ibid. rayſeth the prince of Thomond frõ the ſiege of Limerick.36

is made Lieutenaunt of Jreland, his deſcription. 37
chard the ſeconde king of Englande goeth ouer into Jrelande. 65. taketh homage of diuerſe Lords and Princes of Vlſter.ibi. returneth into Englande ibid. paſſeth the ſecond time ouer into Jrelād with a great nauy.65 commeth to Dublin. ibid. returneth. ibid.
chard Archbiſhop of Dublin, reſigneth by reaſon of a viſion he ſaw in his ſleepe. 50
charde Duke of yorke his Letter to the Erle of Saliſburie. 73
oche Lord of Poole Caſtell his yearely reuenues in Henry the fourth his dayes 68.
odorick a Scithiā prince arriued with his people in Jreland.6. his oration to the K. of Jreland.ibid.he ſayleth with his people into Scotland, and is there ſlaine. ibid.
e Roger. 73
okeſbye Thomas Lorde Juſtice his worthy ſaying. 63
oſglas Abbey founded. 39
oſcoman caſtell deſtroyed.45. repayred and fortified.ibid.won by the Jriſh. ibid.
othericke Ochonor king of Connagh, and Monarke of Jrelande.21. his agreement with King Dermote.23. he cauſeth Dermotes ſonnes head to bee ſtriken off.26.hee ſubmitteth himſelfe to Henrie the ſeconde. 30.hee ouerturneth Meth, and razeth the Caſtels. 36
oukes Edward a Captaine rebell. 93. taketh an Engliſh Barke.96.is hanged.99.
uanus how long he liued. 3
utheranius. 3
uthurgus Bartolenus his ſonne the firſt finder out of Jreland. 2
uthurgi ſtagnum, Ruthurgus his Poole. 2

S.

Agandus. 3
Saint Bride and ſaint Colme. 11
Saint Patrikes in Dublin founded. 40
aint Dominicks hill. 2
. Marie Abbey beſide Dublin erected. 24
aints in Jreland. 11.12
aint Patricke his life. 10
ayling vnknowne before Noes floud. 1
alanus one of the firſt finders out of Jrelande 2. Saliſburie Captaine. 96
anforde John Archbiſhop of Dublin. 46
auage Robert his prayſeworthie anſwers and exploytes. 63
auage Patricke. 67
cithians lande in Jreland, and with great outrage ſpoyle the Countrey. 4
cligath Caſtel builded. 44. deſtroyed. 45
corch William whereof it came. 44
cottes inuade Jrelande. 52. they are vanquiſhed in battaile. 57
cottes when they firſt entred Brytayne. 7 expulſed thence. 9
cotland inuaded by the Citizens of Dublin 67. by the marchants of Drodagh, and prayes and pledges taken. ibid. by the Jriſh.48. by Darcie Lord Juſtice. 61
cotia maior, and Scotia minor. 9
crope Stephen Lorde Deputie to Thomas of Lancaſter lieutenant.66. his wiues vow and his good chaunge thereupon. ibi. inuadeth Mac Murches land.67. dieth.69
aint Paule John Archb. of Dublin. 62
idney Henry knight Lorde deputie repayreth Erle Strangbowes tombe, and erecteth a monument for captaine Randoll. 46
Silken Thomas.88. Simond Ric. prieſt.74
Skeffington william knight. L. deputie, his anſwer to the Recorder of Dublin his Oration.84. diſcharged, and againe made lord Deputie. 96 beſiegeth the caſtell of Maynoth kept by the rebels, winneth it. 97. dyeth at Kilmaynam. 100
Slanius the firſt Monarke of Jreland. 3
Slane deſtroyed by the Scottes. 55
Suibdanus. 17
Sunne is thought to ſtande ſtill.67. another time. 71
Spaniardes firſt arriuall in Jreland.4. they conquer it. 5
Stanton Philip. 46
Stanton Dick, his good ſeruice when the rebels beſieged Dublin. 95
Stereater a Giaunt, with the Danes inuadeth Jreland. 17
Startius. 3
Staples Edward Biſhop of Meth. 84
Statutes of Kilkenny and Dublin confyrmed by Parliament. 67.68
Steney Lord of Baltmore his yerely reuenues in Henrie the fourth his dayes. 68
Stephē de Long Eſpee Lord Juſtice. 45
Stoning Nicholas Archb of Ardmagh. 66
Stragnus. 2
Strangbow Rich. Erle of Pembroke one of the chief conquerors of Jreland, his couenants with Dermot K. of Lemſter.22, his requeſt to Henry the ſecond.24. his voyage into Jreland with an army, and his victories and proceedings there.25.26.27.28. is made the firſt Lord deputie of Jreland.32 his death and deſcription. 33
Subſidies graunted. 64.70.71.72
Sutton Gilbert ſteward of wexford ſlain by the Jriſh. 48
Sutton Herbert knight a worthy captain.57

T.

Taſſy Richard.46. Talbot. 64
Talbot John Lord Furniuall. 70
Talbot Richarde Alderman of Dublyn deliuered to the rebels for an hoſtage. 96
Talbot Robert, a right noble man, walleth the ſuburbes of Kilkenny.70. 70
Talbot Robert of Belgard. 81
Teling Nicholas. 46
Teling John a captaine rebell. 92.93
Temples when they beganne, and how they were ſuppreſſed. 50
Tenthes of the ſpirituall liuings in Jreland demaunded by the Pope. 48
Tardienatus Monarke of Jreland. 20
Thira Q. of Denmark hir policy in diſcouering to the King the death of his ſonne. 18
Thomas of Lancaſter ſon to K. Henrie the fourth cōmeth into Jrelād.69. putteth the erle of Kildare vnder arreſt.ibi.is woūded and hardly eſcapeth with life.ibi.is ſlain.72
Thomas erle of Deſmond attainted of treaſon, and beheaded. 74
Thornebury walter, L. Chancelour elected Archbiſhop of Dublin drowned. 52
Tirrel Hugh L. of Cnocke caſtell, with his wife taken by the Scots & raunſoimed. 55
Treſteldermote caſtell builded. 40
Trippitton Hugh knight. 57
Tueſday fortunate to the cōquerors of Jrelande. 35.36
Turgeſius with his Norwegiās ſubdue Jreland.14.is ſlaine by a policie. 14.15
Tute Richarde. 57

V.

VAriance betweene the Giraldines, Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one ſide, and the Powers and Burghes on the other. 58
Variance betweene Kildare and Ormonde, whence it proceded. 77
Variāce betwene yͤ Scots & picts for a dog. 8
Verdon Miles a valiant captaine. 57
Verdon Robert raiſeth a riot in Argile, diſcomfiteth an army led thither by the Lord Juſtice, ſubmitteth himſelf to priſon. 52
Verdon marieth Margaret one of yͤ daughters of walter Lacie Lord of Meth. 44
Veſcy wil. L. Juſtice appeacheth John erle of Kildare of felony, flieth into France & is diſenherited of all his lands in Kildare. 47
Veſta. 22
Vffert Rauſe made L. Juſtice.62. his rigorous dealings.62. is euill ſpoken of. ibid. is excuſed. ibid.
Victorie too cruelly vſed. 5
Vlſter the reuenues thereof in K. Edwarde the thirds days.9. conquered by Curcy.38 giuē to Hugh Lacy the yonger.43. the inhabitants therof vpon the Scots inuaſion of Jreland, vex the ſubiects worſe than the enimie.55. wholy poſſeſſed by the Jriſh.75
Vniuerſitie at Dublin. 57
Vriell inueded by Oneale. 85
waſſer Nicholas a Captain rebell. 92.93
wales inuaded by the Citizens of Dublin.67
waldeley Robert Archbiſhop of Dublin. 64
walles townes lack, occaſiō of the rude wildeneſſe in Jreland, 63
walſhe walter, Robert walſh, and Maurice walſhe, captaine rebels. 93
walſhe Robert. 102.103
warres betwixt Lacy and Marſhall. 44
warres betwixt the Engliſhe of Meth and Offerolle. 64
warres betwixt the Burghs & Giraldins.45
waterford founded by Amilanus an Eaſterling.19. the Citizens reſiſt Reymonde le Grace, but are diſcomfited and drowned.25 aſſaulted & won by earle Strangbow. ibi.
welchmen their valiancie. 22.23
wetherham Abbey founded. 44
wexford beſieged by Dermote king of Lemſter, and yeelded to him.22. giuen by him to Fitz Stephens and FitzGirald.23. burnt 28. giuen to Erle Strangbow by Henrie the ſecond.32. the Citizens kill.400. of the Jriſh rebels. 59
white John, Coneſtable of Dublin Caſtell, his good ſeruice. 91
white Robert, rayſeth an vprore in Dubl. 85
wikeford Robert Archbiſhop of Dublin. 64
william Erle Marſhall marieth the daughter and heyre of Erle Strangbow. 37
william Erle of Vlſter murthered. 60
winter very tempeſtuous. 31
witches. 58
wolſey Cardinall, an enimie to the Giraldines. 81. hee chargeth the Erle of Kildare with treaſōs.82. he ſendeth a *mandatum* to the Lieutenant of the Tower to execute the Erle. 84

FINIS.

The Table of Irelande.

[illegible]

were hurt by the rebels, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Lieutenant of Irelande, [illegible]
[illegible] the seconde king of Englande [illegible]
[illegible]
Callin.
[illegible] Englishe [illegible]
Rhemus how long [illegible]
[illegible]
Rutharges [illegible]
[illegible] out of Irelande.
Rubarge [illegible]

S.

Sagans.
Saint Bridget and saint Columbe.
Saint Patrickes in Dublin founded. 10
Saint Dominickes [illegible]
Saint Maries Abbey beside Dublin [illegible] 14
Saintes in Irelande. 11
Saint Patrickes [illegible] 17
[illegible]
[illegible] out of Irelande.
Sauadge John [illegible] 46
Sauadge Robert [illegible]
and Sheperdes.
Sauadge [illegible]
[illegible] outrage [illegible] people [illegible]
Scolagh [illegible] 43
Scotch women [illegible] 44
Scottes inuade Irelande. [illegible]
quished in battell.
Scottes when they first entred Irelande [illegible]
expulsed thence.
Scotland inuaded by the [illegible]
lin by the [illegible] of Dublin [illegible]
manes and [illegible] taken [illegible]
with .8. by [illegible] Justice.
Scotia maior, and Scotia minor.
Scrope Stephen [illegible]
tenaunt of Lancaster [illegible]
howe and his good chaunge [illegible]
[illegible]

Faultes and ouerſightes eſcaped in the printing of the *Hyſtorie of Scotlande.*

Page.2.line.7.for.39.rede.36. The ſame Page,and.27.lin,for Mundus afterwards Brachara, rede Munda and now Mondego, which Citie hight firſte Brachara, and after Bertile, as Hector Boece hath. The ſame page the laſt marginall note, for Brigantia, reade Brigantium.

Page.5. the firſte colum in the Margent, ouer againſt the.54.line write 2208.H.B. and ouer againſt ẏ ſame line to aunſwere.55.write.60.H.B. and ouer againſt the.56. line, to anſwer the yeare of oure Lorde. 697. write.695.H.B. The ſame Page colum.2. line.18.for.133.reade.1033. The ſame page and colum line.48. ſweare, reade forſweare.

Page. 6.col. 2.in the Margent ouer againſt the third line, for.3363.reade 4867.

Page.7.col.2.lines.17.19.20.21.write in the Margent,4869.H.B.to anſwere,3640.350.H.B.to aunſwere 327.420,H.B,to aunſwere.420.for in the yeare of ẏ building of Rome Harriſon ⁊ Hector Boece agree. 437.to aunſwere 790.

Page.9.colum.1.the laſt line,robbed the Scottes ſo that, read robbed the Scots,laying the blame on the Pictes,as if they had bin the treſpaſers.

Page.12.col.1.line.34.for were, rede where.

Page.17.colum.1.line.21.for Lough Bruum, reade Lochbroun. The ſame pa. colum.2. ouer againſt the 46.line,write in the margent. 546. H. B. to aunſwere. 529. yeares of Rome there in the line.

Page. 18. col.1.line.1.for Scots and Pictes,reade Scots as Pictes.

Page.23.col.1. line.25. and continued,put out and.

Page.24. col.2. line. 34. his handes for feigning , reade the Tirantes hands who feigning.&c.

Page 28. col. 1. line 38. for further, reade forthwith.

Page 30.col. 1. line 58. for the ninthe yere, reade the nine and twentith.

Page 31.colum.2.line 24.for Aldion, reade Albion.

Page 38.colum.2 line 40.for Merne, reade Mernes.

Page 44.col.2.line 54.for 54. reade 58.for ſo it agreeth with Maiſter Harriſons accompte.

Page 48.col.1. line 1. for with them, reade with him.

Page 53.col.1.line 30.for Uſipithes, reade Uſipites. The ſame Page and colum line 33. and in places, put out in.

Page 54.col.1.line 2.for huſbandmen, reade proper fyſhermen of the Countrey.

Page 57.colum 2.line 56.in ſteede of for that he aught, reade ſo that he mighte.

Page 59.colum 2. the number in the margent is ſet too lowe, 2. ſhoulde aunſwere.18.in the eyghth line. &c.

Page 65.co,2.line,53.for their whole number,read the whole number.

Page 68.col.2.lin. 54. for hilles and mountaines, read thicke woodes and mariſhes.

Page 72.col,2.line 46.for ſuperſtition reade ſuperſtitious.

Page 89.colu. 2.line 46 for Cantire reade Kile.

Page 89.co.2.line 52.for and vnderſtanding,read ſo as vnderſtanding.

Page 100.co.1.line 44.for deſtroye, reade waſt. The ſame page col.2. line 42. for the bodies, reade their backes.

Page 102.colum.1.line 19.for Helene Urſula,in ſome it is amended.

Page.104.col.1.line 50.for nailed,by fyre,reade were put to the fyre.

Page 110.though wrongly noted 118. ouer againſt the 44. and 45. line, put in the margent Conanus was alſo ſent with the Archbiſh. but he died on the Sea as they ſailed thitherwards.

Page 119,col.2.line 32. for inſarſed, reade inſerted.

Page 122. col.1.line 5.6.⁊.7.for the auncient ordinance &c.read according to the auncient ordinance, ſo as the countreys beyond Humber were appoynted to remayne.

Page 150.col.1.line 41 42 ⁊ 43.for aboute the ſame time Eugenius K. of Scots ſent. read, In the beginning of his reigne he ſent.

Page 166.col.1. line 14. for greately nowe, reade holpe greatly nowe.

Page 178. col.2. line 45.king Edwyn put out king.

Page 192.col.2.line 28. for with hys miniſters,read with hir miniſters.

Page 199.col.2.in the margent ouer againſte the 4. line for an Engliſhman,reade a Welchman of Sainte Dauid.

Page 221.col.1.line 9.for he had bin, reade he hauing bin.

Page 250. col.2.line 16.for him,rede hir.

Page 290.colum 2.line 12.for which, reade as. The ſame page colum 2. line 7.for deſired,rede deſire.

Page 327. col. 2. line 42. put out ſo nuge.

Page 333.col. 2.in the margent the laſt note, for Scotland, reade England.

Page 334. col 2. in the Margente ouer againſt the fourteenth line, for Develine, reade Dubline, in ſome leaues it is amended.

Page 346.col.2.line.32. and therfore in the reward, put out the, and rede in reward.

Page 369.for 1403.vpon a Tewſday, reade 1402.vpon a Thurſday.

Page 388.col.2.line 44.Tevueer, alias Camphier.

Page 389.col.2.line.44. Dowlas for Dowglas.

Page 402.col.2.line. 33. for Earle of Auendale, reade Lorde Auendall, and ſo likewiſe in other places.

The ſame page and colume line 34. & 35.for the Lord of Luce, reade the Laird of Luz, ⁊ lin. 36.for the Lord of Cragwallace, reade the Lairde of Cragwallace.

Page 406. col.1.line 9.for Sanquhan reade Sanquhar. The ſame page and colum line 24.for batteil, reade debatable.

Page 413.col.2.line 6.for the Lorde, reade the Laird.

Page 422.col.1.line 15.for Kilwenny reade Kilwenning,line 17.for Caſtels,read Caſſels,line 18.put out Addell, line 20. for Arſkill, reade Erſkyn. line 24. for Sir Dauid, reade Sir Dauid Hume.

Page 433.colum.2.line 55.for Edenburgh,reade Jedworth.

Page 437.col.2.lin 15. for argument, reade agreement.

Page 438.co.1.lin.20. for Henry,rede to one Henry. The ſame page col. 2.line 45.for ſaue, rede ſtay.

Page 439.col.1.line 2.and 3.for Lord of Hounſton, reade Laird of Hounſton.

Page 44 col.2.line 50. not conuicte, but put in priſon, there to remaine at the Kings pleaſure.

Page 462 col.2.line 30. for Houſon, reade George Striueling of Gloret.

Page 485.col.1.line.19.but the fight growing, reade ſo that the fyghte grewe.

Page 487.col.1.line 39.for Amalaſthe,reade Amalaſche.

Page 508.col. 2. line 44. for Borde, reade Boyde.

Comited

Faultes eſcaped in the imprinting of the deſcription of Ireland.

Fol. 1. col. 1. line. 36. for the gloſe, read the gloſſe.
Fol. 4. col. 2. lin. 38. for ſo much framed, read ſo much as framed.
Fol. 5 col. 1. line 36. for woulde tracte, read he would tract.
Fol. 8. col. 2. line 31. for triniall, read triniall.
Fol. 12. col. 1. line. 59. for turned a commune, read turned to a commune.
Fol. 13. col. 2. line 30. for were formed, read were forced.
Fol. 16. col. 1. line 7. for dumbe, reade doome.
Eod. col. 2. line 30. for only, read ouglye
Fol. 17. co. 1. line 43. for to couragiouſly, ſo couragiouſly.
Eod col. 2. line 5. for euerſide, reade eitherſide.
Eod. col. ead. line 37. for ſprinketh, read ſpringeth.
Fol. 20. col. 4. line. 10. for empeache of, read empeache me of.
Fol. 23. col. 1. line 3. for Altrio Dei, read Atrio Dei.
Eod. col. ead. line 48. for redamus, read redamas.
Fol. 24. co. 2. line. 37. for maltarum, read multarum.
Fol. 27. col. 2. line. 1. for redamunda, read redamanda.
Eod. co. ead. lin. 3. for Cauſidlcoque, read Cauſidicoque.
Fol. 28. col. 2. line 10. for riſhmoones, read riſhmoures.

Faultes eſpecially to be corrected.

Fol. 23. b. col. 2. line 15. for S. Mighel read Marward.
Fol. 28. col. 1. line. 50. for watir Creſſes which they terme, read witer Creſſes and three leaued graſſe, which they terme.

Faultes and ouerſightes eſcaped in the printing of this *Hiſtorie of Irelande.*

Fol. 20. co. 2. lin. 30. for Archbiſhop of S. Keuins, read Abbot, and ſo likewiſe in the mergent.
Fo. 21. lin. 33. for Imalachelinus, read Omalaghlyn.
Fol. 23. line. 40. for welchmen, reade Cambrians.
Eod. li. 47. for Dermot, read Dermon.
Fol. 24. line 3. for Erle of Peinbroke, read Chepſtowe.
Fol. 26. li. 40. for Henwode, read wode
Fo. 27. line 43. for Mac Dermon, read Mac Moroghe.
Fol. 28. line. 18. for Mywcham, reade Newham.
Fol. 31. line 54. for knightes, read gentlemen of ſeruice.
Fol. 30. lin. 3. for Brachan, read Bractan.
Eod. line 4. for Moling, read Molin.
Fol. 32. line 52. for Reimond le Grace, Read Reymond le Groſſe.
Fol. 38. line 29. for Guynkinlo, reade Guyndoloche.
Fol. 39. line 25. for Corg, read Corcke
Fol. 40. line 10. for Richard de Pechi, read Richard de Pet,
Fol. 41. line 11. for againſt the fornamed kings, read againſt to the forenamed kings.
Fol. 44. line 5. for Oconhur, read Oconnor.
Fol. 46. line 43. for Richard Decceter, read Richard de Exeter.
Fol. 48. line. 2. for Maurice de Caro, read Maurice de Carew.
Eod. line. 27. for Philanes, reade Ofelanes.
Fol. 49 line 6. for Oconhur, read Oconnor, or Oconhor.
Fol. 49. line 59. for Oſcolles, reade Okellye.
Fol. 51. lin. 69. for Margoghdan, read Mac goghdan.
Fol. 58. line. 25. for Oconhur, read Oconnor.
Fo. 56. 62. 45. and 49. for Mac Carthye, read Mac Arthe.
Fol. 65. lin. 37. for Cadel, read Caduel
Fol. 67. lin. 43. for Mac Murche, read Mac Morogh.
Fol. 68. line. 30. for Marques Caro, read Marques Carew.
Fol. 70. line 10. for Oconhur, read Oconnor.
Fol. 71. line. 7. for Maginoys, read Mac geynes.
Fol. 64. col. 2. lin. 32. put out was mad and write died.
Fol. 65. col. 2. lin. 10. for Edmond, rea Roger.
In the regiſter of the gouernours an lieutenants betwixt Richard Aſhto and Roger Mortimer Anno. 1381. put in Edmonde Erle of March-

FINIS.

1577.

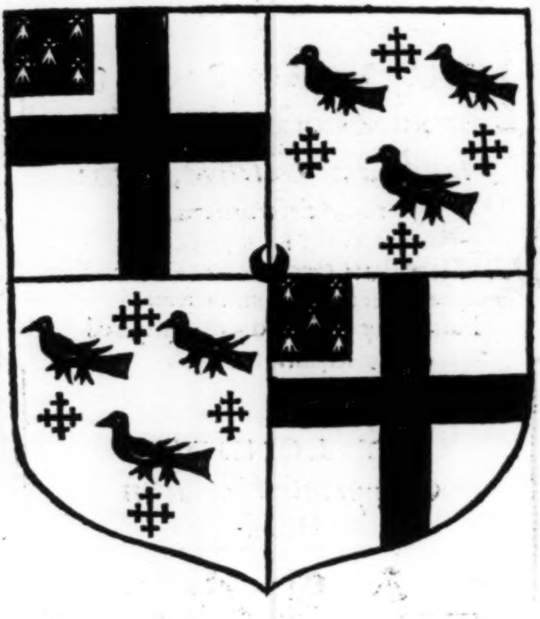
THE
Laſte volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande, with their deſcriptions.

CONTEYNING,
The Chronicles of Englande from William Conquerour vntill this preſent tyme.
Faithfully gathered and compiled
by Raphaell Holinſhed.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for Ichn*
Hunne.

God ſaue the Queene.

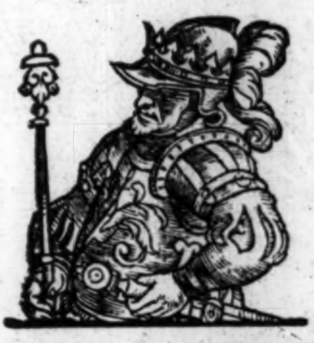
6·10·9



THE PREFACE
to the Reader.

WHereas (gentle Reader) it was meant that the three Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Ireland, with their deſcriptions ſhold haue come forth al in one volume, and that the deſcriptions and abridgements of the Hiſtories of other countreys ſhould haue bene ſet forth in an other: So it fell out, that the Chronicles of Englande grew ſo large, as they whiche were to beſtow the coſte aboute the Impreſsion, were not onely driuen to ſtay the Impreſsion of the ſame deſcriptions and abridgements of the Hiſtories of other countreys, till God might graunt better abilitie and meane to publiſh the ſame, but alſo to deuide the Chronicles of theſe three regions into two volumes. And bicauſe that the one parte of the Chronicles of England before the Conqueſt, and the entire Chronicles of Scotland, and Irelande, with their deſcriptions, would make but a like volume, vnto the continuance of the Engliſh Chronicles after the conqueſt, it hath bene thought good thus to deuide them as yee may ſee, wherin I haue to aduertiſe thee, Firſt that the table annexed to this booke, doth ſerue to bothe the partes of the Engliſh Chronicles, aſwell before the Conqueſt, as after: and alſo that for the yeares of the Lord, as in the Preface is conteyned, I do begin the ſame at Chriſtmas, and for the yeares of the Kings, I haue as neare as I coulde placed, where the ſame beginne. Although it may be that I haue ſome where fayled, through the contrarietie of Authours, as to the skilfull in Hiſtories it may appeare, of whome I doubt not but to purchas pardon, ſith I haue done therin my vttermoſt good will.

The politique Conqueſte of VVilliam the firſt.



Anno. 1.

THIS William Duke of Normandie, baſe ſonne of Robert the firſt duke of Normandie, and Nephew vnto Edwarde king of England, ſurnamed the Confeſſour, hauing thus vanquiſhed the Engliſh power, and ſlaine Harolde in the fielde, began his reigne ouer Englande the .xv. day of October beeing Sunday, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde. 5033. (as William Hariſon gathereth) and after the birth of our Sauiour 1066. which was in the tenth yeare of the Emperour Henry the fourth, in the firſt of Pope Alexander the ſecond, in the firſt yere of Philip king of Fraunce, and about the tenth yeare of Malcolme the third, ſurnamed Camoir, king of Scotlande.

1066

Sim. Dun.

Immediatly after he had thus wonne the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) hee firſt returned to Haſtings, and after ſet forwarde towards London, waſted the Countries of Suſſex, Kent, Hamſhire, Southerie, Middleſex, and Herefordſhire, burning the townes, and ſleaing the people, til he came to Beorcham. In the mean time, immediately after the diſcomfiture in Suſſex, the two Earles of Northumberlande and Mercia, Edwyn, and Marchar, who had withdrawne themſelues from the battail togither with their people came to London, and with all ſpeede ſent their ſiſter Queene Aldgitha vnto the Citie of Cheſter, and herewith ſought to perſwade the Londoners, to aduaunce the one of them to the kingdome (as Wil. Mal. wryteth.) But Simon of Durham ſayth, that Aldred Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, and the ſayde Earles with other, woulde haue made Edgar Etheling king. But whileſt many of the Noble men and other prepared to make themſelues readie to giue a new battaile to the Normãs, (how or whatſoeuer was the cauſe) the ſayde Earles drewe homewardes with theyr powers, to the great diſcomfort of their friends.

Edwyn and Marchar

Queene Aldgitha ſent to Cheſter.

VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

VVil. Malm.
The Biſhops blamed.

Wil. Malm. ſeemeth to put blame in the Biſhoppes for that the Lordes went not forward with their purpoſe in aduauncing Edgar Etheling to the Crowne. For the Biſhops (ſayth he) refuſed to ioine with the Lords in that behalf, and ſo through enuie and ſpite which one part bare to an other, when they coulde not agree vpon an Engliſhe man, they receyued a ſtraunger, inſomuch that vpõ king William his comming vnto Beorcham, Aldred Archbiſhop of Yorke, Wolſtane Biſhop of Worceſter, and Walter Biſhop of Herefordе, Edgar Etheling, and the foreſayd Earles Edwyn and Marchar, came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, whome he gently receyued, and incontinently made an agreemente wyth them, taking theyr othe and Hoſtages, (as ſome wryte) and yet neuertheleſſe hee permytted hys people to ſpoyle and burne the Countrey.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke and other ſubmit themſelues to king William.

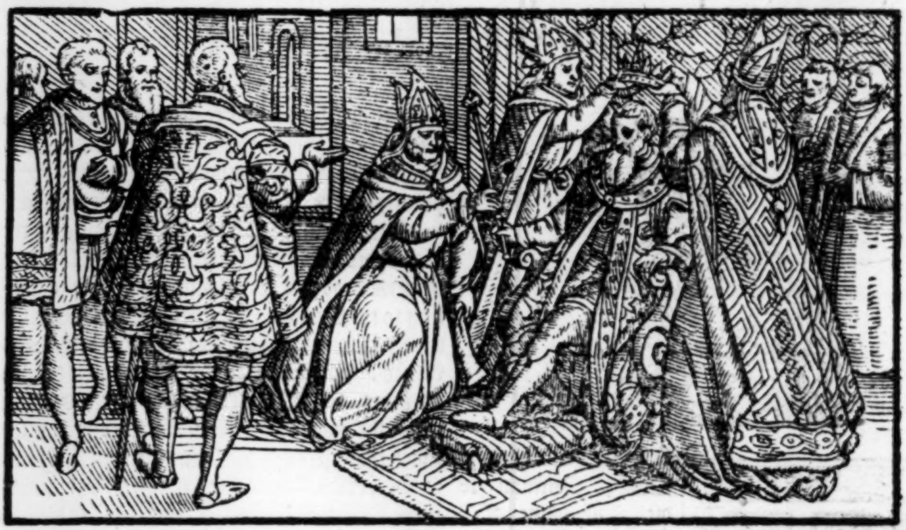
But nowe when the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe was at hande, hee approched to the Citie of London, and comming thither, cauſed his vauntgarde firſt to enter into the ſtreetes, where finding ſome reſiſtance, he eaſily ſubdued the Citizens that thus tooke vpon them to withſtand him, though not without ſome bloudſhed, (as Gemeticen. writeth) But as by other it ſhould appeare, he was receyued into the Citie without any reſiſtance at all. And ſo being in poſſeſſion thereof, he ſpake many friendly wordes to the Citizens, and promiſed that he woulde vſe them in moſt liberall and curteous maner.

Gemeticenſis.

And ſoone after when things were brought in order (as was thought requiſite) he was crowned king vpon Chriſtmas day following, by Aldred Archbiſhop of Yorke. For he would not receyue the Crowne at the handes of Stigande Archbiſhop of Canterburie, bycauſe he was hated, and furthermore iudged to bee a verie lewde perſon, and a naughtie liuer.

Williã Cõquerour crowned 1067. according to their account which begin the yere on the day of Chriſt his Natiuitie.

At his Coronation, he cauſed the Biſhops and Barons of the realme to take their othe, that they ſhould be his true and loyall ſubiectes (according to the maner in that caſe accuſtomed.) And being requyred thereto by the Archbiſhop of Yorke, he tooke his perſonall othe before the Aulter of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter, to defende holy Church, and Rulers of the ſame, to gouerne the people in iuſtice as became a King to doe, to ordeyne righteous lawes, and keepe the ſame, ſo that all maner of bribing, rapine, and wrongfull iudgements ſhould for euer hereafter be aboliſhed.



Polidor.
1067
Iohn Stow.
Tho. Sprot.

After this, hee tooke order howe to keepe the realme in good and quiet gouernment, fortifying the neceſſarie places, and furniſhing them wyth gariſons. He alſo appoynted officers and Counſaylers ſuch as hee thought to bee wiſe and diſcrete men, and appoynted ſhippes to be in the hauens by the coaſt for the defence of the land, as he thought moſt expedient. And eyther nowe after his coronation, or rather before (as by ſome Authours it ſhoulde ſeeme) euen preſentlye vppon obteyning of the Citie of London, hee tooke his iourney towardes the Caſtell of Douer to ſubdue that, and the reſt of Kent alſo: which when the Archebyſhoppe Stygande, and Egelſin the Abbot of Saint Auguſtines (beeing as it were the chiefeſt Lordes and Gouernours of all Kent) did perceyue and conſyder, that the whole Realme was in an euyll ſtate, and that where as in thys Realme of Englande, before the comming in of the foreſayde Duke Wylliam, there was no bondemenne: nowe all, as well Noble men as the common people, were without reſpect made ſubiect vnto the perpetuall bondage of the Normans, taking an occaſion by the perill and daunger that theyr neighbours were in, to prouide for the ſafegarde of themſelues and theyr Countrey. They cauſed to aſſemble at Canterburie, all the people of the Countie of Kent, and declared to them the perilles and daungers imminent, the miſerie that their neighbours were come into, the pride and inſolencie of the Normans, and the hardneſſe and griefe of bondage and ſeruile eſtate: Whereuppon all the people rather chooſing to ende theyr vnfortunate life, than to ſubmytte themſelues to an vnaccuſtomed yoke of ſeruitude and bondage, with a common conſente determined to meete Duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of theyr Countrey. And the foreſayde Stigande the Archebyſhoppe, and the Abbot Egelſin, chooſing rather to die in battaile, than to ſee theyr Nation in ſo euill an eſtate, being encouraged by the examples of the holy Machabees, became Captaynes of the armie. And at a day appoynted, all the people met at Swaneſcombe, and being hidden in the woods lay priuily in wayte for the comming of the foreſayde Duke William.

And bycauſe it cannot hurt to take greate heede, and to be verie warie in ſuche caſes, they agreed before hande, that when the Duke was come, and the paſſages on euery ſide ſtopped, to the ende he ſhould no way be able to eſcape, euerye one of them, as well horſemen as footemen ſhould beare boughes in their handes.

The next daye after, when the Duke was come into the fieldes and territories neare vnto Swaneſcombe, and ſawe all the Countrey ſette and placed about him, as it had beene a ſtyrring and mouing Woodde, and that with a meane pace they approched and drewe neare vnto him, with great diſcomforte of minde he wondered at that ſight.

And aſſoone as the Captaynes of the Kentiſhmen ſawe that Duke William was encloſed in the middeſt of theyr armie, they cauſed the Trumpettes to bee ſounded, theyr Banners to bee diſplayed, and threwe downe theyr boughes, and wyth theyr Bowes bent, theyr Swordes drawne, and theyr Speares and other kind of weapons ſtretched forth, they ſhewed themſelues readie to fight.

Duke William and they that were wyth him ſtoode (as no maruayle it was) ſore aſtonied, and amazed. And he which thought that he had already all Englande faſt in his fyſt, did nowe diſpayre of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentiſhe men, were ſente vnto Duke William the Archebiſhop Stigande, and Egelſin Abbot of Saint Auguſtins, who told him theyr meſſage in this ſort: My Lorde Duke, beholde the people of Kent commeth forth to meete you, and to receyue you as theyr liege Lorde, requiring at your handes the thinges which perteyne to peace, and that vnder this condition, that all the people of Kent enioy for euer their auncient liberties, and maye for euermore vſe the lawes and cuſtomes of the Countrey: otherwiſe they are readie preſently to bidde battaile to you, and them that bee with you, and are mynded rather to die here altogither, than to departe from the lawes and cuſtomes of theyr Countrey, and to ſubmitte themſelues to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience.

The Duke ſeeing himſelfe to bee driuen to ſuch a ſtraighte and narrowe Pinche, conſulted a while with them that came with him, prudently conſidering, that if he ſhoulde take any repulſe or diſpleaſure at the handes of this people, which be the Key of Englande, all that euer he had done before ſhoulde be vndone againe, and of no effect, and all his hope and ſafetie ſhoulde ſtande in daunger and ieopardie: not ſo willingly as wiſelye hee graunted the people of Kent theyr requeſt. So when the couenant was eſtabliſhed, and pledges giuen on bothe ſydes: The Kentiſhe men beeing ioyfull, conducted the Normans (who alſo were glad) vnto Rocheſter, and yeelded vp to the Duke the Earledome of Kent, and the noble Caſtell of Douer.

The auncient liberties and lawes of Englande remaine in Kent onely.

Thus the auncient liberties of Englande, and the lawes and cuſtomes of the Countrey, which before the comming of Duke William out of Normandie, were equally kepte throughoute all englande, doe (throughe this induſtrie and earneſt trauayle of the Archebyſhoppe Stigande and Egelſin Abbot of Sainte Auguſtines) remaine inuiolably obſerued vntyll thys day within that Countie of Kent.

VVil. Thorne

Thus farre Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne wryteth the ſame. Of the which the former (that is Spotte) liued in the dayes of King Edwarde the firſt, and William Thorne in the dayes of King Richarde the ſeconde.

But nowe before we proceede any further in recitall of the Conquerours doings, we haue here in a Table noted all the noble Captaynes and Gentlemen of name, aſwell Normans as other ſtraungers, which aſſiſted Duke William in the conqueſt of this land. And firſt, as we finde them written in the Chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleur.

The Catalogue of ſuch Noble men, Lordes and Gentlemen of name, as came into this lande with VVilliam Conquerour.

Odo Biſhoppe of Bayeulx
Robert Earle of Mortaing
Roger Earle of Beaumont, ſurnamed a la *Barbe*
Guillaume Mallet ſeigneur de Montfort.
Henrie ſeigneur de Ferrers.
Guillaume d'Aubellemare ſeig. de Fougieres.
Guillaume de Roumare ſeig. de Lithare.
Le ſeigneur de Touque.
Le ſeig de la Mare.
Neel le Viconte.
Guillaume de Vepont.
Le ſeig. de Magneuille.
Le ſeigneur de Groſmenil.
Le ſeigneur de Saint Martin.
Le ſeig. de Puis.
Guillaume Creſpin.
Guillaume de Moyenne
Guillaume Deſmoulins.
Guillaume Deſgarennes.
Hue de Gourney, alias Geneuay.
Le ſeig. de Bray.
Le ſeig. de Gouy.
Le ſeig. de Laigle.
Le ſeigneur de Tobarts.
Le ſeigneur de Auzenchin.
Le ſeig. de Vitrey.
Le ſeigneur de Traſſy, alias Tracy.
Le ſeigneur de Picquigny.
Le ſeigneur d'Eſpinay.
Oſmond ſeigneur du Pont.
Le ſeigneur de Eſtouteuile.
Le ſeigneur de Torchy.
Le ſeigneur de Barnaboſt.
Le ſeigneur de Breual.
Le ſeig. de Seeulme.
Le ſeigneur du Houme.
Le ſeigneur de Souchoy.
Le ſeig. de Cally.
Le ſeigneur de la Riuere.
Eulces de Beauieu.
Le ſeigneur de Roumilly.
Le ſeig. de Glotz.
Le ſeig. du Sap.
Le ſeigneur de Vanuille.
Le ſeigneur de Branchou.
Le ſeigneur Balleul.
Le ſeigneur de Beauſault.
Le ſeig. de Telleres.
Le ſeig. de Senlys.
Le ſeigneur de Bacqueuille.
Le ſeig. de Preaulx.
Le ſeig. de Iouy.
Le ſeigneur de Longueuille.
Le ſeig. d'Aquigny.

Le ſeigneur de Paſſy
Le ſeig.de Tournay
Le ſeig.de Colombieres
Le ſeig. de Bollebec
Le ſeig.de Garenſieres
Le ſeig.de Longueile
Le ſeig.de Houdetot
Le ſeig.de Malletot
Le ſ.de la Haie Malerbe
Le ſei. de Porch Pinche
Le ſeig.de Iuetot
The erle of Tãquervile
The erle d'Eu
The erle d'Arques
The erle of Aniou
The erle of Neuers
Le ſeig.de Rouuile
Le prince de Alemaigne
Le ſeig.de Pauilly
Le ſeig. de S.Cler
Le ſeig.d'Eſpinay
Le ſeig.de Bremetot
Alain Fergant Earle of Britaigne
Le ſeig.de la Ferte
Robert fils Heruays duc de Orleans
Le ſeig.de la Lande
Le ſeig.de Mortimer
Le ſeig.de Clere
Le ſeig.de Magny
Le ſeig.de Fontnay
Roger de Montgomery
Amaury de Touars
Le ſeig.de Hacquevile
Le ſeig.de Neauſhou
Le ſeig.de Peron
Robert de Beaufou
Le ſeig. Deauvon
Le ſeig.de Sotevile
Euſtace de Amblevile
Geoffray Bournom
Le ſeig.de Blainvile
Le ſeig.de Mannevile
Geoffrey de Moyenne
Auffray and Mauger de Carteny
Le ſeig.de Freanvile
Le ſeig.de Moubray
Le ſeig.de Iaſitay
Guillaume Patays ſiegneur de la Lande
Eulde de Mortimer
Hue erle of Gournay
Egremont de Laigle
Richard d'Aurinchin
Le ſeig.de Bearts
Le ſeig.de Soulligny
e Bouteclier d'Aubigny
Le ſeig. de Marcey
Le ſeig.de Lacy
Le ſeig.de Valdere
Eulde de Montfort
Henoyn de Cahieu
Le ſeig.de Vimers
Guillaume de Movion
Raoul Teſſon de Tignolles
Anguerand Earle of Hercourt
Roger Marmion
Raoul de Gayel
Iuenel de Viers
Pauvel du Montier Hubert
Robert Bertrau le Tort
Le ſeig.de Srulle
Le ſeig.Doriual
Le ſeig.de la Hay
Le ſeig.de S. Iohn
Le ſeig.de.Sauſſy
Le ſeig.de Brye
Richard Dollebec
Le ſeig.du Monfiquet
Le ſeig.de Breſey
Le ſeig. de Semilly
Le ſeig de Tilly
Le ſeig.de Preaux
Le ſeig.de S.Denis
Le ſeig.de Meuley
Le ſeig.de Monceaux
The archers of Bretvile
The archers of Vaudreuile
Le ſeig.de S.Sain.
Le ſeig.de Breanſou
Le ſeig.de Saſſy
Le ſeig. de Naſſy
Le vidame de Chartres
Le ſeig de Ieanvile
Le vidam du Paſſays
Pierre du Bailleul ſeigneur de Feſcamp.
Le ſeneſchal de Torchy
Le ſeig. de Griſſey
Le ſeig.de Baſſey
Le ſeig.de Tourneur
Guillaume de Colombieres.
Le ſeig. de Bonnebault
Le ſeig.de Ennebault
Le ſeig.de Danuillers
Le ſeig.de Bervile
Le ſeig.de Crevecueur
Le ſeig.de Breaute
Le ſeig.de Coutray
The erle of Eureux
Le ſeig.de ſeynt Valery
Thomas erle d'Aumale
The erle de Hieſmes

with other Lordes and men of account in great nembers, whoſe names the Author of the Chronicles of Normandie coulde not come by (as he himſelf confeſſeth.) In conſideration wherof, and bycauſe diuerſe of theſe are ſet forth only by theyr titles of eſtate, and not by their ſurnames, we haue thought it conuenient to make you partaker of the roll which ſometime belonged to Battaile Abbay, conteyning alſo (as the tytle thereof importeth) the names of ſuch Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came in at this time with the Conqueror, wherof diuerſe may be the ſame perſons whiche in the catalogue aboue written are conteyned, bearing the names of the places wherof they were poſſeſſours and owners, as by the ſame Catalogue it may appeare.

The Roll of Battaile Abbey.

A

Aumarle
Ayncourt
Audeley
Angilliam
Argentonne
Arundell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
Archere
Anuay
Aſpervile
Albevile
Andevile
Amouerduile
Arcy and Akeny
Albeny
Aybenart
Amay
Aſpermounde
Amerenges.

B

Bertram
Buttecourt
Brebus and Byſeg
Bardolfe
Baſſet and Bygot
Bohun
Baylyf
Bondevile
Brabaſon
Baſkervile
Bures
Bounylayne
Boys
Botelere
Bourcher
Brabayon
Berners
Braybuf
Brande and Bronce
Burgh
Buſſhy
Banet
Blondell
Breton
Bluet and Bayous
Browne
Beke
Byckarde
Banaſtre
Baloun
Beauchamps
Bray and Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Baſcoun
Broylem
Broyleby
Burnell
Bellet
Baudewyn
Beaumont

Beaumont
Burdon
Bertevilay
Barre
Buſſevile
Blunt
Beaupere
Beuyll
Bardvedor
Brette
Barrett
Bonrett
Baynard
Barnyvale
Bonett
Barry
Bryan
Bodyn
Bertevile
Bertyn
Berenevile
Bellewe
Bevergr
Buſſhell
Boranvile
Browe
Beleuers
Buffard
Botelere
Bonueyer
Boteuile
Bellyre
Baſtard
Baynard
Braſard
Beelhelme
Brayne
Brent
Braunche
Beleſuz
Blundell
Burdett
Bagott
Beauuiſe
Belemis
Beyſyn
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutz
Barchampe

C

Camoys
Cambile
Chawent
Chauncy
Couderay
Colvile
Chamberlaine
Chamburnoun
Comyn
Columber
Crybett
Creuquere
Corbine
Corbett
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremaus
Clarell
Chopys
Chaunduyt
Chantelow
Chamberay
Creſſy
Curtenay
Coneſtable
Cholmeley
Champney
Chawnos
Comuile
Champaine
Careuile
Carbonelle
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheyne
Curſon
Couille
Chayters
Cheynes
Cateray
Cherecourt
Cammyle
Clerenay
Curly
Cuyly
Clyncls
Chaundos
Courtenay
Clyfford.

D

Denaville
Dercy
Dyue
Dyſpencere
Daubeny
Daniell
Denyſe and Drarll
Deuaus
Dauers.
Dodyngſels
Darell
Delaber
Delapole
Delalynde
Delahill
Delaware
Delavache
Dakeny
Dauntre
Deſnye
Dabernoune
Damry
Daueros
Dauonge
Duylby
Delauere
Delahoyde
Durange
Delee
Delaunde
Delawarde
Delaplanch
Damnot
Danway
Dehenſe
Devile
Dyſard
Doyuille
Durant
Drury
Dabitott
Dunſtervile
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

Eſtrange
Eſtutevile
Engayne
Eſtriels
Eſturney

F

Ferrerers
Foluile
Fitzwatere
Fitzmarmaduke
Fleuez
Fylberd
FitzRoger
Fauecourt
Ferrers
Fitz Phillip
Filiot
Furniueus
Furniuaus
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Payn
Fitz Auger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Rauff
Fitzbrowne
Fouke
Freuile
Front de Boef
Facunberge
Fort
Fryſell
Fitz Simon
Fitz Fouk
Fylioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henrie
Fitz Waren
Fitz Raynold
Flamvile
Formay
Fitz Euſtach
Fitz Laurence
Formyband
Friſound
Fynere and Fitz Robert
Furniuale
Fitz Geffrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fychet
Fitz Rewes
Fitz Fitz
Fitz John
Fleſchampe

G

Gurnay
Greſſy
Graunſon
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gaugy
Goband
Gray
Gaunſon
Golofre
Gobyon
Grenſy
Graunt
Greyle
Greuet
Gurry
Gurley

Grammori
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Gynes
Gryuel
Grenevile
Glatevile
Gurney
Giffard
Gouerges
Gamages.

H

Haunteney
Haunſard
Haſtings
Hanlay
Haurell
Huſee
Hercy
Herioun
Herne
Harecourt
Henoure
Houell
Hamelyn
Harewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamound
Harcord.

I

Jarden
Jay
Jeniels
Jerconviſe
Janvile
Jaſpervile.

K

Kaunt
Karre
Karrowe
Koyne
Kymaronne
Kyryell
Kancey
Kenelre.

L

Loueny
Lacy
Linneby
Latomer
Loueday
Louell
Lemare
Leuetote
Lucy
Luny
Logevile
Longeſpes
Louerace
Longechampe
Laſcales
Lacy
Louan
Le ved
Luſe
Loterell
Loruge
Longevale
Loy
Lorancourt
Loyons
Lymers
Longepay
Laumale
Lane
Louetote

M

Mohant
Mowne
Maundeuile
Marmilon
Morybray
Moruile
Myriell
Manlay
Malebraunch
Malemayne
Mortimere
Mortymaine
Muſe
Marteyne
Mountbother
Mountſoler
Malevile
Malet
Mounteney
Monfychet
Malcherbe
Mare
Muſegros
Muſarde
Moyne
Montrauers
Merke
Murres
Mortivale
Moncheneſy
Mallory
Marny
Mountagu
Mountford
Maule
Monhermõn
Muſett
Meneuiſe
Mantevenat & Manſe
Menpyncor
Mayne
Maynard
Morell
Maynell
Maleluſe
Memorous
Morreis
Morleyan Maine
Malcuere
Mandut
Mountmarten
Mantelet
Myners
Mauclerke
Maunchenell
Mouet
Meyntenore
Mele tak
Man vile
Mangyſere
Maumaſin
Mountlouel
Mawrewarde
Monhaut
Meller
Mountgomerie
Manlay
Maularde
Maynard
Menere
Martinaſt
Mare
Mainwaringe
Matelay
Malemys
Maleheyre
Moren
Melun
Marceans
Mayell
Morton

N

Noers
Neuile
Newmarch
Norbet
Norice
Newborough
Neyremet
Neyle
Normauile
Neoſmarche
Nermitz
Nembrutz

O

Oteuell
Olybef
Olyfant
Oſenel
Oyſell
Olyfard
Orinall
Oryoll

P

Pigot
Pery
Perepount
Perſhale
Power
Paynell
Peche and Paucy
Peurell
Perot
Pycard
Pynkenie
Pomeray
Pounce
Pauely
Payfrere
Plukenet
Phuars
Punchardoun
Pynchard
Placy
Pugoy
Patefinc
Place
Pampilioun
Percelay
Perere and Pekeny
Poterell
Peukeny
Peccell
Pinell
Putrill
Petivoll
Preaus
Pantolf
Peito
Penecord
Prendyrlegaſt
Percyuale

Q

Quinci
Quintiny

R

Ros
Ridell
Ryuers
Ryuell
Rous
Ruſſell
Raband
Ronde
Rye
Rokell
Ryſers
Randvile
Roſelin
Raſtoke
Rynuyll
Rougere
Rait
Rypere
Rigny
Richemounde
Rochford
Raymond

S

Souche
Shevile
Seucheus
Senclere
Sent quintin
Sent Omer e
Sent Amond
Sent Legere
Somervile
Syward
Saunſovere
Sanford
Sanctes
Sabay
Saulay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Sent John
Sent George
Sent Les
Selle
Salvyn
Say
Solers
Sanlay
Sent Albyn
Sent Martin
Sourdemale
Seguin
Sent Barbe
Sent Vyle
Souremount
Soregliſe
Sandvile
Sauncey
Syrewaſt
Sent Cheuerolt
Sent More
Sent Scudemore

T

Toget
Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Trouſbut
Traynell
Taket
Traſſell and Triſon
Talbot
Tony
Trayes
Tollemache
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tybtote
Turbevyle
Turvile
Tomy and Tauerner
Trenchevile
Trenchelyon
Tankervyle
Tyrell
Tryvet
Tolet
Travers
Tardevyle
Turburvyle
Tynervyle
Torell
Tortechappell
Truſbote
Treverell
Tenwis
Totelles

V

Vere
Vernoun
Veſcy
Verdoune
Valence
Verdeire
Vavaſour
Wardeboys
Wate
Wyuell
Wake
Watelin
Wely
Werdonell
Vendore
Verlay
Warde
Valenger
Venables
Venoure
Vylan
Verlaund
Valers
Veyrny
Vaburvyle
Watevyl
Venyels
Verrere
Vſchere
Veſſay
Vanay
Vyan
Vernoys
Wafre
Weſpayle
Warryne
Vrnall
Vnket
Vrnafull
Vaſderell
Vaberon
Valingford
Venicorde
Valine
Viville
Vancorde & Valenges.

Thus when hee hadde ſet all things in order through the moſt part of the Realme, hee deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Odo, the Biſhop of Bayeux, and to his couſin William Fitz Oſberne whome he had made Erle of Herford: and in Lent following, he ſayled into Normandy, leading with him the pledges and other of the chiefeſt Lordes of the Engliſhe nation: among whom, the two Earles Edwin and Morkar, Stigand the Archbiſhop, Edgar, Etheling, Waltheof ſonne to Siwarde ſometime Duke of Northumberland, and the Abbot of Glaſtenbury Agelnothus were yͤ moſt famous. Soone after his departing. Edrike ſurnamed Siluaticus, ſon to Alfricke that was brother to Edricke de Streona, refuſing to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Kyng, rebelled and aroſe againſte ſuche as he had left in his abſence to gouerne the land, whereupon, thoſe that lay in the Caſtell of Herford, as Richarde Fitz Scrope and others, did oftentimes inuade his Lands, and waſted the goodes of his farmors and tenantes. But yet ſo often as they attempted to inuade him, they loſt many of theyr owne Souldiers, and men of warre. Moreouer, yͤ ſayde Edricke calling to his ayde the Kyngs of the Welchmen, Bleothgent, and Rithwalle, the ſaid Edricke about the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Lady, waſted the countrey of Herford, euen to yͤ bridge of the Riuer of Wye, and obteyned out of thoſe quarters a maruellous great ſpoyle. In the winter following alſo, and after King William had ordred his buſineſſe in Normandy, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Engliſhmen ſomewhat ſharply, ſuppoſing thereby to keepe them the more eaſily vnder his obedience. He ſpoyled in like maner diuers of the nobilitie, and others of the welthier ſort, of al their liuings, and gaue yͤ ſame to his Normans.

Sim. Dunel.

King William goeth ouer into Normãdy

Hen. Hunt.

Polichron.

Simon Dun.

Edricke Siluaticus.

Richard Fitz Scrope.

The Riuer of Wye.

King Willia returneth in England.

H. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.

Math. Paris.

nglishmen
ithdrawe thẽ
o the woodes
s outlawes.

Moreouer, he reyſed greate payments and ſubſedies through the Realme: the Engliſhe nobilitie alſo he nothing regarded, ſo yͤ they whiche before thought themſelues to bee made for euer by bringing a ſtranger into the Realme, do now ſee thẽſelues troden vnder foote, and to bee deſpiſed and mocked on all ſides, in ſo much, that many of thẽ were conſtreyned (as it were for a further teſtimonie of ſeruitude and bondage) to ſhaue theyr beards, to round their heare, and to frame themſelues as well in apparrell, as in ſeruice and dyet at their tables, after the Norman manner, ryghte ſtrange, and farre differing from the auntient cuſtomes and olde vſages of theyr countrey: other vtterly refuſing to ſuſteyne ſuche an intollerable yoke of thraldom as was dayly layd vpon thẽ by yͤ Normans, choſe rather to leaue all, both goods and lands, and after the manner of outlawes got them to the woodes with their wiues, children, and ſeruauntes, meaning frõ thenceforth wholly to liue vpon the ſpoyle of the countreys adioyning, and take whatſoeuer came to hand. Wherevpon it came to paſſe within a while, that no mã might in ſafetie trauayle from his owne houſe or towne to his next neighbors, and euery quiet and honeſt mans houſe became as it were an hold or fortreſſe, and furniſhed for defence with bowes & arrowes, billes, polle axes, ſwordes, clubbes and ſtaues, yͤ dores kept locked, and ſtrongly boulted, namely in the night ſeaſon, for feare to be ſurpriſed as it had bin in time of open war, and amõgſt publike enimies. Prayers were ſayde alſo by the maſter of the houſe, as though they had bin in the middeſt of the Seas in ſome ſtormy tempeſt, and when the windowes or dores ſhould be ſhut in & cloſed, they vſed to ſay *Benedicite*, & other to aunſwer *Dominus*, with moſt zealous and reuerende deuotion, whiche cuſtome then taking place, through feare of preſent daunger, hathe euer ſince remayned in vſe till theſe our preſent dayes. But for all this, K. William ſought to tame and vanquiſh thoſe of the Engliſh nobilitie, which would not be vnder his obeyſance. They againe on the other ſide made themſelues ſtrong, the better to reſiſt him, chooſing for their chiefe Captaines and leaders, the Erles Edwin and Edgar Etheling, which valiantly reſiſted the Normans, and ſlew many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus proceeded in their matters, K. William being a politike Prince, forwarde & paynefull in his buſineſſe, ſuffered thẽ not altogyther to eſcape cleere away, but did ſore anoy and put thẽ oft to irrecouerable loſſes, though he ſuffered in yͤ meane time many laborious iourneys, ſlaughters of his people, & damages of his perſon. Herevpon yͤ Engliſh nobilitie euer after, yea in time of peace were hated of yͤ K. & his Normans, & at lẽgth wer kept ſo ſhort, yͭ being moued partly with diſdeine, and partly with dread, they gote them out of the Realm, ſome into Scotlãd, ſome into Denmark, other into Norway, & amõg theſe, the two Erles Edwin & Marcar, with certayn Biſhops and other of yͤ Cleargie, beſides many alſo of the temporaltie, eſcaped into Scotland. Marleſwin and Goſpatric, with a great nũber of other yͤ Nobles of Northumberland, Edgar Ethling wͭ his mother Agatha, & his ſiſters Chriſtine & Margaret, chãced alſo to be driuẽ into Scotland by tempeſt, as they were ſayling towardes yͤ coaſtes of Germany, in purpoſe to haue returned into Hungary wher yͤ ſaid Edgar was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found ſo friendly entertainmẽt there, that finally Malcolme yͤ third then K. of that Realm, tooke his ſiſter Margaret to wife, and Chriſtin became a Nonne, as in yͤ Scottiſh Chronicles more plainely doth appeare. K. William hereby perceiuing dayly how willing yͤ engliſhmẽ wer to be vnder his obeiſance was in feare of Rebellious cõmotiõs, & therfore to maſter thẽ yͤ better, he builded. 4. Caſtels, one at Notinghã,

Polider.

An. Reg. 2

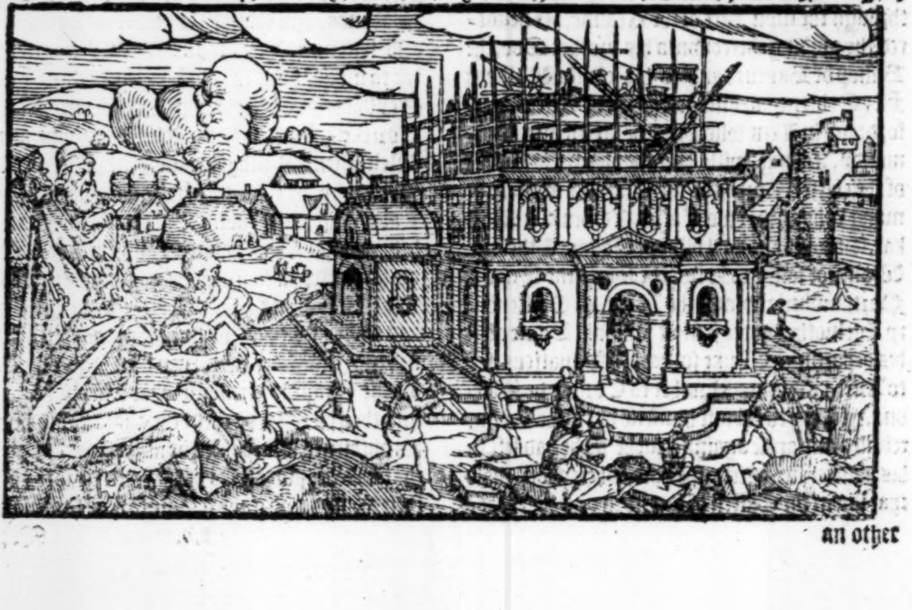
Math. Paris.

Mat. VVeſt.

Diuers of the Engliſh nobilitie withdraw foorth of their coũtrey.

1068

Polider.



an other

Two at York, wherein hee left fiue hundred men in garriſon.
Simon Dun.

The conquerour taketh from the Engliſhmen theyr armour

an other at Lincolne, the thirde at Yorke, and the fourth neere vnto Haſtings, where hee landed at his firſt comming into England.

Moreouer, to reduce the Engliſh people from their fierce wildneſſe vnto a more ciuilitie & quiet trade of life, he tooke frō them all their armoure and weapons. And agayne, he ordeyned that the maſter of euery houſhold about eyght of ẏ clocke in the euening, ſhoulde cauſe his fire to be couered with aſhes, and therevppon goe to bed: and to the ende that euery man mighte haue knowledge of that houre when hee ſhould ſo goe to reſt, he gaue order, that in all Cities, Townes, and Villages, where any Church was, there ſhoulde bee a Bell rong at the ſayd houre, whiche cuſtome is ſtill vſed euen vnto this daye, and commonly called by the French word *Couerfew*.

Cover few firſt inſtituted
1068
Mat. VVeſt.

Moreouer, this yere on Whitſonday, Maude the Wife of King William was crowned Q. by Aldred Archbyſhop of Yorke. The ſame yere alſo was Henry his ſon borne here in England, for his other two ſonnes Robert and William were borne in Normandy, before hee had conquered this lande.

Edmund the great

About ẏ ſame time alſo, Goodwin & Edmund ſurnamed the great, that were ſonnes to K. Harold, came out of Irelande, and landing in Somerſetſhire, foughte with Adnothus that had bin maſter of their fathers horſe, whome they ſlewe, with a greate nūber of others, and ſo hauing gotten this victory, returned into Irelād, frō whence they came, with a greate booty whiche they tooke before their returne out of ẏ Countreis of Cornwall, and Deuonſhire, and other the places thereabout. In like manner, Exeter did as then Rebell, and likewiſe the countrey of Northumberland, wherevpon, the King appoynted one of hys Captaines named Roberte, ſurnamed Cumin, a right noble perſonage (but more valiant than circumſpect) to goe againſte the Northern people with a part of his army, whileſt he himſelfe with the other part wente to ſubdue them of Exeter: where at his comming afore the Citie, the Citizens prepared themſelues to defende their gates and walles: but after that hee began to make hys approch to aſſayle them, part of the Citizens repenting their fooliſh attemptes, opened the gates, and ſuffered him to enter. Thus hauing ſubdued them of Exeter, he greeuouſly puniſhed the chiefe offendours. But the Counteſſe Gita, the ſiſter of Swayne K. of Denmarke, & ſometime wife to Earle Goodwin, and mother to the laſt K. Harrolde, with diuers other that were gote into that Citie, founde meanes to flie, and ſo eſcaped ouer into Flaunders. King William hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in ſuch wiſe in Deuonſhire, hee haſted backe towards Yorke, beeing aduertiſed in the way that the Northumbers hauing knowledge by their Spialles, that Roberte generall of the Normans being come to Durham, dyd not ſo diligently cauſe watche and warde to be kepte about the town in the night ſeaſon as was requiſite, they did ſet vpon him about midnighte, and founde fortune ſo greatly fauourable to them in their enterpriſe, that they ſlew the ſame Roberte with all his companie, ſo that of ſeuen hundred which he broughte with him, there was but one that eſcaped to bring tidings to the King.

VVil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

This chaunced the.28. of Ianuary on a wedneſday.
Polidor.

He hearde alſo, how Edgar Etheling at the ſame time, being in the country, riding abroade with a troupe of Horſemen, and hearing of the diſcomfiture of thoſe Normans, purſued them egerly, and ſlewe greate numbers of them, as they were about to ſaue themſelues by flighte, with whiche newes being in no ſmall furie, he made ſpeede forwarde, and comming at the laſt into Northumberland, he eaſily vanquiſhed the aforeſayd Rebels, and putting the chiefe Authors of

Polidor.

this buſineſſe to death, hee reſerued ſome of the reſt as Captiues, and of other ſome, hee cauſed the handes to be chopped off in token of their incõſtancie, and Rebellious dealing. After this, he commeth to Yorke, and there in like ſorte puniſhed thoſe that had ayded Edgar, whiche done, hee returned to Londõ, where he intended to ſoiourne for a ſeaſon. 1069

Of this iourney, Simon Dunel. ſpeaketh not a worde, but ioyning the arriuall of the Daniſhe fleete to followe after the ſlaughter of the Normans at Durham, ſheweth at large what enſued vpon their arriuall in thoſe parties, but whether ẏ Northumberlande men reſted in quiet after they hadde ſlayne the Normans at Durham, till the comming of the Danes, or whether immediately thervpon they were inuaded by King William, as it is moſt like they were, true it is, that in the meane time, thoſe Engliſhmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall ſuite made vnto Sueno then King of that Realme, to procure him to make a iourney into Englande for recouerie of the right deſcended to him from his aunceſtors, at length they obteyned their purpoſe, in ſo much, that K. Sueno ſent hys ſonnes Harrold and Canutus toward England, who with a nauie of two hundred ſayle, in the cõpany of Oſborne their Uncle, arriued in ẏ mouth of Humber betweene the two later Lady days, & there landing their people with the Engliſh outlawes which they had brought with them, they ſtraight ways marched towards Yorke, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey with greate crueltie as they paſſed: ſoone after alſo came Edgar, and ſuch other engliſh exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and ioined their forces with them. Whẽ the newes of theſe things were brought to Yorke, the people there wer ſtriken with a maruellous feare, in ſo muche, that Alored the Archbiſhop through very greefe and anguiſhe of minde departed thys life. The Normans alſo whiche lay there in garriſon, after they vnderſtoode by their ſpies that the enimies were come within two dayes iourney of them, began not a little to miſtruſt the faythe of the Citizens, and bycauſe the ſuburbes ſhould not be any ayde vnto them, they ſet fire on the ſame, which by the hugeneſſe of the wind that ſuddainly aroſe herewith, at the ſame time the flame became ſo bigge, and mounted on ſuch height, that it tooke into the Citie alſo, and conſumed a great part thereof to aſhes, together with the minſter of S. Peter, and a famous library belonging to the ſame, the Normans and Citizens in like maner being conſtreyned to iſſue forthe euen at the ſame time, and being vppon the enimies before they had any knowledge of their approche, were forced to trie the matter by diſordred battayle, and albeit their number was farre inferiour, and nothing equall vnto theirs, yet they valiantly defended themſelues for a time, til being oppreſſed with multitude, they were ouercome and ſlayne, ſo that there periſhed in this conflict, to the number of three thouſand of them. Many of the Engliſhmen alſo that came with them to the fielde, were ſaued by the enimies, to the end they mighte gayne ſomewhat by their raunſomes, as William Mallet Sheriffe of the Shire, with his wife & two of their childrẽ, and Gilbert de Gaunt, with diuers other. This ſlaughter chanced on a Saterday, being the nineteenth day of September. The two brethren hauing thus obteyned this victory, went on further into ẏ countrey of Northumberland, and brought the ſame wholly vnto their obeyſance, in ſomuch, ẏ al the North partes were at their cõmandemẽt. After this, they meant to haue gone towardes London, to haue proued their fortune likewiſe in ẏ South partes, if ẏ extreame hard winter which chanced ẏ yeare, had not ſtayed them of their purpoſe in like caſe as it did K. Williã frõ aſſailing them, who hearing of all the doings of his enimies in the North countrey, would gladly haue ſet vppon them, if either the ſeaſon of the yere, or weather had ſerued any thing at all to the furtherance of his iourney. In the mean time, ẏ Danes wintered in Yorkſhire, betwixt the two Riuers of Ouſe & Trent, but ſo ſoone

Swayne and Osberne hath Math Paris.

Three hundred ſayles ſaith M. W. but Sim. Dun. hath. 240.

Yorke brent.

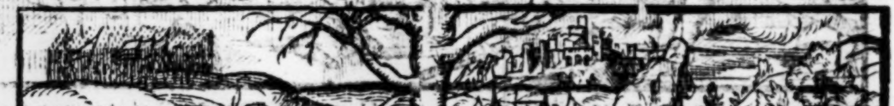
Normans ſlayne.

Simon Dun.

A ſharp winter, an enimie to warlike enterpriſes.

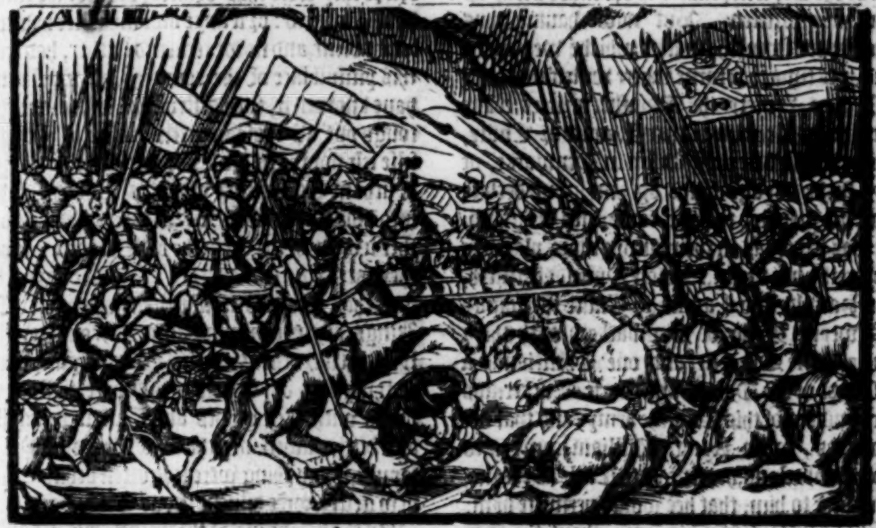
The Danes where they wintered.

Hen. Hunt.



Polidor.

ſone as the Snow began to melt, and the Iſe to thaw and weare away, King William ſped him with great haſt towarde his enimies into Yorkſhire, and comming to the Riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refreſhe his people, and ſo much the rather, bycauſe he vnderſtoode his enimies were at hande. The day following, he bringeth his army into yͤ field to fight with the Daniſh Princes, who likewiſe hadde ſet their people in order of battayle, ſo that it was not long ere both the hoſtes were met and ioyned together: thus there began a right ſore and terrible battayle, continuing a long ſpace in equall ballance, till at length in one of the wings the Norman Horſemen had put their enimies to flight, which when the reſidue of the Danes perceyued, and beeing put in a ſuddayne feare withall, they likewiſe fledde. Harrold & Canutus with a company of hardie Souldiers that tarried about them, retired backe (though with much adoe and great daunger) vnto their Ships, Edgar alſo by help of good horſes, eſcaped into Scotlande with a fewe in his company. Earle Waltif who had fought moſt manfully in that battayle, and ſlaine many Normans with his owne handes, was reconciled into the Kings fauoure: but the reſidue were for the moſt part takē priſoners, and killed. William of Malmeſbury writeth, that King William comming at that time into the North parties, beſieged the Citie of Yorke, & putting to flight a gret Army of his enimies yͭ came to the ſuccours of thē within, not without greate loſſe of his owne Souldiers, at length, the Citie was deliuered into his handes: the Citizens and other that kept it, as Scottes, Danes, and Engliſhmen, being conſtreyned thereto through lacke of vittayles. Other write, how the Danes beeing loden with riches and ſpoyles, gote in the countrey, were departed to their Shippes before the comming of King William. Heere is not to bee forgotten, yͭ as Iohn Lelande hath noted, whileſt the Conquerour helde ſiege before Yorke, at the earneſt requeſt of his wife Queene Maude, he aduanced his Nephewe Alane Earle of Britayne with the gift of all thoſe landes that ſometime belonged vnto Earle Edwin, the tenor of which gift heere enſueth, *Ego Gulihelmus cognomine Baſtardus, do et cōcedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britanniæ comiti, & hæredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras quæ nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eboraſhira, cū feodis militum & alijs libertatibus & conſuetudinibus, ita liberè & honorificè ſicut idē Eadwinus ea tenuit. Dat. in obſidione coram ciuitate Eboraci.* The ſame in Engliſh is thus. I VVilliam ſurnamed Baſtard, King of England, do giue and graunt to thee my Nephew Alane Erle of Britayne, and to thine heires for euer, all the Townes and landes that lately belonged to Earle Eadwine in Yorkſhire, with the Knightes fees, and other liberties and cuſtomes, ſo freely and honorably as the ſaid Eadwine held the ſame. Giuen in our ſeege before the Citie of Yorke.



Math. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

VVil. Malm.

Sim. Dunel.

Earle Edwines lands giuen vnto Alane Erle of Britaine.

The Earle of Britayne being a mā of a ſtoute ſtomack, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a ſtrong Caſtel, neere to his manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmont. To ſhewe therefore ſomewhat alſo of the firſte originall line of the Earles of Richmont (that bare their title of honor of this Caſtell and Towne of Richmont, as Leland hath ſet downe the ſame) This it is, Eudo Erle of Britayne, the ſonne of Geffrey begate three ſonnes, Alane le Rous, otherwiſe Fergaunte, Alane the blacke, & Stephan: theſe three brethren after their fathers deceſſe, ſucceeded one after another in the Earledome of Britayne, the two elder, Alane the red, & Alane the blacke, died without iſſue. Stephan begate a gate a ſonne named Alane, who left a ſonne whiche was his heire named Conane, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William Kyng of Scotlande, who bare him a daughter named Conſtantia, which Conſtantia was coupled in marriage with Geffrey, ſonne to Kyng Henry the ſecond, who had by hir Arthur, whom hys Vncle King Iohn, for feare to be depriued by him of the Crowne, cauſed to bee made away as ſome haue written. But nowe hauing thus farre ſtepped from the matter whiche we haue in hand, it is time to returne where we left touching the Danes. Surely the Daniſhe writers make no mention in the life of that Kanute or Cnute, whiche raigned at thys ſeaſon in Denmarke, of anye ſuche voyage made by him, but declare howe hee prepared to haue come into England, but was letted, as in their hiſtory more playnely appeareth: but verily Simon Dunel. affirmeth, that Harrold and Canute or Cnute the ſonnes of Sweyne Kyng of Denmarke, with theyr Vncle Earle Oſborne, and one Chriſtianus a Biſhoppe of the Danes, and Earle Turketillus were guiders of this Daniſhe army, and that afterwardes, when Kyng William came into Northumberland, hee ſent vnto Earle Oſborne, promiſing to him, that hee would permitte hym, to take vp vittayles for his army about the Sea coaſtes, and further, to giue him a portion of money, but ſo that he ſhould departe and returne home, ſo ſoone as the winter was paſſed. But howſoeuer the matter wente with the Danes, certayne it is by the whole conſente of Writers, that King William hauing thus ſubdued his enimies in the Northe, hee tooke ſo greate diſpleaſure with the inhabitauntes of the Countrey of Yorkſhire and Northumberland, that he waſted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, ſo that for the ſpace of ſixtie miles, there was left in maner no habitation for the people, by reaſon whereof it lay waſt and deſerte for the ſpace of nine or tenne yeares. The goodly Cities with theyr Towers and Steeples ſet vp on a ſtately height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fieldes and paſtures, watered with the courſe of ſweete and pleaſant Riuers, if a ſtraunger ſhoulde then haue behelde and alſo knowen before they were thus defaced, hee woulde ſurely haue lamented: or if anye olde inhabiter had bene long abſent, and nowe returned thither, had ſeene this pitifull face of the countrey, hee woulde not haue knowen it, ſuch deſtruction was made thorough out all thoſe quarters, whereof Yorke it ſelfe felt not the ſmalleſt portion. The Biſhop of Durham Egelwinus with his Cleargie fledde into holy Iland, with S. Cutberts body and other iewels of the Churche of Durham, where they tarried three monethes and odde dayes, before they returned to Durham agayne. The Kings army comming into the countrey that lyeth betwixt the Riuers Theiſe & Tyne, found nothing but voyde fieldes and bare walles, the people with their goodes and Cattell being fled and withdrawen into the Woddes and Mountaynes, if any thing were forgotten behinde, theſe new geſtes were dilgent inough to finde it out.

Albertus Grantz.

Simon Dun.

Math. Paris maketh mention but of Sweyne and Osberne whome he calleth breethren.

VVil. Mal.

Simon Dun.

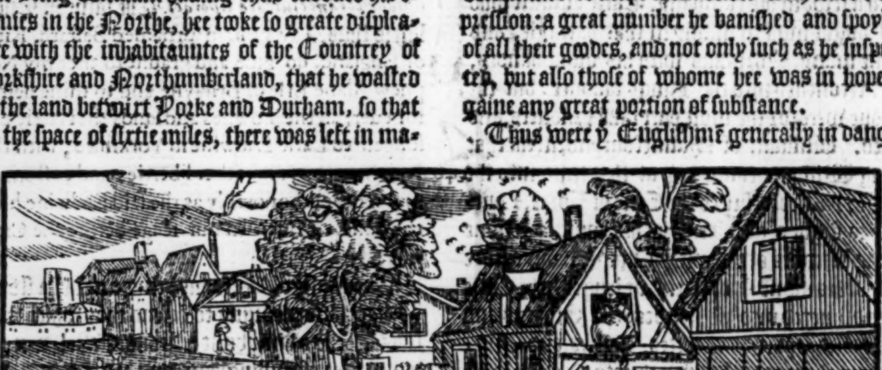
Anno.4.

1070

In the beginning of the ſpring, King William returned to London, and now after all theſe troubles, he began to conceyue greater hatred againſt the Engliſhmen than euer he hadde done before, and therefore ſuppoſing hee ſhoulde neuer with gentleneſſe winne their good willes, he now determined to keepe them vnder with feare & oppreſſion: a great number he baniſhed and ſpoyled of all their goodes, and not only ſuch as he ſuſpected, but alſo thoſe of whome hee was in hope to gaine any great portion of ſubſtance.

Polidor.

Thus were ẏ Engliſhmē generally in danger

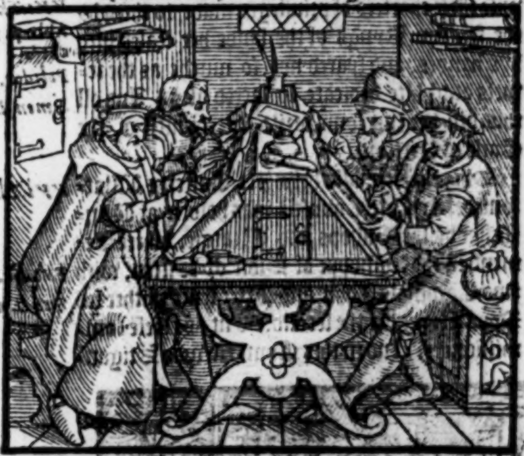


to loſe life landes and goodes, without knowledge, or orderly proceeding vnto iudgement, ſo that no greater miſerie in the earthe coulde be imagined, than that into the whiche our nation was nowe fallen. He toke from the Townes and Cities, from the Biſhoppes Sees and Abbeyes all theyr auncient priuiledges and freedomes, to the ende they ſhould not only be cut ſhort and made weaker, but alſo that they might redeeme the ſame of him, for ſuch ſummes of money, as pleaſed hym to appointe, to obteyne their quietneſſe. And among other things, he ordeyned that in time of warre, they ſhoulde ayde him, in ſuche wiſe, with armoure, Horſe and money, and accordyng to that order which he ſhould then preſcribe.

Priuileges and freedoms reuoked.

Math. Paris.

Hereof alſo he cauſed a Regiſter to be written and enrolled, the whiche he willed to be layde vp in his treaſurie, and whereas diuerſe of the ſpirituall perſons woulde not obey this ordinance, hee baniſhed them without remorſe.



Stigand. Alexander Biſhop of Lincolne.

About the ſame time alſo, the Archbiſhoppe Stigand and Alexander Biſhop of Lincolne fled into Scotlande, and there kept themſelues cloſe for a ſeaſon. But the King ſtill continued in his hard proceeding againſt the Engliſhmen, in ſo much, that now protending howe he came to the gouernance of the Realme onely by playne conqueſt, hee ſeyſed into his handes the moſt parte of euery mans poſſeſſions, cauſing them to redeeme the ſame at his handes agayne, and yet reteyned a propertie in the moſt part of them, ſo that thoſe that ſhould afterwardes enioy them, ſhoulde acknowledge themſelues to holde them of him, in yeelding an yerely rent to him and his ſucceſſors for euer, with certayne other prouiſions, whereby in caſes of forfeyture the ſame landes ſhoulde returne to him, and hys ſayde ſucceſſors agayne. The like order he appoynted to bee vſed by other poſſeſſors of landes, in letting them forth to their Tenauntes. Hee ordeyned alſo, that yͤ Tearmes ſhould be kept four times in the yere, in ſuche places as he ſhould nominate, and that the Iudges ſhould ſit in their ſeuerall places to iudge and decide cauſes and matters in controuerſie betwixte partie and partie, in manner as is vſed vnto thys day. Hee decreed moreouer, that there ſhoulde bee Sherifes in euery ſhire, and Iuſtices of the peace to keepe the countreys in good quiet, and to ſee offendors puniſhed. Furthermore, hee inſtituted the Court of the Exchequer, and the officers belonging to the ſame, as the Barons, the Clearkes, and ſuch other, alſo yͤ high Court of the Chancerie. And after he had in this wiſe ordeyned his Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the lawes, hee laſtly toke order what ordinãces he would haue obſerued, and thereupon abrogating in manner all the auncient lawes vſed in times paſt, and inſtituted by the former Kyngs for the good order and quietneſſe of the people he made new, nothing ſo equall or eaſie to bee kept, the whiche neuertheleſſe, thoſe that came after, not withoute theyr greate harme, were conſtreyned to obſerue, as though it had bin an high offence againſt God to aboliſhe thoſe euill lawes, which King William (being a Prince, nothing frindly to the Engliſh nation,) had firſt ordeyned, and to bring in other more eaſie and tollerable: neyther can I in this place omitte to giue a note of that whiche may ſeeme to ſuch as do indifferently conſider of things a greate abſurditie, videlicet, that thoſe lawes whiche touched all men, and ought to bee knowen of all men, were notwithſtanding written in the Norman tong, which the Engliſhmen vnderſtood not, ſo that euen at the beginning you ſhould haue great numbers, partly by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partly by ignorance, in miſconſtruing the ſame to bee wrongfully condemned, ſome to deathe, and ſome in the forfeyture of their goodes, other were ſo entangled in ſutes and cauſes, that by no meanes they knew how to get out, but continually were toſſed from poſt to piller, in ſuche wiſe, that in their mindes they curſed the tyme that euer theſe vnequall lawes were made. The manner for the trial of cauſes in controuerſie, was deuiſed in ſuch ſort as is yet vſed. Twelue auncient men (but moſt commonly vnlearned in the lawes) beeing of the ſame Countie where the ſute lay, were appoynted by yͤ Iudges to goe togither into ſome cloſe chamber, where they ſhould bee ſhut vp, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they ſhoulde agree vpon the condemnation or acquiting of the priſoner, if it were in criminall cauſes, or vppon the deciding in whom the right remayned, if it were vpō triall of things in controuerſie: and when they were once agreed, theſe .12. men, as it were the .12. Apoſtles (yͤ in the nūber yet ſome reſpect of religion euen wiſe appere) came in before the iudges, declaring what they had agreed vpon, which done, the iudges opened it to yͤ offendors or ſutors, and

Polidor.

The hard dealing of Kyng William againſt the Engliſhmen.

The Excheker

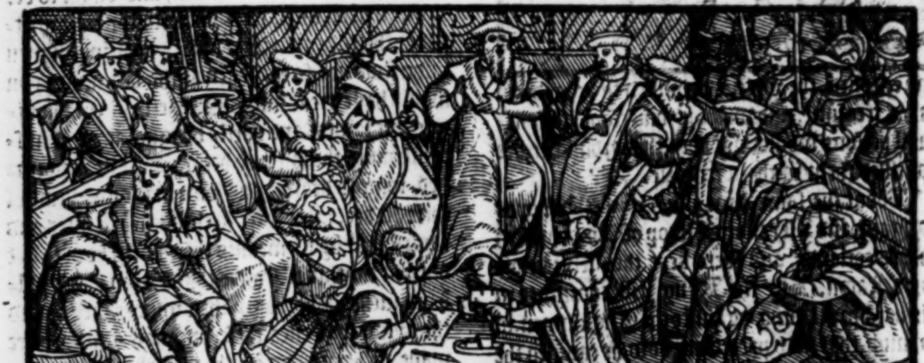
The Chancerie.

New lawes.

The lawes were written in the Normã tong.

Matters to be tried by a iurie of. 12. mẽ, withall they pronounced them according as the qualitie of ẏ cauſe did inforce and require. Thus at the firſte were the twelue men appoynted, and the ſame order is ſtill obſerued in matters of controuerſie vnto this day: their iudgemente alſo or conſent is called a verdict, that is to ſaye, a true ſaying: but I woulde to God that name myghte rightly and with good cauſe be euer applyed therto, that men mighte haue their cauſes iuſtly adiudged, rather than preiudiced by the verdictes of ſuche freeholders as are accuſtomed to ſerue the Prince and their Countreys at aſſiſes and Seſſions. There may happily be (as Polidor Vergill ſayth) that will mayneteyne how this manner of proceeding in the adminiſtration of iuſtice by the voyces of a Iurie, was in vſe before the Conqueroures dayes, but they are not able ſo to prooue it by any auntient recordes of writers, as he thynketh: albeit by ſome of our hiſtories they ſhoulde ſeeme to bee firſte ordeyned by Ethelred or Egelred. But this is moſt true, that the Norman Kings themſelues would confeſſe, that the lawes deuiſed and made by the Conqueroure, were not moſt equall, in ſo muche, that William Rufus, and Henry the ſonnes of the Conquerour, would at all times whē they ſought to purchaſe the peoples fauor, promiſe to aboliſh the lawes ordeyned by theyr father, and eſtabliſhe other more equall, and to reſtore thoſe whiche were vſed by Kyng Edwardes dayes. The lyke kynde of purchaſing fauoure, was vſed by King Stephen, and other Kings that followed him. But their meaning was ſo far to the contrary, that their deedes declared theyr diſſimulatiō, ſo that many of thoſe Norman lawes remayne in force euen vnto theſe dayes. The cauſe as ſome thinke is, for that they make more to the Princes behoofe, than to the commoditie of the people. But now to the matter, King William after hee hadde made theſe ordinances to keepe the people in order, hee ſet his minde to enriche his cofers, and thereuppō he firſt appoynted a tribute to be leuied of the cōmons, then hee cauſed the Abbeyes to be ſearched, and all ſuche money as any of the Engliſhmen hadde layde vp in the ſame, to bee kepte, and likewiſe their charters of priuileges made to them by the Saxon Kyngs of the lande hee ſeaſed into hys handes, and ſpared not ſo muche as the iewels and plate dedicate to ſacred vſes. And all this did hee (as ſome write) by counſell of the Earle of Hertford.

Math. Paris.
Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Malm.
VVi. Thorne.
Abbeys ſearched.
Polidor.
Simon Dun.



VVi. Thorne.
Polidor.
Sim. Dunel.

Shortly after alſo betwixte Eaſter & Whitſontide, a greate Counſell was holden at Wincheſter by the Biſhops and Cleargie, where Ermenfred the Biſhoppe of Sion or Sitten, with two Cardinals Iohn and Peter ſente thither frō Pope Alexander the ſecond, did ſit as chiefe commiſſioners. And in this Counſell was Stigandus the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury depriued of his Biſhopricke, for three ſpeciall cauſes.

Stigand Archbiſhop of Canterbury depriued.

The firſt, for that hee had wrongfully holden that Biſhopricke whileſt the Archbiſhop Roberte was liuing.

Secondly, for that hee kepte alſo the See of Wincheſter in his handes, after his inueſtiture vnto Canterbury, whiche hee ought not to haue done.

Thirdly, for that hee had receyued the Palle at the handes of Pope Benedict the tenthe, whome the Cardynalles as one not lawfully elected, had depoſed. But many Writers burden Kyng William (who was preſente at thys Counſell) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the ende he myghte place a ſtraunger in his roome, for in manner as he hadde rooted out the Engliſhe nobilitie, and giuen away their lands and liuings to his Normans, ſo meant hee to returne the Engliſhe Cleargie from bearing any

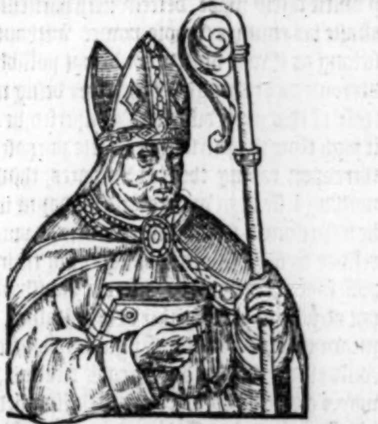
Agelmarus Biſhop of Thetford was one that was depoſed.

Simon Dun.

Mat. Paris.

Thomas a Canon of Bayeux made Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Lanfranke conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury.



any office of honor within the Realme, whiche his meaning did well appeare at his Counſell in the which diuers other Biſhops with Abbots and Priors were depoſed, and Normans preferred in their places. Stigande after his depriuation, was kept in perpetuall priſon at Wincheſter, till he dyed, and yet as ſome write, the ſame Stigand was an helper vnder hande for King William to atteyne the Crowne. In the feaſt of Pentecoſt next enſuing, the King beeing at Windſor, gaue the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke vnto one Thomas, a Canon of Bayeux, and to Walkelme one of his Chaplaynes hee gaue the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was Abbot, hee made him Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was conſecrated there in the feaſt of S. John Baptiſt in the yeare following, whiche was after the birthe of our Sauiour. 1071. The foreſayd Thomas was the fiue and twentith Biſhop that had gouerned in that ſee of Yorke, and Lanfranke the three and thirtith in the Sea of Canterbury: but ere long, betwixte theſe two Archbiſhops, there roſe great contention for the ſuperioritie of theyr Churches, in ſo muche, that the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke appealed to Rome, where they both appeared in proper perſons afore Pope Alexander, in whoſe preſence Lanfrankes cauſe was ſo much fauoured, that not only the foreſayd Thomas, but alſo Remigius the Biſhop of Dorcheſter were for reaſonable cauſes depriued of theyr Croſiers and Rings, and Lanfranke at theyr humble requeſt was a meane to the Pope for thẽ in the ende, that they mighte bee reſtored to theyr ſtaues agayne, whych was in like manner accordingly obteyned: for when the Pope hearde Lanfranke declare in their fauour how neceſſary their ſeruice myght be to the Kyng in the eſtabliſhmẽt of his new gotten kingdom, he ſayd to Lãfranke, well, looke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrey, and therefore conſider what is expedient to be done therein: their ſtaues which they haue ſurrended vp, there they bee, take them, and diſpoſe them as you ſhall thinke moſt profitable for the aduauncement of the Chriſtian Religion in that countrey. Wherevpon, Lanfranke tooke the ſtaues, and deliuered them to the former poſſeſſours, and ſo were they in the Popes preſence reſtored to their former dignities again.

Math. Weſt. hath the eight Kal. of May, but Wil. Mal. and Eadmerus the fourth Kal. of September.

1071

An. Reg. 5.

VVil. Mal.

Eadmerus.

The cauſe why Thomas was depriued (if the writers diſſemble not, though to mee it ſeeme vnlikely) was, for that hee had holpen Duke William toward his iourney into England when hee came to conquer it, for the which pleaſure to him then ſhewed, the Duke promiſed hym a Byſhopricke, if euer hee obteyned the victory of the Engliſhe: the other, for that he was a Prieſtes ſonne. Furthermore, when the Pope vnderſtoode the full ground of their contention for the primacie of the two Sees, Canterbury and Yorke, and had heard what could be alledged on both ſydes, he remitted the determination thereof to the Kyng and Byſhops of England, that by the hiſtories and Recordes of the lande, the matter myghte bee tryed, iudged and ordered. And thus for the time, did the Pope ridde hys hands of theſe, and the like matters. Wherefore at their comming home, and after long debating and diſcuſſing of the cauſe (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth more at large) at a Synode holden at Windſor, in the yeare. 1072. ſentence was gyuen on Lanfrankes ſyde, ſo that in all things concerning Religion, and the fayth of holy Churche, the Archbiſhop of Yorke ſhould be euer ſubiect to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and come with all the Biſhops of his prouince to anye ſuche place as the Archbyſhop of Canterbury ſhoulde call anye counſell within the Realme of Englande.

VVil. Malm.

An. reg. 6.

1072

Math. VVeſt.

The ſubiectiõ of the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke, to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury.

Moreouer, when any electe Biſhop of Canterbury was to be ſacred, the Archbiſhop of Yorke for the time beeing ſhould come to Canterbury, and ſacre hym there, and if the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke was to be ſtalled and ſacred, then ſhoulde he come vnto Canterbury, or elſe where it ſhould pleaſe the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to aſſigne, and there to be ſacred of hym, taking an oth with hys profeſſion of due obedience vnto the higher ſee. And nowe heere is to bee noted, that as the ſayde Thomas of Yorke dyd yeelde obedience to Lanfranke of Canterbury, ſo lykewiſe the electe Biſhop of Glaſcowe in Scotlande named Michaell, was ſoone after conſecrated of the foreſayd Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, and made an oth of obedience vnto the ſayde Archbiſhop, as to the primate of all Scotland, and after him Tothade the Biſhop of Saint Androwes did the like, by commaundemente of Malcolme the third of that name, Kyng of Scotlande, and Margaret hys wife, who thoughte good by this recogniſance of obedience and ductie, ſo to prouide againſte further inconuenience to come, that heereafter, one

Polidor.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke acknowledged primate of all Scotlande.

of the Biſhops of their Realme ſhoulde not take vpon them to conſecrate an other, or do any thing contrary to the ancient decrees of the old fathers, that mighte be preiudiciall to the authoritie of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, at whoſe appoyntmēt thoſe and the like things were accuſtomed to bee done. But to leaue this, and to ſpeake of other thyngs which chaunced in the meane time that this controuerſie depended betwixt the two Archbiſhops, I finde that Edwin & Marchar Earles of Mertia and Northumberland, being reconciled with the K. of Englande, and hauing of late obteyned pardon for their former miſdemeanor, began now ſo muche to miſlike the ſtate of the worlde agayne, as euer they did before: for perceyuing howe the Engliſhmenne were ſtill oppreſſed and thralled with miſerie on eache hand, they conſpired and began a new Rebellion, but with very ill ſucceſſe, as ſhall heereafter appeare.

Mat. Paris.

The Kyng vnderſtanding of theyr dealings, and beeing not only armed thoroughly with temporall force, but alſo endued with the ſpiritual power of his Archbiſhop Lanfranke, who aided him in all that hee might, for the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Rebels, waſted the countreys exceedingly, where hee vnderſtoode that they had gotten any releefe, minding vtterly to vanquiſh them with ſword, fire, and hunger, or by extreame penurie to bring them to ſome order. They on the other part make as ſtout reſiſtance, and now perceyuing that it ſtoode thē vpon, either to vanquiſh or to fall into vtter ruine, they reiſe a mighty ſtrong hoſt, and made Edgar Etheling their Captaine, a comely gētle mā, & a valiāt, in whom alſo yͤ whole hope of yͤ Engliſh nation repoſed, as appeareth by thys by worde Edgar Ethling Englandes dearling, which was dayly rehearſed of him. And amongſt other noble men that were chiefe doers in the aſſemblyng of this army, Fredericke Abbot of S. Albons was one of the chiefe, a Prelate of greate wealth, and no leſſe puiſſance. The King perceyuing hys eſtate to be nowe brought into no ſmall daunger, is by reaſon thereof in a great perplexitie what to do, in the end, he counſelleth with the Archbiſhop Lanfranke of Canterbury, how he might remedy the matter, who told him that in ſuch a deſperate caſe, the beſt way for hym ſhoulde bee to ſeeke by fayre wordes and friendly offers how to pacifie yͤ Engliſh nobilitie, whiche by all meanes poſſible, would neuer ceaſſe to moleſt him in the recouerie of their libertie. Hereuppon therefore, hee made meanes to come to ſome agreement with them, and ſo well the matter proceeded on his ſide, that the Engliſhmen deceiued through his faire promiſes, were contente to commune of peace, for whiche purpoſe they came alſo vnder the conduit of the Abbot Fredericke vnto Berkamſted, where after much reaſoning and debating of the matter for the concluſion of amity betwixte them, Kyng William in the preſence of the Archbiſhop Lanfranke & other of his Lords, toke a perſonall othe, vpon al yͤ reliques of the Church of S. Albons, & the holy Euangeliſts, the Abbot Frederick miniſtring yͤ ſame vnto him, that he would frō thenſforth obſerue and keepe the good and auanciente approued lawes of the Realme, whiche the noble Kings of England his aunceſtors had made, and ordeined heretofore, but namely thoſe of S. Edward, which were ſuppoſed to be the moſt equall and indifferent. The peace being thus concluded, and the Engliſhmē growen therby to ſome hope of further quietneſſe, they began to forſake theyr allies, & returne eache one, eyther to his own poſſeſſiōs, or attēdance vpon yͤ K. but he warely cloking his inward purpoſed intēt, & notwithſtāding yͤ vnitie lately made, determineth particularly to aſſaile his enimies (whoſe power without doubt ſo long as it was vnited, could not poſſibly be ouercome as he thought) & therefore being now by reaſō of this peace diſſeuered & diſperſed, he thoght it high time to practiſe his ſecrete purpoſes, and therevpon taking them at vnwares, thinking of nothing leſſe than warres and ſuddayne inuaſiō, he impriſoneth many, killeth diuers, & purſueth yͤ reſidue wͭ fire & ſword, ſpoiling thē of their goods, poſſeſſions, lāds & inheritances, & baniſhing them out of yͤ Realm altogither at his pleaſure. In the meane time, thoſe of the Engliſhe nobilitie which could eſcape this his outrageous tirannie, got away, & amōgſt other, Edgar Etheling fled agaln into Scotland: but Edwin was ſlain of his own ſouldiers, as he rode alſo towards Scotlād.

Ran. Higd.
H. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

Erle Marchar & one Herward, with the Biſhoppe of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Iſle of Ely, in purpoſe there to defend themſelues frō the iniurie of yͤ Normans, bycauſe they tooke yͤ place by reaſon of yͤ ſituatiō of yͤ ſame to be of no ſmall ſtrength, but K. Williā, endeuouring to cut thē ſhort in yͤ beginning, reiſed a power, & firſt ſtopped all yͤ paſſages on yͤ Eaſt ſide, and on the weſt part he made a cauſey through yͤ Fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them & conſtreyned thoſe his enimies in yͤ end to yeld themſelues by force vnto his mercy.

Polidor.
Hen. Hunt.
Math. Paris.

Howbeit Marchar, (or as others haue) Herewarde, perceyuing before hand the imminent danger likely to take effect, made ſhift to get out of yͤ Iſle by bote, & ſo by ſpeedy flight eſcaped into Scotland.

Simon Dun.

The Biſhop of Durham being taken, was ſent to the Abbey of Abingdō, to be kept as a priſoner, where he was ſparingly fed, that within a ſhort ſpace, he died for hunger.

Some write that he was ſo ſtubborne harted, that after he knew he ſhould remayne in perpetuall priſon, he refuſed his meate, and ſo pined himſelfe to death.

In this mean time, and whileſt K. Williā was thus occupyed in ridding out the Engliſh rebelles, Malcolme King of Scotlād had waſted the countreys of Theiſedale, and Cleueland, & the lands of S. Cutbert, with ſundry other places in the North partes, wherevpon Coſpatrick being lately recōciled to yͤ K. & made

Earle of Northumberland, was ſente agaynſte hym, who waſted and deſtroyed that parte of Cumberlande in like manner, whiche the ſayde Malcolme had by violence broughte vnder hys ſubiection. At the ſame time, Malcolme was at Weremouth, beholding the fire whiche hys people had kindled in the Church of Saint Peeter to burne vp the ſame, and there hearing what Goſpatricke had done, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure therewithall, that he commaunded his men that they ſhould ſpare none of the Engliſhe nation alyue, but put them all to the ſworde withoute pitie or compaſſion, ſo oft as they came to hand. The bloudy ſlaughter therefore whiche was made at thys tyme by the Scottes, through that cruell commaundement of Malcolme, was pitifull to conſider, for women, children, old men, and yong wente all one way, howbeit, many of thoſe that were ſtrong and able to ſerue for drudges and ſlaues, were reſerued, and carried into Scotlande as priſoners, where they remayned many yeares after, in ſo muche, that there were fewe houſes in that Realme, but had one or moe Engliſhe ſeruauntes and captiues, whiche they gate at thys vnhappy voyage. Thus we may behold a myſerable face of the Engliſh nation at this preſente, for they do not onely conſume one another, but the Scottes on the one ſide, and Kyng William on the other, doe make greate hauocke, and oppreſſe them altogyther. But to returne agayne to the purpoſe in hand, King William hearyng of all theſe things, was not a little moued at the ſame, but chiefly with Malcolme K. of Scottes, for that his countrey was the onely place wherein all the Rebels of his Realme had theyr refuge. Wherefore, thinking to reuenge the loſſe of hys ſubiectes, and bring that Realme alſo vnto hys ſubiection, hee went thither with an huge army, about the midle of Auguſt, where he firſt inuaded the boundes of Galloway, bycauſe he heard howe the Engliſh Rebels were lately fled thither, but after he had wearied his Souldiers in vayne purſuite of thē (who kept thēſelues in ẏ Mountaines and Marres ground) hee gaue ouer the enterpriſe, & drew towards Lothiā, wher he vnderſtood, that K. Malcolme lay with all his power, & fyndyng him there, encountred with ſundry Engliſh fugitiues, he determined by battayle, to make an ende of his trouble, & eyther purchaſe his quietneſſe, or finiſh his worldly life at this momēt & time: thus each one prepared to ẏ field, but as both ẏ Kings with their armies were ready to ioine, Malcolme began to doubt ſomewhat of the fierceneſſe of the battel, bycauſe he ſaw the great puiſſance & ready willes to fighte of the army of Engliſhmen and Normans, which K. William had brought with him, and therevppon ſente an Harrold to Kyng William to treate of a peace, which K. William was cōtent at the laſt, though with muche ado to heare of, and ſo an vnitie yet enſued betwixte the two Princes, vpō theſe conditions, that K. Malcolme ſhould do homage vnto K. William for ẏ Realm of Scotland, & therevpon delyuer ſufficient hoſtages: and that on the other ſide, K. William ſhoulde perpetually pardon all the Engliſhe outlawes whiche then rebelled againſt him. The place where this peace was concluded, was called Abirnethi. After which, K. William returned into England, where he ere long tooke the Earledome of Northumberlande, from Goſpatricke, & gaue it to Waltheof ẏ ſon of Siward, bycauſe ẏ of right it ſeemed to diſcende vnto him frō his father, but chiefly frō his mother Alfreda, who was the daughter of Aldred ſometime Earle of that countrey. At the ſame time alſo, ẏ K. cauſed a Caſtell to be built at Durham, & after he had ſped his buſineſſe in thoſe parties, he returned to Londō, where he receiued aduertiſement ẏ his ſubiectes in Normādy toward the parties of Angiew had begun a Rebellion againſt him. Herevpon, with al ſpede he leuied an army, whereof the moſt part conſiſted of Engliſhmen (whoſe ſeruice hee choſe rather in a forraine countrey than in their owne,) and with this army being once put in a readines, he ſailed ouer into Normandy, & eaſily ſubdued his enimies by help of ẏ Engliſhmen, whom frō thenceforth he began ſomewhat to fauoure & better thinke of, than hee had bin before accuſtomed to do. Yong Edgar alſo came into very good credite with him, for though he had twice brokē hys oth of allegiaunce, and runne to the Scottes as a Rebell, yet now of his owne motiō, returning to ẏ K. & aſking pardon, he was not only receyued, but alſo highly honored & preferred in his courte.

Polidor.

Math. Paris.

H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

An. Reg. 8.
1074

The yere. 1074. ther were thre Monks of ẏ prouince of Mercia, ẏ which in purpoſe to reſtore religiō after their maner within ẏ prouince of Northumberlande, came vnto Yorke, and required of Hugh Fitz Baldricke (as then Sheriffe of ẏ ſhire) to haue a guide to ſauffe conduite them vnto Monkaſter, which afterwards hight New Caſtel, and ſo is called vnto this day. Theſe three Monkes whoſe names wer Aldwine, Alfwin & Remfrid, coming vnto the foreſayd place, found no tokē or remnant of any religious perſons, whiche ſometime had habitation there, for al was defaced and gone: wherevpō, after they had remayned in that place a certaine time, they remoued to Iarrowe, wher finding ẏ ruines of olde decayed buildings & churches perteining in times paſt to ẏ Monkes ẏ there inhabited, they founde ſuch aſſiſtance at the handes of ẏ Biſhop of Durham, Walkher, that at length, by the diligente trauell and ſute of theſe three Monks, there were three Monaſteries newly founded and erected in the North partes, as one at Durham, and an other at Yorke, and the third at Whitby. For you muſt conſider, that by the inuaſion of the Danes, the Churches and Monaſteries through out Northumberland were ſo vtterly deſtroyed and throwen downe, that vnneth ſhould a man finde a Churche ſtanding in all that countrey, and thoſe fewe that remayned, were couered with browme or thatch: but as for any Abbey or Monaſterie, there was not one left in all the countrey, neyther for the ſpace of two hundred yeares was there any man that toke care for the repayring or buyldyng vp of any thyng, ſo that the people of that countrey wiſt not what a Monke meant, and if they ſawe any, they wondred at the ſtraungeneſſe of the ſyght.

An. Reg. 9.
1075

aufe Earle of
ambridge.
at. VVeſt.
ath. Paris.
en. Hunt.
imon Dun.
Rebellion
yſed againſt
William.

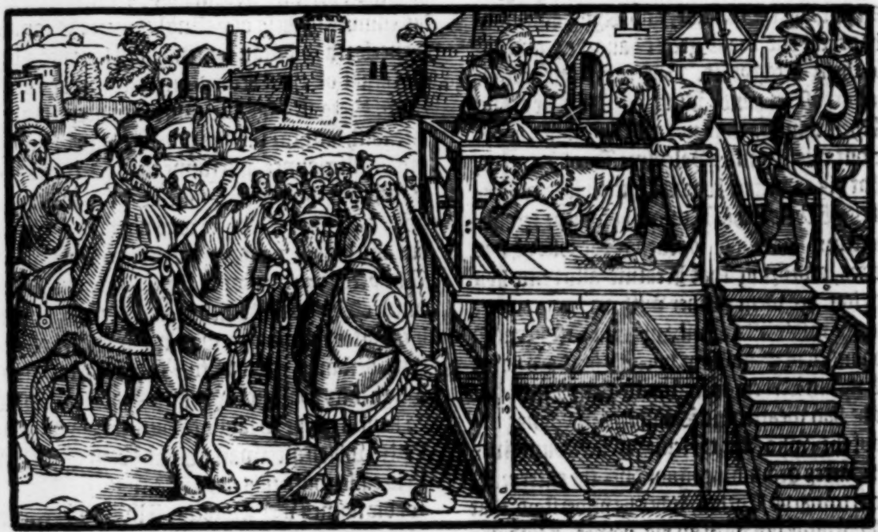
Whyleſt the Kyng remayned thus in Normandy, Roger Earle of Hereford contrary to the Kyngs mynde and pleaſure, married hys ſiſter vnto Raulfe Earle of Cambridge, or as other haue Northfolke, and withall began a new conſpiracie againſt hym. Amongſt other alſo of the aſſociates, Earle Walteif the ſonne of Earle Siward was one, who afterwarde miſtruſting the ſucceſſe of this deuiſe, firſte vttered it to the Archbiſhop Lanfranke, and by his aduice ſayled ouer into Normandy, and there diſcloſed the whole matter to Kyng William: but in the mean time, the other two Earles of Herforde and Cambridge had gone ſo farre already in yͤ matter, that they were vp in armour. Howbeit Wolſtan Biſhop of Worceter, and Egelwine Abbot of Eueſham, with the Sherife of Worceter, and Walter Lacey, ſo reſiſted the Earle of Hereford, that he could not paſſe the Seuerne to ioyne with the Earle of Cambridge. And on the other ſyde, Odo the Biſhop of Bayeux, and Geffrey yͤ Biſhoppe of Conſtances purſued the Erle of Cambridge ſo narrowly with an other army whyche they hadde gathered of Engliſhmen and Normans, yͭ they conſtreyned hym to flee into Britayne, whereby the Rebellion was very well appeaſed. In the meane tyme, the Kyng vnderſtanding by Erle Waltheof how yͤ matter went in Englande, came ouer, with all ſpeede out of Nomandy, and within a ſhort ſpace, brought yͤ reſidue of the conſpiratours into ſuch a feare, that they ſcattered and fled, without attempting any further exployte or conſpiracie againſt him. Many of them alſo were apprehended and put to death, among whiche, Roger and Walteif were the moſt famous. Though Walteif (as ye haue heard before) diſcloſed the treaſon, yet to the ende he ſhould offend no more heereafter, hee was beheaded at Wincheſter by the Kyngs commaundement, and his body being firſt buried in yͤ ſame place where he ſuffered, was after conueyrd vnto Crowland, and there more honorably enterred.

Iohn. Pike.

An. Reg. 10.
1076

H. Hunt.

Earle Walteof beheaded.



This Earle Walteof or Waldeue was ſonne (as yee haue hearde) to the Noble Earle of Northumberlande Siwarde, of whoſe valure in the tyme of Kyng Edward the Confeſſor yee haue heard. His ſonne the foreſaid Walteif in ſtrength of body and hardineſſe, did not degenerate from his father, for he was talle of perſonage, in ſinews and muſcules very ſtrong and mightie. In the ſlaughter of the Normans at Yorke, hee ſhewed proofe of his proweſſe, in ſtriking off the heads of many of them with his own hands, as they came forthe of the gates ſingly one by one: yet afterwardes, when the King had pardoned hym of all former offences, and receyued hym into fauoure, he gaue to hym in marriage his neece Iudith the daughter of Lambert Erle of Lens, ſiſter to Stephan Earle of Albermare, and with hir he had of the Kings gift, all the landes and liberties belonging to the honor of Huntington: and in conſideration thereof, he aſſigned forth to hir in name of hir dower, all hys landes that he held from Trent Southwarde.

Southward. Shee bare of hym two daughters, Maude and Alice. We finde, that he was not only Earle of Northumberlande, but alſo of Northampton, and Huntington. The Conquerour was noted of no ſmall crueltie, for the puttyng of this noble man to death, ſith he reuolted from hys confederates, to aduertiſe hym of all theyr practiſes, whereby hee was the better able to ſubdue them, as in the end he dyd.

Mat. Paris.

The Counteſſe of Cambridge, (or Northfolke as other haue) wife of Earle Raulf, beeyng withdrawen into the Citie of Norwiche, was beſieged in the ſame with an army ſente thyther by the Kyng, till through famine ſhee yeelded the place, but vpon compoſition, that thoſe that were beſieged within, ſhoulde departe the Realme, as perſons abiured and baniſhed the lande for euer. And thys was the ende of the foreſayde conſpiracie: howbeit, ſuche was the deſtiny of the Kyng, that he was neuer ridde of one vexation, but another enſued, as it were, in the necke of that whych went before: for the Danes being alſo ſolicited by the forenamed conſpirators, and hauing made their prouiſion to ſet forwarde on their iourney, vnder the leading of Cnuto, ſonne to Sueno, and Earle Haco, doe nowe vnlooked for arriue here in Englande with two hundred ſayles. But hearing by good hap that the ciuill tumulte was ended in ſuch wiſe, as you haue heard, and ſeeing no man ready to encourage them in their enterpriſe, they returned firſte into Flaunders, whiche they ſpoyled, and after into their own countrey, without eyther will or purpoſe for euermore to come agayne into Englande. Kyng William alſo vnderſtanding that they were thus departed, paſſed ouer into Britayne, and there beſieged the Caſtell of Dolle, that belonged to Raulf Earle of Cambridge, or Northfolke: but by the comming of the French Kyng Philip, King William, being not prouided of ſufficiente vittayles for hys army, was cōſtreyned to reyſe his ſiege, although with great loſſe both of his men and Horſes.

Polidor.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
Mat. Par.

An. Reg. 11.
1077

Mat. Paris.

The ſeuen and twentith day of Marche, there was a generall Earthquake in Englande, and in the Winter following, a froſt that continued from the firſte of Nouember vnto the middle of Aprill. A blaſing Starre appeared on Palme Sunday, being the ſixteenth day of Aprill, about ſixe of yͤ clocke, when yͤ aire was fayre & cleere.

About the ſame ſeaſon, Pope Gregory perceyuing that married Prieſtes choſe rather to runne into the daunger of his curſe, than to forſake their lawfull wiues, thought to bridle them by an other meane, as thus: he gaue commaundemēt by his Bulle publiſhed abroade, that none ſhould heare the Maſſe of a married Prieſt.

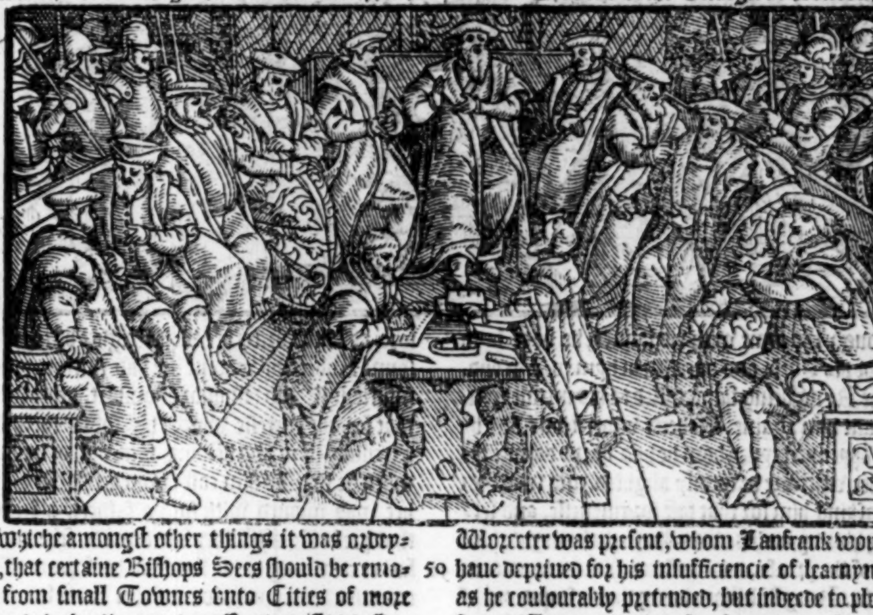
An. Reg. 12.
1078

Polidor.

A Synode holden at London.

Biſhops Sees remoued.

K. Williā after his comming from the ſiege of Dolle, remayned a certayne time in quiet, during which meane while, Lanfranke the Archbiſhoppe called a Counſell of the Cleargie at London, in the whiche amongſt other things it was ordeyned, that certaine Biſhops Sees ſhould be remoued from ſmall Townes vnto Cities of more fame, wherby it came to paſſe, that Chicheſter, Exeter, Bath, Saliſburie, Lincolne and Cheſter were honored with new ſees and Palaces of Biſhops, where before they kepte their reſidence at Sellewey, Kirton, Welles, Shireborne, Dorcheſter and Liechfielde.



Woolſtan.

At this Counſell alſo Wolſtan Biſhoppe of Worceter was preſent, whom Lanfrank would haue depriued for his inſufficiencie of learnyng, as he coulourably pretended, but indeede to pleaſure the Kyng, who woulde fayne haue placed a Norman in hys roome: but (as they ſay) a miracle whiche hee preſently wroughte, in cauſing his croſier ſtaffe to ſticke faſt in the Tombe of holy Sainte Edwarde (to whome he proteſted and ſayde hee woulde reſigne it, for that hee obteyned the ſame by hys gifte) hee dyd putte

An. Reg. 13. 1079

Mat. Paris. *Math. VVeſt.*

The French King ſetteth the ſonne againſt the father.

Sim. Dunel. *Mat. Paris.*

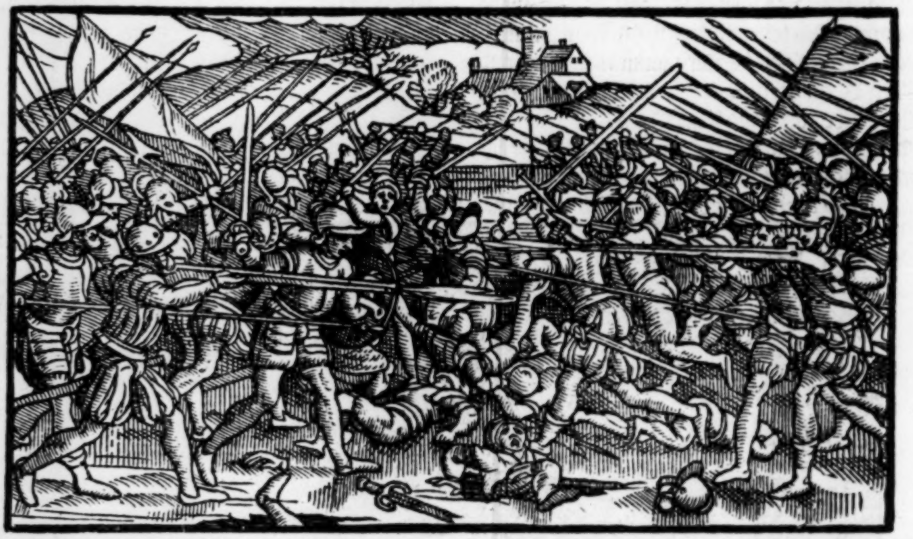
The ſonne ouerthroweth the father.

Simon Dun.

Mat. Paris.

The father and the ſonne are made friendes.

the King and the Archbiſhop into ſuche a feare, that they ſuffered him ſtill to enioy his Biſhoprick without any further vexation. Theſe things with other, touching a reformatiō in the Church and Cleargie, being handled in this Counſell, it was ſoone after diſſolued. In the yeare following, King William led a mighty army into Wales, and ſubdued that countrey to himſelfe, receyuing of the Rulers and Princes there their homages, at the handes of faithfull hoſtages. Aboute the ſame time, Robert the Kyngs eldeſt ſon, a right worthy perſonage, but yet as one of nature ſomewhat vnſtable, beeing pricked forward, and ſupported by the Frēch K. entred into Normādy as a Rebell to his father, and by force tooke dyuerſe places into his hands. This was done I ſaye by the practiſe of Philip the Frenche Kyng, who nowe began to doubt of the greate puiſſaunce of King William, as foreſeing how much it might preiudice him, and the whole Realme of Fraunce in time to come. And therefore to ſtop the courſe of his proſperous ſucceſſe, he deuiſed a meane to ſet the ſonne againſt the father. True it is, that King William had promiſed long afore, to reſigne the gouernemente of Normandy, vnto the ſayd Robert his ſonne. Whereupon, the yong man, being himſelfe of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the ſiniſter aduice of the French, ſeeketh to obteyne that by violence whiche he thought would be very long ere he ſhoulde atteyne by curteſie. King William hereof aduertiſed, was not a little mooued againſte hys diſobediente ſonne, and curſed both hym, and the tyme that euer he begate him. Finally, reyſing an army, he marched towards him, ſo that they met in the field. Aſſoone as the one came in ſight of yͤ other, they buckle togither at a place called Archenbray, and whileſt the battayle was at the whotteſt, and that the footemen were moſt buſied in the fighte, Roberte appoynted a power of Horſemē to breake in vpon the hindermoſt ward of his aduerſaries, and hee himſelfe following after with all his mighte, chanced among other to cope with his owne father, ſo that thruſting him through the arme with his launce, he bare hym beſide his Horſe, and ouerthrew hym to yͤ groūd. The Kyng being falne, called to his menne to remount him againe. Roberte vnderſtoode, and by his voyce perceyued how he had borne downe his father, wherfore he ſpedily alighted, and toke him vp, aſking him for that fact forgiueneſſe, and ſetting him vp on his owne Horſe, he broughte him out of the preaſe, and ſuffered him to departe in ſafetie. King William being thus eſcaped out of that preſent daunger, and perceyuing himſelf not able to reſiſt the puiſſance of his aduerſaries, lefte the fielde to his ſonne, hauing loſt many of hys men that were ſlayne in the battell and chaſe, beſides a great number that were hurte and wounded, among whome, his ſecond ſonne William ſurnamed Rufus or the red, was one, and therefore (as ſome write) hee curſed righte bitterly hys ſonne Robert, by whome hee had ſuſteyned ſuche iniurie, loſſe, and diſhonor. Howbeit, other write, that for the curteſie whiche his ſonne ſhewed in releeuing hym and helping him out of daunger when he was by him caſt down beſide his Horſe, hee was mooued with ſuch a fatherly affection, that preſently after they were made friends, the father remitting to his ſonne all his former offences, and thereuppon, founde him euer after more tractable and obedient, than before he had done.



An. Reg. 14. 1080

After this battell, Kyng William being thus accorded with his ſonne, hee returned with him into Englande, and immediately the King ſente hym agaynſte Malcolme Kyng of Scotlande, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixte Kyng William and his ſonne, had

done

Sim. Dunel.

done much hurt by forrayes made vpon the Engliſh borders, waſting all Northumberland vnto the Riuer of Tyne: howbeit, when hee hearde that Roberte the King of Englandes ſonne approched with his army towardes hym, hee withdrewe hym agayne into Scotland. Robert Curthoſe then lodged with his armye vpon the bankes of the Riuer of Tyne, where hee began the foundation of a Caſtell, whereof the Towne of New Caſtell did after take both beginning and name, for before this ſeaſon it was called Moncaſter.

The foundation of newe Caſtell vpon Tine, which before that ſeaſon was called Moncaſter.

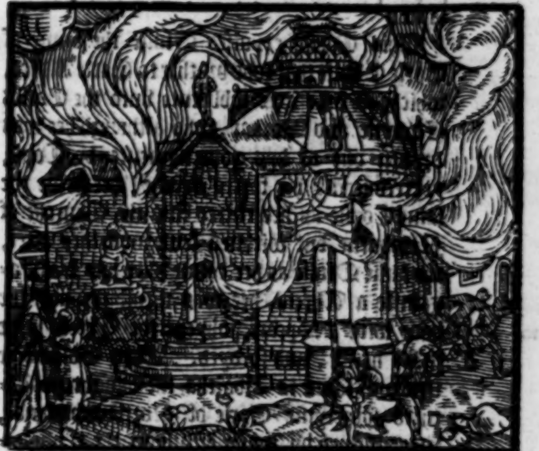
About the ſame time, Odo the Biſhop of Bayeux was ſent into Northumberlande to reuenge the death of Walcher Biſhop of Durham, whom lately before the people of Northumberlande had ſlayne in a tumult by them reyſed. The occaſion of his death grewe by the deathe of one Liulfus, a noble man of thoſe parties, and highly beloued of the people, bycauſe hee was deſcended of noble parentage, and had married the Lady Algitha, that was daughter vnto Earle Aldred, and ſiſter to Alfleda, the mother of Earle Walteif.

Simon Dun.

This Liulfus beeing a man of great poſſeſſions through England, nowe that the Normans ruled in all places, was quietly withdrawen vnto Durham, and growen into ſuch familiaritie and credit with the Biſhoppe there, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would do nothing without his aduice. Hereof one Leofwin the Biſhops Chaplayne conceyued ſuche enuie, chiefly for that he was not ſo often called to counſell as before, that finally he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whome the Biſhop had committed the rule of the Earledome) to murther the foreſayde Liulfus one night in his manſion houſe or manor place, wherein he remayned not farre from Durham: wherevpon, the Biſhop hauing vnderſtanding of the thyng, and knowing that the matter would be greeuouſly taken of the people, ſente out letters and meſſengers into the countrey, offering to purge himſelf of the ſlaughter of this manne, according to the order of the Canon lawes.

He alſo alledged, that hee hadde baniſhed Gilbert and other (that had committed the murther) out of Northumberlande, which hee dyd not, and therevppon kindled the malice of the people againſt hym: for when it was knowen that he had receyued the murtherres into his houſe, and had them in lyke fauoure as before, they ſtomaked the matter highly, and herevpon, when by the trauel of thoſe that wente to and fro betwixte the Biſhop and the kinneſfolkes of Liulfe, a daye was appoynted, on the which the Biſhop ſhould come to a farther communication with them at Gates head.

He repaired thyther according to his promiſſe, but refuſing to talke with them abrode, hee kepte himſelfe ſtill within the Church, and ſente forth ſuch of hys counſell as ſhoulde commune with them: but when the people that were there gathered in greate numbers, had ſignified in playne wordes howe that hee ſhould eyther come forthe and ſhewe hymſelfe amongſt them, or elſe that they woulde fyre the place where he ſate, he cauſed fyrſte Gilberte to goe forthe vnto them, whome they ſlewe, togyther with thoſe that came out of the Churche to defende him: and when the peoples furie was not ſo quenched, the Biſhop himſelfe caſting the ſkirtes of his gowne ouer his face, came likewiſe forthe, and was incontinently murthered amongſt them. After this, they ſet fyre on the Churche, bycauſe the Byſhops Chapleyne Leofwine and other, were yet within, and refuſed to come forthe: but in the ende, beeing compelled by the rage of fire to runne out, the ſayde Leofwine was alſo ſlayne and cut in peeces as he had well deſerued, beeyng the chiefe procurer of all the miſchiefe.



Thus may wee ſee what followed of the neglecting of iuſtice, in the Byſhoppe: for if he hadde eyther baniſhed Gilbert and other hys complices in the murther, accordingly as hee pretended to doe, or otherwiſe, haue ſeene due puniſhmente executed agaynſte them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded ſo farre as it dyd, for they coulde not perſwade themſelues to thynke, but that the Biſhoppe was giltie and priuie to Liulfes death, ſith he hadde receyued the murtherers into hys houſe, the ſame nyght in whiche the facte was done, and kepte them ſtill about hym, whyche hys bearing with them, coſt hym hys owne lyfe (as before yee haue hearde,) whereby it appeareth, that it is not inough for a gouernoure to bee cleere from the knowledge of euill before the facte, and at the tyme in which it is done by others, if hee ſee not them that do it daily puniſhed for their offences: bycauſe that when iuſtice is ſuppreſſed, and hathe not hir due courſe, thoſe that ſuſteine iniurie, are euer deſirous of reuenge, beeing ready to attempte it by vnlawfull meanes of themſelues in priuate ſorte, when through lacke of ordinarie courſe of lawes they are debarred from it. But nowe to the purpoſe of the hiſtorie.

When Biſhoppe Odo was come into thoſe parties to reuenge the Biſhops death with an army as we haue ſayde, hee ſore afflicted the countrey by ſpoyling it on euery ſide, with great crueltie. Heere yee ſhall vnderſtand, that King William placed, and eftſoones remoued dyuers Rulers ouer the Northumbers, for firſte hee appointed one Copſius to haue the rule of that countrey in place of Markar that before had helde the ſame.

Sim. Dunel.

This Copſie expulſed Oſulfe the ſonne of Earle Edulfe that was brother to Earle Aldred, whiche Oſulfe was ſubſtitute vnto the Earles Edwyne and Morkar, who although hee was dryuen out of hys gouernamente by Copſi, yet recouering his forces againe, hee ſlewe the ſame Copſie as hee entred into the Churche of Newburne, but within a fewe monethes after, the ſame Oſulfe as hee ranne with hys Horſe againſte a Theefe, hee was thruſt through the body with a Speare, whyche the Theefe helde in his hande, and ſo dyed. Then Coſpatricke that was ſonne to Algitha the daughter of Vthred ſometyme Earle of Northumberlande, was aſſigned by Kyng William the Conquerour, to haue the gouernemente there. Hys mother Algitha was daughter to Vthred ſometyme Earle of Northumberlande begote vpon Elfgina the daughter of Kyng Egelred.

Some write, that Goſpatricke purchaſed the Earledome of Kyng William, and ſo helde it for a tyme, till the ſame Kyng tooke it from him agayne, and then gaue it vnto Earle Walteife or Waldeue, and then nexte after hym, the foreſayde Biſhoppe of Durham Walcher hadde the whole adminiſtration committed to hym, but after hys deceſſe (hee beeyng ſlayne as yee haue hearde,) one Albericke ruled that countrey, and laſtly, Roberte Mulbray a ryghte noble perſonage (and for hys wiſedome and valiauncie, highly renowmed with all men,) was created Earle of Northumberlande, and gouerned the people of thoſe parties in ſuche politique and wiſe order, that during hys tyme, it is hard to ſay, whether hys quietneſſe, or the obedięce of hys people was lykely to be the greater.

The foundation of Vniuerſitie colledge in Oxforde.

An. Reg. 15.
1081

In like manner, after the foreſayde Walcher, one William was created Biſhop of Durham, who was the originall founder of the Vniuerſitie Colledge in Oxford, and by whoſe aſſiſtance, the Monkes gaping both for riches, eaſe, and poſſeſſions, founde the meanes to diſplace the ſecular Prieſtes of the Colledge of Durham, that they might get into theyr roomes as they did indeede ſoone after, to their greate lucre and aduantage. But to returne againe to the courſe of the hiſtorie. Shortly after the reuenge of the deathe of Walcher the Biſhop of Durham, the forenamed Biſhop Odo the Kyngs brother was ſuſpected of ſome vntroth and ſiniſter dealing, and therevpon was ſent as a baniſhed man into Normãdy, or rather as other write, committed to priſon, where hee remayned not as a Clearke, but as a Baron of the Realme, for he was both Biſhoppe and Earle of Kente. The Kyng hauyng at length obteyned ſome reſt from warres, dothe practiſe by ſundry meanes howe to enriche hys coffers, and therefore hee rayſed a tribute thorough out all the Kyngdome, for the better leuying whereof, hee appoynted all the ſubiectes of hys Realme to be numbred, alſo all the Cities and Townes, Villages, and Hamlets, Abbeys, Monaſteries, & Priories to bee regiſtred. Moreouer, hee cauſed a certificate to be made of euery mannes ſubſtaunce, and what hee myghte diſpende by yeare, and cauſed theyr names to bee written whyche helde Knyghtes fees, and were bounde thereby to ſerue hym in the warres. Likewiſe hee tooke the tale of euery yoke of Oxen, and what number of plough landes, and how many bondmen were within the Realme, whereby the certificate thereof beeyng once made, and broughte vnto him, hee came to full vnderſtandyng what wealthe yet remayned among the Engliſhmenne, and therefore hee rayſed hys tribute ſo muche the more, taking ſixe Shillings for euery hyde of land through out his Realme, whyche amounted to an ineſtimable ſumme which it was all broughte togither into his Exchequer.

An. Reg. 16.
1082

An. Reg. 17.
1083

Plow lande.

Heere note by the way, that an hyde of lande includeth an hundred acres, and an acre conteyneth fortie perches in length, and foure in bredth, the length of a pearch conteyning ſixteene foote and an halfe, ſo that the common acre ſhoulde conteyne .240. perches, and eyght hydes or .800. acres is a Knyghts fee, after the beſt approued Writers and playne demonſtration.

Geruaſius Tilberenſis.

The true definition of a hide of lande.

Thoſe are therefore deceyued, that take an hyde of lande to conteine twentie acres, as William Lambert hath well noted in his treatiſe, *de priſcis Anglorum legibus*, where hee expoundeth the meaning of the olde Saxon tearmes perteyning to the lawes but to proceede, and come a little after temporals dealing to ſome of the ſpirituall affayres. It hapned about the ſame time, yͭ K. Williã had finiſhed yͤ rating of his ſubiectes, that

Regni. 18.
1084

VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.
Thurſtan Abbot of Glaſtenburie.
William of Feſtampe.

that there roſe a ſtrife betwixt Thurſtan Abbot of Glaſtenburie, a Norman, and the Monkes of that houſe. The cauſe thereof was for that the Abbot would haue compelled them to haue left the plaine ſong or note for the ſeruice which Pope Gregorie had ſet forth, and to haue vſed an other kinde of tune deuiſed by one William of Feſcampe. Beſide this the ſayde Abbot ſpent and waſted the goodes that belonged to the houſe in ryot, lecherie, and by ſuch other inſolent meanes, withdrawing alſo from the Monkes their olde accuſtomed allowance of diet: for the which they firſt fell at altercation in wordes, and afterwarde to plaine fighting.

Hen. Hunt.
VVil. Malm. hath two ſlaine and .xiiii. hurt.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Abbot got armed men about him, and falling vpon the Monkes, he ſlue three of them at the high Aultar, and wounded .xviij. And yet the Monkes for their partes played the pretie men, with Formes and Candleſtickes defending themſelues as well as they might, ſo that they hurt diuerſe of the Abbottes ſide, and droue them out of the Quiere.

In the ende the complaint hereof was brought before the king, by whoſe iudgement the matter was ſo ordered, that Thurſtan loſt his rome, & returned againe vnto Cane in Normandie from whence he came, and the Monkes were ſpredde abroade into diuerſe houſes of Religion through the Realme, Glaſtenburie being repleniſhed with more quiet perſons, and ſuche as were ſuppoſed readier to pray than quarel as the other did: yet is it ſayde, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurſton obteyned the rule of that Abbay againe for a portion of money, amounting to the ſumme of fiue hundred pounde.

Sim. Dunel.
Hen. Marle.
Math. Paris.
Hen Marle.
An. reg. 19.
Simon Dun.

There be alſo which write, that the numbring of men and of the places, the valuation of their goodes and ſubſtance, as well in cattell as in readie monie, was not taken till about the .xix. yeare of this kings raigne (although the ſubſedie afore mentioned was gathered aboute two yeares before of euery hide of lande as aboue ye haue heard) and that the certificate hereof being enrolled, was put into the kings treaſure at Wincheſter, in the .xix. yeare of his raigne, and not in the .xvj. But in what yeare ſoeuer it was leuied, and howſoeuer the writers diſagree in their Hiſtories, certain it is, that rayſed it was, to the great griefe and impoueriſhment of the people, who ſore lamented their miſerable eſtate wherinto they were brought and thralled, ſo that they hated the Normans in their hearts with deadly malice. Howbeit the more they ſpake and ſeemed to grudge agaynſt ſuch ſore tolles and tallages, cruell cuſtomes, and other oppreſſions, as were dayly deuiſed to their vndoing, the more they were burthened, after the maner of the bondage which the children of Iſraell ſometime ſuffered in Egypt, for on the other ſide, the Normans with their king perceyuing the hatred whiche the Engliſhe men bare towardes them, were ſore offended in their myndes, and therefore ſought by all maner of wayes how to kepe them vnder. Such as were called Iuſtices, were enimies to all iuſtice, wherevpon greater burdens dayly grewe towardes the Engliſh Nation, inſomuche that after they had bene robbed & ſpoyled of their goodes, vnder pretence of Iuſtice, they were alſo debarred of their cuſtomed ſportes and paſtimes: for where naturally (as they doe vnto this daye) they toke then great pleaſure in hunting Deere, both redde and fallow, in the Woodes and Forreſts about without reſtraint, king William ſeaſing the moſt part of the ſame Forreſtes into his owne handes, did ſet a puniſhment to be executed agaynſt all thoſe that ſhould kil any of the ſame Deere, which was to haue their eyes put out. And to bring the greater number of menne in daunger of thoſe his penall lawes, (a peſtilent pollicie of a ſpitefull minde, and ſauouring altogither of his Frenche ſlauerie) he deuiſed meanes howe to breed, nouriſh and increaſe the multitude of Deere, and alſo to make roumth for thẽ in that part of the realm which lyeth betwixte Saliſburie and the Sea Southward: he pulled downe townes, villages, and Churches, with all other buyldings for the ſpace of .xxx. myles, to make thereof a Forreſt, which vnto this day is called the newe Forreſt, the people as then ſore bewayling their fortune, and greatly lamenting that they muſt thus leaue houſe and home, with lande and all vnto the vſe of ſauage beaſtes, which crueltie, not onely mortall men liuing here on earth, but alſo the earth it ſelfe might ſeeme to deteſt, as by a wonderfull ſignification it ſeemed to declare, by the ſhaking and roaring of the ſame, which chaunced about the .xiiij. yeare of his raigne, (as wryters haue recorded.)

Polidor.
Mat. Par.
The Conquerour ſeeketh to keepe the Engliſh men low.
Polidor.
The Forreſtes ſeaſed into the kings handes.
Mat. Par.
New Forreſt.
Mat. Par.
An earthquake.

There be that ſuppoſe how the King made that part of the realme waſt and barraine vpon a pollicie, to the intent that if his chaunce were to be expulſed by ciuill warres, and compelled to leaue the lande, there ſhoulde be no inhabiters in that part of the lande to reſiſt his arriuall vpon his new returne. But whatſoeuer cauſe moued him thereto, it was a wicked and right heynous act, ſo to decay the increaſe of mankinde, & to repleniſhe the Countrey with brute and ſauage beaſtes.

Polidor.

Simon Dun.
1085
A rumor ſpred of the cõming of the Danes.

But to go forth with our purpoſe. About the ſame time, a rumor was ſpred in England that Sueyn king of Denmarke ment to inuade Englande with a puiſſant armie, and the aſſiſtance of the Earle of Flaunders, whoſe daughter he had maried, whereupon king William being then in Normandie, reteyned a great power of Frenche ſouldiers, both Archers and footemen, which togither with a number of his owne people the Normans he brought ouer into England in the Harueſt ſeaſon, and meaning vtterly to diſburthen himſelfe of the charge of theyr keeping, he cauſed prouiſion to be made for their finding and payment of wages, by the Lordes and Peeres of the realme, and alſo by the Sherifs of the ſhires, and other his officers. *Anno. 20.* Howbeit when he vnderſtoode that the Danes had chaunged their purpoſe, and woulde not keepe on their iourney, he diſcharged part of his forces, and ſent them home againe, keping notwithſtanding the reſidue all the Winter with him here in England, readie of purpoſe for his defence if any rebelliō or other neceſſitie ſhuld befal, wherin their ſeruice might ſtād him in ſteed.

1086
Mat. VVeſt.
1084

The ſame yeare, he helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Glouceſter, and made his ſonne Henrie knight at Weſtminſter in the Whitſonweeke enſuing, ſhortly after calling togither as well the Lordes ſpirituall as temporall, hee cauſed them all to ſweare to be true to him, and to his heyres after him in the poſſeſſion of this kingdome.

An othe taken to be true to the king.

About which ſeaſon, the people euerie where began to be miſerably vexed with ſickneſſe, namely wyth burning feuers, which ſlue and brought many to their ende. A death alſo and murraine came amongſt their cattell, ſo that a wonderfull number died of all ſortes. And at the ſame tyme (whiche is more marueilous) tame foules, as Hennes, Geeſe, and Peacocks, withdrawing thēſelues from the owners houſes, fled to the woods and became wilde. No leſſe hurt was done in many partes of this realme by fire, and ſpecially in the citie of London, where vpon the .vij. day of July a ſodain flame began, which burnt ẏ church of S. Paule, with a great part of the Citie downe to the very ground.

Great ſickneſſe reigning.

Murraine of cattaile.

Math. VVeſt.

Simon Dun.

After that king William had taken the othe of obedience of all his Lordes, Edgar Ethling who was reconciled vnto his fauour as you haue heard, obteyning licence of him to bee out of the realme for a certaine ſeaſon, ſayled into Apulia with two hundred ſouldiers: but of his acts there and returne againe into Englande I finde ſmall rehearſall, and therefore I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of him, conuerting my ſtile to king William, who hauing now brought the Engliſhmē ſo lowe and bare, that little more was to be got out of their handes, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge Maſſe of money, and there ſoone after chaunced to fall ſicke, ſo that he was conſtrayned to keepe his bed longer than hee had bene accuſtomed to do, whereat Philip the French king in ieaſting maner ſayde, howe king William his couſin did nowe lie in childbed (alluding partly to his great fat belly, bycauſe he was very corpulent) and withall added, Oh what a number of Candles muſt I prouide to offer vp at his going to Church, certenly I thinke that .100090. will not ſuffice. &c. which talke ſo moued the king when it came to his eare, that hee made this anſwere: well, I truſt when I ſhal be churched, that our couſin ſhall bee at no ſuche coſt, but I will helpe to finde him a thouſande Candelles my ſelfe, and light them vp to ſome of theire paynes, if God doe graunt mee life: and this promiſe hee bound with an othe, which in deed he performed: for in the Moneth of July enſuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were moſt floriſhing, and readie to come to prouſe, he entred France with a great army, & ſet on fire many of their Cities and townes in the weſtſide of that Country, & laſtly came to the citie of Maunt, which he burnt with the Church of our Ladie, and therein an Inkreſſe encloſed in the wall thereof, as an holy recluſe, for the force of the fire was ſuche as all wente to wrecke.

Ran. Higd.
Sim. Dun.

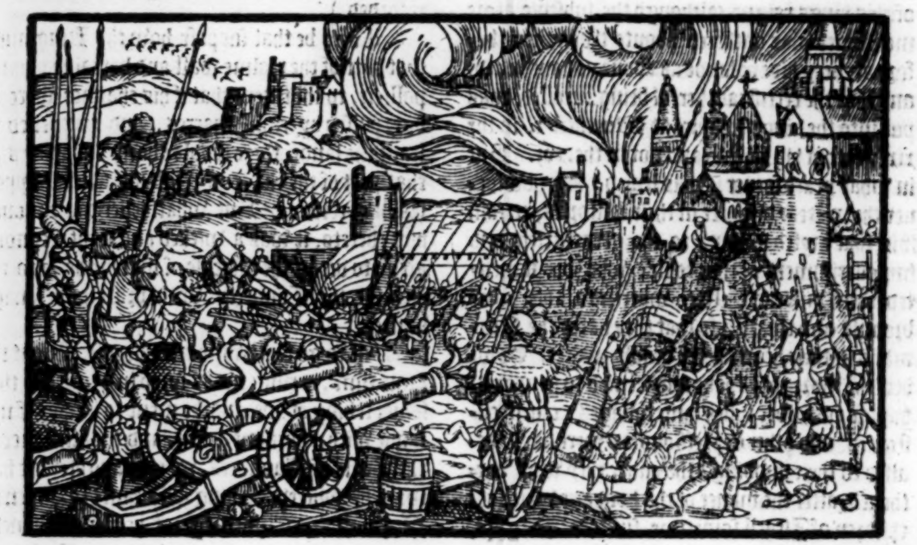
An. reg. 21.

VVil. Mal.
Mat. Par.

VVil. Malm.
Ran. Higd.

He inuadeth Fraunce.

Gemeticenſis.
The Citie of Maunt burne by K. William
Mat. VVeſt.



Howbeit

Math. Paris.

Howbeit in this heate, king William tooke ſuch a ſickneſſe (which was not diminiſhed by the fall of an horſe as he rode to and fro, bycauſe hee was not able to trauaile on foote aboute his Palace by reaſon of his diſeaſe) that coſt him hys life in the ende, ſo that when he had ordeyned his laſt will, and taken order for the ſtay of things after his deceaſe, hee departed this life on the .ix. day of September, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1087. and. lxxiiij. (as Polidor ſaith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie aboute lj. yeares, and reigned ouer Englande. xx. yeares, tenne monethes, and. xxviij. dayes (as all the writers doe report.)

King William departed this life.

Simon Dun.

Mat. VVeſt.

The .lix. of his age hath *VVil. Mal.*

Not long before his death, he releaſed alſo out of priſon his brother Odo the biſhop of Bayeux, Marchar Earle of Northumberland, and Wilnotus the ſonne of king Harolde, or (as ſome ſay) his brother.

He ſet all priſoners at libertie ſayth *VVil. Malm.*

Polidor.

Moreouer he repented him (as ſome ſay) when he lay on his death bed, for his cruell dealing with the Engliſh men, conſidering that by them he had atteyned to ſuch honour and dignitie, as to weare the crowne and ſcepter of a kingdome: but whether he did ſo or not, or that ſome Monke deuiſed the excuſe in fauor of the Prince: Surely he was a famous knight, and though his time was troubleſome, yet hee was right fortunate in all his attempts. Againe if a man ſhall conſider howe that in a ſtraunge realme he coulde make ſuche a conqueſt, and ſo perfitely and ſpeedily eſtabliſh the ſame to his heyres, with newe lawes, orders, and conſtitutions (whiche as appeare are moſte like euer to endure) he woulde thinke it a thing altogither voyde of credite. Yet ſo it was, and ſo honourable were his doings, and notable in ſight of the worlde here, that thoſe kings which haue ſucceeded ſithence his death, beginne their account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renued the ſtate of the realme, and inſtituted an other forme of regiment, in atchieuing whereof he did not ſo much pretende a rightfull chalenge by the graunt of his coſin king Edwarde the Confeſſor, as by the law of armes, and plaine conqueſt, than the which as he ſuppoſed, there coulde be no better tytle.

Herevpon alſo thoſe that haue ſithence ſucceeded him, vſe the ſame armes as peculiar to the crowne of Englande, which he vſed in his time, that is to witte, three Lions paſſant golde in a fielde gewles (as Polidor writeth) the three floure Delices were ſince that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reaſon of his clayme to the crowne of Fraunce, whereof hereafter yee ſhall heare more.

He bare but two Lions or rather Leopards as ſome thinke.

Polidor.

There be alſo that write, how the inconſtancie of the Engliſh people by their oft rebellions occaſioned the king to be ſo heauie Lorde and maſter vnto them. Where he of his naturall diſpoſition was rather gentle and curteous than ſharpe and cruell, diuerſe mē might be perſwaded ſo to thinke of him in deed, if he had ceaſſed frō his rough gouerning yet in the ende: but ſithence he continued his rigor euen to his laſt days, we may rather beleeue that although happily from his childhoode he ſhewed ſome tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie, yet by following the warres and practiſing to raigne with ſterneneſſe, he became ſo inbred therewith, that thoſe peaceable vertues were quite altered in him, & in maner clearly extinct: in whoſe place cruel rigor, auaritious couetouſneſſe, and vnmercifull ſeueritie, caught roote and were planted. Yet is he renoumed to haue reteyned ſtill a certaine ſtouteneſſe of courage and ſkil in feates of warre, which good happe euer followed. Moreouer he was free from lecherous luſtes, and without ſuſpition of bodily vices, quicke and ſubtile of wit, deſirous of honor, and coulde very well ſuſteyne trauail, watching, colde, and heate, though he were tall of ſtature, and very groſſe of bodie.

In like maner toward the ende of his dayes he began to waxe verie deuout, and ſomewhat to bend toward the aduauncing of the preſent eſtate of the church, inſomuch that he builded three Abbayes in ſeuerall places, endowing them with fayre lands and large poſſeſſions, as two in England, one at the place where hee vanquiſhed King Harolde, fiue miles diſtant from Haſtings, which he named Battaile, of the field there foughten: the other at Celby in Yorkſhire: & yͤ third in Normādie at Caen, where alſo wife Queene his Mawd had buylded a Nunnerie, which Mawde died in in the yeare. 1084. before the king hir huſband. After his death, his bodie was buried in Caen, in S. Stephens church, but before it could be committed to the grounde, the executors were conſtrayned to agree with a certaine man that claymed to be Lord of the ſoyle where the Church ſtoode, and which (as he ſayd) the king in his life time had iniuriouſly taken from him, and gaue him a greate ſumme of money to releaſe his title: whereby you may cōſider the great miſerie of mans eſtate, and how that ſo mightie a Prince as the Conquerour was, coulde not haue ſo much grounde after hys death as to couer his dead corps, without doing iniurie to an other: which may be a noble leſſon for all other men, and namely for Princes, noble men and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, doe not regarde what wrong to the inferior ſort they offer.

They gaue him an hundred pounde ſayth *Hen. Marle.*

Furthermore, King William had iſſue by Mawde his wife, the daughter of Baldwin Erle of Flaunders, foure ſonnes, Robert ſurnamed Curthoſe (vnto whom he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard died yong, William ſurnamed Rufus (to whom he gaue by his teſtament the realme of Englande) and Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerk, for his cunning and perfit knowledge in learning, vnto whom he bequethed all his treaſure and moueable goods, with the poſſeſſions that belonged to his mother. Beſides theſe four ſonnes he had alſo by his wife fiue daughters, Cecillie, which became a Nunne: Conſtance, maried to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, giuen in mariage to Stephen Earle of Bloys: (of whom that Stephen was borne which raigned after Henrie the firſt) Adeliza, promiſed in mariage to Harold K. of England (as before ye haue heard) but ſhe died before ſhe was maried either to him, or to any other, and ſo likewiſe did the fift, whoſe name I cannot reherſe.

Hen. Marle.

Among other grieuances which the Engliſhe men ſuſteyned by the hard dealing of the Cõquerour, this is alſo to be remembred, that he brought the Iewes into this land frõ Rouen and appointed them place here to inhabite.

Iohn Rous.

But now to conclude, though king William helde the Engliſh ſo vnder foote, that in his dayes almoſt no Engliſh man bare any office of honor or rule in his time, yet he ſomewhat fauoured the Citie of London, and at the earneſt ſute of William a Norman, then Biſhop there, he graunted vnto the Citizẽs the firſt Charter, which is written in the Saxon tongue, ſealed with green wax, and expreſſed in. viij. or. ix. lines at the moſt. But howſoeuer he vſed the reſt of the Engliſhmẽ, this is recorded of ſome writers, that by his rigorous proceedings agaynſt thẽ, he brought to paſſe that the Countrey was ſo rid of theeues and robbers, that at length a mayd might haue paſſed through the land with a bag ful of golde, and not haue met with any miſdoer to haue bereft hir of the ſame, which was a thing right ſtraunge to conſider, ſith that in the beginning of his reigne there was ſuch great companies of Outlawes and robbers, that vneth were men warranted within their owne houſes, though the ſame were neuer ſo ſtrong and well prouided of defence.

Math. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.

Iohn Rous.
Hen Marle.

Among many other lawes alſo made by him, this one is to be remembred, that ſuche as forced any woman, ſhould loſe their genitals.

In this William the Conquerors dayes liued Oſmond the ſeconde Biſhop of Saliſburie, who compiled the Church ſeruice, which in times paſt they commonly called after Saliſburie vſe.

Saliſburie vſe.

Shooting.

The vſe of the long Bow (as Iohn Rous teſtifieth) came firſt into Englande with this king William the Conquerour, for the Engliſh men before that time vſed to fight cõmonly with axes and ſuch hand weapons, and therfore in the oration made by the Conqueror before he gaue battail to king Harolde, the better to encourage his men, he tolde them they ſhould encounter with enimies that wanted ſhotte.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1542. Monſeur de Caſtres Biſhop of Baieulx, and Abbot of Saint Eſtiennie in Caen, cauſed the Sepulchre of this noble prince William the Conqueror to be opened, within the which his body was found whole, fayre and perfite, of limmes large and big, of ſtature and perſonage longer than the common ſort of men of our age by two foot: within the ſame ſepulchre or tombe, was found a copper plate, fayre gylt, conteyning this Epitaph.

Qui rexit rigidos Northmannos, atq; Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cænomenſes virtute contundit enſes,
Imperijq́; ſui legibus applicuit:
Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guilhelmus in vrna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino,
Ter ſeptem gradibus, ſe voluerat atq; duobus,
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obijt.

In Engliſh thus. H.F.

Who ouer Normãs rough did rule, & ouer Britõs bolde
Did cõqueſt ſtoutly win, & conqueſt won did ſtrongly holde:
Who by his valure great the fatall vprores calmde in Mayne,
And to obey his power and lawes, the Manceaux did conſtrayne:
This mightie king within this little vault entombed lyes,
So great a Lorde ſomtime, ſo ſmall a rowmth doth now ſuffiſe.
When three times ſeuen and two by iuſt degrees the Sun had tooke
His wonted courſe in Virgos lap, then he the worlde forſooke.

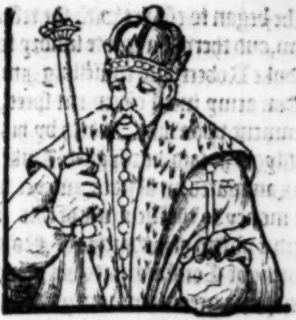
Here to fill vp this page, I haue thought good to ſet downe the Charter which this king Wil. the Conqueror graunted vnto the Citie of London, at the ſpecial ſute of William then Biſhop of the ſame Citie, aſwel for the brieſneſſe thereof (& yet conteyning matter ſufficient in thoſe dayes to warrant his meaning) as alſo for the ſtrangeneſſe of the Engliſh then in vſe.

The charter of K. William the firſt.
1067

VVilliem Kyng grets VVilliem Biſceop & Godfred Portereſan, & ealle ya Burghwarn binnen Lõdon frenciſce, & Engliſce frendlice, & Ic kiden eoy, yeet Ic wille that git ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Eadwerds daege kings, and Ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege. And Ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man eoy aenis wrang beode. God eoy heald.

VVilhelmus rex ſalutat VVilhelmum Epiſcopum, & Goffridũ Portegrefiũ & omnẽ Burghware infra London Franſ. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notũ facio, quòd ego volo, quòd vos ſitis omni lege illa digni qua fuiſtis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quòd omnis puer ſit patris ſui hæres poſt diem patris ſui. Et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos ſaluet.

Willia͂ Rufus.



1087
An: reg. 1.

William, ſurnamed Rufus, that is to ſay William the red, ſeconde ſonne to William Conqueror, began his reigne ouer Englande the .ix. of September, in the yeare .1087. whiche was about the .xxxj. yeare of the Emperour Henrie the fourth, and the .xxxvij. of Philip the firſt, king of Fraunce, Urbane the ſeconde as then gouerning the Sea of Rome, and Malcolm Cammoir as yet raigning in Scotland. Immediately after his fathers deceaſſe, and before the ſolemnitie of the funeralles were executed, he came ouer into Englande with ſo muche ſpeede as was poſſible, and following the counſaile of Lanfranke the Archbiſhop of Cāterburie (in whome hee repoſed all his truſt) hee ſought to winne the fauor of the Peeres and nobilitie of the realme, by the great and liberall giftes which he in moſt bou̅teous maner dayly beſtowed amongſt them. For although there were but fewe of the homeborne eſtates that bare any rule in the realme at this ſeaſon, yet thoſe that were remayning and offended by the generall iniuries of his father hee verie gently interteyned, promiſing them not onely to continue their good Lorde and ſoueraigne, but alſo to make more fauourable ordinānces than his father had left behind him, and furthermore to reſtore againe the former lawes and liberties of the realme, which his ſayde father had ſuppreſſed thus by fayre wordes and pollicie he obteyned his purpoſe. Howbeit ſoone after he forgat himſelfe, & impriſoned Marchar, and Wilnotus, whom he had brought ouer with him forth of Normandie, being ſet at libertie by his father. The nobles at the firſt wiſhed rather to haue had his elder brother Duke Robert to haue gouerned ouer them: howbeit by the ayde onely of the ſayd Lanfrank whoſe authoritie was of no ſmall force amongeſt all the Lordes of the lande. This William according to his fathers aſſignation, was proclamed and crowned at Weſtminſter on the .xxvj. of Septēber (being ſunday, the .vj. Kalendes of Octobre) and the .xj. indiction, as the beſt writers doe report. After his coronation to gratifie the people, he wēt to Wincheſter, where he found great ſubſtance of treaſure which his father had layde vp there to his owne vſe, whereof he was no niggard, but freely ſpente the ſame in large giftes, and all kinde of princely liberalitie. He ſet great numbers of priſoners alſo at libertie, & did many other things to pleaſure the people, wherein the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did not a little preuaile, for he perceyued that there was in the king no ſtayed minde, but an vnſtable nature, not ſetled but diſpoſed to lightneſſe and folly, and therefore he tooke oftentimes the more paines in perſwading him not only vnto liberalitie (which is none of the leaſt ornaments in a Prince) but alſo to vſe a diſcretion and orderly behauiour in all his other doings. Moreouer he ſticked not furthermore to put him in feare of an euil ende, & troubleſome regiment likely to enſue, if he did giue himſelfe to vice and wilfulneſſe, and neglect the charge thus by the prouidence of God commited to his perſon. And after this maner did the ſayd prelate trauaile with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it were harkning to his admonitions, and ſet forth by the way what his brother Robert did whileſt William Rufus hys brother was occupied in ſuche wiſe as you haue heard. It happened that this Robert was abrode in Germany when king William his father died (whether he went to rayſe a power to the entent he might therby obteyne the poſſeſſion of Normandie which hee thriſted to enioy in his fathers lifetime) and there hearing newes of his death, he haſted ſtreight wayes into Normandie, where he was ioyfully receyued, & quietly proclamed duke of that countrey with great honor and gladneſſe of the people.

Polidor.
Simon Dun.
Mat. Par.

Sim. Dunel.
Marchar and Wilnote.

Lanfranke had fauored him euen of a child
Math. Paris.

Wil. Rufus is crowned.

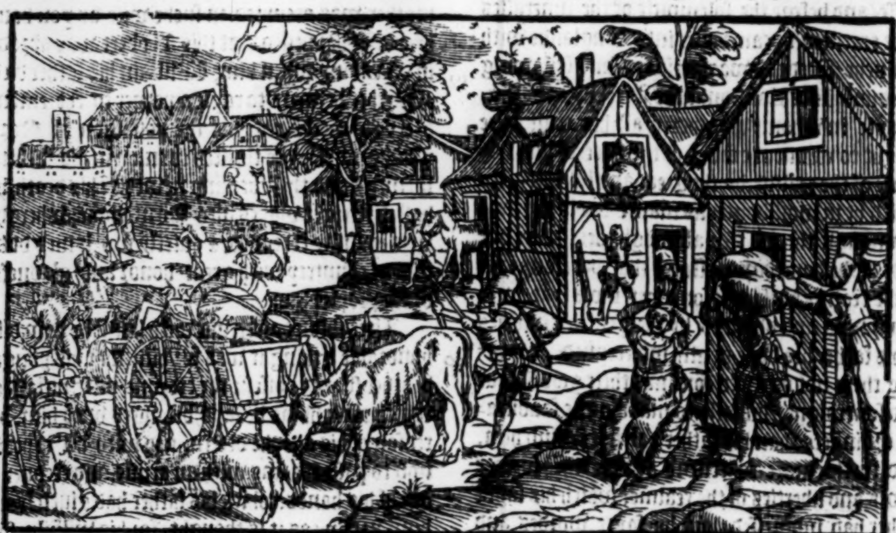
Polidor.

His bountifull munificence.

1088

After this, conſidering with himſelfe how diſhonorable a thing it was for him, that his yonger brother ſhould poſſeſſe the crowne of Englande, which of right (as he ſayd) belonged vnto him, by reaſon of his age, he determined with all expedition to paſſe the ſeas with an armie, and recouer it out of his handes, which his father had giuen from him, partly (as it is thought) for his wilfulneſſe, and diſobedience ſhewed towardes him in his lifetime, and partly alſo bycauſe he doubted that if he ſhuld leaue it vnto him, he would through his too much gentleneſſe and facilitie, giue occaſion to the Engliſh men to recouer ſtrength, and thereby reuolt from him: & therefore he vrged his yonger brother the ſayd William (being a man of a more rough nature) to bee the maiſter of the realme to haue the gouernment ouer them. Furthermore as duke Robert was thus moued by his owne deſire to bereue his brother of the dominion of England, ſo his purpoſe was not a little incenſed therunto by the prouocation of ſuch the Engliſh nobilitie and Normans, as came dayly ouer vnto him oute of the realme, cõplayning of the preſent ſtate of the worlde, as thoſe that miſliked with the whole maner of regiment vſed in the beginning of the raign of his brother William. His vncle Odo alſo (the Biſhop of Bayeux) did ſet forward the matter in all that euer he might. This Odo (as ye haue heard) was at the firſt in great eſtimatiõ with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length (vpon enuy conceyued for that the Archbiſhop Lanfranke was preferred before him) he conſpired agaynſt him, who hauing vnderſtanding therof committed him forthwith to priſon, where he remayned till the ſaid Prince thẽ lying on his death bed, releſed & reſtored him vnto his former libertie. When the K. was dead, Wil. Rufus tooke him with him alſo into Englande, ſuppoſing no leſſe but to haue had an eſpecial frẽd of him, & a truſtie cõuſeller in all his great affairs. But ere long after his comming thither, he fell againe into the ſame offence of ingratitude, into the which he had fallen before in the Conquerors dayes: for perceyuing that Lanfranke was ſo highly eſteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partly ſuſpecting that the ſaide Lanfrank had bin the chief cauſer of his former impriſonment, he began to cõſpire with the reſt againſt his nephew, and thervpon wrote ſundry letters ouer vnto duke Robert, alſo cõuſelling him to com ouer with an army in all cõuenient ſpeed, ta take the gouernment vpon him, which by his practiſe ſhould eaſily (as he ſaid) be cõpaſſed. Duke Robert being thus animated on al ſides, and yet wanting ſufficient money to the furniture of this iourney, he engaged a portiõ of his duchie of Normandy, as the countie of Conſtantine to his yongeſt brother Henrie, for a great ſumme of gold, and therewith returned anſwere vnto the foreſayde Biſhop that he ſhould prouide and looke for him vpon the ſouth coaſt of England, at a certain time appointed. Herevpon Odo (hauing receyued theſe letters and conſidered furthermore that the chiefeſt point of this buſineſſe conſiſted in ſpeed) fortified the caſtell of Rocheſter, & began to make ſore warres againſt the kings friends in Kent. He procured other of the procurators alſo to do the like in other partes of the realme: And firſt on the weſt part of England, where Geoffray Biſhop of Conſtans, with his nephew Robert de Mowbray Earle of Northumberlande ſetting forth from Briſtowe, came toward Bathe. which town they tooke and ſacked it, & likewiſe Berkley, with a great part of Wiltſhire, and brought the ſpoyle & booties there gotten back vnto Briſtow, where they had a ſtrõg caſtell, ſtrongly fortified for their more ſafetie. In like maner Roger de Bygod, departing frõ Norwich with great forreyes ouerrode & robbed al the countreys about, and conueyed ſuch riches as he had gottẽ into the ſaid city. And in ſẽblable wiſe, Hugh de Grandmeſnil being at Leiceſter did practiſe the like in thoſe parties, ſpoyling & waſting al the countreys about him. The Erle of Shrewſburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welchmen ſet forth from Shrewſbury and with him were William Bi. of Durham the kings houſhold chaplain, Bernerd of Newmerch, Roger Lacie, & Rauſe Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers togyther, enter into the country, and with fire & ſword did much hurt in all places where they came, killing and taking a great number of people. Afterwards comming to Worceſter they aſſault the citie, taking at their firſt approch the ſuburbs, and ſetting the ſame on fire. But the Citizens cloſing the gates of their Citie (though with the ſodaine comming of the enimies they were ſomewhat afrayd, made valiant reſiſtance, and putting their

goods



Odo the Biſhop of Baieux conſpireth agaynſt his nephew Williã Rufus.

The caſtell of Rocheſter.

Wil. Mal.
Sim. Dun.

The Biſhop of Conſtance taketh the towne of Bath.

Hugh Grand-
neſnill.
H. Hunt.
Wil. Malm.
he Earle of
hrewsburie.

Worceſter aſſaylted.

goodes with their wyues and children into the caſtell, got them to the walles and places of defence to beate backe the aduerſaries.

Biſhop Wulſtan.

Biſhop Wulſtan was among them in the towne alſo, whom the Citizens would haue compelled to haue gone likewiſe into the Caſtell there to be more in ſafegard, but he refuſed it. At length it chaunced that the enimies (continuing ſtill the ſiege) began to were negligent, and raunged abrode in the countrey, little regarding to kepe ſure watch and warde about their campe, wherevpon the Engliſh men within the citie vſing this occaſion, being alſo moued therto with the comfortable exhortation of Biſhop Wulſtan, ſallied forth of the towne and ſet on their enimies with great fierceneſſe, whom they tooke at ſuch aduauntage, that they ſlue and tooke that day aboue fiue. M. men (as Henrie of Huntington recordeth.)

They ſlue fiue hundred, and chaſed the reſidue as ſayth *Sim. Dunel.*

For the Engliſh bearing a continuall malice in theyr heartes agaynſt the Frenchmen and Normans, did now their beſt to be fully reuenged of them, vpon ſo happie an occaſion offred. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, hid thẽſelues in the next townes, making ſuch ſhiftes for their liues as the preſent neceſſitie could miniſter.

The diligence of the Archbiſhop Lanfrank

Whileſt the realme was thus troubled on ech ſide, the Archbiſhop Lãfrank ſendeth, writeth, and admoniſheth all the kings friends to make themſelues readie to defende their Prince. And after he vnderſtoode that they were aſſembled togither for that purpoſe, hee counſayleth the king to marche into the fielde with them ſpeedily, to repreſſe his enimies.

The great curteſie ſhewed to the Enliſhmen by Wil. Rufus

Simon Dun.

The king following his counſaile, firſt appoynted his nauie to ſcoure and kepe the ſeas, and withſtand (if it were poſſible) the arriual of his brother by fayre words. Alſo he reconcileth Roger de Mountgomerie erle of Shrewſburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promiſes to the Engliſhmen, that he would out of hande giue and reſtore vnto them ſuche fauourable lawes as they woulde wiſhe or deſire. Moreouer he commaunded all vniuſt impoſtes, tolles and tallages to be layde downe, and granted free hunting in the woodes, chaſes & forreſts, which he knew to be a thing very much deſired, & therfore acceptable vnto thẽ. But all theſe grãts and promiſes he kept not long, although that for the time he greatly cõtented the people, with ſuch a ſhew of good meaning towards them:

Wil. Malm.

that don, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the ſedition began, and firſt cõming to the caſtell of Tunbridge, he compelled the captaine named Gilbert to yeeld & rẽder the fortreſſe into his hãds. Then went he to Horne caſtel, where he heard ſay that Odo was, (but the report was vntrue, for he was withdrawne into the caſtell of Pẽſey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he haſted forth vnto Pemſey, & beſieged the caſtel there a long ſeaſon, which the Biſhop had ſtrongly fortified. During which time, and about the fiftieth day after the beginning of the ſiege, worde was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, & minded with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the ſuccor of the Biſhoppe and other his friendes, whome hee and his power had not a little afflicted.

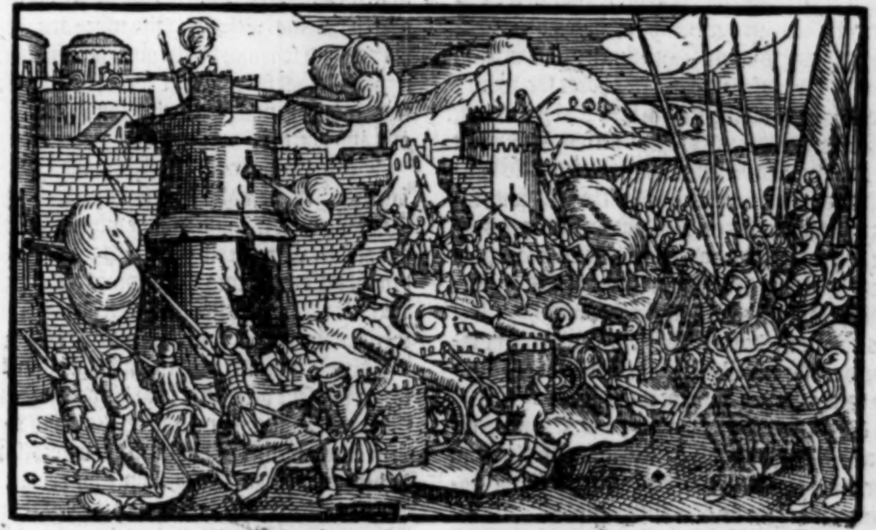
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

But here Authors varie: for ſome report that Duke Robert came not ouer himſelfe at the firſt at all, but ſent a part of his armie, with a certaine number of ſhippes, which encountring with the kings fleet, were diſcõfited. Other write that duke Robert hearing of the loſſe of his men, came after himſelfe, and landed with a mightie army as before, which is moſt likely.

Gemeticenſis.

Euſtace Earle of Bullongne.

And certenly (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might eaſily as then haue recouered Englãd from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, cõſidering that Euſtace erle of Bullongne, Odo the ſaid B. of Bayeux, & the Erle of Mortaigne, wͭ other lords of Normãdie were paſſed into Eng. had alredy takẽ Rocheſter, and



and diuerſe other caſtels in the prouince of Canterburie, & kept the ſame a certain time ſtil looking that he ſhould haue come ouer to their ayd, which he deferred to do, till they were cōſtrayned by ſiege and lack of neceſſarie ſuccors to return into Normādie, leauing thoſe places which they had won, vnto the king, & that to their great diſhonor. But howſoeuer it was, the king ſtill continued ẏ ſiege before Penſey caſtell, till Odo through want of victuals was glad to ſubmit himſelfe, and promiſed to cauſe the caſtell of Rocheſter alſo to be deliuered, but at his comming thither, they within the Citie ſuffred him to enter, and ſtreight wayes layd him faſt in priſon. Some iudge that it was done vnder a color by his owne conſent.

Simon Dun.

There were in Rocheſter a ſort of valiant gentlemen, the flower in maner of all Normandie, with Euſtace Erle of Bullongne, & many gētlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defende the place agaynſt the king: but the king hearing what was done, came with his army & beſieged ẏ citie of Rocheſter on eche ſide ſo ſtraightly ẏ they within were glad to deliuer it into his handes.

Rocheſter beſieged by the king.

An. Reg. 2

Polidor.

1089

The Biſhop Odo thus loſt all his liuings and dignities in England, and ſo returned into Normandie, where vnder duke Robert he had the chief gouernment of the country committed vnto him.

After this he ouercame diuers of his aduerſaries, ſome by the ſworde, and ſome by flatterie: but this notwithſtanding, there yet remained the Biſhop of Durham, one of the chiefe conſpirators, who withdrew himſelfe into the city of Durham, there to lie in ſafetie, till he ſawe howe the worlde would go: but being therein beſieged by the king, who came thither in (proper) perſon, hee was at length forced to ſurrender the citie, and yeeld himſelf: wherupō alſo he was exiled the land with diuerſe of his complices. But within two yeres after he was called home again, and reſtored to his church, wherin he liued not long, but died for ſorrow, bycauſe he could not clerely purge himſelf of his offence in the ſayd rebellion, albeit that he labored moſt earneſtly ſo to do, that he might therby haue atteyned vnto the kings fauor againe.

The Biſhop of Durhā exiled.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hande, the Archbiſhop Lanfranke falleth ſicke and dieth, in the .xix. yeare after his firſt entring into the gouernment of the ſea of Canterburie.

Lanfrāk Archbiſhop of Cāterburie departeth this life.

This Lanfranke (as ſhoulde ſeeme) was a wiſe politike Prelate, and alſo learned: ſo long as he liued he qualified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, inſtructing him to forbeare ſuch wild & outrageous parts, as his youthful courage ſeemed to be inclined vnto: and moreouer he perſwaded with the Engliſh men to obey the ſame king as their lawfull Prince, whereby they ſhoulde occaſion him to bee their good Lorde and king, not vſing them with any rigour as his father had done. So that Lanfrank could not wel haue bene ſpared in the time of the rebellion, without the great danger of ſubuerting the ſtate of the cōmon wealth. He buylded two Hoſpitals without the Citie of Canterburie, for the relief of poore people, and ſtraungers, the one of S. Iohn, the other at Harbaldown. He aduanced the church of Rocheſter from foure ſecular Clerkes, to the nūber of fiftie Monkes: hee alſo repayred Chriſtes Church in Canterburie, and the Abbay of S. Albons, of the which hee made Abbot one Paule that was his nephewe, whiche Paule gouerned that houſe by his vncles aſſiſtance greatly to the aduancement thereof, aſwell in temporall preferments, as alſo ſpirituall, as it was then iudged. Likewiſe the ſayde Lanfranke was right profitable in gouernment of his Churche and Sea of Canterburie, recouering ſundrie portiōs of lands and rents alienated from the ſame before his days, inſomuch that he reſtored to that ſea .xxv. manor places. For amongſt other, where Odo the Biſhop of Bayeux that was alſo Erle of Kent, bearing great rule in Englande vnder his nephewe King William the Conquerour, had vſurped diuerſe poſſeſſions whiche belonged to the Sea of Canterburie, and alſo had ſeazed the franchiſes into his handes apperteyning to the ſame Lanfranke, by ſute and earneſt trauaile hee recouered the ſame againe, and being impleaded about that matter by the ſayd Odo, he ſo defended his cauſe, that in the ende (although with much ado) he had his wil, and ſo remayned in quiet poſſeſſion of his right after that ſo long as he lyued, wythout any trouble or vexation concerning the ſayde poſſeſſions and liberties.

Mat. VVeſt.

Paule Abbot of S. Albons.

Edmerus

Alſo where not only Walkhem the Biſhop of Wincheſter, but alſo diuerſe other Biſhops in England were in mind to haue diſplaced Monks out of their Cathedrall Churches, and to haue brought Canons into their roomes, Lanfranke withſtood them, and deſerued therefore high commendations both of them and alſo of the Pope.

Lanfranke prayſed for holding with the Monkes.

After Lanfrankes death, the king beganne to forget himſelfe verie farre in al his dealings, inſomuch that he kept many concubines, and wexed very cruel and inconſtant in all his wayes, ſo that he became an heauie burthen vnto his people.

The king giuen to ſenſuall luſt and couetouſneſſe.

Furthermore, he became ſo much addicted to gather good, that hee conſidered not what apperteyned to the Maieſtie of a king, ſo that nothing that ſeemed to make for his gaine, and ſatiſfying of his appetite, was eſteemed of him vnlawfull, meaſuring his dutie by gaine, and not by that which ſhould moſt of all become him. He kept alſo the Sea of Canterburie foure yeares in his handes, to ſee who would giue moſt for it, and in the meane time tooke the profits, making the moſt thereof that could be deuiſed by any meanes.

The

Mat. Paris.

The like he vſed when other benefices and Abbayes were vacant of a gouernour, and furthermore that little which the Prince ſpared, his officers and fermers, no leſſe couetous than he, tooke to their aduauntage: ſo that what by the king, & what by his dealers, the church of England was now ſore greeued, and bereued of hir wealth. Diuerſe of hir prelates in like maner, were not a little offended, to ſee their mother ſo ſpoyled of hir treaſure and liuelyhood, inſomuch that they practiſed a redreſſe: and to begin withall, complayned of the king to Pope Vrban: but he was ſo buſied with other troubles of his owne nere home, that hee could haue no time to ſeeke meanes howe to redreſſe ſuche enormities ſo farre off, whereby the landes & goodes belonging to the Church here in Engla͂d were ſtill waſtfully ſpent & conſumed by the king and other, to whome he gaue or let them forth to ferme at his owne will, & to his moſt co͂moditie. But albeit that the prince was of ſuch a diſpoſition & inclination by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admoniſh vs that there is no man of ſo euill an affection, but that ſometime he dealeth vprightly, though it be by hap or other great difficultie. It chaunced that there was an Abbay voyde of an Abbot, in the which were two Monkes very couetous perſons aboue the reſt, and ſuche as by ſcraping and gathering togither were become very riche, and ſurely ſuch, as ſayth Polidor) in thoſe dayes came to preferment.) Theſe two appointed to go togither to the Court, eche hoping at theyr comming thither to finde ſome meanes yͭ he might be made Abbot of yͤ houſe. Being thus agreed, to the court they come, and there offer very largely to the king to obteyn their ſute: who perceyuing their greedie deſires, and caſting his eyes about the chamber, eſpied by chaunce an other Monke (that came to beare them co͂panie) being a more ſober man, & ſimple after his outward apparell) whom he calles vnto him, & aſked what he would giue him to be made Abbot of the foreſaid Abbay. The Monk after a litle pauſe made anſwere, that he would giue nothing at al for any ſuch purpoſe, ſince he entred into that profeſſion of religion to deſpiſe riches and al worldly pompe, to the end he might the more quietly ſerue god in holyneſſe and puritie of conuerſation. Sayeſt thou ſo, quoth the king, the art thou euen he that art worthy to gouerne this houſe: and ſtreight way he beſtowed yͤ houſe vpon him, iuſtly repulſing the other two, and not without their open infamie and reproch.

VVil. Mal.
Mat. Par.

Mat. Paris.
An. reg. 3
1090

But to returne to our hiſtorie. After the expulſion of the Biſhop of Durham, & other of his adherents, the K. paſſed ouer into Normandie, purpoſing to depriue his brother of that Dukedome: & being arriued there, he beſieged & wanne S. Valerie, Albemarle, & diuerſe other townes and caſtels, in which he placed of his beſt ſouldiers, & men of warre, the better to aſſault & annoy the ſame againſt his aforeſaid brother. Herevpon alſo the ſaid duke Robert ſent vnto the French king for ayde, who came downe at his requeſt with a noble army & beſieged one of thoſe caſtels which K. Will. had lately wonne, howbeit by ſuch meanes as K. Will. founde, in ſending to the French K. an huge ſumme of mony, he rayſed his ſiege ſhortly and returned home againe. At length a peace was concluded betwixt K. Willi. and the Duke his brother, although very diſhonorable to the ſaid Robert. For it was accorded that K. Will. ſhould reteine and ſtill enioy the countie of Ewe, with Feſcampe, the Abbathy of mount S. Michell, Chereburg, and all thoſe other places which he had wonne & gotten out of his handes in this his late voyage. On the other ſide it was agreed, that K. Will. ſhould ayd the Duke to recouer al other places beyond the ſeas which belo͂ged to their father. Alſo that ſuch Normans as had loſt any of their landes & liuings in England by taking part with the duke in the late rebellio͂ ſhould be reſtored to the ſame. And furthermore, that whether ſoeuer of both ſhould die firſt, the other then ſuruiuing aliue ſhould be his heyre and ſucceed in his dominions. This peace was concluded at Cane, & that by procurement of the French K. at what time K. Will. was very ſtrong in yͤ field neere vnto Ewe. And after the concluſion thereof, they vnited their powers, & beſieged their yongeſt brother Henrie in the caſtel of Mount S. Michel, which being ſituate in the confines of Normandy and Britaine, he had ſtrongly fortified of late for feare of after clappes. But when they had lien before it by the ſpace of all the lent ſeaſon, and had made many ſkirmiſhes with them within, more to their loſſe than gaine, they rayſed their ſiege, and voluntarily departed. Not long after this king, William depriued Edgar Etheling of the honor which duke Robert had aſſigned vnto him, baniſhing him out of Normandie [illegible] [illegible] Henry with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Thus [illegible] [illegible] of the reigne of the king [illegible] Towardes [illegible] the fifth day of October [illegible] parts of Englande, but ſpecially in the towne

Sim. Dun.
Warres betwixt the king & his brother Robert.

An. reg. 4
1091

Gemeticenſis
A peace concluded.
Simon Dun.
Math. VVeſt.
Mat. Par.

Gemeticenſis

Sim. Dunel.

towne of Winchcombe, where by force of thunder & lightning, a part of the ſteeple of the Church was throwne downe, and the Crucifix with the Image of our Ladie alſo ſtanding vnder the rood loft, was likewiſe ouerthrowne, broken and ſhattered in peeces, and withall there followed a foule noyſome and moſt horrible ſtinke in the Church. Alſo on the .xvij. day of the ſame moneth was much harme done in the Citie of London, with an outrageous winde, whoſe violence ouerturned or rent in peeces aboue the number of fiue hũdred houſes, and the roofe of S. Mary Bow Church in Cheape was alſo ouerthrowne, wherewith two men were ſlaine.

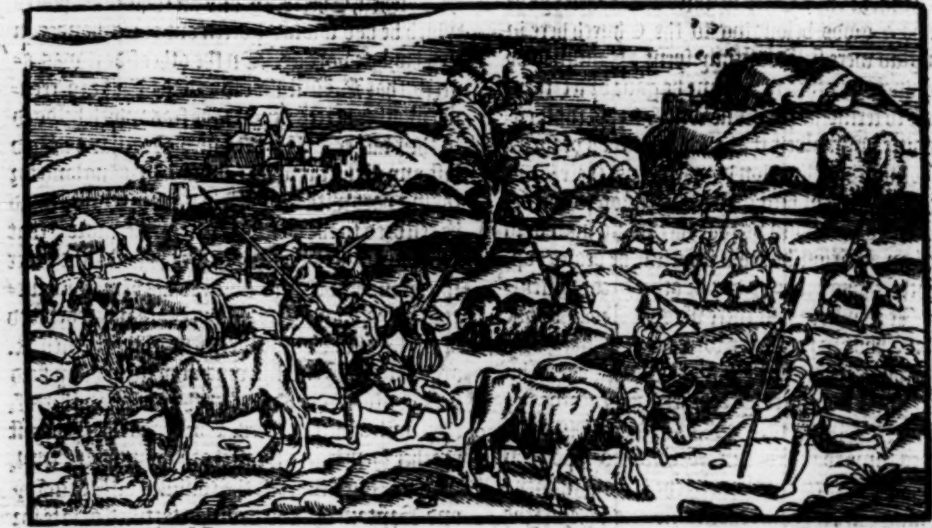
A mightie winde.

Anno reg. 5 1092.

Moreouer at Saliſburie was much hurt done with a like winde and thunder, for the top of the ſteeple was ouerthrowne, and many other buyldings ſore ſhaken and caſte downe, whereof let this which we haue ſayde ſuffice for this preſent: and nowe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the doings of Scotlande as occaſion moueth.

Whileſt (in ſuch wiſe as yee haue heard) the variance was depending betwene king William and his brother Duke Robert, the Scottiſh king Malcolme made ſore warres vppon the inhabitants of Northumberlande, fetching great booties and prayes out of that Countrey, which he inuaded euen to Cheſter in the ſtreete.

The Scottes inuade England.



King William therefore ſoone after his returne, called his power togither, and ſpedde hym Northwards. But king Malcolme hearing of his reproche and great ſtrength, ſent to him for peace, which was graunted in the ende.

But here ſuch writers as we haue ſeene doe not wholy agree, for ſome beſide their confuſion of time, and account of the yeare, affirme that king William prepared a great army both by ſea and lande agaynſt Malcolme, and that his nauy being abrode on the Seas, was by tempeſt loſt, and the moſt part of the ſhippes drowned. Alſo that the armie by lande entring into Scotlande, ſuffred many loſſes through want of vitailes, and ſo recoyled. Finally that Duke Robert lying on the borders with an army in his brothers name (whereby it ſhould appeare that the king himſelfe was not there) by the help and furtherance of Edgar Edelling which then ſerued king Malcolme in his warres, made a peace betwixt his brother and the ſayd Malcolme, by the articles wherof certaine places in Northumberlande were reſtored vnto Malcolme, which he had helde in William Conquerours dayes. Some write in like maner that King Malcolme did homage vnto king William, and alſo Duke Robert reconciled the ſayde Edgar Edelling vnto the fauour of the king. But howſoeuer the truth of the ſtorie doth appeare in this behalfe, certaine it is that the king returned out of Northumberlande into the weſt partes of the Realme, ſtill reteyning with hym Duke Robert, who looked dayly when he ſhoulde performe ſuch couenants as were concluded betwixt them in their late reconciliation. But when he ſaw that the king ment nothing leſſe than to ſtand to thoſe articles, & how he did only protract & delay the time for ſome other ſecrete purpoſe, he returned into Normandie in great diſpleaſure, & tooke with him the ſayd Edgar Edelling, of whõ he always made a very great account. Soone after K. Wil. returned into the North partes again, and as it chaunced he ſtayed a few dayes aboute Carleil, where being delited with the ſituation of the town, (which had bin deſtroyed by the Danes two hundred yeares before) hee ſet workemen in hande to repayre the ſame (meaning to vſe it in ſteade of a Bulwarke agaynſte the Scottes on thoſe Weſt Borders) and after hee had fenced it in with walles, and buylded a caſtell in the moſte conuenient place thereof, hee cauſed

Wil. Malm. Sim. Dun.

The repairing and new peopling of Carleil.

alſo Churches and houſes to bee made meete for ſuch a multitude of people as he had determined to bring vnto the ſame.

This being done, he placed therein a Colonie of Southren men, with theyr wyues and children, and gaue large priuiledges vnto the towne, which they enioy vnto theſe our times.

Mat. VVeſt.

Here haue I thought good to aduertiſe you of an error in Mat. Weſt. crept in eyther by wrong placing of the matter by ſome exemplifier, either elſe by the Authours miſtaking his accounte of yeares, as. 1072. for. 1092. referring the repayring of Carleil vnto William Conqueror, at what time he made a iourney agaynſt the Scots in the ſayde yeare. 1072. And yet not thus contented, but to bewray the error more manifeſtly, he affirmeth that the king exchaunged the Earledome of Cheſter, with Raufe or Randulfe de Micenis, alias Meſchines, for yͤ Erledome of Carleil, which the ſaid de Meſchines helde before, and had begon there to build and fortifie that towne. Where as it is certain yͭ Ranulfe de Meſchines came to enioy the Erledom of Cheſter by way of inheritãce, as after ſhall appeare. And for the better prouffe thereof, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that we finde by auncient recordes, how that one Hugh Lou or Lupus enioyed the Erledome of Cheſter all the dayes of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was ſonne to Richarde Earle of Auranges, and of the Counteſſe Emma, the daughter of a noble man in Normandine named Herlowin, who maried Arlet, the daughter of a burgeſſe in Falois, & mother to William Cõquerour, ſo yͭ the ſayde Hugh, being ſiſter ſonne to yͤ Conquerour, receyued by gyft at his handes the Earledome of Cheſter, to holde of him as freely by right of the ſworde, as he helde the Realme of Englande in right of his Crowne. For theſe be the wordes: *Tenendum ſibi & Heredibus ita libere ad gladium ſicut ipſe (Rex) totã tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*

Earle Hugh then eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of this Earledome with moſt large priuiledges and freedomes for the better gouernment thereof, he ordeyned vnder him foure Barons, to witte, his couſin Nigell, or Neal, Barõ of Haltõ, ſir Pierce Malbanke, baron of Nauntwich, ſir Euſtace baron of Mawpaſſe, and ſir Warren Vernon, baron of Shipbroke. Nigell helde his baronie of Halton by ſeruice to leade the Vauntgarde of the Earles armie when he ſhoulde make any iourney into Wales, ſo as he ſhoulde bee the formoſte in marching into the enimies Countrey, and laſt in comming backe. Hee was alſo Coneſtable and Marſhall of Cheſter. From this Nigell or Neal, the Lacyes that were Earles of Lincolne had theyr originall. Earle Hugh gouerned the Earledome of Cheſter the terme of. xl. yeares, and then departed this life in the yeare, 1107. He had iſſue by his wife Armetrude, Richard that was the ſeconde Erle of Cheſter after the conqueſt, Robert, Abbot of Saint Edmondsburie, and Otuell tutor to the children of king Henrie the firſt.

Foure barons.
Nigel or Neal.
Piers Malbank
Euſtace
Waren Vernõ.

The Lacies.

Moreouer the ſayde Earle Hugh had a ſiſter named Margaret, that was maried vnto Iohn Bohun, who had iſſue by hir Randulf Bohun, otherwiſe called Meſchines, which Randulfe by that meanes came to enioy the Erledome of Cheſter in right of his mother (after that Earle Richarde was drowned in the Sea) and not by exchaunge for the Earledome of Carleil, as by this which we haue alreadie recited, it may be ſufficiently proued.

Iohn Bohun.

To returne therefore where we left. After that king William Rufus had giuen order for the buylding, fortifying, and peopling of Carleil, hee returned Southwardes, and came to Glouceſter, where he fell into a grieuous and dangerous ſickneſſe, ſo that hee was in diſpayre to eſcape wyth life, in time whereof he tooke ſore repentance for his former miſdeedes, and promiſed if hee eſcaped that daunger of ſickneſſe, to amende his life, and become a newe man. But after he was reſtored to health, yͤ promiſe was quickly forgottẽ, for his doings were not ſo badde and wicked before, but that compared with thoſe which followed after his recouerie, they might well be taken for verie good and ſufferable.

An. Reg. 6:

1093

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Math. Paris.
The king being ſicke promiſeth amẽdment of life.
Polidor.
Edmerus

Moreouer, whereas he reteyned in his handes the Biſhoprike of Canterburie the ſpace of foure yeares, hee nowe beſtowed it on Anſelme, who was before Abbot of Bechellouyn in Normãdie, and likewiſe vnto certaine Abbayes which he had held long time in his poſſeſſion, he appoynted Abbottes: By meane whereof all men, but eſpecially the ſpiritualtie, beganne to conceyue a very good opinion of him. The yeare in the whiche Anſelme was thus elected, was from the byrth of our Sauiour. 1093. on the ſixth of Marche, being the firſt Sunday in Lent (as Edmerus recordeth.)

Anſelme elected archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Edmerus

Furthermore, the Sea of Lincolne being voyd by the death of Biſhop Remigius, he gaue it vnto his Counſellour Robert Bluet, but afterward repenting himſelfe of ſuche liberalitie, in that hee had not kept it longer in his handes towardes the enryching of his Coffers, hee deuiſed a ſhifte howe to wype the Byſhoppes noſe of ſome of his Golde, whiche he performed after thys maner. He cauſed the Biſhoppe to bee ſued, quarelling with him, that he wrongfully vſurped vpon certain poſſeſſiõs, togither with the Citie of Lincolne which apperteyned to the ſea of Yorke: And though this was but a forged cauillation, and a greate vntruth, yet coulde not the Biſhoppe bee delyuered out of that trouble tyll hee had payed

Mat. Paris.
Polidor.
Robert Bluet Lo. Chãncelor elected biſhop of Lincolne.
Hen. Hunt.

to the king fiue thouſand pounds to be at reſt and quiet. And as hee thus dealt with the ſpiritualtie, ſo he cauſed diuerſe of the Nobilitie to be put to grieuous fines, for tranſgreſſing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer ſo little. He alſo cauſed the Archebiſhoppe Anſelme to paye to hym a greate ſumme of money, vnder colour of a contribution whiche was due in Lanfrankes dayes, though it was certainly knowne that Lanfranke had payed it.

Thus wared King William from tyme to tyme more ſharpe and grieuous to his ſubiectes, ſo that whoſoeuer came within the daunger of the lawes was ſure to be condemned, and accoũted well gotten good, and ſuch as woulde play the promoters & giue informations agaynſt any mã for tranſgreſſing lawes, were highly rewarded.

In this ſixt yere, there chaunced ſuch exceeding greate raine, and ſuch high flouds, the Riuers ouerflowing the low groundes that lay neare vnto them, as the like had not beene ſeene of manye yeares before that tyme, and afterwardes enſued a ſodaine froſt, which froſe the great ſtreames in ſuche wiſe, that at the diſſoluing thereof, manye bridges both of wood and ſtone, & likewiſe Milles were borne downe and ouerthrowne.

Polidor.

Furthermore, perceyuing that diuerſe occaſioned by his cruel and couetous gouernment, did dayly ſteale out of the Realme to liue in forraine Countreyes, he ſet forth a proclamation, that no man ſhoulde depart the Realme withoute his lycence and ſafeconduct. And hereof it is thought that the cuſtome roſe of forbidding paſſage out of the realme, which oftentymes is vſed as a lawe when occaſion ſerueth.

A proclamation that none ſhoulde depart the realme.

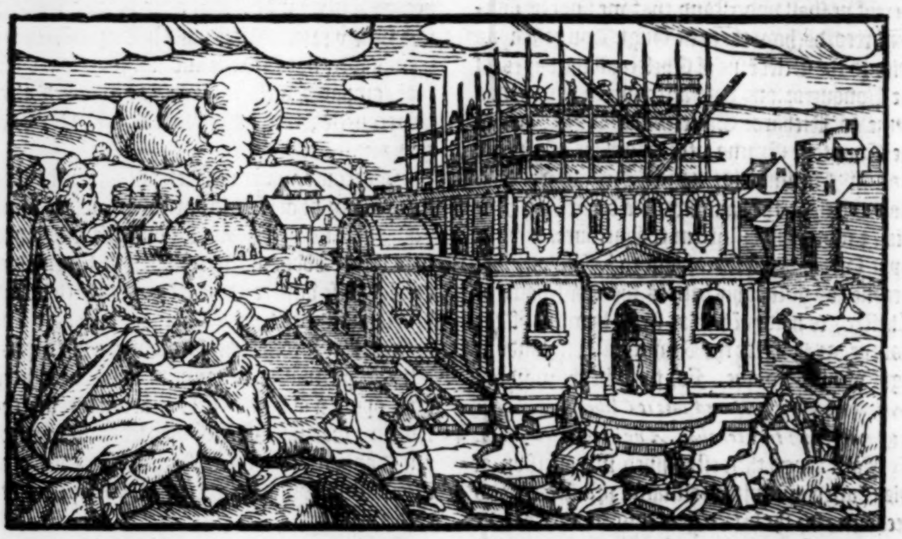
Soone after alſo he went agaynſt the Welchmen, whom hee vanquiſhed in battaile neare to Brecknocke, and ſlue theyr king named Riſe, or Rees, who hauing done muche hurt within the Engliſh borders, was their encamped.

Ran. Higd.

Rees king of Wales ſlaine.

This Riſe, or Rees, was the laſt king that reigned ouer the Welchmen, as the Authours affirme: for afterwardes, though they oftentymes rebelled, yet the kings of Englande were reputed to be the ſupreme gouerners of ỹ part of the Ilād.

VVi. Thorne.



Moreouer, to haue the countrey the better in quiet, he cutteth downe much of their woods, and buylded many Caſtels and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were ſomewhat tamed, and broughte in tyme to obedience, though not at the firſt, nor in the dayes of ſundrie of his ſucceſſors. After hee had thus finiſhed his iourney into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotlande came vnto Glouceſter to ſee the king, and to cōmon with him of ſundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realmes, as he returned homewardes: but bycauſe King William diſdeyned to entertayne him in ſuche pompous maner as he looked for, and forſomuch as he did not at the verie firſt admitte him to his preſence, the ſayde Malcolme returned into Scotlande in greate diſpleaſure, and immediately rayſing a power, entred into Englande, deſtroying the Countrey vnto Alnewike Caſtell, where he was compaſſed ſo about with an ambuſhment, layde by Robert the Earle of Northumberlande, that he was ſlaine togither with his eldeſt ſonne Edward. And his whole armie alſo with that miſhappe being vtterlye diſcomfited, fled out of the field, with the loſſe of many that were either ſlain or taken by the way.

Malcolm king of Scots cometh to Glouceſter.

Wil. Malm.

Polidor.

K. Malcolme inuadeth Englande.

He is ſlaine.

Simon Dun.

Thus king Malcolme came to his ende, by the iuſt prouiſion of God, in that prouince which he had waſted and ſpoyled at fiue ſeuerall tymes, as firſt in the dayes of king Edwarde, when Erle Toſtie was gone to Rome: the ſeconde tyme in the dayes of William Conquerour, when hee ſpoyled alſo Cleuelande: thirdely in the ſame

Conquerours dayes, whileſt Biſhoppe Walker gouerned the Sea of Durham, at what tyme all the Countrey was ſpoyled and forrayed, euen vnto the Ryuer of Tine: fourthly, aboute the fourth or fifth yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at whiche tyme hee entered the lande as farre as Cheſter in the ſtreete, whyleſt King William was in Normandie: the fifth tyme was nowe wherein hee loſt hys lyfe on Saint Brices day, by the handes of a right valiant Knight named Morkell, after whiche his bodie was buryed at Tynmouth (as in the Scottiſhe hyſtories more plainly appeareth,) where alſo ye may fynde, howe the ſonnes of King Malcolme were ayded by king William Rufus to obteyne the crowne of Scotland, as their right, where otherwiſe by the force and practiſe of theyr vncle Donald they had beene kept from it.

Ran. Higd.

An. Reg. 7
1094

Ran. Higd.
VVil. Mal.
Sim. Dunel.

Death and murraine of cattaile.

This yeare England and Normandie were ſore vexed with mortalitie both of menne and beaſtes, inſomuche that tyllage of the grounde was layde aſide for that yeare in many places, by reaſon whereof there followed greate dearth and famine.

Straunge wonders.

Math. Paris.
Polider

Many griſely and vncouth ſightes were ſeene in Englande, as hoſtes of men fighting in the ſkie, with fierie beames flaſhing out, ſtarres falling from heauen, and ſuch other wonders.

Simon Dun.

At which time alſo newe occaſions of breach of amitie grewe betwixt the King and hys brother Robert, who accuſed him of periurie, for not obſeruing the articles of the laſt peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purpoſed to ſayle ouer into Normandie, and ſo came vnto Haſtings, aboute the fyrſt of Februarie, where hee ſoiourned for a tyme, and cauſed the Abbay Churche of Battayle to bee dedicate in honour of Saint Martyn, and alſo depryued Herbert the Biſhop of Thetforde of his Biſhops ſtaffe, bycauſe hee meant to haue gone ſecretely vnto Rome, and there to haue purchaſed abſolution of Pope Vrbane for his Byſhoprike, which hee had bought of the king for himſelfe, and likewiſe for the Abbacie of Wincheſter, which hee had alſo bought for his father, paying for thẽ both. M.W.

K. William paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

Warres betwixt the king and his brother.

After this, about Midlent he paſſed ouer into Normandie with an armie, in purpoſe to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battaile, that thereby hee myght rather growe to ſome aſſured poynt of loſſe or gayne, than to ſtande euer vpon ſuche an vncertaintie, whether to haue peace or warre, that hee muſt bee conſtrayned to bee at all tymes in a readineſſe to defende himſelfe, but after he was come into Normandie, and had forrayed part of the Countrey once or twice, hee fell to a communication with his brother Duke Robert, and in the ende condiſcended to put the matter in compromiſe vnto the arbitrement of certaine graue perſonages, who iudging agaynſt the king, hee refuſed to ſtande to their iudgement, where vpon both partes prepared for warre againe: inſomuch that the king perceyuing how his brother was ayded by the French king, and that his power was to weake to withſtand them both, he ſent his commiſſion into Englãd for the leuying of .xx. M. men, cõmaunding them alſo to be ſent ouer vnto him into Normandie by a day, which was diligently performed. But euen as they were come togither about Haſtings, readie to enter a ſhipborde, immediately commeth the kings lieutenant with a countermaunde, and ſignifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and ſpare them for that iourney, woulde that euery of them ſhould giue him .x. ſhillings, as Mat. Paris hath, (or .xx. ſhillings as others haue) towardes the charges of the war, & therupõ depart home with a ſufficiẽt ſafecõduct, which the moſt part were better content to do, than to commit themſelues to the fortune of the ſea, and bloudie ſucceſſe of the warres of Normandie. In deed king William chaunging his minde, was nowe determined to ende the matter with money, and not with the ſworde, as it afterward appeared, for by brybing of king Philip in whom duke Robert had repoſed his whole truſt, he cõcluded peace with him vpon ſuch articles & conditions as he himſelfe required.

Mat. VVeſt.

Twentie ſhillings hath *VVi. Thorne.*

Mat. Par.
Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

Thus hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normãdie, he returneth into England, where he happed to meete with newe and more daungerous warres: For the Welchmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accuſtomed maner begin to inuade the Engliſh Marches, taking booties of cattell, and deſtroying the Countreys, to kill and take many of the kings ſubiectes, both Engliſh men and Normans.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

The Welchmen inuade Englande.

After this, (waxing prowde of their good ſucceſſe) they beſieged the Caſtell of Mountgomerie, and though the gariſon there made ſtoute reſiſtãce for a time, yet in the ende the enimie finding ſhift to ouerthrow the walles, entred perforce, and ſlue them all that they found within it. And although king William was offended herewith, when hee heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter, as then, being troubled with a conſpiracie nowe begon agaynſt him by Robert the Earle of Northumberland, who vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſt him, bycauſe he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good ſeruice ſhewed in the killing of Malcolme K. of Scotland, refuſed to come vnto him being ſent for by letters, and herewith beganne to practiſe with certaine other noble men of that countrey, how to depoſe King Wil. but ere he could bring any peece of his purpoſe to paſſe, the K. hauing aduertiſment of his attempts, firſt appointed his brother the L. Henrie to go thither with an armie, and forthwith he

The Caſtel of Montgomerye wonne by the Welchmen.

An. reg. 8.
1095

Robert Earle of Northumberland refuſeth to come to the king.

Mat. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Malvoiſin a fortreſſe built agaynſt Bambourgh.

Polidor.

Banbourgh yeelded to the king.

Sim. Dun.

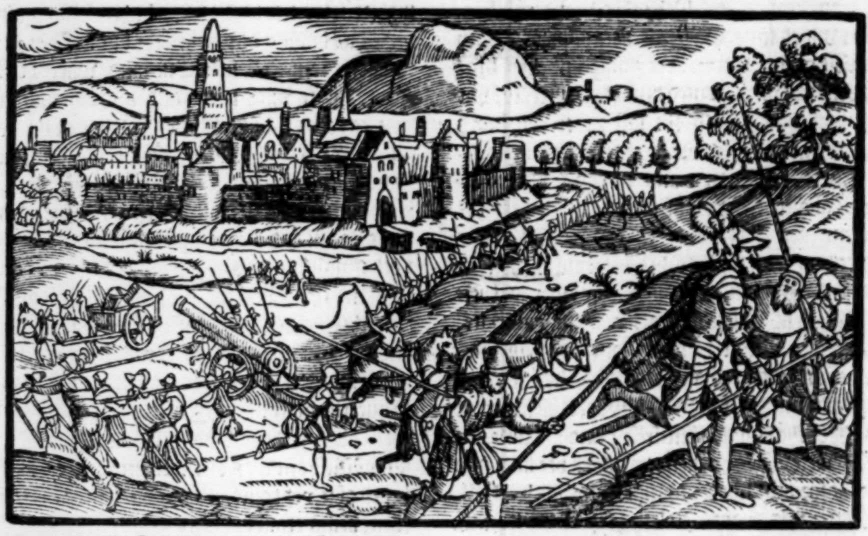
The Earle of Ewe.

Mat. Par.

King William inuadeth Wales.

The king returneth out of Wales with diſhonor.

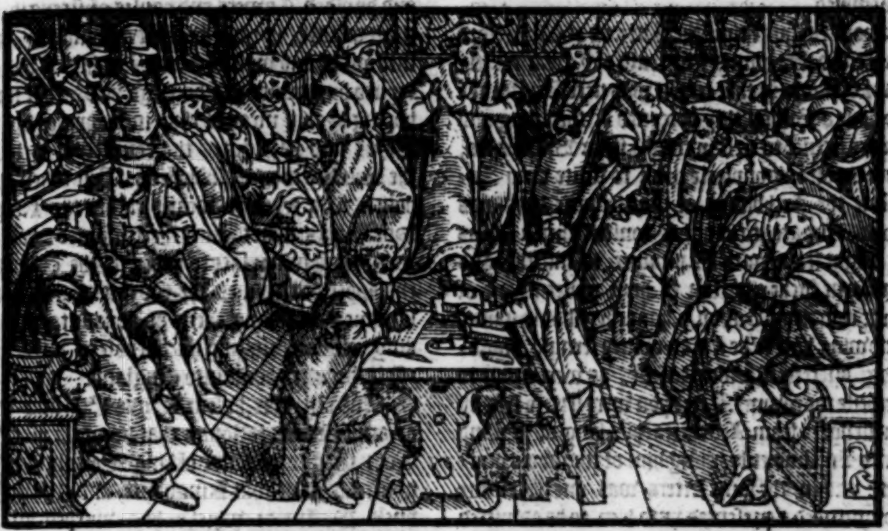
followeth himſelfe, and comming to Newcaſtel, where the moſt part of his complices were aſſembled, he ſurpriſed them ere they could haue time to prouide for their ſafetie. That done, he went to Tinmouth, and in the Caſtell there tooke the erles brother, & after came to the caſtell of Banbourgh into the which the ſaide Earle with his wife and children were withdrawne for their better ſafegarde and defence. Here it is written by ſome authors, that when the king perceyued it woulde bee hard for him to winne this Caſtell of Banbourgh, (by reaſon of the great ſtrength thereof,) without famine, he buylded vp an other Caſtel or Baſtilion faſt by it, calling the ſame Malvoiſin, in the which he placed a greate power of men, by whoſe meanes at length the Earle was ſo conſtrayned, that when he ſought to haue eſcaped by night, hee was eſpyed, and therewith purſued ſo neare by the kings Souldiours, that he was forced to take Sanctuarie within the Churche of Saint Oſwyn the Martyr at Tynmouth, out of the which he was quickly taken, and brought as priſoner to the kings preſence: notwithſtanding thoſe that remayned within the Caſtell vpon truſt of the ſtrength of that place, woulde not yeelde by any meanes, but ſtoode ſtill at their defence: whervpon the king cauſed the Earle theyr maiſter to be brought forth afore the gates, and threatned that he ſhoulde haue his eies put out of his head if they within did not ſtreight wayes deliuer the holde into his handes. And herevpon it came to paſſe that the Caſtell was giuen vp, and thoſe that kept it were diuerſly puniſhed, ſome by baniſhment, ſome by loſing their eares, and diuers by the loſſe of their handes, in example to others. The Erle himſelf alſo was cõueyed to Windſor Caſtell, and there committed to priſon. Some write that the meaning of the Erle and his complices (amongſt whom was William Earle of Ewe, which renouncing his allegiaunce to Robert Duke of Normandie was become the kings man) was to haue diſplaced the king from his roiall throne, and to haue ſet vp his ſonne William de Albemarle whom he had begotten of his cõcubin. But whatſoeuer their purpoſe was after that the king had quieted his countrey in the North partes, he bent all his force agaynſt the Welchmen, the which in the yeare before had deſtroyed and ouerthrowne the caſtell of Moungomerie, & ſlaine the Normans that lay there in gariſon to defende it, with which doing he was very muche offended, and therefore entering nowe into Wales, hee beganne to ſpoyle and waſte the countrey, for he ſawe that the Welchmen would not ioyne in battayle with him in the plaine field, but kept themſelues ſtill aloofe within the woods & Mariſhes, and aloft vpon Mountaynes: albeit oftentimes whẽ they ſaw aduantage, they would come forth, and taking the Engliſhmen & Normans at vnawares, kill many, & woũd mo of thẽ, hee ſtill purſued them by hilles and dales, though more to the loſſe of his owne people than hurt of the Welchmen, who eaſily eſchued the daunger of battaile, and ſtill at the ſtraites and comberſom paſſaes, diſtreſſed many of theyr enimies: wherby the king at length perceyuing that hee coulde not preuaile agaynſt them, ceaſſed further to follow on with his purpoſed voyage, and therewith returned home, not wͭout ſome note of diſhonor.



Edmerus

Murcherdach king of Irelãd

About the ſame time alſo, Murcherdach king of Irelande, with the Clergie and people of the Citie of Dublyn, elected one Samuell a Monke of S. Albons, and an Iriſh man borne, to the gouernment of the Church & Biſhops Sea of Dublyn, and (according to the auncient cuſtome) preſented him by ſufficient letters of teſtimonie vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Anſelme, to be ſacred of him, the which according to their requeſt did conſecrate him, and receyued of him a promiſe of his canonicall ſubiection, after the olde vſuall maner, hauing foure Biſhops, Suffragants to the ſea of Canterburie, miniſtring to him at that conſecration.



The counſel of Clermount.

In like maner, Pope Urban calling a counſell at Clermoūt in Auvergne, exhorted the chriſtian Princes ſo earneſtly to make a iourney into the holy lande, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saraſins handes, that the great and generall paſſage was concluded to be taken in hande, wherein ſo many noble men of Chriſtendome went vnder the leading of Godfray of Bullion and other, as in the Chronicles of Fraunce, Germanie, and of the holy lande doth more plainly appeare.

The iourney into the holy lande.
Godfray de Bullion.

There went alſo among other dyuerſe noble men forth of this Realme of Englande, ſpecially that worthily bare the ſurname of Beauchampe.

An.reg. 9
1096

Hen. Hunt.
VVil. Thorne
Simon Dun.

Robert Duke of Normandie minding alſo to goe in the ſame iourney, and wanting money to furniſh and ſet forth himſelfe, engaged his duchie of Normandie vnto his brother king William, for the ſumme of tenne thouſande poundes. And here was another occaſion offered vnto king William, to rayſe a newe payment amongeſt his ſubiectes, whiche was ſo grieuous, as well to the ſpiritualtie, as to the temporaltie, that diuerſe Biſhoppes and Abbottes, whiche had alreadie made away ſome of their Chalices and Churche Jewelles to pay the King, made nowe plaine anſwere that they were not able to helpe him wyth any more: vnto whom on the other ſyde (as the report went) the King ſhoulde ſay agayne, haue you not (I beſeeche you) Coffins of Golde and Siluer full of deade mens bones? meaning the ſhrines wherein the reliques of Saintes were incloſed, which (as his wordes ſeemed to import) he woulde haue had them to conuert into mony, therewyth to helpe him in that neede, worthily iudging it no ſacriledge, though many did otherwiſe eſteeme it, conſidering (as he pretended) that it was gathered for ſo godly an vſe, as to mainteyne the warres agaynſt the Infidels and enemies of Chriſt.

A ſubſedie.

Edmerus

The Archbiſhop Anſelme tooke the worth of two hundred Markes of ſiluer of the Jewels that belonged to the Church of Canterburie (the more part of the couent of Monkes winking therat) towardes the furniſhing of ſuch payment as he was conſtrayned to make to the king towardes hys ayde at that time: but bycauſe he would not leaue thys for an example to bee followed of his ſucceſſours, he graunted to the Churche of Canterburie the profites and reuenues of his Manour of Peckham, to bee receyued to the vſe of the ſame Churche for the tearme of ſeuen yeares, the ſame reuenues amounting to the ſumme of thirtie pounde yearely in thoſe dayes.

Polidor.

This King William ſeeking rather to ſpoile the Realme of Englande, than to preſerue the royall ſtate thereof, after hee had gotten togyther a greate maſſe of money, ſayled ouer into Normandie, and there delyuering vnto the Duke the tenne thouſande poundes aforeſayde, was put in poſſeſſion of the Duchie, to enioy the ſame, and the profites ryſing thereof, tyll the ſayde tenne thouſande poundes were repayde to him agayne, or (as ſome wryte) it was couenanted that in recompence thereof, the King ſhoulde enioy the profites of that Duchie for tearme onelye of three yeares, and then to reſtore it againe without any further intereſt or recompence.

The Duchie of Normandie engaged to king William

Edmerus

Polidor.

This done, hee returned agayne into Englande, and Duke Robert ſetteth forwarde on hys iorney in cōpanie of other noble men towardes the holy lād. In which iorney his noble prowes at all turnes when any ſeruice ſhoulde be ſhewed was moſt manifeſtly perceyued, to his high fame and renowme among the princes and nobilitie there aſſembled.

An. reg. 10.
1097

Eamerus

Waterford in Ireland made a Biſhoprike.

About the ſame time the Citizens of Waterford in Irelãd perceyuing yͤ by reaſõ of yͤ great multitude of people in that city, it was neceſſarie for thẽ to haue a Biſhop, they obteyned of their king and rulers licence to erect in their Citie a Biſhops ſea, and that it might pleaſe them to write vnto Anſelme the Archbiſhop of Canterburie that was their Primate, to haue his conſent therin, ſo as it might ſtand with his pleaſure, to inſtitute and ordeigne ſuche a perſon to haue gouernment of their church as Biſhop, whom they ſhould name, knowing him to be a man of ſuch lerning, knowledge, diſcretion, & worthineſſe, as were meete to exerciſe the rowme. Hereupon were letters ſent by meſſengers from Muchertachus king of Ireland vnto Anſelme, enforming him of the whole matter: and in the ſame letters was one Malchus commended & preſented vnto him to be admitted and ſacred if he thought it good. Theſe letters were ſubſcribed with the handes, not onely of the ſayde King Murchertachus, but alſo of his brother Duke Dermeth, of Biſhoppe Dufnalde, of Idiman Biſhoppe of Methe, of Samuell Byſhoppe of Dubline, of Ferdomnachus Biſhop of Laginia or Leymſter, and of many others bothe of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie.

The Archbiſh. of Canterburie primate of Irelande.

Muchertake K. of Irelande.

Anſelme therefore conſidering their requeſt to be iuſt and neceſſarie, graunted to fulfill theyr deſires, and ſo vpon examination had of the man, and taking of him his promiſe of obedience, according to the maner, hee conſecrated the ſame Malchus, and ſo ordeyned him to rule the church of Waterforde as Biſhop. This was done at Canterburie the. xxviij. day of October, Raufe Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Gundulfe Biſhop of Rocheſter helping Anſelme in the conſecration as Miniſters vnto him in that behalfe.

Malchus conſecrated biſh. of Waterford.

The ſayde Malchus was a Monke, and ſomtime vnder Walkhelme biſhop of Wincheſt.

But to the purpoſe. King William after his returne into Englande, remembring what domage he had ſuſteyned two yeares before at the handes of the Welchmen, determined eftſoones to inuade their countrey, and therefore doubling his power, commeth into the Marches, pitcheth his field, and conſulteth with his captaines what order he were beſt to vſe in that his enterpriſe, for the taming of his aduerſaries.

The king eftſoones inuadeth the Welchmen.

Polidor.

The Welche men hearing of the kings approche, and that his armie was farre greater than the laſt whiche hee brought into theyr Countrey, fell to theyr wonted policie, and gotte them into the Woodes there to lie in awayte truſting more to the aduauntage of places, than to their owne force and puiſſaunce.

The Welch men withdraw into the woods

Hen. Hunt.

When the king therefore vnderſtoode theyr practice, he placed armed men in dyuerſe places, and buylded Towers and houſes of ſtrength for theyr defence, bycauſe he durſt not aſſay to enter into wilde and waſte groundes, where he had receyued hinderance and domage before that time, hoping by this meanes thus in ſtopping vp the wayes and paſſages of the countrey, to bring the Rebelles to more ſubiection. But when thys policie was tryed to wearie rather the Kinges Souldiours than to hurt the ennimies, whiche wandering from place to place in the Woodes entrapped oftentymes the Normans and Engliſhe men in taking them at aduauntage, the king without bringing his purpoſe to anye good effect, departed home into Englande.

Simon Dun.

R. Houed.

And after this, he ſent Edgar Etheling with an armie into Scotlande, that he might place his Coſin Edgar the ſonne of king Malcolme in the gouernment of that Kingdome, and expulſe his vncle Duffnalde whiche had vſurped in the ſame.

An. reg. 11
1098

Whileſt King William in the meane tyme being inflamed with yre that he coulde not haue his will, determined with continuall warres to tame the rebellious ſtomackes of the Welchmen: And firſt to ſet vpon them of Angleſey, which being an Ile enuironed with the Sea, was euer a refuge for them, when they were ſharply purſued.

Math. Paris.

This enterprice was chiefly committed vnto Hugh Earle of Shrewſburie and Arondell, and to Hugh Erle of Cheſter, who at their firſt comming wanne the Ile, and vſed the victorie wyth great crueltie, putting out the eyes of ſome, cutting off the noſes, the armes, or handes of other, and ſome alſo they gelded.

Girald. Camb.

Moreouer (as Authours doe write) the ſayde Erle of Shrewſburie made a kenell of the church of Saint Fridancus, laying his houndes within it for the night time, but in the morning hee founde them all raging woode. But how true ſo euer this tale is I knowe not, but ſhortly after they had committed (in maner as before is ſayd) all kinde of crueltie in that Ile, it chaunced that a nauie of rouers came thither from the Iles of Orkney, whoſe chiefe Admirall was one Magnus, who encountering with the ſayde Earle of Shrewſburie, ſhotte him into the ey with an arrow, which part of his bodie remayned only bare and not armed, ſo that the ſaid Erle fell ſtreyght wayes dead out of hys ſhippe into the ſea, which when Magnus behelde, he ſayde ſcornfully in the Daniſhe tongue, *leit loupe*, that is, let him leape nowe: yet the Engliſhe menne had the victorie at that tyme (as ſome wryte) and chaſed away theyr ennimyes wyth greate ſlaughter and diſhonour.

Hugh Earle of Shrewsburie ſlaine.

Soone

Fab. ex Guidone de Columna.
Polidor.
An. Reg. 12.
1099

Soone after alſo, ẏ Erle of Cheſter going ouer into Wales, with long and continuall warres, brought vnder and tamed the wilde and rebellious Welchmen, who for a good while after durſt not ſhew their faces. The K. being thus at quietneſſe without warre in all places, began nowe to ſet his minde on building, and firſte cauſed newe walles to be made about the Tower of London, and alſo layde the foundation of Weſtminſter Hall, which though it be a right large and roomethy place, yet after it was finiſhed, and that at his returne out of Normandy, he came to viewe it, and held his Court therein with great pomp and honor, he repented that he had cauſed it to be made no larger, ſaying, it was too little by the half, and therefore determined to haue made a newe, and that this other ſhould haue ſerued but for a dining chamber.

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. Par.

A diligent ſearcher (ſaith Math. Paris) might yet finde out the foundation of the hall, whiche he had purpoſed to build, ſtretching from the Thames ſide vnto the common ſtreete. But though thoſe his buildings were great ornamēts to the Realme, yet bycauſe that he gathered money of his ſubiects in moſt greeuous wiſe towards the charges of the ſame, he was euill ſpoken of in thoſe his beneficiall doings, the ſame being ſpred, that he ſhould take them in hand, but onely vnder a colour to ſpoyle his ſubiectes in gathering a far greater ſumme than the expenſes of them did amount vnto.

Polidor.

The reward of euill men.

But ſuch is the reward of euill men, that their well doings are either moſt commonly defaced with ſome notorious faulte, or elſe miſtaken by ſome wrong and enuious interpretation.

The King goeth ouer into Normādy

About the ſame time that King William began theſe buildings, hee wente ouer into Normandy to vnderſtande in what ſtate, that countrey ſtoode.

Finchamſteed
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Mal.

Aboute the ſame time, or rather two yeare before, to witte. 1097. neere to Abington, at a towne called Finchamſteede in Barkſhire, a well or fountayne flowed with bloud, in manner as before it vſed to flowe with water, and this continued for the ſpace of three dayes, or as Wil. Malm. hath, fifteene dayes togither.

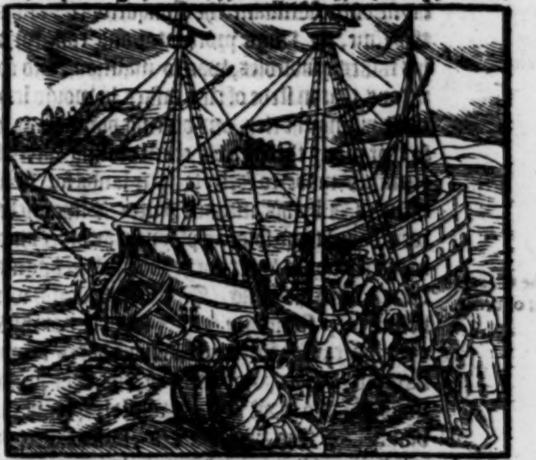
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

After the K. had diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normandy, and was returned into Englande, it chaunced as hee was making prouiſion to ride forth on hunting, a meſſenger came ſuddaynely to hym, bryngyng worde, that the City of Mans was beſieged, and like to be ſurpriſed. The King was as then at dinner, meaning firſt to make an end thereof, and after to take aduice in that matter: but beeing reproued by the meſſenger, that he ſhould in ſuche daunger of his ſubiectes that were beſieged make any delay, rather than to goe and ſuccour them, with all ſpeede, he taketh ẏ mans raſh language in ſo good parte, that hee called ſtraight waye for Maſons to breake downe the wall, to the ende he mighte paſſe through the nexte way, and not bee driuen to ſteppe ſo farre out of his path, as to goe forth by the dores and ſo withoute any long aduiſement taken in the cauſe, he rode ſtraight way to the Sea, ſending to his Lordes a commaundemente to followe, who when they came before his preſence, counſelled hym to ſtay till his people were aſſembled: but hee woulde not giue eare to their aduice in that poynte, but ſayd, ſuche as loue mee I knowe well will folowe me, and ſo went a Shipborde, ſetting aparte all doubtes of perils, and yet was ẏ weather very darke, rough and clowdy, in ſo muche, that the maſter of the Shippe was afrayde, and counſelled hym to tarry till the winde might ſettle in ſome quiet quarter: but he commaunded hym to hoyſe vp ſayles, and to make all the ſpeed that he could for his life, encouraging hym with theſe wordes, that he neuer heard as yet of anye King that was drowned.

VVil. Malm.

The ſaying of K. William Rufus.

Thus paſſing the Seas, he landed in Normādy, where he gathered his power, and made towards Mans.



Mans deliuered from an aſſeege.

When thoſe which helde the ſiege before that Citie, hearde of his approche, they brake vp their campe, and departed thence: howbeit, the Captaine named Helias, that pretended by title and right to be Earle of Mans, was taken by a trayne, and brought to the Kings preſence, who ieſted at him as though he had bin but a foole and a Cowarde, whervpon, the ſaid Helias kindled in wrath, boldly ſayde vnto him: whereas thou haſt taken me priſoner, it was by meere chaunce, and not by thy manhoode: but if I were at libertie againe, I woulde ſo vſe the matter with thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not thinke I were a man ſo lightly to be laughed at: no ſhould (ſayth ẏ king,) well then I giue thee thy libertie, and goe thy wayes, doe euen the worſt that lieth in thy power againſt me, for I care not a button for thee. Helias being thus ſet at libertie, did nothing after to make any accompt of againſt the Kyng, but rather kepte himſelfe quiet.

Helias.

Hen. Hunt.
Polidor.

Yet ſome write, that he was not taken at al, but eſcaped by flight. But to proceede, King William being returned into Englande, and puffed vp with pride of hys victories, and now ſeeing himſelfe alſo fully deliuered from all troubles of warre, began after hys olde manner to ſpoyle and waſt the countrey by vnreaſonable exactions, tributes and paymentes.

Variance betwixt the King, and the Archbiſhop Anſelme.

The Cleargie out of order.

Math. Paris.

A thouſand markes demaunded of Anſelme.

Edmerus.

Mat. Paris.

The King could not abide to heare the Pope named.

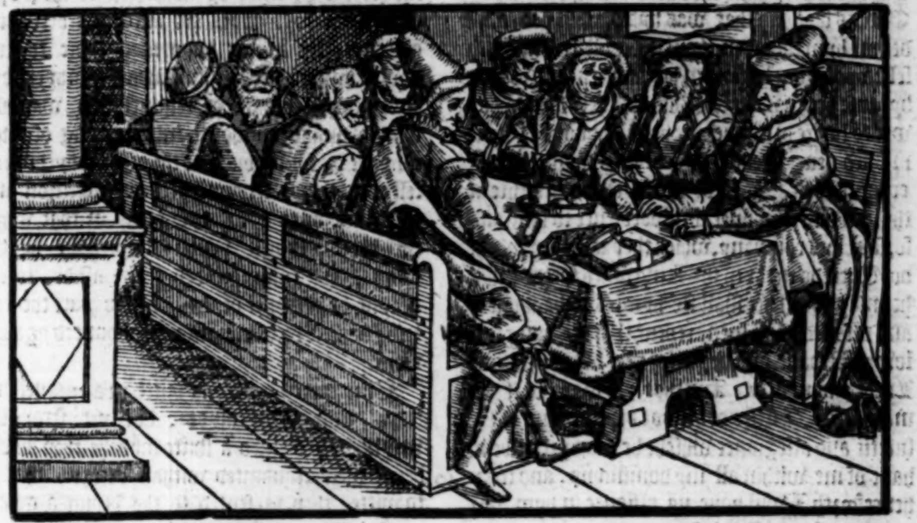
There fel alſo a great cōtrouerſie betwene Anſelme and the K. who pretended a reproche of his cruell ſurcharging of his commons with ſubſedies, lones, and vnreaſonable fines: but the chiefe cauſe was, for that hee mighte not call hys Synodes, nor correct the Biſhops, but as the King would. The King alſo chalenged the inueſture of Prelates, and indeede ſore taxed both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, ſpending the money vpon the reparations and buildings of the Tower, and Weſtminſter Hall, as is before remembred. And beſides this, his ſeruauntes ſpoyled the Engliſhmen of their goodes by vnreaſonable meanes: but eſpecially one Raulf that was ſometime Chaplayne vnto William the Conquerroure, and at this time, the kings procurator and collector of his taſkes & ſubſedies, was ſo malitious and couetous, that in ſtede of two taſkes, he would leuie three, pilling the rich, and bearing downe yͤ pore, ſo that many through his cruell dealing were oftentimes made to forfeyte their lands for ſmall offences, & by his meanes diuers Biſhopricks were bought and ſold, as playnely as other kinds of merchandiſes, whereby he was had in ſingular fauour with the King. The Cleargie alſo were holden very ſtraightly, & as I ſuppoſe, not without good cauſe: for ſurely in thoſe dayes it was farre out of order, not onely by couetous practiſings, but alſo in all kinds of worldly pompe and vanitie, for they vſed buſſhed and brayded perukes, long ſide garmentes and very gorgeous, gilte girdels, and gilt ſpurres, with many other vnſeemely enormities. To be ſhorte, the contention roſe ſo farre betwixte the K. and Anſelme, who woulde alſo haue corrected ſuch vices in the Cleargie (as ſome write) that in the ende the Archbiſhop was quite caſt out of fauoure. There are which alledge the very firſt and originall occaſion of their falling out to be, for that the Archbiſhop denyed to pay a thouſand markes of ſiluer at his requeſt: in conſideration of the Kings great beneuolence ſhewed in preferring him to his See, whereas the Archbiſhop iudged the offence of Simonie, to reſt as well in giuing, after his promotion receyued, as if he had bribed him aforehand, & therfore refuſed to make any ſuche paymente: but yet (as Eadmerus writeth) hee offered him fyue hundred pounds of ſiluer, whiche woulde not bee accepted, for the King was enformed by ſome of his Counſell, that the Archbiſhop in conſideration of his bounteous liberalitie extended towards hym, oughte rather to giue him two thouſande poundes, than fiue hundred, adding, that if hee would but chaunge his countenaunce, and gyue him no friendly lookes for a while, he ſhould perceiue that Anſelme would adde to the firſt offer, other fiue hundred pounds. But Anſelme was ſo farre from being brought to the kings lure with ſuche fetches, that openly to the Kings face hee told him, that better it ſhoulde be for his maieſtie to receyue of him a ſmall ſumme granted of him with a free and franke heart, ſo as he mighte help him eftſoones with more, than to take from him a great deale at once, without his good will, after ſuche ſorte, as though he were his bondman. For your grace (ſaith hee) may haue me, and all that mine is, to ſerue youre turne with friendly beneuolence: but in the way of ſeruitude and bōdage, you ſhal neither haue me nor mine. With whych words, yͤ King was in a maruellous chaufe, and therewith ſayde in his anger: well then, get thee home, take that whiche is thine to thy ſelfe, that whiche I haue of mine owne I truſt will ſuffiſe me. The Archbiſhop beeing on his knees, roſe herewith and departed, reioycing in his mynde that the King had refuſed his offer, whereby hee was deliuered out of ſuſpition to haue bribed the King, and gyuen hym that money in way of reward for his prefermente to the myter, as of malitious men woulde happily haue bin conſtrued. Whervpon beeing after laboured to double the ſumme, he vtterly refuſed ſo to do, & determining rather to forſake the Realme than to commit any ſuche offence, made ſuite to the King to haue licence to goe vnto Rome to fetch his Pall of the Pope. The King hearing the Pope to be named, waxed maruellous angry: for they of Rome began already to aſke giftes and paymentes, more impudently than they were hitherto accuſtomed. And as it chanced, there was a ſciſme euen then in the Church, by reaſon that the Emperour Hēry had placed a Pope of his owne ſetting vp, (one named Wibteth, Archbiſhoppe of Rauenna) agaynſte Pope Vrbane: for the Emperour mainteyned that it belonged to his office only to chooſe and appoynt what Pope ſoeuer it pleaſed hym.

King Williā therefore taking occaſion thereof, conceyued diſpleaſure againſt Vrbane, which withſtoode the emperours pretence, and alledged by the like that no Archbiſhop or Biſhop within hys Realme, ſhould haue reſpect to the Churche of Rome, nor to anye Pope, with whome they had nothing to doe, eyther by way of ſubiection, or otherwiſe, namely ſith the Popes flatly appeared to goe oute of the ſteppes whiche Peter trode, ſeeking after bribes, lucre and worldly honor alſo, that they coulde not reteyne the power to loſe and bynde, which they ſometyme hadde ſince they ſhewed themſelues nothing at all to followe his moſt vertuous lyfe and holy conuerſation. Hee added furthermore, that for himſelfe ſithence the conuerſion of the Realme to the Chriſtian faith, he hadde as great authoritie, franchiſes and liberties within the ſame, as the Emperour had in his Empire. And what hathe the Pope then to doe (quoth he) in the Empire or in my Kingdome touching temporal liberties, to whome onely it belongeth to bee carefull for the ſoule of man, and where hereſies ſpring vp, if the Prelates of the prouince or Countrey be not able to reforme the ſame, then might the Pope ſeke redreſſe thereof, eyther by hymſelfe or by hys Legates. And againe, by reaſon of the ſciſme, and for yͤ diſpleaſure that he bare towards Pope Urbane, he aſked of Anſelme of which Pope he wold require his Palle, ſith hee was ſo haſty to goe to Rome for it: to whiche demaund Anſelme aunſwered, that of Pope Urbane he woulde require it. The which when the Kyng heard, he ſayde, I haue not as yet receyued him for Pope, and that it was againſte the cuſtome vſed eyther in hys time, or in his fathers time, that any man within the Realme of England, ſhould name or obey any man for Pope, without the Kings licence and conſent, ſaying moreouer, that if the ſayd Anſelme would ſeke to take that prerogatiue and dignitie from him, it ſhould be all one, as if he ſhould goe about to take away from him his Crowne and all other regall dignitie. Whereunto Anſelme aunſwered, that at Rocheſter before hee was ſacred Biſhop he had declared his minde therein, that being Abbot of Bechellouin in Normandy, he had receyued Urbane for Pope, and therefore whatſoeuer chaunced, he might not goe frõ hys obedience and ſubiection promiſed to hym.

Eadmerus.
The Kings demaund to Anſelme.

The King beeing yet further kindled herewith protested in playne wordes, that Anſelme could not both keepe his fayth and allegiance towards him, and alſo his obedience to the See of Rome, againſt his will and pleaſure. But to cõclude, this matter wente ſo farre in controuerſie betwixt the King and the Biſhop, that a Counſell was called at Rockyngham in Rutlandſhire, and there in the Church within the Caſtell, the matter was earneſtly debated, and muche adoe was made on euery ſide, to haue conſtreyned Anſelme to renounce his opinion, but hee would not. Wherefore it was then deuiſed, that if hee woulde not agree to the Kings pleaſure, they would by and by ſee if they mighte in anye wiſe depriue him: but ſtill Anſelme helde hard, and coulde not bee feared by all theſe threats, and in like manner to iudge of an Archbiſhops cauſe, the other Biſhops concluded that they had no authoritie.

A counſell at Rockingham in Rutland ſhire.



Moreouer, while the matter was in conſultation among the Biſhops, another of the Kyngs Counſel a Knight came before Anſelme in place where hee ſate almoſt alone to looke for an aunſwere by them from the Kyng, whiche Knyghte kneeling downe before the Archbiſhop, ſpake theſe wordes vnto him: Reuerend father, your humble children beſech your grace not to haue your heart troubled with theſe things whiche you heare, but call to remembrance that bleſſed man Iob, vanquiſhing the Deuill on the Dounghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had ouercome in Paradice. Which words the Archbiſhop conſideryng with a friendly countenance, perceyued that the mindes of the people remayned on his ſyde, wherof both he and ſuch as were about him, were right ioyfull and greatly comforted, hauing a cõfidence according to the Scripture, that the voyce of the people was the voyce of God. When the King vnderſtood all theſe things, he was marueillouſly diſquieted in his mind, and therfore perceiuing that the Biſhops and other of hys counſell had promiſed more than they coulde performe, blamed them for it: vnto whome the Biſhoppe of

Durham that was the chiefe doer in thys matter, ſhaped thys aunſwere: hee ſpake ſo fayntly (quoth hee) and ſo coldly at the fyrſt, that he ſeemed not to haue any ſtore of wit or wiſedome at all.

Finally, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the ſayd Biſhop of Durham alledging that they coulde not well ouercome hym by argumentes, ſo long as he grounded hys opinion in ſuche wiſe vpon the ſcripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter, The beſt way therefore (ſayde hee) ſhall bee, to compell hym by force, eyther to agree to the Kyngs mynde, or elſe to depriue hym of hys Ring and ſtaffe, and after baniſh hym the Realme: but the Lordes of the Counſell allowed not the Biſhops wordes heerein: wel ſayth the King, and what other way will you thynke good, if thys lyke you not: ſo long as I may lyue, I will not ſurely ſuffer any to be my peere within my Realme: and if you knewe hys cauſe to be ſo good, why dyd you ſuffer mee to begynne thys action agaynſte hym: goe youre wayes therefore, and take aduice togyther, for by Goddes face (for that was hys othe) if you condemne hym not at my will, I will reuenge my ſelfe vpon you, but when hee was enformed that bycauſe hee was an Archbiſhop, they had no power to iudge or condemne hym, though his cauſe prooued neuer ſo euill, whiche they could not perceyue ſo to be. He tolde them yet they mighte at the leaſtwiſe renounce their obedience to him, and forſake hys company, which they ſaid they might do. Then do it (ſayth the King) with ſpeede, that hee may when hee ſhall ſee hymſelfe abandoned, and deſpiſed of all men, repent that hee hathe followed Vrbane, and neglected mee his ſoueraigne Lorde and maſter. And that yee may doe it the more ſafely, I firſte of all doe depriue hym of the ſuretie and allegiance whiche he may pretende to haue of me within all my dominions, and from henceforth I will haue no affiance in hym, nor take hym for an Archbiſhop.

The King renounceth the Archbiſhop for his ſubiecte.

The Biſhops woulde fayne haue perſwaded Anſelme to haue ſhewed himſelfe conformable to the Kyngs pleaſure, and therefore trauelled with hym earneſtly in that behalfe, but all woulde not ſerue: hee anſwered indeede very curteouſly, but hys benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior thyngs he were neuer ſo muche diſquieted. The King perceyuing hym to ſtande ſtiffe in hys opinion, ſayd vnto hys Lordes, his wordes are euer contrary to my mynde, and I will not take hym for my friende, whoſoeuer doth fauour hym.

I ſhall therefore require you that bee peeres of my Realme, to renounce all the fayth and friendſhippe whyche you beare hym, that hee maye ſee what hee hath gayned by that allegiance, whyche to the offending of my pleaſure hee obſerueth to the Apoſtolike See. The Lords aunſwered hereunto: As for vs, we were neuer hys menne, and therefore cannot we abiure any fealtie whiche we neuer acknowledged. He is oure Archbiſhop, and hath the gouernaunce of matters perteynyng to the Chriſtian religion within this lande, and for that cauſe, we which are Chriſtians, may not refuſe hys authoritie whyleſt we remayne heere on earthe, namely, ſyth there is no blemiſhe of haynous crime that toucheth hym, whyche may conſtreyne vs otherwiſe to doe. The Kyng reſtrayned to declare hys wrath, leaſt he ſhould prouoke them further to diſpleaſure by ſpeakyng againſt theyr reaſon. The Biſhops were greatly abaſſhed heerewith, and were broughte to a ſhrewde pinche. When immediately after, the Kyng required to know of euery of them a part, whether they vtterly renounced all manner of ſubiection and obedience vnto Anſelme withoute any condition intermitted, or elſe that only whiche hee did pretende by authoritie of the Pope. When the Byſhoppes did aunſwere heerevnto diuerſly, the Kyng appoynted thoſe to ſitte downe by hym as faythfull ſubiects, whyche acknowledged that theyr renunciation was abſolutely made, withoute intermittyng of anye manner of condition: but the other whyche proteſted that they renounced theyr ſubiection and obedience vnto hym, but onely in that whyche hee preſumed vppon the behalfe of the Pope, hee commaunded them aſyde, to remayne in a corner of the houſe to heare the ſentence of their condemnation pronounced againſt them:

The Biſhops driuen to their ſhiftes how to ſhape an anſwere.

The meane to pacifie the King.

The ſtiffenes of Anſelme in withſtanding the Kings pleaſure.

Math. Paris.

They therefore beeyng putte in a maruellous feare, gote them aſyde, but yet ſtrayghte wayes they deuiſed a ſhifte whyche they hadde beene well acquainted withall before, that is to witte, they preſented to the Kyng a greate maſſe of money to appeaſe hys wrathe, and ſo thereby they were reſtored to hys fauoure. Anſelme notwithſtandyng ſtoode ſtill ſtiffe in hys opinion, ſo that in the ende when no other way coulde be hadde, the ſentence touching this controuerſie betwixt hym and the King, was reſpited till the Octaues of Pentecoſt nexte enſuing. All whyche thyngs were notifyed well ynough to the Pope, who lyke a wary Prelate vſed the matter with ſuche moderation, that by ſecrete aduertiſementes gyuen, hee tooke away from hys brethren all rigorous wayes of proceedings, ſaying, *Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori*, but the Kynges enmitie towardes Anſelme was openly declared, and that chiefly for the denyall of the money

which

The Biſhop of Alba reconcileth the Pope to the Kings fauour.

Edmerus.

Fabian.

Math. Paris. Anſelme comming to Rome compleyneth of the King.

Ranulf Biſhop of Chicheſter.

Fines of Prieſts that had wiues as by ſome writers it ſeemed. *Polidor.*

which he demaunded, & at length gote it, though not with any free beneuolent will of the Archbiſhop, in ſomuch that he was reputed of the Kyng giltie of treaſon. But within a few dayes after, Walter the Biſhop of Alba bringing to him hys Palle, with wiſdome reconciled the Pope to the Kings fauour: albeit Anſelme yet could not purchaſe throughly the Kings good will, though hee wiſely diſſembled for the time: and when the Byſhop of Alba ſhould returne vnto Rome, he made ſute to haue licence to goe with him, but for aunſwere the Kyng offered hym, that if hee woulde leaue off his purpoſe, and ſweare vpō the Euangeliſts neyther to goe to Rome, nor to appeale in any cauſe to the Popes Court, he mighte lyue in quietneſſe and reſt out of all daunger: but if hee would not be ſo contented, he might depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither agayne, for ſurely (ſaith he) if he goe I will ſeaſe the Archbiſhopricke into myne owne handes, and receyue him no more for Archbiſhop. Anſelme heerewith departing from the Court, came to Canterbury, declaring openly what had bin ſayde vnto hym, and immediately ſought to flee out of the Realm in the night, prouiding for hymſelfe a Shippe at Douer. But hys purpoſe being reuealed to the King, one William Warlewaſt that was the Kings ſeruaunte, was ſente after hym, and finding hym ready to departe, tooke from hym all that he had, and after permitted hym to keepe on his iourney, who repayring to Rome, made vnto Pope Vrbane a greeuous information agaynſte the Kyng, declaring into what miſerable ſtate he had brought the Realme, and how that for want of aſſiſtance in his Suffraganes it lay not in him to reforme the matter. Indeede we finde not that any of the Biſhops held with Anſelme in the cōtrouerſie betwixt hym and the Kyng, except Ranulph Biſhop of Chicheſter, who both blamed yͤ King, and alſo rebuked all ſuch Biſhops as had refuſed to ſtand with Anſelme, and fauoured the King in cauſes concerning the foreſaid variance. Moreouer, the ſame Biſhop of Chicheſter withſtoode the King and his officers in taking of fines of Prieſtes for the crime of fornication, by reaſon of which preſumption, the King became ſore offended with hym, and obteyned ſuch fauour, that he founde meanes to ſuſpend many Churches of his dioceſſe, but yet in the ende, the Biſhoppe demeaned himſelfe in ſuche wiſe, that he hadde hys owne will, and hys Churche dores were opened agayne, that before were ſtopped with thornes. And further, the King was contented, that the ſayde Biſhop ſhould haue the fines of Prieſtes in crimes of fornication within his dioceſſe, and enioy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall ſo euer he was vnto the Sea of Chicheſter, troth it is (as Polidor writeth) that he let forthe dyuers Abbeyes, and the reuenewes of the Biſhopricks of Wincheſter and Saliſburie, and alſo of the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury vnto certayne perſons that fermed the ſame at his handes for greate ſummes of money, in ſo muche, that beſide the ſayd Biſhopricks of Canterbury, Wincheſter, and Saliſburie, whiche at the tyme of his death he held in his hands, he alſo receyued the profites of .11. Abbeyes which he had let to ferme, or otherwiſe vſed to his moſt aduantage.

Robert Loſaunge. *Ran. Higd. VVil. Malm.*

Roberte Loſaunge, of ſome called Herbert, yͭ ſometime hadde bin Abbot of Ramſey, and then Biſhop of Thetford by gift of a thouſande poūds to the King (as before yee haue hearde) repented him alſo for yͭ he was inueſted by the K. And after he had bewayled his offence, he wēt to Rome in like manner, and dyd for the ſame all ſuche penance as the Pope enioyned hym. Whiche beeing done, hee returned into Englande, remouing ere long his See from Thetforde to Norwiche where he founded a faire Monaſterie of his owne charges, and not of yͤ Churches goodes (as ſome ſay) but therein is a doubt, conſidering hee was firſt an Abbot, and after a Biſhop.

Stephan Harding a Monke

Ran. Higd. Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.

About this time alſo, by the meanes of Stephan Harding a Monke of Shireborne, an Engliſhman, the order of Ciſteaux or white Monkes had his beginning within the countrey of Burgongne, as witneſſeth Ranulph the Monke of Cheſter: but other writers, (as Iacobus Philippus ſay) that this Stephan was the ſeconde Abbot of that place, and that it was founded by one Roberte Abbot of Molimenſe in the yere of grace 1098. This order was after broughte into England by one called Walter Eſpeke, who founded the firſte Abbey of that Religion within thys Realme at Riuall about the yeare of grace. 1131.

An. Reg. 13. 1100

The Kings lauiſh prodigalitie.

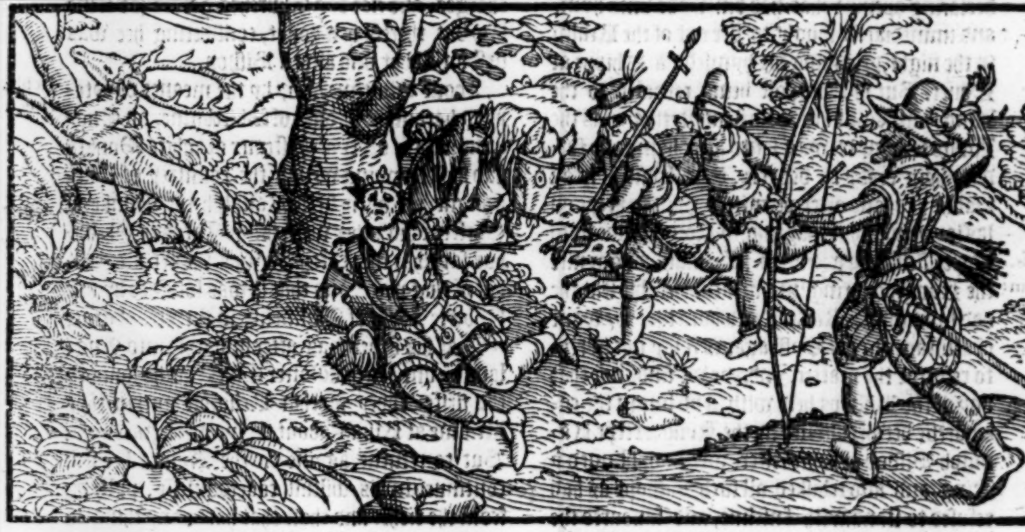
Strange wonders. *VVil. Mal.*

A dreame. *Math. VVeſt. VVil. Malm.*

But to returne againe to the Kyng, hee ſtill continued in his wilfull couetouſneſſe, pullyng from the riche, and thoſe that hadde any thing, to waſt and ſpend it out in all exceſſe, vayne riot, and giftes beſtowed on ſuch as had leaſt deſerued the ſame. And yet hee was warned by many ſtraunge wonders (as the common people did interpretate) to refraine from ſuch euill doyngs: for the Thames did riſe with ſuch high ſprings and tides, that many townes were drowned, and muche other hurt done in places about London, and elſewhere. Dyuers other things happened alſo the ſame time, whiche I paſſe ouer. But the King hearing hereof, did nothing regard them, that were ſo bolde as to tell hym that they were euident tokens, ſignifying ſome vengeance to follow vpon the ſame. He himſelf alſo on a night as hee ſlept and dreamed, hee thought that the veynes of hys armes were broken, and that the bloud iſſued out in great abundance. Lykewiſe, he was told by Robert Fitz Hamõ, that a Mõke ſhould dreame in his ſleepe, how he ſaw the king gnawe with his teeth the image of Chriſt crucified, and that as hee was about to teare with hys teeth the legges of the ſame Image, Chriſt with his feete ſhould ſpurne him downe to the ground, and as hee lay ſo on the earthe, there came out of his mouth a flame of fyre, and ſuch abundance of ſmoke, that the ayre was darkned therewith. But the Kyng made a ieſt of theſe and the lyke tales. He is a right Monke (ſayth he) and to haue a peece of money, he dreameth ſuch things, gyue him therefore an hundred Shillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our perſon. Yet was the King ſomewhat moued herewith, and doubtfull, whether he ſhoulde goe into the new Forreſt to hunt on Lammas day as he had already purpoſed, or no, bycauſe hys friendes counſelled hym not to trie the trouth of dreames to his own loſſe and hinderaunce, whereuppon hee forbare to goe forth before dynner, but after hee had dyned and made himſelfe merrie with receyuing more drinke than commonly he vſed to doe, abroade he got hym into the Forreſt with a ſmall company aboute hym: and amongſt other was one Sir Walter Tirrell a Frenche Knighte, whome hee had reteyned in ſeruice with large ſtipend. Thys Sir Walter chaunced to remayne with yͤ King, when all the reſt of the company was diſperſed here and there, as the manner in hunting is, and now as the ſunne began to draw lowe, the King perceyuing an Hart to come alongſt by hym, hee ſhot at the ſame, and with hys arrow ſtroke him, but not greatly hurting hym, hee fledde away. The Kyng alſo to marke whiche way the Hart tooke, and the manner of hys hurte, caſt vp his hand to ſhadow the ſunne from daſeling on hys eyes, and as he ſtoode in that ſorte, forth came another Hart, at the which as Sir Walter Tirrell let driue an arrow, the ſame by glauncing ſtroke the King into the breſt, ſo that hee neuer ſpake worde, but breaking off ſo much of the arrow as appeared out of his body, hee fell downe, and gyning only one grone, immediately dyed, without more noyſe or mouing. Sir Walter running to him, and perceyuing no voyce nor ſenſe to remayne in hym, ſtraight wayes gote to his Horſe, and riding away, eſcaped and ſaued himſelfe: for few there were that purſued him, euery man beeing amaſed at the chaunce, and ſome departyng one way, and ſome another, to ſee to their owne aduauntage and commoditie, as the tyme then ſerued. The dead body of the King was ſtraighte conueyed to Wincheſter, and there buryed yͤ morow after, which was the ſecond day of Auguſt, the yere of our Lord. 1100.

Sir Walter Tirell.

The Kyng ſlayne.



VVil. Malm.

To this ende came K. William, after he had reigned almoſt. 13. yeres, and liued. 43. and ſomewhat more. And though this Prince bee euill reported of by writers for the couetous taſking of his ſubiects, and namely for reteyning of eccleſiaſtical liuings in his hands, yet was he endowed with many noble and princely qualities: he hadde good knowledge in the feates of warre, and could well endure trauaile and bodily labour. In al his affayres he was circumſpect inough, ſtedfaſt and ſtable of promiſe, and in his warres no more diligent than fortunate. He gaue to the Monkes called *monachi de charitate* in Southwarke, yͤ greate new Church of S. Sauiour of Bermõdſey, and alſo Bremõds eye it ſelfe. He alſo fõded a goodly Hoſpitall in the Citie of Yorke, called S. Leonards, for the ſuſtentation and finding of the pore as well brethren as ſyſters. Towardes Souldiers and men of warre he was very liberall, and to enrich them, he paſſed not to take from Fermors and huſbandmen what ſoeuer could be gottẽ. Hee was indeede of a prodigall nature, and therfore when in the beginning of his raigne, doubtyng ſome troubles, he hadde aſſembled togither many men of war for his defence, there was nothyng yͭ they could aſke which he would deny to them, in ſo much, that his fathers treaſures were ſoone cõſumed, by reaſon whereof he was put to his ſhifts to prouide more: for though ſubſtance wanted to ſhew his liberalitie, yet there wanted not in hym a mind ſtill to be bountifull, for the continual vſe of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, ſo that to furniſh himſelfe of money & other things, and to beſtow of ſome, he was driuen to take from other: for in ſuch ſort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall, and ſo of a ſtout courage as proude withall, and in ſuche wiſe ſeuere, as hee ſeemed alſo cruell and hard to be entreated.

The liberall hart of Kyng William.

In what maner he vſed to make hys beſt of benefices and ſpirituall liuings, it partly before appeareth. In deede ſuch was his conditiõ, that who ſoeuer woulde giue, might haue, & that oftentimes without reſpect, whether their ſute was reaſonable and allowable or not, in ſomuch, that it is tolde of him, that beeing in Roan one tyme, there came to hym dyuers Iewes whyche inhabited in that Citie, complayning to him, that diuers of their nation had renounced their Iewiſh Religion, and were become Chriſtians, wherefore they beſought him, that for a certaine ſumme of money whiche they offered to gyue, it myghte pleaſe him to conſtreyne them to abiure Chriſtianitie, and turne to the Iewiſh law againe: hee was contented to ſatiſfie their deſires, and ſo receiuing the money, called them afore him, & what with threats and putting thẽ otherwiſe in feare, he conſtreyned dyuers of them to forſake Chriſt, and returne to their old errors.

Iewes.

Ther was alſo about the ſame time a yong man a Iew, the which by a viſion appearing vnto him (as is ſaide,) was conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, and beeing baptiſed, was named Stephan, bycauſe S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the viſion, as by the ſame he was enformed. The father of hym being ſore troubled in that his ſonne was thus become a Chriſtian, and hearing what the King had done in ſuch like matters, preſented to him .60. markes of ſiluer, vpõ condition he ſhould compell his ſonne to returne to his Iewiſh Religion. Hervpon was the yong man broughte before the K. vnto whome the K. ſaid, Sirra, your father here complayneth that without his licence ye are become a Chriſtian: if this be true, I commaund thee to returne againe to the Religion of your natiõ, without any more adoe: vnto whom the yong man anſwered, your grace as I ſuppoſe doth but ieſt: wherewith the K. being moued ſaid, what thou dunghill knaue ſhuld I ieſt with thee, get thee hence quickly, and fulfill my commaundement, or by S. Lukes face I ſhall cauſe thyne eyes to be plucked out of thine head: the yong mã nothing abaſhed therewith, with conſtant voyce aunſwered, truly I will not do it, but know for certaine, that if you were a good Chriſtian man, you would neuer haue vttered any ſuch wordes, for it is the part of a Chriſtian to reduce them again to Chriſt, which be departed from hym, and not to ſeparate them from him which are ioyned to him by faith.

An anſwere of a good Iewe.

The K. herewith cõfounded, cõmanded the Iew out of his ſighte: but his father perceyuing that the king coulde not perſwade his ſonne to forſake the Chriſtian faith, hee required to haue his money againe, but the K. ſaid, he had done ſo much as hee promiſed to doe, that was, to perſwade him ſo far as he might. At length when he would haue had the K. to haue deale further in the matter, yͤ K. to ſtop his mouth, returned back to him the one halfe of his money, and reteyned yͤ other halfe.

A prety deuiſion.

Moreouer, to encreaſe the ſuſpition which mẽ had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he cauſed a diſputatiõ to be kept betwixt yͤ Iewes and the Chriſtians, promiſing that if the Iewes ouercame yͤ Chriſtians in argument, he woulde turne to their ſide: but yͤ Iewes being ouercome, and receyuing the foyle, would not confeſſe theyr errors, but alleadged, that by factions and not by reaſon, they wer put to the worſe.

King Williã ſuſpected of infidelitie.

But what opinion ſoeuer he had of the Iewes fayth, it appeareth by writers that he doubted in many poyntes of the Religion then in credite, for hee ſticked not to proteſt openly that hee beleeued there was no Saint could profit any man in the Lords ſight, and therefore neyther woulde he nor any other yͭ was wiſe (as he affirmed) make interceſſion, either to Peter, or to any other for helpe.

Edmerus

Praying to Saincts.

He was of ſtature not ſo tall as the common ſort of men, redde of heare, whereof hee tooke his ſurname Rufus, ſomewhat groſſe in the wombe, and not ready of tong, ſpecially in his anger, for then vnneth could he vtter a ready word, hee dyed without iſſue, vſing Concubines all the dayes of hys lyfe.

His ſtature.

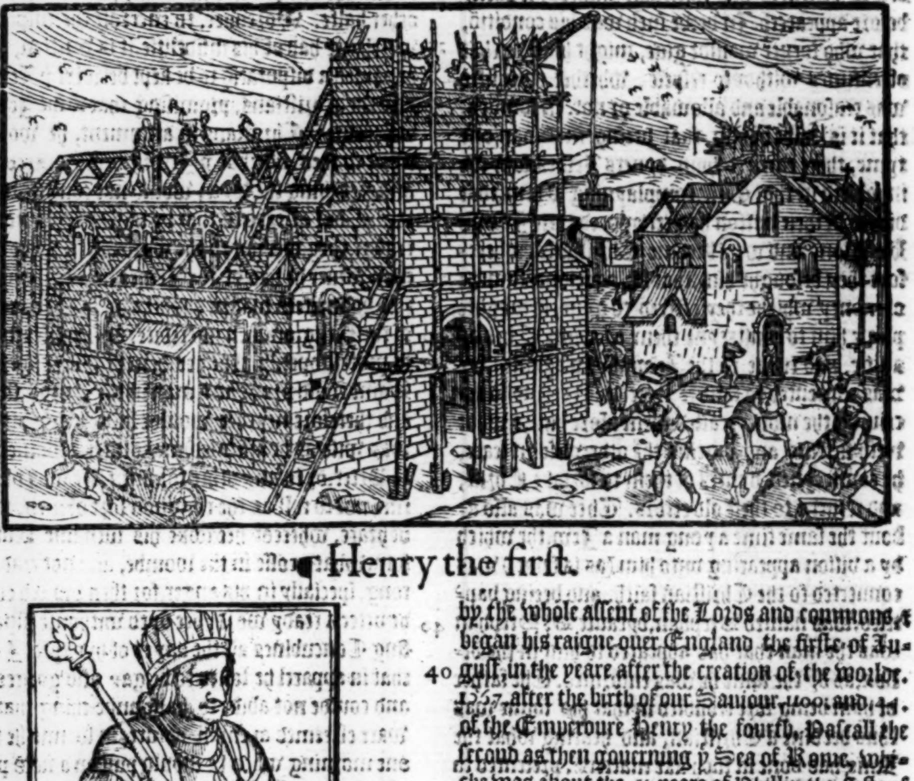
Whereof he tooke his ſurname Rufus.

I find that in apparel he loued to be gay and gorgeous, and coulde not abide to haue anye thing that hee ware eſteemed at ſmall value, in ſo muche that one morning when he ſhould pull on a newe paire of hoſe, hee aſked the groome of his chamber that brought them to him what they coſt, three Shillings ſaith he, why thou horeſon ſayd the Kyng, doth a payre of hoſe of three Shillings price become a Kyng to weare, goe thy wayes and fetch me a payre that ſhall coſt a marke of ſiluer. The grome went, and brought him an other paire, for yͤ which he paid ſcarcely ſo much as yͤ other coſt, but when the K. aſked what they ſtood him in, he told him they coſt a marke, & thẽ was he well ſatiſfied & ſaid, yea mary, theſe are more fitter for a K. to weare, and ſo drew them vpon his legges.

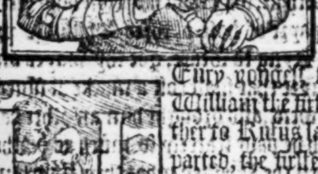
VVil. Malm.

In this king days Iohn biſhop of Welles ioyned the ned the monaſterie of Bathe vnto hys ſea, & repairing the ſame monaſterie, began to inhabite there in the yere. 1094. alſo the Churche of Couentry was in like ſort ioyned vnto the ſea of Cheſter by Robert biſhop of that dioceſſe. Wulſtan biſh. of Worceſter died aboute the ſame tyme, and Anſelme hauing purchaſed bulles of Pope Paſcall, wherin was cõteined an admonition vnto King William to deſiſt from his grieuous oppreſſing the churche, & to amende his former doings, was now on his returne towards England, when by yͤ way he heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Cheſter in this kings dayes builded the Abbey of Cheſter, and procured Anſelme that was after archbiſhop of Canterbury to come ouer forth of Normãdie, that he might direct the ſame abbey, and place ſuch religious perſons as were neceſſarie for the purpoſe of that foundation. Long it was ere Anſelme wold come ouer, bicauſe he doubted to be ſuſpected of an ambicious deſire to ſeke to be made Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, for it was talked yͭ if he went ouer into England, he ſhould ſurely be elected before he returned into Normãdie: but at length ſo it chaunced, that the forſayd Hugh erle of Cheſter fel ſick, and diſpairing of life ſent with all ſpeede vnto Anſelme, requiring him moſt inſtantly to come ouer vnto him, lying in yͤ extremitie of ſickneſſe, that if hee haſted not the ſooner, it would be too late, wherof he would after repent him. Then Anſelme for that he might not fayle hys friend in ſuch neceſſitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the Abbey, according to that that ſeemed beſt to him for eſtabliſhmente of Religion there.

Couentrie Church ioined to the See of Cheſter.



¶ Henry the firſt.



Henry the firſt.
1100
An. Reg. 1.

HEnry yongeſt ſonne to William the firſt, brother to Rufus lately departed, the firſte of that name that ruled heere in Englande, and for hys knowledge in good literature ſurnamed Beauclerke, was admitted K. by the whole aſſent of the Lords and commons, & began his raigne ouer England the firſte of Auguſt, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde. 5067. after the birth of our Sauiour 1100. and 44. of the Emperoure Henry the fourth, Paſcall the ſecond as then gouerning yͤ Sea of Rome, which was about the .41. yeare of Phillip the firſte of that name K. of France, & beginning of yͤ raigne of Edgar K. of Scotlande, and was ſacred and Crowned at Weſtminſter, the fifth daye of Auguſt, by Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, & Maurice Biſhop of London, bycauſe at that time Anſelme Archbiſhop of Cãterbury was exiled. This Prince hadde aforehand framed the people to hys purpoſe, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceyue a marvellous euil opinion of his brother Duke Robert, perſwading them moreouer, that yͤ ſaid Duke was likely to proue a ſharp and rigorous gouernour, if he once atteyned to yͤ Crowne and dominion of the Iland. Moreouer,

VVil: Thorne
Geruaſius Dorobernẽſis.
Mat, Paris.

he cauſed it to be bruited abrode, and reported for a certain trouth, that the ſame Robert was alreadie created king of Jeruſalem: And therfore cōſidering that the kingdom of Paleſtine (as the report went) was of greater reuenues, than that of England, there was no cauſe why they ſhuld ſtay for him, who would not willingly leaue the greater for the leſſe. By which meanes the nobilitie and commons were the ſooner perſuaded to decline from the election of the ſayd Robert, and to receiue his brother Henry for their lawful king, who on the other ſide ceaſed not to promiſe montaines till his enterpriſe tooke effecte, and then at leyſure payed ſome of them with molle hylles, as by the ſequele of the ſtorie ſhal more at large appeare.

This Henry therfore comming thus to the Crowne, conſidered furthermore with him ſelfe, that hereafter when his eldeſt brother Roberte ſhould returne, and vnderſtand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himſelfe to haue had much wrong, and bin very euill dealte withall, ſith that by right of birth, and alſo by agreement made with his brother Williā Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, & therupon wold not fayle, but make earneſt clayme againſt him. Wherfore ere he ſhuld come home out of the holy land (where he yet remained) the King ſtudied by all meanes poſſible how to gratifye all the ſtates of his realme, and to plant in their harts ſome good opinion of him: & firſt of all to begin with, he reformed ſuche things as his brother had lefte very preiudiciall to the eſtate of the Church, making the ſame free which before was ſore oppreſſed: & furthermore ſomwhat to releue the cōmon wealth, he promiſed to reſtore the lawes of good K. Edw. & to aboliſh or amende thoſe whiche by his father and brother were alreadye ordeined to the hurt and preiudice of the olde auncient liberties of the realme of England. He reuoked Anſelme the Archebiſhop of Canterbury out of exile who fled (as ye haue heard) to auoyd the wrathe of K. William. Moreouer, he placed in the ſea of Wincheſter, one William Gyffarde, a graue and diſcrete perſon, and alſo ordeined Monkes of honeſt reputation to be Abbots in certain abbeys which had bin long voyd, & in the hands of William his brother: in like maner hee pardoned certain payments whiche his brother & predeceſſour had cauſed to bee raiſed by waye of taxes & cuſtomes, and beſides this on the .viij. day of September, he cōmitted to priſon within the Tower of London Rafe the biſhop of Durhā, by whoſe naughtye counſel his ſaid brother being ſeduced, had in his life time done many oppreſſions to his people. He ordeyned alſo that one length of meaſuring ſhould be vſed through this realme, which was a yard, apointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme, many other things he amēded alſo greatly to the contentation and commoditie of his ſubiectes, who gaue God thankes that he had in ſuche wyſe deliuered them oute of the handes of cruell extorcioners. After that he had thus brought the cōmon welth in ſo good eſtate, he conſulteth his nobilitie, where he mighte beſte get him a wyfe, and thereby leaue the vnlawfull vſe of keeping of concubines: whiche demaunde was not myſliked of them at all: & ere long they conſidered how Edgar king of Scotlād had a ſiſter named Maude, a beautiful lady, and of vertuous conditions, who was profeſſed a Nonne, in a religious houſe, to the end ſhe might auoyde the ſtormes of the world, and lead hir life in more ſecuritie after hir fathers deceaſſe. This woman notwithſtanding hir vow, was thought to be a mete bedfellow for the king, therfore he ſent ambaſſadors to hir brother Edgar, requiring him ẏ he might haue hir in mariage: but ſhee refuſyng ſuperſtitiouſly at the firſt, to breake hir profeſſion or vow, wold not heare of the offer, wherwithall K. Henrie being the more enflamed, ſendeth new Ambaſſadors to moue the ſame in more earneſt ſort thā before in ſo much that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambaſſage, ſet the Abbeſſe of ẏ houſe (wherin ſhe was encloſed) in hand to perſwade hir to the mariage, the which ſo effectually declared vnto hir in ſundry wiſe, how neceſſary, profitable, and honorable the ſame ſhould bee both to hir countrey and kinred, did ſo preuaile at the laſt, that the yong Lady graunted willingly to the mariage.

The king ſeeketh to vvyn the peoples fauour.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

Anſelme called home.

VVil. Mal.

VVil. Giffard biſh. of VVincheſter.

H. Hunt.

Rafe biſh. of Durham committed to the tovver.

Simon Dun.

The firſte ordeyning of the yard meaſure.

VVil. Malm

VVil. Mal.
Polidore.

Hervpon ſhe was conueyed into Englande, & maried to the king, who cauſed the Archbiſhop Anſelme to crown hir Queene on Saynt Martines day, whiche fell as that yeare came about, vppon the Sundaye, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

It ſhoulde ſeeme by Eadmerus, that ſhee was neuer Nonne, but only veyled by hir mother, and placed amongſt Nonnes agaynſt hir dmerus

mynde (as ſhe profeſſed to the whole worlde) at ſuche tyme as the Archebiſhoppe Anſelme refuſed to conſent to ſolemniſe the mariage betwixt them, tyll that doubte were cleared, and the occaſion remoued, wherupon euill diſpoſed men would haue grounded theyr iudgementes, and reported the worſte.

But whether ſhe were profeſſed or veyled, onely, loth ſhe was to conſente at the fyrſt (as partly ye haue hearde) but after that ſhe was coupled with the kyng in marriage, ſhee proued a right obedient wyfe.

The Archebiſhop of Vienne the Popes Legate.

About thys ſeaſon the Archbiſhop of Vienne came ouer into Englande wyth the Popes authoritie, (as he pretended) to bee Legate ouer all Britayne, whyche was ſtraunge newes vnto England, and greatly merueyled at (as ſayth Eadmer) of all menne. For it hadde not beene hearde of in Englande before that tyme, that any perſon ſhoulde exercyſe the Popes roome, excepte the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury. And ſo he departed as he came, for no manne receyued him as Legate, nor he exercyſed any Legantine authoritie.

He is not receiued for legate.

Soone after, the Kyng ſente Ambaſſadours vnto Rome, for a ſuite whyche hee had againſt the Archebiſhoppe Anſelme, for that hee denyed not onely to doe hym homage, but alſo would not conſecrate ſuche Biſhoppes and other Eccleſiaſticall Gouernours as he tooke vppon hym to inueſte: About which matter no ſmall trouble was moued, as partely here after it ſhall appeare.

1011.

In the meane tyme, Roberte the kyngs elder brother, retourning out of the holy lande, commeth into Normandye: for after he hadde aduertiſemente of the deathe of hys brother Rufus, and that his younger brother Henrye was crowned kyng of Englande, hee was greatly diſpleaſed in hys mynde, and meante wyth all ſpeede to aſſaye if hee myght recouer it oute of hys handes.

Ran. Higd.
Duke Roberte choſen king of Hieruſalem.

Wee reade, that when the Chriſtian Princes hadde wonne Hieruſalem, they did aſſemble togyther in the Temple to chooſe a Kyng to haue the gouernemente of that Citie and countrey, and that Duke Roberte was choſen before all the reſidue to be King there, by reaſon of a certain kynde of miracle wrought by the quenchyng of a taper, and ſodaine kindelyng thereof agayne, as he helde the ſame in his hande, ſtandyng in the Churche afore the Altar amongeſt other on Eaſter euen, as a vayne tale hath therof bin tolde. So as thereby it ſhould be thought he was appoynted among all the reſidue to be Kyng, and ſo was he nominated. But hee hauyng hys mynde more enclyned to Englande, refuſed to take the charge vpon hym, wherevpon after that daye he neuer greately proſpered in any buſineſſe whyche he tooke in hande.

Polid. V.

But other Authours of good credite whiche haue written the Hiſtorie of that voyage made into the holye Lande, make no mencion of any ſuche matter, but declare, that Godfray of Bolongne was by the generall conſente of all the Princes and Capitaynes there elected kyng, as in the deſcription of the voiage into the holy land more playnly appeareth. But nowe to retourne from whence I haue digreſſed.

An. reg. 2.

When the fame was blowne into England that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their Duke with great triumph and ioye: there were diuers whiche deliting in newe alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernement of kyng Henry, wrote letters ouer oute of Englande to the Duke, ſignifying to hym, that if he woulde make haſte, and come to recouer the realme oute of his brothers handes (who vſurped therein by wrongfull title) they would be ready to aide him with all their powers. And herewithall the duke beeing readye of his owne accorde to thys enterpriſe, was not a little enflamed, and nowe made more earneſt to make haſte about this buſineſſe. And where hee woulde not ſeeme at the firſt muche to eſteeme of the offer made to him by thoſe Engliſhmen, whiche had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generally all the engliſh nobilitie,) for that whyleſt he was abroade in the ſeruice of the Chriſtian common wealth agaynſte the Infidels, they woulde ſuffer hym to be in ſuche wyſe defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntrouth and negligence) yet although he mente to delay ẏ matter, & thought it rather better to diſſemble with them for a tyme, than to committe the ſucceſſe of his affaires and his perſon vnto theyr inconſtancie. Shortly after beeing ſette on fire, and ſtill encouraged by the perſwaſion of Rauſe biſhop of Durham (who by a meruaylous wylye ſhifte, about the firſt of February had broken out of priſon, with all ſpeed poſſible he gathered his armie, purpoſing out of hande to paſſe ouer with the ſame into England, and to hazard his right by dente of ſworde, whiche was thus by playne iniurie moſte wickedly deteyned from hym.

Duke Roberte is ſolicited to come into England to claime the crowne.

Wil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

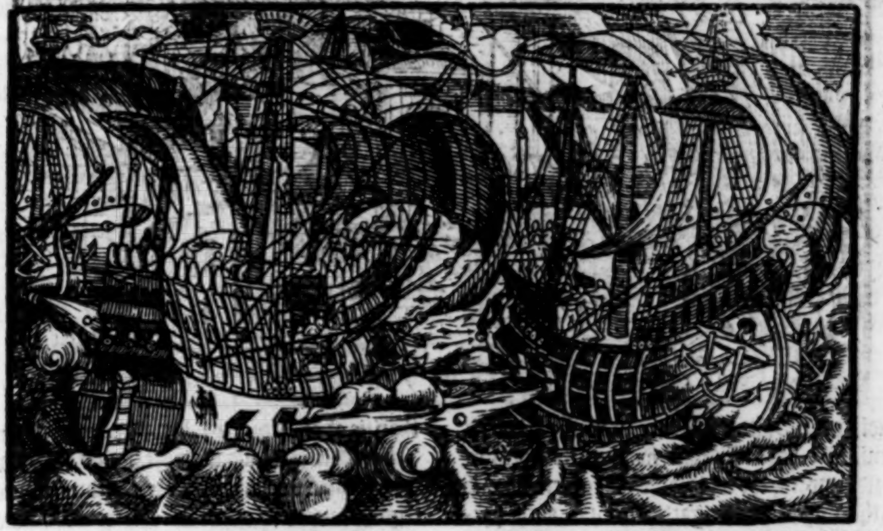
In the kal. of February.

R. Houe.
H. Hunt.
Polidore

King Henry in the mean time vnderſtanding his meaning, likewyſe aſſembled his power, and furniſhed forth a great number of ſhips, appointyng them to lye in a readineſſe to ſtop hys brothers comming to land if it myght be. He himſelf alſo lodged wyth hys mayne armie neere vnto the towne of Haſtings, to be readie to giue him battayle if he landed thereaboutes.

Duke Robert alſo meanyng to ſet forewarde,

ſente



ſente certaine of his ſhippes afore to choſe ſome conuenient place where hee myght lande wyth his armie, which ſhippes by chaunce fell into the daunger of the kings nauie, but yet abſteyning from battayle, they recouered the wynde, and returned backe to the Duke agayne, ſignifying from pointe to pointe howe they had ſped in this voyage. The Duke as he was of a bold courage, and of ſo gentle a nature that he beleued he ſhuld win their good willes, with whom he ſhuld haue any thing to doe, paſſed forwarde, and comming neere to the kings nauie, vſed ſuche gentle perſwaſions, that a great parte of the Souldiours which were a boord in the kings ſhips, ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, by whoſe conduct he arriued in Portſmouth hauen, and there landed with his hoſt about the beginning of the month of Auguſt: and after he had reſted a fewe dayes to refreſhe his men, he toke the waye towards Wincheſter, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

Duke Roberte arriued at Portesmouth.
Si. Dunelm.
VVil. Mal.
H. Hunt.
Polidor.

The king hauing knowledge both of the arriuall of his enimies, and of the reuoltyng of his ſubiectes, reyſed his Campe, and came to lodge neere vnto his enimies, the better to perceyue what he attempted and ment to doe: They were alſo in manner readye to haue ioyned battayle, when dyuers noble men that ought good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their myndes ſo vnnaturall diſcorde beganne to entreate for a peace, which in the ende they concluded on theſe cõditions: that Henry (who was borne after his father had conquered the Realme of England,) ſhould therefore nowe enioye the ſame, yelding and paying yerely vnto duke Robert the ſumme of .iij. M. marks, & whether of thẽ ſoeuer did depart this life firſt, ſhuld make the other his heire. Moreouer that thoſe Engliſhmen or Normans which had taken parte, either with the king or the duke, ſhould be pardoned of al offences that could be layd vnto them for the ſame by eyther of the princes. There were alſo .xij. noble men on eyther parte that receyued corporall othes for performance of this agreement, which being concluded in this maner Duke Robert which in his doings ſhewed himſelf more credulous than ſuſpicious, remayned with his brother here in Englande till the feaſt of S. Michaell, & then ſhewing himſelfe wel contented with the agreemẽt, returned into Normandie. In this ſeconde yeare of this kings reigne, the Queene was deliuered of hir daughter named after hir, Maude or Mathilde, that was after Empreſſe, of whome by Gods grace ye ſhall heare more afterwardes in this hiſtorie. The king being now rid of forrein trouble was ſhortly after diſquieted with the ſedicious attempts of Robert de Beleſme earle of Shrewſbury, ſonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the Caſtel of Bridgenorth, and an other caſtel in Wales, at a place called Cairceue, and alſo furniſhed the towne of Shrewſburye, with the caſtels of Arundell and Tickhill, which belonged to him in moſte ſubſtantiall maner.

VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.
H. Hunt.

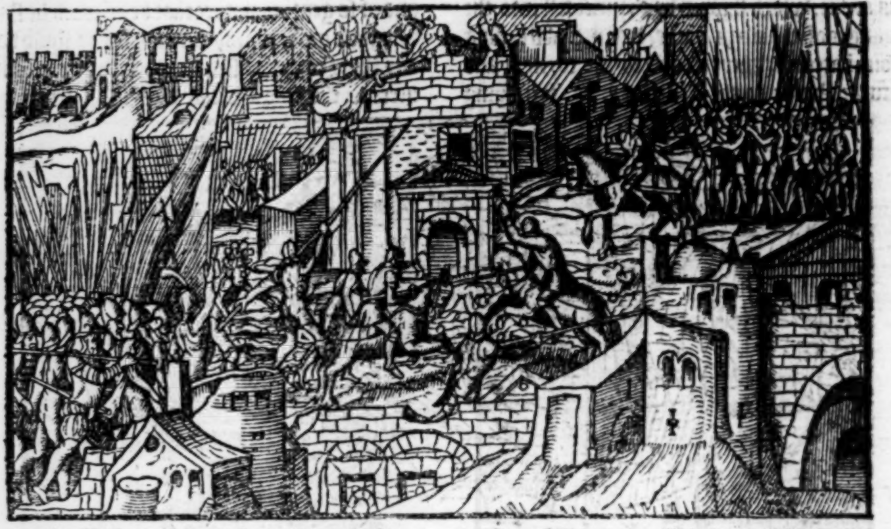
Hen. Hunt.
VVi. Thorne.
Mat. VVeſt.
Geruaſius Dorober.

1102.

Simon Dun.
Robert de Beleſmo Earle of Shrevvſbury.

Moreouer he ſought to win the fauour of the Welchmen, with whoſe ayde he purpoſed to defende hymſelfe againſt the king in ſuche vnlawfull enterpriſes as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inklyng wherabout he went, ſtreightwayes proclaimed him a traitor, wherevpon he got togither ſuch number of Welchmen and Normans as he coulde conueniently come by, and with them and his brother Arnolde, he entred into Staffordſhire, whiche countrey they forrayed and waſted exceedingly, bringing from thence a great bootie of beaſtes and cattell, with ſome priſoners alſo, which they ledde forthwyth into Wales, where they kepte themſelues as in place of greateſt ſafetie.

Stafford vvaſted.



Arundell caſtel beſieged.

Bridgenorth beſieged.

An.reg.3.

The Erle of Shrevvesburye baniſhed the realme.

The king in the meane tyme with all conuenient ſpeede reyſed a power, and fyrſte beſieged the Caſtell of Arundell, and planting diuers baſtillions before it, he departed from thence, and ſending the Biſhop of Lincolne with part of his armie to beſiege Tickhill, he himſelfe goeth to Bridge north, the whiche he enuironeth aboute with a mightie armie, gathered out of al the partes of his Realme, ſo that what wyth giftes, large promyſes, and fearefull threatnings, he at the laſt allureth to his ſide the fickle Welchmen, and in ſuche wyſe winneth them, that they abandoned the Erle, and nowe tooke part againſt him. Whereuppon the king within. xxx. dayes wanne al the townes and caſtels (which he held) out of his handes, and baniſhed him the realme, and likewyſe ſhortely after, he confined his brother Arnold for his traiterous demeanour vſed agaynſt him, wherby their attemptes were brought vnto an ende.

A Synode of Biſhops.

Eadmerus

Abbottes and Priours depriued.

M.Paris.

The cauſe vvhy they vver depriued.

After this, in the feaſte of Saincte Michaell, Anſelme archbiſhop of Canterbury held a councell at Weſtminſter, at the whiche were preſent the Archbiſhop of Yorke, with the biſhoppes of London, Wincheſter, Lincolne, Worceſter, Cheſter, Bathe, Norwiche, Rocheſter, and two other Biſhops lately before electe by the King, that is to wit, Saliſbury and Hereforde: the biſhop of Exceſter was abſente by reaſon of ſickeneſſe. At this Councel or Synode, diuers Abbots and Priours both Frenchmen and Engliſhmen were depriued of their promotions and benefices by Anſelme, bicauſe they had come to them otherwiſe than he pretended to ſtand with the decrees of the church, as the abbottes of Perſore. Ramſey, Taueſtock, Peterborrow, Middleton. Burie and Stoke, with the Prior of Ely, and others. The chiefeſt cauſe for which they were depriued, was for that they had receyued their inueſtures at the kings handes.

H.Hunt.

Si.Dunelm.

Eadmerus.

Mariage of Prieſts forbidden

H.Hunt.

Diuers conſtitutions were alſo made by authoritie of this councell, but namely thys one, That Prieſts ſhould no more be ſuffered to haue wiues, who were neuer abſolutely forbiddẽ matrimonie in this lande before this tyme. Whiche decree (as ſayeth Henry of Huntington) ſeemed to ſome very pure, but to ſome againe very dangerous, leaſte whileſt diuers of thoſe that coueted to profeſſe ſuche a cleanneſſe and puritie of lyfe, as paſſed their powers to obſerue, myghte haply fall into moſte horrible vncleanneſſe, to the hygh diſhonour of the chriſtian name, and offence of the almightie.

Decrees inſtituted in thys Councell.

Againſt prieſtes that vvere ale houſe hunters.

Archedeaconries.

Subdeacons.

Prieſts ſonnes.

Preſts to vvea

Tythes.

Benefices.

Nevv chapel

Moreouer, it was decreed in the ſame Councell, That no ſpirituall perſon ſhoulde haue the adminiſtration of any temporall office or function, nor ſitte in iudgement of lyfe and deathe: That Prieſtes ſhoulde not haunte Alehouſes, and further, that they ſhoulde weare apparell of one manner of colour, and ſhoes after a comelye faſhion: for a little before that tyme, Prieſtes vſed to goe verie vnſeemely: That no Archdeaconries ſhoulde bee lette to ferme: That euerie Archedeacon ſhoulde at the leaſte receyue the orders of Deacon: That none ſhould be admitted to the orders of Subdeacon, withoute profeſſion of chaſtitie: That no Prieſtes ſonnes ſhoulde ſucceede their fathers in their benefices: That Monkes and Prieſtes which hadde forſaken theyr orders (for the loue of theyr wiues) ſhoulde be excommunicate, if they would not retourne to theyr profeſſion agayn: That Prieſtes ſhoulde weare brode crownes: That no tythes ſhoulde be gyuen but to the Church, That no benefices ſhoulde be bought or ſolde, That no newe Chappells ſhoulde bee buylded withoute conſente of the Biſhoppe, That no Churche ſhould be conſecrated except prouiſion

Conſecration of Churches.
Abbottes.
Monkes.
Fermes.
Perſonages.
Contracts.
VVearing of haires.
Buryall.
Fond vvorſhipping of dead men.
The curſſe to be red euery Sunday.

were firſte had to the mayntenance thereof, and to the miniſter. That Abbots ſhoulde not make any knightes or men of warre, and ſhoulde ſleep and eate within precinct of their owne houſes, except ſome neceſſitie moued them to ẏ contrary: That no Monks ſhould enioyne penance to any mã without licence of their Abbot, and ẏ Abbots might not graunt licence but for thoſe of whoſe ſoules they had care. That no Monk ſhould be godfather, nor Nonne godmother to any mans childe: That Monkes ſhoulde not hold and occupie any fermes in their hands: That no monkes ſhoulde receyue any perſonages, but at the handes of the Biſhop, nor ſhoulde ſpoyle thoſe which they did receiue in ſuch wiſe of the profits and reuenewes, that Curates which ſhould ſerue the cures might thereby want neceſſarie prouiſion for them ſelues and the ſame Churches: That contracts made betwene man and womã without witneſſes concerning mariage ſhoulde bee voyde, if either of them denyed it: That ſuche as did weare their heare long ſhould be neuertheleſſe ſo rounded, that parte of theyr eares mighte appeare: That kynſefolke myghte not contracte matrimonie within the ſeuenth degree of conſanguinitie: That the bodies of the dead ſhould not be buryed but wythin theyr paryſhes, leaſte the Prieſt might loſe his duetie: That no man ſhould vpon ſome newe raſhe deuotion giue reuerence and honour vnto any dead bodies fountaynes of water, or other thyngs withoute the Biſhoppes authoritie, whych hath bin wel knowen to haue chaunced heretofore: That there ſhoulde be no more buying and ſelling of menne vſed in Englande, whiche was hytherto accuſtomed as if they had bene kyne or Oxen. Alſo all ſuche as committed the fylthie ſynne of Sodomitrie ſhoulde bee accurſſed by the Decree of thys Councell, tyll by penaunce and confeſſion he ſhould obteyne abſolution: And if he were a prieſt or any maner of religious perſon, he ſhuld loſe his benefice, and bee diſinabled to obteyne any other: and if he were a laye man, he ſhould loſe the prerogatiue of his eſtate, and that no religious man might bee abſolued of this cryme but at the Biſhops hands: it was alſo ordeyned, that euery Sundaye thys curſſe ſhould be red in euerye Churche. The Kyng alſo cauſed ſome ordinaunces to bee deuyſed at this counſell, neceſſarye to moue and procure menne to the leadyng of a good and vpryght trade of lyfe.

About the third yere of K. Henries reigne the fundation of S. Bartholomew by Smythfield was begon by Rayer one of the Kings Muſitians (as ſome write) who alſo became the fyrſt Priour thereof. In thoſe dayes Smithfielde was a place where they layde all the ordure and filthe that was hadde forth of the Citie. And alſo it was the appoynted place of execution where Felons and other tranſgreſſoures of the lawes did ſuffer.

In thys third yeare of kyng Henries reigne the Queene was delyuered of a ſonne called Wyllyam.

Polidor.
The king beſtovveth biſhoprikes.
Math. Paris.
Simon Dun.

After that the Earle of Shrewesburye was banyſhed (as before ye haue hearde) the ſtate of the Realme ſeemed to be reduced into very good quiet. So that king Henrie aduaunced with ſo good ſucceſſe in his affaires, was nowe in no feare of daunger any manner of waye: howbeit herein he ſomewhat diſpleaſed the Clergie: for leaning vnto his princely authoritie, hee tooke vppon him both to nominate Biſhoppes, and to inueſte them into the poſſeſſion of their ſeas: and amongeſt other whiche hee inueſted, there was one Remclid, whom he ordeyned Byſhop of Hereforde. But the ſame Remclid or Remelme, did afterwards reſtore that biſhoprike to the king again, for that hee was perſuaded greatly to haue offended in receyuing the ſame at a temporall mannes handes.

Truely not onely kyng Henry heere in Englande, but alſo other Princes and hygh potentates of the temporaltie about the ſame ſeaſon, chalenged thys ryght of inueſting Biſhops and other ſpirituall miniſters, as a thyng due vnto them and their predeceſſours, without all preſcription of tyme, as they alledged, whiche cauſed no ſmall debate betwixte them and the clergie, as in that whiche is written thereof, at large by other, maye more eaſily appeare.

Anſelme refuſeth to conſecrate the biſhops inueſted by the king.

But Anſelme the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury more earneſt in this caſe than many other, woulde not admitte nor conſecrate ſuch biſhops as were nominate and inueſted by the Kyng, making no accompte of their inueſtiture: and further hee tooke vppon hym to aduiſe the Kyng not to violate the ſacred lawes, rites, and ceremonies of the chriſtian Religion, ſo lately decreed concerning thoſe matters.

But ſo farre was the King from gyuing any eare to his admonitions, that he ſtoode the more ſtyffely in hys chalenge. And where Thomas the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke was lately before departed out of this tranſitorie lyfe, Gerard inue- Archbiſhop of Yorke.

he gaue that benefice ſo beeing voyde vnto one Gerard, a man of great witte, but (as ſome writers reporte) more deſirous of honour than was requiſite for a man of his calling, and willed him in deſpite of Anſelme to conſecrate thoſe biſhops which he had of late inueſted. This Gerard therfore obeying his cōmandement, did conſecrate them all, William Giffard, the biſhop of Wincheſter onely excepted who refuſed to be conſecrated at his handes, wherupon he was depriued and baniſhed the realme. Alſo the Archbiſhoppe Anſelme was quite out of fauor, for that he ceaſed not to ſpeake agaynſt the king, in reprouing his doings in this behalfe, till time the king was contēted to referre the matter to Pope Paſcall, & to ſtande vnto his decree and order therein: alſo that ſuch as he had placed in any biſhoprik, ſhuld haue licence to goe to Rome to pleade their cauſes, whether he promiſed ſhortly to ſend his ambaſſadours, and ſo hee did: Appointing for the purpoſe, Herbert biſhop of Norwiche, and Robert biſhop of Lichefield, being both of his priuie counſell, and William Warlewaſt, of whome mention is made before, who went on their way and came to Rome, accordyng to their Commiſſion.

VV. Giffarde biſhop of VVincheſter.

M. Paris.

VV. Thorne.

Polider.

Polidore

1103.

*An.reg.*4.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome. Anſelme goth alſo to Rome.

After them alſo followed Anſelme the archebiſhop of Canterbury, Girarde the archebiſhop of Yorke, and William the electe of Wincheſter, whome the Pope receyued with a curteous kynde of entertaynemente. But Anſelme was highly honored before all the reſidue, whoſe diligence and zeale in defence of the ordinaunces of the ſea of Rome, he well inough vnderſtoode.

The Ambaſſadours in lyke maner declaring the effect of their meſſage opened vnto the Pope the grounde of the controuerſie begonne betwene the king and Anſelme, and with good argumentes wēt about to proue the kings cauſe to be lawful. Upon the other ſide Anſelme and his partakers with contrary reaſons ſeeke to confute the ſame: Wherupon the Pope declared that ſith by the lawes of the Church it was decreed, that the poſſeſſion of any ſpirituall benefice obteyned otherwyſe than by the deliuerie of a ſpirituall perſon, coulde not be good or allowable, from thenceforth, neyther the kyng, nor any other for hym, ſhoulde challenge any ſuche right to appertayne vnto them.

Eadmerus.

The ſaying of VVil. VVarlevvaſt to the Pope.

The Popes anſvvere to him.

The kings Ambaſſadours hearing this, were ſomewhat troubled in their myndes: wherupon William Warlewaſt burſte out and ſaid with great vehemencie euen to the Popes face: What ſoeuer is or may be ſpoken in this manner too or fro, I woulde all that be preſent ſhould wel vnderſtande, that the King my mayſter will not loſe the inueſtures of Churches for the loſſe of his whole realme. Unto which wordes Paſcall himſelfe replying, ſayd vnto hym agayne: If as thou ſayeſt, the king thy maiſter will not forgoe the inueſture of churches for ẏ loſſe of his realme Know thou for certain, and marke my wordes well, I ſpeake it before God, that for the raunſome of his head, Pope Paſcall will not at any tyme permitte that he ſhall enioy them in quiet. At length by the aduiſement of his Counſell, the Pope graunted vnto the King certaine priuiledges and cuſtomes which his predeceſſours hadde vſed and enioyed: But as for the inueſtures of Biſhops he woulde not haue him in any wyſe to medle with: yet did hee confirme thoſe Biſhops whiche the king had already created, leaſt the refuſall ſhoulde bee occaſion to ſowe anye further diſcorde.

Polidor.

Thus this buſineſſe being after this manner ordered, the ambaſſadours were licenced to departe, and receyuing at the Popes handes great rewardes, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke Girarde his palle, they ſhortely after returne into Englande, declaring vnto the king the Popes decree and ſentence.

The King beeing ſtill otherwyſe perſuaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleaſed with this matter, and long it was ere he woulde giue ouer his clayme, and yelde vnto the Popes iudgement, till that in proceſſe of tyme, ouercome with the earneſte ſute of Anſelme, he graunted to obey the Popes order herein, though (as it ſhoulde appeare) righte ſore againſt his mynde. But in this meane time the king had ſeyſed into his handes, the poſſeſſions of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and baniſhed Anſelme, ſo that he ſtayed at Lyons in France, for the ſpace of one yere and foure monethes, during whiche terme there went many letters and meſſages to and fro, & ſpecially the Pope wrote to kyng Henry very courteous letters, exhorting him to call Anſelme home againe, and to releaſe his clayme to the inueſtures of biſhops. Whereunto he coulde haue no right, ſith it appertained not to the office of any temporal magiſtrate: adding furthermore, if the kyng woulde giue ouer that vngodly and vſurped cuſtome, that he wold ſhewe ſuche friendly fauour in all thinges as by the ſufferance of God in any wyſe he mighte be able to performe, and further would receyue not onely him, but alſo his young ſonne William, (whiche lately it had pleaſed God to ſende him by his vertuous wyfe Queene Maude) into hys protection, ſo that who ſo euer hurte eyther of them ſhould be thought to hurt the holy churche of Rome.

VVil. Mal.

The Pope vvriteth curteouſly to the king.

In one of the Epiſtles alſo whiche the ſayde Pope writeth vnto Anſelme, (after that the king was contented to renounce the inueſtures aforeſaid) he willeth Anſelme, according to ẏ promiſe whyche hee had made to aſſoyle as well from ſinne as from penaunce due for the ſame, both the King and alſo hys wyfe Queene Maude, with all ſuche perſons of honour, as in his behalf had trauayled with the kyng to induce hym to be agreeable to his purpoſe.

1104.

The Earle of Mellent.

An. regn. 5.

Moreouer, the Earle of Mellent, and Rychard de Riuers, the whiche had counſelled the kyng to ſticke in it at the firſte, and not to gyue ouer his title to ſuche inueſtures, ſith his aunceſters had vſed the ſo long a time before his days, by reaſon whereof, in renouncing his ryghte to the ſame, he ſhoulde doe a thing greatly preiudiciall to his royall eſtate and Princely Maieſtie) were nowe earneſt trauaylers to agree the kyng and the Pope, and ſo in the ende the kyng was perſwaded by Anſelme and them to giue ouer his holde, whyche hee performed, reſignyng the inueſtures with ſtaffe and ring, notwithſtanding that hee ſtill reſerued the right of Elections, and ſuche other royalties as otherwyſe appertained to hys Maieſtie, ſo that ſuche Biſhoppes as had done homage to the kyng, were not diſabled thereby, but quietly permitted to receyue theyr iuriſdictions.

The king perſuaded to renounce his title to the inueſture of prelats

Eadmerus.

Duke Robert commeth into Englande to viſite his brother.

About this tyme alſo Roberte Duke of Normandie came into Englande to ſee his brother: and through the ſugred wordes and ſweete entertaynment ſhewed to him by the king, he releaſed the yerely tribute of .3000. markes, whiche he ſhuld haue had out of the realme by the agreement (as before ye haue hearde) but chiefly in deede at the requeſt of the Queene, being inſtructed by hir huſbande howe ſhe ſhoulde vſe the matter wyth him, that was knowne to be free & liberall, without any greate conſideration what he preſently granted.

After he hadde bene here a certaine tyme, and ſported him with his brother and ſiſter, hee returned into Normandie, and ſhortely after, beganne to repente him of his follye in being ſo liberall, as to releaſe the foreſayde tribute: And herevpon alſo he menaced the king, and openly in his reproch ſayd, that he was craftily circumuented by him, and in the ende falſly begyled.

VV. Malm.

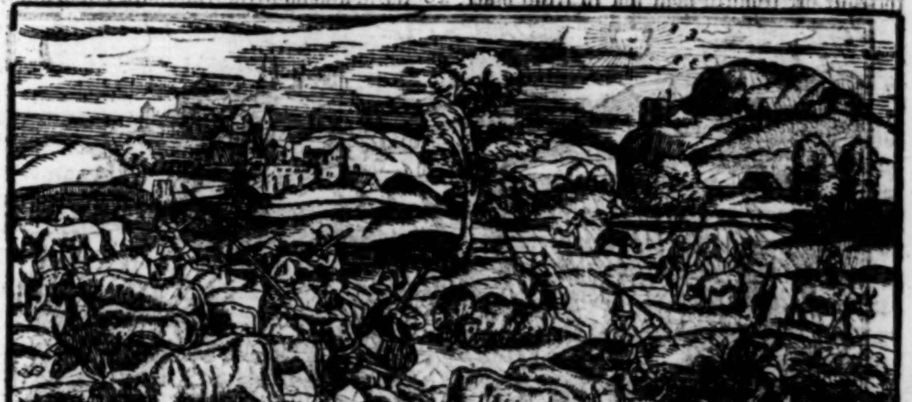
Factions perſons practiſe to ſet the two brethren at variance.

The erle of Mortaigne.

There were diuers in Normandie, that deſired nothing more earneſtly than to ſette the two brethren at ſquare, namely Roberte de Beleſme erle of Shrewſbury, and William erle of Mortaigne: theſe two were baniſhed the realme of Englande: the one that is to ſay, the erle of Shrewſbury by the kings commaundement for his rebellious attemptes (as before ye haue hearde) and the other, that is to wit, the earle of Mortaigne, left the land of his owne willfull and ſtubborn minde, exiling himſelf, only for the hatred which he bare vnto the king: for being not contented with the Earledome of Mortaigne in Normandie, and the erledome of Cornwall in Englande, he made ſuite alſo for the Earledome of Kent, whiche his vncle Odo ſometyme helde: and bicauſe he was not only denyed of that his ſuite, but alſo by order of lawe had certaine parcels of lande taken from him, which he wrongfully deteyned, he gate him into Normandie, and there made war both againſt thoſe places which the king held, and alſo againſt other, which belonged to Richard erle of Cheſter, who was then vnder gouernment of the king by reaſon of his minoritie. The threatnyng wordes of Duke Roberte, comming at the laſt to King Henries eares (by ſuch as coulde ſette them forth in worſer ſorte than peraduenture they were ſpoken) cauſed hym forthwith to conceyue righte high diſpleaſure againſt the Duke, in ſo muche that he ſent ouer a power into Normandie, whiche fynding no greate reſiſtance, did muche hurte in the country, by fetching and carying ſpoyles and prayes.

Richard erle of Cheſter.

A power of men ſent into Normandie.



Againe, the Normans rather fauoured than ſought to hinder the enterpriſe of king Henry, bicauſe they ſawe howe duke Robert with his fooliſhe prodigalitie and vndiſcreete liberalitie, had made away al that belonged to his eſtate, ſo that of the whole duchie of Normandie, hee had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne poſſeſſion, Roan only excepted, which he alſo would haue departed with, if the Citezens would haue conſented to any ſuche alienation.

Gemeticenſis.

King Henry therfore hering of the good ſucceſſe of his men, paſſed ouer himſelf ſoone after with a mightie armie, & tooke with ſmall trauaile Eureux, or as other haue, Baieux and Cane, which cities when he had furniſhed with ſufficient garniſons of men, he repaſſed the ſea againe into Englande, bycauſe the wynter began to approche, and the wether waxed troubleſom for ſuch as lay in the fielde. Hereupon duke Robert conſidering with himſelf how vnable he was (by reaſon that his people failed him at nede) to reſiſt king Henrie, ſith the Britaines alſo and they of Aniow tooke part with the ſayd king, he thought good to lay armour aſide, and to paſſe ouer into Englande, to entreate with him by way of brotherly frendſhip, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this preſent daunger, which he did. But at his arriuall here, he learned, howe the king his brother as then was at Northampton: wherfore he haſted thyther, and comming to him, he made earneſt ſute for peace, beſeching the king in reſpecte of brotherly loue to graunt the ſame, or if it were that he regarded not the good will of his naturall brother, he required him to conſider at the leaſte wiſe what appertayned to his accuſtomed gentleneſſe, and to thinke with himſelfe that warre betwixte brethren coulde not be maintayned without reproch, nor the victorie gotten be honorable that was obtained againſt his owne fleſhe; and therfore hee required hym not to refuſe peace, frendſhippe, and offred beneuolence, ſith he was nowe ready to render all, that euer he hadde into his handes.

1105.
The K. paſſeth ouer into Normandie.
Anno reg. 6.
Si. Dunelm.
Gemeticenſis.
Polidor.

1106.

An. reg. 7.

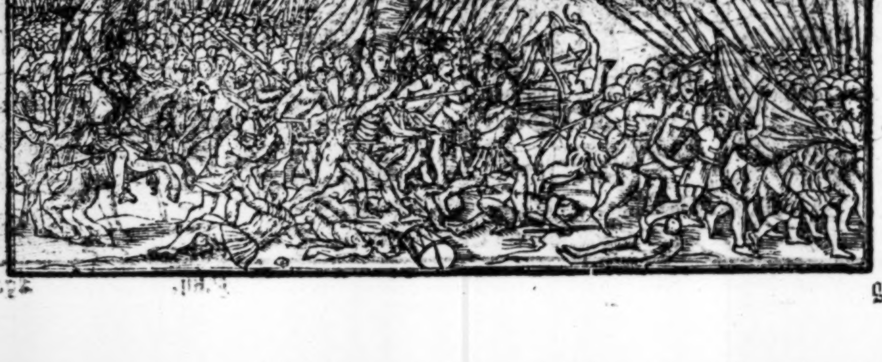
The King nothing moued herewith, but as one that diſdayned to make a direct aunſwere, murmured certaine thinges with himſelfe, and turned away from the Duke, as hee that eyther by experience knewe his brothers lighte and vnſtable mynde, or els as one that determined to be reuenged of him euen to the very vttermoſt. Duke Robert alſo abhorring and vtterly deteſting this his brothers pride, ſtreightwayes returned home, purpoſing with hymſelfe to trye the hazarde of warre, ſith he ſawe no hope to be had in brotherly loue and amitie. And therevpon prouideth for warres with all his power, ſeekyng ayde from all places where he might gette any, though the kyng his brother gaue him ſmall leyſure therto, following him incontinently with a newe ſupply of ſouldiours, and deſyring nothing more than to get him within his daunger.

The brethren depart in diſpleaſure.

K. Henry paſſeth into Normandie to purſue his brother.

Soone after, bothe the brethren approchyng neere together, eche of them pitched downe his Campe wythin the ſighte of other, preparyng them ſelues to giue battayle wyth luſtye and manlyke ſtomackes. The Kyng ſurmountyng the Duke his brother in number, firſt bringeth forth his men in order of batayle, & ſtreight wayes the Duke lykewyſe both being readie to trye the matter by dint of ſwoorde. Hereupon alſo the one prouokyng the other, the trumpettes blowe vp, and the fight is begun. The kings ſouldiours truſting too muche in their owne force, by reaſon of their greate multitude, breake theyr array, and aſſayle theyr ennimies on eche ſide very diſorderly: But the Normans being wyſely ordered and inſtructed by their Duke, kept them ſelues cloſe togither; ſo that the kinges battaile whiche had without order ſtepte forth to aſſayle them, finding ſterne reſiſtaunce, began nowe to

They ioyne battayle.



giue backe, for not onely Duke Robert but alſo William Erle of Mortaigne preaſſed forwarde amongſt their men, and fought valiantly with their owne handes, wherevpon the king when he perceyued howe his men began to ſhrinke, cried vpon them to ſtay, and withall commaunded al his horſemen to breake vppon the flankes of his enimies battayle, which they did with ſuch violence, that they diſordered the ſame, and cauſed the enimies to ſcatter. Herewith alſo the kings footmen togither with the horſemen inuaded the Normans a freſhe, which neuertheleſſe reſiſted a whyle, till being compaſſed about in manner on euery ſide, they began to flee, as oftentymes it chanceth, when a few driuen in ſunder by a multitude, are aſſayled on all ſydes. The king then hauing vanquiſhed his aduerſaries, foloweth the chaſe, & maketh great ſlaughter of them, though not without ſome loſſe of his owne men: for the Normans deſpairyng of ſafetie, turned oftentymes agayne vppon thoſe that followed them.

The Normans vanquiſhed.

Duke Roberte and the Earle of Mortaigne fighting moſt earneſtly in the mid preaſe of their enimies, were taken, or (as other ſay) betrayed, and deliuered into their enimies handes. Alſo beſide Duke Robert and the foreſaid Erle of Mortaigne, William Criſpyne, William Ferreys, Roberte Eſtoutuille the elder, with .iiij. C. men of armes were taken, and to the number of .x. M. footmen. But of the number that were ſlayne in this battayle, there is none that declareth any certaintie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that in no battayle in thoſe dayes hadde there bene fought with greater bloudſhed within the limittes of Normandie or elſewhere.

The earle of Mortaigne.

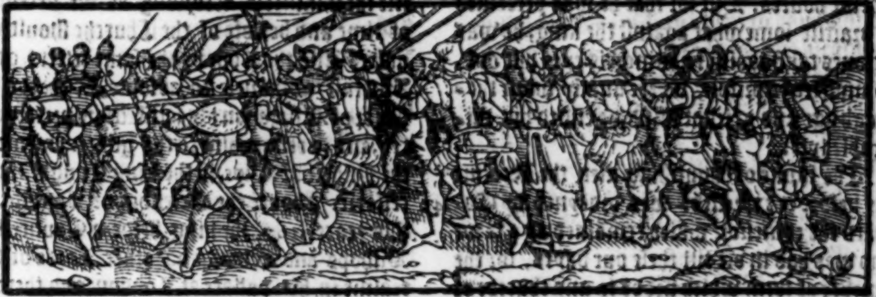
Eadmerus.

VV.Criſpyne.
VV.Ferreys.
Robert de Eſtoutville.
The number ſlayne.

Thus haue you the common opinion of the apprehenſion of the Duke: howbeit the reuelation thereof agreeth not in all poyntes with that which Gemeticenſis, an author ſpeaking of this matter, declareth in order as here enſueth. King Henry being offended with his brother duke Robert, that he ſhould ſo waſte and conſume the Duchie of Normandie his inheritance with ſuche riotous gouernaunce as he vſed, ſo that he left himſelfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not paſſed to haue giuen away alſo, if the Citezens would haue bene content to haue graunted their conſent: The king (I ſay) taking diſpleaſure therewith, went ouer into Normandie, and aſſembling an armie togither, firſt beſieged Bayeux, and finally after he had in maner deſtroyed it, tooke it by force. After this he tooke Caen alſo: and then beſieged a Caſtell called Tenerchbray appertayning to the Erle of Mortaigne, during which ſiege his brother Roberte, and the ſayd Erle of Mortaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chaſe him out of the countrey: and therevpon aſſayled him right fiercely. But the puniſhment of God fell ſo vppon them, that they were both taken, and many of their friendes with them, as Robert de Eſtoutuile and William de Criſpin with other, which were brought before Kyng Henry as priſoners. Thus did almightie

Gemeticenſis

1107.



God graunte vnto the Kyng a notable victorie without bloudſhed, for he loſt not a man, and of his aduerſaries, there dyed in the fielde not paſſe three ſcore perſons.

This ſeemeth alſo to agree with that whiche Wil. Malmſbury writeth of this matter: for he ſayth, that K. Henry with ſmall adoe brought into his handes duke Robert, who with a greate power of men came againſt him as then lodging nere to the ſayd caſtell of Tenerchbray: the erle of Mortaigne was alſo taken, but the Earle of Shrewſbury eſcaped by flight, notwithſtanding ſhortly after he was lykewyſe taken, as he went about to practiſe ſome priuie conſpiracie againſt the Kyng.

VVil. Mal.

Roberte de Beleſme.

This battayle was fought as the ſame Wil. Malmſbury affirmeth, vpon a Seterday, being the daye of Saint Michaell *in Gloria*, and that as may be thought by the prouident iudgemente of God, to the ende that Normandie ſhould be ſubdued vnto Englãd on that day, in the whiche fortie yeares paſſed, King William the conquerour firſt ſet foote on land at Haſtings, when he came out of Normandie to ſubdue Englande.

The.27.of September chro. de Nor.

Neyther doth Symon Dunelmenſis in maner vary in any thyng from Gemeticenſis touching the concluſion of this buſyneſſe, and taking of duke Roberte.

Si. Dunelm.

These warres beeing thus finiſhed, and the countrey ſet in quiet which through the nice folie of Duke Robert was wonderfully impoueriſhed. The king receiued the keys of all the townes and Caſtels which belonged eyther to the Duke, or to the Earle of Mortaigne, and furniſhed the ſame with garniſons to be kepte to his behoofe.

Mat. VVeſt.
1107.
Anſelme returneth home.

After that he had thus pacified the countrey of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechellouyn, where the archbiſhop Anſelme then remained, whome by mediation of frendes, he receyued into fauour agayne, and ſending him ouer into Englande, immediately after followed himſelfe.

Duke Roberte priſoner in the the caſtell of Carduffe.

Gemeticenſis

Polidor.

In like manner Duke Roberte being thus ſpoyled of his dominions, landes and libertie, was ſhortely committed to priſon within the Caſtel of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the ſpace of .xxvi. yeres, & then died. He gouerned the Duchie of Normandie .xix. yeres, & was a perfect good mā of war, worthy to be compared with the beſt captains that then liued, if he had bin ſomewhat more ware and circumſpect in his affaires, and therewyth cōſtant and ſtedfaſt in his opinion. His worthye actes valiantly and happily atchieued againſt the Infidels, ar notified to the world by many and ſundry writers, to his high cōmendation and eternal praiſe. It is ſayd alſo, that he was after his taking, once ſette at libertie by kyng Henry, and bounde to forſweare the realme of England and Normandie alſo, being apointed to auoide within the ſpace of .xl. days, and twelue houres. But for that he was perceiued to practiſe ſomewhat againſt the king, he was eftſones takē again, & hauing his eyes put out, committed to priſon, where finally worn through age and grief of mind, he ended his miſerable lyfe.

The forme of banniſhing men the Realme (as before is expreſſed) was ordeyned by Edward the confeſſor, which remained as a lawe and was had in vſe till theſe our dayes, for the benefite of them which fledde to any churche or other priuiledged place, thereby to eſcape the puniſhment of death due for their offences: by a latter cuſtome it was deuiſed, that they ſhuld alſo beare a Croſſe in their hande, as a ſigne that they were pardoned of life, for reſpecte of the holy place within the whiche they ſought for ſuccour.

Mat. VVeſt.

But as for Duke Robert (as it ſhould appeare by that whiche other write) hee had no ſuch fauour ſhewed, but only libertie to walke abroade into the kings forreſtes, parkes, and chaſes, nere to the place where he was appointed to remayne, and one day as he was in ſuch wyſe walkyng abroade, hee gotte a horſe, and with all ſpeede rode his waye in hope to haue eſcaped: but his keepers aduiſed thereof, followed hym with hewe and crye, tyll at length they ouertooke him in a medow grounde, wher he had layde his horſe vp to the belly in a quaue myre, and ſo being brought agayn, his kepers kepte hym in ſtraighte priſon, aduertiſing the king of his demeanour, Whereupon he commanded yͤ the ſight of his eies ſhuld be put out, but ſo as the balles of them ſhoulde remayne vnbroken, to auoyde the noyſome deformitie that would otherwiſe enſue if the glaſſes ſhuld take hurt.

Iohan. Pike.

In his return forth of the holy land he maried one Sibell, the Earle of Conuerſans ſiſter in Puglia, hir father hight Roger or Gefrey (as ſome bookes haue) and was nephue to Robert Guyſhard, duke of Puglia, and by hir had iſſue one ſonne named William that was after Earle of Flaunders, wherof (God willing) more ſhall be ſayd hereafter.

Here muſt I leaue Duke Robert, and ſpeake ſomewhat of Anſelme.

Eadmerus.

Richard Prior of Elye.

Shortely after that hee was returned into England, ther came letters to him from Pope Paſcall, by the whiche Anſelme was authoriſed to diſpoſe and order things as ſhulde ſeeme to him moſt expedient, and namely where the more and better parte of the Engliſhe clergie conſiſted of Prieſtes ſonnes, he committed to his diſcretion the order to diſpence with them, namely ſuche as were of commēdable lyfe and learning, that they might be admitted to exerciſe the miniſterie, according as the neceſſitie of time and behoofe of the Churche ſhould require. Alſo the Pope by the ſame letters gaue Anſelme authoritie to abſolue Richarde the Prior of Elie, vpon his ſatiſfaction pretermitted, and to reſtore him to the gouernemente of the Priorie of Elye, if the king thought it neceſſarie. Aboute the Calendes of Auguſte, in this yeare .1107. the king helde a Councell of Biſhops and Abbots, and other Lords of his realme in his pallace at London, and there in the abſence of Anſelm, the matter was argued and had in talk for the ſpace of three days togither touching the inueſtures of Churches, & in the ende, bicauſe the Pope had graunted to the king the homages of the biſhoppes and other prelates, which his predeceſſor Vrban had forbidden, together with the inueſtitures. The king was contented to conſent to the Popes will in forbearing the ſame inueſtitures.

And ſo after that Anſelme was come, the king in preſence of him and of a great multitude of his people, graunted and ordeyned, that from thenceforth no biſhop nor abbot ſhuld be inueſted within the realm of England, by the hand either of the King or any laye man, where it was againe graunted by Anſelme, that no perſon elected into yͤ prelacie, ſhuld be depriued of his conſecration for doing his homage to the king. Theſe things being thus ordred, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inueſtiture of ſtaff or ring. And amongſt other, Anſelme conſecrated fiue biſhops at Canterbury in one daye, that is to wit, William to the ſea of Wincheſter, Roger that was the kings Chauncellor to Saliſbury, William Warlewaſt to Exceter, Remalyne the Queenes chauncellor to Hereford, and one Urban, to Glamorgan in Wales.

Polidore.
Ran. Higd.

About this ſeaſon it chaunced, that where a greate parte of Flaunders was drowned by breaking in of the ſea, & ouerflowing the coũtrey, a great number of Flemings came into England, requiring of the king to haue ſome voyde place aſſigned them, wherin they might inhabite. At the firſte they were appointed to the countrey lying on the eaſt part of the Riuer of Tweede: but within foure yeres after, they were remoued into a corner by the ſea ſyde in Wales, called Pembrokeſhire, to the ende they might be a defence to the Engliſhe, there againſt the vnquiet Welchemen.

Flemings comming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabite.

VVil. Mal.

It ſhoulde appeare by ſome writers, that this cõpanie of Flemings conſiſted not of ſuch only as came ouer aboute that tyme by reaſon their countrey was ouerflowen with the ſea, (as ye haue heard) but of other alſo that came ouer long before, that is to ſay, in the dayes of William the conqueror, through the frendſhip of the Queene their countreywoman, ſithence whiche tyme the number of them ſo increaſed, that the realme of England was ſore peſtred with them: and that thervpon king Henrye deuiſed to place them in Pembrokeſhire, bothe to auoid them ſo out of the other parts of Englande, and alſo by their healpe to tame the bold & preſumptuous fierceneſſe of the Welchmen: which thing in thoſe parties they broughte very well to paſſe: for after they wer ſettled there, they valiantly reſiſted their enimies, and made verie ſharpe warres vpon them ſomtimes with gaine, and ſometimes with loſſe.

1108.
A Counceil.
Si. Dunelm.
Eadmerus.
An. regn. 9.

Prieſtes are ſequeſtred from their vviues.

In the yeare. 1108. Anſelme held an other counſell, in the whiche in preſence of the king and by the aſſent of the Earles and barons of the realme, it was ordeyned, that Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould liue chaſtly, and kepe no women in theyr houſes, except ſuche as were neere of kinne to them, and that ſuche Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, as contrarye to the inhibition of the Councell holden at London, had eyther kepte theyr wyues, or maryed other (of whome as Eadmerus ſayth there was no ſmall number) they ſhould put them quite from them, if they wold continue ſtill in the miniſterie, and that neither the ſame wiues ſhoulde come to theyr houſes, nor they to the houſes wher their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to ſay to them, they ſhoulde take two or three witneſſes, and talke with them abroade in the ſtreete: and if any of them chanced to be accuſed of breaking this ordinaunce, he ſhoulde be driuen to purge himſelfe with ſixe ſufficiente witneſſes of hys owne order, if he were a Prieſte: And if hee were a Deacon wyth foure: and if he were a Subdeacon, with two witneſſes.

Moreouer, thoſe Prieſtes that woulde forgoe the ſeruing of the aulter, and holye order, to remayne with theyr wiues, ſhould be depriued of their benefices, and not bee ſuffered to come within the quire.

But ſuche as contemptuouſly kept ſtil their wiues, and preſumed to ſaye Maſſe, if being called to ſatiſfaction, they ſhoulde neglecte it, then ſhould they be excommunicated. Within compaſſe of whiche ſentence all Archedeacons and prebendarie Canons were alſo compriſed, both touching the forgoing of their women, and the auoiding of their companie, and alſo the puniſhemente by the Cenſures of the church, if they tranſgreſſed the ordinance. Alſo euerye Archedeacon was appointed to bee ſworne, that they ſhoulde not take any money for fauouring any perſon in tranſgreſſion of theſe ſtatutes: and that they ſhould not ſuffer any Prieſts, whom they knew to haue wiues, either to ſay Maſſe, or to haue any vicars.

Archdeacons and Canons.

Archdeacons to be ſvvorne.

The like othe ſhoulde a Deane receyue, and that ſuche Archedeacons or Deanes as ſhoulde refuſe this othe ſhoulde bee depriued of their roomthes. The Prieſts which forſaking theyr wiues, woulde be contente to ſerue God and the Altar, ſhuld be ſuſpended from that office, by the ſpace of fortie dayes, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane tyme to miniſter for them: and after vpon the performance of their enioyned penance by the Biſhop, they mighte returne to the miniſterie.

Penaunce.

Polidore.

In this meane time King Henry being aduertiſed of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his ſon Lewes, ſurnamed Craſſus, might haply attempte in his newe preferrement to the Crown, ſayled ouer into Normandie, to ſee the countrey there in good order, and the townes, caſtelles, and forteſſes furniſhed accordingly as the doubtful time required. And after hee had finiſhed his buſineſſe on that ſyde, he returned into Englande, where he met with Imbaſſadours ſent to him from the Emperour Henrie.

Philip king of Fraunce dead.

Levvys le Gros king of Fraunce.

The

Ambaſſadours from the emperour.

The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to require his daughter Maude in marriage vnto the ſayde Emperoure, which requeſt (though ſhee was not paſte as then fyue yeares of age, hee willingly graunted vnto, and ſhewing to the Ambaſſadors greate ſygnes of loue, hee cauſed the eſpouſels by way of procuration to be ſolemnized with greate feaſtes and triumphes, which being ended, he ſuffered the Ambaſſadors to departe, honored with great giftes and princely rewardes.

Maude the kings daughter fiaunced vnto the emperour.

Eadmerus.

The death of Girarde archb. of Yorke.

Thomas the kings Chaplain ſucceded in that ſee.

About thys tyme alſo, the Archbiſhop of Yorke Girard departed thys lyfe, and one Thomas the Kyngs Chaplayne ſucceeded in hys place, the which for lacke of money to furniſh hys iourney, and for other cauſes as in hys letters of excuſe, whyche hee wrote to Anſelme it dothe appeare, coulde not come to Canterbury for to bee ſacred of the ſame Anſelme in ſo ſhorte a tyme as was conueniente. But Anſelme at length admoniſhed hym by letters, that without delay, he ſhould diſpatch and come to be conſecrated. And whereas Anſelme vnderſtoode that the ſame Thomas was purpoſed to ſend vnto Rome for hys Palle, he doubted, leaſt if the Pope ſhould confirme him in hys See by ſendyng to hym hys Palle, hee woulde haply refuſe to make vnto hym profeſſion of hys due obedience.

The doubt of Anſelme.

Anſelme writeth to the Pope.

Therefore to preuente that matter, Anſelme wrote to Pope Paſcall, requiring hym in no wiſe to ſende vnto the nominate Archbiſhoppe of Yorke his palle, tyll he hadde accordyng to the auncient cuſtomes, made profeſſion to hym of ſubiection, leaſt ſome contentious trouble might thereof aryſe, to the no ſmall diſquieting of the Engliſh churche. He alſo aduertiſed Pope Paſcall, that bycauſe hee permitted the Emperour to inueſte Biſhoppes, and didde not therefore excommunicate hym, Kyng Henrye threatened, that withoute doubte hee woulde reſume the inueſtitures agayne into hys handes, thinkyng to holde them in quiet ſo well as he dyd, and therfore he beſought hym to conſider what his wyſedome hadde to doe therein with ſpeede, leaſt that buylding whyche hee had well ſette vppe, ſhoulde vtterly decaye, and come agayne to irrecouerable ruine. For Kyng Henry maketh diligente enquirie (ſayeth he) what order you take with the Emperor.

The Popes anſvvere to Anſelme.

The Pope receyuyng and peruſing theſe Letters, wrote agayne vnto Anſelme, a very friendly aunſwere touchyng hys cauſe concernyng the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke. And as for the ſuffering of the Emperour to haue the inueſtitures, he ſignifyed to hym that he neyther did nor would ſuffer hym to haue them: But that hauyng borne wyth hym for a tyme, hee nowe mente very ſhortly to cauſe hym to feele the weyght of the ſpirituall ſworde of Saynt Peter, whiche alreadye he had drawen forth of of the ſcaberd, then withall to ſtrike if he did not the ſooner forſake his horrible errour and naughtie opinion.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke refuſeth to come vnto Canterbury to be conſecrated

There was another cauſe alſo that moued Anſelme to doubte of the Archbiſhop of Yorke his meaning, as after it appeared. For beeyng ſummoned to come and to receyue his conſecration at Canterburie (as alreadye ye haue hearde) thorough counſell of the Canons of Yorke he refuſed ſo to doe: bycauſe they enformed hym that if he ſo didde, it ſhoulde be greately preiudiciall to the liberties of that ſee, whoſe Archebiſhop was of lyke authoritie in all things vnto the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſo yͤ he was bound onely to fetche his conſecration and benediction at Canterburie, but in no wyſe to acknowledge any ſubiection vnto that ſea. For ye muſt vnderſtand yͭ there was great ſtomaking betwixte the clergie of the two prouinces of Canterburie and York about yͤ Metropolitan prerogatiue: & euen as occaſiō ſerued, & as thei thought yͤ fauor of the prince or oportunitie of tyme mighte aduaunce their quarels, they of Yorke ſticked not to vtter their griefs, in that (as they tooke it) ſome iniurie was offred thē therin. The Archbiſhop of Yorke being thus inſtructed by the canons of his church ſignified vnto the Archbiſhop Anſelme the cauſe why he came not at his calling by Letters. The copie of a parcel wherof enſueth in in this maner.

1019.

Cauſam qua differtur ſacratio mea, quam nemo ſtudioſius quam ego vellet accellerare qui protulerunt nō deſiſtūt correborare, quam ob rem quā periculoſum & quam turpè ſit contra cōſenſum eccleſiæ cui præfici debeo regimen ipſius inuadere veſtra diſcretio nouerit. Sed & quam formidabile & quam ſit euitandum ſub ſpecie benedictionis maledictionem induere. The engliſhe wherof is this:

The cauſe why my conſecration is deferred, whiche no man liuing woulde wiſhe to bee done with more ſpeede, than I my ſelfe: Thoſe that haue ſette it forth, ceaſſe not to confirme, wherfore howe daungerous and howe diſhoneſte it ſhoulde bee for mee to inuade the gouernance of that churche which I ought to rule withoute conſente of the ſame, your diſcretion ryght well vnderſtandeth, yea and alſo howe dreadfull a thyng it is, and howe muche to bee auoyded to receyue a curſſe, vnder colour of a bleſſyng.

But Anſelme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the electe Archebiſhoppe of Yorke aboute thys matter, and nowe receyuyng this aunſwere, coulde not bee quiet in his mynde to ſuffer it thus to reſte, and therevppon takyng aduice with certaine Biſhops whiche he called vnto him, determined to ſende two biſhoppes vnto the ſaid elect of Yorke: & ſo the biſhop of London

The Biſhop of London deane to the biſhop of Canterbury The biſhop of Rocheſter his chaplayne.

as Deane to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Rocheſter as his chaplayn of houſhold, were ſent to commune with him, who met them at his manour of Southwell, where they declared to him the effecte of their meſſage: but he deferred his anſwer til a meſſanger which he had ſent to the king (as thē being in Normandie) was returned, and ſo without any full anſwere, the biſhops came backe againe.

But ſhortly after, there commeth to Canterbury a meſſenger on the behalfe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke with letters encloſed vnder the Kings ſeale, by the tenour wherof, the king commaunded Anſelme that the conſecration of the ſayde Archbiſhop of Yorke might ſtaye till the feaſt of Eaſter, and if he might retourne into Englande by that day, he promiſed (by the aduice had therin of the Biſhoppes and barons of his realme,) that he woulde ſet a direction in all matters betwixt them, whereof any controuerſie had bene moued heretofore: or if hee coulde not returne ſo ſoone, he would yet take ſuch order, that brotherly loue and concorde might remain betwixt thē. When he that brought theſe letters required an anſwer, Anſelme anſwered, that he wold ſignifie his mynde to the king, and not to his maiſter. immediatly therfore was the Deane of Chicheſter ſent from Anſelme, with a Monke of Bechellowyn ouer to the king, to enforme him of all ẏ matter, & to beſeeche his maieſtie, ſo by his authoritie to vſe prouiſion, that no diſcorde ſhould riſe to the diuiding of the preſent ſtate of the churche of Englande. Furthermore, wheras he had commaunded him to graunt vnto Thomas the Archbiſhop of Yorke, a tyme of reſpite, he ſhulde take for a certaine anſwere that he would rather ſuffer himſelfe to be cut in peeces, than to graunt ſo muche as one houres ſpace vnto the electe of Yorke, whome he knewe alreadie to haue ſet himſelfe vniuſtly againſt the auncient conſtitutions of holy fathers & againſt the Lord himſelfe. The meſſengers ẏ were ſent to declare theſe things to the kyng returned, bringing word that the king had heard their meſſage with fauourable mynde, and promiſed by the power of God, to declare to the world that he coueted an vnitie, and not any diuiſion in the churche of Englande.

Anſelme ſendeth to the K.

Anſelme ſicke.

All this meane whyle Anſelme was deteyned with long and greuous ſickneſſe, and yet not forgetfull of the rebellious doings of the electe of Yorke, he wrote Letters vnto hym, by the tenoure whereof, he ſuſpended hym from exerciſing all paſtorall function, till he had reformed hys errour, and ſubmitted hymſelfe to receyue his bleſſing, and acknowledged hys ſubiection vnto the Churche of Canterbury, as hys predeceſſoures Thomas and Girarde, after the cuſtome and accordingly as theyr aunceſtors had done before him. And thus he charged him vpon payne of curſing, except he woulde renounce his Archebiſhoppes dignitie: for in ſo doing he did graunte him licence to vſe the office and miniſterie of a Prieſt, (whyche before tyme he had taken vpon hym) or elſe not.

In the ſame letters he did alſo forbid all the Byſhoppes within the precincte of the Iſle of Brytayne, that in no wyſe they ſhoulde conſecrate hym, vpon payne of curſyng: And if hee ſhoulde chaunce to bee conſecrated by any ſtraunger, that in no wyſe they ſhoulde vnder the lyke payne receyue hym for Archebiſhoppe, or communicate with him in any condition.

Letters from Anſelme.

Euerye Biſhoppe alſo within the whole Ile of Brytayne hadde a copie of theſe Letters directed to them from Anſelme vnder his ſeale, commaunding them to behaue themſelues therin according to the contentes and as they were bounde by the ſubiection whyche they ought to the Churche of Canterbury.

1109.

An.reg.10.

Auguſta Preteriana.

The letters were dated alyke in Marche, but vpon the .xxi. of Aprill enſuing, Anſelme ended his lyfe in the ſixteenth yeare after his firſt preferremente to that ſea, beeing threeſcore and ſixtene yeares of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, neere to the Alpes, in a Citie called Aoſta, he was brought vp alſo by Lanfrank and before he was made Archebiſhoppe, he was Abbotte of the Monaſterie of Bechellowyn in Normandie.

Mat.VVeſt.

The firſt erection of the biſhoprik of Ely.

Eadmerus.

Aboute the ſame tyme was the Biſhoppes ſea of Elye erected by the King, who appoynted one Haruy to bee the firſte Biſhoppe there, that before had bin Biſhop of Bangor. In lyke maner Cambrigeſhire was annexed to that ſea, and bicauſe the ſame had of former tyme belonged to the ſea of Lincolne, the kyng gaue vnto the Biſhoppe of Lincolne as it were in recompence, the towne of Spalding whiche was his owne. The Priour of Ely, named Richarde, deſirous to honour himſelfe and his houſe wyth the title of a Biſhoppes dignitie, procured the erection of that Biſhoprike, firſt mouyng the king therin, and after perſwading with the Biſhoppe of Lincolne to graunt his good will: but yet ere the matter was brought to ende, thys Pryoure dyed, and ſo the ſaid Haruy enioyed the roumthe, wherein the Prouerbe toke place, That one ſowed, an other reapeth (as Polydore allegeth it.) But to proceede.

Richard priour of Elye.

Polidore

Eadmerus:

Shortly after the deceaſſe of Anſelme, there came a Legate from Rome, that brought wyth him the palle for the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, but nowe that Anſelme was departed thys lyfe, the ſayde Legate wyſt not what to make of the matter, bycauſe hee was appoynted to deliuer the palle firſte vnto Anſelme, and to doe fur-

A legate from Rome.

ther concerning the beſtowing therof, as ſhould ſeeme good vnto hym. In the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte enſuing, the king beeing retourned oute of Normandie held his court at London, and after the ſolemnitie of that feaſt, hee called an aſſemble of the Biſhops, to vnderſtande what oughte to be done in the matter, for the conſecration of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

The Erle of Mellent.

Heere were the Letters ſhewed, whiche the Archbiſhoppe Anſelme hadde a little before his death directed vnto euery of the biſhops as before ye haue heard, the which when the Erle of Mellent had read, and vnderſtode the effect of them, He asked what hee was that durſte receyue any ſuche letters without the kings aſſente and commaundement?

Samſon biſhop of VVorceter.

At lengthe the Biſhops aduiſing themſelues what they hadde to doe, required Samſon the Byſhoppe of Worceſter to declare his opinion, the whiche boldely vttered his mynde thus: Althoughe thys manne whiche is elected Archebiſhoppe, is my ſonne, whome in tymes paſte I begotte of my wyfe, and therefore oughte to ſeeke his aduancement as nature and worldly reſpectes myghte moue mee, yet am I more bounde vnto the Churche of Caunterbury, my mother, yͤ which hath preferred me to this honor which I doe beare, and by the miniſtery of a Biſhoplyke office hathe made mee partaker of that grace, whiche it hathe deſerued to enioye of the Lorde. Wherfore I would it ſhould be notifyed vnto you all, that I meane to obey in euery condition, the commandement conteined in the letters of our father Anſelme concerning the matter which you now haue nowe in hande. For I will neuer giue myne aſſente, that he whyche is the electe of Yorke ſhall be conſecrated, til he haue profeſſed his due and canonicall obedience touchyng hys ſubiection to the Churche of Canterburie. For I my ſelfe was preſent when my brother Thomas Archebiſhoppe of Yorke being conſtreyned bothe with auncient cuſtomes and inuincible reaſons did profeſſe the like ſubiection vnto the Archebiſhoppe Lanfranke, and to all his ſucceſſours, the Archbiſhoppes of Canterburie.

The proteſtation of the biſhops to the king.

Theſe things beeing thus vttered by the Biſhoppe of Worceſter, all the Biſhoppes returned together, and cōming before the kyngs preſence, boldly confeſſed that they hadde receyued Anſelmes letters, and woulde not do any thing contrary to the tenour of the ſame. Hereat the Earle of Mellent ſhooke the head, as though he ment to accuſe them of contempte towardes the kyng. But the Kyng himſelf vttered his mynd, and ſayd, That whatſoeuer other men thought of the matter, he ſurely was of the lyke mynde with the Biſhops, and woulde be loth to runne in daunger of Anſelmes curſſe.

Whereupon it was determined, that the elect of Yorke ſhoulde eyther acknowledge his ſubiection to the Churche of Canterbury, or elſe forgoe his dignitie of Archbiſhop: and ſo in the end he came to London, where vpon the. xxviij. day of Maye, hee was conſecrated by Richarde the Biſhop of London, as Deane to the ſea of Canterburye, and there hauyng the profeſſion whiche he oughte to make his ſubiection to the ſea of Canterbury deliuered to him vnder ſeale, he brake vp the ſame, and read the wrytyng in forme as followeth:

The tenour of the profeſſion vvhiche the Archb.of York made vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Ego Thomas Eboracenſis eccleſiæ conſecrandus Metropolitanus profiteor ſubiectionem & canonicam obedientiam ſanctæ Dorobernenſi eccleſiæ & eiuſdem Eccleſiæ primati canonice electo & conſecrato & ſucceſſoribus ſuis canonice inthronizatis ſalua fidelitate Domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum & ſalua obedientia ex parte mea tenēda, quā Thomas anteceſſor meus ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ ex parte ſua profeſſus eſt. The Engliſh wherof is thus.

I Thomas to be conſecrated Metropolitane Archbyſhop of Yorke profeſſe my ſubiection and canonicall obedience vnto the holy Church of Canterburye, and to the primate of the ſame churche canonically elected and conſecrated, and to hys ſucceſſoures Canonically inthronizate, ſauyng the faythe which I owe vnto my ſoueraine lord K. Henry inthronizated, ſauing the obedience to be holden of my parte, which Thomas my anteceſſour profeſſed on his behalfe vnto the holy churche of Rome.

When this writing was thus redde, the Biſhoppe of London tooke it, and deliuered it vnto the Prior of Canterbury, appoynting him to keepe the ſame as a witneſſe, and recorde of the thing in tyme to come.

1110.

Thus was Thomas the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke conſecrated the. xxvij. in number that had gouerned that See, and when he was thus conſecrate, the Popes Legate went vnto Yorke, and there delyuered to the ſame Archebiſhoppe, the Palle, and ſo hauyng inueſted hym therewith, he departed and retourned towards Rome as he was appointed. At the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe next enſuing, the king helde his courte at London with greate ſolemnitie. The Archbiſhop of Yorke prepared to haue ſette the crowne on the kings head, and to haue ſong the Maſſe afore hym, bycauſe the Archebiſhoppes ſea of Canterburye was voyde: But the Biſhop of London woulde not ſuffer it, claymyng as hyghe Deane to the ſea of Canterburye to execute that office, and ſo did, leading the kyng to the Churche after the maner: but when they ſhould come to ſitte downe at diner, there roſe eftſoones a ſtryfe betwixte the ſayde two Biſhops aboute

Strife betvvixt Biſhops.

their places, bycauſe the Biſhoppe of London, for that hee hadde bene ordeyned long before the Archebiſhoppe, and therefore not onely as Deane to the Sea of Canterburye, but alſo by reaſon of prioritie, pretended to haue the vpper ſtate. But the King perceyuing theyr maner, woulde not heare them, but commaunded them out of his houſe, and to gette them to dynner at their Innes.

An.reg.11.

Aboute the ſame tyme the cauſe of the mariage of Prieſtes and their keeping of women came againe into queſtion, ſo that by the kings commaundement, they were more ſtraightly forbidden the companye of women than before in Anſelmes tyme. For after hys deceaſſe dyuers of them (as it were promiſing to themſelues a newe libertie to doe that whiche in his lyfe time they were conſtrayned ſore againſt their willes to forbeare,) deceiued themſelues by their haſtie dealing: For the King being enfourmed thereof, by the force of the Eccleſiaſtical lawes compelled them to ſtande to and to obeye the decree of the Counſell holden at London by Anſelme, (as before ye haue hearde) at the leaſte wyſe in the ſight of men: But if ſo it be (ſayeth Eadmerus) that the Prieſts attempt to do worſe, as it were to the condemnation and reproofe of Anſelmes doings, lette the charge lighte on theyr heades, ſithe euery manne ſhall beare his owne burthen: for I knowe (ſayth he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God ſhall iudge, the abuſers of their owne couſyns, (I will not ſay their owne ſiſters & daughters) ſhal not ſurely eſcape his iudgement.

Aboute the ſame tyme many wonders were ſeene and hearde of. The riuer of Trent neare to Notingham, for the ſpace of a myle ceaſſed to runne the wonted courſe duryng the tyme of foure and twentie houres, ſo that the chanelle beyng dryed vp, menne might paſſe ouer to and fro on foote drye ſhodde.

Alſo a ſowe brought forth a Pigge wyth a a face lyke to a man. And a chicken was hatched with foure feete.

VVi.Thorne.
Mat. VVeſt.

Moreouer a Comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared after a ſtraunge ſorte; for ryſing in the eaſt, when it once came alofte in the firmamente, it kepte not the courſe forwarde, but ſeemed to goe backewarde, as if it hadde bin retrograde.

Iohn Stow
Robert the kings baſe ſon created earle of Glouceſter.

Aboute this ſeaſon the kyng maryed his baſe ſonne Robert vnto the Ladie Maude, daughter and heire vnto Robert Fitz Ham, and withall hee made his ſayde ſonne Earle of Glouceſter, who afterwardes buylded the caſtels of Briſtow and Cardiffe, and the Priorie of S. Iames in Briſtowe, where his bodie was buryed.

1111.
An.reg.12.

Polidore.
The citie of Conſtances taken.
The king paſſeth into Normandie.

In the yeare followyng, the Earle of Aniou named Foulke, enuying the proſperous eſtate of kyng Henrye, and lamentyng the caſe of Duke Robert, wanne the Citie of Conſtances by corrupting certain of yͤ kings ſubiects, inhabiters of the ſame Citie: Wherof King Henrye being aduertiſed, paſſed ouer into Normandie, recouered the ſayd Citie, puniſhed the offendours, and reuenging hymſelf of the Earle, returned into Englande.

1112.
An.reg.13.
The Archebiſhops ſea of Canterbury in the kings hand

After this, reſted there an other warre to be finiſhed, whyche brake off the kinges ſtudye from heaping vpe of money in his coffers, wherunto he was moſte inordinately giuen, and wherby hee pinched many ſo ſore, that they ceaſſed not to ſpeake the worſte of his doings: and namely he was euyll ſpoken of, bycauſe hee kepte ſtill the Archebiſhoppes ſea of Canterburye in his handes, and woulde not beſtowe it of any man, for that he founde a ſweeteneſſe in receiuing all the profites and reuenues, whiche belonged therevnto, during the tyme that it remayned vacant, whiche was the ſpace of foure yeares, or thereaboutes. In like manner when he was admoniſhed to place ſome meete man in the roume, he woulde ſay, that he was willing to beſtow it, but he tooke the longer tyme, for that he meant to find ſome ſuch one to preferre thereto as ſhuld not be too far behind Lanfrank & Anſelm in doctrine, vertue & wiſdome. And ſith there was none ſuche yet to be found, he ſuffred that ſea to be voyde till ſuch coulde be prouided. This excuſe he pretended as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthie man, than of the gaine that folowed during the time of the vacation. Howbeit ere long after, he tranſlated one Richarde biſhop of London to that Archebiſhopryke, who lyuyng but a little while therin, he gaue the ſame to one Raulfe, as then Biſhop of Rocheſter, and made him Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being the .25. in order that ruled yͤ ſea: He was elected at Windſor the .26. of April, and on the .16. day of May he was inſtalled at Canterbury, great preparation being made for the feaſte, whiche was holden at the ſame. Soone after likewyſe hee ſent for his Palle to Rome, whiche was brought from Paſcall, by one Anſelme, nephewe to the late Archbiſhop Anſelme.

1114
An.reg.14.
The kings excuſe.
1115
An.reg.15.
Eadmerus

The Popes authoritie not regarded in Englande.

About whiche tyme alſo, the Pope found him ſelfe greued, for that his authoritie was no more eſteemed in Englande, for that no perſons were permitted to appeale to Rome for any matter of cauſes in controuerſie, and for that withoute ſeeking to obtayne his licence and conſent, they didde keepe their Synodes and their Councelles touching the order of Eccleſiaſticall buſyneſſe, neyther woulde they obeye ſuche Legates as he did ſende, nor come to the Conuocations which they helde, In ſomuche that one Cono the Popes Legate in Fraunce hadde excommunicated all the Prieſtes of Normandye, bycauſe they would not come to a counſell or Synode which they had called. Wherupon the king being ſomewhat troubled herewith, by aduice of his counſell, ſente vnto Rome the Biſhop of Exceſter, (though he were then blynde) to talke wyth the Pope concerning that matter.

The biſhop of Exceſter ſente to Rome.

Thruſtayne archb. of York.

Not long after this alſo, dyed Thomas the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke: After whome ſucceded Thruſtaine, a man of a loftie ſtomacke, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verye firſte began to contende with Rauſe the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury aboute the title and righte of the primacie: and though the Kyng aduiſed him to ſtande to the order whiche the late Archbiſhops of Yorke had obſerued, he wold not ſtay the matter, ſith he perceyued that the Archbiſhop Rauſſe beyng diſeaſed with ſickneſſe, coulde not attende to preuente hys doyngs. Thruſtayne therfore conſecrated certayne Biſhops of Scotlande, and firſt of all Gilles Aldane the elect Biſhop of Sainct Nynian, who promiſed and toke his othe (as the manner is) to obeye hym in all thyngs as his primate.

Gilles Aldane biſhop of ſaint Ninian.

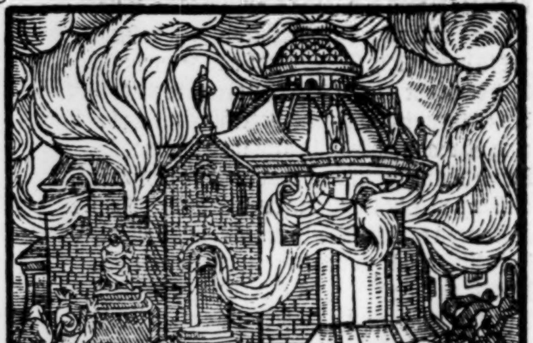
Floriacenſis
VVigornienſis

VVorceſter brent.

Polidor.

The VVelchemen inuade the engliſhe marches.

The Citie of Worceſter aboute thys ſeaſon was by chaunce of fyre almoſte wholly brente vp and conſumed. Whyche miſſe happe bycauſe that Citie adioyneth neere vnto Wales, was thoughte to bee a ſignification of the troubles to followe, rayſed by the Welchemen: for they conceyuing an hope of good ſpeede, by the good ſucceſſe happened to them in the warres whyche they hadde with William Rufus, began nowe to inuade and waſte the Engliſhe marches.



K. Henry entreth into VVales vvith an armie.

Wherevpon kyng Henry deſirous to tame their hautie ſtomackes, (bicauſe it was a griefe to him ſtill to be vexed with ſuche tumultes and reyſes as they dayly procured) aſſembled a myghty armye, and goeth into Wales: And bycauſe hee knewe that the Welchemen truſted more to the aduauntage of the Woddes and Mountayns, than to theyr own ſtrength, he beſet all the places of theyr refuge wyth armed men, and ſente into the wooddes certayne bandes of menne to beate downe the ſame, and to hunte out theyr enimyes.

The Souldiours in like maner for their parts needed no exhortation: for remembryng the loſſes ſuſteyned afore tyme, at the Welchmennes handes, they ſhewed well by theyr freſhe purſuite, howe muche they deſyred to bee reuenged of them, ſo that the Welchemen were ſlayne on eche hande, and that in greate numbers, tyll the Kyng perceyuyng the huge ſlaughter, and that the Welchemenne hauyng throwne awaye theyr armour and weapons, ſoughte to ſaue themſelues by flyghte, commaunded the Souldiours to ceaſſe from kylling, and to take the reſidue that were left pryſoners, if they wold yelde themſelues, which they didde, and beſought the kyng of his mercie and grace, to pardon and forgiue them.

Garniſons placed in VVales by king Henry
Floriacenſis
VVigornienſis

The king thus hauing vanquiſhed and ouercome the Welchemen, placed garniſons in ſundrie Townes and Caſtells, where he thoughte moſte neceſſarie, and then returned to London wyth greate triumph: Whyther came ſhortely after, Ambaſſadours from the Emperoure, requyring the Kynges daughter fianced (as before ye haue hearde) vnto hym, and (beeyng nowe able to companye with hir huſbande) theſe Ambaſſadours came from hym, deſyring that ſhee myght be deliuered vnto them.

A ſubſidie reyſed by the king to beſtovve vvith his daughter.
H. Hunt.
Polidore

Kyng Henry hauing hearde theyr ſuite, and willing with ſpede to performe the ſame, reyſed a great taxe among his ſubiectes, rated by euerye hyde of land which they held, and takyng of eche one .iij. s. towards the payment of the money, which was couenanted to bee giuen wyth hir at the tyme of the contracte, which when the King had leuyed with muche more towards the charges to be employed in ſending hir forth, he appointed certaine of his greateſt peeres to haue the conduct of hir vnto hir huſbande, who wyth

all

The King goeth ouer into Normandy.

all conuenient ſpeede conueyed hir into Germany, and in very honorable manner there deliuered hir vnto the foreſayd Emperoure. After thys, the King wente into Normandy, and there created his ſonne William Duke of that countrey, cauſing the people to ſweare him fealtie, and promiſe faythfull obedience vnto him, whereof roſe a cuſtome, that the Kyngs of Englande from thenſforth ſo long as Normandy remayned in theyr handes made euer their eldeſt ſonnes Dukes of that countrey. When he had done this with other his buſines in Normādy, he returned into Englande.

Wonders.
VVil. Thorne

After whych and about the fifteene day of October, the Sea ſo decreaſed and ſhranke from the old accuſtomed water markes and coaſtes of the land here in this Realme, that a man myghte haue paſſed on foote ouer the ſands and waſhes, for the ſpace of a whole daye togither, ſo that it was taken for a great wonder. It was alſo noted, that the mayne Riuers which by the tides of the ſea vſed to ebbe and flow twice in .24. houres, became ſo ſhallow, yͤ in many places men might goe ouer them without daunger, and namely the Riuer of Thames was ſo lowe for the ſpace of a day and a nighte, that horſes, men, and children paſſed ouer it betwixte London bridge and the Tower, and alſo vnder the Bridge the water not reaching aboue their knees.

Simon Dun.
Ran. Higd.
Math. VVeſt.

Moreouer, in the nineth of Decēber, yͤ aire appeared redde, as though it had brenned. In like manner, the Winter was very extreme colde with Froſts, by reaſon whereof at yͤ thawing and breaking of the iſe, the moſt parte of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

1115
An. reg. 16.

1116
An. Reg. 17.

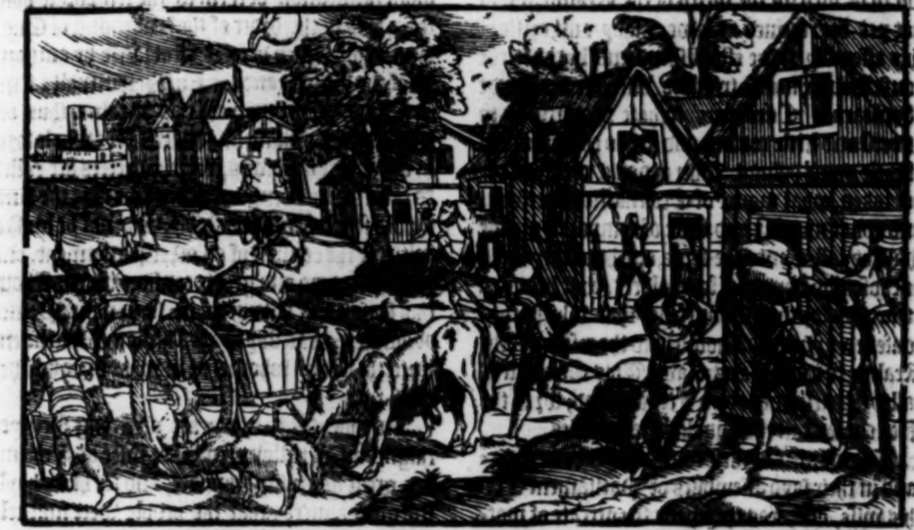
Soone after, Griffin ap Ryce tooke a great pray and bootie out of the countreys ſubiect to the King within the limits of Wales, and brenned the Kings Caſtels, bycauſe he wold not reſtore diuers ſuch lands and poſſeſſions vnto him as apperteined to his father Rees or Rice.

Griffin ap Rice doth much hurt on the merches.

Polidor.

Howbeit, the King notwithſtanding this buſineſſe, beeing otherwiſe not troubled with anye other warres or weighty affaires, deferred his voyage into thoſe quarters, and firſt called a Counſell of his Lordes both ſpirituall and temporall at Saliſburie on the ninteenth day of March, in the which, many things were ordeyned for the welth and quiet ſtate of the land: and firſte hee ſware the Nobilitie of the Realme, that they ſhould be true to him and his ſonne William after his deceaſſe. Secondly, he appeaſed ſundry matters then growing in controuerſie betwixte the nobles and great peeres, cauſing the ſame to be broughte to an ende, and the parties made friendes, except the difference betwixt the Archbiſhops of Yorke and Canterbury, whiche had depended long in ſtrife, and could not as yet be ended: for the ambitious Thruſtayne woulde not ſtande to anye decree or order therein, except he might haue had his whole will, ſo that the K. taking diſpleaſure with him, for ſuche his obſtinate demeanor, commaunded him eyther to be conformable to the decree made in Lanfrankes time, or elſe to renounce his myter, which to do, rather than to acknowledge any ſubiection to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, hee ſeemed to be very willing at the firſte, but afterwardes he repented him of that which he had ſayd in that behalfe, ſo that when the Counſell was ended, and the K. went ouer into Normandy, hee followed, truſting by ſome meanes to perſwade the King that hee might haue his Archbiſhopricke to be conſecrated, without recogniſing any obedience to the See of Caunterbury: but the King would not heare on that ſide, and ſo the matter reſted long in ſute as after ſhall appeare. Here of may it appeare as ſaith Polidore, how the Biſhops in thoſe dayes began to be blinded with couetouſneſſe and ambition, not conſidering how it appertayned to their dutie in deſpiſing ſuche worldly [illegible]

Thruſtayne refuſeth to obey the kings pleaſure.
Edmerus



the people regardeth, only to ſtudie for the health of mans ſoule.

The firſt vſe of Parliamēts in England.

Here is to be noted, that before this tyme, the Kings of Englande vſed but ſeldome to call togither the eſtates of the Realm after any certaine manner or generall kind of proceſſe, to haue theyr conſents in matters to be decreed, but as ẏ Lordes of the priuie counſel in our time do ſitte only whē neceſſitie requireth, ſo did they whenſoeuer it pleſed the K. to haue any conference with them, ſo that from this Henry it may be thought the firſte vſe of the Parliament to haue proceeded, whyche ſith that time hath remayned in force, and is frequented vnto our times, in ſo much, that whatſoeuer is to be decreed apperteyning to the ſtate of ẏ common wealth and conſeruatiō thereof, is now referred to that Counſell: and furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the King or any other perſon to be vſed for the welth of the Realme, it ſhal not yet bee receiued as lawe, till by authoritie of this aſſembly it bee eſtabliſhed: and bycauſe the houſe ſhoulde not be troubled with the multitude of vnlearned Comoners, whoſe propertie is to vnderſtand little reaſon, and yet to conceiue well of their owne doings. There was a certayne order taken, what maner of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and what number and ſorte of temporall menne ſhuld be called vnto the ſame, and how they ſhuld be choſen, by voyces of free holders, that being as atturneys for their Countreys, that whiche they confeſſed or denyed, ſhould bind the reſidue of the Realme to receiue it as a law. This Counſell is called a Parliament by a French word, for ſo the Frenchmen call their publique aſſemblies.

The manner of the Parliamēt in Englād

The manner of their conſulting here in England in their ſayd aſſemblies of Parliament is on this wiſe. Wheras they haue to entreate of matters touching the commoditie both of the Prince and of the people, that euery man may haue free libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are apointed to ſit in ſeuerall chambers, the King, the Biſhops, and Lords of the Realme ſit in one chamber to conferre togither by themſelues, and the comoners called Knightes for the Shires, Citizens of Cities, and burgeſſes of good townes in an other. Theſe chooſe ſome wiſe and eloquente learned man to be their prolocutor or ſpeaker, as they tearme him, who propoundeth thoſe thyngs vnto them that are to be talked of, and aſketh euery man his opinion concerning the concluſion thereof. In like ſort, when any thing is agreed vppon, and decreed by them in this place (whiche they call the lower houſe in reſpect of their eſtate) he declareth it againe to the Lordes that ſitte in the other chamber called the higher houſe, demanding likewiſe their iudgements touching ẏ ſame, for nothing is ratified there, except it be agreede vpon by the conſent of the more part of both thoſe houſes, and when they haue ſayd theyr myndes thereof, and yeelded their confirmation thereunto, the finall ratification of all is referred to the Prince, ſo that if he thinke good that it ſhall paſſe for a law, he confirmeth alſo by the mouth of the Lord Chauncellor of the Realme, who is prolocutor to the Lordes alwayes by the cuſtome of that houſe. The ſame order is vſed alſo by ẏ Biſhops and ſpiritualtie in their conuocation houſes, for the Biſhops ſit in one place by themſelues as in the higher houſe, and the Deanes, Archdeacons and other procuratours of the ſpiritualtie in an other, as in the lower houſe, whoſe prolocutor declareth to the Biſhops what is agreed by them. And then the Archbiſhop by the conſent of ẏ more part of them that are aſſembled in both thoſe cōuocation houſes, ratifieth, and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithſtanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houſes, & this is the order of the lawgeuing of England, and by ſuch decrees eſtabliſhed by authoritie of the Prince, and the Lords ſpirituall & temporall, and Commons of this Realme thus aſſembled in Parliament, conſiſteth the whole force of our Engliſhe lawes, whiche decrees are called Statutes, meaning by that name that the ſame ſhould ſtand firme and ſtable, and not be broken without the conſent of an other Parliament, and that vpon good and greate conſideration. About this ſeaſon, one Owin which ſome name Prince of Wales, was ſlayne as Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whome, or in what ſorte hee ſheweth not.

Simon Dun.

In this eighteenth yeare of Kyng Henryes raigne, on all hallowen day, or firſte of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and ſuche an hayle ſtorme chaunced, that the people were marueilouſly amaſed therewith.

Alſo the thirteenth of December, there happened a greate Earthquake, and the Moone was turned into a bloudy colour. But theſe ſtraunge incidents fell about the middeſt of the nyght.

About the ſame time, Queene Maude, wife to Kyng Henry departed thys lyfe. But now to returne to other doings. It chaunced vpon occaſion of a ſmall matter, that right ſore and daungerous warres followed out of hande, betwixte King Henry, and Lewes ſurnamed the groſſe King of Fraunce: the beginning of which warre chaunced vppon this occaſion, Theobalde Earle of Champaigne diſcended of the Erles of Bloys, was ioyned in friendſhippe with Kyng Henry, by reaſon of affinitie that was betwixt them, (for Stephan the Earle of Bloys married the Lady Adila the ſyſter of Kyng Henry.) Nowe it happened, that the foreſaid Theobalde had by chance offended the aforeſayde Lewes, who in reuenge thereof, made ſharp warres vpon him, but Earle

Polidor.

Theobald Erle of Champaigne.

Theobald

Hen. Hunt.

Foulk Earle of Aniou.

King Henry paſſeth ouer into Normandy to aſſiſt the Earle of Chāpaigne.

The French K. inuadeth Normandy.

Theobald, truſting vpon ayde to be ſent from his friends, in the meane time valiantly reſiſted hym, and at length by reaſon of a power of men whych came to him from king Henry, he ſore vexed and ſo annoyed the Frenche King, that hee conſulted with Baldwin Earle of Flaunders, and Fouke Earle of Aniou, by what meanes hee mighte beſt depriue King Henry alſo of his Duchie of Normandy, and reſtore the ſame vnto William the ſonne of Duke Robert, vnto whome of right hee ſayd it did belong. Now King Henry hauing intelligence of his whole purpoſe, endeuoured on ẏ other ſide to reſiſt his attemptes, and after he had leuied a ſore tribute of his ſubiects, hee paſſed ouer into Normandy with a great power of men, and maſſe of money, and there ioyning with Earle Theobalde, they began to prepare for the warre, purpoſing to follow the ſame euen to the very vttermoſt. King Lewis in the meane time ſuppoſing that all hope of victory reſted in ſpeedy diſpatch of preſente affayres, determined likewiſe to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the ſudayne, but after he perceyued that his enimies were al ready, and very well prouided to reſiſt him, he ſtayed & drew backe a little while, but in the end he became ſo deſirous to bee doing with K. Henry, that approching neere vnto the confines of Normandy, he made many ſkirmiſhes with the Engliſhmen, although no notable exployte chaunced betwixte them in that yeare to make any great accompt of.

1117

An. Reg. 18.

Anſelme the Popes Legate.

The Biſhop of Canterbury goth to Rome

Pope Gelaſius ſucceedeth Pope Paſchall.

1118

An. Reg. 19.

Calixtus the ſecond of that name Pope.

Here will I leaue the Kings of England and France ſkirmiſhing and troubling one another, & ſhew ſomething more of the contention that was betweene the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury and Yorke, to the ende, that their ambitious deſire of worldly honor, may in ſome reſpect appeare. For about this very time, Anſelme that was Nephew to the Archbiſhoppe Anſelme, came againe from Rome with free authoritie to execute the office of the Popes Legate in Englande, which ſeemed a thing right ſtrange to the Engliſh Cleargie: and therefore the Biſhop of Canterbury to preuente other inconueniences likely alſo to folowe, tooke vppon him to goe vnto Rome further to vnderſtand the Popes pleaſure cōcerning this matter, and to require him in no wiſe to abridge or diminiſh the authoritie and prerogatiue of his See of Canterbury, whych hitherto vſed to determine all cauſes riſing in his prouince. Hee came to Rome, but finding not the Pope there, hee ſente meſſengers with letters vnto him, as then lying ſicke at Beneuēto, and obteined a fauourable anſwere, with the which returning towardes England, he came to the K. to Roan (wher he had left him at his ſetting forwarde) certifying him howe he had ſpedde in this voiage: the foreſaid Anſelme was alſo ſtayed by the K. at Roan, and could not be ſuffered to paſſe ouer into England of all that time, til it might be vnderſtood by the returne of ẏ Archbiſhop what the Popes pleaſure ſhoulde bee further in that matter: ſhortly after whoſe repaire to the King, worde was brought alſo that Pope Paſchall was departed this life, and that Gelaſius the ſecond was elected in his place, the whyche Gelaſius to auoyde the daungers that mighte enſue to him by reaſon of the ſciſme and controuerſie betwixt the See of Rome, and the Emperour Henry the fifth, came into Fraunce, where hee lyued not long, but dyed in the Abbey of Clugny, & then Calixtus the ſeconde was called to the Papacie. Thus by the chaunce & chaunge of Popes, the Legateſhip of Anſelme coulde take no place, although his Bulles permitted him withoute limitation of time certayne, not onely to call and celebrate Synodes for reformation of miſorders in the Church, but alſo for the receyuing of ſaint Peters almes to be leuied in England, (in which poynte, Pope Paſchall in his life time thoughte them in Englande very ſlacke) as by the ſame Bulles more largely doth appeare. The Archbyſhop of Caunterbury had already ſtayed foure or fiue yeares in the parties beyond the Seas, about the matter in controuerſie betwixt hym & Thurſtaine the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, who was lykewiſe gone ouer to ſolicite his cauſe: but where as at the firſt he could not finde the King in any wiſe agreeable to his minde, yet when the Counſell ſhould be holden at Rheymes by Pope Calixt, hee ſued at the leaſt wiſe for licence to goe thyther, but coulde neyther haue any graunt ſo to do, till he had promiſed vpon his allegiaunce (whych hee ought to the King) not to attempte any thing there that might be preiudiciall to the Church of Canterbury in any manner of wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, at his comming thyther, he ſo wrought with bribes & large giftes, ẏ the Popes Court (a thing eaſily done in Rome) fauoured his cauſe, yea, ſuch was his ſucceſſe, that the Pope conſecrated hym with his own handes, although K. Henry had geuen aduertiſemēt to his holineſſe, of ẏ cōtrouerſie depēding betwixt Thurſtain and Raulf ẏ Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, requiring him in no wiſe either to conſecrate Thurſtain himſelfe, or graunt licence to any other perſon to conſecrate hym, for if he did, ſurely for his part he would baniſh hym out of all the partes of his dominion, whyche ſhould not be long vndone. But nowe to returne to the purpoſe.

1119

An. Reg. 20.

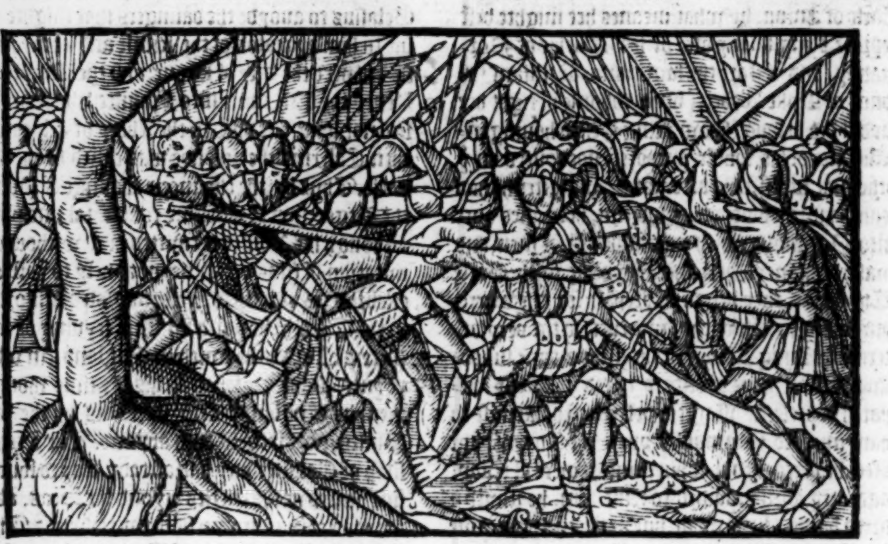
The two kings of England and Fraunce ioyne in battell.

King Henry hurt in the battell.

In this meane time, the warres were buſily purſued ſtill betwixt the two Kings of England and France, and a battel was foughten betweene them with great ſlaughter on both ſides, for the ſpace of nine houres, the forewardes on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowen, and King Henry receyued ſundrye ſtripes on his head by the handes of one William Criſpine Countie de Eureux, ſo as

The Earle of Eureux taken priſoner.

though his helmet were very ſtrong and ſure, the bloud yet burſt out of his mouth: wherewith hee was nothing afrayde, but like a fierce Lion layde more earneſtly about him, and ſtroke downe dyuers of his aduerſaries, namely the ſayde Criſpine, which was there taken priſoner at the kings feete, ſo that his people encouraged with the high valiancie and noble proweſſe of their Kyng and Chieftayne; at length opened and ouercame the mayne battell of their enimies, and then ſettyng vpon the rereward, they ouerthrew the whole army of Fraunce, whych neuer reculed, but foughte it out euen to the very vttermoſt.



Andely.
Nicaſium.

There dyed and were taken priſoners in thys fight many thouſands of men. The French king alſo leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andely, and the King of Englande recouering a Towne by the way called Nicaſium, whyche the French Kyng had lately wonne, returned vnto Rouen, where hee was with great triumph receyued, and highly commended for hys noble victory thus atchieued.

Mat. Paris.
Ia. Meir.

The Erle of Flaunders (as ſome wright) was ſo wounded in this battell, that hee dyed thereof, but other affirme, that comming into Normandy in the yeare laſt paſt to make warre agaynſte Kyng Henry in fauour of K. Lewis, he wanne the Towne of Andeley, and an other whiche they name *Aquæ Nicaſij*, but as he was come before the Towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and aſſayled the ſame, hee receyued a mortall wounde in his head, and thereupon returnyng home in the ninth moneth after, when hee coulde not be cured of his hurt, hee departed this life at Roſilare the ſeuenteenth day of Iune.

The Earle of Flaunders wounded.
He departed this life.
Fouke Earle of Aniou became the King of Englandes man.

Shortly after, Fouke Earle of Aniou that before had ayded the Frenche Kyng againſt Kyng Henry, became now Kyng Henries friend by aliance, marying his daughter vnto William King Henries eldeſt ſonne, but the Frẽch King as their hiſtories make mention, minding ſtill to be reuẽged of Earle Theobald, inuaded his countrey agayne with a puiſſant army, and had deſtroyed the Citie of Chartres which belonged vnto the ſame Earle, had not the Citizens humbled themſelues to his mercy: and ſo likewiſe did the Erle as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatly followed betwixte Lewis and the Emperoure Henry, the Earle ayded the French King againſt the ſame Emperoure to the vttermoſt of his power. Soone after this, the Kyng came to an enteruiew with Pope Calixtus at Giſors, where many matters were talked of betwixt them: amongſt other, the Kyng required of the Pope a graunt of all ſuche liberties as his father enioyed within the limittes of Englande and Normandy; and chiefly, that no Legate ſhoulde haue any thyng to doe within Englande, except hee required to haue one ſente to hym for ſome vrgente cauſe.

The King and the Pope come to an enteruew at Giſors.

The Pope is a ſutor for Thruſtayne.

All whyche matters beeing determined as the ſtate of the tyme preſente required, the Pope beſoughte the Kyng to bee good vnto the Archbyſhop Thruſtayne, and to reſtore hym to his See, but the Kyng confeſſed that he had vowed neuer ſo to doe whyleſt hee lyued, whereunto the Pope aunſwered, that hee was Pope, and by his Apoſtolike power hee woulde diſcharge hym of that vowe, if he woulde ſatiſfie hys requeſt. The kyng to ſhifte the matter off, promiſed the Pope that hee woulde take aduice of his Counſell, and ſignifye to hym farther as the cauſe required, and departyng from thence, dyd afterwardes vpon farther deliberation ſend to hym this meſſage in effect as followeth: Where as hee ſayth hee is Pope, and will (as he ſayd) aſſoyle me of yͤ vowe

The Pope offereth to diſcharge the K. of his vowe.

Edmerus
The kings anſwere ſent to the Pope.

which I haue made, if contrary thereto I will reſtore Thurſtane to the See of Yorke. I thinke it not to ſtand with the honor of a King, to conſent in any wiſe vnto ſuch an abſolution: for who ſhall beleeue an others promiſe hereafter, if by mine example he ſee the ſame ſo eaſily by an abſolution to bee made voyde? but ſith hee hathe ſo great a deſire to haue Thurſtaine reſtored, I ſhal be contented at his requeſt, to receyue him to hys ſee, with this condition, that he ſhal acknowledge his Church to be ſubiect vnto the See of Caunterbury as his predeceſſours haue done before him, although in fine this offer would not ſerue the turne.

Simon Dun.
Edmerus.

1120
Sim. Dunel.
An. Reg. 21.
The Kings of England and Fraunce are accorded.
Wil. Mal.
Edmerus.

But now to returne againe to the two Princes. Not long after the departure of ẏ Pope from Giſors, Fouke Erle of Aniou foũd meanes to make an agreement betwixt King Henry, and King Lewis, ſo that William ſonne to Kyng Henry, did homage vnto King Lewes for the Duchie of Normandy. And further it was accorded betweene them, that all thoſe that hadde borne armor eyther on the one ſide or the other, ſhould be pardoned, whoſe ſubiectes ſoeuer they were. In like maner, Raulfe the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury returned into Englande, after hee had remayned long in Normandy, bycauſe of ẏ controuerſie betwixt him & Thurſtaine ẏ Archbiſhop of Yorke as is aforeſaid.

Alexander K. of Scottes.

And ſhortly after his returne to Caunterbury, there came meſſengers with letters from Alexander K. of Scotlãd vnto him, ſignifying, that where the See of the Biſhopricke of S. Androwes was voyde, the ſame K. did inſtantly require him to ſende ouer Edmer a Monke of Caunterbury (of whome he had heard great commendation for his ſufficiency of vertue and learning) to be placed Biſhoppe in that See. This Edmer is the ſame whyche wrote the hiſtory entituled *Hiſtoria nouorum in Anglia*, out of the whiche as may appeare, wee haue gathered ẏ moſt part of that which we haue here written of Anſelme and Raulf Archbiſhops of Canterbury, in whoſe dayes he liued, and was Anſelmes Diſciple.

Edmer Anſelmes Diſciple.

The Archbiſhop Raulf was contented to ſatiſfie the requeſt of King Alexander in that behalfe, and ſo obteyning the conſente of K. Henry withall, hee ſente the ſayd Eadmer into Scotlande with letters of commendation vnto the ſaid K. Alexander, the whiche receyued him right ioyfully, and ſo the third day after hys comming thither, beeing the feaſt of the Apoſtles Peter & Paule, hee was elected Archbiſhop of S. Androwes by the Cleargie and people of ẏ land, to the greate reioycing of Alexander, and the reſt of the nobilitie. The next day after alſo, the king talked with him ſecretly of his conſecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue hym conſecrated at the handes of Thurſtayne Archbiſhop of Yorke, in which caſe when he was enformed by the ſaid Edmer, that no ſuch thing neded to trouble his mind, ſince the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being primate of al Britaine, might cõſecrate him as reaſon was, hee coulde not away with that anſwere, bycauſe he woulde not heare that the Church of Canterbury ſhould be preferred before the Church of S. Androwes: wherupõ he departed from Eadmer in diſpleaſure, and calling one William ſometime Monke of S. Edmondſbury vnto him, a man alſo that hadde gouerned or rather ſpoyled the Churche of S. Androw in the vacation, he cõmaunded him to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, meaning vtterly to remoue Edmer as not worthy of ẏ rome, howbeit, within a moneth after, to ſatiſfie the minds of his nobles, he called for the foreſaid Edmer, & with much adoe got him to receiue ẏ ſtaffe of ẏ Biſhopricke, taking it from an aulter whereon it lay (as if he ſhuld receiue that dignitie at the hands of the Lord) whereby he was inueſted, and went ſtraight to S. Androwes Church where he was receyued by the M. and the ſchollers, and all the people, for their true & lawful Biſhop.

Edmer receyueth his ſtaffe frõ an aulter.

In this meane while, Thurſtain, not ſlacking his ſute in the Popes Court, obteyned ſuche fauour, and the K. of England alſo was ſo laboured vnto, ẏ hee wrote thrice letters vnto ẏ K. of Scotland, & alſo once vnto ẏ Archb. of Canterbury, that neyther the K. ſhuld permit Edmer to be cõſecrated, nor the Archb. of Caunt. in any wiſe conſecrate hym if he were therevnto required. Heerevpon it came to paſſe, ẏ finally Edmer, after he had remayned in Scotland twelue monethes, or thereaboutes, & perceiued that things went not as he would haue wiſhed, for ẏ he could not get ẏ Kings conſent ẏ he ſhould be cõſecrate of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury as it was firſt meant both by the Archbiſhop and Edmer, he departed out of Scotland, & returned againe to Canterbury, there to take further aduice in al things as cauſe ſhuld moue him.

King Henry returneth into Englande.

Ran. Higd.
Wil. Mal.
Polidor.
Math. Paris.
The Kings ſonnes and his daughter with other nobles are drowned by Shipwracke.

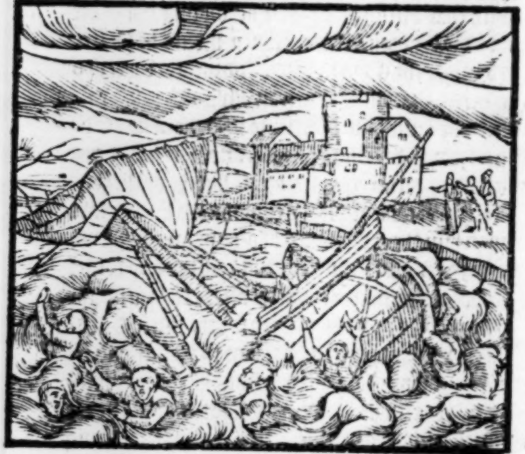
1121

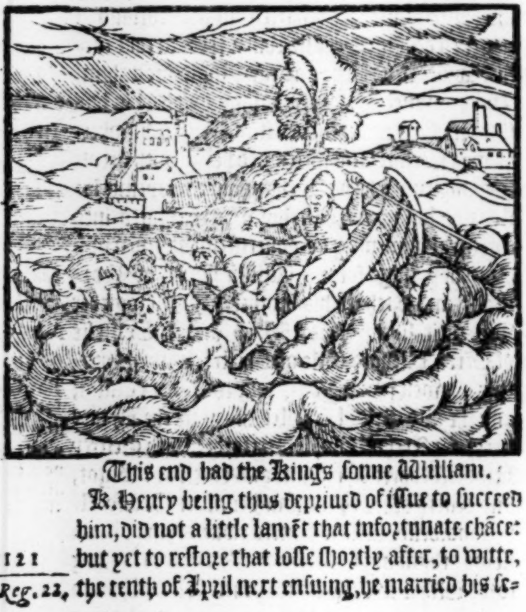
In like maner, K. Henry hauing quieted his buſines in Fraunce, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with greate ioy and triumph: but ſuche publike reioycing laſted not long with him, but was chaunged into a general mourning by aduertiſement giuen of ẏ death of ẏ kings ſonnes, Williã Duke of Normãdy, and Richard his brother, ẏ which togither with their ſiſter ẏ Lady Mary ẏ was Coũteſſe of Perch, Richard Erle of Cheſter, with his brother Otwell ẏ was gouernour to Duke Williã, and the ſaid Erle of Cheſter his wife the Kyngs neece, the Archdeacon of Herrforde, with Geffrey Riddle, Robert Mauduit, and William Bigot, and diuers other, to the number of an C. and. xl. perſons, beſide fiftie mariners tooke Ship at Harflewe, thynking to folow the King, and ſayling forth with a South winde, their Ship through

Wil. Mal.

Wil. Mal. Math. Paris.

negligence of the Marriners which hadde dronke more than was conuenient, were throwen vpon a Rocke, and vtterly periſhed on the coſt of England, vpon the .25. of Nouember, ſo that of all the company, there eſcaped none but one Butcher, who catching hold of the maſt, was driuen with the ſame to the ſhore which was at hande, and ſo ſaued from that daungerous Shipwracke. Duke William might alſo haue eſcaped very wel, if pitie had not more moued him than the regarde of his owne preſeruation. For being gotten into the Ship boate, and launching forth toward the lãd, hee hearde the ſkriking of his ſiſter now ready to ſtriue with death, whereupon hee commaunded them that rowed the boate to turne backe to the Shippe, and to take hir in, but ſuche was the preaſe and number of them that ſtroue to leape in with hir, when the boate came, that it ſtraight wayes ſanke to the bottome, and ſo was hee drowned, with all thoſe that were already in the ſame.





This end had the Kings ſonne William.

1121
An. Reg. 22.

Edmerus.
Hen. Hunt.

The King marieth againe.

Edmerus.

The Pope writeth to K. Henry, in fauour of the Archbiſhop Thruſtain, and accurſeth him with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

K. Henry being thus depriued of iſſue to ſucceed him, did not a little lamẽt that infortunate chãce: but yet to reſtore that loſſe ſhortly after, to witte, the tenth of April next enſuing, he married his ſecond wife named Adelicia, a Lady of excellente beautie, and noble cõditions, daughter to yͤ Duke of Louayne, and diſcended of the noble Dukes of Loraine, howbeit he coulde neuer haue any iſſue by hir. The Archbiſhop Truſtin after the maner that men obteyne ſuites in the Court of Rome, got ſuch fauour at the hãds of Pope Calixt, that finally, the ſaid Pope directed his letters as wel to King Henry, as to Raulfe Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the tenor whereof hee accurſed them both, and enterdited as wel the prouince of Yorke as Canterbury, from the vſe of all maner of Sacraments and other diuine ſeruice, the Baptiſme of Infantes, and penance of them that dyed, only excepted, if the Archbiſhop Thruſtayn were not ſuffered within one moneth nexte after the receipt of thoſe letters to enioy his See, withoute compelling him to make any promiſe of ſubiectiõ at all. The Kyng to be out of trouble, permitted Thruſtayn to returne into the Realme, and ſo to repaire vnto Yorke, but ſo as he ſhould not exerciſe any iuriſdiction out of his owne dioceſſe, as Metropolitane, till he had confeſſed his obſtinate error, and acknowledged hys obedience to the Church of Canterbury.

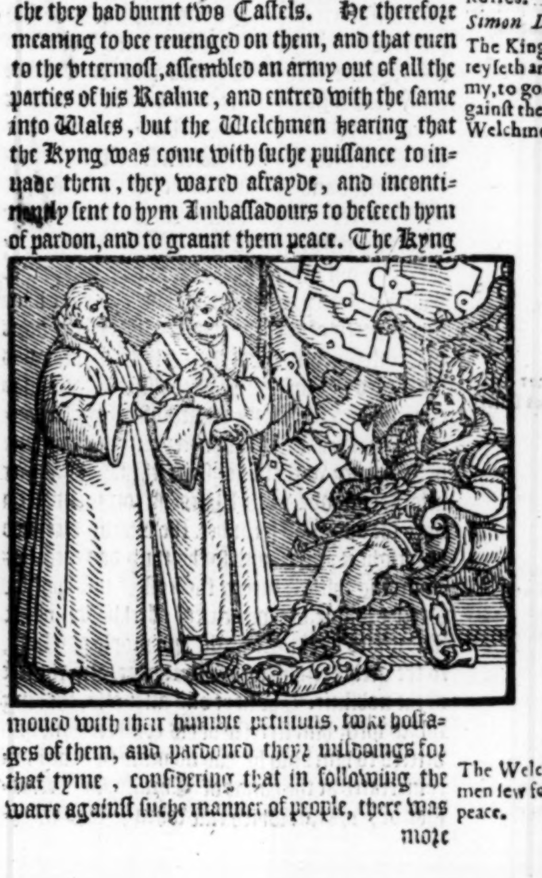
The Welchmen make ſturres.

Simon Dun.

The King reyſeth an army, to goe againſt the Welchmen.

The Welchmen ſew for peace.

Whileſt theſe thynges were thus a doyng, King Henry was aduertiſed that the Welchmẽ breaking the peace, dyd muche hurt on the marches, and ſpecially, in Cheſſhire, within the whiche they had burnt two Caſtels. He therefore meaning to bee reuenged on them, and that euen to the vttermoſt, aſſembled an army out of all the parties of his Realme, and entred with the ſame into Wales, but the Welchmen hearing that the Kyng was come with ſuche puiſſance to inuade them, they waxed afrayde, and incontinently ſent to hym Ambaſſadours to beſeech hym of pardon, and to graunt them peace. The Kyng moued with their humble petitions, toke hoſtages of them, and pardoned theyr miſdoings for that tyme, conſidering that in following the warre againſt ſuche manner of people, there was more



More doubt of loſſe than hope of gayne, by the warres againſt the Welchmē

more feare of loſſe than hope of gayne. But yet to prouide for the quiet of his ſubiects whiche inhabited neere to the merches, that they ſhould not bee ouerrunne and harried dayly by them, as oftentymes before they hadde bin, he appoynted Warine Earle of Shrewesbury to haue the charge of the Merches, that peace mighte bee the better kept and maynteyned in the Countrey.

Simon Dun.
A Chanel caſt from Torkſey to Lincolne.

Soone after alſo, Kyng Henry cauſed a channell to bee caſt alongſt the countrey in Lincolneſhire, from Torkſey vnto the Citie of Lincolne, that veſſels myghte haue paſſage out of the Riuer of Trente vnto the ſame Citie.

Norham Caſtell built.
H. Hunt.

Moreouer, Raufe Byſhoppe of Durham beganne to builde the Caſtell of Norham, vpon the banke of the Riuer Twede.

At thys tyme likewiſe Fouke Earle of Aniou being nowe come out of the holy lande (whither he wente, after the peace was made betwixte Kyng Henry and the Frenche King) beganne to pike a quarrell againſte Kyng Henry, for withholdyng the ioynture of his daughter, whych (as before yee haue hearde) was married vnto William the Kyngs ſonne that was drowned.

Hee alſo gaue hir ſyſter in marriage vnto William the ſonne of Duke Roberte, aſſigning vnto hym the Earledome of Mayne to enioy, as in right of his wife.

Polidor.

In the meane tyme, Kyng Henry viſited the North partes of hys Realme, to vnderſtande the ſtate of the Countrey, and to prouide for yͤ ſuretie and good gouernemēt thereof, as was thought requiſite.

1122
13.Kal.of Nouember.
An. reg. 23.

In the yeare nexte enſuing, the twentith of October, Raulfe the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury departed thys lyfe, after hee hadde ruled that See the ſpace of eyght yeares, and then was one William made Archbiſhoppe there, in number the.28.from Auguſtine.

Moreouer, Henry the ſonne of the Earle Bloys that before was Abbot of Glaſtenbury, was now made Biſhop of Wincheſter, who for his ſingular bountie, gentleneſſe and modeſtie, was gretly beloued amōg the Engliſhmen. But to returne againe to the doyngs of the Kyng, it chanced about this tyme, that the parties beyond the Sea being now voide of a gouernour (as they ſuppoſe) by meanes of the deathe of the Kings ſonne, began to ſtir commotions, and ſoone after it came alſo to paſſe, that Robert Earle of Mellent rebelled againſt the Kyng, who being ſpedily aduertiſed thereof, ſayled forthwith into thoſe quarters, and beſieged the Caſtell of Ponteaudemer appertayning to the ſayd Earle and toke it. About the ſame tyme alſo, the King fortifyed the Caſtell of Roan, cauſing a mighty thicke wall, with turrets about the ſame Caſtell to be buylded for defence thereof.

1123
An. Reg. 24.
Robert Earle of Mellent rebelleth.
H. Hunt.
The Caſtell of Roan fortified
Mat. Paris.

Likewiſe, he repared and made ſtrong the Caſtell of Caen, with the Caſtels of Arches, Gyſors, Faleiſe, Argentone, Damfront, Vernon, Ambres, with other, in whiche meane ſeaſon, the Erle of Mellent deſirous to be reuenged of King Henry, procured aide where he could get any, and ſo with Hugh Earle of Mountfert, he entred into Normandy, waſting and deſtroying yͤ Countrey with fire and ſworde, thinking ere long to bring the ſame to his obedience: but the Kyngs Chamberlayne and Lieutenaunte in thoſe parties named William de Tankeruile, being thereof aduertiſed, layd an ambuſh for them, and training them within the daunger thereof, ſet vppon them, and after long fyght, toke them both priſoners with diuers other, and preſented them both vnto the King, whereby the warres ceaſſed in that countrey for a time.

1124
Anno reg. 25
Polidor.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. Par.

The King hauing in this manner purchaſed his quietneſſe by the ſworde, obteyned ſome reſt, he gaue hymſelfe ſomewhat to the reformation of his houſe, & amōg other things which he redreſſed he cauſed al his Knights and men of warre to cut their heares ſhort, after the manner of the Frenchmen, where as before they ware the ſame long after the vſage of women. After this alſo, in yͤ yeare enſuing, being of Chriſt.1125.a Cardinall named Iohannes Cremenſis, was ſente into Englande from Pope Honorius the ſecond, to ſee reformation in certayne poyntes touching the Churche: but his chiefe errand was to correct Prieſtes, that ſtill kept their wiues with them. At his firſt comming ouer, he ſoiourned in Colledges of Cathedrall Churches, and in Abbeys, applying hymſelfe to lucre and wanton pleaſures, and ſo reaping where he had not ſowed, at length, about the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Lady, he called a conuocation of the Cleargie at London, where makyng an Oration, he enueighed ſore agaynſte thoſe of the ſpiritualty that were ſpotted with any note of incontinent liuing. Many thought themſelues touched with his wordes, who hauing ſmelled ſomewhat of his ſecret trickes, that where he was a moſt licentious liuer, and an vnchaſt perſon of himſelfe, yet he was ſo blinded, that hee could not perceyue the beame in his owne eyes, whileſt hee eſpied a mote in an other mans, they thoughte it was not to bee ſuffered, that hee ſhoulde in ſuche wiſe call other men to accomptes for theyr honeſt demeanor of life, which could not render any good reconing of his own. Whereupon they watched him ſo narrowly, that in the euening after he had blowen his horne ſo loude againſt other men in declaring that it was a ſhamefull vice to ryſe from the ſyde of a ſtrumpet, and preſume to ſacre the body of Chriſte, hee was taken hymſelfe in bedde with a ſtrumpet, to hys open ſhame and rebuke: but hee beeyng reproued thereof,

Math. VVeſt.
1125
An. reg. 26.
Iohannes Cremenſis a Legate, ſent into Englande.

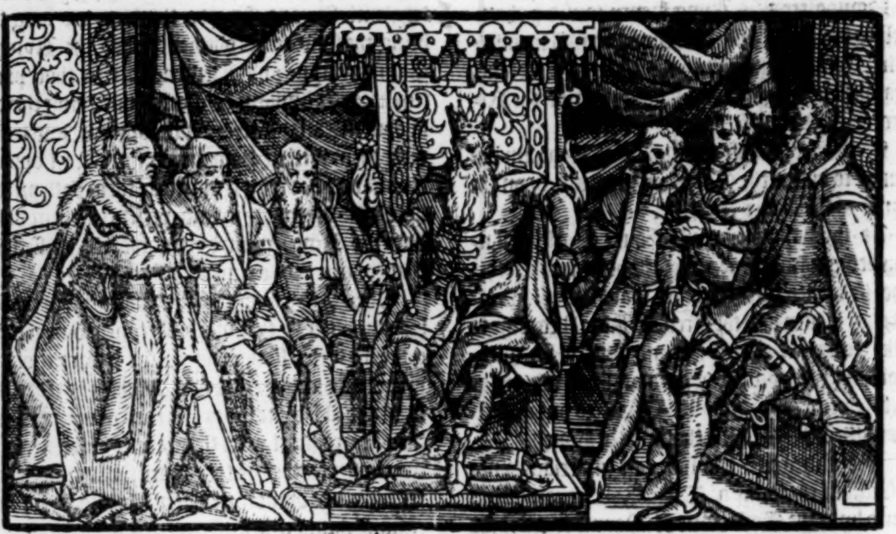
But this ſhuld not ſeeme to be any iuſt excuſe, for Mat. Paris ſayth that the ſame day he conſecrated the Lords body, and therefore he muſt nedes be a Prieſt.

alledged this excuſe(as ſome write)that hee was no Prieſt, but a reformer of Prieſtes. But to cōclude, he beeing thus defamed, got hym backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that, about which he was ſent hither. But to returne to K. Henry, who whileſt he remayned in Normādy,(which was for a lōg time after the apprehenſion of the two foreſayde Earles)he vnderſtood, that his ſonne in law Henry the Emperour was departed this life at Vtregt the. 23. of May laſt paſt. Wherevppon hee ſente for his daughter the Empreſſe to come ouer vnto him into Normandy, and hauing taken order for his buſineſſe on that ſide the Sea, hee taking hir with him, returned into England before the feaſt of Saint Michael, where calling a Parliamēt, he

1126

An. Reg. 27.

Polidor.



An oth taken by the Lords touching the ſucceſſion to the Crowne.

Stephan Earle of Bolongne the firſt that offered to receiue the othe.

vil. Malm.

cauſed hir by authoritie of yͤ ſame to be eſtabliſhed as his lawfull heire and ſucceſſor, with an article of intayle vpon hir iſſue, if it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend hir any at all. At this Parliament was Dauid K. of Scotland, that ſucceeded after Alexander the fierce. There was preſente alſo Stephan Earle of Morton, and Bulleine, and ſon of Stephan Erle of Bloys, nephew to K. Henry by his ſiſter Adela. Theſe two Princes toke chiefly their othe amōgſt other, to obey the foreſaid Empreſſe as touching hir righte and lawfull clayme to the Crowne of England: but although Stephā was now yͤ firſt that was ready to ſweare, he became ſhortly after to be the firſt againe that brake that othe for his owne preferment: but ſo it commeth oftē to paſſe, that thoſe which receiue the greateſt benefites, do oftentimes ſooneſt forget to be thākful. This Stephan lately before by his Vncle K. Henries meanes, had purchaſed to get in marriage the only daughter and heire of Euſtace Erle of Bolongne, & ſo after the deceaſe of his father in law, became Earle there: and further, had goodly poſſeſſions in England giuen him by the Kyng, and yet (as after ſhall appeare) he kept not his oth nor couenauntes made with King Henry. Some write alſo, that there roſe no ſmall ſtrife betwixte this Earle Stephan, and Robert Erle of Gloceſter, in contending which of them ſhoulde receyue this othe. Firſt the one alledging, that hee was a Kings ſonne, and the other a kings nephew. But to lette theſe things paſſe, ſhortly after this Parliamente ended, K. Henry held his Chriſtmas at Windſor, where the Archbiſhop of Yorke Thurſtayne in preiudice of the right of William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, would haue ſet yͤ Crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the Church: but he was put backe with no ſmall reproch, and his Chaplayne whome he appoynted to beare his croſſe before him at his entrance into the Kyngs Chappell, contemptuouſly and with violence thruſt out of the dores with Croſſe and all by the friends of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and ere long, this vnſeemely contention betwixt Thurſtayne, and the ſayde Archbiſhop of Canterbury grew ſo hote, that not only both of them, but alſo the Biſhop of Lincolne went vnto Rome about the deciding of that enuious quarrell. Aboute the ſame time alſo, Charles Earle of Flaunders that ſucceeded Erle Baldwin, was murthered trayterouſly by his owne people: and then bycauſe hee left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed as his heire, the Frenche K. Lewis made William the ſonne of Duke Robert Courtehuſe Erle of Flaunders, as next couſin in bloud to the ſame Charles. Troth it is, that by his fathers ſide, this William was deſcended from Earle Baldwine ſurnamed *Pius*, whoſe daughter Maude beeing married vnto William Conquerour, bare by him the foreſaid Robert Curthuſe, father to this William, nowe aduaunced to the gouernement of Flaunders, but he wanted not aduerſaries that were competitors of that Erledome, which ſought to preferre them

ſelues

1127

Mat. Paris.

Strife betwixt the Prelates for preheminence.

Polidor.

William ſon to Robert Curtehuſe made Earle of Flaunders.

ſelues; and to diſplace hym. King Henry alſo miſlikyng with the preferment of the ſaid Williã, although he was his nephew, for yͭ he ſuppoſed he would ſeeke to reuenge olde diſpleaſures, if he might compaſſe to haue the French kyngs aſſiſtãce, thought good with the aduice of his Counſell to prouide agaynſt the worſt, and thereupon he tooke order for the maintenance of the warre abroade, and the ſupplie of ſouldiers, and other things neceſſarie to be conſidered of for the ſuretie of the ſtate of his Realme at home.

The Empreſſe Mawde maried to the Earle of Aniou.

Ger. Do.

After this bycauſe he was in diſpayre to haue iſſue by his ſeconde wife about Witſuntide, hee ſent ouer his daughter Mawde the Empreſſe into Normandy, that ſhe might bee maryed vnto Geoffray Plantagenet Earle of Aniou, and in Auguſt after he followed himſelf, and ſo the matter went forwarde, inſomuche that the mariage was celebrate betwixt the ſayde Earle and Empreſſe, vpon the firſt Sunday in Aprill, which fell vpon the thirde of the moneth, and in the .27. of his raigne. And in the yeare enſuyng, king Henry meaning to cauſe the French king to withdrawe his helping hande from his nephewe William Earle of Flaunders, paſſed forth of Normandy with an armie, and inuading Fraunce remayned for the ſpace of .viij. dayes, at Hiparde, in as good quiet as if he had beene within his owne dominions, and finally obteyned of the French king, that which he ſought for, that was his refuſall to ayde his nephew the ſayde Earle of Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claymed the Erledome, chaunced this yeare to be wounded as he purſued his enimies vnto the walles of a town called Alhuſt, and ſoone after died of the hurt the .xvj. of Auguſt.

An. reg. 28.
Mat. Par.
1128

An. Reg. 29
Ia. Meir.

William Earle of Flaunders deceaſeth of a wound.

It was thought that the high felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occaſion of this Earles death, which Erle ment (if he might haue brought his purpoſe to paſſe, & being once quietly ſet in the dominion of Flaunders, to haue attempted ſome great enterpriſe againſt king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of priſon. And this was knowne well ynough to king Henry, who mainteyned thoſe that made him warre at home, both with menne and money, namely William of Hypres, who tooke vpon him as Regent in the name of Stephen Erle of Bollongne, whome king Henrie procured to make clayme to Flaunders alſo, in the tytle of his Grandmother Queene Mawde, wife to William Cõqueror. But to proceed with our Hiſtorie.

The fortunate good hap of K. Henry.

William de Hypres.

1129
Anno reg. 30

When kyng Henry had ſped his buſineſſe in Normandy, where he had remayned a certayne ſpace both about the concluſion and ſolemniſing of the mariage made betwixt his daughter Maud the Empreſſe, and the Earle of Aniou, and alſo to ſee the end of the warres in Flaunders, he now returned into England, where he called a great Councel or Parliament at London, in Auguſt: wherin amongſt other things it was decreed, that Prieſtes which lyued vnchaſtly ſhould be puniſhed, and that by the kyngs permiſſion, who herby tooke occaſiõ to ſerue his owne turne, for he regarded not the reformation which the Biſhops truſted (by his plaine dealing) would haue folowed, but put thoſe prieſtes to their fynes that were accuſed, and ſuffered them to keepe their wyues ſtyl in houſe with them, which offended the Biſhops greatly, that would haue had them ſequeſtred a ſunder. After this Parliament ended, the king kept his Chriſtmas at Worceſter, & after that his Eaſter at Woodſtocke, where a certaine Noble man named Geffrey Clinton was accuſed to hym of treaſon. In this .xxxj. yeare of king Henries raigne, great death and murreyn of cattel beganne in this land, continuing a long tyme ere it

1116
Anno reg. 31
Mat. Par.
Polidore

VVil. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

Polidor.

ceaſed, ſo vniuerſally in all places, that no towne nor village eſcaped free. Kyng Henry paſſing ouer into Normãdy, was troubled with certaine ſtraunge dreames or viſions in his ſleepe: for as he thought, he ſaw a multitude of ploughmẽ with ſuch tooles as belong to their trade & occupation, After whom came a ſort of ſouldiers with warlike weapõs: and laſt of all he thought that he ſaw Biſhops commyng towardes hym with their Croſier ſtaues ready to fall vpon hym, as they ſhould meane to deſtroy hym. And when he awaked, he would leape forth of his bed, get his ſword in his hand, and call to his ſeruauntes to come to helpe hym. Whereupon aſkyng aduiſe of learned men how to put ſuch fantaſies away, he was admoniſhed that whileſt he had tyme and ſpace here on earth, he ought to purge his paſſed offences and ſinnes committed againſt God, with repentance, almes deedes, and abſtinence: he therefore being herewith moued, began to practiſe an amendement of his former lyfe.

Polidor.

About the ſame tyme alſo his daughter Maud beyng forſaken of hir huſband Geffrey Earle of Aniou, came to hir father as then being in Normandy. What the cauſe was why her huſband put hir from hym, is not certainly knowen: but the matter belike was not very great, ſith ſhortly after he receiued hir agayne, and that of his owne accorde. Alſo during the time that king Henrie remayned in Normandie, it chaunced that Pope Innocent the ſecond came into Fraunce to auoid the daunger of his enimies: and holding a Councell at Cleremont, he accurſed one Peter Fitz Leo which had vſurped as Pope, and named himſelfe Anacletus. After breaking vp of the ſame Councell at Cleremont, he came to Orleance, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the way, who offred to the Pope all that lay in his power, to mainteyne his cauſe againſt his enimies, for the which the Pope gaue the king great thankes: and ſeeming as though he had bin more carefull for the defence of the cõmon cauſe of the chriſtian publike wealth than for his owne, he exhorted K. Henrie to make a iourney into the holy lande againſt the Sarazens and enimies of the Chriſtian religion. In this enterview betwixt the Pope and the king, the Romains were moued to maruell greatlye at the wiſedome and ſharpneſſe of wit which they perceyued in the Normans. For king Henrie to ſhew what learning remayned amongſt the people of the weſt partes of Europe, cauſed the ſonnes of Robert Erle of Melent, to argue and diſpute in the pointes and ſubtill ſophiſmes of Logike, with the Cardinals and other learned chaplayns of the Pope there preſent, the which were not abaſhed to cõfeſſe that there was more learning amongeſt them here in the weſt partes, than euer they heard or knew of in their owne countrey of Italy. King Henrie after thys returned into Englande, and vpon the ſea was in daunger to haue bin drowned by tempeſt: ſo that iudging the ſame to bee as a warning for him to amend his life, he made many vowes, and after his landing, went to S. Edmondſburie in Suffolk to do his deuotions vnto the ſepulchre of that king. At his cõming from thence alſo, being well diſpoſed towardes the reliefe of his people, he leſſened the the tributes and impoſitions, and did iuſtice aſwell in reſpect and fauor of the poore as of the rich. And ſoone after, Geffray Earle of Aniou had iſſue by his wife the Empreſſe, a ſon named Henrie, who (as before is ſayd) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henry hauing no iſſue male to ſucceed him, cauſed the Empreſſe and this Henry hir ſonne to be eſtabliſhed heyres of the realme. All the nobles and other eſtates eftſoones taking an othe to be their true and faithfull ſubiects. After this king Henrie kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Dunſtable, & his Eaſter at Woodſtocke.

1131

An. Reg. 32.

King Henrie and Pope Innocent meet at Chartres.

VVil. Malm.

The ſonnes of Robert Erle of Meient praiſed for their learning.

King Henrie returneth in England.

1132

An. reg. 33.

1133

An. reg. 34.

Mat. Par.

Hen. Hunt.

Prior of Saint Oſwold at

VVil. Thorne hath, and likewiſe

Mat. Paris.

Mat. VVeſt.

In the ſame yere alſo (or as ſome haue in the beginning of the yere precedent) or as other haue in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a Biſhops ſea at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwolfe, that before was Abbot of Saint Bothoulfs, & the kings confeſſor, was the firſt biſhop that was inſtituted there. Who immediately after his conſecration placed regular Canons in that Church. And not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Mal. it ſhould ſeeme) king Henry paſſed ouer into Normandie, from whence nowe this being the laſt time of his going thither, he neuer returned aliue. And as it fel forth he tooke ſhip to ſaile on this laſt iorney thither, the ſame day in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which day falling vpon the wedneſday, a wonderfull Eclipſe of the Sunne and Moone appeared beyond the common courſe, inſomuch yͤ Wil. Mal. whiche then liued, writeth that he ſawe the ſtarres plainly about the ſunne, at the verie time of that Eclipſe.

A great eclipſe

An earthquake

On the Fryday after there chaunced ſuch an earthquake here in this realme alſo, that manye houſes & buyldings were ouerthrowne therewith.

This Earthquake was ſo ſenſible, or rather ſo viſible, that the wall of the houſe in the which hee then ſat was lift vp with a double remoue, and at the third it ſatled it ſelfe againe.

The Eclipſe chaunced on the ſeconde of Auguſt, the king taking ſhip the ſame day to goe ouer into Normandie, and the earthquake was vpon the Friday next after. Moreouer the verie ſame time alſo fire braſt out of certain riftes of the earth, in ſo huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwiſe it could be quẽched. In the .xxxiiij. yere of his raigne, his brother Robert Courtehuſe departed this life in the Caſtell of Cardiffe

Mat. Paris.
Mat. VVeſt.
An. reg. 35

The deceaſſe of Robert Courtehuſe.

It is ſayde that on a feſtiuall day king Henrie put on a Robe of Scarlet, the cape whereof being ſtrayte, hee rente it in ſtryuing to put it ouer hys heade: and perceyuing it would not ſerue him, he layde it aſide and ſayde. Let my brother Robert haue this garment, who hath a ſharper head thã I haue. The which when it was brought to Duke Robert, the rent place being not ſewed vp, he perceyued it, and aſked whether any man had worne it before. The meſſenger tolde the whole matter, how it happened. Herewith Duke Robert tooke ſuch a griefe for the ſcornefull mocke of his brother, that he wared wearie of his life, and ſayde: nowe I perceyue I haue liued too long, that my brother ſhall clothe me like his almes man with his caſt rẽt garmẽts. And thus curſing the time of his natiuity, refuſed from thenceforth to eate or drink, & ſo pined away, & was buryed at Glouceſter. King Henrie remayning ſtill in Normandy, rode rounde about a great part of the countrey, ſhewing greate loue and curteſie vnto the people, ſtudying by al meanes poſſible to winne their fauours, by vſing them curteouſly, & ſhewing himſelfe glad and merie amongeſt them, though nothing reioyced hym more than that his daughter Mawde the Empreſſe at the ſame time was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne named Geoffray, ſo that he ſawe himſelfe prouided of an aſſured ſucceſſour.

Polidor
1135
An. Reg. 36

Math. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.

King Henrie departeth this life.

But whileſt he thus paſſeth the time in mirth and ſolace, he beganne ſoone after to be ſomewhat diſeaſed, and neuer coulde perceyue any euident cauſe thereof: therefore to driue his griefe away, hee goeth abrode to hunte, and wering ſomewhat amended in his health therby as he thought, at his comming home, he would neede s eate of a Lamprey, though his phiſition counſelled him to the contrary: but he delyting moſt in that meat, though it bee in qualitie verie noyſome to health, woulde not be perſwaded from it, ſo that his ſtomacke being hurt therewith he fell immediately into an Ague and ſo died ſhortly after, the firſt day of December, being as then aboute .lxvij. yeres of age, and after he had raigned .xxxv. yeres foure moneths lacking foure dayes.

His bodie was conueyed into Englande and buryed at Reading within the Abbay Churche which he had founded, & endowed in his life time with great and large poſſeſſions.

Math. VVeſt.
Ran. Higd.
Sim. Dunel.

It is written, that his bodie to auoyde the ſtench which had infected many men, was cloſed in a Bulles ſkinne, and howe he that clenſed the heade dyed of the ſauour whiche iſſued out of the brayne.

The iſſue of king Henrie the firſt.

He had by his firſt wife a ſonne named William, that was drowned (as ye haue) heard in the ſea: alſo a daughter named Mawde, whom with hir ſonnes he appoynted to inherite his Crowne, and other dominions.

His ſtature

His vertues.

His vices.

His wiſdome.

His manly courage.

His zeale to iuſtice.

Sim. Dunel.

Theeues appoynted to be hanged.

He had alſo iſſue by one of his concubines, a ſonne named Richarde, and a daughter named Mary, which were alſo drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a ſonne named Robert, that was created Duke of Glouceſter. He was ſtrong of bodie, fleſhie and of an indifferent ſtature, blacke of heare, and in maner balde before, with greate and large eyes, of face comely, well countenaunced, and pleaſant to the beholders, namely when hee was diſpoſed to myrth. He excelled in three vertues, wiſedome, eloquence, and valiancie, which notwithſtanding were ſomewhat blemiſhed with the like number of vices that raigned in him, as couetouſneſſe, crueltie, and fleſhly luſt of bodie. His couetouſneſſe appeared in that hee ſore oppreſſed his ſubiects with tributes and impoſitions. His crueltie was ſhewed chiefely, in that he kept his brother Robert Courtehuſe in perpetual priſon, and likewiſe in the hard vſing of his coſin Robert Earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onely deteyned in priſõ, but alſo cauſed his eies to be put out: which act was kept ſecrete till the kings death reuealed it. And his lecherous luſt was manifeſt by keeping of ſundrie women. But in his other affayres he was circumſpect, and in defending his own very earneſt and diligent; ſuch warres as might be auoyded with honourable peace he euer ſought to appeaſe. But when ſuch iniuries were offred as he thought not meete to ſuffer, he was an impacient reuenger of the ſame, ouercomming al perils with the force of vertue and manly courage, ſhewing himſelfe eyther a moſt louing friend, or elſe an extreeme enimie: for his aduerſaries hee would ſubdue to the vttermoſt, and his friends he vſed to aduaunce aboue meaſure. And herein he declared the propertie of a ſtoute Prince: which is *Parcere ſubiectis, & debellare ſuperbos*, that is, to bring vnder the proude enimies, and to fauour thoſe that ſubmit themſelues and ſeeke for mercy. With the conſtant rigour of iuſtice he ruled the commons quietly, and entertayned the Nobles honorably. Theeues, counterfeyters of money, and other tranſgreſſours he cauſed to bee ſought out with greate diligence, and when they were found, to be puniſhed with great ſeuerity. Neither did he neglect reformations of certaine naughtie abuſes. And as one Author hath written, he ordayned that theeues ſhould ſuffer death by hanging. Whẽ he heard that ſuch peeces of mony as were cracked would not be receyued amongſt the people, although the ſame were good and fine ſiluer, he cauſed all the coyne in the Realme to bee eyther broken or ſlit: he was ſober of diet, vſing to eate rather to quench hunger than to pamper him ſelfe vp with many dayntie ſortes of banketting diſhes, and neuer dranke but when thirſt moued him.

His policie.

His prayſe for his Princely gouernment.

Reading Abbay buylded.

him, he woulde ſleepe ſoundly and ſnore oftentymes till he wakened therewith. He purſued hys warres rather by policie than by the ſworde, and ouercame his enimies ſo neare as he coulde without bloudſhed, and if that might not be, yet with ſo ſmall ſlaughter as was poſſible. To conclude, hee was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in thoſe dayes, in wiſedome and policie, and ſo behaued himſelfe, that hee was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He buylded diuerſe Abbayes both in Englande and in Normãdie, but Reading was the chiefeſt. He alſo buylded the Manour of Woodſtocke, with the Parke there, in whiche beſide the greate ſtore of Deare, hee appoynted diuerſe ſtraunge beaſtes to be kept and nouriſhed, whiche were brought and ſent vnto him from Countreyes farre diſtaunt from our partyes, as Lions, Leopardes, Lynxes, and Porkepines. His eſtimation was ſuche amongeſt forrayne Princes, that fewe woulde willingly offende him.

Morchad king of Irelande.

Morchad king of Irelande and his ſucceſſours had him in ſuche reuerence, that they durſt doe nothing but that which he commaunded, nor write any thing but that whiche might ſtande with his pleaſure, although at the firſt the ſame Morchad attempted ſomthing againſt the Engliſh men more than ſtoode with reaſon, but afterwarde vpon reſtraint of the entercourſe of Marchandice, hee was glad to ſhewe himſelfe more friendly.

The Earle of Orkney.

Roger Biſhop of Saliſburie.

Moreouer the Earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwayes ſubiecte, yet hee did what hee coulde to procure king Henries friendſhip, ſending vnto him oftentymes preſents of ſuche ſtraunge beaſtes and other things, in the which he knewe himſelfe to haue great delyte and pleaſure. He had in ſingular fauour aboue all other of his Councell, Roger the Biſhop of Saliſburie, a politike Prelate, and one that knewe howe to order matters of great importance, vnto whome hee committed the gouernment of the Realme moſt commonly whileſt he remayned in Normandie.

In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heyres male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the tytle of the heyres generall, after that the Normans had raigned about. lxix. yeares (for ſo many are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the raigne of king Stephen, who ſucceeded next after this foreſayde Henrie.)

The abuſe of wearing long heares.

1127

Mat. VVeſt.

As well in this kings dayes, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, mẽ forgetting their owne ſexe and ſtate, transformed themſelues into the habite and fourme of women, by ſuffring their heares to growe at length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouſly, after the maner of Damoſels and yong Gentlewomen: and ſuche account they made of their long buſhing perukes, that thoſe which woulde be taken for Courtiers, ſtroue with women who ſhoulde haue the longeſt treſſes, and ſuch as wanted, ſought to amende it with arte and by knitting wreathes aboute their heades of thoſe their long and ſide lockes for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue cõmaundement to all his people to cut their heares, about the. 28. yere of his reigne. Preachers in deed inueyed agaynſt ſuch vnſeemely maners in men, as a thing more agreeable for women, than for their eſtate.

Wil. Mal. reciteth a tale of a knight in thoſe dayes that tooke no ſmall liking of himſelfe for his fayre & long heares, but chauncing to haue a right terrible dreame as he ſlept one night (it ſeeming to him that one was about to ſtrangle him with his owne heares which he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impreſſion thereof ſanke ſo deepely into his minde, that when hee awakened oute of that dreame, he ſtreight wayes cauſed ſo much of his heare to bee cutte, as might ſeeme ſuperfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his cõmendable example, but their remorſe of conſcience herein that thus cauſed them to cut their heares, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuſe againe, ſo as within a. xij. monethes ſpace they exceeded therein as farre paſt all termes of ſeemely order as before.

Stephen

1135
An. Reg. 1

STephen Erle of Bullongne, ẏ ſon of Stephen Erle of Bloys, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came ouer wᵗ al ſpeed after the death of his vncle, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of the realm of England, partly vpon confidence which he had in the puiſſance and ſtrength of his brother Theobald Erle of Bloys, and partly by the ayde of his other brother Henrie Biſhop of Winchester, and Abbot of Glaſtenburie, although ẏ he with other of the nobles had ſworne afore to bee true vnto the Empreſſe and hir iſſue as lawfull heyres of king Henrie lately deceaſſed, (as you before haue heard.) The ſame day in the which he arriued in Englande, there chaunced a mightie great tempeſt of thunder, with lightning marueilous and horrible to heare and behold. And bycauſe this happened in the winter time, it ſeemed agaynſt nature, & therefore it was the more noted as a forſhewing of ſome trouble and calamitie to come.

A tempeſt.
Math. VVeſt.

This Stephen beganne his raigne ouer this realme of England the ſecond day of December, in the yeare of our Lord. 1135. in the .xi. yeare of the Emperor Lothair, the ſixt of Pope Innocentius the ſecond, and about the .xxviii. of Lewes the .vii. ſurnamed Craſſus king of Fraunce, Dauid the firſt of that name, then raigning in Scotland, and being alreadie entred into the .xii. of his regiment. He was crowned alſo at Weſtminſter vpon S. Stephens day, by William the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the moſte part of the Nobles of the Realme being preſent, and ſwearing their obedience vnto him, as to their true and lawfull ſoueraigne. Howbeit there were diuerſe of the wiſer ſort of all eſtates, whiche regarding their former othe, could haue beene contented that the Empreſſe ſhould haue gouerned till hir ſonne had come to lawfull age, notwithſtanding they helde their peace as yet, and conſented vnto Stephen. But to ſay the truth, the breach of theyr othes was worthily puniſhed afterward, inſomuch that aſwell the Biſhops as the other nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerſe kindes of calamities and miſchaunces, and that euen here in this life, of whiche ſome of them as their time ſerueth maye bee remembred hereafter.

Math. Paris
VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

Periurie puniſhed.

Yet there were of them; (and namely the Biſhop of Saliſburie, which proteſted that they were free from their othe of allegiaunce made to the ſayde Empreſſe, bycauſe that without the conſent of the Lordes of the land, ſhe was maried out of the realme; whereas they tooke their oth to receyue hir for Queen, vpon that cōdition, that without their aſſent ſhe ſhould not marry with any perſon out of the realme. Moreouer (as ſome writers think) the Biſhops tooke it, that they ſhould do god good ſeruice in prouiding for the welth of the realme, & the aduancement of the Church by their periurie. For whereas the late deceaſſed king vſed himſelfe not altogither for their purpoſe, they thought that if they might ſet vp and create a king chiefly by their eſpeciall meanes & authoritie, he woulde follow their counſell better, and reforme ſuch things as they iudged to be amiſſe.

VVil. Mal.
The Biſhop of Saliſburies proteſtation.

The Biſhops think to pleaſe God in breaking their oth

But a greate cauſe that moued many of the lords vnto the violating thus of their othe, was (as ſome Authors reherſe) for that Hugh Bigot, ſomtime Stewarde to king Henry the firſt, immediately after ẏ deceaſe of K. Henry came into Englande, and aſwell before the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, as diuerſe other Lordes of the land, tooke an othe of his owne accorde (although moſt men thinke that hee was hired ſo to doe bycauſe of great promotion) declaring vpon the ſame that he was preſent a little before King Henries death, when the ſame king adopted and choſe his nephew Stephen to be his heyre & ſucceſſour, bycauſe that his daughter the Empreſſe had grieuouſly diſpleaſed him. But vnto this mans othe the Archbiſhop and the other Lordes were too ſwift in giuing of credite. And the ſayde Hugh eſcaped not afterward worthie puniſhment for that his periurie: for ſhortly after he came (by ẏ iuſt iudgement of God) to a miſerable ende.

Mat. Par.

Hugh Bigot.

But to our purpoſe. King Stephen (by what title ſoeuer he came by the ſame) immediatly after his coronation, went firſt to Reading to the burial of the bodie of his vncle Henrie, the ſame being now brought ouer forth of Normādy: & after the buriall he repayred vnto Oxford, & and there calling a Councell of his Lordes and other eſtates of his realme. Amongeſt other things hee promiſed before ẏ whole aſſembly (to win the hearts of the people) that he would lay downe and quite aboliſh that tribute which oftentimes was accuſtomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres or hides of lande, commonly called Danegylt, whiche was two ſhillings of euery hide of lād. Alſo ẏ he wold ſo prouide ẏ no Biſhops ſeas nor other benefices ſhould remaine void, but immediately after vpon

Sim. Dunel.
1136

Polidore
Simon Dun.
Mat. Par.

The fayre promiſes of king Stephen.

theyr firſt being vacant ſhould be again beſtowed vpon ſome conuenient perſon meete to ſupplie the rowme. Further he promiſed not to ſeaze vpon any mans wooddes, as forfeyt, though any pryuate man had hunted and killed his Deere in the ſame wooddes, as the maner of his predeceſſour was: for a kinde of forfeyture was deuiſed by K. Henrie, that thoſe ſhoulde loſe their right of inheritance in their woods, that chaunced to kill any of the kings Deere within the ſame.

Polidore
Ran. Higd.
Licence to build caſtels.

Moreouer he graunted licence to all men, to buylde eyther Caſtell, Tower or other holde for defence of themſelues vpon their owne groundes. And this he did chiefly in hope that yͤ ſame might be a ſauegard for him in time to come, if the Empreſſe ſhould inuade the lande, as he doubted ſhee ſhortly would.

W. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

Moreouer he aduaunced many yõg luſtie Gentlemen to great liuings. For ſuch as were of any noble family, and thereto through a certaine ſtoutneſſe of ſtomack ſought prefermẽt, eaſily obteyned of him the poſſeſſion of Caſtels, & great Lordſhips, and diuerſe of them he honored with titles of dignitie, creating ſome of thẽ Erles and ſome of them Lords. And ſuch was their importunate ſute alſo in demaunding, that when he had little more to beſtow amongſt them, hauing alreadie giuen ſundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceaſſed not to be in hande wyth him for more, and beeing denied with reaſonable excuſes on his behalfe, they thought themſelues not well delt withal, & ſo turned from him, & fortifying their Caſtels and holdes, made opẽ warre againſt him (as hereafter ſhall appeare.)

The reſort of ſtraungers to ſerue king Stephen.

There came ouer vnto him alſo a great number of Flemings and Britons to ſerue vnder him as Souldiers, the whiche he reteyned, to bee the ſtronger and better able to defend himſelf from the malice of the Empreſſe, by whom he looked to bee moleſted he wiſt not how ſone. And therefore he ſhewed himſelf very liberal, curteous, and gentle towardes al maner of perſons at the firſt, & (to ſay truth) more liberal, familiar, & free harted thã ſtood with the maieſtie of a king: which was afterward a cauſe that he grew into cõtempt: but to ſuch incõuenience are princes driuen that attain to their eſtates more through fauor and ſupport of others than by any good right or title whiche they maye pretende of themſelues. And thus the gouernmẽt of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his ſubiects, but full of gentle lenitie, courteſie, and ſoft mildneſſe.

Polidor.

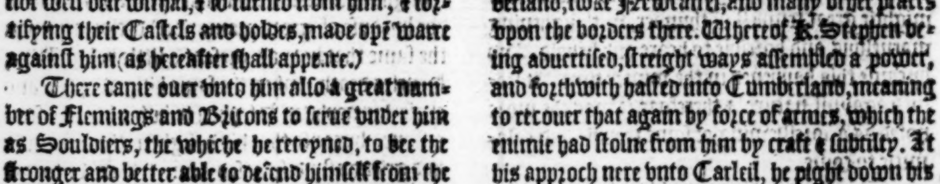
But yet whileſt theſe things were a doing, certaine of the Engliſh nobilitie abhorring both the king and the preſent ſtate of his gouernaunce, went priuily out of the realme into Scotland vnto K. Dauid, declaring vnto him what a deteſtable act was cõmitted by the Lords of England, in that contrarie to theyr othe made vnto the Empreſſe Mawd, and hir iſſue, they had now crowned Stephen. Wherefore they beſought the ſaid king to take in hand to reuenge ſuch a high iniury practiſed againſt hir, and to reſtore the kingdome vnto the ſaid Empreſſe, which if he did, it ſhould be a thing moſt acceptable both to God & mã.

The king of Scots inuaded the Engliſh marches.
Simon Dun.
Mat Par.
Polider.

King Dauid hauing heard and weyed well the effect of their requeſt, forthwͭ he was ſo moued with their words, that in al poſſible haſt he aſſembled an armie, and entring into Englande, he firſt tooke the Citie and Caſtell of Carleil. And afterward cõming into Northumberland, tooke Newcaſtel, and many other places vpon the borders there. Whereof K. Stephen being aduertiſed, ſtreight ways aſſembled a power, and forthwith haſted into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that again by force of armes, which the enimie had ſtolne from him by craft & ſubtilty.

King Stephen encamped nere to his enimie the king of Scottes.

At his approch nere vnto Carleil, he pight down his field in the euening, thinking there to ſtay till the morning, yͭ he might vnderſtand of what power



the enimie was, whom he knew to be at hand.

King Dauid alſo was of a fierce courage, and readie ynough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the Engliſh ſtandarts in the field, & had diligently viewed their order and behauior, he was at the laſt cōtented to giue eare to ſuch as entreated for a peace on both ſides, and ſo cōming vnto K. Stephen, he made a friendly peace with him, wherin he ſurrēdred vp Newcaſtel, with cōdition that he ſhould retaine Cumberlande by the free graunt of K. Stephen, who hoped thereby to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in time of neede: but yet he was deceyued, as afterwards it manifeſtly appeared. For when K. Stephen required of him an othe of allegiance, he anſwered that hee was once ſworne alreadie vnto Mawde the Empreſſe. But yet to gratifie him withall, he cōmaunded his ſon Henrie to receyue that othe, for the which the K. gaue vnto him the Erledome of Huntington, to hold of him for euer.

An accorde made betwixt the two kings, Stephen and Dauid.

Hec. Boetius.

The Scottiſh Chronicles ſet out the matter in other order, but yet all agree that Henry ſware fealtie to K. Stephen, as in the ſayde Hiſtorie of Scotland you may ſee more at large.

Simon Dun.
Math. Paris.
Sim. Dunel.
King Stephen ſicke.

King Stephen after he had concluded a peace with K. Dauid returned to London, and there kept his Eaſter with greate ioy and triumphes. And whileſt he was yet in the middeſt of all hys paſtime, about the Rogation weeke, he chaunced to fall ſick of a litargie, by reaſon wherof, a rumor was ſpred ouer all the realme that he was deade. And though this was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the firſt, yet was it after the occaſion of much euill. For vpon the report of that rumour greate ſedition was rayſed by the kings enimies amongeſt the people, and that more was, the myndes of his friendes were alienated from him, and many of the Normans (which beeing enured with periuries and treaſons) thought they might boldly attempt all miſchiefes that came to hande, and herevpon they tooke vpon them to defende ſome one place, and ſome another.

Falſe rumors what hurt they oftentimes do.

Hugh Bigot.
Baldwin Redeuers.
Robert Quiſquire.

Hugh Bigot Earle of Norffolke a valiaunt chieftaine entred into Norwich, Baldwin Reduers tooke Exeter, and Robert Quiſquere got certaine Caſtels alſo into his handes.

King Stephen hearing what his enimies had done, though hee was ſomewhat moued wyth this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afrayde of the matter, he ſayde merily to thoſe that ſtoode about him: we are aliue, yet God be thanked, and that ſhall bee knowne to our enimyes ere ought long. Neither doubted hee any thing, but ſome ſecrete practiſe of treaſon, and therefore vſing all diligence, he made the more haſte to goe agaynſt hys enimies, whoſe attemptes, though ſtreight wayes hee for the more part repreſſed, yet coulde hee not recouer the places that they had gotten without much adoe, as Exeter, and other: which when he had obteyned, he contented himſelfe for a time (whiche many manne would not haue done) and followed not the victorie any further in purſuing of his aduerſaries. Wherevpon they became more bolde afterwarde than before. And ſoone after they practiſed diuerſe things agaynſt him, wherof (God willing) ſome in places conuenient ſhall appeare: Howbeit they permitted him to remain in quiet for a time. But whileſt he ſtudied to take order in things aboute home (perceyuing howe no ſmall number of his ſubiects did dayly ſhewe themſelues to beare him no heartie good will) hee beganne by little and little to take away thoſe liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his raign he had graunted vnto them, and to denie thoſe promiſes which hee had made, according to the ſaying, That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, & that which remayneth I will keepe ſtill.

Polidor

This ſodaine alteration and new kind of rough dealing, purchaſed him in the ende great enuie amongſt all men. And in Normandie about the ſame time great commotions were rayſed about the Lorde Geffrey Earle of Aniou, huſbande to Mawde the Empreſſe, ſetting the whole Countrey in trouble: but ere any newes thereof came into England, K. Stephen goeth againſt Baldwin Reduers, who being lately (though not without great and long ſiege expulſed out of Exeter) got him into the Ile of Wight, and there began to deuiſe a newe conſpiracie. Howbeit the king comming ſodainely into the Ile, tooke it at the fyrſt aſſault, and exiled Baldwyn oute of the realme.

Geffray Earle of Aniou.

Simon Dun.
VVil. Paruus
Polidor.

An. Reg. 2
1137

King Stephen paſſeth into Normandie.

Hauing thus with good ſucceſſe finiſhed thys enterpriſe, and being now aduertiſed of the buſineſſe in Normādie, he ſayled thither with a great army: and being come within two dayes iourney of his enimies the Erle of Aniou, he ſent forth hys whole power of horſmē, deuided into three partes, which were not gone paſt a dayes iourney forward, but that they encountred with the Earle, finding him with no great force about him, and therevpō giuing the charge vpō him, they put him to flight, & ſlue many of his people. This enterpriſe in this maner valiantly atchieued, euen according to the minde of K. Stephen, he ioyned in friendſhip with Lewes the ſeuenth K. of France. And hauing lately created his ſon Euſtace Duke of Normandie, hee preſently appoynted him to doe his homage vnto the ſayde Lewes for the ſame. Alſo whereas his elder brother Theobalde Earle of Bloys at that time being in Normandie, found himſelfe grieued, that Stephen beeing the yonger brother had vſurped in the landes that belonged to their Uncle King Henrie, rather than himſelfe, to ſtoppe his iuſt complaynt, he

The Earle of Aniou put to flight.

Lewes king of France.

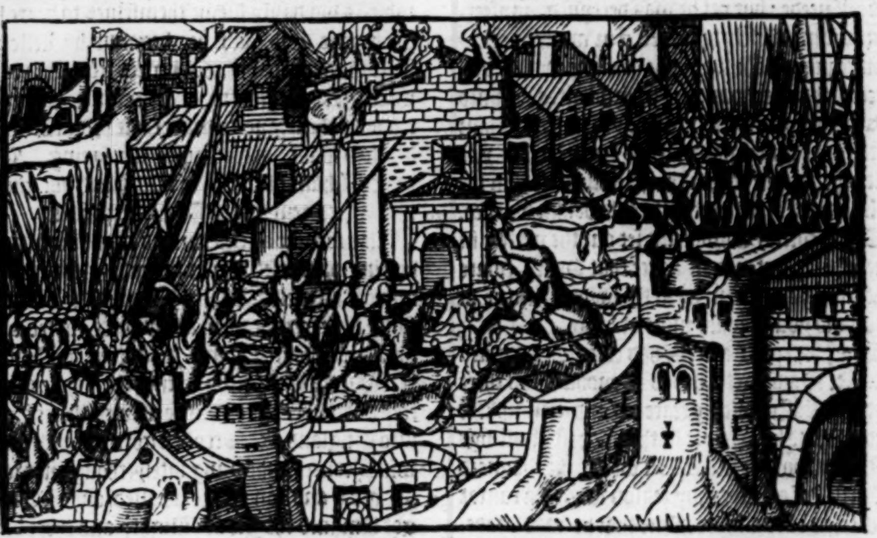
Euſtace ſon to King Stephen.

Mat. Par.

Theobald erle of Bloys.

King Stephen agreeth with the Earle of Aniou.

he agreed with him, couenanting to paye him yearely two thouſande Markes of ſuche currant money as was then in vſe. Furthermore, whereas Geoffrey Earle of Aniou demaunded in right of his wife the Empreſſe the whole kingdome of England, to be at an ende with him, king Stephen was contented to ſatiſfie him with a yearely penſion of fiue thouſand Markes, which compoſition he willingly receyued.



Polidor

The Scottes inuade the English borders.

Simon Dun.

An. Reg. 3
1138

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

Math. VVeſt.

Polidor.

Mat. Par.

Simon Dun.

Thus when he had prouided for the ſurety of Normandie, he returned againe into Englande, and was no ſooner there arriued, but that aduertiſement was giuen him of a new begonne warre with the Scottes, whoſe king vnder a colour of obſeruing the othe made to the Empreſſe, dayly made reyſes and inuaſions into Englande, to the great diſturbance of K. Stephen and annoyance of his people. King Stephen being herewith ſomwhat moued, went forthwith toward the north partes, and determined firſt to beſiege Bedforde by the way, which apperteyned to the Erledom of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henry the ſonne of K. Dauid, and therevpon at that preſent, kept with a gariſon of Scottiſh men, which place the king beſieged by the ſpace.of. xxx. dayes togither, in maner, giuing thereto euery day an aſſault or alarme, inſomuch that cõming thither on Chriſtmaſſe day, he ſpared not on the morow to aſſaile them, and ſo at length wanne the towne frõ them by pure force and ſtrength. King Dauid hearing thoſe newes, and beeing alreadie in armor in the fielde, entred into Northumberland, and licenſed his men of warre to ſpoyle and rob the Countrey thereabout at their pleaſure. Herevpon followed ſuch crueltie, that their rage ſtretched vnto olde and yong, vnto prieſt and clerke, yea womẽ with childe eſcaped not their handes, they hanged, headed, and ſlue all that came in theyr way: houſes were burnt, cattell driuen awaye, and all put to fire and ſworde that ſerued to any vſe for reliefe, either of man or beaſt.

King Stephen maketh haſt to reſcue the north partes.

The Scottes retire.

King Stephen burnt the ſouth partes of Scotland.

In the meane time king Stephen hearing of this pitifull ſpoyle, haſted forwarde with greate iourneyes to come to the reſkue of the Countrey. The Scots put in feare of his ſpedie comming to encounter them, withdrew home into Scotland: but he followed them, and entring into their cõtrey he burned and deſtroyed the South partes of that realme in moſt pitifull maner.

Robert Earle of Glouceſte

Whileſt king Stephen is thus about to beate backe the foreyne enimies, and to reuenge himſelf on them, he is aſſayled by other at home, and not without the iuſt vengeance of almightie god, who ment to puniſh him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the Crowne, contrary to hys othe made vnto the Empreſſe and hir children. For Robert Erle of Glouceſter, baſe brother vnto the Empreſſe, and of hir priuie Councell, ſought by all meanes howe to bring king Stephen into hatred, both of the Nobles and Commons, that by theyr helpe hee mighte bee expulſed the realme, and the gouernment reſtored to the Empreſſe and hir ſonne.

Briſtow taken

Sim. Dun.

Talbot.

Mat. Paris.

Louell.

Paynell.

Such earneſt trauaile was made by this erle of Glouceſter, that many of his friends which fauored his cauſe, now that king Stephen was occupied in the North parties, ioyned with him in conſpiracie agaynſt their ſoueraigne. And firſt the ſayde Earle himſelfe tooke Bryſtowe. And after this diuerſe other townes and Caſtelles there in that countrey were taken by him and others, with full purpoſe to keepe the ſame to the behoofe of the Empreſſe and hir ſonne. Amongſt other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Herefordе in Wales: William Louell helde the Caſtell of Cary: Paganell or Paynell kept the Caſtell of Ludlow: William de Moun, the caſtel of Dunſtor: Robert de Nichol, the Caſtell of Warram:

Fitz Iohn.
Fitz Alayn.

S. Dunel.
M. Paris.
The caſtle of Douer deliuered to the queene.
Polid.

Thurſtayne archbiſh. of Yorke made Lieutenāt of the North partes.

Euſtace Fitz Iohn, the caſtle of Waltō, & Williā Fitz Alain, the caſtle of Shrewſbury. Whē word hereof came to K. Ste. he was marueylouſly vexed: for being determined to haue purſued the Scots euen to the vttermoſt limits of their coūtrey, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the firſt to ſtop the proceedings of his enimies at home, leaſt in geuyng them ſpace to increaſe their force, they might in proceſſe of tyme grow ſo ſtrōg, that it wold be an hard matter to reſiſt them at the laſt. Hereupō therfore he returned Southward, & cōming vpō his enimies, recouered out of their hāds, diuers of thoſe places which they held, as Hereford & the caſtle of Shrewſbury: & about the ſame tyme one Walkelyne yelded the caſtle of Douer vnto the Queene, who had beſieged him within the ſame. But K. Stephē knowing how the Scots wer not like long to continue in quiet, he returned Northwards agayn. And cōming vnto Thurſtain the archb. of Yorke, he cōmitted the keeping of the countrey vnto his charge, cōmandyng hym to be in areadynes to defend the borders vpon any ſodaine inuaſion. Which thing the couragious archb. willingly vndertoke. By this meanes kyng Stephen being eaſed of a great part of his care, fell in hande to beſiege the reſidue of thoſe places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the daunger of an aſſault, fled away, ſome into one part, and ſome into an other. Whom the kyngs power of horſmen ſtyl purſuyng and ouertakyng them by the waye, ſlew, and toke no ſmal number of them priſoners in the chaſe. Thus was the victory in maner wholy atchieued, and all thoſe places recouered, which the enimies had fortified.

The Scottes eftſoones inuade Northumberland

Archbiſhop Thurſtayne raiſeth a povver to fight vvith the Scots.

S. Dunel.
Captaynes of the army.

Raufe B. of Durhā ſupplieth the roume of the Archbiſhop.

In like maner whē king Dauid heard that the kyng was thus vexed with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in moſt forcible wiſe: and ſendyng his horſmen abroade into the countrey, cōmaunded them to waſte & ſpoyle the ſame after their accuſtomed maner. But in the meane tyme he purpoſed with himſelfe to beſiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue wonne, he determined to haue made it the frōtier hold againſt kyng Stephē, and the reſt that toke part with hym. Hereupon callyng in his horſmen from ſtraying further abroade, he marched thitherwards, and comming neare to the citie, pitched downe his Tentes. In this meane while the archbiſh. Thurſtaine, to whō the charge of defendyng the countrey chiefly in the kings abſence apperteyned, called together the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Shyre and parties adioynyng, whom with ſo pithy and effectual wordes he exhorted to reſiſt the attēpts of the Scots, whoſe cruel doings cold kepe no meaſure,) that incōtinently all the power of yͤ Northparts was rayſed, (& vnder the leadyng of Williā earle of Albemarle, Walter Eſpeke, William Peuerell of Notingham, and two of the Lacyes, Walter, and Gylbert) offred to the vttermoſt peryll of lyfe and lymme to trye the matter with the Scottes in a pight fielde, and eyther to driue them out of the countrey, or els to loſe their lyues in the quarell of their prince. It chaunced at this time, that the archb. Thurſtaine was diſeaſed with ſickneſſe, and could not come therfore into the fielde himſelf, but yet he ſent Raufe Biſhop of Durham to ſupply his roume, who though he ſawe and perceyued that euery man was ready enough to encoūter with their enimies, yet he thought good to vſe ſome exhortatiō vnto thē, the better to encourage them, in maner as here enſueth.

M. Paris.
S. Dun.

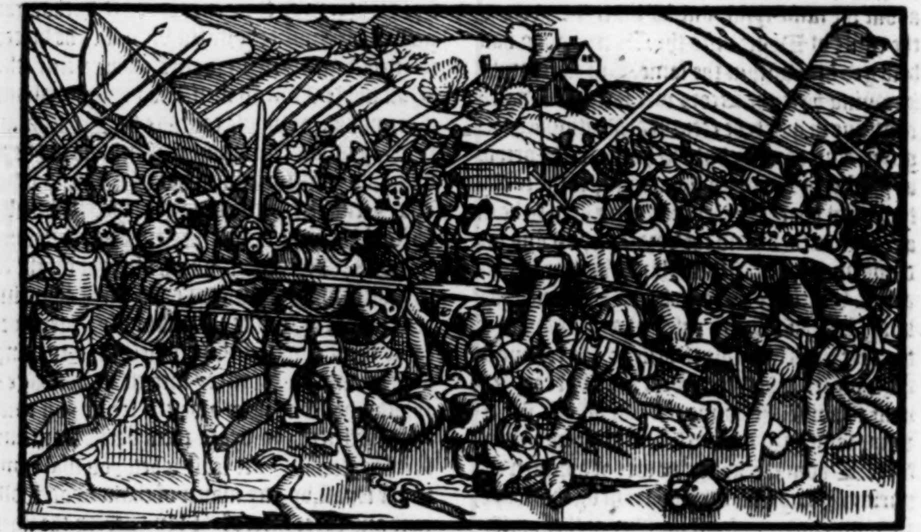
Moſt noble Engliſh men, and ye right valiant Normans, of whoſe courage the Frenchman is afrayde, by whoſe power Englande is kept vnder, by you alſo Apulia doth floriſh, and vnto you Ieruſalē & Antioch haue yelded their ſubiectiō. We haue at this preſent the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right ought to be ſubiect to the crowne of England) come into the fielde againſt vs, thinking for euermore to rid them ſelues of their ſubiection, & to bring both vs and our countrey into their bondage & thraldome. And now albeit I ſee in you courage ſufficient, to beate them backe from any further attempt, yet leaſt when you ſhal come to the tryall, by any maner of chance, you ſhold loſe any peece thereof, I lamentyng the ſtate of my countrey (whoſe diſpleaſures I wiſhe you ſhoulde redreſſe) do meane to vſe a fewe wordes vnto you, not for that I woulde exhort you to doe any man wrong, but rather to beate them backe, which ought to doe wrong vnto you.

Therefore conſider that you ſhall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue oftentymes ouercome, whom oftentymes defamed with the ſpots of periurie, you haue worthily puniſhed: whom (to be briefe) ragyng after the manner of cruell robbers, wickedly ſpoylyng Churches, taking away our goodes, you lately dyd conſtrayne to hide hymſelfe in deſert places & out of ſight. Againſt this enimy (I ſay) therfore worthy of puniſhment for his ſo manyfold crimes, ſhew your ſelfs valiant, & with manlike ſtomackes driue him out of our confines: for as farre as I can perceiue, the victorie is yours, God ſurely wyl aid you, who can not lōger abide the ſinnes of this people. Wherfore he that loſeth his life in this ſo iuſt a quarel according to the ſaying of our Sauiour, he ſhall finde it.

Let not their raſhe preſumptuous boldneſſe make you afrayd, ſith ſo many tokens of your approued valiancy can not cauſe them to ſtand in doubt of you. You are clad in armour, and ſo appoynted with Helmet, Cuyraſe, Greues, & Target, that the enemy knoweth not where to ſtrike to hurt you. Then ſith you ſhall haue to do with naked men, and ſuch as vſe not to weare any armour at all, but ſuche as is more meete for brablers and ale houſe quarrellers, than men of warre frequented to the fielde: What ſhoulde you ſtande in doubt of? Their huge number is not able to ſtand againſt your ſkilfull order and practiſed knowledge in all warlike feates and martiall diſcipline. A rude multitude is but a let, rather than a furtherāce to atchieue the victory. A fewe in number of your worthy Elders, haue oftentimes vanquiſhed great multitudes of enemies.

The Engliſh men ſet vpō the Scots.

As the Byſhop was thus ſpeakyng to the Engliſh army, and before he grew to any ende of his exhortation, the Scottes approche with their batailes, and firſt certaine of their bandes of horſmen were ſent afore, to take the higher ground: which when the Engliſh men perceyued, they ſtayed not tyl the enemies ſhould begyn the bataile, but ſtrayt wayes cauſed their Trumpets to blowe, and ſo gaue the onſet.



The Scots of Lodian diſorder the Engliſh men

S. Dunel.

M. Paris.

The Scottes put to flight.

The Scottes were as ready to encounter with thē, ſo that the bataile began right hotly, and euen at the firſt out flew the arrowes, and after that beganne the footmen to ioyne, who fought moſt fiercely on both ſides. Herewith a wyng of them of Lodyan which were in the Scottiſh vauntgard, dyd breake in vppon the vauntgard of the Engliſh men: but yet they cloſing together againe, kept out the enimies, and caſting about with a wing, compaſſed the Scottiſh horſmen round about, and paunching their horſes, they ſlewe a great nūber, and conſtrayned the reſidue to retyre. Whiche thyng when their felowes in the other wyng ſawe, their harts began to faint, and by and by fel to flat runnyng away. The rumor of this flight being notified to the mayne battel of the Scottiſh men, wher king Dauid him ſelf was fighting with his enimies, diſcomfited them alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that they in like ſorte beganne to ſhrinke backe: firſt by partes, & after by heapes together. The king dyd what he coulde to ſtay them: but the Engliſh men preſſed ſo vpō them, that there was no recouery. Wherefore he hym ſelfe was glad in the ende to beare his men company, in ſeeking to ſaue hym ſelfe by flight, & make ſuch ſhyft as he could amōgeſt yͤ reſidue.

Henry earle of Huntington his valiancie.

His ſonne Henry the earle of Hūtingtō more regarding his honour, than the dāger of life, neither moued with the flight of his father, nor ouerthrowe of the other, came in amongeſt his men, beyng readye to turne their backes, and with bold countenance ſpake theſe or the like wordes vnto them as the ſhortneſſe of the tyme would ſerue: Whither goe you good felowes? Here ſhal you find armour and force, neither whileſt life remayneth in your captain (whō ye ought to folow) ſhal ye depart without the victorie. Therfore choſe whether ye had rather try the matter with the enemies by battaile, or to be put to a ſhamefull death at home after your returne thither? The Scots moued wͭ theſe vehemēt wordes of their valiāt captain, turned vpō their enemies agajn, & begā a cruel ſlaughter: but being no great nūber, and beſet with the Engliſh footmē before, and with the horſmē behind, they wer ſhortly brought to diſtreſſe, & for the more part either takē, or ſlaine.

At length earle Henry perceyuyng how the matter went, and that there was no hope left

of

Polid.
H. Hunt.
The nūber.

of recouery, he alſo fled with thoſe that coulde eſcape, bitterly curſing the frowardneſſe of fortune, and miſhap of that dayes chaunce. The number of them that were kylled at this battayle, was aboue tenne thouſande. In which nūber ther wer not many of the Engliſh men: but yet among other, Walter Lacy the brother of Gylbert Lacy, one of their chiefe captaines, is remēbred to be one. This battel was fought in the moneth of Aug. in the .iiij. of K. Ste. who hearing of this victorye, greatly reioyced, and gaue infinite cōmendations to his ſubiects (the Engliſhmen & the Normans) but namely he prayſed the archb. Thurſtaine & the B. of Durhā for their faithful & diligēt ſeruice ſhewed in this behalfe. On ẏ other ſide he hym ſelf vſing the like good ſucceſſe amongſt the rebels at home, ouercame thē, and chaſed thē out of the land. For in this meane tyme he had taken the caſtles of Hereford, Glouc. Webbeley, Briſtow, Dudley, and Shrewiſbury. Likewiſe Rob. earle of Gloceſter not being able to reſiſt the king thus preuailyng agaynſt his aduerſaries on ech hand, fled into Frāce vnto his ſiſter the Empreſſe. After this in the Aduent ſeaſon, the Popes Legate, one Alberike biſhop of Hoſtia, helde a Synode at London, within the church of S. Paul, where by the kings cōſent, Theobalde Abbot of Bechellouin was ſacred Archb. of Canter. being the .xxxviij. Archbiſh. which had ruled that See, after Auguſtine the Monke. The king hauyng now atchieued his buſineſſe, taken the caſtle of Ledes, & brought the ſtate of the realme into a metely good ſtay, he thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to purſue the victory, and vtterly to ſubdue them with al expedition. He brought his army therfore into Scotland, and firſt waſted and ſpoyled the coūtrey, and afterward prepared to fight wt ſuch Scots as came forth to defend their goods and houſes. King Dauid perceiuyng hym ſelfe to be to weake, made ſuite vnto the king for peace, which with much difficultye he obteyned at length, by deliuering his ſonne Hēry vnto K. Ste. in pledge for the ſure performāce of the couenaūts that wer concluded betwixt thē. And herevpon K. Ste. hauing thus ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, returned into England: and after directyng his iorney towardes Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne being kept by his aduerſaries, he wan ere long out of their handes.

S. Dun.
M. Paris.
W. Paris.
Polid.

Ra. Higd.
Caſtles recouered by K. Stephen.

N. Triuet.
S. Dunel.
M. Paris.

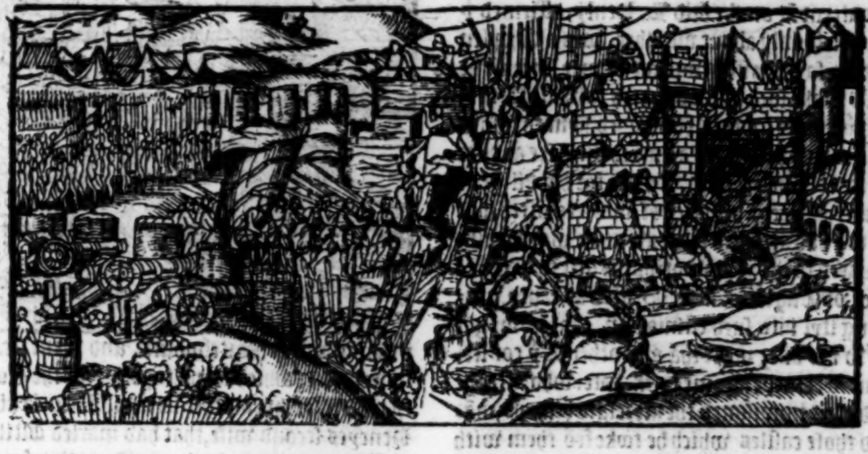
Theobald Archb. of Canterbury.

Anno regni. 5.
1140.

Polid.
M. Paris.
R. Stephen inuadeth Scotland.

A peace cōcluded betweene the two kings of England & Scotland.

Ludlow wonne.



After this he went to Oxford, and whileſt he remayned ther, a great bruite was ſpred abroode that the Empreſſe was cōmyng with hir brother the Earle of Gloceſter: which cauſed him to put ẏ leſſe truſt in his people frō thēceforth: in ſo much that he beganne to repent hym ſelf (although to late) for that he had graunted licence to ſo many of his ſubiectes to builde caſtles within their own grounds. For he had thē al in ſuſpition: and amongſt other, he conceyued a miſtruſt agaynſt Roger Byſhop of Saliſbury (who had done very muche for hym) and alſo agaynſt Alexander B. of Lincolne that was nephew to the ſaid B. of Saliſb. or as ſome thought, more neare to him in kinred than his nephewe, that is to meane, his ſonne.

Roger biſh. of Saliſbury

Alexander B. of Lincolne.

W. Mal.

For the ſayde Roger had buylded diuers Caſtles, as at Shierborne, at the Vies, and at Malmeſbury.

Caſtles built by the B. of Saliſbury.

And likewiſe the ſaid Alexander folowyng his Uncles example, beſtowed his money that way forth very freely, hauing buylded one caſtle at Newarke, and an other at Sleeford. The K. therfore hauing cōmitted both theſe biſhops to priſon, & furthermore ſent Nigel or Neille the B. of Ely into exile (which Nygell was nephew alſo to ẏ foreſaid B. of Saliſbury) he threatned thē to keepe thē without either meate or drinke, if they would not cauſe theſe caſtles to be deliuered into his hāds: & ſo he obteyned

S. Dun.
Newarke caſtle built by the B. of Lincolne.

The B. of Ely baniſhed.

teined thē, & moreouer foūd in the B. of Saliſburyes cofers. xl. M. marks, which he toke to his own vſe, as forfeyt vpon his miſdemeanor. Which B. hauyng receyued this ingratitude of the the king, & taking thought for the loſſe of his houſes & money, pyned away, & dyed within a while after. The quarrel which was firſt piked to theſe Biſhops, roſe for a fray whiche chanced betwixt the biſhops men & the ſeruāts of Alaine duke of Britain, about the taking vp of Innes at their cōming to Oxford. In which affray one of the dukes mē was kylled, his nephew almoſt ſlayne, & the reſidue of his folkes ſore beaten & chaſed. And hereupō were the biſhops firſt cōmitted to ward, & afterward hādled at ẏ kings plaſure, as partly ye haue heard. And this, good reader, is one example worthy to be marked of fickle fortunes incōſtācy. This Roger B. of Saliſbury, was in the dayes of Will. Rufus a poore prieſt ſeruyng a cure in a village nere to the city of Cane in Normandy. And as it chānced, the L. Henry the kings brother came thither on a time, & called for a prieſt to ſay maſſe before him Wherupō this Roger cōmyng to the altar, was by & by ready, and ſo quickly at it, & therwithal had ſo ſpedily made an end therof, that the mē of war which as thē wer attendāt on the ſaid L. Henry, affirmed ẏ this prieſt only aboue all other, was a Chaplen meet to ſay Maſſe before mē of war, bicauſe he could make ſuch quick diſpatch withal. Wherupō ẏ kyngs brother cōmaūded hym to folow him, which he dyd, wͭ as much diligēce as euer Peter folowed Chriſt. And ſo for his diligent ſeruice, and redy diſpatch of matters, after that Henry had atteined the crowne, he was by him aduāced to great promotiōs: as firſt to be Chācelor of Englād, & after B. of Saliſbury, growing ſtyl into ſuch eſtimation, that he myght do wͭ the king more thā any other of ẏ coūſel. But to returne againe to K. Ste. who after he had thus impriſoned the aforeſaid biſhops, māned thoſe caſtles which he toke frō them with his own ſoldiers, in like maner as he had done all the other which he had taken frō the rebels, that he might ẏ better withſtand the Empreſſe and hir ſonne, whoſe comming he euer feared. He began alſo to ſhew him ſelf cruel towardes al mē, & namely agaynſt thoſe that had chiefely furthered his Title to the obteynyng of the Crown: which thing, as many toke it, came to paſſe by the prouiſion of almighty God, that thoſe ſhold ſuffer for their periuries, which cōtrary to law and right had cōſented to crown hym king. In deede he wiſt not wel whom he might truſt, for he ſtood in doubt of al men, bicauſe he was aduertiſed by credible report, that the Empreſſe ſought for ayd on all ſides, meanyng very ſhortly to come into England. For this cauſe alſo he thought good to procure the frendſhip of Lewes Kyng of France, which he brought to paſſe by concludyng a mariage betwene his ſonne Euſtace and the Lady Conſtance ſiſter to the ſayd Lewes. But within a few yerees after this Euſtace dyed, & then was Cōſtāce maryed vnto Raymōd earle of Thoulouſe. In the meane tyme, that is to wyt, on ẏ firſt day of Sept. there was a Coūcel holdē at Winch. in the which Earle Alberike de Veer pleaded with great eloquence the kyngs cauſe in excuſe of his fault, for impriſonyng the byſhops, which was ſore laid to his charge by his own brother the B. of Winch. beyng alſo the Popes Legate: who together with the Archb. of Cant. & other biſhops had called this Coūcel for that purpoſe. But they got nothyng of the kyng, but fayre wordes, and promiſes of amendemēt in that which had bin don otherwiſe thā equitie required, which promiſes were nothing kept, and ſo the Coūcel brake vp. In the moneth of July the Empreſſe Maude landed here in England at Porteſmouth, and went ſtrayt to Arundel, which town together wͭ the Coūty of Suſſex, hir mother in law, Adelicia king Henryes ſecond wife, that had maried Williā de Albeney, held in right of aſſignation for hir dower. There came in with the Empreſſe, hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom ye haue heard before.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury dyeth of thought.

VV. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

Fortunes inconſtancie.

VV. Paris.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury made Lorde Chancelour.

K. Stephens doubt vvhō to truſt.

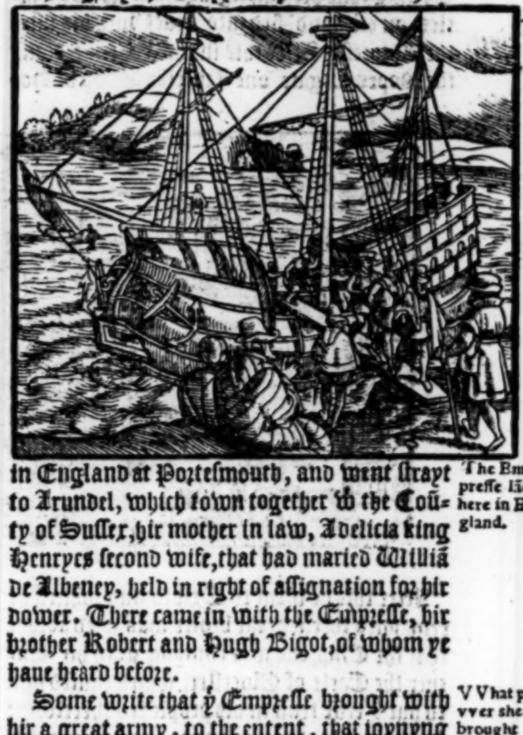
He contracteth affinity vvith the French king.

VV. Mal.

Polid.

M. Paris.

Alberike de Veer pleadeth the kings cauſe.



The Empreſſe lāded here in England.

Some write that ẏ Empreſſe brought with hir a great army, to the entent, that ioynyng with Ranulph earle of Cheſter (who toke part with Rob. earle of Gloc. bicauſe ẏ ſame Rob. had maryed his daughter) ſhe might fight with K. Ste. and try with hym the bataile. Other declare that ſhe came into Englād now at the firſt, but wͭ a ſmal power (as vij. ſcore horſmen or men of armes as we may cal thē) in hope of gods aſſurance (who ſeldome faileth thoſe that fight in a rightful cauſe) & againe vpon truſt of

ayde

VVhat povver ſhee brought vvith hir.

VV. Mal.

Polid.

aid of frends, which for the benefites receiued at hir fathers hands, wold be redy to go againſt K. Ste. Wherupon hir brother earle Robert leauing his ſiſter in the caſtle of Arundel, rode with al ſpeed vnto Gloc. through his enimies countrey, not taking with hym aboue .xij. men of armes, and as many archers on horſbacke, that vpō his coming thither, he might leuy an army with ſo much ſpeed as was poſſible. At his cōmyng to Gloc. though the citie was kept by a garriſon of ſoldiers placed there by K. Ste. yet the townſmen, after they heard that their earle was once come, & approched to the gates, they droue out the garriſon, and receyued hym into the towne, where he remayned a tyme, partly to aſſemble an army, & partly to practiſe with other to moue and raiſe their powers, to reuolt vnto his ſiſter. Amongſt other, ye earle of Glo. ſonne Brian and Myles of Gloc. were right ioyfull of the tidinges of the Empreſſe arriual, & gladly prepared themſelues to fight in defence of hir cauſe. In the meane tyme K. Stephen hauing knowledge of the landing of the Empreſſe, with ſuch power as he had, came ſtrayt to Arundel, where he beſieged hir in the caſtle, and ſpent his time certain dayes in vaine about ȳ winning therof:

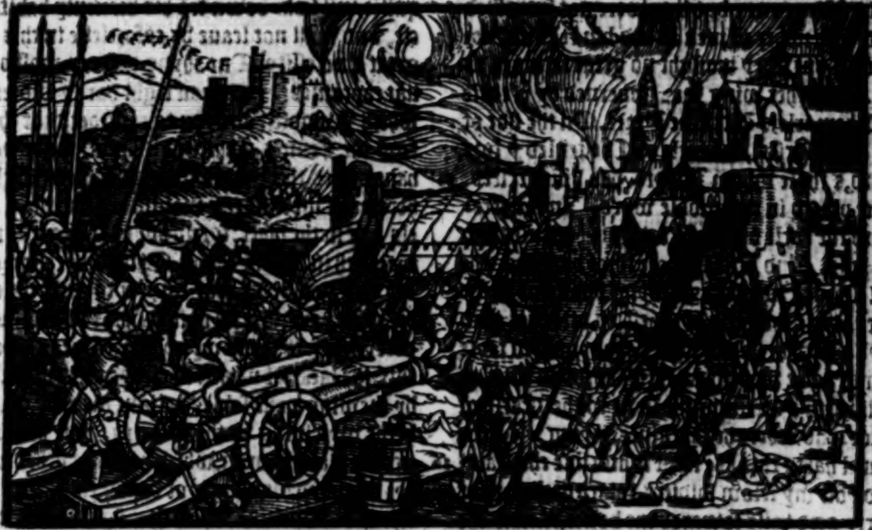
Earle Rob. commeth to Glocester.

M. Paris.

Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne. Myles earle of Hereford.

Polid.

The Empresse besieged in Arundel castle.



but at that preſent he did not preuayle, for ther were certaine with hym, which in fauor of the empreſſe bare him in hād, that it was not poſſible to wyn ȳ fortreſſe, & therfore adviſed him to raiſe his ſiege, & ſuffer the Empreſſe to be at liberty to go ſomwher els, wher he might with more eaſe & leſſe damage, get hir into his hāds. The K. not perceiuyng the drift of thoſe ſecret practiſers, folowed their cōuſel. Wherupon the Empreſſe being now at liberty, went frō place to place to try & ſolicit hir frends: & as a ryuer increaſeth in the paſſage, ſo the farther ȳ Lady went, the more hir power increaſed. About the midſt of the next night after the ſiege was raiſed, ſhe departed out of the caſtle, & with great iorneys ſped hir towards Briſtow, which was alredy reuolted to hir ſide. Theſe things being thus bruyted abroad, the Peeres of the realme reſorted to hir, as they that well remēbred how in tyme paſt by othe of allegeance they were ſurely boūd to hir & hir iſſue. The kyng in the mean time beſieged the caſtle of Wallingford, but after he vnderſtood that the Empreſſe was gotten to Briſtow, repentyng hym ſelf for his light credit giuē to euyl counſel, he left off the beſieging of Wallingford, & draweth towards Briſtow, that he might, if it were poſſible, encloſe his aduerſaryes within that walled city: But the Empreſſe beyng aduertiſed of his determination (by ſuch of hir frends as wer reſident about hym) firſt went to Glouceſter, and after to Lincolne, where ſhe prouideth for vittayles and al other things neceſſary for hir army and defence: purpoſing to remayne in that citie, tyll the matter wer either tryed by chaūce of warre betwixt hir & K. Ste. or that by the peoples helps reuoltyng to hir ſide, he might be driuen out of the realme, and ſhe reſtored to the entire gouernment. The K. folowed hir alſo very earneſtly, and cōmyng vnto Lincolne, he beſieged it, aſſaying on euery ſide which way he might beſt find meanes to wyn it, and enter into the ſame. At length the Empreſſe founde ſhift to eſcape from thence, and within a litle while the kyng got poſſeſſion of the city. But ſhortly after, Rob earle of Gloc. and Ranulph earle of Cheſter, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Morley aſſēbling their power, aſwel of Welchmē as other, to come to the ſuccor of thoſe that wer thus beſieged, came to Lincoln, & pitching down their tēts nere to ȳ enemies, they reſted the firſt night wͭout making any great attēpt. In the morning being the .ij. day of February,

The K. rayseth his siege

The Empresse goeth to Bristovv.

K. Stephen besiegeth VValingford.

Anno regni. 6.

1141.

S. Dun.

R. Houed.

K. Stephen vvynneth Lincolne.

R. Higd.

S. Dunel.

Polid.

N. Trivet.

The ordring of the kings army ready to geue bataile.

S. Dunel.

M. Paris.

The Earles of Norfolk, Hampton, Mellent, & VVarenne.

The Earle of Albemarle.

VVilliam de Ypres.

The ordering of the batailes on the kings aduersaries part.

The oration of the Earle of Cheſter.

Ra. Higd.

The Earle of Gloceſters anſvver to the Earle of Cheſters oration.

ſo ſoone as it was day they ſet their men in order of battel, & brought thē forth in ſight of the K. & his hoſt: who on the other ſide meaning not to refuſe the fight, ordered his men redy to encoūter them, deuiding thē into three ſeuerall battels. The chiefeſt part of his armed men, he appoynted to remaine a foot, amongſt whō he placed himſelf, with certaine noblemē, as earle Baldwin, & others. The reſidue being horſmē, he diſpoſed into two ſeuerall wings, in one of the which wer theſe men of honor, Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, Simō earle of Hāpton, & ij. other earles, Mellent & Warenne: but they were not furniſhed with ſuch nūber of men as had bin requiſite: for as it fel out, they brought no great retinues wͭ thē. The other wing was gouerned by yͤ earle of Albemarle, & Will. de Ypres. On the ſide of the aduerſaries, the earle of Cheſter led yͤ foreward, & thoſe whom K. Ste. had diſinherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the rereward the earle of Gloc. with his cōpanies had the rule. And beſides thoſe three batailes, the Welchmen wer ſet as a wyng vpon one of the ſides. Here the earle of Cheſt. to vtter his good wyll which he had to fight, appoynted in fayre armor as he was, ſpake theſe words in effect as followeth, directing the ſame to the Earle of Gloc. and other the captaines, ſaying: I geue you al harty thanks, moſt inuincible chieftain, and you my felow ſoldiers, which declare your harty good wils towards me borne, euen to the ieoparding of your lyues at this my requeſt & inſtance. Sith thē I am the occaſiō of your peril, it is cōuenient that I firſt do enter yͤ ſame, & geue the firſt onſet vpō the battel of that moſt diſloyal K. which grāting a truſe, hath brokē the peace, & ſwering to be a ſubiect, is now proued a moſt wicked vſurper. I therfore truſtyng both vpō reuenge of the vniuſt dealings of this kyng, and alſo vpō myne own force & courage, ſhal ſtraytwayes breake in ſunder the array of his army, and make way through the middeſt of the enemies with ſword in hād. Your parts ſhalbe thē to folow me, that ſhall leade you the way: for euē now my mynd giueth me, that I ſhal paſſe through their batailes, tread his captaines vnder foot, & run the king thorow wͭ this my ſharpe & kyne ſword. Whē he had thus ended, the earle of Gloc. anſwered in this wiſe. It is not againſt reaſon that you ſhold require the honor of the firſt onſet, both for the nobility of your houſe, & alſo for reſpect of the prowes wherin you do excel: but yet if ye ſtande vpon nobility, for my part, being the ſonne of a king & the nephew of a king, ought not I to be preferred? if vpō valiācy, here are many moſt worthy men, afore whō there is not any one alyue that may chalēge any prerogatiue at all. But another reaſon moueth me moſt chiefly to be yͤ formoſt: the K. which cōtrary to his oth made to my ſiſter, hath cruelly vſurped the kingdō, and ſetting all in trouble, hath bin the cauſe of many thouſands of mens deathes, and hath diſtributed lāds and liuyngs to ſuch as haue no right to the ſame, which he hath violently takē frō the rightful owners, and ſo them diſinherited. This K. (I ſay) is firſt to be aſſailed with the aſſiſtance of the righteous Iudge, which prepareth puniſhment for wicked doers: for the almighty God which iudgeth his people in equitie, will looke down frō his heauenly habitacle, and wyll not leaue vs cōfortleſſe in this ſo great a neceſſity. One thyng there is, moſt valiāt captaines, and al you right hardy ſoldiers, which I would haue you to conſider, that thorow the Fennes, which with muche ado you haue paſſed, there is no way to eſcape by flight: here muſt we eyther vanquiſh the enemies, or els dye in the place: for no hope of ſafegarde remayneth in fleeing away. This only reſteth (I ſay) that you make way for you to enter the citie with your weapō points. If I be not much deceyued in that my mynd geueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meane to eſcape otherwiſe thā by ſhewing your ſelues valiant men, by Gods helpe wyll bring vs the victorye. For he muſt needes play the man, which hath not other ſuccor to auoyd the dāger of deſtruction. The citizens of Lincolne which ſhal fight ſo neare to their houſes as you ſhall ſee, wyl not ſtay long to get them thyther for their refuge. And herewith conſider and wey (I beſeech you) againſt whom you ſhal match in this batayle: There is Alane duke of Britaine, which cometh armed agaynſt you, yea rather agaynſt God, a wicked perſon, and ſpotted with al kinds of filthyneſſe. In malice he hath no peere, as he that neuer wanted deſire to do miſchiefe: and not to be incomparable in crueltie, he would iudge it a great reproch. There commeth alſo the Earle of Mellent, a man full of all guyle and deceit, in whoſe hart iniquitie is engraffed, and nothyng in his mouth but vnthākfulneſſe, ſlouthfull in deedes, and preſumptuous in words, not haſtye to fight, but ſwift to run away. Then commeth earle Hugh, to whom it hath not bin ſufficiēt to breake his oth to my ſiſter the Empreſſe, except he ſhoulde the ſecond tyme cōmyt periurie in aduouchyng vpon a newe oth, that King Henry graunted the kingdome to Stephen, and diſenabled his daughter.

The neceſſitie to fight valiantly.

Alane Duke of Britaine.

The earle of Mellent.

Earle Hugh.

The earle of Albemarle.

Earle of Albemarles vvyfe.

After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man in euyl, of a ſingular conſtancie, ready to attempt a miſchiefe, and loth to giue it ouer. Whoſe wife through irkſomneſſe of his filthy behauior bedfellow is runne from him: and he that kepeth hir, commeth with hym alſo againſt vs, a man that is an open adulterer, one well eſteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars.

Simon earle of Hampton.

Then ſetteth forth Symon earle of Hamptō, whoſe deedes conſiſteth in wordes, & whoſe giftes reſt in promiſes, for when he hath ſaid he hath done, & when he hath promiſed, ye get no more.

Like maſter, like ſeruant.

Finally there cōmeth together a knot of peeres and noble men, like to their king and maiſter, accuſtomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embrewed with manſlaughters, and defamed with periurie: you therfore moſt valiant captaines and hardy ſouldiers, whom king Henry hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder foote, whom he made welthy, and this man hath impoueriſhed, vpon truſt of your worthy valiauncie, yea rather vpon truſt of Gods iuſtice ſeeke your reuenge thus offred by God of theſe wicked wretches, and with manly ſtomackes vow to go forward, & forſweare ſtepping backe. The earle had vnneth made an ende when all the army lifting vp their hands to God, abiured al intention to flee, and ſo made themſelues ready to ſet forward. King Stephen hauing no pleaſant voyce of hym ſelf, appointed earle Baldwin to geue an exhortation to his army, whereupon getting him ſelfe to an high place where he might be ſeene & heard of thē, he thus began.

Earle Baldvvin his oration in the behalfe of K. Stephen.

Three things to be foreſeene by thē that ſhall geue bataille

Al ſuch as ſhal geue bataile ought to foreſee three things: firſt, that their cauſe be righteous: ſecondly, the number of their men equal at the leaſt: and thirdly the goodneſſe and ſufficiencie of them: the righteouſnes of their cauſe, leſt men run in danger of ſoule, ẏ nūber of men, leſt they ſhould be oppreſſed with multitude of enemies, the goodneſſe of the ſoldiers, leſt truſting in ẏ multitude, they ſhold preſume vpō the aid of feeble perſons & ſuch as are but of ſmal valure. In al theſe poyntes we ſee our ſelues ſufficiently furniſhed. The iuſtice of our cauſe is this: that obſeruing the thing that we haue vowed to our king before god, we ſtād to the ſame againſt thoſe ẏ haue falſed their faiths euen to the peril of death. Our number is not much leſſe in horſemen, & in footmen we exceed them. As for the goodneſſe or ſufficiencie of our men, who is able to expreſſe the noble prowes of ſo many earles, of ſo many lords & ſoldiers, trayned vp euer in wars? the paſſing valiancy of our king may ſtand in place of innumerable ſoldiers. Sith then he being the lords annoynted, is here amōgſt you, vnto whō ye haue vowed allegeance, performe your vow, for ẏ more earneſtly and faithfully ye ſerue your prince in this bataile which you are redy to fight againſt periured perſons, the more ſhal your reward be at the hands of God and him: be you therfore of good cōfort, and haue in remembrance againſt whom you do darraine the bataile.

Earle Rob.

The force of earle Robert is wel knowen, his maner is to threaten much, and to worke litle, a Lion in wordes, eloquent of ſpeach, and baſe through ſlackneſſe of deedes.

The earle of Cheſter

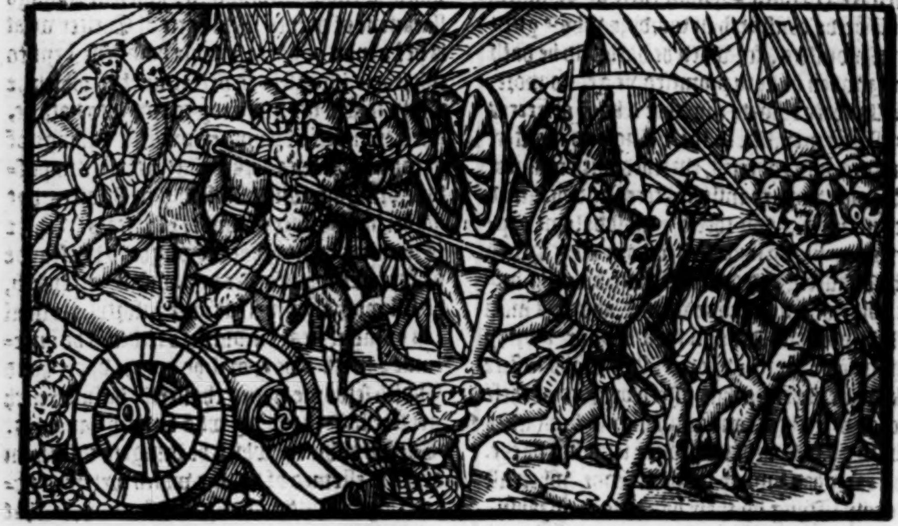
The earle of Cheſter what is he? a man of vnreaſonable boldneſſe, bent to cōſpiracie, inconſtāt to performe that, which he raſhly taketh in hand, redy to run into bataile, vncircumſpect of daunger, practiſing things of great importance, ſeeking after things impoſſible, bringing with him few good ſoldiers, but gathering a diſperſed nūber of raſcals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be afrayde of, for looke whatſoeuer he manfully attempteth, he ſtil womanly giueth it ouer, infortunate in al his doings, in al encounters either is he ouercome & fleeth away, or if he get the vpper hand (which ſeldome tymes chaunceth) he ſuſteyneth greater loſſe then they whō he hath vanquiſhed. The Welſhmen which he bringeth with him are litle eſteemed of vs, the which preferring naked raſhnes without any ſkil of armor, ſo that as men without any knowledge of martiall policie, they fal as brute beaſts vpō the hunters Iauelyn. The other, as wel the nobles as ẏ cōmon ſoldiers are but runagates & vagabonds, of the which I would wiſh the nūber greater than it is: for the more they be, the worſe in effect their ſeruice ſhall proue in tyme of neede. You therfore moſt worthy chieftaines, you mē of honor, it ſtādeth you vpon to haue in regard your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your renowme on high, and folow the foreſteps of your famous anceſtors, leaue to your ſonnes an euerlaſting cōmendation: the cōtinual ſucceſſe of victories ought to be vnto you a prouocation to do manfully: the continuance of euil ſpeed may be to yonder ſide an occaſion to run away: for euen already, I dare ſay, they repent them of their cōming hither, and could be contented to be gon, if ẏ qualitie of the place would ſuffer thē to depart.

Continuall good ſucces a prouocatiō of boldneſſe

Then ſith it is not poſſible for them eyther to fight or to flee, what other thing can they do, but as appoynted by Gods ordinance, offer them ſelues and al that which they haue about them, preſently vnto vs. Ye ſe then their horſes, their armor, and their bodyes ready here at your pleaſure: plucke vp your harts therfore, & put forth your handes to take that with great chearefulneſſe of mynd, which the Lord hath thus offred and freely preſented vnto you. But ere he had al made an end of his words, the batailes were ready to ioyne, & ſo with great noyſe of trūpets & other inſtruments they met, and the fight began with right ſore and cruel ſlaughter: hard it was in the beginnyng to geſſe who ſhould haue the better.

M. Paris.
H. Hunt.

The wing of the diſinherited men ouerthrew & bare downe their aduerſaries, which were led by the duke of Britaine, and the forenamed earles. On the contrary part, the arle of Albemarle, & William de Ypres put the Welchmē to flight, but by the Earle of Cheſter and his retinue, the ſame Earle & William de Ypres were fiercely of newe aſſailed, and put out of order. And thus



VV. Paris.
H. Hunt.

anon the kings ſide was put to the worſe, namely his horſemen, which being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping away: which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any thing therewith abaſhed; but like an hardy captaine (as he was no leſſe in deede) comforted his footemen which he had about hym, and with them ruſhed foreward vpō his enemies, bare them downe, and ouerthrew ſo many as ſtoode before hym, ſo that with the poynt of his weapon he made him ſelfe waye.

Polid.

His footmen which were but a few in number in reſpect to the multitude of his enemies counteruaile in all pointes the prowes and manlike doings of their king and captaine, that few battailes had bin better fought, nor with greater ſlaughter of people on both ſides, if the kings foreward (which in maner at the firſt ſhranke backe and was diſordered, not without ſome ſuſpition of treaſon) had ſtaied the brunt of the enemies a while, as it had bene requiſite.

S. Dunel.
H. Hunt.

At length the king encountryng with the earle of Cheſter, being ouerſet with multitude, was taken priſoner by one William de Kahames. Earle Baldwin that had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was alſo taken after he had fought valiantly and receiued many ſore woundes. Likewiſe Richard Fitzurze who had ſhewed that day good proofe of his manhood, hauing geuen & receiued many a ſore ſtripe. To conclude, all thoſe that abode with the kyng, and namely al the footemen were taken priſoners, thoſe excepted which wer ſlaine in the place.

M. Paris.

VV. Paris.

Polid.

This battaile was fought in the ſixt yeare of K. Stephens raigne, & vpō Cādlemas day, being ſonday, as Niger ſaith. The king being thus apprehēded and brought to the Empreſſe lying at Glouceſter, was commaunded by hir to be conueied in ſafetie vnto Briſtow, where he was kept as priſoner from that time of his taking, vnto the feaſt of al Saintes next enſuing. Not long after this fielde fought, as ye haue heard, Geffrey Earle of Aniou huſbande to the Empreſſe, receiuing aduertiſemēt of this victorie gotten in England, forthwith inuaded Normandye, inducyng all the Nobles of the countrey to incline vnto him: for by publiſhing the captiuitie of king Stephē, it was not hard for him to come by the poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The king led to Briſtovv.

VV. Paris.

Alſo Dauid king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commaundement of the Empreſſe, tooke the cōtrey into his hands, whileſt ſhee like a woman of great wiſedome, as ſhee was no leſſe in deede, iudging that it ſtood her vpon to vſe the victorie that thus was chaunced vnto hir, ſlept not hir buſineſſe, but went forward, and ſetting from Glouceſter, ſhee came to Wincheſter, where ſhee was honorably receiued of the Biſhop Henry, though he was king Stephens brother, and inwardly lamented the miſfortune of the king. Then came ſhee backe agayne to Wylton, and ſo to Oxford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albones, into al the which cities & townes ſhee was receiued with much triumph and honour. Thus hauing paſſed through all the South parties of the Realme on that ſide, ſhee finally came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir alſo in moſt ioyfull & harty maner.

The king of Scottes taketh Northumberland into his poſſeſsion.

Polid.

The Empreſſe folovveth the victorie.

Shee commeth to London.

her. Being come to London, and whileſt ſhee conſulted with thoſe of hir counſaile there for the quieting of the whole ſtate of the Realme, Queene Maude wife to king Stephen (for ſo ſhee was alſo called) made humble ſute vnto hir to haue hir huſband ſet at libertie, promiſing that he ſhould reſigne his whole claime & title into hir hands, and content himſelfe with a priuate life. But hir ſute was ſo farre of from being graunted, that ſhe was reiected with reprochfull wordes. Wherevpon ſhee conceiued a moſt high diſpleaſure, and perceiued nowe well ynough, that peace was to be purchaſed onely by force of armes, and not in any other maner. Therefore with all diligence ſhee ſent to hir ſonne Euſtace, as then being in Kent, willyng hym to prepare an army, which he did moſt ſpeedily.

The queene ſueth to the empreſſe for the deliuery of her huſband.

It chaunced at the ſame tyme alſo, that the citizens of London made great labour to the ſaid Empreſſe that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Cōfeſſor reſtored againe, & the ſtrait lawes of hir father king Henry aboliſhed. But forſomuch as they could get no graũt of their petition, and perceiued the Empreſſe to be diſpleaſed with thē about that importunat requeſt, wherin only ſhe ouerſhot her ſelf, they deuiſed how & by what meanes they might take hir priſoner, knowing that all the Kentiſhmen would helpe to ſtrengthen thē in their enterpriſe: But ſhe being therof warned, fled by night out of the citie, & went to Oxford, determining to be reuenged vpon hir aduerſaries when tyme ſhould ſerue hir turne: & herewith began ſhe to ware more diſpleaſant both to thoſe nobles whom ſhe had in priſon, & alſo to other, but namely to K. Stephen, who ſhe cõmaunded to be lode with yrons, & kept with very ſlender diet. After that ſhe was thus fled out of London, which chaunced about the feaſt of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the Tower of London was beſieged, which Geffrey de Mādeuille held, & valiantly defended. The ſame Geffrey iſſuing forth one tyme, came to Fulham, where he toke the Biſhop of Londō as thē lodging there in his own manor place, being one of the contrary faction. Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter perceiuing the wrath of the Empreſſe more & more to encreaſe daily againſt hir people, thinking it wiſdome to ſerue the time, manned all the Caſtles which he had builded within his dioces as at Waltham, at Farnham, and in other places, and withdrew him ſelfe into the caſtle of Wincheſter, there to remaine, tyl he might ſee to what end the fury of the womã would incline. This being knowen, the Empreſſe calleth vnto hir Dauid K. of Scotland that was hir vncle, who immediately came vnto hir, and then ioyning their armies togither, they go to Wincheſter and beſiege the caſtle. In the meane time the Queene and hir ſonne Euſtace then, with the helpe of their friends, as the Kentiſhmē, the Londoners and other, had aſſembled a great army, and appoynted the gouernement and generall conduct therof vnto one William of Ypres a Fleming, who for his valiance was by K. Stephen created Earle of Kent. He was ſonne to Philip of Flaunders, but begot of a Concubine, which Philip was ſonne to Earle Robert of Flaunders, ſurnamed Friſo. This William was baniſhed out of his countrey by Theodoricke of Elſatia Earle of Flaunders, bicauſe he attempted to bereue hym of his Earldome. The Queenes army thus appointed to hir ayding came nere vnto Wincheſter, and kept the Empreſſe and hir people in maner beſieged: and at length perceiuyng the aduantage after the cõmyng of a great ſupply of Londoners to their ayde, they ſet vpon hir army as the ſame was departing, with ſuche violence, that ſtraight wayes hir power was put to flight and diſcomfited. The Empreſſe was glad to faine hir ſelfe dead, and ſo to be conueyed in a Coache as a dead corps vnto Gloceſter. Her brother Robert with many other of the Nobles that ſtayed behynd tyl ſhee and other might get out of danger, were taken priſoners. And bicauſe the king was kept at Briſtowe vnder the cuſtodye of the ſaid Robert, the Queene cauſed hym to be ſtraitly vſed, that he might proue the wordes of the Goſpell true: With what meaſure ye meate vnto other, with the ſame by other ſhall it be meaſured vnto you againe. He had deſerued very euill of the king heretofore, and therefore it was nowe remembred.

The Londoners conſpire to take the empreſſe

Shee fled in the night tyme out of the citie.

N. Triuet.

Geffrey de Maundeuille. The Biſhop of London taken.

Polid.

Caſtles fortified by the Biſhop of VVincheſter.

VVilliam de Ypres.

Ia. Meir.

VV. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

N. Triuet.

S. Dun.

Polid.

The Empreſſe army put to flight.

VV. Mal.

Rob. Earle of Gloceſter taken priſoner.

M. Par.

He was taken in maner aboueſaid, on the feaſt day of the exaltation of the Croſſe.

Dauid king of Scotland was not at the bataile hym ſelfe, but hearing of the diſcomfiture, he got hym out of the countrey, and by helpe of truſty guides returned into Scotland, whileſt Alberike de Veer was ſlaine at London in a ſeditious tumult raiſed by the citizens. The kingdome being thus deuided into two ſeuerall factions, was by all ſimilitude like to come to vtter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one againſt another, ſought nothing els but reuenge on both ſides, and ſtill the lande was ſpoyled and waſted by the men of warre which lodged within the Caſtles and Fortreſſes, and would often iſſue out to harry and ſpoyle the countreyes about. But now that the two chiefeſt heads were priſoners, there was good hope conceyued, that God had ſo wrought it, wherby might grow ſome ouerture

VV. Paru.

N. Triuet.

Dauid K. of Scottes retired home.

S. Dun.

R. Ho.

Alberike de Veer ſlaine.

VV. Mal.

Polid.

ture of talke to quiet ſuch troubles by frendly peace and agreement. Hereupon thoſe Lordes that wiſhed wel to the common wealth, began to entreate betwixt them, and articles were proponed for a concorde to be had, and an exchaunge of priſoners on both ſides. But the Empreſſe and hir brother would not hearken to any agreemēt, except that the realme might wholy remayne to the ſayd Empreſſe. Whereby the enemies rather encreaſed, thā any thing decreaſed by this treaty, ſo that at length the kyng and the earle weried with long priſonneſſe of yrons & hard impriſonment, and puttyng all their hope in the chaunce of warre (about the feaſt of al Saints) made exchange by deliueryng of the one for the other, without makyng mentiō of any peace at al: and ſo kindled with new diſpleaſures, they renewed the warre agayne. Kyng Stephen beyng deliuered in ſuch wiſe as you haue heard, cōmyng to London, and there beyng accompanied with his brother Henry Byſhop of Wincheſter (as then the Popes Legate) Theobald Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and others, he called a Parliament, in the which the kyng declared in what caſe the preſent ſtate of thyngs ſtoode, how the enemie was brought to that poynt, that if it woulde pleaſe the Nobles of the Realme to maynteyne hym with men and money, he truſted new to worke ſo, as they ſhould not neede to feare their cōmyng vnder the yoke of a womans gouernment: which at the firſt they ſeemed much to miſlike, & nowe ſithence, to their great griefe, they had proued to be intollerable. The ſumme of his tale tended to this end, that thoſe whiche were able of them ſelues to ayde hym with their owne perſons, ſhould prepare them out of hand ſo to do, and the reſidue that were not meet, as biſhops, and ſuch like maner of men, ſhould be contributers to aid him with hyred ſoldiers, armour, and money. This was gladly agreed vpon, with the general conſent of al the aſſembly: and bicauſe the biſhops ſhewed them ſelues very liberall towardes the aduancing of the kings purpoſe, there was a ſtatute made at the ſame parlament, that who ſo euer did lay any violent handes on a ſacred perſon, or els take vpon hym to apprehend any of them, for what fault ſoeuer, without the Biſhops licence, he ſhould be accurſed, and not be aſſoyled of any maner of perſon, except of the Pope, as by a Canon it was already decreed, but not obeyed among the Engliſhe men tyll that day. The cauſe of makyng this ſtatute was chiefly, for that prieſts during the tyme of the ciuill warres, were dayly eyther ſlayne or taken and put to their ranſomes & greeuous fines. The B. of Wincheſter at this Councel alſo began an other brall among the Clergie, for being brother to K. Stephen, hauyng the Popes authoritie as his Legate in England, by reaſon of exerciſing his authoritie, fel at variance with the B. of Canterbury, who tooke hym ſelfe for his ſuperior, bycauſe he was his Primate. And this matter grewe ſo farre in queſtion, that they went both to Rome to haue the controuerſie decided, and ſo bringing their quarrelles thyther, contented well the eares of them that had the hearyng of the ſame: for the more weighty the cauſe ſeemed, the better it lyked them. But enough of this. As the kyng begā (after his liberty obteined) to prouide for the warres, ſo Earle Robert after he was diſcharged, ſayled ouer into Normandy, takyng with hym the ſonnes of diuers Noble men which fauored the Empreſſe, the which he deliuered vnto hir huſband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, and earneſtly beſought him to paſſe ouer into England with an armye, to the aid of the Empreſſe. But bicauſe he was newly entred into the Cōqueſt of Normandy, and had already won the moſt part thereof, he thought good to make firſt an ende of his wars there, hauing alſo ſomwhat to do againſt certaine rebelles of his owne Countie of Aniou, which did not a litle moleſt him. But he recouered whileſt the earle of Gloc. was ther with him, Alney, & Mortaigne, with Tenerghbrey & diuers other places perteinyng chiefly to the earle of Mortaigne. Alſo they of Conſtances about the ſame tyme ſubmitted thē ſelues vnto hym. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in thoſe parties, could not wel come into England. Whervpon the Earle of Glouc. came backe againe him ſelfe, and bringing with him ſomwhat leſſe than. iiij. C. men of armes (enbarked in .lij. ſhips) he landed with the ſame at Warrhā, & beſieged the caſtle there, which his enemies had won out of his handes whileſt he was abſent in Normādy In the end thei that wer within it (vnder ẏ gouernmēt of Herbert de Lucy) fel to agreement by cōpoſition, that if they were not ſuccored by a certaine time, they ſhould deliuer the caſtle vnto the earle. Kyng Ste. hym ſelfe the ſame tyme held a ſiege before Oxford, within the which he had encloſed the Empreſſe, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed: So that they within the Caſtle of Warrhā had no ſuccor ſent vnto thē, and therfore accordyng to the articles of their cōpoſition, they yelded vp the Hold, after earle Rob. had lyen iij. weekes before it. This Caſtle being thus won, Earle Robert ſubdued alſo ſuche as kept the Ile of Portlād, and had fenced it after the maner of a Fortreſſe: afterwardes he came to Circeſter, and there aſſembled al thoſe that fauoured the

part

Geruaſius Dorobern.
The king & the Earle of Glocester deliuered by exchange.

Anno regni. 7.
1142.

Ger. Do.
A parliamēt called.

A ſtatute eſtabliſhed in fauour of prieſtes.

M. Paris.
Earle Rob. paſſeth ouer into Normandy.

Normandy vvon by the Earle of Anion.

VV. Mal.
Earle of Glocester returneth.

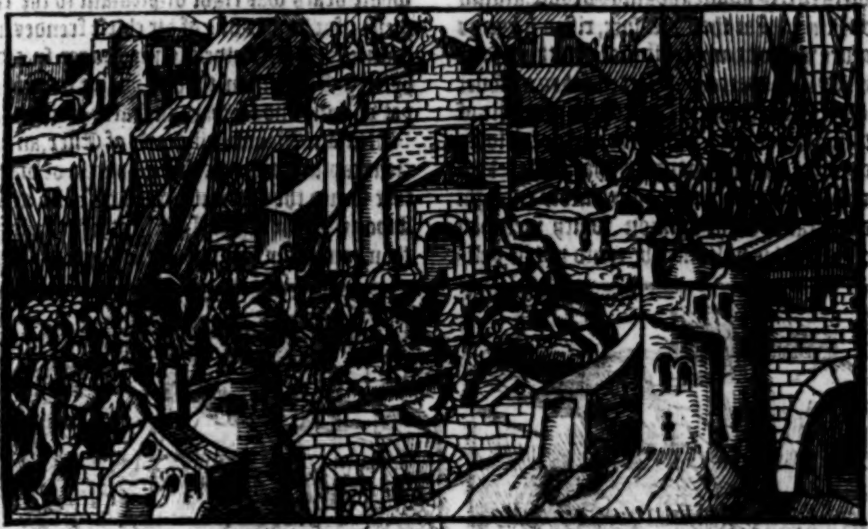
Ger. Dor.

VV. Mal.

The Ile of Portland.
Circeſter.

part of the Empreſſe, meanyng with al conuenient ſpeed to go vnto Oxford, & there to geue batalle to kyng Stephen, if he would abide it: Who after his deliuerance from captiuitye, hauing aſſembled a great hoſt of men, and comming to Oxford, wher the Empreſſe as then lay, ſodenly beſieged her before ſhe loked for him: and to the end alſo that he might compel the townſmē

The Empreſſe beſieged in Oxford.



to yeeld, or els keepe them from entring which would attempt to come to their ſuccors, he goeth abroade into the countrey with part of his army, waſting al before him with fire & ſword. This ſiege continued almoſt .ij. monethes, that is to wyt, in maner frō his deliuery in the begininng of Nouēber, vnto Chriſtmas, that thorow lacke of vitails they within the town began to raiſe mutinies. The Empreſſe therfore doubting the ſequele, and ſeeing alſo hir prouiſion to decay, deuiſed a ſhift howe to eſcape that preſent danger, which by force ſhe was vnlikely to performe. It was a very hard wynter that yeare, & beſide the great froſt wherwith the Thames and other ryuers therabouts were froſen ouer, ſo that man and horſe might ſafly paſſe the ſame aloft vpon the yſe, the fields wer alſo couered with a thicke & deepe ſnow. Herevpō taking occaſion, ſhe clad hir ſelf and al hir company in white apparell, that a farre of they might not be diſcerned frō the ſnow, and ſo by negligēce of the watchmē that kept their watch but ſlenderly, by reaſon of the exceeding colde weather, ſhe and hir partakers apparelled ſo in white, ſecretely in the night ſeaſon iſſued forth of the towne, and paſſing the Thames, came to Walingford, where ſhe was receyued into the Caſtle by thoſe that had the ſame in keping to hir vſe: of whō Brian ſonne to the Earle of Gloc. was the chiefe. After hir departure from Oxford, the townſmen yeelded vnto the king. Who hauing taken order for the keping of thē in obediēce, he marched toward Walingford, myndyng to beſiege the caſtle there: but beyng encountred by the way by his enemies, he was driuen backe, and ſo conſtrained to turne another way.

N. Triuet.
S. Dun.
VV. Paru.
R. Higd.
M. Par.
The Empreſſe eſcapeth out of Oxford.
Polid.
VV. Mal.
S. Dunel.
M. Paris.
Brian ſonne to the Earle of Glocester
Polid.
S. Dun.
N. Triuet.

Earle Robert hearing now that his ſiſter was eſcaped and gotten to Walingford, he haſted thither with al ſpeed to viſit hir: And as ſome write, he brought with him hir ſonne the Lord Henry, that was come with him frō the parties of beyōd the ſeas, to ſee his mother: ſo that the Empreſſe nowe beholdyng both hir ſonne and brother, receyued them with al ioy & honor that ſhe could or might preſently make them. Hir ſonne remainyng ſtyll vnder the gouernment of earle Robert, was then appoynted by him to abide within the citie of Briſtowe, and there for the ſpace of .iiij. yeres, he continued, being cōmitted to the bringyng vp of one Mathew, as his ſcholemaiſter, to inſtruct him both in knowledge of letters, and ciuilitie of behauiour.

Anno regni. 8.
1145.
The Empreſſe ſonne the Lorde Henry.

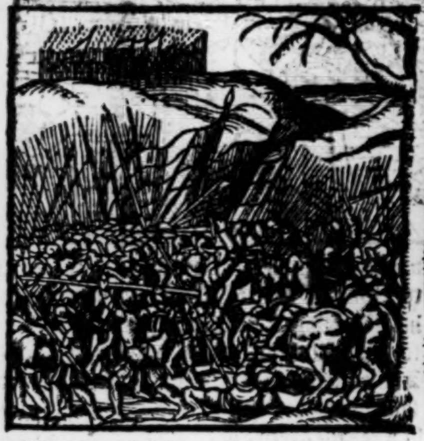
King Stephen, after the ſpoyling of ſundry Churches, the robbing and burnyng of many townes and villages by the hands of his hyred men of warre, that were for the more part Flemyngs, at length with his brother the Biſhop of Wincheſter he came with a ſtrong army of men vnto Wilton, where he toke in hande to fortifie the Nunry in ſteed of a Caſtle to reſiſt the incurſions and enterpriſes of them of Saliſbury, whiche in the behalfe of the Empreſſe had done many diſpleaſures vnto his frendes: but earle Robert vnderſtāding of his doings, got a power together with al ſpede, & the firſt day of July about ſunne ſetting came to Wilton, and ſodenly ſet fire on the towne.

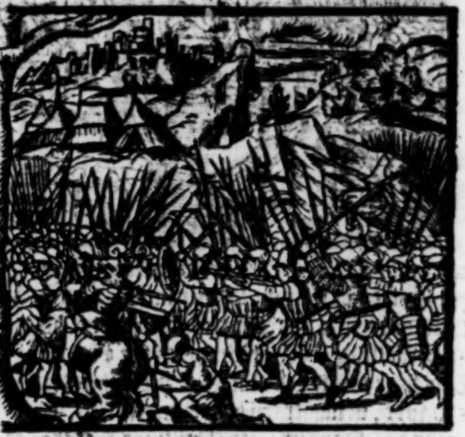
The kyng commeth to VVylton.

The king being lodged within the Nunry, and fearing no ſuch matter, after he hearde of the ſoden aſſembly of his enemies, was put in ſuch feare, that he tooke hym ſelfe diſhonourably to flight, leauyng his men, his plate, and other riches altogether behind him. The earles ſoldiers egerly aſſaile the kings people, killing and taking thẽ at their pleaſure, rifled ẏ kyngs treaſure without any reſiſtance. In this broile was Williã Marcel or Martell taken priſoner by earle Roberts men, and led to the caſtle of Walingford, where Brian the earle of Gloceſters ſonne hauyng charge of that caſtle, kept him in ſtrayt priſon, & vſed him hardly enough: and by reaſon of the opinion which men had cõceyued of his valiancy, he could not be deliuered, tyll he had payd for his ranſome: iij: C. markes, and deliuered into the Earles handes the caſtle of Shirborne. Within a few dayes after, Milo earle of Herford departed this life, whoſe death was right diſpleaſant to the empreſſe, for he was one of hir chiefe frendes and counſellors. His eldeſt ſonne Roger ſucceded hym, a Gentleman though young in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feates of armes.

VV. Parn.
S. Dun.
N. Triuet.
M. Paris.

Miles earle of Hereford deceaſeth.





Ger. Dor.

The earle of Eſſex taken,

The earle of Arundel.

N. Triuet.
VV. Paru.

Anno regni. 9.
1144.

H. Hunt.

S. Dunel.
I. Pike.
M. VVeſt.
N. Triuet.

VV. Mal.
VV. Parn.

Lincolne beſieged.

William Maundeuille earle of Eſſex, an ancient captain, and a perfect good man of warre, that ſerued the Empreſſe, was takẽ alſo at S. Albons (in the kings Court rather neceſſarily than honorably) but not without great ſlaughter of the kings ſouldiers that were at the taking of hym: in ſo much that among other the Earle of Arundel, a right valiaunt man of his handes, was ouerthrowen both horſe and man in the myddeſt of the water there, called Haliwell, by a knight called Walkeline de Orcay, ſo that the ſame Earle of Arundell was ſore bruiſed in his body, and almoſt drowned. The king was preſent hym ſelf at the taking of the ſaid Maundeuille, whom he ſpoyled of all his goods, and conſtrayned him by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings handes the Tower of London, the Caſtle of Walden, and Pleſhey. Wherupon the ſame earle being releaſed of impriſonment, through pouertie was driuen to ſeeke ſome recouery of his loſſes by ſundry ſpoiles and roberies. Firſt of all therefore he ſpoyled the Abbey of S. Albons, and after the Abbey of Ramſey, which he fortified, and defended as a fortreſſe, caſting the Monkes out of the doores, and in euery place where ſoeuer he came, he robbed the countrey afore hym, tyll at length in the midſt of his reuenge and malicious doings, he was ſhot thorow with an arow amongſt his men by a ſimple felow on foot, and ſo ended his life with cõfuſion, receyuyng worthy puniſhment for his vngodly behauior. He was a man of high valiãcy, but therwith very obſtinate againſt god, of great induſtry in worldly buſineſſe, but paſſing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of hym. Likewiſe Rob. Marmion who had attempted the ſemblable robbery & ſpoyle in the Abbey Church of Couentry, was ſlayne before the ſame Abbey by a like miſchance, for going forth to encoũter with the earle of Cheſter (that was his mortal enimy, and being approched as then towardes the city) he fell with his horſe into a ditch, which he cauſed to be couertly made for the deſtruction of his enemies: and before he could be relieued, a ſoldier of the earles part leapt to him, & there ſtroke his head frõ his ſhoulders in ſight of both the armyes. Ernulfus the ſonne of earle Geffrey Mandeuile that kept the Church of Ramſey as a fortreſſe, after his fathers death was takẽ at lẽgth and baniſhed. About the ſame tyme aduertiſement was giuen alſo that the citie of Lincoln which the earle of Cheſter had in keeping, was but ſlenderly manned. Wherupon the king cõceyuyng ſome hope to wynne the ſame, haſted forward: and cõmyng thither in the night, laid ſiege to the citie, and began to caſt a trench to ſtop them within from making ſalties forth.

The earle at the firſt being ſomwhat amaſed with the ſodaine approch of the enemie, yet

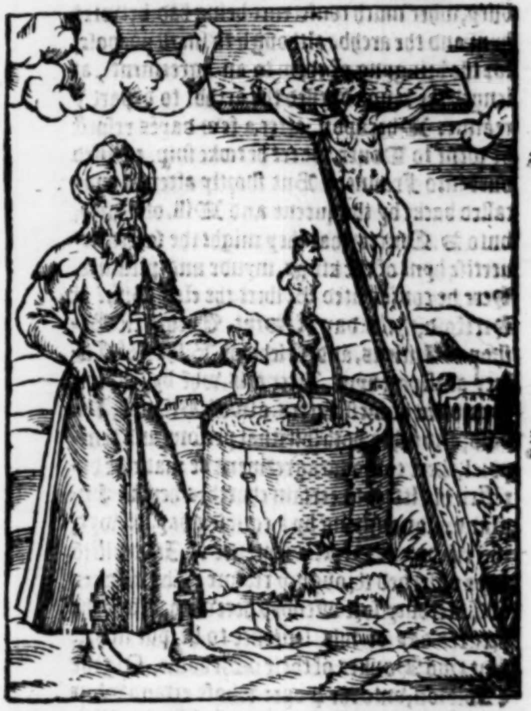
in

The ſiege rayſed.

N. Triuet.

A child crucified by the Iewes.

in beholdyng frõ the walles the maner of them without, he perceyued the rankes to be verye thinne: and therby geſſyng their ſmall number, he ſodenly iſſued forth at the gates to encoũter with them. The king abode not the geuyng of the charge, bicauſe he was but weake in deede: and ſo incõtinently fled, neither could the earle wel folow the chaſe, vpõ the like cauſe, but ſetting vpõ thoſe that were about to make the Trench, he ſlew. lxx. of the workmẽ, and then retyred into the caſtle. This yere alſo was an heynous acte committed by the Iewes at Norwich, where they put a chylde to death in crucifying hym vpon a Croſſe, to the reproche of the Chriſtian religion.



M. Paris. S. Dun. Anno regni. 10. 1145.

A caſtle built at Faringdõ.

H. Hunt.

The Kyng vvinneth it by force.

Anno regni. 11. 1146.

Ra. Higd. M. Paris. N. Triuet. S. Dun.

In the yere folowing, that is to wit, in the. x. yere of K. Stephẽs raigne, Robert earle of Gloc. and other captaines, toke in hand to build a caſtle at Farindon. But K. Ste. aſſembling an army of Londoners and other, came thither, and beſieged thẽ within. And whileſt earle Rob. and other of the Empreſſes captaynes remaynyng not farre of, taryed for a greater power to come to the aid, the kyng with ſharpe aſſaults, and not without loſſe of his men, wanne the fortreſſe: wherby then the kings ſide began to waxe the ſtrõger, and to be the more highly aduaunced. After this he came with a mighty army vnto Walingford, and there buylded a ſtrong caſtle ouer anenyſt the other caſtle which his aduerſaries held againſt him. Thither came alſo the earle of Cheſter with a gret retinue of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and ſo at length they were they accorded and made frẽds in apparance, but nothing ſo in deede on the kings behalfe. For ſhortly after the earle was craftily taken at a parliament holden at Northamptõ, by the practiſe of Stephẽ, and could not be deliuered, tyll he had ſurrendred into the kyngs handes the citie and caſtle of Lincolne, wͭ other fortreſſes perteinyng to the crowne.

R. Higd.

The vvelchmen vvaſt Cheshyre.

Ger. Dor.

The earle of Glocester departeth this life.

Anno regni. 12. 1147.

That time did the Welchmẽ deſtroy the prouince of Cheſter, but at the laſt they were diſtreſſed. This yere alſo the L. Geffrey earle of Aniou ſent. iii. Noble men into England, accõpanyed with certaine men of warre, vnto earle Rob. requeſting hym to ſende ouer his ſonne Henry into France, that he might ſee hym, and if neede required, he promiſed to ſend hym backe againe with al conuenient ſpeed. Earle Rob. was cõtented to ſatiſfie his requeſt; and ſo with a good power of men of warre brought the L. Henry vnto Warhã, wher he toke leaue of him neuer after to ſee hym in this world: for after yͤ child was trãſported ouer, earle Rob. returned ſpedily backe to the parties frõ whence he came, & there falling into an ague, he departed this life about the beginnyng of Nouember, and was buried at Briſtow. The L. Henry cõmyng to his father, was of him ioyfully receiued, and ſo remained in thoſe parties for the ſpace of two yeres and foure monethes. In the meane ſeaſon the vniuſt proceedings of K. Ste. againſt the earle of Cheſter, purchaſed him new hatred of his old aduerſaries, and like ſuſpitiõ of ſuch as were his frends, for it ſounded not a litle to his diſhonor. Euery mã therfore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it ſtood thẽ vpõ to take heed to themſelues.

S. Dunel.

K. Stephen entreth into Lincolne vvith his crovvne on his head.

But he as one that though he had atchieued ſome high exployt, in triumphãt wiſe ſhortly after entred into Lincolne in his royall robes, and with his crowne on his head, whereas it had not bin heard of, yͭ any king had done the like, of many yeers before. It is reported by ſome writers, that he did this, to take out of mens myndes a foliſh ſuperſtitious cõceit, which beleued that no K. with his crown vpõ his head, might enter that citie, without ſome miſchaunce to light vpon him: and ſo by this meanes he ſeemed to mocke their ſuperſtitious imagination. About the ſame tyme many of the Nobles of the realme perceiuyng the great want of the kings royall authority to repreſſe violent wrongs cõmitted by euyl doers, builded vpon their own groũds ſundry ſtrong caſtles & fortreſſes, either to defend thẽſelues, or out of the ſame to make relſes vpon their enemies nere adioynyng. After the departyng of the king frõ Lincolne, came yͤ earle of Cheſt. thither wͭ an army, to aſſay if he might recouer that city. But his Lieutenãt that

S. Dunel. that had the leadyng of his men, was ſlayne at the entring of the Northgate, and ſo the Earle was beaten backe and repulſed with the loſſe of many of his men: and the citizens hauing ſo got the vpper hand, reioyced not a litle for the victory. But here to ſtay a litle with the temporall affayres, it ſhal not be amiſſe to rehearſe the effect of a contention which fell alſo about this tyme betwene that king and the Archb. of Canterbury. For ſo it happened, as Geruaſius Ger. Dor. Dorobernenſis writeth, that Pope Eugenius came this yere into Fraunce, about the middeſt of Lent, and afterwarde helde a Councell at Rheimes: To the which Councell Theobald Archb. of Cāterb. with others of the Engliſh Biſhops were called. The Archbiſhop therupō aſking licence of the kyng, and not obteynyng it, founde meanes to ſteale awaye in a ſmall Boate, not without daunger of his perſon.

The caſe of this Theobald therfore ſtode now very hard: for Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter the kings brother, through enuie had ſo wrought, that if the Archbiſhop tranſported ouer without licence, he ſhould be confined of the king. Againe, he was ſure, if he came not to the Coūcel, that he ſhold be alſo ſuſpēded by the Pope. Hereupon the Archbiſhop meaning rather to offende the kyng than the Pope, got ouer, as it were ſwimmyng, rather than ſaylyng. The veſſel in which he paſſed ouer being ſo bad, for al the Ports were kept by the kings ſeruauntes, ſo that he was glad to take ſuche a boat as came next to hand. In conſideration wherof he was highly cōmended by the pope. In this Councell the Prebendaries of Yorke together with Henry Mordack then Abbot of Fountneys, preſented them ſelues, exhibityng their cōplaint againſt Williā Archb. of Yorke, for that, as they alledged, he was neither canonically choſen, nor lawfully conſecrated, but thruſt in by the kings authority. At lēgth therfore was the Archb. William conuict and depoſed, Alberte Biſhop of Hoſtia pronouncing the ſentence in this wiſe: We do decree by the apoſtolike authoritie, that William Archb. of Yorke is to be depoſed from his See, bycauſe that Stephē kyng of England, before any canonicall electiō, named hym: then for that pope Eugenius had thus depoſed the Archb. William, although not with the conſent of the more part of the Cardinalles, the Chapiter of the church of Yorke, by his cōmaundement commyng together, part of them choſe Hylary biſhop of Chicheſter, & the other part choſe Henry Murdacke Abbot of Fountency. The foreſaid Pope Eugenius, when both the elections wer ſhewed vnto hym at Auxerre, he cōfirmed the electiō of Henry Murdacke, & diſanulled yͤ other, although with no ſmal commendations of the perſon elected, & ſo cōſecrated the foreſaid Henry with his owne hands. The late nominate Archbiſh. William being thus depoſed, returned into England, & remayned at Wincheſter with K. Henry tyll the death of Pope Eugenius, folowing the counſell of the ſame Biſhop in all things. After the Councell at Rheimes was ended, the archb. Theobald returned into Englād, & cōming to Cant. was receiued wͭ great honor of the Conuēt & citizēs there. But the king remainyng as thē at London, whē he heard of it, was ſore moued in diſpleaſure, & came with great ſpeed vnto Cāterbury, wher much conference being had betwixt hym and the archb. although to ſmall purpoſe, for the bringyng of them to an agreement, at length the king cōpelled the archb. to depart yͤ realme. Wherupon, after a few dayes reſpect he went to Douer, where he toke ſhip, & paſſed ouer into Fraunce. But ſhortly after he was called backe by the queene and Will. of Ypres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the ſooner aduertiſe hym of the kings mynde and pleaſure. Here he conſecrated Gylbert the elect Biſh. of Hereford, the. v. day of Sept. Theodoric Biſhop of Amiens, and Nicholas Biſhop of Cābrey aſſiſtyng hym. After this, whē by ſending to and fro of meſſengers, aſwell Biſhops, Abbots, and other, both ſpiritual perſons and temporal, there could no agreement be made, he directed his letter to certain churches here in Englānd, pronouncing by a certaine day, to wyt, the. xij. day of Sept. a ſentence of Interdictiō to be obſerued through yͤ realme. The monkes of Cāterbury ſore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this ſentence to be put in vre, ſent two Monkes of their own houſe, Nigelle & Abſolon, vnto the Pope: whoſe errand when the Pope had vnderſtode, he cōmaunded thē to returne home, & to obey their archbiſhops ſentence in all things. In the meane tyme the archbiſhops men and tenāts were ſore oppreſſed, and his rentes and reuenues ſeaſed and taken to the kings vſe, and that before the dayes of payment. Which maner of proceedyng ſore grieued the archbiſhop: in ſo much that he departing from S. Omers, came to Grauelyng, and there taking the ſea, came ouer to a town called Goſeford, that belōged vnto Hugh Bigot Earle of Norfolke: which Earle receiued hym with great honour, and ſent him al neceſſarye prouiſion, ſo long as he remayned in his countrey. At the terme appoynted he interdicted al the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the ſentence, tyll Robert biſhop of London, Hylarie B. of Chicheſter, & Williā B. of Norwich, with many other Noble mē, came to hym vnto Framelingham in Northfolke, a caſtle apperteynyng vnto the ſaid earle, where at length an attonement was concluded betwixt him & the king: and thẽ was he brought home vnto Cãterbury with great ioy and honor. The Monkes of Canterbury, for diſobeying the Interdiction, he accuſed, truſtyng that the Pope would not heare thoſe two Monkes which they had ſent, as he dyd not in deede.

And as before it appeareth, he excõmunicated alſo all thoſe that had receiued the Sacramentes amongſt them, during the tyme of the Interdiction. Thoſe Monkes therefore being at their wits end, diſpatched with all ſpeede other two Monkes to the Pope, to obteyne an abſolution, before the archb. ſhould vnderſtand it: but they wer ſent backe againe with checks, and cõmaunded to obey their archbiſhop in all things, as the other were, which had bin there with hym before. The Monkes of Canterbury that were ſent to Rome, returnyng, came from thence to Bollongne, where they founde thoſe that wer firſt ſent thither: and ſo they all foure together came to Cant. The Pope alſo had ſent a priuie commaundement to the archbiſhop, that he ſhould duely puniſh aſwell them as the other. The archbiſhop therfore takyng counſell with his frendes, depoſed the Prior, whoſe name was Silueſter, frõ his roume of Priorſhip, and ſuſpended the Secretary of the houſe, named Will. frõ entring the queere. It was decreed alſo, that the reſidue ſhould ceaſe ſo long a tyme frõ ſaying ſeruice, as they had ſayd it before vnlawfully againſt the archbiſhops commaundement. For it was thought reaſon, that whileſt other ſang and wer mery, they ſhould keepe ſilence, which wilfully toke vpon thẽ to ſing, whileſt other held their peace and were ſtyll. They began therefore to ceaſe from ſaying diuine ſeruice, and from ringyng of their belles in the ſecond weeke of Lent: and ſo kept ſilence from the .xij. day of March, vnto the firſt day of Auguſt. The Queene wife to K. Stephen, in this meane while lay much at S. Auguſtines in Canterb. bicauſe of haſtenyng forward the buildyng of Feuerſham Abbey, which ſhe with hir huſbande K. Stephen had begon frõ the very foũdation. And bicauſe the Monkes of S. Auguſtine might not celebrate diuine ſeruice, ſhe called thither cõmonly the Monkes of Chriſtes churche, to ſay ſeruice before hir. And thus muche for that purpoſe. Now to returne againe vnto other doings.

Geruaſius
Anno regni. 13.
1148.

The L. Henry returneth into Englãd.
Anno regni. 14.
1149.

The L. Henry Fitz Empreſſe after al theſe buſineſſes returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a gret cõpany of mẽ of war both horſmen and footmen: by reaſon whereof many reuolted from K. Stephen to take part with hym: whereas before they ſate ſtyll, and wold not attẽpt any exployt againſt hym. But now encouraged with the preſence of the Lord Henry, they declared thẽ ſelues frends to hym, & enemies to the king. Immediately after his arriual, he toke with hym the earles of Cheſter and Hereford, Ranulf and Roger, and diuers other Noble men and knightes of great fame, beſide thoſe which he had brought w̃ him forth of Normãdy, and went vnto Carlile, wher he found his coſin Dauid K. of Scotlãd, of whõ he was moſt ioyfully receiued: and vpõ Whitſonday with great ſolemnity, he being not paſt xvj. yeres of age, was by the ſame kyng made knight, with diuers other young Gentlemen that were muchwhat of the ſame age. Some write, that the K. of Scots receyued an oth of hym, before he gaue to him ẏ honor of knighthood, that if he chanced to attaine vnto the poſſeſſion of the realme of England, he ſhould reſtore to the Scottes, the towne of Newcaſtle, with the cou̅trey of Northũberland, frõ the ryuer of Tweed, to the ryuer of Tyne: but whether it were ſo, or not, I am not able to make warrantiſe. Howbeit K. Ste. hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduerſary the L. Henry with the chiefeſt Lordes of the Weſt partes of England, lay thus in Carlell, he rayſed an army, and came to the citie of Yorke, where he remayned for the moſt part of the moneth of Auguſt, fearing leaſt his enemies ſhould attempt the winnyng of that citie. But after that the one part had remayned for a tyme in Carlell, & the other in Yorke, they departed from both thoſe places, without any further exployt for that ſeaſon, ſauyng that Euſtachius K. Stephens ſonne hauyng alſo lately receyued the order of knighthood, dyd much hurt in the cou̅treys that belonged to thoſe Noble men that were with the Lord Henry.

He is made knight.
R. Houe.

K. Stephen with an army commeth to Yorke.

The great raine that fel in the ſomer ſeaſon this yeare, dyd much hurt vnto the growth of corne on the ground, ſo that a great dearth folowed. And in the Wynter after, about the tenth day of December, it began to freeſe extremely, and ſo continued tyll the .xix. of February. Whereby the Ryuer of Thames was ſo froſen, that men might paſſe both on foote and horſbacke ouer the ſame.

M. Paris.
Great rayne

A ſore froſt.

In the meane while Henry Duke of Normandy, after he was returned from the kyng of Scottes, paſſed ouer againe into Normandye, about the beginnyng of Auguſt, leauyng England full of all thoſe calamities, which ciuill warre is accuſtomed to bring with it, as burnyng of houſes, kylling, robbing, and ſpoyling of people, ſo that the land was in daunger of vtter deſtructiõ, by reaſon of that preſent diſ-

Anno regni. 15.
1150.

corde

cord betwixt the parties.

This yeare the. xxiij. of Februarye, Galfridus Monumetenſis, otherwiſe called Galfridus Arthurius, that turned the Britiſh hiſtorie into Latine, was conſecrated biſhop of S. Aſaph, by Theobald archb. of Canterbury, at Lambeth, William Biſhop of Norwich, and Walter Biſhop of Rocheſter aſſiſting hym.

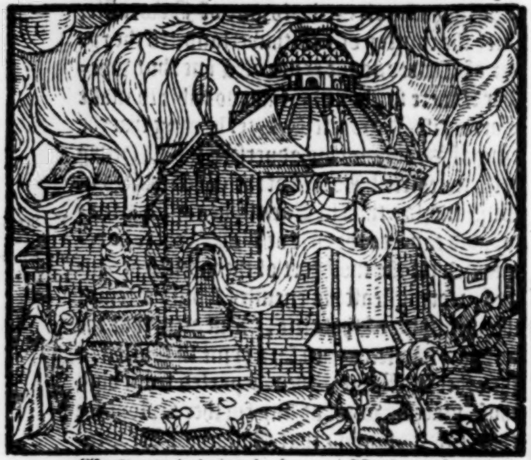
Ger. Dor.

The earle of Aniou father to Hẽry Fitzempreſſe departeth thys life

Moreouer, this yeare, as ſome writers haue recorded, Geffrey Earle of Aniou, huſbande to the Empreſſe Mauld, departed this life, on the vij. day of Sept. leauyng his ſonne Henry his only heyre & ſucceſſor in the eſtates of the Duchy of Normandy & Countie of Aniou. The body of ẏ ſaid earle was buried at Mans, with great funerall pompe: his. iij. ſonnes Henry, Geffrey, & Williã being preſent.

VVorceter aſſaulted.

King Ste. alſo aſſaulting the fayre citie of Worceter wͭ a great power of men of warre tooke it, & conſumed it wͭ fire, but the caſtle he could not wyn.



This city belonged to earle Waleran de Melent, at that ſeaſon: for K. Ste. to his own hinderance had giuẽ it to hym. After that the men of war had diuided the ſpoyle amõgſt thẽ, they came back, & paſſing through the landes of their enimies, they got great booties & ſpoyles, which they alſo tooke away with thẽ, finding none to reſiſt thẽ in their iorney.

Anno regni. 16.

1151.

Geruaſius Dorobern.

A Synode at London.

In the yere folowing Theobald archb. of Cant. and Legate to the See apoſtolike, held a general Cõucel at London in the Lent ſeaſon, where K. Ste. himſelfe with his ſonne Euſtachius, & other the peeres of the realme wer preſent. This Cõucel was full of appeales, cõtrary to that had bin vſed in this land, tyl the tyme that Hẽry B. of Wincheſt. to his own harme (whileſt he was likewiſe the Popes Legate) had by cruel intruſion brought thẽ in, & now at this Councel he was hym ſelfe thriſe appealed to the hearing of ẏ Popes own Cõſiſtory. After this K. Ste. in the ſame yere eftſoones brake into the citie of Worceter, and whẽ he could not the laſt time wyn the caſtle, he now endeuored wͭ al his whole force to take it. But whẽ thoſe within made valiãt reſiſtãce, he raiſed two caſtles againſt it, and leauing in the ſame certaine of his Nobles, to continue the ſiege, he him ſelfe returned home. Thus as ye ſee, the kings propertie was to attẽpt many things valiãtly, howbeit he proceded in thẽ oftentymes very ſlowly: but now by the policie of the earle of Leiceſter, thoſe ij. caſtles which the kyng had rayſed to beſiege the other caſtle, wer ſhortly after deſtroyed: and ſo the beſieged were deliuered from daunger.

The earle of Leiceſter brother to the earle of Melent.

This Earle of Leiceſter was brother to the Earle of Melent. And thus the kings purpoſed intention and painfull trauayle on that behalfe, came to none effect.

Anno. regni. 17.

1152.

The duke of Normandy Fitzempreſſe maryeth the Ducheſſe of Aquitaine.

In the meane while Henry duke of Normandy married Elianor Duches of Guyen or Aquitaine, lately diuorſed frõ the French K. & ſo in right of hir he became duke of Aquitain, &

Earle

The French king maketh warre agaynst the Duke of Normandie.

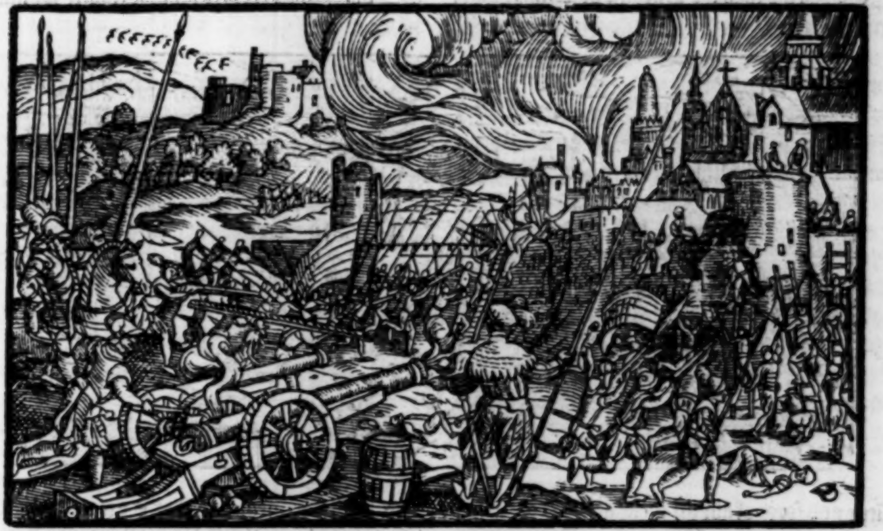
Earle of Poictou, for ſhe was the onely daughter of William Duke of Guian, & Erle Poictou, and by hir father created his ſole and lawfull heyre. The French king was nothing content with this mariage, inſomuch that he made ſore warre vpon Duke Henrie, ioyning himſelfe in league wyth king Stephen, and his ſonne Euſtace, and alſo with the Lorde Geffrey, brother to Duke Henry, ſo that the ſayde Henrie was conſtrayned to deferre his iourney into Englande, and to turne his forces to defende his Countreyes and ſubiects on that ſide of the ſea. For whereas he was readie at the mouth of the ryuer of Barbe to tranſport ouer into Englande, ſomewhat after the feaſt of the Natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt, the French king, with Euſtace K. Stephens ſonne, Robert Earle of Perche, Henry Earle of Champaigne, and Geffrey brother to Duke Henrie, hauing aſſembled a mightie armie, came and beſieged the Caſtell of Newmerch, and ſent forth the Lorde Geffrey with a ſtrong power to winne the Caſtel of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertiſed herof, departing from the place where he ſoiourned, haſted forth to ſuccour his people that were beſieged, but the Caſtell of Newmarch was deliuered to the Frenche King through treaſon of thoſe that had it in keeping, before the Duke could come to their reſcue. Whereupon the ſayd Duke hauing knowledge by the way that hee ſhoulde come to late thither, hee encamped firſt vpon the ſyde of the Riuer of Andelle, and waſted a great part of the Countrey of Veuxin, or Veulqueſine, ſurnamed *le Normant*, whiche lyeth betwixt the riuers of Epte, and Andelle. This countrey belonged ſomtime to Normandy, but Geffrey Erle of Aniou the Dukes father had reſigned it to the French king, to the ende he ſhould not ayde king Stephen. The Duke burned alſo the Caſtels of Baſcheruille, Chitrey, and Stirpiney. Alſo a Caſtell that belonged to Hugh de Gourney called Fert, with diuerſe other. And aboute the ende of Auguſt he left his townes in Normandie ſufficiently furniſhed with garriſons of ſoldiers, & went into Aniou, where he beſieged the caſtel de Monte Sotelli, till hee had taken it, and all thoſe that were within it, amongſt whome was the Lorde thereof named William. The French king on the other ſide entring into Normandy, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or ſhortly after that Duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he toke the towne & caſtell of Vernon.

The Caſtell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Veulqueſine, or Veuxin.

he Caſtell of ernon.

mon Dun.



Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in France, King Stephen woulde haue cauſed the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury & diuerſe other biſhops, whõ for that purpoſe he had aſſembled, to crown, annoynt, and confirme his ſonne Euſtace king ouer the realme of England, but the Archbiſhops & the reſt of the Biſhops refuſed ſo to do, bicauſe the Pope by his letters ſent to the Archbiſhop, had cõmaunded him to the contrarie, that is, that hee ſhould in no wiſe crown the kings ſonne, bycauſe his father king Stephen had got poſſeſſion of the land agaynſt his othe receyued in behalfe of the Empreſſe. The father and ſonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed moſt of the biſhops to warde, ſeeking by threates and menacings to bring them to their purpoſe. The Biſhops alſo were in no ſmall perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king ſeemed neuer to fauor Churchmẽ greatly, bycauſe of their ſtrength, as before tyme by his rigor vſed againſt the biſhops of Saliſburie and Lincolne it had well appeared, and yet would not theſe men yeeld to his pleaſure: whereupon although they were ſet at libertie, they were neuertheleſſe depriued of their temporall poſſeſſions, which notwithſtanding afterwards vpõ the kings own motion were reſtored again vnto thẽ. Howbeit the Archb. of Canterbury perſiſting ſtill

he Pope is aynſt it.

The Biſhops are threatned.

Ger. Do.

in his opinion was forſaken of diuerſe of the Biſhops whiche through feare durſt not ſtande againſt their princes pleaſure. But the Archbiſhop when he perceiued how the matter went, and that all the blame was lyke to light and reſt on hys ſhoulders, he got himſelfe by a maruellous hap ouer the Thames, and with ſpeede ryding to Douer, there paſſed the ſea, ſo to auoyde both the father and ſonnes reuengeful diſpleaſure. Wherevpon the king ſeaſed into his hands all the landes & poſſeſſions that belonged to the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop of Caunterbury flieth out of the realme.

Mat. Paris.
Ger. Do.

This yeare Queene Mawde, wife to King Stephen, departed this lyfe at Hangey Caſtell, that belonged to Earle Alberike de Veer, aboute the thirde day of May, and ſhe was buried in the Abbay of Feuerſam, which ſhe with hir huſbande king Stephen had lately founded. Alſo through great and immoderate raine that fel in the Sommer, the growing of corne was ſore hindred, and after followed a great death of people.

The battell of Monadmore.

This yeare was the Battaile of Monadmore fought in Ireland, where the flower and chiefeſt perſonages of Moũſter and Leyniſter were ſlain. Moreouer one John, a Monke of Sagium, was made the ſeconde Biſhop of the Ile of Manne. The firſt Biſhop that was there inſtituted hight Wimonde a Monke of Sauinie, who for ſome maner of his importunate miſdemeaner had hys eyes put out and was expulſed.

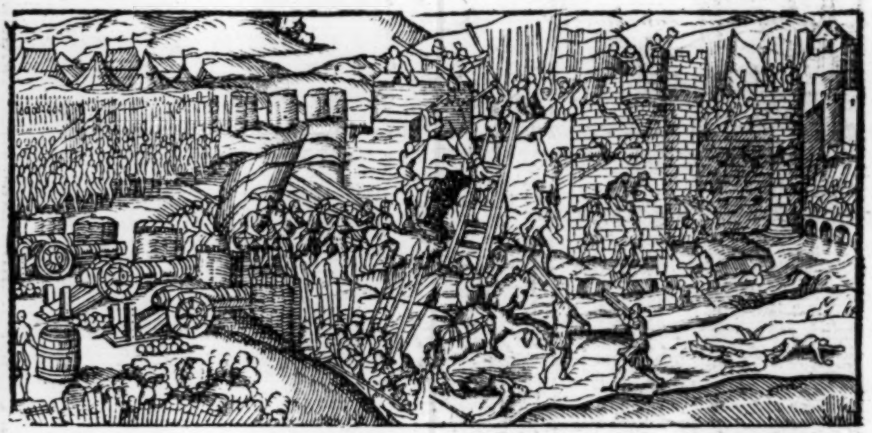
Mat. Par.
The ſecond and alſo the firſt Biſhops of Man.

Hen. Marle.

John Papirio a Cardinall, beeing ſent from the Pope as Legate into Ireland, ordeyned there foure Archebiſhoppes, one at Dublyn, an other at Ardmach, the thirde at Caſſelles, and the fourth at Connach.

The Biſhop of Dublyn made Archbiſhop.

The ſea of Dublin he channged into an Archbiſhops ſea, one Gregorie at that time ſitting in the ſame: to whome hee gaue the firſt and chiefe Pall, and appoynted the Churche of the bleſſed Trinitie to be the Metropolitane Church. As this Cardinal paſſed through England he receyued an othe of fidelitie vnto king Stephen.



The Caſtel of Newburie wonne.

The ſame yere alſo king Stephen wanne by ſiege and force of aſſault the Caſtell of Newbery not far diſtant from Wincheſter. And this done he went to Walingforde, and beſieging the Caſtell, he buylded at the entring of the bridge a fortreſſe to ſtoppe them within from iſſuing forth, and likewiſe from receyuing anye reliefe or ſuccours by their friendes abrode. The defendants perceyuing them ſelues ſo hardly layde vnto, ſent to the duke of Normandie, in whoſe name they kept that Caſtell, that he woulde eyther ſuccour them, or elſe giue them licence to yeeld the Caſtell to the king.

Duke Henry Fitz Empreſſe returneth into England.

Herevpon Duke Henry hauing atchieued his buſineſſe on the further ſide the ſea, beganne to be kindled with a feruent deſire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recouery of that kingdom, and ſo with three thouſand footmen, and ſeuen ſcore horſmen, with al ſpeed poſſible he tranſported ouer into England, where hee landed about the .xij. day in Chriſtmaſſe. He was no ſooner arriued, but that a greate number of ſuch as tooke part with his mother came flocking in vnto him. Wherevpon being now furniſhed with a great and puiſſaunt armie, hee marched forth vnto Malmeſburie, where in the Caſtell was a great garriſon of ſouldiers placed by king Stephen.

Ger. Do.

He beſegeth the Caſtell of Malmsbury.

Mat. Paris.
Polidor.

Duke Henrie planted his ſiege aboute thys Caſtell the thirtenth day of Januarie, and enforced himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power to winne it.

King Stephen contrayneth him to rayſe his ſiege.

But King Stephen hearing of his enimyes arriuall, with all haſt poſſible gotte his armie on foote, and comming ſodainly towardes the place, where his enimyes were, hee cauſed Duke Henrie to rayſe hys ſiege, and following after, offred him battaile.

But Duke Henrye knowing that hys enimyes were farre more in number than he was at that preſent, and alſo conceyuing with himſelfe that by prolonging time his owne power woulde encreaſe, abſteined from fighting & kept him within the cloſure of his camp. Thus haue ſome written.

Wil. Par.

Other authors there be whiche write, that Henrie kept himſelf in deed within his campe, and refuſed to giue battaile, but yet remoued not his ſiege till the king departed from thence, after hee ſaw he could not haue his purpoſe, and then did duke Henrie winne the Caſtell of Malmeſburie, or rather the Maſter tower or chiefe dungeon of that Caſtell.

Sim. Dunel.
Ger. Do.

For as Simon of Durham writeth, he had wonne by aſſault the other partes and lymmes of the Caſtel before king Stephen came to remoue him. This tower that thus helde out, was in the keeping of one captaine Jordan, who eſcaping forth came to the king, enforming him in what ſtate he had left his men within the tower: whereupon the King aſſembling all the puiſſaunce hee coulde make, ſet forwarde, and comming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purpoſing to rayſe the ſiege, or to fight with hys enimyes (if they woulde abide battaile) marched forth towardes Malmeſburie. But vpon his approche to the Dukes campe the day following hys comming thyther, there roſe ſuche an hideous tempeſt of wynde and rayne, beating full in the faces of King Stephens people, that God ſeemed to fight for the Duke, who for number of people was thought to weake to deale with the ſtrong and puiſſaunt army of the king:

A ſore ſtorme.

but where the ſtorme was on his backe, King Stephens menne had it ſo extremelye in theyr faces, that they were not able to holde their weapons in theyr handes, ſo that hee perceyued hee myght not paſſe the Ryuer that ranne betwixt the armyes: whereuppon conſtrayned in that ſort through the violent rage of that colde and wette weather, he returned to London full euill apayed, in that hee coulde not ſatiſfie hys purpoſe at that preſent.

The Tower that Duke Henrie had ſtreightly beſieged, immediately herewith was to hym rendred, and then making prouiſion for vitayles and other things, to the reliefe of them that kepte the Caſtell of Walingforde, hee haſted thither, and fynding no reſiſtaunce by the way, eaſily accompliſhed his enterpriſe.

The caſtell of Walingford.

There were dyuerſe Caſtels thereaboutes in the Countrey furniſhed with garniſōs of the kings ſoldiers, but they kept themſelues cloſe, & durſt not come abrode to ſtop his paſſage. Shortly after he beſieged the Caſtell of Cranemers, and caſt a trenche aboute it, ſo as his people within the caſtell of Walingford might haue liberty to come forth at their pleaſure:

The Caſtell of Cranemers.

but as for thoſe within the caſtell of Cranemers, they were ſo hardly holden in, that there was no way for them to iſſue abrode. The king aduertiſed hereof, got all his puiſſance togither, and came right terribly forward toward D. Henries camp. But he ſhewing no token of feare, cauſed forthwith the trenche wherewith hee had encloſed his campe to be caſt downe, & leauing the ſiege, came into the fields with his army put in order of battel, meaning to trie the matter by dint of ſworde, although he had not the like number of mē to the which the K. had in his army. The kings army perceyuing the enimies ſo to come in the face of them, was ſtriken with a ſodein feare: neuertheleſſe he himſelfe being of a good courage, commaunded his people to march forward agaynſt their aduerſaries. But herewith certaine noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning ſought to treat an agreement betwixt them, ſo that an abſtinence of war was graunted, and by compoſition the Caſtell which the king had built, & the duke beſieged, was razed to the ground. The K. & the duke alſo came to an enterview & cōmunication togither, a riuer running betwixt them.

Mat. Pari.
Ger. Do.
Euſtace king Stephens ſon.

Whereas ſome write they fell to agreement, K. Stephen vndertaking to raze the Caſtel of Cranemers himſelfe, and ſo laying armor aſide for that time they departed aſunder. But Euſtace king Stephens ſonne was ſore offended herewith, and reprouing his father for concluding ſuch an agreement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his way toward Cambridgeſhire, whiche countrey he ment to ouerrunne, he came to the Abbey of Burie, & vpon Saint Laurence day, cauſed all the corne in the Countrey about, and namely that which belonged to the ſayd Abbay, to be ſpoyled and brought into a Caſtell which he had in keeping not far frō thence.

Euſtace king Stephens ſon, and Simon Earle of Northamton, depart this life both in one weeke.

But as he ſat down to meat the ſame day vpō receiuing the firſt morſel he fell mad (as writers haue reported) & miſerably ended his life. The ſame week of a like diſeaſe Simon Erle of Northāpton departed this world, & ſo two of the chiefeſt aduerſaries which Duke Henrie had, were rid out of the way. Euſtace was buried at Feuerſam in Kent, & erle Simon at Northāpton.

The Earle of Cheſter deceaſſeth.

About the ſame time alſo that noble & valiāt erle of Cheſter called Ranulf departed this life, a mā of ſuch ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, yͭ vneth might death make him to yeeld, or ſhewe any token of feare. He was poiſoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell.

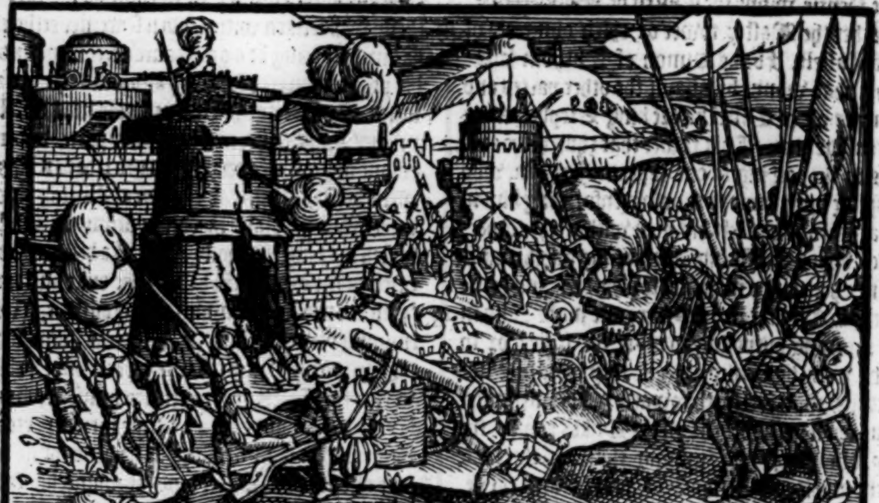
After him ſucceeded his ſon Hugh, a man likewiſe of paſſing ſtrēgth and vertue. And although Erle Ranulf fauored the part of duke Henrie, yet in theſe late yeares hee did but little for him, and therfore it was thought that the death of this erle was not ſo great a loſſe to the duke, as the deathes of Euſtace, erle Simon, & other the kings friends deceaſing about the ſame time ſeemed to further him, ſo yͭ his part became dayly ſtronger, and the kings to decay. About yͤ ſame time alſo yͤ caſtels of Reeding & Beertwel were deliuered to D. Hē.

Mat. Par.
Rob. Mont:

Stamford wa
Simon Dun.
Ger. Dor

Gipſwich or Ipſwich beſieged.

and the Lady Gundreda counteſſe of Warwike did driue out of the Caſtel there the ſouldiers that helde it for K. Stephen, & deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. Moreouer the duches Elynor, wife to Hẽry Fitz Empreſſe, was brought to bed this yeare of hir firſt borne ſon, whō they named William, after the maner of the auncient dukes of Aquitain. And thus things came to paſſe in ſundry places with ſo good ſucceſſe as duke Henry could wiſh, wherevpon meaning to follow the ſteps of proſperous fortune, he marched forth vnto Stāford, the towne he toke at his firſt cōming thereunto, & then laid ſiege to the caſtel. They that had it in keeping ſent meſſengers vnto K. Stephē, requiring him to come to their reſcue, but he yͤ ſame time had laid ſiege to yͤ caſtell of Gipſwich, which Hugh Bigot kept agaynſt him, and bycauſe hee woulde not depart from that ſiege till he had the caſtel deliuered into his hands (which came at the laſt to paſſe) in the meane time the caſtel of Stāford was yeelded vnto Duke Henry, who immediately thervpō departed from Stamford Eaſtward, meaning to come to yͤ ſuccors of his friẽds beſieged at Gipſwich or Ipſwich (as it is cōmonly called) not vnderſtanding as yet that they had ſurrendred the hold: but getting knowledge by the way what was happened, he turned backe & marched ſtreight to Notingham. The towne he eaſily got, for they within the Caſtell had ſet it on fire. therefore he beſieged the Caſtel ſtanding vpon yͤ point of a ſteep craggie rock. It was furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon of men, and al things neceſſarie for defence, ſo that it could not eaſily be wonne. Wherfore Duke Henrie after he had aſſayed all the wayes how to take it, and ſaw that he could not preuail, minded not to loſe any more time about it: but rayſing from thence he goeth abrode to take other places into his poſſeſſion, & finally came to his mother, whē lying at Walingford. K. Stephen in this mean time being ſtrong in the field, ſought for time & place to haue Henrie at ſome aduantage, whoſe yong yeares as yet not hauing taſted any miſfortune, hee thought would raſhly attempt ſome vnaduiſed enterpriſe. But whereas the realme of Englande had beene now many yeares miſerably turmoyled with ciuil warre, honeſt matrones and mens wiues violated, maydes and virgines rauiſhed, and Churches ſpoyled, townes and vyllages robbed, whole flockes and heards of ſheepe and beaſtes deſtroied, wherein the ſubſtance of the realme chiefly conſiſteth, and hereto men without number ſlaine and made away, it pleaſed the goodneſſe of almightie God at length to deliuer the lande of ſuche miſeries, which were notified to all Countreys about, that ſore lamented the ſame.



Nic. Triuet:

Notingham.

Duke Henrie reyſeth his ſiege from Notingham.
Polidor

The miſerie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.

And whereas king Stephen was the cauſe of all the troubles, in hauing vſurped an other mannes rightfull inheritaunce, it pleaſed God to moue his hart now at lẽgth to couet peace which he had euer before abhorred. The cauſe that moued him chiefly to chaunge his former purpoſe, was for that his ſonne Euſtace by ſpeedie death was taken out of this worlde (as before yee haue heard) which loſſe ſeemed great not onely to the father, but alſo to al thoſe Lords and other which had euer taken his parte, bycauſe he was a yong man ſo well lyked of all men, that he was iudged to be borne to all honour. But his wife Cōſtance aboue meaſure tooke his death moſte ſorowfully, and the more indeede for that ſhee had brought forth no iſſue by him, wherevpon ſhe was ſhortly after ſente honourably home to hir father King Lewes with hir dower, & other rich and princely gyftes.

The Ladie Conſtance
to Euſtace,
home.

King Stephen therefore ſeeing him depriued of his onely ſonne, vnto whome hee mynded to leaue the kingdome which he ſo earneſtly ſought

to

eſtabliſh to him by warlyke trauaile, and that againſt the French kings ayde woulde not bee ſo readie as heretofore it had beene (wherevpon he much ſtayed) nowe that the bondes of affinitie were aboliſhed: he began then at length, although not immediatly vpõ his ſonnes deceaſſe, to withdrawe his minde from fantaſying the warre, and enclyned it altogither to peace, which inclination being perceyued, thoſe Nobles that were glad to ſee the ſtate of their Countrey quieted, did theyr beſt to further it, namely the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theobald, trauailed earneſtly to bring the princes to ſome agreement, now talking with the king, now ſending to the duke, & vſing al meanes poſſible to make thē both at one. The Biſhop of Wincheſter alſo that had cauſed all the trouble, vpon conſideration of the great calamities wherewith the land was moſt miſerably afflicted, began to wiſh an end thereof. Wherevpon the lordes ſpirituall & temporall were called togither at Wincheſter about the latter end of Nouēber, that they might alſo with their conſentes confirme that which the king and duke ſhould conclude vpon.

King Stephen began to encline his mind to peace.

Mat. Par.

Ger. Dor.

An aſſembly of Lordes at Wincheſter.

Thus was there a publike aſſemble made in the citie of Wincheſter, whither alſo duke Henrie came, and being ioyfully receyued of the king in the Biſhops Palace, they were made friendes, the king admitting the duke for his ſonne, & the duke the king for his father. And ſo the agreemēt which through the carefull ſuite of the Archbiſhop of Cāterburie had beene with ſuch diligence to good effect laboured, was now confirmed.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and the duke.

The chiefe articles whereof were theſe:

That king Stephen during his naturall life, ſhould remaine king of England, & that Hērie the Empreſſes ſonne ſhoulde enioy the dukedome of Normandie, and further be proclamed heyre apparant to ſucceede in the kingdome and gouernment of Englande, after the deceaſſe of Stephen. Moreouer, ſuch noblemen & other which had taken either the one partie or the other during the time of the ciuill warres, ſhould be in no daunger for the ſame, but enioy theyr lands, poſſeſſions & liuings, according to their auncient rightes and titles. There was alſo conſideration had of a ſonne which King Stephen had, named William, who though hee were very yong, was yet appoynted to ſweare fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heyre to the crowne. The ſame William had the Citie of Norwich, & diuerſe other landes aſſigned him for the maintenance of his eſtate, & that by the conſent and agreement of duke Hērie his adopted brother. Moreouer it was concluded, that the king ſhould reſume & take into his handes againe all thoſe portions and parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen away, or were otherwiſe vſurped by any maner of perſon, and that all thoſe poſſeſſions which by any intruſion had beene violently taken frō the right owners ſith the dayes of king Henrie, ſhoulde bee again reſtored to them that were rightly poſſeſſed in the ſame by the dayes of the aforeſayd king.

Some writers haue recorded, that duke Hērie ſhould preſently by this agreement enioy halfe the realm of Englande.

Moreouer it was agreed, that all thoſe Caſtels which contrarie to all reaſon and good order had beene made and builded by any maner of perſon in the dayes of King Stephen, ſhoulde be ouerthrowne and caſt downe, whiche in number were founde to bee. xj. hundred and fiftene. The king alſo vndertooke to reforme all ſuch miſorders as the warre had brought in, as to reſtore fermers to their holdings, to repayre the decayed buyldings, to ſtore the paſtures and leaſſues with catell, the hilles with ſheepe, to ſee that the Cleargie might enioy theyr due quietneſſe, and not to be oppreſſed with any vndue exactions, to place Sheriffes where they had beene accuſtomed, to beare rule with inſtructions giuen to them, to deale vprightly in cauſes, ſo as offenders might not eſcape through brybes or any other reſpect of friendſhip, but that euery man might receyue according to right and equitie, that which was his due. That Souldiers ſhoulde conuert theyr ſwords (as Eſay ſayth) into Culters and plough ſhares, theyr Speares into Mattockes, and ſo returne from the campe to the plough, and ſuche as were wont to keepe watche in the night ſeaſon might now ſleepe and take theyr reſt without any daunger. That the huſbande man might bee relieued of all vexation, and that Marchant men and occupiers might enioy theyr trade of occupying to theyr aduauncement, one kind and maner of ſiluer coyne to runne through the lande, ſo as the war that had continued now for the ſpace of. xvij. yeares, might in this ſort bee brought to ende and fully pacified.

Mat. Par.
Caſtels to be raſed in number. 1115.

Theſe things being thus concluded at Wincheſter, the king tooke the duke with him to London, doing to him all the honour he coulde deuiſe. The news wherof being ſpred abrode, euery good man that was the childe of peace reioyced thereat. And thus through the great mercie of our God, peace was reſtored vnto the decayed ſtate of this realme of England. Theſe things being thus accompliſhed with great ioy and tokens of loue, K. Stephen and his new adopted ſonne duke Henry tooke leaue either of other, appoynting ſhortly after to meete againe at Oxford, there to perfect euerie article of their agreement, which was thus accorded a little before Chriſtmas.

And for the more perfect vnderſtanding of the ſame agreemēt, I haue thought good to ſet down the verie tenor of the charter thereof made by king Stephen, as I haue copied it and tranſlated it into Engliſhe oute of an autentike booke conteyning the olde Lawes of the Saxon and Daniſhe Kinges, in the ende wherof the ſame Charter is exemplifyed, whiche booke is remayning with the right worſhipfull William Fleetewoode Eſquire, nowe Recorder of London.

The Charter of King Stephen, of the pacification of the troubles betwixt him and Henrie Luke of Normandie:

STephen king of Englande, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, Iuſticers, Sherifes, Barons, and all his faythfull ſubiectes of England ſendeth greeting. Know ye that I K. Stephen, haue ordeyned Henry Duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my ſucceſſour, and heyre of the kingdome of England, and ſo haue I giuen and graunted to him & his heyres the kingdome of England. For the which honor, gift and cōfirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to mee, and with a corporall othe hath aſſured mee, that he ſhall bee faythfull and loyall to mee, and ſhall to his power preſerue my life and honour: and I on the other ſyde ſhall mainteyne and preſerue him as my ſonne and heyre in all things to my power, and ſo farre as by any wayes or meanes I may. And William my ſon hath done his lawfull homage, and aſſured his fidelitie vnto the ſayd Duke of Normandie, and the Duke hath graunted to him to holde of him all thoſe tenements and holdings which I helde before I atteyned to the poſſeſſion of the Realme of Englande, whereſoeuer the ſame be in England, Normandie, or elſe where, and whatſoeuer he receyued with the daughter of Earle Warrenne, eyther in Englande or Normandie, and likewyſe whatſoeuer apperteyneth to thoſe honours: and the Duke ſhall putte my ſonne William and hys menne that are of that honour in full poſſeſſion and ſeaſine of all the landes, Boroughes and rentes, whiche the Duke thereof nowe hath in his Demaine, and namely of thoſe that belong to the honour of the Earle Warrenne, and namely of the Caſtelles of Bellencumber, and Mortimer, ſo that Reginalde de Warrenne ſhall haue the keeping of the ſame Caſtelles of Bellencumbre, and of Mortimer, if hee wyll: and therevppon ſhall gyue Pledges to the Duke, and if he wyll not haue the keeping of thoſe Caſtelles, then other liege men of the ſayde Earle Warrenne whome it ſhall pleaſe the Duke to appoynte, ſhall by ſure Pledges and good ſuretye keepe the ſayde Caſtelles.

William ſon to king Stephen.

Earle of Warrenne.

The Caſtels Bellen Cumber, and Mortimer.

And moreouer the Duke ſhall delyuer vnto him according to my will and pleaſure the other Caſtelles whiche are belonging vnto the Earledome of Mortaigne by ſafe cuſtodie and pledges, ſo ſoone as he conueniently may, ſo as all the pledges are to bee reſtored vnto my ſonne free, ſo ſoone as the Duke ſhall haue the Realme of Englande in poſſeſſion. The augmentation alſo whiche I haue gyuen vnto my ſonne William, he hath likewiſe graunted the ſame to hym, to witte, the Caſtell and Towne of Norwiche, wyth ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, ſo as the rentes of Norwiche bee accounted as parcell of the ſame ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, and all the Countie of Norffolke, the profites and rentes excepted whiche belong to Churches, Biſhoppes, Abbottes, Earles, and namely alſo excepted, the thirde pennie whereof Hugh Bygot is Earle, ſauing alſo and reſeruing the Kings royall iuriſdiction for adminiſtration of iuſtice. Alſo the more to ſtrengthen my fauour and loue to hymwardes, the Duke hath gyuen and graunted vnto my ſayde ſonne whatſoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuenſey. And moreouer the Caſtell and Towne of Peuenſey, and the ſeruice of Faremouth beſyde the Caſtell and Towne of Douer, and whatſoeuer apperteyneth to the honour of Douer.

The Erledom of Mortaigne.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot.

Richer de Egle.

The Duke hath alſo confyrmed the Churche of Feuerſham wyth the appurtenaunces and all other things gyuen or reſtored by mee vnto other Churches, hee ſhall confyrme by the counſayle and aduice of holye Churche and of mee. The Earles and Barons that belong to the Duke whiche were neuer my leeges, for the honoure whiche I haue done to theyr Maiſter, they haue nowe done homage and ſworne feaultie to mee, the couenauntes alwayes ſaued betwixte mee and the ſayde Duke. The other whiche hadde before done homage to mee, haue ſworne feaultie to mee as to theyr ſoueraigne Lorde. And if the Duke ſhoulde breake and goe from the premyſſes, then are they altogyther to ceaſſe from doyng hym anye ſeruice tyll hee refourme hys myſdoings. And my Sonne alſo is to conſtrayne hym thereto, according to the aduice of holye Churche, if the Duke ſhall chaunce to goe from the couenauntes afore mentioned. My Earles and Barons alſo haue done theyr liege homage vnto the Duke, ſauyng theyr faythe to mee ſo long as I liue, and ſhall holde the Kingdome, wyth lyke condition, that if I doe breake and goe from the premyſſed couenauntes, that then they maye ceaſſe from doing to me any ſeruice, till the tyme I haue refourmed that which I haue done amyſſe.

The Church of Feuerſham.

The Citizens alſo of Cityes, and thoſe perſones that dwell in Caſtelles, whiche I haue in my Demayne, by my commaundemente haue done Homage, and made aſſuraunce to the Duke, ſauyng the fidelitye whiche they owe to me during my lyfe, and ſo long as I ſhall holde the Kingdome. They whiche keepe the Caſtell of Wallingforde haue done theyr Homage to mee, and haue gyuen to mee Pledges for the obſeruing of theyr fidelitie. And I haue made vnto the Duke ſuche aſſurance by the coũſaile and aduice of holy Church, of the Caſtelles and ſtrengthes whiche I helde, that when I ſhall departe this lyfe, the Duke thereby may not runne into any loſſe or impechment, whereby to bee debarred from the Kingdome. The Tower of London, and the Fortreſſe of Windſor, by the counſaile and aduice of holy Churche are deliuered vnto the Lorde Rycharde de Lucie, ſafely to be kept, which Richarde hath taken an othe, and hath delyuered his ſonne in pledge to remayne in the handes and cuſtodie of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, that after my deceaſſe he ſhall deliuer the ſame Caſtels vnto the Duke. Likewyſe by the counſell and aduice of holy Churche, Roger de Buſſey keepeth the Caſtell of Oxforde, and Iordaine de Buſſey the Caſtell of Lyncolne, whiche Roger and Iordaine haue ſworne, and thereof haue delyuered pledges into the handes of the Archebiſhop, that if I ſhall chaunce to depart this lyfe, they ſhall render the ſame Caſtelles vnto the Duke without impeachement. The Biſhoppe of Wyncheſter hath alſo giuen his fayth in the handes of the Archebiſhop of Canterburie, that if I chance to depart this lyfe, he ſhall render vppe vnto the Duke the Caſtelles of Wyncheſter, and the Fortreſſe of Hampton. And if any of them vnto whõ the cuſtodie of theſe Fortreſſes ſhall bee committed, fortune to die, or otherwiſe to depart from his charge, an other ſhall be appoynted to the keeping of the ſame Fortreſſe, before he ſhall depart forth therof by the counſaile and aduice of holy church. And if any of thoſe perſones that haue any Caſtelles or Fortreſſes belonging to me in theyr cuſtodie ſhall bee founde diſobedient, and rebell, I and the Duke ſhall conſtraine him to ſatiſfie our wyll and pleaſure, not leauing hym in reſt till he be ſo conſtrayned. The Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Realme of England, and the Abbots alſo, haue by my commaundement ſworne fealtie vnto the Duke, and the Biſhops and Abbots that hereafter ſhall be made and aduaunced here within the Realme of Englande ſhall likewiſe ſweare fealtie to him. The Archbiſhops alſo and Biſhops on either part, haue vndertaken that if either of vs ſhall goe from the foreſayde couenauntes, they ſhall ſo long chaſtice the partie offending with the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, tyll he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obſerue the ſayd couenants. The mother alſo of the Duke, and his wife, and his brethren and ſubiectes whom he may procure, ſhall likewiſe aſſure the premiſſes. In matters belonging to the ſtate of the Realme, I ſhall worke by the Dukes aduice. And throughe all the Realme of Englande, as well in that part whiche belongeth to the Duke, as in that whiche belongeth to mee, I ſhall ſee that regall Iuſtice bee executed. Theſe beeing witneſſes, Theobalde Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, Henry of Wyncheſter, Robert of Exceſter, Robert of Bathe, Goceline of Saliſburie, Robert of Lyncolne, Hylarie of Ciceſter, William of Norwiche, Richarde of London, Nigell of Elie, Gylbert of Hereforde, Iohn of Worceſter, Walter of Cheſter, Walter of Rocheſter, Geffray of Saint Aſaph, Biſhoppes: Robert Priour of Bermondſey, Othon Knight of the Temple, William Earle of Ciceſter, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, William Earle of Glouceſter, Reynalde of Cornewall, Baldwyn de Toning, Roger de Hereforde, Hugh Bygot, Patrike de Saliſburie, William de Albemarle Earle Albericke, Roger Clare, Rycharde Earle of Pembroke, Richarde de Lucie, William Martell, Rycharde de Humer, Reginalde de Warenne, Mahaser Biſet, Iohn de Port, Richarde de Cameuille, Henrie de Eſſex. Yeuen at Weſtminſter.

Wallingforde Caſtell.

The Tower of London.

Mota de Winſor.

Richarde de Lucie.

Mota de Oxforde.

The Biſhop of Winchester.

Thus farre the Charter: and now therefore to proceede with the hyſtorie.

An. Reg. 19

This concorde and peaceable agreement ſurely was moſt acceptable to all the Commons of Englande, who during the time of the warre betwixt the two factions, had bene oppreſſed with many and moſt grieuous calamities.

1154

Ger. Do:

Immediately after Chriſtmaſſe, to wit in the Octaues of the Epiphany, the king & duke Henry met again at Oxforde, where all the Earles and Barons of the land being aſſembled, ſware fealty vnto Duke Henrie, theyr allegeance euer ſaued due vnto King Stephen, as to their ſoueraigne Lord and ſupreme gouernor, ſo long as he liued. The forme of the peace was nowe ingroſſed alſo and regyſtred for a perpetuall witneſſe of the thing, in this yeare. 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, as about the feaſt of Saint Hillarie in Ianuarie commonly called the twentie day. Thus was Henrie the ſonne of the Empreſſe made the adopted ſonne of King Stephen, and thereuppon the ſayde Henrie ſaluted him as King, and named him father.

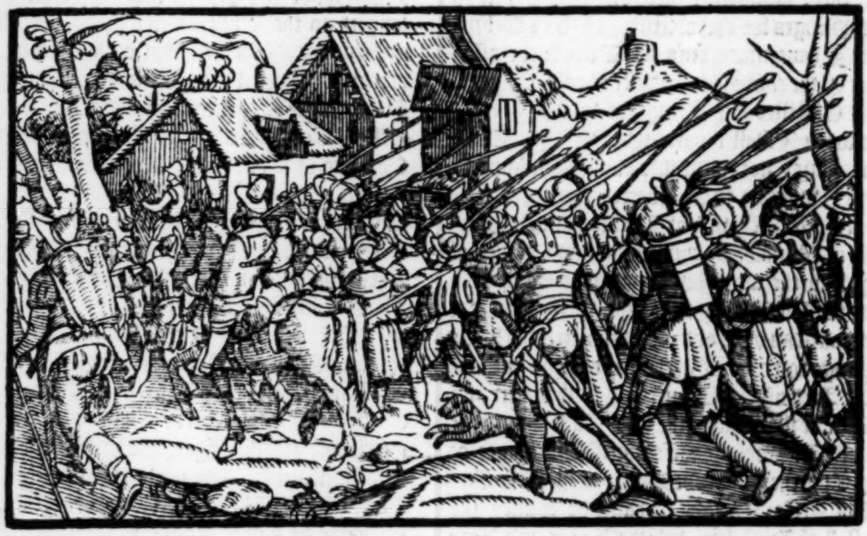
After the concluſion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceaſſed, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſtate of the realme of England did marueilouſly for a time flouriſh, concord being mainteyned on eche hande.

There bee that affyrme, there was an other cauſe that bound king Stephen to be agreeable to this attonement moſt chiefly, and that was this:

Polidor.

The Empreſſe (as they ſay) was rather King Stephens peramour than enimie, and therefore when ſhe ſawe that the matter was come to that poynt, that they were readie to trie it by battaile, with their armies readie raunged on a plaine in the weſt parties, called Egelaw heath, ſhe came ſecretly vnto king Stephen, and ſpake vnto him on this wiſe. What a miſchiefe and vnnaturall thing go ye about? is it meet that the father ſhuld deſtroy the ſonne? is it lawfull for the ſonne to kill the father? For the loue of God man reſtraine thy diſpleaſure, and caſt thy weapons out of thy hande, ſith that (as thou thy ſelfe knoweſt full well) Henry is thine owne ſon, and ſo further to put him in remembrance, declared that he had to do with hir a little before ſhe was maried vnto Earle Geffrey. The king by ſuch tokens as the Empreſſe put him in remembrance of, tooke hir wordes to bee true, and therefore all his malice was quenched ſtreight wayes. And calling forth the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, vttered to hym the whole matter, and tooke therewith ſuche direction, in ſending to his aduerſaries for auoyding battaile at that preſent, that immediately the armyes on both ſides wrapped vp theyr enſignes, & euery man was cõmaunded to keepe the peace, that a communication might be had aboute the concluſion of ſome finall concorde, which afterwardes enſued in maner as before is mencioned. But whether this or ſome other cauſe moued the King to this peace, it is to bee thought that God was the worker of it. And ſure a man may thinke it good reaſon, that the report of ſuch ſecret companie keping betwixt the King and the Empreſſe, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no grounde of truth, but vpon ſome ſlaunderous deuice of a malicious heade. And admit that King Stephen had to do with hir, yet is it like that both of them woulde doe the beſt to keepe it ſecrete, that no ſuche reproche might bee imputed eyther to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimate, or to his mother whoſe honour therby ſhoulde not a little be ſtayned.

Mat. Paris.
Egelaw heath.



The wordes of the Empreſſe to K. Stephen.

The Empreſſe confeſſeth hirſelfe to bee naught of hir bodie.

Slaunders deuiſed by malicious heades.

But now to the purpoſe. Shortly after that the King and duke Henrie had bene togither at Oxford, where they made all things perfite touching the peace and concorde betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunſtable, where ſome clowd of diſpleaſure ſeemed to darken the bright Sunſhine of the late begonne loue and amitie betwixt thoſe two mightie Princes the king and the duke: For where it was accorded among other articles that all the Caſtels whiche had beene buylt ſince the dayes of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purpoſes, ſhould be razed & throwne downe: contrarie thereunto, (notwithſtanding that many of them were ouerthrowne and deſtroyed to the accompliſhment of that article) diuerſe were through the kings permiſſion ſuffred to ſtande: and where the duke complayned to the king thereof, he coulde not gette at that time any redreſſe, which ſomewhat troubled him: but yet bycauſe hee woulde not giue occaſion of any newe trouble, nor offende the King, to whome (as to hys reputed father) hee woulde ſeeme to yeelde all honour and due reuerence, he paſſed it ouer.

Oxford.
Ger. Do.
The king
duke meete
Dunſtable.

Articles not performed.

Within a while after, the King and hee came to Canterburye, where of the Couent of Chriſtes Church they were with Proceſſion ſolemnly receyued.

The king
duke come to
Canterburie.

After this, in the Lent ſeaſon they went to Douer, where they talked wyth Theodoricke Earle of Flaunders, and with the Counteſſe his wife, that was Aunte to Duke Henrie.

At theyr comming towards Canterburie (as it was bruyted) the Duke ſhoulde haue bene murthered through treaſon of the Flemings yͤ enuied both the dukes perſon, & alſo yͤ peace which he had concluded

The enuie
the Flemings

concluded with the King: but ſee the hap, as thys feate ſhuld haue bin wrought on Berham down, William Earle of Northfolke King Stephen hys ſonne, that was one of the chiefe conſpirators, fell beſyde his Horſe, and brake his legge, ſo that euery man by that ſuddayne chaunce was in a maſe, and came wondering about him. Duke Henry herewith getting knowledge of the treaſon contriued againſt him, or at the leaſt ſuſpecting ſomewhat, got him backe agayne to Caunterbury, and ſo auoyded the preſent daunger if any were at hand. After this, takyng his way to Rocheſter, and ſo to Londõ, he got him a Shipbord there, and ſayled by long Seas into Normandy, where he arriued in ſafetie.

Duke Henry paſſeth ouer into Normãdy

After his departure, King Stephen ſpent the Sommer ſeaſon of this yeare, in going about the moſt part of the Realme, ſhewing all the curteſie he coulde deuiſe to the people in all places where he came, except where he founde any Rebellious perſons, as in Yorkſhire, where Philip de Coleuille in truſt of his Caſtell which he had ſtrongly fortified at a certayne place called Drax, ſhewed himſelfe diſobedient to the King, who aſſembling a power in the countrey, beſieged that Caſtell, and ſhortly wanne it, without anye greate adoe. After that Duke Henry was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandy, now that he hadde concluded a peace with King Stephen, his puiſſãce was thought to be ſuch, that he was able to maynteyne warres with the mightieſt Prince that then raigned: for in right of hys wiſe he had got poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Aquitayne, and ỹ Erledome of Poyctou, and further by his mother, hee enioyed the Duchie of Normandy, and looked to ſucceede in the Kingdome of Englande: and in righte of his father he was Earle of Aniou, Thouraigne and Maine. Thys Duke then reuoked into his hands againe certayne percels of his demeane lands which his father hadde giuen away, and paſſing from thence into Aquitayne, myghtely ſubdued certayne Lordes and Barons there, that had Rebelled againſt hym. Alſo about the ſame time, a peace was concluded betwixt the French King, and this Duke Henry. The Kyng reſtoring vnto the Duke the Townes of Newmarche and Vernon which he had before taken from him, and the Duke giuing vnto the King. 20000. markes of ſiluer, for the harmes done by hym, within the Realme of France. But now to returne vnto K. Stephen. Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that within a while after that he had made his progreſſe aforeſayde almoſt about the whole Realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a Parliament as well to cõſult of matters touching the ſtate of the common wealth, as to prouide the Sea of Yorke of a ſufficient Archbiſhoppe: wherevpon one Roger that was before Archdeacon of Canterbury, was choſen to that dignitie, and conſecrated the tenth day of October, by the Archbiſhop Theobald, as Legate to the Pope, and not as Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and then was Thomas Becket made Archdeacon of Canterbury by the ſayde Theobald. The new Archbiſhop Roger firſt went vnto his See at Yorke, where after hee had receyued his inthronization, and ſet order in his buſineſſe there, he toke his iourney towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne perſon. Alſo King Stephan after the ende of the Parliament went to Douer, there to meete with the Earle of Flaunders, who came thither to talke with him of certayne buſineſſe. The Earle was no ſooner returned backe, but that the King fell ſicke, and was ſo greeuouſly tormented with paine in his bellie, and with an old diſeaſe alſo, wherewith as ſhould appeare he hadde bin often troubled, to witte, the Emrodes, that finally there in the Abbey hee departed

VVil. Paruus.
Philip de Coleuille.
The Caſtell of Drax.

The puiſſance of Duke Hẽry.

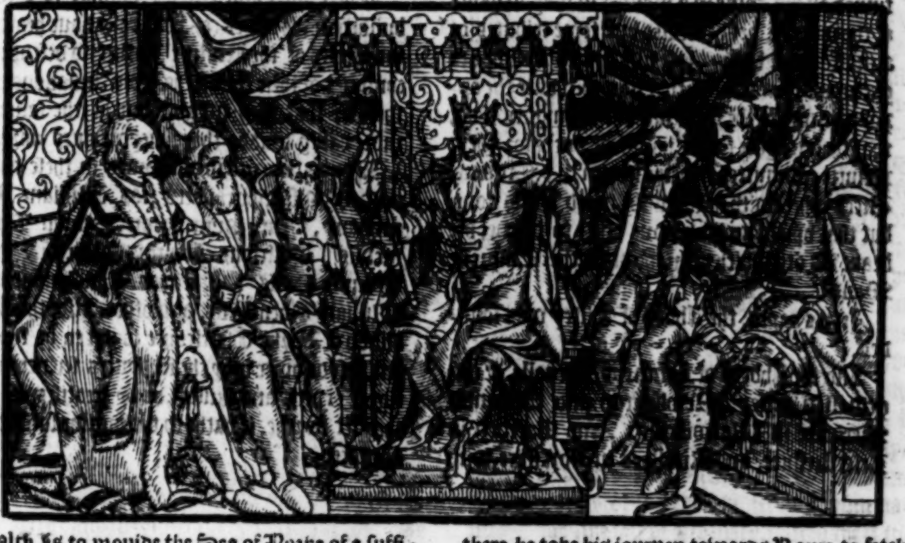
A peace concluded betwixt the French Kyng, and Duke Henry.
Mat. VVeſt.

Vil. Paruus.
oger Archdeacon of Cã-
rbury, made
rchbiſhop of
orke.

homas Becket Archdeacõ
Canterbury

The Earle of Flaunders.

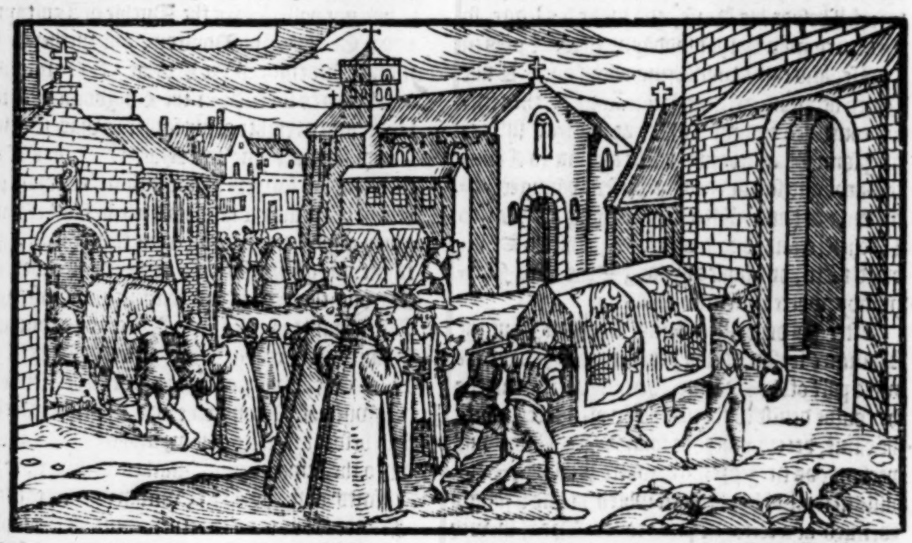
King Stephan departed this life.



Mat. Par.
Nic. Triuet.

parted thys lyfe the fiue and twentith daye of October, in the nyne and fortith yeare of his age, and after he hadde raigned eyghtene yeares tenne monethes and odde dayes, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour. 1154.

His body was enterred in the Abbey of Feuerſham in Kent, whiche he had buylded, where his wife alſo, and his ſonne Euſtace were buryed



before.

His ſtature.

He was of a comely ſtature, of a very good complection, and of great ſtrength of body, his qualities of mind were excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and very liberall: for though he continued all his tyme in a maner in mayntenance of the warres, yet hee leuied but fewe tributes, or almoſt none at all. Hee put dyuers Biſhops to greeuous fynes, and that not withoute the appoyntmente of the moſt iuſt and Almighty God, that they mighte ſo bee puniſhed duely for theyr periurie committed in helping him to ẏ Crowne. Vices wherewith he ſhould be noted I find none, but that vppon an ambitious deſire to reigne, hee brake his oth which he made vnto the Empreſſe Maude.

Abbeyes foũded.
Coggheſhall he founded himſelfe, and Fontneys in Lancaſhire, and Feuerſhã in Kente.

In his dayes, the Abbey of Tiltey was founded.

Alſo the Abbeys of Fontneys, Rienalle, Coggeſhall in Eſſex, Newbourgh and Beelande, Meriuale in Warwikeſhire, and Garedon in Leiceſterſhire, and Kirkſteed in Yorkſhire, with dyuers other in other parties of the Realme, in ſo muche, that there were more Abbeys founded in hys dayes, than had bin within the ſpace of an hundred yeares before, as William Paruus writeth.

VVil. Paru

There were alſo a greate number of Caſtels builded in his dayes (as before yee haue heard) by the nobles of the Realme, eyther to defende the confynes of their countreys from inuaſions of other, or that they myghte out of the ſame the more eaſily inuade theyr neyghbours abroade.

Dyuers learned menne lyued in theſe dayes, namely Hiſtoriographers, as William Malmeſbury, Henry Huntington, Simon Dunelmenſis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwiſe called Monumetenſis, Caradoc Lancarnauenſis, William Rheuellēſis, and other. Alſo, the Archbiſhop of Yorke Thurſtaine is not to be forgotten, beſyde other whyche in dyuers ſciences were righte experte and ſkilfull, as by treatiſes whyche they ſet forthe, it hathe to the worlde ſufficiently appeared.

Henry

* * *

Henry the ſeconde.

An. reg. 1.

1154

Nic. Treuet.

Math. Paris.

Henry the ſecond of that name, a Frenche manne borne, the ſeconde ſonne of Geffrey Plantagenet Earle of Aniou, begotten of Maude the Empreſſe, daughter to Henry the firſte, beganne hys raigne ouer Englande the fiue and twentith of October, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde, 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauioure. 1154. about the beginning of the thirde yeare of the Emperour Fredericke the firſte, the ſecond of Pope Anaſtaſius the fourth, the ſeuententh yeare of Lewis the ſeuenth, Kyng of Fraunce, and ſeconde of Malcolme then King of Scotlande. Immediately after he was aduertiſed of the deathe of Kyng Stephen, hee came ouer into England, landing at Oſtreham about the ſeuenth day of December. After he had got togither his company whiche by tempeſt had bin ſcattered in his paſſage, he came firſt to Wincheſter, where the nobles of the Realme beeyng come vnto him, he receyued of them their homages and fealties. This done he ſet forth towardes London, where he was Crowned K. by Theobald Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury the twentith day of December.

Nic. Treuet.

The Archbiſhop Rouen.

Polidor.

Counſellors choſen.

There were preſente at hys Coronation, the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen with three of his ſuffraganes, and the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, with many other Biſhops of Englande. There was alſo the Earle of Flaunders Theodoricus, with a great number of other Earles, Lordes and Barons. He was at that time about the age of three and twentie yeres, and to winne the peoples loue, he ſpake many comfortable wordes vnto them to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they ſhoulde finde him a louing and courteous Prince. Hee vſed the Lordes alſo very gently. And firſt of all, after hys atteyning to the Crowne, he choſe to hym Counſellors of the graueſt perſonages, and beſt learned in the Lawes of the Realme, with whoſe prudent aduice, he peruſed thoſe lawes, and amended them where he thought neceſſary, commaunding chiefly, that the lawes eſtabliſhed by hys graundfather Henry the firſt ſhoulde be obſerued: and in many thyngs he ſtayed vpō the aduice of Theobald Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, at whoſe ſute hee admitted Thomas Becket to be his Chauncellour, whyche Becket, the ſayde Archbiſhop had made Archdeacon of Caunterbury the yeare before. Moreouer, by the ſentence and dome of hys Councellours, to the intente that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better maynteyned, he commaunded by way of publiſhyng a proclamation, that all Straungers (which to get ſomewhat by the warres, hadde flocked into the Realme, durying the time of the ciuill diſcord betweene hym and Kyng Stephen) ſhoulde departe home without further delay: wherefore hee appoynted them a day, before the whyche they ſhuld auoyde vppon the perill that might enſue thereof. Hereuppon it was a wonder to vnderſtande howe ſuddaynely theſe Aliens were quite vaniſhed away, as though they hadde bin Phantaſmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable for the ſubiects of the Realme, as they that were ſtill accuſtomed to attempt euery ſhrewde turne in others necke, and thinke it lawfull for them ſo to doe. Amongſt them, there was a great number of Flemings, whome the Kyng hated more than the reſidue: and by vertue of this Edict, William of Ypres whome Kyng Stephen (as yee haue heard) had made Earle of Kent, was conſtreyned with other to departe the Realme, King Henry ſeaſing all his poſſeſſions into his owne handes. Diuers Caſtells were alſo throwen downe, and made plaine with the grounde by the Kings commaundement, which priuate men by King Stephens permiſſion had builded, or elſe for that they ſtoode not in ſuche places as was thought meete and expedient, yet ſome he cauſed to be fortifyed: and furthermore, tooke into hys handes agayne ſuch landes and poſſeſſions as apperteyned to the Crowne, and were alienated vnto anye manner of perſon, of what degree ſo euer he was. Thys wounded the myndes of many with an inwarde grudge, as well ynough perceyuing that yͤ Kyng woulde looke ſo neere to his owne commoditie, yͭ nothing ſhould be left for them that mighte anye way be recouered and gotten to hys vſe. Queene Eleanore was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne named Henry, the laſt of February, within the Citie of London.

Ran. Higd.

Thomas Becket Lorde Chauncellor.

1155

Nic. Treuet.

Polidor.

VVil. Paruus.

Strangers appoynted to departe the Realme.

Aliens auoyde the lande.

William de Ipres.

Caſtels ouerthrowen.

Polidor.

Mat. Paris.

VVil. Paruus.

Mat. Paris.

Nic. Treuet.

Mat. Paris.

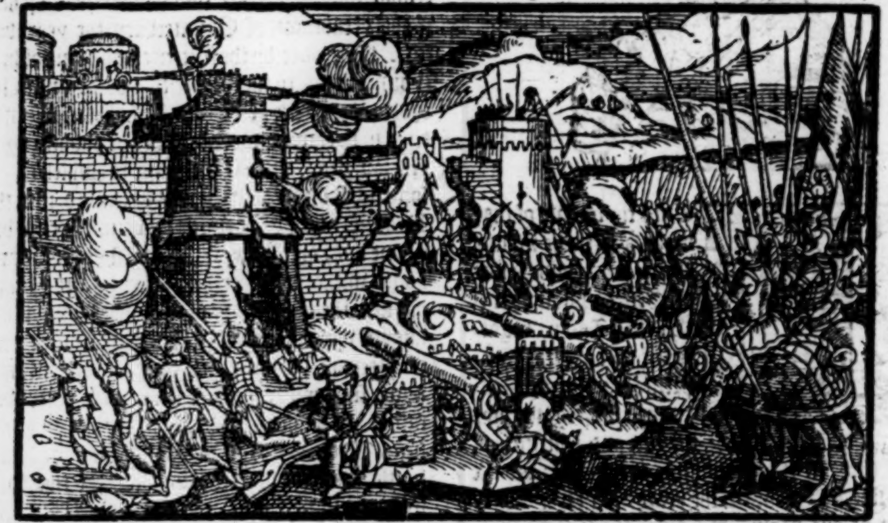
Math. VVeſt.

William Peuerell diſherited.

Alſo about the ſame time, William Peuerell of Notingham a nobleman and of great poſſeſſions, was diſinherited by the King for ſorcerie and witchcrafte whiche he had practiſed to bryng to death Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter, as it was now reuealed openly, and brought to light. In accompliſhing of whiche haynous crime and deteſtable practiſe, many other were of councell, and founde giltie with him, which went not away withoute puniſhment, Nic. Treuet.

puniſhment for that their wicked enterpriſe. The tenth day of Aprill, King Henry aſſembled the peeres and greate Lords of his Realme togyther at Walingford, and there cauſed them to ſweare their allegiaunce vnto his eldeſt ſonne William, prouiding, that if he chanced to die, that then they ſhould do the like vnto his brother Henry. Alſo, whereas Hugh de Mortimer had fenſed his Caſtels againſt K. Henry, he beſieged the ſame, and taking the Caſtell of Cleberie, hee deſtroyed it.

Mat. Paris.
Nic. Treue
Hugh de Mortimer.
The Caſtell of Cleberie.



Roger Fitz Miles.

Whereupon, the foreſaid Hugh ſhortly after was accorded with the K. and ſurrendred to hym the two Caſtels of Wigmore & Bridgenorth, which hitherto he had holden. Moreouer, whereas there was variãce kindled betwixt the King, and Roger Fitz Miles of Glouceſter, that was Earle of Hereford, for the landes of Glouceſter, that variance was alſo quenched: for after the ſame Roger was dead, his brother Walter ſucceding him in the Earledome of Herefordе, was conſtreyned to departe with the Citie of Glouceſter, whyche the K. held, and reteyned in his owne handes. In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, K. Henry wente vnto Yorke, and in that countrey receyued into his hands diuers Caſtels whiche had bin long in poſſeſſion of priuate men, namely the Caſtell of Scarbarrough, whiche William Earle of Albemarle held, and now was conſtreyned to reſigne it vp, full ſore againſt his will. This yeare alſo William the Kings eldeſt ſonne departed thys life, and was buryed at Reading. The Realme of Englande alſo was brought on all ſydes into very good quiet, but ere long, worde came to K. Henry, that his brother Geffrey had begunne a Rebellion in the parties on the other ſide of the Sea: for their father Geffrey when he dyed, lefte three ſonnes behinde him, Henry, Geffrey, and William, ordeyning by his teſtamente, when Henry ſhould haue gotten poſſeſſion of England and Normandy, that then the Countrey of Anion ſhould remaine vnto Geffrey, and in yͤ meane time, hee to haue theſe three Townes, Chinon, Lodun and Myrabell to mainteyne his eſtate, and that when the time came that the whole heritage ſhould fall vnto hym, hee might by poſſeſſion of theſe three, haue a readier meane to come by all the reſt. Furthermore, fearing leaſt his eldeſt ſonne Henry who as then was abſent would not conſent to the performance of this his wil, he cauſed certaine Biſhops and other of the Nobles to ſweare, that they ſhould not ſuffer his body to be cõmitted to buriall, till his ſonnes had ſworne to fulfill his laſt will and teſtamente in all other things, but eſpecially in this behalfe, wherein hee iudged not amiſſe: for though Henry was loth to take his oth, yet bycauſe his fathers body ſhoulde not remayne vnburied, hee was contented to ſweare. But after he had obteyned the kingdome of England, his couetous deſire to haue, encreaſing ſtill with abundance already obteined, found meanes to procure of Pope Adrian the fourth (an Engliſhman borne,) a diſpenſation for that othe: whereupon (hauing got licence to depart from the office both of right, law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he paſſed ouer into Normandy, & making war againſt his brother the ſaid Geffrey, eaſily expulſed him out of thoſe places, whiche were aſſigned him by the ordinance of hys fathers Teſtament, and ſo tooke the Earledome of Anion into his own poſſeſſion. Howbeit, he gaue vnto his ſaid brother a pencion of a thouſand li. Engliſh, & two thouſand li. of the money of Anion, with yͤ Towne of Lodun, and certaine other lands to liue vpon, who yet thinking himſelfe euil vſed at the Kings handes, rebelled and dyed. Shortly after whẽ K. Henry had ſped his buſines in Normandy, & made an end of yͤ troubles there betwixt him & his brother Geffrey, returned into Englãd, bicauſe he receiued aduertiſemẽt yͭ Malcolme K. of Scotlãd began to make war againſt

his

An. reg. 2.
The King goeth into the North.

The Caſtell of Scarbrough.
VVil. Paruus.
Nic. Treuet.
The death of the Kings ſon William.

Geffrey the Kings brother rebelleth.

VVil. Par

Pope Adrian an Engliſhm borne
A diſpenſatio for an oth.
Nic. Treuet.

1156

King Henry goeth agai the Scottes.

He wanne Carleil and Newcaſtell and others.

The Erledome of Huntingtõ.

William Erle of Mortaigne.

Math. Paris.

Nic. Treuet.

An. Reg. 3. 1157

Theoderike Earle of Flanders.

his ſubiectes that bordured next vnto him, wherevpõ he haſted Northwards: and firſte comming into Cũberland, tooke ỹ Citie of Carleile, & ſeyſed all the Countrey into his hands, and after goyng into Northumberland, he wanne the Towne of Newcaſtel, with the Caſtel of Bamburg, and ſo tooke all that countrey into his poſſeſſion, whiche his mother the Empreſſe had ſometimes graunted vnto King Dauid, the graundfather of thys Malcolme (as before ye haue hearde,) but yet bycauſe he would not ſeme to offer too much wrõg, and bee eſteemed vnthankfull of benefytes before time receiued, he ſuffered King Malcolme to enioy the Earledome of Huntington, whych Kyng Stephen had giuen vnto hys father Earle Henry, ſonne to K. Dauid, as before is partly touched. Alſo William the Erle of Mortaigne, and Warrenne ſonne of King Stephen, was compelled to ſurrender to King Henry, the Caſtell of Penſey, with the Citie of Norwiche, and other ſuch Townes and Caſtels as he held, which apperteyned to the demaine of the Crowne: and the King in recompence reſtored to him thoſe landes which his father Kyng Stephen held in the days of Kyng Henry the firſt. In like manner, Theoderike Earle of Flaunders goyng with his wife vnto Ieruſalem, committed hys ſonne Philippe with all hys landes, to the cuſtodie of the Kyng of England.

Rebellion of Welshmen.

The King inuadeth them.

Euſtace Fitz Iohn and Robert de Curcy.

Henry of Eſſex.

Math. VVeſt.

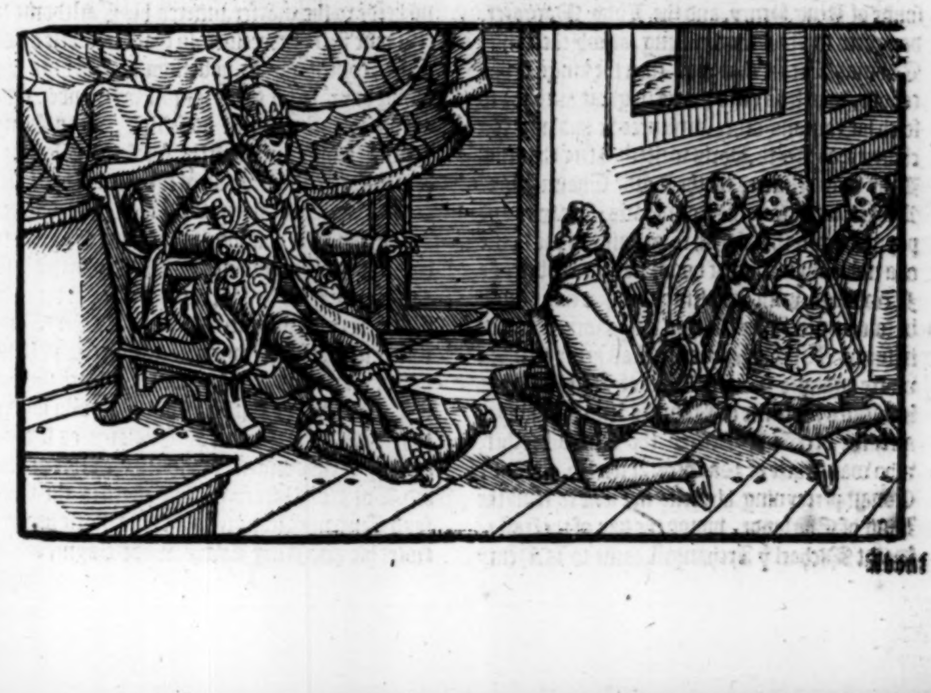
VVi. Paruus.

A combate betwixt Henry de Eſſex, and Robert de Montford.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Welchmen ſubmit themſelues.

Alſo Hugh Bigot reſigned his Caſtels into the Kings handes. But whileſt Kyng Henry was aboute (as before yee haue hearde) to recouer and bring home againe the portions of hys kingdome, made away, and diſmembred by hys predeceſſors, he was enformed that the Welchmen made Rebellion againſte him, to repreſſe whoſe attemptes, hee haſted forthe with all diligence. At his firſt approch to their countrey, hys Souldiers being ſet vppon in the ſtraytes, were right fiercely put backe by the enimies, in ſo much that a rumor was reyſed how Kyng Henry was ſlayne, whiche puffed vppe the Welchmen with no ſmall hope, and put the Engliſhmẽ in no leſſe feare. In deede, diuers of the Engliſhe nobilitie were ſlayne, and amongſt other Euſtace Fitz Iohn, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation, and namely the ſayde Euſtace. Thoſe that eſcaped in returning backe, not knowing how the King was got through ỹ ſtraites without daunger, declared to their fellowes that followed and were approching to the ſtraightes, that (ſo farre as they knew) the Kyng and all the reſidue were loſt. Theſe newes ſo diſcomforted the companies, that Henry of Eſſex whiche bare the Kings ſtanderd by right of inheritãce, threw downe the ſame ſtãderd, and fledde, which diſhonorable doing, was afterward layd to his charge by one Roberte de Mountfort, with whome by order taken of the King, hee fought a combate in triall of the quarrell, and was ouercome: but yet the K. qualifying the rigor of the Iudgement by mercy, pardoned him of life, and appoynted hym to be ſhorne a Monke, and put into the Abbey of Reading, taking his landes and poſſeſſions into his handes as forfeyted: but this Combate was not tried till about the ninth yeare of thys Kyng Henries raigne. The king hearing that his army was thus diſcomforted, came to his men, & ſhewing himſelfe to them with open viſage, greatly reioyced the whole multitude, and then proceding forth againſt the enimies, his people were afterwardes more ware in looking to themſelues, and ſo at length when the King prepared to inuade the Welchmen both by water & land, they ſought to him for peace, and wholly ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto his grace and mercy.



The Caſtell of Rutland and Baſingwerke built.

Math. Paris.

An. Reg. 4.

Thomas Becket Lorde Chauncellour.

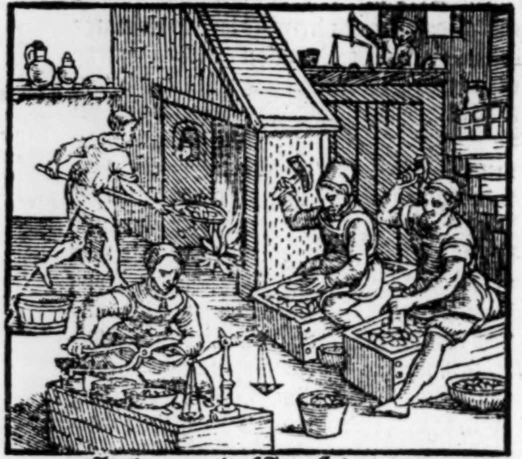
1158

Math. Paris.

The King layeth hys Crowne on the Aulter.

Coine altred.

About the ſame time, King Henry builded the Caſtell of Rutland, and alſo the Caſtell of Baſingwerke, and one houſe alſo of Templers. In the moneth of September, this yeare, the Kyngs thirde ſonne was borne at Oxeforde, and named Richard. Alſo the ſame yeare was Thomas Becket preferred to be the Kings Chauncellour. The K. holding his Chriſtmas at Worceter in great royaltie, ſate in the Church at ſeruice, with his Crowne on his head as the Kings vſed in thoſe dayes on ſolemne feaſtes, but as ſoone as Maſſe was ended, hee tooke his Crowne beſydes his head, and ſet it downe vpõ the Aulter in ſigne of humbleneſſe, ſo that hee neuer after paſſed for the wearing of a Crowne. The ſame yeare alſo the King altered his Coyne, abrogating certaine peeces called Baſels.



Additions to Iohn Pike. The Lord Chauncellour Becket ſent into Fraunce.

Mat. VVeſt.

In the moneth of Auguſt he went ouer into Normandy, and came to an enteruiew with the Frenche King neere to the Riuer of Eata, where they entreated of a friendſhip, and of a marriage, which was after agreed vpon betwixt Henry, the ſonne of King Henry, and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Frenche King, at whiche tyme, Thomas Becket that was then the kings Chãcellour, was ſent vnto Paris in great aray for to fetch hir: among other furnitures he had nine lõg charrets, as Math. Paris writeth. After that this Lady was deliuered to the Lorde Chauncellour Becket, and broughte from Paris, ſhee was appoynted from thẽceforth to remaine in the houſe of a noble man of great honor named Roberte de Newburge, vntil ſuch time as ẏ marriage ſhuld be ſolemnized. After the two kings were departed in ſunder, King Hẽry prepared an army to make warre againſte Conan Duke of Britaine, who had ſeaſed the Citie of Nauntes into his handes, after the deceſſe of Geffrey the Kings brother, who was Earle of Nauntes: at length, the ſame Conan perceyuing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the King of Englande, vppon the day of the feaſt of Saint Michael ẏ Archangell, came to K. Henry and ſurrendred into his hands the Citie of Nantes, with all the whole Countrey therevnto belonging. Soone after whiche reſignation, & vpon the foure and twentith daye of Auguſt, Geffrey the Kings fourth ſonne was borne of hys wife Queene Eleanor. Alſo in December following, Theobalde Earle of Bloys was accorded with K. Henry, to deliuer vnto him two of hys Caſtels. Likewiſe Petroke Earle of Perch, ſurrendred vp two Caſtels vnto K. Henry, which he had vſurped of the demeanes of Normandy in the dayes of King Stephan. And the King gaue to him againe one of thoſe Caſtels, receyuing of him homage for the ſame. Moreouer, K. Henry and Raymond Earle of Barzelone met togither at Blayme, where they concluded a league by way of allegiance, ſo that Richarde the ſonne of K. Henry ſhould take to wife the daughter of the ſaid Raymond in time conuenient, and that the King of England ſhould giue vnto the ſaid Richard the Duchie of Aquitaine, and the Countie of Poictow. This Erle Raymond had married the daughter and heire of the King of Arragone. In the meane time, a ſecret grudge that had long depended betweene King Henry and K. Lewis of Fraunce did ſtill continue, and though there was a friendſhip agreed betwene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguiſhed the ſame, yet was it but a fained friendſhip: for vpon euery new occaſion, they were ready to breake againe, as it came to paſſe ſhortly after by this meanes, William Duke of Aquitaine, Grandfather to Quene Eleanor, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of Tholouze, and going into the warres of the holy land, he engaged that Erledome vnto Raymond the Earle of S. Giles, and dyed before hee could returne. His ſonne William, father to Q. Eleanor, eyther wanting wherewith, or takyng no heede to the matter, ſuffered his Earledome to remayne ſtill vnredeemed, ſo that the Earle of S. Giles, continuing in poſſeſſion thereof vnto hys dying daye, left it to his ſonne Raymonde, who likewiſe continuing in poſſeſſion, when Kyng Lewis (hauing married the foreſaide Eleanor) demaunded reſtitution as in the right of his wife, Earle Raymond flatly at the firſt denyed to reſtore it, but after conſidering his lacke of power to reſiſt the Kings puiſſance, he fell to ſue by petitiõ, and ſo preuayled by fayre wordes, that in the ende Kyng Lewis graunted hym hys ſiſter Conſtance in marriage (which Conſtance as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Euſtace the ſon of K. Stephan) & with hir he granted alſo liberty to reteyne the Erledome of Tholouze as it were by way of endowment: whereto the other accorded. But King Henry hauing married the foreſayd Queene Eleanore, after the diuorſe had betwixt hir and King Lewis, made clayme to the

Geffrey the Kings fourth ſonne borne.

Petroke Earle of Perch.

Raymonde Earle of Barzelone.

Richard th Kings ſonne offered to E Raymonds daughter.

A fayned friendſhip.

William D of Aquitayn

Earle of Sai Giles otherwiſe Thol

An. reg. 6.

An. reg. 5.
Mat. Paris.
Math. VVeſt.
1159

ſayde County of Tholouze in the right of hys wife. Herevpon Earle Raymond truſting nowe to the ayde of his brother in lawe King Lewis, denyed to reſtore it, ſo that King Henry determined to recouer it by force, and entring by and by into Gaſcoigne with an Army, hee drewe towards the Countrey of Tholouze; and began to inuade the ſame with greate force and courage.

VVi. Parum.

William Trencheuill.

There ioyned with King Henry in his warre which he attempted againſt the Earle of Saint Giles, diuers great Lords of thoſe parties, as the Erle of Barzelone, and the Lord William Trecheuille a mā of great power in thoſe parties, hauing vnder hys rule many Cities, Caſtels and Townes, (notwithſtanding that he had of late loſt many of them by violence of the foreſayde Earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of King Henry, he recouered them all againe.)

Nic. Treuet.

Alſo Malcolme King of Scotland came vnto King Henry whileſt he was forth in this iourney, to aſſociate him in this buſineſſe. The Earle hearing of King Henries comming with an army, was put in great feare, and thereof wrote his letters vnto his brother in law King Lewis, requiring hym with all ſpeede poſſible to come vnto his ayde. K. Lewis vpon receipt of the letters, and vnderſtanding the preſent daunger of the Earle, made ſuch haſt in continuing his iourney both daye and night, that he came to Tholouze, before K. Henry could arriue there: whereupon, when King Henry vnderſtood it, and perceyued how he was preuented, he chaunged his purpoſe of beſieging the Citie, and fell to ſpoyling of the Countrey there aboutes, at which time, he recouered certayne places which lately before had reuolted from his gouernement, as the Citie of Cahors and other places, whiche Citie of Cahors he furniſhed with men, munition, and vittayles, appoyntyng his Chauncellour Thomas Becket to the keeping thereof: and therewith fortifyed other places alſo which he had gotten, placing Captaynes and men of warre to attend vpon the defence of the ſame.

The Citie of Cahors.
Nic. Triuet.
The Lorde Chauncellour Becket.

Rob. Houed.
William Erle of Bolleigne.

Whileſt the King was thus forth of his iourney in the parties of Aquitaine, William Earle of Bollongne and Mortaingn, the ſonne of King Stephen, and Haymon Earle of Gloceſter departed this life, whiche two Earles went thither with him. Finally, when hee had ſet things in a ſtay in thoſe parties, he returned towardes Normandy, and comming to the Citie of Towers, he gaue the order of Knighthode vnto Malcolme King of Scotlād, and ſo in the moneth of October, he came backe into Normandy, & there augmenting his army with new ſupplyes, entred into the Countie of Beauuoiſin, and in the ſame brenned many villages, and deſtroyed the ſtrong Caſtell of Gerbery, except one turret whyche his Souldiers could not take by reaſon of the fire and

The Countie of Beauvoiſin.

ſmoke which ſtayed and kept thē from it. Moreouer, Simon Earle of Auranches, deliuered vnto K. Henry ſuch fortreſſes as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and ſuch other, which was no ſmall annoyance to the French K. bycauſe the garniſons placed in thoſe fortreſſes, impeached yͤ paſſage betwixt Paris and Orleāce.

A truce taken.
Anno reg. 6.

But ſhortly after, a truce was taken to dure from the moneth of December, vnto the feaſt of the holy Trinitie in the yeare next following. And then in the moneth of May was a peace concluded with the former articles and conditions, and for a further confirmation thereof, the marriage was ſolemnized betwixte Henry the Kyngs ſonne beeyng of the age of ſeuen yeares, and the Lady Margaret daughter to the Frenche Kyng, beeyng not paſt three yeares olde, as Writers doe reporte. The marriage was celebrate at Newborough on the ſeconde daye of Nouember, by the authoritie of two Legates of the Apoſtlike ſee,

A peace concluded.
A marriage concluded.
Mat. Paris.
Legates.

Henry Biſhop of Piſa, and William Biſhoppe of Pauia Prieſts Cardinals.

VVil. Paruus

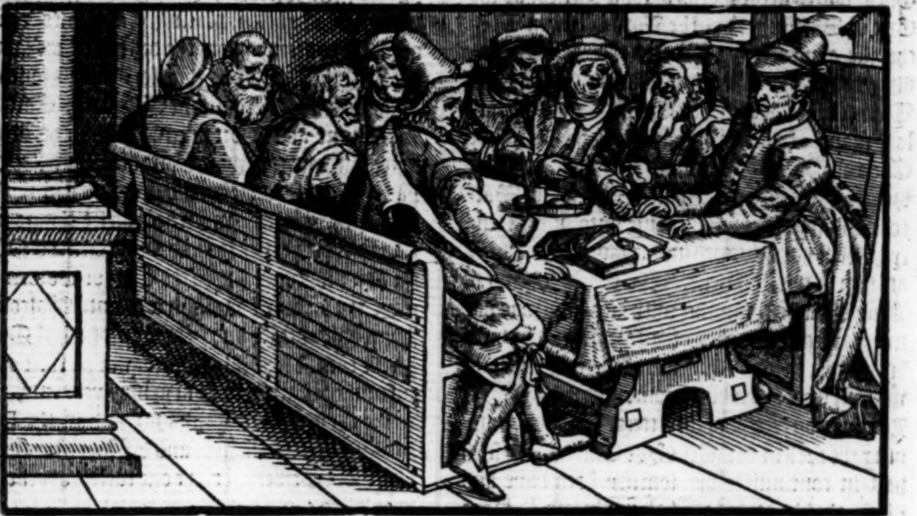
Certayne of the Valdoyes came into Englãd being Dutchmen,

A Counſell Oxforde.

The profeſsions of the Waldoys.

Their examination and proteſtacion.

About the ſame time, came certayne Teutchmen ouer into this Realme, about the number of thirtie or more, the which helde opinions in Religion contrary to the faythe of the Romayne Church. They were of the number of thoſe whiche are called Valdoys, for as one author affirmeth, they which firſt ſpred the opinions abroade whiche theſe men helde, came out of Gaſcoigne, and did ſo muche in ſetting forthe their doctrine, that theyr number mightely encreaſed through the large Regions of Spayne, Fraunce, Italy, and Germany. Rude ſimple men they were for the moſt part, as is written of them, and not ready to conceyue reaſon. Howbeit, thoſe whyche at this time came ouer into England, were indifferently well learned, and the name of the chiefe of them was Gerard. A Counſell alſo was aſſembled at Oxeford, where in the ſame Counſell they were examined vppon certayne poyntes of theyr profeſſion, and the foreſayde Gerard tooke there vpon hym to aunſwere for them all, proteſtyng that they were Chriſtians, and had in all reuerence the doctrine of the Apoſtles. Moreouer, being examined what they thought of the ſubſtãce of the Godhead and merites of Chriſt, they aunſwered rightly vpon that poynt, but being further examined in order vpon other the Articles of the Chriſtian ſaith then receyued, they ſwarued from the Churche touching the remedies whereby the infirmitie of man ſhoulde bee relieued, that is to witte, in the vſe of the diuine Sacramentes, derogating ſuch grace from the ſame, as the Churche by hir authoritie had attributed vnto them.



The Valdoys condemned.

They are forbidden meate and drinke. They are ſterue to death.

To conclude, they would in no wiſe renounce theyr opinions, ſo that they were condemned, brenned in the forehead with an hote iron, and in the colde ſeaſon of winter ſtripped naked from the girdle ſteede vp, and ſo whipped out of yͤ Town, with proclamation made, that no man ſhoulde be ſo hardie as to receyue them into anye houſe, relieue them with meate, drinke, or by any other kynd of wayes or meanes: and ſo they were ſtarued to deathe through colde and hunger: and yet in ſuche their affliction, they ſeemed to reioyce, in that they ſuffered for Gods cauſe as they accompted of it.

Nic. Triuet.

The firſt falling out betwixt the ki and Thoma Becket.

Anno reg.

Mat. Par.

Math. VVeſ

1161

Rob. Houed.

The ſame yeare Mathew, ſonne to the Earle of Flaunders, married the Lady Mary the Abbeſſe of Ramſey, daughter to King Stephen, and with hir had the Countie of Bolongne: and about this marriage chaunced the firſte falling out betwixte the King, and his Chauncellor Thomas Becket (as ſome haue written,) but chiefly, the ſaide Mathewe was much offended with the ſayd Chancellor, bycauſe he was ſo ſore agaynſt the ſayd contract. Kyng Henry ſhortly after the marriage conſummate betwixt his ſenne and the French Kings daughter, got into hys handes the Caſtell of Giſors, with two other Caſtels, ſituate vppon the Riuer of Eata in the confynes of Normandy and Fraunce. For it was accorded betwixt the two Kings, that when the marriage ſhould be conſummate, King Henry ſhould haue thoſe three Caſtels, bycauſe they apperteyned to Normandy, and in the meane time, the ſame Caſtels were delyuered into the handes of Roberte de Poyron, Toſtes de Saint Omer, and Roberte Haſtings, three Knightes templers, the whiche vpon the conſummation hadde of the marriages as before is ſayd, and according to the truſt committed to them, ſurrendred the poſſeſſion of the ſaide Caſtels into the handes of Kyng Henry. But yͤ French King was not a little moued, for that King Henry had ſeyſed vpon them without his licence, in ſo muche, that hee reyſed a power of menne, and ſente them into Normandy,

Gaguinus.
The Frenche and Normans fight.
N.Triuet.
Thre knightes Templers.
Reg.Houed.
M.Paris.
The death of Theobald Archebiſhop of Canterbury.
The povver Legantine annexed to Cant.
VV. Paruus.
The authoritie of Becket.
An.reg.6.
He is conſecrat Archbiſhop.
VVil.Paruus.
1162
Quadrilogium ex vita eiuſdẽ Thomæ.

The Archbis. a better courtyer than a preacher.
The Queene brought to bed of a daughter.
An entervevv
An.reg.9.
1163.
N.Triuet.
Homage of the K. of Scottes.
A Counſel at Tours.
The Archbiſh. practiſeth treaſon ſecretly.
Homage for the caſteil of Tunbridge.

mandie, where they fought one cruell conflict aboue the reſt with the Normans, till the nyghte parted them in ſunder, by meane whereof the Frenchemen withdrew to Chaumount, and the Romains vnto Gyſours. The next daye as the Frenchmen came forth again purpoſing to haue wonne Giſors, they were beaten back by yͤ Normans which came forth of yͤ towne to ſkirmiſh with them. Thus was the warre begon agayne betwixt theſe two Princes, and by the ſetting on of Theobalde Erle of Bloys, the matter grewe to that point, that the engliſh and French powers comming forth with into the fielde, and marching one againſt an other they were almoſt approched ſo neare together, that battayle was preſently looked for, firſt in Veulgeſſyne, and after in the territorie of Dune, but yet in the end a meanes was made and concluded betwixt them, & ſo their armies brake vp. The .iij. Templers alſo ranne in diſpleaſure of the French king for the deliuerie of the caſtels before they knew his mynde, ſo that he baniſhed them the realm of France for euermore, but K. Henry receiued them, and gaue them honorable entertaynement. Some write that there were but two Caſtels Giſors, and Neall, which wer thus put into their hãds, & by them deliuered as before is mentioned: But to proceed. About this time Theobald Archbiſh. of Canterbury departed this lyfe after he had gouerned that ſea the ſpace of .22. yeares, which Theobald at his going to Rome, and receipt of the Pall of Pope Innocent the ſecond, was alſo created Legate of the ſea Apoſtolike, which office he exerciſed ſo diligently, and ſo much to the auaile of the church there, that the dignitie of Legateſhip remayned euer after to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury by a ſpecial decree, ſo that they were entitled *Legati nati*, that is to ſay, born Legates (as myne author doth report.) This Theobald fauored greatly Thomas Becket, that afterward ſucceeded him. Which Becket was alſo borne in London: moreouer his father hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian borne, and by religion a Sarazin: howbeit (without all reſpect of his parents) this Becket grew ſo highly in fauour with the king, and might doe ſo much in England, that he ſeemed to reigne as if he had bin aſſociat with him alſo in the kingdom, and being lord Chancellor, the king ſent ouer into England Richard Lucy in his company with ſundry letters in his fauoure, thereby to procure his election to that ſea, whiche was broughte to paſſe according to the kings deſire at Weſtminſter: afterward alſo he was ordeined at Canterbury on the Saterday in the Whitſon weeke by Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter (although there be that write how Walter biſhop of Rocheſter did conſecrate him) whiche conſecration was in the xliiij. yeare of his age, and in the fifth yeare after his firſt aduancement to the office of Lord Chãcellor, ſo that he was the .38. Archbiſh. which gouerned in that ſea. The ſame yeare but towarde the end, Henry the kings ſonne receyued homage of the barons, firſt in Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare enſuing, the King his father comitted him to the Archbiſhop Becket, that he might ſee him brought vp and trained in manners and courtly behauiour, as apertained to his eſtate. Wherevpon the Archbiſh. in game called hym his ſon. This yeere at Rohan Queene Elianor was brought to bed of a daughter that was named Elianor. In like maner the two kings, of Englãd and France, at Cocy vpon Loyre receiued Pope Alexander the third, with al honor and reuerence, in ſomuch that they attended on his ſtirope a foote like pages or footmen, the one vpon his right ſide, & the other on his left. In Ianuary alſo enſuing, the king returned into Englande, & the ſame yere the K. of Scottes did homage vnto Henry the yonger, and deliuered to the Kyng his father his younger brother Dauid, with dyuers other the ſonnes of his lordes and barons in pledge for aſſurance of the peace to be kepte betwene them for euermore, with ſome ſuch caſtels, with the concluſion of the leage (as he required.) In the mean tyme the Archbiſhop Thomas went to the counſell holden by Pope Alexander at Towres in the Octaues of Pentecoſt, when he reſigned into the Popes handes (as the fame went) his Biſhoprick, by reaſon he was troubled in conſcience in that he had receiued it by the kings prefermẽt: but this was ſhortely done, and the Pope allowing his purpoſe, cõmitted the ſame paſtorlike dignitie to him again by his eccleſiaſtical power, whereby the Archbiſh. was eaſed very wel of his grief, & ſhortly after his returne alſo from this counſell, he ſeemed deſirous to bring home ſuch rights as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Canterbury, wherby he ran into the diſpleaſure of many, namely of the mightieſt: moreouer he required of the king the keeping of Rocheſter Caſtell and the tower of London. Alſo he alledged that Saltwood and Hith belonged perticularly to the ſeigniorie of hys ſea: he called alſo Roger Earle of Clare vnto Weſtminſter, to doe his homage vnto him for the Caſtell of Tunbridge: but the Earle denyed it through ſetting on of the king, alledging all the fee thereof to appertayne rather to the king than to the Archbiſhop. Thus the Archbiſh. was troubled, and therwithall the kings fauour more and more apered dayly to fal from hym, as afore. For ye muſt vnderſtãd that this was not the firſt nor ſecond tyme, that the king had ſhewed tokens of his diſpleaſure againſt him, but the eight tyme.

Mat.Paris.
Mat.VVeſt.

After this, vpon the fyrſte day of July, Ryſe Prince of Southwales with diuers other lordes and nobles of Wales didde homage both to the

C. king

An. reg. 10.
Homage of the Welchmen.
1164.
N. Triuet.

king and to his ſonne Henry at Wodſtocke: & Hamlyn ẏ kings baſtard brother maried ẏ Coũteſſe of Warrein, the widow of William Earle of Mortaigne that was baſtarde ſonne to king Stephen. This counteſſe was the ſole daughter and heire of William the third earle of Warrein, which went with Lewes king of Fraunce into the holy land & there dyed. Sone after ẏ Welchemen rebelled with their Prince Ryce and his vncle Owen, and did diuers diſpleaſures on ẏ Marches: and by the death of Waltar Gyfford earle of Buckingham, which deceaſed this yeare without heyre, that Earledome came to the Kinges handes. The .xx. daye of Septẽber were .iij. circles ſeene to compaſſe the ſunne, and ſo continued the ſpace of .iij. houres together: which whẽ they vaniſhed away, it appered ẏ two Sunnes ſprang forth again after a marueilous manner. Whiche ſtrange ſight the cõmon people imagined to be a ſigne or token of the controuerſie that was then in hand betwixt the king and the Archbiſhop.

Mat. Paris.

Moreouer, the king called a Parliamente at Weſtminſter, to treate therin of matters concerning the ſtate of the cõmon wealth, in the which here aroſe great diſcord betwixt the king and the Archbiſh. Becket, about certain points touching the liberties of the Church. For the K. hauing an earneſt zeale vnto iuſtice, & cõmanding the Judges to puniſh offẽders without reſpect, vnderſtod by them, that many things by them of the ſpiritualtie (againſt whõ their authoritie mighte not be extended) wer cõmitted contrary to cõmon order: as theft, rapine, murther, & manſlaughter, in ſomuch that in his preſence it was opened & notified that ſith the beginning of his reigne there had bin aboue an hundred mãſlaughters cõmitted within ẏ precinct of his realme of England by prieſts, & mẽ within orders. Wherupõ he being moued in his minde, ſet forth lawes againſt the ſpiritualtie, wherin he ſhewed in deed ẏ zeale of Juſtice. For as the cauſe proceded frõ the Biſhops of ẏ age, ſo did the fault appertain vnto thẽ which contrary to their owne Canons permitted the Prieſts to liue ouer licentiouſly without due correction, only ſtudying to mayntein ẏ liberties and immunities of the church, and not to reforme tht vices of the miniſters. One Philip de Broc, a Canon of Bedford, being arreigned of a murder before the kings iuſtice, vttered diſdaynful words againſt ẏ ſame Juſtice: whiche whẽ he could not deny before the Archb. he was depriued of his prebend, & baniſhed ẏ land for .ij. yeres ſpace. Theſe things troubled the king, who therfore hauing alredy decreed ſuch orders as ſhuld bridle ẏ ſpiritualtie from their wicked doings, thought that if he might get them confirmed in parliament by conſent of the biſhops and clergie thẽſelues, that then the ſame ſhuld take place & be receiued for lawes: and therefore he earneſtly required at this parliamẽt that it might be enacted, that all ſuche of the Spiritualtie as ſhulde be taken and conuicted for any haynous offẽce, ſhuld looſe the priuilege of ẏ Churche, & be deliuered vnto ẏ ciuill magiſtrate who ſhuld ſee them put to executiõ for their offẽces in like maner as he might any of ẏ kings ſubiectes being lay men: for otherwiſe the king alledged, ẏ they woulde boldly preſume to doe muche more miſchief, if after ſpirituall puniſhment, no ſecular correction ſhuld be extended towards thẽ, ſince ſure it was, that thoſe woulde paſſe but little of diſgradyng and loſſe of theyr order, whiche in contempte of their calling, woulde not abſteyne from committing ſuche miſcheuous deedes and haynous enormities.

Diſcord ſtill kindeleth betvvixt the king and the Archb.

Murders committed by prieſtes.

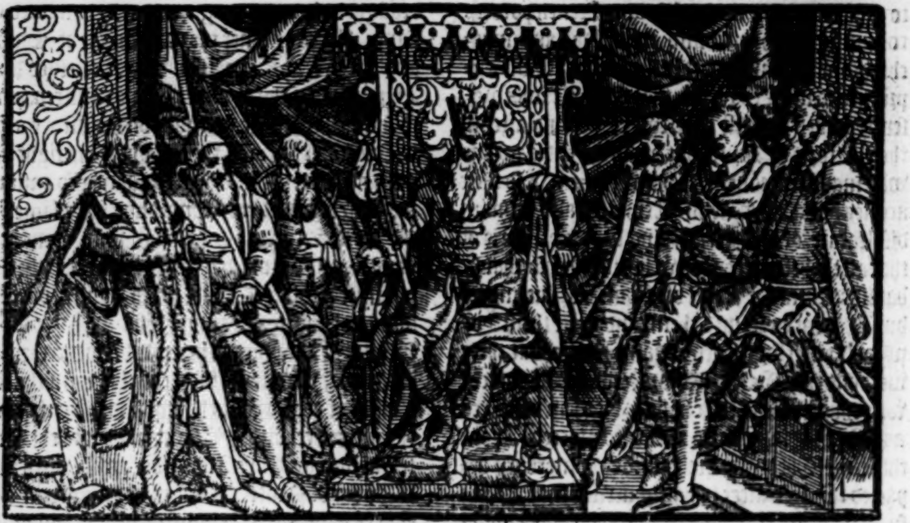
VVil. Paruus

Mat. Paris.

The king meaneth to bridle the ſpiritualtie from preſumptuous dealyng.

Th prelates againſt the king

Geruas. Dor.



Unto theſe reaſons thus proponed by the Kyng, to haue hys purpoſe to take effecte, the Archbiſhoppe and his Suffraganes the reſt of the Biſhoppes anſwered very pithely, to proue

that

Their order ſaued.

that it was more againſte the liberties of the Church, than that they might with reaſon well allow of. Whereuppon the Kyng beyng moued greeuouſly towardes them, aſked of them whether they would obſerue his royall lawes and cuſtomes which the Archbyſhops and Byſhops in time of his grandfather dyd hold and obſerue or not: who therevnto made anſwere, that they would obſerue them, their order in all things ſaued. But the King being highly offended with ſuch exceptions, vrged the matter ſo, that he woulde haue them to take their oth abſolutely, and withoute all exceptions, but they woulde none of that.

The Kyng offended vvith the Biſhops.

At length hee departed from London very much diſpleaſed with the Biſhoppes, when he had firſte taken from the Archbiſhop Thomas all his offices and dignities which he occupyed ſince his firſt being created Chancellour.

R. Houe.

Howbeit, after this, many of the Biſhoppes ſeeyng wherevnto thys geare would turne, began to ſhrinke from the Archbiſhop, and enclined to the Kings ſyde. But the Archbyſhoppe ſtiffely ſtoode in hys opinion, and woulde not bende at all, till at length not only his Suffraganes the Biſhops, but alſo the Byſhoppe of Liſeux that was come ouer to do ſome good in the matter, and likewiſe the Abbot of Elemoſina ſente from the Pope, perſwaded him to agree to the Kyngs will, in ſo much, that finally ouercome with the earneſt ſute of his friēds, hee came firſte to Wodſtocke, and there promiſed the King to obſerue his lawes faithfully without all deceipt or colluſion.

R. Houe.
1164.

Ger. Dor.
A Counſell at Clarendō.

Geruaſius Dorobern.

Shortly after, in the feaſt of Saint Hilarie, a Counſell was holden at Clarendon, to the which the Archbiſhoppe, and in manner all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of the lande, made their repaire, where the aforeſayde Archbiſhop would willingly haue ſtarted from hys promiſe, if firſt ẏ Biſhops, and after the Erles of Leiceſter & Cornewall, Roberte and Reignald (which Reignald was Vncle to the K.) had not come vnto him, & laſtly two knightes Templers, to perſwade him to yeld to ẏ kings will. But chiefly the two Knightes, the one named Richarde de Haſtings, and the other Hoſteus de Bologne were very earneſt, and at length preuayled with him in reſpect of the daunger which by refuſing to ſatiſfie the kings requeſt, he ſhould bring not onely to himſelfe, but alſo to all other the Biſhops there preſent. Theſe Knightes ſeemed to lament his caſe, as if already they had ſeene naked ſwordes ſhaken about his eares. And indeede, certaine of the Kings ſeruauntes that attended vppon hys perſon after the manner of a gard, wente to and fro, ruſhing vp and downe the chambers, ſhaking their brighte battayle axes ready appoynted, and lokyng as if they woulde forthwith runne vppon the Byſhoppes, whervpon the Archbiſhop touched with compaſſion, & ſeeming to ſtriue againſte his determinat purpoſe, conſented to obey the Kyngs pleaſure, and ſo promiſed in ẏ worde of a Prieſte, ſwearing furthermore, that hee woulde obſerue the Kings lawes and cuſtomes, withoute expreſſing thoſe wordes, mine order ſaued, whyche hee had vſed before. The like oth did all the Byſhops take. But the Archbiſhop refuſed at that time to ſeale to the writing that conteyned the Articles of the oth which he ſhould haue obſerued, requiring as it were a time to conſider of thē, ſith in ſo waighty a matter, nothing ought to be done without good and deliberate aduiſe, and therefore he toke with him a copie thereof, and likewiſe did the Archbiſhop of Yorke an other, and the thirde remained with the Kyng. Shortly after, the Archbiſhoppe conſidering further of this oth whiche he had taken, repented himſelfe greeuouſly therof, in ſo much, that he abſteyned from ſaying of Maſſe, till he had by confeſſion and frutes of penaunce (as ſaith Math. Paris) obteyned abſolution of ẏ Pope. For ſending forth with all ſpeede meſſengers vnto the Pope with a certificate of the whole matter as it lay, he required to be aſſoiled of ẏ bond which he hadde vnaduiſedly entred into, which was ſone graunted, and the Pope directed his eſpecial letters vnto him, conteynyng the ſame abſolution in very ample and large manner as Math. Paris doth report it. And thus there began a newe ſturre. The Archbyſhop in the meane time perceyuing that the liberties of the Church were now extinguiſhed, and beeyng loth to attempte anye further matter againſte his former dealings, as yet woulde not withoute the Kyngs knowledge, haue departed the Realme: and therevppon cōming to Romney, hee toke ſhipping to haue paſſed ouer into Fraunce, ſo to haue gone to ẏ Popes Court, but by a contrary wind he was brought backe into England againe, & therby fell further into ẏ Kings diſpleaſure than before, in ſo much, that whereas there was an action commenced againſt him of late for a manor which the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury had of long time holden: nowe the matter was ſo vſed, that the Archbiſhop loſt the manor, and was moreouer condemned to pay the arrerages, and ſo the troubles encreaſed. Finally the Archbiſh. was cited to appere before the king at Northampton, where the king vſed him ſomwhat ſtrangely, as placing his horſes at his Inne, and moreouer, layde diſobedience to his charge, for that hee didde not appeare at a certayne place before

M. Paris.

The Archb. Becket receiueth an oth.

He repētes him in that he had receiued an oth.

Mat. Paris.

The Archb. Becket vvould haue fled out of the Realme.

The Archb. cited to appeare at Northampton.

R. Houed.

Sentence giuen againſt the archb.

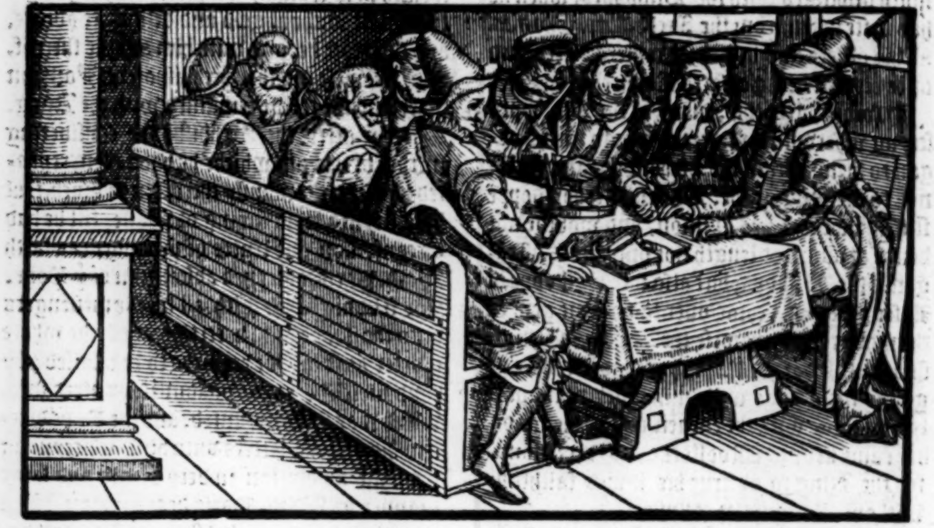
befoꝛe him in perſon, vpon Summons giuen to him foꝛ the ſame purpoſe: and although the Archbiſhop alledged that he had ſent thither a ſufficient perſon to make anſweare foꝛ him, yet coulde he not be ſo excuſed, but that he was found gyltie, and his goodes confiſcate to the kings pleaſure.

When he hearde that ſentence was in ſuche wiſe there pronoũced againſt him, What maner of iudgement, ſaith he, is this? I holdyng my peace, yet the age that ſhal herafter folow, wil not keepe it in ſilence: foꝛ ſithens the woꝛld began, it hath not bin heard, that any Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath bin adiudged in any Court of the kings of England foꝛ any maner of cauſe, both foꝛ the dignitie and authoꝛitie of his office, & foꝛ bicauſe he is ſpiritually the father of the king, & of all other his people. This is therfoꝛe a new foꝛme & oꝛder of iudgement, that the Archbiſhop ſhould be adiudged by his Suffragan, oꝛ the father by his ſonnes. The next day the king required of him the repaimẽt of fiue. C. markes which he had lent to hym, when he was Chancellor, and though he affirmed that he receiued the ſame by way of gyft, and not by way of lone, yet bicauſe he cõfeſſed the receit, he was condemned in that debt, foꝛ ſo much as he could not pꝛoue the title of the gift. Vpon the moꝛowe after, when the Archbiſhop with his felow biſhops were ſet in Councell by commaundement of the king (the dooꝛes being locked, that they ſhould not iſſue foꝛth) there was pꝛoponed againſt the Archbiſhop, that wheras he held cetaine Biſhops Sees as then vacant, with Abbeys, and other reuenues of his ſoueraigne Loꝛd the king in his hands, & had made none account to him foꝛ the ſame of long time, the king required to be aunſwered now at his hands, & that with al ſpeede, foꝛ he would haue no delay. The ſumme amounted to thirtie thouſand markes. The archb. when he had heard the variable ſentences of the Biſhops in this caſe, anſwered after this maner: I would (ſaid he) ſpeak with two earles which are with the king, and named thẽ. They being called, and the dooꝛe being ſet opẽ, he ſaid vnto them. We haue not here at this pꝛeſent to ſhew wherby the thing may be moꝛe manifeſt: therfoꝛe we aſke reſpite foꝛ anſwere tyl to moꝛow. The Councell therefoꝛe being bꝛoken vp, the multitude of people which came with yͤ archb. thither, being afraid of the kings diſpleaſure, went frõ him. He therfoꝛe cauſed his ſeruaunts to fetch vnto his lodging a gret nũber of pooꝛe & impotent people, ſaying that by the ſeruice of ſuch maner of men of warre, a moꝛe ſpeedye victoꝛy might be got, than by thẽ which in time of temptation ſhamefully dꝛue backe: his houſe therfoꝛe was anone filled, & the tables ſet with ſuch as his ſeruauntes had bꝛought foꝛth of the lanes and ſtreates abꝛode.

The archb. condemned in fiue hundred Markes

An aſſembly of biſhops.

The archb. called to an account.



Vpon the Tueſday the Biſhops all amaſed and full of care, came vnto hym, and bicauſe of the diſpleaſure whiche the King had conceiued againſt him, they counſell hym to ſubmyt hym ſelfe to the kings wyll, oꝛ els in fine, they tolde hym plainely, that he woulde be adiudged foꝛ a periured perſon, bicauſe he had ſwoꝛne vnto the King, as to his earthly Soueraigne, as touching all earthly honour in life, lymme, and member, and namely to obſerue al his royal lawes & cuſtomes, which he of late had eſtabliſhed. Hereunto he anſwered: My bꝛethꝛẽ, ye ſee how yͤ woꝛld roꝛeth againſt me, the enimie riſeth vp, but I moꝛe lamẽt that the ſonnes of my mother fight againſt me. If I

ſhould

The biſhops perſvvade the archb. to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the kings pleaſure.

The archb. anſvvere to his breth. en.

ſhoulde holde my peace, yet woulde the worldes to come declare, how ye leaue me alone in ẏ battaile, and haue iudged againſt me theſe two dayes paſt, I being your father, though neuer ſo much a ſinner: but I commaunde you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your order, that you be not preſent in any place of iudgement where my perſon maye fortune to bee adiudged. And in teſtimonie hereof, I appeale to our mother the Churche of Rome. Furthermore, if it chaunce that Temporall men lay their handes vpon me, I charge you likewiſe by vertue of your obedience, that yee exerciſe the cenſures of the Churche for your father the Archbiſhop as it becommeth you. This one thing knowe yee well, that the worlde roreth, the fleſh trembleth and is weake, but I by Gods grace wil not ſhrinke, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto me.

He appealeth to the churche of Rome.

After this he entred into the Churche, and celebrated Maſſe of Saint Stephen, otherwiſe thã he was accuſtomed to doe with his Pall, whyche being ended, he put on his ſacrificing veſtures with a Coape vppon them all, going ſo to the Court.

He goeth to the courte

Furthermore, bycauſe he was afrayd, he tooke alſo the Sacrament ſecretely with him, & taking moreouer the Croſſe in his owne handes, he bare it himſelfe in his right hand, and the reyne of hys brydell in his left, and ſo comming to the court, he alyghted, and entred the place, ſtill bearyng the Croſſe hymſelfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other Biſhoppes followyng him with greate feare and trembling. Being come thither, the Biſhoppe of Hereforde woulde gladly haue taken the Croſſe to haue borne it before him, but he wolde not ſuffer him, but ſayd: It is moſt reaſon that I ſhould beare it my ſelf, vnder the defence whereof I may remaine in ſafetie: and beholding this enſigne, I neede not to doubte vnder what Prince I ſerue. At length when the king exhibited againſt him greate complaintes vnto them al generally, they cryed that he was a Traytour, ſithe he had receyued ſo many benefites at the Kings handes, and now refuſed to do vnto him all earthly honor as he had ſworne to do. To be ſhort, when the Biſhops came to ſit vpon the matter in councell, they appealed to the ſea of Rome againſt the Archbiſhop, accuſing him of periurie: and in the worde of trueth bound themſelues by promiſe, to do what in them might lye, to depoſe him, if the King would pardon them of that iudgement, whiche nowe hanged ouer the Archbiſhops heade: and comming to the Archbiſhop they ſaid: Sometime thou waſt our Archbiſhop, and wee were bound to obey thee: but ſith thou haſte ſworne fealtie to the Kyng, that is to ſay, life, member and earthly honour, and to obſerue his lawes and cuſtomes, and nowe goeſt aboute to deſtroye the ſame, wee ſaye that thou arte guiltie of periurie, and wee will not from henceforth obey a periured Archebiſhoppe, and therfore we cite thee by appellation to appeare before the Popes preſence, there to anſwer to theſe thynges, and ſo they appoynted hym a daye, in whiche they meant to proſecute their appeale. I heare you well ſaid the Archbiſhop. In lyke maner did the Princes and peeres of the Realme iudge him to bee a periured perſon and a traytoure.

He is reputed a Traytour.

The biſhops diſallovve the Archbiſhop.

The Earle of Leyceſter being accompanyed with Reginalde Earle of Cornewall, came vnto him, and ſayde alſo: The Kyng commaundeth thee to come and render an accompt of that whiche is obiected againſt thee, or elſe heare thy iudgement. Iudgement (ſayd the Archbyſhop) and therewyth ryſing vp ſayde, Nay ſonne nay, fyrſt heare thou: It is not vnto thee vnknowne, howe faythfull I haue bene to the Kyng, and in conſideration thereof, he promoted mee to the Archebiſhops ſea, (as God can bee my iudge) againſt my will: For I knewe myne owne infirmitie, and I was contented to take it vppon mee rather for his pleaſure, than for Gods cauſe, and therefore dothe God withdrawe hym ſelfe and the king from me. In the time of mine election he made me free, and diſcharged me of all Courtely bondage: and therfore touching thoſe things from the whiche I am releaſed, I am not bounde to anſwere, neyther wyll I: So muche as the ſoule is more worth than the bodye, ſo muche the more arte thou bounde to obey God and mee, rather than any earthly treaſure. Neyther will lawe nor reaſon permitte, that the ſonnes ſhould iudge or condemne the father: whereupon I refuſe to ſtande to the iudgement eyther of the kyng, or of any other, appealing to the preſence of the Pope, by whome vnder God I ought to be iudged, putting all that I haue vnder Gods protection and hys: and vnder defence of his authoritie I departe oute of thys place, and ſo wente incontinent to take his horſſe.

As he wente his waye, the kings ſeruauntes and others of the Courte, didde ſpeake manye reprochefull wordes agaynſte hym, callyng hym traytour and falſe forſworne caytife.

At whyche wordes, tournyng hymſelf, and lokyng backe with a ſterne countenaunce, he made thys aunſwere: That if it were not for his order of Prieſthode, and that it were lawfull for hym, he woulde ſurely cleare hymſelfe of periurie & treaſon, in defending his cauſe againſt them with weapon in hande.

Gerua. Dor

The ſtoute courage of th Archbiſhop.

At his commyng to the vtter gate, he founde the ſame faſt locked, whereof they beganne all to be amazed: but one of his ſeruauntes eſpying where a bunche of keyes were tyed to a clubbes ende that didde hang on a pinne, he tooke them downe, and tryed whiche was the right key, and findyng it at the laſt, he opened the gate, and ſo the Archebiſhop wente forth, whyleſt the Porters ſtoode as men amazed, and ſpake not one word againſt it.

Thus as hee got forthe, a greate number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, ſaying: Bleſſed is God, whiche hath dilivered hys ſeruant from the face of his enimie. Thus with a greate route or companie, and with the Clergie, he was honourably conueyed vnto the Abbey of Saint Andrew: and looking behynd and before him, as hee paſſed thitherwarde, he ſayde vnto thoſe that went with him: Howe glorious a proceſſion doth bring me frō the face of the enimie: ſuffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we maye make merie togither in the Lorde. Who were by and by called in, ſo that all the hall, parloures, and chambers were ſette with tables for them to ſit downe at, where they were ſerued with victuals at the full.

Rog. Houedē

The Archebiſhop Becket fled avvay in the night.

The ſame night alſo before the cocks crowing he iſſued forth by a little poſterne gate, and takyng with him only two Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, the one named Roberte Canne, and the other, S. Cayman, with one of his owne ſeruantes called Roger de Broc, he fled away diſguiſed in a white veſture, and a Monkes coule, and chaunging his name, cauſed hymſelfe to be called Dereman: He iourneyed ſtill all the night and by daye laye cloſe in one freendes houſe or other, til finally, he got to Sandwiche, and there getting a ſhippe ſayled ouer into Flaunders, and ſo went into Fraunce, where at the citie of Sens he founde Pope Alexander, to whome he opened all the manner and occaſion of his commyng awaye.

Gilbert Follioth biſhop of London vvas ſente to the French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the Archebiſhoppe was fled the realme, ſendeth with al ſpeed Gilbert Folliot biſhop of London, and Williā Earle of Arundell in ambaſſade to the kyng of Fraunce to ſignifye vnto him the whole matter and circumſtance of the falling out betwixt him and the Archebiſhoppe, requiring him not to receyue the Archebiſhop into his realme: but this requeſt was little regarded of the Frenche King as appeared: for the Archbiſhoppes cauſe was fauoured of manye, and the blame imputed to king Henry, ſo that the Archbiſhop found greate freendſhippe bothe in the Frenche king and in the Pope, as after ſhall appeare.

Additions to *Io. Pike.*

Mat. Paris.

Geruas. Doro.

King Henry therfore hearyng that he was thus accuſed by the ſame Archebiſhop vnto the Pope, appoynted Roger Archebiſhop of Yorke, the foreſayd Gilbert Biſhoppe of London, Hilarius Biſhop of Chicheſter, Roger Byſhop Worceſter, Bartholomewe biſhop of Exceſter, with other Biſhoppes, Deanes, Archedeacons, and other learned men of good accompte, to the number of. xv. to paſſe in Ambaſſade vnto the Pope, that they myght excuſe his doyngs, and burdeyn the Archebiſhoppe with the note of rebellion, wherof he had good proofe.

Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke vvith others, are ſent to the Pope.

These perſonages being admitted to declare theyr meſſage in the conſiſtorie before the Pope, they open the whole circumſtance of the matter, from the beginning to the ende, declaring howe that betwixt Thomas the Archebiſhop of Canterburie and the king, there was a controuerſie moued, and by bothe their conſentes, a day appoynted for the hearing and determining therof, as Iuſtice ſhould require. At the whiche day by the kings commaundement all the chiefeſt lordes of the realme both ſpirituall and temporall were called together, to the ende that the more generall the Aſſemblie ſhould be, the more manifeſte might the diſcouering of the fraude and malice of the Archbiſhop appeare.

Vpon the daye appoynted, there came (ſaye they) before the Catholike Prince his preſence, the nobles of his Realme: and amongeſt other, the Archebiſhop the diſquieter bothe of the kingdome and Churche, who as one not well aſſured of the qualitie of his owne deſeruings, bleſſed himſelfe with the ſigne of the Croſſe at his comming into the houſe, as thoughe he ſhoulde haue come before ſome tyraunt or ſchiſmaticall perſon: and for al this, was not the kings maieſtie any thing offended therwith, but cōmitted yͤ iudgement of his cauſe to the faythfull order of the Biſhops, ſo to delyuer himſelf of all ſuſpition of wrong dealing. And thus it reſted in the Biſhops handes to make an ende of the controuerſie, and to ſet al things ſtreight betwixt them. But the Archebiſhoppe woulde none of that, alledging howe it ſhoulde bee a derogation to the ſea Apoſtolike and dignitie thereof, for hym to ſtand before the king in iudgement, or any other temporall Magiſtrate. And albeit (ſaye they) ſome derogation might haue chanced to the dignitie of the Churche by that iudgemente, yet it had bin his parte to haue diſſembled the matter for the tyme, to the ende that peace mighte haue bene reſtored to the Church. He further obiected (aſcribyng to hymſelfe the name of Father, the whiche ſeemed to ſmell ſomewhat of arrogancye) that the chyldren ought not to come togyther to iudge the fathers cauſes, where it had bin farre more neceſſarie rather that the humbleneſſe of the ſons ſhould mitigate and temper the pride and ambition of the father.

To conclude, after this the kings Ambaſſadors made earneſt ſuite that two Legates mighte bee ſente from the Pope to haue the hearyng and diſcuſſing of all the matter betwixt the king and the Archebiſhop without any other appealyng. But the kings tale coulde not bee hearde in that Courte, the Archebiſhoppe hauyng already perſwaded the Pope to the contrarie. For commyng to the Pope, hee vttered his complaynte as followeth:

The kings tale woulde not be hearde.

The Archebiſhop Becket.
Mat. Paris.

Moſt holye father, I doe here come for ſuccor to youre audience, lamenting that the ſtate of the Churche, & the liberties therof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealyng of Kinges and Princes. Wherfore whē I thought to reſiſt the diſeaſe aprochyng, I was ſodenly called before ẏ king to reder accōpts as a lay mā about certaine wardes (the which while I was the kings Chancellour, I had notwithſtanding accompted for) and alſo, when I was made biſhop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the Archebiſhops ſea, I was releaſed & diſcharged of al accompts and bondes by the kings eldeſt ſonne, and by the chief Juſtice of the Realme: ſo that nowe where I looked to haue found ayde, I was deſtitute therof to my great hinderance and vexation. Conſider farthermore I pray you, howe my lordes and brethren the Biſhoppes are readye at the pleaſure of the noble men of the Courte to giue ſentence againſt me, ſo that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almoſte oppreſſed: and therfore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, whiche doth not forſake youre children in their extreme neceſſitie, afore the which I here ſtand readye to declare and teſtifye that I am not to be iudged there, nor yet at all by them. For what other thyng ſhoulde that bee but to plucke awaye the rightes of the Churche? what elſe then to ſubmit ſpirituall things to temporall? This enſample therefore once ſprong vp, myght giue an occaſion to manie enormities to followe. The biſhoppes doe ſay, Thoſe things that are Ceſars, ought to be reſtored to Ceſar: but admitte that in manye thinges the King is to be obeyed, Is he yet therefore to bee obeyed in thinges wherein he is no King? For thoſe belong not to Ceſar, but to a tyrant. In the whyche if for my cauſe they woulde not, yet oughte the Biſhops for their owne cauſes to haue reſiſted him: For what ſhould bee the cauſe of ſuche hatred that to deſtroye mee, they ſhoulde deſtroy them ſelues? Therfore whyleſt for temporall thyngs they neglecte ſpirituall, they fayle in bothe. Weygh therfore, moſte holye father, my fleeing awaye, and my perſecution, and howe for your ſake I haue bene prouoked with iniuryes, vſe therfore your rigour, conſtrayne them to amendement, thorough whoſe motion thys hathe chaunced: lette them not be borne out by the king. Who is rather the obſtinate miniſter of this practiſe, than the fynder out of it.

The Pope hauyng hearde his wordes, toke deliberation in the matter, wyth aduice of hys Cardinalles, and therupon anſwered the Archbiſhop in effecte as foloweth:

The Popes anſwere to the Archbiſhop.

That the lower power maye not iudge the greater, and chiefly hym whome hee is bounde to obeye, as the lawes bothe of God and manne doe witneſſe, and the ordinaunces of the Auncient Fathers do manifeſtly declare: And herevpon wee (to whome it appertayneth to reforme diſorders) doe clearely reuerſe and make voyde the Judgement pronounced agaynſt you by the Barons and Biſhoppes, wherby as well againſt the order of Lawe, as agaynſte the cuſtomes of the Churche, your goodes were adiudged forfayte, where as the ſame goodes were not yours, but the churches of Canterburye, ouer whyche you haue the only cure and charge. But if thoſe that haue violently entred vppon the poſſeſſions and goodes of youre Churche, and haue thereby wronged eyther you or yours, will not vpon admonition gyuen to them, make reſtitution with ſufficiente amendes, then maye you if you ſhall thincke conueniente, exerciſe eccleſiaſticall Juſtice vpon them, and wee ſhall allowe of that whiche you ſhall reaſonably doe in that behalfe: But as touching the King himſelfe, we wil not giue you any ſpeciall commaundement, neither yet do we take from you any right belonging to your biſhoplike office, whiche you receyued at your conſecration. But the king only wee will ſpare, and preſerue out of the daunger of all your excommunications and cenſures. The archbiſhop reſigned his Palle vnto the Pope, but the Pope gaue it vnto him againe, and appoynted him to remaine at Pountney an Abbey of Monkes Ciſteaux, in the dioceſſe of Auxerre, tyll the matter were brought to ſome good ende betwixt the king and him: This was done in the yeare of our Lorde. 1164.

The Archebiſhop reſigneth his Palle.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambaſſadors what aunſwere the Pope had made, became grieuouſly offended in his minde, and therevpon confiſcated all the goods that belonged to the Archebiſhop and his complices, and ſeyſed their reuenues into his handes, appoyntyng one Randall de Broc, to haue the cuſtodie of al that belonged to the ſea, whiche Broc was nothyng friendly to the Archbiſhop, as an enimie knowne to hym of olde, but the Monkes he fauoured and would not ſuffer that they ſhuld ſuſteyne wrong or diſpleaſure at any hande.

Gerua. Doro.

In the yeare folowing, to wit. 1165. Queene Elenore was deliuered of a daughter which was named Joane: Alſo on the. 26. day of Januarie, there chanced a maruellous earthquake in Norfolke in the Jle of Ely, and in Suffolke, ſo that men

1165
Mat. VVeſt.
Math. Paris.
Mat. Paris.

men as they ſtood on the grounde were ouerthrowen therewith, and buildings ſo ſhaken, that the belles in ſteeples knolled: The like had alſo chanced in the aduent ſeaſon then laſte before paſſed.

The VVelchemen make vvar on the Engliſh marches.

The Welchemen this yeare ſpoyled a greate parte of thoſe Countreyes that were borderers vpon them: Wherewith the king being ſore moued, with all ſpeede leuyed an armie as well of Engliſhmen as ſtraungers, and (without regard of the difficulties and daungers) goeth againſte the rebelles, and fynding them withdrawne into their ſtarting holes (I meane the wooddes and ſtrayt paſſages,) he compaſſed the ſame about in verie forcible maner. The Welchemen perceyuing themſelues nowe to bee brought into ſuche danger, as that they coulde not well deuiſe howe to eſcape the ſame, cõſulted what was beſt to be done. After conſultation, caſting away their weapons, they came forth to the king, aſking mercie, which they ſomwhat hardly obteyned. Few of them alſo were executed in compariſon of the numbers that offended: But yet the capitaynes and chiefe authors of this rebellion were ſo puniſhed, that it was thoughte they woulde neuer haue preſumed ſo raſhely to offende him in lyke ſorte agayne. For (as ſome writers affirme) hee did iuſtice on the ſonnes of Riz or Rees, and alſo of the ſons and daughters of other noble men that were his complices very rigorouſly: cauſing the eyes of the yong ſtriplings to be raced out of their heades, and theyr noſes to be cut off or ſlit: and the eares of the yong Gentlewomen to bee ſtouked. But yet I fynde in other authors, that in this iourney king Henrie did not greatly preuayle againſt his enimies, but rather loſt many of his men of warre, both horſemen and footmen: for by his ſeuere proceeding againſt them, he rather made them more eger to ſeeke reuenge, than quieted them in any thyng. They tooke the Caſtell of Cardigan, and in the aſſieging of Briges, the King was in no ſmall daunger of hys lyfe: For one of the enimies ſhooting directly at him, had perced him through the bodie, if Hubert de Saint Clere conneſtable of Colcheſter, perceyuing the arrowe comming, had not thruſt hymſelfe betwixt the King and the ſame arrowe, and ſo preſeruing his mayſter, receyued the ſtrype hymſelfe, whereof he dyed preſently after, beſeching yͤ king to be good lorde to one only daughter which he had, whõ the king beſtowed in mariage vpõ William de Langualee, togither with hir fathers inheritance, whiche William begate of hir a ſonne that bare bothe his name and ſurname.

VV. Paruus.
Polidore
The king inuadeth VVales.

Rog. Houedẽ.
The ſeuere puniſhement vſed by king Henry againſte the VVelſhmen.

Geruaſ. Dor.
Radulphus Cogeſhall.
Cardigan Caſtel vvonne by the VVelchemen.

Huberte de Saint Clere coneſtable of Colcheſter.

VVilliam de Langualee.

VVil. Pariſius

But to conclude with this iourney which K. Henry made at this time againſte the Welchemen, although by reaſon of the cumberſom difficulties of the places, he coulde not enter within the countrey ſo farre as he wiſhed, yet he ſo hampered them vp, and cõſtrained them to kepe within the woods and mountains, that they durſt not come abrode, & at lẽgth wer glad to ſue for peace.

VVilliam king of Scots doeth his homage to king Henry.

William king of Scots that ſucceded Malcolme (who departed this lyfe in the yeare laſte paſt) after he had receyued the crowne of Scotlande, came aboute this preſent tyme into England, and fynding king Henry at London, did his homage to him as his predeceſſour Malcolm had done before him. He made ſuite alſo to haue Northumberlande reſtored to hym, whiche the king of Englandes mother the Empreſſe had in tymes paſt giuen vnto King Dauid.

But king Henry layde dyuers reaſons to excuſe him ſelfe why hee myghte not deliuer that countrey to him at that preſente, namely without conſent of a parliament: and ſo king Williã perceyuing how yͤ matter went, gaue ouer his ſute for that preſent, meaning when occaſion ſerued, to attẽpt to get it by force, ſith that by prayer he ſawe well inough he ſhould not obteyne it.

Moreouer, the Scottiſhe king being required by kyng Henrye to go ouer with him into Normandie, he graunted ſo to doe. And now king Henrye hauyng ſette all thyngs in order within his Realme of Englande in the Lent followyng, he paſſed ouer into Normandie. But before he tooke his iourney, he ſette forth a decree that no manne ſhould bring any letters or commaundemente from Pope Alexander, or from Thomas Archebiſhop of Canterburie into England, conteyning an Interdiction of the realm: vpon perill to bee apprehended and puniſhed as a traytour to the king, and enimie to the realme:

N. Triuet.
Mat. Pariſ.
Gerua. Doro.
An edicte againſt the Archbiſhop Becket.

Alſo that no religious perſon or Prieſt ſhuld bee permitted to paſſe the ſeas, or to come into the Realme of Englande, excepte he had Letters of ſafeconducte from the Iuſtices for paſſage ouer, and of the King for his returne from thence. Alſo it was generally forbidden, that no manne ſhoulde appeale to the ſayd Pope or Archebiſhoppe, nor by their appoyntemente to holde any pleas: And if any perſon were founde doing contrary herevnto, he ſhould be taken and committed to priſon. Furthermore, if anye maner of perſon eyther Spiritual or Temporal, were obedient to the ſentence of the Interdiction, the ſame perſone ſhoulde bee banyſhed the Realme withoute delaye, and all hys lignage wyth hym, and ſo as they ſhould not conueye wyth them anye of theyr goodes, the whyche together wyth theyr poſſeſſions ſhould be ſeaſed into the kings handes.

Appeales forbidden.

Alſo all ſpirituall perſons that had any benefices within Englande were appoynted to haue warnyng giuen to returne into England within foure monethes after the ſame ſummons pronounced, and that if they fayled hereof, then ſhoulde the Kyng ſeyſe vpon their goodes and poſſeſſions.

Alſo the Biſhoppes of London and Norwiche, were ſummoned to appeare before the Kyngs Juſtices to aunſwere in that they had interdited the landes of Earle Hugh, and excommunicated the ſayd Earle.

Alſo that the pens of Saint Peter ſhould be gathered and kept.

The kings of Englande and Fraunce entervievve.

Chro. Sigeb.

Mat. Paris.

K. Iohn borne.

In the Octaues of Eaſter king Henry came, to an enterview with the Frenche King at Gyſoures, where they hadde conference together of ſundrye matters.

Thys yeare the Queene was delyuered of a ſonne named, John that was after king of this realme.

Gerua. Doro.

A cõtribution.

Moreouer, kyng Henry callyng a counſel of his Biſhops and Barons there in Normandie, a collection was ordeyned by their aduiſe to be made through all his countreys and dominions of two pence of the pounde of euery mans landes and goodes, iewells and apparell onely excepted: to be payde this yeare. 1166. and for the ſpace of foure yeares nexte enſuyng, one penye of euerye pounde to be payde yearely, and thoſe that hadde not the worth in goodes or landes the value of twentie ſhillings, and were yet houſeholders, or had any office, they ſhoulde pay a penye to this contribution, whiche was onely graunted for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſte partes, and thoſe that warred agaynſte the miſcreantes there. The paymente therof was appoynted to be made in the feaſte daye of Saynte Remigius, or within fifteene dayes after: and all ſuche as departed this lyfe within the realme that this collection was curraunt, theyr debtes beyng payde, were appoynted by the ſame ordinaunce to gyue the tenthe parte of all the reſidue of theyr goodes vnto this ſo neceſſarie a contribution.

The caſtell of Foulgiers.

Mat. Paris.

King Henry remaynyng nowe in Normandie, and vnderſtanding that dyuers Lordes and Barons of Mayne, and of the marches of Britayne, woulde not in his abſence ſhewe themſelues obedient vnto his wyfe Queene Eleanor, but were aboute to practiſe a rebellion. He reyſed an armie, and wente agaynſte them, eaſily ſubduyng thoſe, whom he founde obſtinate: and beſieging the Caſtell of Foulgiers, toke and vtterly deſtroyed it.

Vizeley. The Archebiſhop Becket accurſed thoſe in Englãd that mainteyned the cuſtomes of their elders.

Soone after the Archbiſhop of Canterbury came from Pountney to Vizeley, and there on the Aſcention day when the Churche was moſte full of people, he got him into the Pulpit, and with boke, bell, and candell, ſolemnely accurſed all the obſeruers, defendours, and maynteyners, with the promoters of ſuche cuſtomes as within the realme of Englande they terme the Cuſtoms of theyr elders: And amongeſt other were namely accurſed Richarde de Lucy, Richarde the Archedeacon of Poyctiers, Jocelyn de Baillevile, Alane de Neuille, and manye other. But they beeing abſente, neyther called nor conuicte (as they alleaged) notwithſtanding they were thus excommunicate,) ſente theyr meſſengers vnto the Archebiſhoppe, and appealed from hym, and ſo feared not to enter into theyr churches.

R. H.

He hadde before this written alſo vnto hys Suffraganes certayne Letters, and in the ſame denounced ſome of theſe perſones by expreſſe name accurſed, and alſo other, not onely for mayntenyng the matter agaynſt hym, touching the auncient cuſtome of the Realme: but alſo for the ſchiſme reyſed in Almayne by Reginald Archebiſhoppe of Coleyn, for the which he accurſed one John of Oxforde.

Moreouer, he accurſed Raynulfe de Brocke, Hugh Saynt Clere, and Thomas Fitz Bernarde, for violently ſeyſing vpon and deteynyng the goods and poſſeſſions belonging to his Archbiſhoprike, without his conſente or agreemente thervnto had.

The kyng on the other parte baniſhed out of Englande, and all the parties of his other dominions, all thoſe perſons that were knowen to be of kinne vnto the Archebiſhoppe, both yong and olde.

And furthermore he ſent aduertiſement to the Abbot of Pountney, and to his Monkes, with whom the Archebiſhoppe by the Popes appointmente remayned, that if they kepte hym ſtyll in theyr houſe, he woulde not fayle to banyſhe out of Englande alll the Monkes of their order. And ſo the Archebiſhop of his owne accorde after he had remayned there vneth two yeares, departed from thence, and came to the kyng of Fraunce, who courteouſly receyued hym, and ſent him to the Abbey of Saint Columbes nere to the Citie of Sens, where he remayned a certayne ſeaſon, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Math. Paris.

Legates from the Pope.

Shortely after this, came vnto Montmiriall two Legates from the Pope, William of Pauia, and John of Naples, bothe Cardinalles, whome the Archbiſhoppe ſuſpected rather to fauour the kings cauſe than hys: yet he was contented that they ſhoulde haue the iudgemente thereof committed vnto them: ſo that firſt according to the rites of the Church there might reſtitution bee made bothe to hym and to hys, of ſuche goodes as had bin taken from them. For being diſpoyled as he was, he woulde not ſtande to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled thervnto by any reaſon (as he ſayde) ſo that the two Legates when they ſawe that they could not bring any thing to paſſe, departed againe without any thing concluded.

omer Saenſis.

About this time Williã Taluance of Sagium by the cõſent of his ſons and nephues, deliuered into the handes of king Henry the caſtels of Aleniũ, and Roche Labrie, with al the appurtenances to the ſame caſtels belonging.

Triuet.
lcrium

onan Duke Britayne deaſſeth.
at. Paris.
mariage concluded betvixt Geffrey e kings ſonne the Ducheſſe Britayne.
V. Parhm.

About this ſeaſon alſo Conane the Duke of Britayne departed this lyfe, leauing behynd him no iſſue, but one only daughter begot of his wife the Ducheſſe Conſtance. the daughter of the K. of Scotlande, which ſucceeded him in the aſtate. Wherevpon K. Henry made earneſt ſute to procure a mariage betwixte hir and his ſonne Geffrey, whiche at length he brought to paſſe, to the high comforte and contentation of his mynde, in that his ſonne had by ſuch good fortune atteyned to the dukedome of Britayne.

There were in that ſeaſon in Britayn certain noble mẽ of ſuch ſtrength & power, that they diſdained to acknowledge thẽſelues ſubiects to any ſuperior power, & through ambitious deſire of rule & preeminẽce, they warred cõtinually one againſt an other, to the greate deſtruction and vtter vndoing of their miſerable countrey, ſo that the fieldes ſometyme fruitfull and bateſull by nature, were become as a wylde deſert. Herevpon, thoſe that were the weaker partie, perceiuing themſelues too muche ouerpreſſed by their aduerſaries, ſubmit themſelues vnto king Henry, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour.

An. reg. 13.

King Henrie reioycing to haue ſo good an occaſion and oportunitie to reduce them to reaſon, with all ſpeede ayded them that required healpe, and ſubdued thoſe that reſiſted his power, notwithſtandyng their greate puiſſaunce, and the ſtrength of the places whiche they kept.

1167.
Triuet.
ing Hẽry inuadeth the erle Auuergnes landes,

And in the meane while the kings ſonne Henrye came ouer to his Father, and founde him at Poytiers, from whence ſhortly after Eaſter, he remoued, and with an army entred into the landes of the Earle of Aluergne, the which he waſted and ſpoyled, bycauſe the ſayd Earle had renounced his allegiance to King Henrye, & made his reſorte to the French king, ſeekyng to ſowe diſcorde betwixte the foreſayd two kyngs: which diſcord was kindled the more by a chalenge pretended about the ſendyng of the money ouer into the holye lande, whiche was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the Frenche Kyng claymed to ſende it, by reaſon that the Churche there appertained to his dominion: and the king of Englande would haue ſente it bicauſe that it was gathered within the countrey that belonged to his gouernemente.

Geruaſ. Dor.
The Earle of Bolongne prepareth. 600. ſhips to inuade Englande.

Thys yeare a greate preparation of ſhippes was made by the Earle of Bolongne, to haue inuaded Englande, but by the warlyke prouiſyon of Richarde Lucye, Lorde gouernoure of the realme, the ſea coaſtes were ſo preuided of ſufficiente defence, that the Earles attemptes came to nothyng.

The cauſe why he made thys bragge, was for that the kyng withhelde from hym certaine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, & therfore he ment to recouer them by force.

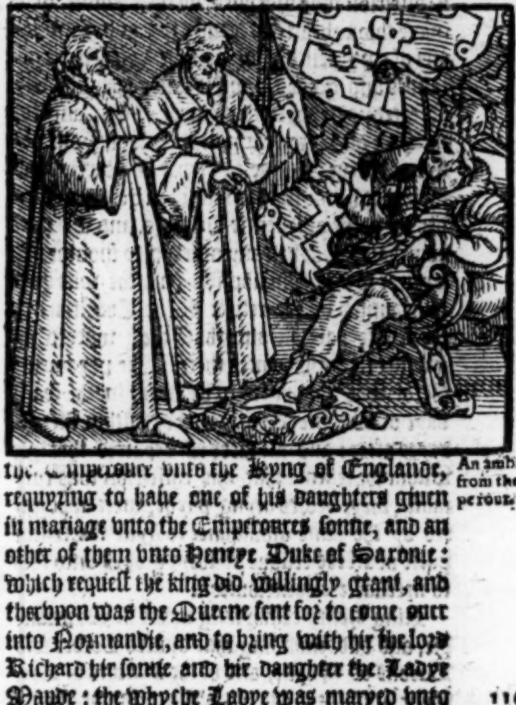
The deceaſſe of the empreſſe Maude.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Empreſſe Maude mother to the Kyng of Englande, a woman in ſtouteneſſe of ſtomacke and warrelyke attemptes more famous than cõmonly any of that ſexe, deceaſſed this yeare the tenth of September.

Alſo Roberte biſhoppe of Lincolne departed thys lyfe, after whoſe deceaſſe the Sea of Lincolne was vacant by the ſpace of ſeuenteene yeares, the king in al that meane tyme receiuing the profites.

An. reg. 14.
An ambaſſade from the Emperour.

The Elect of Colyn came ambaſſador from the Emperoure vnto the Kyng of Englande, requyring to haue one of his daughters giuen in mariage vnto the Emperoures ſonne, and an other of them vnto Henrye Duke of Saxonie: which requeſt the king did willingly grant, and therevpon was the Queene ſent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring with hir the lord Richard hir ſonne and hir daughter the Ladye Maude: the whyche Ladye was maryed vnto the Duke of Saxonie, in the beginning of the yeare nexte enſuyng. She had iſſue by him. iij. ſonnes, Henry, Otho, and William, of whiche the middlemoſt came to be Emperour.



1168.
Mat. VVeſt.

Debate betvvixt the pope & the emperour.
King Henry offereth to ayde the emperour.

The variance ſtil depending betwixt the king & the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: there was alſo about the ſame time a great debate betwixte the Emperour Frederike the firſt & Pope Alexander the third: wherevpon king Hẽry wrote to the emperor, & ſignified vnto him, that he wold ayd him if nede ſhould require againſte the Pope, whiche maynteyned ſuch a runagate traitor as the archbiſhop Becket was. Moreouer at the ſame time the king cauſed all his ſubiects within the realme of Englande, from the chylde of .xij. yeares olde vnto the aged perſon, to forſweare all obedience that might be pretended, as due to the ſame Pope Alexander. The king for the ſpace of two yeares togither remaining ſtill in Normandie, and in other places beyonde the ſeas, ſubdued diuers rebelles, as the earle of Angoleſme, Aymerike de Lucygne, and his ſonnes Robert and Hugh.

An enterveuve betwixt the kings of England and king of France.

Alſo he came to an enterueu with the king of France betwixt Pacy and Maunte, where they communed of ſuche iniuries as were thought to be attempted on eyther part: For the Poictouins had made their reſorte to the Frenche king, and were confederate with him againſt their ſupreme Lorde King Henry, and had deliuered pledges for aſſurance therof, which pledges the Frenche king woulde not reſtore.

The kings met agayne to cōmen of peace.

A truce.

Patrike Earle of Saliſburye ſlayne.

But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them to endure tyl the feaſt of Saint John Baptiſt. About the feaſt of Eaſter alſo Patrike Erle of Saliſburye was ſlayne by treaſon of yͤ Poyctovyns and was buryed at Saint Hillary. After him his ſon Williā ſucceded in yͤ earledom. The Britons praktyſed dayly Rebellions: but King Henry entring their countrey, wan diuers ſtrōg townes and caſtels, and brought them at length vnder his ſubiection. Moreouer in this ſommer ſeaſon yͤ two kings met again at Fert Bernarde to talke of peace, but they departed without concluding any agreemente at all. For there were manie of the Poyctovyns and Brytons, whiche tooke parte with the kyng of Fraunce, and hauing deliuered vnto him hoſtages, had a promiſe made to them, that the French kyng ſhould not conclude an agreement with the king of Englande without theyr conſent. Herevpon therfore they made warres eyther vpon other, till finally about the feaſt of the Epiphanie a peace was accorded betwixt them: And then Henry the king of Englands ſonne made his homage vnto the Frenche king for the countie of Anion, and the Frenche king graunted to hym the office of the Seneſchalcie of France, which anciently belonged vnto the Erles of Anion. Alſo Geoffrey duke of Britayne did homag. to his elder brother the aforeſayde Henry, by commaundement of his father, for the duchie of Britain. And afterwards the ſame Geffrey went into Britain, & at Rheynes receiued the homage and fealtie of yͤ Lordes and barons of that countrey.

An.reg.15.
1169

Geruaſ Doro.

N.Triuet.

Geffrey duke of Britayn.

Herney de Yuon.

K. Henrye in that meane while ſubdued certain rebells in Gaſcoine, & retourning into Normandie, buylt a goodly towne and fortreſſe nere to Hay de Malafrey, cleped Beauuer.

Aboute the ſame tyme one Haruey de Yuon that had marryed the daughter of one William Goieth (who dyed in his iourney which he toke into the holy land) deliuered certaine caſtels into the handes of king Henry, bicauſe he was in deſpaire to kepe them againſt Theobald Earle of Chartres, the which through the Frenche kyngs ayd, ſought to diſpoſſeſſe him of the ſame caſtels: And ſo herevpon the warre was renued betwixte the king of England and the ſaid Erle of Chartres. Neuertheleſſe king Henry making no great accompt of thoſe warres, wente into Britayne with his ſonne Geoffrey, where going about the countrey to viſite the Cities and townes, he reformed many miſorders, laying as it wer a maner of a new fundation of things there, fortifying the Caſtels, Cities and townes, and communing in courteous manner with the Lordes and peeres of the countrey, ſought to win their good willes: and ſo in ſuche exerciſes, he ſpent a great parte of the tyme. He kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Nauntes, whether all the greate lordes and barons of Britayne reſorted to him, and when the ſolemnitie of that feaſt was paſte, he entred into the lands of an Erle called Eudo, and waſted the ſame, tyll the ſayd Earle ſubmitted him ſelfe. At length after that the king had taken order for the good gouernment of Normandie, and his other Countries on that ſide the ſea, he returned into England in the firſt weeke of the moneth of March, but not without great daunger, by reaſon of a tempeſt that tooke him on the ſeas, beginning about mydnight, and not ceaſſing till .ix. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came a lande at Portſmouth, not with many of his ſhips, the reſte being toſſed and driuen to ſeeke ſuccour in ſundrye creekes and hauens of the lande, and one of them which was the chiefeſt and neweſt, was loſte in the middle of the floudes, togyther with .iiij.C. perſons of menne and women: amongeſt the which were Henry de Aguell with .ij. of his ſonnes Gilbert Sullemuy and Rafe Beumount the kings Phyſition and houſhold ſeruaunt.

An.reg.16.
1170.

Polidor.

Dauid was made knighte by king Henry as Houeden hath.

After this the king held his Eaſter at Wynſor, whyther came to him William the Scottiſhe king, wyth his brother Dauid to welcom him home, and to congratulate his happie ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe on the further ſyde the ſeas. They were honourably entertained, and at their departure princely rewarded.

The King beeyng returned thus into Englande, puniſhed the Sheriffes of the lande right grieuouſly for their extortion, brybery, and rapine.

A prudent conſideratiō in the King.

Mans nature ambicious.

After this, ſtudying howe to aſſure the eſtate of the Realme vnto his ſonnes, vpon good conſideration, remembring that no liuing creature was more ſubiecte to the vncertayntie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingraffed ſuche a feruent deſyre in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that ſo ofte as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they are without regard eyther of right or wrong, God or deuyll, tyll they be in poſſeſſion of theyr deſyred pray: Hee thought it not the worſt poynt of wyſedome to foreſee that whyche myghte happen: for if hee ſhoulde chaunce to departe thys lyfe, and leaue his ſonnes young, and not able to mayntayne warres through lacke of knowledge, it myght fortune them through the ambition of ſome to be defrauded and diſappoynted of theyr lawfull inheritaunce. Therefore to preuente the chaunces of fortune, he determined whyleſt hee was alyue to crowne his eldeſt ſonne Henry, being nowe of the age of .xvij. yeares, and ſo to inueſte hym in the kingdome by his owne acte in his lyfe tyme: which deed turned hym to much trouble, as after ſhall appeare.

Thus being vpon this poynt reſolued, he calleth togyther a parliament of the nobles bothe ſpirituall and temporall at London, and there [on Saint Bartholomews daye] proclaymed his ſayd ſonne Henry fellowe with hym in the kyngdome, whome after this on [the Sundaye followyng] beyng the fourtenth daye of Iune 1170. Roger the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke dyd crowne accordyng to the manner, commaunded ſo to doe by the kyng. Thys office appertayned vnto the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, but bycauſe he was baniſhed the Realme, the Kyng appoynted the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke to doe it, which he ought not to haue done without licence of the Archebyſhop of Canterbury within the precincte of his prouince, (as was alledged by the Archebyſhop Becket) who complayned thereof vnto Pope Alexander, and ſo incenſed the Pope, that hee beyng hyghly moued, by his letters forbad, not only the Archbiſhop of Yorke, but alſo Gilberte Biſhoppe of London, and Iocelyn Biſhop of Saliſburye, (which were preſente at the Coronation) the vſe of the Sacramentes, whiche made king Henry farre more diſpleaſed wyth the Archebiſhoppe Thomas than he was before.

Rog. Houede.

Henrye the ſon crovvned the 15. of Iuly ſaith Math. Paris.

VVil. Paruus

The Archebiſhop of Yorke is forbidde the vſe of the Sacramentes.

Upon the day of the Coronation, king Henry the father ſerued hys ſonne at the Table as ſewer, bringing vp the Bores head with trumpettes afore it, accordyng to the maner. For the whiche the yong man conceyuing a pride in his hearte, beheld the ſtanders by with a more ſtately countenaunce than he had bin wonte. Wherevpon the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke whiche ſat by hym, turnyng vnto hym, ſayde, Be glad my good ſonne, there is not an other Prince in the worlde that hath ſuche a ſewer at his table. To this the newe king anſwered, as it were diſdainfully thus: Why, doeſt thou maruell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more thã becommeth him, that he being borne of princely bloud onely on the mothers ſyde, ſerueth mee that am borne, hauyng both a Kyng to my father, and a Queene to my mother.

Mat. Paris.

Polidore

The king become ſeruitour to his ſonne.

Honors change manners.

Yong men ſet vp in dignitie eaſily forget themſelues.

Thus the yong man of an euill and peruerſe nature, was puffed vp in pryde by his fathers vnſeemely doings. But the Kyng hys father hearyng his talke, was right ſorowfull in his mynde, and ſayde to the Archebiſhoppe ſoftlye in his eare: It repenteth mee, it repenteth mee my Lorde, that I haue thus aduaunced the boy. For he gueſſed hereby what a one he woulde proue afterwarde, that ſhewed himſelfe ſo diſobediente and frowarde already. But although he was diſpleaſed with hymſelf in that he had done euyll, yet nowe when that whyche was done, coulde not bee vndone, he cauſed all the nobles and lordes of the realme, togither with the king of Scots and his brother Dauid, to do homage vnto his ſayde ſonne thus made fellow with hym in the kingdome: but he would not releaſe them of theyr othe of allegiance wherin they ſtoode bounde to obey hym the father, ſo long as he lyued.

Yet there bee that write, that hee renounced his eſtate firſte afore all the Lordes of the land, and after cauſed his ſonne to be crowned: but in ſuche vncertayne poyntes ſet forth by partiall wryters, that is to be receyued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and ſequele of thyngs after done and put in practiſe. For trouthe it is, that kyng Henry the father ſo long as his ſonne lyued, did ſhewe himſelfe ſometyme as fellowe with his ſon in gouernmẽt, & ſomtime as abſolute kyng: And after his ſons deceaſe, he continued in the entier gouernement, ſo long as he lyued. But to proceede.

The Frenche kyng hearyng that hys ſonne in lawe was thus crowned, and not his daughter, the wyfe of Henry the ſonne, he was highly offended therewith, and threatened to make warre againſt kyng Henrye the father, excepte hys daughter Margarete myghte receyue the Crowne alſo, as Queene immediately.

The Frenche king offende

The cauſe why ſhe was not crowned, was by reaſon of hir yong yeares, and had not as yet companyed with hir huſbande. But king Henrye the Father, vnderſtandyng the Frenche kyngs threates, ſayled ouer into Normandye, where whyleſt they prepare for warre on bothe ſydes, by the earneſte diligence of Theobalde Earle of Bloys, bothe the Kyngs come to an enterbewe at Vendoſme, where at length they were accorded, vppon promyſe made by kyng Henrye, that he woulde cauſe his ſonne to bee crowned agayne, and wyth hym his wyfe the ſayde Margarete the Frenche kings daughter.

An enterve of the kings,

Rog. Houe

The Frenche kyng contented therewyth, departed homewardes, and kyng Henry retournyng came to Vernon, where hee fell into ſo great a ſickeneſſe, that anone it was bruted tho-

roughout

He made his teſtament.

R. Houe.

In deede he him ſelfe was in ſuche diſpayre of lyfe, that he made his Teſtament: wherein he aſſigned his ſonne Richard the Duchie of Aquitayne, and all thoſe landes which came by Queene Elianor the mother of the ſame Richard. And to his ſonne Geffrey he bequeathed Britaigne (with the daughter of Earle Conan) the which he had purchaſed to his vſe of the French kyng. And to his ſonne Kyng Henry he gaue the Duchie of Normandy, and all thoſe landes which came by his father Geffrey Earle of Anion. And to his youngeſt ſonne John he bequeathed the Earledome of Mortaign. And further he appoynted where he woulde haue his body to be buryed.

Polid.

King Henry the ſon e his miſordr.

Ann re- gn. 16.

In this meane tyme Henry the ſonne remaynyng at home in Englande, fell from all good order of meaſure keeping, and gaue hym ſelfe to all exceſſiue riot, ſpending and waſting his reuenewes inordinately. Of whiche dealing his father being aduertiſed, returned into Englande, where he taryed not long, but paſſed ouer againe into Normandy, hauyng his ſaid ſonne in his companye, meaning thereby to remoue hym from the company of thoſe that were very like to corrupt his nature, and frame the ſame to all lewdneſſe.

1170.

In this meane while Thomas the Archbiſhop of Canterbury remayned in exile almoſt ſixe yeares, and could not be reſtored, tyll partly through the minatorie threates of the Pope, and partly through the earneſt ſuite made by Lewes the French Kyng, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and other, King Henry beganne ſomwhat to ſhew hym ſelfe conformable towards an agreement.

Ex Quadrilegio.

The king & the archb. Becket met together in preſence of the French kyng.

Wherupon at diuers tymes the two kings met, and the Archbiſhop Thomas came with the French King, and at one tyme he humbled hym ſelfe ſo to the King of Englande, that kneeling downe at his feete, ſaide: My ſoueraigne liege Lorde, I commit the whole cauſe of the controuerſie betwixt your Grace and me, vnto your maieſties order, Gods honour onely reſerued.

The King offended with that ambiguous exception, ſaid to the King of Fraunce: What ſo euer diſpleaſeth this man, is taken, as he interpreteth it, contrary to Gods honour, and ſo by that ſhyft wyll he challenge to hym ſelfe all that belongeth vnto me. But bicauſe ye ſhall not thinke that I goe about to reſiſt Gods honour, or hym, in any reaſonable order, looke what the greateſt and moſt holy of all his aunceſtours haue done vnto the meaneſt of myne aunceſtours, let hym doo the ſame vnto me, and I am contented therwith.

All the company preſent cryed, that the king humbled hym ſelfe enough. My Lord Archbiſhop, ſaid the French King, wyll ye be greater than Saintes? and better than Saint Peter? Whereof ſtande you in doubt? Beholde, your peace is at hand.

The preſent ſtate of the church in Beckets dayes.

The Archbiſhop made anſwere in commendation of the preſent ſtate of holy Churche, as thus: My holy predeceſſours in their tyme, although they cut not all things away that extolled it ſelfe againſt God, yet dyd they cut of diuers of them: but if they had plucked vp all by the harde rootes, which might offende, who ſhould nowe haue raiſed the fire of temptation agaynſt vs? Wee are in muche better caſe, thankes be to God, ſo that as we haue laboured in their lot and number, ſo are we partakers of their labour and rewarde. What if any of them had bin faint, or exceeded in any poynt, are we bounde to folowe the example of their faintneſſe or exceſſe? We blame Peter for his denying of Chriſte, but we prayſe hym in reprouyng of Neroes violence, with daunger of his lyfe. The Churche hath riſen and increaſed out of many daungerous oppreſſions, our fathers haue ſuffered many things, bicauſe they woulde not forſake the name of Chriſte, and ought I to ſuppreſſe his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbyd, ſaid he, God forbyd.

The archb. Becket blamed of arrogancie.

When the Noble men preſent hearde this anſweare of a ſubiect againſt his Soueraigne, they all held againſt him, imputing the fault to the Biſhops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betweene the king and hym, in ſo muche that there was an Earle which openly ſaid, ſyth that hee reſiſteth the wyll of both the Realmes, he is not worthy to be ſuccoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being caſt out of Englande, let not France receyue hym.

Archb. Becket vvilful in his ovvne opinion.

The Councell then being broken vp, the Kings departed without biddyng the Archbiſhop farewell, and ſuch as were mediatours for peace, in departing from this meting, ſpake many reprochefull wordes to hym, alledgyng that he had benne euer ſtoute and wiſe in his owne conceit, and a folower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderaunce to the Churche, that he was ordeyned Archbiſhop, and that by hym the Churche was alreadye in part deſtroyed, and woulde ſhortly be altogether brought to ruine.

But the Archbyſhop ſettyng a watche before his mouth, kept ſilence as though he had not heard, and folowed the Frenche king with his people. Many ſaide by the way as they iourneyed, Beholde the Archebiſhop yonder, whiche in talke the laſt night, woulde not for the pleaſure of the King denie God, nor keepe his honor in ſilence.

The French King receyueth the Archbiſhop Becket agayne into fauoure.

The Archb. is reconciled to the king.

The King would not kiſſe the paxe with the Archb.

M. Paris.

The honor of Saltvvod

After this, when the Archbiſhop was come to Sens, and aduiſed with himſelfe whether it ſhoulde bee beſt for him to goe, at length hee ſaide, God is able in the laſt poynte of miſerie and diſtreſſe, to help thoſe that be his: and herewith came a meſſenger from the French King to bring him to the Court, for the French King as one that had bin better inſtructed in the matter, repented himſelfe that he had iudged euil of his aunſweres at the laſt meeting, and hereupon receyued him againe into his fauour, and reſted not to trauell ſo muche in his cauſe, that at length another meeting was aſſigned at a certayne place neere the confines of Normandy, whther King Henry came, and there foũd Kyng Lewes, the Archbiſhop of Rouen, and diuers other Biſhops togither, with the foreſaide Archbiſhop, who after they had reaſoned of the matter throughly as they ſaw cauſe, K. Henry receiued the Archbiſhop into his fauour againe, and promiſed to redreſſe all that hadde bin done amiſſe, and pardon all thoſe that had followed him out of the Realme, whereuppon the King and the Archbiſhop being recõciled, the Archbiſhoppe the ſame day came before the Kings preſence, and talked with him. And amongſt other things, the Archbiſhop required of the King, that it might be lawfull vnto him withoute the offending of his maieſtie, to puniſh, according to the cenſures of the Churche, the iniurie done vnto him by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and other Biſhops in the Coronation of his ſonne, which the King graunted, and ſhewed himſelfe in all things to the Archbyſhop at that time ſo curteous, that as it is ſaid, he held his ſtirrop when he mounted on Horſbacke. But whereas twice within a few dayes after, the King and the ſaid Archbiſhop met at Maſſe, the King refuſed the kiſſe of peace with him, which was marked as a ſigne of a fained reconciliation, though indeede he afterwardes entertained him very curteouſly, and at his departure ouer into England, tooke leaue of hym in freindly manner, and directed letters vnder his ſeale, to his ſonne the newe King in forme as followeth. Knowe yee that Thomas the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury hath made his peace with mee at my will and pleaſure, and therefore I commaunde you, that both hee and hys may remayne in peace, and that he and al thoſe which for his cauſe departed out of ẏ Realm, may haue to them reſtored all their goodes in reſt and quiet, and in ſuche eſtate as they were poſſeſſed of them at any time within three monethes before their departure from thence. And further, cauſe to come before vs of the beſt, and moſt auncient Knightes, of the honor of Saltwood, that vppon their othes, they maye finde what fee the Archbiſhop ought to haue within that honor, and that which ſhall appeare to appertayne vnto him, as in fee let him enioy the ſame. And thus fare ye well.

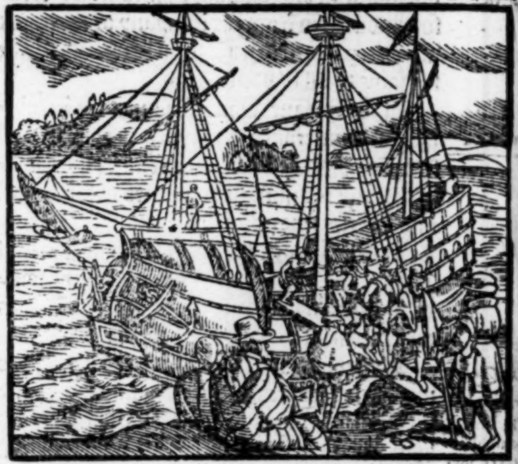
The French Kings aduice to the Arch. biſh. Becket.

The Archbiſhop before he tooke his iourney into England, went to viſit the French King, and to giue him thankes for his greate paynes and trauell ſuſteyned in his cauſe, who aduiſed him in no wiſe as yet to committe hymſelfe to preſente daunger amongſt his new reconciled enimies, but rather to ſtay til their malice wer ſomewhat aſwaged: for he perceyued by Kyng Henries words and countenaunce ſuch a deepe rooted diſpleaſure in his hart, that hee agreed to receyue him into fauoure rather by compulſion and againſt his will than otherwiſe.

M. Paris.

The Archb. Becket returneth into England.

But when the Archbiſhop would nedes depart and goe ouer into Englande, the Frenche K. ſuffered him ſo to doe, doing him al the honor he could at his leaue taking. Thẽ ẏ Archbiſhoppe departing out of Fraunce, came into England, and landed at Sandwiche about the



firſt of December, in the ſeuenth yeare after his firſt departure out of the Realme. Shortly after his arriuall, Roger ẏ Archbiſhop of Yorke Gilbert Biſhop of London, and Ioſcelline the Biſhop of Saliſbury, with diuers other, came vnto him, as to the Popes Legate, and required that it might pleaſe him to reſtore them to the miniſtration of their offices againe. Theyr requeſt he graunted, but yet vpon condition ẏ they ſhuld vndertake to ſtand to his iudgemẽt and order in al things, which to do, they by the Counſell of the Archbyſhop of Yorke vtterly refuſed. Heere authors agree not, as Polidor truely ſaith, for ſome write, howe the Archbiſhop Thomas immediately vpon his returne into England, denounced the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke with the Biſhops of Saliſburie & Lõdõ accurſed, wheras before they were depriued of the vſe and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes: and ſome agayne wryte, that nowe at his comming ouer into Englande from his exile, he depriued them onely of the miniſtration of the Sacramentes together wyth the Biſhoppes of Exceſter, Cheſter, Rocheſter, Saint Aſaph, and Landaffe, whiche had bin preſente at the Coronation of king Henry the ſonne, to the derogatiō of the dignitie of their primate the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (as before ye haue herd.) It ſhuld ſeme yet by Geru. Dorobernenſis, that the Archbiſhop of York, & the Biſhop of Durham were ſuſpended, and the Biſhops of London, Saliſbury, & diuers other were excommunicate. But how ſoeuer he vſed them, the Archbiſhop of York, the two Biſhops of London, & Saliſbury being offended with his doings, ſailed ouer into Normādie, and there complayned vnto kyng Henry of iniuries done to them by the Archebiſhoppe Thomas, grieuouſly accuſing him, that hee went about to take away the libertie of prieſthood, to deſtroy, corrupte, and fynally to aboliſhe bothe the lawes of God and man, together with the auncient decrees and ſtatutes of their elders: inſomuch that he toke vpon him to exclude Biſhoppes at his pleaſure from the companie of Chriſtian men, and ſo being excluded, to baniſhe them for euer. Alſo to derogate things merely preiudiciall to the kinges royall prerogatiue. And finally to take away from all men the equitie of Lawes and Ciuill orders.

The archbiſh. of Yorke and other go ouer to the king to complayne of the Archebiſh. Becket.

Gerua. Doro.

The Kyng giuyng eare to theyr tale, was ſo diſpleaſed in his mynde towardes the Archebiſhop Thomas, that in open audience of his Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemenne, he ſayd theſe or the lyke wordes: In what myſerable ſtate am I, that can not bee in reſte within myne owne Realme, by reaſon of one onely Prieſte? neyther is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of ſuche troubles.

The occaſion of the kinges vvoordes that coſt biſhoppe Becket his life.

There were that ſtode aboute the King whyche gueſſed by theſe wordes, that hys mynde was to ſignifye he woulde haue ſome man to diſpatche the Archebiſhop out of the waye.

The Kinges diſpleaſure towardes the Archbiſhop was knowne well ynough, which cauſed men to haue no reuerence to him at all, ſo that as there goeth a tale: it chaunced on a tyme, that hee came to Strowde in Kente, where the inhabitauntes meanyng to do ſomwhat to his infamye, beyng thus oute of the Kings fauour, and deſpiſed of the world, cut off his horſſes tayle.

There were of the Kinges ſeruauntes that thought after an other maner of ſort to reuenge the diſpleaſure done to the kyngs maieſtie, as Sir Hugh Moreuille, ſir William Tracy, ſir Richard Britaigne, and Sir Reignold Fitz Vrſe, knightes, the whiche taking aduyce togither, and agreeing in one mynde and will, toke ſhipping, and ſayled ouer into England, landyng at a place called Dogges hauen, nere vnto Douer.

The knightes the knightes that ſlevve the Archbi. Becket.

The firſte nighte they lodged in the Caſtel of Saltwood, which Randalffe de Brocke hadde in keepyng, the nexte morning beeing the nyne and twentie of December, & fifte day of Chriſtmas which as that yeare came aboute fel vpon a tuiſday. They (hauing got togyther certain souldiors in the countrey thereabouts) came to Canterbury, and firſt entring into the court of the abbey of S. Auguſtine, they talked wyth Clarenbalde, the electe Abbotte of that place. And after conference hadde with hym, they proceded about their buſineſſe in maner as followeth.

Reynolde Fitz Vrſe.

That is betvvene 4. and 5. of the euening.

The fyrſte knyght Sir Reynold Fitz Vrſe came to hym aboute the eleuenth houre of the daye, as the Archebiſhop ſatte in his chamber and ſitting downe afore his feete vppon the grounde without any manner of greeting or ſalutation, At lengthe beganne wyth hym thus:

Wee beeing ſente of oure Soueraigne Lorde the king from the parties of beyond the ſea, doe here preſent vnto you his graces commaundementes, to witte, that you ſhoulde go to his ſonne the King, to doe vnto hym that whiche appertayneth vnto you to doe vnto your ſoueraigne Lorde, and to do your fealtie vnto hym in takyng an othe, and further to amende that wherin you haue offended againſt his Maieſtie. Wherunto the archbiſhop aunſwered: For what cauſe ought I to confirme my fealtie vnto him by othe? or wherin am I giltie in offending the Kinges Maieſtie? Sir Reignold ſayde: For your Barony fealtie is demaunded of you wyth an othe, and an other othe is required of thoſe Clerkes, whiche you haue broughte wyth you, if they meane to continue within the lande. The Archebiſhop aunſwered: For my Baronie I am redye to doe to the Kyng whatſoeuer Lawe or Reaſon ſhall allowe of. But lette him for certaine holde, that he ſhall not get any othe eyther of me or of my Clerkes. We knowe that (ſayd the knight, that you woulde not doe anye of theſe thinges whiche wee proponed vnto you. Moreouer the King commaundeth you, that you ſhall abſoyle thoſe Biſhoppes that are excommunicated by you without his lycence. Whereunto he ſayde: The biſhops are excō-

An othe required of him for his Baronie.

muninicated not by mee, but by the Pope, who hath therto authoritie from the Lorde. If in deede he hathe reuenged the iniurie done to my Churche, I confeſſe that I am not diſpleaſed therewith. Then ſayde the knyght: Syth that ſuch thinges in deſpyte of the King do pleaſe you, it is to be thought that you would take from him his crowne, and bee called and taken for Kyng your ſelf, but you ſhall miſſe of your purpoſe ſurely therin. The Archbiſh. then againe anſwered: I do not aſpire to the name of a king, rather would I knitte three crownes vnto his crowne if it laye in my power.

The knightes cōmaunde the Monkes to ſee the Archbis. kept ſafe.

Iohn de Saliſbury the Archbishop Beckets chancellor

The archebiſhops reſolution.

The knightes put on their armour.

The Monkes vvith force bring the Archbishop into the Church.

The knightes enter the churche.

As thoughe Archebishops cābe no traitours.

The courage the Archbi

Edvvarde de Cambridge.

The Archbiſh is ſlayne.

At length after ſuch wordes, the Knights turning them to the Monkes, ſayd: Upon the behalf of our ſoueraigne Lord the King, we commaund you, that in any wyſe ye kepe this man ſafe, and preſente him to the king when it ſhall pleaſe his grace to ſend for him. The Archbiſhop ſaid: Doe ye thinke that I will run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the outrage and malice of wicked men. Truly (ſayd they) you ſhall not run away, and herewith they going forth with noyſe and threatnings, maiſter John of Saliſbury his Chancellor ſayde vnto him: My Lorde, this is a wonderfull matter that you wil take no mans counſell: had it not bin mete to haue giuen them a more meeke and gentle anſwere? but the Archbiſhop ſaid: Surely I haue alreadie taken all the counſel that I will take, I know what I ought to do. Then ſayd Saliſburie, I pray God it may be good, the knightes therfore departing oute of the place, and going aboute to putte on their armour, certaine perſons came to the Archebiſhop, and ſayd: My Lord, they arme themſelues. Then ſayd he: What forceth it? let them arme themſelues. Nowe when they were once armed, and with many other about thē, entred into the Archbiſhops palace. Those that were about the Archbiſhop cryed vppon him to flee, but he ſat ſtill and woulde not once remoue, til the Monkes brought him euen by force and againſte his will into the Churche. The comming of the armed men beeing knowne, ſome of the Monkes contynued in ſinging of euenſong, & ſome ſought places where to hide themſelues, other came to the Archebiſhop, who was lothe to haue entred into the Churche, and when he was within he woulde not yet ſuffer them to make faſt the dores, ſo that there was a great ſturre among them, but chiefly when they perceyued that the armed men went about to ſeke for the Archbiſh. by meane wherof their euenſong was left vnfiniſhed. At length yͤ knights wͭ their ſeruaunts hauing ſought the palace, came ruſhing into the Churche by the Cloyſter dore with theyr ſwordes drawen, ſome of them aſkyng for the Traytor, and ſome of them for the Archbyſhoppe who came and mette them, ſaying here am I, no traytor but the Archebiſhop. The formoſt of the knightes ſayde vnto him: flee, thou art but deade. To whome the Archebiſhop ſaide I will not flee: The knight ſtepte to hym taking him by the ſleue and with his ſworde caſte his cappe beſides hys heade, and ſayde, come hither for thou art a priſoner, I will not, ſayde the Archbiſhop) doe wyth me here what thou wylte, and plucked his ſleeue with a myghty ſtrength out of the knights hand. Wherwith the knight ſtepped back .ij. or three paces: Then the Archebiſhoppe turning to one of the knightes ſayde vnto him; what meaneth this Reygnolde? I haue done vnto thee many hygh pleaſures, and cōmeſt thou now vnto me into the Church armed, vnto whom the knight anſwered and ſayde, Thou ſhalte knowe anone what is ment. Thou arte but deade: It is not poſſyble for thee longer to liue. Unto whome the Archbyſhop ſayde: And I am redy to dye for my God and for the defence of his Juſtice and the lybertye of the Church, gladdely do I imbrace death, ſo that the Church may purchaſe peace and lyberty in the ſhedding of my bloud: And herewith takyng on other of the knightes by the Habergeon, hee floung him from him with ſuche violence, that hee hadde almoſte throwne hym downe to the grounde. This was ſyr Wylliam Thracye, as he himſelf did after confeſſe. After this the archbyſhoppe inclyned hys heade after the manner of one that ſhoulde pray, pronouncing theſe his laſte wordes: Unto God and to Saint Marye and to the Saintes that are Patrons of thys Churche, and to Sainte Deniſe, I commende my ſelfe and the Churches cauſe. There wyth Sir Reignalde Fytz Urſe ſtrykyng a full blowe at hys heade, chaunced to light vpon the arme of a clerke named Edwarde of Cambridge, who caſte vp his arme to ſaue the Archebyſhoppe: but when hee was not able to beare the weight of the blowe, hee plucked his arme backe, and ſo the ſtroke ſtayed vppon the Archbyſhoppes heade, in ſuche wyſe that the bloud ran down by hs face: and then they ſtroke at hym one after an other, and thoughe hee fell to the grounde at the ſeconde blowe, they lefte hym not tyll they hadde cutte and tourned out his braynes, and ſtrowed them aboute vppon the Churche pauement, whiche done, they went to the ryfling of hys houſe, ſpoyled all his goodes and toke them to their owne vſes, ſuppoſing it lawefull for them ſo to doe beeyng the kinges ſeruauntes. But yet doubtyng howe the matter woulde bee taken, after they hadde wrought theyr feate, they gotte them into the Byſhopryke of Durreſme, there to remayne tyll they myght heare howe the Kyng woulde take thys theyr vnlawfull enterpryſe: Althoughe (as they tooke it and alledged) they hadde luſtily defended hys cauſe, and reuēged his quarell as faithful ſeruāts

ought

The murtherers come to an euill ende.

Math. Paris.

Vi. Paruus.

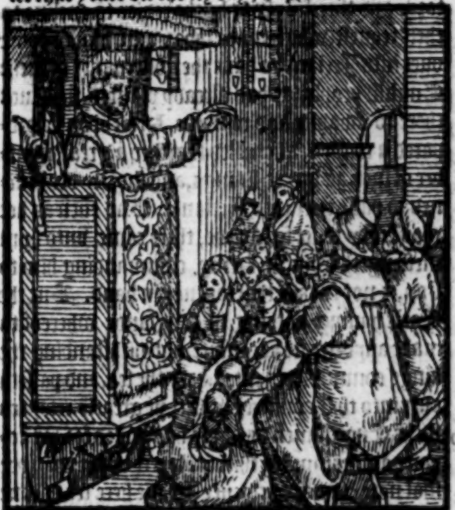
ought to do, but it chaunced otherwiſe than they looked it ſhould haue done: for King Henry conned them ſo little thanke for their preſumptuous acte, ſounding to ẏ euill example of other in breache of his lawes, that they diſpairing vtterly of pardon, fledde one into one place, and another into another, ſo that within foure yeares they al dyed an euill death (as it hath bin reported). Some write, that they went to Rome by the Kings commaundement, and there preſented them ſelues before the Pope to receiue ſuche pennaunce for their wicked acte as he ſhould enioyne them. Herevpon the Pope appointed them to goe vnto Jeruſalem, there to doe their penaunce, where they remained certaine yeares, applying themſelues right diligently to performe the ſatiſfaction of their offence, according to the maner preſcribed to them by the Pope, and ſo at length they departed this life.

p. reg. 17.

1171

ter their accompt that g to the yer Criſtmas y.

And this was the ende of Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whiche was after hee firſt entred into that ſea eight yeres and ſixe monethes, in the yeare after the birthe of our Lorde 1171. On Chriſtmas day before his deathe, which fel that yeare on the fryday, he preached a ſermon



to the people, and when he had made an end therof, he accurſed Nigell de Sackeuille, the violente incumbent of the Church of Berges, and Robert de Brocke, ẏ which had vpō a deſpite curtayled ẏ horſe of the ſayde Archbiſhoppe: and as the ſame day whileſt he was at the aulter according to his cuſtome altogether in teares and lamentation, ſo at dinner he ſhewed him ſelfe very pleaſaunt and merry, in ſo muche, that when thoſe that were at the table ſemed ſomewhat doubtful to eate of the fleſh that was ſette before them, bycauſe it was Fryday, why doe ye abhorre, why do ye abhorre (ſaithe he) to eate fleſhe, this daye fleſhe hathe a greate priuiledge, for this ſame day the worde was made fleſhe, and came into light, & appeared vnto vs. Theſe his wordes greatly contented all

ert de ke.

King Henry ſory for the Archbiſhop Beckets death.

the company. But to let this matter paſſe. Kyng Henry doubtleſſe was right penſiue for his death, bycauſe hee wiſt well ynough that it woulde be iudged, that he himſelfe was priuie to the thing: and euen ſo came it to paſſe, for immediatly vpon notice giuen into France of the Archbiſhops death, K. Lewis, and the Earle of Bloys Theobald, as they that loued hym moſt deerely, were moſt ſorowful for it, & iudging ſtraight way that K. Henry was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto Pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderſtand both of ẏ ſlaughter, & how K. Henry hadde cauſed it to bee put in execution, requiring moſt inſtantly, that ſuche an iniurie done to the Chriſtian Religion, might ſpeedily be puniſhed. The Pope was muche offended, and determined to haue the matter throughly conſidered and ordered, ſo as might ſtand with his dignitie and accordingly as the haynous ſtate of the caſe required. K. Henry whileſt theſe things were a doing, lay certaine dayes at Argentē ſo much diſpleaſed in his mind, that he would ſuffer no man once to ſpeake to him about any matter of buſineſſe. At length, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to Rome, partly to purge himſelfe of the Archbiſhops death, partly to excuſe his faulte, for that in his furie he hadde vttered wordes againſt ẏ Archbiſhop whiche had giuen occaſion to naughty men to contriue hys death, partly to require the Pope to ſend his Legates into England, to make enquirie both for ẏ deathe of the Archbiſhop, & alſo of the ſtate of the Cleargie. The Kings Ambaſſadours found the Pope at Tiuoli, & there were herd to declare their meſſage: but little credite was giuen to theyr wordes, in ſo muche, that the Pope playnely tolde them, that he vnderſtode the matter to be muche otherwiſe than they had declared. Yet accordyng to the kings requeſt, he ſent two of his Cardinals into Englād, whiche vpō due examinatiō, might vnderſtand ẏ truth of ẏ matter throughly as apperteined. There be that write, that the K. ſent Ambaſſadors twice vnto ẏ Pope, for the firſte ẏ went, could not come to his preſence, nor be ſuffered to declare their meſſage: thoſe that were ſent the ſecond time, were receiued of ſome of ẏ Cardinals, but yet onely with wordes withoute any other way of friendly entertainement. At length, whē ẏ feaſt of Eaſter drew neere, on ẏ which eyther abſolution or excommunication was to bee denounced againſt euery man, there were certain of the Cardinals whiche gaue intelligence to the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours, that the Pope by aduice of the Colledge, ment on the thurſday before Eaſter day to declare the ſentence of interdictiō againſt the K. of Englande, and againſt all hys dominions, and to confirme that whiche had bin already pronounced againſt Richarde the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the other Biſhops his com-

Polidor.

King Henry ſendeth Ambaſſadors to the Pope.

Math. Paris.

plices. The Ambaſſadors beeing broughte to a ſtrait iſſue herwith by help of ſome of ẏ Cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the Popes head, how the Engliſh Ambaſſadors had commiſſiō to vndertake that the K. of England ſhould obey in al things what order ſoeuer it pleaſed the Pope & his court to award him. Hereupon they toke their othe, that it ſhould ſo be, and ſo by ẏ meanes they auoided the interdiction. The meſſengers of the Archbiſhop of Yorke and the other Biſhops vſed the like ſhifte, but yet ẏ ſame day the Pope did excommunicate the knights that had murthred the Archbiſhop Thomas, and all thoſe that had procured, ayded, ſuccoured, or abetted them therein.

Ger. Do.

The Ambaſſadors were glad to vſe a ſhift by briberie.

Some write, that thoſe Ambaſſadors which ẏ K. ſent to ẏ Court of Rome, could not be ſuffered to come to ẏ Popes preſence, till according to ẏ faſhiō, they had giuē. 500. markes in reward, and ſo at length were admitted to his preſence. Howſoeuer ẏ matter paſſed, ẏ K. ſtode in great feare leaſt his land ſhuld be interdited, in ſo much, that he cōmanded ẏ wardens of ẏ portes both on this ſide ẏ ſea & beyond, to take good heed, leaſt any cōmyng with letters of interdictiō ſhould paſſe into England, but if any ſuch came, ẏ the bringer ſhould be areſted & committed to priſon. Alſo he cōmanded, ẏ no clearke wer ſuffered to come ouer into Englād, except he firſt toke an oth that he came about no buſineſſe ẏ might turne to ẏ preiudice of ẏ K. or his realme. This commaundement he ſet forth, at what time he tranſported ouer into Englande himſelfe, where he lāded this yere at Porteſmouth ẏ third day of Auguſt. About which time it came into ẏ kings mind, to make a Conqueſt of Irelād vpō this occaſion. It chanced, whereas diuers rulers (or as we may cal them) pety kings, gouerned ẏ ſame ſeaſon in that Iland (whiche was deuided into ſeueral eſtates or kingdomes) that continuall ſtrife & diſſentiō remained amongſt them, ſo ẏ oftentimes they made ſore war after the manner of their countrey one againſt an other. Hereupon it fortuned, that one of thoſe kings or rulers about ẏ 14. yere of this kings raigne, was ſore afflicted and oppreſſed by his neighbours, wherupō taking aduice what he might beſt doe for remedie in ẏ caſe, at length he ſent his ſon into England to reteyne ſouldiers & men of war, & to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & ſuch commoditie as he aſſured them of. Now it came to paſſe, that by ẏ aſſiſtance of ſuch Engliſhmen as then came ouer, the foreſaid Iriſh K. began to recouer his loſſes, & in the end waxed ſo ſtrong, that he ſubdued all his enimies. Whē he had thus obteined the victory, he did not only not ſend backe his aiders, but ſo liberally reteined them ſtil with him, that they had no haſt to returne home, but ſetled themſelues in that countrey, where they liued a pleaſant and very licentious life. For this cauſe alſo the ſtouteſt Lords and Rulers of the Iriſh nation began ſore to ſtomacke ẏ matter againſt him ẏ had thus brought the Engliſhe nation into their Countrey, in ſo much, that the Engliſhmen perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing ſome feare of themſelues, bycauſe of their ſmall number, they ſent ouer into England for ſuch as wanted liuings and were willing to ſeeke for it in other countreys, of which ſort, great nūbers went ouer thither within a ſhort ſpace, whereof the multitude of the Engliſhe greatly encreaſed: but for as muche as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strāgbow erle of Struguille, *alias* Chepſtow in Wales to come ouer thither, & to receyue the ſoueraigne gouernement, with ſuch honorable prouiſion for maintenāce of his eſtate, as ſhould ſeme requiſite. Some write, ẏ this Erle Richarde (being alſo Erle Marſhal of England) for a Rebellion moued againſt K. Henry, had before thys time forfeited al his lāds, but other affirme ẏ thorough riot and more ſumptuous port thā his ability might beare, he had made away & conſumed ẏ moſt parte of his liuings, and was runne ſo farre in debt, that he knew not how to ſatiſfie his creditors, and therefore was he the redier to encline to their requeſt, which made labor vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of ſuche Engliſh people, as had already planted thēſelues there to inhabite and remaine. Here vpon he prepared a nauie & aſſembled togither a great number of ſuch as lacked liuings, and ſhortly determined to paſſe ouer into Irelande. But euen as hee was ready to ſet forwarde, there came vnto hym meſſengers from K. Henry, commanding him to ſtay, & not to take that iourney in hand. But the Earle hauing nothing in Englande whereof to make anye greate accompte, notwithſtanding the kings commandement, taketh the ſea, and paſſeth ouer into that countrey, where he greatly reioyced ſuche Engliſhmen as dayly had loked for his repaire and comming thither. Heere by the way yee ſhal note, that whatſoeuer I haue here ſet downe touching theſe Iriſhe matters, I toke the ſame forthe of ſuche authors as yee may find heere alledged, before I got ſight of Giraldus Cambrēſis his boke entituled Vaticinalis hiſtoria, wherein is cōteined ẏ trueſt report of al theſe doings, as partly may appeare by that which in ẏ hiſtorie of Ireland is exēplified out of Campiō, & ſomewhat enlarged by mine owne collections out of the ſaid Giraldus his boke. But for ſo much as time wil not ſerue me to tranſpoſe that which I haue here inſerted into the Iriſh hiſtory (as I wiſhed) for ẏ more large ſetting forth thereof, as place and occaſion might haue required, I haue here deliuered the hiſtorie vnto you as I firſt gathered it out of thoſe authors which firſt came to my handes, referring the conſideration thereof to the Readers diſcretion,

Sundry rulers in Ireland.

Math. Paris.
VVi. Paruus.
See more hereof in Irelande.

Earle Stra
bowe.

Nic.Tri

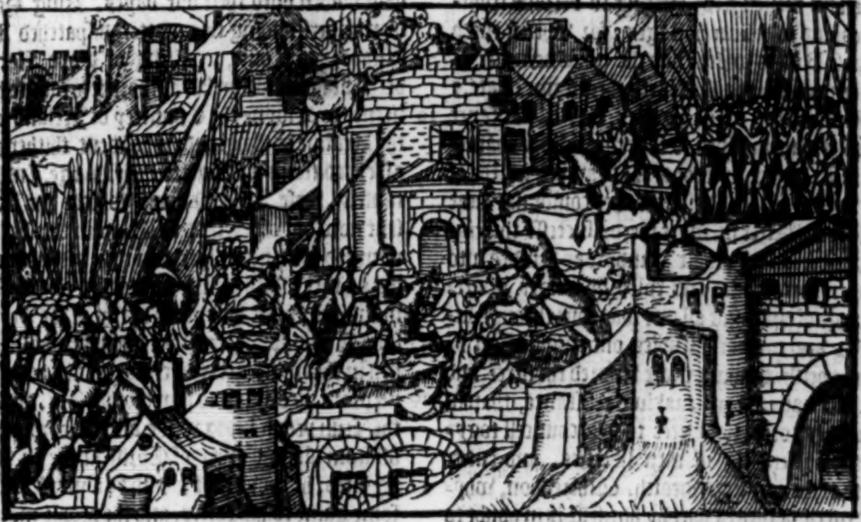
N.Triuet.

VVil.Par

Strangbo
contem

diſcretion vpon conference of the ſame, with that which is conteined in the ſaid hiſtorie of Irelande. To proceede therefore with Earle Strangbowe: Shortly after, ioyning thoſe whiche he broughte ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought ſo worke ſome feate, whereby he mighte make his name famous, and cauſe the Iriſhmẽ to haue him in feare. And herevpon he firſt aſſailed the Citie of Dublin, and by force wan it. He likewiſe wan Waterford, and diuers other Townes nere vnto the Sea ſyde.

Dublin won. Additions to Iohn Pike.



Alſo to haue ſome friendſhip amongſt thoſe barbarous people, he married the daughter of the cõfederate King, and ſo grewe into very greate eſtimation in that countrey and Region.

trangbow marrieth Dermutius is daughter.

Howbeit, with theſe and the lyke doings of the Erle, King Henry tooke ſuch diſpleaſure (but chiefly for diſobeying his commaundemente) that hee confyned him the realme, ſeaſed his lands as forfeyted, and by proclamation reſtreyned all his ſubiectes from paſſing into Irelande with any kind of marchandiſe, prouiſion of vittailes, or other commodities what ſoeuer.

trangbow onfined.

By reaſon whereof, Earle Strangbowe partly by conſtreynte, and partly in hope to returne into fauoure with King Henry, and for other reſpectes as maye be coniectured, aduertiſed him of the whole ſtate of the countrey of Irelãde, promiſing him, that if it woulde pleaſe his grace to come ouer thither, he woulde ſo worke that hee ſhould be admitted ſoueraigne Lord of al ỹ land.

o ſeeketh to rocure the ngs fauour.

Herevpon King Henry pardoned him of al former treſpaſſes, and reſtored vnto him al his landes and inheritances within England and Normãdy. And further, confyrmed to him ſuche liuings abrode in Irelande out of the walled Townes, as he helde already in right of his wife. And furthermore ordeyned, that he ſhould be high Stewarde of Irelãd vnder him.

he King rdoneth m.

ic, Triuet.

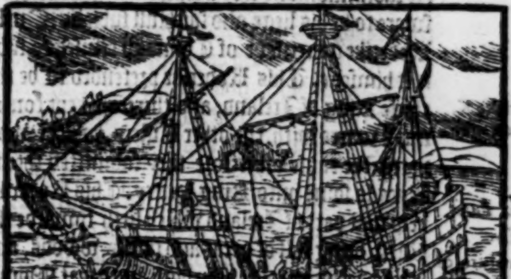
Kyng Henry then returning out of Normandy into England about the firſt day of Auguſt as is aforeſaid, cauſed a nauie of .400. Ships to be made ready, and to aſſemble at Milford hauen in Penbrokeſhire, with all ſuch prouiſion and furniture as was thought neceſſary for ſuch a iourney. Herewith alſo he leuieth a great army both of horſemen and footemen, and came forward with the ſame vnto Penbroke, and ſo when all his prouiſion and Ships were ready, he entreth the Sea at Milford hauen aforeſaid the ſixtenth day of October, and landed in Irelande, at a place called Crowch, not paſt a ſeuen myles from Waterford the day next following, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Luke the Euangeliſts day, hee with all hys army marched forthe to Waterforde, where hee found William Fitz Aldelme his Sewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whom he had ſent thither before him for ſuch purpoſes as he thought moſt conuenient.

g. Hou.

Milford Hauen.

King Henry landeth in Ireland.

Crowch.



He remayned at Waterforde fiftene dayes, during whiche tyme, there came in vnto him the K. of Corke, the K. of Limerike, the K. of Oſſorie, ỹ K. of Meth, Reginald de Waterford, and diuers other great Princes of Irelãd.

At his firſt arriuall, the foreſayd Earle Richarde ſurrendred into his hands all thoſe Townes and places whiche he had ſubdued in that Countrey. Herewithal, the whole land began to tremble, ſo that the Rulers of Townes and Countreys ſent vnto him meſſengers, offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hoſtages: for whileſt euery of thoſe Rulers whiche had the gouernemente of Ireland in their hands feared their owne eſtate, & miſtruſted their owne powers, they all in maner ſubmitted themſelues, ſo that this victory chaunced to K. Henry, withoute the drawing forthe of his ſworde, & in ſuch wiſe, that hee coulde not haue wiſhed for better or more ſpeedy ſucceſſe therein. For whereas the whole Ilande was deuided into ſundry dominions, and ruled by ſundry gouernours, not drawing all one way, but through factions and contrary ſtudies one enuying an others welth, nothing more hindred the fierce and vnquiet nation from making reſiſtance, than in that they could not agree to take councell togyther for defending of their liberties, and entier ſtate of the common wealth. Wherevpon, whyleſt euery of them a part by himſelfe is in doubt to attempt the hazard of warre againſt ſo mighty a King, they are all ouercome, as were the Britons likewiſe in the time of Ceſar and of the Saxons. King Henry therefore gladly receiued their humble ſubmiſſion, and they doing homage vnto him, ſware to be his liege and faithfull ſubiects. Onely Roderike gouernour of Connagh refuſed to ſubmit himſelfe. This Roderike pretended to be the chiefe King of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall warre with the other Rulers, whiche was partly the cauſe wherefore they ſubmitted themſelues ſo ſoone vnto King Henry. This Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth towarde the Weſt, being full of great and thicke woods, and hereto defended with very high and great Mountaines, alſo cloſed with waters and mariſhes, ſo that it ſhoulde bee very harde, and ſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, to bring an army vnto it: whyche was the only cauſe why King Henry attempted nothing againſt Roderike at that time, but tooke in hand to plāt garniſons of Souldiers in places conuenient, to keepe the lande in quiet, whiche hee had wonne already, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole eſtate of the Countrey to his behoofe and commoditie. Hereypon going to Dublin which is the chiefeſt Citie of all Ireland, he aſſembled all the Rulers and Lordes as well ſpirituall as temporall togither there in Counſel, conſulting with them for the aſſurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for euermore. The Iriſh men alledge for themſelues, that his deuiſe therein coulde not be broughte to paſſe without the Popes authoritie were therein firſte obteyned: for they affirmed, that immediatly vpon receyuing the Chriſtian faith, they did ſubmit themſelues, and all that they hadde, vnto the Sea of Rome, ſo that they could not acknowlege any for their ſoueraigne Lord, but only the Pope, which opinion ſome of them (although vaynely) haue holden vnto theſe our dayes. King Henry then vnderſtanding this matter, diſpatched Imbaſſadors to Rome, requiring of Pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie graunte hym licence to adioyne the Countrey of Ireland vnto the Realme of England, who went thitherwith all expedition according to their charge. And certainely, theſe Imbaſſadours whiche the Kyng ſent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better ſpeede in their meſſage, than did ŷ other which he had ſent to him out of Normandy to excuſe him of the deathe of the Archbyſhop Thomas: for the Pope vpon good aduice taken in this matter (conſidering that he had nowe no profit growing to him by that Iſle, and that the Iriſh people being wilde and rude, were farre off from all good order of Chriſtianitie in diuers poyntes, he thought it would be a mean to bring ſome gaine to his cofers, and the people more eaſily from their naughty cuſtomes, if they were once made ſubiect vnto ſome Chriſtian Prince, that was of puiſſance able to tame them, and cōſtreine them by force to be more meeke and tractable.) In conſideration whereof, he was content to graunt vnto the K. all that herein he required. Wherevpon, K. Henry conſidering in what reſpect the Pope was ſo ready to accompliſhe hys requeſt, called a Counſell of the Biſhops to aſſemble at Caſſille, where many things were decreed and ordeined for the reforming of diuers cuſtomes vſed before amongſt the Iriſhmen, and meerely repugnant to the lawes of the Chriſtian Religion. Ther were alſo appointed as ſolicitors in theſe matters, and to ſit as aſſiſtants with the Iriſh Biſhops, one of the kings Chaplaynes named Nicholas, and one Raufe the Archdeacon of Landaf. Amongſt other things there concluded it was ordeined, ŷ children ſhuld be brought to ŷ Churche, there to receiue Baptiſme in faire water, with three dippings into the ſame, in name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, and that by the Prieſts handes, except in caſe where daunger of death was feared, whiche then might be done by any other perſon, and in any other place. Alſo it was ordeined, that tythes ſhould be payed to Churches, and that ſuche lay men as woulde keepe wiues, ſhould keepe them according to the lawes of holy Churche, and not otherwiſe. The Peterpence alſo ŷ Adrian reſerued in his Bulles, ſent to the K. touching the ſame matter in the beginning of his reigne, with diuers other things were in like maner appointed to be payed, ſo that nothing was omitted that might pleaſe the Pope,

The ſurrender made by Earle Strangbow.

Sundry Rulers in a land what weakenes it cauſeth.

Roderike K. of Connagh.

Math. Paris.

Polider.

The nature of the Countrey of Connagh.

The allegatiō of the Iriſhmē

A Counſ
Caſſhill.

Rob. Ha

The Arch
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Pope, or recouer his gracious fauour already loſt in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue heard alredy. Thus you heare what ſucceſſe our Imbaſſadours had in this voyage. Now wil I tel you ere I proceede any further, what ſtrãge things did happen in England whileſt the King was thus occupied in Irelãd, and within the cõpaſſe of that yere, and firſt of al, in the night before Chriſtmas day laſt paſſed, there chaunced ſuch a tempeſt of lightning and thũder, that the like had not bin heard of. And this tempeſt was not only generally throughout all England, but alſo in other forraine parties neere adioyning, namely in Irelande, where it continued all that nighte, and Chriſtmas day following, to ſo great terror of yͤ people, that they looked for preſent deathe. The ſame night at Andeuer in Hamſhire, a Prieſt being in his prayers afore the Aulter, was ſtriken with the Tempeſt, ſo that he died ere it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Alſo, a Temporall man that was there the ſame time, was brenned with the lightning, and whereas his brother being preſent, ranne to him to haue ſuccoured hym, hee likewiſe was caught with the fire, and in lyke maner conſumed. In Irelande alſo, euill diet in eating of freſh fleſh and drinking water contrary to the cuſtome of the Engliſhmen, broughte the flixe and other diſeaſes in the Kyngs army, ſo that many dyed thereof. Wherefore, about the beginning of Lent, the Kyng remoued from Dublin, and went vnto the Citie of Wexford, where he remayned till towardes Eaſter, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he toke the Sea hee gaue, and by his charter confirmed vnto Hugh Lacy, all the landes of Meeth, with yͤ appurtenances, to hold of him and his heires in fee by Knightes ſeruice, as to finde him an hundred Knightes or men of armes as wee maye tearme them for euermore. Hee gaue alſo vnto the ſame Hugh, the keeping of the Citie of Dublin, and made him chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland. Unto Roberte Fitz Bernarde hee commited the Cities of Waterford, and Weſſeford, that he ſhould keepe the ſame to his vſe, and build in them Caſtels, for a more ſure defenſe againſt the enimies. And thus when the King had planted garriſons of Souldiers in thoſe and in other places alſo where was thought needefull. And further had giuen order for the politike gouernemente of the whole countrey, ſo farre as he had conquered, he firſte ſent ouer his houſhold ſeruants whiche toke the water on Eaſter day, and landed at Millefourd, but hee himſelfe and other of the nobles ſtayed there all that day, by reaſon of the high ſolemnitie of that feaſt: howbeit the day next after they toke yͤ Sea togither, and lãded neere to S. Dauids in South Wales, from whence withoute delay hee haſted forthe to Douer, and hauing his ſonne the yong K. with him, hee ſailed ouer into Normandy in the Croſſe weke to meete the Popes Legates, the which he vnderſtod to be already come thither. At his meeting with them there, hee ſhewed them a right good countenance, and gaue them alſo very honorable entertainemẽt, omitting nothing that might do them pleaſure. Heere when the matter came to be diſcuſſed touching the death of yͤ Archbiſhop Thomas, bycauſe it could not be certainely tried out in whome the fault reſted, much reaſoning too and fro paſſed about obiections and excuſes layde as in doubtfull cauſes it often happeneth, ſo that welneere the ſpace of foure monethes was ſpente in debating of that matter; in which meane time, the King to auoyde all contention and ſtrife betwixte him and King Lewis, ſent his ſonne Henry togither with his wife, ouer into England, there eftſoones to receyue the Crowne, and with them came Rotrod the Archbiſhop of Rouen, Giles Biſhop of Eureux, Roger Biſhop of Worceter, and dyuers other.

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...e Kings
...t vnto
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The King re-
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Ger. Do.
The Popes Legates.
Ger. Do.
Rog. Houd.

Hereupon the yong king being arriued in Englande called an aſſemblie of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal at Winchester, where both he and his ſayde wife Margaret daughter to the French king was crowned with all ſolemnitie, by the handes of the ſaid Rotrode Archbiſhop of Roan vpon the .xxj. of Auguſt.

Rog. Houd.

In the meane tyme (ſayeth one writer) his father king Henry might haue foreſeen & founde meanes to haue auoyded the diſcord which euen nowe began to ſpring vp betwixt him and hys children, cauſing a ſore and ciuile warre, if hee had not bin a man that vtterly did deteſte all ſuperſtitious admonitions: for being told I wote not by whom, that if he did not repent, and take more regarde to miniſter Iuſtice, which is a vertue (that conteyneth in it ſelfe all other vertues) it would come to paſſe, that within ſhorte tyme he ſhoulde fall into great and manyfold calamities. In his returne alſo out of Irelande (ſayth an other) vpon the Sunday nexte after the feaſt of Eaſter, commonly called Lowſunday, as he ſhould take his horſe at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, barefooted, and in a white kirtell, the which boldly in the Dutche language ſpake vnto him, and admoniſhed him of amendmente of lyfe, and to haue regard that the Sabboth day commonly called the Sundaye, myghte bee more duely kept and obſerued, ſo that no markettes nor bodily workes be holden, vſed, or done vppon that day within the boundes of hys domynions, excepte that whyche apperteyneth to dreſſing of meates. And if thou doe (ſayeth hee) after thys commandemente, I aſſure thee that all things whiche thou doeſt enterpriſe of good intente and purpoſe, ſhall ſort to good effect, & very lucky end.

But the K. was not greatly pleaſed with theſe wordes, and in Frenche ſaide to the Knight that helde his bridle. Aſke of this Chorle whether hee hathe dreamed all this that hee telleth or not, and the Knight expounded it in Engliſh, whereunto the man aunſwered, whether I haue dreamed it in my ſleepe or not, take thou heede to my wordes, and marke what day this is, for if thou do not amende thy life and doe as I haue aduertiſed thee, before a twelue moneth come to an ende, thou ſhalt heare ſuch tidings as will make thee ſorowfull all the dayes of thy life after. The man when this was ſaide, vaniſhed away ſuddenly, and the King tooke his wordes but in ſporte: howbeit hee wondered that hee was ſo ſuddenly gone, as hee did likewiſe at his ſuddayne appearing. Many other warnings the King had (ſaith mine author,) but he ſet little thereby. The ſeconde warnyng hee receyued of an Iriſhman, that tolde hym tokens that were moſt priuie. The thirde tyme a Knighte of Lindſey called Philip of Cheſterby, paſſing the Sea, came to the Kyng into Normandy, and there declared vnto him ſeuen Articles which he ſhould amend, and if he ſo did, then he told him that he ſhould raigne ſeuen yeares in great honor, and winne the holy Croſſe, and ſubdue Gods enimies. If he did not amend and redreſſe thoſe poyntes, then ſhould he come to death with diſhonor in the fourth yeare.

The firſt article or point was, that he ſhoulde ſeeke to mayntayne holy Church.

The ſeconde, that hee ſhoulde cauſe rightfull lawes to be executed.

The thirde, that he ſhoulde condemne no man without lawfull proces.

The fourth, that he ſhoulde reſtore the landes, goodes and heritages to thoſe rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrongfull dome, or other vnlawfull meanes.

The fifth, that he ſhould cauſe euery manne to haue right, without bribing and giuing of meede.

The ſixth, that he ſhould pay his debtes as wel due to any of his ſubiects, for any ſtuffe taken vp of them to his vſe, as to his ſeruantes and Souldiers, whiche bycauſe they coulde not haue theyr wages truely payde to them, fell to robbing and ſpoyling of true labouring men.

The ſeuenth & laſt Article was, that he ſhould cauſe the Iewes to be auoyded out of the lande, by whome the people were ſore empoueriſhed with ſuche vnmercifull vſurie as they exerciſed.

The K. notwithſtanding theſe and other like warnings, tooke no regard to the amendmente of his ſinfull life, wherevpon as is thought, the troubles which enſued light vppon him by Gods iuſt appoyntment. But nowe to returne to his ſonne the yong King, by whome the troubles were moued, who after that he had receyued the Crowne togither with his ſayde wife, they both paſſed the ſeas incontinently backe againe into Normandy, where on the ſeuen and twentith of September, at a generall aſſemble holden within the Citie of Auranches in the Church of the Apoſtle S. Andrew, King Henry the father before the Cardinals the Popes Legates, and a greate number of Biſhops and other people, made his purgation in receyuing an oth vppon the holy relikes of the Saints, and vpon the ſacred Euangeliſtes, that he neyther willed, nor commaunded the Archbyſhop Thomas to be murthred, and that when hee heard of it he was ſorie for it. But bycauſe hee could not catch them that ſlew the Archbiſhoppe, and for that he feared in his conſcience, leaſt they had executed that vnlawfull acte vpõ a preſumptuous boldneſſe, for that they had perceiued hym to bee offended with the Archbiſhop, hee ſware to make ſatiſfaction for giuing ſuch occaſion in this maner: Firſt, that he woulde not depart frõ Pope Alexander, nor from his Catholike ſucceſſours, ſo long as they ſhoulde repute him for a Catholike King. Agayne, that hee would neyther impeache Appeales, nor ſuffer them to bee impeached, but that they might freely be made within yͤ Realme vnto the Pope, in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, ſo yet that if the King haue the parties ſuſpected, they ſhall finde hym ſureties that they ſhall not procure harme or hinderance whatſoeuer to him or to his Realme. He alſo ſware, that within three yeares after the natiuitie of our Lorde next enſuing, he ſhoulde take vpon him the Croſſe, and in perſon paſſe into the holy lande, excepte Pope Alexander or his ſucceſſors tooke other order with him. But if vpon any vrgente neceſſitie he chaunced to goe into Spaine to war againſte the Sarazens there, then ſo long ſpace of time as he ſpẽt in that iourney, hee mighte deferre his going into the Eaſt partes. In the meane time, he bound hymſelfe by his oth to employ ſo muche money as the Templers ſhoulde thinke ſufficiente for the finding of two hundred Knightes or men of armes, for one yeares tearme, in defenſe of the holy lande. Furthermore, hee pardoned his wrath conceyued againſte thoſe which were in exile for the Archbyſhop Thomas his cauſe, ſo that they mighte returne againe into the Realme. He further ſware, to reſtore all the lands and poſſeſſions which had bin taken away from the See of Canterbury, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of yͤ Archbiſhop Thomas out of England. He ſware alſo, to take away and aboliſh all thoſe cuſtomes which in his time had bin brought in againſt the Church, as preiudiciall thereto. All theſe Articles faithfully, and withoute male ingene to performe and fulfil in euery degree, he receiued a ſolemne oth, and cauſed his ſon the yong K. being there preſent, to receiue the ſame for performance

Ro. Houe
Gerua. D

King Henry purgeth hi ſelfe of the Archbiſhop Beckets de formance of all thoſe Articles, ſuch as touched his owne perſon only excepted: and to the intente the ſame ſhoulde remayne in the Popes conſiſtorie as matter of recorde, he put his ſeale vnto the writing wherein the ſame Articles were ingroſſed, togyther with the ſeales of the abouementioned Cardinals. Shortly after, K. Henry the father, ſuffered the yong K. his ſon to goe into Fraunce, togither with his wife, to viſit his father King Lewis, accordingly as their duties required, whyche iourney verily bred the cauſe of the diſſentiõ that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewis moſt louingly receiued them as reaſon was, and cauſed diuers kindes of triumphant playes & paſtimes to be ſhewed to the honor and delectation of his ſon in law and daughter.

he French
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ſow ſeditiõ
twixt the
ther and the
onne.

But yet whileſt this yong Prince ſoiourned in France, King Lewis not hartily fauouring the K. of England, and therewithall perceiuing the raſh and hedſtrõg diſpoſition of the yong K. did firſt of all inuegle him to conſider of his eſtate, and to remember yͭ he was now a K. equal vnto his father, and therfore he aduiſed him ſo ſhortly as he could, to get yͤ entire gouernemente out of hys fathers handes: whereunto hee furthermore promiſed him all the aide that lay in hym to performe. The yong K. being ready ynough not only to worke vnquietneſſe, but alſo to folow his father in lawes counſel, (as he that was apt of nature to aſpire to the ſole gouernement, and loth to haue anye partener in authoritie, and namely ſuch one as mighte controll him,) was the more encouraged thereto, by a number of prodigall curry fauours, who by flatterie ſet him aloft, declaring vnto him that hee was borne to rule, and not to obey, and therefore it became not his highneſſe to reigne, by the appointmẽt of other, but rather to haue yͤ gouernement freely in his owne handes. Whereupon, the youthfull courage of the yong King being tickled herewith, began to waxe of a contrary minde to his father: howbeit, beeing called home out of France, he returned vnto him with all ſpeede, hys father (indeede ſuſpecting yͭ which chanced, which was, leaſt hys ſonnes yong yeares not able yet to diſcerne good and wholeſome councell from euil, might eaſily bee infected there with ſome ſiniſter practiſe,) thought it not good to ſuffer hym to be long abſente from him, and therefore ſente for him: who taking leaue of his father in law Kyng Lewis in courteous maner, returned and came to his father K. Henry into Normandy, who when yͤ feaſt of Chriſtmas drew nere, repaired towards Aniou, where in the Towne of Chinon, he ſolemnized that feaſt, hauing left his ſon the yong K. and his wife al that while in Normãdy: but ſending for him after the feaſt was ended, they went both into Aubergne, where being at Mount Ferrat, there came vnto them Hubert Erle of Morienne, bringing with him his eldeſt daughter Aliſe, whom K. Henry yͤ father bought of him, for the ſumme of fiue M. markes, that he might beſtow hir in marriage vpon his yongeſt ſon John, with the heritage of the countie of Morienne if hir father died without other iſſue, or at the leaſt wiſe yͤ ſaid Hubert chanced to haue any ſon lawfully begottẽ, yͭ then ſhuld he leaue vnto them and to their heires the Countie of Ruſſellon, yͤ Countie of Belle, as he thẽ held the ſame, Pierre Caſtel with the appurtenances, yͤ Valley of Novalleyſe, alſo Chambry with the appurtenaunces, Aiz, Aſpermont, Rochet, Mont Magor, & Chambres, wͭ Burg, al which lying on this ſide yͤ Mountaines with their appurtenances, yͤ ſaid Hubert granted to them immediatly for euer. And beyõd yͤ Mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with yͤ appurtenances, the Colledge of Gauoreth with yͤ appurtenãces, & al yͤ fees which the Erles of Canaues helde of him, togither with yͤ fealties & ſeruices. And alſo, the fees fealties, and ſeruices which belong to him in yͤ Countie of Amunde, & in the valley called Vale Doſta. And in like maner, the Towne of Caſtellone, and al theſe aforenamed places the forſaide Erle (I ſay) gaue and granted to yͤ ſayd John, ſon to the K. of Englãd for euermore, with his daughter, ſo freely, wholly & quietly (in men & Cities, Caſtels, fortreſſes, or other places of defence, in medowes, leaſſewes, milnes, woddes plaines, waters, valleys & Mountaines in cuſtomes & all other things) as euer hee or his father hadde held or enioyed the ſame. And furthermore, the ſaide Erle would, that immediately (whẽ it pleaſed the K. of England) his people ſhuld do homage & fealtie to yͤ K. of Englãds ſon, ſauing yͤ fealtie due to him ſo lõg as he liued.

eg. Hou.
n. Reg. 19.
1173

bert Erle
Morienne.

A marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellenſis.

The Countie of Granople.

Moreouer, the ſaid Earle Hubert granted to the ſaid John and his wife all the right that he had in the Countie of Granople, and what ſoeuer might be got & euicted in the ſame Countie. It was alſo couenanted, that if yͤ elder daughter died, then ſhould the ſaid John marry the yonger daughter with al & the like portions & parties of inheritance as he ſhould haue enioyed with the firſt: and that theſe couenantes, graunts & agreements ſhuld be performed on yͤ part & behalf of the ſaid Erle Hubert, both he, the ſaid Erle, & the Erle of Geneua, & in manner al the great Lords & Barõs of thoſe countreys receiued an oth, and vndertoke to come and offer thẽſelues as hoſtages to remaine with yͤ K. of Englande, in caſe the ſaide Earle Huberte failed in performance of any of the aforeſaide Articles, til he framed himſelf to ſatiſfie yͤ kings pleaſure in ſuch behalfe. And furthermore, Peter, the reuerend Archbiſhop of Tarenſaſia, & Ardune the B. of Geneua, & alſo William the B. of Morienne, with yͤ Abbot of S. Mighell promiſed vppon their oth to be ready at the appointmẽt of yͤ K. of England, to put vnder the cenſures of the Church the ſayde Earle and hys landes, refuſing to

The Earles of Mandeuille and Arundell.

The Earle of Saint Giles.

Nic.Triuet.

performe the foreſayde couenauntes, and ſo to keepe him and the ſame lands bound, till he hadde ſatiſfied the K. of Englande therein. William Earle of Mandeuill, and William Earle of Arundell ſware on the parte of K. Henry, that hee ſhould performe the Articles, couenaunts and agreements on his part, as firſt to make payment immediatly vnto yͤ ſaid Hubert of one thouſande marks, & aſſoone as he ſhould receyue his daughter, he ſhuld pay to him an other thouſand marks at the leaſt, and the reſidue then remaining behind of the ſaid ſumme of fiue M. marks, ſhuld be paid when yͤ marriage was cõſummate. It was prouided alſo, yͭ the ſaid Earle Hubert might marry his yonger daughter where he woulde, withoute any great deminiſhing of the Earledome after yͭ the firſt marriage were conſummate with yͤ K. of Englands ſon, yͤ Lord Iohn: and that if either yͤ ſaid Lord Iohn, or his affianced wife chãced to die before yͤ conſummation of the marriage, then ſhould the money whiche the Erle had receyued, be repayed to the K. againe, or diſpoſed, ſo as the K. ſhuld appoint. Shortly after yͭ the parties wer agreed vpon theſe couenaunts & agreemẽts afore recited, the Marques of Montferrate & one Geffrey de Plozac with his ſon Miles & other noble mẽ came to the K. as Ambaſſadors from yͤ Erle of Moriẽne, & receiued an oth, that they ſhuld ſee & procure yͤ ſaid Erle to performe the couenaunts & agreemẽts concluded betwixt the K. and hym. And thus after yͭ theſe things were ordred, as ſeemed good to both parties for the eſtabliſhment of yͤ foreſaid marriage, the K. the father, and the K. the ſonne remoued to Limoges, whether came to them yͤ Erle of S. Giles, and was there accorded wͭ K. Henry, & his ſon Richard Duke of Guyen, concerning yͤ controuerſie yͭ had bin moued for yͤ Countie of Tholouze, doing his homage as well vnto yͤ father, as to the ſon for the ſame Countie, & further couenanted to ſerue them with an hundred Knightes or men of armes as we may call thẽ, for the tearme of 40. dayes at all times, vpon lawful ſummonãce: & if yͤ King or his ſon Duke Richard would haue his ſeruice longer time after yͤ 40. dayes were expired, they ſhould pay wages both to him and to his men in reaſonable maner. Moreouer, the ſaid Erle condiſcended and agreed to giue yeerely for Tholouſe an hundred markes, or elſe ten Horſes with ten marks a peece. Moreouer, whileſt the K. ſoiourned at Lymoges, there came thither to him the Erle of Moriẽne & required to vnderſtãd what parcels of lande he woulde aſſigne forth vnto his ſon Iohn: wherevpõ yͤ K. reſolued to aſſigne vnto him yͤ Chappell of Chinon, Lodun and Mirabel, wherewith he offended his eldeſt ſon yͤ yong K. as after it may appeare. Who alſo was glad to haue ſuch occaſion thereby to broch hys conceiued purpoſe of Rebellion which he of late had imagined, and now began to put it in practiſe vpon occaſion, as after ſhall appeare.

Tribute for Tholouſe.

Gerua. Do

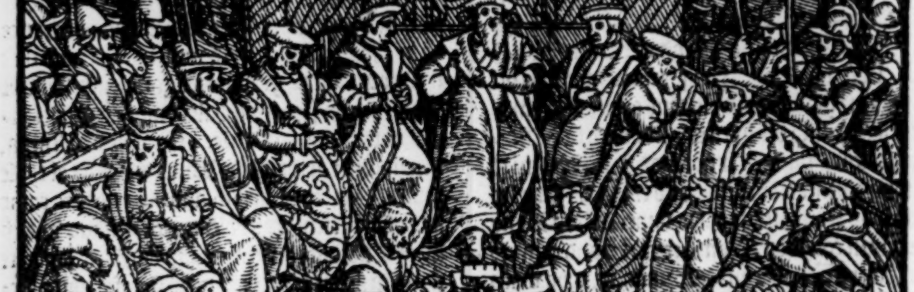
The ſame yeare the Monkes of Canterburie by the kings aſſent, choſe for their Archbiſhop one Richard that before was yͤ prior of Douer, he was the .39. in number that had ruled the Church of Canterbury, being a man of an euill life, as he well ſhewed, in that hee waſted the goodes of the Church inordinatly. Roger the Abbot of Bechellouin was firſt choſen, but hee refuſed that dignitie, more as ſome take it, bicauſe of ſlouthfulnes, than of wiſedome, ſo hard a thing it is to pleaſe yͤ people whiche meaſure all things to be honeſt or diſhoneſt, as they abound or deminiſh in profit & gaine. The ſaid Richard, after yͭ hee was elected, did homage vnto K. Henry, & ſware fealtie vnto him, hys order alwayes ſaued, withoute makyng mẽtion of yͤ cuſtomes of yͤ Kingdom. This was done at Weſtminſter in the Chappell of S. Katherin, the kyngs iuſtice giuing his aſſent thereunto, where a Counſel was holden yͤ ſame time.

Mat. VVe

Nic.Triuet.

Mat. Pari.

A Counſell holden at Weſtminſt



In the which Councell the Popes letters were read before the Biſhoppes and Barons of the Realme, conteyning amongeſt other things this that followeth:

The Popes letters for a new holyday.

We do admoniſh you all, and by the authoritie which we reteyne, wee ſtraightly charge you, that you celebrate the daye of the ſuffring of the bleſſed man Thomas the glorious Martyr, ſomtime Archbiſhop of Canterburie, euery yeare in moſt ſolemne wiſe, and that with deuout prayers ye endeuour your ſelues to purchaſe forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, that he which for Chriſtes ſake ſuffred baniſhment in this life, and martyrdome in death by conſtancie of vertue, through continuall ſupplication of faythfull people, may make interceſſion for vs vnto God.

The tenor of theſe letters were vneth read, when euery man with loude voice beganne to recite this Pſalme or Hymne, *Te Deum laudamus.* And bycauſe his ſuffraganes had not exhibited to hym theyr father, due reuerence eyther in time of his baniſhment, or at his returne from the ſame, but rather had perſecuted him, that they might confeſſe their errour and wickedneſſe to all men openly, they made this Collect: Be fauourable good Lorde to our ſupplication and prayer, that we which acknowledge our ſelues giltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the interceſſion of Thomas thy bleſſed Martyr and Biſhop.

A Collect deuiſed in honor of the Archbiſhop Becke:.

This prayer was vſed by the Couent of Saint Albones in the day of his Martyrdome.

The ſame yeare alſo, the ſiſter of the ſame Archbiſhop was made Abbeſſe of Berking.

Ger. Do.

The Archbiſhops conſecration diſturbed by the yong king.

But now touching the new elected Archbiſhop Richard, we finde that comming to Canterbury the Saterday after his election, in hope to be there conſecrated, he was diſappoynted by letters that came from King Henrye the ſonne, in forme as followeth.

Henry by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and erle of Aniou, ſon of K. Henrie, To our deare and faythfull friend Odo, Prior of the Church of Canterburie, and to al the conuent there ſendeth greeting. By the aſſured report of ſome we vnderſtād, that in your church and in other Churches alſo, my father goeth about to inſtitute certaine perſons not verie meete for ſuch calling: and bycauſe without our conſent it ought not ſo to be done, who by reaſon of our kingly annoynting haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: hereupō we haue in the preſence of many perſons appealed to the ſea of Rome, and haue ſignified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerende fathers & friends Albert, and Theodorike, Cardinals & legates of the Apoſtolike ſea by our writing and meſſenger, who like wiſe and diſcreete perſonages haue aſſented therevnto. We haue likewiſe ſignified the ſame our appeale vnto our faythfull friendes the Biſhops of London, Exceter, and Worceſter, and as we haue appealed, ſo likewiſe we doe appeale vnder your teſtimonie.

Here the Biſhops were driuen to their ſhiftes, ſome of them deſiring to goe forwarde with the conſecration, and ſome ſuppoſing it better to yeelde vnto the appeale.

The elect Archbiſhop herevpon ſent firſt meſſengers vnto Rome with letters, not written only by himſelfe, but alſo by all the Biſhops and couent of Canterburie.

After this he followed himſelfe in perſon, and comming to the Popes court, found there diuerſe aduerſaries to his cauſe. For ſome there were that tooke part with the king the father, & ſome with the king the ſonne, and ſo his buſineſſe could haue no ſpeedie diſpatch. And in the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the ſonne had conceyued agaynſt his father was ſo ripened, ẏ it coulde not but burſt out, and ſhew it ſelfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requireth of a ſonne towards the father.

Ye haue heard howe king Henrie promiſed to the Earle of Morienne when the mariage was concluded betwixt his ſonne Iohn and the ſayde Erles daughter, to giue vnto the ſayd Iohn certain townes in Normandie, for the better mainteyning of his eſtate and his wyues.

This gift of the fathers cauſed his eldeſt ſonne the yong king Henrie, the ſooner to poure out his poyſon which he had ſucked before at his beeing with his father in law king Lewes. For conceyuing an offence, that his father ſhould giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condiſcend to any ſuch giftes, but alledged ẏ ſithence he was king of England, and that al belonged to him, his father coulde not nowe haue any tytle to giue away that whiche did in no wiſe apperteyne vnto him.

VVil. Par.

There was another cauſe that troubled hys minde alſo, and moued him to grudge at his father, which was for that the proportion of his allowance for maintenance of his houſholde and port was verie ſlender, and yet more ſlenderly payed. Alſo his father remoued from him certaine of his ſeruants, as Aſtoulf de S. Hillarie, & other whome hee ſuſpected to giue him euill counſell. Wherefore thoſe that were procurers of him to attempt the ſeaſing of the gouernment into hys handes, vpon this occaſion ſlept not, but put into his head ſuche matter, that at length hee openly demaunded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he ſaw woulde not be obteyned of his father by quiet meanes, he fled ſecretly away vnto his father in law king Lewes, requyring him of ayde to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniuſtly deteyned from him.

Aſtoulf de S. Hillarie a counſeller, or rather corrupter of K. Henrie the ſon.

Polidor.

King Henrie the ſonne fled to the French king.

The Frenche King recomforted him, and badde him bee of good cheare, for he ment to doe for him al that in hym lay. Herewith he proclaymed hym Duke of Normandie, and receyued of him homage for the ſame.

His father King Henrie, vnderſtanding that his ſonne was thus fledde to the Frenche King, ſent Ambaſſadours forthwyth to the ſame king, requyring him to gyue his Sonne ſome good wholſome counſayle, that hee myght repente, and not followe ſuche wilfulneſſe of mynde in ſwaruing from hys fathers friendſhippe, but rather with ſpeede to returne home agayne, and to promiſe in hys name, that if any thing were otherwyſe than well, hee woulde bee contented to ſuffer the ſame to bee reformed by hys order and correction. But ſo farre was king Lewes from meaning to ſette a quietneſſe betwixt the father and the ſonne, that hee woulde not heare the Ambaſſadors declare their meſſage, bycauſe they named the father King to the derogation of the ſonnes ryght, to whome hee ſayde hee offered manifeſt wrong in vſurping the gouernment whiche hee had alreadie gyuen ouer and reſigned. Inſomuche that when the Ambaſſadours had declared ſome part of theyr meſſage, hee aſked them what hee was that wylled ſuche things of hym, and when they anſwered that the King of Englande hadde ſent them with that Meſſage. That is a falſe lye (ſayeth he) for beholde here is the king of Englande, who hathe gyuen you no Commiſſion to declare anye meſſage from hym vnto mee at all.

VVil. Par.

King Henrie the father perceyuing hereby that warres woulde followe, prepared the beſt hee coulde for his owne defence: but hee was in great doubt on euery ſide, not knowing whome he might truſt. And to encreaſe this miſchiefe, his wife Queene Elenore ſtudied to mainteyne the ſtrife betwixt hir ſonnes. The yong King then getting an armye togyther entered into Guian.

King Henrie the father knoweth not whom he may truſt. *Polidor.*

King Henrie was not haſtie to go agaynſte hym, but ſought rather wyth gentleneſſe and all courteous meanes to reconcile him. Inſomuch that where as diuerſe graue perſonages that were of the yong Kinges Counſayle, doubting to runne into the diſpleaſure of hys Father, reuolted from the Sonne to the Father, and brought with them the ſonnes Seale which hee vſed in ſealing of Letters, the Father receyued them not, but ſent them backe againe to his ſonne, commaunding them to continue faythfull in ſeruing him as he ſhoulde appoynt them, and herewith hee ſent Ambaſſadours vnto hys ſonne to entreate with him of peace and concorde.

Richard Barre Chauncellor o the yong K lſo his Chap- ain ſir Wal- er Ailwarde with others. *o. Houed.*

But whileſt the father goeth about to aſſwage the ſonnes diſpleaſure, the mother Queene Elenore doth what ſhee coulde to pricke him forwarde in his diſobediente attemptes. For ſhe being enraged agaynſt hir huſband bycauſe he kept ſundrie Concubines, and therefore delyted the leſſe in hir companie, ſhe cared not what miſchief ſhe procured againſt him: and hereupon ſhe made hir complaynt ſo grieuouſly vnto hir ſonnes Richard and Geffray, that they ioyned with theyr brother agaynſt theyr father, and came to hym into Guien, to ayde him to the vttermoſt of their powers. The yong king reioyſing that hee had his brethren thus on hys ſide readie to take hys part, became more ſtoute than before, and for aunſwere vnto the Meſſengers that came to him from his father, hee declared that if his father woulde delyuer vp the whole gouernment into his handes, hee woulde bee contented to breake vp his armie. And thoſe Souldiers that woulde wyllingly take his part in this quarell, he cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould faythfully ſerue him agaynſt his aduerſaries: And thoſe that had leauer ſerue on the other ſyde, hee lycenſed them freely to departe, and to go to hys father.

King Henrie the Father receyuing ſuche a rebellious aunſwere from his Sonne, muche lamented the matter, and ſo muche the more, for that he ſaw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuerſie decided by the ſword. Therefore leaſt he ſhoulde be taken vnprouided, hee kept his armie in a readineſſe about him, hauing reteyned certain bands of Brabanders called the Rowtes.

Twentie tho ſand Brabanders were reteyned by ki Henrie the father as hath *R. Houed.*

Thoſe Lordes that toke part with hys ſonne, being aduertiſed by eſpyals of the doings of the father, and hearing that hee was readie (as is ſayde) if he were conſtrayned to defende himſelfe by battaile, and yet willing to receyue his ſonnes into hys fauour agayne, if they would be ſo reformed, they toke greate thought howe to cauſe his ſonnes to perſiſt in theyr enterpriſe, till the father were compelled by force to reſigne the gouernment vnto them. But namelye the Frenche king coueted to mainteyne the diſcorde, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therfore ſente vnto King Henrie the ſonne, willing him to come to Paris, where hee cauſed a Councell to bee called, and there made a league betwixt the ſayde Henry and hymſelfe, with William King of Scotlande, Hugh Earle of Cheſter, William Patrike the elder, with the three ſonnes of Robert Earle of Mellent, whoſe Caſtels K. Henry the elder had in poſſeſſion, Roger Moumbray, Hugh Bigot, & diuerſe other cōplices of the cōſpiracy that toke part with Henry the ſon. Here after they had cōſulted of yͤ maner how to maintein the warre, bicauſe they would aſſure

VVil. Par.
Nic. Triuet.
Polidor.

Nic. Triuet.
Polidor.

The French king taketh an oth to ayde K. Henry the ſon.

R. Houed.

Ger. Do.

Philip Erle of Flanders.

Mathew Erle of Bollongne.

the yong king that they ment not to forſake him, Firſt king Lewes, and after all the reſidue tooke an othe to ayde him with men and money, tyll his father ſhoulde either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agree with him at his will & pleaſure. And on the other part, he ſware neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their conſent & good wil. He alſo promiſed vpō his othe to giue, & by his charter vnder his ſeale he confirmed vnto Philip Earle of Flaunders for his homage a thouſande pounds of yearely reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the caſtels of Douer and Rocheſter, and to Mathewe Earle of Bolloigne for his homage, he likewyſe promiſed and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lyndſey, and the Earledome of Morton, with the honour of Hey. Alſo to Theobalde Earle of Bloys, for his homage hee gaue and graunted fiue hundred Markes of yerely reuenue in Aniou with the Caſtell of Amboys, and all that which he claymed as hys right within the Countrie of Touraine, and releaſed to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demaunded to haue in Chateau Reignald.

Chateau Reignalde.

To the king of Scottes he gaue and graunted all Northumberlande, vnto the Ryuer of Tyne, for to haue his aſſiſtance. And vnto hys brother Dauid to haue his ſeruice, hee graunted the Counties of Huntington, and Cambridge. To Hugh Bygot for his ſeruice he gaue the Caſtell of Norwich.

Earle Dauid.

Hugh Bigot.

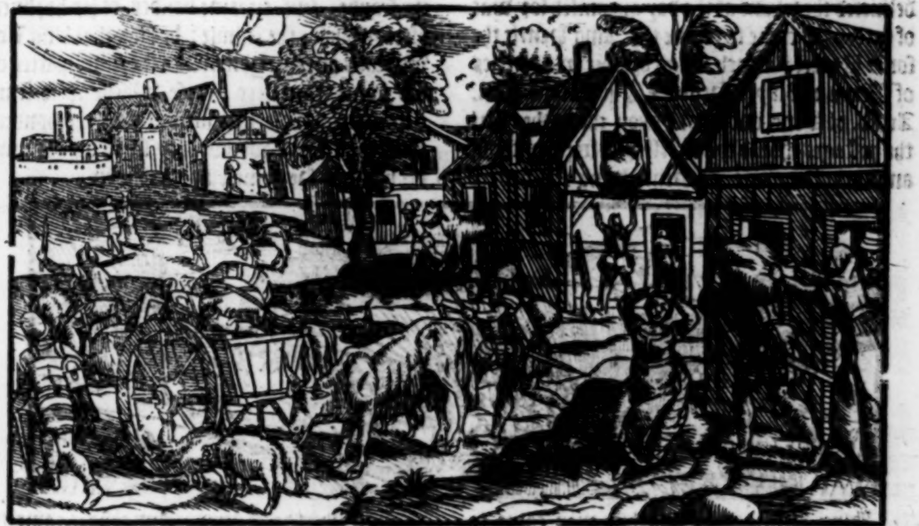
All theſe giftes and grauntes with dyuerſe other vnto other perſons, promiſed, made and graunted, hee confirmed with his newe ſeale whiche the king of Fraunce had cauſed hym to make.

Polidore

Theſe things being thus ordered at Paris, euery man reſorted to his charge, that hee might prouide for the warre with all ſpeede conuenient. King Henrie the father aduertiſed of this newe league of the conſpiratours agaynſte hym, was in greate perplexitie of mynde for that hee ſawe hymſelfe in daunger, not onely of outwarde enimies, but alſo of his owne ſubiectes at home. Yet bycauſe the Winter ſeaſon was alreadie at hande, taking away all conuenient occaſions of attempting any great exployte by warre for that time, he was in hope to compaſſe ſome agreemēt with his ſonnes ere the ſpring of the yeare ſhould returne, and therefore he made not ſo great prouiſion for his defence, as had beene neceſſarie in ſo daungerous a caſe. But the Frenchmen who were bent to ſet forwarde this warre with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatly vpon the comming of the ſpring with king Henrie the ſonne, and euen at one inſtant they made theyr inuaſions vpon the landes of king Henrie the father in three ſeuerall parties, that is to witte, in Normandie, Guian, and Brytaine, whiche agaynſt the will of his ſonne Geffery Duke thereof, king Henrie the father did holde and retaine in his own handes.

The confederates inuade the dominions of king Henrie the father.

The Frenchemen thus inuading the foreſayde Countreys, did muche hurte wyth robbing and ſpoyling, and alſo tooke dyuerſe caſtels and townes.



The king of Scots inuadeth Cumberland.

Moreouer, aboute the ſame time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, firſt into Cumberland and beſieged Carleil, but hearing that an armie was prepared agaynſt hym in the South parties of the Realme, and readie to ſette forwarde, he rayſed his ſiege and entred into Northumberlande (which Prouince king Henrie the ſonne had gyuen him in the laſt aſſembly holden at Paris) endeuouring himſelfe to bring it into his poſſeſſion. But the more earneſtly hee went aboute to enforce the people to his will, the more ſtyffely did they wythſtande his purpoſe, hating him ſo much, that in no condition they were willing to come vnder his rule, whereby the Scottes were put backe and repulſed, and that to their great loſſe.

The kings power alſo comming into the coũtrey followed them, and paſſing ouer the water of Tweede, which deuided thē (as it doth at this day) the two Realmes in ſunder, made the lyke ſpoyle in the lande of the enimies, as they had made in the Countreys of Northumberland, and Cumberlande.

VVil. Par.

But in Normandie whileſt others in other places, make theyr hande in fetching prayes and booties out of the enimies countrey, king Lewes beſieged Vernueil, whiche towne being ſtrong of it ſelfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge therof valiantly defended, ſo yͤ the French king was a moneth before it, ere he coulde winne any part thereof.

Vernueil beſieged.

Rog. Houed. Hugh Beauchampe.

This towne of Vernueil was in thoſe dayes deuided into three portions beſide the caſtel euery of them a part from other with mighty walles & deep ditches ful of water. One of theſe parts was called the great borough about the walles wherof the French king had pight his field & planted hys engines. About a moneth after whoſe comming thither, vitails began to fail thē within, ſo that at length they required a truce for three days only, & if no ſuccor came within thoſe three dayes, they promiſed to yeeld yͤ parte of the towne called the great borough, & the day peremptorie was yͤ vigil of S. Laurence. Hereupon were hoſtages by the burgeſſes deliuered vnto the French king, & if they deliuered the towne at the day appointed for wāt of ſuccors to come to relieue thē, king Henrie the ſon, & Robert yͤ french kings brother with yͤ erles of Troys & Blayes, Henry, & Theobald, & Wil. Archb. of Sens, vndertooke vpon their othes that the hoſtages ſhould thē be reſtored free & without any hurt or domage. K. Henry being certified frō them within of the compoſition thus made, was driuē to a very hard ſhift: for he doubted nothing leſſe then that any ſuch thing ſhould haue chaunced. Yet conſidering with himſelf, that the ſauing of the towne ſtood in his ſpeedy cōming to the reſcue, without any ſtay he haſted thither, & came to the place the day before the thirde and laſt day of the truce. King Lewes perceyuing him to bee come, doubting leaſt he ſhuld loſe the pray which he looked for, ſent vnto the king, & required that he might common with him on the next daye touching ſome meanes of agreement to be had betwixt him and his ſonnes.

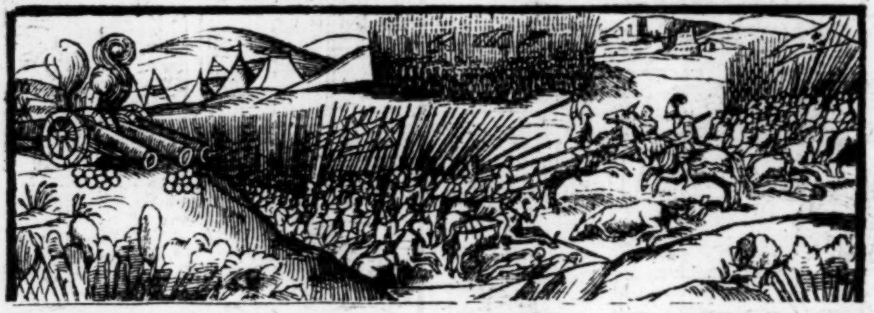
The French king requ to talke.

This did he of a policie to feede him in hope of ſome ende to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his ſonnes, till hee had got poſſeſſion of the Towne. And euen as he forecaſt in that matter, ſo it came to paſſe, for whileſt a great peece of the next day was ſpent in feyned talke about an agreement, king Lewes appoynted a great part of his hoſt to cloſe the towne aboute, and to declare vnto them within that king Henrie was put to flight, which talke they within Vernueil beleeuing, yeelded the towne and themſelues to the French men. Soone after, king Lewes miſtruſting leaſt he ſhoulde not be able to keepe it, ſet it on fire, and ſo burnt it contrarie to the compoſition betwixt him and them agreed and concluded vpon. He kept alſo the ſouldiers that had yeelded it into his handes togither with the hoſtages as priſoners and doubting to cope with his enimie went awaye in the night with as ſtill noyſe as was poſſible. King Henrie at length perceyuing the fraude, ſent certaine bandes of his horſmen after to purſue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was alreadie gotten into the inner partes of his owne Countrey, those whiche were ſente turned vpon thoſe that were left in the hyndermoſt warde, of whome they ſlue a great number bothe of Horſemen and footemen.

Rog: Hou

The ninth August be Thurſd.

Rog. Hou King Lewe fleeth away the night.



King Henrie following hys men came to Vernueil, and ſtaying there that nyght, tooke order for the repayring and newe fortifying of the towne.

On the morrow after he went to the Caſtell of Danuille and wanne it, taking diuers knights and yeomen within it. This Caſtell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to paſſe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Vernueil, as in ſome Authours we finde reported.

Danuille.

Gilbert de Tilleres.

Other write otherwiſe of the matter, as thus, the French king beeing ſummoned by king Henrie the father, eyther to departe from the ſiege of

VVil. Pa

of Verneuile, or to looke for battaile: and hearing alſo that in performaunce of the meſſage king Henrie approched with his power, he ſent a Biſhop and an Abbot vnto him to vnderſtande if he ment to giue battaile in deede. The Meſſengers met King Henrie as hee was aduaunced before his hoſte vpon ſome occaſion, with a ſmall companie about him, vnto whom they declared that theyr maſter the French king requyred to bee aſſured whether he ſhould haue battail or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voyce made this ſhort anſwere. Get you hence and tell your king that I am here at hande. The Meſſengers returning to theyr maiſter, declare what they had ſeene and hearde. Whereupon without longer ſtay hee rayſed hys field, and with his braue & mighty army departed home to his great diſhonor, not winning ẏ towne at all, as by the ſame Authors it ſhould appeare.

g Henry
ſhort an-
re vnto the
nch Kings
ſſengers.

About the ſame time the Erle of Flanders, one of the confederates beſieged the towne of Albemarle, and the Earle thereof within it, the which Earle was thought to betray the towne, bycauſe it was ſo eaſily wonne, and both he himſelfe, and thoſe which king Henrie the father had ſent thither to defende the towne were taken priſoners. Diuerſe other places which belonged to the ſame Earle were alſo immediatly deliuered into the enimies handes which encreaſed the ſuſpition.

bemarle
n by the erle
Flanders.

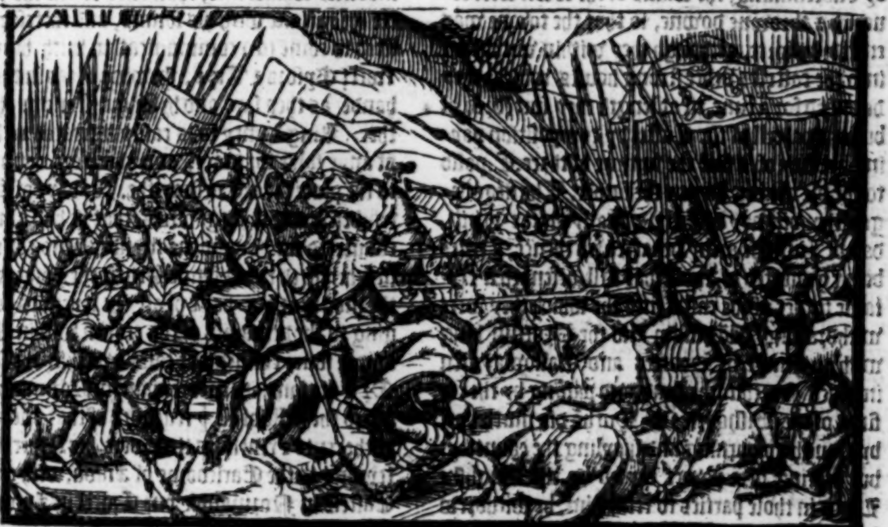
Reg. Houed.
Ia. Meir.
Ger. Do:

After this the towne of Newcaſtell otherwiſe called Drincourt in thoſe frontiers was beſieged, and finally wonne by ſurrender, by the ſayd Erle of Flaunders, who reioysed nothing at the gaine of that towne, for hys brother Mathew the Erle of Bollongne which ſhoulde haue beene his heire was ſhot into the knee with an arrowe as he approched to the walles, and died of the hurt within a fewe dayes after. The Erle of Flanders was ſo penſife for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iourney and returned, blaming the euill happe and folly in that he had attempted warre againſt his couſin germain king Henrie which neuer had harmed him, but rather had done him many great and ſingular pleaſures from time to time.

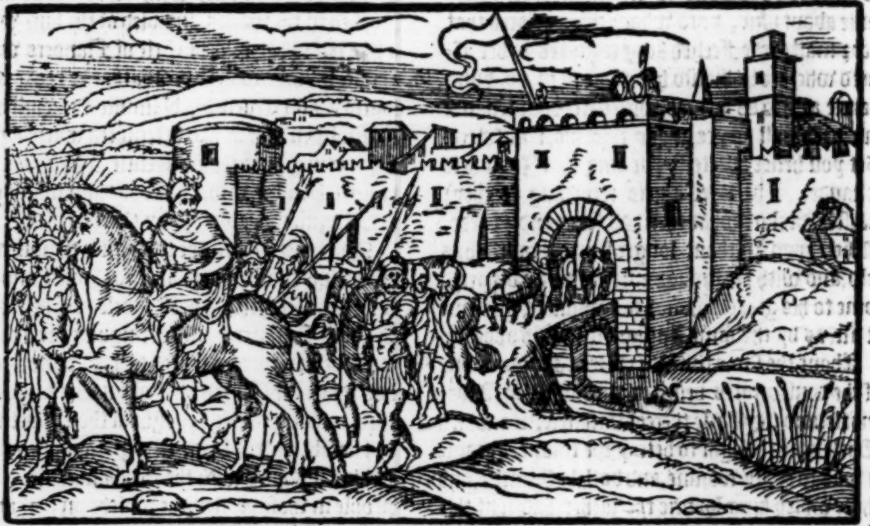
The Earle of
Bollongne
wounded.

Moreouer Henrie the elder after the iourney of Verneuile ended, came backe to Rouen, and there vnderſtanding that Hugh Earle of Cheſter, and Rauf de Foulgieres, mē of ſingular prowes, that long before were reuolted to his ſonne Henrie, had taken the Caſtell of Dole in Brytaigne, and there making warre, brought al the Countrey into trouble, he ſent forth ſtreyght wayes certaine of his captaynes with the Brabanders to ayd his people in thoſe parties, the whiche on the. xx. day of Auguſt being Munday, encountring with the enimies diſcomfited them in battayle, tooke ſeuenteene Knightes, beſide diuerſe other bothe horſemen and footemen, ſlue aboue fifteene hundred of the enimies, being Brytaynes, and purſuing the reſidue, they entred the towne it ſelfe, which they wanne, and droue their aduerſaries into the Caſtell where they beſieged them, and with all ſpeede aduertiſed the king of that enterpriſe, who immediatly with all poſſible haſte came thither, applying his whole diligence to winne the place, that he might haue them at his commaundement which were within the ſame. To be ſhort, it was not long ere he had his deſire, for they being ſuche a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within ſo ſtreyte a roumth for want of vittayl, fell to a compoſition, yeelding the Caſtell vnto the king, their bodies with lyues & members ſaued, on the. xxvi. day of Auguſt. There were taken within this caſtel. lxx. knightes beſides yeomen and other common ſouldiers. In like maner, and with the ſemblable good fortune about ẏ ſame time his captains in England ouercame his enimies: for where as Robert

Reg. Houed.



Erle



Erle of Leyceſter that toke part with king Henrie the ſonne, had aſſembled at the towne of Leyceſter a great hoſt of men, in purpoſe to ſet vpon Reginalde Earle of Cornewall, and Richarde Lucie Captaynes on the ſyde of king Henrie the father: they vnderſtanding his meaning, marched ſtreight towards Leyceſter, and by the way met with their enimie Earle Robert, whom they ſo fiercely aſſaile that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it ſurrendred vnto them, permitting the Inhabitantes to depart with bagge and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the Caſtell which in thoſe dayes was of great ſtrength by ſituation of the place, they could not win. Yet there be that write, how by vndermining, the walles of the town were reuerſed & throwne downe, ſo that the towne was entred by force, although they within withdrew into the caſtell & other ſtrong houſes whiche they defended for a time, til at length they ſurrẽdred al but one parcell of the Caſtel by compoſition paying by way of a fine the ſumme of thre.C. poũd to the vſe of king Henrie the father. The ſiege begon the. vij. day of July, & finally on the xxviij. day of July the army departed frõ thence, a truce being graunted to thoſe that ſtill defended a certaine tower of the caſtel into the which they were withdrawne. William alſo the Scottiſh king with an armye of Scottes and Gallowaymen inuaded Northumberland, and paſſing by the cõfines of the Biſhoprike of Durhã did much hurt by ſlaughter, burning and ſpoyling the countrey: but hearing of a power rayſed by the Engliſhe Lords in thoſe parties to reſiſt him, he withdrew into his country. But the Engliſh army following him, waſted the countrey of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certaine religious men, a truce was graunted to the Scots to endure tyll the feaſt of S. Hillarie. For the which truce happely ſome rewardes went betwixt, & ſo the Engliſh Lords with ſpoyles and gain returned homewards againe. A fewe dayes after theſe luckie chaunces thus happening to king Henrie; king Lewes perceyning fortune to be on that ſide, determined to aſſay whether he coulde obteyne hys purpoſe by ſome meanes of treatie, or at the leaſt put King Henrye in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he woulde rather ſuffer all incommodities whatſoeuer, than once to trie the matter by battaile with his ſonnes, and therefore offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Gyſors & Trye, ſhewing bread in the one hande (as they ſay) and hyding a ſtone in the other. King Henry was eaſily intreated to heare of anye talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on a Tueſday the. xv. daye of September, made ſo large offers, that he had almoſte conuerted the yong mens myndes vnto concord: firſt he offred to his ſonne Henrie the yong king, the moitie or one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crown within England, & foure conuenient caſtels within the ſame. Or if his ſon had leuer remain in Normandy, he offred the halfe of all yͤ reuenues of that duchie, wͭ al the rents & reuenues that were his fathers perteyning to the Earledome of Aniou, with certain Caſtels in Normandie, one Caſtel in Aniou, one in Mayne, and one in Towraine.

The Ear Leyceſter to flight.

Mat. Paris. Leyceſter won by force.

The king of Scots inuadeth Northumberlande.

He teryreth.

The Engliſhe ſpoyle Louthian.

A truce.

Rog. Ho A treati peace.

Rog. Ho The offer Henry the ther to his ſonnes.

To his ſonne Rychard, he offred halfe the reuenues of Guyen, and foure conuenient Caſtels in the ſame.

And to his ſonne Geffrey, hee offred all thoſe landes that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conan Earle of Brytayne, if he might by the Popes licence marry hir.

And further King Henrie the father put himſelf to the order of the Archbiſhop of Tharent, and other the Popes legates, not refuſing to giue vnto his ſonnes what more rentes and reuenues they ſhould ſay to be reaſonable, reſeruing only to him the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the regall power.

Theſe ſeemed to be large offers, but yet they might not be accepted. For certain ſonnes of Beliall, ſet vpon nothing but miſchiefe, troublers of common peace and quietneſſe, wrought ſo with them, that no conditions of peace were they ſame neuer ſo reaſonable could content thẽ, ſo that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without contumelious wordes paſſed betwixt the parties, inſomuch that the Earle of Leyceſter (who being put from all his ayde in Englande, was come ouer to the Frenche king to purchaſe ayde at his handes) coulde not refraine, but after many opprobrious wordes vttered againſt king Henrie the father, he layde hand on his ſworde to haue ſtriken him, but the ſtanders by woulde not ſuffer him, and ſo they departed.

he Earle of eycester of- fred to strike he king.

On the morrow after, the Frenche men and Engliſhe men ſkirmiſhed togither, and made a fray betwixt Curſeils and Gyſors, in the which fight Enguerane Chaſtillone de Trys was taken priſoner by Earle William de Mandeuille, who preſented him to the King of Englande.

King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preſerue his ſonne in lawe from daunger, yet he meant nothing leſſe than to ioyne battayle with the Engliſhmen at that preſent. But within a fewe dayes after, he ſent Robert Earle of Leyceſter into England with an armie of Flemings and other, there to ioyne with Hugh Bigotte, that both of them might as well by force as faire promyſes and gentle perſwaſions, bring the whole Realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the ſonne.

dditions to hn Pike.

The Earle of Leyceſter therefore landing at Walton the .xxj. of September, paſſed through the Countrey vnto Framingham, where he was receyued of Hugh Bigot Earle of Norffolke, and after that an other fleete of Flemings were arriued in their ayde, they went vnto Gipſwich, where after they had remayned a fewe dayes and augmented theyr forces by certaine bandes of men of warre that belonged vnto Earle Bigot, they goe to the Caſtell of Haghenet (that belonged vnto Ranulph Broc) which they tooke, ſpoyled and burned, and then returned to Framingham.

Rog. Houed.

After this, hearing that the Counteſſe of Leyceſter was arriued at Orreforde with an other power of Flemings, they went to meete hir; and ſo the Earle of Leyceſter hauing nowe a ſtrong armie aboute him, tooke leaue of Earle Bygot, and went to paſſe through the Countrey into Leyceſterſhyre, there to ſuccour his friendes, and to worke ſome feate auayleable to the behoofe and furtherance of their quarell.

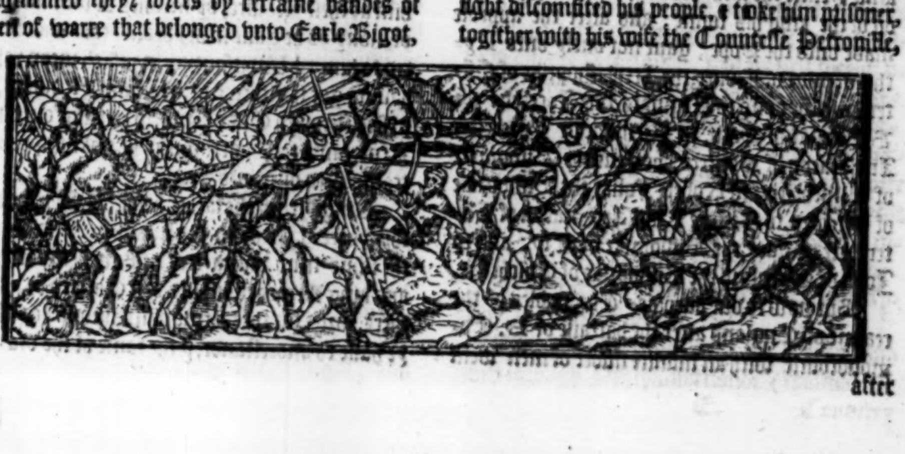
In the meane time the arriuall of the Earle of Leyceſter being knowne, the people of the Countrey were aſſembled togyther. Alſo Rychard Lucie Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and Humfrey de Boun highe Conſtable of Englande with the Kings power of horſemen which lately before had beene in Scotlande, and made rodes there (as before is mentioned) came with al ſpeede to ſaue the Countrey from ſpoyle, hauing firſt taken a truce (as before is ſayde) with the king of Scottes, tyll the feaſt of Saint Hillarie next enſuing (or rather Eaſter) hoſtages being deliuered on both ſides. Vpon knowledge then had where the enimies were lodged, and what they intended to doe, the ſayde Richarde Lucie and Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmondſburie, whither reſorted vnto them Reginalde Earle of Cornewall the kings vncle, Robert Earle of Glouceſter, and William Erle of Arundell.

Rog. Houed.

Rog. Houed.

In this meane while, the Earle of Leyceſter was aduaunced forward on his waye ſo farre as Fornham a village a little beſide S. Edmondſburie: the Lord chief Juſtice, and the Erles afore mentioned with a great army, & amongeſt other the ſaid Hũfrey de Boun that had the leading of 300. knightes or mẽ of armes at the kings wages came out of the towne of S. Edmondſbury, hauing the baner of S Edmond borne before them, and in a moore or mariſh ground betwixt Fornham & S. Edmondſbury, they encountred with the ſaid Erle of Leyceſter, & after long and cruell fight diſcomfited his people, & tooke him priſoner, togither with his wife the Counteſſe Petronille,

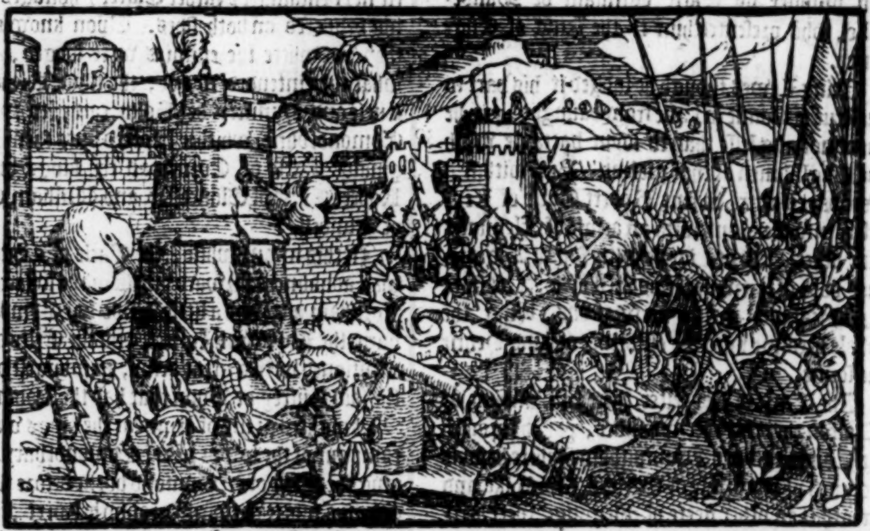
The Earle of Leyceſter taken priſoner.



after he had done all that belonged to a valiant Captain. *Reg. Houed. Polidor.* Some write that there ſhould be killed that day of his people to the number of ten thouſand [and almoſt as many taken] verily [all the footemen of the Flemings being in number foure or fiue thouſand were either taken or ſlain.] The reſidue that eſcaped fled towards Leyceſter, that *VVil. Par.* they might both defende the towne and themſelues from the daunger of their enimies. But here is to be noted, that it ſeemeth by the report of that which ſome write, how the Erle of Leyceſter had not ſo great an army there at that battaile, as by others account of the number ſlaine and taken it ſhould appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bygot, he tooke vpon him to paſſe through the countrey (as ſome write) partly vpon truſt that he had of the force & number of his ſouldiers being about foure or fiue thouſand ſtoute & valiant footemen, beſides .lxxx. choſen and wel appointed horſmen, and partly in hope that many of thoſe which were in his aduerſaries campe, would rather turne to him thã fight againſt him: he had a great confidence in the Flemings, the which in deede preſumed muche vpon their owne ſtrength, ſo that they made account of ſome great conqueſt in ſuch wiſe, that when they came into any large plain where they might reſt, *Mat. Pa* they would take eche others by the hand, and leading a daunce, ſing in their countrey language, Hoppe hoppe VVilkine, hoppe VVilkine, England is myn and tyn. But as ye haue heard, they were cut ſhort by the martial power of the Engliſh captaines, and at their iolitie layd in the duſt. The foreſayde battaile was fought on the .xvij. day of October.

King Henrie receyuing aduertiſement of the victorie which his captaines had gotten thus in England, was marueylous ioyfull thereof, commaunding that the priſoners ſhould be brought ouer vnto him into Normandie: and this done he went into Aniou, & there fortified the townes and caſtels of the country with ſure garriſons of men, to reſiſt all ſodaine inuaſions, ſecret practiſes, and other attempts of the enimies.

R. Houed. **The towne Vandoſme wonne.** Alſo on the feaſt of S. Andrew the Apoſtle, he tooke by force the towne of Vandoſme, the which Bochard de Lauerdyn held agaynſt him, hauing firſt expulſed his father the Erle of Vandoſme.



About this ſeaſon or rather ſomewhat before, king Henrie the father contrarie to the prohibition of the king his ſonne, and after the appeale made vnto the Pope, gaue not onely vnto Rychard, prior of Douer, the Archbiſhoprike of Cãterburie, but alſo to Reginald Fitz Iocelyne the Biſhoprike of Bath, to Richarde de Poreceſter Archdeacon of Poicters, he gaue the Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, to Robert Foliot the Biſhoprike of Hereford, to Geffrey Ridel Archdeacon of Cãterburie he gaue the Biſhoprike of Ely, and to Iohn de Oxenford the Biſhoprike of Chicheſter.

Mat. Paris. But now to our purpoſe. The nobles of the realme of England after the battaile of S. Edmondſburie with an infinite nũber of men went agaynſte Hugh Bigot, in purpoſe to abate hys pride. But whereas they might eaſily haue had him at their pleaſure, by meanes of ſuch ſummes of mony as he gaue in brybes, a peace was graunted to him til Whitſontide, in which mean while hauing got togither .xiiij. thouſand Flemings, he paſſed through Eſſex, and ſo getting ouer into Kent, came to Douer, where he tooke ſhippe and tranſported ouer into France.

King Henry the father helde his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Cain in Normandie. *An. Reg.* *1174* And aboute the ſame time was a truce taken betwixt hym and king Lewes to endure tyll Eaſter, or as others, write for the tearme of ſixe monethes. For ye haue to vnderſtande, yͭ the fame of the victorie got by the Captaynes of king Henry the father, agaynſt the Earle of Leyceſter, being not onely ſpred through Englande, but alſo blowne ouer into Fraunce, put thoſe that tooke part agaynſt him in great feare, and ſpecially king Lewes miſtruſting the matter began to waxe wearie that he had attempted ſo farre, and ſuſteined ſo great trauaile and expences in an other mans cauſe.

Ger.Dor

Whileſt this truce endured, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie being readie to returne home in deſpayre of his buſineſſe, vpõ a feigned rumor ſpred that there was a peace cõcluded betwixt the two kings, the father and ſonne, hee was called backe and conſecrated by the Pope the Sunday after Eaſter: and then furniſhed with the dignities of Primate and Legate of England, and other priuiledges according, he tooke his way homewards towards Englande, after he had layd forth great ſummes of Money to diſappoint the purpoſes of his aduerſaries.

This yeare in June, the Lorde Geffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings ſonne beſieged the Caſtell which Roger de Mowbray had repayred at Kinarde Ferie, within the Jle of Oxholme, and compelling the ſoldiers within to yeelde, he beate downe & razed the ſame caſtel vnto ỹ very groũd. Robert Mowbray Coneſtable of that caſtell, as he paſſed through the country towards Leyceſter there to procure ſome ayde, was taken by the mẽ of Clay, & kept as a priſoner. Moreouer the ſaid elect of Lincolne tooke the caſtel of Malcſert that belonged to the ſaid Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliuered vnto the keeping of the Archb. of Yorke. The ſayd elect alſo fortified a caſtel at Topclif, & tooke it to the keeping of Wil. Stuteuille. In this meane while the king tooke the ſtrengthes and fortreſſes which his ſonne Richard had fortified at Xanctes, & tooke in the ſame fortes & Church which was alſo fortified againſt him. lx. knightes or men of armes, and foure. C. Archbaleſters, that is, ſuch as bare Croſſebowes.

he othe of
e Earle of
launders.

Philip Erle of Flanders in the preſence of the French king and other the peeres of Fraunce, laying his hand vpon the holy Relikes, ſware that within. xv. dayes next enſuing the feaſt of Saint John then inſtant to enter Englande with an armie, and to doe his beſt to ſubdue the ſame to king Henry the ſon. Vpon truſt wherof the yong king the more preſuming came downe to Whitſande, the. xiiij. day of July, that he might from thence ſend ouer into England Rauſe de la Hay with certaine bandes of ſouldiers. Before this the Earle of Flanders had ſent ouer three. C. & xviij. knightes or men of armes as we may call them. But after their arriuall at Orwel, which chaunced the. xiiij. of June, by reaſon that their aſſociates were diſperſed, & for the more part ſubdued, they tooke with them Earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Norwich, aſſaulted the Citie and wan it, gayning there great riches, and ſpecially in readie money, & led away a great ſort of priſoners whõ they raunſomed at their pleaſure. This chaunced the. xviij. of June.

dditions to
hn Pike.

Mat Par.
Ger. Do.

J doe remember that William Paruus writeth, that the Citie of Norwiche was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the Earle of Leyceſter in the yeare laſt paſt, by the conduct of the ſayde Earle before hee was taken, and that after he had taken that Citie, being accompanied with Earle Bigot, he ledde thoſe Flemings alſo vnto Dunwiche, purpoſing to winne and ſacke that towne alſo: but the Jnhabitantes beeing better prouided agaynſt the comming of theyr enimies than they of Norwiche were, ſhewed ſuche countenance of defence, that they preſerued their towne from that daunger, ſo that the two Earles with their Flemings were conſtrayned to depart without atchieuing their purpoſe. But whether that this attempte agaynſt Dunwiche was made by the Earle of Leyceſter (before hys taking) in companie of Earle Bigot, J haue not to auouch. But verily for the wynning of Norwiche, J ſuppoſe that William Paruus miſtaketh the tyme, except wee ſhall ſay that it was twice taken, as firſt by the Earle of Leyceſter in the yeare. 1173. For it is certaine by conſent of moſt wryters, and eſpecially thoſe that haue recorded particulerly the incidentes that chaunced here in this lande during theſe troubles betwixt the king and his ſonnes, that it was taken nowe this yeare. 1174. by Earle Bigot, (as before we haue ſhewed.)

But now to procede. The Lordes that had the rule of the land for king Henry the father, perceyuing Erle Bigots proceedings, ſent knowledge therof with all expedition to the king, as yet remayning in the parties of beyonde the ſea.

Additions to
John Pike.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, although the myndes of many of the conſpirators agaynſt king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Mombray, and Hugh Bigot (by reaſon of this new ſupply of men got out of Flaunders) ceaſſed not to attempt new exploytes: and chiefly they ſolicited the matter in ſuch wiſe with William king of Scotlande, that whileſt they in other quarters of the Realme played theyr partes, hee entred into the confines of Cumberlande, and firſt beſieged the Citie of Carleil, but perceyuing hee coulde not winne it in any ſhorte tyme, hee left one part of hys armie to keepe ſiege before it, and with the reſidue marched into the Countrey alongeſt by the Ryuer of Eden, taking by force the Caſtels of Bourgh and Appleby, with diuers other.

The king of
Scots inuadeth
England.

Caſtels wonne
by the Scots.

This done, he paſſed ouer the Ryuer, and came through Northumberlande (waſting the

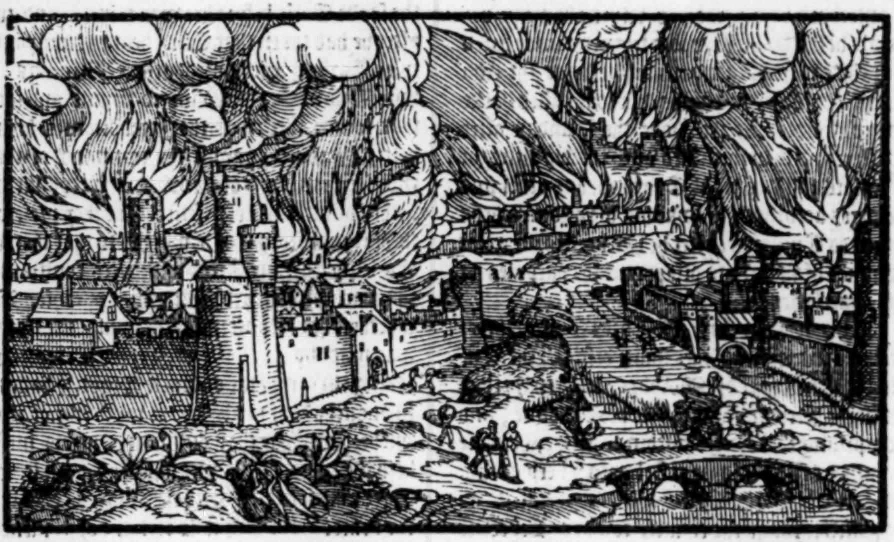
Countrey as hee went) vnto Alnewike, whiche place he attempted to winne, though his labour therein proued but in vaine.

This enterpriſe whiche hee made into Northumberlande, hee tooke in hande chiefly at the ſuyte and requeſt of Roger Mounbray, from whom Geffrey (that was after Biſhop of Lyncolne) king Henrie the elders Baſtard ſonne had taken two of hys Caſtels, ſo that hee kept the thirde with muche a doe. Hee had gyuen hys eldeſt ſonne in hoſtage vnto the ſayde King of Scottes for aſſuraunce of ſuche couenaunts to be kepte on hys behalfe as were paſſed betwixt them.

Polidor.

Duncane
Scottiſhe
taine wa
Kendall.

In the meane tyme one Duncane or Rothlande, with an other part of the Scottiſhe armye entered into Kendall, and waſted that Countrey in moſte cruell wiſe, neyther ſparing age nor ſexe, inſomuche that he brake into the Churches, ſlue thoſe that were fledde into the ſame for ſafegarde of theyr lyues as well Prieſtes as other.



VVil. Paruu.
Rog. Houed.

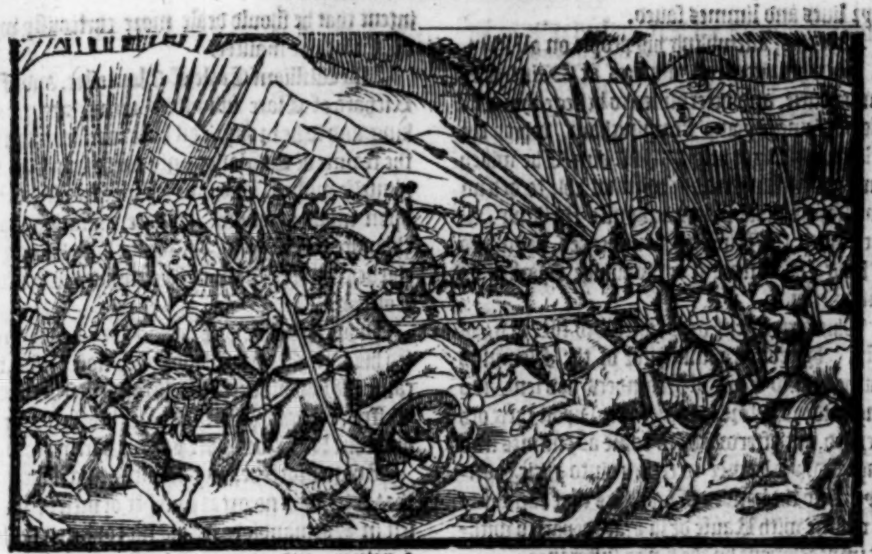
The Engliſh power of Horſemen (which paſſed not the number of foure hundred) was aſſembled at Newcaſtell, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteuille, Raufe Glanuille, William Veſie, Bernarde Balliolle, [and Odonelle de Vmfreyuille.]

Barnarde de Balliolle.

These Captaynes hauing knowledge that Duncane was in one ſide of the Countrey, and king William in another, they determined to iſſue forth and trie theyr chaunce agaynſte the enimies, ſithe it ſhoulde be a great rebuke to them to ſuffer the Country to be waſted after that ſort without reuengement. Herevpō ryding forth one morning, there roſe by chaunce ſuch a thick fogge and myſt that they coulde not diſcerne any way forth about them, ſo that doubting to fall within the lappes of theyr enimyes at vnwares, they ſtayed a while to take aduiſe what ſhould be beſt for them to do. Here whē they were almoſt fully reſolued to haue turned backe again, by the comfortable wordes and bolde exhortation of Bernarde Balliolle, they chaunged theyr purpoſe, and rode forwarde, tyll at length the Northren winde beganne to waken, and droue awaye the myſt, ſo that the Countrey was diſcouered vnto them, and perceyuing where Alnewike ſtoode, not knowing as yet whether the Scottes had wonne it or not, they ſtayed theyr pace, and ryding ſoftly, at length learning by the Inhabitaunts of the Countrey, that the Scottiſhe King diſpayring to wynne Alnewike, had rayſed hys ſiege from thence the ſame daye, they turned ſtreyght thyther, and lodging there all nyght, in the morning gotte to theyr Horſes verye early, ryding forth towardes the enimyes that were ſpredde abroade in the Countrey to forrey the ſame. They had anon eſpied where the King was, and incontinently compaſſe hym aboute on euery ſyde, who perceyuing the Engliſhe Horſemen to bee readie thus to aſſayle him, wyth all diligence calleth backe his meyne from the ſpoyle, but the more parte of them beeing ſtrayed farre of throughe the ſweeteneſſe they founde in getting of prayes, coulde not heare the ſounde of the Trumpette, yet notwithſtanding wyth thoſe his horſemen whiche hee coulde get togyther, hee encountred the Engliſhe men which came vppon him verie haſtily.

The battaile was begonne right fiercely at the firſt, and well foughten for a time, but the Scottiſh horſemen being toyled before in forraying the Countrey, could not long continue agaynſt the fierce aſſault of the Engliſh men, but were either beaten downe, or elſe conſtrayned to ſaue themſelues by flight.

The



e king of
ots taken.

The king with a fewe other, which at the firſt had begonne the battaile was taken. Alſo many of the Scottes which being farre off, and yet hearing of the fray, came running towarde the place, and were taken ere they could vnderſtande howe the matter had paſſed. This taking of the king of Scots chanced on a Saterday, being the ſeuenth of July.

r. Do.

il. Par.

The Engliſh captains hauing thus taken the Scottiſhe king in the midſt of his army conteyning the number of. 80000. men, returned to Newcaſtell, greatly reioycing of their good ſucceſſe, aduertiſing king Henrie the father herof with all ſpeede, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, & was the ſame day that the Scottiſh king was taken at Canterburie, in making his prayers there before the ſepulture of the Archbiſhop Becket (as after it ſhall appeare.)

at. Par.
at. VVeſt.
il. Par.
er. Do.

olidor.

In this meane while and ſomewhat before this time, the Erle of Leyceſters men which lay at Leyceſter vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreys Erle of Darbie, (as ſome write) or rather of Inketille Malorie Coneſtable or gouernour (if we ſhall ſo call him) as Roger Houedē hath, came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie they toke two hundred priſoners, and ſlue or wounded nere hande as many more, and ſo with this good ſucceſſe in ẏ enterpriſe they returned againe to Leyceſter, from whence they firſt ſet forth. The kings horſmen herevpon came ſtreightwayes to Northampton, & following the enimies, could not ouertake them. Robert Ferreis Erle of Darbie being nowe come vnto Leyceſter in ayde of them that lay there, ſtayed not there paſt ten dayes: but finding meanes to encreaſe his number of horſmen, ſodenly made to Notinghā, the which Reginald de Lucy had in keeping, & cōming thither earely in the morning toke it, droue out the kings ſouldiers that lay there in gariſon, burned the towne, ſlue ẏ inhabitāts, & deuided their goods amongſt his ſouldiers: which thing put the country about in ſuch feare, that many of ẏ inhabitāts ſubmitted thēſelues vnto him. K. Henrie the ſon being hereof aduertiſed by letters oftentimes ſent vnto him by this Robert Ferreys, and other hys friends here in Englande, eftſoones conceyued ſome good hope to obteyne his purpoſe: and therefore determined to prepare for the war. And herevpon purchaſed ayd of king Lewes, who (bycauſe the truce whiche hee had taken wyth king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reaſon to further his ſonne in lawes enterpriſe ſo far as in him lay. He made his prouiſion at Graueling, and there encamping with his people, ſtayed till his ſhips were readie to tranſport him and his armie ouer, which conſiſted of certaine Horſemen, and of a number of Brabanders. King Henrie the father beeing aduertiſed both of his ſonnes purpoſe, and of the doings in Englande, with all poſſible ſpeede determined alſo to paſſe ouer into Englande, and therefore gotte his ſouldiers a Shippebourde, among the whiche were certaine bands of his Brabanders: and ſo ſoone as the winde blewe to his minde, hee cauſed the ſayles to be hoyſted vp, and the nauie to ſet forward. Being landed he firſt repayred vnto Canterbury, there to make his prayers, doubting leaſt the bloud of the Archbiſhop Thomas Becket being ſpilt through his occaſiō, did yet require vengeance againſt him for that fact. From Canterburie he came to London, and toke order for the placing of captains wͭ their bāds in certen townes about ẏ coaſt to defend the landing places, where he thought his ſon was like to arriue. Then went he vnto Hūtingtō, & ſubdued the caſtell there the xix. of July: for the knights & other ſoldiers ẏ wer within it yeelded themſelues to the kings mercy

This chanced
little after
Whitſuntide.

ob, Ferreis.

olidor.
og. Houed.
otingham
aken.

VVil. Par.

Polidor.

VVil. Parum.

Huntington
caſtell wonne

theyr liues and limmes ſaued.

R. Houed.

After this, aſſembling his people on all ſides, hee made his generall muſters at Saint Edmundsburie, and determined to beſiege the Caſtels of Bunghey and Framingham, which the Erle Hugh Bigot held agaynſt him. The which Earle miſtruſting that he was not able to defend himſelfe and thoſe places agaynſte the king, agreed with the King to haue peace, paying to the king the ſumme of a thouſande Markes by compoſition.

Mat. Par.
Erle Bigot is accorded with the king.

This agreement was concluded the. xxv. of July. Hereupon a multitude of the Flemings whiche Philip Earle of Flaunders had ſent into England (as before is mencioned) vpon their oth receyued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrey. Alſo the bandes of ſouldiers that came into the realme with Rauſe de la Hay departed without impeachment by the kings ſufferance.

The Flemings ſent home.

The king hauing thus accõpliſhed that which ſtoode with his pleaſure in thoſe parties, remoued from thence and drewe towardes Northamton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his feet bounde vnder the horſes belly. Alſo thither came the Biſhop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the caſtels of Durhã, Norham, & Allerton. There came alſo thither vnto the K. Roger Mowbray, & ſurrendred to him the Caſtell of Treſke, and Robert Erle Ferrers deliuered vp into his hands the Caſtels of Tutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Mallorie, and William de Diue Conſtables to the Erle of Leyceſter, yeelded to the king the Caſtels of Leyceſter, Groby, and Mountſorell, to the intent that he ſhould deale more curteouſly with the Erle their maiſter.

Rog. Hou.
The king of Scots preſented to the king of Englande.

Alſo William Earle of Glouceſter, and Erle Richard of Clare ſubmitted themſelues to the king, and ſo he brougth all his aduerſaries within the realme of Englande vnto ſuche frame as hee himſelfe wiſhed. And thus may ye ſee oftentimes vpon ſmall occaſions, greate mutations and chaunges do happen. And ſo the king hauing atchieued the vpper hande of his enimies returned to London.

The Earle
Glouceſter.
The Earle
chard of C

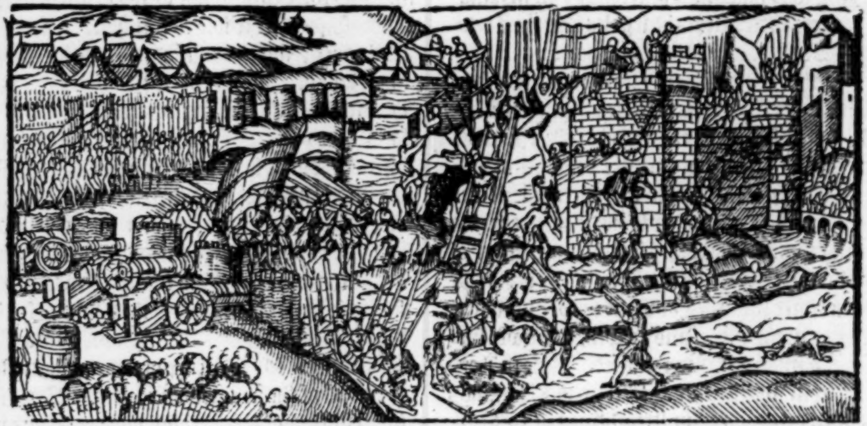
About this time or ſhortly after, he committed his wife Queen Elenor vnto cloſe priſon, bycauſe ſhe had procured his ſonnes Richarde and Geffrey to ioyne with their elder brother agaynſt him their father (as before ye haue partly heard.)

Queen El
is commi
to cloſe pri

But to proceede, king Lewes being aduertiſed that there was no great number of men of warre left in Normandie to defend the countrey, rayſeth a power, and comming to Rouen, beſieged it right ſtraitly.

Shortly after alſo king Henrie the ſonne and Philip Erle of Flãders came thither, meaning to obteyne firſt the poſſeſſion of Normandie, and after to go into England. The Citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what daunger they ſtood, without fainting heartes, prepare all things neceſſary for defence, and do euery thing in order, purpoſing not to giue ouer their Citie for any threates or menaces of their enimies.

Polidor.
Rouen beſi
ged by the
French king
VVil. Par.



Whileſt they within were buſie in deuiſing how to repulſe the aſſault, and to defende themſelues, the aduerſaries aboute midnight came forth of their campe, and approching the walles with their Ladders, rayſe them vp and begin to ſcale the Citie: But the Citizens being aduized therof, boldly got them to the loupes and towers, ouerthrow the Ladders of the enimies that were comming vp, and with arrowes, ſtones and dartes beate them backe, to their great loſſe and hynderance. Howbeit though the enimies coulde not preuaile thus to get the citie by thys aſſault, yet they continue the ſiege, and ſuffer not them within to bee in quiet, but daye and night they aſſayle them by one meanes or other.

King Henrie the father being aduertiſed hereof, after hee had ſet order in his buſineſſe touching the ſuretie and ſafe defence of the Engliſh eſtate, hee returneth into Normandie, and landeth at Harflete on a Thurſday beeing the viij. day of Auguſt, bringing with him backe againe

Rog. Houe
King Henr
returneth in
Normandie.

againe hys Brabanders, and a thouſande Welchmen.

In this meane while, king Lewes continueth ſtill his ſiege before Rouen, conſtrayning them within by all meanes hee coulde deuiſe to yeelde vp theyr Citie. At length came the feaſt of Saint Laurence, on which day the French king commaunded that no man ſhoulde attempt any enterprice againſt the Citizens, graunting them truce for that day, in worſhip of that Saint.

This truce was ſo acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themſelues, without all reſpect to the daunger wherin the Citie ſtood, threwe off theyr armour, and gaue themſelues to ſleepe and reſt. Some alſo fell to banketting and other paſtimes for their recreation, in ſo diſſolute maner, that the Frenchmen perceyuing their errours, required licence of the French king to giue aſſault to the Citie, declaring in what ſtate the matter preſently ſtoode. The king not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and hys promiſed fayth, with any ſuch vnlawful attempt, commaunded his men of warre that made the requeſt, in no wiſe to ſtirre. But the ſoldiers notwithſtanding vpon couetouſneſſe of the ſpoyle, rayſe the Ladders to that part of the wall whiche they iudged to be moſt without warders, ſo that ſome of them mounting vp, got vpon the walles, and were about to helpe vp their fellowes, when by chaunce it happened ſo well for the Citie, that two prieſts being gone vp into the Steple of the chiefe Churche, to looke about them for their pleaſures, fortuned to ſee where the French men were about to enter the Citie, and ſtreight wayes gaue knowledge to the Citizens beneath. Herevpon the alarme roſe, and with all ſpeede the people ranne to the place, and with ſuch violence came vppon theyr enimies which were entred vpō the walles, that ſtreyght wayes they had ſlaine them, and chaſed the reſidue oute of the Ditches, ſo that they returned with many a bleeding wound vnto theyr campe, repenting them of theyr vnhappye begunne enterprice, that ſo turned to theyr coſt.

e French
n aſſault
Citie with-
commaun-
ment of
ir king.

o Prieſtes.

e French
n are re-
lſed.

The ſame day alſo a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receyued into the Citie with great ioy and gladneſſe: for he came thither by chaunce euen about the time that the Citie had thus like to haue bene taken at vnwares.

lidor.

There be that write, howe the French King immediately vpon the arriuall of king Henrie, leuyed his fielde and departed, greatly to his diſhonour, burning vp his engines of warre, and not ſtaying till his men might haue leyſure to charge theyr wagons with theyr armor and other ſtuffe which they were glad to leaue behinde for a pray to the Engliſh men iſſuing forth vpon them.

t. Par.

But other declare, that the French king being nothing abaſhed of king Henries comming, continued the ſiege, in hope to winne the Citie. The next day early in the morning (or as other ſay in the night ſeaſon) the king did ſende forth a certaine number of the Welchmen to paſſe ouer the Ryuer of Sayne, whiche they did, and by force made themſelues way through the French camp, getting without loſſe or daunger vnto a greate wood, and ſlue that day of their aduerſaries aboue an hundred men.

Reg. Houed.

The Welch mens good ſeruice.

After this, lying abrode in the cuntry, they ſkirmiſhed dayly with the Frenche horſemen, and oft times cut off ſuch prouiſion of vitails as came to vitaile the campe.

Nic. Triuet.

The king himſelfe on the other ſide remaining within the Citie, cauſed his people to iſſue out at the gates, and to keepe the enimies occupied with ſkirmiſhes afore the Citie.

And moreouer where there was a great trench caſt betwixt the French campe and the walles of the Citie, he cauſed the ſame to be filled vp with fagottes, ſtones, and earth, and the French men ſawe this doing well ynough, but none of them iſſued forth of theyr tentes to hinder the Engliſh men of their purpoſe.

Reg. Houed.

King Lewes therefore being thus vexed with his enimies on eche ſyde, and perceyuing the Citie woulde not be wonne wythin any ſhorte tyme, beganne to waxe wearie, and to repente himſelfe (as afore) for taking in hande ſo chargeable and great a warre for another mans quarell.

And herevppon cauſed William Biſhoppe of Sens, And Theobalde Earle of Bloys, to goe vnto King Henrie, and to promiſe vppon abſtenence of warre to be had for a tyme, to finde meanes to agree hym and his ſonnes.

The French king maketh an ouerture for peace.

King Henrie being moſt deſyrous herof, taking a truce, appoynted to come vnto Gyſors, [in the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie] and there to meete King Lewes, that they myght talke of the matter to bring it to ſome good paſſe.

Nic. Triuet.

A truce.

The French King ſo ſoone as hee vnderſtoode that truce was taken, rayſed his ſiege and returned home, and within a fewe dayes after (according to the appoyntment) came to Gyſors, and there communed with King Henrie: but bycauſe he could not make any agreement betwixt him and his ſonnes at that time, he appoynted an other time to meete about it.

The French king leaueth his ſiege.

King Henrie the father whileſt the truce continued with the French king, and with his ſonne Henrie, went into Poictow, where his ſonne Richard (whileſt his father had beene occupied in other places) had gotte the moſt part of the countrey into hys poſſeſſion: but nowe hearing of his fathers comming, and howe that truce was taken with the french king, and with his brother, he conſidered with himſelfe that without their aſſiſtance he was not able to withſtand his fathers power.

Richarde the kings ſonne prepareth to reſiſt his father.

At length yet chooſing rather to trie the matter with force of armes, than recreantly to yeelde, he repayreth for defence, furniſhing diuerſe townes and caſtels with gariſons of men: and aſſembling togither al the other power that he was able to make, commeth into the field, and pitched downe his tentes not farre of from his father. In the meane while, which way ſoeuer his father paſſed, the townes and Caſtelles ſubmit themſelues vnto him, ſo that Richarde beganne to diſpayre in the matter, inſomuch that he durſt not approch neare vnto his father, but kept alooſe, doubting to be entrapped. At length when he had conſidered his owne ſtate, and weyed howe vnthankefully the French king and his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no conſideration of him at the tyme when they tooke truce, he determined to alter his purpoſe, and hauing ſome good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought beſt to trie it, which he found to be the beſt way that he could haue taken. For ſo oftentymes it chaunceth, ỹ latter thoughts are better aduiſed than the firſt. Herevpon thys Richard laying armour aſide, commeth of hys owne accorde vnto his father, vpon the. xxj. of September, and aſketh pardon. His father moſte courteouſly receyuing him, made ſo much of him as though he had not offended at all. Which example of curteſie did much to the alluring of hys other ſonnes to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing whereof to ſpeedie effect, he ſent this Richarde vnto king Lewes, and to his other ſonne Henrie, to commen with them of peace, at which time Erle Richard did ſo effectually his meſſage, that he brought them both in good forwardneſſe to agree to his fathers purpoſe, ſo that there was a day appoynted for them to meete with hys father, betwixt Towres in Touraigne, and Amboiſe.

He beginneth to diſpayre of god ſucceſſe.

Polidor.

The ſonne ſubmitteth himſelfe to the father.

Ger. Dor.

The father and ſonnes are accorded.

The conditions of the agreement.

King Henrie reioyſing hereat, kept his day, (being the morrow after the feaſt of Saint Michaell) and there met him both king Lewes, and his two ſonnes Henrie and Geffrey, where finally the father and the ſonnes were accorded. Hee promiſing to receyue them into fauor vpon theſe conditions. Firſt the priſoners to be releaſed freely without raunſome on both ſides, and their offences to be likewiſe pardoned, which had taken eyther the one part or the other. Excepted out of this article, all thoſe which before the concluding of this peace had alreadie compounded for theyr raunſomes, as the king of Scots, the Earles of Leiceſter and Cheſter, and Raufe Fulgiers, with their pledges. Alſo it was agreed, that all thoſe Caſtels which had bene buylded in time of thys warre, ſhould be razed & throwne downe, and all ſuch cities, townes, Caſtels, countreys & places, which had bene woon by either part during theſe warres, ſhoulde bee reſtored vnto thoſe perſones that helde the ſame, and were in poſſeſſion of them. xv. dayes before the departure of the ſonnes from king Henrie the father.

Rog: Houed.

Agayne king Henrie the father ſhould aſſigne to his ſonnes more larger reuenues for maintenance of theyr eſtates, with a caution included, that they ſhoulde not ſpende the ſame riotouſlye in any prodigall ſort or maner.

Rog. H

Richard.

Geffrey.

Firſt to the king his ſonne, he gaue two Caſtels in Normandie, with an encreaſe of yearely reuenues, to the ſumme of. xv. thouſande pounde Aniouyn. And to his ſonne Richard he gaue alſo two houſes in Poictou, with the one halfe of al the reuenues of the Countie of Poictou to be receyued in money. Unto his ſonne Geffrey hee graunted alſo in money, the moitie of that which he ſhould haue by the mariage of Erle Conanes daughter, and after that he had maried hir by licenſe purchaſed of the Pope, he ſhoulde enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that diſcended to hir, as in hir fathers wryting thereof more at large was conteyned.

Iohn.

On the other part king Henrie the ſonne, couenanted and graunted to and with the King his father, that hee ſhoulde perfourme and confyrme all thoſe gyftes of almes whiche his father ſhoulde graunt oute of his landes, and alſo all thoſe gyftes of landes which hee eyther had made and aſſured, or hereafter ſhoulde make and aſſure, vnto any of his men for any of their ſeruices. And likewiſe thoſe gyftes whiche hee had made vnto his ſonne Iohn the brother of King Henrie the ſonne, that is to witte, a thouſande poundes in landes by yeare in Englande of his demaine and excheates with the appurtenaunces, and the Caſtell and Countie of Notingham, with the Caſtell of Marlebrough, and the appurtenances. Alſo a thouſand poundes Aniouyn of yearely reuenues in Normandie, and two Caſtelles there. And in Aniou a thouſande poundes Aniouyn, of ſuche landes as belonged to the Earle of Aniou, with one Caſtell in Aniou and one in Touraine and another in Maine.

Thus were the father and ſonnes agreed and made friendes, the ſonnes couenanting neuer to withdrawe theyr ſeruices and bounden duetyes from theyr father, but to obey him in all things from that day forwarde.

A mari conclude

Herewith alſo the peace was renued betwixt King Henrie and King Lewes, and for the further confyrmation, a newe allyaunce was accorded betwixt them, whiche was that the Ladie Adela the daughter of king Lewes ſhoulde be gi-

uen

ued in maryage vnto Earle Richarde the ſonne of King Henrie, and bycauſe ſhe was not yet of age able to mary, ſhee was conueyed into Englande to be vnder the guyding of King Henrie, till ſhe came to lawfull yeares.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie forgetting all paſſed iniuryes, brought home his ſonnes in maner aforeſayde. And they being well pleaſed with the agreement, attended theyr father into Normandie, where Richarde and Geffrey did homage to theyr father receyuing theyr othes of allegiance according to the maner in that caſe requyred. But king Henrie the ſonne did no homage, for his father (in reſpect that he was a king) woulde not ſuffer him, and therefore tooke onely ſureties of him for performance of the couenants on his part, as was thought expedient.

VVil. Par.

Rog. Houed. *VVil. Par.* ſayth that he did homage alſo.

At length king Henrie goeth to Faleyſe, and there delyuereth out of captiuitie William king of Scotlande, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, Hugh Earle of Cheſter, with diuerſe other noble men whiche were kepte there as priſoners, putting them to theyr raunſomes, and receyuing of them pledges with an othe of allegiance.

Wil. king of Scots deliuered out of priſon with other.

King Henrie the father releaſed for hys part the number of nine hundred. lxix. knightes or menne of armes (if yee lyſt ſo to tearme them) which had beene taken ſith the begynning of theſe paſſed warres.

Mat. Par. Priſoners releaſed.

And king Henrie the ſonne ſet at lybertie about an hundred, and that without raunſome paying, according to the Articles of the peace (as before ye haue heard.) But yet ſome (as before we haue ſpecified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotlande, who being not able to pay his raunſome in preſent money, deliuered vp in gage foure of the ſtrongeſt Caſtelles within his realme into king Henries handes, Barwike, Edenbourgh, Roxbourgh, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and payed not the money behinde due for his raunſome, king Henrie and his ſucceſſours ſhoulde enioy for euer the ſame Caſtelles. He alſo couenaunted, not to receyue any Engliſh Rebels into his realme.

Caſtels deliuered by the K. of Scottes.

Other write that the king of Scottes did not onely become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to doe homage vnto him for the Realme of Scotlande, and all other his landes, but alſo deliuered the Caſtels of Barwike, and Roxbourgh to be poſſeſſed of the ſame king of Englande and hys heyres for euer without any couenant mentioned of morgage.

Nic. Triuet: *Mat. Par.*

Things beeing ſetled thus in good order, King Henry leauing his ſonne Henrie at Rouen, goeth to Argenton, and there helde hys Chriſtenmaſſe, and afterwardes, that is to wit, in the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, both the kings, as well the father as the ſonne, were at Mauns, and vpon their returne from thence into Normandie, they came to a communication with the Frenche King at Gyſors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the ſonne to put the father out of all doubt and myſtruſt of any euill meaning in him, ſware fealtie to him agaynſt all perſons, and ſo became hys liegeman in the preſence of Rothrod Archbiſhop of Rouen, Henrie Biſhop of Bayeux, William Earle of Mandeuille, Richarde de Humez his Conſtable, and many other.

Rog. Hou. 1175

The Kings of Englande and France meete at Giſors.

After this they kept theyr Eaſter at Cherbourgh, and from thence they came to Caen, where they mette wyth Philippe Earle of Flanders, who had lately before taken vpon hym the Croſſe, to goe into the holy lande: and there King Henry the father requyred him to releaſſe all ſuche couenauntes as King Henry the ſonne had made vnto him in tyme of his laſt warres, whiche hee freely did, and delyuered vppe the wryting whiche hee hadde of the ſame King concerning thoſe couenauntes, and ſo then they confyrmed vnto him the yearely rent whiche hee was wont to receyue out of Englande before the ſayde warres.

Philip Earle of Flanders.

Finally after that king Henrie had viſited the moſt parte of the Countrey, he commeth to Harflewe, and cauſeth his Nauie to bee decked and rigged, that hee might ſayle ouer into Englande. Whileſt he taryed here tyll his ſhips were readie, hee ſendeth letters to his ſonne King Henrie, willing him to repayre vnto him, meaning that he ſhoulde accompanie him into Englande. At the firſt the ſonne was loth to obey hys fathers pleaſure herein, bicauſe ſome enuious perſons aboute him, had put in his heade a doubt, leaſt his father had not altogither forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into Englande to commite him to priſon. But yet the father handled him ſo gently with courteous letters and meſſages, that ſhortly after hee came to his father of his owne accorde vnto Harflewe, from whence ſhortlye after they ſayled both togyther ouer into Englande, landing at Portſmouth on a Fryday the. ix. of May, they tooke the way frõ thence ſtreight vnto London, all the wayes beeing full of people that came to ſee them, & to ſhewe thẽſelues glad & ioyfull of theyr concord and happy arriual. At their comming to the citie they were receyued with great reioycing of the people, beſeeching God long to preſerue thẽ both in health and honour.

Polidor.

Enuious perſons readie to forge matters of ſuſpition.

The two kings the father and the ſonne returne into England.

The ſame yeare William de Breauſe hauing got a great number of Welchmen into the Caſtell of Begeuini, vnder a colourable pretext of a communication, proponed this ordinance to be

William de Breauſe.

The Welchmē not well dealt with.

receyued of them vnder a corporall othe, that no trauayler by the waye amongeſt them ſhoulde beare any bowe, or other vnlawful weapon: which othe, when they refuſed to take, bycauſe they woulde not ſtande to that ordinance, he condemned them all to death. And this decept he vſed towardes them in reuenge of the death of his vncle Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon Eaſter euen before, they had through treaſon murthered, & were now acquited with the like againe.

Nic. Triuet.

Reginald E of Cornwall departed th lie.

The ſame yeare died Reignald Erle of Cornwall, baſtard ſonne to king Henry the firſt without heyres male, by reaſon whereof the K. tooke into his handes all the inheritance of landes and liuings which he helde within Englande, Normandie & Wales, except certaine portions which the daughters of the ſame Erle had by aſsignmēt allotted to them. Alſo Richard Earle of Gloceſter deceaſſed this yere, & his ſon Philip ſucceded him.

Mat. VVe

A Sinode h den at Lond

The ſame yeare was a Sinode of the Clergie kept at Weſtminſter, wherein many things were decreed for the conſeruation of Religion, and among other things it was prouided, that thoſe Abbayes and Churches which were voyde of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, ſhoulde now be committed vnto men worthie to enioye the ſame, for the reformation of enormities being growne and diuerſely repleniſhed in time of the vacations.

Wil. Par.

The king of Scottes doth homage to the king of Englande.

The Realme being nowe brought into good order and delyuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abrode, the king being at good leyſure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and comming to Yorke, ſent for the king of Scots to come and do his homage, which was done: for the king of Scots according to couenants before concluded, came vnto Yorke in the Moneth of Auguſt, where doing his homage about the .xx. day of the ſame Moneth in S. Peters Church, graunted further by his letters patents, that he and his ſucceſſours kings of Scotlande, ſhoulde doe homage and fealtie to kings of Englande ſo often as they ſhoulde be neceſſarily requyred therevnto. And in ſigne and token of that ſubiection, the king of Scots offred his Hat, and his Saddle vpon the Aulter of S. Peter in Yorke, which Hatte and Saddle for a remembraunce hereof was kept there many yeres after that day.

The tenor the Charte

The Charter alſo conteyning the Articles of the peace and agreement concluded betwixt the two kings was read there in S. Peters church at the ſame time, the tenor whereof enſueth.

Ro. Houe

VVilhelmus rex Scotiæ deuenit homo ligius domini regis Angliæ contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris ſuis, & fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino ſuo ſicut alij homines ſui ipſi facere ſolent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis ſalua fide domini regis patris ſui. Omnes vero Epiſcopi, Abbates & Clerus terræ Scotiæ & ſucceſſores ſui facient domino regi ſicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit ſicut alij Epiſcopi ſui ipſi facere ſolent, & Henrico filio ſuo & Dauid et hæredibus eorum. Cõceſsit autem rex Scotiæ, et frater eius, & Baronis, & alij homines ſui domino regi, quod eccleſia Scotiæ talem ſubiectionem amodo faciet eccleſiæ Angliæ, qualem facere debet, & ſolebat tempore regum Angliæ prædeceſſorum ſuorum. Similiter Richardus Epiſcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus Epiſcopus Dunkelden. et Gaufridus Abbas de Dũfermlyn. & Herbertus Prior de Coldingham conceſſerunt, vt Eccleſia Anglicana illud habeat ius in Eccleſia Scotiæ, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipſi non erunt contra ius Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ. Et de hac conceſsione ſicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio ſuo fecerint, ita eos in-

de aſſecurauerint. Hoc idem facient alij epiſcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter dominum regẽ Scotiæ & Dauid fratrẽ ſuum & barones ſuos factam, Comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotiæ (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem vt ligeo domino ſuo ſicut alij homines ſui facere ei ſolent, & Henrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis ſalua fide domini regis patris ſui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ & baronum & hominum ſuorum homagium & ligiantiam faciẽt hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem. Preterea rex Scotiæ & homines ſui nullum amodo fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt, vel in alia terra ſua niſi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & ſtare iudicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ & homines ſui quàm citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iuſticiarijs ſuis aut balliuis ſuis in Anglia. Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro felonia in Anglia, niſi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis Scotiæ, & ſtare iudicio curiæ, non receptabitur in terra regis, ſed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis vbi inuentus fuerit. Præterea homines domini regis habebũt terras ſuas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus ſuis, & de rege Scotiæ & de hominibus ſuis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras ſuas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus ſuis: pro iſta vero conuentione & fine firmiter obſeruando domino regi & Hẽrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis à rege Scotiæ & hæredibus ſuis, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Caſtellum de Rockeſburgh, & Caſtellum Puellarũ, & Caſtellum de Striueling, in manu domini Regis, & ad cuſtodienda Caſtella aſsignabit rex Scotiæ de redditu ſuo meſurabiliter ad voluntatem Domini regis. Preterea pro predicta conuentione & fine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Dauid fratrem ſuum in obſidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem VValdenum, ſimiliter alios comites & barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus xviij. Et quando caſtella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater ſuus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati vnuſquiſq; poſtquã liberauerit obſidem ſuum, ſcilicet filiũ legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes ſuos vel propinquiores ſibi hæredes, & caſtellis vt dictum eſt redditis liberabuntur. Preterea rex Scotiæ & barones ſui prænominati aſſecurauerint, quod ipſi bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio, & ſine occaſione facient vt epiſcopi & barones et cæteri homines terræ ſuæ, qui non affuerunt quãdo rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finiuit, eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo quam ipſi fecerunt, & vt barones, & homines qui affuerunt obſides liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit. Preterea epiſcopi comites & barones conuentionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo, quod ſi rex Scotiæ aliquo caſu à fidelitate domini regis & filij, & à conuentione prædicta recederet, ipſi cum domino rege tenebunt ſicut cum ligio domino ſuo contra regem Scotiæ & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et epiſcopi ſub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ donec ipſe ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat. Prædictam itaque conuentionem firmiter obſeruandam bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio domino regi & Hẽrico filio ſuo & heredibus ſuis à VVilhelmo rege Scotiæ & Dauid fratre ſuo & baronibus ſuis prædictis & hæredibus eorum aſſecurauit ipſe rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater eius & omnes barones ſui prenominati ſicut ligij homines Domini regis contra omnem hominem & Hẽrici filij ſui (ſalua fidelitate patris ſui) hijs teſtibus, Richardo epiſcopo Abrincenſi, & Iohanne Saliſburiæ decano, & Roberto abbate Malmeſburiæ, & Radulpho abbate Mundeſberg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus & duobus filijs ſuis ſcilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

These things therefore beeyng recited in the Church of Saint Peters in Yorke in the preſence of the ſayde Kings and of Dauid the King of Scottes his brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the Biſhops, Erles, Barons and Knightes of Scotland ſware to the K. of England and to Henry his ſonne, and to their heires fealtie againſt all men, as to their liege and ſoueraigne Lordes.

King Henry hauyng ended hys buſineſſe at Yorke with the King of Scottes and other, whiche likewiſe did homage to him there, he returned to London. In the Octaues of S. Michaell, king Henry the father called a Parliament at Windſor, in the whiche were preſente King Henry the ſonne, Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Biſhops of England, Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublin with a greate number of Earles and Barons of this Realme. About the ſame tyme the Archbiſhop of Tuamon, and the Abbot of Saint Brandon with Laurence the Chauncelloure of Roderike King of Connagh in Irelãd wer come as Ambaſſadours from the ſayde Roderike, vnto

A parliament at Windſor.

Ambaſſadors from Kyng Connagh.

A tribute of Oxe hides.

The tenor of the charter of the agreement

King Henry, who willingly heard them, as hee that was more deſirous to grow to ſome accord with thoſe ſauage people by ſome friendly order, than to warre with them that hadde nothing to loſe: ſo that he might in purſuing of them ſeeme to fiſhe with an hooke of golde. Therefore in this Parliament the matter was debated, and in the ende a peace was concluded at requeſt of the ſaid Imbaſſadors, the King appointing Roderike to pay vnto him in token of ſubiection, a tribute of Oxe hides. The charter of the agreemente was written and ſubſcribed in this forme. *Hæc eſt finis & Concordia quæ facta fuit apud VVindeſhore in Octauis ſancti Michaelis Anno gratiæ.* 1175. *inter dominum regem Angliæ Henricum ſecundum, & Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per Catholicū Tuamenſem Archiepiſcopum & Abbatem C. ſancti Brandani, & magiſtrum L. Cancellarium Regis Conaciæ. Scilicet quòd rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico ligio homini ſuo regnū Conaciæ, quādiu ei fideliter ſeruiet, vt ſit Rex ſub eo, paratus ad ſeruicium ſuum ſicut homo ſuus, & vt teneat terram ſuam ita bene & in pace, ſicut tenuit, antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terræ habeat ſub ſe, & iuſticiet vt tributum Regi Angliæ integrè perſoluant, & per manum eius ſua iura ſibi conſeruent. Et illi qui modo tenēt, teneant in pace quandiu manſerint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integrè perſoluerint tributum & alia iura ſua quæ ei debent per manum regis Conaciæ, ſaluo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Angliæ & ſuo. Et ſi qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Angliæ per manum eius ſoluere noluerint, & à fidelitate regis Angliæ receſſerint, ipſe eos iuſticiet & amoueat. Et ſi eos per ſe iuſticiare non poterit, Conſtabularius regis Angliæ, & familia ſua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipſo fuerint requiſiti, & ipſi viderint quod neceſſe fuerit. Et propter hunc finem, reddet prædictus Rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum ſingulis Annis, ſcilicet de ſingulis decem animalibus vnum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra ſua quàm de aliena. Excepto quòd de terris illis quas dominus Rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio ſuo, & in dominio Baronum ſuorū, nihil ſe intromittet, ſcilicet Duvelina cum pertinentijs ſuis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſicut vnquā Marchat VVamailethlachlin, eā melius & plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta VVeſefordia, cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſcilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta VVaterfordia cum tota terra illa, quæ eſt à VVaterford vſq; ad Duncarnam, ita vt Duncarnā ſit cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis infra terram illā. Et ſi Hibernenſes qui aufugerint redire voluerint ad terram Baronū regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua ſeruicia quæ facere ſolebant pro terris ſuis. Et hoc ſit in Arbitrio dominorum ſuorum. Et ſi aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conaciæ accipiat obſides ab omnibus quos ei commiſit dominus rex Angliæ ad voluntatem domini regis & ſuam. Et ipſe dabit obſides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios, & ipſi ſeruient domino de canibus & auibus ſuis ſingulis annis de preſentis ſuis. Et nullum omninò de quacunque terra regis ſit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hijs teſtibus, Richardo Epiſcopo VVintoniæ, Gaufrido epiſcopo Elienſi, Laurentio Duvilinenſi archiepiſcopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao, & Rogero Capellanis regis, Guilhelmo Comite de Eſſex, & alijs multis.*

Moreouer, at this Parliament, the King gaue vnto an Iriſhman that was named Auguſtine, the Biſhopricke of Waterford, whiche ſee was then voyd, and ſent him into Ireland with Laurence the Archbiſhop of Dublin, to be conſecrated of Donate the Archbiſhop of Caſſels. The ſame yeare, both Englande, and the countreyes adioyning, were ſore vexed with a greate mortalitie of people, and immediately after followed a ſore dearth and famine.

A great de

An. Reg. 1176

A Parli
at North
ton.

King Henry helde his Chriſtmas at Windeſor, and about the feaſt of the conuerſiō of Saint Paule, he came to Northampton, and now after that the mortalitie was well ceaſſed, hee called a Parliamente there, at the whiche was preſente a Deacon Cardinall entitled of S. Angelo, beyng ſent into England as a Legate from the Pope to take order in the controuerſies betwixte the two Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Yorke.

Mat. Pa

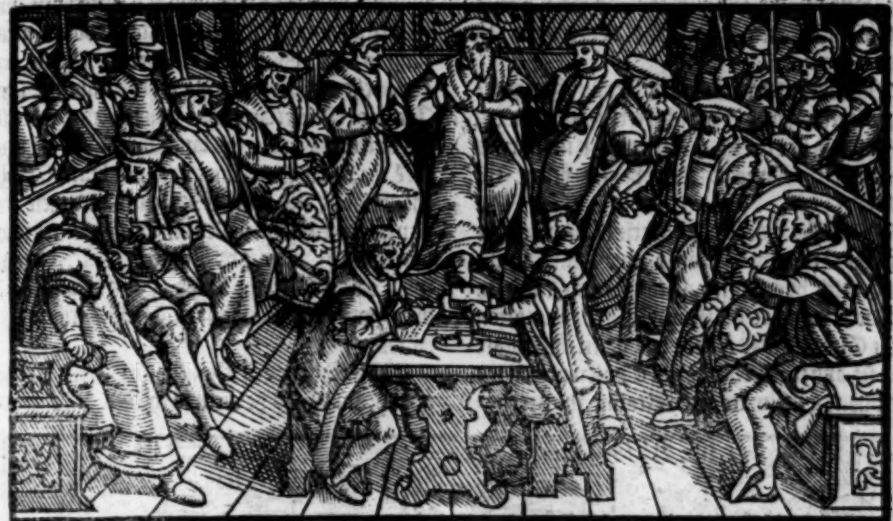
This Cardinall whoſe name was Hugh Petro Lione, aſſembling in the ſame place a conuocation or Synod of the Biſhops and Clergie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation after the ceaſſing of certeine ſtrifes and decrees made as well concerning the ſtate of cōmon wealth, as for the honeſt behauiour of mans life, the Cardinall conſented that (accordingly as by the Kings lawes it was already ordeined) all maner of perſons within the ſacred orders of yͤ Clergie, which ſhould hunt within yͤ Kings groundes and kill any of his Deare, ſhuld be conuented and puniſheable before a temporall Iudge, which libertie graunted to the King, did ſo infringe the immunitie which the Cleargie pretended to haue within this Realme, that afterwardes in many poyntes, Prieſtes were called before temporall Iudges and puniſhed for their offences as well as the Laitie, though they haue grudged indeede and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempt and iudged by none except by thoſe of their owne order.

An acte a-
gainſt Pri
that wer
ters.

Polidor.

Moreouer in this Counſell, the matter came in

Obedience of the Church of Scotland to the Church of England.



queſtion touching the obedience which the Biſhoppes of Scotlande dyd owe by right vnto the Archebiſhop of Yorke, whom from the beginning the Popes of Rome had conſtitute and ordeyned to be Primate of all Scotlande, and of the Iſles belongyng to that Realme, as well of the Orkeneys as all the other: the which conſtitution was obſerued by the Biſhoppes of thoſe parties many yeares togither, though after they renounced their obedience. Whervpon the Archebiſhops of Yorke for the tyme being continually cōplayned, ſo that theſe Popes, Paſcall the ſeconde, Calixte the ſeconde, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the thirde, and Hadrian the fourth hadde the hearing of the matter, and with often ſending theyr letters went about to reduce them vnto the prouince of Yorke. But the Scots ſtill withſtanding this ordinaunce, at length the matter thus in controuerſie was referred to Pope Alexander, who ſent the foreſayd Cardinall Hugh as well to make an ende of that contention, as of diuers other: but yet he left it vndecided.

Ro. Houed.
The King of Scottes commeth to the Parliamēt

William King of Scotland came in perſon vnto this parliamēt at Northamton, by commaundemente of Kyng Henry, and brought with him Richarde Biſhoppe of S. Andrew, and Joſſeline Biſhop of Glaſcow, with other Biſhops and Abbots of Scotland, the which being commaunded by King Henry to ſhew ſuch ſubiection to the Church of England as they wer bound to do by the faith which they ought to him and by the oth of fealtie whiche they had made to him, they made this aunſwer, that they had neuer ſhewed any ſubiection to the Church of Englād, nor ought to ſhew any: againſt which deniall, the Archbiſhop of Yorke replyed, and ſhewed forthe ſufficiente priuileges graunted by the forenamed Popes, to proue the ſubiection of the Scottiſhe Biſhoppes, and namely Glaſcow and Whiterne vnto the ſee of Yorke. But bycauſe the Archbyſhop of Canterbury meant to bring the Scottiſh Biſhops vnder ſubiection of his See, he wrought ſo for that tyme with the King, that hee ſuffered them to depart home, without doing any ſubiection to the Churche of Englande. The letters which the foreſayd Popes did ſend touching this matter, were remayning ſafe and ſound amongſt other writings in the Colledge at Yorke, when Polidore Virgill wrote the hiſtories of England, the copies whereof in an old antient booke, he confeſſeth to haue ſeene and redde.

Reg. Houed.
Deuiſion of circuites for Iuſtices itinerantes.

But to ſpeake further of things ordered and done at this Parliamēt holden at Northampton, the King by common conſente of his nobles and other eſtates, deuided his realme into ſixe partes, appointing three iuſtices *Itinerantes* in euery of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Creſſy, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Mantel, wer deputed vnto Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex and Hertfordſhire: Hugh de Gundville, William Fitz Rauſe, and William Baſſet were appoynted to Lincolnſhire, Notinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwikeſhire, Northamptonſhire and Leceſterſhire: Roberte Fitz Bernarde, Richarde Giffard, Roger Fitz Remfrey, were aſſigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampſhire, Suſſex, Berkſhire and Oxfordſhire: William Fitz Stephan, Berthram de Verdun, Thurſtan Fitz Simō were ordeyned to Herefordſhire, Glocceſterſhire, Worceterſhire, and Salopſhire: Rauſe Fitz Stephan, William Ruffe, and Gilberte Pipard were putte in charge with Wilſhire, Dorſetſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Deuonſhire and Cornewall: Roberte de Wals, Ranulf de Glanuile, and Roberte Pikenet were appoynted to Yorkſhire, Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, Copeland, Weſtmerland, Northumberlād and Cumberland.

The oth of the Iuſtices.

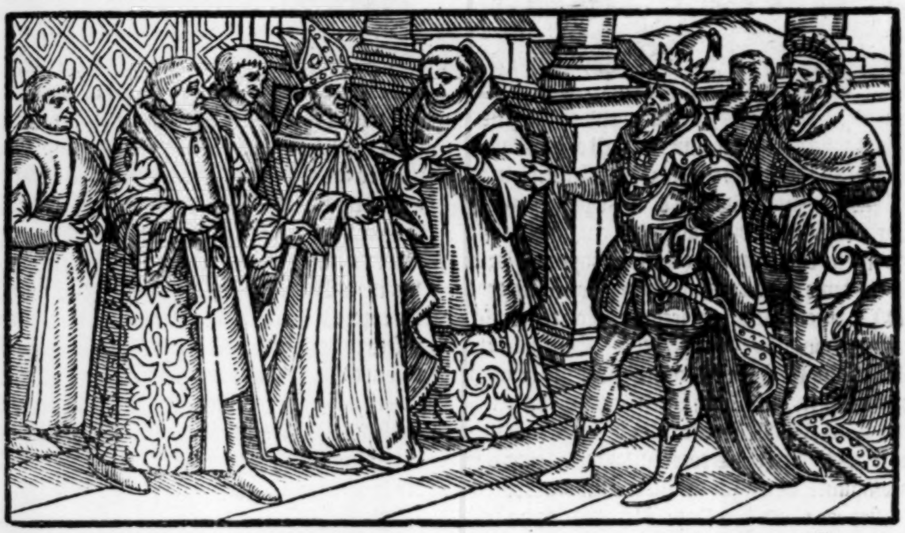
The Kyng cauſed theſe Iuſtices to ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, that they ſhould keepe his aſſiſes which he firſt had ordeyned at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, and alſo cauſe all his ſubiectes within the Realme of England, to keepe and obſerue the ſame.

ernaſ. Doro.

Moreouer at this Counſell, Kyng Henry reſtored vnto Robert Earle of Leceſter all his lãds, both on this ſide the ſea, and beyond, in manner as hee helde the ſame fifteene dayes before the warre.

To William de Albeny Earle of Arundell, he gaue the Erledome of Suſſex. About midlent, the King with hys ſonne and the Legate came to London, where at Weſtminſter a Conuocation of the Cleargie was called, but when the Legate was ſet, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury on his right hand as primate of the Realme, the Archbyſhop of Yorke comming in, & diſdeining to ſitte on the left hand where he might ſeeme to giue preheminence vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (vnmanerly ynough indede) ſwasht him down, meaning to thruſt himſelfe in betwixt the Legate, and the Archb. of Canterbury: & where belike the ſayd Archb. of Canterbury was loth to remoue, hee ſet his buttockes iuſt in his lappe, but he vnneth touched the Archbiſhops ſkirt with his bumme, whẽ the Biſhops and other Chapleines and their ſeruantes ſtept, to him pulled him away, and threwe him to the grounde, and beginning to ley on hym with bats & fiſtes, the Archb. of Canterbury yeelding good for euill, ſought to ſaue him from theyr handes.

The preſumptuous demeanor of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.



The Archbiſhop of Yorke with his rent Rochet got vp, and away he went to the K. with a greate complaint againſte the Archb. of Canterbury, but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowen, hee was well laught at for hys labour, & that was al the remedie he gote. As he departed ſo bebuffeted forth of the conuocation houſe towards the Kyng, they cried out vppon him, goe Traytor that diddeſt betray that holy man Thomas, goe get thee hence, thy handes yet ſtinke of bloud. The aſſemble was by this meanes diſperſed, and the Legate fled and gote him forth of the way.

Appeales made.

After this, followed appealings, the Archbyſhop of Yorke appealed to Rome, and the Legate alſo for his owne ſafegard appealed the Archbyſhoppe of Canterbury vnto Rome, whiche Archbiſhop ſubmitting himſelfe and his cauſe vnder the Popes protection, made a like ſolemne appeale from the Legate to the Pope. The Legate perceiuing that the matter wente otherwiſe than hee wiſhed, and ſawe little remedie to be had at that preſent, gaue ouer his Legateſhip as it had bin of his owne accorde, though greatly agaynſte hys will, and prepared himſelfe to depart. Yet neuertheleſſe, through mediation of friendes that trauelled betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either ſyde, and diſſimuled the diſpleaſures whiche they had conceyued eyther againſt other, but yet the conuocation was diſſolued for that time, and the two Archbiſhoppes preſented theyr compleyntes to the King, who kepte his Eaſter thys yeare at Wincheſter, and about the ſame time or ſhortly after, licenced his ſonne Henry to ſayle ouer into Normandy, meaning ſhortly after to goe vnto Compoſtella in Spaine, to viſite the body of Saint Iames the Apoſtle, but beeing otherwiſe aduiſed by his fathers letters, hee kepte not on his purpoſe but ſtayed at home.

The Conuocation diſſolued.

The ſame yeare, the Lady Iohan the Kyngs daughter, was giuen in marriage vnto William King of Sicill. Alſo the ſame yere died the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Irelande, Roberte Earle of Striguill otherwiſe Chepſtow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined Lorde chiefe Iuſtice in hys place, who ſeaſed into the Kynges

N. Trinet.

handes

eg. Hon. ic. Trinet.

A tribute grãted by the Iriſhe

hands all thoſe fortreſſes which the ſayd Earle of Striguill helde within the Realme of Irelande. The Iriſhmen agreed alſo to yeelde to the Kyng a tribute of twelue pence yearely for euery houſe, or elſe for euery yoke of Oxen whiche they had of their owne. William Earle of Arundell dyed alſo this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wymondham.

g. Houed.

he walles the towne d Caſtell Leceſter ſed.

This yeare when it mighte haue bin thoughte that all things hadde bin forgotten touching the rebellious attemptes made againſt King Henry the father by his ſonnes, and other (as before yee haue heard) he cauſed the walles both of the town and Caſtell of Leiceſter to bee raced and broken downe, and alſo all ſuch other Caſtels and places of ſtrength whiche had bin kept againſte him during the time of that Rebellion, were likewiſe ouerthrowen and made playne with the grounde, as the Caſtels of Huntington, Walton, Growby, Hey, Stuteſbirry or Sterdeſbirry, Malaſert; the newe Caſtell of Allerton, the Caſtels of Freſingham and Bungey, with diuers other bothe in England and Normandy. But the Caſtels of Paſcy and Mountſorell he reteined in hys owne hands as his of right, beeing ſo found by a iurie of free holders empanelled there in the countrey. And further, he ſeazed into his hands all the other Caſtels of Byſhoppes, Earles and Barons, bothe in Englande and Normandy, appoynting keepers in them at hys pleaſure. Alſo this yeare, he married his daughter Eleanor vnto Alfonſe K. of Caſtile. Moreouer, Gilbert the ſon of Fergus Lord of Galloway whiche hadde ſlayne his brother Vthred, couſin to King Henry, came this yeare into Englande, vnder conduit of William King of Scotlande, and became King Henry the fathers man, ſwearing to him fealtie againſt all men: and for to haue his loue and fauour, he gaue to hym a thouſand markes of ſiluer, and deliuered into hys hands his ſonne Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred alſo, that in this yeare, Richard Earle of Poyctow ſonne to King Henry, foughte with certaine Brabanders his enimies betwixte Saint Megrine and Buteuille, where he ouercame thẽ.

leanor the ings daughr married to the king Caſtile. ilbert Fitz ergus.

ichard Earle Poiƈtew.

Here I haue thought good, to aduertiſe yͤ Reader, that theſe men of warre, whiche I haue generally in this parte of this booke named Brabanders, we finde them writtẽ in olde copies diuerſly, as *Brebazones*, *Brebanceni*, and *Brebationes*, the whiche for ſo muche as I haue found them by the learned tranſlated Brabanders, and that the French word ſomewhat yeeldeth thereto, I haue likewiſe ſo named them, wherein whether I haue erred or not, I muſt ſubmitte mine opinion to the learned and ſkilful ſearchers of ſuch poynts of antiquities. For to confeſſe in playne truth myne ignorance, or rather vnreſolued doubt herein, I can not ſatiſfie my ſelfe with any thing that I haue red, wherby to aſſure my coniecture what to make of them, although verily it may be, and the likelyhood is great, that the Brabanders in thoſe dayes for their trayned ſkill and vſuall practiſe in warlike feates, wanne themſelues a name, wherby not only thoſe that were naturally borne in Brabant, but ſuch other alſo which ſerued amongſt them, or elſe vſed the ſame warlike furniture, order, trade and diſcipline, which was in vſe among them, paſſed in that age vnder the name of Brabanders: eyther elſe muſt I thinke, that by reaſon of ſome odde manner habite or other ſpeciall cauſe, ſome certayne kind of ſouldiers purchaſed to themſelues the priuiledge of that name ſo to be called *Brabanceni* or *Brebatianes* whether ye will, as hath chanced to the Lanſquenetz and Reiſters in our time, and likewiſe to the companiõs Arminacs and Eſcorchers in the dayes of our forefathers, and as in al ages likewiſe it hath fortuned amongſt men of war, which if it ſo chanced to theſe *Brabanceni*, I know not then what countrymen to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of ſuch ſouldiers as were knowen by yͤ name (as after ye ſhall heare) is reported by ſome aucthours to be a Prouancois. It ſhould ſeeme alſo yͭ they were called by other names, as yͤ Rowtes (in Latine *Ruptary*) which name whether it came of a Frenche word (as ye would ſay) ſome vnruly and headeſtronge company, or of the Teutſche worde Rutters, that ſignifieth a Rider, I cannot ſay. But it may ſuffice for the courſe of yͤ hiſtorie to vnderſtand that they were a kind of hired ſouldiers, in thoſe dayes highely eſteemed and no leſſe feared, in ſo muche that agaynſt them and other ther was an article cōtayned amōg yͤ decrees of yͤ Laterane councell holdē at Rome in yͤ yere. 1179. wherby al thoſe wer to be denoūced accurſed whiche did hire, maintain and otherwiſe nouriſh thoſe Brebationes, Aragonois, Nauarrois, Baſques, and Coterelles, whiche did ſo muche hurte in the Chriſtian world in thoſe dayes. But nowe to returne where we left to Earle Richarde, beſide the foremētioned victory againſt thoſe Brabanders, if we ſhall ſo take them. Hee vanquiſhed alſo Hamerike, the vicount of Lymoges, and William Earle of Angoleſme, with the vicounts of Ventadore, and Cambanays, whiche attempted rebellion againſt him, but Earle Richard ſubdued thē, and toke them priſoners, with dyuers Caſtels and ſtrong holdes which they had fortified.

VVi. Paru
lib.3.cap.3.

The departure of the Legate forth of the Realme.

Liberties obteyned for Churchmen.

About the feaſt of Peter and Paule the Legate departed forthe of the realme, of whom we finde that as he graunted to the King ſome liberties againſt the priuiledges whiche yͤ Clergie pretended to haue a right vnto: ſo he obteined of the king certain graunts in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

Firſte, that for no offence, crime or tranſgreſſion any ſpirituall perſon ſhuld be brought before a Temporall Iudge perſonally, excepte for hunting, or for ſome lay fee for yͤ which ſome temporall ſeruice was due to bee yeelded, eyther to the King, or ſome other that was chiefe Lorde thereof.

Secondly, that no Archbiſhoppes See, nor Biſhoppes See, nor any Abbathie ſhould be kept in the Kings handes more than one yeare, excepte vppon ſome euidente cauſe or neceſſitie conſtreyning.

Thirdly it was graunted, that ſuche as ſlewe any ſpirituall perſon, and were of ſuche offence conuict, eyther by euidence or confeſſion before the Iuſtice of the Realme in preſence of the Biſhop, they ſhould be puniſhed as the Temporall lawe in ſuche caſes required.

Nic. Triuet.

Fourthly, yͭ ſpirituall men ſhould not be compelled to fight in liſtes for the triall of any matter or cauſe whatſoeuer. It ſhuld appeare by Nicholas Triuet, yͭ the Archebiſhop of Canterbury procured the biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, and Norwiche three Prelates highely at that preſent in yͤ Kings fauour, to further theſe grauntes, namely that ſuche as ſlew any prieſte or ſpirituall perſon might haue the lawe for it: wher before, there was no puniſhemēt for a ſeaſon vſed againſt ſuch offēdors but onely excommunication. But nowe to leaue prieſtes, we will paſſe to other matters. In this meane time, King Henry yͤ ſonne remaining in Normandie, beganne to deuiſe newe practiſes howe to remoue his father from the gouernement and to take it to him ſelfe: but one of his ſeruants named Adam de Chirehedune beyng of his ſecret Counſell, aduertiſed King Henry the father thereof, for the whiche his maſter King Henry the ſon put him to greate ſhame and rebuke, cauſing hym to be ſtripped naked, and whipped round about the ſtreetes of the Citie of Poicters, where hee then was vpon his returne from his brother Erle Richard, with whome hee hadde bin to ayde hym againſt his enimies. But the father perceyuing the naughty mind of his ſonne, not to ceaſſe from hys wilfull maliciouſneſſe, thoughte to diſſemble all things ſith he ſaw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be prouided againſt his wicked attēpts, hee furniſhed all his fortreſſes both in Englande and in Normandy with ſtrong garniſons of men, and all neceſſary munition: about whyche time, the ſea roſe on ſuche height, that many men were drowned thereby.

The yong
beginneth
new practi
againſte hi
father.

Rog. Ho

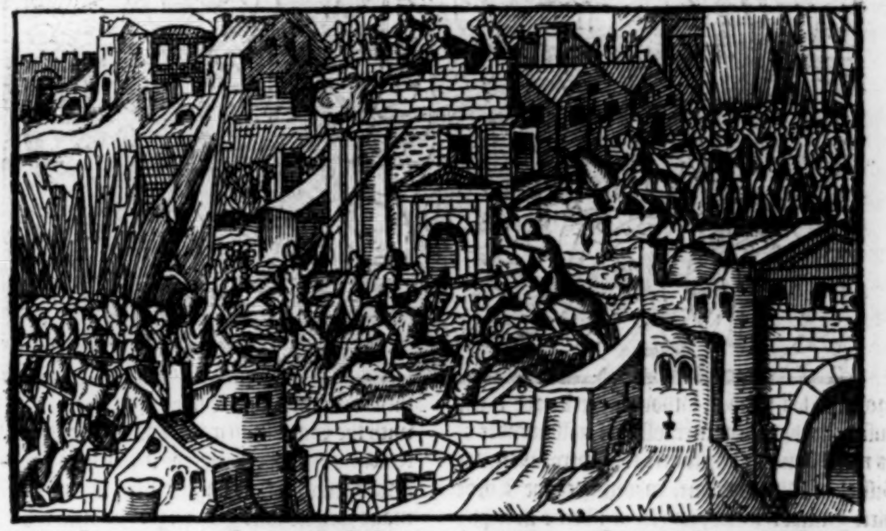
Alſo a great Snowe fell this yeare, whiche by reaſon of the hard froſt that chaunced therewith, continued long withoute waſting away, ſo that fiſhes both in the ſea and freſh water dyed through ſharpneſſe and vehemencie of that Froſt, neyther could huſbandmen till the ground.

Ther chaunced alſo a ſore Eclipſe of the ſonne the ſixth Ides of January. The Monaſtery of Weſtwood or Leſnos was begun to bee founded by Richard de Lucy Lord chiefe Juſtice. The ſame yeare at Wodſtocke, the King made hys ſonne the Lord Geffrey Knight.

eg. Houe.
1177

Alſo in the yeare. 1177. King Henry helde hys Chriſtmas at Northampton, with hys two ſons Geffrey and John, his other two ſonnes the yong King Henry, and Richarde Earle of Poictowe, were in the parties of beyond the ſea, as the Kyng in Normandy, and the Earle in Gaſcoigne, where hee beſieged the Citie of Aques whiche the vicount of Aques and the Earle of Bigorre hadde fortified againſt him, but he wan it within tenne dayes after his comming before it.

The Citie of Aques or Aigues.



And within the like terme hee wanne the Citie of Bayon alſo, whiche Ernald Berthram had fortified againſt hym, and comming to the vttermoſt fronters of that Countrey adioyning to Spayne, hee tooke a Caſtell called Saint Pitro which he deſtroyed, and conſtreyned the Baſques and Naruerroys to receyue an othe, that from thenceforth they ſhould ſuffer paſſengers quietly to come and goe through their countrey, and that they ſhoulde liue in quiet and keepe peace one with an other, and ſo he reformed the ſtate of that Countrey, and cauſed them to renounce many euill cuſtomes whiche they before that time hadde vnlawfully vſed.

n. Reg. 23.
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Moreouer, Kyng Henry to auoyde further ſlaunder, placed for Byſhoppe in that ſee of Lincolne a Baſtard ſonne, which he had named Geffrey, after hee had kept that Biſhopricke in hys hands ſo long till he had almoſt cleerely deſtroyed it. And his ſonne that was nowe made Biſhoppe to help the matter for his parte, made hauocke in waſting and ſpending forthe in riotous manner the goodes of that Churche, and in the end forſooke hys myter, and left the See agayne in the Kyngs hands to make his beſt of it. Furthermore, the King in times paſt made a vowe to builde a new Monaſterie in ſatiſfactiō of his offences committed againſt Thomas the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and nowe therefore hee required of the Biſhoppes and other ſpirituall fathers, to haue ſome place by them aſſigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whileſt they ſhoulde haue taken aduice herein, hee ſecretely practiſed with the Cardinals, and with diuers other Biſhops, that hee mighte remoue the ſecular Canons out of the Colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular Canons, ſo to ſaue money in his cofers, plantyng in another mans vineyard. But yet bycauſe it ſhould not be thought he did this of ſuche a couetous meaning, hee promiſed to giue great poſſeſſions to that houſe, whiche hee after but ſlenderly performed, though vppon licence obteyned at the Biſhoppes handes, he diſplaced the Canons, and broughte in to their roumthes the Chanons as it were by way of exchange.

Prieſts diſplaced, and Chanons regular put in theyr roomthes.

Rog. Houed.
Nunnes of Amelburie.

Alſo the ſame yeare hee thruſt the Nunnes of Ameſbury out of their houſe, bycauſe of their incontinente liuing in abuſing theyr bodyes greatly to theyr reproche, and beſtowed them in other Monaſteries to bee kepte within more ſtraightly. And theyr houſe was committed vnto the Abbeſſe and couent of Founteuerard, the whyche ſent ouer certayne of their number to furniſhe the houſe of Ameſbury, wherein they were placed by the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, in the preſence of the King and a greate number of others.

Philip Earle of Flaunders.

Iohn de Curcy.

The Ci Dun take

Roderik of Vlneſt vanquiſh

Viuiano a Cardinall.

VVil. Paruu.

The Leg holdeth Counſell Dublin.

Philippe Earle of Flaunders by ſendyng ouer Ambaſſadors to Kyng Henry promiſed, that hee woulde not beſtowe his two neeces daughters to his brother Mathew Erle of Bullongne, without conſente of the ſame King: but ſhortly after hee forgot his promiſe, and married the elder of them to the Duke of Zaringes, and the yonger to Henry Duke of Louayn. Iohn de Curcy Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland diſcomfiting a power of Iriſhmen, wanne the Citie of Dun in Vlneſtre, where the bodies of S. Patricke and S. Colme confeſſors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of whiche Citie, Roderike King of Vlneſtre being ſore offended, reyſed a mighty hoſt, and comming into the fielde, foughte with the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, and in the ende receyued the ouerthrowe at his handes, although the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice at that encounter loſt no ſmall number of his men. Amongſt priſoners that were taken, the Biſhop of Dun was one, whome yet the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice releaſed, and ſet at libertie in reſpect of a requeſt and ſute made to him by a Cardinall the Popes Legate, that was there in Irelande at that time. This Cardinals name was Viuiano, entitled the Cardinall of S. Stephen in Mont Celio. He was ſent from the Pope the laſt yeare, & comming into England though without licence, was pardoned vppon knowledging his faulte for his entring without the Kings leaue firſte obteyned, and ſo permitted to goe into Scotland, whyther, and into other the Northweſt regions, hee was ſente as Legate, authoriſed from the Pope. After he had ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, hee paſſed ouer into Man, and there helde his Chriſtmas with Euthred K. of Man, and after the feaſt of the Epiphany, hee ſailed from thence into Ireland, and chaunced the ſame time that the Engliſhmen inuaded that countrey, to bee in the Citie of Dune, where hee was receiued of the King and Biſhops of that land with great reuerence. The inuaſion then of the Engliſhmen being ſignified to them of the countrey aforehande, they aſked councell of the Legate what he thought beſt to be done in that matter, who ſtraighte wayes tolde them, that they ought to fighte in defenſe of theyr countrey, and at their ſetting forward, he gaue thẽ his benediction in way of their good ſpeede. But they comming (as yee haue hearde) to encounter with the Engliſhmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the Citie, the which was heerewith alſo wonne by the Engliſhmen, ſo that the Romane Legate was glad to get him into yͤ Church for his more ſafegard, and like a wiſe fellow had prouided afore hand for ſuch happes if they chanced, hauing there with him the King of Englãds letters directed to the Captaynes in Irelande in the Legates fauour, ſo that by the aſſiſtaunce and authoritie of the ſame, he went to Dublin, & there in name of the Pope and of the King of Englãd held a councell, but when hee began to practiſe after the manner of Legates in thoſe dayes ſomewhat largely for his owne aduãtage, in yͤ Churches of that ſimple rude countrey, the Engliſhe Captaines commaunded him eyther to departe, or elſe to goe forth to yͤ warres with them: whervpan he returned into Scotland againe, with his bagges well ſtuffed with Iriſh golde, for the whiche it ſeemed he greatly thirſted. But as to the doings of Iohn de Curcy, and of thoſe Engliſhmen that were with him, they did not only defend ſuch places as they had wonne out of the Iriſhmens handes againſte thoſe Kyngs and their powers, but alſo enlarged daily more and more their fronters, and wanne the Towne of Armach (wherein is the Metropolitane ſee of all that land) with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

Mat. Pa

Polidor.

About the ſame time, came Ambaſſadors vnto King Henry, from Alfonſe King of Caſtile, and

Garſias King of Nauarre, to aduertiſe him, that in a cõtrouerſie riſen betwixt the ſaid two Kings touching the poſſeſſion of certaine groundes neere vnto the confines of their Realmes, they had choſen him for Iudge by compromiſe, promiſing vpon their othes to ſtande vnto and abide his order and decree therein. Therefore they required hym to end the matter by his authoritie, ſith they had wholly put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, eyther King hadde ſente a moſt able and valiaunt Knighte furniſhed with horſe and armoure ready in their Princes cauſe to fight the combate, if K. Henry ſhould happily committe the triall of their quarrell vnto the iudgement of battayle.

Rog. Houed.

King Henry gladly accepted their requeſt, ſo yͭ thereuppon calling his counſellours togither, hee aduiſed with them of the thing, and hearing euery mans opinion, at length hee gaue iudgemente ſo with the one, that the other was contented to bee agreeable therevnto.

olidor.

Within a while after, Philip Earle of Flaunders came ouer into England to doe his deuotiõs at the Tombe of Thomas Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, of whome the moſt part of men then had conceyued an opinion of ſuch holyneſſe, that they reputed him for a Saint. The King mette hym there, and very friendly entertayned him, and bycauſe he was appoynted ſhortly after to goe ouer into the holy land to warre againſt Goddes enimies, the King gaue him fiue hundred markes in reward, and licenced William Mandeuile Earle of Eſſex to go in that iourney with other Lords, Knightes and men of warre of ſundry nations that were of his dominions.

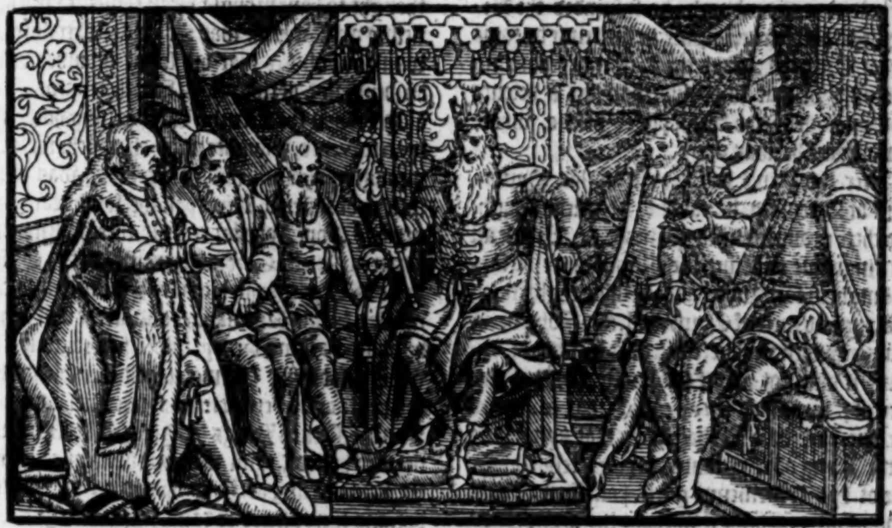
The King then returning vnto London, tooke order for the eſtabliſhing of things touching the ſtate of the Realme, and his owne eſtate. And firſt he appoynted the cuſtodie of ſuch Caſtels, as were of moſt importance, by their ſituation, vnto the keeping of certaine worthy Captaynes.

Rog. Houed.

To Sir William de Stuteuille hee aſſigned the cuſtodie of Rockeſburgh Caſtell, to Sir Roger de Stuteuille, the Caſtell of Edinburgh, to Sir William Neuille the Caſtell of Norham, to Sir Geffrey Neuill the Caſtell of Berwike, and to the Archbiſhop of Yorke, hee deliuered the Caſtell of Scarbarrough, and Sir Roger Conyers hee made Captayne of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the Biſhop, bycauſe hee had ſhewed himſelf an vnſtedfaſt man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therefore to haue the kings fauoure againe, hee gaue to hym two thouſande markes, with condition that his caſtels myghte ſtand, and that his ſonne Henry de Putcey alias Pudſey, might enioy one of the Kynges manor places called Wighton.

Durham Tower.

Henry de Pudſey.



After this, the King wente to Oxenforde, and there helde a Parliament, at the which hee created his ſonne Iohn Kyng of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from Pope Alexander.

A Parliament at Oxforde.

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About the ſame time it rayned bloud in the Ile of Wighte, by the ſpace of two dayes togither, ſo that linen clothes that hong on the hedges, were coulouređ therewith: which vnketh wonder cauſed the people as the manner is, to ſuſpect ſome euill of the ſayd Iohns gouernement.

Moreouer, to this Parliament holden at Oxenforde, all the chiefe rulers and gouernoures of Southwales and Northwales repaired, and became the King of Englands liege men, ſwearing fealtie to him againſt all men. Hereupon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin Prince of Southwales the lande of Merionith, and to Dauid ap Owan hee gaue the lands of Elleſmare.

Rog. Houed.

Alſo at the ſame time, hee gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is ſaide) the lande of Meth in Ireland, with the appurtenances for the ſeruice of an hundred knightes or men of armes to holde of him and of his ſonne John by a charter, whyche he made therof: and alſo he deuided there the landes and poſſeſſions of Irelande with the ſeruices to his ſubiectes, as well of Englande as Irelande, appoynting ſome to holde by ſeruice to fynde fortie knights, or menne of armes, and ſome thirtie, and ſo forth. Vnto two Iriſh Lordes hee graunted the kyngdome of Corgh, for the ſeruice of fortie knights, and to other three Lordes hee gaue the kingdome of Limeryke, for the ſeruice of the lyke number of knightes to bee holden of him and his ſonne John, reſeruyng to him ſelfe and to his heires the Citie of Lymerike with one Cantred. To William Fitz Aldelme hys Sewer, he gaue the Citie of Weſſeford with the appurtenaunces and ſeruices: and to Roberte de Poer his Marſhall, he gaue the Citie of Waterforde, and to Hugh Lacy, hee committed the ſafe keping of the Citie of Dyuelyne. And theſe perſons to whome ſuche giftes and aſſignations were made, receyued othes of fealtie to beare theyr allegiance vnto hym and to his ſonne for thoſe landes and poſſeſſions in Irelande, in manner and forme as was requiſite.

William Fitz Aldelme.

Robert de Poer.

Hugh Lacy.

The Cardinall Viuian hauyng diſpatched hys buſineſſe in Irelande, came backe into Englande, and by the Kyngs ſafeconducte retourned agayne into Scotlande, where in a Councell holden at Edenburgh, he ſuſpended the Biſhoppe of Whiterne, bicauſe he did refuſe to come to that Councell: But the Biſhoppe made no accompte of that ſuſpenſion, hauyng a defence good ynough by the Biſhoppe of Yorke, whoſe Suffragane he was.

Philip de Breuſe.

After the King had broken vp his Parliament at Oxenford, he came to Marleborough, and there graunted vnto Philippe de Breuſe all the kingdome of Limerike for the ſeruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and Williã the brethren of Reignald earle of Cornewall, and John de la Pumeray their nephue, refuſed the gift therof, bycauſe it was not as yet conquered For the kyng thereof, ſurnamed *Monoculus*, that is, wyth the one eye, who hadde holden that kyngdome of the Kyng of Englande, beyng lately ſlayne, one of hys kynſemenne gotte poſſeſſion of that kingdome, and helde it without the acknowledging any ſubiection to Kyng Henry, nor would obeye his officers, bycauſe of the ſcathes and domages whyche they dyd practiſe agaynſt the Iriſhe people, withoute occaſion (as they alleadged,) by reaſon whereof the Kyng of Corke alſo rebelled agaynſte the Kyng of Englande and hys people, and ſo that Realme was full of trouble.

Math. Paris.
Polidor.

The ſame ſeaſon, Queene Margaret the wife of King Henry the ſonne was deliuered of a man childe, which liued not paſt three dayes. In that time there was alſo through all England a great multitude of Jewes, and bycauſe they hadde no place appoynted them where to bury thoſe that died, but only at London, they were conſtreyned to bring al their dead corpſes thither from all parties of the Realme. To eaſe them therefore of that inconuenience, they obteyned of K. Henry a grant, to haue a place aſſigned them in euery quarter where they dwelled, to bury their dead bodies.

The ſame yeare was the body of S. Amphibalus the Martir, that was inſtructer to Saint Albone founde, not farre from the Towne of Saint Albones, and there in the Monaſterie of that Towne buried with great and ſolemne Ceremonies.

In the meane tyme, King Henry tranſported ouer into Normandy, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him and King Lewes began to be renewed vppon this occaſion, whereas King Henry had receyued the French Kings doughter Alice, promiſed in marriage vnto his ſonne Richard, to remayne in England with him, till ſhee were able to company with hir huſband, King Henry being of a diſſolute life, and giuen much to the pleaſure of the body, at the leaſt wiſe (as the French King ſuſpected,) beganne to fanteſie the yong Ladye, and by ſuche wanton talke and company keeping as hee vſed with hir, hee was thought to haue brought hir to conſente vnto hys fleſhly will, whiche was the cauſe wherefore hee woulde not ſuffer that his ſonne ſhoulde marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares fitte thereunto.

Rog. Ho

Whereupon the Frenche King geſſing howe the matter wente, thoughte iuſtly that ſuche reproche wroughte againſte him in his bloud, was in no wiſe to be ſuffered. Hereupon therfore he compleined to yͤ Pope, who for redreſſe thereof, ſente one Peter a Prieſt, Cardinall, entitled of S. Griſogone as Legate from him into Fraunce, with cõmiſſion to put Normandy, and all the lands that belonged to King Henry, vnder interdiction, if he woulde not ſuffer the marriage to bee ſolemniſed without delay betwixte his ſonne Richarde, and Ales the French Kings daughter. The King aduertiſed heereof, came to a communication with the French King at Yvry vpon the .21. of Septẽber, and there offered to cauſe the marriage to bee ſolemniſed out of hãd, if the French King would giue in marriage with his daughter the Ciite of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and alſo vnto his ſonne King Henry the countrey of Veulgeſyne, that is to ſay, all the lande betwixt Giſors and Puſſy, as hee had likewiſe couenaunted, but bycauſe the French King refuſed ſo to do, King Henry would not ſuffer his ſonne Richarde to marry his daughter Alice: but yet at this enteruewe of the two Princes by the

The King meetes at

help

helpe of the Cardinal, and other noble men of both ſides, they agreed to be friendes, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to the end all matters touching the controuerſies depending betwixt them for the lãdes in Auuergne and Berry, and for the fee of Chateau Raoul, then ſhould the matter be putte to twelue perſons, ſixe on the one ſide, and ſixe on the other, authoriſing them to compound and finiſh that controuerſie and all other whiche mighte riſe betwixt them. For the French King theſe were named the Biſhoppes of Claremont, Neuers, and Troys, and three Barons, Earle Theobald Earle Roberte, and Peter de Courtney, the Kings brethren. For the Kyng of England were named the Biſhops of Mauns, Peregort, and Nauntes, with three Barons alſo, Maurice de Croum, William Maigot, and Peter de Mount rabell. At the ſame time alſo, both theſe kings promiſed and vndertoke to ioyne their powers togither, and to goe into the holy land to ayde Guido King of Ieruſalem, whome the Sarazen Saladine King of Egipte did ſore oppreſſe with continuall and moſt cruell warre.

eg. Houe.
lawe.

This done, the Frenche King returned home, and King Henry came to Vernueil, where hee made this ordinance, that no man ſhoulde trouble the vaſſall or tennant, as we may cal them, for his Lords debt.

After this, King Henry went into Berry, and toke Chateau Roux or Rabul, and marchyng towardes Caſtre, the Lorde of that towne came & met him on the way, ſurrendring into his handes the daughter of Rauſe de Dolis lately before deceaſſed, whome the King gaue vnto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honor of Chateau Roux or Raoul. Then wẽt he vnto Graundemont, where Indebert Erle of March came vnto him, and ſold to him the whole countrey of March for the ſumme of fifteene thouſande li. Aniouyn, twentie mules, and twentie palfreys. The Charters of this grant and ſale made and giuen vnder the ſeale of ỹ ſayd Earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Christi. 1177. And then did the king receyue the fealtie and homages of all the Barõs and Knightes of the countrey of March, after hee had ſatiſfied, contented, and payde the money vnto the Earle according to the couenauntes.

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n. reg. 24.

1178

The King this yeare helde his Chriſtmas at Angiers, and meaning ſhortly after to returne into Englande, he ſent to the Frenche King for letters of protection, which were graunted, and ſente to him in forme as followeth,

tenour of
French
s letters
otection.

Ludouicus rex Francorum omnibus ad quos preſentes literæ peruenerint Salutem. Nouerit vniuerſitas veſtra quod nos recipimus in protectione & cuſtodia noſtra totam terram Henrici Regis Angliæ chariſſimi fratris noſtri, in ciſmarinis partibus ſitam, ſi contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare vel peregrè proficiſci. Ita plane, vt quando balliui ſui de terra transmarina nos requiſierint, bona fide & ſine malo ingenio eis conſilium & auxilium præſtabimus ad eiuſdem terræ defenſionem & protectionem. Actum apud Nicenas. The Engliſhe whereof is thus. Lewis King of Fraunce, to all thoſe to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come: Knowe all you that we haue receyued into our protection and cuſtody all the landes of Henry K. of Englande our deere brother, ſet and being in theſe parties of this ſide the ſea, if it chance him to paſſe ouer into England, or to goe any way forth from home, ſo that when his Bailiffes of his lands on this hither ſide the Sea ſhall require vs, wee ſhall help them and counſell them faithfully and without male engine for defence and protection of the ſame lãds. Giuen at Nicens. Shortly after, King Henry returned into Englande from Normandy, and at Wodſtocke made his ſonne Geffrey Knighte. This yeare Pope Alexander ſente into all partes Legates to ſummon the Biſhops and Prelates to a generall Counſell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yeare next following. There came therefore two Legates into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commiſſion to ſummon them of Englãde and Normandy: and the other was cleped Pietro di Santa Agatha, appoynted to ſummon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles about ỹ ſame: whereupon obteyning licence to paſſe through the King of Englands dominions, he was conſtreyned to ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſts, that hee ſhoulde not attempt any thing in his Legateſhip that might be hurtfull to the King or his Realm, and that he ſhould come and viſit the King again as hee returned homewardes.

A general cõ-
cel ſummoned
at Rome.

Geruaſ. Doro.

This yeare on the ſunday before the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, being the eightenth of Iune, after the ſetting of the Sunne, there appeared a maruellous ſighte in the aire vnto certaine perſons that beheld the ſame. For whereas the newe Moone ſhone forth very faire with his horns towardes the eaſt, ſtraighte wayes the vpper horne was deuided into two, out of the middes of whiche deuiſion, a brenning brand ſprang vp, caſting from it a farre off coales and ſparkes, as it had bin of fire. The body of the Moone in the meane time that was beneath, ſeemed to wraſt and writh in reſemblance like to an adder or ſnake that had bin beaten, and anone after it came to the olde ſtate agayne. This chanced aboue a dozen times, and at length from horne to horne it became halfe blacke.

A ſtrange ſight
about the
Moone.

In September following, the Moone beyng about ſeuen and twentith dayes olde, at ſixe of the clocke, the Sunne was eclipſed, not vniuerſally, but particularly, for ỷ body thereof appeared as it wer horned, ſhoting ỹ hornes towards ỹ Weſt as

A ſtrãge eclips
of the Sunne.

the moone doth, being twentie dayes olde. The reſidue of the compaſſe of it, was couered with a blacke roundell, whiche comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightneſſe that remained, til both the hornes came to hang down on eyther ſide to the earthwards, and as the blacke roundell went by little and little forwardes, the hornes at length were turned towards the Weſt, and ſo the blacknes paſſing away, the ſunne receiued hir brightneſſe againe. In the meane time, the aire being ful of cloudes of diuers coulours, as red, yellow, greene, and pale, holp yͤ peoples ſight with more eaſe to diſcerne the maner of it. The K. thys yeare held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, at whiche time, newes came abroade of a great wonder that hadde chaunced at a place called Oxenhale, within yͤ Lordſhip of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it ſelfe vp on height in apparance like to a mighty Tower, and ſo it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euen tyde, and then it fell downe with an horrible noiſe, ſo that all ſuche as were neighbours thereabout, were put in great feare. That peece of earth with the fall, was ſwallowed vp, leauing a greate deepe pitte in the place, as was to bee ſeene many yeares after.

An. Reg. 25.
Rog. Houe.
1179

A ſtrange wonder.

Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Catholicus the Archbiſhoppe Tuamon. with fiue or ſixe other Iriſh Biſhops and diuers both Byſhoppes and Abbots of Scotlande, paſſed through England towardes the generall counſell, and withall tooke their oth, that they ſhoulde not procure anye domage to the Kyng or Realme of Englande. There went but only foure Biſhops out of England, to witte, Hugh Putſey or Pudſey Byſhop of Durham, Iohn Biſhop of Norwich, Reignald Biſhop of Bath, and Robert Biſhop of Hereford, beſide Abbots: for the Engliſh Biſhoppes firmely ſtoode in it, that there ought but four Biſhops only to goe forth of England to any generall councell called by the Pope. This yeare after Richard de Lucy Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a Chanon in the Abbey of Weſtwod or Leſnos, which he had founded, & built vppon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenewes, and in Iuly after he dyed there. After whoſe deceſſe, King Henry the father called a Parliamente at Windſore, at the whiche was preſent King Henry the ſonne, and a greate number of Lords, Earles and Barons. At this Parliament, order was taken for pertition of yͤ Realm, ſo that it was deuided into foure partes, certayne ſage perſonages being alotted vnto euery part to gouerne the ſame, but not by the name of Iuſtices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanuille was made ruler of Yorkſhire, and authoriſed Iuſtice there, as he that beſt vnderſtood in thoſe dayes the auncient lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme.

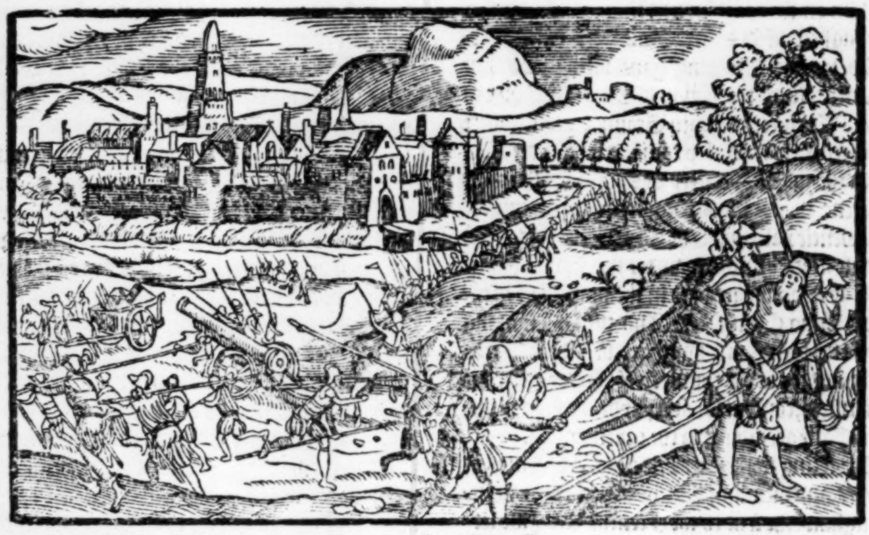
Richard de Lucy Lord chiefe Iuſti of Englan deceaſſeth.

A Parliam at Windſo

Ranulfe de Glanuille.

The ſame yeare, Geffrey Earle of Britayne by his fathers commaundement leuied an army, and paſſing ouer into Britaine, waſted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and conſtreyned hym to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him.

Geffrey E of Britayn ſonne to Henry. Guidome de Leons.



The eighteene day of Auguſt, the Moone was eclipſed, which was ſeene of King Henry and hys company as he rode all that night towards Douer there to meete the Frenche King that was cōming towards England to viſit the tombe of the Archbiſhop Thomas Becket, as hee hadde before time vowed. He landed at Douer the .22. daye of Auguſt.

The Moone eclipſed.
The French K. commeth a madding to viſit the Archbiſhop Beckets tombe.

There came ouer with him Henry Duke of Louayne, Philip Earle of Flaunders, Baldwine Earle of Guines, Erle William de Mandeuille, and dyuers other Earles, Lordes, Barons and Knightes.

King Henry was ready to receyue him at the water ſide, and the morrowe after, broughte hym with greate honor vnto Canterbury, where they were with due reuerence and vnſpeakable ioy receiued of the Archbiſhop Richard, and diuers other Biſhops there aſſembled togither with the conuent of Chriſtes Churche, and an infinite multitude of nobles and Gentlemen. The French K. offered vpon the tombe of the ſaid Archbiſhop Thomas, a riche cuppe of golde, and gaue to the Monkes there an hundred tunnes of wine to bee receyued yearely of his gift for euer at Poyſſy in Fraunce. And further he graunted to the ſame Monks, that whatſoeuer was bought within his dominions of Fraunce to their vſe, ſhould be free from tolle, tallage, and paying any maner of exciſe for the ſame. And theſe grauntes hee confirmed with his charter thereof, made and deliuered to them by ye hãds of Hugh de Putſey, ſonne to the Biſhop of Dureſme that was his Chauncellor.

he Frenche
ord is Muys.

King Lewis hauing performed his vowe, and receyued many rich giftes of King Henry, returned home into Fraunce, and ſhortly after cauſed his ſonne to be Crowned King, and reſigned the gouernemente to him, as by ſome Writers it appeareth.

lidor.

Aboute the ſame time, Cadwallan Prince of Wales being brought before the King to make aunſwere to diuers accuſations exhibited againſt him, as hee returned towarde his countrey vnder the kings ſauſe conduit, was layde for by his enimies, and ſlayne to the Kings greate ſlaunder, though he were not giltie in the matter.

at. Par.
dwallan
nce of
ales.

After this, K. Henry the father held his Chriſtmas at Nottingham, and William K. of Scotland with him. The ſame yere fell diſcord betwixt the yong King of Fraunce, and his mother and vncles, hir brethren, Erle Theobalde and Earle Stephen, the which thinking themſelues not well vſed, procured King Henry the ſonne to ioyne with them in friendſhippe, and to goe ouer into Englande to purchaſe his fathers aſſiſtaunce in their behalfe againſt their nephew. He being come ouer to his father, enformed him of the whole matter, and did ſo much by his earneſt ſuite therein, yt before the feaſt of Eaſter, his father wente ouer with him into Normandy, and immediately vppon their arriual in thoſe parties, the olde Frenche Queene, mother to the yong K. Phillip, with hir brethren the ſayd Earles, and many other noble men of Fraunce, came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hoſtages into hys handes, and receyued an oth to followe his councell and aduice in all things. Hereupon King Henry aſſembled a greate army, in purpoſe after Eaſter to inuade the Frenche Kings dominions: but before any greate exployte was made, he came to an enteruew with the new King of Fraunce, betwixte Giſors and Treodſunt, where partly by gentle wordes, and partly by threatnings whyche King Henry vſed for perſwaſion, the French king releaſſed all his indignation conceiued againſt his mother and vncles, and receiued them agayne into his fauour, couenaunting to allow his mother for euery day towards hir expences ſeuen pounde of Paris money, during his father King Lewes hys life tyme, and after his deathe, ſhee ſhoulde enioy all hir dower, excepte the Caſtels whyche King Phillip might reteine ſtill in his hands. Alſo at this aſſemble, King Henry the father in the preſence of the French King, receiued homage of Philip Earle of Flaunders, and graunted to hym for the ſame a thouſand markes of ſiluer to be receyued yearely out of the Checker at London, ſo that in conſideration thereof, hee ſhould finde fiue hundred Knightes, or men of armes, to ſerue the King of Englande for the ſpace of fortie dayes, when ſo euer he ſhoulde haue warning gyuen vnto him.

n.reg.26.
g.Houedē.
1180

cord be-
ixt the
ench Kyng
l his nobles

g.Houed.

The Earle of Flaunders dothe homage to the Kyng of Englande.

Moreouer, the two Kings at this aſſembly concluded a league togither, and whereas certaine landes were in controuerſie betwixte them, as the fee of Chateau, Raoul and other ſmall fees, if they coulde not agree among themſelues, concerning the ſame, eyther of them was contented to committe the order thereof, and of all other controuerſies betwixte them vnto ſixe Biſhoppes, to be choſen indifferently betwixte them, the one to chooſe three, and the other other three.

In this yeare, or as the Annales of Aquitaine haue, in the yeare laſt paſſed, Richarde Earle of Poictowe ſubdued the ſtrong fortreſſe of Taylbourg, whiche was iudged before ye time impregnable: but Earle Richarde conſtreyned them that kepte it, ſo ſore with ſtraighte ſiege, that firſt in a deſparate moode they ſallied forthe, and aſſayled his people righte valiantly, but yet neuertheleſſe, they were beaten backe, and driuen to retire into their fortreſſe, whiche finally they ſurrendred into the handes of Earle Richarde, who cauſed the walles thereof to bee raſed. And the like fortune chaunced to diuers other Caſtels and fortreſſes that ſtoode in Rebellion againſte hym within a moneth ſpace.

Math. Paris.
Tailburg wonne.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancin, whoſe proude and loftie ſtomacke practiſing Rebellion agaynſte Duke Richarde cauſed him to take this enterpriſe in hande, and when hee hadde atchieued the ſame to his owne contentation, hee paſſed ouer into Englande, and was receyued with great triumph.

Mat. Par.

About the ſame tyme, the forme of the Kings Coyne was altered and chaunged, bycauſe that many naughty and wicked perſons had deuiſed wayes to counterfeyt the ſame, ſo that the alteration thereof was very neceſſary, but greeuous yet and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the Realme.

VVi. Paruus.
The forme of the Kings Coine chãged.

An. reg. 27.
Ro. Hoved.
1181

King Henry the father, whileſt he was at Mauns after Chriſtmas made this ordinaunce, that euery man beeing worth in goodes to the valewe of an hundred poundes Iniouyn, ſhould kepe one Horſe able for ſeruice in the warres, and armoure complete for a Knighte or man of armes as wee may rather call them. Alſo that thoſe that hadde goodes worth in value from fortie poundes to fiue and twentie poundes of the ſame money, ſhoulde at the leaſt haue in his houſe for his furniture an Habergeon, a cappe of ſteele, a Speare, and a ſword or bowe and arrowes. And furthermore hee ordeyned, that no man mighte ſell or lay to gage hys armour and weapon, but ſhould be boũd to leaue it to his next heire.

When the Frenche Kyng and the Earle of Flaunders were aduertiſed that King Henry had made this ordinance amongſt his ſubiectes, they gaue commaundemente that their people ſhoulde be armed after the lyke manner.

This yeare after Candlemas, Laurence Archbiſhoppe of Dublin came ouer to the King into Normandy, and broughte with him the ſonne of Roderike King of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of couenauntes paſſed betwixte them, as the payment of tribute and ſuch like. The ſayd Archbiſhop dyed ther in Normandy, whereuppon the King ſente Geffrey de Hay one of his Chaplaynes and Chapleyne alſo to the Popes Legate Alexius, into Irelande, to ſeaſe that Archbiſhops See into his handes.

He alſo ſente John Lacie Coneſtable of Cheſter, and Richarde de Peake, to haue the Citie of Dublin in keeping, whiche Hugh Lacy hadde in charge before, and nowe was diſcharged, bycauſe the Kyng tooke diſpleaſure with him, for that hee had married without his licence a daughter of the King of Conagh, according to the maner of that countrey.

Math. Paris.

This yeare alſo, Geffrey the Kings baſtarde ſonne, that was the elect of Lincolne, and hadde receyued the profites of that Biſhopricke yͤ ſpace of ſeuen yeares, and had his election confirmed by the Pope in the feaſt of the Epiphany at Marlebridge, in preſence of the King and the Byſhops of the Realme, renounced that benefice of his own free will. After that the Pope hadde ſente a ſtrayte commaundement vnto Richard Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, eyther to cauſe the ſame Geffrey by the cenſures of the Church, to renounce his miter, or elſe to take vppon him the order of Prieſthood, wherefore vppon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his eſpeciall friendes, iudging himſelfe inſufficiente for the one, hee was contented to depart with the other. And therevpon wrote letters vnto the ſayde Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in forme as foloweth. *Venerabili patri Richardo dei gratia Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo apoſtolicæ ſedis legato, Gaufridus domini Regis Angliæ filius & cancellarius ſalutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maieſtati Apoſtolicæ, veſtræ iniungere ſanctitati, vt me certo tempore vocaretis ad ſuſcipiendum ordinem ſacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego verò conſiderans quãplures epiſcopos maturiores ac prouectiores, prudentia & ætate, vix tantæ adminiſtrationi ſufficere, nec ſine periculo animarum ſuarum ſui officiũ pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus ſum onus importabile ſenioribus, mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc nõ ex leuitate animi, ſed ob reuerentiam ſacramenti. Habito itaq; tractatu ſuper eo cũ domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meiſq; rege & Pictauenſi & Britannorum comitibus: epiſcopis etiã Henrico Baiocẽſi, Frogerio Sagienſi, Reginaldo Batonienſi, Sefrido Ciceſtrẽſi qui præſentes aderãt, aliter de vita & ſtatu meo diſpoſui, volens patris mei obſequijs militare ad tempus, & ab epiſcopalibus abſtinere: omne itaq; ius electionis inde & Lincolnenſem epiſcopatũ ſpontaneè, liberè, quietè, & integrè, in manu veſtra pater ſancte reſigno, tam electionẽ quã epiſcopatus abſolutionem poſtulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apoſtolica ſede ſpecialiter delegato. Bene vale.* The K. for his maintenance now after he had reſigned his Biſhopricke, gaue to hym fiue C. Markes of yerely rent in England, and as much in Normandy, & made him moreouer lord Chancellor. This yere alſo after Eſter, the kings of Englãd & Fraunce came to an enterview togither, at a place in yͤ confines of their coũtreys called by ſome writers *Vadum Sancti Remigij*, on a munday being the. 27. of April, in which aſſemble of thoſe two Princes yͤ Knightes tẽplers & hoſpitallers preſented to them letters directed frõ Pope Alexãder vnto al Chriſtiã princes, aduertiſing thẽ of the danger wherin the holy land ſtood at yͤ preſent, if ſpeedy remedie were not yͤ ſoner prouided. He therfore exhorted thẽ to addreſſe their helpyng hand towards the reliefe thereof, granting vnto al ſuch as woulde enterpriſe to goe thither in perſon, (to remain there vpõ defence of yͤ coũtrey againſt yͤ Infidels) great pardon as to thoſe that did continue there the ſpace of two yeres wer pardoned of penance for al their ſinnes, except theft, extortion, roberie, & vſurie, in which caſes reſtitution was to be made, if yͤ partie were able to doe it, if not, then he ſhould be aſſoiled as wel for thoſe things as for other: & thoſe that remained one yere in thoſe parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penaunce due for all their ſinnes. And to thoſe that wente to viſite the holy ſepulchre, he granted alſo great pardon, as remiſſion of their ſins, whether they came thither or peraduenture died by the way. Hee alſo granted al ſuch indulgence vnto thoſe that wẽt to war againſt yͤ enimies of our Religion in yͤ holy lande, as his predeceſſors the Popes Vrbanus and Eugenius hadde graunted in time paſt: and hee receyued

Rog. Hoved.

The dang
the holy

receiued likewiſe their wiues, childrē, their goodes ⁊ poſſeſſiōs vnder the protection of Saint Peter and the Church of Rome. The two Kings hauing heard the Popes letters red, and taken good aduice thereof, they promiſed by Goddes fauoure ſhortly to prouide conueniente ayde for releefe of the holy land, and of the Chriſtians as yet remaining in the ſame. And this was the end of theyr communication for that time, and ſo they depart, the French King into Fraunce, and the Kyng of England into Normandy.

In the meane time, by the King of Englands appoyntment, William King of Scotland went ouer into Normandy, and by the aduice and good admonition of King Henry, hee graunted licence vnto two Biſhops of his Realme of Scotlande, that is to wit, Aberdene and Saint Andrewes, to returne into Scotlande, whome hee had lately before baniſhed, ⁊ driuen out of his Realme. Moreouer, as K. Henry lay at Harflete ready to tranſport ouer into England, there fel diſcord betwixt the King of Fraunce, and the Earle of Flanders, ſo that the King of England at deſire of yͤ French King, returned backe, and came vnto Giſors, where the Frenche King met him, and ſo dyd the Earle of Flaunders, betwixte whome vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuerſie, hee made a concorde, and then comming downe to Chireburg, hee and the King of Scottes in hys company, tranſported ouer into Englande, landing at Porteſmouth the ſixe and twētith of Iuly, being ſunday.

ordinance armour.

The King being now returned into England, ordeyned a ſtatute for armour and weapon to bee had amongſt his ſubiectes heere in this Realme, which was thus. Euery mā that held a Knightes fee ſhould be bound to haue a payre of curaſſes, an helmet, with ſhield and Speare, and euery knight or man of armes ſhoulde haue as many curaſſes, helmets, ſhieldes, and ſpeares as he helde knightes fees in demaine. Euery man of the layty hauyng goodes or reuenues to yͤ value of ſixteene markes, he ſhould haue one paire of curaſſes, an helmet, a Speare, and a Shield. And euery free man of the layty hauing goodes in valew worth ten markes, ſhall haue an habergeon, a ſteele cappe, and a Speare, and all burgeſſes, and the whole communaltie of free men ſhall haue a Wambais, a cappe of ſteele, and a Speare.

And further it was ordeyned, that euery man thus bound to haue armour, ſhoulde be ſworne to haue the ſame before the feaſt of S. Hillarie, and to be true vnto King Henry Fitz Emprice, in defence of whome and of his Realme they ſhoulde keepe with them ſuche armoure and weapon, according to his precepte and commaundemente thereof hadde and made. And no man after he bee furniſhed with ſuche armour, ſhoulde ſell, pledge, lende, or otherwiſe alien the ſame, neyther maye his Lorde by anye meanes take the ſame from him, neyther by way of forfeyture, neyther by diſtreſſe nor pledge, nor by any other meanes: and whē any man dyeth, hauing ſuch armour, he ſhal leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the fielde, then he that hathe the cuſtodie of his body ſhall haue the armour, and fynde an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

If any burgeſſe of any good towne haue more armoure than hee oughte to haue by this ſtatute, he ſhall ſell it or gyue it to ſome man that maye weare it in the Kings ſeruice.

Iewes might haue no armoure.

No Iewe might haue armour by this ſtatute: but thoſe that had any, were appoynted to ſell the ſame to ſuche as were inhabitantes within the Realme, for no man might ſell or tranſporte any armoure ouer the Sea, withoute the Kings licence.

Alſo for the better execution of this ordinance, it was ordeyned, that inqueſts ſhould be taken by ſufficiente Iurors, what they were that were able to haue armoure by theyr abilitie in landes and goodes. Alſo the King woulde, that none ſhoulde be ſworne to haue armour, excepte hee were a free man of birth and bloud.

Mat. Par.

The ſame yere, the King being at Waltham, aſſigned an ayde to the maintenance of the Chriſtian Souldiers in the holy land, that is to witte, 42. thouſande markes of ſiluer, and fiue hundred markes of golde. Hugh Boſun otherwiſe called Keuelocke the ſonne of Ranulfe the ſeconde of yͤ name Earle of Cheſter, deceaſſed this yeare, and was buried at Leeke. Hee left behind him iſſue by his wife the Counteſſe Beautrice daughter of Richard Lacie Lord Iuſtice of Englād, a ſonne named Ranulfe that ſucceeded hym, beeyng the ſixth Earle of Cheſter, and thirde of that name after the Conqueſt. Beſide this Ranulfe, he had alſo four daghters by his ſaid wife, to wit, Maud, married to Dauid Erle of Angus, Huntington ⁊

The deceſſe of Hugh Earle of Cheſter.
Ran. Higd.

Galloway Mabell coupled with Williã Danbigny Erle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers Erle of Derbie, and Hauiſe ioyned with Robert Quincy Earle of Lincolne.

The Archb. of York deceaſſeth.

The. 21. of Nouember, dyed Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, who (when he perceyued hymſelfe in daunger of death by force of that his laſt ſickneſſe) deliuered greate ſummes of money vnto certayne Biſhoppes and other graue perſonages to be diſtributed amongſt poore people: but after his deathe, the Kyng called for the money, and ſeaſed it to hys vſe, alledging a ſentence gyuen by the ſame Archbiſhop in his lyfe time, that no eccleſiaſticall perſon myghte giue any thyng by will, except hee deuiſed the ſame whileſt he was in perfect healthe: yet the Biſhoppe of Durham woulde not departe with foure hundred markes which he had receyued to diſtribute amongſt the poore, alledging that he dealt the ſame away before the Archbiſhops death, and therefore hee that would haue it againe, muſt goe gather it vppe of them, to whome he had diſtributed it, whiche hee himſelfe woulde in no wiſe do. But the K. tooke no ſmall diſpleaſure with this vndiſcrete aunſwere, in ſo muche, that hee ſeaſed the Caſtell of Durham into his handes, and ſought meanes to diſquiete the ſaid Biſhoppe by dyuers manner of wayes.

1182

The K. ſaileth ouer into Normandy.

The King helde his Chriſtmas this yeare at Wincheſter, and afterwardes ſayled ouer into Normandy, bycauſe he heard that the Kyng hys ſonne was gone to his brother in lawe K. Philip, and began to practiſe eftſoones newe trouble which was true indede: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and tooke an oth, that from thenceforthe hee woulde neuer ſwarue from hym, nor demaunde more for hys mayntenance but an hundred poundes Aniouin by the day. and tenne li. a day of the ſame money for his wife. Hys father graunted this, and alſo couenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare hee woulde giue him the ſeruices of an hundred Knightes.

The K his ſon eftſoones reconciled.

After this, King Henry the father as a mediator betwixt the King of Fraunce, and the Erle of Flaunders touching ſuche controuerſies as hanged betwixt them, did ſo much in the matter, that he ſet them at one for that time.

Ro. Houed.

The Duke of Saxonie.

About the ſame ſeaſon, King Henry the father ſente William de Mandeuille Earle of Albemarle, and other Ambaſſadors vnto the Emperour Frederike, to intreate for his ſonne in lawe yͤ Duke of Saxony, that he might be againe reſtored into his fauour, which could not be obteined: for hee was already condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleaſure the King of England the Emperour granted, that ſo many as went with him out of their countrey, might returne agayne at their pleaſure, and that his wife the Duches Maude the King of Englands daughter, ſhould enioy hir dowry, and be at libertie, whether ſhee would remayne vpon it, or followe hir huſbande into exile, therefore when the day came that hee muſt departe out of his countrey, he ſet forwarde with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his Countrey, and finally came into Normandy, where he was right ioyfully receyued of his father in law King Henry. Shortly after his comming thither, he gaue licence to yͤ noble menne that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then hee himſelfe wente into Spayne to viſite the body of Saint James the Apoſtle.

The Duch of Saxony deliuered sonne.

Hys wife beeyng greate with childe, remayned with hir father in Normandy, and at Argenton ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne.

Ranulfe P ſlayne.

This yere the Welchmen ſlew Ranulph Porer Sherife of Glowceſterſhire.

An. reg.

118

King Henry helde hys Chriſtmas at Caen, with his three ſonnes, Henry the King, Richard Earle of Poictow, and Geffrey Earle of Brytayne.

There was alſo Henry Duke of Saxony, with his wife and their children, beſydes the Archbyſhoppes of Caunterbury and Dublin, with other Byſhoppes Earles and Barons in great number.

vvil. Pa

Heere woulde Kyng Henry the father, that hys ſonne the Kyng ſhoulde receyue homage of his brethren Richarde Earle of Poictowe, and Geffrey Earle of Britayne. The Earle of Brytayne did not ſtay at the matter, but the Earle of Poictow refuſed, alledging, that it was not conuenient ſo long as their father liued, to acknowledge any ſuperioritie in their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldeſt ſonne, ſo he claymed the landes whiche hee helde due to him in righte of his mother. This denyall ſo much offended his brother the King, that afterwards when Richard would haue done homage he would not receyue it, whereupon Richard departed from the Court in greate diſpleaſure, and comming into Poictow, hee beganne to fortifie his Caſtels and Townes, that hee might be in a redineſſe to ſtand vppon his ſafegard if his father or brethren ſhould come to purſue him. King Henry the ſonne followed him, ſette on by the Earles and Barons of Poictow, whiche for the ſharp and cruell gouernement of Earle Richard, hated hym. And on the other ſide, for the amiable courteſie, ſeemely perſonage, and other noble qualities which they ſaw in the yong King, moued thẽ to take part with him againſt Richard, and ſhortly after commeth their brother Geffrey with a greate army in ayde of his brother the K. in ſomuch, that Erle Richard not knowing how

Reg. Hou

Geruaſ. D

Rog. Hou

War betw the breth

to ſhift off the preſent daunger, ſent to his father for ayde, who right ſorie in his mynde to ſee ſuch vnnaturall dealing amongſt his ſonnes gathered an armie, and came forwarde. He had a litle before trauailed to ſet them at one, inſomuch that where Earle Richarde helde a Caſtell named Clarevalx, which after the fathers deceaſſe ought to remaine vnto King Henrye the ſonne, vpon hys complaynte thereof made, the father did ſo much with the Earle, that he ſurrendred it into his fathers handes. And immediately after all the three ſonnes came to Angers, and there ſware to bee obedient vnto theyr fathers wyll, and to ſerue him agaynſt all men: wherevpon he appoynted them a daye to meete at Mirabell, where the Barons of Guyen ſhoulde alſo bee, vnto whome King Henry the ſonne had ſworne to ayde them agaynſt Earle Richarde. Herewith was Earle Geffray ſent vnto them to perſwade them to peace and quietneſſe, and to come vnto Mirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appoyntment: but in ſteede of perſwading them to peace (contrarie to his othe ſo oftentymes receyued) hee procured them to purſue the warre both agaynſt his father and hys brother Earle Richarde.

he father eeketh to appeaſe the quaell betwixt is ſonnes.

arle Geffray ealeth vnythfully.

King Henrie the ſonne remayning with his father, ſhewed outwardely that hee wiſhed for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and ſo obteyned lycence of his father to goe vnto Lymoges, that hee might labour to reduce both his brother Geffrey, and the Barons of Guien vnto quietneſſe.

But ſuch diſſembling was put in practiſe by king Henrie, that when the father followed wyth an armie, and came vnto Lymoges, in ſteade of receyuing him with honour, as it had bene theyr duties to haue done, they ſhotte at him, and pierced through his vppermoſt armour, ſo that both hee and hys Sonne Rycharde were conſtrayned to depart. Yet afterwardes hee entered that Citie, and comming forth of it agayne to talke wyth his Sonnes, thoſe within Lymoges eftſoones rebelled, ſo that certaine of them wythin ſhotte, the Horſe whereon King Henrie the father rode into the heade, and if it had ſo chaunced that the Horſe in caſting vppe hys heade had not receyued the blowe, the arrowe had lyght in the Kings breaſt, to the great daunger and perill of his perſon, neyther dyd hys ſonnes the King and his brother Geffrey goe about to ſee ſuche an heynous attempt puniſhed, but rather ſeemed to lyke well of it, and to mainteyne thoſe moſte malicious enimyes of theyr ſoueraigne Lorde and father, for they ioyned wyth them agaynſte him, althoughe King Henrie the ſonne made countenaunce to bee wylling to reconcile his brother, and the Barons of Guien to his father by way of ſome agreement: but his double dealing was too manifeſt, although in deede hee abuſed his fathers patience for a while, who was of nothing more deſyrous than to wynne his ſonnes by ſome courteous meanes, and therefore dyuerſe tymes offered to pardon all offences committed by hys enimies, at the ſuyte of his Sonne the King, who in deede offered hymſelfe nowe and then as an intreatour, but that was onely to wynne tyme, that hys brother wyth ſuche Brabanders and other Souldiers as hee had with hym in ayde, beſyde the forces of the Barons of Guien might worke the more miſchiefe agaynſte theyr father, and theyr brother Earle Richarde, in waſting and deſtroying their Countreys that ſtoode ſtedfaſt on their ſyde.

The diſloyall diſſembling of the yong king.

In the meane time Richarde the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, and dyuerſe other Byſhoppes and Abbottes both of Englande and Normandie aſſembled togyther at Caen, and in the Abbey Churche of Saint Stephen pronounced the ſentence of Excommunication agaynſte all thoſe that did hynder and impeache theyr purpoſe, which (was to haue peace and concorde concluded betwixte the King and hys Sonnes) the ſame Sonnes onely not of the ſayd ſentence excepted.

Dyuerſe ſhyftes were made by King Henrie the Sonne, and his brother Earle Geffray alſo to get money for the payment of theyr Souldiours, as ſpoyling of Shrynes, and ſuche lyke.

But at length when things framed not to theyr purpoſe, and that the harme whiche they coulde doe agaynſte theyr Father was muche leſſe than they wiſhed, if power had beene aunſwerable to their willes, King Henrie the ſonne through indignation and diſpleaſure (as ſome write) fell into a grieuous ſickneſſe in a Vyllage called Mertell, not farre from Lymoges, where his father lay at ſiege.

King Henrie the ſonne falleth ſicke.

At the fyrſt he was taken with an extreeme Feuer, and after followed a ſore Flixe. Then perceyuing himſelfe in daunger of death, and that the Phiſitions had giuen hym ouer, hee ſent to his Father confeſſing hys treſpaſſe commytted agaynſte hym, and requyred hym of hys fatherly loue to come and to ſee hym once before hee dyed. But for that the father thought not good to committe hymſelfe into the handes of ſuche vngracious perſones as were aboute hys ſonne, hee ſente vnto hym hys Ring, in token of his bleſſing, and as it were a pledge to ſignifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnaturall doings agaynſt him.

He ſendeth to his father.

The ſonne receyuing it with great humilitie, kiſſed it, and ſo ended his lyfe in the preſence of the Archbiſhoppe of Burdeaux and others on the daye of Saint Barnabie the Apoſtle.

His repentance before his death.

He dyed (as ſome wryte) very penitently, and where as in his life time he had vowed to make a iourney into the holye lande agaynſt Gods enimies, and taken vpon him the Croſſe for that intent, he deliuered it vnto his familiar friend William Marſhall to go thither with it in his ſteade.

Moreouer when he perceyued preſent death at hande, he firſt confeſſed his ſinnes ſecretely, and after openly afore ſundrie Biſhops and men of religion, and receyued abſolution in moſt humble wiſe.

A ſtraunge kinde of ſuperſtitious deuotion, if this report of our author be true

He is drawne out of his bed a thing vnlike to be true.

After this, hee cauſed his fine clothes to bee taken from him, and therewith an heare cloth to be put vpon him, and after tying a corde aboute his necke, he ſayde vnto the Biſhoppes and other that ſtoode by him, I deliuer my ſelfe an vnworthie and grieuous ſinner vnto you the miniſters of God by this corde, beſeeching our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, whiche pardoned the theefe confeſſing hys faultes on the Croſſe, that throughe your prayers and for his great mercyes ſake it may pleaſe him to bee mercifull vnto my ſoule, wherevnto they all anſwered Amen. Then ſayde he vnto them, drawe me out of this bedde with this Corde, and lay me in that bedde ſtrewed with Aſhes (which he had of purpoſe prepared) and as he commaunded ſo they did: and they layde at his feete and at his heade two greate ſquare ſtones. And thus hee beeyng prepared to death, he willed that his bodie after his deceaſſe ſhoulde be conueyed into Normandie, and buryed at Rouen.

His death.

And ſo after he had receyued the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lorde, hee departed this life as afore is ſayde, about the .xxviij. yeare of his age.

Thus dyed this yong King in hys flouriſhing youth, to whome through hys owne iuſt deſertes, long lyfe was iuſtly denyed, ſithe hee delyghted to begynne his gouernement wyth vnlawfull attemptes, as an other Abſolon agaynſte hys owne naturall Father, ſeeking by wrongfull violence to pull the Scepter out of his hande.

Hee is not put in the number of Kings, bycauſe he remayned for the more parte vnder the gouernaunce of his father, and was taken oute of this lyfe before hys father, ſo that hee rather bare the name of king, as appoynted to raigne, than that he maye bee ſayde to haue raigned in deede.

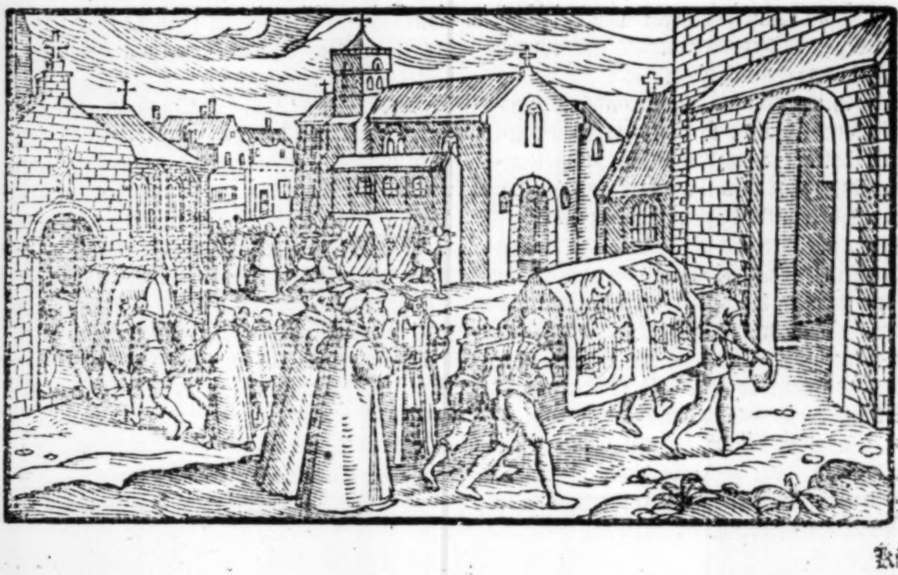
Nic.Triue

His body after his death was cõueyed towardes Rouen, there to be buried accordingly as hee had wylled: but when thoſe that had charge to conuey it thyther were come vnto the Citie of Mauns, the Biſhoppe there and the Cleargie would not ſuffer them to go any further wyth it, but committed it to buryall in honourable wyſe within the Church of Saint Iulien.

When the Citizens of Rouen were hereof aduertiſed, they were ſore offended with that doing, & ſtreyght wayes ſent vnto them of Mauns, requyring to haue the corps deliuered, threatning otherwiſe with manye earneſt othes to fetche it from them by force.

The bodi the yong k laſtly buri at Rouen.

King Henrie therefore to ſette order in thys matter, commaunded that the corps of his ſonne the King ſhoulde bee deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be buryed in theyr Citie, as he himſelfe had willed before his death. And ſo it was taken vp and conueyed to Rouen, where it was eftſoones there buryed in the Churche of oure Ladie.



King

ymoges ren-
ed to king
entie.

¶ King Henrie (after his ſonne the king was thus deade) enforced hys power more earneſtly than before to winne the Citie and Caſtell of Lymoges whiche hee hadde beſieged, and at length had them bothe rendred ouer into hys handes, with all other Caſtelles and places of ſtrength kept by his enimies in thoſe partyes, of the which ſome he furniſhed with garniſons, and ſome hee cauſed to bee razed flatte wyth the grounde.

eulqueſine.

There roſe aboute the ſame tyme occaſion of ſtrife and variaunce, betwixt king Henry and the Frenche King, aboute the enioying of the Countrey lying about Gyſors, cleped Veulqueſine, on thys ſyde the Ryuer of Hept, whiche was gyuen vnto King Henrie the Sonne, in conſideration of the maryage had betwixt hym and Queene Margaret the Frenche Kinges ſiſter. For the Frenche King nowe after the death of hys brother in lawe King Henrie the ſonne, requyred to haue the ſame reſtored vnto the Crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to depart with it.

he kings of
ngland and
ance talke
gither.

At length they mette betwixt Trie and Gyſors to talke of the matter, where they agreed that Queene Margaret the widow of the late deceaſſed king Henrie the ſonne, ſhoulde receyue yearely during hir lyfe.1750. poundes of Aniouyn money at Paris, of king Henry the father, and his heires, in conſideration whereof, ſhee ſhoulde releaſe and quiteclayme all hir right to thoſe lands that were demaunded, as Veulqueſine and others.

Shortly after, Geffrey Earle of Brytayne came to his father, and ſubmitting himſelfe, was reconciled to him, and alſo to his brother Richard Earle of Poictou.

n. Reg. 30

Alſo I finde that king Henrie at an enteruiew had betwixt him and the French king at their accuſtomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Giſors on Saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the ſame French king for the lands which he held of him on that ſide the ſea, which to doe till then he had refuſed.

1184

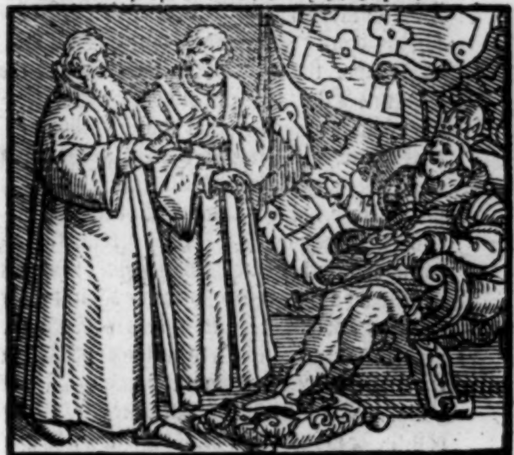
The ſame yeare king Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at the Citie of Mauns. Alſo when the king had agreed the Frenche king and the Earle of Flaunders, for the controuerſie that chaunced betwixt them about the landes of Vermendoys, he paſſed through the Earle of Flanders Countrey, and comming to Wyſande, tooke ſhippe and ſayled ouer into Englande, landing at Douer the tenth day of Iune, with his daughter the Duches of Saxonie, the which was afterwardes deliuered of a ſonne at Wincheſter, and hir huſbande the Duke of Saxonie came alſo this yeare into Englande, and was ioyfully receyued and honourably interteyned of the king his father in lawe.

The ducheſſe
ſ Saxonie de-
iuered of a
onne.

The Archb.
of Colen.

And wheras the Archbi. of Colen came ouer into England this yere to viſite the tumbe of Thomas late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the king trauayled to make an agreement betwixt him and the duke of Saxonie touching certaine variance depending betwixt them, wherein the king did ſo much, that yͤ Archbiſhop forgaue all iniuries paſt, and ſo they were made friends. Alſo by the counſell of the ſame Archb. the king ſent Hugh Nouāt Archdeacon of Lyſeux and others, Ambaſſadors frō him vnto Pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made ſome way to obteyn a pardon for the ſayd duke, & licence for him to returne into his countrey. Thoſe that were ſent demeaned themſelues ſo diſcretly in doing their meſſage, that the Emperor cōming where the Pope then was, that is to ſay at Verona in Italy, at the earneſt ſute of the ſaid Pope was cōtented to releaſe all his euill will which he bare towardes the duke, pardoned him for all things paſt, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his country, his condemnation of exile being clearely reuoked.

Hugh Nouan



The Duke of
Saxonie par-
doned and re-
uoked out of
exile.

There died this yeare ſundry honorable perſonages, as Simon Erle of Huntington, that was ſon to Simō Erle of Northampton, after whoſe deceaſe the king gaue his erledome vnto his brother Dauid, or as Radulfus de Diceto ſayth, bycauſe the ſaid Simon died without iſſue, the king gaue the Erledom of Huntingt. vnto Wil. king of Scots, ſon to Erle Henry, that was ſon to K. Dauid. Alſo the Erle of Warwik died this yere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard L. chiefe iuſtice of the Foreſts, which roumth Alain de Neuill had enioyed before him. But now after the death of this Tho. Fitz Bernard, the k. diuided his foreſts into ſundrie quarters, & to euerie quarter he appointed foure iuſtices, two of yͤ ſpiritualtie, & two knights of the temporaltie, beſide two generall wardens that were of his owne ſeruants, to be as ſurueyers aboue all other Foreſters of vert & veniſon, whoſe office was to ſee that no miſorder nor ſpoyle were committed within any groundes of Warren cōtrary

Death of noble
men.

The gouern-
ment of the fo-
reſts deuided.

trarie to the aſſiſes of Foreſts. There dyed this yeare alſo diuerſe Prelates, as foure Biſhoppes, to witte, Gerald ſurnamed la Pucelle Biſhop of Cheſter, Walranne Biſhop of Rocheſter, Ioceline Biſhop of Saliſburie, and Bartholmew biſhop of Exeter. There died alſo diuerſe Abbots, & vpon the .xvj. of Febuarie died Richard Archbiſh. of Canterburie in the .xj. yeare after his firſt entring into the gouernment of that ſea. His bodie was buried at Canterburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and waſted the goodes of that Churche inordinately. It was reported that before his death there appeared vnto him a viſion, which ſayde, thou haſt waſted the goodes of the Church, & I ſhall roote thee out of the earth. Hereof he tooke ſuche a feare, that he died within .viij. dayes after. Then ſucceeded after him Baldwin that before was Biſhop of Worceſter. He was the .xl. Archb. that had ruled the Church of Canterburie. The king and Biſhops procured his election not without much ado. For the Monkes pretendiug a right therto, were ſore againſt it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white Monke, he neuer eate fleſh to his liues ende. On a time an olde leane woman met him, and aſked of him if it were ſoth that he neuer eate any maner of fleſh. It is ſoth (ſayd he.) It is falſe quoth ſhe, for I had but one cow to finde me with, and thy ſeruants haue taken hir from me. Whereunto he anſwered, that if it ſo were, ſhe ſhoulde haue as good a Cow reſtored to hir by Gods grace as hir owne was.

The ſame time alſo, Margaret the wife of the late deceaſſed king Henrie the ſonne, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioyned in mariage with Bela king of Hungery.

But after long digreſſion to returne again to our purpoſe. The king being aduertiſed of the deſtruction and ſpoyle which the Welchmen dayly did practiſe againſt his ſubiects, both in their perſons and ſubſtance: he aſſembled a mightie armie and came with the ſame vnto Worceſter, meaning to inuade the enimies countreys. But Rees ap Griffin fearing his puiſſance thus bent againſt him and other the leaders of the Welchmen, hee came by ſafeconduct vnto Worceſter, and there ſubmitting himſelfe, ſware fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promiſing to bring his ſon and nephewes vnto him as pledges. But when according to his promiſe he would haue brought them, they refuſed to goe with him, and ſo the matter reſted for a time.

Heraclius Patriarke of Ieruſalem.

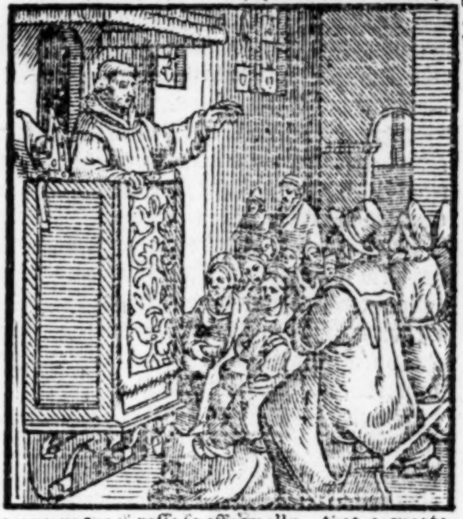
After this, king Henry helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Winſore, and the ſame yere Heraclius the Patriarke of Ieruſalem, and Roger maſter of the houſe of S. Iohns of Ieruſalē, came into England, to make ſute vnto king Henrie for ayde agaynſt the Saraſins that dayly wanne from the Chriſtians, townes and holdes in the holy land, taking and killing the people moſt miſerably, as in the deſcription of the holye lande maye more plainly appeare, where the doings of Saladine the Saraſine are touched. The Patriarke made earneſt requeſt vnto the king, proffering him the Keyes of the Citie of Ieruſalem, and of the holy Sepulchre, (with the letters of Lucius the thirde as then Pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iourney, and to haue mind of the othe which before time he had made.

A Coun
Clerken

The king deferred his anſwere for a time, and calling a Councel of his Lords togither at Clerkenwell, on the fifteenth day of Aprill, aſked theyr aduice in this matter: who declared to him, that as they tooke it, he might not well depart ſo farre out of his Realme and other dominions, leauing the ſame as a praye to his enimies. And where as it was thought by ſome, that hee myght appoynt one of his ſonnes to take vppon him that iourney, yet bycauſe they were not as then within the realme. It was iudged that in their abſence there was no reaſon whye it ſhoulde bee ſo decreed.

Baldwin
biſhop of
terburie e
horteth m
to go to
gainſt th
S raſins.

In the meane tyme yet vpon licence granted by the kyng, that ſo manye myghte goe as woulde, Baldwyn the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon them the Croſſe ſo effectually, that a greate number receyuing it, fully purpoſed to goe on in that iourney.



Fiftie th
markes
Gerua.

At length the King gaue anſwere to the Patriarke, excuſing himſelfe in that hee myght not goe, for he declared that hee myght not leaue hys lande wythoute keeping, beeing in daunger to remayne as a praye to the robberie and ſpoyle of the Frenche menne: but hee offered to giue large ſummes of gold and ſiluer to ſuch as would take vppon them that voyage. With thys anſwere the Cardinall was nothing pleaſed, and

therefore

Higd.

therefore, ſayde we ſeeke a man and not money: well neare euery Chriſtian Region ſendeth vnto vs money, but no Countrey ſendeth vnto vs a Prince. And therefore wee require a Prince that needeth money, and not money that needeth a Prince. But the King ſtyll alledged matter for his excuſe, ſo that the Patriarke departed from him comfortleſſe, and greatly diſcontented in his minde: whereof the King hauing knowledge, and intending ſomewhat to recomfort him with ſweete and pleaſaunt wordes, followed him to the Sea ſyde. But the more the King thought to ſatiſfie the Patriarke with wordes, the more wroth and diſcontented hee ſhewed hymſelfe to be. Inſomuche that at the laſte hee ſayde vnto him, Hytherto haſt thou raigned gloriouſly, but hereafter ſhalt thou bee forſaken of hym, whom thou at this time forſakeſt. Conſider of him, and remember what hee hath gyuen to thee, and what thou haſt yeelded to him againe, howe firſt thou waſt falſe to the King of Fraunce, and after ſlue the Archbiſhop Becket, and now laſtlye thou forſakeſt the protection of Chriſtes fayth.

wordes of
Patriarke
he king.

The King was ſtyrred with theſe wordes, and ſayde vnto the Patriarke, Though all the menne of the lande were one bodie, and ſpake with one mouth, they durſte not vtter ſuche wordes agaynſte mee. No wonder (ſayde the Patriarke) for they loue thine and not thee. That is to meane, they loue thy Temporall goodes, and ſtande in feare of thee for loſſe of Promotion, but thy ſoule they loue not. And when hee hadde ſo ſayde, hee offered his heade to the King, ſaying, Doe by mee euen as thou diddeſt by the Archebyſhoppe Becket, for all is one to mee, eyther to bee ſlaine here in Europe of a wicked Chriſtian, or in the holy lande by a Saraſine, for thou art worſe than a Saraſine, and thy people followeth pray and ſpoyle, and not a manne. The King kepte hys pacience, and ſayde I maye not goe oute of my lande, for if I ſhoulde, mine owne Sonnes woulde riſe and rebell agaynſte mee. No maruaile (ſayde the Patriarke) for of the Diuell they came, and to the Diuell they ſhall. And thus hee departed from the King in greate diſpleaſure.

ſh iudge-
nt in an
y father.

Thus haue ſome written: But by others it appeareth that the Patryarke remayned here tyll the king went ouer into Normandie himſelf, in companie of whom the Patriarke went alſo (as after ſhall appeare.)

g. Houed.
n the
gs ſonne
de king of
lande.
r. Do.

This yeare the laſt of March, king Henrie made his Sonne John knight, and ſhortly after ſent him ouer into Irelande, of which Countrey he had made him king.

At his comming into Irelande, he was honourably receyued of the Archebiſhoppe of Diueline, and other noble menne that had beene ſent thither before him.

The King allowed him great aboundance of treaſure, but he keeping it in his Coffers (as one nowe come into a ſtraunge place, and not knowing what he ſhoulde want, woulde not depart with it ſo freely amongeſt his Souldiers and menne of warre as they looked for: by reaſon whereof their ſeruice was ſuche, that in dyuerſe conflictes hee loſt many of his menne, and at length was dryuen through want of conuenable ayde, to returne againe into Englande, hauing appoynted his Captaynes and Souldiours to remayne in places moſte expedient for the defence of that Countrey. But hereof yee maye reade more in the Hyſtorie of Irelande.

An earthquake.

Uppon the Monday in the Weeke before Eaſter, there chaunced a ſore Earthquake thorowe all the partes of this lande, ſuche one as the like had not beene hearde of in Englande ſith the beginning of the worlde. Stones were remoued out of their places that laye couched faſt in the Earth, ſtone houſes were ouerthrowne, and the great Church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwardes.

The king and the Patriarke paſſe ouer into Fraunce.

The day next after this terrible wonder, the King and the Patriarke with the Biſhoppe of Durham, and a great ſort of other Noble men of this Realme, paſſed the Seas from Douer to Wyſſande, and ſo rode forth towardes Normandie, where immediatly vpon his comming thither he rayſed a power, and ſent worde to hys ſonne Richarde Earle of Poictou (whiche hadde fortified the townes and Caſtelles of Poictou agaynſt him, and taken his brother Geffrey priſoner) that except hee deliuered vp into his mothers handes the whole Countrey of Poictou, he woulde ſurely come to chaſtice him with an Iron rodde, and bring him vnder obedience finally to his eaſe.

The kings meſſage to his ſonne Earle Richarde.

Upon this meſſage Earle Richarde beeing ſomewhat better aduiſed, obeyed his fathers commaundements in all poyntes, rendring vp into his mothers handes the Earledome of Poictou, and comming to his father as an obedient ſonne, ſhewed himſelf readie to ſerue him at commaundement with a glad and willing minde.

Earle Richard obayeth his father.

Soone after this, and aboute the ſeuenth houre of the day, the Sunne ſuffered a generall Eclipſe, ſo that no part of it appeared, and therewith followed greate thunder with lightning and a ſore tempeſt, with the violence whereof there were both men and beaſtes deſtroyed, and many houſes burned.

Rog. Houed.
Particuler and not generall, hath
Ger. Do.

Shortly after this, the Kings of Englande and Fraunce mette and communed together for the ayding of them in the holye lande, and they promyſed in deede to ſende thyther bothe menne and money: but the Patriarke made ſmall accounte thereof, for hee was muche deceyued of that which hee hoped to haue brought to paſſe; whiche was, eyther to haue gotte the King of Englande, or one of hys Sonnes, or ſome other manne of greate authoritie forth wyth hym into the holye lande: but bycauſe that would not be, he departed from the Courte verye ſorrowfull and ſore diſpleaſed, ſo that it maye bee thought, that then and not before hys departure oute of Englande, he ſpake his minde ſo plainlye vnto the King (as before yee haue hearde.)

An. Reg. 32.

Moreouer aboute this tyme, King Henrie obteyned of Pope Urbane the third, that he might crowne whiche of his Sonnes it ſhoulde pleaſe him King of Irelande, in token of which graunt and confirmation, the ſayde Pope ſent vnto hym a Crowne of Peacocks feathers, after a ſtrat maner wouen in with golde.

1186

Thys yeare the King helde hys Chriſtmaſſe at Danfrount, and ſhortly after came to a communication wyth the French king, at the which hee tooke a ſolemne othe that hee woulde delyuer the Ladye Alice the Frenche Kinges Siſter (whome hee hadde as yet in his cuſtodie) vnto hys ſonne Richarde Earle of Poictou in maryage. For the which maryage to be had and ſolemniſed, the French King graunted to deliuer vnto the ſayde Richarde the towne of Gyſors, wyth all that which his father king Lewes promiſed vnto king Henrie the ſonne (lately deceaſſed) in maryage with Queene Margaret the wife of the ſame Henrie, receyuing an othe thereto, neuer to make any clayme or chalenge to the ſame towne and landes.

King H
returned
Engla

King Henrie after hee hadde thus concluded and finiſhed hys affayres wyth the Frenche King, returned backe into Englande in Maye, and then was Hugh Priour of Witham inſtituted Byſhoppe of Lyncolne after that the Sea there hadde beene voyde and wythout any lawfull gouernour almoſte the ſpace of ſeuenteene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verye godly and vertuous man.

Ger. D

Hugh P
Wichā
Biſhop o
colne.

Before him Walter Conſtaunce was nominated to that Sea, but bycauſe he was made Archebyſhoppe of Rouen before hee was inueſted in the Church of Lyncolne, hee is not accounted in number of the Biſhoppes of Lyncolne.

Moreouer King Henrie ſhortlye after his returne at thys tyme into Englande, aſſembled a greate army, and went wyth the ſame vnto Carleil, in purpoſe to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chaſtiſed Rouland Lorde of that Countrey, that was ſonne to Uthred the ſonne of Fergus, for the iniuries done to his coſin Germains, and namely to Duncane the ſon of Gylbert that was ſonne to the ſame Fergus in ſpoyling him and the reſidue (after the deceaſſe of the ſayde Gylbert) of theyr partes of inheritaunce, vſurping the whole to himſelfe. But as the King was now readie to inuade his countrey, Roulande came to him, and vſed ſuche meanes vnder pretence of ſatiſfaction, that hee made his peace with the King, who therevpon brought backe his armye, and did no more at that tyme.

Hugh La
ſlaine.

About the ſame tyme came newes to the King, that Hugh Lacie was ſlaine in Irelande by an Iriſhe Gentleman, that was his confederate, (or rather by a labourer, as in the Iriſhe Hyſtorie ye may read) whereof the King was nothing ſorie, bycauſe that the ſame Hugh was growne to ſo high degree of puiſſaunce in that

Countrey, that he refuſed to obey the kings commaundement when he ſent for him.

ugh Lacies
ligence to
arge his
ſſeſſions in
lande.

It is to bee noted, that when King Henrie had conquered the moſte parte of Irelande, and ſet the Countrey in ſome order, after his comming from thence, ſuch Captains as he left there behind him were not ydle, but ſtill did what they could to enlarge the confines which were committed to their gouernaunce: but amongeſt them all this Hugh Lacie was the chiefeſt, inſomuch that after the death of Richarde Earle of Striguile, the king made him gouernour of the Countrey in place of the ſayde Earle, by reaſon whereof he ſo enlarged his poſſeſſions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onely to the enimies, but alſo to his aſſociates, as to ſuche Engliſh Captaines as were abyding in Ireland vpon garde of the Engliſh Frontiers. For if any of them diſobeyed his cõmaundement, he would not ſticke to chaſtice them at his pleaſure, ſo that by ſuch meanes he ſeemed rather to conquere the Countrey to his owne vſe, than to the Kinges. He had alſo ioyned himſelfe in maryage with a daughter of the King of Vuleſter, not making King Henrie priuie to the ſame. Whereupon the King hauing ſundrie informations preſented to him of ſuche his preſumptuous demeanor, commaunded him by his letters to returne home, and repayre to his preſence, whiche to doe (as before I haue ſayde) hee refuſed, by reaſon whereof hee confirmed the ſuſpition whiche was conceyued of him, to ryſe vpon no vaine coniectures, and therefore the euyll that came to hym was nothing lamented of King Henrie, who with good cauſe was highly offended towardes him for the contempt and conſiderations aforeſayde.

ng Henrie
ſorie for
death of
ie.

e death of
ffrey the
gs ſonne.

This yeare Geffrey the Kings ſonne that was Earle of Brytayne dyed at Paris, and was buryed in the ſame Citie, leauing behinde him, beſides two daughters one onely ſonne as yet in his mothers wombe, of whome ſhee was delyuered in the nyght of the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuyng hir huſbandes death. Hee was named Arthure, and ſucceded his father in the Erledome of Brytaine.

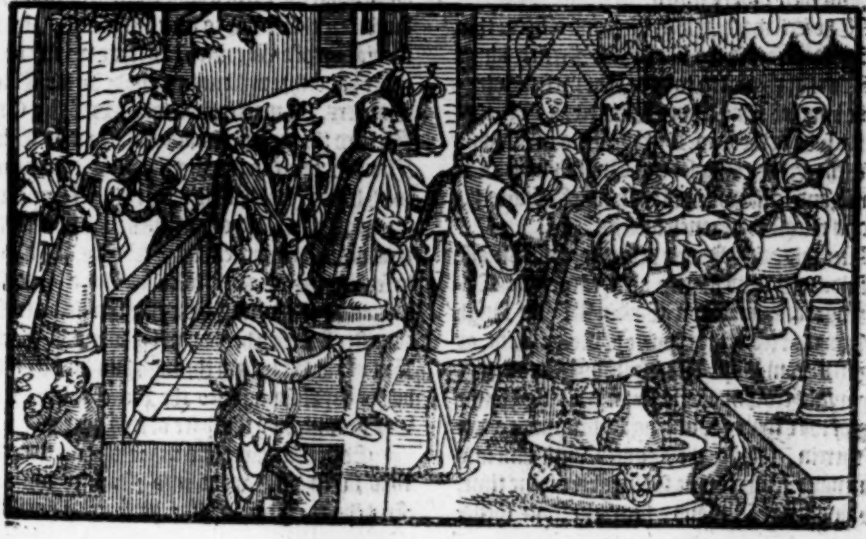
Hys fathers death was occaſioned as men iudge, by a fall whiche hee caught at a iourney, for hee was ſore bruyſed therewith, and neuer had his health, but finally fell into a flixe and ſo dyed.

About this ſeaſon Pope Vrbane wrote vnto Baldwyn the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, graunting him licence to buylde a Churche in honour of Saint Stephen, and Thomas Becket nowe reputed a Martyr, at Akynton, and that the fourth part of the offrings which came to the boxe of Thomas the Martyr ſhoulde be aſſigned to the vſe of the Monkes, and an other fourth part to the buyldings of that Church, and an other fourth part to be giuen to the poore, and the other fourth part remayning, he might reſerue to himſelfe to beſtowe at his pleaſure.

But within a while after, at the ſute and contemplation of the Priour and Couent of Canterburie (who lyked nothing of the former partition) the Pope ſent letters of prohibition to the ſayde Archebiſhoppe, that hee ſhoulde ceaſſe from buylding of the fore mentioned Churche, bycauſe the buylding thereof ſhould be preiudiciall to the Church of Canterburie.

The Ladie Ermingarde the vicount Beaumonts daughter, maried to William king of Scottes.

About the ſame time alſo King Henrie gaue his Couſin the Ladie Ermengarde that was daughter to Richarde Vicount Baumount in Mariage, vnto William King of Scotlande, cauſing the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie to ioyne them togyther in the bonde of Matrimonie wythin the Chappell at Woodſtocke, where hee kept great cheare in honour of that maryage



for the ſpace of foure dayes togither. And further he gaue at the ſame time vnto the king of Scots the Caſtell of Edenbourgh: and the King of Scottes ſtreyght wayes gaue it vnto his wiſe the foreſayde Ermengarde, as a portion of hir dower, augmented wyth an hundred poundes of landes by the yeare, and fortye Knightes fees.

Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the French king.

Sir William de Wals.

The Frenche King requyred to haue the cuſtodie of the infant Arthure, heyre to Geffrey Earle of Brytaine: but king Henrie would in no wiſe graunt thereto. Hee ſent therefore Walter Archbiſhoppe of Rouen, William de Maundeuille Earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glandeuille Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande to the Frenche Courte to talke wyth King Philip aboute that matter, ſo that king Philip hauing hearde them, was contented to ſtaye from attempting force tyll the feaſt of Saint Hillarie: But in the meane tyme it chaunced, that one Sir Rycharde de Walles a knight of the realme of Fraunce, went about to fortifie a Caſtell in a Vyllage that belonged to him called Walles, ſituate betwixte Trye and Giſors. Whervpon Henrie Vere (Coneſtable of Gyſors vnder William Earle of Aubemarle) was nothing content therewyth, and therefore gotte a companie togyther, and went forth to deſturbe the worke. Vpon this occaſion the ſeruaunts of the ſayde Sir Rycharde de Wals come forth, and encountred wyth him in the fielde, inſomuche that Raufe the ſonne of Sir Rycharde de Wals was ſlayne, and the reſidue that were with hym fledde, manye of them beeing ſore beaten and wounded.

The king of Englands ſubiects areſted in Fraunce.

When the French King was enformed hereof, he cauſed all the King of Englande his ſubiectes that coulde bee founde within his Countreys and dominion of Fraunce to be apprehended, and their goodes ſeazed.

The French ſubiects areſted in Normandie.

The Stewardes, Baylifes, and officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings ſubiects that chaunced to be at that preſent within the king of Englandes Countreys, on that further ſyde of the Sea. But within a ſmal while after, the French king ſet the Engliſh ſubiects at libertie, and ſo likewiſe did the king of Englands officers releaſe the French ſubiects.

An. reg. 33.
1187

Octauianus a Cardinall.

King Henrie paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

After this, king Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Gildeforde, and ſhortly after came one Octauianus a Subdeacon Cardinall, and Hugh de Nouaunt from the Courte of Rome, ſent as Legates from Pope Vrbane into Irelande, that they might crowne Earle Iohn the kings ſonne king of that lande. But king Henrie made a delay therein, taking the Legates with him into Normandie, whether he ſayled at the ſame time, and landing at Wiſſand, hee went from thence into Normandie, and ſhortly after came to a cõmunication with the French king, at a place called *Vadum Sancti Remigij*, where after much talk they coulde not agree, by reaſon the French king demaunded things vnreaſonable, and ſo they departed without any thing concluded [ſauing a truce, till after Whitſuntide.]

Ger. D

Hieruſ taken,

About the ſame time, the Citie of Ieruſalem was taken by Saladine the chiefe Prince of the Saraſins. Whereuppon much conference was had among the chriſtian princes for the ſuccoring of thoſe Chriſtians which as yet held ⁊ defended other peeces in yͤ holy lande, ſo that by publiſhing of the Popes Bulles, many toke on thẽ the croſſe: and amongſt other Richard the ſon of K. Henry (withoute any licence obteyned of his father) receyued the ſame, vowing to go thither out of hãd, and to fight againſt Gods enimies to the vttermoſt of his power. In the meane time the grudge ſtill encreaſing betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partly for one cauſe, and partly for an other (but ſpecially one chiefe occaſion was for that Earle Richarde deferred the doing of hys homage vnto king Philip for the Duchie of Poictou, which by his fathers appoyntment he nowe enioyed and helde.) The French king to preuent his enimies, immediately vpõ the expiring of the truce rayſed a power, and entring into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, hee waſted the Countrey till he came vnto Chateau Raoul. About which Caſtell alſo he forthwith planted his ſiege. Hereof when king Henrie was aduertiſed, he rayſed his power alſo, and togyther with hys ſonne Earle Richarde came with all ſpeede to ſuccour his people, and to ſaue his Caſtell from the handes of his enimies. When he approched neare vnto the place, he pight downe his tents ouer agaynſt the one ſide of the French campe, and Erle Richard on the other, ſo that they were readie to aſſail the French king on both ſides at once, but before they came to ioyne in battaile, by the mediation of a Cardinall (as ſome wryte) or as other haue, through meanes made by the Erle of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For Earle Richard through perſwaſion of the ſayd Erle of Flanders came to the Frenche king, and agreed with him before that his father king Henrie was for his part reſolued of any ſuch matter, ſo that he was now in a maruellous perplexity, and almoſt to ſeeke what was beſt to do, in ſuch a doubtfull caſe, as a man fearing his owne ſuretie, by reaſon of miſtruſt which hee had in his ſonne Richarde. But yet at the length through humble ſute made by his ſayde ſonne vnto the Frenche king a truce was graunted by the ſpace of two yeares.

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nales of h
written b
colle G

Ger. Do.

A truce g
ted.

Earle Richarde after that the matter was thus taken vp, went into Fraunce with the Frenche King, of whome hee was ſo honoured

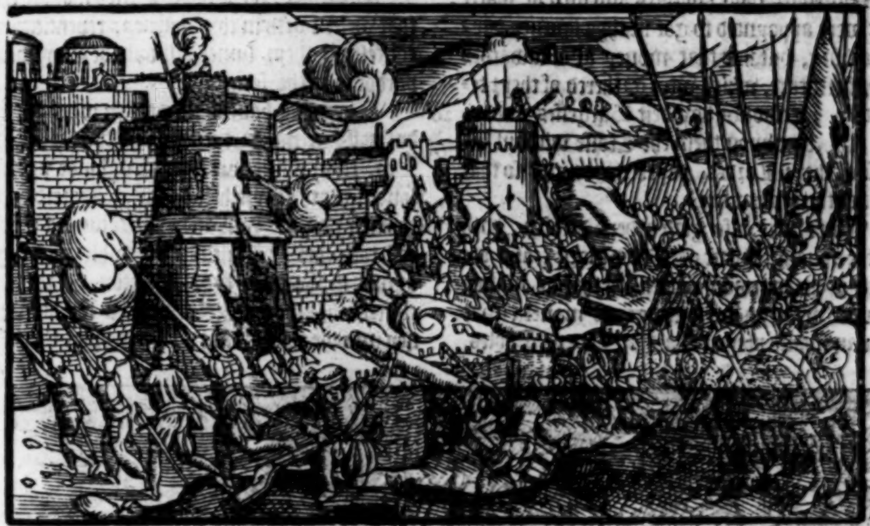
whilſt

whileſt he was there, that they kept one Table at dinner and ſupper in the day tyme, and (as was ſayde) one bedde ſerued them both to ſleepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of al this, he fell into great ſuſpition whereto this great familiaritie betwixte the Frenche king and hys ſonne woulde tende, and doubting the likelyeſt, he ſent for him to returne vnto him. But Earle Richarde perceyuing his father to miſtruſt hys loyaltie, gaue fayre wordes, and promiſed to returne with all conuenient ſpede. Howbeit hee ment an other matter, and ſo departing from the French Court, came to Chinon, where he gotte into his handes a greate portion of his fathers treaſure that was kept there, agaynſt the will of him that had the cuſtodie of it, and taking it thus awaye with him, hee beganne to fortifie hys Caſtelles and Townes wythin hys Countrey of Poictou, and clearely refuſed to come backe to his father for a tyme, although at length forſaking the counſayle of naughtie menne, hee turned home vnto hym, and humbly ſubmitted hymſelfe, in ſuche wyſe as to hys duetie apperteyned. And for the more aſſuraunce thereof, he renued his feaultie, in receyuing an othe vppon the holy Euangelyſtes. Whiche done, King Henrye wente into Brytayne wyth an armie, and wanne the Caſtell of Mountreleys by ſiege, whiche one Heruey de Lions, and one Guynemer hys brother hadde gotten into theyr handes, after the deceaſſe of Geffrey Earle of Brytayne.

le Richard
eth his fa-
r fayre
des.

He ſeaſeth vpon his fathers treaſure.



This yeare the twentie of October, the Citie of Chicheſter was almoſte wholy conſumed to aſhes by miſchaunce of fyre. The heade Church with the Biſhoppes Palayce, and the houſes of the Canons were burnt euen downe to the grounde.

n.reg.34.
1188

g Henry
rneth into
lande.

After this king Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, from whence he went to Harflete, and there taking the ſea paſſed ouer into England.

The French king hearing by and by of hys departure, aſſembled a great armye, and threatned to deſtroy the Countrey of Normandie, and other landes on that ſide the ſea, except that king Henrie woulde deliuer ouer into his handes the town of Giſors, with the appurtenances, or cauſe his ſon Richard Erle of Poictou to take to wife his ſiſter Alyce, according to his promiſe.

g Henry
eth againe
Nor-
die.

When King Henrie was hereof aduertiſed, hee turned with all ſpeede into Normandie, that he might prouide for timely reſiſtaunce, if the Frenche king came forwarde to inuade hys dominions.

Polidor.

Heauie newes from the Eaſt partes.

About the ſelfe ſame tyme alſo came knowledge out of the holy land, that Saladine after the wynning of Jeruſalem, purſued his victorie with ſuch ſucceſſe, that hee had taken from the Chriſtians the more parte of all other townes and ſtrengthes within the lande.

An enteruiew betwixt the two kings.

The two kings receyue the Croſſe.

These newes were nothing pleaſant to the Chriſtian princes, and namely the two kings Henrie and Philip ſeemed ſorowful for the ſame, and therefore came to an enteruiew togyther on the .xxj. day of Januarie betwixt Trie and Giſors, where the Archbiſhoppe of Tyre was preſent, through whoſe earneſt exhortation the two Kings were made friendes; and the ſame daye receyued the Croſſe at hys handes in purpoſe to make a iourney togyther agaynſt thoſe Saraſyns, that hadde done ſuche iniuryes to the Chriſtian name. And for a difference that one Nation myght bee knowne from an other, the Frenche King and his people tooke vpon them to weare redde Croſſes, the King of Englande and hys ſubiectes whyte Croſſes: but the Earle of Flaunders and hys menne ware

The French ware redde croſſes.
The Engliſh white.
The Flemings greene.

greene.

An ayde granted to them in the holy lande. *VVil. Paruus.*

And herewith they departed in ſunder eche one repayring to theyr Countreys to prouide theyr armies, and make them in a readineſſe to ſet forwarde by a day towardes this neceſſarie iourney. King Henrie comming to Chinon, by aduice of his Counſaille, ordeyned that euery one of his ſubiectes ſhoulde yeelde a tenth part of his reuenues and moueable goodes for that yeare towardes the ayde of them in the holy lande (corne of that yeares growth except, and alſo all armor, horſes, bookes, apparell, ornaments of Chappels, and precious ſtones, which ſhoulde not come in the rate of goods now taxed, nor be charged with this payment.

Moreouer those knightes and men of warre that were appoynted to goe in thys iourney payed nothing, but had that money alſo towardes theyr furniture, which were gathered of theyr tenants and fermours, howbeit Burgeſſes and other that toke vpon them the Croſſe without lycenſe of theyr Lordes, payed this tenth, ſo that none of them went free.

Good orders and diſcipline inſtituted.

There were alſo good orders deuiſed, both for the aduauncement of Gods glorie, and the reliefe of the common wealth, as that no manne ſhoulde ſweare in any outrageous maner, that no man ſhould play at Cardes, Dice or Tables, and that no maner of perſon after Eaſter ſhoulde weare anye coſtly furres or cloth of Scarlette, nor that menne ſhoulde vſe to haue theyr Tables ſerued wyth more than two Diſhes of meate at one meale, nor ſhoulde haue theyr apparell cutte, iagged, or laced: and further, that none of them ſhoulde take anye women forth wyth them in this iourney, except ſuche a landreſſe, of the which there myght not growe any ſuſpition of wanton life.

It was alſo ordeyned, that the money of ſuche as dyed in this iourney, ſhoulde goe towardes the fynding and mayntenaunce of theyr ſeruaunts and of poore people, and towardes the ayde of the Chriſtians in the holy land.

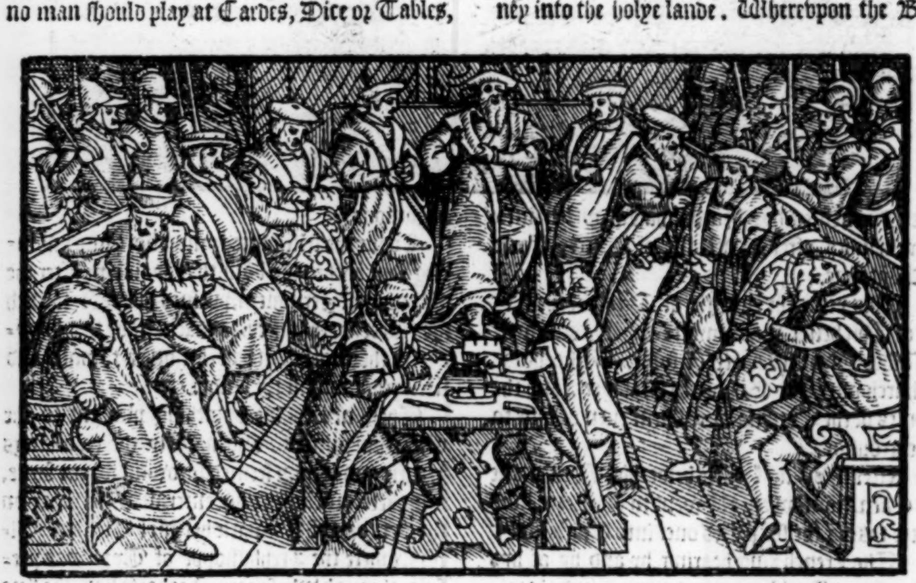
Moreouer, the Pope graunted that all thoſe that went forth in this iourney, repenting and confeſſing theyr ſinnes, ſhould be aſſoyled and pardoned of the ſame.

The king turneth England.

A counſail holden at Gaiting

Ger. Do.

The King hauing thus taken order for hys buſineſſe in the partyes on the further ſyde the Sea, came nowe ouer into Englande agayne, landing at Wynchelſey on a Saterday the thirtith day of Ianuarie, and calling a Councell togyther at Gaitington, whiche is eyght or nine myles from Northampton, hee there declared what orders hee had taken for his iourney into the holye lande. Whereupon the Byſhoppes of Norwiche and Lyncolne, and a great number of other people toke vpō them the croſſe at the preaching of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter.



A tenth leuied

The king Scottes.

This done, king Henrie toke order alſo for the leuying of the tenth, as well here in England as he had don in the parties ſubiect to him on the further ſide the ſea. Hee alſo ſent Hugh Biſhop of Durham, and other both ſpirituall and temporall perſons, vnto William king of Scottes, to gather the tenth likewiſe within his Countrey, but hee mette them betwixt Warke and Brygtham, and woulde not ſuffer them to enter into Scotlande, but hee offered to giue vnto the king of England in recompence of the tenths, and for to haue againe his Caſtels, the ſumme of 5000. Markes of ſiluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewiſe gathered yͤ tēthes in his Countrey towardes this intended iourney. But by the working of ſome wicked ſpirite

(as

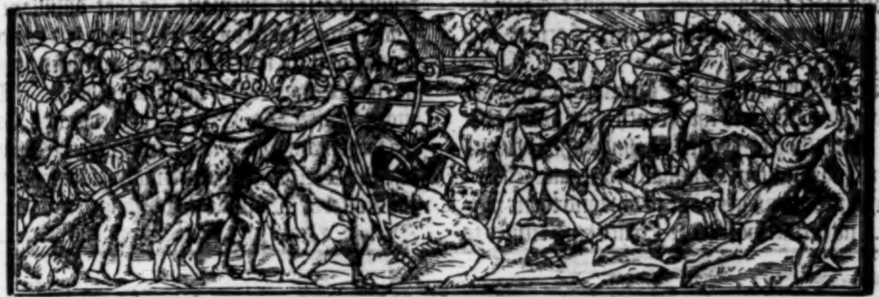
e good
aning of
e two kings
ſappointed.
lidor.

(as we may lawfully thinke) whiche enuied the aduauncement of the chriſtian common wealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and diſappoynted. For the peace lately concluded betwixt them continued not long vnuiolated. The French writers impute the fault therof vnto Engliſh men, and the Engliſh writers lay it to the French men. The French wryters ſay, that Earle Richard the ſonne of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Raymond Erle of Tholouze. The Engliſh wryters reproue the French king as a wicked man, in that he ſhoulde of purpoſe breake the peace and moue war againſt king Henry, to withdraw him from going to make war againſt the Saraſins, to the which enterpriſe he was wholy bent and enclyned. Such is the maner of many writers, the which more affectionate to the loue of their countrey than to the truth, doe not obſerue the lawe of Hiſtories in their writings, but rather inuey one againſt another in brawling & reprouing maner.

eymond erle
Tholouze.

Rog. Houed.
The nobles of
Poictou rebell
againſt Earle
Richarde.

In deed as Roger Houeden and other do witneſſe, the forſeyd Erle Reymond, & alſo Aymer Erle of Ingoleſme, Geffrey de Racon, & Geffrey de Luſignan with the moſt part of all the nobles of Poictou, made warre agaynſt Earle Richard, and hee helde tacke agaynſt them all, and in the ende ouercame them.



ter Seille.

Amongſt other of Erle Reymonds part who he toke, was one Peter Seille, by whoſe counſel Earle Reymonde had taken diuerſe Merchants of Poictou, that were ſubiects to Earle Richard, and done many other diſpleaſures to him, and to his Countrey, wherefore Earle Richarde kepte this Peter in verie ſtrayte priſon, and would not put him to his raunſome: wherefore Earle Reymond toke two of the king of Englands knights ſir Robert Poer, and ſir Richarde Fraſer, as they were returning from Compoſtella, where they had beene to viſite the bodie of Saint James, but they were quickely ſet at libertie by the Frenche kings commaundement, for the reuerence of S. James whoſe Pilgrymes they were.

rle Richar l
uadeth the
le Tholouze
des.

After this, Earle Richard entred with a great army into the lands of Erle Reymonde, waſted the ſame, and toke by ſiege a Caſtell of his ſituate neare vnto Tholouze, cleped Moyſac: wherof the French king hearing, he ſent out of hande to the king of Englande, requiring to knowe if the domages done by his ſonne Earle Richarde vnto him and his people in Tholouſyne, were done by his commaundement, for the whiche hee demaunded reſtitution. Herevnto the king of Englande anſwered, that his ſonne Earle Richarde did nothing in that behalfe, eyther by hys knowledge, or commaundement: but that as hee had ſignified to hym by the Archbiſhoppe of Dublyn whatſoeuer he did therein, was done by the counſell of the French king himſelfe.

Annales de
France.

Rog. Houed.
The Archb.
of Cant. with
the Biſhops of
Lincolne and
Cheſter, hath
Ger. Do.

Howſoeuer this matter went, certaine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hande, vpon a ſodaine entred into Berry, and toke from king Henrie Chaſteau Raoull, Brezancois, Argenton, Mountricharde, Mountreſor, Vandoſme, Leporoſe, Blanc en Berry, Culan and Molignon, wherefore King Henrie (who was at this tyme in Englande aboute to prepare an army to go therewith into the holy lande) when he heard thereof, with all ſpeede poſſible, hee ſente Baldwyn Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Hugh Byſhoppe of Durham ouer into Fraunce to appeaſe the Frenche kings diſpleaſure with courteous wordes and reaſonable perſwaſions if it myght bee, but when that coulde not be brought to paſſe, he ſayled ouer into Normandie hymſelfe, with an army of Engliſh men and Welchmen, landing with the ſame at Herflue the tenth day of July, after he had beene ſore toſſed by a cruell tempeſt that roſe as he was on the Sea, to the great daunger of his perſon, and all that were with him.

Ger. Dor.

Now after his comming to land, he repayred vnto Alencon, encreaſing his power by gathering vp Souldiers and menne of warre out of Normandye and other hys Countreyes on that ſyde the Sea.

Chateau Roux
it is called in
the French annales:
but the
Chronicles of
Aniou name it
Chaſteau Raoul,
and righely
as I thinke.

In the meane tyme hys ſonne Rychards Earle of Poictou entreth into Berry wyth a mightie armye, and the Frenche King delyuering Chatcou Raſull vnto the keeping of Sir William de Berres returneth into Fraunce, ſo that Earle Rycharde ſpoyled and waſted the landes of thoſe Earles and Barons which toke the French part exceedingly.

The French K. kept him as yet within France and durſt not come forth now after the arriual of king Henry, but many enterpriſes were atchieued by the Captaines on both ſides.

Philip Biſhop of Beauvoys inuading the Fronters of Normandie, burned Blangeuille, belonging to the Earle of Augi, and the Caſtell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the tytle of Erle) and waſted the countrey rounde about.

The French king alſo came to the towne of Trow, and burned it, and tooke .xl. men of armes there, but the Caſtell he could not winne. On the other part, Richarde Earle of Poictou tooke a ſtrong place called *les Roches*, beyonde Trow towards Vandoſme, with .xxv. men of armes, and lx. yeomen.

Sergeants.

About which time king Henrie ſent eftſoones Ambaſſadours vnto the French king, as Walter the Archbiſhop of Rouen, John Biſhop of Eureux, and William Marſhall, to require reſtitution for the domages done to him and to his people. And furthermore if the French king refuſed to make reſtitution, then had they in commaundement to declare defiaunce agaynſt him. Whereunto the French king anſwered, that he woulde not giue ouer to make warre tyll hee had Berry, and the country of Veuxin or Veulgeſyn wholy in his poſſeſſion. Wherfore king Henrie with a mightie armie on the Tueſday after the feaſt of the Decollation of Saint John, entred into the Realme of Fraunce, and burned many townes and villages, approching the ſame day neare vnto the towne of Maunt, where the Frenche king was thought to be. And as it chaunced William de Berres, and Drogo de Merlo, encountred with Richarde Erle of Poicton, & William de Mandeuille Earle of Albemarle, ſo that William de Barres was taken by Erle Richard, but by negligence of them that ſhould haue takē heed to him he eſcaped away vpon his Pages horſe. The morrow after alſo, Erle Richard departed from his father towards Berry, and vpon the Thurſday the Welchmen burned many villages, with the Caſtel of Danuille that belonged to Simon Daneth, & tooke many rich prayes and booties.

The Wel men.

Alſo William Mandeuille Earle of Albemarle, burned a place called Saint Clare, that was belonging vnto the Demaine of the French king: but ſee, when the Engliſh were fully bent to proſecute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand, there came meſſengers vnto king Henry frō the French king, requiring him that he would graunt a peace to be had betwixt them, with promiſe that if he would condiſcend therevnto, that he ſhould receyue by way of reſtitution al that the French king had now taken from him in Berry. And herevpon they came to a communication betwixt Trie and Giſors, and when they coulde not agree, the French king cauſed a great Elme ſtāding betwixt thoſe two places to be cut down, at which the kings of England and France were accuſtomed to meete when they treated of matters in controuerſie betwixt them, ſwearing that from thenceforth there ſhoulde neuer be any more meetings holden at that place. Afterwarde when the Erle of Flanders, & the Earle of Bloys wᵗ diuerſe other Erles and Barons of the Realme of France, layd their armor aſide, proteſting openly that they woulde not put on the ſame againe to make war againſt any chriſtian, till they ſhoulde returne from their iorney which they had vowed into the holy land, yͤ French king deſtitute of mē to ſerue him, made ſute once again to K. H. that they might meet & talk of peace, which was hardly granted, and ſo they met on the morrow after Saint Faythes day, or ſeuenth of October, at Chatellon, where they entreated of a fourme of peace, ſo that the Frenche king ſhoulde haue reſtored all that he hadde taken within the Coun-

treys

The two kings come to a treatie.

An Elme cut downe.

A comm bie proteſ tion and thie to be noted.

Caſtelli

treys belonging to King Henrie, and likewiſe Richarde Earle of Poictou, ſhoulde delyuer vp vnto the Earle of Saint Giles, otherwiſe called Earle of Tholouze, all that hee hadde taken from him ſithe the breach of the laſte truce. But when King Henrie woulde not deliuer the Caſtell of Paſcie in pledge to the Frenche king, they departed in ſunder (as before) without anye thing concluded.

n other treatie betwixt e two kings.

The king of France after this tooke the Caſtell of Paluell. Vpon the .xviij. day of Auguſt the two kings came againe togither about a new treatie of peace betwixt Bonſemblance and Sukenny, where the French king offred king Henrie, to reſtore to him all that he had taken by hys laſt warres, if hys ſyſter Alyce might be ioyned in maryage with Richarde Earle of Poictou, nowe eldeſt ſonne in lyfe to king Henrie, and that all king Henries ſubiectes might do homage and ſweare fealtie to the ſame Richarde. But king Henrie hauing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his ſonne Henry, after ſuch his aduauncement to kingly degree, he woulde not graunt the French kings requeſt herein. Whereupon a further miſchiefe happened, for his ſonne Earle Richarde (taking diſpleaſure that his father ſhoulde denie him that honour, whiche made altogyther for his more aſſuraunce to ſucceede him as king) fell from his ſayde father manifeſtly, and became the Frenche kings man, doing homage to hym alſo without conſent of king Henrie, for all thoſe lands that belonged to his ſayd father on that further ſide the ſea. The French king for his homage and fealtie, gaue vnto him Chateau Raoull, and Yſoldun, with al the honor thereto belonging.

arle Richard euolteth frõ is father to erue the rench king.

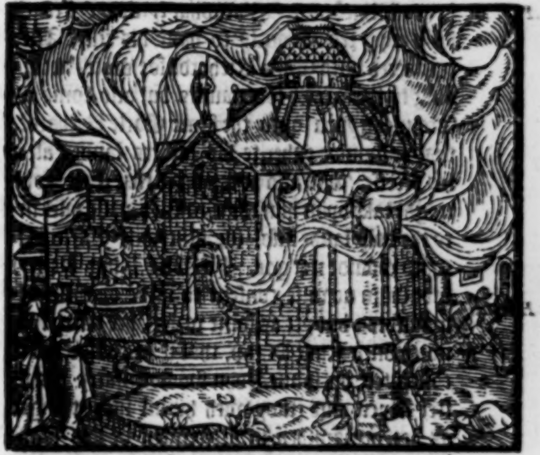
olidor.

There be that write, that the chiefeſt cauſe that moued king Henrie to refuſe to ioyne his ſon erle Richard & the ladie Alice, daughter to the French king in mariage togither, was, bycauſe he was linked in the comberſome chayne of hote burning loue with the ſame Ladie, and therfore he ſought all the ſhiftes of excuſes and delayes that might be imagined, ſo that it appeared he had no minde to depart with hir. The truth was (as writers affyrme) he had alredie perſwaded hir to ſatiſfie his luſt, inſomuch that hee liked hir ſo well, that hee ment to be deuorſed from his wife Queene Elenor, & to marry this yong ladie, which if he might bring to paſſe, and haue children by hir, he purpoſed to diſinherite thoſe which he had by Elenor, & to make the other which he ſhould haue by Adela his legitimate and lawfull heyres. Yet before they departed from this communication, a truce was taken to endure till the feaſt of S. Hillarie. And Henry Biſhop of Alba a Cardinal that was ſent from the Pope to ende this controuerſie betwixt theſe two mightie Princes, accurſed Rychard Erle of Poictou, for that by his meanes the troubles roſe and were continued betwixt them.

g. Houed.

Beuerley burnt.

The towne of Beuerlay, with the Church of Saint Iohn the Archbiſhop, was in maner wholy conſumed with fire, on the .xx. of September.



William de Sempringham deceaſſeth.

Gilbert de Ogerſtan.

A ſtraunge apperance in the ayre.

Alſo the ſame yeare dyed William of Sempringham, the Author and firſt founder of the religious order of Sempringham. Moreouer Gilbert de Ogerſlan a knight Templer put in truſt by king Henry with others to gather the tenthes towardes the reliefe of the holy land, was proued to vſe falſehood in the receipt, and ſo was deliuered vnto the maſter of the Temple at London, to bee puniſhed according to the ſtatutes of his order. Alſo this yeare in the vigill of S. Laurence, there was ſeene at Dunſtable by diuerſe perſons a figure of the Croſſe very long & large in the ayre, with the ſhape of a crucifixe theron, and ſtreames of bloud to their ſight ſeemed to runne out of the woundes of the feete, handes and ſides. And this ſtraunge appearance continued in ſight from noone till almoſt night.

An. Reg. 35.
1189

King Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Saumur in Aniou, but many of his Earles and Barons were gone from him, and tooke part with the French king, and with his ſonne Richard Erle of Poictou. Then after the day was once come, in which the truce expired, the Britains (which had a charter of couenants of the French king & Erle Richard, that if they concluded any peace with king Henrie, the Brytaynes ſhould be partakers in the ſame) enter into the confines of thoſe countreys which ſtill continued their due obedience towards King Henrie, ſpoyling and waſting the ſame on eche ſyde with barbarous crueltie. At which time alſo there was a Legate came from the Pope named Iohn de Anagnia, who aſſayed both by courteous meanes and alſo by threates and menacinges to reduce the partyes vnto peace and concorde: Inſomuche that by hys procurement they mette this yeare after Eaſter neare vnto Fiert Bernarde, twiſe wythin

A Legate.

a fewe dayes togither, to trie if by talke they might ſorte to ſome reaſonable conditions of agreement.

Mat. Par.

The laſt tyme of thoſe theyr meetings, was in the Whitſunweeke, at what tyme the French king requyred not onely to haue his ſiſter Alice delyuered vnto Earle Richarde for wyfe, according to the former couenaunts, but alſo ſome aſſuraunce gyuen vnto the ſame Earle Richarde, that he ſhoulde enherite his fathers landes after his deceſſe. And alſo he requyred that Erle John might take vpon him the Croſſe to paſſe ouer into the holy lande alſo, for otherwiſe Earle Richard woulde not goe. Howbeit King Henrye woulde in no wiſe conſent to anye of theſe demaundes: but yet as ſome write, hee offred thus much vnto King Philip, that if he coulde bee ſo contented, his ſonne John ſhoulde marry his ſiſter Alyce, and enioy with hir all ſuche thinges as hee demaunded in preferment of hys ſonne Richarde, and that in more large maner than hee had requeſted the ſame. But King Philip would none of that.

Rog. Houed.

King Philip harrieth the Countrey of Mayne.

Thus howſoeuer it was, whileſt the one demaunded that which the other thought no reaſon to graunt, they departed withoute concluding any agreement, ſo that King Philip hauing gotte by thys meanes a good occaſion to further his enterpryſes, with all hys whole puiſſaunce entred into Mayne, where hee deſtroyed a greate part of that Countrey, and approched to the Citie of Mauns, where Kyng Henrie as then laye, in purpoſe to beſiege it. But King Henrye beeyng warned of his comming ſet the Suburbes on fyre, bycauſe hys enimyes ſhould haue no ſuccour in them. Howe be it the flame of the fyre was by force of the winde dryuen ſo directly into the Citie, that what with heate and aſſault of the enimie, the King beeing withoute any ſtore of Souldiers to defende it longer, was conſtrayned to forſake it.

The word
king Henr
his diſplea
towards Ea
Richarde.

Heerewyth hee was ſo amoued, that in departing from the Citie, he ſayde theſe wordes of his Sonne Rycharde to himſelfe: Sith thou haſt taken from mee thys daye the thing that I moſt loued in this Worlde, I ſhall acquite thee, for after this daye, I ſhall depriue thee of that thing which in me ſhoulde moſt pleaſe thee, that is to meane, mine heart.

Mauns yel
to the Fren
king.
VVil. Par

Being thus dryuen to leaue the defaced Citie of Mauns, he repayred vnto Chinon, and the Citizens of Mauns beeing lefte deſtitute of ayde, yeelded themſelues to the Frenche King, who taking a greate pryde in his doings for that victorie paſſed ouer Loyre, and wanne the Citie of Towrs, wherein hee placed a garniſon, and ſo hauing ſpedde hys buſineſſe wyth good ſucceſſe, bringeth home hys armie laden wyth prayes and booties.

Polidor.

The Earle of Flaunders ſeeketh to agree the Parties.
Mat. Paris.

A peace con
cluded.

Thirty tho
ſand to the
king and .xx.
to the Baron
of France, h
Ger. Lo.

King Henrie beeing thus put to the worſe, and not perceyuing anye readie meane howe to recouer his loſſes, beganne to deſpayre in hymſelfe, and therefore of neceſſitie thought it beſt to ſeeke for peace, but hys ſuyte was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not graunt to agree vpon any reaſonable conditions. At the laſt Philip the Earle of Flaunders, and William Archbiſhoppe of Reymes, with Hugh Duke of Burgoyne, came to king Henrie to moue wayes of agreement, and to conclude the ſame betwixte hym on the one partie, and the French King and Earle Richarde on the other parte. Earle Richarde had the Brytaynes and them of Poictou confederate wyth him, vnder ſuch conditions, as hee myght not agree with his father, without that they mighte bee compryſed in the agreemente. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogither aduauntageable to the King of Englande, yet in the ende, Chateau Raoul was reſtored to king Henrye wyth all that had beene taken from him ſithe the tyme that the Frenche king and hee tooke vppon them the Croſſe: On the other part King Henrye did homage to the Frenche King whiche in the beginning of thys warre he hadde ſurrendred and renounced. He was bounde alſo to paye to the Frenche King twentie thouſande Markes for the ayde whiche Earle Rycharde had receyued of him. Moreouer to reſigne and acquite vnto the Frenche King, all that whiche eyther he or hys predeceſſours helde or poſſeſſed within Auergne.

Other Articles there were which king Henry agreed vnto ſore agaynſt hys will, as the delyuery of the Ladie Alice or Adela, and ſuche other, which (as not muche materiall) wee paſſe ouer.

g. Houed.
Gifors ſaith
r. Do.

This peace was concluded not farre from Towrs, in a place appoynted conuenient for both the Kings to meete in, aboute the feaſt of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule. And as writers recorde, there chaunced great thunder and lightning at the very tyme when the two kings came to enterview and talke togither, ſo that the leit bolt light betwixt them two. And yet notwythſtanding ſuche thunder and lightning, the ayre was cleare and nothing troubled.

range thun-
r and light-
g.

The two Kings departed in ſunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chaunce happened, greatly to the terrour of them both. Which moued King Henrie the ſooner to condiſcende to the agreement.

Moreouer this is not to bee forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongſt them, King Henrie requyred to haue all theyr names delyuered vnto him in wryting, which had promiſed to take part (& were ioined as confederates) with the French king and Erle Richard. This was graunted, and when the rolle was preſented vnto him, he founde his ſon John the firſt perſon that was named in that regiſter, wherewith he was ſo troubled, and diſquieted in his mynde, that comming to Chinon hee felte ſuch griefe hereof, that hee curſed euen the verye day in whiche he was borne, and as was ſayde, gaue to hys ſonnes Gods curſſe and hys, the whiche hee woulde neuer releaſe, although he was admoniſhed to do it both of ſundry Biſhops and other religious and godly men. Thus hath Houeden.

Howbeit it is not like that Earle Richarde at this tyme had procured hys brother John to bee confederate with hym in hys rebellious dealings, but rather bycauſe Earle Rycharde had ſome ſuſpition, leaſte his father woulde make John hys heyre and ſucceſſour in the kingdome, it might bee a pollicie wrought by the Frenche king and Earle Richarde, to alienate his fathers minde from the ſayd John.

King Henrie departeth this life.

These euils were eſteemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iuſt iudgement of God, for that being admoniſhed dyuerſe wayes, as well by diuine Reuelation, as by the wholeſome aduiſe of graue menne, as Hugh Biſhoppe of Lincolne and others, hee woulde not reforme hys lycentious appetyte of heaping vppe ſinne vpon ſinne, but ſtyll wallowed therein to his owne deſtruction. Whervpon beeing brought to ſuche an extremitie as ye haue heard, hee was taken with a grieuous ſickeneſſe, which bringing him to vtter deſperation of recouering of health, he finally departed this lyfe (though more through verie anguiſhe and griefe of hys late loſſe and troubles ſuſteyned, than by the force of hys bodily diſeaſe, (as wryters haue affyrmed.) But howſoeuer it was, he ended nowe his life the ſixth of July in the .lxj. yeare of his age, and after he had raigned .xxxiiij. yeares, nine Monethes, and two dayes, whiche was in the yeare after the byrth of oure Sauiour. 1189. and of the creation of the Worlde. 5155.

And here may be thought, that the raigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England tooke ende a hundred .xxij. yeares after the comming in of the Conquerour, for thoſe that raigned after this Henrie the ſeconde, wee may rightly eſteeme them to bee Engliſhe men, bycauſe they were borne in Englande, and vſed the Engliſh tongue, cuſtomes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the Countrey. His bodie was buryed at Founteuerarde, whiche is an Abbey ſituate not farre from the Towne of the Eagle wythin the Duchie of Alancon.

His ſurname whereof it came.

Immediately vpon his death, thoſe that were about him applyed theyr market ſo buſily in catching and filching awaye things that lay readie for them, that the kings corps lay naked a long time, tyll a childe couered the nether partes of his bodie with a ſhort Cloke, and then it ſeemed that his ſurname was fulfilled that hee had from hys childhood, which was ſhortmantell, being ſo called, bycauſe hee was the firſt that brought ſhorte clokes out of Aniow into England.

As his ſonne Richarde mette the corpſe going towardes the buryall, ſodainly there iſſued bloud oute of the deade bodyes Noſthrilles, whiche was taken for a ſignification that it abhorred the preſence of ſo wicked a Sonne, whiche in hys lyfe tyme hadde ſo perſecuted the father.

A ſtraunge maner of fight betwixt fiſhes.

His death was ſignified by a marueylous ſtraunge wonder, for a fewe dayes before hee dyed, all the fiſhes in a certayne Meere or Poole in Normandie, leapt forth on lande in the nighte ſeaſon, and fought togyther with ſuche a noyſe, that a great multitude of men came running thither to beholde the wonder, and coulde not finde one fiſhe aliue in the Meere.

The iſſue of Henrie the ſeconde.
His ſonnes.
His daughters.

He had iſſue by hys wyfe Queene Elenor, (as may appeare by that whiche alreadie is rehearſed) foure ſonnes, Henrye, Rycharde, Geffrey, and John, beſides two other that died yong, (as ſome Authours haue recorded:) Alſo three daughters, Mawde, maryed vnto Henrie the Duke of Saxonie, Elenor the wyfe of Alfonſo the eight of that name, king of Caſtil, and Joane gyuen in maryage vnto William king of Sicille. He had alſo two baſtarde ſonnes

His baſe ſonnes

by a concubine, the one named William, and the other Geffray.

The conſtitution of his bodie.

Hee was of bodie fleſhie and ſtrong, and coulde abide very paciently the diſpleaſures both of colde and heate, he had a large heade, a broade breaſt, a broken voyce, and was furthermore verye ſpare of diet, chiefely bycauſe he would not be too fatte: and therefore when he was at quiet without anye trouble of warres, he woulde exerciſe himſelfe in hunting or trauayling abroade.

His ſtature.

He was of a good ſtature and verie well fourmed, of a comely countenaunce, partly redde heared wyth gray eyes, of wit quick, and of a perfite good memorie, ſo that he woulde long remember thoſe things whiche he had either read, hearde, or ſeene.

His qualities and conditions of minde.

Hee was ſtoute of ſtomacke, and more conſtant in tyme of aduerſitie than in tyme of proſperitie, except at the tyme of hys death, when beeing deſtitute in maner of all his friendes, hee ſhewed himſelfe almoſte in diſpayre. Hee was liberall towardes all men, oftentymes gyuing rewardes to his ſouldiers ouer and beſides theyr wages.

Radulphus de Diceto.

Moreouer, of nature hee was pitifull towardes the poore, as it well appeared by diuerſe his charitable deedes: as for example. When in the yeare .1176. there was a greate dearth and ſcarcitie of bread in the partyes of Anioy and Mayne, hee fedde euery day with ſufficient ſuſtenaunce tenne thouſande perſons, from the beginning of Aprill, till the time that newe corne was inned, and what prouiſion ſoeuer was layde vp in Garners, Cellers, and ſtore houſes, for the kings neceſſarie vſes, he cauſed the ſame to be imployed towardes the reliefe of religious houſes, and poore people. Hee tooke of his ſubiectes but ſeldome tymes any great trybutes. He was very expert in feates of warre, and righte fortunate therein. He prayſed his Captaynes and men of warre when they were deade, and lamented their loſſes more than hee ſhewed to loue them when they were aliue. And this did he of pollicie, that they might vnderſtande that they ſhoulde be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the leſſe. He was ſomewhat learned, and alſo knowne to be wiſe.

Radulphus de Diceto.

His care to haue iuſtice duly miniſtred in hys Realme was exceeding greate, in ſo muche that finding how the Sherifes were rather inclyned to ſeeke theyr owne gayne, than to deale vprightly with his ſubiectes, hee appoynted other officers to haue a regarde to their doings, as if they had beene comptrollers, that they knowing howe there were ſuch appoynted to haue an ouerſight in theyr dealings, they might bee the more circumſpect in theyr duties.

He ordeyned alſo puniſhment for hunters in Forreſts and groundes of warren, eyther by fining them, or by impriſonment.

And moreouer hee ordeyned that murtherers ſhoulde ſuffer death by hanging: and ſo for other tranſgreſſors hee appoynted other kindes of puniſhments, as ſome to be condemned to exile, and other to loſſe of lymmes, &c. according to the qualitie of the offence committed. And to haue the lawes duely executed, and iuſtice vprightly miniſtred on all handes, he was ſo carefull that hee tried all orders of menne, in placing them in rounthes of Iuſtices. And laſtly truſting to find among the Cleargie ſuche as woulde not be corrupted with bribes, nor for reſpect of feare or friendſhip decline from right iudgement, he choſe forth the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, & Norwich, to be principall Iuſtices of the Realme, ſo as they might ende and determine al matters except in certain caſes reſerued to the hearing of the Prince himſelfe.

His vices were theſe, as they are remembred. In time of aduerſe fortune no man could ſhewe himſelfe more curteous, gentle, meeke, and promiſing more largely than he woulde. But when fortune once began to ſmile, no man was more ſharpe, harde to deale with, nor more readie to breake his promiſe and fayth. He was alſo noted partly with couetouſneſſe. For although he was liberall towards ſouldiers & ſtraungers, yet was he ſtraite ynough towards his owne people, and namely towards his ſonnes, which cauſed them to eſtraunge themſelues and their good willes from him. He was not ſo zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuate commoditie.

His incon dencie,

He was out of meaſure giuen to fleſhly luſt, and ſatiſfying of his inordinate concupiſcence. For not cõtented with the vſe of his wife, he kept many concubines, but namely he delited moſt in the companie of a pleaſant Damoſell, whome he cleped the Roſe of the world, the cõmon people named hir Roſamond,

Roſamond concubine,

for hir paſſing beautie, properneſſe of perſon, and pleaſant wit, with other amyable qualities, being verily a rare and peereleſſe peece in thoſe dayes. He made for hir an houſe at Woodſtocke in Oxfordſhire, like to a Laberinth, that is to meane, wrought like to a knot in a Gardẽ called a Maze, with ſuche turnings and windings in and out, that no creature might finde hir nor come to hir, except he were inſtructed by the king, or ſuche as were ſecrete with him in that matter. But the common report of the people is, that the Queene finally found hir out by a ſilke threede which the king had drawne forth of hir Chamber with his foote, and dealt with hir in ſuch ſharpe and cruell wiſe, that ſhe lyued not long after. She was buried in the Nunrie of Godſtow beſide Oxforde, with theſe verſes vpon hir tumbe.

Hic iacet in tumulo, Roſa mundi nõ Roſamũda,
Non redolet ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet.

Long

n.Higd.

Long time after the death of this Damoſel, in the ſayde Abbey was ſhewed a cofer, that ſometimes was hirs, of the length of two foote, in the which appeared Gyauntes fighting, ſtertlyng of Beaſts, ſwimming of fiſhes, and flying of foules, ſo liuely, that a man mighte wonder at the fine deuice.

Moreouer, King Henry was noted not to bee ſo fauourable to the liberties and freedomes of the Church as he might haue bin, for beſides the perſecuting of the foreſaid Thomas Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, hee woulde not ſuffer the Legates ſent from the Pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had ſworne that they ſhuld doe nothing preiudiciall to the cuſtomes of hys Kingdome, neyther by preſcribing orders, nor any other manner of acte or meanes. Hee was thought to be negligent in ayding the Chriſtian common wealth in the holy land. For though hee hadde appoynted twice or thrice to goe thither in perſon, yet being letted by light occaſions, he ſtayed at home, and ſente ſmall reliefe thither, though he was earneſtly called vpon for the ſame. Hys eſtimation was ſuch amongſt forraine Princes, that Phillip King of Fraunce beeing newly entred into the gouernemente of that Realme after his fathers deceſſe, committed himſelfe and hys Kingdome to the diſpoſition and order of Kyng Henry, as if he had bin regent of his Realme, and gouernour of his perſon.

s ngligence
aydyng the
riſtians a-
inſt the
racens.

There lyued in the dayes of this King Henry the ſeconde, diuers honorable perſonages & Captaynes of great fame for their approued valiancie and experience in warlike enterpriſes, as Roberte Earle of Leiceſter, Hugh Biger Earle of Northfolke, Reginald Earle of Cornewale, Robert Ferers Earle of Derby, Richard Lacy, Roger Mowbray, Rauſe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun Conneſtable of England, Ranulf Glandeuille, William Veſcy, and Bernard de Balliol. Alſo there flouriſhed in his time heere in thys land, men of ſingular learning in artes and ſciences, as Nicholas Breakeſpeare, Serlo ſurnamed Grammaticus, William Rheualenſis, Adam de Eueſham, Thomas of Munmouth, Adelbertus Leuita, Geruaſius Ciceſtrenſis, Odo Cãtianus, Ealred Rhieuellenſis, Johannes Sariſburienſis, Clemens Lanthonienſis, Walter Daniel, Robert Knought alias Cantus, Roberte Folioth, William Ramſey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremuth, Hugh of Readyng, Richard of Douer, Williã of Peterburgh, Ciercienſis, Bartholmew Iſcanus, and Gilberte de Sempringham with other.

And heere to make an ende with this high and mighty Prince Henry the ſecõd, I haue thought good to make you partaker of an Epitaph, which wee fynde in Mathew Paris and others written of hym as followeth.

An Epitaph of King Henry the ſeconde.

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regnã ſubegi,
Multiplicíq; modo duxq; comeſq; fui,
Cui ſatis ad votum, non eſſent omnia terra
Climata, terra modò ſufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hac penſa, diſcrimina mortis & indè,
Humana ſpecula conditionis habe.
Quod potes inſtanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Tranſit, & incautos mors inopina rapit.

An other.

Tumuli regis ſuperſcriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non ſufficerat orbis,
Res breuis eſt ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

The firſt is thus Engliſhed.

L. M.

Of late King Henry was my name,
which conquerde many a lande,
And diuers Dukedomes did poſſeſſe,
and Earledomes held in hande.
And yet while all the earth could ſcarce,
my greedy mind ſuffice,
Eight foote within the ground now ſerues,
wherein my carcas lyes.
Now thou that readeſt this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that ſerue to ſhew the ſtate,
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Do good then here, foreſlowe no time,
caſt off all worldly cares,
For brittle world full ſoone doth fayle,
and death doth ſtrike vnwares.

The other thus.

L. M.

Small Epitaph now ſerues, to decke
this tombe of ſtately King,
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could ſcarce his minde content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that ſerues now life is ſpente.

An. reg. 1.

1189

RIcharde the firſte of that name, and ſeconde ſonne of Henry the ſecond, beganne hys raigne ouer England the ſixth day of July, in the yeare of oure Lord. 1189. in the ſeuen and thirtith yeare of the Emperour Frederick the firſt, in the eleuenth yere of the raigne of the ſecond Phillip K. of Fraunce, and Kyng William ſurnamed the Lion, as yet liuing in the gouernement of Scotland.

VVil. Par.

This Richard immediatly after the ſolemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made haſt to Rouen, where hee was ioyfully receyued, and proclaymed Duke of Normandy, receyuing the inueſture according to the cuſtome, on the twentith day of July. Then ſtudying to ſet all thyngs in good order on that ſide ẏ Sea, he maketh ſearch where his fathers treaſures were preſerued, and therevppon attached Stephen de Turnham, the whiche was Seneſhall or gouernour (as we may cal him) of Aniou, and committing him to priſon, cõpelled him to make deliuery of all ſuch ſummes of money as he had hidde and layde vp in certaine Caſtels by the commandement of the late Kyng his father. Whileſt he was thus occupied, his brother John commeth to him, whome hee ioyfully welcommeth, & beſides al other things whiche his father had bequeathed vnto him by his teſtamente in Englãd, amounting to ẏ value of four M. lb. of yerely rent, with ẏ Erledome of Morteigne, he procured a mariage for him (being now a Widower) for his further aduauncement with the Lady

Mat. Par.

Stephen de Turnham committed to priſon.

Mat. Paris.
Polidor.

Iſabell, daughter to Robert Erle of Glowceſter, which Erle, had appoynted ẏ ſaid John to be hys heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the Archbiſhop of Canterbury forbad ẏ mariage, bycauſe they were couſins in the thirde degree of conſanguinitie. To Robert Erle of Leiceſter alſo, he reſtored al his lands which had bin taken frõ him, and ſuch perſons as his father had diſinherited, he reſtored lykewiſe to their former rightes & poſſeſſions, howbeit thoſe that had forſaken hys father and taken part with him againſt his ſayde father, he ſeemed now ſo much to miſlike, that hee remoued them vtterly from his preſence, and contrariwiſe preferred ſuch as had continued faythful vnto his father in time of the troubles.

Iſabel daughter to the Erle of Glowceſter, married to John the kings brother. She is named by diuerſe Authors Hauiſia.

Mat. Paris.

Rog. Houed.

At lẽgth, King Richard remembring himſelfe of his mother Queene Eleanor, which had beene ſeparated from the bed of hir huſband for the ſpace of ſixteene yeres, and was as yet deteyned in priſon in Englande, wrote his letters vnto the Rulers of the Realme, commaunding them to ſet hir agayne at libertie, and withall appoynted hir by his letters patẽts, to take vpon hir the whole gouernement of the Kingdome in his abſence. The Queene being thus deliuered, and hauing nowe the chiefe authoritie and rule in hir hands, ſhe rode in progreſſe about the Realme, to ſee ẏ eſtate therof, and as ſhee paſſed frõ place to place, ſhe ſhewed gladſome countenance to the people whereſoeuer ſhe became, doing alſo what ſhe could to pleaſure thẽ, that ſhe might therby win their good willes to hir, and to hir ſonne: but ſpecially remembring

Mat. Paris

The Kings mother ſet at libertie.

by hir late experience and taſt thereof what an irkſome and moſt greeuous thing impriſonment was, ſhe cauſed the iayles to be opened, and forthwith ſet no ſmall number of priſoners at libertie by the way as ſhe paſſed through the coũtreys, according to the verſe of Virgill.

Non ignara mali miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.

Which may be thus engliſhed.

By proofe earſt had of others ill,
Their woe, to eaſe I learne the skill.

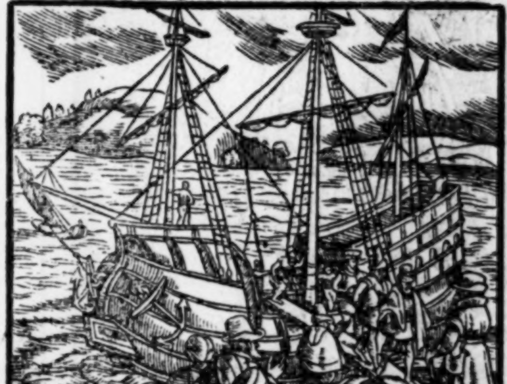
In the meane time, King Richard concluding a league with Phillippe King of Fraunce, receyueth all thoſe places againe which were taken frõ his father by the ſame Phillip, togither with his wife Adela, whom vpon ſuſpition that ſhe had bin diſhoneſted in hir perſon before, without any ſufficient proofe therof had, he forſaketh, & ſendeth hir home with hir dower and otherwiſe with greate and princely giftes, moſt bountifully enriched (hauing already concluded a marriage with the Lady Berengaria, daughter to Garſias Kyng of Nauarre, who was ſente into Sicill vnto hir ſyſter Ioane, that hee mighte marry hir, there as hee paſſed that way toward the holy lande.

e two kings Englãd and nce deter- ne to go in- he holy de.

Southham- the xii.of guſt hath .Dor

.Houed. th. Paris.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed thus in theſe parties, the Chriſtians in the holy land dayly ſent hither for ayde, wherupon the two Kings of Frãce and Englande tooke counſell togither, and determined with all conueniente ſpeede to ioyne theyr powers, and with Shippes prepared for that purpoſe to ſayle into Siria. And hauing thus concluded, they goe about to prepare themſelues of neceſſary prouiſion for ſo long a iourney. King Richard hauing thus ordred his affayres in Normandy and Fraunce, commeth ouer into England, landing at Porteſmouth the thirteenth of Auguſt. With hym alſo came his brother Iohn, vnto whome hee aſſigned the Caſtels of Marlebridge, Lutegareſhal, Peake, Bolleſour, the honor of Walingford, Tikehill and Eye, with the Erledomes of Mortaigne, Dorſet, Somerſet, Notingham, Derby, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, with the Earledome of Lancaſter, entitling hym Earle of the ſame, whereby hee was ſo exalted in ſtate and degree, that hee ſeemed in manner of a Tetrarke, hauing as it were a fourth part of the Realme in gouernaunce: but yet the Kyng helde ſome of the Caſtels (in thoſe Counties and honors thus giuen to his brother) in his own hands.



Moreouer, vnto William Marſhall he gaue in marriage the daughter of Richard Erle of Chepſtow, togither with the Earledome which hir father poſſeſſed, and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the ſon of Ranfrey, he gaue the daughter of William de Loncaſter.

After he was landed as before ye haue heard, he haſted to Wincheſter, where his mother Queene Eleanor, with the moſt part of the Engliſh nobilite, hadde layne a good ſpace to attende his comming, and there on the euen of the aſſumption of our Lady, the King was by them receyued with great ioy and triumph.

His fathers treaſure.

Rog. Houedẽ. Gau. Vinſaf. Nic. Triuet.

The ſeconde of September hath Geruaſi.

The order of his Coronatiõ Mat. Par.

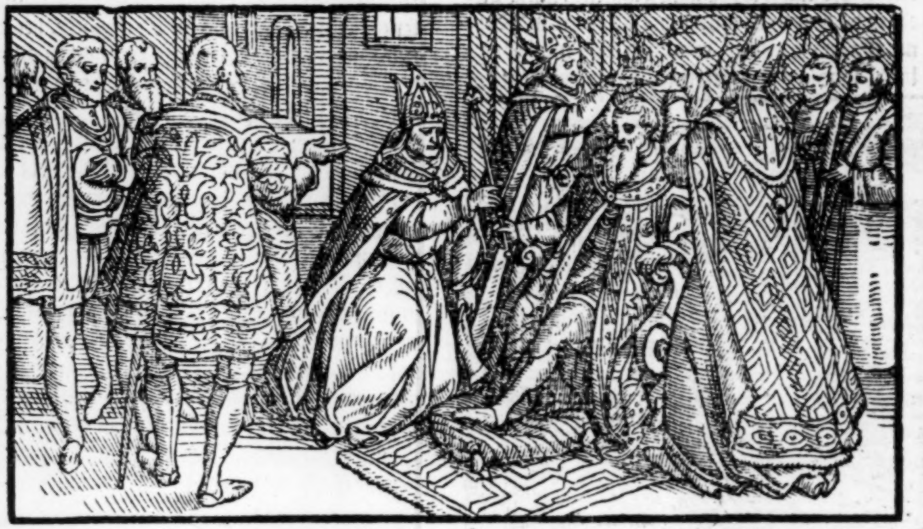
Heere is to bee noted, that whileſt the Queene and Lordes lay in Wincheſter wayting for the Kings arriuall, Geffrey Riddle the Biſhop of Ely departed this life. Hee is named by Geruaſius Dorobernenſis the proude Biſhop of Ely: but hee might rather haue named him the rich Biſhoppe, for he left in his cofers no ſmall quantitie of treaſure, of the which three thouſand and two hũdred marks, came to the Kings part towards the charges of his coronation. It is no maruell although Geruaſius ſpake ſomewhat in his diſpraiſe: for as he himſelfe confeſſeth, he was no friend but an enemie to Monkes. But to let this paſſe, ſoone after the Kings comming into Englande, hee was enformed that the Welchmẽ had broken into the Engliſh marches, and deſtroyed certain townes, to repreſſe whoſe preſumptuous attẽptes he made towards them, but was yet ſtayed for that tyme, and reuoked by his mother. At Saliſburie he foũd his fathers treaſure, highly reioycing for that the ſumme was farre greater than he thought it wold haue proued, beſides the precious ſtones, apparell, and iewels. It was reported he hadde here the ſumme of nine hundred thouſand poundes in ready Coyne. With this good happe, King Richard not a little aduaunced, came to London on yͤ firſt of September, where he had appoynted prouiſion to be made for his Coronation, and ſo calling a Counſell of the Nobles of the Realme, he receyued the Crowne with all due and accuſtomed ſolemnitie, by the handes of Baldwin the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the thirde daye of September. After this manner, firſt the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury, Roan, Trier, and Dublin, whych were preſent, with all the other Biſhops, Abbots and Cleargie, apparelled in rich Coapes, and hauing the Croſſe, holy water and Cenſures carried afore them, came to fetch him vnto the dore of his priuie chamber, and there receyuing him, they led him vnto yͤ Church at Weſtminſter, till he came before the high aulter with a ſolemne proceſſion. In the middle of the Biſhops and Cleargie went four Barons, bearing Candleſtickes with tapers, after whome came Geffrey de Lucy bearing the cappe of maintenance, and Iohn Marſhall next to him, bearing a paire of ſpurres of golde, greate and maſſiue, then followed William Marſhall Earle of Striguill, alias Pembroke, who bare the regall Scepter, in the toppe whereof was ſette a croſſe of golde: and William de Patrice Earle of Saliſbury going next him, bare yͤ warder or rod, hauing on the top therof a doue. Then came three other Earles, Dauid brother to yͤ K. of Scottes, Earle of Huntington, Iohn the Kings brother Earle of Mortaing, and Roberte Earle of Leiceſter, each of them bearing a ſword vpright in hys hand with the ſcabberdes richly trimmed, and adorned with golde. The Erle of Mortaing went in the middeſt betwixt the other two. After them followed ſixe Earles & Barons, bearing a Checker table, vpō the which was ſet the Kings Scochens of armes, and then folowed William Mādeuill Earle of Albemarle, bearing a Crowne of golde a greate height before the K. who followed the ſame, hauing Hugh Biſhop of Durham on the right hand, and Reginald Biſhop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a Canapie was borne, and in this order he came into the Churche at Weſtminſter, where before the high Aulter in the preſence of the Cleargie, and the people, laying hys hande vpon the holy Euangeliſtes and the relikes of certaine Sainctes, he tooke a ſolemne oth, that hee ſhoulde obſerue all the dayes of his life, peace, honoure, and reuerence to almighty God, to hys Churche, and to the miniſters of the ſame. Alſo yͭ he ſhould exerciſe vpright iuſtice to the people cōmitted to his charge. and that he ſhould abrogate and diſanull all euil lawes & wrongful cuſtomes, if any were to be found within the precinct of thys Realme, and mainteyne thoſe that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his garmentes from the middle vpwards, his ſhirt excepted, whiche was open on the ſhoulders, that he myght bee annoynted. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury annoynted him then in three places, that is to wit, on the head, on the ſhoulders, & on the right arme, with prayers in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. After thys, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and ſet his cappe aloft thereon, and then when he had put on his royall garmentes and vppermoſt robe, the Archbiſhop tooke to him the ſword wherwith hee ſhoulde beate downe the enimies of the Church: which done, two Earles put his ſhowes vppon his feete, and hauing his mantell putte on him, the Archbiſhop forbad him on the behalfe of Almighty God, not to preſume to take vpon hym this dignitie, except hee faithfully meante to performe thoſe things whiche he had there ſworne to performe. Wherunto the K. made aunſwere, that by Gods grace he woulde performe them. Then the King tooke the Crowne beſide the Aulter, and deliuered it to the Archbiſhop, the which he ſet vpon the Kings head, deliuering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hande, and the rod Royall in his left hand. and thus being Crowned, he was brought backe by the Biſhops and Barons, with the Croſſe and Candleſtickes, and three ſwordes paſſing forth before him vnto his ſeate. Whē the Biſhop that ſang the Maſſe came to the offertory, yͤ two Biſhops that brought him to the Churche, led him to the Aulter, and brought him backe againe. Finally when Maſſe was done, and all things ended in order as was requiſite. hee was brought with ſolemne Proceſſion into his chamber, where he put off his heauie rich apparell, and

put on

Rog. Houe.

Rog. Houedē.

His oth



put on a Crowne and other garments more lighter and eaſie, and ſo went to dinner, whereat wanted no ſtore of meates and drinkes, whiche were ſerued forth in moſt princely and bountifull wiſe.

rri. Parum.

he Iewes
eant to pre-
nt him with
rich gifte.

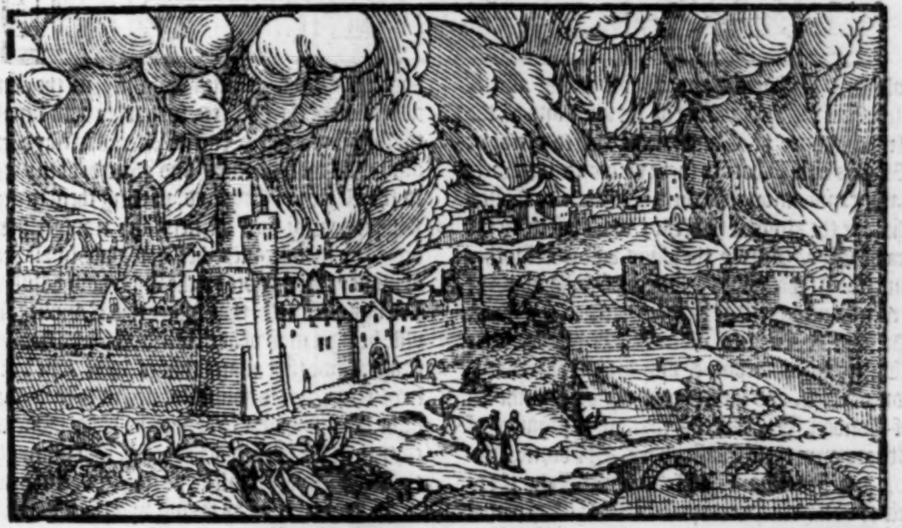
ath. Paris.

Vpon this day of King Richards Coronatiō, the Iewes yͤ dwelt in Londō and in other parties of the Realm, being there aſſembled, had but ſory hap, as it chanced, for they meaning to honor the ſame Coronation with their preſence, and to preſent to the K. ſome honorable gift, whereby they might declare themſelues glad for his aduauncement, and procure his friendſhip toward them, for the confirming of their priuiledges and liberties, according to the grauntes and charters made to them by the former Kings, King Richard of a zelous minde to Chriſtes Religion, abhorring their nation (and doubting ſome ſorcerie by them to be practiſed) commaunded that they ſhould not come within the Church when he ſhould receyue the Crowne, nor within the Palace whileſt hee was at dinner. But at dinner time, among other that preſſed in at the Palace gate, diuers of the Iewes were about to thruſt in, till one of them was ſtriken by a Chriſtiā, who alledging yͤ kings commaundement, kept them backe from cōming within the Palace, which ſome of the vnruly people perceyuing, and ſuppoſing it had bin done by yͤ kings commaundement, tooke lightly occaſion hereof, and falling vpon the Iewes with ſtaues, battes and ſtones, beate them and chaſed them home to their houſes and lodgings. Herewith roſe a rumor through the Citie, that the K. had commaunded the Iewes to be deſtroyed, and therevppon came running togither, to aſſault them in their houſes, whiche when they coulde not eaſily breake vp nor enter by reaſon yͤ ſame were ſtrōgly builded. they ſet fire on thē, ſo that diuers houſes were conſumed, not only of the Iewes, but alſo of their neighbours, ſo hideous was the rage of the fire.

A Iew ſtriken.

The people fall vpon the Iewes and beate them.

Their houſes are ſet on fire.



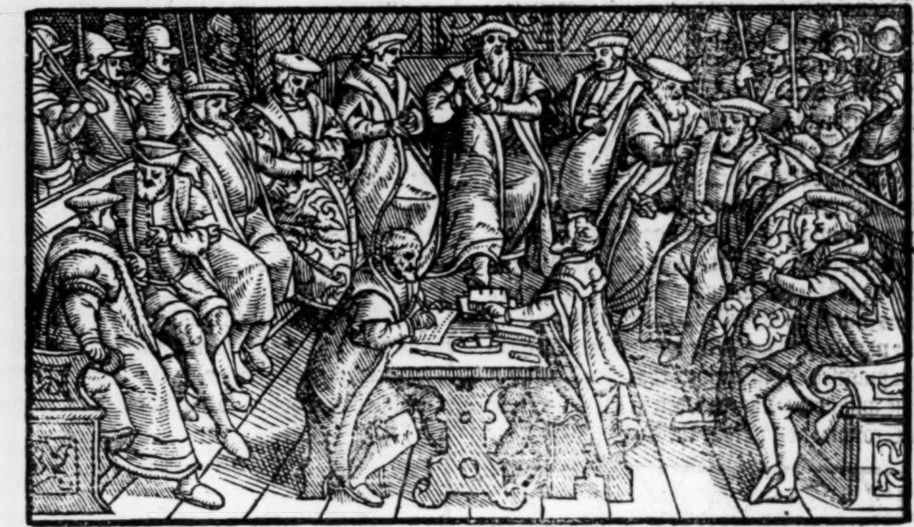
ewes brent
o death.

The K. being aduertiſed of this riotous attēpt of the outragious people, ſent ſome of his Counſellours, as Rauſe de Glaunduile Lord Iuſtice, and other officers to appeaſe the tumulte: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their perſwaſions any thing heeded, but their threatnings rather brought themſelues in daunger of lyfe among the rude ſorte of thoſe that were about to ſpoyle, robbe, and ſacke the houſes and ſhoppes of the Iewes, to the better accompliſhment of which their vnlawfull acte, the light that the fire of thoſe houſes that brēned, gaue after it was once night, did miniſter no ſmall help and occaſion of furtherance. The Iewes that were in thoſe houſes that were ſet on fire, were either ſmoldred and brenned to deathe within, or elſe at their comming forthe moſt cruelly receiued vpon the poyntes of ſpeares, billes, ſwordes ⁊ gleaues of their aduerſaries that watched for them very diligētly. This wood rage of the furious and diſordred people, continued frō the middeſt of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other, the commons all that while neuer ceaſſing their fury againſt yͤ nation, but ſtil killing thē as they met with any of them, in moſt horrible, raſh ⁊ vnreaſonable maner. At length, rather weried with their cruell doings, than ſatiſfied with ſpoyle, or moued with reſpect of reaſon or reuerēce of their Prince, they withdrewe themſelues from their riotous enterpriſe after they had executed many vnlawfull ⁊ horrible enormities. ſo great a riot wel deſerued ſore ⁊ greeuous puniſhment, but yet it paſſed ouer without correction, in reſpect of the great number of the trāſgreſſors, and for that the moſt part of mē for the hatred generally cōceiued againſt obſtinate frowardnes of yͤ Iewes, liked yͤ doings hereof well ynough, interpriting it to be a good token yͤ the ioyfull day of yͤ kings aduancemēt to yͤ Crown ſhuld be doleful to the Iewes in bringing them than to ſuch ſlaughter and deſtruction.

Finally, after that the tumult was ceaſſed, the King commaunded that no man ſhould hurte or harme any of the Jewes, and ſo they were reſtored to peace after they had ſuſteyned infinite domage.

A Counſell
Pipewell.

Shortly after, to witte, the fifteenth daye of September, a Counſell was holden at Pipewell,



where the Biſhoppes and Abbots beeing aſſembled, there were in preſence of the king and of the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye elected certayne Biſhops and Abbots to ſuche places as then were vacant: and amongeſt other, William de Longchampe the kings Chancellor was elected to the ſea of Elye, Geffrey the kings baſtarde brother vnto the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke, who was the xxxij. in number that hadde gouerned the ſame, Geffreye de Lucy to Winchester, one Huberte Walter to Saliſburye, and Richard Archdeacon of Elye, and the kings Treaſorer to the ſea of London. The Abbeys that were prouided of Abbots were theſe, Glaſtenbury, Shirborne, Perſore and Feuerſham. In lyke maner, John the elect of Whiterne, was conſecrated Biſhop of that ſea by the handes of the Archbiſhop of Dublyn. Alſo in this Councell the kyng ordeyned Hughe Biſhop of Durham, and William Mandeville Earle of Albemarle, Lord chiefe Juſtices of England, hauing depoſed Ranulf de Glanuille from that roomth.

VVi. Paruus.

The Biſhop of Whiterne conſecrate.

Rog. Houed.

Moreouer, the king being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of the kingdome did not forget his iorney which he had promiſed into the holy land, but with all diligence made his prouiſion, and namely he ſought to gather money to furniſh his charges, and ſo thereupon leuied a taxe, engaged, ſold, and let to ferme his lāds, his tolles, his cuſtomes, and other his reuenewes, with certayne counties and offices, ſo that he made an exceeding ſumme of money.

Math. Paris.

He alſo found, that Ranulfe de Glanuile Lord chiefe Juſtice, and other of the head magiſtrates had not borne themſelues vprightly in the adminiſtration of their offices, ſo that hee both depoſed the ſayd Lord chiefe Juſtice as is aforeſayd, and almoſt all the Sheriffes and their deputies within the Realm of England, putting them to greeuous fynes for their offences and tranſgreſſions, and ſo by that meanes hee gotte no ſmall deale of money. Heere note by the way, how William Paruus affirmeth, that where this Ranulfe Glāuille being a man of high wiſedome and ſtept into age, ſawe that many things were done by the new King, not ſo aduiſedly, nor with ſuche foreſight, as they ought to be, ſought of his owne accord to be diſcharged of his office, that he myghte the better prepare himſelfe to goe in that iourney to the holy land, as by taking vpon him the croſſe he had vowed in the dayes of King Henry, and ſo he ſolemnly renounced his office, which other nothing ſo worthie of, it did afterwards enioy.

VVil. Pa.

Moreouer, the King vnderſtāding that Hugh Putſey or Pudſey Biſhop of Durham, beeyng a very aged man, had muche money, he ſold to hym the manor of Seggeſfielde or Sadberg, with the wapentake belonging to the ſame, and alſo found meanes, to perſwade him to buy his owne Prouince, which he did, giuing to the King an ineſtimable ſumme of money, and was therevpon created an Erle by the King for the ſame: wherevpon he was entitled both Biſhoppe and Earle of Durham, whereat the Kyng woulde ieſt afterwards and ſay, what a cunning craftes man am I, that haue made a newe Earle of an olde Byſhoppe.

The Biſhop of Durham.
Sadberge.
The Biſhop Durham an Earle.

Moreouer, the ſame Biſhop gaue to the kyng a thouſande markes to be made chiefe Iuſtice of England, and that he mighte tarry at home, and not goe into the holy land, and bycauſe he would not be reproued of any perſon, he obteyned of the Apoſtolike See (whiche fayleth no man that is ſurcharged with white or red mettall, and would be eaſed) a licence for a ſumme of money to be diſpenſed with for that iourney. The King thus beeyng earneſtly about to make chieuaunce of thoſe things, for the which he might get any money at all, the Citizens of London preſented vnto him a greate ſumme towardes the furniſhyng forth of his enterpriſe. Wherevpon the Kyng to acquite their courteſie, graunted them large priuileges, and ordeyned that the Citie ſhoulde bee ruled by two head officers, which they ſhould chooſe amongſt themſelues remoueable from yeare to yeare by the name of Baylifes. The names of the two firſte Baylifes choſen by force of that ordynance, were Henry Cornehill, and Richard Fitz Reyner.

e citezens London pre t money to king.

lidor.

berties gran to London

o bayliffs.

The Citie before thoſe dayes euer ſith the comming in of William Cōquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certayne officers or rulers named Port Greues (whiche worde is deriued of two Saxon wordes, as Porte & Greue, Port is as much to meane as a towne, and Greue a gardeyne or a ruler, as who ſhoulde ſay a keeper or a ruler of a Towne.) Theſe rulers with the lawes and cuſtomes then vſed within this Citie in olde time, were regiſtred in a booke called (as ſome haue ſayd) domeſday, but through negligence after theſe lawes and cuſtomes were chaunged and altred, the booke was loſt, ſo that the remembraunce of ſuche rulers as were before the dayes of this Richarde the firſte, are not to bee had.

rte greues.

Theſe Baylifes euer entred at Michalmas, and ſo continued forth their yeare.

Thus began the citie nowe firſt to receyue the forme and ſtate of a common wealthe, and to bee deuided into felowſhippes whych they cal craftes. Such alſo are admitted to the felowſhips of theſe companies, as haue truely ſerued as apprentices a certaine number of yeares, as ſeauen at the leaſt, vnder which time of ſeruice expired, there is none made free, nor ſuffred to enioy the liberties of that Citie, ſauing ſuch as are borne free, that is to ſay, of freemen within the Citie, of whome at thys time, it is not muche materiall to make any further report.

prentices.

men.

The Citie thus conſiſting of the ſayd craftes, chooſeth out of the ſame a Senate or company of graue councellors, whome they name Aldermen, the. E. changed into. A. according to the olde Saxon pronunciation. It is alſo deuided into. 26. tribes or wardes, of the whiche euery one hath his ſeueral Alderman, or ouerſeer, who haue both authoritie ſufficiente, and large priuileges to maintayne the good gouernement of their portions withall.

ardes.

Out of the number of theſe, there is another officer yearely choſen and appoynted, called the Maior, who ruleth all the reſt.

The Maior.

But now to returne vnto the further doings of K. Richard before his departure out of England towards his iourney into the lande of Paleſtine, commonly called holy lād, it is ſaid, he made ſuch ſales of things apperteyning to hym, as well in right of the Crowne, as otherwiſe, that it ſeemed to diuers, how he made his reconing neuer to returne againe, in ſo much, that ſome of his Councellors told him playnely, that hee did not well in ſetting things away ſo freely, to the diſhonoryng of his maieſtie, and preiudice of his ſucceſſor, vnto whome hee aunſwered, that in time of neede it was no euill policie for a man to helpe himſelfe with his owne, and further ioyned heere to theſe wordes that if Londō at that time of neede would be bought, he would ſurely ſel it if he might meete with a cōueniēt Marchant that were able to gyue him money inough for it. Another way he hadde alſo to gather riches, and that was this. He hadde a licence of Pope innocente the thirde to diſpence with ſuche as pleaſed him within his Realme, for their vowes made to goe into the holy lande, although they hadde taken on them the Croſſe for that purpoſe, namely ſuch as he ſhould appoint to remayne behynd him for the defence of his countrey: and of theſe alſo hee tooke abundantly, and dyuers other hee compelled to fyne, namely, to the ende that hee mighte get theyr money likewiſe, that hereby, hee obteyned no ſmall ſumme towarde the furniture of his iourney.

King Richard ſetteth things things on ſale.

Ran. Higd.

VVil. Par.

Thys yeare alſo in the moneth of Nouember, as Mathewe Paris hathe, Iohannes de Anagnia a Cardinall and Legate from the Pope arriued heere in Englande, commyng a land at

Douer, and bycauſe the King was as then in the North parts, the ſame Cardinall was prohibited on the behalfe of the Kings mother Queene Eleanor, to paſſe any further without the Kyngs commaundement. And ſo he ſtayed there thirtene dayes at the charges of the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, till the King came into thoſe parties, by whoſe wiſedome, a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuerſie betwixt the Archbyſhoppe, and the Monkes of Caunterbury for the Chappell Church of Hakinton now called Saint Stephens.

Rog. H

In the ſame moneth of Nouember, by yͤ kings appoyntmente, the electe of Yorke Geffrey that was the Kings brother, with other Barons and Lords of Yorkſhire, receyued William Kyng of Scotlande at the water of Tweede, and from thence with all due reuerence and honor, they broughte hym vnto Caunterbury, where the King had called a Counſell of the Lordes of hys Realme both ſpirituall and temporall, in the whiche, euery of them toke an othe to be true to the Kyng, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, whiche othe alſo the Kyng of Scottes receyued, being there preſente, and lykewiſe King Richardes brethren Earle John and Geffrey the Archbyſhop of Yorke.

Willi
of Scots

A Coun
called at
Cauntu

Polidor.
An othe.
Mat. Par.

Math. Paris.
Polidor.

The Kyng of Scottes therefore hauyng receyued this othe, and thynkyng the tyme to ſerue hys purpoſe for redeemyng of thoſe Caſtels whiche were deliuered to King Henry as guages for his raunſome, payde now vnto Kyng Rycharde tenne thouſand markes, and hadde reſtitution of the ſame, that is to witte, of Berwike, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus ſayeth, that Edenburgh was reſtored to him in the dayes of King Henry, by reaſon of his wife whiche he toke of the parties of beyonde the Sea: and heerewith agreeth the Scottiſhe Chronicle.

Reſtitution made to the K. of Scottes.
VVil. Par.

Rog. Houed.

Kyng Richarde alſo aſſigned to Queene Eleanor hys mother, the accuſtomed dower, with many Lordſhippes and honors beſide, as an augmentation thereof. About which tyme dyed William de Maundeuille Earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Putſey the nephew of the Biſhoppe of Durham, dyed at Aclet, and was buryed at Durham.

Nic. Tri

Alſo Formalis Archbiſhoppe of Trier dyed at Northampton, and was there buried in the Church of S. Androwes. In the meane tyme, Kyng Richard ſtill deſirous to furniſhe himſelfe of money, deuiſed yet another ſhift, and feigned that hee hadde loſt his ſeale, wherefore hee commaunded a new to be made, which being done, he commaunded it to bee proclaymed and publiſhed in euery countrey, that thoſe to whome hee hadde graunted any thing by his deede or charter, meaning to enioy the ſame in ſuretie, ſhuld not thinke it muche to come and haue it confirmed by his new ſeale, leaſt afterwarde the other beeing loſt, their lawfull titles might be called into queſtion. Whereupon many that could not come to hym whileſt he was in England, were glad to followe him and to ſayle ouer into Normandy, and there to fyne at his pleaſure for the newe ſeale, to the ende that their writings mighte bee confirmed thereby, and made ſo much the more ſure to them and their ſucceſſors. For the ſame buſineſſe alſo, Remigius the Prior of S. Albons, and many other went ouer to their great coſtes, charges, and trauel, after he was tranſported ouer into France.

Mat. Pa

I fynde moreouer, about the ſame tyme that the kings brother Erle John exhibited a ſore cōplainte before the Romaine Legate and other Biſhops,

Biſhops, for that the Archbiſhop of Canterburye after the appeale made vnto the Apoſtolike ſea, had put his landes vnder interdiction for hys mariage made wyth the Earle of Glouceſters daughter: whiche when the Legate hearde, hee forthewith confirmed the appeale, and releaſſed the Earles landes of the aforeſayde interdiction. The ſame tyme alſo, the tenth part of al the mouable goodes thorough the realme of Englande was leuyed to the ayde of the warres in the holy land. And this collection, paſſing vnder the name of an Almes, was extended vpon the goodes as well of the ſpirituall men as temporall.

Hughe biſhop of Durham gouerneth the north partes.

Math. Paris.

VVilliā Longchampe biſhop of Elye.

After all thys, Kyng Richarde deſyrous to ſette order in the gouernemente of his Realme, appoynted Hugh biſhoppe of Durham to haue the rule of the Northe parties as chiefe Iuſtice from Humber northwardes towarde Scotland, delyuering vnto him alſo the keepyng of Wyncheſter Caſtell: the reſidue of the kingdom (with the cuſtodie of the Towre) he aſſigned to the gouernaunce of William Longchampe Biſhop of Elye, whome he had made chiefe Iuſtice of that parte, and Chauncellour of the realme, a man of greet diligence and knowledge in the adminiſtration of thinges, but verie factious and deſyrous of rule, honoure and riches farre aboue all meaſure. And with theſe .ij. biſhops he ioyned in commiſſion Hughe Bardulfe, William Marſhall Earle of Chepſtow, or rather Pembrooke, Geffrey Fitz Peter, and William Brewer, men of great honour, wyſedome, and diſcretion.

Rog. Houed. King Richarde paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

1190. Vadum ſancti Remigii. A league betvvixt the kinges of England and Fraunce.

On the fifth daye of December, he departed from Canterbury, and went to Douer, there to take the water, and ſo on the eleuẽth day of Decẽber, he paſſed ouer vnto Caleys, wher he found Philippe Earle of Flaunders readie to receyue hym, who attended vppon him tyll he came into Normandie, where the kyng helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Burun, & immediately he came to an enterviewe with the French king at Eue S. Remye, where they concluded a peace together, to bee kepte betwixte them and their countreys on eche parte, the whiche was put in writyng, and confirmed with their othes and ſeales in the feaſt of Saincte Hillarye.

Rog. Houede.

And furthermore, aboute the Purification of our Ladye, Eleanor the Queene mother, and the Lady Alice ſiſter to the French kyng, Baldwyne the Archebiſhop of Canterbury, Iohn biſhoppe of Norwiche, Hugh Biſhop of Durham, Geffrey Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter, Reginalde Biſhoppe of Bathe, William Biſhoppe of Elye, Huberte Biſhoppe of Saliſburye, and Hugh Biſhoppe of Cheſter, with Geffreye the electe of Yorke, and Iohn Earle of Mortaigne the kynges two bretherne, by commaundement of the Kyng paſſed ouer into Normandye, to commen with him before his ſetting forwarde.

Contētion betvvixte tvvo ambitious Byſhops.

Some write, that nowe at this preſente, the Kyng ſhoulde ordeyne or rather confirme the Biſhoppe of Elye his Chauncellour to be Lorde chiefe Iuſtice ouer all Englande, and the biſhop of Durham to bee Lorde Iuſtice from Trente Northwardes. But when ſoeuer they were thus aduaunced to ſuche dignities, true it is, that immediatly thervpon ſtryfe and diſcorde did aryſe betwixt them, contending which of them ſhuld beare moſt rule & authoritie, in ſo muche yͭ what ſoeuer ſeemed good to the one, the other miſlyked therof, as in caſes where parteners in authoritie are equall, it often happneth: But thoſe controuerſies are nowe decided, and all matters betweene them, lykely hereafter to moue contention, appeaſed by the king.

Moreouer, at the ſame time he cauſed his two brethren, Earle Iohn, and the Electe Archbiſhop of Yorke Geffrey to take an othe not to returne into England during the terme of .iij. yeres next enſuing, without his conſent & licence firſt had.

Earle Iohn licenced to returne into Englande.

The biſhop of of Elye retorneth.

This he didde, foreſeeing what myghte happen, prouiding as it were agaynſte ſuche practiſes as his brethren might haply attempt againſt him. But yet his mother Queene Eleanor procured him to reuoke that decree immediatly, leaſt it myght ſeeme to the world, that hir ſons ſhould ſtande in feare one of an other. And ſo the Erle of Mortaigne was licenced to returne into England at his pleaſure, ſwearing an othe at his departure to obey the kings pleaſure, and truly to ſerue hym, accordyng to the ductie of a good and loyal ſubiect. The Biſhop of Ely lord Chauncellor and chiefe Iuſtice of Englande was alſo ſent back hyther into this realme, to ſet forward thyngs behouefull for the kings iourney. And in like maner the king ſent to Rome to obteyn that the ſaid biſhop of Ely mighte be conſtituted the Popes Legate through bothe the Prouinces of Canterbury and Yorke, and likewyſe thorough Wales and Ireland. Which was ſoone granted by the bulles of Pope Clement the third, bearing date the .v. of Iune. For the which office the Biſhops gaue him .1500. markes, to the greate offence of the king, as he ſhewed afterward to Cardinal Octauiā, yͭ came to viſit him when he arriued in the riuer of Tyber, being vpon his iorney towards Meſſina, as after may appere. But in yͤ mean time, calling togither yͤ lords & peeres of thoſe his dominions on yͭ ſide the ſea, to wit, Normādie, Britain, Aniou, Poytou, & Guyen, he cōſulteth with them what number of ſoldiors and howe many ſhippes it ſhould bee conuenient for hym to take with hym and furniſhe into Aſia: and herewith he dothe commaunde them alſo to obey Robert Earle of Leyceſter, whome he appointed to remayn amongſt them as his Lieu-

Polidor.

tenant or vicegerent of thoſe parties during his abſence.

But here to leaue king Richard in conſultation for matters apertayning to his iourney, and ſhewe briefly what happened (by the way) to the Iewes, whiche as then dwelt here in Englande, after that king Richarde was paſſed ouer into Normandie.

Wil. Paruus

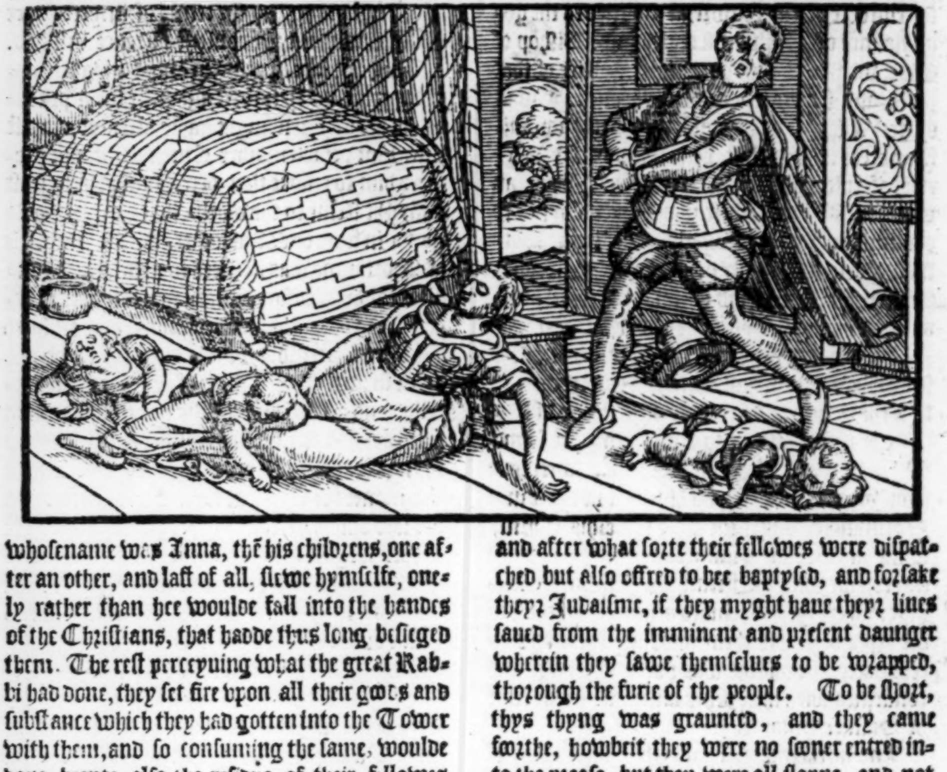
Ye haue hearde alreadie howe after the ryotte committed againſte them at London, when the king was crowned, the king toke order that they ſhould remayn in peace vnder his protection, and commaunded that no perſon ſhoulde in any wiſe moleſt them. But nowe after that he was gone ouer, and that the Souldiours (whiche prepared themſelues to follow him) beganne to aſſemble in routes, the heades of the common people began to waxe wylde, and fayne would they haue had ſome occaſion of reyſing a newe tumulte agaynſt the Iewes, whome (for theyr vnmercyfull vſurye practiſed to the vndoyng of many an honeſt man) they moſte deadly hated, wyſhing moſt earneſtly their expulſion out of Englande.

The hatred borne to the Ievves.

Herevpon by reaſon of a riot committed lately againſt them, at the towne of Linne in Norfolke, where many of them were ſlayne, other people in other partyes of the Realme, takyng occaſion hereof, as if they hadde bin called vp by the ſounde of a bell or Trumpette, aroſe agaynſt them in thoſe Townes, where they had any habitations, and robbed and bet them after a diſordered and moſt riottous manner.

Io. Taxto.

As at Stanforde (on the fayre day in Lente) at Lyncolne, and at Yorke, in whiche Citie after a number of them had bene beſieged certaine dayes within a towre of the kings (whither they fledde for ſuccour) one of their lerned gouernors cauſed foure hundred of their companie to conſente to haue their throates cut one at an others hands, he himſelf cutting his wiues throate firſt, whoſe name was Anna, thẽ his childrens, one after an other, and laſt of all, ſlewe hymſelfe, onely rather than hee woulde fall into the handes of the Chriſtians, that hadde thus long beſieged them. The reſt perceyuing what the great Rabbi had done, they ſet fire vpon all their goods and ſubſtance which they had gotten into the Tower with them, and ſo conſuming the ſame, woulde haue brente alſo the reſidue of their fellowes which would not agree to the Rabbies counſell, in the cruell murthering of themſelues, if they had not taken a ſtrong turret hard by within yͤ tower and defended themſelues both from the fyre, and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaye themſelues in ſuche manner as I haue ſayd: and that to the number of foure hundred, or (as ſome write) fiue hundred at the leaſte.



Fiue hundre
hath Houede
and Taxte

On the morowe, thoſe that were ſaued, called out to the people, and not onely ſhewed how and after what ſorte their fellowes were diſpatched but alſo offred to bee baptyſed, and forſake theyr Iudaiſme, if they myght haue theyr liues ſaued from the imminent and preſent daunger wherein they ſawe themſelues to be wrapped, thorough the furie of the people. To be ſhort, thys thyng was graunted, and they came forthe, howbeit they were no ſooner entred into the preaſe, but they were all ſlayne, and not one man of them preſerued.

The
made
Ievv

After this alſo, the people ranne to the Cathedrall Churche, and broke into thoſe places, where theyr bondes and oblygations laye, by the whyche they hadde dyuers of the Kynges ſubiectes bounde vnto them in moſte vnconſcionable ſorte, and for ſuche deteſtable vſurye, (as if the Authours that wryte therof were not of credite) would hardly be beleeued. All whyche Euydences or bondes they ſolemnely burned in the myddeſt of the Churche. After whyche, eche went his way, the Souldiours to the king, and the commons to their houſes, and ſo was the Citie quieted.

This hapned at Yorke on Palmſunday euen, being the .xvij. of Marche: and vpon the .xv. of that moneth, thoſe that inhabited in the towne of Saint Edmunds Burye in Suffolke, were ſette vppon, and manie of them ſlayne. The reſidue that eſcaped, thorough the procurement of the Abbotte then, named Sampſon, were expulſed, ſo that they neuer had anye dwellings there ſince that tyme.

Thus were the Iewes vnmercyfully dealte with in all places in maner through this realme, the firſt beginning wherof chaunced at London (as before ye haue heard) and the next at Linne, of whiche I thinke it good to note ſome parte of the maner therof, although briefly, and ſo to returne to my purpoſe agayne.

The occaſion therfore of the tumult at Linne chaunced by this meanes: It fortuned that one of the Iewes there, was become a Chriſtian, wherwith thoſe of his nation were ſo moued, that they determined to kill hym whereſoeuer they might find him. And herevpon they ſette vppon him one day as he came by, through the ſtreates: he to eſcape their handes fled to the nexte churche, but his countreymen were ſo deſirous to execute theyr malicious purpoſe, that they followed him ſtill, and enforced themſelues to breake into the Churche vpon him. Heerewith the noyſe beeing rayſed by the Chriſtians that ſoughte to ſaue the conuerted Iewe, a number of mariners beeing forreyners, that were arriued there wyth their veſſells out of ſundrye partes, and dyuerſe alſo of the Towneſmen came to the reſkue, and ſetting vpon the Iewes, cauſed them to flee into their houſes.

The Towneſmen were not verie earneſt in purſuing of them, bicauſe of the kings proclamation and ordinaunce before tyme made in fauour of the Iewes: but the maryners followed them to theyr houſes, ſlewe diuers of them, robbed and ſacked their goods, and finally ſet their dwellings on fyre, and ſo brente them vp altogither.

The ſlaughter made of the Ievves at Lyn.

These Marriners beeing enryched wyth the ſpoyle of the Iewes goodes, and fearyng to bee called to accompte for their vnlawfull acte by the Kinges officers, gotte them forthwith to ſhipborde, and hoyſting vp ſayles, departed with their ſhippes to the ſea, and ſo eſcaped the danger of that whiche might haue bene otherwyſe layde to their charge.

The Townſmen being called to an accompt excuſed them ſelues by the Mariners, burdening them with all the faulte. But though they of Lynne were thus excuſed, yet they of Yorke eſcaped not ſo eaſyly. For the Kyng beyng aduertiſed of ſuche outrage, done contrarie to the order of his Lawes and expreſſe commaundement, wrote ouer to the Biſhop of Elye hys Chauncellour, commaunding him to take cruel puniſhment of the offenders.

The Biſhop with an armye wente to Yorke, but the chiefe authors of the ryot hearyng of his comming, fledde into Scotlande: yet the Biſhop at his comming to the Citie, cauſed earneſt inquirie to bee made of the whole matter.

The citizens excuſed themſelues, and offred to proue, that they were not of counſell with them that had cōmitted the ryot, neither had they ayded nor cōforted thē therin in any maner of wiſe. And in deede the moſt part of thē that were the offenders, were of the countrey townes neere to the citie, with ſuch as were croſſed into the holy land, & now gone ouer to the king, ſo that verie few or none of the ſubſtantiall men of the Citie were founde to haue ioyned with them. Howbeit this woulde not excuſe the Citizens, but that they were put to their fine by the ſayde Biſhop, euery of them paying his portion according to his power and abilitie in ſubſtance, the common ſtate of the poore people being pardoned, and not called into iudgement, ſith the ringleaders were fled and gone out of the way.

The Citizens of Yorke put to their fyne for the ſlaughter of the Ievves.

But now to returne vnto the king, who in this meane time was very buſie to prouide all things neceſſarie to ſet forward on his iourney, his ſhippes whiche laye in the mouthe of the ryuer of Sayne, beyng readie to put off, he tooke order in many poyntes concerning the ſtate of the common wealth on that ſide, and chiefely hee called to mynde, that it ſhould be a thyng neceſſarie for him, to name who ſhuld ſucceede him in the kingdome of Englande, if his chaunce ſhoulde not bee to returne agayne from ſo long and daungerous a iourney. He therfore named (as ſome ſuppoſe) his nephewe Arthure, the ſonne of his brother Geffreye Duke of Britayne, to bee his ſucceſſour in the Kingdome, a yong manne of a lykely proofe and Princely towardneſſe, but not ordeyned by GOD to ſucceede ouer this kingdome.

Mat. VVeſt.

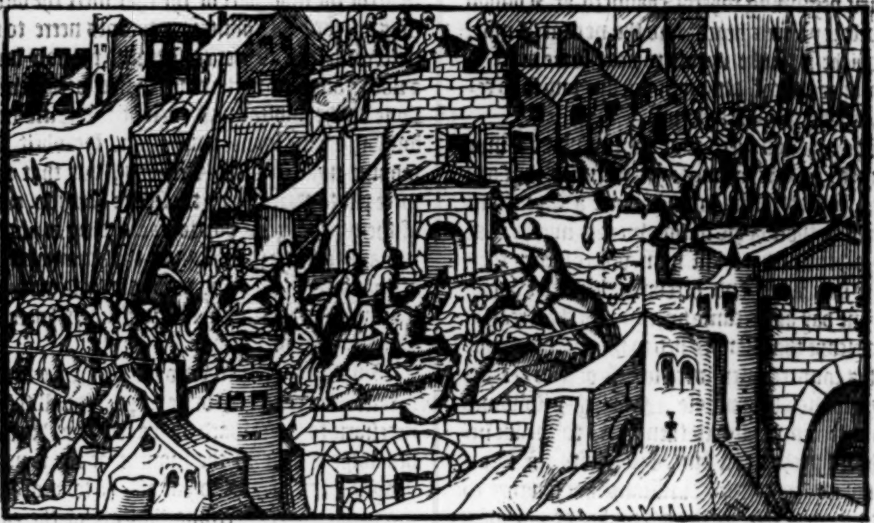
Aboute the ſame tyme the Biſhoppe of Elye, Lorde Chauncellour and chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, tooke vp to the kinges vſe, of euerye citie in England two Palfreys and two Sumpter horſſes, and of euery Abbey one Palfrey, and one Sumpter horſe, and euery Manour within the Realme, founde alſo one Palfreye and one Sumpter horſe.

Moreouer, the ſayde Biſhoppe of Elye deliuered the gouernement of Yorkeſhire to his brother Oſberte de Longechampe: And all thoſe Knyghtes of the ſayd ſhire, the whyche woulde would not come to make aunſwere to the lawe vpon ſommons giuen them, hee cōmaunded to be apprehēded and by & by laid in priſon. Alſo when the Biſhoppe of Durham was returned from the Kyng and come ouer into England to goe vnto his charge, at his meting with the lord Chauncelor at Elie (notwithſtanding that he ſhewed him his letters patentes of the graunt made to him to be Iuſtice from Trent Northwarde) the ſayde Lord Chancellor taking his iourney to Southwell with hym, there deteyned him as priſoner, till he had made ſurrender to him of the Caſtell of Wyndſore, and further had delyuered to him his ſonnes, Henrye de Putſey, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he ſhould keepe the peace agaynſt the king and all his ſubiectes, vntill the ſaid Prince ſhould retourne from the holy lande. And ſo he was deliuered for that tyme, though ſhortly after, and whyleſt hee remayned at Houeden, there came to hym Oſberte de Longchampe the Lord Chancellors brother, & William de Stuteuille, the whiche cauſed the ſayd Biſhop to fynde ſufficient ſuretie that he ſhould not thence departe without the kings licence, or the Lorde Chancellours, ſo long as the king ſhould be abſent.

he Biſhop of
urham re-
rayned of li-
ertie.

Herevpon the Biſhop of Durham ſent knowledge to the kyng howe and in what ſorte he had bin handled by the Chauncellour.

In the meane tyme the king was gone into Gaſcoigne, where he beſieged a Caſtell that belonged to one William de Chiſi, and toke both the Caſtell and the owner, whome he cauſed to be hanged for the ſpoyles and robberies whiche hee had committed vpon Pilgrimes that paſſed by thoſe parties towarde Compoſtella, to viſite the bodie of Saint Iames.



Villiam de
Chiſi.

After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Aniou, and there toke order for the ſettyng forth of his nauie by ſea, ouer which he appointed chiefe gouernours Gerarde Archbiſhop of Aux, Bernard biſhop of Baieux, Robert de Sablius, Richarde de Camuille, and William de Forz de Vlerun, commaundyng all thoſe that ſhoulde paſſe forth with his ſayde nauie to be obediente vnto theſe perſones as his deputies and lieutenauntes.

he kinges na-
ue is ſet foorth

ion.
abrolus,or
abuille.

Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to ſerue all thoſe that ſhoulde goe by ſea for the ſpace of threeſcore dayes, the king alſo made the ſame tyme certaine ordinaunces to be obſerued among the ſeafaring men whiche tended to this effect:

Polidor.

First, that if any man chaunced to ſlea an other on the ſhipbourde, he ſhould be bounde to the dead bodie, and ſo throwne into the ſea: ſecondly if he killed hym a lande, he ſhoulde yet be bounde to him as afore, and ſo buryed quicke together.

Sleers of men.

Thirdly, if any man ſhoulde be conuicted by lawfull witneſſe, that he drewe any weapon to ſtrike any other, or chaunced by ſtrikyng at any man to drawe bloud of him that was ſmitten, he ſhoulde loſe his hand. Fourthly if he gaue but a blowe with his fiſte without bloudſhedding, he ſhould be ſowſed.iij.ſeuerall times ouer head and eares, in the water. Fiftly, if any man reuiled an other, he ſhoulde for euery tyme ſo miſuſing him ſelfe, forfait an vnce of ſiluer. Sixtely, that if any man were taken with theft or pikerie, and thereof conuicted, hee ſhoulde haue his head polled, and hotte pitche powred vppon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of ſome pillowe or Cuiſhion ſhaken alofte, that he myghte therby be knowne for a theef, and at the next arriuall of the ſhippes to any lande, be put for thof the company to ſeke his aduenture, without all hope of returne vnto his fellowes.

Bravvlers.

Puniſhment
bloud draw

Reuilers.

Thefts and p
kerie.

And theſe were the Statutes whyche this famous Prince did enacte at the fyrſte for hys
nauie

Nauie, which ſithens thattime haue bene very much enlarged. About the ſame tyme John Biſhop of Whiterne in Scotlande, Suffragane to the Church of Yorke ordeyned Geffreye Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, Prieſt, and at the ſame ſeaſon the election of ẏ ſame Geffrey was confirmed by Pope Clement, the whiche emong other thinges that he wrote to the Chapiter of Yorke on his behalfe: In the ende he addeth theſe wordes: We doe therefore admoniſhe you all, and by the Apoſtolicall Bulles commaunde you, that you exhibite bothe reuerence and honoure vnto him as vnto your Prelate, that thereby you may appeare commendable bothe before God and man. Yeuen at Latherane the Nones of Marche the third yeare of our gouernement.

xxii. Parum.

Whyleſt theſe thynges were in doing, there came into Fraunce Legates from the ſayde Clemente to moue the two kyngs to make all the ſpeede poſſible towardes their iourney, bycauſe of the greate daunger wherein things ſtode in Paleſtine, requiring preſent helpe. Hereupon K. Richarde (his men and prouiſion being ready) commaunded that his ſhippes ſhuld ſet forwarde, and to coaſte aboute by the ſtreytes of Gibraltere to come vnto Marſeilles, where hee appoynted to meete them, and ſo with a choſen company of men, he alſo ſette forth thitherwardes by lande, and commyng to Tours, receyueth the ſcrippe and ſtaffe, as a Pilgrime ſhoulde, at the handes of the Archbiſhop there.

Polidor.

King Richard ſette forvvard on his iourney.

Rog. Houed.

After this, both the Kings of Englande and Fraunce met at Uizeley in the Octaues of the Natiuitie of Saynt John Baptiſt, and when they had remayned there two dayes they paſſed forth to the Citie of Lyon.

Where the two Kyngs departed in ſunder, and eache one kept his iourney, the one towarde Genes, where his nauie was appoynted to come to him, and the other to Marſeilles, there to meete with his fleete, accordyng to his appoyntement.

Anno. 2.

But the Engliſhe ſhippes being let and ſtayd by the waye by contrary wyndes and rigorous tempeſtes, whiche toſſed them to and fro vppon the coaſtes of Spayne, coulde not come in any conuenient tyme vnto Marſeiles, ſo that king Richarde thinkyng long to tarrie for them, and perceyuing they could not keepe their appoynted tyme, he hired ſhips from al places therabouts, & embarquyng himſelfe and his men in the ſame, vpon S. Laurēce euen, ſailed forth towards Sicile, wher he was apointed to mete wͭ K. Philip.

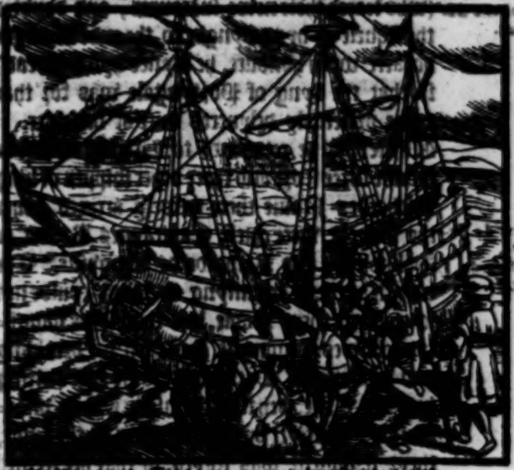
The Engliſhe fleete ſtayd by contrary vvindes.

Tvventie galeys and. xii. other veſſelles hath Houeden.

Vpon the. 7. daye of Auguſt hath Houeden.

Here is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourney from Marſeilles to Meſſina by Sea, but ſundry times comming a lande, hyred Horſes, and rode forth alongſt the coaſt, appoynting with his Shippes and Galleyes where to meete him, and ſometimes hee reſted certayne dayes togither in one place or other, as at Port-Delphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whence there departed from him Baldwine Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, Huberte Biſhop of Saliſburie, and the Lorde Rauulfe de Glanuille, the whyche taking vpon them to goe before, with proſperous wind and weather in ſhort ſpace, landed at Acon, which was the beſieged, as you ſhal hear hereafter.

Rog. Houedē



At Rome the King came not, but being within the ſtreame of the Riuer of Tiber, there came to him a Cardinall named Octauianus, Biſhop of Hoſtia, to whome hee ſpake many reprochfull wordes of the couetouſneſſe vſed in the Courte of Rome, bycauſe they had receyued ſeuen hundred markes for the conſecration of the Biſhoppe of Mauns, and. 1500. markes for the confirming of the Biſhop of Elie the Popes legate: And againe no ſmall ſum of money they had receiued of the Archb. of Burdeaux, when vpon an accuſation brought againſt him by ẏ clergie of his prouince he ſhould haue bin depoſed. In the meane time whyles King Richarde thus paſſeth forwarde towardes Meſſina, the nauie that was appointed to coaſt about Spayne and to meete him at Marſeiles, was toſſed (as before is ſayde) with wynde and tempeſtes, and a parte thereof, that is to witte, tenne ſhippes driuen here and there on the coaſtes of Spayne, of whiche number nyne arriued at Liſbone, and the tenth beyng a ſhippe of London, arriued at the Citie of Sylua, whiche was then the vttermoſte Citie of Spayne, that was inhabited with Chriſtians.

King Richard blameth the court of Ro for couetouſneſſe.

The Sarazenes at that tyme made warres agaynſte the Kyng of Portyngale, ſo that the Portyngales ſtoode in neede of ayde, in ſo much that they of Sylua didde not onely entreate the Engliſhemenne to ſtay wyth them for a tyme, but alſo gotte graunte of them to breake theyr ſhyppe, wyth the tymber, wherewyth they might the better fortifye theyr towne, promyſyng that theyr King ſhoulde recompence them with an other as good as theyrs, and alſo further ſatiſfye them for their ſeruice, duryng the tyme of their aboade there in defence of that Citie.

The king of Portingale.

Almiramumoli king of the Saracenes.

Lykewiſe of thoſe that arriued at Liſbone there went to the number of fyue hundred vnto Saint Irancs, where the Kyng of Portyngale then was, lokyng to bee aſſaulted by his enimyes: but by the counterfaite death of the great kyng of the Sarazen named Boiac Almiramumoli, (who feared theſe newe ſuccoures, and doubted the ſequele of hys doyngs, to the ende he might departe wyth honoure, he fayned hymſelf dead) ſo that the kyng of Portyngale was for that tyme preſentely delyuered oute of daunger.

Robert de Sabuuille. VVilliam de Camuille.

A mutenie betvvixt the Englishmen and the tovvnſmen of Lisbone.

Englishmenne committed to priſon.

Whereupon he retourned to Liſbone, where he founde three ſcore and three other ſhippes of king Richardes Nauie there newely arriued, ouer the whyche were chiefe Capitaynes Robert de Sabuuille, and Richarde de Camuille: The whych at theyr commyng to lande coulde not ſo gouerne theyr people, but that ſome naughtye fellowes amongeſt them fell to breakyng and robbyng of Orchardes: ſome alſo entring into the Citie, behaued themſelues very diſorderedly: But yet by the comming of the kyng, theyr lewdneſſe was ſtayed, ſo that hee ſeemed not to ſeeke reuenge of the Pilgrimes, but rather with courteous meanes to brydle their vnlawfull attemptes: whereunto the diligence of the Engliſhe Capitaynes not a little preuayled for a whyle, but yet for all that coulde bee done on bothe ſydes, within three dayes after, a newe tumulte was reyſed betwixte the Engliſhe Pilgrimes and the Townesmen, and diuers hurte and kylled on eyther parte, wherupon the king cauſed the gates of the Citie to be ſhut, and al thoſe that were come from the ſhips into the citie to eate and drinke (beyng in number aboute ſeauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to warde: and before they could bee releaſſed ſir Roberte Sabuille and ſir Rycharde Camuille were gladde to agree wyth the kyng, ſo as all former offences beeyng remitted, and thynges taken by eyther parte reſtored, the Engliſhmenne promyſed to obſerue the peace ancynſt the Kyng of Portyngale and hys people, and hee lykewyſe couenaunted for hym and hys ſubiectes, that they ſhoulde keepe the peace ancynſt all Pilgrimes that went forthe in thys voyage, and vſe them lyke hys frendes, and thus the quarell ceaſſed.

The Englishe ſhippes meete agayne togither.

Soone after, the Engliſhe Nauye departed from Lyſbone, and came vnto the mouthe of the Ryuer of Taye betweene Caperico and Belem, where the ſame daye on Saint James euen the Lorde Willyam de Forzdulcrun aryued alſo wyth three and thyrtie other ſhippes, and ſo then they were in all aboute an hundred and ſixe ſayles very well furniſhed and manned, and ſo frõ thence taking their courſe towardes Marſeiles finally they arriued there in the octaues of the Aſſumption of our Lady, and ſtaying there an eight dayes (till they had repared ſuche thinges aboute their ſhippes as were needefull) they ſette forwarde againe, and came to Meſſina in Sicile in the feaſte of the Exaltation of the Croſſe. On the Sunday folowing alſo, came the Frenche king thither, hauing loſt no ſmall parte of hys nauye by tempeſts of weather. King Richarde as then remayned at Salerne, and hearyng that his nauy was gone towardes Meſſina, he departed thence on the thirtene daye of September, and haſted forthe towardes Meſſina, paſſing by Melphi and Cocenza, and ſo at length comming to Faro de Meſſina, hee paſſed the ſame, and on the .xxiij. day of September arriued at Meſſina with greate noyſe of trumpettes and other inſtrumentes, to the wonder of the Frenche king and other that behelde his great puiſſance and royall behauiour now at his commyng. The ſame tyme he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their buſines: and immediatly the French king toke the ſea, in purpoſe to haue paſſed forward on his iorney, but by contrary winde he was ſtayed and kept backe within the hauen, whereupon bothe the Kings determined to Winter there, and in the meane time to prouide them ſelues of all things neceſſarie for their iorney, againſt the beginning of the next ſpring.

They arri Meſſina.

Kyng Rich arriueth at Meſſina.

The .xxx. of September he receiued his ſiſter the Quene of Sicil, the widow of William late king of that yle, whom he placed in a ſtrong fortreſſe, which he toke the ſame day, and left therin a conuenient garniſon of menne at armes and demylaunces for the ſafegarde of the place and of his ſaid ſiſter.

But nowe for the better vnderſtandyng of the cauſe of ſuche quarellyng as fell out betwixt the Engliſhmen and yͤ Siciliãs, ye ſhal vnderſtand that a little before the arriuall of the Kings of Englande and Fraunce in thoſe parties, Kyng William of Sicile was departed this life, leauing no iſſue behinde him: Whereupon the lordes of the Ile elected one Tancrede to their king, a baſtard ſonne of Roger ſometyme king of that lande, and Graundfather to this laſte deceaſſed king William.

This Tancrede though he receiued king Richard very courteouſely: Yet he greately truſted him not, bicauſe he demaunded the dower of his ſiſter Quene Joane, wife to the late king William to be reſtored, wheras he had not ready money to diſcharge it.

And furthermore to departe with the Citie of Mount Sainct Angelo, with all the countye thereunto belongyng, whiche was in deede aſſigned to hir for hir dower, he thoughte in no wyſe profytable: but king Rychard did not only require that Citie & countie wyth a chaire of gold, accordyng to the cuſtome of that kingdom in ryght of his ſiſter, as due to hir by way of hir dower, but alſo herequired to his owne vſe a table of golde conteynyng .xij. foot in length, & one foot, and an half in breadth, and ij. treſtelles of golde to beare vp the ſame table with .xxiiij. ſiluer cuppes and as many diſhes of ſiluer, with a tente of ſilke of ſuche largeneſſe that two hundred knightes might ſyt at meate within it: alſo fortie thouſande meaſures of wheate, wyth as many of barly, and as many of wine, beſide one hundred armed Galleys with all furnyture and victuales ſufficiente to ſerue the Galey men in the ſame for the terme of .ij. yeres. Theſe things he demaunded as due to him being heyre to his father king Henrye, accordingly as was deuiſed by kyng William in his laſt wil and teſtament, which demaundes ſeemed intollerable to the ſaid Tancred: ſo that if he could haue ſhifted the matter he was lothe to haue harde thereof.

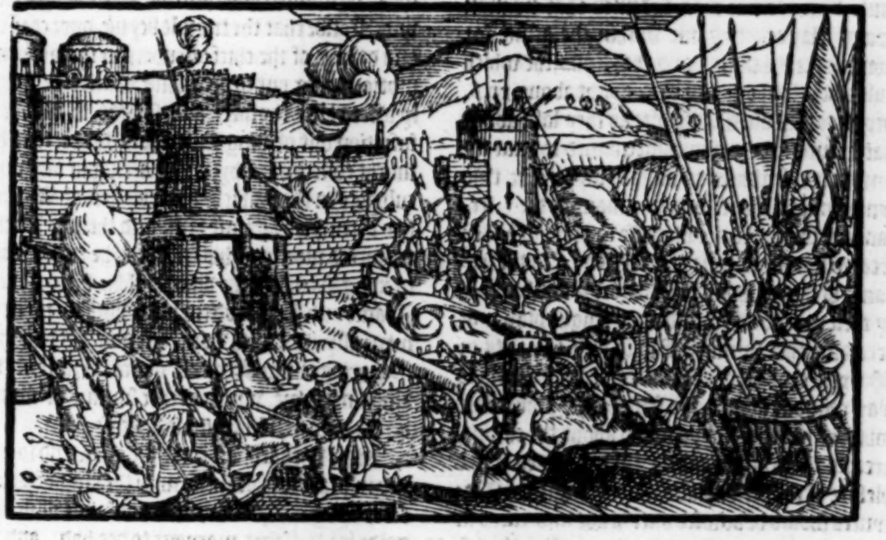
A chaire of golde.

King Richards demaundes for for the dovver of Meſſina by of his ſiſter vvife to king VVilliam.

Moreouer, bycauſe Pope Clemente in right of the Churche pretended a title to the Realme of Sicille, nowe that King William was dead without heires, hee doubted of ſome practiſe that myghte bee made agaynſte him betwixte King Richard and the Pope. Wherevppon he thought to prouide againſt all attemptes that mighte bee made, fortifying hys Townes and Caſtels with ſtrong garniſons, and toke counſell with the Citizens of Meſſina, by what meanes hee mighte ſooneſt diſpatche hys Countrey of that preſent daunger, and procure King Richarde to get him forward on his iourney.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, there was miniſtred to the Engliſh men occaſion of diſpleſure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an army is) certaine of the vnruly Souldiers within Meſſina vſed themſelues ſomewhat riotouſly, wherevpon the Citizens offended therewith, gote them to armoure, and chaced all the Souldiers out of the Citie. King Richarde who lay in Campe without the Walles, neere to the Citie, was ſo highly diſpleaſed herewith, that he cauſed his men to arme them ſelues, and to prepare ladders and other neceſſary things to aſſault the citie: but by the mediation of the Frenche Kyng, and curteous excuſe of Kyng Tancred (alledging the faulte to reſt only in a ſorte of rude Citizens, whome he promyſed to puniſhe) the matter was taken vp, and ſtayed for a tyme, tyll at lengthe it was perceyued, that the Sicilians went about to feede forth king Richarde with fayre wordes, tyll he ſhould be ready to ſet forwardes on his iourney, and ſo ſhould the matter paſſe without worthy puniſhmente.

Wherevpon king Richarde not myndying to be ſo mocked at their handes, approched one daye to the walles and gates with his armie in good away of battayle to giue the aſſaulte, whiche was giuen ſo earneſtly, and ſo well mayntayned that finally the Citie was entred by force, and manye of the Citizens ſlayne, but the ſlaughter had beene muche greater, if kyng Richarde had not commaunded hys menne to ſpare the ſworde, moued with the lamentable noyſe of the poore people, crying to hym for mercye and grace.



K. Richard aſſaulteth and entreth the citie force.

The Engliſhmen hauyng got poſſeſſion of the Citie pighte vp the banners wyth the Armes of the King of Englande rounde aboute the walles, wherewith the Frenche kyng was ſore diſpleaſed, and required that the ſame myghte be taken downe, and hys ſette vppe:

But the king of England woulde not ſo agree. Neuertheleſſe to pacifie the French kings moode, he deliuered the citie of Meſſina vnto the cuſtodie of the Knightes Templers and Hoſpitalers, tyll he might be ſatiſfied of ſuche things as hee demaunded of king Tancrede.

The two kinges of England and Fraunce receyue a ſolemn othe.

After this on the.viij.day of October, the two kings of Englād & France, before a great number of Earles, and Barons, and other, bothē of the Clergie and temporaltie toke their ſolemne othes, that the one ſhould defend the other, and alſo eyther others armye in this iourney, bothe comming and going, without fraude or deceipt: and the lyke othe was receyued by the Erles and Barons on both partes.

Ordinaunces deuiſed.

After this the two kings by aduiſe and cōſent of both their armies, deuiſed theſe ordinaunces, that all Pilgryms which chaunced to dye in this iourneye myghte diſpoſe at their pleaſure of all their armure, horſes, and apparell, and of half of thoſe things whiche they had with them, ſo that they ſent nothing home into their countreys, and the other half ſhuld be at the diſcretion of Walter Archbiſh. of Rouen, Manſer biſhop of Langres, of the maiſter of the Temple, & of the maiſter of the Hoſpitall of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Coucy, of Drogo de Marlow, of Rob. Sabuill, Andrew de Chauenny, and of Gilbert Waſcoyle, which ſhuld imploy the ſame towardes the ſupport of the warres in the holy Lande againſt the Infidels as they thought moſte expedient.

Play forbidden

Moreouer it was ordeined that no man ſhoulde play at any game within the armie for money, except knights and chapleyns, the which ſhuld not loſe in one day and nyght aboue.xx.s. they to forfait an.C.s.ſo ofte as they loſt aboue that ſumme: the perſons aforenamed to haue the ſame to be diſtributed as afore is ſayd. The two kyngs might playe, and commaunde their ſeruants in their preſence likewiſe to play, ſo yͭ they exceded not the ſumme of.xx.s. And alſo the ſeruants of Archbiſhops, biſhops, erles and barons, by their maiſters cōmandemēt might play, not exceeding that ſumme: But if any ſeruants or Maryners, or other of lyke degree, were found to play without licence, the ſeruauntes ſhoulde bee whipped naked.iij.days round about the campe, excepte they raunſomed forth themſelues at the pleſure of the perſons aboue named: and the Maryners ſhould be dowſed ouer heade and eares in the ſea for.iij. mornings togither, after the vſe of ſeamen, except they redeemed that puniſhmēt at the diſcretion lykewiſe of the ſayd perſons: and thoſe of other the lyke meane degrees being neyther knyghtes nor chapleyns ſhould be puniſhed as ſeruauntes.

Borrovving.

Alſo if any Pilgrime borrowed any thyng of an other whyleſt he was on his iourney, hee ſhould be bound to pay it: but if he borrowed it before his ſetting forth, he was not bound to anſwere it till his returne home.

Souldiours & mariners departing from their maiſters.

If any mariner or ſeruaunt reteyned in wages with any man in this iourney, departed from his maſter without licēce, no other perſon might receiue him, and if he did, he ſhoulde be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the forenamed perſones.

Victualers.

Moreouer it was ordeyned, that no vittayler or other ſhold buy any bread to ſel again, nor any meale within the cōpaſſe of the campe, except the ſame were brought by a ſtranger, neyther might they buy any paſte or other thing to ſell agayne within the campe, or within a league of it.

If any man any bought corn to make bread of, was appoynted howe muche hee ſhoulde gayne in one meaſure beſyde the branne. Other occupiers that vſed buying & ſellyng of wares ſhould gayne one peny in.x.d. neither ſhould any man refuſe any of the kynges coyne, excepte it were broken within the circle. No man ſhoulde buye any fleſhe to ſell it agayne, except a lyue beaſte, whiche he ſhould kill within the campe.

Moreouer, no man ſhoulde make bread to ſell, but after the rate of penye loaues. Wherein the peny Engliſh was apointed to go for foure pens Aniouyne. Al theſe ordinances with other were decreede and ordayned to be obſerued and kepte by the councell, conſentē, and agreemente of the kinges of England, Fraunce, and Sicile.

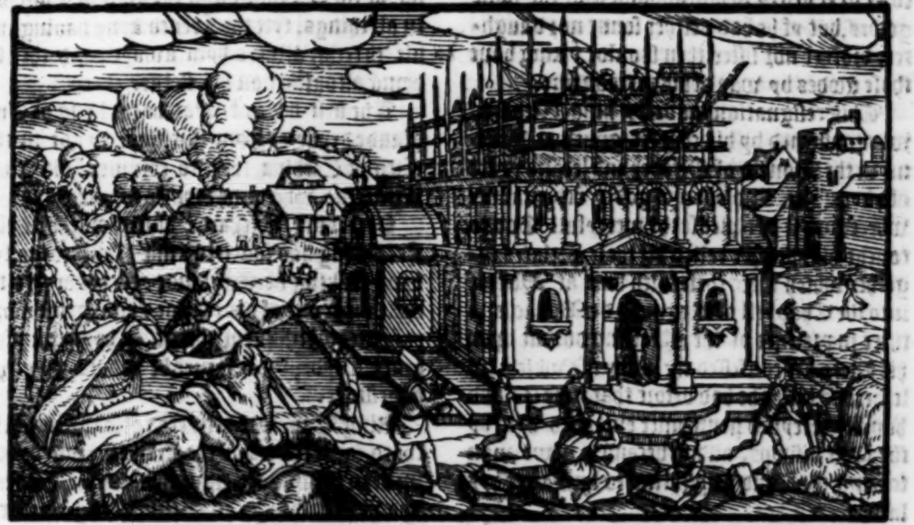
Polidor.

But to returne now to the diſſention betwixt the Engliſhmen and them of Meſſina: Ye ſhall vnderſtande that the tumult beyng once ceaſſed, and dyuers of the chief offenders in the late commotion being put to deth, king Tankrede ſhortly after came thyther, and ſought to auoyde al ſuſpition out of king Richardes heade, that hee might conceyue of hym: for beeing in any wyſe culpable in that whiche his ſubiectes of Meſſina had attempted againſt him, and therfore hauing recouered money of his friendes, he reſtored vnto kyng Richarde the dowrie of his ſiſter Quene Ioane, and further offred vnto him to ioyne in newe allyance with hym, offering his daughter in mariage vnto Arthur Duke of Britayne, the kings nephewe, with a greate ſumme of money for hir dowrie, if it ſo ſhould pleaſe hym.

King Richarde accepted the offer, and ſo ioyned in peace and affinitie with the king of Sicil, receyuyng of hym twentie thouſande ounces of golde for the ſame maryage to bee had, and an honorable dowrie aſſigned forth of the landes that belonged to the ſayde Arthure for the ſayde Lady to enioye duryng hir lyfe, in caſe ſhe ſuruiued hir huſbande. And if it ſo chaunced, that by the death of either of them the mariage could not take place, then ſhoulde King Richarde reſtore the ſame twentie thouſand ounces of golde agayn.

agayne. But beſyde theſe twentie thouſand vnces of Golde thus giuen by kyng Tancrede for the mariage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thouſande ounces to King Richarde for an acquitaunce and quite clayme of all manner of dueties, rightes, and demaundes, whiche eyther he or his ſyſter myghte pretende, eyther by reaſon of any bequeſt, dower, or by any other manner of waye.

Here is to bee noted, that before thys concluſion of peace was hadde, kyng Richarde prouided for his own defence, in caſe that king Tancrede and his people would haue attempted force agaynſt him, in ſomuch that he fortified certaine places, and buylte a ſtrong caſtell alofte vpon the toppe of an hill faſt by Meſſina, whiche caſtell he called Mategriffon.



Alſo where as the Admirall of Sicile called Margaret, and one Jordane del Poyn, men of great authoritie vnder king Tancrede, fledde out of Meſſina with all their families & riches, which they had eyther in golde or ſiluer, king Richard ſeyſed vppon theyr houſes, theyr Galeys, and poſſeſſions, ſo that he made hymſelfe as ſtrong as he coulde, to reſiſt all attemptes that myght bee made agaynſt hym by his enimies. But now to procede.

The lavves of Herbourrough.

The variance beeing thus appeaſed betwixte them, greate diſcorde chaunced to aryſe betwixt King Richarde and kyng Philippe, who was muche offended wyth king Richard, for that he had thus vſed violēce againſt them of Meſſina, & compelled king Tancrede to agree with him for money, to the greate offence and breache of the lawes of Herberrough, ſith the Sicilians verye liberally ayded and furniſhed the Chriſtians armie with victuals and neceſſarie prouiſions.

Engliſhmen & Frenchmen fought.

The Frenchemen alſo had muche enuie thereat, that ſhortly after vpon a ſmall occaſion they picked a quarell agaynſt the Engliſhemen, and from wordes fell to ſtrokes on bothe ſydes, ſo that there had bin much hurt and ſlaughter committed, if the two kings had not donne their beſt to appeaſe the fray begonne.

Diſcorde in an armye, the hinderer of al profitable enterpriſes.

But this buſineſſe though it was quietlye as then taken vp and ſtayed, yet bredde it ſuche diſpleaſure betwixt the Princes and their people, that it turned to the greate hurte and hinderance of their good proceedings in their whole enterpriſe, ſo that the occaſion of a full and perfecte victorie eaſily ſlipped out of their handes, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

In other alſo of the chiefeſt cauſes of grudge betwixt the two kings was, for that king Rycharde in familiar talke, confeſſed vnto Kyng Philip, that he woulde marrie the king of Nauarres daughter, and cleerely forſake his ſiſter Adela: Whiche grieued king Philippe not a little, though he diſſembled the matter for a tyme, and rather alledged other cauſes of diſpleaſure, wherwith to defame king Richard to the worlde, as one that ſought his own commoditie in ſpoyling thoſe whome he ought rather to haue defended. But to procede.

Whyleſt the Engliſhe and Frenche armyes thus ſoiorned for the Winter time in Sicile, notwithſtanding the troubles aforeſayd, to the hinderaunce of king Richardes purpoſes, for the making of his prouiſions readie for his iourney, he yet cauſed engins to be framed, his ſhippes to be newly calked, rigged and repared of ſuch hurtes as they had receyued both in their long voyage which they had made, & alſo by certaine wormes the which duryng the tyme of theyr lying there, had in diuers places gnawen and eaten thē thorough to the great daunger of their loſſe, & vtter decay. Moreouer at ẏ ſame time he pardoned al wreckes by ſea throughe all hys dominions, re-

VVreckes pardoned.

leaſing for euer al his right to the ſame, in ſuch wiſe that euery perſō makyng wrecke by ſea, & comming aliue to lande, ſhoulde haue all his goodes free and cleare to him ſelf. Furthermore he decreed, that if he chaunced to periſhe in the ſhippe, then his ſonnes and daughters, brethren or ſiſters, that coulde proue themſelues to be next heires to him, ſhoulde haue the ſame goodes, but yf he had neither ſonne nor daughter, brother nor ſiſter, then ſhoulde yͤ king haue thoſe goodes by way of his prerogatiue.

This reſignation made by king Richard, was confirmed by his charter gyuen at Meſſina in the Moneth of October and ſecond yeare of his raigne. Alſo vpon a godly repentaunce wherewith it dyd pleaſe the mercyfull God to touche his harte, he called all thoſe prelates together which were then with him at Meſſina into the Chappell of Reginald de Moyac, and there in preſence of thē all falling downe vpon his knees hee confeſſed the filthy life whiche in lecherous luſtes he had before that time led, and humbly receyued pennaunce enioyned hym by the ſame biſhops, and ſo became a newe man fearing God, and delyghting to lyue after hys lawes.

King Richards confeſsion.

Abbot Ioachim.

Furthermore hearing of the greate fame of Abbot Ioachim, he ſent for him ouer into Calabria, who came to Meſſina, and being aſked ſundry queſtions by kyng Richard, hee made wonderfull aunſwers thereto: as in Houeden and other writers it maye appeare, whiche for breefneſſe I paſſe ouer.

Aboute the ſame tyme he gaue vnto his nephue Otho, the ſon of his ſiſter Maude, ſometime Ducheſſe of Saxonie, the Countie of Yorke. But although ſome were contented to receyue hym as theyr lorde, and to do homage to him, yet other refuſed him, alledging yͭ they woulde not renounce theyr fealties due to the kyng, till they might ſee him agayn, and talke with him face to face. Whereupon the kyng chaungyng his purpoſe, gaue vnto the ſayde Otho the Countie of Poyctou in ſtead of the ſayd Countie of Yorke, as after ſhall appere.

1191

The large expenſes of king Richard.

The two kings of Englande and Fraunce helde their Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Meſſina, and ſtill the king of Englande vſed great liberalitie in beſtowing his treaſure freely amongeſt knightes and other men of warre, ſo that it was thought he ſpent more in a moneth thā any of his predeceſſours euer ſpent in a whole yeare.

In the month of February he ſent his Gallies to Naples there to receiue his mother & his wife that ſhould be, to wit the Lady Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauar, and Philip Erle of Flaunders that came with thē. But his mother Queene Elynore and the ladye Berengaria, went to Brindize in Puglia, where they wer honorably receiued of Margaret king Tancrede his admirall. Moreouer the Erle of Flaunders comming to Naples, and finding there the Galleyes of king Richarde, went a borde the ſame, and ſo came to Meſſina, at the firſt following the king of England in all things, tyll the French kyng hauing enuie thereat, allured hym awaye, and then he hoong altogither on his ſleeue.

The earle of Flanders

The firſt daye of Marche the kyng of Englande departed from Meſſina, to goe to the Citie of Cathina, there to commen with king Tancrede, who came thyther to meete hym.

K. Richard talketh vvith king Tancrede.

Here king Richarde vnderſtoode, that the Frēch king had ſolicited king Tancrede to ſet vpon the king of Englande and his armye, to chaſe them out of his realme: and for the more eaſy accompliſhment therof, he had promyſed him his ayde, whenſoeuer he would giue the aduenture.

King Tancrede deliuered alſo to king Richard ſuche letters as the Frenche king hadde written to him cōcerning this matter. Whervpon at his returne to Meſſina, king Richard ſhewed by his frowning countenaunce that he was nothyng pleaſed with the Frenche king, but ſought occaſiōs to get him out of his companie.

The Frenche king perceyuing it, required to vnderſtande the cauſe of this his ſodain mutation. Wherupon king Richard nothing fearing his power, declared the trouthe playnely vnto hym by the mouth of the Erle of Flanders: and when the other denyed the practiſe, he for profe of the thing, ſhewed him the ſame Letters, whiche king Tancrede had deliuered vnto hym. The Frenche kyng was not a little abaſhed hereat, and wiſt not well what to ſay, nor what excuſe to make, the matter was ſo playne. But yet at length he ſayde: Well nowe I perceyue the king of England ſeeketh to haue ſome quarel why he may refuſe to marry with my ſiſter. For theſe are but forged matters, and no truth reſteth in them.

When the King of Englande vnderſtode this maner of anſwere, he replied in this wiſe, That as for the Frenche kings ſiſter, he might not marry, for as muche as he was able to produce good witnes to proue that his father had lyen with hir and got a childe of hir. And as for his priuie proceedings and practiſe with Tancrede, he neded no further teſtimonie than his owne hande and his ſeale, the partie himſelfe being preſent who receiued them, the meſſenger alſo being not far off that carried them betweene bothe the parties. When the Frenche king kyng was thoroughly enfourmed of the firſte point, through councell of the Earle of Flanders and others, hee pacifyed hym ſelfe, and was contented to releaſe the king of Englande of his faith giuen by othe for the contract made with his ſiſter Alice: in conſideration of which releaſe the Kyng of Englande couenaunted to gyue yearely to the Frenche Kyng two thouſande Markes of ſterlyng coyne for the terme of fyue yeares togyther. And at his returne home, it was agreed, that he ſhuld alſo delyuer vnto the French Kyng hys ſyſter the ſayde Ladye Alyce, with the Towne of Gyſours, and all other thynges whiche the Frenche Kyng hadde graunted to hym with his ſayde ſiſter. On the other part, the French kyng graunted, that the Duchye of Brytaine ſhoulde appertayne to the domynion of the Duchie of Normandye, ſo as the Duke of Brytaine ſhould be accompted the liege man of the Duke of Normandye, and that the duke of Normandie ſhould anſwer the French king for bothe the Duchies, as well of Brytayne as Normandie.

These agreementes were ratified and confirmed with ſolemne othes receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and ſeales, vpon the .xxx. day of Marche.

And herewith the Frenche king nowe that the ſeaſonable tyme of the yeare was come, ſet forwarde towarde the Holye lande, leauyng King Richarde behynde him in Sicile: And the two & twentie day after his ſetting forthe from Meſſina, he arriued at the ſiege of Acres or Acon.

The Frenche king ſetteth foorth from Meſſina towardes the holy lande.

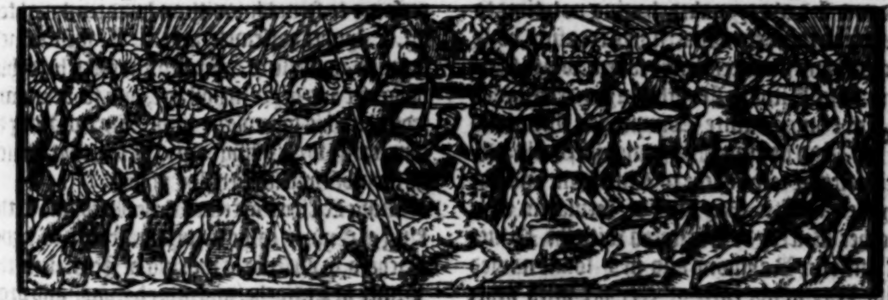
The ſame day alſo that the Frenche King departed from Meſſina, Queene Eleanor the mother of king Richard, arriued there, bringing with hir the lady Berengaria, the daughter of Sanctius the kyng of Nauarre; and the fourth day after Queene Elinore toke leaue of her ſonne King Richarde, and departed homewardes towardes Englande, taking hir iourney by Rome, for the buſineſſe of Geffrey the elect of Yorke, as to intreate the Pope that he would confirme and conſecrate him Archbiſhop, or to autoriſe ſome other to doe it in his name.

Quene Elynor returneth by Rome.

The Ladie Berengaria remayned behind with the Kings ſiſter Joane Queene of Sicile.

After this in the moneth of Aprill, on the Wedneſday in the Paſſion weeke K. Richard after hee had finiſhed and made an ende of all concluſions with kyng Tancrede, he did alſo ſet forward with his ſiſter Joane, who tooke with hir the Ladie Berengaria, daughter to king of Nauarre, fiancid to him long before, as aboue is partly mencioned. His nauie conſiſted in .13. mightie greate ſhips with tryple ſayles, an hundred Carikes or rather hulkes, and .l. Galeys. He was no ſooner abroade in the mayne ſea, but a great tempeſt roſe, wherewith his whole nauy was ſore toſſed and turmoyled vp and downe the ſeas, and at length driuen on the coaſt of Cypres, where ſeeking to take harbour, and to come a land, the Cypriots would not ſuffer him, but ſhewed countenaunce to driue him backe, and to reſiſt hys landing. Alſo where as .vj. of his ſhippes were ſo driuen by force of tempeſte from the reſidue, that three of them periſhed, and three beeyng caſte vppon the ſhoare of Cypres before the Kynges arriuall there, the Souldiours and other people in the ſame, were compelled to come a land for ſauing of their liues, where otherwiſe they ſtoode in danger of drowning, the people of the yle aſſailed them in right cruell wyſe, ſlewe diuers, and tooke the reſidue priſoners, and ſo deteyned them for a certaine ſeaſon.

M. Paris. 150. Ships and .53. galeys hath Roger Houeden.

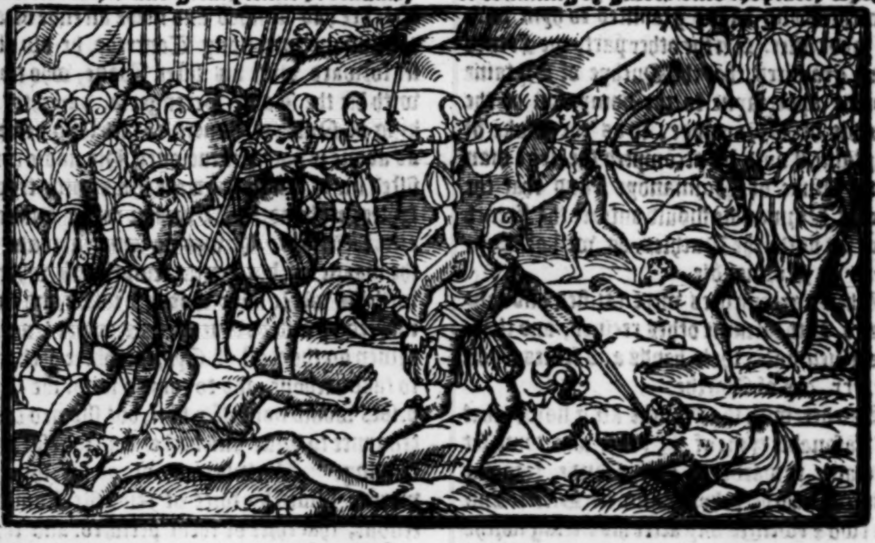


Kyng Richarde then vnderſtanding thys iniurie to him doone by the Cypriotes, perceyuing they woulde reſiſte his landyng, he prepared hym ſelfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cypres Iſakius or Curſach, whome Houeden nameth Emperour of Cypres, had aſſembled the moſt parte of all the power of men that he myght make (though fewe of them were armed, or hadde any greate ſkill in feates of warre) and cauſed thē to ſet bordes, logs of wood, benches, formes, and great cheſtes afore thē, as a defence, and as it were in ſteed of a wal, that by ſuccour therof they mighte the better keepe off their enemis, from landing, but king Richarde ſo encouraged his menne by his preſence, and ſuche comfortable wordes as he vttered vnto them, that rowing to the ſhoare with their Galeyes and ſmall boates, hauyng the Archers afore them, they eaſily got a lande, drove theyr enimyes backe, and chaſed them ſo farre (as they being but footemen,) wetherbeaten, weary, and wet conueniently myghte, for the ſhorteneſſe of the tyme. King Richarde hauing thus got foote a land, approched the towne of Limeſzun which he wyth hys ſouldyers entred, and fyndyng it emptie of people (the which were fledde away) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as corne wine, oyle, and fleſhe, he ſeyzed thereupon.

The Engliſhemen take lande & chaſe their enimies.

Limeſzun.

The ſame daye alſo the Kings ſiſters and ẏ Ladye Berengaria with the reſidewe of the Kings nauie entred the hauen of Limezun. In the meane time the king of Cipres (hauing eſcaped from the bataile) got togither his men whiche were fled and diſperſed ſundry wayes, and encamped within .vj. myles of kyng Rychard, threatning that the next daye he woulde eftſoones gyue battaile: which when king Rychard vnderſtoode, hee cauſed hys people to bee armed the next morning long before daye and ſo comming by guides vnto the place, where ẏ the Cipriotes with their king were lodged, ſodenly thei aſſailed them ere they had any warning of hys marching towardes thē, by reaſon whereof they were ſlaine like beaſtes in greate number. Their king yet and a few other eſcaped and fled away naked, hauing not time to put vpon thē their apparell, hys treaſure, horſe armour and ſtanderd were taken, which ſtanderd king Richard ſtraightwayes determined to ſende vnto Sainte Edmunndes ſhrine, and ſo did. And hauing thus vanquiſhed his aduerſaries, he came backe to Limeſzun: and the thyrde day after, Guy king of Ieruſalem & his brother Geffrey de Lucignan with the Prince of Antioche Raymond and hys ſonne named alſo Raymonde earle of Tripoli with other noble men arriued at Limeſzun aforeſaid, to viſite king Richard, and to offer to him their ſeruices, and ſo became his menne, in ſwearyng fealtie to him agaynſt all other perſons what ſo euer. The ſame day the king of Cypres perceyuing hymſelf vnable to reſiſt the great puiſſance of king Richards armie, ſent ambaſſadours, and offered to king Richard the ſumme of .xx. thouſand marks of gold, in recompence of the money whiche his men that were drowned had aboute them, and alſo to reſtore thoſe to libertie whiche he had taken priſoners, and to make deliuerie to their handes of all their goodes. Furthermore, he offered to go with hym into the holy lande in perſon, & to ſerue him with an hundred knightes iiij.C. lyghte horſemen, and .v.C. well armed footmen, and alſo to deliuer to king Richard his daughter and heyre in hoſtage, and to acknowledge him his ſoueraigne lorde, by ſwearing to him fealtie for his kingdome, as for that which he ſhoulde confeſſe to holde of him.



King Richarde vvith a camiſado vanquiſheth the Cipriots, & chaſeth them oute of their campe.

Io: Textor.

The K. of Ieruſalem and other noble men do fealtie vnto king Richard

The offers of the king of Cypres.

The king of Cypres ſubmitteth himſelf.

King Richard accepted theſe offers, and ſo the king of Cypres came in & ſware fealtie to kyng Richard, in preſence of the king of Ieruſalem, the Prince of Antioche, and other barons, and promiſed vppon his othe then receyued, not to departe till all thinges couenaunted on hys parte were performed. Then king Richarde aſſigned tentes for him and his to lodge in and appointed certayne knyghtes & other men of warre to haue the cuſtody of him, but the ſame day after dinner vpon repentaunce of that which he had done, he deceiued his kepers & ſtale away, ſending knowledge backe to the king that he woulde not ſtande to the couenauntes, which wer concluded vpon betwixt them. King Richarde ſeemed to like the matter well inoughe, and forthwith deliuered a parte of his army vnto the king of Jeruſalem and to the Prince of Antioche, appointing them to purſue the king of Cipres by lãde whyleſt hee with one parte of his Gallies and Roberte de Turneham with the other mighte ſearche aboute the coaſte by ſea to prohibite his paſſage by water. In euery place where they came, ſuche ſhippes and Gallies as they found they ſeazed into their handes, and no reſiſtance was made againſte them by reaſon the people fled to the woods and mountains, leauing the cities, townes and caſtelles voyd in all ſteedes where the King or the ſaide ſir Roberte de Thorneham with theyr veſſelles began to appeare. When they had taken their pleſure thus alongſt the coaſtes, they retourned againe vnto Limeſzun.

The king of Jeruſalem and the other that went forthe by lande, when they coulde not ſpeede of their purpoſe, they returned alſo, and in the meane time a great number of Cypriots came in, and ſubmitting them ſelues to king Richar,d were receiued as his ſubiectes. On the xij. day of May the Lady Berengaria daughter to the kyng of Nauarre was maried according to a precontract vnto king Richarde at Limeſzun aforeſaide in the Ile of Cipres, one of the kings Chapleins executing the order of the mariage. The ſame day alſo ſhe was crouned by the Biſhoppe of Eureux, the Archebiſhoppes of Apamea and Aux, with the Biſhope of Baion miniſtring vnto him.

Roberte de Turnham.
The king of England marieth the Ladye Berengaria.
She is crowned Queene.

After the ſolempnitie of this mariage and coronation ended, king Richarde ſet forward with his army into the countrey of Cipres and firſt wanne by ſurrender the citie of Nichoſia, and after the ſtrong caſtell of Cherin, within the whiche was the daughter of the king of Cipres, whiche Ladie humbly yelded hir ſelfe vnto king Richard, who hauing pitie of hir caſe, ſent hir to his wyfe the newe Queene, willyng that ſhe might be honorably vſed. From thence paſſing forward, theſe caſtels were deliuered into his hands, Baffes and Buffeuent, Den, Amur, Cãdace, and afterwards all the other caſtels and cities, townes and places of ſtrengthe within that Iſle one after an other. Finally hearing that the king of Cipres was encloſed in an Abbey called Cap S Andrew, he marched thitherwards: but when the king of Cypres hearde of his approche, he came forth and ſubmitted himſelfe wholly into his hands. The king fyrſte appointed him to the keping of his chamberlain Rafe Fitz Geffrey, and after ſent him vnto the Citie of Tripoli, there to be kept in cloſe priſon. Who when he heard he ſhould be committed to cloſe priſon, and remayn in fetters, ſayde, that if he lay in yrons, he ſhould ſhortly ende his lyfe. Whervnto king Richarde when he hearde of it, aunſwered: He ſpeaketh it very wel, and therfore bycauſe he is a noble man, and our minde is not to haue hym dead, but only to be kept ſafe from ſtarting any more away, and doing newe hurt, let him be chained in giues and fetters made of ſiluer, and ſo he was. But to proceede. After the king had ſet the countrey of Cipres in a good ſtay, he deliuered the keping therof vnto Richard de Cambill and Robert de Turnham. And this done, vpon the Wedneſday in the Whitſon weke he tooke the ſea again, and paſſed ouer to the Citie of Acres, which as then was beſieged by the Chriſtian army, as yee maye reade in the deſcription of the holy lande, onelye giuing you to vnderſtande, that ſuche was the valiancie of king Richarde ſhewed in manfull conſtreining of the citie, that his praiſe was gretly bruted both amongſt

Caſtels deliuered to the king of Englande.

The K. of Cypres agaynſ
mitteth himſe
to the king o
Englande.
Rafe Fitz G
frey.

He areiud th
on the Saterday in Wh
ſonweke, be
ing the ſaterday alſo nex
before the fe
of S. Bernab

Galfridus Vinſaunt.

amongſt the chriſtians, and alſo the Sarazins. But the ſecrete enimitie betwixte him and the Frenche King eftſoones renued by occaſion of ſuch diſcord as chaunced betwixt Guido king of Ieruſalem, and Conrade the Marques of Tire, ſo that parties were taken, and where as both the Piſanes and Geneuoys did offer their ſeruice vnto king Richard, yet bicauſe the Geneuoys were confederat with the French king, who tooke parte with the Marques, hee refuſed them and receiued the Piſanes, ioining himſelf with king Guido to ſupporte hym agaynſt his enemies. Here is alſo to be remembred that before king Richarde arriued at the ſiege, he encountred on the ſea a mighty great ſhippe called a Drommond, which one Saphaldine the brother of Saladine a Prince of the Saraſines had ſent to refreſhe them with vittelles. This ſhippe king Richard cauſed fiercely to be aſſailed with his Gallies, and at length bowged hir with all the victuals and prouiſion within the ſame, as wilde fire, barells of firie ſerpents, armor and weapons of ſundrie ſortes, beſides all the Mariners and men of warre, except ſuche as were taken to mercy and ſaued a liue, being aboute.ij.C.in the whole, whereas ther were aboord the ſame ſhippe.xv.C.men of warre, as ſome wryte, thoughe other haue but.viij.C.

Piſanes and Genevoys.

Mat. Paris.

N. Triuet.

Saphaldine, the rother of Saadine.

Ni. Triuet.

Mat. Paris.

But nowe to other incidents that chaunced this yeare. On Midſomer euen there was ſuch an Eclipſe of the Sunne, the Moone being the ſame time.xxviij.dayes olde that for the ſpace of.iij.houres (for ſo long it laſted) ſuche darknes came ouer the face of the Earthe, that euen in the daye time (for this Eclipſe beganne aboute ix.of the clocke in the morning) the ſtarres appeared playnly in the element.

An Eclipſe of he Sunne:

he ſeuenth oure of the ay ſayth Mahevv Paris.

In the ſame moneth of Iune, Richarde de Camuille, whom the king had left (as ye haue heard) gouernour in Cypres, chaunced to fall ſicke, and comming without licence to the ſiege of Acres there dyed. After whoſe death the Cipriots and thoſe called Griffones and Ermians, reuolted from the Engliſhe obedience, and choſe to them a kyng, one that was a Monke of the familie of Iſachius their former kyng: but Roberte de Turnham, who after the deceaſſe of Richarde de Camuille remained ſole gouernoure of the Ile, gathered a power of men togyther, and giuyng battayle to the newe king (whome Houeden nameth alſo emperour) vanquiſheth him wyth his complices, taketh him priſoner, and hangeth him on a pair of galowes. The ſame month alſo died Rafe Fitz Geffrey, who had the other king Iſac in in cuſtodie, and then king Richarde deliuered him to the knightes of the Hoſpitall, who ſent him to the caſtell of Margant, there ſafely to be kepte as priſoner to the vſe of the king of Englande.

icharde de Canville deceaſſeth.

But now at length to returne vnto the affaires of England to make ſome mention of the doings there. Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that after king Richarde was ſet forwarde on his iorney, the Lorde Chauncellour William Longchampe, Biſhop of Ely, appoynted (as ye haue heard) gouernour of the Realme, began to exerciſe his authoritie to the vttermoſt, taking vppon him the ſtate of a Prince, rather than of a ſubiect. He had of late (as before ye haue heard) procured ſuche fauour at the handes of Pope Clement, that hee was inſtituted by him Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea here in England, ſo that pretending a rule bothe ouer the clergie and temporaltie, and by reaſon that he had both the authoritie of Pope and King in his handes, he vſed the ſame to his moſte aduauntage, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as temporall, wherby he wrought manie oppreſſions both againſt them of the clergie and temporaltie. He mainteined ſuch a port and countenaunce in his doings, that hee woulde ryde with a thouſande horſſes, by meane whereof when he came to lye at Abbeys and other places (bringyng with hym ſuch a trayne) he was very burdenous vnto them, ſpecially when hee laye at their houſes any ſpace of tyme.

Polidor.

The Lorde Chancellour called the Popes legate in Englande.

The ſtatelye port of the Lord Chancellour.

Ran. Higd.

He called a Conuocation at Weſtminſter, wherein at the ſuite of Hugh Nouaunt biſhop of Cheſter, it was decreed, that the Monkes of Couentrie ſhoulde bee diſplaced, and ſecular canons brought into that houſe to ſupply their roomths. Which was done by the authoritie of the ſayd Lord Chancellor, being brybed by the foreſayd Biſhoppe of Cheſter (as ſome writers haue recorded) for diſpleaſure whiche hee bare to the Monkes, by reaſon of a fray which they had made vpon the ſayd Biſhop in theyr Churche at Couentrie, and drawne bloud of him before the Altare there, as he alledged.

A conuocati

Monkes of Couentrie diſplaced.

Polidore.

Ran. Higd.

VVil. Par.

The occaſion.

Ran. Higd.

But ſome haue written, that the Biſhop of Cheſter procured a licence of the Pope, to alter the ſtate of that Churche in ſorte aboue mentioned, whiche is moſte lykely, ſurmizyng agaynſt the Monkes, that they were manyfeſte and moſte ſtubborne diſturbers of that peace and quietneſſe whiche oughte to remayne amongſt Churchmen: and yet he him ſelf ſowed the ſtrife and diſſention amongeſt them, and namelye betweene the Prior and his Couent. Moreouer the ſayde Lorde Chauncellor depriued ſuche rulers of theyr adminiſtrations and gouernementes, as the King had appointed to beare any highe authoritye within the Realme, pretending not onelye the kings commaundement, but alſo aledging a reaſon whiche moued him ſo to doe, as thus, that he might thereby

VVil. Paru.

Ran. Higd.

Polidore.

take

The Lorde Chancellors reaſon.

take awaye all occaſions of grudges from the people, which otherwiſe might think, and wold not ſticke to ſaye, that they were oppreſſed by the rule of many kinges in ſteede of one king.

The Biſhop of Durham.
The biſhop of VVincheſter.

Hee dyd depriue alſo Hughe the Biſhoppe of Durham of al his honour and dignitie, and putte the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter to great trouble.

Moreouer doubting leaſt the Nobles of the realme wold riſe againſt him, and put him out of his place, he ſoughte to keepe them lowe, and ſpoyled them of theyr money and ſubſtaunce. Likewiſe pretending a colour of doubte leaſte Earle John the kings brother ſhoulde attempt any thing againſt his brother the kinge nowe in his abſence, hee ſoughte alſo to keepe hym vnder.

The Lorde Chancellours meanyng to keepe Earle Iohn lovve.

To be brief, he played in all points the right parts of a tirant, till at length the king receiuing aduertiſemēt frō his mother Queene Elenor of his demeanor, and that there was great likelihood of ſome commotion to enſue, if ſpeedy remedy were not in time prouided, he being as then in Sicile, ſent Walter the Archebiſhop of Rouen into Englande with Commiſſion to ioyne in adminiſtration of the kingdome with his Chancellor the ſayde Biſhop of Elie. But the Archebiſhop coming into England was ſo ſlenderly entertayned of the Chauncellor, and in effect ſo litle regarded, that notwithſtanding his commiſſion and inſtructions brought from the king, he could not be permitted to beare any rule, the chauncellor deteining the ſame wholly in hys handes, ordering all thyngs at his pleaſure, wythout makyng the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen, or any other of counſel with him, except ſuche as it pleaſed hym to admitte for the ſeruing of his owne turne.

VValter the Archbiſhop of Rouen ſent into England.

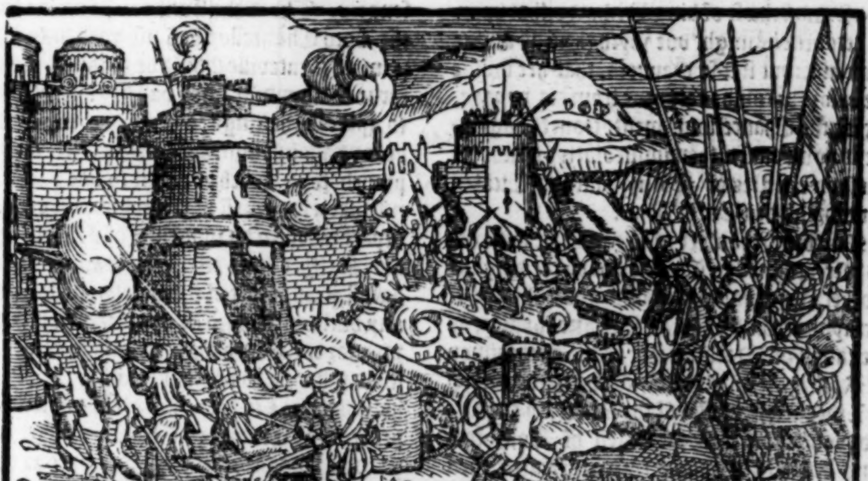
He is little regarded of the Lorde Chauncellour.

He certeinely beleeued (as many other did) that king Richarde woulde neuer returne with life into England agayne, which cauſed hym to attempt ſo many vnlawfull enterpriſes and therfore he got into his handes all the Caſtels and fortreſſes belongyng to the Crowne, and furniſhed them with garniſons of ſouldiers, as he thought neceſſarye, depriuyng ſuche Captaines of their roomthes as he ſuſpected not to fauour his proceedings.

But Gerarde de Cambille had bought of the king the keeping of the Caſtell of Lincolne, vnto whome alſo the Sheriffwike of the Shire was committed for a tyme, but the Lorde Chauncellor, perceiuing that he bare more good will vnto Earle John the kyngs brother than vnto him, (which John he moſt ſuſpected) tooke from hym the Sheriffwike, and demaunded alſo to haue the caſtell of Lincolne delyuered into his handes, whiche Gerard refuſed to deliuer, and perceyuing that the Chancellor wold practiſe to haue it by force, he ſedde vnto Earle John, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour.

The Chancellor on the other parte perceyuing what hatred diuers of the nobles bare vnto hym, he thought good to prouyde for his owne ſuertye the beſte that hee coulde, and therefore he ſent for a power of men from the partyes of beyonde the ſea, but bicauſe he thought it to long to ſtaye till they came, he commeth to Lincolne, with ſuche power as he coulde make, and beſieged the Caſtell.

The Lord C
cellour beſiegeth the caſte
of Lincolne.



Earle Iohn vvinneth the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill.

Earle John the Kyngs brother aduertiſed hereof, reyſed ſuche numbers of men as he might make of hys frendes, ſeruauntes and tenauntes, and wyth ſmalle a doe wanne the Caſtelles of Nottyngham and Tickhill within two dayes ſpace.

This done, hee ſendeth to the Lorde Chauncellour, commaundyng hym eyther to breake vp his

his

The Chauncellour rayſeth his ſiege vvith diſhonour.

The Lorde Chauncellour and earle Iohn are agreed.

The Chauncellour breaketh the agreement.

The lord Chãcellor and erle Iohn make an other agrement

his ſiege, or elſe to prepare for battaile. The Chancellour conſidering wyth hym ſelfe that there was ſmall truſte to bee put in diuers of thoſe Lordes that were with him, bearing good will to Earle John, and but hollowe hartes towardes hym, reyſed his ſiege and departed wyth dyſhonour. Not long after, one of hys hornes was broken off by the deathe of Pope Clement, wherby his power Legantine ceſſed: and herewith being ſomwhat abaſhed, he commeth to a cõmunication wyth Earle John, and vpon certayne conditions, maketh peace wyth him. Shortly after the ſouldyers which he had ſent for, doe arryue in Englande, and then hee began to goe from the agreemente made wyth Earle John, affyrmyng that he woulde eyther dryue the ſame Earle out of Englande, or elſe ſhulde Earle John doe the like to hym: For it was not of largeneſſe ſufficient to holde them bothe. Yet ſhortelye after peace was efteſoones concluded betwixte them, with condition, that if it chaunced kyng Rycharde to departe this life before his retourne into Englande, not leauing any iſſue of hys bodie begotten, that then the Chancellour renouncyng the ordinaunce made by king Richarde, who had inſtituted his Nephew Arthur Duke of Britayne to be his heyre and ſucceſſour) ſhoulde conſent to admit Earle John for king of Englande contrarye to the ſayde ordynaunce. But in the meane time it was agreed that Earle John ſhulde deliuer vp the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhyll, Notyngham to the handes of Wyllyam Marſhall, and Tickhil to the handes of Wyllyam Wendenall, they to keepe the ſame vnto the vſe and behoofe of king Richarde, that vpon his retourne he might doe wyth them as ſhulde pleaſe him: but if it ſo chaunced, that hee ſhulde dye before he coulde retourne from his voyage, or that the Chancellour wente from the agreement nowe taken, then immediatlye ſhulde the foreſayd caſtelles of Notingham and Tickhill be reſtored vnto Earle John.

Moreouer, the other caſtels of ſuche honours as wer aſſigned to Earle John by the king his brother, were commytted vnto the cuſtodye of certayne perſons of great truſt and loyalty, as the caſtell of Wallingforde to the Archebiſhop of Rouen, the caſtell of Briſtowe to the biſhop of Lincolne, the caſtel of the Peake, to the Biſhoppe of Couentry, the caſtell of Boleſofres vnto Richard del Peake (or if he refuſed, then ſhoulde the biſhop of Couentrey haue it in keping) the caſtell of Eye was comitted to Walter Fitz Roberte, the caſtell of Herford to Roger Bigot, and to Richard Rebel the caſtels of Exceter and Launſton. Theſe perſons to whõ theſe caſtels were thus cõmitted to be kept, receiued alſo an othe, yͭ they ſhuld faithfully kepe them to the kings behoofe, ⁊ if he chanced to die, before he ſhulde retourne, then the ſame ſhould be deliuered vnto Earle Johns handes.

Caſtels deli red in truſ the keeping certain per

Alſo there were .iij. caſtelles that pertayned to the crowne delyuered, lykewyſe in truſte as the caſtell of Winſor vnto the Earle of Arundell, the caſtell of Wincheſter vnto Gilbert de Lacye, and the caſtell of Northampton vnto Simon de Pateſhulle.

It was alſo agreed, that Biſhoppes, Abbots, Earles, and Barons, Valuaſores, and Freeholders ſhoulde not bee diſſeyſed of theyr landes, goodes or catailes otherwiſe than by order of the Juſtices or officers of the king, ſo that they ſhulde be iudged in the kings courtes according to the lawfull cuſtomes and ordynaunces of the Realme: and lykewyſe Earle John ſhoulde cauſe the ſame orders to be obſerued throughe all his landes: and if any man attempted to doe otherwiſe vpon ſupporte or mainteinaunce of the Earle John, hee ſhoulde ſtande to be refourmed by the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen if he chaunced then to be in Englande, and by the kings Juſtices, and by thoſe that hadde ſworne to obſerue this peace: and alſo Earle John him ſelfe at theyr requeſt ſhoulde ſee ſuche reformation to bee hadde. All thoſe Caſtels that had bene buylte or begunne to bee buylded ſith the Kinges paſſage ouer towards his iourney, ſhould be raſed, and no new made or fortifyed tyll hys retourne, excepte in Manours perteyning to the Kyngs demayne, if neede required, or by hys ſpeciall commaundemente, eyther by Letters, or ſufficiente meſſengers. The Sheriffwike of Lincolne which the Lord Chancellor had aſſigned vnto William de Stuteuille ſhould be reſtored vnto Gerarde de Camuille, who had day apointed hym to apere in the kings court, to hear what might be layd againſt him: ⁊ if ſuche matter coulde be proued, for yͭ which he ought to loſe yͤ ſayd Sheriffwike ⁊ the caſtell of Lincolne, then he ſhould depart frõ them by iudgemẽt of yͤ court, or elſe not. Neither ſhuld erle John maintain him againſt yͤ iudgemẽt of yͤ court, nor ſhuld receyue any outlaws, or ſuch as were notoriouſly knowen for enimies to the king, and ſo named, nor ſhuld ſuffer thẽ to be recepted within precinct of his liberties: ⁊ to hold, maintein ⁊ obſerue this peace. The ſaid earle ⁊ Chãcellor ſware in the hand of yͤ Archb. of Rouen wͭ .7. barons on either part. On the part of earle John theſe were the names of them that receued yͤ othe: Stephã Ridell bis Chancellor, William de la Marr, Rob. de la Mare, Philip de Turecheſter, Williã de Kahennes, Gilbert Baſſet, ⁊ Williã de Montacute. On the Chãcellors part, yͤ erles of Arundell,

Arundell and Saliſbury, Earle Roger Bigot, and the Earle of Clare, with Walter Fitz Robert, Williã de Breuſe, and Roger Fitz Ramfray. Theſe things were concluded in this ſorte, the authoritie and commaundement of the king yet in all things ſaued and reſerued: but ſo that if before his returne hee ſhoulde ſignifie his pleaſure to the contrary of the ordinances aboue mentioned, then ſhould the Caſtels of Nottingham and Tickhill be reſtored vnto Earle John notwithſtanding whatſoeuer the King ſhould commaund touching the ſame.

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Thus was the peace concluded eftſoones betwixt Earle John and the Chauncellour.

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In this meane while, the elect Archbyſhop of Yorke Geffrey, after long ſute and many delaies contriued, ſpecially by the Chauncellor, obteyned his Pall, being conſecrated by the Archbyſhop of Tours, by vertue of Bulles obteined from Pope Celeſtine.

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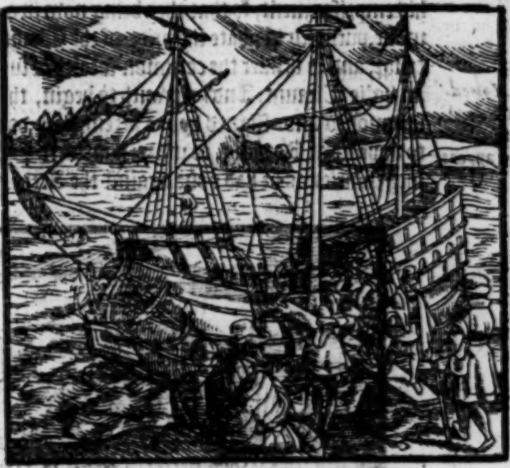
The Chauncellor aduertiſed heereof, and vnderſtanding that hee meant to come ſhortly into England to be inſtalled, he was in a great chafe, bycauſe that during the time of the vacation, hee had vſed the reuenewes of that See at his pleaſure, and therefore now to forgoe them, hee was nothing contented. Heerevpon hee wrote his letters vnto Mathew de Clere, Sherife of Kente in this forme: *Præcipimus tibi quod ſi Eboracen. Electus ad aliquem portum in balliua tua applicuerit, aut aliquis nunciorum eius, eum retineri facias, donec mandatum noſtrum inde receperis. Et ſimiliter præcipimus, quòd omnes literas Papæ aut magni alicuius viri, quæ illic venerint, facias retineri.* The Engliſh whereof is this. Wee commaunde you, that if the elect of Yorke ſhall arriue at any Port or Hauen within your Bailywicke, or any meſſenger of his, that you cauſe them to be arreſted, and kepte, till you haue commaundement from me therein. And I commaunde you likewiſe, to ſtay, attach, and keepe all letters that come from the Pope, or any other great mã. Such care had the Chancellour in this matter. Likewiſe, wheras Baldwine the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, hauing taken his iourney into the holy lande, and arriuing there before the Kyng, chaunced to depart his life at Tyrus, the laſt yeare, vppon the feaſt day of Saint Edmonde. The Chancellour founde meanes to keepe that See alſo vacante, that he might receyue the profites thereof, during the vacation, and finde meane to bee prepared to it in the ende. But as touching the See of Yorke, although he had (as before is ſayd) made his hande of the reuenewes belonging to the ſame from tyme to tyme at hys pleaſure, yet nowe after that he hearde howe Geffrey hadde receyued the palle, hee made hauocke waſting and ſpoyling all that woulde yeelde hym any money, without reſpect of right or wrong. Moreouer, he cauſed the hauens to bee watched, with commaundemente giuen to the Townes on the ſea coaſt, that they ſhoulde not ſuffer the Archbiſhop Geffrey to take lande. At length yet he arriued at Douer, where he was by the foreſayd Mathew de Clere firſt ſtayed, and after taken out of the Abbey by the Chauncelloures commaundemente, and committed to pryſon within the Caſtell, where was capitayne a noble man that had maried the Chancellors ſiſter.

The Archby-
ſhop of Yorke
arriueth and
is committed
to warde.



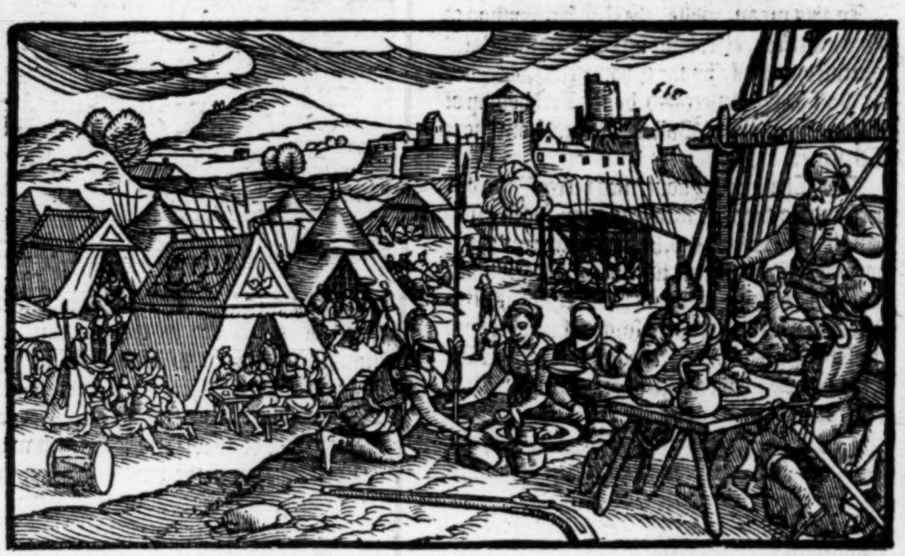
The newes of whoſe enpriſonement was anon bruted thorough the realme, wherwith the nobles fretted, and the commons curſſed: finally all men deteſted ſuch tyrannie in the Chauncellour. But namely the Kings brother Earle John ſtormed at the matter, and with all ſpede aſſembled an armie out of thoſe places where he bare rule, encreaſing the number with a power of Welchemen. There came to him the biſhop of Wincheſter, with many Earles and barons, alſo the biſhop of Bathe and Cheſter, whyche lately before hadde bene chiefe fauourers of the Chauncellour in all his doings: but nowe that the worlde was channged, they ſhewed themſelues the moſt earneſt enimies hee had, as well in wordes as actes.

In an aſſemblie of all the Biſhoppes of England, al thoſe were excommunicate in ſolemne wiſe, with Candles light, and other ſuche Ceremonies which hadde eyther giuen commaundement, or were preſent as partakers, to pull out of the Church the Archbiſhop of Yorke, or his people by violence, and had impriſoned them in maner (as before yee haue heard) but this was after the Archbiſhop was ſet at libertie, as ſhould appeare by Mathew Paris, for the Chauncelloure repenting himſelfe, (thoughe now to late) of hys cruell dealing againſt the Archbyſhop of Yorke, wherewith hee hadde kindled ſuche a brande a-

Rog. Houed.
The Chancellour ſummoned to appeare

The Chancellor retireth to London.

gainſte him) commaunded the ſaid Archbyſhop, (namely at the inſtante ſute of the Biſhoppe of London,) or rather at the commaundemente of Earle John (as Houeden hath) to be ſet at libertie. But the diſpleaſure once kindled in the harts of the Nobles, coulde not ſo eaſily bee quenched with his deliuerie, as it was ſpeedily ſet on fire by his empriſonment, ſo that they being now in armour, purpoſed to abate the pride of the Chauncellor, and to deliuer the common wealth of ſuch an vglie Tiraunt. And heerewith to begin, they ſummoned and aſſigned hym a peremptory daye to appeare at Reading, to make aunſwere vnto ſuch iniuries as he had done againſt the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and the Byſhop of Durham, ſithence the departure of his ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng. At whiche daye, there came to Readyng Earle John, and the Archbyſhoppe of Rouen, with many other Byſhops, Earles, and barons, abiding there all that day, to ſee if the Chauncellour woulde appeare or no: but hee came not: whereuppon they prepared to marche forthe towards London. And therwithall ſet forward in like maner. He on the other ſide beyng a man of a greate courage, had gathered an army of ſuche ſtraungers and other his friendes as hee coulde make, and therewith went forth, and encamped neere vnto Windſor, there to abide his aduerſaries, and to giue them battayle, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approched, and that hee perceyued howe dyuers of his friendes ſhranke from him and went to hys enimies, he durſt not attempt the hazard of a field, but fledde backe to London, and there withdrew into the Tower, with all hys hoſt, bycauſe hee durſt not committe himſelfe to the doubtfull felowſhip of the Citizens. Through his great pride and ſtately port which he maintayned, as partly yee haue heard, hee had procured to himſelfe, no ſmall hatred amongſt all degrees of menne. And namely ſuche as by the Kyngs appoyntmente oughte to haue bin partteners with him in gouernement of the Realm, ſore repined at his preſumptuous proceedings, for that he diſdeyned, as it ſeemed, to vſe their aduice, or to ioyne thẽ with him in the adminiſtration of things, ſo that nowe in time of his trouble, he wiſt not in whome hee might put truſt.



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After hee was thus retired into the Tower of London, Earle John the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen, and the other Biſhops, Earles, and Barons aſſociate togither againſte hym, followe him at the heeles, enter the Citie, and beſiege the Tower on each ſide. And on the morrowe after, being the fourth day after the Octaues of Sainte Michaell, they come togither into Poules church yarde, where they publikely declare the iniurious wrongs done and practiſed by the Chauncellour, namely againſt the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Durham. Thoſe alſo that had bin appointed as aſſociates with him, accuſed hym in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne ſelfe will, not vouching ſaue to haue their aduice or councell in ſuche ſorte as had bin conuenient. The Archbiſhop of Rouen, and William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke ſhewed there afore all the people the Kyngs letters which he hadde ſent from Meſſina, appoynting that they ſhoulde bee aſſociate with hym in gouernement of the Kingdome, and that without the councell and aduice of them and others aſſigned thereto, hee ſhoulde not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if hee ſhoulde doe anye thing to the hinderaunce of the common wealthe, or ſeeke to meddle with the affayres of the Realme, withoute theyr good aduice, that then he ſhould be depoſed.

Heerevppon it ſeemed good to Earle Iohn, and to all the Biſhoppes, Earles and Barons of the Realme, and to the Citizens of London there aſſembled, that the ſayd Chancellour ſhould bee depoſed, and ſo they proceeded, and depoſed him indeede, appoynting the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen in his place, who woulde not take vppon him to do anye thing touching the rule of the land, without conſent of his aſſociates aſſigned to him, and the Barons of the Eſchecker.

e Citizens
London.

The ſame day, Earle Iohn, and the Archbiſhop of Rouen and other of the Kings Iuſtices, graunted to the Citizens of London the priuiledge of their communaltie, and the ſayde Earle and Archbiſhop, and in manner all the Byſhops, Earles and Barons of the Realme, ſware to mainteyne the ſayd priuiledge firme and ſtable, ſo long as ſhould pleaſe their ſoueraigne Lorde. And the Citizens of Londō ſware to be true, and to do their faithfull ſeruice vnto Kyng Richarde and his heires, and if hee chanced to die withoute iſſue, then to receyue Earle Iohn the brother of Kyng Richarde for their King and ſoueraigne Lord, and therevpon ſware fealty to him againſt all men, ſauing that whiche they owed vnto hys brother Kyng Richard. The Chancellor perceyuing the multitude to be ſuche whiche hee hadde with him in the Tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long tyme, after he had remayned within it one night, he came forth vnto Earle Iohn, and to the other that were thus entred the Citie, and now ready to beſiege hym, of whome, hee getteth licence for them that were encloſed within the Tower, to departe withoute domage, and therewith delyuered vp the Tower vnto the handes of the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen, with the Caſtell of Windſor and certayne other Caſtels, which he held within the Realme, but not all: notwithſtanding hee couenaunted to make deliuerie of the reſidue which yet remained in the hands of them whome hee had appoynted to the keeping of the ſame. And for aſſurance of that couenaunt to be performed before he departed the Realme, hee deliuered his brethren and one that was hys Chamberlayne, to remayne with the Lords as hoſtages. And this done, hee haſted to Caunterbury, where he promiſed to receyue the Croſſe of a Pilgrime to goe into the holy lande, and to render vp the Croſſe of hys Legateſhip, whiche he had vſurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of Pope Clemente, to yͤ preiudice of the Churche of Rome, and to the detrimente and greate hinderaunce of the Engliſhe Church, for ther was not any one Church within the Realme whyche hadde not bin put to fyne and Raunſome by that Croſſe, nor any eccleſiaſticall perſon wēt free, but the print of yͤ Croſſe appeared in him and his purſe. From Caunterbury, he getteth hym to Douer vnto his brother in law, and fynally ſeekyng meanes to paſſe ouer into Fraunce, and doubting to be diſcouered, he apparelled himſelfe in womans rayment, got a webbe of cloth on his arme, as though he hadde bene ſome huſwifely woman of the countrey, but by the vntowardly folding & vncūning handling of his cloth, (or rather by a lewde fiſherman that tooke him for an harlotte) hee was ſuſpected and ſearched ſo narrowly, that by hys priuy members he was prooued to be a man, and at length, knowen, attached, and committed to priſon, after hee hadde bene reprochfully handled by them that founde hym, and by the Wiues of the Towne, in ſuche vnſeemely apparell. Earle Iohn woulde haue hadde hym puniſhed, and putte to ſome open reproofe for hys paſſed tyrannicall doyngs, but the Byſhoppes, and other of the Barons, for reuerence of hys order, procured hys delyueraunce, with licence to paſſe ouer into Normandy, where hee was borne.

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The Biſhop of Elie late Lord Chancellor diſguiſeth himſelfe in womans apparell.

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Earle not the Biſhops friend

Thus was the Biſhoppe of Elie depoſed from hys office of being Chauncellour, and not withoute warrant, for in very deede, King Richarde hauing receyued aduertiſementes from the Lordes and Peeres of the Realme, of the Chauncellors preſumptuous and hautie demeanor, with wrongs offered to dyuers perſons, wrote to them agayne in this wiſe.

Mat. Par.

RIcharde Kyng of Englande ſendeth greetyng to William Marſhall, to Gilberte Fitz Peter, and Henry Berdulfe, and to William Brewer Peeres. If it ſo chaunce that oure Chauncelloure hathe not faythfully handled the affayres and buſineſſe of oure Realme (committed vnto hym) by the aduice and councell of you, and other to whom wee haue alſo aſſigned the charge of gouernemente of the ſame Realme: wee commaund you, that according to youre diſpoſition in all things to bee done concerning the gouernemente thereof, you order and diſpoſe as well for eſchetes, as all other things. &c. By force of this commiſſion, the Lords were the bolder to procede againſte hym as ye haue heard.

The Biſhop of Elie compleyneth of hys wrongs receyued.

After his comming into the parties of beyonde the Seas, he ceaſſed not with letters and meſſengers to preſent his complainte to the Pope of Rome and to King Richarde, of the iniuries receyued at the hands of Earle John and his complices. And herevpō Pope Celeſtine wrote indeede to all the Archbiſhops and Byſhops that were within the Realme of England, in behalfe of the ſayd Biſhop of Elie, declaryng, that for as much as the King of Englande was gone into the holy lande to warre againſt the enimies of oure faythe, leauyng hys Kyngdome vnder the protection of the Apoſtolyke See, hee coulde not but haue ſpeciall regard to ſee that the ſtate, rightes and honor thereof, were preſerued from all daunger of decay: wherevppon, vnderſtanding that there had bene certayne attemptes made by John Earle of Mortaigne, and others, both againſte the King, and the Biſhop of Elie, that was not onely Legate of the Apoſtolyke See, but alſo gouernoure of the land appoynted by the King, whyche attempte ſounded greatly to the reproche of the Churche of Rome, and danger of domage to enſue to Kyng Richard, if remedie were not the ſooner founde: wherefore he commaunded them by vertue of their obedience, to excommunicate the Earle of Mortaigne, or any other that was knowen to haue layde any violent hands vppon the ſayde Biſhoppe of Ely, or deteyned him as Captiue, or enforced hym to any othe, or elſe had chaunged the ſtate of rule in the Kingdome of England to other forme, than Kyng Richarde had ordeyned at his ſetting forwarde towards the holy land: and that not only all the councellors, auctors, ayders and complices of thoſe that had committed ſuch outrage, but alſo theyr landes ſhould ſtande interdited, ſo that no deuine ſeruice ſhoulde be vſed within precinct of the ſame, except pennaunce and Chriſtning of Infants. This to remayne till the ſayde Byſhop and Kyngdome were reſtored into the former eſtate: and that the parties excommunicated, ſhuld preſent themſelues with letters from the Biſhops vnto the Apoſtolike See to be aſſoyled. &c. Herevppon alſo the Biſhop of Ely himſelfe wrote vnto the Byſhop of Lincolne and other, touchyng this matter: but the Biſhoppes did neyther anye thing in accompliſhment of the effect of yͤ Popes letters, nor at his owne contemplatiō. And therefore perceyuing ſmall help to come that way, hee ſoughte to obteyne the fauor and friendſhippe of Earle John, and of his mother Quene Eleanor.

The Popes letters vnto the Archbiſhop and Biſhops of Englande.

Note how the Pope defendeth hys Chapleynes.

In the meane time, the Lords, Barons and Prelates of the Realme after they had depriued hym of all authoritie, and baniſhed him forthe of the lande, they ordeyned the Archbiſhop of Rouen in fauour of the Kings commiſſion, to haue yͤ chiefe rule and adminiſtration of things touchyng all the affayres of the common wealth, but yet ſo as Earle John had the doings in many poyntes, ſo that he might ſeeme in manner as aſſociate with him, whereof ſprang muche inconuenience. For this John beeing a man (as hee is noted by ſome writers) of an ambitious nature, was ſuſpected to aſpire vnto the Kyngdome. In ſo much, that hee had ioyned with the French King after the ſame King was returned forth of the holy land againſt his brother Kyng Richard, if his mother Quene Eleanor hadde not perſwaded him to the contrary.

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Whileſt theſe things were a doyng, on the twelfth day of July, the Citie of Acres was ſurrendred into the Chriſtian mens handes, for the Soldan Saladine (beeyng approched neere to the ſiege of the Chriſtians with a puiſſaunte Army, in hope to haue reyſed theyr ſiege) when hee perceyued it lay not in hys power to worke any feate to the ſuccoure of hys people within the Citie, and that they were ſo conſtreyned that they muſt needes yeelde, hee holpe to make theyr compoſition, and promiſed to performe certayne couenauntes on their behalfe.

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Herevppon, the Saraſynes within Acres couenaunted not onely to delyuer the Citie vnto the Chriſtians with fyue hundred Priſoners of Chriſtians whyche they hadde within the ſame, but alſo to procure that the holye Croſſe ſhoulde bee to them deliuered, with a thouſande other Chriſtian Priſoners, ſuche as the Chriſtian Princes ſhoulde appoynte out of thoſe numbers whyche Saladyne hadde in hys cuſtodye, and further, to gyue them two hundred thouſande Beſans.

And tyll theſe couenauntes were performed, it was agreede, that the Saraſynes whyche were at that preſente lefte within the Citie, ſhoulde remayne as pledges, vnder condition, that if the ſame couenauntes were not performed within fortie dayes, then ſhoulde they ſtande at the mercy of the Chriſtian Princes as touchyng lyfe and lymme.

These thyngs thus concluded, and the Citie yeelded vp into the Chriſtian mens handes, the Frenche Kyng vppon enuy and malice conceyued agaynſte Kyng Richarde (although hee pretended ſickneſſe for excuſe) departed homewardes, ſetting from Acres the laſt daye of July. Nowe then, after the departure of Kyng Phillippe, when the daye approched, in the which

The Cit
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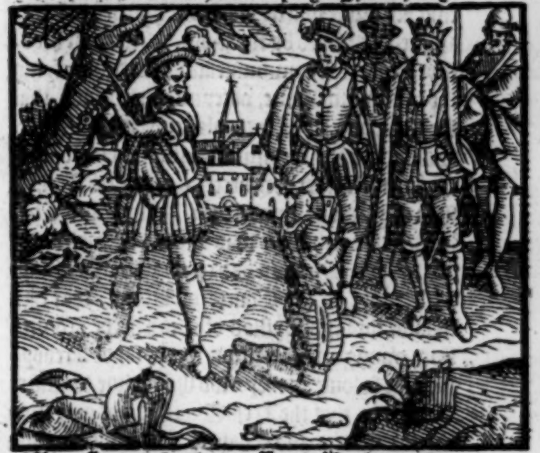
home

whiche the Saraſines ſhoulde performe the couenauntes, or elſe ſtande to the iudgement of lyfe and death at the pleaſure of the Chriſtian Princes. It was perceiued that the couenantes would not bee fulfilled according to the agreement. For Saladyne, as it well appeared, mente not to performe that which for the ſafegarde of his men hee had vndertaken, and did but dally with the Chriſtians to prolong the time, wherevpõ ſentẽce was giuen forthe that for defaulte in ſuche behalfe, the Saraſynes remayning as pledges ſhuld loſe their heades. Saladyne hauing knowledge thereof, ſent worde to King Richard and to the whole Chriſtian army, that if his people that were in the chriſtion mens hands loſt their heades, he would not faile but cauſe the heades of all thoſe Chriſtians which he had in captiuitie to be cut off likewiſe: but notwithſtãding this anſwere on the fourtene day of Auguſt King Richarde iſſued forth of the citie paſſing the vttermoſt ditches and encamped himſelfe neere yͤ army of Saladyne, who yͤ ſame day ſent vnto King Richarde riche preſentes requyring of hym a longer day for performaunce of the couenauntes, but that would not be graunted: wherefore vpon the ſayd denyall, Saladyne cauſed al thoſe Chriſtian priſoners which he had in his handes to be beheaded vpõ yͤ eighteenth day



of Auguſt, on whyche day Kyng Rycharde aduaunced forth towardes the lodgings of the Saraſins, and ſkirmiſhed wyth them very hottely, ſo

that manye were wounded and ſlayne on both parts: amõgſt other one of King Richards companions at al exerciſes named Peter Mignot loſt his life there. Furthermore, although K. Richard heard that Saladyne had put to death the chriſtian priſoners in ſuche wiſe as you haue harde, yet woulde not hee preuente his terme appointed for the execution of the Saraſyns that were in hys cuſtody, but abiding vnto the twentie day of Auguſt, he then cauſed thoſe Saraſyns whiche fel to his lot, at the time of the ſurrender of Acres being in number about. 2600. to be brought forth of the citie, and neere to the walles in the ſight of Saladine and all his hoſt, they had their heads chopped off.

Saladine cauſeth the Chriſtian priſoners to be beheaded.

The Duke of Burgoigne cauſed execution to be done within the citie of thoſe whiche fell to the French Kings ſhare, the number of the which roſe to two thouſande and foure hundred, or thereaboutes, for the whole number was reckned to bee about fyue thouſande that thus loſte theyr lyues through the inconſtancie of their Prince. Yet diuers of the principall had their liues ſaued. The Sarazens themſelues alſo ſpake muche euill of Saladine for this matter, bycauſe that refuſing to performe the articles of couenauntes, he hadde occaſioned the enimie to ſlea thoſe that hadde ſo valiantly ſerued in defence of the Citie, to the vttermoſt ieopardie of their liues. But now to leaue foraine matters, and to returne home into England: We finde that the ſecond of December, the Monkes of Caunterbury choſe to their Archbyſhop Reginald Biſhop of Bath, the which within fifteene dayes after his election, departed thys life, and lyeth buried at Bath. Alſo this yere, or as Gerua. Doro. hath in the yere following, the Biſhop of Durham ſought meanes to withdraw his ſubiection frõ yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, for whyche

Rog. Houed.

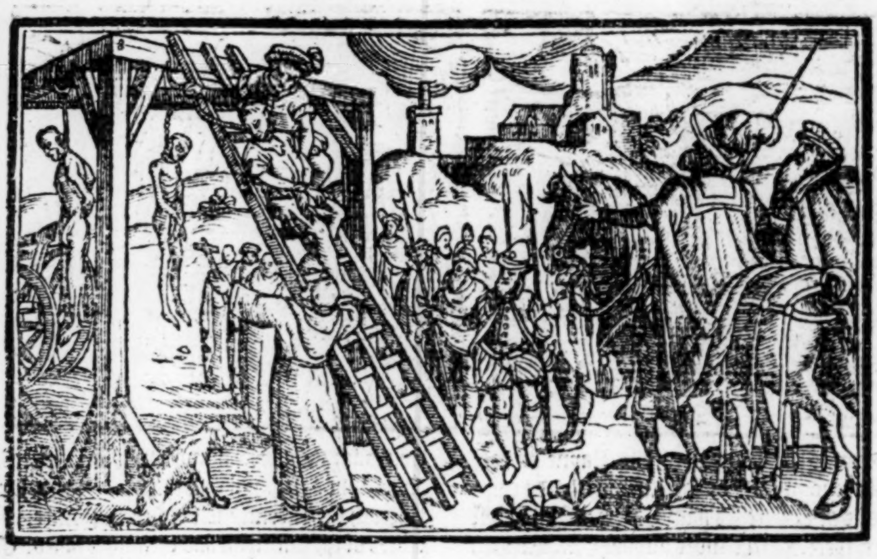
Gerua. Dor.

Strife betwixt the Archbyſhop of Yorke and the Byſhop of Durham.

attempt, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke vpon truſt of the Popes graunte, did not excommunicate the ſayd Biſhop, notwithſtanding that hee appealled to the Popes conſiſtory three ſeuerall tymes, putting his owne matter and his Churches to be examined and tryed by the Pope, wherevpon hee obeyed not the excommunication: and ſignifying the cauſe vnto Rome, obteyned ſuche fauor, that the Pope and his Cardinals reuerſed the ſentẽce, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the Archbiſhop of Yorke had broken the Aulters and Chalices, as information was giuen, in whiche the Biſhoppe of Durham had celebrated after his appeale made to the Courte of Rome, that then ſhoulde the ſayd Byſhop of Durham be acquited from owing any ſubiection to the ſayde Archbyſhop for ſo long as they two ſhould liue togither. True it is, that the Archbiſhop had not only broken the Aulters and Chalices which the Byſhop had vſed in deede for the celebration of Maſſe, but alſo helde his owne brother Iohn Earle of Mortaigne, for excommunicate, bycauſe hee had eate and dronke in company of the ſayd Byſhop, and would not communicate with him, till hee came to receyue abſolution, and to make ſatiſfaction for his fault. In the end, the Biſhops of Lincolne and Rocheſter, with the Abbot of Peterburgh, were appointed by the Pope to haue the hearyng of this matter, as Iudges, authoriſed by hys Bulles, who ſate therevpon at Northampton, vppon Saint Kalixt hys daye, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in eyther of their caſes, they gaue a longer day, that is to witte, till the feaſt of the natiuitie of Sainct Iohn Baptiſt nexte after, to ſee if by anye good meanes there mighte ſome agreement haue bene hadde betwixt them, or, if that coulde not bee, that then the Popes letters to ſtande in force as before, and the helps of eyther parte ſaued, as though no delay hadde bin vſed. And to thys, both parties were agreeable, ſpecially at the motion of the Byſhoppe of Lincolne.

Roger La Conneſta of Cheſte,

This yeare alſo, Roger de Lacy Conneſtable of Cheſter, tooke Alan de Lec, and Peter de Bouencort, and vppon deſpite hanged them, for that beeyng put in truſt amongſt other with the keepyng of the Caſtels of Nottingham and Tickhill, which he had receyued into his cuſtody of the Biſhop of Elie Lord Chauncellor, they had conſented to the treaſon of Roberte de Crokeſton, Eudo de Duville, which deliuered the ſame Caſtels vnto Iohn Earle of Mortaigne. The ſame Earle of Mortaigne was highly offended for the death of thoſe two perſons, and therefore waſted the lands of the ſaid Roger which lay within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction.



But now touching the departure of the Frẽch King from Acres, diuers occaſions are remembred by Writers of the emulation and ſecret ſpite which he ſhould beare towardes King Richarde, and beſide other already touched, one was, for enterteyning and relieuing yͤ Erle of Champaigne in ſuche bountifull wiſe in his neceſſitie, that hee was ready to forſake the Frenche Kings ſeruice, and cleaue to Kyng Richard: but howſoeuer it came to paſſe, partly through enuy as hathe bene thought, conceyued at the great deedes of Kyng Richarde, whoſe greate power and valiancie hee could not well abide, and partly for other reſpects hym mouing, hee tooke the Sea with three galleys of the Genewes, and returned firſt into Italy, and ſo home into Fraunce, hauing promiſed firſt vnto Kyng Richarde at hys departure out of the holy lande, and after to Pope Celeſtine at Rome, that hee woulde not attempte any hurtfull enterpriſe againſte the Engliſhe dominions, till King Richarde ſhoulde be returned foorth of the holy land: but this promiſe was not kept, for after that he was returned into Fraunce, hee firſte ſoughte to procure the foreſayde Earle Iohn King Richards brother, to rebell agaynſte him, promiſing him not onely ayde to reduce all his brothers dominions into his handes, but alſo to giue him his ſiſter Adela in marriage, whome King Richard vpon ſuſpition of vnchaſt lyuing, had forſaken (as before yee haue heard) but when Earle Iohn was diſſwaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwiſe as it is ſaid he would willingly haue receyued,) King Phillip ſtill reteyned a malitious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of olde diſpleaſures, woulde haue attempted ẏ war againſt ẏ ſubiectes of K. Richard, if his Lords woulde haue ioyned with hym: but they conſidering what ſlaunder woulde redound hereof, both to him and them for the iniurie done to the Chriſtian common wealthe, in making warre againſte hym that was occupyed in defence of the faith againſte the common enimies of Chriſtendome, would not giue theyr conſente hereto, and ſo the matter reſted, till Kyng Richarde was taken priſoner in Almaigne, and then what followed, it ſhall after appeare.

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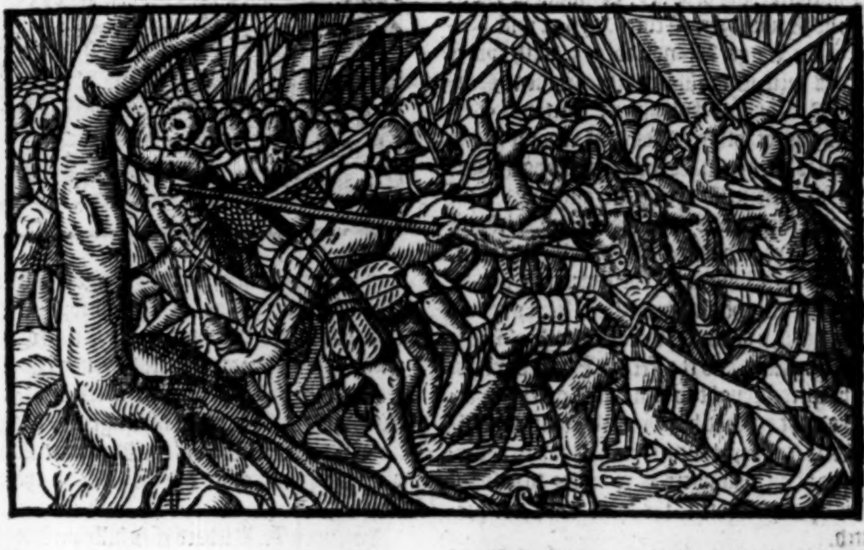
In this meane while, the Chriſtian army atchieued ſome worthy enterpriſes in the holye lande, thoughe not many, by reaſon of ſuche emulous diſcord as reigned amongſt the chiefe gouernours. It chaunced yet on the euen of the Natiuitie of our Ladye nexte after the departure of king Phillip, as king Richard marched forth towards Iapha antiently called Ioppe, the Soldan Saladine taking the aduantage of the place, ſet vpon the rerewarde of the Chriſtians: but hys Saraſynes (after they had fought right fiercelye from noone till ſunne ſetting) were ſo beaten backe at lengthe, and repulſed with ſuche loſſe, that in fortie yeares before, they hadde not ſuſteyned at one tyme greater domage.

xvii. Par.
Emulous diſcord among the Chriſtiās.

King Richard diſcomfiteth the Saraſynes neere to Porte Iaph.



Amongſt other of the Chriſtians ſlayne at that encounter, was one Iames Dauenes, a mā of high prowes and valiancie.

Moreouer, Kyng Richarde wanne dyuers Townes and Caſtels out of the enimies hands, as Aſcalon, Darus, and dyuers other, and ſome hee fortifyed, as Aſcalon aforeſayde, and Porte Iaph, otherwiſe called Ioppa. There were ſundry encounters alſo betwixte the Saraſynes and Chriſtians, wherein Kyng Richarde and hys people bare themſelues ſo manfully, that the victory for the moſt parte continually reſted on their ſide.

g. Houed.

1192 At one time alſo, hearing of a great conuoy of vittayles, munitions and other things whiche came from Babylone towardes Ieruſalem to furniſh Saladine and hys army (whych conuoys they call Carabannes) Kyng Richarde with a competente power of menne mette them on the way, and diſtreſſed thoſe that were attendaunte vppon the ſafegarde of that carriage, beeing in number aboute two thouſande horſemen, beſyde a greate multitude of footemenne, and therewith tooke the carriages with foure thouſande and ſyxe hundred Cammels and Dromodaries, beſyde an innumerable ſort of Mules, Aſſes, and other beaſtes of burthen.

But to ſpeake of all the worthy exploytes atchieued by King Richarde and his valiant Captaynes there in the holy lande againſte the Infidels, it woulde require a long treatiſe, and therefore heere we paſſe them ouer.

This is to bee noted, that amongſt other of

The names of ſuch noble men as were famous for their valiant doings in this voyage.

whome wee finde honorable mention made by writers for their high valiancie ſhewed in thoſe exploytes, theſe are named as chiefe, Robert Erle of Leyceſter, Hubert Byſhop of Saliſburie, with the Earles of Saint Paule and Dreux, beſide diuers other, as Hugh de Gourney, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferrers, Roger de Towny, Iames de Iuenes, the Byſhop of Beauuoys, William de Barres, William de Tarland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Nealle, Henry Fitz Nicholas, Roberte de Newburg, Rauſe de Sainte Mary, Arnald du Boys, Henry de Mailoc, William and Saul de Bruil, Andrew de Chauigny, Henry de Gray, Peter de Pratellis, Stephen de Turnham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbalde de Mont Chablon, Manſer de Lyſle, Richarde Deuorques, and Theoderike Phillip, Ferrike de Wienne, Gilberte Malemayne, Alexander d'Arſy, Stephen de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanuille, Raymond Fitz Prince, Bartholmew de Mortimer. Gerard Furniual, Rauſe de Malleon, Roger de Sacy, William de Poole, Hugh de Neuill, Hẽry Teutch, or if ye will Teutonicus the Kings Standerdbearer, with dyuers other, as well Engliſhmen. Frenchmen, Normans, Poictouins, Iniouines, Britons, Gaſcoignes, as of other nations, of whome partly mention is already made before in this booke, and partly for breefeneſſe dyuers are omitted. But nowe to returne, ſure it is, that Kyng Richarde meant to haue recouered the Citie of Ieruſalem, and all the holy land out of the Sarazens hands, by the aſſiſtance of almighty God. If the doubte whiche hee had of his brother the Earle of Mortaings practiſes, and the French Kings doyngs, whiche were brought to him with a greeuous report, had not reuoked him home: for diuers meſſẽgers were ſent dayly into the holy land to aduertiſe hym of ſuch daungers as were like to enſue, if by his ſpeedy returne the ſame were not preuented.

de Pole alias de Stragno.

Galf. Vinſaf.

And firſt after Eſter, there came to him yͤ Prior of Herreforde with letters from the Biſhop of Ely, conteyning a ſore information againſt hys brother Earle Iohn, for hauing expulſed thoſe whome he had appoynted rulers ouer the Realme of England, and altred the ſtate of things there contrary to the ordinances by hym deuiſed afore his ſetting forwarde vpon his iourney (as before yee haue partly heard.) Vpon recept of which letters, he meant immediately at the firſt to haue returned, and to haue left behinde him a conuenient power of men, to witte, three hundred Knightes or men of armes, and two thouſand choſen footemen, to abide vpon the defence of the holy lande, with other Chriſtians at his coſtes and charges. But yet at length he was perſwaded to tarry ſpecially til things were ſet in ſome better ſtay, whiche then were out of order by yͤ death of the Marques of Montferrato, Lord of Tire, whome two traiterous Sarazens of yͤ kinde which they name Aſſaſſini had murthered. After whoſe death, Hẽry Earle of Champaigne that was nephew to kyng Richarde, married his wife, and was made K. of Ieruſalem, Guido reſigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompence, King Richard gaue the Iſle of Cipres, although ſome write, yͭ yͤ Knightes templers had bought it of him before. Thus K. Richard remaining ſtil in the holy lãd, ſhortly after Whitſontide, there came an other meſſenger to him, one Iohn de Alenzon a Clerke,

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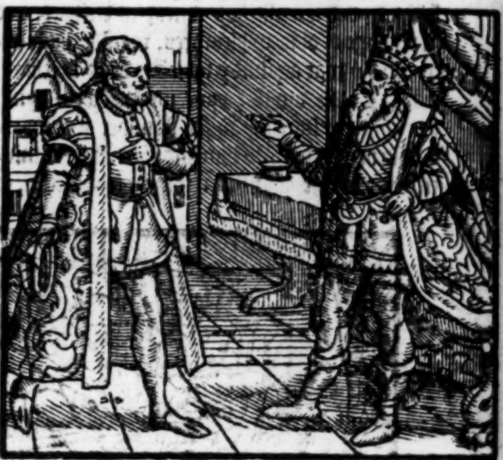

bringing worſe newes out of Englande than the Prior of Hereford had broughte before, whiche in effect conteyned, that his brother Erle Iohn was alied as a confederate with the French King, and meant through his ſetting on, to ſeiſe into his poſſeſſion the whole Realme of England, notwithſtanding the perſwaſion of his mother Queene Elianor, and other hys friendes to the contrary.

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Hereupon K. Richard was fully perſwaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certaine perſons, and namely of one William de Poicters, a Chaplaine of his, hee eftſoones altered his purpoſe, and ſo remayned there, till at length through enuy and malice ſtill encreaſing amongſt the Chriſtians, he perceyued how no good purpoſe could goe forward, ſince that which ſeemed good to ſome, was miſliked of other: and ſpecially oure writers put great blame in the Frenchmenne, the which eyther vpon diſdeyne, or other diſpleaſure, would not be perſwaded to followe theyr aduice, whych were knowen beſt to vnderſtand the ſtate of thinges in thoſe parties. And heerevppon, when the armye was aduaunced vnto Betenoble, a place not paſt foure leagues diſtaunte from Ieruſalem, bycauſe theyr mynde myghte not bee fulfilled for the beſieging of Ieruſalem,

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Poicters K
Richardes
Chapleyn

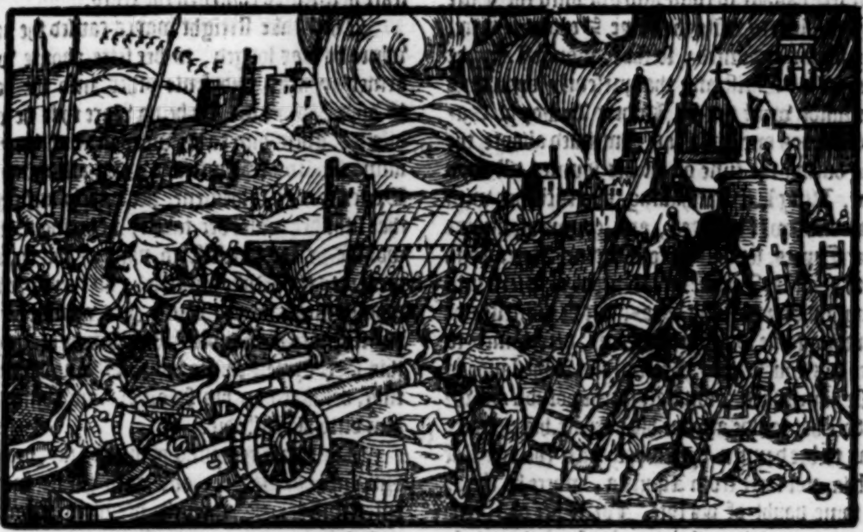
which they had intended to take in hand (where as the reſidue would rather that they ſhoulde haue gone to beſiege Babilon in Egypt, and that vpon ſundry great reſpectes) the Frenchmen rayſed theyr fielde, and returned agayne to Acres in great deſpite, putting the reſt of the armie alſo ſo much as in them lay in daunger of vtter ruine and diſtreſſe.

An. reg. 4.

King Richarde then and the other Chriſtian Captaines perceyuing how ŷ matter [illegible], and giuing ouer all hope of any more good ſucceſſe, followed them. And after they were thus returned to Acres, K. Richard ſtill doubting leaſt his long abſence from home might putte him in daunger of more loſſe here, than hee ſawe hope of preſent gaine to be had there, in ſuch diuerſitie of humours and priuie malice which raigned among them, he determined fully to depart homewards, with no leſſe purpoſe to returne thither again after he had ſetled things at home in ſuch ſure ſtay as was expedient for the ſuretie of his own eſtate and quietneſſe of his people.

Wil. Par.

Hereupon being readie to enter into his ſhips at Acres [or as ſome haue, being on his iourney homewardes in Cypres,] he was aduertiſed that the Souldan Saladine had taken the towne of Iapha, ſlaine a great number of the Chriſtians within it, and beſieged the reſidue within the Caſtell, the which (conſtreyned through feare) had compounded to yeelde, if within three dayes there came no ſuccour.



King Richarde being hereof aduertiſed, and turning griefe into valiauncie, with all ſpeede ſayled backe vnto Iapha, and landing there with his people, cauſed his enimies to forſake the towne: but anon aſſembling themſelues againe togyther, they turned once more to beſiege it, whereupon hee iſſued forth into the fieldes, and fought with them ſundrie dayes togither, tyll finally they were content to forſake theyr enterpriſe, and to depart thence for altogyther.

ing Richard ſcueth Port ph.

In theſe conflicts the valiaunt courage of king Richarde, and the worthie manhoode of his ſouldiers right well appeared: for hee brought not with him at that tyme vnto Iapha aboue. lxxx. men of armes, and foure hundred other ſouldiers with Croſſebowes, and yet with that ſmal handfull of men, with ſome ayd of them that he found there in the Caſtell, he did not onely byd battaile to the enimies, which were numbred to. lxij. M. but alſo put them to the worſe, and cauſed them to flee backe, to theyr great ſhame and confuſion.

d. Niger. at. Paris.

Thus Iapha beeing deliuered out of the enimies hands, king Richarde fell ſicke at a Caſtell called Cephas, and ſo remayned there certaine dayes, till he had recouerid his health. In which meane time, the Soldan Saladine ſeeming to lament his caſe, ſent vnto him certain of his Counſellers to common with him of peace, declaring that although he well vnderſtoode that king Richarde ment ſhortly to returne into his countrey, and that after his departure out of the Eaſt parties, he coulde with ſmall ado recouer all that the Chriſtians yet helde within the holye lande, hee woulde neuertheleſſe in reſpect of king Richardes high prowes, and noble valiancie, graunt a peace for a certaine time, ſo that not only Aſcalone, but alſo al other ſuch townes and places as the Chriſtians had fortified or wonne ſith the conqueſt of Acres ſhoulde be razed, as touching their walles, bulwarkes, gates, and other fortifications. King Richard (though hee perceyued that this offer of peace tended vnto this poynt chiefly, that Saladine woulde thereby adnihilate whatſoeuer the Chriſtian armie had done in the holy lande ſithe his and the French kings arriuall, ſo that by the ſayd peace he ſhould gaine more than by the edge of his ſworde,) did ſomwhat ſtay at this offer and

Cephas. King Richard fell ſicke.

A peace concluded betwixt the Chriſtians and Saraſins.

Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie.

King Richard taketh his iorney homewardes.

King Richard ſlaundered for the death of the Marques of Monferrato.

VVil. Paruus.

Erle of Gorze.

Saltzburg.

King Richard commeth to Vienna.

demaund as a thing greatly diſhonourable to the Chriſtians, to loſe by treatie of peace ſo muche or rather more than they gotte by force of warres, (a meere token of faynt and feeble courage) yet conſidering, that in ſuch neceſſitie both of his departure from thence, and alſo of lacke of other ſuccors to reſiſt the puiſſance of the enimies, after his cōming away, he iudged it beſt to take the offer at the enimies handes in auoyding of ſome greater euill. Hereupon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for three yeares, three monethes, three weekes, three dayes, & three houres, to beginne at Eaſter next enſuing. And among other articles, it was couenaunted, that the Chriſtians ſhoulde haue free paſſage to come and goe vnto the Citie of Ieruſalem to viſite the holye Sepulchre there, which was graunted, ſo that amongeſt a great number of Chriſtians that preſently vpon thys concluſion went thither, Hubert Biſhop of Saliſburie was one, who had continued aboute the king during the time of all his iourney till thys time. King Richard hauing thus cōcluded with Saladine, tooke the Sea, and comming againe into Cypres, ſent his wife Queene Berengaria with his ſiſter Ioane, late Queene of Sicell into Englande by the long Seas, but he himſelfe not minding to lie long on the Seas, determined to take his courſe into Grecia, and ſo by lande to paſſe homewardes with all ſpeede poſſible. Howbeit ere hee coulde attaine his purpoſe, his chaunce was to bee dryuen by tempeſt into the coaſt of Iſtria, not farre from Aquileia, where he ſtoode in ſome doubt of his lyfe. For if hee had beene knowne and taken, they woulde ſurely haue kylled him, bycauſe of the ſlaunder that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the Marques of Monferato, who in deede was ſlaine by two of the Aſſaſſini in the Citie of Tirus, whileſt King Richarde was in the holye lande (as before yee haue hearde.) He therefore hauing here made Shipwracke, and doubting to fall into the handes of anye perſon in thoſe parties that bare good will vnto the Marques, (agaynſt whome he had indeede ſhewed himſelfe not friendly in a quarrell betwixt the ſayd Marques and Guido the king of Ieruſalem) made the beſt ſhift he coulde to gette away, yet knowledge being hadde of him, and ſearch made after him by one Meynard of Gorzeyn, hee loſt an eight of hys ſeruauntes, and ſo came to a towne within the Biſhoprike of Saltzburg called Fryſake, where he was eftſoones in daunger to haue beene taken againe by one Frederike de Saint Somme, who notwithſtanding tooke ſixe of hys menne, but yet hee himſelfe wyth three other of hys companie made ſhift to get awaye. And finally comming to Vien in Oſtriche, and there cauſing his ſeruauntes to prouide meate for him more ſumptuous and fine than was thought requiſite for ſo meane a perſon as hee counterfeyted then to beare the countenaunce of, it was ſtreight wayes ſuſpected that he was ſome other maner of man than hee ſhewed himſelfe to bee, and in fine, thoſe that marked more diligently the maner of him, perceyued what he was, and gaue knowledge to the Duke of Auſtrich named Leopolde, being then in the Citie of Vienna, what they had ſeene. His Page that had the Teutch tongue, goyng aboute the towne to chaunge Golde, and buie vittayles, bewrayed him, hauing by chaunce the kings gloues vnder hys girdle: whereupon comming to bee examined, for feare of tortures confeſſed the truth.

Ranſe Hi

King Ri ſubmitte himſelfe the Duke Auſtricke.

The Duke ſtreight wayes cauſed the houſe where he was lodged, to bee ſette aboute wyth armed menne, and ſente other into the houſe to apprehende him. He being ware that he was diſcried, gotte him to his weapon: but they aduiſing him to bee contented, and alledging the Dukes commaundement, hee boldely anſwered, that ſithe hee muſte bee taken, he beeing a king, woulde yeelde himſelfe to none of the companie but to the Duke himſelfe, and therefore if it woulde pleaſe him to come, hee woulde yeelde himſelfe into his handes. The Duke hearing of this, ſpeedily came vnto hym, whome hee meeting, deliuered vp his ſworde, and committed him vnto his cuſtodie.

Nic.Tri

The Duke reioyſing of ſuch a pray, brought him vnto his Palace, and with gentle wordes enterteyned him, thoughe hee ment no greate good towardes him, as well ynoughe appeared in that hee committed hym to the keeping of certayne Gentlemen, which wythout muche curteſie looked ſtreightly ynough to him for ſtarting awaye, inſomuche that they kept hym in colde Irons as ſome Authours doe wryte. Hee was taken after the maner aforeſayde in December vpon Saint Thomas euen the yeare of our Lorde. 1192. and in the fourth yeare of hys raigne.

Polichro

The cauſe the diſple betwixt th Duke of A ſtrich & k Richard.

The Duke of Auſtriche ought the King no good will, bycauſe he had caſt downe his enſignes pight vp in a Turret at Acres, whiche hee had wonne at the verye time when that Citie was delyuered by the Saraſins: for whileſt they were in treatie on one ſide, the Duke on the other, not knowing any thing thereof, gaue the aſſault vnto that part of the towne which was appoynted vnto him to beſiege. And ſo beeing entred the towne, and perceyuing that by treatie it was to be delyuered, he retired into the Turret which he had firſt wonne and entred, and there ſet vp his Standart and enſignes, whiche king Richarde as the Teutch wryters affyrme, comming thyther, threwe downe and trode vnder hys feete.

r. Do.

g. Houed.

ing Richard eared ot the ath of the arques of ountferate.

But Geruaſius Dorobornenſis declareth this matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus. After that the ſayde Citie of Acres was rendred into the Chriſtian mens handes (ſayth he) dyuerſe Lords toke their lodgings as they thought good, and hanged forth theyr enſignes. And as it chaunced, the Duke of Auſtriche placing himſelfe in one of the fayreſt Palayces of all the Citie, put forth hys Enſigne, whereof King Richarde beeing ware, came thither wyth a companie of hardie Souldiers aboute hym, and threwe downe the Dukes Enſigne, ſo diſplacing him oute of that ſo pleaſaunt and beautifull a lodging. For this cauſe and alſo ſurmiſing that king Richarde ſhoulde be guiltie of the death of the Marques, Conrade the Duke of Auſtriche ſhewed ſuche diſcourteſie towardes him. But concerning the murther of the Marques, the chiefe gouernour of thoſe Saraſins called Aſſaſſini cleared King Rycharde by a Letter wrytten and directed vnto the Duke of Auſtriche in maner as followeth.

Lupoldo Duci Auſtriæ, Vetus de Monte ſalutẽ. Cùm plurimi Reges & Principes vltra mare Richardũ Regem Angliæ & dominũ de morte Marchiſi inculpent, iuro per dominũ qui regnat in æternum, & per legem quam tenemus, quod in eius mortem nullam culpam habuit: Eſt ſiquidem cauſa mortis ipſius Marchiſi talis, vnus ex fratribus noſtris in vnam nauem de Satalei, ad partes noſtras veniebat, & tempeſtas illum fortè ad Tyrum appulit, & Marchiſus fecit illum capere & occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos verò Marchiſo nuncios noſtros miſimus, mandantes vt pecuniam fratris noſtri nobis redderet, & de morte fratris noſtri nobiſcum ſe concordaret, & noluit. Nec non & nuncios noſtros ſpreuit, & mortem fratris noſtri ſuper Reginaldum dominũ de Sidonis poſuit, & nos tantum fecimus per amicos noſtros, quòd in veritate ſcimus, quòd ille fecit illum occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium nuncium noſtrum nomine Edriſum miſimus ad eum, quem in Mare mergere voluit, ſed amici noſtri illum à Tiro feſtinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos peruenit, & iſta nobis nunciauit. Nos quoq; ex illa hora Marchiſum deſiderauimus occidere. Tuncq; duos fratres miſimus ad Tirum qui eum aperte & fere coram omni populo Tiri occiderunt. Hæc ergo fuit cauſa mortis Marchiſi, & benè dicimus vobis in veritate, quòd dominus Richardus rex Angliæ in hac Marchiſi morte nullã culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt iniuſtè fecerunt & ſine cauſa: Sciatis pro certo, quòd nullum hominẽ huius mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, niſi prius nobis malũ fecerit. Et ſciatis quòd has literas fecimus in domo noſtra ad Caſtellũ noſtrum Meſſiat in dimidio Septembri anno ab Alexandro. 1505.

The ſame in Engliſh is thus.

Vetus de Monte to Lupolde Duke of Auſtriche ſendeth greeting. Where many kings and princes beyonde the Seas blame Richarde king of Englande of the Marques his death, I ſweare by the Lorde that reigneth euerlaſtingly, and by the lawe whiche we holde, that hee was not in fault for hys death. For the verye cauſe of the Marques hys death was ſuche as followeth. One of our brethren in a Shippe of Satalie came towardes oure partyes, and chaunced by tempeſt to be driuen vnto Tyre, and the Marques cauſed him to be taken and ſlaine, and toke a greate portion of money that hee hadde in the Shippe wyth hym. Whereupon we ſent oure Meſſengers vnto the Marques, commaunding hym to reſtore vnto vs the money of our brother, and to compounde wyth vs for oure ſayde brothers death, and he woulde not. Moreouer, he alſo contemned our Meſſengers, and layde the faulte of oure brothers death vppon Reginalde Lorde of Sidon, and wee did ſo muche through our friendes, that wee gotte full vnderſtanding that the Marques himſelfe cauſed him to bee ſlayne, and toke his money. And therefore we ſent vnto hym againe an other Meſſenger named Edriſus, whome he woulde haue drowned in the Sea, but oure friendes made ſuche ſhifte, that they procured hym to departe wyth ſpeede from Tyre, who returned to vs, and ſignifyed theſe thinges to vs for certayne. And from that houre euer after wee hadde a deſyre to ſlea the Marques: and ſo then wee ſent two of our brethren vnto Tyre, who openly, and in a manner in preſence of all the people of Tyre ſlue hym. This therefore was the verye cauſe of the death of the Marques: and wee ſaye to you in good ſoth, that the Lorde Richarde King of Englande, in thys death of the Marques was nothing culpable: and they that haue done anye diſpleaſure vnto the King of Englande for thys cauſe, they haue done it wrongfully, and wythout any iuſt occaſion. Know ye for certaine, that wee doe not vſe to kill anye man of this worlde for any brybe, or for money, excepte hee haue done to vs ſome harme afore tyme. And knowe ye that wee haue made theſe letters in our houſe at our Caſtell of Meſſiat, in the middeſt of September, in the yeare from Alexander the greate 1505.

Thus wee ſee howe King Richarde was cleared of that cryme concerning the Marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verily it is moſte lyke that King Richarde woulde haue beene loth to haue communicated his purpoſe vnto ſuche a wicked kynde of Paganes as the Aſſaſſini were, if hee hadde pretended

1193

any ſuche matter, but rather would haue ſought his reuenge by ſome other meanes. Now therefore to our purpoſe. The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon bruted and blowne ouer al Germany, wherevpon the Emperour Henry the .vj. the ſonne of Fredericke the firſt, ſent in al haſt vnto the Duke, perſwading him to deliuer the king into his hands, being able to ſuſteine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and deteining of him priſoner, as the Pope and other. The Emperour well vnderſtoode the wealthe and riches of Englande, and therefore hoped to make ſome good purchaſe by raunſoming the king, if he might get him out of the Dukes handes. The Duke perceiuing alſo the Emperoures meanyng, durſt not well denye his requeſt; and therfore he deliuered the king vnto them that were ſent from the Emperour, who couenaunted to giue vnto the ſaide Duke the ſumme of .6000. pounde of Colen weight for the hauing of the ſaid king. The Emperour thus receiuing the king at the handes of the Duke of Auſtriche, commaunded that he ſhoulde be committed to cloſe priſon, and woulde not ſo muche doe as once ſpeake wyth hym. Thys he dyd to cauſe the king vpon an indignation and wearines of that maner of life to make ſpede in offering ſome large maſſe of money for his libertie and deliueraunce. Here is to be remembred by the way, that aboute the ſame time or ſomewhat before, in the yeare of our Lord .1192. the Pope ſent two Legates (that is to witte, Octauian Biſhop of Hoſtia, and one Iordane de Foſſa noua) into Normandie, to agree the Biſhop of Ely, and the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen: but commyng vnto Giſors, they were ſtaied from entring any further into the countrey, wherevpon they dyd interdite the whole Duchie of Normandie, together with William Fitz Radulfe Lorde Steward of that countrey, bycauſe hee was the man that had ſo ſtaied them. Immediatly herevpon, Quene Elenor, and the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen ſent vnto thoſe Legates Hugh Biſhop of Durham, requiring them to releaſe that ſentence of interdiction ſo pronoũced agaynſt the ſteward and country of Normandie in the kings abſence, but they would not, except they might be receiued into Normãdie: howebeit, the Pope being ſent vnto, releaſed it, and cauſed the Legates to releaſe it alſo, & yet they entred not into Normandie at all. Alſo this yeare whileſt the Seneſhall of Gaſcoigne laye ſicke, the Earle of Pieregort, and the Vicount of Marche, and almoſt all the Lordes and Barons of Gaſceignes, began to waſt and deſtroye the landes of King Richard, and although the Seneſhall many tymes by meſſengers required a peace, or at the leaſt ſome truce, yet coulde he not haue any graunte thereof: wherefore vppon hys recouery of healthe he inuaded the landes of the ſayde Earle, tooke the Caſtels and fortreſſes, and ſome of them he fortefied, and kept to the Kyngs vſe, and ſome of them hee raſed downe to the ground. Hee alſo inuaded the Vicountes countrey, and ſubdued it to the Kyngs gouernemente.

The king is deliuered to the Emperor.
Mat. Par.

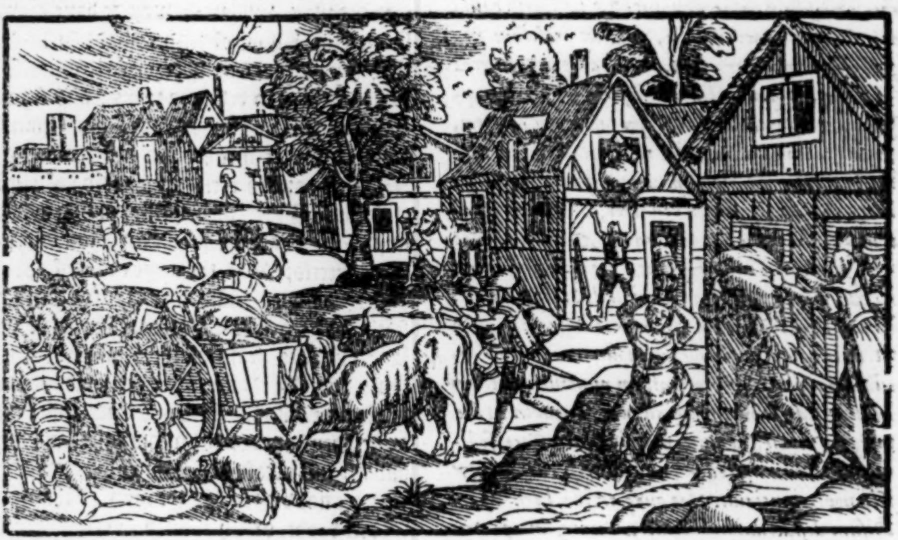
Reg. Ho

Two Leg
from the p

Normandie
interdited.

The Earle
Pieregort
others with
king of Eng
lands land

The Seneſchal of Gaſcoigne reuengeth that iniurie.



Shortly after came the brother of the Kyng of Nauarre, with eight hundred Knyghtes or men of armes to the Seneſhals ayde, and ſo they two togither entring into the lands of the Earle of Tholouſe, tooke dyuers Caſtels and fortreſſes within the ſame, of the whiche ſome they fortified, and ſome they raſed, and rode euen to the gates of Tholouſe, and lodged in manner vnder the walles of the Citie.

The king of Nauerres brother.

A little before Chriſtmas alſo, diuers of thoſe that had bin in the holy lande with King Rychard, came home into England, not knowyng but that King Richarde had bin at home before them, and beeing aſked where they thought hee was become, they coulde ſaye no more but that they had ſeene the ſhippe wherein he firſt went aborde, arriued at Brendize in Puglia.

e Abbots of
xley & Ro-
ts Bridge.

At length when the newes came how he was taken and ſtayed as priſoner, the Archbiſhop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realm of Englande, ſent with all ſpeede the Abbot of Boxeley, and the Abbot of Roberts bridge into Almaine to ſpeake with him, and to vnderſtand his ſtate, and what his pleaſure was in all things. They comming into Germanie, paſſed through the Countrey into Baierlande, where at a place called Oxefer, they founde the King as then on hys iourney towardes the Emperour, to whome (as ye haue hearde) the Duke of Auſtriche did ſende him.

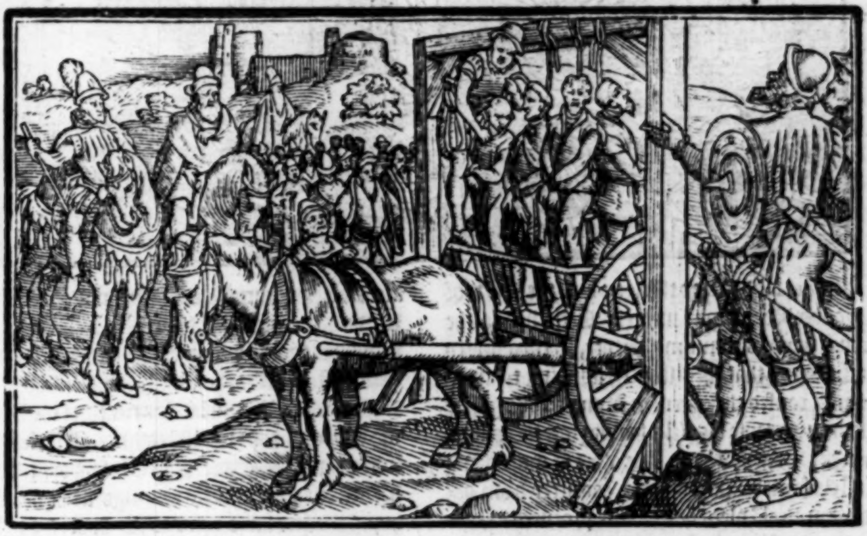
r. Dor

The ſayd Abbots attended him to the Emperours Court, and remayned there with him till the Emperor and he were accorded, in maner as after ſhall be ſhewed: and then after Eaſter they returned with the newes into Englande. Vpon report wherof order is taken for many things, but chiefely for the ſtate: in which dealings, and foraſmuch as thoſe which had the rule of the land ſtoode in great doubt of things (for the inconſtant nature of Earle Iohn was of them much ſuſpected,) firſt they cauſed a newe othe of allegiance to be made to king Richarde, and receyued of the people. They fortifyed alſo ſuch townes and Caſtelles as were of importaunce, both wyth repayring the walles and other defences aboute the ſame, and furniſhing them with men, munition and vitayles.

The French king counſelleth king Iohn to vſurpe againſt his brother.

Thus was the lande brought into ſome order, in which meane while the Frenche King being aduertiſed that King Richarde was deteyned as priſoner, reioyced not a little thereof, and wyth all ſpeede by ſecrete Meſſages dyd ſende for hys brother Earle Iohn, who was readie to come at his call. And being come, hee exhorteth him not to ſuffer ſo conuenient an occaſion to paſſe, but to take the gouernment of the Realme of Englande nowe into his handes promiſing hym all ſuche ayde as hee coulde of hym reaſonably requyre: wyth other like talke ſtill tending to the prouocation of the Earle to forſake hys allegeaunce vnto hys brother. And to ſaye the truth, Earle Iohn was eaſily perſwaded ſo to doe, and therefore vpon his immediate returne into Englande, he aſſembled an armie, and wyth the ſame (and ſuche ſtraungers as hee brought ouer wyth him) begynneth to proue mayſteryes, fyrſt wynning the Caſtelles of Wyndſore, Wallingforde, Notingham, and dyuerſe other, and fortifying the ſame to his own vſe and defence.

In the meane tyme, the Barons of the land not iudging ſuche vnlawfull doyngs to bee anye longer ſuffered, fyrſt beſieged the Caſtell of Wyndſore, and after preparing to leuie a greater force, did put them within in ſuche feare, that they yelded vp the ſame, ſeeking to eſcape by flight, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, the which yet being apprehended were put to worthie execution.



er.Dor.

But this was not done without continuance of tyme, and without great trouble and charges to the Realme: for where as there was a practiſe betwixt the French King and Earle Iohn, that a great power of ſtraungers, and namely Flemings ſhoulde haue come into the Realme, (for whoſe tranſporting a greate number of Shippes were brought togyther at Witſande) yet the high prouidence and goodneſſe of God diſappoynted theyr purpoſe. For their meſſengers being taken whiche were ſent hither into Englande, the treaſon was reuealed, & by the Queene mothers appoyntmente, (who chiefly then ruled the lande) a great company of Knightes, men of armes, and commons of the countrey, watched the Sea coaſtes, ouer againſt Flaunders, to keepe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the Paſſion weeke, and ſo continued till a certaine time after Eaſter. Howbeit, Earle Iohn came ſecretly ouer, in hope to haue not only the aſſiſtance of the Welchmen and of many other his friendes in Englande, but alſo of the Scottes, howbeit, the Kyng of Scottes woulde not meddle. Hee therefore with ſuche Welchmen and other as he had brought ouer, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he could get to take his part, beganne ſuch attemptes (as before yee haue hearde) to the diſquieting of the whole Realme, and great diſpleaſure of the Kyng.

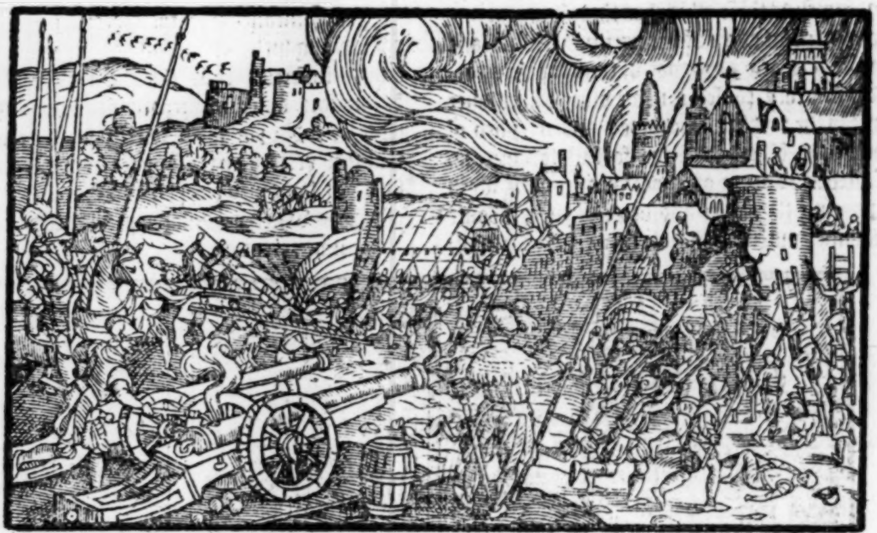
The Archb. of Yorke.
Hugh Bardolf.
William de Stuteuille.

Moreouer, beſyde that power of the Barons which layde ſiege to Windſor Caſtel, there were noble men alſo in other parties of the Realme, that were ready to reſiſt hym. And amongſt other, Geffrey yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, with Hugh Bardolfe one of the Kings Iuſtices, and William de Stuteuille, aſſembled an army, and comming to Doncaſter, fortified the Towne: but when the Archbiſhop would haue gone forwarde to beſiege the Caſtell of Tickhill whiche Earle Iohn had in poſſeſſion, the other two his aſſociates would not conſent to goe with him, bycauſe they were ſeruauntes, and reteyned with Earle Iohn. Heerewith the Archbiſhop beeyng ſore offended, departed from them, calling them Traitors to their Kyng, and enimies to the Realme.

About the ſame tyme alſo, dyd the Frenche King enter into Normandy with an army, and comming to the Towne of Giſors, he beſieged it, the which one Gilbert de Vaſcoll or Guaſcoil that was Captayne thereof, to hys hygh reproch, yeelded vnto hym, with an other Caſtell alſo called Neſle, whiche hee hadde lykewiſe in keeping.

VVil.

After thys, the Frenche King entring into the Countrie of Veuxin, or Veulqueſſin, wanne dyuers Townes and fortreſſes in the ſame, and paſſing forwarde, tooke Val de Rucil, and Neufburg, and fynally comming before the Citie of Rouen hee layde ſiege thereto: but the Earle of Leyceſter beeyng gote into the Citie before the French Kyngs comming thither, ſo encouraged the Citizens, that they ſtoutly ſtanding to theyr defence, cauſed the Frenche Kyng to hys greate diſhonor, to rayſe his field, hauing loſt there more than hee wanne. Yet to ſaue other Townes and Caſtels from taking, and the countrey from deſtruction, the Rulers of the ſame procured a truce for a greate ſumme of money, which they couenaunted to gyue, deliuering vp foure notable Caſtels by way of engagemente, till the ſumme agreed vpon, ſhould be to him cōtented and payd.



Rouen beſieged.

The Earle of Leyceſter.

Polidor.

In the meane time, Earle Iohn as head of all the conſpirators, perceyuing hymſelfe not able to atchieue hys purpoſe as then, nor to reſiſt the Lords and Barons of the Realme, beeing vp in armoure againſte hym, and nowe growen to greater ſtomacke, bycauſe they vnderſtood by the Biſhop of Saliſbury lately arriued, of the Kings welfare, and hope of deliueraunce. And furthermore, conſidering that he was diſappoynted both of ſuch Scottes and Flemmings as he had well hoped ſhoulde haue come to his ayde, hee tooke a truce with the Lordes of the Kyngs ſide, by the earneſt trauayle of the Biſhop of Saliſbury, till the feaſt of all Sainctes, ſo as the Caſtels of Windſor, Walingford, and the Peake, ſhoulde remaine in the handes of his mother Quene Eleanor, but yͤ Caſtels of Nottinghā and Tickhill, remai-

Micha
hath
Ger. D

remayned ſtill in his owne poſſeſſion, the whiche with ſuch other Caſtels as hee helde within the lande, he furniſhed with garniſons of his owne men and friendes, and then went againe ouer into Fraunce to the French king, to purchaſe ſome new ayde at his hands, according to his promiſe.

il. Paruus.

e Emperor rgeth king hard with ries done he Sicilians

il. Paruus.

t. VVeſt.

e kings wiſ, ne in ma- g his an- re.

lidor.

e Biſhop of sburie ſent o England

Ger. Dor.

Here will we leaue Earle Iohn conferring with the French king, and returne againe to the king of Englande. Vpon Palme Sunday after that he was deliuered into the handes of the Emperour, he was brought forth afore the Princes & lordes of the Empyre, in whoſe preſence the Emperour charged him with diuerſe vnlawfull doings: but namely hee picked a quarell with him for the wrongs and hurtes done to the Sicilians in time of his ſoiourning in theyr Ile, as he went towardes the holy lande. For albeit the ſayde Emperor had nothing as then to doe in the countrey, yet forſomuch as he had lately recouered the Ile of Sicille out of king Tankreds handes, and was now entituled king thereof by the Pope, in right of his wife Conſtance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicill, and ſo by reaſon therof ſeemed to be grieuouſly offended with him for his doings about the recouering of the money from Tancred, which neuertheleſſe was iuſtly due vnto his ſiſter for hir dower, as in the proceſſe afore I haue alredy declared: King Richard notwithſtanding theſe and other friuolous obiections layde to hys charge, made his anſweares alwayes ſo pithily & directly to all that could be layd agaynſt him, and excuſed himſelfe in euery point ſo throughly, that the Emperor much marueyled at his high wiſedom and prudence, and not only greatly cōmended him for the ſame, but from thenceforth vſed him more curteouſly, and ſuffred that his friends might haue acceſſe to him more freely thā before they could be permitted to do. The Pope alſo being aduertiſed of the taking of K. Richard, was much offended, that any Chriſtiā Prince hauing taken vpon him the defence of the Chriſtian faith againſt the Infidels, ſhoulde be ſo vſed in his returne from ſo godly an enterpriſe: & therfore ſent both vnto the Duke of Auſtrich, & vnto the Emperor, requiring them to ſet him at libertie. But the Emperor declared plainly that he woulde bee anſwered for ſuch ſummes of mony as king Richard had taken out of Sicill before he would releaſe him vnto libertie. Wherevpon when king Richard perceyued that no excuſes woulde ſerue though neuer ſo iuſt, but that he muſt needes pay to his couetous hoſt ſome great ſumme of money for his hard interteynment, he ſent the Biſhop of Saliſburie into England, to take order with the Barons of the realme to prouide for the paymēt of his raunſom, which Biſhop (as ye haue heard) after the peace cōcluded with Saladine, went vnto Ieruſalē to viſit the holy Sepulchre, and now comming into Sicil, as he returned homewards, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken priſoner in Auſtriche; and remayned in the Emperors handes: wherevpon he turned that way forth, and comming to him, was nowe ſent into Englande with Commiſſion (as I haue ſayd) to leuie money for the kings raunſome. He landed here the .xx. day of Aprill, by whoſe comming the lande was the ſooner brought in quiet for the agreement which Earle Iohn tooke (as before yee haue heard) was chiefly procured by his meanes. For till his comming the Caſtell of Windſore was not wonne, the ſiege being but ſlackly followed by the Archbiſhop of Rouen, who had dyuerſe of his friendes within it, and therefore was not verie earneſt agaynſt them.

Reg. Houed.

The Biſhop of Ely commeth to the king.

The Emperor agreeth with king Richard for his rāſome.

Nic. Triuet.

Mat. Par.

After that the Biſhop of Saliſburie was departed towardes Englande, the Biſhop of Elie came to the king, and trauayled ſo earneſtly betwixt the Emperour and him, that finally the Emperour (partly through his ſute, and partly that he had beene very much called vpon by the Pope and other for his deliuerie) tooke order with him for the redeeming of his libertie, and appoynted what ſumme he ſhould pay for his raunſome, which (as ſome write) was two hūdred thouſand Markes: other ſay that it was but. 140. thouſande Markes of the poyſe of Coleigne weight. Wil. Paruus who liued in thoſe days, affirmeth, it was one hundred thouſand pounds, but Roger Houeden hath an hundred thouſande Markes of Colen poiſe, to be payd preſently at the kings firſt comming into Englande, and fiftie. M. markes afterwards, that is to ſay, thirtie thouſande to the Emperor, and twentie thouſand to the Duke of Auſtriche, as it were in recompence of the iniurie done to hym in the holy lande, where king Richarde ouerthrew his enſignes: and for the ſame to deliuer ſufficient ſureties.

Rog. Houed.

Moreouer we finde in Roger Houeden that the Emperour amongeſt other the Articles of thys agreement thus concluded betwixte hym and

Landes aſſigned to king Richard.

and king Richard gaue and graunted, and by his letters patents confyrmed vnto him theſe landes hereafter mētioned, that is to ſay: Prouance with the Citie of Vienne, and Viennois, the Citie of Marſells, Narbō, Arles, & Lion vpō the Rhone, with the countrey vp to the Alpes, & all thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to the Empyre in Burgoine, with the homages of the king of Aragon, & of the Erle of S. Giles (wherein is to be noted, yͭ with the precinct of the premiſſes thus graunted to king Richard. v. Archbiſhops ſeas, and. xxxiij. Biſhops ſeas are included.) Howbeit the truth is, that the Emperour neuer had poſſeſſion of theſe countreys, cities, and townes himſelfe, neither would the inhabitants receyue any perſon ſo by him appoynted to theyr Lorde and gouernour, wherefore the king made ſmal account of that his ſo large graunt. But after that he once vnderſtood the certaintie of the ſumme that he ſhuld pay for his raunſome (which buſineſſe he moſt attended) he diſpatched one with letters by and by, and in great haſt into Englande to his treaſorers, requiring them with all conuenient ſpede to prouide money, and to ſende it to him by a day, that hee might be ſet at libertie with ſpeede.

Polidor.

Rog. Houed.
Order taken for leuying money to pay the kings raunſome.

Theſe letters being come to the Queene mother, and other that had charge in gouernaunce of the realme, tooke order that al maner of perſons as well ſpirituall as temporall, ſhould giue yͤ fourth part of their whole reuenues to thē for that yeare accrewing, and as much more of their moueable goodes, and that of euery knights fee there ſhould be leuied the ſumme. of xx. s. Alſo that religious houſes of the order of the Ciſteaux & Sempringham ſhoulde giue all their woolles for that yeare towards the kings raunſome, and thoſe that had cōmiſſion to leuie this mony, vſed much ſtraightneſſe in exacting it, not onely leuying it to the vttermoſt value and extent of mens landes, goodes, and poſſeſſions, but after their owne willes and pleaſures: ſo that vnder colour of the kings cōmiſſion, and letters to them directed, there ſeemed not a tribute or ſubſedie to be rayſed, but by ſome publike proclamation, all the goodes and ſubſtance of the people to be appoynted as a pray to the kings officers, whereby it came to paſſe, that not onely priuate mens goodes, but alſo the Chalices, Iewels, and veſſels belonging to the church were turned into money, & a farre greater ſumme made than was at the firſt commaunded, a great part of the ouerplus being conuerted to the vſe of thoſe, through whoſe handes the receipt paſſed. There was no priuiledge nor freedome allowed to exempt any perſon or place for beeing contributorie towardes the payment of thys money. The order of Ciſteaux that were neuer charged with any payment before, were now aſſeſſed more deeplye than the reſt.

The hard dealing of officers in the collection.

Church iewels.

The Norwi

The Biſhop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious dealings of the petty officers, and pitying the people of the Church, collected halfe the value of all the Chalices within his Dioceſſe himſelfe, and to make vp the other halfe of the whole ſumme, he ſpared not to giue a great portion of his owne treaſure.

The A Saint Al

The Bi Cheſte

Mathe Clere.

The Abbot of Saint Albones acquit all thoſe Churches within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction, by the gyft of an hundred Markes. But the Biſhop of Cheſter had very yll lucke with his collections, for hauing gathered a great ſumme of money to the kings vſe, he was ſpoyled thereof in one night, as he lodged neare vnto Canterburie, being on his iourney towards the king: & bycauſe Mathew de Cleere that lay in the Caſtel of Douer was knowne to ayde thoſe that robbed the ſayd Biſhop, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie pronounced him accurſed.

Rog. H
The Bi of Ely.

About this tyme, and on the morrow after the Natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, the Byſhop of Ely Lord Chancellour arryued in Englande, not ſhewing himſelfe in any ſtatelyke port (for hee tooke vppon him neyther the dignitie of Chancellor nor Legate, nor yet of Iuſtice) but onely as a ſimple Biſhoppe and Meſſenger ſent from the king.

The Queene mother, the Archbiſhop of Rouen, and ſuche other as had gouernment of the lande, hearing of his comming, mette hym at Saint Albones, where hee ſhewed to them the Emperours letters, conteyning the agreement made betwixt him and king Richarde, and withall appoynted certaine Lordes and Barons to goe with him at his returne backe to the king, as Gilbert Biſhop of Rocheſter, Siſrid Biſhop of Chicheſter, Bennet Abbot of Peterborow, Rychard Earle of Clare, Roger Bigotte Earle of Norffolke, Geffrey de Saye, and dyuerſe other.

It was alſo ordeyned at this ſame tyme that the money gathered towarde the payment of the kings raunſome ſhoulde remaine in cuſtodie of Hubert Biſhop of Saliſburie, Richarde Biſhop of London, William Earle of Arundell, Hamelyne Earle of Warrenne, and of the Maior of London, vnder the ſeales of the Queene mother, and of the Archbiſhop of Rouen: but ſee the happe of things, whileſt eche one was thus occupied about the aforeſayde money it chaunced, that king Richarde was at poynt to haue beene deliuered into the handes of his deadly aduerſarie the French king after this maner:

Anno

xvii. I

The Emperour vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſt the Biſhop of Liege, which lately had atteyned to that benefice cōtrarie to the Emperors pleaſure, who wiſhed the ſame rather to an other perſon, hyred certayne naughtie fellowes to goe

into

The biſhop of Liege murthered.

into Fraunce, where the Biſhop remayned for feare of the Emperors malice, and there to finde meanes trayterouſly to ſlea him, which they accordingly did, by reaſon wherof the Duke of Louaigne that was brother to the Biſhop, and other of his kinſmen, vpon knowledge had therof, ment to haue made the Emperour warre, in reuenge of that murther. Inſomuche that the Emperour to haue the Frenche Kings ayde agaynſte them, was mynded to haue delyuered king Rycharde vnto him: howbeit after that the matter was taken vp, and a concorde made betwixt the Emperour and his nobles, he chaunged his purpoſe alſo touching the deliuering ouer of King Richarde, who perceyuing that tyll his raunſome were payde (which woulde amounte to the ſumme of an hundred fiftie thouſand Markes) he ſhould not get libertie: and putting greate confidence in the dexteritie and diligence of Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie (whome hee ſent as yee haue heard into England to deal for the leuying of the ſame) he thought good to aduaunce the ſame Biſhop to the Metropolitane Sea of Canterburie, which had bene vacant euer ſith the deceaſe of the Archbiſhop Baldwin, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holy land. Herevpon wryting to the Byſhops of the realme, and to the Monkes of Canterburie, he required them to procede to the election of an Archbiſhop for that Sea, and withall commended vnto them the foreſayde Hubert, as a man moſt ſufficient and meet for that roumth. He wrote likewiſe to the Queene to further that matter, and eaſily hereby obteyned his deſire. For ſhortly after, the ſame Hubert was elected by the Biſhops and Monkes, which aſſembled togither for that purpoſe. He was the .xlj. Archbiſhop that gouerned that Sea: for although Reginald Biſhop of Bath was elected before him, yet bycauſe he dyed ere he was inſtalled., he is not put in the number.

vil. Paruus.

ubert Biſhop
Saliſburie
cted Arch-
ſhop of Can-
burie.

The king being now put in good hope of hys ſpeedie deliuerance, ſent into Englande, willing his mother Queene Elenor, the Archbiſhop of Rouen and others, to come ouer vnto him into Almain, and in the meane tyme he ordeyned Hubert the Archbiſhop of Canterburie to remaine at home as Lorde chiefe Iuſtice.

bert Arch-
hop of Cã-
burie, Lord
fe iuſtice.

After this, the Emperour with the aduice of the Princes of the Empyre, hee aſſigned a daye to King Rycharde in whiche hee ſhoulde be delyuered oute of captiuitie, which was the Mondaye nexte after the twentieth day of Chriſtmaſſe. Whereupon King Richarde wrote vnto Hubert Archbyſhop of Canterburie in forme as followeth.

tenor of
kings
rs.

Richardus dei gratia rex Anlgiæ, & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andigauiæ, venirabili patri noſtro in Chriſto, & amico chariſſimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo ſalutem & ſincere dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores ſumus, quòd libetationem noſtram plurimùm deſideratis, & quòd liberatio noſtra admodum vos lætificat, ſcripto volumus quòd lætitiæ noſtræ participes ſitis. Inde eſt quòd dilectioni veſtræ dignum duximus ſignificare, dominũ Imperatorem certum diẽ liberationis noſtræ nobis præfixiſſe, in die lunæ proxima poſt viceſſimã diẽ Natiuitatis domini, & die dominica proxima ſequenti coronabimur de regno prouinciæ, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliã literas domini Imperatoris ſuper his patẽtes, vobis & cæteris amicis noſtris beneuolis. Vos autẽ interim pro omni poſſe veſtro quos ſcitis nos diligere, cõſolare velitis, & quos ſcitis promotionem noſtrãm deſiderare. Teſte meipſo apud Spiram .xxij. die Decembris.

The Emperor alſo ſignified by his letters to the Lordes of England his reſolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenor of the Emperors letters.

HEnricus dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, dilectis ſuis Archiep. Epiſcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, militibus, et vniuerſis alijs fidelibus Richardi illuſtris regis Anglorũ gratiam ſuam & omne bonũ. Vniuerſitati veſtræ duximus intimandũ, quòd dilecto amico noſtro Richardo illuſtri regi Anglorũ domino veſtro certũ diẽ liberationis ſuæ ſtatuimus à ſecunda feria poſt diẽ natiuitatis domini in tres ſeptimanas apud Spiram ſiue apud Berenatiã, & inde in ſeptẽ dies poſuimus ei diẽ coronationis ſuæ de regno Prouinciæ, quod ei promiſimus: & hoc certũ habeatis, & indubitatũ, noſtri ſiquidẽ propoſiti eſt, et voluntatis, præfatum dominũ veſtrũ ſpecialẽ promouere ſicut amicũ noſtrum, & magnificentius honorare. Datum apud Theallusam vigilia beati Thomæ Apoſtoli.

Before this K. Richard had ſent the Biſhop of Ely into France vnto his brother Erle John, the which did ſo much with him that he returned into Normandie, and there ſware fealtie vnto his brother king Richard, and ſo was contented to forſake the French king. But where as king Richard commaunded that all ſuch Caſtels and honors as he had giuen to him afore time ſhoulde now be reſtored to him againe, as well thoſe in England, as the other on the further ſide the ſea: ſuch as had the ſame Caſtels in keeping woulde not obey the kings commaundement herein, refuſing to make reſtitution of thoſe places, according to the tenor & purport of the kings writ, vnto ẏ ſaid Earle of Mortaigne, by reaſon of which refuſall, he returned again to the French king, and ſtuck to him: wherupõ the French king gaue vnto him ẏ caſtels of Drincourt, & Arques, the which ought to haue bin deliuered vnto ẏ Archb. of Reimes as in pledge, who had trauelled as a meane betwixt ẏ French K. to whõ he was vncle, & the K. of England to whõ he was couſin, procuring

The kings commaundement not obeyed.

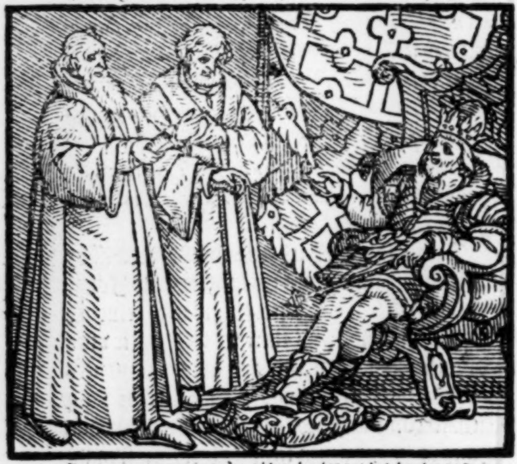
a meting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certain place betwixt Waucolour and Tulle in the borders of Lorraine. But notwithſtanding all that he coulde doe, matters were ſo farre out of frame, and ſuche miſtruſt was entred into the myndes of the partyes, that no concluſion helde. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by payment of hys raunſome to redeme his libertie, and then to ſhift wyth things as hee myght.

1194

And ſo finally when the money was once redie, or rather a ſufficient portion thereof, the ſame was conueyed ouer into Germany, and payment made to the Emperour of the more parte of the Kings raunſome, and ſufficientpledges left with him for the reſt, as the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen, thē Biſhoppe of Bath, [Barlowyn Wac] and other which were of late come oute of Englande to ſee and ſalute the king.

Rog. Houed.
King Richard releaſed out of captiuitie.

Herevpon king Richard after he had bene priſoner one yeare, ſixe weekes, and three dayes, was ſet at libertie on Candlemaſſe day (as moſte wryters agree) and then with long and haſtie iorneys, not keeping the high wayes, he haſted forth towards England. It is reported that if hee had lingred by the way, he had beene eftſoones apprehended. For the Emperor being incenſed againſt him by Imbaſſadors that came from the French King, immediately after he was ſet forward, beganne to repent him ſelfe in that hee had ſuffred him ſo ſoone to depart from him, and herevpon ſent men after him with all ſpeede to bring hym back, if they coulde by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall priſon.



Rog. Houed.
The offers of the French K. and Erle Iohn to haue the K. of Englande kept ſtill in priſon.

Some write that thoſe Ambaſſadours ſent from the Frenche King, with other from Earle John, came to the Emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offring in the French kings name fiftie thouſand markes of ſiluer, and in the name of Earle John thirtie thouſande, vpon condition that king Richard might remain ſtil in captiuitie vntill the feaſt of S. Michaell next enſuing, or elſe if it might ſo pleaſe him, he ſhoulde receyue a thouſand pound of ſiluer for euery month whileſt king Richard ſhould bee deteyned in hys priſon, or otherwiſe fiftie thouſand markes of ſiluer more thã the firſt offer, at one entier payment, if he woulde delyuer him into their handes, or at the leaſt wiſe to keepe him priſoner by the tearme of one whole yeare. The Emperor hearing of ſuch large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promiſe and letters patents therefore graunted, proroged the day in which king Rychard ſhould haue bene ſet at libertie, till Candlemaſſe after, at which day hee was brought from Haguenaw vnto Spiers, where the Emperour had called a Councell to intreate further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the Emperor ſhewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and Earle John vnto king Richarde, who vpon ſight and peruſing of the ſame, was maruellouſly amaſed, and began to diſpaire of all ſpeedy deliuerance. In deed the Emperour ſought delayes vpon a couetous deſire of the money offred by the French king and Erle John, but yet ſuch princes and great Lordes as had vndertaken for the Emperour, that the couenants and articles on his part agreed vpõ in the accord paſſed betwixt him and king Richarde, ſhould bee in eche behalfe performed, that is to wit, the Archbiſhops of Mens, Colen, & Saltzburg, the Biſhops of Wormes, Spiers, & Liege, the dukes of Suaben, Auſtrich, & Louain, yͤ Palſgraue of yͤ Rhine, and others, came to the Emperor, and reprouing him for his couetous mind, in that he deferred the reſtoring of king Richard to his libertie, contrary to the compoſition, did ſo much preuaile, that the Emperor receyuing pledges for the payment of the money yet behind (as before ye haue heard) releaſed king Richard out of captiuitie on the ſecõd (or as Roger Hou. hath the fourth) day of Februarie, being a diſmole day and an infortunate, (as they note them in kalenders.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Nouãt the Biſhop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongſt the other, he refuſed to be one of the number, alledging that he was ſeruant to Earle John. King Richard grieuouſly offended herewith, commaunded that he ſhould be apprehẽded, and committed to priſon, and ſo he was. This Robert was one of thoſe that came with the letters frõ the French king and Erle John to the Emperor, about the ſtaying of king Richards deliuerance.

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Furthermore, king Richarde the ſame day in which he was reſtored to libertie, ſummoned by his letters Hugh Nouant Biſhop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court to anſwere ſuch things as were to be obiected againſt him, both afore ſpiritual iudges, in that he was a Biſhop, & alſo before temporall in that he had holden and exerciſed a temporall office.

Alſo the ſame daye the Emperour and the Princes of the Empyre, ſent letters vnder theyr handes and ſeales to the French king, and to John Erle of Mortaigne, cōmaunding them immediately vpon ſight of the ſame letters, to reſtore vnto king Richard al thoſe Caſtels, cities, townes, landes, and other things, whiche they had taken from him during the time of his remayning in captiuitie, and if they refuſed thus to doe, then they gaue them to vnderſtande by the ſame letters, that they would ayde King Richarde to recouer that by force, which had beene wrongfully taken from him. Moreouer king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto ſundry Princes of the Empyre for their homage and fealties, certaine yearely pencions, as to the Archbiſhop of Mens and Colen, to the Biſhop of Liege, to the Dukes of Auſtrich and Louaigne, to the Marques of Mountferrate, to the Duke of Meglenburg, to the Duke of Suaben the Emperors brother, to the Erle of Bins, to the Erle of Holland, and to the ſonne of the Erle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receyued homage, or rather had their promiſe by oth to ayde him againſt the French king, which French King now that he ſawe no hope to bryng the Emperour to the bent of his bowe for the deteyning of king Richarde ſtyll in captiuitie, rayſed a power forthwith, and entring into Normandie (the truce notwithſtanding) tooke the towne of Eureux with diuerſe other Fortreſſes therabouts, and after he had done miſchiefe ynough, as it were as weryed with euill doing, he graunted eftſoones to ſtand to the truce, and ſo returned home.

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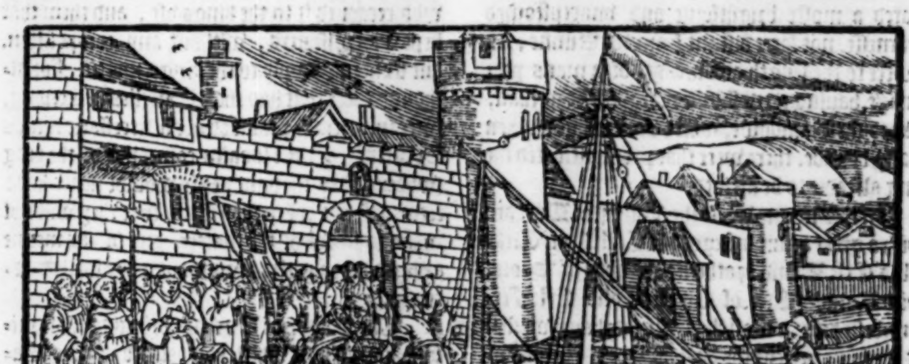
The French king inuadeth Normandie.

Finally after that king Richarde had diſpatched his buſineſſe with the Emperour, and the Princes of Almaigne, he ſet forwarde on his iourney towardes Englande, and hauing the Emperors paſſeport, came to Colen, where of the Archbiſhop he was ioyfully receyued, the which Archbiſhop attended vppon him till hee came to Indwarpe, where king Richarde tooke the water in a Galley that belonged to Alan de Trenchmere, but in the night he went into a Shippe of Rie, being a verie fayre veſſell, and ſo laye abourde in hir all the nyght, and in the morning returned to the Galley, and ſo ſayled aboute the coaſt, tyll hee came to the Hauen of Swyn in Flaunders, and there ſtaying fiue dayes, on the ſixth daye hee ſette forth againe and at length in good ſafetie landed at Sandwiche the .xij. of March, and the morrow after came to Canterburie, where hee was receyued with Proceſſion, as Ger. Dorobor. hath.

Reg. Houed.

He landed the xx. of March being ſunday as Ro. Houed. and Radulf de Diceto doe write.



From thence hee went to Rocheſter, and on the Wedneſday being the .xvj. of Marche, hee came vnto London, where he was receyued with great ioy and gladneſſe of the people, gyuing heartie thankes to almightie God for his ſafe returne and deliuerance.

It is recorded by wryters, that when ſuche Lordes of Almaine as came ouer with him ſawe the great ryches which the Londoners ſhewed in that triumphant receyuing of their ſoueraigne Lorde and king, they marueilled greatly thereat, inſomuch that one of them ſayde vnto him, ſurely oh king, your people are wiſe and ſubtile, which doe nothing doubt to ſhewe the beautifull ſhine of theyr ryches nowe that they haue receyued you home, where as before they ſeemed to bewayle theyr neede and pouertie, whyleſt you remayned in captiuitie. For verily if the Emperour had vnderſtoode that the riches of the realme had bin ſuch, neither wold he haue bin perſwaded that Englande coulde haue bene made bare of wealth, neyther yet ſhould you ſo lightly haue eſcaped his handes without the payment of a more huge and intollerable raunſome.

The ſame yeare that king Richarde was taken (as before is mentioned by the Duke of Auſtrich, one night in the Moneth of Januarie about the firſt watch of the ſame night, the northweſt ſide of the Element appeared of ſuch a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clowdes or other darkeneſſe to couer it, ſo that the ſtarres ſhined through that redneſſe, and might be very well diſcerned. Diuerſe bright ſtrakes appeared to flaſh vpwarts now and then, deuiding the redneſſe, through the which the ſtarres ſeemed to be of a bright ſanguine colour.

In Februarie nexte enſuing, one night after midnight the like wonder was ſeene, and ſhortly after newes came that the king was takẽ in Almaine.

And likewiſe the ſeconde day of Nouember a little before the breake of the day, the like thing appeared againe with leſſe feare and wonder to the people (than before) being now better accuſtomed to the like ſight againe. And now the ſame day ⁊ ſelfe houre that the king arriued at Sandwiche, being the ſecond houre of that day, whileſt the Sunne ſhone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a moſte brightſome and vnaccuſtomed clearneſſe, not farre diſtant from the Sunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans perſonage, hauing a red ſhining brightneſſe withall, lyke to the Rainbowe, which vnketh ſight when many behelde, there were that prognoſticated the king alreadie to be arriued.

Rog. Houed.
Diuerſe ſieges helde at one time.

In this meane while the Biſhop of Durham with a great armie beſieged the Caſtell of Tickhill, ⁊ Erle Dauid brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter, and Erle Ferrers, beſieged the Caſtell of Notingham, whileſt at the ſame preſent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with a great power beſieged Marlebourgh caſtell, the which within a few dayes was rendred into his handes, the lyues and lymmes of them within ſaued.

Saint Michaels Mount.

Alſo the Caſtell of Lancaſter was deliuered to him, the which the ſame Archbiſhops brother had in keeping vnder Earle John, and likewiſe the Abbay of Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwal, the which Abbey Henry de la Pomercy chaſing out the Monkes, had fortified agaynſt the king, and hearing newes of the Kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for pure grief and feare. Theſe three places were ſurrendered to the Archbiſhop before the kings returne, but Tickhill and Notingham helde out.

King Richard being returned into Englande, and vnderſtanding both howe the French King made warre agaynſte him in Normandie, and that the ſtate of Englande was not a little diſquieted, by the practiſe of hys brother Erle John and his complices, ſpecially by reaſon that dyuerſe Caſtelles were defended by ſuch as he had placed in them, he thought good with all ſpeede to cutte of ſuch occaſions as myght breede a further miſchiefe. And therevpon he firſt went to Notingham, and within three dayes after his comming thither (which was on the day of the Annunciation of our Ladie) hee conſtrayned them that kept the Caſtell there in his brothers name, to yeeld themſelues ſimply vnto his mercie, after they had abydden dyuerſe aſſaultes, by the which euen the firſt day the vtter gates were burnt, and certaine defences deſtroyed, which they had made before the ſame.

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The chiefe of them that were within this caſtell to defende it were theſe, William de Wendeuall Conceſtable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Raufe Murdac, Philip de Worcetter, and Ranulfe de Worcetter brethren.

The morrow after the ſurrender made, the king went to Clipeſtone, and rode into the foreſt of Shirewood, where he had neuer beene before, the view whereof pleaſed him greatly.

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The Caſtell of Tickhill was likewiſe at the ſame tyme yeelded vnto the Biſhop of Durham, who receyued it to the kings vſe, and them that kept it as priſoners, without any compoſition, but ſtanding ſimply to the kings mercie. For although thoſe that had theſe Caſtelles in keeping, were ſufficiently prouided of all neceſſarie things for defence, yet the ſodaine comming of the king (whome they thought verily woulde neuer haue returned) put thẽ in ſuch feare, that they wiſt not what to make of the matter, and ſo (as menne amazed) they yeelded wythout anye further exception.

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Tickhill
ded.

Rog. Ho

The Biſhop of Durham bringing thoſe priſoners with him which had yeelded vp this Caſtell of Tickhill, came to the king the. xxvij. day of March, the verye day before that Notingham Caſtell was gyuen ouer.

Moreouer this is to be remembred, that during the ſiege of Notingham, there roſe contention betwixt the two Archbiſhoppes of Canterburie and Yorke, about the cariage of their Croſſes: for Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterburie comming thyther, hadde his Croſſe borne afore him, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke (hauing no Croſſe there at all) was verye ſore offended that any other ſhoulde goe with Croſſe borne before him in his Dioces, and therefore complayned hereof to the King: But the Archebyſhop of Canterburie mainteined that he had not done any thing but that which was lawfull for hym to doe, and therevpon made his appeale to Rome, that the

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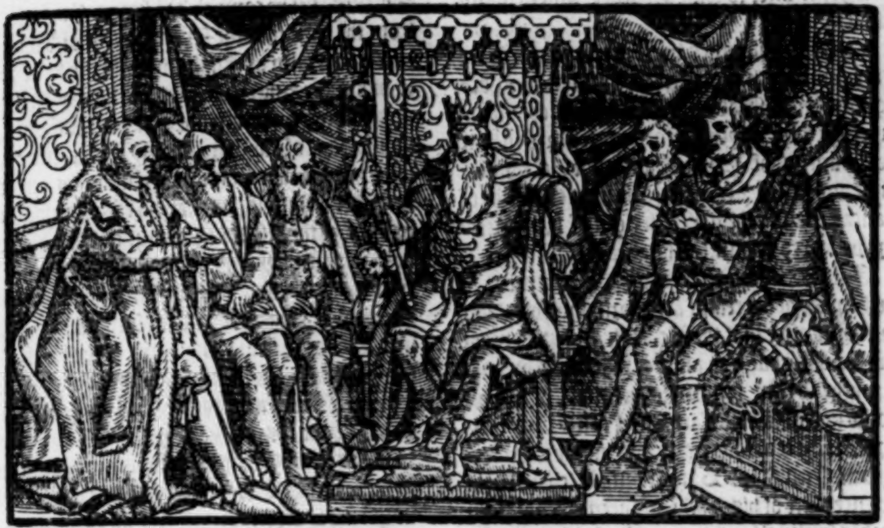
Pope might haue the hearing and iudgement of that controuerſie betwixt them.

In the meane time, after the king had got the Caſtelles of Notingham and Tickhill into hys handes (as ye haue heard) he called a Parliament at Notingham, where the Queene mother ſat on



the right hād of him, and the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Yorke on the left, with other Byſhops, Earles and Barons according to theyr places.

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arged.

On the fyrſt day of theyr ſeſſion was Gerarde de Camville diſcharged of the office whiche he had borne of Sherif of Lyncolne, and diſpoſſeſſed both of the Caſtell and countie. And ſo likewiſe was Hugh Bardolfe of the Caſtell and Countie of Yorke, and of the Caſtell of Scarbourgh, and of the cuſtodie and keeping of the Countrey of Weſtmerlande, the which offices being nowe in the kings handes, he ſet them on ſale to hym that woulde gyue moſt. Hereof it came to paſſe, that where the Lorde Chancellor offred to giue fiftene hundred Markes before hande, for the Counties of Yorke, Lyncolne and Northampton, and an hundred Markes of encreaſe of rent for euery of the ſame counties, Gefferey Archbiſhop of Yorke offred to the king three thouſand Markes aforehand, onely for the countie of Yorke, and an hundred Markes yearly of increaſe, and ſo had the ſame committed to hys regiment.

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Moreouer in this Parliament, the king demaunded iudgement agaynſt his brother John, and the Biſhop of Couentrey and Cheſter, Hugh Nouaunt, for ſuch trayterous and moſt diſloyall attemptes as they had made agaynſt him and his Countreyes, and iudgement was giuen that both the ſayde Earle and Byſhoppe ſhould haue ſummons giuen them peremptorily to appeare, and if within fortie dayes after, they came not to anſwere ſuch playntes as might be layde againſt them, then ſhoulde Earle John forfeyt all that he had within the realme, and the Biſhop ſhould ſtande to the iudgement of the Biſhoppes, in that hee was a Biſhoppe, and to the temporall Lordes in that hee hadde beene the Kinges Sherife.

A ſubſidie.

In this Parliament alſo, in the Kalendes of Aprill, the king procured a ſubſedie to be graunted vnto him, that is to witte, two ſhillings of euery plough lande through Englend, which maner of ſubſidie by an olde name is called Teemen toll, or Theyme tolle. He alſo commaunded that euery man ſhoulde make for him the thirde parte of knightes ſeruice, accordingly as euerye fee might beare, to furniſh him forth into Normandie. He demaunded of the Monkes Ciſteaux, all their woolles for the ſame yere. But bycauſe that ſeemed an ouer greeuous burthē vnto them, they fined with him as after ſhall appeare.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke accuſed.

The fourth day of this Parliament, by the kings permiſſion manye grieuous complayntes were exhibited agaynſt the Archbiſhop of Yorke, for extortion and other vndue vexations, whiche he had practiſed: but he paſſed ſo little thereof, that he made no anſwere vnto their billes.

Gerarde de Camuile charged with felonie & treaſon.

Moreouer through the procurement of the Lorde Chancellor, Gerarde de Camville was arreigned of recepting theeues, & robbers, which had robbed certaine marchantes of theyr goodes, that were goyng to the fayre of Stanfort: alſo they appealed him of treaſon for refuſing to ſtand to his trial by order of the kings lawes at cōmaundement of the kings iuſtices, bearing himſelf to be Earle Johns man, and ayding the ſame Erle agaynſt the king. But all theſe accuſations hee flatly denyed, and ſo his aduerſaries put in pledges to follow their ſute, and he put in the like to defend himſelfe by one of his free holders.

The king of Scottes commeth to ſee the king of Englande.

The ſame day King Richarde receyued the king of Scottes at Clipeſton, comming nowe to viſite him, and to reioyce with him for his ſafe returne home after ſo long a iourney, and ſo many paſſed perilles.

After they had paſſed the tyme a certaine ſpace in ioy and myrth, the fourth of Aprill at theyr being togither at Malton, the king of Scottes requyred of king Rychard to haue reſtored to him the Counties of Northumberlande, Cumberlande and Weſtmerlande, with the Countie of Lancaſter alſo, the which in right of his auncetors belonged to him, (as he alleged.)

A Parliament.

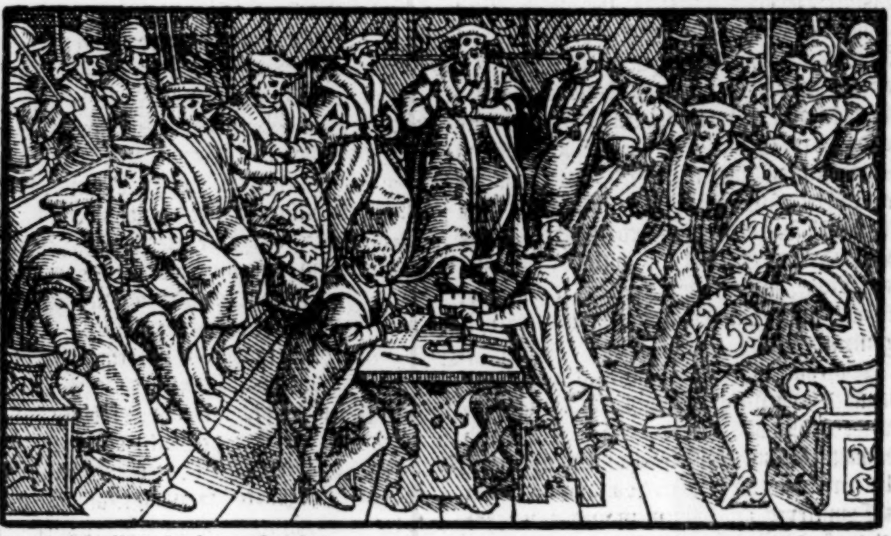
King Richard aſſembling a Parliament of the Nobles of his realm at Northampton about xvj. dayes after that the Scottiſh king had made this requeſt, gaue him anſwer that by no meanes he might as then ſatiſfie his petition, for if hee ſhould ſo do, his aduerſaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie friendſhip. But yet king Richard in the preſence there of his mother Queen Elenor, & the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of his realme togither at that preſent aſſembled, graunted and by his deed confirmed, vnto the ſayd king of Scots, and to his heyres for euer, that whenſoeuer he or any of them ſhould come by ſummons of the K. of England vnto his Court, the Biſhop of Durham, and the Sherif of Northumberland ſhould receyue him at the water of Tweede, and ſafeconduct him vnto the water of Theſe, and there ſhould the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Sherife of Yorke be ready to receyue him of thẽ, and from thence to giue their attendaunce vpon him vnto the borders of the next ſhire, and thus ſhoulde he be attended from ſhire to ſhire by Prelates and Sherifes, till he came to the kings Court, alſo from the time that the king of Scotland ſhoulde enter this realm of England, he ſhould haue dayly out of the kings purſſe for his liuerey an hundred ſhillings, and after he came to the Court, he ſhould haue of allowance dayly for his liuerey, ſo long as he there remained. xxx. ſhillings, and. xij. manchet Waſtels. xij. manchet Symnels, foure gallons of the beſt wine, & viij. gallons of houſhold wine, two pound of pepper, foure pounde of cumin, two ſtone of wax or elſe foure Links, and xl. great and long colpones of ſuch candels as are ſerued before the king, and. xxiiij. colpones of other candels that ſerue for the houſhold. And when he ſhoulde returne into his Countrey againe, then ſhoulde he be conuayed with the Biſhoppes and Sherifes from Countie to Countie, tyll he come to the water of Tweede, hauing an hundred ſhillings a daye of lyueray. &c. as is before appoynted.

His right belike was ſmall

A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he ſhould haue when he commeth into England.

The charter of this graunt was deliuered vnto William King of Scottes in the Towne of Northampton in Eaſter weeke, by the handes of William Biſhop of Ely Lorde Chancellor, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1194. and in the fifth yeare of king Richard his raigne.

After this, on the. xv. day of Aprill king Richard hauing the ſayd king of Scots in his companie, came to Wyncheſter, where he called a Councell, and there in open aſſembly he highly



commended all thoſe of the Nobilitie, that in hys abſence hadde ſhewed themſelues faythfull, and reſyſted hys brother, and ſuche other hys complyces, which hadde as dyſloyall perſones rebelled agaynſt him. Here hee alſo proclaymed hys ſayde brother, and all thoſe that tooke hys parte, traytours to the Crowne, and tooke order for the puniſhment of them, that (being of theyr faction,) coulde by any meanes bee apprehended.

Also (as it were to put away the reprouſe of hys Captiuitie and impriſonement,) hee

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cauſed himſelfe to bee eftſoones crowned by the Archbiſhoppe Habert, and ſo ſhewed himſelfe as a newe crowned King (in hope of good ſucceſſe & better lucke to follow,) in the preſence of the ſayd king of Scots, who bare one of the three ſwordes before him, going in the middle betwixt two Earles, that is to witte Hamelyn Erle of Warren going on his right hande, and Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter on his left. The Canapie vnder the which he went was born vp alſo by foure Erles, Norffolke, Liſlewight, Saliſburie, and Ferrers. The Biſhop of Ely Lorde Chancellor went on the right hand of the king & the Biſhop of Londõ on the left. At dinner alſo the Citizens of London ſerued him in the butterie by reaſon of two. C. markes which they had giuen the king, that they might ſo doe notwithſtanding the clayme and chalenge made by the Citizens of Wincheſter, the which ſerued him in the Kitchyn. The Archbiſhop of Yorke was commaunded that hee ſhould not be preſent at the coronation, leaſt ſome tumult myght riſe about the hauing of hys Croſſe borne afore him, to the diſpleaſure of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, who ſtoode in it, that no Prelate within his Prouince ought to haue anye Croſſe borne before him, himſelfe excepted.

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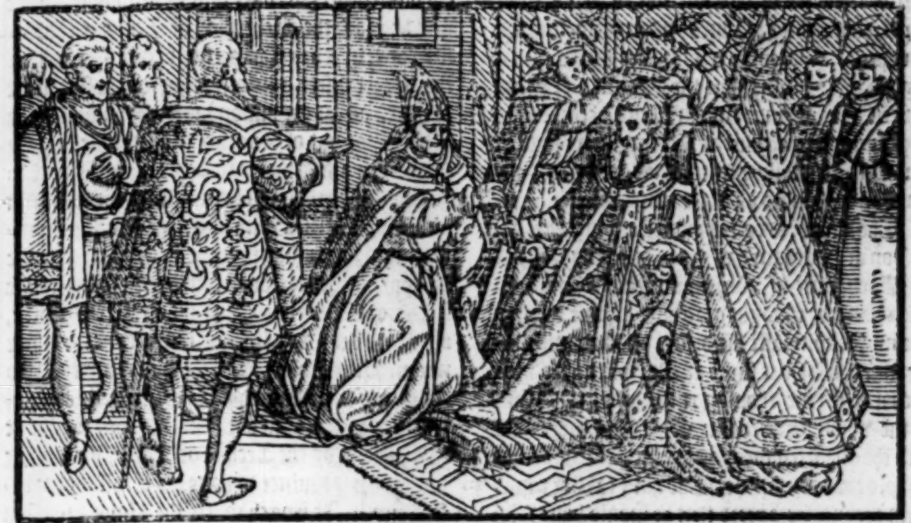


Thus was the King eftſoones Crowned the ſeconde time at Wincheſter. the. xvij. of Aprill.

Parliament
lled.

After this, he called a Parliament, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and reſumed into hys handes all patentes, annuities, fees, and other grauntes (before his voyage into the holy lande) by him made, or otherwiſe graunted or alienated, and bycauſe it ſhuld not ſeeme that he vſed a mere extort violence herein, he treated with euerie one of them in moſt curteous wiſe, bearing them in hand, that he knew wel they ment not to let forth theyr money to him vpon vſurie, but woulde be contented with ſuch reaſonable gain and profits, as had bene rayſed to their vſe in tyme of his abſence of thoſe things which they helde of him by aſſignation in way of lone, ſo that now the ſame might be reſtored to him againe, ſith he ment not to ſell them, but to let them forth as it were to ferme for the time, as all menne might well vnderſtande, conſidering that he coulde not mainteyne the porte of a king without receipt of thoſe profits which he had ſo let forth. With theſe gẽtle wordes therefore mixed with ſome dreadful allegations, he brought them al into ſuch perplexitie, that not one of them durſt withſtand his requeſt, nor alledge that he had wrong done to him, except Hugh the Biſhop of Lincolne, who ſticked not to ſay, that the king in this demaunde did thẽ and the reſt open iniurie. The Biſhop of Durhã loſt his Erledome, and was conſtreined to cõtent himſelfe with his olde Biſhoprike, and to leaue the dignitie of an Earle, or at the leaſtwiſe the poſſeſſions which hee had bought of the king before his ſetting forwarde into the holy lande.

The bold courage of the Biſhop of Lincolne.

The Biſhop of Durham loſt his Erledome.

Thus the king recouered againe thoſe things for the which hee had receyued great ſummes of money, without making any recompence, where the moſt part of the occupiers had not receyued ſcarcely a thirde part of the principall which they had layde forth. For no ſufficiencie of graunt, patent, or other wryting to any of thẽ before made, did any thing auaile them. Moreouer, where he had borowed a great ſumme of money of the Marchãts of the Staple, he wrought a feat with the Monkes of the Ciſteaux order to diſcharge that debt. He told theſe Monkes that being conſtrayned with vrgent neceſſitie, hee had borowed that money of the Marchantes beyonde the ſea, vpon confidence of their good beneuolence, and therfore he required them to extend their liberality

K. Richardes practiſes.

The Monkes Ciſteaux.

ſo farre towarde him, as to delyuer ſo much wool in value, as ſhoulde diſcharge that debt. To bee ſhort, the Monks being ouercome with the kings wordes, threatning kindneſſe vpon them, fulfilled his requeſt. Moreouer not ſatiſfied herewith, he leuyed a taſke throughout the Realme, exacting of euerie hyde of lande two ſhillings, according to the graunt made to him at Notingham: and the ſame was generally gathered, as well of the ſpirituall mens landes as of the temporall.

Rog. Houed.
The king of Scots maketh ſuite for Northumberland.

The king of Scottes vnderſtanding that the Biſhop of Durham had giuen ouer and reſigned the Earledome of Northumberlande into the kings handes, thought good once againe to aſſay if he might compaſſe his deſire, and herewith hee beganne his former ſuyte afreſh, offring to king Richarde fiftene thouſande Markes of Siluer for the whole Earledome of Northumberlande with the appurtenances as his father Erle Henry did hold the ſame before. The king taking counſell in the matter, agreed that he ſhould haue it for that mony, excepting the Caſtels: but the king of Scottes woulde haue Caſtels and all, or elſe hee would not bargaine.

Finally, after he had ſundry times moued this ſuyte for the hauing of thoſe landes vnto whiche he pretended a title, and could get nothing of K. Rich. but fayre wordes, putting him as it were in hope to obtein ỹ he requyred vpõ his next returne out of Fraunce, vpon the. xxij. day of Aprill being Fryday, he tooke leaue of the king, and returned towardes his Countrey, not verye ioyfull in that hee coulde not obteyne his ſuyte. King Richarde in this meane while cauſed all thoſe priſoners that were taken in the Caſtels of Notingham, Tickill, Marlebourgh, Lancaſter, & S. Michaels mount, which were of any welth to be put in priſon, that they might fine for their raunſõs. The reſidue he ſuffred to depart vpõ ſureties that were bou͂d for thẽ in an C. marks a peece to be forth cõming when they ſhould be called. And now at lẽgth the king after he had gathered ſome greate portion of money, and ordeyned diuerſe things for the behoofe of the common welth, therby to ſatiſfie the harts of the people, he prepared himſelfe to ſaile ouer into Normandie. But firſt he made the Archbiſhop of Yorke, & the Biſhop of Ely Lord Chancellor friendes, aſwell for the apprehenſion & impriſoning of the Archb. at Douer, as for the diſhonourable expulſion of the Chancellor out of Englãd, in ſuch wiſe that the Chãcellor ſhuld vpõ reaſonable ſummõs giuẽ to him by the Archbiſhop ſweare with the hands of an hundred prieſts with him, that he neither commaunded nor willed that the Archbiſhop ſhoulde be apprehended. The controuerſie betwixt the Archb. of Canterburie, and the Archb. of Yorke, about the bearing of their Croſſes, the K. woulde not meddle with, for as he ſayd, that perteyned to the Pope. Yet the Archb. of Canterburie cõplayned to king Richard of the iniurie done to him at that preſent, by the Archb. of Yorke, preſuming within his prouince to haue his Croſſe borne before him. At length when the kings prouiſion was once readie for his voyage into Normandy, he came to Douer, and hearing that the Frenche king had beſieged the towne of Verneuil, and that the ſame was in daunger to bee taken, hee tooke the Sea togyther with his mother Queene Elenor on the ninth day of May, and tranſporting ouer into Normandie, arriued at Harflete with an hundred great Shippes fraught with men, horſes and armour.

Mainpriſe.

Nic.

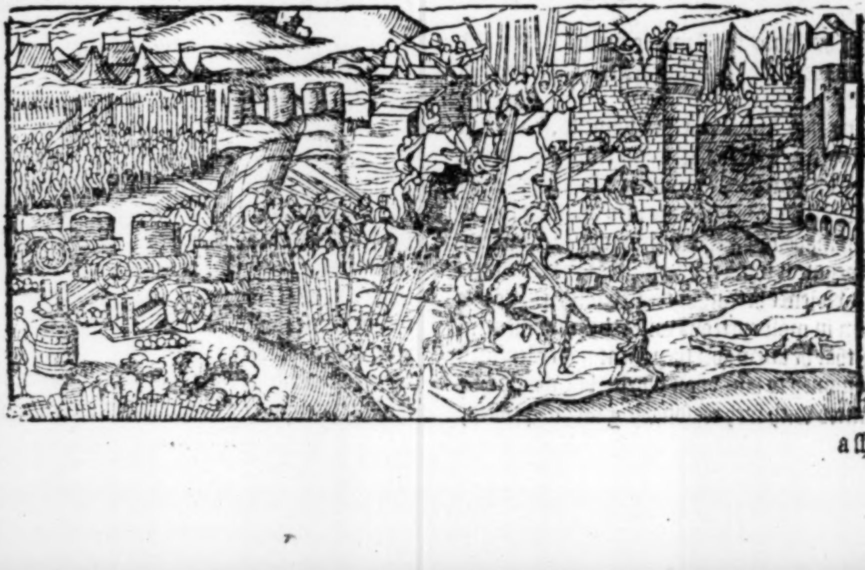
Rog. Ho

The king tranſpor ouer into Fraunce.

The French king hearing of king Richardes arriuall, and that he was comming with a great power to the ſuccour of them within Verneuill, and was alreadie encamped neare to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp hys Tentes in the night before Whitſunday, and leauing the ſiege, departed from thence, and tooke a certaine ſmall Fortreſſe by the way as he marched, wherein he left a fewe Souldiers to keepe it to his vſe.

The Fren king rayſ his ſiege Vernueil.

King Richarde herewith entring into the French dominions, ſent three bandes of ſouldiers towards Vale de Ruell, & went himſelf vnto Loches, and beſieging that Caſtell wanne it within



a ſhort

ic.Triuet:

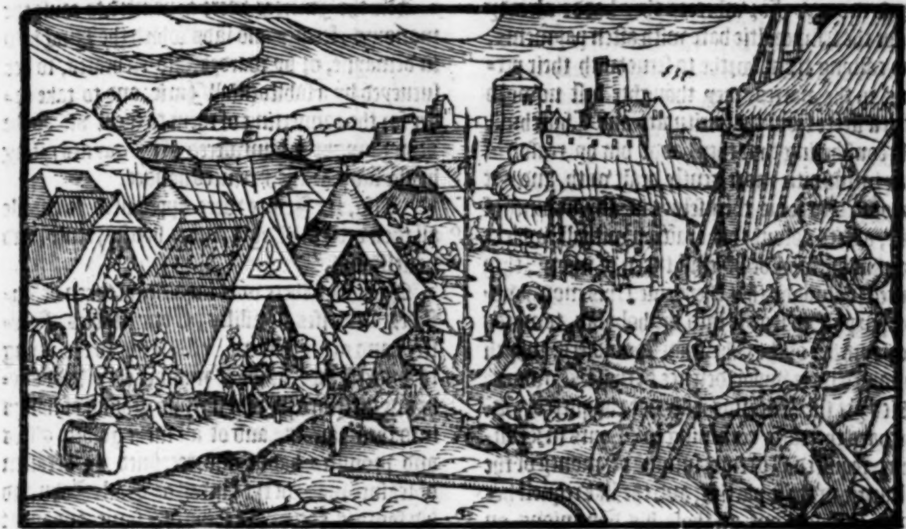
a ſhort tyme. The Normans alſo recouered the Citie of Eureux out of the French mens hands, but thoſe that were ſent vnto Rueill, and had beſieged the Caſtell there an eight dayes wythout any gayne, hearing that the Frenche King was comming towardes them, departed thence, and came backe to the Kings campe, whereupon the French king comming to Rueil razed it to the grounde, bycauſe his enimie ſhoulde not at any time in wynning it neſtle there to the further domage of the Countrey.

Rog. Houed.

The Earle of Leyceſter taken priſoner.

About the ſame tyme Robert Earle of Leyceſter iſſuing forth of Rouen in hope to worke ſome feate to the domage of the Frenchmen, as he rode ſomewhat vnaduiſedly in the landes of Hugh Gourney, hee fell within daunger of hys enimies, who tooke hym priſoner, and a few other that were in his companie.

The French king after this came with his armie into the coaſts of Touraine, and came neare vnto Vandoſme, and there encamped, whereof king Richarde being aduertiſed, cōmeth to Vandoſme, meaning to aſſayle the French K. in his campe, who hauing knowledge therof diſlodged with his armie early in the morning, and fledde away (to his great diſhonour) in all haſt poſſible. The King of Englande with his people following in chaſe of the French men ſlue many, and tooke a great number of priſoners, amongeſt whome was the french kings chiefe treaſurer.



Alſo the Engliſh men tooke many Wagons and Sumpters laden with Croſſebowes, armor, plate, apparell, and the furniture of the Frenche Kings Chapell.

This chaunced about. xxxvij. dayes after his fleeing in the night from Vernueil, of which two flightes made by the French king in maner as ye haue heard, we find theſe Verſes written:

Gallia fugiſti bis, & hoc ſub rege Philippo,
Nec ſunt ſub modio facta pudenda tuo.
Vernolium, ſumit teſtem fuga prima, ſecunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, ſecunda diem,
Nocte fugam primam rapuiſti, mane ſecundam,
Prima metus vitio, viq́ ſecunda fuit.

In Engliſh thus:

France, twice thou fledſt, while Philip raignde,
the worlde doth know thy ſhame,
For Vernueil witneſſe beares of the one,
next Vandoſme knowes the ſame.
Thy firſt by night, and next by day,
thy heart and force do ſhowe,
That firſt through feare, and next by force,
VVe wrought thine ouerthrow.

Geffrey de Rancon.
The Earle of Engoleſme.

The king of Nauerres brother.

An. reg. 6.

Engoleſme wonne.

Polidor.
VVil. Parum,

This meane while in Guien certaine rebels, as the Lorde Geffrey de Rancin or Rancon, and the Erle of Engoleſme with their complices, vpon confidence of the Frenche kings aſſiſtaunce, ſore diſquieted the countrey. Howbeit the ſonne of the King of Nauerre, and brother to Berengaria the Queene of Englande, entring into Guienne with an armye, waſted the landes of both thoſe Rebelles, till hee was called home by reaſon of his fathers death which chanced about the ſame time. Shortly after Geffrey Rancin died. And king Richard comming into the countrey wan the ſtrong Caſtell of Taylleburge by ſurrender, which apperteined to the ſame Geffrey with others, and then going agaynſt the other rebels, he wan by force of aſſault the Citie of Engoleſme from him. All which time the Frenche king ſtirred not, by reaſon that there was ſome communication in hande for a truce, to bee taken betwixt him & K. Richard, which by mediation of certaine Biſhops was ſhortly after concluded, *Pol. dor.*

Great exactiōs

The coulour pretended in leuying of money.

to endure for twelue monethes, the Byſhoppe of Elie was chiefe commiſſioner for the Kyng of England, and this truce was accorded aboute Lammas, and ſerued to little purpoſe, excepte to giue libertie to eyther Prince, to breath a little, and in the meane time, to prouide themſelues of men, munition, ſhippes and money, that immediately after the tearme was expired, they mighte with greater force returne to the field agayne, for they hadde not onely a lyke deſire to followe the warres, but alſo vſed a like meane and practiſe to leauie money. For whereas they hadde already made the temporaltie bare with often payments, and callyng them foorthe to ſerue with their perſons in the warres, they thoughte beſt nowe to fetch a fleece from the ſpiritualty and Churchmē, alſo conſidering that they hadde bin by reaſon of their immunitie more gently dealt with, and not appointed to ſerue themſelues in any manner of wiſe, and to colour this exaction withall, whiche they knewe woulde be euill taken of many, they bruted it abroade, that they leuied this money vppon purpoſe, to ſend it into the holy lād, towards the payment of the Chriſtian Souldiers, whych remained there vppon defence of thoſe Townes, which yet the Saraſſins had not conquered. K. Richard therefore comming to Tours in Touraine, required a greate ſumme of money of the Cleargie in thoſe parties, and the like requeſt hee made through out all thoſe his dominions, on that further ſide of the Sea. King Phillippe for his parte demaunded likewiſe intollerable tythes and duties of all the Churchmen in his territories, and thoſe that hadde the gathering of that money, ſerued their owne turne in dealing moſte ſtraightly with ſilly Prieſtes, making them to pay, what they thought good, though ſometyme beyond the boundes of equity and reaſon.

Rog. Houed. Inquiſitions taken by a Iury of ſundry matters.

In September, the Iuſtices Itinerantes made their circuites through euery Shire and Countie of thys Realme, cauſing inquiſitions to be taken by ſubſtanciall iuries of pleas of the Crowne both olde and new, of recogniſances, of eſcheates, of wardes, of marriages, of all maner of offendors againſte the lawes and ordinaunces of the Realme, and of all other tranſgreſſors, falſifiers, and murtherers of Iewes, of the pledges, goods, lands, debtes, and writings of Iewes that were ſlayne, & of other circumſtances touching that matter. Likewiſe of the accomptes of Sherifes, as to vnderſtande what had bin gyuen towards the Kyngs raunſome, howe muche had bin receyued, and what remayned behynde to receyue.

Earle Iohn.

Alſo of the landes that belonged to Earle Iohn, and what goodes he had, and what he helde in demayne, in wardes, eſcheates, and in giftes, and for what cauſe they were giuen.

Alſo of his fautors and partakers whyche had made fine with the King, and whiche not, with many other articles touching the ſame Earle.

Vſurers.

Alſo of Vſurers, and of their goodes being deceaſſed, of wines ſolde contrary to the aſſiſe, of falſe meaſures, and of ſuche as hauing receyued the Croſſe to goe into the holy lande, dyed before they ſet forward. Alſo of graund aſſiſes that were of an hundred Shillings lande or vnder, and of defaultes, and of dyuers other things, the Iurates were charged to enquire, and preſent the ſame.

Alſo the Iuſtices were appointed to cauſe the manours, fermes and lāds which the King held in demayne, or by wardes, and eſcheates, to bee ſurueyed by a ſubſtantiall Iurie, and to take order for the conuerting of them to ſuche vſe, as the Kyng myght be aunſwered of the gaynes ryſing by the ſame at the Fermers handes.

Iewes.

Alſo, the Iewes were appoynted to enrolle all their debtes, pledges, lands, houſes, rentes and poſſeſſions.

Iuſtices Sh riſes and o ther offic

Moreouer, there was inquiſition taken of Iuſtices Sherifes, Bailifes, Conneſtables, Foreſters and other officers, belonging to the Kyng to vnderſtande in what manner they hadde behaued thēſelues in takyng and ſeaſing of things into their handes, and of all ſuche goodes, giftes and promiſes hadde and receyued by occaſion of ſeaſure made of the landes of Earle Iohn and his fautors, and who receyued yͤ ſame, and what delay was graunted by commaundemente of Huberte Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, then Lorde chiefe Iuſtice.

Hubert A biſhop of Caunte Lorde chi Iuſtice.

Officers to fine for their offic The King offended w the Lorde Chauncell

In this meane tyme, whyleſt theſe inquiſitions were thus taken in Englande, King Rycharde comming forth of Poictow into Anion, cauſed all the Baylifes and officers of that countrey, and alſo of Mayne, to fyne with hym for theyr offices, and after this, when hee came downe into Normandy, he ſeemed in apparance to bee offended with his Chauncellour the Byſhoppe of Elie, about concludyng of the truce with the Frenche Kyng (where as ye haue heard hee was chiefe commiſſioner) miſliking greatly all that was done therein, and therefore hee tooke the ſeale from him, and cauſed a newe Seale to bee made, commaunding to be proclaymed thorough all his dominions, that whatſoeuer hadde bin ſealed with the olde Seale, ſhoulde ſtande in no force, both for that his Chauncelloure hadde wroughte more vndiſcretely than was conueniente, and agayne, bycauſe the ſame ſeale was loſt, when Roger Malus Catulus hys vicechauncelloure was drowned, who periſhed amongſt other by Shipwracke, neere to the Iſle of Cipres, before the Kyng arriued there, beeyng as then on hys iourney into the holye lande. Therefore all menne hadde commaundemente to come

A new ſ

to come to this new ſeale, that would haue theyr charters and writings confirmed.

Mat. Paris.
The king returneth into Englande.
He graunteth the engliſhmen licence to turney.

Furthermore, whileſt the truce yet laſted, king Richard ſayled ouer into England, where he cauſed turneys to bee exerciſed in dyuers places, for the better trayning of men of armes in feates of warre, that they might atteyne to be more ſkilfull and perfect in the ſame, when they ſhoulde come to the triall of their forces, whereby hee rayſed no ſmall ſummes of money for graunting licence to his ſubiectes ſo to tourney. Euery Earle that woulde tourney, payde to hym for hys licence twentie markes, euery Baron tenne markes, and euery Knighte hauyng landes, dyd gyue foure markes, and thoſe that hadde no landes two markes.

Rog. Houeden.
Fynes payde for licence to exerciſe turnamentes.

The charter of this graunte was delyuered by the Kyng vnto William Earle of Saliſburie, to haue the keeping thereof: but Huberte Walter the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, and Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the money. The tenor of the charter was as followeth.

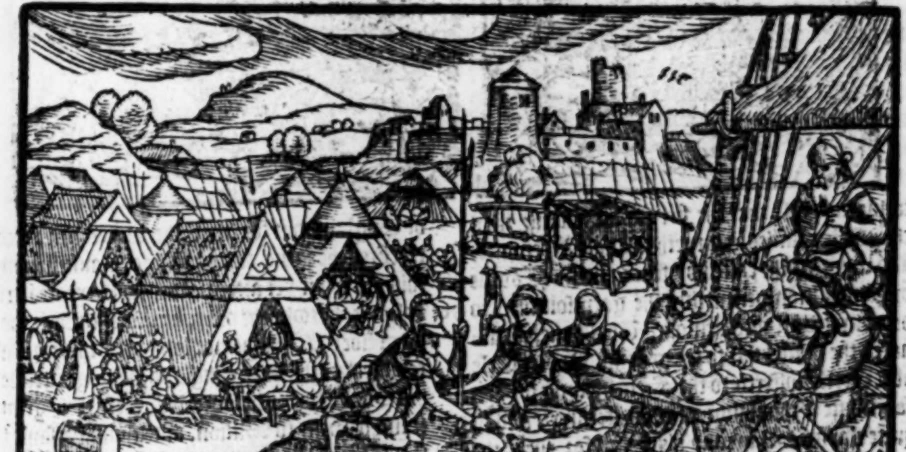
RIcharde by the grace of God Kyng of Englande, Duke of Normandy and Aquitayne, and Earle of Aniou, to the reuerende father in Chriſt, Hubert Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and primate of all England, ſendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue graunted that tournaments may be kept in Englande in fiue ſteedes, to witte, betwixte Sariſburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixte Stanforde and Warneford, betwixt Brackeley and Mirburgh, betwixte Blie and Tickhill, ſo that the peace of our land be not broken, nor our Iuſticiers authoritie deminiſhed, nor anye domage done to oure Forreſtes: and that Earle that will turney there, ſhall giue to vs twentie markes, and a Baron tenne markes, and a Knighte that hathe landes ſhall gyue foure markes, and hee that hathe no lands ſhall gyue two markes.

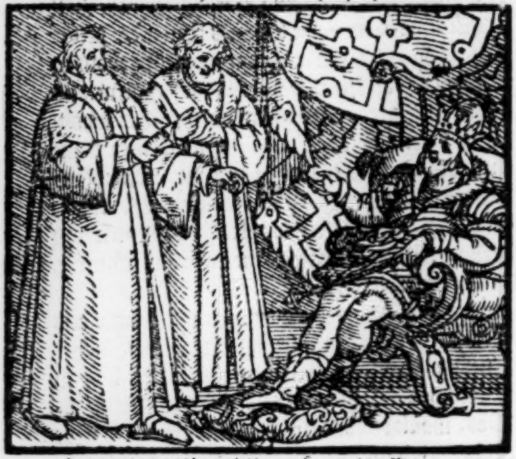
Moreouer, no ſtraunger ſhall bee admitted to tourney there, whereupon wee commaunde you, that at the day of the turneying, ye haue ther two Clarkes, and two of oure Knightes to receyue the othe of the Earles and Barons, whyche ſhall ſatiſfye vs of the ſayde ſummes of money, before the turneying begin, and that they ſuffer none to turney, til (before) they haue made payment, and haue cauſed to be entred how much, and of whom they haue receyued: and yee ſhall take tenne markes for thys charter to oure vſe, whereof the Earle of Saliſbury, and the Earle of Clere, and the Earle of Warren are pledges, witneſſe my ſelfe, at Ville Leueſche, the two and twentith of Auguſt.

Biſhops towne.

Furthermore, there were ordinances made and ſet forthe for the ſafekeeping of the peace, ſo that ſuche as woulde tourney, neyther by the way in comming or going, or whileſt the turneying laſted, ſhoulde violently take any thyng to ſerue theyr neceſſarie vſes, without paying therefore to the owner according to the worth, nor ſhould do iniurie to any man in any manner of wiſe. But now to the other doings of Kyng Richard. Hee made no long abode in Englande at this tyme, but ſhortly returned agayne into Normandy, bycauſe hee hearde that Kyng Phillippe hadde an army ready leuied, and therefore meanyng to buckle with hym vppon occaſion offered, hee made the more haſt, and beeing landed there, hee approched to the boroures of yͤ Frẽch dominions, encamping himſelfe with his army in the fielde

I thinke hee came not ouer at all into Englande at thys tyme, but rather ſente his mynde vnto the Archbiſh.





to waite for the time that the truce ſhould be expired, leaſt the enimie ſhould in any exployte preuent him. In ſemblable wiſe King Phillippe hauing with hym Earle John Kyng Richardes brother, kept his Souldiers and men of warre in a readineſſe with hym, to worke any feate that ſhould be thought expedient aſſoone as the truce ſhould ende. Whileſt both theſe Kyngs are thus bent to poure out their malice, and to eaſe theyr ſtomackes with dint of ſworde, there came meſſengers to eyther of them from the Pope, exhorting them vnto peace and quietneſſe, but hys exhortatiō little auayled, for they regarding it little or nothing, immediately as the truce was expired, gote them abroade into the field, King Rychard draweth towards Iſoldune, a Towne ſituate in yͤ confines of Berry, whither it was reported, that the Frēch King meant to come: and there ſtayed for him a whole day togither. But the French Kyng hearing that Kyng Richarde was there to looke for him, thought it beſt not to come there at all. Wherefore King Richarde went the next day vnto a Caſtell called Bryſon, and tooke it vppon his firſt approch. Then wente he to a Towne called Nonen Courte, and perceyuing the ſame to be ſtrong, and well manned, he tooke not in hand to aſſayle it, till the thyrd day after his comming thither, at what time hee ſo encloſed the ſame rounde aboute with diligente watch and ward, that a Catte could not haue eſcaped out of the place, neyther by day nor nyght, but that ſhe ſhould haue bin eſpied. They within being put in feare herewith, yeelded vp yͤ Towne the day nexte following, in whiche meane tyme, the French Kyng beſieged Albemarle, whervpō King Richard hauing left a garriſon of Souldiers in Nonen Courte, came to reyſe the enimie from his ſiege, and ſetting vpon the Frenchmē, there began a ſharp fighte: but the Engliſhmenne weary with trauayle of their paſſed iourney, and being raſhly entred into the battayle, were not able to endure the Frenchmens violence, and ſo not without great loſſe, were conſtreyned to retire in fleeing wiſe, or to ſay the troth, apace to runne away, ſo that the French K. hauing thus chaſed his enimies, returneth to aſſalt Albemarle, and winneth the caſtell by force, and the Towne by compoſition, permitting the garniſon there to depart with all their armour. This done, he ruinated the Caſtel flat to the ground. Robert Erle of Leyceſter offered to the French Kyng for hys raunſome a thouſande markes ſterling, and to quite clayme to him and his heires for euer, the right which he had to the caſtell of Paſcy, with the appurtenaunces, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the Pope, and of the King of England: but for that the warre ſtill dured, the Frenche King tooke a reſpite in aunſweryng this offer, but yet afterwardes in the yeare nexte enſuing, he tooke the offer, and ſo the Earle was ſet at libertie. It was not long after this foreſaid repulſe, but the K. of England hauing refreſſhed his Souldiers with ſome reſt, after their greate trauaile, went to Million, and gyuing aſſault to the Towne, wanne it at the firſt brūt, and made it playne with the earth. After this, ther was motion made for a peace betwixt yͤ two Kings, being now weried with long warres: wherof when

Earle

1195

Meſſengers frō the Pope.

Iſoldun

Nonen Co
yeeldeth
king Ric
Albemarle
beſieged

Math. P

Polidor.

Rog. Houedē.
The Earle of Leiceſters offer for his raunſome.

Million
and raſed.

A motion
peace,

Earle Iohn was aduertiſed, who as it ſhoulde ſeeme by ſome writers, hauing tarried with the Frẽch King till this preſent, began now to doubt leaſt if any agreement were made, he might happily bee betrayed of the Frenche King by couenauntes that ſhould paſſe betwixt them: he determined therefore with him ſelfe to committe hys whole ſafetie to his naturall brother, and to no man elſe, perceyuing that the French King made not ſo great accompt of him after the loſſe of hys Caſtels here in Englande, as he had done before. Hereupon comming to his brother Kyng Rychard, he beſought him to pardon his offence, and though he had not dealt brotherly towards hym, yet that he would brotherly forgiue him his Rebellious treſpaſſe, adding furthermore, that whereas he had not heretofore bin thankfull for his manifold benefites whiche hee hadde receyued at hys hands, yet hee was now moſt ſory therefore, and was willing to make amendes: and herewith hee acknowledged the ſafegard of hys life to reſt in him, for the whiche hee was bounde to giue hym thankes, if he would graunt thereto. The Kyng moued with his wordes, made this aunſwere (as it is ſayde) that he pardoned him indeede, but yet wiſhed that he might forget ſuche iniuries as hee had receyued at his hands, which he doubted leaſt he ſhould not eaſily do. Herewith Earle Iohn being yet put in good hope of forgiueneſſe, ſware to be true euer after vnto him, and that hee woulde endeuor himſelfe to make amendes for hys paſſed miſdoings, and ſo was ſhortly after reſtored vnto his former degree and honor in all reſpectes. But by ſome writers it ſhuld appeare, that Erle Iohn, immediately vppon concluſion of the firſte truce, came from the Frenche King, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his brother, and by mediation of the Queene their mother, was pardoned, and receyued agayne into fauour, and ſerued euer after againſt the French King very dutifully, ſeekyng by new atchieued enterpriſes brought about, to ỹ contentation of his brother, to make a recompẽce for his former miſdemeanor: but at what time ſo euer he returned thus to his brother, this yeare (as Roger Houeden hath) he was reſtored to ỹ Erledomes of Mortaigne in Normãdie, and Glowceſter in England, with ỹ honor of Eye (the Caſtels only except) and in recompence of the reſidue of the Erledomes which he had before enioyed togither with certaine other lands, his brother king Richarde gaue vnto him an yeerely pention, amounting to the ſumme of eyght thouſand li. of Aniouin money. Here to ſtay a while from matters chauncing heere about home, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the doing of Leopald Duke of Auſtrich, who as one nothing moued with the peſtilence & famine that oppreſſed his countrey in this ſeaſon, but rather hauing his hart hardned, began to threaten the engliſh pledges, that they ſhoulde loſe their liues if King Richarde kept not the couenauntes which he had vndertaken to performe by a day appointed. Whereupon Baldwine Betun one of the hoſtages was ſente by commõ agreement of the reſidue vnto King Richarde, to ſignifie to him their eſtate. King Richard willing to deliuer them out of further daunger, ſente with the ſame Baldwin his couſin, the ſiſter of Arthur Duke of Britayne, and the daughter of the Emperour of Cipres, to be conueyed vnto the ſayde Duke of Auſtrich, the one, to witte, the ſiſter of Arthur, to be ioyned in marriage with the Dukes ſonne, and the other to remayne in the Dukes handes, to diſpoſe of hir at his pleaſure. But in the meane time, on Saint Stephens day, Duke Leopald chaunced to haue a fall beſyde his horſe, wherewith hee did hurt hys legge, in ſuche wiſe, that all the Chirurgians in the Countrey coulde not help him, whereupon in extreame anguiſh he ended hys lyfe, and where before his death hee required to be aſſoyled of the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſte him by the Pope, for (apprehending of Kyng Richarde in hys returning from his iourney made into the holye lande,) heewas aunſwered by the Cleargie, that except hee woulde receyue an oth to ſtande to the iudgement of the Churche for the iniurie done to Kyng Richarde, and that alſo excepte other of the nobilitie would receyue the lyke oth with him if he chaunced to die (whereby hee might not fulfill that whyche the Churche heerein ſhoulde decree) that yet they ſhoulde ſee the ſame performed, he might not otherwiſe bee aſſoyled. Hee therefore tooke the othe, and the Nobles of his countrey with hym, and therewithall releaſſed ỹ Engliſh pledges, pardoned the money that yet remained behinde, of his portion aforeſaide, and immediately therewith dyed. After his deceſſe, bycauſe certayne peeres of the Country withſtoode the performance of the premiſſes, his body lay eyghte dayes longer aboue grounde than otherwiſe it ſhould haue done, for till ſuche time as all ỹ pledges were perfectly releaſſed, it might not be buried. Alſo Baldwin de Betun being approched nere to the confynes of Auſtrich, when he hearde howe the Duke was dead, hee returned backe with the two Ladies vnto his maſter King Richarde.

le Iohn re-
neth to the
ghis bro-
r, and is
doned.

il.Par.
g.Houed.
at.Par.

g.Houed.

g.Houed.

Rog. Houedẽ.
VVil. Parnu.
Mat. Paris:
Polichron.

Baldwine de
Betun.

Duke Leopald
catcheth a
fall beſyde
his Horſe
and dyeth of
the hurt.

Thus (as yee haue heard) for feare of ỹ Cenſures of the Churche were the pledges reſtored, and the reſidue of the money behynde releaſſed.

Thys thyng was to King Richarde bothe pleaſaunt, and alſo profitable for his ſoule healthe (as may bee thoughte) bycauſe hee tooke occaſion thereof, to amend his owne former life, by conſidering how muche hee myghte bee reprehended for his ſundry faultes committed both agaynſte God and man. A maruellous matter to heare, howe greatly from thenceforth he reformed hys paſſed trade of liuing into a better forme and order. Moreouer, the Emperour gaue to the Ciſteaux Monkes three thouſand markes of ſiluer percell of King Richards raunſome, to make ſyluer ſenſers in euery Church through out where they had any houſes, but the Abbots of the ſame order refuſed the gifte, being a portion of ſo wrongfull and vngodly a gayne. At which thing, when it came to the knowlege of King Richard, he greatly maruelled at the firſt, but after commended the Abbots in their doings, but chiefly for ſhewyng that they were voyde of the accuſtomed greedineſſe of hauing, whiche moſt men ſuppoſed them to be much infected with.

White Monks

Rog. Houedē.

Hugh Nouant Biſhop of Couentrie reſtored to his See.

King Richarde this yeare pardoned Hugh Nouant Biſhop of Couentrie of all his wrathe and diſpleaſure conceyued towarde hym, and reſtored to him his Biſhopricke for fiue thouſande markes of ſiluer, but Roberte Nouant the ſame Byſhops brother dyed in the Kyngs priſon at Douer.

The Archb. of Yorke.

Alſo whereas the Archbiſhop of Yorke hadde offended Kyng Richard, hee pardoned him, and receyued him againe into fauoure, with the kiſſe of peace, whereuppon the Archbiſhoppe waxed ſo proude, that vſing the King reprochfully, hee loſt both his Archbiſhopricke, and the rule of Yorkeſhire, whyche hee hadde in gouernemente as Sherife.

Pope Celeſtine.
The Archb. of Caunterbury is made the Popes Legate.

Moreouer, through the Kings requeſt, Pope Celeſtine this yeare made the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury Legate of all Englande by hys Bulles directed to hym, bearing date at hys Palace in Rome called Laterane, the fifteene Kalendes of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of hys Papacie.

And further, the Pope wrote alſo to the Engliſhe Cleargie, giuing them to vnderſtande, that hee had created the ſayde Archbiſhop of Caunterbury hys Legate, commaunding them ſo to accept him: by vertue of whiche letters, the Archbyſhop Huberte beeyng nowe both Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea, and Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Englande, appoynted to holde a Counſell at Yorke, and therefore gaue knowledge by the Abbot of Binnham in Northfolke, and one maſter Geruiſe, vnto the Canons of Yorke, and to the Archbiſhoppes officials of his purpoſed intention.

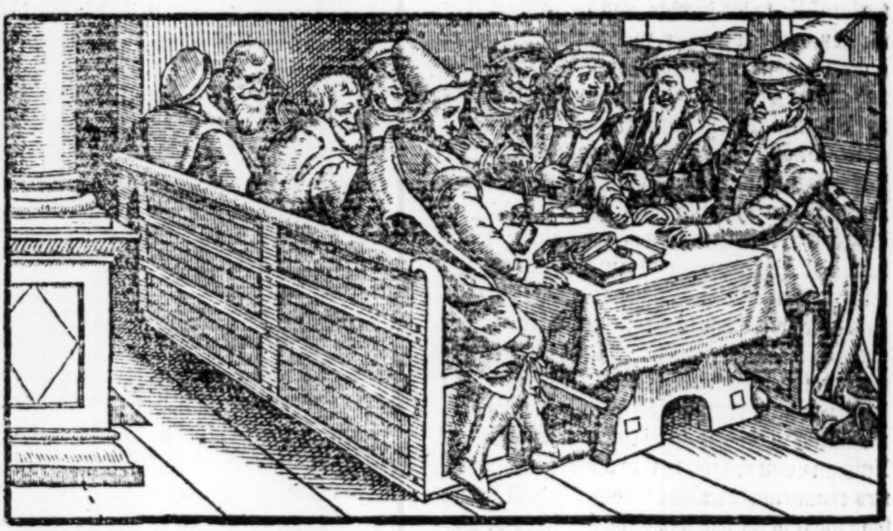
The ſayd Canons and officials well conſidering of the Popes letters whiche were delyuered vnto them by the meſſengers, ſignifyed for anſwere, that they woulde gladly receyue hym as Legate of the Apoſtolyke See, but not as Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, nor as theyr primate.

Heerewith he came vnto Yorke vppon Sainte Barnabees day beeing Sunday, and was receyued with Proceſſion.

On the morrowe after, he helde court of pleas of the Crowne, of aſſiſes, and ſuche other matters, touching the King, and on the nexte daye beeyng Tweſday, he entred into the monaſterie of Sainte Maries in Yorke, and depoſed the Abbot, bycauſe of his infirmitie of body at the requeſt of the Monkes, but the Abbot appealed to the Popes conſiſtory.

A Synod
den at Yo

After this, hee aſſembled the Cleargie in the Church of Saint Peter in Yorke, and there helde a Synode for reformation of thyngs amiſſe in the Church, and amendmente of manners in the Cleargie, ſo that dyuers decrees were made there, the whiche for breefeneſſe we omitte to ſpeake of in perticular. Thys yeare alſo, the ſayd Archbyſhoppe Huberte cauſed all menne throughout the Realme of Englande to receyue an othe, for to obſerue the Kynges peace, and that



that they ſhoulde not be robbers, nor receptors of robbers, nor in any wiſe conſenting vnto them, but ſhould do what in them mighte lie, to apprehend all ſuche offendors, and to diſcouer them to the kings officers to bee apprehended, and to purſue them vppon hew and crie to the vttermoſt of their powers, and thoſe that withdrew thēſelues from ſuch purſuite, ſhould be apprehended as partakers with the offenders.

e Emperor
deth to the
g.

n.reg. 7.

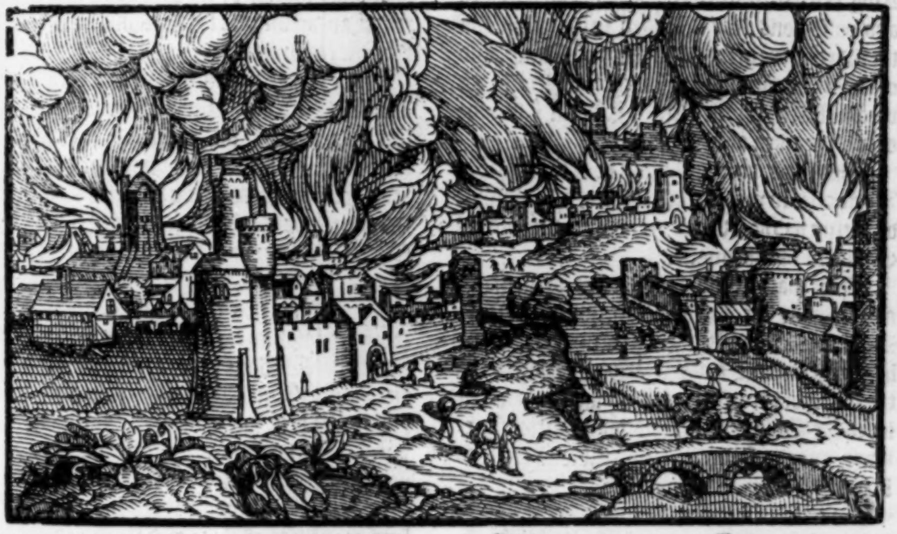
e Biſhop of
e is ſent to
Emperour

About this time alſo the Emperour ſent to K. Richarde, requiring him in no wiſe to conclude any peace with the Frenche King, but rather to inuade his dominions, promiſing to ayde hym in all that hee might: but Kyng Richard to vnderſtand further of the Emperours mind herein, ſent ouer his Chauncellor the Biſhoppe of Elie vnto him in ambaſſadge, and in the meane time the warre was ſtill continued betwixte hym and the Frenche, by the whiche they were commonly put to the worſe, and Kyng Richarde inuadyng their bordures, did much hurt in waſting yͤ coũtreys on each ſide. The Frenche Kyng was at one time ſo narrowly chaſed, that as hee woulde haue paſſed a bridge that lay ouer the water of Sayne, hee was in daunger of drowning by the fall of the ſame vnder him, but yet at lengthe hee eſcaped, and gote to the further ſide. After thys, the two Kings came to a communication togyther, in the which a motion was made, that Lewis the French Kyng his ſonne and heire ſhould haue in marriage the ſiſter of Arthur Duke of Britaine, and that Kyng Richarde in conſideration thereof, ſhoulde ſurrender vnto them and to their heires the Townes of Giſors, Bademont, with the countrey of Veulqueſſine, or Veuxine le Normant, Vernon, Juery and Paſcy, and further, ſhoulde giue vnto them twentie thouſande markes of ſiluer: and on the other ſyde, the French Kyng ſhoulde reſigne vnto King Richarde all that he could demaund in the countie of Engeleſme, and alſo reſtore vnto hym the Counties of Albemarle and Augy, with the Caſtel of Arkes, and all other Caſtels which he had takē in Normandy, or in any partie during theſe laſt warres. But ther was a reſpite taken for the full concluding and aſſuring of theſe conditions, till yͤ Octaues of all Saints, that King Richard myghte vnderſtande the Emperours pleaſure, withoute whoſe conſent he myght not conclude any thing concerning that matter, bycauſe he had ſent ſuch word vnto him by the Lorde Chauncellor, who at this time was attendant in his court. In the meane time, the Emperoure being aduertiſed of the whole matter, and articles afore mentioned, gaue knowledge to King Richarde by the Byſhoppe of Elie at his returning backe, that thys forme of peace nothing lyked hym, for (as hee alledged) it ſhould ſound to King Richardes diſhonor if he ſurrendred any thing that he had not in poſſeſſion, and to encourage him to recouer thoſe things which had bin taken from him, the emperoure pardoned him of yͤ ſeuenteene M. markes of ſiluer which yet remained behynde due vnto hym for the Kings raunſome. Howſoeuer the matter paſſed, the two Kings met not in the Octaues of all Saints, according to the appoyntment, although they were come, and approched very nere to the place, where they ſhoulde haue communed togither: but through the diſſimulation of the Frenchmen, they departed, withoute ſeeing the one the other, and immediately they beginne the warre as fiercely, as at any time before. The French Kyng alſo toke the Towne of Dieppe whiche King Richard hadde lately repared, and brenned it, with the Shippes that harbored in the hauen,

e two kin-
s talke to-
ther.

The Emperor diſſuadeth the king from agreeing to the peace.

The warre is begon afreſh.



After this, comming to Iſoldun, hee wanne the Towne and beſieged the Caſtell: but Kyng Richard

The laſt which king Richard made

Richarde aduertiſed thereof, came with quicke ſpeede (making of three dayes iourney but one) and entred into the Caſtell of Iſoldun to defend the ſame againſte his aduerſaries: and forthwith there reſorted ſuche numbers of men vnto hym when they hearde howe he was beſieged, that the Frenche Kyng doubting howe to retire from thence in ſafetie, made ſute firſt to haue licence to depart, and after when that would not be graunted, he required at the leaſt wiſe to talke with the Kyng of Englād about ſome agreement: wherevnto Kyng Richard condeſcended, and ſo comunyng togyther, they concluded vppon a truce to endure from that day, being Saterday next after the feaſt of Saint Nicholas, vnto the feaſt of S. Hillarie next enſuing, and then to meete againe neere vnto Louiers with their counſels, that they might grow by ſome reaſonable way, vnto a finall peace and concord. And according to thys Article, ſhortly after the ſame feaſt of Sainte Hillarie, they mette at Louiers, wher finally they were accorded to conclude a peace on theſe conditions, that the French King ſhoulde releaſſe to the King of England Iſoldun, with the Countrey aboute, wonne by him ſith the beginning of theſe warres. Likewiſe, all the right which he had in Berry, Auuergne, and Gaſcoigne, and the County of Aubemarle.

The two kings againe talke togither of peace.

1196.

The conditiōs of the peace concluded betwixt the two kings.

Math. Paris.

Upon the other parte, the King of Englande ſhould reſigne Giſors, and certayne other places, and namely Veurin or Veulqueſſine to ẏ Kyng of Fraunce. Hereupon were ſureties alſo bounde for performance, and the forfeyture of fifteene thouſande markes aſſigned to be payde by ẏ partie that firſt brake the peace. Whereupon, ſhortly after, when the French Kyng repenting hymſelfe of the agreement, began to make war a new, King Richard ſeaſed into his hands all ẏ goodes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the Abbots of the order of the great Monaſtery of Cluny, and of Saint Denice and la Charitie, whiche hadde become ſuretie for the French King in ẏ ſumme of 1500. markes aforeſayde.

Math. VVeſt.

Mat. VVeſt.

Mat. Par.

This yeare dyed William de Forz Earle of Albemarle, in whoſe place ſucceeded Baldwine de Betun by the Kinges gifte, and married the Counteſſe of Albermarle.

Rog. Houedē.

The Erle of Albemarle departed his life.

There was a motion alſo made for a marriage betwixte the Lorde Otho, ſonne to Henry Duke of Saxony, Kyng Richardes nephewe by hys ſyſter, and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Kyng of Scottes, ſo as they ſhould haue enioyed the Countreys of Lothian, Northumberlande, and the Countie of Carleil with the Caſtels.

Otho ſonne to the duke of Saxony.

Lawnes.

For the concluſion of this marriage, the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury was ſente about Chriſtmas to commune with the Kyng of Scottes: but bycauſe the Scottiſh Queene was then conceyued of childe, hir huſbande (in hope that God woulde ſende hym a ſonne) refuſed to ſtand vnto the aboue mentioned couenauntes.

About thys time alſo, King Richarde ſente the Abbot of Caen, (that was alſo the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of thoſe that hadde the receyptes of the Kyngs money: for this Abbot had enformed the Kyng, that his receyuors and officers heere in the Realme, dealt not iuſtly in their accomptes makyng, but both deceyued the King, and oppreſſed hys people, in exacting more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to ſtand accomptable for.

VVil.Ne

Ran.H

The Ab Caen ſen Engla

Fraudul dealing o ficers.

The Kyng ſuppoſing hys wordes to be true, or at the leaſt wayes likely ſo to bee, and that in reforming ſuch vntroth in his officers, it ſhoulde bee both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, ſent this Abbot ouer, with commiſſion, to be as it were his generall Auditor. Howbeit, the Byſhoppe of Caunterbury Hubert, whiche was gouernour of the Realme in cauſes both Temporall and ſpirituall, by reaſon he hadde both the Kings authoritie as his vicegerent, and alſo the Popes as his Legate authoriſed, dyd ſomewhat ſtomacke ẏ matter, in that it ſhoulde be thought, that he did ſuffer ſuch abuſes in the Kyngs officers, and not reforme them: but he helde hym cōtente and ſayde little, ſith the Abbot ſhewed him the Kings commiſſion to do that which he wente aboute, although hee brought it not to paſſe, for whereas hee came ouer in the Lente ſeaſon, and gaue out commaundements, that all ſuch as had any thing to doe in receipt of the Kyngs money, ſhould appeare before him at after Eaſter, he taried not to ſee Eaſter himſelfe, but was called into another world, by the ſtroke of death, there to render an accomptes for his owne actes heere in thys life committed.

At the ſame time, there was another perſon in London called William with the long berde (alias Fitz Oſbert) whyche hadde lykewiſe enformed the Kyng of certayne great oppreſſions and exceſſiue outrages vſed by rich men againſt the poore, (as namely the Worſhipfull of the Citie, the Maior and Aldermenne, the whyche in theyr hoſtings, when any tillage was to bee gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reaſon to eaſe themſelues, wherevppon the ſayde William beeyng a ſeditious perſon, and of a buſie nature, ſeaſed not to make complayntes:) and whereas the Kyng gaue eare vnto him at the firſt, he toke a boldneſſe thereof, and drewe vnto him greate routes of the poorer ſort of people, and woulde take vpon hym to defend the cauſes of thoſe that founde themſelues greeued with the heauie yoke of riche menne,

Fabian.

VVil.Pe

Mat.Pa

Ran.Ho

William bert.

The foul order in th Citizens o London.

and gentlemen. He was ſomwhat learned, and very eloquent: he had alſo a verie good witte, but he applyed it rather to ſet diſſention betwixt the hye eſtates and the lowe, than to any other good purpoſe: hee accuſed alſo his owne brother of treaſon, who in his youthe hadde kepte him to ſchole, and bin verye good and beneficiall brother vnto him, bycauſe now he would not ſtill mayntayne hym with money to beare out his riottous porte.

The vnnatural ingratitude of Fitz Osbert.

Moreouer, he declared to the Kyng, that by the extortion and bryberie of certaine menne of great wealth, he loſt many forfaytes and eſcheates. Many Gentlemen of honor ſore hated hym for his preſumptuous attempts to the hyndering of theyr purpoſes: but he had ſuche comforte of the king, that he little paſſed of their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king beeing aduertiſed of the aſſemblies whiche he made, commaunded hym to ceaſſe from ſuche doings, that the people myghte fall agayne to theyr ſciences and occupations whiche they hadde for the more part lefte off, at the inſtigation of thys Willyam wyth the Long bearde, ſo named of the long heare of his beard, whiche he nouriſhed of purpoſe to ſeme the more graue and manlyke, and alſo as it were in deſpite of them which counterfaited the Normans (that were for the moſte parte ſhauen,) and bycauſe he woulde reſemble the auncient vſage of the Engliſh nation. The kyngs commaundement in reſtraynt of the peoples reſort vnto him, was well kepte a whyle, but it was not long ere they beganne to follow him againe as they hadde done afore. Then he toke vpon him to make vnto them certain collations or ſermons, taking for his theme, *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus ſaluatoris*, That is to meane: Ye ſhall drawe in gladneſſe waters oute of the fountaynes of oure Sauiour. And hereto he added, I am (ſayd he) the ſauyour of poore menne. Ye be the poore, and haue aſſayed the harde handes and heauie burdens of the ryche: Nowe drawe ye therefore, the healthfull waters of vnderſtandyng out of my welles and ſpryngs, and that with ioye. For the tyme of your viſitation is commen: I ſhall (ſayde he) departe waters from waters: by waters I vnderſtande the people, and I ſhall departe the people whych are good and meke, from the people that are wicked and prowde, and I ſhall diſceuer the good and euyll, euen as the lyghte is deuyded from darkeneſſe.

Why he ware his long bearde.

Mat. Paris.

Fabian.

His orations to the people.

And by ſuche perſwaſyons and meanes as he vſed, he hadde gotten two and fyftie thouſande perſons, readye to haue taken his parte, as appeared after by a rolle of theyr names founde in hys kepyng, beſydes dyuers Inſtrumentes of yron to breake vp houſes, and other thynges, ſeruyng to ſuche lyke purpoſes.

Geruaſius Dorober.

Thus hee broughte the Commoners into a great lykyng of hym: but the ryche and wealthye Citizens ſtoode in greate feare, ſo that they kepte theyr houſes, in armes, in doubte to bee robbed and ſlayne by hym in the nyghte ſeaſon.

The Archebyſhoppe of Canterburye (vnto whome the rule of the Realme chiefely belonged,) beeing aduertiſed heerof, ſendeth for the greateſt number of the Citizens, and vſing them wyth gentle wordes, perſwaded them to delyuer pledges, the better to aſſure hym, that no ſuche thyng ſhoulde chaunce, whyche was ſuſpected of manye, though he was lothe to conceyue anye ſuche opinyon of them. They beeing ouercome with his courteous wordes, gaue vnto him pledges.

After this, when the forſayd Willyam ceaſſed not to make congregations of the people, at length the Archebiſhoppe ſente a commaundemente vnto hym, that hee ſhoulde appeare before him and other of the Counſell, at a certayne prefixed daye, to aunſwere to ſuche thynges as myghte be layde to his charge.

He is called before the Archb. of Canterbury Lorde chief Iuſtice or preſident of the realme.

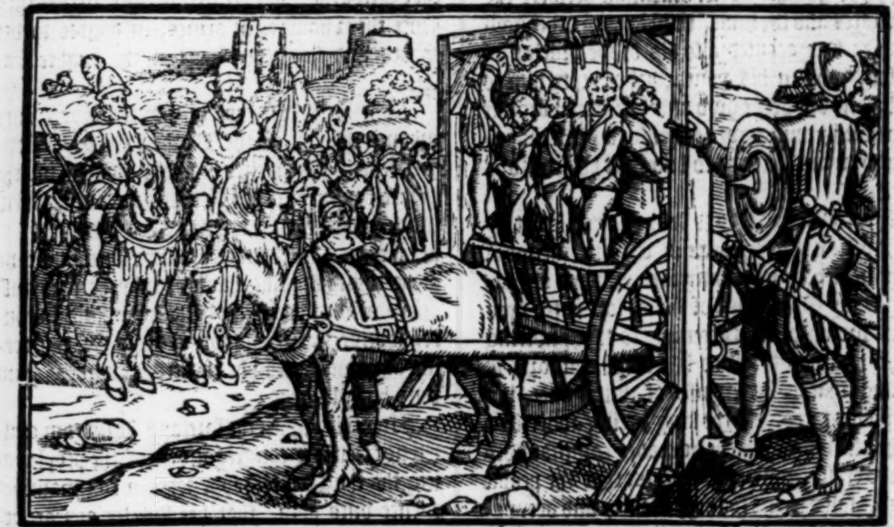
To be ſhorte, he didde ſo, at the tyme appointed, but with ſuche a route of the common people aboute hym, that the Archebiſhoppe durſte not pronounce agaynſte him, but licenced him to departe for that tyme, giuyng him ſofte and gentle wordes: But certayn perſons were then appoynted by the ſayde Archebyſhoppe and other of the Counſell to watche hym ſometyme when he ſhould haue no great companie aboute hym, and then to apprehende him.

Amongſt thoſe that were thus commaunded to attache hym, were two burgeſſes of the Citie, the whych hauing eſpyed a conuenient tyme for the execution of theyr purpoſe, ſette vppon hym to haue taken hym, but he getting an Axe, defended hymſelfe manfully: and in reſiſtyng, ſlewe one of them, and after that fledde into the Churche of Saynt Marye Bowe, kepyng the ſame not as a place of Sainctuarie, but as a fortreſſe: In ſo muche that by the helpe of ſuche as reſorted vnto hym, he defended it agaynſt his aduerſaryes, tyll with fyre and ſmoake, they conſtrayned hym to come forthe, and all thoſe that were there with him: Amongeſt them alſo was his concubine, who neuer lefte hym for any daunger that myght betyde him.

He fleeth into the churche of S. Mary Bovv.

His concubine.

The people regardyng the daunger of theyr pledges, came not out to ayde hym, as it was muche doubted they woulde haue done. Wherefore being thus attached, he was broughte forth, and commyng out of the Churche, the ſonne of that burgeſſe whome he had ſlayne, (as you haue heard) ſtrake hym very ſore into the belly with a knife, in reuẽge of his fathers death. After this, he



was had to his araignmẽt before the Archbiſhop, ſittyng within the Towre, and beeing condemned, was from thence drawn with horſſes to the place of execution called the Elmes, and there hanged on a Gybet, with nyne of his adherents, whiche hadde defended the Churche agaynſt the kings power: and yet for al this, the grudge ceaſed not, but the common people reyſed a greate ſlaunder vpon the Archbiſhoppe, both for cauſing him to be taken out of the churche, where he claimed the priuiledge of Sayntuarie, and alſo for putting him to death, who was innocent (as they alledged) and not giltie to thoſe crimes that were layde agaynſt him: who ſought onely the defence of poore people agaynſt extortioners, and ſuche as were wrong doers.

He is executed.

VVil. Paruus

Mat. Paris.

The Archbiſh. of Canterburye euill ſpoken of, for the death of VVilliam Fitz Osbert.

This rumour roſe ſo faſte, that at lengthe (by bruting abroade, that certayne miracles ſhoulde be wroughte by a chayne, wherin he was bounde in tyme of his impriſonment) hee was taken for a Sainte. The place alſo where he ſuffred, was viſyted by women, and other ſuperſtitious folks, as a plotte of great holyneſſe, tyll at lengthe the Archebiſhoppe cauſed it to be watched, to the end that no ſuche fooliſhneſſe ſhould be vſed there.

An old vvhore monger, and a nevve ſaint.

At length the opinion whiche the people had thus fondly conceyued of his vertue and innocencye, was by little and little remoued out of their heades, when his actes were more certaynely publiſhed: as the fleaing of a manne with his owne handes, and the vſyng of his Concubine with n Bowe Churche, during the tyme of his being there.

Alſo the Archbiſhoppe accurſed a Prieſt, which had firſte broughte vp the falſe reporte and fayned Fable of the miracle wroughte by the chayne, wherby the occaſion of Idolatrie was firſt giuen, and might eaſily haue bin continued, if the Archbiſhop had not bin the wyſer man, and by ſuche meanes repreſſed the rumour.

But now to returne vnto the doings of kyng Richard in France. Ye haue heard how a peace was concluded (as ſome haue written) but the ſame continued not long: for the Frenche kyng ſeeming to repente hymſelfe of that he had done, (as is aforeſayd) breaketh the peace, and reyſing a power, beſieged Albemarle, and at lengthe wanne it, and raſed it downe to the ground, and kyng Richarde gaue vnto hym three thouſande Markes of Syluer for the ranſom of his knightes, and yeomen, or demylaunces (as I may call them) that were taken in that fortreſſe. After thys, the Frenche kyng wan Nonencourte, and Earle Iohn toke the caſtell of Gamages.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo kyng Rycharde gaue vnto hys Nephew Otho the Earledome of Poictowe: Whyche I haue thoughte good to note oute of Roger Houeden, to remoue the doubte of Iohn Bouchet, that in the thyrde parte of hys Annales of Aquitayne, meruayleth of an olde Pancarte or Recorde, whyche he had ſeene, by the tenoure whereof, it appeareth, that this Otho entitled hymſelfe Duke of Aquitayne and Earle of Poictou, beyng in his Caſtel of Monſtereulbonin nere to Poictiers, in the yeare a thouſande, one hundred nyntie nyne, in preſence of Geffrey de Luſignen, and others, and graunted vnto a certaine perſon, the office of cutting the money in the mynte of that towne, as by the ſame Pancarte it further appeareth.

The Erle of Poi

Iohn Bouc his doubt.

The ſyghte whereof, broughte the ſayde Bouchet into a greate perplexitie, conſyderyng that no Chronicle whyche hee hadde eyther ſeene, or hearde of, made mention of any Otho that ſhould be Duke of Aquitayn, or Erle of Poictou, eyther before that tyme, or after: Where againe it was euydente to hym, that Queene Elianore the mother of Kyng Rycharde, as then liuing, lyuing, named hir ſelfe Ducheſſe of Aquitaine, and Counteſſe of Poictou: and likewyſe Kyng Richard entitled himſelfe duke of Aquitayn, and Earle of Poictou, euer after he had fianced the Earle of Barcelones daughter, as by dyuers recordes both of the mother, and the ſonne hee had ſeene perfect notice. At length yet he geſſeth (and that truly) that it ſhould be this Otho, to whom the mother and ſonne had aſſigned the Duchie of Aquitayne and countie of Poictou, for the maintenance of his eſtate, he holdyng the ſame, till the yeare. 1199. in the whiche he was made Emperour by king Richards good helpe, as after ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

Ranulph earle of Cheſter, toke his vvyfe the Ducheſſe, of Britayn, priſoner.

About this time alſo as the Counteſſe of Britayn, the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie to haue ſpoken with king Richard, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter hir huſbande meeting hir at Pountourſon, toke hir as priſoner, and ſhutte hir vp within his caſtel at S. James de Beuueron: and when hir ſonne Arthur could not finde meanes to deliuer hir out of captiuitie, he ioyned with the king of France, and made great hauock in the lands of his vncle king Richard, whervpon the king gathered a mightie armie, and inuading Britayn with great force, cruelly waſted and deſtroyed the countrey.

A dearth.

Here is alſo to bee noted, that in this .ix. yeare of king Richard, a great dearth chanced through this realme of England, and in the coaſts about the ſame. Alſo about the ſame tyme dyed William Erle of Saliſbury, the ſonne of Erle Patrike, whoſe daughter and heire Kyng Richarde gaue in mariage, together with the Erledome of Saliſbury, vnto his baſe brother, ſurnamed Lōg Eſpee.

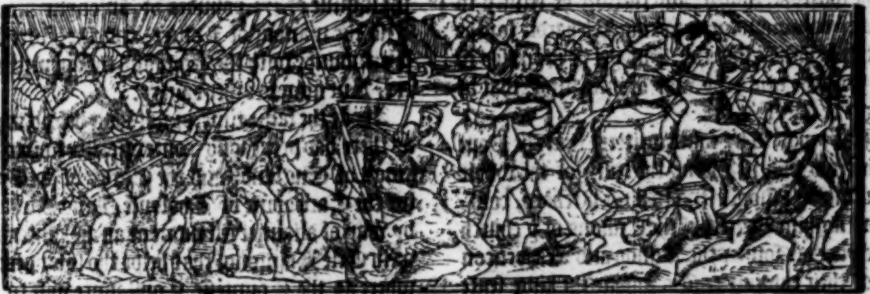
The death of the Earle of Saliſburye.,

Rog. Houed.
Mat. Paris.

It chanced moreouer, about the ſame time, that Erle John the kings brother with certain capitaynes of ſuche hyred ſouldiors as ſome call *Brabancani*, other the Rowtes, and the French hiſtories name them *Coſtereaux*, or *Cotereells*, went abrode to atchieue ſome enterpriſe againſt the Biſhop of Beauuoys, and other Frenchmen, which had done muche hurt to king Richards ſubiectes in thoſe parties. The chief leaders of thoſe Rowtes or *Coſtereaux*, whiche went forth with Erle John, and ſerued vnder him at that tyme, were two *Prouenciaux*, Marchades, and Lupeſcaro.

Marchades, & Lupeſcaro.

Theſe riding forth into the countrey about Beauuoys, made hauocke in robbing and ſpoyling all afore them. Anon as Philip the Biſhop of Beauuoys, a man more giuen to the campe than to the Churche, had knowlege hereof, thinkyng them to be a meete pray for him, with ſir William de Merlow and his ſonne, and a greate number of other valiaunt men of warre, came forth into the fieldes, & encountring with the enimies, fought very ſtoutly. In the ende yet the Biſhop, the Archdeacon, and all the chiefe capitaynes were taken, the reſidue ſlayne and chaſed.



The Biſhop of Beauuoys taken priſoner

After this, Earle John and the forſayd Capitaynes paſſed forth, and wanne the towne of Milly, and ſo returned.

The two Prelates, Erle John and Marchades, preſented with greate triumph vnto Kyng Richarde early in the mornyng, lying yet in his bedde, as thoſe that were knowne to bee his greate enemies, ſaying to hym in Frenche: Kyng Richarde, aryſe, wee haue gotten the great Chauntour of Beauuoys, and a good quiet man (wee take it) to aunſwere him in the ſame note, and here we deliuer them vnto you to vſe at your diſcretion.

The king ſeeing them ſmyled, and was verye gladde for the taking of this Biſhop, for that he had euer founde hym his greate aduerſarie: and therfore beeyng thus taken fightyng in the fielde with armour on his backe, he thought he myght bee bolde in temporall wyſe to chaſtyſe hym: Which hee (not regardyng hys callyng) practiſed to moleſte hym wyth Temporall weapons: And hereupon hee committed hym to ſtrayte pryſon all armed as he was.

It chanced ſone after, that two of his chaplaynes came to the Kyng vnto Rouen, where this Byſhoppe was deteyned, beſeechyng the Kyng of licence to attend vppon theyr mayſter nowe in captiuitie: Unto whome (as it is of ſome reported) the Kyng made thys aunſwere: I am contente to make you Judges in the cauſe betwixte mee and your maiſter. As for the euils whiche he hath either done, either elſe gone aboute to doe vnto mee, lette the ſame be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iorney made into the holy land, and deliuered into the Emperors hands, was in reſpect of my kingly eſtate, vſed acording thervnto verie friendly and honorably, till your maiſter comming thither (for what purpoſe hee himſelfe beſt knoweth) had long conference with the emperor. After whiche, I for my parte in the nexte morning taſted the frute of their ouernights talk, being then loden, with as many yrons, as a good Aſſe mighte not verie eaſily haue borne. Iudge you therfore, what mauer of impriſonment your maiſter deſerueth at my handes, that procured ſuch eaſe for me at the Emperors handes.

The two Chaplaines had their mouths ſtopped with theſe wordes thus by the King vttered, and ſo departed their wayes. The Biſhop being ſtill deteyned in priſon, procured ſuite to be made to the Pope for his deliuerance: but the Pope, being truly informed of the matter, and wiſely conſidering that the king had not taken the Biſhop preaching, but fighting, and kept him priſoner rather as a roughe enimie, than as a peaceable prelate, would not be earneſt with the king for hys deliuerance, but rather reproued the Biſhoppe, in that he had preferred ſecular warrefare before the ſpirituall, and had taken vppon him the vſe of a ſpeare in ſtead of a croſier: an helmet in ſtead of mytter: an habergeon in ſtede of a white rochet: a tergate for a ſtoale: and an yron ſworde, in lieu of the ſpirituall ſword: and therfore he refuſed to vſe any commandment to king Richarde, for the ſetting of him at libertie. But yet he promiſed to doe what he coulde by way of intreating, that he might be releaſſed.

It is reported by ſome writers, that the Pope at firſt, not vnderſtanding the truth of the whole circumſtance, ſhould ſend to king Richard, commanding him by force of the Canons of yͤ church to delyuer his ſonnes the Biſhop and Archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king ſente their armour with this meſſage in Latine, *Vide an tunica filij tui ſit, an non*, that is, See whether theſe are the garments of thy ſonnes, or not: alluding to the ſaying of thoſe yͤ caryed Ioſephs cote to Iacob. Which whē yͤ Pope ſaw, he ſaid: Nay by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my ſons, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the veſtures of the children of Mars and ſo he left thē ſtill to be raunſomed at the kings pleaſure. The Biſhop thus ſeeing no hope to be deliuered without ſome agreement had betwixt the two kings, became now through yrkſomneſſe of his bondes, an earneſt mediatour for the peace, where tofore he had bin an extreme ſtirrer vp of warre. Suche a Schoolemaiſter is impriſonmente, and plucker downe of loftie courages. But to proceede.

Geneſ.37.

About the ſame tyme the Archbiſhop of Roan put all the countreye of Normandie vnder ſentence of interdiction, bycauſe kyng Richarde had begonne to fortifye a Caſtell at Liſle Dandely, vpon a peece of grounde whiche the Archbiſhoppe claymed to appertayne vnto his ſea. The matter was broughte afore the Pope, who perceyuyng the intent of King Richarde was not otherwyſe grounded vpon any couetous purpoſe to defraude the Churche of hir ryght, but only to buyld a fortreſſe in ſuche place as was moſte expedient for defence of the countrey about, to preſerue it from inuaſyon of the enimies: he counſelled the Archbiſhop not to ſtande againſte the King in it, but to exchaunge with hym for ſome other landes, whiche was done, and the Interdiction by the Pope releaſſed. The Biſhop of Ely Lord Chācellour, being ſente about this buſineſſe towardes Rome, departed this life by the way at Poictiers in Ianuarie. But the Biſhops of Durham and Liſieux that were ſent with him, paſſed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the Pope of the matter, who toke order with the Biſhoppes (as before is mencioned.) The kyng gaue to the Church in Rouen in recompence, his milles whiche he had in Rouen, ſo that the ſayde Churche ſhould paye the almes of olde tyme appoynted to be giuen for the ſame. He gaue to the ſaid churche likewyſe the towne of Diepe, and the Towne of Buſſeles, ſo that the Churche ſhoulde lykewyſe paye the almes aſſigned forth of the ſame, being the ſumme of. 372. poundes of Aniouyne money: Alſo the manour of Louers, and the Forreſt of Alermounde with the deere, and the appurtenances. But now to other doings.

An. reg. 8.

Norma terdited by Archbiſh Rouen.

The Biſho Elye depa this lyfe.

About the ſame time, or not long before, where as there had beene long contention betwixte the kings of England, and the Earles of S. Gyles for the Earledome of Tholouſe, King Richarde by way of aliaunce fell nowe at an appointement with Erle Raimond, that helde thoſe landes: for where as the Counteſſe Conſtaunce wife to the ſaide Raymond Erle of Tholouſe and Aunte to Kyng Phillip was now departed this life, King Richarde concluded a mariage betwene the ſayde Erle and his ſiſter Ioane, Quene of Sicill, ſomtime wife to William King of Sicill, ſo that being thus ioyned in alliaunce with the ſaide Earle of Tholouſe on the one ſide, he procured a leage alſo with the Earle of Flaunders Baldwyne on the other, vnto whome hee gaue fiue thouſande markes in rewarde, vpon condition that he ſhuld couenaunte not to growe to any agreement with the Frenche King without his conſent.

Rog. Hou

The king a the Earle of Tholouſe agreed.

Mat. Par.

The Earle of Flanders alye vvith K. Ric.

Likewiſe the Earle of Bolongne Reginald, that was ſon to the Earle of Chaſteau Martine, alied hymſelfe with them againſt the Frenche King, and ſo dydde Baldwine Earle of Guynes with diuers other.

Iaco. Mey.

Les An de France.

Aud thus Kyng Richarde by ſuche aliaunce hauyng his parte greatly ſtrengthened, prepared himſelfe to the warre more earneſtly than before, and taking order with the Erle of Flanders, that they ſhould inuade the French dominions in two ſeuerall quarters bothe at one time, as the Earle by Flaunders, and he himſelfe by Normandye, acording to appointment betwixt them deuiſed.

Iaco. Meir.
VVil. Paruus

Tovvns vvon by the Earle of Flaunders.

The Erle preparing an armie, firſte wan the Towne of Dowaye, and then beſieged Sainte Omers, and wan it after .v. weekes ſiege: whervpon they of Ipre yelded vnto him. Shortely afer he entred into Artoys, and beſieged the Citie of Arras.

Gyſors beſieged.

At the ſame time king Richard marching towards Gyſors, wanne in his waye the Caſtelle of Corſelles, and deſtroyed it. That done, hee came to Gyſors, and beſieged the towne, waſting all the countreye rounde aboute hym where hee came.

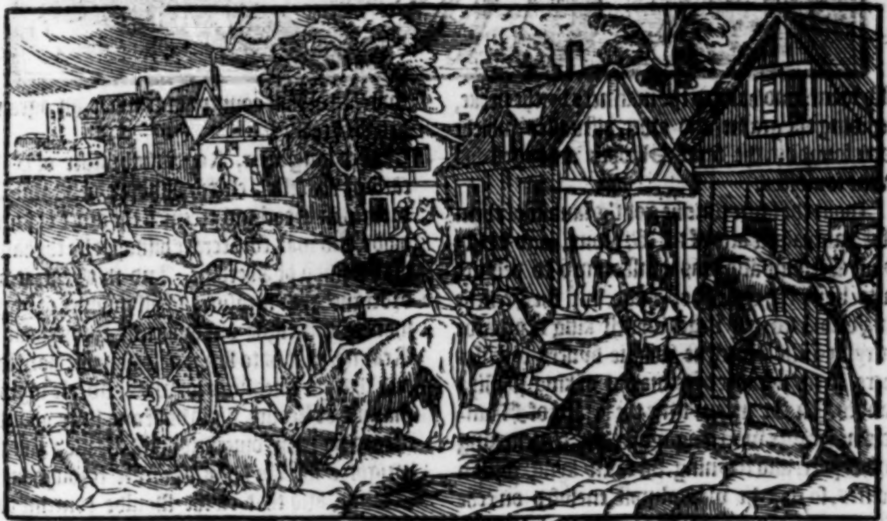
The Frenche king beeing thus troubled wyth the inuaſion of his enimies in two ſeueral places at one preſent time, ſente certayne bandes of hys ſouldiors towards Arras, to keepe the Earle of Flaunders play, whileſt he himſelf goeth againſt king Richard: and comming vnto Gyſors, findeth it ſtraitly beſieged of the ſame king, ſo that he wiſt not well how to enter the towne.

The Frenc king entret to Gyſors.

At length yet fayning to gyue battayle to Kyng Richarde, (who vpon deſire to receyue it, came abroade into the field,) the French king ruſheth forth with all his whole force to make towardes the Towne, and ſo gotte into it, though not withoute greate loſſe and damage of his people.

King Richa reiſeth his ſi

King Richard not meanyng to breake vp his ſiege from before the Towne, (notwythſtanding the Frenche kyng hadde entred it) ſtayed a certayne tyme of purpoſe to wynne it, knowing the gayne to bee the greater, and hys name more famous, if hee myghte atchieue hys purpoſe, nowe that his aduerſarie was within it. But when hee ſawe it woulde not bee, hee reyſed his ſiege, and departed towardes Clermonte, ſpoyling all the Countrey by hys forrays as hee wente, ſo that hee wanne greate pillage, wherewith hys Souldiers were loaden and made verie ryche.



Hugh de Chaumount taken priſoner.

It chaunced, that in a ſkirmiſhe, Hugh de Chaumount was taken Priſoner, one that was of the Frenche Kynges priuie councell, and king Richarde appoynted hym to the keepyng of Roberte Ros, who charged one of hys ſeruauntes named William de Spyney with the cuſtody of hym. But the ſayde Hugh corrupting hys keeper the foreſayde William, eſcaped out of the Caſtell of Bonneville, where he was within warde, to the greate diſpleaſure of kyng Rycharde, who cauſed Roberte Ros to paye for a fyne, the ſumme of twelue hundred markes, whyche the Priſoner ſhoulde haue payde for hys raunſome: and further, commaunded William de Spyney to bee hanged for hys diſloyall dealing.

Robert Roſſe payeth his fyne for an eſcape.

Mat. Paris.

Kyng Phillippe, after that the King of Englande was remoued from Giſors (as before yee haue hearde,) aſſembled a greate hoſt, and with banner diſplayed, entred into Normandy, and waſted the countreye from Newburg to Beaumount le Rogier, and that done, returned into Fraunce, licencing his men to returne vnto their homes.

Ni. Triuet.

The Frenche kings requeſt for a combate.

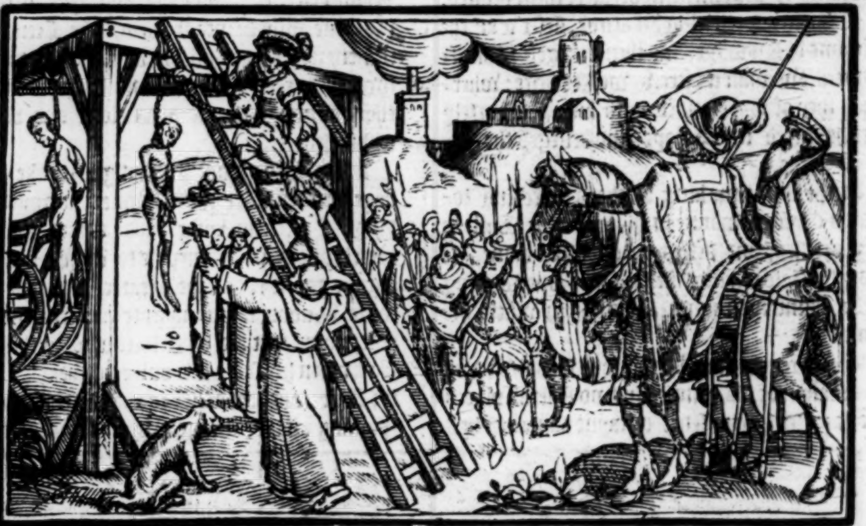
About the ſame time, he ſente vnto King Richarde, requiring him to appoynte fiue Champions, and he woulde appoynte other fyue for hys parte, which myghte fyghte in liſtes, for triall of all matters in controuerſie betwixte them, ſo to auoyde the ſheadyng of more giltleſſe bloud. K. Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that yng Richards anſvvere.

eyther king myght be of the number, that is, the Frenche king one of the fiue vppon the Frenche parte, and kyng Richarde one of the fyue vpon the Engliſh part. But this condition would not be graunted.

1196.

Herevpon, when ſhortly after it was ſignified to Kyng Richarde, that ſhips vſed to come oute of Englande to Sainte Valerye with victualles whiche were foulde and conueied awaye vnto the Frenche king and other his enimies, hee rode to Sainte Walcries, and ſet the towne on fire, and ſuche ſhippes of Englande as he founde there, he also brent, and hanged the mariners by the necke, deuiding the graine and other victualles whiche were founde in the ſame Shippes amongeſt his owne ſouldiers.

Mat.Paris.



hips brent, & marinets hanged.

es Annales e France.

About the ſame time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Brytons, and Wilyam Creſpine alſo was conſtrayned to delyuer vnto hym the Caſtell of Auge, but the Frenche king recouered it by ſiege, whileſt king Rycharde entryng into Aluergue wanne dyuers caſtelles there, to the number of tenne out of king Philips handes. In the meane time the Earle of Flaunders made ſore warre agaynſte the frenche king for his part, and treyning the ſame kyng within ſtreites, ſo that he was almoſt encloſed on eche ſide, he conſtrayned him to agree to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed the ſame Earle to appoynt, but afterwardes the frenche king refuſed to ſtande to the couenauntes of that agreement, and ſo the warre continued betwixt them as before.

An.reg.9.

og.Houed.

At length king Richarde and the frenche king concluded vpon an abſtinence of warre to endure from the feaſt of Saint Hillary for one hole yere, purpoſing in the mean time to make a finall peace and agreement.

One yeare [illegible]
monethes [illegible]
Vil.Paris.

In which ſeaſon Baldwine Earle of Flaunders came into Englande to doe hys deuotions vnto the ſhrine where Thomas the Archebiſhop, laye buried at Canterburye. The ſame yeare alſo ſomewhat before this time, Riſe ap Griffiin king of Wales departed thys life, after whoſe deathe there fell diſcorde betwixt his ſonnes for the ſucceſſion, till the Archebiſhoppe Hubert went to the marches of that country and made an agreemẽt betwixt them.

riffin king of
Wales dep
d this lyfe.

Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leiceſter, elected biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes in Scotland, receiued the order of prieſtehoode, and was conſecrate biſhoppe by the handes of the biſhop of Aberdine. And this yeare it was ordeigned that meaſures of all manner of grayne ſhoulde conteigne one quantitie throughout the Realme, that is to ſay, one reſonable horſelode, and that the meaſures of wine and ale wyth all manner of licours ſhuld be of one iuſte quantitie according to the diuerſitie of the licour: alſo that weightes ſhoulde be of like rate throughout the Realme, and that clothe ſhoulde conteine twoo yardes in breadth within the liſts, of perfect goodnes throughout, aſwell in the middes as by the ſides, and that one manner of yarde ſhuld be vſed through the realme: it was alſo ordeigned that no marchantes within the Realme ſhoulde hang anye redde or blacke clothes afore theyr ſhoppe windowes, nor ſet vp any pentiſes or other thing whereby to darken the light from thoſe that come to buye theyr clothe, ſo as they might be deceyued in choſing thereof.

VVeyghts and meaſures.

Alſo it was enacted that there ſhoulde be foure or ſyxe ſubſtanciall honeſt menne choſen in euerye towne: and lykewyſe in Shyres, wyth the head officers of Cities and Boroughes, whiche hadde a Corporation, to ſee that the Aſſyſes aforeſayde were truely kepte, and that if anye were founde to be offendyng in the premiſſes, to cauſe their bodyes to bee attached and committed to priſon, and their goodes to be ſeyſed to the kings vſe: And if thoſe that were choſen to haue regarde thereto, were tryed to bee negligente, ſo that by other, and not by them anye offenders chaunced to bee conuicted afore the Iuſtices, then ſhoulde the regarders bee put to theyr fynes, for the negligente looking to their offices and charge.

1198.

Kyng Richarde helde his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Roan, and Huberte the Archbiſhopps of Canterburye Legate of the Apoſtolique ſea, named Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, was aboute the ſame time in the marches of Wales at Hereforde, and there receyued into his handes, the Caſtels of Hereforde, Bridgenorth and Ludlow, remouing thoſe that had the ſame in keping, & appoynting other in their roomths. Afterwards coming by Couentrie, he placed ẏ Monks agayne in the Cathedrall churche of that Citie by commandement of Pope Celeſtine, and chaſed out the ſecular Canons, whiche the Biſhop Hugh Nouant had brought into the ſame church when he remoued the Monkes.

Monkes placed agayne in the churche of Couentrie.

In the Chriſtmaſſe weeke alſo there came to Rouen meſſengers from the Archebiſhoppes of Coleyn and Mentz, and from other ſtates of the Empire, the whiche declared vnto kyng Richard, that all the Princes of Germanie were appointed to aſſemble at Coleyn, the xxij. of Februarie about the chooſing of a newe Emperour, in place of the late deceaſſed Henrye: and therefore they commaunded him by force of the othe and league in whiche he was bounde to the Emperour and Empire, that all excuſe of denyal or occaſions, to the contrary ceaſſyng and ſette aparte, he ſhould make his repaire vnto Coleyne at the foreſayde daye, to helpe them in chooſing of ſome worthye perſonage that mighte and was able to hold the Empire. King Richard doubting to put hymſelfe in daunger, bicauſe he had not diſcharged all the debte due for his raunſome, ſtayed at home, but yet he ſent diuers noble men thyther, and did ſo muche in fauour of his nephue Otho, that by the helpe of the foreſayd two Archbiſhops of Colein and Mentz, the ſame Otho was elected Emperour. But of this matter more ſhall bee ſayde hereafter.

Meſſengers frō the ſtates of Germanie.

Moreouer about the ſame tyme king Richard required by the Archebiſhop of Canterburye his chiefe Iuſtice, an ayde of iij. hundred knightes to be founde by his ſubiectes of England, to remain with him in his ſeruice for one whole yere, or elſe that they woulde giue him ſo muche money, as myght ſerue to reteyne that number after the rate of iij. ſ. a daye of Engliſhe money for euerye knyghte. Where as all other were contented to be contributories herein, onely Hughe Biſhop of Lincoln refuſed, and ſpake ſore againſt the Archbiſhop that moued the matter.

Three hundred knights or men of armes to bee founde.

The biſhop of Lincolne.

But howe ſo euer that requeſte tooke place, King Richarde (as we fynde) leuyed thys yeare a Subſidie of fiue ſhillings of euery hide of lande within the realme, two Commiſſioners, that is to witte, one of the Spiritualtie, and a knyghte of the Temporaltie being appoynted as Commiſſioners in euery Shire, with the aſſiſtance of Sheriffe, and others, to ſee the ſame aſſeſſed and rated after an hundred acres of lande to the hyde of lande, according to the cuſtome.

The ſame yeare alſo the Monkes of the houſe of the holye Trinitie, otherwyſe called Chriſtes churche in Canterbury, exhibited their complaint vnto Pope Innocent, that theyr Archebiſhoppe Hubert (contrary to his order and dignitie) exerciſed the office of highe Iuſtice and ſate in iudgement of bloud, beeing ſo encombred in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to diſcharge his office touchyng Spirituall cauſes: whereupon the Pope ſent vnto kyng Richard, admoniſhing hym not to ſuffer the ſayde Archebiſhop to bee any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to diſchardge hym thereof and not to admit any ſpirituall perſon from thenceforthe vnto any temporall adminiſtration.

The Mon of Chriſts c che ſend to Pope, com ning of thei Archbiſhop

The Pope ſ deth to the

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience all manner of Prelates and menne of the churche that they ſhoulde not preſume raſhlye to take vpon them any maner of ſecular function or office. Whereupon the Archebiſhoppe was diſcharged of his office of chief Iuſtice, and Geffrey Fitz Peter ſucceded in gouernement of the realme in his ſteede. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis ſayth, that the Archebiſhoppe reſigned that office of hys owne accorde, and that not till after his retourne from the marches of Wales, where he had ouerthrowen the Welchemen, and ſlayne fyue thouſande of them. Whiche victory other aſcribe vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter, whiche Geffrey (as the ſayd Dorobernenſis ſayth) ſucceeded the Archebiſhop in the office of Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, but not vntill Auguſte, in the tenthe yeare of the Kings Reigne.

In which tenth yeare immediatly vpon the expiring of the truce whiche was taken till harueſt might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kyngs of Englande and Fraunce beganne eftſoones to be purſued with like earneſtnes as before, wherupon many encounters chaunced betwixt the parties, wyth taking of Townes and fortreſſes, as commonly in ſuche caſes it happeneth.

An.reg 1

Twice the French king was put to the worſe, once in September betwixt Gamages and Vernon, wher he was driuen to ſaue himſelf by flight loſing twenty Knights, and threeſcore ſeruitors or yemen, whiche were taken, beſides thoſe that were ſlayne.

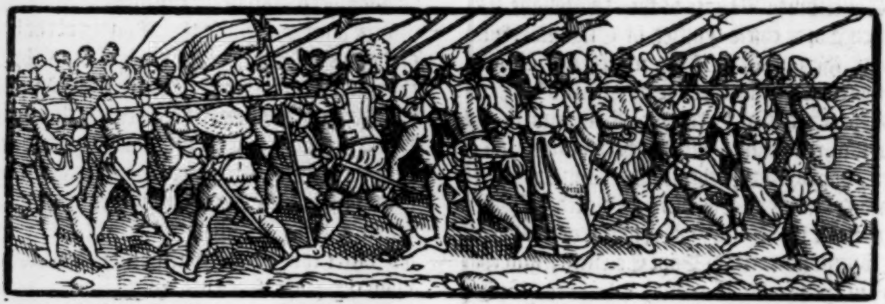
And againe in the ſame moneth on Michaelmaſſe euen betwixte Curſeilles and Gyſours, at what time he came to ſuccor Curſeilles, bringing with him. 400. knightes, beſide ſeruitors, & a great multitude of cõmons. But the caſtel was won before he could approch to it. And K. Richard aduertiſed of his cõming, haſted forth to mete him, and giuing the onſet vpon him, forced him to flee vnto Gyſors, where at the entring of the bridge there was ſuche preaſſe, that the bridge brake, ſo that amongſt other, the king himſelfe wyth hys horſe and all fel into the riuer of Gethe, and with muche a doe was relieued, and gotte out of the water, no ſmall number of right hardie and valiant Gentlemen, beeing taken at the ſame tyme, whiche put themſelues forwarde to ſtay the Engliſhmen tyll the king was recouered out of that preſent daunger.

King Philip almoſt drowned

To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred Knightes, and two hundred barded horſes, beſides ſeruitours on horſebacke, and footmen with Croſſebowes. Amongſt other Priſoners theſe are named, Mathewe de Montmorancie, Gales de Ports, Jollen de Bray, and many other innumerable.

Seuen ſcore hath Rog. Houeden.

ath. Paris.
g. Houed.



King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters therof vnto ẏ Archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots erles & barons of his realme, ẏ they might prayſe GOD for his good ſucceſſe. And ſuche were the proceedyngs of the K. of Fraunce at thys tyme, the farther relation whereof ſhall ſtay a whyle, till we haue touched other things that hapned in England at the ſame ſeaſon. And firſt ye ſhall vnderſtand, that Hugh Bardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geffrey Hachet, to whome as Juſtices, the counties of Lincolne, Notingham, Yorke, Derby, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Cumberlande, and Lancaſter, were appoynted for circuites, helde not only pleas of aſſiſes, and of the Crowne, but alſo tooke Inquiſitions of Echeates, and forfaytures of all manner of tranſgreſſions, and of donations of benefices, of maryages of widowes and maydes, and other ſuch lyke things as appertayned to the king, whereby any aduantages grewe to his vſe, the which for tedioſneſſe we paſſe ouer.

quiſitions
ken.

Theſe thynges were ſtrayghtly looked to, not without the diſquieting of many. And heerewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to dyuers perſons wythin the Realme thorough Inquiries taken by the Juſtices of the Forreſtes, for Hugh Neuyl, Hugh Waley, and Heruiſius Neuylle, appoynted Juſtices *Itinerantes,* in that caſe, were commaunded by the king to call afore them Archebiſhoppes, Biſhoppes, Earles, Barons, Knyghtes, and Freeholders, wyth the Reeue, and foure of the ſubſtanciall men of euery towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commaundement, touchyng the ordinaunces of Forreſtes, the whiche were verie ſtraighte in ſundry poyntes, ſo that where as before thoſe that offended in killyng of the kyngs deere were puniſhed by the purſe, now they ſhould loſe their eyes and genitories, as the lawe was in the dayes of king Henry his grandfather: and thoſe that offended in cutting downe woddes or buſhes, or in digging and deluing vp of turues and cloddes, or by any other maner of way made waſte and deſtruction in woddes or graſſe, in waſte or venyſon, within the precinct of the Foreſtes, contrary to order, they ſhould be put to their fines. He gaue commaundement alſo, that it ſhoulde bee lawefull to the Forreſters to take and put vnder arreſt, as well Prieſtes, and thoſe of the Clergie, as temporall men, beyng founde offendyng in Forreſt groundes and chaſes.

Ordinaunces of forreſtes.

Prieſts to be arreſted offēding in foreſtes.

Manye other ordinaunces were decreed touching the preſeruation of Foreſts, and the kings prerogatiue, aduauntages and profites riſing and growing by the ſame, as well for ſauyng of hys woddes and waſtes, as in pannage and agiſtementes, greately to the reſtraynte of them that myghte vſurpe or incroche vppon the groundes within compaſſe of his foreſtes.

Ye haue heard before, how the Monks of Cãterbury did ſende to exhibite a complaynte to the Pope, for that their Archbiſhoppe tooke vpon him to deale in exerciſe of matters belongyng to a temporall man, and not to ſuche one as had rule ouer the ſpiritualtie: but thys was not the cauſe that dydde greeue them ſo muche, as that hee went forwarde wyth the erection of that churche at Lameth, which his predeceſſor the Archbiſhop

Geruaſ. Dor.

The Churche of Lammeth.

biſhoppe Baldwin had firſt begonne at Haketon, nowe called Saint Stephens (as before ye haue heard) and after was driuen throughe the importunate ſuite of the Monkes to leaue off, and raſe that, which he had there begonne, to obey the Popes pleaſure: and after layde a newe foundation at Lameth.

The Monkes of Canterburie therefore ſtill fearing leſte that churche ſhulde greately preiudice ſuch right and liberties, as they pretended, namely in the election of their archbiſhop, woulde neuer reſte, but ſtill complayned and followed their ſuite in moſt obſtinate manner in the court of Rome, aſwel in the dayes of the ſayde Baldwine, as nowe agaynſte Huberte, (when he took in hande to continue the worke accordyng to the purpoſe of hys predeceſſoure the ſayde Baldwine, whiche was to haue inſtituted a Colledge there, and to haue placed ſecular Canons in the ſame) and ſuch was the earneſt trauaille of the Monkes herein, that in the end nowe after the deceaſſe of Pope Celeſtine, they founde ſuch fauour at the handes of Pope Innocent hys ſucceſſor, that the ſame Innocent directed his letters of commaundement to the Archebiſhoppe, and other biſhopps of this lande, to deſtroye and raſe the ſame foundation, as a peece of worke derogatorie to the ſea of Caunterbury, and verie preiudiciall to the eſtate of holy church. The Archebiſhoppe at the firſt truſted to be borne out by the king (who was highelye offended wyth the Monkes for theyr preſumptuous dealing) and therefore refuſed to obeye the Popes commaundement The king in deed ſtomacked the matter ſo highely, that he ſente letters vnto the Monks by no worſe meſſengers than by Geffrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz Bardolfe his Iuſtices, ſignifying to them not only hys high diſpleaſure for their preſumptuous proceedings in their ſuit without his conſent, but alſo commaunding them to ſurceaſſe, and not to procede further in the matter by vertue of anye ſuche the popes letters, which they had purchaſed contrary to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme.

The Pope commaundeth the church of Lammeth to be raſed.

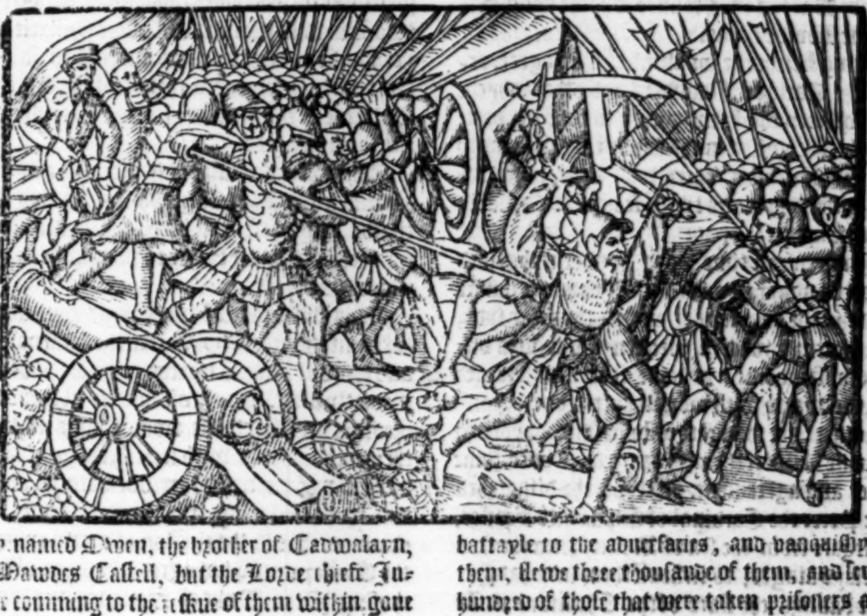
Moreouer, he wrote to the biſhops, cõmaunding them to appeale, and to the Archebiſhop, forbidding hym in anye wiſe to breake downe that churche whiche hee had ſo builded at Lameth. The Sherif of Kent alſo was cõmaunded to ſeaſe into his handes all the tenementes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the Monkes, who neuertheleſſe were ſo ſtout in that quarell that they woulde not prolong one daye of the tyme appoynted by the Pope for the raſing of that church. Hereupon the kyng for hys parte and the biſhops in their owne behalfes wrote to the Pope. Likewiſe the Abbots of Boxley, Fourd, Stratford, Roberts Bridge, Stanley, and Baſing Wark, wrote to hym the matter: and agayne the Pope and the Cardynalles wrote to the king, to the Archebiſhoppes, and biſhoppes: and ſo letters paſſed to and fro, till at length the Pope ſente a *Nuncio* of purpoſe, to ſignifie his full determination, as in the nexte yeare it ſhall be ſhewed at full.

The preſumptuoes ſtoutneſſ of the Monk

VVelchmen vanquished. Geruaſ.Doro aſcribeth this victorie vnto Hubert Arch of Canterbu and ſayth ther vvere ſlayne: boute.500.o the enimies.

Maudes caſtel.

Aboute the ſame tyme Geffreye Fitz Peter, Lorde chief Iuſtice of England, reyſed a power of men, and wente into Wales to ſuccoure the tenãts of Williã de Brauſe, which were beſieged of the king, or rather Prince of that countrey named Owen, the brother of Cadwalarn, in Mawdes Caſtell, but the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice comming to the reſkue of them within gaue battayle to the aduerſaries, and vanquiſhyng them, ſlewe three thouſande of them, and ſeuen hundred of thoſe that were taken priſoners and



wounded. And all the whyle the warres continued in Fraunce, and the loſſe for the moſte parte ſtill redounded to the Frenchemen.

Erle John brent Newburg, and toke eightene knightes of ſuche as were ſente to the reſkue.

The Earle of Leyceſter.

The Earle of Leyceſter with a ſmall companie came before the Caſtell of Paſcy, which (although the Frenchemen helde it) didde yet of ryght belong vnto the ſayde Earle. The Souldiours within iſſued forth, and being too ſtrong for the Earle, cauſed hym to flee, for otherwyſe he had bin taken. But returning on the morrowe after with more companie about hym, and laying ambuſhes for the ennemie, hee approched the ſayde Caſtell, and trayned the Frenchemen forth tyll he had them within his daunger, and then cauſing his men to breake out vpon them tooke an. xviij. knightes, and a greate multitude of other people. Alſo Marchades with his route of Brabanders did the Frenchemen muche hurt in robbyng and ſpoyling the countreys.

archades.

About which ſeaſon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury went ouer into Normandie to ſpeake with king Richarde, and at the Frenche kings requeſt he wente into France, to commen with him of peace, the whyche the Frenche king offered to conclude, in reſtoryng all the townes and Caſtels whiche he had taken (Giſours only excepted) and touching the poſſeſſion and title therof, he was contented to put the matter in comprimiſe, to the order and awarde of ſixe barons in Normādie to be named by him, and of ſixe Barons in Fraunce whyche kyng Richarde ſhoulde name.

King Richarde woulde not thus agree, except the Earle of Flaunders and other whyche had forſaken the Frenche king to take his part, myght be cōpriſed in the ſame peace. At length yet in Nouember, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings til the feaſt of S. Hillarie next enſuyng.

uce taken
ixt the
o kings.

In the mean time Pope Innocent the third vnderſtanding in what preſent daunger things ſtoode in the holy lande, and on the other ſyde, conſydering what a weakenyng it was vnto Chriſtendome, to haue theſe two Kinges thus to warre with mortall hatred one againſt the other: hee thoughte it ſtoode him vppon to trauaille betwixt them, to bring them vnto ſome peace and agreement. Heervpon he diſpatched one Peter the Cardinal of Capua into France, as legate from the ſea of Rome, vnto the two foreſayd kinges, to enſtruct them in what preſent daunger the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Aſia preſently ſtoode, ſo that without the ayde of them and of other Chriſtian Princes, it coulde not be holpen, but needes it muſte come to vtter ruine, and the Saraſyns ere long to be poſſeſſed of the whole. Therfore bothe in reſpecte hereof, and alſo for the auoydyng of the further wylfull ſpillyng of Chriſtian bloud in ſuche ciuile and vngodly warre, he beſought them to ſtaye theyr handes, and to ioyne in ſome friendly bande of concord, whereby they might with mutuall conſent beſtow their ſeruice in that neceſſarie and moſt godlye warre, wherin by ouercōming the enimies of Chriſt, they mighte looke for worthye rewarde at his handes, whiche is the giuer of all victories.

1199.

Rog. Houed.

The Cardinall comming into Fraunce, and doing his meſſage in moſte earneſt wiſe, was preſent at the enterview appointed betwixt the two Kings in the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, but yet coulde not he bring his purpoſe to full effect: onely he procured them to take truce for the terme of fiue yeares: further he coulde not get them to agree.

A truce concluded for .v. yeres

The faulte by authors is aſcribed aſwell to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richarde being firſt euyll vſed, and put to hinderaunce, determined eyther to vanquiſhe, or neuer to giue place.

This abſtinence of warre was concluded & taken in the yeare. 1199. after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatly after, there aroſe matter of newe diſpleaſure betwixt thieſe two Kyngs to keepe their minds in vre with ſecret grudges, though by reaſon of the truce they outwardlye abſteined from declaring it by force of armes. It chaunced that in the election of a new emperor, the Electors could not agree, one parte of them choſing Otho Duke of Saxonye, nephew to king to king Richard by his ſiſter Maude, and another parte of them namyng Philippe Duke of Tuſkayne, and brother to the laſte Emperour Henrye.

Contention about the chooſing of the emperour.

King Richard (as reaſon was) did procure what fauour he coulde to the furtheraunce of his nephew Otho: and king Philip on the contrary part, did what he could in fauour of the foreſayde Philippe. At length Otho was admitted by the Pope to ende the ſtryfe: but yet the grudge remayned in the heartes of the two Kinges.

Philip fyndyng himſelfe muche greeued in that he had miſſed his purpoſe, and Richarde being as little pleaſed, for that hee had won his ſo hardly, and with ſo muche adoe.

Rog. Houedē. The Popes letters to the king for the churche of Lameth.

The Monkes borne out by the Pope.

And thus matters paſſed for that yeare. In the beginning of the nexte, the Popes *Nuncio* came with letters, not only to the Archbiſhop & Biſhops of England, but alſo to the king himſelfe, ſignifying the Popes reſolute decree touching the church and colledge of Lameth to be broken downe and ſuppreſſed. Whervpon the King and Archbiſhop, althoughe ſore agaynſt theyr willes, when they ſaw no way longer to ſhift off the matter, yelded to the Popes pleaſure: and ſo the Archbiſhop ſente his letters to Lameth, where the .xxj. day of Januarye, they were red, and the .xxvij. day of the ſame month was the Churche caſte downe, and the Canons which were alredy there placed, had cōmaundement to depart from thēce without further delay. Thus the Monkes in deſpite of the Kyng and Archbiſhop had their willes, but yet theyr vexation ceaſſed not, for the King and Archbyſhop bearing them no ſmall euill will, for that they had ſo obteyned their purpoſe contrary to their myndes and intents, moleſted them dyuers wayes, although the Monkes ſtill vppon compleynt to the Pope, were very muche releeued, and founde great friendſhip both with him, and with his court.

A Taxe. Fiue ſhillings of euery plough land, as ſayth Mathevv VVeſtmin.

Chaſteau Galyard buylt.

In this meane time, King Richard beeyng now at reſt from troubles of warre, ſtudyed buſily to prouide money, meaning to make a new voyage into the holy lande. Therefore finding himſelfe bare of treaſure, by reaſon the French warres had emptied his cofers, he ſetteth a great taxe vpon his ſubiects, and by that meanes, hauing recouered a great ſumme, hee builded that notable ſtrong Caſtell in Normādy, vpon the banke of the Riuer of Sayne, named Chateau Galiard: which when it was finiſhed, he fell a ieſting thereat and ſayd, behold, is not thys a fayre daughter of one yeares growth. The ſoile wher this Caſtel was builded, belonged to the Archbiſhop of Rouen, for whiche there followed greate ſtrife betwixte the Kyng, and the Archbyſhoppe, till the Pope toke vp the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

Images of a Emperor a of his vvyf and childre of fine gold. The Annal of Aquitayn

After this, he determined to chaſtiſe certayne perſons in Poictou, whiche during the warres betwixt him and the Frenche King, had ayded the Frenchmen againſt him: wherevpon with an army, he paſſed forthe towards them, but by the way he was enformed, that one Widomer a Vicount in the countrey of Britayne, hadde found a great treaſure: and therfore pretending a right therto by vertue of his prerogatiue, hee ſent for the Vicoūt, who ſmelling out the matter, and ſuppoſing the King woulde not be indifferent in parting the treaſure, fled into Lymoſin, where although the people were tributaries to the K. of England, yet they toke part with the French King.

Chalus Cheuerelle. *Rog. Houe*

Ther is a town in ẏ countrey called Chaluz Cheuerell, into whiche the ſayde vicount retired for ſafegarde of himſelfe, and then gaue the townſemen a greate portion of treaſure, to the ende they ſhould defend him and his quarel for the reſt. King Richarde ſtill following him, as one that coulde not auoyd his fatal ordinance, haſted into the confines of Lymoſin, fully determining eyther to winne the towne by force, if the inhabitants ſhould make reſiſtance, or at the leſt wiſe, get into his handes the praie, which he ſo earneſtly purſewed.

King Richa beſiegeth C lus.

At his firſt approch he gaue many fierce aſſautes to the Towne, but they within hauing thoroughly prouided aforehande for to defende a ſiege, ſo reſiſted his attempts, that within thre dayes after his comming, he ceaſſed to aſſaulte the towne, meaning to vndermine the walles, which otherwiſe he perceyued would very hardly be gotten, conſidering the ſtouteneſſe of them within, and withall, the naturall ſtrengthe and ſituation of the place it ſelf. Herevpon therfore the .xxvj. of March, whiles he together with capitayn Marchades goeth about vnaduiſedly to view ẏ town (the better to conſider ẏ place which waye hee might conueye the courſe of his myne) they came ſo farre within daunger, that the king was ſtriken in the left arme, or (as ſome write) in the ſhulder, where it ioyned to the necke, wyth a quarrel enuenimed (as is to be ſuppoſed by the ſequele.) Being thus wounded, he gat to his horſe, and rode home agayne to his lodgyng, where hee cauſed the wounde to be ſearched and bounde vp, and as a man nothing diſmayde therewith, hee continued his ſiege with ſuch force and aſſurance, that within twelue dayes after the miſhappe, the towne was yelded vnto hym, althoughe verye little treaſure (to make any great accompt of) was at that time founde therin.

He is vvou

Rad. Nig

In this meane ſeaſon, the king had committed the cure of his wounde vnto one of Marchades

this

his ſurgeons, who taking in hand to plock out the quarrel, drew forth only the ſhaft at the firſt, and left the yron ſtill within, and afterwardes going about moſt vnſkilfully to get forth yͤ head of the ſaide quarrel, he vſed ſuche inciſions, and ſo mangled the kings arme, ere he coulde cut it, that he himſelfe diſpaired of all helpe and lenger life, affirming flatly to ſuch as ſtood about him, that he could not long continue by reaſon of his butcherly handling. To be ſhort, feling himſelf to waxe weaker and weaker, and preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his teſtament, or rather reformed and added ſundry thinges vnto the ſame which he before had made at the time of his going forth towards the holy land. Vnto his brother Iohn he aſſigned the crowne of Englande and all other his lands and dominions, cauſing the nobles ther preſet to ſwear fealtie vnto him. His money, his iewels, and all other his goods mouable he willed to be diuided into .3. partes, of the which Otho the emperor his ſiſters ſonne to haue one, his houſeholde ſeruantes an other part, and the third to be diſtributed to the poore. Finally, remembring himſelf alſo of the place: of his burial, he cōmaunded that his body ſhuld be enterred at Fonteuerarde at his fathers feet, but he willed his hart to be conueyed vnto Ronen, and there buryed, in teſtimonie of the loue whiche he had euer borne vnto that citie for the ſtedfaſte faithe and tryed loyaltie at all tymes found in the citizēs there. His bowels he ordeined to be buryed in Poitiers as in a place naturally vnthankefull and not worthy to reteine any of the more honorable partes of his bodye.

he king deſired of lyfe

e ordeyneth s teſtament.

g. Houede.

at. Paris.

Moreouer he cauſed the Arcbaleſtar that had wounded him, to be ſoughte out, whoſe name was Barthram de Gurden, or as ſome write, he named himſelfe Peter Baſill, who being broughte before him, he demanded wherin he had ſo much offended him, that he ſhoulde ſo lye in a wayte to ſlea him rather than Marchades, who was then in his company, and attendant on his perſon? The other anſwered boldly again, ſaying, I purpoſed to kil thee, bicauſe thou ſleweſt my father, and two of my brethren heretofore, and wouldeſt alſo now haue ſlayn me, if I had hapned to fall into thy hands: Wherfore I entended to reuenge their deaths, not caryng in the meane tyme what became of my ſelf, ſo that I might in any wyſe obteyne my will of thee, who in ſuche ſort haſt bereft me of my friendes. The king herkning vnto his wordes, and pondering his talke by good aduiſement, he freely pardoned him, and with all commaunded that he ſhoulde be ſette at libertie, and therto haue an hundred ſhillings giuen hym in his purſe, and ſo to bee lette goe. Moreouer, he gaue ſtraight charge that no manne ſhould hurte him, or ſeeke any reuenge for thys his deathe hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not only forgaue, but alſo rewarded his aduerſarie. Howbeit after his deceaſſe, Marchades getting him into his hands, he firſt cauſed the ſkinne to be ſtripped of his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibet.

g. Houed.

at. Paris.

At length king Richard by force of ſickeneſſe increaſed with anguiſh of the incurable wounde, departed this lyfe, on the tuiſday before Palme-Sunday, beyng the ninth of Aprill, and the .xj. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior. 1199. in the .xliij. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned .ix. yeares .ix. monethes and odde dayes: he lefte no iſſue behinde him. He was of ſtature tall, and well proportioned, fayre and comely of face, ſo as in his countenance appeared much fauor and grauitie. Of heare bright Aborne, as it were betwixte red and yealowe, wyth long armes, and nimble in all hys ioyntes. Hys thighes and legges of due proportion, and aunſwerable to the other partes of his bodie. As he was comely of perſonage, ſo was hee of ſtomacke more couragious and fierce, ſo that not without cauſe, he obteyned the ſurname of *Coeur de Lyon*, that is to ſaye, the Lyons harte. Moreouer, he was curteous to his Souldiours, and towardes his friendes and ſtrangers that reſorted vnto hym verie liberall, but to his enimies hard & not to be intreated, deſirous of battayle, an enimie to reſte and quietneſſe, verie eloquente of ſpeche and wyſe, but readie to enter into ieopardyes, and that without feare or forecaſt in tyme of greateſt perilles.

King Rich departed th lyfe.

His ſtature a ſhape of bod

Gal. Vinſ

His diſpoſi of mynde.

Theſe were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the warres whiche he maintained were throughly weyed) were either none at all, or els fewe in number, & not very notorious. He was noted of the cōmon people to be partly ſubiect vnto pride, which ſurely for the more parte foloweth ſtouteneſſe of mynde: He was noted alſo ſomewhat of incontinencie, to the which his youth might haply bee ſomewhat bent: and laſtly of couetouſneſſe, into the whiche infamie moſte Capitaynes & ſuche Princes as commonly folow the warres doe oftentimes fall, when of neceſſitie they are driuen to exact money, as wel of their frēds as enimies, to mainteyn the infinite charges of their warres.

Hereof it came, that on a time whiles hee ſoiourned in Fraunce aboute his warres whiche he held againſt King Phillip, ſomwhat before the truce was taken betwixte them, there came vnto him a french prieſt whoſe name was Fulco, a preacher and a man of ſome reputation of holineſſe amongeſt the common people. This prieſt required the king in any wiſe to put from him

Fulco a prieſt.

him three abhominable daughters which he had, and to commit them to mariage, leaſt God puniſhed him for them. Thou lieſt hypocrite (ſayde the king) to thy verie face: for all the worlde knoweth, that I haue not one daughter. I lye not (ſayde the prieſte) for thou haſt three daughters: one of them is called pride, and an other couetouſneſſe, and the third lecherie. With that the king called vnto him his Lordes and Barons, and ſayde vnto them: This hypocrite here hath required mee to marie forth my three daughters, which as he ſayth, I cheriſh and maintaine, that is to ſaye, pride, couetouſneſſe, and lecherie. And nowe that I haue founde out apt huſbandes for them, I will do it with effecte, and ſeeke no more delayes: I therefore bequeath my pride to the high minded Templers, and Hoſpitallers, which are as prowde as Lucifer himſelfe. My couetouſneſſe, I giue to the white Monkes, otherwiſe called of the Ciſteaux order, for they couet the deuill and all. My lecherie I committe to the prelates of the Churche, who haue moſt pleaſure and felicitie therein.

There liued in the dayes of thys King Richarde, men of worthie fame amongſt thoſe of the Clergie, Baldwine Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and Hubert that ſucceeded him in that ſea, alſo Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne, a man for his worthineſſe of life highly to bee commended. Moreouer William biſhop of Ely, who though otherwiſe hee was to bee diſhonested for his ambition and pompouſe hautineſſe, yet the king vſed his ſeruice for a time greatly to his profit and aduauncement of the publique affaires. Alſo of learned men, we finde diuers in theſe dayes that flouriſhed here in this lande, as Baldwin of Deuonſhire that came to bee Biſhop of Worceter in this kings tyme, and after his deceaſe, he was aduaunced to the Gouernement of the Archbiſhops ſea of Canterbury: hee wrote diuers treatiſes, namely of matters pertaining to diuinitie. Daniell Morley well ſeene in the Mathematicals. John de Hexam, and Richard de Hexham two notable hiſtoricians. Gulielmus Stephanides a Monke of Canterburye, who wrote muche in prayſe of the Archebiſhoppe Becket.

rvin and
ert Arch-
ps of Can-
rie.

Beſide theſe, we finde one Richard, that was an Abbot of the order Premonſtratenſis, Richard Diuiſienſis, Nicholas Warkington, Robert de Bello Foco, an excellente Philoſopher. &c. See Bale *Centuria tertia*.

Bale.

In martiall renoume there flouriſhed in thys kings dayes diuerſe noble captaines, as Roberte Earle of Leceiſter, Ranulfe de Fulgiers, two of the Bardulphes, Hugh and Henrie, three Wyllyams, Marſhall, Brunell, and Maundeuil, with two Roberts, Ros and Sabeuile. Furthermore, I fynde, that in the dayes of this king Richard, great dearth raigned in Englande, and alſo in Fraunce, for the ſpace of three or foure yeares during the warres betweene hym and Kyng Phylippe, ſo that after his retourne oute of Germanie, and from impriſonment, a quarter of wheate was ſoulde at .xviij. ſhillings eight pens, whiche was no ſmall price in thoſe dayes, if you conſyder the alaye of moneye then curraunt.

A great dearth.

Alſo imediatelye after: that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde a thouſande, one hundred nyntie ſixe, whiche was about the .vij. yeare of the ſaide kings raigne, there folowed a maruellous ſore death which dayly conſumed ſuch nũber of people, that vnneth might there bee founde anye to keepe and loke to thoſe that were ſicke, or to burye them that dyed. Whiche ſickneſſe was a peſtilentiall Feuer or ſharpe brenning Agewe. The accuſtomed maner of Buryal was alſo neglected: ſo that in manye places they made great pittes, and therein they layde deade bodies of the ſame, one vpon another. For the multitude of them that dyed was ſuch, that they coulde not haue time to make for euery one a ſeuerall graue.

A great mortalitie of people.
VVil. Paruus

This mortalitie continued for the ſpace of .v. or .vj. monethes, and at length ceaſſed in the colde ſeaſon of wynter. In the Octaues of Penthecoſte before this great death, in the firſte houre of the day, there appeared two Sunnes, the true Sunne and an other, as it were a counterfaite ſunne: but ſo apparantly, that harde it was to the common people, to diſcerne the one from the other. The ſkilfull alſo were compelled by inſtrumentes to diſtinguiſh the one from the other in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the ende they founde the newe apparition, as it were, to waite vpon the Planet, and ſo continued by the ſpace of certaine houres.

Tvvo Sunnes.

At lengthe, when the beholders (of whome Wilhelmus Paruus that recorded thinges in that age was one) had well wearied their eyes in diligent marking the manner of this ſtrange appearaunce, the counterfayte ſunne vaniſhed awaye.

This ſtraunge wonder was taken for a ſignification of that whiche followed, that is to witte, of warre, famine, and peſtilence: or to ſaye the truthe, it betokened rather the continuance of two of thoſe miſchieues. For warre and famine hadde ſore afflicted the people before that time, and yet ceaſſed not: But as for the peſtilence, it began ſone after that vnkethly ſight, whereof enſued ſuche effecte, as I haue alreadye rehearſed.

K. Iohn

An. Reg. 1.

IOHN, the yongeſt ſonne of Henrye the ſecond, was proclaimed King of Englande, beginning his raigne the .vj. day of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord. 1199. the firſte of Philip Emperor of Rome, and the .xx. of Philip king of France, King Williā as yet liuing in gouernement ouer the Scots.

Rog. Houed.

So ſone as his brother Richard was deceaſſed, hee ſendeth Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Marſhall Earle of Sitrgill (otherwiſe called Chepſtow) into Englande, both to proclaime him king, and alſo to ſee his peace kepte, togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter Lorde chiefe iuſtice, and diuers other Barons of the Realme, whileſt he himſelfe went to Chinon where his brothers traſure laye, whiche was forthwith deliuered to hym by Robert de Turnham: and therewithal at the Caſtel of Chinon and Saumer and diuerſe other places, whiche were in the cuſtody of the foreſaide Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the ſaide Robert de Turnham deliuered the Citie and Caſtell of Angiers vnto Arthur Duke of Britaine. For by generall conſent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and ſoueraine Lorde of the ſame countreys. For euen at this preſent, and ſo ſone as it was knowen that king Richard was deceaſſed, diuers cities and townes on that ſide of the ſea belonging to the ſaide Richarde whileſt hee liued, fell at oddes among themſelues, ſome of them endeuouring to preferre King Iohn, other labouring rather to bee vnder the gouernaunce of Arthur Duke of Britaine, conſidering that he ſeemed by moſte righte to be their chiefe Lorde, foraſmuche as hee was ſonne to Geffrey elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broyle in thoſe quarters, whereof in proceſſe of time enſued great inconuenience and finally the death of the ſaide Arthur, as ſhal be ſhewed hereafter.

Mat. Paris.
Chinon.
Robert de Turnham.
Saumur.
Rog. Houeden
Thomas de Furnes.

Strife amongſt the Engliſh ſubiectes on the other ſyde of the ſea.

Now whileſt king Iohn was thus occupied in recouering hys brothers treaſure, and trauelling with his ſubiectes to reduce them to his obedience, Queene Eleanor his mother by the helpe of Hubert archebiſhoppe of Canterburye and other of the noble menne and barons of the lande trauayled as diligentlye to procure the engliſhe people to receiue their othe of allegiance to be true to King Iohn: for the ſayde archbiſhoppe and William Marſhall Earle of Striguill being ſente ouer into Englande, as before you haue hearde, to proclaime him king, and to kepe the lande in quiet, aſſembled the eſtates of the Realme at Northampton, where Geffrey Fitz Peter Lorde chiefe Iuſtice was preſente with other of the nobles, afore whome thoſe lordes whoſe fidelities were leaſt ſuſpected, wyllingly toke their othes of obedience to the newe King, and were aſſured by the ſame Lordes on his behalfe, that they ſhoulde finde him a liberal, a noble and a righteous Prince, and ſuche a one as woulde ſee that euery man ſhoulde enioy hys owne, and ſuche as were knowen to be notorious tranſgreſſors, ſhould be ſure to receiue their condigne puniſhment. They ſent alſo Euſtace de Veſcye vnto William King of Scotlande, to ſignifie to him, that king Iohn vppon his arriuall into Englande, woulde ſatiſfie him of all ſuche right as hee pretended to haue within the Engliſh dominions. And thus was King Iohn accompted and proclaimed King of Englande by the generall conſente of all the Lordes and barons of the ſame. The names of the chiefe of thoſe peeres that were ſworne (as you haue hearde) are as foloweth. Dauid Earle of Huntingdon, brother vnto William king of Scots, Richarde Earle of Clare, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, William Earle of Tutbury, or rather Ferrers, Walran Erle of Warwik, Roger Lacye conſtable of Cheſter, and Williā de Mowbray, with diuers other whoſe names I heere omit, bicauſe I wold not be tedious & irkeſome to the readers. Nowe the king of Scotlande being enformed by the Lord Euſtace Veſcy (who had maried his daughter) that there was ſome hope to bee had on his parte, for the recouerie of ſuch ſeignories as hee and his predeceſſors ſometime helde in Englande, doth forthwith diſpatche ſundrie Ambaſſadours with ful purpoſe to ſende them ouer into Normandie vnto Kyng Iohn, there to require reſtitution of the countryes of Northumberlande, and Cumberlande, wyth their appurtinaunces, and he promiſed alſo by hys letters, that if the ſame might be graunted vnto him in as ample manner as they had beene in time paſt vnto his anceſtors, hee woulde gladly do his homage to King Iohn, as to the true and lawefull king of Englande, and fur-

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thermore yeelde to him his faithefull ſeruice againſt all men, ſo often as he ſhuld be required therevnto. Howbeit when the archebiſhoppe of Canterburie and the reſt of the counſell, vnderſtood that theſe ambaſſadors ſhuld paſſe thorow England, they would not ſuffer them ſo to do, but ſpeedyly ſent Dauid Earle of Huntington into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earneſtly ẏ he wold not ſend any ambaſſadors ouer as yet, but rather tarie, and take pacience a while, til the king ſhould come ouer into England: which (as they ſayd) he purpoſed to doe very ſhortly.

King Iohn alſo hauing vnderſtanding of his purpoſe, ſent ouer the ſaide Lorde Euſtace againe vnto him with the like requeſt, who in ſuche wiſe perſwaded him, that he was contented to abide a time, in hope of the better ſucceſſe in his late attempted ſute. And all this was don chiefly by the working of the kyngs mother, whome the nobilitie much honored and loued: for ſhe being bent to preferre hir ſon Iohn, left no ſtone vnturned to eſtabliſh him in the throne comparing oftentimes the differēce of gouernment betwene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a childe. For as Iohn was. xxxij. yeres olde, ſo Arthur Duke of Britain was but a babe to ſpeake of.) In the end winning al the nobilitie wholye vnto hir will, and ſeeing the coaſte to be cleare on euery ſide, without any doubt of tempeſtuous wether likely to ariſe, ſhe ſignified the whole matter vnto Kyng Iohn, who forthwith framed all his endeuours to the accompliſhment of his buſines. Surely Queene Elianor the Kyngs mother was ſore agaynſt hir nephew Arthur, rather moued therto by enuye conceyued agaynſte his mother, than vpon any iuſte occaſion giuen in the behalfe of the childe, for that ſhe ſawe if he were King, howe his mother Conſtance would looke to beare the moſt rule within the realme of Englande, till hir ſonne ſhuld come to lawful age, to gouerne of himſelfe. So hard a thing it is to bring women to agree in one minde, their natures commonly being ſo contarie. When this doyng of the Queene was ſignified vnto the ſaide Conſtance, ſhe doubting the ſuretie of hir ſon, committed him to the truſte of the Frenche King, who receiuing him into his tuition, promiſed to defend him from all his enimies, and forthwith furniſhed the holdes in Britayne with French ſouldiours. Queene Elynor being aduertiſed herof, ſtode in doubt by and by of hir countrey of Guyenne, & therfore with all poſſible ſpeede paſſed the ſea, and came to hir ſonne Iohn into Normandie, and ſhortly after they wente forth togither into the countrey of Mayne, and there toke both the citie and caſtell of Mauns, throwing down the walles and turrets therof, with all the fortifications and ſtonehouſes in & about the ſame, and kept the Citizens as priſoners, bicauſe they had ayded Arthur againſt his vncle Iohn. After this, king Iohn entring into Aniou, held his Eſter at Beaufort (which feaſt fell that yere the. xviij. day of April,) and from thence he went ſtreyght vnto Rouen, where on the Sunday next after Eaſter, being Sainct Markes day, he was girded with the ſword of the duchie of Normandie in the high Churche there by the handes of Walter Archbiſhop of Rouen. And ſo being inueſted duke of Normandie, hee receiued the othe according to the cuſtome, that he ſhould defend the Church, and mayntein the liberties therof, ſee Iuſtice miniſtred, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders aboliſhed. In the meane tyme his mother Queene Elenor, togither with Captaine Marchades entred into Aniou, and waſted the ſame, bicauſe they of that countrey had receyued Arthur for their ſoueraigne Lord and gouernor. And amongſt other townes and fortreſſes, they toke the citie of Angiers, ſlewe

manie of the Citezins, and committed the reſt to priſon. This enterpriſe beeing thus luckily atchieued, the reſidue of the people in thoſe parties were put in ſuche feare, that of their owne accord, they turned to their wonted obedience, ſeeming as though they woulde continue ſtill therin. The Frenche king all this while conceyuing an other exployte in his heade more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre againſte the Engliſhmen vpon ſo lighte an occaſion, diſſembled the matter for a tyme, as thoughe he would know nothing of all that

was

Queene Eleanors enuie agaynſt Arthur.

Conſtance ducheſſe of Briteyne.

Queene Ele
nor paſſeth in
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The citie of
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Mat. Paris
Reg. Houe

King Iohn in
ueſted Duke
Normandie.

The Citie of
Angiers take

was done, til the king ſhould be otherwyſe occupied in England about his coronation.

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In the meane ſeaſon king Iohn hauing ſette ſome ſtay in his buſineſſe on the further ſide of the ſea, he left his mother ſtil in Guienne to defend that countrey againſt the enimies, and taking the ſea, came ouer himſelf into England, landing at Shorchã, the .xxv. day of May. On the next day, being yͤ Aſcention euen, he cam to London, there to receyue the crowne. On the morow after, being the Aſcention day, whẽ the nobilitie and cõmons were aſſembled, and the king broughte into the Church of S. Peter at Weſtmin. there to receiue his diademe. Hubert Archebiſhop of Canterbury being chief in authoritie and honor, both for his age and calling, ſpake theſe words or the like in ſubſtance before the whole aſſemblie:

e Archbi.
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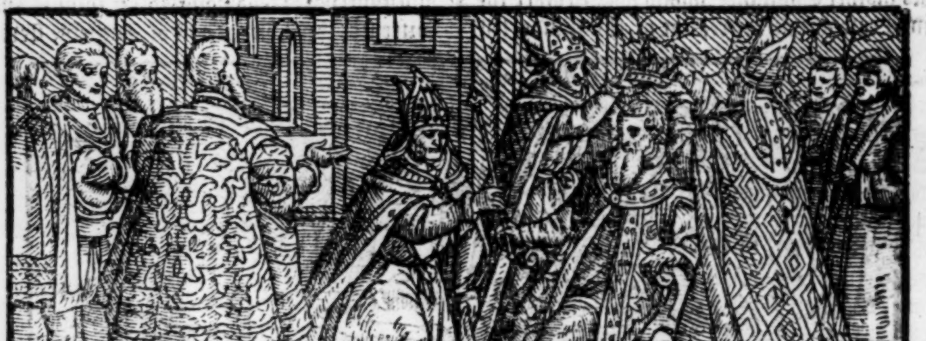
Moſt honorable Lordes of the ſpiritualtie, and moſt graue and politike peeres and barons of the temporaltie, you are come hither this day to chooſe you a king, and ſuche a one as (if need ſhould require) may be able of himſelfe to take ſuche a charge vpon him, and hauing taken it vpon him, to execute that which he ſhal think to be expediẽt for the profit of his ſubiects: we haue therfore one preſent here amõg vs, vpon whom the hartes and good willes of high & lowe, riche and pore, do generally depend: a man I doubt not, but that for his owne parte, will applye all his whole endeuour, ſtudie, and thoughte vnto that only ende, whiche he ſhall perceyue to bee moſt profitable for the common wealth, as knowing himſelf to be borne not to ſerue his owne turne, but for to profite his countreye, and to ſeeke for the generall benefite of vs that are his ſubiectes. And albeit I am ſure that you doe well knowe how all theſe qualities are moſt abundantly plãted in the perſon of Iohn duke of Normandie (a perſon of hygh prowes and no leſſe prudencie) for the which ye ought to iudge hym ryghte worthye of the gouernement: yet beeyng in doubte leaſte the common fame ſhould carrie you awaye, or leaſt you ſhoulde turne your myndes to the fauour of an other, as in reſpect of ſome better ryght, by title of a more lawfull deſcente of inheritaunce pretended by others than he hath to ſhewe, I require you to giue eare vnto my wordes: who bearyng the ſtate of two maner of perſones, ought to be profitable to my countrey, not only by example and exhortation, but alſo by loyaltie and good counſell, whyche hytherto I haue euer ſtudyed to perfourme, and wherein (God willing) I meane to perſiſte, ſo long as I ſhall continue in this mortall & tranſitorie tabernacle. Therfore wheras at this preſent wee haue in hande to conclude vppon ſuche a weyghtie matter, which being once done, can not be vndone, I cõmend vnto you this Iohn, euen with all my very hart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your King, who in all things which he ſhall ordein, purpoſe, or take in hand, ſhal not fayle ſo to anſwere your opinions, with his well doyng, and to ſatiſfie youre good expectations alredy cõceiued of him with his diligent prouidence, that al the whole realm ſhall not only like of, and allowe your doings herein, but alſo with highe cõmendation extoll the ſame to the very ſtarres. Theſe things do I promiſe vnto you, and ſo farforth as in me may lye, I dare take vpon me all chances & perils yͭ may procede therof. Whẽ the Archb. had ended, diuers held their peace, & many with great zele ſaluted king Iohn, whom the ſame day the ſaid Archebiſhoppe crowned at Weſtmynſter, after the manner, with great ſolemnitie, & no leſſe reioycing of all ſuch as were preſent.



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At the ſame time alſo, he receyued the homages of the Lords and Barons of the Realm, and promiſed with all ſpeede, to haue conſideration of things that apperteyned as well to Religion, as to the due execution of lawes, whereby euery mã myght come to enioy that which was his owne, by right and due courſe of iuſtice. We fynde, that there were preſent at this ſolemnitie and Coronation of King John, whiche was celebrate on the Aſcention day the. 27. of May, Archbyſhoppes and Byſhoppes to the number of ſeuenteene, as Hubert Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, John Archbiſhop of Dublin, alſo yͤ Archbyſhop of Raguſe, William Biſhop of London, Gilbert Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, John Biſhop of Norwich, Hugh Byſhop of Lincolne, Euſtace Byſhop of Elye, Godfrey Byſhop of Wincheſter, Henry Byſhop of Exetor, Sefride Biſhop of Chicheſter, Godfrey Byſhop of Couentry, Sauarie Byſhoppe of Bath, Herbert Biſhoppe of Sareſbury, Phillip Biſhop of Dureſme, Roger Biſhoppe of S. Andrew in Scotland, and Henry Biſhoppe of Landaffe in Wales. The Biſhop of Dureſme found himſelfe ſomewhat greeued in the matter, making obiections, that the Coronation ought not to bee celebrate withoute the preſence of Geffrey Archbyſhop of Yorke: but it preuayled not. Beſides theſe Biſhops, there were of the temporall Lords, theſe Erles, Robert of Leceſter, Richard of Clare, Willi. of Tutbury, Hamlin of Warren, William of Saleſbury, William of Chepſtow, otherwiſe called Strighuile, Walranne of Warwike, Roger Bigot, William of Arondell, & Ranulfe of Cheſter, with many other Barõs, Lordes, Knightes, and no ſmall multitude of Gentlemen and other common people. The ſame day of his Coronatiõ alſo, he inueſted Wi. Marſhal, wͭ the ſword of yͤ Erledome of Strighuile, & Geffrey Fitz Peter, with yͤ ſword of yͤ Earledom of Eſſex: for although they wer called Erles, & exerciſed yͤ adminiſtration of their Earledoms, yet were they not till that daye girded with the ſword of thoſe Earledomes, and ſo that day, they ſerued at the table with theyr ſwords girded vnto them. In like manner, Hubert the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, was made Lord Chauncellour of England, who as he vttered ſome words vnaduiſedly, that ſhewed, how he inwardly reioiced of the Kings fauoure towarde him in the gifte of this office, the Lorde Hugh Bardolph ſaide vnto him, yet not ſo ſoftly in his eare, but yͤ ſome ouer heard it, my Lorde, to ſpeake and not offend you, ſurely if you would wel conſider the dignitie and honor of youre calling, you would not willingly yeelde to ſuffer this yoke of bondage to bee layde vppon youre ſhoulders, for wee haue oftentimes heard of a Chancellor made an Archbyſhop, but neuer an Archb. made a Chauncelloure till now.

Ambaſſadors from the king of Scottes.

The Coronation beeing thus ended, it was not long ere there came Ambaſſadors from the Scottiſhe Kyng, namely William the Prior of May, William the Prior of Sainte Colmes Ins, and one William Hay, the whiche on the behalfe of the ſaid Scottiſh Kyng, required reſtitution of Northumberlande and Cumberlande, with the appurtenaunces, promiſing, that if the ſame were reſtored to him, he would ſerue the K. of England with all his whole power agaynſt al men then aliue, otherwiſe, that is, if hee coulde not haue thoſe countreys, whiche of right to hym apperteyned by law, as he pretended, he would do the beſt he could, to recouer thẽ by force. K. John made aunſwere heerevnto, that if his couſin the K. of Scottes would come vnto him, he ſhoulde bee aſſured to receyue at his hands all that was reaſon, as well in thoſe demaunds, as in all other things. Hee alſo ſente to him the Byſhop of Dureſme, to require him to come vnto Nottingham, where he would meete with him. Howbeit, K. William refuſed to come himſelf as then, but he ſent the B. of S. Andrewe, and Hugh Malebiſſe to follow his ſute, with promiſe to abſteyne from any forcible inuaſiõ of England, by yͤ ſpace of fortie days, ſo that he might within yͤ tearme haue ſome reſolute aunſwere frõ K. John, wherevnto he might ſtãd eyther on the one ſide or on yͤ other. Whileſt theſe things wer a doing in England, Phillip King of Fraunce hauing leuyed an army, brake into Normandy, and toke the Citie of Eureux, the Town of Arques, and diuerſe other places from the Engliſh. And paſſing from thence forthe into Mayne, recouered that countrey lately before through feare alienated. In an other part, an army of Britaines with great diligence wanne the Townes of Gorney, Butenant and Genſolin, and following the victory, toke the Citie of Angiers, which King John had wonne from Duke Arthur, in the laſt yeare paſſed. Theſe things being ſignified to King John, he thought to make prouiſion for the recouery of

Nic. Triuet.
The Frẽch K. inuadeth Normandy.

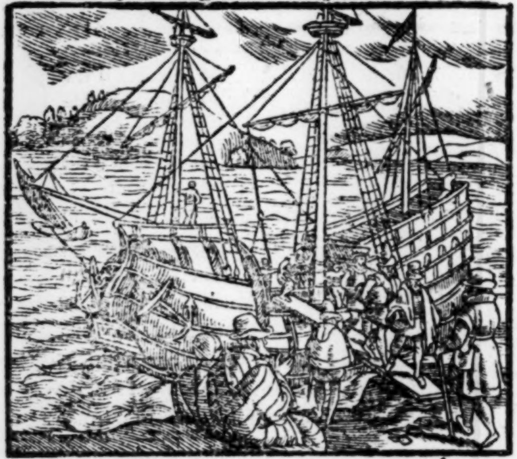
his loſſes there, with all ſpeede poſſible. And thervpon perceyuing that the Scottiſh Kyng meant not to meete with him at Notingham whyther he was come, and where hee kepte the feaſt of Whitſontide, he determined to paſſe ȳ Seas ouer into Normandy: but firſte hee toke order for the gouernemēt & defence of ȳ Realm in his abſence. And therevpon, he deliuered ȳ charge of ȳ Counties of Northumberlād & Cumberland, vnto the Lord Wil. de Stuteuile, with all ȳ Caſtels, & other ȳ appurtenances which ȳ L. Hugh Bardolfe before held, & had in keeping. He alſo deliuered vnto Roger de Lacy Conneſtable of Cheſter, ȳ Caſtel of Pomfret, hauing firſt ȳ ſonne and heire of the ſame Lacy deliuered vnto him as an hoſtage for his loyaltie & faithful obedience. This done, he haſted vnto ȳ ſea ſide, and ſayled ouer into Normandy, landing firſt at Diepe, and from thence went to Rouen, whether hee came vpon ȳ Sunday before Midſommer day, whiche was the. 26. of Iune as Harriſon hath noted. Immediately vpō his arriual in thoſe parties, there reſorted vnto him a greate number of Souldiers both horſemen & footmen, hoping to be entertained, but by reaſon of Imbaſſadors riding to and fro betwixt the two Kings, they came to a communication, and toke truce for fiftie dayes. The Earle of Flanders being certified therof, was ſory in hys hart, and loth that ȳ French K. ſhuld come to any accord with the K. of England, and therefore to turne ȳ minde of K. Iohn from the purpoſe of peace, he came to viſit him at Rouen, where they renew the league betwixt England and Flaunders, to be the better able to defend themſelues frō the French power: and withall determine fully, ȳ immediatly vppon the expiring of this laſt truce they would make the French King warre, to reuenge their late receyued iniuries. The Frenche K. aduertiſed by eſpials of their determination, prepareth alſo for the warres. And in this meane time it chaunced, that Henry Erle of Namure, brother to Phillip Earle of Flaunders, and one Peeter of Doway, a right valiant Knight, with his brother that was the elect Biſhop of Cambrey, were taken Priſoners in a ſkirmiſhe, and preſented to the French K. Wherevpon, the Cardinal of Capua, (being at the ſame time ȳ Popes Legate in Fraunce) enterdited that Realme for the taking of the ſame elect of Cambrey, and alſo all Normandy, for the deteyning of the Biſhop of Beauuoys in priſon, (who had laine there long time, and was taken in the fielde after ſuche maner as is before reherſed) ſo that the French K. was glad to reſtore the elect of Cambrey to his libertie. And likewiſe, K. Iohn deliuered the Biſhoppe of Beauuoys, who payed two thouſande markes, beſide expenſes of diet during the time of his captiuitie, and furthermore toke an oth, that hee ſhoulde neuer after beare armour in the warre againſt any Chriſtian or Chriſtians. About the ſame time alſo, K. Phillip made Arthur Duke of Britaine Knighte, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poicters, Maine, Touraine, & Brytayne. Alſo ſomewhat before the time that ȳ truce ſhould expire, to witte, on the morrow after the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, and alſo the day next following, the two Kings talked by commiſſioners, in a place betwixte the Townes of Buteuant and Guletō. And within three days after, they came togither perſonally, and commoned at full of the variance depēding betwene thē.

Rog. Houedē.

Lord William de Stuteuille.

Roger de Lacy Conneſtable of Cheſter.

King Iohn paſſeth ouer into Normandy.



A truce for fiftie dayes.

The Earle of Flanders.

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The league renued betwixt England and Flanders.

Rog. Houed.

The Earle of Namure.

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But the Frēch K. ſhewed himſelfe ſtiffe and hard in this treaty, demanding all ȳ whole coūtrey of Veulqueſſin to be reſtored vnto him, as that whiche had bin granted by Geffrey Earle of Aniou, the father of K. Henry the ſeconde, vnto Lewes le Groſſe, to haue his aide then againſt K. Stephē. Moreouer, hee demanded, that Poicters, Aniou, Maine, & Touraine, ſhould be deliuered & wholly reſigned vnto Arthur Duke of Britaine. But theſe, & diuers other requeſts which he made, King Iohn would not in any wiſe graunt vnto, and ſo they departed without concluſion of any agreement. Therefore dyuers Earles and Barons

The Fr

Kings

rons of Fraunce which before that time had ſerued Kyng Richard, repayred vnto King John, and toke an othe to aſſiſt him, and not to agree with the French King without his conſent: and hee likewiſe ſware vnto them, not to make peace with the Frenche King, except they were therein compriſed. In the moneth of September, Joan King Johns ſiſter, wife to Raymonde Earle of S. Giles, and ſometime Quene of Cicil, dyed at Rouen, and was buried at Fonteuerard. The French K. alſo toke diuers Townes and Caſtels, but amongſt other, the Caſtell of Balun, & raced ẏ walles therof downe to the ground, wherwith William des Roches, generall of the army of Arthur Duke of Britaine, was greatly offended, and did ſo much by his drift, that ſhortly after, a peace was concluded betwixt Kyng John, and his nephewe Duke Arthur, though the ſame ſerued but to ſmall purpoſe. The Frenche K. hauing (as I haue ſaid) ouerthrowen the walles of Balun, beſieged a fortreſſe called Lauardin, but K. John comming with an army, cauſed him to raiſe his ſiege, and to withdrawe himſelfe to the Citie of Mauns, whither he followed, and compelled him mauger his force, to remoue frõ thẽce. All this while, was William des Roches buſily occupyed about his practiſe, to make K. John & his Nephewe Arthur friendes, whiche thyng at length he brought about, and therevpon delyuered into King Johns hands the Citie of Mauns which he had in keping. Alſo ẏ Vicont of Tours came to the K. of England, and ſurrendred vnto him the Caſtel of Chinon, the keeping whereof, he betoke vnto Roger de Lacy the Conneſtable of Cheſter: but in the night followyng, vpõ ſome miſtruſt and ſuſpition gathered in the obſeruatiõ of the couenants on K. Johns behalfe, both ẏ ſaid Arthur, with his mother Cõſtance the ſayd Vicont of Tours, and diuers other, fledde away ſecretly frõ the K. and gote them to ẏ Citie of Angiers, where the mother of the ſaide Arthur refuſing hir former huſbande the Earle of Cheſter, married hirſelfe to the Lord Guy de Tours, brother to the ſaid Vicont, by the Popes diſpenſatiõ. The ſame yeare alſo Philip baſtard ſonne to K. Richarde, to whome his father hadde giuen the caſtel and honor of Coynack, killed ẏ vicount of Lymoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was ſlayne (as yee haue heard) in beſieging the caſtel of Chalus Cheuerell. Moreouer, there fell many great flouds in Englande, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence wherof, diuers bridges wer borne down, & amongſt other, the bridge at Barwike. For the buylding vp againe wherof, ſome variance roſe betwixt Philippe Biſhop of Dureſme & erle Patrike Lord chief Juſtice of Scotland, and capitain at that time of the town of Berwike, who by the Scottiſh kings cõmandemẽt wold haue repared again the ſame bridge, which coulde not bee done, but that the one ende thereof, muſt be buylded on the biſhop of Durhãs ground, which he wold not ſuffer, til by the councell of the Lorde Williã de Stuteuile, he agreed, ſo that the conuention accorded and concluded betwixt the king of Scottes and his predeceſſour Biſhop Hugh might be reſerued inuiolate.

peace be-
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e Vicont
Tours.

e miſtruſt
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hur had in
Vncle
g John.

Balun wonne.

Phillip Kyng Richards baſtard ſonne, ſlewe the vicōt of Lymoges.

Great flouds.

Variance betwixt the Byſhop of Durham, and Earle Patricke.

Furthermore, king John did ſet a rate vpõ the prices of Wine, as Rochel wine to be ſold for .xx. ſ. the tonne, and not aboue. The wine of Aniou for .xxiiij. ſ. the tonne, and no other French wynes aboue .xxv. ſ. except it were of ſuche notable goodneſſe, as that ſome peraduenture for their own expences, wold be contented to giue after .xxvj. ſ. viij. d. for the tonne, and not aboue. Moreouer, the galon of Rochel wyne he appoynted to be ſold at foure pens: And the galon of white wine at .vj. pens. It was alſo ordeined, ẏ in euery citie, town & place wher wine was vſed to be ſold, there ſhuld be .xij. honeſt mẽ ſworn to haue regard ẏ this aſſiſe ſhuld not be brokẽ. And that if they found any

A rate of the prices of Wines.

King Iohn returneth into Englande.

1200

A ſubſedie.

He ſayleth againe into Normandy.

An.reg.2.

A peace concluded with a marriage.

Math. Paris.

Rauſe Niger.

Vintnor that ſhould from the pinne ſel any wine by ſmall meaſures contrary to the ſame aſſiſe, his body ſhoulde bee attached by the Sherife, and deteyned in priſon, till other commaundemente were giuen for his further puniſhmente, and hys goodes ſeaſed vnto the Kings vſe. Furthermore, if any perſons were or ſhuld be found to buy and ſell by the hogſhead or tunne, contrary to this aſſiſe, they ſhould be committed to priſon, there to remaine, till other order were taken for thẽ: neyther ſhould there be any regrating of wines, that were brought into England. But this ordinance laſted not long, for the marchãts could not beare it, & ſo they fell to, & ſold white wine for eight d. the galon, & red or claret for ſixe d. K. Iohn alſo came ouer frõ Normãdy into England, and ther leuied a ſubſedy, taking of euery plough land thre ſ. And in the Lent ſeaſon following, he wente to Yorke, in hope to haue met yͤ K. of Scots there, but he came not, & ſo K. Iohn returned back and ſayled again into Normãdy, bycauſe the variãce ſtil depended betwene him & the king of Fraunce. And finally vpon yͤ Aſcention day in this ſecond yere of his raigne, they came eftſones to a cõmunication betwixte the Townes of Vernon and Liſle Dandely, where finally they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be hadde betwixt Lewis yͤ ſon of K. Phillip, & the Lady Blanch, daughter to Alfonſo K. of Caſtell the eyght of yͤ name, and neece to K. Iohn by his ſiſter Eleanor. In conſideration whereof, K. Iohn, beſides yͤ ſumme of thirtie thouſand markes in ſiluer, as in reſpect of dower aſſigned to his ſayd neece, reſigned his title to yͤ Citie of Eureux, & alſo vnto all thoſe Townes, which yͤ French K. had by warre taken from him, the Citie of Angiers only excepted, which Citie he receiued againe by couenants of the ſame agreement. The Frenche K. reſtored alſo to Kyng Iohn (as Rauſe Niger writeth) the Citie of Tours, and all the Caſtels and fortreſſes which he had takẽ within Touraine. And moreouer, receiued of King Iohn his homage for al the lands, fees & tenements which at any tyme his brother K. Richarde, or his father K. Henry had holden of him, the ſaid K. Lewis or any hys predeceſſors, yͤ quite claymes and marriages always excepted. The K. of England likewiſe dyd homage vnto yͤ French King for Britayne, and againe (as after ye ſhal heare) he receyued homage for the ſame countrey, & for the countie of Richmont of his nephewe Arthur. Hee alſo gaue the Erledome of Glowceſter, vnto the Earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that hee reſigned to the Frenche King all right, title and clayme that might be pretended vnto the countie of Eureux. And thus by this concluſion of marriage betwixt the ſaide Lewis and Blanche, the right of K. Iohn went away, which he lawfully before pretended vnto the Citie of Eureux, and vnto thoſe Townes in the confynes of Berry, Chateau Roux or Raoul, Creſſy, & Iſoldune, & likewiſe vnto the countrey of Veuxin or Veulqueſſine, whiche is a parte of the territory of Giſours: the right of all whych lands Townes and countreys was releaſſed to the Kyng of Fraunce by Kyng Iohn, who ſuppoſed, that by this affinitie and reſignation of hys ryghte to thoſe places, the peace nowe made, woulde haue continued for euer. And in conſideration thereof, hee procured furthermore, that the foreſayd Blanche ſhoulde be conueyed into Fraunce to hir huſband with all ſpeede. And that done, he returned again into Englande.

Polidor.

The K.co meth back againe in Englande.

Certes this peace was diſpleaſant to many, but namely to the Erle of Flanders, who hereupõ making no accompt of K. Iohns amitie, cõcluded a peace with K. Philip ſhortly after, & ment to make war againſt the infidels in the eaſt parties. But by the chronicles of Flaunders it appereth, that the Erle of Flanders cõcluded a peace with the Frenche King in February laſt paſt, before that king Iohn and the French king fell to any compoſition. But ſuch was the malice of writers in times paſt, which they bare towards K. Iohn, that whatſoeuer was done in preiudice of him, or his ſubiects, it was ſtil interpreted to chãce through his defalt, ſo as the blame ſtill was imputed to him, in ſo much that although many things he did peraduenture in matters of gouernemẽt, for yͤ which he may be hardly excuſed, yet to thinke that he deſerueth the .x. parte of the blame wherewith writers charge him, it might ſeme a great lack of aduiſed conſideration in them that ſo ſhuld take it. But now to proceed with our purpoſe.

Iaco. Me

King Iohn being now in reſt from warres with foreyn enimies, began to make war with his ſubiects purſſes at home, emptying them by ſubſidies, taxes, and tallages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the mindes of a great number of them from his loue & obedience. At length alſo when he had got togither a great maſſe of money, he went ouer again into Normandie, where by Helias, Archbiſhop of Burdeaux, & the biſhop of Poictiers and Scone, he was diuorſed from his wife Iſabel, yͭ was the daughter of Robert erle of Glouceſter, bicauſe of the nereneſſe of bloud, as touching hir in the third degree. And after he maried Iſabel the daughter of Amery Earle of Angoleſme, by whome he had two ſonnes, Henry and Richard, & .iij. daughters, Iſabell, Eleanor and Iane.

Reg. H

K. Iohn deuorced.

Mat. W

Mat. W

Reg. H

Moreouer, about this time, Geffrey Archbyſhoppe of Yorke was depriued of al his manors, lands, and poſſeſſions, by the kings commandemẽt, directed to yͤ Sherife of Yorkſhire

Mat. W

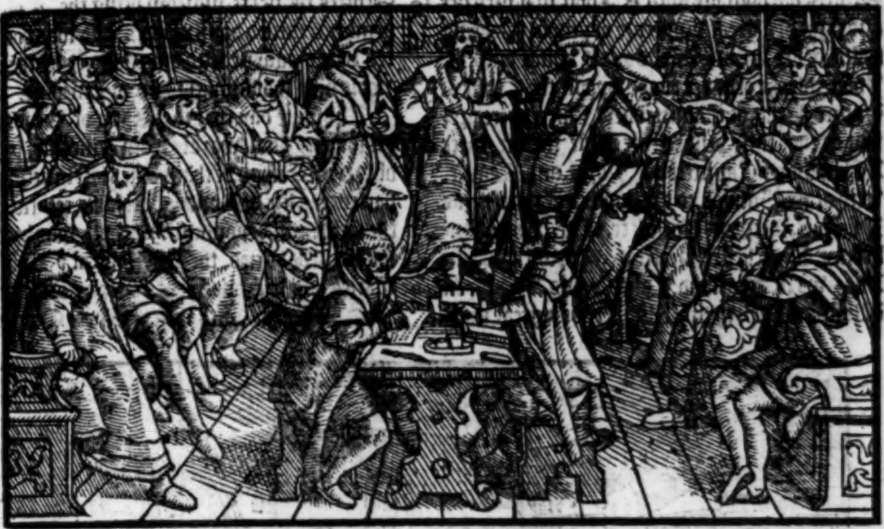
Geffrey of Yorke depriued.

for diuers cauſes, for that he would not permitte yͤ ſame Sherife to leuie yͤ duty called Charuagage, that was, three Shillings of euery plough lande within his Dioceſſe, rated & appointed to be leuied to the Kyngs vſe, throughout all parties of the Realme. Againe, for that the ſame Archbyſhoppe refuſed to goe ouer with the Kyng into Normandy to helpe to make the marriage betwixte the Frenche Kyngs ſonne and hys neece. Thyrdly, bycauſe hee had excommunicated the ſame Sherife and al the prouince of Yorke: wherevpon, the Kyng toke diſpleaſure againſt hym, and not onely ſpoyled him (as I ſayde) of his goodes, but alſo baniſhed him out of the Court, not ſuffering hym to come in his preſence for the ſpace of twelue monethes after.

Rog. Houed.

A counſell called at Weſtminſter by the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury.

In this yeare alſo, Huberte Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury helde a Counſell at Weſtminſter agaynſte the prohibition of the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, Geffrey Fitz Peter Earle of Eſſex. In the which Counſell or Synode, dyuers conſtitutiōs were made and ordeyned for order and cuſtomes to be vſed touching the ſeruice and adminiſtration of Sacraments in the Churche, and other articles concerning Churchmen and eccleſiaſticall matters.



hur Duke Brytayne, h homage he king of glande.

About the ſame time, King John and Phillip King of France met togither neere to the towne of Vernon, where Arthur Duke of Brytayne (as vaſſall to his vncle Kyng John) did his homage vnto him for the Duchie of Brytayne, and thoſe other places whiche he helde of him on thys ſyde, and beyonde the riuer of Loyr, and afterwarde ſtill miſtruſting his Uncles curteſie, he returned backe againe with the French Kyng, and would not committe hymſelfe to hys ſaide Uncle, who as he ſuppoſed, did beare him litle good wil.

g Iohn re- eth into lande.

Queene is wned.

Theſe things being thus performed, King John returned into Englande, and there cauſed his newe married wife Iſabell to be Crowned on yͤ Sunday before the feaſt of Sainte Dioniſe, the eyght of October.

The ſame time, hee gaue commaundemente vnto Hugh Neuill hygh Iuſtice of his forreſts, that hee ſhould awarde his preceptes vnto al forreſters within the Realme, to giue warning to al the white Monkes, that before the Quindene of Saint Michaell, they ſhoulde remoue out of hys forreſtes all their horſes of Haraz, and other cattel, vnder the penaltie to forfeit ſo many of them, as after that daye chaunced to be founde within the ſame forreſtes. The cauſe that moued the K. to deale ſo hardly with them was, for that they refuſed to help him with money, when before hys laſt going ouer into Normandy, he demaunded it of them towardes the paymente of the thirtie thouſande pounde whiche hee hadde couenaunted to pay to the Frenche Kyng, to liue in reſt and peace, which he coueted to haue done for reliefe of hys people, and hys owne ſuretie, knowing what enimies he had that lay in waite to deſtroy him, and agayne, what diſcommodities had chaunced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall warres. But nowe to proceede with other doings.

An ambaſſade ſent vnto the K. of Scottes.

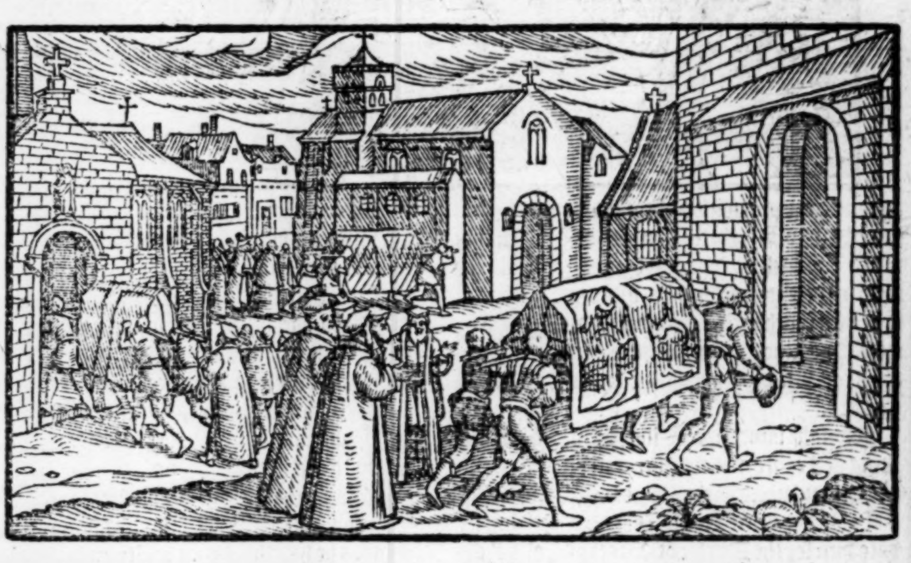
Immediatly after the ſolemnization of the Queenes Coronation ended, hee ſente Phillippe Biſhoppe of Dureſme, Roger Bigot Earle of Northfolke, and Henry de Bohun Earle of Hereford, Nephewe to William King of Scotland, and Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to the ſame King, and Roger de Lacy Coneſtable of Cheſter, the Lorde William de Veſcy, and the Lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of yͤ ſayd K. and Robert Fitz Roger Sherife of Northumberlād, as Ambaſſadors from him vnto yͤ foreſaid William K. of Scotland, with letters patents, conteining a ſafe conduit

The King of Scottes came to the Kyng of Englande at Lincolne.

Math. Paris.
Ran. Higd.
Rog. Houed.
Polidor.

duit for him to come into England, and to meete with K. John at Lincolne on the morrowe after the feaſt of S. Edmunde, who gladly graunted thereunto, and ſo according to that appoyntmēt, both yͤ kings met at Lincolne the. 21. day of Nouember. And on the morrow after, K. John wēt to the Cathedrall Church, and offered there vppon the high Alter a chalice of golde. And yͤ ſame day, vppon a hill without the Citie, the Kyng of Scottes did homage vnto K. John, in yͤ preſence and ſight of a great multitude of people, ſwearing fealtie of life, limme, and worldly honor vnto K. John, whiche othe hee made vppon the Croſſe of Hubert Archb. of Caunterbury. There were preſent at that time, beſide other noble menne, three Archbyſhops, Caunterbury, Yorke, and Raguſe, with other Biſhops, to the number of thirtene, as Dureſme, London, Rocheſter, Elie, Bath, Saliſbury, Wincheſter, Hereford, Norwich, Saint Andrews in Scotland, Landafe, and Bangor in Wales, and Meth in Irelād, beſide a great multitude of Earles, Barons, and other noble men. When the K. of Scottes had thus done his homage, hee required reſtitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Weſtmerland, whych he clàymed as his right and lawfull heritage. Much talke was hadde touching this matter, but they coulde not agree, and therefore King John asked reſpite to conſider of it till the feaſt of Pentecoſt next enſuing, which being graunted, the Kyng of Scottes the nexte morrow being the. 23. of Nouember returned homewardes, and was conducted backe agayne into his countrey by the ſame noble men that brought him to Lincolne.

The ſame day that the Kyng of Scots tooke his iourney homewardes from Lincolne, yͤ corps of Hugh, Biſhop of that Citie (lately before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parties of beyonde the Seas,) was brought thither to be buried, the King, and al yͤ Byſhops, Earles and Barons went to receyue it, and honored his buriall with their preſence. On yͤ morrow after being Friday, hee was enterred within the new Church which he had builded.



This Hugh was a French man by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant witte, and ſkilfull both in ſcience of holy Scripture, and humane knowledge. He was firſt a regular Chanon, and after became a Cartuſian Monke. K. Henry the ſeconde moued with the fame of hys vertue and godly lyfe, ſent the Byſhop of Bath to bryng hym into Englande, and after he was come, made hym fyrſte Abbot of Whithing in the dioceſſe of Welles, and after created hym Byſhoppe of Lincolne. Hee was noted to bee of a very perfit and ſound lyfe, namely, bycauſe hee woulde not ſticke to reprowue menne of theyr faultes playnely and frankely, not regardyng the fauoure or diſfauoure of anye manne, in ſo muche, that hee woulde not feare to pronounce them accurſed, which being the Kynges officers, woulde take vpon them the puniſhmente of any perſon within orders of the Churche, for huntyng, and kylling of the Kynges game within hys Parkes, Forreſtes, and chaſes, yea, and that which is more, hee woulde denye paymentes of ſuche ſubſedies and taxes as hee was aſſeſſed to pay to the vſes of Kyng Rycharde and Kyng John, towardes the mayntenaunce of theyr warres, and dyd oftentymes accurſe by hys eccleſiaſticall authoritie, ſuch Sherifes, Collectors, or other officers, as dyd diſtrayne vppon hys landes and goodes for to ſatiſfye theſe Kyngs of their demands, alledging openly, that hee woulde not pay any money towards the maintenance of wars, whiche one Chriſtian Prince, vpō priuate diſplea-

A preſ ous part Biſhop.

diſpleaſure and grudge made againſte another Prince of the ſame Religion. This was his reaſon, and when he came before the King to make aunſwere to his diſobedience ſhewed herein, hee woulde ſo handle the matter, partly with gentle admoniſhments, partly with ſharp reprowfes, and ſometyme mixing merie and pleaſant ſpeeche amongſt his ſerious arguments, that oft times hee would ſo qualifie yͤ kings moode, that beyng driuen from anger, he could not but laugh and ſmile at the Biſhops pleaſaunte talke, and merie conceptes. And this manner hee vſed, not only with the King alone, but with the father and the two ſonnes. That is to ſay, Henry the ſecōd, Richard and Iohn, in whoſe tyme he liued, and gouerned the See of Lincolne. He was after his deceſſe for the opinion which men conceyued of his holynes and vertues, admitted into the number of the Saintes.

Yee haue heard howe K. Iohn had conceyued no ſmall diſpleaſure againſte the Monkes of the white order, for that they would not depart with any money, excuſing themſelues, that they might not do it, without conſente of a generall chapiter of their order. Wherevpon the King had cauſed them diuers wayes to be moleſted, but chiefly in reſtreyning them of libertie to haue any Horſes, or other cattell goyng to paſture within his forreſts. They therefore takyng aduice togyther, choſe forthe twelue Abbots amongſt them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincolne, there to make ſute to the King (comming thither at this time to meete the King of Scottes) that it would pleaſe him to remitte hys diſpleaſure conceyued agaynſt them, and to take them agayne into his protection.

This ſute was ſo followed, although with ſome difficultie, that at length, to witte, the ſunday after that the King of Scottes had done his homage, through the help and furtherance of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, they came to yͤ kings ſpeeche, and obteyned ſo much, as they in reaſon might deſire: for he pardoned them of all his paſſed diſpleaſure, receyued them againe into his fauoure, toke them into his protection, and commaunded that all iniuries, greeuaunces and moleſtations ſhoulde bee reformed, redreſſed and amended, whiche in reſpect of his indignation had bin offered and done to them by any manner of meanes, and to ſee the ſame accompliſhed, writtes were directed vnto the Sheriffes of the counties, bearing date from Lincolne the .27. of Nouember. And thus were thoſe Monkes for yͤ time reſtored to the Kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

Moones.

Aboute the moneth of December, there were ſeene in the prouince of Yorke fyue Moones, one in the Eaſt, the ſeconde in the Weſt, the thyrde in the North, the fourth in the South, and the fifthe as it were ſet in the middes of the other, hauing many Starres aboute it, and went fiue or ſixe tymes in compaſſing the other, as it were the ſpace of one houre, and ſhortly after vaniſhed away.

The Winter after was extreamely colde, more than the naturall courſe had bin afore time. And in the Spring time came a great glutting, and continuall rayne, cauſing the Riuers to riſe with hygher flouds, than they hadde bene accuſtomed.

1201

Mat. Par.
An.reg. 3.

In the yere .1201. Kyng Iohn held his Chriſtmas at Guildforde, and there gaue to his ſeruauntes many faire lyueries, and ſutes of apparell. The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury dyd alſo the lyke at Caunterbury, ſeemyng in deede to ſtriue with the Kyng, whyche of them ſhoulde paſſe the other in ſuche ſumptuous apparellyng of their men: whereat the Kyng (and not without good cauſe) was greatly moued to indignation agaynſte hym, although for a time hee couloured the ſame, going preſently into the North, where he gathered of the countrey there no ſmall ſummes of money, as it were by way of fyning them for theyr tranſgreſſions committed in hys forreſtes.

From thence he returned and came to Canterbury, where he held his Eaſter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady, in the which feaſt, he ſate Crowned, togyther with hys wife Queene Iſabell, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury bearing the charges of them and their traynes whileſt they remayned there.

At the feaſt of the Aſcention nexte enſuing, Kyng Iohn ſet out a proclamation at Tewkeſbury, that all the Earles and Barons of the Realme, and alſo all other that helde of him by Knightes ſeruice, ſhoulde be ready in the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte enſuyng, with Horſe and armour, at Porteſmouth, to paſſe ouer with him into Normandy, who made their apperance accordingly. Howbeit, a great number of them in the ende gate licence to tarry at home, paying for euery Knightes fee two markes of ſiluer for a fyne, which then was a great matter. But he ſent before him into Normandy William Marſhall Earle of Striguill with an hundred Knights, or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacye, with an other hundred men of armes to defende the confynes of Normandy againſte the enimies: and to his Chāberlain Hubert de Burgh hee delyuered the like number of Knyghtes or men of armes alſo, to keepe the marches betwixt England & Wales as Warden of yͤ ſame. This done, he pardoned his brother yͤ Archb. of York, & reſtored him to al his dignities, poſſeſſiōs & liberties, cōfirming yͤ ſame vnto him in as ful & large

Rog. Houed.

The Archb. of York reſtored.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Scotlande.

The King paſſeth ouer into Normandy.

He commeth to talke with the Kyng of Fraunce.

King Iohn entreth into Paris.

The league renued.
Mat. Par.
Rog. Houed.

Walter Lacy meant to haue taken the lord Curcy.

manner, as euer Roger late Archbiſhop of ẏ See had and enioyed the ſame: for the whiche confirmation his ſayd brother vndertooke to pay to the King within the tearme of one yeare the ſumme of a thouſand pounds ſterling: and for the aſſurance thereof, engaged his barony to the King in pledge. Moreouer, about the ſame time, the Kyng ſent Geffrey Biſhoppe of Cheſter, and Richarde Malebiſſe, with Henry de Poyſy, vnto William King of Scotlande, requiring him, that the tyme appoynted for him to make aunſwere touchyng his demaund of Northumberland, might be proroged vntill the feaſt of Saint Michael the Archangell next enſuing, whiche was obteyned, and then the King and Quene (being come to Portſmouth on the Monday in Whitſon weeke) tooke the Sea to paſſe ouer into Normandy, but not both in one Ship, ſo that the Queene with a proſperous gale of winde, arriued there at hir owne deſire: but the Kyng was driuen by reaſon of a pirry, to take lãd in ẏ Iſle of Wight, and ſo was ſtayed ther for a time, howbeit, within a few days after, he tooke ſhip again at Portſmouth, & ſo paſſed ouer into Normandy, wher ſhortly after hys arriuall in thoſe parties he came to an enterview with ẏ K. of Frãce, nere to Liſle Doncly, where comming a lõg time togither alone, they agreede ſo wel ẏ within three days after, K. Iohn at the Frẽch kings requeſt went into France, and was receiued of him with much honor, firſt at S. Diniſe with Proceſſiõ of ẏ Cleargie, and there lodging one night, vpon ẏ morrow the Frẽch K. accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receyued of ẏ Citizẽs with great reuerẽce, the Prouoſt preſenting vnto him in ẏ name of ẏ whole Citie many riche giftes to his welcome. K. Phillip feaſted him alſo in his owne Palace, and for his part gaue vnto him to his Lords and ſeruantes many great & princely giftes. Moreouer, the league at this time was renued betwixt them, & put in writing, with this caution, that whether of them firſt brake the couenaunts, ſuch Lords on his parte as were become ſureties for performãce, ſhuld be releaſed of their allegiance which they ought to him ẏ ſo ſhuld breake, & that they might therevpõ freely become ſubiects to ẏ other prince. Theſe things done, at length after that K. Iohn had remayned at Paris with greate mirth and ſolace certayne days, ẏ French K. brought him forth of the Citie & toke leaue of him in very louing wiſe. After this K. Iohn went to Chinon, & frõ thence into Normandy. About whiche time, there chanced ſome troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacy vnder pretence of a communication that was appoynted betwixt him and Iohn de Curcy, Lorde of Vlneſter, meante to haue taken the ſayd Curcy, and for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe ſet vppon him, ſlew many of his menne, and for hys ſafegard conſtreyned Curcy in the end to take a Caſtell which belonged vnto Hugh Lacy, vppon fayre promiſes made to him by the ſame Hugh, to be preſerued out of all danger, it came to paſſe, that when he was once gote in, he might no more be ſuffred to depart. For ẏ Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to K. Iohn, but the ſeruaunts and friends of the ſayd Curcy, made ſuch cruell warre in waſting and deſtroying the lands & poſſeſſiõs that belonged vnto the ſaid Walter & Hugh Lacyes, that finally they were conſtreined to ſet him againe at libertie whether they woulde or no. At the ſame time alſo, the kings of Fraunce & England gaue large money towards the maintenãce of ẏ army, which at this preſent went forth vnder the leading of the Earle of Flanders and other, to war againſt the enimies of ẏ Chriſtian faith, at ẏ inſtance of Pope Innocent. There was furthermore graunted vnto thẽ the fortith part of all the reuenewes belonging to eccleſiaſtical perſons, towards ẏ ayde of ẏ Chriſtiãs then being in ẏ holy land, & al ſuch as wel of ẏ nobilitie as other of the meaner ſort, which had taken vpõ them ẏ croſſe, & ſecretly laide it downe, were compelled eftſones to receyue it now again. There chanced alſo this yeare wonderfull tempeſts of thunder, lightning, hayle, & abundance of rayne, in ſuch wiſe, ẏ mens minds were greatly aſtonied therwith: meddows and marſh grounds were quite ouerflowen, bridges broken and borne downe, and greate quantitie of corne and hay loſt and carried away, & dyuers men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Conſtance, Duches of Britayne, ſiſter to William King of Scottes, and mother to Henry Boun Erle of Hereford, deceaſſed. This yere alſo by the councell and aduice of the Burgeſſes of London, there were choſen fiue and thirtie of the moſt ſubſtanciall and wiſeſt men, which after the report of ſome writers, were called the councel of the Citie of London, out of whiche number, the Maior and Bailifes were yerely choſen. In the yere. 1202. K. Iohn held his Chriſtmas at Argenton in Normãdy, and in the Lent following, he and the French K. met togither, nere vnto ẏ Caſtell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betweene them, he commanded K. Iohn with no ſmall arrogancie, & contrary to his former promiſe, to reſtore vnto his nephew Arthur Duke of Britaine, all thoſe landes now in his poſſeſſion on that ſide the Sea, which K. Iohn earneſtly denied to doe, wherevpon the French K. immediately after, began war againſt him, & tooke Buteuaunt Augi, and the Caſtel of Linos. Moreouer, he beſieged ẏ Caſtel of Radepont for ẏ ſpace of eight days, till K. Iohn came thither, & forced him to depart with much diſhonor. Howbeit after this, the Frẽch K. wan Gournay, & then returning to Paris, he appointed certaine perſons to haue ẏ gouernãce of ẏ foreſaid

Polidor.

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Iohn.

foreſaid Arthur Duke of Britain, & then ſent him forth with two C. men of armes into Poictou, yͤ he might bring yͤ countrey alſo vnder his ſubiection. Hereupon Hugh le Brun Erle of Marche (vnto whom Queene Iſabell the wife of King Iohn had beene promiſed in mariage before that king Iohn was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inwarde diſpleaſure towards the king of England, for that he had ſo bereft him of his promiſed ſpouſe) being now deſirous to procure ſome trouble alſo vnto king Iohn, ioineth himſelf with Arthure Duke of Britaine, and findeth meanes to cauſe them of Poictou (a people euer ſubiect to rebellion) to reuolt from king Iohn, and to take armor agaynſt him, ſo that the yong Arthur being encouraged with this newe ſupplie of aſſociates, firſt goeth into Touraine, and after into Aniou, compelling both thoſe countreyes to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and proclaymed hymſelf Erle of thoſe places, by commiſſion & graunt obteyned from king Philip.

lidor.

ugh Earle of arche

he Poicta-ins reuolt frō ing Iohn.

rthure pro-limeth him-lie Erle ot niou.&c.

Queene Elenor that was Regent in thoſe parties being put in great feare with the newes of this ſodaine ſturre, getteth hir into Mirabeau a ſtrong towne, ſituate in the Countrey of Aniou, and forthwith diſpatcheth a meſſenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of ſpeedy ſuccor in this hir preſent daunger. In the meane time, Arthur ſtil following the victory, ſhortly after followeth hir, and winneth Mirabeau, where he taketh his grandmother within the ſame, whō he yet intreateth verie honorably, and with great reuerence (as ſome haue reported.) But other write farre more truly, that ſhee was not taken, but eſcaped into a Tower, within the which ſhee was ſtraytly beſieged. Thither came to ayd Arthur alſo, all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, & namely the foreſayd Earle of Marche according to appoyntment betwixt them. And ſo by this meanes Arthur had a great army togither in the field. King Iohn in the meane time hauing receyued his mothers letters, and vnderſtanding thereby in what daunger ſhe ſtoode, was maruellouſly troubled with yͤ ſtrangeneſſe of the newes, and with many bitter words accuſeth the French K. as an vntrue prince, & a frandulēt league breaker: and in al haſt poſſible ſpeedeth him forth, continuing his iourney for the moſte part both daye and night to come to the ſuccours of his people. To be briefe, he vſed ſuch diligence that hee was vpon his enimies necks ere they could vnderſtand any thing of his cōming, or geſſe what the matter ment, when they ſaw ſuch a companie of ſouldiers as he brought with him to approche ſo neare the Citie. For ſo negligent were they, that hauing once wonne the towne, they raunged abrode ouer the countrey hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a ſodaine feare, as preuented by the haſty comming of the enimies vppon them, and wanting leyſure to take aduice what was beſt to be done, and hauing not time in maner to get any armor on theyr backes, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were beſt for them to fight or to flee, to yeeld or to reſiſt. This their fear being apparant to the Engliſh men (by their diſorder ſhewed in running vp and downe frō place to place with great noyſe and turmoyle) they ſet vpon them with great violence, and compaſſing them round about, they either take or ſlea them in a maner at their pleaſure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they purſue the chaſe towards the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great haſt to enter, but ſuch ſpeede was vſed by the Engliſh ſouldiers at that preſent, that they entred and wanne the ſayde towne before their enimies coulde come neare to get into it. Great ſlaughter was made within

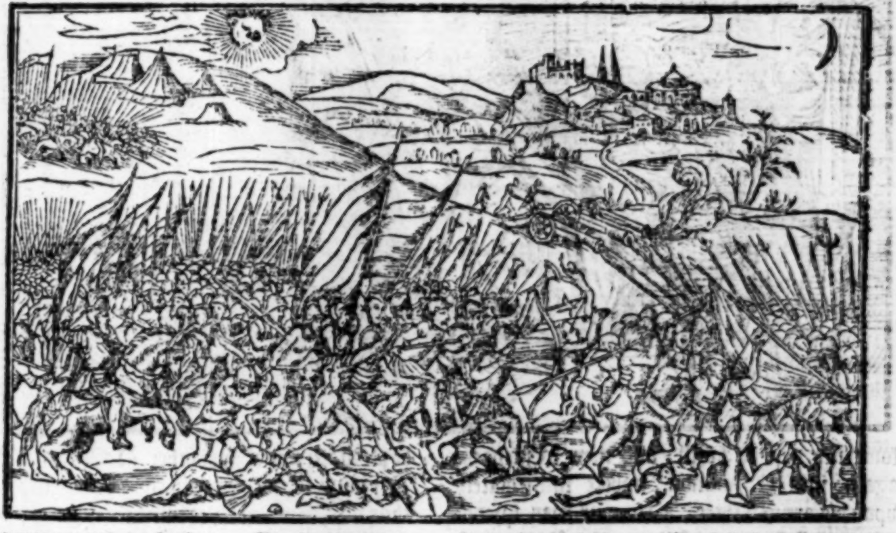
ueene Ele-nor.

Mat. Par.

Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

King Iohn cōmeth vpon his enimies not looked for.



Arthure duke of Brytaine taken priſoner.

Mat. Par.

Mirabeau it ſelfe, and Arthure with the reſidue of the army that eſcaped with life from the firſt bickering, was taken, who being hereupon committed to priſon, firſt at Faleyſe, and after within the Citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you ſhall heare. The other of the pryſoners were alſo committed vnto ſafe keeping, ſome into caſtels within Normãdie, and ſome were ſent into Englãd.

King Iohn hauing got this victorie, and taken his nephew Arthure, he wrote the maner of that his ſucceſſe vnto his Barons in England, in forme as followeth.

De Caſtre Eralde.

252. knightes or men of armes beſide demelances.

Iohn by the grace of God king of England, and Lorde of Irelande, to all his Barons ſendeth greeting. Knowe ye that we by Gods good fauour are in ſounde and perfect health, and throwe Gods grace that maruellouſlye worketh with vs, on Tueſday before Lammaſſe day, wee being before the Citie of Mauns, were aduertiſed that our mother was beſieged in Mirabeau, and therefore we haſted ſo faſt as we poſſible might, ſo that wee came thither on Lammaſſe daye, and there wee tooke our nephew Arthure, Hugh le Brun, Andrewe de Chauenye, the Vicont of Chateau Eralde, Reymonde de Touars, Sauary de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other enimies of Poictou that were there aſſembled agaynſt vs, to the number of two hundred knightes and aboue, ſo that not one of them eſcaped. Giue God therefore thankes, and reioyce at our good ſucceſſe.

The Frenche king at the ſame time lying at ſiege before Arques, immediately vpon the newes of this ouerthrowe rayſed from thence, and returned homewardes, deſtroyed all that came in his waye, till hee was entred into his owne Countrey.

An.

It is ſayde that king Iohn cauſed his nephew Arthure to be brought before him at Falaiſe, and there went aboute to perſwade him all that hee coulde to forſake his friendſhip and alliance with the French king, and to leane and ſticke to him being his naturall vncle: but Arthur like one that wanted good counſel, and abounding too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a preſumptuous anſwere, not onely denying ſo to do, but alſo cõmaunded King Iohn to reſtore vnto him the realme of Englande, with all thoſe other landes and poſſeſſions which king Richarde had in hys hand at the houre of his death. For ſith the ſame apperteyned to him by right of inheritance, he aſſured him except reſtitutiõ were made the ſooner, hee ſhoulde not long continue in reſt and quiet. King Iohn being ſore amoued with ſuch wordes thus vttred by his nephew, appointed (as before is ſayde) that he ſhoulde be ſtraytely kept in priſon, as firſt in Falais, and after at Roan within the new Caſtell there.

Mat.Pa

King Ioh

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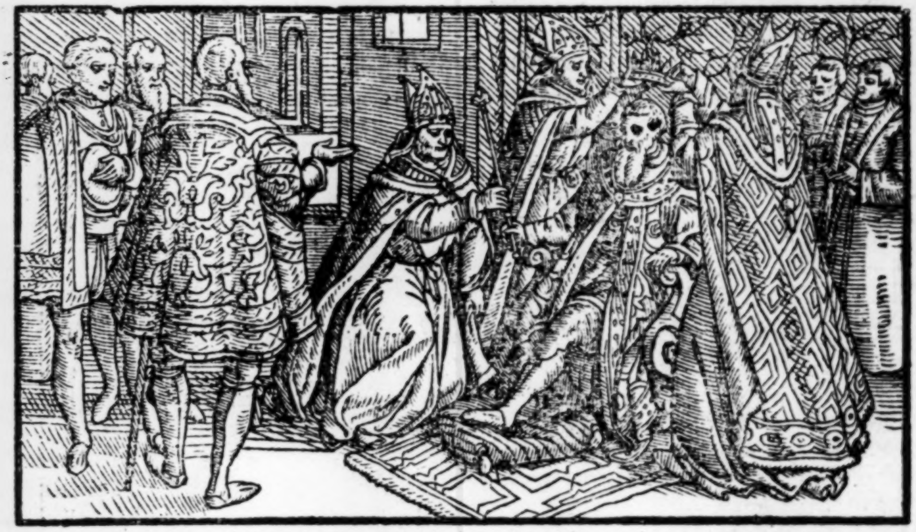
Thus by meanes of this good ſucceſſe, the Countreyes of Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou were recouered. And ſhortly after king Iohn comming ouer into Englande, cauſed himſelfe to bee crowned agayne at Canterburie by the handes of Hubert the Archbiſhop there on the



Rauſe Cog.

fourtenth day of Aprill, and then went backe againe into Normandie, where immediately vpon his arriuall there, a rumour was ſpredde through all Fraunce, of the death of his nephew Arthure. True it is that great ſute was made to haue Arthur ſet at libertie, as well by the Frenche king, as by William de Riches a valiant Baron of Poictou, and diuerſe other Noble men of the Brytains, who when they could not preuayle in their ſute, they banded themſelues togither, and ioyning in confederacie with Robert Erle of Alenſon, the vicont Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie ſharp warres agaynſt King Iohn in dyuerſe places inſomuch as it was thought that ſo long as Arthur liued, there woulde be no quiet in thoſe parties: wherevpon it was reported, that king Iohn through perſwaſion of his Counſellers appoynted certaine perſons to go vnto Falays where Arthure was kept in priſon vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yong Gentlemans eyes. But through ſuch reſiſtance as he made agaynſt one of the tormenters that came to execute the kings commaundement (for the other rather forſooke their Prince and Countrey, than they would conſent to obey the kings commaundement herein) and ſuch lamentable wordes as he vttered, Hubert de Bourgh did preſerue hym from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thankes than diſpleaſure at the Kings handes, for delyuering hym of ſuch infamie as woulde haue redounded vnto his highneſſe, if the yong Gentleman had beene ſo cruellye dealt with. For he conſidered king Iohn had reſolued vpon this poynt onely in ſome furie, and that afterwardes vppon better aduiſement, hee woulde both repente himſelfe ſo to haue commaunded, and conne them ſmall thanke that ſhoulde ſee it put in execution: but yet to ſatiſfie hys mynde for the tyme, and to ſtaye the rage of the Brytains, he cauſed it to bee bruted abrode throughe the Countrey, that the kings commaundement was fulfilled, and that Arthure alſo through ſorrow and griefe was departed out of this life. For the ſpace of fifteene dayes, thys rumour inceſſauntly ranne through both the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and there was rynging for hym through Townes and Villages, as it had bene for his funerals.

It was alſo bruyted, that his bodie was buryed in the Monaſterie of Saint Androwes of the Ciſteaux order. But when the Brytaines were nothing pacifyed, but rather kindled more vehemently to worke all the miſchiefe they could deuiſe in reuenge of their Soueraignes death: there was no remedie but to ſignifie abroade againe that Arthure was as yet lyuing and in health. And when the king heard the truth of all thys matter, he was nothing diſpleaſed for that his commaundement was not executed, ſithe there were diuerſe of hys Captaynes which vttered in plaine wordes, that he ſhoulde not finde knightes to keepe his Caſtelles, if he dealt ſo cruelly with his nephew. For if it chaunced any of them to bee taken by the king of Fraunce or other their aduerſaryes, they ſhoulde be ſure to taſt of the like cup.

But nowe touching the maner in very deede of the ende of this Arthur, wryters make ſundrie reportes: But certaine it is, that in the yeare next enſuyng, hee was remoued from Falais vnto the Caſtell or Tower of Rouen, oute of the which there was not anye that woulde confeſſe that euer he ſawe him aliue.

Some haue written, that as hee aſſayed to haue eſcaped out of priſon, and prouing to climbe ouer the walles of the Caſtell, hee fell into the Ryuer of Sayne, and ſo was drowned. Other write, that through verie griefe and languor hee pyned away, and died of naturall ſickneſſe. But ſome affyrme, that King Iohn ſecretely cauſed him to be murthered and made away, ſo as it is not throughly as yet agreed vpon, in what ſort hee finiſhed hys dayes: but verily King Iohn was had in great ſuſpition, whether worthily or not, the Lorde knoweth. Yet howe extreemelye ſoeuer he dealt with his nephew, diuerſe of thoſe Lordes that were taken priſoners with him he releaſed and ſet at libertie, namely Hugh le Brun, and Sauerye de Mauleon, the one to his greate trouble and hynderaunce, and the other to his gayne: For Hugh le Brun afterwardes leuyed and occaſioned ſore warres agaynſt hym; but Sauerie de Mauleon continued euer after hys faythfull and loyall ſubiect, doyng to him right agreeable ſeruice, as partly hereafter it maye appeare.

The Lord Guie, ſonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Conſtance to wife, after the deuorce made betwixt hir & the Erle of Cheſter, in right of hir obteyned the dukedome of Britain. But king Philip after he was aduertiſed of Arthurs death, tooke the matter very grieuouſly. And vpō occaſiō therof, cited K. Iohn to appeare before him at a certain day, to anſwer ſuch obiections as Conſtance the duches of Brytain, mother to the ſaid Arthur, ſhould lay to hys charge touching the murther of hir ſon. And for bycauſe K. Iohn appeared not, he was therefore cōdemned in the Action, & adiudged to forfeite all that he held within the precinct of France, aſwell Normādy as all his other lands and dominions.

Guy ſonne to the vicount of Touars.

Conſtance the mother of duke Arthure accuſeth king Iohn.

About the ſame time the king cauſed a proclamation to bee publiſhed for the lawfull aſſiſe of breade to bee made by the Bakers, vpon payne to be puniſhed by the Pillorie. The which aſſiſe was approued and aſſeſſed by the Baker of Geffrey Fitz Peter, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England, and by the Baker of Robert de Tuinham. So that the Baker might ſell and gayne in euerye quarter three pence, beſide the bran, and two loues for the heater of the ouen, & for foure ſeruants foure halfpens, for two boyes a farthing, for allowance for ſalt an halfpeny, yeſt an halfpeny, for candell a farthing, for fewell three pens, and for a bulter an halfpeny. And this was the rate. When wheate was ſolde for .vj. ſhillings the quarter, then ſhall euery loafe of fine manchet wey .xlj. ſ. and euery loafe of cheate ſhall wey .xxiiij. ſ. Whē wheate is ſolde for .v. ſ. vj. pens, then manchet ſhall

Mat. Par.

The ordinance for the aſſiſe of breade.

ſhal wey.xx.ſhillings, and cheat.xxviij.ſhillings. When wheate is ſold for fiue ſhillings, thẽ manchet ſhall wey.xxiiij. ſhillings, and cheate breade xxxij.ſhillings. When wheate is ſold for foure ß. vj.d. Manchet ſhal wey.xxxij.ß.and cheate.xlij. ſhillings. When wheate is ſolde for foure ſhillings, manchet ſhall wey.xxxvj.ß.& cheate.xlvj. ſhillings. When wheate is ſolde for three.ß. ſixe pence, then ſhall manchet wey.xlij.ſhillings, and cheate.liiij.ſhillings. When wheate is ſolde for three ſhillings, manchet ſhall wey. xlviij. ß. and cheate.lxiiij.ß. When wheate is ſolde for two.ß. ſixe pence, manchet ſhall wey.liiij.ß. and cheate lxxij.ß. When wheat is ſold for two.ß.manchet ſhall wey.lx. ſhillings, and cheate foure pound. When wheate is ſold for.xviij.pence the quarter, Manchet ſhall wey.lxxviij. ſhillings, and cheate foure.℔.viij.ß. This ordinance was proclaimed throughout the Realme, as moſt neceſſarie and profitable for the common wealth.

Great tẽpeſts.

This yeare many wonderfull things happened, for beſides the ſore winter which paſſed any other that had beene heard of in many yeares before, both for continuance in length, and extreme coldneſſe of froſtes, there followed griſely tempeſtes, with thunder, lightning, and ſtormes of raine, and haile of the bigneſſe of hennes egges, wherewith much fruites, and much corne was periſhed, beſides other great hurt done vpõ houſes and yong cattel. Alſo ſpirites (as it was thought) in likeneſſe of byrdes and foules were ſeene in the ayre fleeing with fire in their beakes, wherewith they ſet diuerſe houſes on fire whiche did import great troubles ere long to enſue, and followed in deed, as ſhal appere hereafter.

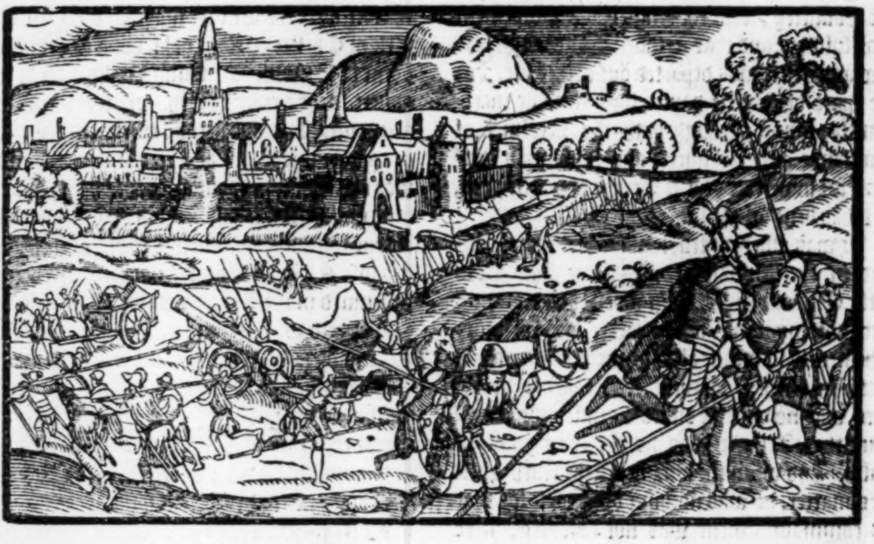
1203

Mat. Pa

With this entrance of the yeare of our Lorde. 1203. King Iohn helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, where not hauing (as ſome wryters ſay) ſufficient regarde to the neceſſarie affayres of hys warres, he gaue his mynde to banquetting, and paſſed the tyme in pleaſure wyth the Queene his wife, to the great griefe of his Lordes, ſo that they perceyuing his recchleſſe demeanour (or as ſome write, the doubtfull myndes of the Nobilitie whiche ſerued on that ſyde, and were readie dayly to reuolt from his obedience) wythdrew theyr dutifull heartes from him, and therefore gettyng licence, they returned home into Englande.

An. re

In which meane tyme the French King, to bring his purpoſe to full effect, entred into Normandie, waſted the Countreys, and wanne the townes of Cowches, le Val de Rueil, and Liſle Dandele. Le Val de Rueil, was giuen ouer without any great enforcement of aſſault, by two Noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Walter, and the other Saer de Quincy. Howbeit Liſle Dandeley was valiãtly for a certaine tyme defended by Roger de Lacie the Coneſtable of Cheſter. But at length they within were ſo conſtrayned by famin and long ſiege, that the ſayd Lacie and other perceyuing it to be more honourable for thẽ to die by the ſword than to ſterue through want of foode, brake out vpon theyr enimies, and ſlue a great ſorte of the French men, but yet in the ende they were taken priſoners, and ſo theſe Fortreſſes came into the French kings hands.



Mat. Par.
Polidor.
The French k. inuadeth Normandie.

Roger de L
Coneſtable
Cheſter

The Pope hearing of theſe variances betwixt the two Kings, ſent the Abbot of Caſiner into France, accompanied with the Abbot of Troyſſons to moue them to a peace.

The Pope
deth his
into Fran

Theſe two Abbottes tooke ſuche paynes in the matter, that the Kings were almoſt brought to agrement. But the Frenche King perceyuing himſelf to haue a forehand in his buſineſſe, ſticked at one article, which was, to repayre agayne all ſuch Abbays as he had deſtroyed within the dominions of King Iohn: And King Iohn to doe the lyke by all thoſe thad hee hadde waſted within the French kings Countreys.

guinus.

The Popes *Nuncij* woulde haue excommunicated king Philip, bycauſe he woulde not thus agree. But king Philip appealing from them, purſued the warre, and beſieged the Towne of Radpont. The Souldiers within the towne defended the firſt aſſault verie manfully, and cauſed the Frenchmen to retyre backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne ere hee departed, did ſo incloſe it about, that within tenne dayes he wanne it, and tooke there twentie menne of armes, an hundred demilances, and twentie Arcbaleſters.

lidor.

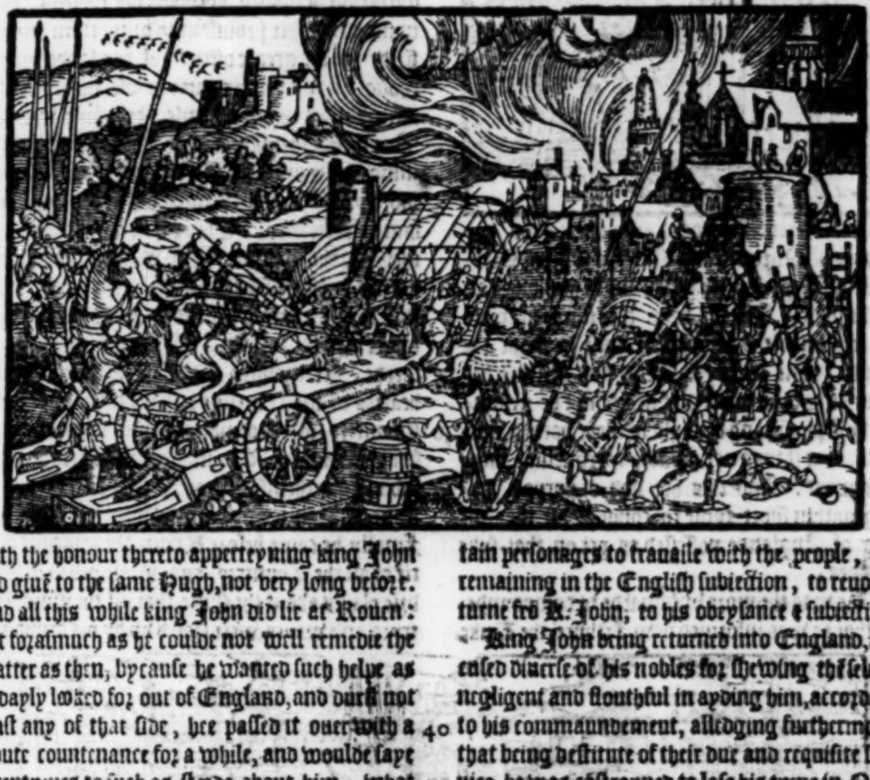
Radpont won.

After this, when hee had fortifyed this place, he went to Caſtel Galiard, which he beſieged (and though by the high valiancie of Hugh de Gourney the Captayne there, the French men were manfully beaten backe, and kept out for a month and more, yet at length by ſtrayte ſiege and neare approches hardily made, the fortreſſe was deliuered into the French kings handes. And in the ende the ſayde Hugh Gourney reuolted from his obedience, deliuering alſo the Caſtell of Mountforte vnto the Frenche King, whiche Caſtell with the honour thereto apperteyning king Iohn had giuē to the ſame Hugh, not very long before. And all this while king Iohn did lie at Rouen: but foraſmuch as he coulde not well remedie the matter as then, bycauſe he wanted ſuch helpe as he dayly looked for out of England, and durſt not truſt any of that ſide, hee paſſed it ouer with a ſtoute countenance for a while, and woulde ſaye oftentymes to ſuch as ſtoode about him, what elſe doth my couſin the French king nowe, than ſteale thoſe things from me, whiche hereafter I ſhall indeuour my ſelfe to cauſe him to reſtore with intereſt? But when hee ſawe that his enimies would ſtill proceede, and that no ayde came out of Englande, he came ouer himſelfe, and landed at Porteſmouth on Saint Nicholas day.

Caſtel Galiard

Mat. Paris.

Hugh de Gourney reuolteth from king Iohn.



lidor.

ng Iohn
neth backe
o England.

King Philip doubting by vſing the victorie with to much rygour, leaſt he ſhoulde bring the Normans into a deſperate boldneſſe, and ſo to cauſe them for ſafegarde of theyr lyues to hazarde all vpon reſiſtance, he ſtayed for a tyme, & withdrewe his ſouldiers backe agayne into Fraunce, hauing not onely furniſhed thoſe places in the meane tyme whiche he had wonne, with ſtrong garniſons of his ſouldiers, but alſo appointed certain perſonages to trauaile with the people, yet remaining in the Engliſh ſubiection, to reuolt & turne frō K. Iohn, to his obeyſance & ſubiection.

King Iohn being returned into England, accuſed diuerſe of his nobles for ſhewing thē ſelues negligent and ſlouthful in ayding him, according to his commaundement, alledging furthermore, that being deſtitute of their due and requiſite ſeruice, he was cōſtrayned to loſe his tyme in Normandie, as not being able for want of their ayde to reſiſt his enimies. Wherfore for this and other matters layd to their charges, he did put them to grieuous fines. By meane whereof, and by leuying of a ſubſedie of his people, he got togither an huge ſumme of money. This ſubſedie was granted to him in Parliament holden at Oxford, and begon there vpon the ſeconde of Ianuarie. 1204. wherein of euery knightes fee was graunted the ſumme of two Markes and an halfe. Neyther were the Biſhops, nor the Abbots, nor any other eccleſiaſticall perſons exempt, by meanes wherof he ranne firſt into the hatred of the Clergie, and conſequently of many other of his ſubiects: ſo that they failed him at his neede, whereby he often ſuſteined no ſmal damage, as after it may appeare.

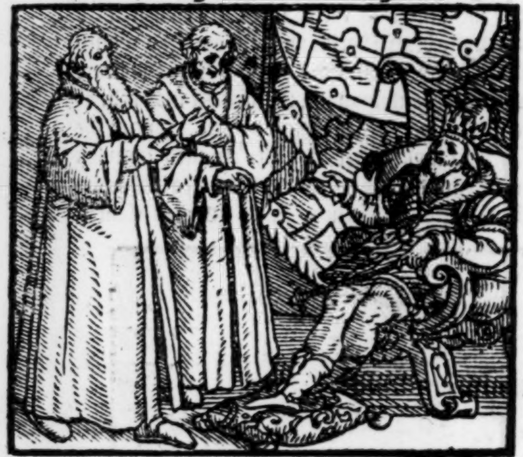
Math. Paris.

A Parliament at Oxforde.

1204

A ſubſedie graunted.

This yere the ayre toward the north and eaſt parties ſeemed to be on a bright fire for the ſpace of .vj. houres togither. It beganne about the firſt watch of the night, the firſt of Aprill.



An. Reg. 5.

Raufe Cog.
Ambaſſadors ſent into Frāce

King John about the beginning of thys ſixt yere of his raigne, ſent in Ambaſſage to the Frēch King the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhoppes of Norwich and Elie, the Earles Marſhall and Leyceſter, to treate wyth him of peace: but he was ſo farre off from comming neare to any reaſonable motions, bycauſe he ſawe the worlde frame as hee wiſhed, that ſtill by demaunding ſomewhat that might not be graunted, he kept off, and brought in ſuche hard conditions, that it was not poſſible to conclude anye agreement. And this hee dyd of purpoſe, hoping within ſhort tyme to conquer all that the king of Englande poſſeſſed as yet on that ſyde the Seas.

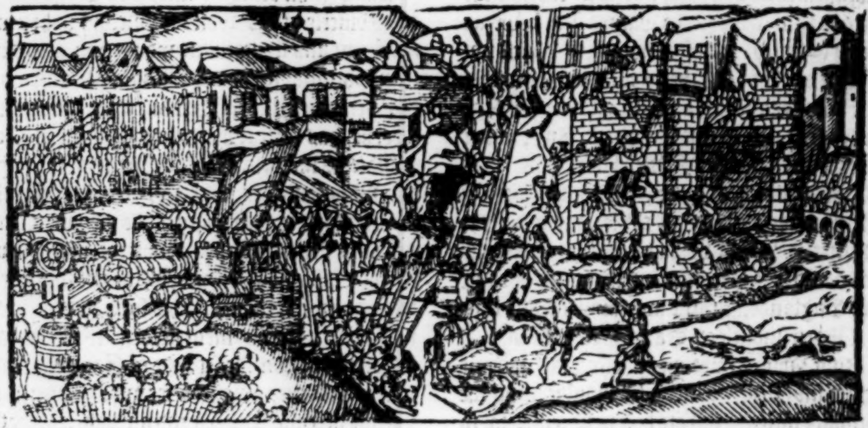
He was the more vntowarde to compounde, for that he was informed how Arthure the Duke of Brytayne was diſpatched out of hys lyfe, and therefore not doubting but to haue many to take part with him in ſeeking reuenge of his death, he made that his chiefe quarell, ſwearing that he woulde not ceaſſe to purſue the warre agaynſte King John, till hee had depriued him of hys whole Kingdome. So the Ambaſſadors departed wythoute all hope to come to anye agreement.

Thys yeare Eaſter day fell ſo high as it poſſibly might, that is to witte, on Saint Markes day.

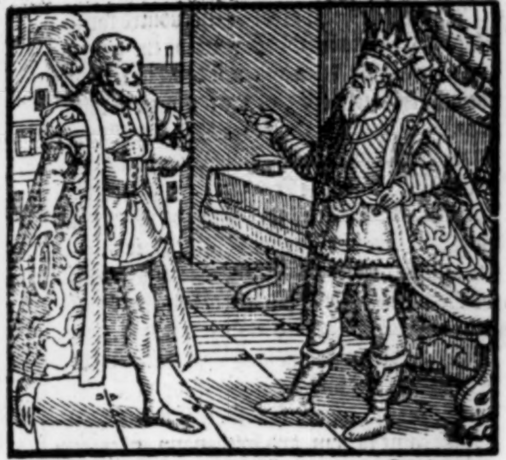
Townes
by the Fr
king.

Rouen
ged by the
French ki

King Philip vnderſtanding that king John remayned ſtill in Englande, rather occupyed in gathering of money amongſt his ſubiects, than in making other prouiſion to bring them into the fielde (to the greate offence of hys ſayde people) thought nowe for his parte to loſe no tyme: but aſſembling a mightie armie, hee came with the ſame into Normandie, and vpon his firſt comming, hee wanne the Towne of Falayſe, and ſhortly after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by ſurrender. This done, he marched further into the Countrey, and with his ſodaine inuaſion ſo oppreſſed the people euery where, that they coulde haue no time to make ſhift by flight to get into the townes. With this ſwiftneſſe of ſpeede, hee brought alſo ſuche a feare into the heartes of moſte menne, that hee wanne all the Countrey of Normandie euen vnto Mounte Saint Michaell. The inhabitants in euery place ſubmitting themſelues, as thoſe of Bayeulx, Cōſtances, Liſeux, and other townes there aboutes. Finally, he came before Rouen, the principal Citie of all the Countrey, and incamped ſo in ſundrie places about the Citie, that all the iſſues, entryes and wayes, were cloſed vp by his armie, being ſo deuided into ſeuerall campes, that the diſtance was not great from one to another, making a terrible ſhew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, and taken good aduice of his captaynes how he ſhoulde beſt imploy his force for the winning of this Citie, (in which exployte he knewe the full perfection of al his paſſed conqueſts, chiefly to conſiſt) he did manfully aſſault it, and they within as manfully defended themſelues, ſo that he got little by the aſſaultes and approches which he made. Wherevpon he fell in hande to



practiſe with the Citizens to winne them wyth meede, curteſie, gentle ſpeeche, and great promiſes. At length they within were ſo moued with ſuch reaſons as he vſed to perſwade them withall, that they made requeſt for a truce to bee had for certaine dayes, wythin the tearme whereof if no ſuccor came, they couenanted to yeeld without any further trouble.



This truce being obteyned, Ambaſſadours were ſent from them of Rouen into England, to ſignifie vnto king Iohn the whole ſtate of the citie, and of the truce, ſo that if ayd came not within the tyme appoynted, the Citie muſt needes be deliuered into the enimyes handes. The king hauing no armie in readyneſſe to ſende out, nor other ſhyft to make for the ſuccour of the Citie, permytted the Ambaſſadours to depart wythout comfort of any ayde, who hereupon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they hadde hearde, ſeene, and founde, brought the Citie into great ſorrowe. For whereas that Citie had euer beene accuſtomed to glorie for the greate loyaltie and faythfull fidelitie whiche the ſame had euer ſhewed towardes theyr liege Lordes and naturall Princes, nowe the Citizens perceyued manifeſtly, that vnleſſe they woulde caſt awaye themſelues, and loſe all they had, they muſt of force yeelde into the handes of theyr enimyes. Wherefore yet to make theyr true allegiance more apparant to the worlde, they ſtayed the ſurrender as long as they had anye ſtore of vittayles wythin the Citie to relieue theyr fainting bodies withall. And ſo in the ende vanquiſhed with hunger, they ſubmitted themſelues to the French king. Theyr ſubmiſſion being onſe knowne, cauſed all thoſe other townes whiche had not yeelded, to delyuer vp theyr Keyes vnto the Frenche men, as Arques, Vernueill, and other.

he great fi- elitie of the itizens of ouen.

ouē through amin is ſur- endred to the rench king.

Moreouer the townes in Poictou, Tourain, & Aniou, which lately before king Iohn had recouered, do now again (being in no ſmal feare) yeeld themſelues vnto king Philip: ſo that of all the townes within thoſe Countreys there remayned none vnder the Engliſh obeiſance, ſaue only Rochelle, Tours, Niorth, and a few other. And thus Normãdy which king Rollo had purchaſed and gotten. 316. yeares before that preſent time, was then recouered by the Frenchmen, to the great reproche and diſhonour of the Engliſhe, in this yeare. 1204.

Mat. Par.

About this time, Queene Elenor the mother of king Iohn departed this life, conſumed rather through ſorow and anguiſh of minde than of any other naturall infirmitie.

In this firſt yeare of king Iohns raigne, at Orford in Suffolke, as Fabian hath (although I thinke he be deceiued in the time) a fiſh was taken by fiſhers in their nettes as they were at ſea, reſembling in ſhape a wilde or ſauage man, whō they preſented vnto Sir Bartholmew de Glanuille knight, that had then the keeping of the Caſtell of Orford in Suffolk. Naked he was, and in all his limmes and members reſembling the right proportion of a man. He had heares alſo in the vſual parts of his body, albeit that on ẏ crowne of his head he was balde: his beard was ſide and rugged, and his breaſt verie hearie. The knight cauſed him to be kept certaine dayes and nightes from the ſea. Meate ſet afore him he greedily deuoured, and eate fiſhe both raw and ſodde. Thoſe that were rawe he preſſed in his hande tyll he had thruſt out all the moyſture, and ſo then he did eate them. Hee woulde not, or coulde not vtter any ſpeeche, although to trye him they hung hym vppe by the heeles, and myſerably tormented him. He woulde get him to his Couche at the ſetting of the Sunne, and ryſe agayne when it roſe.

By Rauſe Coggeſhals report this ſhould ſeeme to haue chanced in the dayes of king Henrie the ſeconde.

A fiſh like to a man.

One day they brought him to the hauen, and ſuffered him to go into the ſea, but to be ſure hee ſhould not eſcape from them, they ſet three ranks of mightie ſtrong nettes before him, ſo to catche him againe at their pleaſure (as they ymagined) but he ſtreyght wayes dyuing downe to the bottome of the water, gotte paſt all the Nettes, and comming vppe ſhewed himſelfe to them againe, that ſtoode wayting for him, and dowking dyuerſe tymes vnder water and comming vp agayne, hee behelde them on the Shore that ſtoode ſtill looking at him, who ſeemed as it were to mocke them, for that he had deceyued them, and gotte paſt theyr Nettes. At length after hee had thus played him a great while in the water, and that there was no more hope of hys returne, he came to them againe of his owne accorde, ſwimming through the water, and remayned wyth them two Monethes after. But finally, when hee was negligently looked to, and nowe ſeemed not to bee regarded, hee fledde ſecretelye to the ſea, and was neuer after ſeene nor heard of.

This much out of Rauſe Coggeſhall, who affyrmeth that this chaunced in the dayes of Henrie the ſeconde, aboute the. xxxiij. of hys raigne, as Iohn Stowe in his Summarie hath alſo noted.

Iohn Stow.

The warre was mightily mainteyned all this while betwixt them of Poictou and Aquitayne, and many ſharpe encounters chaunced betwyxt the partyes, of which the one following the king of Englandes Lieutenaunt Robert de Turnham, valiantly reſiſted the other that helde wyth the French king vnder the conduct of William des Roches, and Hugh le Brun erle of Marche, chiefe leaders of that faction. But Robert de Turnham, togyther with Sauarie de Mauleon, and Gerarde de Atie, bare themſelues ſo manfully, that in all conflictes for the moſt part, the victorie remayned on their ſides.

The Gaſcoignes alſo tooke part with king Iohn, and continued in dutifull obedience towardes him, for the which theyr loyaltie, he was readie to conſider them with princely gyftes, and beneficiall rewardes, in ſuch bountifull wiſe, that hee gaue vnto a Noble man of that Countrey named Moreue, the ſumme of. xxviij. thouſande Markes to leuie and wage thirtie thouſande men to ayde hym at his comming ouer into thoſe partyes.

The Archbiſhop of Burdeaux, that was brother vnto the foreſaid Moreue, became ſuretie for performance of the couenants, and remayned in England a long time, bycauſe the ſame coue nãts were not in all poynts accompliſhed.

The Biſhop of London was ſent Ambaſſadour from king Iohn vnto the Emperour vpon certaine earneſt buſineſſe. The Duke of Louayne, and the Earle of Bollongne were made friendes by the French Kings drift, and promiſed to inuade Englande wyth an armye, and to make warre agaynſt King Iohn for the withholding of ſuche landes and reuenues as they claymed to be due vnto them, in right of theyr wyues.

King Philip alſo vndertooke to follow them within a Month after they ſhould be entred into Englande, and thus did the French king ſeeke to make him ſtrong with friends, which dayly fell from king Iohn on eche hande. Godfrey biſhop of Wincheſter, that was ſonne to the Lorde Richard de Lucy departed this life.

1205

This yeare the King was on Chriſtmaſſe day at Teukeſburie, where hee ſtayed not paſt one day.

An extreeme froſt.

The. xiiij. day of Ianuarie it began to freeſe, and ſo continued tyll the. xxij. of Marche, wyth ſuch extreemitie, that the huſbande men coulde not make their tilth, by reaſon whereof in the Sommer following corne began to grow to an exceſſiue price, ſo that wheate was ſolde by the quarter at. xij. ß. of money then currant.

An. Re
Polid
Mat.Pa

King Ioh
preparet
armie to p
into Fra

This yeare about the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the king by the aduice of his Counſell aſſembled at Northampton, prepared a nauie of ſhippes, muſtred ſouldiers, and ſhewed great tokens that hee woulde renue the warre, and ſeeke to be reuenged of his enimie the French king.

The Nobles of the realme endeuoured themſelues alſo to matche the diligence of the king in this preparation, vpon an erneſt deſire to reuenge the iniuries lately done to the common wealth. And when all things were readie, and the ſhippes fraught with vittayles, armour, and al other prouiſions neceſſarie, the King came to Porcheſter, there to take the Sea, purpoſing verily to paſſe ouer into Fraunce, in hope of ſuche fayre promiſes as his friendes of Normandie and Poictou had made, in ſending oftentymes to him, to procure him wyth ſpeede to come to theyr ſuccours. But nowe euen as the king was readie to enter a Shipbourde, Hubert Archbyſhop of Canterburie, and William Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke came to hym, and with many greate reaſons went aboute to perſwade him to ſtaye hys iourney. And although he was very loath to follow theyr counſaile, yet they put forth ſo manye doubtes and daungers that myght follow of his departing the Realme at that preſent, to the hazarding of the whole ſtate, that in the ende (ſore to his griefe) hee was ouercome by theyr importunate perſwaſions, and ſo diſmiſſing the moſte part of his armie, he appoynted his brother the Earle of Saliſburie with a certaine number of knights and men of armes to paſſe ouer into Rochell, whither was gone before hym the Lorde Geffrey the Kings baſe Sonne, wyth many other Knightes alſo and men of armes.

Rauſe Co

The Arc
ſhop of Ca
terburie
the Earle
Pembroke
ſwade th
to ſtay a
home.

The Lordes and other that were diſmiſſed, tooke it verie euill, conſidering the great preparation that had bin made for that iourney. But ſpecially the Mariners were ſore offended, curſing the Archbiſhop, and the ſayde Earle of Pembrooke, that were knowne to bee Authours of ſo naughtie counſayle as they tooke this to be.

It was thought there was neuer ſo many ſhippes got togither at one tyme before, as were at that preſent, to haue attended the King: for (as wryters haue recorded) there were to the number of fourteene thouſande Mariners that had brought theyr Shippes thyther for that purpoſe. But as the breaking vp of this voyage grieued others, ſo it pynched the King ſo neare the heart, that hee beeing come backe from the Sea ſide to Wincheſter, repented ſo muche that he had not gone forwarde with his iourney, that the next day he returned again to the coaſt, and at

The king
penting hi
goeth back
to the ki

Porteſmouth

goeth to
ſea the.xv.
Iuly, as ſom
thors haue.

Portesmouth, entring the ſea with his ſhips, on the.xv.of Iuly he ſailed to the Ile of Wight, and waſted vp and downe for the ſpace of two dayes togither, till by aduice of his friendes, he was perſwaded not to aduenture to paſſe ouer, ſithe his armie was diſmiſſed and gone home, and ſo hee returned backe to the Shore againe, arriuing at Stodlande, neare vnto Warham the thirde day after his ſetting forth: yet ſuch as were behynde, and haſted after him, thought verily he had beene gone ouer, and ſuche a bruyte was ſpredde ouer all, tyll at length in tyme the truthe was knowne.

At his comming backe (as ſome write) hee charged certaine of the Nobilitie wyth treaſon, bycauſe they did not follow him: whereuppon ſhortly after he puniſhed them ryght grieuouſly, and peraduenture not withoute ſome grounde of iuſt cauſe. For likelye it is, that ſome greater matter there was, that forced him to breake vp his iourney, then appeareth in our wryters, although Rauſe Cogheſhall ſetteth downe ſome reaſons alledged by the Archbiſhoppe Hubert, and Earle Marſhall, to perſwade him not to depart the Realme: But peraduenture other cauſes there were alſo of farre more importaunce that conſtreyned hym ſo greatly agaynſte hys mynde and full reſolution, both at the firſt, and nowe at thys ſeconde tyme to returne. Verily to vtter my coniecture, it maye bee that vppon hys laſte determination to goe ouer, hee gaue newe commaundement to hys Lordes to followe hym, and they peraduenture vſed not ſuche diligence in accompliſhing hys pleaſure therein, as hee looked they ſhoulde haue done: or it may be, when the armie was once diſcharged, the Souldiers made ſuche haſte homewardes, eche man towardes hys Countrey, that it was no eaſie matter to bryng them backe againe in anye conuenient time. But howſoeuer it was, as it had beene vppon a chaunge of purpoſe, hee came backe agayne (as before yee haue hearde.)

The.xiiij. of Iuly Hubert Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, departed this life at Tenham, the king not beeing greatlye ſorie for his death (as ſome haue wrytten) bycauſe hee gathered ſome ſuſpition that hee bare too muche good will towardes the French king.

The death of
the archbiſhop
of Canterbury
Mat. Par.
Polidore.

In verye deede (as ſome wryte) the Archebiſhop repented himſelfe of nothing ſo muche, as for that he hadde commended King Iohn vnto the Noble menne and Peeres of the Realme, ſith hee prooued an other manner manne than hee looked to haue founde hym. Thys Archebiſhoppe hadde gouerned the See of Canterburie eleuen yeares, eight monethes, and ſixe dayes.

After his deceaſe, the Monkes of Canterburie without knowledge of the King, choſe one Reginalde the Subprior of theyr houſe to bee theyr Archbiſhoppe, who ſecretely wente vnto Rome to obteyne his confirmation of the Pope, which thing bred much miſchiefe and great diſcorde betwixt Pope Innocent, and king Iohn, ſince the Pope woulde not confirme the election, bycauſe he ſawe ſome peece of ſecrete practiſe, till he might vnderſtand and be certified by report of ſufficient witneſſe (for that he wanted the letters commendatorie from the king) that the ſame election was lawfull and orderly made. Of thys delay alſo the Monkes being ſpeedily aduertiſed, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauor whom they had verye ſore offended in not making him priuie to the firſt election, they make requeſt vnto him, that by his nominatiõ it might be lawful for them to chooſe an other Archbiſhop. The king gladly herevnto aſſented, requiring thẽ to graunt their voyces vnto Iohn Gray the Biſhop of Norwich, being both his Chaplaine and preſident of his Counſaile. The Monkes to gratifie the king, obeyed his requeſt, and ſo electing the ſame Biſhop of Norwiche, they ſent theyr procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to ſignifie the ſame vnto the Pope, and to requyre him to confirme this their ſecond election, as vnmindfull of their firſt, and clearly adnihillating the ſame to all intents and purpoſes. Amongſt other that were ſent to Rome about this buſineſſe, Helias de Brantfield was one, a Monk of great eſtimation, and had in good credite with the king, who miniſtred vnto thẽ that were thus ſent, ſufficient allowance wherwith to beare theyr charges. Alſo at the ſame time the Biſhops that were Suffragans to the Sea of Canterburie, ſent their procurators vnto Rome aboute a quarell whiche they had againſt the Monkes there, for that the ſame Monkes preſumed to proceede to the electiõ of an Archbiſhop without their conſent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrees and

An Archb.
choſen.

Mat. VVeſt.
Iohn Gray
Biſhop of Norwich preſident
of the counſel.

Math. Paris.

Helias de
Brantfield.

The Biſhops
quarell with
the Monkes of
Canterburie about the election of an Archbiſhop.

cuſtomes to bee aſſociate with them in the ſayde electiõs. But how this matter was anſwered, ye ſhall ſee hereafter. In the meane time, theſe and other like things procured the Pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the thirde perſon, whereby the trouble begon was not a little augmẽted (as you ſhal heare hereafter) nowe whileſt theſe procuratoꝛs were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king mynding to cõquer all that which king John yet held within France, aſſembled an army, and cõming befoꝛe the towne of Loches, wanne it, and tooke Gerarde de Atie priſoner, that had ſo long time, and with ſuch valiancie defended it. The ſame time alſo, was Robert de Turnham taken priſoner, who with great manhoode had all this while reppreſſed and chaſtiſed the rebellious Poictouins.

Gerard de Atie and Robert de Turnham taken priſoners

Moꝛeouer after that the French king had won Loches, he went to Chinon, within the whiche Hubert de Burgh was Captaine, a right valiant mã of war as was any wher to be foũd, who hauing prepared all things neceſſarie foꝛ defence, manfully repulſed yͤ Frenchmen, which infoꝛced thẽſelues to win yͤ town with cõtinuall aſſaults & alarmes, not ſuffring them within to reſt neyther day noꝛ night, who yet foꝛ certaine dayes togyther, by the valiant encouragement of theyꝛ captain defended the towne, with greate ſlaughter of the Frenchmen. But neuertheleſſe, at length beginning to deſpayꝛe by reaſon of their inceſſant trauaile, certaine of thẽ that were ſomwhat faint hearted ſtale ouer the walles in the night, & ranne to the French men, and foꝛ ſafegard of theyꝛ liues inſtructed them of the whole eſtate of the towne. The Frenche vnderſtanding, that they wythin were in no ſmall feare of themſelues, with ſuche violence came vnto the walles, and renued the aſſault vpon all ſides, that ſtreight wayes they entred by foꝛce. A great number of Engliſhmen were taken, and amongſt other their Captain the foꝛeſayd Hubert de Burgh. [This chaunced on the vigill of S. John Baptiſt.]

Hubert de Burgh a valiant Captaine

Polidor.
Chinon taken by force of aſſault.

After this. King Philip tooke diuerſe other townes & Caſtels in that Country, of the which ſome hee razed, and ſome he foꝛtified and ſtuffed with garniſons of his ſouldiers. This done hee paſſed ouer the Riuer of Loyꝛ, and wan a caſtell ſituate neare vnto a pꝛomontoꝛie oꝛ heade of land called Grapelitũ, which was wont to bee a great ſuccoꝛ to the Engliſhmen arriuing on that coaſt.

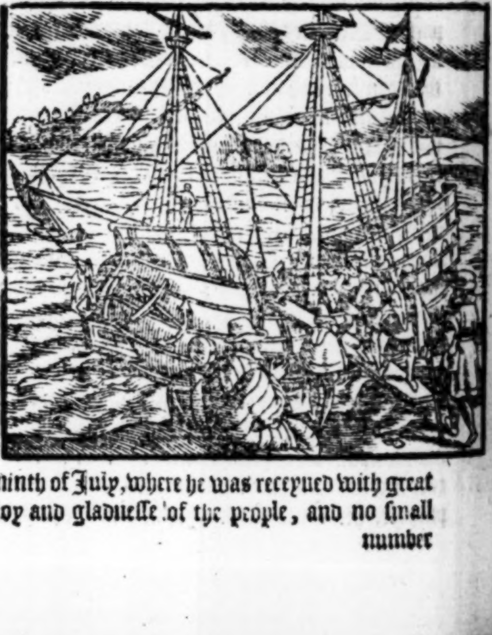
The occaſion why he made warres thus to the Bꝛytaines, was, as ſome wꝛite, foꝛ that Guy Duke of Bꝛytayne, who had maried the Duches Conſtance, and ſucceeded in the Duchie after hir ſonne Arthure, without regarde to reuenge the death of the ſame Arthure, was ioyned in league with K. John togither, with Sauare de Mauleon, and Almerick de Luſignian, Loꝛds of great honoꝛ, power, and ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke.

120

An.

King John alſo in this meane while, moued with the increaſe of theſe his newe aſſociates, and alſo with deſire to reuenge ſo many iniuries and loſſes ſuſteyned at the French kings handes, preparing an armie of men, and a nauie of ſhippes, tooke the ſea with them and landed at Rochel the ninth of July, where he was receyued with great ioy and gladneſſe of the people, and no ſmall number

Polido



number of Gentlemen, and others that inhabited thereaboute repayred vnto him, offering to ayde hym to the vttermoſt of theyr powers. He therefore wyth aſſured hope of good ſpeede departed from thence, and wanne the Towne of Montalban, wyth a great part of all the Countrey thereaboutes.

ount Alban
onne.

Finally, he entred into Aniou, and comming to the Citie of Angiers, appoynted certain bands of his footmen, and al his light horſemen to compaſſe the towne about, whyleſt he, with the reſidue of the footemen, and all the men of armes, did goe to aſſaulte the gates. Which enterpriſe with fyre and ſworde he ſo manfully executed, that the Gates being in a moment broken open, the Citie was entred and delyuered to the Souldiers for a pray.

es Annales de
ance.
lider.

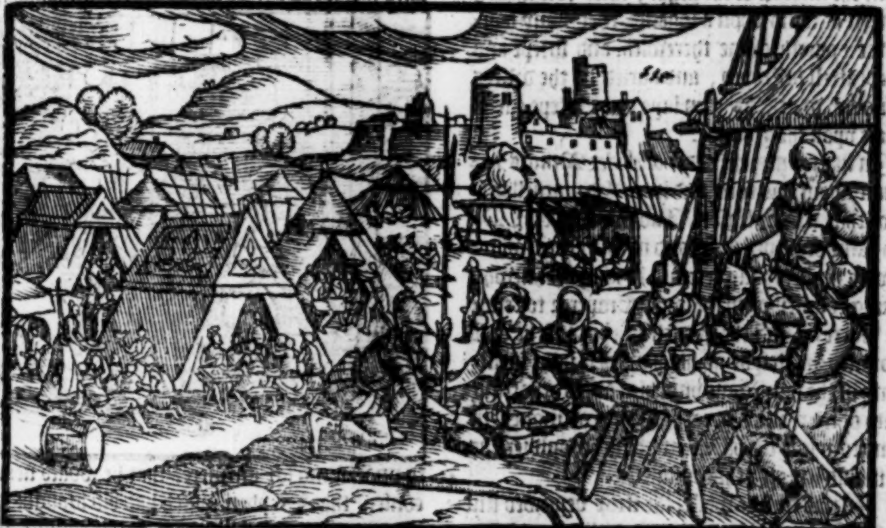
ing Iohn
anne the city
f Angiers by
ault.

The Citizens were ſome taken, and ſome killed, and the walles of the Citie beaten flatte to the grounde. This done, he went abrode into the Countrey, and put all things that came in his way to the like deſtruction. So that the people of the Countreyes next adioyning, came of their owne accorde to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, promiſing to ayde hym with men and vittayles moſt plentifully.

King Iohn being verie ioyfull of this good ſucceſſe, marched towardes Poictou, ſending forth his troupes of horſemen to waſt the Country on euery ſide. In the meane while the French K. being hereof aduertiſed, came forth with his army redy furniſhed to reſiſt K. Iohn, and by the way encoũtred with ẏ duke of Britain, Sauary de Mauleon, & Americk de Luſignian, which had bin abrode to ſpoyle the French kings countries. But being now ouerſet with the kings puiſſãce, they were taken, and all their company ſtripped out of their armor, to their great confuſion.

The duke of Britaine and other of king Iohns friends ouerthrowne.

This miſhap ſore weakened the power and courage of King Iohn. But the French King prowde of the victorie, kept on his iourney, and approching neare vnto the place where King Iohn was as then lodged, did cauſe his tentes to be pitched downe for the firſt night.



And on the morrowe after, as one deſirous of battaile, brought his army forth into the fieldes, raunged in good order, and readie to fight.

The like did King Iohn, ſo that wyth ſtoute ſtomackes and egre myndes, they ſtoode there in the fielde readie to trye the matter with dynt of ſworde vpon ſounde of the warning blaſt gyuen by the Trumpettes. When by the mediation of certaine graue perſonages, as well of the ſpiritualtie as of the temporaltie, which were in good eſtimation with both the Princes, a communication was appoynted, which tooke ſuch effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the pryſoners on eyther ſide being releaſed by way of exchaunge: and thus the warre ceaſed for that time. King Philip returning into Fraunce, and King Iohn into Englande, where he landed at Portſmouth the xij. of December.

at. VVeſt.
at. Par.
his truce
s concluded
on Alhallo-
en day.

About this time, came one Iohn Ferenting a Legate from the Pope into England, and paſſing through the ſame as it were in viſitatiõ, gathered a great ſumme of money. And finally at Reading on the morow after Saint Lukes day, celebrated a Councel, which being ended, he cauſed his Coffers to bee packed vp and ſent away, haſting himſelfe after to depart the realme, and ſo taking the ſea bad England farewell.

Iohn Ferentiõ the Popes Legate.

About the ſame ſeaſon alſo, Pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the Prior and Monkes of Canterburie had to elect & chooſe the Archbiſhop of that ſea, gyuing ſentence agaynſt the Suffraganes which claymed a right to be ioyned with the ſayde Prior and Monkes,

The Pope giueth ſentence with the Monkes agaynſt the Biſhops.

See Mat. Paris Page. 287. in the printed copie.

in the election, as by a letter directed to the ſame Suffraganes from the ſayde Pope it may more plainly appeare.

King Iohn repareth the city of Angiers.

After this it chaunced that king Iohn remembring himſelfe of the deſtruction of the Citie of Angiers, which bycauſe he was deſcended from thence, he had before tyme greatly loued, beganne nowe to repent him, in that hee had deſtroyed it, and therfore with all ſpeede he tooke order to haue it againe repayred, whiche was done in moſte beautifull wiſe.

1207

A taxe leuyed.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke ſtealeth out of the realme.

Moreouer in this yeare about Candlemaſſe, he cauſed the .xiij. part of euery mans goodes, as well of the ſpiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, to be leuied and gathered to his vſe, all men murmuring at ſuche doings, but none being ſo hardie as to gainſay the kings pleaſure, except onely Geffrey the Archbiſhop of Yorke, who thereupon departing ſecretly out of the realm, accurſed al thoſe that layd any hands to the collection of that payment, within his Archbiſhoprike of Yorke.

A mightie tempeſt.

Alſo vpon the .xvij. of Ianuarie then laſt paſt, about the middeſt of the night, there roſe ſuche a tempeſt of wind vpon a ſodaine, that many houſes were ouerthrowne therewith, and ſheepe and other cattell deſtroyed, and buried in the driftes of ſnowe, whiche as then laye verye deepe euerie where vpon the grounde.

The Emperor Otho cõmeth into England.

Fiue thouſand markes of ſiluer, as Math. Weſt. & Mat. Par. do write.

An. Reg. 9.

In like maner, the order of Frier Minors beganne about this time, and increaſed maruellouſly within a ſhort ſeaſon. And the Emperor Otho came ouer into England in this yeare, where he was moſt royally receiued by king Iohn, who taking counſell with the ſayde Emperor to renue the warre againſt the French K. (bycauſe he was promiſed great ayde at his handes for the furniſhing of the ſame) gaue vnto him at his departing forth of the realme, greate ſummes of money in hand towards the payment of ſuche ſouldiers as he ſhould leuie for this buſineſſe.

Stephen Langton choſen Archb. of Canterburie by the Popes appoyntment.

In this meane while, the ſtrife depended ſtill in the Court of Rome betwixt the two elected Archbiſhops of Cãterburie, Reginald and Iohn, but after the Pope was fully informed of the maner of their elections, he diſanulled them both, and procured by his Papall authoritie the Monkes of Canterburie (of whom many were then come to Rome about that matter) to chooſe one Stephen Langton the Cardinall of Saint Chriſogon an Engliſhman borne, & of good eſtimation and lerning in the court of Rome, to be their Archbiſhop. The Monks at the firſt wer loth to conſent therto, alledging that they might not lawfully do it without conſent of their king, and of their couent. But the Pope as it were taking the worde oute of theyr mouthes, ſayde vnto them: doe yee not conſider that we haue full authoritie and power in the Churche of Canterburie: Neyther is the aſſent of kings or Princes to be looked for vpon elections celebrate in the preſence of the Apoſtolike Sea. Wherefore I commaunde you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon paine of curſing, that you being ſuch and ſo many here as are ſufficient for the election, to chooſe him to your archbiſhop whom I ſhall appoynt to you for father and paſtor of your ſoules. The Monkes doubting to offende the Pope, conſent all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Brantfield, who refuſed. And ſo the foreſayde Stephen Langton being of them elected, the Pope confirmed him, and ſignified by letters the whole ſtate thereof to king Iohn, commending the ſayde Stephen as Archbiſhop vnto him.

The Mon of Cant baniſhed.

The king ſore offended in his minde that the Biſhoppe of Norwich was thus put beſide that dignitie, to the which he had aduaunced him, cauſed forthwith all the goodes of the Monkes of Canterburie to be confiſcate to his vſe, and after baniſhed them the realme, as well I meane thoſe at home, as thoſe that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters vnto the pope, giuing him to vnderſtand for anſwere, that he would neuer conſent that Stephen which had bin brought vp and alwayes conuerſaunt with his enimies the French men, ſhould now enioy the rule of the Biſhoprike and dioces of Canterburie.

King Ioh wryteth t the Pope.

Moreouer he declared in the ſame letters, how he maruelled not a little what the Pope ment, in that he did not conſider how neceſſarie the friendſhip of the king of Englande was to the Sea of Rome, ſith there came more gaynes to the Romaine Church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this ſyde the Mountaynes. Hee added hereto, that for the liberties of hys Crowne, he would ſtand vnto death if the matter ſo required. And as for the electiõ of the Biſhop of Norwich vnto the Sea of Canterburie, ſithe it was profitable to him and to his realme, he ment not to releaſe it.

Howe gai England w to the C of Rom

Moreouer, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his minde, he woulde ſurely reſtraine the paſſages out of this realme, that none ſhould go to Rome, leaſt his lande ſhould bee ſo ſo emptied of money and treaſure, that he ſhould want ſufficient abilitie to beate backe and expell his enimies that might attempt inuaſion againſt the ſame. Laſtly of all he cõcluded, ſith the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, as well of his Realme of Englande, as of other his landes and dominions, were ſufficiently furniſhed with knowledge, that he he would not goe for anye neede that ſhoulde driue hym thereto, to ſeeke iuſtice or iudgement at the preſcript of any forraine perſons.

he Popes an-
ere vnto
e king.

The Pope greatly maruelling hereat, wrote again to the king, requiring him to abſtaine from the ſpoyling of thoſe men that were priuiledged by the Canons of the Church, ẏ he would reſtore the Monkes again to their houſe and poſſeſſions, and receyue the Archbiſhop canonically elected and cõfirmed, the which for his learning & knowledge, aſwell in the liberall ſciences, as in holye ſcripture, was thought worthy to be admitted to a prebend in Paris: and what eſtimation he himſelfe had of him it appeared, in that he had writtē to him thrice ſince he was made Cardinal, declaring although he was minded to call him to hys ſeruice, yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher roumth, adding further, how there was good cauſe that hee ſhoulde haue conſideration of him, bycauſe he was borne within his land of father and mother, that were his faythfull ſubiects, and for that he had a Prebende in the Church of Yorke, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Wherby not onely by reaſon of fleſh and bloud, but alſo by hauing eccleſiaſticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with ſincere affection. Many other reaſons the Pope alledged in his letters to King Iohn, to haue perſwaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephen Langton. But king Iohn was ſo farre from giuing eare to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all ſuch, not only of the ſpiritualtie, but alſo of the temporaltie, which by any maner meanes had aided the forenamed Stephē. The Pope being hereof aduertiſed, thought good not to ſuffer ſuch contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it, namely in a matter that touched the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which enſample might procure hinderance, not to one priuate perſon alone, but to the whole ſtate of the ſpiritualtie, which he would not ſuffer in any wiſe to be ſuppreſſed: therefore hee decreed with ſpeede to deuiſe remedie againſt that large encreaſing miſchief. And though there was no ſpeedier way to redreſſe the ſame, but by excõmunicatiõ, yet he would not vſe it at the firſt towards ſo mightie a Prince, but gaue him libertie and time to conſider of his offence and treſpaſſe ſo cõmitted. Theſe things being come to this point, the farther narration of them ſhal ſtay for a time, tyll I haue tolde you of a little trouble which about this tyme happened in London. For vpon the ſeuenth of Iune, the Baylifes of London, Roger Wincheſter, and Edmond Hardell, were diſcharged, and Serle the Mercer, and Hugh of Saint Albons choſen in their roomes.

Baylifes of Lõdon diſcharged and committed to warde.

The two former Baylifes were diſcharged and committed to priſon by the kings cõmaundement, vpon diſpleaſure taken againſt them, bycauſe they had reſiſted his purueyer of wheat, and woulde not ſuffer him to conuey any of that kind of grayne out of the Citie, till the Citie was ſtored. The .xxv. rulers of the Citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commaundement to them directed, for the diſcharging of thoſe Baylifes, and impriſoning them, did after take aduiſe togither, and appoynted a certaine number of themſelues with other to ryde vnto the king, as then beeing at Langley, to obteyne pardon for the ſayde Baylifes, and ſo comming thither, they made ſuch excuſe in the matter, ſhewing further, that at the ſame ſeaſon there was ſuch ſcarcitie of wheate in the Citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an inſurrection about the ſame. By which meanes, and through friendſhip which they had in the Court, the king was ſo ſatiſfied, that he releaſed them from priſon, and pardoned theyr offences.

The birth of king Henrie the thirde.
Nic. Triuet.

And vpon the firſt of October, Henrie the ſon of king Iohn, begotten of his wife Queene Iſabell, was borne [at Wincheſter] who after ſucceeded his father in the kingdome.

1208

But now againe to our purpoſe. The Pope perceyuing that king Iohn continued ſtill in his former minde, (which he called obſtinate) ſent ouer his Bulles into England, directed to William Biſhop of London, to Euſtace Biſhop of Elie, and to Mauger biſhop of Worceſter, commaunding them, that vnleſſe king Iohn woulde ſuffer peaceably the Archbiſhop of Canterburie to occupie his ſea, and his Monkes theyr Abbey, they ſhould put both him and his lande vnder the ſentence of interdiction, denouncing him and hys lande plainly accurſed. And further he wrote expreſſe letters vnto all the Suffragants of the church of Canterburie, that they ſhould by vertue of theyr obedience, which they ought to the Apoſtolique ſea, receyue and obey the Archbiſhoppe Stephen for their father and Metropolitane.

The Pope writeth to the Biſhops.
Mat. Par.
Nic. Triuet.
Mat. Pariſ.

Theſe Biſhops with other to them aſſociate, made inſtant requeſt and ſute to the king for the obſeruing of the Popes commaundement, and to eſchew the cenſures of the Church: but that was in vaine: for the king in a great rage ſware, that if

Romaines, that is ſuch chaplaynes, ſtraungers, as belonged to the Pope.

eyther they or anye other preſumed to put his lande vnder interdiction, he would incontinently therevpon ſende all the Prelates wythin the Realme out of the ſame vnto the Pope, and ſeaſe all theyr goodes vnto his owne vſe. And further he added, that what Romaines ſoeuer he founde within the precinct of anye his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and ſlit their noſes, and ſo ſende them packing to Rome, that by ſuche markes they might be knowne from al other nations of the world. And herewith he commaunded the Biſhoppes out of his ſight, if they loued theyr owne health and preſeruation. Herevpon therefore the ſayde Biſhops departed, and according to the Popes commiſſion to them ſent, vpon the euen of our Lady day the Annunciation, denounced both the king and the Realme of England accurſed, and furthermore cauſed the doores of churches to be cloſed vp, and of all other places where diuine ſeruice was accuſtomed to be vſed, firſt at London, and after in al other places where they came. Then perceyuing that the king ment not to ſtoupe for all this which they had done, but rather ſought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the Realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephen the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to wit, William Biſhop of London, Euſtace Biſhop of Elye, Malger Biſhoppe of Worceſter, Ioceline Byſhoppe of Bathe, and Gyles Biſhop of Hereforde.

The Munday in the paſsion weeke hath *Mat. VVeſt.*

The king and realme put vnder the Popes curſe.

An. Reg. 10.

The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

The king taking this matter verie diſpleaſantly, ſeaſed vpon all their temporalites, and conuerted the ſame to his vſe, and perſecuted ſuch other of the Prelacie as hee knewe to fauor theyr doings, baniſhing them the realme, and ſeaſing their goodes alſo into his handes.

The moſte parte of the Prelates yet wiſely prouided for themſelues in this poynt, that they would not depart out of their houſes, except they were compelled by force, whiche when the kings officers perceyued, they ſuffred them to remaine ſtill in theyr Abbayes, and other habitations, bycauſe they had no Commiſſion to vſe any violence in expelling them. But theyr goodes they did confiſcate to the kings vſe, allowing them onely meate and drinke, and that verie barely in reſpect of their former allowance.

An heauie time for churchmen.

It was a miſerable time nowe for Prieſtes and Churchmen whiche were ſpoyled on euery hand without finding remedie agaynſt thoſe that offred them wrong. It is reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a Sherife brought before the king a fellowe whiche had robbed and ſlaine a prieſt, deſiring to vnderſtande his pleaſure what ſhould be done with that offender: Vnto whō the king made this anſwere, he hath ſlain mine enemy, and therfore ſet him at libertie.

Mat. Par.

The king alſo doubting leaſt the Pope ſhould procede further, and aſſoyle all his ſubiectes of their allegiance which they ought to him, and that his Lordes woulde happely reuolt and forſake him in this his trouble, he tooke hoſtages of them whom he moſt ſuſpected. And as the Meſſengers which were ſent abrode for that purpoſe, came vnto the Lorde William de Breuſe, requiring to haue his ſonnes for the ſayde purpoſe, hys wife (like a quicke and haſtie dame) taking the worde out of hir huſbandes mouth, made thys rounde anſwere, that ſhe woulde not deliuer hir ſonnes vnto king Iohn, that alreadie had ſlaine his owne nephew Arthur, whom he ought rather honourably to haue loued and preſerued. Theſe wordes being ſignified vnto the king, ſet him in ſuch an heat againſt hir huſband (though he rebuked hir ſharpely for the ſame) that the ſayd Lorde was glad togither with his wife and children to flee out of the realme into Irelande for ſafegarde of theyr lyues.

Lord Wi
de Breuſe

Londō b
repayred

Where as before this time the Bridge ouer Thames at London was made of tymber, and was ruled, guided and repayred by a fraternitie or Colledge of Prieſts: this yeare by great ayde of the Citizens of London and other paſſing that way, the ſame bridge was begonne to be made of ſtone. And the ſame yeare S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke was begonne to be repayred.

The ſame yeare alſo, the Citizens of London made ſuch ſuyte vnto the King, that they had graunted to them by his letters patens, licence to chooſe to themſelues a Maior, and two Sherifes euery yeare. After which graunt vnto them confirmed, they choſe for theyr Maior Henrie Fitz Alwyn, who was ſworne and charged at that preſent Maior of that Citie, vpon the day of S. Michaell the Archangell, in the the ſayde tenth yeare of king Iohn his raigne. And the ſame day and yeare, were Peter Duke, and Thomas Nele ſworne for Sherifes. And the name of Bayliffes from thenceforth was clearely extinguiſhed.

Iohn St

But here ye haue to vnderſtand, that this Henrie Fitz Alwin had bene Maior of London long before this time, euen from the firſt yeare of king Richard (as Iohn Stow hath truly gathered out of auncient inſtrumentes and records) vnto thys preſent tenth yeare of king Iohn, and now vpon graunt made to the Citizens, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull for them to chooſe euery yeare a Maior, and two Sherifes, for the better gouernment of their citie, the ſayd Henrie Fitz Alwin was newly by them elected, and likewiſe afterwardes from yeare to yeare, till hee departed this life, whiche chaunced in the yeare. 1213. and. xv. of king Iohns raigne, ſo that he continued Maior of the ſame Citie of London, by the terme of. xxiiij. yeares.

Nowe therfore bycauſe it appeareth here how the gouernors of the Citie of London had theyr names altered for their greater honour. And the ſtate of gouernment thereby partly chaunged, or rather confirmed. I haue thought good (though very briefly) to touch ſomewhat the ſignification of this worde Mayre, before I proceede any further with the reſt of this hiſtorie.

he ſignifica-
on of this
orde Mayre.

yulſg. Laz.
roſus.

The auncient inhabitants of Frãconia or Frãkenland, from whom the Frenchmen are deſcended, and their neighbors the olde Saxons, of whō the Engliſhmen haue their original, being people of Germanie, and deſcended (as Beroſus ſayth) of the old Hebrues, haue reteyned manye Hebrue wordes, either frō the beginning, or elſe borowed them abrode in other Regions which they conquered, paſſing by force of armes through a great part of the worlde. For no doubt by conuerſation with thoſe people whō they ſubdued, they broght home into their own country & tongue many borowed words, so that their lãguage hath no ſmal ſtore of thẽ, fetched out of ſundry ſtrange tongs. And amongſt other olde wordes yet remayning in their tong, this worde Mar was one, which in the Hebrue ſignifieth *dominus*, (that is to ſay lord) but pronounced now ſomwhat corruptly Mayr. So as it is to be ſuppoſed, hereof it came to paſſe that the head officer & Lieutenant to the Prince, aſwell in London as in other Cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of Mayre, though in the Cities of London, and Yorke, for an augmentation of honor by an ancient cuſtom (through ignorance what the title of Mayr doth ſignifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of Lord Mayre, where Mayre ſimply pronounced of it ſelfe, ſignifieth no leſſe than Lord, without any ſuch addition. Thus much for the name of Mayre. And nowe to procede.

yulſg. Laz.

1209

at. Par.

King John holding his Chriſtmaſſe this yere at Briſtow, ſet forth a cōmaundement, whereby he reſtrayned the taking of wilde foule.

About the ſame time, Henrie Duke of Suaben came into Englande from the Emperour Otho, and receyuing no ſmall portion of money of the king, departed backe into his owne Countrey againe.

In the vigill of the Epiphanie alſo, the kings ſecond ſonne was borne, and named Richard, after his vncle king Richarde. And the Court of the Eſchequer was remoued from Weſtminſter vnto Northampton.

The Eſchequer remoued.

Moreouer, in the ſame yeare, Walter Gray was made Lorde Chancellor, who in all things ſtudied to ſatiſfie the kings will and purpoſes, for the which hee incurred greate indignation of the Clergie, & other that fauored not the proceedings of the king. It was ſurely a ruful thing to cōſider the eſtate of this realme at yͤ preſent, when as the king neyther truſted his Peeres, neither the nobilitie fauored the king, no there were very few that truſted one another, but eche one hid and hoorded vp his welth, looking dayly when another woulde come and enter vpon the ſpoyle. The comunaltie alſo grew into factions, ſome fauoring, ſome curſing the king, as they bare affection. The Cleargie was likewiſe at diſſention, ſo that nothing preuayled but malice & ſpite, which brought forth & ſpred abrode the fruits of diſobedience to al good lawes and orders, greatly to the diſquieting of the whole ſtate. King John notwithſtanding that the realme was thus wholy interdyted & vexed, ſo that no Prieſtes coulde be founde to ſay any ſeruice in Churches or Chapels, made yet no great account thereof as touching any offence towarde God or the Pope. But rather miſtruſting the hollow heartes of his people, hee taketh a newe othe of them for their faythfull allegiance, & immediatly therupō aſſẽbled an army to go againſt Alexãder K. of Scots, vnto whō (as he had herd) diuerſe of the nobilitie of this realme were fled,

An. Reg. 11
Polidor.

A new othe of allegiaũce.

Alexander K. of Scots.

which Alexander was the ſeconde of that name that had ruled the Scots, and lately before was entred into the rule as lawfull ſucceſſour to the Crowne of Scotlande, by the death of his father king William.

In this meane while alſo Stephē Archbiſhop of Canterburie lamēting (as ſome haue reported) the ſtate of his natiue country, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obteyned of Pope Innocent, that vpon certain dayes it might be lawful to an appoynted number of prieſts within the realme of Englād, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, that is to wit, vnto thoſe of conuentuall Churches once in the weeke. But the Monkes of the white order were forbidden to vſe that priuiledge, bycauſe in the beginning of the interdictiō they had at the appoyntment of their principall Abbot preſumed to celebrate the Sacraments without the Popes conſent or knowledge.

Mat. Par. The white Monkes.

In like maner, on the other ſide, king Iohn hauing his armie in a readineſſe, haſted forth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the Caſtell of Norham, he prepared to inuade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battaile, ſought to come vnto ſome friendly agreement with him, and ſo by counſell of his Lords, caſting off his armor, he came to the king, and for a great ſumme of golde (or. xj. M. Markes of ſiluer as ſome write) with much adoe he purchaſed peace, deliuering. ij. of his daughters in hoſtage for more aſſuraunce of his dealing.

Polidor. Math. Paris.

Alexander K. of Scots compoundeth for peace with king Iohn.

Whervpon King Iohn after his returne from Norham, which was about the. xxiiij. of Iune, ſhewed himſelfe not a litle diſpleaſed with thoſe of the nobilitie which had refuſed to attende vpon him in that iourney, hauing receyued ſtrayt commaundement frō him to wayte vpon him at that time. Certes the cauſe why they refuſed to follow him, was euident, as they ſayd, in that they knew him to ſtand accurſed by the Pope.

Polido

About the ſame time alſo, when corne began to waxe ripe, to reuenge himſelfe of them that had refuſed to go with him in that iourney, hee cauſed the pales of all the Parkes and Foreſts which he had within his realme to be throwne downe, and the ditches to be made plain, that the Deere breaking out and raunging abrode in the corne fields, might deſtroye and eate vp the ſame before it could be ryped, for which act (if it were ſo in deed) many a bitter curſſe proceeded from the mouthes of the poore huſbandmen towardes the kings perſon, and not vnworthily.

Mat. Pari

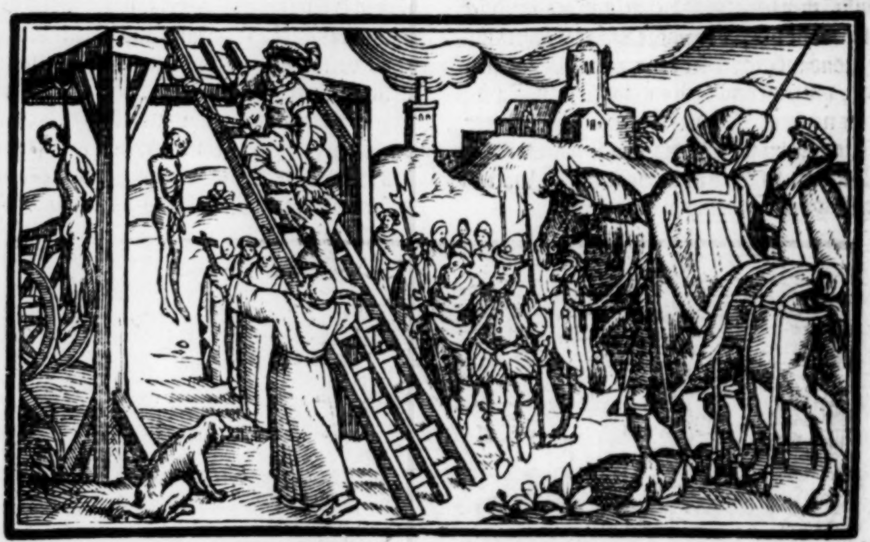
Moreouer in this ſeaſon the Welchmen (which thing had not beene ſeene afore time) came vnto Woodſtock, and there did homage vnto the king, although the ſame was chargeable, aſwell to the rich as the poore ſo to come out of theyr country.

About the ſame time alſo, it chaunced, that a Prieſt ſlue a woman at Oxforde, and when the kings officers could not finde him that had committed the murther, they apprehended three other Prieſtes not guiltie to the fact, and ſtreight way hanged them vp without iudgemēt. With which crueltie, others of the Vniuerſitie beeing put in feare, departed thence in great numbers, and came not thither again of a long time after, ſome of thē repayring to Cambridge, and ſome to Reading to apply their ſtudies in thoſe places, leauing Oxford voyde.

Mat. Pari A murthe Oxford.

Three thouſand as ſayth *Mat. Paris.*

Oxford forſaken of the ſcholers.



The ſame yeare, one Hugh Archdeacon of Welles, and keeper of the kings great ſeale, was nominated Biſhop of Lincolne. And herewithall he craued licence to go ouer into France vnto the Archbiſhop of Rouen, that he might be conſecrated of him. The king was contented herewith, and gladly gaue him leaue, who no ſooner got ouer into Normandie, but that hee ſtreyght toke the high way to Rome, and there receyued hys conſe-

Hugh Arch con of Wel made Biſhop of Lincolne. *Polidore. Math. Pari* conſecration of Stephen the Archbyſhop of Canterbury. Now when the Kyng vnderſtode thys matter, and ſaw the dulneſſe of the Byſhoppe, hee was in a wonderfull chafe towarde him, & thereupon made port ſale of all his goodes, and receyued the profit of the reuenewes belonging to the See of Lincolne to his owne vſe. There lyued moreouer in theſe dayes a Deuine named Alexander Cementarius, and ſurnamed *Theologus*, who by his Preaching incenſed the King greatly vnto all cruelty (as the Monks and Friers ſay) againſt his ſubiectes, affirming, that the generall ſcourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the Princes fault, but for ẏ wickedneſſe of his people, for the King was but the rodde of the Lordes wrathe, and to thys ende a Prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rodde of iron, and breake them as an iron veſſell, to chayne the mighty in fetters, and the noble men in iron manacles. Hee did ſee as ſhould ſeeme, the euill diſpoſed humors of the people concerning their dutiful obedience which they ought to haue borne to their naturall Prince K. Iohn, and therefore as a doctrine moſt neceſſary in that daungerous time, hee taughte the people how they were by Gods lawes bound in duety to obey their lawfull Prince, and not through any wicked perſwaſion of buſie heads and lewde diſcourſers, to be carried away, to forget their loyall allegiance, and ſo to fall into the damnable ſinke of Rebellion.

mentarius.

He wente about alſo to prooue with likely arguments, that it apperteyned not to the Pope, to haue to do, concerning the temporall poſſeſſions of Kings or other potentates touching the rule and gouernement of their ſubiectes, ſith no power was graunted to Peter (eſpecially the chiefe of the Apoſtles of ẏ Lord) but only touching ẏ church, & matters apperteyning thervnto. By ſuch doctrine by him ſet forth, hee wanne in ſuch wiſe the Kings fauour, that he obteyned many great prefermentes at the Kyngs handes, and was Abbot of S. Auſtines in Caunterbury: but at length, when his manners were notifyed to the Pope, he tooke ſuch order for him, that hee was deſpoyled of all his goodes and benefices, ſo that afterwards he was driuen in great miſerie to begge his bread from dore to dore, as ſome write.

1210

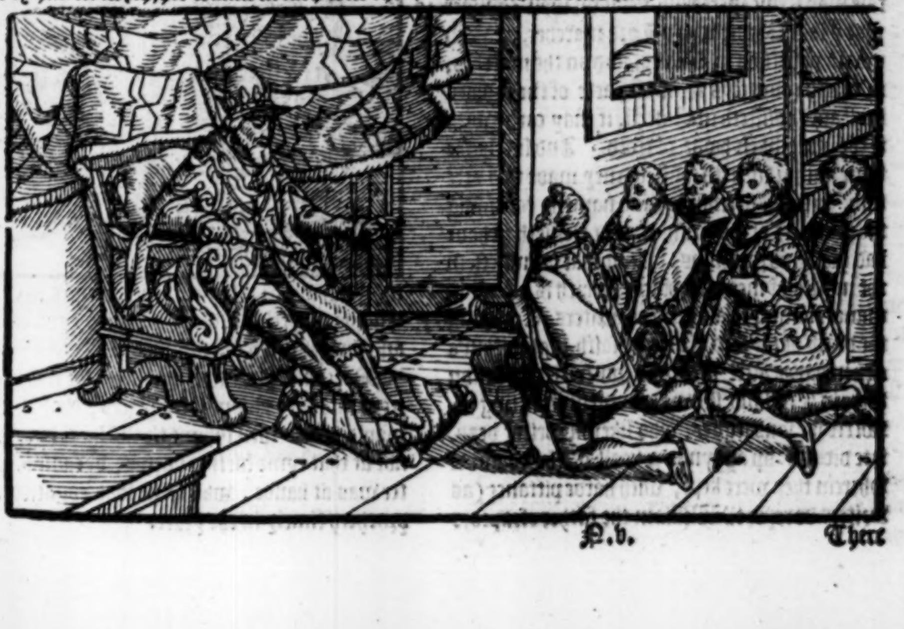
Furthermore, about the ſame time, the Kyng taxed the Iewes, and greeuouſly tormented and empriſoned them, bycauſe diuers of them woulde not willingly pay the ſummes that they wer taxed at. Amongſt other, there was one of them at Briſtow, which woulde not conſent to giue any fine for his deliuerance: wherefore by the Kyngs commaundement he was put to this penaunce, that euery daye till he would agree to giue to the King thoſe tenne thouſand markes that hee was ſeaſed at, he ſhoulde haue one of his teeth plucked out of his head. By the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither he ſtood ſtedfaſt, loſing euery of thoſe dayes a tooth, but on the eight day, whẽ he ſhould come to haue the eight tooth and the laſt (for he had but eight in all) drawen out, hee paide the money to ſaue that one, who with more wiſedome and leſſe paine, might haue done ſo before, and haue ſaued his ſeuen teeth, which he loſt with ſuch tormẽts, for thoſe homely tothdrawers vſed no great cunning in plucking them forth (as may be coniectured) Whilſt K. Iohn was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Iriſhe Rebels made foule worke, & ſore annoyed the Engliſh ſubiectes. He therefore aſſembling a mighty army, embarqued at Pembroke in Wales, and ſo haſting towards Ireland, arriued there the .25. of May, & broughte the people in ſuch feare immediately vpon his arriuall, that all thoſe that inhabited vpon the Sea coaſtes in the champaigne countreys, came in, & yeelded themſelues, receyuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him.

Math. Paris.
Iues taxed.

A Iew hath his teeth drawen forth.

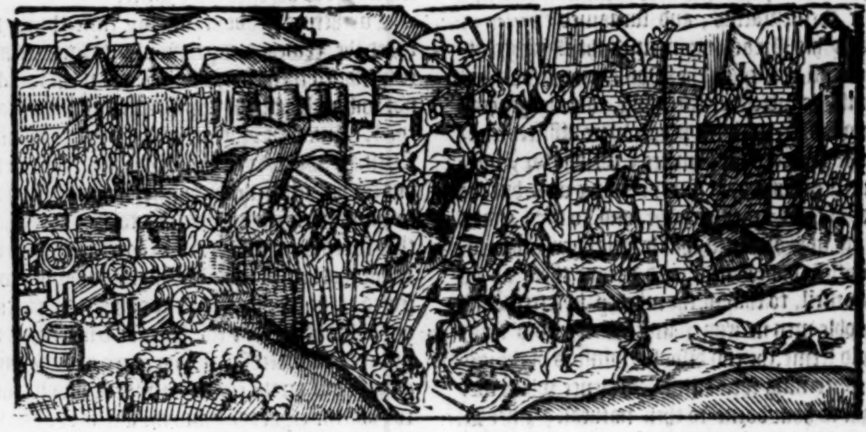
An.reg.12.

Mat Par.
King Iohn paſſeth ouer into Irelande.
Polidor.
Mat.Paris.



There were twentie of the chiefeſt Rulers within Ireland, whiche came to the King at hys comming to Dublin, and there did to hym homage and fealtie as apperteyned. The King at the ſame time ordeyned alſo, that the Engliſhe lawes ſhould be vſed in that land, and appoynted Sheriffes and other officers to haue the order of the countrey, to rule the ſame according to the Engliſh ordinances. After this, hee marched forward into the land, and toke diuers fortreſſes and ſtrōg holds of his enimies which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacy, and many other. At length, comming into the Countrey of Meth, he beſieged a Caſtell, where-

Walte
Lacy.



in the wife of William de Breuſe, and hir ſonne named alſo Williā were incloſed, but they found meanes to eſcape before the Caſtell was wonne, although afterwarde they were taken in the Iſle of Man, and ſente by the King into Englande, where they were ſo ſtraightly kept within ẏ Caſtell of Windſor, that as the ſame wente, they were famiſhed to death.

The Lady de Breuſe and hir ſonne taken.

Wee reade in an olde hiſtory of Flaunders, written by one whoſe name is not knowen, but Printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the yeare.1562. that the ſaid Lady, wife to the Lorde William de Breuſe, preſented vpon a time vnto the Queene of Englande a gift of four hundred Kine, and one Bulle, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were redde. Although thys tale may ſeeme incredible, yet if we ſhall conſider that ẏ ſaid Breuſe was a Lord marcher, and had goodly poſſeſſiōs in Wales, and on the marches, in which countreys the moſt parte of the peoples ſubſtance cōſiſteth in Cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelyhoode of troth. And ſurely the ſame author writeth of ẏ iourney made this yere into Ireland, ſo ſenſibly, and namely, touchyng the manners of the Iriſh, that he ſeemeth to haue had good informations, ſauing that he miſſeth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in maner commō to al foreigne writers. Touching the death of the ſaid Lady, he ſaith, that within a eleuen dayes after ſhee was committed to priſon heere in England, ſhe was found dead, ſitting betwixte hir ſons legges, who likewiſe being dead, ſate directly vp agaynſte a wall of the chamber wherein they were kept, with harde pittance (as writers do report.) William the father eſcaped, & gote away into Fraunce. Thus the more part of the Iriſh people being brought vnder, he appointed John Gray the Biſhop of Norwiche, to bee his deputie there, remouing out of that office Hugh Lacy, whiche bare great rule in that quarter before.

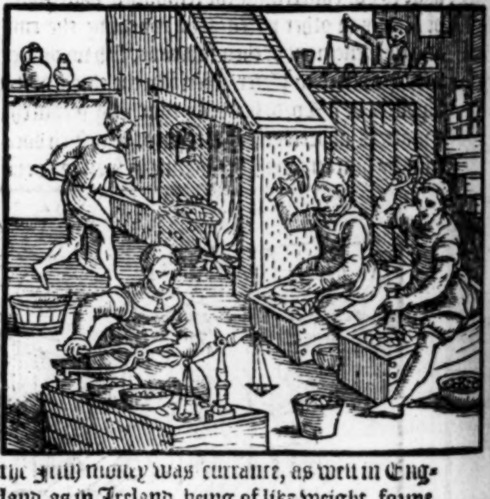
A preſent of white Kyne.

He himſelfe eſcapeth.

The Bi
Norwic
Lord Li
nant of I

The Biſhoppe then beeing appoynted deputy and chiefe iuſtice of Irelande, reformed, the coine there, cauſing the ſame to be made of lyke weight and fineneſſe to the Engliſh coine, ſo that

Iriſh m
reformed



the Iriſh money was curraunte, as well in England, as in Ireland, being of like weight, forme, and fineneſſe to the Engliſh.

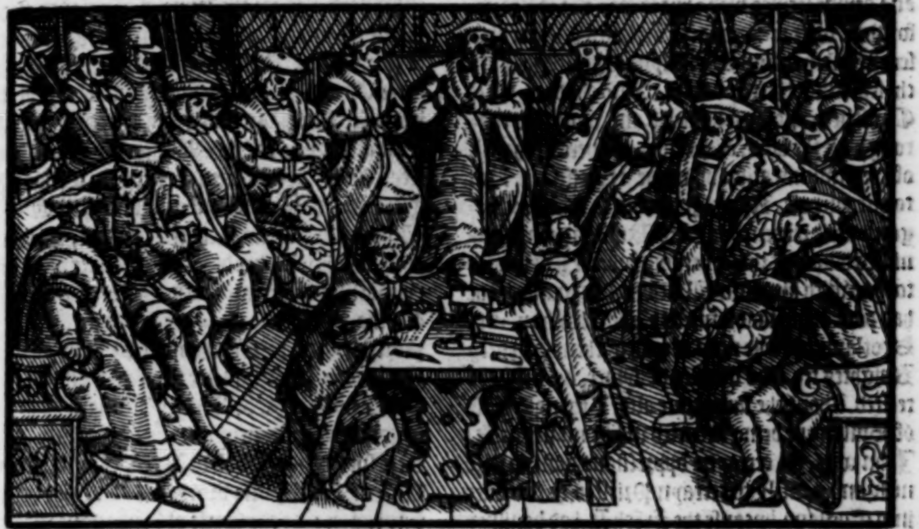
Moreouer, thoſe that inhabited the wood cōtreys and the Mountayne places, though they would not as then ſubmit themſelues, he woulde not at that tyme further purſue, bycauſe Winter was at hande, whiche in that countrey approcheth timely in the yeare.

And

eKing re-
oeth into
glande.

And ſo hauing thus ſubdued the more parte of all Ireland, and ordred things there at hys pleaſure, he tooke the Sea again with much triumph, and landed in Englande about the thirtith day of Auguſt. From hence, he made haſt likewiſe to Londō, and at his comming thither, he tooke coūcell how to recouer the greate charges and expenſes that he had bin at in this iourney, and ſo by ỹ aduice of William Brewer, Roberte de Turnham, Reignold de Cornhull, & Richarde de Mariſh, he cauſed all the chiefe Prelates of England to aſſemble before him at S. Brides in London.

An aſſemble of the Prelates at London.



So that thither came all the Abbottes, Abbeſſes, Templers, Hoſpitallers, keepers of fermes and poſſeſſions of the order of Clugny, and other ſuch forreyners as had lands within this Realme belōging to their houſes. Al whiche were cōſtreined to pay ſuche a greeuous taxe, that the whole amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſande pounde.

taxe leuied.

The Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, otherwiſe called white Monkes, were conſtreyned to paye fortie thouſande pounde of ſyluer at this time, all their priuiledges to the contrary notwithſtandyng.

Moreouer, the Abbots of that order might not get licence to goe to theyr generall Chapter that yeare, which yeerely was vſed to bee holden, leaſt theyr complaynte ſhoulde moue all the worlde agaynſte the Kyng, for hys harde handlyng of them.

1211

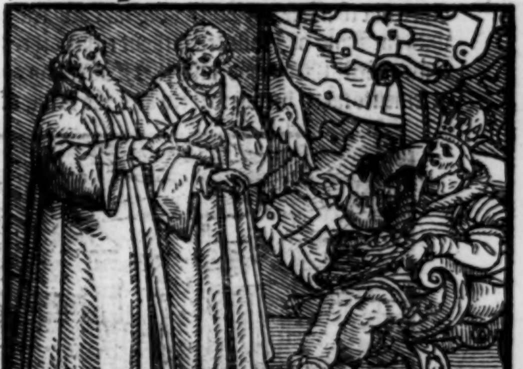
An. reg. 13.
ing Iohn
oeth in.o
Vales with
army.

In the Sommer following, about the eyghte day of Iuly, Kyng Iohn with a mighty army went into Wales, and paſſing forth into the inner partes of the countrey, he came into Snowdon, beating downe all that came in his way, ſo that hee ſubdued all the Rulers and Princes, withoute contradiction. And to bee the better aſſured of their ſubiection in time followyng, hee tooke of them pledges to the number of eyght and twentie, and ſo returned vnto *Album Monaſterium* on oure Lady daye the Aſſumption, from whence hee firſt ſet forthe into the Welſhe confynes.

Mat. Paris.
White church
thinke.

In the ſame yeare alſo, the Pope ſente two Legates into Englande, the one named Pandulph a Lawyer, and the other Durant a Templer. They comming vnto King Iohn, exhorted him with many terrible wordes, to leaue his ſtubborne diſobedience to the Church, and to reforme his miſdoings.

Pandulfe and Durant the Popes Legates
Polidor.



The King for his part quietly heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not farre diſtant from the place where he met them vppon his returne forth of Wales, had much conference with them, but at length, when they perceyued that they coulde not haue their purpoſe, neyther for reſtitution of the goodes belonging to Prieſts which hee had ſeaſed vppon, neyther of thoſe that apperteyned to certayne other perſons, whyche the K. had gotten alſo into his handes by meanes of the controuerſie betwixte hym and the Popes

the

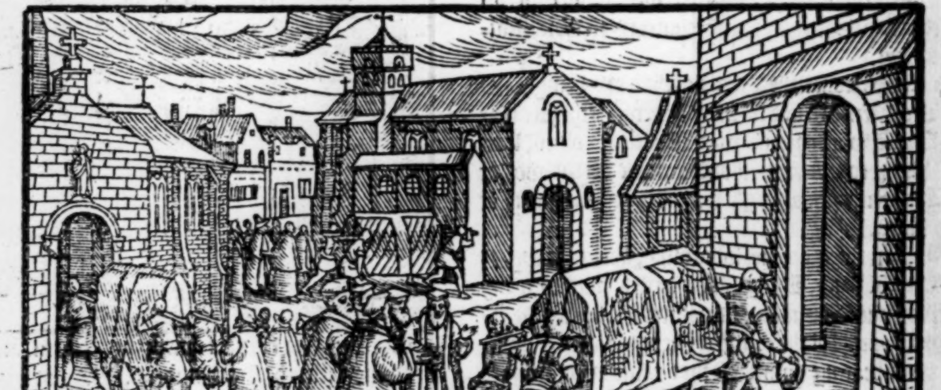
Fabian.

Mat. Paris.

Reginald Erle of Bullongne.

The like leage was made in the ſame firſte yeare of Kyng Iohn betwixte him and Ferdinando Earle of Flaunders.

the Legates departed, leauing him accurſed, and the land interdited, as they found it at their comming. Of the maner of this interdiction haue bin diuers opinions, ſome haue ſaide, that the lande was interdited throughly, and the Churches and houſes of Religion cloſed vp, that no where was any deuine ſeruice vſed: but it was not ſo ſtraite, for there were diuers places occupied with deuine ſeruice all that time by certayne Priuiledges purchaſed, either then or before. Alſo children were Chriſtned, and men houſeled and annoyled thorough all the land, except ſuch as were in the bill of excommunication by name expreſſed. But to our purpoſe, Kyng Iohn, after that the Legates were returned toward Rome againe, puniſhed diuers of thoſe perſons whiche had refuſed to goe with him into Wales in like maner as he had done thoſe that refuſed to goe with him into Scotland: he tooke now of each of them for euery Knightes fee two markes of ſyluer, as before is recited. About the ſame time alſo, Reginald Erle of Bullongne being accurſed in like maner as K. Iohn was, for certayne oppreſſions done to pore men, and namely to certayn Prieſtes, he fled ouer into England, bycauſe the Frēch K. had baniſhed him out of Fraunce. The chiefeſt cauſe of the Frenche Kings diſpleaſure towards this Earle, may ſeeme to proceede of the amitie and league whiche was concluded betwixt King Iohn, and the ſaid Earle, in the firſt yeare of the ſaid Kings raigne, whereby they bound themſelues either to other, not to make any peace, or to take any truce with the King of Fraunce, without either others conſent firſte thereto had, and that if after any agreemente taken betwixte them and the King of Fraunce, hee ſhoulde chaunce to make warre againſt eyther of them, then ſhoulde the other ayde and aſſiſt hym againſt whome ſuche war ſhould be made to the vttermoſt of his power. And this league was accorded, to remayn for euer betwixt them and theyr heyres, with ſureties ſworne on either parte: as for the Kyng of Englande, theſe, whoſe names enſue, William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke, Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter, Roberte Earle of Leiceſter, Baldwine Earle of Albemarle, William Earle of Arundell, Raulfe Erle of Augi, Robert de Mellet, Hugh de Gourney, William de Kaeu, Geffrey de Cella, Roger Conneſtable of Cheſter, Raufe Fitz Water, William de Albeny, Roberte de Ros, Richarde de Mōtfichet, Roger de Thoney, Saer de Quincy, Williā de Montcheniſe, Peter de Pratellis, William de Poole, *alias* de Stagno, Adam de Port, Roberte de Turnham, William Mallet, Euſtace de Veſcy, Peter de Brus, William de Preſcnny, Hubert de Burgh, William de Manſey, and Peter Sauenye. For the Earle, theſe were ſureties, Anſelme de Kaeu, Guy Lieſchās, Raufe the ſaid Erles brother. &c. But now to returne: after that the Earle of Bullongne was expulſed out of Fraunce (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer vnto K. Iohn, and was of him ioyfully receiued, hauing three C. li. of reuenewes in land to him aſſigned within Englād, for yͤ which he did homage and fealtie vnto him alſo. Shortly after this alſo, died William de Breuſe the elder, which fledde from the face of K. Iohn out of Irelande into Fraunce, and departing this lyfe at Corbell, was buried at Paris in the Abey of S. Victor.



Polid. v.

In yͤ meane time Pope Innocent, after yͤ returne of his Legates out of England, perceyuing yͭ K. Iohn would not be ordred by him, determined with the conſent of his Cardinals and other coūſellors & alſo at the inſtant ſute of yͤ Engliſh Biſhops & other Prelates being ther with him, to depriue Kyng Iohn of his kingly eſtate, and ſo firſte aſſoyled all his ſubiects and vaſſals of theyr othes of allegiãce made vnto the ſame King, and after depriued him by ſolemne proteſtation of his Kingly adminiſtration and dignitie, and laſtly, ſignifieth vnto the French King and other Chriſtian Princes, of that his depriuation, admoniſhing them to purſue King Iohn, being thus depriued, forſaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his Church. Hee ordeyned furthermore, that whoſoeuer employed goodes or other ayde to vanquiſh and ouercome that diſobedient Prince, ſhould remaine aſſured in peace of the Church, as well as thoſe whiche wente to viſit the Sepulchre of our Lord, not only in their goodes and perſons, but alſo in ſuffrages for ſauing of their ſoules. But yet that it might appere to al men, that nothing could be more ioyfull vnto his holineſſe, than to haue K. Iohn to repente his treſpaſſes committed, and to aſke forgiuenes for the ſame, hee appointed Pandulph, whiche lately before was returned to Rome, with a great number of Engliſh exiles, to goe into Fraunce, togither with Stephen the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and the other Engliſh Biſhops, giuing him in commandement, that repayring vnto the French K. he ſhoulde communicate with him all that which he had appoynted to be done agaynſt K. Iohn, and to exhorte the Frenche K. to make war vpon him, as a perſon for his wickednes excommunicate. Moreouer, this Pandulph was commaunded by the Pope, if he ſaw cauſe, to goe ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto K. Iohn ſuche letters, as the Pope had written for his better inſtruction, and to ſeeke by al meanes poſſible to draw him from his naughty opinion. In the meane time, when it was bruted through the Realme of England, that the Pope had releaſſed the people and aſſoyled them of their oth of fidelitie to the K. and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the Popes ſentence, by little and little a great number both of Souldiers, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Captaines, and Cõneſtables of Caſtels, leauing their charges and Biſhops with a great multitude of Prieſts reuolting from him, and auoiding his company and preſence, ſecretely ſtale away, and gote ouer into Fraunce. Notwithſtanding that, diuers in reſpect of the Popes curſe, and other cõſiderations them mouing, vtterly refuſed in this maner to obey K. Iohn, yet there were many others that did take his parte, and mayntayne his quarrell right earneſtly, as his brother William Earle of Saliſbury, Albericke de Vere Earle of Oxforde, Geffrey Fitz Peter Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England, alſo three Biſhops, Durham, Wincheſter, and Norwich, Richard de Mariſh Lord Chãcellor, Hugh Neuill chiefe foreſter, William de Wrothing Lord Warden of the portes, Roberte Veipount, and his brother Yuan, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucy, Hugh Balliole, and his brother Bernard, William de Cantlow, and his ſonne William, Foulke de Cantlow, Reginalde de Cornhull Sherife of Kent, Robert Braybrooke, and his ſon Harry, Phillip de Louecotes, Iohn de Baſſingborne, Phillippe Marth, Chatelaine of Notingham, Peter de Maulley, Robert de Gaugy, Gerard de Athie, and his Nephewe Ingelrand, William Brewer, Peter Fitz Hubert, Thomas Baſſet, and Foulks de Breant a Norman, with many other, too long here to reherſe, who as fautors and counſellers vnto him, ſought to defende him in all cauſes, notwithſtanding the cenſures of the Churche ſo cruelly pronounced agaynſte hym.

...dulfe ſent
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...e names of
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...t continued
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...n.

The ſame yeare, King Iohn held his Chriſtmas at Windſor, and in the Lent following, on midlent Sunday beeing at London, hee honored the Lorde Alexander ſonne and heire to the Kyng of Scottes, with ẏ high order of Knighthoode.

1212

And as I fynde it mentioned by ſome writers, whereas he vnderſtoode how there were dyuers in Scotlande, that contemning their naturall Lorde and Kyng by reaſon of his great age, King Iohn wente thither with an army to repreſſe the Rebels, and being come thither, hee ſendeth his men of warre into the inner parts of the Countrey, who ſcouring the coaſtes, tooke Guthred Macwilliam Capitaine of them that moued the ſedition, whome Kyng Iohn cauſed to be hanged on a paire of Gallowes.

Bernewell.

This Guthred was diſcended of the line of the auncient Scottiſhe Kynges, and beeing aſſiſted with the Iriſhmen and Scottes that fauoured not ẏ race of the Kyngs that preſently raigned, wrought the muche trouble, as his father (named Donald) hadde done before him, ſometime ſecretly vnder hande, and ſometime agayne by way of open Rebellion.

Shortly after, the Welſhmen began to ſturre alſo, and iſſuing forthe of their owne confynes, fell vppon their next neighbours within the Engliſhe marches, waſted the countrey, and ouerthrew diuers Caſtels flatte to the groũd. Wherevpon the King hauing knowledge therof, aſſembled a mighty army out of hande, and commyng to Nottingham, he hanged vp the Welſh hoſtages (whiche the laſt yeare hee had receyued) to the number of eight and twentie yõg ſtriplings, and by reaſon he was now ſet in a maruellous chafe, he roughly proceeded againſt all thoſe whome hee knew not to fauour his cauſe: ſome he dischargeth of their offices, other hee depriueth of their Capitayneſhippes and other roomes, and reuoketh certaine priuiledges and immunities graunted to Monkes, Prieſts, and mẽ of Religion. And now hauing his army redy to haue gone into Wales,

The Welſhmen moue Rebellion.
Mat Par.

An. reg. 14.

King Iohn hangeth the Welſh pledges.

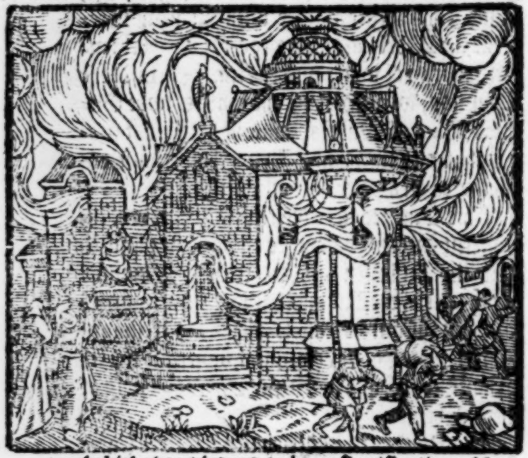
he

Mat. Paris.
King Iohn breaketh vp his army.

hee receyued letters the ſame time, both from the K. of Scottes, and from his daughter the wife of Lcoline Prince of Wales, conteyning in effecte the aduertiſement of one ſelfe matter, which was, to let him vnderſtand, that if he went forward on his iourney, he ſhould eyther through treaſon bee ſlayne of his owne Lords, or elſe bee deliuered to be deſtroyed of his enimies. The K. iudging no leſſe, but that the tenor of the letters conteyned a truth, brake vp his army, and returned to Londō. From whence he ſente meſſengers vnto all ſuche Lordes as hee ſuſpected, commaunding them to ſend vnto him hoſtages for more aſſuraunce of their fidelities. The Lords durſt not diſobey hys commaundemente, but ſente their ſonnes, theyr nephewes, and other their kinſmen, accordingly as he required, and ſo hys rancor was appeaſed for a time. But Euſtace de Veſcy, Roberte Fitz Walter, and Stephen Ridell, being accuſed and ſuſpected of the K. for the ſaide treaſon, were glad to flee the Realm, Veſcy departing into Scotland, and the other two into Fraunce.

Mat. Par.
Math VVeſt.
Saint Mary Oterys brent.

The ſame yeare, the Church of S. Mary Oueryſ, & all the buildings vpon London bridge on both ſydes the ſame, were conſumed with fyre, whiche was iudged to be a ſignification of ſome miſhap to follow. The K. helde his Chriſtmas this yere at Weſtminſter, with no great traine of knightes about him. And muchwhat about the ſame time, Geffrey Archb. of Yorke departed this life, after he had remained in exile about a ſeauen yeres. But now to returne again to the practiſes of the Popes Legates. Yee ſhall vnderſtande, the French K. being requeſted by Pandulfe ẏ Popes Legate, to take the war in hād againſt K. Iohn, was eaſily perſwaded thereto of an inwarde hatred that he bare vnto our K. and thereupon with all diligence made his prouiſion of men, ſhippes, munition and victuall, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into Englād: and now was his nauy ready rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greteſt forwardneſſe, to take his iourney. When Pandulfe vpon good conſiderations thought firſt to goe eftſoones, or at the leaſt wiſe, to ſend into England, before the French army ſhould land there, and to aſſay once agayne, if he might enduce the Kyng to ſhew himſelf reformable vnto the Popes pleaſure. King Iohn hauing knowledge of the Frēch kings purpoſe and ordinance, aſſembled his people, and lodged with them alongſt by the coaſt towards France, that he might reſiſt his enimies and keepe them off from landing. Heere writers declare, that he had gotte togither ſuch an army of men out of all the parties of his Realme, both of Lords, Knightes, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, that notwithſtāding al the prouiſion of vittayles that might poſſible be recouered, there could not be found ſufficient ſtore to ſuſteyne the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongſt the coaſt, namely at Douer, Feuerſham, Gypeſwich, and other places. Whereupon the Captaynes diſcharged and ſente home a great number of the commōs, reteining only ẏ men of armes, yeomen, and free holders, with the Croſſebowes and Archers. There came likewiſe to ẏ kings aide at ẏ ſame time, ẏ B. of Norwich out of Ireland, bringing with him fiue C. mē of armes, and a great ſort of other horſemē. To cōclude, there was eſteemed of able men aſſembled togither in the army on Barreham downe, what of choſen mē of armes, & valiant yeomen, & other armed men the number of ſixty thouſand: ſo that if they had bin all of one mind, and well bente towards the ſeruice of their K. end defence of theyr countrey, there had not bin that Prince in Chriſtendome, but that they mighte haue bin able to haue defended the Realme of England agaynſte him. He had alſo prouided a nauie of Shippes farre ſtronger than the Frenche Kyngs, ready to fyghte with them by Sea, if the caſe hadde ſo required. But as hee lay thus ready, neere to the coaſt, to withſtande and beate backe hys enimyes, there arriued at Douer two Templers, the whyche commyng before the Kyng,



1213

The deceſſe of Geffrey the Archbyſhop of Yorke.

The French King prepareth to inuade Englande.

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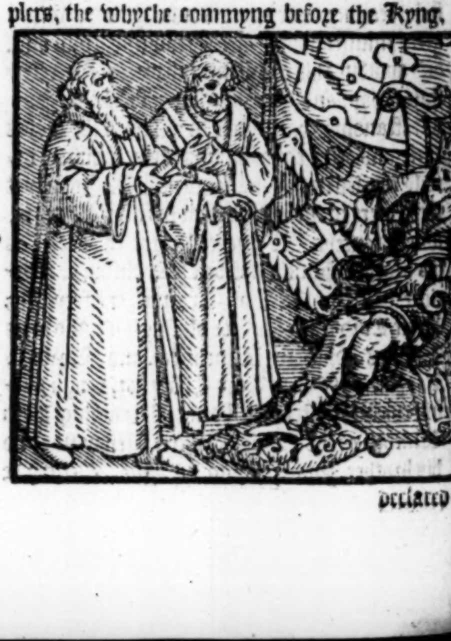


declared vnto him, that they were ſente from the Popes Legate Pandulſe, who for his profite coueted to talke with him: for hee had as they affirmed, meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God, and to hys Churche, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeted all the right which he had to hys Kingdome.

Legate
ulph
meth ouer

The Kyng vnderſtanding the meaning of the meſſengers, ſent them backe againe to bring ouer the Legate, who incontinently tranſported ouer vnto Douer, of whoſe arriuall when the K. was aduertiſed, he went thither, & receyued hym with al due honor & reuerence, and after they had talked togither a little, and courteouſly ſaluted eache other, as the courſe of humanitie required, the Legate as it is reported, vttered his tale vnto the Kyng in this manner: I doe not thinke that you are ignorant, how Pope Innocēt, to do that which to his duety apperteyneth, hath both aſſoiled youre ſubiectes of that oth whiche they made vnto you at the beginning, and alſo taken from you the gouernaunce of England, accordyng to youre deſertes, and finally giuen commaundement vnto certayne Princes of Chriſtendome, to expulſe you out of thys Kingdome, and to place an other in your roomth ſo worthely to puniſh you for your diſobedience and contempte of Religion, and that Phillippe King of Fraunce with the firſt being ready to accompliſh ẏ Popes commaundement, hath an army in a readineſſe, and with his nauie newly decked, rigged and furniſhed in all poyntes, lyeth at the mouth of the Riuer of Sayne, looking for a proſperous winde, that as ſoone as it commeth about, hee may ſayle therewith hither into Englande, truſting (as hee ſaith with the help of your owne people (whyche neyther name you, nor will take you for theyr Kyng) to ſpoyle you of youre Kyngdome with ſmall adoe, and to conquere it at his pleaſure, for he hath as he ſticketh not to proteſt openly to the world, a charter made by all the chiefeſt Lordes of England touching their fealtie and obedience aſſured to him. Therefore, ſith God for your iuſt deſert is wroth with you, and that you are as euill ſpoken of by all menne, as they that come againſt you be well reported, I would aduiſe you, that whileſt there is place for grace and fauour, rather to obey the Popes iuſt demaundes, to whoſe worde other Chriſtian Princes are ready to giue eare, than by ſtriuing in vayne to caſt away youre ſelfe and all others that take youre parte, or are bente to defende your quarrell or cauſe.

Legates
ds to the
K.

These wordes beeing thus ſpoken by the Legate, Kyng Iohn as then vtterly deſpayring in his matters, when hee ſaw hymſelfe conſtreyned to obey, hee was in a greate perplexitie of minde, and as one full of thoughte, looked aboute him with a frowning countenaunce, waying with himſelfe, what counſell were beſt for him to follow. At length, oppreſſed with the burthen of the imminent daunger and ruine, agaynſt hys will and very loth ſo to haue done, hee promiſed vpon hys oth to ſtande to the Popes order and decree. And therefore ſhortly after (in lyke manner as Pope Innocent hadde commaunded) hee taketh the Crowne beſydes his owne head, and deliuereth the ſame to Pandulph the Legate, neyther hee, nor hys heires at any tyme thereafter to receyue the ſame, but at the Popes handes.

K. Iohn deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

After thys, hee promiſed to receyue Stephen the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury into hys fauour, with all other the Byſhoppes and baniſhed menne, makyng vnto them ſufficiente amendes for all iniuries to them done, and ſo to pardon them, that they ſhoulde not runne into any daunger, for that they hadde rebelled agaynſte hym.

Pandulph reſtoreth the Crowne again to the Kyng.

Then Pandulph keepyng the Crowne with hym by the ſpace of fyue dayes in token of poſſeſſion thereof, at length as the Popes Vicar, hee reſtored it to hym againe. By meanes of thys acte (ſayth Polidore) the fame went abroade, that Kyng Iohn willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himſelfe vaſſall to Pope Innocente, with condition, that hys ſucceſſors ſhould lykewiſe from thenceforth acknowledge to haue theyr righte to the ſame Kyngdome from the Pope.

But thoſe Kynges that ſucceeded Kyng Iohn, haue not obſerued any ſuche lawes of reconciliation, neyther doe the autentique Chronicles of the Realme make mention of any ſuche ſurrender, ſo that ſuche Articles as were appointed to Kyng Iohn to obſerue, perteyned vnto hym that hadde offended, and not to hys ſucceſſors. Thus ſaith Polidor, howbeit, Ranulf Higden in hys Booke entituled *Polichronicon*, ſayth indeede, that Kyng Iohn dyd not onely bynde hymſelfe, but hys heires and ſucceſſors, beeyng Kynges of Englande, to bee feodaries vnto Pope Innocente and hys ſucceſſors Popes of Rome, that is to ſaye, that they ſhoulde holde theyr dominions of them in fee, yeeldyng and paying yeerely to the See of Rome the ſumme of ſeuen hundred markes for England, and three hundred markes for Irelande.

Ran. Higd.

England became tributarie to the Pope

Mat. VVeſt.

Furthermore, by reporte of the moſt autentique and approoued Writers, Kyng Iohn, for to auoyde all daungers whyche (as he doubted) myghte enſue, deſpairing as it were in hymſelfe, or rather moſt ſpecially, for lacke of loyall duetie in hys Subiectes, condiſcended to all the perſwaſions of Pandulph, and ſo not withoute hys greate hartes greeuaunce, he was contented to take hys othe, togyther

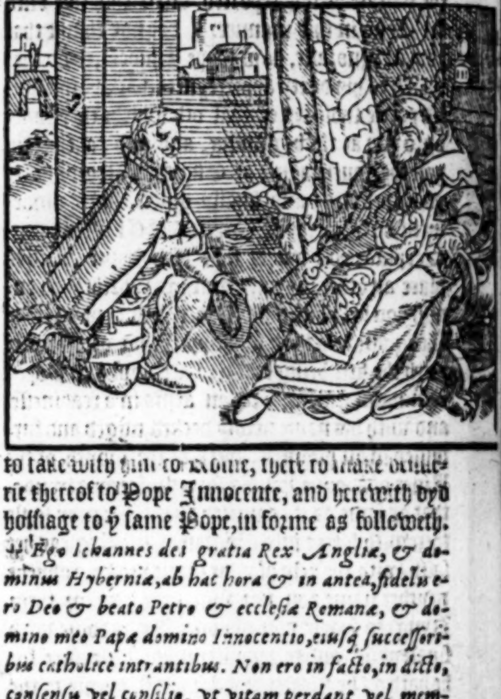
Mat. Paris.

with ſixteene Earles and Barons, who laying their hands vppon the holy Euangeliſtes, ſware with him vpon perill of ſoule, that hee ſhoulde ſtand to the iudgement of the Church of Rome, and that if hee repented him, and would refuſe to ſtand to promiſe, they ſhould then compell him to make ſatiſfaction. Here vpon, they being altogither at Douer, the King and Pandulfe, with the Earles and Barons, and a greate multitude of other people, agree and conclude vpon a final peace in forme as here enſueth:

The charter of King Iohn his ſubmiſsiõ.

Iohannes Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus hanc chartam inſpecturis, ſalutem in domino. Vniuerſitati veſtræ per hanc chartam ſigillo noſtro munitam, volumus eſſe notum, quòd cum Deum & matrem noſtram ſanctam Eccleſiam offenderimus in multis, & proinde diuina miſericordia plurimum indigeamus, nec quod dignè offerre poſsimus pro ſatisfactione Deo & eccleſiæ debita facienda, niſi noſmetipſos humiliemus & regna noſtra, volentes noſipſos humiliare, pro illo qui ſe pro nobis humiliauit vſq; ad mortem, gratia ſancti Spiritus inſpirante, non vi interdicti, nec timore coacti, ſed noſtra bona ſpontaneaq; voluntate, ac cõmuni conſilio Baronum noſtrorum conferimus, & libere concedimus Deo & ſanctis Apoſtolis eius Petro & Paulo & ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ matri noſtræ, ac domino Papæ Innocentio, eiuſq; catholicis ſucceſſoribus, totum regnum Angliæ & totũ regnum Hiberniæ, cum omni iure & pertinentijs ſuis, pro remiſsione omnium peccatorum noſtrorum, & totius generis noſtri, tã pro viuis quàm pro defunctis, & amodo illa ab eo & eccleſia Romana tanquã ſecundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præſentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini Papæ ſubdiaconi & familiaris. Exinde prædicto domino Papæ Innocentio, eiuſq; catholicis ſucceſſoribus, & eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſecundùm ſubſcriptam formam fecimus & iurauimus, & homagium ligium in præſentia Pãdulphi: ſi coram domino Papa eſſe poterimus, eidem faciemus: ſucceſſores noſtros & hæredes de vxore noſtra in perpetuum obligãtes, vt ſimili modo ſummo Pontifici qui pro tempore fuerit, & eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præſtare, & homagium recognoſcere. Ad indicium autem huius noſtræ perpetuæ obligationis & conceſsionis, volumus & ſtabilimus, vt de proprijs & ſpecialibus redditibus noſtris prædictorum regnorum, pro omni ſeruitio & conſuetudine, quæ pro ipſis facere debemus, ſaluis per omnia denarijs beati Petri, eccleſia Romana mille marchas Eſterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in feſto ſcilicet ſancti Michaëlis quingẽtas marcas, & in Paſcha quingentas: Septingentas ſcilicet pro regno Angliæ, & trecentas pro regno Hyberniæ, ſaluis nobis & hæredibus noſtris, iuſtitijs, libertatibus, & regalibus noſtris. Quæ omnia, ſicut ſupra ſcripta ſunt, rata eſſe volentes atque firma, obligamus nos & ſucceſſores noſtros contra non venire, & ſi nos vel aliquis ſucceſſorum noſtrorum contra hæc attentare præſumpſerit, quicunque ille fuerit, niſi ritè commonitus reſipuerit, cadat à iure regni. Et hæc charta obligationis & conceſsionis noſtræ, ſemper firma permaneat. Teſte meipſo, apud domum militum templi iuxta Doueram, coram H. Dublinenſi Archiepiſcopo, Iohanni Norwicenſi Epiſcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. comite Sareſberiæ, Willelmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononiæ, W. comite Warennæ, S. comite Winton. W. comite Arundel W. comite de Ferarijs, W. Briwere, Petro filio Hereberti, Warino filio Geroldi, xv. die Maij, anno regni noſtri decimo quarto.

This order and inſtrument being written and ingroſſed, the King deliuered it vnto Pandulfe, to take with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof to Pope Innocente, and herewith dyd homage to ẏ ſame Pope, in forme as followeth.



Ego Iohannes dei gratia Rex Angliæ, & dominus Hyberniæ, ab hac hora & in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Petro & eccleſiæ Romanæ, & domino meo Papæ domino Innocentio, eiuſq; ſucceſſoribus catholicè intrantibus. Non ero in facto, in dicto, conſenſu vel conſilio, vt vitam perdant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eorum damnum ſi ſciuero, impediam, & remanere faciam ſi potero: alioquin eis quàm citius potero intimabo, vel tali perſonæ dicam, quam eis credam pro certo dicturã. Conſilium quod mihi crediderint, per ſe vel per nũcios ſuos ſeu literas ſuas, ſecretum tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli pandam me ſciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & ſpecialiter regnum Angliæ, & regnum Hyberniæ adiutor ero ad tenendum & defendendum, contra omnes homines pro poſſe meo. Sic me adiuuet Deus, & hæc ſancta Euangelia, Amen. Acta autem ſunt hæc, vt prædictum eſt, in vigilia dominicæ Aſcẽtionis ad Doueram. Anno. 1212.

The engliſh whereof is as followeth.

Iohn by the grace of God K. of Englande, and Lord of Ireland, from this houre forward, ſhall

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by King
to the Po

ſhall be faithfull to God and to Saint Peter, and to the Church of Rome, and to my Lorde Pope Innocentius, and to his ſucceſſors lawfully entring. I ſhal not be in word nor deede, in conſent or counſell, that they ſhoulde loſe life or member, or be apprehended in euill manner. Their loſſe if I may know it, I ſhal impeach and ſtay, ſo farre as I ſhall be able, or elſe ſo ſhortly as I can, I ſhall ſignifie vnto them, or declare to ſuch perſon the whiche I ſhall beleeue will declare the ſame vnto them. The councell which they ſhall committe to me by themſelues, their meſſengers, or letters, I ſhall keepe ſecrete, and not vtter to any man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patrimony of Saint Peter, and ſpecially the Kyngdomes of England and Ireland, I ſhall endeuor my ſelfe to defend againſt all men to my power, So help me God, and theſe holy Euangeliſts. &c. Theſe things were done on the euen of the Aſcention of our Lord, in the yere. 1213.

at. Paris.

Pandulph hauing thus recōciled King Iohn, thought not good to releaſſe the excommunication, till the Kyng hadde performed all thinges whiche hee had promiſed, and ſo with all ſpeede hauing receyued eyghte thouſande markes ſterling in part of reſtitution to be made to the Archbyſhop, and the other baniſhed menne, hee ſayled backe into Fraunce, and came to Roan, where he declared to King Phillip the effect of his trauaile, and what he had done in England. But Kyng Phillip hauing in this meane while conſumed a great maſſe of money, to ẏ ſumme of ſixtie thouſande pounde, as he himſelfe alledged, about the furniture of his iourney which he intēded to haue made into Englande, vpon hope to haue had no ſmall ayde within the Realme, by reaſon of ſuche Byſhops and other baniſhed men as he hadde in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of Kyng Iohn, and determined not ſo to breake off his enterprice, leaſt it mighte bee imputed to him for a great reproch to haue bin at ſuch charges and great expences in vayne. Therfore calling his councell togither, he declared vnto them what he purpoſed to do. All his nobles in like manner held with him, and allowed his purpoſe to be very good and requiſite, except the Erle of Flanders named Ferdinando, who in hope to recouer againe thoſe Townes which the French King helde from hym in Arthois, as Ayre, and Saint Omers, hadde ioyned ſecretely in league with Kyng Iohn, and with the Earle of Bullongne, and therefore miſliked the concluſion of their aduice. Howbeit, King Phillip not being yet fully certified hereof, cauſed his nauie to draw alongſt the coaſt towardes Flaunders, whyther he himſelfe haſted to goe alſo by land, that comming thither, he might from thence ſayle ouer into England, and take lande at a place to him aſſigned. Now it came to paſſe, that at his comming to Graueline, he hadde perfect knowledge, that the Erle of Flaunders was ioyned in league with his enimies, wherefore he determined fyrſte to ſubdue the Earle, leaſt whileſt hee ſhoulde bee out of his Realme, ſome great trouble or ſedition might riſe within his owne dominions. Therfore, leauing the enterpriſe whiche hee meante to haue made againſt Englande, he turned his power againſt the Earle of Flaunders, and firſt cōmaunded his nauie to ſayle vnto the Porte of Damme, whileſt he himſelf keeping on his iourney ſtill by lande, tooke the Towne of Caſſyle, and likewiſe Ypres. Frō thence, he went to Bruges, and beſieged the Towne, but hee coulde not winne it at the firſte, and therefore leauing a power of men to maynteyne the ſiege before it, hee himſelfe went to Gaunte, and thereto alſo layde his ſiege.

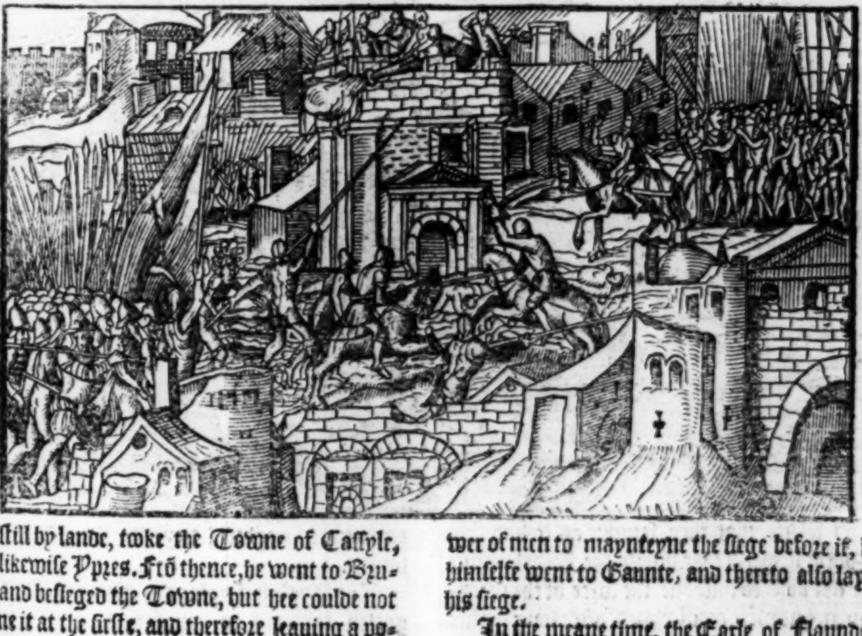
rtie thou-
d markes
ſiluſt ſayth
th. Weſt.

The French K. diſpleaſed for the reconcillation of K. Iohn with the Pope.

The French K. meaneth to proceede in his iourney againſt the Realme of Englande.

The French K. inuadeth Flanders.

Gaunt beſieged by the French king.



In the meane time, the Earle of Flaunders perceyuing that he was not able to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an enemie as the French King, ſent ouer in haſt vnto the King of England for ayde: whereupon King Iohn vnderſtanding that his aduerſarie Kyng Phillip hadde turned all his force againſt the Earle of Flaunders, and that thereby he was deliuered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England. That ſame nauy (which as before is recited,) he had put in a readineſſe, conteyning the number of fyue hundred ſayle, hee ſente ſtraighte into Flaunders with a ſtrong army, both of Horſemen and footemenne, vnder the guiding of William Duke of Hollande, William Longſpee Earle of Saliſbury, baſe brother to King Iohn, and Reginald Earle of Bullongne.

Mat. Paris.

These Captaynes being nowe paſſed forthe with their fleetes into the mayne Sea, eſpied anone many Shippes lying without the hauen of Dam: (for the number of Shippes of the Frenche fleete was ſo greate, that the hauen could not receyue them all, ſo that many of them lay at ancre withoute the hauen mouth, and all alongſt the coaſt.) Wherefore, they ſente forthe certayne Shallops, to eſpie whether they were friendes or enimies, and what theyr number and order was.

It chanced, that the ſame time, the menne of Warre which were appoynted to keepe yͤ French fleete, were gone forthe, togither with a greate number of the Marriners to ſpoyle and fetche booties abroade in the Countrey.

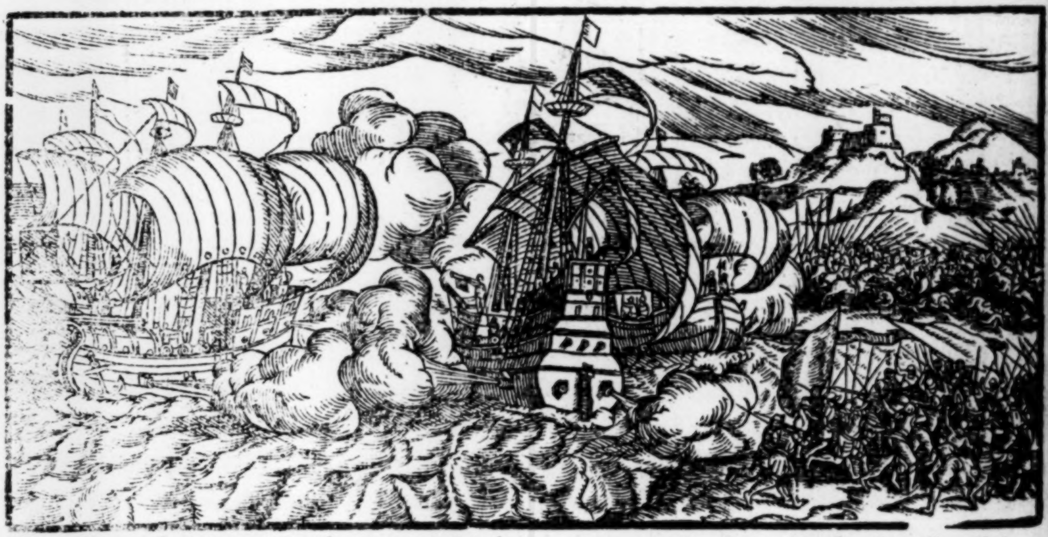
The Engliſhe eſpials therefore, makyng ſemblance as though they had bin ſome fiſhermen of thoſe parties, came very neere the Frenche Shippes lying at ancre, and perceyuing them to be vnfurniſhed of people neceſſary to defend them, came backe to their company, and declared what they hadde ſeene, certifying theyr Captaynes that the victory was in theyr handes, if they woulde make ſpeede.

The Captaynes glad of theſe newes, commaunded theyr men to make them ready to giue battayle, and cauſing theyr marriners to make ſayle directly towards the Frenche fleete, at theyr firſt approch they wanne thoſe tall Shippes that lay at ancre abroade afore the Hauen, withoute any great reſiſtance, the Marriners only making requeſt to haue their lyues ſaued.

The Eng
men as
the Fren
Shippes.

The other ſmaller veſſels whyche (after the tyde was gone) remayned vppon the ſandes (ſpoiling them fyrſte of theyr tacle and other thyngs that would ſerue to vſe) they conſumed with fire, the Marriners eſcaping by flight.

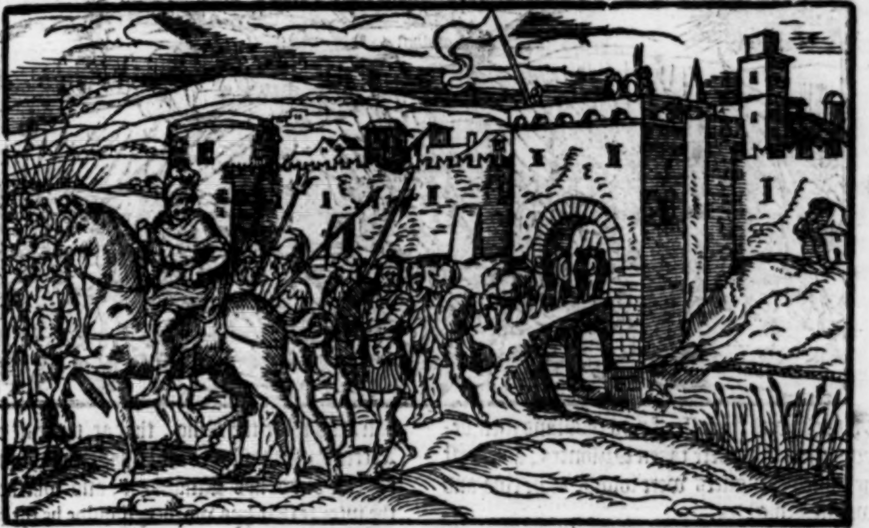
Thus the Engliſhmenne hauyng diſpatched thys buſineſſe with good ſucceſſe, they ſet vppon thoſe Shippes that lay in harbrough within the Hauen. But heere was hard holde for a whyle, bycauſe the narrowneſſe of the place woulde not gyue any great aduauntage to the greater number.



And thoſe Frenchmenne that were gone abroade into the Countrey, perceyuyng that the enimies were come, by the running away of the Marriners, returned with all ſpeede to theyr Shippes to ayde theyr fellowes, and ſo made valiant reſiſtance for a time, till the Engliſhmen getting on lande, and raunging themſelues on eyther ſyde of the Hauen, beate the Frenchmen ſo on the ſydes, and the Shippes crapolling togyther on fronte, that they foughte as it had byn in a pight field, till that finally the Frenchmenne were not able to ſuſteyne the force of the Engliſhmen, but were conſtreyned after long fyghte and greate ſlaughter, to yeelde themſelues Priſoners.

The Engliſh men wanne the Frenche Shippes.

The Engliſh Captaynes glad of this victory gotten contrary to expectation, fyrſte gaue thankes to God for the ſame, and then manning three C. of thoſe Frẽch Shippes which they had taken fraught with corne, wine, oyle, fleſhe, and other vittayles, and alſo with armour, they ſente them away into England, and afterwardes they ſet fire on the reſidue that lay on ground, whyche were aboue an hundred, bycauſe they were drawen vp ſo farre vpon the ſandes, that they coulde not eaſily get them out, without their farther inconuenience.



After this, comming on lande with their power, they marche forthe into the Countrey in good order of battayle, to the ende, that if they ſhould encounter with Kyng Phillip by the way comming to the reſkewe of hys Shippes, they myghte bee ready to giue him battayle, whyche thyng was not deuiſed, without good and greate conſideration. For Kyng Phillip being certified of the daunger wherein hys Shippes ſtoode by the ſodayne comming of his enimies, and therwithall beeing in good hope to come to their ſuccours in tyme, and ere the Engliſhmenne hadde wrought their full feate, hee raiſed his ſiege, and made haſt toward the coaſt: but as he was comming forward towards his nauie, he was aduertiſed, that the enimies had wonne all his whole fleete, and were nowe marching forth to meete him, and to giue him battayle. Alſo it was tolde him, howe Ferdinando the Earle of Flaunders, beeing certified of the victory atchieued by hys friendes, followed at his backe. Wherefore, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme ouerraſhly to committe himſelfe into manifeſt perill, he ſtayed a little from Bruges, and there encamped for that day, as if hee meant to abide the comming of his enimies. The nexte morrowe, he raiſed, and returned towardes Fraunce, the very ſame way that hee came, no man purſuing him. For the Engliſhmen contented with that victory whiche they hadde gotten, thought it not neceſſary to follow him with their farther hazard. In the meane time, Kyng Iohn receyuing newes of this proſperous victory thus gotten by his people, did wonderfully reioyce for the ſame, conceyuing an hope, that all his buſineſſe woulde now come forwarde, and growe to good ſucceſſe. This is the troth of this hiſtory, as ſome authors haue ſet forth, but Iames Meire in his diſcourſe of Flaunders, declareth the matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus: Vpon ẏ Thurſday before ẏ feaſt of Pentecoſt (ſaith he) the Engliſh fleete ſetting vpon the French nauie whyche lay at ancre in the Hauen of Dam, drowned certayne of the Frenche Veſſels, and toke to the number of four, which they conueyed away with them. Ferdinando the Erle of Flaunders hauing an army of men ready by lande, was lodged the ſame time not farre off from the coaſt, and therefore hearing what had chaunced, came the nexte day, and ioyned with the Engliſhmen.

he French
returneth
to France.

Mat. Paris.
Polidor.
Ia. Meir.

There were yet remayning alſo diuers other of the Frenche Shippes, (beſydes thoſe whiche the Engliſhmen hadde ſonke and taken,) whiche were drawen vp further into the land warde.

The Earle of Flaunders therefore, and the Engliſh Captaynes iudged, that it ſhould much hinder the Frenche Kinges attemptes, if they myghte winne thoſe Shippes alſo with the Towne of Dam, wherein the Kyng hadde layde vp a greate parte of hys prouiſion for the furniture of hys warres.

Heerevppon the Engliſhmenne were ſette on lande, and ioyning with the Earles power, they marche ſtrayte towardes Dam. Thys was vppon Whitſon euen, vppon the whyche daye, as they were moſt buſie in aſſaulting the Towne and Shippes whyche laye there in the Hauen, the Frenche Kyng beeyng come away from Gaunt, ſuddaynely ſet vpon them, and though in the beginning he found ſharp reſiſtāce, yet in the ende, the Engliſhmen and Flemmings ouerſet with the great multitude of the Frenchmen, were putte to flighte, and chaſed to theyr

The Engliſhmen and Flemings vanquiſhed by the French power.

Shippes, with the loſſe of two thouſand men, beſydes thoſe that were taken Priſoners, amongſt the which Priſoners were founde to be two and twentie Knightes.

The French K. brenneth his Shippes.

The Earle of Flaunders with the Earles of Bulleyne and Saliſbury, doubting to loſe theyr Shippes, and late gotten bootie, ſailed ſtraite into one of the Iles of Selande called Walkeren, then the Frenche Kyng conſtreyning them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Yipres, to deliuer vnto him pledges, cauſed the Towne of Damme, and hys Shippes lying there in the Hauen to be brenned, doubting leaſt they ſhuld come into yͤ hands of his enimies. And this done, hee returned into Fraunce, leauing his ſonne Lewis and the Erle of Saint Paule in garriſon at Liſle and Doway, and for great ſummes of money which by agreement he receiued of the Townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Yipres, he reſtored vnto them their pledges. Thus hathe Meire: and Mathew Paris differeth not muche from him touching the ſucceſſe which chaunced to the Engliſhmenne by land. Heere will I ſtaye a while in the farther narration of this matter, and touche by the way a thing that hapned to Kyng Iohn about thys preſent time.

An Hermite named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as ſome Writers haue. See maſter Fox tome firſt page. and. 331.

There was in this ſeaſon an Hermite, whoſe name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bycauſe that eyther inſpired with ſome ſpirite of prophecie as the people beleeued, or elſe hauyng ſome notable ſkill in arte magike, he was accuſtomed to tell what ſhoulde followe after. And for ſo muche as oftentimes his ſayings proued true, greate credite was giuen to him as to a very Prophet.

This Peter about the fyrſte of January laſt paſt, had tolde the King, that at the feaſt of the Aſcention it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that he ſhould bee caſt out of hys Kingdome, and whether, to the intente that hys wordes ſhoulde be the better beleeued, or whether hee hadde too muche truſt of hys owne cunning; hee offered hymſelfe to ſuffer deathe for it, if hys Prophecy proued not true. Heerevppon hee beyng committed to priſon within the Caſtell of Corf, when the daye by him prefixed came, without any other notable domage vnto Kyng Iohn, hee was by the Kynges commaundemente drawen from the ſayde Caſtell, vnto the Towne of Warham, and there hanged, togither with hys ſonne.

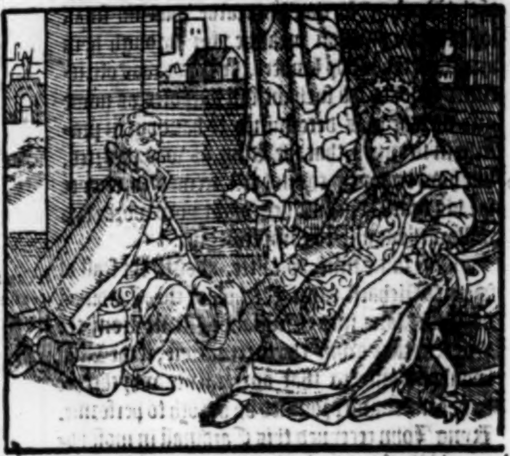
The Hermi and his ſo hanged.

The people muche blamed Kyng Iohn, for thys extreame dealing, bycauſe that the Hermite was ſuppoſed to be a man of greate vertue, and his ſonne nothing gilty to the offence committed by hys father (if any were) againſte the Kyng.

Moreouer, ſome thought, that he had muche wrong to dye, bycauſe the matter fell out euen as hee hadde propheſyed: for the daye before the Aſcention daye, Kyng Iohn hadde reſigned the ſuperioritie of hys Kyngdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the Pope, and had done to hym homage, ſo that he was no abſolute Kyng indeede as Authors affirme. One cauſe, and that not the leaſt which moued King Iohn the ſooner to agree with the Pope, roſe through the wordes of the ſayde Hermite, yͭ did put ſuche a feare of ſome greate miſhappe in hys hart, which ſhould growe through the diſloyaltie of his people, that it made hym yeelde the ſooner. But to the matter agayne.

King Iohn after hys Captaines in Flaunders hadde ſpedde ſo well (as before yee haue hearde,) hee prepareth to make a voyage into

Gaytane, not regarding much the matter, in that the Realme ſtoode as yet interdicted. But when hee vnderſtoode by hys Lordes, that they woulde not goe with hym except the interdicting might fyrſte be releaſed, and hee clearely aſſoyled of the Popes curſſe, to the ende that Goddes wrathe and the Popes beyng fully pacifyed towardes hym, hee myghte with better ſpeede moue and mainteyne the warres, hee was conſtreyned to change hys purpoſe, and ſo commyng to Wincheſter, diſpatched forthe a meſſinger with letters ſigned with the handes of foure and twentie Earles and Barons, vnto the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury and Byſhoppes of London, Lincolne, and Hereforde, as then ſoiourning in Fraunce, requiring them with all the other baniſhed menne, to returne into England, promiſing them by hys letters patentes, not onely a ſure ſaufeconduit for their comming ouer, but that hee woulde alſo forget all paſſed diſpleaſures, and frankely reſtore vnto euery manne all that by hys meanes hadde bene wrongfully taken from them, and as yet by hym deteyned.



ing Iohn riteth to the rchb. and o- her the By- hops to re- urne.

The Archbyſhoppe and the other Byſhoppes receyuing the Kynges letters, with all ſpeede made haſt to come into Englande, and ſo arriuing at Douer the ſixteenth daye of Iuly, with other the baniſhed menne, they goe to Wincheſter, where the Kyng yet remayned, who hearing that the Byſhoppes were come, went forthe to receyue them, and at his fyrſte meetyng with the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, hee kneeled downe at hys feete, and beſoughte hym of forgiueneſſe, and that it woulde pleaſe hym and the other Byſhoppes alſo to prouide for the reliefe of the miſerable ſtate of the Realme. Herewith the water ſhooting in dyuerſe of theyr eyes on bothe ſydes, they enter into the Citie, the people greatly reioycing to beholde the head of the common wealthe to agree at length with the members.

he Biſhops o returne.

hey came to Vinchester e twentith f Iuly. he King neeleth to e Archb.

This was in the yeare after the birth of oure Sauioure. 1213.

King Iohn required of the Archbyſhoppe (hauing as then the Popes power in his handes, bycauſe hee was hys Legate) to be aſſoyled, promiſing vppon hys ſolemne receyued oth, that hee woulde (aboue all thyngs) defende the Churche and the order of Prieſthoode from receyuing any wrongs.

The K. prayeth to be aſſoyled.

Alſo, that hee woulde reſtore the olde lawes made by the auncient Kings of Englande, and namely thoſe of Saint Edward, which were almoſt extinguiſhed and forgotten. And further, that hee woulde make recompence to all menne whome he had by any meanes indomaged. This done, he was aſſoyled by the Archbiſhop, & ſhortly after he ſent his Orators to Rome, to intreate with the Byſhoppe to take away the interdiction of the land. On the morrow after alſo, the Kyng ſente hys letters to all the Shiriffs of the Counties within the Realme, commaunding them to ſummon foure lawfull men of euery towne belonging to the demeane of the Crowne, to make their appearance at Sainte Albons, vpon the fourth day of Auguſt, that they and other might make inquiſition of the loſſes whiche euery Byſhoppe hadde ſuſteyned, what had bin taken from them, and what ought to bee reſtored to them as due for the ſame.

He is aſſoiled.

A queſt of inquirie.

The Archbyſhoppe for that time takyng hys leaue of the Kyng, went to Caunterbury, where he reſtored the Monkes to theyr Abbey, and then tooke poſſeſſion of hys See, beeing the two and fortith Archbyſhoppe that hadde ruled the ſame.

The Archb. taketh poſſeſſion of his See.

In the meane tyme, the Kyng repayred to Porteſmouth, there to take the Sea to ſayle ouer into Poictowe, committing the rule of the Realme vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Peers, Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, and to the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, commaunding them to vſe the councell and aduice of the Archbyſhoppe of Canterbury, in gouerning thyngs touching the common wealthe.

Herewith, there came alſo to the Kyng a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had ſpent in ſtaying for him, and his going ouer ſea, all their money, ſo that hee muſt now needes giue them wages, if he would haue them to paſſe ouer with him into Fraunce. The whiche when hee refuſed to do, hee was conſtreyned to take the water with his owne ſeruauntes, arriuing about a three dayes after at the Iſle of Ierſey: but perceyuing that none of his Lordes followed hym according to his commaundement, as one diſappoynted of ayde, hee returned backe againe into Englande, there to take further order for thys theyr miſdemeanor. Whyleſt theſe thynges were thus in doyng, Geffrey Fitz Peter, and the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter were come

The Lords refuſe to follow the King into Fraunce.

King Hēry the firſt his lawes.

to S. Albons, togither with the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, and other Biſhops and peeres of the Realme, where the Kyngs peace being proclaymed to all men, it was on his behalfe ſtraitly commaunded, that the lawes of Kyng Henry his Grandfather ſhoulde be obſerued vniuerſally within his Realme, and that all vniuſt lawes and ordinances ſhould be abrogated.

It was alſo commaunded, that no Shirife, no forreſter, nor other miniſter of the Kynges, ſhould vpon paine of life and limme, take violently any thing of any man by way of extortion, nor preſume to wrong any man, or to fyne any man, as they had afore time bin accuſtomed to doe.

The Archb. menaceth to excommunicate thoſe that aſsiſt the king

After this, the King beeing come backe from his iourney which he purpoſed to haue made into Poictow, hee aſſembled an army, and meante to haue gone againſt thoſe Lordes which had refuſed to goe with him, but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury cōming to him at Northamptō, ſought to appeaſe his moode, and to cauſe him to ſtay, but yet in his furious rage he went forwarde till he came to Nottingham, and there with muche adoe, the Archbiſhop following him with threatning to excommunicate all thoſe that ſhould aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterprice.

After thys, the Archbyſhoppe aboute the fyue and twentith day of Auguſt, came to London, there to take aduice for the reformation of things touching the good gouernemente of the common wealthe. But here, whyleſt the Archbyſhoppe, with other peeres of ẏ Realm deuiſed orders very neceſſary (as was thought) for the ſtate of the cōmon wealthe, the King doubting leaſt the ſame ſhould be a bridle for him to reſtrayne his authoritie royall from doyng thyngs to his pleaſure, he beganne to fynde fault, and ſeemed, as though hee hadde repented hymſelfe of his large promiſes made for his reconciliation: but the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury ſo aſſuaged his moode, and perſwaded him by opening vnto him what daunger woulde enſue both to him and to hys Realme, if hee wente from the agreemente, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble. In thys hurly burly alſo, the Lordes and peeres of the Realme (by the ſetting on of the Archbyſhoppe) were earneſtly bente to haue the Kyng to reſtore and confirme the graunt which hys Graundfather Kyng Henry the firſte hadde by his charter graunted and confirmed to his ſubiectes, whiche to doe, Kyng Iohn thoughte greatly preiudiciall to hys royall eſtate and dignitie.

[illegible] Cog.

The Earle of Tholouze.

The Earle of Tholouze hauing loſt all hys poſſeſſions, the Citie of Tholouze onely excepted, came ouer into Englande, and rendred the ſayde Citie into the handes of King Iohn, and receyued at his departure, the ſumme of tenne thouſande markes as was reported, by the bountifull gifte of Kyng Iohn.

Mat. Pa

Geffrey F
Peers or F
Peter dep
teth this

The ſecond of October, Geffrey Fitz Peter, Erle of Eſſex, and Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England, departed this life, a man of great power and authoritie, in whoſe politique direction and gouernemente, the order of things perteining to the common wealth chiefly conſiſted. Hee was of a noble minde, experte in knowledge of the lawes of the land, riche in poſſeſſions, and ioyned in bloud or affinitie with the more parte of all the Nobles of the Realme, ſo that his deathe was no ſmall loſſe to the common wealthe: for through hym and the Archbiſhop Hubert, the King was oftentimes reuoked frō ſuch wilfull purpoſes, as nowe and then he was determined to haue put in practiſe, in ſo much, that the King, as was reported, but how truely I cannot tell, ſeemed to reioyce for his death, bycauſe hee might now worke hys will without any to comptroll him.

A Car
ſent in
lande.

The ſame time, to witte, aboute the feaſt of Saint Michaell, came Nicholas, the Cardinall of Tuſculane into Englande, ſente from the Pope, to take away the interdiction, if the King woulde ſtande to that agreemente whyche hee hadde made and promiſed by his oth to performe. Kyng Iohn receyued this Cardinall in moſt honorable wiſe, and gladly heard him in all things that he had to ſay.

Thys Legate at his comming to Weſtminſter, depoſed the Abbot of that place, named William, from hys roome, for that hee was accuſed both of waſting the reuenewes of the houſe, and alſo of notable incontinencie.

The bu
of Oxf
quire a
tion.

Moreouer, the Burgeſſes of the Towne of Oxforde came vnto hym to obteyne abſolution of their offence, in that through their preſumption, the three ſcollers (of whome ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the greate terror of all the reſidue. To be ſhorte, they were aſſoyled, and pennance enioyned them, that they ſhould ſtripe them out of their apparell at euery Churche in the Towne, and going bareſooted with ſcourges in their handes, they ſhoulde require the benefite of abſolution of euery the Pariſh Prieſte within their Towne, ſaying the Pſalme of *Miſerere*.

A coun
called by
Cardinall

After this, the ſayde Cardinall called a counſell or conuocation of the Cleargie, to reforme ſuch things touching the ſtate of the Churche as ſhould be thought requiſite. And though he handled not thys matter with ſuche fauour and vprightneſſe as the Biſhoppes wiſhed on their behalfes, yet hee cauſed King Iohn to reſtore the moſt parte of all thoſe goodes that remayned vnſpente, and alſo the valewe of halfe of thoſe that were conſumed and made away, vnto thoſe perſons as well ſpiritual as temporal, from whome they had bin taken in time of the diſcord betwixt him and the Pope.

But before all things coulde bee thus quieted and ſet in order betwixte the King and the Byſhops, many meetings were had, as at London, Reading, and Wallingford, and in other places. Nowe the Archbiſhoppe and Prelates for theyr partes thought this recompence to be but ſmall in reſpect of the great loſſes and hinderances whiche they had ſuſteyned: and to haue the whole reſtitution delayed, they tooke it not well. But the Cardinall leaned ſo to the Kyngs ſyde (hauyng receyued of hym to the Popes vſe the charter of ſubiection of the Realmes of England and Irelande, nowe bulled with golde, where at the firſte it was deliuered to Pandulph, ſealed only with ware. But their ſute came to little effect, and in yͤ end it fell out in ſuch wiſe, that their complaynte was leſſe regarded. The rating moreouer of the valew which the Kyng ſhoulde reſtore vnto the Archbyſhoppe, and to the other Byſhops, was by agreemente of the Kyng and them togither, appoynted vnto four Barons, indifferently choſen betwixt them. Yet at length that deuiſe tooke no place: but it was otherwiſe decreede by the Pope, that the Kyng ſhoulde reſtore to them the ſumme of fortie thouſande markes, of the whych he had payde already twelue thouſand, before the returne of the ſayde Archbiſhoppe and Byſhops into the Realme, and fifteene thouſande more at the late meeting had betwixt them at Readyng, ſo that there remayned only .13000. behynde: for not only the Kyng, but alſo the Cardinall hadde ſent to the Pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertiſe hym, that there was a great fault in the Archbyſhop and his fellowes. Inſomuche, that Pandulph whiche was ſente to him from the Legate, declared in fauoure of the King, that there was not a more humble and modeſt Prince to be found thã Kyng Iohn, and that the Archbyſhop and hys fellowes were too hard, and ſhewed themſelues too couetous in requiring the reſtitution that ſhoulde bee made to them for loſſes ſuſteyned in time of the interdiction. Now the cauſe wherefore the Legate and the Kyng dyd ſende vnto the Pope, was this: there was ſome grudge betwixte the Legate and the Archbiſhoppe, for that where the Pope had written to the Legate, how he ſhoulde accordyng to the order of the auncient Cannõs of the Church, place in euery Byſhoppes See and Abbey (that was vacant) meete, and able perſons to rule and guyde the ſame, the Legate preſuming vppon that authoritie graunted him by the Pope, without the aduice of the Archbyſhoppe or other Byſhops, tooke onely with him certayne of yͤ kings Chaplaynes, and commyng with them to ſuche Churches as were vacant, ordeined in them ſuch perſons, as wer nothing mete to take ſuch charge vpon them, and that according to the olde abuſe of England, as ſaith Mathew Paris. Whereupon the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury repinyng at ſuche doyngs, ſente to the Legate as then beeing at Burton vppon Trente, two of his Chaplaynes from Dunſtable (where he and his ſuffraganes helde as then a Synode, after the feaſt of the Epiphany) commaundyng hym by way of appeale, in no wiſe to meddle with inſtituting any gouernours to Churches, within the precinct of his iuriſdiction, where ſuch inſtitutions belonged only to him.

ſtution to
nce to
Byſhops.

g Iohn
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e preſump-
of the
inall.

1214

Burton vpon Trent.
Dunſtable.
A Synode.
Diſcord betwixt the Cardinall and the Archbyſhop of Canterbury

Heerevppon therefore the Legate diſpatched Pandulph to Rome vnto the Pope as is aforeſaide, and the Kyng likewiſe ſente Imbaſſadors thither as the Byſhop of Norwich, and yͤ Archdeacon of Northumberland, with other, the whiche in the ende ſo behaued thẽſelues in their ſute, that notwithſtanding Simon Langhton the Archbyſhops brother earneſtly withſtoode them, as Proctor for the Byſhoppes, yet at length, the Pope tooke order in the matter, writing vnto hys Legate, that hee ſhoulde ſee the ſame fulfilled, and then aſſoyle the Realme of the former interdiction.

In this meane tyme, Kyng Iohn made prouiſion to goe ouer into Fraunce (as after ye ſhall heare) but at hys going ouer, hee committed the whole ordering of this matter vnto the Legate, and to William Marſhall the Earle of Pembroke. The Legate therefore vppon the recept of the Popes Bulles, called a Counſell at London, & there declaring what was conteyned in yͤ ſame, he tooke bandes for paymente of the reſidue of the fortie thouſande markes which was behinde, being .13000. only as before I haue ſaide.

About yͤ ſame time alſo, Walter Gray B. of Worcetor, was remoued to yͤ gouernemente of yͤ See of Yorke, which had bin vacant, euer ſith the death of the Archbyſhop Geffrey. This Walter was yͤ three and thirtith Archbiſhop that gouerned that See. But nowe to returne and ſpeake of the kings affayres in the parties of beyonde the Sea.

Walter Gray Biſhop of Worcetor, is remoued to the See of Yorke.

Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that hauing ſet hys buſineſſe in ſome good ſtay at home with the Legate, hee applyed his ſtudy to the performance of his warres abroade. And therefore hee firſte ſent money into Flaunders to pay the Souldiers wages, whyche hee had ſente thither to ayde yͤ Erle there agaynſte Kyng Phillippe. Whiche Earle came ouer thys yeare into Englande, and at Caunterbury the Kyng receyued hym, where he dyd homage to the Kyng for the whole Earledome of Flaunders: and on the other parte, the K. as well to the ſayde Earle, as to ſuche Lordes & Biſhops which came ouer with hym, declared

Mony ſent into Flaunders.

Rauſe Cog.
The Earle of Flaunders doth homage to K. Iohn.

his royall liberalitie by princely giftes of golde ſiluer, iewels, and precious ſtones.

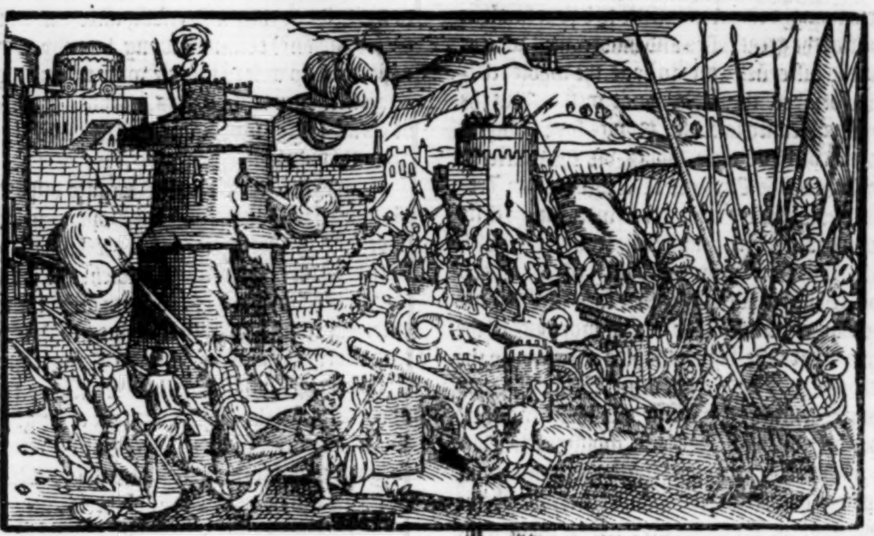
Mat. Paris.

The lands of the Earle of Guiſnes waſted

After his returne, ſuch captaines as remayned in his countrey with their bandes at the Kyng of Englandes pay, made a iourney into Fraunce, and waſted the landes that belonged to the Erle of Guiſnes, wanne the Caſtell of Bruncham, and raſed it, taking within it diuers men of armes and demilances.

They alſo wanne by ſiege the Towne of Ayre, and brent it.

The Caſtell of Liens they tooke by aſſaulte, and ſlewe many Souldiers that defended it, beſide thoſe which they tooke priſoners.



Moreouer, they waſted and deſtroyed the landes whiche Lewes the Frenche Kings ſonne was poſſeſſed of in thoſe parties. In the meane tyme, Kyng John hauing prepared a mighty nauie, and a ſtrong army of valiant Souldiers, tooke the Sea at Portſmouth on Candlemaſſe day, togither with his wife, hys ſonne Richarde, and Eleanor the ſyſter of Arthur Duke of Brytayne. Hee hadde not many of hys Earles or Barõs with him, but a great number of knightes, and Gentlemenne, with whome hee landed at Rochell in ſafetie, within a fewe dayes after hys ſetting forth.

Hee tooke ouer with him ineſtimable treaſure as it was reported, in golde, ſyluer, and iewels.

Immediately vppon hys arriuall at Rochell, the Barons of Poictow reuolted from ẏ French King, and comming in to Kyng John, did homage vnto him, as to their King and ſoueraigne Lord.

An. reg. 16.

But howſoeuer it was, after the truce began to expire which he had graunted vnto the Earles of March and Augi, on the Friday before Whitſonday he came with his army before the Caſtell of Meireuẽt, which belõged vnto Geffrey de Lucignam, and on ẏ day next enſuing being Whitſon eue, he wanne the ſame. And on Whitſenday he layde ſiege vnto Nouant, an other Caſtel belonging to the ſame Geffrey, who as then was lodged in the ſame, and alſo two of hys ſonnes: but within three dayes after that the ſiege was layde, the Earle of March came to King John, and did ſo much, that through his meanes, both Geffrey, and his two ſonnes were receyued to mercy, and Kyng John put in poſſeſſion of the Caſtell.

Meireuent. Geffrey de Lucignan.

Nouant.

Mount

Parthenay.

After this, bycauſe King John was aduertiſed that Lewis the Frenche Kings ſonne hadde beſieged Mountcounter, a Caſtell that was apperteyning to the ſaid Geffrey, he haſted thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to hym as well the foreſayd Earle of Marche, as alſo the Earle of Augy, and both they togyther with the ſayde Geffrey de Lucignam dyd homage to oure Kyng, and ſo became hys liege men.

Iane the daughter of King Iohn married to the erle of M

The ſame time alſo, the Lady Jane the kings daughter was affianced to the ſayde Earle of Marche hys ſonne, whereas the Frenche Kyng made meanes to haue hir married to hys ſonne: but for that Kyng John doubted leaſt that ſute was attempted but vnder ſome cloked pretext, he would giue no eare thereto, but rather made thys matche with the Earle of Marche, in hope ſo to aſſure himſelfe of the ſaid Earle, that might ſtand him in no ſmall ſteede to defend his cauſe againſt his aduerſaries of Fraunce. But now to the doings in Englande.

Ye haue heard before how Pope Innocẽt, according to that whiche King John had required of hym by ſolemne meſſengers, directed hys

Bulles vnto his legate Nicholas, declaring vpon what conditions his pleaſure was to haue the ſentence of interdiction releaſed. Wherein firſt he commaunded that the king ſhoulde ſatiſfie and pay ſo much money vnto the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie, and to the Biſhop of London, and Ely, as ſhould fully amount to the ſumme of. xl. M. Markes, with that which alreadie he had payed, which was. xxvij. thouſand Markes, at two ſeuerall payments, as vpon his accounts appeared.) For true contentation and payment to bee made of the reſidue, he ordeyned that the king ſhould be ſworne, and alſo ſeale to an obligation (and certaine ſureties with him, as the Biſhops of Norwich, and Winchester, with the Earles of Cheſter, Winchester, and Marſhall) all which things were performed at this preſent, ſo that after the aſſurance ſo taken for payment of the odde. xiij. thouſande Markes behinde, reſidue of the. xl. M. Markes, the interdiction was takẽ vtterly away, and the lande ſolemnly releaſed by the Legate, ſitting within the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule at London, vpon the. xxix. of June. in the yeare 1214. after the terme of. vj. yeares, three monethes, and. xiiij. dayes, that the realme had bene ſtryken with that dreadfull darte of correction, as it was then eſteemed.

e interdic-
released.

King John in this meane while remayning ſtill in France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauourable ynough vnto him, by reaſon his power was muche encreaſed by the ayde of the Poictouins, he determined to attempt the wynning of Brytaine, for this cauſe ſpecially, that he might by ſo doing weaken the French kings power, and partly alſo to withdraw him frõ the warres of Flanders, on which ſide he had procured likewiſe the Frenche borders to bee inuaded with great force, and that not onely by the Earle and ſuch captaynes as he had ſent thither, and reteyned in wages, but alſo by the Emperour Otho, who in proper perſon came downe into that Countrey himſelfe.

The Emperor Otho.

Herevpon king John went forth with all his power of horſemen, and entring into Brytaine, maketh rodes through the Countrey, waſting the ſame euen to the walles of Naunts: But ſhortly after the Brytaines aſſembled togither, vnder the leading of Peter, the ſonne of Robert Earle of Drieux (the French kings vncle, who had maried the Ladie Adela, daughter to Duke Guy of Brytaine) and marching forth into the fielde to defend their Countrey from the enimies, came to ioyne with them in battaile. At the firſt there was a right ſharpe encounter, but at length the Brytains being vanquiſhed and put to flight, a greate number of them were taken priſoners, and amongſt other their Captaines, the foreſayde Peter was one, whome king John ſent away with all the reſt vnto Angiers, to be kept in ſafegarde vntill he ſhould returne.

King Iohn inuadeth Brytaine.

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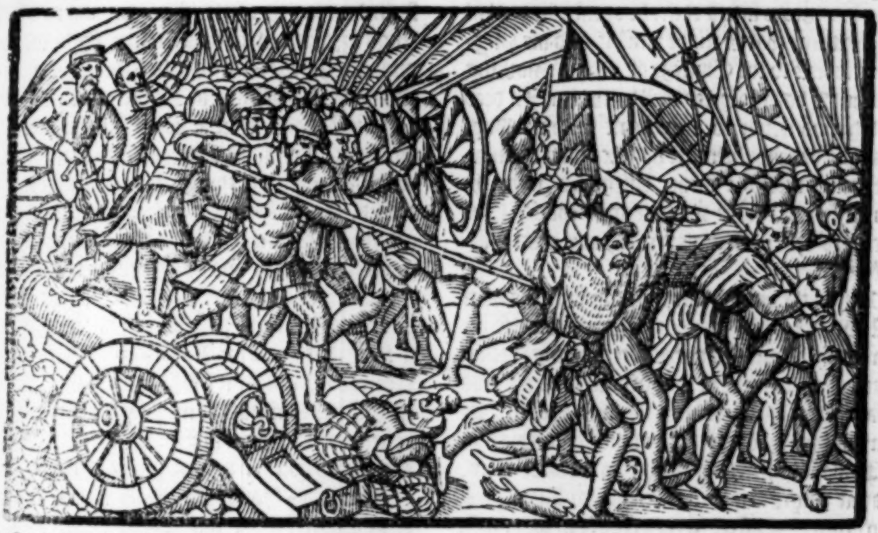

After this, hee beſieged a Caſtell that ſtoode vpon the banke of the Riuer of Loyer called *La Roch au Moyne*, enforcing his whole endeuour to haue woonne it. But ere hee coulde attaine his purpoſe, he was aduertiſed that Lewes the ſonne of King Philip was comming towardes him with a great power to rayſe his ſiege, wherefore hauing no greate confidence in the Poictauins, and vnderſtanding that Lewes brought wyth him a verie ſtrong armie, hee tooke aduice of hys Counſell, who iudged that it ſhoulde bee beſt for him to breake vp his ſiege, and to depart, whiche hee did and went ſtraight way to Angiers.

e French
gs ſonne
e to fight
h K. Iohn.

Lewes (after king John was thus retyred,) brought the Poictauins againe to ſubiection, and put the chiefe authours of the rebellion to death.

King Iohn remoueth to Angiers.

The Poictauins ſubdued by the French.

In the meane time alſo his father king Philip with like ſucceſſe, but in a foughten field vanquiſhed

The battaile at the bridg of Bouins.

quiſhed the Emperour Otho at the Bridge of Bouins on the .xxviij. day of July, as in the hyſtorie of Fraunce maye more at large appeare. There were takẽ amõg other priſoners, the three

Erles of Flanders, Saliſburie and Bollongne. Now king John being aduertiſed of that ouerthrow, was marueillouſly ſadde and ſorrowfull of the chaunce, inſomuch that he woulde not receyue any meate in a whole day after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his ſorrow into a rage, he openly ſayde, that ſith the tyme that he made himſelf and his kingdome ſubiect to the Churche of Rome, nothing that he did had proſpered well with him. In deed he did condiſcende to agreement with the Pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather diſſembled with the Pope (ſithe he coulde not otherwiſe chooſe) than agreed to the couenauntes wyth any heartie affection.

The ſaying of king Iohn.

But to the purpoſe. Perceyuing himſelfe now deſtitute of his beſt friendes, of whom diuerſe remayned priſoners with the French king (beeing taken at the battaile of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king Philip for this preſent, by way of taking ſome truce, which by mediation of Ambaſſadors riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fiue yeares, & to begin at Eaſter, in the yere of our lord. 1215.

A truce taken betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce.

Then after this about the .xix. day of October he returned into Englande to appeaſe certain tumultes which beganne alreadie to ſhewe forth buddes of ſome newe ciuill diſſention, and ſurely the ſame ſpredde abrode theyr bloſſomes ſo freſhly, that the fruite was knitte before the growth by any tymely prouiſion coulde be hyndered. For the people being ſet on by diuerſe of the ſuperiors of both ſortes, fynding themſelues agreeued that the King kept not promiſe in reſtoring the auncient lawes of Saint Edwarde, determined from thenceforth to vſe force, ſince by requeſt he might not preuayle.

The Nobles alſo ſuppoſing that longer delay therin was not to be ſuffred, aſſembled themſelues togyther at the Abbey of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doe their deuotions to the bodie of Saint Edmond which lay there enſhrined) where they vtter their complaynt of the kings tyrannicall maners, alledging howe they were oftẽtimes called forth to ſerue in the warres and to fight in defence of the Realme, and yet notwithſtanding were at home ſtill oppreſſed by the kings officers, who (vppon confidence of the lawes) attempted al things whatſoeuer they conceyued. And if any man complayned, and alledged that he receyued wrong at theyr handes, they would anſwere by and by, that they had law on theyr ſide, to do as they had done, ſo that it was no wrong but right which they did, and therefore if they that were the Lordes and Peeres of the Realme were men, it ſtood them vpon to prouide that ſuch inconuenience might bee auoyded, and better lawes brought in vſe, by the which theyr aunceſtors lyued in a more quiet and happy ſtate.

A cloked
grymage.

There was broght forth and alſo read an ancient Charter made ſomtime by Henry the firſt, (which Charter Stephẽ the Archbiſhop of Canterburie had deliuered vnto them before in the Citie of London) conteyning the grant of certain liberties according to the lawes of king Edwarde the Confeſſor, profitable to the Church and Barons of the Realme, which they purpoſed to haue vniuerſallye executed ouer all the lande. And therefore beeyng thus aſſembled in the Queere of the Church of Saint Edmond, they receyue a ſolemne othe vpon the Aulter there, that if the king would not grant to the ſame liberties, with others which he of his own accord had promiſed

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to confirme vnto them, they would from thenceforth make warre vpon him, till they had obteyned theyr purpoſe, and enforced him to graunt, not onely to al theſe their petitions, but alſo yeeld to the confirmation of them vnder his ſeale, for euer to remaine moſt ſtedfaſt and inuiolate.

etwell.

The chiefe cauſe that moued the Lordes to this conſpiracie, roſe by reaſon the king demaunded *Eſcuage* of them that refuſed to go with him into Poictou: and they on the other part mainteyned, that they were not bounde to pay it, for any warres whiche the king made in the partes of beyonde the Seas. But hee to proue that hee ought to haue it, declared howe in his fathers and brothers tyme it was payed, and therefore hee ought to haue it. Much adoe there was aboute this matter at the firſt broching thereof, and more adoe there had beene, if the Legates preſence had not ſomewhat ſtayed the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of K. Henrie the firſt at the handes of the brew bate the Archb. of Cant, they made ſuch an interpretation thereof, that ſuppoſing it to ſerue their turnes, they proceeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

And finally it was determined amongſt them, that ſhortly after Chriſtmaſſe, they ſhoulde go to the king, and require of him that they might haue thoſe lawes reſtored, which hee had promiſed to them as is aforeſayde:) But foraſmuch as they knew well that their requeſt would not be thankfully accepted, in the meane time they prouided themſelues of horſe, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readineſſe and ſafegarde, if in exhibiting their requeſt, the matter did grow to any ſuch enforcement. They appoynted alſo diuerſe of the moſt auncient lordes to moue the ſayde matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worceſter, and being aduertiſed of this conſpiracie, as ſoone as the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe was paſt, he went ſtreight to London: thither came the Lordes alſo wyth like ſpeede, leauing their men in the townes and villages abrode, to be readie vpon any ſodaine warning, to come vnto them if neede ſhoulde ſo require. Being come into his preſence, they require of him that it might pleaſe him, firſt, to appoynt the exerciſe and vſe of thoſe auncient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of Englãd in times paſt ruled their ſubiects: ſecondly, that according to his promiſe, he woulde abrogate thoſe newe lawes, which euerie man might with good cauſe name mere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdly, they require of him the performance of al other things, whiche hee had moſt faythfully of late vndertaken to obſerue.

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The king (though ſomwhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their requeſt, gaue them a very gentle anſwere. For perceyuing them ready with force to conſtrayne him, if by gentleneſſe they might not preuayle, he thought it ſhould be more ſafe and eaſie for him to turne their vnquiet mindes with ſoft remedies, than to goe about to breake them of their willes by ſtrong hand, which is a thing verie daungerous, eſpecially where both parties are of like force. Therefore he promiſed them within a few dayes, to haue conſideration of their requeſt.

The king promiſeth to conſider of their requeſts.

And to the intent they might giue the more credite to his wordes, he cauſed the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Biſhop of Elie, with William Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke (vnto whom he had giuen his daughter Elenor in maryage) to vndertake for him, and as it were to become his ſureties: which willingly they did. Herewith the myndes of the nobilitie being ſomewhat pacified, they returned home to theyr houſes.

Math. Paris.

The king ſoone after alſo, to aſſure hymſelfe the more effectually of the allegeance of his people in tyme to come, cauſed euery man to renue his homage, and to take a newe othe to be faythfull to him agaynſt all other perſons. And to prouide the more ſurely for himſelf, on Candlemaſſe day next enſuing, he tooke vpon him the Croſſe to goe into the holye lande, whiche I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was alſo thought by other, to the ende that he might vnder the protection thereof remaine the more out of daunger of ſuch as were his foes.

The king demaundeth a newe othe of allegeance of his ſubiects.

The king taketh on him the croſſe.

Some ſay that a great part of this variance that chaunced betwene king Iohn and his Barons, was bycauſe the king would without ſkilfull doome haue exiled the Earle of Cheſter, and for none other occaſion, than for that he had often tymes aduiſed him to leaue his cruel dealing, and alſo his accuſtomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others.

The cauſes of the diſcorde betwixt the king and his Barons.

Fabian.

Caxton.

The Earle of Cheſter.

Other write, that the ſame diſſention roſe by reaſon of the great crueltie, and vnreaſonable auarice, which the king vſed towardes all the eſtates and degrees of his ſubiects, as wel towardes them of the ſpiritualtie, as of the temporaltie.

Hec. Boetius.

The kings couetouſneſſe.

The Prelates therefore of the realme ſore repining at his doings, for that they could not paciently ſuffer ſuch exaction to be leuied of their liuings (contrarie as they tooke it to the libertie of the Church) founde meanes through practiſe, to perſwade both the kings of Scotland & Fraunce to ayde and ſupport them againſt him, by linking themſelues togither with ſundrie Noble men of England. But theſe ſeeme to bee coniectures of ſuch wryters, as were euill affected towardes the kings cauſe.

The repining of the Clergy agaynſt the king.

Nowe therefore to the ſequele of the matter. The king hauing ſent away the Barons with a gentle anſwere, though he minded nothing leſſe than to ſatiſfie them in that they did demaunde,

Polidor.

bycauſe

Robert Fitz Walter.

The Archbi. of Canterburry moueth the K. to ſatiſfie the requeſts of the Baron.

bycauſe it made much agaynſt his royall prerogatiue: and therewith forſeeing that the matter woulde be like to growe at length to bee tried by force, he beganne to doubt his owne eſtate, and therefore he prepared an army, and fortefied dyuerſe Caſtelles and places with men, munition, and vitayles, into the which he myght retyre for his ſafetie in anye tyme of neede. The Barons which vnderſtoode the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie alſo their power, appoynting for theyr generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in councell, and valiant in warre. And herewith they come to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſenting vnto him a booke, wherein was conteyned a note of all the Articles of their petitions, and require him to vnderſtande the Kings minde touching the ſame. The Archbiſhop coueting to extinguiſh the ſedition (wherof he himſelf had beene no ſmall kyndler) and which was lyke to growe, if the Nobilitie were not pacifyed the ſooner, talked with the king, and exhorted hys grace verie inſtantly to ſatiſfie the requeſtes of his Barons, and herewith doth ſhew the booke of the Articles which they had delyuered vnto him.

The king refuſeth to grāt their petitions

Math. Paris.

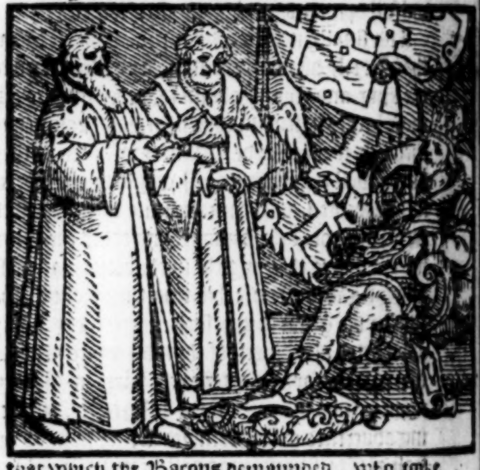
The king when he ſaw what they demaunded, whiche in effect was a newe order in things touching the whole ſtate of the cōmon wealth, ſware in a great furie, that he would neuer condiſcende vnto thoſe petitions: Wherof when the Barons had knowledge, they gat them ſtreyght vnto armour, making their aſſemble at Stamforde in the Eaſter weeke, whether they had drawne vnto them almoſt the whole Nobilitie, and gathered an exceding great army. For the Commons flocked vnto them from euerie part, bycauſe the King was generally hated of the more parte of his ſubiectes.

It was eſteemed that there was in that armie, the number of two thouſande knightes, beſyde yeomen on Horſebacke, or Demilaunces (as I may call them) and footemen apparelled in dyuerſe ſortes of Armor.

The names of the Lords that banded themſelues againſt the king.

The chiefe ringleaders of this power, were theſe whoſe names enſue: Robert Fitz Water, Euſtace Veſcy, Richarde Percie, Robert Roos, Peter de Breuſe, Nicholas de Stouteuile, Saer Earle of Wincheſter, Robert Earle of Clare, Henrie Earle of Clare, Richarde Earle Bygot, William de Mowbray, William de Creſſey, Rauſe Fitz Robert, Robert de Vere, Foulk Fitzwarren, William Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simō de Kime, W. Marſhal the yonger, Wil. Mauduyt, Rob. de Montibigonis, John Fitz Roberte, John Fitz Alane, G. Lauale, O. Fitz Alain W. de Hobrug. O. de Vales, G. de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunte, Robert de Brakeſley, Robert de Moūfichet, W. de Lanvalley, G. de Maundeuille Erle of Eſſex, W. his brother, W. de Hūtinfield, R. de Greſley, G. Conſtable of Menton, Alexander de Pāton, P. Fitz John, Alexander de Sutton, Oſbert de Body, John conſtable of Cheſter, Thomas de Muleton, Conane Fitz Hely, & many other: they had alſo of counſel with them as chief, the Archb. of Canterburie. The king as then was at Oxford, and hearing of the aſſemble which the Barons made, & that they were come to Brakeſley, on the Monday next after the octaues of Eaſter, he ſent vnto thē the Archb. of Canterbury, in whō he repoſed great confidence, & William Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke, to vnderſtande what they ment by that their aſſembling thus togither. Wherupon they deliuered to the ſame meſſengers a roll conteyning the auncient liberties, priuiledges, and cuſtomes of the realme, ſignifying that if the K. would not confirme the ſame, they would not ceaſe to make him warre, til he ſhoulde ſatisfie their requeſts in that behalfe.

The Archbiſhop and the Earle returning to the king, ſhewed him the whole circumſtance of that which the Barons demaunded, who tooke great indignation thereat, and ſcornefully ſayde, why do they not aſke to haue the kingdome alſo? Finally, he affirmed with an othe, that he woulde neuer graunt any ſuch liberties, wherby he ſhould become a ſlaue. Hereupon the Archb. and the erle of Pembrooke returned to the Barons, and declared the kings deniall to confirme their Articles. And then the Barons naming their hoaſt the army of God, and of the holy Church, they ſet forwarde, and firſt came vnto Northampton, and beſieging the towne, when they coulde not preuaile, bycauſe the ſame was wel prouided for defence aforehande, they depart from thence, & come towards Bedford to beſiege the caſtel there, in the which ſir William Beauchampe was captaine, who being ſecretly confederate with them, delyuered the place incontinently into theyr handes.



Whileſt they remayne here a certaine time to fortifie & furniſh the caſtell with neceſſarie prouiſion, there came letters to thẽ from London, gyuing them to vnderſtande that if they woulde ſende a conuenient crew of Souldiers to defende the Citie, the ſame ſhoulde be receyued therinto at ſome meete and conuenient tyme in the nyght ſeaſon by the Citizens, who woulde ioyne wyth them in that quarell againſt the king to the vttermoſt of theyr powers. The Lordes were glad of theſe newes, to haue the chiefe Citie of the realme to take part with them. And therfore they ſent foure bandes of ſouldiers ſtreyght way thyther, the which were brought into the Citie in the night ſeaſon, (according to order aforehande taken.) But as Mathew Paris hath, they were receyued into the citie by Algate, the .xxiiij. of May being ſunday, whileſt the citizens were at Maſſe. The next day they made open rebellion, toke ſuch as they knewe fauoured the king, brake into the houſes of the Iewes, and ſpoyled them of that they had.

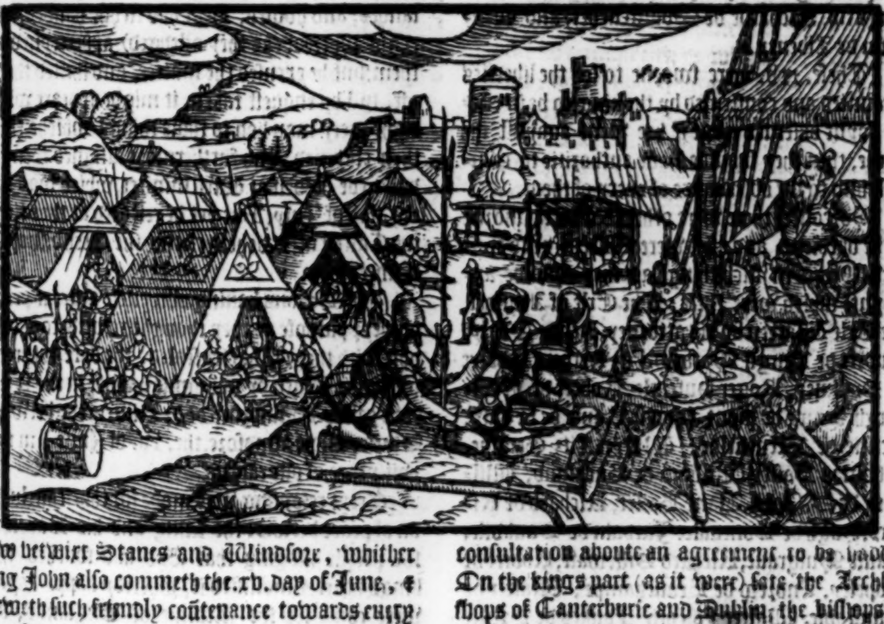
The Barons hauing thus gotten poſſeſſion of the Citie of London, wrote letters vnto all thoſe Lordes which as yet had not ioyned with them in this confederacie, threatning that if they refuſed to ayde them nowe in this neceſſitie, they would deſtroy their Caſtels, Manours, Parkes, and other poſſeſſions, making open warre vpon them as the enimies of God, and rebelles to the Church. Theſe were the names of thoſe Lordes which yet had not ſworne to mainteyne the foreſayd liberties, William Marſhall Erle of Penbroke, Reynulfe Earle of Cheſter, N. Earle of Saleſburie, W. Earle Warren, W. Erle of Albemarle, H. Earle of Cornewall, W. de Albeny, Robert de Veypount, Peter Fitz Herbert, Brian de Liſley, G. de Lucy, G. de Furniuall, Thomas Baſſet, H. de Braybroke, I. de Baſſingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornewall, Iohn Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Neuill, Philip de Albeny, Iohn Marſhall, and William Brewer. All theſe vpon the receipt of the Barons letters, or the more part of them came to London, and ioyned themſelues with the Barons, vtterly renouncing to ayde king Iohn.

The king left deſolate of friendes.

Polidor.

The Lordes encamped betwixt Stanes and Windſore

Alſo the pleyes in the Eſchequer ceaſed, and the Sherifes ſtayed from executing their office. For there was none that would pay any money to the kings vſe, nor any that did obey him, inſomuch that there remayned with him, but onelye vij. horſemen of all his trayne at one time, as ſome write) though ſoone after hee had a greate power, which came to him to the caſtell of Windſore, where he then lay) and ment to haue ledde the ſame agaynſt the Lordes with all ſpeede: but hearing now of this newe rebellion of the Londoners, he changed his purpoſe and durſt not depart from Windſore, being brought into greate doubt leaſt al the other cities of the realme would follow their example. Herevpon he thought good to aſſay if he might come to ſome agreement by way of communication, and incontinently ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Barons, promiſing them that he would ſatisfie their requeſts, if they would come vnto Windſore to talke with him. The Lords hauing no confidence in his promiſe, came yet with their army within three myles of Windſore, and there pight downe their tentes in a meadow betwixt Stanes and Windſore, whither king Iohn alſo commeth the .xv. day of Iune, & ſheweth ſuch friendly coũtenance towards euery one of them, that they were put in good hope he ment no deceipt. Being thus mette, they fell in conſultation aboute an agreement to be made. On the kings part (as it were) ſate the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Dublin, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincoln, Bath, Worceſter, Couentrie, Rocheſter, and Pandulph the Popes



nuncio, with Almericke maſter of the knights templers: the Erles of Pẽbroke, Saliſburie, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Galoway, W. Fitz Geralde, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Baſſet, Hugh de Neuile, Hubert de Burgh Seneſchal of Poictou, Robert de Ropeley, John Marſhall, and Philip de Albeney. On the Barons part, there were innumerable, for al the nobilitie of England was in a maner aſſembled there togither.

Magna Carta, and Carta de Foreſta.

Finally, when the king meaſuring his owne ſtrength with the Barons, perceyued that he was not able to reſiſt them, he conſented to ſubſcribe and ſeale ſuche articles concerning the libertyes demaunded, in forme for the moſt part as is cõteyned in the two Charters *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, beginning *Iohannes dei gratia &c.* And he did not onely graunt vnto thẽ their petitions touching the foreſayde liberties, but alſo to winne him further credite, was contented that they ſhoulde chooſe forth certaine graue and honourable perſonages, which ſhoulde haue authoritie and power to ſee thoſe things perfourmed which he then graunted vnto them.

There were .xxv. of thoſe that were ſo elected, by name theſe. The Earles of Clare, Albemarle, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, and Hereforde: alſo Earle Roger, Earle Robert, the Erle Marſhall the yonger, Robert Fitz Water the yonger, Gilbert de Clare, Euſtace de Veſcy, Hugh Bygot, William de Moumbray, the Maior of London, Gilbert de la Vale, Robert de Ros, John Coneſtable of Cheſter, Richard de Percey, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geffrey de Saye, Roger de Mounbray, William de Huntingfield, Richarde de Mountefichet, and William de Albeney.

Theſe .xxv. were ſworne to ſee the liberties graunted and confirmed by the king, to be in euery poynt obſerued, but if hee went agaynſt the ſame, then they ſhoulde haue authoritie to compell him to the obſeruance of euery of them.

Moreouer, there were other that were ſworne to be obedient, and as it were aſſiſtent vnto theſe .xxv. Peeres in ſuch things as they ſhoulde appoynt, which were theſe: The Erle of Arundel, the Erle Warren by his attorney, Henry Doyly, Hubert de Burgh, Mathew Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pynkney, Roger Huſcarle, Robert de Newburgh, Henry de Pont Audoin, Rauſe de la Hay, Henrie de Brentfielde, Waryn Fitz Geralde, Thomas Baſſet, William de Buckland, William de S. John, Alane Baſſet, Richard de Riuers, Hugh de Boneuale, Jurdain de Saukuile, Rauſe Muſgraue, Richard Siflewaſt, Robert de Ropeley, Andrew de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunſtable, Walter Foli oth, Foukes de Brent, John Marſhal, Philip Daubney, Wil. de Perca, Rauſe de Normanuile, Wil. de Percy, William Agoilum, Engerand de Pratellis, William de Cirento, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Bernero, and Godfrey de Grancombe. It was further ordred, that the Chatelaynes or Coneſtables (as I may call them) of the foure caſtels of Northampton, Killingworth, Notingham, and Scarborow, ſhould be ſworne to the .xxv. Peeres, to gouerne thoſe Caſtels in ſuch wiſe as they ſhoulde haue in commaundement from the ſayde .xxv. Peeres, or from the greater part of them: and that ſuch ſhould be placed as Chatelaines in the ſame, as were thought to be moſt true and faythful vnto the Barons and the realme.

It was alſo decreed, that certaine ſtraungers, as Flemings and other, ſhoulde be baniſhed out of Englande.

The king hereupon ſent his letters patentes vnto the Sheriffs of all the Counties of hys Realme, commaunding them to ſee the ordinances and liberties which hee graunted and confyrmed, to be diligently obſerued. And for the more ſtrengthning of this his graunt, he had gotten the Pope to confirme a like charter graunted the yere before. For the Pope (ſith king John was become hys obedient vaſſall, & the Apoſtolike king) eaſily graunted to gratifie both him and his Lordes herein, and ſo was the graunt of the libertyes corroborate and made good wyth a double confyrmation, and ſo ſealed, that it was impoſſible for them to bee ſeparate in ſunder, the Kings graunt being annexed to the Popes Bull.

Immediately alſo vpon the confyrmation nowe made by the king, dyuerſe Lordes came to him and required reſtitution of ſuche poſſeſſions, landes, and houſes, as he had in his handes, the ryght whereof (as they alledged) apperteyned to them: but he excuſed the matter, and ſhifted them off, tyll by enqueſt taken, it might appeare what right euery man had to thoſe things whiche they then claymed: and furthermore aſſigned them a day to be holden at Weſtminſter, which was the xvj. day of July. But yet he reſtored at that time the Caſtell of Rocheſter vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

The Barons hauing obteyned a great peece of theyr purpoſe as they thought, returne to London with theyr Charter ſealed, the date whereof was this. Yeuen by our owne hande, in the Medow called Runingſmede or Rimemede, betwixt Stanes and Windſore, the .xv. of June, in the xvij. yeare of our raigne.

Great reioyſing was made for this concluſion of peace betwixt the King and his Barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, & mollified it, whereby happy dayes were come for the Realme of Englande, as though it had beene deliuered oute of the bondage of Egypt: but they were much deceyued,

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for the king hauing condiſcended to make ſuche graunt of liberties, farre contrary to hys mynde, was right ſorrowfull in his heart, and curſed hys mother that bare him, the houre that hee was borne, the pappes that gaue him ſucke, wiſhing that he had receyued death by violence of ſworde or knife, in ſteede of naturall nouriſhment: hee whetted his teeth, hee bote nowe on one ſtaffe, and nowe on another as he walked, and oft brake the ſame in peeces when hee had done, and with ſuche diſordered behauiour and furious geſtures he vttered his griefe, in ſuche ſort that the Noble men right well perceyued the inclynation of his inwarde affection concerning theſe things before the breaking vp of the Councell, and therefore ſore lamented the ſtate of the Realme, geſſing what woulde followe of his impaciencie and diſpleaſant taking of the matter. And therefore they ſayde among themſelues, wo be to vs, yea rather to the whole Realme that wanteth a ſufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that ſeeketh the ſubuerſion thereof. Nowe hath our ſoueraigne Lorde made vs ſubiect to Rome, and to the Romiſh Court, ſo that wee muſt henceforth obteyne our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, leaſt we doe feele hereafter ſome further peece of miſchiefe to light vpon vs ſodenly. We neuer heard of any king that woulde not gladly endeuor to withdrawe his neck from bondage and captiuitie, but ours of his owne accorde voluntarily ſubmitteth himſelfe to become vaſſall vnto euery ſtraunger. And thus the Lords lamenting the caſe, left the king, & returned to Lōdon (as before ye haue heard.) But the king diſquieted not a litle for that he was thus driuen to yeeld ſo farre vnto the Barons, notwithſtanding as muche as was poſſible he kept his purpoſe ſecret, deuiſed by what meanes hee might diſappoynt all that had bin done and promiſed on his part, at this aſſemble betwixt him and the Lords for a pacification, (as ye haue heard) and hereupon the next dey very late in the euening, he ſecretly departed to Southhampton, & ſo ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he tooke aduice with his councell what remedy he might find to quiet the mindes of his Lords and Barons, and to bring them vnto his purpoſe. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduice of the more part, that the king ſhould require the Popes ayde therein. And ſo Walter the Biſhop of Worceſter, & Iohn the Biſhop of Norwich, with one Richard Mariſhe his Chancellor, with all ſpeed were ſent as Imbaſſadors from the king vnto Pope Innocent, to inſtruct him of the rebellion of the Engliſh nobilitie, & how that he cōſtrayned by force had granted vnto them certain lawes & priuileges, hurtfull to the realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne. And ſith that all this was done by the authoritie of the Pope, the king beſought him to make the ſame voyde, & to cōmaund the Barons to obey him being their king, as reaſon required thē to do. There were alſo ſent by him other meſſengers, as Hugh de Boues & others, into diuerſe partes beyond the ſea, to bring from thence great numbers of mē of warre and ſouldiers, appoynting them to meete him at Douer, at the feaſt of S. Michael next enſuing. He ſent alſo vnto al his Chatelaines & Coneſtables of Caſtels within the realme, requiring them to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for defence of their holdes committed to theyr charge, if they ſhuld chance to be beſieged, though it were on the next morow.

Hugh de Boues.

Mat. Paris.

His Imbaſſadors and other meſſengers being thus diſpatched, and hauing but few perſons left about him, or in maner none, except ſuche of the Biſhop of Norwich his ſeruaunts, as hee had borowed of him, he calleth to take priſes as any ſhips came by ſuſpected not to be his friendes, ſo ſeeking to winne the fauour of the Mariners that belonged to the cinque portes, and ſo lyeth cloſe in the Ile of Wight, and thereaboute the Sea coaſts, for the ſpace of three Monethes togither. In which meane time, many things were reported of him, ſome calling him a fiſher, ſome a merchant, and ſome a pyrate and rouer. And many, (for that no certain newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by ſome other meanes. But hee ſtyll looking for ſome power to come ouer to hys ayde, kept himſelfe out of the way, tyll the ſame ſhoulde be arryued.

Polidor.

The Ambaſſadors comming to the Popes preſence declare their meſſage.

Mat. Par.

The Lords all this while, lie at London, and beganne to doubt the matter, bycauſe they coulde heare no certaine newes where the king was become: for hee doubting (as I ſayde) the ſuretie of his perſon, conueyed himſelfe ſecretely from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentymes more meanely than was decent for his eſtate: and ſtyl he longed to heare howe his Imbaſſadours ſpedde with the Pope, who in the meane tyme comming vnto Rome, and there declaring theyr meſſage at ful, tooke it vpon their ſolemne othe, that the right was on the Kings ſyde, and that the fault reſted onely on the Lords, touching the whole controuerſie betweene them and him, who ſought with great rigour and agaynſte reaſon to brydle him at theyr pleaſures. They ſhewed alſo a note of certayne Articles conteyned in the Charter, which ſeemed to make moſt for the kings purpoſe, and withall declared that the King in open aſſemblie where hee and the Barons mette to talke of ſuch matters, had proteſted that the kingdome of Englande ſpecially apperteyned (as touching the ſoueraigntie) vnto the Church of Rome, whereupon hee neyther coulde nor ought without knowledge of the Pope ordeyne any thing of newe, or chaunge ought within that kingdome in preiudice therof. Wherefore where as he put himſelfe and all the rightes of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the Apoſtolike ſea: the Barons yet without regard had to the ſame appeale, did ſeaze into their poſſeſſion the citie of London, and getting them to armor, enforced the king to confirm ſuch vnreaſonable articles, as there appeared for him to conſider of.

The Popes anſwere vnto the kings Ambaſſadors.

The Pope hauing heard their tale, and conſidered of the articles, with bending browes (in witneſſe of his indignation) made forthwith this ſhort anſwere: And is it ſo, that the Barons of England (quoth he) do go about to expell their king, which hath taken vpon him the Croſſe, and is remayning vnder the protection of the Apoſtolike ſea? and doe they meane in deede to tranſlate the dominiō that belongeth to the church of Rome vnto an other? By S. Peter wee cannot ſuffer this iniurie to paſſe vnpuniſhed. Herevpō therfore (crediting the Ambaſſadors wordes) by the aduice of his Cardinals, he decreed that al thoſe priuiledges, which the king had graunted vnto the Lords & Barons of this realme, as inforced thereto by their rebellious attempt, ſhould be accoūted voyd and of none effect. Alſo he wrote vnto the Lords, admoniſhing thē by his letters, that they ſhould obey their K. vpō paine of his curſe, if they ſhould attempt any thing that ſounded to the cōtrary. At the ſame time likewiſe there was in the court of Rome (as Hector Boetius hath) a Cardinal named Gualo or Wallo, a moſt auaritious perſon, and ſuch one (as in that place ſome are neuer wanting) whiche for money paſſed not what he did to further any mans ſuyte, without regarde either to right or wrong, by whoſe chiefe trauaile and meanes the Pope was greatly induced to fauor king Iohns cauſe, and to iudge with him in preiudice of the Lordes purpoſes, as before is expreſſed.

Hec. Boetius.

Cardinall Gualo.

Polidor.

But to proceed. The Ambaſſadors being diſpatched, and hauing the popes preſcript, and ſuch other his letters with them as they had obteyned of him, returne with all ſpeed into England vnto the K. (who was come a litle before vnto Windſore caſtell) and there declare vnto him how they had ſpedde. Who being ioyfull in that they had brought the matter ſo well about for his purpoſe, cauſed the Popes decree to bee declared vnto the Barons, commaunding them ſtraitly for to obey the ſame. The Barons taking the matter grieuouſly to be thus mocked, with great indignation both blame king Iohns vniuſt dealing, and the Popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had pronounced agaynſt them, without hearing what they had of right to alledge for themſelues. And therefore out of hand (notwithſtanding the popes prohibition and preſcript to the contrarie) they determin to trie their cauſe by dint of ſworde, and with al ſpeed aſſemble their powers, which for the more part they had lately diſmiſſed & ſent home. They furniſh the caſtel of Rocheſter with a ſtrōg garriſon of men, and place therein for captaine, one William Albeney, a very ſkilfull warriour.

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King Iohn after he vnderſtood that the Barons (contemning the popes decree and inhibition,) were more offended and bent againſt him than before, ſendeth once againe to the Pope, to aduertiſe him of their diſobedience and great cōtumacie ſhewed in refuſing to ſtand vnto his preſcript. This done he returned into the Ile of wight, and ſailed from thence vnto Douer, where diuerſe of thoſe his cōmiſſaries which hee had ſent to hyre ſouldiers in forraine partes returne to him, bringing with thē out of diuerſe countreys ſuch a multitude of ſouldiers and armed men, that the only ſight of them ſtroke the hearts of all the beholders with great feare & terror. For out of the parties of Poictou, and Gaſcoine, their came men of great nobilitie, and right worthy warriors, as Sauery de Mauleon, Geffrey and Oliuer de Buteuile, two brethren, hauing vnder them great numbers of good ſouldiers and tal men of warre. Alſo out of Brabant, there came Walter Buc, Gerarde de Sotignie, and one Godeſtall, with three legions of armed men and Croſſebowes. Likewiſe there came out of Flaunders other Captaynes, wyth diuerſe bandes of ſouldiers, whiche Ferdinando Earle of Flaunders (lately returned oute of the French captiuitie) for olde friendſhippes ſake furniſhed and ſent ouer to ayde hym agaynſte hys ſubiectes, according as he had requeſted.

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King Iohn then hauing recouered ſtrength about hym. And beeing aduertiſed that William de Albeney was entred into the Caſtell of Rocheſter with a greate number of Knightes, men of Armes and other Souldiers, haſted thither with his whole armie, and beſieged them within, enforcing himſelfe by all wayes poſſible

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to winne the Caſtell as well by battering the walles with Engines, as by giuing thereto many aſſaultes: but the garriſon wythin (conſiſting of. 94. knightes beſide Demilaunces, and other Souldiers) defended the place verie manfully, in hope of reſcue from the barons, which lay as then at London: but they cõming forward one dayes iourney vnto Dartforde, when they heard that the King was comming forwarde in good array of battayle to meete them, vpon conſideration had of theyr owne forces, for that they were not able to match him with footemen, they returned backe againe to the Citie, breaking that aſſured promiſe which they had made and alſo confirmed by theyr ſolemne othes, which was that if the Caſtell ſhoulde chaunce to be beſieged, they woulde not fayle but to rayſe the ſiege. At length they within for want of vitayles were conſtrayned to yeelde it vp vnto the king, after it had bene beſieged the ſpace of three ſcore dayes: duryng which time they had beaten backe theyr enimyes at ſundrie aſſaultes, with great ſlaughter and loſſe. But the king hauing now got the poſſeſſion of that holde, vpon a griefe conceyued for the loſſe of ſo manye men, and alſo bicauſe he had lien ſo long about it ere hee coulde wynne it, to his ineſtimable coſtes and charges, was determined to haue put them al to death that had kept it. But Sauarie de Maulẽo aduiſed him otherwiſe, leaſt by ſuche crueltie, the Barons in any lyke caſe ſhoulde bee occaſioned to vſe the ſame extremitie towardes ſuche of his people, as by chaunce might fall into theyr handes. And ſo the king ſpared the nobles and gentlemen, ſending Wil. de Albeney, William de Lancaſter, William de Emeford, Thomas de Muleto, Oſbert Gifford, Oſbert de Bobye, Odynell de Albeney, and dyuerſe other to the Caſtell of Corfe, there to bee kepte as pryſoners. And Robert Charney, Richarde Gifforde, and Thomas de Lyncolne were ſent to Notingham, and ſo other were ſent to other places. But all the Demilaunces of yeomen (if I ſhall ſo call them) and the Arbaleſtiers whiche hadde ſlayne manye of his men during the ſiege (as Mathew Paris hath) the King cauſed to bee hanged, to putte other in feare that ſhoulde ſo obſtinatelye reſyſte hym.

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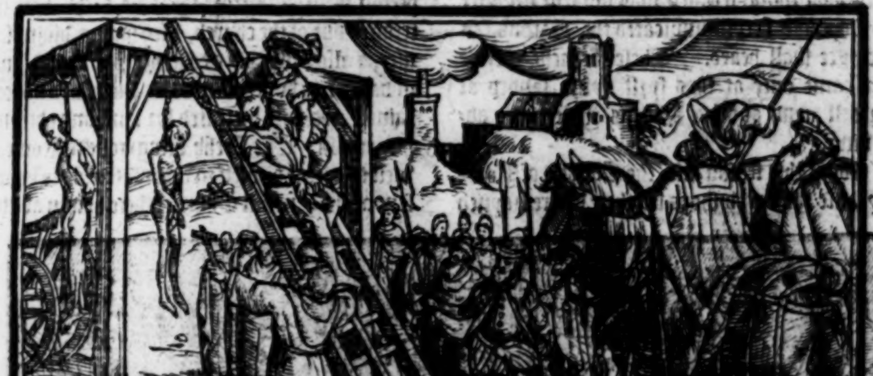
The counſaile of Sauarie de Maulcon.

Arbaleſtiers, thoſe that beare Croſſebowes.



But as the booke that belonged to Bernwell Abbay hath, there was not any of them hanged, ſauing one onely Arbaleſtier, whome the King had brought vp of a childe. But howſoeuer the king dealt with them after they were yeelded, true it is (as by the ſame booke it appeareth) there had beene no ſiege in thoſe dayes more earneſtly enforced, nor more obſtinately defended: for after that all the lymmes of the Caſtell had beene reuerſed and throwne downe, they kept the maiſter Tower, tyll halfe thereof was alſo ouerthrowne, and after kept the other halfe, tyll through famine they were conſtrained to yeelde, hauing nothing but horſefleſh and water to ſuſteyne theyr lyues withall.

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Here is to bee remembred, that whyleſt the ſiege lay thus at Rocheſter, Hugh de Boues a valiant knight, but full of pryde and arrogancie, a Frenchman borne, but baniſhed out of his countrey, came downe to Calice with an huge number of men of warre and ſouldiers to come to the ayde of king Iohn. But as he was vpon the ſea with all his people, meaning to lande at Douer, by a ſodein tempeſt which roſe at that inſtant, the ſayde Hugh with all his companie was drowned by ſhipwracke. And ſoone after the bodie of the ſame Hugh with the carkaſſes of other innumerable, as well of menne, women, and children, were founde not farre from Yermouth, and all alongſt that coaſt. There were of them in all

Hugh de Boues drowned.

xl. thouſand as hath Mat. Paris, for of all thoſe which he brought with him, there was (as it is ſayd) not one man left aliue. The king (as the fame went, but how true I know not) had giuen by charter vnto the ſayde Hugh de Boues, the whole Countrey of Norffolke, ſo that he ment to haue expulſed the old inhabitants, and to haue peopled it with ſtrangers. But whether this was ſo or not ſure it is that he was verie ſorowful for the loſſe of this ſuccor and ayde which thus periſhed in the ſeas, though it happened very well for his ſubiects of England, that ſhould haue bin ſore oppreſſed by ſuch multitude of ſtraungers, which for the moſt part muſt needes haue liued vpon the Country, to the vtter vndoing of the inhabitants wherſoeuer they ſhould haue come.

Rauſe Cog.

Here is to be noted, that during the ſiege of Rocheſter (as ſome write) ther came out of Frãce to the number neare hande of ſeuen thouſand men ſent from the Frenche king vnto the ayde of the Barons, at the ſute of Saer de Quincie Erle of Wincheſter and other Ambaſſadours that were ſent from the Barons, during the time of thys ſiege, although it ſhoulde ſeeme by Mathewe Paris, that the ſayd Earle was not ſent till after the Pope had excommunicated the Barons (as after yee ſhall heare.) Theſe Frenche menne that came ouer at thys fyrſt tyme landed at Orwell, and at other hauens there neare adioyning.

About this ſeaſon alſo, the Canons of Yorke (bycauſe the Archbiſhops ſea there had remayned voyde a long time) obteyning licence of the king, aſſembled togither about the election of an Archbiſhop. And though the king had once againe earneſtly moued them to preferre Walter Gray Biſhop of Worceſter, yet they refuſed ſo to do, and therfore choſe Simon de Langton, brother to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, which election was afterwarde made voyde by the earneſt trauaile of the king to the Pope, bycauſe his brother the ſayd Archbiſhop of Canterburie was knowne to fauor the part of the Barons againſt him, ſo that the ſayd Walter Gray was then elected and promoted to the guiding of the ſea of Yorke, according to the kings eſpeciall deſire in that behalfe.

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About the ſame time alſo, Pope Innocent being certified, how the Barons of England would not obey his preſcript, iudged them enimies to the Church, and gaue commaundement to Peter the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the Abbot of Reading, and to the ſubdeacon Pãdulph, to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt them. But they coulde not at the firſt execute the Popes cõmaundement herein, by reaſon that the Archb. of Cant. who fauored the Barons cauſe, would not permit them. Wherfore the ſame Archb. was interdited out of the church, & frõ ſaying diuine ſeruice, & alſo being cited to appeare at Rome, was in danger to be depriued of his miter, had not certaine Cardinals intreated for him, and obteyned his pardon. The Archb. being gone to Rome, as well to excuſe himſelf in this matter, as to be preſent at the generall Councel there holden at that time (for he was readie to goe take the ſea thitherwardes when the Biſhop of Wincheſter & Pandulph came to him with the popes letters) the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter and Pandulph proceed to the pronouncing of the excomunication againſt the Barons, renuing the ſame euery ſunday and holyday. Altough the Barons (bycauſe that in the Popes letters there were none of them expreſly named) made none account of the cenſure, reputing it as voyde, and not to concerne them in any maner of poynt.

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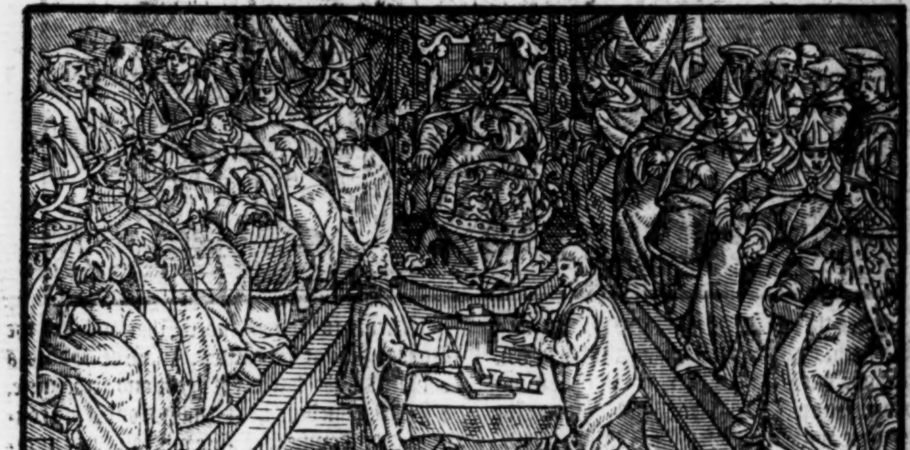

Math. Paris.

The Barons denounced accurſed by the Popes commaundement.

But now to returne to king John. After he had wonne the caſtel of Rocheſter (as before you haue heard) he haſted to S. Albons, and there he

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deuided his army into two partes, appoynting the one to remaine in the parties about London, whileſt he himſelfe with the other might goe into the north parties to waſt and deſtroy the poſſeſſions of certaine Lordes there, which (as he was informed) went about to rayſe an armie agaynſt him. He made Captaines of that armie which he left behinde him, his brother William, Earle of Saleſburie, Sauarie de Mauleon, William Brewer, Walter Buc, and others. He himſelfe departed frō S. Albons about the .xxj. day of December, leading his ſayd army northwardes. In which were chiefe captaines theſe that followe, Wil. Erle of Albemarle, Philip de Albeney, and John Marſhal. Alſo of ſtrāgers, Gerard de Sotigam, & Godſtall with the Flemings, the Croſbows, and others. The firſt night he lay at Dunſtable, & from thence paſſing forwardes towardes Northampton, he deſtroyed by the way all the manours, places, and houſes, which belonged to the aduerſaries, and ſo kept on his iourney till hee came to Notingham, where he lay in the Caſtell on Chriſtmaſſe day, and in the morning being S. Stephens day he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, ſending his ſūmons in the morning to the Caſtell of Beauer, willing the within to yeeld. This caſtell apperteyned to Wil. Albeney, who had cōmitted the cuſtodie therof vnto his ſon Nicholas de Albeney prieſt, to ſir Wil. de Stodham, and to ſir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keyes of the Caſtell, and ſurrendered the ſame vnto him, with condition that he ſhoulde be good to their maſter the ſayd William de Albeney, and graunt to the their horſes and armor, with which they woulde remain with him vnder his peace and protection.

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Beuer Caſtell ſummoned to yeelde.

William de Albeney.

Stodham. Charnelles.

On the next morow being S. Johns day, the king went to the caſtell, and receyuing the ſame, deliuered it to the keping of Geffrey Butuile, and his brother Oliuer,

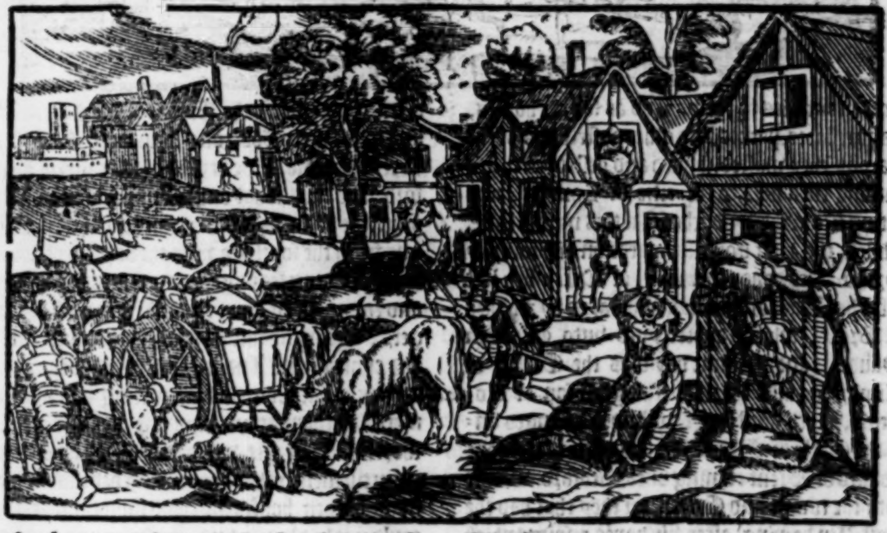
The Caſtell of Beauoir rendred to the king.

After this, was the Caſtell of John Lacie at Dunnington taken, and razed flat to the ground, by commaundement of the king, who hauing accompliſhed his will in thoſe parties, drewe towardes Yorkeſhire, and at his comming thither, deſtroyed the houſes, townes, and manours of thoſe Lordes and Gentlemen which were againſt him. It is horrible to heare, and lothſome to reherſe the crueltie which was practiſed by the ſouldiers and men of war, in places where they came, to ſpoyle and ranſacke the houſes of the people without pitie or compaſſion, and beſides the robberies, ſpoyles and great outrage vſed by the ſoldiers generally agaynſt the common people, fewe there were in that Countrey of great lynage or wealth, whom the king for theyr aſſembling themſelues wyth the Barons, eyther ſpoyled not, or put not to execution. And thus with his armye (to the great deſolation of the Countrey) he paſſed forth to the borders of Scotland, and entring that Realme, tooke the Caſtell of Barwike, and other places of ſtrength in thoſe parties, meaning to haue wonne more from the Scottes, if other vrgent buſineſſe had not called him backe again.

Dunnington Caſtell taken and razed.

Mat. Par.

g Iohn ta-
h the caſtel
Barwike.



The Countrey therefore which lieth betwixt the riuer of Theſe, and the confines of Scotlande, he committed to the keping of Hugh de Balliol, and to Philip de Hulcotes, aſſigning to them ſuch cōuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the cuſtodie of the caſtels in Yorkeſhire he deliuered to Robert de Vepount, to Brian de Liſle, and to Geffrey de Lucie.

Hugh de Balliol, and Philip de Hulcotes.

Robert de Vepont, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucie.

Finally, when he had ſo ordred things in the North parties as ſtoode with his pleaſure, ſo that there remayned no mo but two Caſtelles, that is to witte, Mountſorell and another in Yorkeſhire, that apperteyned to Robert de Roos in poſſeſſion of the Barons, he returned by the borders

Montſorel betwixt Leiceſter and Lughborough.

of Wales into the ſouth parts: and by all the way as he paſſed he ſhewed great crueltie agaynſt hys aduerſaries, beſieging and taking their Caſtelles and ſtrong houſes of the which ſome ye cauſed to be fortified with garniſons of ſoldiers to his own vſe, and ſome hee razed. The like feates were wrought by the other army in ye partyes aboute London. For William Erle of Saliſburie, and Foukes de Brent, with the other captains which the King had left behinde him there, perceyuing that the Citie would not eaſily be wonne by any ſiege, firſt furniſhed the Caſtell of Windſore, Hertford, and Barkhamſted, with ſuche ſtrong garniſons of ſouldiers as might watch, vpon occaſion giuen to aſſaile thoſe that ſhould eyther go into the Citie, or come from thence: they marched forth with the reſidue of the armie, and paſſing through the Counties of Eſſex, and Hartford, Middleſex, Cambridge, and Huntington, waſted the Countreys, and brought the townes to become tributaries to them. And as for the houſes, manor places, parkes, and other poſſeſſions of the Barons, they waſted, ſpoiled and deſtroyed them, running euen hard to the citie of London, and ſetting fire in the Suburbes. In this meane time, whileſt the king goeth forwarde on his iourney northwardes, vpon the. xviij. of December laſt paſt, the Caſtel of Hanſlap was taken by Foukes de Brent, whiche apperteyned vnto William Mauduit, and the ſame day was the Caſtell of Tunbridge alſo taken by the garniſon of Rocheſter, which Caſtel of Tunbridge belonged vnto the Earle of Clare. Moreouer, the foreſayde Foukes de Brent cōming vnto Bedford, wanne both the towne and Caſtell: for they that had the Caſtell in keeping, after. vij. dayes reſpite (which they obteined at the hands of the ſaid Fouks) whē reſcue came not frō the Lord Wil. Beauchampe their maſter, they deliuered it vnto ẏ ſaid Foukes. Vnto whō K. John gaue not only that Caſtell, but alſo committed to his keeping the Caſtels of Northamptō, Oxford & Cambridge. The K. had this Foukes in great eſtimation, and amongſt other wayes to aduaunce him, he gaue to him in mariage Margaret de Riuers, a Lady of high nobilitie, with all the landes and poſſeſſions that to hir belonged. Moreouer, to Wil. Erle of Albemarle the king deliuered the cuſtodie of the caſtels of Rokingham, Sawey, & Biham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the Caſtell of Barkehamſted, and to Water Goderuile ſeruant to Foukes de Brent, he betooke the keping of the caſtel of Hertford. And thus what on the one part, and on the other, the Barons loſt in maner all their poſſeſſions from the ſouth ſea vnto the borders of Scotlande, the king ſeazing the ſame into his handes, and committing them to the keeping of ſtraungers, and ſuch other as he thought more truſtie and conuenient. And in all this meane tyme, the barons lay at London banquetting and making merry, without attempting any exployte prayſeworthie. But yet when they heard by certaine aduertiſement, what hauock and deſtruction was made of their houſes and poſſeſſions abrode, they could not but lament their miſeries, and amongſt other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they ſore blamed the Pope, as a chiefe cauſe of all theſe euils, for that he mainteyned and defended the king againſt them.

The Earle
Sali-burie
with his
inuaded
Countrey
bout Lon

The Caſtell of Hanſlap.

Tunbridge Caſtell.

Bedford taken by Foukes de Brent.

William Beauchame.

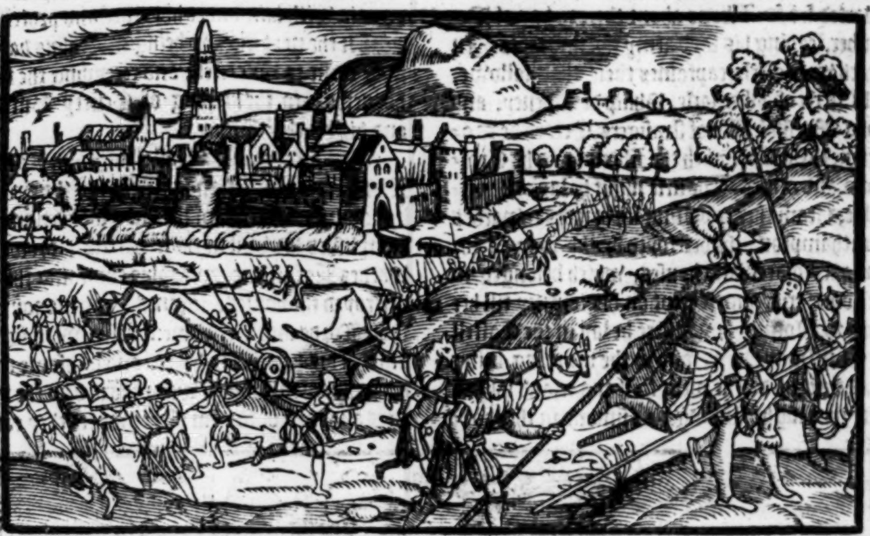
Caſtels deliuered to the keeping of Fouks de Brent.

Foukes de Brent aduaunced by mariage.

Rockinghem, Sawey, and Biham.

Barkh

Herdon



In deede about the ſame time Pope Innocent, who before at the inſtant ſute of king John had excommunicate the Barons in generall, doth now excommunicate them by name, and in perticular, as theſe. Firſt all the Citizens of London which were authors of the miſchief that had happened by the rebellion of the ſaide Barons. Alſo Robert Fitz Water, Saer de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, R. his ſon, G. de Mandeuile, & W.

his

The E
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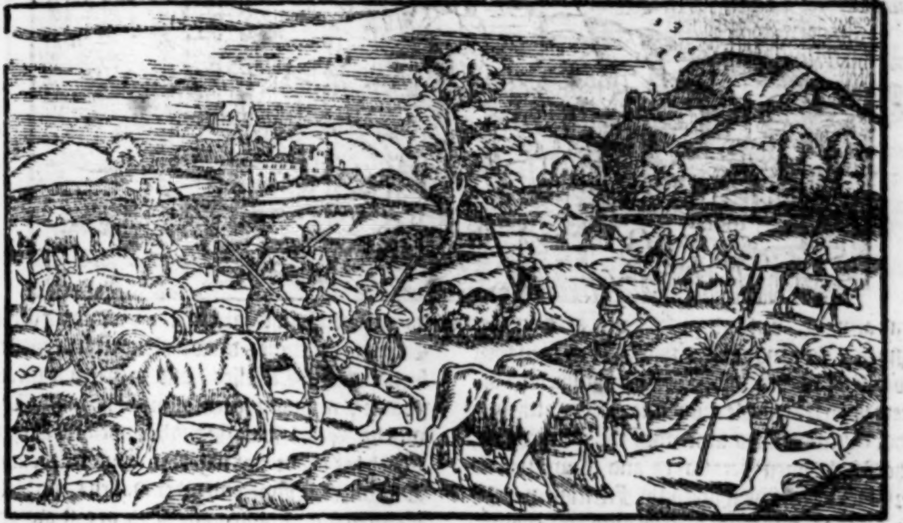
name.

his brother the Erle of Clare, & G. his ſonne, H. Earle of Hereford R. de Percy, G. de Veſcy, I. Conſtable of Cheſter, W. de Mountbray, Wil. de Albeny, W. his ſon, R. de Roos, & W. his ſon, P. de. Breuſe, R. de Creſſey, I. his ſon, Ranulfe Fitz Robert, R. Erle Bygot, H. his ſon, Robert de Vere, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Mallet, W. de Mõtacute, W. Fitz Marſhall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Kime, R. de Montbygons, and Nicholas de Stutvile, with diuerſe other.

...e Cog.

The army which king Iohn had left behinde him in the South partes, vnder the leading of the Earle of Saliſburie and other, lay not ydle, but ſcouring the Countreys abroade (as partly yee haue heard) came to Saint Edmondſburie, and hauing intelligence there, that dyuerſe knightes, Ladyes, and Gentlewomen that were there before theyr comming, were fled out of that towne, and for theyr more ſafetye were withdrawne into the Iſle of Elye, they followed them, beſieged the Iſle, and aſſayled it on eche ſyde, ſo that (although they within had fortified the paſſages, and appoynted menne of warre to remayne vpon the garde of the ſame in places where it was thought moſte needefull) yet at length they entered vpon them by force, Walter Bucke wyth hys Brabanders beeyng the fyrſt that got foote wythin the Iſle towardes Herbey: For by reaſon that the waters in the Fennes and Dytches were harde frozen, ſo that menne myghte paſſe by the ſame into the ſayde Iſle, they founde meanes to enter, and ſpoyled it from ſyde to ſyde, togyther wyth the Cathedrall Churche, carying from thence at theyr departure, a marueylous great pray of goodes and Cattell.

The Ile of Ely ſpoyled.
Polidor.
Bernwel.



The Barons of the Realme being thus afflicted with ſo many miſchiefes all at one tyme, as both by the ſharpe and cruel warres which the king made agaynſt them on the one ſyde, and by the enmitie of the Pope on the other ſyde, they knewe not whiche way to turne them, nor how to ſeeke for reliefe. For by the loſſe of theyr complices taken in the Caſtell of Rocheſter, they ſawe not how it ſhoulde any thing auayle them to ioyne in battaile with the king. Therfore conſidering that they were in ſuch extremitie of diſpayre, they reſolue with themſelues to ſeeke for ayde at the enimies handes, and therevpon Saer Earle of Wincheſter, and Robert Fitz Water, with letters vnder theyr ſeales were ſent vnto Lewes the ſonne of Philip the French king, offering him the Crowne of England, and ſufficient pledges for performaunce of the ſame and other couenãts to be agreed betwixt thẽ, requiring him with al ſpeede to come vnto their ſuccors. This Lewes had maried (as before is ſaide) Blanche daughter to Alfonſe king of Caſtile, nece to king Iohn by his ſiſter Elenore. Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue ſuch an occaſion to inuade the Realme of Englande which he neuer loued, promiſed willingly that his ſonne ſhould come vnto the ayde of the ſaid Barons with all conuenient ſpeed (but firſt he receyueth. xxiiij. hoſtages which he placeth at Compaigne for further aſſurance of the couenants accorded.) And herewith he prepared an army, and diuerſe ſhippes to tranſport his ſonne and hys armie ouer into Englande: alſo in the meane time, and to put the Barons in comfort, he ſent ouer a certaine number of men of warre, vnder the leading of the Chatelayne of Saint Omers, the Chatelayne of Arras, Hugh Thacon, Euſtace de Neuile, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Melun, W. de Beamõt, Giles de Herſie, Biſet de Ferſie, and others, the whiche taking the ſea, arryued with. xlj. ſhippes in the Thames, & ſo came to Lõdon the. xxvij. of Febr. where

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French men ſent ouer to the ayde of the Barons.

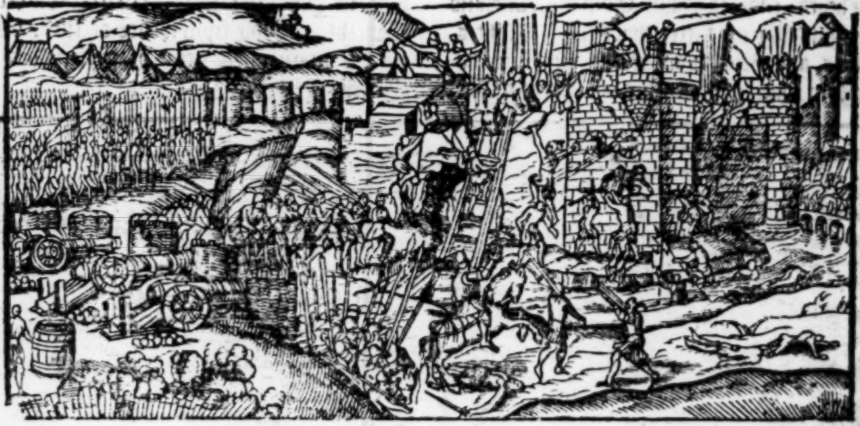
The Saterday after the Epiphanie, ſayth Raufe Coggheſhall.

where they were receyued of the Barons with great ioy and gladneſſe.

Moreouer the ſayde Lewes wrote to the Barons how that he purpoſed by Gods aſſiſtance to be at Calice by a day appoynted with an armye redy to paſſe ouer wͭ all ſpeed vnto their ſuccors.

Rafe Cog.

The Fryday before Candlemaſſe day, Sauaric de Mauleon, and other Captaines of the kings ſide, layde ſiege to the Caſtell of Colcheſter, but hauing intelligence that the Barons which lay at London made forward with all ſpeede to come to ſuccor that Caſtell, on the Wedneſday after Candlemaſſe day, being the thirde of Februarie, they rayſed their ſiege, & went backe towards S. Edmondſburie.



In this meane time, the king being gone (as ye haue hearde) vnto the borders of Scotlande, a bruyte was rayſed that hee was deade, and ſecretely buryed at Reding. But this rumour had not tyme to worke any great alteration, for after he had diſpatched his buſineſſe in the north, as hee thought expedient, he returned, and comming into the Eaſt parts about the midſt of lent, himſelfe in perſon beſieged the Caſtell of Colcheſter, and wythin a fewe dayes after hys comming thyther it was delyuered vnto hym by the Frenche men that kept it, wyth condition that they myght depart with all their goodes and armour, vnto theyr fellowes at London, and that the Engliſhmen that were there in their companie within that Caſtel, might likewiſe depart vpon reaſonable raunſome. But although that couenant was kept with the French men, the Engliſhmen were ſtayed and committed to priſon. Wherevpon when the Frenchmen came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treaſon for making ſuch cõpoſition, wherby thoſe Engliſhmen that were fellowes with them in armes were ſecluded from ſo beneficiall conditions as they had made for themſelues. They were in daunger to haue beene put to death for theyr euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they ſhoulde remayne in pryſon till the comming of Lewes, vnto whoſe pleaſure theyr cauſe ſhoulde be referred.

After this was the Caſtell of Hedingham wonne, whiche belonged vnto Earle Robert de Vere. And then the King prepared to beſiege London. But the Londoners were of ſuch courage, that they ſet open theyr gates, and hearing of the kings approch, made readie to iſſue forth to giue him battaile: whereof the king being aduertiſed, he withdrewe backe, but Sauaric de Mauleon was ſodenly ſette vppon by the Londoners, loſt many of his men, and was ſore wounded himſelfe.

The King therefore perceyuing it woulde not preuaile him to attempt the wynning of the Citie at that tyme, drewe alongeſt the coaſte, fortifyed hys Caſtelles, and prepared a greate Nauie, meaning to encounter his enimy Lewes by Sea: But through tempeſt the ſhippes which hee hadde got togyther from Yermouth, Dunwiche, Lynne, and other Hauens, were diſperſed in ſunder, and many of them caſt awaye, by rage and violence of the outrageous windes.

Somewhat before this tyme alſo when hee heard of the compact made betwixt the Barons and his aduerſaries the French men, hee diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſt to the Pope, ſignifying to him what was in hande and practiſed agaynſt him, requiring furthermore the ſaid pope by his authoritie to cauſe Lewes to ſtay his iorney, and not to ſuccor thoſe rebels in Englande which he had alreadie excommunicated.

The Pope deſirous to helpe king Iohn in all that he might, bycauſe he was now his Vaſſall, ſent his Legate Gualo into Fraunce to diſſwade king Philip from taking any enterpriſe in hande againſt the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the Legate coulde ſay, yet by no meanes he coulde be turned from the execution of his purpoſe, alledging that king Iohn was not the lawful king of England, hauing firſt vſurped & taken it away from his nephew Arthur the lawful inheritor. And that now

ſithence

yrest.

ſithence as an enimie to his owne royall dignitie he had giuen the right of his ſayde kingdome away to the Pope (which he could not do without conſent of his nobles.) And therefore thorow his owne fault he was worthily depriued of all hys kingly honour. For the kingdome of Englande (ſaith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at any tyme ſhall: for admit that hee were rightfull king, yet neyther he nor any other Prince may giue away his kingdome without the aſſent of his Barons, which are bounde to defende the ſame, and the prerogatiue royall, to the vttermoſt of their powers. Furthermore (ſaith he) if the Pope do meane to maintaine this error, he ſhall giue a perilous example to al kingdomes of the worlde. Herewithall the nobles of France there preſent, profeſſed alſo with one voyce, that in defence of this article they would ſtand vnto death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleaſure might giue away his kingdom, or make it tributarie to any other potentate, whereby the Nobles ſhoulde become thrall or ſubiect to a forrain gouernor. Theſe things were done at Lions in the quindene after Eaſter.

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lande.

On the morrow following being the .xxvi. of April, by his fathers procuremẽt, Lewes came into the Councell Chamber, and with frowning looke behelde the Legate, where by his procurator he defended the cauſe that moued him to take vpon him this iourney into Englande, diſprouing not onely the right which king Iohn had to the crowne, but alſo alledging his owne intereſt, not only by his new election of the barons, but alſo in the title of his wife, whoſe mother the Queene of Caſtile remayned only in life of all the brethren & ſiſters of Henry the ſecond late king of England, (as ye before haue heard.) The Legate made anſwere herevnto, that king Iohn had taken vpon him the Croſſe, as one appoynted to goe to warre agaynſt Gods enimies in the holy land, wherfore he ought by decree of the general Cõcell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in ſuretie vnder protection of the Apoſtolike Sea. But Lewes replied thereto, that king Iohn had firſt inuaded by warre his Caſtels and landes in Picardy, and waſted the ſame, as Buncham caſtell & Liens, with the countie of Guiſnes which belonged to the fee of the ſayd Lewes. But theſe reaſons notwithſtanding, the Legate warned the French king on paine of curſing, not to ſuffer his ſonne to goe into Englande: and likewiſe hys ſonne, that he ſhould not preſume to take the iorney in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his father had nothing to do to forbid him to proſecute his right in yͤ realm of England, which was not holden of him. And therefore he required his father not to hinder his purpoſe in ſuch things which belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to ſeeke the recouery of his wiues right, which he ment to purſue with perill of life if neede ſhould require. The Legate perceyuing he coulde not preuaile in his ſute made to K. Philip, thought that he would not ſpend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but ſped him forth into England, obteining yet a ſafeconduct of the french king to paſſe through his realme. Lewes in like maner purpoſing by all meanes to preuent the Legate firſt diſpatched forth Ambaſſadors in all haſt vnto the Court of Rome to excuſe himſelfe to the Pope, and to render the reaſons that moſt ſpecially moued him to proceede forwarde in his enterpriſe againſt king Iohn, being called by the Barons of England to take the crowne therof vpon him. And this done, with all conuenient ſpeed he came downe to Calice, where he found .680. ſhips wel appointed and trimmed, which Euſtace ſurnamed the Monke had gathered and prepared there readie agaynſt his comming.

priuilege
oſe that
e vpon
the croſſe.

Paris:

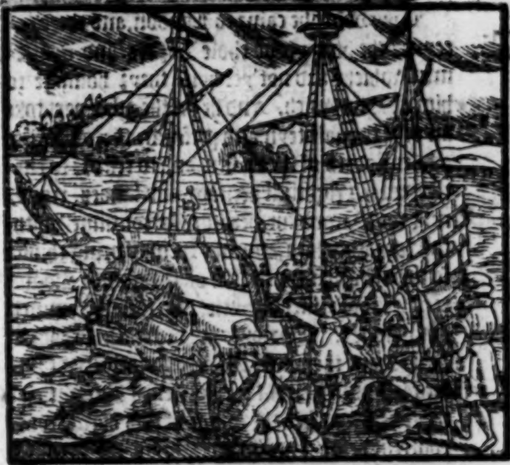
The French kings ſonne ſendeth to the Pope.

He commeth to Calice.

Lewes therefore forthwith embarking himſelfe with his people, and all neceſſarie prouiſions for ſuch a iourney, toke the Sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet, vpõ the .xxi. day of May, and ſhortly after came to Sandwiche, and there landed with all his people.

He taketh the ſea.

He landeth in Kent.



Here hee alſo encamped vppon the ſhore by the ſpace of three dayes. In which meane time there came vnto him a greate number of thoſe Lordes and Gentlemen which had ſent for him, & there euery one apart and by himſelfe ſware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had bene their true and naturall Prince.

The Lordes do homagee vnto him.

King Iohn about the ſame time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduerſaryes by the way as they ſhoulde come forwarde towardes London. But yet vpon other aduiſement taken, he channged his purpoſe, bycauſe hee putte ſome doubt in the Flemings and other ſtraungers, of whome the moſt part of his armye conſiſted, bycauſe hee knewe that they hated the Frenche men no more then

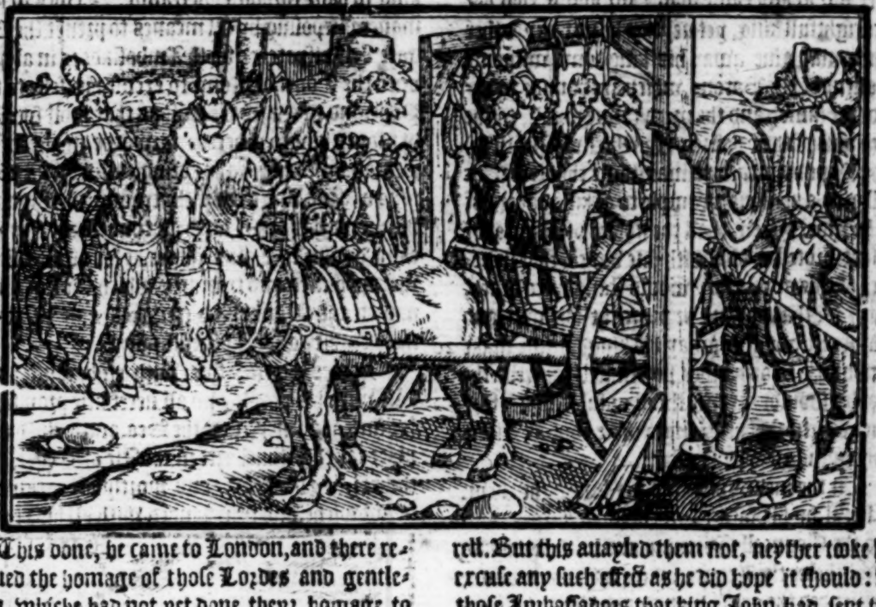
Mat. Par.

they did the Engliſh. Therefore furniſhing the Caſtell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittals, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowes and valiancie, and returned himſelfe vnto Canterburie, and frõ thence toke the high way towardes Wincheſter.

Lewes being aduertiſed that king Iohn was retyred out of Kent, paſſed through the countrey without any encounter, and wanne al the caſtels and holdes as he went, but Douer he coulde not wynne.

Roche
ſtell wo

At his comming to Rocheſter, he layde ſiege to the caſtel there, & wan it, cauſing al the ſtraungers that were founde within it to be hanged.



Lewes commeth to London.

This done, he came to London, and there receyued the homage of thoſe Lordes and gentlemen whiche had not yet done theyr homage to him at Sandwich. And he on the other part toke an othe to mainteyn and performe the old lawes and cuſtomes of the realme, and to reſtore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and landes, requyring the Barons furthermore to continue faythfull towardes him, aſſuring them to bring things ſo to paſſe, that the realme of Englande ſhoulde recouer the former dignitie, and they their auncient liberties. Moreouer hee uſed them ſo courteouſly, gaue them ſo fayre wordes, and made ſuch large promiſes, that they beleeued him with all theyr heartes. And the rumor of this his outward courteſie being once ſpred through the Realme, cauſed great numbers of people to come flocking to him, amongſt whõ there were diuerſe of thoſe which before had taken part with king Iohn, as William Erle Warren, William erle of Arundell, William Earle of Saliſburie, William Marſhall the yonger, and diuerſe other, ſuppoſing verily that the Frenche kings ſonne ſhoulde nowe obteine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeyned Simon Langton afore mentioned, to bee his Chancellor, by whoſe preaching and exhortation, aſwel the Citizens of London as the Barons that were excõmunicate, cauſed diuine ſeruice to be celebrated in their preſẽce, induced therto bycauſe Lewes had alreadie ſent his procurators to Rome before his coming into Englande, there to ſhewe the goodneſſe of his cauſe and quarell. But this auayled them not, neyther toke his excuſe any ſuch effect as he did hope it ſhould: for thoſe Ambaſſadors that king Iohn had ſent thither, replied againſt theyr aſſertions, ſo that there was hard hold about it in that Court, albeit that the Pope would decree nothing till he heard further from his Legate Gualo, who the ſame time (being aduertiſed of the proceedings of Lewes in his iorney) wͭ all diligence haſted ouer into England, & paſſing through the middle of his aduerſaries, came vnto King Iohn, as then ſoiorning at Gloceſter, of whõ he was moſt ioyfully receiued, for in him king Iohn repoſed all his hope of victorie. This Legate immediatly after his cõming did excõmunicate Lewes by name, with all hys fautors & cõplices, but ſpecially Simon de Langton, with boke, bel, & cãdel, as yͤ maner was. But the ſame Simon, & one Geruaſe de Hobrug dean of S. Pauls in Lõdon, with other, alledged that for the right and ſtate of the cauſe of Lewes, they had alredy appealed to the court of Rome, & therfore the ſentence publiſhed by Gualo they toke as voyd. The ſame time alſo, all the knights & men of warre of Flanders and other parties of beyond the ſea, which had ſerued the king, departed from him, except onely the Poictouins. And part of them that thus went from him, reſorted vnto Lewes, and entred into his wages: but the reſidue repayred home into their owne countries, ſo yͭ Lewes being thus encreaſed in power, departed frõ London, & marching towards Wincheſter, he wan yͤ caſtels of Rigate, Guildford, & Farnham.

Noble men reuolting frõ king Iohn vnto Lewes.

Simon Langton Chancellor to Lewes.

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Caſtel
by Lew

From thence he went to Wincheſter, where yͤ Citie was yeelded vnto him, with all the Caſtels and holdes thereabout, as Wolueſey, Odyham, and Beaumere. Whileſt the ſayde Lewes was thus occupyed in Suſſex, about the ſubduing of that countrey vnto his obeyſance, there was a yong Gentleman in thoſe parties named William de Collingham, who in no wiſe would doe fealtie to Lewes, but aſſembling togither about the number of a thouſande archers, kept himſelfe within the woddes and deſerte places, whereof that countrey is full, and ſo during all the tyme of this warre, ſhewed himſelfe an enimie to the French men, ſlaying no ſmall numbers of them, as he tooke them at any aduantage.

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ſſex.

In like manner, all the Fortreſſes, Townes, and Caſtels in the South parties of the Realme were ſubdued vnto the obeyſance of Lewes, (the Caſtels of Douer and Windeſor onely excepted.)

Within a little while after, Wil. de Mandeuile, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a greate power of men of warre, dyd the like vnto the Countreys of Eſſex and Suffolke. In whyche ſeaſon, Kyng John fortified the Caſtels of Wallingforde, Corfe, Warham, Briſtow, the Vies, and diuerſe others, with munition and vittailes. About whych time, letters came alſo vnto Lewis from his procuratours, which he had ſent to the Pope, by the tenor whereof he was aduertiſed, that notwithſtanding all that they coulde doe or ſay, the Pope meante to excommunicate him, and did but onely ſtay till he had receyued ſome aduertiſement from his Legate Gualo.

ls forti-
by Kyng
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The poyntes
wherewith
King Iohn
was charged.

The chiefeſt poyntes (as we fynde) that were layde by Lewes his procuratours againſt King John were theſe, that by the murther committed in the perſon of his nephew Arthur, hee had bene condemned in the Parliamente chamber, before the Frenche Kyng, by the peeres of Fraunce, and that beeing ſummoned to appeare, he had obſtinately refuſed ſo to doe, and therefore had by good right forfeyted not only his lands within the precinct of Fraunce, but alſo the Realme of England which was now due vnto the ſayde Lewes as they alledged, in righte of the Lady Blanche his wife, daughter to Eleanor Quene of Spaine. But the Pope refelled all ſuche allegations as they produced for proofe heereof, and ſeemed to defende King Johns cauſe very pithyly, but namely, in that hee was vnder the protection of him as ſupreme Lord of Englande. And againe, for that hee had taken vppon him the Croſſe (as before ye haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

About the feaſt of Saint Margaret, Lewes with the Lordes came agayne to London, at whoſe comming, the Tower of London was yeelded vp to him by appoyntmente, after whiche, the Frenche Captaynes and Gentlemen, thinking themſelues aſſured of the Realme, beganne to ſhewe their inwarde diſpoſitions and hatred towarde the Engliſhmen, and forgetting all former promiſes (ſuch is the nature of ſtraungers, that are once become Lordes of theyr deſires,) they did many exceſſiue outrages, in ſpoyling and robbing the people of the coũtrey, without pitie or mercye. And not onely brake into mens houſes, but alſo into Churches, and tooke out of the ſame ſuche veſſels and ornamentes of golde and ſyluer, as they dyd lay handes vppon: for Lewes coulde not now rule the greedy Souldiers, being giuen wholy to the ſpoyle. But moſt of all, theyr tyrannie did appeare in the Eaſt partes of the Realme, when they wente through the Countreys of Eſſex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miſerably ſpoyled the Townes

The French
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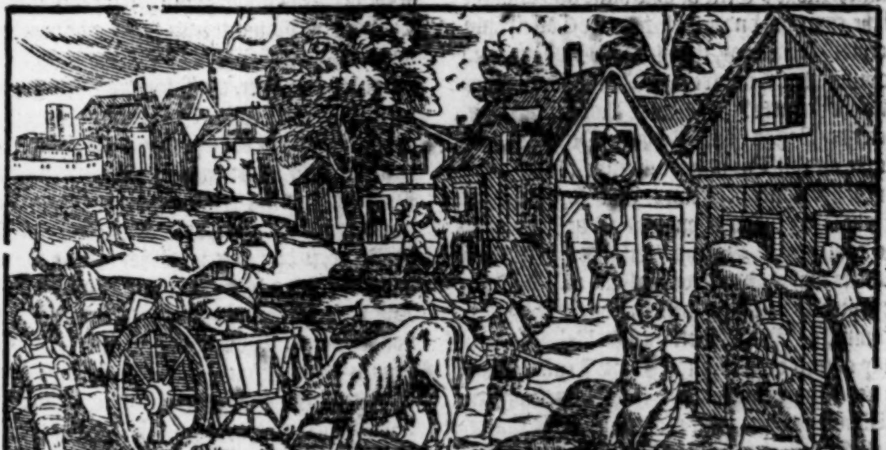


and villages, reducing thoſe quarters vnder their ſubiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in moſt ſeruile and ſlauiſh manner.

The Caſtell of Norwich left for a pray to Lewes.

Moreouer, at his comming to Norwiche, hee found the Caſtell voyde of defence, and ſo tooke it, without any reſiſtaunce, and put into it a garriſon of his Souldiers. Alſo hee ſente a power to the Towne of Linne, whiche conquered yͤ ſame, and tooke the Citizens priſoners, cauſing them to pay greate ſummes of money for theyr raunſomes.

Linne.

Thomas de Burgh taken priſoner.

Moreouer, Thomas de Burgh, Chatelayne of the Caſtel of Norwich, who vpon the approch of the Frenchmenne to the Citie, fledde out, in hope to eſcape, was taken Priſoner, and put vnder ſafekeeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Brughe Captayne of Douer Caſtell.

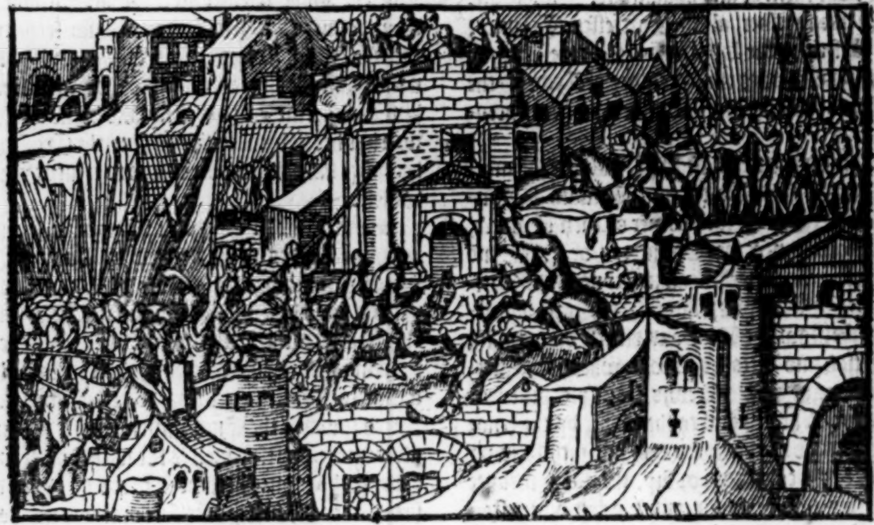
Gilber
Gaun
Earle o
colne.

Now when Lewes had thus finiſhed his enterpriſes in thoſe parties, he returned to London, and ſhortly thereupon created Gilbert de Gaunte Earle of Lincolne, appoynting hym to goe thither with all conuenichte ſpede, that he myghte reſiſt the iſſues made by them whyche helde the Caſtels of Nottingham and Newarke, waſting and ſpoyling the poſſeſſions and landes belonging to the Barons neere adioyning to the ſame Caſtels. Thys Gilbert de Gaunt then, togyther with Roberte de Ropeley, comming into that countrey, tooke yͤ Citie of Lincolne, and brought all the countrey vnder ſubiection (the Caſtell only excepted.) After that, they inuaded Holland, and ſpoyling that Countrey, made it alſo tributary vnto the Frenche. Lykewiſe, Roberte de Roos, Peter de Bruys, and Richarde Percy, ſubdued Yorke, and all Yorkſhire, bringing the ſame vnder the obeyſance of Lewes. The K. of Scottes in lyke ſorte, ſubdued vnto the ſayde Lewes, all the countrey of Northumberlande, excepte the Caſtels whyche Hugh de Baliole, and Phillippe de Hulcotes valiantly defended againſte all force of enimies. And as theſe wicked Rebels made a pray of their own countrey, ſo the Legate Guallo not behynde for his parte to get ſomethyng ere all ſhould be gone, tooke proxies of euery Cathedrall Church and houſe of Religiõ within England, that is to witte, for euery proxie fiftie Shillings.

Lincolne won.

Holland in Lincolnſhire inuaded.

Yorkſhire ſubdued to Lewes.



The Legate Gualo gathereth proxies. Sequeſtration of benefices.

Moreouer, hee ſequeſtred all the benefices of thoſe perſons and religious men, that eyther ayded or councelled Lewes, and the Barons, in their attemptes and enterpriſes. All whiche benefices he ſpedily conuerted to his owne vſe, and to the vſe of his Chaplaynes. In the meane time, Lewes was broughte into ſome good hope thorough meanes of Thomas de Burgh, whome he had taken Priſoner, (as before you haue heard,) to perſwade his brother Hubert to yeld vp yͤ Caſtel of Douer, the ſiege whereof was the next enterpriſe which he attempted. For his father king Phillippe, hearing that the ſame was kepte by a garriſon, to the behoofe of Kyng Iohn, wrote to his ſonne, in blaming him, that hee left behynde hym ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe in hys enimies handes. But though Lewes enforced hys whole endeuour to winne that Caſtell, yet all his trauayle was in vayne. For the ſayde Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigam, that were chiefe Captaynes within, dyd theyr beſt to defende it agaynſte hym and all hys power. ſo that deſpayring to winne it by force, hee aſſayed to obteyne his purpoſe, by threatning to hang the Captaynes brother before hys face, if he woulde not yelde the ſooner. But when that would not ſerue, he ſoughte to winne him by large offers of golde and ſyluer. Howbeit, ſuch was the ſingular conſtancie of Huberte, that hee woulde gyue no

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vayne to
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of Douer.
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rate to thoſe his flattering motions. Then Lewes in a great furie menaced that he would not depart from thence, till he had wonne the Caſtel, and put all them within to death, and began to aſſayle it with more force than before he hadde done.

The Barons alſo, which at this ſeaſon lay at London, made a rode vnto Cambridge, and toke the Towne, and after wente forth into Northfolke and Suffolke (as it were, to gather vp ſuch ſcrappes as the Frenche had left) ſpoyling thoſe countreys very pitifully, with Churches and all. They conſtreyned the Townes of Yermouth, Dunwiche and Gippeſwiche, to pay to them great ſummes of money by way of raunſoming. And at length returning by Colcheſter, they vſed the lyke practiſe there. From thence, they returned to London, and ſhortly after, vnder the conduit of the Earle of Neuers (vpon a ſodayne) they wente vnto Windeſor, and layde a ſtrong ſiege about that Caſtel. In the which was Captayne Ingelarde de Athie, with ſixtie valiaunte Knightes, and other men of warre of their ſuite, the which manfully ſtoode at defence. In the moneth of Auguſt, Alexander K. of Scotland came through the countrey vnto the ſiege of Douer, & there did homage vnto Lewes, as in right of hys tenure holden of the kings of England, and then returned home, but in his comming vp, as hee came by Caſtell Bernarde, in the Countrey of Halywerkfolke (whiche apperteyned vnto Hugh de Baliole) hee loſt his brother in law the Lorde Euſtace de Veſcy, who was ſtriken in the forehead with a quarrell, as he rode in company of the King, neere vnto the ſame Caſtell, to viewe if it were poſſible vpon any ſide to winne it by aſſault.

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Alexander.

About the ſame tyme, or rather in the yeare laſt paſt as ſome holde, it fortuned the Vicount of Melune a French man, to fall ſicke at London, and perceyuing that death was at hand, hee called vnto hym certayne of the Engliſhe Barons, whyche remayned in the Citie, vpon ſafegard thereof, and to them made thys proteſtation: I lament (ſayth he) for your deſtruction, and deſolation at hand, bycauſe ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer youre heads. For this vnderſtande, that Lewes, and with him ſixteene Earles and Barons of Fraunce, haue ſecretely ſworne (if it ſhall fortune him to conquere thys Realme of England, and to be Crowned king) to kyll, or baniſhe, and confyne all thoſe of the Engliſhe nobilitie, whyche nowe doe ſerue vnder hym, and perſecute theyr owne Kyng as Traitors and Rebels, and furthermore, diſpoſſeſſe all theyr linage, of ſuche inheritances as they nowe holde in Englande. And bycauſe (ſayth hee) you ſhall not haue doubt heerof, I which lye heere in the poynte of death, doe now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my ſoule, that I am one of thoſe ſixteene that haue ſworne to performe thys thyng: and therefore I aduiſe you, to prouide for youre owne ſafeties, and alſo of your Realme which you nowe deſtroy, and that you keepe this thyng ſecrete whych I haue vttered vnto you. After thys, he ſtraight wayes dyed. When theſe wordes of the Lord of Melune were opened vnto the Barons, they were, and not without cauſe, in greate doubt of themſelues, for they ſawe howe Lewes had already placed, and ſet Frenchmenne in moſt of ſuche Caſtels and Townes as he hadde gotten, the right whereof indeede belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderſtande, how beſides the hatred of theyr Prince, they were euery Sunday and holyday openly accurſed in euery Churche, ſo that many of them inwardly relented, and coulde haue bin contented to haue returned to

at. Paris.

The Vicount of Melune diſcouereth the purpoſe of Lewes.

The Vicount of Melune dyeth.

The Engliſh nobilitie beginneth to miſlike with the marche which they had made with Lewes.

King Iohn, if they had thought that they ſhould thankfully haue bin receyued.

The death of Pope Innocēt.

In this yeare, about the ſeuententh of Iuly, dyed Pope Innocente, whoſe deathe being knowen in England, all they greatly reioyced thereof, that were enimies to Kyng Iohn, for they were in great hope, that his ſucceſſor would haue rather enclined to their parte, than to the Kings: but it fell out otherwiſe, for Honorius the thirde that ſucceeded the ſame forſayde Innocente, maynteyned the ſame cauſe in defence of Kyng Iohn, as earneſtly, or rather more, than his predeceſſor hadde done, ſending with all ſpeede hys Bulles ouer into Englande to confirme Gualo in hys former authoritie of Legate, commaunding him with all endeuour, to proceede in hys buſineſſe, in maynteyning the Kyng agaynſte Lewes, and the diſloyall Engliſh nobilitie that ayded the ſayde Lewes. But nowe to our purpoſe.

Honorius the third choſen Pope.

Kyng Iohn lying all this while at Wincheſter, and hauing knowledge how his aduerſaries were dayly occupied in moſt hard enterpriſes, as in beſieging ſundry ſtrong and inuincible places, ſent forth hys Commiſſioners to aſſemble men of warre, and to allure vnto his ſeruice all ſuche, as in hope of pray, were minded to followe hys Standerde, of the whiche, there reſorted to hym no ſmall number. So that hauing gotten togyther a competent army for his purpoſe, hee breaketh forth of Wincheſter, as it had bin an hideous tempeſt of weather, beating downe al things that ſtoode in hys way, ſending forthe his people on eache ſyde to waſt the Countreys, to brenne vp the Townes and Villages, and to ſpoyle the Churches and Churchmen. With whiche ſucceſſe, and ſtill encreaſing his fury, hee turned hys whole violence into Cambridge ſhire, where hee dyd hurte ynough. And after entring into the Countreys of Northfolke and Suffolke, hee committed the lyke rage, waſt, and deſtruction, in the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged vnto the Earle of Arundell, vnto Roger Bygot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Creſſey.

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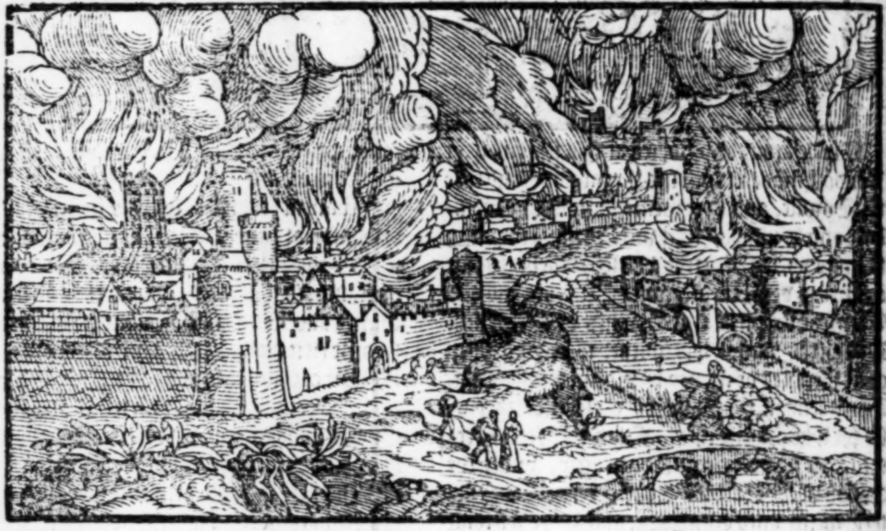

Northfolke and Suffolke.

The ſiege reiſed from Windſor.

The Barons in the meane time that lay at ſiege before the Caſtell of Windeſor, hearing of that hauocke whych Kyng Iohn had made in yͤ Eaſt partes of the Realme, ſecretly in the nyght ſeaſon rayſed their Campes, and leauing theyr tentes behinde them, with all ſpeede made towards Cambridge. But King Iohn by faythfull eſpials, hauing aduertiſement of their intent, which was, to get betwixt him and the places of his refuge, he withdrewe, and was got to Stanford, ere they mighte reach to Cambridge, ſo that miſſing their purpoſe, after they had taken ſome ſpoyles abroade in the Countrey, they returned to London. King Iohn from Stanforde, marcheth towarde Lincolne, bycauſe hee hearde that the Caſtell there was beſieged, but thoſe that had beſieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that K. Iohn was comming towards thē, durſt not abide him, but fled, and ſo eſcaped. The K. then turned his iourney towards the marches of Wales, & there did much hurt to thoſe places yͭ belōged to his aduerſaries. After this alſo, & with a great puiſſant army, he wente eftſoones Eaſtwards, & paſſing through the Countreys, came again into the Counties of Northfolke & Suff. waſting & afflicting al that came in his way, and at length comming to Linne, was there ioyfully receiued. Then keeping forth Northwards, hee ſpoiled the townes & Abbeys of Peterburgh, and Crowland. Here at Crowland, a number of the kings enimies were withdrawen into yͤ Church, but Sauary de Maulcon, being ſent forth to ſeke them, found them there in the Church yͤ morrow after S. Michael, & drew thē out by force, ſpoiled

Gilbert de
Gaunt fle
from the
of K. Iohn

Lynne.
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the houſe, and getting a greate bootie and pray of Cattell and other riches, hee with his people conueyed the ſame away at his departyng, after he hadde ranſacked euery corner of the Churche, and other the houſes and places belongyng to that Abbey.

e loſſe of
Kyngs
iages.

Thus the Countrey beeyng waſted on eache hande, the Kyng paſſeth forwarde tyll he came to Welleſtreme ſandes, where in paſſing the waſhes, hee loſt a great parte of his army, wyth horſes and Carriages, ſo that it was iudged to bee a puniſhmente appoynted by God, that the ſpoyle whyche hadde bene gotten and taken out of Churches, Abbeys, and other Religious houſes, ſhoulde periſhe, and be loſt by ſuche meanes, togither with the ſpoylers. Yet the Kyng hymſelfe, and a fewe other, eſcaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as ſome haue written, hee tooke ſuche griefe for the loſſe ſuſteyned at thys paſſage, that immediately thervppon hee fell into an agewe, the force and heate whereof, togither with his immoderately feeding of rawe Peaches, and drinking of newe Syder, ſo increaſed his ſickneſſe, that he was not able to ryde, but was fayne to be carried in a litter preſently made of twigges, with a couche of Strawe vnder him, without anye bedde or pillow, thynking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the diſeaſe ſtill ſo raged and grew vpon him, that hee was inforced to ſtay one nyght at the Caſtell of Laford, and on the next day with great payne, he cauſed hymſelfe to bee carried vnto Newarke, where in the Caſtell through anguiſhe of mynd, rather than through force of ſickneſſe, he departed thys lyfe the nyghte before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after hee had raigned ſeauen yeares, ſixe monethes, and ſeuen and twentie dayes.

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There be whiche haue written, that after hee had loſt hys army, hee ſhoulde come vnto the Abbey of Swyneſhead in Lincolneſhire, and there vnderſtanding the cheapeneſſe and plentie of corne, ſhewed hymſelfe greatly diſpleaſed therewith, as he that for the hatred whiche he bare to the Engliſhe people, that had ſo trayterouſly reuolted from hym vnto his aduerſarie Lewes, wiſhed all miſerie to lighte vppon them, and thereupon ſayde in hys anger, that hee woulde cauſe all manner grayne to be at a farre higher price, ere many dayes ſhoulde paſſe. Whereuppon, a Monke that heard hym ſpeake ſuche wordes, being moued with zeale for the oppreſſion of hys Countrey, gaue the Kyng poyſon in a cuppe of Ale, whereof hee fyrſte tooke the aſſaye, to cauſe the Kyng not to ſuſpect the matter, and ſo they both dyed in manner at one time.

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There are that write, howe one of hys owne ſeruauntes dyd conſpire with a conuert of that Abbey, and that they prepared a diſhe of peares, whyche they poyſoned, three of the whole number excepted, whyche diſhe, the ſayde conuerte preſented vnto hym: and when the Kyng ſuſpected them to be poyſoned indeede, by reaſon that ſuch precious ſtones as he hadde about, caſt forth a certayne ſweate, as it were, bewraying the poiſon, hee compelled the ſayde conuerte to taſt and eate ſome of them, who knowing the three peares whych were not poyſoned, tooke and eate thoſe three, whych when the Kyng had ſeene, he coulde no longer abſteyne, but fell too, and eate greedily of the reſt, and ſo dyed the ſame nyghte, neyther any hurte chaunced to the conuert, who thorough helpe of ſuche as bare no good will to the Kyng, founde ſhift to eſcape, and conueyed himſelfe away from daunger of receyuing due puniſhmente for ſo wicked a deede.

The variable reportes of writers, concerning the death of King Iohn.

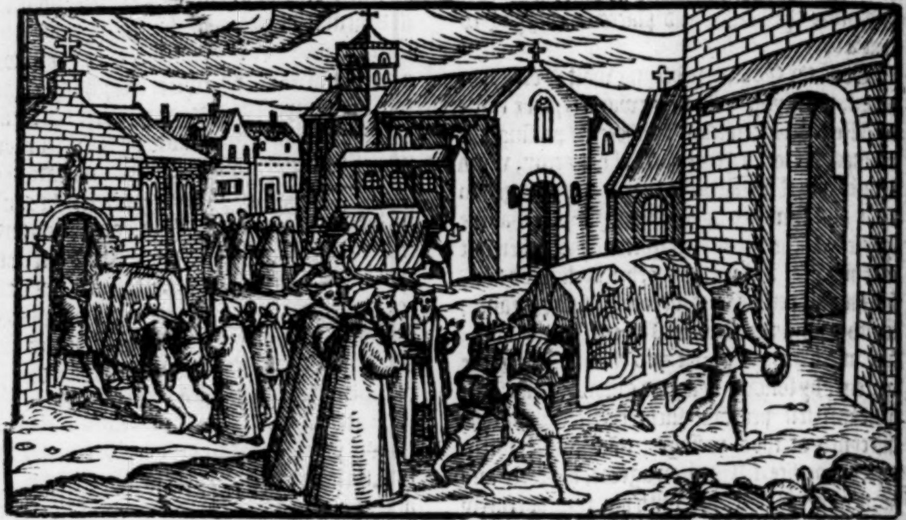
But verily, touching the manner of his death, there is great diuerſitie among Writers. For beſyde theſe reportes whyche ye haue hearde, there are other that write, howe hee dyed of ſurfeting in the nyghte, as Rauſe Niger: ſome of a bloudy flixe, as one hathe, that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houeden. And Rauſe Cogheſhall ſayeth, that comming to Lynne, (where he appoynted Sauary de Mauleon to be Captayne, and to take order for ye fortifying of that towne) hee tooke a ſurfet there of immoderate dyet, and withall fell into a laſke, and after hys laſke had left hym, at hys commyng to Laford in Linſey, hee was let bloud, and to increaſe hys other griefes and ſorrowes for the loſſe of his carriage, iewels a men, in paſſing ouer the waſhes, whych troubled hym ſore: there came vnto him meſſengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam Captaynes of Douer Caſtell, aduertiſing him, that they were not able to reſiſt the forcible aſſaultes and engines of the enimies, if ſpeedy ſuccoures came not to them in tyme.

Hereof his greefe of mynde beyng doubled, ſo as hee myghte ſeeme euen oppreſſed with ſorrow, the ſame increaſſed hys diſeaſe ſo vehemently, that within a ſmall tyme it made an ende of hys lyfe (as before yee haue hearde.)

Bernewell.

The menne of warre that ſerued vnder hys enſignes, beeyng for the more parte hyred Souldiers and ſtraungers, came togyther, and marching forthe with his body, eache man with hys armour on hys backe, in warlike order, conueyed it vnto Worceter, where hee pompouſly was buryed in the Cathedrall Churche before the hygh Aulter, not for that hee had ſo appointed, (as ſome write,) but bycauſe it was thought to be a place of moſt ſuretie for the Lordes and other of hys friendes there to aſſemble and to take order in their buſineſſe nowe after hys deceaſſe.

Bycauſe he was ſomewhat fatte and corpulente, his bowels were taken forth of his body, and buried at Croton Abbey, a houſe of Mōks, of the order called *Premonſtratenſis*, in Staffordſhire. The Abbot of which houſe was his Phiſition.



He had iſſue by his wife Queene Iſabell two ſonnes, Henry who ſucceeded him in the Kyngdome, and Richard, with three daughters, Ioane married to Alexander Kyng of Scotlande, Iſabell coupled in matrimony with the Emperoure Fredericke the ſeconde, and Eleanor whome William Earle of Glowceſter had to wife. Hee had alſo another daughter (as ſome haue lefte in writing) called alſo Eleanor.

Hee was comely of ſtature, but of lookes and countenaunce diſpleaſant and angry, ſomewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of hys time he is noted, and not ſo hardy as doubtfull in time of perill and daunger.

But this ſeemeth to be an enuious report vttered by thoſe that were giuen to ſpeake no good of hym whome they inwardly hated. But yet there be that giue this witneſſe of him, as the author of the booke of Bernewell Abbey and other, that he was a great and mighty Prince, but yet not very fortunate, not vnlike altogither to Marius the noble Romayne, taſting of fortune both wayes: bountifull and liberall vnto Strangers, but of his owne people (for their dayly treaſons practiſed towardes hym) he was a great oppreſſour, ſo that hee truſted more to foreyners than to them, and therefore in the ende he was of them vtterly forſaken.

Verely, who ſoeuer ſhall conſider the courſe of the hiſtory written of thys Prince, hee ſhall fynde, that he hath bin little beholden to ẏ Writers of that time in which he liued: for vnneth cā they aford him a good word, except whē ẏ trueth enforceth them to come out with it as it were againſt their willes.

And the occaſion (as ſome think) was, for that he was no great friende to the Cleargie. And yet vndoubtedly his deedes ſhew, he hadde a zeale to Religiō as it was then accompted: for he foūded the Abbey of Beauleau in the new foreſt, as it were, in recompence of certayne Pariſhe Churches, which to enlarge the ſame foreſt, he cauſed to be throwen downe and demoliſhed.

Hee alſo buylded the Monaſterie of Farrndon, and the Abbey of Hales in Shropſhire. Alſo he repared Godſtow where his fathers concubine Roſamond lay enterred. Likewiſe, he was no ſmall benefactor to the Minſter of Liechfielde in Staffordſhire. Likewiſe, to the Abbey of Crokeſden in the ſame ſhire, and to the Chappell at Knateſburgh in Yorkſhire. So that to ſay what I thinke, hee was not ſo voyde of deuotion towards the Churche, as dyuers of his enimies haue reported, who of meere purpoſe, conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices, but are plentifull ynough in ſetting forthe the ſame to the vttermoſt, and interprete all hys doyngs and ſayings to the worſt, as may appeare to thoſe that aduiſedly reade the workes of them that write the order of hys lyfe, whych may ſeeme rather an inuectiue than a true hiſtory. Albeit, ſyth we cannot come by the trueth of things through the malice of Writers, wee muſt contente oure ſelues with this vnfriēdly deſcription of his time. Certaynely it ſhoulde ſeeme the man hadde a princely heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithful ſubiectes to haue wroken himſelfe of ſuch wrongs as were done and offered to him by the French Kyng and others.

Mat.
Polido.
& alii.

Moreouer, the pride and pretenced authoritie of the Cleargie he could not well abide, whē they went about to wraſt out of his hands the prerogagatiue of his princely rule and gouernemente. True it is, that to maynteyne his warres whych he was forced to take in hand, as wel in Fraunce as elſe where, he was conſtreyned to make all the ſhift hee coulde deuiſe to recouer money, and bycauſe he pinched at theyr purſes, they conceyued no ſmall hatred againſt him, which when he perceyued, and wanted peraduenture diſcretion to paſſe it ouer, hee diſcouered now and then in hys rages hys immoderate diſpleaſure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing very hard in a ſtout ſtomacke, and thereby he miſſed nowe and then to compaſſe that which otherwiſe he might very well haue broughte to paſſe. It is written, that he meant to haue become feodarie (for maintenaunce ſake agaynſte hys owne diſloyall ſubiectes, and other his aduerſaries) vnto Miramumeline the great Kyng of the Sarazens: but for the trueth of this reporte, I haue little to ſay, and therefore I leaue the credite thereof to the Authors.

Paris.

It is reported lykewiſe, that in time when the Realme ſtoode interdited, as he was abroade to hunt one day, it chaunced, that there was a great Stagge or Hart killed, whiche when he came to be broken vp, prooued to be very fatte and thycke of fleſh, oh (ſayth hee) what a pleaſant lyfe thys Deare hathe ledde, and yet in all hys dayes hee neuer hearde Maſſe. To conclude, it may ſeeme, that in ſome reſpectes hee was not greatly ſuperſtitious, and yet not voyde of a religious zeale towardes the mayntenaunce of the Cleargie, as by his bountifull liberalitie beſtowed in buyldyng of Abbeyes and Churches (as before yee haue hearde) it may partly appeare.

There lyued in hys dayes many learned men, as Geffrey Vineſauſe, Simon Frarinus *alias* Aſch, Adamus Dorenſis, Gualter de Conſtantijs, firſt Biſhop of Lincolne, and after Archbyſhop of Rouen, Iohn de Oxeford, Colman ſurnamed Sapiens, Richard Canonicus, William Peregrine, Alane Teukeſbury, Simon Thurnaye, who beeing an excellente Philoſopher, but ſtanding too much in his owne conceyt, vppon a ſuddayne dyd ſo forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the moſt ignorant of all other, a puniſhment (as was thought) appoynted to hym of God, for ſuche blaſphemies as he hadde wickedly vttered, both againſt Moiſes & Chriſt. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis, Iohn Hanwill, Nigel Woreker, Gilbert de Hoyland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Paruus a Monke of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Huberte Walter, firſte Biſhop of Saleſbury, and after Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Alexander Theologus, of whome ye haue heard before, Geruaſius Tilberienſis, Siluester Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote many treatiſes, Ioſeph Deuonius, Walter Mapis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauritius Morganius, Walter Morganius, Iohn de Fordeham, William Leiceſter, Ioceline Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candidus, that wrote an hiſtory entituled *Hiſtoria Petroburgenſis*, Iohn de Saint Omer, Adam Barking, Iohn Gray, an hiſtoriographer and Byſhop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Niger, &c. See Bale *Scriptorum Britanniæ Centuria tertia.*

Bale.

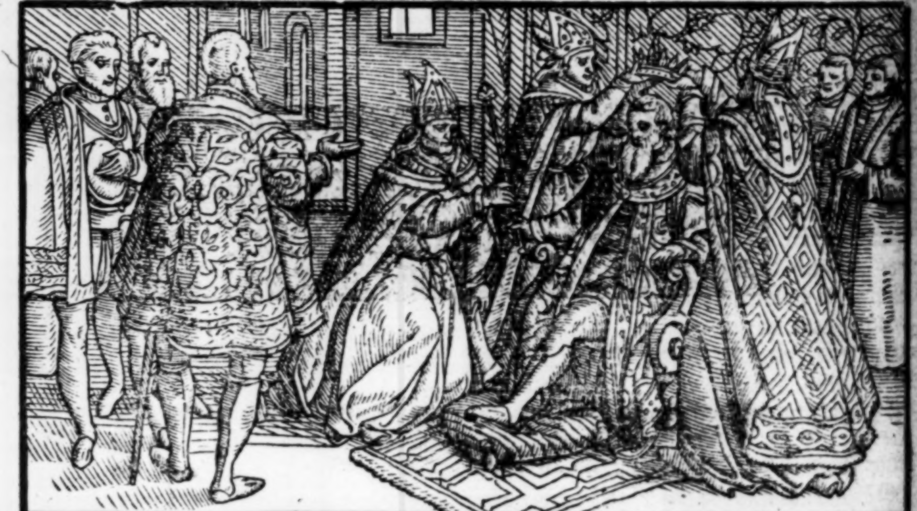
Henry

Henry the .iij.
An.reg. .1.

1216

Willia͂ Marſhall Earle of Pembroke.

Henry, the thirde of that name, the eldeſt ſonne of King John, a childe, of the age of nine yeres, began his raigne ouer the Realme of Englande the nineteenth daye of October, in the yeare of our Lord. 1216. in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Fredericke the ſecond, and in the. 36. yeare of the raigne of Phillip the ſecond King of Fraunce. Immediatly after the deathe of his father Kyng John, William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke generall of his fathers army, broughte this yong Prince with hys brother and ſiſters vnto Glowceſter, and there called a Counſell of all ſuch Lords, as had taken part with Kyng John: and ſoone after, when it was once openly knowen, that the ſonnes and daughters of the late deceaſſed Prince were brought into a place of ſafetie, a great number of the Lords and chiefe Barons of the Realme haſted thither, I meane not only ſuch as had holden with King John, but alſo diuers other, whyche vpon certayne knowledge had of his death, were newly reuolted from Lewes, in purpoſe to ayde the yong King Henry, to whome of righte the Crowne did apperteyne. Thither came alſo Uallo or Guallo the Popes Legate (an earneſt defender of the Kings cauſe) with Peter Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Jocelin Biſhop of Bath. Alſo Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, William Ferrers Earle of Derbie, John Marſhall, and Phillip de Albeny, with diuers other Lords and Peeres of the Realme, and alſo a great number of Abbots, and Priors, who by and by fell to councell togither what way ſhould be beſt to take, for the good order of things now in ſo doubtfull and perilous a time as this. The peeres of the Realme beeyng thus aſſembled, William Earle of Pembroke bringing the yong K. into their preſence, and ſetting him before them, vſed theſe words: Behold (ſaith he) right honorable & welbeloued, although we haue perſecuted ẏ father of this yong Prince for his euill demeanor, & worthily, yet this yong child whom here ye ſee before you, as he is in yeres tender, ſo is he pure & innocẽt frõ thoſe his fathers doings: wherfore, in aſmuch as euery mã is charged only with the burthẽ of his owne works and trãſgreſſiõs, neither ſhal the child (as ẏ Scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of hys father: we ought therfore of ducty & conſcience to pardõ this yong & tender Prince, & take cõpaſſion of his age as ye ſee. And now, for as much as he is ẏ kings natural & eldeſt ſon, & muſt be our ſoueraigne, and King, and ſucceſſor of this kingdome, come, and let vs appoint him our K. and gouernoure, and let vs remoue from vs thys Lewes the Frenche kings ſon, & ſuppreſſe his people, which are a cõfuſion & ſhame to our natiõ: and the yoke of their ſeruitude, let vs caſt from off our ſhoulders. Whẽ the Barons had heard this Earles wordes, after ſome ſilence and conference had, they allowed of his ſayings, and immediatly with one conſente, proclaimed the yong Gentlemã K. of England, whom the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath did Crowne and annoynt with all due ſolemnities



there at Glouceſter, vpon the day of ẏ feaſt of the Apoſtles, Simon & Jude in preſẽce of the Legat, beyng thus crowned, he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in lawe, the foreſayde Wyllyam Marſhall, Earle of Pembrooke, who to wynne the good wyll of the people towardes the young kyng, ſente forthe Meſſengers with Letters into all parties of the Realme, to ſignifye the newes of the kynges Coronation, with an offer alſo of pardon to all ſuch of the Barons ſide as woulde turne to his parte: and lykewyſe of greate rewardes to thoſe whiche hauing hitherto continued faythfull woulde ſo remayne vntyll this trouble ſhoulde be ouerpaſte.

By this means it came to paſſe, that his frendes greatly reioyced of theſe newes, and manye of thoſe, whyche tyll that tyme hadde ayded the Frenchemen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and rewarde, tourned to king Henry.

It is reported by writers, that amongſt other thyngs, as there were dyuers whiche withdrewe the hearts of the Engliſhemen from Lewes, the conſideration had of the confeſſion which the vicount of Melune made at the houre of his death was the principall. The order wherof, in the later ende of the lyfe of king John, ye haue heard.

Truly how little good will inwardly Lewes and his Frenchemen bare towardes the Engliſhe nation, it appeared ſundry ways. And firſt of all in that they had them in a maner in no regard or eſtimation at al, but rather ſought by all meanes to ſpoyle and kepe them vnder, not ſufferyng them to beare anye rule, nor puttyng them in truſte wyth the cuſtodye of ſuche places as they had brought them in poſſeſſion of. Secõdly, they called them not to councel, ſo often as at the firſt they vſed to doe, neyther dydde they procede by theyr directions in their buſineſſe, as before they were accuſtomed. Thirdly, in all maner of theyr conuerſation, neyther Lewes nor his Frenchmen vſed them ſo familiarly, as at their firſt cõming: but (as their maner is) ſhewing more loftie coũtenances towardes them, they greatly increaſed the indignation of the Engliſhe Lordes againſt them, who myght euyll abyde to be ſo ouer ruled. To conclude, where greate promiſes were made at their entring into the lande, they were ſlowe ynough in perfourmyng the ſame, ſo as the expectation of the Engliſh barons was quite made voyde: For they perceyued dayly that they were deſpiſed and ſcoffed at, for their diſloyaltie ſhewed towardes their owne naturall Prince, hearyng nowe and then nyppes and tauntes openly by the Frenchemen, that as they had ſhewed them ſelues falſe and vntruſtye to theyr owne lawfull Kyng, so they woulde not contynue anye long tyme trewe vnto a Straunger.

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Frenchmen
cureth them
ed.

Thus all theſe thynges layde togyther, gaue occaſion to the Engliſhe Barons to remember themſelues, and to take iuſt occaſion to reuolte vnto Kyng Henrye, as before wee haue mentioned. But nowe to the purpoſe of the Hiſtorye.

Ye haue hearde howe Lewes had ſpent long tyme in vayne about the beſieging of the Caſtell of Douer: for although he conſtrayned them within ryght ſore, yet Huberte de Burghe and Girarde de Sotigam bare them ſelues ſo manfully, and therewith ſo politikely, that their aduerſaries coulde not come to vnderſtande their diſtreſſe and daunger within the Caſtell, in ſo muche that diſpairing to winne it in any ſhorte tyme, euen before the deathe of Kyng John was knowne as (ſome write) Lewes was contented to graunte a truce to them that kept this Caſtell, tyll the feaſte of Eaſter were enſuyng: but as it appeareth by other, thys truce was not concluded till after the death of Kyng John was ſignified to Lewes, who greatly reioycing thereat, ſuppoſed nowe wythin a ſhorte tyme, to bryng the whole Realme vnder hys ſubiection: and therefore raysing his ſiege from Douer, in hope to compaſſe enterpriſes of greater conſequence, came backe vnto the Citie of London.

When they within the Caſtell of Douer ſawe the ſiege remoued, they came forthe and brente ſuche houſes and buyldynges as the Frenchemen hadde reyſed before the ſame Caſtell, and commyng abroade into the Countrey, gotte togyther ſuche vittuals and other neceſſarie prouiſion as myghte ſerue for the furniſhing of theyr fortreſſe for a long ſeaſon.

After that Lewes was retourned vnto London, he remayned not long there, but wyth a greate armye marched forthe vnto Hartforde, where he beſieged the Caſtell, whyche was in the keepyng of Walter de Godarvile ſeruaunte of houſeholde vnto Foulques de Brente, who defended the place from the feaſt of Saint Martine, vnto the feaſte of Sainte Nicholas, and then delyuered it by compoſition that he and his people myghte departe wyth all theyr goodes, horſe and armour.

Mat. Paris.

Hartford Caſtell deliuered to Lewes.

From thence Lewes wente vnto Berkhamſtede, and beſieged that Caſtell, whyche was valiauntly defended by a Dutche Capitayne named Waleron, who with hys people behaued hymſelfe ſo manfully, that a greate number of Frenchemen and other of them without, were lefte deade in the ditches.

At an iſſue alſo made vpon the ſide toward the North where the Barons lay, they ſpoyled the carriage and truſſe of the ſayde Barons, and toke therwithall the Standerd of William Maundeuyle. Finally about the .xx. day of December, they yet yeelded the place vnto Lewes, bycauſe they were no longer able to kepe it, theyr

lyues, goodes, horſe and armour ſaued.)

Mat. Paris.

Lewes hauyng furniſhed this caſtell with a ſufficient garniſon, returned back towards London, and comming to Sainte Albanes, conſtrayned the Abbotte to giue vnto him foure ſcore markes of ſyluer, for a fyne, to be reſpected of doing his homage vnto the feaſte of the Purification of our Ladye nexte enſuyng. Whiche poore Abbot was made to beleue, that he ought to take thys dealing to be an acte of great courteſy, the Earle of Wincheſter being an earneſt meane for hym that he myght ſo eaſily eſcape.

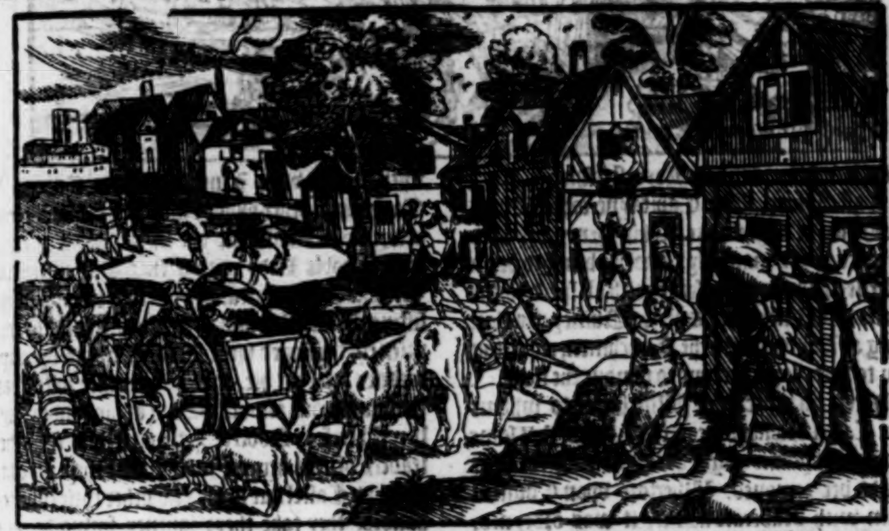
Bernewell.
A Truce.

About the ſame tyme was a generall truce taken betwixte the kyng and Lewes, and all their partakers, till the .xx. daye after Chriſtmaſſe, for the obteyning of whiche truce (as ſome write) the Caſtell of Berkchamſteede was ſurrendred vnto the ſame Lewes, as beefore yee haue hearde.

1217

After Chriſtmaſſe, and whyleſt the truce yet dured, Lewes and the Barons aſſembled at the Councell whiche they helde at Cambridge, and the Lordes that toke part with the kyng, mette likewyſe at Oxford, and muche talke there was, and great trauayle imployed to haue concluded ſome agreemente by compoſition beetwixte the parties, but it would not bee, nor yet any longer truce (which was alſo ſought for) could be granted: Whereupon Lewes beſieged the Caſtell of Hydingham, the whiche togyther with the Caſtels of Norwich, Colcheſter, and Oxford: were ſurrendred vnto hym, to haue a truce graunted vntill a moneth after Eaſter next enſuing. And ſo by this meanes all the eaſt parte of the realme came vnto the poſſeſſion of Lewes. For the Iſle of Elye was wonne by his people a little before the laſte truce, whyleſt he hymſelfe lay at ſiege of Berkhamſtede, excepted one fortreſſe belongyng to the ſame Iſle, into the whiche the Souldiors that ſerued ther vnder the king were withdrawn. But yet although Lewes might ſeme thus partly to preuayle in hauing theſe caſtelles delyuered into his handes, he beeing yet aduertiſed that dayly there reuolted diuers of the barons of Englande vnto king Henry, which before had taken part with him: he ſtood in great doubt and feare of the reſte, and therfore furniſhed all thoſe Caſtels which he had won with conuenable garniſon, and namely the Caſtell of Hertford, and after wente to London, there to vnderſtande what further truſt he myght put in the reſt of the Engliſhe Lordes and Barons: for as diuers had alreadie forſaken hym, as it is ſayde, ſo the reſidue were doubtefull what were beſte to doe. For firſt they conſidered, that the renouncing of their promyſed fayth vnto Lewes, whome they hadde ſworne to maynteyn as king of England, ſhuld be a great reproche vnto them: and agayne they well ſawe that to continue in their obedience towardes hym, ſhould bring the realme in greate daunger, ſyth it woulde bee harde for any louyng agreemente, to contynue betweene the Frenche and Engliſhemen, their natures being ſo contrarye. Thyrdly, they ſtoode ſomwhat in feare of the Popes curſſe, pronounced by hys Legate, bothe agaynſt Lewes and all his partakers. Albeit on the other ſyde to reuolte vnto Kyng Henrye, thoughe the loue whyche they did beare to theyr countrey, and the greate towardneſſe whyche they ſawe in him greatly moued them, yet ſith by reaſon of his young yeares, hee was not able eyther to followe the warres himſelf, or to take councell what was to be done in publike gouernement, they iudged it a verie daungerous caſe. For where as in warres nothyng can be more expedient than to haue one head by whoſe appointment all things maye bee gouerned, ſo nothyng can be more hurtfull than to haue many rulers, by whoſe authoritie things ſhall paſſe and be ordered. Wherfore theſe conſiderations ſtayed and kepte one parte of the Engliſhe Lordes ſtill in obedience to Lewes, namely for that diuers of the confederates, thoughte that it ſtoode not with their honours ſo to forſake him tyll they myght haue ſome more honorable colour to reuolte from their promiſes, or elſe that the matter ſhould be taken vp by ſome indifferent agreement to be concluded out of hande betwixt them. Herevpon they reſorte in lyke maner vnto London, and there with Lewes take counſell what was to bee done with their buſineſſe touching the whole ſtate of their cauſe.

Here ye ſhall note, that before the concluding of this laſt truce Foulks de Brent the Captayn of the Caſtel of Bedford gat together a number of ſouldiors out of the garriſons of the Caſtels of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windſor, and comming with them to Saint Albans the two and twentie of Februarye ſpoyled the Towne and Abbey, in like maner as he had done al the townes and villages by the way as he paſſed thorough the countrey, from Bedforde vnto Saint Albanes.



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oyed.

The meſſingers whiche Lewes had remaynyng in the Courte of Rome, ſignifyed vnto hym aboute the ſame tyme, that excepte he departed out of England, the ſentence of excommunication which Gualo or Walo the Legate had pronounced againſt him, ſhoulde bee confirmed by ẏ Pope on Maũdie Thurſday next enſuyng. Wherevpon Lewes was the more inclined to graunt to the truce before mencioned, that he might in the meane tyme go ouer into France to his father, who had moſte earneſtly written and ſent in commaundement to hym, that in any wyſe he ſhould retourne home to talke with him, and ſo about Midlent after the truce was cõcluded, hee prepared himſelfe, and ſayled ouer into Fraũce, and as Polydore ſayth (but with what authoritie I knowe not) the Kyng of Scottes went alſo with him.

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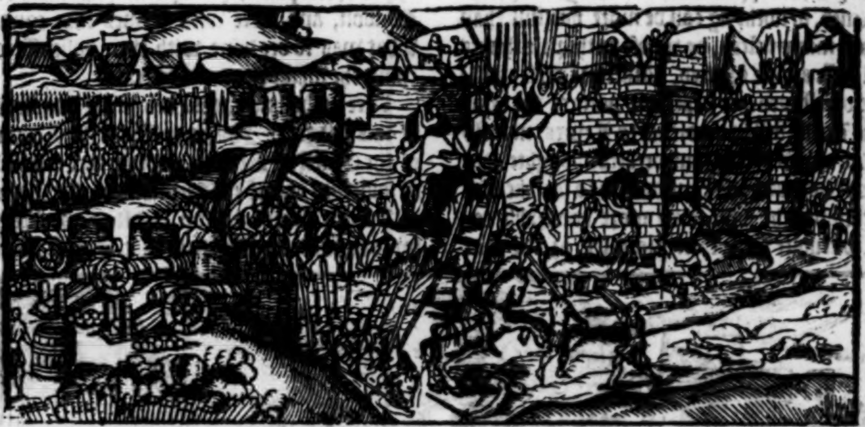
After his departure ouer, William Earle of Saliſbury, William Earle of Arundell wyth Willyam Earle Warrein, and diuers other reuolted to king Henrye. Moreouer Williã Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, ſo trauailed with his ſon William Marſhall the yonger, that he likewiſe came to take parte with the yong king: wherby the ſyde of Lewes and his Frenchmen was ſore weakened, and theyr hartes no leſſe appalled for the ſequele of their affaires. Lewes returned yet into Englande before the truce was expired.

The Lordes that helde on the kings parte, in the abſence of Lewes were not forgetfull to vſe oportunitie of tyme: for beſyde that they hadde procured no ſmall number of thoſe that before tyme helde with Lewes to reuolte from hym to the kings ſyde, they at one ſelf tyme beſieged dyuers Caſtelles, and recouered them out of theyr aduerſaries handes, as Marleborough, Farnham, Wincheſter, Ciceſter, and certayne other, thee whyche they ouerthrewe, and raſed, bycauſe they ſhould not be taken, and kepte agayne by the enemie.

For ye muſte vnderſtande, that the goyng ouer of Lewes nowe at that tyme when it ſtode hym moſte vppon, to haue bene preſente here in that troubleſome tyme, broughte no ſmall hyndrance to the whole ſtate of all his buſineſſe, in ſo muche that hee was neuer ſo hyghly regarded afterwardes among the Engliſhmen as before.

Mat.Paris.
The Earle of Cheſter.



Aꝛbout the ſame tyme Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter, William Erle of Albemarle, William erle Ferrers, Robert de Veypount, Bryan de Liſle, William de Cantlowe, Philip de Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Foulkes de Brent, and others aſſembled their powers, and comming to Mountſorell, beſide Loughborough in Leyceſterſhire, beſieged the Caſtell there. The Capitayne whereof was one Henry de Braybroke. This Henry defended the place ryght manfully, and doubting to be in diſtreſſe by longe ſiege, ſente with all ſpeed to the Earle of Wincheſter, Saer de Quincy, as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to ſende ſome ſuccour to remoue the ſiege.

The caſtell of Mountſorell beſieged.

Henry Braybroke.

Saer de Quincy Earle of VVincheſter.

An armie ſente from London to remoue the ſiege of *Montſorell.*

Herevpon the Erle of Wincheſter, to whome that Caſtel belonged, required Lewes, that ſome conuenient power might be ſent, wherby the ſiege might bee remoued. Wherfore vpon Counſell taken with deliberate aduiſe, it was ordeyned, that an army ſhoulde bee ſente thyther wyth all ſpede, not only to raiſe the ſiege, but alſo to ſubdue that countrey vnto the obedience of Lewes. Herewith there went out of London vj.hundred knightes, and wyth them aboue twentie thouſande men in armour, greedye (as it ſeemed) to haue the ſpoyle of other mennes goodes.

Their chiefe Capitaines were theſe: Saer de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, Robert Fitzwater and others, and they did ſette forwarde vpon the laſt of Aprill, whiche was the Monday before the Aſcention daye, paſſing through Sainct Albons, where they lodged the fyrſte nighte, and ſo to Dunſtable, and by the way ſuche Souldiours as were vſed to ſpoyle and pillage, played their partes, not ſparing to robbe and ranſacke as well religious houſes as other. From Dunſtable keeping on their iourneye Northwardes, at length they come to Mountſorell, but the erle of Cheſter and the other Lordes, aduertiſed of their approche, were retyred before to Notingham, determining there to abyde tyll they might vnderſtande what way the enimies would take.

The Earle of Cheſter raiſeth his ſiege.

In the meane tyme the Earle of Wincheſter and the other Barons, fyndyng their enimyes departed, and the ſiege rayſed, determyne forthwith to goe vnto Lincolne, where Gilberte de Gaunt and other hadde kepte ſiege a long tyme before the Caſtell, but yet in vayne. For there was a noble Lady within that Caſtell named Nichola, who demeaned hir ſelf ſo valiātly in reſiſting all aſſaults and enterpriſes, which the enimies that beſieged hir coulde attempte by anye meanes agaynſt hir, that they rather loſte than wanne honour and eſtimation at hir handes dayly. Therefore Roberte Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armye, to the ende they myghte get that Caſtel out of hir and other their enimies handes, they take theyr iourney forwarde, and paſſing thorough the vale of Beauvere, all thinges there that came to ſighte fell into the handes of the greedie Souldiours. For the French footmen whiche were as it had bene the ſcumme and refuſe of theyr countrey, left nothyng vntouched that they might laye handes vpon, not ſparyng Churche nor Churchyarde, halowed place more than common or prophane. For they were ſo poore and ragged, that they had vneth any tatters to couer theyr priuie partes withall. Finally comming vnto Lincolne, they aſſaulted the Caſtell with al maner of engins, & aſſayed by all wayes poſſible wherby they hoped to aduance their purpoſe. Thus whiles the Barons with the Frenchmen were muche buſyed about the ſiege of Lincolne caſtell, William Marſhall Erle of Penbroke by the aduiſe of the legate Gualo or Wallo, and of Peter Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and other of the Counſell with king Henrye, cauſed ſummonaunce to bee giuen to all Capitaynes and Chatelayns on the kings parte, to be at Newarke vpon Monday in Whitſon weeke, with ſuche power as they myght make, from thence to marche vnto Lincolne, there to rayſe the ſiege, & deliuer yͤ countrey frō imminēt oppreſſiō. Wherevpon there aſſembled at the day & place prefixed, a

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great puiſſaunce of people deſirous to fighte for defence of their countrey againſt the Frenchmen and other aduerſaries, rebelles to the Pope, and excommunicated perſons, ſo that when the muſter was taken, ther was numbred .iiij.C. knightes. CCl. croſſebowes, beſydes demylaunces and horſemen in greate numbers, whiche for neede might haue ſupplyed and ſerued in ſteede of men of armes, being verie well furniſhed for the purpoſe, and armed at all poyntes. The chiefe Captaines of this companie were theſe, Willyam Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, and his ſon William Marſhal the yonger, Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, a man right ſkilful in feats of warre, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, William Earle of Saliſburye, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, beſydes Barons, as Willyam de Albeney lately releaſed oute of captiuitie, John Marſhall, William de Cantlowe, and William his ſonne, Foukes de Brente, Thomas Baſſette, Robert de Veypount, Bryenne de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucy, Philippe de Albeney, with many other Chatelayns and Conſtables of ſundry Caſtels.

captaines
kyngs

The Legate being there preſente alſo on the Friday in the Whitſon weeke aforeſaid, reueſted in a white Albe, accompanyed with the Clergie, accurſed in ſolemne wyſe Lewes the French kinges ſonne, with all his fautours and complices, and eſpecially thoſe whiche helde ſiege before the Caſtell of Lincolne, with all the Citie: and the more to encorage all thoſe that ſhould paſſe forth in this armye, to rayſe the ſiege, he graunted to them free remiſſion of al their ſinnes, wherof they were truly confeſſed, and by auctoritie whiche he had from the Almightie God, and the Apoſtolike ſea, he promiſed to them the guerdon of euerlaſting ſaluation. Herewith when the armie hadde receyued abſolution, & the Legates bleſſing, euery man marched forth in his order and place apointed, and comming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, lodged there all night. In the mornyng alſo they paſſed forth towardes Lincolne, vnder the conducte of the ſayd Earle of Pembroke as generall of the whole armie, who beeing comen thyther, compaſſeth about the Citie with his armie. And to cauſe the enimie the ſooner to leaue the ſiege of the caſtel, he aſſaulted the gates of the Citie, enforcing his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchemen perceyuing all the daunger to be about the gates, withdrewe a little from the aſſayling of the Caſtell, and reſorting to the walles of the Citie, doe their beſte wyth ſhootyng and caſtyng of ſtones and other things, to driue their aduerſaries from the gates.

Legate
...eth Le-
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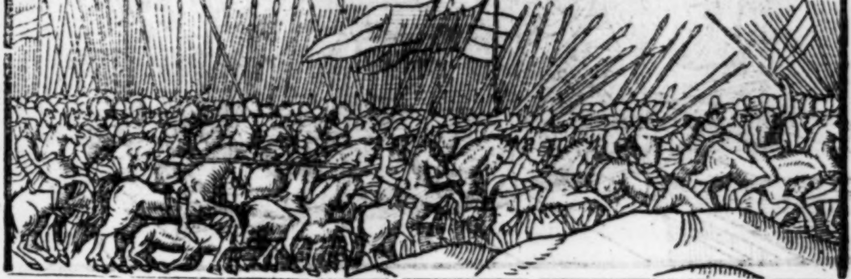
Thus whiles they are here occupyed on bothe partes, Foulkes du Brent entreth into the Caſtel by a poſterne gate on the backeſide, and a greate number of Souldiours with him, and ruſhing into the Citie oute of the Caſtell, beginneth a fierce battayle with the Citizens within the Citie: whyche, when the Frenchmen perceyued by the noyſe and cry rayſed at theyr backs, they ran to the place where the affraye was, doyng theyr beſte to beate backe the aforeſayde Foulques du Brent wyth hys companye: But in the meane tyme the Engliſhmen vnder the leading of Sauarye de Mauleon, a Poyctouin, of whom you haue hearde in the lyfe of Kyng John, brake open the gates, and entred the Citie. Then the fyght was ſore encreaſed and maynteyned for a tyme with great furye: ſo that it was harde to iudge who ſhoulde haue the better. But at length the Frenchemenne and thoſe Engliſhe Lordes that were with them, beyng ſore layde to on eche ſyde, began to retyre towardes the gates, and finally to tourne theyr backes, and ſo fled away: but being beſette rounde aboute with the Kinges horſemen, they were ſtraight wayes eyther ſlain or taken for the moſte part of them.

Foulkes du Brent.

The Frenchemen put to flight at Lyncolne.



Amongeſt other that were there ſlayne, the Erle of Perche a Frencheman was one, who being gotten into a Churchyarde manfully defended himſelf till his horſe was killed vnder hym, and laſtly hymſelfe was alſo beaten downe and ſlayn. There were taken of Engliſhmen, Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter, and Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereforde, Gilberte de Gaunt Earle of Lincolne, by gifte of Lewes, Richard de Montfichet, William de Mombraye, William de Beauchampe, William de Mauduyt, Oliuer de Harceburt, Roger de Creſſy, William de Coleuille, William de Roos, William de Ropeley, Raufe Chanduit, and diuers other: ſo that of knights there were taken to the number of

Earle of ... ſlayne.

...ble men taken priſoners.

Gilberte de Gaunt by gifte of Lewes.

foure hundred, beſide ſuche multitude of demylances, and other horſmen and footmen, as could not well be numbred. Morouer, al the prouiſion, truſſe, and baggage loden in cartes, clothſackes, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the Citie was ſpoyled, ryfled and ſacked.

Lewes his faire.

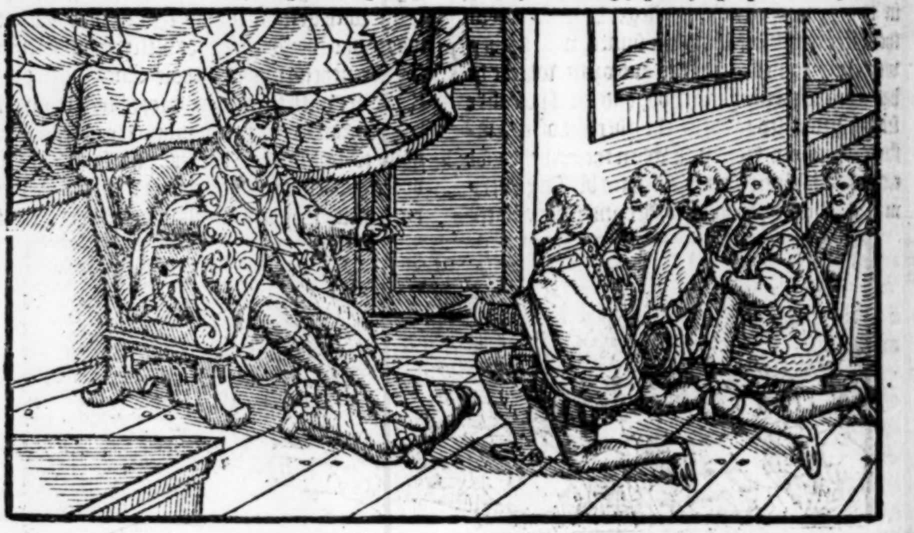
This enterpriſe and diſcomfiture at Lincolne whyche was in deriſion called Lewes his fayre, chaunced the .xiiij. Calends of June, beeing Saterday in the Whitſon weeke. Many of the honeſt Matrones of the towne were drowned, as they were got into boates to auoyde the daunger of theyr perſons, wanting ſkill how to guyde the ſame boates.

The Erle of Pembroke the ſame daye before he receyued any repaſt, rode backe in poaſt to the kyng, whome he had left at Stow, and there declared the ioyful newes of his good ſpeede, in vanquiſhing of the enimies. On the next morrowe, newes came to the king, that they which had kept the Caſtell of Montſorell were fledde out of the ſame, and had left it voyde. Wherupon immediatly he ſent in commaundement vnto the Sheriff of Notynghamſhire, that goyng thyther in hys owne perſon, he ſhoulde ruinate the ſayd Caſtell, and make it playne with the grounde.

The king commaundeth the caſtel of Moūtſorell to be raſed.

The Frenchmen which eſcaped with lyfe from the ſlaughter at Lincolne, as the Marſhall of Fraunce, the Chatellain of Arras, with others, made towardes London with all poſſible ſpeede, in hope to eſcape ſo well as they myght: but many of them, and namely the footmen were ſlayne by the coūtrey people where they paſſed, and that in great numbers: for the huſbandmen fell vpon them with clubbes and ſwordes, not ſparing thoſe whome they got at aduauntage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may cal them) getting to London, preſented vnto Lewes the ſorowful report of their miſaduenture, and were of hym not moaned, but blamed and ſore rebuked, for that they had fled, and ſhamefully left the reſidue of their companies to be diſtreſſed, taken, and ſlayne by the aduerſaries, where if they had manfully ſtood to it, they might haply haue ſaued their fellowes, and obteyned victorie.

The Chronicle of Dunſtable ſheweth in deed that Simon de Peſchi and Hēry Braybroc perceyuing that Foulkes du Brent was entred into the Citie, and that they were now aſſayled both afront, and on the backs they withdrew, and getting togither .lxxx. French knights or men of armes, (if we ſhall ſo call them) departed out of the citie, and fleeing through the countrey by Linne and S. Edmunds Bury, at length got through to London. Howſoeuer they were welcomed of Lewes, certain it is, that the Lordes that toke part with king Henry, were put in no ſmall hope by the atchieuing of this ſo greate a victorie, to bring within a ſhorte tyme all the realme to the obediēce of K. Henry: & herevpon marching forth into the countrey, put the people in ſuche feare, that they ſubmitted themſelues vnto the gouernement of king Henry in all places were ſoeuer they came.



On the other parte, Lewes who all thys ſeaſon remayned at London, beeyng ſore diſmayed for the loſſe of his people, began to feare euery day more and more, leaſt by ſome practiſe he ſhould be betrayed and deliuered into his enimies hande. Therefore he goeth aboute to make hymſelfe as ſtrong as was poſſible, and fortifyeth the citie, ſending meſſengers into Fraunce, to require his father to ſende him more ayde. Hys father ſorye to heare of his ſonnes diſtreſſe, and loth that he ſhuld take the foile, cauſed his daughter, the wyfe of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the ſame myght paſſe wyth all ſpede

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ouer into Englande to the ayde of hir huſbande. For the Frenche king himſelfe woulde not ſeeme to ayd his ſonne bicauſe he was excommunicate: but his daughter in lawe hauing licence and cõmiſſion thereto, gat togither. iij.C. knightes, or men of Armes, the whyche with a greate number of other ſouldiours and armed men, ſhe ſent downe to Caleys, where Euſtace the Monke had prouided a nauie of ſhippes to conuey them ouer into Englande. But howe they ſped, you ſhall after heare.

lidore.

he diligence
the Erle of
mbroke.

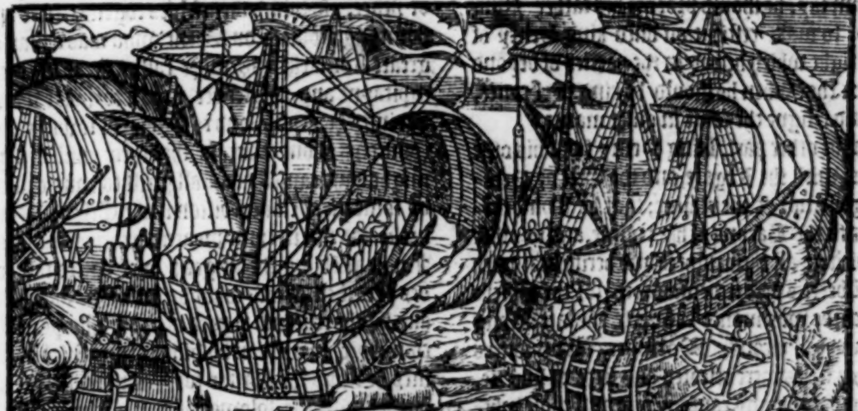
In the meane tyme, the Earle of Pembroke approcheth towards Lõdon, purpoſing to aſſaile the Citie now in this oportunitie of tyme, letting paſſe no occaſion that myght further his proceedings, night and day, ſtudying how to recouer the Realme wholy out of the Frenchmens handes, and to ſet the ſame at libertie: ſo that what was to be deuiſed, he did deuiſe, and what was to bee done that he dyd, not forſlowing any occaſion or oportunitie that might be offered.

The Engliſhe Barons alſo calling to mynde the benefite which they had receiued at the Frenchmens handes in tyme of their moſt neede, ſought nowe by all meanes poſſible, ſome waye howe to procure a peace betwixt King Henry and the ſaid Lewes, cauſing dayly new articles of agreement to be preſented in writing vnto the ſayde Lewes, as from King Henrye. But whyle theſe thinges were a doing, the Earle of Pembroke, and other the Lordes that tooke parte with King Henrye, hauing aduertiſement, that a newe ſupply of men was readye to come ouer to the ayde of Lewes they appoynted Philip de Albeneye and John Marſhall to aſſociate with them the power of the fiue portes, and to watche for the comming of the aduerſaries, that they might kepe them from landing, who on Sainte Bartholomewes day, ſette forthe from Caleys, in purpoſe to arriue in the Thames, and ſo to come vp the riuer to London, howbeit Hubert de Burgh capitain of the Caſtell of Douer, together with the ſayd Philip de Albeney and John Marſhal, with other ſuch power as they could get togethers of the fiue portes, hauing not yet aboue the number of xl. ſhippes great and ſmall, vpon the diſcouering of the Frenche fleet, which conſiſted of lxxx. great ſhips beſides other leſſer veſſels well appointed & trimmed, made forth to the ſea.

Mat. Paris.

Hubert de
Burgh aſſailet
the Frenche
fleete

And firſt coaſting a loofe from them till they had got the wynde on their backes, came finally with their mayne force to aſſaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their Croſſebowes and archers at the firſt ioyning, made great ſlaughter of their enimies, and ſo crapelyng togyther, in the ende the Engliſhmen bare themſelues ſo manfully, that they vanquiſhed the whole Frenche fleete, and obteyned a famous victorie.



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ichard baſe
nne to king
hn.

Euſtace the Monke was founde amongeſt the captayns, who although he offred great ſummes of gold for his raunſom, ſo that he myghte haue had his lyfe ſaued, & alſo to ſerue K. Henry, yet the Engliſh capitaynes would none of that, but Richard the baſterd ſonne of king John, toke him, & cut off his head, and ſent it vnto K. Henry his brother, as a witneſſe of this their atchieued victorie.

Euſtace the
Monke vvhat
he vvas.

This Euſtace was a Flemyng borne, and ſometyme a Monke, but renounceyng his coole to receyue ſuche heritage as fell to hym by the death of his brethren, deceaſſing wythoute iſſue, hee became a notable Pyrate, and hadde done in his dayes muche miſchiefe to the Engliſhemenne, and therefore was nowe rewarded according to his demerites.

A riche ſpoyle.

The ſpoyle and praye of the Frenche ſhippes was verye ryche, ſo that the Engliſhmen being loden wyth ryches and honour, vpon their ſafe returne home were receyued with great ioye and gladneſſe.

But Lewes after he vnderſtoode of this miſchaunce happened to his people that came to his ayde, began not a little to diſpayre of al other ſuccour to come vnto hym at any time hereafter: wherfore he enclined the ſooner vnto peace: ſo that at length he tooke ſuche offers of agreemente as were offred vnto him, and receiued furthermore a ſumme of money for the releaſe of ſuche hoſtages as he had in his handes, together with the title of the kingdom of England, and the poſſeſſion of al ſuch Caſtels & holds as he held within the realm.

n accord be-
twixt K. Hen-
and Lewes.

The French Chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunſtable and Mathewe Paris doe alſo agree) affirmeth that he receyued .xv. M. markes. Moreouer, the Popes Legate aſſoyled Lewes, & all thoſe that had taken his part of the offence of diſobedience ſhewed in attempting the warre agaynſt the Popes commaundement.

he Engliſhe
hronicle ſay-
h a thou-
nd pound.

ath. Paris.

After whiche, Lewes with all his complices that had bin excommunicate ſware vpon the holye Euangeliſt, that they ſhuld ſtande to the iudgement of holy Churche, and from thenceforth be faythfull vnto the Pope and to the Churche of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people ſhould incontinently depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euil intent returne agayn. And that ſo farre as in him lay, he ſhould procure his father King Philip, to make reſtitution vnto king Henry of all the right which he had in the parties of beyond the ſea: & that when he ſhould be king of France, he ſhould reſigne the ſame in quiet maner.

On the other part, King Henry tooke his othe together with the Legate, and the Erle of Pembroke gouernor of the realme, that he ſhoulde reſtore vnto the Barons of his realme, and to other his ſubiectes, all their rightes and heritages, with all the liberties before demaunded, for the whiche the diſcorde was moued betwixte the late Kyng John and his barons. Moreouer, all pryſoners on both parties were releaſed and ſette at libertie, without paying any ranſom, yea and thoſe whiche had couenaunted to paye, and vpon the ſame were ſet at libertie before the concluſion of thys peace, were nowe diſcharged of all ſummes of money whiche then remained vnpayed.

Thus peace was concluded on the .xj. daye of September, not farre from Stanes, harde by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himſelf, the Legate Guallo, and diuers of the ſpiritualtie wyth the erle of Pembroke, lord gouernor of the realm, and others, did meete and talke about this accord.

When all things were ordred and finiſhed agreable to the articles and couenants of the peace, ſo farre as the tyme preſent required, the Lordes of the realme when Lewes ſhould departe homewarde attended him to Douer in honorable wiſe, as appertayned, and there tooke leaue of him, and ſo he departed out of the realme about the feaſt of Sainct Michaell.

King Henry by this meane being put in full poſſeſſion of the realme, according to the preſcript of that article conteined in thoſe conditiõs of the peace lately ſpecified, pardoned all thoſe that had ayded his aduerſarie Lowes during the warres, except certain of the ſpiritualtie, whiche were put to ſuche fynes, that they were compelled to laye all that they had to pledge, to leuie ſuche ſummes of money, as they might with the ſame obteyne the kings fauoure againe: and beſide that, to ſue to Rome for their entier abſolution at the Popes owne handes. Amongeſt other, Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne returning into England, was compelled to paye a thouſande markes to the Popes vſe for recouerie of his Biſhoprike, and an hundred markes alſo to the Legate of good and lawfull money.

The prela
are fyned.

An. reg.
VVhat che
uance the Le
gate made

Suche cheuaunce made the Legate amongeſt them of the church, as well perſons ſecular as regular, that he got together .xij. thouſand markes toward his charges, whereby it appeared, that he loſte no tyme in England. But to procede.

The realme now being in quiet of al outward felicitie, a number of vnruly perſons, ſuch as deliting in ydleneſſe, knew not how to lyue in tyme of peace, aſſembled themſelues together (and appointyng Foulkes du Brent, who was a man of greate ſtomacke and more raſhneſſe, to bee their capitayne and ringleader) began to make warre againſt the Kyng, and to ſpoyle the townes and countreys about them, ſo that their euill doings might haue cauſed no ſmall perill to haue enſued by ſome great ciuill ſedition if the Erle of Pembroke had not in tyme preuented their attemptes. For he aſſẽbling the kinges power, haſted towardes the rebelles, and what by his owne auctoritie and by the reuerend regard of ſome biſhops in his companie, more than by vſing of any force of armes he ſtayd the matter for that time, ſo that no farther miſchiefe folowed of this mutenie.

Foukes de
Brent.

Math. Pari

Beſydes the foreſayd Foulks du Brent, there were other of the Nobilitie alſo whiche practiſed the lyke myſorder, as William Earle of Albemarle, Roberte de Veypounte, Bryan de Liſle, Hugh de Baliole, Philip de Marc, and Roberte de Gaugi, the whiche Robert withheld the Caſtell of Newarke that belonged to the Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it tyll the K. with Willyam Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke had layne at ſiege before it an eight days: In the ende of which terme by mediation of friendes, the matter was taken vp, and the Biſhop recouered his caſtell, paying to the ſayde Robert de Gaugi an hundred poũds ſterling for the victuals which he left within the ſame caſtell.

The Ca
Newarke
ſtored to th
biſhop of Li
colne.

Soone after this, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, was ſent into the holy lande by king Henry, with

a faire

Mat. Paris.

he earle of heſter goeth to the holy nde.

a faire companie of ſouldiours and men of war to ayde the Chriſtians there againſte the Infidels, whiche at the ſame time had beſieged the citie of Damieta in Egypt, in which enterpriſe the valiancie of the ſame Erle after his cōming thyther, was to his greate prayſe moſte apparaunt.

onne to kyng hn belyke.

There went with him in that iourney Saer de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, William de Albeney Earle of Arundell, beſide dyuers barons, as the Lord Robert Fitz Walter, Iohn Conſtable of Cheſter, William de Harecourt, and Olyuer Fitzroy ſonne to the kyng of England, and diuers other.

An. reg. 3. 1219.

The deceaſſe of the Earle of embroke.

e is buried in e Temple hurche.

The next yeare whiche was after the birthe of our Lord. 1219. dyed William Marſhal the forſayde Earle of Pembroke, and gouernoure both of the realme and alſo of the Kings perſon, a man of ſuche worthineſſe both in ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke and martiall knoweledge, as Englande had few then lyuing that might be compared wyth hym. Hee was buryed in the newe Temple Churche at London vppon the Aſcention day.

andulph made iſhop of Norwiche.

The ſame yeare alſo Wallo or Guallo the legate returned to Rome, and Pandulph (who (as before is expreſſed) did the meſſage ſo ſtoutly from Pope Innocent to king Iohn) is alſo made Biſhop of Norwiche.

The biſhop VVincheſte gouernour to the kyng.

Qgeene Iſab maryed to th Erle of Mar

Moreouer, the gouernement of king Henry after the death of William Marſhall the elder, Earle of Pembroke, was committed vnto Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter: For the yong king was almoſte deſtitute of any of his kinred that wer worthie to haue the rule of him: foraſmuch as his mother Quene Iſabell was lately maryed to Hughe Brune the Earle of Marche in Fraunce, vnto whome ſhee was promyſed before king Iohn toke hir to wife, as in the life of the ſame Kyng Iohn is before mentioned.

A parliamen and a ſubſidi

R. Fabian.

The biſhop of Wincheſter being now in the poſſeſſion of the kings perſon, doubting leaſt he had taken a greatter charge vppon him than hee might well anſwer, cauſed diuers ſage and honorable perſonages to be admitted of the kings Councell to aſſiſte him in the adminiſtration of the Common weale and good gouernance of the realme. Which being done, a parliamente was holden at London, wherein a Subſidye was graunted to the King of .ij.ß. to be gathered and leuyed of euery ploughe lande within his dominions towardes the relieuing of the great charges whiche hee had ſuſteyned by the warres againſt the foreſayd Lewes.

The nevve churche of VVeſtmin. begonne.

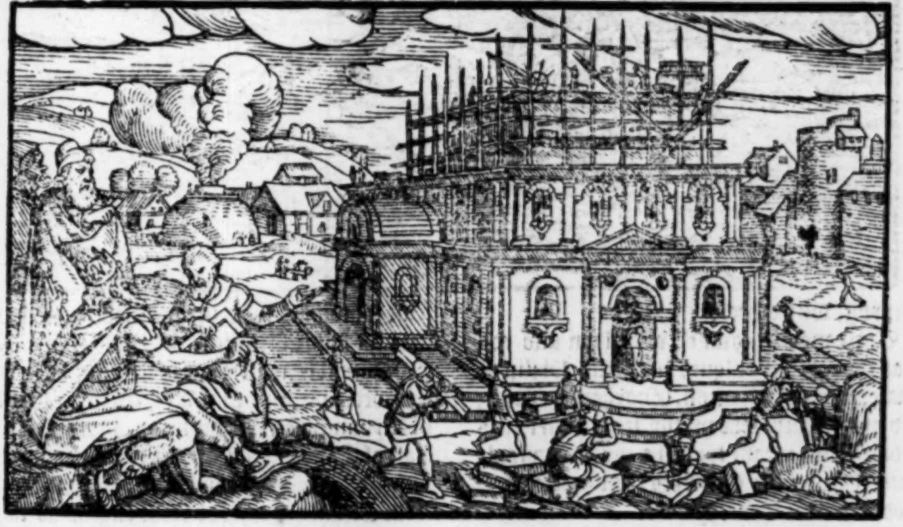
An. reg. 4.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Earle of Cheſter returneth home,

Polidor.

About the ſame time alſo, he began the building of the new worke of the Church at Weſtminſter. In whiche meane tyme the Citie of Damieta afore mencioned, was won by the Chriſtian Princes, and Ranulph Erle of Cheſter returned home, leauyng the Erle of Arundell with a great number of ſouldiors behynde him there in ayde of the chriſtians agaynſt the Sarazins, which dayly attempted the recouerie of the ſame.



1220

The king cro ned the ſecon tyme.

Moreouer, in the yeare enſuing, whiche was of our Lord. 1220. and vpon the. xvij. daye of May being Whitſunday, the K. was eftſones ſolemnely crowned at Weſtminſter, to the end it might be ſayd, that now after the extinguiſhment of all ſeditious factions, he was crowned by the general cōſent of all the eſtates and ſubiects of his realme.

Mat. Paris.

The ſame yeare alſo was the bodie of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury tranſlated, and Hugh biſhop of Lincoln canonized for a ſaint.

Mat. Paris.

In like maner in the vigile of Peter & Paule the king fynding the Caſtels of Rokingham and Sauueye at that preſente vnpurueyde of victuals, tooke the ſame into his handes againſte the will of William of Albemarle, whiche before helde the ſame.

an.Higd.

proclamati.
to auoyde
angers.

This yeare alſo was a proclamation made in London, and throughout all the realme, that all ſtraungers ſhould auoide the land before the feaſt of Saint Michaell then nexte following, except thoſe that came with marchandiſe. Furthermore Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter, after hee was come from the holy land, beganne to build the Caſtels of Chartley and Beeſton, and afterward he alſo builded the Abbey of Dieu Lencreſſe, commonly called Delacreſſe of the white order. Toward his charges ſuſteined aboute the building of whiche Caſtells and Abbey, he tooke toll throughout all his Lordſhippes of all ſuche perſons as paſſed by the ſame with any cattel, chaffre or marchandiſe.

he caſtelles
Chartley &
eſton buylt.

an.Higd.

nno reg.5.
1121.

Thys yeare deceaſſed alſo Henry de Boun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter in theyr iourney which they made into the holy land. Alſo the ſame yeare the Prieſtes or canons that inhabited within the kings caſtell of olde Saliſbury, remoued with the biſhoppes ſea, vnto newe Saliſbury, whiche by the king was made a citie. The biſhop Richarde procured this remouing, through the kings helpe, who was very willing therunto, as it ſeemed by his charters largely graunted in that behalfe.

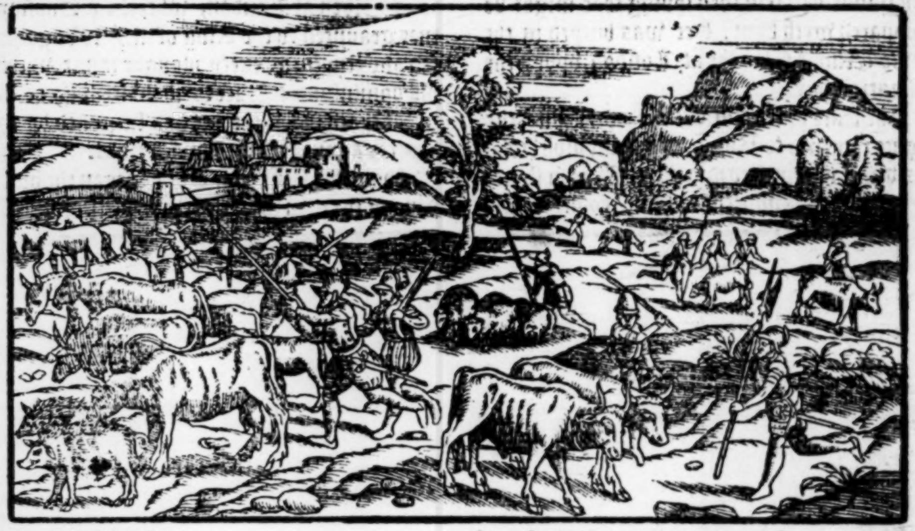
Saliſburye.

Math. Pa

After this king Henry helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Oxforde, at what tyme William de Fortz Erle of Albemarle meaning to trouble the kinges peace, and to ſette things in a new broyle, departed from the Courte in the nyght ſeaſon, without leaue or licence, and haſted with all ſpeed vnto the Caſtell of Biham, where he aſſembled a ſorte of youthfull perſons, giuen to lewde demeanor, and wearie of quietneſſe, as to whome theft and robberies were moſt pleaſaunt. By whoſe helpe he ſpoyled dyuers townes and villages aboute him, as Tenham and Depyng, with other.

The Earle of
Albemarle.

The caſtel of
Biham.



There were of counſell with hym alſo (as was thoughte) Foulques du Brent, Philip de Marc, Peter de Maulcon, Engellard de Athie, and many other, who priuily ſente men to hys ayde. In the meane tyme the countrey people withdrewe to the Churches, and gatte theyr goodes into the Churchyardes.

Moreouer, the Peeres of the realme aſſembled themſelues in counſell at Weſtm. where the king was preſent, and whither the Earle of Albemarle was ſummoned to come, who faynyng as though he had ment to haue gone thytherward directly, turned ſodeynly his way to the Caſtel of Fodringhey, and toke it vpon the ſodayne, furniſhing it alſo with a garniſon of Souldiours, to be kepte hereafter to hys owne vſe. That Caſtell was in the keeping of the Earle of Cheſter, who at that inſtant had but fewe ſouldiours there in garniſon, whereby it was the ſooner ſurpriſed.

e caſtell of
ringhey.

When this news came to the king, he reyſed a power, and came with all ſpeed to the Caſtel of Byham, vpon the wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of Candelmaſſe, and then compaſſing the ſame about with a ſtrong ſiege, he conſtreyned them within (by force of ſuche engins as they vſed in thoſe dayes) that finally on the eyghte day of February they came forth and ſubmitted themſelues and all that they had into the kings pleaſure. Who cauſed them to be ſafely kept till he might take further aduiſement what ſhould be done with them.

The caſtell
of Biham yelded.

In the meane whyle alſo commeth the Erle of Albemarle, and by helpe and meanes of the Archebiſhop of Yorke, and the Legate Pandulphe, he purchaſed his peace at the Kings hands, the rather in dede bycauſe he had faithfully

fully

…th. Paris.

…e ſeruice …dred.

fully ſerued bothe the kyng and his father kyng Iohn in theyr warrs, before that time. Al thoſe men of armes and ſouldiours alſo, whiche had ſubmitted them ſelues, and remained as priſoners, wer pardoned. Which ouer great clemencye cauſed others miſgouerned perſones to attempt the like offence of rebellion ſhortely after.

VVelch… beginne …rre.

At the very ſelfe ſame time the Welchemen beganne to ſturre, and vnder their prince and leader Leolin, they entred vpon the engliſhe marches, and with greate crueltie ſpoyled and robbed the ſame, wherevpon it was determined by the councell, that the king (as he was comming toward the caſtell of Biham) ſhould deuide his army, and ſo he did, ſending one parte therof againſt the Welchmen: wherevpon Leolin after he vnderſtode that the kyngs power came toward him, as one not able to reſiſt the ſame, caſt off his armor, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his mercy.

…der.

…th. Paris.

…nolde de …ſe.

There bee whiche write, that where Prince Leolin had beſieged the Caſtel of Buet belonging to Reginalde de Breuſe, the ſame Reginalde beſought the king to helpe to remoue that ſiege. The king cōtented with his requeſt, came with a puiſſant armye into thoſe partyes, and therwith the ſiege was rayſed, for the Welchemen (according to theyr accuſtomed maner) fled. The king then entring further into the country came to the place where Mountgomerie nowe ſtandeth, and perceiuing the ſite of the ſame to ſerue well for fortification, he cauſed a caſtell to be builded there, to reſtrain the Welchmen from theyr accuſtomed trade of harrying the countrey. And ſo after he had forraied thoſe quarters, and taken order for the full accompliſhment of that caſtell, hee returned, the nobles graunting to him of euerye Knightes fee two markes of ſiluer.

…tgomerie …ll buylt.

Eſcuage payde

Theſe things being thus brought to quiet, the king (who by dayly experience of matters grewe to more knowledge from time to tyme) beganne nowe of himſelfe to order his affayres for his owne behalfe, namely touching the eſtate of his kingdome: and bicauſe he was minded to aſſaye the recouerye of thoſe places which his father had loſte in Fraunce, he ordeined Sauarye de Mauleon to be his lieutenant in Guyenne, wherof a great part as yet remained in his handes, and moreouer ſent ambaſſadors vnto the Frenche king, requiring of him reſtitution of thoſe places whiche he had taken from his father.

Polidor.

K.Henry requireth reſtitution of his right of the Frēch king.

Theſe Oratours being come into Fraunce, and admitted to the kings preſence, receyued annſwere, that nothing oughte to be reſtored, whiche by lawe of armes was rightly conquered: And other redreſſe at that tyme, woulde none bee graunted.

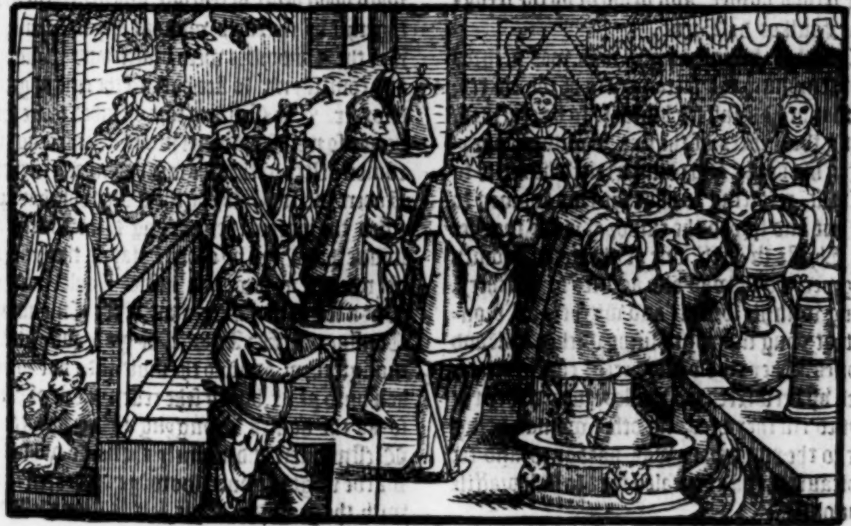
The Frenche kings anſvver.

But a maruayle it was to conſider heere at home in how ſhort a ſpace, the ſtate of the Engliſhe Common wealthe was chaunged, and from a troubled fourme reduced to a flouriſhyng and proſperous degree: chiefly by the diligente heede and carefull prouiſion of the king himſelfe. So muche auaileth it to haue him that ruleth, to attende that whiche belongeth to his office.

Mat.VVeſt.

Mat.Paris.

After this, to the intent that whiles he might be occupied in warres abroade, he ſhoulde not be troubled with ciuile diſcorde at home, he deuiſed to ioyne in affinitie with the Scots, geuing his ſiſter Ioan in mariage vnto Alexander the king of Scotlād, and Hubert of Burgh on the other ſide maried the ſiſter of the ſame Alexander cleped Margaret.



…iages …luded.

Theſe mariages were ſolempniſed at Yorke on the morrowe after the feaſte of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, in the preſence of a greate number of the nobles bothe of Englande and Scotland.

An.reg.6.
1222.

A councell or ſyuode at Oxford.

A councell alſo was holden by the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury at Oxforde for reformation of the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall and the Religion of Monkes.

In which Coũcel two naughtie felows were preſẽted before him, that of late had bin apprehended, eyther of them naming himſelf Chriſt, and preached many thinges againſte ſuche abuſes as the Clergie at thoſe dayes vſed.

Tvvo diſſemblyng perſones apprehended.
Mat.VVeſt.

Moreouer, to proue theyr errour to haue a ſhewe of truth, they ſhewed certein tokens and ſignes of woundes in theyr bodies, handes and feet, like vnto our ſauiour Ieſus, that was nailed, on the croſſe. In the ende being well appoſed, they were found to be but falſe diſſemblers, wherefore by dome of that councell, they were iudged to be nailed vnto a croſſe of woode, and ſo thoſe to whome the execution was aſſigned, had them forthe to a place called Arborberie, wher they nailed them to a croſſe, and there left them till they wer dead. The one of them was an Hermophrodite, that is to wit, bothe man and woman.

They are executed.

Tvvo vvomen counterfaiting themſelues to be, the one our Lady, the other Marye Magdalene.

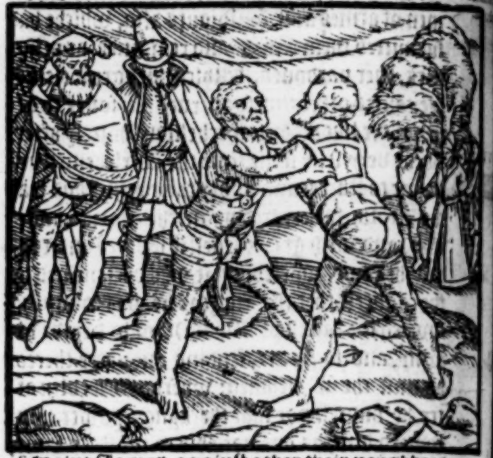
Alſo there were two women condempned, of whome the one had taken vpon hir to be that bleſſed Virgin Marye, and the other fained hir ſelfe to be Marye Magdalen.

Radulphus Cogeſhall.

Rafe Coggeſhall ſheweth this matter otherwiſe, and ſaith, that there were two men and two women in deede broughte before the archbiſhoppe, at this Councell, of the whiche one of the men being a deacon, was accuſed to bee an Apoſtata, and for the loue of a woman that was a Iewe, he had circumciſed himſelfe: he beeing hereof conuict and diſgraded, was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo burnt by the ſeruãtes of Foulkes de Brent.

The other beeing a yong man, was accuſed of contempning the ſacramentes of the church, and that he had ſuffred himſelfe to be crucified, hauing the printes of the fiue woundes appearing in his bodie, and counterfaited himſelfe to be Chriſt, reioicing to haue the two women to giue out and ſpread the rumor abroade, that hee was Chriſte in deed, one of the which women being very aged, was alſo accuſed of witchery, hauing with hir ſorcerie and witchcrafte, brought that yong man vnto ſuche wicked folie and madnes. They two being hereof cõuicted, wer cloſed vp betwixte two walles, where they remayned till they died, the other woman being ſiſter to the yong man, was pardoned and let go, bicauſe ſhe had reuealed the deuilliſh practiſe of the other.

This yeare alſo was the building of the ſteeple belonging to the Churche of ſaint Paule in London fynyſhed. And this yeare alſo vpon Saint James day the citizens of London kept a playe of defence and wraſtling at the hoſpitall of Saint James, againſt other their neyghbors of the ſuburbes, & the quarters next adioyning. In the ende whereof, it ſo fortuned, that the Londoners had the vpper hande: And amongſt other that were put to the foile, the ſtewarde of the Abbot of Weſtminſter with his folkes went awaye with the worſe, to theyr greate griefe: Wherupon the ſame ſteward, deuiſed an other game of wraſteling to be holden at Weſtminſter on Lammas day next following, and that whoſoeuer coulde gette the vpper hande there, ſhoulde haue a Ramme for the price, whiche the ſtewarde had prepared.



At the daye appointed, there was a greate aſſemblie, and the Stewarde hadde gotte together out of all partes, the beſt wraſtlers that might be hearde of, ſo that there was harde holde betwixte them and the Londoners. But finally, the Steward vpon deſire of reuenge, procured them to fal together by the eares without any iuſt cauſe, ſo that the Londoners were beaten and wounded, and conſtrayned to flee back to the citie in greate diſorder. The Citizens ſore offended to ſee their people ſo miſuſed, roſe in tumulte, and rang the cõmon bell to gather the more company to them. Robert Serle Maior of the Citie wold haue pacified the matter, perſwadyng them to lette the iniurie paſſe, tyll by orderly playnt they mighte get redreſſe, as lawe and iuſtice ſhoulde aſſigne. But a certayne ſtoute man of the Citie named Conſtantine Fitz Arnulfe, of good authoritie amongſt them, aduiſed the multitude not to herken vnto peace, but to ſeke reuenge out of hand, ſo as the houſes belongyng to the Abbotte of Weſtminſter, and namely the houſe of his ſtewarde might be ouerthrowen and beaten flatte with the grounde. This lewde Councell was ſoneſt receiued and executed by the outrageous people, Conſtantine himſelfe being chiefe leader of them, crying with a loude voice Mount ioy,

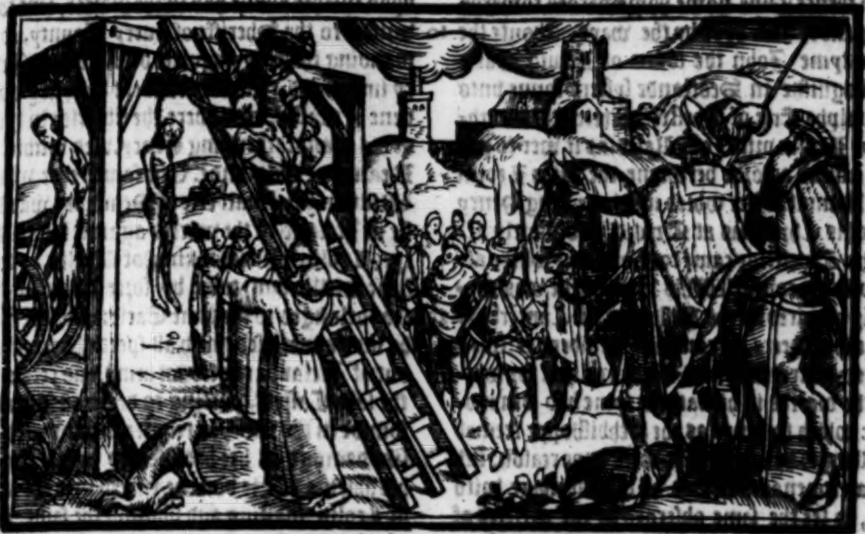
Mount

Mounte ioye, God bee our ayde and our ſoueraigne Lewes.

Lord Iu-
...aketh in-
...on of the

This outragcous parte comming to the notice of Hubert de Brough Lord chiefe Iuſtice, he gat togither a power of armed mē, and came to the citie with the ſame, and taking inquiſitiō of the chiefe offenders, founde Conſtantine as conſtante in affirming the deede to be his, as he had before conſtantely put it in practiſe, wherevppon he was apprehended and two other citizens wyth hym. And on the nexte daye in the morning Foulkes de Brent was appoynted to haue them to execution: And ſo by the Thames he quietly led them to the place where they ſhuld ſuffer: when Conſtantine had the halter aboute his necke, hee offered .xv. M. markes of ſiluer to

...ntine
...hended.



...executed

haue bin pardoned, but it would not be. There was hanged with him his nephewe named alſo Conſtantine, and one Geffrey, who made the proclamation, deuiſed by the ſaide Cōſtantine. The crye alſo whiche Conſtantine vſed to the ſetting forwarde of his vnlawfull enterpriſe in the name of Lewes moſte of all offended the kings frends, as the lord chief Iuſtice & others, who not ſatiſfied with the deathe of the three before remembred perſones, but alſo entring the Citie againe with theyr bands of armed men, apprehended diuerſe of thoſe whome they toke to be culpable, not onely putting many of them into priſon, but alſo puniſhing other of them, as ſome with loſſe of a fote, ſome of an hande, and other of theyr eye ſight.

The King furthermore to reuenge this matter, depoſed all the Magiſtrates of the Citie, and ordeined newe in their roomes. Whiche cauſed greate hartburning againſt diuers of the nobilitie, but chiefly the Lorde Hubert and Foulkes de Brent, on whom in time they hoped to haue reuenge. And as the broile vexed the Citie of London, ſo in this yeare there chaunced greate tempeſt of thunder, lightning and rayne, wherby muche hurte was done in dyuers partes of the realme, and at ſundry times, as by throwing downe of Steeples, Churches, and other buildings, with the rootewalting of trees, aſwel in woodes as in orchards, righte maruellous to conſider, namely on the eighte day of February at Graunthā in Lincolneſhire, where there chaunced beſide the thunder, ſuche a ſtinke and filthie ſauour to followe in the Churche, that the people fledde out, for that they were not able to abide it.

...s tempeſt.

...enerall
...der.

Likewiſe in the daye of the exaltation of the Croſſe, a generall thunder happened throughe the Realme, and thereof folowed a continuall ſeaſon of fowle weather and wet, till Candelmas nexte after, which cauſed a dearth of corn, ſo as wheate was ſolde at twelue ſhillings the quarter. Likewiſe on the day of Saint Andrew an other terrible tempeſte of thunder happened through the Realme, throwing downe and ſhaking buildings in many places, in ſo much that at Pillerdeſton in Warwikeſhire, in a knights houſe, the Ladie thereof and .vj. other perſones were deſtroyd by the ſame: and a Turbary therby compaſſed aboute wyth water and marreſſe was ſo dried vp that neyther graſſe nor mire remained, after which enſued an Earthe quake. Moreouer on the euen of ſaint Lucy, a mightie winde raged, whiche did muche hurte in ſundry places of the Realme. Furthermore aboute this time there appeared in Englande a wonderfull Comet or blaſing ſtarre. The ſea alſo roſe with higher tides and ſprings than it had bin accuſtomed to doe.

Great dearth of corne.

An other tempeſt of thunder.

Polidore.

A Comete or blaſing ſtarre.

All the whiche wounders were afterwarde iudged to betoken and ſignifye the loſſe whiche the Chriſtians ſuſteined the ſame yere in Egipt when

The loſſe of the citie of Damieta.

when they wer conſtrained to ſurrender the citie of Damieta into the Sarazins handes, which lately before, as ye haue heard, they had wonne with long and chargeable ſiege. After the yelding vp of Damieta, William de Albeney erle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter left behinde hym in the holy lande) with many ſouldiers and men of warre, (when he returned from thence) came nowe homewardes towards Englande, and dyed by the waye.

VVilliam Dalbenye earle of Arundell departed this life.

An. reg. 7.

John Scot marieth the daughter of Leolyn prince of VVales.

Aboute the ſame tyme John the ſonne of Dauid Earle of Anguiſhe in Scotlande ſyſters ſonne vnto Ranulphe Erle of Cheſter, married the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales, as it wer to procure a finall accorde betweene the ſaide Leolin and Ranulf. After which mariage, king Henry helde his Chriſtmas at Oxford, and ſhortly after the Twelfthtide came to London: where aſſembling a counſell of his Barons, he was earneſtly required by the Biſhoppe of Canterbury and other Peers, to confirme the liberties, franchiſes, and freecuſtomes of the realme, for whiche the warres in his fathers tyme had bin moued: which to deny (as the archbiſhoppe ſeemed to alledge) he mighte not with anye reaſon, ſith he had couenaunted and all the baronage with him, to ſee the ſame obſerued by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the ſame Lewes departed the realme.

1223

Math. Paris.

A Councell at London.

Note the redineſſe of this biſhop to broche nevve contention.

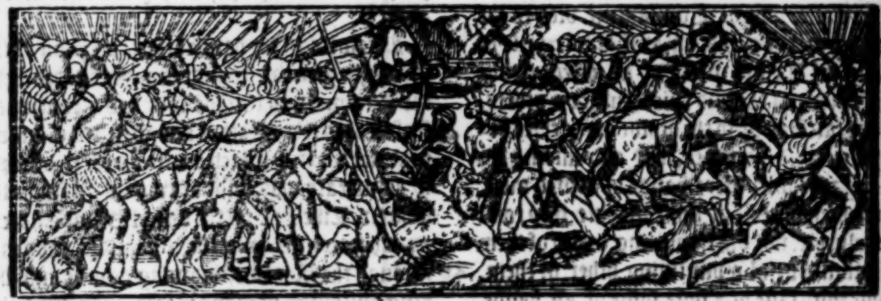
The aunſvvere of VVilliam Brevver to the Archbiſhops demaunde.

Herevpon Williã Brewer one of the kings counſell, hearing the archbiſhop ſo earneſt in theſe matters, told him, that ſith theſe liberties wer procured and extorted rather by force than otherwyſe, of the king being vnder age, they wer not to be obſerued. Wherunto the archbiſhoppe replied, that if he loued the king, he wold be loth to ſeeke to trouble the quiet ſtate of the realme. The king perceiuing the archebiſhoppe to be chafed, toke the tale himſelf, and made a curteous anſwere, and vpon further aduiſe had in the matter, ſent forth writtes to the Sheriffe of euery County, commanding them by inquirie of a ſufficient Jewry impaneled, to make certificat within yͤ quindene of Eaſter, what were the liberties in tyme, of his grandfather king Henry, vſed within the Realme of Englande. The ſame yeare whiles William Marſhall erle of Pembroke was buſie in Ireland in the warres againſt Hugh Lacye, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as ſome haue intitled him, toke by force two Caſtelles that belonged to the ſame Earle: whereof when he was aduertiſed, with all ſpeede he retourned out of Irelande rayſed an army, and recouered the ſaid Caſtels, putting to death all ſuch as he founde in the ſame, to requite Leolin with the like damage as hee had ſhewed hym before in his abſence. This done he entred into the lande of Leolin, waſting and ſpoiling the ſame, wherof when the ſaide Leolin was enformed he aſſembled an hoſte of Welchemen, and comming into the fielde gaue battell, but the victorie reſted on the Erle of Pembrokes ſide: ſo that ther were taken and ſlaine in this bickering to the number of nine thouſande Welchemen.

The prince of VVales diſcomfited

A conſpiracie againſt the L. chief Iuſtice.

There was in this yeare a conſpiracy alſo begonne by the Earle of Cheſter, and other noble men, agaynſte Huberte de Broughe, Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Englande, by whoſe counſell (as it was thought) the king was more ſtraighter towardes the nobilitie and other his Subiectes, in ſtaying his graunte to confirme the Charter of liberties, than otherwiſe he woulde haue bin, if the ſame Hubert and other had not aduiſed him to the contrarye.



Math. Paris.

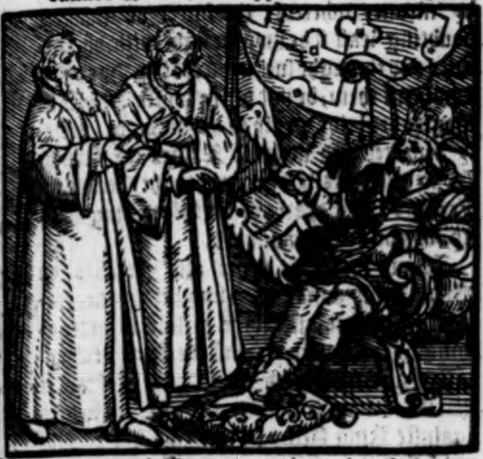
The king of Jeruſalem cõmeth into Englande.

In thys ſeaſon alſo John de Brenne king of Jeruſalem, and the Lorde greate maiſter of the Knightes Hoſpitallers came into Englande, where they were honourably receyued of King Henrye, and liberally rewarded. The cauſe of their comming was to require ayde of the king for the recouery of the holy lande out of the poſſeſſion of the Sarazins.

In like maner aboute the ſame time Leolin Prince of Northwales, with certein Engliſhe Lordes, as Hugh Lacy and others, vpon an hatred whiche they bare towardes king Henry for his fathers ſake, ſuppoſing that ſo euill a ſtocke as they toke him to be, coulde not bring forthe any good brãch, ſought by open warres to bring William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke and other Barons that wer faithfull friendes to the king vnto their purpoſe, but the whole Country riſinge againſt them, they were diſappointed to their owne confuſion, ſo that they coulde neuer bring that to paſſe, whiche they ſo earneſtly intended.

ath of
nche

In this yeare alſo Phillip the Frenche kyng departed this life, and after him ſucceded Lewis his ſonne, vnto whome king Henry ſent in ambaſſade the archebiſhoppe of Canterbury with three other biſhops to require nowe that according to his othe made and receined at his return out of England, he woulde reſtore and deliuer vp to hym the Dukedome of Normandie with other ſuche landes and poſſeſſions as his father in times paſte had taken from King John, and ſtill did wrongfully withholde. King Lewes aunſwered hereunto, that hee helde Normandy and the other lands by good right and iuſt title, as hee coulde well proue and iuſtifie, if Kyng Henry would come to yͤ Parliament in France to heare it. And as touching the othe whiche hee had ſworne in Englande, hee affirmed that the ſame was firſt broken by kyng Henry, both in yͤ his men which had bin taken at Lincolne were put to greuous ranſomes, and alſo for that their liberties for whiche the warre firſt began, were not obſerued, but denyed to the Engliſhe ſubiects, contrarie to that whiche was concluded at the agreemente betwixte them at the ſame time made.



adours
to Frãce.

Moreouer, King Henry ſent other ambaſſadoures to Rome, who purchaſed a Bull of the Pope, wherby hee was adiudged to be of age ſufficient to receyue the gouernmẽt of the kingdome of England into his owne handes, therby to order and diſpoſe al things at his pleſure, and by the aduiſe of ſuche councellers as hee ſhoulde elect and choſe to be aboute him.

Wheruppon after the ſayde ambaſſadoures wer returned, all thoſe Erles, Barons and nobles whiche helde any caſtelles, honors, manors or places, apperteining to the king, were commaunded to deliuer and reſigne the ſame to his vſe, whiche cauſed muche trouble, as after ſhall appeare: for dyuers noble men whoſe hartes were filled with couetouſnes, woulde not obey the Popes order herein, but ſore repined, (yet not ſo muche againſt the Kyng as againſt the Lord Hubert de Burghe, by whoſe counſell the king was moſte ledde and ruled.) And therfore they did put hym in all the blame, as one that ſhulde ſet the king againſte them, and ſtay him from ſuffering them to enioye thoſe liberties, whyche they from tyme to tyme ſo muche laboured to haue had to them graunted & confirmed. Upon this occaſion therfore, they ſued to the Kyng for the reſtitution of the auncient lawes according to his promyſe, who to pacifie them for the tyme, gaue them a gentle anſwere, aſſuring them, that hee woulde perfourme all that he had promyſed, ſo ſoone as opportunitie woulde permit and ſuffer hym ſo to doe.

An.reg.8.

Polidor.

The king gyueth a gentle anſvvere to his Lordes.

Howbeit, afterwardes by the aduiſe of certayne olde counſellours which had bene of the priuy counſell with Kyng John his father, he founde a ſhift to diſappoynt them of theyr demaundes, by requyring them on the other ſide to reſtore unto hym thoſe things whiche they had in tymes paſt receiued of his aunceſtors.

Furthermore, bicauſe he would the more eaſily obteyne his purpoſe, and make the reſidue afraide to followe a ſuite ſo diſpleaſaunte and yrkeſome, he thoughte beſte to beginne wyth the chiefe auctors and firſte procurers of the ſayd petitions, and to take from them whatſoeuer they helde belonging to his crowne.

Hereuppon therfore aſſembling a greate power aboute hym, he demaunded of Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter, the reſtitution of certayne Lordeſhippes whiche anciently appertained to the Crowne of the Realme, whiche Earle not being as then able to reſiſt, readyly obeyed the Kyngs pleaſure, and reſigned them all. By this entraunce of the Kyng into the execution of his purpoſe, diuers of the reſt of the Barons were brought into ſuche feare, that they were contented alſo to doe the like, ſo that by this meanes the Lordes being cut ſhorte and weakened in power, ſurceaſed as then from moleſting the Kyng any further with the demaunde of other landes or liberties.

1224.

The kyng demaundeth reſtitucion of parcels of inheritance belonging to the crovvne.

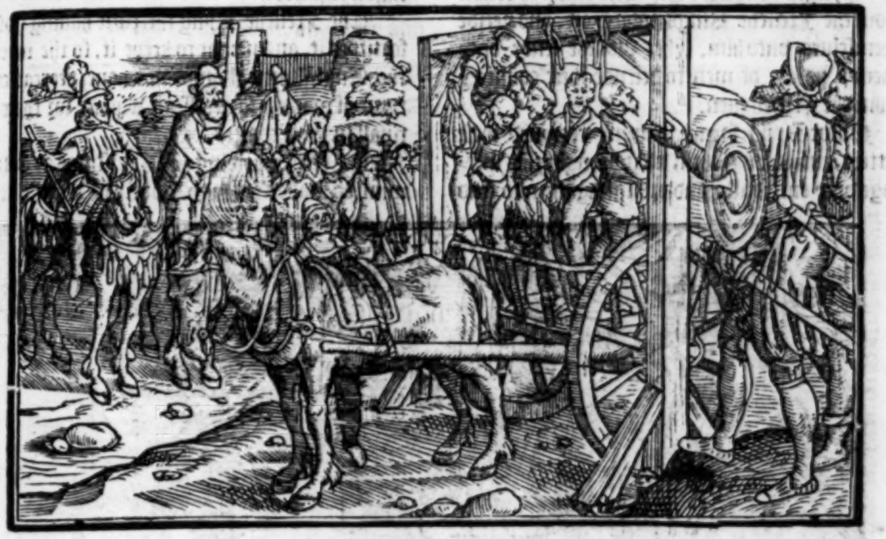
The Archebiſhop of Canterbury alſo threatned them with the darte of excommunication, if they wente aboute to diſquyet the Realme with any ciuile commotions, though no man was more deſyrous to haue that matter goe forwarde than hee, as appeared by his diligent trauaile therin (hoping as now in ſhort proceſſe of tyme, and that by curteouſe meanes, to perſwade the King to his purpoſe) but the Kyng droue hym off with fayre wordes, and mynded nothing leſſe than to alter any one of the lawes whiche he knewe to be profytable to hym ſelfe, and his ſucceſſoures after hym. Whereuppon diuers myſlykyng hys dealyng herein, withdrewe themſelues ſecretly, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, to the intent they might auoyde the dayely ſyghte of ſuche abuſes, as they for the moſte parte coulde not well abide to heare.

Whileſt King Henry thus politikely prouideth for his affaires at home, Sauary de Mauleon maketh prouiſyon in Guyenne to withſtande ſuch perils and dangers as he ſaw moſte lykely to enſue by the practiſes of the Frenchemenne. But as hee was moſte buſily occupyed aboute the purueyaunce of ſuche thynges as ſhoulde bee verye neceſſarye for his doyngs, there ſprang a greate dyſſention betwixte hym and Wyllyam the Earle of Saliſburye, who was ſente ouer into that Countreye, with Commiſſion to ſurueye the ſtate thereof, and by colour of the ſame Commiſſion, tooke vpon hym to order all thyngs at his owne pleaſure. Whereas the foreſayde Sauarye de Mauleon (being a man of highe parentage in thoſe parties where hee was borne) iudged it to be a matter nothyng ſtandyng wyth his honour, that an other man ſhoulde order thyngs at his will and commaundement wythin the Countrey, whereof hee him ſelfe had the chiefe charge, as the Kings lieutenaunt: And therfore determined not to ſuffer it any longer. And herevpon verily roſe the contention betwixte them, whiche the Engliſhe ſouldyours that were there, did greatly encreaſe, fauouring the Earle as the Kyngs vncle, and contemnyng the lieuetenaunt as a ſtraunger borne, by meanes whereof, the foreſayde Sauarye doubting leaſt if he ſhoulde fight with his enemies and throughe ſuche diſcorde as was nowe amongeſt them, be put to the worſe, the faulte ſhoulde bee laide wholy in his necke: he ſecretely departed and fledde to Lewes the Frenche Kyng who was lately come to the Crowne of Fraunce by the deathe of his father king Philip, as you before haue hard.

Diſcorde betvvixt Sauary de Mauleon and the Earle of Saliſbury.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo Foulkes de Brent being a man of an vnquiet mynde, readye to miſchiefe and lothe to liue in peace as ſome ſaye conſpired againſt the King of Englande, and aduertiſed the Kyng of Fraunce that if hee woulde boldely beginne the warres againſte King Henry in Fraunce, hee woulde not faile but rayſe warre agaynſte hym here in the middeſte of his Realme of Englande, hauing diuers noble men in a redineſſe, that wold willingly take his parte. But howſoeuer it fell out, certayne it is that this Foulkes hauyng fortifyed his Caſtell of Bedforde, attempted many enterpriſes greatly to the preiudice of the Kyngs peace, aſwell in robbyng and ſpoyling the Countrey aboute him, as otherwiſe. And nowe fearyng to bee puniſhed therfore by order of lawe, hee ſhewed his malice agaynſte ſuche as had the execution of the ſame lawes chieflye in theyr handes. Herevpon he tooke priſoner Henry Braybroke, one of the Kyngs Iuſtices of his benche, and ledde hym to his Caſtell of Bedforde, and there ſhutt hym vp cloſe as his lawfull priſoner. In deede the ſaid Henry de Braybroke, wyth Martin de Pateſhull, Thomas de Multon, and other of the Kyngs Iuſtices were come to keepe theyr circuit at Dunſtable. Where vpon information gyuen and preſented before them, Foulkes de Brent was condempned to the King in greate ſummes of money. Wherewithall this Foulkes tooke ſuch indignation and diſpleſure, that

he commaunded his men of warre whyche lay in yͤ Caſtell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunſtable, and there to apprehende the ſayd Juſtices, and to bring them vnto Bedford, where (as he ſayde) he meant to cōme further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, fledde quickly out of the Towne, ſeeking to eſcape euery man whiche way he might beſt deuiſe. Howbeit, the ſouldiers vſed ſuch diligēce, that Henry de Braybroc fell into their hands, and ſo was broughte captiue to Bedford as theyr maſter had commaunded them. The Kyng aduertiſed hereof by the greeuous complaynts of hys ſubiectes, was as then at Northampton (where hee had aſſembled hys Parliament,) and thereupon hauing gathered ſpeedily a power, with all expedition hee haſted towards Bedford. At his comming thither, he beſieged the Caſtell on each ſide, and at length after two monethes, though not without muche adoe, hee wanne it, and hanged them all whiche were taken within, being in number 80. or aboue: And amongſt other, William de Brent, the brother of the ſayd Foulkes was one. There were but three that eſcaped with lyfe, who were pardoned, vpon condition they ſhould paſſe into the holy lande, there to ſerue among the Templers. The ſiege began on the Aſcention euen, and continued till the fiftenth day of Auguſt, beeing the feaſt day of the aſſumption of our Lady. Foulkes hymſelfe whileſt the ſiege continued, lay alooſe in Cheſhire, and on the bordures of Wales, as one watching to do ſome miſchiefe: but after the Caſtell was wonne, he gote hym to Couentrie, and there was ere long apprehended, and brought to the Kyng, of whome he obteyned pardon of lyfe, but yet by the whole conſente of the nobles and peeres of the Realme, he was exiled the lande for euermore, and then wente to Rome, where hee knewe to purchaſe his pardon eaſily ynough for money, of what crime ſoeuer he ſhould be iudged culpable. His wife, bycauſe ſhe neuer conſented to his doyngs, nor yet willingly to the marriage hadde betwixte hir and him, was acquited of all blame, and ſo likewiſe was his ſonne Thomas. Howbeit at length, the foreſayd Foulkes, hauing obteyned hys purpoſe at Rome (by meanes of his Chaplayne Roberte Paſſew an Engliſhman, who was his ſollicitor there,) as hee returned towards England in the yeare enſuing, was poyſoned, and dyed by the way, making ſo an ende of his inconſtant life, whiche from the time that he came to yeares of diſcretion, was neuer bente to quietneſſe.



Bedford Caſtel beſieged.

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But nowe to leaue theſe things, and returne to the doings in Fraunce where wee left. Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that after Sauery de Mauleon was reuolted to the Frenche King, the ſayde Kyng with all ſpeede, determined to make warre vppon Kyng Henry, and to winne from hym certayne Townes & fortreſſes within the countrey of Poictou.

The Frenche Writers affirme, that Kyng Lewes recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands the Townes of Niorte, Saint Johns d'Angeli, and Rochill, before that Sauar de Mauleon reuolted to the French part.

In deede, the Chronicle of Dunſtable ſayth, that after the truce tooke ende, thys yeare the Frenche Kyng rayſed an army, and tooke Niort, and after they of Saint John d'Angeli ſubmitted themſelues to hym. From whence hee went to Rochelle, within the whiche at that preſente, was the ſayde Sauary de Mauleon with ſeuenty Knightes, and Richarde Gray, with Geffrey Neuille, who had in their retinue ſixtie Knightes. These with the forces of the Towne, ſallied forth, and encountring with the Frenche

Dunſtable.

army, ſlewe many of their aduerſaries, and loſt ſome of their owne people. Yet after this, the Frenche Kyng beſieged the Towne, and in the ende wanne it, whileſt the King of Englande being occupied about the aſſieging of Bedforde Caſteil, neglected to ſende them within Rochell neceſſary ſuccoures.

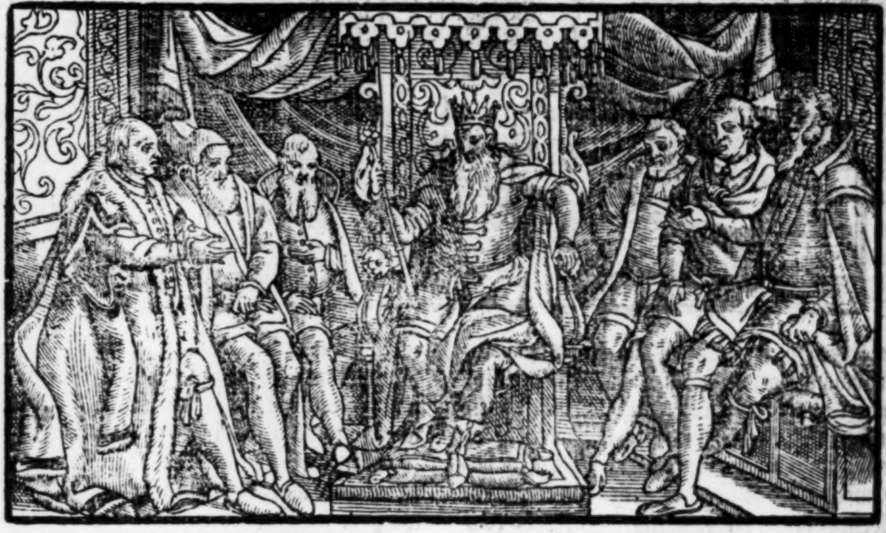
The Poictonins ſend to King Henry.

But Polidor Vergill writeth, that now after that Sauary de Maulcon was become the Frẽch Kings man, the Poictouins ſente vnto Kyng Henry, ſignifying, that they were ready to reuolt from the Frenche Kings ſubiection, and yeelde themſelues vnto him, if hee woulde ſende vnto them a power of men to defende their countrey from the French men.

Nowe Kyng Henry hauyng receyued theſe letters, enterteyned them that brought this meſſage very curteouſly, and promiſing them to ſend ouer ayde with all expedition, he cauſed his nauie to be made ready for that voyage.

In the meane time, the Frenche Kyng ſente forthe an army vnder the leading of Sauary de Mauleon, who then tooke Niort and Rochelle, placing in the ſame ſundry garriſons of Souldiers, but chiefly, he fortified Rochelle (whiche had bin long in the Engliſhmens handes, and alwayes ſerued them to very good purpoſe, for the handſome landing of their people, when any occaſion required.)

The Frenche Kyng therefore hauing got it, fortifyed it, and meant to keepe it, to the intente the Engliſhmen ſhoulde not haue heereafter in tyme of warre, ſo neceſſary a place for their arriuall in thoſe coaſtes.



1225

A fiftenth graunted to the Kyng.

King Henry holding his Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter, called his high Courte of Parliamente there the ſame time, and demaunded a reliefe of money, towardes yͤ mayntenaunce of his warres in Fraunce, and had graunted to him the fiftenth peny, in value of all the moueable goodes, to bee founde within the Realme, as well belonging to the ſpiritualty as temporality, but vnder condition, that hee ſhoulde confirme vnto his ſubiectes, their often demaunded liberties. The King vpon deſire to haue the money, was contented to condiſcende vnto theyr requeſtes, and ſo the two Charters were made, and by the Kyng confirmed, the one entituled *Magna Charta*, and the other *Charta de Forreſta*. Thus at this Parliamẽt were made and confirmed theſe good lawes and laudable ordinaunces, whyche haue bin from time to time by the Kyngs and Princes of thys Realme confyrmed, ſo that a greate parte of the law now in vſe dependeth of the ſame. The ſame Charters alſo were directed and ſente forthe into euerie Countie within the Realme to bee proclaymed.

Magna Carta and Carta de Forreſta confirmed.

It was moreouer decreed, that at a certayne day after Eaſter, there ſhoulde bee an inquiſition taken by the Inqueſt of a ſubſtantiall Iury, for the ſeuering of Forreſtes, the newe from the olde, ſo as all thoſe groundes whyche hadde bin made Forreſtes, ſith the dayes of Kyng Henry the Graundfather of this Henry the third ſhoulde bee diſforreſted. And therevppon after Eaſter, Hugh de Neuile, and Brienne de Liſle, were ſente forthe as Commiſſioners, to take that inquiſition. By force whereof, many wooddes were aſſerted and improued to arrable land by the owners, and ſo not onely men, but alſo dogges, whyche for ſafegarde of the game were accuſtomed to loſe theyr clawes, hadde good cauſe to reioyce of theſe confyrmed liberties.

In the meane tyme, and about the feaſt of the purification, King Henry (hauing iuſt occaſion to purſue the warre, for recouery of thoſe townes taken, as before you haue hearde by the Frenchmen,) ſente ouer hys brother Richarde

whome

. Paris.
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whome hee had made Earle of Cornewall and Poictow, with a mighty nauie of Shippes vnto Gaſcoigne. This Earle, hauing in his company the Earle of Saliſbury, Phillip de Albanie, and others, with proſperous winde and weather arriued at Burdeaux with foure hundred ſayles, and there landing his men, went ſtraighte vnto the Towne of Saint Machaire, ſituate vppon the banke of Garon, where vppon his firſte comming, he gate the Caſtell, and ſacked yͤ Towne, and then paſſing further, wanne dyuers other Townes, as Louguile, Bergerat, and other, and after, wente with greate diligence to beſiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Riole. The French K. aduertiſed of the Earles arriuall, and of theſe hys atchieued enterpriſes, ſente forthe by and by the Earle of Champaigne with a mighty army into Guyenne to ayde his people there.

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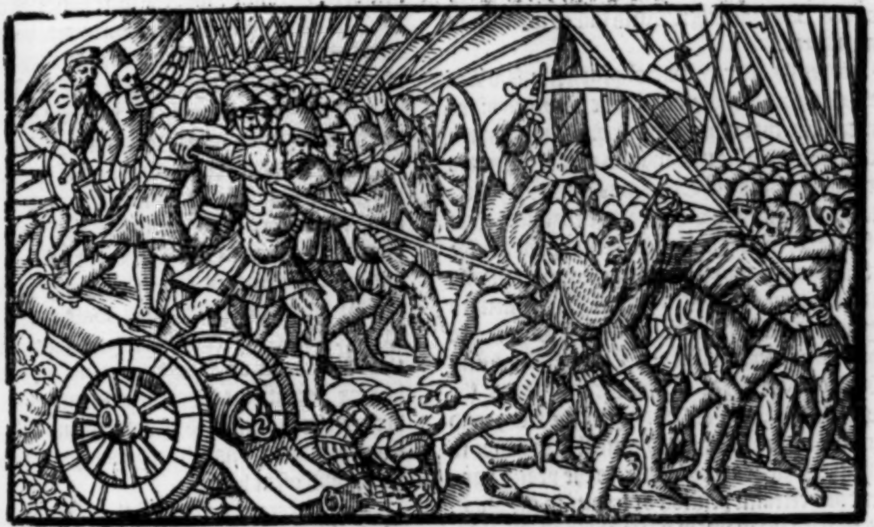
The Earle of
Marche, hath
Math. Paris.

The Earle of Cornewall vnderſtanding of the comming of that Frenche army, taketh a part of his hoſt, and therewithall goeth to meete hys enimies, and lying in ambuſhe for them by the way, taketh them at a good aduauntage, and ſlewe greate numbers of them. After this, the Earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and Campe, without attempting any other exployte, the Earle of Cornewall thought it ſufficiente, if he myght keepe the Gaſcoignes in obedience, whiche had already practiſed a Rebellion, by ſending letters and meſſengers for yͤ ſame intent vnto yͤ French K. & therefore breaking vp his ſiege before yͤ Riole, he ſtayed awhile from exployting any further enterpriſe.

The Frenchmen taken at
aduantage.



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About the ſame time, the Earle of Saliſbury returning homewards out of Gaſcoigne, was ſo toſſed and turmoyled on the Seas by tempeſtes of weather, that hee fell ſicke thereof, and within a few dayes after hys arryuall dyed.

death of
arle of
bury.
. Par.

This yeare alſo, there came forth a decree frō the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, and his ſuffraganes, that the concubines of Prieſtes and Clearkes within orders (for ſo were theyr wiues then called in contempt of their wedlocke) ſhould be denied of Chriſtian buriall, except they repented whyleſt they were aliue in perfect healthe, or elſe ſhewed manifeſt tokens of repentaunce at the tyme of their deathes.

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buriall.

The ſame decree alſo prohibited them from the receyuing of the pax at Maſſe time, and alſo of holy bread after Maſſe, ſo long as the Prieſtes kept them in their houſes, or vſed their company publiquely out of their houſes.

Moreouer, that they ſhoulde not bee purified when they ſhoulde be deliuered of childe as other good women were, withoute that they found ſufficient ſuretie to the Archdeacon, or his officiall to make ſatiſfaction at the next Chapter or Courte to be holden, after they ſhould be purified. And yͤ Prieſts ſhould be ſuſpēded, which did not preſent all ſuch their concubines as were reſiaunt within their Pariſhes. Alſo, all ſuch women as were cōuict to haue dealt carnally with a Prieſt, wer appointed by the ſame decree to doe open pennance.

This yeare, or as ſome haue in the nexte, the Kyng graunted to the Citizens of London free warreyn, that is to meane, libertie, to hunt within a certaine circuite about London, and that all weires in yͤ Thames ſhuld be plucked vp and deſtroyed. Alſo in this ninth yeare of his raigne, K. Henry graunted to the Citizens of London, that they might haue and vſe a common ſeale. About the time of the making of whiche ordinaunces, Otho yͤ Cardinal of S. Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano* came as Legate from Pope Honorius into England to King Henry, preſenting him with letters from the Pope. The tenor whereof when the Kyng hadde well conſidered, hee declared to the Legate, that withoute the whole aſſente

An. Reg. 10.
A Legate from
the Pope.
Mat. Paris.

of the eſtates of his Realme, he coulde doe little in that whiche the Pope as then required. Hereupon therfore he cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned at Weſtminſter, there to be holden in the octaues of yͤ Epiphanie: This Legat alſo moued the king in the behalfe of Foulkes de Brent, that he might be reſtored to his poſſeſſions, and to enioye his wife as before tyme he had done: but the King declared that for his manifeſt treaſon committed, he was iuſtly exiled, and not only by his, but by the ſentēce of the nobles and other eſtates of the whole Realme: which aunſwere when the Legat had heard, he left off to ſolicite the king for Foulkes, and from thenceforth talked no more of that matter.

A Parliamente called.

Shortly after by way of proxie, the ſaid Legate gathered a duety whyche he claymed of the ſpiritualtie, that was of euery cōuentual Church within the Realme two markes of ſiluer. In this yere the king held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, and after cōming to Marlebridge chaunced there to fall ſicke, ſo that he laye in deſpayre of life for certaine dayes together. In the meane time alſo came the daye appoynted for the Parliament to beginne at Weſtminſter, where the Legate and other of the Spiritualtie and Temporaltie being aſſembled, the ſayde Otho ſhewed forthe the Popes letters, and accordyng to the tenor and purporte of the ſame, was earneſtly in hande to haue the Prieſtes to graunte to the yearly payment of a certaine pention or tribute to the Pope, and toward the maintenaunce of his eſtate, whiche they generally denied. When he ſaw that this baite woulde not take, hee onelye demaunded a tenth parte of al their ſpirituall liuings for maintenaunce of the warres againſte the Sarazins, whiche he was eaſily graunted, as more reaſonable than the firſt. Here by dyuers credible writers of good credite, it ſhoulde appeare, that the Pope demāded to haue aſſigned to him out of euery Cathedrall Church two prebendes, one of the portion belonging to the biſhoppe, and an other out of the portion belonging to the Deane and Chapiter: and likewiſe of the Abbeyes, where there were ſeuerall portions, that is to witte, ſo much of the conuent as belōged to the finding of one Monke, and as much alſo of euery Abbots liuing, as ſhuld counteruaile the ſame. The Cardinall vſed iolly perſwaſions to induce the Prelates to aſſent to this graunte, alledging that the Church of Rome was runne in great ſlaunder for taking of money in diſpatche of ſutors cauſes, whiche aroſe by meanes there was no mayntenaunce of liuyng ſufficient for the Churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall childrē to releue the neceſſitie of theyr louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other good and well diſpoſed perſons were ſhortlye extended, they ſhoulde wante neceſſary mayntenaunce for the ſuſtentation of their lyues, whiche ſhoulde bee altogither an vnſeemely thyng for the dignitie of the Romane Churche. The Cleargie reſorting togyther to take aduice what aunſwere they ſhoulde make, at length vppon theyr reſolute determination, John the Archdeacon of Bedforde was appoynted to tell the tale for them all: who comming before the Cardinall, declared boldly vnto hym, that the demaunde whyche hee hadde proponed, touched the Kyng eſpecially, and generally all the nobilitie of the Realme, whyche were patrones of any Churches. Hee added furthermore, how the Archbyſhoppes and Byſhoppes, and many other of the Prelates of Englande (ſithence the Kyng by reaſon of ſickneſſe could not be there, were alſo abſent, ſo that they whych were there preſent, beyng but as it were the inferiour part of the houſe, neyther myghte nor ought to make any reſolute aunſwere in this matter as then. Immediatly herewith alſo came the Lorde John Marſhall, and other meſſengers from the Kyng vnto all the Prelates that helde anye Baronies of the Kyng, ſtraightly commaundyng them, that they ſhoulde in no wiſe bynde and endaunger hys lay fee vnto the Churche of Rome, whereby hee myghte bee depriued of hys due and accuſtomed ſeruices, and ſo euery man herevpon departed and went home.

1226

The Kyng is ſicke.

Mat. VVeſt.
Mat. Paris.
The Cardinals requeſt.

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This yeare, the plees of the Crowne were pleated in the Tower of London.

Fabian

And the ſixtenth day of Marche in this tenth yeare of his raigne, the Kyng graunted by hys Charter enſealed, that the Citizens of London ſhoulde paſſe tolle free through all England, and if anye of them were conſtreyned in any Citie, borough or Towne within the Realme, to pay tolle, that then the Sherifes of London myghte attache any man of the ſayde Citie, Bourrough or Towne where ſuche tolle was exacted, beyng founde within the liberties of London, and hym retayne with hys goodes and cattelles, till the Citizens that payde ſuche tolle were ſatiſfied, by reſtitution of the ſame, with all coſtes and charges ſuſteyned in the ſute. But yet about the ſame tyme, the Kyng conſtreyned the Londoners to gyue vnto hym the ſumme of fyue thouſande markes as a fyne, for that they hadde ayded and ſuccoured hys aduerſary Lewis agaynſte hym, and lente to the ſayde Lewis at hys departure out of the Realme a lyke ſumme. But it maye rather bee thought they gaue vnto the Kyng the ſayde fyue thouſande markes for hys fauoure ſhewed in graunting vnto them the aboue mentioned freedome and liberties. At the ſame tyme, hee hadde alſo twelue hundred pounde of the burgeſſes of Northampton, beſydes the fifteenth,

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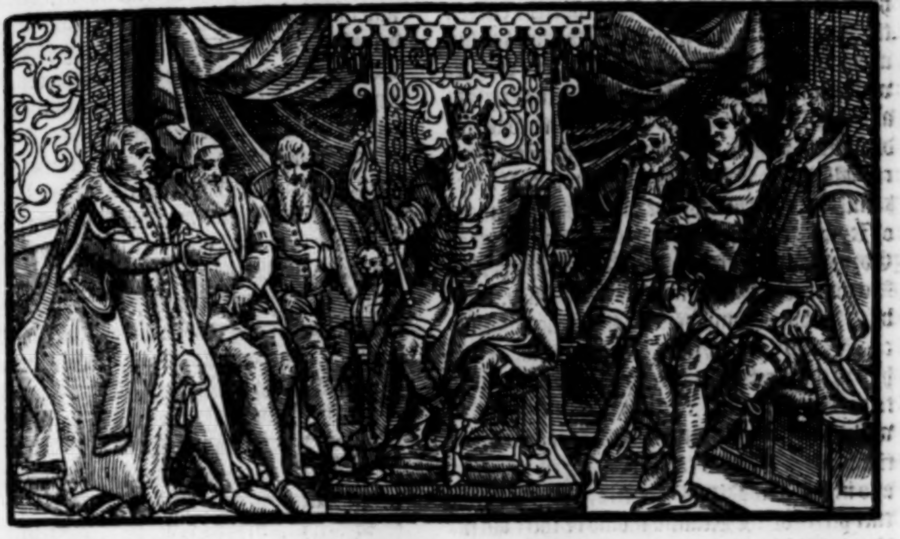
whyche not onely they, but alſo the Londoners and all other generally through the Realme, payd accordingly as it was graunted.



arliament
Oxforde.
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idor.

In February, the Kyng called a Parliamente at Oxforde, in the which he made open declaration vnto all the aſſembly, that hee was nowe of lawfull age to gouerne of himſelfe, withoute any to haue rule ouer him, and ſo whereas before hee was gouerned firſte by the Earle of Pembroke Lord protector whyleſt he liued, and after by the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter and others, hee nowe remoued them from hym by the counſell of the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, takyng the regiment wholly to himſelfe, and to ſuche as ſhould pleaſe hym from thenceforth to appoynt. Alſo in the ſame Parliamente, hee dyd cancell and diſanull the two charters before mẽtioned, after that the ſame had bin vſed through the Realme for the ſpace of two yeares, pretending them to bee of no value, ſith they were ſealed and ſigned whileſt hee was vnder age. This deede of the King was greeuouſly taken, and all the blame put in the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice. Heerewith all ſuche alſo as claymed any manner Charters of liberties, were appoynted to remoue the ſame, (a practiſe onely to gette money by) and to get them confyrmed with the Kings newe ſeale, the olde being made voyde and pronounced of none effect.

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ch king.

In this yeare dyed the French Kyng Lewes the eyght, and his ſonne Lewes the ninth ſucceeded hym, a childe of twelue yeares of age, by reaſon of whoſe infancie, dyuers peeres of yͤ Realme began to withdrawe their obedience from hym, as Theobalde Earle of Champaigne, Hugh Earle of Marche, and Peter Duke of Britaine. Howbeit, the Earle of Champaigne was eaſily reduced againe to hys former obedience, by the hygh wiſedome and policie of the Queene mother, who hadde the gouernemente of hir ſonne the yong Kyng, and hys Realme committed vnto hir.

The Earle of Marche commeth ouer to the king and offereth hym his ſeruice.

But the Earle of Marche conſtante in hys purpoſe, came ouer to Kyng Henry, whoſe mother hee hadde married, and declareth vnto hym, that nowe was the tyme for hym to recouer againe thoſe places whych king Phillippe hadde vniuſtly taken from hys father Kyng Iohn: and to bryng the ſame to paſſe, hee offered hymſelfe and all that hee coulde make, in the furthering of thys voyage.

Polidor.

The Kyng beeyng thus pricked forwarde with the Earle of Marche hys wordes, determined withoute delay to take in hande the warre. Heere authors varye, for ſome write, that kyng Henry ſente ouer certayne perſons, as the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, the Byſhoppe of Carleill, and the Lorde Phillippe Dalbeny, to vnderſtande the myndes of the Normans, the Britaines, and Poictouins, and for that thoſe that were ſente, broughte worde againe that the ſayde people were not greatly mynded to forſake the Frenche gouernemente, hee ſurceaſſed from attempting any exployte at that tyme.

Mat. Paris.
Ambaſſadors ſent into Fraunce.

Other write, that gatheryng a greate ſumme of money of hys ſubiectes, towardes the mayntenaunce of hys charges, hee prepared a nauie of Shippes, and ſayled ouer with the ſayde Earle of Marche into Britaigne, and there waſted the confynes of the Frenche dominions, and that when the Frenche kyng was ready with an army to ſuccoure his ſubiectes, hee ſoddaynely retired to hys Shippes, and returned into Englande, withoute atchieuing any enterpriſe worthie of remembrance, ſo that whether hee wente hymſelfe or ſente,

Polidor.

it forceth not: for certayne it is, that hee profited nothing at that ſeaſon, either by ſending meſſengers to procure him friendſhip, or by going ouer himſelfe to make an entry of the warres. When the Frenche buſineſſe was thus at a ſtay, within a few monethes after, Richard Earle of Cornewall returned forth of Gaſcoigne into Englãd, and ſhortly after, bycauſe he heard, and was credibly enformed, yͭ a certaine manour place whiche Walerane yͤ Teutchman, Captaine of Berkamſtede caſtell held, by the gift and aſſignement of Kyng John, apperteyned to his Earledome of Cornewall, he ſeaſed that Caſtel into his hands. So that Waleran being thus diſpoſſeſſed, exhibited his bill of complaynt to the King, who incontinently ſente to the Earle, commaundyng him to make reſtitution, which he vtterly refuſed to do. But forthwith, comming to the King, and withoute reteyning anye aduocate, declared hys right which he offred to auerre in open preſence, and in any of the kings Courtes, before whatſoeuer peeres of the Realme ſhould be there aſſembled. This addition (the peeres of the Realme) nothing pleaſed the Kyng and hys Counſell, namely the Lord chiefe Juſtice, by whoſe aduice the King meante to haue apprehended the Earle the ſame nyght after he was withdrawen to hys lodging. But the Earle warned thereof, ſecretely departed, accompanyed only with one man, and neuer drew bridle out of hys Horſes mouth, vntill he came to Readyng, (whether his ſeruauntes reſorted to him) and from thence, he rode ſtraight to Marlebridge, where he founde hys deare friend William Earle Marſhall, with whome hee dyd participate of the daunger likely to haue befallen hym. Then they drewe to the Earle of Cheſter, and taking order with him for the rayſing of an army, there met ſhortly after at Stamford theſe perſons whoſe names heereafter enſue, Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter, William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke, Richard Erle of Cornewall yͤ kings brother, Gilberte Earle of Glouceſter. William Earle Warenne, Henry Earle of Hereforde, William Erle Ferrers, William Erle of Warwike, and dyuers Barons, Lords and Knightes, hauing there with them a great puiſſance of warlike perſonages. The Kyng hauing vnderſtanding as well of their demeanor, as alſo what they required by their letters and meſſengers to hym dayly ſente, thought good for a time to pacifie their fury, and thereupon appoynted a day at Northampton, where he woulde meete, and miniſter ſuche iuſtice vnto thẽ, as ſhould be thought reaſonable, and to ſtande with their good willes and contentation.

The Earle of Cornewall returneth home.
Mat. Paris.

The Earle of Cornewall.

He departeth frõ the Courte ſecretely.

He ioyneth himſelfe with the Earles of Cheſter and Pembroke and others. They meete at Stanfort with an army.

A day appointed to meete at Northampton, for a treatie of pacification.

The Kyngs graunt to hys brother.

Wherevpon, the parties comming to Northampton at the daye aſſigned, hee graunted to the Earle his brother (at the inſtant deſire of the Lordes) all hys mothers dower, with all thoſe landes whyche belonged to the Earle of Brytayne within Englande, and withall, thoſe lands alſo that apperteyned to the Earle of Bollongne deceaſſed. And thus the matter being pacified, euery man departed to hys home, whereas, if the Kyng had bin froward, warres had immediatly bin rayſed betwixt them, namely bycauſe many of the Lordes bare a ſecret grudge towardes the Kyng, for that hee had reuoked certayne liberties whyche in the beginning of his raigne hee hadde graunted to be holden, though now to take away the enuy whiche mighte bee conceyued towardes hym for hys doyng, he alledged, that hee dyd not infringe any thyng that hee hadde then graunted, but ſuch things as his gouernoures hadde ſuffered to paſſe whyleſt hee was vnder age, and not ruler of hymſelfe: hee cauſed them therefore to redeeme many of the ſame priuiledges, whereby he gayned great finaunce for the ſettyng too of hys newe ſeale, (as before ye haue heard.)

Moreouer, in thys yeare there were ſent certayne perſons from Pope Gregory the nynth, (that ſucceeded Honorius) into all the parties of Europe, to moue by Preaching the Chriſtian people to make a iourney into the holy lande, agaynſte the Sarazens. Suche a multitude by meanes hereof dyd aſſemble togyther from all parties, and that within a ſhort tyme, as the lyke hadde ſeldome tymes bin hearde of. It is ſayde, that amongſt them there ſhoulde bee at the poynt of fortie thouſand Engliſhmenne, of whome Peter Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and William Biſhop of Exceter wer the chiefe. Captaynes alſo of that greate multitude of croſſed Souldiers that wente forthe of ſundry countreys were theſe, Theobalde Earle of Champaigne, and Phillip de Albeny, through whoſe negligence the ſequele of this noble enterpriſe came but to ſmall effect. But to proceede.

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About this time alſo, the kyng minding the benefyte of the cõmon wealth, cauſed yͤ weightes and meaſures generally within the land to be reformed after one ſtanderd. And furthermore, hee created Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent, whych Hubert, how muche prayſe ſo euer hee got at the beginning for his valiancie ſhewed in the defending of Douer Caſtell, and in vanquiſhing the Frenche fleete that was comming to the ſuccour of Lewes by battayle on the Sea, it is certaine, yͭ he now purchaſed hymſelfe double aſmuch hatred & euil wil, bycauſe that being of ſecret counſell with the King, and thereby after a ſort ſequeſtred from the Lords, he was knowen to diſwade the ſayde Prince from reſtoring of the auntiente lawes and cuſtomes vnto the people, whyche the Barons oft required, whereby it came to paſſe, that the more hee grewe in fauoure with the Prince,

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prince, the further hee came into the enuie of the nobilitie, and hatred of the people, which is a cõmon reward to ſuch as in reſpect of theyr maiſter, do little regard the profite of others.

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Furthermore, vppon the ninth of July dyed Stephen the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, after hee hadde gouerned that ſee the tearme of one and twentie yeares, and after him ſucceeded Richard Wetherſheyd Deane of Poules, who became the three and fortith Archbyſhoppe of that See. The Monkes of Caunterbury had firſte elected one of theyr owne conuent, named Walther de Helmeſham: whiche election was made by the ſame Monkes the thirde daye of Auguſt next enſuing the death of their ſayd Archbyſhop Stephen, but the Kyng would not conſent that hee ſhould haue the place for dyuers cauſes, whych he obiected: As firſt, for that he knew hym to bee ſuch a man as ſhoulde be vnprofitable, both to him and to his Kyngdome. Secondly, bycauſe hys father was a Theefe, and thereof beeyng conuict, ſuffered deathe vppon the gallowes. Thirdly, for that he hymſelfe hadde ſtoode againſt Kyng John in tyme of the interdiction. On the other ſide, the Byſhops Suffragans to the Churche of Caunterbury obiected alſo againſte hym, that he hadde vſed the familiar company of a Nonne, and begote of hir certayne children. Moreouer they alledged, that any election without their conſente, could not be good, nor ought to take place: but the Monke making his appeale, ſtoode in it, and taking with him certayne of hys fellowes Monkes of Caunterbury, went to Rome, and there made ſupplication to the Pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified & cõfirmed: Whereof the Kyng and the other Byſhops being aduertiſed, did put their obiections in writing vnder their ſeales, and ſent the ſame vnto Rome to be exhibited to the Pope by the Byſhops of Weſtcheſter and Rocheſter, and John the Archdeacõ of Bedford, who vſed ſuch meanes, that his election was iudged voyde, and then the ſayde Richard Wetherſheid was out of hand elected and confirmed.

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In that yeare alſo, a graunt was made to the Citizens of London, that they ſhoulde haue and vſe a common Seale. And in this meane while, Hugh the Earle of Marche ſo laboured with the Normans and Poyctouins in the behalfe of the Kyng of England, that they began to encline to hys purpoſe: and herevpon ſent letters by ſecrete meanes vnto Kyng Henry, ſignifying to hym, that if it woulde pleaſe him to come ouer with an army to make warre againſt the Frenche King, they woulde be ready to turne vnto his ſyde, and receyue him as their ſoueraigne. Kyng Henry taking aduice what to aunſwere and doe herein, with hys welbeloued Councellour Huberte of Bourgh, thoughte it not good to attempte anye thing raſhly in this matter, bycauſe the dealings of yͤ Normans were neuer without ſome fraude: but yet to ſatiſfie yͤ requeſt of hys friends, he promiſed to come ouer ſhortly vnto them, if in the meane time he might perceyue that they remayned ſtedfaſt in their purpoſe, giuing them furthermore many greate and harty thankes for theyr good meaning and ſingular kindneſſe towardes hym. The eſtate of things beyond the Sea, ſtanding now in this order, it hapned in the moneth of Auguſt, that the Souldiers whiche lay in garniſon within the Caſtel of Montgomerike, tooke in hande to ſtocke vp a Woodde not farre from the ſayde Caſtell, through whiche lay an high way, where oftentimes many fellonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welſh: and as the Souldiers wer buſie at worke in ſtocking vp the wood, there came vpon them an ambuſhment of Welſhmẽ, which not only droue thẽ away from their worke, but alſo tooke and ſlewe diuers of them, conſtreyning the reſidue to flee into the Caſtell, which immediately the Welchmẽ enuironed alſo about with a ſtrong ſiege, thinking to fynde the defendaunts vnprouided. They within aduertiſed Hugh de Burgh, the Lorde chiefe Juſtice (to whome the Caſtell belonged by the Kings late gift) of the exployte and enterprice attempted by their enimies, with all poſſible haſt: wherevpon, the king at requeſt of the ſaid Hubert leuied a power, and came to rayſe the ſiege: but the Welchmen hearing of the Kings approche, fledde away like ſheepe, ſo that comming to the Caſtell, hee found no reſiſtance: howbeeit, for aſmuch as he ſaw the foreſayde woodde to be troubleſome and an annoyance to the ſayd Caſtel, he willed it to be deſtroyed. True it is, that the ſame woodde was very thicke and rough, and further it conteyned alſo fiue leagues or fifteene miles in length, yet by ſuche diligence as was vſed, the ſame was aſſerted, ſtocked vp, and quickly ridde out of the way by fire and other meanes, ſo that yͤ countrey was made plain by a great way about.

Polidor.

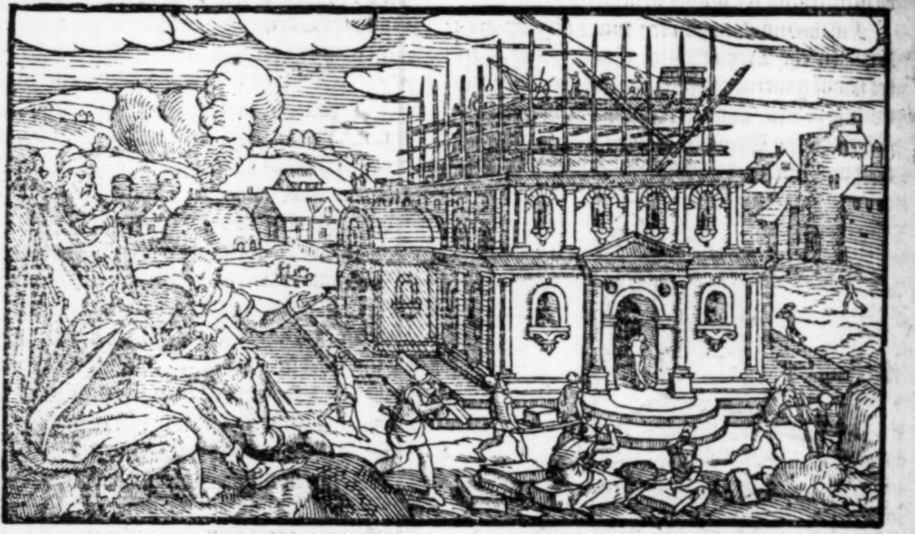
The Earle of Marche worketh to induce the Normans and Poictouins to fauour the King of Englande.

The Normans write to the K. of England.

Math. Paris.

The Welſhmen beſiege the Caſtell of Montgomerie

The King with an army, commeth to the ſuccour of them within the Caſtell.



The Abbey of Cride brēned.

After this, yͤ King parted forth into yͤ Welſh confynes, and comming to an Abbey of yͤ white Monkes called Cride, he cauſed it to be brenned, bicauſe it ſerued as a refuge for his enimies. The by the aduice of the Lord chiefe Iuſtice Huberte de Burgh, he ſet in hand to buyld a Caſtel there, bicauſe the place ſeemed very fitte for fortificatiō. But after yͤ King with his army had laine there a three monethes, through lacke of vittayles (the Welſhmen ſtill cutting the Engliſhmen off as they went abroade to fetche in forrage and other prouiſion) hee was conſtreyned to fall to agreement with Leoline their Prince, and receyuing of the ſayde Prince the ſumme of three thouſand markes, hee was contented that ſo muche of the Caſtell as was already builded, ſhoulde be raſed and made flatte agayne with the ground, before his departure from thence. Heerevpon, many men tooke occaſion to ieſt at the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice and his doings about this Caſtell, who at the beginning named it Hubertes folly. Amongſt other alſo that were taken priſoners by the Welſhmen whyleſt the Kyng thus vaynely ſpent hys tyme about the buyldyng of that forte, William de Breuſe a righte valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Lewline Prince of Wales, was afterwardes by hym cruelly put to deathe (as after it ſhall appeare) for the which acte, and other ſuch iniuries receyued at yͤ ſame Lewlines hādes, King Henry at length greeuouſly puniſhed him. And for the moſt part of the ſommer ſeaſon, great thunders happened in Englande: the Elemente alſo ſeemed, as though it had brenned with continuall flames: Steeples, Churches, and other high buildings were ſtriken with lightning: & the harueſt was ſore hindred through cōtinual raine. Alſo in the middeſt of the day there came a wonderfull darkneſſe vpon the Earth, that the brightneſſe of the aire ſemed to be couered & takē away.

He is conſtreined to agree with the Welſhmen.

The Lorde William de Breuſe taken priſoner.

Mat. Paris.
Strange ſights in the ayre.

Polidor.

An. Reg. 13.
1229

In the thirteenth yeare of this King, Stephen the Popes Chaplayne and his Nuntio came ouer vnto K. Henry, requiring to haue towardes the maintenaunce of the Popes warres agaynſte the Emperour Fredericke, a tenth part of all the mouable goodes within the Realmes and Countreys of Englande, Wales, and Ireland, as well of ſpirituall perſons as temporall. Whereuppon, a Parliament, or an aſſemblie of the Lordes was called at Weſtminſter, on the ſeconde Sunday after Eaſter, whiche was the. 29. of Aprill. At whiche Parliamente, when the Popes Bulles were red, and the matter therin conteined playnely opened and examined, to the ende it mighte appeare vppon what neceſſary cauſes the Pope was conſtreyned to purſue the ſayd warres, and to aſke reliefe of faithfull Chriſtian people, beyng members of the holly Churche: The Kyng, bycauſe hee had by his procurators at Rome aforehand promiſed and bound himſelfe to ſuche payment of tenthes, ſate ſtill, and aunſwered not to the contrary, (whereas the hope of a greate number was repoſed in him, that by hys deniall the Popes requeſt ſhoulde haue bin fruſtrate) ſo that when by his ſilence, he was adiudged to conſente, yet the temporall Lords and ley men vtterly denied to agree vnto ſuche paymente, not willing in any wiſe to bynde their Baronies and temporall poſſeſſions vnto the Church of Rome. Howbeit, the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, after they had ſhewed themſelues to reſt doubtfull (not without great grudging and murmuring in the meane tyme, for the ſpace of three or foure dayes togyther) at length, for feare of excommunication, conſented to bee contributaries, but in ſuche ſorte, as they hadde eſcaped for a farre more reaſonable ſumme, if Stephen Segraue one of the Kynges counſell hadde not by compacte (as was thoughte made

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made with the *nuncio*) wrought ſo in the matter, that the tenthes were finally graunted, to the great impoueriſhment and ineſtimable domage of the Church and realme of England.

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After this, the *nuncio* ſhewed the procuratorie letters, wherby he was authorized to gather thoſe tenthes, and that not after a common maner, but by a right ſtrayte and hard valuation. And for the more ſure way of proceding herein, he had letters of authoritie from the Pope, to excomunicate all ſuch as ſhould withſtand him or his deputies in proceding with thoſe affayres. He ſhewed himſelf moreouer verie extreme in collecting of this money, and namely towardes the Prelates of the Church, inſomuch that appoynting him a certen day in the which vnder paine of excomunication they ſhould make payment, diuerſe for want of readie money, were compelled to make ſhift with the Chaliſes, and other veſſels and ornamẽts belonging to their churches, and other were glad to take vp money vpon intereſt, and for that ſhyfte ther were come ouer with the *nuncio* diuerſe wicked vſurers, vnder the name of marchants, which when they ſaw thoſe that ſtood in neede like to bee excommunicate for want of readie money, they would offer themſelues to lend vnto any ẏ would borow, after the rate of one noble for the loane of xx. by the month, ſo bringing the needie into their ſnares, to their irrecouerable loſſes and vndoing. Hereby the land was filled with bitter curſings, (though in ſecrete) by thoſe that wiſhed ſuch vnreaſonable exactors neuer to ſee good ende of the vſe of that money. And from that day forwarde, ther wanted not in England certain vſurers called *Caurſini*, which ſought nothing elſe but the wealthes of ſuch perſons as they might get into their ſnares, namely thoſe whom the Church of Rome doth vexe and put to trouble with hir exactions and payments. The Erle of Cheſter onely ſtoode manfully agaynſt the payment of thoſe tenthes, inſomuch that he woulde not ſuffer hys lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold he permit the religious men and prieſts that held of his fee to pay the ſame, although the reſt of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, were compelled to be contributories therto, hauing only this comfort, that not they alone, but alſo other foraine regions were driuen to do the like.

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But let this paſſe: King Henrie purpoſing to ſaile ouer into Brytain and inuade France, came to Porteſmouth about Michaelmaſſe, with ſuche an army aſſembled out of Englanr, Wales, Ireland, and Scotlãd, as the like for number of people had not bene knowne to haue paſſed ouer with any of his aunceſters: howbeit when hee ſhoulde come to the very point of embarquing his people, with vytayles, armor, and other prouiſion, there were not ſhippes ſufficient to paſſe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when the king ſawe this default, he was ſore offẽded, but chiefly with Hubert the Earle of Kent, Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, inſomuch that he openly called him olde traytor, and layde to his charge, how he had thus vſed the matter of purpoſe, and onely for to pleaſure the Queene of Fraunce, of whom (as he ſayd) he had receiued fiue thouſand Markes to hinder his proceedings. In this heate if the Earle of Cheſter and other had not beene at hande, hee had ſurely ſlaine the chiefe Iuſtice euen there with hys drawne ſworde, who was glad to auoyde hys preſence, till his moode was ſomewhat pacified. In the meane time there arriued Henrie Earle of Brytaine on the .ix. of October, which ſhoulde haue conducted the king into his Countrey. But ſith winter was come vpon them, he aduiſed him to ſtay till the next Spring, and ſo he did. Thẽ euery man was licenced to depart home, and the Earle of Kent reconciled againe into fauor.

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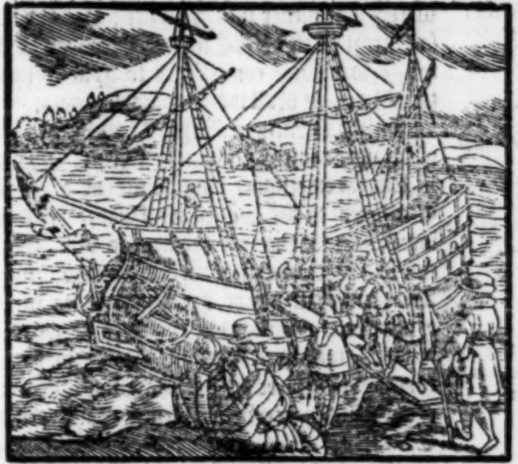
The Earle of Kent fallen into the kings diſpleaſure.

Henrie Earle of Britaine.



The kings iourney deferred.

The erle of Britain in like maner did homage to the king for Brytaine, & the king reſtored him to all his rights in England, and further geuing him fiue thouſand Markes to defende his Countrey agaynſt the enimies, ſent him home againe in moſt curteous and louing maner.

An. Reg. 14.
1220

Math. Paris.

The king of Scots kept Chriſtmaſſe with the king of Englande at Yorke.

In this yeare of our Lorde .1230. King Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Yorke, together with the king of Scots, whom he had deſired to come thither at that time, that they might make mery: and ſo for the ſpace of three dayes togyther, there was great banquetting and ſport betwene them. On the fourth day they toke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with rich giftes returning towardes his Countrey, and the king of Englande towardes London.

Mat. Paris.

A ſtraunge tempeſt at London.

Upon the .xxv. day of Januarie alſo, whileſt the Biſhop of London was at high Maſſe within the Church of Saint Paule in London, a ſodaine darkneſſe ouerſhadowed the Quiere, and therwith ſuch a tempeſt of thunder and lightning that the people there aſſembled, thought verily the

Church and ſteeple had come downe vpon theyr heades. There came moreouer ſuch a filthie ſauour and ſtinke withall, that partly for feare, and partly for that they might not abide the ſauour, they voyded the Churche, falling on heapes one vpon another, as they ſought to get out of the ſame. The Vicars and Canons forſooke theyr Deſkes, ſo that the Biſhop remained there onely, with one Deacon that ſerued him at Maſſe. Afterward, when the ayre began to cleare vp, the people returned into the Church, and the Biſhop went forward and finiſhed the Maſſe.

Mat. Paris:

The king gathereth money towards his journey into France.

In the meane time the king leuyed a greate ſumme of money of the Prelates of his lande towardes his iourney into Fraunce: Hee had alſo a great reliefe of the Citizens of London. And the Iewes were conſtrayned to gyue to hym the thirde part of all theyr moueable goodes.

Math. Paris.

The Lorde Wil. de Breuſe hanged.

P.V.

In the Moneth of Aprill, Llewelline prince of Wales, cauſed William de Breuſe, whome he had taken priſoner long before (as aboue is mentioned) to bee hanged on a payre of Gallowes, for that hee was taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wyfe of the ſayd prince. And on the laſt day of Aprill, the King wyth a puyſſaunt armye tooke the Sea at Porteſmouth, and landed at Saint Malos in Brytayne on the thirde daye of May, where he was ryght ioyfully receyued of Henrie Earle of that Countrey.

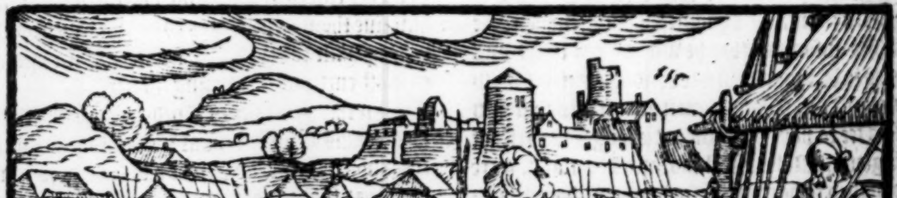
The king ſayleth ouer into France,

After he was thus arryued in Brytayne, he entered into the Frenche dominions, with the ſayde Earle, and the Earle of Marche hys father in lawe, doing muche hurte wythin the ſame. Hys armye dayly encreaſing by the great numbers of Normans and other, whiche at the fame of the King of Englandes arryuall in thoſe partyes, came flocking from dyuerſe places to ayde him.

Amongeſt other, there were two brethren that were Normãs, Foulke, and William, of the familye and ſurname of the Paganelles, or Paynelles, being men of great byrth and eſtimation in theyr Countrey, whiche brought with them threeſcore knightes or men of armes, right worthie and valiaunt in feates of warre. Theſe noble men woulde faine haue perſwaded the King to haue entred into Normandie, for that as they affyrmed, it ſhoulde bee an eaſie matter for him to ſubdue the whole Countrey: whereto the King woulde gladly haue conſented, if the Earle of Kent had not aduiſed him otherwiſe.

After this, they beſought him at the leaſtwiſe to graunt them two hundred knightes or menne of Armes of hys armye, wyth whoſe ayde they doubted not to bee able (as they ſayde) to expulſe all the Frenche men out of Normandie, but neyther woulde thys bee obteyned, ſo that thoſe Norman Lordes remayned without comfort, whyleſt the Frenche King cauſed theyr Caſtelles and Manours to bee ſeazed vnto his vſe.

During this time, King Lewes (who a few dayes afore had taken from the Duke of Brytayne the townes of Ardone, Campanelle, and Beleſme) beeing nowe certifyed by his eſpyalles, of the landing and inuaſion made by the King of Englande, haſted forth wyth hys armie into the Countrey of Aniou, and there by the ſide of the Loyre, he encamped to ſtay the king of England, that he ſhould not paſſe ouer the ſame riuer into Poictou, ſuſpecting leaſt yͤ Poictouins (whom he had always in ſome iealoſie) would reuolt vnto him. But the K. of Englãd aduertiſed of his approch, paſſed that riuer ſooner thã any mã wold haue iudged, & encãped firſt in the cõũtry of



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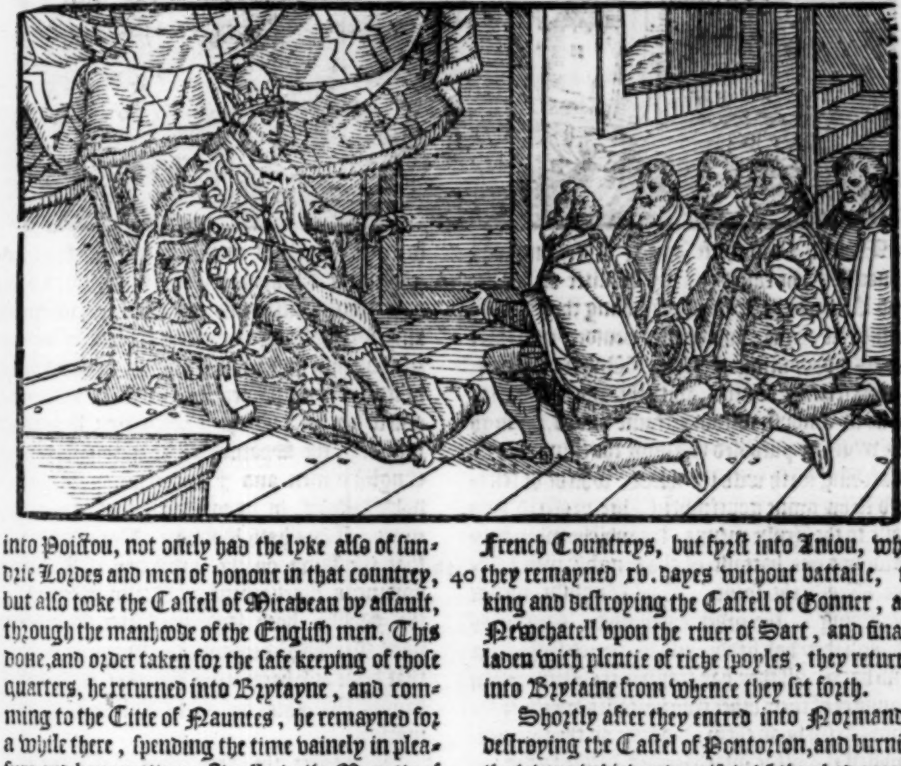
Poictou, and after drew into the cõfines of Xantonge, the French king ſtill following, and by the way deſtroying the townes of Fountney, & Villars, apperteyning to one Guy de Rochfort, a captaine belonging to the Erle of Marche. Afterward alſo he paſſed the riuer of Charent, and waſted all the Countrey of Xantonge. Where (if we may beleue ſome wryters) the two kings ioyned battaile, which continued a long time right fierce and cruel: but at length the Engliſh men giuing backe, the victorie remayned on the French ſyde, a great number of their aduerſaries beeing ſlaine and taken.

After this battaile, they ſay alſo, that a peace was concluded betwixt them. But other writers haue recorded, that the matter was firſt taken vp by a truce without any battaile, bycauſe both the kings being yong men, and as yet not verie ſkilful in martial affayres, were content to giue eare vnto Queene Blanche, to Philip Earle of Bollongne, and to Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter, whiche three tooke vpon them to entreate a peace, and preſcribe the couenants of agreement, by whiche meanes they were at the laſt accorded.

Amongſt other things which were concluded at this preſent time, the Duke of Brytaine, and the Earle of Marche were made friendes agayne with the French king, and receyued eftſoones into his fauour.



Mat. Par.

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ing Henry eturneth o Brytayne.

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e Earle of heſter left e kings lieu- nant in Bry- ne.

What feates he wrought.

Thus ceaſſed the warres for that time betwixt the kings of Englande and Fraunce (as ſome haue witneſſed.) But if we ſhall beleeue other, which wrote and liued in thoſe dayes, there was no peace at that time concluded: But after that king Henrie had paſſed through Aniou, and Poictou without battail, he came into Gaſcoign, where he receyued the homages and fealties of many noble men in thoſe parties, and returning into Poictou, not onely had the lyke alſo of ſundrie Lordes and men of honour in that countrey, but alſo tooke the Caſtell of Mirabeau by aſſault, through the manhoode of the Engliſh men. This done, and order taken for the ſafe keeping of thoſe quarters, he returned into Brytayne, and comming to the Citie of Nauntes, he remayned for a while there, ſpending the time vainely in pleaſure and banquetting. Finally in the Moneth of October he tooke the Sea, and returning into Englande after many perilles, landed at Porteſmouth, the .xxvij. of October, leauing behind him in Brytaine fiue hundred knightes or menne of armes, a thouſand yeomen or ſtipendarie ſouldiers, for defence of the Countrey agaynſte the French men, and appoynted for theyr Captaine the Earle of Cheſter, the Earle Marſhall, and the Earle of Albemarle, with certaine other valiant and approued warriours, who after the departure of the king, made two rodes into the French Countreys, but fyrſt into Aniou, where they remayned xv. dayes without battaile, taking and deſtroying the Caſtell of Gonner, alſo Newchatell vpon the riuer of Sart, and finally laden with plentie of riche ſpoyles, they returned into Brytaine from whence they ſet forth.

Pontorſon burnt.

Shortly after they entred into Normandie, deſtroying the Caſtel of Pontorſon, and burning the towne: which enterpriſe whẽ they had accompliſhed at theyr willes, they returned eftſoones into Brytaine, where they were ioyfully receyued.

Saint Iames de Bewmeron.

The Earle of Cheſter hauing in this meane while fortified the Caſtell of S. Iames de Bewmeron, which (bycauſe it belonged to the right of his wife) the Erle of Brytaine had ſith the kings comming ouer reſtored vnto him.

A ſtraunge Eclipſe.

In this yeare vpon the .xiiij. of May, a maruellous Eclipſe of the Sunne chaunced immediately after the ryſing thereof, ſo that the earth ſeemed as it had beene couered againe with ſhade of night,

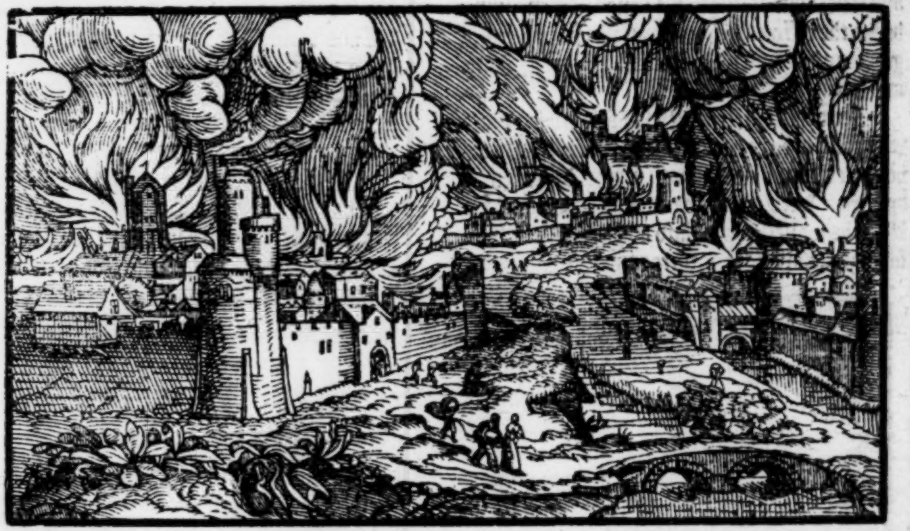
An. Reg. 15.

night. On the .xxij. day of Nouẽber, the Moone was likewiſe eclipſed, beeing as then thirteene dayes olde.

The Duke of Saxonie commeth into Englande.

Furthermore, whyleſt the king was in France, there came ouer into England the duke of Saxonie, couſin to the king, and of the Citizens of London was honourably receyued. Hee was a man of ſuch high and tall ſtature, that men tooke great pleaſure to beholde him. And in the ſame yeare alſo in the Moneth of July, an Iriſhe king that was gouernor of Connagh, vnderſtanding that both the king of Englande, and the Earle Marſhall were gone ouer into Fraunce, and ſo Irelande left without any greate ayde of men of warre on the Engliſh part, rayſed a mightie armie, and with the ſame entered into the marches of the Engliſh dominion, ſpoyling and burning the Countrey before him: whereof when Geffrey de Mauriſh Lord chiefe Juſtice of Ireland was aduertiſed, he called to him Walter de Lacie, and Richarde de Burgh aſſembling therewithall a mightie armie, whiche hee deuided into three partes appoynting the ſayde Walter de Lacie, and Richarde Burgh, with the two firſt partes to lie in ambuſh within certaine woods, through the which he purpoſed to drawe the enimies, and marching forth with the thirde, whiche he reſerued to his owne gouernment, hee profered battaile to the Iriſhe menne, the whiche when they ſawe but one battaile of the Engliſh men boldlye aſſayed the ſame. The Engliſhe menne according to the order appoynted, feigned as though they had fledde, and ſo retyred ſtill backer and backer, till they had trayned the Iriſh within daunger of their other two battailes, which comming forth vpon them, did ſette on them egrely, whileſt the other which ſeemed before to flee returned backe againe, and ſet vpon them in like maner, by meanes whereof the Iriſh men being in the midſt, were beaten downe on al partes, and vtterly vãquiſhed, with loſſe of .xx. thouſand men (as it was credibly reported.) The king of Connagh was alſo taken and committed to pryſon.

The k… Connag…



Geffrey de Mauriſh Lord chiefe Juſtice of Irelande.

Walter de Lacie, Richarde de Burgh.

The Iriſhmen vanquiſhed by the Engliſhmẽ in battaile.

1231

In the meane time king Henrie hauing ſpent a great deale of treaſure in his iourney made into Fraunce, there was graunted vnto him a fifteenth of the temporaltie, with a diſme and a halfe of the ſpiritualtie, towardes the newe furniſhing forth of a power of men to be ſent into Spain agaynſt the Sarazens, which made ſore warres vpon the Chriſtians in that Country, wherevpon king Henrie being required of the king of Aragon to ayde him with ſome number of Souldiers, he ſent a great power thyther wyth all ſpeede, and ſo lykewiſe did the French king by meanes whereof, the Spaniardes beeing ioyned with Engliſhe men and Frenche men, obteyned a noble victorie, in vanquiſhing thoſe theyr enimyes. Thus hath Polidore. But other wryte that the King on the. xxvij. day of Januarie, holding a Parliament at Weſtminſter (where the Nobles both Spirituall and Temporall were aſſembled) demaunded eſcuage of all thoſe that helde any baronies of him, that is to witte, forraine Knightes fee, fortie ſhillings, or three markes.

A.xx.mi… graunted… the king. *Polidor.* Engliſh… ſent into… agaynſt… Sarazyns.

Mat. P…

Eſcuage… demaunded.

Moreouer, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, (as they ſay) ſtoode agaynſt the king in this demaunde, mainteyning that the Cleargie ought not to be ſubiect vnto the iudgement of lay men, ſith this eſcuage was graunted in the parties beyonde the ſeas without their conſent. Wherevpon the matter as touching the Biſhops was deferred till the quindene of Eaſter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the ſpiritualtie conſented to the kings will.

The Arch… Canterbu… ſtãdeth ag… the king i… fence of th… Cleargie.

About this time alſo there chaunced to ryſe a greate ſtrife and contention betwixt Richarde the

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ot Kent.

Paris.

the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Hubert the Earle of Kent, who as garden to the yong Erle of Glouceſter, had got into his handes the Caſtell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certaine other poſſeſſions which belonged to the Archbiſhops Sea, and therfore did the Archbiſhop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he ſuſteyned: but when hee perceyued no hope likely to come for any redreſſe at the kings handes, hee tooke an other way: and firſt by his pontificall authoritie, accurſed all thoſe that withhelde the ſame poſſeſſions, and all theyr mainteyners, (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the Pope, he went to proſecute his appeale to Rome, whither the king and the Erle ſent alſo their procuratours, and made the Pope their arbitratour to iudge of the matter. In the ende Pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole proces of the cōtrouerſie, iudged the right to remaine with the Archbiſhop, who hauing then obteyned his deſire, haſted towarde England: but as he was returning homewards, he dyed by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the Popes iudgement tooke no place: for whileſt the ſea was voyde, there was none that woulde follow the ſute: and ſuch was the ende of this controuerſie for this tyme.

Neuill
ed Archb.
terbury.

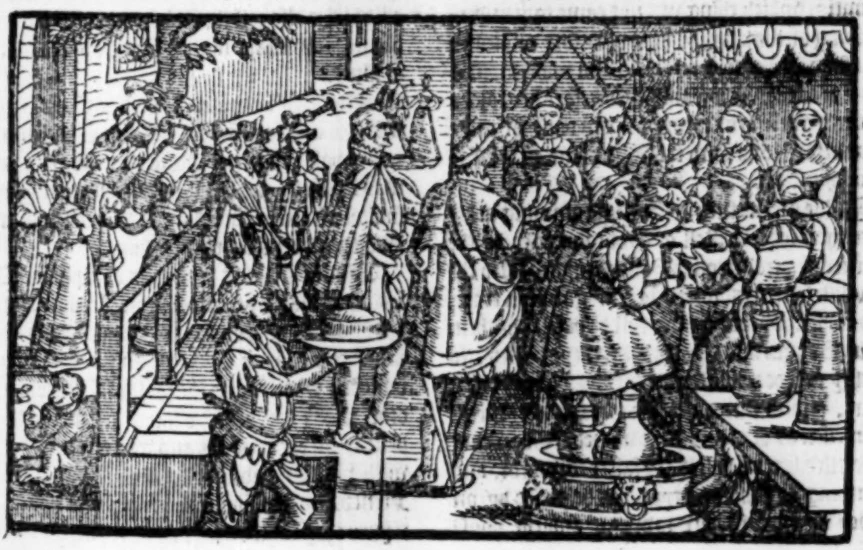
After the deceaſſe of this Archbiſhop Richard, the Monkes elected Rauſe Neuil Biſhop of Chicheſter the kings Chauncellor, an vpright man, and of iuſt dealing in all his doings. In whome alſo it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfpenie to the Monks towards the bearing of their charges in their iourney to Rome, whiche they ſhoulde take vpon them from thence to fetche hys confirmation, according to the maner, leaſt hee ſhoulde burden his conſcience with the crime of Simonie which he greatly abhorred, although ſome imputed this to proceede rather of a cloked ſpice of couetouſnes. But to ẏ purpoſe. Whē the Monks came to the popes preſence, vpon inquirie made, & chiefly by report of Simon Langtō (who as ſome thinke gaped for ẏ dignitie) he vnderſtood that the ſaide Rauſe Neuill ſhould be a man vnlearned, a courtier, haſty & ſhort of word, and that which moſt diſpleaſed the Pope, it was to be feared, that if he ſhould bee preferred to that roumth, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England frō the thraldom of the Pope, & the Court of Rome (into the which being made tributorie by K. Iohn it had lately bin brought) that (as he ſhuld alledge) it might ſerue God & holy Church in the old accuſtomed libertie. And to bring this to paſſe (hauing the king thereto greatly inclined, & al the realme ready to aſſyſt him in the ſame) he would not ſticke to put his life in ieopardie, namely vpō confidence of the right and appeales of Stephen the late Archb. of Canterburie, made in ſolemne wiſe before the aulter of S. Paul in the cathedral Church of London, when K. Iohn reſigning his crowne into the handes of the Legate, made that writing obligatorie moſte execrable to the whole world. When the Pope had heard this tale tolde, he ſtreight diſanulled the election & requeſt of the confirmation of the ſaid Rauf Neuil, graunting libertie to the Monkes to choſe ſome other which might proue a wholſome ſhepherd for the ſoule of mā, profitable to ẏ church of Englād, & a faithful ſon to the ſea of Rome: & ſo the Monks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had ſped. After this the monks elected the prior of their houſe named Iohn vnto their Archb. who going to Rome for his cōfirmation, was perſuaded in ẏ end to renoūce his electiō: ſo ẏ at length one Edmōd ẏ was treaſurer of ẏ colledge of Saliſb. was elected, cōfirmed, & cōſecrated, a mā of great zeale, being the .xliiij. Archb. ẏ had gouerned in that ſee.

Simon Langtons report of the conditions of Raul Neuil.

The Pope maketh voyde the election.

This yere the kings brother ẏ erle of Cornwal maried the Counteſſe of Glouceſter, widow to the

The Earle of Cornewal marieth the Coūteſſe of Glouceſter.



late

The Earle of Pembroke departed this life.

Polidor.

late Earle Gylbert, and ſiſter to William Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, the which Erle of Pembroke ſhortly after yͤ ſame mariage departed this life, and was buried on the .xv. day of April, within the newe Temple at London, neare vnto hys father.

Llewellin prince of Wales inuadeth the Engliſhe borders.

Moreouer, Llewellin Prince of Wales about this ſeaſon enterpryſed to inuade the Engliſhe confines, and burned and waſted the Countrey in moſt cruell wyſe. Whereof the King being aduertiſed, haſted forth by great iourneyes, with purpoſe to reuenge ſuch iniuries. But the enmyes hearing of his comming (according to the cuſtome of their Countrey) wythdrewe into the Mountaynes, Bogges, and Mariſhes. Wherefore the King (ſeeing that hee coulde not haue them at his pleaſure, and leaſt hee ſhoulde bee thoughte to ſpende tyme in vayne) came backe, and left behinde him a ſmall crewe of ſouldiers to reſyſt theyr attempts, if they ſhould happen to riſe vp any more. The Welch men hauing intelligence that the King was returned home, brake forth againe as before into the Engliſhe Marches, and not onely tooke prayes and booties, but went about to deſtroy with fyre and ſworde all that ſtoode in theyr way. Howbeit in their returne, and as they raunged abrode ſomewhat vnaduiſedly, they were intrapped by the ſoldiers which the king had left there for the defence of the Countrey, and put to flight neare to the Caſtell of Mongomerie, with great ſlaughter and loſſe of their people.

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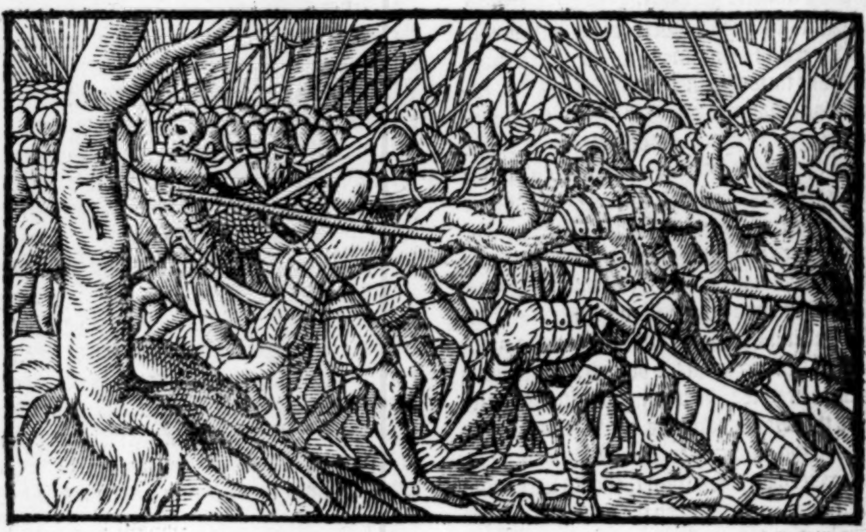
flight.



But Llewellin nothing diſmayed therewith, aſſembled a greater power than hee had before, and began forthwyth to robbe and ſpoyle within the Engliſhe Marches wyth Paganiſme extremitie, which thing when it came to yͤ vnderſtanding of the king, he was verie ſore diſpleaſed that ſo meane a man as Llewellin was, ſhoulde put him to ſo muche trouble, therefore hee rayſed a farre greater armie than hee had done at anye tyme before, and with the ſame came to the Citie of Hereford.

The king goeth agaynſt the Welch men.

Math. Paris.

The Engliſhe men diſtreſſed.

In the meane time Llewellin comming neare vnto the ſayde Caſtell of Montgomerie, by the practice of a trayterous Monke, trayned forth the Engliſh ſouldiers which lay in garniſon there, and counterfeyting to flee, tyll he had layde them vp in Bogges and Myres with theyr horſes, ſo as they coulde not helpe themſelues, he fell vpon them, and ſo ſlue and take a great number of them euen as he coulde haue wiſhed. The King aduertiſed hereof, haſted the faſter forwarde, and comming into thoſe partyes, as he paſſed by an Abbey of the Ciſteaux order (of whiche houſe the Monke, was that had betrayed the Engliſhe men of Mountgomerie) hee burned a graunge that belonged to the ſame Abbay, and further ſpoyling the ſame Abbay it ſelfe, he had ſet it on a light fire alſo, if the Abbot thereof had not redeemed it with the ſumme of three hũdred marks of ſiluer.

Mawde
repayred.

After this, he cauſed Mawdes Caſtell to bee repayred and fortified, which the Welch men in tymes paſt had ouerthrowne, and when the worke was finiſhed, hee left there a ſtrong garniſon of ſouldiers to kepe back the Welch men from making their accuſtomed incurſions.

Mat. P

Whileſt the king was thus occupied in Wales, there was ſome buſineſſe in Fraunce: for in the Moneth of Iune, the French king with an armie came to inuade the Countrey of Britain, but Erle Henrie with the Erle of Cheſter and the other Engliſh Captains found meanes to take & deſtroy all the cariages and wagons which came with vitailes and other prouiſion to ſerue the French armie. Thus when the French men perceyued they coulde not haue their purpoſe by me-

Henry
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cariages.

diation

ce taken.

diation of the Archbiſhop of Reiſmes, and the Erle of Bollongne on the Frenche part, and by conſent of the Erles of Brytain and Cheſter on the Engliſh part, a peace was cōcluded, or rather a truce to endure for three yeres betwixt the two kings of Englande and Fraunce. This agreement was made the fifth day of July, and then the Earles of Brytayne and Cheſter, wyth Richarde Marſhall, came ouer into Englande, and rode to the king, whom they founde at Mawdes Caſtell, where he remayned tyll the worke was finiſhed, and then in the Moneth of October returned into Englande.

. Reg. 16.
1232
. Paris.

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s attempt.

ſuper-
tion of
s,

In this meane time no ſmall grudge aroſe among the people, by reaſon that their Churches were occupied by incumbents that were ſtraungers, promoted by the Popes and their Legates, who neyther inſtructed the people, nor could well ſpeake any more Engliſh than that which ſerued for the collection of their tythes, inſomuche that for yͤ inſolencie of ſuch Incumbentes, as well the Noble menne and thoſe of good reputation, as other of the meaner ſorte by an vndiſcreete preſumption attempted a diſorderly redreſſe, conſederating themſelues togyther, and taking vpon them to wryte and direct theyr letters vnto Biſhops and Chapters, commaunding them by way of inhibition, not to ſeeme to interrupt thoſe that ſhould ſeaze vpon the beneficed ſtraungers, or vppon theyr reuenues. They alſo toke vpon them to wryte vnto ſuche Religious men and others, whiche were fermours vnto any of thoſe ſtraungers, forbydding them to ſtande accountable vnto the ſayde ſtraungers, but to reteyne the rentes and profites in theyr handes to aunſwere the ſame vnto ſuch as they ſhoulde appoynt for the recept thereof. The ſuperſcription of theyr letters was this. *Tali Epiſcopo, & tali Capitulo vniuerſitas eorum qui magis volunt mori quam à Romanis confundi Salutem.* That is to ſay, To ſuch a Biſhop and Chapter, all thoſe which had rather to die than bee confounded by the Romaines, ſend greeting. In the ſeale wherwith the ſayde letters were ſealed, were two ſwordes engrauen.

ing
hers.

This matter went ſo farre forth, that there were ſundrie perſons armed and diſguiſed lyke Mummers, whiche enterpryſed not onelye to take dyuerſe of thoſe ſtraungers that were beneficed men, but alſo came to theyr Barnes, threſhed vp theyr grayne, and eyther made ſale thereof, or gaue it awaye for God hys ſake, ſhewing ſuch coūterfeyted letters vnder the kings ſeale, which they had procured for theyr warrant as they did pretende.

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The Pope c
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At length the Pope vppon complaynt made vnto him of ſuch violent doings, wrote to king Henrie, blaming him not a little for ſuffering ſuche myſorders to bee committed wythin hys Realme, commaunding hym vpon paine of excommunication, to cauſe a diligent inquirie to be had of the offenders, and to ſee them ſharpely puniſhed, to the example of others.

Inquiſitions taken.

Moreouer hee ſent letters to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and to the Abbot of Saint Edmondſburie, to make the like inquiſition, and to accurſe all thoſe that ſhoulde bee founde culpable within the South partes of Englande, as hee did to the Archbiſhop of York, to the Biſhop of Durham, and to an Italian named John a Canon of Yorke, to do the like in the North partes, ſo that the offenders ſhoulde remaine accurſed, till they came to Rome, there to fetche their abſolution. Hereupon therfore a generall inquiſition was taken, as well by the king as by the Biſhops, and many found guiltie, ſome in fact, and ſome in cōſent: amongſt which number, there were both Biſhops and Chapleynes to the king, with Archedeacons, and Deanes, Knights, and many of the laitie.

There were ſome Sherifes and Baylifes alſo which by the kings commaundement were arreſted and put in priſon, and diuerſe of all ſortes did keepe them ſelues out of the way, and woulde not as yet be founde.

The Earle of Kent put in blame.

Sir Robert de Twing.

In like maner, Hubert the Earle of Kent, Lorde chiefe Juſtice, was accuſed to bee chiefe tranſgreſſour in this matter, as he that had giuen forth the kings letters patents to thoſe diſguiſed and maſking threſhers, who had takē vpon them ſo to ſequeſter other mens goods, wherto they had no right. There came alſo to the King one ſir Robert de Twing, a knight of the North parties (whiche named himſelfe William Wetherſe, & had led about a companie of the foreſaid Maſkers) proteſting that he had done it vpon iuſt cauſe to be reuenged vpon the Romaines, which went about by ſentence of the Pope, and manifeſt fraude to ſpoyle him of the perſonage of a certaine Church which he helde, and therfore he ſayde, he had leuer ſtande accurſed without iuſt cauſe for a tyme, than to loſe his benefice withoute due iudgement. Howbeit the king and the other cōmiſſioners counſayled him in the ende to go vnto Rome, for to purchaſe his abſolution, ſithe he was fallen in daunger of excommunication, and there to ſue for his pardon in the Popes conſiſtorie: and to encourage him the better ſo to do, the King wrote alſo in his fauour to the Pope, teſtifying the right which he had to the Churche which he claymed, whereby at length he obteyned his ſuyte (as after ye ſhall heare.)

Polidor.
A Parliament.

The King called a Parliament at Weſtmynſter, wherein declaring what charges hee hadde beene at dyuerſe wayes, hee requyred to haue a Subſidye graunted vnto hym, for the

A ſubſedie demaunded, and denied.

the reliefe of his want, which was flatly denyed, the Nobles and other eſtates excuſing the pouertie amongeſt all degrees of menne, by many euident reaſons. Herevpon the Byſhop of Wincheſter beeing a verye eloquent and well languaged man, openly counſayleth the King to fauour his people, whome hee had alreadie made poore and bare with continuall trybutes and exactions, and if ſo it were that hee ſtoode in ſuche neede as was alledged, that then he ſhoulde take into his hands again ſuch poſſeſſions and things, which during the time of his yong yeares hee had beſtowed vpon his ſeruants, without any good aduiſed conſideration, for lacke of rype iudgement and diſcretion, and againe to take from certaine couetous perſons, who now were become Horſleeches and Caterpyllers in the common welth, all ſuch offices as they helde, and had verie much abuſed, cauſing them to yeelde vp their accountes, and to vſe thẽ after the maner of ſpunges, ſo that where hee had in tymes paſt made them full of moyſture, he might nowe wring them drie, following herein the example of Veſpaſian. And by this meanes it was not to be doubted but he ſhuld haue ynough of his owne, without doing iniury to any man.

The Biſhop of Wincheſters counſell giuen to the king.

The king followeth the Biſhop of Wincheſters counſaile.

The king gaue verie good eare to the Byſhoppes wordes, and following his counſayle, cauſed his receyuers, treaſurers, and other ſuche as had medled wyth any of his receyptes to come to a reckening. And vnderſtanding by the Auditours appoynted to take theyr accountes, that the moſt parte of them had receyued much more and by other meanes than they had entred into theyr reckening, he compelled them to reſtore it out of hand with intereſt.

Mat. Par.
Ranulfe Brytainer, Peter de Riuales.

Alſo he cauſed the Magiſtrates to be called to a reckening, and many of them beeing conuicted of fraude, were condemned to make reſtitution. And amõg other, Reynulf Brytõ treaſorer of his chamber was put beſide his office, & fined at. M. markes, in whoſe place was ſet Peter de Riuales, or after ſome copies de Oriales, a Poictouin, nephew or rather ſon to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whoſe aduice the king tooke a more ſtraite account of his officers, and often remoued ſuche as he adiudged guiltie. At the ſame time alſo, Hubert Erle of Kent was depoſed from the office of high Iuſtice, and Stephen Segraue appoynted in his roumth. The ſaid Hubert (bycauſe he refuſed to ſatiſfie a certaine duetie which was demaunded of him to the kings vſe) ranne ſo farre into his diſpleaſure, that he durſt not abide hys ſight, but for ſafegarde of himſelfe got him to the Abbey of Merton, and there tooke Sanctuarie. The king hearing of this his demeaner, was ſo highly offended withall, that he ſent to the Londoners, willing them to go thither and fetche him to his preſence. The Londoners which in no wiſe loued him, bycauſe of the death of their Citizen Conſtantine, were verie readie to accompliſh this commaundement, inſomuch that where the Maior ouernight late declared to them the effect of the kings commiſſion, there were. xx. M. of them in armor gotten forwarde early in the morning towards Merton, in full hope nowe to be reuenged of him, for the ſmall good will that hee had borne vnto their citie heretofore. But the king being informed by the Erle of Cheſter and others, that if the Londoners being thus in armor, & in ſo great a number, ſhould cõmit any other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to ſome ſuch inconuenience as would not eaſily be ſtayed, he ſent to them a countermaund to returne backe to the citie againe, which they did, though ſorie in their harts that they might not go through with their ſo deſired an enterpriſe. Furthermore (ſee here the mutabilitie of fortune and hir inconſtancie) for now that the Erle of Kent was thus out of the kings fauour, there were few or none of thoſe whom he had before bin beneficiall vnto, that ſhewed themſelues as friends & louers vnto him, but al forſoke and were redie to ſay the worſt of him, except onely the the Archbiſhop of Dubline, who yet obteyned of the king reſpite for him to make anſwere vnto ſuch things as ſhoulde lawfully be obiected agaynſt him, both for the debt which ſhoulde bee due to the king, and alſo vpon poynts of treaſon, which were now layde to his charge. After this, as the ſayde Hubert would haue gone to S. Edmondſbury in Suffolk, where his wife as then remayned, he was apprehended at Burntwood in Eſſex, within a Chapel there (as ſayth Fabian.) But as Math. Paris hath, ſir Robert de Cranecombe, with three hundred armed men was ſent to apprehende him by the Kings commaundement, and ſo he was taken in a village belonging to the Biſhop of Norwiche in Eſſex, and by the kings commaundement caſt into priſon, but yet afterwardes he was recõciled to the kings fauor, after he had lien foure Monthes in priſon, and. xiij. Monethes baniſhed the Court.

The Earle of Kent diſcharged of his office of chiefe Iuſtice.
Mat. Par.

The Earle of Kent taketh Sanctuarie.

The C
of Lo
good
towar
Earle

Mat. P

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the Croſſe, at Lambeth in the aſſemble of the ſtates there, a ſubſedie was graunted to the king of the. xl. part of euerie mans goodes towardes the diſcharge of his debtes which he ought to the Earle of Brytayne.

A ſubſi
graunt
a Parli
holden
Lambet

An.

Alſo in the beginning of the. xvij. yeare of his raigne, Raynulfe Earle of Cheſter and Lincolne departed thys lyfe the. xxvj. daye of October, whoſe bodie was buried at Cheſter, and his bowels at Walingford where he died.

Mat. P
Ranulf
of Che
parted
life.

This Erle Ranulf was thrice maried, firſt to Conſtance daughter and heyre to Conan Earle of Brytayne and Richmonde, and ſo in ryght of

Earle
thrice

of hir was intituled Earle of thoſe two places: which Conſtance had bin firſt maried vnto Geffrey the third ſonne of king Henrie the ſeconde, by whom ſhee had iſſue Arthure, (as before ye haue heard.) But by Erle Ranulfe ſhe had no iſſue at all, but was from him diuorced, and afterwardes maried vnto Guy vicont de Touars. Then after that Erle Ranulf was ſo deuorced from the ſayd Conſtance, he maried a Lady named Clemence, and after hir deceaſſe, he maried the thirde time the Ladie Margaret, daughter to Humfrey de Bohun Erle of Hereford and Eſſex, Conſtable of England: but he neuer had iſſue by any of thoſe his wiues, ſo that John Scot hys nephew by his ſyſter Mawde ſucceeded him in the Earledome of Cheſter, and William Dalbeney Earle of Arundell, nephew to him by his ſyſter Mabell, had the Manour of Barrow, and other landes that belonged to the ſayde Ranulfe, of the yearely value of fiue hundred poundes. Robert Quincie, he that maryed hys ſyſter Hauiſe, had the Earledome of Lyncolne, and ſo of a Baron became an Earle, who had iſſue by hys wife, Margerie Counteſſe of Lyncolne, that was maryed to Edmonde Lacie Earle of Lyncolne. William Earle Ferrers, and of Darbie, that had maryed Agnes, ſyſter to the ſayde Ranulfe, had the Caſtell and Manour of Chartley, togyther wyth other landes for hys pourpartie.

is Clemẽce daughter rle Ferrers.

e partition is landes.

Here is alſo to be remembred, that the afore mentioned Erle Ranulf (or Randulf whether ye liſt to call him) atchieued many high enterpriſes in his time, as partly in this booke ye haue alredie heard: he held ſore warres agaynſt the Welchmen, till at length an agreement was concluded betwixt him & Lewellin prince of Wales. I remember I haue read in an olde record, that vpon a time as this Earle paſſed into Wales with an army, his chance was to be ouerſet by the Welch men, ſo that he was driuen to retire into a caſtell, wherin the Welchmen did beſiege him. And as it fortuned at that time, Roger Lacy ẏ Conſtable of Cheſter was not thẽ with him, but left behind at Cheſter to ſee the Citie kept in order (for as it ſhould ſeem, their ſolemne playes which cõmonly are vſed at Whitſuntide were then in hande, or elſe their Faire which is kept at Midſommer.) The Erle therfore ſent a meſſenger in all poſſible haſt vnto his Conſtable, praying him with ſpeed to come to his ſuccors, in that extreme poynt of neceſſitie. Lacy made no delay, but aſſembling all the foreyners, players, muſitians, & others which he could find within that citie fit to wear armor, went forth with them, and in moſt ſpeedy maner marched toward the caſtell, where the Welchmẽ kept the Erle beſieged, who now perceyuing ſuch a multitude of mẽ cõming towards them, incontinently left the ſiege and fled away. The Earle then being thus deliuered out of that preſent danger, came forth of the Caſtell, returned with hys Conſtable vnto Cheſter, and in recompence of that ſeruice, he gaue vnto his ſayde Conſtable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie ouer all the foreyners, players, muſitians, and other ſtrangers reſorting to Cheſter, at the time when ſuch publike playes (or elſe fayre) ſhoulde be kept and holden.

ir Roger y is ſurna- d Helle.

John Lacie the ſon of the ſayd Roger, maried Alice the daughter of Gylbert de Aquila, and after hir deceaſſe, he maried the Ladie Margaret, the daughter of Robert Quincy Erle of Lyncolne, of whom he begat Edmonde Lacie, Conſtable of Cheſter, which Edmond after the deceaſſe of hys father, maried Alice the daughter of the marques of Saluces in Italy, which Lady was ſurnamed the Queene, of whom he begat Henrie Lacy erle of Lincoln, which Henry maried the Lady Margaret, daughter to William Long eſpee Earle of Saliſbury, by whom he had two ſonnes, Edmõd and John, and two daughters, Alice and Joan, which Alice Thomas Erle of Lancaſter maried, who claymed & had the ſame rights and priuiledges which auncientlу belonged to the ſayde Roger Lacy, and others the Conſtables of Cheſter, concerning the fines of foreyners and of other.

And this haue I the more willingly declared, that it may appeare in what eſtimation & credite the Lacies Conſtables of Cheſter by inheritance liued in their time, of whoſe high valiancie, and likewiſe of other of that familie, highly commended for theyr noble chiualrie in martiall enterpriſes ye may reade in ſundrie hyſtories at large.

But now to returne and ſpeake of other doings which chaunced aboute the tyme in whiche the ſayd Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter departed thys life. The king in the meane while ſeazed into his handes a great portion of the treaſure which Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent had committed to the keping of the Templers: but where as there were that trauailed to haue had him put to death, the king in reſpect of the ſeruice which he had done to him, and to his predeceſſors, king Richard, and king John, graunted him life, with thoſe landes which hee had eyther by purchaſe, or by gyft of king John, but neuertheleſſe he cauſed him to be kept in free priſon at the caſtell of the Vees, vnder the cuſtodie of foure knightes belonging to the Erles of Cornwall, Warren, Pembroke, & Ferrers, whiche foure Earles were become ſureties for him.

The Erle of Kent kept in priſon within the caſtell of Vees.

Mat. Par. A great thunder.

This yeare alſo, about the ſame time, to wit, the morow after S. Martyns day, chaunced great thunder and lightning, which continued for the ſpace of .xv. dayes togither, to the great terror and feare of the people, and namely of the Londoners, which haue that kinde of weather ſo familiar to them

them, that if there bee any abroade in the lande, they haue their part thereof.

1233

A wet ſõmer.

Foure Sunnes beſide the accuſtomed Sun.

Mat. Paris.

Moreouer on the. xxiij .of March, was heard an other great and terrible tempeſt of thunder, & after folowed a maruellous wette Sommer with many flouds. Alſo on the. viij .day of April, in the parties about Hereford, and Worceſter, there appeared four Sunnes in the Element, beſide the naturall Sunne, of red colour, and a great circle of chriſtaline colour, the which cõpaſſed with his largeneſſe as it had bene the whole circuit almoſt of the whole realme of Englande, from the ſides wherof went forth certaine halfe circles, in whoſe ſections appeared the ſayd foure ſunnes. The naturall ſonne was at the ſame tyme in the Eaſt part of the firmament, for it was about the fyrſt houre of the day, or betwixt ſix and ſeuen in the morning the aire being the ſame time very bright and cleare. The Biſhop of Hereford, & ſir Iohn Monmouth knight, and many others beheld this wonderfull ſight, & teſtified the ſame to bee moſte true. And after this there followed the ſame yeare in thoſe parties cruell warre, ſlaughter, terrible bloudſhed, and a generall trouble through England, Wales, and Irelande.

Mat. Par.

A ſtraunge wonder.

About the ſame time, to wit in Iune, in the ſouth parts of Englãd neare to the ſea coaſt two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and after a long fight the one ouercame the other, and followed him, fleeing into the depth of the Sea, and ſo they were ſeene no more.

Polider.

The king beginneth to fauor ſtraungers.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Earle of Pembroke.

Straungers alwayes odious to the home borne.

Moreuer in this yeare great variance & ſtrife roſe betwixt the king and his barons, for the king tooke great diſpleaſure towards all other his officers, and ſo muche the more he miſtruſted them, for that he found himſelfe deceyued in the Erle of Kent, to whom he had cõmitted a further credite than to any other, and had made him high iuſtice of Englande, onely for the good will that he alwayes bare vnto him. Therfore perceyuing this, he was doubtfull now whom he ſhould truſt, he diſcharged the moſt part of thoſe Engliſhmẽ that bare any office about him, & in their roumes placed ſtraungers, as Poictouins, and Brytaines, of yͤ which their came ouer vnto him many knights and other, to the nũber of two. M. which he placed in garniſons within caſtels in diuerſe places of the lande, & cõmitted the order of all things for the moſt part to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and to his nephew or ſon Peter de Riuales, wherewith hee offended ſo much the myndes of his Nobles, that Richard Marſhal Erle of Pembroke, (chiefe of that familie, & boldeſt to ſpeake, now that Ranulf of Cheſter was gone) as well in his owne name, as in the names of others, tooke vpon hym openly to reproue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and daungerous to the ſtate of the realm. Hereunto the Biſhop of Wincheſter (whoſe coũſaile as it ſeemed he folowed) made anſwere, that the king had done nothing in that behalf vnaduiſedly, but vpon good and deepe conſideration: for ſith he might perceyue how the Engliſh nobilitie had fiſt purſued his father with malicious hatred and open war, and now had found diuerſe of thẽ whom he had brought vp and aduaunced to high honors, vnfaythfull in the adminiſtration of their offices, he did not without iuſt cauſe receyue into his fauour ſtraungers, and preferre them before thoſe of his own nation, which were not ſo faithfull in his ſeruice and obedience as they.

This anſwere of the Biſhop ſo pricked and wounded the mindes of the Engliſhe nobilitie, that many of them (amongſt whom the ſaid Erle of Pembroke was the chiefe) began an open rebellion, ſome of them reſorting to one place, & ſome into an other to gather people for their purpoſe. The names of ſuch Barons as ſturred vpon this occaſion were theſe. Richard Marſhall Earle of Pembroke afore named, Gilbert Baſſet and his brethren, men of great honor, & right hardy captains: alſo Richard Sward a warlike perſonage, trayned vp in feates of armes frõ his youth, with Walter Clifford a worthy knight, and many others. The king hauing knowlege of their doings proclaymed them all traytors, confiſcated their goodes, and ſent for a great power of men out of Flanders, to ſerue him in his warres. Whileſt K. Henrie thus prouideth himſelfe of an armie, the Lords with their captain Richard Marſhal ioine themſelues with Llewellin prince of Wales, and doubting the comming of the king ſpoyled al the marches next adioyning to England, leauing no vittailes nor cattaile any where aboute in thoſe parties wherby the kings army might haue relief: and further made all things readie for their owne defence ſo well as they could deuiſe. The Erle of Kent about the ſame time, by helpe of two yeomen that attended vpon him, eſcaped out of the Caſtel of Vees, and tooke Sanctuarie in the next Church: but when thoſe that had the charge of him and the Caſtell in keeping, miſſed him, and heard where he was, they fetched both him, and the two yeomen that holpe him to make the eſcape out of the Church, and bringing them backe to the Caſtell, impriſon the Erle And though the Biſhop of Saliſburie came thither and threatned to accurſe them, if they woulde not deliuer the Earle, and reſtore him to Sanctuarie agayne: they made anſwere, that they had rather the Erle ſhoulde hang for himſelfe, than they for hym. And ſo bycauſe they woulde not delyuer hym, the Byſhop did excommunicate them, and after ryding to the Court, and taking with him the Biſhoppe of London, and other Biſhoppes, dyd ſo much by complaynt exhibited to the king, that the Earle was reſtored to the Churche agayne,

the

restored
anctuarie.

the .xviij. day of October. But ſo as the Shiriffe of the ſhire had commaundement to compaſſe the church about with men, to watch that no reliefe came to him, whereby he might be conſtrayned through famiſhing to ſubmit hymſelfe. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after there came a power of armed men, and fetched the ſayde Earle from thence (ſetting him on horſebacke in fayre complete armour) and ſo conueyed hym into Wales, where he ioyned with other of the kings enimies, the .xxx. day of October.

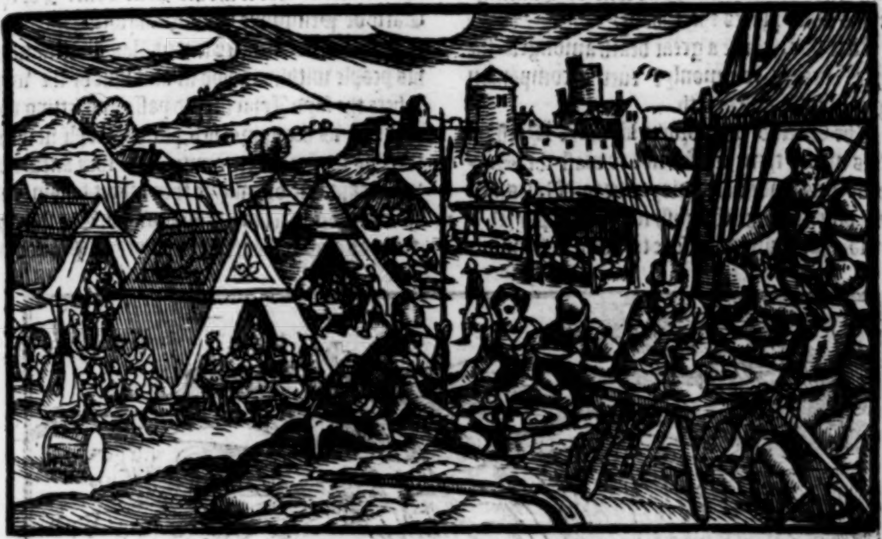
. Reg. 18.

Erle of
rescued
conueyed
Wales.

Polidore.

The king entreth into Wales with an armie.

Within a fewe dayes after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vitayles was conſtrayned to retyre backe into the marches, betwixt Worceſterſhire, and Salopſhyre, ſtaying certayne dayes togyther in thoſe partyes, hys Souldiers ſtraying abroade in the Countrey vnaduiſedly, and keeping no watche nor warde aboute theyr campe, were ſurpryſed in the night by theyr enimies, and ſlaine on euerie ſide. The ſlaughter had bin greater, but that the reſidue, whiche laye in campe, brake forth about mydnight, and in a plumpe togyther fledde into a Caſtell which was neare at hande, called Groſſemounde, in the whiche the king himſelfe was lodged. There were ſlaine aboue fiue hundred men, and all the truſſe and baggage of the campe loſt.



Yet Mathew Paris ſayth there were but two knightes ſlaine, which caſt away themſelues by theyr owne wilfulneſſe, that would needes ſtande to it and make reſiſtance, where the reſidue being ſpoyled of all that they had with them, got away by flight, as the Biſhoppes of Wincheſter and Chicheſter, the Lorde chiefe Juſtice Stephen Segraue, Peter de Riuales treaſurer, Hugh Bigot Earle of Norffolke, William Earle of Saliſburie, William Lord Beauchampe, and William Dalbeney the yonger, who were witneſſes of this loſſe amongeſt the reſidue.

Hereof it came to paſſe, that many of the kings armie (ſpecially thoſe which had loſt their horſes, armour, money and other furniture, with theyr vytayles) returned into their Countrey, to theyr great confuſion. For the Welchmen and other outlawes, hauing ſpoyled the campe, returned with the cariages and ſumpters which they had taken, into places of ſafe refuge.

or.

The king returneth out of Wales.

The king hauing receyued this loſſe, and oftentimes tryed fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in thoſe parties, by reaſon of the ſtraytes and diſaduauntage of the places, he thought good to reſerue the reuenge of his receyued iniuryes, vnto a more conuenient time: and therevpon returned to Glouceſter, and furniſhed diuerſe Caſtels and fortreſſes in the borders of Wales, with gariſons of Souldiers, namely Poictouins and other ſtraungers to defende the ſame agaynſte William Marſhall, and the other his complices, who vpon occaſions dayly ſought to ſuppreſſe and diſtreſſe the ſayde ſtraungers.

The Earle of Pembroke in daunger.

He is reſcued. The Poictouins diſcomfited.

And beſide other encounters, in the whiche manye of thoſe Poictouins and other ſtraungers were ſlaine and oppreſſed by the ſayde William Marſhall and his adherentes, it chaunced that vpon Saint Katherins day, the ſayd William Marſhall comming neare to the Caſtell of Monmouth to view the ſame, was in daunger to haue remayned pryſoner in the enimyes handes, through an iſſue made by Sir Baldwine de Guynes, Capitaine of that Caſtell, with his Poictouins and Flemings. But by ſuche reſcue as came to his ayde, he was delyuered out of their handes, and the Poictouins and other of the garniſon diſcomfited.

At this ſkirmiſh ſir Baldwin himſelfe being ſore wounded, was borne out of the fielde into the Caſtell, loſing .xv. knightes of his partie, and a great ſort of other which were taken priſoners, beſyde no ſmall number that were ſlaine in the place.

Dearth.

The ſame yeare chaunced great dearth, by reaſon that the growth of all things was muche hindered with the extreeme colde weather.

Tempeſtes.

An Earthquake.

Alſo there happened aboute the begynning of Nouember greate thunder and lyghtning, and therwith followed an Earthquake, to the great feare of the Inhabitantes of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabout.

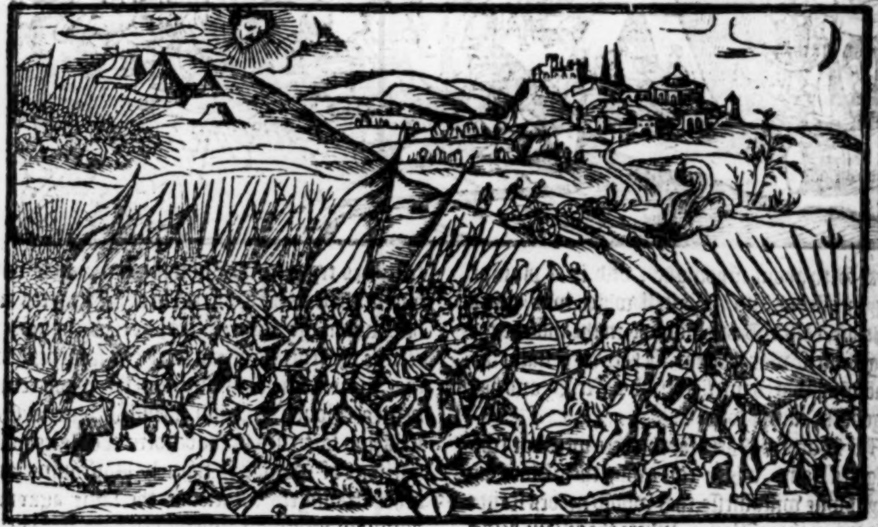
A death.

After this, came a great death amongeſt the people, beeing commonlye euer a companion to great famin and dearth.

The Earle of Pembroke Richard Marſhall in this meane tyme ceaſſed not to waſt the Marches of Englande next adioyning to Wales, and dayly diuerſe of the Engliſh nobilitie repayred to him, ſo that ẏ king was ſore troubled in his mind.

And as it chaunced, the ſame time one Iohn of Monmouth a right valiant Captain that led the kings armie, receyued a great ouerthrow at the handes of Richard Marſhall. For where as the foreſayd Iohn hauing aſſembled a mightie hoſt, made great haſt towardes his enimies, in hope to haue come vpon them at vnwares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to aſſayle them ſomewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the Sommer ſeaſon is the moſt ſilent time of all the night, it chaunced farre otherwiſe than he looked that it ſhould haue done. For the Earle of Pembroke hauing knowledge by his ſpyes of his aduerſaries intent, lay himſelfe with his people within a wood in ambuſhe by the way where the ſayd Iohn ſhould paſſe, and ſetting vpon him as hee approched, put his people in ſuche feare by the ſodain encounter, that they knew not what captaine or enſigne they might follow, and ſo immediatly fel to running away. The ſlaughter was great on euery ſyde, both of Poictouins

Ma



and other. Diuerſe of them fleeing alſo into the next Woddes, were receyued by ſuche as were layde there to cutte them off, and ſo ſlaine or taken out of hande. Howbeeit theyr chiefe captayne the forenamed Iohn of Monmouth eſcaped, with a fewe other in his companie. This ouerthrow chaunced the morrowe after Chriſtmaſſe day.

Iohn Monmouth receyueth an ouerthrow.

1234

Polidor.

The next day Richarde Marſhall hauing thus got the victorie, deſtroyed certaine houſes and Lordſhippes there in the Marches which belonged to the ſayde Iohn of Monmouth.

Mat. Par.

About the ſelfe time alſo, Richard Siward with other outlawes deſtroyed the poſſeſſions belonging to the Erle of Cornwal beſide Brehull: and alſo there burned a place called Segraue, where Stephen de Segraue the lord chiefe Iuſtice was borne, and likewiſe a village belonging to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, not farre from Segraue aforeſayde. This was the maner of thoſe outlawes, that they hurt no perſon, but onely thoſe counſaylers about the king by whome they were exiled.

Immediatly within the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the Erle Marſhall, & Lewellin Prince of Wales, waſted and robbed al the Marches betwixt Wales and Shrewſburie, a part of which towne they alſo burnt. King Henrie being hereof certified as yet ſoiorning at Glouceſter, was ſore troubled in his minde, and calling togither his councell, aſked aduice what way he might beſt take to redreſſe ſuch iniuries. After ſundrie opinions amongſt them declared, they agreed al in one ſentence, that it ſhoulde be moſt expedient to ap-

A part of the towne of Shrew burnt.

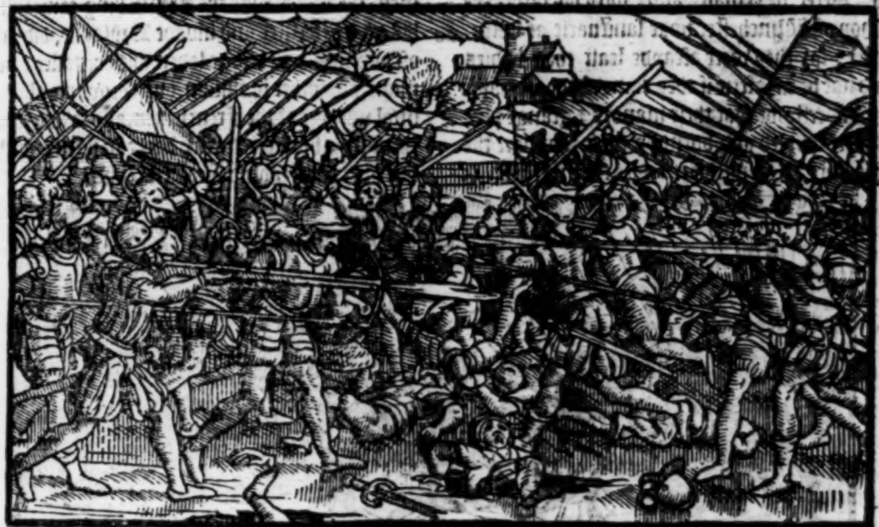
Polidor.

peaſe

appeaſe the mindes of the rebels with gentle offers to graunt them pardon of their offences. Alſo to baniſh from the Court diuerſe that bare great rule, and namely Peter the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſonne or nephew Peter de Riuales, by the counſaile of which two perſones all things had beene chaunged in the kings houſe. Moreouer, to put from him ſuch ſtraungers as haue offices, and to reſtore Engliſhmen againe to the ſame. The king allowing this aduiſe to be good, followed it accordingly, and fyrſt of all he diſcharged the Biſhop of Wincheſter of all publike adminiſtration of things; and commaunded him to repayre home vnto his dioces, and to ſee to the gouernment thereof, as to hys dutie appertayned. He alſo baniſhed from hys preſence Peter de Riuales, Stephen Segraue, Robert Paſſelew, and dyuerſe other of his chiefe Counſaylers, by whoſe meanes he had procured the euill will of his Nobilitie. Then receyued he agayne his olde ſeruants and officers, and finally ſent the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of Cheſter and Rocheſter vnto the Barons in Wales, to offer them peace and pardon of all paſſed iniuries, if they woulde returne to his obedience. And thus in the ende there was a truce taken betwixt the King and the Rebelles, to beginne at Candlemaſſe, and to endure vntill Eaſter next enſuing, in which meane time, Richard the Erle of Pembroke, hearing that Mauriſhe Fitz Geralde, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh, and others, waſted his landes and poſſeſſions in Irelande (according to ſuch commiſſion as they had receyued of late from king Henrie and his Counſayle) he paſſed ouer thyther, and there encountering with his enimies, was ſore wounded and taken pryſoner, hauing entered the battayle verie raſhly, and with a ſmall companie of his people about him, onely by the trayterous perſwaſion of Geffrey Mauriſh, who with other fled at the firſt brunt, and left him in maner alone, to ſtande to all the daunger. Thoſe that thus tooke him, brought him into his owne Caſtell, the which the Lord chiefe Iuſtice Maurice Fitz Geralde had lately won. This encounter in which Richard Marſhall was thus taken, chaunced on a Saterday, being the firſt of April, and on the .xvj. of the ſame Moneth, by reaſon of the wound which he had receyued, hee departed this life.

Mat. Paris.

The Earle of Pembroke paſſeth ouer into Irelande.



We find alſo that the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſon (or kinſman as ſome haue called him) Peter de Riuales, had procured the king to ſend commiſſion vnder his ſeale vnto the foreſayd noble men in Irland, that if the ſaid Erle of Pembroke Richard Marſhall chaunced to come thyther, they ſhould do their beſt to take him, and in reward of their paynes, they ſhould enioy all his lands and poſſeſſions which he held in that countrey. But after his death, and when the king had remoued thoſe his Counſailers from him, he confeſſed he had put his ſeale to a wryting, but that he vnderſtood what were the contents thereof, hee vtterly denied. Finally, ſuch was the end of this worthie Erle of Pembroke Richard Marſhall, a man worthie to be highly renowmed for his approued valiantie. His death ſurely was greatly bewayled of king Henrie, openly proteſting that he had loſt the worthieſt captain that then liued.

After this, the Lordes that had remayned in Wales, by ſafe conduct came to ỹ king, & through the diligent trauaile of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, he receyued them into fauour. Amongeſt them were theſe men of name, Gilbert Marſhall, the brother of the foreſayde Richarde Marſhall, Hubert Earle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, and Rychard Siward, beſide diuerſe other. Unto Gilbert Marſhall he deliuered his brothers inheritaunce,

Polidor.

Mat. Paris.

Gilbert Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke.

and vpon Whitſunday made him knight, giuing vnto him the Rodde of the office of Marſhall of the Court, according to the maner, to vſe and exerciſe as his aunceſters had done before hym. And herewyth the Earle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, and Richarde Swarde, were receyued againe into the Court, and admitted to be of the kings priuie Counſaile.

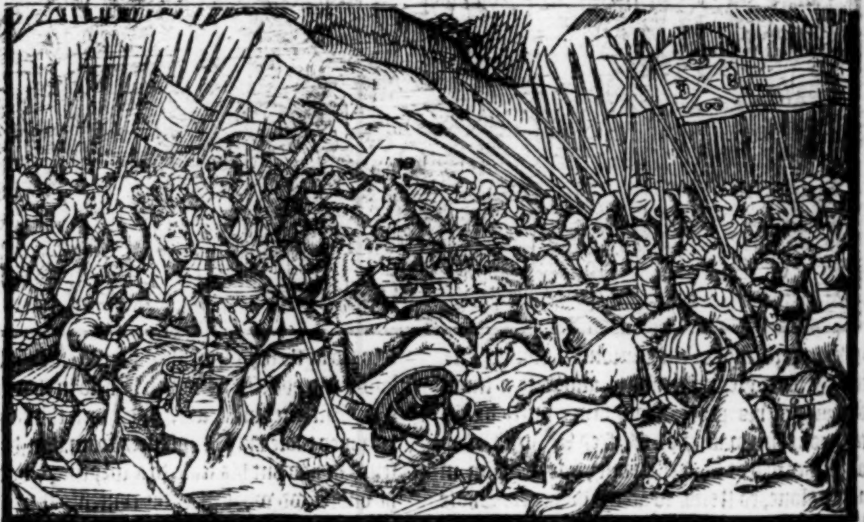
Officers called to accountes.

Soone after this, Peter de Riuales, Stephen Segraue, and Robert Paſſelew were called to accountes, that it might appeare howe the kings treaſure was ſpent, and how they had vſed themſelues with the kings ſeale. The two laſt rehearſed had kept themſelues out of the way, and could not bee founde. Stephen Segraue ſhrowding himſelfe in ſecrete within the Abbay of Leyceſter, and Robert Paſſelew feyning himſelfe ſicke, held him ſecret within the new Temple at London. Peter de Riuales alſo, with his father the Biſhop of Wincheſter tooke ſanctuarie at Wincheſter, for they were afrayde leaſt their bodies ſhuld not be in ſafetie if they came abrode, bicauſe they vnderſtoode that their manors & grange places were ſpoyled and burnt by thoſe that bare thē diſpleaſure. At length yet vnder the protection of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie they came to their anſwere, and were ſore charged for their miſdemeaning, trayterous practice, & great falſhood vſed in time of their bearing office, and as it appeareth by writings, they could but ſorily cleare themſelues in thoſe matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reaſon of their protection they were reſtored to the places frō whence they came, or elſe otherwiſe ſhifted of the matter for the time, ſo that we find not of any great bodily puniſhmēt which they ſhould receyue as then. And at length alſo were pardoned and reconciled vnto the kings fauour, vpon paiment of ſuch fines as were aſſeſſed vpon them.

The tru ended.

Welch ſent o the ayd the Earle Brytayn

This yeare bycauſe the truce ended betwixt the Kings of Englande and Fraunce, King Henrie ſent ouer to ayde the Earle of Brytayne, threeſcore knightes, and two thouſande Welchemen, the which whē the French king came with his armie to enter and inuade Brytayne, did cut off and take his cariage laden with vittailes, armour, and other prouiſion, ouerthrowing alſo no ſmal number of the French men, and taking from them their horſes, returned backe in ſafetie, without hurt or notable damage receyued.



Yet after this the French king enforcing againe his power, waxed too ſtrong for the Earle of Brytayne, ſo that he was conſtrayned to take a truce to endure till the feaſt of all Saintes, that hee mighte in the meane tyme vnderſtande if the King of Englande woulde come ouer with ſome puyſſant armie to hys ayde or no: but bycauſe it was perceyued in the ende that the ſayde Earle of Brytayne ſought nothing elſe but how to get money out of King Henries Coffers, and to doe him no pleaſure for it, bycauſe he was in maner at an other agreement alreadie with the King of Fraunce, King Henrie refuſed to ſatiſfie his requeſtes at ſuch time at hee came ouer vnto him (after the taking of that truce) for more money. Herewith alſo the ſayd Erle being offended, got him back into his own country, & ſhortly after apparantly ſubmitted himſelf to the French K. which (as the report went) he had done before in ſecrete.

The Earle Brytayn ſelfe French

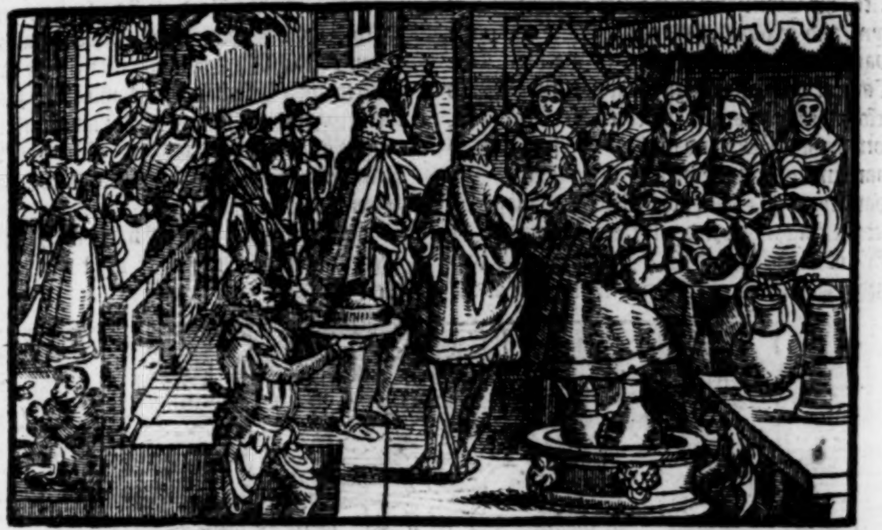
An. r 12

Polidor. Fabia

Theſe things being thus brought to paſſe, and all troubles quieted, the king as thē being at Lōdon, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a cōplaint exhibited agaynſt the Iewes of Norwich, which had ſtolen a yong childe, being not paſt a. xij. monthes olde, and ſecretly kept him an whole yeare togither, to the ende that hee myght (when Eaſter came) crucifie him in deſpite of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and the chriſtian religion, the matter as it happened fel out well for the lad: for within a fewe dayes before that thoſe curſed murtherers purpoſed to haue ſhed this innocents bloud, they were accuſed, conuicted and puniſhed, whereby he eſcaped their cruell handes.

at. Paris

About the ſame tyme, to witte the ſeuenth of Februarie died Hugh de Welles Biſhop of Lincolne, a great enimie to Monkes and Religious men. Robert Groſted was then preferred to hys roumth, a man of great learning, and trayned vp in ſcholes euen from his infancie.



The Emperor Frederick marieth the king of Englands ſiſter.

A great and ſumptuous feaſt.

The ſame yeare, the Emperour Frederick the ſecond, maried the Ladie Iſabell the kings ſiſter. This Iſabell was a moſte beautifull Ladie, of comely perſonage, and of age about .xxj. yeares. She was fianced by procuracie, about the .xxvij. of Febr. And after Eaſter, the Archb. of Colen, & the Duke of Louaine came ouer from the Emperour, to haue the conueyance of hir vnto the Emperors preſence. There was ſuch a feaſt holden, ſo ſumptuous ſeruice, ſo riche furniture, and royall banquetting kept the day before hir departure from London towardes the Sea ſide, that more coulde not bee ymagined. The ſame feaſt was kept at Weſtminſter on the fifth day of May, and the day following ſhe did ſet forward, and by eaſie iourneyes came to Sandwich, the King bringing hir thither with three thouſande horſes. Finally, ſhee tooke the Sea the .xj. of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And ſo with proſperous wind and weather ſhee arriued at Andwerpe, and from thence paſſed forwarde, tyll ſhee came to hir huſbande the Emperour, by whome ſhee was receyued wyth greate ioye and comfort at Wormes, where the maryage was conſummate vppon a Sunday being the. xxij. daye of Iulye, or as Mathew Weſtminſter hath, the. xxvij. of May, being Whitſunday.

ath Paris.
ſurers called
orſini.

This yeare the Biſhop of London pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt certaine vſurers called *Caorſini*. But bycauſe the ſame vſurers ſhadowed themſelues vnder the pretext of the Popes marchants (as they named themſelues) they did ſo much by the fauor of the court of Rome, that the ſayde Biſhop being ſicke and feeble, was cited peremptorily in the parties of beyonde the Sea, before Iudges choſen forth by the ſame vſurers, to make anſwere for ſuche high iniurie as he had here done to the Popes factors. The Biſhop willing by the example of Sem, rather to couer his fathers ſhame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietly put vp the matter: and to pacifie the trouble, ſuffred their wickednes, commending in the meane while the cauſe vnto his patrone Saint Paule. And when he preached of the force of fayth, he vttered this ſaying: And if an Angell preache contrarie doctrine to vs in theſe things, let him be accurſed.

The Biſhop of London hys doctrine.

An. reg. 20.

In the .xx. yeare of King Henryes raigne, in the Aduent tyme, the noble Baron the Lorde Robert Fitz Water departed this lyfe, and ſo likewiſe did a noble yong man deſcended of a noble parentage, one Roger de Somerie.

1236

King Henrie marieth the Ladie Eleanor daughter to the Earle of Prouance.

On the .xiiij. day of Ianuarie enſuing, the king maryed the Ladie Eleanore, daughter to the Earle of Prouance named Raymonde.

Thys maryage was ſolemniſed at Canterburie, and in the Utas of Sainte Hylarye nexte enſuyng beeing Sunday, ſhee was crowned as Queene of Englande at Weſtmynſter.

Mat. Paris.

At the ſolemnitie of this feaſt and coronation of the Queene, all the high Peeres of the realme, both ſpirituall and temporall were preſent to exerciſe their offices as to them apperteyned, The Earle of Cheſter.

The Conestable of Cheſter.

The Earle of Pembroke.

The wardens of the cinque Portes.

The Earle of Leyceſter.

Erle Waren.

The Citizens of London were there in great array, bearing afore hir in ſolemne wiſe, three hundred. lx. Cuppes of golde and ſiluer, in token that they ought to wayte vpon hir Cuppe. The Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the Biſhop of London aſſiſting him as his Deacon. The Earle of Cheſter bare the ſworde of Saint Edwarde before the king, in token that he was Earle of the Palace, and had authoritie to correct the King, if he ſhould ſee him to ſwarue from the limites of Iuſtice, his Conſtable of Cheſter attending vpon hym, and remouing the people where the preſſe was thicke, with hys rodde or warder. The Earle of Pembroke high Marſhall bare the rod before the king, and made rowmith before hym, both in the Church and in the Hall, placing euery man, and ordering the ſeruice at the Table. The wardens of the cinque portes bare a Canapie ouer the king, ſupported with foure ſpeares. The Erle of Leyceſter held the Baſon when they waſhed. The Earle of Warren, in the place of the Erle of Arundell, bycauſe he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. M. Michaell Belet was Butler by office. The Erle of Hereford exerciſed the roome of high Marſhal in yͤ kings houſe. The Lord William de Beauchampe was aulmoner. The chiefe Iuſtice of the Foreſtes on the righte hand of the king, remoued the diſhes on the table, though at the firſt he was ſtayed by ſome allegation made to the contrarie. The Citizens of Lōdon ſerued forth wine to euerie one in great plentie. The Citizens of Wincheſter had ouerſight of the Kitchen and Larderie. And ſo euery perſon (according to his dutie) exerciſed his roumith: and bycauſe no trouble ſhould riſe, many things were ſuffered which vpon further aduiſe taken therein were reformed. The Chancellor and al other ordinarie officers kept their place. The feaſt was plentifull, ſo that nothing wanted that coulde be wiſhed.

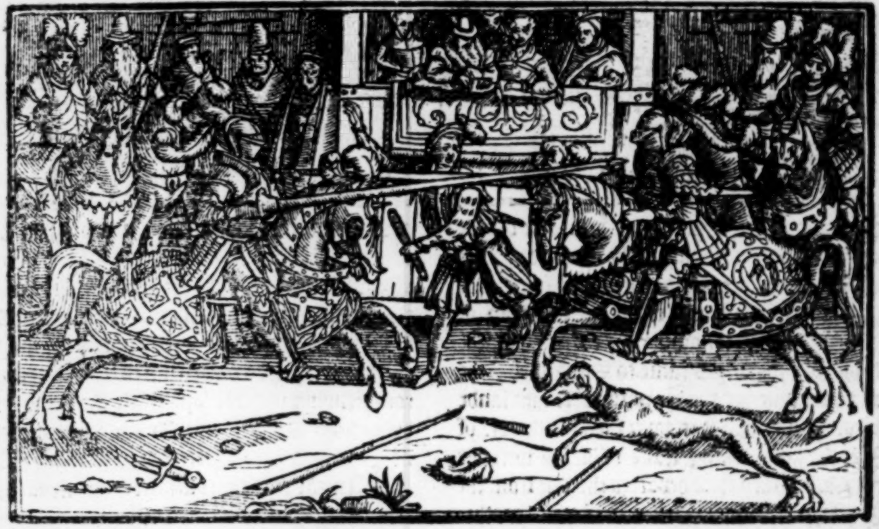
The La
Heref

Lord W
Beauch

The Ci
of Londo

The Ci
of Winch

Moreouer, in Tuthill fielde royall Iuſtes were holden by the ſpace of eight dayes togyther.



A Parliament at London.
Polidore.

And ſoone after the king called a Parliament at London, where many things were enacted for the good gouernment of the Realme, and therewith the king demaunded a ſubſedie.

Straunge ſightes.
Mat. Paris.

Aboute the ſame time, wonderfull ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene. In the North partes of England, not farre from the Abbay of Roch or Rupy, there appeared comming forth of the earth companies of armed men on horſebacke, with ſpeare, ſhielde, ſworde, and baners diſplayed, in ſundrie fourmes and ſhapes, ryding in order of battaile, and encountering togyther: and this ſight was ſeene ſundrie dayes eche after other. Sometyme they ſeemed to ioyne as it had bin in battaile, and fought ſore, and ſometime they appeared to iuſt and brake ſtaues, as it had bene at ſome triumphant iuſtes or torney. The people of the country beheld them a far off, with great wonder: for the thing ſhewed ſo liuely, that nowe and then they might ſee thẽ come with their emptie horſes ſore wounded and hurt: and then mẽ likewiſe mãgled and bleeding, that pitie it was to ſee thẽ. And that which ſeemed more ſtrange, & to be moſt maruelled at, the prints of their feet appeared in yͤ groũd, & the graſſe troden down in places where they had beene ſeene. The like ſight was alſo ſeene more apparantly in Ireland, & in the parties therabout.

Great rai
Math. P

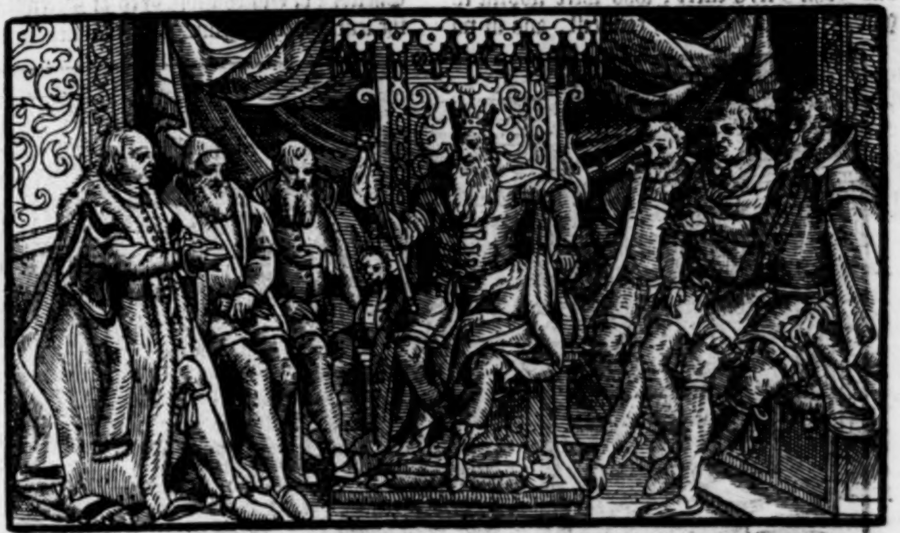
Mat. W

Immediatly folowed, or rather preceded paſſing great tempeſts of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and cauſed monſtrous floods: for this raine continued by all the ſpace of the monethes of Ianuarie, Februarie, and a great parte of Marche, (and for eyght dayes it rayned (as ſome write) in maner withoute ceaſſing) and vpon the tenth of February, immediately after the chaunge of the Moone, the Thames roſe with ſuch an high tide, that boates might haue bin rowed vp and downe in Weſtminſter Hall. In the winter before, on the twentith of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the firſt friday in December, whiche was the fifth of that moneth, there was a counterfet ſunne ſeene beſide the true ſunne. Moreouer, as in ẏ ſpring preceding, there happened ſore and exceeding great raynes, ſo in ẏ ſommer following, ther chaunced a great drouth, continuing by ẏ ſpace of four monethes or more.

reat thũder

A dry ſommer

This yere was a Parliament holde at Mertõ, a Towne in Surrey, diſtante from London ſeuen miles, where was an Abbey of regular Chãnons founded, by one Gilbert, a Lord of Normãdy, that came into the Realme with William Conquerour.



bert Nor-
founder
Merton
y.

At this Parliamente, diuers good and profitable lawes were made and eſtabliſhed, whych yet remayne in vſe, bearing the name of the place where they were fyrſte ordeyned.

n.reg.21.

In the beginning of the one and twentith yere of King Henries raigne, on the morow after the feaſt of Saint Martine, and certaine dayes after, the Sea burſt out with ſuche high tides and tempeſtes of winde, that the marriſh countreyes nere to the ſame were drowned vp and ouerflowen: and beſide greate heardes and flockes of Cattell that periſhed, there was no ſmall number of men loſt & drowned. The Sea roſe cõtinually in flowing the ſpace of two days and one night, without ebbing, by reaſon of the mighty violence of contrary windes. At Wiſbech alſo, and in Villages thereaboutes, the people were drowned in great numbers, ſo that in one Village there were buryed an hundred corpſes in one day.

gh tides.
ath. Paris.

ſbech.
ple peri-
g by rage
aters.

Alſo the daye before Chriſtmas euen, there chaunced a great winde, with thunder and raine, in ſuche extreame wiſe, that manye buyldings were ſhaken and ouerthrowen.

1237

In a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter about the Octaues of the Epiphany, the King required a ſubſedie of his ſubiects, the which requeſt was not very well taken, but yet at length, vpon promiſe that he would be good Lord vnto them, and not ſeeke to infringe and diſanull the grants which he hadde made by pretence of want of the Popes confyrmatiõ (as it was thought he meant to doe,) they agreed to giue him the thirtith part of all mouable goodes, as well of the ſpiritualtie as the temporaltie, reſeruing yet to euery man his ready coine, with Horſe and armoure, to bee employed for the profit of the common wealthe. In conſideration of which graunt, the Kyng beyng of perfect age, and in his owne rule and full gouernaunce, of his free and meere good will, at the requeſt, and by the councell of the Lordes of hys Realme, eftſoones graunted and confirmed the liberties and cuſtomes conteyned in the two charters, the one called *Magna charta*, and the other *carta de Foreſta*, with this addition in the ende, *Nunc autem conceßimus & hac præſenti charta cõfirmauimus omnibus prædictis de regno noſtro omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines contentas in cartis noſtris, quas eis fidelibus noſtris fieri fecimus cùm in minori eſſemus ætate, ſcilicet tam in Magna carta noſtra, quàm in carta de Foreſta. Et volumus pro nobis, & hæredibus noſtris, quòd præfati fideles noſtri, & ſucceſſores, & hæredes eorum habeant, & teneant imperpetuum omnes libertates, & liberas conſuetudines prædictas, non obſtante quòd prædictæ cartæ cõfectæ fuerint cùm minoris eſſemus ætatis, vt prædictũ eſt, hijs teſtibus, Edmondo Cant. Archiepiſcopo, & omnibus alijs in Mãgna carta nominatis Dat. per manum venerabilis patris Ciceſtrienſis epiſcopi, cancellarij noſtri 28. die Ianuarij, Anno Regni noſtri. 21.*

A ſubſedie.

The confir-
mation of the
charters.

Mat. Paris.

Beſide the confirmation of theſe charters, the King further to winne the fauoure of his people, was contẽted to remoue and ſequeſtre from him diuers of hys Counſellers that were thought not to be well minded towardes the aduauncemente of the common wealth, and in their places to admitte the Earle of Waren, William de Ferrers, and John Fitz Geffrey, who were ſworne to giue to the King faithfull councell, and in no wiſe to goe out of the right way for any reſpect that might otherwiſe moue them.

About the firſte day of Marche, there beganne ſore rayne and tempeſtuous weather, whereof enſued great floudes, as before in the beginning of the yeare paſſed, had chaunced, though not doyng ſo much hurt as before. John Scot alſo Earle of Cheſter & of Huntington, dyed at Deren Haule the ſeuenth day of June, without iſſue, and was buried at Cheſter. He was poyſoned by the diueliſhe practiſe of his wife, that was daughter to Lewline Prince of Wales as Math Paris hath.

Ran. Higd. His ſiſters.

He hadde foure ſiſters, of whome the firſt named Margaret, was married to Allen of Galloway, by whome ſhee had iſſue a daughter named Deuorgoylle, whiche Deuorgoille was married to John Baliolle, by whome ſhe hadde iſſue John Baliolle that was afterward King of Scotlãd. The ſecond named Iſabell, was married to Robert le Bruys. The thirde named Maude, dyed withoute iſſue, and the fourth called Alda, was married to Henry Haſtings. But bycauſe the lande pertayning to the Earledome of Cheſter, ſhould not goe amongſt rockes and diſtafes, hauing ſuch royall prerogatiues belonging thereto, the King ſeaſed them into his owne hands, and in recompence, aſſigned other land to the foreſaid ſiſters, as it had bin by way of exchaunge.

Nowe ſith the Earles of Cheſter, I meane, thoſe of the line of Hugh Lupus, tooke end in thys John Scot. For the honor of ſo noble a lignage, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe the diſcente of the ſame Earles, beginning at the foreſayd Hugh the firſte that gouerned after the Cõqueſt, as I haue ſeene the ſame collected forth of auntient recordes, according to their true ſucceſſion in ſeuen diſcents one after another, as here followeth.

The true genealogie of the famous and moſt honorable Earles of Cheſter.

1 Hugh Lou or Lupus, firſt Earle of Cheſter after the Conqueſt, nephew to Wil. Conquerour by his ſiſter Margaret, wife to Richarde Vicount of Aurãches, maried a noble Lady named Armetruda, by whom he had iſſue Richard that ſucceded him in the Earledome, Robert Abbot of S. Edmonds bury, and Otuell. He departed this life about the yere of our Lord. 1102. whẽ he had bin Earle about 40. yeares.

2 Richard Lupus, eldeſt ſonne to Hugh Lupus, and ſecond Erle of Cheſter, married Maude the daughter of Stephen Erle of Bloys, Charters & Champaigne, and ſiſter to K. Stephẽ. This Richarde with his brother Otuell was drowned in the Seas, in the yeare of our Lord 1120. as before hath bin ſhewed, after he had bin Earle about 19. yeres.

3 Ranulf or Randulf yͤ firſt of that name called Bohun, and otherwiſe Miſcheins, the ſonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, ſiſter to Hugh Lupus, ſucceded Richarde, as Couſin and heire to him in the Erledome of Cheſter, and was the third Erle in number after yͤ Conqueſt. He married Maude the daughter of Aubrie de Vere Erle of Giſney and Oxford, by whom he had iſſue Rannlfe ſurnamed Gernons yͤ fourth Earle of Cheſter. He dyed about the yeare of our Lorde 1130. after he had continued Earle eight yeares.

4 Ranulfe, or Randulfe Bohun, the ſeconde of that name, and fourth Earle in number after the Conqueſt, ſurnamed Gernons, ſucceded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert Erle of Glouceſter, baſe ſonne to King Henry the firſt, by whome he had iſſue Hugh Keuelocke, the fifte Earle of Cheſter. He deceaſſed about the yeare of our Lord. 1153. when he had bin Earle. 30. yeres.

5 Hugh Bohun, otherwiſe Keuelocke, the ſonne of the ſayd Ranulfe, was the firſt Earle of Cheſter after the Conqueſt, and ſecond of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lacy Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of England, by whome hee had iſſue Ranulfe the thirde of that name, & foure daughters, Maude married to Dauid that was Earle of Angus and Huntington and Lorde of Galloway, Mabell married to William Dalbigney Erle of Arundel, Agnes married to William Ferrers Erle of Derby, and Hauiſa ioyned in marriage with Roberte Quincy, a Baron of great honor. This Hugh dyed about the yeare 1181. when he had bin Earle. 28. yeares.

6 Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwiſe called Blūdeuille, yͤ ſon of Hugh Keuelocke, was the ſixth Erle of Cheſter after yͤ Conqueſt. He was alſo Earle of Lincolne, as next couſin & heire to Wil. Romare Erle of Lincolne. He had three wiues (as before ye haue heard) but yet dyed without iſſue, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1232. after he had bin Earle. 51. yeares.

7 Iohn Scot, the ſon of Dauid Earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the ſeuenth Earle of Cheſter after the Conqueſt. He dyed without iſſue (as before yee haue hearde) by reaſon whereof, the Erledome came into yͤ kyngs hands in the yeare. 1237. Thus much may ſuffice (with yͤ which is ſaid before) touching yͤ diſcēt of theſe Erles of Cheſter. And now therfore to proceede. The ſame yere that Iohn Scot died, Cardinall Otho by ſome writers named Othobon, about the feaſt of S. Peter and Paule, came into England from Pope Gregory. He was receyued with all honor, and ſolemne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the Kyng meeting him at the Sea ſide. His comming was not ſignified afore to the nobles of the Realme, whiche cauſed them to miſlike the matter, and to grudge againſt the King; ſeeing that hee dyd all things cōtrary to order, breaking lawe, fayth and promiſe in al things: he hath coupled himſelfe ſayd they in marriage with a ſtraunger, without conſent of his friendes and natural ſubiects, and now he bringeth in a Legate ſecretly, who wil take vpon him to make an alteratiō in yͤ whole ſtate of the Realme. But this Legate ſhewed himſelfe a right ſober & diſcret perſon, not ſo couetous as his predeceſſors, in ſomuche, that hee refuſed dyuers giftes which were offered vnto him, though ſome he receyued, and indeede, commaunded the other to be reſerued for him. He alſo deſtributed liberally the vacant rentes vnto ſuche as hee brought with him, as wel being perſons worthy as vnworthy, & pacified ſuche controuerſies as were ſprong betwixt the Nobles & peeres of yͤ Realme, ſo that he made them friends, as yͤ Biſhop of Wincheſter, yͤ Erle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, Stephē Siward & others, which had borne ſecret grudge and malice each againſt other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken forthe, and ſhewed it ſelfe in perilous wiſe, at a Torney holden at Blie in the beginning of Lent, where the Southernmen ſtroue againſt the Northern men, and in the ende the Southerne men preuayled, & toke diuers of their aduerſaries, ſo that it ſeemed not to be a triumphāt Iuſtes, but rather a ſharp challenge and encoūter betwixt enimies. But amongſt al others, Erle Bigot bare himſelfe very ſtoutly. After that the Legate had thus agreed the noblemen, he aſſembled a Synode at Londō, the morrowe after the octaues of Saint Martin, wherin

dinall O- or Otho-

The Lords grudge at the K. for receyuing the Cardinall without their knowledge.

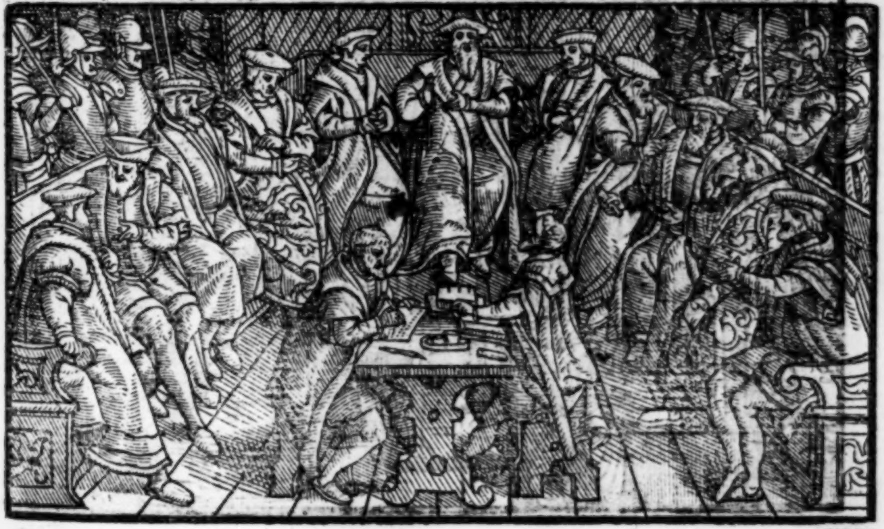
The Legate prayſed for his ſober behauioure.

A torney at Blie.

Erle Bigot.

An. Reg. 22.

The Legate holdeth a Synode at London.



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1238

The Legate commeth to Oxforde.

A fray betwixt the Legates men, and the Scolliers of Oxforde.

A Cookes Almes.

The Legates Cooke ſlayne.

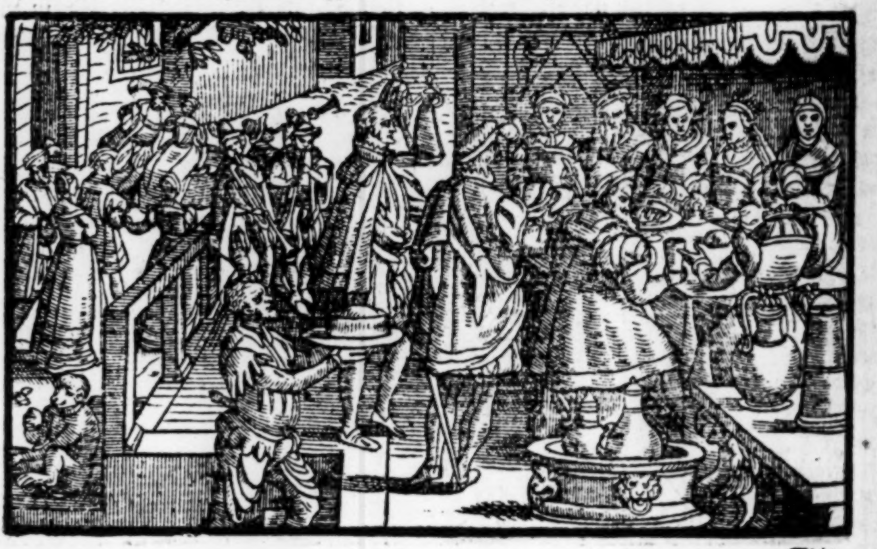
The Legate complayneth to the King. The Erle of Waren ſent to apprehend the offenders.

many ordinaunces were newly conſtituted for the ſtate of the Cleargie but not altogyther very acceptable to diuers yong Prieſts and Scollers (as ſome write) in ſo muche, that the Legate afterwards comming to Oxforde, and lodging in the Abbey of Oſney, it chaunced as certaine ſcollers preſſed to the gates thinking to come in and do their duetie (as they tooke the matter) vnto the Legate, the Porter kepte them backe, and gaue them ouerthwart wordes, wherevppon they ruſhed in vpon him, and began a fray betwixt them and the Legates men, who woulde haue beaten them backe. It fortuned in this hurly burly, that a poore Iriſhe Scoller beeyng got in neere to the kitchin dreſſer, beſought the Cooke for Gods ſake to giue hym ſome reliefe: but the Cooke (as many of that calling are collericke fellowes) in a greate furie, tooke vp a ladle full of hote broath out of a kettill wherein fleſhe had bin ſodden, and threwe it right vpon the Iriſhmans face, whiche thyng when an other Welch Scoller that ſtoode by behelde, he cryed out, what meane we to ſuffer thys villany, and therewithall, taketh an arrow, & ſetteth it in his bow which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fray, and drawing it vp to the head, let flie at the Cooke, and ſo ſlewe him there outright. Herevpon againe, noyſe and tumult roſe round about the houſe, the Legat for feare got him into the Belfray of yͤ Abbey, where he kept himſelfe cloſe til the darke of the night had ſtayed the vprore, and then ſtale forth, & takyng his Horſe, he eſcaped as ſecretely as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with al ſpeede to yͤ Court, whiche lay not farre off, at Abington, and there made his complaynt to the King in ſuch lamentable wiſe, that he forthwith ſent the Erle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetche away the reſidue of the Legates ſeruauntes whiche remayned behynde in the Abbey, and to apprehend the chiefe offenders. The Erle cōming thither, tooke thirtie Scollers, with one maſter Odo a lawyer, and brought them to Wallingford Caſtell, and there committed them to priſon.

The Legate alſo in reuenge of the iniurie in this wiſe to him done, pronounced the curſe agaynſte the myſdoers, and handled the matter in ſuche wiſe, that the regentes and maiſters of the Vniuerſitie were at length conſtreyned to come vnto Londō, and there to goe bare footed through Cheape ſide, vnto the Churche of Saint Paule, in ſuche wiſe to aſke hym forgiueneſſe, and ſo with muche adoe they obteyned abſolution.

This Legate among other thynges demanded ſoone after the tenth parte of all ſpirituall mens yearely reuenewes, towardes the mayntenaunce of the warres againſte the Sarazens in Aſia.

Moreouer, the Emperour of Conſtantinople, Baldwine ſonne to Peeter Earle of Auſſerre, being expelled forth of his Empire, came this yeare into England, to ſue for ayde: but at his firſt arriuall at Douer, he was told, that he had not done well to come ſo preſumptuouſly into the lande of an other Prince, without his ſafecōduit: but whē the ſayd Emperour ſeemed to be ſorie for hys offence, and to excuſe his innocencie and ſincere meaning, the king was pacified, and willed him to come to London, where at his commyng thither, being the. 22. of Aprill, he was honorably receyued, & at his departure with rich gifts highly honored, ſo that he had away with him to the valewe of about ſeauen hundred markes as was reported. About this time alſo, Eleanor the kings ſiſter (that was ſometime wife vnto William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke) was nowe by the Kyngs meanes married the ſeconde time vnto Simon Mountforth, a man of high parentage, and noble prowes.



This Simon was endowed with ſuche vertue, good councell, courteous diſcretion, and other amiable qualities, that hee was highly fauoured as was ſuppoſed, both of God and man. He was yet baniſhed out of Fraunce, vppon diſpleaſure which Blanch the Queene mother conceyued againſt him. But now comming into Englande, hee was ioyfully receyued of King Henry, who not only gaue vnto him (as aboue is mentioned) his ſiſter in marriage, with the Erledome of Leiceſter in name of a dower, but alſo aduanced him vnto offices of greateſt honor within the Realme of Englande. Howbeit, this marriage was very diſpleaſant vnto Edmond the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, bycauſe that the foreſaid Eleanor, after yͤ death of hir firſt huſband, had vowed perpetuall chaſtitie, and betaken hir as was ſaide, to the mantel and the ring. And as the Prelate was not pleaſed with this match, ſo the King was as highly offended with the Archbiſhop for not fauouring the cauſe, in ſomuch, that the Archbiſhop went ſone after to Rome, where he not only cõplaineth of certayne iniuries receyued lately at the Kings hands, but alſo ſignifieth the eſtate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In lyke manner, Richard the Kings brother found great faulte with the King for the ſame matter, but chiefly, for that he ſtroke it vp, without makyng hym and other of the nobles of councell therein. To be ſhort, it was not lõg ere this grudge grew ſo farre, that ciuill warre was very likely to haue followed thervppon. But when the Kyng ſawe that all the Lordes leaned to his brother, he ſought to pacifie the matter by curteous meanes, and ſo by mediation of the Legate, the Kyng and hys brother were reconciled, to the greate griefe of the Lordes, whych hadde brought the matter nowe to that poynte, that the Kyng coulde not haue ſo reſiſted theyr force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the Realme out of bondage from all manner of ſtraungers, as well of thoſe Romanes that were beneficed men, as of any other.

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Simon the Earle of Leiceſter alſo perceiuing howe the matter wente, made ſhift another way, to get all the money he coulde in preſt or otherwiſe, in ſo muche, that he hadde of one burges of Leiceſter, named Simon Curlenath, fiue hundred markes,) and leauing his wife in the Caſtel of Kelingworth, hee ſecretely departed out of the Realme, and got him to Rome, to purchaſe a confirmation of hys marriage, whiche hee eaſily obteyned, notwithſtanding the Archbyſhop of Caunterburies former and very vehement information againſt hym, and ſo hauing brought hys purpoſe about in the latter ende of thys yeare, he returned into Englande, and was ioyfully receyued, firſte of the Kyng, and after of hys wife whome hee founde at Kelingworth, neere to the tyme of hir trauaile, and ſhortly after, deliuered of a yong ſonne whome they called Simon after the name of his father.

The Earle of Leiceſter gathereth money

He goeth to Rome to get a diſpenſation or rather confirmation of his marriage.

The ſame time, Fredericke the Emperour going into Italie, hadde a greate number of Engliſhe Souldiers with him, whyche Kyng Henry furniſhed forthe for hys ayde, vnder the leadyng of a right valiaunt warrioure, named Henry de Trubleuille, with whom went alſo John Manſell, whoſe valiancie in that iourney well appeared, and William Hardell a Citizen of London, was threaſorour & paymaiſter to the Souldiers.

Ayde ſente forth of Englande to the Emperour.

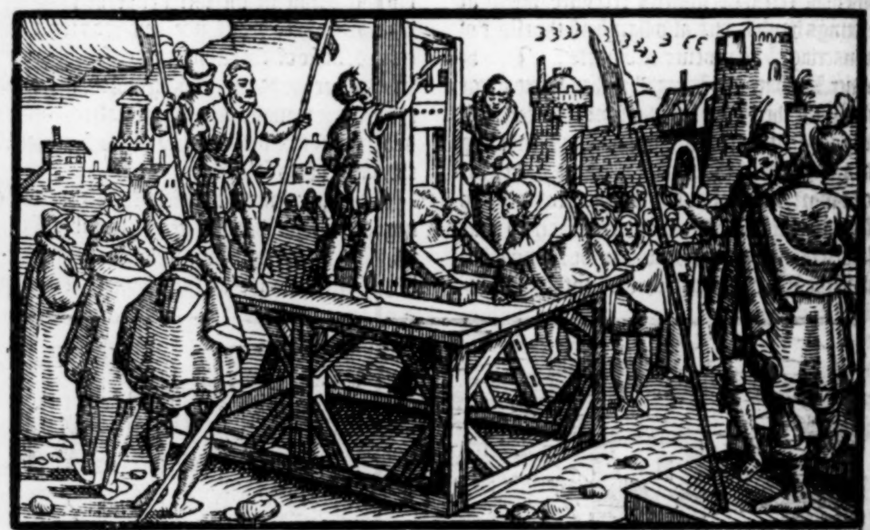
Tru-
le.
Manſell.
Hardell.

The Pope hereof was ſore offended, & wrote his minde thereof to the King, who forthwith returned an eloquente aunſwere, requiring him to be more fauourable to the Emperour, conſidering his cauſe was ſuch as could not iuſtly offend hys holineſſe. About the ſame time, or rather, (as by ſome writers it ſhoulde appeare) ſomewhat before, the Kings ſiſter Ioane Queene of Scotland, comming into England to ſee hir brother, fell into a ſickneſſe, and dyed. Moreouer, yͤ Archbiſhop of Caunterbury returned into England, who at his comming to Rome, obteyned little or nothing touching the ſute which he hadde before the Pope, for (as ſome haue written) the Legate Otho being his heauy friende, had ſo ſtopped the Popes eares from hearing any of his compleints, that al his whole trauaile did come to none effect.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter departeth thys lyfe.

In like maner, Peter des Roches B. of Wincheſter dyed this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about the ninth of Iune, whiche Prelate had gouerned that See about 32. yeres. He was a mã of greate wiſedome and dexteritie in ordering of weighty affayres touching the ſtate of temporall regiment. He builded many goodly Monaſteries, as yͤ Abbeys of Hales, Tikborne and Seleborne, with the Hoſpitall at Porteſmouth. He made alſo a notable teſtamente, and beſides his bequeſtes which were greate, he left his Biſhopricke ſo ſtored and throughly furniſhed, that there was not ſo much diminiſhed of that which he found at his comming in value, as the Cattell that ſerued to drawe the very ploughes. Alſo about this time, a learned Eſquire, or rather a Clearke of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford, bearing ſome malice towards the K. fained himſelfe madde, and eſpying thereby the ſecrete places of his houſe at Woodſtocke where he then lay, vpon a night by a Windowe, he gote into the kings bedchamber, and comming to the beds ſide, threw off the couerings, and with a dagger ſtrake diuers times into a pillowe, ſuppoſing yͭ the K. had bin there, but as God would, that night, the K. lay in another chamber with yͤ Queene. In the meane time, one of the Queenes chambermaydes named Margaret Biſet, hauing eſpied the felon, made an outcry, ſo that yͤ Kings ſeruants whiche came to vnderſtande what the matter meante, preſently apprehended the ſayde Clearke, who being conueyed to Couentrie, was there arreigned, & by lawfull proufe hadde of hys malitious intent, was condemned, and executed as a Traitor.

Mat. P



At his death he confeſſed, that he was ſent frõ Wil. de Mariſh, the ſon of Geffrey de Mariſh to murther yͤ K. by ſuche maner of meanes, not caring what had become of himſelfe ſo he myghte haue diſpatched his purpoſe.

An. reg. 23.
1239

Mat. Paris.

Variance betwixt the king and the Erle of Pembroke.

In the 23. yere of his raigne, K. Henry held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, where roſe greate grudge betwixt him and Gilbert yͤ Erle of Pembroke, by reaſon that the ſaid Earle with his ſeruants (hauing tippe ſtaues in their comming to the Court, were not ſuffered to enter within the gates, but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of which iniurie when he had compleyned, the K. made him ſuche an ouerthwart aunſwere, that yͤ Erle perceyuing him not to like very well of his ſeruice, departed forthwith, & rode into the North countrey, ſo that from that day forth, neither hee nor his brother Walter loued the K. as they ought to haue done. Soone after this departure of Erle Eilbert, vpon Candlemas daye the K. gaue the Earledome of Leiceſter vnto Simõ de Mountford, & inueſted him thereinto, hauing firſt pacified Earle Almerike that was elder brother to the ſame Simõ. Yet about the beginning of yͤ next Auguſt, the K. was ſo incenſed againſt Erle Simon, that both he and his wife were glad to get them ouer into France, til the kings wrath were more pacified. Alſo vppon the ſixtenth daye of Iune, the kings eldeſt ſonne named Edward, and after ſurnamed Longſhanke by the Scottes in mockage, bycauſe hee was a tall and ſlender man, was borne at Weſtminſter, who after hys fathers deceſſe, ſucceded him in yͤ kingdome. Before yͤ birth of this Edward, there appeared early

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in the morning certaine daies togither before the ſunne was vp, a Star of a large cõpaſſe, yͭ which with ſwift courſe was carried through a lõg circuit of yͤ aire, ſometimes ſhewing as it had borne fire with it, & ſometimes leauing as it were ſmoke behind it, ſo yͭ it was after iudged, yͭ the greet dedes which were to be atchieued by the ſame Edward, were by this wonderful conſtellation foreſhewed and ſignified. About yͤ ſame time, by reaſon of an accuſation made by a priſoner againſte Ranulfe Briton, (ſometime the Kings Chauncellour, but now leading a priuate life, being a Canon of the Cathedrall Churche of S. Paule in London) the ſame Ranulfe by commaundemente from the King, ſente to the Maior of the Citie William Ioyner, was taken out of his houſe, had to the Tower, and there emprisoned, whereuppon, the Deane of Poules, maſter G. Lucy, in abſence of the Byſhop, accurſed all thoſe that had preſumptuouſly attempted to lay hands on the ſayd Ranulfe, and further, he put his owne Church of S. Paule vnder interdiction. To conclude, through threatning of excommunication to be pronounced againſt yͤ K. and other for this fact by yͤ Legate and the Biſhops of the Realme, as namely, Caunterbury and London, the Kyng was compelled to releaſſe and ſet at libertie the foreſayde Ranulfe: finally, the priſoner that had accuſed the ſayd Ranulf and other, being one of yͤ kings purſeuants, when for his wicked doings he came to ſuffer death, openly confeſſed, how he had accuſed thoſe perſons, only in hope to defer his owne execution, being conuicted as acceſſary to the treaſon of the Clearke that ſuffered at Couentrie the laſt yere. He had accuſed not only yͤ ſaid Briton, but diuers of the nobilitie alſo to be priuie and giltie of the ſame conſpiracie.

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Great rayne.

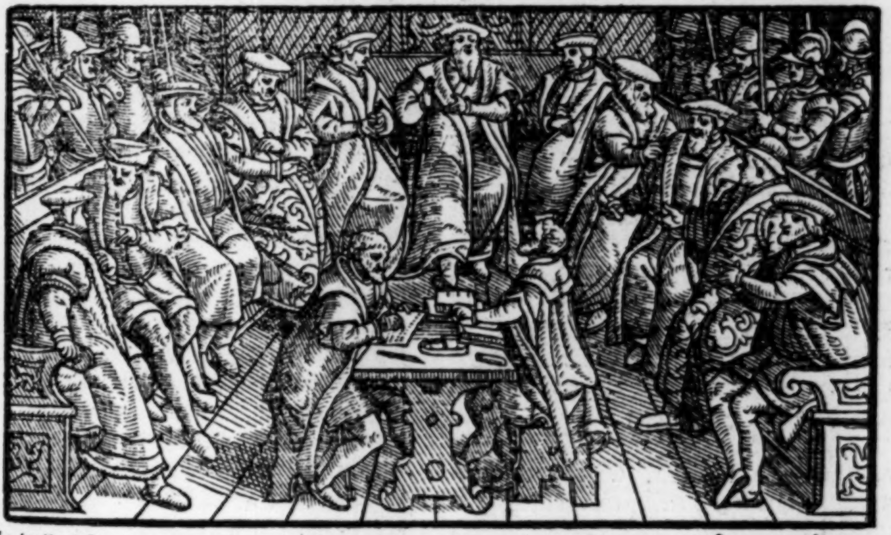
This yeare for the ſpace of foure monethes togither, fell exceeding great raine, yet at length, it began to hold vp about Eaſter. In this while, the Lords of the Realme practiſed ſundry driftes likewiſe, as men that woulde fayne haue bin rid of the Legates company: but the King did what hee coulde on yͤ other ſide, (by ſending to yͤ Pope for licence) to haue him to remaine ſtill here, who began now indeede to looke to his owne profit, as by way of procuraties and other meanes, ſo that he got togither greet ſummes of money, although in the beginning he ſeemed to forbeare, and not to ſeeke for any ſuch gaine. Alſo, he tooke vpon hym to beſtow benefices withoute conſent of the patrones that were temporall men, whervpon, cõplaint was made to the Pope, namely, by one ſir Robert de Twinge, who claymed as patrone the preſentatiõ of yͤ rectorie of Luthun in Yorkſhire, and could not be permitted to enioy it, by reaſon of the Popes prohibition, but vpon the hearing of his title in the Popes conſiſtory, he obteyned letters from the Pope to be reſtored, and alſo an inhibition, that from henceforth, no perſon ſhoulde be promoted to any ſpirituall benefice or Church, without conſent of the patrone. The King and the peeres of the Realme vnderſtanding themſelues to be touched in this wrong offered to this Knight, had written in his fauour to the Pope, ſo that his ſute had the better ſucceſſe. Moreouer, the Iewes in this yeare, for a murther whiche they had ſecretly cõmitted, were greeuouſly puniſhed, namely by the purſe, for to buy their peace, they were glad to giue the King the thirde parte of all their goodes. The Legate alſo aſſembled a Synode of the Cleargie at London vpon the laſt of Iuly, in the which he demanded procuraties, but the Biſhops vppon deliberation had in the matter, anſwered, yͭ the importunatnes of yͤ Romane Church had ſo oftẽ conſumed yͤ goods of yͤ Engliſh church, yͭ they could no lõger ſuffer it, & therfore ſaid they, let thẽ giue you procuracies which vnad-

The Legate beginneth to looke to his owne commoditie.

Sir Robert de Twinge.

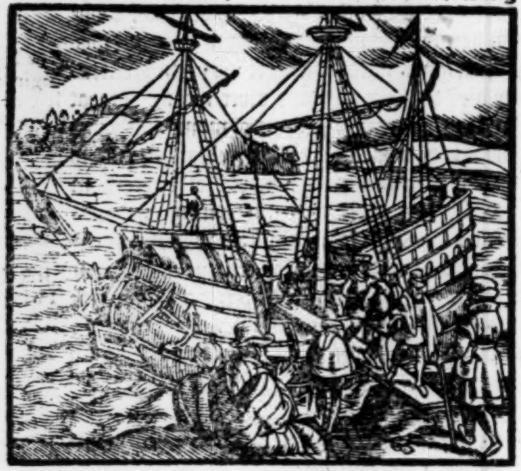
The Iewes puniſhed by the purſe.

A Synode holden at London.



vnaduiſedly haue called you into the Realme, if they will, for of vs you ſhall bee ſure to come by none at all, howbeit, hee gote his demaund of the Abbots and other religious men.

About the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Lady, Thomas Erle of Flaunders, vncle to yͤ Quene, arriued at Douer, and was receyued of the King with greate ioy and gladneſſe, who rode thytherward to meete him, and ſo brought him to London, where the Citizens came forthe alſo, & meeting him on the way, brought him into the Citie with all honor that might be deuiſed, he dyd homage to the King as Authors write, and at hys departure, had in reward fiue hundred markes and a penſion aſſured to him of as much yearely out of the Eſchecker, of the Kings free gift. This Earle Thomas was ſonne to the Earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Ioane Counteſſe of Flanders, whiche hadde firſt bin coupled in marriage with Ferdinando, as in the life of K. Iohn it further may appeare. In the fourtenth yeare of hys raigne, King Hẽry held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, where hee made Baldwine de Riuers Knight, and inueſted him with the right of the Earledome of the Ile of Wighte, in the preſence of yͤ Erle of Cornewall, who procured hym thys honor, bycauſe he had yͤ wardſhip of him, & married him to his daughter in law yͤ Lady Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the Counteſſe of Glouceſter by hir former huſband. The Erle of Leiceſter, alſo meaning to goe into yͤ holy lãd, returned out of Frãce, wher he had remained a certaine time as an exile, but was now receyued honorably of yͤ K. and other peeres of the Realm, & after that he had ſene yͤ K. and done his duetie as apperteined, he wẽt to his poſſeſſiõs to make money for his furniture neceſſary to be had in yͤ iourney, for the which he ſolde at yͤ time his woddes about Leiceſter, vnto the Knightes of the Hoſpitall, and to the Canons of Leiceſter, receyuing of them for the ſame about the ſumme of a thouſand poundes. About the ſame time, to witte, the. 14. of Aprill, dyed Lewline Prince of Wales, and then followed cõtention betwixt his ſonnes Griffin & Dauid for the principalitie, which at length Dauid obteyned through K. Henries ſupporte (though he were the yonger brother) bycauſe hee was begot in lawfull bed on yͤ ſiſter of K. Hẽry. The whole coũtrey of Wales was maruellouſly in trouble about their quarrels. At length, a day of meeting was appoynted betwixte them, to grow by way of talke vnto ſome quiet ende, & Griffin meaning no deceite, came in peaceable wiſe with Richard B. of Banger and others to yͤ place aſſigned, where they ſhould haue met: but Dauid by a traine tooke Griffin, and committed him to priſon, wherupon afterwards, the yere enſuing, by continual plaint and earneſt ſute of the B. of Bangor, K. Henry entred Wales with an army, & conſtreined Dauid to ſubmit himſelfe, and to deliuer yͤ ſaid Griffin into his handes, and further alſo to put in ſureties to appeare at London, there to receiue ſuche order in the Kyngs Courts, as to him by lawe ſhoulde be orderly awarded. Griffin ap Maddocke and diuers other great Lords of Wales ioyned with yͤ K. in thys iourney againſt Dauid, as in yͤ next yere ye ſhal further heare. About the ſame time, there was great ſtrife & contention ſtill remaining betwixte the Emperour Fredericke and Pope Innocent yͤ fourth, yͭ ſucceeded Celeſtine yͤ fourth, in ſo much yͭ ſore & mortal warre followed. But K. Henry by the procurement of yͤ Legate Otho, ayded the Pope with money, though hee was ſomewhat loth to do it, bycauſe that yͤ Emperour had married his ſiſter. Indeede, the Emperoure wrote to the K. to ſtay his hand, but the diligence of yͤ Legate was ſuch in furthering his maſters buſines, that the money was gone ouer ere the Emperors letters came. At this time alſo, Edmõd yͤ Archb. of Cãterbury greatly diſalowed yͤ often exactiõs & ſubſedies which yͤ Legate cauſed dayly to be leuied of yͤ Engliſh Cleargie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpoſe the rather againſt yͤ Monkes of Caunterbury, with whome hee was at variance, he firſt granted to yͤ Legates requeſt made on the Popes behalfe in a Synode holden at Readyng, for the hauing of the fifth part of ſpiritual mens reuenewes, and ſo by his example other were enforced to do the like. He gaue alſo eyght hundred markes to the Pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by conſtreynt, I cannot ſay, but now vtterly miſliking all things done by the Legate contrary to his minde, after he had done and ſaid what he coulde for redreſſe, and whẽ he ſawe no hope at hande for anye reformation eyther in the K. or the Legate, who eſtemed not his wordes, as a man not longer able to ſee his countrey ſo ſpoiled, he wente ouer into Fraunce, and gote hym



An. Reg. 24.
1240

Mat. Paris.
Mat. VVeſt.

Baldwine de Riuers Earle of the Ile of Wight.

The wods about Leiceſter fielde.

vnto Pontney, there to remain in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predeceſſor Thomas Becket, whoſe doings he did folow in very many things. Verily the collectiõs of money which the Pope in theſe dayes by his Legates gathered here in this realm were great and ſundry, ſo that (as it appereth by hiſtoriographers of this time) the clergie and other found themſelues ſore greeued, ⁊ repined not a little againſt ſuche couetous dealings, and vnmeſurable exactions, in ſomuch that they ſpake to the king in it, and ſayd; Right famous Prince, why ſuffer you Englande to be made a pray and deſolation to all the paſſers by, as a vineyarde without an hedge, cõmon to the wayfaring man, and to be deſtroyed of the Bores of the field, ſith you haue a ſufficiẽt priuilege that no ſuch exactiõs ſhuld be made in this kingdom? and ſurely he is not worthy of a priuilege whiche abuſeth the ſame being graunted. The kyng anſwered thoſe that went thus aboute to perſwade him, that he neither would nor durſte gaynesay the Pope in any thyng: and ſo the people were brought into miſerable diſpayre. There be yͭ write how that there were other occaſions of the Archbiſhops departure out of the realm, of the which this ſhuld be one, when he ſaw religiõ not to be regarded, ⁊ that Prieſts were had in no honor, neither that it lay in his power to reforme the matter, ſith the king gaue no eare to his admonitions, he determined to abſent himſelfe tyl the king (warned by ſome miſhap) ſhuld repent him of his errours, and amend his miſdoings: Other ioyne an other cauſe herevnto, whiche was this. Wheras the kyng by the enſample of other kinges, (begon by William Rufus) vſed to kepe biſhops ſeas, and other ſuch ſpiritual poſſeſſions in his hands, during the vacation, till a conuenient perſon were to the ſame preferred, the Archebiſhop Edmund, for that he ſaw lõg delays made oftentymes ere anye coulde bee admitted to the rowmth of thoſe that were deceaſſed, or by any other meanes depriued, he was in hande with the king, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury might haue power only to prouide for ſucceſſors in ſuch rowmths as chãced to be vacant, aboue the terme of .vj. moneths, which thing the K. for a certain ſumme of money graunted: but afterward perceyuing what hinderance he ſuſteyned therby, he reuoked that graunte, ſo muche to the diſpleſure of the Archbiſhop, that he thoughte good no longer to continue in the realme. At his commyng to Pontney, he ſo ſeemed to deſpiſe all worldly pompe and honor, giuing himſelf wholly to diuine contemplation, to faſting ⁊ prayer, that the former opinion, which men had conceiued of his vertues, was maruelouſly confirmed. At length being ſore vexed with ſicknes, ſuppoſing that hee might recouer helth by changing of aire ⁊ place, he cauſed himſelf to be cõueid into an other houſe of religion, named Soyſy. ij. days iorney from Pontney, wher finally he died yͤ .16. of Nouẽber, and his body was brought again to Pontney, ⁊ there buried, where alſo through ſundry miracles ſhewed (as they ſay) at his graue, he was reputed for a ſaint, and at length canonized by Pope Innocẽt the .iiij. He was borne at Abingdon, beſide Oxford, ⁊ therby ſome named him Saint Edmund of Abingdon, and ſome Saint Edmunde of Pountneye, after the place where he was enſhrined. The ſea of Canterburye was voyde more than three yeares after his diſceaſe, till at length by the kings cõmandement, the monks of Cãterbury elected one Boniface of Sauoy vncle to queene Eleanor, being the .xlv. Archb. whiche ruled yͤ church. Ther was this yere a certain perſon of honeſt conuerſation ⁊ ſober, repreſenting in habite one of the Carthuſian Monkes, taken at Cãbridge, being accuſed for yͭ he refuſed to come to the churche to heare diuine ſeruice, ⁊ vpon his examination, bicauſe he anſwered otherwiſe thã was thought conuenient, he was cõmitted to ſecret priſon, ⁊ ſhortly after ſent vp to the legat to be of him examined. This mã openly proteſted, yͭ Gregory was not the true pope nor hed of yͤ church, but that ther was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, ſo yͭ no ſeruice ought to be ſaid therin, except the ſame were newly dedicate, ⁊ the veſſels ⁊ veſtiments again halowed ⁊ conſecrate. The deuil (ſaid he) is loſed, ⁊ the Pope is an heretik, for Gregorie which nameth himſelf Pope, hath polluted the church. Hereupon in the preſence ⁊ audience of the Abbot of Eueſhã, maſter Nic. de Fernhã, and diuers other worſhipful perſonages, the legate ſaide vnto him being thus out of yͤ way, is not power graunted to our ſouerain lord the Pope frõ aboue, both to loſe ⁊ binde ſouls, ſith he executeth yͤ rowmth of S. Peter vpõ earth? ⁊ when al men loked to hear what anſwer he wold make, beleuing his iudgement to depend vpon the ſame, he ſaid by way of interrogatiõ, ⁊ not by way of aſſertion, how can I beleue yͭ vnto a perſon ſpotted with ſimonie ⁊ vſurye, ⁊ haply wrapt in more greuous ſins, ſuch power ſhould be grãted as was granted vnto holy Peter who immediatly folowed yͤ Lord, as ſoone as he was made his apoſtle, ⁊ folowed him not onely in bodily footſteps, but in cleernes of vertues. At whiche worde the legate bluſhed, ⁊ ſaide to ſome of yͤ ſtãders by, a mã ought not to chide with a foole, nor gape ouer an ouen. In this ſeaſon the K. ſet his iuſtices *Itinerantes* in circuit about yͤ lãd, the which vnder pretext of iuſtice puniſhed many perſons, ⁊ ſo leuied greate ſummes of money to the kings vſe. Sir William of Yorkprouoſt of Beuerley was aſſigned to viſit the South partes, and ſir Robert de Lexinton the north parts. Alſo

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The death of Edmund arche bishop of Canterbury, surnamed of Pōtney

A Charterhous Monke apprehended.

Iustices itinerantes.

VVilliam de York, Robert Lexinton Iuſtices.

The Erle of Cornvval goeth into the holye lande.

The Earle of Leyceſter goth thyther alſo.

the Erle of Cornwall Richard the kinges brother, with a nauie of ſhippes ſayled into Syria, where in the warres agaynſte the Sarazins, hee greatly aduanced the part of the Chriſtians. There wente ouer with hym the Earle of Saliſbury William Longeſpee, & Williã Baſſet, John Beauchamp, Geffrey de Lucy, John Neuill, Geffrey Beauchamp, Peter de Breus, and William Furniual. The Earle of Montforde alſo went ouer the ſame time: but where the erle of Cornwall tooke the ſea at Marſiles, the Erle of Leyceſter paſſed through Italy, and tooke the water at Brandize, & with him wente theſe perſones of name, Thomas de Furniuall, wyth hys brother Gerarde de Furniuall, Hughe Wake, Americke de S. Aumond, Wyſcharde Ledet, Puncharde de Dewynne, William de Dewinne that were brethren, Gerarde Peſmes, Foulke de Baugye, and Peter de Chauntenay.

The Earle of Albemarle.

Shortly after alſo, John Erle of Albemarle, William Fortis, & Peter de Mallow, a Poictouin, men for their valiancie greatly renoumed wente thither leading with them a great number of Chriſtian ſouldiors.

The dedicatiõ of the Churche of Saint Paule in London.

The death of Iſabell, the Counteſſe of Cornvvall. The lord Iohn Fitz Roberte.

In this yere alſo and vpon the day of S. Remigius, was the church of S. Paule in the Citie of London dedicated by Roger Biſhop of that Citie, the king and a great number of Biſhops, and other noble men beyng preſent, which were feaſted the ſame day by the ſayd Biſhop Roger and the canons. Moreouer, there dyed this ſame yeare the Counteſſe Iſabell, wyfe to Richarde Erle of Cornewall, and two Earles, William Earle Warreyn, and John Earle of Lyncolne, alſo the lord John Fitz Robert, one of the chief Barons in all the north parties of the Realme.

A Comete.

A battayle betvvixt Fiſhes. *Math. Paris.*

The kynges Manour at Mortlake.

Alſo in Februarye there appeared a Comete or blaſyng ſtarre righte dreadfull to beholde, for the ſpace of .xxx. dayes togyther. Moreouer, on the coaſt of England there was a great battayle amongſt the fiſhes of the ſea, ſo that there were xj. Whales or Thirlepooles caſt on lande, beſide other huge and monſtrous fiſhes, which appeared to be dead of ſome hurtes, and one of thoſe myghtie fiſhes, commyng into the Thames alyue, was purſued by the Fyſhers, and coulde vneth paſſe through the arches of London bridge. At length with dartes and other ſuch weapons, they ſlewe hym before the Kyngs Manour at Mortlake, whether they folowed hym.

A great vvynd

There was alſo a greate ſounde hearde this yeare in ſundrye partes of Englande at one ſelfe tyme, as if it hadde bene the noyſe of ſome myghtie mountayne that had fallen into the Sea. And vpon the ſeuenth of May there chanced a greate boyſterous wynde that ſore troubled the ſkye.

This yeare alſo the King cauſed the Citizens of London, and the Gardians of the fiue ports, and many other to receiue an othe to be true and faithfull to his ſonne Prince Edwarde.

The Fryers Preachers and Minors, and other men of the churche that were diuines, aſſoyled ſuche as had taken vpon them the Croſſe, receyuing of them ſo muche money as would ſuffiſe to haue borne their charges in that iourneye, and this not without ſclaunder redoundyng to the church, and the ſame meane to get moneye, was practiſed alſo by the Legate Otho, hauing authoritie therto of the Pope.

The ſame yeare alſo the Seneſchall of Aquitayne came ouer to the king, and gaue hym to vnderſtande, that if tymely prouiſion were not had, all thoſe countreyes on the furſyde the ſea, would be loſte. No other incident chaunced the ſame yeare neither in warre abroade, nor in the ſtate of gouernement of the common wealth at home, wherof any great accompt is to be made, but that the Legate Otho got great ſummes of money by dyuers wayes, namely of Religious men to the Popes behoofe: wherevpon certayn abbots made complayntes to the king, but in place of comfort, they receiued diſcomfort, and knowledge therof giuen to the Legate, hee was more extreme with them than hee was before.

Alſo ſhortly after one of the Popes familiars and kinſman named maiſter Peter Roſſo came from Rome, takyng Englande in his waye to goe into Scotlande, and vſed in both ſuche diligence in the Popes cauſe, that he got a .xv. granted here, whyche he ſpeedily gathered.

And about the ſame tyme one Peter de Supino, was ſent into Irelande, and there lykewiſe he got a vintieſme, bringing from theſe the ſum of .xv C. markes, and aboue. But the collection which Peter Roſſo got out of the Scottiſh confines doubled that ſumme, as was thought.

In his returne alſo from thence, viſiting the houſes of religion, and ſearching the conſciences of religious perſons, by newe ſhiftes he craftyly got yet more money to the Popes vſe, cauſyng them to ſweare to keepe this myſterie ſecrete, as it were ſome priuitie of Confeſſyon for the ſpace of one halfe yeare, whereby hee dydde tourne the heartes of manye menne from the loue of the Churche of Rome, woundyng them wyth greate griefe and remorſe of conſcience to ſee this pillery. In the fiue & twentyth yeare of his raigne Kyng Henry kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Weſtminſter, at which tyme the legate was ſent for to retourne vnto Rome, and after he had ben honorably feaſted of the King, on the fourth daye of Chriſtmaſſe he departed from London towardes the ſea ſide, after he had remained here aboue three yeares. Peter of Sauoye that was vncle to the Queene came into Englande, and

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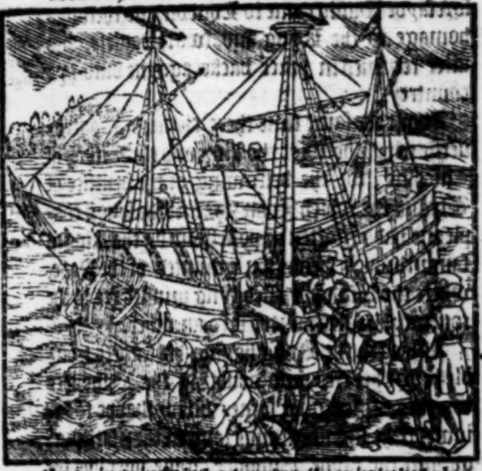
was honorably receiued and entertained of King Henry, who had geuen to him the Earledome of Richmont.

His ſonne Boniface was this yeare alſo elected archbiſhop of Canterbury, a tall gentleman and of a goodly perſonage, but neyther ſo learned nor otherwiſe meete for that roumthe. But ſuche was the Kynges pleaſure, who in fauour of the Queene to whome he was coſin germain ſought to aduaunce him, and getting the Popes fauour in that behalfe procured the Monkes & biſhops to grauñt their conſents although muche againſt their mindes, if they might haue had their owne willes fulfilled. Moreouer the Erle of Cornwal returning out of the holy land in Aſie, after he had ſettled things there, by concluding an abſtinence of warre betwixte the Saraſins and Chriſtians, aboute the Octaues of Saincte John Baptiſte,



he arriued in Sicil, & hearing there in what place the Emperour as then ſoiourned, he repayred vnto hym, of whome and of his ſiſter the Empreſſe he was moſte worthily receyued.

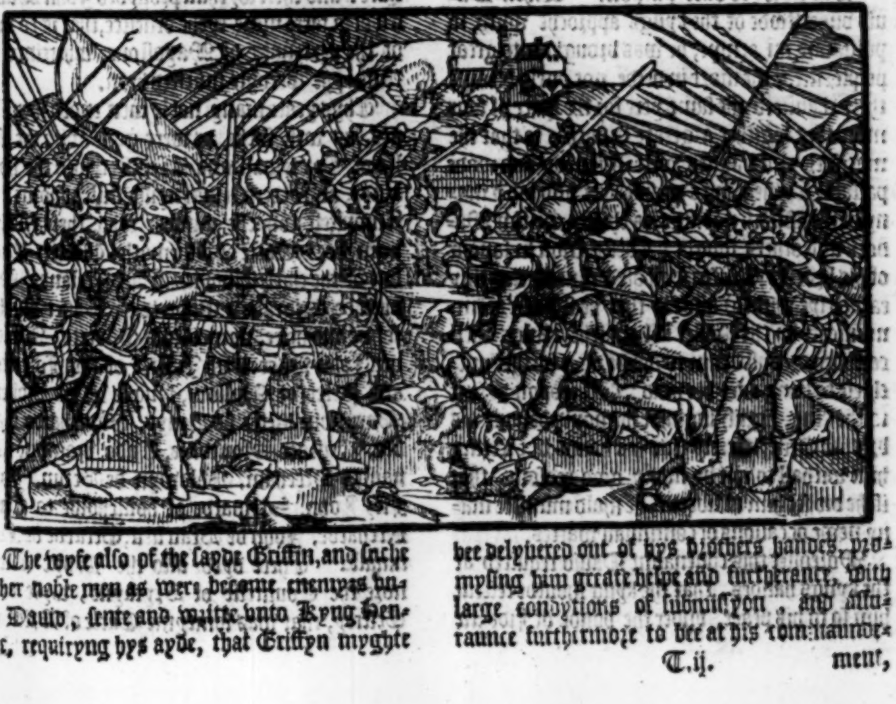
The Earle of Cornvvall an interceſſour for a peace to be had betvvixte the pope and the Emperour.

Within a fewe dayes after, hee went to the Courte of Rome, to trye if he myght by anye meanes make agreement betwene the Emperor and the Pope, but fyndyng the Pope to harde, and nothyng conformable except he myght haue had all his owne will (whyche was, that the Emperour ſhoulde haue ſubmytted hymſelfe to the Popes pleaſure, and to ſtande to whatſoeuer order the Churche ſhoulde appoynt,) he retourned backe to the Emperour without concludyng any thing with the Pope, and declaring vnto hym as he had founde. After this hee remayned a two monethes wyth the Emperor, & then taking his leaue he was honoured wyth greate giftes at his departure, and ſo retournyng towardes Englande, at length arriued at the towne of Douer on the morrowe after the feaſte of the Epiphanie in the yeare followyng.

He returneth into Englande.

Aboute the ſame time that the erle of Cornewall was in his returne forthe of the holy lande, there was ſodenly raiſed newe warre in Wales, whyche happened well for Kyng Henry. There were dyuers of the Welchemen that coulde not well like wyth the gouernment of Dauid, and therefore ſore lamenting the captiuitie of his brother Griffin, whome before (as ye haue heard) he had by a traine taken and kept ſtill as priſoner, began to make warre vnto the ſaide Dauid, and to thoſe that toke his parte, the whiche on the other ſide ſought to oppreſſe their aduerſaries, ſo that there enſued muche bloudſhed and ſlaughter betwene the parties.

VVarres betvveene the VVelchmen.



The wyfe alſo of the ſayde Griffin, and ſuche other noble men as were become enemyes vnto Dauid, ſente and wrytte vnto Kyng Henrye, requiryng hys ayde, that Griffyn myghte bee delyuered out of hys brothers handes, promyſing him greate helpe and furtherance, with large condytions of ſubmiſſyon, and aſſuraunce furthermore to bee at his commaundement, and to receyue him for their true and ſoueraigne lorde.

King Henrye goeth into VVales vvith an armye.

Kyng Henrye vnderſtandyng all theyr doings and intentes, thought that this contention betweene the two brethren for the title of Wales would ſerue verie well for his purpoſe, and therfore he haſted forth wyth a ſpeedye army of men into that countrey, purpoſing to reduce the ſame vnder his obeyſaunce. And herewith Senena or Guenhera, the wyfe of Griffyn, (and other of the Welche Nobilitie, that toke parte wyth hir) conclude a league with Kyng Henry, vppon certayne conditions as the ſame are conteyned in an inſtrumente or Charter the tenour wherof beginneth as followeth.

See Math. Par. in the printed boke. pag. 840.

Conuenit inter dominum regem Henricum regem Angliæ, &c.

And for the performance of the articles in this inſtrument or writing conteyned, the ſaid Lady in name of hir huſbande, procured dyuers noble men to becom ſuerties or pledges, that is to wit, Raufe de Mortimer, Walter de Clifforde, Roger de Monthault Seneſhall of Cheſter, Mailgun ap Mailgun, Meredoc ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Bromfield, Houwell and Meredoc brethren, Griffin ap Wenuwen: which perſones vndertoke for the ſaide Lady, that the couenauntes on hir parte ſhould be performed, and therof they alſo bounde themſelues by their writings vnto the ſaide Kyng. Giuen on the Mondaye next before the Aſſumption of our Lady, in the fiue and twentye yeare of the ſame Kynges reigne, as in Mathewe Paris yee may finde the ſame recorded. Pag. 840. 841. and 843. in the printed copie.

Dauid driuen to his vvittes ende.

But nowe to oure purpoſe. When Dauid vnderſtoode of the kyngs approche wyth ſo puiſſaunt an armye, he was brought into great perplexitie, & the more in deede, not onely bicauſe there chaunced the ſame yere for the ſpace of foure monethes togither a greate drouthe, ſo that the mariſhes and boggs were dried vp and made paſſable for the kyngs people, but alſo for yͤ many of the Welch nobilitie, as chiefly Griffin Madock and others, ſought his deſtruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whoſe deliueraunce they earneſtlye wiſhed) and for that he ſtoode excommunicate by the Pope. All whiche things well conſidered, cauſed him to doubt of a further miſchiefe to hang ouer his head: Wherupon he ſent to the king, ſignifying that he would delyuer his brother Griffyn freely into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by many good reaſons, that if he did ſet him at libertie, he ſhuld miniſter many newe occaſions of continuall warres.

Moreouer this couenaunt Dauid required at the kyngs handes, that the kyng ſhould reſerue him ſo to his peace, vnder the bonde of Fidelitie and hoſtages, that he ſhould not diſinherite hym: which when the king courteouſly graunted, Dauid ſent vnto hym his brother Gryffin, to diſpoſe of hym as he ſhould thinke requiſite. The Kyng receiuing him, ſent him to London, vnder the conduct of ſir John de Lexinton, togither with other mo (whom hee had receiued as hoſtages bothe of Dauid and others the nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in ſafetie wythin the Tower there.

There was alſo a Charter or deede made by the ſame Dauid vnto King Henrie, conteyning the Articles, couenauntes, and grauntes made betwixt the ſayd Prince, and the forſayde Dauid, beginning thus.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſentes literæ &c. And after this, that is to ſay, within viij. dayes after the ſayd feaſt of Saint Mychael the forſayde Dauid came to London, and there dyd homage to the Kyng and ſware feaultie, and after returned in peace backe agayne vnto hys countrey.

About the ſame time there chaunced a controuerſie to ryſe betwixt the king and the Biſhop of Lincolne, for the beſtowing of the benefice of Thame, the which John Manſel the kings chapleyne hadde gotten in poſſeſſion by the Kinges fauor through prouiſion graunted of the Pope, where the Biſhoppe alledgyng priuiledges to the contrary, had graunted it to an other.

At length the Kyng hauing his fathers trouble before his eies, and doubting the Biſhoppes wordes, threatning ſome euill myſhappe to folowe, if he ſhoulde ſtande long in the matter agaynſte the ſayde Biſhoppe, gaue ouer hys tenure: and therewythall prouyded John Maunſell of a farre more ryche benefice, that is to ſaye, of the perſonage of Maydſtone, whereinto the Biſhoppe ſpeedyly inueſted hym.

Thys yeare many noble men ended theyr lyues, as well ſuche as were gone with the Erles of Cornewall and Leyceſter into the holye lande, and others remaynyng ſtill at home. Amongeſt whyche number were theſe: Wylliam Forz Earle of Albemarle, Walter Lacy, one of the chiefeſt nobles in all Irelande, Stephen de Segraue, Gilberte de Baſſet and hys ſonne and heire, named alſo Gilberte, Moreouer John Biſet hygh Juſtice of the Foreſtes, and Peter de Mallow, Hughe Wak, Roberte Marmion, Peter de Bruys, Guyſcarde Laidec, Euſtace Stoutville, Eudo Hamon, ſurnamed Peccham, Baldwyn de Betun, John Fitz John, Stewarde of houſholde to Earle Richarde, John de Brau lieu, Gerarde de Furniuall. There dyed alſo the Ladye Eleanore the Counteſſe of Brytayne, wyfe vnto Geffrey, that was ſomtyme Earle of Britayn,

whiche

(whyche Counteſſe hadde beene long kepte pryſoner at Bryſtowe) wyth dyuers other.

Moreouer, there dyed thys yeare Roger Biſhop of London, and Hughe Biſhoppe of Cheſter. Alſo Gilberte Marſhall Earle of Pembroke in a Tornaye whyche he had attempted at Hereforde agaynſt the kinges licence, was by an vnruly horſe caſte, and ſo hurte, that immediatly he dyed thereof. Neyther was thys yeare onely mournefull to Englande for the loſſe of ſuche hygh Eſtates, but alſo in other places many notable perſonages departed out of this tranſitorie lyfe. As two Popes, Gregorie the ninthe and his ſucceſſour Celeſtine the fourthe, beſydes Cardinalles: amongſt the whiche, Robert Somercote an Engliſhe man was one.

dinall So-
cote an en-
man.

Aboute the later ende of this. xxv. yeare, the ſixth daye of October, there appeared a righte ſore Eclypſe of the Sunne, verie ſtraunge to the beholders.

Eclipſe.

. Reg. 26.
death of
mpreſſe
bell.
1242
arres re-
betvvixt
kinges of
lande and
nce.

In the. xxvj. yeare dyed the Empreſſe Iſabell, wyfe vnto Fredericke the Emperoure. In which yeare alſo beganne the warres agayn betwixte Kyng Henrye, and Lewes the kyng of France, for the quarell of Hugh Erle of Marche who refuſed to do homage vnto Alfonſe the brother of kyng Lewes, whyche Alfonſe had maryed the onely daughter and heyre of Raymund Earle of Tholouze, and therefore ſhoulde ſucceede the ſame Earle in his eſtate and inheritaunce. His brother kyng Lewes had alſo gyuen vnto hym the Earledome of Poictou with all the landes of Auergne: and bycauſe the earle of Marche woulde not doe homage vnto hym, kyng Lewes made warre vppon the Earle of Marche, who therupon ſought to procure king Henrye (whoſe mother hee had maryed) to come ouer wyth an armie vnto hys ayd.

Earle of
rche.
guinus.
at. VVeſt.

Kyng Henry beyng ſollicited with Letters, not onely from hys father in lawe, but alſo from dyuers other noble menne of Poictou, who willyngly woulde haue bene vnder hys gouernemente, aſked aduyſe of hys counſell what hee oughte to doe in the matter. Some were of opinion, that ſith there hadde bene a truce taken betwixte the Kings, it were not reaſon in any wyſe to breake the ſame: but other thought, that ſith the Frenche men in tymes paſte had taken from King Iohn hys lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poictou, and wrongfullye deteyned the ſame ſtyll in theyr poſſeſſion wythoute reſtitution, it coulde not bee at any tyme vnlawfull vpon occaſion giuen to recouer the ſame out of their handes. Thys opinion was allowed for good, and the beſt that myght bee bothe of the Kyng, and alſo of the Earle of Cornewall, lately returned from hys iourney whiche he had made into the holy land.

ndry opini-
in the kin-
counſellors

But nowe all the ſtaye reſted in gatheryng money, which beyng earneſtly demaunded in a parliamente begon at Weſtmynſter the Tueſdaye before Candlemaſſe, was as ſtyfly denied, alledging in excuſe theyr often payementes of Subſidies and Reliefs, whiche had bene gathered ſith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirteenth, fifteenth, ſixteenth and fortieth partes of all their mouable goods, beſide Charugage, hydage, and ſundrye Eſcuages, namely the great eſcuage graunted for the Mariage of his ſiſter the Empreſſe: and alſo beſide the thirtieth within foure yeres laſt paſt, or therabouts, graunted to him, which they thought remayned vnſpent, bicauſe it could not be vnderſtood about what neceſſarie affaires for the common wealth it ſhoulde be layde forth and imployed, where as the ſame was leuyed vpon condition, that it ſhoulde remayne in certayn Caſtels, and not to be expended but by the aduiſe of foure peeres of the realme, as the Earle of Warrein, and others.

Charugage a certain ductie for euerye plovvlande.

Moreouer, they alledged, that the eſcheats and amerciamentes whyche had bin gathered of late were ſuche as muſte needes fill the kings Coffers: and ſo to conclude, they woulde not conſente to graunt any Subſidie. But yet the king ſo handeled the matter with the richer ſort, and namely thoſe of the ſpiritualtie, that partely by gifte, and partely by borrowing, hee got togyther a greate maſſe of treaſure, and ſo prepared an armie and ſhippes to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoyn with all conuenient ſpeede.

In the meane tyme, bycauſe he woulde leaue thynges in more ſuretie at home, hee ſente the Biſhop of Durham into Scotlande, by whoſe diligence a marriage was concluded betwixte the Lorde Alexander, eldeſt ſonne to the king of Scottes, and the Ladie Margaret daughter to king Henry. Moreouer, the marches of Englande adioyning to Scotlande, were committed to the king of Scots as warden of the ſame, to kepe and defende, whyleſt kyng Henry ſhoulde abyde in the parties of beyond the ſea. The archbiſhop of Yorke in the kings abſence, was alſo appoynted chiefe gouernour of the realme.

The Biſhoppe of Durham ſent into Scotlande.

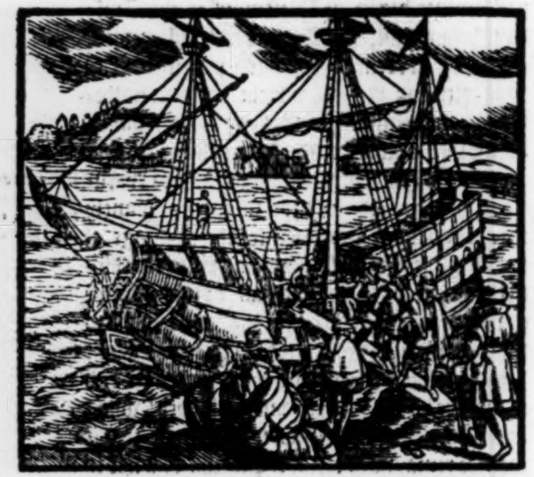
The K. of Scottes vvarden of the Engliſhe mar-hes.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke gouernour of the realme.

When this prouiſion was once ready, aboute the middeſt of May, the king toke the ſea, togither with the Queene his wyfe, his brother Richarde Earle of Cornewal, and ſeuen other Erles, and aboute three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poictouins hadde written to hym that he needed not to bring ouer with him anye great armie of men, but rather plentie of money to retain ſuch as he ſhuld fynd there redy to ſerue him at his comming. Whervpon he toke with him. xxx. barrells of ſterling coyne: And at length (but not without contrary wyndes) he arriued on

Thirtie barrels of engliſh coin.
The K. paſſeth ouer into Frāce

the coaſt of Gaſcoyne, in the mouthe of the riuer of Garon, and taking land, was ioyfully re-



ceyued of the people, and namely of Reynolde lord of Pons. The French king aduertiſed that the K. of Englād was cōmen ouer into France, to the aide of the Erle of Marche, and other hys ſubiects againſt him, prepareth a mightie armie, in the whiche were reckoned to be to the number of foure thouſand men of armes, well appointed and armed at all peeces, beſides. xx. M. of Eſquires, Gentlemen, yeomen and croſſebowes: and with the ſame immediatly he entred the dominions of the Erle of Marche, and taketh from him diuers townes and caſtels, as Fountney, wherin he toke one of the Erles ſonnes: Alſo Meruant with diuers other. In the meane whyle the king of England was aduaunced forward and commen neere vnto Tailborge (lying with his armie in the fayre medow by the riuer ſide of Charent faſt by the Caſtell of Thonay) he had there with hym in campe. xvj. C. knyghtes. or rather men of armes, and twentie thouſande footemen, with ſeuen hundred that bare croſſebows.) Hee made there his two halfe brethren, the ſonnes of the Earle of Marche knights, and gaue to the one of them fyue hundred markes, and to the other. vj. C. markes yerely to be payde out of his Eſcheker, till he had otherwyſe prouided for them in landes, and reuenues equall to that penſion. Now the Frenche king being aduertiſed, that king Henry laye thus neere to Tailbourg, marched thytherwardes with all his puiſſaunce lately reenforced with new ſupplies, and approchyng to Tailburg, hadde the towne deliuered vnto hym. This chaunced aboute the latter ende of Iulye. Then after the Frenche Kyng hadde gotten poſſeſſion of Tailburg, he mente to paſſe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikely procured by the Earle of Cornwall (and as it were at a narow pinch) the king of Englande had not founde meanes to remoue in the night ſeaſon, he had bin in great daunger to haue bin taken, through wante of ſuche ayde as he looked for to haue had at the handes of the Poictouins and other his confederates. But yet he got awaye (thoughe with ſome ſtayne of honour) and withdrew to Xainctes, whether alſo the French king followed, and comming neere to the towne, there was a ſharpe encounter begon betwixt the French and the Engliſh, wherin the Engliſhmen were victors, and in whyche

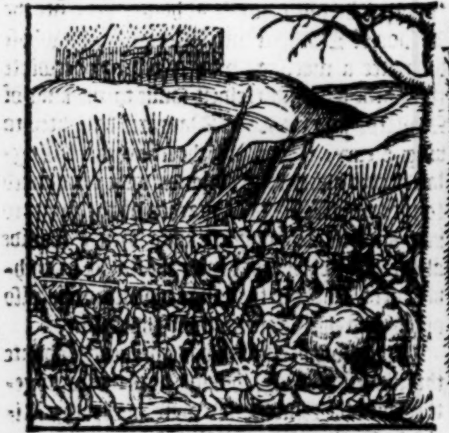
The Frenche king inuadeth the Earle of Marches lande.

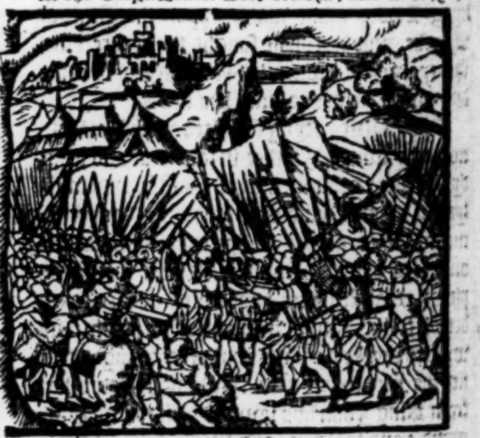
The the K campe.

Tailbo

Xaincte

An encou betwixt Engliſh French





by the Frenchmens owne confeſſion, if the Engliſhe power had bin lyke to theyrs in number, they had fully atchieued the honour of a foughten field, and for a light ſkirmiſhe, a ſounde and perfect victorie.

The valiancie of the Earle of Leyceſter and others,

The highe prowes and valiancie of the Earles of Leyceſter, Saliſburie, Norffolke, wyth other noble menne, as Iohn de Bourgh, Warreyn de Mounte Cheniſle or Cheincy, Hubert Fitz Mathewe, and Rauſe Fitz Nicholas dyd in this fight righte well appeare: and lykewyſe other of the Engliſhe nation bare them ſelues ſo manfullye, that they deſerued no ſmall commendation. Amongeſt other alſo ſyr Iohn Maunſell the Kyngs Chaplayne, and one of hys priuie counſayle dydde ryghte worthylye, takyng Pryſoner wyth hys owne handes one Peter Orige, that was Stewarde vnto the

Iohn Ma

Earle

ohn Bar-

ll. de Sey.
cite de
e ſlayne.

There was moreouer taken on the Frenche part ſir John de Barris, a man of good accompt, by William de Sey, beſide ſundry others. On the Engliſhe parte (was ſlayn Gilbert de Clare) and Henrye Haſtings taken priſoner, with other to the number of twenty knyghtes, or men of Armes, if I maye ſo call them.

Erle of
che is re-
iled to the
ck king.

After thys encounter, by reaſon that the Frenche armye encreaſed by newe bandes ſtyll reſortyng to theyr Kyng, the Earle of Marche ſecretely ſoughte meanes to bee reconciled vnto hym: and fynally by the helpe of the Duke of Brytayne, hys olde acquayntance and frende at neede, his peace was purchaſed, ſo that hee hadde his landes agayne to hym reſtored, except certayne Caſtels, whyche for further aſſuraunce the Frenche kyng retayned in his handes by the ſpace of three yeares.

The Kyng of Englande perceyuyng hymſelfe too too muche deceyued in that he had putte ſuche confidence in the Earle of Marche and others of that countrey, whiche ſhoulde haue ayded hym at thys preſente, and agayne aduertiſed, that the Frenche Kyng mente to beſiege hym wythin the Citie of Xainctes, departed wyth all ſpeede from thence, and came to Blay, a towne in Gaſcoigne, ſituate neare to the riuer of Garon, and diſtaunt ſeauen leagues from Burdeaux.

h. Paris.
Counteſſe
rn.

And whyleſt he laye here at Blay, there came vnto hym the Counteſſe of Bierne (a woman of a monſtrous bygneſſe of bodye) bryngyng wyth hir to ſerue the Kyng hir ſonne, and three ſcore knyghtes, in hope to get ſome of hys ſterlyng moneye, whereof ſhe knewe hym to haue plentye: and ſo couenaunting for hir entertaynmente, remayned ſtill wyth hym, and receyued euery day. xiiij.li. ſterlyng, & yet ſhe neuer pleaſured hym to the worthe of a groate, but rather hyndered hym, in makyng hym bare of money, whiche ſhe receyued, purſſed vp, and tooke away wyth hir when ſhe departed from hym.

reuolting
ner Frech
es.

In the meane tyme the Lordes de Pons, Mirabeau, and Mortaigne, ſodaynely reuolted, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Frenche kyng, with the Vicount of Touars, and all other the Lordes and knyghtes of Poictou, and the marches theraboutes, that not long before hadde procured Kyng Henrye to come ouer to theyr ayde. The Citie of Xainctes was lykewyſe rendred to hym immediately vppon kyng Henries departure from thence. At whyche ſeaſon the Frenche kyng mente to haue followed hym to Blaye, but by reaſon of a greate deathe whyche chaunced in his armie, he was conſtrained to alter his purpoſe.

thin the
ch campe.

Surely as Authours haue recorded, what through peſtilence and vnwholſomneſſe of the ayre, a great number of Frenchemen dyed that tyme, and dayly more fell ſicke.

The number of them that dyed, as Mathewe Paris, and Mathew Weſtmin. affirme, amounted to twentie thouſande perſones, beſyde fourescore of the Nobilitie that bare banners or Penons. Kyng Lewes hymſelfe alſo beganne to waxe diſeaſed and craſye, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to renewe the truce wyth Kyng Henrye, and therewyth departed home.

Truce renued betvvixt the tvvo kings.
Polidore.

Kyng Henry remayned at Blaye till the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, and then went to Burdeaux to viſite the Quene, which in this meane whyle was brought to bedde about Midſommer of a young Ladye, whome they named Beatrice, after the Queenes mother.

The Queene of Englande deliuered of a daughter.

And whyleſt Kyng Henrye was thus occupyed in Poictou and Gaſcoine, William Mariſch, the ſonne of Geffreye Mariſch (by commaundement ſente from the Kyng) was put to death at London, with ſixteene of his complices on the euen of S. James the Apoſtle.

VVilliam Mariſch executed.

This William Mariſch falling into the kinges diſpleaſure, gotte hym to the ſea, and played the rouer, keepyng the Iſle of Lundaye in the Weaſt countrey, tyll fynally he was taken and brought priſoner vnto the Towre, wher he was charged with ſundry Articles of treaſon, as that he ſhoulde hyre that counterfaite madde manne whyche ſoughte to haue murthered the kyng at Woodſtocke, as before ye haue heard.

Yet when he ſhoulde dye, he vtterly denyed that euer he was priuie to any ſuche thing. He was fyrſte had from Weſtminſter to the towre, and from thence drawne to the Gibet, and there hanged, till he was dead, and after beyng cutte downe, hadde his bowelles ripped out, and burned, and when his heade was cut off, the body was diuided into foure quarters, & ſent vnto foure of the principall Cities of the realme. His complices were alſo drawne thorough the Citie of London vnto the ſame gibet, and there hanged.

In the tyme of this warre alſo betwixt Englande and Fraunce, there was much hurt done on the ſea betwixte them of the Cinque Portes and the Frenchemenne of Normandie, and other: as the Caleys menne and the Brytons, whyche did make themſelues as ſtrong as they coulde agaynſte the Englyſhemenne by ſea. Wherupon diuers encounters chaunced betwixt them, but more to the loſſe of the Engliſhmen, than of the Frenchemen: in ſomuche that they of the Portes were conſtrained to require ayde of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Lorde gouernor of the realme.

The ſeas troubled vvyth men of vvarre.

About which time, and after the K. was withdrawne to Burdeaux, dyuers noble men, as the erles of Norffolk, and Winchester, with others, Eſcuage gathered.xx. ſhillings of euery knightes fee.

got licence to returne into Englande. Soone after whoſe arriual, eſcuage was gathered through the Realme towardes the bearyng of the kings charges.

Mat. VVeſt.

Death of noble men.

Moreouer, in this yeare of the King there dyed ſundry noble men of naturall infirmities, as the Earle of Warwike, Gilberte de Gaunt, Baldwyn Wake, Philyp de Kyme, and Roger Berthram of the North, with diuers other. Howbeit the king hymſelfe retourned not home, but laye all the Wynter tyme at Burdeaux, meanyng to attempt manye enterpryſes, but he broughte none to paſſe, ſauyng that in protraſtyng tyme, he ſpente muche money, and to little purpoſe.

An. Reg. 27.

Aboute the beginning of the ſeuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, his brother the Earle of Cornewall, myſlyking the order of thyngs whiche he ſawe dayly in the king his brothers proceedyngs, woulde needes retourne backe into Englande, but chiefly when hee perceyued that his counſell and aduice could not bee hearde. The Kyng was ſore offended herewyth, but hee coulde not well remedye the matter, nor perſwade hym to tarye. And ſo the ſayde Earle of Cornewall, togyther wyth the Earles of Pembroke and Hereforde, and dyuers other noblemen toke the ſea, and after manye daungers eſcaped in theyr courſe, at lengthe on Saincte Lucies daye they arriued in Cornewall, though ſome of the veſſelles that were in the companye were dryuen by force of the tempeſtuous weather vppon other contrarye coaſtes.

The Earle of Cornevvall & and other retourne home.

Aboute thys ſeaſon alſo, that is to witte, on the daye of Saint Edmunde the Kyng, there happened a maruellous tempeſt of thunder and lightenyng, and therewyth followed ſuche an exceedyng rayne (whyche contynued manye dayes togyther) that Riuers roſe on maruellous heygthe, and the Thames it ſelfe, whyche ſeldome ryſeth, or is increaſed by lande floods, paſſing ouer the bankes, drowned all the countrey for the ſpace of ſix myles about Lambheth, ſo that none myght get into Weſtmynſter hall, except it were on horſebacke.

Prouiſion of grayne and victuals taken vp and ſente to the kyng.

Aboute the ſame tyme the Kyng ſente ouer into Englande to the Archbiſhop of Yorke lord Gouernour of the Realme, to cauſe prouiſyon of grayne and Bacon, to be conueyed ouer vnto hym, whiche he appoynted to be taken out of the poſſeſſions of the Archebiſhoprike of Canterburye, and other Biſhoprikes that were vacant, and out of other ſuche places, as ſeemed to hym good to appoynt. Hereupon were ſent ouer to hym ten thouſande quarters of wheate, fyue thouſande quarters of Oates, with as many Bacons. Alſo there was ſent vnto him great prouiſion of other things, as cloth for apparell, and liuereys, but muche of it periſhed in the ſea by one meane or other, that little therof came to his vſe, who remayned ſtill at Burdeaux to his great coſt and charges, and ſmall gayne, ſauing that he recouered certayne townes and holdes there in Gaſcoyne that were kept by certain rebelles: At whyche tyme, bicauſe he was inclyned rather to follow the counſell of the Gaſcoynes and other ſtraungers than of his owne ſubiectes, and gaue vnto them larger entertaynment, not regarding the ſeruice of his owne naturall people: he was maruellouſly euill ſpoken of here in Englande, and the more in deed, bycauſe his iourney had no better ſucceſſe, and was yet ſo chargeable vnto him and all his ſubiectes. The noble menne that remayned with hym, as the Erles of Leyceſter and Saliſbury, with other, were conſtrained to borow no ſmall ſummes of money to beare out theyr charges: and ſo likewyſe the Kyng himſelfe ranne greately in debte, by takyng vp money towardes the diſcharging of his importable expenſes.

124

The ky
by Stran

He is euil
home.

A truce
for fiue y

At lengthe by mediation of ſuche as were Commiſſioners a truce was concluded betwixt hym and the Frenche kyng for fyue yeares, and then he retourned towarde Englande, but hee arriued not there tyll the nynth of October, althoughe the truce was conluded in Marche vpon Saint Gregories day: for beſide other occaſions of hys ſtaye, one chaunced by ſuche ſtryfe and debate as roſe amongeſt the Gaſcoignes, whyche cauſed hym to retourne to lande, that he myght pacifye the ſame, when he was alreadye embarqued, and hadde hoyſted his ſayle immediatlye to ſette forwarde. Hee lefte in Guyenne for his Lieutenaunt one Nicholas de Mueles or Moles, to defende thoſe townes, which yet remayned vnder his obeyſaunce, for he putte no greate confidence in the people of that countrey, the whiche of cuſtome beeing vexed with continuall warre, were conſtrained not by will, but by the change of tymes, one whyle to holde on the Frenche ſyde, and an other while of the Engliſhe. In deede the Townes, namely thoſe that hadde their ſituation vppon the Sea coaſtes, were ſo deſtroyed and decayed in theyr walles and fortifications, that they coulde not long bee anye greate ayde to eyther parte, and therefore beyng not of force to holde oute, they were compelled to obeye one or an other, where by their willes they wold haue doone otherwyſe.

Nicolas
Mueles
tenant
coigne.

And this was the cauſe that the king of Englande, oftentymes vppon truſte of theſe townes, whiche for the moſte were readie to receyue hym, was broughte into ſome hope to recouer his loſſes, and chiefly for that he was ſo manye tymes procured to attempte his fortune there, at the requeſte of the fickle mynded Poyctouins,

uins, who whyleſt they dydde ſeeke ſtyll to purge theyr offences to the one Kyng, or to the other, they dayely by newe treaſons defamed theyr credit, and ſo by ſuche meanes the king of Englande oftentymes with ſmall aduantage or none at all, made warre againſt the French Kyng, in truſte of theyr ayde, that coulde or (vppon the leaſt occaſion conceyued,) quickely woulde doe little to his furtheraunce. And ſo therby Kyng Henry aſwell as his father Kyng John, was oftentymes deceyued of his vaine conceyued hope.

…ath of noble …n.

In this ſeuen and twentith yeare of Kyng Henryes raygne, dyuers noble perſonages departed this lyfe, and firſte aboute the beginning of Januarye, deceaſſed the Lord Richard de Burghe, a man of greate honoure and eſtimation in Irelande, where he helde many faire poſſeſſions, by conqueſte of that noble Gentleman his worthye father. Alſo that valiaunt warriour Hughe Lacye, who had conquered in hys tyme a greate parte of Irelande. Alſo the ſame yeare the ſeuenth of Maye Hughe de Albeney Earle of Arundell departed this life, in the middeſt of his youthfull yeares, and was buried in the Priorie of Wimundham, whiche his auncetores had founded. After his deceaſſe that noble heritage was deuided by partition amongeſt foure ſiſters.

…gh Lacy.

Alſo aboute the ſame tyme, to wit, on the twelfthe daye of Maye, Hubert de Broughe Earle of Kent departed this life at his Manor of Banſtude, and his bodye was conueyed to London, and there buryed in the Churche of the Friers preachers, vnto the whiche Fryers he had bene verie beneficiall: And amongeſt other things, hee gaue vnto them his goodlye Pallace at Weſtminſter adioyning neare to the Pallace of the Earle of Cornewall, whyche the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke afterwardes purchaſed. The Monkes of the Ciſteaux were this yeare ſomewhat vexed by the Kyng, bycauſe they had refuſed to aide hym with money towardes his iourney made into Gaſcoyne. Alſo the pleas of the Crowne were kepte and holden in the Towre of London. And in the nighte of the ſixe and twentyth daye of July ſtarres were ſeene fall from the ſkye after a maruellous ſort, not after the common maner, but thyrtye or fortye at once, ſo faſte one after an other and glaunſing to and fro, that if ther had fallen ſo many verye ſtarres in deed, there woulde none haue bene lefte in the firmament.

…Fabian.

…ath. Paris.

…arres fallen …er a ſtraunge …ner.

…n. reg. 28. …he Counteſſe … Prouance …ther to the …eene com… …e ouer into …glande.

In the eighte and twentye yeare of Kyng Henryes raygne, the Quenes mother the Ladye Beatrice Counteſſe of Prouaunce arryued at Douer on the fourteenthe daye of Nouember, bringing with hir the Ladye Sancta her daughter, and in the octaues of ſaint Martine they were receyued into London in moſte ſolemne wiſe, the ſtreetes beeing hanged wyth ryche clothes, as the maner is at the coronations of Princes. On Saint Clementes daye, Rycharde Earle of Cornewall the Kings brother marryed the ſaide Ladie Sanctia, whych mariage was ſolemniſed in moſte royall wiſe and with ſuche ſumptuous feaſtes and banquetings, as greater coulde not be deuiſed. Finally, the Quenes mother the Counteſſe of Prouance being a righte notable and worthie Lady, was honored in euery degree of hir ſonne in lawe king Henry in moſt curteous and ſumptuous manner, and at hir departure out of the realme, which was after Chriſtmaſſe, ſhe was wyth moſte riche and Princely gyftes honorably rewarded.

The Earle of Cornvvall maried to the Lady Sanctia.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, where as William de Ralegh was requeſted to remoue from the ſea of Norwyche vnto Wyncheſter, and conſentyng therevnto, without the Kyngs lycence, obtained his confirmation of the Pope. The king was highly diſpleaſed therwith, bycauſe he ment it to an other. Wherevpon when the ſayde Wyllyam Ralegh was retourned from Rome to be inſtalled, the Kyng ſente commaundement to the Mayor and Citizens of Wincheſter, that they ſhoulde not ſuffer him to enter the Citie. Wherevppon hee beeing ſo kept out, accurſed bothe the Citie and the Cathedrall Churche with all the Monkes and others that fauoured the Prior, whiche had intruded himſelfe onely by the Kyngs authoritie, and not by lawefull election and meanes, as was ſuppoſed.

VVillia Ralegh biſhop of Norvviche.

He is conſecrated biſhop of VVincheſter by the Pope.

1244.

At length the ſayde Biſhoppe vpon griefe conceyned that the Kyng ſhoulde bee ſo heauy Lorde vnto him, got into a ſhippe at London, and ſtale awaye into Fraunce, where of the Frenche Kyng hee was well receyued, and greatly cheriſhed. Alſo he found ſuche meanes that the Pope in fauour of his cauſe wrote letters bothe to the Kyng and to the Quene, namyng hir hys coſin, but whyche waye that kinred ſhould come aboute, as yet it was neuer knowen. The Biſhoppe to ſhewe hym ſelfe not vnthankefull for ſuche friendeſhyppe, gaue to the Pope aboue ſixe thouſande Markes (as is ſaide) and the Pope bycauſe he woulde not be accompted a diſdainefull perſon, turned not backe one pennye of that whiche was ſo gently offred hym. At lengthe partely at contemplation of the Popes letters, and partly by reaſon the Biſhoppe humbled himſelfe in aunſwering the articles whyche the Kyng had obiected agaynſte hym in cauſe of the controuerſie betwixte them, he graunted hym his peace, and

He ſtealeth out of the realme.

He giueth to the Pope.6000 markes.

receyued hym into the lande, reſtoryng to hym all that had bin taken and deteyned from hym. Moreouer, in this meane while the Pope truſting more than inoughe vpon the Kyngs ſimplicitie and patience, who in deede durſte not in any caſe ſeeme to diſpleaſe him, had ſente an other Collector of money into Englande named Martin, not adorned wyth power Legantine, but furniſhed wyth ſuche auctorities and faculties as had not bene heard of. He was lodged in the Temple, where he ſhewed what commyſſion hee had to gather vp the Popes reuenues, and to exacte money by ſundry maners of meanes, and ſo fell in hand therewyth, vſing no ſmall diligence therin, vnto the great griefe and hurt of conſcience of many: he had power to ſtaye the beſtowing of benefices, tyll he was ſatiſfied to the full contentation of his mynde. Benefices of ſmall valew hee regarded not greatly, but ſuche as were good liuynges in deede felt hys heauye and rauenous handes extended towardes them. He had power alſo to excommunicate, to ſuſpende, and punyſhe all ſuche as ſhoulde reſiſte his will, althoughe neuer ſo wilfully bent, in ſomuche that it was ſaide, he had ſundrye blankes vnder the Popes bulled ſeale, bycauſe that vpon the ſodayn hee brought forthe ſuche as ſeemed beſte to ſerue for his purpoſe. Hee vſed this his vnmeaſurable aucthoritie to the vttermoſt, and therin did not forget his own profit, but tooke palfreis and other preſentes of religious men, as he thought good. But to declare all the practiſes of this the Popes agent, it wold be too long a proceſſe. Finally when men ſawe ſuche vnreaſonable couetouſneſſe and polling, ſome of the nobilitie of the Realme, not able longer to beare it, came to the Kyng, and exhibited to hym theyr complaint hereof, namely for that the Popes procurator beſtowed diuers riche prebends and other roomths in Churches vnto ſtraungers knowen to be infamed for vſurie, ſimonie, and other heinous vices, whiche had no reſpect to preaching, nor to keping of any hoſpitalitie, for mainteinaunce wherof, their auncetors had giuen forth theyr landes to the enriching of the Churche, not meaning to haue the ſame beſtowed on ſuch maner of perſons. The Kyng vnderſtoode that truthe it was which was tolde him, and therfore writte to the Pope in humble wiſe, beſeching hym of his fatherly care to take order for ſome redreſſe therin.

Martine the Popes Collectour.

The nobles cōplayne to the king of the Popes collectour.

The king vvriteth to the Pope.

Polidore.

The king aſketh counſell hovv to proceede in hys vvarres againſt the French K.

Aboute this tyme the Kyng beganne to renewe his imagination for the following of the warres againſte the Frenche Kyng, and therfore aſked the aduice of his counſell how hee might beſt attempt the recouerie of thoſe lands in Fraunce whiche were wrongfully deteyned from him. The moſte parte of all his auncient counſellors were of this opinion, that to make warre agayn in truſte of others ayde, as had bin attempted ſo often before without any profit, ſhould be no wiſdom, and therfore he ought either to forbeare, or els ſo to prouide hymſelfe of power ſufficiēt, without truſting to the ſupport of ſtraungers, as he might be able with his owne puiſſaunce and force to atchiue his enterpriſe, for otherwiſe his trauaile ſhuld proue but vaine and to very ſmall effect. The Kyng perſwaded wyth theſe ſound reaſons, thought not good to attempt any thyng more touchyng the ſayde warre vnaduiſedly: And to the ende it ſhould not be ſaid how he truſted in vain vpon the aide of ſtrangers, he cauſed all ſuch poſſeſſions as the Normans helde in Englande to be cōfiſcated, to the intēt that aſwel the Normans as Britons and Poictouins might well vnderſtande, that he mynded not from thenceforth to credite the falſe promiſes of rebelles, as he that woulde nowe vſe only the ſeruice of his owne people the engliſhmē, which in reſpect of others painted promiſes he had before contemned.

The poſſ
of the No
confiſcat

Math. Pa

The occa
vvhy the N
mans vver
diſinherit

The occaſion that moued the king ſo to diſinherit the Normans, chiefly roſe of the French Kynges dealing, who aboute the ſame tyme calling to hym all thoſe that had lands in England, required them eyther to ſticke vnto him inſeparably, either els to the King of England ſithe no man might ſerue two maſters. Wherevpon ſome forſaking theyr landes in England, liued on thoſe, whiche they had in France, and other forſoke thoſe liuings whyche they had in Fraunce, and came ouer into England to liue on thoſe poſſeſſions whyche they had here. But in the Frenche Kyngs doynges was no enforcing of men, eyther to forſake the one or the other: wherfore the proceedings of the Kyng of Englande ſeemed ſomwhat more iniurious, & partly ſounded to the breach of the truce. How beit al was paſſed ouer without apparāt trouble. Whileſt all things were thus in quiet, & the kyng himſelfe not troubled with any outward warres, the Welchemen (who thoughe they wer ſubdued yet could not reſt in quiet) receiue agayne the fornamed Dauid to theyr Prince, the whyche for a pollicye determined hymſelfe to make offer to the Pope to holde his lande of hym, yelding therefore yearely vnto hym the ſumme of fiue hundreth markes (as is ſaide) to the end that vnder the wings of the Popes protection he might ſhadowe hymſelfe, and be defended againſt all men: at length by large gifts of no ſmall ſummes of money he purchaſed letters of the Pope in hys fauour to the preiudice of the crown of Englād, as touching the right whiche the King of Englande had to the dominion

Polid.

Math. Pa

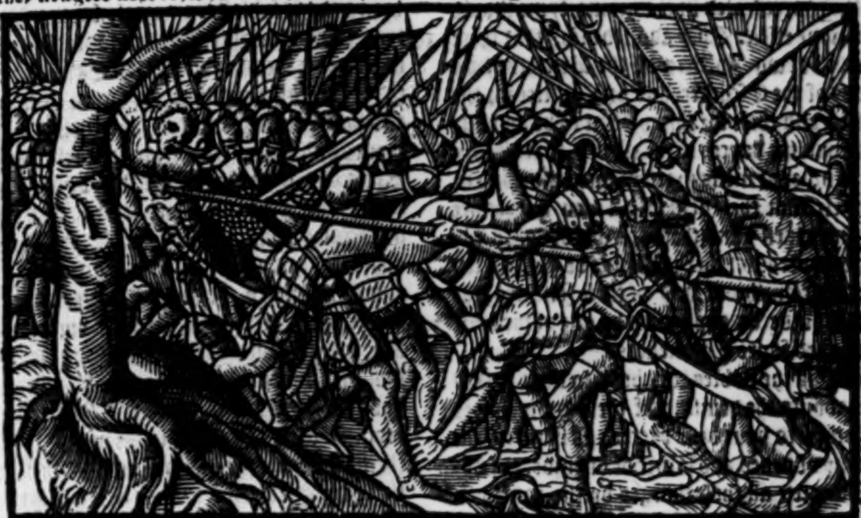
Mat. VV

Dauid Prin
of VVal
meaneth
ſubmit hi
to the Pop

minion of Wales, as by the tenor thereof it may appeare, beginning as here enſueth.

ath. Paris.

Illuſtri viro domino Henrico Dei gratia Regi Angliæ &c. See Math. Par. pag 880. Thus Dauid being encouraged herewyth & ſuch other of the Welchmen as tooke his part, at time appointed did ſet vpon the Kyngs capitaines as they ſtragled abrode, whom at the firſt brunt they put to flight, and ſlewe many of them here and there as they tooke them at aduenture. The Engliſhemen when night was commen, and that the Welchemen withdrewe to reſt, aſſembled themſelues agayne togyther, and in the mornyng wyth newe recouered force bothe of minde and body, came vppon the Welchemen and begunne with them a new battaile, which continued the ſpace of .iij. houres together, til at length the Welchmen, which raſhly had entred the fight, begun to ſhrink back, and fled to theyr wonted places of refuge, the woods and mariſhes. Their chief capitayn Dauid fledde into Scotlād, (hauing loſt in ẏ batail the moſt part of all his ſouldiers whiche he hadde there wͭ him.) At his cōming into Scotlād, & whileſt he there remained, he incenſed kyng Alexander againſt K. Henry to his vttermoſt power, putting into his head how reprochfully the engliſh men ſpake of the Scottes, reprouyng them of cowardiſe and lacke of ſtomacke. Alſo that they liued according to the preſcripte of the Engliſh nation, as ſubiectes to the ſame: and many other things he forged, which had bene able to haue moued a moſte pacient man vnto indignation and diſpleaſure. Finally either by the prouoking of this Dauid, or by ſome other occaſion, king Alexander, mēt to make warres to king Henry in deed, and reiſing an army made a roade into Englande, and did ſome hurt by incurſions and further ſignifyed to Kyng Henry, as ſome write, that he neither ought nor woulde holde any parte or portion of Scotlande of the King of Englande. Kyng Henry ſore offended herewith, purpoſed in time to be reuenged, & ſhortly after, called a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the whiche he earneſtly moued the Lordes and other eſtates to ayde hym with money towardes the furniſhing of his cofers, being emptied as they knew by his exceeding charges in his laſte iourney into Gaſcoigne. He woulde not open his meanyng which he had to make warre to the Scottes, bycauſe he woulde haue his enterpriſe ſecretly kept, till hee ſhoulde bee ready to ſet forwarde. But although the kyng had got the Pope to write in his fauour vnto the Lordes both ſpirituall and temporal, to aide him in that his demaunde of money, there was muche a doe, and playne denyall made at the firſt, to graunt at that tyme to any ſuche payment as was demaunded: and eftſones they fel in hand with deuiſing newe orders, and namely to renewe agayne theyr ſuite for the confirmation of the auncient libertyes of the realme, ſo as the ſame might be obſerued, according to the graunt thereof before made by the Kynges Letters Patentes, without all fraude or contradiction. They alſo appoynted, that there ſhoulde bee foure Lordes choſen of the moſte puiſſaunt and diſcreteſt of all other within the realme, whiche ſhould be ſworne of the Kyngs counſell, to order his buſines iuſtly and truly, and to ſee that euerye man had ryght wythout reſpecting of perſons. And theſe foure chiefe counſellours ſhoulde be euer attending aboute the Kyng, or at the leaſt three or two of them. Alſo that by the view, knowledge and witnes of them, the Kynges treaſure ſhoulde bee ſpent and layd forthe, and that if one of them chaunced to fall away, an other ſhuld be placed in his roomth by the apointment of the reſidue remaining. They wold alſo ẏ the lord chief Iuſtice & the



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ath. Paris.

g Henrye
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e of money
is ſubiects.

Newe orders deuiſed by the Lordes.

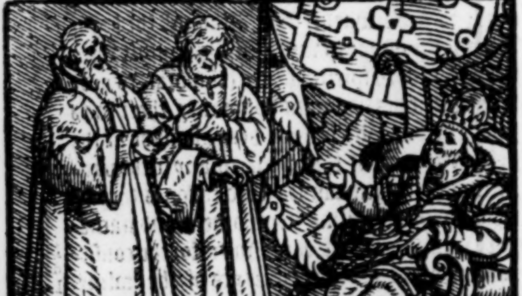
Vnreaſonable requeſtes.

the Lorde Chauncellor ſhould be choſen by the generall voyces of the eſtates aſſembled, and bicauſe it was needfull that they ſhoulde be oftentymes with the King, it was thought they might be choſen out of the number of thoſe four aboue rehearſed conſeruators of Iuſtice. And if the Kyng at any tyme chaunced to take the ſeale from the Lorde Chauncellor, whatſoeuer writing were ſealed in the meane tyme ſhould be of none effect. They aduiſed alſo, that there ſhoulde be two Iuſtices of the Benches, two barons of the Eſcheker, and one Iuſtice for the Iewes: and theſe for that preſent to be appointed by publike voyces of the eſtates, that as they had to order al mens matters and buſines, ſo in theyr election the aſſent of all men myght bee had and giuen: and that afterwards when vppon any occaſion there ſhoulde be any elected into the roomthe of any of theſe Iuſtices, the ſame ſhoulde be appoynted by one of the afore mencioned foure Counſellors.

The Pope ſendeth for ſome ayde of money to maynteyn vvarres againſt the Emperour.

Eſcuage graunted to the king.

But as the nobles wer buſie in three wekes ſpace aboute the deuiſing of theſe ordinaunces and other, to haue bene decreed as ſtatutes, the ennemy of peace and ſower of diſcorde, the deuill, hindred all theſe thinges by the couetouſnes of the Pope, who had ſent his Chaplayne maſter Martin, with auctoritie to leuie alſo an ayde of money for his nedes to mainteine his warres withall againſt the Emperour, and the Emperour on the other part, ſent ambaſſadors to the Kyng to ſtaye him and his people from graunting anye ſuche aide vnto the Pope: ſo that there was no leſſe harde holde and difficultie ſhewed in refuſing to cōtribute vnto this demaunde of the Popes *Nuncio*, than vnto the kyngs. At length yet in an other ſitting which was begon three weekes after Candelmaſſe, they agreed to giue the King eſcuage to runne towards the mariage of his eldeſt daughter, of euery Knyghts fee holden of the Kyng twenty ſhillings to be paid at two termes, the one half at Eaſter, and the other at Michelmaſſe. After this, the Kyng mynding to inuade the Scots, cauſed the whole force of all ſuche as ought to ſerue him in the warres to aſſemble, & ſo with a mightie hoſt he goeth to newe Caſtell vppon Tine, meaning from thence to march towards Scotlande and to inuade the ſame in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as the Scots had done vnto hym and his ſubiects, & namely for that Walter Cumin a mighty Baron of Scotlande and other noble men had built two Caſtelles neare to the Engliſhe confines, the one in Galoway, and the other in Louthian, and further had receyued and ſuccoured certayne rebelles to the Kyng of Englande, as Geffrey de Mariſch or Marreis an Iriſh man, and others. The Kyng of Scottes was aduertiſed of Kyng Henryes approche, and therefore in defence of hymſelfe and his countrey, he had reyſed an huge army. Hereuppon certayne noble men vppon eyther ſide, ſorye to vnderſtande that ſuche bloudſhed ſhould chaunce as was like to follow (and that vpon no great apparāt cauſe) if the two kings ioyned battel, tooke pain in the matter to agree them, which in the end they brought to paſſe, ſo that they were made friends and wholy reconciled. There was a publike inſtrument alſo made therof by the K. of Scots vnto K. Henry, firmed wyth his ſeale, & likewiſe wyth the ſeales of other noble mē, teſtifying his allegiance which he ought to the K. of England, as his ſuperior Lord, in fourme as here enſueth.



Alexander Dei gratia Rex Scotiæ, omnibus Chriſtifidelibus hoc ſcriptum viſuris vel audituris, Salutem. Ad veſtram volumus venire notitiam nos pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris conceſſiſſe, & fideliter promiſiſſe chariſſimo & ligio Domino noſtro Henrico tertio dei gratia regi Angliæ illuſtri Domino Hiberniæ, Duci Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & Comiti Andegauiæ, & eius hæredibus, quod imperpetuum bonam fidem ei ſeruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quod nunquam aliquod fœdus inibimus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte noſtra, cum inimicis Domini regis Angliæ vel hæredum ſuorum, ad bellum procurandū vel faciendum, vnde damnū eis vel regnis ſuis Angliæ, & Hiberniæ, aut cæteris terris ſuis eueniat, vel poſſit aliquatenus euenire: niſi nos iniuſte grauent: ſtantibus in ſuo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictū dominum regem Angliæ initis vltimo apud Eboracum in præſentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi Cardinalis, tūc apoſtolicæ ſedis legati in Anglia. Et ſaluis conuentionibus ſuper matrimonio contrahendo inter filiū noſtrū & filiā dicti domini regis Angliæ. Et vt hæc noſtra conceſſio & promiſſio pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animā noſtram Alanum Oſtiarū, Henricū de Baliol, Dauid *mũ de Lindeſey, VVilhelmũ Giffard, quod omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obſeruabunt. Et ſimiliter iurari fecimus venerabiles patres, Dauid, VVilhelmũ, Galfridũ, & Clementẽ ſancti Andreæ Glaſcomenſem, Dunkeldenſem, Dublinenſem epiſcopos. Et prætereà Malcolmũ comitẽ de Fif, fideles noſtros, Patritium Comitem de Dunbar, Maliſiũ comitẽ de Strathern, VValterũ Cumin comitẽ de Menteth, VVilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrũ comitẽ de Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings comitẽ de Athol, Robertũ de Bruis, Alanũ Oſtiarium, Henricũ de Bailiol, Rogerum de Moubray, Laurentium de Abirnethia, Richardum Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richardũ Siward, VVilhelmum de Lindeſey, VValterũ de Morauia, VVilhelmum Giffarde, Nicholaum de Sully, VVilhelmum de Veteri Ponte, VVilhelmum de Brewer, Anſelmum de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephanum de Suningham. Quod ſi nos vel hæredes noſtri, contra conceſſionem & promiſſionem prædictam, quod abſit venerimus ipſi, & hæredes eorum nobis & hæredibus noſtris, nullum contra conceſſionem & promiſſionem prædictam, auxilium, vel conſilium impendent, aut ab alijs pro poſſe ſuo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt ergà nos & hæredes noſtros, ipſi & hæredes eorum, quod omnia prædicta à nobis & hæredibus noſtris nec non ab ipſis & eorum hæredibus firmiter & fideliter obſeruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium tam nos quam prædicti Prelati, comites & Barones noſtri præſens ſcriptum ſigillorum ſuorum appoſitione roborauimus. Teſtibus prælatis, Comitibus, & Baronibus ſuperius nominatis, Anno regni noſtri. &c.* VVhiche Charter is thus in engliſhe.

ALexander by the grace of god, Kyng of Scotland, to all faithful Chriſtian people that ſhal ſee or heare this writing, ſendeth greting: We wyll that it be knowen to you, that we for vs and our heires haue graunted & faithfully promiſed to our moſt deare and liege lord Henry the thirde, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, Lorde of Ireland, Duke of Normãdy, and Guyenne, and Erle of Anion, and to his heyres, that we will beare and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we ſhall not enter into any league with our ſelues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimyes of our ſayde ſoueraigne Lord the kyng of England, or of his heyres, to procure or make war whereby any domage may happen to come to them or to theyr kyngdomes of Englande & Ireland or to their other lands, except iniuſtly they do moleſt and oppreſſe vs. The couenauntes always ſtanding in force, which were concluded betwixte vs at our laſte being togither at Yorke, in the preſence of Othodeacon Cardinal of ſaint Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano*, then legate of the ſea apoſtolike in Englande, and ſauing the couenauntes made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our ſon and the daughter of the ſaide king of England. And that this promiſe and graunt for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlaſting aſſuraunce we haue cauſed theſe to ſweare on our behalfe: Alane Porter, Henry de Bailiol, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wil. Gifford, that we ſhal in good faith obſerue all the premiſſes faithfully and ſubſtancially; and wee haue likewiſe cauſed to ſweare the reuerend fathers, Dauid, William, Geffrey, and Clement, Biſhoppes of Saint Andrewes, Glaſgew, Dunkeld, and Dublane: and furthermore our faithful ſubiectes Patrike Earle of Dunbar, Malcolme Earle of Fife, Maliſius earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin Earle of Menteth, William Earle of Mar, Alexander Earle of Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings Erle of Athole, Robert de Bruis, Alane Porter, Henrye de Bailliol, Roger de Mowbraie, Laurence de Abirnethi, Richarde Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richarde Siwarde, Wylliam de Lindeſey, Walter de Murraye, Wylliam de Giffard, Nicholas de Sully, Wylliam de Veyponte, Willyam de Brewer, Anſelme de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephen de Suningham. That if eyther wee or our heyres, agaynſte the forſayde graunt and promiſſe, ſhall doe any thing to the breache thereof (whyche God forbid), they and theyr heyres ſhall not imploye eyther ayde or counſell agaynſt the ſayd graunt and promiſſe, nor ſhall ſuffer other to imploye any ſuche aide or counſell, ſo farre as they maye hinder them therein: yea rather they and theyr heyres ſhall in good faith and playne meaning, endeuour againſt vs and our heyres that all the premiſſes maye firmely and faithefully be obſerued & kept of vs and our heyres, and likewiſe of them and their heyres for euer. In witnes wherof aſwell we our ſelues, as the ſayd Prelates, our Earles and Barons haue confirmed this wrytyng by putting their ſeales vnto the ſame, the Prelates Earles and Barons before rehearſed being wytneſſes thereunto. In the yeare of oure raigne, &c.

The Lordes ſvveare to ſee the couenantes perfourmed.

The ſeales of Kyng Alexander hymſelfe, of William de Brewer, Wyllyam de Veypont, Willi. de Lindeſey, Stephen de Suningham, the ſeales of the reſte were ſet to afterwardes, and the writing ſente ouer to the kyng of England at Chriſtmaſſe next enſuing, by the Priour of Tinmouth, who had trauailed diligently and faithefully in this negotiation to the honour of bothe partes. This writing alſo was ſente to the Pope, that hee might confirme the ſame in manner as followeth.

The pope requeſted to confirme the foreſayd Charter.

Sanctiſſimo in Chriſto patri I. Dei gratia ſummo Pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia Rex Scotiæ, comes Patricius, Comes de Strathern, Comes Leuenox, Comes de Anegus, comes de Marra, Comes de Athaliæ, comes de Roos, comes de Cateneſ, Comes de Buch, Rogerus de Mambray, Rogerus de Abinnethia, Petrus de Mauuere, Richardus Cumin, VVilhelmus de Veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Rogerus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, VVilhelmus de Murray de Dunfel, VVilhelmus de Murefe de Petin, Iohannes Biſet iuuenis, VVilhelmus de Lindeſey, Iohannes de Vallibus, Dauid de Lindeſey, VVilhelmus Gifford, Dūcanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers, Hemerus filius eius, Rogerus comes VVintonienſis, H. Comes Oxonienſis, VV. de Veſcy, Richardus Siwarde, VVilhelmus de Roos, Rogerus de Clere, Henricus filius comitis de Brecene, Euſtachius de Stouteville, Malcolmus de Fif comes de Mētethſhire, VValterus filius Alani, VValterus Oliſard, Bernardus Fraſer, Henricus de Bailliol, Dauid Cumyn, Dauid Mareſchallus, Dauid filius Ranulfi, VVilhelmus de Forbere, Ioannes de Bailiol, & Robertus de Ros, Salutem & debitam cum omni honore reuerentiam. Sanctitati veſtræ ſignificamus, nos Sacramentum corporaliter præſtitiſſe coram venerabili patre Ottone, tituli Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano Diacono Cardinaliū Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, tūc Apoſtolicæ ſedis legato, ac chartam noſtram confeciſſe, quæ ita incipit. Sciant præſentes & futuri, quod ita conuenit in præſentia domini Othonis Sancti Nicolai. &c. Quæ charta penes Dominum regem Angliæ, & nos remanet Chyrographata. Item aliam quæ ſic incipit. Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Cum vt ex forma præcedentium noſtrarū pateat Obligationum ſubiecimus nos iuriſdictioni veſtræ, vt nos & hæredes noſtros, per Cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam poſſitis coercere, ſi aliquo tempore contra memoratā pacem venerimus. Etſi nonnunquam contingeret, quod quidam noſtrum omnes vel vnus contrauenire temere præſumerint vel præſumere nituntur vel nitentur. Et ex hoc tam animabus noſtris quam hæredum noſtrorum graue poſſit generari periculum, & corporibus noſtris & rebus non minimum immineret detrimentum. Sanctæ paternitati veſtræ ſupplicamus, quatenus alicui Suffraganeorum Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis detis in mandatis, vt nos, & hæredes noſtros ad præfatæ pacis obſeruationem compellat, prout in inſtrumentis inde confectis plenius continetur. Aliās ſuper eadem pace quod Canonicum fuerit auctoritate veſtra ſtatuat contradictores. &c. Et ad iſtius petitionis noſtræ conſummationem præſenti ſcripto ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus.

VVhiche is thus in Engliſhe.

The letter of the Lords to Pope Innocent

TO our holy father in Chriſt I. by the grace of God, the hygheſt Biſhoppe, Alexander by the ſame grace Kyng of Scotlande, Erle Patricke the Earle of Strathern, the Earle of Leuenax, the Erle of Angus, the Earle of Mar, the Earle of Athole, the Earle of Ros, the Earle of Catneſſe, the Erle of Buch, Roger de Mombray, Laurence de Abirnethie, Peter de Mauuere, Richarde Cumyn, William de Veypont, Roberte de Brus, Roger Auenel, Nicholas de Souleys, William de Murray de Dunfel, William de Murray de Petin, John Biſet the yonger, Willyam de Lyndeſey, John de Valeys, Dauid de Lindeſey, William Giffarde, Duncan de Ergile, John de Matreuers, Eymere his ſonne, Roger Earle of Wincheſter, Hugh Earle of Oxforde, William de Veſcy, Richard Siwarde, William de Ros, Roger de Clere, Henry Fitz Conte de Breikere, Euſtace de Stouteuille, Earle Malcolme of Fife, the Earle of Mentethſhire, Walter Fitz Alayne, Walter Olyfarde, Bernarde Fraſer, Henry de Bailliol, Dauid Cumyn, Dauid Marteſchall, Dauid Fitz Randulf, William de Forrere, John de Bailliol, and Roberte Ros, ſende greetyng and due reuerence with all honoure. We doe ſignifye vnto your holyneſſe, that we haue receyued a corporall othe before the reuerend father Otho, deacon Cardinall of Sainct Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano*, Legate to the Sea Apoſtolike, in Englande, Scotland, and Irelande, and haue made our Charter or deed, whyche beginneth thus. *Sciant præſentes. &c.* Whyche Charter or deed indented and ſealed, remaineth with the Kyng of Englande, and with vs. Alſo an other deed or writing that beginneth thus. *Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire.* Wheras therfore by the forme of our precedent deedes obligatorie, wee haue ſubmitted our ſelues to your iuriſdiction, that you may brydle and reſtrayn vs, & our heirs by the Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if at any time we go againſt the ſayd peace. And if it happen at any time, that any of vs all, or one of vs, ſhall fortune to preſume raſhly and vnaduiſedly to goe againſt it, or be aboute, or hereafter ſhall be about ſo to preſume, & therby may procure great perill as well to the ſoules of our owne ſelues, as of our heires, and no ſmall danger may alſo be redy through the ſame our default to light vpon our bodies and goodes, we beſeeche your holy fatherhood, that you will giue in commandement vnto ſome of the Suffraganes of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he do compell vs and oure heires, vnto the obſeruing of the ſame peace, accordingly as in the inſtruments therof more fully it is conteined, or elſe to order by your authoritie vpon the ſame peace, that which ſhal be agreable to the Canons. &c. And to the performaunce of this our petition, we haue to this preſent writing ſet our ſeales.

e VVelch-
n ſturre
les.

When all things were throughly concluded, and order taken in what ſorte the aſſuraunces of this accorde ſhuld paſſe, the king of Scottes retourned into the inner partes of his Realme, and the King of Englande likewiſe retourned to London. At the ſame time alſo, the Welchmen wer very buſy: for hearing that the Kings of Englande and Scotland were agreed, they doubted leaſte all the burthen of the warre woulde be turned agaynſte them. Wherefore (as it were to preuente the matter,) they began to waſte the engliſhe confines.

The King aduertiſed thereof, ſente Hubert Fitz Mathew wyth three hundreth Knyghtes or men of armes to defende the engliſhe Marches againſte the Welchmen, that made daylye warre agaynſte thoſe that dwelled on the Marches, and namely agaynſte the Earle of Herforde, whiche chiefly occaſioned this warre by deteyning the lande whyche apperteyned vnto the wife of Prince Dauid, as in the right of hir purpartie. And therupon when yͤ Welchmen vnderſtoode that the Kyng had broken vp his armye and was retourned to London they inuaded theyr enemies, namely the ſaide earle of Herfordes men and the Mortimers, ſleaing and cutting in peeces two valiant and noble Knyghtes, and mayming the third, they ſlewe and ouerthrewe of the footebandes aboute an hundred, ſo that all the Engliſhe armye was diſordered, and the Welchemen wyth victorie retourned to theyr places of refuge. Whyche when the foreſaid Hubert Fitz Mathew vnderſtoode, the morrowe after he made foorthe wyth his three hundreth waged men of armes in hope to hemme in and take the Welchemen at aduantage: but hee was preuented and by them diſtreſſed, in ſo muche that he was conſtreined wͭ loſſe of men & horſes to returne to his holds, and vneth coulde be ſuffred to remain there in ſafetie. This yere Rafe Neuil biſh. of Ciceſter and Chauncellour of Englande departed this life: and Griffin the ſonne of Leuline prince of Wales, brake his necke as he woulde haue eſcaped out of the Tower of London, on the firſt day of March, hauing tied togither ſheets, couerings of beddes and hangings, by helpe wherof hee aſſaied to eſcape. When the King hearde thereof, hee was ſore offended wyth his keepers, that had looked no more circumſpectly to him, and comaunded that his ſon, whom he kept alſo in the tower, ſhuld be more ſtreightly looked vnto. The ſayd Griffyn when hee was founde deade in the mornyng, had his heade and necke almoſte beaten in and thruſte within his boulke wyth the fall, for he was a mightie perſonage and full of fleſh and therfore (by reaſon of the greate weighte of his bodie) he was the more bruſed and diſfigured. In the nine and twentye yeare of his raigne Kyng Henry hauing ſpente muche treaſure with the greate preparation of warres whiche he had taken in hande againſte the Scots, and alſo bycauſe hee was conſtrayned to bee at further charges for the Welche warres, hee called a Parliament to beginne on the third daye of Nouember, in the whyche hee demaunded a greate reliefe of money, but the ſame being generally denyed of all men, he exacted it in perticular of the richer ſorte of his ſubiectes, and amongeſte other he cauſed the citizens of London to giue vnto him. xv. C. Markes for a fine, bycauſe they had receyued a baniſhed man, one Walter Bukerel into theyr citie, contrary to the lawe and order: but this they denyed, affirmyng that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patentes they coulde proue, but they were anſwered, that the King was vnder age when theſe letters were purchaſed, and therfore were of none effect. Aboute the ſame time, ſir Nicholas de Molis or Mules Seneſhall of Gaſcoigne, hauing warres agaynſte the King of Nauarre, gotte the victorie in battaile. And aboute the middeſt of Nouember, greate thunder and lightning chaunced, with a marueilous vntemperat ſeaſon for yͤ ſpace of xv. dales togither, as a ſigne of ſome miſfortune to ſucceede.

Math. Paris.

e deceaſſe
the biſhop
Ciceſter.

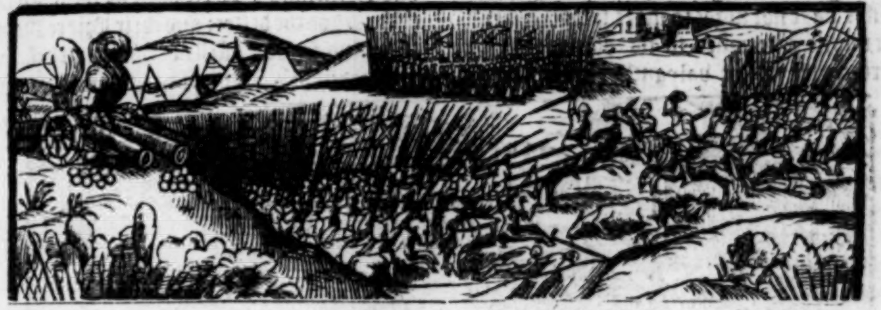
An. Reg. 29
r.

A ſubſidie of the richer ſort.

M. Par.

The Citizens of London.

The Seneſchal of Gaſcoyne vanquiſhed the K. of Nauarre. Anno. 1242. as Mat. VVeſt. hath, and Mat.



On ſaint Hughs day died the Counteſſe of Penbroke Margaret the widowe of Gilbert Marſhall late Earle of Penbroke, and ſiſter to the Kyng of Scottes, and ſhortely after the biſhoppe of Exceter Williã de Brewer, likewiſe deceaſed, as yet beeing in his floriſhing age, a man in manners parentage, and knowledge right honorable and highely commended.

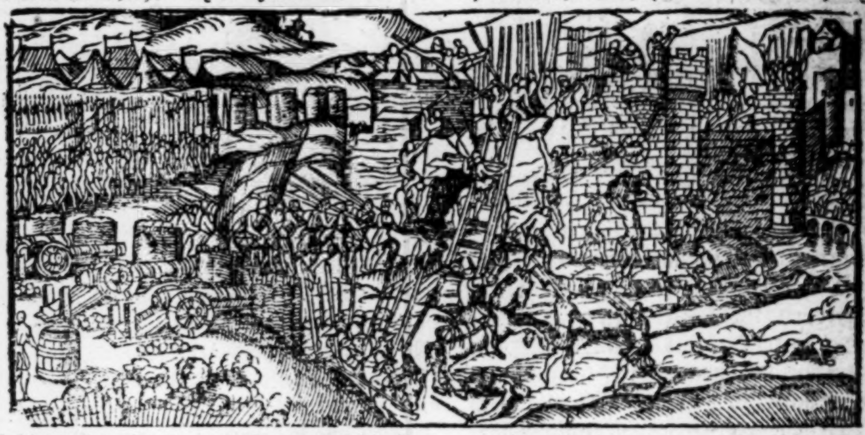
On the daye of Saint Marcellus was the Queene deliuered of a man childe, whyche at the fonte ſtone was named Edmonde.

Dauid king or prince of VVales.

In the Lent folowing nere to the Caſtell of Mountgomerye in Wales, three hundred Welchemen, were ſlayne by them that laye in gariſon there by a pollycie of the Capitayne, whyche faining a counterfeted flight, drew the Welchemen wythin daunger of an Ambuſhe, whiche hee had layde to ſurpriſe them vnwares as it came euen to paſſe according to his deuiſe. Dauid that tooke himſelfe for Kyng of Wales coueting to be auenged of this diſpleaſure, ceſſed not daye nor night to make incurſions and to exploite enterpriſes to the domage of the marchers the whiche valyantly reſiſted the enemies, and droue them oftentimes into the mountaines, woodes, bogs and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enimies hauing the aduantage of place, did much diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmen.

Sir Hub
Mathe

As at one time being got to the heigth of an hill, they caſt downe ſtones, and threwe dartes vpon the Engliſhmen yͭ aſſailed them beneath, and amongſt other, they chanced to ſlea with a mightie ſtone, which they threw downe by the ſide of the hil, ſir Hubert Fitz Mathew, a right valiant Knight, and a man of greate accompt for his knowledge and ſeruice in warres. And thus the warres cõtinued betwene the parties, and oftentimes yͤ Welchmen by the ſoden inuaſions got the better: and their Prince Dauid comming to the Caſtell of Monthault beſieged it, and within a ſhorte time wanne it, ſlaying



The caſtell of Monthault taken by the VVelchmen.

or taking all thoſe whome he founde within it. The owner therof the Lorde Roger de Monthault by chance was not at home, which happened well for him, where otherwiſe he had bene in great danger: but nere to the caſtel of Mõtgomery, the Welchemen yet were eftſoones ouerthrown and .ij C. of them ſlaine by an Ambuſh that brake forth vpon their backes. Aboute the middeſt of Lent the Prelates of Englande were ſommoned to come to a general counſel, the which Pope Innocent had appointed to be holden at the feaſt of ſaint John Baptiſte next folowing.

A generall Counceill.

The Popes letters ſtayed.

It chaunced that aboute this time, a poſte comming from the Pope with Letters to his *Nuncio* maiſter Martin, conteyning inſtructions how he ſhoulde procede for the gathering of money, was ſtaied at Douer, by the practiſe of ſuche noble men as were greeued to ſee any ſuche ſummes of money to be conueyed out of the realm in ſort as was vſed. He was had into the caſtell ⁊ his letters taken from him, wherin ſuche ſecrets were conteyned for the getting of money, as ought not to haue bin reueled. M. Martin hearing that the poſte was thus ſtayed and impriſoned, made a greiuouſe complaint vnto the K. ſo that the poſt was ſet at libertie, had his letters to him reſtored, & ſo came vnto maſter Martin, and deliuered them vnto hym that he might vnderſtande the Popes pleaſure, which others to his grief vnderſtoode nowe as well as himſelfe.

The valu
of benefic
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tained to ſtr
gers.

The King this yeare cauſed inquiſition to be made thorough euery countye within the realme to vnderſtande the true valuation of all ſuche benefices ⁊ ſpirituall promotions as were in the hands of any incumbents that were ſtrãgers borne, and ſuche as had bene preferred by the Courte of Rome, and the whole ſumme of all their reuenues was found to be ſixty thouſande markes.

This Gilbe
was Earle
Glouceſter,
Hereford
Lord of Cl

On Whitſondaye the K. made the Earle of Glouceſter, Gilbert de Clare knight, and xl. other yong gentlimen that attended vpon him. And perceyuing by the late inquiſition what great reuenues yͤ beneficed ſtrangers had ⁊ poſſeſſed wͭin the realm, ⁊ again cõſidering the exceding great ſums of money which the court of Rome had recouered of his ſubiectes, he begã to deteſt ſuch couetous deling. And herevpõ was a

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letter deuiſed by the whole body of the Realme, wherein were conteyned, the ſundry extortions and manyfolde exactions of the Popes Legates, and other of his Chaplaynes, whiche vnder colour of his authoritie they had vſed. There were appoynted alſo to goe with theſe letters vnto the generall Counſell, certayne honorable and diſcreet perſonages, as Roger Bigod Earle of Northfolke, Iohn Fitz Geffrey, William de Cantlow, Phillip Baſſet, and Raulfe Fitz Nicholas, with other, the which preſenting the ſame letters vnto the ſayde aſſembly, ſhould declare the griefe of the whole Realme, and require ſome redreſſe and eaſement therein. Moreouer, it chanced, that there was a great number of Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen aſſembled togither at Dunſtable and Luyton, to haue kepte a martiall Iuſtes, and triumphant Torney, but they had a countercommaundemente from the Kyng, not to goe forwarde with the ſame: wherevpon, when they were diſappoynted of their purpoſe heerein. Vpon occaſion of their being altogither, on the morrowe after the feaſt of Peter and Paule, they ſent from them Foulke Fitz Warreine, to declare vnto maſter Martine the Popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the Temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole body of the Realme, that he ſhoulde immediately departe out of the lande. Foulke doing the meſſage ſomewhat after a rough manner, maſter Martine aſked him what hee was that gaue forth the ſaide commaundement, or whether hee ſpake it of himſelfe or from ſome other. This cõmaundement (ſaith Foulke) is ſente to thee from all thoſe Knightes and men of armes whiche lately were aſſembled togyther at Dunſtable and Luyton. Maſter Martin hearing this, got him to the Court, and declaring to the king what meſſage hee had receyued, required to vnderſtand whether he was priuy to the matter, or that his people tooke vpon them ſo raſhly without his authoritie or no. To whome the King aunſwered, that he had not giuen them any authoritie ſo to commaunde him out of the Realm: but indeede (ſaith he) my Barons do vnneth forbeare to riſe againſt me, bycauſe I haue mainteyned and ſuffered thy pilling, and iniurious polling within this my Realme, and I haue had much adoe to ſtay thẽ from running vpõ thee to pull thee in peeces. Maſter Martin hearing theſe wordes, with a fearefull voice beſoughte the K. that hee mighte for the loue of God, and reuerence of the Pope, haue free paſſadge out of the Realme: to whome the King in greate diſpleaſure aunſwered, the Deuill that brought thee in, carrie thee out euen to the pitte of hell for me. At length yet, when thoſe that were about the kyng had pacified hym, hee appoynted one of the Mariſchals of hys houſe, cleped Roberte Northe or Nores, to conduct him to the Sea ſyde, and ſo he did, but not withoute greate feare, ſithence hee was afrayde of euery buſhe, leaſt men ſhoulde haue riſen vpon him and murthered him.

The Popes Nuncio ſent out of the Realme.

Wherevpon, when he came to the Pope, hee made a greeuous complaynte, both againſte the King and other.

The Church of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter was enlarged, and newly repaired by the Kyng, ſpecially all the Eaſt parte of it, the olde walles beeing pulled downe, and buylded vp in more comely forme.

Saint Peters Churche at Weſtminſter.

The generall councell according to the ſummonance giuen, was holden this yeare at Lyons, where it began about Midſomer, in ỹ which the Engliſh Ambaſſadors being arriued, preſented to the Pope their letters, directed frõ ỹ whole body of ỹ Realm of Englãd, requiring a redreſſe in ſuche things, wherewith as by the ſame letters it appeared, the Realm foũd it ſelfe ſore annoyed.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors come to the Counſell.

The Pope promiſed to take aduice therein, but ſith the matter was weighty, it required reſpite. Finally, when they were earneſt in requiring a determinate aunſwere, it was giuen them to vnderſtande, that they ſhould not obteyne their deſires, wherevpon in great diſpleaſure, they came away, threatning and binding their wordes with othes, that from thenceforthe they woulde neuer pay, nor ſuffer to bee payde anye tribute to the Court of Rome, nor permit the reuenewes of thoſe Churches whereof they were patrones, to be pulled away, by any prouiſion of the ſame Court.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadors threaten the Pope, that hee ſhould not haue any tribute out of Englande.

The Pope hearing of theſe things, paſſed them ouer patiently, but hee procured the Engliſh Biſhops to ſet their Seales vnto that Charter whiche King Iohn had made concerning the tribute againſt the minde of the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury Stephen Langton, who at that time, when King Iohn ſhould ſeale it, ſpake ſore againſt it. When King Henry was enformed hereof, he was greeuouſly offended, and ſware in a greate chafe, that although the Biſhops hadde done otherwiſe than they ought, yet woulde hee ſtand in defence of the liberties of his Realm, and would not ſo long as he had a day to liue, pay any duetie to the Court of Rome, vnder the name of tribute. In this meane whyle, the Kyng with a puiſſante army inuaded the Welch Rebels, to reduce them to ſome quiet, whereas with theyr continuall incurſions and other exployctes, they had ſore harried, vexed, and waſted the landes of the Kings ſubiectes.

Mat. Paris.

Herevpon, the King being entred the Countrey, inuaded the ſame, vnto the confynes of Snowdon, and there he began to builde a ſtrong Caſtell at a place called Gannocke, remayning there about the ſpace of tenne weekes, during the

The King inuadeth Wales.
He buildeth a Caſtell at Gannocke.

which, the army ſuffered greate miſery through want of vittayles and other prouiſions, namely apparell, and other helpes to defende themſelues from colde, which ſore afflicted the ſouldiers and men of warre, bycauſe they lay in the fielde, and Winter as then began to approche. Moreouer, they were driuen to keepe watch and warde very ſtrongly, for doubt to bee ſurpriſed by ſuddayne aſſaultes of the enimies, the which watched vpon occaſion, euer to doe ſome miſchiefe.

The deceſſe of the Counteſſe of Oxford, and of the Earle of Deuonſhire.

The morrowe after the Purification of oure Lady, Iſabell de Botebec Counteſſe of Oxforde departed this life, and likewiſe the morrowe after Saint Valentines day, dyed Baldwine de Riuers Earle of Deuonſhire, and of the Wight.

Geffrey de Marche deceaſſe.h.

Moreouer, Geffrey de Mariſh, a man ſometime of great honor and poſſeſſions in Irelande, after hee had remayned long in exile, and ſuffered great miſerie, he ended the ſame by natural death.

The deceſſe of Raymond Erle Prouãce.

Alſo Raymond Earle of Prouance, father to the Queenes of Englande and Fraunce deceſſed this yeare, for whome was kepte in Englande a moſt ſolemne obſequie.

The deceaſſe of the Lorde Humfreuille.

Alſo in the weeke after Palme Sunday, dyed a right noble Baron, and Warden of the North partes of England, the Lorde Gilberte Humfreuille, leauing behind him a yong ſonne, the cuſtody of whome, the King forthwith committed to the Earle of Leiceſter, not withoute the indignation of the Earle of Cornwall, who deſired the ſame.

An. Reg. 30.

Finally, after that the Kyng had lien at Gannocke aboute the fortifying of the Caſtell there, the ſpace of tenne weekes, and ſawe the worke now fully finiſhed, hee appoynted forthe ſuche as ſhould lie there in garriſon, and therewith, on the morrowe after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, hee rayſed his field, and returned towardes England, leauing the Welchmen in great miſerie, and lyke to ſterue for want of neceſſary foode. For the Ile of Ingleſey, whiche is as a nurſe to the Welchmen, thoſe Iriſhmen that came to the Kynges ayde, had vtterly waſted and deſtroyed. Agayne, the King of purpoſe had conſumed all the prouiſion of Corne and vittayles whiche remayned in the Marches, ſo that in Cheſhire, and other the parties adioyning, there was ſuch dearth, that the people vnneth could get ſufficiente vittayle to ſuſteyne themſelues withall. The King alſo gaue forth commandement, that no prouiſion of corne or vittayles ſhould be conueyed vnto the Welchmen, out of any partes, eyther of Englande, or Irelande, on payne of forfeyting lyfe, landes and goodes. Moreouer, he cauſed the brine pittes in Wales to be ſtopped vp and deſtroyed. Thus the Kyng hauing ordred his buſineſſe, returned into Englande, and ſhortly after, taking diſpleaſure with the Lord Maurice, chiefe Iuſtice of Irelãd, bycauſe he had not made ſuche ſpeede as had bene conuenient in bringing the Iriſhmen to his ayd, he diſcharged him of the office of chiefe Iuſtice, and placed in his roumth, Iohn Fitz Geffrey. In this .xxx. yere of K. Henries raigne, Walter Erle Marſhal and of Pembroke departed this life: and ſhortly after, to witte, three dayes before Chriſtmas, his brother Anſelme that ſucceeded him in the inheritance, deceaſſed alſo without iſſue: and ſo all the fiue ſonnes of the great Earle William Marſhall, beeing departed this world withoute heires of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage diſcended to yͤ ſiſters, and ſo was deuided amongſt them as coparteners. The K. this yeare held hys Chriſtmas at London, and had there with hym, a greate number of the nobilitie of his Realme, whiche hadde bin with him in Wales, that they mighte be partakers of paſtime, mirth and pleaſure, as they had bin participant with him in ſuffering yͤ diſeaſes of heate, colde, and other paines abroade in the fieldes and high Mountaynes of Wales. But that no pleaſure ſhould paſſe, without ſome ſteyne of griefe, ther was a rumor ſpred abroade, that the Pope had conceyued freſhe rancor in his ſtomacke againſt the K. and Realm of England, for the complayntes which had bin exhibited in the Counſell at Lion by the Engliſhe Orator, for the oppreſſion done to the Church of England: that therevpon, minding nowe to bee reuenged as was ſayde, hee earneſtly moued the Frenche King to make warre againſt the Engliſhmen, and to ſubdue them vnder his dominion: whiche enterprice, the French King vtterly refuſed, both for that hee and the King of Englande were Couſins, and againe, bycauſe the Kyng of Fraunce had no iuſt title of right to make claime to Englande. And further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and Fraunce, and before that Englande could be ſubdued, muche giltleſſe bloud ſhould be ſpilt. Alſo, the Chriſtians in the holy lande were ſore oppreſſed, and looked dayly for the arriuall of the Kyng of Fraunce, & therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterpriſe to hinder his iorney thither. But about the feaſt of the Epiphany, other newes came out of Prouaunce, that troubled the Kyng of England worſe than the other before, as thus, That the Counteſſe Beatrice his wiues mother, had deliuered vp the Countie of Prouaunce into yͤ Frẽch Kings handes, togyther with ſixteene Caſtels, whiche in right of the Queene ought to haue remayned vnto the King of England, and for the ſafekeeping of the ſame to hys vſe. The ſayde Counteſſe Beatrice, hadde receyued yeerely for the tearme of fiue yeares laſt paſt, the ſumme of foure thouſande markes of the Kyng of Englande, and yet nowe in the deliuering of them, with the reſidue of the Countrey vnto yͤ French King,

The King returneth foorth of Wales.

Iriſhmen deſtroyed Angleſey.

A dearth.

Brine pittes deſtroyed in Wales.

The Lorde Maurice chief Iuſtice of Irelande.

King, ſhe neuer made any mention of his right.

…ſt the … Kings …er, is … Earle of …ance.

Shortly after alſo, Charles the French kings brother, married the Ladye Beatrix, yongeſt daughter of Earle Raymond, and had with hir the ſame Countie of Prouaunce, and ſo was entituled Earle thereof, as in the Frenche hiſtory appeareth.

…Arch… …op of …terbury …aſeth …t of the …to leuie …y.

Moreouer, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury procured a graunt from the Pope, to recouer for one yeare the firſt fruites of all Charges that chãced to be voyd within the Citie, dioceſſe, and prouince of Caunterbury, by during the tearme of ſeuen yeares then next following, till the ſumme of tenne thouſand markes were leuied, towardes the diſcharge of the ſayde Archebyſhops debtes.

The collection of the whiche tenne thouſande markes, was aſſigned by the Popes Bulles vnto the Byſhop of Hereford, who ſhoulde alſo leauie two thouſande markes, of the reuenewes belonging to the Churche of Caunterbury, to be conuerted to the ſame vſe. The King at the firſt was ſore offended herewith, but ſhortly after, hee was pacified, and ſo the Archbyſhop had his will.

…d prince …ales de… …th this

After this, aboute the beginning of the nexte ſpring, Dauid Prince of Wales departed thys life, after great penſiueneſſe of mynde, for the deſtruction and miſerie into the which his countrey had bin broughte, through the preſente warres with the Engliſhmẽ. After his deceſſe, ẏ Welchmen elected to ſucceede in his place, the ſonne of Griffin, whome King Henry had reteyned in ſeruice, and honorably vſed, euen of a childe: but now that he heard that the Welchmen had elected him to their Prince, he ſtale away, and fledde into Wales.

…riffin …a Prince …ales.

…s robbed …xford.

On the day of the Purification of our Lady, a robberie was committed vpon certayne Iewes at Oxforde, for the whiche fact, fiue and fortie of the offendors were put in priſon; but at the ſute of Robert Biſhop of Lincolne, they were deliuered by the Kyngs commaundement, bycauſe no man impeached them of any breache of peace, or other crime. The Citizens of London alſo about the beginning of the ſpring, were compelled to pay a talage, wherewith they founde themſelues ſore agreeued.

…e Londo… …pay a …ge.

…arliament.

…teate a… …ſt hũters.

About the middeſt of Lent, there was a Parliament holden at London, wherein diuers ſtatutes and ordinances were deuiſed, as penalties for thoſe that offended in other mens Parkes, and warrennes: but the chiefeſt occaſion of aſſembling this Parliamente, was to take aduice in matters touching the griefes wherewith the Church of England ſeemed to be oppreſſed by the Pope and the Court of Rome. The Pope indede to quiet the Engliſhe Ambaſſadors, and to putte the Kyng and Realme in ſome good hope of releefe and deliuerance out of ſuche oppreſſions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole councell, dyd not onely promiſe largely, but alſo cauſed diuers priuileges to be made and deliuered vnto the ſayd Ambaſſadors very fauourably, in the behalfe of their requeſt. But yet the ſame notwithſtanding, ſith the breaking vp of the ſayd generall Counſell, and returne of the Ambaſſadors, many things were done, to the encreaſing and continuation of the former griefes, ſo that they ſtoode in doubt of further oppreſſions to followe, rather than in hope of the promiſed redreſſe. Herevpon, they concluded eftſoones to write vnto the Pope, and to the Cardinals, both in name of the King, of the Byſhops and Prelates, of the Earles, Barons, and other eſtates of the Temporaltie, and of the Abbots and Priors.

In the mean time, the Pope for a while, ſomewhat relented in the poynt of beſtowing benefices here in England, for when any of his friends or kinſmen was to bee preferred to any benefice within this Realme, hee would ſue to the Kyng for his graunt and good wil that ſuche one might be admitted, and not ſeeme of himſelfe to graunte it without the Kings conſent.

The Earle of Sauoye doth homage to the Kyng of Englande.

The Earle of Sauoy in the preſence of the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and the Biſhoppe of Hereford and others, did homage to the Kyng of England, acknowledging to holde of him certayne fees, as thoſe of Suſe, Auillian, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the Caſtell of Bard, whych hee might well doe, not preiudicing the righte of the Empire, ſith hee helde nothing of the ſame Empire, except Ligues and the paſſages.

Roger Bigod, entitled to the office of Earle Marſhall.

This yeare, the office of Earle Marſhall was giuen to Roger Bigod Earle of Northfolke, in right of hys wife the Counteſſe, that was eldeſt daughter vnto the greate Earle William Marſhall.

Math. Paris.

Harold King of Man.

Moreouer this yeare, the King holding hys Eaſter at London, honored Harolde Kyng of Man with the order of Knighthode.

Welchmen receyued to the Kyngs peace, vpon their ſubmiſſion.

Aboute the ſame time, diuers noble menne of Wales ſubmitted themſelues, and were receyued to the Kyngs peace.

On Saint Markes daye, was great froſt and ſnow, which nipped the leaues of trees and hearbes in ſuche extreame wiſe, that for the more parte, they withered and faded away.

Furthermore, bycauſe that the Pope vnderſtoode, that dyuers riche beneficed men were of late dead in Englande inteſtate, as Roberte Hayles the Archdeacon of Lincolne, Almerike, the Archdeacon of Bedforde, and John de Hotoſpe Archdeacon of Northhampton; he ordeyned a decree, that all ſuche ſpirituall perſons as dyed Inteſtate, theyr goodes ſhould remayne to the Pope. The execution of whyche decree,

A decree of the Pope.

hee commaunded to the Friers Preachers and Minors: but the Kyng woulde not ſuffer it to take place, bycauſe hee ſawe that it ſhoulde redounde to the preiudice of him and his Kyngdome.

Alſo, where the Pope required a talage of the Cleargie, the King forbad it by his letters inhibitorie.

In this mean while, William Powic Chaplayne, and ſir Henry de Lamere Knight, whych were ſente with the ſeconde letters, deuiſed in the late Parliament (as you haue heard) to be preferred vnto the Pope and Cardinals, returned agayne without obteyning any towardly anſwer, but rather (as they declared) they founde the Pope ſharp and rough, as thus, the Kyng of England which nowe kicketh againſt the Church, and beginneth to play Fredericks part, hath his Councell, and ſo likewiſe haue I, whiche I intende to followe: other aunſwere coulde they not obteyne. Agayne, the Engliſhmen that were ſutors in the Court of Rome, were ſtrangely vſed, and could not get any diſpatche in their buſineſſe, but were rather put backe as Sciſmatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Hervpon, the King called a Parliamente at Wincheſter, to haue the aduice of hys Lordes in this matter, where howſoeuer they agreed, Proclamation was immediately ſet forth, and publiſhed in euery ſhire and Countie through the Realme, that no man ſhould conſent to the Popes contribution, nor ſende any money out of the Realme to his ayde. When the Pope hearde of this, hee wrote very ſharply to the Byſhops, commaunding them on payne of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, to ſatiſfie his Nuncio remayning at the newe Temple in London, before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady. And where as the Kyng minded to haue ſtode in the matter through threates of his brother the Earle of Cornewall, and of certayne Prelates, namely, the Biſhop of Worcetor (who had authoritie as was ſayde to interdite the lande,) hee yeelded, and ſuffred the Pope to haue his will, to the greate griefe and diſcomforte of many.

A proclamation inhibiting money to be ſent to the Pope.

On Saint Margarets daye, there fortuned a maruellous ſore tempeſt of hayle, rayne, Thunder, and lightning, whyche beeyng vniuerſall through the Realme, did muche hurt, and continued the ſpace of ſixteene houres togither without ceaſſing.

A ſore tempeſt of Hayle.

This yeare, ſundry noble perſonages departed thys worlde, as Iſabell the Kings mother, wife to the Earle of Marche in Poictowe. Alſo, the Counteſſe of Albemarle, the daughter of Alaine of Galoway, and ſiſter to the Counteſſe of Wincheſter: wherevpon, a great parte of Galloway that belonged to hir (for that ſhee dyed withoute iſſue) remayned to Roger de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, that married the eldeſt ſiſter.

Iſabel the Kings mother departeth thys life.

Roger de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter

Moreouer, Iohn Lord Neuill dyed this yeere, whyche hadde bin chiefe Forſter of Englande: but hee was not onely put out of that office by certayne tranſgreſſions, but alſo out of ẏ kings fauoure, before hee dyed, where at the fyrſte, none was more eſteemed in the Courte than hee.

The Byſhoppe of Saliſbury, named maiſter Roberte de Bingham, dyed alſo thys yeare, and Sir Richarde de Argenton Knighte, a right noble perſonage, whiche in the holy lande hadde ſhewed good proofe of his high valiancie, manhode, and prowes: likewiſe Sir Henry Bailliol of the North, and dyuers other.

In the beginning of the one and thirtith yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, the Pope ſente into Englande to haue the thirde parte of one yeares profit of euery beneficed man that was reſident, and of euery one not reſident, the one halfe. The Byſhoppe of London ſhoulde haue ſeene thys ayde and collection leuied, but it woulde not bee graunted.

And in a Parliamente called thys yeare on the morrowe after the Purification of our Lady, it was ordeyned, that newe letters, ſealed with the common Seale of the Citie of London, ſhould bee ſente by ſufficiente meſſengers, from all the eſtates of the Realme, vnto the Pope and Cardinals, requiring a moderation to be had in ſuche exactions as were intollerable for the Realme to beare.

Whileſt this Parliamente yet laſted, there came ouer the Lorde Peter of Sauoy Earle of Richmonde, bringing with hym certayne yong Ladies and Damoſels, to bee beſtowed in marriage on ſuche yong Lordes and Gentlemen as were Wardes to the King.

On Saint Valentines euen, a greate Earthquake happened heere in England, and namely, about London, on the Thames ſyde, with the whyche manye buyldings were ouerthrowen.

Theſe Earthquakes, the ſeldomer they chaunce in Englande, the more dreadfull the ſame are, and thoughte to ſignifie ſome greate alteration.

A little before thys Earthquake, the Sea had ceaſſed from ebbing and flowing for the ſpace of three monethes togyther, by a long tract neere to the Engliſhe ſhore, to the greate maruell of many, for eyther it flowed not at all, or elſe ſo little, that it might not be perceyued. And after the Earthquake, there followed ſuche a ſeaſon of foule weather, that the ſpring ſeemed to be chaunged into Winter, for vnneth was there anye day without rayne, till the feaſt of the tranſlation of S. Benet.

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ſtrayne
umptuous
ritie of
ſpiritualty

There were at this time, dyuers ordinaunces decreed and enacted by way of prohibition, to reſtrayne the anthoritie of ſpiritual perſons, as that no eccleſiaſticall Iudge ſhould determine in cauſes of any Temporal man, except touching cauſes of Matrimony and Teſtamentes. They were alſo prohibited to ſue any actions touching tythes, before any ſpirituall Iudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited, is called an Indicauit. Sundry other ſuch ordinances were deuiſed, which for breefeneſſe we omitte. What ſpeede or aunſwer ſo euer the meſſengers had that were ſent to Rome with the letters deuiſed in the late Parliament, troth it is, that the Pope ſent ouer into England ſuche of his agents as gathered no ſmall ſummes of money amongſt the Cleargie, as one Martinus, and an other named Iohannes Anglicus a Frier Minor, the which were not entituled by the name of Legates, to ſaue the priuiledges whiche the Kyng hadde, that no Legate myghte come into the Realme withoute hys licence.

Popes
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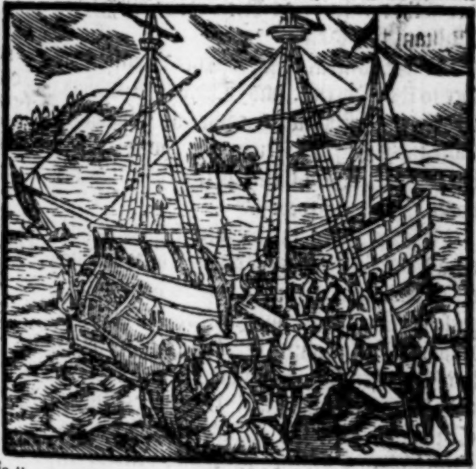
e of Le-

The comming ouer of theſe men, bycauſe it was to gather money, contented not many mens mindes, as well appeared in a Parliament called at Oxforde about reformation thereof, but yet notwithſtanding, it was there agreed, that the Pope ſhoulde haue eleuen thouſande markes to be leuied amongſt them of the ſpiritualtie, exempt perſons and places reſerued.

Emperor
onſtanti-
e, com-
into
lande.

Aboute the ſame time, Baldwine naming himſelfe Emperoure of Conſtantinople, came againe into Englande, to procure ſome newe aide of the King, towardes the recouerie of hys Empire, out of the whiche hee was expulſed by the Greekes.



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lme.

Alſo, there arriued in England a Cardinall that was Byſhoppe of Sabine, hauing firſt receiued an oth, that hee came not for any hurte to the Kyng or his Realme, for otherwiſe, hee being a Legate, might not be ſuffered to enter the lande: hee came this way, to paſſe ouer into Norway, whither hee wente to Crowne and annoynt Hacon, King of that Realme.

The kings halfe breethrē came to ſee the King.

There arriued heere with him the three halfe breethren to the King, Guy de Lucignan, William de Valence, and Athelmare a Prieſte, with their ſiſter Alice. Theſe were begotten by Hugh Brun Earle of Marche, of Queene Iſabell the Kings mother, and were therefore ioyfully receyued of the King, with faithfull promiſe, that hee woulde be to them a beneficiall good brother, whiche hys ſayings with effectuall deedes he after fully performed.

The Cardinall maketh ſhifte for money.

The Cardinall hauyng ſaluted the Kyng, tooke leaue of hym, and came to Linne, where he ſtayed at the poynt of three monethes, making ſuch purchaſe amōgſt religious men, that what by procuracies and other ſhiftes, hee got as was thought, a foure thouſande markes towardes hys charges, and ſo departed. Edmond Lacye Earle of Lincolne, and Richarde de Burgh, as then Wardes to the Kyng, were married vnto two of thoſe yong Ladies of Prouaunce, whiche Peter de Sauoy Earle of Richmond brought ouer with hym, whereat, many of the Engliſh nobilitie grudged.

William de Valence marrieth Lorde Montchencies daughter.

Alſo, about the thirtenth of Auguſt, the Lady Ioane, daughter to the Lorde Guarine de Monchency, was married vnto William de Valence the Kyngs halfe brother. The ſame Lady, was heyre to hir fathers landes, by the deathe of hir brother the ſonne of the ſayd Lorde Guarine.

Gaſton de Bierne maketh warre againſte the Kynges Lieutenaunt.

Sir William de Bueles Knight, a Norman borne, was made Seneſhall of Gaſcoigne about this ſeaſon, and was ſore vexed with warres by Gaſton the ſonne of the Counteſſe of Bierne and others, whyche Gaſton ſhewed hymſelfe very vnthankfull, for the Kyng had giuen both to him and to hys mother (a woman of a monſtrous ſtature) right large entertainemente to ſerue him in his warres at his laſt beeing in that countrey (as before yee haue heard.)

Prieſtes of the prouince of Caunterbury ſuſpended.

The Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury ſuſpended the Prieſts of hys prouince, bycauſe they would not conſent (according to the graunt which he had purchaſed of yͤ Pope) that he ſhould haue the firſt frutes for one yeare, of euery benefice that chanced to be vacant within the ſame prouince. The Earles of Cornewall and Pembroke, gote muche money by way of a collection, towardes the reliefe of the warres in the holy lande, hauing purchaſed of the Pope certayne Bulles of Indulgence for the ſame.

Sir Foulkes de Newcaſtell the Kings Couſin by his mother departeth thys life.

Sir Foulke de Newcaſtell, a valiaunte Knighte, and Couſin germaine to the Kyng on the mothers ſide, dyed at London, during the tyme of the Parliament.

On the thirtenth of October, was a portion of yͤ holy bloud of Chriſt (as it was thē ſuppoſed) ſhewed in moſt reuerent wiſe in a ſolemne proceſſion, for the King comming to the Church of Saint Paule in London, receyued there the ſame bloud conteyned in a chriſtalline glaſſe, the which he bare vnder a Canapie ſupported with foure ſtaues, through the ſtretes, vnto ẏ Abbey Church of Weſtminſter.

His armes were alſo ſupported by two Lords as aydes to him all the way as hee wente. The maſters of the Templers and Hoſpitallers, had ſent this relike to the king. To deſcriue the whole proceſſe of the proceſſion and feaſt kept that day, would require a ſpeciall treatiſe. But this is not to bee forgotten, that the ſame day, the Byſhop of Norwich preached before the Kyng in commẽdation of that relike, pronouncing ſixe yeares, and one hundred and ſixteene dayes of pardon, graunted by the Byſhoppes there preſente, to all thoſe that came to reuerence it.

Pardon granted by biſhops

Alſo the ſame day & in ẏ ſame Church, the K. made his halfe brother William de Valence, and dyuers other yõg bachelers Knightes. Vnto the ſayde William de Valence, for his further aduauncement and mayntenance, he gaue the Caſtell of Hertford, and the honor therto belonging, with great treaſure: and to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, whiche about the ſame time returned into Fraunce, he gaue right great and honorable giftes, lading his ſumpters with plate and threaſure of ſterling money, whych in thoſe days in all countreys was very much eſteemed.

Knigh made.

The Earle of Wincheſter remayning in Galloway, where he had faire poſſeſſions in right of his wife, was beſieged of his owne tenaunts, within a Caſtell wherein he lodged, and beeyng in daunger eyther to die through famine, or elſe at the diſcretion of the enimies, hee burſt forthe, and making way with his ſworde eſcaped, and comming to the King of Scottes, complayned of the iniurie done to him by his people, whereupon the Kyng toke ſuch order, that the Rebels were puniſhed, and the Earle ſet in quiet poſſeſſion of his landes againe.

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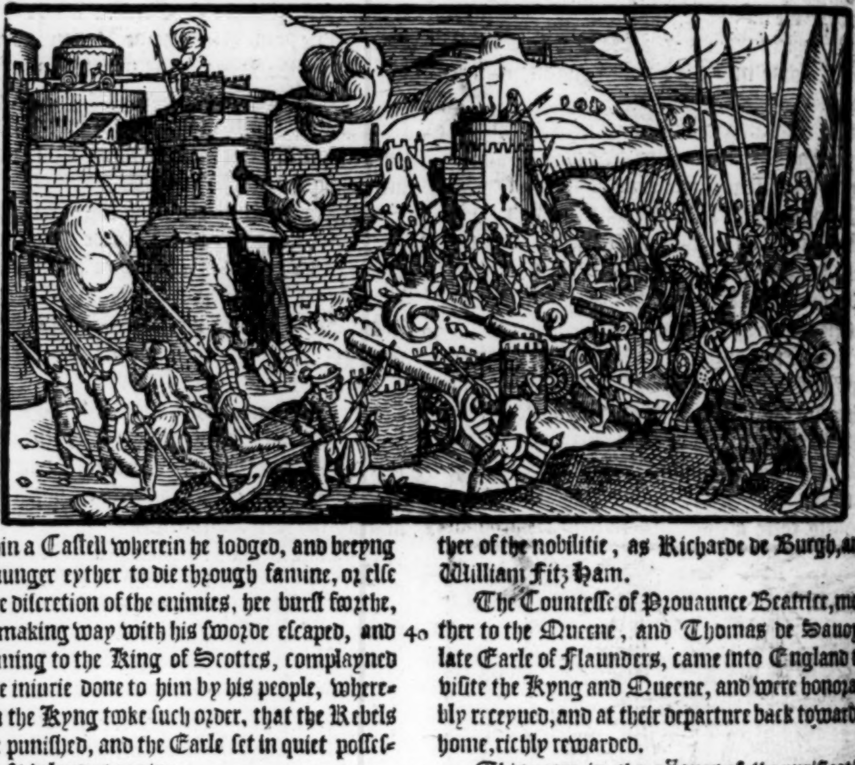

Toward the latter end of Nouember, William Earle Ferrers and of Derby, departed thys life, a man of great yeres, and long troubled with the gout, a iuſt man and a peaceable.

William Earle Ferrers departeth thys life.

The ſame moneth the counteſſe his wife dyed alſo, a woman of yeares vertue and fame lyke to hir huſband: Thomas Becket the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury did miniſter the Prieſtes office at their marriage. Their eldeſt ſonne William ſucceeded his father in the Earledome, a good mã and a diſcret, but vexed with the gout very pitifully, hauing that diſeaſe alſo as it were, by inheritance from his father. There dyed lykewiſe other of the nobilitie, as Richarde de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham.

124
The Co
commeth
England.

The Counteſſe of Prouaunce Beatrice, mother to the Queene, and Thomas de Sauoy, late Earle of Flaunders, came into England to viſite the Kyng and Queene, and were honorably receyued, and at their departure back towards home, richly rewarded.

A Parli

This yeare in the octaues of the purification, a Parliament was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the Realme in manner was preſent. There were nine Biſhops, as the Archbiſhop of Yorke, with the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincolne, Norwich, Worcetor, Chicheſter, Elie, Rocheſter and Carleil, with the Earles of Cornewall, Leiceſter, Wincheſter, Hereforde, Northfolke, Oxforde, Lincolne, Ferrers, and Warwike, with Peter de Sauoy Erle of Richmount, beſydes Lordes and Barons. The Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury was at the Courte of Rome, and the Biſhop of Dureſme was letted by ſickneſſe.

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naded.
der.
t. Paris.

In this Parliamente, King Henry earneſtly required a ſubſedie, in reliefe of the greate charges which he had diuers wayes ſuſteyned, wherevpō, he was ſtraightwayes by the peeres of ẏ Realm, noted both of couetouſneſſe, vnthankefulneſſe, and breache of promiſe, bycauſe he neuer ceaſſed in gathering money, withoute regard had to hys people: and where he had promiſed many things, as that he woulde not bee burdenouſe vnto them and ſuche lyke, hee hadde performed very little of thoſe hys gaye promiſes. Many miſdemeanors, and wrongfull doyngs, to the greeuaunce of hys people were opened and layde before him, as cherriſhing and enriching of Straungers, and vſing hys prerogatiues too largelye, to the greate decaye and hinderaunce of the common wealthe.

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enriching
Straungers.

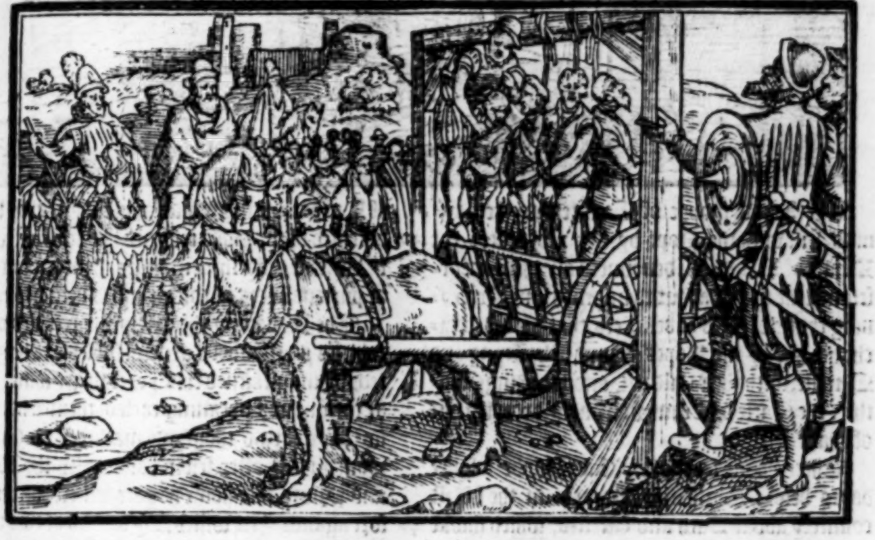
The Kyng abaſſhed heerewith, and ſuppoſing that the confeſſion of hys faulte ſhould make amendes, and aſſwage the diſpleaſure whyche his Nobles and other had conceyued of his miſgouernaunce, to content them all with one aunſwere, hee promiſed, that hee woulde reforme all that was amiſſe, and ſo quieting the mindes of hys Barons, the Parliament was prorogued till the Quindene of the Natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt.

The Parliament proroged.

About the ſame time, by reaſon that the ſterling money was generally ſo clipped, that the inſcription was cut off for the moſt part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was ſet forthe, that no peeces thereof ſhoulde paſſe from one to an other, nor be receyued as currant and lawfull money, except the ſame were of juſt weight and faſhion. Herewith alſo, inquirie was made for thoſe that had ſo defaced it, and ſundry Jewes Bankers, and cloth marchauntes of Flaunders were found giltie. Alſo, the French King cauſed ſearch to bee made within his Realme for the ſame offendors, and ſuche as were founde giltie, were hanged, ſo that hee was more ſeuere in puniſhing thoſe falſifiers of the Kyng of Englandes coyne, than the Kyng of England was hymſelfe.

An ordinance for money.

Inquirie made for waſhers and clippers of money.



t. Paris.
e Parlia-
nt diſſol-

The Parliamente began agayne at the daye appoynted, but nothyng to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a diſpleaſure kindled betwixte the Kyng and hys Barons, for that they looked for a reformation in his doings, and hee for money out of their coffers whyche would not be graunted, and ſo that Parliament brake vp.

e King
en to ſell
plate.

The Kyng heerevppon for wante of money, was driuen to ſo harde a ſhifte, that hee was conſtreyned to ſell hys plate and Jewels (whych the Londoners bought) ſo muche to hys hinderance, that diuers peeces (the workemanſhippe whereof was more worth, than the valew of the ſtuffe) were ſolde notwithſtanding after the rate as they weyed.

Saint Edwards fayre at Weſtminſter.

This yeare, the Kyng cauſed a feyre to bee kepte at Weſtminſter at Saint Edwards tide, to endure for fifteene dayes, and to the ende that the ſame ſhoulde bee the more haunted with all manner of people, hee commaunded by proclamation, that all other feyres, as Elye, and ſuche like holden in that ſeaſon, ſhoulde not bee kepte, nor that anye wares ſhoulde bee ſhewed within the Citie of London, eyther in ſhoppe or without, but that ſuche as would ſell, ſhould come for that tyme vnto Weſtminſter: whyche was done, not withoute greate trouble and paynes to the Citizens, whyche hadde not roomthes there, but in Boothes and Hales, to theyr greate diſquieting and diſeaſe, for wante of neceſſarye prouiſion, beeyng turmoyled too pitifully in myre and dyrte, through occaſion of rayne that fell in that vnſeaſonable tyme of the yeare.

The Byſhoppe of Elye complayned ſore of the wrong done to him by ſuſpending of his faire at Elye aforeſayde.

Sir Richard Sward deceaſſeth.

Sir Richarde Sward dyed this yeare, after he had layne a long tyme vexed with the Palſey, the which ſir Richard had in his daies bin a right worthy and famous Knight.

There dyed alſo the Byſhoppes of Bath and Saint Dauids.

In the firſt day of June, the Moone, immediately vpon the ſetting of the Sunne, was almoſt wholly eclipſed, ſo that little of hir myght appeare.

The Towne of Newcaſtell vppon Tyne was almoſt wholly conſumed with fyre, togither with the bridge there.

The Archb. of Cant. curſeth.

The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury remayning ſtill with the Pope by hys procurator the Deane of Beauveys, denounced all them accurſed whiche wente about to impeach him of receyuing the firſt frutes of benefices that voided, whiche hee had by the Popes graunt, the Kyng and Queene, with their children, and the Kings brother, the Earle of Cornewall onely excepted out of that curſe.

An. reg. 33.
An earthquake

There chaunced another Earthquake a foure dayes before Chriſtmas, namely in the Weſt countrey about Bath and Welles, which ſhooke and ouerthrewe ſome buildings, ſpecially, the toppes and ſummettes of ſteeples, turrets and chimneys were ſhaken therewith, and not yͤ baſes nor lower partes.

1249

In Chriſtmas following, the Earle of Leiceſter returned out of Gaſcoigne, where he hadde bin as general againſt Gaſton de Bierne, whom he had ſo afflicted and put to the worſe, that the ſame Gaſton was glad to ſue for an abſtinence of warre, where before hee had done muche hurte to the Kings ſubiectes.

The ſayde Erle had alſo with the ayde of the kings ſubiectes apprehended an other Rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont, who hadde done much hurt in the parties of Gaſcoigne, and in the confynes there, whome hee had left in priſon within the Caſtel of the Riole.

This yere a little before Candlemas, the B. of Durham being a man of great yeres, by licence obteined of the Pope, reſigned his miter, reſeruing to himſelfe only three manors, houeden with the appurtenaunces, Stockton and Euerington.

The K. hauing the laſt yeare receiued of hys ſubiectes a deniall of a general ſubſedie to be graunted to him, practiſed this yeare to get ſome reliefe at their hands, in calling each of them a part: but firſt, he got two thouſand markes of the Citie of London, and after, fell in hande with the Abbots and Priors, of whome he gote ſomewhat, though ſore againſt their willes. By occaſiō of two marchante Straungers of Brabant, whych chaunced to bee robbed about the parties of Wincheſter, whileſt the King was there, vpon theyr importunate ſute and complaynte, there was a greate neſt of theeues broken, amongſt the whiche were many welthie perſons and freeholders, ſuche as vſed to paſſe on lyfe and death of theyr owne companions, to whome they were fauourable ynough you maye be ſure: alſo, there were ſome of the Kyngs ſeruannts amongſt them. About thirtie of thoſe offendors were apprehended, and putte to execution, beſydes thoſe that eſcaped, ſome into ſainctuary, and ſome into voluntary exile, running out of, and vtterly forſakyng the countrey.

About Eaſter, the Archbyſhoppe of Roan came ouer into England, and doyng homage for ſuche reuenewes as belonged to his Church here within this realme, had the ſame reſtored vnto him.

th. Pariſ.
at rayne.

In Iune there fell ſuch aboundance of raine, ſpecially about Abingdõ, that the Willow trees, Mylles, and other houſes ſtanding neare to the water ſyde, were borne downe and ouerturned, with one Chapell alſo: and the corne in the fielde was ſo beaten to the grounde, that breade made thereof after it was ripe, ſeemed as it had beene made of branne.

Earle of
ſburie &
r go into
holy land.

About the ſame tyme, William de Longeſpee Earle of Saliſburie, and Robert de Veer, with other Engliſh men to the number of two hundred knightes, hauing taken on them the Croſſe, went into the holy lande, the ſayde Earle being their chiefe captaine, and had ſo proſperous ſpeede in their iourney, that they arriued ſafe and found in the Chriſtian armie, where the Frenche king being chiefe thereof, they were receyued ioyfully. But yet (as Mathew Paris writeth,) the pride and diſdaine of the French men was ſo greate, that vpon ſpite and enuie conceyued at the Engliſhmens glorie, which bare thẽſelues right worthily, the French men vſed the Engliſh men nothing friendly. Namely the Earle of Arras ſticked not to ſpeake manye reprochfull wordes agaynſte the ſayde William de Longeſpee and his people, whereat they could not but take great indignation.

t. Par.

ſpite of
French to-
des the
liſhmen.

Alſo the ſame ſeaſon, the Earle of Leyceſter who had likewiſe receyued the Croſſe, deferred his iourney for a tyme, and ſayling into Gaſcoigne, mightily there ſubdued the kings enimies, as Gaſcon de Bierne. Alſo one Ruſtyn, and William de Solares.

Peter de Ge-
neure.

This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Prouancoys borne, whom the king had preferred in maryage vnto the Ladie Mawde, daughter and heyre of Walter Lacye a man of fayre poſſeſſions in Irelande. Of which maryage there came iſſue a ſonne and a daughter.

The deceaſſe
Roger Fitz
Iohn.

Alſo about whitſuntide dyed a noble Baron of the North parties, named the Lorde Roger Fitz Iohn, whoſe ſonne and heyre beyng yong, was giuen in wardſhip to William de Valence the kings halfe brother.

The death of
Hugh le
Brun.

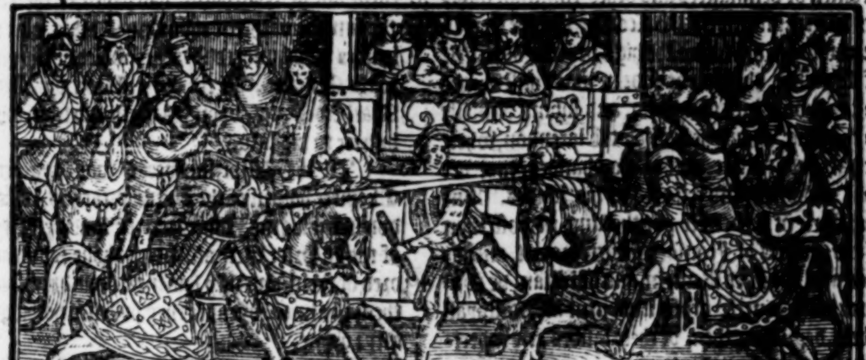
Alſo this yeare, Hugh Earle of March, father to the ſame William de Valence dyed in Cypres, whileſt the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holy lande.

An.reg.34.
The Archb. of
Canterburie
intronizate.

In the feaſt of all Saintes, the Archbiſhop Bonifacius was inthronizate at Canterburie, and kept a ſolemne feaſt, at the which the King & Queene, with the more part of all the Prelates of the lande were preſent.

A tourney hol-
den at Brack-
ley, or as ſome
copies haue, at
Barkley.

About this ſeaſon, was a great tourney and iuſtes holden at Brackley, where the Earle of Glouceſter (contrarie to his accuſtomed manner) fauoured the part of the ſtrangers, whereby they preuayled. Inſomuch that William de Valence handeled one ſir William de Odingeſſeles very roughly, the ſame ſir William being a right worthie knight. Aboute the ſame tyme, the Counteſſe of Cornewall at Berkhamſted was deliuered of a ſonne named Edmonde.



1250.
mond ſon
Richarde
e of Corn-
borne.

An ambaſſade
ſent to the
Pope.

This yeare aboute the beginning of the Spring, the kings brother the Earle of Cornewall, with other noble men of the Realme, as the Earle of Gloceſter, Henrie Haſtings Baron, and Roger Thurkeby, went ouer into Fraunce in Princely array and furniture to viſite the Pope, who helde his Court ſtill at the Citie of Lion.

The Biſhop of Lyncolne alſo and the Biſhop of Worceſter went thither. For what cauſe the other went it was not openly knowne. But the Biſhop of Lyncolne went thither about ſuch buſineſſe as he had in hande agaynſt the Templers, Hoſpitalers and ſuch other whiche had appealed from him to the Court of Rome, where he coulde not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, for his aduerſaries with money had purchaſed the Iudges fauor. And ſo the Biſhop returned, hauing ſpent his trauaile and money in vaine.

The king taketh on him the Croſſe.

The.vj.of March being Sunday, the king toke vpon him the croſſe, with his brother William de Valence, and a greate number of other noble men, and amongſt other the Abbot of Burie, to the preiudice (as was thought) of his order.

The lord Roger de Monthault.

Roger de Mounthault, a Baron of great honour, meaning verily to goe in that iourney, to recouer money towardes hys neceſſarie furniture, ſet and ſolde the moſte part of his liuings. His wooddes and poſſeſſions which he had about Couentry, he ſolde and let to fee farme vnto the Couent there. The like chieuance was made by ſundrie noble men, which prepared themſelues to go in that iourney.

Upon the.xxvij.day of Aprill thoſe that had taken on them the Croſſe, aſſembled at Bermõdſey beſides London, to treate of their ſetting forwarde, determining that the ſame ſhoulde bee at Midſommer next: but by the Popes letters which the king procured, they were commaunded to ſtay till the king himſelfe went. Thus their iourney for that time was diſappoynted.

There was of them and their retinues that ment thus to haue gone, fiue.C.knightes, beſides yeomen or demilances and other common ſoldiers in great numbers. Gaſcon de Bierne was ſo driuen to his ſhiftes by the high prowes of yͤ Erle of Leyceſter, that in the ende he was conſtrayned to come ouer into England, and ſubmit himſelfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gate ſuch mercie at the kings handes, that hee was pardoned and reſtored to his landes. But the Earle of Leyceſter put the king in poſſeſſion of the Caſtels of Fronſacke, Egremount, and other, and baniſhed Ruſtein, and William de Solares with diuerſe other ſtubburne and diſloyall rebels, depriuing them of their landes and inheritance in that Countrey.

Gaſcon de Bierne ſubmitteth himſelfe to the K.

The Earle of Leyceſter his ſeruice in Gaſcoigne.

The Biſhop of Lincolne.

The Byſhoppe of Lyncolne did excommunicate a prieſt within his dioces, that was accuſed of incontinencie. And bicauſe the ſame prieſt continued fortie dayes without ſeeking to bee reconciled, the Biſhop ſent to the Sherif of Rutlande within whoſe Bayliwike the ſame Prieſt dwelled, to apprehende him as a diſobedient and rebellious perſon: but the Sherif wynked at the matter, and woulde not execute the Biſhoppes commaundement, whervpon the Biſhoppe did alſo excommunicate the Sherif: whereof the king being enfourmed, toke diſpleaſure, and ſending to the Pope. procured an inhibition, that no Archbiſhop nor Biſhop ſhoulde compell any officer belonging to the King, to follow any ſuyte afore them, for thoſe things that apperteyned to the kings iuriſdiction, or giue ſentence agaynſt them for the ſame.

An inhibition procured by the king of the Pope.

The Monday before the Rogation weeke, Richarde the kings brother Erle of Cornewall, returned from the Court of Rome, where he had beene about certaine buſineſſe vnknowne to moſt men: but whatſoeuer the ſame was the Pope gaue him moſt courteous and honourable intertainment for his welcom, and made to him great chear during his abode at Lion, where the Popes Court as then lay.

About this ſeaſon, the king to ridde himſelfe out of debt wherein he was endaungered to certaine marchants, leſſened the charges of his houſholde, and kept but a meane port, diminiſhing euen the accuſtomed almes of the poore, and alſo the greate number of Tapers and lyghtes in his Chappell, ſo that he was noted wyth the blame of to muche nygardly ſparyng and pynching: but in that hee diſcharged his debt to the Marchants, he was thought to doe wiſely and charitably, for that he would not ſee them hyndered to whom he was ſo indebted.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, hee cauſed the Iewes to gyue vnto him a great portion of their goodes, ſo that they were greatly impoueriſhed. There was one of them named Aaron, borne in Yorke, the whiche ſince the Kings laſte returne out of Gaſcoigne, had payed to the King the ſumme of thirtie thouſand Markes, ouer and beſides two hundred Markes which he had giuen to the Queene, as the ſame Aaron proteſſed to Mathew Paris, vpon his fayth and truth which he bare to his law.

In the Whitſunweeke was a generall Chapiter holden of the Friers preachers, at London in Holborne, where out of ſundrye partyes of the Worlde were aſſembled aboue foure hundred of them, and they had meate and drink found them of almes, bycauſe they poſſeſſed nothing of theyr owne.

The firſt day the king came into their Chapiter, that he might be partaker of theyr prayers, and founde them meate and drynke that daye, and dyned there with them, to do them the more honour. Another day the Queene likewiſe fedde them, & afterwardes the Biſh. of London, the Abbots of Weſtminſter, Saint Albon, and Waltham with other.

About the ſame ſeaſon the Citizens of London founde themſelues agreeued verye ſore, for ſuch liberties as the king graunted to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, to the great hinderance and decay of the franchiſes of their Citie.

The Maior & communaltie reſiſted in all that they might agaynſt thoſe liberties, and finally by the good helpe and fauour of the Lordes, as the

Earles of Cornwall, and Leyceſter, they obteyned theyr purpoſe.

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This yeare maiſter William de Kilkenny, a ſober, faythfull, and learned man, was made keeper of the great ſeale.

The ſame yeare vpon inquiſition made by Geffrey de Langley, one of the kings counſaile of tranſgreſſors in forreſts and chaſes, many that had offended were preſented, and moſt grieuouſly puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and exceeding great amerciaments, and namely in the North Countrey.

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The .xix. day of May, died Robet de Lexinton Clearke, the which hauing continued a long time in the office of a Iudge, purchaſed to himſelf great fame, and alſo moſt large poſſeſſions. But certaine yeares before his death, bycauſe he was diſeaſed with the Palſey, he gaue ouer that office, and drewe himſelfe into a quiet trade of lyfe, ſo ending his dayes in prayers and doing of almes deedes.

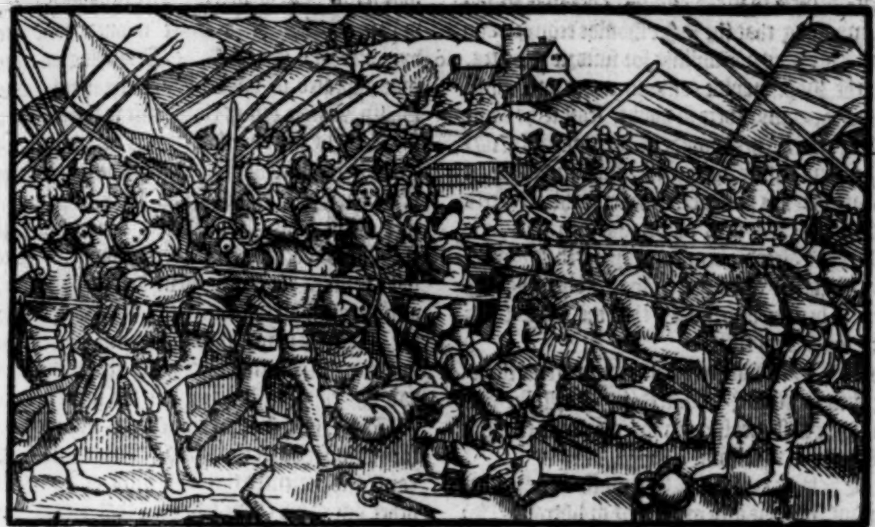
The Lorde Henry Haſtings deceaſſeth.
Robert Muſchampe.

About the feaſt of S. Margaret, died Henrie Haſtings, a noble Baron, and one Robert de Muſchampes, a man of greate renoume in the North parties. Alſo Walter Biſhop of Wyncheſter departed this lyfe, about the feaſt of Saint Mathew, in whoſe place (through the kings earneſt ſute) his halfe brother Athelmare was promoted to ſucceede.

Athelmare the kings half brother made Bi. of Wincheſt.

The Earle of Saliſbury ſlain by the Sarazens.

Moreouer, in the Eaſt partes, that valiaunt Erle of Saliſburie William de Lonegſpee, with Robert de Veer, and other, was ſlayne in that vnfortunate battaile, in the which the Sarazens vanquiſhed the Chriſtian armie, and toke Lewes the French king priſoner.



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On the firſt day of October, the Moone vpon hir change, appearing exceeding red and ſwelled, beganne to ſhewe tokens of the great tempeſt of winde that followed, whiche was ſo huge and mighty, both by land and ſea, that the like had not bin lightly knowne, nor ſeldome or rather neuer heard of by men then aliue. The ſea forced contrarie to hir natural courſe, flowed twice without ebbing, yeelding ſuch a roaring noyſe, that the ſame was heard (not without greate wonder,) a farre diſtance from the ſhore. Moreouer, the ſame ſea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had beene on fire, and the waues to ſtriue and fight togither after a maruellous ſort, ſo that the mariners coulde not deuiſe howe to ſaue theyr ſhippes where they lay at ankre, by no cunning nor ſhift which they could deuiſe. At Hertburne three tall ſhippes periſhed without recouerie, beſides other ſmaller veſſelles. At Winchelſey beſides other hurt that was done in bridges, milnes, breakes and banks, there were three hundred houſes, with ſome Churches drowned with the high ryſing of the water courſe. The country of Hollande in Lyncolnſhire, and Holland beyonde the ſea, and the Mariſh lande in Flaunders, ſuſteyned ineſtimable domage, & in many other places, by reaſon that riuers beaten backe and repulſed (by the ryſing of the ſea) ſwelled ſo on high that they ouerflowed theyr chanels, & much hurt was done in Medowes, Brigges, Mylnes, and houſes.

An. Reg. 35.
The practiſe of the Biſhops to diſappoynt the Archb. of Cant. of his purpoſe.

About the beginning of the .xxxv. yeare of king Henries raigne, the Biſhops of Englande vnderſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, was about to purchaſe of the Pope a graunt to gather money through his whole prouince, of the Cleargie and people for Sinodes and procuracies, they thought to preuent him, and therfore made a collection euery one through hys owne Dioces, of two pence of euery marke, which any beneficed man might diſpende, which money ſo collected, they ment to employ about charges in the Popes Court, for the ſtay of the Archbiſhops ſute, ſuyte, that the graunt ſhould not paſſe.

A earthquake at S. Albons.

About the ſame time, to witte, vpon Saint Lucies day, there was a great Earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parties there aboutes with a noyſe vnder the grounde, as though it had thũdred. This was ſtraunge and maruellous, bycauſe the ground there is chalky, and ſound not hollow nor looſe as thoſe places be, where Earthquakes for the moſt part happen. Doues, Rookes, and other birdes that ſat vpon houſes, and in boughes of trees afrayd of this ſtrange wonder, flickred vp, & flew to and fro, ſhewing a token of feare, as if a Goſhauke had bene ouer their heades.

The Pope ſueth for licence to ſoiourne at Burdeaux.

The Pope required by ſolemne meſſengers ſent to the king of England, that he might come to the Citie of Burdeaux in Gaſcoigne, and there for a tyme remayne. The king wyſt not well what anſwere to make, for lothe hee was to denie any thing that the Pope ſhoulde requyre, and againe hee was not willing for ſundrie reſpectes, that the Pope ſhoulde come ſo neare vnto him. In deede, manye were in doubt, leaſt if he came to Burdeaux, hee woulde alſo come into Englande, and rather appaire the ſtate thereof than amend it by hys preſence, ſithe by ſuche Vſurers and licencious lyuers as belonged to him, the realme had alreadie bene ſore corrupted. Howſoeuer the matter went, there was delay and ſuch meanes deuiſed and made, that the Pope came not there at that time.

The Popes preſence more like to appaire than mende things.

1251

Thunder and lightning.

On Chriſtmaſſe day in the night, great thunder and lightning chaunced in Norffolke and Suffolke paſt meaſure, in token as was thought of ſome euill to follow.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, but without any great port or liberalitie, for hoſpitalitie with him was greatly layd aſide.

Guy de Luſignan brother to the king.

About this time, Guy de Luſignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into Englande, after hys returne out of the holy lande, and was of the king ioyfully receyued. Towardes the reliefe of his expences made in that iourney, the king gaue him fiue hundred pounde which he got of the Iewes. Moreouer he gaue to his brother Geffrey the cuſtodie of the Baron Haſtings landes, and ſo by ſuch liberal and bounteous gyftes as he beſtowed on them and other ſtraungers, hee greatly incurred the hatred of his naturall people, the Engliſh men.

The Earle of Leyceſter returneth.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the Earle of Leyceſter came to the king in great haſt oute of Gaſcoigne, giuing him to vnderſtande, that the Gaſcoignes were reuolted in ſuche number, that if ſpeedie ſuccours were not prouided, the whole Countrey woulde fall from the Engliſhe ſubiection. Herevpon the King furniſhed him with money, and the Earle himſelfe got all that hee coulde make of his owne reuenues, and likewiſe of the Vmfreuiſles landes, the heyre wherof he had in cuſtodie. Hee made no long abode, but with all ſpeede returned, and reteyned two hundred Rutters oute of the Duke of Brabantes Countreys, and with them certaine Croſbowes. Theſe were egre ſouldiers, and bloudie: But yet the Gaſcoignes prepared themſelues to reſiſt them in all that they myght: howbeit the Earle putte them ſtyll to the worſe. Before hys laſte returne from thence, hee hadde razed the Caſtell of Fronſacke flatte with the grounde, and likewyſe left deſolate the Caſtell of Egremounte.

He had of the king three M. markes.

About this ſeaſon, one of the Kings Iuſtices named Henrie de Bath, fell in the kings diſpleaſure, bycauſe he was accuſed that he had not exerciſed his office vprightly, but to his owne priuate gaine, and peruerted iuſtice through brybes, vppon occaſion of a ſuyte moued betwyxte hym and one Euerarde de Trumpington: hee was appealed of falſehoode and treaſon by Sir Philip Darcie Knight. His wife was a kynne to the Baſſets and Sanfordes, the whiche procured him great friendſhip at the handes of the Erle of Cornewall, and of Iohn Manſell, and other of the kings Counſayle. But for all that they coulde doe, he was in great daunger to haue loſt his life at the Parliament holden that yeare, and begunne on the .xvj. day of Februarie. For the king was ſo ſore moued agaynſt him, that he cauſed proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to lay agaynſt the ſayde Henrie de Bathe, they ſhoulde come forth, and their information ſhoulde bee heard. Herevpon diuerſe came and preſented their cõplaints, and amongſt other, one of his owne fellowes that was a Iuſtice alſo, declared that he had ſuffred an offender conuict, to eſcape vnpuniſhed, for a bribe, which he receyued to the preiudice of the king, & the danger of his aſſociates the other Iuſtices.

The king herewith roſe vp in a greate fume and ſayd openly: If any man will ſlea Henry of Bath, he ſhal not be impeached for his death. For I doe here plainly declare him acquit & guiltleſſe for the ſame. Herewith diuerſe woulde haue run vpon him to haue murdred him, but that Iohn Manſell ſtayed their outrage, ſhewing them that the king might well hereafter repent the wordes which he ſpake thus in his furie, and thoſe ẏ ſhuld do any violence vnto the man, were not lyke to eſcape puniſhment: for both the Biſh. of London would ſurely accurſe thẽ, and other of his friends would not fail to ſeeke reuenge by tẽporall force: and thus was Henrie of Bathe in the kings high diſpleaſure for the tyme. At length yet through interceſſion of the Earle of Cornewall, and the Biſhop of London, he was put to his fine and pardoned.

About

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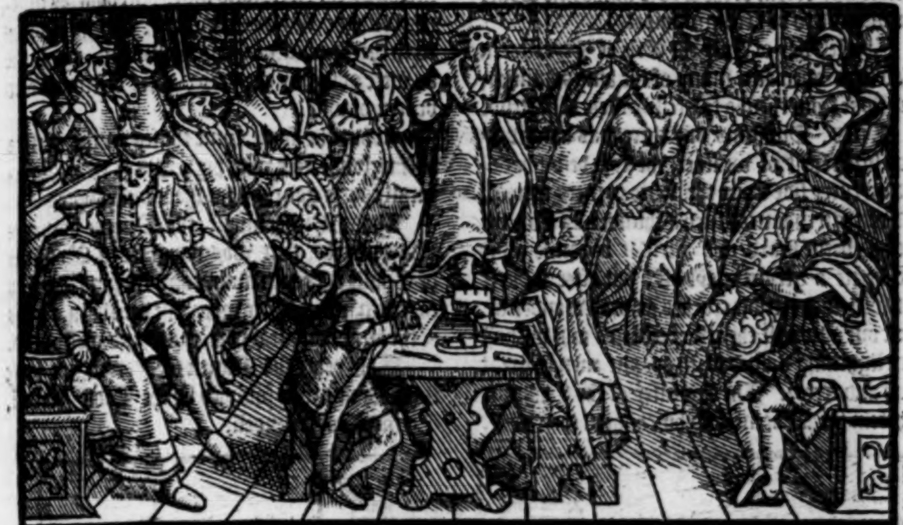
ed.

About the ſame tyme, Athelmare the kings halfe brother was cõfirmed Byſhop of Wincheſter by the Pope, although he was thought ſcarcely ſufficient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and ripe yeares.

A conuocatio
of the of Bi-
ſhops.

About this time alſo, the Biſhops aſſembling at Dunſtable, tooke aduice togyther, how to preuent the Archbiſhop of Canterburie that he ſhuld not viſite: and in the ende they concluded to ſende their procurator vnto the Court of Rome, to trie what purchaſe might be made there for money to ſtay the lycence, and not to ſticke for the diſburſing of foure thouſande Markes, if neede requyred. Their Procurator did ſo much in the matter, that he founde the Pope fauourable to his cauſe, though no determinate anſwere was giuen of a long time, till at length to gratifie the Archbiſhop and his kinne, as the Duke of Sauoy and other, the Pope graunted to him lycence to viſite, but not generally: For he might not viſit any pariſh Church, except the perſon requyred him therto. And whereas he had libertie to viſite cõuentuall Churches, yet might hee not receyue for procuracies aboue foure Markes. For this moderation to be had, the Procurator for the Biſhoppes gaue vnto the Pope ſix thouſand Markes.



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kes giuen
he Pope.

Biſhop of
colne viſi-
Abbeys.

The ſame yeare the Biſhop of Lyncolne viſited the Religious houſes within his dioces, to vnderſtande what rule was kept amongſt them, vſing the matter ſomewhat ſtraytely (as they thought:) for he entred into the Chambers of the Monkes, and ſearched theyr beddes. And comming vnto the houſes of the Nunnes, hee went ſo neare, as to cauſe theyr breaſts to be tryed, that he might vnderſtande of their chaſte liuings. In Lent following hee was ſuſpended by the Pope, bycauſe he would not ſuffer an Italian that had no ſkill of the Engliſhe tongue to enioy a Prebend in his Church, which the Pope had giuen to the ſame Italian.

Biſhop of
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s.

Alain Lorde
Zouch.

In this ſeaſon, Wales was brought to be ſubiect vnto the Engliſh lawes, and that part which ioyneth to Cheſſhire, was committed to the cuſtodie of Alain Lorde Zouch, the whiche gaue for the hauing of the profites thereof to ferme, xj. hundred Markes, and ſupplanted Lorde Iohn Gray whiche ſhoulde haue had it for fiue hundred.

Vſurers called
Caorſini.

Certaine Vſurers and ſtraungers borne, called *Caorſini*, had bought at London fayre houſes, and ſo remayned there as inhabitants, occupying their trade without controlment, for the Prelates durſt not ſpeake agaynſt them, bycauſe they alledged themſelues to be the Marchants of the Popes highneſſe: and the Citizens durſte not trouble them bycauſe they were defended by certain noble men, whoſe money (as was ſayd) they occupied to gaine after the maner of the Courte of Rome. But at length yet they were called before the ciuill Magiſtrate by the kings procurement, and grieuouſly accuſed for theyr vnlawfull occupying of vſurie, and ſome of them committed to priſon, the reſidue hid themſelues out of the way, tyll at length for a ſumme of money they were licenced to be at reſt, and ſo continued for a ſeaſon. The Iewes reioyced hereat, to haue fellowes with them in their miſerie.

Controuerſie
betwixt Pre-
lates.

In this ſeaſon alſo there depended a controuerſie betwixt the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and the Biſhoppe of London and his Canons of Paules, ſo that the ſayde Biſhop of London and the Deane of Paules, and other of the Canons were excommunicate. But the Biſhop perceyuing which way the world went, recõciled himſelfe. But the Deane ſtoode long in the matter, and at length went himſelfe to the Pope to vtter his griefe.

This controuerſie hanged long betwixt them, and was handled in ſuch wiſe, that laye menne laught at their doings, for now and then whome the Pope commaunded to be aſſoyled, theyr aduerſaries by colour of the Popes authoritie would commaund to be excommunicate.

The Earle of Leyceſter proſpereth in Caſcoigne.

The firſt day of July the Erle of Leyceſter in Gaſcoign ouercame many of the kings enimies, and tooke from them a fortreſſe called Chattellō.

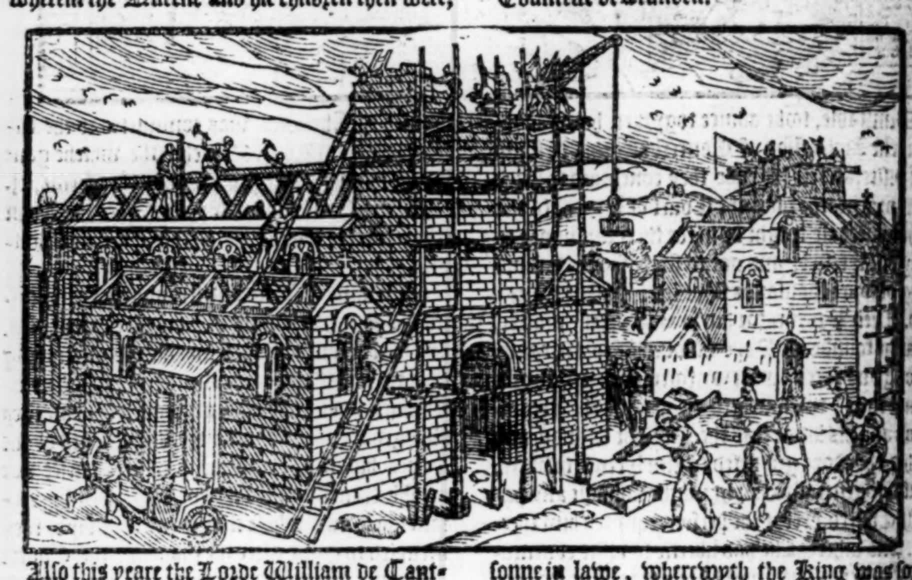
A ſore tempeſt of thunder and lightning.

On S. Dunſtans day there was a marueilous ſore tēpeſt of weather, the ayre being darkned on euery ſide from the foure corners thereof, and withall chaunced ſuch a thunder as fewe the like had beene heard of. Firſt it beganne as it had beene a greate waye off, but after it burſt out with ſuch terrible crackes as was wonderful. But one amongſt the reſt exceeded, and withall ſuch lightning flaſhed forth as put men in great feare and terror. The chymney of the Chamber wherein the Queene and hir children then were, was beaten downe to duſt, and the whole buyldinge ſore ſhaken. This was at Windſore, where in the Parke Okes were rent in ſunder, and turned vp by the rootes, and much hurt done, as mylnes with the Mylners in them, and ſhepefoldes with the ſhepheardes, and plowmen, and ſuche as were going by the way, were deſtroyed and beaten downe.

About the ſame tyme the ſea on the coaſtes of Englande, roſe with higher tydes than the naturall courſe gaue, by the ſpace of ſixe foote.

About Michaelmaſſe, the Queene dowager of Scotlande, that was daughter to Monſieur de Couſie a French man, came through Englād to return into France where ſhe was born, & was of the king honourably receyued and welcomed.

This yeare the Nunrie of Marran not farre from Lynne was founded by the Ladie Iſabell, Counteſſe of Arundell.



Alſo this yeare the Lorde William de Cantlow departed this life, in whoſe heritage his ſon named alſo William ſucceeded.

Moreouer, John Cobham, and Geffrey Spencer (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings counſaile) departed this life, Cobham before Eaſter, and Spencer ſhortlye after the ſame feaſt. Alſo in the Octaues of Pentecoſt, Paule Peyuer or Peure departed this life. Hee was alſo one of the kings chiefe Counſaylers, and Lorde Stewarde of his houſe. This man at the firſt was not borne to any great poſſeſſions, but by purchaſe hee atteyned to greate reuenues. The Ladie Joan his wife compounded with the king, for the maryage of hir ſonne named Paule, after his father, but the Lorde John Gray payed the money, being fiue hundred marks, and ſo diſcharging hir of that debt, maried hir ſonne to one of his daughters at his manour of Eyton, and afterwardes at London maried the mother of his ſonne in lawe, wherewyth the King was ſore diſpleaſed, for hee hadde gyuen the maryage of hir vnto a Staunger, one Stephen de Salines, ſo that the Lorde Gray was glad to gyue to the King the ſumme of fiftie markes, by way of a fine to haue his good will.

Paule Peyuer.

In the.xxxvj. yeare of King Henries raigne, the Churche of Hales was dedicate of the foundation of Richarde Earle of Cornewall. At which dedication hee kept a ſolemne feaſt on the Euen of Saint Leonarde being Sunday. There was preſent the King, and Queene, and almoſt all the Nobilitie of Englande, both ſpiritual and temporall.

The buylding of that Churche, all charges accounted, ſtoode the Earle in tenne thouſande Markes, as hee himſelfe confeſſed vnto Mathew Paris.

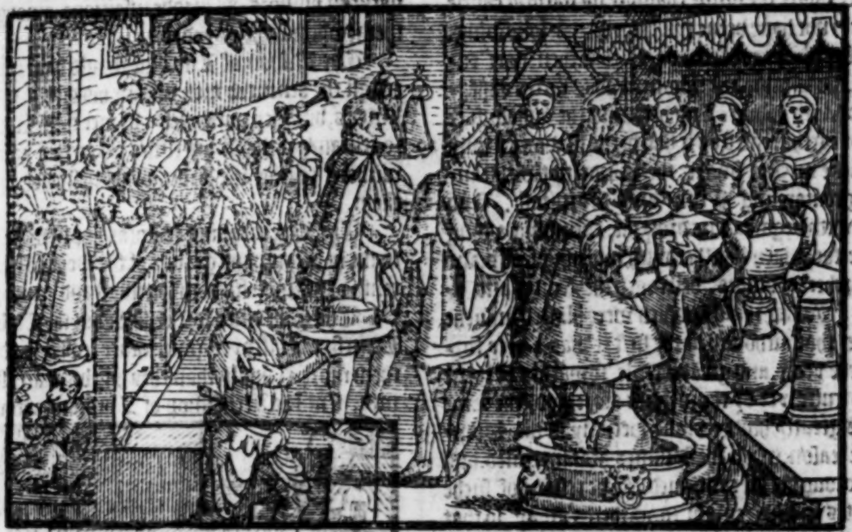
About the ſame tyme the Earle of Leyceſter, and Guy de Luſignan the Kings halfe brother,

ther came into Englande out of Fraunce, and landed at Douer. The king receyued them with great ioy & gladnes. He gaue to his brother at his return great rewards, as he was euer accuſtomed.

In the feaſt of the Conception of our Ladie at a Iuſtes holden at Rocheſter, the ſtraungers were putte to the worſe, and well beaten by the Engliſhe Batchlers and men of Armes, ſo that the diſhonour which they did to the Engliſh men at Brackley was nowe recompenced with intereſt. For the Straungers fleeing to the Citie for ſuccour, were mette by the way by the Engliſh Knightes ſeruaunts and yeomen, which fel vpon them, beate them ſore with Clubbes and ſtaues, and handled them very euill. Hereof ſprang a greate hatred betwixt the Engliſhe men and ſtraungers, whiche dayly grewe and encreaſed more and more, the rather bycauſe the king had them in ſo good eſtimation, and reteyned ſo many of them within the realme.

1252

The king did celebrate the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe at Yorke, whether came Alexander the yong king of Scottes, and was there made Knight by the King of Englande, and on Saint Stephens day he maryed the Ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the aſſuraunce before time concluded. There was a great aſſembly of noble perſonages at that feaſt.



The Queene dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the houſe of Coucie, had paſſed the ſea, & was preſent there with a fayre companie of Lordes and Gentlemen. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englandes part were reckened to be at the poynt of one thouſande. The King of Scottes had with him .lx. knightes and a great ſort of other gentlemen comparable to knightes.

The king of Scottes did homage to the king of Englande at that time for the realme of Scotlande, and all things were done with great loue and fauour, although at the begynning ſome ſtrife was kyndled about taking vp of lodgings.

This aſſembly of the Princes, coſt the Archbiſhop right deerely, in feaſting and banquetting them and theyr traynes. At one dinner it was reported he ſpent at the firſt courſe .lx. fat Oxen. At requeſt of the king of Scottes, the king of England receyued agayne into fauour Philip Lunell, or rather Luvell as I take it, one of his counſaile againſt whom he had conceiued diſpleaſure in the yere laſt paſt, for ſuch brybrie as he was thought to be guiltie of for to ſhewe fauour to the Iewes.

The king of Scottes when he ſhould depart, tooke his leaue in moſt courtuous maner, and led with him his new maried wife, on whom attended ſir Robert Norice knight marſhall of the kings houſe, and ſir Stephē Bauſan, and alſo the Ladie Maude, the widow of the Lorde William Cantlow, with other. On the octaues of the Epiphany chanced an exceeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuerſe places of the realm. The B. of Rocheſter returning frō the court of Rome, brought wᵗ him a bul, authoriſing him to receyue to his owne vſe the .v. part of the reuenues of al ẏ beneficed men within his dioces. In this meane while the erle of Leyceſter remaining in Englād, the Gaſcoignes made ſore war againſt ſuch as he had left behind him, & withal gaue information to the K. that the Erle of Leyceſter was a traytor, & one ẏ had ſpoiled the kings ſubiects: And furthermore by his vniuſt dealings had giuē to the Gaſcoignes cauſe of rebelliō. The K. to boult out the truth of this matter, ſent firſt his chaplaine Herle Winghā, & afterwards ſir Nic. de Moles de Valence, as cōmiſſioners to enquire of ẏ erles doing, who wēt & returned wᵗout finding any manifeſt crime in ẏ erles demenor. The erle was much offended that his innocency ſhuld be thus ſuſpected.

Sir Robert Norice, & ſir Stephen Bauzan.

An exceeding great wind.

The Biſhop of Rocheſters bul

The Gaſcoignes make warre againſt the Engliſh ſubiects.

But

The Earle of Leyceſter daūteth his enimies.

But at length being appoynted to returne into Gaſcoigne, he obeyed, and hauing a great ſumme of money, he reteyned a power of men of warre, aſwell French men as other, and meaning to bee reuenged of thoſe that had giuen the information agaynſt him, he ſtrengthned himſelfe with the ayde of the king of Nauarre, and of the Earle of Bigorre and other, ſo that hee oppreſſed his aduerſaries on eche hande, and ſo abated their pride, that if they conueniently had might, they would haue yelded themſelues to ſome other prince, and vtterly haue renounced the King of Englande for euer.

A ſtraunge wonder of the newe Moone.

A great drought.

Many diſeaſes raigned.

A murreyn of cattaile.

The.xiij.day of March, the newe moone was ſeene, where the prime chaunge by natural courſe ſhould not haue beene tyll the.xvj.day following, and for the ſpace of.xv. dayes that then next enſued, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth ſeemed as it had beene ſhadowed with a thicke myſt or ſmoke, the winde notwithſtanding remayning North and Northeaſt. And herewith began a ſore drought, cōtinuing a long time, the which togither with morning froſts, and Northerly windes, deſtroyed the fruites and other growing things, which were blaſted in ſuche wiſe, that although at the firſt it was a very forwarde yeare, and great plentie towardes of corne and fruite, yet by the meanes aforeſayd, the ſame was greatly hindered, and ſpecially in the Sommer ſeaſon, when the Sunnes heat increaſed, and the drought ſtill continued. The reſidue of ſuche fruites as then remayned, withered away, ſo that vneth a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent ſtore. For if the abundaunce which the bloſſomes promiſed had come forwarde, the trees had not bene able to haue borne the ſame. The graſſe was ſo burned vp in paſtures & medowes, that if a man tooke vp ſome of it in his hands and rubbed the ſame neuer ſo little, it ſtreight fell to poulder, and ſo cattel were redie to ſterue through lacke of meate: and bycauſe of the exceeding hote nightes, there was ſuch abundance of fleas, flies, and gnattes, that people were vexed, and brought in caſe to be wearie of their liues. And herewyth chaunced many diſeaſes, as ſweates, agues, and other. And in the Harueſt tyme there fell a great death or murreyn amongſt cattell, and ſpecially in Norffolke, in the fennes and other parties of the South. The infection was ſuch, that dogs, and rauens feeding on the dead carraynes, ſwelled ſtreight wayes and dyed, ſo that the people durſt eate no biefe, leaſt the fleſh happely might be infected.

Alſo this was noted not without great wonder, that yong heyfers and bullockes followed the mylche kine, and as it had beene calues ſucked the ſame kine. Alſo Apple trees and Peare trees now after the time of yelding their ripe fruite, began againe to bloſſome, as if it had beene in Aprill. The cauſe of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After ſo great a drougth (which had continued by all the ſpace of the monethes of Aprill, May, June, and July,) when there folowed good plentie of raine, the earth began to yelde hir encreaſe moſt plentiouſly of all growing things, though not ſo wholſome nor of ſuch kindly ſubſtance, as in due time and ſeaſon ſhee is accuſtomed to bring forth, and ſo the cattell which before was hungerſtaruen, fed now ſo greedily of thys newe graſſe ſprung vp in vndue ſeaſon, that they were ſodenly puffed vp with fleſhe, and ſuch vnnaturall humors, as bredde infections amongeſt them, whereof they dyed.

The Biſhop of Lincolne would haue enforced all the beneficed men within his dioces to bee Prieſts, but they purchaſed a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Uniuerſities for certain yeares, without taking the order of Prieſthoode vpon them.

The king meaning to go (as he pretended) into the holy land, had graunt of the Pope to leuie a tenth of his ſubiects both ſpirituall and temporal.

The Gaſcoines ſore repining at the Earle of Leyceſter his ſtrayte gouernance, (who handled them more roughly than they had beene accuſtomed,) ſent the Archbiſhop of Burdeaux ouer into Englande to exhibite a complaint agaynſt him in all theyr names.

The Earle of Leyceſter aduertiſed thereof, followed him, and comming to the Court, found the Archbiſhop readie to aduouche the information which he had made agaynſt the ſayde Earle, chiefely in that he had ſought the deſtruction of thoſe whome the Earle of Cornewall when hee was ruler there, had graunted life and peace, and whome ſir Henrie Trubleuile, and Waleran the Teutchman, late Stewardes of Gaſcoigne, vnder the king, had cheriſhed and mainteyned.

Many other things the Archbiſhoppe charged him with, the which the Erle wittily refelled and diſproued, ſo as he was allowed in his iuſtification by thoſe that ſtoode by, as the Erle of Cornwall and others.

e Erle diſ-
eth the
gations of
accuſers.

The Biſhop of Lincolne got authoritie of the Pope to inſtitute Vicarages, in Churches impropriate to religious men, where no Vicars were, and where ſuch were as ſeemed to ſlenderly prouided of ſufficient allowance, to augment the ſame as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he vſed more largely than ſtoode with the pleaſure of religious perſons, bycauſe hee ſhewed great fauour to the Vicars. The copie of the letters which the Biſhop had procured of the Pope, authoriſing him herein, followeth as we find the ſame in the Chronicles of Matthew Paris.

Biſhop of
colne au-
itie, to in-
te Vicars
Churches
propriate.

Innocentius Epiſcopus, &c. Cum ſicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & dioceſi, nonnulli religioſi & alij collegiatæ eccleſias parochiales in proprios vſus obti[illegible] in quibus nimis exiles aut nullæ taxatæ ſunt vicariæ, fraternitati tuæ [illegible] mandamus quatenus in eiſdem eccleſijs de ipſorum prouentibus vicarias inſtituas, & inſtitutas exiles adaugeas vice noſtra: prout iuxta conſuetudinem patriæ ſecundum deum videris expedire; non obſtantibus ſi prædicti exempti ſint, aut alijs muniti apoſtolicis priuilegijs ſiue indulgentijs, per quæ id impediri vel differri poſſit: Et de quibus ſpecialis oporteat in præſentibus fieri mentionem, contradictores per cenſuras eccleſiaſticas apoſtolica poteſtate compeſcendo. Datum Lugduni, iiij. Kal. Octob. pont. ſinatus noſtri anno viij.

Letter of
Popes
unt.

The Earle of Leyceſter is eftſoones ſent into Gaſcoigne by the king, who had not cared if he had fallen into his enimies handes as ſhould appeare. But the Earle by meanes of ayde gotten in Fraunce, and comming into Gaſcoigne, fought againſt his enimyes, though in the conflict he was in daunger of loſing both life and the honour of the fielde. But yet through his owne happie chaunce, and the valiance of himſelfe and ſome of his retinue, hee gate the vpper hande, and put hys enimies to flight, taking Ruſteyn, one of the chiefe Capitaines of the rebels, whome he cauſed to be ſent to the king.

The Earle of Leyceſter ſent eftſoones into Gaſcoigne.

Ruſteyn takẽ.

At the ſame time had the king inueſted hys ſonne Edward with the Duchie of Aquitaine, to the offence of the Erle of Cornwall, to whom by charter he had before giuen & confirmed the ſame.

kings el-
ſonne Ed-
created
of Aqui-
e.

In a Iuſtes holden at Walden, ſir Arnold de Montney, a right valiãt knight, was ſlain by ſir Roger de Lemborne, for which miſchaunce all the Nobles there aſſembled made great lamentation, and namely the ſayde ſir Roger: but yet he was ſuſpected to be in blame, bycauſe the ſocket of his ſtaffe was poliſhed, and not abated. Hereby it ſhould appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, & not in maner of their running togither, theſe iuſtes & turneys in thoſe dayes practiſed differed from the very order of warre.

Arnold de
teyay
e.

The xvij. of Septem. the cathedrall Church of Ely was dedicat, which the B. of that ſea named Hugh had builded with his owne proper coſtes & charges, togither with the palace there. The king & a great nũber of the peeres & nobles of the realme both ſpirituall & temporall were preſent at this ſolemne feaſt, which was kept in moſt plentifull maner.

church of
dedicate

The xiij. day of October the king helde a great feaſt at London, and had called the eſtates of the Realme, then and there aſſembled in Parliament, where it was opened to them the popes graunt, which he had obteyned of the tenthes due to the Church, to be receyued by him for three yeares, towardes his charges in his iourney which he meant to make into the holy land. The Biſhops, and namely Lincolne, vtterly refuſed to be contributories to this graunte. They alledged ſome reaſons for their excuſe, as the pouertie of the Engliſh Church being [illegible] bare, with continuall exactions and oppreſſions, but chiefly they excuſed themſelues by the abſence of the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Yorke, of whom the one was beyond the ſea, and the other at home in the north partes. All the reſidue of the Engliſh Biſhops were there, except Hereforde & Chicheſter,

A Parliament.

The king demaundeth the tenthes of the ſpiritualtie.

The Biſhops refuſe to yeeld to the Popes graunt.

which Cheſter was ſicke, and therefore without the conſent of thoſe that were abſent and namely theyr Primate the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, they coulde not conclude vpon any general point touching the kings demaunde. And although the king fretted and ſtormed agaynſt them, yet could he not bring them to his purpoſe, ſo that the Parliament for that time was diſſolued. Yet before theyr departure from London, hee communed with the Biſhops apart, to ſee if hee myght perſwade them to giue to him ſome portion of money towardes his charges: but they had tuned theyr ſtrings all after one note, diſcording all from his tenour, ſo that not a penie coulde be got of them: wherefore hee tooke high diſpleaſure agaynſt them, reuyling them in moſte reprochfull maner, and amongſt other he vpbrayded his half brother, (the elect of Wincheſter) of greate vnthankfulneſſe, who alſo amongſt the reſidue ſtood agaynſt him.

The king highly offended with the Biſhops,

The king hauing this repulſe at the Biſhops handes, began to fall in talke with the Lordes of the Temporaltie touching the troubles in Gaſcoygne, where things were in broyle by the harde doings of the Earle of Leyceſter, againſt whome the Gaſcoignes ceaſſed not to make warre ſtyll, and of late hauing beſieged him in the Caſtell of Mountalbon, droue him to ſuch ſhift, that to eſcape the preſent daunger, he was glad to ſet at libertie certaine rebels, whiche he had before taken captiues. Therfore to reduce that Countrie vnto quiet, the king determined to go thither himſelfe, and to remoue the Earle of Leyceſter out of hys office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, whiche was to deſire them of ayde both of men & money, the Lordes woulde not agree to graunte him any. And where he ſought to burden the erle of Leyceſter with miſgouerning things agaynſt his honour, they excuſed the ſame Earle, and ſo the Lordes alſo departed in diſpleaſure of the king aſwell as the Biſhops. Of the Londoners yet the king by way of princely prayer got .xx. thouſand Markes of golde at that time. And to theyr further griefe for better meane to be reuenged agaynſt the Biſhop of Elie, he cauſed the ſayde Londoners to keepe S. Edwards fayre for .xv. dayes togither at Weſtminſter, and in the meane time to keepe their ſhops ſhut through all the Citie. Which thing (by reaſon of the foule weather chauncing at that time) was very grieuous vnto them, albeit there was ſuch repayre of people thither, that London had not bene fuller to the iudgement of olde auncient men neuer at any tyme in theyr dayes to theyr remembraunce.

The king aſſayeth to get money of the Lordes temporall.

The Londoners helpe at a pinche.

This yeare died ſir Nicholas Samford knight, a man of great reputation and valiancie. Alſo on the .xx. day of October, the Counteſſe of Wincheſter, daughter to the Erle of Hereford departed this life at Groby, a Manor place belonging to hir huſband the Earle of Wincheſter, a little beſides Leyceſter, and was buried at Brackley. The ſayde Earle ſhortly after maryed an other wife in hope of iſſue. For neither by this his laſte wife, neyther by his firſt that was daughter to the Lord Alane de Galoway he had any childe.

The death of ſir Nicholas Samford.

Alſo the ſame yeare, that noble Ladie Margaret Counteſſe of Liſle ſurnamed Riuers, ſomtime wife to Foukes de Breut, departed out of this worlde, about the ſecond day of October.

In the .xxxvij. yeare of king Henries raigne, one of the Popes notaries called Albert came into England to offer vnto Richard erle of Cornwall the kings brother, the kingdomes of Naples and Sicill. But the Erle ſuppoſing it not to ſtande with his honour, to depriue his nephewe Henry ſon to the Emperor Frederick the ſecond, by his wife the Empreſſe Iſabell that was ſiſter to ỹ ſaid erle, refuſed to take that honor vpõ him.

About the ſame time, that is to ſay, in the Octaues of Saint Martin, Boniface the Archbiſhop of Canterburie arriued in Englande comming from the Court of Rome, where he had bin long reſiant.

The ſame time there chaunced a great occaſion of ſtrife betwixt the ſayd Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter. For where maiſter Euſtace de Linne, Officiall to the ſaid Archbiſhop had firſt excommunicate, & after for his cõtumacie cauſed to be attached a prieſt which by authoritie of ỹ elect of Wincheſter as dioceſane there, was entred into poſſeſſion of an Hoſpitall in Southwarke, as gouernour thereof, by the name of Prior, without conſent of the Officiall, whiche pretended tytle as Patrone in hys Maiſters name, the ſayd elect of Wincheſter cauſed a ryotous lot of perſons after the maner of warre to ſeeke reuenge hereof, the whiche after manye outrages done, came to Lambeth, and there by violence tooke the ſayde Euſtace out of his owne houſe, and ledde him to Farnham, where hee was kepte as priſoner.

The Archbiſhop hereof aduertiſed, at his firſt comming ouer, and taking the ſame but for a homely welcom, was marueylouſly offended, and comming to London accompanied with the Biſhops of Chicheſter and Hereforde, in the Church of Saint Mary Bowe, being reueſted in *Pontificalibus*, pronounced all thoſe accurſed whiche were Authours or fauourers of ſuch a raſhe and preſumptuous deede, and further commaunded all the Biſhops within his Prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the ſame in their Churches euery Sunday and holy day.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter on the other part, ſent cõmaundement to the deane of Southwarke to reſiſt the Archbiſhop to his face, & to denounce his curſſe to be voyde, vaine, and of no force, but deuiſed of a craftie purpoſe and wicked meaning. The Archbiſhop continuing in his conceiued diſpleaſure, went to Oxforde, and there on the morow after Saint Nicholas day, renued the ſame curſe in ſolemne wiſe before all the learned men, ſtudents, and ſcholers of the vniuerſitie. At length yet the matter was taken vp betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cauſe, and the Queene for hir vncle the Archbiſhop, tooke ſome payne to agree them. And ſo in the Octaues of the Epiphanie they were made friendes, and thoſe aſſoyled that were excommunicate, in which number William de Valẽce, and John de Warren were thought to be conteyned as thoſe that ſhoulde be preſent in vſing the force againſt the Official (as before ye haue heard.) By inquiry takẽ about this time by the diligence of the Biſhop of Lincolne, it was found that the yearely profites and reuenues of ſpiritual promotions, and liuings reſting in ſtraungers hands preferred by the Popes prouiſions, amounted to the ſumme of .lxx. thouſand Markes, which was more by two thirde partes, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crowne.

1253

Archb. of
terburie
the Biſhop
Winchester
e friends.
liam de
ence, and
de War-

value of
tuall ly-
s in ſtran-
handes.

The Earle of Glouceſter and the Lord Wil. de Valence went ouer into Fraunce in moſt triumphant maner, to conclude a maryage betwixt the ſonne of the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, and the daughter of the Lorde Guie of Engoleſme. Which mariage the king had mocioned for the affection which he bare towardes the aduauncement of his linage.by the mothers ſyde. Whereat bicauſe they were ſtrangers, the Engliſh nobilitie ſomwhat repined. And wheras like luſtie yõg gẽtlemen they attempted a Juſtes and tourney to ſhewe ſome prouſe of theyr valiaunt ſtomackes, they were well beaten by the French men, that diſdeyned to ſee yong men ſo preſumptuous, to prouoke olde accuſtomed warriours to the tryall of ſuch martiall enterpriſes

About the beginning of Lent the new Moone was ſeene foure dayes before ſhe ought to haue appeared by hir common courſe.

The newe Moone appeared before hir time.

The king by a ſhift got of the Lõdoners .1000. Markes. For as it happened about the ſame time the youthfull Citizens (for an exerciſe and triall of their actiuitie) had ſet forth a game to runne at the Quintine, and whoſoeuer did beſt ſhuld haue a Peacocke which they had prepared for a priſe. Certaine of the kings ſeruants, bycauſe the court lay then at Weſtminſter, came (as it were in ſpight of the Citizens) to the game, & giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the Citie & auncient priuiledges which they ought to haue enioyed were called Barons) the ſayd Lõdoners not able to beare ſo to be miſvſed, fell vpon the kings ſeruaunts, and bet them ſhrewdly, ſo that vpon coplaint, the king cauſed the Citizens to fine for their raſh doings.

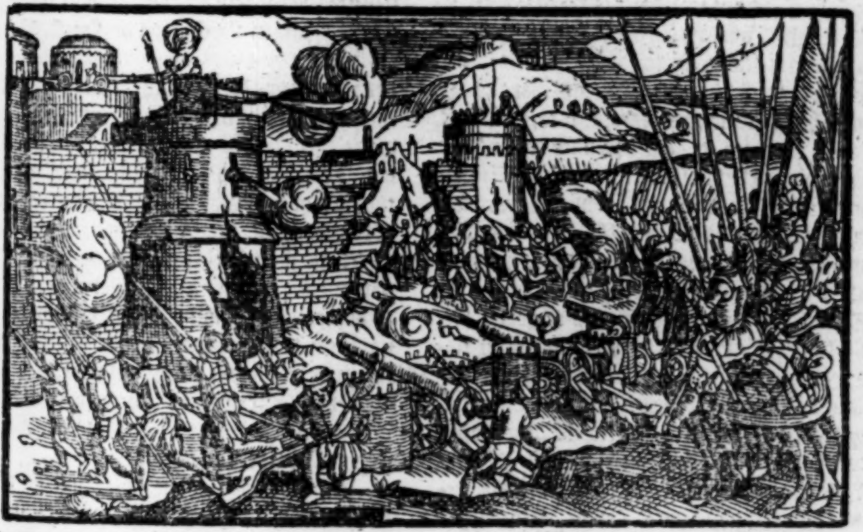
Running at the Quintine.

The Londoners called Barons.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, the K. vpon diſpleaſure conceyued agaynſt the Earle of Leyceſter, had cauſed him to reſigne his office of the wardẽſhip of Gaſcoigne: and bycauſe the erle had it by patẽt, the k. not able to find any iuſt cauſe of forfeiture, agreed to pay vnto him for yͤ reſignatiõ no ſmal portion of money. And wheras the Gaſcoignes had charged the erle with too much ſtrait hãdling of them, wherby they were occaſioned to rayſe tumults, the matter was now nothing at al amended. For after the erle had reſigned, they cõtinued ſtill in rebellion, ſo that the Rioll with S. Millions and other places were taken by the aduerſaries oute of the Kings handes, and greate ſlaughter of people made in thoſe parties: wherefore the king mynding to goe thither, cauſed muſters to be takẽ, and men put in a redineſſe according to the cuſtome, that he might vnderſtande what number of able men furniſhed for the war

The Earle of Leyceſter reſigneth his gouernment of Gaſcoigne.

The Rioll. S. Million. Townes in Gaſcoigne.



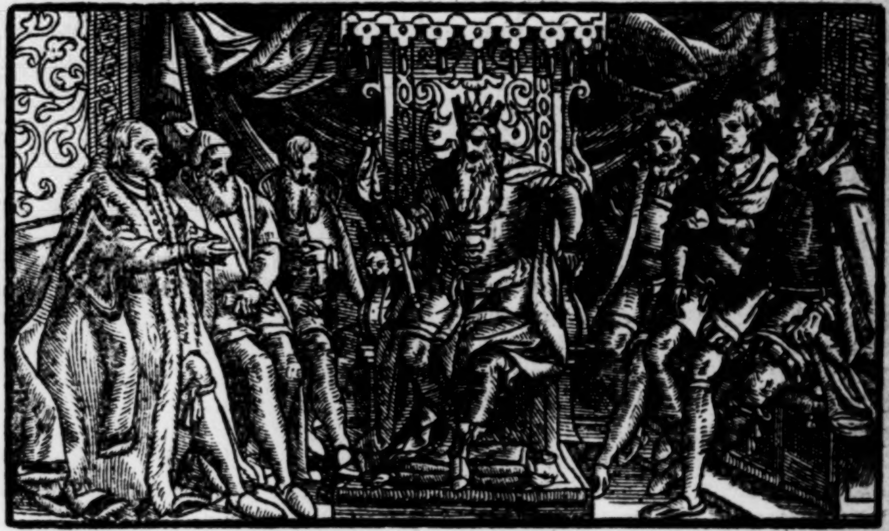
Knightes to be made.

were to be had. He alſo tooke order that euery mã that might diſpend yearely .xv. poundes in landes ſhould be made knight.

An ordinance agaynſt robbers.

Moreouer, for the better preſeruation of peace and quietneſſe amongſt his people, he appoynted watch to be kept by night in Cities & borough townes. And further by the aduice of the Sauoyſynes, which were about him, he ordeyned that if any man chaunced to bee robbed, or by anye meanes damnified by any theefe or robber, he to whom the keeping of that Countrey chiefly appertayned where the robbery was done, ſhoulde competently reſtore the loſſe: and this was after the vſage of Sauoy, but was thought more hard to be obſerued here, than in thoſe partyes, where are not ſo many bypathes and ſtarting corners to ſhift out of the way.

The Gaſcoignes continued in their ſeditious doings, and namely Gaſcon de Bierne, who renouncing his duetie and obedience to the king of England, ioyned himſelfe to the king of Spaine, through his help to be the ſtronger and more able to anoy the Engliſh ſubiectes. The euill entreating vſed towards the Gaſcoigns which brought hyther Wines, in that the ſame were oftentymes taken from them by the Kings officers, and other, without readie money allowed for the ſale, gaue occaſion to them to grudge and repine agaynſt the king.



In the quindene of Eaſter a Parliament beganne at London, in which all the eſtates being aſſembled, the matter was moued for ayding the king with ſome reliefe of money towards the iorney which he ment to make into the holy lande: & ſo at length it was agreed that a tenth part of all the reuenues belonging to the church was granted to him for three yeres ſpace, and that eſcuage ſhould be leuyed for that yeare, after three markes of euery knightes fee, and the king on the other part promiſed faithfully to obſerue and maintain the graunt of the great charter, and all the articles conteyned within the ſame. And for more aſſurance hereof, the thirde day of May in the greate hall at Weſtminſter, in the preſence, and by the aſſent of the king and the Earles of Norffolke, Herforde, Oxforde, Warwicke, and other noble men, by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie as primate, and by the Biſhoppes of London, Elye, Lyncolne, Worceſter, Norwiche, Herforde, Saliſburie, Durham, Exeter, Carlile, Bathe, Rocheſter, and S. Dauies, reueſted and appareled in pontificalibus, with Tapers, according to the maner, the ſentence of excommunication was pronounced agaynſt all tranſgreſſors of the liberties of the Churche, and of the auncient liberties and cuſtomes of the realme of England, and namely thoſe which are conteyned in the greate Charter, and in the Charter of Foreſt. Whileſt the ſentence was in reading, the king helde hys hande vpon hys breaſt wyth glad and chearefull countenaunce, and when in the ende they threwe away theyr extinct and ſmoking Tapers, ſaying, ſo let them bee extinguiſhed and ſynke into the pytte of hell which runne into the daungers of this ſentence, the King ſayde, ſo helpe mee God, as I ſhall obſerue and keepe all theſe things, euen as I am a Chriſtian man, as I am a knight, and as I am a King crowned and anoynted. But afterwarde when he through other counſayle brake his promiſe therein, he was aduiſed by ſome to giue a portion of that money which he got at this tyme, to the Pope, that hee might of him be aſſoyled.

A tenth granted of the ſpiritualtie.

Eſcuage graunted.

Magna carta.

Immediately after the breaking vp of the Parliament, that is to vnderſtande, about the fyrſt of Iune, the King beeing earneſtly called vppon by Meſſengers ſente from the Gaſcoignes to prouyde in tyme for the defence and ſafegarde of that Countrey, ſithe otherwyſe hee ſtode in daunger to loſe it, with all ſpeede he reſolued to goe thither, and therevpon cauſed ſummons to bee gyuen to all thoſe that helde of him by knightes ſeruice, to prepare to bee at Porteſmouth, with horſe and armour in the Octaues of the Trinitie. Herewith hee made great prouiſion of Shippes, the whiche beeing aſſembled, and the armie likewiſe come togyther, through lacke of conuenient winde hee was enforced to ſtay a long tyme, to his great griefe and no leſſe charges.

e king pur-
ſeth to go
mſelfe into
ſcoigne.

Finally, on the. vj. of Auguſt, hee tooke the ſea, leauing his brother the Earle of Cornewall, and the Queene in charge with gouernaunce of the Realme, and of his ſonne the Lord Edward. There departed with him frō Porteſmouth three hundred ſayles of great ſhippes, beſides a number of other ſmaller veſſelles. And thus accompanied he tooke his courſe towardes Gaſcoigne, and about our Lady day the aſſumption, he arriued at Burdeaux, where he was of the Citizens honourably receyued.

e taketh the
a.

arriueth at
ideaux.

Immediately after his arriuall there, he cauſed the towne of the Rioll to be compaſſed about with a ſtrong ſiege, within the whiche a greate number of Rebelles were encloſed, which valiantly defended the place in hope of reſcue whiche Gaſton de Bierne that was fledde to the King of Spain had promiſed to procure for them. But the king of Englande to preuent them in that poynt, ſent the Biſhop of Bathe, and his truſtie Chaplaine ſir John Manſell vnto the ſayd king of Spaine, to conclude friendſhip and alliaunce with him, ſo that the Lorde Edwarde his eldeſt ſonne might marye the King of Spaine hys daughter.

baſſadors
t into Spain

After long treatie, by the diligence of the ſayd Imbaſſadors, a full concluſion followed of theyr motion. And whereas the king of Englande had giuen and aſſigned the dominion of Gaſcoigne to his ſayde ſonne the Lorde Edwarde, the King of Spain in the inſtrument that conteyned the couenants of the mariage, reſigned & quiteclaymed all the right and tytle within Gaſcoigne which he had or might haue by the gyft of king Henrie the ſecond, & by confirmation of the kings, Richard, and John. In this meane while, the townes and caſtels which the rebels held, were wonne and deliuered into the kings hands, and herewith folowed a great dearth in the kings armie, ſo that a hen was ſold for. vj. d. ſterling, A pound weight in bread was at two d. or three d. a gallon of wine at two ß. a coome or foure buſhels of wheat at. xx. ß. ſo that a knight with his eſquire, and coiſtrel with his two horſes, might vneth be cōpetently found for two ß. of ſiluer. The k. therfore to relieue his people there with him on that ſyde the ſea, ſent the Prior of Newbourgh with other into Englād, to cauſe prouiſion of vitails & other neceſſaries to be cōueyed & brought vnto him into Gaſcoigne, and ſo there was a great quantitie of grayne and powdred fleſh taken vp and ſent away with all conuenient ſpeede. The Earle of Leyceſter came to the king, bringing with hym out of Fraunce where he had remayned a certaine time, a faire companie of ſouldiers and men of warre to the kings ayde, and was right courteouſlye receyued. The Gaſcoignes then perceyuing the kings power to encreaſe, and ſaw howe not only the caſtels wherein they truſted to haue refuge were wonne and gotten out of their hands by the King of Englande, but alſo that theyr Vines (wherein chiefly conſiſted theyr hope of ſuſtentation) were burned vp and deſtroyed, they began to humble themſelues, and ſo by little and litle returned to their due obedience, after that the Authors of their ſeditious tumults were eyther apprehended, or chaſed out of the countrey.

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d the king
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A derth in the kings campe.

The Gaſcoigns begin to humble themſelues.

This yeare died the Biſhop of Chicheſter M. Richard Witz, a man of great vertue and ſingular knowledge. Alſo that famous Clearke Robert Groſted Biſhop of Lincolne departed thys lyfe on the day of Saint Denyſe in the night, at hys Manour of Bugdene, whoſe learning coupled with vertue and vprightneſſe of life wan to him perpetuall commendation. He was a manifeſt blamer of Pope and king, a reprouer of Prelates, a correcter of Monkes, a directer of Prieſtes, an inſtructer of Clearkes, a ſuſteyner of Scholers, a preacher to the people, a perſecuter of incontinent liuers, a diligent ſearcher of the Scriptures, a contemner and a verie Mallet of ſuch ſtrangers as ſought prefermēt in this realme by the Popes prouiſions: in houſekeeping liberall, in corporall refection plentifull, and in miniſtring ſpirituall foode, deuoute and godly affected: in his Biſhoplike office diligent, reuerende, and neuer awearied.

The Biſhop of Chicheſter Richarde Witz and Groſted B. of Lincolne, depart this life

The prayſe of Groſted.

Moreouer there died in Gaſcoigne, Williā de

The L. Wil. Veſcie departeth this life.

Veſcie a baron of great fame in the north partes.

Great weate.

Alſo in the Spring and Sommer of thys yeare was a greate drought, and in the Harueſt ſeaſon fell ſuch wette, that great floudes by the ryſing of the Ryuers, and ouerflowing theyr Bankes, did muche hurt in ſundrye places of the Realme. Againe in the latter ende of Harueſt about Michaelmaſſe, there was eftſoones ſuche a drought, that menne coulde gette no gryndyng at the Mylnes, but were conſtrayned to goe in ſome places a dayes iourney of, to haue theyr corne grounde.

Great drought

An.reg.38. The Lady Katherin the kings daughter borne.

In the .xxxviij. yeare of king Henries raigne, the Queene was deliuered of a daughter whiche was called Katherin, bycauſe the ſame was born on Saint Katherins day.

Winter thũder

On S. Lucies day, there fell a great ſnowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of ſome euill to follow. The king to ſettle the ſtate of the countrey of Gaſcoigne in better order, tarryed there all the winter, and repaired certaine decayed townes and Caſtels.

1254

The Queene kept hir Chriſtmaſſe at London, where ſhe lay in childebed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a royall feaſt, at the which many great Lordes were preſent, as the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie, the Biſhop of Elie, the Erles of Cornewall and Glouceſter, and many other. She ſent ouer at the ſame time to hir husband for a new yeares gift the ſumme of fiue C. Markes of hir owne reuenues towardes the maintenance of his warres.

The Queenes liberalitie towardes the king.

A ſtrange ſight in the ayre.

On the euen of the Circumciſion of our Lord, in the night ſeaſon whileſt the ayre was moſte cleare and bright with ſhining ſtarres, the Moone being .viij. dayes olde, there appeared in the Element the perfect fourme and likeneſſe of a mightie great Shippe, whiche was fyrſt ſeene of certaine Monkes of Saint Albones, who remayning at Saint Amphibalus, were got vp to behold by the ſtarres, if it were tyme for them to go to Mattens, but perceyuing that ſtraunge ſight, they called vp ſuche of their acquayntaunce as lodged neare at hande, to viewe the ſame. At length it ſeemed as the bourdes and ioyntes thereof had gone in ſunder, and ſo it vaniſhed awaye. There followed a maruellous ſore latter ende of a Winter, through colde and ouerſharpe weather, which continued till the feaſt of S. Gregorie in March next enſuing.

Redborne.

A death of ſheepe.

Alſo there chanced the ſame yere a great murreyn & death of ſheepe and Deare, ſo that of whole flocks & heardes, vneth the one halfe eſcaped.

Whileſt the King remayned ſtyll in Gaſcoigne, hee ſent for his wife Queene Eleanore, with his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde, but bycauſe he coulde not make an ende of his buſineſſe of al that Winter, hee continued there the Sommer alſo.

And foraſmuch as he ſtoode in neede of money, to haue ſome reaſonable pretence to demaunde a ſubſedie, in the begynning of Marche, hee ſent to hys brother Richarde the Earle of Cornewall (which was come ouer before chiefly for that purpoſe) certain inſtructiõs to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by meanes of Alfonſe the tenth of that name king of Caſtile, who menaced verie ſhortly to inuade the confines of Gaſcoigne perteyning to the Engliſh dominion, and therefore he required of his faithful ſubiectes ſome ayde of money, whereby he might be able to reſiſt his aduerſarie the ſayd king of Caſtile. Earle Richard did what he could to perſwade the people to this payment, but he caſt his net in vaine, before the face of the feathered foule. For though he ſette forth the matter to the vttermoſt in the preſence of the nobles and other eſtates, yet woulde they not heare of any payment to bee made, as thoſe that ſmelled out the feyned fetche and forged tale of the Kings neede. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the ſame cauſe the Queene and the Lorde Edwarde were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a ſight of him, as hee had required when the couenants of the mariage were accorded.

Twice the eſtates of the realme were aſſembled at London about the graunt of this paymẽt, but all in vaine, ſo that they were conſtrayned to paſſe it ouer with ſilence, and to ſurceaſſe in the matter to theyr great griefe, and namely the erle of Cornwal, who had taken great paynes therein. Yet for that he would not returne with emptie hande, he leuyed by rygorous meanes a great ſumme of the Iewes (of whom a great multitude inhabited in that ſeaſon in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henry ſhewed him how he had ſped.

The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with money, inſomuch that vpõ euery light occaſiõ, he was ready to reuenge his diſpleaſure towards thẽ, in taking away ſuch grauntes of priuiledges and liberties, as before he had made. But now to auoyde ſuſpition of hys feyned pretence of warre betwixte him and king Alfonſe, hee ſent hys ſonne Edwarde into Caſtile vnto the ſame Alfonſe, vnder a colour to compound with him for peace, where the verie occaſiõ of his going thither was to purchaſe him the Ladie Elenore to wife, that was ſiſter to the ſayd king Alfonſe.

At his comming to the Court of Spaine, he was of the king there verie honourably receyued, and in the ende, vpon conference had of hys meſſage, hee obteyned hys ſuyte, ſo that King Alfonſe was content to beſtowe vppon hym hys daughter in maryage, wyth the Countie of

marieth
Ladie Ele-
e daughter
K.Alfonſe.

Pontieu in Fraunce, which ſhee helde in right of hir mother Queene Joan, the ſeconde wyfe of Ferdinando the thirde king of Caſtile, Father vnto this king Alfonſe, which Joan was the only daughter and heyre of Symon Earle of Pontieu, and had iſſue by hir huſband the ſayde Ferdinando two ſonnes, Ferdinando and Lewes, with one daughter, to wit the foreſayde Elenore, the which by reaſon hir brethren dyed yong, was heyre to hir mother. The Lorde Edward hauing ſped his buſineſſe according to his deſire returned with a ioyfull heart to his father, and declared to him what he had done. His father moſt glad thereof, for an augmentation of honor created hym Prince of Wales, and Erle of Cheſter, and appoynted him to be his deputie and generall Lieutenant both in Guyenne and in Irelande, & gaue to him the townes of Briſtow, Stanforde, and Granthã. Hereof came it, that euer after the kings eldeſt ſonne was made immediately vpon hys byrth Prince of Wales, and Erle of Cheſter. He created alſo his other ſon named Edmond, Earle of Lancaſter.

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About this ſeaſon were certain ſhips driuen by force of winde and weather into certaine Hauens on the north coaſtes of England towardes Berwike, which ſhippes were of a right ſtraunge forme & faſhion, but mightie & ſtrong. The men that were abord the ſame ſhips were of ſome far countrey, for their language was vnknowne, and not vnderſtandable to any man that coulde bee brought to talke with them. The fraught & balaſt of the ſhips was armor and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, ſpeares, bowes, arrowes, croſbowes and darts, with great ſtore of vitailes. There lay alſo without the hauens on the coaſt diuerſe other ſhips of like forme, molde & faſhion. Thoſe that were driuen into the hauens were ſtayed for a time by the Baylifes of the Portes. But finally when it coulde not be knowne what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licenced to depart, without loſſe or harme in body or goodes.

Gaſton de Bierne attempteth to take the citie of Bayon.

About Candlemaſſe, Gaſton de Bierne, aſſembling togither a multitude of the kings enimies, through intelligence of ſome of the Citizens of Bayon that fauoured not the K. wrought ſo that certaine of his number entred that Citie, meaning to haue bereft the king of the dominion thereof. But other of the Citizens, (namelye thoſe of the meaner ſorte whiche fauoured the King) made ſuche reſiſtaunce, that the enimyes whiche were entred, were apprehended, and dyuerſe of them ſuffered puniſhment, as they hadde well deſerued.

A mutenye in the Engliſh armie.

After this, there chaunced a muteinye in the Engliſhe armie, bycauſe the kings brethren and the Biſhop of Herforde tooke vpon them to puniſh certain Welchmen, for that without cōmiſſion they had beene abrode to ſpoyle within the French confines. Therefore in aſmuch as the puniſhment ſeemed to exceed the degree & qualitie of the offence, and againe for that the Erle of Herford being Coneſtable of the hoſt by inheritaunce ought to haue had the order of all corrections in caſes of ſuch offences, the Engliſhe men were in minde to haue ſlaine all the Poictouins in deſpite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wiſe ſought to haue appeaſed their furie.

A mightie ſtorme of hayle.

The wind continuing this yeare for the ſpace of three Monethes and odde dayes northerly, did greatly hinder the growth and increaſe of floures and fruites: and about the firſt of July there fell ſuche a ſtorme of hayle and rayne, as the lyke had not beene ſeene nor hearde of in thoſe dayes, breaking downe the tyles and other couerings of houſes, with boughes of trees, by the violent abūdance and force of the water & haileſtones, whiche continued aboue the ſpace of an houre powring and beating downe inceſſauntly.

An. Reg. 39. The king returneth homewards through France.

After this, when the king had remayned a whole yere in Guienne, he returned homewards through Fraunce, and comming vnto Chartres, was honourably there receyued of Lewes the French king, as then lately returned oute of the holy lande, and from thence he was royally by the ſame king Lewes brought vnto Paris.

The Coũteſſe of Cornewall.

The Counteſſe of Cornwal went ouer with a noble trayne of Lordes, Gentlemen, and others, to bee preſent at thee meeting of hir two ſiſters, the Queens of England & France, ſo that the royaltie of the aſſemble on ech part was great.

1255

Finally after that king Henry had continued for his pleaſure certaine dayes, hee returned ſtreight into Englande, landing at Douer in Chriſtmaſſe week. This iourney into Gaſcoigne was right coſtly, and to ſmall purpoſe (as wryters haue recorded, for the kings charges amounted to the ſumme of. xxvij. hundred thouſande poundes and aboue, except landes and rentes which he gaue vnaduiſedly to thoſe which little deſerued, but rather ſought the hynderance both of him and his Realme, beſydes the gyfte of. xxx. thouſand Markes, which he beſtowed vpon hys halfe brethren by the mother ſide, not reckening the landes nor rentes, neyther yet the wardes nor the horſes, nor Iewelles which he gaue to them beſides, being of price ineſtimable.

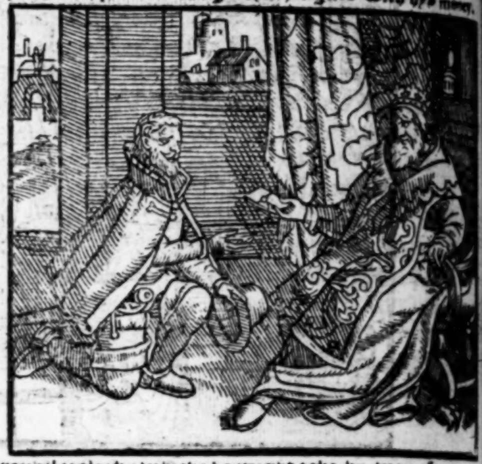
And thus in two iourneys which he made, the one into Poictou, which Countrey hee loſt, and the other into Gaſcoigne, which he hardly preſerued, he ſpent more treaſure than a wiſe chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had beene ſet on ſale (as Mat. Paris writeth.)

The pope offereth the kingdome of Sicill vnto the king of England.

The king maketh great ſhift for mony to ſend to the pope.

He ſe the pop tant to money.

Moreouer to encreaſe the kings vain charges, ſo it fell out, that Pope Innocent bearing grudge towardes Conrade king of Sicill, he offred that kingdome (as before is partly touched) vnto Richard Duke of Cornewall, who refuſed the offer aſwell for other cauſes, as chiefly for that the pope would not agree to ſuch conditions as Erle Richard thought neceſſarie for his aſſurance: whereupon the Pope graunted that kingdome vnto K. Henrie, with many goodly promiſes of ayd to his furtherance for atteyning the poſſeſſion thereof. King Henrie ioyfully receyued that graunt, and called his ſonne Edmond openly by the name of king of Sicill, and to furniſh the Pope with money for the maintenance of his war againſt Cõrade, he got togither all ſuch ſummes as he could make, aſwell out of his owne coffers, and out of the Exchequer, as by borowing of his brother erle Richard, & likewiſe what he could ſcrape frõ the Iewes, or otherwiſe extort by the rapine of the Iuſtices Itenerantes, all the which he ſent to the Pope, who not content herewith (when he began eftſones to want) wrote againe to the king for more. The King through the inſtinct of the diuell to anſwere the Popes auarice, ſent to him his letters patents obligatorie, ſigned with hys royall ſeale, by whiche he might take by way of lone ſuche ſummes of money, as would largely ſerue his turne of the Marchants Italians, wylling him not to ſtick at the diſburſing of treaſure, nor at the great quãtitie of the intereſt riſing vpõ the vſury, for he would diſcharge all. And hereunto he bound himſelfe vnder paine to forfeyte hys kingdome and other his heritages. The Pope cõſenting hereunto, accepted this large offer, if he did well herein ſayth Mat. Par.) the Lord the iudge of all Iudges iudge it, to whom apperteyneth the care of al things. To conclude, much money was ſpent, for the Pope ſpared not the king of Englands purſe, though litle good was done therwith. At length Conrade died, not without ſuſpition of poyſon. The Pope being aduertiſed of his death, reioiced greatly as he wel vttered in plain words, ſaying. Let all vs that be the children of the Romain church reioyce, for now two of our greateſt enimies are diſpatched out of ẏ way, the one a ſpiritual mã, that is to wit, Robert B. of Lincoln, & the other a lay man, that is Conrade K. of Sicill, but yet the Pope miſſed of his purpoſe, for Manfred the baſtard ſon of the Emperor Frederick the ſecond, was ſhortly after proclaimed K. of Sicil, and ſo the ſecond error was greater than the firſt.



Mat. Pa

The popi bell of the purſe.

Mainfr cleymed of Sicill

A Parliam

Aboute the quindene of Eaſter, there was a Parliament holdẽ at London, at the which were aſſembled all the eſtates of the realme in greater number than had bin cõmonly ſeene. This Parliamẽt was called chiefly to let thẽ vnderſtand ẏ kings neceſſitie of money, for diſcharging of hys debts, & to require them of their ayde towards the ſame: but whereas he requeſted more than was thought ſtoode wyth reaſon, they woulde not agree thereunto, but they deſired that he would confyrme, and without all cauillation ſweare to obſerue the liberties which by the charter hee had promiſed to hold. Moreouer they required ẏ by the common

The eſtat fuſe to grau a ſubſid

common councell of the Realme, they myghte chooſe to them the chiefe Iuſtice, the Chauncellour and Treaſurer, but they were aunſwered playnely by ſome of the priuie Councell, that this requeſt would at no hand be graunted.

Furthermore, the Prelates complayned, that they were driuen to pay the tenthes whiche they promiſed condicionally, as it were now by conſtreynt and of duetie, to the preiudice of the liberties of the Church. The nobles alſo found themſelues greeued for the exactions which they ſawe at hand, but finally, after many thyngs had bene debated touching theſe matters, the Parliamente was adiourned till Michaelmas nexte, and euery man departed to his home, with no greate truſt of the Kyngs good will towardes them, nor anye harty thankes receyued of hym for theyr paynes, as may be thought by that whyche writers haue recorded.

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d.

Two noble men, to whome the cuſtody and guyding of the Kyng & Queene of Scottes was committed, that is to witte, Robert de Ros, and Iohn de Bailioll, were accurſed, for miſuſing themſelues in the truſt and charge whyche they had taken vpon them. King Henry was the ſame time at Nottingham.

bert de Ros
Iohn Bal-
accuſed.

The information came forth by a Phiſition, the which was ſente from the Queene of England, vnto hir daughter the Queene of Scottes, to be about hir for regard of hir health, but bycauſe the ſame Phiſition, (whoſe name was Reginalde of Bathe) perceyued the Queene of Scottes to bee empayred in health through anguiſh of minde, by reaſon of the miſdemeanor of ſuch as had the gouernemēt of hir and hir huſbād, he ſticked not to blame and reprooue them in their doings, for the which he was poyſoned as ſome thinke: for the truth was, he ſhortly after ſickened and dyed, ſignifying vpon his death bed vnto the Queene of Englande what he miſliked in thoſe that had the doings about hir daughter and hir huſband the Scottiſhe Kyng.

inald de
a Phiſi-

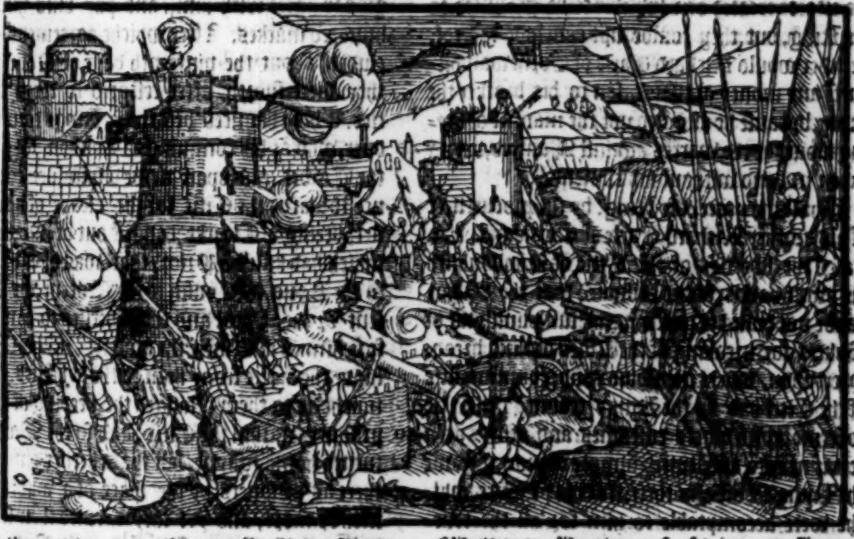
An Eclipſe.

The Moone ſuffered a maruellous eclipſe, on the night following the day of Saint Margaret in July. It began afore midnight, and continued foure houres. The King at the contemplation of his daughter the Queene of Scottes, rayſed a power, and drewe Northwardes, ſending before him the Earle of Glouceſter, and Iohn Manſell, that was his Chaplayne and one of his Counſell. Theſe two ſo vſed the matter, that they came to Edenburgh, where the King and Queene of Scottes then lay in the Caſtell, into the whiche they entred, and altred the order of the houſholde, ſo as ſtoode with the contentation of the Kyng and Queene, which were in ſuch wiſe vſed before that time, that they were not ſuffered to lie togyther, nor vnneth come to talke togither.

The Earle of Glouceſter and Iohn Manſell ſent into Scotland.

Robert de Ros was ſummoned to appeare before the K. of Englande, to aunſwere to ſuche thynges as might be layd to hys charge. At the firſt he withdrew himſelfe, but afterwardes he came in, and ſubmitted him to ẏ Kings pleaſure. Diuers of ẏ nobles of Scotland tooke it not well, that ẏ Erle of Glouceſter and Iohn Manſell ſhoulde thus come into the Caſtell of Edenburgh, and order things in the Kings houſe in ſuche ſort at theyr pleaſure, wherevpon, they aſſembled a power, and beſieged the ſame Caſtell, but at length, perceyuing theyr owne error, they rayſed theyr ſiege, and departed. Iohn de Bailiol beeing accuſed of the like crime that was layde to the charge of hys fellowe Roberte de Ros, for a peece of money bought his peace and was pardoned, but the landes of Roberte de Ros were ſeyſed into the Kynges handes.

Robert de Ros ſummoned to appeare.



Finally, the King and Queene of Englande came to an enteruew with the King of Scottes, and the Queene theyr daughter, and ſetting all things with them in ſuch order as was thought conueniente, they returned agayne towarde the South parties.

A ſhift to get money of the Biſhops deuiſed by the Biſhop of Hereforde.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Biſhop of Herforde deuiſed a ſhift to help yͤ King to money, towards the payment of his debtes, by obteyning certayne autentike ſeales of the Prelates of this land, with whiche he ſealed certayne inſtruments and writings, wherein it was expreſſed, that he had receyued dyuers ſummes of money for diſpatche of buſineſſe perteyning to them and to their Churches, of this and that merchaunt of Florence or Siena, whereby they ſtoode bound for repayment thereof by the ſame inſtruments and writings ſo made by him theyr agent in theyr names. This ſhift was deuiſed by the ſayde Byſhop of Herford, with licence obteyned therevnto of the king, and alſo of the Pope, vnto whome for the ſame intent, the ſayd Byſhop was ſent, with Sir Robert Walerane Knight. The Pope was the ſooner perſwaded, to graunte licence for the continuing of ſuche manner of ſhift, bycauſe the money ſhould goe to the diſcharging of the kings debts, into the whiche hee was runne, by bearing the charges of the warres againſt the King of Sicill.

A Pa

About the feaſt of Saint Edward, the Parliament began agayne at London, in the whyche, the eſtates treated of a ſubſedie to be graunted to the King, but they coulde not conclude thereof, neyther would Richard Earle of Cornewall diſburſe any money at that ſeaſon to his brother the King, bycauſe he allowed not the manner of laying it out for the warres againſt Manfred, beyng taken in hand without his conſent.

Richard Earle of Cornewall ſtandeth againſt his brother for the graunt of a ſubſedie.

The liberties of London ſeaſed into the Kings handes.

The ſame yeare, the King, by the procurement of his brother Richard Earle of Cornewall, had ſeaſed the liberties of the Citie of London into his owne hands, vnder coulour, that the Maior hadde not done his duetie in the iuſt puniſhing of Bakers for breaking of the aſſiſes of their bread. Herevpon, where the Maior and communaltie of the Citie had by the Kings graunte the Citie to ferme, with diuers cuſtomes and offices at a certayne rate, and ſtinted ſumme of money, nowe the Kyng ſet officers therein at his pleaſure, whiche were accomptable to him for all the reuenewes and profites that grewe within the Citie.

But where as the malice whiche the Earle of Cornewall bare to the Citie, was, for that they would not exchaunge with him certayn grounds that belonged to their communaltie, they were glad to agree with him, and pay vnto him ſixe hundred markes. After whiche agreemente concluded, about the ninteenth daye of Nouember, they were ſhortly after reſtored to theyr liberties. This chaunced before the Kings comming ouer, who at his comming to London, lodged in the Tower, and vpon newe diſpleaſure conceyued towards the Citie for the eſcape of a priſoner, beeing a Clearke conuict out of Newgate, which had killed a Prior, that was of alliaunce to the Kyng, as Couſin to the Queene, the King ſent for the Maior and the Sheriffes to come before him to aunſwere the matter. The Maior layde the faulte from hym to the Sheriffes, for ſo muche as to them belonged the keeping of all the priſoners within the Citie: and ſo the Maior returned home agayne, but the Sheriffes remayned there as priſoners, by the ſpace of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excuſed themſelues, in that the faulte chiefly reſted in the Byſhoppes officers: for where as the priſoner was vnder hys cuſtody, they at hys requeſt had graunted hym licence to empriſon the offender within theyr warde of Newgate, but ſo as hys officers were

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charged to ſee him ſafely kept. The King notwithſtanding demanded of the Citie three thouſand markes for a fyne. Moreouer, whereas hee ſtode in great neede of money, he required by way of a tallage eight thouſand marks of the Iewes, charging them on payne of hanging, not to defer that payment. The Iewes ſore empoueriſhed with greeuous and often payments, excuſed thẽſelues by the Popes vſurers, and reproued plainly the Kings exceſſiue taking of money, as well of his Chriſtian ſubiectes as of them. The Kyng on the other ſyde, to let it be knowen that he taxed not his people without iuſt occaſion, and vpon neceſſitie that droue him thereto, confeſſed openly, that he was indebted by his bondes obligatorie, in three hundred thouſand marks: and again, the yearely reuenewes aſſigned to his ſon Prince Edward, roſe to the ſumme of fifteene thouſande markes and aboue, where the reuenewes that belonged to the Crowne were greatly diminiſhed, in ſuch wiſe, that without the ayd of his ſubiectes, he ſhould neuer be able to come out of debt. To be ſhort, when he had fleeſed the Iewes to the quick, he ſet them to ferme vnto his brother Earle Richard, that hee might pull off ſkinne and all, but yet he conſidering their pouertie, ſpared them, and neuertheleſſe, to relieue his brothers neceſſitie vpon pawne, he lent to him an huge maſſe of money.

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About the ſame time, Lewes the French king ſent vnto King Henry for a preſent, an Oliphãt, a beaſt moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull to ẏ Engliſh people, ſith moſt ſeldome or neuer any of that kynde had bin ſeene in England before that time.

Oliphant
t to the K.

The French Queene alſo ſente for a preſente vnto the King of England an ewer of pearle like to a Peacocke in forme and faſhion, garniſhed moſt richly with golde, ſiluer, and Saphires to furniſh him forth in all poyntes of fine and cunning workmanſhip, to the very reſemblaunce of a liue Peacocke.

Ewer of
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Alſo many wonders chaunced about the ſame time. The Sea roſe with moſt hygh tydes, Ryuers were ſo fylled with abundance of water, by reaſon of the great continual rayne, that maruellous fluddes followed thereupon. A Comet alſo appeared, and many high buyldings were ſtriken by force of tẽpeſtes. The death of Walther Archbyſhop of Yorke followed theſe prodigious wõders, who had gouerned that ſee the ſpace of fortie yeares. After him ſucceeded one Seuall the 34. Archbiſhop of that Citie.

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About the feaſt of Saint Etheldred, the Lady Eleanor, wife of Prince Edwarde the Kinges ſonne, came to London, where ſhe was honorably receyued of the Citizens, and conueyed thorough the Citie to S. Ioanes withoute Smithfielde, and there lodged for a ſeaſon, and ere long ſhe remoued vnto the Sauoy.

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It was not long after, that the King ſeaſed the liberties of the Citie of Londõ into his hãds, for certayne money whiche the Queene claymed as due to hir of a certayne right to be payde by the Citizens, ſo that about the feaſt of Saint Martine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the Kyng foure hundred markes, and then had their liberties to them againe reſtored, and the Kings vnder treaſorer diſcharged, the whiche for the tyme was made cuſtos, or keeper of the Citie.

The liberties of the Citie reſtored to the Londoners.

About the ſame time, came another Legate from the Pope, one Ruſcand a Gaſcoigne borne.

A Legate frõ the Pope named Ruſcand a Gaſcoigne.

The Pope had graunted vnto the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and to the Biſhop of Hereford, and to this Ruſcand authoritie, to collect and gather the tenthes of the ſpiritualty within Englande, Scotlãd, and Ireland, to the vſe of the Pope and the Kyng, notwithſtanding all priuiledges, for what cauſe, or vnder what forme of wordes ſo euer the ſame had paſſed.

Tenthes gathered for the Pope.

This Ruſcand alſo aſſoyled the King of his vowe made to goe into the holy lande, to the ende he might goe againſt Manfred King of Sicill.

He alſo preached the Croſſe againſt the ſame Manfred promiſing all thoſe remiſſion of theyr ſinnes which ſhould goe to warre againſt Manfred, as well as if they ſhoulde goe into the holye land, to warre againſte Goddes enimies there, whereat faithfull men much maruelled, that hee ſhould promiſe as greate meede for the ſheading of Chriſtian bloud, as of the bloud of Infidels.

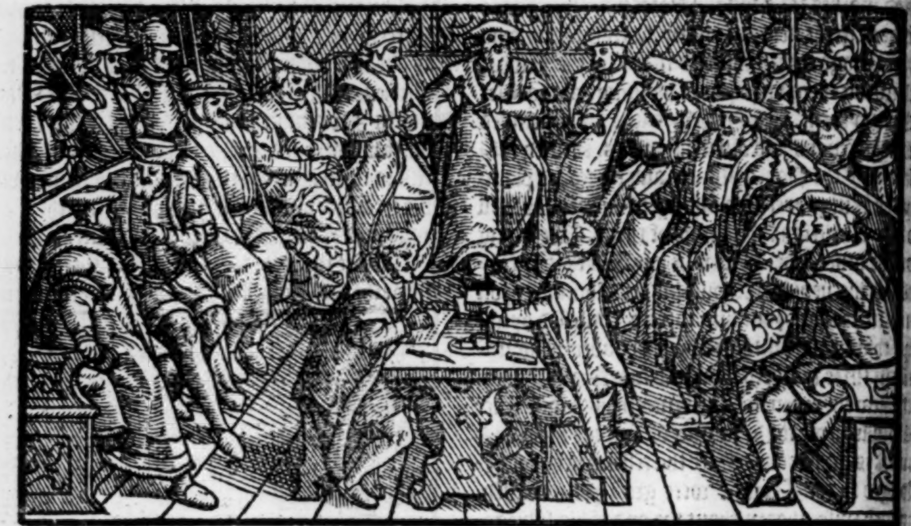
The Croſſe preached againſt Mãfred.

The fetches whiche were vſed in this ſeaſon, by this Ruſcande, and the Biſhop of Herefordе, and other theyr complices, for to get money of the Prelates and gouernoures of Monaſteries within this Realme, were wonderfull, and right greeuous to thoſe that felt themſelues oppreſſed therewith, and namely, for the debt whyche the ſayde Byſhoppe of Herefordе hadde charged them with, they beeyng not priuie to the receypt, nor hauing any benefite thereby.

Ruſcand

A Counſell called at London by the Legate.

Ruſcand called a Councell at London, and propoũded great cauſes why the Prelates ought to ayde the Pope, and ſo thereuppon, demaunde great ſummes of money. Amõgſt other ſumme hee demaunded ſixe hundred markes of the houſe of Saint Albons. To conclude, his demaundes were eſteemed vnreaſonable, ſo that the Byſhops and Abbots were in a maruellous perplexitie, perceyuing into what miſerable ſtate by reaſon of immoderate exactiõs the Church of England was brought. The Byſhop of London ſticked not to ſay, that he would rather loſe his head, than conſent that the Church ſhould be brought to ſuch ſeruitude as the Legate went about to enforce: and the Biſhop of Worcetor openly proteſted, that hee would ſooner ſuffer himſelfe to bee hanged, than to ſee the Church ſubiect to ſuch oppreſſion by their examples. Other alſo taking a boldneſſe vnto them, affirmed, that they woulde follow the ſteppes of Thomas ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whych for the liberties of the Church, ſuffred himſelfe to haue his braynes cut out of his head. Yet were thoſe prelates euil troubled, for the K. was againſt them on the one ſide, and the Pope gaping after money, was become their vtter enemie on the other: neyther were the noble men muche moued with pitie towardes the Churche their mother (as the terme then wente) now thus in miſerie. Finally, the Prelates appealed from Ruſcand, vnto the Popes preſence, and woulde not obey the wilfull and violent oppreſſions of yͤ ſame Ruſcand, ſo that muche adoe there was, & a great complaint made to the K. by Ruſcand, of yͤ ſtubborne diſobedience of the Prelates, and namely, of yͤ B. of Londõ. The K. was in a great chafe with him, & threatned, that hee would cauſe yͤ Pope to puniſh him according to that hee well deſerued: but the B. anſwered thereto, let the Pope and K. (ſaith he) which are ſtrenger than I am, take frõ me my Biſhopricke, which by law yet they cannot doe: let them take away my myter, yet an helmet ſhall remayne.



Mat. Paris.

The Churchmen beyng pinched by their purſes, fret and fume againſt the Popes proceeding in that behalfe.

The Biſhops would rather become Martirs, than loſe their money.

Ruſcand compleyneth to the King, of the frowardneſſe of the Prelates.

The Biſhop of London his ſayings.

This yeare after Saint Lukes day, the kyng aſſembled a great number of the nobilitie at London, and thither came the Biſhop of Bologna le Graſſe from the Pope, bringing with him a ring with the which he inueſted Edmond the Kyngs ſonne, King of Sicil and Naples. About yͤ ſame time, the burgeſſe of Derby obteyned of the King for a ſumme of money to haue the Juſtices Itinerantes to holde their aſſiſes at Derby for the Countie of Derby, and likewiſe, the Sheriffes to keepe their tourneys there, and not at Nottingham, as before they had bin accuſtomed for both the Shires. But now to returne to the Biſhops.

Edmond ... Kings ... inueſted ... of Sicil ... Naples.

In the meane time, the Byſhop of Herforde and Ruſcand ſought to ſet variance and diſcorde amongſt the Engliſh Prelates, whereby, beyng deuided in partes, and not conſenting togither, they ſhould be leſſe able to giue true information to the Pope, how the very troth reſted. But finally, bycauſe the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury was in the parties of beyõd the Sea, and for that alſo the Sea of Yorke was vacante, and diuers Byſhops were abſent, the Counſell was prorogued till the feaſt of Sainte Hillarie, and ſo they departed euery man to his home in a maruellous doubt what way were beſt for them to take, for they ſaw themſelues in great diſtreſſe if Ruſcand did ſuſpend or excõmunicate any of them eyther iuſtly or otherwiſe. For ſure they were, that the K. as a Lion lying in awayte whome he myght deuoure (to get money) after 40. days wer paſt, if they ſubmitted not thẽſelues, would deſpoile thẽ of al their goodes as forfeited, ſo yͭ the Pope & the K. ſemed, as though yͤ ſhepherd & Woulf had bin cõfederate togither to yͤ deſtructiõ of yͤ pore flocke of the Sheepe, threatning euery mans vndoyng.

The Co... prorogu...

The King ... eth in ... for men ... goodes.

Thus by reaſon of couetous greedineſſe to get money for the furniſhing of yͤ Popes warres againſt Manfred King of Sicill, both the Pope and the King of England ranne in ſlaunder and hatred of the Engliſh nation, namely, of the ſpiritualty, ſo that ſuch as recorded the actes and doings of that time, ſpared not to make manifeſt to the worlde by their writings, howe iniuriouſly they were handled, blaming the practiſes of the Courte of Rome in playne tearmes, and affirming that the Pope hathe power in thoſe thyngs whiche worke to edification, and not to deſtruction.

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ute.

Aboute this ſeaſon, Iohn Lorde Grey, beeing one of the chiefe Counſellors to the king, a right honorable Knighte, and for his good demeanor and high valiancy greatly commended ouer all, withdrew himſelfe from the Court, either by reaſon of age that deſireth reſt, or rather as was thoughte, for that hee doubted to beare blame for ſuch errors as were dayly committed by thē that bare rule about the King, whiche coulde not but bring the authors into greate infamie at length, and therefore was hee loth to bee partaker with them of ſuche ſlaunder as might haue redounded to him alſo, if hee hadde ſtill continued amongſt them.

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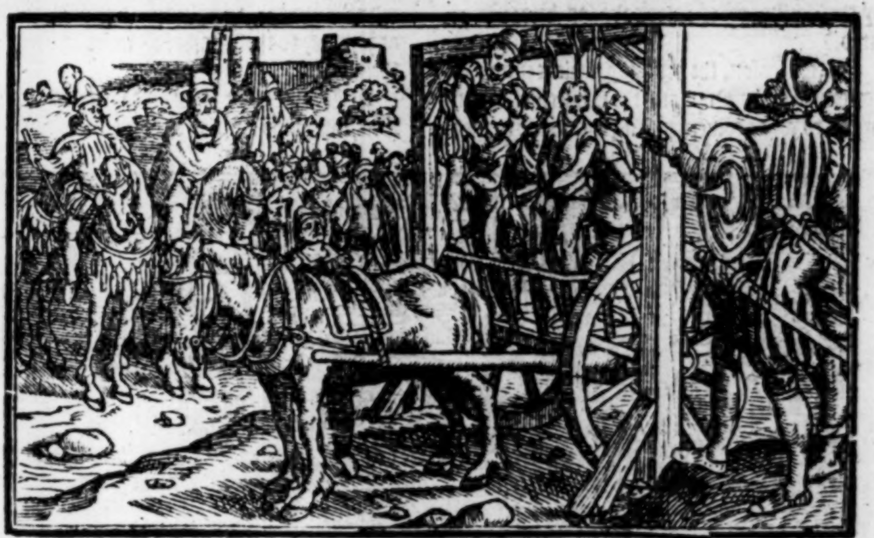
Hugh.

Alſo, vpon the two and twentith of Nouember, were brought vnto Weſtminſter 102. Iewes from Lincolne, that were accuſed for the crucifying of a childe the laſt Sommer, in deſpite of Chriſtes Religion. They were vpon theyr examination, ſent to the Tower. The childe whyche they had ſo crucified, was named Hugh, about an eyght yeares of age. They kept him tenne dayes after they had got him into their hands, ſendyng in the meane time vnto diuers other places of the Realme, for other of their nation, to bee preſente at the crucifying of hym. The murther came out, by the diligent ſearch made by the mother of the child, who found his body in a wel, on yͤ backe ſide of the Iewes houſe, where he was crucified: for ſhee hadde learned, that hir ſonne was laſtly ſeene playing with certayne Iewes children of like age to him, before the dore of the ſame Iewe. The Iewe that was owner of the houſe, was apprehended, and being brought before Sir Iohn de Lexinton, vpon promiſe of pardon, confeſſed the whole matter. For they vſed yerely, (if they could come by their praye,) to crucifie one Chriſtian childe or other.

Eighteene
Iewes hanged.

The King vppon knowledge hadde hereof, woulde not pardon this Iewe that had ſo confeſſed the matter, but cauſed hym to be executed at Lincolne, who comming to the place where hee ſhould die, opened more matter, concerning ſuche as were of councell and preſent at the crucifying of the poore innocent. Wherevpon at length alſo eighteene of them that were ſo brought to London, were conuict, adiudged and hanged, the other remayned long in priſon.



156

prolocu-
aunſwere
e Popes
ia.

When the feaſt of Saint Hillarie was come, the Cleargie met againe at London, and fell to entreate of their former buſineſſe, at what tyme, one maiſter Leonard, alias Reginald, that was choſen prolocutor for all the Prelates, amongſt other aunſweres made to the Legate Ruſcande, when the ſame Ruſcand alledged that al Churches were the Popes, troth it is ſayd Leonard, to defende, and not to vſe and appropriate them to ſerue his owne turne, as wee ſaye, that all is the Princes, meaning, that all is his to defende, and not to ſpoyle: and ſuch was the intent of the founders. Ruſcand ſore offended herewith, ſayde, hee would that euery man ſhould ſpeake afterwardes for himſelfe, that as well the Pope as the Kyng, might vnderſtand what euery man ſayd in theyr buſineſſe and matters. The Prelates were ſtrike

The Prelates appeale.

Marke the cauſe of Martirdome.

dompe herewith, for they perceyued now how the matter wente: they appealed yet againſte the demaundes that were made by Ruſcande, who would not chaunge a word of that he had written, in whiche was conteyned, that the Prelates had knowledged themſelues to haue borowed of the marchaunt ſtraungers, no ſmall ſummes of money, and the ſame to bee conuerted to the vſe of their Churches, which was moſt vntrue as all men well vnderſtoode: wherevpon, the Prelates affirmed, and not without reaſonable cauſe, that there was a greater occaſiõ in this cauſe of martirdome, thã in that of Thomas ſometime Archbyſhop of Caunterbury.

The Deane of Saint Paule ſent to Rome on the behalfe of the Prelates

Ruſcand at length perceyuing their manner, became ſomewhat more milde, and promiſed, that hee woulde talke with the Pope of this matter. But fyrſte, there was ſent to Rome yͤ Deane of Saint Paule in London, and certayne other, as Attorneys or Agents, for the whole Cleargie of Englande. Theſe ſpedde ſo in their ſute, that the Pope tooke order, that if the Prelates payde the money by force of the contriued writings, whereby they ſtoode bound for them, their houſes and Churches, then to eaſe their burthen they might reteyne in their hands ſuch percel of tẽthes as they ought to pay to the Kyng, for furniſhing of hys warres againſt the Sarazens, amounting to the ſumme whyche they ſhould be conſtreyned to pay for the bondes made to the Marchauntes, by the Byſhoppe of Hereforde (as before is recited.)

Mens deuotion towards the Pope waxeth colde.

In this ſeaſon, the deuotion whiche many had conceiued of the Pope and the Church of Rome, began to waxe colde, reputing the vertue whyche he ſhewed at his entring into the Papacy, to bee rather a coulourable ypocriſie, than otherwiſe, ſith his proceedings aunſwered not to his good beginnings: for as it was manifeſt, where ſutors broughte their compleyntes into the Courte of Rome, ſuch ſpedde beſt as gaue moſt in bribes, and the two Priors of Wincheſter, the one expulſed, and the other got in by intruſion, coulde well witneſſe the ſame.

The Bi
Salisbu
paineth
life.

Sute of C
when it
first rece
for a law.

This yeare, dyed William of Yorke Byſhop of Saliſbury, which hadde bin brought vp in the Court, euen from his youth. This Biſhop firſte cauſed that cuſtome to bee receyued for a lawe, whereby the tenauntes of euery Lordſhippe are bound to owe their ſute to the Lordes Courte, of whome they holde their tenements.

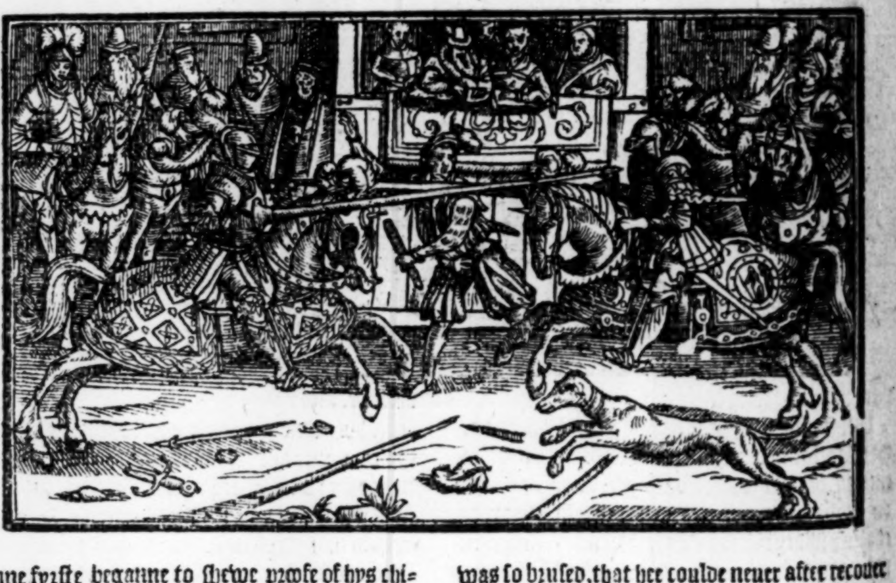
Mat. P
Magnus
of Man.

In the feaſt of Eaſter this yeare, the Kyng adorned Magnus Kyng of Man, with the order of Knighthoode, and beſtowed vppon him greate giftes and honors.

The Counteſſe of Warren Iueſia, or Ieteſia as ſome bookes haue, ſiſter to yͤ King by his mother, departed this life in hir flouriſhing youth, to the great griefe of hir brother, but ſpecially, of hir huſbande Iohn Earle of Waren, that loued hir entierly.

Aboute midde May, the Iewes that were in the Tower, and in other priſons for the murther of the childe at Lincolne, and had bin indited by an inqueſt vpon the confeſſion of him that ſuffered at Lincolne, were nowe diſmiſſed and ſette at libertie, to the number of foure and thirtie of them.

At Whitſontide was holdẽ a great Iuſtes at Blie, where the Lord Edwarde the Kings eldeſt ſonne fyrſte beganne to ſhewe proofe of hys chiualrie. There were dyuers ouerthrowen and hurt, and amongſt other, William de Longeſpee was ſo bruſed, that hee coulde neuer after recouer his former ſtrength.



Knigh

The Kyng cauſed a proclamation to bee ſet forth, worth, ỹ all ſuch as might diſpend fifteene pound in lands, ſhould receyue the order of Knighthood, and thoſe that would not or coulde not, ſhoulde pay theyr fynes.

e tem-
t winde
ayne.

This yeare, a three dayes after the feaſt of S. Ciricus, a maruellous ſore tempeſt of winde, rayne, hayle and thunder chaunced, that dyd exceeding much ſkath. Milne wheeles by the violence of waters were carried away, and the wind milles were no leſſe tormented with the rage of winde, arches of bridges, ſtackes of hay, houſes that ſtoode by water ſides, and children in cradels were borne away, that both wonderfull, and no leſſe pitifull it was to ſee. At Bedford, the riuer of Ouſe bare downe ſixe houſes togither, & did hurt thereaboutes vnſpeakeable.

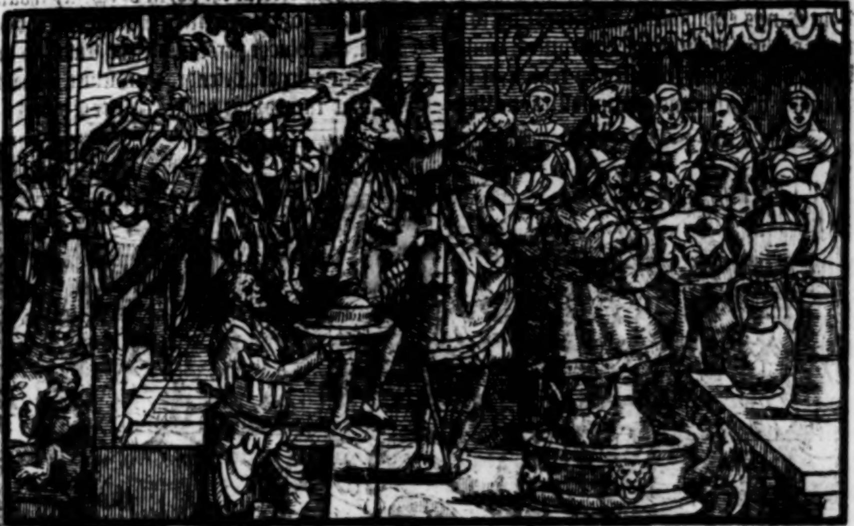
The King of Scottes cummeth into Englande.

The Kyng of Scottes, Alexander the thyrde, with hys wife Queene Margaret, came aboute the beginning of Auguſt into England, and found the Kyng at hys manor of Wodſtocke, where he ſported him a ſeaſon, and had the landes of the Earledome of Huntington reſtored vnto him, which his Graundfather Kyng William in his time loſt and forfeyted. Heere hee dyd homage to Kyng Henry.

Vpõ the day of the decollatiõ of Saint John, the two Kynges with their Queenes came to London, where they were honorably receyued, and ſo conueyed vnto Weſtminſter.

John Maunſell feaſted the two Kings.

On the day of Saint Auguſtine the Byſhop, beeing the eight and twentith of Auguſt, John Manſell the Kyngs Chaplayne beſought the two Kings, and other eſtates, to dyne with hym on the morrow following, which they graunted, and ſo he made a maruellous great dynner. There were ſeuen C. meſſes ſerued vp, but ỹ multitude of gheſtes was ſuche, that vnneth the ſame ſuffiſed, his houſe was not able to receyue them all, and therefore hee cauſed tentes and Hales to bee ſet vp for them. The like dinner had not bin made by anye Chaplayne before that time. All thoſe that came were worthely receyued, feaſted, and entertayned, in ſuche ſorte, as euery man was ſatiſfied.



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the
rance of
fes.

A foure dayes before the feaſt of Saint Edwarde, Kyng Henry came into the Eſcheker himſelfe, and there deuiſed order for the appearãce of Sherifes, and bringing in of theyr accomptes.

Sherifes
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At the ſame time alſo, there was fiue markes ſet on euery Sherifes head for a fyne, bycauſe they had not diſtreyned euery perſon that myght diſpende fifteene pound land, to receyue the order of Knighthode, as was to the ſame Sherifes cõmaunded.

The King of Scottes returneth into his countrey.

The K. of Scottes, after he had remayned a while with the K. of England, returned back into Scotlande, and left his wife behinde with hir mother, till ſhe ſhould be brought to bed, for ſhee was as then great with childe.

An. Reg. 41.
Richard Earle of Cornewall elected Emperoure.

1257

In the 41. yere of the raigne of K. Henry, hys brother Richard Earle of Cornwall was elected Emperoure, by one parte of the Corvoſters: and diuers Lords of Almayne comming ouer into thys land, vppon the day of the Innocents in Chriſtmas, preſented vnto him letters from the Archb. of Colen, & other gret Lords of Almaine, teſtifying their cõſents in ỹ chooſing of him to be Emperour, and withal, that it might ſtand with his pleaſure, to accept that honor. Finally, vppon good deliberation had in the matter, he conſented thervnto: wherevpon, the Lords that came with the meſſage, right glad of their aunſwere, returned with all ſpeed, to ſignifie the ſame vnto thoſe from whome they had bin ſent.

The greate treaſure of Richard king of Almayne.

The treaſure of this Earle Richarde now elected King of Almaine, was eſteemed to amount vnto ſuch a ſumme, that he might diſpend euery day an hundred markes, for the tearme of tenne yeares togither, not reconing at all the reuenewes which dayly accrewed to him of his rents in Almayne and Englande.

The Welchmen chooſe them a gouernour, and rebell againſte the King

In thys meane tyme, the vnquiet Welchmen, after the death of their Prince Dauid, choſe in his ſteede one Lewline, that was ſonne to the ſame Griffyne that brake his necke as hee would haue eſcaped out of the Tower of London: and herewith, they began a new Rebellion, either driuing out ſuche Engliſhmen as lay there in garriſons within the Caſtels and fortreſſes, or elſe entring into the ſame by ſome trayterous practiſe, they ſlewe thoſe which they founde within them, to the greate diſpleaſure of their ſoueraigne Lorde Edward the Kings eldeſt ſonne, who coueting to be reuenged of their Rebellious enterpriſes, coulde not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable weather and continuall rayne whiche fell that Winter, ſo reyſing the waters, and ſetting the Mariſhes on flouddes, that hee could not paſſe with his army.

Moreouer, his father the Kyng wanted money and treaſure to furniſh him withall, howbeit, Prince Edwarde borrowed of his vncle Earle Richarde foure thouſande markes towardes the mayntenaunce of that warre. The Rebellion of the Welchmen ſpecially roſe, by the hard dealing of Sir Geffrey de Langley Knight, the Kyngs Collector amongſt them, who handled them ſo ſtraightly, that in defence of their countrey [illegible] and liberties, as they pretended, they put them[illegible] [illegible] they tooke and deſtroyed the landes and poſſeſſions which were [illegible] of Griffin Brunet, beeing fledde for ſafegard of his lyfe vnto the Kyng of Englande. The [illegible] of thoſe Welch Rebels, at the poynt of twenty thouſand [illegible] of [illegible] thouſ[illegible] Engliſhmen, the whiche perceyuing the ſeaſon [illegible] for their purpoſe, defended themſelues [illegible]ly, that they [illegible] backe Prince Edwarde and

his army, and ſo continuing the warres, dyd much hurt to the Engliſhe marches. Theyr power ſo encreaſed, that at length, they deuided the ſame into two parties, the better to recouer vittayles, and in eyther army, there were eſteemed to be a thirtie thouſand men armed after the maner of theyr countrey, of the whiche, there were a fiue hundred men of armes in eyther hoſt, with barded Horſes all couered in iron. Thus they being of ſuche puiſſance, dyd muche miſcheife to the Engliſhmen that inhabited on the marches, neyther were the Lordes marchers able to reſiſt them, although the Earle of Glouceſter ayded the ſame Lordes in all that he might.

The Welchmen deuide their power into two parts.

Nic. Triuet.

Stephen Bauzan, alias Baucan.

Kyng Henry beeing hereof aduertiſed, ſente with all ſpeede Stephen Bauzan, a man ryght ſkilfull in feates of warre, with a greate number of Souldiers into Wales, againſt thoſe Rebels: he comming into that countrey, and entring into the landes of a Welch Lord named Wille Claughhan, was entrapped by ſuche buſhmentes as his enimies layde for hym, and thereby was ſlayne with the more part of his army.

This ouerthrowe chaunced by the treaſon of Griffin de Brunet, the whiche at that preſent reuolting from the Engliſhe ſide to his countrey men, inſtructed them in all things, howe they might vanquiſh their enimies. And at that time Northwales and Southwales ioyned in league and friendly amitie togither, whiche commonly was not ſeene in thoſe dayes, they being for the more parte at variance, the one rather ſeeking ſtill howe to endommage the other: but nowe in defence of their liberties, as they pretended, they a-

greed

gered in one.

The King paſſeth himſelfe in perſon into Wales.

The Kyng ſore moued herewith, determined to goe himſelfe into Wales, that he mighte take worthy puniſhment of thoſe his aduerſaries, that could neuer be ſufficiently chaſtiſed. Herevppon rayſing a great power, he paſſed forth, and coming into Wales, put the Rebels in ſuch feare, that they withdrewe to theyr accuſtomed places of refuge, I meane, the woddes and marriſhes.

The Kyng woulde fayne haue hadde them forth, that hee myght haue puniſhed them according to their deſertes, and therefore to bring hys purpoſe the better to paſſe, he ſent for an army of Souldiers into Ireland, and tarried for theyr comyng at the Caſtell of Brecknocke, but the yeare was farre ſpente, ere his people could be gathered, ſo that by the aduice of his Lords, hee ſtrengthned certayne Caſtels, and ſo returned for that yeare into England, leauing the Lorde Roger Mortimer for his Lieutenaunt in Wales, to reſiſt the Rebels. But now to ſpeake of other doings whiche chaunced in the meane while that the warres thus continued betwixt Englande and Wales.

Lorde
imer the
s Lieute-
t in
es.
Mar.

egate
Rome.

Yee ſhall vnderſtand, that in the Lent ſeaſon, the Archbyſhoppe of Meſſina came as Legate from the Pope hyther into England, with letters of procuration, to demaund and receyue, and alſo with power, to puniſhe ſuche as ſhould denie and ſeeme to reſiſt, and ſo beeyng heere arriued with a greate trayne of ſeruauntes and horſes, he ſent forthe his commaundements in writing to euery prelate, to prouide him money by way of proxie, ſo that of the houſe of Saint Albons, and of the Celles that belonged therevnto, he had one and twentie markes, and when the Monkes of Saint Albons came to viſit him in his houſe, they coulde not bee permitted to depart, but were kept as priſoners, till they had ſatiſfied hys couetous demaund: for whereas they alledged that they had not brought any money with them, he aſked thē why they were ſuch beggers, and further ſayd, ſende ye then to ſome Marchaunt, that will lende to you money, and ſo it was done: for otherwiſe, they might not haue libertie to depart.

Mat. Paris.

This Archbyſhop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (ſaith Mathew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie.

A new order of Friers.

About the ſame time, there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not knowen till thoſe dayes, hauing yet the Popes autentike Bulles, which they openly ſhewed, ſo that there ſeemed a confuſion of ſo many orders, as the ſame Math. Paris recordeth, bycauſe they were apparrelled in Sackcloth, they were called ſacked Friers.

A Parliament.

About the middeſt of Lent, there was a greate Parliament holden, to the whiche, the maiſters of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford were ſummoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them, and the Byſhoppe of Lincolne, whiche had them in ſute about theyr liberties.

There came to the ſame Parliament, the Earle of Glouceſter, and Sir Iohn Manſell, lately returned out of Almaigne, where they had bin on Imbaſſade from Richard the elect Kyng of Almaigne. Thither came alſo the ſame elect King of Almaigne, and almoſt all the Nobilitie of the Realme, ſo that vnneth myghte the Citie of London receyue the number that repaired to that Parliamēt. The Kyng of Almaigne meant to take his leaue at that time of the Lords and peeres of the Realme, purpoſing ſhortly after, to take his iourney towardes Almaigne, and to ordeyne the Byſhoppe of London gouernour of all his

Mat. Paris.

The Lord Edmunde the kings ſonne.

A ſubſedie demaunded.

The offer of the ſpiritualty

his lands and poſſeſſions within Englande. In this Parliament, the Lord Edmond the Kyngs yonger ſonne was ſhewed as King of Naples and Sicile, for the obteyning of the poſſeſſion of which Kingdomes, his father King Henry demaunded no ſmall ſubſedie and ayde of money, both of the temporaltie, and alſo of the ſpiritualtie, but namely, he required to haue the tenthes of ſpirituall mens liuings, for the tearme of fyue yeares, according to the new taxations without any deductions to be allowed, excepte neceſſary expenſes. Alſo, the frutes for one yeare of benefices that chaunced to fall voyde within the ſayde tearme of fiue yere. Moreouer, ſundry other dueties he required to haue of the ſpirituall men, ſore to their greeuaunce, and ſpecially, bycauſe they knew that ſuch tirannie firſt toke beginning frõ the Pope. In the ende (though loth they were to conſent) yet conditionally that the Kyng would confirme the liberties conteyned in the greate Charter, and obſerue the ſame throughly, nowe after it had bin ſo many times brought out and redeemed, they offered to giue hym towardes his inſtant neceſſity two & fifty. M. marks, to the irrecouerable danger of empouerſhing the Church. And yet as it is ſayd, the Kyng refuſed the gift, as that which he thought not ſufficient. Truely it ſhoulde ſeeme, that there was a greate vntowardly diſpoſition in the ſubiectes of that time, for the helping of their K. with neceſſary ayde of money, towards ſuch great charges as he hadde bin diuers wayes occaſioned to be at ſith his firſt comming to ẏ Crowne: but bycauſe it was perceyued that he beſtowed no ſmall quantitie of his treaſure to the aduauncing of his kinſfolke and aliances, namely ſtraungers, and agayne, defreid great ſummes, in vayne hope to obteyne ẏ kingdomes of both the Sicils whiche the Pope offred to him freely ynough in words, as before yee haue hearde, the Engliſh ſubiectes conceyued a greate miſliking of the whole gouernement, and namely, for that hee ſeemed to be led and ruled by the aduice and counſell of thoſe ſtrangers, who being not throughly acquainted with the nature of the Engliſhe people, nor fully inſtructed in the lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme, cauſed him to doe many things, that procured both to him and thẽ muche euil, will as well of the high eſtates as of commons, whiche as occaſion ſerued, they were ready ynough to diſcouer, and therfore they were very inquiſitiue, both to learne what he receiued, & alſo in what ſorte he beſtowed ẏ which he dyd receiue. It was therefore knowen, ẏ ſith he firſte began to waſt his treaſure, his charges amoũted vnto ẏ ſumme of 950000. markes, as the bookes of accõptes remaining in ẏ hands of ẏ Clearkes of his cloſet plainly witneſſed, and yet of al thoſe vaine expenſes, no great aduantage was growẽ therby to the K. or realme, but rather diſaduantage, as ẏ moſt part of mẽ the toke it, and no maruell, for there was ſuch hate burning amõgſt the nobilitie, one enuying an others aduancemẽt, ſo repining at each others doings, ẏ it was not poſſible to bring any good driſt forward amõgſt mẽ ſo far at oddes togither. But to let this paſſe as a thing manifeſt ynough to them ẏ ſhall well conſider ẏ courſe of ẏ time, we will returne agayne to ẏ Parliamẽt, before ẏ end whereof, the Archbiſhop of Colen with a Duke, and an other B. came ouer out of Almaigne, vnto their elect K. Richard, to whom they did fealty and homage, as to their ſoueraigne liege Lord & gouernour, which thing once done, he gaue to ẏ ſaid Archb. fiue C. markes to beare his charges, with a riche miter ſette with ſtones, and furniſhed with plates of beaten golde, which miter whẽ ẏ Archb. had ſet it on his head, he hath (ſaith he) giuen a riche gift to me & to my Church, and verely, eũ as I haue put this miter on my head, ſo will I ſet on his head the Crowne of ẏ kingdome of Almaigne, he hath mitred me, & I ſhal crowne him. The other lords of Almaine, which at ẏ the ſame time did homage vnto Erle Richard, were alſo preſented with great and rich giftes. Heere is further to be noted, ẏ there were preſent at this Parliamẽt ſixe Archbiſhops, Cãterbury, Yorke, Dublin, Meſſina, Tarento and Colen. The Archb. of Meſſina was come to the K. to ſet him on voyage, for the buſineſſe about ẏ cõqueſt of Naples & Sicile. At the feaſt of Eaſter next following, the Archb. of Colen returned into his Countrey, & the third day after Eaſter, the elect K. of Almaine toke his leaue, & departed toward Permouth, where he purpoſed to take ẏ ſea, to ſayle ouer into Almaine, but by reaſon of contrary windes, hee was driuen to remaine there a long time, to his greate griefe and ineſtimable charges before hee coulde paſſe ouer, yet finally, about the latter ende of Aprill, he got forth to the Sea, and landed at Dordrigh the firſt of May next enſuing.

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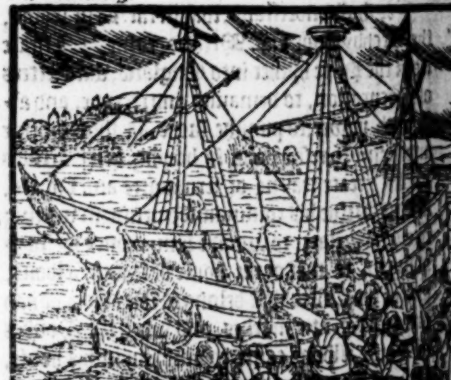


About the ſame time, the Archbyſhop of Canterbury called a Sinode of the Biſhops and Abbots, inhabiting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace of the holy Ghoſt, they myghte foreſee ſome redreſſe for reliefe of the Engliſhe Church, nowe in theſe late yeares ſore diſquieted by new oppreſſions, more greeuous than had bin accuſtomed: for the Kyng by councell, or rather by the whiſpering of ſome flatterers and enimies to the Realme, was ſo induced, that he permitted certayne euill cuſtomes, as thorny brembles, to encreaſe in the frutefull garden of pleaſure, and to choke vp the trees that brought forthe frute in great plentie.

de.

. Paris.

Moreouer in this yeare, King Henry cauſed the walles of the Citie of London, whiche were ſore decayed and deſtitute of turrets, to be repayred in more ſeemely wiſe than before they hadde bin, at the common charges of the Citie.

ee made
e Pope.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the Pope and his Cardinals (whiche righte diligently foreſawe to aduaunce their temporall cōmodities, not muche paſſing for other mens adnauntages) that euery one which ſhould be choſen an exempt Abbot, ſhoulde come to the Court of Rome to bee there confirmed, and receyue the Popes bleſſing, by whiche haynous ordinaunce, Religion was layde open to great daunger, and the Church depriued of temporall proſperitie (as ſayth Mathewe Paris) for by this meanes (ſaith hee) it was needefull vnto Religious menne, to chooſe to theyr gouernour a man, not religious, but rather halfe temporall, and ſuche one as to whome rather Juſtinians lawes than Chriſtes whiche conuerteth ſoules ſhoulde be familiar.

h. Paris.
Monkes
urham
were ex-
munica-
e now
led.

The Monkes of Durham, the whiche onely with the Chanons of Giſborne, reſiſted the wicked proceedyngs of the Popes exactors, and ſtood therefore interdited a long tyme, at length, after manye alterations, were aſſoyled. Oh (ſayeth Mathewe Paris) if in that theyr tribulation they myght haue hadde fellowes, and in theyr conſtante doyngs aydors, howe happely hadde the Churche of Englande triumphed ouer hir tormentors and oppreſſors.

Mat. Paris.

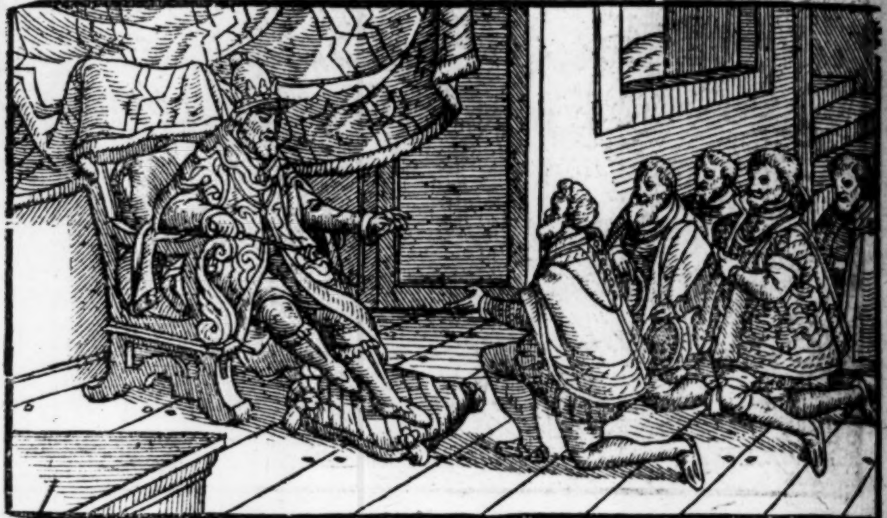
Yee haue hearde howe Richarde Earle of Cornewall beeyng elected Kyng of Almayne, ſayled thither, where on the Aſcention daye laſt, he was Crowned Kyng by the Archbyſhoppe of Colen, of whome, and dyuers other great Princes of Germanie, hee was holden for their lawfull King and gouernour, (as in the Teutch hyſtories yee maye finde more largely expreſſed,) though other of them had choſen Alfonſe Kyng of Caſtill, the whych Alfonſe wrote to the King of Englande, as his confederate and alie, requiring hym of ayde againſte the ſayde Richarde that was hys owne brother, to the whych vnreaſonable requeſt, the Kyng woulde in no wiſe conſente.

Fabian.
An informa-
tion againſt
the Lord Mai-
or of London.

Moreouer, in this fortie one yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, by reaſon of a rolle cloſed in greene waxe and founde in the Kyngs Wardrobe at Windſor, conteyning as it were, an information againſte the Maior and the Sherifes of London, for oppreſſion and wrongs done to the communaltie of the Citie, the Kyng tooke greate diſpleaſure, and cauſed greate inquiſition to be made, as well by Folke Mootes, as ward Mootes, and by dyuers other meanes. At length, the Maior and Sherifes, with the Chamberlayne of the Citie, were diſcharged by John Manſell, one of the Kyngs Juſtices, afore whome, and other the Kyngs Counſayle, the inquiſition was taken, and then was

The Lorde
Maior and
Sherifes of
London diſ-
charged.

the cuſtody of the Citie aſſigned vnto the Conſtable of the Tower, and in place of the Sherifes were appoynted Michaell Tony, and John Audrian. At length, ẏ Mayor, Sherifes and Aldermen that were accuſed, perceyuing the kings diſpleaſure towardes them, ſubmitted themſelues wholly to his mercy, ſauing to them, and to all other the Citizens, their liberties and franchiſes, and ſo in the Checker chamber at Weſtminſter afore the King there ſitting in Judgement vpon the matter, they were condemned to pay theyr fynes for their offences committed, and further, euery of them diſcharged of his warde and office.



The Lorde Maior and Sherifes fined.

Shortly after, was William Fitz Richarde by the Kyngs commaundement, made Mayor, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grapiſgate Sherifes.

Math. Paris.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke accurſed.

The conſtancy of the archbyſhop of Yorke.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke was accurſed by the Popes commaundemente through all Englande, with booke, bell and candle, that by ſuche terror, his conſtancy might be weakened: but the Archbiſhop (ſaith Mathewe Paris) enformed by the example of Thomas Becket, and by the example and doctrine of Saint Edmond ſometime his inſtructor, and alſo taughte by the faythfulneſſe of bleſſed Robert, late Byſhop of Lincolne, deſpaired not of comfort from Heauē, in bearing paciently the Popes tyrannie: neyther woulde he beſtowe the welthy reuenewes of his Churche vppon Italians, beeing vnworthy perſons and ſtraungers, neyther would he obey and encline to the Popes will like a faint harted perſon, by leauing and ſetting aparte the rigor of the lawe.

An. Reg. 42.

The Lo Audely the W

About the beginning of the two and fortith yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, the Lord James Audeley that had bin ouer with the King of Almayne, and was lately returned home in company of the Lord Henry, ſonne to the ſaid Kyng (who came backe from his father about the feaſt of Saint Michael laſt paſt) vnderſtanding howe the Welchmen in his abſence, had brent, waſted, and deſtroyed his lands, poſſeſſions, and Caſtils, which belonged to him in ẏ confynes of Wales, he meant to be reuenged of thoſe iniuries, and inuading them, hee ſlewe a great number of them, ſo reuenging the deathe of thoſe his friendes, ſeruauntes and tenauntes, whome they before had murthered. The Welchmen were not ſo diſcouraged heerewith, but that they brake vpon hym out of their ſtarting holes and places of refuge through the mariſhes, and ſlaying their enimies horſes, put them backe to their power; and ceaſſed not to do what miſchiefe they could, by ſpoyling, killing, and brenning houſes and Caſtels where they mighte come vnto them, and ſo the Realme of Englande was dayly put to loſſes and hinderance. For out of Wales, Englande was accuſtomed to bee furniſhed with Horſes, Cattell, and other things, to the profit of both the Countreys.

Ambaſ ſent in France.

About the ſame time, there was an Ambaſſate ſente from the Kyng of Englande, vnto the Frenche Kyng, as the Biſhop of Worcetor, the elect of Wincheſter, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, the Earle of Leiceſter, and Hugh Bigod Earle Marſhall, with Peter de Sauoy, and Roberte Waleron.

The effect of their meſſage, was to require reſtitution of thoſe countreys, lands, Cities, and Townes whiche had bin euicted out of the handes of King John and others, apperteyning by righte of inheritance to the Kyng of England. Theſe Lordes did their meſſage, but as was thoughte, they had no towardly aunſwere, but rather were putte off with trifling wordes and ſkornefull tauntes, ſo that they returned ſhortly againe all of thē, the Abbot of Weſtminſter only excepted, who remayned there behinde, for a more ful aunſwere, fauour, not only to thoſe requeſts exhibited on the part of the Kyng of Englande, but alſo on the behalfe of the Kyng of Almaigne. The marches towardes Wales in this ſeaſon were brought almoſt deſerte, by reaſon of the continuall warres with the Welchmen, for what with fire & ſworde, neyther building, nor liuing creature, nor any other thing was ſpared, that fire and ſworde might bring to ruine.

marches
Wales ſore
pouerished

reat dearth
t. Paris.

In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in ſo much, that a quarter of wheate was ſolde at London for four and twenty ſhillings, whereas within two or three yeares before, a quarter was ſolde at two ſhillings. It had bin more deerer, if great ſtore had not come out of Almaigne, for in France and in Normādy it likewiſe fayled.

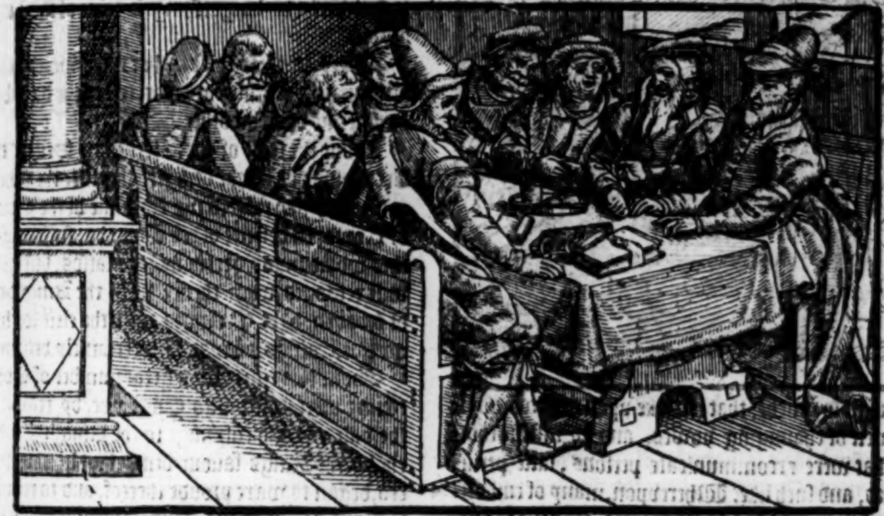
1258

But there came fiftie greate Shippes fraughte with wheate and barley, with meale and bread out of Teutchland, by the procurement of Richard K. of Almaigne, which greatly relieued the poore, for proclamation was made, and order taken by the K. that none of the Citizens of London ſhoulde buy any of that grayne to lay it vp in ſtore, whereby it might be ſolde at an higher price than [illegible] dy, but although this prouiſion did much eaſe, yet the want was great ouer all the Realm. For it was certainly affirmed, that in three ſhires within the Realm, there was not found ſo much grayne of that yeares growth, as came ouer in thoſe fiftie ſhippes. The proclamation was ſette forth, to reſtreine ẏ Londoners from engroſſing vp that grayne, and not without cauſe, for the welthy Citizens were euill ſpoken of in ẏ ſeaſon, bicauſe in time of ſcarcetie they would either ſtay ſuch ſhippes as fraughte with vittayles were comming towardes the Citie, and ſend them ſome other way forthe, or elſe buy the whole, that they myghte ſell it by retaile at their pleaſure vnto the needy. By meanes of this great dearth and ſcarcetie, the common people were conſtreined to liue vpon herbes and rootes, and a greate number of the poore people dyed through famine.

The greedy dealing of the Londoners, to the hurt of the cōmō welth.

This yeare after Eaſter, a Parliament was holden at London, in the whiche, many waighty matters were intreated of touching the Kynges cauſes, namely, about the cōqueſt of the Realme of Naples, the Pope hauing ſente a meſſenger named Hurtred for the diſcharge of money, whiche the Pope had receyued of Merchaunts, as it were to the Kings vſe, and entred bandes for the payment thereof.

A Parliament.
Math. Paris.



tted, a
enger frō
Pope.

Alſo, where the Kyng was ſore diſquieted for the warre whiche the Welchmen made againſte him, he aſked aduice of the ſtates, howe hee might proceede to ſeeke his iuſt reuenge of them, the which by reaſon of their good happe, were become very ſtout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which hadde bin accorded betwixte them, ſpoyled and waſted the moſt parte of Pembroke ſhire, of which iniurie, ẏ Erle of Pembroke, William de Valence ſore complayned: but whereas the Kyng knowing him to bee riche, willed him to lay out ſome greate portion of money, towardes ẏ mayntenāce of his warres, the Earle toke greate diſpleaſure therewith, as though the Kyng had made that requeſt, by the ſuggeſtion and ſetting on of ſome of the Engliſh Lords, in ſo much, that words paſſed in diſpleaſaunte wiſe betwixte him and the Earles of Glouceſter and Leiceſter, ſo farre forth, that the Earle of Pembroke called the Earle of Leyceſter Traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reuenged ẏ iniurie, & ſo would haue done in dede, if the K. had not bin a ſtickler betwixt thē.

Welch-
ſpoyle
broke

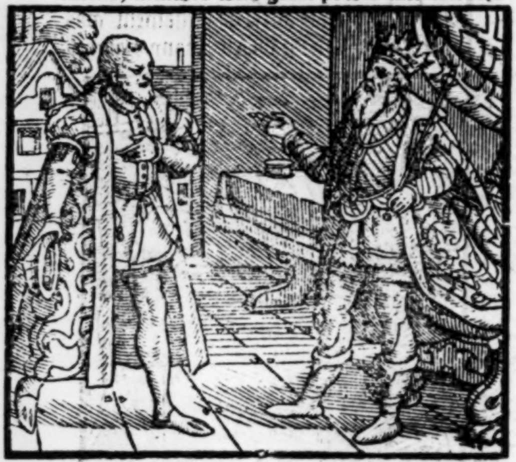
Variance betwixt the Erle of Pembroke and others.

Finally at this Parliament the lords tolde ẏ K. ẏ they might not aide him with any great ſummes of money, except it ſhould redounde to their great empouerishmēt: they tolde him alſo, ẏ he had not don wiſely, to enter into couenāts, for ẏ purchaſe

The Archbyſhop of Yorke depriued of his Croſſe.

of the Kingdome of Naples for his ſonne, without theyr conſentes. They alſo declared to him, what artycles it ſhould be good for him to propone vnto yͤ Pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing yͤ charges of the warres againſt Manfred. But when thoſe articles were afterwards preſented to the Pope, hee allowed them not, and ſo the matter remayned withoute anye certayne aſſurance of the promiſes, whiche hadde bin, and ſtill were from time to time made, to ſet the Kyng on dotage. The Archbyſhop of Yorke had his Croſſe taken from him by the Popes cõmaundement, but the Archbyſhoppe woulde not yet bowe his knee vnto Baall, to beſtowe the benefices of his Churche vpon aliants, and ſuch as were vnworthy perſons, as it hadde bin to caſt pearles vnto Swine.

Manſuetus the Popes Nuncio.



There came from the Pope as his Nuncio, vnto Kyng Henry a Frier minor, named Manſuetus, furniſhed with great power and authoritie, in ſo muche, that he tooke vpon him to aſſoyle men of chaunging vowes, and to iuſtifie thoſe that were excommunicate perſons, falſe periured, and ſuch like. Whervpon, many of euil diſpoſition preſumed to offende: for eaſineſſe to purchaſe pardon, bred boldneſſe in many, but yͤ wiſe ſeemed to laugh at ſuch doings. The Parliamẽt ſtill continued, till the Sunday after the Aſcention day, with hard holde betwixte the Kyng and the Lordes, who layde it ſore to his charge, that he hadde not performed the promiſes whiche hee made touching the obſeruing of the liberties conteyned in the great charter.

They alſo compleyned greatly of his miſgouernaunce, in that hee aduaunced ſo muche the Poictouins and other ſtraungers, to the impoueriſhment of himſelfe, and the whole Realme, and further, maynteyned them ſo farre forthe, that they were ready to offer wrong vnto other, vpon preſumption of his fauoure, and bearing with them, he hauing by commaundement reſtreined that no proceſſe ſhoulde paſſe out of the Chauncery againſt certayne of them that were his couſins, as the Earle of Pembroke and others.

Finally, when the Lordes were in doubte which way to worke for their owne ſafeties, they cauſed the Parliament to be prorogued, till yͤ feaſt of Saint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Oxforde.

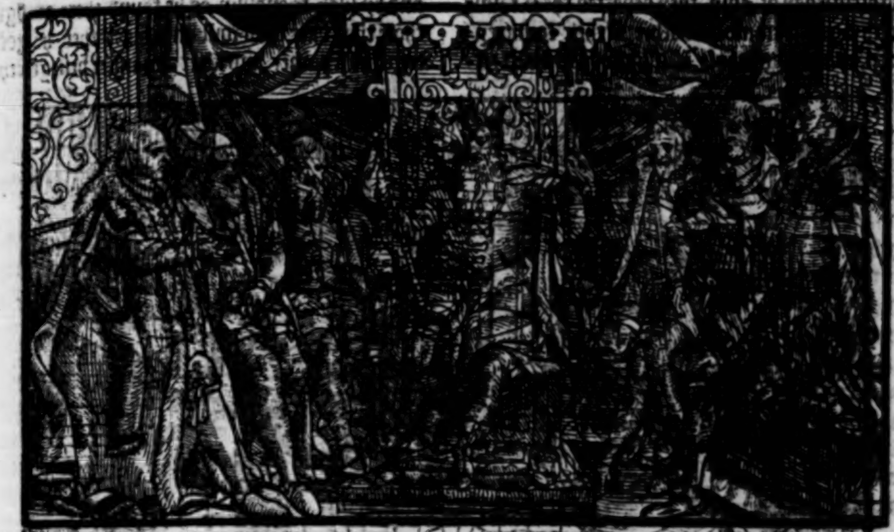
In the meane time, the Lords of the Realme, as the Earles of Glouceſter, Leiceſter, Herforde and Northfolke, with other, did confederate themſelues togither, bycauſe they ſtoode in feare to bee entrapped by the Kings ſubtile ſleightes, and by the craftie wiles of thoſe ſtraungers which he reteyned againſt them. The ſame yere by yͤ wind, which continually certayne monethes togyther kept Northerly, the floures, with other growing things, were ſo hindered, that vnneth they appeared to any purpoſe, till yͤ moſt parte of Iune was paſt, whervpon, the hope of receyuing the frutes of the earth, was quite taken away, and ſo vppon the great dearth that happened, a ſore deathe and mortalitie followed, for want of neceſſary foode to ſuſteyne the languiſhing bodyes of the poore people.

They dyed ſo thicke, that there were greate pittes made in Churchyardes to lay the dead bodies in one vpon an other.

About the feaſt of the Aſcention, Seuall the Archbyſhop of Yorke departed this life, the which conſtantly had reſiſted the tyrannie of the Court of Rome, in defence of his Churche, ſuffering in this world many greeuous tribulatiõs, but now was remoued from thence vnto the Kingdome of Heauen, to be Crowned with the elect for hys good deſeruings, as was then certainely belieued.

About this time alſo, a great number of Poictouins were come into Englande, by reaſon of their aliance and coſynage to the King, the whiche by the Kings fauour being highly aduaunced, began to waxe proude thereof, and to require to be reſtored vnto ſuch lands and liuings as beforetime they had poſſeſſed. Namely the Kyngs halfe brethren, Athelmare or Odomare, that was a Prieſt, with William Geffrey and Guy, theſe were the ſonnes of Hugh le Brun Earle of Marche, by his wife Queene Iſabell, the mother of Kyng Henry, and being come into England, ſhewed themſelues very loftie and high minded, partly, bycauſe of the Couſinage to the Kyng, and partly, by reaſon of his courteous entertaining of them, in ſo muche, that they forgetting themſelues, began to deſpiſe vpon a preſumptuous pride, the Engliſh Nobilitie, looking ſtill for prefermente of honor aboue all other. And ſurely Odomare obteyned at the firſte a great peece of his purpoſe, beeyng made by the Kyngs gifte Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and by that meanes bare a ſtout porte, and greatly holpe his other brethren.

The Engliſh Barons not well able to ſuffer ſuch preſumption in ſtraungers, who ſeemed to haue them in deriſion, complayned to the Kyng: in ſo much, that at length, as well for a reformation hereof, as in other things, a Parliamente was called, (as before ye haue hearde) firſt at London, and after remoued to Oxforde, there to be aſſembled about the feaſt of Saint Barnabie in the moneth of Iune.



ſanum
rliamentū.

This (of ſome writers) is named *Inſanum Parliamentum*, that is to ſay, the madde Parliamente: for at this Parliamente (to the whiche the Lordes came with great retinues of armed men, for the better ſafegarde of their perſons) manye things in the ſame were enacted contrary to the Kings pleaſure, and his royall prerogatiue. For the Lordes at the firſte, determined to demaunde the confirmation of the auntient charter of liberties which his father Kyng Iohn had graunted, and hee himſelfe had ſo often promiſed to obſerue and maynteyne, ſignifying playnely, that they meant to purſue their purpoſe and intent herein, not ſparing eyther for loſſe of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutually giuen theyr faythes by ioyning of handes, as the manner in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed.

e demaund
he Lordes.

Beſides the graunt of the greate charter, they required other things neceſſary for the ſtate of the common wealthe, to bee eſtabliſhed and enacted.

dinances
de.

It was therefore firſte enacted, that all the Poictouins ſhould auoide the land, togither with other ſtraungers, and that neyther the King, nor his ſonne Prince Edwarde ſhoulde in anye ſecrete manner ayde them agaynſte the people.

oth exac-
of the K.

Moreouer, that the Kyng and hys ſonne ſhould receyue an othe, to ſtande vnto the decrees and ordinances of that Parliament, and withall ſpeede, to reſtore the auntient lawes and inſtitutions of the Realme, whyche they both did, rather conſtreyned therevnto by feare, than of any good will. And ſo not only the Kyng himſelfe, but alſo his ſonne Prince Edwarde receyued an oth, to obſerue the ordinances of that Parliamẽt. But Iohn Earle Warren, and the Kyngs halfe brethren, namely, the Earle of Pembroke refuſed that othe, and likewiſe the Lord Henry, ſonne to the Kyng of Almayne, excuſed himſelfe by his fathers abſence, without whoſe conſent he would not receyue it, vnto whome thys aunſwere was made, that if his father would not conſente to the agreemente of the Baronage, hee ſhoulde not poſſeſſe one fourrough of lande within thys Realme.

Alſo, whereas the Earle of Leiceſter reſigned the Caſtels of Kenelworth and Odiham into the Kyngs handes, the which he had lately receiued by his gifte, and newly repaired them, the Earle of Pembroke and his other brethrẽ ſware deepely, that they woulde for no mans pleaſure giue ouer ſuche Caſtels, rentes, and Wardſhips of theirs, as they had of the Kyngs gift: but the Earle of Leiceſter tolde the Earle of Pembroke flatly and playnely, that he ſhoulde eyther render them vp, or elſe he ſhoulde be ſure to loſe his head; and thys ſaying was confyrmed, by the generall voyces of all other the Barons, bycauſe it was a ſpeciall article concluded amongſt other in that Parliament.

The Earle of Leiceſter threatneth the Earle of Pembroke.

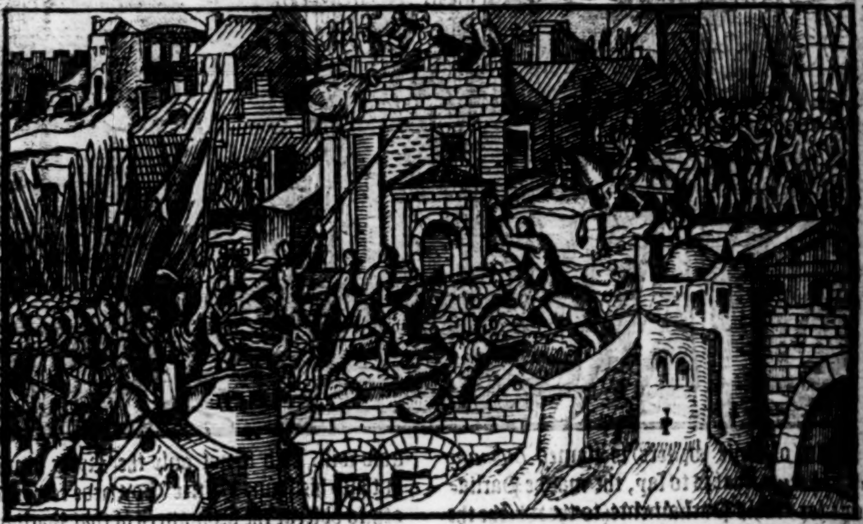
The Kings halfe brethren, perceyuing which way the worlde wente, ſtoode in doubt of themſelues, and ſecretly therevpon departed frõ Oxforde, and firſte withdrewe vnto Wincheſter, where Odomare, one of the ſame brethren

The Kings halfe brethren ſhift away.

was Biſhop, through whoſe ſupport, and by reaſon of the ſtrength of ſuch Caſtels as he held, they truſted to be in more ſafetie: but finally, perceyuing themſelues not to be ſo out of daunger, ſith the Barons minded to purſue them, about the eightenth day of July, they departed the Realme with a greate number of other of their countreymen, and amõgſt thoſe, William de Saint Herman the Kyngs karuer was one.

They departe the Realme.

Henry Montfort, ſonne to the Earle of Leyceſter, vnderſtanding of their departure out of the Realme, folowed, and hearing that they were arriued at Bulleigne, he landed in thoſe parties, and by ſuch friendſhip as he found there amõgſt thoſe that bare good will vnto his father, he gote togither a power, and after a manner beſieged the



Poictouins within Bulleigne, laying watch for them in ſuche ſorte, both by Sea and land, that there was no way left for them to eſcape. When they ſawe themſelues in that daunger, they made forthe a meſſenger with all poſt haſt vnto the Frenche Kyng, requiring to haue his ſafe conduit, to paſſe freely through his Realme, as they truſted hee woulde bee contente to graunte vnto ſuche, as for refuge and ſafegarde of life ſhoulde repaire vnto him for comfort. The French King curteouſly graunted to their requeſt, and ſo they were in ſafetie permitted to paſſe quietly through the Countrey.

They ſent to the French K.

In the meane while, one Richard Gray, Chatillayne of Douer Caſtell, a right valiant man and a faithfull, ſuffred no man to paſſe that ways vnſearched, according to that which he hadde in commaundement: wherevppon, he tooke and ſeaſed into his handes a greate portion of treaſure, whyche was broughte thither to bee tranſported ouer to the Poictouins that were ſo fledde the Realme.

Richard Gray, Captayne of Douer Caſtell, and Lorde warden of the portes.

Alſo, there was founde a greate quantitie of treaſure in the newe Temple at London, whych they had gathered and horded vp there, the which alſo was ſeaſed to the Kings vſe. But nowe to returne vnto the doings in the Parliamente holden at Oxford. It was ordeyned (as ſome write) that the Kyng ſhoulde chooſe forthe twelue perſons of the Realme, and the communaltie of the land ſhoulde chooſe forth other twelue, the which hauing Regall authoritie in their handes, mighte take in charge the gouernaunce of the Realme vpon them, and ſhould from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of Juſtices, Chauncellors, Treaſorers, and other officers, and ſee for ẏ ſafekeeping of the Caſtels which belonged to the Crowne.

Mat. VVeſt.

These foure and twentie gouernours appointed as prouiders for the good gouernement of the Realme, began to order all things at their pleaſure, in ẏ mean time, not forgetting to vſe things chiefly to their owne aduantages, as well in prouiding eſchetes and wardes for their ſonnes and kinſfolkes, as alſo in beſtowing patronages of Churches (belonging to the kings gift) at their pleaſures, ſo that theſe prouiders ſeemed to prouide all for themſelues, in ſo muche, that neyther Kyng nor Chriſt coulde receyue ought amongſt them. There be that write, how there were but twelue of theſe gouernours choſen, whoſe names were as followe. Firſt, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, the Byſhoppe of Worceſtor, Roger Bigod Earle of Northfolke and Marſhal of Englande, Simon de Montforde Earle of Leiceſter, Richard de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, Humfrey Bohun Earle of Herreford, the Earles of Warwike and Arundell, Sir John Manſell chiefe Juſtice of Englande, Sir Roger Lorde Mortimer, Sir Hugh Bigod, Sir Peter de Sauoy, Sir James Audeley, and Sir Peter de Montforte.

To theſe was authoritie only giuen to puniſh and correct al ſuch as offended in breaking of any the ordinãces at this Parliament eſtabliſhed.

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ixt the
les of Ley-
ſter and
loceſter.

It was not long after the finiſhing of thys Parliament, but that ſtryfe and variaunce beganne to kindle betweene the King and the Earles of Leyceſter and Glouceſter, by reaſon of ſuch officers as the ſayde Earles hadde remoued, and put other in theyr rowmes. Among the whiche John Manſell was diſcharged of his office, and ſir Hugh Bygod, brother to the Earle Marſhall, admitted in his rowmth.

e Lordes
me to the
ildehall to
e their or-
nances con-
med.

Alſo bycauſe the forſayde gouernours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinaunces eſtabliſhed at Oxforde, they thought to make theyr part as ſtrõg as was poſſible for them to doe, and therefore vpon the morrow after the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Weſtminſter, the Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Leyceſter, and dyuerſe other came to the Guyldhall of London, where the Maior and Aldermen, with the Commons of the Citie were aſſembled, and there the Lordes ſhewed the Inſtrument or wryting ſealed wyth the kings Seale, and with the Seales of hys ſonne Prince Edwarde, and of many other Lordes of the lande, conteyning the Articles of thoſe ordinances whiche had beene concluded at Oxforde, wylling the Maior and Aldermen to ſet alſo therevnto theyr common Seale of the Citie. The Maior and Aldermen vppon aduiſe amongſt them taken, required reſpyte till they might knowe the kings pleaſure therein, but the Lordes were ſo earneſt in the matter, and made ſuch inſtance, that no reſpite coulde be had, ſo that in the ende the common Seale of the Citie was put to that writing, and the Maior and diuerſe of the Citie ſworne to mainteyne the ſame, their allegiance ſaued to the king, with their liberties & franchiſes, according to the accuſtomed maner.

A Proclamaci-
on agaynſt
purueyers.

Vpon the .ix. day of Auguſt, Proclamation was made in dyuerſe places of the Citie, that none of the kings takers ſhoulde take any thing within the Citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of Wine, which the king accuſtomably had of euery ſhippe comming from Burdeaux, paying but .xl. ſhillings for the tun. By meanes of this Proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the Citie and liberties of the ſame, except readie payment were made in hande, which vſe continued not long.

A Parliament

Herevpon the King helde a Parliament at Weſtminſter, and another at Wincheſter, or elſe proroged and remoued the ſame thither. Alſo ſir Hugh Bygod Lord chiefe iuſtice, with Roger Turkſey, and other, kept the Terme for plees called *Itenerary*, at Saint Sauiours: For you muſt vnderſtande, that in thoſe dayes they were kept in diuerſe places of the Realme, which now are holden altogyther at Weſtminſter, and Judges ordeyned to keepe a cyrcuite, as now they keepe the Sizes in time of vacation.

e Iuſtices
at Saint
uiours.

ylifes and
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niſhed.

The forſayde Judges ſitting on that maner at Saint Sauiours, puniſhed Baylifes, and other officers very extreemely, which were conuict afore them for diuerſe treſpaſſes, and ſpecially for taking of merciaments, otherwiſe than law gaue them.

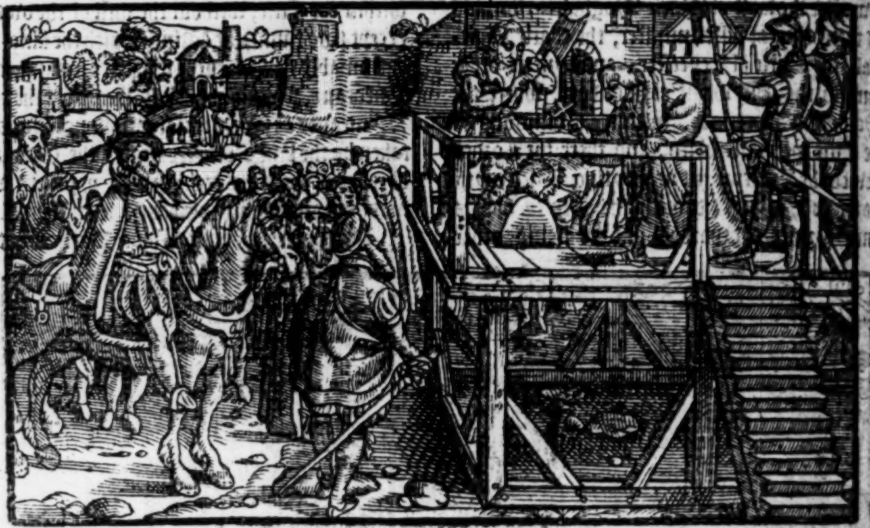
Bakers puniſhed.

After this the ſame ſir Hugh came vnto the Guyldhall, and there ſat in iudgement and kepte plees without order of law, and contrarie to the liberties of the Citie. Hee puniſhed Bakers for lacke of true ſyze, by the Tumbrell, where before they were puniſhed by the Pillorie, and many other things he vſed after ſuch maner more by wil than by any good order of law.

Math. Paris.

The Poictouins ſuſpected to haue poyſoned the Engliſh Lordes.

There was a bruyte rayſed (whether of truth or otherwiſe we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poictouins had practiſed to poyſon the moſt part of the Engliſh nobilitie. In deede diuerſe of them were grieuouſly tormented with a certaine diſeaſe of ſwelling and breaking oute, ſome dyed, and otherſome right hardly eſcaped, of which number the Earle of Glouceſter was one, who lay ſicke a long time at Sonninge, a place beſydes Reading. At length hee recouered: but his brother William died of the ſame diſeaſe, and vpon his deathbed layde the faulte to one Walter Scotenye, as the occaſioner of his death, which afterwardes coſt the ſayde Walter hys lyfe. For although he was one of the chiefe Counſaylours and Stewarde alſo to the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, yet beeing had in ſuſpition, and therevpon apprehended and charged wyth that cryme, when in the yeare next following in Iune hee came to be arraigned at Wincheſter, and put himſelfe to bee tryed by a Iury, the ſame pronounced him guyltie: and when thoſe that were empaneled vpon that Iurie were asked by the Iudges howe they vnderſtoode that hee ſhoulde bee guiltie, they anſwered bycauſe that where the ſayde Walter was neuer indebted that they could heare of, eyther to William de Valence or to any of his brethren, they were fully certified that he had of late receyued no ſmall ſumme of money of the ſayde de Valence, for to poyſon both his maiſter and other of the Engliſh nobilitie as was to be thought, ſithe there was no other apparant cauſe why he ſhoulde receyue ſuch gyft at the handes of their enimie the ſayde William de Valence, and ſo was the ſayde Walter executed at Wincheſter aforeſayde.



A late harueſt.

The Harueſt was very late this yeare, ſo that the moſt part of the corne rotted on the grounde, and that which at length was got in, remayned yet abrode till after Alhallowentide, ſo vntemperate was the weather, with exceſſiue weete and raine beyonde all meaſure. Herevpon the dearth ſo encreaſed, that euen thoſe which had of late releiued other, were in daunger to ſterue themſelues. Finally ſolemne faſtes, and generall Proceſſions were made in diuerſe places of the realm, to appeaſe Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their prayers were heard, for the weather partly amended, and by reaſon the ſame ſerued to get in ſome ſuch corne as was not loſt, the price thereof in the Market fell halfe in halfe.

Dearth of corn increaſeth.

Faſts and proceſsions vſed.

Richard Gray Lord warden of the portes.

The Chattellaine of Douer Richarde Gray looking diligently to his charge, tooke a thouſand marks which the Biſhop of Wincheſter had ſent thither to haue bin tranſported ouer into France. Erlotus the Popes *nuncio* perceiuing the trouble that was like to enſue within the realme woulde no longer tary, but wiſely departed and got him home. Herewith certaine wiſe perſonages were ſent to Rome on the part of the king & baronage, to enforme the Pope in what ſtate yͤ realm ſtood, and to giue him to vnderſtād how grieuouſly the people had bene handled by the practiſe of certaine Romaine Prelates promoted in this lande.

Erlow the Popes nuntio returneth home.

This yere nere to Carmardin Patrik de Chanton lord of Kedwelli, & Hugh de Viun, & diuerſe other both horſmen & footmen were ſlain through treaſon by the Welchmē: yet it ſhould appeare by Mat. Pa. that yͤ engliſhmē procured this miſchief to light on their own heads, through their diſloial dealing. For where they wer come to the place to talke of an agreement, ſome of the marchers ſuppoſing they had bin to ſtrōg for yͤ Welchmē, perſwaded the ſaid L. of Kedwelly to aſſaile thē vpō the ſodain, in hope to haue deſtroyed thē al: but in the end yͤ engliſhmē were diſtreſſed through yͤ valiancie of Dauid, one of the ſonnes of the great Llewillin & other captains of the Welch nation. Neuertheleſſe Mat. Weſt. ſayth briefly, that the Engliſh men were treaſonably ſlaine, ſo that it ſeemeth that Mathew Paris ſpeaketh rather of an affection and good will whiche hee bare to the Welche proceedings in thoſe dayes, than otherwiſe. For who that marketh the courſe of hys hyſtorie, ſhall perceyue that he had no good liking of the ſtate in thoſe dayes, neither concerning the eccleſiaſticall nor temporal policie, inſomuch that hee ſticketh not to commende the Welche men greatly for theyr holding togither, againſt the oppreſſion (as he meaneth it) of the Engliſh gouernmente, and no doubte there was cauſe that moued him to ſuch miſliking, namely the often paymentes and collections of money by the Popes agents, and other ſuche miſorders as dayly were permitted or rather mainteined to the enpoueriſhing of both the eſtates ſpirituall and temporall.

...th Paris ...well af-...ted towards ... gouern-...nt of the ...me as it ...n ſtoode.

Godfrey de Kynton, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterburie at Rome, about the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe laſt paſt, and ſo returned frõ thence home to his cure.

...lfrey de ...nton Arch-...ſhop of Can-...burie.

There was an ordinance made aboute thys time, for puniſhment to be had of the extortion of Sherifes, ſo that aſwell the receyuer, as the gyuer of brybes was puniſhable.

...ordinance ...ynſt ex-...tion.

The biſhops of Worceſter and Lincoln, with the Earles of Norffolke and Leyceſter, were ſent ouer in Imbaſſade vnto a Councell holden at Cambrey, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdomes of England and France, and alſo the Empire: but bycauſe the French K. looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the ſame king came not, he alſo ſtayed at home, and ſo no concluſion followed at that aſſemble.

...n. Reg. 43. ...baſſadors ...t to the coũ-...l at Cam-...y.

Joan Counteſſe of Pembrooke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demaunded hir right of dower, in ſuch landes as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length ſhe had to the value of fiue hundred markes aſſigned to hir of the ſame landes, notwithſtanding hir heritage amounted to the ſumme of a thouſande markes and aboue of yearely reuenues, but for that ſhe ſhoulde not ayde hir huſbande with part thereof, the one halfe was thought ſufficient for hir maintenance.

...n Coũteſſe ...Pembroke.

About Aduent next enſuing, ſhee went ouer vnto hir huſband, either for the deſire ſhee had to enioy his perſonall preſẽce, or for that ſhe thought hirſelfe not wel dealt with, to be abridged of thoſe reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne.

In the firſt night of December, there chaunced a maruelous ſore tempeſt of lightning and thunder, with mightie windes and raine, as a token and ſigne of the troubles that after followed; the more noted, for that thunder in the winter ſeaſon is not commonly heard of.

...reat tem-...t of light-...g and ...nder.

Guy de Rochford a Poictouin, to whom about two yeares before the king had giuen the Caſtell of Rocheſter, was now baniſhed the realme, and depriued of all that he held within this lande.

Guy de Rochford baniſhed.

About this ſeaſon, there roſe great variance amongſt the ſcholers of Oxford, being of ſundrie Countreys, as Scottiſh men, Welchmen, Northren men, and Southren men: they fel ſo farre at ſquare, that they raiſed Baners one againſt another, and fought togither, inſomuch that diuerſe were ſlaine, and many hurt on both parties. The Welchmen this yere notwithſtanding their good ſucceſſe had in theſe late warres, conſidered with themſelues, that if the Barons of Englande did once ioyne in one knot of friendſhip, they would with maine force eaſily ſubdue them, wherefore to preuent that which might chaunce vnto them by ſtubburne reſiſtance, they made ſuyte to be receyued into the kings peace, offring to giue vnto him the ſumme of foure. M. Markes, and to his ſon the Lorde Edward three. C. markes, and to the Queene two. C. marks. The king yet would not accept thoſe offers, and ſo the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certaine time. The Welchmen in the meane ſeaſon attempted not any exployte, but rather ſate ſtill in hope to come at length to ſome reaſonable agreement.

Variance and debate betwixt the ſtudents of Oxford.

The Welchmen ſeeke to agree with the king.

The Monkes of Wincheſter meaning to prouide themſelues of a biſhop, now that Athelmare *alias* Odomare the kings halfe brother was baniſhed the realme, elected one Henrie de Wingham the kings Chancellor, in hope that the K. would be contented with his election, and ſo he was, but yet condicionally, that if the Pope woulde allow his ſayde halfe brother for Biſhop, then ſhoulde the other giue place.

Henrie de Wingham elected Biſhop of Wincheſter.

About the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richarde of Almain ment to returne into Englande, there were ſent ouer vnto him the Biſhop of Worceſter, the Abbot of Saint Edmondeſburie, Peter de Sauoy, and John Manſell, as Ambaſſadours from the Baronage and communaltie of the Realme, to re-

1259

Ambaſſadours ſent to the K. of Almaine.

quire of him an othe, to ſtand vnto, and obey the ordinances of the late Parliament holden at Oxford: when the ſayde Ambaſſadors came before his preſence, and declared to him the effect of their meſſage, he behelde them with a ſterne looke, and frowning coũtenance, ſaying, & bynding it with an othe, that he would neither be ſworne, nor kepe any ſuch ordinances as had bene made withoute his conſent, neyther woulde hee make them of counſail how long his purpoſe was to ſtay within the realme, which the Ambaſſadours required alſo to vnderſtande. Herevnto he further added, that he had no peere in Englande, for he was the ſon of the deceaſed king, and brother of the king that now raigned, and alſo Earle of Cornwall, and therefore if the Barons of England ment to reforme the ſtate of the kingdome, their duetie had beene firſt to haue ſent for him, and not to haue proceeded ſo preſumptuouſly in ſuche a weightie cauſe, without his preſence or conſent. When one of the Ambaſſadors was aboute to haue made anſwere ſomewhat roundly, and alſo nyppingly vnto this ſpeeche vttered by the King of Almaine, he was ſtayed by one of his aſſociates. And ſo the Ambaſſadours vnderſtanding his minde, returned with all conuenient ſpeede. The king of Almaine had aſſembled a great hoſte of men on the further ſide the Sea, meaning wyth all expedition to haue paſſed hither into England: but when he had aduertiſement giuen that there was a power rayſed in Englande, and beſtowed both by ſea and lande to reſiſt him, he chaunged his purpoſe by aduiſe of his friendes, ſo that he conſented to receyue ſuche maner othe as the Barons required, and herewith taking the Sea, he arriued at Douer on Saint Julians day with his owne houſeholde ſeruants, bringing with him no trayne of ſtraungers, except onely two Earles of Almaine, whiche brought with them but onely three knightes, and hee himſelfe had but .viij. knightes: his brother King Henrie was readie to receyue him, and brought him from Douer vnto Canterburie, for neyther of them was ſuffered to enter into the Caſtell of Douer, the Lords hauing them in a iealouſie, leaſt they ſhoulde bee about to breake the ordinances which were concluded.

His proteſtation of their demaunde.

He chaungeth his purpoſe and commeth ouer into Englande.

On the Morow after, the king of Almaine receiued the othe in the preſence of Richard Erle of Glouceſter and others, within the Chapter houſe of Cãterburie. And on the day of the Purification of our Ladie, the two kings with their Queenes and a great number of other noble perſonages, made their entrie into the Citie of London.

He receyueth an othe not to infringe the ſtatutes of Oxforde.

In the Octaues of the ſayd Purification, the Parliament began at Lõdon, to the which came the Earle of Leyceſter from the parties of beyond the ſea where he had for a certaine time remayned. There came alſo an Ambaſſador from the French king, one that was deane of Burgon, and ſo there was an earneſt treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of Englande and Fraunce, which on the day of Saint Valentine was accorded, and put in Articles with condition that the ſame ſhould remain firme and ſtable, if the kings would aſſent to that which had beene talked of and agreed vppon by theyr ſpeciall and ſolemne agentes. For the further perfecting of this agreement and finall peace betwixt the kings of England and Fraunce, about the beginning of Aprill, the Earles of Glouceſter and Leyceſter, John Mancel, Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walerane were ſent ouer into Fraunce, hauing with them letters of credence to conclude in all matters as had beene talked of by theyr agentes. But when the Counteſſe of Leyceſter would not cõſent to quiteclayme and releaſe hir right in ſuch parcels of Normandie as belonged to hir, which king Henrie had couenanted with the reſidue to reſigne vnto the Frenche king, the Earle of Glouceſter fell at wordes with the Earle of Leyceſter, aboute the ſtubborne demeanor whiche his wife ſhewed in that matter, and ſo by reaſon that eyther of them ſtood at defiance with the other (although by meane of friendes they ſtayed from further inconuenience) they returned back without cõcluding any thing in that whereabout they were ſent.

A Parliament.

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Aboute the ſame time there was a certaine manſion houſe by waye of deuotion giuen vnto the Friers that are called Preachers within the towne of Dunſtable, ſo that certaine of the thruſting themſelues in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the great annoyãnce of the Prior & Conuent of Dunſtable, and as it were by the example of the other order called Minors (which in the laſt preceeding yeare, at Saint Edmondeſburie in Suffolke had practiſed the like matter agaynſt the willes of the Abbot and Conuent there) they beganne to builde ryght ſumptuous houſes,

The Frie
preache
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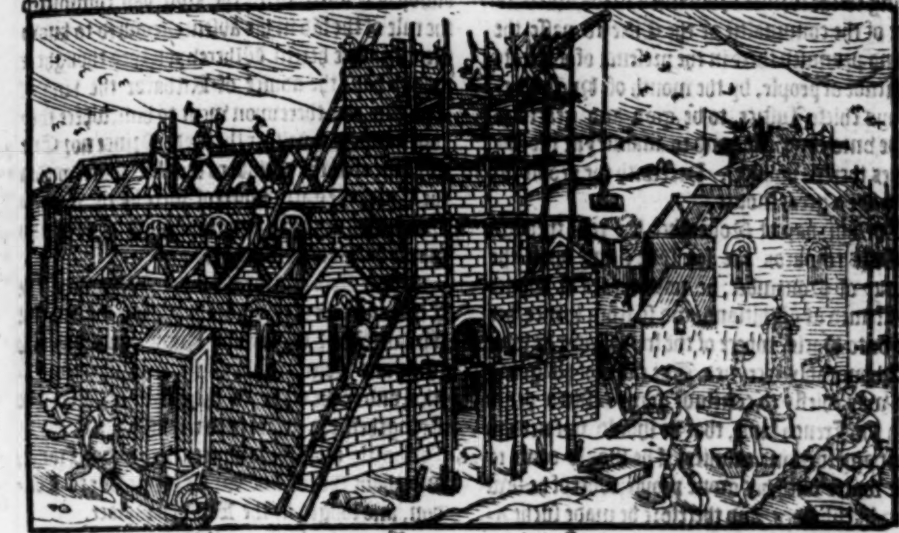
at Dun

ſo that in the eyes of the beholders ſuch admirable workes of building ſo ſodenly aduaunced by them that profeſſed voluntarie pouertie, cauſed no ſmall wonder. The ſayde Friers buylding them a Church with all ſpeede, and ſetting vp an aulter, immediately beganne to celebrate diuine ſeruice, not once ſtaying for the purchaſe of any lycence. And ſo buylding from day to day, they obteyned great ayde of ſuch as inhabited neare vnto them, of whome the Prior and Conuent ought to haue receyued the reuenues that were nowe conuerted to bee employed on the ſayde Friers towardes theyr maintenaunce. And thus by howe much the more theyr houſe encreaſed, by ſo muche the more did the Prior and conuent decreaſe in ſubſtance and poſſeſſions: for the rentes whiche they were accuſtomed to receyue of the Meſſuages and houſes gyuen to the Friers were loſt, and likewiſe the offerings (which were wont to come to their handes) nowe theſe Friers newly being entred by occaſion of their preachings, vſurped to themſelues.



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commiug
he Friers.

Richarde Gray Coneſtable of the Caſtell of Douer, and Lord Warden of the fiue portes was this yeare remoued by the Lorde chiefe Juſtice, Hugh Bygod, who toke into his owne handes the cuſtodie of the ſayd Caſtell and portes. The cauſe why the ſayd Richard Gray was diſcharged, we finde to haue fallen out by this meanes, he ſuffered a Frier minor called Walaſcho, cōming from the Pope, (bycauſe he had the kings letters vnder the great ſeale) to enter the land, not ſtaying him, nor warning the Lordes of his cōming, cōtrary (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouiſiōs enacted at Oxford. This Frier in deed was ſent from the Pope to haue reſtored Athilmarus or Odomarus, as ſome write him, the kings halfe brother, vnto the poſſeſſions of the Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, to the which he had bene long before elected: but the Lordes were ſo bent agaynſt him, that vpon ſuch ſuggeſtions as they layde forth, Walaſcho reſtrayned from doing that which he had in commaundement, & returned to make report what he vnderſtood, ſo that Odomare was nowe as farre from his purpoſe as before.

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r ſent frō
Pope.

About the feaſt of Saint Michael, the Biſhop of Bangor was ſent from Llewellin Prince of Wales vnto the King of Englande, to make offer on the behalfe of the ſayd Llewellin and other the Lordes of Wales, of .xvj. thouſande poundes of ſiluer for a peace to be had betwixt the king & them, and that they might come to Cheſter, and there haue their matters heard & determined, as in time paſt they had bene accuſtomed. But what anſwere at his returne was giuen to this Biſhop by the king and his nobles it is vncertaine.

The Biſhop of Bangor ſent frō the Prince of Wales to king Henrie.

The Welchmē offer to reſort vnto Cheſter.

In the .xliiij. of king Henries raigne, the Friday following the feaſt of Simon and Jude, in Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, were read in preſence of all the Lordes and commons, the actes and ordinaunces made in the Parliament holden at Oxford, with certaine other articles by the gouernours therevnto added and amended. After the reading wherof the Archbiſhop of Canterburie being reueſted with his Suffraganes to the number of .ix. Biſhops beſides Abbots and others, denounced al them accurſed that attempted in word or deed to breake the ſayd ſtatutes, or any of them. In the ſame Parliament was graunted to the King a taſke called *Scutagium*, or eſcuage, yͤ is to meane .xl. ſhillings of euery knights fee throughout England, the which extended to a great ſumme of money. For as diuers writers do agree, there were in Englande at that time in poſſeſſion of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie beyond .xl. thouſand knightes fees, but almoſt halfe of them were in ſpirituall mens handes.

An.reg.44.
A Parliament.

The ſtatutes of Oxford read, and the breakers of the ſame denounced accurſed.

Eſcuage graunted.

Knightes fees how manye were then in Englande.

The

Fabian.

A Folkemote.

The king aſketh licence to paſſe the ſeas.

The .vj. day of Nouember the king came vnto Paules, where by his cōmaundement was the Folkemote Court aſſembled, and the king according to the former ordinances made, aſked licence of the comunaltie of the Citie to paſſe the ſea, and promiſed there in the preſence of a greate multitude of people, by the mouth of Hugh Bygod hys chiefe Juſtice, to be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie, and to mainteyne the lybertyes thereof vnhurt.. Herewith the people for ioy made a great ſhoute.

Mat. VVeſt.

The king ſayleth ouer into Fraunce.

The .viij. day of Nouember hee rode through the Citie towards the ſea ſyde, and vpon the .xiij. day of Nouember, he tooke the ſea at Douer and arriued at Whitſand, and ſo from thence hee rode vnto Paris, where of the french king he was moſt honorably receyued. The cauſe of his going ouer was chiefly to conclude ſome aſſured peace with the French king, that he ſhould not need to doubt any forraine enimies, if he ſhould come to haue warre with his owne people, wherof he ſaw great likelihoodes, and therefore he made ſuche agreement with king Lewes (as in the French hiſtorie more at large appeareth) which (to be ſhort) I here omit.

1260

He cõpoũdeth all differences with the Frẽch king.

This one thing is here to be noted, that beſides the money which king Henrie had in hande, amoũting to the ſumme of an hundred fiftie. M. Crownes for his reſignation then made vnto Normandie, Aniou and Maine, it was accorded, that he ſhould receyue yearely in name of a trybute the ſumme of ten thouſand crownes.

Polidor.

Nic. Triuet.

VVil. Riſang.

Other write that he had three hundred thouſande poundes of ſmall Turon money, which he receyued in readie payment, and was promiſed reſtitution of landes to the value of .xx. thouſand pounds of yearely rent. And that after the deceaſe of the French king that then was, the Countrey of Poictou ſhould returne vnto the Engliſh dominion.

Mat. VVeſt.

Some write that immediately after King Henrie had concluded this agreement, hee began to repent himſelfe thereof, and would neuer receyue penie of the money, nor leaue oute in hys ſtile the tytle of Duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought that ſuch an agreement was at poynt to haue beene concluded, or at the leaſt wiſe was had in talke, but yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with handes and Seales as it ought to haue beene, if they had gone through with it.

Diſſention betwixt Prince Edwarde and the Erle of Glouceſter.

In the meane time that king Henry was thus occupied in Fraunce, diſſention fell in Englande betwene prince Edward & Richard Erle of Gloceſter, for the appeaſing whereof a Parliament was called at Weſtminſter, to ẏ which the lords came with great companies, & ſpecially the ſaide Prince and Erle. They intended to haue lodged within the Citie: But the Maior going vnto the Biſhop of Worceſter, to ſir Hugh Bigot, and to ſir Philip Baſſet, (vnto whom, and to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the king had committed the rule of the lãd in his abſence) required to know their pleaſure herein. Wherevpon they thought it good to haue the aduice of Richarde the king of Almaine, and therevpon went to him, where they concluded, that neither the ſayde Prince nor Erle nor any of their partakers ſhoulde come within the Citie, the gates whereof were by the Maiors appoyntment cloſed and kept with watche and warde both day and night.

Soone after alſo for the more ſafegarde of the Citie, and ſure keeping of the peace, the king of Almaine with the ſayd ſir Hugh, and ſir Philip came and lodged in the Citie with their companies, and ſuche other as they woulde aſſigne to ſtrengthen the citie if need required.

Shortly after the king returned out of France, and about the feaſt of S. Marke came to London, and lodged in the Biſhops Palace.

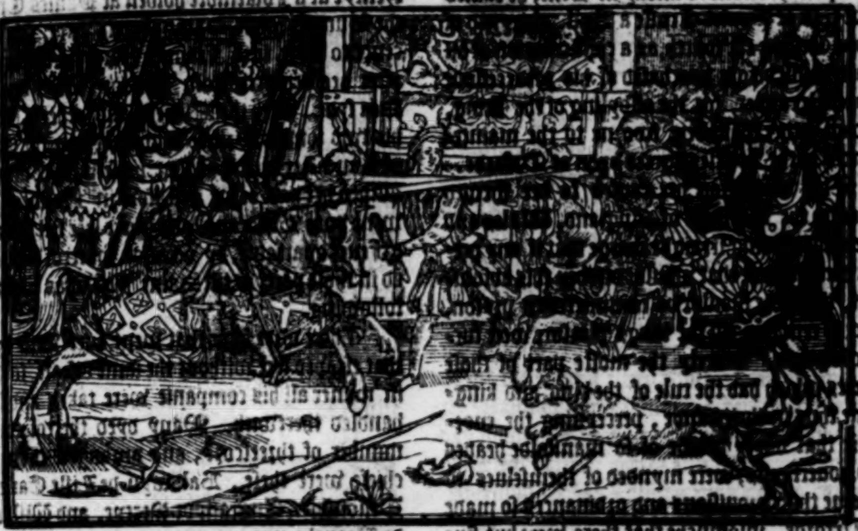
Bycauſe of rumors that were ſpred abroade ſounding to ſome euill meaning, whiche Prince Edward ſhould haue agaynſt his father, the king brought ouer with him a great power of men of armes ſtraungers, howbeit he brought them not into the Citie, but left them beyond the bridge in the parties of Surrey, but he being entred ẏ citie, ſo kept the gates & entries, that none was permitted to enter, but ſuch as came in by his ſufferance. The Erle of Glouceſter by his appoyntment alſo was lodged within the Citie, and the Prince in the Palace at Weſtminſter. And ſhortly after by the kings commaundement, hee remoued to S. Johns, & all the other Lordes were lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaines remoued againe to Weſtminſter. In which time a direction was taken betweene the ſayde partyes, and a newe aſſembly and Parliament aſſigned to bee kept in the quindene of Saint John Baptyſt, and after deferred or prorogued tyll the feaſt of Saint Edwarde, at the which tyme al things were pacifyed for a tyme, but ſo as the Earle of Glouceſter was put beſyde the rowmth whiche hee had amongeſt other the Peeres, and ſo then hee ioyned in friendſhippe with the Earle of Leyceſter, as it were by way of confederacie againſt the reſidue, and yet in this laſt contention, the ſayde Earle of Leyceſter tooke parte wyth the Prince agaynſt the Erle of Glouceſter.

This yeare the Lorde William de Beauchampe the elder deceaſed.

The Lorde Edwarde the kings ſonne with a fayre companie of knightes and other men of armes, paſſed the Seas to exerciſe himſelfe in Juſtes, but hee hymſelfe and his menne were euill entreated in manye places, ſo that they loſt

Mat. VVeſt.

loſt horſe, armour, and all other things to hys great griefe and diſlyking (as may be eſteemed) yet at night while he returned home with victorie in the Iuſtes.



w at Teu- / ptie fal- / into a / n.

This yeare at Teukeſburye, a Iew falling by chaunce into a Iakes vppon the Saterday, in reuerence of his Sabboth woulde not ſuffer anye manne to plucke hym forth, whereof the Erle of Gloceſter beeyng aduertiſed, thought the Chriſtians ſhould doe as much reuerence to their Sabboth which is Sunday, and therfore woulde ſuffer no man to go about to take him forth that day, and ſo lying ſtyll till Monday, he was there founde deade.

t. VVeſt. / h of no- / men.

Diuerſe noble men departed this life in this yeare, as the Erle of Aumarle, the Lord William Beauchampe, Stephen de Longeſpee Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Irelande, and Roger de Turkby one of the kings chief counſellers & Iuſtices of the land, William de Kilkham B. of Durham, and Iohn de Crakeſhale treaſurer of England, a ſpirituall man, but rich beyond meaſure: Alſo Henric de Ba another of the kings Iuſtices of the Benche.

rather.

t. VVeſt. / reg. 45. / king of / cōmeth / ondon.

In the .xlv. yeare of king Henries raigne, Alexander king of Scotland came vnto Lodon anon after the feaſt of S. Edwarde, with a fayre companie of Scottiſhmen, and ſhortly after his wife the Queene of Scottes came thyther alſo.

t. VVeſt.

Moreouer K. Henrie kept a royal feaſt at Weſtminſter, where he made to the number of .lxxx. knightes, amongſt the which, Iohn, ſonne to the Erle of Britain, who had maried the Lady Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. And ſhortly after was ſir Hugh Spencer made Lorde chief Iuſtice.

1261

. Dun.

After Chriſtmaſſe the king comming into the tower of London, fortified it greatly, and cauſed the gates of the Citie to be warded, ſending forth commaundement to his Lordes that they ſhould come to the tower, there to holde a Parliament, but they denied flatly ſo to do, ſending him word that if it pleaſed him, they woulde come to Weſtminſter where vſually the Parliament had bene kept and not to any other place, wherevpon there roſe diſſention betwixt him and the Barons.

Fabian.

A Folkmote holden at Pauls croſſe.

After the feaſt of the Purification, at a Folkmote holden at Paules Croſſe where the King was preſent in perſon, with the king of Almaine, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and diuerſe other of the nobles, commaundement was giuen to the Maior, that euery ſtripling of the age of .xij. yeares and aboue, ſhould before his Alderman be ſworne to be true to the king & his heyres, kings of England, and that the gates of the Citie ſhould be kept with armed men, as before by the king of Romaines was deuiſed.

An othe to be true to the king.

The L. Spencer diſcharged of his office.

About Eaſter the Barons of the lande with cōſent of the Peeres, diſcharged ſir Hugh Spencer of his office of chiefe Iuſtice, and placed in hys rowmth ſir Philip Baſſet without the kings aſſent, hee beeing not made priuie therevnto. Wherevpon a newe occaſion of diſpleaſure was miniſtred to kindle debate betwixt the king and his Lordes, but by the policie of the king of Almaine, and ſome Prelates, the matter was quieted for a time, till after at Hallowentide next enſuing, which was the .xlvj. yeare of king Henries raigne.

An. reg. 46.

The preſumptuous proceedings of the Barons againſt the king.

At that time the Barons tooke vppon them to diſcharge ſuch Sheriffes as the king had elected and named Gardeyns of the Countreys and Shires, and in theyr places putte other Sheriffes. And beſydes that woulde not ſuffer the Iuſtice whiche the King had admytted, to doe hys office in keeping hys cyrcuite, but appoynted ſuche to doe it, as it pleaſed them to appoynte, wherwith the king was ſo much offended, that he laboured by all meanes to him poſſible about the diſannulling of the ordinances made at Oxforde, and vpon the ſecond Sunday in Lent, he cauſed to be read at Paules Croſſe a Bull, obteyned of Pope Vrbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other Bull before purchaſed of his predeceſſour Pope Alexander, for the aſſoyling of the King, and all other that were ſworne to the maintenance of the Articles agreed vpon at Oxforde.

1262
A Bull read at Pauls croſſe

This abſolution hee cauſed to bee ſhewed through the Realmes of England, Wales and Irelande, giuing ſtraight charge that if any perſon were founde that woulde diſobey this abſolution, the ſame ſhoulde be committed to pryſon, there to remaine till the kings pleaſure were further knowne. Surely the moſte part of thoſe Peeres which had the rule of the king and kingdome thus in their hande, perceyuing the enormitie that dayly grewe of ſo manifolde heades and gouernours, were mynded of themſelues to diſſolue thoſe prouiſions and ordinances ſo made at Oxforde, inſomuche that there were but fiue which ſtiffely ſtoode in defence of the ſame. That is to witte, the Biſhoppe of Worceſter, and the Earles of Leyceſter and Glouceſter, with Henry Spencer, and Peter de Mountfort, the whiche by no meanes coulde bee brought to confeſſe that they myght with a ſafe conſcience goe contrarie to thoſe ordinaunces which they had confyrmed with theyr ſolemne othe, notwythſtanding the Popes diſpenſation, where as the ſame othe was rather a bonde of iniquitie (as ſayth Mathewe Weſtminſter) deuyſed to conſpyre agaynſte Chryſt and hys annoynted, that is to wit, theyr naturall liege Lorde and lawfull King, than any godlye othe aduiſedly taken, or neceſſarie to bee receyued of good meaning ſubiectes.

Mat. VVeſt.
Many gouernors pernitious to a common wealth.

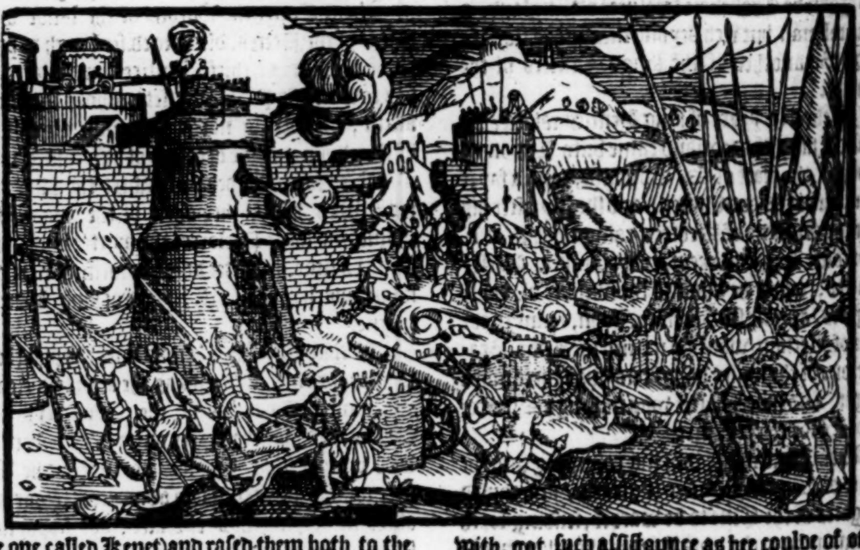
In June the king of Almaine toke ſhipping and ſayled ouer into Teutchlande, and King Henrye at a Folkemote holden at Paules Croſſe the Sunday after Saint Peters daye, had lycence to ſayle into Fraunce, and the morowe after hee departed from London towardes the Sea ſyde, with the Queene and other Lordes, his two ſonnes, Prince Edwarde and the Earle of Lancaſter being at that preſent in Guyenne. When hee had beene a ſeaſon in Fraunce, hee went vnto Burdeaux, and there hee fell ſicke of a Feuer quartaine, by occaſion whereof he taryed in thoſe partyes till Saint Nicholas tide next following.

Fabian.

There were fewe that went ouer with hym that eſcaped free without the ſame diſeaſe, ſo that in maner all his companie were taken and ſore handled therewith. Many dyed thereof to the number of threeſcore, and amongeſt them as chiefe were theſe, Baldwyn de Liſle Earle of Deuonſhire, Ingram de Percye, and William de Beauchampe.

Alſo this yeare dyed Richarde de Clare Erle of Glouceſter, and his ſonne ſir Gilbert de Clare was Earle after him, to whome his father gaue great charge that he ſhoulde mainteyne the ordinances of Oxforde.

In the .xlvij. yeare of king Henries raigne, by reaſon that a Jew had wounded a Chriſtian man at London within Colechurch, in the warde of Cheape, not onely the ſayde Jew was ſlaine by other Chriſtians that followed him home to his houſe, but alſo many other Jewes were robbed & ſlaine in that furie and rage of the people.



The Welchmen with their Prince Lewellin made warres againſt the men & tenants of Roger de Mortimer. They toke two of his Caſtels (the one called Kenet) and raſed them both to the ground. The ſayd Roger being ſore grieued herewith, got ſuch aſſiſtaunce as hee coulde of other Lordes there in the Marches, and watching the

Welchmen at aduantage, diſtreſſed diuerſe companies of them, ſomtime three C. ſomtime foure C. and other whiles fiue C. But at one time he loſt three hundred of his footmen that were entred the Countrey, and ſo encloſed that they could make no ſhift to eſcape.

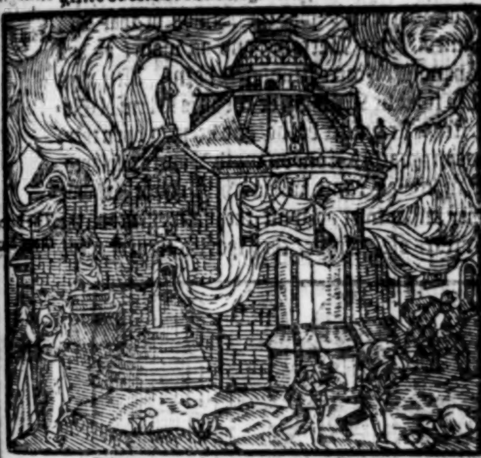
…1262.

Vpon the euen of Saint Thomas the Apoſtle, the king landed at Douer, and came to London the Wedneſday before ẏ .xij. day in Chriſtmaſſe.

…ames froſt.

This yeare the froſt beganne about Saint Nicholas day, and continued for the ſpace of a Moneth and more, ſo extreemely, that the Thames was frozen, ſo that men paſſed ouer on horſebacke.

The ſame Winter the kings little hall at Weſtminſter, with many other houſes therevnto adioyning, was conſumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings ſeruants.



…ance be-
…the Ci-
…of Lon-
…and the
…ſtable of
…Tower.

Variance roſe betwixt the Citizens of London, and the Coneſtable of the Tower, for that contrarie to the liberties of the Citie he toke certaine ſhippes paſſing by the Tower with wheate and other vitayles, which he ſtayed, and brought the ſame vittailes into the Tower, making the pryce thereof himſelfe. The matter was hadde before ſir Philip Baſſet Lorde chiefe Iuſtice and other, who vpon the ſight and hearing of all ſuche euidences and priuiledges as coulde bee brought forth for the aduauntage of both the partyes, toke order that the Coneſtable ſhould (when he lacked prouiſion of grain or vitailes) come into the market holden within the Citie, and there to haue wheate two pence in a quarter wythin the Maiors price, and other vittayles after the ſame rate.

W. Weſt.

…Edward
…againſt
…Welchmẽ.

Prince Edwarde the kings ſonne returning from the parties of beyonde the Sea, went with a great power, (as wel of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers) agaynſt the Welchmen towardes Snowdon hilles: but the enimies withdrawing themſelues to their ſtrengthes within the Woodes and Mountaynes, he could not much endomage thẽ. Wherevpon after he had fortified certain Caſtels in thoſe parties, with men, munition, and vitails, he returned being ſent for backe of his father.

The Archb. of Canterburie goeth to Rome.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie foreſeeing the trouble that was like to enſue betwixt the King and his Barons, got licence of the king to go vnto Rome, aboute ſuche buſineſſe as hee ſeemed to haue to doe with the Pope, and ſo departed the land, and kept him away till the trouble was appeaſed.

Fabian.

The Lord Maior of London ſworne to be true to the king.

Vpon Midlent Sunday, at a Folkmote holden at Paules croſſe, before ſir Philip Baſſet and other of the kings Counſaile, the Maior of London was ſworne to be true to the king, & to his heyres kings of Englande, and vpon the morowe at the Guyldhall euery Alderman in preſence of the Maior tooke the ſame othe. And vpon the ſunday following, euery inhabitant within the Citie of the age of .xij. yeares and aboue, before hys Alderman in hys Warde was newly charged with the like othe.

Cloked malice burſteth out.

The Barons rayſe people.

The Lorde Clifforde.

Then beganne the diſpleaſure betweene the king and his Barons to appeare, which had bene long kept ſecrete, dyuerſe of them aſſembling togither in the Marches of Wales, gathered vnto them a power of men, and ſent a letter vnto the king, vnder the Seale of ſir Roger Clifforde, beſeeching him to haue in remembraunce his othe and manifolde promiſes made for the obſeruing of the ſtatutes ordeyned at Oxforde. But although this letter was endyted and written very effectually, yet receyued they no anſwere from the king, who mynded in no wiſe to obſerue the ſame ſtatutes, as by euident tokens it was moſte apparãt. Wherevpon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpoſe to paſſe.

Chron. Dunſt.

The king and the Queene for their more ſafegard got them into the Tower of London, and Prince Edward lay at Clerkenwell, but in ſuch neceſſitie and diſcredit for mony, that neither had they any ſtore to furniſh their wãts, neither was there any mã that would truſt thẽ with a grote.

Prince Edward taketh money out of the treaſurie of the temple.

The Londoners rob the houſe of the Lorde Gray.

Prince Edward not able to abide ſuch diſhonor, in the feaſt of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Walleran, & certaine other, went to the new Temple, and there calling for the keeper of the treaſure houſe, as if hee ment to ſee his mothers Iewels, that were laid vp there to be ſafely kept, he entred into the houſe, & breaking the Coffers of certaine perſons that had likewiſe brought their money thither, to haue it in more ſafetie, he toke away from theſe to the value of a thouſand poundes. The Citizens of London were ſo offended herewith, that they roſe in armor againſt him and other of the kings coũſaile, inſomuch that they aſſayled the lodging of the Lord Iohn Gray without Ludgate, and toke out of his ſtables .xxxij. horſes, & ſuch other things

John Mancell fleeth into France.

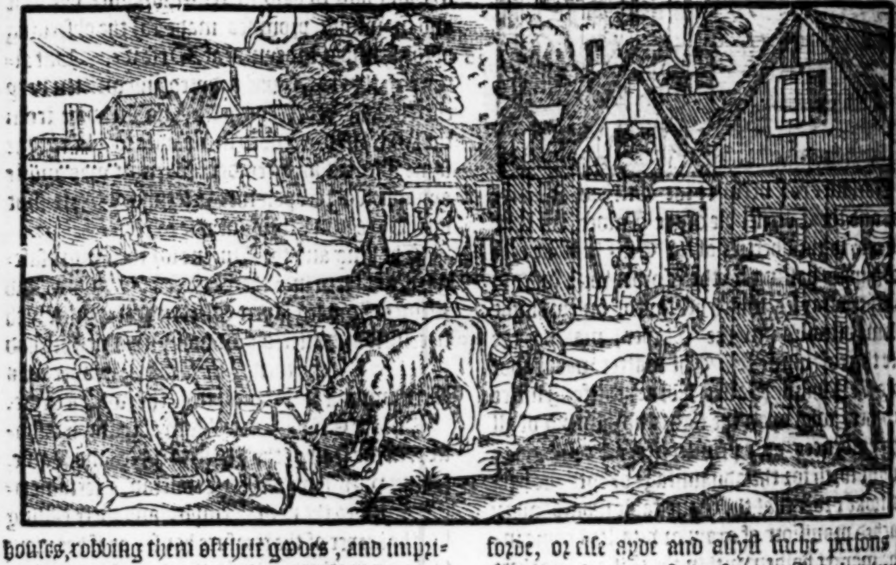
as they might lay hold vpon, keeping ſuch ſturre that the Lorde Gray himſelfe was forced to flie beyonde Fleete Bridge. The like rule they kept at the houſe of John de Paſſelew. John Mancell departing forth of the Tower to the Thames, with the Counteſſe de Liſle, and other ladies that were ſtraungers borne, ſayled into Fraunce, and landed at Whitſand; where the ſayde Mancell hearing that the Lorde Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine, that then helde with the Barons was in thoſe parties, he cauſed the Lorde Ingram de Fines to ſtay him as priſoner, and ſo he remayned till king Henrie vpon the agreement betwixt him and the Barons, founde meanes to get him releaſed, and ſo then he returned into England.

But nowe touching the Barons, they proceeded in theyr buſineſſe which they had in hande with all earneſt diligence.

The Barons that roſe agaynſt the king.

Theſe were the chiefeſt perſonages that tooke this enterpriſe in hand: yong Humfrey de Boun, the Lorde Henrie ſonne to the king of Almaine, Henrie Mountforde, Hugh Spencer, Baldwyn Wake, Gylbert Gyfforde, Richard Gray, John Ros, William Marmion, Henrie Haſtings, Haymon le Strange, John Fitz John, Godfrey Lucy, Nicholas Segraue, Roger de Leyborne, John Veſie, Roger de Clifford, John de Vaus, Gilbert de Clare, Geffrey de Lucy, and Richard Vipont, the which with one generall conſent elected for their chiefe Captaines and generall gouernors, Simon de Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, Gilbert de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, and Robert Ferreys Erle of Darby, and John Earle Warren. On the kings part theſe perſons were named to ſtand with him, againſt the counſel of Oxford, Roger Bigot Erle of Northfolke and Marſhal, Humfrey de Boun Earle of Hereforde, Hugh Bigod Lord chiefe Juſtice, Philip Baſſet, William de Valence, Geffrey de Lucignan, Peter de Sauoy, Robert Walerand, John Manſell, Geffrey Langley, John Grey, William Latimer, Henry Percy and many other. The Barons notwithſtanding hauing aſſembled their power togither, reſolued to go through with their purpoſe.

The firſt enterpriſe they tooke in hande was at Hereforde, where they tooke the Biſhop of that Sea named John Breton, and as many of his Chanons as were ſtraungers borne. After this they tooke ſir Mathew de Bezilles Sherif of Glouceſter, a ſtraunger borne, and keeping vpon their way towardes London wyth Baners diſplayed, ſo many as came within theyr reache, whome they knew to be agaynſt the maintenance of the ſtatutes of Oxforde, they ſpoyled them of their houſes, robbing them of their goodes, and impriſoned their bodies, hauing no regard whither they were ſpiritual men or temporall. In diuers of the kings caſtels they placed ſuch captains & ſouldiers as they thought conuenient, & diſplaced other who they either knew or ſuſpected to be aduerſaries to their purpoſe.



About Midſommer when they drewe neare to London, they ſent a letter to the Maior and Aldermen vnder the Seale of the Earle of Leyceſter, willing to vnderſtand whether they would obſerue the actes and ſtatutes eſtabliſhed at Oxforde, or elſe ayde and aſſyſt ſuche perſons as ment the breache of the ſame. And herewyth they ſente vnto them a Copie of thoſe Articles, wyth a prouiſo, that if any of them were preiudiciall, or in anye wiſe hurtfull to the Realme and common wealth, that then the ſame by the aduice of diſcrete perſons ſhould be amended and reformed.

The Maior bare thys Letter and the Copie of the Articles vnto the King, who in this meane time remained in the Tower of London, togither with the Queene and the K. of Almain, lately returned oute of Almaine, alſo his ſonne prince Edward, and many other of his counſail. The king aſked of the Maior what he thought of thoſe articles, who made ſuch anſwer as the king ſeemed well pleaſed therewith, and ſo permitted the Maior to returne againe into the Citie, who tooke muche payne in keeping the Citie in good quiet nowe in that daungerous tyme. All ſuche the Inhabitantes as were ſtraungers borne, and ſuſpected to fauor eyther of the parties were baniſhed the Citie, but within a while after, Prince Edward ſet them or the moſt part of them in offices within the Caſtell of Windſore. And on the Saterday next after the tranſlation of Saint Benet, as the Queene woulde haue paſſed by water from the Tower vnto Windſore, a ſort of lewde naughtipacks got them to the bridge, making a noiſe at hir, and crying drowne the witch, threw downe ſtones, cudgels, dyrt, and other things at hir, ſo that ſhee eſcaped in great daunger of hir perſon, fled to Lambeth, and through feare to be further purſued, landed there, and ſo ſhe ſtayed till the Maior of London with much ado appeaſing the furie of the people, reſorted to the Queene, and brought hir backe againe in ſafetie vnto the Tower. And as ſome wryte, bycauſe the King woulde not ſuffer hir to enter agayne into the Tower, the Maior conueyed hir vnto the Biſhop of Londons houſe by Paules, and there lodged hir.

The diligence f the Lorde Maior of London.

The miſdemeanor of lewde perſons towardes the Queene.

Chron. Dunſt.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Barons in this meane time hauing got the Citie of Worceſter and Bridgenorth, with other places, were come into the South partes, to the ende that they mighte winne the Caſtell of Douer, and finde ſome meanes to ſet the Lorde Henrie, (ſonne to the king of Almaine that was priſoner beyond the ſeas) at libertie.

In the meane tyme the Biſhoppes of Lyncolne, London and Cheſter, trauayled betwixte the King and Barons for a peace, but the Barons woulde not agree, except that the King and Queene woulde fyrſt cauſe the Lorde Henrie to bee ſet at libertie, and delyuer into theyr handes the Caſtelles of Wyndſore, Douer, and other fortreſſes, and ſende away all the ſtraungers, and take ſuch order that the prouiſions of Oxforde might be obſerued, as well by the King as all others.

ro. Dunſt. ſhops tra-yle to make ace.

The king although theſe conditions ſeemed verie hard and diſpleaſant to his mynde, yet was he driuen to ſuch an extremitie that he graunted to accept them, and ſo an agreement was made and had betwixt him and the Lordes. But now all the difficultie was to appeaſe the Lorde Edwarde, and to remoue the ſtraungers whiche he had placed in the Caſtell of Wyndſore, which they had not onely fortified, but alſo in maner deſtroyed the towne, and done much hurt in the Countrey rounde aboute them. They were to the number of an hundred Knightes or men of armes (as I may cal them) beſide a greater number of other men of warre.

ungers the Ca- l of Wind-

But nowe after that the King had agreed to the peace, the Barons entred the citie the Sunday before Saint Magarets day, and ſhortly after the King came to Weſtminſter wyth the Queene, and thoſe of hys Counſayle. And immediately herevpon, by conſent of the King and the Barons, Sir Hugh Spencer was made chiefe Iuſtice and keeper of the Tower. During the tyme that the Lordes remayned in London, many robberyes and ryottes were done within the Citie, and ſmall redreſſe had in correctyng the offenders, they were ſo borne oute and mainteyned by their maiſters and other.

The Commons of the Citie were farre oute of order, for in the aſſemblies and Courtes, as well at the Guyldhall as in other places, the matters and iudgement of things went by the voyces of the ſimple and vndiſcrete multitude, ſo that the ſubſtantiall and worſhipfull Citizens were not regarded.

The great diſorder in the Citie of London.

The Barons vpon the morrowe following the feaſt of Saint Iames, departed from London towardes Wyndſore; in whiche meane whyle Prince Edwarde was got to Briſtow, and there thinking himſelfe to be out of daunger, by miſhappe as it fortuned there roſe variance betwixt the Citizens and his men, ſo that ẏ whole Citie reuolted from him, and prepared to beſiege him in the Caſtel, not doubting but eaſily to win it. When he ſaw how the worlde went, he ſent to the Biſhop of Worceſter that was of the Barons ſide, promiſing that he would agree with the Barons, if he woulde helpe to deliuer him out of the Briſtow mens hands. The Biſhop taking his promiſe, conueyed him forth in ſafetie toward the Court. But when he came nere vnto Windſore, he turned thyther, greatly to the miſlyking of the Biſhop: yet neuertheleſſe when the Barons came forwarde to beſiege that Caſtell, the Lorde Edward met them not farre from Kingſton, offring them conditions of peace.

Abingdon.

Nic. Triuet.

Some write that he was ſtayed and not ſuffred to returne agayne to Windſore after he had ended his talke with the Barons: but howſoeuer it was, the Caſtell was ſurrendered, with condition that thoſe that were within it ſhoulde ſafely depart, and ſo they did, and were conducted to the ſea by Humfrey de Boun the yonger.

Aboute the ſame tyme, Llewelline Prince of Wales deſtroyed the landes of Prince Edwarde in Cheſhyre, and the Marches thereaboutes. The two Caſtelles of Diſarde and Gannoc he tooke and deſtroyed, being two verie fayre fortreſſes.

A Parliament.

Aboute the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, there was a Parliament holden at London, at the which all the Nobles of the Realme both ſpirituall and temporall were preſent, and then

the Citie of London, and the fiue Portes ioyned in league as confederates with the Barons, but the king plainly proteſted before all the aſſembly, that by the ſtatutes and prouiſions (as they termed them) made at Oxford, he was much deceyued. For contrarie to that which the Barons had promiſed, hee felt himſelfe rather charged wyth more debt than any thing relieued: and therefore ſith he had obteyned of the Pope an abſolution of the othe both for himſelfe & his people, his requeſt was to be reſtored vnto his former eſtate of all ſuche prerogatiues as in time paſt hee hadde enioyed. The Barons on the other ſide ſtifly mainteyned, that they coulde not with ſafe conſciences go againſt their othe, and therefore they ment to ſtand in defence of the articles aforeſayde ſo long as they had a day to liue. Thus whileſt both parties kept off ſo farre from all hope of agreement, & were nowe in poynt to haue departed in ſunder, through mediation of ſome Biſhoppes that were preſent, a peace was concluded, and the parties ſo agreed, that all matters in controuerſie touching the articles, prouiſions, & ſtatutes made at Oxford ſhould be ordred and iudged by the Frenche king, whom they choſe as arbitrator betwixt thẽ. Herevpon the. xiij. day of September, both the King and Queene, with their ſonnes, and dyuerſe other of the Nobles of this lande toke ſhipping, and ſayled ouer to Bullongne, where the French king as then was at a Parliament, with a great number of the Nobles and Peeres of France. The Erle of Leyceſter alſo with diuerſe of his complices went thither, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the ende vpon due examination, and orderly hearing of the whole proceſſe of all theyr controuerſies, gaue expreſſe ſentence, that all and euery of the ſayde Statutes and ordinaunces deuiſed at Oxforde, ſhoulde bee from thenceforth vtterly voyd, and all bandes and promiſes made by king Henrie, or any other for performance of them, ſhould likewiſe be adnihilate, fordone, and clearely cancelled. The Barons highly diſpleaſed herewith, refuſed to ſtand to the French kings awarde herein, bycauſe he had iudged altogither on the kings ſide. Wherevpon after they were returned into the realme, either partie prepared for warre: but yet about the feaſt of S. Edward, the King and the Barons eftſoones mette at London, holding a newe Parliament at Weſtminſter, but no good could be done. Then when the King of Almaine, and Prince Edwarde, wyth other of the Kings counſayle ſaw that by rapine, oppreſſion, and extortion practiſed by the Barons agaynſt the kings ſubiectes, as well ſpirituall as temporall, the ſtate of the Realme, and the Kings honour was much decayed, and brought in manner vnto vtter ruine, they procured the King to withdrawe ſecretely from Weſtmynſter vnto Wyndſore Caſtell, the which his ſonne Prince Edwarde had gotte poſſeſſion of by a trayne. From Windſore he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingforde, and ſo to Oxforde, hauing a great power with him. At his being at Oxforde there came vnto him the Lorde Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine, John Earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyborne, Haymond le Straunge, and John de Vaux, which had reuolted from the barons to the kings ſide. John Gyfford alſo did the lyke: but he ſhortly after returned to the Barons part againe. The kings ſonne the Lord Edward had procured them thus to reuolt, promiſing to euery of them in rewarde by his charter of graunt

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The kings proteſtation agaynſt the articles at Oxforde.

The matter put to the French king.

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ttie pound landes to ayde the king his father and him agaynſt the Barons.

o.Dun.

After this the king went to Wyncheſter, and from thence came backe vnto Reading, and then he marched forth with his armie vnto Douer, where he could not be ſuffred to come into the caſtell, being kept out by the Lorde Richarde Grey that was captaine there. Herevpon he returned to London, where the Barons againe were entred, through fauor of the comoners, agaynſt the will of the chiefe Citizens, and here they fell eftſones to treate of agreement, but their talke profited nothing. And ſo in the Chriſtmaſſe weeke the king with his ſonne Prince Edward and diuerſe other of the counſayle ſayled ouer agayne into Fraunce, and went to Amiens where they found the French king, and a great number of his Nobles. Alſo for the Barons, Peter de Montforde, and other were ſent thither as Commiſſioners, and as ſome wryte, at that preſent, to wit on the xxiiij. day of Ianuarie, the Frenche king ſitting in iudgement, pronounced his definitiue ſentence on the behalfe of king Henrie agaynſt the Barons: but whether he gaue that ſentence now, or the yeare before, the Barons iudged him verye partiall, and therefore meant not to ſtand vnto his arbitrement therein. The king hauing ended hys buſineſſe with the French K. returned into Englande, and came to London the morrowe after Saint Valentines day. And about ſeuen or eight dayes after, the Lorde Edwarde his eldeſt ſonne returned alſo. And hearing that the Barons were gone into the Marches of Wales, where ioyning with the Welchmen, they had begonne to make warre agaynſt the kings friendes, and namely agaynſt his Lieutenant Roger Lorde Mortimer, whom they had beſieged in the Caſtell of Wigmore. The Lorde Edwarde therevpon with ſuch power as he could get togither, marched thitherwardes to reyſe theyr ſiege: but the Lord Mortimer perceyuing himſelfe in danger, fledde priuily out of the Caſtell, and got to Hereford, whither the Prince was come. The Barons enforced their ſtrength in ſuch wiſe that they wan the caſtel. Prince Edward on the other ſide tooke the Caſtels of Hay and Huntingdon that belonged vnto the Earle of Hereford yong Henrie de Boun.

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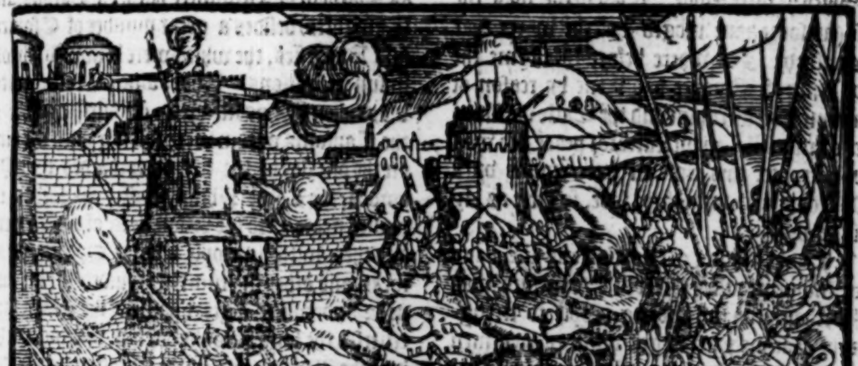
Nic. Triuet.

Caſtels gotten by prince Edwarde.



The Caſtell of Breknoc was alſo deliuered into his hands, which hee tooke to the keeping of the Lorde Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie thereto belonging. Robert Erle of Darby that tooke part with the barons beſieged the Citie of Worceſter, & tooke it by yͤ old caſtel, ſacked the citizens goods, & cōſtrayned the Iewes to be baptiſed. The Citie of Gloceſter alſo was taken by yͤ barons: but prince Edward folowing thē & reparing the bridge ouer Seuerne, which the Barons had broken downe after they were come ouer, he entred the Caſtell of Glouceſter with his people. The next day by procurement of Walter Bi. of Worceſter, a truce was takē betwixt prince Edward & the barons that had taken the town, during the which, the barōs departed out of yͤ town, & the burgeſſes ſubmitted thēſelues vnto Prince Edward: and ſo he hauing the caſtell & towne in his handes, impriſoned diuerſe of the burgeſſes, & fined the town at the ſumme of M. pounds. Thē he drew towards his father lying at Oxforde, or at Woodſtock, gathering people togither on eche hād. In the meane time the lords drew towards Lōdon, & the new aſſurance by writing indented was made betwene the comunaltie of the Citie & the barons, without conſent of any of the rulers of the citie. The cōmons herewith appointed of thēſelues two captains, which they named coneſtables of yͤ city, that is to ſay, Tho. Piwelſdon, and Ste. Bukerel, by whoſe cōmaundement & tolling of

aſter

Mat. VVeſt.

The Citie of Glouceſter recouered, and put to fine.

The comoners of the city of London cōpound with the Barons.

R. Fabian.

of the great Bell of Paules, al the citie was warned to be redie in harneſſe to attend vpon the ſayd two Captaines. About the beginning of Lent the Conſtable of the towre ſir Hugh Spencer, with the ſayde two Captaines, and a great multitude of the Citizens & others went to Thiſtleworth, and there ſpoyled the manour place of the King of Almaine, and then ſet it on fire, and deſtroyed his water Mylnes, and other commodities which he there hadde. This dede was the cauſe (as ſome haue iudged) of the warre that after enſued. For where before this tyme the ſayde King of Almaine had beene by reaſon of the alliance betwixt him and the Earle of Glouceſter continually an intreater for peace, hee was nowe euer after this time an vtter enimie vnto the Barons, and vnto theyr ſyde, ſo farre as lay in his power.

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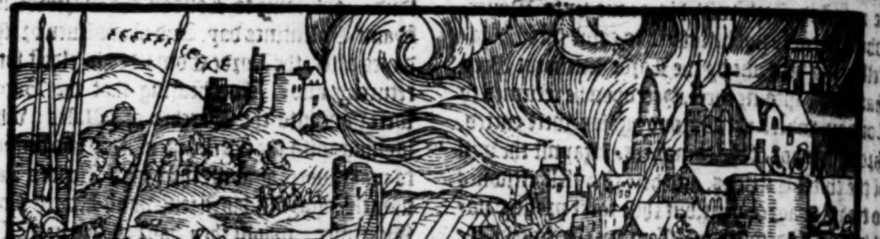
ſpoyled.

The chiefe cauſe that ſet the king of Almaine ſo ſore againſt the Barons.



The king hearing of this riottous acte, and being infourmed that Peter de Mountford was at Northampton aſſembling people to ſtrengthen the Barons part, he got togither ſuch men of warre as he coulde from all places, and ſo hee had with him his brother Richarde king of Almaine, his eldeſt ſonne the Lorde Edward, William de Valence his halfe brother on the mother ſyde, and Iohn Comyn of Warde in Scotland wyth a greate number of Scottes, Iohn Balioll Lorde of Galloway, Robert Bruys Lorde of Annandale, Roger Clyfforde, Philip Marmyon, Iohn Vaux, Iohn Leyborne, Henry Percy, Philip Baſſet, and Roger Mortimer.

The Lordes that followed the king.

Thus the King hauing theſe noble men about him, with his armie ſpedde him towardes Northampton, and comming thither tooke the towne by force, ſlue dyuerſe, and tooke priſoners Peter Mountefort, and Simon Mountefort the Earle of Leyceſters ſonne, William Ferreys, Baldwyn Wake, wyth Nicholas his brother, Berengarius de Wateruile, Hugh Gubyun, Robert Butevyleyn, Adam of Newmarch, Robert Newtõ, Philip Driby, Grimbald Pauncefort, Roger Beltram, Thomas Mauncell, and dyuerſe other to the number of lxxx. knightes (or as Mathew Weſtminſter hath, xv. Barons, and lx. knightes) beſides a great number of Eſquires and Burgeſſes, the which were beſtowed abrode in ſundrie priſons. The towne (as ſome write) was taken by this meanes. Whileſt dyuerſe of the Captains within were talking with the king on the one ſide of the towne towardes the Medowes, the Lorde Philip Baſſet approched the walles neare vnto the Monaſterie of S. Andrew, and there with his people hauing Spades, Mattocks, and other inſtrumẽts prouided for the purpoſe, vndermine a great paine of the wall, and reuerſed the ſame into the ditches, making ſuch a breache, that .xl. horſemen might enter afront. Some put the blame in ſuch Monkes of the Abbay as were ſtraungers, as though they ſhoulde prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howſoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies handes.

Northampton taken by force.

This alſo is to be remembred, that where by reaſon of variance which had chaunced that yere betwixt the ſcholers of Oxforde and the townes men, a greate number of the ſame ſcholers were withdrawen to Northampton and there ſtudied. They had rayſed a Banner to fight in defence of the towne agaynſt the king, and did more hurt to the aſſaylants than any other bande, whereupon the king threatned to hang them all, and ſo had he done in dede, if by the perſwaſion of his counſail he had not altred his purpoſe, doubting to procure the hatred of their friendes, if the execution ſhould haue bin ſo rigorouſly proſecuted agaynſt them: for there were amongſt them many yong gentlemen of good houſes and noble parentage. Thus

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king.

was the towne of Northampton taken on a Saterday being paſſion Sunday euen, and the morow after the day of S. Ambroſe which is the fift of Aprill. On the Monday following, the king led his armie towards Leyceſter, where the Burgeſſes receiued him into the towne at his comming thither. From thence he marched to Notingham, burning and waſting the houſes and manors of the Barons and other of his enimies, and ſpecially thoſe that belonged to the Erle of Leyceſter. Here he alſo gathered more people, and ſo encreaſed his power: inſomuch that diuerſe noble men, as Roger Cliffords, Henrie Percy, Richarde Grey, Philip Baſſet, Richard Syward, and Hubert Earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in theyr companions, reuolted incontinently to the kings ſyde.

Some write that Iohn de Balioll and Robert de bruys, and Peter de Bruys, came to him here and not before.

Mat. VVeſt.

He ſent his ſonne Prince Edward into Darbyſhyre, and Staffordſhire with a ſtrong power, where he waſted the Manours and poſſeſſions of Robert de Ferrers Earle of Darby, and namely he ouerthrew and defaced the caſtell of Tutbury. Whereſoeuer the kings armie, or that which his ſon Prince Edward led chaunced to come, there folowed ſpoyling, burning and killing. The Barons on the other ſide ſate not ſtill, for the Lorde John Gyfford, with other that were appoynted by the Erle of Leiceſter to kepe Killingworth caſtell (which was furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, maruellouſly and with ſuch ſtrange kind of engines as had not bin lightly heard of nor ſeene in theſe parties) toke by a policie the Caſtell of Warwike, and William Manduit Earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it, and leauing them to Kenilworth, there committed them to priſon. The cauſe was for that they ſuſpected him that hee woulde take part with the king agaynſt them. The Caſtell of Warwike they raced downe, leaſt the kings people ſhoulde take it for their refuge.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Caſtell of Tutburie defaced.

The Caſtell of Warwike take

The Caſtell of Warwike razed.

In the Paſſion weeke the Jewes that inhabited in London beeing detected of treaſon, whiche they had deuiſed agaynſt the Barons and Citizens were ſlayne, almoſte all the whole number of them, and great ryches founde in their houſes, which was taken and caried away by thoſe that ranſacked the ſame houſes.

The Iewes are killed.

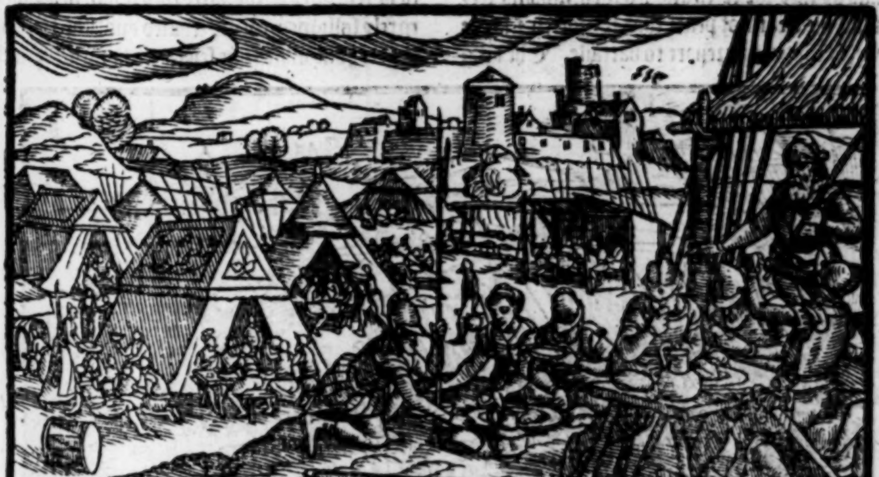
After Eaſter the Earle of Leyceſter hauing London at his commaundement, went to Rocheſter and beſieged that Citie, but the Captaine therof John Erle of Warren did manfully reſiſt the enimyes, till the king aduertiſed therof, with the power of the Marches of the North parties and other came & remoued the ſiege. This done, he left a conuenient garniſon within the Citie to defende it, and comming to Tunbridge wan the Caſtell, and taking the Counteſſe of Glouceſter that was within it, permytted hir to depart. This done, he repayred to the ſeaſide towards Fraunce, to ſtay there till his brethren, Geffrey & Guy, the ſonnes of the Erle of Marche ſhould arriue with ſome band of ſoldiers, for whom he had now ſent & reuoked into the realme, being lately before baniſhed by the nobles as before ye haue herd. They ſhortly after lãded, whervpon the king hauing his power encreaſed, came to Lewes & pight downe his fielde not farre from that towne.

Rocheſter beſieged.

Nic. Triuet, Math. VVeſt.

The kings halfe brethren come out of Fraunce to his ayde.

The king encampeth at Lewes.



In the end of Aprill the Barons hearing where the King was, departed from London with a great multitude of the Citizens, whom they placed in the vawarde, and marched forth towardes the king, and comming neare to the place where he was lodged, ſet downe their Tentes, and encamped themſelues a little beſide him. Eyther here or by the way as they came forward, the barons deuiſed a letter and ſent it vnto the K. conteyning an excuſe of their doings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towardes him, and

The Barons ſend a letter to the king.

and the wealth of the realme, and herewith accuſing thoſe that were aboute him, and with euill counſaile miſenformed him, both agaynſt them, agaynſt the publike wealth of the lande, and hys owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of May, and ſubſcribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part doe here enſue, but yet not all. Sir Simon de Mountford Erle of Leyceſter, and high ſteward of Englande, Sir Gylbert de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, Robert Ferreys Earle of Darbye, Hugh Spencer Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and Henry Mountford ſonne and heyre to the Erle of Leyceſter, Richarde Grey, Henrie Haſtings, John FitzJohn, Robert de Verpont, John Gynuile, Robert Roos, William Marmion, Baldwyn Wake, Gylbert Gyfforde, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Lucy, John de Veiſie, William de Mounthenisey, with other. The King anſwered this letter in charging them wyth rebellion, and mouing of open warre agaynſt him, to the great diſquieting of the Realme. Alſo hee layde vnto theyr charge, the burning of the Manours, houſes and places of his nobles and counſaylers and herewith defied them by the ſame anſwere, which was dated at Lewes aforeſayd the xij. of May.

The anſwere to the Barons.

He defieth them.

Alſo the king of Romaines, and prince Edwarde ſent their defiaunce vnto the Barons the ſame time in writing vnder their ſeales, for that the Barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with miſleading the king with vntrue informations and ſiniſter counſaile. Thus as they write to and fro ſuch nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten & layde aſyde, ſo that they prepare to battaile. The king had in deede the greater number of armed men, but many of them were vnfaythfull, and cared not greatly though the loſſe fell to his ſyde, and ſo whileſt they go to it without order, and vnaduiſedly, they fight at aduenture, and continue but faintly. His Captaines made three battailes of theyr armie, the forewarde the Lorde Edwarde led, and with him William de Valence Erle of Pembroke, and John de Warrenne Earle of Surrey and Suſſex. In the ſeconde the king of Almaine, with his ſonne Henrie were chieftains. The thirde the king gouerned himſelfe.

Mat.

Nic.Tri

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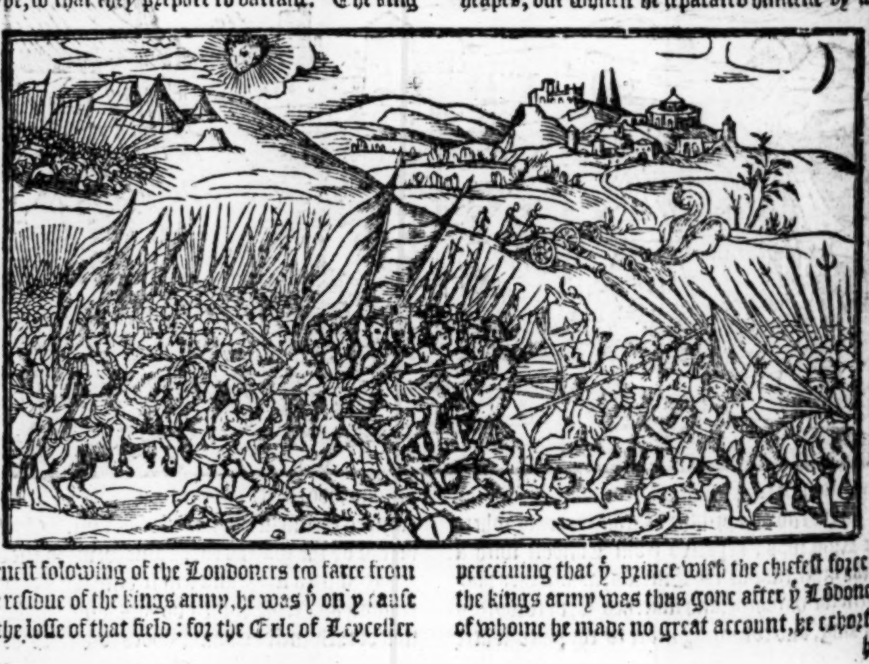
of the ba

The Barons deuided their hoſt into foure battayles, the firſt was vnder the gouernment of the Lorde Henrie de Mountforde and others, the ſeconde was led by the Lorde Gylbert de Clare, the Lorde John FitzJohn, and the Lorde William de Mountchenisey, the thirde in which the Londoners were placed, the Lord Nich. de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Simond Mountford Earle of Leyceſter himſelfe, and one Thomas de Peuelſton. Thus being ordred, on the xiiij. of May being Wedneſday, they ioyne in fight, and at the firſt encounter, the Lorde Henry de Haſtings, the Lord Geffrey de Lucy, & Humfrey de Bohun the yonger are wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beatē back: for prince Edward ſo fiercely aſſayled them, that they were not able to abide the brunt. He hated thē in deede aboue all other, namely for yͭ of late they had miſuſed his mother, reuiling hir, & throwing durt and ſtones at hir, when ſhe paſſed the bridge (as before ye haue herd.) Wherevpon prince Edwarde now to be reuenged of thē, after they began to flie, moſt egrely followed them, chaſed and ſlue them by heapes, but whileſt he ſeparated himſelfe by ſuch earneſt folowing of the Londoners too farre from the reſidue of the kings army, he was yͤ only cauſe of the loſſe of that field: for the Erle of Leyceſter perceiuing that yͤ prince with the chiefeſt force of the kings army was thus gone after yͤ Lōdoners of whome he made no great account, he exhorted his

The ba
ioyne.

Chron.

Prince Ed
purſueth
Londoners



his

Kings put to orſe.

. VVeſt.

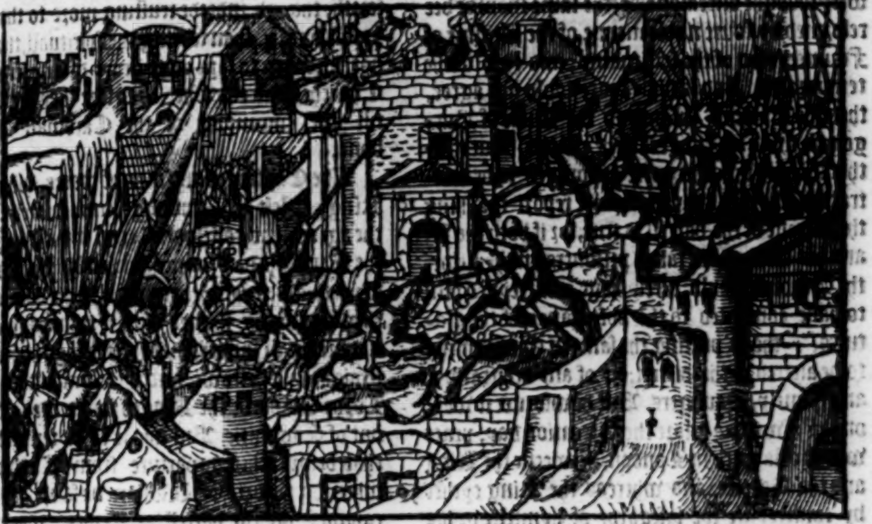
Triuet.

his people, to ſhew their valiancie at that inſtant, and ſo commeth vpon his aduerſaries with great courage, and in a moment putteth them to flight. There were taken, the Kyng of Almaigne, the Lords, Iohn de Burgh, and Phillip Baſſet, with all other the chiefeſt that were about the Kyng, but the King hymſelfe retired with thoſe fewe about him that were left, into the Priorie of Lewes, and other ther were, that withdrew into the Caſtell. The Barons purſuing them, enter the Towne, and tooke or ſlew ſo many as they found within the Caſtell and Priorie. At length, prince Edwarde returned from the chaſe of the Londoners, whome he had purſued for the ſpace of foure myles, and finding the field loſt, beginneth a new battel, but the Earle of Surrey, William de Valence, and Guy de Lucignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, hauing with them a ſeuen hundred armed men, ſtraight wayes fled vnto the Caſtell of Pemſey. Prince Edward perceiuing ſlaughter to be made on each hand, caſt about ẏ towne, and with his company, got into the Priory to his father. In the meane time, the Barons gaue aſſault to the Caſtell, but they within valiantly

Mat. Paris.

Seuen hũdred hath Abingdõ.

Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.



defended themſelues, with whoſe hardy doings, Prince Edward encouraged, gathered his people togither againe, and meant eftſoones to giue battayle, but the ſubtill head of the Earle of Leiceſter beguiled them all, for he cauſed certayne Friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt thẽ, which comming to the Kyng and to the Prince his ſonne, declared, that the Barons to auoyde that more Chriſtian bloud ſhoulde not be ſpilt, woulde bee contented to haue the matter put in compromiſe of indifferent perſons, but if it were ſo, that the King and hys ſonne would needes ſtand to the vttermoſt triall of battel, they would not fayle, but ſtrike off the heads of the Kyng of Almaigne & other ẏ priſoners which they would ſet vpon the endes of their ſpeares in ſtead of ſtãderts. The K. and his people hauing the reſpect of pitie before their eyes, chaunged their purpoſed intent to fight, and falling to a parley (which cõtinued for the moſt part of al ẏ night following) at length it was agreed, that the Frenche Kyng with three Prelates and three other noble men of the temporaltie, ſhould chooſe foorth, and name two noble men of Fraunce, which comming into Englande, ſhould take a third perſon to them whome they thought good, and they three ſhould haue the hearing of all controuerſies betwixt the K. and the Barons, and what order ſo euer they tooke therein, the ſame ſhould ſtand, and be receiued for a perfect concluſiõ and ſtable decree. This agreement was confirmed, and Prince Edward and Hẽry ſonne to the King of Almaigne, were appoynted to remayne as hoſtages with the Barons.

ers ſubor- l to treate eace.

agreement ten.

at. VVeſt.

Other write otherwiſe of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not only the Kyng of Romaynes, but that alſo Kyng Henry hymſelf hauing his horſe thruſt through on both ſides, was taken, and likewiſe his ſonne Prince Edwarde with other on their ſide, to the number of fiue and twentie Barons and Banerets. And that moreouer, there dyed on the Kings ſide that day in the battell and chaſe, a ſixe thouſande and fyue hundred men as Polidore noteth, howbeit, Ri. Southwell ſayth, there dyed on both parties only 3400. But Math. Weſt. writeth, that as the report wente, there dyed a fiue thouſande on bothe ſides, and amõgſt other, theſe he nameth as chiefe, William de Wilton, one of the Kings Iuſtices, and the Lorde Foulke Fitz Waryne a Baron, that tooke the Kings parte. On the Barons ſide, the Lord Raufe Heringander a Baron alſo, and William Blunt the Earles Standertbearer. Of them that were taken on the Kings ſyde, beſide

Polidor.

Mat. VVeſt. Lords taken on the Kings ſide.

beſide ſuch as before are recited, we finde theſe named, Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Herefordе, William Lord Bardolf, Robert Lord of Tateſhale, Roger Lord Somery, Henry Lord Percy, John de Balioll, Robert de Bruis, and John Comin, with other Barons of Scotlād, hauing loſt all their footemen whiche they had broughte with them to the Kings ayde.

Fabian.
Nic.Triuet.
Mat. VVeſt.

Moreouer, it ſhoulde appeare by ſome writers, that the King being thus in captiuitie, was conſtreyned to make a new graunt, that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould ſtand in force, and if any were thought vnreaſonable, the ſame ſhould bee reformed by foure noble menne of the Realme of Fraunce, two of the ſpiritualtie, and two of the temporaltie. And if thoſe foure could not agree, then the Earle of Anjou and the Duke of Burgoigne ſhuld be Judges in the matter. But if either thoſe or the other were appoynted to be arbitratours, like it is, that the former report touching the ſucceſſe of the battell is true, for if both the K. and his ſon had bin taken priſoners in the fielde, the Barons would ſurely haue conſtreyned him to haue conſented to the obſeruance of the ſtatutes, without putting the ſame in compromiſe, to be altered at the diſcretion of any arbitratours, and namely, ſtraungers. But howſoeuer it was, on the Tweſday before the Aſcention day, peace was proclaymed in London, betweene the King and the Barons, and whereas the King eyther by conſtreynte for ſafegarde of hymſelfe or his friendes, eyther vppon aſſurance of the Barons promiſe, committed hymſelfe vnto the company of the ſame Barons, at their comming with him to London, they went from this laſt agreement, and forthwith deuiſed other ordinances as thus. They ordeyned, that two Earles and a Biſhop, which being elected out by the cōmunaltie, ſhould chooſe to them nine other perſons, and of theſe, three of them ſhoulde ſtill remaine about the K. and by their order and the other nyne, all thyngs ſhould be gouerned both in the Courte and in the Realme. They conſtreyned the King and hys ſonne Prince Edwarde, (menacing to depoſe the one, and to keepe the other in perpetuall priſon) to conſente and agree to this laſt ordinance: and ſo the Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and the Biſhoppe of Chicheſter were ordeyned there the chiefe rulers, and letters ſent with all ſpeede, vnto the Cardinall Sabinenſis the Popes Legate, and to the King of Fraunce, to ſignifie to them, that the compromiſe agreede vppon at Lewes, was vtterly reuoked, and that a newe peace in friendly wiſe was concluded. But although the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Worceſter inſtantly required the ſaide Legate, that hee would help to further the ſame peace, yet hee ſore rebuked them, in that they woulde giue their cōſent, ſo much to abaſe and bring vnder the Kings royall power. And bycauſe he might not be ſuffered to entre the Realme, he firſt cited them to appeare before him at Bulleigne. And whereas they ſeemed to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both ſuſpended the ſaid three Biſhops, and excommunicated the ſaide Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and their complices, with the Citie of London, and the fiue portes: but yͤ foreſaid Byſhops, Earles and Barons, feigning to make their appeales to the Popes conſiſtory, or if neede were, vnto a generall Counſell and ſo forth, though indeede truſting more to the temporall ſword, than fearing the ſpirituall, they did not forbeare to ſaye and heare deuine ſeruice in Churches and elſe wher, as before they had done, till the comming of the Cardinall Othobone.

Peace proclaymed.

A new deuiſe of the Barons.

The Captaines and men of warre, which the King had left at Tunbridge, immediately vpon the agreement concluded betwixt the Kyng and the Barons, were commaunded by the King to depart, and repaire euery man to his home, but they fearing the malice of their enimies, woulde not breake in ſunder, but keeping togither, wente ſtraight to Briſtowe, and there remained, till the Lorde Edwarde the Kinges ſonne was eſcaped out of Captiuitie. But this is to be remembred, that before their departure from Tunbridge, when by reporte of William de Say, who eſcaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they vnderſtoode howe the matter hadde paſſed on both ſides, and that the Londoners being chaſed out of the field, were lodged at Croydon, about the euening tide, they came thyther, and aſſayling them in their lodgings, ſlew many, and wanne a great ſpoile. The Earle of Leiceſter and the Barons hauing the rule of the K. and Realme in theyr handes, ſoughte to oppreſſe all ſuche as they knewe to be againſt thē, and not to lyke with theyr proceedyngs, namely, the Northren Lordes, and thoſe of the Marches of Wales, as the Lorde Mortimer and others, but waxing heerewith wilfull, they vſed thyngs with ſmall diſcretion, whyche at length, broughte them to confuſion. For the four ſonnes of the Earle of Leiceſter, Henry, Guy, Simon, and an other Henry, whiche hadde ſerued ryghte worthely indeede on the daye of the battayle, beganne to waxe ſo proude, that in compariſon of themſelues, they deſpiſed all other.

Mat. W

Nic.Tri

The Lon
ners ſpoyl
at Croy

The Lordes of the Marches of Wales, as Roger de Mortimer, James de Audeley, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leiborne, Haymon le Strange, Hugh Turberuile, and other that had eſcaped from the battell of Lewes, beganne to make agaynſte them that hadde vſurped thus

Mat. W

the

the rule of the lande, vnder coulour of hauing the King in their handes. The Erle of Leiceſter aduertiſed hereof, ioyned in league with Lewlyne Prince of Wales, and comming with the King into thoſe parties, entred into the Caſtell of Hereford, into the which, he remoued the Lorde Edward from Douer, where hee was firſte kepte in warde, after hee had yeelded himſelfe at Lewes. After this, the Erle of Leiceſter recouered yͤ Caſtel of Hay, and waſting the landes and manors of the Lord Mortimer, conſtreyned Hugh Mortimer to yeeld himſelfe, ſo that his Caſtell called Richar, and other his poſſeſſions, were committed to the keeping of the Lorde Iohn Fitz Iohn. The Earle of Derby, Robert de Ferrers, with a great puiſſance of Horſemen and footemen came to Cheſter, in fauour of the Earle of Leiceſter, againſt whome, although Wil. de Couſche, & Dauid Brother to the Prince of Wales, taking the contrary part with the lord Iames Audeley and other, came to encounter, yet they durſt not abide him, but fled, and loſt an hundred of their mē. In the meane time, the Erle of Leiceſter proceedyng in his buſineſſe, wanne the Caſtell of Ludlowe, & after marching towards Montgomerie, whyther the Lords, Roger de Mortimer, and Iames Audley were withdrawen, hee conſtreyned them at length to a feigned agreement, ſo yͭ they gaue hoſtages, promiſing to come vnto the next Parli. that was appoynted to be holdē, where they were baniſhed the land for a twelue monethes, and all the Caſtels on the marches, in manner frō Briſtow to Cheſter, were deliuered to the Earle. After this, as by Nic. Treuet it appeareth, ther was a great aſſemble of men of warre made out of all parts of the Realme, to reſiſt ſuche ſtraungers as the Queene (remaining in the parties of beyonde the ſea) had got togither, meaning to ſende them into England to ayde yͤ Kyng agaynſt the Barons, and for that purpoſe, hadde cauſed a greate number of Shippes to be brought into the Hauen of Dam. But now that the King was in yͤ Barons hands, and that ſuch a multitude of Horſemen and footemen were aſſembled on Bartham downe (as a man would not haue thought hadde bin poſſible to haue foūd within the whole realm) to reſiſt the landing of thoſe ſtraungers, the ſayde ſtraungers were ſent home againe, without hauing done any pleaſure to the Queene, other thā ſpent hir money. The K. helde his Chriſtmas at Woodſtocke, and the Earle of Leiceſter, who ſeemed then to rule yͤ whole realm, kept his Chriſtmas at Kenelworth. After this, a Parliamente was holden at Londō in the Octaues of Saint Hillarie, and many things were concluded, couenauntes accorded, and othes takē for performāce by the K. and his ſonne Prince Edward, whych ſhortly after came to little effect. Prince Edward yet, and Henry the ſonne and heire of the Kyng of Almaigne, which hadde bin kept as pledges about the tearme of nine monethes and odde days, were in the Lent following ſet at libertie, vpō aſſurance made, that yͤ ſaid Prince Edward ſhould remaine in the kings court, and not departe from thence without licence of the Kyng and of a certaine of the Barons. He was alſo conſtreyned to giue vnto the Erle of Leiceſter the Countie Palatine of Cheſter, before he might obteine to haue ſo much libertie. Betweene Eaſter and Whitſontide, the Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter fell at variance, through the preſumpteous demeanor of the Earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, and alſo bycauſe the Earle of Leiceſter woulde not deliuer the King of Almaigne and other priſoners vnto the Earle of Glouceſter, requiring to haue the cuſtody of them, bycauſe he hadde taken them in the battell at Lewes.

e Earle of
rby com-
th to Che-
with 20
land mē.

e Lords
rtimer
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iſhed.

An army lodged on Barham downe.

Mat. VVeſt.

1265

Chron. Dunſt.

Abindon.

The Earle of Glouceſter perceyuing hym-

ſelfe

Prince Edward eſcapeth away.

Mat. VVeſt.

Glouce wonne.

The Earle Leiceſter ſonne raiſ an army. He wane Winche

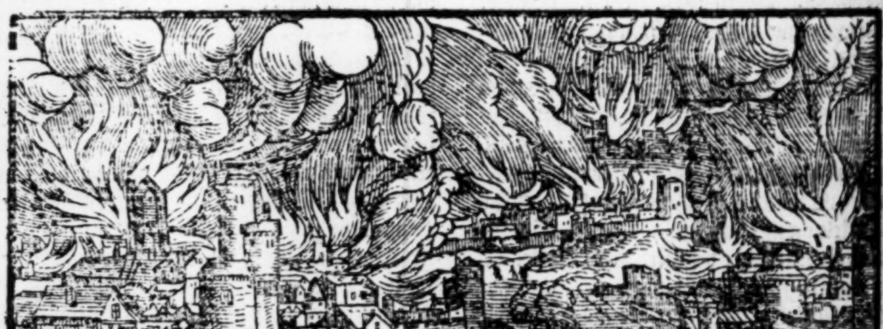
ſelfe not well vſed, ſecretly entred into confederacie with the Lorde Mortimer, and other of the marches: wherevpon, the Earle of Leiceſter hauing thereof ſome inkeling, came to Hereford, in purpoſe to haue taken the Earle of Glouceſter, and to haue put him in ſafekeeping, as lately before hee had ſerued the Erle of Derby. But by the practiſe of the Lorde Mortimer, ſhortly after the Lord Edward or Prince Edward (whether ye liſt to call him) aſſaying abroade in the fieldes an horſe or two, ſuche as hee ſhoulde vſe at iuſtes and torneys which were appoynted to be holden, he mounted at length vpon a light courſer, which the ſayd Lord Mortimer hadde ſente to him, and bidding the Lorde Robert Roos and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his keepers) farewell, he galoped from them, and could not be ouertaken of them that purſued him, till at lẽgth he came to the Lord Mortimer, the which with a great troupe of men, was come forth of his Caſtell of Wigmore to receyue him. This was on the Thurſeday in Whitſon weeke. Aboute the ſame time, the Earle of Warren, with William de Valence Earle of Pembroke, the Kings halfe brother, and other, the whiche as ye haue hearde, fledde from the battell at Lewes, were nowe returned into the Realme, landing firſt in Southwales with a power of Croſſebowes and other men of warre, the whiche hearing that the Lorde Edwarde was thus eſcaped out of captiuitie, came to Ludlowe, and there ioyned with hym, and ſo likewiſe did the Earle of Glouceſter. And after they had cõmuned togither and were made friendes and cõfederates, they cauſed all the bridges to be broken, that the enimies ſhuld not come to oppreſſe them, till they had aſſembled all theyr forces, and ſo paſſing forward towards Glouceſter, wanne the Citie, and ſtill came people vnto them from all ſides, and namely, thoſe Lordes and Captaynes, whiche all the time ſith the battayle of Lewes had laine in Briſtow. After this, they came to Worceſte, and entred there alſo. When the Earle of Leiceſter was hereof aduertiſed (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the Kyng, and ruled all things in the Court) he ſent in all haſt vnto his ſonne Simon de Mountforte to rayſe a power of menne, the which accordingly aſſembled to him much people, and comming with the ſame vnto Wincheſter, wanne the Citie, by ſurrender, ſpoyled it, and ſlew the more parte of the Iewes that inhabited there. Then he layde ſiege to the Caſtell, but hearing a fayned rumor, that Prince Edwarde was comming thither with his power, he departed frõ thence with his company, and went to Kenelworth.

The army the Earle Leiceſter is diſcomf

Nic.Tri

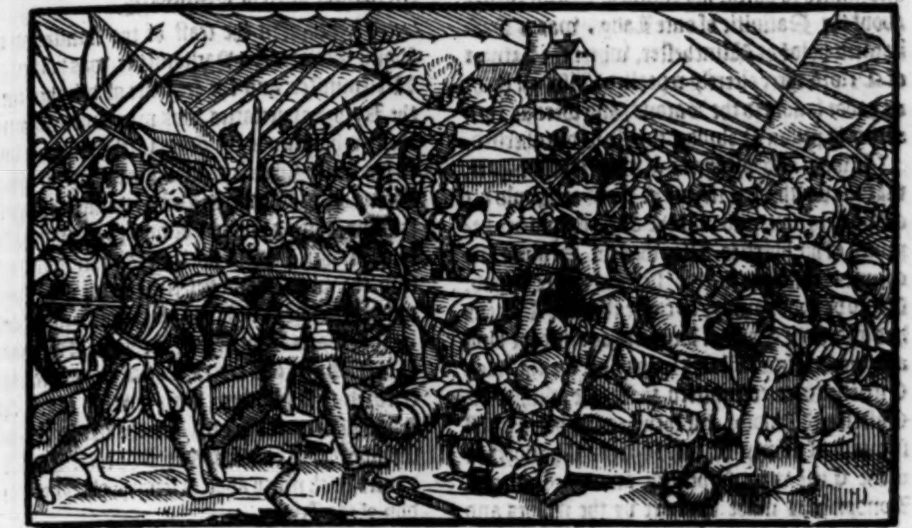
The Caſt Munmout taken.

The laſt day of July, Prince Edwarde with his hoſt came to Kenelworth aforeſayd, and there fighting with the ſayde Simon de Mountforde and hys army, with little ſlaughter diſcomfited the ſame, and tooke priſoners the Earle of Oxford, the Lordes William de Mount Cheney, Adam de Newmarche, Baldwine Wake, and Hugh Neuill, with diuers other: the Lorde Simon himſelfe fledde into the Caſtell, and ſo eſcaped. In this meane while, the Earle of Leiceſter hauing reyſed his power, came to the Caſtell of Munmouth, which the Earle of Glouceſter had lately taken and fortified: but they that were within it, beeing driuen to yeelde, it was now raſed downe to the ground. This done, the Earle of Leiceſter entring into Glamorgan ſhire, and ioyning his power with the Prince of Wales, waſted and brent the landes of the ſayde Erle of Glouceſter: but hearing what his aduerſaries wente about in other places, hee returned from thence, and came forwarde towardes the ſayde Prince Edwarde, who likewiſe



e battell
Eueſham,

made towardes him, and at Eueſham they met the ſixth daye of Auguſt, where was foughten a righte fierce and cruell battayle betwixte the parties.



idor.

As ſome write, the Earle of Leiceſter placed Kyng Henry in the fronte of his battell, whome he had there with him as captiue, and had arrayed him in his owne coate armour, that if fortune went againſt him, whileſt the enimies ſhould be earneſt to take the K. bearing the ſemblaunce of the chiefe Captayne, hee mighte himſelfe eſcape: but King Henry whē they came to ioyne, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby hee eſcaped the daunger of deathe, for being knowen of them he was ſaued. The Welchmen whiche in greate numbers the Earle of Leiceſter had there on his ſide, at the firſte onſet fledde and ranne away, whiche their demeanor, when the Earle ſawe, hee exhorted thoſe that were about him to play the men, and ſo ruſhing forth into the prease of his enimies, hee was encloſed about and ſlayne, togither with his ſonne Henry. Herevpon, his death beeing knowen, hys people tooke them to flight as men vtterly diſcomfited. There dyed in that battell about 4000. men as Polidor hathe: but Richarde Southwell ſaith, there were killed of Knightes or rather men of armes 180. and of yeomen or rather dimelances 220. of Welchmen 5000. and of ſuch footemē as were of the Earle of Leiceſters owne retinue 2000. ſo that there dyed in all to the number of tenne thouſand men, as the ſame Southwell affirmeth. Among whiche of noble men, theſe are reckoned, Hugh Spencer Lord chiefe Iuſtice, the Lord Raulf Baſſet, the Lord Peter de Mountford, the Lord John Beauchampe, Sir William Yorke, the Lorde Thomas de Eſterley, the Lord Walter de Creppings, Guy de Bailliol a Frenchmen, the Lord William de Maundeuill, the Lord Roger Saint John, the Lord Roberte Tregoz, and other, This ruine fell to the Barōs by the diſcord whiche was ſprong lately before, betwixt the Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, through the inſolency and pride of the Earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, who as I ſayde before, deſpiſing other of the nobilitie, ſpake many reprochfull wordes by the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, and vſed him in ſuch euill ſorte, that he vpon diſpleaſure thereof, hadde not onely procured the ſcape of Prince Edwarde, but ioyned with him in ayde, agaynſte the ſayde Earle of Leiceſter and other of the Barons, to the vtter confuſion, both of them and of theyr cauſe.

Welch-
fledde.

Earle of
ceſter
e.

.VVeſt.

The pride of the Earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, bringeth the Barons to confuſion.

The body of the ſame Earle was ſhamefully abuſed and cut in peeces, his head and his priuie members were cutte off, and faſtned on eyther ſide of his noſe, and preſented vnto the wife of the Lord Roger Mortimer.

Polidor.

The people conceyued an opinion, that thys Earle, beeing thus ſlayne fighting in defence of the liberties of the Realme, and performance of his oth, as they tooke it, dyed a Martir, whiche by the bruted holyneſſe of his paſſed lyfe and miracles aſcribed to him after his death, was greatly confirmed in the nexte age: but the feare of the Kyngs diſpleaſure ſtayed the people from the haſty honoring hym as a Saint at thys tyme, where otherwiſe, they were enclined greatlye thereto, reputing him for no leſſe in their conſcience, as in ſecret talke, they woulde not ſticke to vtter. There were wounded and taken, beſide the other that were ſlayne at that battayle of Eueſham, Guy de Mountfort, the Erle of Leiceſters ſonne, the Lordes, John Fitz John, Henry de Haſtings, Humfrey de Bohun the yonger, John de Veſcy, Peter de Mountfort the yonger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. The Kyng being now deliuered out of his aduerſaries hāds,

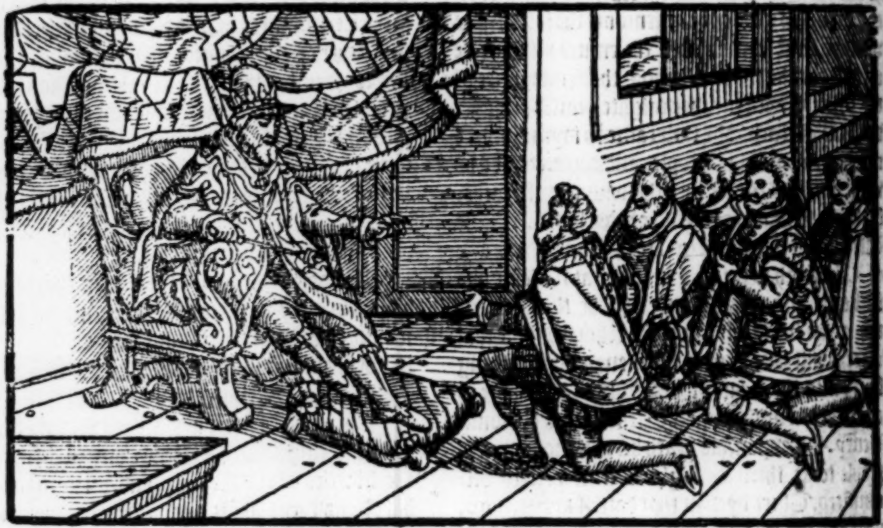
Mat. VVeſt.

and likewiſe the King of Romaines, went vnto Warwike, and there encreaſing his power, determined to purſue his enimies. But fyrſte, about the Natiuitie of oure Lady, was a Parliament holde at Wincheſter, where the ſtatutes of Oxforde were cleerely repealled. Alſo, all ſuche as hadde fauoured the Barons, and were as then eyther in priſon or abrode, ſhould be diſenherited.

A Parliament at Winchester

It was alſo ordeyned at this Parliamente, that the welthieſt Citizens of London ſhould bee caſt into priſon, and that the Citie ſhould bee depriued of hir liberties. Alſo, that the Stulpes and cheynes wherewith the ſtreates were fenced, ſhould be hadde away, bycauſe that the Citizens had ayded the Earle of Leiceſter againſt the king and his Realme. All this was done, for the chiefe Citizens were committed to warde within the Caſtell of Windſor, till they had payde no ſmall ſummes of money for theyr fynes. The liberties of the Citie were ſuſpended, and the Tower of London was made ſtronger by the ſtulpes and cheynes whiche were broughte into it out of the Citie. Moreouer, bycauſe Simon de Mountfort might not agree with the King, beeing come to this Parliamente vpon aſſurance, he was reſtored to the Caſtell of Kenelworth.

After this, in the feaſt of the tranſlation of Saint Edwarde, a Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, and the ſentence of diſenheriting the Kyngs aduerſaries, was pronounced againſt them, whoſe lands the King forthwith gaue vnto his truſty ſubiectes, where hee thoughte good. Some of the diſenherited men redemed their poſſeſſions, with a portion of money, in name of a fyne. Other of them flocking togither, got them into the woddes and deſerte places, where keeping them out of ſighte as outlawes, they liued by ſpoyle and robberies. The chiefeſt of thẽ, was Robert Earle of Ferrers, who neuertheleſſe, was reſtored to his landes, but yet with condition, that if afterwardes hee fell into the like cryme, hee ſhoulde forfeit his Earledome for euer. The Lõdoners with much adoe, at length, obteyned pardon of the Kyng.



The Maior and Aldermen of the Citie, were glad to ſubmit themſelues, though the commons without conſideration of the great perill whiche they were in, woulde haue ſtand ſtill at defiaunce with the King, and defended the Citie agaynſte him. It was no maruell though they were of diuers and contrary opinions, for at thoſe dayes, the Citie was inhabited with many and ſundry nations, whiche then were admitted for Citizẽs. At length, vpon theyr ſubmiſſion, the King tooke them to mercy, vpon theyr fyne, whych was ſeaſed at twentie thouſand markes.

The Londoners put to their fine.

About all hallowen tide, Cardinall Othobon came from the Pope into Englande as hys Legate, to help towards ſome agreemente to be had betwixte the K. and hys Barõs. He was cõmitted to priſon (as ſome write) by the Londoners, for that hee ſpake againſte theyr doyngs, when they ſhutte theyr gates agaynſte the Kyng, but hee was ſhortly releaſſed as ſhoulde appeare.

Cardinall Ottobone, the Popes Legate.
Fabian.

The ſixth daye of Nouember in the fiftith yeare of hys raigne, King Henry came to Weſtminſter, and ſhortly after, hee gaue away the number of threeſcore houſes, with the houſhold ſtuffe in the ſame conteyned, ſo that the owners were compelled to redeeme them agayne of thoſe hys ſeruauntes, to whome hee hadde giuen the ſayde houſes, togyther with all ſuche landes, goodes and cattayles, as the ſame Citizens had within any part of England. Then was one called ſir Othon, made Cuſtos, or gardein of the Citie, who was alſo Conneſtable of the Tower, hee

choſe

choſen to bee Sheriffes, and to bee accomptable to the Kings vſe, Iohn Adrian, and Walter Heruy, Citizens of the ſame Citie. The King alſo tooke pledges of the beſt inhabitants of the Citie, the which pledges, hee cauſed to be put in the Tower, and there kept, at the coſtes of their parentes. The King by aduice of his Counſellors deuiſed, that within euery ſhire of the Realme, there ſhoulde bee a Captayne or Lieutenant appoynted with neceſſarie allowance of the Kings for his charges, the which, with the aſſiſtance of the Sheriffe, ſhoulde puniſhe and keepe downe the

.VVeſt.

wicked outrage of theeues and robbers, which in time of the late ciuill warres were ſprong vppe in great numbers, and growen to exceeding greate boldneſſe, but now, through feare of deſerued puniſhment, they began to ceaſſe from theyr accuſtomed outrage, and the Kynges power came agayne in ſtrength, ſo that peace after a maner, began to come and increaſe.

About Saint Nicholas euen, the King departed from Weſtminſter, towardes Northampton, where the Cardinall Othobon helde a Synode, and at the ſame tyme, that he was in communication

Nic.Triuet.

The legat holdeth a Sinode at Northampton.

demeane, pronounced all the Kings counſellors accurſed, and namely, all the Biſhops which had ayded the Barons agaynſt the King, in time of the late warres, of whome afterwardes, he aſſoyled the more part. But Iohn Byſhop of Wincheſter, Henry Biſhop of London, and Stephen Biſhop of Chicheſter, were ſent to Rome, to purchaſe their abſolution of Pope Clement ye fourth, as well for other poyntes of diſobedience, as chiefly, for that, where the Queene hadde procured a curſe of Pope Vrbane the fourth, that was predeceſſor to this Clement, to accurſe al the Barons and their ſupporters, which warred againſt the King hir huſband, the ſaide Biſhops (to whome the commiſſion was ſent to denounce that curſe) for feare of the Barons deferred the execution. Walter Biſhop of Worceter, chauncing to fall ſicke at that tyme, died about the beginning of February, confeſſing firſte, that hee hadde greeuouſly erred, in maintayning the ſide of the Erle of Leiceſter againſt the King, and therefore, directed hys letters to the Popes Legate, requiring to bee aſſoyled, whiche hys petition the Legate graunted.

t.VVeſt.

n ſoſpen- was pro- ced in a alell hol- by the Cardinall aules as hath.

t.VVeſt.

Moreouer, in this Councell at Northampton, there was publiſhed by the Cardinall a graunte, made to the King by the Pope, of the diſmes of the Engliſhe Churche, for one yeare then next enſuing.

.Triuet.

A little before the kings departure from London now in this laſt tyme, he ordeined Sir Iohn Linde Knight, and maiſter Iohn Walrauen Clearke, to be gardians of the Citie and Tower, by the names of Seneſchals or Stewardes. But ſuche earneſt ſute, was made to the King, for to obteyne a perfect pardon for the Londoners, that at length after that the foreſayde Seneſchals had taken ſureties of them for the paymente of theyr fyne, the King cauſed his charter of pardon to be made vnder his broad ſeale, and ſente it vnto them, wherein all former treſpaſſes committed by them in the laſt warres, was cleerely pardoned, excepted out of the ſame pardon certayne perſons, whoſe bodies and goodes were giuen vnto his eldeſt ſonne Prince Edward. Thys Charter was dated at Northampton, the tenth day of Ianuary, in the fiftieth yeare of King Henries raigne. Then alſo were diſcharged the foreſayd Seneſchals, and the Citizens of themſelues choſe for Maior, Wiliam Fitz Richard. And for Sherifes, Thomas de la Forde, and Gregory de Rockeſley.

The Londoners pardoned

1265

Fabian.

Whileſt the King lay at Northampton, the Lord Simon de Mountford put himſelfe vpon the

Simon de Mountfort.

the dome and order of the Legate Othobone, and was therefore permitted to be at large in the Kings Courte: but at the Kyngs comming to Londō, he ſuddaynely departed out of the Court, and rode to Winchelſey, wher he aſſociated himſelfe with Rouers, and after ſome priſes taken, departed from them, and wente into Fraunce, where he offred his ſeruice to the French Kyng, and was receyued. Thus hath Math. Weſt. and other: but Polidor ſayth, ẏ by Othobōs meanes, he was reconciled to the Kyngs fauour, & therevpon to auoyde occaſion of further diſpleaſure, he commaunded, that the Caſtell of Kenelworth ſhould be reſtored vnto the King, which the Captayne refuſed to deliuer, hauing fortified it with all manner of prouiſion, and things neceſſary to defende a ſiege.

Mat. VVeſt.

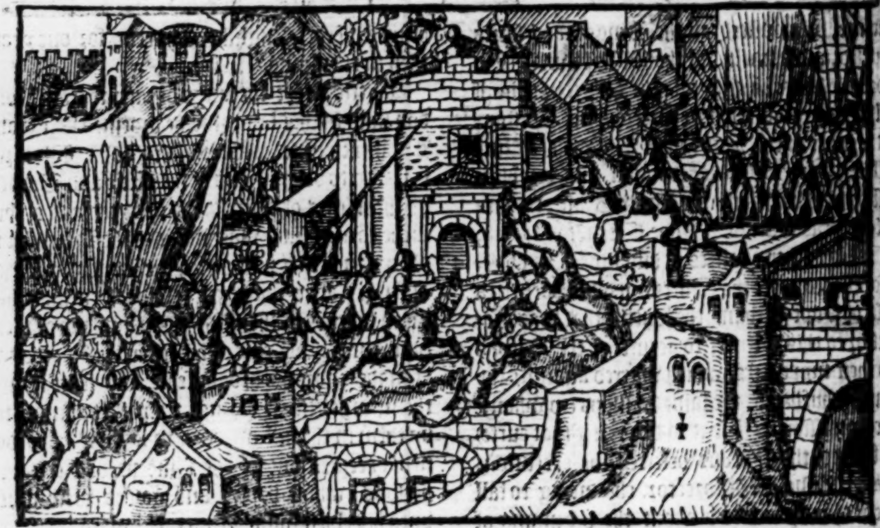
Polidor.

The Wardens of the fiue portes, whiche during the time of the Barons war, had done many robberies on the Sea, as well againſt ẏ Engliſhmen as other, were at length reconciled to the K. who was faine to agree with them vpō ſuch cōditions as they thought good, bycauſe ẏ time as the cōmon fame went, they had the dominion of the Sea in their owne hands. But in ſome writers we finde it thus recorded, that when certaine priſoners whiche were kept by the Barons of the cinque portes in the Caſtell of Douer, hearde how all things proſpered on the Kings ſide, they got poſſeſſion of a tower within the ſame Caſtel, and toke vpon them to defende it againſt their kepers, whereof whē aduertiſemēt was giuē to ẏ K. and to his ſonne ẏ Lord Edward, they haſted forth to come to ſuccour their friendes. The kepers of the Caſtell, perceyuing themſelues beſet with their enimies, ſente to the K. for peace, who graunting them pardon of life and limme, with horſe, armour and other ſuch neceſſaries, the Caſtell was yelded vnto his handes. From thence Prince Edwarde departing, viſited ẏ ſea coaſt, puniſhing diuers of the inhabitantes within the precinct of the cinque portes, and putting them in feare, receiued diuers to the K. his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelſey onely made countenance to reſiſt him, but Prince Edward with valiante aſſaultes entred the Towne, in whiche entry, muche giltie bloud was ſpilt, but yet the multitude by commaundement of Prince Edward was ſpared. And thus hauing wonne the Towne, he commaunded that from thenceforth they ſhoulde abſteyne from piracies, which they had before tyme greatly vſed. Thus were the Seas made quiet, and thoſe of the cinque portes brought to the Kings peace, and throughly reconciled. In this meane whyle, diuers of the diſinherited Gentlemen, ſore repining at the ſentence and order giuen againſt them, had taken the Iſle of Oxeholme in Lincolne ſhire, whither a great number of euill doers immediatly reſorted, and began to do much miſchiefe in all the countreys

Fabian.
The wardens of the fiue portes reconciled to the K.
Mat. VVeſt.

Douer C
deliu
the King.

Winch
wonne by
force.



next adioyning. They toke & ſacked the Citie of Lincolne, ſpoyled the Iewes, and ſlew many of them, entred their ſinagoge, and brent the boke of their lawe. At length Prince Edwarde, or as other haue, his brother Earle Edmond, was ſente againſt them, the which compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obſerue, they receyued an oth ſhortly after at [illegible], but neuertheleſſe, they were as ſhortly ready to breake and renounce the ſame, and began a newe broyle in diuers parts of the Realme. Diuers of them fortified the Caſtell of Kelingworth, prouiding themſelues of al things neceſſary for defēce out of the countreys adioyning. The K. aduertiſed hereof, ſent vnto them a purſeuant, commaunding them to ceaſe from ſuche rebellious attemptes, but the meſſenger had one of his handes cutte off, and ſo with a contemptuouſe anſwere was ſent backe againe.

Abingdon.
Lincolne taken.

Nic.Triuet.

Keling
Caſtell
fied again
the King

The King
purſeu

am Gurdon

at. VVeſt.

agayne. Prince Edward in paſſing through the foreſt of Aulton, got ſight of ſyr Adam Gurdon one of the diſinherited men, with whom he coped, and toke him pryſoner with his owne hand, ſauing hym yet, and pardonyng the offence of rebellion, in reſpect of the valiantnes which he tryed by proofe to reſt in him: but his ſouldiors & complices being there taken, hee cauſed to be hanged vpon trees within the ſame foreſt. Robert Erle Ferreys contrary to his othe of late receyued, accompanyed with the Lorde John d'Euille and others, did much hurte by way of open warre agaynſt the kings frendes in the north parties. Agaynſt whome the Lorde Henry, ſonne to the king of Almaine was ſent with a great power. The which comming to Cheſterfield fell vpon his enimies in ſuche wyſe on the ſodaine, that they hadde not tyme to arme them ſelues, and ſo were diſtreſſed and ouercome.

he battayle
Cheſterfield.

The lord Io. d'Euille yet brake out, & encountring with ſir Gilbert Haunſard, ouerthrew him and eſcaped oute of daunger. Greate ſlaughter was made on eche hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and Gentlemen ſought to get out of perill by flyght. The Earle of Derby got into a Churche, but he was diſcryed by a woman, and ſo was taken. There were many other alſo taken: and amongſt them the Lorde Baldwyn Wake and ſir John de la Haye wyth muche paine eſcaped.

This battaile was foughten about the middeſt of Maye, or vppon Whitſon euen, as the Chronicle of Dunſtable hath.

erſden.

Thoſe that eſcaped, as the Lorde John d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but aſſemblyng them ſelues togyther in companies, kept within woods and other deſert places, brake out oftentimes, and did much miſchiefe.

On the nynth of Auguſt they toke the yſle of of Elye, and ſo ſtrengthned it, that they helde it a long tyme after, ſpoyling & robbing the countreys round about them, as Norffolke, Suffolk, and Cambridgeſhire.

The Biſhoppe of Elye hadde vndertaken to keepe the Iſle to the Kings vſe, but being now diſpoſſeſſed thereof, he gotte him awaye, and fell to curſing them that were thus entred againſte his will, but they ſeemed to paſſe little vppon his thundring excommunications.

rwicke
ied.

The .xvj. of December, they came to the citie of Norwich, and ſpoyling it, toke many of the welthie Citizens, and ranſomed them at greate ſummes of money.

n. Dunſt.

The Lorde Henrye Haſtinges and Simon de Pateſhull, with diuers other, gotte them into the Caſtell of Kenilworthe, and dayely went forthe at their pleaſures, ſpoylyng and waſting the townes aboute them, or cauſyng them to fyne with them to bee ſpared. And this they ſpared not to do, although the lord Edmund the kings ſonne lay in Warwike, to cut them ſhort of ſuche their licentious doings.

The ſiege of Kenelvvorth caſtell beginneth.

The Lorde Haſtings.

An. reg. 51.

Kenelvvorth caſtel deliuered to the kyng.

The king therefore meaning to haue the ſayd Caſtell of Kenilworthe by force, beganne his ſiege aboute the ſame vpon the euen of S. John Baptiſt. But the Lorde Henrye Haſtinges, the Captaine of that Caſtell, and other his complices defended it ſo ſtrongly, that though the king enforced his power to the vttermoſt to winne it of them, yet coulde he not any thing preuaile, till at length vittails began to faile them within, and then vpon the euen of S. Thomas the Apoſtle before Chriſtmaſſe, the lord Henry Haſtings deliuered the ſayd Caſtel into the kings hands, vpon condition that he and all other theirs ſhould haue lyfe and lyuing, horſe and armoure, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this ſiege had continued from the .xxvj. of June, vnto the .xx. day of December.

Here is to be remembred, that at the beginning of the ſiege, there were within the caſtell a thouſande and .vij. hundred armed men, & .viij. ſcore women, beſide lackeys and royſterels.

Here is alſo to bee remembred, that whyleſt the ſiege laye before Killingworth, by the aduiſe of the Kinges Counſell, and of the Legate Othobone, there were twelue peeres appointed and choſen forth which ſhould deuyſe and make ordinaunces touching the ſtate of the realme, and the diſinherited perſones, the whiche according to their commiſſion, ordeyned certaine prouiſions, the whiche are conteyned within the ſtatute intitled *Dictum de Kelyngworth.*

Dictum de Kenelvvorth.

Abyngdon.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Kyng after that the Caſtell of Kenelworth was deliuered to his hande, he left therin his ſonne Edmunde, and went hymſelfe to Couentrye (or as other haue) to Oxforde, and there helde his Chriſtmaſſe.

1267.

A parliamente at VVeſtminſt.

Shortely after commyng to Weſtminſter hee helde a parliamente there, ſtudying to ſet a quyetneſſe in all matters and controuerſies depending betwixt hym and the Barons.

Earle Ferreys diſherited.

In this parliament ſentence was giuen agaynſt Earle Ferrers for the forfeyture of hys Earledome: then was Edmunde the Kyngs yonger ſonne put in poſſeſſion bothe of the Earledome of Darbye and Leyceſter.

The ſixte of Februarye beyng Sundaye, the Kyng came to Saynct Edmundeſburye, and ſtaying there till the two and twentyth of the ſame Moneth, ſette forwarde that daye towardes Cambridge, where hee lay wyth hys armye, the better to bridle them that kepte the Iſle of Elye agaynſte hym. Hee laye there all the Lente ſeaſon. And in the meane tyme the Earle of Glouceſter takyng greate diſplea-

The Earle of Glouceſt. vvith an armie commeth to Lõdon

The Earle of Glouceſter vvith an armye commeth to London.

ſure, for that hee myghte not haue his will, as well for the baniſhing of ſtraungers as for reſtitution to bee made vnto the diſenherited men of their lãds, he began a new ſturre, and aſſembling a greate power in the marches of Wales came neare vnto Lõdon, pretẽding at ỹ firſt as though he had come to aide the kyng, at length he got licence of the Mayor and citizens to paſſe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, & thither came to him ſhortly ſir John de Eyuile, by Southery ſide, bringing with him a great company. The Mayor cauſed the bridge & water ſide to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euery night was the drawbridge drawne vp: but within a whyle the Erle vſed the matter ſo, that he was permitted to lodge within the Citie with a certaine of his men, by reaſon whereof, he drewe more and more of his people into the citie, ſo that in the ende he was maſter of the citie, & in Eſter weeke toke the keys of the bridge into his handes. The legate cõming forth of the Toure, repaired vnto the churche of S. Paule, vnder a color to preach ỹ Croiſey, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his wordes to the Erle of Glouceſter, admoniſhing him to obey the king as he was bouñd by his allegiaunce: and further whereas the Earle had giuen cõmaundement that no victuals ſhuld be ſuffred to be brought into the Toure wher the Popes legate was lodged, he thought himſelfe euil vſed in that behalf, ſith he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the Earle ſeemed to giue ſmall regarde to his wordes, he got him ſecretly againe into the Tower, with certain noble men the Kings friendes, meaning to defẽd it to the vttermoſt of their powers. There entred alſo into the Tower a great number of Jews ŵ their wiues & children, vnto whome one ward of ỹ Tower was committed to defend, which they did in that neceſſity very ſtoutly. Many of ỹ citizens fearing a newe inſurrection auoided out of ỹ citie, whoſe goods the Erle ſeaſed vnto his owne vſe, or ſuffred his men to ſpoyle the ſame at their pleaſures.

The Legate admoniſheth the Earle of Glouceſter to obey the king.

The legate and other meane to defende the tovver againſte the erle of Glouceſter.

The moſte parte of all the commons of the citie toke parte with the Erle, and in a tumulte got them to the Guilde hall, and there choſe for theyr Maior or Cuſtos of the Citie, Richard de Collworthe knyght, and for bailiffes, Robert de Linton & Roger Marſhall, diſcharging the olde Mayor and Sheriffes of their roomths. Diuers Aldermen were committed to priſon, and their goodes ſequeſtred, and muche parte thereof ſpoyled. Alſo all ſuche perſons as were pryſoners in Newgate, Ludgate, Creplegate, or in any other priſon aboute the Citie, for the quarrell of the Barons warre, were ſet at libertie.

The citizens of London in an vprore choſe nevve officers.

Priſoners ſette at libertie.

The legate perceyuing ſuche diſorder, accurſed generally all ſuche as thus troubled the kinges peace, ſhewyng them to be enimies to the King and the realme. He alſo interdicted all the churches within the citie and aboute it, licenſing only diuine ſeruice to be ſayde in houſes of religion, and without ringyng of any bell or ſinging: and whyleſt ſeruice was in hande he appointed the Churche dores to be ſhutte, bycauſe none of them that ſtoode accurſed, ſhoulde enter and be preſent. The King in the meane time lay at Cambridge to defend the countries about from iniuries whiche were dayly attempted by them that helde the Jle of Ely agaynſt hym, of whome at one time he diſtreſſed a certaine number at Ramſey. And bicauſe nowe after that the Earle was thus come to London, an other companie of them brake out to robbe and ſpoyle, and were ſtopped by the kyngs power from entryng into the Jſle agayne, they repayred ſtreyght to London, doing miſchiefe inough by the waye.

The Le accurſe troublers the king peace.

The king at Cam

Ramſey.

The Earle of Glouceſter greatly encouraged by theyr aſſiſtance, fell in hande to aſſayle the Tower, wythin the whyche the Popes Legate Othobone, and dyuers other were incloſed, takyng vppon them to defende it agaynſt the Erle and all his puiſſaunce.

The Kyng vppon the fyrſte newes of the Earle of Glouceſter his commotion, engaged the Shrynes of Sainctes, and other Jewelles and Relykes of the Churche of Weſtmynſter vnto certayne Marchauntes for greate ſummes of money, wyth the whyche ſendyng into Fraunce and Scotlande, hee reteyned men of warre to come to hys ayde.

The king keth his ſaint and men vvarr him.

Hereupon his ſonne Prynce Edward came to hys ſuccoure vnto Cambridge, bryngyng thyther wyth hym thyrtie thouſande able men, out of the north partes, Scottes and other.

The kyng then leauing a conuenient number to defende Cambridge, marched from thence towarde Wyndeſore. After his comming thither, his armie dayly encreaſed.

The king remoueth des VV

The Earle of Glouceſter and hys complyces, beganne to feare the matter, and ſente to hym for peace, whiche coulde not bee graunted: whereupon they appoynted to giue him battayle vpon Houndeſlow heath. The kyng comming thither in the mornyng, founde no man there to reſiſt him, and therfore after he had ſtayed there a certain ſpace, he marched forth & came to Stratforde, where hee was lodged in the Abbey: hys hoſte laye at Hamme, and thereaboutes.

The L to Strat

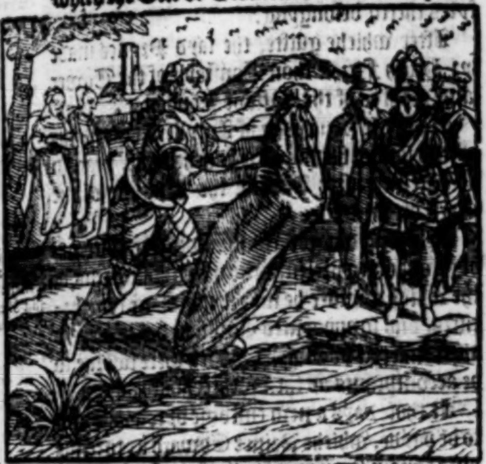
Fabian.

This chaunced about three weekes after Eaſter. The Souldiors whiche lay in London and in Southwark, did much hurt about in the countrey of Southerye, and elſe where. They alſo ſpoyled the towne of Weſtminſter, and the pariſh churche there: but the Monkes and the go-

Mat. VV

VVeſt ſpoyled.

dies belonging to the Abbey they touched not, but they made hauocke in the Kings palace, drynking vp and deſtroying his wine, brake the glaſſe windowes, and defaced the buildings moſt diſorderly, vneth forbearing to ſet the houſe on fyre. Alſo there were of them that brake vp and robbed certayne houſes in London, of the whiche miſgouerned perſons there were foure taken, that ware the cogniſance of the Earle of Darby, the which the Erle of Glouceſter cauſed to be put in ſackes, and ſo throwne into the Thames.



ldiors ſac-
d, and thro-
en into the
ames.

As the Kyng thus laye at Stratforde, there came vnto hym from the parties of beyonde the ſea, the Earle of Bolongne, and Saint Paule, with .CC. men of armes, and theyr ſuite of other ſouldiours. Alſo there arriued in the Thames a fleete of great veſſels, fraught with Gaſcoynes, and laie afore the Towre, abidyng the kings pleaſure.

e Erles of
lo e and
Paule.
fleete of
ſcoins come
the kyngs
de.

The Earle of Glouceſter had cauſed bulwarkes and barbicanes to be made betwixte the Tower and the Citie, and alſo in ſundrye places where neede required, dytches and trenches were caſt, ſo that the Citie was ſtrongly fortifyed. But yet nowe that the ſayd Earle and his complices perceyued thẽ ſelues in maner as beſieged, they ſought for peace. And by mediation of the King of Almayne, the Lorde Philippe Baſſet and the Legate Othobone, the ſame was graunted, the ordinaunce of Killingworthe in euerye condition obſerued.

chyngdon.
peace con-
ded.

The Londoners were pardoned of theyr treſpaſſe for receyuing the Earle, though they were conſtrayned to paye a thouſande Markes to the K. of Romans, in recompence of the hurts done to him in burning of his houſe at Thiſtleworth.

e Lendo
pardoned.

Whyleſt the Erle of Gloceſter kept the citie of London againſt the K. one Henry de Gudereſch, ſteward to the ſayd Erle, departing from Lõdon, cam to ỹ manor houſe of Geffrey Saint Leger, at Offeld, whiche he brent, and tourning from thence came to Brickhill. The Lord Reynolde Gray that held of the kings parte, aduertiſed hereof, folowed hym with his retinue of men of warre, and comming vpon his enimie at vnwares, toke the ſayd Henry, and ſlewe .xxx. of the chiefeſt of his companie, ſome he toke, howbeit many eſcaped. But nowe to our purpoſe.

rs. Dunſt.
aereſch.

The Lorde Grey.

By this agreemente concluded betwixte the Kyng and the Earle of Glouceſter, hee alſo accepted into his grace the Lorde Iohn Eyueleye, the Lorde Nicholas de Segraue, the Lorde Willyam Marmyon, the Lorde Richarde de Grey, the lorde Iohn Fitz Iohn, and the Lorde Gilbert de Lucy with others: ſo that all partes of the realme were quieted, ſauing that thoſe in the Iſle of Elye would not ſubmit themſelues: yet at length by mediation of Prince Edward, they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortreſſes and defences within that yſle by the made, were plucked downe and deſtroyed.

But it appeereth by other writers, that immediatly after the agreement concluded betwixt the Erle of Glouceſter, Prince Edward the kinges ſonne, by ſetting workmen in hand to make a cauſey through the Fennes with bordes and hurdels, entred vpon them that kepte the Iſle of Elye, ſo that many of them got out, and fledde to London, vnto the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, and other their complices. The reſidue ſubmitted themſelues, as the Lorde Wake, Symon Mountfort the yonger, the Pechees, and other, vpon condition to be pardoned of life and member: And further, that Prince Edwarde ſhould be a meane to his father, to receyue them into fauour. But by other, it maye rather ſeeme, that ſome of them kept and defẽded themſelues within that Iſle till after the agreemente made betwixt the King and the Earle of Glouceſter.

Eueſden.

By order of whiche agrement there were foure Biſhops and eight Lordes choſen forth, which had bin firſte nominated at Couentrie, to order and preſcribe betwixt the king and the diſenherited menne, a forme of peace and redemption of their landes.

And ſo in the feaſt of all Saincts, proclamation was made of a full accord and agreement, and what euery man ſhould pay for his raunſom for redeeming his offence agaynſt the Kyng.

An. reg. 52.

In the Octaues of Saint Martine, the king helde a Parliament at Marleborough, where the liberties conteyned in the Boke called *Magna Charta*, were confirmed, and alſo dyuers other good and wholſome ordinances concernyng the ſtate of the cõmon wealth were eſtabliſhed and enacted. In the moneth of Aprill, there chaunced greate thunder, tempeſtuous rayne, and floudes, occaſyoned by the ſame, ryghte ſore and horrible, continewyng for the ſpace of fifteene dayes togyther. The Legate Othobone,

A parliament at Marleburghe.

1268.

The Legate Othobone returneth to Rome. Othobon choſen Pope.

Abyndon.

after he had in the Synods holden at Northampton and London, deuiſed and made many orders and rules for Churchmen, and leuied amongſt them greate ſummes of moneye, fynallye in the moneth of July, he toke leaue of the King and retourned to Rome, where after the deceaſſe of Innocent the fifth about the yere of our Lord 1276. hee was choſen Pope, and named Adryan the fifth liuing not paſt fifty days after. He went ſo neere hande to ſearch out things at his going away, that he had enrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and took the note with him to Rome.

Prince Edvv. receyueth the Croſſe.

Prince Edward the kings ſonne, and diuers other great lordes of England before this legates departure out of the realm, receiued the croſſe at his handes in Northampton on Midſommer day, meaning ſhortly after, accordyng to theyr promiſe there made, to goe into the holy land to warre againſt Gods enimies.

Fabian. A fray in London betvvixte the Goldſmiths and Taylours.

This yeare there fell variance betweene the fellowſhippes of the Goldſmythes and Taylours within the Citie of London, ſo that one euening there were aſſembled to the number of fiue hundred in the ſtreetes in armor, and running togyther made a foule fray, ſo that many were wounded, and ſome ſlayne. But the ſheriffes hearing therof, came and parted them, with aſſiſtaunce of other craftes, and ſente diuers of them beyng taken, vnto priſon. Of the which, there were araigned to the number of thirtie, and .xiij. of them condemned and hanged.

An. reg. 53 Thames frozen

1269.

In the fiftieth and three yeare of Kyng Henries reygne, there was ſuche an exceding great froſte, begynning at Sainct Andrewes tyde, and continuyng tyll it was neere Candelmaſſe, that the Thames from the Bridge vpwardes, was ſo harde frozen, that menne and beaſtes paſſed ouer on foote, from Lambhythe to Weſtmynſter, and ſo Weaſtwarde in dyuers places vp to Kyngſton. Alſo Merchandyze was broughte from Sandwyche and other places, vnto London by lande. For the Shippes by reaſon of the Ice coulde not enter the Thames.

And about the feaſt of Saint Vedaſt, whiche falleth on the vj. of Februarie, fel ſo great abundaunce of rayne, that the Thames roſe ſo high, as it hadde not doone at anye tyme before, to remembraunce of man then lyuing: ſo that the cellours & vaultes in London by the water ſide were drowned, and much merchandiſe marred and loſte.

Abyngdon. A parliamente holden at London.

About Sainct Georges day, there was a parliament holden at London, for the appeaſing of a controuerſie depending betwixte Prince Edward the kings ſonne, and the Earle of Glouceſter. At the whiche Parliamente were preſent almoſt all the Prelates and peeres of the realme. At length they put the matter in compromiſe, into the handes of the Kyng of Almayne, vndertakyng to be ordered by hym high and low, touchyng all controuerſies: and lykewyſe for the iourney to be made into the holy lande, but the king of Almayne did little in the matter to any great effecte.

In the beginning of Lente the King gaue to his ſonne Prince Edwarde, the rule of the Citie of London, wyth all the reuenues and profytes therto belongyng.

After whiche guifte, the ſayd Prynce made ſyr Hugh Fitz Othon Conſtable of the Tower and Cuſtos of the Citie of London.

Upon the nynth day of Apryll, Edmund the kyngs ſonne, ſurnamed Crouchebacke, maryed at Weſtmynſter Aueline the daughter of the Earle of Aumarle.

Prince Edwarde commanded the Citizens of London to preſent vnto him ſixe Citizens, of the which number he might nominate two Sheriffes, and ſo appoynted William de Hadſtocke and Anketyll de Alverne, which were ſworne to be accomptaunts as their predeceſſour had bin.

At thoſe days a new cuſtome or toll was vſed to be payde, whiche Prince Edward let to ferme vnto certain ſtrangers, for the ſumme of twentie markes by yere. Wherefore the Citizens being grieued therwith, bought it of him for .CC. markes. Alſo this yere there was granted to the K. towards his iourneye by him purpoſed into the holy lande, the .xx. peny of euery mans mouable goodes throughout the realme of the lay fee, and of the ſpiritualtie was graunted by the aſſent of Pope Gregorie the .x. three diſmes to be gathered within the terme of three yeeres.

This yere the kings ſonne the Lord Edward obteyned a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, ſo yͤ the Citizens did then choſe vnto them a Maior & two Sheriffes, which ſheriffes by vertue of the ſame Charter, had their office to ferm, in maner as before tyme was accuſtomed: ſauyng that where they payd afore but .iij. hundred and fiftie pound, they payde now foure hundred and fiftie pound.

After which confirmation graunted and paſſed vnder the Kyngs broade ſeale, they choſe for their Mayor John Adryan, and for Sheriffes, Walter Potter, and John Taylour, the whiche were preſented the .xvj. day of July vnto the K. at Weſtminſter by his ſonne Prince Edwarde, and there admitted and ſworne. Then was ſyr Hugh Fitz Othon diſcharged of the rule of the citie. The Citizens of their owne freewill gaue vnto the Kyng an hundred markes, and to hys ſonne Prince Edwarde fiue hundred markes.

There was no greate dyſorder attempted thys yeare to the diſquietyng of the Realme,

ſauing

ſaying that certaine of the diſenherited Gentlemen that belonged to the Earle of Derby, withdrew vnto the foreſt of the Peake in Derbiſhire, and ther making their abode, ſpoyled and waſted the countreys next adioyning.

n.reg.54.
1270.
ril. Riſhã.
ce Edvv.
th for-
rd tovvar-
the holye
de.

In the moneth of May Prince Edward the kings ſonne ſet forward on his iourney towardes the holy lande, and taking the ſea at Douer, paſſed ouer into Fraunce, and came to Burdeaux, where he ſtayed a whyle, and after went to Agues Mortes, and there toke ſhypping, firſt ſayling (as ſome write) vnto Thunys, where the Chriſtian armie, whiche Lewes the French K. as then deceaſſed had brought thither, was ready to depart, and ſo Prince Edward, with the new French king Lewes & other Princes paſſed ouer into Sicile, where hee ſoiourned for the Winter tyme.

at. VVeſt.
e king ſicke.

This yere the King was vexed with a greeuous ſicknes: and the Iriſhmen in rebellion ſlew a great ſort of Engliſhmen, as well Magiſtrates, as other in that countrey.

n.reg.55.
1271.

When the ſpring of the yeare began to approche, Prince Edward eftſones taketh the ſea, and finally arriueth at Acres with a thouſande choſen men of warre, though there be writers that affirme, how there arriued with him of ſundry countreys fiue thouſand horſemen, and double the ſame number of footemen. But amongſt thoſe that went out of England with him, theſe we fynde as principall, Iohn de Britayn, Iohn de Veſcye, Otes de Graunſon, and Roberte de Bruſe, beſydes other. Of his noble chiualrie there atchieued, ye ſhall fynde a briefe note in the deſcription of the holy lande, and therefore here we omitte the ſame.

ince Ed-
and arriueth
Acres
[illegible]

ſacidæ, of
ne named
ſſini.

ince Edvv.
trayterouſly
wounded.

This yet is to bee remembred, that whyleſt the Lorde Edward ſoiorned there in the citie of Acres, hee was in great danger to haue bin ſlaine by treaſon: for a traiterous Sarazin of that generation, which are called *Arſacidæ*, & lately reteyned by the ſame Lord Edwarde, and become very familiar with him, founde meanes one day as he ſat in his chamber, to giue him three woundes, whiche ſurely had coſt him his lyfe, but that one of the Princes chamberlaynes ſtayed the traytours hande, and ſomwhat brake the ſtrokes, tyll other ſeruantes came to the reſkue, and ſlewe him there in the place.

Other that write, howe the Prince Edwarde himſelfe perceyuing the traytor to ſtrike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: And as the Sarazin made to haue ſtriken again, he ſtrake him backe to the grounde with his foot, and catching him by the hand, wreſted the knife from him, and thruſting him into the bellye, ſo killed him, though in ſtruggling with hym, he was hurte againe a little in the forhead: And his ſeruantes withall comming to helpe hym, one of them that was his Muſitian, got vp a treſtyll and ſtroke out the braynes of the traytour, as he lay dead on the grounde, and was blamed of his maiſter for ſtriking him, after he ſawe him once dead before his face, as he mighte perceyue hym to be.

Porte Iaphe.

Some write, that this traytor was ſent from the great Admirall of Iapha, auncientlye called Ioppa, on meſſage to the Prince Edwarde, and had bin with him diuers tymes before, and nowe making countenance to plucke forth letters, got forth his knyfe, & attempted ſo to haue wrought his feate. What ſoeuer the man was, the prince was in great danger by reaſon of the enuenymed knife wherewith he was wounded, ſo that it was long ere he coulde be perfectly whole.

The generation of the Arſacidæ, or Aſſaſſini.

Theſe Sarazins called *Arſacidæ*, are a wicked generation of men, infected with ſuche a ſuperſtitious opinion, that they beleeue heauenly bliſſe is purchaſed of them, if they can by anye meanes ſlea one of the enimies of their religion, and ſuffer themſelues for that facte the moſt cruell death that may be deuiſed.

An.reg.55.

Prince Edwarde after hee was whole and recouered of his woundes, perceyuing that no ſuche ayde came into thoſe parties oute of chriſtendome, as was looked for, hee toke a truce wyth the enimies of oure Faithe, and retourned towardes Englande, as hereafter ſhall bee ſhewed.

1272.

Nic. Triuet.
Mat. VVeſt.
The deceaſſe of the king of Almayne.

The fourthe Nones of Aprill (as ſome haue) or in the Moneth of Februarie, as other write in the .lvj. yere of king Henries reign at Berkhamſted, died Richard King of Almayn and Erle of Cornwal, and was buried in the abbey of Hailes which he himſelf had founded: he was a worthye Prince, and ſtood his brother king Henry in great ſtead, in handling matters both in peace & warre. He left behinde him iſſue begot of his wife Sanchia two ſons, Edmunde and Henry. This Edmunde was he that brought the bloud of Hayles out of Germanie: for as he was there vppon a time with his father, it chaunced that as he was beholding the reliques and other precious monumentes of the auncient Emperours, he eſpyed a boxe of golde: by the inſcription wherof, he perceyued (as the opinion of men then gaue, (that therein was conteined a portion of the bloud of our Sauior: He therfore being deſirous to haue ſome part therof, ſo intreated hym that had the keping of it, that he obteined his deſire, & brought it ouer wyth hym into Englande, beſtowyng a third part thereof after his fathers deceaſſe in the Abbeye of Hayles, as it were to adorne and enryche the ſame, bycauſe that therein bothe hys father and hys mother were buryed, and the other two partes hee dyd reſerue in his owne cuſtodie.

His iſſue.

Edmund Earle of Cornevvall.

The bloud of Hayles.

Aſhrugge abbey built. Bonnehommes.

cuſtodie, tyll at length he moued vppon ſuche deuotion as was then vſed, hee founded an Abbey a little from his manour of Berkhamſted: which abbey was named Aſhrugge, in the which he placed Monkes of the order of Bonnehommes, being the firſt that euer had bin ſeene of that order here in England. And herewith he alſo aſſigned the two other partes of that bloud to the ſame Abbey. Whervpon followed great reſort of people to thoſe two places, induced thereunto by a certaine blynde deuotion.

The lord Henry ſonne to the king of Almayn murdered in Italy.

Henrye the brother of thys Edmunde, and ſon to the foreſayde Kyng of Almayne, as hee retourned from Affrike, where hee hadde bene wyth the Prince Edwarde, was ſlayne at Viterbo in Italy (whither he was come about buſineſſe whiche he had to do with the Pope,) by the hand of Guy de Montfort, the ſonne of Symon de Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, in reuenge of the ſame Symons death. This murder was cōmitted afore the high aultar, as the ſame Henrye kneeled there to heare diuine ſeruice.

The foreſayd Guy vpon that murder cōmitted, fled vnto his father in law, the Earle of Anguilare, as then gouernour of Tuſkayn. There was at Viterbo the ſame tyme Philippe king of Fraunce, returning homewards from the iorney which his father made into Affrik, where he died. Alſo Charles king of Sicile was there preſent, whome the ſayde Guy then ſerued. Both thoſe Kyngs were put in muche blame, for that this murder and wilfull eſcape was done and ſuffred in their preſence, and no purſute made after the murderer.

Robert Kilvvarby Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury.

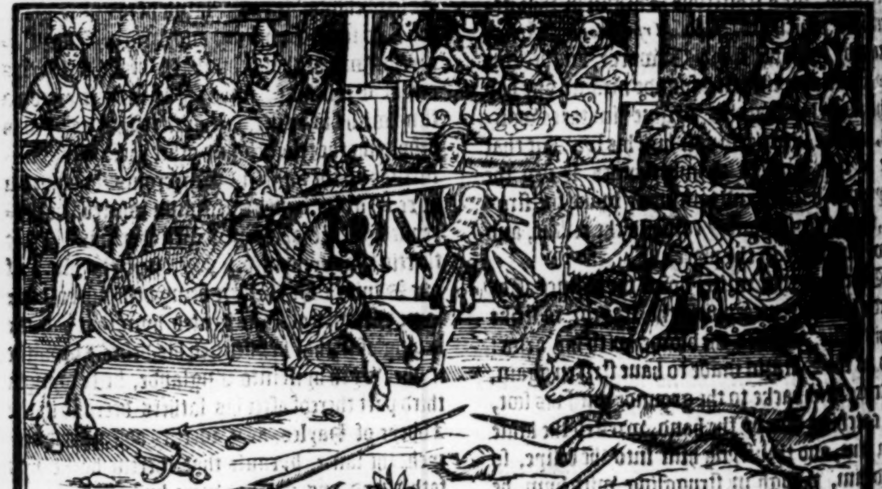
Boniface the Archbiſh. of Canterbury after he had ruled the ſea. xxxvij. yeres, departed this life: And after his deceaſſe, about two yeres or more, was one Roberte Kylwarbye appointed in hys place by Pope Gregorie, whiche Robert was the xlvj. Archbiſhop that hadde gouerned the ſea of Canterburye.

About the moneth of June there fell great debate and diſcorde betwixte the Monkes of Norwiche and the Citizens there. Whiche increaſed ſo farfoorth, that at lengthe the Citizens wyth great violence aſſaulted the Monaſterie, fired the gates, and forced the fyre ſo with reede and drye wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornamentes of the ſame, and all houſes of office belonging to that Abbey were cleane burned, waſted, and deſtroyed, ſo that nothing was preſerued excepte one little Chappell.

The Kyng hearing of this riot, rode to Norwiche, and cauſyng inquirie to be made there, thirtie young men of the Citie were condemned, hanged and brente, to the greate griefe of the other Citiſens, for they thoughte that the Priour of the place, was the occaſion of all that miſchiefe, who hadde got togither armed men, and tooke vppon hym to keepe the belfray and Churche by force of armes: but the Priour was well ynoughe borne oute and defended by the Byſhoppe of Norwyche, as then named Roger.

The King returnyng by Sainte Edmundes Burye, after hee hadde doone hys deuotions to Sainct Edmundes ſhrine, began to waxe ſomewhat craſye: but after hauing a little recouered his helth, he called a Counſell there, wherein he went aboute to haue taken order for the puniſhment of rebels: but his ſyckneſſe agayne renewing, he brake vp the aſſembly, and with al ſpeede haſted to London.

Prynce Edwarde vppon his retourne forth of the holye Lande came to Chalons in Burgogne, at the requeſte of the Earle hee dyd attempte wyth hys companye to holde a Iuſtes and Tourneye agaynſte the ſayde Earle



and all other commers, and although through diſdayne and ſpyte there was homely playe ſhewed, vpon purpoſe to put the Engliſhmen to the foyle, and reproche, yet by high valiancie Prince Edwarde and his companie bare themſelues ſo worthyly, that in the ende the aduerſaries were well beaten, and conſtrayned to leaue the honor of that enterpriſe to the ſayd Prince Edwarde and his partakers.

Iuſtes and
Tourney hol-
at Chalons

After this, he kept on his iourney tyll he came vnto Paris, where hee was honourably receyued of the Frenche Kyng, and from thence, he went to Burdeaux, and there continued till after his fathers death.

An. reg. 57.

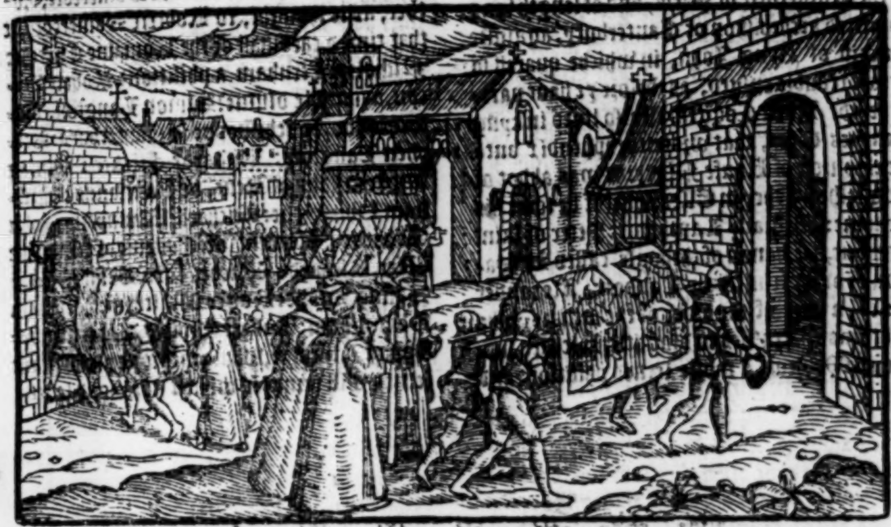
In this meane time King Henry being returned to London from Sainct Edmundes Burye (as before ye haue heard) his ſickneſſe ſo encreaſed vpon him, that finally he dyed there at Weſtminſter the ſixteenth daye of Nouember in the yeare of our Sauiour. 1272. after he hadde lyued threeſcore and fyue yeres, and reigned fiftie & ſixe yeares, and .xxviij. dayes.

King Henrye departeth thys lyfe.

A little before his deathe, when hee perceyued that he coulde no longer lyue, he called the erle of Gloceſter to come afore him, and to be newly ſworne to keepe the peace of the lande, to the behoofe of his ſonne Prince Edwarde.

The Earle of Glouceſter.

His body was buried at Weſtminſter. He had



e iſſue of
g Henry the
de.

iſſue by his wyfe Quene Elianor .ij. ſonnes, the foreſayd Edward, Prince of Wales, that ſucceeded him, and Edmunde Erle of Lancaſter, by ſome authors ſurnamed Crouchback, though (as other affirme) vntruly, that this Edmunde was the elder brother, but bicauſe he was a deformed perſon, therfore his yonger brother Edward was preferred to the kingdom, whiche was deuiſed of purpoſe to conuey a right to K. Henry the fourth, which fetched the deſcent from the ſaid Edmũd, and by force vſurped & helde the crowne, as after it may appeare.

Moreouer, Kyng Henry had three daughters by the ſayde Eleanore, as Margarete maried to Alexander K. of Scots, Beatrice which the duke of Britayn had to wife, and Catherine whiche died before ſhe was mariageable: he was of body well caſt and ſtrong, of a good ſtature in heigth, well fauored of face, with the lidde of one of his eyes comming downe, ſo as it almoſt couered the apple of the ſame eye. Of nature he was curteous, and of ſtomacke rather noble thã ſtoute: a deuoute Prince and liberall towardes the poore and needie. He wanted not yet diſpraiſe in ſome poyntes, namely for that in ordering of things and weightye affaires, he vſed ſmall conſideration: he was alſo noted to be a great taker of money by loanes, taxes, and Subſidies. But therevnto he was enforced by neceſſitie to beare the charges of warre and other publike affaires, than of any couetous mynde on purpoſe to ſerue his owne turne.

e proportion
body.

conditions.

What Captaines of honoure among the Nobilitie liued in his tyme, it maye appeare by the courſe of the hiſtorye of his tyme.

Of ſundry learned menne theſe wee fynde mencioned in Mayſter Bales Centuries and others. Walter of Couentrie an hiſtoriographer: Radulphus Niger, that wrote bothe hiſtories and other treatiſes: Geruaſius de Melkeley: Albricius of London: Roberte Curſon, a man excellently learned bothe in diuine and humain letters, ſo that comming to the Courte of Rome, he there grew in ſuche eſtimation, that he became a Cardinall, of whome thys wytneſſe wee fynde recorded by Matthewe Weſtmonaſterienſis, and Mathew Paris. At the takyng of Damiate, a Citie in Egypte, there was wyth Pelagius, the Cardinall of Alba, the Popes Legate, mayſter Roberte Curſon an an Engliſhe man a moſt famous clerke, borne of a noble houſe, and Cardinall of the churche of Rome. Theſe are reported to floriſh in the days both of King John and Kyng Henrye his ſon: in whoſe time alſo ther liued other lerned men, as theſe, Hughe Kirkeſted, Richarde of Ely: Peter Henham: John Giles, or de Sancto Egidio, an excellent phiſitiō: Caducan a Welchman borne, and Biſhoppe of Bangor: Alexander, a ſinguler lerned man, that wrote dyuers and many treatiſes aſwell in diuinitie as philoſophie and humanitie, bothe in verſe and proſe: Alſo Stephen Langton, that for his ſinguler knowledge was made high chancelor of the Vniuerſitie of Paris, and at length was admitted archebiſhop of Canterbury, againſte the will of Kyng John, in whiche quarell ſo greate trouble enſued, as before ye haue partly heard. Ralfe Coggeſhall alſo liued in kyng Henryes dayes, that wrote the appendix vnto the chronicle of Raufe Niger: he was abbot of Coggeſhall abbey in Eſſex, wherof he toke his ſurname: William Lanthonie: Peter of ſaint Sauiour, a Chanon of the houſe called S. Sauior, or of the trinitie by London: Alexander Hales, a frier of the order of the minors, who wrote many treatiſes in diuinitie: Richard ſurnamed Medicus, a moſte lerned phiſition, and no leſſe experte in Philoſophie & the Mathematicals: Ther is alſo remembred by maiſter Bale, the Earle of Cheſter, Randulf, the third and laſte of that name, who hauing greate knowledge and vnderſtanding in the lawes of this lande, compiled a booke of the ſame lawes, as a witneſſe of his greate ſkill therin: Alexander Stauenbeck Biſhop of Cheſter: John Blunde: Edmund Riche: Robert Riche: Henry Bratton, that excellent lawyer, who wrote the booke commonly called Bracton after his name, entituled *de conſuetudinibus Anglicanis*: Richard ſurnamed Theologus: Walter de Eueſham: Raufe Freſborne: Laurence Somercote, brother, as is thought, to Roberte Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the Romaine Churche: Nicholas Fernham a phiſition: Robert Bacon, a notable diuine: Simon Langton, brother to the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury: Stephen Langton: Richarde Fiſaker: Simon Stokes: John of Kent, or Kantianus: William Shirwoode: Michaell Blaunpaine: John Godarde: Vincent of Couentrye: Albericke Veer, Richarde Wiche, John Baſing, *alias de* Baſing Stoke: Roger Waltham: Wyllam Seningham: Robert Groſted, that lerned byſhop of Lincolne, whoſe memorie amongſt the lerned will remayn whileſt the world laſteth.

72.

An.reg.1.

Vil. Harlſon his chronogie.

at.VVeſt. newe Seale le.

Dunſt.

at.VV

1273.

y de Mont- excommu- ted.

EDVVARDE the firſte of that name after the Conqueſt, beganne hys reygne ouer the Realme of Englande, the xvi. daye of Nouember in the yere of the world, 5239. of our Lorde, 1272. of the Saxons, 824. after the conqueſt 206. the vacation of the Empire after the deceaſſe of Frederike the ſeconde as yet enduring (though ſhortly after in the yere next following, Radulf of Habſpurge was elected Emperor) in the third yeare of Philippe the third as then reigning in Fraunce, and Alexander the thirde as yet lyuyng in gouernemente of the Scottiſhe Kyngdome. Thys Edwarde the firſt when his father dyed beyng about the age of xxxv. yeares olde, was as then in the holy lande, or rather in his iourney homewards: but whereſoeuer he was at that preſente, the nobles of the lād after his father was departed this life, aſſembled at the new Tẽple in London, and cauſing a new ſeale to be made, they ordeyned faithfull miniſters and officers, which ſhuld haue the treaſure in keeping, and the adminiſtration of iuſtice for the mayntenaunce of peace and tranquillitie wythin the lande, and on the xxij. daye of Nouember hee was proclaymed Kyng, who after he had remained a time in the holy lād, and perceyued himſelfe deſtitute of ſuche ayde as hee looked for at the handes bothe of the Chriſtians and Tartarians, he left in the Citie of Acon certayn ſtipendarie ſouldiers, and taking the ſea ſailed homewards, arriuing firſt in Sicill, where of Charles Kyng of that lande hee was honorably receiued and conueyed, til he came vnto *Ciuita Vecchia* in Italy, where Pope Gregorye as then laye with his Courte, of whome as of his olde friende that had bene wyth hym in the holy land he obteined that Erle Aldebrandino Roſſo, and Guy of Mountfort, that had murthered the Lord Henry, eldeſt ſonne to Richarde Kyng of Almain, might be ſent for. Earle Aldebrandino purged hymſelfe, but Guye de Mountfort was excommunicate, as a violatour of the churche, a murtherer and a Traytour, ſo as he was diſenherited euen vnto the fourth generation, til he had reconciled hymſelfe to the church. After this it is wonderfull to remember with what great honor Kyng Edward was receyued of the Cities, as he paſſed throughe the countreys of Tuſkayne and Lumbardy. At his comming ouer the mountains at Chalon in Burgundy, he was at a Iuſtes and tourney which then was there holden by the frenche men againſt the Engliſhmen, the honor whereof remained with the Engliſhmen. In this Torney the fyghte of the footmen was greate; for the Engliſhe footmenne beyng ſore prouoked, ſlewe manye of the Frenche footmenne, but bycauſe they were but raſkalles no greate accompte was made of them, for they were vnarmed, gaping for the ſpoyle of them that were ouerthrowen. King Edward paſſing forth came to the Frenche court, where of his couſin germayn king Phillippe, he was ioyfully receyued. Here King Edwarde doing homage to the Frenche Kyng for the landes whiche he ought to holde of hym in Fraunce, paſſed into Guyenne. A Tenthe of of the Clergye was graunted this yeare to the Kyng and to his brother Edmund Erle of Leyceſter and Lancaſter by the Popes appointment for two yeares, a chaplein of the Pope a Gaſcoin borne named Reymond being ſent into Englād for that purpoſe, who gaue parte vnto them, and parte thereof he kept to himſelfe, towardes hys charges, but the moſte parte was reſerued to the Popes diſpoſing. Whileſt the Kyng remained in Gaſcoigne he had ſomewhat to doe againſte certaine rebelles as Gaſton de Bierne, and other that were reuolted from hym. The Caſtelles belongyng to the ſaide Gaſton, he ſubdued, but his perſon he coulde not meete with. Finally, after he had ſet order in things aſwell in Guyenne as in other places in the partes of beyonde the ſeas, he paſſed homewards, and came to London the ſeconde daye of Auguſt, where he was receyued wyth all ioye that might be deuiſed. The ſtreetes were hanged wyth riche cloths of ſilke, arras, and tapeſtrie, the Aldermen and Burgeſſes of the citie threwe out of theyr wyndowes handfulles of golde and ſiluer, to ſignifye the greate gladneſſe which they had conceyued of his ſafe returne: the Cunduits ran plentifully wyth white wine ⁊ red, that eche creature myght drink his fill. Upon the xix. day of Auguſte in this ſeconde yeare of hys raygne he was crowned at Weſtminſter, togyther with his wife Quene Elianor, by the hands of Robert Kilwarby Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

An. Reg. 2.

Mat. VVeſt.

A diſme graunted to the king and his brother

1274

Nic. Triuet.

K. Edvvard his returne home.

Mat. VVeſt.

At this coronation were preſent Alexander Kyng of Scottes, and Iohn Earle of Britayn, with their wiues that were ſiſters to Kyng Edward. The Kyng of Scots did homage vnto Kyng Edward for the Realme of Scotlande, in like maner as other the kyngs of Scotlande before hym had done to other Kyngs of England auncetours to this Kyng Edwarde. At the ſolemnitie of this coronation there were let goe at libertie, catche them that catche myght, fiue hundred great horſes by the King of Scottes, the Erles of Cornwall, Glouceſter, Penbroke, Warren, and others, as they were alighte beſide theyr backs. On ſaint Nicholas euen there chaunced ſuche an earthequake with lightning and thunder, and therewythall the appearing of the brenning drake, and a blaſing ſtarre called a comete, that the people were brought into no ſmall feare vpon conſideration thereof. But nowe to the poynte of the hiſtorie.

Caxton.

Kyng Edward at the fyrſte like a prudente prince choſe forth of the wyſeſt and worthyeſt men to be of his counſell, to purchaſe the loue of his ſubiects, whoſe myndes were ſomwhat offended towardes his father (by reaſon that he refuſed to keepe promiſe wyth them, touchyng the reſtitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) Kyng Edwarde ſhewed himſelfe ſo gentle towardes all degrees of men, that he ſeemed to excede the reaſonable bonds of curteous humanitie, muche more than became his royall eſtate. After this, he reformed dyuers lawes and ſtatutes, and deuiſed ſome new ordinaũces, greatly for the wealthe of the realme. He helde his firſt Parliament at Weſtminſter, where the ordinances were made, called the ſtatute of Weſtminſter the firſt. To this Parliament was the prince of Wales Lewelin ſummoned to come and doe his homage, hauing bin requeſted firſt to come to the kings coronation, but he refuſed, and nowe hauing ſummonance to come to this Parliament, he excuſed hymſelf, affirming that hee durſte not come for feare of certayne noble men that laye in wayte for his life, requiring to haue pledges deliuered for his ſafe comming and going, the Kyngs ſon, and Gilbert Earle of Glouceſter, with Robert Burnell the Lord Chauncellour. The Kyng was greatly offended with ſuche a preſumptuous demaunde, but paſſed it ouer, till after the ende of the Parliament, and then repairing to Cheſter he ſent eftſoones meſſengers to the ſaid Lewelin, requiring to come and doe his homage, but hee ſtill detracted time, ſo that in the ende the Kyng reyſed an armye, meanyng to recouer that by force, whiche otherwiſe he could not obteine by quiet meanes.

1275.
An. Reg. 3.

A parliament.

The ſtatute of VVeſtminſter.
The Prince of VVales Levvellin.

The king cometh to Cheſter.

This yeare the people payd a fifteenth to the Kyng of all theyr temporall goodes which was ſayde to be graunted firſte to his father.

The ſame yeare departed this life, John Breton biſhoppe of Hereford, who being very experte in the lawes of the lande, compiled a booke of them called le Breton. The eleuenth of September, a generall earthequake chaunced betwixt the firſt houre and thirde of the ſame daye, the Church of Saint Michaell on the hill wythout Glaſtenbury, was therewyth throwen downe to the grounde. Also after this, it rained bloude in the countrey of Wales, as a prodigyouſe euill token to that nation, wyth whoſe bloude ſhortly after that Region was in many places moyſted and ſtayned. For as it chaunced ſhortly after, Lewellin the ſonne of Griffyn came to haue the gouernement of Wales, who partly to reyſe newe ſedition in England, and partly to purchaſe hym friendſhip and alyaunce in Fraunce, ſente vnto king Phillippe, requiring of him that he myght haue in marriage the Ladye Eleanor daughter to Symon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, the whiche togyther wyth hir mother and brother Emerike, remayned as banyſhed perſons in France. The French K. graunted his requeſt, and ſent hir vnder the conducte of hir ſaid brother to be conueyed into Wales vnto Lewelin who had promiſed to marry hir. But ere they approched to Wales, at the Iſle of Silly bothe the brother and ſiſter were taken by foure ſhippes of Briſtowe, the owners whereof that ſo tooke them, ſent them vnto Kyng Edwarde. When Lewelin vnderſtood that his wife was take from him by the way as ſhe was comming, he was not a little wrothe, and incontinently beginneth to make warre vppon Kyng Edwardes ſubiectes that bordered neere vnto Wales, killing the people, ſpoiling their goods, and brenning vp theyr Townes and houſes on eche ſide.

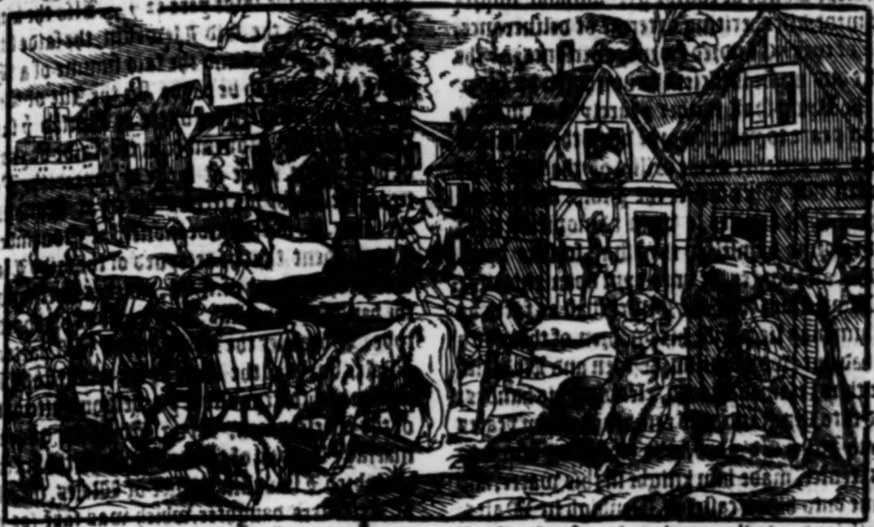
Mat. VVeſt.
Braſton biſhop of Herceforde departeth this lyfe.

Herewith the Kyng of Englande was ſo moued, that although the ſaid Lewellin made ſuite for peace and offered no ſmall ſumme of moneye to haue the daughter of the Earle of Leyceſter his fianced wife deliuered to hym, yet woulde not the Kyng by any meanes conſent to that marryage nor receyue any money of hym, except he would reſtore vnto the right owners ſuche landes as hee had inuaded and got into his poſſeſſion, and further repayre ſuch Caſtels as hee had deſtroyed. Hereupon grew no ſmall grudge betwixt the Welchemen and Engliſhemen, ſo that to repreſſe the inuaſion of the enimies in the parties towardes Billow, Montgomerie and Cheſter, the king ſent three hundreth men at armes on horſe backe. In the quindene of Paſche, the King departing from Weſtminſter, haſted towardes Wales wyth a mighty power, and cauſed the courts of the Eſcheker, and of hys benche, to remoue vnto Shrewſbury, that they myght be neere vnto hym, making forwarde wyth all conuenient

ſpede

The caſtell of Rutland taken.

ſpede, to come to the ayde of his people. And therevpon entring into Wales, tooke the caſtell of Rutlande, and ſent into weſt Wales a valiant Captayn named Paine de Camarcijs



An.Reg.5. 1277.

The caſtell of Stradevvy. Levvellin ſueth for peace.

N.Triuet.

The articles of agreement betvvixt King Edvvarde and Levvellin.

Angleſey.

N.Triuet. Dauid Lievvellines brother prouided for.

which with fyre and ſworde waſted that countrey, ſo that the people offring themſelues to the Kyngs peace, deliuered vnto the ſayde Paine the Caſtell of Stradewy with the countrey adioyning. Then Lewelin the prince of Wales perceyuing that he was not able to reſiſt the Kyngs power, made ſute for peace, in ſo much that finally it was agreed, that commiſſioners for bothe parties ſhoulde talke concerning certayne articles, and what ſoeuer they concluded, aſwell the Kyng as the ſaide Lewelin ſhoulde holde the ſame for firme and ſtable.

The Kyng appoynting one of his moſt truſtie counſellers, to witte, the Lorde Robert de Tiptoft, to take an othe for hym, and authoriſing the ſaide Robert, Anthony Beke, and frier William de Southampton, prior prouinciall of the friers preachers, commiſſioners in his behalfe, to receyue the like othe of the ſaide Lewlin, which Lewelin appoynted commiſſioners for his partie, Tuder ap Edneuet and Gronow ap Helin, the which commiſſioners with good deliberation concluded vpon certaine poyntes and articles, of whiche the principall were as followeth.

Firſt, that the ſaide Lewelin ſhoulde ſet at libertie all priſoners which hee helde in captiuitie for the Kyng of Englandes cauſe freely and without all chalenge. Alſo to haue peace and the King of Englands fauour, he ſhoulde giue vnto the ſaide king fiftye thouſand poundes ſterling, the dayes of the payment whereof to reſte in the Kyngs will and pleaſure.

Alſo, y^t the landes of the foure Cantreds without all contradiction ſhould remaine for euer to the King and his heyres, with all landes conquered by the Kyng and his people, the Iſle of Angleſey excepted, whiche Iſle was graunted to the prince, ſo that he ſhoulde pay for the ſame yerely the ſumme of one thouſand markes, and fiue thouſand markes for an income, and if the Prince chaunced to dye without iſſue, then y^e ſaid Iſle to remaine again vnto the kings handes. Alſo that the Prince ſhall come to Rothelan or (Ruthlande as it is commonly called) there to doe fealtie to the Kyng, and before his comming thither, he ſhould be aſſoyled and haue the interdiction of his landes releaſed, and at his being at Rothelan, a daye ſhall be appoynted hym by the King for his comming to London, there to doe his homage. And herevpon was order taken for his ſafeconduit, aſwell in his comming to Rothelan, as to London. There be that write that he was appoynted to come vnto London, at the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Lord. And it was further couenanted, that all the homages of Wales ſhould remaine to the Kyng except only of fiue barons which inhabited neare vnto the caſtell of Snowdon: for otherwiſe the ſaid Lewlin could not conueniently call himſelfe Prince, except he had ſome Barons vnder him. And that he ſhoulde receyue the title and name of Prince ſo long as he liued, and after his deceaſe the homages of thoſe fiue barons ſhoulde be reuerted to the Kyng and to his heyres for euer.

Moreouer the kyng graunted vnto the ſaide Lewlin, the landes that belonged to his brother Dauid, for terme of the ſaid Lewlins life, and in recompence thereof was contented to ſatiſfie the ſaid Dauid with other landes in ſome other place, ye which after the deceſſe of the ſaid Lewlin by Dauid ſhould reuert agayne to the Kyng and his heyres. For the aſſuraunce of which whiche articles and couenauntes the Prince deliuered for hoſtages tenne perſons of the beſt in Wales, whiche he coulde get without impriſonment, diſenheriting or terme of deliuerance, and of euery Candred twentye perſones, of the beſte and moſte ſufficient to be choſen by ſuche as the Kyng ſhall thither yearely ſend, ſhall be from yeare to yeare ſworne vpon the Euangeliſtes, in preſence of the bailifs of the ſaid Llewellin, that whenſoeuer the Prince ſhal breake any of theſe articles, & vpon admonition doth not reforme hymſelfe, they ſhall forſake hym, and in all thinges be vnto hym open enimies.

An othe to be receyued.

Alſo beſides this, the Prince ſhall as farre as in him may lie, pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in priſon, Owen and Roderik, the thirde named Dauid, eſcaping his handes, fled into England, and remained many yeares wyth King Edward, who receyuing him into his ſeruice, made him knight in this warre, and gaue vnto him a caſtel at Denbigh in Wales, wyth landes to the yearely value of a thouſande markes, in recompence of thoſe poſſeſſions whiche he ought to haue had in Angleſey, the which as before is ſaid, the king graunted vnto Llewellin for terme of his life, and after his deceaſſe, to reuert vnto the Kyng and to his heyres. Moreouer, he preferred Dauid to the mariage of a lovlie widowe, that was daughter to the Erle of Darby. As concerning Owen, through the Kyngs fauour he was deliuered out of priſon, by force of ÿ articles concluded of this preſent by the commiſſioners, vnder this forme and maner: that vppon his being ſet at libertie, certayne perſons appoynted by the Kyng ſhoulde make offer to hym, to choſe whether he would firſte compounde wyth his brother, and therevppon come to the Kyng, and beſeeche hym to allowe the compoſition, or elſe to put hym ſelfe vnder the ſafe keeping of the King, till accordyng to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, in the place where he did tranſgreſſe, iudgement ſhould be giuen of the matter: and if he were acquitte, then mighte hee demaunde his heritage if he thought it ſo expedient; and which of theſe two wayes he ſhuld choſe, the ſame ſhuld be made firme and ſtable in the kyngs preſence.

Llevvellines brethren.

Dauid revvarded by Kyng Edvvard.

Dauid preferred in marriage.

The article cōcerning Ovven

All theſe articles with other additions, were accorded by the ſaide commiſſioners at Aberconwey, the Tueſday before the feaſt of ſaint Martin, in the yere 1277. and letters of confirmatiō made therof by the king, dated at Rutlande the tenth daye of Nouember, in the fifth yeare of his raigne. Alſo the ſaide Llewellin by the name of Llewellin ap Griffyn, prince of Wales, with letters vnder his ſeale, confirmed the abouesaid articles on his behalf, for ÿ releaſing of his right to the foure Cantredes & other things that ſhuld remain vnto the king, which letters bare date at Aberconwey, the ſame Tueſday in the ſaide yere 1277. Alſo the king releaſed vnto the ſaid Llewellin, the ſaide ſumme of .l.M. poundes and the ſaid ſumme of a M. markes yearely to be payde for the Iſle of Angleſey, as by his letters dated at Rutland ÿ ſaid tenthe daye of Nouember in the ſaide v. yeare of his raigne more at large it appeareth. Yet neuertheleſſe by his letters dated at Rutlande the ſaide .xj. of the ſaide moneth of Nouember, it is euident that he receyued of the ſaide Llewellin the ſumme of .ij.M. markes ſterling by the handes of Thomas Beke keper of his wardrobe. Moreouer the Kyng in the weſt parte of Wales buylt at the ſame tyme a caſtell at Lamperdeuaur, to kepe vnder ÿ rebellious attemptes of the Welchemen. Kyng Edwarde gaue in mariage by way of reſtitution vnto the foremembred Llewellin Prince of Wales, the Erle of Leiceſters daughter, which was taken (as ye haue hearde) at the Iſle of Silly. He bare all the charges of the feaſte at the daye of the mariage, and honoured the ſame with the preſence of himſelfe and of the Queene. A ſubſidie of ÿ .xx. parte of euery mans goods was graunted vnto the Kyng towardes his charges of the warres in the Welche marches. In the vi. yeare of his raigne kyng Edward helde a parliament at Gloceſter, in the which were diuers actes and ſtatutes made for the wealth and good gouernment of the realm, which vnto this day are called the ſtatutes of Glouceſter. Alexander kyng of Scottes came into England, to commune with king Edward, of matters touching his kyngdome of Scotlande. Shortly after, kyng Edwarde went ouer into Fraunce, and there receyued certayne Townes that were reſtored to hym, but not the moitye of thoſe that were promiſed to his father, when he releaſed his title vnto the Duchie of Normandie. Roberte Kilwarby Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury was by pope Nicholas aduaunced to the dignitie of a Cardinall, and made Byſhoppe of Portua, ſo that he went to Rome, and gaue ouer the archbyſhopricke of Canterbury, to the which through the Popes graunt, Frier Iohn Peckham was admitted Archbiſhoppe. This yere there was inquirie made in London for ſuch as had clipped, waſhed & counterfeted the kings coigne, wherevppon the Iewes of the citie and dyuers goldſmithes that kepte the Exchange of ſiluer were endited, and after to the number of .ij.C.lxxxvij. perſons were condemned, & in diuers places put to execution. There were but .iij. Engliſhemen among them, all the reſidue were Iewes but dyuers Chriſtians that were participant with them in theyr offences were put to their fines, & not without cauſe. About the ſame time ẏ Kyng remoued all ſuche ſheriffs as were either prieſtes or ſtrangers, and in their places appointed knyghts to be ſhiriffes, ẏ were of ẏ ſame countrey where their offices lay. Moreouer about this ſeaſon king Edward builded ẏ caſtell of Flint, & fortified ẏ caſtell of Rutland & others, placing gariſons of engliſhmen in the ſame to defende ẏ countrey, and to kepe ẏ Welſhmen vnder obedience. But Lewellin ſo ſmally regarded all couenãts made, & pledges receiued, that ſhortly after vpon the death of his late maryed wife, being ſummoned to come to a parliament holden by king Edward, he diſdained to obey, & vpon a very ſpite began to make new warre to the Engliſhmẽ, in waſting & deſtroying ẏ countrey: but being put in feare with ẏ Kings comming towards him with his power, he laid armor aſide, & begã eftſoones to require peace, which the king now ẏ ſecond time did not deny to graunt, bycauſe he would not loſe time in warring in ẏ mountains, woods & mariſhes, places of refuge for ẏ Welſhmẽ in thoſe days, whẽ they wãted power to abide battaile & kepe the fieldes. About the ſame time the king gaue vnto Dauid, the brother of Lewellin the lordſhip of Frodeſham in Cheſhire, and made hym Knight. Moreouer this yeare the King held a parliamẽt, in which the ſtatute of Mortmain was eſtabliſhed.

...rs. Dunſt.

...e caſtells of ...nt & Rut.

1279

...vvellin be-...eth nevve ...arre.

...e ſtatute of ...ortmayne.

Frier Iohn Peccham, whome the Pope had alreadye conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being the .xlvii. in number that had gouerned in that ſea, came this yere ouer into England to ſupplie the roumth. Alſo Walter Gifford, Archebiſhop of Yorke, departed this life, in whoſe place ſucceded Willyam Wickwan, the .xxxvij. Archbiſhop there. The archbiſhop of Canterbury held a Synode at Reding about the latter ende of July, in the whiche he renued the conſtitutiõs of the general coũſell, as thus: That no eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhuld haue aboue one benefice to the which belõged cure of ſoule, and agayne that all thoſe that were promoted to any eccleſiaſticall liuing, ſhoulde receyue the order of prieſthode wythin one yeare after his being promoted therto. Moreouer this yere the Kyng toke order for the amending of his money and coyne, which in that ſeaſon was fouly clipped, waſhed, & coũterfeted by thoſe noughty men the Iews, and other, as before you haue partely hearde. The King therefore in the octaues of the Trinitie ſente forth commaundement to all the ſherifes within the lande, that ſuche mony as was coũterfeted, clipped or waſhed, ſhoulde not be currant from thenceforth: and furthermore hee ſente of his owne treaſure good mony and not clipped, vnto certaine cities and townes in the realme, that exchange might be made wyth the ſame till newe money were ſtamped. And about the thirde day of Auguſt the firſt exchange was made of the newe money of pence and farthings, but yet the olde money wente all this yeare togyther wyth the newe, & than was the olde coyne generally forbidden, and commaundement giuen by publike proclamation that from thenceforth it ſhould no more be allowed to be currant: and herewith alſo halfpence which had bene ſtamped in the meane time, beganne to come abroade the ſame daye in which the olde money was thus prohibited.

...Synode at ...ading.

The Lord Roger Mortimer kept a great feaſt at Kenelworth, with tilles and triumphes of an hundred Knyghtes and as many Ladyes, to the which reſorted Lordes, Knyghtes, and gentlemen from dyuers countryes and farre to ſhew profe of their valiance in practiſe of warlike feates and exerciſes. In the meane ſeaſon king Edward ſtanding in neede of money, deuiſed a newe ſhift to ſerue his tourne, as this: whereas he was chiefe Lorde of many Lordeſhippes, mannours poſſeſſions and tenementes, he well vnderſtoode, that partely by length and proces of time, & partly by caſualties during the troubles of the ciuill warres, many mens euidences, as their charters, deedes, copies & other writings were loſt, waſted, and made awaye, hee therefore vnder colour to put the ſtatute of (quo warranto) in execution, whiche was ordeyned this yere in the parliamẽt holden at Glouceſter in Auguſt laſt paſſe, as ſome write, did notifie commaunde by publike proclamation, that all ſuche as helde any landes or tenementes of hym, ſhould come and ſhew by what right and title they helde the ſame, that by ſuche meanes their poſſeſſions might returne vnto him, by eſcheate, as chiefe Lord of the ſame, and ſo to be ſolde or redeemed agayne at his handes. This was thought to be a ſore proclamation, that a more greuous, had not lightly bene heard of. Mẽ in euery part made complaint and ſhewed themſelues greuouſly offended, ſo that the Kyng by meanes thereof, came into great hatred of his people: but the meane ſort of men, though they ſtoode in defence of their right, yet it auayled them but litle, bycauſe they had no euidence to ſhew, ſo that they were conſtrained to be quiet wyth loſſe, rather than to ſtriue agaynſt the ſtreame. Many were thus called to anſwere, till at lengthe the Lorde Iohn Warren Earle of Surrey, a mã greatly beloued of the people, perceyuing the Kyng to haue caſte his net for a praye, and that there was not one whyche ſpake againſt him, determined to ſtand againſt thoſe ſo bitter and cruell proceedings, and therfore being called afore the Iuſtices aboute this

An. reg. 8.
1280.

Nic. Triuet.

Polidore.

Abingdon.

A ſhift to get money.

Ordinaunces for money.

matter he appeared, and being aſked by what right he held his landes? he ſodenly drawing forth an olde ruſty ſworde, By this inſtrument (ſayde he) doe I holde my landes, and by the ſame I entende to defende them. Our aunceſtours comming into this Realme with William Conquerour, conquered theyr landes with the ſworde, and wyth the ſame will I defende me from all thoſe that ſhall be about to take them from me, he did not make a conqueſte of this Realme alone, our progenitors were with him as participators and helpers with him.

The ſaying of the Earle of Surrey.

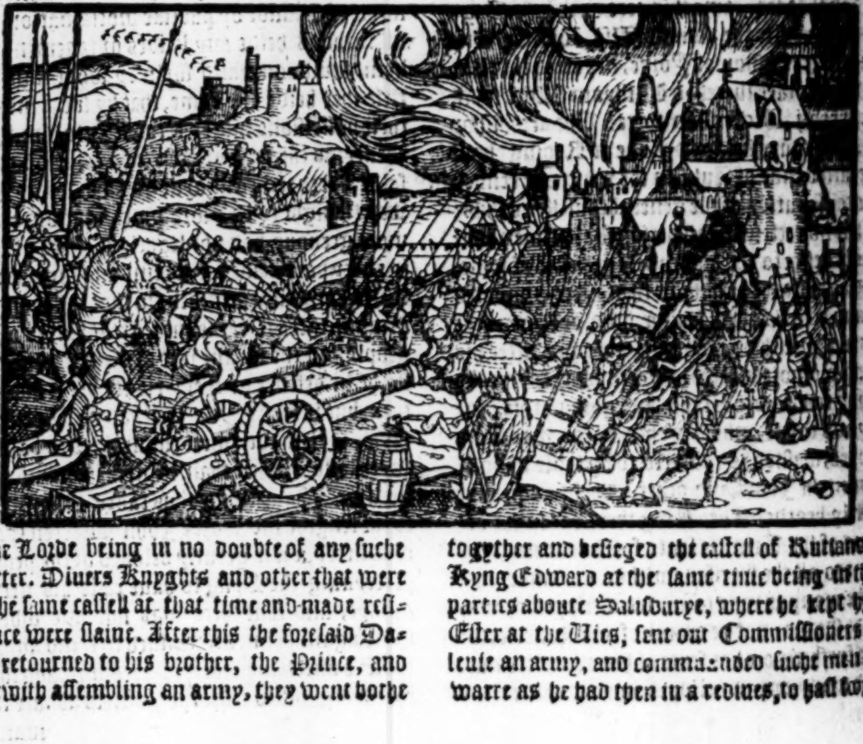
The Kyng underſtode into what hatred of his people by this meanes hee was fallen, and therefore to auoyde ciuill diſſention and war that might thereby enſue, he left off his begun practiſe; ſo that the thing which generally ſhuld haue touched and bene hurtfull to all men, was nowe ſodeinly ſtayed by the manhood and couragiouſe ſtoutneſſe only of one man, the foreſaid Earle.

A Synode at Lambeth.

The archebiſhoppe of Canterbury helde an other Synode at Lambheth, in the whiche hee receyued and confirmed the orders and conſtitutions decreed and eſtabliſhed by the Legates Otho and Othobone, in councels by them kept here within this Realme, adding diuers other of his owne: and in the ſame councell hee went aboute to adnihilate certayne Liberties belonging to the crowne, as the taking knowledge of the right of Patronages and the Kings prohibitions *In placitu de catallis*, and ſuche like, which ſeemed merely to touche the ſpiritualtie: but the Kyng by ſome in that counſell withſtode the Archbyſhoppe openly, and wyth meſſages ſtayed hym from concludyng any thing that might preiudice his royall liberties and prerogatiues. Kyng Edward helde a Parliament at London, in the which he demaunded aſſiſtence of the Clergie, lyke as before he had got of the temporaltie. The Archbiſhoppe of Yorke was content at the leſt to graunt hym the tenth to bee payde of the Clergie wythin his dioceſſe in two yeares, but the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury helde of and required reſpite till the next parliament to be houlden after Eaſter, and then hee graunted unto the Kyng the diſmes of all his Clergie for three yeares, that in ſome poynt hee might be different from the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke.

In the ninth yeare of Kyng Edwardes raigne, the feaſte of the rounde table was kept at Warwike wyth greate and ſumptuous tryumphe.

Whyleſt theſe thinges were a doing, Dauid brother to Lewellin Prince of Wales, forgettyng the greate benefites which hee had receyued at the handes of Kyng Edward, became his aduerſarie, and cauſed his ſaid brother the prince of Wales with a greate number of other noble men of that country to rebell: and to encourage them the ſooner to attempt the warre, he beginneth the firſte exploite himſelfe, takyng the ſaide Lorde Roger Clifforde, (a right worthie and famous Knight) in his caſtell of Hawardine, vppon Palme ſondaye, the



ſaide Lorde being in no doubte of any ſuche matter. Diuers Knyghts and other that were in the ſame caſtell at that time and made reſiſtance were ſlaine. After this the foreſaid Dauid retourned to his brother, the Prince, and therwith aſſembling an army, they went bothe togyther and beſieged the caſtell of Ruthlande. Kyng Edward at the ſame time being in thoſe parties aboute Saliſburye, where he kept hys Eſter at the Vies, ſent out Commiſſioners to leuie an army, and commaunded ſuche men of warre as he had then in a redines, to haſt forth to the reſcue of the caſtell of Rutlande. And in the meane time, the caſtell of Lamperdeuaur was taken by Rice ap Malgone and Griffyth ap Meridocke. Alſo diuers other caſtells were taken by other of the Welſhe nobilitie.

castell of
perdenaur

Moreouer about this time by the labour and ſute of John the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, Emericke de Mountfort, whiche had bene deteyned in priſon (ſith that hee was firſte taken togither with his ſiſter at the Iſle of Sillie by the Briſtowmen) was nowe ſet at libertie and permitted to retourne into Fraunce. The ſaide Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye was ſent into Wales to perſwade Lewellin and his brother wyth the other rebels vnto peace and quietnes, but retournyng into Englande wythout bringing any thing to paſſe, he denounced them accurſed.

ricke de
unfort ſet
bertie.

vvellin and
r the
iche rebels
rſed.

n.reg.10.

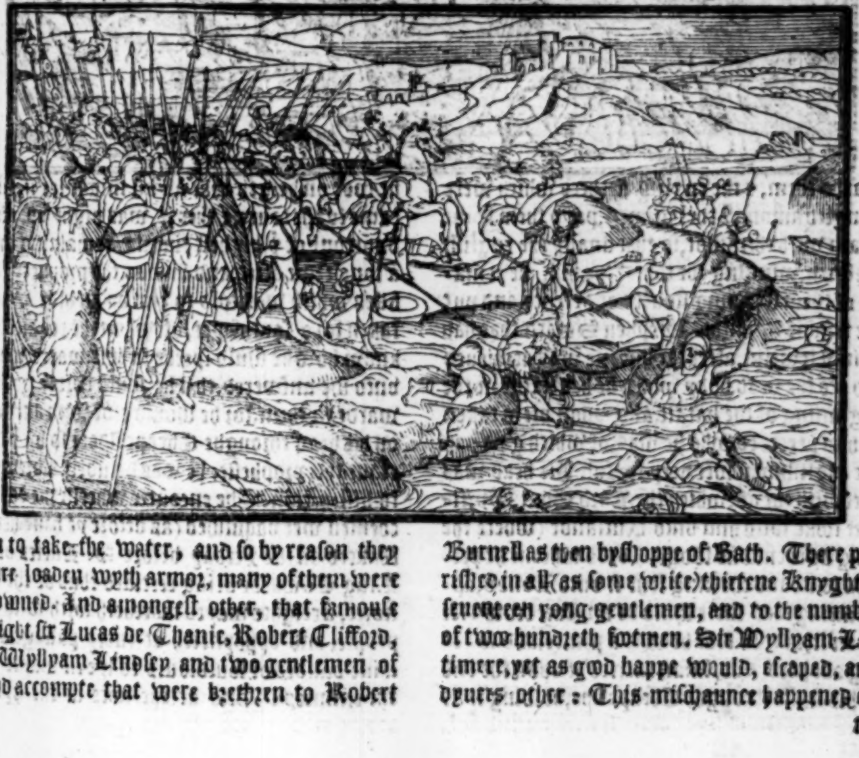
1282.

The Kyng haſted forthe to come to the reſcue of his people, wherevppon Lewellin and his brother Dauid retired wyth their people to Snowdon hilles and fortified the caſtel there wyth a ſtrong garniſon of men. The king entring into Wales, when hee heard that his enemies were wythdrawn into the mountaynes, hee paſſed forth till hee came neare vnto them, where hee pitched downe his fielde, and the next daye cauſing his horſemen to iſſue forth of the campe, filleth all the plaines which compaſſe the foote of thoſe hilles (aſwell on the Eaſt ſide as towarde the South) wyth the ſame horſemen, and herewyth placed his footmen more aloft on the ſide of the hilles in couert: this done, he prouoketh his enemies to come forth to fight, but when he ſawe this woulde not be, then that he might ſtoppe them from all places of refuge, hee cauſed certaine ſhippes to take the Iſle of Angleſey, bycauſe the Welſhmen vſed to flee thither oftentimes for their ſafegarde, in the which enterpriſe the Marriners of the cinque portes bare them ſelues right manfully. After this, ioyning certayne veſſels togither, he cauſed a Bridge to be made in the riuer of Meneth, into the which an other ſmall riuer falleth that riſeth at the foote of thoſe hilles of Snowdone, to keepe the enimies from lodging on the further ſide of that ryuer. This bridge conteining roumth for lx. armed men to paſſe afronte, was made ouer yͤ riuer of Menai, by the which men ſaile into the Iſle, which by the courſe of the ſea ebbeth and floweth euery twelue houres. But ſo it came to paſſe, that before the Bridge was well bourded ouer, whyleſt the Kyng yet remained at Aberconway, diuers of the engliſh Nobilitie, to the number of ſeuen Bannerettes wyth three hundreth armed men raſhely paſſed ouer, and as they ſuruayed the foot of the mountaine, the tide began to come in ſo ſwiftly, that where the engliſhmen were aduaunced a good prettie way from the water ſide, they could not nowe get backe againe to the bridge, which as yet was not fully made vp. The Welchemen perceyuing this, came downe beſide the mountain, and aſſailed the Engliſhmen right fiercelye, and with theyr great multitude ſo oppreſſed them, that for feare the Engliſhmen were driuen to take the water, and ſo by reaſon they were loaden wyth armor, many of them were drowned. And amongeſt other, that famouſe knight ſir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Clifford, ſir Wyllyam Lindſey, and two gentlemen of good accompte that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then byſhoppe of Bath. There periſhed in all (as ſome write) thirtene Knyghts, ſeuenteen yong gentlemen, and to the number of two hundreth footmen. Sir Wyllyam Latimere, yet as good happe would, eſcaped, and dyuers other. This miſchaunce happened on the

kyng en-
h into
ales.

The Marriners of the cinque Portes.

Meneth.



e Engliſh-
diſtreſſed
he vvelch-

e Lorde
ford.

Chro. Dunſt.

Sainct Leonardes daye.

The Earle of Glouceſter maketh vvarre on the vvelchmen.

In this meane time in an other parte of the countrey the Earle of Glouceſter wyth an armye, made ſore warre to the Welchemen, and neare vnto the Towne called Lantilaware, fought a ſore battaile wyth them, in the whiche many of the Welchmen beeing ſlaine, the Erle loſte alſo fiue Knyghtes vppon his partye, as Wyllyam Valence the yonger: beeing one of that number, who was the Kynges couſin.

An.reg. 11.

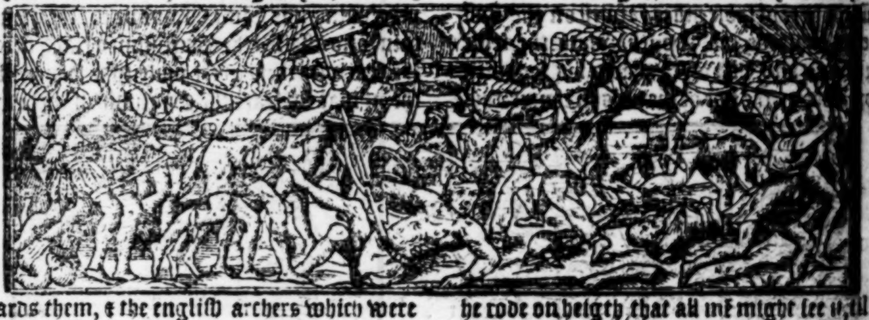
Llevvellin inuadeth the kings friendes.

The Lorde Giforde and Mortimer.

The Erle of Glocester then departing from thence, Llewellin the Prince of Wales entred into the country of Cardigan and Stradwye, deſtroying the landes of Rice ap Meridocke, which nowe helde wyth the Kyng againſte the ſayde prince. At length, prince Llewellin going towardes the land of Buelth wyth a ſmall company, lefte his maine army behinde hym aloft vpon the top of the mountaine near to the water called Waye, and he had ſet a number of his people to kepe the bridge of Orewin: and ſo the Welchemen kept on the one ſide, and the Engliſhemen on the other, of whome were capitaines the Lorde John Gifforde and the lorde Edmunde Mortimer, the whiche perceyuing the Welchemen that were ready to defend the bridge, and a greate hoſte of them vpon the top of the mountain, they conſulted togither what they were beſt to doe. At length by the couragious exhortation of one Helias Walwyn they drewe on the one hand alongeſt the riuer, where was a foorde paſſable in deede, though not wythout daunger: but yet the Engliſhmen by the conducte of the ſame Helias, got ouer by the ſame foorde, ſo that it bare the name long after of Helias waye. And ſo the Welchmen that kept the bridge (perceyuing the Engliſhmen to be got ouer vnto that ſide) fled, wherevpon the reſidue of the Engliſhe armye paſſed ouer at the Bridge, whereof roſe a greate noiſe, whiche Llewellin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the firſt he coulde not bee brought to thinke that by any poſſible meanes the Engliſhemen were gotte ouer to that ſide of the water. At lengthe yet perceyuing it to be true, hee drew backe towardes the heigth of the mountaine agayne, but beeyng diſcouered by one Stephan de Frankton, named by ſome Stephen Swarde, hee was ſo narowly purſued of the ſame Stephan, that he was ouertaken and ſlaine. Stephan not knowing whome he had ſlain, returned to the hoſt, the whiche was nowe mounting vp the hill to ioyne with the Welch army that ſtoode ſtill looking for the returne of theyr prince Llewellin, (thoughe in vaine) yet they manfully abode by theyr tackle, diſcharging plentie of arrows and dartes at the Engliſhemen as they came vp towards them, & the engliſh archers which were mingled amongſt the horſmen, payd them home again with their ſhot, ſo that finally the engliſh horſmen, winning the top of the hill, ſlew many of them ſtanding ſtoutly at defence, and put the reſidue to flight. Stephen Sward that had ſlain Llewelin, after the victorie was atchieued rode to the dead body which he had ſlaine in the beginning of the batail, and vpon view taken of him perceiued who he was, of which good hap the engliſhmen wer very ioyful. His head was herewith cut off, which the Lord Edm. Mortimer toke with him vnto Rutlande (where the king as then was lodged) vnto whome he preſented it: and the king ſent it vnto Londõ, appointing that there ſhuld be an Iuie crown ſet vpon it, in tokẽ that he was a prince, and ſo being adorned, a horſman carried it vpon the end of his ſtaffe throughe Cheape ſide, holding it as he rode on heigth, that all mẽ might ſee it, til he came to the toure, & ther it was pight vp aloft vpon one of ỹ higheſt turrets, remaining there a long time after, and ſo was the prophecy fulfilled which was told to him by an olde womã taken for a ſouthſayer, of whom he required to know how he ſhuld ſpede in this warre, wherunto ſhe anſwered, that he ſhuld boldly go forwarde in them, for he ſhould ride with a crown on his head throughe Cheape ſide: & ſo by ỹ deceaueable propheſie, he was deluded & brought to diſtruction. The encoũter wherin the Welchemen wer vãquiſhed (as before ye haue herd) chaũced on the Friday before S. Lucies day.

Llevvellyns head preſented to the kyng.

King Edwarde being certified thus of the victorie, ſtreighte wayes marcheth forth with his people, and appoynteth at euery paſſage certaine bandes of ſouldiours to lye in wayte for the enimies. Alſo at the foote of the hylles he



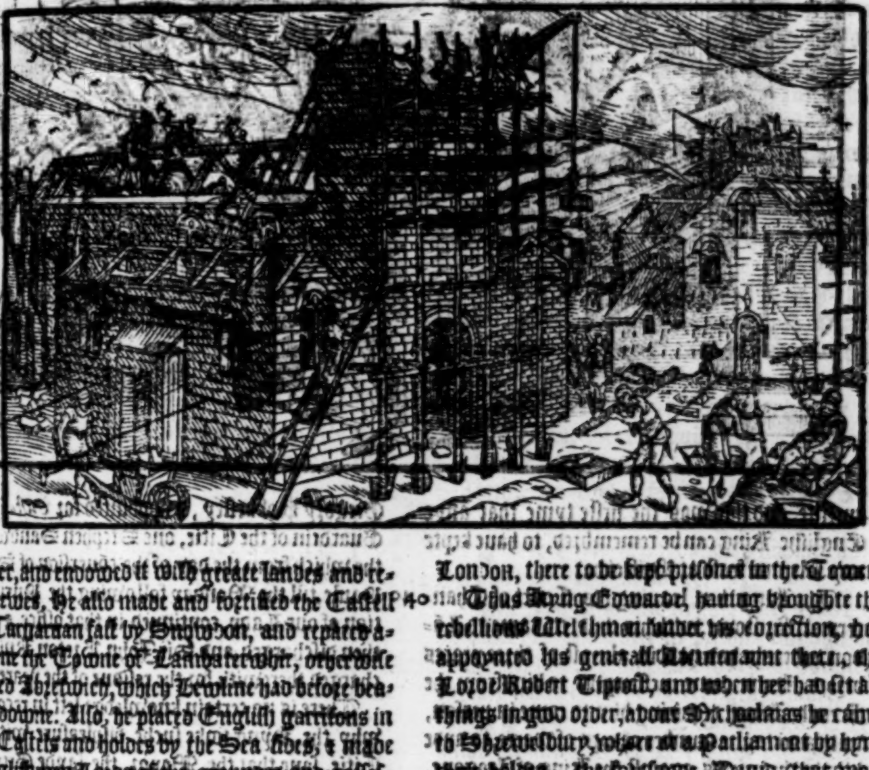
e Gaſ-
es purſue
Welchmē
ly.

he landed his horſemen, and mounted vp the hilles himſelfe, with the reſidue of his army. There were certaine Gaſcoignes, which the Lord Iohn Veſey had brought with him out of their countrey to ſerue the Kyng, which burned manye Townes, and ſlew great numbers of ẏ Welchmen, all that came in their way, and finally, they giuing an aſſaulte to Snowdon Caſtell, wanne it by fine force.

In this meane tyme, the Welchmen, when they ſawe themſelues encloſed, and ſtopped from all wayes to eſcape, after the maner of wilde beaſtes, flee into the thicke Woodes and caues, ſome of them make ſhift to get downe through the ſteepe and broken rockes, and ſome of them ſeeking to eſcape by flight, fall into their enimies handes, and are eyther ſlayne or taken, and amongſt theſe, aboute Midſommer, was Dauid taken, togither with his wife, his two ſonnes, and ſeuen daughters, and brought to the Kyng, who ſent them firſt vnto Rutland Caſtell, there to be ſafely kept. K. Edward hauing ſubdued the Welchmen that inhabited in the Mountaynes, went about all the Countrey to conquere the reſidue, aſſembling all his army togither, and then purſuing his aduerſaries, made great ſlaughter of them on each ſide, ſo that there were ſlayne aboue three thouſand inſomuch, hauing the countrey at his will, he gaue vnto the Engliſh Lords Townes in the middeſt of Wales, and deuided the countrey into Shires, appoynted Sheriffs, and other officers as then were vſed in Englande. At Aberconwey hee builded a ſtrong Caſtell, where before, was an houſe of white Monkes, the which hee remoued to the Vale royall in Cheſhire, where he builded a fayre Abbey of the Ciſteaux

Wales deuided into ſhires.

The Vale Royall built by K. Edward the firſte.



order, and endowed it with greate landes and tenementes, he alſo made and fortified the Caſtell of Carnaruan faſt by Snowdon, and repayred agayne the Towne of Lanbaterwhit, otherwiſe called Abrewich, which Lewline had before beaten downe. Alſo, he placed Engliſh garriſons in the Caſtels and holdes by the Sea ſides, & made Engliſhmen Lordes of the groundes and poſſeſſions belonging to the ſame. Rees a Bonan one of the chiefeſt and mightieſt Captaynes of all Wales, which during the warres, had done more diſpleaſure to the Engliſhe men, than any other, in ſpoyling their countreys, and making greate ſlaughters vpon them, vnderſtanding nowe both of the deathe of Prince Lewline, and the takyng of his brother Dauid, and alſo, perceyuing hymſelfe purſued on each ſide, at length, yelded hymſelfe and his complices, vnto Humfrey de Bohun Erle of Herforde, who ſtraight wayes ſente him to the Kyng, and the Kyng ſente him to London, there to be kept priſoner in the Tower.

a Bogan
deth hym-
vnto K.
ar.ie.

Thus Kyng Edwarde, hauing broughte the rebellious Welchmen vnder his correction, hee appoynted his generall Lieutenant there, the Lord Robert Tiptoft, and when hee had ſet all things in good order, about Michaelmas he came to Shreweſbury, where at a Parliament by hym there holden, the foreſayde Dauid (that was broughte thither) as chiefe procurer of all this warre, was condemned of treaſon, and was afterwardes executed, according to iudgement pronounced againſte him, that is to witte, hee was hanged drawen and quartered. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vp by the head of his brother Lewline. His quarters were deuided, and ſent to be ſet vp on the gates of foure of the chiefeſt Cities of England. During theſe warres, the King had of the Temporaltie, the thirtith parte of all their goodes, and of the Spiritualtie, the twentith parte, towardes the maintenance of the

A Parliament at Shreweſbu-rie.

Dauid condemned of treaſon.

He is executed.

Nic. Triuet.

ſame warres.

The ſame yeare alſo after Michaelmas, the Kyng helde a Parliamente at Acton Burnell, wherein, thoſe ſtatutes were ordeyned, whiche vnto this day beare the name of the place where they were made.

An.reg. 12. 1284

Edward the ſecond borne.

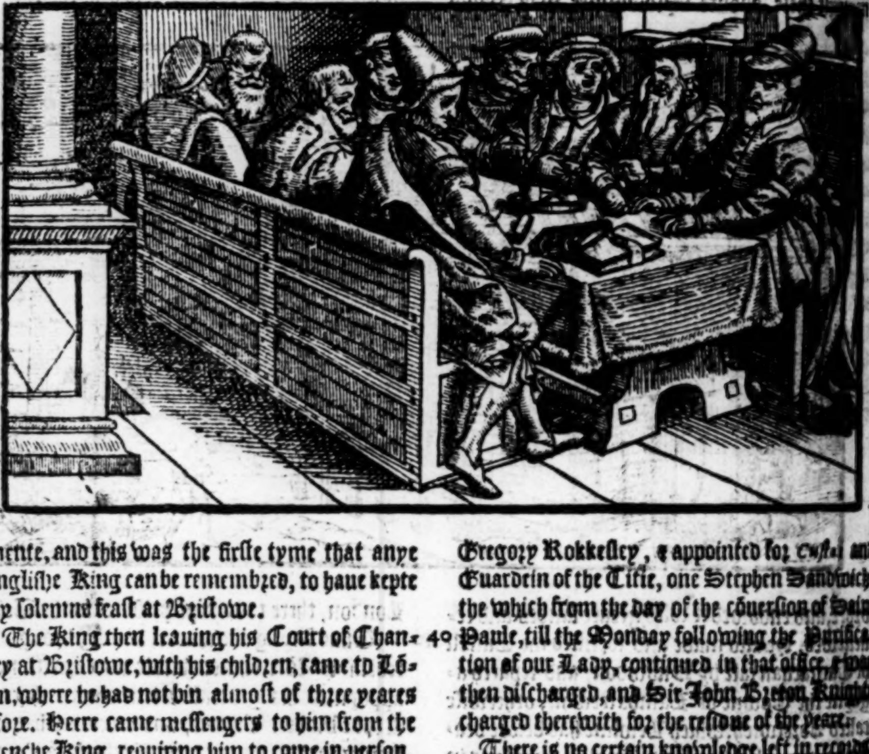
In the twelfth yeare of this Kings raigne, his eldeſt ſonne Alfonſe departed this life at Windſor, and on Saint Markes daye, hys ſonne Edward that after ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, was borne at Carnaruan, where the King had builded a ſtrong Caſtell, and was come thyther with the Queene at that tyme, to ſee the ſame.

Abingdon.

Alſo this yeare, in the Quindene of Sainte Michaell, the Juſtices *Itinerantes* began to goe their generall circuites.

On Eaſter day, which fell this yeare the of Aprill, being alſo leape yeare, in the beginning about the riſing of the ſunne, the element was ſhadowed with ſuche darkeneſſe and thickneſſe of aire, that it ſeemed to ware night againe, and ſuddainely roſe an horrible tempeſt, firſt of hayle and rayne, and after of ſnow, that couered all the Earthe, and then followed ſuche thunder and lightning, that men were maruellouſly amaſed therewith, conſidering it ſeemed to be againſt the nature of the ſeaſon, for ſeldome in Aprill ſhall ye heare any ſuch thunder. At length yet it brake vp, and the element recouered his accuſtomed cleereneſſe.

In the thirtenth yere of his raigne, King Edward kept his Chriſtmas at Briſtowe, and helde there a priuate Councell, but no generall Parliamente, and this was the firſte tyme that anye Engliſhe King can be remembred, to haue kepte any ſolemne feaſt at Briſtowe.



Briſtowe.

The King then leauing his Court of Chancery at Briſtowe, with his children, came to Lōdon, where he had not bin almoſt of three yeares before. Here came meſſengers to him from the Frenche King, requiring him to come in perſon, with a certayne number of men of warre, to ayde him in the warres againſt the King of Aragone, as of right he ought to doe, by reaſon of the Duchie of Guyenne which he held of him.

Ambaſſadors from the French kyng.

The ſame yeare, dyed William the Archbyſhop of Yorke, after hee had gouerned that See ſixe yeares, and then ſucceeded one John ſurnamed Romayne.

William the Archbyſhop of Yorke deceaſed. John Romane Archbyſhop of Yorke.

Aboute this ſeaſon, was Marton Colledge in Oxforde founded by Walter Marton that was Lord Chauncellour of England, and after Byſhoppe of Rocheſter. King Edwarde ſeaſed the franchiſes and liberties of London into hys handes, and diſcharged the Maior then being Gregory Rokkeſley, & appointed for *Cuſtos* and Guardein of the Citie, one Stephen Sandwich, the which from the day of the cōuerſion of Saint Paule, till the Monday following the Purification of our Lady, continued in that office, & was then diſcharged, and Sir John Breton Knighte charged therewith for the reſidue of the yeare.

Marton College in Oxford builte.

There is no certain knowledge left in recordes, why the Kyng tooke ſuche diſpleaſure with the Citie, ſaue that the Mayor, the ſayde Gregory Rokkeſley, as the fame went, tooke bribes of the bakers, and ſuffred them to ſell bread, lacking ſixe or ſeauen ounces of weight in a peny lofe.

The new worke of the Church of Weſtminſter, to the ende of the quiar, begun as before is ſhewed, in the thirde yeare of Kyng Henry, was this yeare fully finiſhed.

The nineteenth of Marche, dyed Alexander Kyng of Scotlande by a fall whyche he caught as hee ranne a ſtirring horſe: hee left no iſſue behinde hym, nor any certain knowne heire to ſucceede hym, by reaſon whereof enſued great

harme

banne to that Realme (as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie, may more at large appeare.) The manner of whoſe death, as in Richard Southwell I fynde it reported, I haue thought good briefly to touch, for that in recitall thereof, hee ſomewhat diſagreeth from the Scottiſh hiſtorie. There went (ſaith he) a common ſpeeche through Scotlande all this yeare, before the Kynges deathe, that the ſame nineteenth of Marche, ſhoulde the daye of Iudgement be: and herevpon, as the ſayd king ſate at dinner in the Caſtell of Edenburgh, hauing a diſhe of excellente good Lampreys before him, he ſent part thereof vnto one of the Lordes that ſate at ſome other table, not farre from him, and willed him by the Gentleman that bare it, to be merrie, and to haue in minde, that this was the day of doome: the Lorde ſente him thankes agayne, and prayed the meſſenger to tell the king merily, that if this were the day of doome, they ſhould riſe to iudgemente ſpeedily with their bellies filled with good meates and drinkes. After that they had dyned, and nighte began to drawe on, hee tooke his Horſe, and onely accompanyed with three Gentlemenne, woulde needes ride to Kingorne, where the Queene his new wife then lay, and before he coulde get vnto Innerkenin it was darke nighte, ſo that hee tooke there two guides to leade him the way, but they hadde not ridden paſt two miles, but that the guides hadde quite loſt the way, ſo that they were driuen to gyue their horſes libertie to beate it out themſelues: but herewith, the King being ſeuered from his company, how he ruled his Horſe it is harde to ſay, but downe he was throwen, and immediately died with the vehement fall which he thus caught, eyther headlong down one of the cliffes, or otherwiſe, and thus he came to his ende, on a monday being Saint Cuthberts euen the nyneteenth of March (as before is noted) after he hadde raigned ſixe and thirtie yeares & nine monethes, as the ſame Southwell writeth, who alſo contrary to that which Hec. Boe. writeth, affirmeth, that yͤ ſame day was ſo tempeſtuous with wind, ſnow, hayle and raine, that hee, and many other that thē liued and felt it, durſt not vncouer theyr faces in going abrode againſte the bitter Northren winde, that droue the ſnow and ſleete moſt vehemently vpon them. And although that ſuche foule weather might haue ſtayed him frō takyng his iorney in that ſort, yet he made no accompte thereof, as hee that was accuſtomed to ride as wel in foule weather as faire, and ſpared neyther for tempeſt, waters, nor craggie rockes, thick nor thinne, for al was one to him, oftentimes takyng his iourney in diſguiſed apparell, accompanyed only with one ſeruaunt. But to returne vnto the doings in England. This yeare, the Kyng tooke eſcuage fortie ſhillings of euery Knightes fee, towards the charges of his laſt warres in Wales. A Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, at the which were made yͤ ſtatutes called *Additamenta Gloceſtria*, or rather the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the ſeconde. In the fourteenth yeare of K. Edward, a Citizen of London named Thomas Piwileſdon, the whiche in time of the Barons warres had bin a greate doer to ſtirre the people againſt Kyng Henry, was now accuſed, that hee with other ſhuld goe about to make new diſturbance within the Citie: whereof, enquirie beeyng made and had before ſir Rauſe Standiſch as the *Cuſtos*, or guarden of the Citie, the ſaid Piwileſdon, & other, to the number of fiftie, were baniſhed the Citie for euer. Alſo, where of olde tyme before this ſeaſon, the merchaunte ſtraungers were vſed to be lodged within the dwelling houſes of the Citizens of London, and ſold all theyr merchandice, by procuration of their hoſtes, for the whiche their ſayde hoſtes had a certayne allowance, after the rate of euery pound. Now it was ordered, that the ſayde merchaunt ſtraungers myghte take houſes to hyre, for to inhabite therein, and for ſtowage of their wares, and no Citizen to intermedle with them or their wares: by reaſon whereof, they vſed many deceyptes, both in vttering counterfaite wares, and alſo vniuſt waightes: and moreouer, muche of thoſe wares which they ſhould haue wayed at yͤ kings beame, they wayed at home within their houſes, to the hinderance of the Kings cuſtome. Hereof, ſearch being made vpon a ſuddayne, and their waightes founde and prooued falſe, twentie of the ſayde ſtraungers were arreſted and ſente to the Tower and theyr wayghtes brent, deſtroyed and broken to peeces in Weſt cheape, the thurſeday before the feaſt of Simon and Iude. Fynally, the ſayde Merchauntes were deliuered, beyng putte to a fyne of a thouſande pounde, after ſore and hard impriſonmente.

An.reg. 14.

Fabian.

Thomas Piwileſdon a Citizen of London.

He with other are baniſhed the Citie.

A new order for merchant ſtraungers.

Strangers committed to the Tower.

1286

The Iewes in one nyghte were generally apprehended, and putte in priſon, through all the parties of Englande, and ſo kept in durance, till they hadde fyned at the Kynges pleaſure.

It is reported, that the commons of Englande graunted to the Kyng, the fifte parte of theyr moueables, to haue the Iewes baniſhed out of the land: but the Iewes to put the Engliſhmē from their purpoſe, gaue to the Kyng greate ſummes of money, whereby they tarried yet a whyle longer.

N. Triuet.

The Kyng paſſeth ouer into Fraunce.

King Edward went ouer into Fraunce vpon the fiue and twentith of May, paſſing through Pycardy vnto Amiens, and there the Frenche Kyng to doe him honor, was ready to receyue hym. Here Kyng Edwarde dyd homage vnto the Frenche Kyng for yͤ lands which he ought to holde of hym in Fraunce. And after, hee was alſo preſent at a Parliament, the which yͤ Frēch King helde at Paris, in the whiche hee obteyned many things for the liberties of his ſayd landes, as then by diuers wayes wrongfully oppreſſed, though ſuch graunt continued not long in force. After Whitſontide, King Edward departed frō Paris, and wente into Gaſcoigne, togither with his wife Queene Eleanor, the whiche was with him in all this iorney.

An.reg.15. 1287

This yeare, the King wente into Aragone, where his authoritie auayled muche, in the making of agreement betwixt the kings of Aragone and Naples, whereby, Charles King of Naples was then ſet at libertie, vpon certayne couenants paſſed, and agreed betwixt them.

Rich.South.

The Kings mother Queene Eleanor thys yeare forſooke the worlde, and tooke vppon hir the habite of a Nunne at Ambreſbury, but yet ſhee ſtill reteined and enioyed hir dower by the Popes authoritie and diſpenſation.

Briſtow faire robbed.

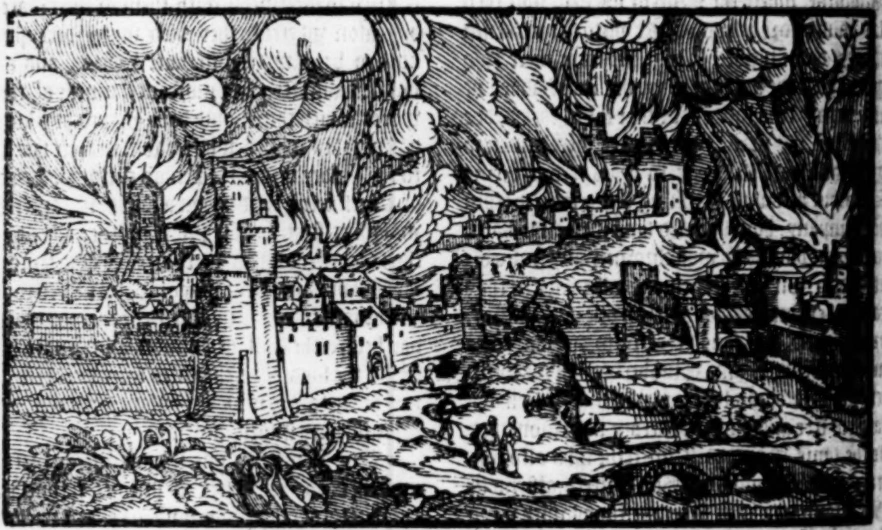
Aboute this time, a Squire called Chamberlaine, with his complices, ſet fire in the merchāts boothes, at Saint Butholpes fayre, and whyleſt the Merchauntes were about to quench the fire, the ſayde Squire and his complices ſet vpon the ſayd Merchaunts, ſlewe many of them, and robbed them of their goodes.

Varia twixt th Lord P Tipto Rice a docke.

This yeare, fell variance betwene the Lorde Payne Tiptoft, Wardeine of certayne Caſtels in Wales, and a Welch Knight called Sir Rice ap Meridocke, ſo that ſundry ſkirmiſhes were foughten betwixt them, and men ſlayne on both ſides, to the great diſturbance of the Countrey.

The cauſe of this warre, roſe chiefly, for that the ſaid Lord Tiptoft, & the Lord Alane Plucknet, the kings Steward in Wales, would haue cōſtreined the ſaid Rees to appeare at counties & hundreds, as the vſe in other parts of Wales the was, contrary to ſuch liberties as he had obteined of the K. as he pretēded. But when the K. wrote vnto the ſame Rees, requiring him to keepe the peace, til his returne (at what time, he promiſed to reforme al things in due & reaſonable order) Rees hauing already put armour vpō his back, would not now encline to any peace, but to reuenge hys cauſe, aſſēbled a great multitude of Welchmē, with whoſe help hee brente and deſtroyed many Townes in Wales, so that the King being then

N.Tri



beyond the ſeas, ſent vnto the Erle of Cornwal, whom in his abſence, he had appointed his Lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to ſende an army of mē into Wales, to reſiſt the malice and riottous attemptes of the Welchmen. The Erle ſhortly therevpon prepared an army, and wente with the ſame into Wales, or as other write, the Biſhop of Elie, yͤ Lord Prior of Saint Johns, the Earle of Glouceſter, and diuers Barons of the land went thither, and chaſing the ſaid Rees, diſperſed his army, and ouerthrewe and raſed his caſtells, but by vnderminning and reuerſing the walles of the Caſtell of Druſlan, with the fall therof, the Baron Stafford, and the Lord William de Monchency, with many other Knightes and Eſquiers, were oppreſſed, & bruſed to death.

This yeare, the Kyng at Blankfort in Gaſcoigne, tooke vpon him the Croſſe, purpoſing eftſoones to make a iorney againſte Gods enimies.

In the winter of this yeare, great floods chāced by reaſon of the exceeding abundaunce of raigne that fell and the Sea alongſt the Northeaſt coaſtes from Humber to Yermouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the ſame by the ſpace of three or foure leagues in breadth, as the author of the Chronicle of Dunſtable affirmeth, ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning vp mē and cattaylle, that coulde not auoyde the daunger, by the ſuddayne commyng in thereof, namely, about Yermouth, Dunwiche, and Gyppeſwiche

Chro.

wiche. Likewiſe in the Mers lande of Lincolnſhire, it did paſſing greate hurte, bringing al the Countrey into water. This chanced in the very night of the beginning of this yeare, to wit, in the feaſt of the circumciſion of our lord. And in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, wher it did much harme, namely about Yermouth.

An.reg.16. 1288

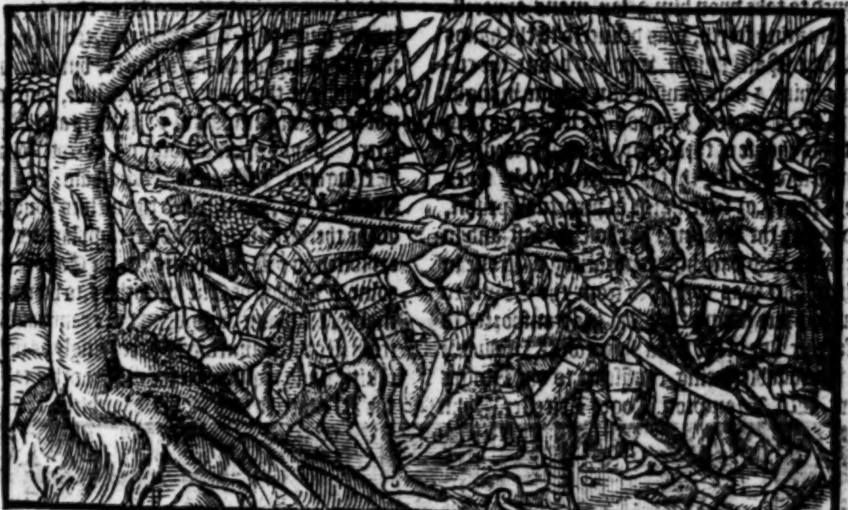
...o.Dunſt.
...c.Triuet.

This yeare, and likewiſe the yeare laſt paſte was ſuche plentie of grayne, that wheate was ſolde in ſome places of this lande, for twentie pence a quarter, and in ſome places for ſixteene pence, and peas for twelue pence a quarter. The ſommer this yeare exceeded in heate, ſo that men through the intemperate exceſſe therof, dyed in diuers places. It chanced in Gaſcoigne, that as the King and Queene ſate in their chamber vpō a bedde talking togither, the thunder bolte comming in at the windowe behinde them, paſſed through betwixt thē as they ſate, and ſlewe two of their Gentlemen that ſtoode before thē, to the great terror of all ẏ were preſent. This yeare diuers of thoſe ẏ had robbed the faire at Boſton, were executed. Moreouer, wheras Rees ap Meredocke continued ſtil in his miſcheuous doings, at length, the Lorde deputie of Wales, Roberte Tiptoft, vſing both ſpeedy diligence, and tymely counſell, gathering all ſuche power as hee coulde make, paſſed forth againſt his aduerſaries. Wherof, when ſir Rees was aduertiſed, and vnderſtanding that the Engliſhmen were far fewer in number than his Welchmē, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleaſure, and therfore encouraging his people with many comfortable words to ſhew their manhood vpō the Engliſhmen, approched & haſted to meete them. The Welchmen being for the moſt part but yong ſouldiers, and not trayned to keepe any order of battayle, ranne ſtreightly vpon their enimies, aſſayling them on the front before, on the ſides a flanke, and on the backe behinde, enforcing themſelues to the vttermoſt of their power to breake their array. But ẏ Engliſhmen valiantly reſiſted, ſo that there was a ſore battayle for a while, and the more couragiouſly ẏ Welchmen aſſailed, the more ſtoutly the Engliſhmen defended, in keeping thēſelues cloſe togither, & beating back their aduerſaries: and at lēgth, perceiuing thē to faint & waxe weery, they ruſh forth into ẏ middle of ẏ Welchmen, & brake them in ſunder, ſo that when they ſaw their fellowes

Southwel.

Polidor.
Ran. Higd.
Nic. Triuet.

Chron. Dunſ.



thus repulſed by the Engliſhmē, contrary vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to doe, for they durſt neyther fighte nor flee, and ſo by ẏ meanes were beaten downe on euery ſide. Meridocke himſelfe was taken, but the moſte part of al his army was ſlain, to the number of four M. mē. Thus were the Welchmē worthily chaſtiſed for their Rebellion. Sir Rees ap Meridocke was lad to Yorke, wher at lēgth, after ẏ K. was returned out of Gaſcoigne, he was hāged, drawē and quartred. This yere on S. Margarets euen, that is, the 19. day of July, fel a wonderful tēpeſt of haile, that ẏ like had not bin ſeene nor heard of by any mā thē liuing. And after, there enſued ſuch continuall raine, ſo diſtempering ẏ ground, that corne waxed very deare, in ſo muche, that where wheate was ſolde before at three d. a buſhell, the market ſo roſe by little and little, ẏ it was ſolde for two ſ. a buſhell, and ſo ẏ dearth encreaſed ſtil almoſt, by ẏ ſpace of 40. yeres, til ẏ death of Edward the ſecōd, in ſo much, that ſometime a buſhell of wheate, London meaſure, was ſolde at tenne ſhillings.

...Welch
...omfited.
...es ap Meri...
...ke taken

An.reg.17. 1289

...n. Marl.
...he tempeſt
...ayle.
...n.Higd.

A great death beginneth.

The King, after he hadde remained a three yeares, two monethes, and fifteene dayes in Gaſcoigne, and in other parts there beyond the ſea, he returned into Englād the fourth day of Auguſt, & vpō the euen of our Ladys day ẏ Aſſumptiō, he

Chron. Dunſt.

Thomas Weyland Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the kings benche.

Robert Mallet.

William Brampton. Roger Leiceſter.

came to London, where he was moſt ioyfully receyued, & ſo came to Weſtminſter: wher ſhortly after, were preſented vnto him many greeuous complayntes and informations, againſt dyuers of his Iuſtices, as Sir Thomas Weyland, Adam Stretton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thervpon, found giltie of manye treſpaſſes and tranſgreſſions, in ſo much, that it was giuē him to vnderſtand, yͭ there were amōg them that had giuen conſent to the cōmitting of murders & robberies, & wittingly had receipted the offendors. Wherevpō, the K. cauſed ſtraight enquirie to be made by an inqueſt of 12. ſubſtantiall perſonages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weyland Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the kings bēch, had cauſed a murther to be done by his ſeruants, and after ſuccoured and mayntayned them: whervpon, he was by the kings officers arreſted, but eſcaping their hādes, he toke Saintuarie in yͤ Church of yͤ Friers minors at S. Edmondeſbury, & was admitted into their habite, but within 40. dayes after, order was giuen by the K. that no kind of vittayles ſhould bee ſuffered to be conueyed into that houſe, ſo that all the Friers came forth, except three or four, & at length, he was cōſtreyned to take vpon him a lay mans apparell, and comming forth, was deliuered to the hands of Robert Malet knight, who had before, the cuſtody of him, & now hauing him againe, brought him to the Tower of London. At length, he was put to his choyſe of three wayes, which ſoeuer of them he would take, that is, whether to be tryed by hys peeres, or to remaine in perpetuall priſon, or to abiure the Realme: he choſe the laſt, and ſo bare footed, and bare headed, bearing a Croſſe in his hand, hee was conueyed from the Tower to Douer, where taking the Sea, hee tranſported to the further ſide of the Sea hys goodes, mouable and vnmouable, being confiſcate to the Kinges cofers. Wil. Brampton, Roger Leiceſter, Iohn Luneth, aſſociates of yͤ ſaid Thomas, & Iuſtices of yͤ kings bench: Alſo, Roberte Lithbury Chaplayn, & maſter of yͤ rolles, being accuſed of wrongful iudgemēts and other treſpaſſes were cōmitted to priſon within the Tower, and at length with much adoe, eſcaped with paying their fines, ſo yͭ hee whiche payed leaſt, gaue a thouſand markes. Moreouer, Salomon of Rocheſter, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Boylande, & Walter de Hopton, Iuſtices *Itinerantes*, were likewiſe puniſhed, & for yͤ ſemblable offences, put to their fines. Sir Rauf de Hinghā a Iuſtice alſo, to whom in yͤ kings abſence, the ordering of yͤ Realme chiefly apperteyned, being accuſed of diuers tranſgreſſions, & cōmitted to yͤ tower, redeemed his offence for an infinit ſumme of money. Adam de Stratton, Lord chiefe Baron of the eſchecker, being accuſed of many hainous crimes, a man plentifully prouided both of temporall poſſeſſions, and eccleſiaſticall reuenewes, loſt all hys temporall liuings and 34. thouſande markes in ready coine, beſide other mouables, in cattaile, iewels & furniture of houſhold, which were all confiſked, & forfeyted wholly: and it was thought, he was gētly delt, yͭ he eſcaped with life, & ſuch ſpiritual liuings as to him remained. Henry Bray eſcheator, & the iudges ouer the Iewes, were reported to haue cōmitted many greeuous offences, but for money they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amōgſt al yͤ Iuſtices and officers cleere & voyde of vniuſt dealing, except Iohn de Metingham, & Elias de Bekingham, who only among yͤ reſt, had behaued themſelues vprightly. Whē therfore, ſuch greeuous complayntes were exhibited to yͤ K. he appoynted the Earle of Lincolne, yͤ Biſhop of Elie and others, to heare euery mans complaint, and vpon due examinatiō and triall, ſee them aunſwered accordingly as right & equitie ſhuld require. In the 18. yere of his raigne, the K. married two of his daughters, that is to

Salomon

Thomas

Boyland,

Rauf de Hingham.

Adam de Stratton,

Henry Bra

Iohn de

Elias de

kingham.

1290

witte,

n. Marle.
Triuet.

wife, Ioane de Acres vnto Gilberte de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, and the Lady Margaret vnto the Lord Iohn ſonne to the Duke of Brabant. The King ordeyned, that all the wolle which ſhould be ſolde vnto ſtraungers, ſhoulde be brought vnto Sandwich, where the ſtaple thereof was kept long time after.

e ſtatutes
Weſtmin-
the third
bliſhed.

The ſame yeare, was a Parliamente holden at Weſtminſter, wherein, the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the third were prouyded. It was alſo decreed, that all the Iewes ſhoulde auoide out of the land, in conſideration whereof, a fifteenth was graunted to the King, and ſo hereupon, were the Iewes baniſhed out of all the Kings dominions, and neuer ſithence, could obteyne any priuiledge to returne hither againe. All their goodes not moueable, were confiſcate, with their tallies and obligations, but all other their goodes that were moueable, togither with their coyne of golde and ſiluer, the King licenced them to haue and conuey with them. A ſort of the richeſt of them, being ſhipped with their treaſure in a mightie tall ſhippe which they had hired, when the ſame was vnder ſayle, and gone downe the Thames towardes the mouth of the riuer beyonde Quinborowe, the maſter Mariner bethoughte him of a wile, and cauſed his men to caſt ancre, and ſo rode at the ſame, till the Shippe by ebbing of the ſtreame, remayned on ÿ drie ſands. The maſter herewith entiſed the Iewes forth with him to walke a land for their recreation, and at legth, when he vnderſtoode the tyde to be comming in, he gate him backe to the ſhippe, whether he was drawen vp by a corde. The Iewes made not ſo muche haſt as he did, bycauſe they were not ware of the daunger, but when they perceyued how the matter ſtoode, they cried to him for helpe: but hee tolde them, that they ought to crie rather to Moyſes, by whoſe conduct their father paſſed through the redde Sea, and therefore, if they would call to him for helpe, hee was able ynough to helpe them out of thoſe raging floudes whiche nowe came in vpon them: they cried in deede, but no ſuccour appeared, and ſo they were ſwallowed vp in water. The maſter returned with the Shippe, and tolde the King howe hee had vſed the matter, and had both thanks and reward, as ſome haue written, where other affirme, and more truely as ſhould ſeme, that diuers of thoſe mariners whiche dealt ſo wickedly againſt the Iewes, were hanged for their wicked practiſe, and ſo receyued a iuſt rewarde of their fraudulente and miſcheuous dealing. But now to the purpoſe.

e Iewes
iſhed out
Englande.

Iewes drowned.

Chro. Dun.

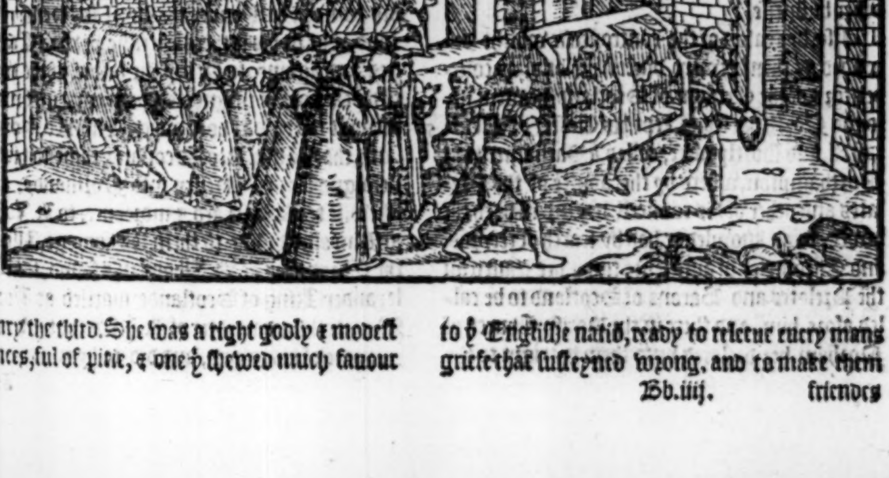
In the foreſayde Parliamente, the Kyng demaunded an ayde of money of the Spiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iorney into the holy lande, to ſuccour the Chriſtians there: wherevpon, they graunted to him the eleuenth parte of al their moueables. He receiued the money aforehande, but letted by other buſineſſe at home, he went not forth vpon that iorney.

The eleuenth parte of eccleſiaſticall reuenewes, graunted to the K.

In the nineteenth yeare of King Edwarde, Queene Eleanor Kyng Edwardes wife, dyed vpon Saint Andrewes euen at Herdeby, or Herdeley (as ſome haue) neere to Lincolne, the Kyng beeyng as then on his way towards ÿ borders of Scotlãd: but hauing now loſt ÿ iewell which hee moſt eſteemed, he returned towardes Londõ to accompany ÿ corps vnto Weſtminſter, wher it was buried in S. Edwards Chapell, at the feete of K.

An. Reg. 19.
The deceaſſe of Q. Eleanor.

Tho. Wal.

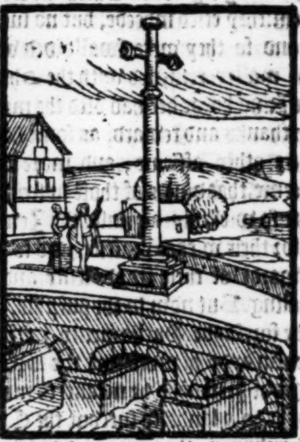


Henry the third. She was a right godly & modeſt princes, ful of pitie, & one ÿ ſhewed much fauour to ÿ Engliſhe natiõ, ready to releeue euery mans griefe that ſuſteyned wrong, and to make them

e prayſe of
Queene
aſed.

frendes that were at diſcorde, ſo farre as in hir lay.

In euery Towne and place where the corpes reſted by the way, the Kyng cauſed a Croſſe of cunning workmanſhippe to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the ſame, was a picture of hir engrauen.



Charing croſſe and other erected.

Two of the like Croſſes were ſet vp at Londõ, one at Charing, & the other in Weſt Cheape.

Moreouer, he gaue in almes euery wedneſday wherſoeuer hee wente, pence a peece, to all ſuche poore folkes, as came to demaund the ſame.

1291

The tenth of ſpiritall reuenewes grãted to the K.

Aboute the ſame time, bycauſe that the Kyng ſhoulde bee the more willing to goe into the holy land as he had promiſed to doe, hauing money to furniſh him forth, the Pope graunted vnto hym the tenth of the Church of Englãd, Scotlãd and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuenewes belonging to the ſame for ſixe yeares. He wrote to the Biſhops of Lincolne and Wincheſter, that the ſame tenth ſhould be layde vp in Monaſteries and Abbeyes, til the King was entred into the Sea, called *Mare Maggiore*, forwardes on hys iorney Eaſtwardes, and then to be payde to his vſe. But the King afterwards, cauſed the collectors to make payment to him of the ſame tenth gathered for three yeares, and layde vp in Monaſteries, although he ſet not one fote forward in that iorney, as letted through other buſineſſe.

Alſo, by reaſon of the controuerſie whiche depended as then betwixt diuers perſons, as competitors of the Crowne of Scotland, he went into the North partes, & kept his Eaſter at Newcaſtell, and ſhortly after, called a Parliamente at Northampton, where by the aduice of the Prelates and other of his councell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by ſearch of records, and Chronicles of auncient time, hee cauſed all the Prelates and Barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the Pariſh Church of Norham, hee declared vnto them his right to the ſuperioritie of the Kingdom of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they woulde recogniſe the ſame, proteſting, that he would defende the right of his Crowne, to the ſhedding of his own blood, that a true certificate & information might come to light of his title and rightfull clayme, vnto the direct and ſupreme dominion, ouer the Realme of Scotland. He had cauſed verily all the Hiſtories, Chronicles and monumẽts that were to be found within Englãd, Scotlãd & Wales, to be ſought vp and peruſed, yͭ it might be knowen, what right he had in this behalfe: wherevpon, it was founde by yͤ Chronicles of Marianus the Scot, Wil. of Malmeſ. Roger Houeden, Henry Huntington, Rauf de Diceto, & others, yͭ in the yere of our lord 919. K. Edwarde ſurnamed *Senior*, or the elder, ſubdued to him the kings of Scottes & Welchmen, alſo, that in the yere 921. the ſame people choſe the ſaid Edward to be their King and patrone. And likewiſe, in the yeare 926. Athelſtane King of England, vanquiſhed Conſtantine K. of Scotland, and permitted him yet to raigne vnder him. Moreouer, Edred yͤ brother of Athelſtan, and K. of Englãd, ouercame the Scottes and Northũbers, yͤ which ſubmitted themſelues to him, and ſware to him fealtie. Alſo Edgar K. of England vanquiſhed Kineth the ſonne of Alpine Kyng of Scotland, who ſware fealtie to him. Likewiſe Cnute K. of Englãd and Denmarke, in the ſixtenth yere of his raigne ouercame Malcolme K. of Scottes, and ſo became K. of four kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke and Norway. Furthermore, that bleſſed K. Saint Edwarde, gaue yͤ kingdome of Scotland vnto Malcolme the ſonne of the K. of Cumberlande, to holde the ſame of him. Again, Willi: Baſtard the Norman Conquerour, in the ſixth yere of his raigne vanquiſhed Malcolme K. of Scotland, & receyued of him an oth of fealtie. Alſo, Wil. Rufus did the like vnto Malcolme K. of Scottes, and to two of his ſonnes that ſucceſſiuely raigned ouer that realm. Alſo, Alexander ſucceeded his brother Edgar in the Kingdome of Scotland, by conſent of Kyng Henry yͤ firſt. Alſo, Dauid K. of Scotlande, dyd homage to K. Stephen, and Wil. K. of Scottes, did homage to Henry, the ſon of K. Henry yͤ ſecond, whẽ in his fathers life time, he was Crowned, and againe, to Henry the father, in the twentith yeare of his raigne, as by an agreemẽt made betwixt thẽ two, it doth appere. Alſo, Ro. Houed. ſaith, that Willi. K. of Scotland, came to his ſoueraigne Lord K. Henry into Normandy, and likewiſe to K. Richard, & moreouer, to K. John, at Lincolne, doing to them his homage. Alſo, in the Chronicles of S. Albons it is found, that Alexander King of Scotlande married at Yorke Margaret the daughter of K. Hẽry the third in yͤ 35. yeare of his raigne, and did to hym homage.

And further when king Edwarde himſelfe was crowned at Weſtminſter, in the yere of our Lorde. 1274. being the ſeconde of his raigne, the laſt deceaſſed king of Scotlande, Alexander the third of ẏ name, did homage vnto him at Weſt, the moneth after the coronatiõ. All which homages and fealties thus done by ſundrie kings of Scotland, vnto ſundrie kings of England, were directly and moſt manifeſtly proued to bee done for the Realme of Scotlande, and not onelye for the landes whiche they helde of the kings of Englande within Englande, as the Scottiſhe wryters woulde ſeeme to colour the matter. But things being then freſh in memorie, no ſuch cauillation might be auerred. And ſo herevpon king Edwardes tytle being ſubſtantially proued, he was recogniſed ſuperiour Lorde of Scotlande, of all them that pretended tytle at that tyme to that kingdome, by wrytings therof made and confirmed vnder theyr ſeales, the which being written in French conteyned as hereafter followeth.

Edwarde ognised for rior lorde otland.

Copie of Charter.

A Tous iceulx, qui ceſte preſente lettre verrunt ou orrunt, Florence Counte de Holland, Robert de Brus ſeigneur du Val Danand, Iohn Bailol ſeigneur de Gallaway, Iohn de Haſtings ſeigneur de Abergeuenne, Iohn Comin ſeigneur de Badenaugh, Patrique de Dunbar Count de la Marche, Iohn de Veſcy pur ſon perē, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, ſalux en deu. Come nous entendons d'auer droyt en reaume d'Eſcoce, & celle droyt munſtrer, chalãger, & auerer deuant celuy, que plus de poer, iuriſdiction, & reeſon, euſt de trier noſtre droyt, & le noble prince Sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, rey d'Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & ſuffiſaunt reeſons, que a luy apent, & auer droyt la ſouerein ſeigneurie, du dict reaume d'Eſcoce, & la cogniſaunce de oir, trier & terminer noſtre droyt. Nous de noſtre propre volũté, ſanz nulle maniere de force ou deſtreſſe, volums, otrions, & grantons de receiuré droyt deuaunt luy, come ſouerein ſeigneur de la terre. Et voluns ia lemeins, & promettons, que nous aueron, et tendrons, ferme, & eſtable ſon fait, & que celui emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En teſtimogne de ceſte choſe, nous auons mis nos ſeaules a ceſt eſcript. Fait & donné a Norham, le Mards prochein apres la Aſſcention. L'an de grace. M.CC. nonante, preme rein.

VVhich in Engliſh is as followeth

To all them that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare. Florence Earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce Lorde of Annandale. Iohn Comyn Lorde of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre Erle of Marche. Iohn de Balliol Lord of Galloway. Iohn Haſtings Lorde of Abergeuenny, Iohn de Veſcy in ſtead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, and Walter Ros, ſende greeting in our Lorde. Whereas wee intende to haue right in the kingdome of Scotlande, and intende to declare, chalenge, and proue the ſame before him that hath the beſt authoritie, iuriſdiction and reaſon to examine our right, and that the noble Prince the Lorde Edwarde, by the grace of God King of England, by good and ſufficient reaſons hath informed vs, that the ſuperior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes without all violence and conſtraynt, will, conſent, and graunt, to receyue our right before him, as the ſuperior Lord of the lande: We will alſo and promiſe, that we ſhall haue and holde his deede for fyrme and ſtable, and that he ſhall haue the kingdome, vnto whom before him beſt right ſhall aſſigne the ſame. In witneſſe whereof we haue to theſe letters put our ſeales. Giuen at Norham, the Tueſday next after the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lorde, in the yeare 1291.

The recogniſing therefore made of the ſuperioritie and ſubmiſſion of graunt to receyue that which before the king of England ſhould by law be defined, the ſayde king requyred to haue the Caſtels, and the whole lande deliuered vnto hys poſſeſſion, that by peaceable ſeyſine thereof had, his right of ſuperioritie now recogniſed by theyr letters and wrytings, might be the more manifeſt and apparant to the whole world. They ſtreight way agreed to the kings requeſt, and wrytings thereof were made and confirmed wyth theyr Seales, beyng written in Frenche. The tenour whereof enſueth.

A Tous iceulx, que ceſte preſente lettre verrunt ou orront. Florence Counte de Holland, Robert de Brus ſeigneur du Val Danaund, Iean de Bailliol Seigneur de Gallawey, Iehan de Haſtings ſeigneur de Abergeuenny, Iehan Comin ſeigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar Counte de la Marche, Iean de Veſcy, pour ſon pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaume de Ros, ſaluz en dieu. Come nous auons otrie, & graunte, de noſtre bonne volunté, & commune aſſent ſans nulle deſtreſſe, a noble prince Sire Edward. par la grace de dieu, rey de Angleterre quil come ſouerein ſeig. de la terre de Eſcoce puiſſe oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monſtrer, & auerrer pur noſtre droyt en la reaume de Eſcoce, & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come ſouerein ſeigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemains que ſon fait auerons & tendrons fermo & eſtable, & qu'il emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puiſt nulle manier conuſance faire ne a cõplier ſauns iugement, ne iugement doit eſtre ſauns execution, ne execution ne peult il faire duement, ſauns la poſſeſſion, & ſeyſine de meſme la terre, & de chaſteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, qu'il come ſouereine ſeigneur, a parfaire les choſes auant dictes, ait la ſeyſine de toute *la meſme terre, & de chaſteaux de Eſcoce, tant que droyt ſoit feit & perfourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu' il eit le ſeyſine auant dict face bonne ſeurte, & ſuffiſante as demandants & as gardiens, & a la commune du reaume d' Eſcoce, a faire la reuerſion de meſme le royalme, & de chaſteaus, oue toute la royauté, dignité, ſeignourie, franchiſes, couſtumes, droitures, leys, vſages, & poſſeſsions, & tanz manieres des apurtenances, en meſme le eſtate, quils eſtoient quant la ſeyſine luy fuſt baillee, & liueree a celuy que le droyt emportera par iugement de ſa royaute, ſauue au roy dengliterre le homage de celuy, qui ſerra rey. Yſsint que la reuerſion ſoit feit dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt ſera triee & affirmé. Et que les yſſues de meſme la terre en le moyne temps reſceus, ſoient ſauuement mis en depos & bien gardees par la main le Chamberleyn d' Eſcoce que ore eſt, & de celuy qui ſerra aſsigne a luy de par le rey dengliterre, & de ſoubz leur ſeaus ſauue renable ſuſtenance de la terre, & des chauſtiaux & des miniſtres du royaume. En teſtimoigne de ceſtes choſes auandicts, nous auons mis nos ſeaulex a ceſte eſcript. Fait & donne a Narham le Mercredie prochein apres l' Aſcention l'an de grace. 1291.*

The Engliſh whereof is thus.

The Copie of the ſeconde charter touching the poſſeſsion of the lande.

TO all thoſe which theſe preſent writings ſhall ſee or heare, Florence Erle of Hollād, Robert de Bruce lord of Annādal, John de Balliol Lord of Galloway, John Haſtings Lorde of Abergeuennie, John Comin Lord of Badenaw, Patrik de Dunbarre Earle of Marche, John de Veſcy in ſteade of his father, Nicholas de Sules, Williā de Ros, ſend greeting in our Lord. Bycauſe that of our good wil and common aſſent without all conſtraint, we do conſent and graunt vnto the noble prince the Lorde Edwarde, by the grace of God king of England, that he as ſuperior Lorde of Scotland, may heare, examine, define & determine our claymes, chalenges, & petitions, whiche we intend to ſhew and proue for our right, to bee receyued before him as ſuperior Lord of the land, promiſing moreouer, that we ſhall take his deed for firme and ſtable, and that he ſhall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whoſe right ſhall by declaration beſt appeare before him. Where as then the ſayde king of England cannot in this maner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be done without poſſeſſion and ſeyſine of the ſayde land and Caſtels of the ſame, we will, conſent, and graunt, that he as ſuperior Lord to perform the premiſſes may haue the ſeyſine of all the land and Caſtels of the ſame, till they that pretend tytle to the crowne be ſatiſfied in theyr ſute, ſo that before he be put in poſſeſſion and ſeyſine, he finde ſufficient ſuretie to vs that pretende tytle, vnto the Wardens, and to all the comunaltie of the kingdome of Scotland, ÿ he ſhal reſtore the ſame kingdome with all the royaltie, dignitie, ſeignorie, liberties, cuſtomes, rightes, lawes, vſages, poſſeſſions, and all and whatſoeuer the appurtenaunces, in the ſame ſtate wherein they were before the ſeyſine to him deliuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regalitie, ſauing to him the homage of that perſon that ſhall be king: and this reſtitution to be made within two Moneths after ÿ day in the which the right ſhall be diſcuſſed and eſtabliſhed, the iſſues of the ſame lande in the meane tyme ſhall be receyued, layd vp, and put in ſafe keping, in the handes of the Chamberlaine of Scotlande which nowe is, and of him whome the king of Englande ſhall to hym aſſigne, and thys vnder theyr Seales, reteyning and allowing the reaſonable charges for the ſuſtentation of the lande, the Caſtelles and officers of the Kingdome. In witneſſe of all the which premiſſes, we haue vnto theſe letters ſet our Seales. Yeuen at Norham the Wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of the Aſcention of oure Lorde, in the yeare of grace. 1291.

These two letters the King of England ſent vnder his priuie Seale vnto diuerſe Monaſteries within his realme, in the. xix. yeare of his raigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus paſſed, it might be regiſtred in their Chronicles.

And thus by the common aſſent of the chiefeſt of the Lordes in Scotlande, king Edwarde receyued the lande into his cuſtodie, tyll by due and lawfull tryall had, it myght appeare who was rightfull heyre to the crowne there.

The homage or fealtie of the Nobles of Scotland was expreſſed in wordes as followeth. Bycauſe that all wee are come vnto the allegiance of the noble Prince Edwarde King of Englande, wee promiſe for vs and oure heyres vpon all the daunger that wee may incurre, that wee ſhall bee faythfull, and loyally holde of hym agaynſte all manner of mortall menne, and that wee ſhall not vnderſtande of any domage that may come to the king, nor to his heyres, but wee ſhall ſtay and impeache the ſame to our powers. And to this we binde our ſelues and our heyres, and are ſworne vpō the Euangeliſts to perfourme the ſame. Beſide this, we haue done fealtie vnto our ſoueraigne lord the ſaid king in theſe wordes eche one by himſelf: I ſhall be true and faythfull, and fayth and loyaltie I ſhall beare to the King of Englād Edward and his heyres, of life member and worldely honour agaynſte all mortall creatures. The King hauing receyued as well the poſſeſſions of the Realme, Caſtelles, Manours, and other places belongyng to the crowne,

crowne of Scotlande, he committed the gouernment and cuſtodie of the realme vnto the Biſhops of Saint Andrewes and Glaſgo, to the Lordes, John Cumyn, and James Stewarde, who had put him in poſſeſſion, ſo that vnder him they vſed the ſame, in maner as they had done before. But in diuerſe Caſtels hee placed ſuch Captaynes as he thought moſt meeteſt, to keepe them to hys vſe, till he had ended the controuerſie, and placed him in the kingdome, to whome of ryght it belonged.

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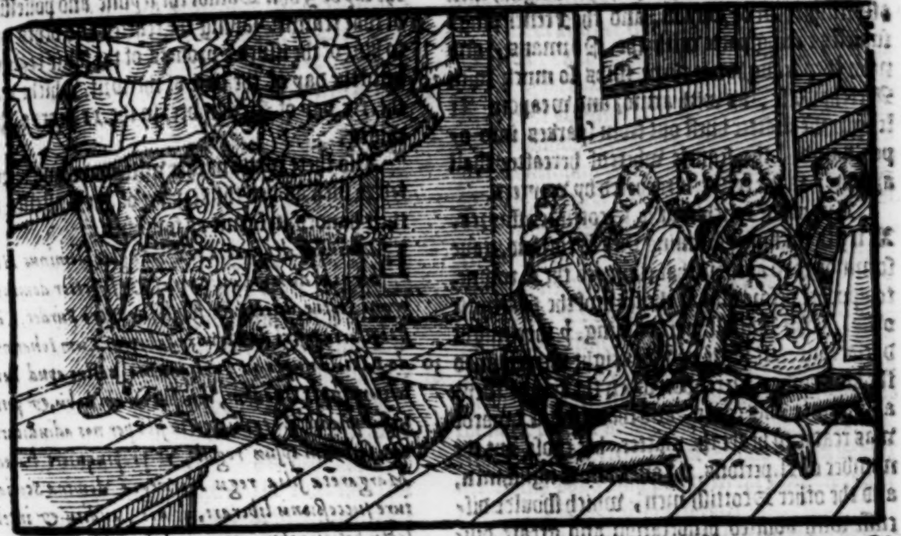
He alſo willed the Lordes of Scotland to elect a ſufficient perſonage to bee Chancellour of the Realme, which they did, naming Alane Biſhop of Catneſſe, whom the king admitted, ioyning with him one of his Chapleynes named Walter Amundeſham, ſo that on the .xij. of June, vpon the greene ouer agaynſt the Caſtell of Norham, neare to the ryuer of Twede, in the Pariſhe of Vpſetelington, before John Balliol, Robert Bruce, the Biſhops of Saint Andrewes, and Glaſgo, the Lordes Cumyn and Steward, wardens of Scotlande. The Biſhop of Cathneſſe receyued his Seale, appoynted him by the king of England, as ſupreme Lorde of Scotlande, and there both the ſaid Biſhop, & Walter Amondeſham were ſworne truly to gouerne themſelues in the office.

Biſhop of
neſſe elec-
chancellor
cotlande.

He receyueth his ſeale.

He is ſworne.

The morow after were the Wardens ſworne and with them as aſſociated Brian Fitz Alain, and there all the Earles and Lordes of Scotland that were preſent ſware fealtie vnto king Edwarde, as to theyr ſupreme ſoueraigne Lorde, and withall, there was peace proclamed, and publike Edictes ſet forth in the name of the ſame King, intituled ſupreme Lorde of the realme of Scotlande. The reſidue of the Scottiſhe Nobilitie, Earles, Barons, Knightes, and other, with the Biſhops and Abbottes, vpon his comming into Scotland, ſware fealtie eyther to himſelfe in perſon, or to ſuch as he appoynted his deputies to receyue the ſame, in ſundrie townes and places according to order giuen in that behalfe. Suche as refuſed to doe theyr fealtie, were attached by their bodies, till they ſhoulde doe their fealties, as they were bounden. Those that came not, but excuſed themſelues vpon ſome reaſonable cauſe, were heard, and had day giuen vnto the next Parliament: but ſuch as neyther came, nor made any reaſonable excuſe, were appoynted to bee diſtrayned to come.



The wardens ſworne.

Scottiſh
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arde.

The Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and John Lorde Comyn of Badenoth, with Brian Fitz Alain, were aſſigned to receyue ſuch fealties at Saint Johns towne. The Biſhop of Glaſgo, James Lorde Stewarde of Scotlande, and Nicholas Segraue were appoynted to receyue them at Newcaſtell of Are. The Earle of Southerland, and the Sherife of that Countrey with his Baylifes, and the Chatellain of Inuerneſſe were ordeyned to receyue thoſe fealties in that Countrye, the Chattelain firſt to receyue it of the ſayde Earle, and then he with his ſayd aſſociates to receyue the ſame of others. The Lorde William de Saintclare, and William de Bomille, were appoynted to receyue fealtie of the Biſhoppe of Whitterne, and then the ſayd Biſhop with them to receyue the fealties of all the Inhabitantes of Galloway.

Amongſt other that did theyr homage to the king himſelfe, was Marie Queene of Man, and Counteſſe of Stratherne, vpon the .xxiiij. day of July, the king being then in Saint Johns towne, otherwiſe called Perth.

To conclude, he was put in full poſſeſſion of the Realme of Scotlande, and receyued theyr homages and fealties (as before ye haue hearde) as the direct and ſupreme Lorde of that lande.

This done, and euery thing ordered as ſeemed moſt expedient, King Edwarde returned into the South partes of his realme to be at his mothers buriall, that in this meane tyme was departed this lyfe. Hir hart was buried in the church of the gray Friers at London, and hir bodie at Ambreſburie in the houſe of the Nunnes.

The kings mother deceaſed.

After the funerals were ended, king Edwarde returned into the north partes againe: he ſtayed a while at Yorke, and during his abode there, Rees ap Meridoc, (of whom ye haue heard before) was by order of law condemned and executed.

An.reg. 20.
1292

Nic.Triuet.

This yeare after Eaſter, as the Fleet lay before S. Mathewes in Britaine, there roſe certain diſcorde betwixt the Mariners Normans, and them of Bayon and ſo farre the quarel increaſed, that they fell to trie it by force, the Engliſh men aſſyſting them of Bayon, and the French kings ſubiects taking parte with the Normans, and now they fraught not theyr ſhips ſo much with Merchandiſe, as with armor and weapon At length the matter burſt out from ſparkes into open flambe, the ſequele whereof hereafter ſhall appeare, as we fynde it reported by wryters.

Iohn Balliol obteyneth the kingdome of Scotlande.

Nic.Triuet:

Polidor.

But nowe touching the Scottiſhe affayres. At lẽgth the king comming into Scotland, gaue ſummonce to al thoſe that claymed the Crowne, to appeare before him at the feaſt of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt next enſuing. ỹ they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Herevpon when the day of theyr appearance was come, and that king Edwarde was readie to heare the matter, hee choſe out the number of .xl. perſons, the one halfe Engliſhmen, and the other Scottiſh men, which ſhoulde diſcuſſe with aduiſed deliberation and greate diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the finall ſentence vnto the feaſt of S. Michaell next enſuing, the which feaſt being come, after due examination, full triall, & aſſured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by al their aſſents was adiudged vnto Iohn Balliol, which deſcended of the eldeſt daughter of Dauid king of Scotland, Robert le Bruce, betwixt whom and the ſame Balliol at length (the other being excluded) the queſtiõ and triall only reſted, was deſcended of the ſeconde daughter of king Dauid, though otherwiſe by one degree he was nearer to him in bloud. Thus writeth Nicholas Triuet. Albeit other affirme, that after long diſputation in the matter, by order of king Edward, there were appoynted .lxxx. auncient and graue perſonages, amongſt the which were .xxx. Engliſh men, vnto whome (being ſworne and admoniſhed to haue God before their eyes) authoritie was giuen to name him that ſhould be king. Theſe .lxxx. perſons, after they had well conſidered vnto whome the right apperteyned, declared with one voyce, that Iohn Balliol was rightful king. King Edward allowed their ſentence, and by his authoritie confirmed vnto the ſame Iohn, the poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Scotlande, with condition that if he did not gouern that Realme with iuſtice, then vpon complaint, the king of England might put vnto his hande of reformation, as he was bounde to doe by hys ryght of ſuperioritie that in him was inueſted.

Herevpon king Edwarde awarded forth his writ of deliuerie of ſeyſine at the ſute of the ſayde Balliol, vnto William and Robert, Biſhops of Saint Androwes and Glaſgo, to Iohn Lorde Cumyn, Iames Lorde Steward of Scotland, and to the Lorde Brian Fitz Alain, wardens of Scotlande, commaunding them to deliuer vnto the ſayde Iohn Balliol the ſeyſine and poſſeſſion of that realme, ſauing the reliefes and debts due to him of the iſſues & profites of the ſame realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, whiche was the .xix. day of Nouember, in the .xx. yeare of his raigne.

Alſo there was another writ made, and directed to ſuch as had the keeping of the Caſtels in their handes, in forme as followeth.

EDwardus dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, & ſuperior dominus regni Scotiæ, dilecto & fideli ſuo Petro Burdet, cõſtabulario caſtri de Berwike ſalutem. Cùm Iohannes de Balliolo nuper in Parliamento noſtro apud Berwicum ſuper Tuedam, veniſſet coram nobis, & petiuiſſet prædictũ regnũ Scotiæ ſibi per nos adiudicari, & ſeiſinam ipſius regni, vt propinquiori hæredi Margaretæ filiæ regis Norwegiæ dominæ Scotiæ, iure ſucceſſionis liberari, ac nos, auditis & intellectis petitionibus, & rationibus diligenter examinatis, inuenerimus præfatum Iohannem de Balliolo eſſe propinquiorem hæredem prædictæ Margaretæ, quoad prædictum regnum Scotiæ obtinendum: propter quod idem regnum Scotiæ, & ſeiſinam eiuſdem, ſaluo iure noſtro, & hæredũ noſtrorũ, cùm voluerimus inde loqui, prædicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quòd ſeiſinã prædicti caſtri de Berwico cũm omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, vna cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per cyrographũ traditis, ſecundũ quod in prædicti caſtri tibi commiſſa cuſtodia res huiuſmodi recepiſti, ſine dilatione præfato Iohanni de Balliolo, vel attornato ſuo has literas deferẽtibus, deliberari facias. Teſte meipſo apud Berwicum ſuper Tuedã .xix. die Nouembris Anno regni noſtri .xx.

The ſame in Engliſh is thus.

EDward by the grace of god, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, and ſuperior lord of the realme of Scot. to his welbeloued & faithful ſeruant Peter Burdet Conſtable of the Caſtell of Berwike, ſendeth greeting. Whereas Iohn de Balliol late in Parliamente holden at Berwicke vppon Twede, came before vs, and demaunded the ſayde Realme of Scotlande to be adiudged to him by vs, and ſeaſine of the ſame realme to bee to him deliuered as next heyre to Margaret daughter to the king of Norway, Ladie of Scotlande by right of ſucceſſion. We hauing heard and vnderſtoode the ſame petitions and reaſons beeing diligentlye wayed and examined, we finde the ſayde John Ballioll to be next heyre vnto the ſayde Margaret, as to obteyne the ſayde kingdome of Scotlande, whereupon wee haue deliuered vnto him the ſayde kingdome of Scotlande, and the ſeyſin thereof, ſauing the right of vs and our heyres, when it ſhall pleaſe vs to ſpeake thereof. Wee therfore commaund you, that you deliuer vp vnto the ſayde John Ballioll, or to his attourneys, that ſhall bring with them theſe our preſent letters, the ſeyſine of the ſayde Caſtell of Barwike, with all the appurtenances, togither with all other things to you by Indenture deliuered accordingly as you did receyue the ſame, with the cuſtodie of the ſayde Caſtle to you committed: and this without delay. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Berwike vpon Tweed, the .xix. day of Nouember, in the .xx. yeare of our raigne.

In the ſame forme of wordes were writtes awarded forth, to all and euery other the keepers of Caſtels and Manors belonging to the crowne of Scotlande, and being at that time in king Edwards handes, the names of places and the perſons that had them in cuſtodie onely chaunged.

e Seale
ken.

The ſame day alſo in the Caſtel of Berwike was the Seale broken which had bene appoynted to the gouernors during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into foure partes, and put into a purſe to bee reſerued in the treaſurie of the king of Englande, in further and more full token of his ſuperioritie and direct ſupreme dominion ouer the Realme of Scotland. Which things were done in preſence of the ſayd John Balliol then king of Scotland, John Archbiſhop of Dublin. John Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, Anthonie Biſhoppe of Dureſme, William Biſhop of Ely, John Biſhop of Carleil, William Biſhop of Saint Andrewes, Robert Biſhop of Glaſgo, Marke Biſhop of Man, and Henrie Biſhop of Aberdene, with diuerſe other Biſhoppes, beſides Abbottes and Priors of both Realmes, Henrie Earle of Lyncolne, Humfrey Earle of Herforde, Roger Erle of Norffolke, John Erle of Buchquane, Dounalde Earle of Mar, Gylbert Earle of Angus, Patrike Earle of Marche, and Maliſius Earle of Stratherne, with the .xxiiij. Auditors of Englande, and the .lxxx. Auditors of Scotland, chaplaynes. Alſo Henrie de Newmarke Deane of Yorke, John Lacie Chancellour of Chicheſter, William de Grenefielde Chanon of Yorke, and John Ercurie Notarie, and many other.

John Ballioll beeing thus created King of Scotlande, on the .xx. day of Nouember, in the Caſtell of Norham, did fealtie vnto king Edwarde for the kingdome of Scotlande in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of Iohn Ballioll.

This heare you my Lorde Edward king of Englande, ſoueraigne Lorde of the Realme of Scotlande, that I John de Ballioll K. of Scotlande, which I holde and clayme to hold of you, that I ſhall be faythfull and loyall, and owe faith and loyaltie to you, I ſhal beare of life and member, and of earthly honor, agaynſt all people, and lawfully I ſhal acknowledge and do the ſeruices which I owe to doe to you, for the Realme of Scotlande aforeſayde. So god me helpe and his holy Euangeliſts.

Hereof alſo hee made letters patents, witneſſing that he had thus done fealtie vnto king Edwarde, which letters hee ſealed and deliuered in preſence of William biſhop of Saint Andrewes, Robert biſhop of Glaſgo, John Erle of Bouchquane, William Earle of Ros, Patrike Earle of Marche, Walter Earle of Menteth, James lord Stewarde of Scotlande, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Ballioll Lorde of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de Saintclere. This done, king Edwarde appoynted Anthonie Biſhop of Dureſme, and the lord John Saint John to paſſe with the Ballioll into Scotlande, and there to put him into the corporall poſſeſſion of the ſame realme of Scotlande, whiche they did, and ſo hee was crowned at Scone vppon Saint Andrewes day, being placed in the Marble chaire within the Abbay Church there.

An.reg.21.
Iohn Ballioll crowned king of Scotland.

The ſolemnitie of which coronation beeing ended, he returned into Englande, and comming to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, where king Edward that yeare kept his Chriſtmaſſe, he there did homage vpon Saint Stephens day vnto the ſayde king Edwarde in fourme of wordes as followeth.

The forme of the king of Scots homage.

My Lorde, Lorde Edwarde king of Englande, ſuperior Lorde of Scotlande, I John de Balliol king of Scotlande, do acknowledge and recogniſe mee to be your liegeman of the whole Realme of Scotlande with all the appurtenances and whatſoeuer belongeth therto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and clayme to holde by inheritance of you and your heires kings of Englande, and I ſhall beare fayth and loyaltie to you and to your heires kings of England, of life, of member, and earthly honor, againſt all men, which may liue and die. This homage in forme aforeſayde did king Edwarde receyue, his owne and others right ſaued.

1293

Then did the king of Englande without delay, reſtore vnto the ſayd John Balliol the kingdome

dome of Scotlande with all the appurtenances.

Richarde Bagley.

This yere, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the Sheriffes of London, led a priſoner towards the gayle, three perſons reſcued the ſayde priſoner, and toke him from the officer, the which were purſued & taken, and by iudgement of lawe thē vſed, were brought into weſt Cheape, & there had their handes ſtriken off by the wriſtes.

The offenders loſt their hāds.

A great ſnow and tempeſt of winde in May.

The .xiiij. day of May fell a wonderfull ſnow, and therwith blew ſuch an exceeding winde, that great harme was done thereby in ſundrie places of Englande.

The Archbi. of Canterbury deceaſeth.

The ſame yeare died Frier Iohn Pecham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and then was Robert of Winchelſey elected Archbiſhop, the .xlviij. in number that had ruled that ſea.

The kings daughter maried to the Erle of Bar.

About the middle of September following, the Erle of Bar a Frenchman, maried the ladie Elenor the kinges daughter in yͤ towne of Briſtow.

War betwixt England and Fraunce.

This yeare wheate was ſolde at London for two ſhillings a buſhel. This yeare alſo the warre was begonne betwene the kings of England and Fraunce. For whereas king Edwarde had furniſhed forth ſixe ſhippes of warre, and ſent them vnto Burdeaux for defence of the coaſtes thereabouts, two of them as they ſayled alongeſt the coaſt of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enimies, were taken by the Norman fleet, and diuerſe of the Mariners hanged.

Two Engliſhe ſhips taken.

The Lord admiral of England ſetteth vpon the Norman ſhippes.

The Lorde Robert Tiptoft that was Admirall of the Engliſh fleete, aduertiſed hereof, got togither a great number of ſhippes, and directed his courſe with them ſtreight towardes Normandie and finding no ſhips of the Normans abrode in the ſeas, vpon a deſire to be reuenged, entred the mouth of the ryuer of Saine, and ſet vpon the Norman ſhippes that lay there at ancre, ſlue many of the Mariners, and toke ſixe ſhips away with him, and ſo returning to the Sea againe, caſt ancre not farre off from the lande, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forth with their fleete to giue battail. And as he lay there at ancre, it chaunced that certaine Norman Shippes, fraught with Wine, came that wayes as they returned out of Gaſcoigne. The Lorde Tiptoft ſetting vpon them, toke them with little adoe, and ſleaing neare hand the thirde part of all the Mariners ſent the ſhips into England.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepare a nauie, and furniſhing the ſame with ſouldiers went forth to the Sea to encounter the Engliſh men: but ere they met, Meſſengers were ſent to and fro, the Engliſh men accuſing the Frenchmen of truce breaking, and the Frenchmen again requiring reſtitution of their goodes taken from them by violence. And now forasmuch as this buſineſſe had bin moued raſhly betwixt the Engliſh men and the Normans, without any commiſſion of their Princes, their mindes therefore were not ſo kindled in diſpleaſure, but that there had beene good hope of agreement betwixt them, if Charles Earle of Valoys the French kings brother (being a man of a hote nature, and deſirous of reuenge) had not procured hys brother to ſeeke auengemente by force of armes. Whereupon the French fleete made towardes the Engliſh men, who mynding not to detract the battel, ſharply encoūter their enimies in a certain place betwixt England & Normādy, where they had layde a great emptie ſhip at an ancre, to giue tokē where they ment to ioyne. There were with the Engliſh men both Iriſhmen & Hollanders, & with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, & certain veſſels of Genowayes. The fight at the firſt was doubtfull, & great ſlaughter made, as in the meeting of two ſuch mightie nauies muſt needes enſue. In the end yet the victory fell to the Engliſhmen, & the French ſhips put to

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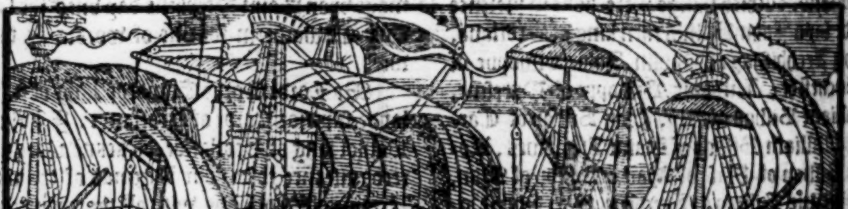

chaſe and ſcattered abrode. The number of ſhips loſt is not recorded by ſuch wryters as make report of this conflict, but they write that the loſſe was great. King Philip being aduertiſed of this diſcomfiture of his fleet, was ſore diſpleaſed, and as though he would proceede agaynſt king Edward by order of law, he ſummoneth him as hys liegeman to appeare at Paris, to anſwere what might be obiected agaynſt him, but withall bycauſe he knew that K. Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepareth an army.

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ch king.

In the meane time K. Edwarde ſendeth his brother Edmond Erle of Lancaſter to be his attorney, & to make anſwere for him before all ſuch Iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the Iudges meaning nothing leſſe thã to trie out the truth of the cauſe, admit no reaſons that the Erle could allege in his brothers behalf, & ſo pronounce K. Edward a rebel, & decree by areſt, that he had forfeyted all his right vnto the Duchie of Guienne. Theſe things thus done, he ſendeth priuy meſſengers vnto Burdeaux, to procure the citizens to reuolt frõ the Engliſhmen, & appointed the Coneſtable of France the L. Arnold de Neall to follow with an army, who cõming thither eaſily brought thẽ of Burdeaux vnder the French dominion, being alredy minded to reuolt through practiſe of thoſe that were lately before ſent vnto them from the French king for that purpoſe.

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Gaſcoigne
an army.

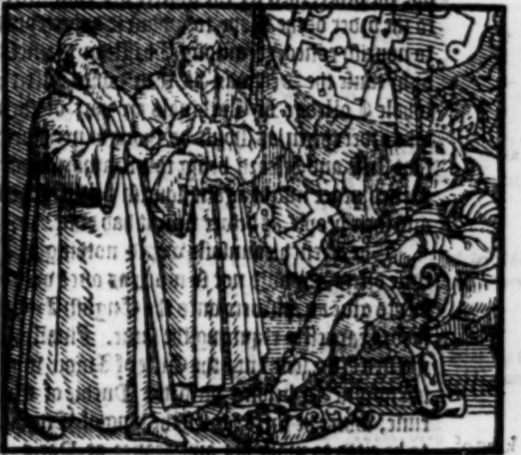
After this, the ſaid Coneſtable brought the people neare adioyning vnder ſubiection, partly moued by the example of the chiefe and head Citie of all the Countrey, and partly enduced therevnto by bribes and large giftes.

The Engliſh men that were in the Countrey, after they perceiued that the people did thus reuolt to the French king, withdrew incõtinently vnto the townes ſituate neare to the ſea ſide, but eſpecially they fled to a towne called the Rioll, which they fortifie with all ſpeed. Thus ſayth Polidor.

.Triuet.

rieare of
olne.

Nicholas Triuet writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this maner. The Engliſh Merchants being diuerſly vexed vpon the ſeas, made cõplaint to the K. for loſſe of their marchandiſe. The king ſent the Erle of Lincoln Henrie Lacie vnto the French king, inſtantly requiring, that by his aſſent there might ſome way be prouided with ſpeed by them and their counſel, for ſome competent remedie touching ſuch harmes and loſſes by ſea as his people had ſuſteined. In the meane time whileſt the Earle tarieth for anſwere, a nauie of the parties of Normandy cõteyning two. C. ſhips and aboue, being aſſembled togither, that they might the more boldly aſſayle their enimies, and the more valiantly reſiſt ſuche as ſhould encounter them, ſailed into Gaſcoigne, determining to deſtroy all thoſe of their aduerſaries that ſhould come in their way. But as theſe Norman ſhips returned back with wines, glorying as it were that they had got ẏ rule of the ſea onely to themſelues, they were aſſayled by .lx. Engliſh ſhips, which toke them, and brought thẽ into England the Fryday before Whitſunday: all the men were eyther drowned or ſlaine, thoſe onely excepted which made ſhift to eſcape by boates. The newes hereof being brought into France did not ſo much moue the K. & the counſel to wonder at the matter, as to take therof great indignation.



There were appointed Ambaſſadors to go into England, the which on the behalf of the French king, might demaunde of king Edward reſtitution of thoſe ſhips and goodes thus taken by hys ſubiects, and conueyed into his realme, without all delay, if he mynded to haue any fauour in the French Court touching his affayres that belonged to his Countrey of Gaſcoigne.

The Biſhop of London ſent with an anſwer vnto the french king.

The king of England hearing this meſſage, toke therein deliberation to anſwere, and then ſent the Biſhop of London, accompanied wyth other wiſe and diſcreete perſons into Fraunce, to declare for aunſwere vnto the French King and his Counſayle as followeth, that is: Where as the King of Englande hath his regall Courte without ſubiection to any man, if there were therefore anye perſones that founde themſelues hurt or endomaged by hys people, they myght come to hys Court, and vppon declaration of theyr receyued iniuries, they ſhoulde haue ſpeedie iuſtice, and to the ende they might thus do without all daunger, whoſoeuer mynded to complayne, hee woulde giue vnto them a ſafeconducte to come and goe in ſafetye through hys lande: But if this way pleaſed not the Frenche King, then he was contented that there ſhoulde bee Arbitratours choſen on bothe ſydes, the whiche weighing the loſſes on bothe partyes, might prouide howe to ſatiſfie the complayntes: and the King of Englande woulde for hys parte enter into bondes by obligation to ſtande to and abyde theyr order and iudgement herein, ſo that the French king would likewiſe be bound for his part, and if any ſuch doubt fortuned to ariſe, which could not be decyded by the ſayde arbitrators, let the ſame be reſerued vnto the kings themſelues to diſcuſſe and determine, and the king of Englande vpon a ſufficient ſafeconduct had, woulde come ouer to the Frenche King, if he woulde come downe vnto any hauen towne neare to the Sea coaſt, that by mutuall aſſent an ende might be had in the buſineſſe: but if neither this waye ſhoulde pleaſe the Frenche king nor the other, then let the matter bee committed to the order of the Pope, to whom it apperteyned to nouriſh concorde among Chriſtian Princes, or bycauſe the Sea was as then voyde, let the whole Colledge of Cardinals or part of them take order therin, as ſhould be thought neceſſarie, that ſtrife and diſcord being taken away and remoued, peace might again flouriſh betwixt them and their people, as before time it had done.

The king of England cited to appeare

Sentence geuē againſt the king of Englande.

The French counſaile weyed nothing at all theſe offers, & would not ſo much as once vouchſafe to giue an anſwere vnto the Engliſh Ambaſſadors earneſtly requiring the ſame. Finally, the French king ſent vnto the Citie of Iniou which is knowne to belong vnto the Duchie of Guienne, where he there cauſed the king of England to be cited to make his appearance at Paris, at a certaine day, to anſwere to the iniuries and rebellions by him done in the Countrey of Gaſcoigne, at the which day when he appeared not, the French king ſitting in the ſeate of iudgement in hys owne proper perſon, gaue ſentence there agaynſt the king of Englande, for making default, and withall commaunded the high Coneſtable of Fraunce to ceaſe into his handes all the Duchie of Guienne, and eyther take or expulſe al the king of Englandes officers, ſouldiours, and deputies, which were by him placed within the ſayde Duchie.

The king a little before had ſent thither a valiant knight, named the Lord Iohn Saint Iohn, which had furniſhed all the Cities, townes, Caſtels, and places, with men, munition, and vyttayles, for defence of the ſame.

An. Reg. 22.

1294

In the meane time the king of Englande deſirous to be at quiet with the French men, appoynted his brother Edmunde Earle of Lancaſter, as then ſoiourning in France, to go vnto the Frenche kings counſaile to procure ſome agreement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not bee diſhonourable vnto him: But when the Erle could not preuaile in his ſute, hee tooke his iourney towardes Englande, vtterlye diſpayring to procure any peace. But ere he came to the ſea ſide, he was ſent for backe againe by the two Queenes of Fraunce, Ioan wife to King Philip, and Marie his mother in lawe, whiche promiſed to frame ſome accorde betweene the two kings, & ſo thereupon after diuerſe communications by them had in the matter with the ſaid Erle of Lancaſter, at length it was accorded, that for the ſauing of the French kings honour which ſeemed to bee touched by things done by the king of Englandes miniſters in Gaſcoigne, the Caſtels ſhoulde remaine at the ſayde kings pleaſure, as Santes, Talemonde, Turnin, Pomorell, Penne, and Mount Flaunton. Alſo there ſhould be ſet a ſeruant or ſergeant in the Frenche kings name, in euerie Citie and Caſtell within all the whole Duchie of Guienne, except Burdeaux, Bayon, & the Rioll. And further hoſtages ſhould be deliuered at the French kings pleaſure, of all miniſters to be placed by the king of England in Gaſcoigne and other places throughe all the Countrey.

Theſe things done, the French king ſhoulde reuoke the ſummonance publiſhed and pronounced in the Court of Paris agaynſt the king of England. Alſo he ſhould reſtore all the Caſtels (his ſeruantes being remoued which he had placed in the ſame) togither with the pledges incontinently, at the requeſt of the ſame Queenes, or of eyther of them. The king of Englande hauing a ſafeconduct ſhould come to Amiens, that there meeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and engroſſed touching the foreſayd Articles of agreement, one part deliuered to the erle, ſealed with the ſeales of the Queenes, and other remayned with the foreſayd Queenes ſealed with the ſeale of the Earle.

The k. of Englãd certified hereof, ſent his letters patents, directed vnto all his officers & miniſters in Gaſcoigne, commaunding them to obey in all things the French kings pleaſure. Theſe letters patents were firſt ſent vnto the Erle of Lãcaſter, that he might cauſe thẽ to be conueyd into Gaſcoigne when he ſhould ſee time. The Earle hauing receyued thoſe letters, doubting whether the French king would obſerue the agreement which the Queenes had made & concluded or not, he required of thẽ that he might heare the French K. ſpeake the worde, that he would ſtande vnto that which they had concluded. Wherevpon in the preſence of the ſaid Erle & his wife Blanch Queene of Nauarre, mother to the French Queene, alſo of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh Veer ſon to the Erle of Oxford, & of a Chaplain cleped ſir Iohn Lacie, the French king promiſed in the fayth of a Prince, that he would fulfill the promiſes of the ſaid Queenes, and the couenants by them accorded. Shortly herevpon was ſent into Gaſcoigne a knight of the Erles of Lancaſter, called ſir Geffrey de Langley, with letters from the French K. directed to the Coneſtable, to call him back again from his appoynted enterpriſe. And the foreſayd Chaplaine ſir John Lacy was ſent alſo thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed vnto his officers there, in forme as is aboue mentioned, whervpon the Lorde John Saint John the king of Englands lieutenant in Gaſcoigne, vnderſtanding the concluſions of the agreemẽt, ſold all ſuch prouiſions as he had made and brought into the Cities, townes, and fortreſſes for the defence of the ſame, and departing out of Gaſcoigne, came towardes Paris to returne that way into England. But beholde what followed: ſodainly by the enimie of peace was the French kings minde quite chaunged. And where the king of England was come vnto Canterburie, and kept there his Eaſter, that immediately vpon the receyt of the ſafeconduct he might tranſport ouer the ſeas, and ſo come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agreement, now not only the ſafeconduct was denied, but alſo the firſt letters reuocatorie ſent vnto the Coneſtable to call him backe, by other letters ſent after were alſo made voyde, and he by the latter letters appoynted to keepe vpō his iourney, ſo that yͤ Coneſtable entring into Gaſcoine with a power, found no reſiſtance, the Captains & officers ſubmitting themſelues with the townes & fortreſſes at his pleaſure, according to the tenor of the letters patents lately to them deliuered. All the officers and captains of the fortreſſes were brought to Paris as captiues and pledges.

The Frenche
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Within a few dayes after, the Erle of Lancaſter required the Queenes, that they would cal vpon the king to grant his ſafeconduct for the K. of Englād, to reuoke the citatiō or ſummonāce, to reſtore the lands taken from him, and to delyuer the pledges: but the French king by the mouthes of certain knights ſent vnto the Erle, renounced al ſuch couenants as before had bin cōcluded.

French K.
ounceth
t he had
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The Earle of Lancaſter then perceyuing that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into Englande, and informeth the king and hys counſaile from poynt to poynt of all this matter. Herevpon a Parliament being called at Weſtminſter, at the which the king of Scotlande was preſent, it was decreed by the eſtates, that thoſe landes which were craftily taken ſo from the king ſhould be recouered againe by the ſworde. And the king herewith ſent vnto the French King a Frier Preacher named Hugh of Mancheſter, and a Frier Minor, called William de Gaynesbourgh, both being wiſe and diſcreete men, and Doctours of Diuinitie, to declare vnto him, that ſithe he woulde not obſerue ſuche agreements as had beene concluded betwixt their anceſters, and further had broken ſuch couenantes as were now of late agreed vpon betwixt thē, by the trauaile of hys brother Edmonde Earle of Lancaſter, there was no cauſe why hee ought to accounte hym being King of Englande, and Duke of Guien as hys liegeman, neyther did he intende further to bee bounde vnto hym by reaſon of hys homage.

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ter a Frier
to the
h king.

The king of England renounceth the French king.

About the ſame time did the King of Englande ſende the Archebiſhop of Dubline, and the Biſhop of Durreſme into Germanie, aboute the concluding of a league with Adolph King of Romaines, to whom was giuen a great ſumme of mony (as was ſayd) vpon couenantes, that he ſhoulde ayde the king of Englande agaynſt the French king, with all his maine force, & that neyther of them ſhould conclude peace with the ſayd French king without conſent of the other.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Germanie.

About the Aſcention tide, king Edward ſtayed the woolles of this lande, aſwell belonging to ſpirituall men as temporall men, till the marchants had fined with him for the ſame, ſo that there was a ſubſidie payed for all ſarpliers of wool that went out of the realme, and in ſemblable wiſe for felles and hydes.

Wolles ſtayed
Fabian.

A ſubſidie rayſed of woolles

He alſo ſent an army by ſea into Gaſcoigne, vnder the conduct of his nephew John of Britain that was Erle of Richmond, appoynting to him as counſailers, the Lord John Saint John, and the Lord Robert Tiptoft, men of great wiſdom, and right expert in warlike enterpriſes.

A army ſent into Gaſcoigne.

He alſo cauſed three ſeueral fleetes to be prepared, and appoynted to them three ſundrie Admirals, for the better keeping of the ſeas. To them of Yermouth and other of thoſe partyes, he aſſigned the Lorde John Botetourt: to them of the cinque Portes, William de Leyborne: and to them of the weſt Countrey, and to the Iriſhe men, he appoynted a valiant knight of Irelande to their chieftaine.

Nich. Triuet.

Three fleetes appoynted to the ſea.

This yeare in England was a great dearth & ſcarcitie of corne, ſo that a quarter of wheate in many places was ſolde for *.xxx. ſ.* By reaſon wherof poore people died in many places for lack of ſuſtenance.

A dearth.
Rich. Southw.

About Michaelmas, the Engliſh fleet toke the ſea at Portſmouth, & after ſome contrary windes at laſt yet they arriued within the riuer of Garon, and ſo paſſing vp the ſame Riuer, wanne diuerſe townes, as Burg, Blaynes, Rions, and other.

The Engliſh armie paſſeth into Gaſcoigne.

Townes won.
Nich. Triuet.

The kings Coffers by reaſon of furniſhing forth of this army, and other continuall charges which he had ſuſteined, were now in maner emptie: for remedie whereof, Wil. Marche one of the kings Treaſurers, purpoſed with other mens loſſes to ſupplie that wante. He knewe that in Abbeys & Churches was much mony kept in ſtore, the which if he commaunded to be taken frō thence, he thought that he ſhould not commit any offence, but rather doe a good deede, that the money

Polidor.
Abingdon.
Mat. VVeſt.
A ſhift for money.

Abingdon.

The Treaſurer accuſee.

The king excuſeth himſelf

Abyngdon.

The ſpiritualtie called to a counſaile.

might come abrode to the vſe of the people, whereby the ſouldiers might be ſatiſfied for theyr wages. Such Captaines therefore, as he appoynted to worke the feat, placing their ſouldiers in euery quarter through the Realme, make ſearche at one ſelfe time, the fourth of July at three of the clocke in the after noone, for all ſuche money as was hid and layde vp in all hallowed places, and taking the ſame away, brought it vnto the king, who diſſembling the matter, as he that ſtoode in neede, excuſed the acte done by hys Treaſorer ſo well as he coulde to auoyde the enuie of the people, and not content herewith, hee called togyther ſhortly after, to witte on Sainte Mathewes day the Apoſtle, at London, all the Archbiſhoppes, Biſhoppes, Deanes, and Archedeacons, not in theyr proper perſons, but by two Procuratours of euerie Dioces. Here when they were once aſſembled, the King declared vnto thẽ the warres which he was driuen to mainteyne agaynſt the Frenchmen, and the charges which hee was at for the ſame. Hee alſo ſhewed them, that the Earles, Barons and Knights of the Realme, did not onely ayde him with theyr goods, but put their perſons forward to ſerue him in defence of the lande whereof they were members euen to the ſhedding of theyr bloud, and oftentymes with loſſe of theyr lyues. Therefore (ſayeth he) you which may not put your perſons in perill by ſeruice in the warres, it ſtandeth with good reaſon you ſhoulde ayde vs wyth youre goodes.

Their offer not lyked.

The halfe part of ſpirituall liuings granted to the king

R. Fabian.

Polidor.

Abingdon.

The Cleargie hauing no ſpeciall head by reaſon that the Sea of Canterburie was voyde, wiſt not well how to gouerne themſelues. At length Oliuer Biſhop of Lincolne, required in all theyr names to haue three dayes reſpite to make anſwere to the matter, the which time expired, they offred to the king two diſmes to be payde within one yeare. The which when the King heard, hee tooke great diſdaine therewith, and threatned by ſome of his men of warre to put the Cleargie out of his protection, except they would grãt to him the half of their goodes. The Clergie put in feare herewith, and ſome of them alſo deſirous to wyn the kings fauour, graunted to his requeſt, and ſo the king at that time got the halfe parte of euery ſpirituall mans liuing and benefice for one yeres extent to bee payde in portions within three yeares next enſuing, beginning at .xx. Marke benefice, and ſo vpwardes. And the ſooner to induce them herevnto, hee promiſed the Biſhops to graunt ſomething that might bee beneficiall to the Cleargie, if they woulde demaunde it.

The prelates require to haue the ſtatute of Mortmain repealed.

The Biſhops taking counſaile togither, required of him that ẙ ſtatute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they ſawe to be moſt preiudiciall to theyr order. But the King anſwered them, that without the whole conſent of a Parliament hee coulde not breake that ordinaunce, whiche by authoritie of Parliament had beene once eſtabliſhed, and therfore he wiſhed that they woulde not requyre that thing which lay not in him to graunt, and ſo by that meanes he ſhyfted them of.

The ſpiritualtie was not onely charged with this ſubſidie, but they of the temporaltie were alſo burdened. For the Citizens & Burgeſſes of good townes gaue to the king the ſixt part of their goodes and the reſidue of the people gaue the tenth part.

Moreouer about the ſame time, the Welchmen eftſoones rebelled agaynſt the King, and in dyuerſe parts made diuerſe rulers amongſt them. Thoſe of Northwales which inhabited aboute Snowdone hilles, hauing to their Captaine one Madock, of the line of their former Prince Llewline, burned the towne and caſtel of Carnaruan, ſleaing a great multitude of Engliſhmen, which doubting no ſuche matter, were come thither to the Fayre. Thoſe of the Weſt part hauing choſen to theyr ruler one Malgon in the parties of Pembroke and Carmardyn ſhires, did muche miſchiefe. And one Morgan hauing them of Southwales at hys commaundement, expulſed and droue the Earle of Glouceſter out of the Countrey of Glamorgan, which Earle had before tyme diſherited the aunceſters of the ſame Morgan.

Madoc.

Malgo.

The king therfore to repreſſe the Welchmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmond Erle of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Lincolne, beyng readie to haue ſayled ouer into Gaſcoigne, the which Earles as they approched neare vnto the Caſtell of Denbigh vpon Saint Martyns day, the Welchmen with great force encountred thẽ, and giuing them battaile, droue them backe and diſcomfited their people.

Polidore iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Engliſhmen, the rather for that the army was hyred with ſuche money as had beene wrongfully taken out of the Abbeys and other holy places, howbeit it is but his opinion onely.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Aberconwey in Wales, and hearing that the new Archebiſhop of Canterburie, doctor Robert Wynchelſey being returned from Rome (where of Pope Celeſtine he had receyued his Pall) was comming towardes him, he ſent one of his Chaplaines named John Blewike with a power of ſouldiers to conduct him ſafely vnto his preſence. And after the Archebiſhoppe had done his fealtie to the King accordingly as of dutie and cuſtome he was bound, he was licenced to returne with great honor ſhewed vnto him at the kings handes.

Upon the day of the circumciſion of our Lord, was the Citie of Bayon rendred vnto the Lorde

John Saint John, the which the day before had beene taken by the mariners by force of aſſaulte. Many of the Citizens which were knowne to be chiefe enimies vnto the king of Englande were apprehended and ſent into Englande. The Caſtell was then beſieged, and after eight dayes taken. The Lorde of Aſpermont with diuerſe other that helde it, were cōmitted to priſon. There were alſo taken two Galleys which the French King had cauſed to bee made, and appoynted to bee remaining there vppon defence of that Citie.

e Caſtell of
won.

o French
lkys taken.

Shortly after, the towne of Saint John de Sordes was deliuered vnto the Engliſhe men, who wan many other townes & fortreſſes, ſome by ſurrender of their owne accord, & ſome by force and violence. The Engliſhe army greatly encreaſed within a while, after the deceyte of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gaſcoigns returned vnto the Engliſh obedience, in ſuch wiſe that foure thouſand footmen and two. C. horſemen came to ayde the Engliſh captaines.

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gnes a de
Engliſhe
n.

In the meane time, the king of England paſſing ouer the riuer of Cōwey with part of his army to go further into Wales towardes Snowdone, loſt many cartes and other cariages which were taken by the Welchmen, being loden with the prouiſions of vittayles, ſo that hee with hys people indured great penurie, and was conſtrayned to drink water mixt with honie, and eat ſuch courſe breade, and ſalt fleſh as he could get, til the other part of the army came vnto him.

e king en-
th into
ales.

bingdon.

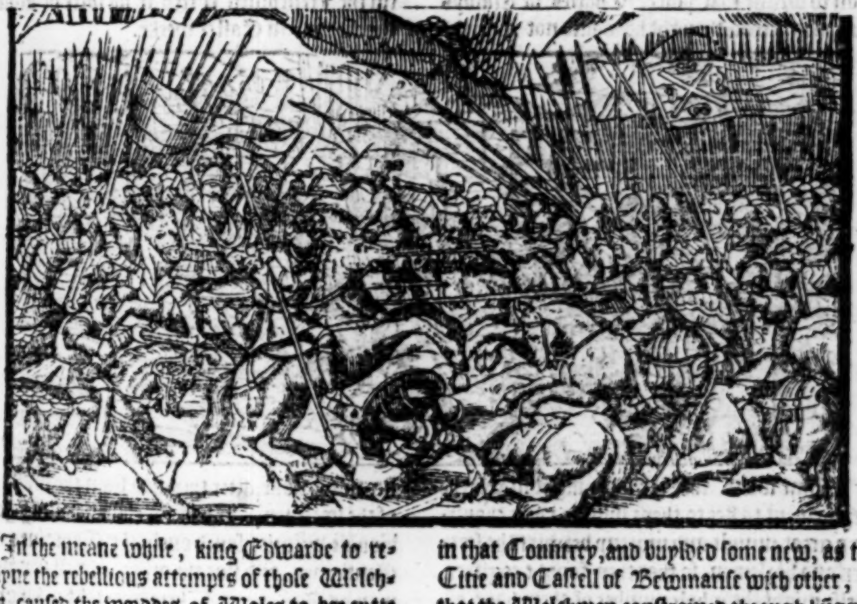
There was a ſmal quantitie of wine amongſt them, which they woulde haue reſerued onely for the king, but he refuſed, ſaying, that in time of neceſſitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented wyth lyke dyet. For as touching him (being the cauſe and procurer of theyr want,) he woulde not bee preferred vnto anye of them in his meates and drinkes.

The Welchmen compaſſed him aboute in hope to diſtreſſe him, for that the water was ſo ryſen that the reſidue of his armie coulde not get to hym. But ſhortly after when the water fell, they came ouer to hys ayde, and therewith the aduerſaryes fled.

The Earle of Warwike.
Nic. Triuet.

The Earle of Warwike hearing that a great number of Welchmen was aſſembled togyther, and lodged in a valley betwixt two woodes, he choſe out a number of horſemen, with certayne Croſbowes and Archers, and comming vpon the Welche men in the night, compaſſed them rounde about, the which pytching the endes of their Speares in the grounde, and turning the poyntes agaynſt theyr enimies, ſtoode at defence ſo to keepe off the horſmen. But the Earle hauing placed his battaile ſo, that euer betwixt two horſemen there ſtoode a Croſbowe, a great parte of the Welchmen which ſtoode at defence in maner aforeſayde with theyr Speares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the ſhotte of the quarels, and then the Earle charged the reſidue with a troupe of horſemen, and bare them downe with ſuch ſlaughter, as they had not ſuſteyned the like loſſe of people (as was thought) at any one time before.

The Welche men ouerthrowne by the Earle of Warwike.



e woods in
les cut
ne.

In the meane while, king Edwarde to reſtrayne the rebellious attempts of thoſe Welchmen, cauſed the woodes of Wales to bee cutte downe, wherein before tyme the Welchmen were accuſtomed to hyde themſelues in time of daunger. He alſo repaired the Caſtels and holdes in that Countrey, and buylded ſome new, as the Citie and Caſtell of Bewmariſe with other, ſo that the Welchmen conſtrained through hũger & famine, were enforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Alſo at length aboute the feaſt of Saint Laurence, the Welcheman Madocke,

Beanmares buylt.

Madock taken priſoner.
Abingdon.

Welchmen impriſoned.

that tooke himſelfe for Prince of Wales was taken priſoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetuall priſon. By ſome wryters it ſhoulde appeare, that Madocke was not taken, but rather after many aduentures and ſundrie conflictes, when the Welch men were brought to an iſſue of greate extremitie, the ſayde Madocke came in and ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings peace, and was receyued, vpon condition that he ſhoulde perſue Morgan till hee had taken him and brought him to the kings priſon, which was done, and ſo all things in thoſe parties were ſet in reſt and peace, and many hoſtages of the chiefeſt amongeſt the Welch nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who ſent them to diuerſe caſtels in Englād where they were ſafely kept almoſt to the end of the warres that folowed with Scotlād.

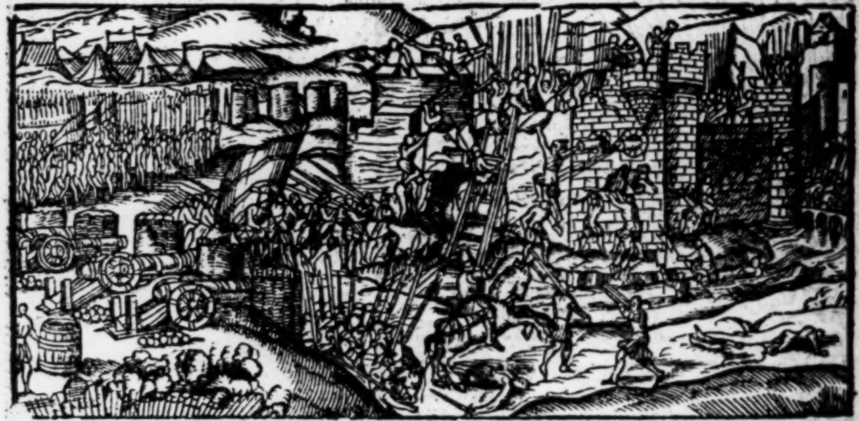
Polidor.

Charles de Valoys chaſeth the Engliſh men.

The Earle of Richmond.

About the ſame time Charles de Valoys brother to the French king being ſent with an army into Gaſcoigne, and comming vpon the ſodaine, found the Engliſh men wandring abrode in the Countrey out of order, by reaſon whereof taking them at that aduantage, he cauſed them to leaue theyr booties behinde them, ſlue part of them, and chaſed the reſidue, the which fled to theyr ſhippes, or to ſuch hauen townes as were in their poſſeſſion. The Captaines of yͤ Engliſhmen, as Iohn de Britaine Earle of Richmond, and the Lorde Iohn Saint Iohn, after they had gotte togither their ſouldiers whiche had bene thus chaſed, ſent two bandes vnto Ponteſey to defend that towne agaynſt the enimies: alſo other two bandes vnto Saint Seuere: and they themſelues went to Rion to fortifie that place. Charles de Valoys aduertiſed hereof, thought he would not giue the long reſpyte to make themſelues ſtrong by gathering any newe power, and therefore appoynted the Conſtable Sir Rauſe de Neale (who hadde wonne the Citie of Burdeaux from the Engliſh men lately before) to goe vnto Ponteſey and beſiege that towne, whileſt hee went vnto Ryon, which he beſieged and fiercely aſſaulted. But the Engliſh men and Gaſcoignes did not onely defende the Towne ſtoutly, but alſo make an iſſue forth vppon their enimies, though (as it happened) the ſmaller number was not able to ſuſtaine the force of the greater multitude, and ſo were the Engliſh men beaten backe into the towne agayne.

Whileſt they trie their manhood thus at Rion, the Conſtable winneth Ponteſey or Pontſac vpon Dordone, and commeth to ioyne with the Earles de Valoys at Rion, and ſo enforce both their powers to winne that towne. The Engliſh men and Gaſcoignes, though they were put in ſome feare, yet they ſhew their approued valiancie in defending the towne, tyll at length whē they ſaw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of ſuccor from any part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ſhippes: but diuerſe of them were takē by the way: for the Frenche men hauing knowledge of their intent, forlay the paſſages, and taking ſome of them that firſt ſought to eſcape thus by flight, ſlue them, but there was not many of thoſe, for all the reſidue when they perceyued that the French men had layde betwixt them and their ſhips, making vertue of neceſſitie, ſtood ſtil in defence of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of aſſaulte the Fryday in Eaſter weeke.



Abingdon.

Some write, that the ſame night in whiche they ſo ment to flee to theyr ſhippes, there chaunced a great tumult and muteny betwixt the footmen and horſemen, ſo that they fought togither, or elſe might the whole number of them haue eſcaped. The horſemen that got forth left their horſes behind them readie brideled and ſadled, which the Frenchmen vpon entring the towne in the morning tooke, after they had ſlain the moſt part of the footemen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, ſaued onely the Captaines and Gentlemen, and ſlue the other, aſwell Engliſhe men as Gaſcoignes. There was takē of knights, Sir Rauſe Tanny, ſir Amis de Saint Amand, with his brother ſir Rauſe de Gorges Marſhell of the armye, Sir Roger Leyborne, Sir Iohn

Kreting, ſir James Kreting, ſir Henrie Bording, ſir John Wandeuile, ſir John Fulebourne, ſir Robert Godfielde, ſir Thomas Turberuile, and ſir Walter, with .xxiij. Eſquiers, whiche were ſent all vnto Paris. Sir Adam Kreting was killed, a right valiant knight, by treaſon of one ſir Walter Gyfford a knight alſo, which had dwelled in Fraunce manye yeares before as an outlaw.

bingdon:

Adam Kre- killed.

Walter

The ſame day was the towne of Saint Seuere deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen, the whiche Hugh (or as Abingdon hath) Robert Veer, brother to the Earle of Oxforde tooke vpon him to keepe as Captaine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Valoys aduertiſed thereof, departed from Rion with all ſpeede to beſiege the foreſayde towne of Saint Seuere, ere the Engliſh men ſhould haue time to fortifie it. But the foreſayde Hugh Veer kept him out the ſpace of xiij. (or as Abingdon hath, ix.) Weekes, to the great loſſe of the Frenche men, no ſmall parte of theyr people dying in the meane tyme, both of peſtilence and famine. At length when vittailes beganne to fayle within, a truce was taken for .xv. dayes, within the which it might bee lawfull for them within the towne to ſende vnto Bayonne for ſuccor, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne ſhoulde bee yeelded vnto the French men, and ſo it was vpon theſe conditions, that the Engliſh men and other that would depart, ſhoulde haue libertie to take with them their armor and goodes, and be ſafely conueyed two dayes iorney on their way from the French army. Alſo that thoſe which were minded to remaine ſtill in the towne, ſhould not ſuſteyne any loſſe or domage in theyr bodies or goodes.

Seuere

Triuet:

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t Seuere
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The pledges alſo which aforetime were taken out of that towne by the Frenche kings Seneſchall, ſhould returne in ſafetie to the towne, and haue their goodes reſtored vnto them.

This done, Charles de Valoys appoynted a garniſon of ſouldiers to remaine there for the keeping of the towne, and then returned backe into Fraunce. The Engliſhmen which eſcaped out of thoſe places from the French mens handes, repayred vnto Bayonne to defend that towne with theyr Captaynes the foreſayde Earle of Richmont, and the Lorde John de Saint John, the which of ſome are vntruely ſayde to haue beene ſlaine at Rion.

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der.

Then ſhortly after that Charles de Valoys was departed out of the Countrey, the Towne of Saint Seuere was againe recouered by the Engliſh men.

Earle of
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ert Veer,
ce Hugh
r.

It ſhoulde appeare by report of ſome writers, that Hugh Veer whome they wrongly name to be Earle of Oxforde, was ſent ouer as then from king Edward to the ayde of his captains in Gaſcoigne, and at his firſt comming, recouered the towne of Saint Seuere, and afterwards ſo valiantly defended it againſt the French men, ſo that honourable mention is made of him, both by Ni. Tri. and alſo by ſome Frēch writers, for his high manhood therein ſhewed. But whether he were brother or ſonne to the Earle of Oxforde, I can not ſay, howbeit about the .xxvij. yere of this king Edwardes raigne, we find one Hugh Veer, that was a Baron, which I take to be this man, but Earle I thinke hee was not. For (as Euerſden hath) one Robert Veer that was Earle of Oxforde, deceaſſed in the yeare next enſuing, and after him ſucceeded an other Earle that bare the ſame name (as by recordes it may appeare.)

Nich. Triuet.

Polidore.

Polidore ſpeaking of the ſiege of Saint Seuere, reherſeth not who was Captaine as then of the towne, but in the yeelding of it vnto Charles de Valoys, after he had layne more than three monethes before it, he agreeth with other writers.

Polidor.

Cardinals ſent to the kings of Englande, and France to treat a peace.

Mat. VVeſt.

The ſame yeare, Berarde Biſhoppe of Alba and Simon Archbiſhop of Bourges two Cardinalles of the Romaine Sea were ſent vnto the kings of Englande and Fraunce to moue them to conclude a peace. They firſte came into Fraunce, and after into Englande, but perceyuing the myndes of the kings nothing inclyned to concorde, they returned to Rome without any concluſion of theyr purpoſe, but not without money gathered of Religious men to beare oute theyr expences, for they had authoritie by the Popes graunt to receyue in name of procuraties and expences, ſixe Markes of euery Cathedrall and collegiate Church through the Realme, beſydes diuers other rewardes. And where anye poore Chapter of Nunnes or religious perſons were not able of themſelues, the Pariſhe Churches next adioyning were appoynted to bee contributories with them.

The Cardinals gather money.

Polidor.

Nich. Triuet.

Mat. VVeſt.

Sir Thomas Turberuiles promiſe to the French king.

The ſame tyme ſir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of thoſe (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to ſaue his life and to deliuer himſelfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued falſe before, promiſed King Philippe that if he woulde ſuffer him to returne into Englande, hee woulde ſo worke with King Edwarde, that he might be made by him Admirall of the Seas, which thing brought to paſſe, he would deliuer the Engliſh Nauie into the handes of the ſayde King Philippe. Hereupon was he ſet at libertie, and ouer hee commeth into Englande. And for as muche as he was knowne to bee a manne of ſyngular and approued valyauncye, King Edwarde receyued hym verye courteouſly, who remembring hys promyſed practiſe to the Frenche King, fell in hande by procuring friendes to bee made Admirall of the Seas. But King Edwarde (as God woulde haue it) denied that ſute.

The French king ſendeth forth a fleet againſt englād.
Abingdon.

The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his nauie, conteining three hundred ſaile, what with the Galleys and other Shippes (for hee had got diuerſe both frō Merſelles & Genoa) ſent the ſame forth to the ſeas, that vpon ſuch occaſion the king of Englande might alſo ſende forth his Fleete. But the Frenche nauie comming neare to the coaſt of Englande, and lying at Ancre certaine dayes looking for ſir Thomas Turberuile, when hee came not at the day preſixed, the Captaynes of the Frenche fleete appoynted one of theyr Veſſelles to approche neare to the ſhore, and to ſette a lande certaine perſons that knewe the Country, to vnderſtande and learne the cauſe of ſuche ſtay. They beeing taken of the Engliſhe men and examined, coulde make no direct anſweare in theyr owne excuſe, and ſo were put to death.

Abingdon.

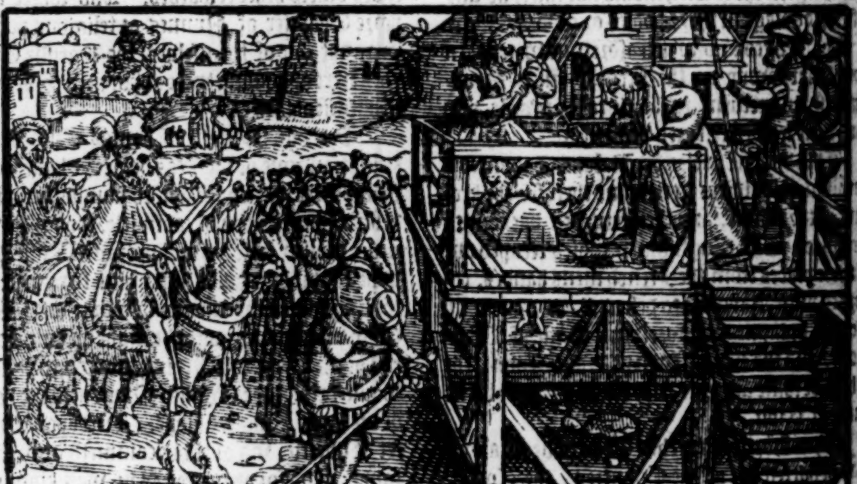
French men ſlaine.
A Gally burnt.

Some write that they ſent fiue Galleys towards the ſhore to ſuruey the coaſt, of the which Galleys one of them aduauncing forth afore hir fellowes, arriued at Hide neare to Rumney hauen, where the Engliſh men eſpying hir, to draw the French men a lande, feigned to flie backe into the Country, but returning ſodainly vppon the enimies, they ſlue the whole number of them, being about two hundred and fifty perſons. They ſet fire on the Galley alſo and burned hir.

Douer robbed by the French.

The Admirall of the French fleete kindled in anger herewith, ſayled ſtreight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and Priorie. The townesmen being ſtriken with feare of the ſodaine landing of their enimies, fled into the Country, and rayſed people on euery ſide, the which being aſſembled togither in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and inuading ſuch French men as were ſtrayed abroade to ſeeke prayes, ſlue them downe in ſundrye places. The French Admirall which had beene buſie all the day in peſtring the towne, hearing the noyſe of thoſe Frenchmen that came running towardes the ſea ſide, ſtreight ways getteth him to his ſhips with ſuch pillage as he could take with him. The other French men which were gone abroade into the Country to fetche prayes, and coulde not come to theyr ſhippes in tyme, were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne. Some of them hid themſelues in the corne fieldes, and were after ſlaine of the Country people. There was little leſſe than .viij. hundred of them thus ſlaine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manye of the men of Douer ſlain, for they eſcaped by flight at the firſt entrie made by the Frenchmen: But of women and children there dyed a great number, for the enimyes ſpared none. There was alſo an olde Monke ſlaine named Thomas, a man of ſuche vertue (as the opinion went) that after his deceaſſe, many myracles through him were ſhewed.

Sir Thomas Turberuile being troubled in his minde that he could not bring his traytcrous purpoſe to paſſe, beganne to aſſay another way, which was to procure John Balliol King of Scotlande to ioyne in league with the Frenche K. but ere any of his practiſes coulde be brought aboute, his treaſon was reuealed, and he conuict thereof was put to execution.



Nic. Triuet.

Nic. Tri. ſaith, yͭ he had promiſed the French king to cauſe Wales to reuolt frō K. Edwarde, and that by procurement of the Prouoſt of Paris, he conſented to worke ſuch treaſon. And as ſome write, hee did not onely homage vnto the Frēch K. but alſo left two of his ſonnes in pledge for aſſurance to worke that which he had promiſed. His ſecretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French K. cōteining his imagined treaſons, with other aduertiſements touching king Edwardes purpoſes

Caxton.

purpoſes, fearing leaſt the matter by ſome other meanes might come to light, as well to his deſtruction as his maiſters for concealing it, diſcloſed the whole to the king. He hauing knowledge that he was bewrayed by his ſeruant, fled out of the Court, but ſuch diligence was vſed in the purſute of him, that he was taken within two dayes after, and brought backe agayne to London, where he was conuicted of the treaſon ſo by him imagined, and therfore finally put to death.

This yeare the Cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goodes, the Citizens a ſixt part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as Euerſden hath) the Burgeſſes of good townes gaue the ſeuenth, and the commons abrode the .xij. peny.

e death of
ble men.

The ſame yeare died Gilbert de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, which left iſſue behinde him, begot of his wife the Counteſſe Joan the kings daughter (beſide three daughters) one yong ſonne named alſo Gylbert to ſucceede him as his heyre.

Rauſe
ntehermer
dded the
nteſſe of
uceſter.

The Counteſſe his wife, after hir huſbandes deceaſe maried a knight of meane eſtate, borne in the Byſhoprike of Dureſme, named Sir Raufe Monthermer, that that had ſerued the Earle hir firſt huſbande in hys lyfe tyme. The king at the firſt tooke diſpleaſure herewith, but at length ſhowing the high valiancie of the knight, diuerſe tymes ſhewed and apparantly approued, the matter was ſo well taken, that he was entituled Erle of Gloceſter, and aduanced to great honor.

John Romayn Archbiſhop of Yorke alſo this yeare died, after whom one Henry de Newmarke deane of the Colledge there ſucceeded.

Moreouer the ſame yeare William de Valence Earle of Penbroke departed this life, and lyeth buryed at Weſtminſter, and then Aymer his ſonne ſucceeded him.

John king of Scotlande affianceth his ſonne Edwarde Bailioll with the daughter of Charles du Valoys brother to the French king, and concludeth with the ſayde Frenche king a league againſt the king of England. Nothing moued the Scottiſhe king ſo much hereto, as the affection which he bare towardes his natiue Countrey, for he was a Frenchman borne, Lord of Harcourt in Normandie, which Lordſhip was after made an Earldome by Philip du Valoys King of Fraunce.

t. VVeſt.

The Scottiſhmen had choſen .xij. Peeres, that is to ſay foure Biſhops, foure Earles, and foure Barons, by whoſe aduiſe and counſayle the King ſhoulde gouerne the Realme, by whom he was induced alſo to conſent vnto ſuch accorde wyth the Frenchmen, contrarie to his promiſed fayth giuen to king Edward when he did to him homage.

King Edwarde not fully vnderſtanding the concluſion of this league, requiring ayde of the Scottiſh king for the maintenance of his warres againſt France, and receyuing a doubtfull aſſuraunce, he began to ſuſpect the matter, and therevpon required to haue three Caſtels, as Berwik, Edenburgh, and Rokeſbourgh, deliuered vnto him as pledges till the ende of the warre, and if the Scottiſhmen continued faythfull vnto him, hee woulde then reſtore the ſame Caſtelles when the warres were ended vnto the again. This to do the Scottiſh men vtterly denied, alledging that their Countrey was free of it ſelfe, and acquit of all ſeruitude or bondage, and that they were in no condition bounde vnto the King of Scotland, and therefore they would receyue the Merchants of Fraunce, of Flaunders, or of any other Countrey without exception, as they thought good.

King Edwards requeſt made to the Scottes is denied.
Abyngdon.

The diſloyall dealing of the Scottes.

There were in the hauen of Barwicke at the ſame time, certain Engliſh Merchants, vpō whō the Scottes made aſſault, and wounded ſome of them, and ſome of them they ſlue, and chaſed the reſidue, the which returning into England made complaynt and ſhewed in what euill maner they had beene dealt with.

King Edward herevpon perceyuing the purpoſes of the Scottes, determined to make warre vpon them with all ſpeede, and to conquere the whole Countrey, if they coulde not cleare themſelues of ſuch euill dealing as of them was reported and thought to be put in practiſe.

N.Triuet.

About the conuerſion of Saint Paule in Januarie, king Edwarde ſent ouer into Gaſcoigne his brother the Lorde Edmonde Earle of Lancaſter, with the Earle of Lyncolne, and other, to the number of .xxvj. Baronettes, and ſeuen hundred men of armes, beſides a great multitude of other people. They arryued at Blay, aboute the myddeſt of Lent, and ſtayed there tyll towardes Eaſter.

The of Lancaſter ſent into Gaſcoigne.
Abingdon.

In which meane ſeaſon, a great ſort of Gaſcoignes and other people reſorted vnto them, ſo that they were two thouſande men of armes.

Vpon Shere Thurſday, the Caſtell de Leſparre was deliuered vnto the Erle of Lancaſter, and after that diuerſe other Caſtels. At his approching neare vnto Burdeaux, vpon the Thurſday in Eaſter weeke, as he reſted to refreſh himſelfe and his armie in a little village called Rekel, an armie of Frenche menne iſſuing oute of Burdeaux, meant to come vppon the Engliſhe menne at vnwares: But they hauing warning thereof, prepared themſelues to battayle, ſo well as the ſhortneſſe of tyme woulde permit, and ſo therevpon encountring with their enimies, and fighting a ſore battaile, at length conſtrayned the French menne to retyre vnto the Citie, and purſuing them as they fledde, two Engliſhe Knightes beeing brethren to Sir

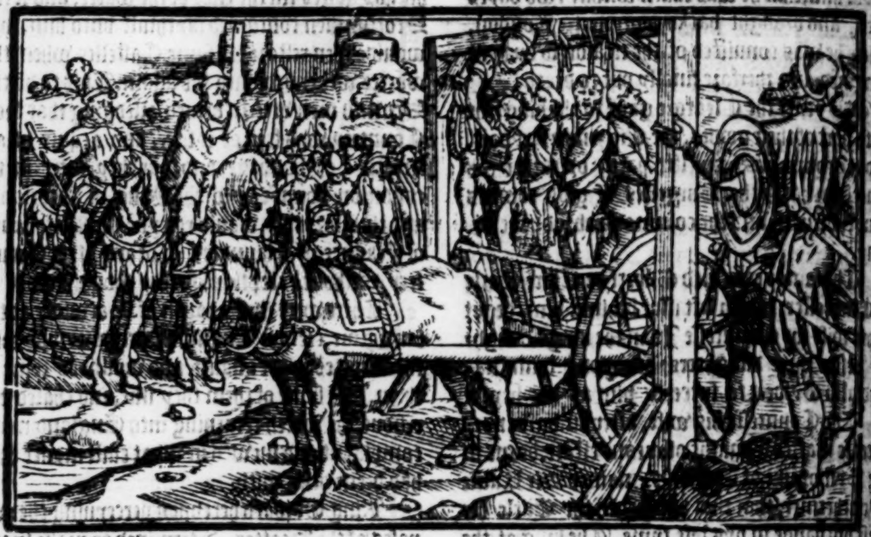
The Caſtell of Leſpar deliuered vnto him.
Nic.Triuet.

The French-men forced to retire.

Polidor.

Peter de Mallow and an other that was a Gaſcoigne, entred the Citie with two ſtanderde bearers belonging to the Erle of Richmond, and to the Lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the French men toke, cloſing them within the gates. The other Engliſhmē being ſhut out, firſt fel to ẏ ſpoile of the ſuburbs, and then ſet fire vpon the ſame.

After this there were certain of the Citizens that ſecretly were at a poynt with the Earle of Lancaſter, to haue deliuered the Citie into his handes, but their practiſe being eſpied, they were taken and executed ere they coulde perfourme that



which they had promiſed.

The Earle of Lancaſter departeth this life.

Then the Earle perceyuing he ſhould but loſe his labor to ſtay any longer there, vpon certaine weightie occaſions he returned vnto Bayonne, where he ſhortly after fell ſicke and died. He left behind him three ſonnes, Thomas that ſucceded him in the Erledome of Lancaſter, Henry Lorde of Monmouth, and John whom he had begot of his wife Blanch, the which before had bene maried vnto Henrie Erle of Chāpaigne, and king of Nauarre, by whom ſhe had but one onely daughter, that was maried vnto the French king Philip le Beau.

Aques beſieged.

The Earle of Arthoys ſent with an army into Gaſcoin.

After this the Engliſh army beſieged the City of Aques, but through want of vittayles he was conſtrayned to riſe from thence and breake vp the ſiege. The Earle of Arthoys being ſent of the French king with an army into Gaſcoigne, encountreth with the Engliſhmen, and chaſeth thē with the ſlaughter of a great number, & after recouereth diuerſe townes & fortreſſes in the coūtry.

Nic.Triuet.

Burg beſieged

The Lord Simon de Montagew his enterpriſe to reſcue the garniſon of Burg.

Those Engliſh men that kept the towne of Burg, being cōpaſſed about with a ſiege by monſieur de Sully, obteyned truce for a certaine ſpace, during the whiche they ſent vnto Blaynes for ſome reliefe of vittayles: and where other refuſed to bring vp a ſhip loden wyth vittayles, whiche was there prepared, the Lorde Simon de Montagew, a right valiant chiefetaine, and a wyſe, toke vppon him the enterpriſe, and through the middle of the French Galleyes whiche were placed in the ryuer to ſtoppe that no ſhippe ſhoulde paſſe towardes that towne, by helpe of a proſperous winde, he got into the hauen of Burg, and ſo relieued them within of their want of vittayles, by meanes whereof, Mounſeur de Sullye brake vppe his ſiege, and returned into Fraunce.

In the meane time, king Edwarde not ſlepping his buſineſſe, procured Guy Earle of Flaunders to ioyne with him in league agaynſt the French men. This Guy was the ſonne of Margaret Counteſſe of Flaunders, whom ſhe had by hir ſeconde huſband William Lord of Dampier in Burgoygne. Alſo king Edwarde procured Henrie Earle of Bar, to whome (as before ye haue hearde) he had giuen his daughter Elenore in mariage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen, ſo that at one tyme the Earle of Bar inuaded the Countrey of Champaigne, and the Earle of Flaunders made incurſions vpon thoſe Countreyes of Fraunce which ioyne vnto Flaunders.

King Philip hereof aduertiſed, ſent forth one Walter de Creſſie with a great armie agaynſt the Earle of Bar, ſo that beſieging the chiefeſt Towne of Bar, he conſtrayned the ſayde Earle to leaue off his enterpriſe in Champaigne, and to returne home, for doubt to loſe more there than he ſhould winne abrode.

But now to touche more at large the circumſtaunces of the occaſion that moued the Earle of Flaunders to make warre agaynſt the French king, I find in Jacob Meyer, that there was a maryage concluded betwixte the Lorde Edward the eldeſt ſonne of king Edwarde, and the Ladie Philip daughter to the forſayde

Guy Earle of Flaunders, which marriage was concluded by Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, and the Erle Warren, being ſent ouer as Imbaſſadors by Kyng Edwarde, vnto the ſayde Earle Guy for the ſame purpoſe.

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In the yeare following, the ſayde Earle of Flaunders, togither with his wife, comming to viſite the Frenche Kyng at Corbeill, were arreſted, and ſent to Paris, there to remayne as priſoners, bycauſe that the Earle had fiaunced hys daughter to the French Kings aduerſarie, without his licence: neyther might they be deliuered, till by mediation of the Pope, and ſuretie hadde vppon the promiſe of Amedey Earle of Sauoy, they were ſet at libertie, with theſe conditions, that they ſhould deliuer into the Frenche Kyngs handes their daughter, whiche was ſo fiaunced vnto Kyng Edwardes ſonne, and further couenaunted, not to conclude any league with the Kyng of England, but in all poyntes to obſerue a certaine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando Earle of Flaunders, in the yeare. 1225. And if Earle Guy brake the ſame peace, then ſhould he be excommunicated, and all his countrey of Flaunders interdited by the Archbyſhop of Reims, and the Byſhoppe of Senlis, Iudges appoynted herein by authoritie of the Pope.

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The Earles daughter beeing ſente for, and brought vnto Paris, the Erle and his wife were releaſed, and ſuffered to returne into Flaunders, and ſhortly after, the Earle made earneſt ſute to haue his daughter reſtored vnto hym agayne, in ſo muche, that hee procured Pope Boniface to bee a meane for him vnto the French Kyng, but all would not ſerue, no, though as ſome ſay, the Pope accurſed the Frenche Kyng for reteyning hir, aunſwer being made, that matters perteining to worldly gouernemente, belonged not to the Pope to diſcuſſe. Finally, Earle Guy perceyuing he coulde not preuayle in that ſute, to haue hys daughter agayne, vpon high diſpleaſure concluded to ioyne in league with King Edward and his confederates. Hervpon, at an aſſemblie or Councell kept at Gerardmount, there was a ſolemne league made and agreed betwixt Adolph the Emperoure of Almaine, Edwarde Kyng of England, Guy Earle of Flaunders, John Duke of Brabante, Henry Earle of Bar, both ſonnes in lawe to Kyng Edwarde, and Albert Duke of Auſtrich, againſte Phillip King of Fraunce, and John Earle of Henault his partaker. The Merchauntes of Flaunders procured the Earle to conclude this league with Kyng Edward, as ſome write, the rather in reſpect of the great commodities whiche roſe to their countrey, by reaſon of the entercourſe of merchandiſe vſed betwixte Englande and Flaunders, and for that through ayde of the Engliſhmen, they mighte the better withſtande the malice, both of the Frenche, and all other their enimies. This league being proclaymed in England, there were ſente ouer into Flaunders, the treaſorer of the Exchequer, and diuers other noble men, to fetche hoſtages from thence, and to giue to the Erle fifteene thouſand pounde of ſiluer, towardes the fortifying of his Caſtels and holdes. King Phillip beeing herof aduertiſed, by counſel of the peeres of his Realm, ſent two honorable perſonages, as the Captaine of Monſtrell, and the Captayne of Belquerke, whiche ſhoulde attach the Earle of Flaunders by his body, and ſummon hym to yeelde himſelfe priſoner at Paris, within the ſpace of fifteene dayes next enſuing. This attachment made, and commonance giuen, the Earle of Flaunders ſendeth his defiance vnto the Frenche King by the Abbots of Gemblois, and Senelles, vnto whome he gaue ſufficient letters procuratorie, to authoriſe them thereto, dated at Male in ỹ yeare of grace. 1296. after ỹ accompt of the Chronicles of Flaunders, which begin their yeare at Eaſter: and ſo this chanced in the fiue and twentith yere of King Edwards raigne, the Wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of the Epiphany. Herevppon was the Earle accurſed, and Flaunders interdited by the Archbiſhop of Reims, and the Biſhoppe of Senlis comming vnto Cermane for that purpoſe, about the fifteene day of June, in the yeare 1297. But the Lorde Robert the Earles ſonne appealed from that interdict vnto the Pope, and ſo the Flemings toke themſelues free and out of daunger of the ſame. Earle Guy alſo obteyned of King Edwarde, that it mighte be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy wolles, through Englande, Scotlande and Irelande, as freely as the Italians might, by their priuiledge and graunt.

The Earle of
Flaunders
defieth the
French king.

The Earle of
Flaunders
accurſed.

His ſonne
appealeth
from the in-
terdiction.

But to returne now to the doings of Kyng Edward, whiche in this meane time, hauing perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the King of Fraunce and the King of Scotlande, prepared an army, and firſte ſente Ambaſſadors into Scotland, to giue ſummonance vnto Kyng John, to appeare at Newcaſtell within certayne dayes, that he might there ſhew the cauſe why he had broken the league. And further, to declare vnto him, that he was deceyued, if he thought he might ſerue two maſters, contrary to the wordes of the Goſpell, for ſo much fauour as he purchaſed at the handes of the Frenche King, as muche diſpleaſure mighte he aſſure himſelfe to procure at the handes of the King of Englande, whome to obey, it ſhould be moſt for his aduantage. The Ambaſſadors that were ſente, did their meſſage throughly, but King John was ſo farre off from aunſwering any thing that mighte ſound to the mayntenance of peace, that ſhortly after he ſente letters of complaynte vnto King Edwarde, for

Ambaſſadors
ſent to the
K. of Scottes.

Nic. Triuet.

The Lord Ros reuolteth to the K. of Scots

William de Ros continueth faithfull to the King of Englande.

Englishmen diſtreſſed.

Ri. South.

Nic. Triuet.

Abingdon.

The Scottes inuade England.

wrongs whiche he alledged to haue ſuſteyned by his meanes & at his hands. Hereupon, King Edward by aduice of his councell, determined to ſet forward with his army into Scotland. In the meane time, Roberte Ros, Captayne of Warke Caſtell, reuolted to the Scottiſh Kyng, moued therunto through the loue of a Scottiſh Gentlewoman, whome hee meante to marry, notwithſtanding, he had ſworne fealtie vnto King Edward. Wherevpon, his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to Kyng Edwarde, required to haue ſome ayde, whereby hee myghte defende the Caſtell againſt the Scottiſhmen. King Edward ſent vnto him a thouſand Souldiers (Polidor ſayth an hundreth) the which as they lodged one night in a Town called Preſtſen, they were ſlayne by the Scottiſhmenne of the garriſon of Rockeſborough, that were ledde and guided by the ſayd Robert Ros: ſome of them although but few eſcaped away by flight. K. Edward aduertiſed hereof, haſted forth, & came to the ſaid Caſtell, glad in this, as is reported, that the Scottiſhmen had firſt begun the warre, meaning as it ſhoulde ſeeme, by their proceedings, to follow the ſame, for vpon good friday, diuers Scottiſhmen entring the borders, brente ſundry villages, and ſpoyled the Abbey of Carham. And furthermore, whileſt K. Edward kept his Eaſter at Warke, ſeuen Erles of Scotlād, as Bouchan, Menteth, Stratherne, Lennor, Ros, Atholl and Mar, with John Comin the Maſter of Badenawe, hauing aſſembled an army togither of fiue hundred men of armes on Horſebacke, and ten M. footemen in Annandale, vpon Monday in Eſter weeke entred England, & putting all to fyre and ſworde, approched to Carleill, and layde ſiege thereunto on eache ſide, paſſing the water of Eden by a forde beneath Richardſton, and did ſo much, that they brenned the ſuburbes and aſſaulted the gates, at which enterpriſe, a gentleman of Galloway as he ventured ſomewhat neere to the gate, was drawen vp by an iron hooke, of thoſe that ſtoode aloft vpon the gates to defende the ſame, and there ſlaine, and thruſt through with ſpeares. In the meane time, a ſpie, ŷ which had bin taken and committed to priſon, ſet fire on the houſe wherein he was encloſed, and ſo the flames catching holde vpon ŷ other buildings, a greate parte of the Citie was thereby brent. The men yet and the women getting themſelues to the walles, droue their enimies backe, and ſo defended the Citie fro taking. Whereuppon, the Scottiſhe Lordes, perceyuing they could not preuaile, left their ſiege on ŷ thurſday in Eaſter weeke, and returned agayne into Scotland. The ſame thurſday, K. Edward with his army paſſed ŷ riuer of Tweede, & ſo entring into Scotland, ſent to the burgeſſes of Berwike, offering them peace vpon certayne conditions, & ſtayed a whole day for an anſwere, but whē he could haue none that liked him, nor that ſounded in any thing to peace, he approched the Towne, and lodged in the Monaſterie of Caldeſtreame. His army conſiſted as ſome write of foure thouſand mē of armes on Horſback, and xx. M. footmen, beſide fiue C. men of armes on horſebacke, and a M. footemen of the Biſhopricke of Durham. At the ſame time, there came 24. Engliſh ſhips, ŷ mariners wherof, beholding where the Engliſh army was placed in battell aray vpon a playne, the Kyng making there certaine Knightes, they thought his meaning was to haue giuen forthwith an aſſault, & ſo entring ŷ hauē, & approching to ŷ land, began to fight with ŷ townſmē, wher they loſt foure of their ſhips, & were coſtreined to withdraw with ŷ reſidue, with help of ŷ ſailing water. Some haue written, that they loſt but three ſhippes, whiche were conſumed with fire, and that the Mariners and Souldiers of one of thoſe

N. Triu.

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Four engliſhe ſhippes loſt.

thoſe ſhippes, after they had defended themſelues by great manhode from the firſt houre of ẏ day, till eleuen of the clocke, eſcaped away, ſome by the boate of that ſhippe, and ſome leaping into the water, were ſaued by the boates of other ſhips that made in to ſuccour them. The rumor of the Marriners attempt being bruted through the army, the Kyng paſſing forwarde towardes the Towne, gotte ouer a ditche, whiche the Scottes hadde caſt to impeache his paſſage, and ſo comming to the Towne, wanne it, not loſing anye man of renowme, ſauing Sir Richarde Cornewall, the which was ſlayne by a quarrell whyche a Flemming ſhot out of a Croſſebowe, beyng in the red hall, which the Merchauntes of Flaunders helde in that Towne, and had fortified it in maner of a Tower, but when they would not yeeld, and coulde not eaſily otherwiſe bee wonne, the houſe towardes euening was ſet on fire, and ſo they being thirtie in number, were brenned to death within it.

The ſame nighte, the King lodged in the Caſtell, whiche was yeelded vnto him by them that kepte it, their liues and lymmes ſaued, and receyuing an othe, that they ſhould not from thenceforthe beare armour againſte the King of England, they were permitted to depart whether they thoughte good, their Captayne Sir William Dowglas excepted, whome the Kyng ſtill kepte with him, till the ende of the warres.

Some write, that there ſhoulde bee ſlayne of Scottiſhmen at the winning thus of Berwike, aboue the number of twentie thouſand men, with ſmall loſſe of Engliſhmen, not paſt eyghte and twentie of all ſortes. Yee may reade more hereof alſo in the Scottiſh hiſtorie.

Eight thouſande hath Abyngdon, but Richard Southwell ſaith, there were ſlayne fifteene thouſand at the leaſt of one and other.

Kyng Edwarde remayned at Berwike a fifteene dayes, and cauſed a ditche to be caſt about the Towne, of fourſcore foote in breadth, and of the like deapth.

King Edward fortifieth Berwike.

In the meane tyme, about the beginning of Aprill, the wardein and reader of the Frier Minors of Rockeſborough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with letters from Kyng Iohn, of complaynt for the wrongs done and offered vnto him and his Realme, as well in claymyng an vniuſt ſuperioritie, and conſtreyning him to doe homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes, as alſo by inuading his townes, ſlaying and robbing his ſubiects, for the whiche cauſes, hee teſtified by the ſame letters, that hee renounced all ſuche homage and fealtie for him and his ſubiects, as hee, or any of them ought for any landes holden within England.

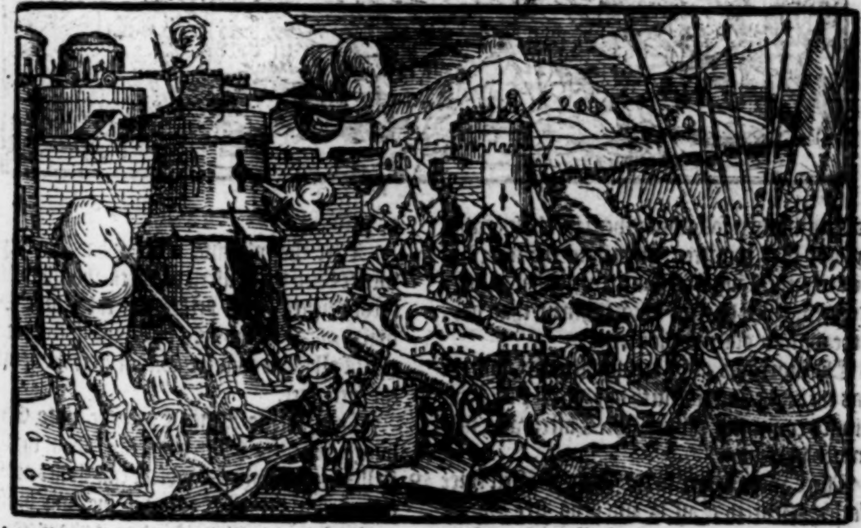
A Scottiſhe Frier ſent to king Edward.

The Scottiſhe K. renounceth his homage and fealtie vnto the king of Englande.

The Kyng hearing the letters red, receyued the reſignation of the homage, and commaunded his Chauncellour, that the letter might be regiſtred in perpetuall memory of the thing.

The Earles of Scotlande before remembred, being aſſembled togither with their powers at the Caſtell of Iedworth, entred into Englande the eighth of Aprill, and with fire and ſword dyd much hurt in the Countreys as they paſſed.

The Scottes inuade the Engliſh bordures.



In Redeſdale they beſieged the Caſtell of Harbottell by the ſpace of two dayes, but when they could not preuayle, they remoued, and paſſing forth by the Eaſt part of the Riuer of Tine, through Cokeſdale, Reedeſdale and Northumberland vnto Exham, they did muche ſkath, by brenning and harrying the countreys.

At Herham, they ſpoyled the Abbey Churche, and gate a great number of the Cleargie, as well Monkes, Prieſtes, as Scollers, and other, whome they thruſt into the Scholehouſe there, and cloſing vp the dores, ſet fire on the Schole, and brenned all them to aſhes that were within it. It is wonderfull to reade, what beaſtly crueltie the Scottes vſed in that roade whiche they made at

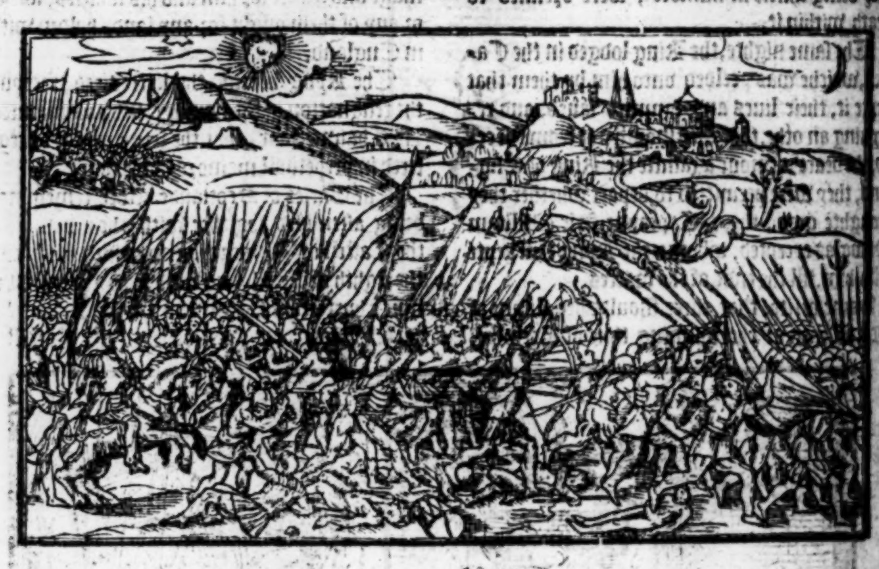
The Erle of Boghan.

The crueltie of the Scottes.

that time in two ſeuerall parties, for the Earle of Boghan, with them of Galloway, entred by Cumberlande in like manner as the other dyd in Riddeſdale, brenning and murthering all that came in their way. For whereas all thoſe that were of able age, and luſty to get away, fledde, and eſcaped their handes, the aged impotente creatures, women in childebed, and yong childrẽ that could not ſhift for thẽſelues, were vnmercifully ſlayne, and thruſt vpon ſpeares, and ſhaken vp in the ayre, where they yeelded vp their innocent ghoſts in moſt pitifull wiſe. Churches were brenned, women were forced, without reſpect to order, condition or qualitie, as well the maydes, widdowes and wiues, as Nunnes, that were reputed in thoſe dayes conſecrate to God, and after they hadde bin ſo abuſed, many of them were after alſo murthered, and cruelly diſpatched out of life. At length, they came to the Nunry of Lamelay, and brenned all the buildings there, ſauing the Church, and then returned backe into Scotlande with all their pillage and booties by Lanercoſt, an houſe of Monkes, which they likewiſe ſpoyled.

The Nunry of Lameley brent.

Patricke Earle of Dunbar came to the King of Englande, and ſubmitted hymſelfe, with all that hee had into his handes, but the Caſtell of Dunbar vpon Saint Markes day, being aſſieged of the Scottes, was rendred vnto them, by treaſon of ſome that were within it, of whome, the Counteſſe, wife to the ſame Earle was the chiefeſt, for recouery whereof, Kyng Edwarde ſente John Earle of Warren, Surrey and Suſſex, and William Earle of Warwike, with a great power, the whiche laying ſiege to that Caſtell, a greate hoſt of Scottiſhmen came vpon them to the reſcue of them within, ſo that there was foughten a righte ſore and terrible battaile. At length, the victory abode with the Engliſhmenne, and the Scottiſhmen were put to flight,



the Engliſhmen following them in chaſe eyghte myle of that countrey, almoſt to the foreſt of Selkirke: the ſlaughter was great, ſo that as was eſteemed, there dyed of Scottiſhmen that day, to the number of tenne thouſend.

The number ſlayne.

Mat. VVeſt.

Abingdon.

The morrowe after beeing ſaterday, whyche was the eight and twentith day of Aprill, at the Kinges comming thither, the Caſtell was ſurrendred vnto hym.

There were taken in the ſame Caſtell three Earles, Menteth, Caſſels, and Ros, ſixe Barõs, John Comin the yonger, William Sanclere, Richard Siwarde the elder, John Fitz Geffrey, Alexander de Murtaigne, Edmonde Comin of Kilbird, with thirtie Knightes, two Clearkes, John de Someruile, and William de Sanclere, and three and thirtie Eſquires, the whiche were ſente vnto diuers Caſtels in England, to be kept as priſoners.

After the winning of Dunbar, the Kyng wente vnto the Caſtell of Rockeſburgh, whiche incontinently was yeelded by the Lorde Stewarde of Scotland, the liues and members ſaued of all ſuche as were within it at the tyme of the ſurrender.

Then wente King Edwarde vnto Edenburgh, where he planted hys ſiege about the Caſtell, & reyſed engines, whiche caſt ſtones againſt and ouer the walles, ſore beating and bruſing the buyldings within. But as it chaunced, the Kyng writing letters to aduertiſe his councell at home of his proceedings, and concerning other buſineſſe, deliuered yͤ packet vnto a Welchman named Lewyn, commaunding hym to goe with yͤ ſame vnto London in al haſt poſſible, for he knewe him to be a right ſpeedy meſſenger and a truſtie alſo, as hee tooke it, but he hauing the letters thus deliuered to him, togither with money to beare his charges, got him to a tauerne, where riotouſly conſuming the money (whiche hee had ſo receyued) in play, and making good cheare, in the morning, he cauſed one of his companions to take a target, and beare it afore him in approching the Caſtell, for that he meant (as he colourably pretended) not to depart, til he had wrought ſome diſpleaſure to thē within with his Croſſebowe whiche he tooke with him for that purpoſe: but comming vnto the Caſtell gates, he called to the warders on the walles to caſt downe to hym a corde, that they mighte plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto their Captayne, touching the ſecretes of the kyng of England. They fulfilling his deſire, when hee came in, and was brought afore the Captayne, ſitting then at breakefaſt, hee ſaide vnto hym: beholde ſir, heere ye may peruſe the Kyng of Englands ſecretes, and withall, raught to him a boxe, wherein the packet of the kings letters were encloſed, and appoint me ſayth he vnto ſome corner of the wall, & trie whether I can handle a Croſſebowe or not, to defend it againſte youre aduerſaries.

Heere when other woulde haue opened the boxe, and haue red the letters, the captaine would in no wiſe conſent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Engliſhmen belowe, and willed them to ſignifie to the K. that one of his ſeruants being fled to him, ſought to bewray his ſecretes, wherevnto he would by no meanes agree, & therefore meant to reſtore both the traytor and yͤ letters. Herevpon, the Lord Iohn Spencer, cōming to heare what the matter might meane, the Captaine cauſed Lewine to be let downe to hym, togither with the letters ſafe, and not touched by hym at all: whiche thing when the Kyng vnderſtood, he muche commended the honeſt reſpect of the Captaine, and where he had cauſed engynes to be reiſed to annoy thē within, as ye haue heard, he commaunded the ſame to ceaſſe, and withall, vpon their captaynes ſute, he granted them libertie to ſende vnto their K. Iohn Balioll, to gyue him to vnderſtand in what ſort they ſtood. Touching the Welchman, he was drawen and hanged on a paire of high galowes, prepared for hym of purpoſe, as he had well deſerued. And whyleſt the meſſengers were on their way towards Forfair, where the Scottiſh K. then lay, K. Edward with a parte of his army went vnto Striueling, where he found the Caſtel gates ſet open, and the keyes hanging on a naile, ſo that hee entred there without any reſiſtance, for they that hadde thys Caſtel in gard, were fledde out of it for feare before his comming. The meſſengers that were ſent from them within Edenburgh Caſtel, comming to their king, declared to him in what caſe they ſtoode that were beſieged. King Iohn, for that hee was not able to ſuccour them by anye manner of meanes at that preſente, ſente them worde, to take the beſt way they could for theyr owne ſafetie, with whiche aunſwere the meſſengers returning, the Caſtell was immediately deliuered vnto the Lorde Iohn Spencer, that was left in charge with the ſiege, at the Kings departure towards Striueling, with the like conditiōs as the Caſtell of Rockeſburgh had yelded a little before. And thus was that ſtrong Caſtell of Edenburgh ſurrendred by force of ſiege, to the kyng of Englands vſe the fiftenth daye, after hee hadde firſte layde his ſiege aboute it. A place of ſuche ſtrength by the height of the grounde whereon it ſtoode, that it was thought impregnable, and had not bin wonne by force at any time, ſith the firſte buylding thereof, before that preſente, ſo farre as any remembraunce eyther by writing or otherwiſe could be had thereof.

elchman
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Edenburgh Caſtel deliuered to the K. of England.

Heere at Edburgh, or rather at Rockeſburgh as Abingdon hathe, a greate number of Welche footemen came to the Kyng, who ſente home the lyke number of Engliſhe footemen, of thoſe that ſeemed moſt wearie.

Moreouer, at Striueling, there came to the Kyng the Earle of Vlſter, with a greate number of Iriſhmē. Thē paſſing ouer yͤ riuer of Forth, the Kyng came vnto Saint Iohns Towne aboute Midſommer, and there tarried certayne dayes.

Saint Iohns towne.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, Iohn K. of Scotlande, perceyuing that he was not of power to reſiſt Kyng Edwarde, ſente Ambaſſadors vnto him to ſue for peace: King Edwarde was content to heare them, and therevpon appointed, that King Iohn ſhould reſorte vnto the Caſtell of Brechin, there to commen with ſuche of hys councell as hee woulde ſende thither within fiftene dayes nexte enſuing, to treate of an agreemente. King Edwarde ſente thither Anthony Byſhoppe of Durham, with full commiſſion to conclude all things in his name. And within the appoynted tyme, came Kyng Iohn, and dyuers of his nobles vnto him, the whiche after manye and ſundry treaties holden betwixt them and the ſayde Byſhoppe, at length they ſubmitted themſelues and the Realme of Scotland, ſimply and purely, into the handes of the Kyng of England, for the which ſubmiſſion, to be firmely kept and obſerued, kyng Iohn deliuered hys ſonne in hoſtage, and made letters thereof, written in French, conteyning as followeth.

The King of Scottes ſueth for peace.

The Biſhop of Durham.

The King of Scottes ſubmitteth hymſelfe vnto the K. of England.

IEhan per la grace de Dieu, Rey de Eſcoce, á toutz ceulxs qua ceſtes preſentes lettres verront ou orront Saluz. &c.

Iohn

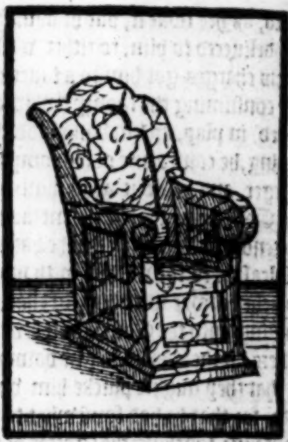
The inſtrument of the ſubmiſſion.

IOhn by the grace of God King of Scotland, to all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, ſendeth greeting. Bicauſe that we through euill counſell and oure owne ſimplicitie, haue greuouſly offended oure ſoueraigne Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God Kyng of Englande, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Aquitayne, in many thynges, that is to ſaye, in that, whereas wee beeyng and abidyng vnder hys faithe and homage, haue bounde oure ſelues vnto the Kyng of Fraunce whyche then was hys enimie and yet is, procuring a marriage with the daughter of hys brother Charles *au Valoys*, and that wee myghte greeue our ſayde Lorde, and ayde the Kyng of Fraunce with all oure power by warre and other meanes, we haue at length by aduice of oure peruerſe counſell defied oure ſayde Lorde the Kyng of Englande, and haue putte oure ſelues out of hys allegiance and homage, and ſente oure people into Englande, to brenne houſes, to take ſpoyles, to committe murther, with many other domages, and alſo in fortifying the Kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche is of hys fee, puttyng and eſtabliſhing armed menne in Townes, Caſtels, and other places, to defende the lande agaynſte hym, to deforce hym of hys fee, for the whyche tranſgreſſions, oure ſayde ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng, entring into the Realme of Scotlande with hys power, hathe conquered and taken the ſame, notwithſtandyng all that wee coulde doe agaynſte hym, as by right he maye doe, as a Lorde of hys fee, bycauſe that we did render vnto hym oure homage, and made the forſayde Rebellion. Wee therefore as yet beeing in our full power and free will, doe render vnto hym the lande of Scotland, and all the people thereof with the homages. In witneſſe wherof, wee haue cauſed theſe letters patentes to made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth daye of Iuly, in the fourth yeare of oure raigne, Sealed with the common ſeale of the Kyngdome of Scotlande.

King Edward paſſeth foreward through Scotland.

After thys, Kyng Edwarde wente forwarde to ſee the Mountayne countreys of Scotlande, the Byſhoppe of Durham euer keepyng a dayes iorney afore hym. At length, when hee hadde paſſed through Murrey lande, and was come to Elghin, perceyuing all thynges to bee in quiet, hee returned towardes Berwike, and commyng to the Abbey of Scone, he tooke from thence the Marble ſtone, whereuppon, the Kynges of Scotlande were accuſtomed to ſitte as in a chayre, at the tyme of their Coronation, whyche Kyng Edwarde cauſed nowe to be tranſferred to Weſtminſter, and there placed, to ſerue for a Chayre for the Prieſt to ſit in at the Aulter.

King Edward bringeth the Marble ſtone out of Scotlande.



The Kyng comming to Berwike, called thither vnto a Parliament all the Nobles of Scotlande, and there receiued of them their homages, the whyche in perpetuall witneſſe of the thyng, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and ſealed with their ſeales, as the tenor here followeth.

A Touz ceux que ceſtes lettres verront & orront. &c.

TO all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, we Iohn Comin of Badenaw. &c. Bycauſe that wee at the faithe and will of the moſt noble Prince, and our deareſt Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God Kyng of England, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Aquitaine, doe vowe and promiſe for vs and our heires, vppon payne of body and goodes, and of all that wee may haue, that wee ſhall ſerue him well and truly againſt all men, whiche maye liue and die, at all tymes when we ſhall bee required or warned by our ſaid Lord the Kyng of Englande, or hys heires, and that wee ſhall not know of any hurte to bee done to them, but the ſame wee ſhall lette and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and thoſe things to holde and keepe, wee binde vs our heires, and al our goodes, and further, receyue an oth thereof vpon the holy Euangeliſtes: and after all, wee and euery of vs haue done homage vnto oure ſoueraigne Lorde the King of Englande in wordes as followeth. I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthly honor, againſt all men which maye lyue and die. And the ſame oure ſoueraigne Lorde the King receyued this homage vnder thys forme of wordes. We receyue it for the land of the whiche you bee nowe ſeaſed. the righte of vs or other ſaued, and excepte the landes whiche Iohn Balioll ſometime Kyng of Scotland graunted vnto vs after that we did deliuer vnto him ẏ kingdome of Scotlande, if happely hee hathe giuen to you any ſuche landes.

Moreouer, all wee, and euery of vs by hymſelfe haue done fealtie to oure ſaide ſoueraigne Lord the Kyng in theſe wordes: I as a faythfull and liege man, ſhall keepe faith and loyaltie vnto Edward Kyng of England, and to his heires, of life member and earthly honor, againſte all men whiche may liue and die, and ſhall neuer for anye perſon beare armour, nor ſhall be of councell nor in ayde with anye perſon againſte hym, or hys heyres in any caſe that maye chaunce, but ſhall faithfully acknowledge, and doe the ſeruice that belongeth to the tenementes the which I claime to holde of hym, as God me helpe and all hys Saintes. In witneſſe whereof, theſe letters patentes are made and ſygned with our ſeales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentith of Marche, in the yeare of the reigne of oure ſayde Lord the Kyng of Englande.

Then was John Warren Earle of Surrey and Suſſex made by Kyng Edward warden of Scotlande. Hugh Creſſingham Threaſorer, and William Ormeſby high Juſtice, whome the King commaunded, that hee ſhoulde call all thoſe before him whyche helde any landes of the Crowne, and to receyue of them in hys name their homages and fealties.

John Balliol ſent to London.

John Balliol the late Kyng of Scotlande was ſent to London, and had a conuenient company of ſeriauntes appoynted to attende hym, hauyng licence to goe anye whether abroade, ſo that hee kepte hym ſelfe within the circuite of twentie miles neere to London.

John Comin of Badenaw, and John Comin of Lowdan, and diuers other nobles of Scotlande were brought into England on the South ſide of Trent, being warned vpon payne of death, not to returne into Scotlande, till the King had made an ende of his warres with Fraunce.

A Parliament at Saint Edmondeſburie.

After this, at his returne into Englande, king Edward held a Parliament at Saint Edmondeſburie; which began the morrow after the feaſt of all Saintes, in whiche, the Citizens and burgeſſes of good Townes graunted vnto him an eigth part of their goodes, and of the reſidue of the people a twelfth part.

The Cleargie, by reaſon of a conſtitution ordeyned and conſtituted the ſame yeare by Pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon payne of excommunication, that no tallages nor other exactions ſhould be leuied or exacted of the Cleargie in any manner of wiſe by ſecular Princes, or to be payd to them of things that perteyned to the Church, vtterly refuſed to graunte any manner of ayde to the King, towardes the maintenaunce of hys warres. Wherevppon, the Kyng, to the intent they ſhoulde haue tyme to ſtudy for a better aunſwere, deferred the matter to an other Parliamente to bee holden on the morrowe after the feaſt of Saint Hillarie.

An. reg. 25.
1297.

The Earle of Holland maried Elizabeth the kings daughter.

N. Triuet.

This yeare after the feaſt of the Epiphany, Elizabeth the Kings daughter was maried vnto John Earle of Hollande. Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereford and Eſſex, was ſente to conuey them into Hollande, there to take poſſeſſion of the Earledome, as then diſcended vnto the ſaid John, by the death of his father lately before ſlaine by his owne ſubiectes, bycauſe he woulde haue diſherited this John, and made a baſtarde ſonne whiche hee hadde to be his heire. The tyme appoynted for the Parliamente to bee holden at London being come, and the Cleargie continuing in their denial to graunt anye ſubſidie, the King excluded them out of his protection, for the redeeming whereof, many by themſelues, and many by mediators, did afterwardes giue vnto the King a fifth parte of all their goodes. The

Archbiſhop of Caunterbury being found ſtiffe in the matter, the Kyng ſeaſed all his landes, and commaunded all ſuche debtes as were founde of his in the rolles of the Exchequer, to bee leuied with all ſpeede of his goodes and cattayle. Some write, that when the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie in name of all the reſidue, hadde declared to them whome the Kyng had appoynted commiſſioners to receyue the aunſwere, that whereas they of the Cleargie hadde two ſoueraigne Lordes and gouernoures, the one in ſpirituall matters, and the other in temporall, they ought yet rather to obey theyr Spirituall gouernoure than their Temporall. Neuertheleſſe, to ſatiſfye the Kynges pleaſure, they woulde of theyr owne charges ſende to the Pope, that by hys licence and permiſſion, they myghte graunte the Kyng ſome aide, or elſe receyue ſome aunſwere from hym, what to doe therein: for ſayeth the Archbyſhoppe, wee beleeue, that the Kyng feareth the ſentence of excommunicatiõ, and would be as glad to auoyde it as we.

Abingdon.
The Archbyſhoppe his wordes.

When the Commiſſioners hearde this aunſwere, they required that they woulde appoynte ſome of theyr owne company to beare this meſſage vnto the Kyng, for they durſt not reporte it vnto hym: which being done as the Commiſſioners had required, the Kyng in his furie proceeded agaynſte them, in ſuche rigorous manner as yee haue hearde, in ſo muche, that the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice ſitting vppon the benche, ſpake openly theſe wordes. You ſirs that be attorneys of my Lords the Archbiſhoppes, Byſhops, Abbots, Priors, and all other the Cleargie, declare vnto youre maſters, and tell them, that from henceforthe there ſhall no Iuſtice be done vnto them in the Kyngs courte, for anye manner of thing, although neuer ſo heynous wrong be done vnto them: but iuſtice ſhall be hadde agaynſte them, to euery one that will complayne, and require to haue it.

The declaration of the Lord chiefe Iuſtice.

The elect Biſhoppe of Yorke, Henry de Newarke, with the Biſhops of Durham, Elie and Saliſburie, with certayne other, fearing the Kynges indignation thus kindled againſt them, ordeyned to lay downe in the Churches, a fifte parte as yee haue hearde, of all theyr goodes, towardes the defence of the Realme, and maynetenaunce of the Kynges warres in ſuche time of great neceſſitie, and ſo the King receyuing it, they were reſtored to the Kinges protection agayne.

The Clearkely handling of the matter by the Archbyſhop of Yorke his ſuffraganes

The Friendes of the Byſhoppe of Lincolne founde meanes, that the Sheriffe of the Shire leuied and tooke the fifty parte of all his goodes, and reſtored to him agayne hys landes and poſſeſſions.

Alſo, all the Monaſteries within his dioceſſe, and within the whole prouince of Caunterbury, were ſeaſed into the Kings handes, and wardens appoynted, whiche only miniſtred neceſſary finding vnto the Monkes and other religious perſons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vſe. Wherevpon, the Abbots and Priors were glad to followe the Courte, and ſued to redeeme, not their ſinnes, but their goodes, with giuing of a fourth parte thereof. The Cleargie ſuffered many iniuries in that ſeaſon, for religious men were ſpoyled and robbed in the Kynges hygh way, and could not haue anye reſtitution nor remedie againſte them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redeemed the Kyngs protection. Perſons and Vicars, and other of the Cleargie, when they rode forthe any whether, were gladde to apparell themſelues in lay mens garmentes, ſo to paſſe through the Countrey in ſafetie.

The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury loſt all the goodes that hee hadde, for hee woulde neyther agree to giue anye thing, nor to lay any thyng downe in the Churche, that the Kyng myghte receyue it. Wherevpon, he was brought to ſuch extreame miſerie, that all his ſeruauntes wente from hym, and commaundemente was giuen forthe, that no man ſhoulde receyue him, neyther within Monaſterie nor without, and ſo not hauing anye one place of all hys Byſhopricke where to laye hys head, hee remayned in the houſe of a poore perſon, onely with one Prieſte and one Clearke: yet he ſtiffely ſtoode in the matter, affirming certaynely, that all thoſe whyche graunted anye thing, eyther to the Kyng, or to any other temporall perſon withoute the Popes leaue, ronne withoute doubte into the daunger of the ſentence pronounced in the Canon.

Aboute the feaſt of Saint Mathewe in Februarie, the Kyng called a Parliamente of hys nobles, (not admitting thereto any of the Cleargie) at Saliſburie, and there required certayne of hys Nobles to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, but euery of them ſeemed to excuſe hymſelfe, whereat the Kyng beeyng moued, threatned, that they ſhoulde eyther goe, or hee woulde gyue theyr landes to other that woulde goe, with whyche wordes, many of them were greeuouſly offended, in ſo muche, that the Earles of Hereforde and Marſhall, Humfrey Bohun, and Roger Bigod, declared, that they woulde bee ready to goe with the Kyng if hee wente himſelfe, or elſe not.

And when the Earle Marſhall was eftſoones required to goe, hee aunſwered, I will willingly goe with the King, and marche before hym in the fore warde, as by righte of inheritance I am bounden. Yea ſayeth the Kyng, and you ſhall goe with other though I goe not. I am not ſo bounde (ſayth the Earle) neyther doe I purpoſe to take the iourneye in hande with you.

The king then in a greate chafe, burſt out and ſware, By God ſir Earle, eyther thou ſhalt goe or hang: and I ſweare (ſayth the Erle) the ſame othe, that I will neyther goe nor hang: and ſo departed from the Kyng without leaue taking. And immediatly herevpon thoſe two Erles aſſembled many noble men, and other of their frendes togither to the number of thirtie Banerettes and aboue, ſo that in all they were founde to be xv.C. men of armes appoynted and ready for battayle, and herewith they withdrew into their countreys, and kepte ſuche ſturre there, that they woulde not permitte the kyngs Officers to take neyther Wolles, leather, nor any thing againſte the owners wyl, but forbad them on pain of loſing theyr heads to come within theyr countreys, and wythall prepared them ſelues to reſyſte if nede were.

disloyall emeanour of etvvo erles.

In this meane tyme the warre was proſecuted in Gaſcoyne. The thurſdaye before the Purification of our Lady, Henry Earle of Lyncolne, and the lord John Saint John departing from Bayonne towardes Bellegard, a place beſieged as then by the Earle of Arthoys, to ſuccour them within the ſame with vittuals (whereof they ſtode in nede) as they approched to a wood diſtant from the fortreſſe a three miles, they deuided themſelues into two ſeuerall battailes, the Lord John Saint John leadyng the fyrſt, and the Earle of Lyncolne the ſeconde.

hey hadde vvith them ſix dred men armes, and athouſande omen, as Abyngdon hath.

The Lord Saint John therfore hauyng paſſed the wood with his battayle, and entryng into the playne fieldes, was encountred by the Earle of Arthoys, who tarried there for hym wyth a greate power, where immediatly at the firſt ioynyng of the battayles, the Earle of Lincolne retyred backe: ſo that the Lorde John Saint John and his companye ouerſette with preaſſe of enimies, were vanquiſhed: and the ſaid Lorde Saint John with Syr William de Mortymer, Sir William Burmengham and other to the number of eyght Knyghtes, and diuers Eſquires were taken, the whiche were ſente to Parys as Priſoners.

ttayle be- vixt the erle Lincoln and Erle of Ar- ois,vvho had ith him.1500 of armes (as bingdō hath)

Other wryte ſomewhat otherwyſe of thys battayle, as that vppon the firſte encounter the Engliſhmen droue backe one regimente of the Earle of Arthoys hys men of armes, whome hee deuided into foure partes: but when they once ioyned wyth the ſeconde regiment, to the whyche they were beaten backe, forwarde they come agayne, and ſo chargyng the Engliſhemenne, with helpe of theyr thyrde ſquadrone, whiche was nowe come to them alſo, they eaſily put the Engliſhmen oppreſſed with multitude vnto flyghte, and followe them in chaſe.

bingdon.

After thys, came the Engliſhemen whyche were in the rerewarde, and encountryng wyth the fourthe ſquadrone or regiment of the Frenchemenne, ſtreyghte wayes brake the ſame. Herewith was the nyghte come vppon them, ſo that one coulde not knowe an other, a frende from an enimye, and ſo bothe the Engliſhemen and Frenchemen were diſperſed tyll the Moone roſe, and the Frenchemen wythdrewe to theyr fortreſſes, and amongeſt them certayne of the Engliſhemen were myngled, whyche beyng diſcouered, were taken Priſoners, as the Lorde John Saint John, and others.

The lord Saint Iohn taken.

The ſlaughter was not great, for there were no footmenne on eyther parte, to ſpoyle or kill the men of armes that were throwen beſyde their horſſes: For the Engliſhe footmen remayned in the wood, or were wythdrawen backe, as before ye haue hearde, without attemptyng anye exployte worthie of prayſe.

Mat. VVeſt.

In dede ſome lay the blame in the Gaſcoyne footmen, for the loſſe of this battayle, bycauſe that they withdrewe backe, and lefte the Engliſhe horſemen in daunger of the enimies whyche hadde compaſſed them aboute on euerye ſyde.

Abyngdon.

Three hundred of the menne of armes came through to the towne of Bellegarde, but bicauſe it was nyghte, ſo that they coulde not be diſcerned whether they were friendes or foes, they within the towne wold not ſuffer them to enter: wherevpon they departed, and went to S. Seuere, foure leagues off. Yet further in the night, other of the Engliſhmenne were receyued into Bellegarde, which came thyther after the other, and ſo in the mornyng they of the gariſon with theyr aſſiſtance iſſued forth, and commyng to the place where the battaile hadde bene, gathered the ſpoyle of the fielde, and conueyed into their Towne ſuch prouiſion of vittuals as they founde there.

The Earle of Lincolne wyth a great many of other wandred a greate parte of the night and knewe not whether to goe. At lengthe aboute three of the clocke in the morning he came to Perforate, where he had lodged with his army the night before, and there founde a greate number of hys people ryght gladde of hys commyng and happye eſcape oute of daunger.

The Earle of Lincolne eſcaped.

He commeth home.

From thence hee retourned vnto Bayonne wyth the Earle of Richemont ſir John de Brytayne and all hys companye that were lefte. And ſuche was the happe of this iourneye.

In Lent folowing, thoſe that were diſperſed here and there abroade, reſorted to the Erle of Lincolne, ſoiorning at Bayonne, and in the

He inuadeth the countrey about Tholouſe.

ſommer ſeaſon, made a iourney towardes Tholouſe, ſpoyling and waſtyng the Countreyes of Tholouſyne, and other therabouttes, and remoued alſo the ſiege whyche thoſe of Tholouſe had layde vnto a fortreſſe called Saint Kiternes, in chaſing them from the ſame ſiege: and towardes Michaelmaſſe, they retourned to Bayonne, and there laye all the Wynter till after Chriſtmaſſe, and then by reaſon of the truce concluded, as after appeareth, betwixte the two kinges of Englande and Fraunce, they retourned home into Englande.

The cuſtom of vvooll rayſed.

The ſame yeare the kyng reyſed the cuſtome of Wooll to an hygher rate than had bin payde at any tyme before: for he toke now forty ſhillings of a ſack or ſerpler, where before there was payde but halfe a marke.

Abingdon.
Euerſden.
Prouiſion for the kings iourney into Frãce.

Moreouer he commaunded, that agaynſt his iourneye whyche hee meant to make ouer into Fraunce, there ſhoulde be two thouſande quarters of wheate, and as muche of Oates taken by the Sheriff in euery countie within the realme to be conueyed to the ſea ſide, except where they had no ſtore of corn, and there ſhould beeues and bakons be taken to a certayne number.

Ia. Meir.
The Frenche king inuadeth Flaunders.

In the meane tyme the Earle of Flaunders was ſore vexed by warre which the French king made againſt hym, being entred into Flaunders with an armie of three ſcore thouſande men, as ſome authors haue recorded.

Liſle beſieged.
The Earle of Arthois vanquiſheth the Flemings in battayle.

About the feaſte of the Natiuitie of Sainte John Baptiſte he layde ſiege to Liſle, and ſhortly after came the Earle of Arthois, being retourned out of Gaſcoyne with his power vnto that ſiege, and was ſent forth to keepe the Flemings and others occupyed, whyche laye at Furneys, and in other places therabouttes in lowe Flaunders, wyth whome hee foughte, and gotte the victorie.

N. Triuet.

Kyng Edwarde therfore, to ſuccour his frendes prepared to go ouer into Flanders, and therevppon ſummoned all thoſe that ought hym any ſeruice, and ſuche alſo as helde landes to the value of .xx. poundes and aboue, to bee ready wyth horſſe and harneys at London about Lammaſſe to paſſe ouer wyth hym in that iorney.

A rebellion in Scotlande by the meanes of one VVilliam VValace.

In the meane tyme aboute the Moneth of Maye, there beganne a Rebellion in Scotland by the ſettyng on of William Waleys: for the kyng of Englandes Juſtice Wylliam Ormſbye accordynglye as hee hadde in Commiſſion, confyned and put to outlawrye a greate ſorte of ſuche Scottiſhmen, as refuſed to doe fealtie and homage vnto the Kyng of Englande, the whyche Scottiſhemen beeing thus condemned as Outlawes, elected the foreſayde Wylliam Waleys for their captayn, with whom Williã Douglas beeing once aſſociate, the number of them encreaſed hugelye.

The Erle of Surrey and the Treſorer being in Englande, thoſe outlawes purpoſed to haue taken the Juſtice at Scone: but he beyng warned though almoſte to late, eſcaped him ſelfe, wyth muche adoe, leauyng the moſte parte of his people as a ſpoyle to the enimies. For Williã Waleys and his company kylled as many Engliſhmen as fell into his handes, and taking certayn religious men, he bound their hands behynd thē, and conſtrained them to leape into the riuer, taking pleaſure to beholde howe they plunged.

The King ſent the Biſhop of Durham into Scotlande, to vnderſtande the certaintie of this rebellion, who retourning from thence, informed him of the truthe. The Kyng not myndyng to breake his iorney which he had purpoſed to make into Flaunders, appoynted that the Earle of Surrey ſhould haue the leadyng of all ſuch men of warre as myght be leuyed beyonde Trent, to repreſſe the Scottiſh rebels, and alſo wrote vnto John Cumyn Lorde of Badenaw, and to the other John Cumyn Erle of Boughan, that remembring their fayth and promyſe, they ſhould retourne into Scotlande, and doe theyr beſt to quiet the countrey: they accordyng to his commaundement, went into Scotlande, but ſhewed them ſelues ſlow inough to procure thoſe things that perteyned to peace and quietneſſe.

In the meane tyme whileſt theſe things were a doing, the Biſhop of Carleile, and other which lay there vpon the garde of that Citie and Caſtell, hauing ſome miſtruſt of the loyaltie in Robert Bruce the yonger, that was Earle of Carrike by his mother, they ſente hym word to come vnto them at a certayne daye, bycauſe they had to talke with hym of matters touchyng the kinges affaires: he durſt not diſobeye, but came to Carleile together with the Biſhop Gallowaye, and there receyued a corporal othe vpon the holy and ſacred myſteries, and vpon the ſworde of Thomas Becket, to be true to the king of Englande, and to ayde him and his agaynſt theyr enemyes in all that hee myghte: and further to withſtande that the ſayde Kynge receyued no hurte nor dammage ſo farre as in hym myght lye.

This done, he returned agayn into Scotlãd, and for a colour entred into the landes of William Douglas, and brent part of them, bringing the wyfe & chyldren of the ſame Wylliam backe wyth hym into Annandale: but ſhortly after, he conſpyred with the Scottiſh rebelles, and ioyned hym ſelfe wyth them, not making his father priuye to the matter, who in the meane whyle remayned in the Southe parties of Englande. He would haue perſwaded ſuch knights, Gentlemen and other as helde their landes of his father in Innandale to haue gone with him, but they would not breake their faith giuen to the K. of England, and ſo left him. The Erle of Surrey aſſembling together his power in Yorkſhire, ſent his nephew the Lord Henry Percy with the ſouldiors of the countrey of Carleile before into Scotlãd, who paſſing forth to the town of Ayre, went about to induce them of Gallowaye vnto peace, and hering that an armie of Scottiſhmen was gathered togither at a place lyke a four miles from thence called Irwyn, he made thitherwarde, and comming neere to the Scottiſh hoſt might behold where the ſame was lodged beyõd a certayne lake. In that army were capitaines, the Biſhop of Glaſgowe, Andrewe de Murray Steward of Scotlande, and William Waleys which (as ſhuld ſeeme) were not all of one mind.

N.Triuet.

Three hũdreth en of armes, nd fifty thouſande footmen ith Abyngon.

nry Percye nt before.

rwyn.

iſcorde in e Scottiſhe mye. Richarde ndye.

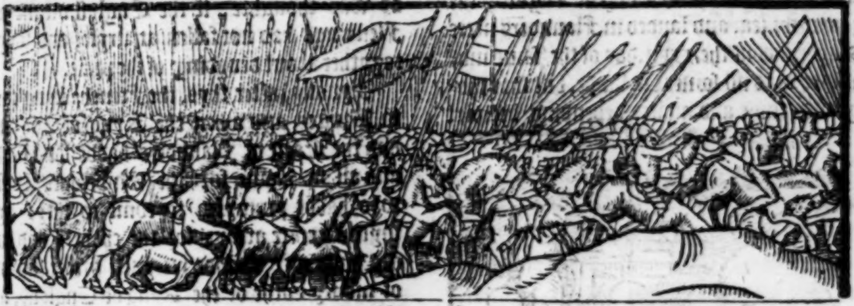
There was in the ſame army a knight named ſir Richard Lundy which neuer yet had done homage to the king of England, but now fleing frõ his company, he came to the Engliſh armie, and ſubmitted himſelfe with his retinue vnto the K. of Englande, ſaying that he meant not to ſerue amongſt them any longer that coulde not agree togither. The reſidue of the Scottiſhemen ſued for peace, vpon condition to haue lyues, mẽbers, goodes, cattals and lands ſaued, with a pardon of all offences paſt. The Lord Percy vpon pledges and writings hereof deliuered, was contented to graunt their requeſts, ſo that the king his maſter would be therwith pleaſed, who being hereof certified, bicauſe he wold not gladly be ſtayed of his iorney into Flaunders, graunted vnto all things that were thus required.

he Scots ſue peace.

Therafter that the erle of Surrey was come to the Engliſh camp, bicauſe William Waleys ceaſſed not in the meane tyme to aſſemble more people, the Engliſhmen doubting ſome treaſon, reſolued to giue battayle, but whyleſt they were in mynde thus to doe, the Biſhop of Glaſcowe and William Douglas to auoyde the note of diſloyaltie and treaſon, came & ſubmitted themſelues: and ſo the Biſhoppe was committed to warde within the caſtell of Rockeſborough, and William Douglas in the caſtell of Berwike. It is to be noted, that euen in the very time that the treatie was in hande betwixte the Lorde Percye and the Scottiſh capitaynes, the Scots of Galloway and other ſet vpon that part of the engliſh campe, where the truſſe & baggage laye, whiche they ſpoyled and ranſacked, ſleaing aboue. v. C. perſons what of men, women and children, but the alarum being reyſed, the Engliſhmen came to the reſkue, and chaſed the Scots, ſlewe aboue thouſand of them, and recouered the moſt part of their owne goods, with more which they toke from their enimies. In this meane time king Edward at the feaſt of Lammas held a counſell at London, where he receiued the Archb. of Canterbury again into his fauor, reſtoring vnto him al his goods and lands. He apointed him and the lord Reynold Grey to haue his eldeſt ſon prince Edw. in keping til his returne out of Flaunders. But Nic. Triuet writeth, yͭ the ſaid prince Edward being apointed to remain at home as lieutenant to his father, there were appoynted vnto him as cõuſellors, Rich. Biſh. of London, Williã erle of Warwike, and the forenamed Lorde Reignold Grey, with the lord Iohn Gifford, and the lord Alane Plokenet, men of high wiſedom, grauitie & diſcretion, without making mention of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in that place.

The Biſhop of Glaſcovv and VVilliam Douglas.

Abingdon.



he Archebyop of Canrbury receyd into fauor.

ic.Triuet:

ardians appinted to the ngs ſonne in s fathers abnce.

The two Erles Marſhal and Hereford being cõmanded to attend yͤ K. into Flanders, refuſed, excuſing themſelues by meſſenger.

rles Marſhall Hereford reſe to go ouer vvith the kyng o Flaunders.

After this, the King cauſed ſir Rafe Monthermer (whome hys daughter the Counteſſe of Glouceſter, in hir widdowhode hadde taken to huſbande without knowledge of hir father) to be deliuered out of the caſtel of Briſtow, wherin he had bin kept priſoner a certain time vpon diſpleſure for yͤ mariage: but now he was not only ſet at libertie, but alſo reſtored to his wife, & to al the lands perteyning to the erledome of Glouceſter, appoynting him to finde. l. men at armes to ſerue in yͤ iorney into Flãders. He alſo deliuered the erles of Caſſels & Menteth, Io. Cumyn and diuers other Scottiſhmen, apointing thẽ alſo to go with him into Flãders. Finally hauing aſſembled his army, ouer the whiche he made the lorde Thomas Berkley Conneſtable, & Geffrey Ienuille Marſhall, hee wente to Winchelſey, and whileſt he lay there before he toke yͤ ſea, ther was preſẽted vnto him frõ the erles a wryting which

Sir Rafe Mõthermer releaſed.

Scottiſhmen releaſed.

The Lorde Berckley.

A libell deliuered to the king from the Earles of Hereforde & Marſhall.

A libell deliuered to the kyng from the Earles of Hertford & Marſhall.

conteyned the cauſes of the griefe of all the Archebiſhoppes, Biſhops, Abbottes, Earles, Lordes, Barons, and of all the Communaltie, as well for ſummonyng them to ſerue by an vndue meane, as alſo for the vnreaſonable taxes, Subſidies, Impoſitions, and payementes whiche they dayly ſuſteined, and namely the impoſt augmented vpon the cuſtome of Wooll ſeemed to them verye grieuous. For where as for euerye ſacke of whole Woolle there was fortye ſhillings payde, and for euery ſacke of broken wooll one marke: It was well knowne that the wooll of England was almoſt in value eſteemed to bee worth halfe the riches of the Realme, and ſo the cuſtome thereof payde, would aſcende to a fifth parte of all the ſubſtance of the lande.

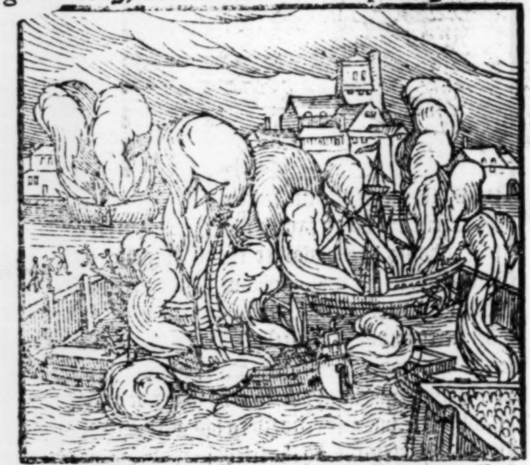
The kings anſvvere.

The kings aunſwere thereunto was, that hee coulde not alter any thing, withoute the aduice of his Counſell, of the whiche parte were alreadye paſſed ouer into Flaunders, and parte were at London, and therefore hee required the ſayde Earles, that if they woulde not attende hym in that iourney into Flanders, they wold yet in his abſence doe nothing that mighte bee preiudiciall to the realme: for hee truſted by Gods fauour to returne againe in ſafetie, and ſette all thinges in good order.

The King paſſeth ouer into Flaunders.

Abingdon.

At length about the .xxj. day of Auguſt, the king tooke the ſea, and landed in Flaunders neere to Sluyce, about the .xxviij. day of the ſame moneth. Hee was no ſooner on lande, but that through olde enuie and malice depending betwixt the Mariners of the cinque Portes, and them of Yermouth, and other quarters, a quarell was picked, ſo that they fel togither and fought on the water in ſuche earneſt ſorte, notwithſtanding the kings commandement ſent to the contrary, that there were fiue and twentie ſhips brente and deſtroyed of theirs of Yermouth, and other theyr partakers: alſo three of theyr greateſt ſhippes, parte of the kings treaſure being in one of them were tolled forthe into the highe Sea, and quite conueyed away.



Debate and fighting betvvixt the mariners of the cinque Portes, and others.

The king from Sluce firſt went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrey in euill ſtate, by reaſon that the good townes were not all of one mynde: for diuers of them miſliked with the doings of the Earle, in that he had allyed himſelfe with the Frenche Kynges aduerſaries. Aboute the beginnyng of September was Liſle yelded vnto the Frenche king, and after that they of Doway, Curtray, and Bruges, dydde lykewyſe ſubmitte them ſelues vnto the ſame kyng.

Liſle yel to the F kyng.

Then was Charles Earle of Valoys ſente vnto Bruges to fortifye that Towne, and to take the Engliſhe Nauye that laye at ancker in the Hauen of Damme: but the Engliſhmen hauyng warning thereof, gotte forth with their veſſelles into the Sea, and ſo the Earle of Valoys beeing diſappoynted of that praie, ſette in hande to fortifye Bruges and Dam, but the Earle of Auſtriche, and Robert de Neuers ſonne to Earle Guy beeing ſent with a power of Engliſhmenne, Flemyngs, and other Souldiours vnto Dam, foughte with the Frenchemenne, ſlewe foure hundred of them, beſydes dyuers that were taken, and recouered the Towne.

Charles de Valoys ſ to Bruge.

The Frenc men diſc ted at Dam.

They myghte alſo haue recouered Bruges, as was thoughte, if the Engliſhmenne and Flemyngs had not fallen at ſtryfe, and fought togyther about deuyding of the praie.

Fynally, after thys, the Frenche kyng came to Bruges, and when the Kyng of Englande and the Earle of Flaunders hadde long looked and all in vayne for the Emperoure Adulfe, who hadde promyſed to come to theyr ayde wyth a greate armye, for the charges and wages whereof he hadde receyued greate ſummes of money bothe of the Kyng of England, and alſo of the Earle of Flaunders: they concluded in the ende (when they perceyued he would not come) to make ſome agreemente wyth the Frenche Kyng: and ſo fyrſte was a truce taken, from the myddeſt of October, vnto the Calendes of December, and after by mediation of Charles, (ſurnamed Claudus) Kyng of Sicill, the ſame truce was prolonged, as hereafter ye ſhall heare.

The Emper Adolfe bre keth pr

In thys meane whyle, to witte, aboute the ende of Auguſte, the Earle of Surrey when he ſawe that the Scottyſhmen woulde not perfourme promyſe touchyng the delyuerie of the pledges, and that Wylliam Waleys ſtil moued the people to rebellion, hee aſſembled his army, and with the ſame entring Scotland, came vnto Striuelyng.

The Earl Surrey en treth Sco

Then the Lorde Stewarde of Scotlande and alſo the Earle of Lenox came vnto hym, requiring him to ſtaye tyll they myght haue leiſure to ſee if they could bring the people of Scotlande vnto the Kinges peace: but when they coulde not do it, they returned the tenth daye of September, promiſing to bring to the ayd of the Earle of Surrey on the morrow after.xl. horſemen, vpon the whiche day.ij. Fryers, of the order of Preachers were ſent vnto William Waleys, and to the other Scottiſhmen lying beyond the hill aboue the monaſterie of Scambeſkyn to moue them to the kings peace. But their anſwer was, that they were not come to haue peace, but to try the matter by battaile.

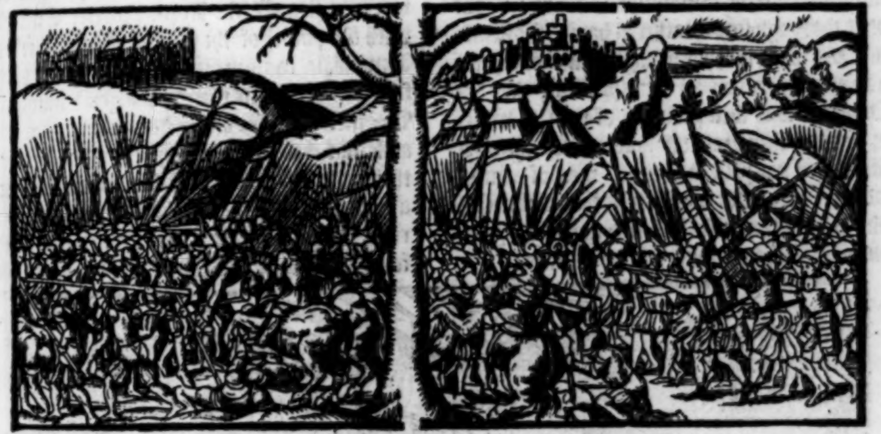
he pride of
ugh Creſſin-
ham.

The Scottes
aſſayle the En-
gliſhemen.

Abingdon.

The valiancie
of ſir Marma-
duke Thvveng

The Engliſhe armye withoute good aduice thoroughe the preſumptuous pryde of the Lord Hugh Creſſingham preaſed to the bridge, and haſtyng to paſſe the ſame, the Scottyſhemenne came vpon them, ere the one halfe could get ouer, and ſo fiercely aſſayling them, that the Engliſhmen were beaten backe and ſlayne downe. For the Scots after they ſawe ſo many of the Engliſhmẽ to haue paſſed the bridge, as they thought themſelues able to diſtreſſe, they made downe to the bridge foot, and with a number of their ſpearmen a foote, cloſed it vp that no more ſhuld come ouer to the ayde of theyr fellowes, nor thoſe that were already paſſed, ſhould returne agayne: Yet a right valyaunt knighte, one ſir Marmaduke Thweng, whiche was one of the firſt among the men of armes that came ouer, after that he & his cõpanie had driuẽ down one wing of their aduerſaries, & had folowed them in chaſe a good way, at length perceyuing their company behynde diſtreſſed by the Scottes, he retourned with thoſe fewe that were about hym, purpoſyng to repaſſe the bridge, ruſhed in among the Scots that ſtood afore him with ſuch violence, that he paſſed thorough them, making waye for hymſelfe and for his folkes by great manhoode, ſauing one of his nephues alſo which was ſet a foote and wounded after his horſe had bin killed vnder him.



he Engliſhe-
en diſcom-
ed.

At length the diſcomfiture was ſuche, and the Scottes preaſſed ſo earneſtly to winne the bridge alſo of thoſe Engliſhemen whiche were not yet paſſed, that at length the Earle of Surrey commaunded to breake that end of the bridge, where they ſtoode at defence, to kepe backe the Scots, for elſe had there fewe of the Engliſhemen eſcacaped.

There were ſlayne (as ſome haue written) to the number of ſixe thouſand men, and among other was ſlayne ſir Hugh Creſſingham, whoſe ſkinne (as hath bene reported) the Scottes ſtripped off his dead carkaſſe, for the malice whiche they bare towardes him. This diſcomfiture chaunced the.xj.day of September.

he Earle of
rey retur-
th in haſt to
rvvike.

The Earle of Surrey leauing in the caſtell of Striueling the ſaid ſir Marmaduke Thweng promiſed hym to come to his ayde at all tymes when neede ſhoulde be within. x. weekes ſpace, and herewith taking his horſe, rode in ſuch haſte to Barwike, that after his comming thyther, his ſteede beyng ſette vp in the ſtable of the Fryers Minors, neuer after taſted meate but dyed: After this, the ſayd Erle making no long abode in Barwike, rode vp to London vnto Prince Edwarde, and lefte the towne of Barwike as a pray to the Scottiſhmen: but thoſe yet that had the caſtel in keping defended it manfully againſt the Scottes, the whiche aſſembled togyther in campe vnder the leading of Alexander Earle of Murrey: and their Capitayne William Waleys came to Berwike, and fynding the Towne voyde of all defence entred it, but they could not winne the caſtell by any meanes.

The Scots en-
ter Barvvike.
The caſtel hol-
deth good a-
gainſt them.

The Northumberlande men conueyed their wyues, their children, their cattel, and other goodes which might be remoued out of the countrey for feare of the enimies inuaſion: but when the Scottes lingred tyme, and entred not within the Engliſhe borders for a ſeaſon, they broughte theyr goodes agayne, in hope that the Scottes woulde not come forth of theyr owne marches at that time. But the Scottes hauing aduertiſemente thereof, aboute the feaſte of Saint Luke

The Scots inuade Northũberlande, and ſpoyle the coũtrey.

entred the Engliſhe borders, and didde muche hurte within the countrey of Northumberland, ſo that to auoyde the daunger, all the Relygious menne fledde out of the Monaſteries ſituate betwixt Newcaſtel vpon Tyne, and Carleile.

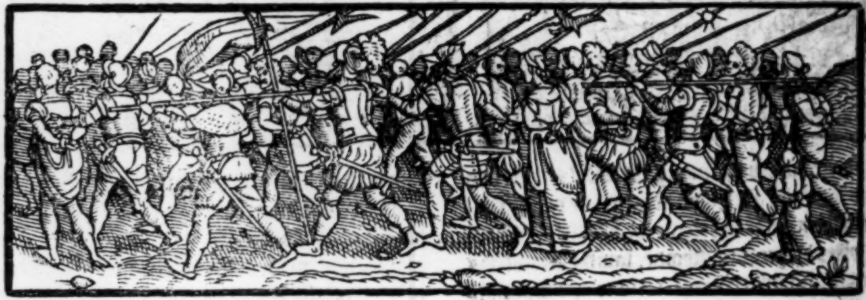
The Scottes ſpoyled, harryed, and brente vp and downe the countrey tyll the feaſte of Saint Martine, and in the Octaues of the ſame feaſte they drewe togither, and wente towards Carleyle, whiche towne they ſummoned in ſendyng a Prieſte to them that kepte it, commaunding them to yeelde: but receyuyng a frowarde aunſwere, they fell too and waſted all that countrey,

The foreſt of Inglevvood.

paſſing through the forreſt of Inglewood, Cumberlande, and Allerdale, tyll they came vnto Derwent at Cokermouth, not ſparyng neyther Churche nor chapell. Theyr meanyng was to haue gone into the Biſhoprike of Durham, but what thorough ſore weather of hayle, ſnow and froſt, and what thorough vayne feare of wrong information gyuen by their ſpyalles, that the Countrey was well prouided of men of warre for defence, they brake off that iourney, and yet there were not paſte a hundred men of armes, and three thouſande footemen in that countreye, whiche were then alſo diſperſed thorough yrkeſomneſſe of long ſtaying for the enimies.

The Scottes therefore drewe to Exham, and there lodged, not wythout vexyng the Chanons although they had graunted Letters of protection vnto the Prior and couent of the ſame houſe, to endure for one whole yere: and lykewyſe letters of ſafecondnite to paſſe and repaſſe for one Chanon, one Squyer, and two ſeruaunts, when ſo euer they ſhoulde ſende to them, duryng that tearme: Whiche letters were gyuen forth vnder the name of the ſayde Earle of Murreye, and William Waleys. From thence they went towardes Newcaſtell, and brente the Towne of Ryton. Fynally, perceyuyng they coulde not preuayle in attempting to winne the towne of Newcaſtell, they deuided theyr ſpoyles, and retourned home.

Aboute the ſame tyme, to witte, a little before Chriſtmaſſe, the Lorde Roberte Clifforde with the power of the Citie of Carleyle, entred Innandale, committyng all to the ſpoyle of the footmen, of whome there was a great number. The men of armes on horſebacke being not paſt an hundred in all, kepte togyther, and fyndyng their enimies aſſembled nere to Innan kirk, gaue a charge vpon them, and chaſed them into a mareys, within the whiche they kepte them till the footmen came in, and aſſaylyng them, ſlew a 308. perſons, and tooke diuers of them priſoners, and returning againe to their market, brente ten villages, and on Chriſtmaſſe euen retourned wyth their pray and booties vnto Carleil.



1298.
Annan kirke brent.

In the beginning of Lent they made an other roade, in the whiche they brente the Churche of Annan. Whyleſt theſe things were in hande, Prince Edward the kinges eldeſt ſonne & other, which had the rule of the realme in the kings abſence, ſought meanes to pacifie the Erles Marſhall and Herforde:

Nic. Triuet.
The frovvarde dealing of the Erles of Hereford and Marſhall.

but they woulde not agree but vpon ſuche conditions as pleaſed themſelues to preſcribe, which were, that the king ſhuld cõfirme the great Charter, and the Charter of Foreſts, with certain new articles to be included in the ſame great Charter, & that from thenceforth the king ſhould not charge his ſubiectes ſo freely at his pleaſure, as before tyme he had don, without conſent of the ſtates of parliament, and that he ſhould pardon his diſpleaſure and malice conceiued againſt them for denying to go with him into Flanders. Many other articles they woulde that the king ſhuld graunt, confirme, pardon and eſtabliſhe. The whiche were all ſente ouer into Flaunders vnto the King, that he might peruſe them, and declare whether he wold agree or diſagree to the ſame. He as one being driuen to the wall, thought good to yelde vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time to reconcile yͤ offended mindes of the peeres & barons of his realme, & graunted vnto al the ſaid articles, confirming the ſame with his Charter vnder his great ſeale. In conſideration wherof, the nobles of the Realme and commons granted to the king the .ix. peny of all their goodes: the Archebiſhop of Canterburye, with the clergie of his prouince, the .x. penie, and the clect of Yorke and thoſe of his prouince, grãted the fifth penie towardes the mayntenaunce of the warre againſte the Scottes, bicauſe they were next vnto the daunger.

The kyng alſo by his ſpeciall letters required the nobles of the Realme, that if they dyd continue in theyr due obedience to hym, as they promiſed at his departure out of the realme to doe, that then they ſhoulde reſorte and appeare at his Parliamente to beginne at Yorke, the morowe after the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, without all excuſe or delay: for otherwyſe he would accompt them as enimies to the common wealthe of the Realme. At whiche daye appeared the Earles of Warreyn and Glouceſter wyth the Counteſſe of Glouceſter his wyfe daughter to the King, the earles Marſhal, Hereford & Arundell, Guy ſonne to the Earle of Warwike in his fathers roumth: and of Barons, the lord Henry Percy, the lord John Wake, and the lord John Segraue, with many of the nobilitie, the whiche being aſſembled togither, would that it ſhould to all men be notified in what manner the king had confirmed the great Charter, and the Charter of foreſts: whervpon the ſame being read with the Articles therunto added, and put in, the Biſhop of Carleile, adorned in *Pontificalibus*, did pronounce all them accurſſed, that wente aboute to violate and breake the ſame. And bycauſe the Scottiſh Lords appeared not, being ſummoned to be there, it was decreed, that the armie ſhould come togither at Newe Caſtell vppon Tyne in the Octaues of that feaſt of ſaint Hillarie nexte enſuing, ſo that the generall muſters might then and there be taken.

rliament
Yorke.

gna Charta

The kyng lay the moſt part of thys winter at Gaunt, in the which mean time tyme ther chaunced ſedition betweene the Engliſhemen and the Gauntoys, in ſo muche that the Welchmen had ſette fyre on the Towne, if the king hadde not ſtayed the matter, But the Flemiſhe writers ſay, the Engliſhmen, ſette fyre in foure partes of the towne in deede, that they mighte the more freely haue robbed in other partes thereof, whyleſt the Towneſmen had gone about to quenche the fire. But the Towneſmen bente on reuenge, aſſembled togither in great number, and falling on the Engliſhmen ſlew thirtie of their horſemen, and of their footmen to the number of ſeuen hundred or thereaboutes. They hadde alſo ſlayn the king if a knight of Flaunders hadde not made ſhifte to ſaue hym.

bate be-
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men, and
Gantiners.

In deed (as ſhould appeare by the ſame writers) the Engliſhe footemen had done much hurt in the countrey, & namely one day they ſpoyled the towne of Dam, & ſlew two hundred worthy perſonages which hadde yelded themſelues to the Kyng at his firſte commyng into the countrey.

And although the king cauſed certain of thoſe that had done this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this and other iniuries in theyr myndes, and meant to bee reuenged thereof, before the Engliſhmen departed out of their countreye, and therefore there drewe out of ſundrye partes into the Citie of Gaunte by ſmall companyes, to the number of foure thouſande men of armes, beſides a great multitude of footmen: and when they perceyued them ſelues ſtrong ynough (as they tooke the matter) at the daye amongeſt them appoynted, they cluſtred togyther, and vnder the leadyng of the Earles ſons, Wyllyam and Roberte, they didde fyrſte ſette vppon the Engliſhmen that were in theyr lodgyngs, of whome they ſlewe dyuers, and after commyng forthe into the ſtreates, they meant to haue made ſlaughter of all the reſidue: but by the noyſe that was rayſed, the Kyng hadde warnyng in what ſtate the matter ſtoode, and therewyth getteth hym to armoure, and came forth of hys lodgyng, and ſtreyghtwayes hys people flocked aboute hym. And furthermore, the footmen, whyche were lodged in the Suburbes, hearyng of thys tumulte, gette them to armoure, and approchyng the gates, fynd them ſhutte, but with fyre whych they kyndled with ſtrawe, wood, butter, and tallowe, and other ſuch thynges, they brente vp the ſame gates, and ſo got in, loſing not paſte ſixe perſons, and thoſe were ſlayne at the firſt entring.

The Flemyngs ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their lodgings.

Herewith the Earle of Flaunders commeth to the Kyng, and beſeecheth hym to ſtaye hys people from committyng further outrage: but the kyng as he had reaſon ſo to doe, blamed him for the outragious attempte of hys people, and bad hym goe and appeaſe them, or he woulde take payne wyth them hymſelfe to hys owne ſuretie, though not greatly to theyr eaſe.

The Earle went, and didde ſo much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for reſtitution of ſuche thynges as hadde bene taken from anye manne wrongfully, accordyng to the order and direction preſcribed by certayne diſcrete perſons appoynted as Commiſſioners in that behalfe.

The Earle of Flaunders pacifyeth his people.

The Kyng perceyuyng hym ſelfe in ſome daunger, and that withoute the fauoure of the Flemyngs he myght hardly eſcape out of their countrey, bare manye thynges, and ſpake curteouſlye, makyng partely amendes for the harmes donne by his people, as well abrode in the countrey, as in the townes. And finally aboute Midlent he returned into Englande, as after ye ſhall heare.

In this meane tyme by the Kyngs appointmente, the Earle of Surreye Lorde Warden of Scotland, wyth other Earles and noble menne to hym aſſociate, aboute the feaſte of Saincte Hillarye, had aſſembled an armye at Yorke, hauyng fyrſte ſummoned the Lordes

Nic. Triuet.

An army aſſembled at Yorke.

The Scots inuade Northũberlande, and ſpoyle the coũtrey.

entred the Engliſhe borders, and didde muche hurte within the countrey of Northumberland, ſo that to auoyde the daunger, all the Relygious menne fledde out of the Monaſteries ſituate betwixt Newcaſtel vpon Tyne, and Carleile.

The Scottes ſpoyled, harryed, and brente vp and downe the countrey tyll the feaſte of Saint Martine, and in the Octaues of the ſame feaſte they drewe togither, and wente towards Carleyle, whiche towne they ſummoned in ſendyng a Prieſte to them that kepte it, commaunding them to yeelde: but receyuyng a frowarde aunſwere, they fell too and waſted all that countrey, paſſing through the forreſt of Inglewood, Cumberlande, and Allerdale, tyll they came vnto Derwent at Cokermouth, not ſparyng neyther Churche nor chapell. Theyr meanyng was to haue gone into the Biſhoprike of Durham, but what thorough ſore weather of hayle, ſnow and froſt, and what thorough vayne feare of wrong information gyuen by their ſpyalles, that the Countrey was well prouided of men of warre for defence, they brake off that iourney, and yet there were not paſte a hundred men of armes, and three thouſande footemen in that countreye, whiche were then alſo diſperſed thorough yrkeſomneſſe of long ſtaying for the enimies.

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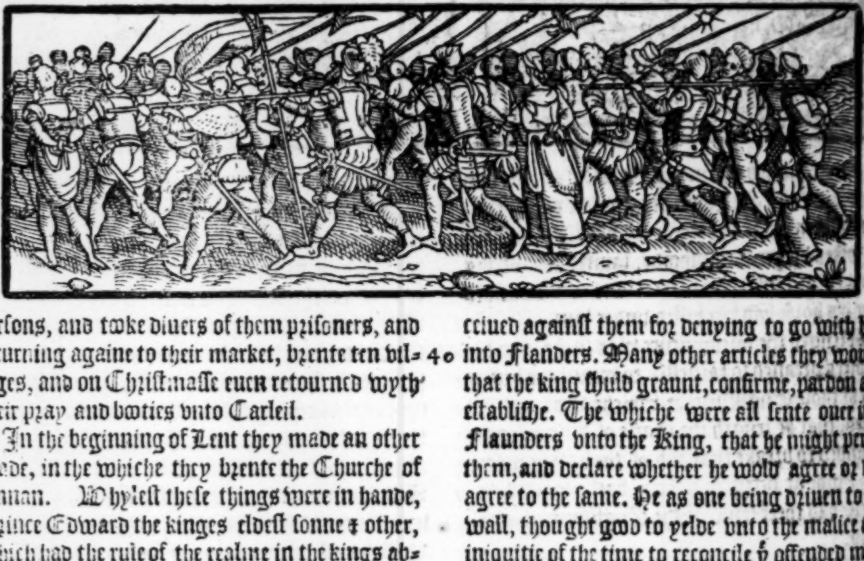

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Nic. Triuet.

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rliament
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And although the king cauſed certain of thoſe that had done this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this and other iniuries in theyr myndes, and meant to bee reuenged thereof, before the Engliſhmen departed out of their countreye, and therefore there drewe out of ſundrye parties into the Citie of Gaunte by ſmall companyes, to the number of foure thouſande men of armes, beſides a great multitude of footmen: and when they perceyued them ſelues ſtrong ynough (as they tooke the matter) at the daye amongeſt them appoynted, they cluſtred togyther, and vnder the leadyng of the Earles ſons, Wyllyam and Roberte, they didde fyrſte ſette vppon the Engliſhmen that were in theyr lodgyngs, of whome they ſlewe dyuers, and after commyng forthe into the ſtreates, they meant to haue made ſlaughter of all the reſidue: but by the noyſe that was rayſed, the Kyng hadde warnyng in what ſtate the matter ſtoode, and therewyth getteth hym to armoure, and came forth of hys lodgyng, and ſtreyghtwayes hys people flocked aboute hym. And furthermore, the footmen, whyche were lodged in the Suburbes, hearyng of thys tumulte, gette them to armoure, and approchyng the gates, fynd them ſhutte, but with fyre whych they kyndled with ſtrawe, wood, butter, and tallowe, and other ſuch thynges, they brente vp the ſame gates, and ſo got in, loſing not paſte ſixe perſons, and thoſe were ſlayne at the firſt entring.

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The Earle went, and didde ſo much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for reſtitution of ſuche thynges as hadde bene taken from anye manne wrongfully, accordyng to the order and direction preſcribed by certayne diſcrete perſons appoynted as Commiſſioners in that behalfe.

The Earle of Flaunders pacifyeth his people.

The Kyng perceyuyng hym ſelfe in ſome daunger, and that withoute the fauoure of the Flemyngs he myght hardly eſcape out of their countrey, bare manye thynges, and ſpake curteouſlye, makyng partely amendes for the harmes doone by his people, as well abrode in the countrey, as in the townes. And finally aboute Midlent he returned into Englande, as after ye ſhall heare.

Nic.Triuet.

An army aſſembled at Yorke.

In this meane tyme by the Kyngs appointmente, the Earle of Surreye Lorde Warden of Scotland, wyth other Earles and noble menne to hym aſſociate, aboute the feaſte of Saincte Hillarye, had aſſembled an armye at Yorke, hauyng fyrſte ſummoned the Lordes

The Scots beſiege Rockeſburgh.

of Scotlande to appeare there at the ſame daye, who yet came not, but contrarily had beſieged the Caſtell of Rockeſburghe. Wherevppon the Earle of Surrey haſted thytherwardes, ſo that Willyam Waleys and other of the Scottyſhmen whiche laye there at ſiege, reyſed the ſame, and departed from thence.

The Earle of Surrey entreth Scotland.

The Earle of Surrey comming to Rockeſburgh, and relieuing them that kept it with ſuch things as they wanted, paſſed forth to Kelſow, and came afterwards to the towne of Barwike, which the Scottiſhmen had left voyde.

Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, ſignifying that hee had taken truce wyth the Frenche king, and that he mente ſhortely to retourne into England, and therfore commaunded them not to make any further enterpriſe than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Barwike, til his comming ouer. Herevppon was a greate part of the armie diſcharged, and ſuche only remayned in Barwike as might ſuffice for defence therof.

King Edvvard returneth home vvardes.

King Edwarde hauing made an ende of hys buſineſſe in Flaunders, as before ye haue heard, returned now towards England, and came to a Towne called Ardenburg, where the moſte part of ſuche Scottiſhmen as he had broughte with him into Flanders, ſlipped from him, & went vnto Paris. The king being returned into Englande, remoued the Barons of the Eſchequer, and the Iuſtices of the Benche vnto York, calling a Parliamente thither, and gaue ſummonance to the Lordes of Scotland to come to the ſame: but making defaulte in their appearance, he ſent forth his comiſſion and letters to warne his ſubiectes to be readie with horſe and harneys at Rockeſburgh in the feaſte of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt next enſuyng. They obeying his cõmaundement, aſſembled there at the daye appoynted.

The Scottes ſummoned to the parliament at Yorke, refuſed to come.

An army raiſed

Abyngdon.

The number of men armed in this armye.

There were in this armie nowe aſſembled at Rockeſborough togither with thoſe of the Biſhopricke aboute three thouſande men of armes mounted on barded horſes, beſydes foure thouſande other armed menne on horſebacke wythout bardes.

VVelchmen & Iriſhmen.

There were alſo a great number of footmen, and yet none but ſuch as came vpon their owne good willes, the whiche were almoſt all Welchmen or Iriſhmen.

Gaſcoynes.

There came alſo afterwardes fyue hundred menne of armes well apparelled, furnyſhed and mounted, out of Gaſcoyne: of the which a certayne number were ſente vnto Barwike by the king: where after the battayle fought with the Scottes, they remayned in garniſon.

Nic. Triuet.

The Earle of Hereford, and the Earle Marſhall were preſente wyth theyr retinues amongeſt other in thys armie here aſſembled at Rokeſborough, the whyche vpon ſuſpition conceyued of that they had hearde, thought it not ſufficient to haue the Kynges Letters patentes touching the confirmation of the two Charters, and other the Articles aboue mencioned, ſygned by hym, whyleſt he was oute of the Realme, and therefore required that he woulde nowe within his owne lande, confirme the ſame againe.

Here the Biſhoppe of Durham, Iohn Earle of Surrey, Willyam Earle of Warwike, and Rauſe Earle of Glouceſter, vndertooke for the kyng, that after hee had ſubdued his enimies, and ſhould be agayne returned into the realme, he ſhoulde ſatiſfie them in that behalfe, and confirme the ſame articles.

This done, the King marching forth wyth his armye, came to Temple Hiſton, and ſente forth the Biſhoppe of Durham to take certayn Caſtelles thereaboutes, as Drinton (or as ſome Copies haue) Drilton, and other two whiche enterpriſe, the Biſhoppe ſpeedyly accompliſhed.

The Engliſhe fleete that ſhoulde haue come from Berwike, and kepte alongſt the coaſte to haue furniſhed the Armie wyth victualls, was ſtayed and holden backe with contrarie wyndes, ſo that the armie beganne to be in greate neceſſitie of victuals. The Scottiſhemen were aduertiſed hereof, and ſuppoſyng that the Engliſhemen by reaſon of ſuche want of victuals, had not bene able through feebleneſſe to make any greate reſiſtaunce, aſſembled theyr powers togyther, and came towardes the place where the kyng with his army was lodged.

The ſame time two of the Engliſhe ſhippes arriued there wyth victualles, the whiche beyng beſtowed. Amongſt the ſouldeors, relieued them greately of theyr hunger, amoungeſt other the Welchemen had two tunnes of wine deliuered to them for theyr ſhare, the whiche they taſted ſo greedyly, that ouercome therwyth they fell to quarrelling wyth the Engliſhemen and begunne a fraye, in the whiche they ſlew an eighteen, and hurte dyuerſe.

The Engliſhe horſemenne herewyth beyng kindeled wyth diſpleaſure, got them to armour, and ſetting vpon the Welchmen, ſlew of them to the number of foure ſcore, and put the other to flight: wherevpon the nexte morning it was ſaid that the Welchemen vppon wrathe conceyued hereof meant to depart to the Scottes: but yet when the campe remoued they followed the army though a farre off, and a part by themſelues, in ſo muche that many doubted leaſt if the Engliſhmen had chaunced to haue had the worſe at the Scottiſhe menne handes, they woulde haue ioygned wyth them agaynſte the Englyſhemenne.

The

N,Triuet.

The Kyng nowe hearing that the Scottes were commyng towardes hym, rayſed hys fielde, and wente forthe to meete them, lodgyng the nexte nyghte in a fayre playne. In the morning very early, a greate alarme was reyſed, ſo that euery man got him to armour, ſuppoſing the Scottes to bee at hande. The horſe appoynted for the kyngs ſaddle that day, as the Kyng ſhoulde haue got vppon hym, afrighted wyth ſome noyſe, ſtarte aſide, and threwe the Kyng downe wyth ſuche violence, that hee brake two of his ribbes, as the reporte went. Other write, that his horſe trode on hym in the night as he and his people reſted them, keeping their horſes ſtill bridled to bee readye the ſooner vppon occaſion of any neceſſitie: but howſoeuer hee came by hys hurt, he ſtayed not to paſſe forwarde in his purpoſed iourney, but mounting vppon an other horſe, went forth with hys armye till hee came to a place called Foukirke where bothe the armyes of England and Scotland met and fought. The Scottes were deuided into four ſchiltrons, as they termed them, or as we may ſay, round battailes, in forme of a circle, in the whiche ſtoode theyr people, that caried long ſtaues or ſpeares which they croſſed ioyntly togither one wythin an other, betwixt which ſchiltrons or round battails were certain ſpaces left the which wer filled wyth theyr archers & bowmen, and behinde all theſe were theyr horſmen placed. They had choſen a ſtrong grounde, ſomewhat ſideling on the ſide of a hill. The Erles Marſhall, Herford, and Lincolne whiche ledde the forewarde of the Engliſhemen, at the firſt made directly towardes the Scottes, but they were ſtayed by reaſon they founde a marys, or an euill fauoured moſſe betwixt theyr enemyes and them, ſo that they were conſtreyned to fetche a compaſſe towardes the weſte ſide of the fielde.

he battaile Foukirke.

bingdon.

he order of e Scottiſhe attayles.

The Earles Marſhall, Herforde, and Lincolne ledde the fore vvarde.

The Byſhop of Durham riding in the ſeconde battaile of the Engliſhemen conſiſting of ſixe and thirtie ſtanderds or banners, knowing the let of that moſſe or maris, made toward the Eaſt ſide, haſting forth to be the firſt that ſhoulde giue the onſet: but yet when they approched neare to the enemies, the Byſhoppe commaunded his people to ſtaye till the thyrde battaile, which the Kyng led, mighte approch: but that valiant Knyght the Lorde Rauſe Baſſet of Drayton ſayde to hym: My Lorde Byſhoppe, you may goe and ſay Maſſe, which better becometh you, than to teache vs what we haue to doe, for wee will doe that that belongeth to the order of warre, and herewyth they haſted forthe on that ſyde to charge the fyrſte ſchiltron of the Scottes, and the Earles wyth theyr battaile on the other ſide, and euen vppon the firſte brunt, the Scottiſhe horſemen fledde, a fewe only excepted, which ſtayed to keepe the footemen in order. And amongeſt other, was the brother of the Lorde Stewarde of Scotlande, who as hee was aboute to ſet in order the bowemen of Selkirke, by chaunce was vnhorſed, and ſlaine there emongeſt the ſame bowmen, and many a tall mans bodye wyth hym. The Scottiſhe archers thus being ſlain, the Engliſhemen aſſailed the ſpeare men, but they keeping them ſelues cloſe togyther, and ſtandyng at defence wyth theyr ſpeares like a thicke wood, kepte out the Engliſhe horſemen for a while, and foughte manfully, though they were ſore beaten wyth ſhotte of arrowes by the Engliſhe archers a foote: and ſo at length galled wyth ſhot, and aſſailed by the horſemen on eche ſide, they begun to diſorder and ſhrinke, from one ſide to another, and herwith the horſmen brake in amongeſt them, and ſo they were ſlaine and beaten down in maner all the whole number of them. Some ſaye there dyed of the

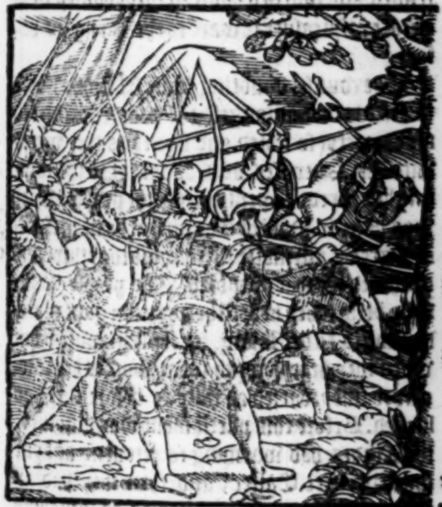
The biſhop of Durham ledde the ſeconde vvarde.

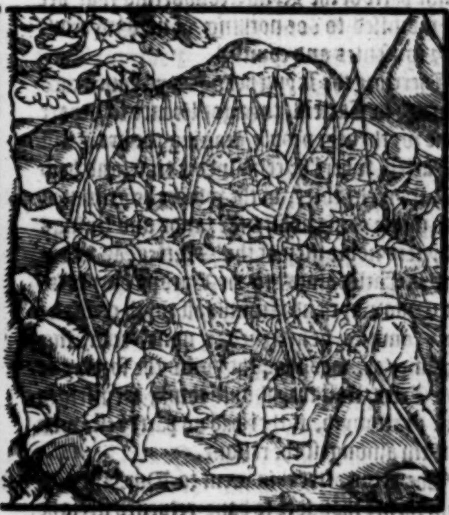
The Lorde Baſſet of Draitons vvordes to the Biſhop of Durham.

The Scottiſhe horſemen flee.

heir archers yue.

heſe Scottish [illegible], Gallovvaye Euerſden n.





N. Triuet.
Mat. VVeſt. hathe fourtye thouſande.
Polidore.
N.Triuet.
The tovvne of S. Androvvns.
The caſtell of Aire.

Scottes that daye (beyng the two and twenty of July, and the feaſte of Mary Magdalene) aboue twentie thouſande. Other write, that there were ſlaine at the leaſte to the number of xv. thouſande. The Scottiſhe writers alledge that this battaile was loſte by treaſon of the Cumyns and other, as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie ye may more plainly perceiue, with more mater touching the ſame battaile: after this was the towne of Sainct Androwes deſtroyed, no man beyng wythin to make reſiſtaunce. And from thence the Engliſhe army came throughe Selkirke Forreſte vnto the caſtell of Ayre, whiche they founde voyde: and after they came by the towne of Annan and toke the caſtell of Lochmaben, and ſo returned into Englande by the Weaſtmarches, and came to Carleil.

Abyngdon.
Iriſhe Lordes.
The Iſle of Arayne.
Thomas Biſet requireth the Ile of Arain.
The euill opinion of the Erles Marshall and Hereforde tovvardes the Kyng.

About the ſame time certaine Iriſhe lords, and amongeſt other as chiefe, one Thomas Biſet landed in the Iſle of Arain, the inhabitants whereof yelded themſelues vnto the ſame Thomas, who as was iudged, ment to haue ayded the Scottes: but nowe hearing of the victorie whiche Kyng Edwarde had gotten in a pight fielde, he ſent vnto hym to giue hym to vnderſtande that hee was come in his ayde, and had wonne the ſaide Iſle of Airen, and therfore beſought him that it might pleaſe him to grau͂t it vnto hym and hys heyres, to holde of hym and his heyres for euer. Whiche requeſt the K. graunted: whereof when the Earles Marſhall & Hereford were aduertiſed, they thoughte this a raſhe parte of the Kyng, conſidering that hee had promiſed to doe nothing of new wythout theyr conſentes and counſell.

The Kynges liberalitie tovvardes his nobles.

Therefore the Kyng beyng as ye haue heard returned to Carleill, they got licence to depart home wyth theyr people leauing the kyng ſtill at Carleil, where he remained a time, and held a Parliament there, in the whiche he graunted vnto many of his nobles, the lands and liuings of dyuers noble men of the Scottes, as to the Earles Earledomes, to the Barons baronies, but Gallowaye and Annandall wyth certayne other counties, he aſſigned to none, reſeruing the ſame (as was thought) vnto the foreſayde two Erles, leaſt they ſhould thinke themſelues euill dealt wyth, if they had no parte beſtowed on them amongeſt the reſidue.

The King after this went to Durham, and from thence thoughte to haue returned ſtreight towardes London, but hearing that the Scottes ment to make ſome inuaſion, hee went to Tynmouth, and remained there till towards Chriſtmaſſe.

An.reg.27.
Cotyngham.

After the Kyng had layne a certen time at Tinnemouthe, hee departed from thence, and drewe Southwarde, and comming to Cotingham, a little from Beuerley, helde hys Chriſtmaſſe there, and after drewe towardes London, where in the beginning of Lent, hee held a parliament, at the which hee was requyred to keepe promiſſe for the confirming of the two charters and articles concluded wyth the Erles of Hereford and Marſhall. The King was nothyng contented that this matter ſhoulde bee ſo earneſtely called vppon, for lothe hee was to graunte theyr full requeſtes, and agayne to denye them, hee ſtoode in doubte howe it might bee taken: hee therefore prolonged time, and woulde make no aunſwere eyther to or fro: and when the Lordes vrged hym ſore to giue them aunſwere, hee got hym out of the citie, not making them priuie of hys departure, and when they followed hym, and ſemed not well contented that hee ſhoulde ſo diſſemble wyth them, hee excuſed hymſelfe by blaming the aire of the citie to bee againſte hys health, and therefore he bare them in hande, that he only ſought to refreſhe hymſelfe in ſome better ayre in the countrey more agreable to hys nature: and as for aunſwere to theyr requeſtes, hee willed them to repayre againe to the citie, and they ſhoulde haue aunſwere by hys counſaile ſo farre as ſhoulde ſtande wyth reaſon to content them.

They returned as hee willed them, and had the charters confirmed according to their requeſtes, ſauing that this addition was put in the latter end of yͤ ſame, *Saluo iure coronæ noſtræ.* Wyth whiche addition, the Lordes were offended, and tourned home to theyr houſes in as greate diſpleaſure towardes the Kyng as before.

The counſel doubting ſome ſeditious ſturre to ariſe hereof amongeſt the people, deliuered the charters (ſo ſealed and ſigned as they were) vnto the Sheriffes of London, that the ſame might bee redde openly before the people, which was done in Poules Churcheyarde in preſence of a greate aſſemblie there come togyther and gathered for that purpoſe. The people at the firſte before they heard the addition gaue many bleſſinges to the Kyng, for thoſe grauntes, but when they hearde wyth what wordes hee concluded, they curſed as faſte as before they had bleſſed. Before this parliament was diſſolued, the Lordes had warnyng to retourne agayne ſhortely after Eaſter, and then they had all thinges graunted and performed as they could wiſhe or deſire. The perambulations of Forreſtes were appoynted vnto three Byſhoppes, three Earles, and three Barons.

About the latter ende of Iune there came ouer a Byſhoppe ſente from Pope Boniface as hys *Nuncio*, and dyuers other wyth hym, to declare the order which the Pope as arbitrator indifferently choſen betwixte the two Kynges of Englande, and Fraunce, for the deciding of all controuerſies depending beetwixte them) had giuen forthe and decreed, whiche was in effect as followeth.

he Popes
ecree of peace
etvvixt the
ynges of
nglande and
raunce.

Fyrſte that Kyng Edwarde beeyng then a widower ſhoulde marry the Frenche Kynges ſiſter named Margaret, notwithſtandyng the degrees of conſanguinitie, for the whiche the Pope woulde diſpence. Againe that the Lorde Edwarde the Kynges eldeſt ſonne ſhoulde at conuenient tyme take to wyfe the Ladye Iſabell the Frenche Kynges daughter. Alſo that the Kyng of Englande ſhoulde make ſatiſfaction for the Frenche ſhippes whiche hys men had taken at the beginning of the warre, and that ſundrye townes in Gaſcoyne ſhoulde bee put into the Popes handes, till it might be vnderſtode vnto whome the righte apperteyned. But thoſe two laſt articles toke ſmall effect, the Frenche Kyng refuſing to deliuer any of thoſe townes whiche hee had gotten in poſſeſſion. Moreouer, theſe meſſengers in the Popes behalfe required the Kyng that hee woulde ſet at libertie John Baillol ſometime Kyng of Scotland, and to reſtore thoſe landes vnto his ſonne Edwarde Baillol, whiche hee ought to holde within the Realme of Englande, promiſing and vndertaking in the Popes behalfe to preſerue and ſaue the Realme harmeleſſe of all hurte or damage that myghte enſue by the deliuerie of the ſayde John Baillol.

.Triuet.

he Popes re-
ueſt for the
eleaſing to ly-
ertye of Iohn
aillol.

King Edward vnderſtanding that ther was greate daunger in ſetting hym at libertie, was contented to deliuer hym vnto the Pope, but hee refuſed to make reſtitution vnto Edwarde Baillol of the landes whiche hee demaunded. The Popes ambaſſadoures receyuing John Baillol at Kyng Edwards handes, toke hym ouer wyth hym into Fraunce, and there lefte hym in the cuſtodie of the Byſhoppe of Cambrey, the Popes deputie in that behalfe, where ſhortelye after hee dyed.

hn Baillol
lyuered out
priſon at the
opes ſuite.

lidore.

e departeth
is lyfe.

After this, according to the couenauntes of agreement made beetwixte the two Kynges of Englande and Fraunce, the ceptiues vpon either parte were deliuered.

Triuet.

In the feaſte of the natiuitie of our Ladye, the Kyng married the Ladye Margaret ſiſter to the Frenche Kyng at Canterburye wyth greate ſolempnitie. Aboute the feaſte of Sainct Martin in wynter the Kyng helde a parliamēt at Yorke, meaning to haue gone from thence into Scotlande, to haue reſcued the caſtell of Strueling, whiche the Scottiſhemen had beſieged, and had it ſurrendred vnto them, ere the Kyng coulde ſet forewarde to come to rayſe the ſiege. The ſame yere died Henry Newarke Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Thomas Corbridge a doctour in diuinitie ſucceeded hym.

e Kyng ma-
eth the Frēch
ngs ſiſter.

parliament
Yorke.

The deceaſſe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the eyghte and twentye yere of his raign in the Chriſtmaſſe ſeaſon Kyng Edwarde ſet forth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all forraine coine to bee receyued and payde as ſterling mony wythin his dominion, commaunding by the ſame proclamation, that two peeces of them ſhuld go for one ſterlyng, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter. There were diuers moneyes in thoſe dayes currant wythin this realme, as Pollardes, Crocards, Staldinges, Egles, Leonines, Sleepinges, and all theſe were white monyes, artificially made of ſiluer, copper, and ſulphur, ſo that it was an yll tyme for baſe moneyes, and muche choppyng and chaunging was vſed in byying and ſelling of thynges. At Eaſter following the King vtterlye forbad that any of thoſe moneyes ſhoulde be currant at all, and helde his exchaunge in ſundry places, and to be rydde of them, men gaue fiue or ſixe of them for one ſterling, not caring for them bycauſe of theyr baſeneſſe, and yet wythin one yeare after that men had learned the ſkill by proofe howe to trie the mettall with melted leade in the fire, they founde that two peeces of thoſe baſe moneys were in valewe worthe one ſterling, and many became riche by the exchange, whiche had boughte good ſtore of them, when they were ſo ſmally eſteemed: but the Kyng cauſed enquirie to be made of them that vſed ſuche exchaunge wythout his licence, and put them to theyr fines.

An. reg. 28.
1300.

Abingdon.
A proclamation for money.

Forreyne moneys forbidden to go as currāt.

At a Parliament holden at London in lent this yeare, the Kyng renued the confirmation of the charters, and made certain new ſtatutes concerning fines and Gaole deliueries, very profitable to the common wealth.

Aboute the feaſte of Sainct John Baptiſt, Kyng Edwarde went wyth an armye into Scotlande, and there graunted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mountaine countryes to endure for eleuen Moneths, that is to wit, till Whitſontide nexte enſuing.

Abyngdon.
The king goth vvith an armye into Scotlande.

As the Kyng was vppon hys iourney forewardes in the Northe partes, hys late married wyfe Quene Margaret was deliuered of hys firſt ſonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkſhire not farre from Pontfret, he was named Thomas, and toke the ſurname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne.

Thomas of Brotherton borne the firſte of Iune

Moreouer Pope Boniface at the ſute of the Scottes wrote his letters vnto kyng Edward commaunding hym by the ſame and by the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, whome hee appoynted to delyuer the ſame letters, by other letters to hym directed, that he ſhould not onely releaſe and ſet at libertie all ſuche Scottes as he had in priſon, but alſo giue ouer his warres which he made againſt the realm of Scotlande: and if he ment to make any claime to the ſame, then to ſend his procurators vnto the court of Rome, and there to ſhewe what euidence hee coulde for hys righte thereto, where the matter (as he mainteined) was to be heard, decided, and iudged and not elſe where. The Archebyſhoppe according to the Popes commaundement did the meſſage, and preſented the Popes letters vnto the King, who deferred the anſwer vnto the aſſemblie of the eſtates in parliament, and hereof the Archebiſhop aduertiſed the Pope accordingly as in the letters to hym directed hee was commaunded.

Euerſden.

This yeare alſo on Sainct Remigius day, whiche is the firſte of October, dyed Edmunde Earle of Cornewall, the ſonne of Earle Rycharde, that was alſo Kyng of Almayne: and bycauſe he left no iſſue behynde him to inherite that Erledom, the ſame returned to the crown,

An.reg.29.
Mat. VVeſt.
Croxden.

1301.

In the xxix. yere of king Edwards raigne, on Sainct Oſwaldes daye, or as ſome haue written, the Fryday after the feaſt of Peter *ad vincula*, his wyfe Queene Margaret was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne, that had to name Edmunde of Wodſtocke, ſurnamed ſo of the place where hee was borne. The Kyng alſo this yere after Chriſtmaſſe helde a Parliament at Lincolne, to the whiche the Earles and Barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is ſaide) that they myghte procure of the Kyng the more ſpeedye execution of the charter of Forreſtes, whiche by hym had hitherto bene delaied, but nowe that hee perceiued theyr earneſtneſſe and importunate ſuite, hee condiſcended to their willes in all thynges.

Pope Boniface inhibiteth the king of Englād further to vexe the Scottes.

Pope Boniface beeyng ſolicited by the inſtant ſuite of the Scottiſhemen, and offended alſo that the landes in Englande whiche belonged vnto Edwarde Bailloll the ſonne of John Baillol, were not to the ſame Edwarde reſtored, hee eftſoones wrote to Kyng Edward forbidding hym from thence forthe any further to vexe the Scottes by warres, bycauſe that the kingdome of Scotlande was ſurrendred alreadye into hys handes by the generall conſent of the Scottiſhemen themſelues, and therefore was it in hys power to beſtowe and take awaye the ſame to whome or from whome ſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe hym.

N. Triuet.

There were reaſons alledged why the King of Englande ſeemed to doe wrong in chalenging as then the kingdome of Scotlande: and amongeſt other, one was that ſuche homage as had bene done of auncient time to the Kings of Englande, by the Kynges of the Scottes, was onely meant for Tyndale, Penreth, and ſuche other landes as the Scottiſhe Kynges helde within England, and not for the Realme of Scotlande.

And whereas the Kyngs of Scotlande had aided the Kyngs of Englande in theyr warres againſte the Rebells of theyr Realme of Englande, and bene preſent at theyr coronation, the ſame was done of ſpeciall fauour and not of dutie. Kyng Edwarde hauyng receyued the Popes preſcript and well conſidered the whole contentes thereof, ſent in writing his anſwere ſo at large, prouing by euident reaſons that the right of proprietie of the kingdome of Scotlande, did moſte iuſtly apperteyne vnto hym, and that the allegations were not true, but forged, whiche had bene by ſurmiſed information preſented againſte hym. Beſide the kyngs letters whiche hee wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter deuiſed and written by all the Lordes temporall of the lande aſſembled in parliament at Lincolne, in which letter they aunſwered in name of all the eſtates there gathered, vnto that pointe wherein the Pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the Realme of Scotlande, proteſting flatly that they would not conſent that theyr Kyng ſhuld doe any thyng that might tende to the diſenheriting of the ryght of the crowne of Englande, and plaine ouerthrow of the ſtate of the ſame realme, and alſo hurt of the liberties, cuſtoms, and lawes of theyr fathers, ſith it was neuer knowne, that the kings of this land had anſwered or ought to anſwere for theyr rights in the ſame Realme, afore any iudge Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular. The Tenour of whiche letter beginneth thus.

TO our moſt holy father in Chriſte, Boniface by gods prouidence high Byſhoppe of the holye Romaine and Vniuerſall Churche, his deuoute ſons John Earle Warren: Thomas Erle of Lancaſter: Rafe de Monthermer Earle of Glouceſter and Hertforde, Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereford and Eſſex, and Conneſtable of England: Roger Bigod earle of Norfolke, and Mareſchall of Englande: Guy Earle of Warwike: Rycharde earle of Arundell: Adomare de Valence Lord of Monterney: Henry de Lancaſter Lorde of Monmouth: John de Haſtings Lorde of Bergeuennie: Henry de Percy Lorde of Topclife: Edmunde de Mortimer Lorde of Wigmor: Robert Fitz Water Lord of Wodham: John de Sainct John Lorde of Hannake: Hughe de Veer Lorde of Swaneſtampe: Wylliam de Brewſe Lorde of Gower: Roberte de Monthault Lorde of Hawarden: Roberte de Tateſhall Lorde of Wokeham: Reignald de Grey lorde of Ruthin: Henry de Grey lorde of Codnore, Hugh Bardolfe lorde of Wormegaye: Roberte de Clifforde Chatelain of Appelbye: Peter de Malowe lorde of Mulgreene: Philip lord of Kime: Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauerings: John de Mohun lorde of Dunester: Almericke de Sainct Amounde lord of Widehay: William de Ferrers lord of Groby: Alain de Zouche lord of Aſhby: Theobalde de Verdon lord of Webbeley: Thomas de Furniuall lorde of Schefielde: Thomas de Multon lorde of Egremont, William Latimer lorde of Corby, Thomas lorde Berkley: Foulke Fitz Warren lorde of Mitingham: John lord Segraue: Edmunde de Eincourt lorde of Thurgerton: Peter Corbet lorde of Caus: Wyllyam de Cantelowe lorde of Rauenſthorpe: John de Beauchampe lorde of Hatche: Roger de Mortimer lorde of Penkethlin: John Fitz Reinald lorde of Blenleueny: Raufe de Neuell lorde of Raby: Brian Fitz Alaine lorde of Bedale: Wyllyam Mareſhall Lorde of Hengham: Walter Lorde Huntercombe: Wyllyam Martin lorde of Camels: Henry de Thies lord of Chilton: Roger le Ware lord of Iſefielde: John de Riuers lord of Angre: John de Lancaſter lorde of Griſedale: Robert Fitz Payne lorde of Lainnier: Henry Tregoz lorde of Garinges: Robert Pipard lorde of Lamforde: Walter lord Faucomberg: Roger le Strange lorde of Elleſmer: John le Strange lorde of Cnokyn: Thomas de Chancers lord of Norton: Walter de Beauchamp lorde of Alceſter: Rycharde Talbot lorde of Eccleſwell: John Butetourt lord of Mendeſham: John Engaín lorde of Colum: Hughe de Poynz lorde of Cornehaler: Adam lorde of Welles: Simon lorde Montacute: John lord Suſſe: John de Melles or rather Moelles Lorde of Candebury: Edmũd baron Stafford: Io. Louel lord of Hackings: Edmũd de M. lord of Elchimhomkes: Rafe Fitz Williã lord of Grimthorp: Robert de Scales lord of Neuſells: Wil. Tuchet lorde of Lewenhales: Io. Abadan lord of Deuerſion: John de Hauctinges lord of Grafton: Rob. la Warde lorde of Whitehall: Nic. de Segraue lord of Stow: Walter de Tey lord of Stougraue: Io. de Liſle lord of Wodton: Euſtace lorde Hacche: Gilbert Peche lorde of Corby: Wil. Painel lord Trachington: Rog. de *Alto Monaſterio*: Foulk le Strange lord of Corſham: Henry de Pinkeny lord of Wedon: Io. de Houeleſton lorde of Aneys: Io. de Huntingfielde lord of Bradenhã: Hughe Fitz Henry lord of Rauenſwath: Io. Daleton lorde of Spofle: Ni. de Carri lord of Mulceford: Thomas lord de la Roche: Walter de Mucy lord of Thornton: Io Fitz Marmaduke lord of Horden: John lord of Kingſton: Rob. Haſtings the father lorde of Chebeſey: Rafe lord Grendon: Wil. lord of Leiborne: Io. de Greiſtocke lord of Morpath: Mathewe Fitz John lord of Stokenham: Nic. de Meuell lord of Wherles: and Io Painell lord of Becles: with al humble ſubmiſſion. The holy mother Churche, by whoſe miniſterie the catholik ſea is gouerned: in hir deedes (as we throughly beleue and hold) proceedeth with that ripeneſſe in iudgement, that ſhe will be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans righte be kepte vnbroken, aſwell in an other, as in hir ſelf. Whereas therfore in a general parliament called at Lincolne of late, by our moſte dreade lord Edward by the grace of god the noble King of Englãd: the ſame our lorde cauſed certain letters receyued from you to bee redde openly and ſo to be declared ſeriouſly afore vs, about certain buſineſſe touching the condition and ſtate of the Realme of Scotlande: we did not a little muſe and marueil with our ſelues, hearing the meanings concerning the ſame, ſo wonderous and ſtrange as the like we haue not heard at any tyme before: for we knowe moſte holy father, and it is well known aſwel within this realme of Englande (as alſo not vnknowen to other perſons beſides) that from the fyrſte beginning of the realme of Englande, the certain and direct gouernement of the Realme of Scotlande in all temporall cauſes from tyme to tyme belonged to the Kyngs of the ſame Realme of England and Realme of Scotlande, aſwell in the times bothe of the Britaynes as alſo Engliſhemen: yea rather the ſame Realme of Scotlande of olde tyme was in fee to the auncetours of our foreſayde Lordes Kynges of Englande, yea and to hymſelfe. Furthermore, the Kyngs of Scottes and the Realme haue not bene vnder any other than the Kyngs of Englande, and the Kynges of England haue aunſwered or ought to anſwere for theyr rightes in the foreſayd Realme, or for any his temporalities afore any Iudge Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of hys Royall dignitie and cuſtome kepte wythout breache at all tymes. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contentes in your foreſaide letters, this was the common agreeyng and conſent with one minde, and ſhall be without faile in tyme to come by gods grace: that our foreſaide Lorde the Kyng oughte by no meanes to aunſwere in iudgemente in any caſe, or ſhoulde bring his foreſaide rightes into doubte, nor oughte not to ſende any proctours or meſſengers to your preſence: ſpecially ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſenheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the ſtate of the

Out of maiſter Foxe pag.427.

the ſaide realme, and alſo hurts of the liberties, cuſtomes and lawes of our fathers: for the keping and defence of whiche, we are bounde by the duetie of the othe made, and we will maintaine them wyth all power, and will defende them (by gods helpe) wyth all ſtrengthe. And furthermore, will not ſuffer our foreſaide Lord the Kyng to doe or by any meanes attempte the premiſſes beyng ſo vnaccuſtomed, vnwont, and not hearde of afore: wherefore we reuerentlye and humbly beſeeche youre holyneſſe, that yee woulde ſuffer the ſame our lorde King of Englande (who among other princes of the worlde ſheweth hymſelfe catholike and deuout to the Romiſhe Churche) quietly to enioy his rightes, liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes aforeſaide: wythout all empayring, and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witneſſe whereof, we haue ſette our ſeales to theſe preſentes, aſwell for vs, as for the whole cōmunaltie of the foreſaide Realme of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of Februarie in the yeare of our Lorde. 1301. *Et anno Edwardi primi. xxix.*

The king goeth into Scotlande.

The Pope when he hearde and deliberately pondered the Kyngs aunſwere, wyth this letter dyrected to hym from the Engliſhe Barons, hee waxed colde in the matter, and followed it no farther. The truce betwixte the Kyng and the Scottes beeyng once expired, the Kyng aſſembled hys armye, and wente into Scotlande, aboute the feaſte of Sainct John Baptiſt, and tarrying there all the ſommer and winter following, his ſouldiors loſte many of their greate horſes for lacke of forrage whiche coulde not bee gotten in the colde winter ſeaſon. Hee kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Lithko, and at length at the requeſt of his brother in lawe the Frenche Kyng, he graunted eftſoones a truce to the Scottiſhemen till the feaſt of all Sainctes nexte enſuing. Then hauing ordered his buſines for that time in Scotlande, hee retourned into Englande, and aboute Midlent called a parliament at London. Alſo this yeare Pope Boniface vpon diſpleſure cōceiued againſt the French K. ſent vnto king Edward exhorting hym to make warres againſte the ſame Frenche Kyng, and to perſwade hym the more eaſily thereunto, hee promiſed him great aide: but the King of England hauing proued the ſaid Pope, not the ſureſt man in freendſhip towardes him, he forbare to attempt any forcible exploite againſt the French King, truſting by ſome other meanes to recouer his righte.

An.reg. 30.
1302.

A truce graunted to the Scots

The king returneth into Englande.

The Pope exhorteth the K. of Englande to make warre againſt Fraunce.

The deceaſe of the Earle of Herforde.

This yere departed out of this world Humfrey Bohun Earle of Herforde, after whome ſucceded his ſonne Humfrey, the whiche afterwardes married the Kynges daughter, Elizabeth Counteſſe of Hollande, after that hir firſte huſbande was deade.

Ex. Tri.
Tourney
bibited.

Tourneyes, iuſtes, barriers, & other warlike exerciſes, whiche yong Lordes and gentlemen had appoynted to exerciſe for theyr paſtime, in diuers partes of the Realme, were forbidden by the Kyngs proclamations ſent downe to be publiſhed by the Sheriffes in euerye countye abrode in the Realme: the teſte of the writ was from Weſtminſter the ſixteenth of July.

An.reg
130

The citizens of Burdeaux could not beare the yoke of the Frenche bondage, and therefore this yere aboute Chriſtmaſſe expulſed them out of theyr Citie. Shortly after the Frenche King doubting leaſte the Kyng of Englande by the ſetting on of the Pope, ſhoulde make warres agaynſte hym for the wrongfull deteyning of Gaſcoigne, to purchaſe his fauour, reſtored vnto hym all that whiche hee helde in Gaſcoigne and ſo then they of Burdeaux, alſo ſubmitted themſelues to the Kyng of Englande of theyr owne accorde.

Town
red to th
in Gaſcoi

Polidor.

The Lord
graue ſe
as warde
Scotland.

Nowe after that the truce wyth the Scots was expired, whiche toke ende at the feaſte of all Sainctes laſte paſte, the Kyng ſent the lord John Segraue, a right valiant Knight (but not ſo circumſpect in his gouernement as was neceſſarie) wyth a great army into Scotland, to haue the rule of the lande as lorde Warden of the ſame: wyth him was ioyned alſo Rauſe Confrere, Treaſourer of the armye. Theſe two capitaines comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scottiſhe men already were in armes, they entred into Scotlande, and in order of battaile paſſe forth vnto Edenburgh, and hearing nothing of theyr enemies, whiche kept them ſtill in the mountaines, they deuided their armye into three ſeuerall battailes, two of the whiche came behinde the fore warde vnder the leading of the ſaide Rafe Confrey, the thirde (that is to ſay) the fore ward, the Lorde Segraue ledde hymſelfe. in ſuche order that there was the diſtaunce of foure miles betwixt theyr lodgings. This they did to be the more plenteouſlye ſerued of vittualles. But the Scots vnderſtanding this order of theyr enemies, became the more hardy, and thereuppon hauing knowledge where the Lorde Segraue was lodged wyth his companye, a good waye off from the other two partes of the army, they haſte forwarde in the night ſeaſon, and came neare vnto the place where the ſame Lorde Segraue was encamped, a little before daye, making themſelues redie to aſſaile the engliſhmen in their campe, but the lorde Segraue hauing knowlege of their coming, though he was coūſeled by ſome of them that were about him, either to wythdraw vnto the other battailes or

Abyng.
Polidor.

elſe to ſende vnto them to come to his ayde, he would follow neither of bothe the wayes, but like a capitaine more hardie than wiſe in this point, diſpoſed his cōpanies which he had there in order to fight, and encouraging them to pley the men; immediatly vpon the riſing of the ſun, & that his enemies approched, he cauſed the trūpets to blowe to the battaile, & gaue therewith the onſet. The fight was ſore, and doutful for a while, till the Engliſhmen ouercome with the

multitude of their enemies begā to be ſlaine on eche ſide, ſo yͤ few eſcaped by flight, to the nūber of .xx. worthie knyghts were taken, with their capitaine the ſaide Lorde Segraue being ſore wounded, but he was by chaunce reſkewed, and deliuered out of the enemies handes, by certen horſemen, whiche vnder the leading of the lord Robert Neuile a right valiant knight, (vpon hearing the noiſe of them that fled) came on the ſpurres out of the nexte campe to the ſuccour of theyr fellows. Rauſe Confreir after this miſhappe (as Polydore hathe) brought backe the reſidue of the army into Englande, not thinking it neceſſary to attempt any further enterpriſe at that time againſte the enimyes, ouermatching hym both in ſtrength and number. This encounter chaunced on the firſt Sunday in Lent.

I remember howe the Scottiſh Chronicles conteine muche more of this enterpriſe greatly to their glorye, and more haply than is true, as by cōferring the place where they entreat of it, with this that I haue here exēplified out of our writers it may well appeare. The erle Marſhall hauing ſpent largely whileſt he ſtood in contētion againſt the king, who was now earneſtly called vpon to repay ſuche ſums of money as he had borowed of his brother John Bigot, who was very riche by reaſon of ſuch benefices and ſpirituall liuings as he had in his handes, the erle bicauſe he had no childrē to whō he might leaue his landes, ment to haue left thē vnto his ſaide brother: but when he ſaw hym ſo importunate in calling for the debtes which he ought hym, he toke ſuch diſpleaſure therwith, that to obtaine the Kynges fauour, and to diſappoint his brother of the inheritaunce, he gaue vnto yͤ Kyng all his poſſeſſions, vpon condition that the Kyng adding thereto other landes in value worthe a .M. markes by yeare, ſhoulde reſtore thē to him again to enioy during his life, the remainder after his deceſſe to come vnto yͤ K. and further, the kyng ſhould pay and diſcharge him of all his debts. King Edward being aduertiſed of the loſſe whiche his men had ſuſteined in Scotlande, ſtreight wayes called a parliamēt, wherin by aſſent of the ſtates a ſubſidie was graunted towardes the mainteinaunce of his warres, and thē the ſame being leuied he aſſēbled his people, & ſhortly after about Whitſontide entred into Scotlande to reuenge the death of his men. The Scottes hearing of the Kynges comming, fled into the mountaines, moſſes, and mariſhe groundes, not ones ſhewing any countenance to fight any ſet battaile with the Engliſh hoſte, ſo that the king in maner without reſiſtance paſſed throughe the coūtrey euen vnto Cathnes, which is yͤ furtheſt part of all Scotlād: many of the Scots perceyuing theyr lack of power to reſiſt yͤ engliſh puiſſāce, came to king Edward & ſubmitted themſelues, wyth condition yͭ they ſhould enioye their lāds whiche he had giuen awaye to his lordes, they redeming yͤ ſame with conuenient fines, which was grāted. But Williā Walleis with certen other keping themſelues in places where no army could come to purſue them, would neuer giue eare to any conditions of agreement: ſo that neither with feare, neither with offer of rewardes coulde this Walleis be induced to folowe or beholde the Engliſhe King ruling the Realme of Scotland. K. Edward retourning backe came to the caſtel of Striueling (which the Scottiſhmen helde againſt hym) & beſieged it. The King hymſelfe lay at Dunferling the moſte parte of the winter: and whileſt he lay there, the Queene which had lyen a long time at Tinmouth came to him, and when the winter was once paſte, the king himſelfe commeth to the ſiege, and cauſed certain engins of wood to be reiſed vp againſt the caſtell, which ſhot off ſtones of .ij. or .iij. C. weight: but yet woulde not they within once talke of any ſurrender: & where the Engliſhemen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of trees, they ſet the ſame on

fyre

e Engliſhe-
vanqui-
by the
ces.

byngdon.

f Confrere
ſlayne at
encounter
lbyngdon

Triuet.

Earle
rſhall reſig-
his landes
o the king.

A Subſidie.

The king goeth in perſon into Scotlande.

Cathneſſe.

The Scots ſubmitte themſelues to the king

Abyngdon.
VVill. VVallace.

Polidore.

Hec. Boetius.

Io. Maior

An. reg. 32.
Striuelyn caſtel beſieged.

Abingdon.

1304.

Engins to caſt ſtones.

fire and brent them to aſhes: at length the diches were filled with ſtones and earthe, ſo that then the Scottes within perceyuing themſelues in euident perill to loſe the caſtell, on ſaint Margarets daye they yelded themſelues ſimply into the Kynges handes, as the engliſhe writers affirme, though the Scottiſhe writers recorde the contrary. Finally, when the Kyng had ordered all his buſineſſe in Scotland at his pleaſure, he retourned into Englande, leauing in Scotland for warden the lord John Segraue, or (as other writers haue, ſir Aymer de Ualſce Erle of Pembroke.) At his comming to Yorke he cauſed the Juſtices of his benche, and the barons of the Exchequer to remoue with their courtes, and all theyr Clerkes and officers, togither with the Lord Chaũcellor and his court vnto London, that the Termes myght be kept there, as in times paſſe they had bene, where as nowe the ſame had remayned at Yorke aboue the ſpace of ſixe yeres, vpon this conſideration, that the Kyng and hys Counſell myght bee neare vnto Scotland to prouide for the defence thereof, as occaſion from time to time ſhould requyre. From Yorke he came to Lincolne, and there remayned all the winter, holding a counſell, in the whiche he eftſoones confirmed the articles of *Magna Charta*, touching yͤ liberties, priuileges and immunities of his ſubiects, the whiche to declare theyr thankfull mindes towardes him for the ſame, graunted to him for the ſpace of one yeare the fifteenth parte of all theyr reuenues. Other write that the kyng had this yeare of citizens and of the Burgeſſes of good townes, the ſixt peny according to the valued rate of theyr goodes.

Polidore.

The VValſ.
The Earle of Pembroke lord vvarden of Scotlande.

N. Triuet.

Polidore.

A fifteenthe graunted.

Aboute the ſame time, Thomas Colebrugh or Corbridge Archbyſhoppe of Yorke departed this life, and one William Greenefielde Doctour of bothe the lawes ſucceeded hym. There dyed aboute the ſame tyme likewiſe that valiant knyght the lord W. Latimer. Alſo John Warrein Earle of Surrey and Suſſex dyed this yeare, and was buryed at Lewes. His nephew by his ſonne, (named alſo John) ſucceded him, obteining to wife the kings Neece by his daughter Eleanor that was married to the Earle of Bar, as before yee haue hearde.

The deceaſſe of the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke.
VVilliam Grenefielde made Archebyſhoppe of Yorke,

And likewiſe Robert Bruiſe Erle of Carrike, the fifthe of that name, dyed this yere, that was father to that Roberte Bruce that was after King of Scottes. Moreouer aboute this ſeaſon the kyng ordeined certain cõmiſſioners or Juſticiaries, to make inquiſitiõs through yͤ realme, by yͤ verdict of ſubſtãciall Juries vppon all officers, as Maiors, ſheriffes, bailiffes, eſcheators and other, that had miſuſed themſelues in their Offices, either by extortion, briberie, or otherwiſe, to yͤ greuance of the people, contrary to that they rightly might doe ⁊ ſuffre by vertue of their offices: by meanes of which inquiſitions many were accuſed ⁊ founde culpable, ⁊ therupon put to greuous fines. Alſo yͤ Juſtices which were aſſigned to take theſe inquiſitions, extended the ſame according to their commiſſion againſt ſuche as had made intruſions into other mẽs lands, ⁊ for doubt to be empleaded by the ſame, had made alienatiõs ouer vnto lords of greate men, alſo againſte ſuche barretors as vſed to take mony to beate any man, ⁊ againe wolde not ſticke to take mony of him whome they had ſo beatẽ, to beate him that had firſt hired them to beate the other. The malice of ſuch maner people was now reſtrayned by force of theſe inquiſitions: for ſuche as were foũde culpable, were worthily puniſhed, ſome by death, ⁊ ſome by ranſoms: diuers alſo for feare to come to their anſwers fled the realme: alſo forfeits againſte the crown were ſtraightly looked vnto, foũd out, ⁊ leuied, by reaſon wherof great ſumes of money came to the kings coffers, which holp wel towards the maintenance ⁊ charges of his warres. This kind of inquiſition was named cõmonly Traile baſtõ, which ſignifieth Traile or draw the ſtaff. And forasmuch as yͤ proceding in this wiſe againſte ſuche miſdemeanors as then were vſed, brought ſo great a benefit to yͤ realm in reſtreining ſuche malefactors which greatly (as ſhuld ſeme) diſquieted the ſtate of yͤ cõmonwelth, I haue thought good to ſet down yͤ forme of the write, as I finde it regiſtred in the boke that belonged to the abbey of Abingdon, which is as followeth.

Robert Bruce Earle of Carrike departeth this lyfe.

Nic. Triuet.
Inquiſitions taken of the myſdemeanours of iuſtices.

Caxton.

REx dilectis et fidelibus ſuis, Radulfo filio VVilhelmi, et Iohãni de Bartõ de Ritõ ſalutẽ. Quia quãplures malefactores, & pacis noſtræ perturbatores, homicidia, depredationes, incẽdia, & alia dãna quãplurima nocte dieq́; perpetrantes vagantur in boſcis, parcis, & alijs locis diuerſis, tã infra libertates quã extra, in comitatu Eboracenſi, & ibidẽ receptantur in maximũ periculũ tã hominũ per partes illas tranſeuntiũ, quã ibidẽ cõmorantiũ, in noſtri cõtemptũ ac pacis noſtræ læſionẽ manifeſtã, & vt accepimus: per quorũ incurſum poterunt peiora peioribus de facili euenire, niſi remediũ ſuper hoc citius apponatur, nos eorum malitiæ in hac parte obuiare, & huiuſmodi damnis & periculis precauere volẽtes, aſsignamus vos ad inquirendum per ſacramentum tam militũ quam aliorum proborũ & legaliũ hominũ, de contemptu prædicto, tam infra libertates quã extra, per quos ipſa veritas melius ſciri poterit, qui ſint illi malefactores & pacis noſtræ perturbatores, & eos conduxerũt & cõducunt ad verberãdũ, vulnerãdũ, maletractandũ, & interficiendũ plures de regno noſtro in ferijs, mercatis et alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimicitia, inuidia aũt malitia, *Et etiam pro eo quod in aſſiſis iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquiſitionibus factis de feloniјs poſiti fuerant, & veritatem dixerunt: vnde pro conditione huiuſmodi malefactorum iuratores aſſiſarum, iurationum, recognitionum, & inquiſitionum illarum, pro timore dictorum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, ſepius veritatem dicere, ſeu dictos malefactores indictare minimè auſi fuerunt, & ſunt. Et ad inquirendum de illis qui huiuſmodi munera dederunt, & dant, & quantum, & quibus, & qui huiuſmodi munera receperũt, & à quibus & qualiter & quo modo, & qui huiuſmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt, & manutenent in comitatu prædicto, & ad ipſos malefactores tam per vos, quàm per vicecomitem noſtrum comitatus prædicti arreſtandos, & priſonæ noſtræ liberandos, & ſaluo, & ſecurè, in eadem, per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti cuſtodiẽdos, ita quod ab eadẽ priſona nullo modo deliberentur, ſine mandato noſtro ſpeciali. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd ad certos diẽ & locũ, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquiſitiones illas faciatis. Et aſſumpto vobiſcum ſufficiẽti poſſe comitatus prædicti, ſi neceſſe fuerit, dictos malefactores coram vobis ſic indictatos, areſtetis, & ipſos priſonæ noſtræ liberetis, in forma prædicta: & etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipſorum malefactorum qui ſe ſubtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, poſtquam de feloniјs aliquibus coram vobis ſolemniter indictati fuerint, per vicecomitẽ comitatus prædicti, in manum noſtram capiatis, & ea ad opus noſtrum ſaluo cuſtodire faciatis, donec aliud inde vobis, præceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti noſtro comitatus prædicti, quod ad certos diem & locũ, quos vos prouidere duxeritis, venire faciat, corã vobis tot & tales, tam milites quam alios, quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam infra libertates, quàm extra, per quos ipſa veritas melius ſciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quod omnes illos quos per inquiſitionẽ culpabiles inuenire contigerit, et quos vos ei, ſic liberaueritis, à nobis recipiãtur, et quorũ nomina eis ſcire faciatis aſſũpto ſecũ, ſufficiẽti poſſe comitatus prædicti, ſine dilatione arreſtari, & in priſona noſtra ſaluo, & ſecurè cuſtodire faciat in forma prædicta, & communitati dicti comitatus quod ſimul cum vicecomite prædicto, vobis quotienſcunq; opus fuerit in præmiſſis pareat, aſſiſtat, & intendat, prout eis iniungetis ex parte noſtra. In cuius rei teſtimonium. &c.*

Heerevnto were annexed certaine articles by way of inſtructions, of what pointes they ſhould enquire, as partly aboue is noted, out of the addition to Mathewe Weſt. but not ſo fully, as in the ſaid Chronicle of Abingdon is found expreſſed, and heere for breefeneſſe omitted.

reg. 33. 1305

e Ed- cõmit- ward. ton. an.

In the 33. yere of his raigne, K. Edward putte his ſon Prince Edward in priſon, bycauſe yͭ hee had riotouſly brokẽ the parke of Walter Langton B. of Cheſter, and bycauſe the Prince hadde done this dede by the procurement of a lewd and wanton perſon, one Peers Gaueſton, an Eſquire of Gaſcoigne, the K. baniſhed him the Realme, leaſt the prince, who delited much in his company, might by his euil & wanton counſel, fall to euil and naughtye rule.

William Walace taken and put to deathe.

Ri. South.

Moreouer, the ſame yere, Wil. Walace was taken, & deliuered vnto K. Edwarde, who cauſed him to be brought to Lõdon, where on S. Bartholmewes euen, hee was conueyed through the ſtreetes vnto Weſtminſter, & there arreigned of his treaſons, & condemned, & therevppon hanged drawen & quartered, his head was ſet ouer Londõ bridge, his right ſide ouer the bridge at Newcaſtell vppon Tine, his left ſide was ſent to Berwike, and there ſet vp, his right legge was ſent to S. Johns Towne, and his left vnto Aberden, in which places, the ſame were ſet vp for an example of terror to others.

Nich. Triuet.

Flemings baniſhed the land, at contemplation of the Kyng of Fraunce.

Abingdon.

The Archbyſhop of Caunterbury accuſed by the K.

Nich: Triuet.

He is ſuſpended.

Alſo, about the ſame time, the K. of Fraunce required the K. of Englande by meſſengers and letters ſent vnto him, that he would baniſh al the Flemings out of his Realme, in like manner as at his inſtance he had lately before baniſhed al the Scottiſhmẽ out of France. The K. of Englande was cõtented ſo to doe, and by that meanes, were all the Flemings auoided out of this lãd at yͤ ſeaſon, but ſhortly after, they returned againe. King Edward accuſed Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury vnto the Pope, for yͭ he ſhould goe aboute to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Realme, & to defende and ſuccour rebellious perſons, wherevppon, the ſaid Archb. beeing cited to the Popes conſiſtory, was ſuſpended from executing his office, till hee ſhoulde purge himſelfe by order of lawe, of ſuche crimes as were laid & obiected againſte him. The K. alſo obteined an abſolution of the Pope, of the othe, which againſt his will he had taken, for the obſeruing of the liberties exacted by force of him, by the Erles and Barons of his Realm, namely, touching diſforreſtings to be made.

An. reg. 34. 1306

Iohn Lorde Comin ſlayne by Roberte Bruce.

The Counteſ of Boughan ſet the Crowne on Roberte Bruce his head

She is taken.

This yere, Robert Bruce, contriuing wayes how to make himſelf K. of Scotland, the 29. day of Januarie, ſlew yͤ Lord John Comin at Dũfrice, whileſt the Kinges Juſtices were ſitting in iudgemẽt within the Caſtell there, and vpon the day of the annunciation of our Lady, cauſed him ſelf to be Crowned K. of Scotlande at Scone, where the Counteſſe of Boughan, that was ſecretely departed from hir huſbande the Earle of Boughan, & had taken with hir, all his greate horſes, was ready to ſet the Crowne vpon the Bruces head, in abſence of hir brother yͤ Erle of Fife, to whom (being then in England) ſoiourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leiceſterſhire, yͭ office of right apperteined. This Counteſſe beyng afterwardes taken the ſame yeare by the Engliſhmen, where other woulde haue had hir put to death, the King woulde not grant therevnto, but commanded, that he ſhuld be put in a cage made

Hir puniſhment.

of wood, whiche was ſet vppon the walles of the Caſtell of Berwike, that all ſuche as paſſed by, might behold hir. There were preſent at his Coronation foure biſhops, fiue Erles, & a great multitude of people of the lande. Immediately vppon yͤ newes brought to the K. of Bruces coronatiõ, he ſente forthe a power of men, vnder the conduit of the Erle of Pembroke, and of the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Robert Clifford and others, to reſiſt the attemptes of the Scottes, now ready to worke ſome miſchiefe, through the encouragement of yͤ new King. Edward Prince of Wales was made knight this yere at Londõ, vpõ Whitſonday, & a great number of other yong bachelers with him (297. as Abingdon writeth) the whyche were ſent ſtraightwayes with yͤ ſaide Prince towards Scotlãd, to ioyne with the Earle of Pẽbroke, to reſiſt the attemptes of the new K. Robert le Bruce and his complices. K. Edwarde himſelfe followed. The general aſſemblie of yͤ army was appointed at Carleill, a fifteene dayes after the Natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, frõ thẽce to marche forth, vnder the guiding of the Prince into Scotlãd.

An army ſent into Scotland.

Prince Edward made Knight.

Thre hundred hath M. Weſt.

Prince Edward ſent into Scotland.

Robert Bruce.

In the meane time, Roberte le Bruce went abroade in the countreys of Scotlande, receyued the homages of many Scottiſhmenne, and got togither an army of men, with the whiche, he approched neere to S. Johns Towne, into the which the Earle of Pembroke was alittle before entred to defende it, with three hundred menne of armes, beſide footemen. The Bruce ſent vnto the Erle to come out, & giue battell, yͤ Erle ſent vnto him word againe, that he would not fight yͤ day being ſunday, but vpõ the next morow, he would ſatiſfie his requeſt. Robert Bruce herevpõ withdrew a mile backe frõ the towne, determining to reſt himſelfe and his people that night. About euening tide cõmeth the Earle forth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and aſſayling his enimies vpon a ſuddaine, ſlew diuers ere they could get their armour on their backes. Roberte Bruce and others that hadde ſome ſpace to arme thẽſelues made ſome reſiſtance for a while, but at length, the Engliſh mẽ put them to the worſe. ſo that they were conſtreyned to flee. The Earle following yͤ chaſe, purſued thẽ, euẽ into Kentire, not reſting, til he vnderſtood that a great number of thẽ wer gottẽ into a Caſtel, which he beſieged, in hope to haue found Roberte Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the Coũtrey. Howbeit, his wife & his brother Nigell or Neal, with diuers other, wer takẽ in this Caſtel. and ſente in ſafetie vnto Berwike. Alſo ſhortly after, the Erle of Atholl was taken, being fledde out of the ſame Caſtel.

Abingdon.

It was the next ſunday after Midſomer day.

Robert Bruce put to flight by the Earle of Pembroke.

Robert Bruce fled into Cantir.

His wife and brother are taken.

The Earle of Athol taken.

Fabian.

But ſome write, that this Erle was taken in the battell laſt remembred, after long fighte and great ſlaughter of Scottes, to the number of ſeuen M. and alſo that in yͤ chaſe, the Lord Simond de Friſell was taken, with the biſhops of S. Androwes & Glaſcow, the Abbot of Scone, and the ſaid Erle of Atholl, named ſir John Chambers. The biſhops and Abbot, K. Edwarde ſente vnto Pope Innocent, with report of their penitencial. other write, that the foreſaide biſhops & Abbot being takẽ indeede the ſame yere, were brought into Englãd, & there kept as priſoners within ſundry Caſtels.

The wyfe of Roberte le Bruce beyng daughter to the erle of Vlſter, was ſent vnto the manor of Bruſtwick, & there honorably vſed, hauing a cõuenient nũber of ſeruants appointed to waite on hir. The Erle of Vlſter hir father, in the beginning of theſe laſt warres, ſent vnto K. Edward two of his own ſons to remaine wͭ him, in ſuch wiſe as he ſhuld think cõueniẽt to aſſure himſelf of him, yͭ he would attẽpt nothing againſt the Engliſh ſubiects. Alſo it was ſaid, yͭ the Lady hirſelf, the ſame day hir huſbãd & ſhe ſhould be crowned, ſaid, that ſhe feared they ſhuld proue but as a ſommer K. and Q. ſuch as in Countrey townes yͤ yong folks choſe for ſport to dance about May poles. For theſe cauſes was ſhe yͤ more curteouſly vſed at the Kinges handes, as reaſon no leſſe required.

It ſhuld appeare alſo by Robert Fabian, that the Kyng was preſente himſelfe at this battell: but other affirme, that prince Edward was there as generall, and not his father, and that the battell was foughte at Dunchell vppon the riuer of Tay. But neyther the Scottiſh Chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet, (whome in the hiſtorie of this Kyng Edwarde the firſte, we haue moſt followed) make any mention, that either the King or prince ſhoulde bee at the foreſaide battaile, but that the Erle of Pembroke with Roberte Lorde Clifford, and Henry Lord Percy were ſente before (as ye haue already heard) with an army, by whome as appeareth, this victory was obteyned, at a place called Methfen.

Fabian.

Methfen.

After this, was the Caſtell of Lochdore taken, and within it, Chriſtopher Seiton, that hadde married the ſiſter of Roberte le Bruce: and bycauſe hee was no Scotte but an Engliſhmanne borne, the Kyng commaunded that hee ſhoulde bee leade vnto Dunfriſe, where hee hadde killed one of the Kyngs Knightes, and there to be hanged, drawen and quartered.

The wife of this Chriſtopher Seiton, he appointed to be kept in yͤ Monaſterie of Thixell in Lindſey, and the daughter of Roberte le Bruce, whyche was alſo taken aboute the ſame time, was ſente to the Monaſterie of Waton.

Moreouer, the manor of Seton in Whitbeſtrond, he gaue vnto yͤ Lord Edmõd de Maulley, and

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and thoſe other lands that belonged vnto the ſaid Chriſtopher Selton in Northũberlande, he gaue vnto ẏ Lord Wil. Latimer. The lãds ẏ belõged to the new Scottiſh K. he beſtowed in this wiſe, to Hẽry Bohun Earle of Hereforde, which hadde maried one of K. Edwards daughters, he gaue ẏ Lordſhips of Innãdale, Hert & Hertnes, he gaue vnto ẏ Lord Robert Clifford, ſauing alwayes ẏ right yet that belonged to the Church of Durhã, Totenham, and Totenhamſhire: & the maner of Wrothell in ẏ ſouth parts, he gaue to other noble mẽ, and ẏ Erledome of Carrike which ẏ Bruce had holden, as by inheritance frõ his mother, the K. gaue to the Lord Hẽry Percie, the Erledome of Itholl, hee gaue to Rauſe de Monthermer Erle of Glouceſter, who had alſo married as hefore yee haue heard, an other of the kings daughters, after ẏ deceſſe of hir firſte huſband Gilbert de Clare Erle of Glouceſter. About ẏ feaſt of Saint Michael, the new Scottiſhe K. Robert le Bruce returned forth of ẏ Iles (into ẏ which he had fled) with many Iriſhmẽ and Scottes in his cõpany, & remained a certaine time in Kẽtire, he ſent certaine of his officers, to leuie, & gather vp the rẽts of ẏ fermes due at ẏ feaſt of S. Martin, for ſuche lands & poſſeſſions as they held in that countrey, wherof the L. Percy being aduertiſed, haſted thither, but ẏ new K. cõming vpon him, ſlewe certaine of his mẽ, toke his horſes & plate, with other things, & droue him into a Caſtel, within ẏ whiche he beſieged him, till at lẽgth, by a power ſente frõ K. Edward, Bruce was cõſtreined to depart. The K. in this meane time was come to Lanercoſt neere vnto Carleil, & there remained a long time. Frõ thence, he ſent his Iuſtices vnto Berwike, where they ſate in iudgemẽt vpon Nigell Bruce, & the other priſoners takẽ with him, which wer cõdẽned to die, & ſo they wer hanged, drawẽ & quartered. The Erle of Itholl was conueid to Lõdon, & although he ſued for pardõ in reſpect of ẏ he was of kinne to ẏ K. yet was he hanged vpon a Gibbet higher than all the reſidue, his body burned vnder the ſame Gibbet, and his head firſt cut off, was ſet vpõ a pole ouer Lõdon bridge for enſample ſake, ẏ traitors ſhuld loke for no pardõ.

The Lorde Percy put to flight, by the Scotiſh king Bruce.

Nigell or Neall Bruce condemned and executed.

Earle of
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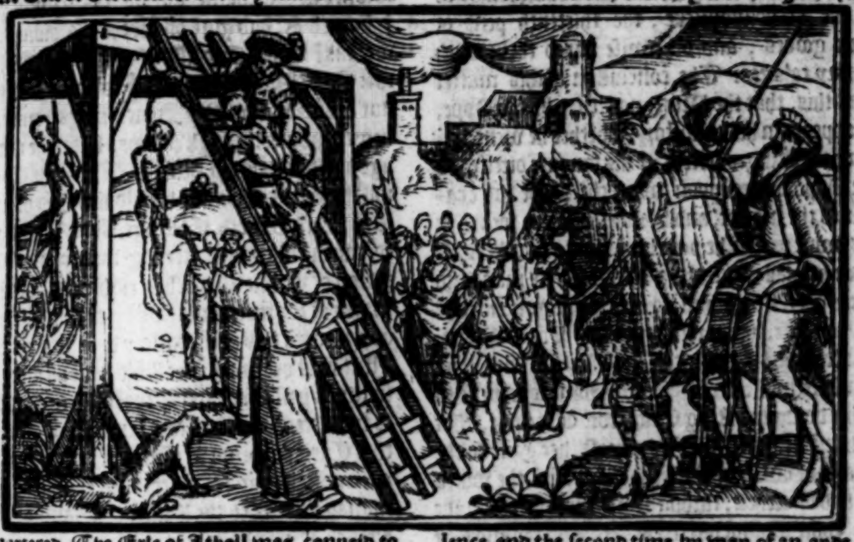

The elect Archb. of Yorke Wil. Grenefielde, was cõfirmed this yere, by Pope Clemẽt ẏ fifth, at ẏ citie of Lion in France, where ẏ ſame Pope was crowned about the ſame time, and held hys court there, liuing chiefly of the money which he got of biſhops that came to him for their cõfirmatiõs: he had of ẏ ſaid Archb. of Yorke within one yere, nine M. and fiue C. markes, beſides the expences which he was at whileſt he lay there: and ſo whẽ this Archb. was returned into England, through pouerty, he was driuen to gather money of the perſons, prieſtes, and religious men within his prouince at two ſundry times in one yere, as firſt, in name of a courteſie and gracious beneuolence, and the ſecond time, by way of an ayde.

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Moreouer, Pope Clement ordeined Anthony B. of Durhã, Patriarke of Ieruſalem, diſpẽſing with him, ſo as he held ſtill ẏ biſhopricke of Durham, notwithſtanding this other promotion, and this was, bycauſe the B. was rich, and the Pope pore. For this B. might diſpend in yeerely reuenewes by purchaſes and inheritances, beſides ẏ belonged to his miter aboue fiue M. markes, & he gaue great rewards to the Pope, & to his Cardinals, by meanes wherof, hee obteined in ſute againſt ẏ Prior of Durham, ſo ẏ hee had ẏ charge & ouerſight of the Monaſterie of Durham, both ẏ ſpirituall gouernemẽt & temporall, through enforming ẏ Pope, that the Prior was not able in diſcretion to rule the houſe. At his returning home, he cauſed a Croſſe of ſiluer and gilt, adorned with an Image of the Crucifix, to bee borne afore him. But where hee appointed certayn perſons as his deputies to enter into the Priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof, in place

The great reuenewes of Anthony B. of Durham.

He is kept out of the Abbey at Durham.

He is ſummoned to appere before the K. and refuſeth.

The concluſion of the ſtrife betwixt the Biſhop and Monks of Durham.

Bernards Caſtel giuen to the Earle of Warwike.

of the Prior, the Monkes ſhutte the gates againſt them, appealing to the Pope, and pretending the Kyngs protection which they had purchaſed. But thoſe that thus came in the Biſhops name, accuſed the Monkes, and ſo departed. The King herewith was highly offended, ſo that hee cauſed them to aunſwere the matter, afore the Iuſtices of his benche, and for theyr preſumption in pronouncing the curſe, without makyng the Kyng priuie to their doings, they were putte to their fines. And whereas the Byſhoppe was ſummoned to appeare before the King in perſon at a certayne day, hee made defaulte, and departing out of the Realme, gote backe agayne to the Pope, contrary to the Kyngs prohibition: wherevppon, the liberties of the Sea of Durham were ſeaſed into the Kinges handes, and the K. placed his Iuſtices and Chauncellor there, and in the yeare nexte enſuing, hee exacted of the tenantes of the Archbiſhopricke, the thirtenth peny of their goodes, and otherwiſe vexed them with ſundry talages. The concluſion of this matter was this, that the Prior was cited by the Pope, to appeare in his conſiſtory, whether he went, hauing the Kinges letters in his fauoure directed to the Pope, wherevppon, when the Pope had examined the matter, and hearde the Prior ſpeake in his owne perſon, he perceiued him to be otherwiſe than he was enformed (a ſober diſcrete man) and therefore reſtored him againe to the gouernemẽt of his houſe, but he remayned in ẏ Popes Court, til after the kings deathe, and finally, died there himſelfe, in the yere. 1307. But now to returne to other doings of King Edwarde. We finde, that whileſt hee lay ſtill at Lauercoſt, hee gaue to the Earle of Warwike Bernards Caſtel, the which he had by eſcheit, through forfeiture thereof made by Iohn Balliol late K. of Scotlãd. He alſo toke and ſeaſed into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

An. reg. 35.
1307
A Parliament at Carleill.

William Teſta the Popes Chaplayne, inhibited to leuie money.

Abingdon.

In ẏ Octaues of S. Hillarie, ẏ K. held a Parliamẽt at Carleill, in the which, by the peeres of ẏ Realm, great cõplaint was made of ẏ oppreſſiõs done to Churches, Abbeys & Monaſteries, by reaſon of paimẽts lately reiſed and taxed, by one maſter William, or Guilelmo Teſta the Popes Chaplaine. Cõmandement therfore was giuẽ to ẏ ſame Chaplain, ẏ from thẽceforth he ſhuld not leuy any ſuch paimẽts, & for further remedy, meſſengers were made forth vnto ẏ Pope, to declare vnto him ẏ incõueniẽce therof. This Teſta was ſent frõ Pope Clemẽt into Englãd with bulles, in ẏ contents wherof it appeared, that the Pope had reſerued to himſelf ẏ firſt frutes of one yeares reuenewes of euery benefice that fell void by anye maner of meanes within ẏ Realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Irelãd, and likewiſe of al Abbeys, Priories, & Monaſteries. But the King and lords of ẏ land, thought it againſt reaſon, ẏ the Pope ſhould take & receiue ẏ profits of thoſe Abbeys & Monaſteries, which had bin foũded by their predeceſſors, for the ſeruice of God, and the maintenance of almes deedes, & good hoſpitalitie to be kept: & ſo ẏ Pope changed his purpoſe, touching Abbeys, but graunting to the K. the tenth of the Engliſh Church for two yeres, he obteined the firſt frutes of ẏ ſame Churches for himſelf, as before he required. In ẏ ſame Parliament, were ſtatutes made concerning Religious mẽ, which had their head houſes in foraigne regions. There came alſo at ẏ ſame time, a Cardinal frõ ẏ Pope, named Petrus Hiſpanus, to procure ẏ conſummatiõ of ẏ mariage, betwixt ẏ prince of Wales, & the Frẽch kings daughter: for ẏ ſame was delayed, by reaſon ẏ al couenants were not kept on ẏ French kings behalf touching ẏ deliuerie of the townes in Gaſcoigne. For wheras in times paſt, ẏ French K. had giuẽ one of thoſe Townes that wer takẽ frõ the Engliſhmẽ named Mauleõ, vnto a French knight, he kept ẏ ſame ſtil, & woulde not deliuer it now at ẏ French kings commaũdement, wherethrough (as was ſaide) the marriage had bin hitherto deferred. The ſame Cardinall by vertue of his bul, would haue had of euery Cathedral Church, Colledge, Abbey, and Priory, twelue markes of ſterling money, & of euery perſon of pariſhe Churches eight pens, of euery marke of his reuenewes. But ẏ engliſh Cleargie appealed frõ this exaction, ſo ẏ by ẏ K. & his coũſell, it was ordeined, ẏ he ſhuld haue no more thã in times paſt Cardinal Othobõ did receiue, that is to witte, the halfe of this demand. Moreouer, this Cardinal being at Carleill, & hauing made a ſermon in praiſe of peace, vpon the cõcluſion of mariage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the French Kings daughter, in the ende hee reueſted himſelfe and the other biſhops whiche were preſent, and then with candels light, and cauſing ẏ belles to bee roong, they accurſed in terrible wiſe Robert Bruce the vſurper of ẏ Crown of Scotland, with al his partakers, aiders, and mainteyners. Neuertheleſſe, Robert Bruce in this meane while ſlept not his buſines, but ranging abroade in the countrey, ſlew many that would not obey him, and ſente forth his two brethren, Thomas that was a Knighte, and Alexander that was a Prieſt, with part of his army into an other quarter of the countrey, to allure the people vnto hys obedience, partly with gentleneſſe, and partly with menaces. But the Engliſhmen came vpon them in the nighte, and toke them bothe, ſo that being brought afore the Iuſtices, they were condemned, and therevpon hanged, drawen & quartered. Some write, that Duncan Magdoil, a mã of great power in Galloway, toke theſe two brethrẽ priſoners, togither wt Reginald Crewforde,

forde on the ninth day of February, as they with certayne other captaines & men of warre came by ſea, & landed in his countrey, vpon whome, beyng ſeuen C.mẽ, he with thre C. or few aboue that number boldly gaue the onſet, and not only toke the ſaid thre perſons priſoners, ſore wounded as they were, with diuers other, but alſo ſlew Malcolme Makaile a Lord of Cantir, and two Iriſh lords, whoſe heads, and the foreſaid priſoners, he preſẽted vnto K. Edward, who cauſed Thomas Bruce to be hãged drawen and quartered, but yͤ other two were onely hanged, and quartered at Carleil, where their heads were ſet vp aloft on yͤ Caſtell and gates of yͤ Citie. After Eaſter, their brother Robert Bruce, calling himſelfe Kyng of Scotlãd, & hauing now augmented his army wͭ many ſouldiers of yͤ out Iles, fought with yͤ Erle of Pembroke, & put him to flight, & ſlewe ſome of his men, though not many. Within a few dayes after, he chaſed alſo the Erle of Glouceſter, into yͤ caſtel of Aire, & beſieged him within yͤ ſame, til an army was ſent frõ K. Edward, to the reſkue, for then the ſaid Robert was cõſtreined to flee, & the Engliſhmẽ followed, till he got into the wods & mariſhes, wher they might come nere him without manifeſt danger, to caſt thẽſelues away. The K. of Englãd, minding to make a full cõqueſt of yͤ Scots, & not to leaue off, vntill he had wholly ſubdued thẽ, ſent his cõmiſſions into Englande, cõmanding al thoſe that ought him ſeruice, to be redy at Carleil, within thre weekes after Midſomer. He ſent his ſon Edward into England, yͭ vpõ knowledge had what the French K. did touching yͤ agreemẽt, he might accordingly procede in yͤ mariage to be made with his daughter. After the prince was departed frõ the campe, his father K. Edward was takẽ with a ſore ſicknes, yet he remoued frõ Carleil, wher the ſame ſicknes firſt toke him, vnto Bourrough vpõ Sand, and there the day after, being the ſeuẽth day of Iuly, he ended his life, after hee had raigned 34. yeres, 6. moneths & 21. days. He liued 68. yeres & 20. days: his body was cõueyed vnto Londõ, and in yͤ church of Weſtminſter lieth buried. He had iſſue by hys firſte wife Q. Eleanor, 4. ſonnes, Iohn, Henry, Alfonſe & Edward, which Edward ſucceded him yͤ other died lõg before their father. Alſo 5. daughters, Eleanor, Ioan, Margaret & Elizabeth, wer beſtowed in mariage as before in this boke is expreſſed. The 5. named Mary, became a Nonne. By his ſeconde wife Q. Margaret, hee had two ſonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Edmõd of Wodſtock, with one daughter named Margaret after hir mother. Hee was tall of ſtature, ſomewhat blacke of colour, ſtrong of body, and leane, auoiding groſſeneſſe, with continuall exerciſe, of comely fauor, and gettie eyes, the which when he waxed angrie, would ſuddainely become reddiſh, and ſeme, as though they ſparkled with fire. The heare of his head was black & curled, he cõtinued for the moſt part in good health of body, and was of a ſtoute ſtomacke, whiche neuer failed him in time of aduerſitie. Moreouer, he had an excellente good wit, for to whatſoeuer he applied his ſtudy, he eaſily atteined to yͤ vnderſtãding therof: wiſe he was & vertuous, an earneſt enimie of the high & preſumptuous inſolencie of Prieſtes, the which he iudged to procede chiefly of to muche wealth and riches: and therefore, hee deuiſed to eſtabliſh the ſtatute of Mortmaine, to be a bridle to their inordinate luſtes & riotous exceſſe. He built yͤ Abbey of the Vale royall in Cheſhire, he was a conſtãt friend, but if hee once toke diſpleaſure or hatred againſt any perſon, he woulde not eaſily receiue him into fauour again: whileſt he had anye vacant time frõ waighty affaires, he ſpent lightly the ſame in hunting. Towards yͤ maintenãce of his warres and other charges, beſide the ſubſedies which he leuied of his people and other reuenewes cõming to his cofers, he had great help, by reaſon of the ſiluer mines which in his days were found in Deuonſhire, and occupied greatly to his profite, as in yͤ records remaining in the Exchequer, concerning the accomptes and allowances about the ſame, it doth, and may appeare. For in the accompt of maſter Wil. de Wimondham, it is recorded, that betwixte the twelfth day of Auguſt, and yͤ laſt of October, in the 22. yere of thys K. Edwards raigne, there was tried & fyned out at Martinſtow in Deuonſhire by times, ſo much of fined ſiluer, as amounted to the ſumme of 370. poũd weight, yͤ which being brought to London, was there refined by certaine finers, that plate might bee forged and made therof, for the Lady Eleanor Duches of Bar, and daughter to yͤ ſaid K. married in yͤ yere then laſt paſt, to the Duke of Bar, as before ye haue heard.

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ſtature &
ne of body

His qualitie of mynde.

He miſlyked the pride of prelates.

Syluer mynes.

The ſame VVymondhā receyues alſo receyued 82. poũdes for. 36. founders of lead out of the which the ſiluer was tryed, as appereth by his accompts.

In the 23. yeare of his raigne, there was fined at the place aforeſaide 521. li. and ten ſ. weight of ſiluer by times, whiche was alſo broughte to London. In yͤ 24. yere of his raigne, ther wer taken vp 337. miners, within the wapentake of the Peake in Derbiſhire, & brought into Deuõſhire, to worke there in thoſe ſiluer mines, as appeareth by yͤ allowãce demanded by yͤ ſaid maſter Wil. de Wimondhã in his rolle of accomptes, deliuered yͤ yere into yͤ Exchequer: & there was brought frõ thẽce to Londõ yͤ ſame yere of ſiluer fined and caſt in wedges 700. four pound thre ſ. one peny weight. In yͤ 25. yere of his raigne, ther were thre C. and 84. miners brought again out of the peake into Deuonſhire, and out of Wales there were brought alſo 25. miners, which all were occupyed about thoſe ſiluer mines, beſide others of the ſelfe countrey of Deuonſhire, and other places.

B. twixt the x. day of Iuly, & the. xx. day of October the ſame yeare.

Alſo, Wil. de Iulton clearke, keper of yͤ kings mines in Deuonſhire & Cornewall, was accõptant of yͤ iſſues and profites of the Kings mines, there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26. of hys raigne, vntill the eighteenth of Aprill Anno 27. and yeelded vp his accompt, both of the ſiluer and leade. But now to cōclude with this noble prince K. Edward the firſt, he was ſure not only valiāt, but alſo politike, labouring to bring this deuided Iſle, into one entier Monarchie, which he wente very neere to haue atchieued: for whereas he was fully bente to make a conqueſt of Scotlande, in like caſe as hee had already done of Wales, if hee had liued any lōger time to haue diſpatched Robert le Bruce, that only ſtoode in his way, it was very likely that he ſhould haue found none other to haue reyſed banner agaynſte hym aboute the quarrell or title to the clayme of that Realme. For as hee was a righte warlike Prince of hymſelfe, ſo was hee furniſhed with Captaynes and Souldiers aunſwerable to his deſire, who beyng able to leade and commaunde them of hym ſelfe, hadde them at length obedient ynough to ſerue him, although (as partly yee haue hearde,) ſome of the peeres ſhewed themſelues at tymes diſobedient and ſtubborne, whome yet in the ende, hee tamed well ynough, as the Earles of Hereforde and Northfolke, the whiche in the thirtith yeare of hys raigne, reſigned their Caſtels and manors into his hands, as by the records of the Tower it further may appeare.

Now to followe as in other Kinges I haue done heretofore for learned men: theſe I finde to haue flouriſhed in this Kinges dayes, Henry de Henna, a Carmelite Frier: Goodwine, the chantor of the Church of Saliſburie: Adam de Mariſco or Mareis, borne in Sommerſetſhire, an excellente Deuine as hee was reputed in thoſe dayes: Gregory Huntingtō, a Monke of Rameſey, very experte in the tongs: Seuall Archbiſhop of Yorke, a man ſingularly learned and ſtout, in defending the cauſe of his Cleargie againſte the Pope: Haymo de Feuerſham: Peter Swanington: Helias Trickingham: Helias de Eueſham: Radulfe Bocking, borne in Suſſex: Alphred ſurnamed Anglicus, James Ciſtercienſis. Wiliam of Ware: Robert Oxford: Thomas Docking: John ſurnamed Grammaticus: Robert Dodeforde: but the more part of theſe are rather to bee aſcribed vnto the tyme of Henry the thirde, the father of this Kyng Edwarde, where theſe that followe, are thoughte to flouriſhe in the tyme of Kyng Edwardes raigne, after the deceſſe of hys father Kyng Henry: Thomas Spotte, a Chronographier: Peter de Ickham a Kentiſhman borne as Bale thinketh: John Beckton, a doctor of both the lawes: William Hanaberg a Carmelite Frier, prouinciall gouernoure of his order heere in Englande: Robert Kilwarby, Byſhop of Caunterburye, and after made a Cardinall, and Biſhop of Portua: Gilbert ſurnamed Magnus, a Monke of the Ciſteaux order: Helias Ros: Walter Recluſe: Hugh de Eueſham: John Euerſden, a writer of Annales, whome I haue partly followed in thys Kyngs life: William Pagham: Henry Eſſeborne: John de Hayde: Roger Bacon, a Franciſcane Frier, an excellent Philoſopher, and lykewiſe, a Mathematician: John Derlington, a Dominike Frier: John Chelmeſton: Thomas Borſtale, a Northfolke man borne: Gregorie Cairugent, a Monke of Glouceſter, a writer of annales: Gregorie de Bredlington: Thomas Bungey, a Frier Minor, borne in Northfolke, an excellente Mathematicien, prouinciall ruler of hys order heere in Englande, hee flouriſhed in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde the firſt, although there were another of the ſame name that liued in the time of Kyng Edward the thirde: Hugh de Mancheſter a Dominike Frier, and prouinciall gouernour of hys order heere in Englande: Richarde Knapwell a Dominike Frier: John Peckham, borne in the dioceſſe of Chicheſter, a Franciſcane Frier, excellētly learned, as by his workes it appeereth, he was adnaunced by Pope Honorius the third, to the Archbiſhops ſee of Canterbury: Thomas de Illey, a Suffolke man borne, and a white or Carmelike Frier in the houſe of Gippeſwiche: Michaell ſurnamed Scotte, but borne in the Biſhopricke of Durham, as Leland hath, an excellent Phiſition, and likewiſe very expert in the Mathematicals: Hugh de Newcaſtell a Frier Minor, profeſſed in the ſame Towne: Thomas Sutton a blacke Frier, that is of the order of S. Dominicke: John Reade, an Hiſtoriographer: William de la Mare a Frier Minor: Thomas Wicke, a Chanon of Oſney in Oxforde: Simon de Gaunt: Wiliam Hothun, prouinciall of the Frier Dominikes in England: John de Hide a Monke of Wincheſter: Roberte Crouche, a cordelier, or a Franciſcane Frier: Richarde Middelton, a Frier Minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke Frier: William Lidlington, a doctor of Diuinitie, and a Carmelike Frier in Stanford: John Fiberie or Beuer, a Monke of Weſtminſter: William Makeleſfield borne in Cheſhire, in a market Towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke Frier by profeſſion, and an excellente Philoſopher.

Edward the ſeconde.

1307

EDward, the ſecond of that name, the ſon of Edward yͤ firſt, borne at Carnaruã in Wales, begã his raigne ouer Englãd yͤ ſeuenth day of July, in the yeare of our Lord. 1307. of the worlde 5273. of the comming of yͤ Saxons 847. after the Cõqueſt 241. about the tenth yere of Albert Emperor of Rome, & the 22. of yͤ fourth Philip, ſurnamed *le beau*, as then K. of Frãce, and in the third yere after yͤ Robert le Bruce had taken vpõ him the Crown & gouernement of Scotlãd, as Wil. Harriſon doth witneſſe in his Chronologie. whõ I follow in this accõpt of the yeers of yͤ worlde. His fathers corpſe was conueyed frõ Burgh vpõ Sands, vnto the Abbey of Waltham, there to remayn, til things were ready for the buriall which was appoynted at Weſtminſter: & within three days after, when the Lord Treaſorer Walter de Langton Biſhop of Couentrie & Lichfielde (thorough whoſe complaint, Peers de Gauaſton had bin baniſhed the lãd) was going towards Weſtminſter, to make preparation for the ſame buriall, he was vpon commandement from the newe King arreſted, committed to priſon, and after, deliuered to the handes of the ſayde Peers, being then returned agayne into the Realme, who ſente hym from Caſtell to Caſtell as a priſoner. Hys landes and tenementes were ſeyſed to the Kyngs vſe, but his mouables were giuen to the foreſayde Peers. Walter Reignalde that had bin the Kyngs tutor in his childhood, was then made Lord treaſorer, and after, whẽ the Sea of Worceter was voyde, at the Kinges inſtance he was by the Pope to that Biſhopricke preferred. Alſo, Raufe Biſhop of London was depoſed from the office of Lord Chauncellour, and John Langton Byſhop of Chicheſter was thereto reſtored. Likewiſe, the Barons of the Excheqner were remoued, and other put in their places. And Americ de Valence Earle of Pembroke, was diſcharged of the Wardenſhip of Scotlande, and John de Britaigne placed in that office, whome he alſo made Earle of Richmont. But nowe concerning the demeanor of this newe K. whoſe diſordred maners brought himſelfe and many others vnto deſtructiõ. We finde, that in yͤ beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature giuen to lightnes, yet being reſtrained with the prudent aduertiſemẽts of certain of his Counſellors, to yͤ end he might ſhew ſome likelihood of good profe, he cõterfeited a kind of grauitie, vertue & modeſtie, but yet he could not throughly be ſo bridled, but that forthwith he began to play diuers wanton & light partes, at the firſt indeede, not outragiouſly, but by little and little, and that couertly, for hauing reuoked againe into England, his olde mate, yͤ ſaid Peers de Gaueſton, he receiued him into moſt high fauoure, creating hym Earle of Cornewall, and Lord of Man, his principall ſecretarie, and Lord Chamberlaine of the Realm, through whoſe company & ſocietie hee was ſuddainely ſo corrupted, that he burſt out into moſt hainous vices, for then vſing the ſaid Peers as a procurer of his diſordred doings, he begã to haue his nobles in no regarde, to ſet nothing by theyr inſtructions, and to take ſmall heede vnto yͤ good gouernemẽt of yͤ cõmon wealth, ſo that within a while, he gaue himſelf to wãtonnes, paſſing hys time in voluptuous pleaſure, & riottous exceſſe, & to help thẽ forward in that kinde of life, yͤ foreſaid Peers, who (as it may bee thought, he hadde ſworne to make the K to forget himſelf, and the ſtate, to the whiche hee was called) furniſhed hys court with cõpanies of Jeſters, ruffiãs, flattering paraſites, muſitions, and other vile and naughty ribaulds, yͤ the K. might ſpend both dais & nights in ieſting, playing, banqueting, & in ſuch other filthy & diſhonorable exerciſes; and moreouer, deſirous to aduance thoſe that were like to himſelfe, he procured for them honorable offices.

ntinuation Ma. Weſt.

e Biſhop Couentrie mitted ſon,

en re- ed.

Polidor.

Peers de Gauaſton.

The yeare next enſuing, the Ile of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.

About yͤ 12. day of October, a Parliamẽt was holdẽ at Northamptõ, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointmẽt, that yͤ coine of hys father K. Edward ſhould be ſtil currãt, notwithſtãding the baſeneſſe thereof, as ſome reputed it, & therfore it was moued in yͤ Parliament to haue it diſanulled. Alſo, order was taken for the burial of his fathers corpſe, whiche was ſolemnely conueyed frõ Waltam, and broughte to Weſtminſter yͤ 27. day of October folowing, wher wͭ al funeral pomp it was enterred. Moreouer, at yͤ ſame Parliament, a marriage was concluded betwixt yͤ Earle of Cornwall Peers de Gaueſton, & the daughter of Gilbert de Clare Erle of Glouceſter, which he had by his wife the Counteſſe Joane de Acres yͤ kings ſiſter, which marriage was ſolẽniſed on all hallowen day next enſuing. About the 22. of Januarie, the K. ſailed ouer into France, & at Bulleigne in Picardie on yͤ 24. day of Januarie, he did homage to yͤ Frẽch K. for his lands of Gaſcoigne & Pontiew, & on yͤ morrow after, maried Iſabell yͤ Frẽch kings daughter, & on yͤ 7. of February, he returned with hir into England, & cõming to London, was ioyfully receiued of the

A Parliament at Northampton.

Peeres de Gauaſton married.

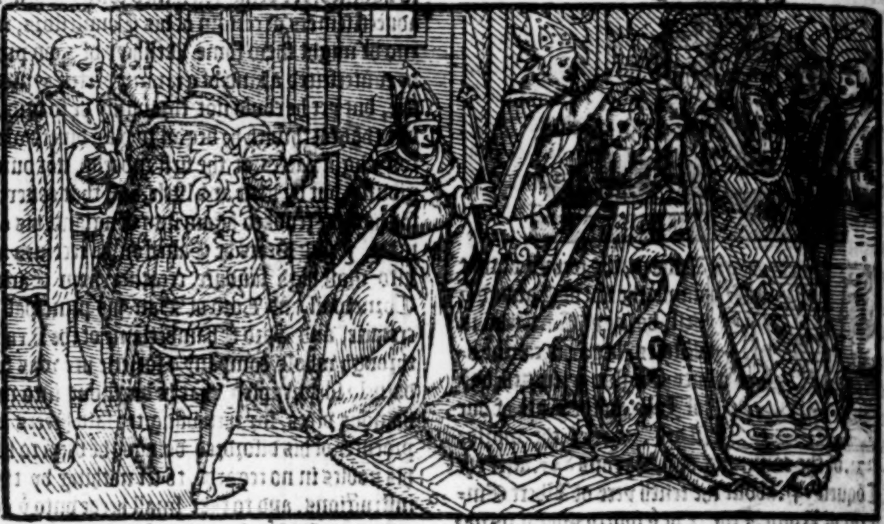
The K. paſſeth ouer into Fraunce.

1308

He was married the 28. of Februarie, as Tho. de la More writeth.

Citizens, and on the fiue and twentith day of February, beyng Shroue ſunday in the leape yeare, they were ſolemnely Crowned by the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, bycauſe that Robert the Archbyſhop of Canterbury was not as then within the Realme.

The Kyng
Q. Crow



Tho. VValſ.
Sir John Bakewell ſmothered and thruſt to death.
Continuation of Ni. Triuet.

There was ſuch preaſe and throng of people at this Coronation, that a Knighte called Sir John Bakewell, *alias* Blackwell, was thruſt to death.

On the daye of the circumciſion this yeare, a great tempeſt of thunder and lightning beganne about euenſong time, that cōtinued the moſt part of the night following.

The order taken, for the apprehenſion of the tēplers.

On Wedneſday after the Epiphany, the Knightes templers in England were apprehended all in one day by the kings commaundement, vpon ſuſpition of haynous crimes and great enormities by them practiſed, cōtrary to the articles of the Chriſtian fayth. The order of their apprehenſion was on this wiſe, the King directed hys writtes vnto al and euery the Sherifes of Counties within ẏ Realm, ẏ they ſhuld giue ſummonance to a certayne nomber of ſubſtanciall perſons Knightes or other men of good accompt, to be afore them at certayne places within their gouernmentes, named in the ſame writtes, on the ſunday the morrowe after the Epiphanie then nexte enſuing, and that the ſayde Sherifes fayle not to be there the ſame daye in their owne perſons, to execute that whiche in other writtes to them directed, and after to be ſent, ſhould be conteyned. The date of this writte was the fifteenth of December.

The ſecond writ was ſent by certaine Chaplaynes, in whiche the Sherifes were commaunded vppon the opening of the ſame, forthwith to receyue an othe in preſence of the ſayde Chaplaynes, to put in execution all that was therein conteyned, and not to diſcloſe the contents to any man, till they had executed the ſame with all expedition, and therewith to take the like othe of thoſe perſons, whome by vertue of ẏ firſt writte, they had ſummoned to appeare afore them. In other writte there was alſo framed and ſente by the ſame Chaplaines, by the which, the ſaid Sherifes wer cōmanded to attach by their bodies, al ẏ templers within ẏ precinct of their gouernemēts, & to ſeiſe al their lands and goodes into the Kings hāds, togither with their writings, charters, dedes and muniments, & to make thereof a true Inuentorie & Indenture, in preſence of the warden of ẏ place, whether he were brother of that order, or any other, in preſence of honeſt men being neyghbors, of which Indēture, one part to remain in ẏ cuſtody of the ſayd Warden, & the other with the Sherife, vnder his ſeale that ſhould ſo make ſeaſure of the ſayd goodes: and further, that the ſayde goodes and chatels ſhould be put in ſafe cuſtody, and that the quicke goodes and cattaile, ſhould be kept and found of the premiſſes as ſhoulde ſeeme moſt expediente, and that their landes and poſſeſſiōs ſhould be manured and tilled to ẏ moſt cōmoditie.

Further, that the perſons of the ſayde Templers being attached in manner as before is ſaid, ſhoulde bee ſafely kepte in ſome competent place out of theyr owne houſes, but not in ſtraight priſon, but in ſuch order, as the Sherifes might bee ſure of them to bring them forth when he ſhould be cōmanded, to be found in ẏ meane time according to their eſtate of their owne goodes ſo ſeiſed, and hereof, to make a true certificate vnto ẏ treaſorer & Barōs of ẏ eſchecker, what they had done cōcerning ẏ premiſſes, declaring how many of ẏ ſaid tēplers they had atached, wͭ their names, and what lands and goodes they had ſeaſed, by vertue of this precept: the date of theſe two laſt writtes was from Biſlet the .xx. of December, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the Exchequer, was the morrow after the Purification. There were writtes alſo directed into Irelande, as wee haue there made mention, and likewiſe vnto Iohn de Brytaine Earle of Richmonde, Lorde Warden of Scotlande, and to Euſtace de Cotteſbache Chamberlaine of Scotlande, to Walter de Pederton Iuſtice of weſt Wales, and to Hugh Audleghe *alias* Audley Iuſtice of north Wales, to Robert Hollande Iuſtice of Cheſter, vnder like fourme and maner as in Irelande wee haue expreſſed.

The malice whiche the Lordes had conceyued agaynſt the Earle of Cornewal ſtill increaſed, the more in deede through the high bearing of him, being now aduaunced to honour. For being a goodly gentleman and a ſtoute, he woulde not once yeelde an ynche to any of them, which worthily procured him great enuie amongſt the chiefeſt Peeres of all the realme, as ſir Henrie Lacie Earle of Lyncolne, ſir Guy Earle of Warwike, and ſir Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembroke, the Earles of Glouceſter, Herforde, Arundell, and others, which vpon ſuch wrath and diſpleaſure as they had conceyued againſt him, thought it not conuenient to ſuffer the ſame any longer, in hope that the kings minde might happely bee altered into a better purpoſe, being not altogither conuerted into a venemous diſpoſition, but ſo that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once baniſhed from him.

yrels.
tinuation
Triuet.

Hereupon they aſſemble togither in the Parliament time, at the new Temple, on Saterday next before the feaſt of Saint Dunſtan, and there ordeyned that the ſayde Pierce ſhoulde abiure the realme and depart the ſame on the morrow after the Natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptiſt at the furtheſt, and not to returne into the ſame againe at any tyme then after to come.

To this ordinance, the king although againſt his will) bycauſe he ſawe himſelfe and Realme in daunger, gaue his conſent, and made his letters Patents to the ſayde Earles and Lordes, to witneſſe the ſame. The tenour of which letters here enſueth.

Notum vobis facimus per præſentes, quòd amodo vſq; ad diem dominus Petrus de Gaueſton regnum noſtrum eſt abiuratus & exiturus, videlicet in craſtino Natiuitatis Sancti Iohannis Baptiſtæ proximo ſequenti: Nos in quantum nobis eſt nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin ſecundum formã à prælatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni noſtri, ordinatam, & per nos libero conſenſu confirmatam, plenariè perficiatur. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud VVeſtm. xviij. die Maij. Anno regni noſtri primo.

These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the preſence of all the Noble men of this lande, the day and yeare aboueſayd.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie being lately returned from Rome, where he had remayned in exile in the late deceaſſed kings dayes for a certaine time, did pronounce the ſayd Pierce accurſed, if he taried within the Realme longer than the appoynted tyme, and likewiſe all thoſe that ſhoulde ayde, helpe, or mainteyne him, and lykewiſe if he ſhoulde at any time hereafter returne againe into the lande.

An. Reg. 2.
The Earle of Cornwal baniſhed the Realme.

To conclude, this matter was ſo followed, that at length he was conſtrayned to withdrawe himſelfe to Briſtow, and ſo by ſea as a baniſhed man to ſaile into Ireland.

The kings fauor towardes the Earle of Cornewall.

Polidor.
Fabian.
The Earle of Cornwal deputie of Ireland.
Hen Marle.

The king being ſore offended herewith, as he that fauored the Erle more than that he could be without his companie, threatned the Lords to be reuenged for this diſpleaſure, and ceaſſed not to ſende into Irelande vnto Pierce, comforting him both with friendly meſſages, and rich preſentes, and as it were to ſhewe that hee ment to reteyne him ſtill in his fauour, he made him ruler of Irelande as his deputie there. The Lordes perceyuing the kings affectiõ, and that the treaſure was ſpent as lauiſhly as before, thought with themſelues that it might be that the king woulde both amende his paſſed trade of life, and that Pierce being reſtored home, woulde rather aduiſe hym thereto, then follow his olde maners, conſidering that it might be well perceyued, that if he continued in the encouraging of the king to lewdneſſe, as in tymes paſt he had done, he could not thinke but that the Lordes woulde bee readie to correct him, as by proufe he had nowe tryed their meanings to be no leſſe.

1309
An. reg. 3.
Hen. Marle.

Hereupon to retaine amitie, as was thought on both ſydes, Pierce by conſent of the Lordes was reſtored home againe (the king meeting him at Cheſter) to his great comfort and reioyſing for the time, although the malice of the Lordes was ſuch, that ſuch ioy laſted not long.

1310
An. reg. 4.
The addition to Triuet.

In the fourth yeare of king Edwarde was a Councell holden at London agaynſt the Templers, the which Councell endured frõ the beginning of May, till Iune. In this councell they confeſſed the fame, but not the fact of the crymes layde to theyr charge, except two or three ribalds that were amongſt them: but bycauſe they could not cleare themſelues, they were adiudged to perpetuall penance within certaine Monaſteries.

The Earle of Cornwal placed in Bambourgh caſtel.

The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the Lordes agaynſt Pierce de Gaueſton, placed him for his more ſafetie in Bambourgh Caſtell, bearing the Prelates and Lordes in hande, that hee had committed him there to priſon for theyr pleaſures.

This yeare alſo there were ordinances made for the ſtate and gouernment of the Realme, by the Prelates, Earles and Barons, which were confirmed with the ſentence of excommunication agaynſt all them that ſhould goe about to breake the ſame. The king neither allowed of them, nor obſerued them, although he had confirmed them with his ſeale, and ſent them to all Cathedrall Churches and Counties, to be regiſtred in perpetuall memorie thereof.

Polidor.

The king in deede was lewdly ledde, for after that the Earle of Cornewall was returned into Englande, he ſhewed himſelfe no chaungeling (as writers do affirme,) but through ſupport of the kings fauour, bare himſelfe ſo high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he ſeemed to diſdaine all the Peeres and Barons of the realme. Alſo after the olde ſort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanor, and hauing the cuſtodie of the kings Iewels and treaſure, he tooke out of the Iewelhouſe a table, and a paire of treſtels of golde, which he deliuered vnto a marchant called Aymerie de Friſcobalde, commaunding him to conuey them ouer the Sea into Gaſcoigne. Thys table was iudged of the common people, to belong ſometime vnto king Arthure, and therefore men grudged the more that the ſame ſhoulde thus be ſent oute of the Realme.

Caxton.

1311
Rich. South.
An. reg. 5.

The king this yeare rayſed a great power to goe into Scotlande. And about the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, hauing with him Piers de Gaueſton Earle of Cornwall, and the Earles of Glouceſter and Warren, he came to Berwike which town he cauſed to be fortified with a ſtrōg wall, and a mightie deepe ditch, and although the other Earles woulde not come to ſerue him in that voyage, by reaſon of a newe variaunce riſen amongeſt them, yet hee marcheth forth into Scotland to ſeke his aduerſary Robert le Bruce: but Robert refuſing the battaile, kept him forth of the way, ſo that the king was driuen to return to Berwike againe, without meeting with his enimies. And he was no ſooner come backe, but the ſayde Robert and his people enter into Louthian, ſore moleſting ſuch as were yeelded to the king of England. The king aduertiſed thereof, followed them, but coulde do no good and ſo returned.

Berwike fortified.

The king entred into Scotlande.

The Erle of Cornwall lay at Rokeſbourgh, and the Earle of Glouceſter at Norham to defend thoſe parties.

After Candlemaſſe, the King ſent the Earle of Cornewall, with two hundred men of armes to Saint Iohns towne, beyond the Scottiſh ſea, who receyued to the kings peace all thoſe that inhabited beyonde that Sea vp to the Mountains. The king lay ſtill at Berwike, but the Earles of Glouceſter and Warren after the beginning of Lent rode into the foreſt of Selkyrke, and receyued the Foreſters and other the inhabitants there to the kings peace.

In this fifth yere of the kings raigne, but ſomewhat before this preſent, in the yeare. 1310. Henry Lacie Earle of Lyncolne gouernor of England in the kings abſence departed this life, in whoſe place the Earle of Glouceſter was choſen gouernour, and therefore hee returned now into Englande.

This Earle of Lyncolne was buried in the new worke at Pauls. Lying on his death bed, he requeſted (as was reported) Thomas erle of Lancaſter that had maried his daughter, that in any wiſe he ſhould ſtand with the other Lords in defence of the common wealth, and to mainteine his quarel againſt the Earle of Cornwall, which requeſt Erle Thomas faithfully accompliſhed: for by the purſute of him, and of the Earle of Warwike chiefly, the ſayd Earle of Cornwall was at length taken and beheaded (as after ſhal appeare.)

Some write that king Edward the firſt vpon his death-bed, charged ẏ Erles of Lincoln, Warwike, and Pembroke, to foreſee that the foreſayde Pierce returned not again into England, leaſt by his euill example hee might enduce his ſonne the Prince to lewdneſſe, as before hee had alreadye done.

Thomas Erle of Lācaſter came toward Berwike to do homage to the king for the Erledome of Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now after the deceaſſe of hir father the late Earle of Lincolne. But he was councelled not to goe forth of the Realme to the king, ſo that therevpon roſe nō ſmall diſpleaſure, & great doubt leaſt there would haue followed ciuil warres about it. Neuertheleſſe, at length the king was perſwaded to come ouer the water vnto Hagerſton foure myles diſtaunt from Berwike, and there receyued homage of the Earle, & ſo they continued friends, and for that tyme departed aſunder in louyng maner.

Fabia.
Hen. H

The Lords perceyuing the miſchief that dayly followed and encreaſed by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the Erle of Cornwal, aſſembled at Lyncolne, and there tooke counſaile togyther, and concluded eftſoones to baniſh him out of the Realme, and ſo therevpon ſhortly after, about Chriſtmaſſe (as ſome write) or rather as other haue, within the quindene of Saint Michaell, he was exyled into Flaunders ſore agaynſte the Kings wyll and pleaſure, who made ſuche account of him, that (as appeared) hee coulde not bee quiet in mynde withoute hys companye, and therefore about Candlemaſſe hee eftſoones reuoked hym home. But hee beeyng nothing at al amended of thoſe hys euill manners, rather

Ri. South.

The Earle of Cornwall exiled into Flaunders.

1312

demaunded

demeaned himſelf worſe than before he had done, namely towardes the Lordes, agaynſt whome vſing reprochfull ſpeech, hee called the Earle of Glouceſter baſtarde, the Earle of Lyncolne lately deceaſſed burſten belly, the Earle of Warwike the blacke hounde of Ardern, and the Earle of Lancaſter churle. Such Lordes and other more that were thus abuſed at thys Erle of Cornwals handes, determined to bee reuenged vpon him, and to diſpatch the realme of ſuch a wicked perſon: and therevpon aſſembling their powers togither, came towardes Newcaſtell, whither the king from Yorke was remoued, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tynmouth, where the Queene lay, and vnderſtanding there that Newcaſtell was taken by the Lordes, hee leauing the Queene behinde him, tooke ſhipping, and ſayled from thence with his dearely beloued familiar the Earle of Cornewall, vnto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the Caſtell, and rode himſelfe towardes Warwike. The Lordes hearing where the Earle of Cornewall was, made thither with all ſpeede, and beſieging the Caſtell, at length conſtrayned theyr enimie to yeeld himſelfe into theyr handes, requyring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings preſence to talke with him.

fter Fox.
.7 Walſ.

Earle of
newall
n.

The king hearing that his beſt beloued familiar was thus apprehended, ſendeth to the Lords, requiring them to ſpare his life, and that he might bee brought to his preſence, promiſing withall that he woulde ſee them fully ſatiſfied in all their requeſtes agaynſt him. Whereupon the Earle of Pembroke perſwaded with the Barons to graunt to the kings deſire, vndertaking vpon forfeyture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in ſuch ſtate and condition as he receyued him. When the Barons had conſented to his motion, he tooke the Earle of Cornwall with him to bring him where the king lay, and comming to Dedington, left him him there in ſafe keeping with his ſeruants, whileſt he for one night went to viſite his wife, lying not farre from thence.

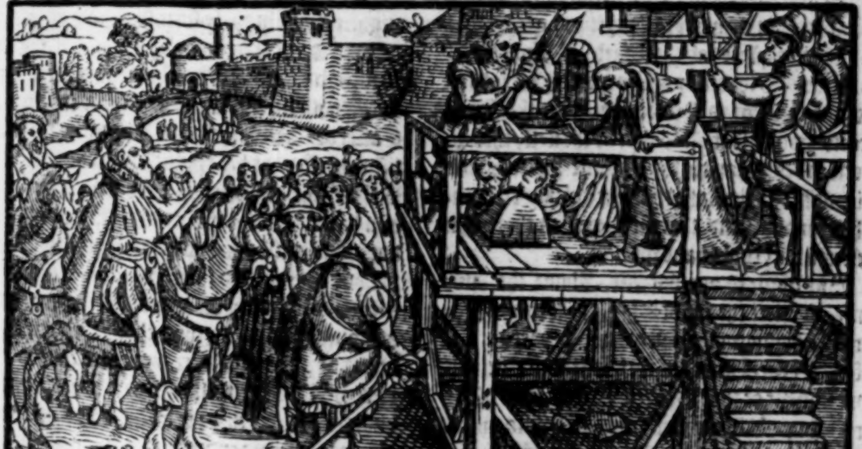
kings re-
t for his

The Earle of
Pembrokes
ſure to the o-
ther Lordes.

The ſame night it chaunced, that Guy Erle of Warwike came to the ſame place where the Earle of Cornewall was left, and taking him from his keepers, brought him vnto Warwike, where incontinently it was thought beſt to put him to death, but that ſome doubting the kings diſpleaſure, aduiſed the reſidue to ſtay, and ſo they did, till at length an auncient graue man amongſt them, exhorted them to vſe the occaſion nowe offred, and not to let ſlip the meane to deliuer the realme of ſuch a daungerous perſon, that hadde wrought ſo much miſchiefe, and might turne them all to ſuch perill, as afterwardes they ſhould not be able to auoyde, nor finde ſhift howe to remedie it. And thus perſwaded by his wordes, they cauſed hym ſtreyght wayes to bee brought forth to a place called Blacklowe, otherwiſe called by moſt wryters, Gauerſley heath, where he had his head ſmitten from his ſhoulders, the .xx. day of June being Tueſday.

Continuation
of Triuet.

Gauers heath,
or Gauerſuch.
The Earle of
Cornwall be-
headed.



When the king had knowledge hereof, hee was wonderfully diſpleaſed with thoſe Lordes that had thus put the ſayde Earle vnto death, making his vowe that he would ſee his death reuenged: ſo that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and thoſe Lords, began now to blaſe abrode, and ſpred ſo farre, that the king euer ſought occaſion howe to worke them diſpleaſure.

kers
cture.

This yeare, the .xiij. of Nouember, the kings eldeſt ſonne named Edwarde (which ſucceded his father in the kingdome by the name of Edwarde the thirde) was borne at Windeſore.

An. reg. 6.
King Edwarde
the third born

King Edwarde now after that the foreſayde

Pierce

Polidor.

Peers Gaueſton the Earle of Cornwall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but as one that deteſted the counſail and admonition of hys Nobles, choſe ſuch to be about him, and to be of his priuie counſaile which were knowne to be mẽ of corrupt and moſt wicked liuing (as the writers of that age report it) amongſt theſe were two of the Spencers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, which were notable inſtruments to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie & euill rule. By the counſaile therfore of theſe Spencers, he was wholy led & gouerned, wherewith many were much offẽded, but namely Robert the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who foreſaw what miſchiefe was like to enſue: and therefore to prouide ſome remedie in tyme, he procured that a Parliament was called at London. In the which many good ordinances and ſtatutes were deuiſed & eſtabliſhed, to oppreſſe the riotous miſgouernance & other miſchiefes which as then were vſed, and to kepe thoſe ordinances, the king firſt, and after his Lordes receyued a ſolemne othe, that in no wiſe neither he nor they ſhould breake them. By this meanes was the ſtate of the realme newly reſtored, and new Counſailers placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had ſworne, neither weying the force of an othe, obſerued afterwardes none of thoſe things, which by his othe he had bounde himſelfe to obſerue. And no meruayle: for ſurely as it ſhoulde ſeeme by report of Thomas de la More, the Lordes waſted hym too muche, and beyonde the boundes of reaſon, cauſing him to receyue to bee about him whome it pleaſed them to appoynt. For the yõger Spencer, who in place of the Earle of Cornewall was ordeyned to bee hys Chamberlayne, it was knowne to them well ynoughe, that the King bare no good will at all to him at the firſt, though afterwardes through the prudent policie, and diligent induſtrie of the man, he quickly crept into hys fauour, and that further than thoſe that preferred him could haue wiſhed.

The Spencers.

Fabian.
A Parliament.

The Lorde Hugh Spencer the ſonne at the firſt not fauored of the king.

But nowe to our purpoſe. About the ſame tyme, to witte the .xj. of May, the foreſayd Robert Archbiſhop of Canterburie departed thys lyfe .xix. yeares after his fyrſt entraunce into the gouernment of that Sea. After him was Walter Biſhop of Worceſter tranſlated vnto the ſea of Cãterburie, and was the .xlix. Archbiſhop that had ruled the ſame.

Continuation of Triuet.
1313

Alſo William the Archebiſhop of Yorke deceaſſed, and one William Melton ſucceeded him the .xlij. Archbiſhoppe that had gouerned that Sea.

Polidore.

This Archbiſhop Meltõ, though he was moſt ſtudious of things of things perteyning to religion, beſtowing almoſte his whole time about the ſame, yet neuertheleſſe hee was not forgetfull of that which belonged to the aduauncement of the cõmon welth, and therfore being at London hys a time, Simon the elect Biſhop of Whitherne came to Yorke that he might be cõſecrated of him: wherefore this Archb. gaue commaundement to John the Biſhop of Carleil to conſecrate the ſaid Simon, and in his name to receyue of him hys othe of obedience, which cõmaundement the ſayd Biſhop of Carleil did duely execute.

The Biſ Whitern ſecrated Yorke b biſhop o leil.

The King & Queene this yeare in May went ouer into France, where they were preſent in Paris on Whitſunday at the coronation of Philip ſon to the French king, created that day king of Nauarre. John de Drokenſford Biſhop of Bath and Welles, was appointed warden of the realm till the kings returne.

Contin of Triue Tho. W

In July the king returned backe from hys iourney into Fraunce, and landed at Sandwich the Monday before the feaſt of S. Margaret, hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe with the French K. in good and honorable maner, for his landes and Countrey of Gaſcoigne.

An. Recorde

About this ſeaſon, Maurice Fitz Thomas, and Thomas Fitz John maried two ſiſters that were daughters to Richard Erle of Vlmeſter.

Hen. M Mariage

In this meane time, while Robert Bruce recouered the moſt part of all Scotland, winning out of the Engliſhmens handes ſuch Caſtels as they held within Scotland, chaſing al the ſouldiers which lay there in garniſon, out of the cõtry, and ſubduing ſuch of the Scottes as helde on the Engliſh part.

1314
The Robert B

King Edwarde to be reuenged hereof, with a mightie armie brauely furniſhed, and gorgeouſly apparelled, more ſeemely for a triumph, thã meet to encounter with the cruel enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpoſe ſpecially to reſcue the Caſtel of Sterling, as then beſieged by the Scottiſhmen. But at his approching nere to the ſame, Robert Bruce was redie with his power to giue him battail. In the which king Edward nothing doubtful of loſſe, had ſo vnwiſely ordred his people, and confounded their rankes, that euen at the firſt ioyning, they were not onely beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by thoſe that coped with them at hande, but alſo were wounded with ſhotte a farre off, by thoſe their enimyes which ſtode behinde to ſuccour theyr fellowes when need required, ſo that in the ende the Engliſhmen fledde to ſaue their liues, and were chaſed and ſlaine by the Scottes in great number.

The kin Engliſh ſeth in lands.

The Eng men cha

The king eſcaped with a fewe aboute him, in great danger to haue beene either taken or ſlaine. Many were drowned in a little riuer called Banokeſborne, neare to the which the battayle was foughten. There were ſlain of noble men, Gilbert Erle of Gloceſter, Robert Lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argẽtine, the L. Pain Tiptoft, ỹ L. William Marſhall, the

The king eſcapeth

The bat Banokeſ

The Lorde Reginalde Daincourt, the Lorde Edmond of Mauley the kings ſtewarde, with other Lordes and Barons to the number of .xlij. and of knightes and Baronets, to the number of lxvij. There were ſlaine of all ſortes vpon the Engliſh part that day, about ten thouſande men, ouer and beſide the priſoners that were taken. Amongſt the which were accounted .xxij. men of name, as the Earle of Hereforde, the Lord Iohn Segraue, William Lorde Latimer, Maurice Lorde Berkley, and other. Hee that lyſteth to heare more of this diſcomfiture, may reade thereof further at large in the Scottiſh hyſtorie.

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at. Paris.

The king of Englande hauing eſcaped from this battayle, which was fought on Midſommer day in the yeare aforeſayd, came to Yorke, where he helde a Councell of his Lordes, to haue theyr aduice by what meanes he might beſt reſtore hys armie, and auenge the loſſe which he had ſuſteyned at the handes of his enimie the Bruce. And ſhortly after was ſir Peter Spalding ſent vnto Berwike, with a crew of ſouldiers to defende the towne agaynſt the ſayde Bruce, who entended ſhortly to lay ſiege to that towne, as the king had certaine vnderſtanding.

An.reg.8.

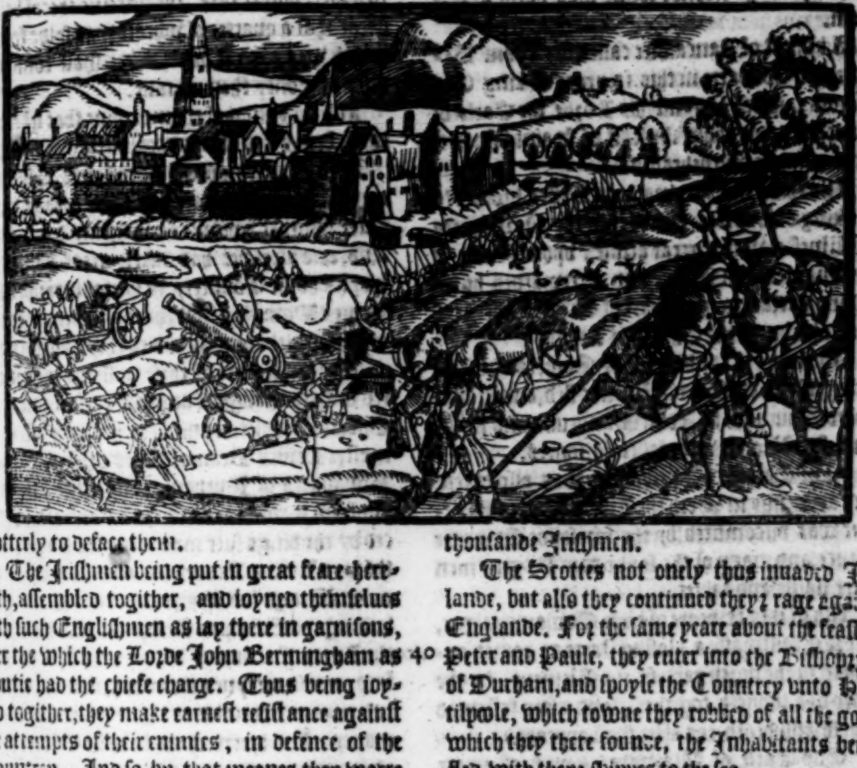
A counſel holden at Yorke.

Sir Pierce Spalding.

1315

The Scottes in Irelande.

Alſo the Scottiſh men aduaunced highly in their mindes for the late gotten victorie, paſſed ouer into Irelande, vnder the conduct of Edwarde Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, ſore afflicting that Countrey, by ſpoyle, ſworde, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and caſtels which they wanne were ſacked, and after ſpoyled, ſo vtterly to deface them.



The Iriſhmen being put in great feare herewith, aſſembled togither, and ioyned themſelues with ſuch Engliſhmen as lay there in garniſons, ouer the which the Lorde Iohn Bermingham as deputie had the chiefe charge. Thus being ioyned togither, they make earneſt reſiſtance againſt the attempts of their enimies, in defence of the Countrey. And ſo by that meanes they warre & fight one agaynſt another, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, the Scottiſhmen on their part doing their beſt to obteyne the gouernment of the Countrey, hauing alreadie obteyned no ſmall portion therof, and created Edward Bruce king there, and the Iriſhe men on the other part, enforcing their whole endeuor to beate the enimye backe, and to ridde him out of the Countrey. But at length the inuincible obſtinateneſſe of the Iriſhmen preuayled, through ayde of the Engliſh men (as after it ſhall appeare.) But in the meane while as ſome Engliſhe Chronicles make mention, there died of the Scottes in theſe warres to the number of thirtie thouſand, and aboue fifteene thouſande Iriſhmen.

e Lorde
mingham.

eat ſlaugh-
of Scottes
Irelande.

Ri. Southwel.

The Scottes not onely thus inuaded Irelande, but alſo they continued theyr rage againſt Englande. For the ſame yeare about the feaſt of Peter and Paule, they enter into the Biſhoprike of Durham, and ſpoyle the Countrey vnto Hartilpoole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there founde, the Inhabitants being fled with theyr ſhippes to the ſea.

The Biſhoprike of Durhã ſpoyled by the Scottes.

An.reg.9.

Robert Bruce inuadeth Englande.

Carleil beſieged.

About Maudelentyde following, the King of Scottes entred Englande with a mightie armie, on the weſt borders, and comming to Cairleil beſieged the Citie, remayning before it tenne dayes, but they within ſo valiantly defended themſelues and theyr walles, that the Scottes loſte more than they wanne, ſauing that during theyr abode at this ſiege, they robbed and waſted the Countreys of Allerdale, Copelande, and Weſtmerlande.

The .xj. day after theyr comming thither, when they had aſſayed all their force and pollicie to win the Citie, and ſaw themſelues nothing to preuayle, but to loſe theyr men and trauayle, they

rayſed

The ſiege rayſed.
Iohn de Murrey taken.

rayſed their field, & returned into Scotland with diſhonor, leauing behind them al their engines of warre. As they went their wayes, certaine Engliſhmen following them, toke Iohn de Murrey, who in the battail of Striuelyng had for his part xiij. Engliſhe knights priſoners, beſide Eſquiers and other. They toke alſo with him one Robert Berdolf a great enimie of the Engliſhmen.

Great raine.

This yeare there fell exceeding greate raine, and abundaunce of wette, in the Monethes of Iuly and Auguſt, that the huſbandmen of the Countrey, could not get nor inne that ſmall crop which then ſtode on the grounde, and that which they inned, yeelded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threſſhing it well appeared. On the day of the Aſſumption of our Lady, Iohn the kings ſeconde ſonne was borne at Eltham.

Iohn of Eltham borne.

A knight of Lancaſhire called ſir Adam Baniſter, rayſed warre in this .ix. yeare of king Edwardes raigne, agaynſt his Lorde the Earle of Lancaſter, but about the feaſt of Saint Martyn he was taken and beheaded.

Alſo this yeare, Edwarde le Bruce brother to the king of Scottes, entred into the North parts of Vlneſter with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Auguſtine in May, and afterwardes burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Vrgile. The Iriſh men alſo burnt the Church of Athird.

Hen. Marle.
Dundalk burnt

Moreouer in the battaile of Comeran in Vlneſter, Richard Erle of Vlneſter fled, and ſir Richard Bourgh, & ſir Iohn Mandeuile, and ſir Alane Fitz Waren were taken priſoners.

The battaile of Cometan.

The Caſtell of Norbourgh was alſo taken, and at Kenlis in Meth the Lorde Roger Mortimer was diſcomfited by the foreſayde Edwarde Bruce, and many of the ſayde Sir Rogers men were ſlaine and taken.

Alſo in this .ix. yeare of king Edwards raigne, before Chriſtmaſſe a blaſing ſtarre or comet appeared in the north part of the Element, by the ſpace of a moneth togither, and after followed dearth, and death, (as after ſhall appeare.)

A blaſing ſtar.
Dearth and death.

Guy Earle of Warwike, a man of greate counſaile, and ſkilfull prouidence, departed thys life this yeare, and was buryed at the Abbey of Bordiſley.

The deceaſe of Guy Earle of Warwike.
Crokeſden.

1316
Rich. South.

About Mydſommer the Scottes entred eftſoones into Englande, doing much miſchief with fire and ſworde, in like ſort as they had vſed to do before time, not ſparing as ſome write) ſo much as thoſe houſes wherein women lay in childbed.

At their comming to Richmont, the Gentlemen of the Countrey that were got into the Caſtell to defende it, compounded with the enimies for a great ſumme of money, to ſpare the towne and countrey about it, without doing further domage thereto at that iourney.

The Scottes hauing receiued the money, tu ned their march towarde the weſt partes, and i neying .lx. miles, came to Fourneys, burning the Country there aboutes, and toke away them all the goodes and priſoners, both men women which they might lay handes on, an returned, reioyſing moſt of ſuch yron as they got in that iourney, for they had great wan Scotland of that kind of metall in thoſe dayes.

The dearth by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable ther in the ſommer and harueſt laſt paſt, ſtill creaſed, for that which with much adoe was ned, after when it came to the proufe, yeelded thing to the value of that which in ſheafe it ſe med to conteyne, ſo that wheat and other gra was at a ſore price before, now was it enhaun to a farre higher rate, the ſcarcitie therof being ſo great, that a quarter of wheate was ſolde for .xl. s. which was a great price, if we ſhall conſider the alley of money then currant.

Alſo by reaſon of the murraine that fel amo catel, beefes & muttons were vnreaſonabl

About this ſeaſon, the Lord Henrie Beaumont a man of high valiancie and noble corage, hau gotte togither a power of men, entred into Scot land, and after hee had taken great booties an ſpoyles in the Countrey, he being intrapped by ſir Iames Dowglas, loſt the moſt part of his men, togither with the pray which they had gotten.

The diſpleaſure of theſe miſhaps was incre ſed with the naughtie and bold preſumption of ſir Gilbert Middleton knight, who being offended ÿ maſter Lewes Beamont was preferred vnto the Biſhops ſea of Durham, and Henrie Stanforde put from it, that was firſt elected and after diſplaced by the kings ſute made vnto the Pope, toke the ſayd Lewes Beaumont and his brother Henric on Wingleſdō More nere vnto Darington, leading the Biſhop to Morpath, and his brother the Lorde Beaumont vnto the Caſtell of Mitford, and ſo deteyned them as priſoners, till they had redeemed their libertie with great ſummes of money. And herewith the ſaide ſir Gilbert being aduaunced in pride, proclamed himſelfe Duke of Northumberlande, and ioyning in friendſhippe with the Scottiſhe king Robert Bruce, cruelly deſtroyed the Countie of Richmont.

With ſuch trayterous partes William Feltō, and Thomas Heton, being not a little ſtirred, firſt wan by force the Caſtel of Mytford, and after apprehended ſir Gilbert Middleton, with his companion Walter Selbie, and ſent them vp to London, where ſhortly after they were drawne, hanged and quartered.

Some write that the ſayde ſir Gilbert was put to death for robbing two Cardinals, to wit, Gancellino the Popes Chancellour, and Luces de Fliſco, that were ſent frō Pope Iohn the .xxij.

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to conſecrate the foreſayde Lewes Beaumond Biſhop of Durham, and to entreate a peace betwixt the Realmes of Englande and Scotlande, and alſo to make an agreement betwixt the king and the Earle of Lancaſter. The which being mette with vppon Wigilſdon More in Yorkeſhire by the ſayde Gylbert, were robbed of ſuch ſtuffe and treaſure as they brought wyth them, but yet eſcaped themſelues and came to Durham, and from thence ſente Meſſengers vnto Robert Bruce, to perſwade him to ſome agreement. But whereas he woulde not condiſcende to any reaſonable conditions of peace at that time, they determined to goe into Scotlande to talke with him themſelues: but before they came to the Borders, King Robert who iudged it not to ſtande with hys profite to haue any peace in that ſeaſon, ſent certayne of his people to forbid the Cardinalles the entrie of hys Realme.

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ttes.

The Cardinals being thus iniuriouſly handled, pronounced the Scottes by theyr legantine power accurſed, and enterdyted theyr whole Realme. And bycauſe they ſawe nothing leſſe than anye hope to doe good with king Robert touching any compoſition or agreement to bee had, they returned againe to the Pope wythoute any concluſion of that for the which they were ſent.

ch. Southw.

After that Edwarde Bruce hadde atchieued ſuch enterpriſes in other partes of Irelande, as in the laſt yeare ye haue heard, he went vnto Fenath, and to Skeryes in Leyniſter, and there the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice Edmonde Butler roſe agaynſt hym, with the Lorde Iohn Fitz Thomas, that was after Earle of Kildare, Sir Arnolde Power, and diuerſe other, with a great armie. But by reaſon of diſcorde that chaunced amongſt them, they ſcaled theyr armie, and departed out of the fielde on the .xxvi. daye of Februarie.

Edwarde Bruce then burned the Caſtell of Leys, & after returned into Vlneſter, he beſieged the Caſtell of Knockfergus, and ſlue Thomas Mandeuile, and his brother Iohn, at a place called Down, as they came thither out of England. After this the foreſayde Edwarde returned into Scotlande.

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In this ſeaſon vyttayles were ſo ſcant and deare, and wheate and other grayne brought to ſo high a price, that the poore people were conſtrayned through famine to eate the fleſhe of horſes, dogges, and other vile beaſts, which is wonderfull to beleeue, and yet for default there dyed a great multitude of people in diuerſe places of the land. Fourepence in breade of the courſer ſort would not ſuffice one man a day. Wheate was ſold at London for foure Markes the quarter and about. Then after this dearth and ſcarcitie of vittayles enſued agayne death and mortalitie of people, ſo that what by warre of the Scottes, and what by this mortalitie and death, the people of the lande were wonderfully waſted & conſumed.

A ſore mortalitie of people.

Edwarde Bruce before the feaſt of Eaſter returned againe into Irelande, with the Earle of Murrey and other noble mē of Scotland, hauing with them a great armie, and beſieged the Caſtel of Knockfergus, and after they went to another Caſtell where they tooke a Baron priſoner: and there Edwarde Bruce lay for a ſeaſon. Alſo Richard erle of Vlneſter lay in Saint Maries Abbey by Dublyn, where the Maior and cōmunaltie of the Citie tooke him, & put him in priſon within the Caſtel of Dublin. They alſo ſlue his men, and ſpoyled the Abbey.

After this the foreſayd Edwarde Bruce went to Limerike after the feaſt of Saint Mathew the Apoſtle, and there ſoiourned till Eaſter was paſt, and in the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings deputie arriued at Waterford with a great armie, by reaſon whereof Edwarde le Bruce for feare departed, & got him into the vttermoſt parts of Vlneſter, and Iohn Fitz Thomas was made Erle of Kildare. Alſo Oconer of Conneigh, and many other Iriſhe men of Connagh and Meth were ſlaine neare to Iury by the Engliſhmen of thoſe parties. There was a great ſlaughter alſo made of the Iriſhmē neare vnto Thiſteldermote, by the Lord Edmond Butler, & an other alſo at Balitebam of Omorth by the ſame Edmonde. The Lord deputie deliuered the Erle of Vlneſter out of priſon, & after Whitſuntide baniſhed out of Meth ſir Walter Lacie, & ſir Hugh Lacie, gyuing their lāds away frō them vnto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotlād with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time.

John FitzThomas Earle of Kildare.

1317

Crokeſden.

The death ſtill encreaſed as by ſome wryters it ſhould appeare.

An. reg. 11.
Ri. Southwel.
1318

In the .xj. yeare of king Edwarde the ſecond his raigne, vpon the Saterday night before Midlent Sunday, the town of Berwik was betrayed to the Scots through the treaſon of Peter Spalding. The Caſtell helde good a while, tyll for want of vittayles they within were conſtrayned to deliuer it into the Scottiſh mens hands, who wan alſo the ſame time the Caſtell of Harbotell, Werke & Medford, ſo that they poſſeſſed the more part of all Northumberland, euen vnto Newcaſtell vpon Tine, ſauing that certaine other caſtels were defēded againſt them. In May they entred with an army further into the lād, burning all the country afore thē, till they came to Ripon, which towne they ſpoiled, and tarying there three dayes, they receyued a thouſande markes of thoſe that were gotte into the Churche, and defended it againſt them for that they ſhould ſpare the town,

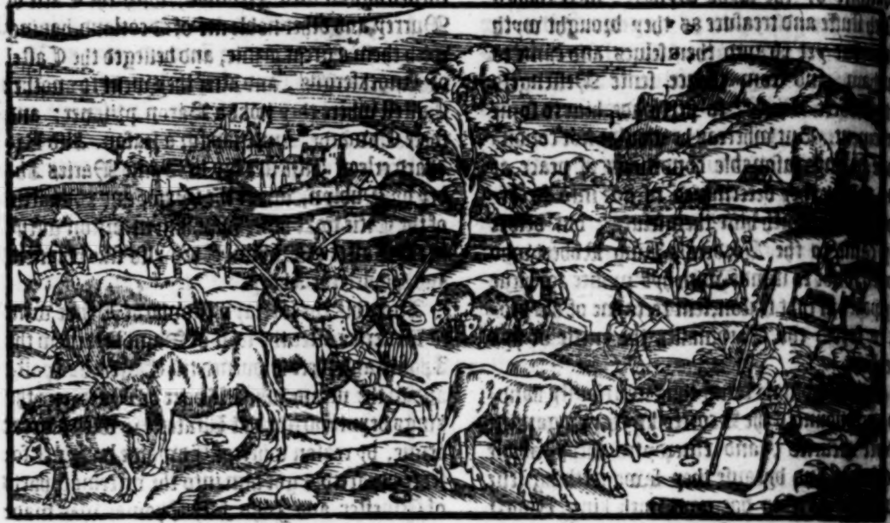
Berwike betrayed to the Scottes.

Caſtels wonne by the Scots.

and

Northalerton, and Bourgh-bridge burnt.

and not put it to the fire, as they haue alreadie done the townes of Northallerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwardes. In their going backe they burnt Knareſbourgh, and Skipton in Crauen; which they had firſt ſacked, and ſo paſſing through the middeſt of the Countrey burning and ſpoyling all afore them, they into Scotlande wyth a maruelous gre tude of Cattell, beſyde pryſoners, men and women, and no ſmall number of poore which they toke with them to helpe to Cattell.



An.reg.12. Additions to Triuet.

The king and the Earle of Lācaſter made friends.

In the .xij. yeare of Edwarde the ſecondes raigne, in Auguſt the king and the Erle of Lancaſter came to talk togither in a plain beſide Leiceſter, where they were made friends to the outward ſhewe, ſo that in the yeare next following, the ſayd Erle went with the king to the ſiege of Berwike.

Robert Bruce pronounced accurſed.

About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, the two Cardinals which were yet remaining in England, ſent forth cōmaundements vnto al the prelates & prieſts within the realme, that three times in euery ſolemne Maſſe, they ſhould denoūce Robert Bruce that called himſelf king of Scotland accurſed, with all his counſailers & fautors, and on the behalfe of the Pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all honor, and put al his lands vnder interdiction, diſabling all their children to the ſecond degree that held with him, to receiue or take vpō thē any eccleſiaſtical function. They dedenounced alſo all the Prelates of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accurſed.

Hen. Marl.

The Lord Roger Mortimer returned again into England, and Alexander Bicnor was made chiefe Juſtice of Irelande.

Tho. Walſ. Continuation of Triuet.

Alſo Edward Bruce, wͭ ſir Walter, & ſir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie returned out of Scotland, and arriued at Dundalke, on the day of S. Calixt the Pope. But neare to the ſame place, ſir John Brimingham, Richarde Tute, & Miles of Verdon, with a power of 1324. men encountred them and ſlue the ſaid Edwarde le Bruce, and aboue the number of. 8200. men, or as other haue, but. 5800. The ſayd Lord John Birmingham brought the heade of Edwarde Bruce ouer into England, and preſented it to the king. Wherupon the king in recompence of his ſeruice, gaue vnto him the Erledome of Louth, to hold to him & his heyres Males, & the Baronie of Athird to him and his heyres generall.

About this ſeaſon or ſomewhat before, about Midſommer (as Southwell hath) a naughtie fellow called John Poydras, (or as ſome bokes haue Ponderham) a Tanners ſonne of Exceter comming to Oxford, and there thruſting himſelf into the kings hall that ſtood without the walles, gaue forth that he was ſonne and right heyre of king Edwarde the firſt, and that by meanes of a falſe nurſe he was ſtolen out of his cradle, and this Edward the ſeconde being a Carters ſonne was brought in and layde in his place, ſo that he by reaſon thereof was afterwardes hardly foſtered and brought vp in the north part of Wales.

At length being layd for, he fled to the Church of yͤ white Friers in Oxforde, truſting there to be ſafe through yͤ immunitie of the place, bicauſe K. Edward the firſt was their founder. But whē he could not keepe his tongue, but ſtill fondly vttred his folly, and ſtood in his opinion, ſo that great rumor thereof was rayſed, he was at length taken out of that Church, and caried to Northampton, where he was there arraigned, condemned, and had forth to a place in the Countrey called the copped Oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a traytor bowelled,

At the houre of his death he cōfeſſed, that in his

houſe

yeare he had a ſpirite in likeneſſe of a cat, whiche amongſt other things aſſured him that he ſhoulde be king of England.

1319

…rraine of …tle.

In this ſeaſon, to witte, in the yeare. 1319. a great murreyne and death of cattell chaunced through the whole realme, ſpreading from place to place, but ſpecially this yeare it raigned moſte in the North, where as in the yeares before it began in the South partes.

…n.reg.13.

The King deſirous to bee reuenged of the Scottes, made preparation to leuie a mightie armie, and for want of ſufficient numbers of men in other places towardes the North partes, the king cauſed muche people to come vnto him oute of the South and Eaſt partes of the realme, amongſt the which the citie of London was conſtrayned to finde at their coſtes and charges two hundred men, ſending them to Yorke, where the generall aſſembly of the armie was made. From thence after hee had receyued his menne from ſundrie Countreys and good Townes of hys Realme, he went to Berwike, and layde ſiege to the Towne. In which meane tyme the Scots being aſſembled, came to the borders, paſſed by the Engliſh hoſte, and entring into Englande, came in ſecrete wiſe downe into the marches of Yorkeſhire, and there ſlue the people and robbed them in moſt cruell wiſe. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of Yorke meaning in time of ſuch neceſſitie to doe his indeuour in defence of hys Countrey, aſſembled ſuche power as he could gette togither, of Clearkes, Monkes, Chanons, and other ſpirituall men of the Church, with huſbandmen and ſuch other vnapt people for the warres, and thus with a great number of menne, and fewe warrelyke or diſcreete Chiefteynes, he togither with the Biſhop of Elie, as then Lorde Chauncellour, came forth agaynſt the Scottes, and encountred with them at a place called Mitton vpon Suale, the xij. day of October. Here as the Engliſh men paſſed ouer the water of Suale, the Scottes ſet fire vpon certaine ſtackes of hay, the ſmoke whereof was ſo huge, that the Engliſh men might not ſee where the Scottes lay. And when the Engliſh men were once got ouer the water, the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battaile, in faſhion like to a ſhielde, egerly aſſayling their enimies, who for lacke of good gouernment, were eaſily beaten downe and diſcomfited, without ſhewing any great reſiſtance, ſo that there were ſlaine to the number of two M. and the reſidue ſhamefully put to flight.

…king go-
…o Berwike

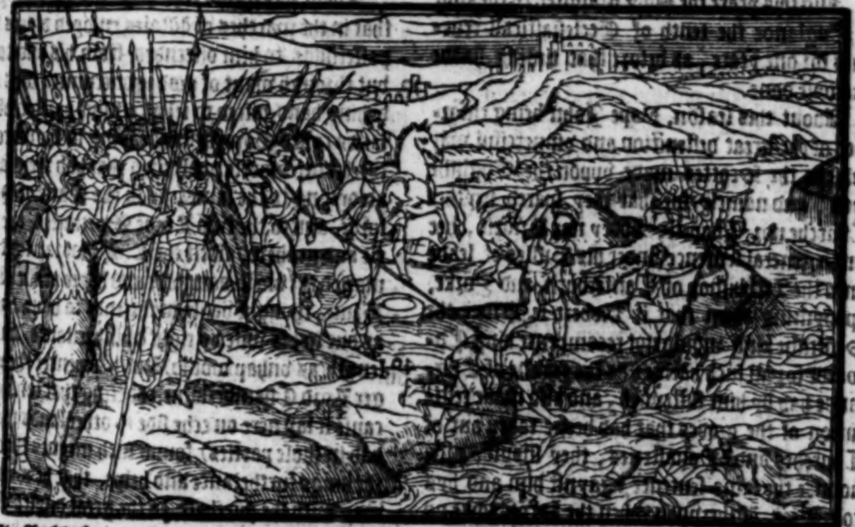
The Scottes come into the parties of Yorke.

Anesburie.

The diſcomfiture of Mitto vpon Suale.

Caxton.

Polidor.



The Archbiſhop, the Lord Chancellor, and the Abbot of Selby with helpe of their ſwift horſes eſcaped with diuerſe other. The Maior of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming was ſlaine, & Sir William Diream a prieſt taken priſoner. Many were drowned by reaſon that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Engliſhmen and the bridge, ſo that the Engliſhmen lay betwixt that wing of the Scottes and their main battail, which had compaſſed the Engliſh men about on the one ſide, as the wing did vpon the other. Bicauſe that ſo many ſpirituall men died in this battail, it was after named of many writers the white battaile.

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The king of England enformed of this ouerthrow giuen by the Scottes to the Northern men, he brake vp his ſiege incontinently, and returned to Yorke.

Polidore.

Thus all the kings enterpriſes by one meanes or other quailed and came but to euill ſucceſſe, ſo that the Engliſh nation began to grow in contempt by the miſfortunate gouernment of ye prince, the which as one out of the right way, raſhly and without good aduiſement ordered his doings, which thing ſo grieued the noble men of the realme, that they ſtudied day and night by what meanes they might procure him to loue better to his office and

The enuie of the Lordes towardes the Spencers.

duetie which they iudged might well be brought to paſſe, his nature being not altogither euill, if they might finde ſhift to remoue frõ him the two Spencers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, who were gotten into ſuch fauor with him, that they onely did all things, and without them nothing was done, ſo that they were nowe had in as great hatred and indignation, both of the Lordes and cõmons, as euer in tymes paſt was Peers de Gaueſton the late Earle of Cornwall. But the Lordes minded not ſo much the deſtruction of theſe Spencers, but that the king ment as much their aduauncement, ſo that Hugh the ſon was made high Chamberlain of Englande, contrarie to the mind of all the noble men, by reaſon whereof hee bare himſelfe ſo hautie and prowde, that no Lorde wythin the lande myght agayne ſay that which in hys conceyte ſeemed good.

1320

Additions to Triuet.

In this .xiij. yere of his raigne, in Iune king Edwarde went ouer into Fraunce, where at Amiens he founde the Frenche king, of whome he receyued the Countie of Pontieu, which the ſaid French king vpon his comming to the Crowne had ſeaſed into his handes, bycauſe the King of Englande had not done to him his homage due for the ſame.

A tenth of the Eccleſiaſticall liuings grãted to the king.

Alſo this yeare the Pope graunted to the king of Englande the tenth of Eccleſiaſticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he hadde likewyſe done.

An. reg. 14.
Caxton.

About this ſeaſon, Pope Iohn being enformed of the great deſtruction and vnmercifull war whiche the Scottes made vppon the Engliſhe men, and namely for that they ſpared neyther Churche nor Chapell, Abbey nor Priorie, hee ſent a general ſentence vnder his Bulles of leade vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and Yorke, appoynting them that if Robert le Bruce the Scottiſhe king would not recompence king Edwarde for all ſuch harmes as the realme of Englande had by him ſuſteyned, and alſo make reſtitution of the goodes that had beene taken out of Churches and Monaſteries, they ſhoulde pronounce the ſame ſentence agaynſt him and hys complices. Wherevpon when the Scots tooke no regard to the Popes admonition, the Archbiſhop proceeded to the pronouncing of the foreſaid ſentence, ſo that Robert Bruce, Iames Dowglas, & Thomas Randulf Erle of Murrey, and al other that kept him companie, or thẽ in any wiſe maintayned, were accurſed throughout England euerie day at Maſſe three tymes. But this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great coſt and charge, and in the meane ſeaſon the commons of the Realme were ſore oppreſſed by ſundrie wayes and meanes, dyuerſe of them loſt theyr goodes and poſſeſſions, beyng taken from them vpon ſurmiſed and feyned quarelles, ſo that many were vtterly vndone, and a few ſingular and myſordered perſones were aduaunced.

Scots eftſones accurſed.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce fayled betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an army of Scots entred England, & came into the Biſhopricke of Durham. The Earle of Murrey ſtayed at Daringtõ, but Iames Dowglas and the ſteward of Scotland went forth to waſte the country, the one towards Hartlepoole & Cleueland, and the other towards Richmont: but they of the Countie of Richmont (as before they had done) gaue a great ſumme of money to ſaue their countrie from inuaſion.

The Scottes that time remayned within Englande by the the ſpace of fiftene dayes or more. The Knightes and Gentlemen of the North partes, came vnto the Earle of Lancaſter that lay the ſame tyme at Pomfret, offering to goe forth with him to giue the enimies battaile, if hee woulde aſſyſt them: But the Earle ſeemed that he had no luſt to fyght in defence of that Prince, that ſought to oppreſſe hym wrongfully, (as he tooke it) and therefore he diſſembled the matter, and ſo the Scots returned at their pleaſure without encounter.

About this ſeaſon, the L. William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioyed diuers faire poſſeſſions to him diſcended from his anceſtors, but through want of good gouernment was run behind hand, offred to ſel a certaine portion of his lands called Gowers lande lying in the marches there, vnto diuerſe noble men that had their lands adioyning to the ſame, as to the Earle of Hereforde, and to the two Lorde Mortimers, the vncle and nephew, albeit the L. Mowbray that had maried the onely daughter and heyre of the Lord Bruce, thought verily in the ende to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spencer the yonger Lord Chamberlaine, coueting that land (bycauſe it lay nere on eche ſide to other lands that he had in thoſe parties) found ſuch meanes through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went away with the purchaſe, to the great diſpleaſure of the other Lordes that had bene in hande to buy it. Hereby ſuch hartburning roſe agaynſt the Spencers, that vpon complaint made by the Earle of Hereforde vnto the Earle of Lancaſter, of their preſumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the King as ſeemed beſt to theyr liking, it was thought expedient by the ſayde Earles that ſome remedie in tyme (if it were poſſible) ſhoulde be prouided. Wherevpon the ſaid Erles of Lancaſter and Hereford, with the Lordes Roger Tuchet, Rog. Clifford, Goſelin Deiuille, Rog. Bernsfield, ẏ ij. Mortimers, Rog. the vncle and Rog. ẏ nephew, Wil. de Sully, Wil. de Elmbrigh,

Iohn

John Gifford of Brimeſfelde, & Henrie Tieys, all Barons, the which with diuerſe other Lords, Knightes, and men of name, aſſembling togither at Shierborne in Elmedone, ſware eche of them to ſtande by other, till they had amended the ſtate of the realme. But yet notwythſtanding theyr othe, the moſte part of them afterwardes forſaking the enterpriſe, ſubmytted themſelues to the king. Neuertheleſſe, whether for that the King by a Proclamation ſette forth the .xvj. of March, had commaunded (as ſome write) that the Lords Mowbray, Clifford, and Deiuille for diſobeying to make their perſonal appearance before him, ſhould auoyd the land within ten dayes next enſuing, or for that they ment with all ſpeed to put theyr enterpriſe in execution, we finde that the Earle of Hereforde, the Lordes Mortimer, the vncle and nephew, the lord Roger Damorie, the Lorde John Mowbray, the Lorde Hugh Audley, and his ſonne named alſo Hugh, the Lorde Roger Cliffforde, the Lorde John Gifford of Brimeſfielde, the Lorde Morice Berkeley, the Lorde Henrie Tieys, the Lorde John Matrauers, with many other that were allied togither, hauing the conſent alſo of the Erle of Lancaſter, on the Wedneſday next after the feaſt of the inuention of the Croſſe, hauing with them to the number of .viij. C. men of armes .v. C. hoblers, & ten .M. men on foote, came with the kings Baner ſpred vnto Newport in Wenloks lãd, where they tooke the caſtel that belonged vnto the Lord Chamberlain Hugh Spencer the yonger. They alſo tooke Kaerdy, Kerſilly, Lantriſſane, Taluan, Lamblethian, Kenefegis, Neoth, Druſſelan, and Diuenor, part of his men which in the foreſayde places they found, they ſlue, as ſir John Iwain, & ſir Mathew de Gorges, knightes, with .xv. other of his men that were Welchmen: part they tooke, & put them in priſon, as ſir Rauſe or Randulf de Gorges being ſore wounded, ſir Philip Joyce, ſir John de Friſſingfielde, ſir John de Dunſtable, William de Dunſtable, and many other, of the which the moſt part were put to their raunſome.

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They tooke, ſpoyled, and deſtroyed ſo much in value of his goodes as amounted vnto two thouſande poundes. They tooke vp in ſuche debts as were owing to him in thoſe parties, to the ſumme of three thouſand pounds, and of his rentes to the value neare handes of a thouſande pounde. They burnt .xxiij. of his Manours which he hadde in thoſe parties of Wales, with his Barnes, and did what hurt they coulde deuiſe burning or taking away all his writings and euidences.

After they had remayned .xv. dayes there, they came into England with the like force & diſorder inuading his caſtels, manors, and poſſeſſions, ſo that the domage which they did here vnto the ſaid L. chamberlain, amounted to the value of ten .M. poundes.

The king ſendeth to the Lordes.

The king aduertiſed of their doings, ſent vnto them the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, & the Lorde Bartholmew de Badeliſmere Lord Steward of his houſe, to requeſt them to deſiſt and leaue of from ſuch their outragious doings, and comming to the Parliament which he had alredy ſummoned, they might put in theyr complaynts & grieuances, and he would ſee that they ſhoulde haue iuſtice, according as equitie ſhould require. The lord Badeliſmere forſaking the king became one of the cõfederacie with the barons, & ſo the Archb. was glad to returne alone, leauing the ſaide Badeliſmere behinde him, who ſent the king worde by the Archb, that til they had expulſed the Spencers out of the realme, they woulde not giue ouer their enterpriſe.

The Lord Badeliſmere reuolteth to the ſide of the Barons.

On S. Barnabies day they came to a manor of Hugh Spencer the father called Faſterne, in the Countie of Wiltſhire, and ſpoyled the ſame with diuerſe and many other Manors, aſwell in Wiltſhire, as elſe where, to witte, in Glouceſterſhire, Dorſetſhire, Hamſhire, Barkſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Surrey, Cãbridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Leyceſterſhire, Lincolnſhire, Cheſhire, and Warwikeſhire, making ſuch hauoke of all ſuch goods or cattel as belonged to the ſaid Hugh Spencer the father, ẏ he was thought to be endomaged to the value of .xxx. M. pounds, burning his houſes, beating, mayming & raunſoming his men, and not contented to ſpoyle thoſe places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the Abbey of Stanley he had layde vp money, and euidence, they brake into that Abbey, & tooke out thereof .M. pounds in ready coine, beſide euidences & writings, to the endomaging of him to the value of .vj. M. poundes, and likewiſe entring into the kings caſtel of Marleburgh where the ſayde Hugh Spencer the father had layde vp in wooll to the number of .xxxvj. ſackes, they tooke the ſame and other of his goodes, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of ſixe thouſande poundes. And they did not onely ſpoyle the poſſeſſions, houſes, goodes, and cattayles of the two Spencers, whereſoeuer they coulde heare that the ſame were to bee founde, but alſo they vſed the like diſorder againſt all ſuch as were knowne to bee friendes or well willers, to eyther the father or ſonne, ſending Commiſſions vnto ſuch as ſhoulde ſee the ſame executed to the moſt extremitie.

The Barons rayſe the people and come in armes towardes the Parliament.

Finally, after they had ſatiſfied their deſires in ſuch riotous ſort, they rayſed the people, and conſtrayned them to ſweare to be of their accord, and ſo came forward with the like force towards the Parliament that was ſummoned to be holde at London three weekes after Midſommer. At their comming to Saint Albons, they ſent the

They ſend to the king.

Biſhops of London, Saliſburie, Elie, Hereford, and Chicheſter, to the King with their humble ſute in outwarde apparance, though in effect and verie deede more preſumptuous than was requiſite. Their chiefe requeſte was that it myght pleaſe his highneſſe to put from him the Spencers, whoſe counſaile they knew to be greatly agaynſt his honour, and hereof not to faile if hee tendered the quiet of his realme.

Their requeſts

They alſo required letters patents of him, conteyning a generall pardon for the indempnitie of themſelues, and all thoſe that had beene in armes with them, ſo as they ſhould not be impeached by the king for any tranſgreſſions paſt or preſent, in time hereafter to come.

The kings anſwere.

The king herevnto anſwered, that as concerning Hugh Spencer the father, he was abrode on his buſineſſe beyonde the ſeas, and that Hugh the ſonne was on the ſea for the ſafe keeping of the cinque portes, as by his office he was bounde, and that they ought not by any right or cuſtome to be baniſhed, before they haue made anſwere to the crymes obiected agaynſt them. He added further, that their requeſt wanted foundation of law and reaſon. And if it might bee proued that the Spencers had in any wiſe offended agaynſt the ſtatutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwayes readie to make their anſwere as the lawes of the realme ſhould require. Laſtly he added this with an othe, that he would not be forſworne cõtrary to that which at his coronation he had takẽ vpon him by othe, through graunting letters of peace and pardon to ſuch notorious offenders in cõtempt of his perſon, and to the trouble and diſquieting of the whole realme.

Fabian.
Caxton.

The Barons vpon knowledge had what anſwere the king had made to their requeſts, forthwith got them to armor, and with a great power of men of armes & other, came to the Parliament which the K. had ſummoned to begin at Weſtm. three weekes after midſomer. Their retinue were apparelled in a ſute of Iakets or coates of colors demie, partie yellow and greene, with a bande of white caſt ouerthwart. By reaſon whereof that Parliament long after was called the Parliamẽt of white bands.

The order which the lord Maior of London tooke.

Then to ſee the kings peace kept within the citie, the Maior cauſed a .M. men well armed to watch dayly in diuerſe wardes, & at diuerſe gates of the Citie, which watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and ſo continued till ſixe at night, and then as many were appoynted to the night watch, cõtinuing the ſame till the houre of fiue in the morning. And for the more ſuretie that this night watch ſhould be wel & ſufficiently kept, two Aldermen were aſſigned nightly to ride about the citie with certaine officers of the town, to ſee the watchmen well and diſcreetly guided. The gates were ſhut at .ix. of the clocke, and opened againe at .vij. in the morning. Alſo euery Citizen was warned to haue his armor by him, that he might bee readie vpon any occaſion when he ſhould be called.

Ma. W

But neuertheleſſe the Barons being come in forcible wiſe (as ye haue heard) vnto this Parliament, they conſtrayned the Earle of Richmont, Arundell, Warren, and Pembroke, to agree vnto their purpoſe, and likewiſe ſome of the Biſhops they compelled through feare to take an othe to ioine with them in their purpoſe, for the expulſing of the Spencers out of the realme, and ſo cõming al togither before the king, they publiſhed certain articles againſt the ſaid Spencers, both the father and ſonne, wherevpon they made an awarde that they ſhoulde be diſinherited and baniſhed the land during their liues, if by the king and conſent of all the Lordes in Parliament aſſembled, they ſhould not be reſtored. They had day and place appoynted where to paſſe forth of the lande, to witte at Douer, and not elſe where, betwixt the day of his award made, and the feaſt of the decollatiõ of S. Iohn baptiſt, that day to be counted for one. Diuerſe articles (as before is ſayd) were layde to the charge of thoſe Spencers. Amongſt other things it was alledged, that Hugh Spẽcer the ſonne being on a time angrie and diſpleaſed with the K. ſought to allie and confederate himſelf with the Lord Gifford of Brimeſfield, & the lord Richard Gray, to haue conſtrayned and forced the King by ſtrong hand to haue followed his will & pleaſure. Moreouer it was alledged that the ſayde Spencers, as wel the father as the ſonne, had cauſed the king to ride into Gloceſterſhire to oppreſſe and deſtroy the good people of his lande, contrarie to the forme of the great Charter.

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Alſo where the Erle of Hereford, and the Lord Mortimer of Wigmore had gone agaynſt one Thlewillin Bren, that had rayſed a rebellion againſt the king in Glamorgãſhire, whiles yͤ lãds of the erle of Glouceſter were in the kings hands, the ſame Thlewillin yeelded himſelf to the ſaid Erle, and to the Lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpõ promiſe that he ſhould haue the kings pardon, and ſo the king receyued him. But after that the ſayde Erle & Lord Mortimer were out of the lande, the Spencers taking to thẽ royall power, tooke the ſayd Thlewillin and led him vnto Kardif, where after yͭ the ſaid Hugh Spẽcer the ſon had his purpartie of yͤ ſayd erle of Glouceſters lands, he cauſed the ſayd Thlewillin to be drawne, headed and quartered, to the diſcredite of the king, and of the ſayde Earle of Herforde and Lorde Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the crowne.

The ſayd Spencers alſo counſelled the K. to foriudge ſir Hugh Audley, ſon to the Lord Hugh

Audley, and to take into his handes his Caſtels and poſſeſſions. They compaſſed alſo to haue atteynted the Lorde Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue enioyed the whole Erledome of Glouceſter. Theſe and other Articles of miſdemeanour in the Spencers were exhibited to perſwade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common wealth, and not worthie of thoſe places they occupied.

After that their diſinheriting and baniſhment was concluded in maner as before is ſayde, the Erle of Herforde and other the Lordes that had proſecuted the quarell agaynſt them, came before the king and humbly on their knees beſought him of pardon of all things which they had committed agaynſt him or agaynſt his lawes or agaynſt any other perſon in the purſute of the ſayd Spencers. The king being brought into a ſtrayte, durſt not but graunt to all that which they requeſted, eſtabliſhing the ſame by ſtatute.

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rburie.

The Parliament being thus ended, the king and Queene went to Canterburie, there to viſite the ſhrine of Thomas Becket ſometyme Archbiſhop there.

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laine.

The king from thence went to the Iſle of Tenet, that he might there meete with his deare and welbeloued counſaylour Hugh Spencer the yonger, whome he hadde of late ſent in Ambaſſade to the French king, and nowe being returned by Sea into thoſe partyes, he was deſyrous to ſee hym, that hee myght haue conference with him: and ſo comming togither, they ſpent certayne dayes in communing of ſuch matters as they thought good.

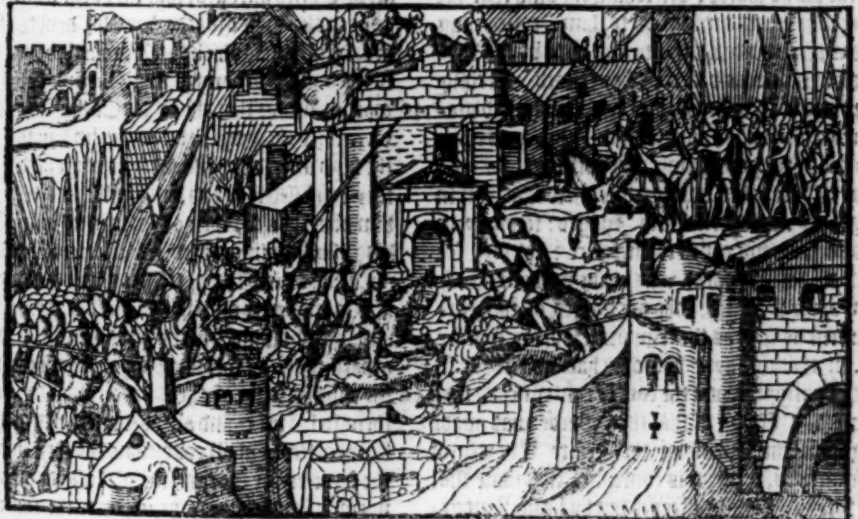
The king calling to him the Mariners of the cinque portes, committed to them the cuſtodie of the ſayde Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ſhips, and the king ſayling alongſt the coaſt to Porcheſter, conferred with him of many things.

From Porcheſter the king ment to returne vnto London, there to meete the Queene, who in hir returne from Canterburie woulde haue lodged one night in the Caſtell of Leedes, which the L. Bartholmew de Badeliſmere late Stewarde of the kings houſe had by exchaunge of the king for other landes, and now taking part with the Barons, had left his wife and children with other of his friendes and treaſure in the ſame Caſtell.

The Queene not ſuffred to lodge in the Caſtell of Leedes.

Thoſe that were put in truſt with keeping this Caſtell, would neyther permit Queene nor other to enter there without expreſſe commaundement from their Lord and maiſter, and ſo they ſignified not onely to the Queenes ſeruants that came before to make prouiſiō for hir, but alſo, declared the ſame to hirſelfe cōming thither in perſon. This chaunced verie vnluckily for the Barons: for where the Queene had euer ſought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his Lordes, ſhee tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with this deniall made to hir for one nyghtes lodging in that Caſtel, that vpon hir grieuous complaynt ſent to the king, hee forthwith rayſed a mightie armie out of Kent and Eſſex, frō the fiue portes, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas Earle Marſhall, and Edmond Erle of Kent. Alſo the Erles of Richmont, Pembroke, Arondle, & Athol, he haſted thither, & layd ſiege aboute the Caſtel, conſtreyning thē within by all meanes that might be deuiſed.

The king beſiegeth the caſtell of Leedes.



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In the meane time, at the ſute of the Lorde Badeliſmere, the Earle of Hereforde, and other Lords of the confederacie, came with a greate power vnto Kingſton, about the feaſt of Simon and Iude, and there ſtaying certaine dayes for ſome of their companie that were to come vnto them, they ſent vnto the king the Archb. of Cant. and the B. of London with the Erle of Pēbroke, requiring him to remoue his ſiege, till by Parliament ſome order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their ſute, but continued his ſiege till the caſtell was yelded to him. For thoſe that were at Kingſton cowardly leauing theyr enterpriſe, came not forwarde but returned backe againe.

The caſtell of Leedes yelded

They that were within the caſtel hauing ſimply ſubmitted themſelues to the king, cauſed .xij. or .xiij. of them to ſuffer death. Amongſt other was one Walter Culpepper, reckened for the chiefe of them that defended the Caſtell agaynſte the king. The wife of the Lorde Badeliſmere, wyth his nephewe Bartholmewe de Burwaſhe was ſent to the Tower of London, but his ſiſter was ſent to Douer Caſtell, there to remaine in ſafe keeping.

Walter Culpepper executed.

The Caſtell of Leedes being thus yeelded to the king, hee entred the ſame on Alhallowen day, and ſhortly after the caſtell of Chilham was deliuered, and the caſtell of Tunbridge left voyde by them that had it in keeping.

The king thus beſturring him, came into Eſſex, and ſeaſed into his handes the landes of the Lorde Badeliſmere, and likewiſe the landes of ſuch as were his mainteyners, friends, and fauourers, of the which ſuch as he coulde meet with he put in priſon, and herewith ſummoned an armie to meete him at Cirenceſter aboute Saynt Lucies day the Virgin. And then about Saint Andrewes tide he came to London, where the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie had called a prouinciall Councell.

The lord chãberlaine yeeldeth himſelfe to the lawe.

The ſame time Hugh Spencer the ſon being lately come from the ſea, yeelded himſelfe priſoner to the kings warde, beſeeching the king that hee might haue right miniſtred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him done by the Barons in maner as before ye haue heard, ſpecially for the award which in Parliamẽt they had procured to be enacted agaynſt him, the errors committed in the proceſſe whereof he beſought the king that he might bee admytted to ſhewe: as firſt in that they made themſelues Iudges: ſecondly in that he was not called to anſwere: thirdly, for that the ſame awarde was made without the aſſent of the Prelates, who are Peeres of the Parliament as well as the temporall Lordes: fourthly, in that the ſayde Barons had no recorde in theyr purſuyte, vpon the cauſes conteyned in that awarde: fifthly, in that the awarde was made agaynſt the fourme of the greate Charter of Franchiſes, wherein is conteyned that none ſhal be foreiudged nor deſtroyed but by lawfull iudgement of his Peeres, according to the lawe of the lande.

Further he alledged that it was to bee conſydered, howe the ſayde Barons and great menne beeing ſummoned to come in due maner vnto that Parliament, they came in forcible wyſe with all theyr powers.

A like petition was likewiſe exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spencer the father, for redreſſe to be had of the wrongs and loſſes, which in like caſe he had ſuſteyned.

An.reg.

The king fauouring ynough the cauſes and petitions of the Spencers, graunted theyr requeſts, and deliuered the petitions vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and his ſuffraganes, the which the ſame time were there aſſembled in their prouincial Councell aforeſayd, requiring to haue their aduiſe and opinions therein.

The king
keth the
nions of the
Prelates.

He likewiſe requeſted of the Earles and Barons that were then with him, and of the counſaylours in lawe, what they thought of thys matter.

The Prelates vpon deliberation had, declared, that in their opinion, the ſayde awarde as touching the diſinheriting and baniſhing of the Spencers, the father and ſonne, was erroneous, and not rightly decreed, and for themſelues they denyed that they eyther dyd or coulde thinke it reaſon to conſent thereunto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmonde Earle of Kente, Iohn de Brytayne Earle of Richemonte, Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembroke, and Edmonde Earle of Arundell, then being in preſence of the king, and likewiſe of the foreſayde Prelates, affirmed that the ſayd awarde pronounced againſt the Spencers was made contrarie to lawe and right, and therefore as the Prelates requeſted, that the ſame might be repealed. And further the ſayde Earles alledged, that the aſſent which they gaue in the ſayde awarde, was for doubte of the vnlawfull force which the Barons brought vnto the ſayde Parliament when they made that awarde, and for that the ſayde Earles that nowe were with the king, had counſayled him to ſuffer the ſayd award to paſſe, for feare of the ſayd force, they confeſſed they had done euill, and beſought him of pardon for their offences in ſo doing. The king thus hauing cauſed yͤ Prelates, Erles, Barõs, and lawiers there preſent to vtter their iudgements in maner aforeſayd, he iudicially reuoked and quite diſanulled the proceſſe of the ſayde award, made as wel touching the baniſhment, as the diſinheriting of the Spencers, and reſtored them to his peace and allegeaunce, and to theyr former eſtates in all conditions, as they enioyed the ſame before the making of the ſayde awarde, notwithſtanding certaine letters to the contrarie of the Erle of Lancaſter, and other Lordes of hys faction, which for the approuing & ratifying of the ſaid proceſſe they directed vnder their ſeales to the king as yet remaynyng at London.

The decla
tion of the
prelates.

The decla
tion of the
Earles.

They wrote alſo to the Prelates, Iuſtices, and Barõs of the Exchequer, to induce the king to giue his aſſent to that whiche in the tenor of their letters was conteyned. The Erle of Hereford, the Lord Roger Mortimer of Chirk, and the Lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, entring the marches of Wales, came to Glouceſter, and toke that Citie. The Caſtell was alſo deliuered vnto them by the Conſtable thereof.

he Barons a-
ain get to
rmor.

The king hauing his people comming dayly vnto him, whereby his armie was hugely increaſed, aboute the feaſt of Saint Nicholas hee ſette forth from London, and with him there wente his brother Edmonde Earle of Kent, Iohn Erle of Richmont, Edmonde Earle of Arundell, and many other great Lordes, and Barons. The Queene with hir children he left in the Tower of London,

he Lorde
aint Iohn.

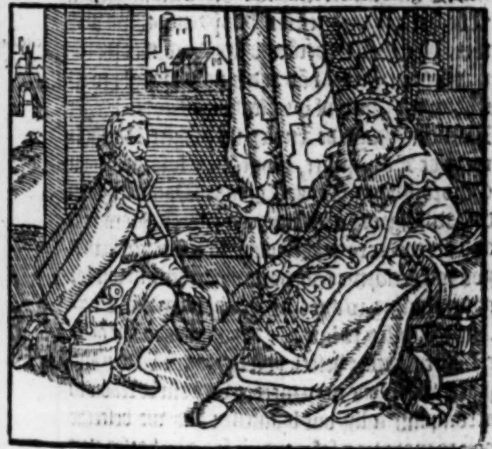
The Lorde Iohn de Saint Iohn comming to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the king, at the interceſſion of diuerſe noble men, with much ado had his pardon at length graunted him.

he Lorde
eys.

irenceſter.

The king paſſing forward ſeaſed into his hãds the townes, caſtels, manors, & goods of them that were agaynſt him. But in the meane time the L. Henrie de Thies, with certaine other that were entred into Glouceſterſhire (hearing that a great multitude of people was aſſembled oute of the Country at Cirenceſter by the kings commaundement) came thither and chaſed them home to their houſes, putting them in feare of their liues, if they ſhould offer to reſiſt him.

he K. wri-
th to the erle
Lancaſter.



The king comming to Crikelade after the feaſt of S. Lucie the virgin, wrote to the Erle of Lancaſter an anſwere of his letters which he had receyued from him at London, modeſtly reprouing him, for that hee had ſo grieuouſly and vndutifully reproched him, without reſpecte had to his royall eſtate, and alſo preſumed to aſſigne him day within the which he ſhould reform thoſe things which he miſliked in him, as if he were his ſubiect and vnderling: and beſide this was nowe ioined with his aduerſaries againſt him, where on his behalf ther had bin no let nor ſtay at any time, but that they might be friends & remaine in quiet togither. From Crikelade the king went to Cirenceſter, where he helde the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, the erles of Norffolk, Pembroke, Surrey, and other great Lordes cõming thither to ioyne theyr powers with his. Thither came alſo a greate ſtrength of footmen, part of the which vnder the leading of one Robert Aquarij, a right famous captain toke the caſtell of Bromfield, thoſe that had the keeping of it fleeing forth of it.

The king kepeth his Chriſtmaſſe at Crikelade.

Earles that came to the king to Crikelade.

1322

The king comming to Worceſter about New yeares tyde, cauſed the walles of the Citie to be repayred, committing the cuſtodie thereof vnto William de Longchampe.

After yͤ Epiphanie he paſſed on yͤ South ſide of Seuerne towards Shrewſburie, where at his cõming thither he was honourably receyued by the burgeſſes that came forth to meet him in armor, & ſo cõueyed him into their towne being ſtrongly fenced.

The Scots inuade Northumberlande.

In this meane time the Scottes now that the truce was ended, entring with a ſtrong power into England, deſtroyed all the countrey to Newcaſtell vpon Tine with fire and ſworde.

Caſtels taken by the Welchmen.

The Earle of Lancaſter writeth to the Earle of Hereford.

The Earle of Hereford cometh to ioyne with the Earle of Lancaſter.

The Welchmen with their captaine Griffin Loitis toke yͤ caſtels in Wales which were kept by the people of the L. Mortimer the elder. They toke alſo the caſtels of Mole, Chirk, and Clone, the kepers wherof cõming vnto yͤ K. to Shrewſburie ſubmitted themſelues to him, who ſhortly after ſet thẽ to the tower of Lõdon. The L. Hugh Audley the elder, yͤ L. Iohn de Haſtings & diuerſe other cõming in, & ſubmitting thẽſelues to the K. were likewiſe cõmitted to ward. The L. Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worceſter deſtroied al yͭ which the K. had appointed to be done about the fortificatiõ therof. The erle of Lãcaſter lying at Pomfret, & hearing of al this buſineſſe, wrote to the erle of Hereford, & other lords yͭ were with him, that they ſhould make haſt to come to him at Pomfret, promiſing frõ thenceforth to bee their generall & leader. The Erle of Hereford reioyſing at theſe newes, togither with al thoſe that were about him, leauing Glouceſter and all other ſtrẽgthes which they held in thoſe parties, ſet forward to paſſe through the middeſt of the realme, ſpoiling by the way mens cattel & goods very diſorderly, & ſo came through to the erle of Lãcaſter.

The king getting into his handes al the Caſtels of his aduerſaries in thoſe parties, went to Hereford, where he was honorably receyued of the Cleargie and Citizens. His army encreaſed dayly, many comming in vnto him, that before durſt not for feare of his aduerſaries.

The B. of Hereford was ſharply checked bycauſe he had taken part with the kings enimies.

The king ſent from hence the Lorde John Haſtings into Southwales, to take in his name the ſeyſine of the Caſtels belonging to the Erle of Herforde, the Lord Roger Dammorie, and the Lorde Hugh Spencer the yonger, which the Barõs had the laſt yere got into theyr hands: all which being now taken to the kings vſe, were furniſhed with faythfull garniſons. The K. after this comming to Glocester, condemned the Sherife of Herforde to be hanged, for that he had taken part againſt him with the Barons. The L. Maurice Berkley came to the king to Gloceſter, ſubmitting himſelfe to the kings pleaſure. After this the king came by Weſton vnder edge towards Couentree, where he had appointed aſwel ſuch as he had lately licenced to depart to theyr homes to refreſh themſelues for a tyme, as alſo diuerſe other, to aſſemble with their powers to go with him from thence agaynſt his aduerſaries. The day of this aſſemble was the Fryday next after the firſt Sunday in Lent.

The lord Berkley ſubmitteth himſelf to the king.

The army ap- poynted to meete at Co- uentre.

The king from Couentree went to Merival, and there lodged in the Abbey for his more eaſe, writing to William Sutton vnder Conſtable of Warwike Caſtle, commaunding him to bee attendãt on the Sherife of Warwikeſhire, in helping him to watche the entryes and iſſues, to and from the Caſtell of Kenilworth that was holden agaynſt him.

Will. Su

Kenilwo holden ag the king.

In the meane tyme certaine of the Lords that were gone to the erle of Lãcaſter beſieged Tikehill caſtel .xv. dayes togither, but preuayled not.

Tikehil ca beſieged.

There were letters intercepted about the ſame time, which a meſſenger brought forth of Scotlande, three cloſed and three open, for there were ſixe in all. The king ſent them to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, who by his cõmaundement publiſhed thẽ in open audience at London. The firſt was cloſed with the ſeale of the Lorde Thomas Randulf Erle of Murrey, Lord of Annandale & of Man, Lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which conteyned a ſafeconduct for ſir Thomas Topcliue chaplaine, & one to be aſſociate with him to come into Scotland, & to returne frõ thence in ſafetie. The ſecond was ſealed with the ſeale of ſir James Dowglas for a like ſafecõduct for the ſame perſons. The third was cloſed with the ſeale of the ſayd Erle of Murrey for the ſafeconduct of the Lord John de Mowbray, & the Lord John de Clifford, and .xl. horſes with their pages for their ſafe comming vnto the ſaid Earle into Scotlande, and for their abiding there & returning backe. The fourth was cloſed with the ſeal of James Dowglas, directed to king Arthure. The fifth was cloſed with the ſeale of James Dowglas directed to the lord Rauf Neuill. The ſixt had no direction, but ẏ tenor therof was this: You ſhall vnderſtand my Lord, that the cõmunication before hãd had is now brought to effect: for the Earle of Herford, the Lordes Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audley the yonger, Bartholmew de Badeliſmer, Roger de Cliffo⁊de, John Gifford, Henry Teys, Thomas Manduit, John de Willington, & all other are come to Pomfret, and are readie to make you good aſſurance, ſo that you wil performe couenant with them, to wit for your cõming to ayde vs, & go wͭ vs into England & Wales, to liue and die with vs in our quarrel. We therfore beſech you to aſſigne vs day and place, where we may meet, & we will be readie to accompliſh fully our buſineſſe: and we beſeeche you to make vs a ſafeconduct for .xxx. horſes, that we may in ſafetie come to your parties.

Letters intercepted.

King Arthure a name fayned of purpoſe.

The tenor one of the letters.

The king when ſuch Erles and Lordes as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the Earle of Norffolke excepted) & that the moſt part of thoſe mẽ of war were aſſẽbled ẏ had summonce, although diuerſe came not at all, about ẏ firſt Sundaye in Lent, he ſet forwarde towardes his enemies, hauing with hym to the number of ſixteine hundred men of armes on horſe backe, and footmen innumerable, wyth this power paſſing

The K. ſetteth forward towards his enimies.

forthe towardes his aduerſaries, he cauſed proclamation to bee made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that woulde come and ſubmit themſelues, those excepted whiche had bene at the ſiege of Tickhill Caſtell, or at the taking of the citie of Glouceſter, or at the inuaſion made vppon his men at Bridgenorthe.

ke a clamation.

At his comming to a litle village called Caldwell, he ſent afore him certaine bandes to Burton vpon Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the Earles of Lancaſter and Herford, the Lordes Roger Damorie, Hughe Audeley the yonger, John de Moubraye, Barthlomewe de Badeliſmere, Roger de Cliffforde, John Gifford de Brenneſfielde, Henry Tyes, and many other, being gotten thither before, kept the Bridge, and aſſailing the Kynges people whiche hee had thus ſent before, ſome of them they ſlewe, and ſome they wounded, ſo defending the bridge, that none coulde paſſe, and by reaſon that the waters, and ſpecially the riuer of Trent through abundaunce of raine that was lately fallen, were reyſed, there was no meane to paſſe by the fourdes, wherupon the Kyng was conſtreyned to ſtaye the ſpace of three dayes, in whiche meane time, the Earles and theyr complices fortified the bridge at Burton, wyth barriers and ſuche like defences, after the maner of warre, but the kyng at length vpon deliberate aduiſe taken how to paſſe the riuer, ordeyned, that the Earle of Surrey wyth certaine armed men, ſhulde goe ouer by a bridge that was a three miles diſtant from Burton, that he might come vppon the backes of the enemies, as they were fighting with thoſe that ſhulde aſſaile them a frounte. The Erles of Richemonde and Penbroke were appoynted to paſſe by a fourde, which they had got knowledge of, wyth three hundreth horſemen in complete armour, and the Kyng wyth his brother the Earle of Kent ſhoulde followe them, wyth the reſidue of the army, ſauing that Robert Aquarie or Waters, wyth certayne bandes of footemen was commaunded to aſſaile the bridge, whiche hee did very manfully, cauſing the archers and croſſebowes to annoy them that kept it, ſo as hee might drawe the whole power of the enemies that wayes, till the Kyng and the Earles were paſſed by the fourde: But after that the Earles of Lancaſter and Herforde wyth theyr complices, hearde that the King was paſſed with his army, they came forth with theyr people into the fieldes, and put them in order of battaile: but perceyuing the greate puiſſaunce whiche the Kyng had there readie to encounter them, wythout more a doe they fledde, ſetting fyre in the towne, and leauing all theyr victualles and other thynges behinde them. The Kynges people comming ſpeedely forwarde, and entring the towne, quenched the fyre, and fell to the ſpoyle of ſuche thynges as the enimies for haſt had lefte behinde them. The Kyng kept nothing to hymſelfe, but onely a fayre cup that belonged to the Earle of Lancaſter, a peece eſteemed to be of ſome greate valewe.

on vpon

Earle of y. uertute ichoote.

Earles of mont and broke.

Robert Aquarie.

The K. paſſeth by a fourde.

The Earles of Lancaſter and Hereford flee, and let fire in the Towne.

The ſame night beeyng Wedneſday, the K. came to Tutbury, and lodged in the Caſtel, ſending forth the next day with all ſpeede, letters to the Sherif of Derbiſhire and Nottinghamſhire, aduertiſing him, both of the ſucceſſe hee hadde againſt his enimies, and withall, pronouncing thẽ and all their adherents, Rebels and Traitors to hym and hys Realme, and that for ſuche they ſhould be reputed, taken, and vſed. And therefore hee commanded in the ſame letters or writtes, vpon forfeiture of all that the ſaid Sherife might

The K. commeth to Tutburie.

forfeit, he ſhoulde purſue the ſaid Rebels, that is, the Earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, the Lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audeley yͤ yonger, John de Mowbray, Bartholmewe de Badeliſmere, Roger de Clifforde, John Gifforde de Brimeſfield, Henry Tieys, and all and euery other perſon or perſons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies, cauſing hue and crie to bee reiſed vpon them, in what part ſoeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the ſaid Sherife ſhould thinke it expedient, and to enioyne and ſtraightly commaund all and ſingular perſons, the ſaide Rebels and enimies to purſue, take and arreſt, and them to deliuer vnto the ſaid Sherife, and that ſuche as were not able to purſue them, yet with hand or horne, they ſhould leuie hue and crie againſt them, in payne that being found negligent herein, to be accompted for fauourers and adherentes to the ſaide Rebels and traitors, and that the ſaid Sherife ſhould therevpon apprehend them, and put them in priſon.

Hue and crie.

The writte was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writtes were directed, and ſente forth to all other Sherifes through the Realme, and likewiſe to the Biſhop of Durham, and to the Juſtice of Cheſter.

Beſide this, hee directed alſo other writtes to yͤ ſaid Sherifes and others, that although he hadde bin conſtreyned to paſſe in forcible wiſe through diuers parties of his Realme, and the marches of Wales, to ſuppreſſe the malitious Rebellion of diuers his ſubiects, and that as yet, hee was conſtreyned to continue his iourney in ſuche forcible wiſe, neuertheleſſe, his pleaſure was, that yͤ peace ſhould be maynteyned, and kept throughout hys Realme, with the ſtatutes, lawes, and cuſtomes inuiolated, and therfore he commaunded the ſayd Sherifes, that they ſhoulde cauſe the ſame to bee proclaymed in places where was thoughte moſt expedient, as wel within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of perſon, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer he was, vpon pain that might fall thereon, to attēpt any thing to the breache of peace but that euery mā ſhuld ſeeke to mainteine & preſerue yͤ peace and tranquilitie of the people, with the ſtatutes, lawes & good cuſtomes of the land, to the vttermoſt of his power: this alwayes obſerued, that yͤ Rebels whereſoeuer they myght be found, ſhoulde be arreſted, and cōmitted to ſafe cuſtody. The date of this writte was at Tutburie aforeſaid yͤ twelfth of March. The L. Roger Damorie lay ſicke in his bed yͤ ſame time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard what iudgement yͤ K. had pronounced againſt him, departed this life within two dayes after. But the Erles of Lancaſter and Herefordе, with other in their cōpany that fled frō yͤ diſcomfiture at Burton, loſt many men and horſes in their fleeing away, by reaſon of ſuch purſute as was made after them. Diuers of them that had taken part with the Lordes againſt the King, came in & ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, amongſt the which, were ſir Gilbert de Elleſfield, and ſir Robert Holland Knightes. The K. yet had the ſayd Holland in ſome ſuſpition, bycauſe hee had promiſed to haue come to him before. The Earle of Lancaſter had ſent him at this time to raiſe hys tenauntes in Lancaſhiere, and to bring them vnto him, but hee deceyued him, and came not to him at all, wherevpon, the Earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, with the other Barōs, being come vnto Pomfret, they fell to counſell in the Friers there, and finally after much debating of yͤ matter, and conſidering, how by the vntrue dealing of the ſaid Robert Holland, their ſide was muche weakened, it was concluded, that they ſhoulde goe to the Caſtel of Dunſtanborough, and there to remaine, till they might purchaſe the Kyngs pardon, ſith their enterpriſe thus quailed vnder their hands: and heerewith ſetting forwarde that way forth, they came to Borrough bridge, where Sir Andrewe de Herkley with the power of the Counties of Cumberlande and Weſtmerlande had forelayde the paſſage, and there on a Tewſday being the ſixtenth of March, hee ſetting vpon the Barons, in the ende diſcomfited them, and chaſed their people.

Proclamatio s made for the peace to bee kepte.

The Lorde Damorie departed this life.

In this fight was ſlayne, the Earle of Hereford, the Lord William de Sulley, with ſir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuers others. And there were taken, Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, the Lorde Roger Clifford, ſonne to that Lord Roger which dyed in yͤ battell of Bannockeſborne in Scotland, the Lord Gilbert Talbot, the Lord John Moubray, the Lorde Hugh de Willingtō, the Lord Thomas Manduit, the Lord Warine de Liſle, the Lorde Phillippe Darcy, the Lorde Thomas Wither, the Lorde Henry de Willington, the Lorde Hugh de Knouill, the Lorde Phillippe de Beche, the Lorde Henry de Leiborne, the Lorde Henry de Bradborne, the Lord John de Beckes, the Lorde Thomas Louell, the Lorde William Fitz William, Robert de Wateuille, John de Strikelande, Odnel Heron, Walter Paueley of Stretton, and a greate number of other Eſquires, and Gentlemen.

This battell was foughte the fifteenth daye of Marche, in the yeare 1322. after the accompt of them that beginne the yeare at the circumciſion, whiche was in the ſayde fifteenth yeare of thys Kings raigne.

The body of the Earle of Herefordе was ſente to Yorke, two Friers of the order of Preachers, being appoynted to looke to it, till the King toke order for the burying of it.

The Lorde Clifforde alſo, bycauſe hee was wounded with an arrowe, was ſente vnto Yorke.

The ſame time, the Lorde Henry Percy tooke the Lorde Henry Tyeis, and John de Goldington Knighte, with two Eſquires, and within a fewe dayes after, Donald de Mar tooke the Lord Bartholmewe de Badeliſmere, the Lorde Hugh Audeley the yonger, the Lorde John Gifford, the Lord William Tuchet, and in manner, al thoſe which eſcaped by flighte from this battell, were taken in one place or other, by ſuche of the Kynges ſeruauntes and friendes as purſued them.

Caſtell of fret is dred to King.

The one and twentith of Marche, came Sir Andrew de Harkley vnto Pōfret, bringing with him the Earle of Lancaſter and other priſoners. The Kyng was come thither a fewe dayes before, and hadde the Caſtell yeelded to him by the Conneſtable, that not many dayes paſt was appointed to the keeping thereof by the Earle, whiche Earle nowe beeing brought thither captiue, was mocked, ſcorned, and in deriſion called king Arthur.

On the morrowe after beeing Monday, the two and twentith of March, he was brought before theſe noble men, Edmonde Earle of Kente, John Earle of Richmond, Aymer Erle of Pembroke, John Earle of Surrey, Edmond Earle of Arundell, Dauid Earle of Atholl, Roberte Earle of Anegos, the Lorde Hugh Spencer the father, the Lord Robert de Malmeſthorp Juſtice, and others with them aſſociate, before whom he was arreigned of high treaſon, for that he hadde reyſed warre againſt the king, and defended the paſſage of Burton bridge, for the ſpace of three dayes togither againſte him, and after when it was perceiued that the King had paſſed the riuer, he with Humfrey de Bohun Erle of Hereford, and other their complices like Traitors, ſet fire in the ſayde Towne, and cruelly brent part of the houſes, and men of the ſame Towne, and after, the ſaid Erle of Lancaſter with his complices, arraunged him ſelfe in fielde with his army and banners diſplaid ready to fight againſt the King, till that perceyuing the Kings power to be ouerſtrong for hym and his partakers to reſiſt, hee togither with thē fled, committing by the way diuers felonies and robberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certaine of the kings faithfull ſubiectes ready to reſiſt them, they aſſayled the ſayde faythfull ſubiectes with force of armes and banners diſplayed, ſlaying diuers of them, till finally, the ſaide Earle of Lancaſter was taken, and other of his complices, ſome taken, ſome ſlayne, and the reſidue put to flighte, ſo that there wanted no good will in the ſayde Earle of Lancaſter and others, why the Kyng ſhoulde not haue bin vanquiſhed, whiche treaſons, murthers, brenning of houſes, deſtroying of the Kings people, beeing playnely and manifeſtly knowen to the Earles, Barons, Lords, and other people of the lande, the ſayde Earle of Lancaſter was thereupon adiudged to die, according to the lawe in ſuche caſes prouided, that is, to bee drawen, hanged, and headed: but bycauſe hee was the Queenes vncle, and ſonne to the Kinges vncle, hee was pardoned of all but the heading, and ſo accordingly thereunto, hee ſuffered at Pountfret the two and twentith of Marche.

The Earle of Lancaſter arreigned.

is found

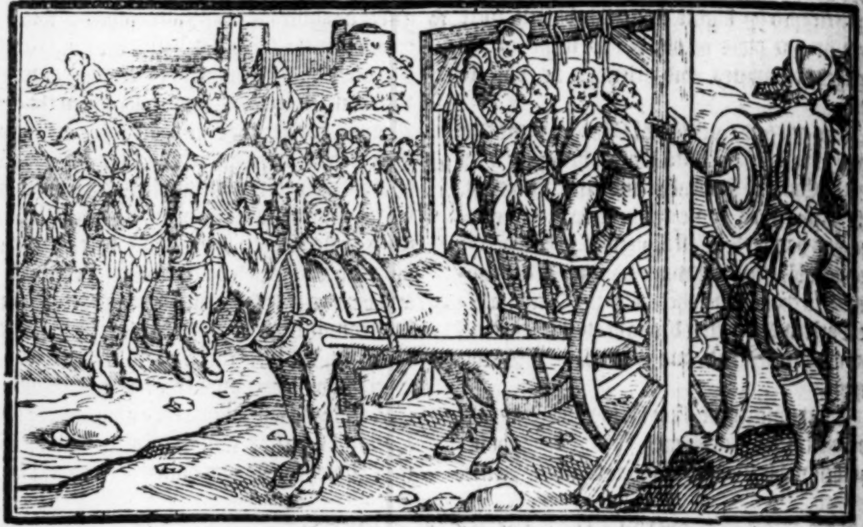
He is beheaded.

Thus the King ſeemed to be reuenged of the diſpleaſure done to hym by the Earle of Lancaſter, for the beheading of Peeres de Gauaſton Earle of Cornewall, whome hee ſo deerely loued, and bycauſe the Earle of Lancaſter was the Chiefe occaſioner of his deathe, the King neuer loued hym entierly after.

And ſo this mighty Earle of Lancaſter came to his end, being the greateſt Pere in the Realm, and one of the mightieſt Erles in Chriſtendome: for when he began to leuie warre againſt the K. he was poſſeſſed of fiue Earledomes, Lancaſter, Lincolne, Saliſburie, Leiceſter, and Derby, beſide other ſeigniories, lands, and poſſeſſiōs, great to his aduauncement in honor and puiſſance.

The ſame day, the Lorde William Tuchet, the Lord William Fitz Willi. the Lord Warr de Liſle, the Lord Henry Bradborne, and the L. William Chenie Barons, with John Page an Eſquire, were drawen and hanged at Pomfret aforeſaide, and then ſhortly after, Roger Lorde Clifford, John Lord Moubray, and Sir Goſein d'Euill Barons, were drawen and hanged at Yorke.

Lordes ex- cuted.



And at Briſtowe in like manner were executed, Henry de Wilington, and ſir Henry Montford Baronets, and at Glouceſter, ỹ Lorde John Gifford, and ſir William Elmebridge Knighte: and at London, the Lord Henry Tyes Baron, at Winchelſie, ſir Thomas Culpepper Knight, at Windſor, the Lord Francis de Aldham Baron, and at Canterbury, the Lord Bartholmewe de Badeliſmere, and the Lorde Bartholmewe de Aſhbornham Baros. Alſo at Cardeif in Wales, ſir William Fleming Knight was executed: diuers wer executed in their countreys, as ſir Thomas Mandit and others.

Aueſburie.
Nic.Triuet.

But nowe touching the foreſayde Earle of Lancaſter, great ſtrife roſe afterwards amongſt the people, whether hee oughte to be reputed for a Saint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no leſſe eſteemed, for that he did many almes dedes in his life time, honored men of Religion, and mainteyned a true quarell til his liues ende. Alſo, his enimies continued not long after, but came to euill ende.

Scant Saint-like partes.

Others conceyued an other opinion of hym, alledging, that hee fauoured not his wife, but lyued in ſpouſe breache, defiling a greate number of damoſels & Gentlewomen. If any offended him, he ſlew him ſhortly after in his wrathfull moode. Apoſtataes and other euill doers he mainteyned, and would not ſuffer them to be puniſhed by due order of lawe. All his doings hee vſed to cōmitte vnto one of his Secretaries, and tooke no heede himſelfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fledde ſhamefully in the fight, and was taken and put to death againſt his will, bycauſe he could not auoide it: yet by reaſon of certayne miracles whiche were ſaid to be done, neere to the place, both where he ſuffered, and where hee was buried, cauſed many to thinke he was a Saint, howbeit, at length, by the Kings commaundement, the Church dores of the Priory where hee was buried, were ſhut and cloſed, ſo that no man might be ſuffered to come to the tombe to bring any offerings, or to do any other kinde of deuotion to the ſame.

Caxto.

Alſo, the hill where hee ſuffered, was kept by certaine Gaſcoignes, appoynted by the L. Hugh Spencer the ſonne, as then lying at Pounfret, to the ende that no people ſhoulde come and make their prayers there in worſhip of the ſaid Earle, whome they tooke verily for a Martir.

A Parliam at Yorke.

When the King had ſubdued the Barons, ſhortly after, aboute the feaſt of the Aſcention of our Lord, he held a Parliamēt at Yorke, in whiche Parliament, the recorde and whole proceſſe of the decree or iudgement concerning the diſinheriting of the Spencers, ordeined by the Lordes in Parliament aſſembled at London, the laſt ſommer, was now throughly examined, and for their errors therein found, the ſame recorde and proceſſe

The recorde touching the baniſhme the Spencers reuerſed.

ceſſe was cleerely adnihillated and reuerſed, and the ſayd Spencers were reſtored to al their lands and offices, as before. And in the ſame Parliamēt the Lorde Hugh Spencer the father was made Earle of Wincheſter, and the Lorde Andrew de Herkley Earle of Carleill.

eation of les.

Moreouer, in the ſame Parliamente, all ſuche were diſinherited as had taken part with yͤ Erles of Lancaſter & Hereford, except the Lorde Hugh Audeley the yonger, and a few other, the whyche Lord Hugh was pardoned, bycauſe he had married the Kings neece, that was ſiſter to Gilberte de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, which was ſlayne in Scotlande, at the battell of Bannockeſborne as before is mentioned.

e Lorde deley doned.

Alſo, maſter Robert Baldocke, a man euil beloued in the Realme, is made Lord Chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of yͤ Spencers, and ſo likewiſe was the Earle of Arundell, and thereby it may be thought, that the Spencers did help to aduance them into the Kings fauour, ſo that they bare no ſmall rule in the Realme, during the time that the ſame Spencers continued in proſperitie, which for yͤ tearme of fiue yeres after that the foreſaide Barons (as before is expreſſed) were brought to confuſion, did wonderfully encreaſe, and the Queene for that ſhe gaue good and faithfull counſaile, was nothing regarded, but by the Spencers meanes, cleerely worne out of the Kings fauour.

obert Baldcke is ma Chancellor. lidor.

he Queene ueth good ouncell.

Moreouer, we finde, that in this Parliament holden at Yorke, the Kings eldeſt ſonne Edward was made Prince of Wales, and Duke of Aquitaine.

he kings deſt ſonne eated prince Wales.

Alſo, the King cauſed the ordinances made by the Earles and Barons to be examined by men of greate knowledge and ſkill, and ſuche as were thought neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed, he commaunded that the ſame ſhoulde be called ſtatutes, and not ordinances. Beſide a great ſubſedie graunted to the King by the Temporaltie, the Cleargie of the prouince of Caunterburie graunted fiue pēce of euery marke, and they of yͤ prouince of Yorke four pence.

Statutes.

A ſubſe..ie.

Aymer Earle of Pembroke, beeing returned home from this Parliamente holden at Yorke, was arreſted by certaine Knightes, ſent with authoritie thereto from the King, who brought him backe to Yorke, where at length, through ſute of certayne noble men, hee was vpon his oth taken to be a faithfull ſubiect, and in conſideration of a fine whiche hee payed to the King, ſet at libertie.

Addition to Triuet.

The Earle of Pembroke arreſted.

The occaſion of his empriſonmente came, for that he was accuſed and detected to bee a ſecrete fauourer of the Barons cauſe againſt the Spencers in time of the late troubles.

Moreouer, ſhortly after, the King gathered the ſixth peny of the temporall mens goodes thorough Englande, Irelande and Wales, whyche had bin graunted to him at the foreſaide Parliament holden at Yorke, towardes the defending of the Realme againſt the Scottes.

Fabian.

This taxe was not gathered withoute greate murmure and grudge, the Realme beeing in ſuch euill and miſerable ſtate as it then was.

This yeare alſo, the ſunne appeared to mans ſight in coulour like to bloud, and ſo continued ſixe houres, that is to witte, from ſeuen of the clocke in yͤ morning of yͤ laſt day of October, vnto one of yͤ clocke in the after none of yͤ ſame day.

Heere is to bee noted, that during the tyme whileſt the ciuill warre was in hande betwixt K. Edward and his Barons, the Scottes & Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scottes waſted and deſtroyed the countrey of yͤ Biſhopricke of Durhā (as before ye haue partly heard) and yͤ Frēchmē made roades and incurſions into the borders

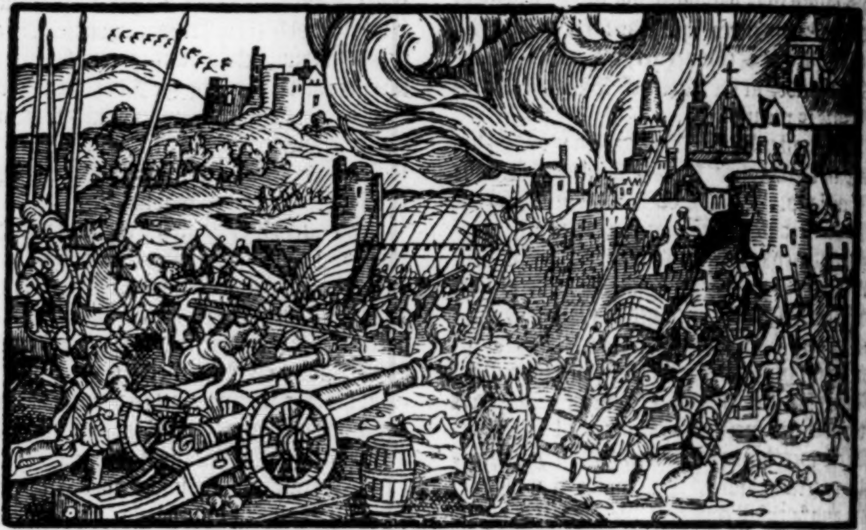
Polider.

The Scottes inuade the Biſhopricke of Durham.

of Guyenne, alledging, that they did it vpon good and ſufficiente occaſion, for that King Edwarde had not done his homage vnto the Kyng of Fraunce, as he ought to haue done, for yͤ Duchie of Aquitaine, and yͤ countie of Pontieu. But the true occaſiō that moued them to attempt the warres at that preſent, was, for that they were in hope to recouer all the lands which the Kyng of Englande helde within Fraunce, cleerely out of his hands, for ſo much as they vnderſtood the diſcord betwixt him and his Barons, and how infortunately hee had ſpedde againſt the Scottes, by reaſon whereof, they iudged the time to ſerue moſt fitly now for their purpoſe.

Robert
inuaded
England.

In the octaues of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt, Roberte Bruce entring into Englande by Carleill, kept on his way through Cumberland, Coupland, Kendall, and ſo into Lancaſhire till he came to Preſtō in Andernes, which Towne hee brente, as hee had done others in the countreys through whiche he had paſſed. There were ſome of the Scottes that forreyd the countrey fyue miles on this ſide Preſton Southwardes, and thus beeing foureſcore long myles within Englande, they returned homewardes, and entred againe into Scotlande without encounter, after they had bin at this time within Englande the ſpace of three weekes and three dayes.



See more hereof in Scotlande page 323. and 324.

Kyng Edwarde being thus beſette with two miſchiefes both at one time, thought good firſt to prouide remedie againſte the neerer daunger, whiche by the Scottes was ſtill at hande, and therefore he meant to goe againſt them hymſelfe, and to ſend his brother Edmond Earle of Kent into Guyenne, to defende that countrey from the Frenchmen.

An. reg. 16.

The King goeth into Scotlande with an army.

Rich. South.

Merimouth.

Herevppon nowe in the ſixteenth yeare of hys raigne, after that yͤ Scottes were returned home with a great bootie and rich ſpoyle, he gote togyther a wonderfull greate army of men, and entring into Scotland, paſſed far within the Coūtrey, not finding any reſiſtance at all as the moſt parte of oure writers doe agree, but at length, through famine and diſeaſes of the flixe and other maladies that fell amongſt the Engliſhmen in the army, hee was conſtreyned to come backe, and in his way, beſieged the Caſtell of Norham, whiche fortreſſe hee wanne within tenne dayes after he had begun to aſſault it.

Robert Bruce immediately after the Engliſh army was retired home, reyſed a power, and entring into England by Sulway ſands, lay at a place called Beaumond, not paſt three myles from Carleill, by the ſpace of fiue dayes, ſending in the meane time the moſt parte of his army abroade to ſpoyle and harrie the countrey on euery ſide, and afterwardes remouing from thence, hee paſſeth towardes Blackamore, hauing knowledge by diligente eſpials, that King Edwarde was in thoſe parties, giuing hymſelfe more to paſtime in hunting there within the woddes about Blackamore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Whereuppon, the Scottiſhe King Bruce, entring into that wilde and mooriſh countrey, where he hadde not bin afore, conueyed his enterpriſe ſo warely, and with ſuche diligente induſtrie, that on Saint Lukes day, comming vppon the Engliſh army at vnwares, he put the ſame to flight, ſo that the King himſelfe was in great daunger to haue bin taken priſoner. For as ſome authors write, the Scottes had almoſt taken him at dynner in the Abbey of Beighland.

Sir John Britaigne Earle of Richmonde was taken at this battell, and the Kinges treaſor was ſpoyled and carried away, with the prouiſion and ordinance that belonged to the hoſt.

The

R. Southw.

orkeſwold poiled by the cottes. euerley ranſomed.

The King eſcaping away, got to Yorke, and the Scottes hauing thus the vpper hande, after they had ſpoyled the Monaſterie of Riuale, and taken their pleaſure there, they paſſed forthe into Yorkeſwolde, deſtroying that countrey euen almoſt vnto Beuerley, whiche Towne they raunſomed, receyuing a ſumme of money for ſparing it, leaſt they ſhoulde haue brent it, as they did other.

he Earle of Carleil rey- ethan army.

The Earle of Carleill being commaunded by the King to raiſe the powers of Cumberland, Weſtmerland, & Lancaſhire, did ſo, & according to that hee hadde in commaundemente, bringing them belowe the countreys vnto Yorke, founde the Kyng there in no plighte to giue battell to his enimies, all things being broughte about him into great confuſion: wherevpon, he licenſed his people to depart to their homes again, and ẏ Scottes ſo returned without battell home into their countreys, entring into Scotlande the morrow after Alhallowen day, after they hadde remayned in Englande at this time, one whole moneth and foure dayes.

abian.

Some write, that in their returne, they ſpoyled Northallerton, and dyuers other Townes and places as they paſſed.

conſpiracie ſet priſo- ners at liber- ty.

The ſame yeare, there was a great conſpiracie practiſed by certayne perſons that had taken part with the Barons in the late warres, purpoſing to ſet at libertie in one ſelfe nighte, all thoſe noble men and other, that were by the King kept in priſon for that quarrell. Certayne therefore of thoſe conſpiratours, came to the Caſtell of Wallingford, within the whiche, the Lorde Maurice Berkley and the Lord Hugh Audley remained as priſoners. The conſpiratours found ſhift to enter the Caſtell by a poſterne gate towardes the Thaimes ſide, but yet, not ſo ſecretely, but that ẏ townſmẽ hauing knowledge thereof, aſſembled togither, and beſieged them that were ſo entred the Caſtell, til the Earles of Kent and Wincheſter came with a great power to reenforſe ẏ ſiege; ſo that in the ende, they that had made this attempt fled into the Chappel of the Caſtel, in hope to bee ſaued through ſanctuarie of the place, but they were (againſt ẏ willes of ẏ Deane & Prieſts of ẏ colledge there that ſought to defende them) taken forthe by force, ſo that Sir Iohn de Goldington knight, ſir Edmond of the Beech Chaplayne, and an Eſquire called Roger Walton, were ſent to Pomfret, & there put in priſon, the Eſquire was after ſent to Yorke, and there drawen and hãged. This enterpriſe cauſed all other priſoners to bee more ſtraightly loked to.

r Iohn Gol- ngton.

This yeare, was begun a wicked practiſe of treaſon vpon this occaſion. When K. Edwarde hauing aſſayed fortune ſo froward towardes him in chaunce of war againſt the Scottes, at ſundry times, was thereby taught to doubt the trial thereof any further, and rather to ſeeke for peace, he appointed Andrewe Herkley Earle of Carleill, to ſeeke ſome meanes, whereby a peace myghte bee concluded betwixt him and King Robert.

Polidor.

R. Southwell.

Polidor.

The Erle by the Kings cõmandement, going into Scotlãd, & cõming vnto K. Robert, whome he found at Loghmaban, entreated with hym of warre, and not of peace, for whether it were ſo that he deſpaired of ẏ ſtate of K. Edwards buſineſſe, the which proſpered neither at home nor abroade, chiefly, by reaſon of his owne wilfull negligence (as ſome write:) or whether of his owne nature, this Earle delited in nothing ſo muche, as in deceipt, craft, and treaſon: he concluded vpon pointes with the Scottiſh King, how, when, and where Kyng Edwarde ſhoulde be betrayed; and to the ende that couenaunted faith on eyther ſide might be the more ſurely kept and obſerued, the ſiſter of King Robert was fiaunced vnto the ſaid Earle of Carleill, a righte beautifull Lady, and a comely as was any where to be founde.

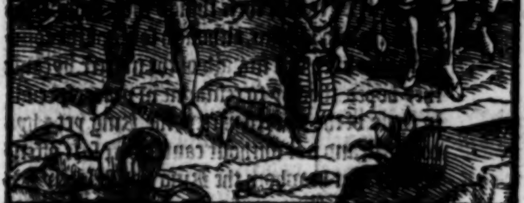
Treaſon will euer come to light by one meane or other.

This practiſe beyng thus contriued, ſhortly after the Kyng got knowledge thereof, though by whom it was not certainely knowne, ſo hard a thing it is for manne to conceale and keepe ſecret that thing whyche hee goeth about, though hee ſhoulde neuer ſo muche ſo to doe, namely in matters of treaſon, whyche hathe a thouſande feete to creepe abroade, and whyche way ſoeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thouſand printes of the foote ſteppes behynde it, by the which it may be diſcouered to the worlde.

1323

The Earle of Carleile put to death.

When therefore the Earle came backe agayne to Carleill, hee was arreſted by commaundemente from the Kyng, and ſtraightwayes beyng arreigned of the treaſon, hee was thereof condemned and put to execution. Hys



head was ſent vnto London, and there ſet vpon the bridge, or rather vppon ſome turret of the Towre.

This was the ende of ſir Andrewe Herkeley, worthily ſuffering for his wicked offences, (as ſome haue recorded) but there be that write otherwiſe (as it may well be) thus, That this Earle of Carleill, perceyuing the miſerie of his countrey, without conſent of the King of Englande, made peace with the king of Scottes, vnder this forme as by Richard Southwell we finde recorded.

R. Southwell.

Firſte, the Earle promiſed faithfully for hym and his heires, that they ſhuld with all their force and meanes poſſible, ſeeke to mainteyne the ſayde King of Scottes, his heires and ſucceſſors, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers, they ſhould fighte againſt all thoſe that woulde not agree vnto that couenaunt, as againſt them that ſhould ſeeme to be enimies vnto the common wealth of both the Realmes of Englande and Scotlande. The King of Scottes promiſed faithfully for hys part, to defende the ſayde Earle, his heires, and adherents in the ſaid couenant or pactiō, and not onely to keepe peace with Englande, but alſo to buyld a Monaſterie within Scotland, aſſigning reuenewes thereto, to the valewe of fiue hundred markes, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, and to pray cōtinually for the ſoules of them that were dead, by occaſion of the paſſed warres betwixte England and Scotland, and further, that he ſhoulde giue to the Kyng of England within ten yeares, fortie thouſande poundes of ſiluer, and that the King of Englande ſhoulde haue the Kyng of Scottes eldeſt ſonne to marrie hym vnto ſome Lady of his bloud as he ſhould thinke expediente: To the performance of all which couenauntes well and truely to bee obſerued, Thomas Randulfe Earle of Murrey ſware on the behalfe of the King of Scottes, and the Earle of Carleill ſware for him ſelfe, and herewith, certaine writings indented were drawen and engroſſed, to the which interchangeably they ſet their ſeales.

After that the Earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the chiefe perſons of the countrey, as well ſpirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare than otherwiſe, he conſtreyned them to receyue an othe, that they ſhoulde ayde and aſſiſt him to their powers, to ſee all the couenauntes aboueſayde performed and kept. After that theſe things were knowen to the King and Realm, although ſome of the communaltie liked wel inough of the matter, bycauſe they hoped thereby to remayne in peace, ſpecially thoſe of the North partes, the King yet & hys counſell, and not without cauſe, were ſore offended, for that he whom the King had ſo lately aduaunced, ſhoulde confederate hymſelfe with the Scottiſh, to the preiudice of the King and hys Crowne, concluding any couenauntes of peace without his conſente, whervpon, reputing hym for a falſe Traytor, the K. ſent vnto the Lord Antony Lucy, to apprehende the ſayde Earle by ſome meanes if he might, and for his paynes he ſhould not faile to be well rewarded.

The Lo Lucy.

The Lord Lucy watching his time when the Earles men were gone ſome whither abroad, and but fewe left about him, the morrow after the feaſt of S. Mathew the Apoſtle, he entred y Caſtell of Carleil, as it were, to talke with the Earle of ſome buſines, as his maner was at other times to doe. He had with him ſir Hugh Lowther, ſir Richard Denton, & ſir Hugh Morreſby knights, and four Eſquires, beſide other priuily armed, ſo that leauing ſome at euery gate and dore as he entred, hee came into the hall, and there finding the Earle writing letters, arreſted him. Herewith when certayne of the Earles ſeruauntes made a noiſe, and cried treaſon, treaſon, the porter of the inner gate would haue ſhut it vppon them that were thus entred, but ſir Richard Denton ſlew that porter with his owne handes, and there was not one more ſlaine by them in y apprehenſion of the Earle, for all other his ſeruaunts yelded themſelues and the houſe vnto the ſaide Lorde Lucy, withoute more reſiſtance: one of his ſeruauntes yet that ſawe theſe doings, got away, and with all ſpeede, ranne to the peele of Heyhead, and declared vnto the Earles brother Mighell Herkley what was chanced to the Earle, wherevpon the ſayd Mighell forthwith fledde into Scotland, and with him ſir William Blount Knight, a Scottiſhman, and diuers other that were of the Earles priuie counſell. The Lord Lucy ſtraightwayes ſent a meſſenger to y King vnto Yorke, aduertiſing him how he had taken the Earle, and therefore required to vnderſtande further of the Kings pleaſure. The King forthwith ſent the Lorde Geffrey Scrobe Juſtice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the whiche came thither on Saint Chaddes day, and the morrow after, being the thirde of Marche, hee ſet in iudgement vpon the ſaid Earle, in y Caſtell of Carleill, and there (as out of the Kings mouth) he pronounced ſentence againſte him in this wiſe, firſt, that he ſhould be diſgraded of his Erldome, by the taking away from him the ſworde which the King had gird him with, and likewiſe of his Knighthood, by cutting off his ſpurres from his heeles, and that after this, hee ſhoulde bee drawen from the Caſtell through the Citie vnto y place of execution, where felons were accuſtomed to ſuffer, and there to bee hanged, and after headed, and his head to be ſent vnto London, there to bee ſet aloft vppon one of the turrets of the Tower, and his quarters to be deuided, one to be ſet vp at Carleill, an other at New caſtell vpon Tyne, the third at Briſtow, and the fourth at Douer.

Mighell Herkley.

The Erle Carleils iudgement.

When he had heard this iudgement, he ſayd, you haue deuided my body at your pleaſure, and I committe my ſoule to God, and being according to the iudgement drawen to the place where hee ſuffered, hee neuer ſhranke at the matter, but boldly behaued himſelfe, declaring at the very houre of his deathe, that his intention in concluding the agreement with the Scottes was good, and proceeding not of any euill meaning, but ſeruing onely to the wealthe and quietneſſe of the Realme. Neyther coulde ſuch Friers as were permitted to come to him before his arraignemēt, to heare his confeſſiō, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and that which he had concluded with the K. of Scots, was not done vpon any euill purpoſe, whereby any hurte might enſue, eyther to the K. or to the Realme.

onſtancie
death.

This haue wee thought good, to ſhewe the cauſe of this Earles death, as by ſome writers it hath bin regiſtred, although there bee that write, that the ouerthrowe at Beighland chaunced thorough his fault, by miſleading a great part of the Kings hoſt, and that therefore the King beeyng offended with him, cauſed him to be put to death, albeit as I thinke, no ſuche matter was alledged againſt him at the time of his arraignement.

About this ſeaſon, was yͤ ſundation begun of S. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one ſir Henry Stanton knight, Chācellor of yͤ Eſcheker.

ommiſſiōs
meete to
of peace

About the feaſt of the Aſcention, there came as commiſſioners from the King of England, vnto Newcaſtell, Aymerie Earle of Penbroke, and the Lord Chamberlain, Hugh Spenſer the yonger, and other four perſonages of good accompte.

ruce con-
luded.

And from the King of Scottes, there came yͤ B. of S. Andrewes, Thomas Randolfe Earle of Murrey, & other four of good credite to treate of peace, or at the leaſt wiſe of ſome long truce, & through yͤ good wil and pleſure of God, yͤ author of al peace and quietneſſe, they concluded vpon a truce, to endure for thirtene yeres, and ſo about yͤ feaſt of S. Barnabe the Apoſtle, it was proclaymed in both Realmes, but ſo yet, that they might not traffike togither, bycauſe of the excommunication, wherewith the Scottes were as yet entangled, although as ſome write, about the ſame time, the interdict wherein the Realme of Scotlande ſtoode bounde, was by Pope John releſſed.

Boetius.
reg. 7.
eſſengers
m the fren-
king.

Frenche
taketh
ownes in A
quitayn.

The Frenche King beeing lately come to the crowne, ſent certaine Ambaſſadors vnto K. Edward, to wit, yͤ L. Scouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to giue ſummonance to him frō yͤ french K. to come & do homage for yͤ landes which he held in France, as for the Duchie of Aquitaine, & the countie of Pontieu, and although yͤ L. Chamberlaine, Hugh Spenſer the ſon, and the L. Chancellor, Roberte Baldocke, did what they coulde, to procure theſe Ambaſſadors not to declare the cauſe of their cōming to the king, yet whē they ſhould depart, they admoniſhed yͤ K. to come & do his homage vnto the Frēch K. & vpon

this admonition the ſame Andreas framed a publike inſtrumēt, by vertue wherof, yͤ Frēch K. made proceſſe againſt the K. of England, & ſeaſed into his hands diuers townes & Caſtels in Aquitaine, alleaging, yͭ he did it for yͤ contumacie ſhewed by yͤ K. of Englād, in refuſing to come to do his homage, being lawfully ſummoned, although yͤ K. was throughly informed, yͭ the ſummonāce was neither lawful nor touched him any thing at all.

The Lorde Mortimer breketh out of the towre.

About the ſame time, the L. Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giuing his kepers a drink yͭ brought thē into a ſound and heauie ſleepe, eſcaped out of the Tower of London where he was priſoner.

This eſcape of the L. Mortimer, greatly troubled yͤ K. ſo yͭ immediately vpon the firſt newes, he wrote to all the Sherifes of the Realm, that if hee chanced to come within their roomthes, they ſhuld cauſe hue & crie to be reiſed, ſo as hee mighte be ſtaied and arreſted, but he made ſuch ſhift, that he gote ouer into France, where he was receyued by a L. of Picardie, named Mounſier John de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, & therfore the K. wrote to him, reprouing him of vnthankfulneſſe, cōſidering he had bin euer ready to pleaſure him, and to aduance his profites & commodities, & yet notwithſtanding, he did ſuccoure the ſaid Lord Mortimer, and other Rebels that were fled out of his Realme.

1324

A parliament.
The biſhop of Herforde arreſted.

Tho. de la More.

In Lent this yere, a Parliament was holdē at Londō, in yͤ which diuers things were entreated, amōgſt other, yͤ chiefeſt was, to determine for yͤ ſending of ſome honorable Ambaſſage vnto yͤ french K. to excuſe yͤ K. for not cōming to him to do his homage, according to yͤ pretēded ſommonance. In the ſame Parliamēt, Adam B. of Hereford was arreſted, & examined vpon points of treaſon, for aiding ſuccouring & mainteining yͤ Mortimers, & other of the rebels. This B. was rekoned to be wiſe, ſubtill, and learned, but otherwiſe, wilfull, preſumptuous, & giuen to mainteine factiōs. At yͤ firſt, he diſdeined to make any aunſwere at all, & finally, when he was in maner forced thereto, hee flatly

Tho. VValſ.

tolde the king, that he mighte not make any aunſwere to ſuche matters as hee was charged with, except by the licence and conſent of his Metropolitane ẏ Archb. of Canterbury, & other his peeres. Herevpō, the ſaid Archb. and other Biſhops made ſuch ſute, that hee was committed to the keeping of the ſaid Archb. with him to remaine, till the K. had taken order for his further aunſwere.

The preſumptuous demeanor of Prelates.

Within fewe dayes after, when the K. called him againe before his preſence to make aunſwere to the matters layde againſt him, the Archbiſhops of Cāterbury, York, Dublin, and x. other biſhops came with their Croſſes afore them, and vnder a colour of the priuiledge & liberties of the Churche, tooke him away before he had made any anſwere, forbidding al men on paine of excommunication, to lay any hands vpon him.

The K. greatly offended with this bolde proceeding of the Prelates, cauſed yet an inqueſt to be empanelled, to enquire of the B. of Herefordes treaſons, and vpon ẏ finding of him giltie, he ſeaſed into his hands al the temporalties that belonged to his Biſhopricke, and ſpoyled his manors and houſes moſt violently, in reuenge of his diſloyall dealings.

Record. Tur: Landes belonging to the Templers.

Moreouer, in this Parliament, the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged ſometime to the Templers, (and had bin deliuered vnto the Knightes Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called knightes of ẏ Rodes by ẏ K. in the ſeuenth yeare of his raigne (according to the decree of the counſell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this Parliament, aſſured vnto the ſaide knightes, to enioy to them and their ſucceſſors for euer.

Alſo it was concluded, that the Earle of Kēt, and the Archb. of Dublin ſhould goe ouer as Ambaſſadors into Fraunce, to excuſe the King for his not coming in perſon to the French K. to do hys homage for the lands he held in Fraunce.

Licence to burie the bodyes of the rebels. *Rec. Tur.*

Morouer in the ſame Parliament, the Kyng graunted, that all the dead bodies of his enimies & Rebels that had ſuffered and hanged ſtill on the gallowes, ſhould be taken downe, and buried in ẏ Churchyards nexte to the places where the ſame bodies were hanging, and not elſe where, by ſuche as would take paine to bury thē, as by his writtes directed to the Sherifes of London, and of the counties of Middleſex, Kēt, Gloceſter, Yorke, & Buckingham it appeared. And not only this libertie was granted at ẏ time for the taking down of thoſe bodies, but as ſome write, it was decreed by authoritie in ẏ ſame Parliament, that the bodies of all thoſe that from thenceforth ſhould be hāged for felonies, ſhould incontinently be buried, which ordinance hath bin euer ſithence obſerued.

Polidor.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Fraunce.

The Earle of Kente, and the Archb. of Dublin going ouer into France, could not light vpon any good concluſion for the matter about the whyche they were ſente, bycauſe the ſame time, or rather ſomwhat before, the L. Rauſe Baſſet of Draiton being the kings Steneſhall in Guienne, had ouerthrowen a certayne Towne, newly fortified by ẏ Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, truſting on the Frenche kings fauour and maintenance, refuſed to obey the lawes and ordinances of the coūtrey of Aquitaine, and ſeemed to deſpiſe and ſet at naught the authoritie of ẏ ſayde L. Baſſet in that countrey, contrary to all right, good order or reaſon. Neuertheleſſe, the French K. tooke the matter ſo greeuouſly, that except the L. Baſſet might be conſtreyned to come vnto Paris, & there make aunſwer to his offence, he would not hearken to any other ſatiſfactiō. And therevpō, whē the Ambaſſadors were returned, he ſente hys vncle the Lord Charles de Valoys Erle of Anion with a mighty army againſt the Engliſh ſubiects into Guyenne, where entring into Agenois, hee tooke and ſeyſed all that countrey into the French kings hands. The Erle of Kent being now gotten into thoſe parties, with a greate number of other captaines and men of war, ſent thither by the K. of England, reſiſted the enimies very manfully, in ſo much, ẏ vpon their approch to ẏ Ryolle, a ſtrōg towne in thoſe parties, the Erle of Kēt as then being within it, did iſſue forth, & giuing them battell, ſlew as ſome write, 14. C. of their men, ſo that they wer gladde to lodge at the firſt, ſomewhat further off the Towne.

The Lo Baſſe

Anno.

The Ea Anion ſe into Guy

The Ea Kent.

Fabian.

The King of Engla writeth Duke of B taine.

Record. T

Whileſt this ſiege remayned before ẏ Towne of the Ryoll, the K. of England wrote his letters to the Duke of Britaine, as one of the Peeres of France, declaring ẏ iniurious dealing of ẏ Frēche K. who hadde ſente his vncle the Earle of Anion with an army againſte his people in Agenois, where he had taken many Townes, deſtroyed his people, and now had beſieged his nephew Edmōd Erle of Kent, within the town of the Ryolle, enforſing his whole puiſſance wrongfully to bereue him of all the Duchie of Guyenne, and agaynſte all reaſon, and the prerogatiue of the peeres of

France, to an euill preſidēt or enſample in time to come, of yͤ perpetuall ſeruitude of the ſaid Peeres, and although ſaith the K. of Englande, that the Frēch alledge that we haue bin lawfully ſummoned to come & do homage, & haue refuſed ſo to doe, that is not ſo, for wee were neuer in due order required as was cōuenient, neither could we do homage, by reaſon of yͤ great iniuries and hard dealings practiſed againſt vs, frō the feaſt of Eaſter laſt, till yͤ date of thoſe his preſent letters (whyche was the ſixth of October, in this 18. yeare of hys raigne,) and yet ſaith he, ther was neuer any lawfull proceſſe had againſt vs before our peeres, in yͤ great chamber at Paris, as had bin requiſit. Herevpō doth he requeſt yͤ Duke of Britaine, that for yͤ preſeruation & maintenance of the honorable eſtate of yͤ Peeres of France, & for iuſtice ſake, hee wil help to aide him, either by way of requeſt, or other cōuenient meanes ſo as the ſaid ſtraite dealings & iniurious wrongs, may ceaſſe, & the eſtate of yͤ peereſhip may be mainteined as was requiſite. Hee wrote likewiſe to yͤ L. Iohn the infante, yͤ L. of Biſkey, and to yͤ Lady Mary of Biſkey, gouernereſſe of yͤ K. of Caſtile and Leon, and to Iames K. of Aragon, requeſting them to aid him with men of warre, as well horſemē as footemen againſt his aduerſarie yͤ Frēch K. that moſt vniuſtly went about to depriue him of his inheritāce. But howſoeuer yͤ matter went, no aide came to yͤ Erle of Kente from any parte, till at length, the Frenchmen ſo reenforced yͤ ſiege, that the Towne was deliuered to yͤ Erle of Aniou, and a truce taken vppon certaine conditions, that further talke might be had, for the concluſion of ſome peace.

The lorde of
iſkey.

he VValſ.
ruce taken.

Then were ſent ouer other Ambaſſadors, as yͤ Lorde Iohn de Sully a Frenchman borne, & one maſter Iohn de Shordich, but the L. Sully had ſo ſtrange entertainemente for ſome diſpleaſure which yͤ French K. conceiued againſt him, that if yͤ French Q. had not the better intreated for him, he had loſt his head, and as for the other, he had alſo returned home, withoute bringing any thyng to paſſe, of that for the which he was ſent.

he Lord de
ully ſent in-
Fraunce in
mbaſſade.

After this, the Pope ſent the Archb. of Vienne, and the B. of Orange, to the Princes of eyther Realme, to exhorte them to ſome agreement, but they could do no good, and ſo taking money of the Cleargie for their expenſes, they returned.

he Pope ſen-
th ambaſſa-
urs to the
ings of Engl.
Fraunce.

1325

After this, about the twentith day after Chriſtmas, there was a Parliament called at London, in the which, the K. required to haue the aduice of yͤ Lords, how he might worke for the ſauing of yͤ Duchie of Guienne, ſore moleſted by the Frenchmen. Herevppon it was concluded, that the Byſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich, and Iohn de Britaine Earle of Richmonde, ſhoulde goe ouer as Ambaſſadors to yͤ French K. who cōming into France, after many argumentatiōs, allegatiōs, and excuſes, made on both parties, at length, receyued a certaine forme of pacification at yͤ Frēch kings hands, with the which, the B. of Wincheſter was ſent backe into Englād, the B. of Norwich, and the Erle of Richmond remaining there til it might be knowen, how the King of Englād would like thereof. Finally it was thought good, that the Quene ſhould goe ouer to hir brother the Frēch K. to confirme yͤ treatie of peace vpō ſome reaſonable conditiōs. She willingly tooke vppon hir the charge, and ſo with yͤ L. Iohn Crumwell and other four knightes, without any other greate traine, taking the ſea, landed in France, where of yͤ K. hir brother ſhe was ioyfully receiued, and finally, ſhee being the mediatrix, it was finally accorded, that yͤ K. of England ſhuld giue to his eldeſt ſon yͤ Duchie of Aquitaine, and the Countie of Pontieu, & that yͤ Frēch K. receyuing homage of him for the ſame, he ſhuld reſtore into his hands the ſayd Countie, and the lands in Guyenne, for the whiche they were at variance, and for thoſe countreys which had bin forrayed, and ſpoyled, the Earle of Aniou ſhoulde fully ſee him ſatiſfied, as right did require. Vpon all which couenauntes the French King wrote his letters patentes into Englande, and other letters alſo of ſafeconduite, as well for the ſonne, as for the Kyng hymſelfe, if it ſhoulde pleaſe hym to come ouer hymſelfe in perſon. Vpon whiche choiſe, greate deliberation was hadde, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, dyuers thinkyng it beſt, that the Kyng ſhoulde goe ouer hymſelfe: but the Earle of Wincheſter and hys ſonne the Lord Chamberlayne, that neyther durſt goe ouer themſelues with the Kyng, nor abyde at home in his abſence, gaue contrary coūſell, and at length, preuayled ſo, that it was fully determined that the Kyngs eldeſt ſonne Edwarde ſhoulde goe ouer, whiche turned to theyr deſtruction as it appeared afterward.

ther ambaſ-
lors ſent o-
r into Frãce.

The Queene is ſent ouer into France to talke with hir brother the Frenche King.

A peace and concorde agreed vpon.

An. reg. 19.

Herevpon, the Kyng made a charter of grant vnto his ſonne, of the Duchie of Guyenne, and Countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him and hys heires Kyngs of Englande, with condition, that if hee chaunced to depart this life whyleſt hys father lyued, thoſe landes ſhoulde returne vnto hys father agayne, ſo as the Frenche Kyng myghte not marrie the Kings ſonne at his pleaſure, nor appoynte to him any gardians or gouernoures.

Thys ordinance was made at Douer by the Kyngs Charter, with conſente of the Prelates and other noble men of the Realme there preſent, the morrowe after the Natiuitie of our Lady, and on the Thurſdaye following, the Kinges ſonne tooke the Sea, and with hym Walter Byſhoppe of Exceſter and others in competent number, and aboute the feaſt of Saint Mathewe the Apoſtle, hee did homage to hys Vncle

The Prince of Wales is ſent into France.

the French King, at *Bois de Vincennes*, vnder certaine proteſtations made, as well on the one part as the other.

A drye Sommer.

Cattel dyed.

The ſommer this yeare proued exceeding hote and drie, ſo that ſprings and riuers failed to yeeld their accuſtomed courſe of waters, by reaſon whereof, greate numbers of cattell and beaſtes, both wilde and tame dyed through lacke of conuenient licor to aſwage theyr vehemente thirſt.

The king ſendeth for his wyfe and ſon to retourne home.

In the beginning of the nexte ſpring, Kyng Edwarde ſente into Fraunce vnto his wife and ſonne, commaunding them, now that they hadde made an ende of their buſineſſe, to returne home with all conuenient ſpeede.

The womans diſsimulation

The Queene receyuing the meſſage from hir huſband, whether it was ſo that ſhe was ſtaied by hir brother, vnto whome belike ſhee had complayned after what manner ſhee was vſed at hir huſbandes handes, being had in no regard with him: or for that ſhe had no minde to returne home, bycauſe ſhee was loth to ſee all things orderd out of frame by the counſell of the Spencers, whereof to heare ſhe was weery: or whether as the manner of women is, ſhee was long about to prepare hir ſelfe forwarde, ſhee ſlacked all the Sommer, and ſente letters euer to excuſe hir tarriance. But yet bycauſe ſhee woulde not runne in any ſuſpition with hir huſbande, ſhee ſente dyuers of hir folkes before hir into Englande by ſoft iorneys.

A proclamation.

Fabian.

King Edwarde not alittle offended with king Charles, by whoſe meanes hee knewe that the woman thus lingered abroade, he procured Pope John to write hys letters vnto the French king, admoniſhing him to ſende home his ſiſter, and hir ſonne vnto hir huſbande. But when this nothyng auayled, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, this nineteenth yeare of thys Kyngs raigne, that if the Queene and hir ſonne entred not the lande by the octaues of the Epiphany next enſuing in peaceable wiſe, they ſhould be taken for enimies to the Realme and Crowne of England.

Polidore.

Heere authors varie, for ſome write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the Queene determined to returne into Englande forthwith, that ſhe myghte bee reconciled to hir huſbande agayne.

Other write, and that more truely, how ſhee being highly diſpleaſed, both with the Spencers, and the Kyng hir huſbande, that ſuffered himſelfe to be miſled by their counſels, did appoynt indeede to returne into Englande, not to bee reconciled, but to ſtirre the people to ſome Rebellion, whereby ſhe might reuenge hir manifolde iniuries: whiche as the proofe of the thing ſhewed, ſeemeth to bee moſt true, for ſhee being a wiſe woman, conſidering that ſith the Spencers had excluded, put out, and remoued all good men, from and beſide the Kyngs counſell, and placed in their roomthes ſuche of their clientes, ſeruauntes and friendes as pleaſed them, ſhee mighte well thinke, that there was ſmall hope to bee had in hir huſbande, who hearde no man but the ſayde Spencers, whyche ſhe knewe hated hir deadly. Whereuppon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the King cauſed to bee ſeaſed into hys handes, all ſuche landes, as belonged eyther to his ſonne, or to his wiſe.

1326

Sir Robe VValkfa.

About the ſame time, one Sir Robert Walkefare Knight, a right hardy man of his handes, but craftie and ſubtill (who being taken in the warres whyche the Lords reyſed agaynſt the Kyng, had bin committed to priſon in the Caſtel of Corfe,) founde meanes nowe to kill the Conneſtable of that Caſtell moſt cruelly, and eſcaping away, gote ouer to the Queene into Fraunce, and ſo the number of them that ranne out of the Realm vnto hir dayly encreaſed.

This Sir Robert Walkfare was a great procurer of the diſcord betwixt yͤ King and yͤ Lords, and a chiefe leader, or rather ſeducer of that noble man Humfrey de Boun Earle of Hereford: and whileſt other gaue themſelues to ſeeke a reformation in the decayed ſtate of the common wealthe, he ſet his minde vpon murders and robberies.

The biſho of Exceſter fl meth fro the Quee

Diuers other aboute the ſame time fledde out of the Realme vnto the Queene, and vnto hir ſonne the Earle of Cheſter. But in the meane tyme, Walter Stapleton Byſhoppe of Exceſter, whiche hitherto had remayned with the Queene in Fraunce, ſtale nowe from hir, and gote ouer into England, opening to the Kyng, all the counſayle and whole mynde of the Queene: whyche thyng turned firſt of all vnto his owne deſtruction as ſhall after appeare.

Sir Oliuer de Ingham lie tenant of Ga coigne.

About the ſame time, one Sir Oliuer de Ingham, a yong, luſty, and valiant Knighte, was by the Kinges ſonne the Duke of Aquitayne (not withoute his fathers conſente) eſtabliſhed Lorde Warden of the marches of Guyenne, the whiche ſir Oliuer gathering an army of hired Souldiers, Spanyardes, Aragonoys, and Gaſcoignes, inuaded the countrey of Agenoys (whyche the Frenche Kyng helde yet in his handes contrary to couenaunte) and recouering it from the Frẽch, cleerely reduced it to the Engliſhe dominion.

Agenois re couered out of the French mens han

Ships of No mandy take

Moreouer, Sir John Oturum, Sir Nicholas Kiriell, and ſir John Felton, Admirals by the Kyngs appoyntmente, with the fleetes of the Eaſt, South, and Weſt partes, went to the Sea to apprehende ſuche Frenchmenne as they might meete with. They according to their commiſſion beſtirred themſelues ſo, that within few dayes they toke ſixe ſcore ſaile of Normans, and broughte them into Englande, whereuppon, the diſpleaſure ſore encreſed betwixt yͤ two Realmes.

The King of Englande ſtoode not onely in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remayned in Fraunce, leaſt they through helpe of the French ſhould inuade the lande, and therefore hee commaunded the hauens and portes to be ſurely watched, leaſt ſome ſuddayne inuaſion might happely be attempted, for it was well vnderſtoode, that the Queene meant not to returne, till ſhee might bring with hir the Lorde Mortimer, and the other baniſhed men, who in no wiſe could obteyne any fauour at the Kynges handes, ſo long as the Spencers bore rule.

The Pope lamenting this matter, ſente two Byſhoppes into England, to reconcile the Kyng and Queene, and alſo to agree the two Kynges. These Byſhoppes were reuerently receyued, but more than reuerence here they obteyned not, and ſo departed as they came.

a. reg 20.

he Lorde
eaumont
Heynault.

King Edward vnderſtanding all the Queenes drift, at length ſought the French Kings fauour, and did ſo much by letters and promiſe of bribes with him and his counſaile, that Queene Iſabell was deſtitute in manner of all helpe there, ſo that ſhe was glad to withdrawe into Haynault, by the comfort of Iohn the Lord Beaumont, the Earle of Heynault his brother, who beeing then in the Court of Fraunce, and lamenting Queene Iſabels caſe, imagined with himſelfe of ſome marriage that might be had betwixt the yong Prince of Wales, and ſome of the daughters of his brother the Earle of Heynault, and thervpon required hir to goe into Heynault, and hee would bee glad to attende hir. She gladly conſenting herevnto, wẽt thither with him, wher ſhe was moſt ioyfully receyued wͭ hir ſon, & all other of hir trayne.

he Queene
Englande
ith hir ſonne
ent into
eynaulte.
lidor.

The Spencers (ſome write) procured hir baniſhment out of Fraunce, and that ſhee was aduiſed by the Earle of Arthoys, chiefly to repaire into Heynault.

axton.

Alſo I finde, that the Spencers deliuered fiue barrels of ſiluer, the ſumme amounting vnto fiue thouſande markes, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appoynting him to conuey it ouer into Fraunce, to beſtowe it vpon ſuch friendes as they had there of the French Kings counſaile, by whoſe meanes, the King of Fraunce did baniſhe his ſiſter out of his Realme. But this money was met with vpon the Sea by certaine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the ſayd Arnold, and preſented to the Earle of Heynaulte, vnder whoſe dominion, the Zelanders in thoſe dayes remayned, of which good happe, the Earle and Queene Iſabell greatly reioyced.

bian.
marriage
oncluded.

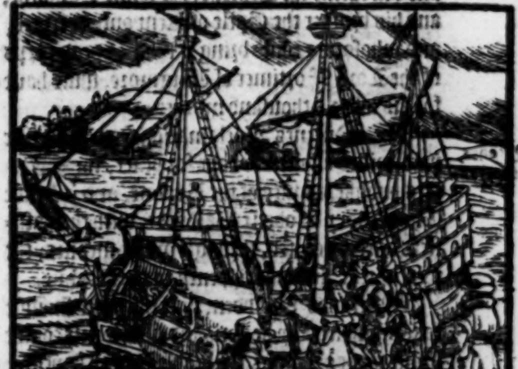
In the time that the Queene and hir ſonne laye in the Courte of the Earle of Heynaulte, a marriage was concluded betwixte the Prince of Wales, and the Lady Phillippe, daughter to the ſaid Earle, vppon certayne conditions, whereof one was, that the ſaid Earle, ſhould at his proper coſtes ſet ouer into England the ſaide Prince of Wales, with a crue of four C. men of armes, but whether there was any ſuch marriage at the concluded, and that in conſideratiõ therof, the Earle of Heynaulte aided Queene Iſabel and hir ſonne, it may be doubted, bycauſe other writers make no ſuch report. Neuertheleſſe, certayne it is, that the Earles brother ſir Iohn de Heynault L. Beaumond, was appointed with certain bandes of men of armes to the number of four C. or fiue hũdered, to paſſe ouer with the ſaid Queene and hir ſonne into Englande, and ſo thervpon began to make his purueyance for yͤ iourney, which thing whẽ it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spencers, they cauſed muſters to be taken through the Realme, and ordeyned beacons to be ſet vp, kept and watched, as wel in the valleys by the ſea ſide, as within the countreys vpõ hilles and hygh groundes, yͭ the ſame vpon occaſiõ of the enimies arriuall, might be ſet on fire, to warne the countreis adioyning, to aſſemble to reſiſt them. But Q. Iſabell and hir ſon, with ſuch others as were with hir in Heynault, ſtayed not their iourney for doubt of all their aduerſaries prouiſiõ, but immediately after yͭ they had once made their puruyances, & wer ready to depart, they toke the ſea, as yͤ foreſaid Q. hir ſon, Edmond of Woodſtocke Erle of Kent, ſir Iohn de Heynault aforeſaid, & the L. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experiẽce in yͤ warres, and diuers others, hauing with thẽ a ſmall cõpany of Engliſhmẽ, with a crue of Heynewyers & Almains, to yͤ number of 2757. armed mẽ, the which ſailing forth towards England, lãded at lẽgth in Suffolk, at an Hauen called Orwell beſides Harwiche, the 25. daye of September.

Caxton.

Proviſion made in England to reſiſt the Queene.

Tho. Walſ.

The Queene with hir ſonne land in Suffolke.



Immediately after that the Q. and hir ſonne wer come to land, it was wonder to ſee how faſt yͤ people reſorted vnto thẽ, and firſt of all the Erle Marſhall, in whoſe landes ſhe firſt came on ſhore, repared to hir, ſo did the Erle of Leiceſter, & diuers

Tho. Walſ.

The Earles Marſhall and of Leyceſter with others come to the Queene.

The redineſſe of the Prelates to aſſiſt the Queene.

Barons and Knyghtes of thoſe parties, with all the Prelates in maner of the lande, as the Byſhops of Lincolne, Hereforde, Dublin, and Elie, the which being ioyned with the Queene, made a great army. The Archbyſhop of Caunterburie and other, ayded hir with money.

After that ſhe had refreſhed hir people a little ſpace at Saincte Edmondes bury, ſhe marched forthe to ſeeke the aduerſaries of hir and of the Realme as ſhe bruted it, but they ſtill keeping themſelues neere to the Kings perſon, that vnder the ſhadowe of the wings of his protection, they might remayne in more ſafegarde, durſt not depart from his preſence. At the time of yͤ Queenes landing he was at London, and being ſore amaſed with the newes, he required ayde of the Londoners.

The aunſwere of the Londoners to the Kyng.

They aunſwered, that they would do all the honor they might vnto the Kyng, yͤ Queene, and to their ſonne the lawfull heire of the lande: but as for Straungers and traitors to yͤ Realm, they woulde keepe them out of their Gates, and reſiſt them with all their forces: but to goe forthe of the Citie further than that they myghte returne before Sunne ſetting, they refuſed, pretending certayne liberties in that behalfe to them graunted in times paſt as they alledged.

The king forſaketh London, and goeth towardes the marches of Wales.

The King not greatly liking of this aunſwere, fortified the Tower, and leauing within it his yonger ſonne Iohn of Eltham, and the wife of the Lorde Chamberlayne Hugh Spencer the yonger that was his neece, he departed towardes the marches of Wales, there to reyſe an army againſt the Queene. Before his departure from London, he ſet forth a Proclamation, that euery man vnder payne of forfeyting life and goodes, ſhould reſiſt them that were thus landed, aſſayle, and kill them, the Queene, his ſonne Edwarde, and his brother the Earle of Kent only excepted, and whoſoeuer could bring yͤ head or dead corps of the Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, ſhould haue for his labor a thouſand markes.

A proclamation ſette forth by the Kyng.

The Queenes proclamation.

The Queenes proclamations on the other part, willed all men to hope for peace, the Spencers publike enimies of the Realme, and yͤ Lorde Chancellour Roberte Baldocke, with their aſſiſters onely excepted, through whoſe meanes, the preſent trouble was happened to the Realme.

And it was forbidden, that no man ſhoulde take ought frō any perſon, and who ſoeuer coulde bring to the Queene the head of Hugh Spencer the yonger, ſhould haue two thouſand pounds of the Queenes gift.

The Byſhop of Exeter left in charge with the Citie of London.

The K. at his departure from London, lefte maſter Walter Stapleton the B. of Exceter behinde him to haue the rule of the Citie of Londō. Then ſhortly after, the Q. with hir ſon, making towardes London, wrote a letter to the Maior, & to the Citizens, requiring to haue aſſiſtance for the putting downe of the Spencers, not only knowen enimies of theirs, but alſo common enimies to all the Realme of England.

Caxton.

To this letter, no aunſwere at the firſt was made, wherfore an other was ſent, dated at Baldocke the ſixth day of October, vnder the names of Iſabell by the grace of God Queene of England, Lady of Irelande, and Counteſſe of Pontieu, and of Edwarde eldeſt ſonne to the King of England, Duke of Guienne, Erle of Cheſter, of Pontiew and of Muttrell. This letter being directed to the Mayor and communaltie of London, conteyning in effect, that the cauſe of their landing and entring into the Realme at that time, was onely for the honor of the King and wealth of the Realme, intending hurt to no maner of perſon, but to the Spencers, was hanged vpon the Croſſe in Cheape, then called the new Croſſe in Cheape, on the nighte before the ninth day of October. Dyuers copies of the ſame letter were ſet vppe, and faſtned vppon windowes and doores in other places of the Citie, and one of the ſame copies was tacked vpon the Lord Mayors gates.

Fabian.

After which letter thus publiſhed in the Citie, a greate number of artificers, and other like minded not to ſit in reſt vppon ſuche occaſion of diſorder offered, nowe that things were in broyle in other partes of the Realme, aſſembled togyther in greate numbers, and with weapon in hande, came to the Lorde Maior of the Citie, whome they knew to fauour the Kings parte, and therefore they forced him through feare of ſome iniurious violence, to receyue an oth to ſtand to their ordinance, whiche was to put to deathe all thoſe that were aduerſaries to the Queene, or had by any meanes procured the hinderance of the Cities liberties, vnder pretext of whiche othe, they ranne, and tooke one of the Citizens, called Iohn Marſhall, & bycauſe hee was very familiar with the Earle of Glouceſter, and therefore ſuſpected to haue accuſed the Citizens, they ſtroke off hys head, and ſpoyled all his goodes. The ſame daye, being the fourteenth of October, continuing their rage, they ranne to the houſe of the Byſhoppe of Exeter, Walter de Stapleton, and ſetting fire on the gates, they entred and ſpoyled him of all hys plate, iewels, money and goodes. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for him, the Biſhoppe beeing the ſame time returning from the fieldes, woulde not ſeeme to ſhrinke, although hee was admoniſhed of theſe outrageous attemptes of the people, but ſitting on horſebacke, came to the North doore of Saint Paule, where forthwith the furious people layde violente handes on him, threw him downe, and drew him moſt outrageouſly into Cheape ſide, where they proclaymed him an open traytor, a ſeducer of the King, and

The Lord Maior forced to take an oth.

Iohn Marſhall taken and beheaded.

and a deſtroyer of their liberties. The Byſhoppe had vpon him a certayne coate of defence, whiche was called an Aketon, the ſame therfore beeing plucked beſide his backe as all other his garments, they ſhore his head from his ſhoulders, and to the lyke deathe they put two of his ſeruauntes, the one an Eſquire, and the other a yeoman.

The Byſhopp:
Exeter be-
aded.

The Byſhoppes head was ſet on a pole for a ſpectacle, that the remembraunce of his deathe, and the cauſe thereof might continue.

His body was buryed in an olde Churchyarde of the pied Friers, without any manner of exequies or funerall ſeruice done for him.

The chiefeſt cauſe of the enmitie whiche the Londoners bare toward this Biſhop, roſe hereof. He being Lord Treaſorer, procured that the Iuſtices *itinerantes* did ſit in the Citie of London, and where many of the Citizens were found offenders, and iuſtly puniſhed, as well by loſing their fredomes, as paying their fines, and ſuffering corporall puniſhmentes, they conceyued a great diſpleaſure towardes him.

Moreouer it was ſayde, that hee had rayſed a greate multitude of armed menne againſte the Queene, and hir ſonne the Duke of Aquitayne, and therefore did the Londoners as they affirmed, ſeeke to preuent his proceedings.

The morowe after that they had thus beheaded the Biſhop of Exeter, they tooke by chaunce ſir Iohn Weſton, Conneſtable of the Tower, and from him they tooke the keyes of the ſame Tower, and ſo entring the Tower, they ſet all the priſoners at libertie, and in like caſe, all thoſe that were impriſoned in manner through yͤ lande, were permitted to goe at large, and all the baniſhed men and outlawes were likewiſe reſtored home.

The Londoners hauing the Tower thus at their commaundemente, remoued all the officers therein placed by the King, and put other in their roumthes, in the name of the Lorde Iohn de Eltham the Kings ſonne, whom they named warden of yͤ Citie and land. And yet they ceaſſed not to committe many robberies, and other outragious and moſt inſolent partes.

In the meane time, the King being come to Briſtow, left that Citie in the keeping of yͤ Erle of Wincheſter. And with the Earles of Glouceſter and Arundell, and the Lord Chancellor, ſir Roberte Baldocke, hee ſailed ouer into Wales, there to rayſe a power of Welchmen in defence of himſelfe againſt the Queene and hir adherents, whiche hee had good hope to finde amongeſt the Welchmen, bycauſe he had euer vſed them gently, and ſhewed no rigor towards them for their riotous miſgouernance.

he king ſai-
h into
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lid.r.
is fauour
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elchmen.

Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, hee mighte eaſily eſcape ouer into Irelande, and get into ſome mountaine countrey, mariſhe ground, or other ſtreit, where his enimies ſhould not come at him.

But nowe to ſpeake of the Queene, yee muſt vnderſtande, that after ſhee hadde receyued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholly at hir deuotion, ſhee beeing glad thereof, turned hir iorney towarde Wales to followe the Kyng, and comming to Oxforde, ſtayed there a whyle, and ſtill came people to hir from all ſides.

The Queene following the King commeth to Oxforde.
Tho. de la More.

Here Adam de Torleton the Byſhoppe of Hereforde which lately before had bin ſore fined by the King, for that he was accuſed to ſtirre the people to Rebellion, and to ayde the Barons (as yee haue hearde,) made a pithie Oration to the army, declaring that the Queene and hir ſonne were returned onely into Englande, to the intente to perſecute the Spencers, to reforme the ſtate of the Realme: and ſith then that they nowe were come in maner to an ende of the tirannie of moſt naughty men, and of the daunger that myghte growe dayly thereof, hee exhorted them with patient mindes to beare the ſmall trauaile that remained in purſute of the enimies, and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victory, and the Queenes liberalitie, whoſe loue was ſuch towardes the common wealth, as ſhee onely applyed all hir endeuoures and doyngs to the aduauncement thereof.

The Byſhoppe of Herefordе maketh an Oration to the Queenes army.

These wordes ſpoken, the Queene accompanyed with a greate power, departed from Oxforde, and wente ſtraight vnto Glouceſter, and ſent before hir vnto Briſtow the Erle of Kent, the Kings brother, ſir Iohn of Hennegew, with other, to take the Earle of Wincheſter. They did theyr endeuour with ſuche diligence, that the Townſmen compoundyng to be ſaued harmeleſſe in body and goodes, deliuered the Towne and Caſtell vnto the Queene, and to hir ſonne the Prince.

The Queene goeth to Glouceſter.

In the meane tyme, there came to the Queene at Glouceſter, the Lorde Percy, the Lorde Wake, and dyuers other, as well from the North partes, as forth of the marches of Wales, ſo that hir army hugely encreaſed.

From Glouceſter ſhee paſſed by Berkley, and reſtored the Caſtell of Berkeley (whyche the Earle of Glouceſter, Hugh Spencer the yonger helde) vnto the Lorde Thomas Berkeley, heyre to the Lorde Maurice Berkeley lately before deceaſſed in priſon, within the Caſtell of Walingforde, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkeley belonging.

The Lorde Berkeley.

The Queene commeth to Briſtow.

From thence ſhe wente to Briſtowe, and the morrowe after hir thither comming, beeing the euen of the Apoſtles Simon and Iude, through the inſtant calling vppon of the people, the Earle of Wincheſter was drawen forthe in his coate armoure vnto the common gallowes, and there hanged. His head was after cutte off, and ſent to Wincheſter, whereof he was Earle.

The Earle of Wincheſter executed.

Sir Thomas Blunt, Lorde Steward to the Kyng, yeeldeth to the Queene.

The King in this meane time kept not in one place, but ſhifting hither and thither, remayned in great care. Whereypon, Sir Thomas Blunt an auntient Knight, and Lord Steward of the Kinges houſe, toke his ſeruauntes, with victuals, horſes, and armoure in greate plentie, and came to the Queene, of whome, and lykewiſe of hir ſonne hee was ioyfully receyued; and diuers of them which hee brought with him were reteyned, and the other had letters of protection, and were ſent away in louing manner.

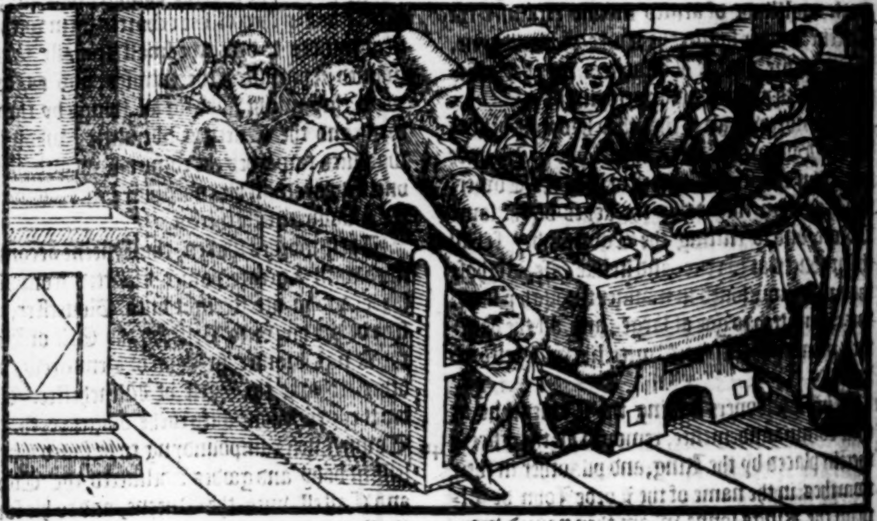
The King with the Earle of Glouceſter, and the Lord Chauncellor, taking the Sea, meante to haue gone eyther into the Ile of Lundey, or elſe into Irelande, but beyng toſſed with contrary windes for the ſpace of a weeke togither, at length, he landed in Glamorgan ſhire, and gote him to the Abbey and Caſtell of Neith, there ſecretely remaining vppon truſt of the Welchmens promiſes.

Hugoline Spencer the ſonne of the Earle of Glouceſter, defended the Caſtell of Kerfily, agaynſt the power of the Queene and of hir ſonne till Eaſter following, and then compoundyng for the ſafetie of hys owne lyfe, and all theyrs within that Caſtell, and lykewiſe for the enioying of their goodes, hee yeelded it to the handes of the menne of warre that helde ſiege afore it, in the Queenes name, and of hir ſonne.

A counſell at Herefor

But nowe touching the Kyng, whyleſt hee was thus abroade, and no manne wiſte where hee was become, proclamations were made in the Queenes army dayly, in the whyche, he was ſummoned to returne, and to take the rule of the Realme into his handes, if hee woulde bee conformable to the myndes of hys true liege men, but when hee appeared not, the Lordes of the lande aſſembled in counſell at Hereforde, whether the Queene was come from Briſtowe, and there was the Lorde Edwarde Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, made warden of Englande, by common decree, vnto whome, all men, as to the Lorde warden of the Realme, made fealtie, in receyuing an othe of allegiance, to bee faithfull and loyall to him.

The Prince of Wales made Lorde warden of the Realme.



A newe chancellor and Treaſorer.

After this, they made the Byſhoppe of Norwiche Lorde Chancellor, and the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter Lord Treaſorer.

The Queene remayned aboute a monethes ſpace at Hereforde, and in the meane while, ſente the Lorde Henry Earle of Leyceſter, and the Lorde William la Zouche, and one Rice ap Howell, that was lately deliuered out of the Tower where hee was priſoner, into Wales, to ſee if they myghte finde meanes to apprehende the Kyng by helpe of their acquaintance in thoſe parties, all three of them hauing landes thereabouts where it was knowen the Kyng for the more parte kepte. They vſed ſuche diligence in that charge, that finally with large giftes beſtowed on the Welchmenne, they came to vnderſtande where the King was, and ſo on the daye of Saint Edmonde the Archbyſhoppe, beeyng the ſixteenth of Nouember, they toke hym in the Monaſterie of Neith, neere to the Caſtell of Laturſſan, togyther with Hugh Spencer the ſonne called Earle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Chauncellour Robert de Baldocke,

docke, and Simon de Reding the kings Marſhall, not caring for other of the kings ſeruants, whom they ſuffred to eſcape.

The king was deliuered to the Earle of Leyceſter, who conueyed him by Monmouth and Ledburie, vnto Kenilworth caſtell, where he remayned the whole winter. The Earle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Chauncellour, and Simon de Reding, were brought to Hereforde, and there preſented to the Queene, where on the .xxiiij. of Nouember, the ſayde Earle was drawne and hanged on a payre of Gallowes of fiftie foote in heigth. Then was his heade ſtriken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and hys bodie deuided in quarters. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vpon the bridge with other, and his quarters were ſent to foure ſeuerall partes of the Realme, and there pight vpon polles, to bee ſeene of the people. He was drawne in his owne coate armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to bee read, conteyning a parcell of the Pſalme, *Quid gloriaris in malitia*, vnto the verſe, *Ego autem ſicut oliua. &c.*

he king is brought to Kenilworth.

ugh Spencer he yonger executed.

ſal.52.

imon de Reding executed.

The ſame day was Simō de Reding drawne and hanged on the ſame Gallowes, but ten foote lower than the other.

This Reding being Marſhall of the kings houſe, had vſed the Queene verie vncurteouſly, giuing hir many reprochfull wordes, which now were remembred, and therefore may ſerue for an example, how daungerous a thing it is to ſpeake euill of the higher powers.

The cōmon fame went that after this Hugh Spencer the ſonne was taken, he would neuer eate no ſuſtenance, wherefore he was the ſooner put to death, or elſe had he beene conueyed to London, there to haue ſuffered.

axton.

Iohn Earle of Arundell was taken on Saint Hughes day, in the parties about Shrewesburie, and the ſame day ſeuennight before the execution of the Earle of Glouceſter Hugh Spencer the yonger, as well the ſayde Earle, who had beene euer a great friend to both the Spencers, as alſo Iohn Daniell, and Thomas de Micheldeuer, were put to death at Hereforde, by procurement of the Lorde Mortimer of Wigmore, that hated them extremely, by reaſon whereof they were not like to ſpeede much better, for what he willed the ſame was done, and without him the Queene in all theſe matters did nothing.

he Earle of rundell take.

ho. Walſ. xecution.

he fauour in hich the lord ortimer was ith the ueene.

The Chancellor Robert de Baldocke being committed to the cuſtodie of Adam de Torlton Biſhop of Hereforde, remayned at Hereforde in ſafe keeping till Candlemaſſe next, and then the Biſhop being at London, appoynted him to bee brought vp, where not without the Biſhops conſent (as was thought) he was taken out of hys houſe by violence, and layde in Newgate, where ſhortly after through inward ſorow and extreme griefe of minde he ended his life.

Robert Baldoc ended his life.

Thus the Queene and hir companie hauing compaſſed their buſineſſe, in ſo happie maner as they could wiſh, ſhe with hir ſonne and a great companie of Lordes and Gentlemen, repayred to Wallingford, where they kept Chriſtmaſſe togither with great ioy and triumph, the king in the meane while remayning (as ye haue hearde) at Kenilworth, in a kinde of honourable eſtate, although he was priſoner.

1327

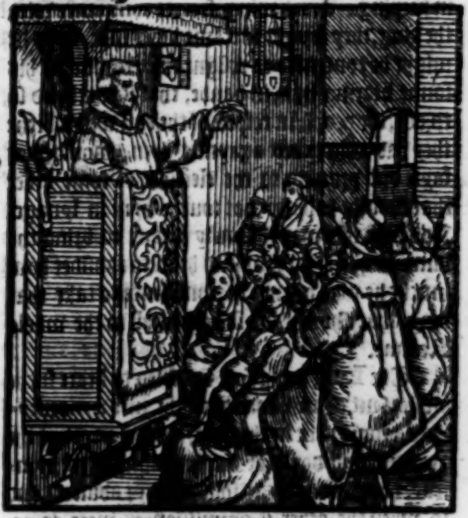
After Chriſtmaſſe, the Queene with hir ſonne and ſuch Lordes as were then with them, remoued to London, where at their comming thither, which was before the feaſt of the Epiphanie, they were receyued with great ioy, triumph, and large giftes, and ſo brought to Weſtminſter, where the morrow after the ſame feaſt, the Parliament which before hand had bene ſummoned began, in which it was concluded and fully agreed by all the eſtates (for none durſt ſpeake to the contrarie) that for diuerſe articles which were put vp agaynſt the king, he was not worthie longer to raigne, and therefore ſhould be depoſed, and withall they willed to haue his ſonne Edwarde duke of Aquitain to raigne in his place.

A Parliament.

This ordinance was openly pronounced in the great hall at Weſtminſter by one of the lordes, on the feaſt day of S. Hillarie being Tueſday, to the which all the people conſented. The Archbiſhop of Canterburie taking his theme, *Vox populi, vox dei*, made a Sermon, exhorting the people to pray to God to beſtow of his grace vpon the new king.

The king is depoſed by act of Parliament.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie preacheth.



And ſo when the Sermon was ended euery man departed to his lodging. But the Duke of Aquitaine when hee perceyued that his mother tooke the matter heauily in appearance, for that hir huſband ſhould be thus depriued of the crowne, he proteſted that he would neuer take it vpō him, without his fathers conſent, and ſo therevpon it was concluded, that certaine ſolemne Meſſengers ſhould goe to Kenilworth to moue the king to make reſignation of his Crowne and tytle to the kingdome vnto his ſonne.

Thom. de la More.
Tho. VValſ.

There were ſent on this meſſage (as ſome write) three, (or as other haue) but two Biſhops, two Erles, two Abbots, two (or as de la More, & Walſingham haue) four Barons, and for euerie Countie, Citie, & Burrough, and likewiſe for the cinque portes, certain knights and burgeſſes. The Biſhops that were ſent were theſe, as de la More noteth, Iohn de Stratford Biſhop of Wincheſter, Adam de Torleton Biſhop of Hereford, and Henrie Biſhop of Lyncolne. The two Earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaſter and Warwike: the two Barons, Roſe and Courtney: beſide theſe as he ſayth there were two Abbots, two Priors, two Iuſtices, two Friers of the order of Preachers, two of the Carmelites, two knights, for the Commons on the North ſyde of Trent, and two for the other on the South ſyde of the ſame Ryuer: two Citizens for London, two Burgeſſes for the cinque Portes, ſo as in all there were that went of this meſſage (as Southwell hath) xxiij. or rather. xxiiij. perſones of one degree and other. None of the Frier Minors went, bycauſe they woulde not bee the bringers of ſo heauie tydings, ſithe he had euer borne them great good will.

The Biſhoppes Wincheſter, and Lyncolne, went before, and comming to Kenilworth, aſſociated with them the Earle of Leyceſter, of ſome called the Earle of Lancaſter, that had the King in keeping. And hauing ſecrete conference with the king, they ſought to frame his minde, ſo as he might be contented to reſigne the crowne to his ſonne, bearing hym in hande, that if he refuſed ſo to doe, the people in reſpect of the euil will whiche they had conceyued agaynſte hym, woulde not fayle but proceede to the election of ſome other that ſhoulde happely not touche hym in lynage. And ſithe this was the onely meane to bring the lande in quiet, they wylled hym to conſider how muche he was bounde in conſcience to take that way, that ſhoulde bee ſo beneficiall to the whole Realme.

The King being ſore troubled to heare ſuche diſpleaſant newes, was brought into a marueylous agonie: but in the ende, for the quyet of the Realme and doubt of further daunger to hymſelfe, he determyned to follow theyr aduice, and ſo when the other Commiſſioners were come, and that the Biſhop of Hereford had declared the cauſe wherefore they were ſent, the King in preſence of them all, (notwithſtanding his outward countenaunce diſcouered howe muche it inwardly grieued him) yet after he was come to himſelf, he anſwered that he knew that he was fallen into this miſerie through hys owne offences, and therefore he was contented paciently to ſuffer it, but yet it coulde not (hee ſayde) but grieue hym, that he had in ſuch wiſe runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithſtanding he gaue the lords moſte heartie thankes, that they had ſo forgotten theyr receyued iniuryes, and ceaſſed not to beare ſo muche good wyll towardes hys ſonne Edwarde, as to wiſhe that hee myght raigne ouer them. Therefore to ſatiſfie them, ſithe otherwiſe it might not be, hee vtterly renounced hys right to the Kingdome, and to the whole adminiſtration thereof. And laſtlye beſought the Lordes nowe in his miſerie to forgiue him ſuch offences as he had committed agaynſt them.

Polidor.

The Ambaſſadours wyth this anſwere returning to London, declared the ſame vnto all the eſtates, in order as they had receyued it, whervpon great ioy was made of all men, to conſider that they myght nowe by courſe of lawe proceede to the choſing of a newe King. And ſo thervpon the .xxix. day of Ianuarie in Seſſion of Parliament then at Weſtminſter aſſembled, was the thirde king Edward, ſonne to king Edward the ſeconde choſen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the ſame Parliament, but as before is ſayde, confyrmed by hys fathers reſignation; and the firſt day of his raigne they agreed to be the .xxv. of Ianuarie, in the yeare. 1326. after the account of the Church of Englande, beginning the yeare the .xxv. day of Marche, but by the common account of wryters, it was in the yeare. 1327.

The ſame day Sir William Truſſell procurator for the whole Parliament did renounce the old king in name of the whole Parliament, with all homages and fealties due to him, ſo that the ſame .xxv. daye of Ianuarie hath bene reputed and taken for the fyrſt daye of the beginning of King Edwarde the thirde hys raigne, ſo that whatſoeuer chaunced before that daye is aſcrybed to bee done duryng the raygne of hys father.

But now to make an ende of the life, as well as of the raigne of K. Edward the ſecond, I find that after he was depoſed of his kingly honour and title, hee remayned for a tyme at Kenilworth, in cuſtodye of the Earle of Leyceſter. But within a while the Queene was informed by the biſhop of Herefordе, (whoſe hatred towardes hym had no ende) that the Earle of Leyceſter fauoured hir huſband too much, and more than ſtood with the ſuretie of hir ſonnes eſtate, wherevpon he was appointed to the keping of two other lords, Tho. Berkeley, and Iohn Matreuers, who receyuing him of the Earle of Leyceſter the third of April, conueyed him from Kenilworth vnto the caſtell of Berkley, ſituate not farre from the Seuerne, almoſt in the mid way betwixt Gloucester and Briſtow. But forſomuch as the Lord Berkley vſed him more curteouſlye than his aduerſaries wiſhed him to doe, he was diſcharged of that office, and ſir Thomas Gourney appoynted in his ſtead, who togither with the Lord Maltrauers conueyed him ſecretly (for feare leaſt he ſhould be taken frō them by force) from one ſtrong place to another, as to the caſtell of Corfe, and ſuche like, ſtill remouing with him in the night ſeaſon, till at length they thought it ſhould not be knowen whither they had conueyed him. And ſo at length they brought him backe againe in ſecrete maner vnto the Caſtell of Berkley, where whileſt he remayned (as ſome write) the Queene would ſend vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other ſuch things, but ſhe would not once come nere to viſite him, bearing him in hand that ſhe durſt not, for feare of the peoples diſpleaſure, who hated him ſo extreemely. But as he thus continued in priſon, cloſely kepte, ſo that none of hys friends might haue acceſſe vnto him, as in ſuche caſes it often happeneth, when men be in miſerie, ſome will euer pitie their ſtate, there were diuerſe of the nobilitie (of whom the Earle of Kent was chiefe) began to deuiſe meanes by ſecrete conference had togithers, how they might reſtore hym to libertie, diſcommending greatly both Queene Iſabell, and ſuch other as were appointed gouernours to the yong king, for his fathers ſtrayte impriſonment. The Queene & other the gouernours vnderſtanding this conſpiracie of the Erle of Kent, & of his brother, durſt not yet in that newe a greate world go about to puniſh it, but rather thought good to take away the occaſion of accompliſhing their purpoſe. And herevpon the Queene and the Biſhop of Herefordt, wrote ſharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatly, for that they dealt ſo gently with him, and kept him no ſtraytier, but ſuffered him to haue ſuch libertie, that he aduertiſed ſome of his friends abrode how and in what maner he was vſed, and withall the Biſhop of Herforde vnder a ſophiſticall forme of wordes ſignified to them by his letters, that they ſhoulde diſpatch him out of the way, as thus: *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*: To kill Edwarde will not to feare it is good. Whiche riddle or doubtfull kinde of ſpeech, as it might bee taken in two contrarie ſenſes, onely by placing the poynt in Orthographie called *comma*, they interpreted it in ẏ worſe ſenſe, putting ẏ *cōma* after *timere*, and ſo preſuming of this cōmaundement as they tooke it, frō the B. they lodge the miſerable priſoner in a chāber ouer a foule filthie dūgeon, ful of deade carion, truſting ſo to make an ende of him, wyth the abhominable ſtinche thereof: but he bearing it out ſtrongly, as a man of a tough nature, cōtinued ſtill in life, ſo as it ſeemed he was verie like to ſcape that daunger, as he had by purging eyther vp or downe, auoyded the force of ſuch poyſon as had beene miniſtred to him ſundrie tymes before, of purpoſe ſo to ridde him. Wherevpon when they ſawe that ſuch practiſes woulde not ſerue their turne, they came ſodenly one night into the chamber where hee lay in bed faſt aſleepe, and with heauie feather beddes, (or a table as ſome write) being caſt vpon him, they kept him downe, and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the ſame they thruſt vp into his bodie a hote ſpitte, (or as other haue through the pype of a Trumpet, a Plumbers inſtrument of yron made verie hote) the which paſſing vp into his intrayles, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the ſame, but ſo as no appearance of any wounde or hurt outwardly might bee once perceyued. His crie did moue many within the caſtell and towne of Berkley to compaſſion, plainly hearing him vtter a wailefull noyſe, as the tormentors were about to murther him, ſo that dyuerſe being awakened therwith (as they themſelues confeſſed) prayed heartily to God to receyue his ſoule, when they vnderſtode by his crie what the matter ment.

The Queene, the Biſhop, and other, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and baniſhed the Lorde Maltrauers, and Thomas Gourney, who fleeing vnto Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken and brought toward Englande, was beheaded on the ſea, leaſt hee ſhoulde accuſe the chiefe doers, as the Biſhop and other. John Maltrauers, repenting himſelfe, lay long hidden in Germanie, and in the ende dyed penitently.

Thus was king Edwarde murthered, in the yeare. 1327. on the .xxij. of September.

The fame went that by this Edwarde the ſeconde, after his death manye myracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceyued as before had beene of Earle Thomas of Lancaſter, namely amongſt the common people. He was knowne to bee of a good and courteous nature, though not of moſte pregnant wit. And albeit in his youth he fell into certaine light crymes, and after by the companie and counſell of euill men, was induced vnto more heynous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the ſame by repentance, and paciently ſuffered many reprouches, and finally death it ſelfe (as before yee haue hearde) after a moſt cruell maner. Hee had ſurely good cauſe to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his vndiſcreete and wanton miſgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his raigne (by iudgement of law) to the nūber of .xxviij. barons and knights, ouer and beſide ſuch as were ſlaine in Scotlande by hys infortunate

Thomas
ney.

Earle of
n conſpi-
to deliuer
brother.

Tho. VValſ.

Tho. de la More.

King Edwarde the ſeconde murthered.

The fond opinion of the ignorāt people

The nature & diſpoſition of king Edwarde the ſeconde.

tunate conduct. And all theſe miſchiefes and many more happened not only to him, but alſo to the whole ſtate of the realm, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent diſcretion to make choyſe of ſage and diſcrete counſaylers, receyuing thoſe into his fauour, that abuſed the ſame to their priuate gaine and aduantage, not reſpecting the aduancement of the common wealth, ſo they themſelues might attaine to riches and honour, for which they onely ſought, inſomuch that by their couetous rapine, ſpoyle and immoderate ambition, the heartes of the common people and nobilitie were quite eſtraunged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue ſhewed to their ſoueraigne, going about by force to wraſt him to follow their willes, and to ſeeke the deſtruction of them whome he commonly fauoured: wherein ſurely they were worthie of blame, and to taſte (as manye of them did) the deſerued puniſhment for their diſobedient and diſloyall demeanors. For it was not the way which they tooke to helpe the diſfigured ſtate of the common wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodneſſe had not bene the greater it muſt needs haue come to paſſe, as to thoſe that ſhall well conſider the pitifull tragedie of this kings tyme it may well appeare.

Tho. Walſ.

Tho. de la More.

King Edwarde the ſecond murthered.

But now to proceed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate Prince. He had iſſue by his wife Queene Iſabell, two ſonnes, Edward which was made king, whileſt he was yet aliue, and Iohn which dyed yong: alſo two daughters, Elianor, which died before ſhe came to yeares able for mariage, and Ioan, which was after giuẽ in mariage vnto Dauid king of Scotlande. He was indifferently tall of ſtature, ſtrong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him ſtoutneſſe of ſtomake, if his euill counſaylers had bene remoued, that he might haue ſhewed it in honourable exploytes, which being kept backe by them, he coulde not doe: ſo that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trayned vp in youth with good and honeſt companie.

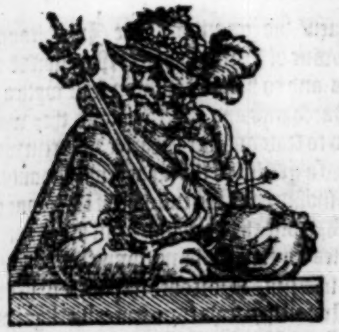
His iſſue.

It is ſayd that he was learned, inſomuch that there remaine verſes, which (as ſome haue written) he made whileſt he was in priſon. Certaine it is he fauoured learning, as by the erection of Oriall Colledge in Oxford, and S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well bee gathered.

Oryall and S. Marie hall in Oxford.

Ex centuria 4. Bale.

Learned men we finde recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings tyme theſe as follow. Iohn Duns, that ſubtill Logitian, borne (as Lelande hath gathered) in a village in Northumberlande called Emyldun, three myles diſtant from Anwike, although other hold the cõtrarie, the Scottes claymyng him for their countreyman, and the Iriſhe men for theirs: Robert Walſingham, a Carmelite Frier that wrote diuerſe treatiſes: Iohn Wilton an Auguſtine Frier: Walter Winterborne: Rauſe Lockeley: Nicholas Stanford: William Whitley: Thomas Ioyce: Walter Ioyce: William Gaynſburg: Robert Baſton borne not farre from Notingham, a Carmelite Frier of Scarbourgh, the ſame whom king Edwarde tooke with him into Scotlande to write ſome remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scottes, he was conſtreyned by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrary tune: Iohn Horninger a Suffolke man borne: William Riſhanger a Monke of S. Albons, an Hiſtoriographer: Rauſe Baldocke Biſhop of London wrote alſo an Hiſtorie, which was intituled *Hiſtoria Anglica*: Richard Bliton a Lincolnſhire man borne, a Carmelite Frier: Iohn Walſingham, borne either in Walſingham, or Beunham (as Bale ſuppoſeth) a Carmelite frier alſo, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes: Thomas Chabham a Canon of Saliſburie, and a doctor of diuinitie: Robert Plumpton, borne in Deuonſhire a regular Chanon: Thomas Caſtleford a Monke of Pontfret: William Manfield: Iohn Goole: Robert Grime: William Aſkettle of Beuerley: Geffrey of Cornewale: Iohn Gatiſdene: Thomas Anglicus: Stephan Eyton or Edon: Iohn Goldſtone borne in Yorkeſhire: Iohn Winchelſey: Nicholas de Lira, a Iewe by byrth of thoſe that had their habitatiõs in England, who wrote verie many treatiſes, to his great commendation for his ſinguler knowlege and zeale, which he ſhewed in diſprouing the Rabines that ſtyll ſought to keepe the Iewiſh nation in blindneſſe and vaine hope, in looking for another Meſſias: Rauſe Ienton an excellent diuine: Iohn Dumbleton a Logitian: Thomas Langford borne in Maldon in Eſſex: Oſbert Pyckenam a Carmelite Frier of Lyn in Norfolke: Nicholas Okeham a gray Frier: William Ockam a Frier Minor, that wrote diuerſe treatiſes, & namely againſt Iohn Duns, and likewiſe againſt Iohn the 22. Pope of that name, in fauour of the Emperour Lewes of Bauier: Richard Walingford: Thomas Haſlewood a Canõ of Ledes in Kent, wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicon Compendiariũ*: Robert Barrew: Robert Perſcrutator borne in Yorkeſhire, a black Frier, & a Philoſopher or rather a Magitian: Richarde Belgraue a Carmelite: Brinkley a minorite, and others.



dward
e.3.

EDwarde the thirde of that name, the ſonne of Edwarde the ſeconde, and of Iſabell the onelye daughter of Philip le Beau, and ſiſter to Charles the fifth, king of Fraunce, began his raigne as king of England, his father yet liuing, the .xxv. day of Ianuarie, after the creation. 5293. in the yeare of our Lorde. 1327. after the account of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, 867. after the comming of the Saxons, 260. after the conqueſt, the. 13. yeare of the raigne of Lewes the fourth then Emperor, the ſeuenth of Charles the fift king of Fraunce, the ſecõd of Andronicus Iunior Emperor of the Eaſt almoſt ended, and about the end of the .22. of Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, as Wil. Hariſon in his Chronologie hath diligently recorded.

rners
yoed.

He was crowned at Weſtminſter on the day of the Purification of our Ladie next enſuing, by the handes of Walter the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. And bycauſe he was but .xiiij. yeres of age, ſo that to gouerne of himſelfe he was not ſufficient, it was decreed that. xij. of the greateſt lordes within the realme ſhoulde haue the rule and gouernment till he came to more perfite yeares.

The names of which lords were as followeth. The Archbiſhop of Cãterburie, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhops of Wincheſter & of Hereford, Henrie Erle of Lancaſter. Thomas Brotherton Erle Marſhal, Edmond of Woodſtocke Erle of Kent, Iohn Erle of Warren, the Lord Thomas Wake, the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Oliuer de Ingham, and the Lorde Iohn Ros. Theſe were ſworne of the kings counſaile, and charged with the gouernment as they woulde make anſwer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the Queene, & the Lorde Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule ſo into their handes, that both the king and his ſayde Counſaylours were gouerned only by them in all matters both high and lowe.

The franchiſes of the Citie of London confirmed.

He confirmed the liberties and franchiſes of the citie of London, and graunted that the Maior of the ſame Citie for the time being might ſit in all places of iudgement within the liberties therof for chief Iuſtice, aboue all other, the kings perſon only excepted, and that euery Alderman that had bin Maior ſhoulde be Iuſtice of peace through all the Citie of London and countie of Middleſex, and euery Alderman that had not bene Maior, ſhould be Iuſtice of peace within his owne warde. He graunted alſo to the Citizens, that they ſhoulde not be conſtrayned to go forth of the Citie to any warres in defence of the lande, and that the franchiſes of the Citie ſhould not be ſeaſed frõ thenceforth into the kings hands, for any cauſe, but only for treaſon and rebellion ſhewed by the whole Citie. Alſo Southwarke was appoynted to bee vnder the rule of the Citie, and the Maior of Lõdon to bee Baylife of Southwarke, and to ordaine ſuch a ſubſtitute in the ſame Borough as pleaſed him.

Recordes of Burie.

In the firſt yeare of this kings raigne, wee finde in the Recordes belonging to the Abbey of S. Edmondſburie in Suffolke, that the Inhabitants of that towne rayſed a ſore commotion agaynſt the Abbot and Monkes of the ſame Abbey, and that at ſeuerall tymes, as firſt on the Wedneſday next after the feaſt of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in the ſayde firſt yeare of thys Kings raigne, one Robert Forton, Rycharde Drayton, and a great number of other, aſſembling themſelues togither in warlike order and array, aſſanlted the ſayd Abbey, brake downe the Gates, Wyndowes, and Dores, entered the houſe by force, and aſſayling certain Monks and ſeruaunts that belonged to the Abbot, did beate, wounde, and euill entreate them, brake open a number of Cheſts, Coffers, and forcers, tooke out Chalices of golde and ſiluer, bookes, Veſtments, and other ornaments of the church, beſide a great quantitie of riche plate, and other furniture of houſeholde, apparel, armour, and other things, beſide fiue hundred pounds in readie coyne, and alſo three thouſand Florens of gold. All which things they tooke and caried away, togither with diuerſe Charters, wrytings, and miniments, as three Charters of Knute ſomtyme king of Englande, foure Charters of king Hardiknute, one Charter of king Edwarde the Confeſſour, two Charters of king Henrie the firſt, other two Charters of king Henrie the thirde, which Charters concerned as wel the foundation of the ſame Abbey, as the grauntes and confirmations of the poſſeſſions and liberties belonging thereto. Alſo they tooke away certaine writings obligatorie, in the whiche diuerſe perſons were bounde for the payment of great ſummes of money, and deliuerie of certaine wines vnto the hands of the ſayd Abbot. Moreouer they tooke away with them ten ſeueral bulles, conteyning certaine exemptions & immunities graunted to the Abbots and Monkes of Burie by ſundrie Biſhops of Rome. And not herewith contented, they tooke Peter Clopton Prior of the ſaid Abbey, and other Monkes forth of the houſe, and leading them vnto a place called the Leaden hall, there impriſoned them, till the Thurſday next before the feaſt of the Purificatiō of our Ladie, and that day bringing them backe againe into the chapter houſe, deteyned them ſtill as priſoners, till they had ſealed a writing, cōteyning that the Abbot and conuent were bound in ten. M. pound to be payd to Oliuer Kemp and others by them named. And further, they were cōſtreyned to ſeale a letter of releaſe for all actions, quarels, debts, tranſgreſſions, ſuites & demaūds, which the Abbot might in any wiſe clayme or proſecute againſt the ſayd Oliuer Kempe and others in the ſame letters named. For theſe wrōgs and other, as for that they would not permit the Abbots, Baylifes, and officers to kepe their ordinarie courtes as they were accuſtomed to doe, as well three dayes in the weeke for the Market, to wit, Monday, Wedneſday and Fryday, as the Portman mote euery Tueſday three weekes, and further prohibit them from gathering ſuch tolles, cuſtomes, and yearely rentes, as were due to the Abbot for certain tenements in the towne, which were let to ferme, the Abbot brought his action againſt the ſaid Foxton, Drayton & others, & hauing it tried by an inqueſt, on the Friday next after the feaſt of S. Lucie the virgin, in a Seſſions holden at Burie by John Stonore, Walter Friſkney, Robert Mabertborp, and John Bouſſer, by vertue of the kings writ of Oyer and Determiner to them directed, the offenders were cōdemned in. 40000. pounds, ſo that the ſayde Richard Drayton, and others there preſent in the Court, were committed to priſon in cuſtodie of the Sherife Robert Walkefare, who was commaunded alſo to apprehende the other that were not yet areſted, if within his Bayliwike they might be founde, and to haue their bodies before the ſayd Juſtices at Burie aforeſayd, on Thurſday in Whitſonweeke next enſuing.

The ſeconde ryot.

Beſide this, there was an other inditement and action of treſpaſſe founde there the ſame day agaynſt the ſayde Richard Drayton and others, for a lyke diſorder and ryot by them committed, on the Thurſday next after the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, in the ſame firſt yeare of this king, at what time they did not onely breake into the Abbey, and beate the Abbottes menne, but alſo tooke the Abbot hymſelfe, beeyng then at home, wyth certayne of hys Monkes, keeping both him and them as priſoners, til the next day that they were conſtreyned to ſeale certayne wrytings. And amongeſt other, a Charter, in which it was conteyned, that the Abbot and his Conuent, did graunt vnto the Inhabitaunts of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themſelues, and to haue a common ſeale wyth a gylde of Marchants and Aldermen: alſo they were cōpelled to ſeale another Charter, wherein was cōteyned a graunt to the ſayde Inhabitaunts, that they ſhould haue the cuſtodie of the towne gates, and likewiſe the wardſhip of all Pupils and Orphanes wythin the ſame towne, beſide diuerſe other liberties. Moreouer they were in like maner conſtreyned to ſeale three ſeuerall obligations, in which the Abbot and Conuent were bound to the ſayde Inhabitantes, as to a communaltie of a corporation in. vij. M. pounds, as in two. M. by one obligation, and in two. M. by another, and in three. M. by the thirde obligation, and further they were driuen to ſeale a letter of releaſe of all treſpaſſes, and other things that myght bee demaunded agaynſte the ſayde Inhabitauntes, with a generall acquittaunce of all debts.

Beſide this, the ſayde riotous perſons tooke the ſame tyme forth of the Abbey great ryches, as well in plate, Armor, Bookes, apparell, as in other things. They alſo brake downe two houſes or Meſſuages, that belonged to the Abbey, and ſituate within the towne of Burie: they alſo deſtroyed his fiſh pondes, and tooke out ſuch ſtore of fiſh as they found in the ſame: they cut downe alſo. lx. Aſhes there growing, on the ſoyle that belonged to the ſayde Abbot, and did many other great outrages and enormities, ſo that it was founde by the inqueſt, that the Abbot was dammifyed to the value of other fortye thouſande poundes.

Theſe ryottes may ſeeme grieuous and verie ſtraunge, but yet the ſame were not ſo heynouſly taken, as an other whiche the ſayde Inhabitants of Burie attempted agaynſt the ſayde Abbey in maner of a plaine commotion, vpon S. Lukes day in the ſame yeare, at what time (as by the Recordes of that Abbey it ſhoulde appeare) both the Abbot and his houſe were in the kinges ſpeciall protection, and the ſayde Inhabitantes prohibited by his letters to attempt any iniurie agaynſt hym or hys Conuent. But neuertheleſſe we fynde that not onely the Inhabitants of Burie, but alſo a great number of other miſgouerned perſons, that reſorted to them from places there about, arrayed and furniſhed with horſe, armour and weapon, after the maner of warre, came and aſſaulted the Abbey Gates, ſette fyre on them, and burned them wyth dyuerſe other Houſes neare adioyning, that belonged to the Abbay, and continued in that theyr ryotous enterpryſe all that daye and nyght following.

The ſame night alſo they burnt a Manor of ỹ Abbots called Holdernes barn, wᵗ. ij. other manors called the Junieners herne, and Haberdone alſo the Granges, that ſtode withoute the South gate, and the Manour of Weſtley, in which places they burned in corne and graine, to the value of a thouſande pounde.

he Manour
Weſtley
urnt.

The nexte day they entered into the Abbey Court, and burnt all the houſes on the north ſide, as ſtables, Brewhouſes, Bakehouſes, Graynters, and other ſuch houſes of offices, and on the other ſide the Court, they burnt certaine houſes belonging to the Junienerie.

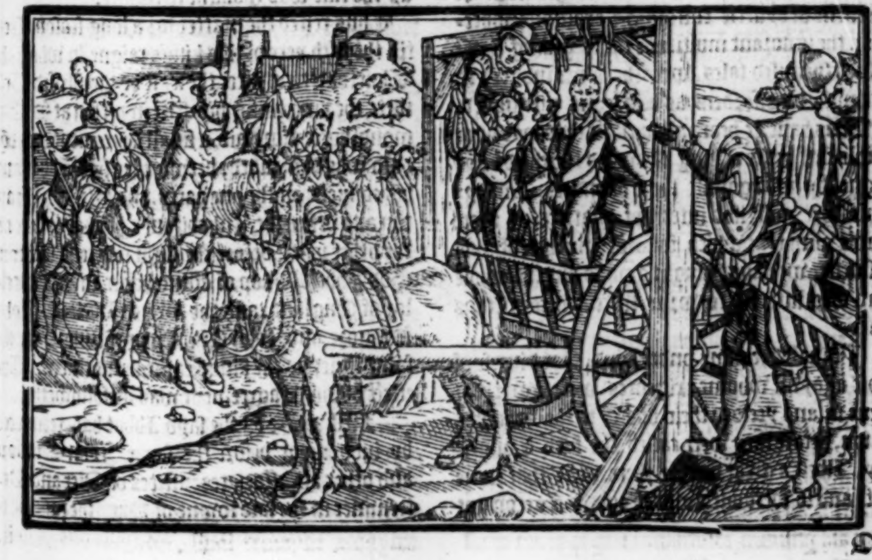
On the next day they burned the Mote hall, and Bradford hall, with the new hall, and diuerſe chambers and ſollers to the ſame halles annexed, with the Chapell of S. Laurence at the ende of the hoſpitall hall. Alſo the Manor of Eldhall, the Maner of Horninger, with all the corne & grain within and about the ſame. The next day they burnt the ſoller of ẏ Sollerer, with a chapel there: alſo the kytchen, the larder, and a part of the Farmarie. On the Thurſday they burnt the reſidue of the Farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a Chapell of S. Andrew therein.

In executing of all theſe riotous diſorders, one Geffrey Morſeman was an ayder, who wyth diuerſe other perſons vnknowne, departed forth of the towne of Burie, & by the aſſent of the other his complices he burnt the Manor of Fornham.

he Manour
Fornham
rnt.

The ſame day alſo other of their companie, as William the ſonne of James Meketon, Raufe Grubbe, Richard Rery, and a great number of other perſones vnknowne, by the aſſent and abbetment of the other that committed the ſayd diſorders, burnt two Manors belonging alſo to the ſayde Abbey in great Berton, with all the corne and graine there founde.

Upon knowledge had of theſe great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commiſſion directed from the king, vnto Thomas Earle of Norfolk high Marſhall of Englãd, to Thomas Barduik, Robert Morley, Peter Wedall, John Howard, and John Walkfare, authoriſing them with ẏ power of the counties of Suffolk & Norffolke, to apprehend, trie and puniſh, ſuch lewde diſordred perſons, & rebellious malefactors, which had committed ſuch felonious enterprices, to the breach of the kings peace, & daungerous diſquieting of his ſubiects: but the ſaid Commiſſioners proceeded not according to the effect of their Cõmiſſion in triall of any felonies by the ſame perſons committed and done, but onely cauſed them to be indited of treſpas. Albeit Robert Walkfare, and John Clauer, with their aſſociates Juſtices of peace, in their Seſſions holden at Eluedon the Tueſday next after the feaſt of the Apoſtles Simon and Jude, in the ſayd firſt yeare of this king Edward the third, proceeded in ſuch wiſe againſt the ſayd Malefactors, ẏ John de Berton Cordwayner, Robert Forton, and a great number of other were indyted of felonie, for the myſdemeanours afore mentioned, and the Indytements ſo founde were after ſent and preſented vnto John Stonore, Walter de Friſkeney, Robert Malberthorpe, and John Bouſſer, who by vertue of the kings Commiſſion of Oier & Determiner to the directed, ſat at S. Edmundſbury the Wedneſday next after the feaſt of Saint Lucie the virgin, and then and there ſent forth precepts to the Sherife, commaunding him to apprehende the ſayd Berton, Forton, and others, that were indyted of the forſayde felonies, and alſo to returne a ſufficient Jurie to trie vpon theyr arraignment the ſayde Malefactors by order of law, the Fryday next after the ſayde feaſt of Saint Lucie. Hereupon Alane de Latoner, and Robert Dalling, with. xvij. others, being arraigned, were founde guiltie, and ſuffered death according to the order appoynted for felons.



One Adam Miniot ſtode mute, and refuſed to be tryed by his countrey, and ſo was preſſed to death, as the law in ſuch caſe appoynteth.

Diuerſe other were ſaued by their bookes, according to the order of Clerkes conuict, as Alexander Brid perſon of Hogeſete, Iohn Rugham perſon of little Welnetham, Iohn Berton Cordwayner, and diuers other.

Some were repriued, as one woman named Iulian Barbor, who being big bellied was reſpited, till ſhe were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio, and Robert Ruſſell were repriued, and committed to the ſafe keeping of the Sherife, as triers or appeachers (as we terme them) of other offenders: and bycauſe there was not anye as yet attached by theyr appeales, they were commaunded againe to priſon.

One Robert de Creſwell was ſaued by the kings letters of ſpecial pardon, which he had there readie to ſhew. As for Robert Forton, Adam Cokefielde, and a great number of other, whome the Sherife was commaunded to apprehende, hee returned that he coulde not heare of them within the precinct of his Baylifewike, whereupon exigentes were awarded agaynſt them, & the Sherif was cōmaunded, that if he might come to attach them, he ſhould not fayle but ſo to do, and to haue theyr bodies there at Burie before the ſayde Iuſtices, the Thurſday in Whitſunweeke next enſuing.

Diuerſe alſo were arraigned the ſame time of the ſayd felonies, and therof acquited, as Michael Scabaille, Rauſe Smermonger, and others. In dede thoſe that were founde guiltie, and ſuffred, were the chiefe authours, and procurors of the cōmotion, bearing others in hande, that the Abbot had in his cuſtodie a certaine Charter, wherin the king ſhould grant to the inhabitants of the town of Burie, certaine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were free, and diſcharged from the payment of dyuerſe cuſtomes & exactions: wherupon the ignorant multitude eaſily giuing credit to ſuch furniſed tales, were the ſooner induced to attempt ſuch diſorders as before are mentioned.

The common people often deceyued by lewde informations.

Thus haue ye heard all in effect that was done in this firſt yeare of king Edward the thirde hys raigne, by and agaynſt thoſe offenders. But bycauſe wee will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this buſineſſe, we haue thought good to put the whole that wee intende to write thereof here in thys place.

Ye ſhall therefore underſtand, that diuerſe of thoſe agaynſt whome exigentes were awarded, came in, and yeelded their bodies to the Sherifes priſon, before they were called the fifth Countie day. Albeit a great meinie there were that came not, and ſo were outlawed. Robert Forton got the kings pardon, and ſo purchaſing forth a Superſedias, the ſute thereupon agaynſt him was ſtayed.

Rober
pardoned.

The Sherife therefore in Whitſunweeke in the ſeconde yeare of this kings raigne, made hys returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Ruſſell, and Iulian Barbor, that hee deliuered them vnto the Baylifes of the libertie of the Abbot of Burie, by reaſon of an auncient priuiledge, which the Abbot claymed to belong to hys houſe. The Baylifes confeſſed they had receyued the ſayde priſoners, but forſomuch as they had bene arraigned at a Portmane mote, which was vſed to be kept euery three weekes, and vpon their arraignment were found guiltie of certaine other fellonies, by them committed, within the towne of Burie, and thereupon were put to execution, Adam Finchmā the kings Attourney there, toke it verie euill, and layde it grieuouſly to the charge of the Abbots officers, for their haſtie & preſumptuous proceeding agaynſt the ſayde priſoners, namely bycauſe the ſayde Sio, and Ruſſell were repriued, to the ende that by their vtterance, many heynous offences might haue beene brought to light. The ſame day that is to wit, Thurſday in Whitſunweeke, the foreſayde Robert Forton, & diuerſe other came in, and were attached by the Sherif to anſwere the Abbot to his action of treſpaſſe, which he brought againſt thē, and putting the matter to the triall of an Inqueſt, they were condemned in .lx. M. pounds to be leuied of theyr goods and cattalles to the vſe of the Abbot, and in the meane time they were committed to priſon, but firſte they made ſute that they might bee put to their fines, for their offences committed agaynſt the kings peace, & their requeſt in that behalf was graunted, ſo that vpon putting in ſufficient ſureties for their good abearing, their fines were aſſeſſed, as ſome at more and ſome at leſſe, as the caſe was thought to require.

A priuile

Portman

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Thus reſted the matter for a long ſeaſon after, till the fifth yere of this kings raigne, in which the Thurſday next after the feaſt of the bleſſed Trinitie, the king being himſelfe in perſon at S. Edmondſburie aforeſaid, a finall agreement and cōcord was concluded, betwixt the ſaid Abbot and his conuent on the one party, and Richard Drayton and other the Inhabitants of that towne on the other party, before the right reuerend father in God Iohn Biſhop of Wincheſter and Chancellor of England, and the kings Iuſtices, Iohn Stonore, and Iohn Cambridge ſitting there the ſame time, by the kings commaundement. The effect of which agreement was as followeth.

An agre

First where as the ſayd Abbot had recouered by iudgement before the ſayde Iohn Stonore and other his aſſociates iuſtices of Oier and Determiner in the ſaid towne of Bury the ſumme of

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ment.

vij.ſcore thouſand poundes for treſpaſſes to him and his houſe cōmitted and done, by the ſaid Richard Drayton, and other the inhabitāts of Burye: nowe at the deſyre of the ſayde Kyng, and for other good reſpectes hym mouyng, hee pardoned and releaſed vnto the ſayde Rycharde Drayton, and to other the inhabitantes of Burie, to their heires, executours, and aſſignees the ſum of, 122333. pounds. viij. ß. 8. d. of the ſaide total ſum of. 140000. pounds. And further the ſaid Abbotte and Conuent graunted and agreed for them and theyr ſucceſſours, that if the ſayd Richarde Drayton, and other the inhabitantes of the ſayd towne of Bury, or any of them, their heyres, executours, or aſſignees, ſhould paye to the ſayd Abbot and Conuent, or their ſucceſſors within twentie yeares next enſuyng the date of that preſent agreement, two thouſande markes, that is to ſaye, one hundred markes yearely at the feaſtes of Saincte Michaell and Eaſter, by euen portions: that then the ſayde Richarde and other the inhabitauntes of the Towne of Bury ſhoulde bee acquited and diſcharged of foure thouſand markes parcell of, 17666, pounds. xiij. ß. iiij. d. reſidue behynde for euer.

Moreouer, wheras the ſaid Abbot & conuent, and the ſaid Abbot by himſelf, ſith the. xix. yeare of the reigne of king Edwarde the ſeconde vnto that preſent tyme, had ſealed certayne charters, deedes, and writinges, as well with the proper ſeale of the Abbot, as with the common ſeale of the Abbot and conuent, if the ſayd Richard & the inhabitants of the ſaid town of Bury did reſtore vnto the ſaid abbot & conuent all the ſame writings, or take ſuche order, that neither the Abbotte nor conuent be impleaded, or in any wyſe hindred, endamaged nor moleſted by force of the ſame: & further if neither the ſaid Richard, nor any the inhabitantes of the ſayde towne, nor their heires, executors nor aſſignes, ſhall goe about to reuerſe the iudgemēnts againſt them, at the ſuite of the ſaid Abbot, nor ſhall ſeeke to impeache the executions of the ſame iudgements by any falſe or forged acquitāces or releaſes, nor implead nor moleſt any of the Jurie, by whome they wer cōuict, yͭ then they & their heires, executors & aſſigns ſhal be acquited & diſcharged of. x. M. li. parcel of the ſaid. 17666. li. xiii. ß. iiij. d. And furthermore if yͤ ſaid Richard & other the inhabitāts of yͤ ſaid towne of Bury, do not hereafter maliciouſly riſe againſt the ſaid Abbot or conuente, nor ſeeke to vexe them by any conſpiracie, confederacie, or by ſome other ſecrete vniuſt cauſe, nor lykewyſe euill intreate any man by reaſon of the inditement founde agaynſt them, nor yet clayme to haue any Corporation of themſelues, within that towne, that then the ſayde Richarde, and the ſayde Inhabitauntes, theyr heyres, ſucceſſours, and aſſignees, ſhall remayne acquyted and diſcharged of al the reſidue of the ſaid 17666. poundes thirteene ſhillings foure pens for euer: and the ſayde Abbot and conuent do graunt for them and their ſucceſſours, that their intention is not, that if any ſingular perſon of his owne priuate malice, ſhall riſe agaynſte the ſayd Abbot and conuent, their ſucceſſoures, Monkes, Baylyffes, or ſeruauntes, to do them, or any of them iniurie or diſpleaſure, that thoſe which be not partakers of the offence, ſhall bee in anye wyſe puniſhed for the ſame, ſo that the offenders bee not maynteyned by any of the ſame towne, but that the inhabitauntes there, doe aſſiſt the Abbot and conuent their ſucceſſoures, Bayliffes, ſeruauntes and officers, that the ſame offenders, may be puniſhed, according to theyr demerites as reaſon and lawe ſhall allowe.

Thys was the effecte of the agreemente at length had and made betwixte the Abbot and Monkes of Burye on the one parte, and the inhabitauntes of that towne on the other parte, and for the more confirmation thereof it pleaſed the King to put his Seale to the charter conteyning the ſame agreement. But howe ſoeuer it chaunced it ſhoulde appeare by ſuche recordes as came to the hands of maiſter Foxe as he alledgeth in the firſte tome of his booke of actes and monumentes, this agreement was but ſorilye kept: for diuers of the former offenders bearing grudge towardes the abbot for breaking promiſſe with them at London, did confederate themſelues togither, and priuily in the night comming to the Mannor of Chenington where the abbot then did lye, braſte open the gates, and entring by force, firſt bounde all his ſeruants, and after they had robbed the houſe, they took the abbot, and ſhauing hym, ſecretely conueyed him to London, and there remouing hym from ſtreete to ſtreete vnknowne, hadde hym ouer the Thames into Kent, and at lengthe tranſported hym ouer vnto Diſte in Brabant, where they kept him for a time in much penurie thraldome and miſerie, vntill at length the matter being vnderſtood, they were al excōmunicate, firſt by the Archb. and after by the Pope. At the laſt his frendes hauing knowledge where he was, they found meanes to deliuer him out of the hādes of thoſe theues, & finally brought him home with proceſſion, & ſo he was reſtored to his houſe again. Thus muche touching thoſe troubles betwixt the townſmē of Bury & the abbot & Monks there, & now we wil return to other general matters touching the publike ſtate of the realme. And firſt you ſhal vnderſtād yͭ in the beginning of this kings raign the land truly ſeemed to be bleſſed of God: for the earth became fruitful, the aire temperate; & the ſea calme & quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder yͤ gouernmēt of other, neuertheles he begā within a ſhort time to ſhew tokēs of gret towardnes, framing his mind

This mighte come to paſſe before the agreement was made in the. v. yeare of the Kyngs raigne as aboue is mentioned, and ſo thereupon he mighte be reſtored.

to graue deuices, and fyrſt he prepared to make a iorney agaynſt the Scottiſhemen, the whiche in his fathers tyme had done ſo many diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen, and nowe vpon confidence of his minoritie, ceaſſed not to inuade the borders of his realme, & namely the verie ſelfe nyght that folowed the day of this kinges coronation, they had thoughte by ſkalyng to haue ſtolne the Caſtell of Norham: but Robert Maners Captayne of that place, vnderſtandyng of their enterpriſe aforehand by a Scottiſhman of the garniſon there, ſo well prouided for their comming, that where a ſixetene of them boldely entred vpon the wall, he ſlew nyne or ten of them, and toke fiue.

R. Southwell.

Robert Manners capitayne of Norham caſtell.

This was thoughte an euill token, that they ſhuld ſtill be put to the worſe in this kyngs time, ſith they had ſo badde ſucceſſe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purpoſes, about Sainte Margarettes tyde inuaded the lande with three armies, the Earle of Murrey hauyng the leading of one of the ſame armies, and James Douglas of another, the third was guyded by the Earle of Mar.

The Scots inuade Englande.

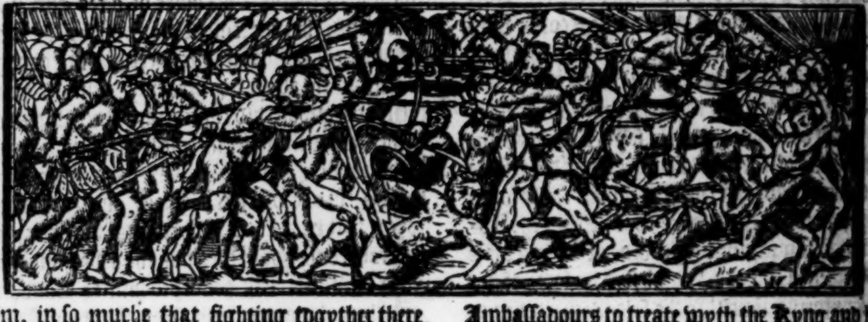
Kyng Edwarde aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled not onely a great power of Engliſhmen, but alſo required John Lorde Beaumonte of Heynault, whome he had lately ſente home ryght honourably rewarded for his good aſſiſtaunce, to come againe into Englande, wyth certayn bandes of men at armes, and he ſhould receyue wages and good entertainement for them.

The lo
mont of Hay
nault.

The Lorde Beaumount, as one that loued deedes of armes, was glad to accompliſhe kyng Edwardes requeſte: and ſo therupon with ſeuen hundred menne at armes, or fyue hundred, (as Froiſſart hath) came ouer into England agayn, to ſerue agaynſt the Scottes.

Caxton.

The generall aſſemble of the armie was appoynted to bee at Yorke, and thyther came the ſayd lorde Beaumont with his people, and was ioyfully receyued of the Kyng and his Lordes.



Here whyleſt not onely the Scottiſhe ambaſſadours, (whiche had bin ſente to treat of peace, were hearde to tell their meſſage) but alſo whyleſt the Counſell tooke ſome leyſure in debatyng the matter howe to guyde theyr enterpryſe, whiche they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie Sunday, it chanced that there aroſe contention within the Citie of Yorke, betwixte the Engliſhe archers, and the Straungers, whiche the Lorde Beaumount of Haynnault had broughte wyth hym, in ſo muche that fighting togyther there were ſlayne to the number of foure ſcore perſons of thoſe archers, whiche were buried within the Churche of Saint Clement in Foſgate.

An affraye betwixt the Engliſhe archers and the Hennuyers.

Caxton.

Some write, that ther wer ſlayn to the number of three hundreth Engliſhemenne: yet bycauſe the Haynuyers came to ayde the Kyng, their peace was cried vppon paine of life. And further, it was founde by an enqueſt of the citie, that the quarrell was begunne by the Engliſhemen, the which as ſome write were of the Lincolne ſhire men, of thoſe that ſometyme belonged to the Spencers, and to the Earle of Arundell, ſo that there was cauſe, why they bare euill will to the Haynnuyers whych had aided (as ye haue heard, to bring the ſaide Earle and Spencers to their confuſion.

Froiſſart.

Caxton.

Froiſſart.

In this meane time the Scottes beeyng entred into Englande, hadde done muche hurt, and were come as farre as Stannop Parke in Wyredale: and though they hadde ſent theyr Imbaſſadours to treate wyth the Kyng and hys counſell for peace, yet no concluſyon followed of their talke.

Stanhop parke.

Caxton.

At the ſame tyme, bycauſe the Engliſh ſouldiours of this armie were cloathed all in coates and hoodes embroudred with Floures and braunches verye ſeemely, and vſed to nouriſhe theyr beardes: the Scottes in deriſion thereof, made a ryme, whiche they faſtned vppon the Church dores of Sainct Peter towarde Stangate, conteyning as followeth.

Long beardes, harteleſſe,
Paynted hoodes, wytleſſe,
Gaye coates, graceleſſe,
Make Englande thriftleſſe.

A ryme in deriſion of the Engliſhmen.

The Kyng when he ſawe it was but a vaine thing to ſtay any longer in cōmunication with the Imbaſſadors about peace, departed frō Yorke with his puiſſant armie, and getting knowledge how the Scots were cloſely lodged in the woods of Stanop parke, he cōmeth & ſtoppeth all the paſſages, ſo it was thought that he ſhould haue had them at his pleaſure, but through treaſon (as was after reported) of the Lord Roger Mortymer, after that the Scottes had bin kepte within their lodgings for the ſpace of fifteene dayes, till they were almoſte famiſhed, they did not onely fynd a way out, but about two hundred of them vnder the leading of the Lorde William Douglas, aſſayling that part of the Engliſh campe where the kings Tent ſtoode, in the night ſeaſon, miſſed not muche of eyther taking the King or ſleayng hym: And hauing done hurte ynough other wayes, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle is alſo touched, they followed their companye, and with them retourned into Scotlande wythoute impeachement.

Froiſſart. The lorde Douglas.

It is ſayde, that Henry Earle of Lancaſter, and John the lord Beaumont of Heynalt wold gladly haue paſſed ouer the water of Wyre, to haue aſſayled the Scots, but the Erle of March through counſell of the Lord Mortimer pretending to haue right to the leading of the fore warde and to the giuyng the of onſet firſte, woulde not ſuffer them.

Howe ſoeuer it was, the Kyng miſſed hys purpoſe, and right penſiue therfore, brake vp his fielde, and retourned vnto London.

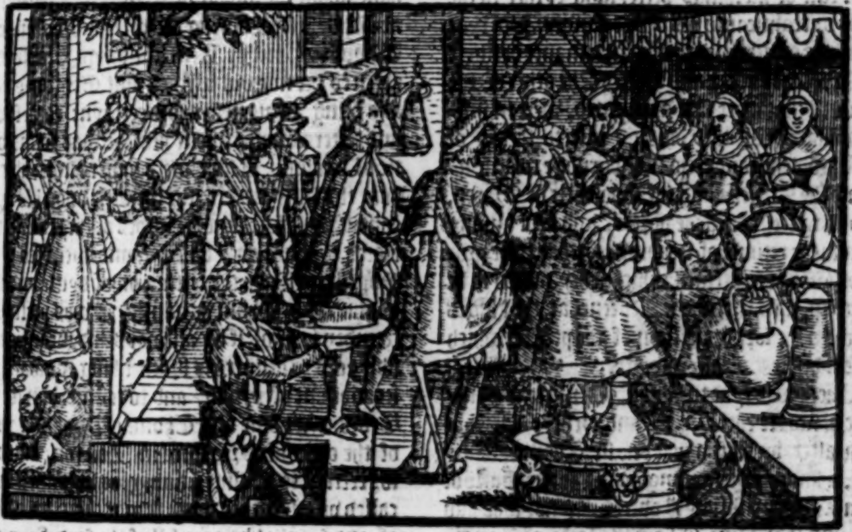
Walter Biſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe in Nouember, and then Simon Mepham was aduaunced to the gouernemente of that ſea.

The Lorde Beaumont returned home. *Polidore.*

The Lorde Beaumount of Heynalt was honorably rewarded for his paynes and trauayle, and then licenced to returne into his countreye, where he had not bene long, but that through his meanes, (then as ſome write) the mariage was concluded betwene king Edward, and the Lady Philip daughter to William Earle of Haynault and neece to the ſayde Lorde Beaumount, who had the charge to ſee hir brought ouer hither into Englande about Chriſtmaſſe. Where in the citie of Yorke vpon the euen of the Conuerſion of Saint Paule, being Sunday, in the latter ende of the firſt yeare of his raigne, Kyng Edward

Fabian.

1328



ſolemnely maryed hir.

An. reg. 2. parliament Northamp- on.

In the ſeconde yeare of his reigne aboute the feaſt of Penticoſt, king Edward helde a parliament at Northampton, at the which parliament by euill and naughtie counſell, whereof the lord Roger Mortymer and the Queene mother bare the blame, the Kyng concluded wyth the Scottiſh King both an vnprofitable and a diſhonorable peace.

A diſhonourabl eace.

For firſte, hee releaſſed to the Scottes their fealtie and homage. Alſo hee delyuered vnto them certayne olde aunciente writings, ſealed with the ſeales of the Kyng of Scottes, and of dyuers Lordes of the lande both Spirituall and Temporall: Amongeſt the whyche, was that Indenture, whyche they called Ragman, with many other Charters and patents, by the which the kinges of Scotlande were bounde as feodaries vnto the Crowne of Englande, at whiche ſeaſon alſo were deliuered certain Jewels, which before tyme had beene wonne from the Scottes by Kynges of Englande, and among other, the blacke Croſſet or Roode is ſpecially named.

agman.

R. Fabian. *Caxton.*

The blacke Croſſe.

And not onely the King by his ſiniſter counſell loſte ſuche ryghte and title as he had to the realme of Scotlande, ſo farre as by the ſame Counſell myght bee deuyſed, but alſo the Lordes and Barons, and other menne of England that had any landes or rentes within Scotlande, loſte theyr ryghte in lyke manner, except they woulde dwell vppon the ſame landes, and become liege menne to the Kyng of Scotlande. Hereuppon was there alſo a marryage concluded betwyxte Dauid Bruce the ſonne of

A marriage concluded.

Ione make peace.

Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the Ladie Jane ſiſter to king Edwarde, whiche of diuers writers is ſurnamed Joan, of the Tower, and the Scots ſurnamed hir halfe in deriſion, Joan make peace.

R. Southwell.

This marriage was ſolemniſed at Berwike vpon the day of Mary Magdalen. The Queene with the Biſhops of Elye, & Norwich, the Erle Warreyn, the Lorde Mortimer, and diuers other Barons of the lande, and a great multitude of other people were preſente at that marriage, whyche was celebrate wyth all honoure that might bee.

Tho VValſ.
Adam Merimouth.
Polidore.
Creations of Earles.

After the Quindene of Saincte Michael, K. Edwarde helde a parliamente at Saliſbury, in whiche the Lorde Roger Mortymer was created Earle of Marche, the Lorde John of Eltham the kings brother, was made erle of Cornwall, and the Lorde James Butler of Irelande, Erle of Ormonde who aboute the ſame tyme had marryed the Earle of Herefordes daughter.

The Earle of Marche ruleth all thinges at his pleaſure.

Caxton.

But the Earle of March toke the moſt part of the rule of all things perteyning eyther to the King or realme into his owne handes: So that the whole gouernment reſted in a maner betwixt the Queene mother and hym. The other of the Counſell that were firſt appoynted, were in maner diſplaced: for they bare no rule to ſpeake of at all, whiche cauſed no ſmall grudge to ariſe againſt the Queene and the ſayd Erle of March, who maynteyned ſuche portes, and kept among them ſuche retinue of ſeruauntes, that their prouiſion was wonderfull, whiche they cauſed to be taken vp, namely for the Queene, at the kinges price, to the ſore oppreſſion of the people, which toke it diſpleaſauntly ynough.

The Earle of Lancaſter.

Robert Hollande ſlayne.

The Archbiſh. of Canterburye vvas the chiefe procurer of the agreement and reconciliation of the erle, (as Merimouth hath.)

There was lyke to haue growen great varyance betwixte the Queene and Henrye Earle of Lancaſter, by reaſon that one ſir Thomas Wither, a knighte pertayning to the ſayde Earle of Lancaſter, had ſlayne Robert Hollande, who had betrayed ſometyme Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, and was after committed to pryſon by Earle Henries meanes, but the Queene had cauſed hym to be ſet at libertie, and admitted him as one of hir counſell. The Queene would haue had ſir Thomas Wither puniſhed for the murther, but Erle Henry cauſed him to bee kepte out of the way, ſo that for theſe cauſes and other, the Earle Henry of Lancaſter went aboute to make a rebellion, and the Queene hauing knowledge thereof, ſought to apprehende hym: but by the mediation of the Earles Marſhall and Kent, the matter was taken vp, and Erle Henry hadde the kings peace graunted him for the ſumme of xj. M. pound, which he ſhould haue payde, but he neuer payde that fine, though it was ſo aſſeſſed at the time of the agreemente. There were diuers lordes and great men that were confederated with hym, the lord Thomas Wake, the lorde Henry Beaumount, the Lorde Foulke Fitz Warreyn, Sir Thomas Roſſelyn, Sir William Truſſell, and other, to the number of an hundred Knightes.

Adam Me-
rimouth.

1329

An. reg. 3.

In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Aſcention tyde, King Edwarde wente ouer into Fraunce, and comming to the Frenche Kyng Philyp de Valoys, as then being at Amyens, did there his homage vnto him for yͤ duchie of Guyenne (as in the Frenche hiſtorie appeareth.)

The ſame yeare Simon the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie helde a Synode at London, wherein all thoſe were excommunicated that were gyltie to the death of Walter Stapleton Biſhop of Exceſter, that had bin put to deth by the Londoners, as in the laſt kings tyme ye haue heard.

This Biſhop of Exceſter founded Exceſter colledge in Oxford, and Harts hall. But nowe to the purpoſe.

Tho. VVal
R. Southw
Additi
to Meri.

Tho. Dun
& Fryer.

Tho. VVal

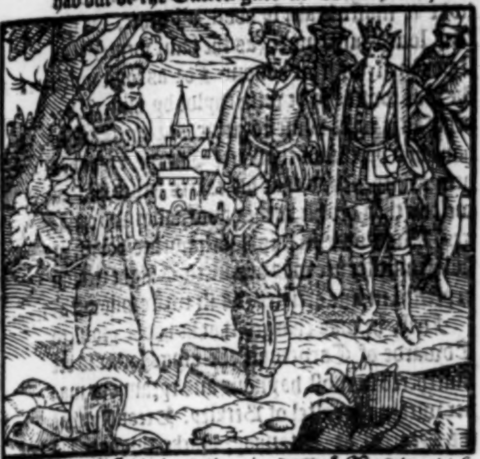
The king aboute the beginning, or as other haue, about the middle of Lent, held a parliamēt at Wincheſter, during the whiche Edmunde of Woodſtock, erle of Kent, the kings Uncle was arreſted the morow after Saint Gregories day, and being arraigned vpon certayne confeſſions and letters founde about him, he was found giltie of treaſon. There were dyuers in trouble about the ſame matter, for the Erle vpon his open confeſſion before ſundrie lordes of the realme, declared, that not only by cōmaundement from the Pope, but alſo by the ſetting on of dyuers nobles of this land (whom he named) he was perſuaded to endeuor himſelf by all ways and meanes poſſible how to deliuer his brother king Edwarde the ſeconde out of priſon, and to reſtore him to the Crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a Frier of the order of Preachers in London, affirmed for certain to be aliue, hauing (as he himſelf ſaid) called vp a ſpirite to vnderſtande the truthe thereof, and ſo what by counſell of the ſayd Frier, and of three other Friers of the ſame order, he hadde purpoſed to worke ſome meane howe to deliuer hym, and to reſtore hym agayne to the kingdome

Among the letters that were founde about him diſcloſing a greate part of his practiſe, ſome there were, whiche he had written, and directed vnto his brother the ſayd king Edwarde, as by ſome writers it ſhoulde appeare.

1330

An. reg. 4.

The Biſhop of London and certayne other great perſonages, whome he hadde accuſed, were permitted to go at libertie, vnder ſureties taken for their good demeanour and foorth comming. But Roberte de Touton, and the Frier that hadde rayſed the Spirite for to knowe whether the Kynges father were lyuyng or not, were committed to priſon, wherein the Fryer remayned tyll he dyed. The Earle hymſelfe was had out of the Caſtell gate at Wincheſter, and



he Earle of
ent beheaded.

there loſt his head the .xix. day of Marche, chiefly (as was thought) through the malice of the Queene mother, and of the Earle of Marche: whoſe pride and hygh preſumption the ſayd Erle of Kente myght not well abyde.

aughtye ſer-
antes bryng
e maiſter into
iſfauour.

His death in deede was the leſſe lamented, bycauſe of the preſumptuous gouernement of hys ſeruantes and retinue, whiche he kept aboute him, for that they riding abrode, woulde take vp thinges at their pleaſure, not paying nor agreeyng with the partie to whome ſuche things belonged.

he blacke
ince borne.

The yong Queene Philippe was brought to bedde at Woodſtocke the .xv. day of June of hir firſte ſonne, the whyche at the Fontſtone was named Edwarde, and in proceſſe of tyme came to greate prayſe of famous chiualrye, as in this booke ſhall more playnely appeare. He was commonly named when hee came to rype yeares, Prynce Edwarde, and alſo ſurnamed the blacke Prince.

Croxden.
An Eclipſe.

The ſixteenth day of July chaunced a great Eclipſe of the Sunne, and for the ſpace of two Monethes before, and three monethes after, there fell exceding greate rayne, ſo that through the greate intemperancie of wether, corne could not rypen, by reaſon whereof, in many places they beganne not harueſt tyll Michaelmaſſe, and in ſome place, they inned not their wheate tyll Allhallontyde, nor their peaſe tyl S. Andrews tyde.

A late harueſt.

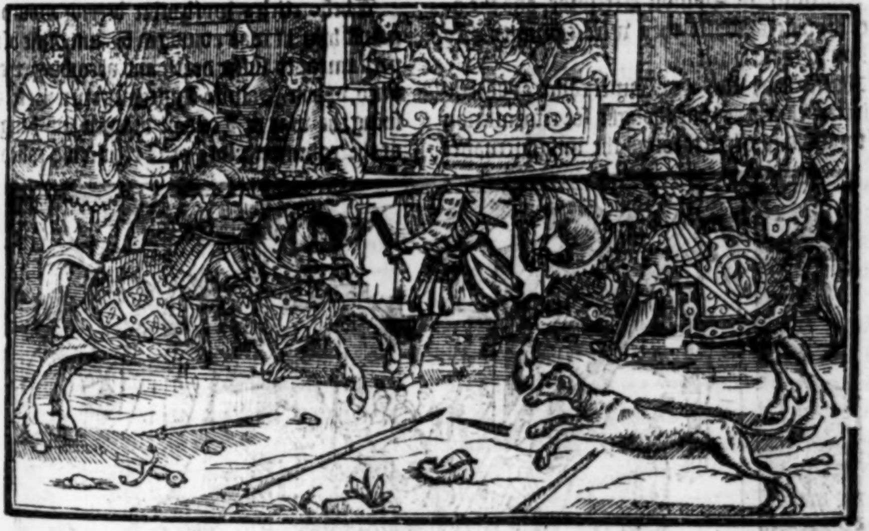
A mightye
vvinde.

On Chriſtmaſſe euen, aboute the breake of day, a meruaylous ſore and terrible wynd came forthe of the weſte, whyche ouerthrewe houſes and buyldings, ouerturned trees by the rootes, and did muche hurte in diuers places.

This yeare ſhortely after Eaſter, the Kyng wyth the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and the lord William Montacute hauing not paſſe fifteene horſes in their company paſſed the ſea, apparelled in cloakes like to marchauntes, he lefte his brother the Earle of Cornewall his deputie, and gardian of the realme till his retourne.

Moreouer, he cauſed it to bee proclaymed in London, that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other purpoſe. He retourned before the laſt ende of Aprill, and then was there holden a Tornay at Dertford.

The Monday after Saint Mathewes day in September the Kyng helde a ſolemne Juſtes in Cheape ſyde, betwixt the greate Croſſe and Soper lane, he with .xiij. as Chalengers, anſwering all defendants that came. This ſolemne Juſtes and tourney continued .iij. dayes.



The Queene with many Ladies beeing preſente at the ſame, fell beſyde a ſtage, but yet as good happe would, they had no hurte by that fall, to the reioycing of many that ſaw them in ſuche danger, & yet ſo luckily to eſcape without harme.

Alſo in a Parliament holden at Notingham, aboute Saincte Lukes tyde, Syr Roger Mortimer tymer the Earle of Marche was apprehended the ſeuententh daye of October within the Caſtell of Notyngham, where the Kyng with the two Queenes, his mother and his wife, and diuers other were as then lodged: and thoughe the keyes of the Caſtell were dayly and nightly in the cuſtodie of the ſayd Earle of March, and that his power was ſuche, as it was doubted howe he myght be arreſted: for he hadde as ſome writers affirme at that preſente in retinue nyne ſcore knights, beſyde Eſquires, Gentlemen and yeomen: yet at lengthe by the kings healpe, the Lorde William Montacute, the Lorde Humfreye de Bohun, and his brother ſir William, the Lorde Raufe Staffords, the Lorde Robert Vfforde, the Lorde William Clinton, the Lorde Iohn Neuill of Hornbie, and diuers other, whiche had accuſed the ſayd Earle of March for the murder of Kyng Edwarde the ſeconde, founde meanes by intelligence had with ſir William de Elande Conneſtable of the Caſtell of Notingham, to take the ſayd Earle of March wyth his ſonne the Lorde Roger or Geffreye Mortimer, and ſir Simon Bereforde, with other.

Additions to Triuet.

Sir Hugh Trumpington or Turrington (as ſome Copies haue) that was one of his chiefeſt frendes, with certayne other were ſlayn, as they were aboute to reſiſt agaynſt the Lorde Montacute, and his companie in taking of the ſayd erle.

The maner of his taking I paſſe ouer, bicauſe of the diuerſitie in report thereof by ſundry writers. From Notingham he was ſent vp to London with his ſonne the Lorde Roger or Geffrey de Mortimer, ſir Symon Bereforde, and the other pryſoners, where they were committed to priſon in the Tower.

Shortly after was a parliamẽt called at Weſtminſter, chiefly as was thought for reformation of things diſordered through the miſgouernance of the Earle of Marche.

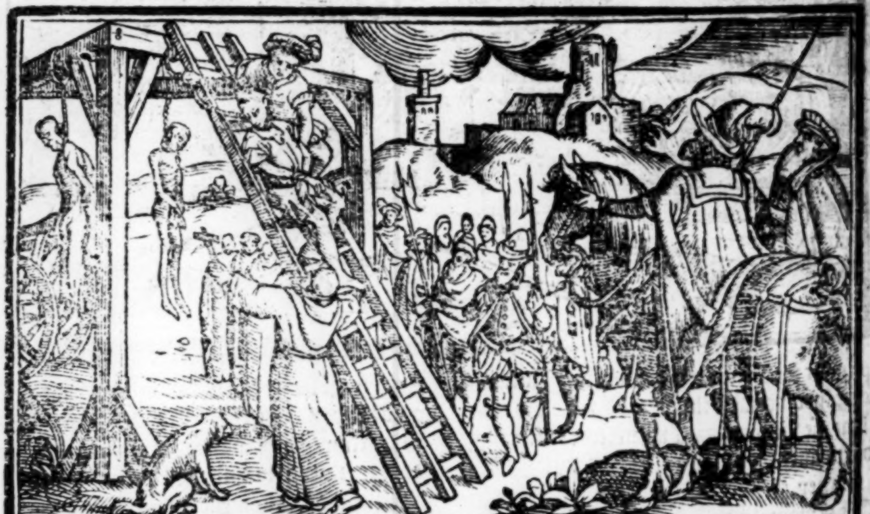
But who ſoeuer was glad or ſory for the trouble of the ſayd Earle, ſurely the Queene mother tooke it moſte heauyly aboue all other, (as ſhe that loued him more (as the fame wente) than ſtoode well with hir honour. For as ſome write, ſhe was founde to be with chylde by him. They kepte as it were houſe togither, for the Earle to haue hys prouiſion the better Cheape, layde hys penye with hirs, ſo that hir takers ſerued him as well as they did hir bothe of victualles and cariages. But nowe in this Parliamente holden at Weſtminſter hee was attainted of highe treaſon expreſſed in fiue articles, as in effecte followeth.

Ma. Par.

The Earle of Marche attainted.

Firſt, he was charged that he hadde procured Edwarde of Carneruan the kings father to bee murthered in moſt haynous and tyrannous maner within the caſtel of Berkley. Secondly, that the Scottes at Stanhope Parke throughe his meanes eſcaped. Thirdy, that he receiued at the hands of the lord Iames Douglas, at that time generall of the Scottes, great ſummes of money to execute that treaſon, and further to conclude the peace vppon ſuche diſhonorable couenantes as was accorded with the Scottes at the parliament of Northampton. Fourthely, that hee had gotte into his handes a greate parte of the Kyngs treaſure, and waſted it. Fyfthly, that hee hadde impropried vnto hym dyuers wardes that belonged vnto the Kyng: and had bin more priuie wyth Queene Iſabell the Kyngs mother, than ſtood eyther with Gods law, or the kynges pleaſure.

Theſe articles wyth other beeyng proued againſt him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the parliament to ſuffer death, and according therevnto, vppon Saincte Andrewes euen nexte enſuing, he was at London drawen and hanged, at the common place of Execution, called in



thoſe

Adam Meremuth.
The Earle of Marche executed.

thoſe dayes the Elmes, and nowe Tyborne, as in ſome bookes we fynde. His bodie remayned two dayes and two nightes on the Gallowes, and after taken downe was deliuered to the Friers Minors, who buryed him in their church the morrowe after he was deliuered to them, with greate pompe and funerall exequies, althoughe afterwardes, hee was taken vp and carried vnto Wigmore, whereof he was lorde. He came not to his anſwere in iudgement, no more than anye other of the nobilitie had done, ſince the death of Thomas Earle of Lancaſter.

Syr Symon Bereford executed.

Syr Symon de Bereford knyghte that had bene one of the kings Iuſtices, was drawne alſo and hanged at London, vpon S. Lucies day.

In this parliament holden at Weſtminſter the Kyng toke into his handes by aduice of the eſtates there aſſembled, all the poſſeſſions, landes and reuenues that belonged to the Queene his mother, ſhe hauing aſſigned to hir a thouſande poundes by yeare, for the maintenaunce of hir eſtate, being appointed to remayne in a certayne place, and not to goe elſe where abroade: yet the King to comforte hir, woulde lyghtely euerye yeare once come to viſite hir.

Some bookes haue three thouſande pound.

Adam Mermouth.

After that the Earle of Marche was executed (as ye haue hearde) dyuers noble men that were departed the Realme, bycauſe they coulde not abyde the pride and preſumption of the ſayd Earle, nowe returned: As the ſonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundell, the Lorde Thomas Wake, the Lorde Henry Beaumont, ſir Thomas de Roſſelyn, ſir Foulke Fitz Warreyne, ſir Gryffyn de la Poole, and dyuers other.

1331.
An. reg. 5.
Edward Balioll commeth into Englande.

In the fifth yeare of King Edwardes reygne, Edward Balioll came forth of Fraunce into Englande, and obteyned ſuche fauour, through the aſſiſtance of the Lorde Henrye Beaumont, the Lord Dauid of Strabogy Earle of Athole, the Lorde Geffrey de Mowbray, the Lord Walter Comyn and other, that king Edward graunted hym licence to make his prouiſion in Englande to paſſe into Scotlande wyth an armye of men to attempte the recouerie of his right to the crowne of Scotlande, with condition that if he recouered it, he ſhoulde acknowledge to holde it of the kyng of Englande as ſuperiour Lorde of Scotlande.

Caxton.
John Barnabie

The commyng awaye of Edwarde Balliolle oute of Fraunce is dyuerſelye reported by writers: ſome ſaye, that hee was ayded by the French king, whoſe ſiſter he had maryed: and other ſaye, that he being in priſon in Fraunce, for the eſcape of an Engliſhman, one John Barnabye Eſquier, which had ſlaine a Frenchman by chance of quarelling in the town of Dampierre, where the ſame Barnabie dwelled with the ſaide Edwarde Balliol, it ſo came to paſſe that the Lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occaſion of buſyneſſe wyth the Frenche Kyng, that fauoured him well came ouer into Fraunce, and there vnderſtanding of Balliols impriſonment, procured his deliueraunce, and brought him ouer into Englande, and cauſed him to remayne in ſecrete wiſe at the Manor of Sandhall vppon Ouſe in Yorkeſhire, with the Ladie Veſcie, till hee had purchaſed the Kinges graunt for him to make his prouiſion of men of warre and ſhips within the Engliſhe dominions.

The Lorde Beaumont.

1332.
An. reg. 6.
Croxden.
The Earle of Gelderlande.

In the ſixte yeare of King Edwards raygne Reignolde Erle of Gelderland maried the Ladie Eleanor ſiſter to this King Edwarde the thirde, who gaue vnto the ſayde Earle wyth hir for hir portion, fifteene thouſande poundes ſterlyng.

Iſabell the kinges daughter was borne alſo this yeare at Wodſtocke. After that Edwarde Balliol had prepared and made readie his purueyances for his iourney, and that his men of warre wer aſſembled & come togither, being in al not paſt fiue hundred men of armes, and about two thouſande archers and other footemen, hee toke the ſea at Rauenſpurgh in Yorkeſhire, and from thence directing his courſe Northewardes, he arriued at length in Scotland, wher he atchiuing great victories (as in the Scottiſhe chronicle yee may reade more at large) was finally crowned king of that Realme. It may ſeeme a wonder to many, that the king of Englande woulde permit Edwarde Balliol to make his prouiſion thus in Englande and to ſuffer his people to ayde him, agaynſte his brother in lawe, Kyng Dauid that had married his ſiſter (as before yee haue hearde.) In deede at the firſte hee was not verie readie to graunt their ſuit that moued it, but at lengthe hee was contented to diſſemble the matter, in hope that if Edwarde Balliol had good ſucceſſe, hee ſhoulde then recouer that againe, whiche by the concluſion of peace during his minoritie, hee had throughe euill counſel, reſigned out of his handes.

Edvvard Balioll crovvned K. of Scotland.

The cauſe that moued K. Edvvarde to ayd the Balioll.

The Scottes neuertheleſſe in December chaſed theyr newe Kyng, Edwarde Balliol out of Scotlande, ſo that hee was faine to retire into Englande, and celebrated the feaſte of the Natiuitie at Carleil, in the houſe of the Friers Minors, and the morrowe after, being Sainct Stephens daye, hee wente into Weſtmerlande, where of the lorde Clifforde hee was right honourably receyued, to whome hee then graunted Douglas Dale in Scotlande, whiche had bene graunted to the ſaide lord Cliffords grandfather in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde the firſt, if hee might at any time recouer the Realme of Scotlande out of his aduerſaries handes.

Ro. Southwell.
Edvvard Balioll chaſed out of Scotlande.
1333.

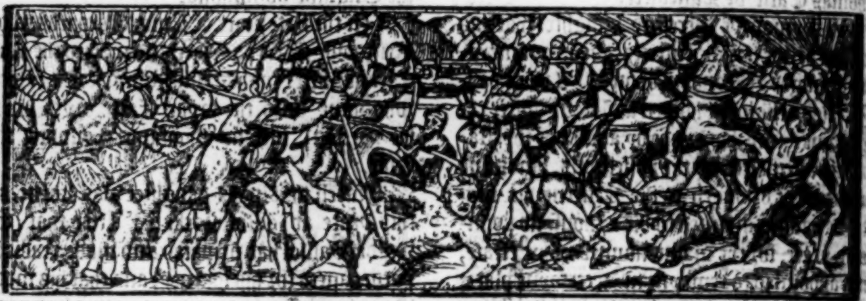
An. reg. 7.

After thys, he went and lay a tyme with the Ladie of Gynes, that was his kinſewoman. Finally about the .x. day of Marche, hauing aſſembled a power of Engliſhemen and Scottiſhmen he entred Scotlande, and beſieged the towne of Berwike, duryng the whyche ſiege, many enterpriſes were attempted by the parties: and amongeſt other, the Scottes entred Englande by Carleile, doing muche miſchiefe in Gilleſlande, by brennyng, killyng, robbing, and ſpoylyng.

Bervvike beſieged.

The king aduertiſed hereof, thought himſelfe diſcharged of the agreement concluded betwixte him and Dauid Bruce, the ſonne of Rob. Bruce that had married hys ſyſter, and therfore toke it to be lawfull for hym to ayde his couſin Edw. Balioll, the lawfull king of Scottes.

And herewyth aſſembling an armie, came to the ſiege of Berwike, together with his brother John of Eltham, Earle of Cornewall, and other noble menne, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible howe to winne the Towne: and finally diſcomfited an armie of Scots, whiche came to the reſkue therof vpon Halidon hill, in ſleaing of them what in the fighte and chaſe, ſeuen Earles, nine hundred knightes and baronnettes, foure hundred Eſquiers, and vpon .xxxij. thouſande of the common people: and of Engliſhmen were ſlain but .xv. perſons, as our Engliſh wryters make mention.



The Scottiſh writers confeſſe, that the Scottiſhemen loſt to the number of .xiiij. thouſande.

Bervvike deliuered.

On the morrowe folowing, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendred vnto king Edward, with the Caſtell, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle ye maye reade, with more matter touchyng the ſiege and battaile aforeſayde, and therefore here in fewe wordes, I paſſe it ouer.

The lord Richard Talbot.

King Edward hauing thus ſped his buſines left a power of men with Edward Baliole, vnder the conduct of the lord Richard Talbot, and returned himſelfe backe into Englande, appoynting the Lorde Percye to bee gouernour of the Towne of Berwike, and ſir Thomas Greye knight, his lieutenant.

The Lorde Iuſtice of Ireland commeth into Scotlande.

The Lord John Darcy, lord chiefe Iuſtice of Irelande, leauyng the Lord Thomas Burgh his deputie in that countreye, paſſed ouer wyth an armye into Scotlande, to ayde the Kyng, who (as ye haue hearde) was there the ſame tyme in perſon. And ſo by the kyng on one ſyde, and by the Iriſhmenne on an other, Scotlande was ſubdued, and reſtored vnto Balliole, who the morrowe after the Octaues of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, helde a Parliament at Sainct Johns towne, in the whiche he reuoked & made voyde all actes, whyche the late King of Scots Roberte Bruce hadde enacted or made: and further ordeyned, that all ſuche landes and poſſeſſions as the ſayde Bruce hadde giuen to any maner of perſon, ſhould bee taken from them, and reſtored to the former and true inheritoure.

Thys yere about the twelfth of October, Simon Mepham Archbiſh. of Canterbury, departed this life, in whoſe place ſucceded John Stratforde, being remoued from the ſea of Wynchester, wherof hee was Biſhoppe, before that hee was thus called to the ſea of Canterbury.

1334

After Candelmaſſe, the Kyng of Englande repaired towardes Yorke, there to holde a parliament, to the whiche (beginnyng the Monday in the ſeconde weeke in Lent,) when Edwarde Balliol doubting to be ſurpriſed by his aduerſaries, coulde not come, hee ſente yet the Lorde Henrie de Beaumont, and the Lorde William de Montacute, to make excuſe for him.

The kyng of Englande, paſſing further into the Northe partes, helde hys Whitſontyde at Newe Caſtell vpon Tyne, with greate royaltie: And ſhortly after, Edward Balioll Kyng of Scottes came thither, and vpon the nintenth daye of June, made his homage vnto the king of Englande, and ſware vnto him fealtie in the preſence of a greate number of Nobles and Gentlemen there aſſembled, as to his ſuperiour and chiefe Lorde of the Realme of Scotlande, byndyng hymſelfe by that othe, to hold the ſame realme of the king of Englande, his heires and ſucceſſors for euer. He alſo gaue & grāted vnto yͤ K. of England at yͭ time .v. coūties next adioyning vnto yͤ borders of Englād, as Berwik and

Rockſburgh, Peplis, and Dunfres, the townes of Hadington and Gedworthe, with the caſtell, the forteſſes of Silkirke, Etherike, and Gedworth, ſo as all theſe portions ſhould be eternely ſeparated from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed vnto the crowne of England for euer. And theſe thinges were confirmed and roborated with othe, ſcepter, and witneſſe ſufficient.

Whiche thinges done in due order as was requiſite, the Kyng of Englande retourned home, and the Kyngs wente backe into Scotlande. And then were all ſuche lordes reſtored againe to their landes and poſſeſſions in Scotlande, whiche in the dayes of Edwarde the ſeconde had bene expulſed from the ſame: and nowe they did theyr homage vnto the King of Scotlande for thoſe landes as apperteyned.

Immediatly after, the Kyng of Englande called a counſell of his Lordes ſpirituall and temporall at Notingham, commaundyng them to meete hym there aboute the thirteenthe daye of July, there to conſult with hym of weightie cauſes concerning the ſtate of the realme.

undation of he ſea.

This yeare on Sainct Clementes daye at night whiche falleth on the three and twentieth of Nouember, throughe a maruellouſe inundation and riſing of the ſea all alongeſt by the coaſtes of this realme, but eſpecially about the Thames, the ſea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of beaſtes and cattaile drowned, fruitfull groundes and paſtures were made ſalte marſhes, ſo as there was no hope that in long time they ſhoulde recouer againe their former fruitfulneſſe.

Ambaſſadors rom the Frẽch ing.

In this meane time, the Frenche Kyng was appointed to haue made a viage againſt the Saracens, enemies of our faith, and had ſente to the Kyng of England, requiring him of his companie in that iourney. But the king of Englande being otherwiſe occupied wyth the affaires of Scotlande, made no direct aunſwere thereunto, ſo that the Frenche kyng perceyuing that the kyng of Englande was not in all things well pleaſed with him, thought good before hee ſet forwarde on that iourney to vnderſtande his meaning, and thereuppon ſente eftſoones vnto him other ambaſſadours. Theſe ambaſſadours arriued here in Englande and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, ſaue that the kyng promiſed to ſende his ambaſſadours ouer into Fraunce to haue further communication in the matter touching ſuche pointes of variaunce as depended betwixt them.

Although Edward Balliol by the puiſſaunce of the king of Englandes aſſiſtaunce had gotte the moſte parte of the Realme of Scotland into his handes, yet diuers caſtels were holden againſte him, and the Scots dayly ſlipped from him, and by open rebellion moleſted him dyuers wayes.

R. Southwell.

A parliamente at London.

The king of England aduertiſed therof called a parliament at London, wherin hee tooke order for his iourney into Scotland, had a tenth and a fifteenth graunted hym, and ſo aboute Hallowtide hee came to Newcaſtell vppon Tine, with his army, and remained there till the feaſt of Saint Katherin, and then entring into Scotlande, came to Rockeſburgh, where he repared the Caſtell which had ben aforetime deſtroyed. After the thirde daye of Chriſtmaſſe was paſt, the kyng of Englande entred into Etthricke foreſt, beating it vp and downe, but the Scottes would not come within his reach: whereupon he ſent the Kyng of Scottes that was there preſent with him, and the Earles of Warwicke and Oxforde and certen other barons and knyghtes wyth theyr retinues vnto Carleil to keepe and defende thoſe Weſt partes of the realme from the Scottes.

The king entreth into Scotland vvith an armie.

1335.

In their iourney thitherwardes, they went by Peplis to apprehend certaine Scots, whome they heard to be lodged & abiding thereabouts, but when they founde them not, they waſted the countrey, and returned ſtreight to Carleil, where after the Epiphanie there aſſembled an armie forthe of the Counties of Lancaſter, Weſtmerland and Cumberland by the kinges appointement, which army togither with the kyng of Scottes and the other Lordes there founde, entred Scotland, and did much hurte in the country of Galloway, deſtroying townes and all that they found abroade, but the people were fled and withdrawen out of theyr way. And when they had taken their pleaſure, the Kyng of Scottes retourned backe to Carleil.

Marl.

A dearth and death of cattel.

This yeare there fell great abundaunce of raine, and thereuppon enſued morraine of beaſtes: alſo corne ſo failed this yeare, that a quarter of wheate was ſolde at fortie ſhillings.

An. reg. 9.

Ambaſſadours ſent into Frãce

Finally when the kyng had finiſhed his buſineſſe in Scotlande, as to his ſeeming ſtoode with his pleaſure, he retourned into England, and ſhortely after hee ſente the Archbyſhoppe of Canterburye, ſir Phillippe de Montacute, and Geffrey Scrope vnto the Frenche king to conclude a firme amitie and league with him.

Theſe Lordes comming into Fraunce, were not at the firſte admitted to the Frenche Kings preſence, till they ſhewed themſelues halfe greeued with that ſtraunge dealing: for then finally were they brought vnto hym, who gentely receyued them, and cauſed the matter to bee entreated of aboute the which they were ſente, in furthering whereof, ſuche diligence was ſed that finally a concluſion of peace and concord was agreed and ſo farre paſſed, that proclamation thereof ſhoulde haue bene made in Paris, and in the countrey thereabout the next day: but vneth were the engliſh Ambaſſadors returned vnto theyr lodgings when they were ſent for back againe, and further informed that the Frenche King minded to haue Dauid king of Scotlande compriſed in the ſame league, ſo that hee might be reſtored vnto his kingdome, and the Balliol put out. The Engliſhe Ambaſſadors anſwered, that their commiſſion extended not ſo farre, and therefore they coulde not conclude any thing therin. Hervppon all the former communication was reuoked, and cleerly made voide, ſo that the engliſhe ambaſſadors retourned home into Englande without any thing concluded.

R. Southwell.
A parliament.

About the feaſte of the Aſcention, the king helde a parliament at Yorke, ordaining for his iourney into Scotlande, and alſo deuiſing by auctoritie thereof dyuers profitable ſtatutes for the common wealthe. Aboute Midſommer, he came with his army vnto Newcaſtell vppon Tine, whether came to him from Carleil the king of Scots, and there order was taken that the Kyng of Englande and his brother the erle of Cornwall, the Earles of Warwike, Lancaſter, Lincolne, and Herforde, with all theyr retinues, and the Earle of Gulickerlande, that had married the Kings ſiſter, and with a faire companie was come to ſerue the Kyng in theſe warres, ſhould paſſe to Carleile, and on the .xij. of July enter Scotland. The king of Scots, the Erles of Surry, and Arundell, and the lord Henry Percy a baron of greate might and power, beyng alſo kin to the king of Scottes, with their retinues ſhoulde goe to Berwicke, and there enter the ſame daye aboue mentioned, and as it was appointed, ſo it was put in practiſe: for bothe the kings the ſame day entring Scotlande in ſeuerall partes, they paſſed forward without reſiſtance at theyr pleaſures, waſting and brenning all the countreys, both on this ſide, and beyonde the Scottiſh ſea. The Welchemen ſpared neyther religious perſons nor their houſes, making no more accompt of them than of others: the mariners of Newcaſtel alſo brent a great parte of the towne of Dundee. The Earle of Namure aboute the ſame tyme comming into Englande to ſerue the king in his warres, tooke vpon him to paſſe into Scotlande wyth a bande of an hundreth men of armes, beſide ſeuen or eighte Knightes whiche he brought ouer with him, and certaine Engliſhemen to be his guides from Barwike, but hee was aſſailed before he coulde get to Edinburgh by the Erles of Murrey and Dunbarre, and the Lord William Douglas, ſo that notwithſtandyng the ſtraungers bare themſelues verie manfully, yet oppreſſed with multitude, they were forced to giue place, but yet ſtill fighting and defending themſelues till they came to Edinburgh, and there taking the hill where the ruynes of the caſtell ſtoode, kept the ſame all the night following, but the nexte day they diſpairing of all ſuccours, and hauing neither meate nor drinke, at length yelded themſelues, whom the Earle of Murrey receyuing right curteouſly, ſhewed them ſuch fauour, that without raunſome he was contented they ſhould returne into their countreys: and for more ſuertie, he conueyed the ſaid erle of Namur (whom the Scottiſhe bookes call Earle of Gelderlande) and his companie backe to the borders, but in his retourne or ſhortely after, the ſame Earle of Murrey that tooke himſelfe for gouernour of Scotland was encountred by the Engliſhmen that lay in garriſon within Rockeſburgh, and by them taken priſoner.

The VVelchemen.

Dundee brent.
The Earle of Namure.

Fourdon.

The Earle
Murrey take
R. South.

Fourdon.

The Lorde William Douglas being there alſo with him eſcaped, but James Douglas brother to the ſaide Lorde William Douglas was at that bickering ſlain with diuers other.

Aboute the feaſte of the Aſſumption of our Lady, diuers of the Scottiſhe nobilitie came and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, namely the Earle of Atholl and other, but Earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the Earle of Roſſe, the Lorde Andrew de Murrey, the lord William Douglas, and the lorde William de Keth, and many other woulde not come in, but aſſembling themſelues togither, did all the miſchiefe they coulde vnto thoſe that had receyued the Kynges peace. The Earle of Atholl in the winter ſeaſon beeſieging the Caſtell of Kildrummy beyond the Scottiſh ſea was ſet vpon by the Earles of Dunbarre and Roſſe, ſo that they ſlewe him there in fielde, for his men fled from him (through ſome traiterous practiſe as was thought) and lefte him and a fewe other in all the daunger.

Scottes ſubmit
them to the
King of Eng-
lande.

The caſtel
Kildrum

The Erle
Atholl ſla

The King of Englande being retourned forth of Scotlande remayned for the moſt parte of the winter in the Northe partes and held his Chriſtmas at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and after the Epiphanie hauing aſſembled an army readie to paſſe into Scotland to reuenge the Earle of Atholles deathe, whiche hee tooke very diſpleaſauntly, there came in the meane time Ambaſſadours bothe from the Pope and the Frenche Kyng, and founde the Kyng of Englande at Berwicke readie with his armie to ſet forewarde into Scotlande.

1338

But theſe ambaſſadors did ſo muche by entreatie with the two kings of Englande and

Anno reg. 12.

Scotlande, that aboute the feaſte of the Purification, a truce was agreed vpon to endure till Midlent. And then ſhould a parliament be holden at London, and herewith articles were drawn, & certaine petitions put forth, vpon the whiche if the parties in the meane time coulde agree, the peace accordingly might be eſtabliſhed, if not, then the warre to be proſecuted as before. The chiefeſt article and petition which the Scots proponed, as deſirous to be therein reſolued, was to vnderſtande which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to witte Edward Balliol, and Dauid Bruce, had moſt righte thereto. But when in the parliament time the lorde Maurice de Murrey ſlewe Sir Geffrey de Roſſe, a Scottiſh Knight, that was Sheriffe of Ayre, and Lenarke, beeing of the Balliolles ſide, for that in time of open warre the ſame ſir Geffrey had ſlaine his brother, vpon reſpect of this preſumptuous parte, and by reaſon of ſuch ſtoutneſſe as the Scottes otherwiſe ſhewed, no concluſion of peace could be brought to effect. Before the feaſte of the Aſcention the king of Englande ſente forwarde the king of Scottes the Earles of Lancaſter, Warwike, Oxforde, and Anegos, and diuers lordes and capitaynes wyth an armye, the whiche after Whitſontide, entring into Scotlande, paſſed ouer the Scottiſhe ſea, and comming to Saint Johns towne (whiche the Scottes had brent diſpairing to defende it againſt the Engliſhe power) they ſet in hande to fortifie it, compaſſing it with deepe ditches and a ſtrong rampier of earthe. Aboute the ſame tyme the Kyng called a parliament at Northampton, where leauing the prelates, and other to treate of ſuche matters as were propounded, he himſelfe rode Northewardes, and comming to Berwike, toke with him a ſmall band of men of armes, and ſetting forwarde, paſſed forth till he came to Sainct Johns towne, where he founde the king of Scottes, and other his nobles greatly wondering of his comming thither ſo vnlooked for. After hee had reſted there a little hee tooke with him parte of the armie, and paſſing forwarde ouer the mountaines of Scotlande euen vnto Elgen in Murrey, and Inuernes, further by many miles than euer his grandfather had gone: In his retourne hee brent the towne of Aberden in reuenge of the deathe of a right valiant knight called ſir Thomas Roſſelin, that cõming thither by ſea tooke land there, and was ſlaine by yͤ enemies: he brẽt diuers other towns and places in this voyage, ſpoyling and waſting the countreys where he came, not finding any to reſiſte him. Aboute Lammas the Earle of Cornewall with the power of Yorkeſhire and Northumberlande, and the lorde Anthony Lucy with the Cumberlande and Weſtmerlande men entred Scotlande, and deſtroyed the Weſt partes, as Carrike, and other which obeyed not the Ballioll. The lorde William Douglas ſtill coaſted the Engliſhemen, doing to them what domage he might. At lengthe this armie loden with praies, and ſpoile returned home. but the Erle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came throughe to Sainct Johns towne, where he founde the king being returned thither frõ his iourney which he had made beyonde the mountains. The king ſtayed not long there, but leauing the king of Scottes with his companie in that towne, he went to Striueling, where on the plat of grounde vpon which the deſtroyed caſtell had ſtoode, hee built an other fortreſſe, called a Pile. And now bicauſe he had ſpent a great deale of treaſure in thoſe warres of Scotlande, hee ſummoned a parliamẽt to be holde at Notingham, in which there was graunted to him a. x. of the clergie, and likewiſe of the citizens, and burgeſſes of good townes, and a. xv. of other that dwelte forth of cities and boroughes.

A truce graunted to the Scots

The ſtoutneſſe of Scottes hindered the concluſion of the peace.

An armie ſente into Scotland.

S. Johns towne fortified.

Adam Meremuth.

The K. goeth into Scotlande.

Aberden brent

Tho. VValſ.

Sir Thomas Roſſelyn ſlayn.

The Earle of Cornevvall,

The Lorde Douglas.

Striuelyn Caſtell buylt, or rather repared.

About the latter end of October John of Eltham Earle of Cornwall the kings brother, departed this life at ſaint Johns towne in Scotlande: his bodie was afterwardes conueyed to Weſtminſter and there buried with all ſolempne funeralles. The Scottiſh writers affirme that he was ſlaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had vſed in the Weſte partes of Scotlande, in ſleaing ſuche as for ſafegarde of their liues fledde into churches. Moreouer in December there deceaſſed at ſaint Johns town aforeſaid, Hugh de Freſnes that in right of the counteſſe of Lincolne was entitled Earle of Lincolne. He died of the fire, or as was ſaid, throughe exceſſiue colde, whiche in thoſe quarters in that cold time of the yeare, ſore afflicted the engliſhe people. In the meane time aboute the feaſte of ſaint Luke the Euangeliſte the K. went with an armie into Scotlande towarde the caſtell of Bothuille, and comming thither repared the ſame, whiche by the Scottes had lately before bin deſtroied. The baron Stafford the ſame time coming towards the king with a power of men, took Douglas Dale in his way, taking in the ſame a greate praye of cattell and other thinges. Before Chriſtmaſſe the king returned into England, but the king of Scottes remained all the winter in ſaint Johns town, with a ſober cõpanie. When the king had ſetled the ſtate of Scotlande vnder the gouernement of the Balliol, thoſe Scottiſhmen which toke part with the Balioll, ordeyned as it were in recompence of king Edwardes frindeſhippe a ſtatute, wherby they bounde themſelues to the

The deceſſe of the Earle of Cornevvall.

The deceſſe of Hughe de Freſnes Earle of Lincolne.

VValter Giſburgh.

Tho VValſ.

The lord Staſforde.

A ſtatute ordeined by the Scots in fauour of the king of England.

ſaide King Edwarde and his heyres kinges of Englande, that they ſhould aide and aſſiſt him againſte all other princes: and whenſoeuer it chanced that eyther he or any king of England being rightful inheritor, had any warrs againſt any prince, either within the lande or without, the Scottiſhemen of their owne proper coſtes and expences ſhoulde finde .iij. C. horſemen, and a .M. footemen well and ſufficiently arraied for the warre, the which .xiij. C. men, the Scottes ſhoulde wage for a whole yeare: and if the king of Englande ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the ſaide number of .xiij. C. Scots as he dothe to other of his ſouldiors and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England ſhould not only fortifie ſaint Johns towne about this time, as before is mencioned, but alſo ſaint Andrewes, Cowper, Aberdine, Dunfermeling, with certen other caſtels, leauing garniſons of men in the ſame. But for ſo muche as ye may read ſufficiently of thoſe troubles in Scotland, and of the returne of K. Dauid forth of Frãce, and how his realme was recouered out of the Balliols hands in the Scottiſh chronicles, we neede not here to make any long diſcourſe thereof. The Queene was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named Williã of Hatfield, who liued but a ſhort tyme, departing this worlde when he was but yong.

Polidore.

Tovvnes fortified by King Edvvard in Scotlande.

Tho. VValſ.
Croxden.
1336

The king being returned home forthe of Scotlande, ſeeketh all wayes poſſible howe to recouer money, bothe to ſupplie his charges for the Scottiſhe warres, and alſo to furniſhe the other warres whiche he ment to take in hande againſte the French king: he got ſo muche into his handes (as it is reported by writers, that it was very ſcant & harde to come by throughout the whole realme: by reaſon of which ſcarcitie and want of money, or vpon ſome other neceſſarie cauſe, vittuall, and other chaffer, and merchãdiſes were exceding cheape for at London a quarter of wheate was ſolde for .ij. s. a fat oxe for .vj. s. viij. d. a fat ſheepe for .vj. d. or .viij. d. halfe a doſen pigeons for .j. d. a fatte gooſe for .ij. d. a pig for .j. d. and ſo all other victualles after the like rate.

The King ſtudieth to gather money to maintaine his vvarres.

Greate cheapnes of vvares and ſcarcitie of money.

This yeare was the warre proclaimed betwixte Englande, and Fraunce, chiefly by the procurement of the Lord Roberte Dartois, a frenchmã, as then baniſhed out of Fraunce, vpon occaſion of a claime by him made vnto the erledome of Artois. This lorde Roberte after he was baniſhed Fraunce, fledde ouer vnto K. Edward, who gladly receiued him, and made him Earle of Richmont. All the goodes of the Italians were by the kings commaundement this yeare confiſcate to his vſe, and ſo likewiſe were the goodes of the Monkes of the Cluniacke, and Ciſtertiaux orders. This yeare alſo a comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared, with long and terrible ſtreames paſſing from it.

In this .xj. yeare of his raigne, the King helde a parliament at Weſtminſter, about the time of Lent, during the whiche, of the Earledome of Cornwall he made a duchie, and gaue it vnto his eldeſt ſon Edwarde, that was then Earle of Cheſter, whom alſo as ſome write, he created at the ſame time prince of Wales.

1337

An. reg.

Tho. VVal

Ran. Higd.

Polidore.

Fabian.

Moreouer in rewarde of ſeruice, there were .vj. noble men at this Parliament aduaunced to the honour and title of Earles, as the lorde Henry ſonne to the Earle of Lancaſter, was created Earle of Derbie, or after ſome writers, Earle of Leiceſter: William Bohun was created Earle of Northampton: William Montacute, Earle of Saliſburie: Hughe Audeley Earle of Glouceſter: William Clinton Earle of Huntingdon: and Roberte Vfford Erle of Suffolke. This creation was on the ſeconde Sunday in Lente, and the ſame day were .xx. Knights made, whoſe names for brefeneſſe we doe here omitte. In this parliament it was enacted, that no man ſhoulde weare any maner of ſilke in gowne, cote, or doublet, except he might diſpende of good and ſufficient rent an hundred poundes by yeare, whiche acte was not long obſerued. It was alſo ordeined by the aduice of this parliament, that Henry of Lancaſter newly created Earle of Derbie ſhoulde goe ouer into Gaſcoigne, there to remaine as the kinges lieutenant.

Creation of noble men.

Croxden.

But Richarde Southwell ſayth, that the Earle of Saliſburie, and not the Earle of Derbie was appointed to goe into Gaſcoigne at that time, and the erle of Warwike into Scotlande. Moreouer in this parliament it was enacted that no wooll of the engliſhe growthe ſhoulde goe forthe of the lande, but bee here wrought and made in clothe: and farther an acte was ordeined for receyuing of ſtraungers that were Clotheworkers, and order taken that fitte, and conuenient places ſhoulde bee aſſigned forth to them where to inhabite, with many priuileges, and liberties, and that they ſhoulde haue wages and ſtipends allowed them, till they were ſo ſetled as they might gaine cõmodiouſlie by their occupation and ſcience: but now to returne to other matters. The Scots this yeare toke the caſtell of Bothwelle by ſurrender, ſo as the engliſhemen that were within it, departed with their liues, and goods ſaued. Diuers other caſtels and fortreſſes were taken by the Scots in Fife, and in other parties, but the countrey of Galloway was by them ſpecially

Adam
remuth.

R. South.

ally ſore afflicted, bicauſe the people there helde with theyr lord Edwarde Balioll. Hereupon it was agreed in this laſte parliament, that the earle of Warwike beeyng appoynted to go thither, ſhoulde haue with him the power beyonde Trent Northwardes. But when about the Aſcention tide the Scottes had beſieged the caſtell of Striuelin, the king of Englande in perſon haſted thitherwardes, of whoſe approch the Scots no ſoner vnderſtood, but that ſtreight wayes they brake vp their ſiege, and departed thence: the king therefore returned backe into the Southe partes. Aboute the ſame time Sir Euſtace de Maxwell knighte, Lorde of Carlauerocke, reuolted from Edwarde Balliol vnto Dauid le Bruis his ſide, and ſo that parte daily encreaſed, and the warre continued, with damage inoughe to bothe partes. In the beginning of September the erle of Warwike with an army entred Scotlande by Berwike, and the lorde Thomas de Wake, and the Lorde Clifforde with the biſhoppe of Carleil accompanied with the Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande men entred by Carleil, and within two dayes after mette with the Earle of Warwike as before it was appointed, and ſo ioyning togyther, they paſſed forewarde, ſpoyling, and waſting Teuidale, Mofetridale, & Nideſdale. The lorde Anthony Lucie with a parte of the armie entred into Galloway, and after he had waſted that countrey, he returned to the army, which by reaſon of the exceeding great weat yͤ fel in yͤ ſeaſon, they could not kepe on their iorney into Douglaſdale, and to Ayre, as they had appointed: but hauing remained in Scotland a twelue dayes, they returned altogither vnto Carleil. Edwarde Balliol was not with them in thys iourneye, but remayned ſtill in England.

Euſtace
axvvell.

e Earle of
Varvvike
adeth
otlande.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made dyuers rodes into Englande, withdrawing ſtill with theyr pray and booties, before the engliſhe power coulde aſſemble to giue them battaile.

Aboute Alhallontide, the Scotts beſieged the caſtell of Edenburgh, but the Byſhoppe of Carleil, the lorde Randoll Dacres of Gilleſlande, with the power of the counties of Cumberlande, and Weſtmerlande, and the King of Scotts Edwarde Balliol, with the Lorde Anthony Lucie, and ſuche companie as they brought from Berwicke, meeting at Rockeſburghe, marched forthe vnto Edenburghe, and chaſing the Scots from the ſiege, toke order for the ſafe keeping of the caſtell from thenceforth, and returned into Englande.

he caſtell of
denburgh be-
ged.

he ſiege is
yſed.

In this meane time things happened ſo well to the purpoſe of King Edwarde, that by practiſe he alienated the hartes of the Flemings from the obedience of their Earle, being altogither an earneſt friende to the Frenche king. He therefore vnderſtanding the mindes of his people, ſought to winne them by ſome gentle treatie, and ſo did euen at the firſt, concluding an agreement with them of Gaunt, which were fully at a point to haue entred into league with the king of Englãd, as with him whoſe frendſhippe by reaſon of the Trafficke of merchandize, (and namely of the engliſh wolles,) they knewe to bee more neceſſarie for their countrey than the Frenche kings. Althoughe by the helpe of the Biſhoppe of Turney the earle of Flaunders cauſed them to ſtaye from concluding or ioyning in any ſuche bondes of amitie with the king of Englande for that time, he yet doubted the arriuall of ſome power out of Englande, and thereuppon appointed his baſtarde brother Guy of Riickenburgh, and certayn other noble men and captains, with a crue of men of warre to lie in the Iſle of Cadſant to defende the paſſage there, and to ſee that no Engliſh ſhippes ſhoulde come or goe that way by the ſeas: whereof the king of Englande beeing aduertiſed, ſent thither the Earle of Darbie, the lorde Lewes Beauchampe, the lorde Reginalde Cobham, alſo the lorde William ſonne to the earle of Warwike, the lord Walter de Manny an Henneuyer, and other lordes, knightes and capitaines, with a power of fiue hundreth men of armes, and two thouſande archers, the whiche comming to the foreſaide Iſle of Cadſant, founde the Flemmings about fiue thouſande in number, redie arranged on the towne dikes and ſandes, in purpoſe to defende the entrie, which they did a certaine ſpace right valiantly: but in the ende they were diſcomfited, and three thouſande of them ſlain in the ſtreetes, hauen, & houſes. Sir Guy the baſtard of Flaũders was taken with diuers other knightes and Gentlemen, the Towne was brent, and the goodes with the priſoners were carryed into Englande.

e K. practiſ-
h vvith the
mings.

The Biſhop of Turney.

Iames Mair.

The Iſle of Cadſant.

An armie ſente by ſea into Flaunders.

Foure thouſand ſaith Iac. Meir.

Froiſſart.

This chaunced on a Sunday the day before the feaſte of Sainct Martin in Nouember. Where the Lorde Walter de Manny might haue hadde .xj. thouſande pounde ſterling for the raunſome of the ſaide Sir Guy, and other priſoners, the king bought them of him in the fourteenth yere of his raygne for eighte thouſande pounde ſterling, as by recordes in the Tower it appeareth.

Aboute the feaſte of Sainct Martine in winter, there came vnto London two Cardinals, ſent by the Pope to treate for a peace betwixte the kings of Englande, and Fraunce.

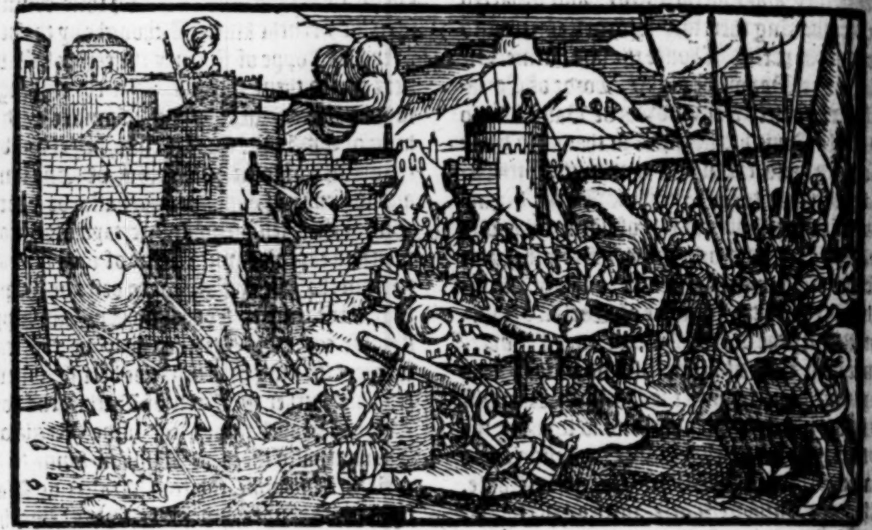
Tvvo Cardinalles come into Englande.

The Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, with the Byſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, Chicheſter, *Additions to Meri.*

Couentrie, & the cõmeners of the citie of Lōdon met them on Shoters hill. The duke of Cornwall, with the earle of Surrey, and many other of the nobilitie receyued them a mile without the Citie. The Kyng himſelfe receiued them at the leſſer Hall dore of his Pallace at Weſtminſter, and brought them into the paynted chamber, where they declared theyr meſſage: whereuppon the king cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned at London, to beginne the morowe after Candelmas daye.

1338

The King helde his Chriſtemaſſe at Gilforde, and within the Octaues of the ſame feaſt hee toke his iourney towardes Scotlande, or rather as other haue, he ſente thither the Earles of Saliſburie: Glouceſter: Derbie: and Angos, with three Barons, the lordes Percy, Neuill, and Stafforde, the whiche with .xx. thouſande men beſieged the Caſtell of Dunbarre. This ſiege beganne euen in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwardes raigne and continued for the ſpace of ninteene wecks, with ſmall gaine, and leſſe honour to the engliſhemen, in ſo muche that the ſame brake vp vnder a colour of a truce when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that lay there at ſiege, haſted to make an ende, that they might attende the King in his iourney ouer into Brabante.



A parliament.

The morrowe after Candelmaſſe daye, the parliament began, in whiche there was a graunte made to the king by the Laitie of the one halfe of their wolles through the whole realme for the nexte ſommer, whiche he receiued, and likewiſe he leuied of the Clergie the whole, cauſing them to paye nine markes of euery ſacke of the beſte woll. But after the rate of the one halfe he toke in whoſe handes ſo euer it was founde, aſwell merchauntes as other.

Croxden.
A ſubſidie.

After this, hee toke a fifteenthe of all the communaltie of his realme in woll, the price of euery ſtone conteyning fourteen pounde rated at two ſhillings.

The Cardinals returne.

The one & twentith of March the two Cardinals toke the ſea at Douer, and in their companie went ouer the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, and the biſhoppe of Durham to treate of a peace, if by any good meanes the two kings might bee made friendes, but as it appeared theyr trauayle was in vayne, for although they abode togither for a time on the Frõters doing their beſte endeuour, yet their trauaile nothing auailed, as by that whiche followeth is moſte manifeſte.

The Flemings that fauoured Kyng Edwarde, were put in ſuche comfort, by the late victorie obteined by the Engliſhemen in the Iſle of Cadſant, that fallyng to their former practiſe, one Iaques or Iacob van Arteueld an honymaker of the town of Gaunt, was choſen amongſt them to bee as it were the defender of the people, and namely of the weauers, and other clothworkers. Finally, his authoritie grewe ſo hugely amongeſt all the whole number of the commons in Flaunders, that hee might doe more with them than their Earle, and yet the Earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceaſſed not to vſe all curteous meanes towardes them that he coulde deuiſe, as releaſing cuſtomes, and dueties of mony, pardoning offences, forfeitures, and other ſuche like, but all woulde not auaile him. The king of England had ſo wonne them by the meanes of the ſaide Iaques van Arteuelde, that in the ende Iohn Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, and Richarde the Biſhoppe of Durham, came into Flaunders as ambaſſadours from king Edwarde, and trauailed ſo earneſtly to drawe ague be- twixt Englād d Flaunders.

.Mer.

ger de Cur- y

the Flemings vnto an amitie with their maſter king Edwarde, that finally a league was concluded betwixt the countrey of Flaunders, and the ſayde King at Gaunt, in the preſence of the Erle of Gelderlande, as then beeing there. The chiefe authours of this league were the ſaid Jaques van Arteveld, and a noble man of Flaunders, called Siger de Curtrey.

he Fullers Gaunt.

he Earle of aunders eth into aunce.

e retourneth e.

But this Siger being immediatly after apprehended by the Earle of Flaunders, was put to death. Which act procured the earle ſo much hatred of the people, that ſhortely after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, hee was forced himſelfe to flee from thence, for otherwiſe hee had bene either taken or ſlaine: The cōmons of the towne and namely the Fullers, of whom he had ſlain ſome there in the ſtreetes, roſe ſo faſte vppon him. Hervppon fleeing home to his houſe, he toke his wife, and a ſonne whiche hee hadde, and fledde with them into Fraunce, ſo forſaking his countrey whiche was nowe gouerned by Jaques van Arteveld, as though he had bin immediate lorde thereof. After this, the Earle retourned home againe, as it were with the Frenche Kinges commiſſion, to perſwade the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the King of Englande: but hee coulde bring nothing to paſſe, but was ſtill in danger to haue bene arreſted and ſtayed of his owne ſubiectes, bothe at Gaunt and in other places, but namelie at Dirmeu, where if hee had not made the more haſte away, hee had bene taken by them of Bruges.

xmes.

e eftſoones th.

anders holy at the otion of g Edvvard.

g Edvvard leth to dvverpe.

oiſſart.

he Marques Gulickerlād

he Earle of elderlande ated Duke.

Amongeſt other of his ſtuffe whiche hee left behinde him in that haſtie departure, his ſignet was forgotten, and not miſſed till hee came to Sainct Omers, whether hee fledde for his ſafegarde. Thus yee maye perceiue that Flaunders reſted wholy at King Edwardes commaundement, who to eſtabliſhe amitie alſo with the Duke of Brabant, and other Princes of the Empire, about the middeſt of July ſailed ouer vnto Antwerp, with his wife quene Philip, his ſonne the prince of Wales, and a greate number of other of the peers and Barons of his realme, where hee was moſte ioyfully receiued of the duke of Brabant, and other lordes of the empire. Ther was ſent vnto the Emperour to procure his friendſhip, from the king of Englād, the Marques of Gulik with certain noble men of England, and alſo certen of the duke of Gelderlād his coūſel, the which Marques was made at ye time an erle, & the erle of Gelderlād was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had maried the ladie Iſabell ſiſter of K. Edward, and therfore in fauour of the king his brother in law, trauailed moſt earneſtly to procure him all the friendes within the Empire that he coulde make. The princes and lordes then, with whome king Edwarde was allied and confederated at that time, I finde to bee theſe, the Dukes of Brabant, and Gelderlande, the Archb. of Colen, the marques of Gulike, ſir Arnold de Baquehen, & the lorde of Walkenburghe, who all promiſed to defie the Frenche K. in the king of Englands quarrel, & to ſerue him with notable numbers of men, whereand whenſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe him to appoint. The alliaunce of the erle of Haynaulte, firſt procured the king of England all theſe friendes, vnto the whiche erle he had ſent ouer the biſhop of Lincolne and other in ambaſſade immediatly after that he had reſolued to make warres againſt Fraunce, by the counſell, and aduice of ſir Roberte Dartois, as in the Frenche hiſtorie more plainelie appeareth.

King Edvvardes confederates.

In this meane ſeaſon was Queene Phillip brought to bed at Antwarpe of hir third ſonne, whiche was named Lionell. The K. of England earneſtlie followed his buſines, and had many treaties with his friendes and confederates, til at length he made ſure to him ye frendſhip of all thoſe townes and countreys, whiche lie betwixt Fraūce and the riuer of Rhein: only the cities of Tourney and Cambray held of the frenche kings parte, thoughe Cambray belonged to the Empire.

Lionell that vvas after duke of Clarence borne.

In this .xij. yeare of K. Edwards raigne at a counſell holden at Northampton by the duke of Cornewall, lorde Wardein of Englād in abſence of the king his brother, and by many of the prelates and barons of the realme, there was graunted to the king a ſubſidie in wooll to the great burden of the cōmons: but for ſo much as the Clergie of the land was not preſent at that counſell, it was ordeined that they ſhoulde be called, and ſo they aſſembled in a conuocation at London the firſte day of October, in which the clergie graunted to the king a .x. for the thirde yere then to come, ouer and beſide the ij. tenthes before graunted, and that the .x. of this preſent yeare ſhoulde be paide in ſhorter time than it was appointed: but they flatly denyed to graunt their wolles, whiche neuertheleſſe the laitie paid, and that to their great hindrance, for it roſe double to a Fifteene. From the begynnyng of October, vnto the beginning of December this yeare, fell ſuche abundaunce of of raine, that it hindered greatly the huſbandemen in ſowing of their winter corne: and in the begynnyng of December came ſuche a vehement froſte continuing the ſpace of xij. weekes, that it deſtroyed vp all the ſeede almoſt that was ſowen, by reaſon wherof ſmall ſtore of winter corne came to proofe in the ſom-

Additions to *Adam Merimuth.*

A parliament at Northampton.

A Subſidie vpon vvooll.

The Clergie graunteth a tenthe.

Greate raine

1339
An.reg. 13.

mer following: but though there was no plentie, yet all kindes of graine were ſolde at a reaſonable price, through want of money.

The frenchmē inuade the coaſtes of this lande.
Plimmouth brente.
The Earle of Deuonshire.
R. Southwell
VVilliam Douglas.
Hect. Boetius
A floude.

The Frenchemen by ſea ſore infeſted the ſea coaſt of this realm, ſpecially where the Champion countreis ſtretch towardes the ſea coaſtes. At Haſtings in the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, they brent certayne fiſhermens houſes, and ſlewe ſome of the inhabitantes. Alſo in the Hauens aboute Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, and towardes Briſtowe, they toke and brent certaine ſhippes, killing the marriners that came into their handes, and in the Whitſon weeke they landed at Plimmouth, and brente the more part of the towne: but Hugh Courtney earle of Deuonſhire, a man almoſte .lxxx. yeres of age, and other knightes and men of the countrey came againſte theſe Frenchmen, ſleaing ſuch as came into their hands to the number of .v. C. as was eſteemed, & chaſed the reſidue. The Scots alſo aboute the ſame time did muche hurt to yͤ engliſhmen both by ſea & lande. In the beginning of July the lord Will. Douglas with a nūber of men of warre returned frō Fraūce home into England, & to him vpon his return, yͤ caſtell of Cowper was deliuered with al the country there abouts. After this, cōming to the ſiege of S. Johns towne, which the gouernor the erle of Murrey, the erle of March, Patrik de Dunbarre and other of the Scottiſhe lordes had beſieged, at length it was ſurrendred by ſir Thomas Vthred capitaine there of the engliſh gariſon, departing in ſafetie home into England. Three dayes before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, there chaunced in the night ſeaſon ſuche a mightie and ſoden inundation of water at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, that it bare downe a peece of the towne wall a .vj. perches in lēgth neare to a place caled Walknow, where a .C. and .xx. temporall men with diuers prieſts and many women were drowned.

Commiſſioners ſente to treate of peace.
They cannot agree.
Cambray beſieged.

But nowe to returne to the K. which al this while remained in Brabant. Ye haue hearde howe yͤ citie of Cambray held with the French king: wherefore the king of Englande aſſembling togither a mightie ſtrong army aſwell of engliſhmē as of the low countreys of Teutchlande, ment to beſiege it, but firſte he ſente the archbiſhoppe of Canterburie with the biſhops of Lincolne and Durham vnto Arras, as commiſſioners from him to meete there with the Archbiſhoppe of Roven, and the biſhoppes of Langres, and Beauuais, appointed to come thither as commiſſioners from the French king, to treate with the engliſhmen of a peace, but they coulde not agree vppon any concluſion, whereupon King Edwarde comming forewarde with hys power, approched to Cambray and planted his ſiege rounde about it. But the biſhoppe meaning not to deliuer the citie to king Edwarde nor to any other that ſhould demaund it to the behoofe of the emperor Lewis of Bauiere, as then excommunicate of the Pope, had receiued into the towne .v.M. Frenchmen with the french kings eldeſt ſonne, the Duke of Normandie lately returned out of Guyenne, and the lorde Theobald [illegible] with certaine companies of Sauoiſins, ſo that the citie was ſo defended, that the king of England perceiuyng he ſhould but loſe time, raiſed his ſiege, and entred into Fraunce, pitchyng his fielde at a place called Flaminguerie.

Fabia.

In the meane time had the French king not onely made himſelfe ſtrong by lande, but alſo by ſea, hauing ſente forthe a ſtrong nauie of ſhips and galleys towards the coaſtes of Englande, whiche arriuing at Southampton the Monday after Michaelmaſſe day, toke and ſpoiled the town, & the morow after ſet fire vpon it in .v. places, ſo that a great part of it was brent.

Alſo .xiij. ſayles of the French fleete mette with .v. engliſhe ſhips, & after ſore fight whiche continued .ix. houres, toke two of thoſe .v. being tall and goodlye ſhyppes, the one called the Edwarde, and the other the Chriſtofer, the other .iij. being ſmaller veſſells, as two of them Barks and the other a Caruell eſcaped by their ſwiftneſſe of ſailing. There was ſlaine in the fight vpon bothe partes aboue the number of .vj. C. men. The Frenche king himſelfe hearing that the king of England woulde inuade his realme, made his generall aſſemble of hys army at Peronne, and when he hearde that he was entred France, he remoued towards hym with his whole power beeing at the point of C. thouſande men as in the frenche Chronicle ye may reade more at large. The K. of Englande had not paſſe .lx. M. in his armie at the moſte: but whileſſe he lieth there vpon the borders of Fraūce, his people did much hurt making roads abrode beyond the water of Some, brenning and ſpoiling abbeis towns and villages, as Orignie ſaint Benoit, Ribemont in Thieraſſe, ſaint Gouan, Marle, and Creſſye. Alſo the lorde Beamont of Heynnaulte brente the towne of Guyſe, though his daughter was as then within the ſame towne wife to Lewes Erle of Blois: his brother Williā erle of Heynault was lately before deceſſed leauing yͤ erledom to his ſon named alſo Will. who continued with yͤ K. of Englāde ſo long as he lay before Cambray, & kept him within the bondes of the empire, as though his allegiaūce had boūde him to no leſſe, but after the ſaid K. was paſſed the Ryuer of Leſcault, otherwiſe called the Skell, and in latine *Scaldis*, whiche deuideth the empire from the kingdome of Fraunce, hee woulde no longer ſerue the king of England, but departed from hym for feare to offende the French king, accounting that the matter perteyned not nowe to the Empyre, but to the priuate quarell and buſineſſe of the king of Englande: notwithſtanding his vncle the ſayde ſir John like a faythfull gentleman continued ſtill in king Edward his ſeruice.

The armies approch neare togither.

The two armies of England and Fraunce approched within foure myles togyther, ſo that euery man thought that there woulde ſure haue beene battaile betwixt them, as there had bene in deede, if the Frenche king had beene willing, yet ſome ſaye, that hee of himſelfe was diſpoſed thereto, but hys Counſaylours aduyſed hym to the contrarie, by reaſon of certayne ſignes and tokens whiche they myſlyked, as the ſtarting of an hare amongſt them, and ſuch like.

Froiſſart.

Robert king of Sicill diſſuaded the French king to fight with the king of Englande.

Alſo it was ſayde that Robert King of Naples beeing then come into France, whoſe knowledge in Aſtronomie was knowne to bee greate, diſſwaded the Frenche King by hys letters, that in no wyſe hee ſhoulde fight wyth the King of Englande, for hee hadde vnderſtanding by arte of the heauenly influences and diſpoſition of the bodies aboue, that if the Frenche King fought wyth thys Edwarde King of Englande, hee ſhoulde aſſuredly bee put to the worſe: whether this was the cauſe, or any other, ſure it is that the French men had no mynde to fight, ſo that theſe two mightie armies departed in ſunder without battaile, and the king of Englande returned into Flaunders, ſorie in deede that he had not fought, for though he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in truſt of the valiancie of his ſouldiers, choſen out of the pykeſt men through Englande and all the lowe Countreyes on this ſyde the Rhine, he ment verily to haue encountered his enimyes, if they had come forwarde.

The armies retire without battaile.

A councell at Bruſſils.

At his comming back into Brabant, there was a Councell called at Bruſſils, where were preſent all thoſe Lordes of the Empyre whiche had beene with him in that iourney, as the Dukes of Brabant, Guelderlande, and Gulicke, the Marques of Blankbourgh, the Earle of Bergen, the lord Beaumont of Heynault, otherwiſe called ſir John de Heynault, the Lord of Walkẽbourgh, and many others. Thither came alſo Jaques Arteueld chiefe gouernor of Flaunders.

Here in counſail taken how the king of Englande might beſt maintaine the warres which he had begonne thus agaynſt the Frenche king, hee was aduyſed that he ſhoulde in any wyſe require them of Flaunders to ayde hym, and in hys quarell to defie the Frenche King, and to go with him agaynſt the ſayde Frenche King, and if they woulde thus doe, then ſhoulde hee promiſe them to recouer and delyuer into theyr handes the townes of Lyſle, Doway, and Bethon. The king of England according to this aduiſe to him giuen, made ſuch requeſt to the Flemings, who thereupon deſired tyme to conſult togither, what they might doe therein, and finally they declare for anſwere, that they woulde gladly ſo doe, but yet whereas they were bounde by faithe and othe and in the ſumme of two millions of Florens in the Popes chamber, not to make nor moue any warre againſt the King of Fraunce, whoſoeuer he were, on paine to loſe that ſumme, and beſyde to runne in the ſentence of curſing, they beſought hym that it myght ſtande wyth hys pleaſure, to take vppon hym the tytle and armes of France, as the ſame apperteyned to hym of ryght, and then woulde they obey him as righfull King of Fraunce, and requyre of hym acquittaunces in diſcharge of theyr bondes, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of Fraunce.

The motiõ of the Flemings to haue the K. of England to take vpon him the title to the crowne of Fraunce.

The King of Englande, though he hadde iuſt cauſe to clayme the Crowne of Fraunce, in ryght of hys mother Queene Iſabell, yet to take vppon hym the name and Armes of that Realme, before hee hadde made conqueſt of any part thereof, hee thought it ſeemde not with much reaſon: but yet after he hadde cauſed the matter to bee throughly debated, amongeſt them of hys Counſayle, as well to ſatiſfie the Flemings as for other reſpects, hee ſawe it ſhoulde bee the beſt way that might bee taken to the aduauncement of his purpoſe.

The kings anſwere to the Flemings.

Then hee aunſwered the Flemings, that if they woulde ſweare, and ſeale to thys accorde, and promiſe to mainteine his warre, he would be contented to fulfill theyr deſyre, and alſo hee promyſed to get for them againe the townes of Liſle, Doway, and Bethune.

Theſe townes had beene engaged to the king of France for money.

Hereupon was a day aſſigned to meete at Gaunt: the King came thither, and the moſte parte of the ſayde Lordes, and all the Counſaylers of the good Townes and places in Flaunders were there aſſembled, and ſo all the foreſayde matters were rehearſed, ſworne, and ſealed, and the armes of Fraunce were then quartered with thoſe of Englande, and from thenceforth he tooke vppon hym the name of King of Fraunce, in all his wrytings, proclamations, and commaundements.

The quartering of the armes of England & France.

Polider.

Sith then that we bee come to this place, it ſhall not bee muche amyſſe to rehearſe ſomewhat of the ryght and tytle whereby king Edwarde did thus clayme the Crowne of Fraunce, hauing of purpoſe omitted to ſpeake thereof, tyll nowe that he entituled himſelfe wyth the name, and tooke vppon him to beare the armes alſo of Fraunce, vpõ occaſion before expreſſed. It is wel

The iſſue of Philip le Beau.

knowne that Philip le Beau King of Fraunce hadde iſſue by hys wyfe Queene Joane thre ſonnes, Lewes ſurnamed Hutine, Philippe le Long, and Charles le Beau: Alſo two daughters, the one dying in hir infancie, and the other named Iſabell lyued, and was maryed vnto Edwarde the ſeconde of that name King of Englande, who begotte of hir this Edward the thirde, that made this clayme.

Lewes Hutine.

The thre ſonnes of the foreſayde Philip le Beau reigned eche after other, as Kinges of Fraunce. Firſt after Philip the father, ſucceeded his eldeſt ſonne Lewes Hutine, who had iſſue by his firſte wife Margaret, daughter to Robert Duke of Burgoigne, a daughter named Joane, the whiche was anone gyuen in maryage vnto Lewes Erle of Eureur: but ſhe liuing not long, dyed without iſſue. Hir father the ſayde Lewes Hutine, maryed after the deceaſſe of his firſt wife, an other wyfe named Clemence, daughter to Charles Martell, the father of Robert King of Scicill, whome hee left great wyth childe when he dyed.

Philip le Long.

The childe beeing borne proued a ſonne, and was named John, but liued not many dayes after. Then Philip the Long was admitted to the Crowne of Fraunce, though many ſtode in opinion that Jone the daughter of Lewes Hutine, whiche yet was aliue, ought to haue inherited the kingdome after hir father: and namely Odo Duke of Burgoigne, Uncle to the ſaid Jone, was moſt earneſt in that matter in fauour of his Nece. But myght ouercame ryght, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to bee quiet. Philip le Long, after he hadde raigned fiue yeares dyed alſo, and left no iſſue behinde hym. Then laſtly Charles le Beau toke vpon hym the kingdome, and the ſeuenth yeare after dyed, his wyfe bigge bellyed, which ſhortly after brought forth a Mayden named Blaunche, that ſtreight wayes haſting to followe hir Father, lyued no whyle in thys worlde.

Charles le Beau.

By this meanes then the bloud royall in the heyres Male of Philippe le Beau was extinguiſhed in hys Sonne the foreſayd Charles le Beau, whereof the contention toke begynning aboute the right to the Crowne of Fraunce, betwyxte the Frenche menne and Engliſhe menne, whiche hangeth as yet vndecyded tyll theſe our dayes. For King Edwarde auerred that the kingdome of Fraunce appertayned vnto hym as lawfull heyre, bycauſe that hee alone was remaynyng of the kings ſtocke, and touched hys Mothers father Philip le Beau, in the next degree of conſanguinitie, as hee that was borne of his daughter Iſabell.

Therefore immediately after the deceaſſe of the ſayd Charles le Beau, by Ambaſſadours ſent vnto the Peeres of Fraunce, hee publiſhed to them hys right, requyring that they woulde admitte hym king according thervnto: but hys Ambaſſadours coulde neuer bee quietly hearde, and therefore returned home wythout anye towardly anſwere, whiche moued him in the ende to attempt the recouerie of hys lawfull inheritaunce, by force, ſithe by lawe hee coulde not preuayle, and now by aduice of hys friendes to take vpon him both the tytle and Armes of Fraunce, to ſignifie to the Worlde what right he hadde to the ſame.

King Edw ſignifieth his right to the crowne of Fraunce.

After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flaunders, and that king Edwarde had taken vppon him the name of king of Fraunce with the Armes, the Duke of Gelderland, and Jaques van Arteueld, went vnto al the good townes and iuriſdictions of Flaunders to receyue theyr othes of fidelitie vnto king Edwarde, perſwading with the people, that the ſupreme rule belonged vnto hym, ſauing to the townes their auncient lawes and liberties, and to their Earle his right of proprietie.

Iames Mai

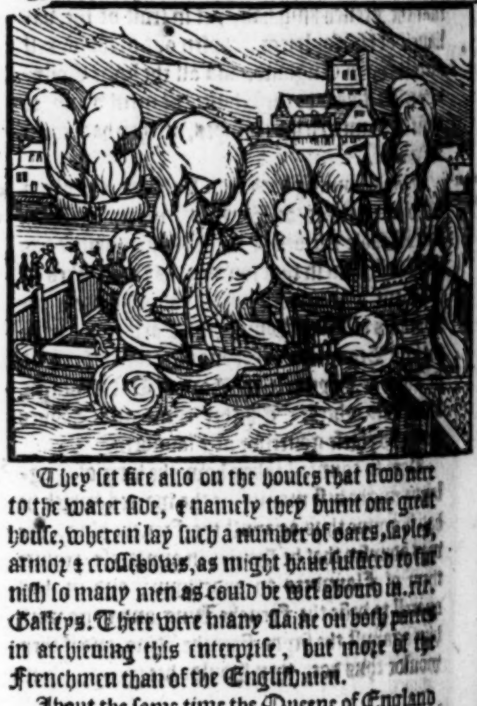
King Edw tooke vpon him the title and armes of K. of Fra

The Flem ſweare fealtie to the king of England.

About the latter ende of this .xiij. yere of king Edwardes raigne, the mariners and Sea men of the cinque Portes, getting them abourde into a number of ſmall ſhippes and Balingers, well trimmed and appoynted for the purpoſe, paſſed ouer to Bullongne, where they toke lande one day in a thicke foggie weather, and ſetting on the Baſe towne, they burnt .xix. Gallies, foure great ſhippes, and to the number of .xx. ſmaller veſſels, togither with their tackle and furniture.

Adã Mer. Triuet.

The Engliſh men burne the French ſhippes in Bolongne.



They ſet fire alſo on the houſes that ſtode nere to the water ſide, & namely they burnt one great houſe, wherein lay ſuch a number of oares, ſayles, armor & croſſebows, as might haue ſufficed to furniſh ſo many men as could be well abourd in .xx. Galleys. There were many ſlaine on both partes in atchieuing this enterpriſe, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Engliſhmen.

About the ſame time the Queene of England was ohn of Gaunt orne.

was deliuered of hir fourth ſonne in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named Iohn, firſt created Erle of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaſter. He was borne about Chriſtmaſſe in this .xiij. yeare of king Edwards raigne.

1340

An. Reg. 14.

A Parliament.

Hen. Marl.

olidor.

A ſubſidie.

When king Edward had finiſhed his buſineſſe with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife M. Philip there ſtil in that towne, and returned himſelfe vnto Andwarpe, and ſhortly after about the feaſt of Candlemaſſe, tooke the Sea, and came backe into Englande, to prouide for money to mainteyn his begon warres. And herevpon about the time of Lent following, hee called his highe court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which he aſked of his commons towardes hys charges for the recouerie of his right in Fraunce the fifth parte of theyr moueable goodes, the cuſtomes of woolles for two yeares, to be payde aforehand, and the .ix. ſheafe of euery mans corne. At length it was agreed, that the king ſhoulde haue for cuſtome of euerie ſacke of wooll fortye ſhillings, for euery three hundred wool felles forty ſhillings, and for euerie laſt of leader .xl. ſhillings, and for other marchandice after the rate, to begin at the feaſt of Eaſter, in this .xiiij. yeare of the kings raigne, & to endure till the feaſt of Pẽtecoſt then next folowing, & frõ that feaſt, till the feaſt of pẽtecoſt thẽ next enſuing into one yere, for which the king graunted that from the feaſt of Pentecoſt which was then to come into one yeare, hee nor his heyres ſhould not demaunde aſſeſſe, nor take, nor ſuffer to bee aſſeſſed or taken, more cuſtome of a ſacke of wooll of any Engliſhman, but halfe a marke, and vpon the wooll felles & leader the olde former cuſtome.

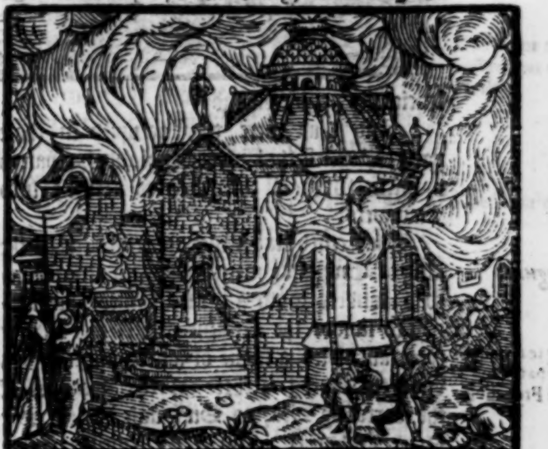
Beſide this, the Citizens and Burgeſſes of cities and good townes, graunted to giue the ninth part of all their goods, & the forrain marchants & other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of ſheepe, ſhoulde giue the .xv. part of all theyr goods lawfully to the value: for the which he grãted that aſwell now in time of warre as of peace, all marchants denizens, & forreyners, (thoſe except that were of the enimies countreys) might without let, ſafely come into the realme of Englande with their goods & marchandices, and ſafely tarie, and likewiſe returne, paying the cuſtomes, ſubſidies, & profites reaſonable thereof due, ſo alwayes that the franchiſes, and free cuſtomes granted by him or his predeceſſors reaſonably to the citie of Lõdon, and other cities, burroughes, and townes might alwayes to them be ſaued. Moreouer there was granted vnto him the .ix. ſheafe, the .ix. fleeſe, and .ix. lambe, to be taken by two yeares next cõming. And for the leuying therof, the Lords of euerie ſhire through the lande, were appoynted to anſwer him, euery one for the circuite within the which he dwelled. And bycauſe the K. muſt needs occupie much money ere the receyt of this ſubſidie could come to his hands, he borowed in yͤ meane time many notable ſummes of diuerſe cities, and particular perſons of this land, amõgſt the which he borrowed of the citie of Lõdon. 20000. marks, to be payed againe of the money comming of the forſayde ſubſedie.

The Citie of London lendeth the king money.

In the meane while, now that king Edwarde was come backe into England, the warres were hotely purſued agaynſt his friends, that had their landes neare to the borders of France, and namely agaynſt ſir Iohn de Heynault Lorde Beaumont, for the Frenchmen burned all his lands of Chymay, except the fortreſſes, and tooke from thence a great pray. All the frontiers were full of men of war, lodged within townes in garniſon, as at Tourney, Mortaign, S. Amond, Doway, Cambray, and in other ſmaller fortreſſes.

The Frontiers of France full of men of war.

Theſe men of warre lay not ydle, but were doing oftentymes in Flaunders, and ſometyme otherwhere, neyther was the Countrey of Heynault ſpared, though the Earle (as ye haue heard) did not onelye refuſe to ſerue the king of Englande, agaynſt Fraunce, but alſo when the ſame king entred Fraunce, hee reſorted to the Frenche king, and ſerued him, yet by the ſuggeſtion of the Biſhoppe of Cambray, who complayned of the Haynuyers, for the domages which they hadde done him, the French garniſons of the Frontiers there about, were commaunded to make a roade into that Countrey, which they did burning the town of Aſpere, & brought frõ thẽce a great bootie.



The towne of Aſpere burnt.

The Earle of Heynault ſore moued therewith to haue his landes ſo ſpoyled and burnt, defied the French king, and ioyning with his vncle the Lorde Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thieraſſe, tooke and deſtroyed Aubenton wyth Mawbert Fontaine. De ubecville, & diuerſe other.

The Earle of Heynault defieth the frẽch king.

Townes burnt in Thieraſſe.

In this meane tyme the Frenche king procured the Pope to pronounce hys Curſſe agaynſt the Flemings for theyr Rebellion, and to ſuſpende all diuine Seruice that oughte to

Flaunders interdicted.

be ſayde in any hallowed place, ſo that there were no Prieſtes to be founde that woulde take vpon them to ſaye any diuine ſeruice: whereupon the Flemings ſent ouer into Englãd certaine Meſſengers to giue notice to King Edwarde howe they were entreated, but hee ſent them worde that he woulde bring at his comming ouer vnto them, Prieſtes that ſhould ſay Maſſes, and other ſeruice whether the Pope would or not, for hee had priuiledge ſo to do.

In Aprill William Melton Archebiſhop of Yorke departed this lyfe, after whome variaunce roſe in the election of a newe Gouernour to that Churche, ſo that two were elected, William la Zouche, and William Killeſby: but at length William la Zouche tooke place, being the .liiij. Archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſeate.

Merymo

The Earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke, whiche were left in Flaunders by King Edwarde to helpe the Flemings, ſhortly after Eaſter, or (as other haue) in the tyme of Lent, were diſcomfited by the garniſon of Lyſle, and taken priſoners as they woulde haue paſſed by that Towne, to haue ioyned with Jaques Arteuilo, meaning to beſiege Tourney, but nowe by the taking of thoſe two Earles that enterpriſe was broken.

Merimo

Iames Me

The Erles
Saliſburie
Suffolk ta

The Duke of Normandie with a greate armye entered into Heynault, burning and waſting the Countrey, euen to the Gates of Valenciennes, and Queſnoy.

The Coun
of Heynau
inuaded.

And thus were they occupied in thoſe partyes, whileſt the king of Englande prepareth hymſelfe wyth all diligence to returne into Flaunders.

Gagnin.

The French king being aduertiſed, that the king of Englande ment ſhortly to returne into Flaunders wyth a greate power, in purpoſe to inuade the Realme of Fraunce on that ſyde, aſſembled a nauie of foure hundred ſhips vnder the leading of three expert Captaynes of the warres by Sea, as Sir Hugh Kiriell, Sir Peter Bahuchet, and a Geneweis named Barbe Noir, appoynting them to the coaſtes of Flaunders to defende the King of Englande from landing there, if by any meanes they might.

A great nauie prepared by the French K.

Theſe three Captaynes or Admirals came and lay with theyr Shippes wythin the hauen of Sluiſe, for that it was ſuppoſed the King of Englande woulde arriue there, as his meaning was in deede, whereupon when his menne, Shippes, and prouiſions were once readie in the Moneth of June, hee tooke the Sea with two hundred ſayle, and directing hys courſe towards Flaunders, there came vnto hym the Lorde Robert Morley, wyth the North Nauye of Englande, ſo that then hee hadde in all aboute three hundred ſayle, or as other ſay, two hundred and three ſcore.

The king o
Englande
keth the

The French nauie lay betwixt Sluiſe and Blanceberg, ſo that when the King of Englande approched, eyther part diſcryed other, and therewith prepared them to battayle. The king of Englande ſtayed till the Sunne whiche at the firſt was in hys face, came ſomwhat Weſtward, and ſo had it vpon his backe, that it ſhoulde not hynder the ſight of his people, and ſo therewyth ſetteth vppon hys enimyes wyth great manhood, who lykewyſe verye ſtoutely encountered hym, by reaſon whereof, enſued a ſore and deadlye fight betwyxt them. The Nauies on both ſides were deuided into three battayles. On the Engliſhe parte, the Erles of Glouceſter, Northampton and Huntingdon, who was Admirall of the Fleete that belonged to the cinque Portes, and the Lorde Robert Morley Admirall of the Northren Nauie hadde the guyding of the forewarde, bearing themſelues right valiauntly, ſo

Polidor.

Iames Me

The king o
Englande
teth vpon h
enimies.

Additions
Triuet

that at length the Engliſhe men hauing the aduauntage, not onely of the Sunne, but alſo of the wynde and tyde, ſo fortunately, that the Frenche Fleete was dryuen into the ſtreyghts of the Hauen, in ſuche wyſe that neyther the Souldiours, nor Mariners, coulde helpe themſelues, inſomuche that bothe Heauen, the Sea, and Winde, ſeemed to haue conſpyred agaynſte the Frenche menne. And herewith many ſhippes of Flaunders ioyning themſelues wyth the Engliſhe Fleete, in the ende the Frenche menne were vanquiſhed, ſlaine, and taken, theyr Shippes beeing alſo eyther taken, bowged, or broken.

The victory of the Engliſhmē at the battaile of Sluſe.

When night was come vppon them, there were thirtie Frenche ſhippes, that yet had not entred the battayle, the whiche ſought by couert of the nyght to haue ſtolen away, and one of them being a mightie great Veſſell, called the Iames of Deepe, woulde haue taken away with hyr a Shippe of Sandwiche that belonged to the Priour of Caunterburie: but by the helpe of the Earle of Huntington, after they had fought all the night tyll the nexte morning, the Engliſhe men at length preuayled, and taking that great huge ſhippe of Deepe, founde in hir aboue foure hundred dead bodies.

Additions to Triuet and Meremouth.

The Iames of Deepe.

To conclude, verie fewe of the French ſhips eſcaped, except ſome of theyr ſmaller Veſſelles, and certaine Gallies with their Admirall Barbenoir, who in the beginning of the battayle got forth of the Hauen, aduiſing the other Captaynes to doe the lyke, thereby to auoyde the daunger, which they wylfully embraced.

nbesok.
agnin.

There dyed in this battayle fought (as ſome write) on mydſommer day in the yeare aforeſayd, of Frenche menne to the number of thirtie thouſande, of Engliſhe menne about foure thouſande, (or as other haue that liued in thoſe dayes, not paſſe foure hundred:) amongeſt whome there were foure Knightes of great Nobilitie, as Sir Thomas Monhermere, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Iohn Boteler and Sir Thomas Poynings.

Eueſburie.
ho. VValſ.
Meremouth.
Froiſſart.
ames Mair.
Southwel.
he number
ine.
Southw.

It is ſayd alſo, that the king himſelf was hurt in the thigh. The two Engliſh ſhippes that had bene taken the yeare before, the Edward, and the Chriſtopher, were recouered at this time, amōgſt other of the French ſhips that were taken there. Sir Peter Bahuchet was hanged vpon a Croſſe poale faſtened to a Maſte of one of the ſhippes.

Through the wilfulneſſe of this man, the French menne receyued this loſſe (as the Frenche Chronicles report) bycauſe he kept the nauie ſo long within the Hauen, tyll they were ſo encloſed by the Engliſhe men, that a great number of the Frenchmen could neuer come to ſtrike ſtroke, nor to vſe the ſhotte of theyr Artillarie, but to the hurt of their fellowes. Howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhe menne gotte a famous victorie, to the great comfort of themſelues, and diſcomfort of their aduerſaries.

The king of England after he had thus vanquiſhed his enimies, remayned on the Sea by the ſpace of three dayes, and then comming on lande, went to Gaunt, where he was receyued of the Queene wyth great ioy and gladneſſe.

Southwell.
The king goeth to Gaunt.
Froiſſard.

In thys meane whyle hadde the Duke of Normandye beſieged the Caſtell of Thuyne Leueſques, neare to Cambray, which was taken by Sir Walter of Manny, a Lorde of Heynault at the firſt begynning of the warres, and euer ſince till that tyme, kept to the king of Englande his vſe.

The Earle of Heynault who had beene of late both in Englande with king Edwarde, and alſo in Almaine with the Emperour to purchaſe theyr aſſyſtaunce for the defence of his Countrey agaynſte the inuaſions of the Frenche menne, was nowe returned home, and meaning to reſcue ſuch as were beſieged in Thuyne, ſente for ſuccours into Flaunders, and into Almaigne, and in the meane tyme leuying ſuche power, as hee coulde make within hys owne Countrey, came therewyth vnto Valenciennes, whither forthwyth reſorted vnto hym the Earle of Namure, wyth two hundred Speares, the Duke of Brabant wyth ſixe hundred, the Duke of Guelderlande, the Earle of Bergen, the Lord of Valkenbergh, and dyuerſe other, the which togither, with the Earle of Heynault, went and lodged alōg by the riuer of Leſtault ouer againſt the Frenche hoſt whiche kept ſiege (as yet haue hearde) vnder the conduct of the Duke of Normandie before Thuyne Leueſche, that is ſituate vpon the ſame ryuer.

The ryuer of Leſtault, or the Scelle.

There came alſo to the ayde of the Earle of Heynault, Iaques Arteuelde, with three ſcore thouſand Flemings. It was thought that they would haue fought ere they had departed in ſunder, but they did not. For after it was knowne how the king of Englande was arriued in Flaunders, and had diſcomfited the French Fleete, the Duke of Brabant and other, thoughte good to breake vp theyr enterprice for that tyme, and to reſorte vnto the King of Englande, to vnderſtande what hys purpoſe was to doe.

The Flemings

Neyther were the French men haſtie to giue battaile, ſo that after the Captaynes of Thuyne Leueſche, Sir Richarde Lymoſyn Knyght an Engliſhe manne, and two Eſquiers, brethren to the Earle of Namure, Iohn, and Thierry, had left theyr Fortreſſe voyde, and were come ouer the Ryuer by Boates vnto the Earle of Heynaultes Campe, the armyes on both ſides brake vppe and departed, the Frenche menne into

Sir Richard Lymoſin.

Fraunce, and the other to Valenciennes, and from thence the Princes and great Lordes drew vnto Gaunt, to welcome the king of Englande into the Countrey, of whome they were ryghte ioyfully receyued: and after they had communed togither of theyr affayres, it was appoynted by the King, that they shoulde meete hym at Villefort in Brabant at a daye prefixed, where he woulde be readie to conſult with them aboute his proceedings in his warres againſt his aduerſaries the Frenchmen.

The armies breake vp.

The aſſemble of the Princes at Villeforde.

At the day appoynted, there came to Villefort the Dukes of Brabant, and Guelderlande, the Erle of Heynault, Gulicke, Namure, Blackenheym, Bergen, ſir Robert Dartois Earle of Richmont, the Erle of Valkenburg, and Jaques Arteveld, with the other rulers of Flaunders and many others.

The couenants betwixt the K. of England & his cōfederats.

Here it was ordayned, that the Countreys of Flaunders, Brabant, and Heynault, ſhoulde be ſo vnited and knitte in one corporation, that nothing ſhoulde bee done amongeſt them in publike affayres, but by common conſent, and if any warres were moued agaynſt any of them, then ſhoulde the other be readie to ayde them, agaynſt whome any ſuch warre was moued: and if vpon any occaſion anye diſcorde roſe betwixt them for anye matter, they ſhoulde make an ende of it amongeſt themſelues, and if they coulde not, then ſhoulde they ſtande to the iudgement and arbitrement of the king of Englande, vnto whome they bounde themſelues by othe to keepe this ordinance and agreement.

Froiſſ.

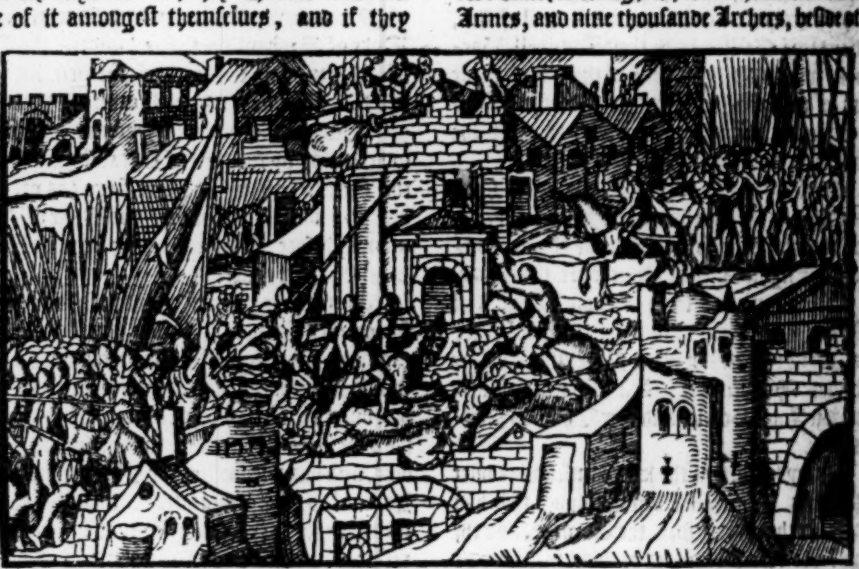
Tourney furniſhed with ſtrong power of men.

The French king being enfourmed that the king of Englande ment to lay ſiege vnto Tourney, as it was in deede deuiſed at this counſaile holden at Villefort, tooke order for the furniſhing therof with men, munition, and vittayles in moſt defencible wiſe.

There were ſent to that towne the beſt men of warre in all Fraunce, as the Earle of Ewe Coneſtable of Fraunce, the yong Erle of Guines his ſonne, the Earle of Foiz and his brethren, the Earle Amerie de Narbon, with many other, hauing with them foure thouſande Souldiers. Sir Godmar du Foy was there before as Captaine of the towne, ſo that it was prouided of all things neceſſarie.

Tourney beſieged.

The king of Englande yet according as it was appoynted at the Counſaile holden at Villefort, about the feaſt of Marie Magdalen, departed from Gaunt, and came to Tourney, hauing wyth hym ſeuen Earles of hys owne Countrey, as Darbie, Pembroke, Herefordе, Huntingdon, Northampton, Glouceſter, and Arundell, eyght Prelates. xxviij. Baronettes, two hundred Knightes, foure thouſande men of Armes, and nine thouſande Archers, beſide other footemen. Hee lodged at the Gate called Saint Martyn, the way towarde Liſle and Doway. Anon after came the Dukes of Brabante and Gelderlande, the Erle of Gulick, the Marques of Blanqueburg, the Marques of Muſſe, the Erles of Bergen, Sauines, and Heynault: alſo Jaques Arteueld, who brought with him aboue fortie thouſande Flemings. So that there was at thys ſiege to the number of ſixe ſcore thouſande men as ſome wryters doe affyrme. There was alſo an other armie of Flemings, as of the townes of Ipre, Popringue, Furnes, Caſſell, and of the Chatelrynye, of Berges beeing to the number of fortie thouſand, appoynted to make warre agaynſte the Frenche menne that kept Saint Omers, and other townes there on the Frontiers of Arthoys, whiche armie was ledde by the Earle of Richmond, otherwyſe called the Lord Robert Dartois, & by ſir Henrie de Flanders, the which approching one day to ſaint Omers, were ſharpely



The great nūber of people at the ſiege of Tourney.

Iames Mair.

The Erle of Richmond.

ſharpely fought with, for within Saint Omers at that tyme lay a ſtrong power of Frenchemen, with the Duke of Burgoyne, the Earle of Arminacke and others.

The Flemings were not willing to ſerue; for neyther had they any truſt in their Captaine the ſayde Earle of Richmonde, neyther would they wyllingly haue paſſed oute of their owne confines, but onelye to defend the ſame from the inuaſion of theyr enimyes, yet through much perſwaſion, forwarde they goe, deuided into ſundry battayles contrarie to theyr maner. The enimyes perceyuing ſome aduantage, iſſue forth vpon them, and aſſayle them very ſtoutely, inſomuch that the Earle of Arminacke ſetting vpon them of Ypres, ouerthrewe them, and chaſed them vnto a towne called Arques, whiche they had a little before ſet on fire and burned.

French ſet vpon Flemings.

An other companie of Frenche men, ſkirmiſhing with them of Frankes, Furnes, and Bergis, put them alſo to the worſe. Contrarily, thoſe Frenche men that encountered with the Lorde Robert Dartois, and them of Bruges whom he ledde, ſuſteyned great loſſe, and were beaten backe into the Citie: the Duke of Burgoyne hymſelfe being in no ſmall daunger for a time, ſo ſharpe the bickering was betwixt them.

There be that write that this fight continuing from three of the clocke till euentide, and that the Earle of Richmond was twiſe put to flight, for his people did leaue hym in the plaine fielde: but at length by the aduice of ſir Thomas Vthred, whom the king of Englande had appoynted to attende the ſayde Earle, wyth manye Engliſh menne and Archers, hee aſſembled his people eftſoones togyther agayne, and ſetting on his enimies, nowe when it was almoſt night, neare to the Gates of Saint Omers, he finally ouercame them, where were ſlaine of the French part .xv. Barons, and .lxxx. knightes, beſide a great number of other people.

Sir Thomas Vthred.

Diuerſe alſo were ſlaine on the Earle of Richmonds part at this laſt encounter, & among other an Engliſh knight, that bare armes eſchequered ſiluer and guelles.

Finally as the Erle of Richmont returned towardes his campe, which lay in the vale of Caſſell, he met with certaine Arteſines & Frenchmẽ, which had bene chaſing the other Flemings, and though it was late in the euening, that one could not take good view of an other, yet here they fought againe, and ſo diuerſe of the Frenchmen were taken and killed, and amongeſt other that were taken, was a knight of Burgoin, named ſir Wil. de Nelly. But when the Erle of Richmond and thoſe that were with him came to the place where ẏ campe lay they found that all the reſidue of the Flemings were fled and gone, and when the ſayde Earle came to Caſſell, the people were readie to haue ſlaine him, their former malice towards him being nowe much encreaſed with the euill ſucceſſe of thys paſſed enterpryſe, ſo that hee was glad to gette hym thence, and to repayre vnto king Edwarde, that lay yet at the ſiege before Tourney, during whiche ſiege many proper feates of armes were done betwixte thoſe within, and them without: for fewe dayes paſſed without the atchieuing of ſome enterpriſe.

he Eare of ichmont daunger to ſlaine.

Alſo the Frenche King hauing made hys aſſemble at Arras, and gotte togyther a mightie hoſt, as well out of the Empyre as of hys owne ſubiectes, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouuines, three Leages from Tourney. There were wyth hym the King of Bohem, the Duke of Lorraine, the Biſhoppe of Metz, the Erles of Bar, Mount Belliard, and Sauoy, alſo the Dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, with a great number of other Erles and Lordes,

The great army rayſed by the French K.

ſo that the greateſt puyſſance of all Fraunce was iudged to be there with the king.

Whyleſt hee laye encamped thus at Bouuins, and the King of Englande at Tourney, manye exploytes were atchieued betwyxt theyr people, who laye not ydle, but ſtill were ryding abroade, and oftentymes mette, and then that parte that was weakeſt payed for the others charges, ſo that many were ſlaine and taken on both ſydes as well of the Nobilitie as other.

Alſo dyuerſe Townes were ſacked and burned on the Frontiers of Fraunce, durying this ſiege at Tourney, namely at the purſuyte of the Earle of Heynault, as Seclyn, S. Amond, Orchies, Landas, and other.

The Lady Iane de Valois treateth for a peace.

At length at the ſuyte of the Ladie Iane de Valois, ſiſter to the Frenche King, and mother to the Earle of Heynault, trauayling ſtyll betwixte the partyes to bring them vnto ſome accorde, it was graunted that eyther partie ſhoulde ſende certayne ſufficient perſones to entreate of the matter, whiche ſhoulde meete at a lyttle Chappell, ſtanding in the fieldes called Eſplotyn, and herto alſo was a truce graunted for three dayes. For the Engliſhe parte were appoynted the Duke of Brabant, the Biſhop of Lyncolne, the Duke of Gelderlande, the Earle of Gulicke, and Sir Iohn de Heynault Lorde Beaumont. For the Frenche part, the King of Boheme, Charles Earle of Alanſon brother to the Frenche King, the Biſhoppe of Liege, the Earle of Flaunders, and the Earle of Armynacke: and the Ladie of Valois was ſtill among them as a Mediatrix, by whoſe meanes chiefelye, they at length didde agree vppon a truce to endure for a yeare betweene all partyes and theyr menne, and alſo betweene them that were in Scotland, in Gaſcoigne, and Poictou.

A truce accorded.

It was agreed alſo by theſe Commiſſioners, that there ſhoulde other Commiſſioners of eyther parte foure or fiue meete at Arras at a daye appoynted, and thither alſo ſhoulde the Pope ſende his Legates, to treate of a perpetuall peace and full agreement to bee made betwyxt the two kings of England and France.

The Flemings releaſed of debts, and of the interdiction.

There was alſo conſideration hadde of the Flemings, ſo that they were releaſed of all ſuche ſummes of money as they were by any bondes endaungered to paye by forfeyture, or otherwyſe, for anye matter before that time vnto the crowne of Fraunce.

Polidor.

Alſo they were releaſed of the Interdiction and Curſe of the Churche, and then alſo was theyr Earle reſtored home.

Reſtitution of townes to the king of England.

Gaguin.

It was further accorded, that the French king ſhoulde reſtore vnto the King of England certayne Townes and places in Guienne, whiche in the beginning of theſe warres the Earle of Alanſon had taken from the Engliſhe men, as Penne in Agenoys, and others.

Alſo whereas the French king had ſeaſed the Countie of Ponthieu into hys handes, which was the dower of Madame Iſabell, the mother of King Edwarde, hee ſhoulde alſo reſtore the ſame vnto King Edwarde, to holde it as he did before.

Hereupon was the ſiege rayſed from Tourney, after it had continued there the ſpace of eleuen Weekes and foure dayes. They within ſtoode in great daunger for lacke of vytayles, to haue bene conſtrayned to the ſurrendring of the Towne, if this truce had not beene concluded, whiche cauſed the Frenche King the ſooner to agree, in like caſe as the lacke of money cauſed the King of Englande to take thys truce, which otherwiſe it was thought he would not haue done.

After he had raiſed his ſiege, he went to Gaunt, and thither came alſo the Earle of Flaunders, being nowe reſtored home to his Countrey, and made the King of Englande great cheare, feaſting and banquetting him right princely togither with the Queene.

Finally, after that king Edwarde had reſted himſelfe a while at Gaunt, he tooke a right few with him, and came into Zelande, and there taking the ſeãs to paſſe ouer into Englãd, he was ſore toſſed by force of outragious ſtormes of winde and weather.

At length yet after three dayes and three nightes ſayling, in the nyghte of the feaſt of Saint Andrewe, hee came on lande at the tower of London aboute Cockes crowe, and with hym the Earle of Northampton, the Lorde Walter de Mannie, the Lord Iohn Darcie, the Sonne of the Lorde Iohn Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two Chapleynes that were his Secretaries, Sir William Killeſby, and Sir Philip Weſton, beſides a few other.

After his arriuall hee ſente for the Biſhop of Chicheſter that was Lorde Chauncellor, for the Biſhop of Couentree and Lichfield being Lorde Treaſorer, and for ſuche of the Iudges as were then in London. The Lord Chancellor and the Lorde Treaſorer he ſtreightwayes diſcharged of theyr offices, threatning to ſende them into Flanders there to remaine as pledges for money that he there ought, or if they refuſed to go thither, then to keepe them priſoners in the towre. But when the Biſhop of Chicheſter declared to him the daunger of the Canon eſtabliſhed agaynſt ſuche as impryſoned Byſhoppes, hee ſuffered them to departe: but the Iudges, to witte Iohn de Stonore, Richard de Willoughby, Wil. de Shareſhull, and alſo Nicholas (or as other haue) Math. de la Beche, which was before gardian of his ſon, & lieutenant of the tower: alſo Iohn de Pulteney, &

William de Poole Merchents, and the chiefe Clearkes of yͤ Chancerie, Iohn de Saint Paule, Michaell de Wath, Henry de Stretforde, and Robert de Chikewel, and of the Eſchecker, Iohn de Thorpe, and many other, were committed to diuers priſons, but yet bycauſe they were committed but only vppon commaundementes, they were within a while after deliuered.

The Lorde Wake was alſo committed, but ſhortly after, he was deliuered to his great honor, as Walſingham writeth. Robert de Bourchier was made Lorde Chancellor, and Richarde de Sadington Lorde Treaſorer: all the Sherifes of Shires, and other officers alſo, were remoued, and other putte in their places, and Iuſtices appoynted in euery Shire, to enquire vppon the defaultes of collectors, and other officers, ſo that few or none eſcaped vnpuniſhed, howſoeuer they had demeaned themſelues, ſo ſtraitely thoſe Iuſtices proceeded in their commiſſions.

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The King indeede was ſore offended with thoſe whome he had put in truſt to leuie money, and to ſee it conueyd ouer to him into the lowe countrey, bycauſe that for want thereof in tyme of neede, hee was conſtreyned to take truce with his aduerſarie the French King, and leaue off his enterpriſe, which he was in good forwardneſſe to haue gone through with, if he had not bin diſappoynted of treaſure whiche he had commaunded to be ſente ouer vnto him, whiche was not done, but kepte backe, in whomſoeuer the fault reſted. There were ſome of his Secretaries, namely, ſir William Killeſby, which ſtirred him to take no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Iohn Stratforde, who thereuppon withdrewe him into the Priorie of Chriſtes Churche at Caunterbury, and there remayning for a ſeaſon, wrote his mind to the King. exhorting hym not to giue too light credite vnto ſuche as ſhoulde counſell him to haue thoſe in contempt that were faithful and true to him, for in ſo doing, he might happely loſe the loue and good will of his people. Neuertheleſſe, hee wiſhed, that he ſhould trie out in whoſe handes the wolles and money remained, which was taken vp to his vſe, and that vppon a iuſt accomptes had at their handes, it mighte appeare, who were in faulte, that he had not money broughte to hym, whyleſt hee lay at ſiege before Tourney, as he had appoynted, and that when the truth was knowen, they that were in faulte might be worthely puniſhed. And as for his own cauſe, he ſignified, that hee was ready to be tryed by his peeres, ſauing alwayes the eſtate of holye Churche, and of his order. &c.

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Further, he beſought the King, not to thynke euill of him, and of other good men, till the truth might be tried, for otherwiſe, if iudgement ſhould be pronounced, without admitting the partie to come to his aunſwere, as well the giltleſſe as the giltie might be condemned.

An. reg. 15.
A letter ſent to the Deane of Paules.

The King neuertheleſſe ſtill offended towards the Archbiſhoppe, cauſed Adam Biſhop of Wincheſter to endite a letter againſte him, directed frõ the King, to the Deane and Chapiter of Paules, openly to be publiſhed by them: the effect whereof was, to burden the Archbyſhoppe with vnthankfulneſſe, and forgetting of his bounden duetie towards his ſoueraigne Lorde and louing maſter, namely, in that where he promiſed the Kyng to ſee him throughly furniſhed with money, towardes the maintenance of his warres: when it came to paſſe, none woulde be had, which turned not onely to the hinderance of the Kings whole proceedings, but alſo to his great diſcredite, and cauſing him to runne greatly in debt by intereſt, through borrowing of money, for the paymente of the wages of his men of warre, when through the Archbyſhops negligence, who had the chiefe rule of the lande, the collectors and other officers ſlacked their duetie, wherby there was no money ſent ouer according to that was appoynted: and whereas now, ſith his comming ouer, he had ſent to the Archbiſhop to come vnto him, that by hys information, he might the better learne, who they were that had neglected their ducty, hee diſobediently refuſed to come, pretending ſome feare of bodily harme, through the malice of ſome yͭ were about the King. Wherevpon, when Rauſe Lord Stafforde, Lord Stewarde of the Kings houſe, was ſente with a ſafecondnit, for him to come in all ſafetie to the Court, he flatly made aunſwere, that hee woulde not come, except in full Parliament. Many other miſdemeanors was the Archbyſhop charged with towardes the King in that letter, as malitiouſly ſlaundering the King for vniuſt oppreſſion of the people, confounding the Cleargie, and greeuing the Church with exactions, leuies of money, tolles and tallages: therefore, ſith he went about ſo to ſlaunder the Kyngs royall authoritie, to defame hys ſeruauntes, to ſtirre Rebellion among the people, and to withdraw the deuotion and loue of the Erles, Lords, and greate men of the lande from the Kyng: hys highneſſe declared, that hee meante to prouide for the integritie, and preſeruation of his good name, and to meete with the Archbyſhops malice, and herewith, diuers things were reherſed to yͤ Archbiſhops reproche, which he ſhould do, procure, and ſuffer to be done, by his euill and ſiniſter counſell, whileſt hee hadde the rule of the Realme in hys handes vnder the Kyng: wherein he had ſhewed hymſelfe not only an acceptor of giftes, but alſo of perſons, in gratifying dyuers that nothing had deſerued ſundry wayes forthe, and preſuming to doe raſhly many other things to the detrimente of the Kynges royall ſtate, and hurte of hys

The Archebiſhop refuſeth to come to the courte.

regall dignitie, and to no ſmall damage of the people, abuſing the authoritie and office to hym committed, ſo that if hee perſiſted in his obſtinate wilfulneſſe, and rebellious contumacie, the King by thoſe his letters ſignifyed, that he meant to declare it more apparantly in due time and place, and therefore commaunded the ſayd Deane and Chapiter of Paules, to publiſhe all thoſe thyngs openly, in places where they thought conuenient, according to their wiſedome giuen to them by God, ſo as hee mighte haue cauſe to commende therein their carefull diligence.

This letter was dated at Weſtminſter the tenth of February, in the fifteenth yeare of hys raigne ouer Englande, and ſeconde ouer Fraunce.

Where the Londoners would not permitte the Kinges Iuſtices to ſitte within the Citie of London, contrary to their liberties, the King appoynted them to ſitte in the Tower, and when they would not make any aunſwer there, a great tumulte was reyſed by the commons of the Citie, ſo that the Iuſtices beeing in ſome perill as they thoughte, feygned themſelues to ſitte there till towardes Eaſter. Whereupon, when the K. coulde not get the names of them that reyſed the tumult, no otherwiſe but that they were certaine light perſons of the common people, he at length pardoned the offence. After this, thoſe Iuſtices neyther ſate in the Tower, nor elſe where, of all that yeare.

A Par

In the quindene of Eaſter, the Kyng helde a Parliamente at London, in the which, yͤ Prelates, Earles, Barons and commons, preſented many petitions, as to haue the great Charter of liberties, and the Charter of Foreſtes duely obſerued, and that they which brake the ſame, ſhuld be diſcharged of their offices, if they were yͤ kings officers, and that the high officers of the Kyng, ſhuld be elected and choſen by their peeres in Parliament. The Kyng withſtode theſe petitions a certayne time, at length yet he graunted to ſome of them, but as concerning the election of his officers, hee in no wiſe woulde conſente, but yet hee was contented, that they ſhould receyue an othe in Parliamente, to doe iuſtice to all men in theyr offices. &c. Uppon whyche Article and others, a ſtatute was made and confirmed with yͤ Kyngs Seale.

Merimouth.

The Emperor won from the King of Englands friendſhippe.

In the meane whyle, the French King had with bribes wonne Lewes of Bauaria, that named himſelfe Emperour, from further fauouring the King of Englande, in ſo muche, that vnder a colourable pretence of finding him ſelfe greeued, for that the King of England had without his knowledge take truce with the French king, he reuoked the dignitie of being vicar in the Empire, from the King of England, but yet ſignified to him, that where the Frenche Kyng had at hys requeſt put the matter in controuerſie betwixte him and the Kyng of England into his handes, to make an ende thereof, if it ſo pleaſed the Kyng of England, that hee ſhould treate as an indifferent arbitrator betwixt them, he promiſed to doe his endeuor, ſo as he doubted not, but that by hys meanes he ſhoulde come to a good agreement in his cauſe, if he wold follow his aduice, and to receyue aunſwere hereof, he ſente his Letters by a chaplayne of his, one Eberhard, the reader of the Friers hermites of Saint Auguſtines order, requeſting the King of England to aduertiſe hym by the ſame meſſenger, of his whole minde in that behalfe. The Kyng for aunſwere, ſignifyed againe by his letters vnto the Emperoure, that for the zeale whiche he hadde, to make an accorde betwixt him and his aduerſarie Phillippe de Ualoys, that named himſelfe French King, he could not but muche commend him, and for his parte, hee had euer wiſhed, that ſome reaſonable agreement

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mente mighte bee had betwixt them: but ſith hys right to the Realme of France was cleere & manifeſt inough, hee purpoſed not to committe it by writing vnto the doubtful iudgement, or arbitrement of anye: and as concerning the agreemente which the Emperor had made with the Frenche Kyng, bycauſe as he alledged, it was lawfull for him ſo to do, ſith without the Emperors knowledge, hee had taken truce with the ſame Frenche King, he ſaid, if the circumſtances were wel conſidered, that matter could not miniſter any cauſe to moue him to ſuch agreement: for if the Emperor remembred, he had giuen to him libertie at all times to treate of peace, without making yͤ Emperor priuie thereto (ſo that without his aſſent, he concluded not vppon any finall peace) which hee proteſted, that he neuer meant to do, till he might haue his prouidente aduice, counſell, and aſſente thervnto. And as concerning the reuoking of the vicarſhippe of the Empire from him, hee tooke it done out of tyme, for it was promiſed, that no ſuch reuocation ſhould be made, till he had obteyned the whole Realme of France, or at the leaſt, the more part thereof.

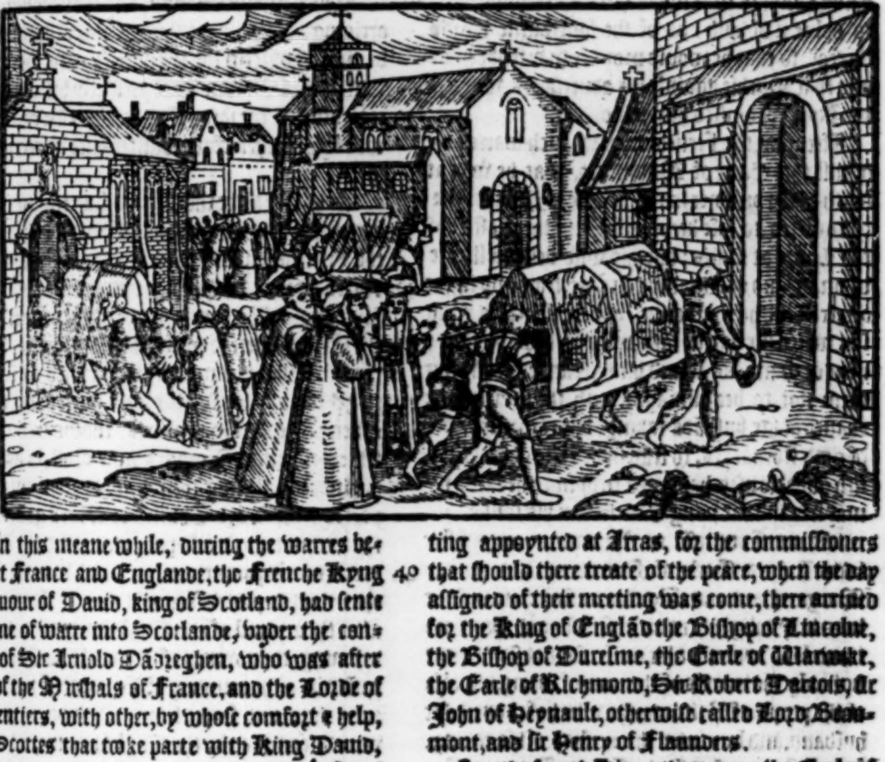
These in effect were the poyntes of the Kyngs letters of aunſwere vnto the Emperor. Dated at London the thirtenth of July, in the ſecond yeare of his raigne ouer Fraunce, and fifteenth ouer England.

The deceaſſe of the Lorde Geffrey de Scrope, and of the Byſhop of Lincolne.

This yeare, about Midſommer, or ſomewhat before, at Gant in Flanders, dyed the Lorde Geffrey Scrope the Kings Juſtice, and Henry Byſhoppe of Lincolne, two chiefe counſellors to the King.

The Queene brought to bedde.

The Queene after hir returne into Englãd, was this yeare brought to bed in the Tower of London, of a daughter named Blanch, that dyed yong, and was buried at Weſtminſter.



In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and Englande, the Frenche Kyng in fauour of Dauid, king of Scotland, had ſente menne of warre into Scotlande, vnder the conduit of Sir Arnold Dãdreghen, who was after one of the Marſhals of France, and the Lorde of Garentiers, with other, by whoſe comfort & help, the Scottes that tooke parte with King Dauid, did endeuor themſelues to recouer out of yͤ Engliſh mens handes, ſuche Caſtels and fortreſſes as they helde within Scotland, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye ſhall finde mentioned, and how aboute this time, their King the foreſaide Dauid, returned forth of France into Scotland by the french kings help, who hauing long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendſhippe to trouble the King of England ſo at home, that he ſhoulde not bee at great leyſure to inuade hym in France.

The commiſſioners that met at Arras.

But now to tell you what chanced of the meeting appoynted at Arras, for the commiſſioners that ſhould there treate of the peace, when the day aſſigned of their meeting was come, there arriued for the King of Englãd the Biſhop of Lincolne, the Biſhop of Dureſme, the Earle of Warwike, the Earle of Richmond, Sir Robert Dartois, ſir John of Heynault, otherwiſe called Lord Beaumont, and ſir Henry of Flaunders.

For the french King, there came the Earle of Alaunſon, the Duke of Burbon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Archbyſhoppe of Sens, the Biſhop of Beauuoys, and the Biſhop of Auxerre.

The Pope ſente thither two Cardinals, Naples and Clermont, theſe commiſſioners were in treatie fifteene dayes, during the which, many matters were putte forth, and argued, but none concluded: for the Engliſhmen demaunded largely, and the Frenchmen woulde departe with nothing, ſauing with the Countie of Ponthieu, the which

This truce was prolonged about the feaſt of the decollation of Saint Iohn, to endure til Midſomer then next following, as the addition to Adam Merimouth hath.

which was giuen with Queene Iſabell in mariage to the King of Englande. So the treatie brake, the commiſſioners departed, and nothyng done, but onely that the truce was prolonged for two yeres further.

The occaſion of the warres of Britaine.

Thus were ẏ warres partly appeaſed in ſome part of Fraunce, but yet was the truce but ſlenderly kept in other partes, by reaſon of the deathe of the Duke of Britaine. For whereas contentiõ roſe betwixte one Charles de Blois, and John Earle of Mountfort, about the right to the Duchie of Britaine, as in the hiſtorie of Fraunce it may more plainely appeare. The Erle of Moũtfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French Kings hands, who fauoured his aduerſarie Charles de Blois, alyed himſelfe with the King of Englande. And as ſome write, after he had wonne diuers Cities and Townes within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to King Edward, acknowledged to holde it of hym, as of the ſoueraigne Lorde thereof, ſo that he would promiſe to defende hym and that Duchie againſt his aduerſaries, whyche the Kyng promiſed him to do.

After this, the French K. made ſuch warres againſt this Earle of Mountfort, that he was at lẽgth taken priſoner in the towne of Nauntes, & committed to ſafe keeping within the Caſtell of the Lovre at Paris: but his wife being a ſtoute woman, and of a manly courage, ſtoode vp in the quarrell of hir huſbande, and preſented a yong ſon which ſhe had by him, vnto ſuch Captaines & men of warre as ſerued hir huſbande, requiring them not to bee diſmayd, with the infortunate chance of hir huſbãds taking, but rather lyke mẽ of good ſtomackes, to ſtãd in defence of his right, ſith whatſoeuer happened to hym, the ſame remayned in that yong Gentleman his ſonne.

14. Meir.

This Counteſſe of Mountfort, was ſiſter vnto Lewes Earle of Flaunders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia as ſome write. She was very diligent in hir buſineſſe, and ſpared no trauaile to aduaunce hir cauſe, ſo that ſhe wanne not only the heartes of the men of warre, but alſo of the people of Britaine, the whiche fauoured hir huſband, and lamented the miſhap of his taking.

Froiſſard.

She firſte furniſhed ſuche Cities, Townes, Caſtels, and fortreſſes as hir huſband had in poſſeſſion, with men, munition & vittayles, as Renes, Dynaunt, Guerand, Hanibout and others. This done, ſhe ſente ouer into England, ſir Emerie de Cliſſon, a noble man of Britaine, to require the King of Englande of ſuccours, with condition, that if it pleaſed him, hir ſonne John ſhould marrie one of his daughters. The King of Englande glad to haue ſuche an entrie into Fraunce, as by Britaine, thought not to refuſe the offer, & therevpon, graunted to ayde the Counteſſe, & forthwith reyſing a power, ſente the ſame ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the Lord Walter of Manny and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the ſea, by reaſon of contrary windes, arriued in Britaine, in whiche meane time, a great army of Frenchmẽ were entred into Britaine, and had beſieged the Citie of Renes, and finally wonne it by ſurrender, and were nowe before the Towne of Hanibout, whiche with ſtraite ſiege, and ſore bruſing of the walles, they were neere at poynt to haue taken, and the Counteſſe of Mountfort within it, if the ſuccours of England had not arriued there, euen at ſuche time, as the Frenchmenne were in talke with them within, about the ſurrender. But after that the Engliſh fleete was ſeene to approch, the treatie was ſone broken off, for they within had no luſt, then to talke any further of the matter.

The Engl ſuccours ar ued in goo time.

The Lorde of Manny, and the Engliſhmen arriuing at Hanibout thus in time of imminent daunger, wherein the Counteſſe, and the other within that Towne were preſently beſet, greatly recomforted the ſaide Counteſſe as ſhe well ſhewed by hir cheerefull countenance in receyuing them.

Archer

Shortly after their arriuall, a certaine number of the Engliſhe archers, iſſuing forthe, beate the Frenchmen from an engine which they hadde reared againſt the walles, and ſet fire vppon the ſame engin. To conclude, the Frenchemen lyked the Engliſhmen ſo well, that ſhortly after being wearie of their companie, they rayſed their ſiege to get themſelues further from them: and in an other parte of the countrey endeuoured themſelues to winne Townes and Caſtels as they did indeede, hauing their army deuided into two partes, the Lord Charles de Bloys gouerning the one parte, and a Spanyarde called the Lorde Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the ſame that thus departed from the ſiege of Hanibout, after the arriuall of the Engliſhmenne) and then winning the townes of Dinant and Guerand, paſſed into the countrey of Britaine, Britonant, and there not farre from Quimpercorentine, were diſcomfited by the Engliſhmenne, who followed them thither.

Charles de Blois.

Lewis de Spaine.

Britaine Britonant.

Of ſixe thouſande Genewaies, Spanyardes, and Frenchmenne whiche the Lorde Lewes of Spayne had there with him, there eſcaped but a few away. A nephewe which he hadde there with him named Alfons was ſlaine, howbeit he himſelfe eſcaped, though not without ſore hurtes.

Edmond de Langley which was after Duke of is borne. Fabian.

This yeare, the fifth of June Queene Phillip was deliuered of a ſonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Edmond, and ſurnamed Langley, of the place where hee was thus borne.

uſtes and ourney at nſtable.

Alſo about the ſame time, was a great iuſtes kept by King Edwarde, at the Towne of Dunſtable, with other counterfeyted feates of warre, at the requeſt of diuers yong Lords and Gentlemen, whereat, both the King and Queene were preſente, with the more parte of the Lordes and Ladies of the lande.

anibout ſieged.

The Lorde Charles de Blois, hauing in the meane time wonne Varnes, and other townes, brought his army backe vnto Hanibout, and eftſoones beſieged the ſame, and the Counteſſe of Mountfort win it: but for ſomuch as it was wel fortifyed, & prouided of all things neceſſarie to defend a ſiege, the Engliſhemen being returned thyther agayne after the ouerthrowe of the Lord Lewes de Spayne, it could not be eaſily wonne. At length, by the labor of certayne Lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a tyme, during the whiche, the Counteſſe of Richmond came ouer into England, to cōmune with King Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appoynted ſir Robert Dartois Earle of Richmond, the Earles of Saliſburie, Pembroke, and Suffolke, the Lordes Stafford, Spencer, and Bourchier, with other, to goe with hir ouer into Britaine, who made their prouiſion, ſo that they mighte take the ſea, to come thither againſt the time that the truce betwixte the Counteſſe, and the Lorde Charles de Bloys ſhould expire.

1342
n. reg. 16.
e Coūteſſe Richmont mmeth o- r into Eng- nde.
army ſente o Britaine.

dditi ns to dam Meri- outh, and riuer.

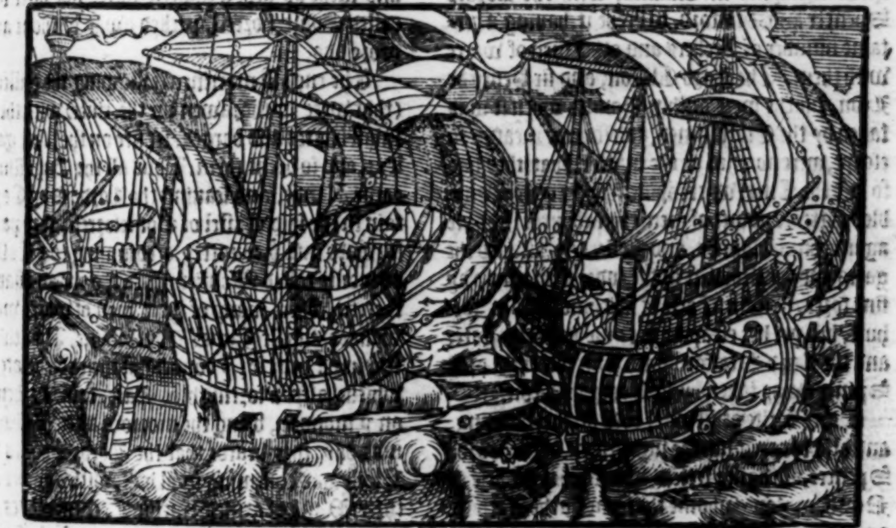
There bee that write, how the Lord Walter de Manny, toke a truce indeede with the Lorde Charles de Bloys, to endure till Alhallowtide next enſuing, but with condition, that if the king of Englande were contented therewith, then the ſame to be firme and fully ratified, otherwiſe not. Wherevpon, when about the beginning of Iuly, the ſayd Lord Walter came ouer into England, bringing with him the Lord of Lions, and other ſuch priſoners as he had taken, and ſignified to King Edward, what he had cōcluded touching the truce, the King liked not thereof, and ſo ſente ouer the Earles of Northampton and Deuonſhire, the Lord Stafford, and ſir William de Killeſby his Chaplayne, and one of his Secretaries, with fiue hundred men of armes, and a thouſand archers, whiche taking Shippe, the vigill of the Aſſumption of our Lady, ſayled forthe towards Britaine.

The Earles of Northampton and Deuonſhire.

The Frenchmen therefore vnderſtanding that this ſuccour was comming, appointed the Lord Lewes of Spaine, ſir Charles Grimaldo, and ſir Antony Doria, with three thouſand Genewes, and a thouſande menne of armes, embarqued in two and thirtie great Shippes, to lie on the ſea in awayte, to encounter the Engliſhe fleete, as the ſame ſhould approch towards Britaine.

Genewes reteined in the French kings wages.

About Eaſter, the Counteſſe of Mountforde with the Engliſh army, appoynted to attend hir, toke the Sea at Southhampton, and at length, mette with the Lord Lewes of Spayne, and his fleete, where betwixt thē was fought a ſore battaile. The Engliſhmen were a fiue and fortie veſſels, but the Lorde Lewes of Spayne, hadde nine great Shippes, and of more force, than any of thoſe which the Engliſhmen had, and alſo he had three Galleys.

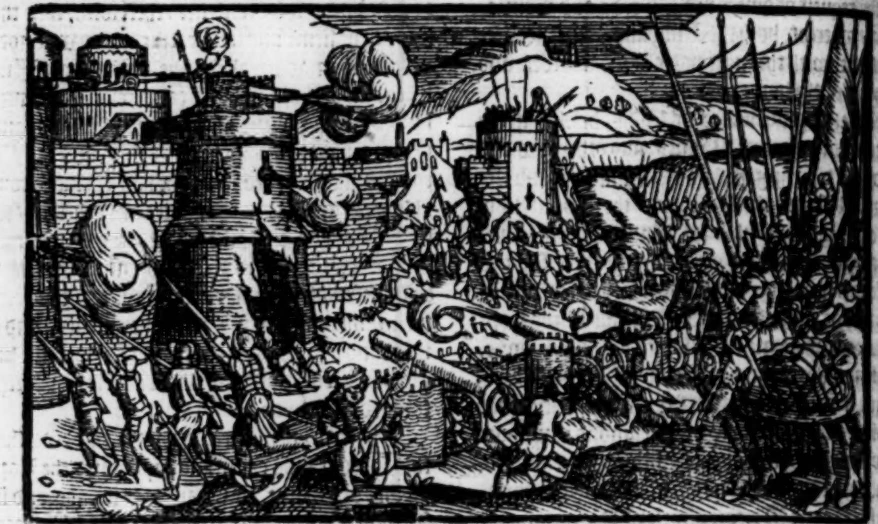


The Engliſhmen and Genewayes mete and fight on the Seas.

They began to fighte about euenſong tyme, and continued till that nighte parted them, and had gone togither againe in the morning, if by a tempeſt that roſe about midnighte, the ſame night, they had not bin ſcattered in ſunder.

The Spanyardes and Genewayes toke away with them foure Engliſh Shippes, whyche being vittellers, were left behinde, and bycauſe the ſame Spanyardes and Genewaies were able to abide the Sea better than the Engliſhmenne, by reaſon of their great ſhippes, they kept the maine Sea, but the Engliſhmen were aduiſed by theyr marriners to drawe vnto the lande, and ſo they did, arriuing at a little hauen, not farre from Vãnes, where comming a land, they ſtreight ways made towardes that Citie, and beſieged it, not ceaſſing to aſſaulte it both day and night, till at lengthe they wanne it, by giuyng the aſſault in two places at once, whyleſt an other number of them ſette vpon in a thirde place, where was no ſuſpition, and ſo entred. After this, the moſte part of the Engliſhmen departed from Vannes, as ſome with the Counteſſe, to bryng hir vnto Hanibout, and ſome with the Earles of Saliſbury, Suffolke, and Cornewall, who wente and laide ſiege to Rennes, ſo that the Earle of Richmont remayned in Vannes, with the Lordes Spencer and Stafford, to keepe it, hauing a certaine number of Archers and other men of warre with them. The Lord Cliſſon, and ſir Henry de Leon, whiche were within Vannes when it was taken by the Engliſhmen, and founde meanes to eſcape, were abaſhed at the matter, that they had ſo loſt the Citie, wherevpon, they ſecretly aſſembled a greate power of men thereaboutes, & came againe vnto Vannes, and ſo fiercely aſſailed the gates and walles, that in the ende, they entred by fine force. The Earle of Richmont was ſore hurt, but yet hee eſcaped out at a poſterne gate, and the Lord Stafford with him, but the Lorde Spencer was taken by ſir Henry de Leon.

Vannes



Additions to Triuet.

Other write otherwiſe, both of the landyng, and alſo concerning the miſfortune of the Lorde Spencer, alledging letters ſent from the Earle of Northampton (whome the ſame authors repute as generall of that army into Britaine) directed to the Kyng, in whiche was ſignified, howe that within the octaues of the aſſumption of our Lady, they arriued on the coaſt of Britaine, neere to the Towne and Caſtell of Breſt, in the whyche, the Ducheſſe of Britaine, with hir children were of the enimies beſieged, both by ſea and lande, by ſea with thirteene greate galleys, by lande by the Lorde Charles de Bloys, the Earles of Sauoy and Foiz. But the galleys perceyuing the Engliſhe fleete to bee approched vpon them, ere they were aware, ſo that they were compaſſed in, to their great danger, three of the ſame galleys fled, and ſo eſcaped, the reſidue got vp into a riuer of the ſame hauen, where they that were aborde, left their veſſels, and fledde to the lande, and as wel they, as the other that held ſiege before Breſt and ſuche as kept a Caſtell there, not farre off, called Goule Forreſt, packed away without any more ado.

The engliſh marriners following the gallies (that were withdrawen vp the riuer) with theyr ſmall boates and barges, ſet fire on the ſame galleys, and ſo brent them. Thus all the Engliſhmē came a lande, and leauing the Lorde Way Captain in the ſaid Caſtel of Goulforreſt, they paſſe forward into yͤ countrey, & comming to a Caſtel cõmonly called Monſieur Relix, gaue an aſſault thereto, where many of their men of warre were woũded, and ſir James Louel ſlaine. After this, ſtaying a time for yͤ cõming of their cõfederates, whiche after a fortnightes ſpace, came to them, on yͤ monday, being the morrow after Michaelmas day, they hearde that the Lorde Charles de Blois was comming in al haſt, with a power of three M. mẽ of armes, twelue C. Geneuoyes, & a greate multitude of cõmons to reyſe the ſiege. Wherevpõ, yͤ Erle of Northamptõ with his army marched ſoftly towards thẽ, & choſing a plot of ground conueniẽt for his purpoſe, fought with his enimie, ſlew and tooke of them at yͤ leaſt, three hundred men of armes. The Erle of Northampton loſt not any noble man in this fight, excepted onely the Lord Edwarde Spencer.

But nowe as touching the Earle of Richmont

mont. Froiſſart ſayth, ẏ he cõming to Hanibout, after he had thus loſt Vannes, tooke the Sea, and ſailed into England: but by reaſon of beeing toſſed on the ſeas, his woundes rancled ſo, that ſhortly after his comming to London hee dyed, and was buried in the Church of Saint Paule. The King of Englande was ſore diſpleaſed with hys deathe, and immediately after, paſſed ouer hymſelfe into Britaine with a greate army: and landing there the nine and twentith of Nouember, at the ſame place where the Earle of Richmont did land at his arriuall there, not farre from Vãnes, he went ſtraight, and beſieged Vannes, but perceyuing that it woulde not bee wonne but by long ſiege, he left the Erle of Arundell, and ẏ lord Stafford to continue the ſiege, whileſt he wente to Rennes to aide his people, which ſtill lay at the ſiege thereof. Before the kings arriual in Britain, thoſe ẏ were there vnder the Erle of Northampton, as the Lord Hugh Spencer, & the L. Richard Talbot, with their retinewes, foughte with the Frenchmen neere to Morleis, where a few Engliſhmen, vnneth fiue hũdred, diſcomfited a mighty power of Frenchmen, eſteemed to be aboue fiftie thouſand, of whome, ſome they ſlewe, & ſome they tooke. Among other, was taken the L. Geffrey de Charny, accompted for one of the beſt and ſageſt Knightes in Fraunce, whome the Lorde Richard Talbot tooke, and ſent into Englande. But nowe as touching the Kings doings, wee finde, that whileſt hee remayned for this winter ſeaſon in Britaine, his people forreyed ẏ Countrey a foure dayes iorney in length, and two days iorney in bredth. After his comming to Rennes, hee ſtayed not paſt fiue dayes, but leauing them whome he found there to continue the ſiege, hee went himſelfe to Nauntes, where he had knowledge, that the Lorde Charles de Blois was. At his comming thither, hee enuironed the Citie about with a ſtrong ſiege, and made many fierce aſſaultes to walles and gates, but could not preuayle, then leauing certaine of his Lords there to continue the ſiege, hee rayſed with the reſidue, and went to Dinan, whiche Towne, with ſore and fierce aſſaultes, hee laſtly wonne, and after that, drew againe towards Vannes, for that he was enformed, howe the Duke of Normandy was comming downe towards him, with an army of fortie thouſand men.

e Kyng
ſeth ouer
o Brytayn.

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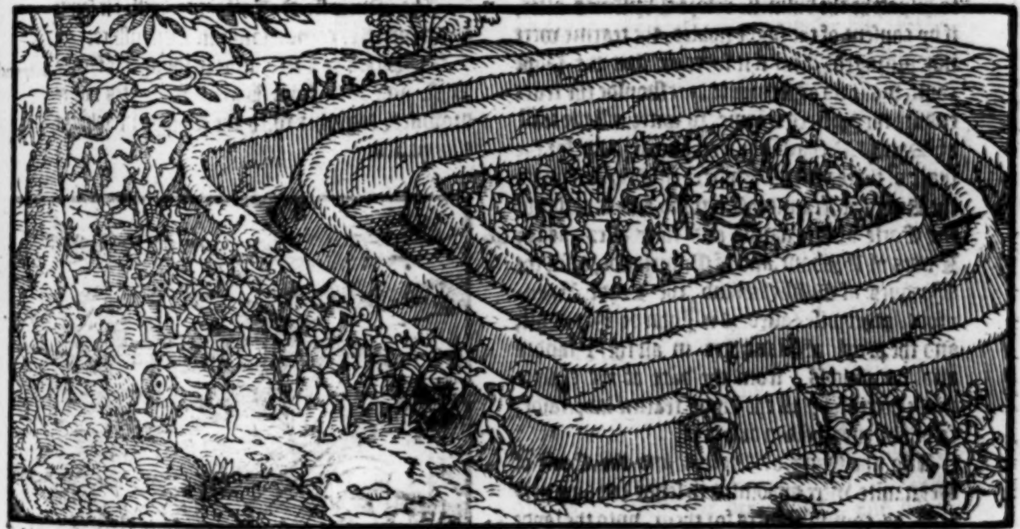
Naunte be-
ſieged.

Hereupon, he ſent for them that lay at ſiege before Nauntes to come vnto him, and ſuffered them at Rennes to keepe their ſiege ſtil, till they heard other word from him. The Duke of Normandy with foure thouſande men of armes, and thirtie thouſande other men of warre, comming into Britaine to ayde ẏ Lord Charles of Blois, was aduertiſed, that the King of England was with the moſt part of all his power withdrawen to Vannes, and there lay at ſiege, ſore conſtreyning them within: wherefore he alſo drewe thitherwards, and approching to the place, encamped with his army ouer againſt ẏ King of England, encloſing his field with a great trench.

The duke of
Normandie
cõmeth downe
into Britayne.



The King of England ſuppoſing he ſhoulde haue battell, ſente vnto thoſe whiche lay at ſiege before Rennes, commanding them to come from thence vnto him: ſo that by this meanes, all the powers, both of the King of Englande, and of the Duke of Normandie, generall to his father the Frenche Kyng in thoſe warres of Brytaine, beeing aſſembled before Vannes, hadde foughten ſome great and bloudy battell as was ſuppoſed, for the whole triall of the right of Britaine, if the Cardinals of Clermount and Preneſt, as Legates from Pope Clement the ſixth, hadde not taken vp the matter, by concluding a truce betwixte them, for the tearme of three yeares.

Commiſ-

Additions to Triuet. Commiſsioners for the King of Englande.

Commiſſioners appoynted to treate with theſe Cardinals, on the behalfe of the Kyng of Englande were theſe, Henry of Lancaſter Earle of Derby, William Bohun Earle of Northampton, William Mountagew Earle of Saliſburie, Raufe Lord Stafford, Bartholmewe Lorde Burgherſe, Nicholas Lorde Cantelow, Reginald Lorde Cobham, Walter Lord of Manny, Maurice Lord Berkeley, and Maſter Iohn Vfford Archdeacon of Elie.

Commiſsioners for the french king.

For the Frenche King, Odo Duke of Burgoigne, and Piers Duke of Burbon were deputed Commiſſioners: and ſuch diligence was vſed by the parties, that finally they agreed vpon thys truce of three yeares, with certayne articles for meane to conclude ſome final peace, as that there ſhould be ſent from eyther Kyng, ſome perſonages of their bloud and others, vnto the Courte of Rome, with ſufficient authoritie, to agree, confirme, and eſtabliſhe vpon all controuerſies and diſſentions betwixt the ſayde Kings, accordyng to the agreement of the Pope, and ſuch as ſhould be ſo ſent to treate thereof.

1343

A truce for three yeares.

It was further agreed, that they ſhould haue libertie to declare and pronounce their argumēts and reaſons before the Pope, but not to haue power to decide and giue ſentence, but only by way of ſome better treatie and order of agreemente to be made. And theſe commiſſioners were appointed to appeare before the Pope, afore the feaſt of Saint Iohn Baptiſt next enſuing, and the Pope to diſpatche the buſineſſe before Chriſtmas after, if by conſent of the ſayde nobles, the tearme were not prorogued. And if it ſo were that the Pope could make no agreemente, yet ſhoulde the truce endure the prefixed tearme, to witte, till the feaſt of Saint Michaell the Archangell, and for the ſpace of three yeares then next enſuing, betwixte the Kings of Fraunce, England and Scotland, the Earle of Heynaulte and their alies, as the Dukes of Brabant, and of Gilderlande, alſo, the Marques of Guillickerland, the Lorde Beaumont, otherwiſe called Sir Iohn de Heynault, and the people of Flaunders, in all theyr landes and dominions, from the date of the charter made hereof, by all the ſayde tearme aforeſaide, to be obſerued, holden and kept.

The conditions of the truce.

Alſo, the Kyng of Scottes and the Earle of Heynaulte were appointed to ſende certaine perſons, as commiſſioners for them, vnto the ſayde Court of Rome.

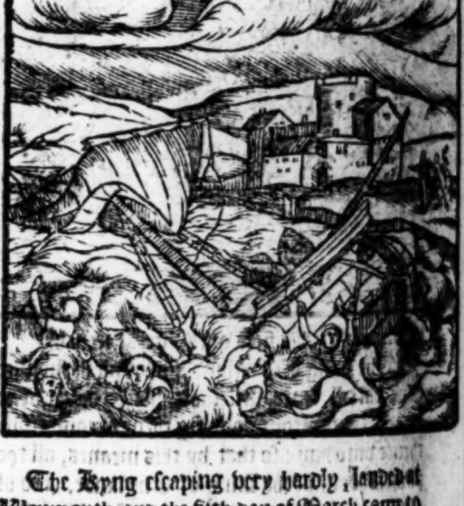
Thys truce was alſo accorded to bee kepte in Britayne, betwixt the ſayde Kyngs and their adherentes, in whyche Countrey, as well as in Guyenne, and other places, euery man ſhoulde remayne in poſſeſſion of that whiche hee helde at the tyme of concluding this truce, ſaue that the Citie of Vannes ſhoulde bee deliuered into the handes of the Cardinall, to bee kepte by them in the Popes name, during the truce, and then to dyſpoſe thereof, as ſhoulde ſeeme to them good.

Many other articles were compriſed in the Charter of thys truce, too long here to rehearſe, all the whyche were confirmed with the othes of the ſayd Dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, on the French Kinges behalfe, and of the Earles of Derby, Northampton, and Saliſbury, the Lorde Burgherſſe, and the Lorde of Manny, for the Kyng of England. In witneſſe whereof, the ſayde Cardinals cauſed the charter to bee made, putting thereunto their ſeales, the nineteenth daye of January, in the yeare 1343. in preſence of dyuers Prelates, and of the Earles of Bolongne, Auſſerre, Sancerre, Juigny, and Porcien, the Lorde Miles de Noiers, the Lorde Ingram de Coucy, and the foreſayde Lordes, Cantelowe, Cobham, and Berkeley, with manye other, Lordes, Barons, Nobles, and Gentlemenne.

When thys truce was thus confirmed, manye of the Engliſhe armye returned home thorough Fraunce, ſo to paſſe ouer by the narrowe Seas into Englande, but the Kyng hymſelfe, with a fewe other, taking theyr Shippes to paſſe by long Seas, were marueilouſly tormented by tempeſt, ſo that their Shippes were ſcattered, and dryuen to take lande at diuers hauens.

The Ducheſſe of Britaigne, with hir ſonne and daughter, came a lande in Deuonſhire.

Sir Peers de Veel, and his ſonne Sir Henry Veel, and Sir Iohn Rayne Knyghtes, were drowned, togyther with the Shippe in whyche they paſſed.

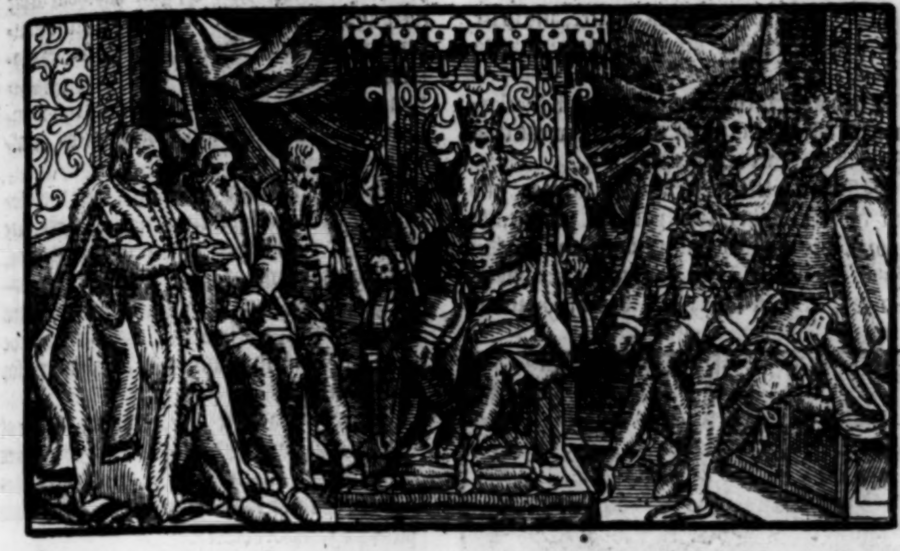


The Kyng eſcaping very hardly, landed at Weymouth, and the fifth day of March came to London to the Queene.

Parliament. e Kings eſt ſonne eated prince Wales.

In the Quindene of Eaſter, he helde a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in which, he created hys eldeſt ſonne Edward Prince of Wales.

In this Parliamente, were diuers matters



talked of, and ſpecially concerning woolles, and of the aſſeſſemente of a certayne price of them, more and leſſe, according to the ſeuerall parties of the Realme, and of the cuſtomes to bee made of them, to witte, three markes and an halfe, for euery ſacke to be tranſported forth of the Realm.

baſſadors poynted to to the

Alſo in the ſame Parliament, were Ambaſſadors appoynted forth, ſuche as ſhoulde goe to the Pope to treate of peace, (as in the Charter of the truce among other articles it was conteyned,) whoſe names followe, John Byſhop of Exeter, Henry de Lancaſter Earle of Derby, Hugh le Diſpenſer Lord of Glamorgan, Couſins to the King: Raufe Lord Stafford, William de Norwiche Deane of Lincolne, William Truſſell Knighte, and maſter Andrewe de Offord a Ciuilian. Theſe perſons were ſent with commiſſion to ẏ Pope, to treate with him, not as Pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuate perſon, and a common friende to both parties, to be a meane or mediator, to fynde out ſome indifferente ende of all controuerſies betwixt the parties.

The date of their commiſſion was at Weſtminſter, the foure and twentith of May, in thys ſeuenteenth yeare of the Kings raigne.

Moreouer in thys Parliamente, a greeuous complaynte was exhibited, by the Earles, Barons, Knightes, burgeſſes, and other of the commons, for that ſtraungers, by vertue of reſeruations and prouiſions Apoſtolike, gote the beſt beneſices of this lande into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the ſame, but deminiſhing the treaſure of the Realm, and conueying it forthe, ſore endomaged the whole ſtate.

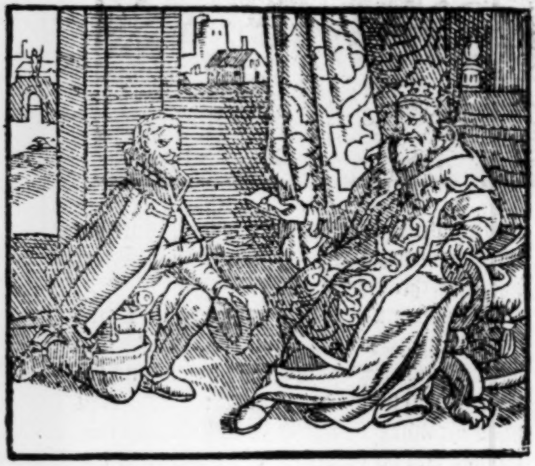
The Byſhops durſt not, or woulde not gyue theyr conſents in exhibiting this complainte, but rather ſeemed to ſtande againſte it, till the Kyng compelled them to gyue ouer.

Herevpon, a letter was framed by the Lords of the temporaltie and commons, whiche they directed vnto the Pope in all humble manner, beſeeching hym to conſider of the derogation done to the Realme of England, by ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations of benefices, as had bin practiſed heere in Englande, and therefore, ſith the Churches of Englande had bin founded and endowed by noble and worthy men in times paſt, to the ende the people might be inſtructed by ſuche as were of their owne language, and that hee beeyng ſo farre off, and not vnderſtandyng the defaultes had (lyke as ſome of his predeceſſors more than in times paſt hadde bin accuſtomed) graunted by dyuers reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, the Churches and ſpirituall promotions of this lande, vnto diuers perſons, ſome ſtraungers, yea, and enimies to ẏ Realme, whereby the money and profites were carried forthe, the cures not prouided for, almes withdrawen, hoſpitalitie decayed, the Temples and other buyldings belonging to the Churches, ruinated and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people ſore deminiſhed, and dyuers other greeuous enormities thereby growen cleane contrary to the founders mindes: wherefore, vpon due conſideration thereof hadde, they ſignifyed to him, that they could not ſuffer ſuche enormities any longer, and therefore beſoughte hym wholly to reuoke ſuche reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, to auoide ſuche ſlanders, miſchiefes, and harmes as myghte enſue, and that the cures myghte therewith be committed to perſons meete for the exerciſe of the ſame: further alſo, beſeeching him without delay, to ſignifie his intention, ſith they meante to employ theyr diligence to remedie the matter, and to ſee that redreſſe myghte bee hadde accordyng to reaſon.

The date of theſe letters was in full Parliament at Weſtminſter, the eight and twentith of May, in the yeare of grace. 1343.

Sir Iohn Shordiche ſent to the Pope.

Beſide theſe letters, were other written, and ſent from the King, conteyning in ſumme, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one Sir John Shordiche Knighte a graue perſonage, and well ſeene in the lawe, was appoynted to goe with the ſame, who comming to Auignion, and there preſenting his letters in the Popes priuie chamber, where the Pope ſate, with all hys Cardinals about him, receyued no greate curteous welcome, after hys letters were once redde: and when the Knight made aunſwere vnto ſuch wordes as hee hearde the Pope vtter, and charged hym, with giuing the Deanrie of Yorke, vnto one that was reputed the Kynges enimie, the Pope ſayde, well, It is not vnknowen to vs who made and endited theſe letters, and wee knowe that thou madeſt them not, but there is one that pincheth at vs, and wee ſhall puniſhe him well ynough: we knowe all.



The Popes wordes to ſir Iohn Shordich.

Hereunto, hee added this muche more, that there was a Knighte that ſpake defamous wordes of him, & the Church of Rome, wherwith hee ſeemed highly offended. To conclude, hee ſayd, that he woulde aunſwere the letters of the Kyng and commons, as touching the poyntes conteyned in the ſame.

The Cardinals, after they hadde hearde theſe thynges, departed, as if they hadde bin ſore offended and troubled therewith: and the Knyghte taking hys leaue of the Pope, departed alſo forth of the chamber, and without anye longer abode, got him away towardes Burdeaux, aboute other of the Kyngs buſineſſe: doubting leaſt if hee had ſtayed longer, hee myghte haue bin kepte there agaynſte his will. The Pope ſente aunſwere indeede, but neuertheleſſe, the King proceeded in prohibiting ſuch prouiſions, and collations within his Realme, on payne of impriſonmente and death to the intruders thereby, as after yee ſhall perceyue.

Of bene
inhibited b
the Kyng

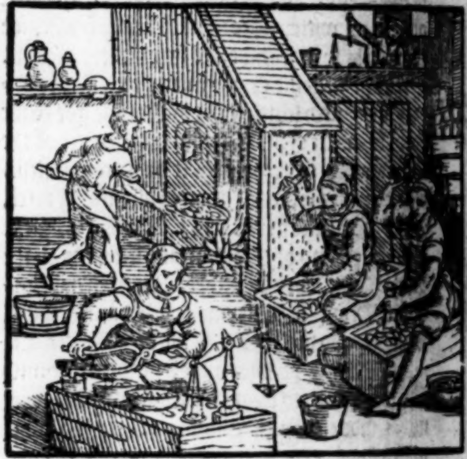
Iuſtes in
Smithfiel

This yeare aboute Midſomer, there were ſolemne Juſtes proclaymed by the Lorde Roberte Morley, whiche were holden in Smithfielde, where for challengers, came forthe one appareled lyke to the Pope, bringing with hym twelue other in garmentes lyke to Cardinals, whyche tooke vppon them to aunſwere all commers, for three courſes.

On the defendantes ſide, ranne the Prince of Wales, with many Earles, Barons, Knyghtes and Eſquires innumerable, ſo that thoſe Juſtes continued three dayes togither, to the greate pleaſure of the beholders.

1344

This yeare, King Edwarde ordeyned a certayne newe coigne of golde, whyche hee named the Florene, that is, the peny of ſixe ſhillings eight pence, the halfe peny of the valewe of three ſhillings foure pence, and the farthing of the valewe of twentie pence.



Thys coigne was ordeyned for hys warres in Fraunce, the golde whereof was not ſo fine, as the Noble, whiche in the fourteenth yeare of hys raigne, hee hadde cauſed for to bee coigned.

Tho. Wa

A chambe
built with
the Caſtl
Windeſo
called the
round ta

This yeare, the King cauſed a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken vp, whome hee ſet in hande to buylde a chamber in the Caſtell of Windeſor, whiche was called the rounde table, the floore whereof, from the center or middle poynte, vnto the compaſſe throughout, the one halfe, was (as Walſ. writeth) an hundred foote,

ow out of
ry de Lei-
ſter.
The Iſle of
Man.

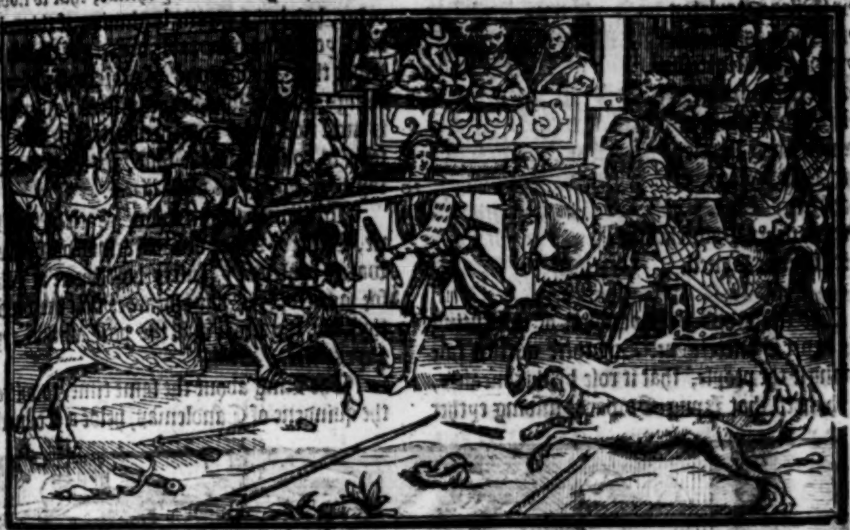
foote, and ſo the diameter, or compaſſe rounde about, was two hundred foote. The expenſes of this worke, amounted by the weeke, firſt vnto an hundred pounde, but afterwardes, by reaſon of the warres that followed, the charges was deminiſhed vnto two and twentie pounde the weeke, as Thomas Walſingham writeth in his larger booke, entituled, the hiſtory of Englande, or as ſome Copies haue, vnto nyne poundes.

This yeare alſo, William Montacute Earle of Saliſbury, conquered the Iſle of Man, out of the handes of the Scottes, which Iſle the King gaue vnto the ſayd Earle, and cauſed him to bee entituled, and crowned King of Man.

This Iſle as Robert Southwel noteth was wonne by the Scottes, about the ſecond yeare of Edwarde the ſecond his raigne, who in the yeare before, to witte, Anno Chriſti [illegible] had giuen the ſame Iſle vnto Peers de Gaueſton, whome hee had alſo made Earle of Cornewall.

Iuſtes and torneys holden at Windſore.

Moreouer, about the beginning of this eyghteenth yeare of his raigne, King Edwarde held a ſolemne feaſt at his Caſtell of Windſor, where betwixt Candlemas and Lente, were atchieued many martiall feates, as Iuſtes, turneamentes, and dyuers other the like warlike paſtimes, at the which were preſent, many ſtraungers of other landes, and in the ende thereof, hee deuiſed the order of the Garter, and after, eſtabliſhed it, as it is at this day. There are ſix and twentie companions or confreres of this felowſhip of that order, beeing called Knightes of the blewe garter, and as one dyeth or is depriued, an other is admitted into his place. The K. of Englande is euer chiefe of this order. They weare a blewe robe or mãtel, and a garter about their left legge, richly wrought with golde and precious ſtones, hauing this inſcription in Frenche vpon it, *Honi ſoit, qui mal y penſe*, Shame come to hym ỷ euill thinketh.



e order of
e garter
uiſed.

This order is dedicated vnto Sainct George, as chiefe patrone of menne of warre, and therefore euery yeare do the knightes of this order kepe ſolemne his feaſt, with many noble ceremonies, at the Caſtell of Windeſor, where King Edwarde founded a Colledge of Canons, or rather augmenting the ſame, ordeyned therein a Deane with twelue Canons Seculars, eight peticanons, and thirteene vicars, thirteene Clearkes, and thirteene Choriſters.

The Knightes haue certayne lawes and rules apperteyning to their order, amõgſt the whiche, this is chiefly to be obſerued, as Polidor alſo noteth, that they ſhall ayde and defende one another, and neuer turne their backes or runne away out of the fielde in tyme of battell, where hee is preſent with hys ſoueraigne Lorde, his Lieutenaunte or deputie, or other Captayne, hauyng the Kynges power royall, and authoritie, and whereas his banners, ſtanderttes, or pennous are ſpredde.

The reſidue of the lawes and rules apperteyning vnto this noble order, I doe heere purpoſely omitte, for that the ſame in other place conuenniente by others maye bee expreſſed, ſo farre as ſhall bee thoughte expediente. But nowe touching theſe ſixe and twentie noble menne and Knightes whyche were firſte choſen and admitted into the ſame order, by the fyrſt Soueraigne and founder thereof, thys Kyng Edwarde the thyrde, theyr names are as followe.

Firſte, the ſayde noble Prince, King Edwarde the thirde.

The Prince of Wales Duke of Cornewalle, and Earle of Cheſter, hys eldeſt ſonne.

Henry Duke of Lancaſter.

The Earle of Warwike.
The Captall de Beuch, alias Buz or Beuſe.
Rauffe Earle of Stafforde.
William Montacute Earle of Saliſbury.
Roger Lord Mortimer.
John Lord Liſle.
Bartholmew Lord Burwaſch, or Bergherſch.
The Lord John Beauchampe.
The Lord de Mahun.
Hugh Lord Courtney.
Thomas Lord Holand.
John Lord Gray.
Richard Lord Fitz Simon.
Sir Miles Stapleton.
Sir Thomas Walle.
Sir Hugh Wrotteſley.
Sir Nele Loringe.
Sir John Chandos.
James Lord Audeley.
Sir Otes Holand.
Sir Henry Eme.
Sir Sanchet Dabrichcourt.
Sir Walter Panell.

The occaſion that moued King Edward to inſtitute the order of the garter.

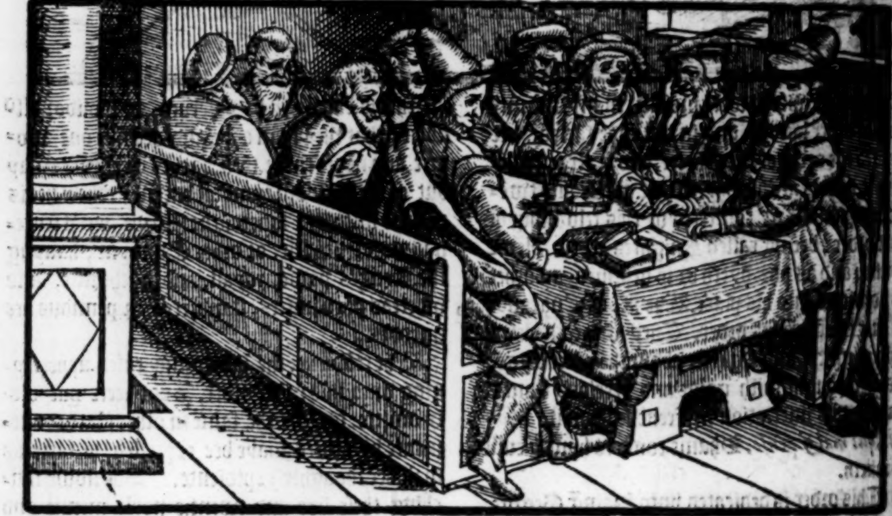
The cauſe and firſte occaſion of inſtituting this order is vncertayne. But there goeth a tale amongſt the people, that it roſe by this meanes, It chaunced that Kyng Edwarde finding eyther the garter of the Queene, or of ſome Lady, with whome hee was in loue, beeing fallen from hir legge, ſtouped downe, and tooke it vp, whereat diuers of his nobles founde matter to ieſt, and to talke their fancies merily, touching the Kings affection towardes the woman, vnto whome he ſayde, that if hee liued, it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that moſt high honor ſhould be giuen vnto them for the garters ſake: and therevpon ſhortly after, he deuiſed and ordeyned this order of the garter, with ſuch a poſey, whereby he ſignified, that hys Nobles iudged otherwiſe of him than the trouth was. Though ſome may thinke, that ſo noble an order, had but a meane beginning, if this tale be true, yet many honorable degrees of eſtate haue hadde their beginnings of more baſe and meane things, than of loue, whiche beeing orderly vſed, is moſt noble and commendable, ſith nobilitie it ſelfe is couered vnder loue, as the Poet Ouid ſayth, *Nobilitas ſub amore iacet.*

The Co
of Salis

William de Montagewe Earle of Saliſburie, Kyng of Man, and Marſhall of Englande, was ſo bruſed at yͤ Iuſtes holdẽ heere at Windſor (as before yee haue hearde) that hee departed thys life, the more was the pitie, within eyghte dayes after.

Additio
Adam Mu
mouth, a
Titus.

The King about the ſame time, to witte, in the quindene of Candlemas, helde a Counſell at London, in the whiche, with good aduice, and ſound deliberation had vppon the complaynt of the commons to hym before time made, hee gaue out ſtraight commaundemente, that no man, on payne of empriſonmente and deathe, ſhoulde in time to come, preſente or induct anye ſuch perſon or perſons, that were ſo by the Pope promoted, without the Kinges agreemente, in preiudice of his royall prerogatiue. Herevppon, he directed alſo writtes to all Archbyſhops, Byſhoppes, Abbots, Priors, Deanes, Archdeacons, Officials, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, to whome it apperteyned, inhibiting them in no wiſe to attempte anye thing in preiudice of that ordinance, vnder pretext of any Bulles, or other writings, for ſuche manner of prouiſions, to come from the Courte of Rome. Other writtes were alſo directed to hys ſonne the Prince of Wales, and to all the Sherifes within yͤ realme, for to arreſt all ſuchs as broughte into the lande any ſuch Bulles or writings, and to bring them before the Kings counſell or his Iuſtices, where



they mighte bee puniſhed, according to the treſpaſſe by them committed.

About the ſame time, the Kyng ordeyned a certayne coigne of fine golde, and named it the Florene, which coigne was deuiſed for his warres in Fraunce, for the golde thereof was not ſo fine as was the Noble, which in the fourtenth yeare he had cauſed to be coigned: but this coigne continued not long.

After the feaſt of the holy Trinitie, the Kyng held a Parliament at London, in the which, hee aſked a tenth of the Cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laytie, about which demaunde, there was no ſmall altercation, but at length he had it graunted for one yeare.

The ſame time, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury helde a conuocation of all the Cleargie at London, in the which, many things were in talke about the honeſt demeanor of Churchmen, which ſeldome is obſerued, as the addition to Nicholas Triuet ſaith.

igne
nged.

About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, the King diſanulled the Florens, to ỹ greate commoditie of his Kingdome, ordeyning a greater Florene of halfe a marke, and a leſſer of three ſhillings four pence, and the leaſt of all, of twentie pence, and theſe were called Nobles, and not without cauſe, for they were a noble coigne, faire and fine golde.

This yeare, the ſeuenteenth day of Nouember, the Pope in Auinion created the Lord Lewes de Spaine, Ambaſſador for the Frenche K. Prince of the Iſles called *Fortunatæ*, for what purpoſe it was not knowen, but it was doubted, not to be for any good meaning towardes the kingdome of Englande, the proſperitie whereof, the ſame Pope was ſuſpected not greately to wiſh.

1345

nno reg. 19.

About the beginning of Lent the ſame yeare, the ſayde Pope had ſente an Archbyſhoppe and a Byſhoppe, Ambaſſadors to the King, who mette them at Oſpring in Kente, and to the ende they ſhoulde not linger long within the Realme, hee quickly diſpatched them withoute effect of theyr meſſage.

This yeare, ſhortly after Eaſter, the Duke of Britaine, that had bin deteyned priſoner by the Frenche King, and eſcaped out of priſon, came ouer into England. And about the ſame time, the King ordeyned the exchange of moneys at London Caunterbury, and Yorke, to ỹ greate commoditie of his people.

uesburie.
d.Meri.
lichron.

e hundred
en of armes,

and two thouſand archers hath Froiſſart.

About Midſomer, or as other haue Michaelmas, the Erle of Derby, with the Erle of Penbroke, the Lorde Raufe Stafford, the L. Walter de Manny, the L. John Grey of Codnore, and diuers other Lords, Knightes, and Eſquires, to the number of fiue or ſixe hundred men of armes, and as many archers, ſailed ouer into Gaſcoigne, to aſſiſt the Kinges ſubiectes there agaynſt the Frenchmen. This Earle of Derby, being generall of the army, after hys arriuall in Gaſcoigne, about the beginning of December, wanne the Towne of Bergerat by force, hauing putte to flight the Erle of Liſle, as then the French Kings Lieutenant in Gaſcoigne, who lay there with a great power to defende the paſſage, but beeyng drawen into the Towne, and hauing loſt the Suburbes to the Engliſhmen, he fledde out in the night, and ſo left the Towne without any Souldiers to defende it, ſo that the Townesmen yeelded it vnto the Earle of Derby, and ſware themſelues to be true liege men vnto the Kyng of Englande.

Bergerat won.

Froiſſart.

After this, the Earle of Derby paſſed further into the Countrey, and wanne diuers Caſtels and Townes, as Lango, le Parke, Mountcural, Mongiuile, Punach, Lalley, Forlath, Pondair, Beaumount in Layllois, Bonnall, Auberoch and Libirne, part of them by aſſaulte, and the reſidue by ſurrender.

This done, he returned to Burdeaux, hauing left Captaines and Souldiers in ſuche places as he had wonne.

This yeare, the King ſent forth a commiſſion vnto certaine perſons in euery countie within this Realme, to enquire, what landes and tenementes euery man, aboue fiue poundes of yeerely reuenewes, being of the lay fee myght diſpend, bycauſe he had giuen order, that euery man whiche myghte diſpende fiue poundes and aboue, vnto tenne pounde of ſuche yeerely reuenewes in lande or the ley fee, ſhoulde furniſhe hymſelfe, or finde an archer on horſebacke, furniſhed with armour and weapon accordingly.

Hee that might diſpende tenne pounde, ſhould furniſhe hymſelfe, or fynde a demilaunce or a light horſeman if I ſhall ſo tearme hym, beeyng then called an Hobeler with a launce, and hee that myghte diſpende fiue and twentie pounde, ſhoulde furniſhe hymſelfe, or finde a man at armes. And hee that myghte diſpende fiftie poundes, ſhoulde furniſhe two men at armes. And hee that myghte dyſpende an hundred poundes, ſhoulde fynde three men at armes, that is, hymſelfe, or one in his ſteede, with two other.

And ſuche as myght diſpende aboue an hundred poundes, were appoynted to fynde more in number of menne at armes, accordingly as they ſhoulde bee aſſeſſed, after the rate of theyr landes, whyche they myghte yearely diſpende, beeyng of the lay fee, and not belonging to the Church.

Additions to Triuet.

About this ſeaſon, the Duke of Britayne, hauing wt hym the erles of Northãpton & Oxford, Sir William de Killeſby one of the Kings ſecretaries, and many other Barons and knightes, with a greate number of men of armes, paſſed ouer into Britaine, againſt the Lord Charles de Bloys, where they taried a long time, and dyd little good to make any accompte of, by reaſon that the Duke, in whoſe quarrell they came into thoſe parties, ſhortly after his arriuall there, departed this life, and ſo they returned home into England. But after their comming from thence, Sir Thomas Dagworth Knighte, that hadde bin before, and nowe after the departure of thoſe Lordes and Nobles, ſtill remayned the Kyngs Lieutenant there, ſo behaued himſelfe againſte both Frenchmen and Britaines, that the memorie of his worthy doings, deſerueth perpetual commendation.

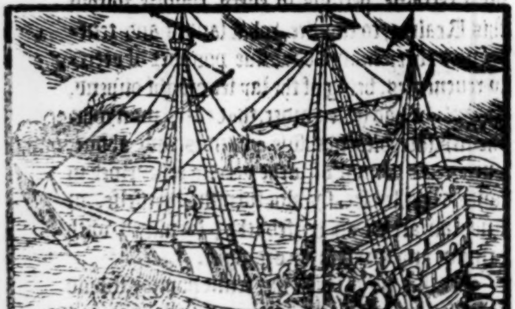
The Duke of Britayne departed this life

Sir Iohn de Heynault Lorde Beaumont, about the ſame time, changed his coate, and leauing the King of Englandes ſeruice, was reteyned by the French Kyng.

The Lorde Beaumount of Heynault forſaketh the K. of England his ſeruice.

In this nineteenth yeare of King Edwarde I finde, that about the feaſt of the Natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, he ſayled ouer into Flaunders, leauing his ſonne the Lord Lionell, warden of the Realme in his abſence. He tooke with him a great number of Lords, Knightes, and Gentlemen, with whome hee landed at Sluſe.

The king goeth ouer into Flaunders.



The cauſe of his going ouer was, to further a practiſe whiche he hadde in hande with them of Flaunders, the which by the labor of Iaques Arteueld, meant to cauſe their Earle Lewes, eyther to do homage vnto Kyng Edward, or elſe if hee refuſed, then to diſinherite him, and to receyue Edwarde Prince of Wales for theyr Lorde, the eldeſt ſonne of King Edwarde.

Ia. Meir.

King Edwarde promiſing to make a Dukedome of the Countie of Flaunders, for an augmentation of honor to the countrey, there came vnto Sluſe to the King, Iaques van Arteueld, and a great nūber of other, appointed as counſellors for their chiefeſt Townes.

Froiſſart.

The King with all his nauie, lay in the hauen of Sluſe, where in his great Shippe called the Catherine, a Councell was holden vpon this foreſaid purpoſe: but at length thoſe of the Counſels of the chiefeſt Townes, miſliked the matter ſo much, that they would conclude nothing, but required reſpite for a moneth, to conſult with all the communaltie of the Countreys and townes, and as the more part ſhould be enclined, ſo ſhould the King receyue aunſwere. The King and Iaques Arteueld would fayne haue had a ſhorter daye, and a more towardly aunſwere, but none other could be gotten.

Hereupon, the Councell brake vp, and Iaques Arteueld tarying with the King a certaine ſpace after the other were departed, promiſed hym to perſwade the Countrey well ynough to his purpoſe, and ſurely, hee hadde a great gift of eloquence, and hadde thereby induced the Countrey wonderfully, to conſent to many things, as well in fauour of King Edward, as to his owne aduancement: but this ſute whiche he went nowe about to bring to paſſe, was ſo odious vnto all the Flemings, that in no wiſe they thought it reaſon to conſente vnto the diſinheriting of the Earle.

At length, when Iaques Arteuelde ſhoulde returne vnto Gaunt, Kyng Edwarde appointed fiue hundred Welchmen to attende hym as a garde, for the preſeruation of his perſon, bycauſe he ſayde, that one Gerarde Deniſe, Dean of the wayuors, an vnquiet man, malitiouſly purpoſed his deſtruction.

Ia. Meir.

Captaynes of theſe Welchmen, were Iohn Matreuerſe, and William Sturine, or Sturie, and ſo with this crewe of Souldiers, Arteuelde returned to Gaunte, and earneſtly goeth in hand with hys ſute in Kyng Edwardes behalfe, that eyther the Earle ſhoulde doe hys homage to the Kyng of Englande, to whome it was due, or elſe to forfeyte hys Earledome. Then the forſayde Gerard, as well of his owne mynde, as procured thereto by the authoritie of Earle Lewes, ſtirred the whole Citie againſte the ſayde Arteuelde, and gathering a greate power vnto hym, came and beſette Arteueldes houſe rounde about vpon eache ſide, the furie of the people being wonderfully bente agaynſte hym, crying, kill hym, kill hym, that hathe robbed the treaſure of the countrey, and nowe goeth aboute to diſinherite our noble Earle.

Iaques van Arteuelde perceyuing in what danger he was, came to a window, and ſpake to that enraged multitude, in hope with faire and curteous wordes to appeaſe them, but it coulde not bee: wherevpon, hee ſoughte to haue fledde out of hys houſe, but the ſame was broken vp, and ſo manye entred vppon hym, that hee was

found
]

roiſſart.
ames Mair.

founde out, and ſlayne by one Thomas Deniſe (as ſome write.) But other affirme, that a Cobler, whoſe father this Iaques van Arteueld had ſometime ſlayne, followed him, as he was fleeing into a ſtable where hys horſes ſtoode, and there with an axe claue his head in ſunder, ſo that hee fell downe ſtarke dead on the grounde. And thys was the ende of the foreſaide Iaques van Arteueld, who by hys wiſedome and policie had obteyned the whole gouernemente of all Flaunders.

cob van Ar-
ueld ſlayne.

He was thus ſlayne vpō a Sunday in yͤ after noone, being the ſeuententh of Iuly. There were ſlayne alſo tenne other perſons that were of hys counſell, and dyuers of the Welchmen in lyke manner, but the other eſcaped, and got away vnto King Edwarde, as yet remaynyng at Sluſe, vnto whome thoſe of Bruges, Caſſell, Curtrick, Yppres, Ildenard, and other Townes, dyd afterwardes ſende their orators to excuſe thēſelues, as nothing giltie nor priuie to the deathe of hys friende, and their worthy gouernour Iaques van Arteueld, requiring him not to impute the faulte vnto the whole countrey, which the raſh and vnaduiſed Gantiners had committed, ſith yͤ Countrey of Flaunders was as ready now to do hym ſeruice and pleaſure as before, ſauing that to the diſinheriting of their Earle, they could not be agreeable, but they doubted not to perſwade hym to doe his homage vnto the King of Englande, and till then, they promiſed not to receyue him.

Ambaſſadours
om the good
ownes in Flā
ers vnto K.
dwarde.

They put the King alſo in hope of a marriage to be had, betwixte the ſonne of their Earle, and ſome one of the Kings daughters. Heerewith, the King of England (who was departed frō Sluſe, in greate diſpleaſure with the Flemings became ſomewhat pacified in hys moode, and ſo renued the league eftſoones with the Countrey of Flaunders: but the Earle woulde neuer conſent to doe homage vnto the Kyng of Englande, but ſtill ſticked to the French Kings part, which purchaſed him muche trouble, and in the ende coſt hym his life, as after ſhall appeare.

roiſſart.

But now to returne vnto the Earle of Derby, whome wee left in Gaſcoigne. Yee ſhall vnderſtand, that ſhortly after he was come backe to Burdeaux, from the conqueſt whiche hee hadde made of Bergerat, & other townes thereaboutes. The Earle of Liſle, who (as ye haue hearde) was the French Kings Lieutenant in that countrey, aſſembled an army of twelue thouſand men, and comming before Auberoche, a Towne in Gaſcoigne, beſieged it, ſore preſſing them within, in ſo muche, that they were in greate daunger to haue bin taken, if the Earle of Derby, hauyng knowledge in what caſe they ſtoode, hadde not come to their reſkewe, who with three hundred ſpeares, or men of armes as we may call them, and a ſixe hundred archers, approching neere to the ſiege, layde hymſelfe cloſely within a woode, till the Frenchmenne in the euening were at ſupper, and then he ſuddainely ſet vpon them in their campe, and diſcomfited them, ſo that the Earle of Liſle was taken in his owne tente, and ſore hurte.

ubroch be-
ieged.

The Frenche armie diſtreſſed, and the Earle of Liſle taken.

There were alſo taken, the Earle of Valentinois, and other Earles, Vicountes, and Lordes of greate accompte, to the number of nyne, beſide thoſe that were ſlayne. The reſidue were putte to flight and chaſed, ſo that the Engliſhmenne hadde a fayre iourney, and wanne greate riches by priſoners and ſpoyle of the enimies Campe.

After thys, the Earle of Derby, beyng returned to Burdeaux, and hauing put the Captiues in ſafekeepyng, aſſembled his power, and marching forthe into the Countrey, towardes the Ryolle, (a Towne in thoſe parties whyche hee meante to beſiege) he wanne dyuers townes and Caſtels by the way, as Saint Baſill, Roche Million, Montſegure, Aguillon, and Segart.

Townes won by the Earle of Derby.

At length, he came to the Towne of the Ryolle, whiche hee beſieged, and lay about it nyne weekes, ere hee coulde winne it, and then was the ſame towne ſurrendred into his handes, but the Caſtell was ſtill defended agaynſte hym for the ſpace of eleuen weekes, at whyche tyme, beeyng ſore oppreſſed, and vndermyned, it was yeelded by them within, conditionally, that they ſhoulde departe onely with theyr armoure.

After thys, the Erle of Derby wanne Montpeſance, Mauleon, Ville-Franche in Agenois, Miremont, Thomines, the Caſtell of Damaſſen, and at length, came before the Citie of Angoleſme, the whyche made appoyntmente with the Earle, that if no ſuccoures came from the Frenche Kyng, within the ſpace of a moneth, that then the Citie ſhoulde bee ſurrendred to the Kyng of Englandes vſe: and to aſſure thys appoyntmente, they deliuered to the Earle foure and twentie of their chiefe Citizens as hoſtages.

Angoleſme.

In the meane tyme, the Earle layde ſiege to Blaues, but coulde not winne it.

Blaues.

Hys men rode abroade into the Countrey, to Mortaigne, Mirabeau, and Aunay, but wanne little, and ſo retourned agayne to the ſiege of Blaues.

When the moneth was expired, that they of Angoleſme ſhoulde yeelde, the Earle ſente hys two Marſhals thither, who receyued the homage and fealtie of the Citizens, in the King of Englandes name, and ſo they were in peace, and receiued againe their hoſtages.

At length, when the Earle of Derby ſawe, that he did but loſe his time in the beſieging of Blaues, which Sir Guiſchart Dangle, and Sir Guilliaume de Rochfort, being Captains within, did ſo valiantly defende, that he could obteyne no aduantage of them, hee reyſed hys ſiege, and returned vnto Burdeaux, hauing furniſhed ſuche Townes as hee hadde wonne in that iourneye wyth conueniente garniſons of men to defende them agaynſte the enimyes, and to keepe frontier warre as they ſhoulde ſee cauſe.

Froyſſart ſaith they were an hũdred thouſand. Gio. Villani writeth, that they were a ſixe thouſand horſemen, and fiftie thouſande footemen, of Frenchmen, Gaſcoignes, Genewayes, & Lombardes.

The Frenche Kyng being ſore moued at the conqueſts thus atchieued by the Earle of Derby, rayſed a mightie army, and ſent the ſame forth, vnder the leading of his ſonne the Duke of Normandy, into Gaſcoigne, to reſiſt the ſaide Earle, and to recouer agayne thoſe Townes which hee had wonne in thoſe partes.

Annales de Burgoigne.

1346

An. reg. 20.

The Duke of Normãdy being come to Tholouz, where his general aſſembly was appoynted, ſet forwarde with his army, and winning by the way Miremõt, and Ville Franche in Agenois, at length came to the Citie of Angoleſme, whych hee enuironed about with a ſtrong ſiege, continuing the ſame, till finally, the Captayne, named John Norwell, required a truce to endure for one daye, which was graunted, and the ſame was the daye of the purification of oure Ladye, on the which, the ſame Captayne, with the ſouldiers of the garriſon departed, and lefte the Citie in the Citizens handes.

Angouliſme recouered by the frenchmẽ.

The Frenchmen, bycauſe they had graunted the truce to endure for that day withoute exception, permitted them to goe theyr wayes without lette or vexation. The Citizens in the morning yeelded the Citie to the Duke.

Damaſen. Thonins.

After this, he wanne the Caſtell of Damaſen, Thonins, and Port S. Mary, Thonins by ſurrẽder, & the other two by force of aſſaultes.

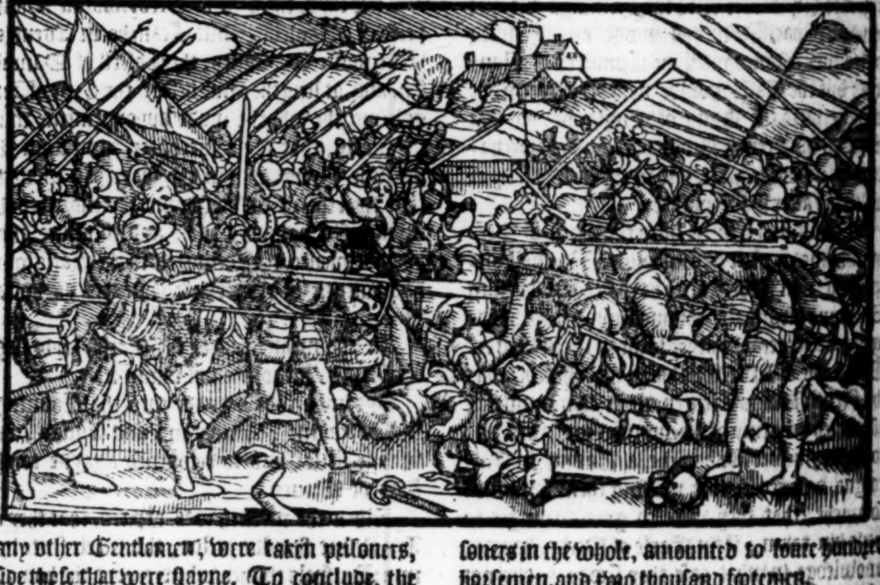
Aiguillon beſieged.

Then hee came to the ſtrong Caſtell of Aiguillone, which he beſieged, and lay therat a long ſeaſon. Within was the Earle of Pembroke, the Lorde Walter de Manny, Sir Frãke de Halle, and dyuers Knightes and Captaines, which defended themſelues, and the place ſo ſtoutely, that the Frenchmenne coulde winne little aduauntage at theyr handes.

Gio. Villani.

Whileſt the ſiege continued before thys fortreſſe, the Seneſhall of Guyenne departed from the Campe, with an eyght hundred horſemen, and foure thouſand fotemen, purpoſing to winne a Caſtell, belonging to a nephewe of the Cardinall Della Motte, a twelue leagues diſtant from Aiguilone. The Archdeacon of Vnfort, owner of that Caſtell, went to the Ryoll, where the Earle of Derby with his army as then was lodged, to whome he made ſute, to haue ſome power of mẽ to reſcue his Caſtel. The Erle appoynted to hym a ſufficiẽt nũber, both of horſemẽ, & alſo of Engliſh archers, with whome, yͤ ſaid Archdeacon rode all the night, & the next morning betimes, beyng the 31. of July, they came to the Caſtell, where the Frenchmen were arriued the day before, and had fiercely aſſayled the Caſtell, doyng their beſt to winne it by force. But the Engliſhmenne without any delay, immediately vpon their comming, ſet vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them ſo ſharp and fierce battaile, that in the ende, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited: the Seneſhal with many other Gentlemen, were taken priſoners, beſide theſe that were ſlayne. To conclude, the number of them that were ſlaine, and taken priſoners in the whole, amounted to foure hundred horſemen, and two thouſand footemen.

Frenchmen diſcomfited.



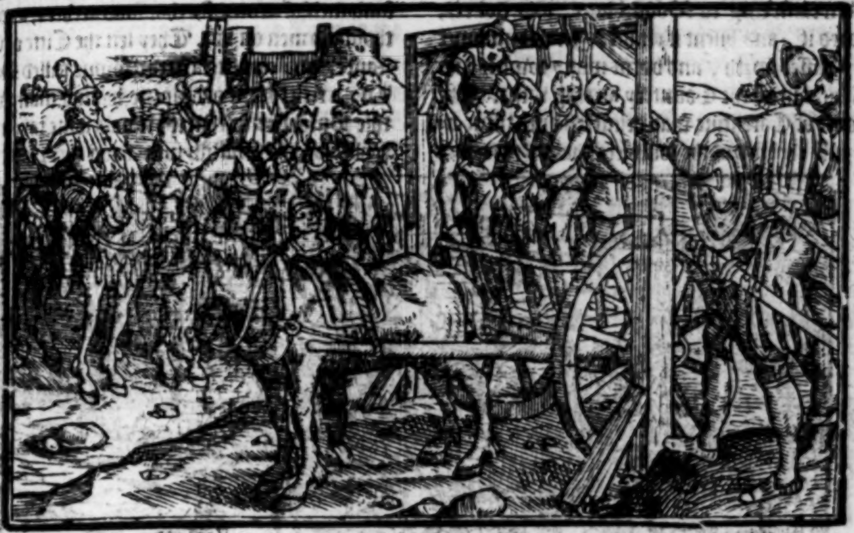
Sir Godfrey de Harcourt being conſtreyned to flee out of France to auoyde the French kings diſpleaſure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who receyued him right ioyfully, for hee was knowne to bee a right valiaunt and a wiſe perſonage, he was brother to the Earle of Harcourt, Lorde of Saint Sauiour le Vicount, and of dyuerſe other townes in Normandie.

A little before that hee fell into the Frenche kings diſpleaſure, he might haue done wyth the king of France, more than any other Lord within that Realme.

Additions to ...mouth.

In this .xx. yeare of his raigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made agaynſt purueyours of vittayles for his houſholde (the which vnder colour of their Commiſſions, abuſed the ſame, in taking vp among the commons all maner of things that lyked them, without making payment for the ſame, further than the ſayd commiſſions did allow them) he cauſed inquirie to be made of theyr miſdemeanors, and ſuche as were founde to haue offended, of whome there was no ſmall number, ſome of them were put to death on the Gallowes, and other were fined, ſo to teache the reſt to deale more warely in theyr buſineſſe from thenceforth.

Purueyers puniſhed.



About the ſame time, he cauſed all the Iuſtices within his dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their Pencions, fees, and other brybing benefites or rewardes, which they vſed to receiue of the Lordes and great men of the lande, as well prelates, as of them of the temporaltie, to the end that their handes beeing free from gyftes, Iuſtice might more freely haue courſe, and bee of them duly and vprightly miniſtred.

Parliament.

...dinals,

Alſo this yeare in the lent ſeaſon, the King held a Parliament at Weſtminſter, and toke into his handes all the profites, reuenues, and emoluments, which the Cardinals helde within thys land: for he thought it not reaſon, that they which fauoured the Pope and Frenche king beeing hys aduerſaries, ſhould enioy ſuch cōmodities within his realme.

...rford.
...he king paſ-
...h ouer into
...mandie,

After this, in the Moneth of July following, he toke ſhipping and ſayled into Normandie, hauing eſtabliſhed the Lord Percie, and the Lord Neuile, to be wardens of his realme in hys abſence, with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of Lyncolne, and the Biſhop of Dureſme.

...n Villani
...th there
...e 2500.
...ſemen, and

The army which he had ouer with him, was to the number of foure thouſande men of armes, and ten thouſande archers, beſide Iriſh men, and Welchmen, that followed the hoſt afoote. The chiefeſt Captains that went ouer with him were theſe. Firſt his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde Prince of Wales, being as then about the age of .xiij. yeres, the Earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundel, Cornwal, Huntingdon, Warwike, Suffolk, and Oxforde, of Barons the Lorde Mortimer, who was after Earle of Marche, the Lordes, John, Lewes, and Roger Beauchamp, alſo the Lords Cobham, Mounbray, Lucy, Baſſet, Barkeley, & Wyllougbbie, with diuerſe other Lordes, beſides a greate number of knightes and other worthie Captaynes. They landed by the aduice of the Lorde Godfrey of Harcourt, in the Iſle of Conſtantine, at the port of Hague Saint Waſt, nere to Saint Sauiour le Vicount. The Earle of Huntingdon was appoynted to be gouernour of the fleet by Sea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

30000. footmē and archers, that paſſed ouer with the king. But whē he commeth to ſpeake of the battail, he ſeemeth to encreaſe the number.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appoynted two Marſhals, the Lord Godfrey of Harcourt, and the Earle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arundell was made Coneſtable. There were ordeyned three battayles, one to goe on his right hande, following by the coaſt of the Sea, and another to March on his left hande, vnder the conduct of the Marſhals, ſo that hee him-

The ordering of the kings armie.

ſelfe went in the middeſt with the maine armie, and in this order forwarde they paſſed towardes Caen, lodging euerie night togither in one fielde. They that went by the Sea, tooke all the ſhippes they founde in theyr way, and as they marched forth thus, what by water, and lande, at length they came to a towne called Harflewe, whiche was giuẽ vp, but yet neuertheleſſe it was robbed, and much goodes found in it.

Harflew.

After this they came to Chierburg, whiche towne they wanne by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it, but the Caſtle they coulde not winne. Then came they to Mountburge, and tooke it, robbed it, and burnt it cleane. In this manner they paſſed forth, and burnt many townes and villages in all the Countrey as they went. The towne of Carentine was deliuered vnto them agaynſt the will of the ſouldiers that were within it. The ſouldiers defended the Caſtel two dayes, and then yeelded it vppe into the Engliſh mens handes, who burnt the ſame, and cauſed the Burgeſſes to enter into theyr Shippes. All this was done by the battaile that went by the Sea ſyde, and by them on the ſea togither.

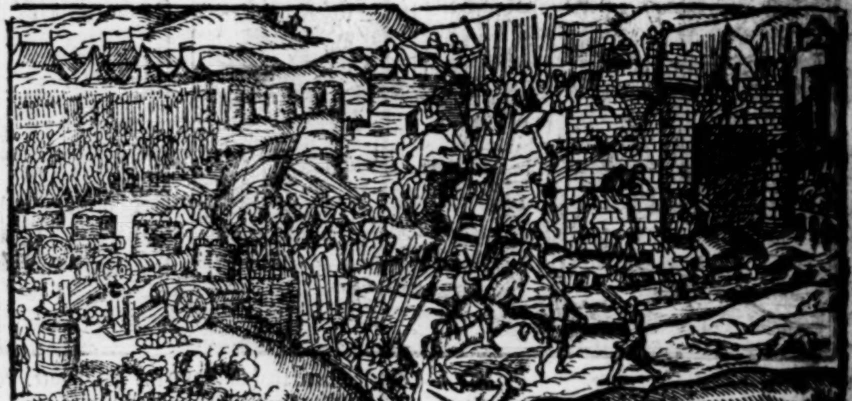
Chierburg.

Mountburge.

Carentine.

On the other ſyde, the Lorde Godfrey of Harcourt, with the battayle on the right hande of the King, roade forth ſixe or ſeuen leagues from the kings battayle, in burning and exiling the Countrey. The King had with him (beſide thoſe that were with the Marſhals) three thouſand men of armes, ſix thouſand archers, and ten thouſand men on foot. They left the Citie of Conſtance, and came to a great towne called Saint Lo, a rich towne of draperie, hauing many worthie Burgeſſes within it: it was ſoone taken and robbed by the Engliſh men vpon theyr firſt approch. From thence the king marched ſtreight to Caen, wherein were Captaines, Rauſe Earle of Ewe and Guines Coneſtable of France, and the Erle of Tankeruile. Theſe noble men ment to haue kept their defences on the walles, gate, bridge, and riuer, and to haue left the Suburbes voyde, bycauſe they were not cloſed, but onely with the Riuer: but they of the towne ſaid they would iſſue forth, for they were ſtrong ynough to fight with the king of England. When the Coneſtable ſaw their good willes, he was contented to follow their deſire, and ſo forth they went in good order. and made good face to put their lyues in hazard: but when they ſawe the Engliſh men approch in good order deuided into three batteils, & the archers readie to ſhoote, whiche they of Caen had not ſeene before, they were ſore afrayde and fled away towarde the towne without any order or array, for all that the Coneſtable coulde doe to ſtay them. The Engliſhe men followed, and in the chaſe ſlue many, and entred the towne with their enimies. The Coneſtable, and the Earle of Tankeruile tooke a Tower at the bridge foote, thinking there to ſaue themſelues, but perceyuing the place to be of no force, nor able long to holde out, they ſubmitted themſelues vnto ſir Thomas Hollande.

Saint Lo.



There were ſlaine in all without and within the towne. 5000. men, as Gio. Villani writeth.

But here whatſoeuer Froiſſart doth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yeelding of theſe two noble men, it is to be proued ỹ the ſayde Earle of Tankeruille was taken by one Legh, anneeter to ſir Peter Legh nowe liuing, whether in the fight or within the Tower I haue not to ſay: but for the taking of the ſayde Earle, and for his other manlike prowes ſhewed here and elſe where in this iourney, king Edwarde in recompence of his agreeable ſeruice, gaue to him a Lordſhip in the countie of Cheſter called Hanley, which the ſayde ſir Peter Ligh nowe liuing doth enioy and poſſeſſe, as ſucceſſor and heyre to his aunceſter the foreſayd Ligh, to whome it was ſo firſt giuen.

Peter Legh.

But to returne nowe to the matter where we left: The Frenchmen beeing entred into theyr houſes, caſt downe vpon the Engliſh men below in the ſtreetes, ſtones, tymber, hote water, and barres of yron, ſo that they hurt and ſlue more than fiue hundred perſons. The king was ſo moued therwith, that if the L. God. of Harcourt had not aſſwaged his mood, the towne had bin burnt, and

Caen

and the people put to the edge of the ſworde: but by the treatie of the ſayd Lorde Godfray proclamation was made, that no man ſhoulde put fire into any houſe, nor ſlea any perſon, nor force any woman, and then did the townesmen and ſouldiers ſubmit themſelues, and receyued the Engliſhe men into their houſes. There was great ſtore of riches gotten in this towne, and the moſt part thereof ſent into Englande, with the fleete which the king ſent home with the priſoners, vnder the guiding of the Earle of Huntingdon, accompanied with two hundred men of armes and foure hundred Archers.

0000. clo-
hes, as Gio
Villani wri-
eth, were got
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ourney.

When all things were ordred in Caen as the king could deſire, he marched from thence in the ſame order as he had kept before, burning and exiling the Countrey. He paſſed by Eureux, and came to Louiers, which the Engliſhe men ſoone entred, and ſacked without mercie. Then went they forth and left Roane, and came to Gyſors, the towne they burnt, but the Caſtell they coulde not get: they brent alſo Vernon, and at Poyſſy they repared the bridge whiche was broken, and ſo there they paſſed ouer the riuer of Saine. The power of the Engliſhe men encreaſed dayly, by ſuche numbers as came ouer forth of Englande in hope to winne by pyllage. Alſo many gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the Frenche Nation which loued not the French king, came to the king of Englande, offring to ſerue him, ſo that there were in his armie foure thouſand horſemen and fiftie thouſand footmen with the Normans, and of this number there were. xxx. thouſande Engliſhe Archers, as Giouan Villani wryteth.

ouiers.

Giſors.

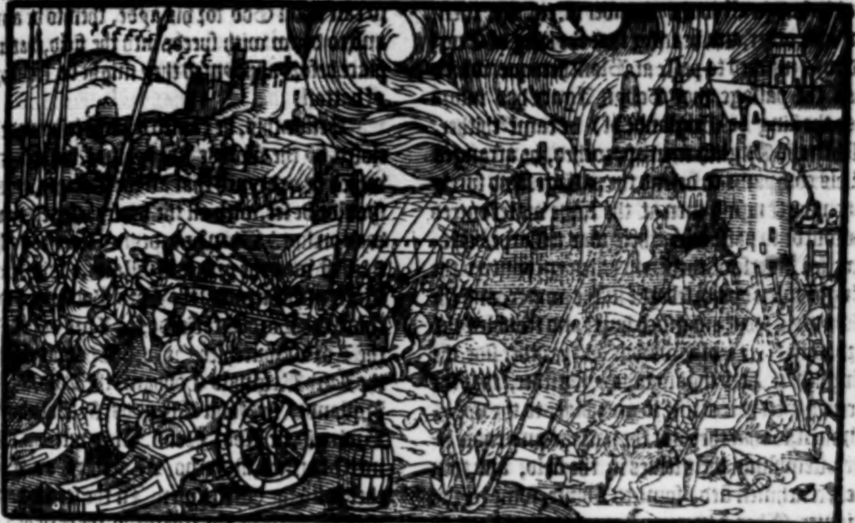
Vernon.

Gio. Villani.

The Engliſh Marſhals ranne abrode iuſt to Paris, and brent Saint Germains in Lay: alſo Mountioy, and Saint Cloude, and petie Boulongne by Paris, and the Queenes Burge.

S. Germains in Lay.

S. Claude.



In the meane time had the French king aſſembled a mightie army vpon purpoſe to fyght with the Engliſh men. The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, as hee rode forth with fiue hundred men of armes, and. xiij. hundred archers by aduenture encountered with a great number of the Burgeſſes of Amiens on horſebacke, who were ryding by the kings commaundement to Paris. They were quickly aſſayled, and though they defended themſelues manfully for a while, yet at length they were ouercome, and. xj. hundred of them ſlaine in the fielde, beſide thoſe that were taken. The Engliſhe men had all their carryage and armour.

Thus paſſed forth the king of England, and came into Beauvoiſyn, and lodged neare vnto the citie of Beauvois one night in an Abbey called Meſſene, and for that after he was diſlodged, there were that ſet fire in the ſame Abbey, without any commaundement giuen by him: he cauſed. xx. of them to be hanged that were the firſte procurers of that fyre.

eauvois

Burners executed.

So long the king of England paſſed forward, that finally hee approched neare to the water of Some, the which was large and deepe, and al the bridges broken, and the paſſages well kept, wherevpon he cauſed his two Marſhals with a thouſande men of Armes, and two thouſand archers, to go along the riuer, to the ende to finde ſome paſſage. The Marſhals aſſayed dyuerſe places, as at Piquency, and other where, but they could not finde any paſſage vncloſed, Captaynes with men of warre being ſet to defende the ſame, inſomuch that the marſhals returned to the king, and declared what they had ſeene and founde.

Piquency.

The ſame inſtant time was the French king come to Amiens, with moe than a hundred thouſande men; and thought to encloſe the King of Englande, that he ſhoulde no way eſcape, but bee

The French kinges armie.

conſtrayned to receyue battaile in ſome place greatly to his diſaduauntage.

The king of England well perceyuing himſelfe in daunger, remoued from the place where he was encamped, and marched forwarde through the Countries of Ponthiew and Vimew, approching to the good towne of Abuile, and at length by one of the priſoners named Gobyn de Grace, he was told where he might paſſe with his army ouer the riuer of Some, at a fourd in the ſame ryuir, being hard in the bottom, and very ſhallow at an ebbe water. The French king vnderſtanding that the king of England ſought to paſſe the riuer of Some, ſent a great baron of Normandie, one ſir Godmare du Foy, to defend the paſſage of the ſame riuer, with a thouſand men of armes, & ſix thouſand on foote with the Geneways. Thys ſir Godfrey had with him alſo a great number of them of Mutterell and others of the Countrey, ſo that he had in all to the number of .xij. M. men, one and other, and hearing that the king of Englãd was minded to paſſe at Blanchetaque (which was the paſſage that Gobyn Agace had informed the king of Englande of) he came thither. When the Engliſh men approched, he arranged all his companie to defend the paſſage. And ſurely when the Engliſh men at the lowe water entred the fourde to paſſe ouer, there was a ſharpe bickering, for diuerſe of the Frenchmen encountred the Engliſhmen on horſebacke in the water, and the Geneways did them much hurt, and troubled the ſore with their croſbows: but on the other ſide, the Engliſh archers ſhot ſo wholy togither, that the French men were faine to giue place to the Engliſh men, ſo that they got the paſſage and came ouer, aſſembling themſelues in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, ſome to Abuile, ſome to S. Riquier. They ỹ were on foot could not eſcape ſo wel as theſe on horſeback, inſomuch that a great number of them of Abuile, Muttrel, Arras, and of S. Riquier were ſlaine and taken, for the chaſe endured more than a great league. There were ſlaine in all to the number of two thouſande.

Sir Gormare du Foy.

Gobin a Grace

The Engliſh men wan the paſſage ouer the water of Some.

Caxton. The number ſlaine *Froiſſart.*

When the king of Englande had thus paſſed the riuer, hee acquit Gobin Agace, and all hys companie of their raunſoms, and gaue to ỹ ſame Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horſe, and ſo the king roade forth as he did before. His marſhals roade to Crotay by the Sea ſide, and burnt the towne, and tooke all ſuch wines and goodes as were in the Shippes and Barkes which lay there in the hauen.

Crotay burnt.

One of the Marſhals road to the gates of Abuile, and from thence to S. Richier, and after to the towne of Rue ſaint Eſperite. This was on a Fryday, and both the Marſhals returned to the kings hoſt about noone, and ſo lodged all togither about Creſſy in Ponthieu, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue hym battaile, he commaunded his marſhals to chooſe a plot of ground, ſomewhat to his aduantage, that he might there abide his aduerſaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puiſſance vnto Abuile, and hearing how the king of Englãd was paſſed ouer the riuer of Some, and diſcomfited ſir Godmar du Foy, he was ſore diſpleaſed in his minde: but when he vnderſtood that his enimies were lodged at Creſſy, and meant there to abyde him, he cauſed all his people to iſſue out of Abuile, and early on the Saterday in the morning, anon after Sunne ryſing he departed out of the towne himſelfe, and marched towardes his enimies. The king of England vnderſtanding that his aduerſarie king Philip ſtill followed him to giue him battaile, and ſuppoſing that the ſame Saterday he would come to offer it, roſe betimes in the morning, and commaunded euery man firſt to call vpon God for his ayde, then to be armed, and to draw with ſpeede into the field, that in the place before appoynted they might be ſet in order of battail.

Beſide this, he cauſed a parke to be made and cloſed by the woode ſide behinde his hoſt, in the which he ordeyned that all the Cartes & cariages ſhoulde be ſet, with all the horſes, (for euery man was on foot.) Then he ordeyned three battails: in the firſt was the prince of Wales, & with him the Earle of Warwike, the Lord Godfrey of Harcourt, the Lord Stafforde, the Lord de la Warr, the Lord Bourchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the Lord Reginald Cobham, the Lord Thomas Hollande, ſir Iohn Chandos, ſir Bartilmew de Browaſh, ſir Rob. Neuil. They were an .viij. C. men of armes, and two. M. archers, & a. M. of other with the Welchmen. In the ſecond battaile was the Erle of Northamton, the Erle of Arundell, the Lords, Ros, and Willowbie, Baſſet, S. Albine, Multon, and other. The third battaile the king led himſelfe, hauing with him .vij. C. men of armes, and two thouſande Archers: and in the other battayles were to the number of eight hundred men of Armes, and twelue hundred Archers.

Glosse Wh ai ſayth, th when they ſhould goe to battaile, Engliſh m were, 3000 archers Eng- liſh & We men, beſide o ther beeing with ... Lancelot, not fully 4000

Thus was the Engliſh armie marſhalled according to the report of Froiſſart.

When euery man was gotten into order of battaile, the king leapt vpon a white Hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to viewe them, the one Marſhall on hys ryght hande, and the other on hys lefte, deſiring euerie manne that daye to haue regarde to hys ryght and honour. Hee ſpake it ſo courteouſly, and wyth ſo good a countenaunce, that euen they whiche before were diſcomforted, tooke courage in hearing him ſpeake ſuche ſweete and louing wordes amongeſt them. It was nine of the clocke or euer he

Froiſſart. The kinge meanour the battaile.

ye had thus visited all his battayles, and thervpon he caused euerie man to eate and drinke a little which they did at theyr leysure.

The French king before hee approched neare to his enimies, sent foorth foure skilfull knightes to view the demeanor of his enimies, the which returning againe, made report as they had seene, and that so much as they could gesse, the Englishmen meant to abide him, being deuided into three battaylès, readie to receiue him and his puissance, if hee went forwarde in purpose to assayle them. Here was the French king counsailed to stay and not to giue battayle that day, but to aduise all things with good deliberation and regard, to consider well how and what way he might best assayle them. Then by the Marshals were all men commaunded to stay, and not to goe any further, they that were formost and next to the enimies taryed, but they that were behinde, would not abide but rode forth, and sayd they would not stay till they were as farre as the formost: and when they before saw them behind come forward, then they marched on also againe, so that neyther the king nor his marshals could rule them, but that they passed forward still wͭout order, or any good array, till they came in sight of their enimies: & as soone as the formost saw their enimies, then they reculed back, wherof they behinde had marvaile, & were abashed, supposing that the formost cōpanie had bin fighting. Thē they might haue had roome to haue gone forward, if they had beene minded. The comons of whō all the wayes betwixt Abuile & Cressy were ful, when they saw ẏ they were nere their enimies, they toke their swords & cried downe with them, let vs slea thē all. There was no mā though he were present at the iorney could imagin & shew the truth of the euill order ẏ was amōgst the French partie, & yet they were a maruellous great number. The Englishmen which beheld their enimies thus approching towardes thē, prepared thēselues at leysure for the battaile, which they saw to be at hand. The first battaile whereof the prince was ruler, had the archers standing in maner of an herse, & the men of armes in the bottom of the battaile. The Erle of Northāp. and the Erle of Arundell, with the second battail, were on ẏ wing in good order redy to comfort the princes battail, if need were. The lords & knights of Fraunce came not to the assemble togither, for some came before, & some came after, in such hast and euil order, that one of them troubled another. There were of the Genewaies Crosbowes to the number of .xij. or .xv. M. the which were commaunded to go on before, & with their shot to begin the battail, but they were so weerie with going on foot that morning .vj. leagues armed, with their crosbowes, that they said to their Conestables, we bee not wel vsed, in that we are cōmaunded to fight this day, for we bee not in case to doe any great feat of armes, we haue more need of rest. These words came to the hearing of the Erle of Alanson, who said: A man is wel at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, that faint and faile nowe at most need. Also at the same instant there fell a great rain, & an eclipse with a terrible thūder, and before the raine, there came flying ouer both armies a great number of Crowes, for feare of the tempest cōming: then anon the aire began to wax cleare, & the sunne to shine faire & bright, which was right in the Frēch mens eies, & on the Englishmens backs. Whē the Genewais were assembled togither, and began to approch, they made a great leape & crie, to abashe the Englishmen, but they stood stil & stirred not at all for that noise: the the Genewaies the secōd time made an other leap and huge crie, & stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen remoued not a foot: the third time again the Genewais leapt, & yelled and went forth til they came within shot, & fiercely therewith discharged their crosbowes. Then ẏ English archers

he disorder mong the rench men.

Charles Grimaldi & Anthony or Othonie Doria were captains of these Genewaies, which were not past six thousand, as Gio. Villani hath.

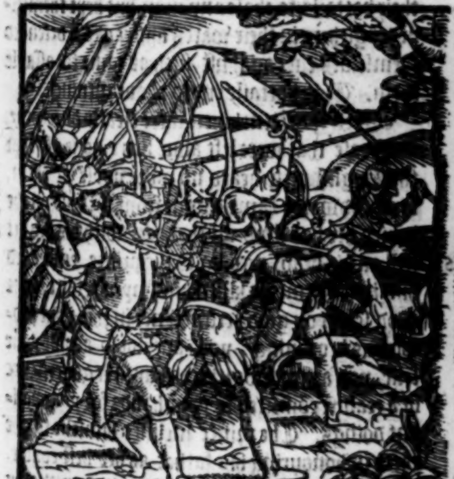
Polidor.

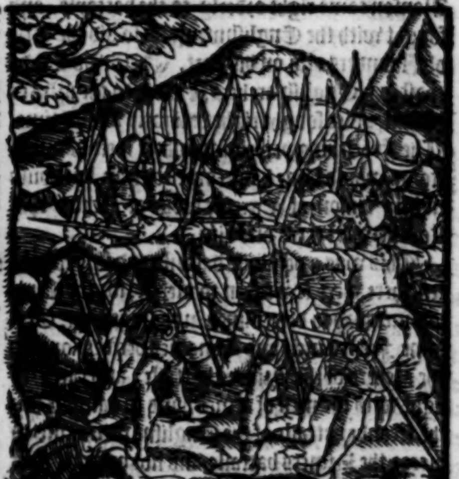
Froissart.

The Earle of Alanson.

Rain & thunder with an eclipse.

The Genewais





stept

The battaile is begon.

ſtept forth one pace, and let flie their arrowes ſo wholy and ſo thicke togither, that it ſeemed to ſnow. When the Genowais felt the arrowes piercing through heads, armes and breaſtes, many of them caſt downe their Croſbowes, and cutte the ſtrings and returned diſcomfited. When the French king ſawe them flee away, he ſayde: ſlea theſe raſcalles, for they ſhall let and trouble vs without reaſon. Then yee might haue ſeene the men of armes haue daſht in amongſt them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Engliſh men ſhot where they ſaw the thickeſt preaſe: the ſharpe arrowes ranne into the men of armes, and into their horſes, and many fell horſe and manne amongeſt the Genewais, and ſtyll the Engliſhe menne ſhotte where they ſawe the thickeſt preaſe, and when they were once downe they coulde not recouer againe: the throng was ſuche that one ouerthrew another, and alſo among the Engliſh men, there were certaine of the footemen with great kniues, that went in among the men of armes, and killed many of them as they lay on the ground, both Erles, Barons, knightes, and eſquires. The valiant king of Bohem being almoſt blinde, cauſed his men to faſten all the reynes of the brydles of their horſes eche to other, and ſo hee being himſelfe amongſt them in the formoſt rank they ranne on their enimies. The Lord Charles of Boheme, ſonne to the ſame king, and late elected Emperour, came in good order to the battaile, but when he ſaw how the matter went awrie on theyr part, he departed, and ſaued hymſelfe. His father by the meane aforeſayde went ſo farre forward, that ioyning with his enimies, he fought right valiantly, and ſo did all his companie: but finally being entred within the preaſe of their enimyes, they were of them encloſed and ſlaine, togither with the king theyr maiſter, and the next day founde deade lying about him, and their horſes all tyed eche to other. The Earle of Alanſon came right orderly to the battayle, and fought with the Engliſhmen, and ſo did the Erle of Flaunders alſo on his part. Theſe two Lords coaſted yͤ Engliſh archers, & came to the princes battail, & ther fought right valiantly a long time. The Frēch king perceiuing where their banners ſtoode, would faine haue come to them, but could not by reaſon of a greate hedge of archers that ſtood betwixt them and him.

The king of Boheme.

The Earle of Alanſon.

This was a periſlous battaile and ſore foughten: there were few taken to mercie, for the Engliſh men had ſo determined in the morning. Certaine French men and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the Princes battaile, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. Then the ſeconde battaile of the Engliſhe men came to ſuccor the Princes battaile, and not before it was time, for they of that battail had as then ynough to do, inſomuch that ſome which were about him, as the Erle of Northampton, and other, ſent to the king, where he ſtood aloft on a Windmill hill, requiring him to aduaunce forward, and come to their ayde, they being as then ſore layde to of their enimies. The king herevpō demaunded if his ſonne were ſlaine, hurt, or felled to the earth? No ſayde the knight that brought the meſſage, but he is ſore matched: well (ſayd the king) returne to him and them that ſent you; and ſay to them that they ſend no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, ſo long as my ſonne is aliue, for I will that this iourney be his, with the honor thereof. With this anſwere the knight returned, which greatly encouraged them to do their beſt for to win their ſpurres, beeing halfe abaſhed in that they had ſo ſent to the king for ayde. At length when it drew toward euening, & that the Frenchmen were beaten downe & ſlain on eche hand, king Philip as it were by cōſtraint departed out of the field, not hauing as then paſt .lx. perſons about him, of whō the L. Iohn of Heynault was one, by whoſe perſwaſion he chiefly conſented to ride his way for his owne ſafegarde, when hee ſawe the loſſe was ſuch as on that day it could not be recouered.

The princes battail pierced

The Erle Northam ſendeth to king.

The king anſwere.

The French king departeth out of the field.

The ſlaughter of the Frenchmen was great and lamentable, namely for the loſſe of ſo many noble menne, as were ſlaine at the ſame battaile, fought betwene Creſſy & Broy on that Saturday next following the feaſt of S. Bartholmew being (as that yeare fell) the xxvj. of Auguſt.

Great ſlaugh ter of Fren men.

Caxton. Iames Me Polidor. Froiſſart.

Among other which died that day, theſe I find regiſtred by name as chiefeſt, Iohn king of Boheme, Rauſe Duke of Lorraine, Charles of Alanſo brother germaine to king Philip, Charles Erle of Bloys, Lewes Erle of Flanders, alſo the Earle of Harecourt, brother to the Lord Geffrey of Harecourt with the Earles of Auſſerre, Aumerle, and Saint Poule, beſide diuers other of the nobilitie. The Engliſh men neuer broke out of their battails to chaſe any man, but kept themſelues togithers in their wards and rankes, & defended themſelues euer agaynſt ſuch as came to aſſayle them. This battaile ended about euening.

Noble men ſlaine.

When the Frenchmen were clearly ouercome, and thoſe that were left aliue fled & gone, ſo that the Engliſhmen heard no more noyſe of them, king Edwarde came downe from the hyll (on the which hee had ſtood all that day with his helmet ſtill on his head) & going to the prince, embraced him in his armes, & kiſſed him, ſaying, faire ſonne God ſend you good perſeuerance in this your proſperous beginning, you haue nobly acquit your ſelfe, you are wel worthie to haue the gouernance of a realme cōmitted to your hands for your valiant doings. The prince inclined himſelfe to the earth in honouring his father as hee beſt coulde. This done, they thanked God togither with their

The king of England commeth downe from the hill.

ſouldiers for their good aduenture: for ſo the king commaunded, and willed no man to make anye boaſt of his owne power, but to aſcribe all the prayſe to almightie God for ſuch a noble victorie.

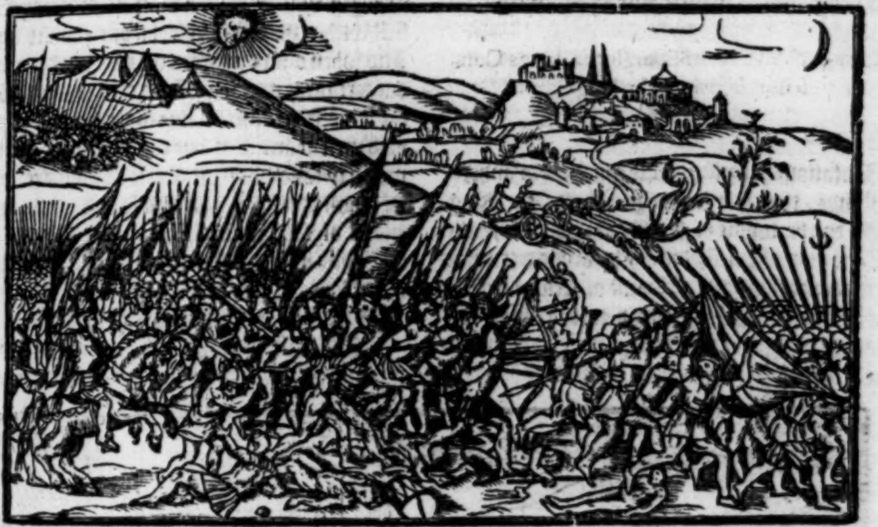
On the Sunday in the morning, there was ſuche a myſt that a man could not ſee an Acre bredth before him. Then by the kings commaundement there departed from the hoſt fiue hundred Speares, and two thouſand archers, to trie if they might heare of any French men gathered togither in any place neare vnto them.

The ſame morning there were departed out of Abuile and S. Reqnier in Pouthieu, the cōmons of Roan, and Beauvais, with other that knewe nothing of the diſcomfiture the day before. Theſe met with the Engliſh men, ſuppoſing they hadde bin Frenchmen, & being fiercely aſſayled of them, after ſore fight, and great ſlaughter, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited and fled, of whō were ſlain in the hedges and buſhes, mo than. vij. M. men.

Frenchmen ſlaine the da after the battaile.

The Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Graund Prior of Fraunce, ignorant alſo of the diſcomfiture the day before, and ſuppoſing (as they were enfourmed) the French ſhoulde not haue foughten till that Sunday, were likewiſe encountred (as they came thitherwarde) by the Engliſh men, with whom they fought a ſore battaile, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to ſuſteine the puiſſant force of the Engliſh men, and ſo the moſt part of them were ſlain, with the ſayd Archbiſhop and grand Prior, and few there were that eſcaped.

The Archbiſhop of Roue, and the Lorde grand Prior of France ſlain



That Sunday morning the Engliſhe men mette with diuerſe French men, that hadde loſte theyr way on the Saterday, and wyſte not where the King nor theyr Captaynes were become. They were all ſlaine in manner, ſo many as the Engliſhe menne coulde meete with, inſomuch that of the Commons and footemen of the Cities and good townes of Fraunce, (as was thought) there were ſlaine this Sunday foure tymes as many as were ſlaine the Saterday in the great battaile.

When thoſe Engliſhmen that were ſent abrode thus to view the Countrey, were returned againe, and ſignified to the king what they had ſeene and done, and how there was no more apparance of the enimies, the K. ſent to ſearch what the number was of them that were ſlaine, and vpon the view taken, it was reported vnto him, that there were found dead. xj. princes, foure ſcore baronets. xij. C. knights, and mo than. xxx. M. other of the meaner ſort.

Thus was the whole puiſſance of France vāquiſhed, and that chiefly by force of ſuch as were of no reputation amongſt them, that is to ſay, the Engliſh archers, by whoſe ſharp and violent ſhot the victorie was atchieued, to the great cōfuſion of the French nation. Of ſuch price were the Engliſh bowes in that ſeaſon, that nothing was able to withſtand them, whereas now our archers couet not to draw long and ſtrong bowes, but rather to ſhoote compaſſe, which are not meete for the warres, nor greatly to be feared, though they come into the field. The K. of Englād with his army kept ſtil his field, vntill Mōday in the morning, and then diſlodged & came before Mōturel by the ſea, and his Marſhals ran toward Hedyn. The next day they road toward Bolongne, and at Wyſam the king and the prince encāped, and taried a whole day to refreſh their people, & on the Wedneſday being the. 30. day of Auguſt, he came before the ſtrong towne of Calice, & there planted his ſiege, and erected baſtides betwene the town & the riuer, & cauſed carpēters to make houſes & lodgings of great timber, which were couered wͭ reed & broom, ſo many & in ſuch order, yͭ it ſemed a new town, & in it was a market place apointed of purpoſe, in

Calice beſieged.

in the which the Market was dayly kept of vittayle, and all other neceſſarie things euery Tueſday and Saterday, ſo that a man myght haue bought what he woulde of things brought thither out of Englande and Flaunders.

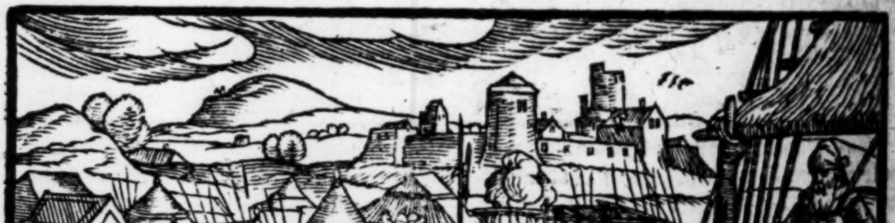
But nowe forſomuch as we haue ſpoken of this iorney and inuaſion made by king Edward into Fraunce, in this .xix. yeare of his raigne, accordingly as wee haue gathered out of Froiſſart and diuerſe other authours, I haue thought good to make the reader partaker of the contentes of a letter written by a Chapleyn of the ſayd King, and attendaunt about him in the ſame iourney, conteyning the ſucceſſe of his procedings after his departure from Poiſſie, which letter is inſerted with others in the hiſtorie of Robert de Aueſburie and Engliſhed by maiſter Fox as followeth.

A Letter of VV. Northbourgh the kings Confeſſor deſcribing the kings voiage in France.

Actes and Monuments Pag.482.

Salutations premiſed. We giue you to vnderſtande, that our ſouertaigne Lorde the King came to the towne of Poiſſie the day before the Aſſumption of our Ladie, where was a certaine bridge ouer the water of Saine broken downe by the enimie, but the king taryed there ſo long tyll that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in reparing, there came a greate number of men at armes, and other ſouldiers well armed, to hinder the ſame. But the Erle of Northampton iſſued oute agaynſt them, and ſlue of them more than a thouſande, the reſt fled away: thankes bee to God. And at another time, oure men paſſed the water (although with muche trauaile) and ſlue a greate number of the common ſouldiers of Fraunce, about the Citie of Paris, and countrey adioyning, being part of the French kings armie, and throughly well appoynted: ſo that oure people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enimies, God be thanked, withoute any loſſe and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Aſſumption of our Ladie, the king paſſed the water of Sayne, and marched toward Poiſſie, which is a towne of great defence, and ſtrongly walled, and a maruellous ſtrong Caſtell within the ſame, whiche our enimies kept. And when our vauntgard was paſſed the towne, our reregarde gaue an aſſault therevnto, and tooke the ſame, where were ſlaine more than three hundred men at armes of our enimies part. And the next day following, the Earle of Suffolke, and ſir Hugh Spencer, marched forth vpon the commons of the Countrey aſſembled and well armed, and in fine diſcomfited them, and ſlue of them more than two hundred, and tooke three ſcore Gentlemen priſoners beſyde others.

And after that the King marched towarde graund Vyllyers, and while he was there encamped, the kings vauntgarde was diſcried by the men at armes of the king of Boheme: wherevpon our men iſſued out in great haſt, and ioyned battail with them, but were enforced to retyre. Notwithſtanding, thankes be vnto God, the Erle of Northampton iſſued out, and reſcued the horſemen with the other ſouldiers: ſo that fewe or none of them were either taken or ſlaine, ſauing only Thomas Talbot, but had again the enimie in chaſe within two leagues of Amiens: of whō we tooke .viij. and ſlue .xij. of their beſt men at armes: the reſt being well horſed, tooke the towne of Amyens.



After this the king of England marched towarde Pountife, vpon Bartholmew day, and came to the water of Some, where the Frenche king had layde fiue hundred men at armes, and three thouſande footemen, purpoſing to haue kept and ſtopped our paſſage: but thanks be to God, the king of Englande and his hoſte entered the ſame water of Some, where neuer man paſſed before, without loſſe of any of our men: and after that encountered wyth the enimie, and ſlue of them more than two thouſande, the reſt fledde to Abuile, in which chaſe was taken many knightes, Eſquiers, and men at armes.

The ſame daye Sir Hugh Spencer toke the towne of Crotay, where he and hys Souldiers ſlue foure hundred men at armes, and kepte the Towne, where they founde great ſtore of vittayles.

The ſame night encamped the king of Englande in the Forreſt of Creſſy vpon the ſame water, for that the French kings hoſt came on the other ſide of the towne, neare vnto our paſſage: but he woulde not take the water of vs, and ſo marched towarde Abuile. And vppon the Frydaye next following, the King beeing ſtill encamped in the ſayde Forreſt, our Scurriers deſcryed the French King, which marched toward vs in foure great battayles: And hauing then vnderſtanding of our enimies, (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tyde, we drewe to the plaine fielde, and ſet our battailes in array: and immediately the fight beganne, whiche was ſore and cruell, and endured long, for our enimies behaued themſelues right nobly: but thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our ſide, and the king our aduerſarie was diſcomfited with all his hoſte, and put to flight: where alſo was ſlaine the king of Boheme, the Duke of Loraine, the Earle of Alanſon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Earle of Harcourt, wyth hys two ſonnes, the Earle of Daumarle, the Earle de Neuers, and his brother the Lorde of Tronarde, the Archbiſhop of Niſmes, the Archbi. of Sens, the high Prior of Fraunce, the Earle of Sauoy, the Lorde of Morles, the Lorde de Guis, le ſeigneur de S. Nouant, le ſeigneur de Roſingburgh, with ſixe Earles of Almaigne, and diuerſe other Earles, Barons, knightes, and Eſquiers, whoſe names are vnknowne. And Philippe de Valois hymſelfe, with an other Marques, which was called Lord Elector among the Romaines, eſcaped from the battaile.

The number of the menne at armes which were founde deade in the fielde, beſide the common Souldiers and footemen, were a thouſande, fiue hundred, fortie and two: and all that nyght the King of Englande wyth hys hoſte abode armed in the fielde, where the battayle was fought.

On the nexte morrowe before the Sunne roſe, there marched towardes vs another greate hoſte, mightie and ſtrong, of the French menne. But the Earle of Northampton, and the Erle of Suffolke iſſued out agaynſt them in three battayles, and after long and terryble fight, them in litle while they diſcomfited by Gods greate helpe and grace (for otherwyſe it coulde neuer haue beene) where they toke of Knightes, and Eſquiers a greate number, and ſlue aboue two thouſande, purſuyng the chaſe three Leagues from the place where the battaile was fought.

The ſame nyght alſo the King encamped himſelfe agayne in the Forreſt of Creſſye, and on the morrowe marched towarde Bolongne, and by the waye hee toke the Towne of Staples: and from thence hee marched towarde Calays, where he intendeth to plant hys ſiege, and lay his batterie to the ſame.

And therefore our ſoueraigne Lorde the King willeth and commaundeth you, in all that euer you maye, to ſende to the ſayde ſiege vittayles conuenient. For after the tyme of our departing from Caen, wee haue trauayled through the Countrey wyth greate peryll and daunger of our people, but yet alwayes hauing of vittayle plentie, thankes bee to God therefore. But nowe (as the caſe ſtandeth) wee ſhall neede youre helpe to bee refreſhed wyth vittayles. Thus fare yee well. Written at the Siege before the Towne of Calays, the fourtenth daye of September.

But nowe touching the ſiege of Calays, and to returne where wee lefte, yee ſhall vnderſtande that (as yee haue hearde) the Engliſhe campe was furniſhed wyth ſufficient prouiſions of meate, drynke, apparell, munition, and all other things neceſſarie: and oftentymes alſo the Souldiours made roades and forrayes into the borders of Fraunce nere adioyning, as towardes Guines, and Saint Omer, yea euen to the gates of that Towne, and ſometyme to Bolongne.

Alſo the Earle of Northampton fetched a bootie out of Artoys, and as he returned toward the hoſte, he came to Terrouane, which Towne the Biſhoppe had fortifyed and manned, deliuering the cuſtodie thereof vnto Sir Arnold Dandrehen: for when he hearde the Engliſh men approched, he durſt not tarrie wythin the citie himſelfe, but got him to Saint Omers.

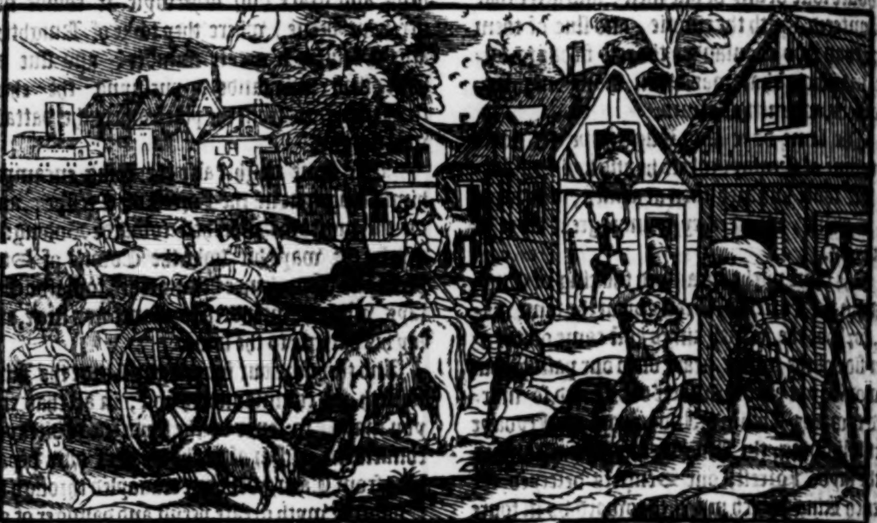
Iames Mair.

Terrouan.

Sir Arnolde ſtoode valiantly to his defence, and would not yeeld, vntill by fine force the Engliſhe men entered the Citie, and the Souldiours, and toke their Captaine the ſayde Sir Arnolde priſoner. The Citie was put to the ſacke, and after ſet on fyre.

Terrouan won by force.

And when the Engliſhmen were there departed, there came a number of Flemings from the ſiege which they had layd before Saint Omers, and beganne a newe ſpoyle, and burnt ſuche houſes belonging to the Canons & others, which the Engliſh men had ſpared. Thus were thoſe confines in moſt miſerable caſe, for no houſe nor other thing was in ſafegarde, but ſuche as were conteyned within the cloyſure of ſtrong townes and fortreſſes.



Froiſſart.

The king of Englande would not aſſayle the towne of Calais by giuing any aſſault to it, for he knewe he ſhould but loſe his labor, and waſte his people, it was ſo ſtrong of it ſelfe, and ſo well furniſhed with men of war. Captain thereof alſo was one ſir John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgoigne, hauing with him diuerſe other right hardie and expert Captaynes, Knights, and Eſquiers. When the ſayd ſir John de Vienne ſaw the maner of the Engliſh hoſt, & what the kings intention was, he conſtrayned all the poore and meane people to depart out of the towne. The king of England perceyuing that this was done of purpoſe to ſpare vittail, would not driue them backe againe to helpe to conſume the ſame, but rather pitied them, and therfore did not only ſhew them ſo much grace to ſuffer thē to paſſe through his hoſt, but alſo gaue them meate & drink to dinner, and moreouer two pens ſterling to euery perſon, which charitable deed wan him much praiſe, and cauſed manye of his enimies to praye right hartily for his good ſucceſſe and proſperitie.

Sir Iohn de Vienne Captain of Calais.

The king of Englands pitie towards to poore.

The French K. meaning to rayſe the ſiege fro Calais which the king of Englande kept there, ſent for his ſonne the Duke of Normandie, which had lien long at the ſiege of Aguillon, & now by commaundement of his father left it ſore againſt his will. In this meane while, the Erle of Darbie remayned in the Citie of Burdeaux, and there had held him during all the time that the ſiege lay before Aguillon. When he once vnderſtood that the ſiege was raiſed, & that the duke of Normādie had broken vp his campe, he ſent into Gaſcoigne for all knights and ſquiers that held of the Engliſh partie. Then came to Burdeaux the L. Dalbret, the lord de Leſpare, the lord de Roſam, the lord of Muſident, the lord of Punniers, and a great ſort mo of the lordes and nobles of Gaſcoigne, ſo that the Erle had .xij. C. men of armes, two. M. archers, and three. M. other footmen. They paſſed the riuer of Garonne, betwixt Burdeaux & Blay, and tooke their way into Xaintonge, ſo to go vnto Poitiers, and tooke by the way the towne of Mirabel by aſſault: they wan alſo the towne and caſtell of Aunay, Surgieres and Benon. Alſo they tooke Maraunt in Poictow by fine force, they burnt alſo the towne of Luſignen, but the Caſtell they could not win. Moreouer they wā ẏ bridge, towne, & caſtel of Tailburg, and ſlue al that were found within it, bycauſe a knight of the Engliſh part was ſlain in the aſſaulting. From thence the Erle of Darby went & layd ſiege to Saint John Dangely, which was yelded to him by compoſition. At Niort he made three aſſaults, but could not win it, & ſo frō thence he came to Bourg S. Maximien the which was won by force, & al that were within it ſlain, & in like maner the towne of Montreull Bonnin was won, & the moſt part of thē within ſlain, ẏ toke vpō thē to defend it, which were .200. coyners of money that wrought in the mint, which the French K. kept there. Fro thence he paſſed forward with his hoſt, and finally came before the Citie of Poictiers, which was great & large, ſo that he could not beſiege it but on the one ſide. The third day after his comming thither, he cauſed the citie to be aſſaulted in three places, & the greateſt number were appointed to aſſault the weakeſt part of ẏ citie. As thē ther were no expert men of warre within Poictiers, but a great multitude of people, vnſkilfull and not vſed to any feates of warre, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhe men entered in at the weakeſt place. When they within

The Duke of Normandie ſent for.

The Erle of Darbie aſſembleth an army.

Townes won by the Erle of Darby.

within ſawe the Citie wonne, they fledde out at other gates, but yet there were ſlaine to the number of ſeuen hundred perſons: for all that came in the Engliſh mens way were put to the ſworde, men, women and children. The Citie was ſacked and rifled, ſo that greate ſtore of ryches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitantes as other that had brought their goods thither for ſauegard of the ſame. The Earle of Darbie lay there ten or twelue dayes, and longer myght haue layen, if his pleaſure had ſo beene, for there was none that durſt go about to diſquiet him, all the Countrey trembled ſo at his preſence.

he Citie of oictiers won y force.

At his departure from Poictiers he left the Citie voyde, for it was to great to be kept: his ſouldiers and men of warre were ſo peſtered with ryches, that they wyſt not what to doe therewith, they eſteemed nothing but golde and ſiluer, and feathers for men of warre. The Erle viſited by the way as he returned homewardes to Burdeaux the towne of Saint John Dangeli, and the other fortreſſes which he had wonne in going toward Poictiers, and hauing furniſhed them with men, munition, and vittayles neceſſarie, at hys comming to Burdeaux he brake vp his hoſt, and licencing his people to depart, thanked them for theyr paynes and good ſeruice. All this while the ſiege continued ſtill before Calais, & the French K. among other deuiſes which he imagined how to raiſe the king of England from it, procured the Scots to make warre into England, inſomuch yͤ Dauid K. of Scotland, notwithſtãding the truce which yet endured betwixt him & the K. of England, vpon hope now to do ſome great exploite, by reaſon of yͤ abſence of K. Edward entãgled thus with the beſieging of Calais, he aſſẽbled yͤ whole puiſſance of his realme, to the nũber of .xl. or .lx. M. fighting mẽ (as ſome write) & with thẽ entred into Englande, burning, ſpoyling, & waſting the country, til he came as far as Durhã. The lordes of England that were left at home with the Q. for the ſure keeping & defence of the realm, perceiuing the K. of Scottes thus boldly to inuade the land, & in hope of ſpoil to ſend forth his light horſmen to harry the country on eche ſide him, aſſembled an hoſt of al ſuch people as were able to beare armor, both prieſts & other. Their general aſſẽble was appointed at Newcaſtell, & when they were al togither, they were to the nũber of .1200. men of armes, three. M. archers, & .vij. M. other, with the Welchmen: & iſſuing out of the town, they found the Scots redy to come forward to incoũter thẽ. Thẽ euery man was ſet in order of battel, & there were foure battels ordeined, one to ayde another. The firſt was led by the B. of Durh. Gilbert de Umfreuile Erle of Anegos, Henry L. Percy, and the L. Henry Scrope: the ſeconde by the Archb. of York, & the L. Rauf Neuil: the third by the B. of Lincoln, John L. Mounbray, & the L. Thom. de Rokeby: the fourth was gouerned by the L. Edward Baillol captain of Berwicke, the Archb. of Cant. & the L. Ros: beſide theſe were ther W. L. D'Eincourt, Rob. de Ogle, & other. The Q. was there in perſon, & went from rank to rank, and encouraged hir people in the beſt maner ſhe could, & that done ſhe departed, cõmitting thẽ & their cauſe to God the giuer of all victory. Shortly hereupon the Scots ſet forward to begin the battail, & likewiſe did the Engliſhmen, & therewith the archers on both partes begã to ſhoot: the ſhot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of Englande ſore galled yͤ Scots, ſo that there was an hard battel. They began at .ix. of the clock, & continued ſtill in fight till noone. The Scots had ſharpe and heauie Axes, and gaue with the ſame great and mightie ſtrokes, howbeit finally the Engliſh men by the helpe of God obteyned the victorie, although they loſt many of theyr men.

aint Iohn Dangely.

he king of cots inuadeth nglande. uider.

The Engliſhe lords aſſemble a power to fight with the Scottes

Froiſſart.

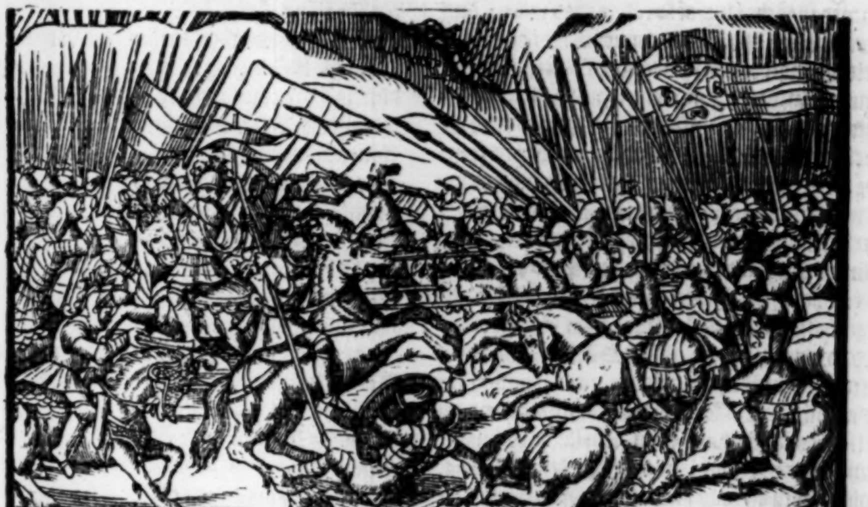
R. Southwel.

Thom. VValſ.

Froiſſart.

The Queenes diligence.

The Scottes fight with Axes.



The Engliſh men obteyne the victorie.
The king of Scots taken.

There were diuerſe of the nobles of Scotland ſlaine, to the number of ſeuen Erles, beſide lords. The king was taken in the fielde ſore wounded, for he fought valiantly. He was priſoner to an Eſquier of Northumberland called Iohn Copelande, who as ſoone as he had taken him, rode out of the fielde with him, accompanied onely wyth viij. of his ſeruaunts, and reſted not till he came to his owne Caſtell where he dwelled, being .xxx. mile diſtant from the place of the battaile. There was taken alſo beſide him, the Erles of Fife, Southerlande, Wighton, and Menteth, the Lorde William Dowglas, the Lord Veſcie, the Archb. of S. Andrewes, and another Biſhop, wyth Sir Thomelyn Fowkes, and diuerſe other men of name. There were ſlaine of one and other to the number. of .xv. M. This battaile was fought beſide the citie of Durham, at a place caller Neuils croſſe, vpon a Saterday next after the feaſt of S. Michaell, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1346. He that will ſee more of this battaile, may finde the ſame alſo ſet forth in the Scottiſhe hyſtorie, as theyr writers haue written thereof. And forſomuch as by the circumſtances of their writings it ſhoulde ſeeme, they kept the remembraunce of the ſame battaile perfitely regiſtred, wee haue in this place onely ſhewed what other wryters haue recorded of that matter, and left that which the Scottiſhe Chronicles write, to be ſeene in the life of king Dauid, without much abridging thereof.

Hec. Boetius.
Southwell:
Fabian.
Froiſſart.
Ann.
Neuils croſſe.
See in Scotlãd. Pag. 350. & 351

The Engliſh men after this victorie thus obteyned, tooke the Caſtels of Roxburgh, and Hermitage, and alſo without any reſiſtance ſubdued the Countreys of Innandale, Galloway, Mers, Tiuidale, and Ethrike Foreſt, extending theyr marches forth at yͤ time vnto Cokburnes Peth, and Sowtray hedge, and after vnto Trarlinlips, and croſſe Cane.

Hec. Boetius.
Countreys of Scotland ſubdued by the Engliſhmen.
Froiſſart.

The Queene of England being certainly enformed that the king of Scottes was taken, and that Iohn Copland had conueyed him out of the field, no man vnderſtood to what place, ſhe incõtinently wrote to him, commaunding him forthwith to bring his priſoner king Dauid vnto hir preſence: but Iohn Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate anſwere, that he would not deliuer his priſoner the ſayde king Dauid vnto any perſon liuing, man or woman, except onely to the king of England, his ſoueraigue Lord & maiſter. Herevpon the Queene wrote letters to the king, ſignifying to him both of the happie victorie chanced to his people againſt the Scots, & alſo of the demeanor of Iohn Coplande, in deteyning the Scottiſh king. King Edwarde immediatly by letters commaunded Iohn Coplande to repaire vnto him where hee laye at ſiege before Calais, which with all conuenient ſpeede he did, and there ſo excuſed himſelfe of that which the Queene had found hirſelfe grieued with him, for deteyning the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not onely pardon him, but alſo gaue to him .v. C. poundes ſterling of yearely rent to him and to his heyres for euer, in reward of his good ſeruice and valiant prowes, and made him Eſquier for his bodie, cõmanding him yet vpõ his returne into England to deliuer king Dauid vnto the Queene, whiche he did, and ſo excuſed himſelfe alſo vnto hir, that ſhe was therwith ſatiſfied and content.

Iohn Copland refuſeth to deliuer the king of Scottes.
Iohn Co
rewarded.

The Queene then, after ſhe had taken order for the ſafe keping of the king of Scots, and good gouernment of the realme, toke the ſea and ſayled ouer to the K. hir huſband ſtil lying before Calais.

Whileſt Calais was thus beſieged by the king of Englande, the Flemings which had lately before beſieged Betwine, & had rayſed from thence about the ſame time, that the battaile was fought at Creſſy, nowe aſſemble togither againe, and doing what domage they mighte agaynſte the Frenche men on the borders, they lay ſiege vnto the towne of Ayre.

Iames M
The Fle

Moreouer, they wrought ſo for the king of England (earneſtly requiring their friendſhip in that behalfe) that their ſoueraigne Lorde Lewes, Earle of Flaunders being as then about fiftene yeares of age, fianced the Ladie Iſabel, daughter to the king of England, more by cõſtraint in deed of his ſubiects, than for any good wil he bare to the king of England: for he would often ſay, that he would neuer mary hir whoſe father had ſlain his: but there was no remedie: for the Flemings kept him in maner as a priſoner, till he graunted to follow their aduice. But the ſame weeke that the mariage was appoynted to bee ſolemnized, the Earle as he was abrode in hawking at the Hearon, ſtale away and fled into France, not ſtaying to ride his horſe vpon the ſpurres, till he came into Arthois, and ſo diſhonourably diſappoynted both the king of England, and his owne naturall ſubiects the Flemings, to their high diſpleaſure.

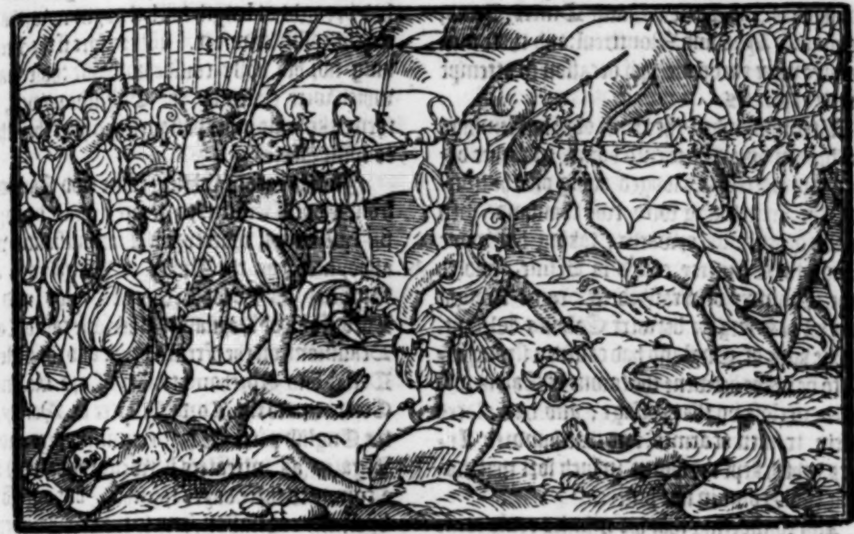
Froiſſart.
1347
An. reg.
The Earle of Flaunders ſtrayned to promiſe mariage to the king of Englãds daug

While the king lay thus at ſiege before Calais, diuerſe Lords and knights came to ſee him out of Flaunders, Brabant, Heynault, and Almaigne. Amongſt other came the Lorde Robert of Namur, and was reteyned with the king as his ſeruaunt, the king giuing him three. C. pounde ſterling of yearly penſion out of his Coffers to bee payd at Bruges. During the time that the ſiege thus continued before Calais, the Lord Charles du Blois, that named himſelfe Duke of Britain, was taken before a Caſtell in Britaine, called la Roche Darien, and his armie diſcomfited, chiefly by the ayde of that valiaunt Engliſhe knight ſir Thomas Dagworth, who had bin ſent from the ſiege of Calais by king Edwarde to aſſyſt the Coũteſſe of Montfort & other his friends againſt the ſayd Charles de Bloys, that with a great army

The Lord Charles de Blois taken priſoner.
Sir Thomas Dagworth.
Froiſſart.

Sir Iohn Hartalle an Engliſh knight was alſo there with him.

ny of Frenchmen and Brytaynes, had the ſame tyme beſieged the ſayd Caſtel of Roche Darien, conſtraynyng them within in ſuch forceable maner, that they ſtoode in great neede of preſent ſuccors. The ſayd ſir Thomas Dagworth aduertiſed hereof, with three. C. men of armes, and foure C. archers of his owne retinues, beſide certayne Brytaynes, approched to the ſiege, and on the xx. of Iune earely in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, ſodainly ſet vpon the enimies, who hauing knowledge of his comming, were readie to receyue him all the day before, but being now ſurpriſed thus on the ſodaine, they were greatly amazed: for they that were within Roch Darien, as ſoone as the apperance of day had diſcouered the matter vnto them, ſo that they might know their friends from their enimies, they iſſued forth, and holpe not a litle to the atchieuing of the victorie, whiche was clearely obteyned before Sunne ryſing, and the Frenche armie quite diſcomfited, greatlye to the prayſe of the ſayde Sir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, conſidering theyr ſmall number, in compariſon of their aduerſaries, who were reckened to bee twelue hundred good men of Armes, Knightes, and Eſquires, beſide ſixe hundred other armed men, two thouſande Croſbowes, ſixe hundred archers of the Countrey of Brytayne, and footemen of commons innumerable.



There were taken beſide, the Lorde Charles de Bloys, naming himſelfe Duke of Brytayne, diuerſe other Lordes and men of name, as Monſieur Guy de la Vaal, ſonne and heyre to the Lorde la Vaal, which dyed in the battayle, the Lord of Rocheford, the Lorde de Beaumanour, the Lord of Loyack, with other Lordes, knights and Eſquiers, in great numbers.

There were ſlaine the ſayde Lorde de la Vaall, the Vicounte of Rohan, the Lorde of Chaſteau Brian, the Lorde de Maileſtreite, the Lorde de Quintin, the Lord de Rouge, the Lord of Deruall and his ſonne, Sir Rauſe de Montfort, and many other worthie men of armes, Knightes, and Eſquiers, to the number betwixt ſixe and ſeuen hundred, as by a letter wrytten by the ſayde ſir Thomas Dagworth, and regyſtred in the hyſtorie of Robert de Aueſburie it doeth appeare.

Fabian.

In this meane while, King Philip hauing dayly worde howe the power of his enimie king Edwarde, dyd encreaſe by ayde of the Eaſterlings and other nations, whiche were to him allyed, and that his menne within Calais were brought to ſuch an extreame poynt, that wythout ſpeedie reſkue they coulde not long keepe the Towne, but muſte of force render it ouer into the handes of hys ſayde enimye, to the great preiudice of all the Realme of Fraunce, after greate deliberation taken vpon this ſo weightie a matter, hee commaunded euerie man to meete hym in theyr beſt array for the warre, at the feaſt of Pentecoſt in the Citie of Amiens, or in thoſe marches.

The French king aſſembleth an army.
Froiſſart.

At the day and place thus appoynted, there came to him Odes Duke of Burgoigne, and the Duke of Normandie eldeſt ſonne to the King, the Duke of Orleaunce his yongeſt ſonne, the Duke of Burbon, the Earle of Fois, the Lorde Lois de Sauoy, the Lorde Iohn of Heynault, the Erle of Arminacke, the Earle of Foreſt, and the Erle Valentinois, with many other.

The Flemings beſiege Ayre.

Theſe noble men being thus aſſembled, they tooke counſayle which way they myght paſſe to gyue battayle to the Engliſhe menne: It was thought the beſt way had beene through Flaunders, but the Flemings in fauour of the king of Englande denyed, not onely to open theyr paſſages to the Frenche menne, but alſo hadde

James Mair.

leuied an armie of an hundred thouſande men of one and other, and layde ſiege to Ayre, and burnt the Countrey all aboute. Whereupon there were many ſharpe bickerings, and ſore encounters, betwixt the Flemings, and ſuch French menne as king Philip ſent forth agaynſt them both: nowe whileſt the French armie lay about Amiens, and alſo before, during all the time that the ſiege lay at Calais. For all the French townes vpon the Frontiers were ſtuffed with ſtrong garniſons of Souldiours, as Lyſle, Saint Omers, Arras, Bolongne, Ayre, and Monttreul: and thoſe men of warre were euer redie vpõ occaſion to attempt ſundrie exploytes.

The French king commeth towarde Calais.

After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken vp, and returned home, or rather deuided into partes, and lodged along on the frontiers, the French king with two thouſande men one and other came forwarde, taking his waye through the Countrey, called la Belme, and ſo by the Countrey of Frankeberg, came ſtraight to the hil of Sangate, betwixt Calais & Wiſant.

The preparation made by the king of England to reſiſt the French king.

The king of England had cauſed a ſtrong caſtell to be made betwene the towne of Calais, and the ſea, to cloſe vp that paſſage, and had placed therein. lx. men of armes, and two hundred Archers which kept the hauen in ſuch ſort that nothing could come in nor out.

Alſo conſidering that his enimies could come neyther to ſuccour the towne, nor to annoy hys hoſte, except eyther by the Downes alongſt the Sea ſyde, or elſe aboue by the high way, he cauſed all his nauie to drawe alongſt by the coaſt of the Downes, to ſtop that the French men ſhould not approche that way. Alſo the Earle of Darbie being come thither out of Guyenne, was appoynted to keepe Newlande bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, ſo that the Frenchmen coulde not approch any way, vnleſſe they woulde haue come through the mariſhes, which to do was not poſſible.

The Earle of Darbie.

Fiftene hundred of the Commons of Tourney wan a Tower which the Engliſh men had made and kept for the impeaching of the French mens paſſage by the Downes, but that notwithſtanding, when the Marſhals of France had well viewed all the paſſages and ſtraites through the which their armie muſt paſſe, if they ment to fight with the Engliſhmen, they well perceyued that they coulde not come to the Engliſh men to giue them battaile, without the king woulde loſe his people, wherupon (as Froiſſart hath) yͤ French king ſent the Lord Geffrey de Charny, the Lord Euſtace de Ribaumont, Guy de Nele, & the Lord de Beauiewe, vnto the king of Englande, which required him on their maiſters behalfe to appoint certaine of his Counſaille, as he woulde likewyſe appoynt certaine of his, which by cõmon conſent might aduiſe betweene them an indifferent place for them to trie the battaile vpon: whereunto the king of Englande anſwered, that there hee was, and had beene almoſte a whole yeare, whiche coulde not bee vnknowne to hys aduerſarie their maiſter, ſo that he might haue come ſooner if hee woulde: but nowe ſithe hee hadde ſuffered hym there to remaine ſo long, withoute offer of battayle, he ment not to accompliſhe his deſire, nor to depart from that, whiche to his great coſt hee had brought at length to that poynt now, that he might eaſily winne it. Wherefore if the French king nor his hoſte coulde not paſſe thoſe wayes which were cloſed by the Engliſhe power, let them ſeke ſome other paſſage (ſayd he) if they think to come hither.

The requeſt of the Frenche Lords to the king of Englande.

His an

In this meane while, came two Cardinals from Pope Clement, to treate a peace betwyxte the two kings, whereupon Commiſſioners were appoynted, as the Dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, the Lorde Lewes de Sauoy, and the Lord Iohn de Heynault, otherwiſe called Lorde Beaumont, on the French part: and the Erles of Derbie and Northampton, the Lord Reginalde Cobham, and the Lorde Walter de Manny, on the Engliſh part. Theſe commiſſioners and the Legates (as intreaters betwene the parties) met & cõmuned three dayes togither, but agreed not vpon any concluſion, and ſo the cardinals departed: and the French king perceyuing he could not haue his purpoſe, brake vp his hoſt and returned into Fraunce, bidding Calais farewell.

Cardinals
to entreat
peace.

They dep

The Fren
king retur
into France.

After that the French king with his hoſt was once departed from Sangate, withoute miniſtring any ſuccour to them within the Towne, they began to ſue for a parlee, which being graunted, in the ende they were contented to yelde, and the king graunted to receyue them and the towne on theſe conditions: that ſixe of the chiefe burgeſſes of the town ſhould come forth bare headed, bare footed, and bare legged, & in their ſhirtes, with halters about their neckes, with the keyes of the towne and Caſtell in their handes, to ſubmit themſelues ſymply to the kings will, and the reſidue he was contented to take to mercie. This determinate reſolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne aſſembled in the market place by the ſound of the common bel, afore the captaine, cauſed many a weeping eie amongeſt them: but in the ende when it was perceyued that no other grace would be obteined, vi. of the moſt wealthieſt burgeſſes of all the towne agreed to hazard their liues for the ſafegard of the reſidue, and ſo according to the preſcript order deuyſed by the King, they wente forth of the Gates, and were preſented by the Lorde Walter de Manny to the King, before whome they kneeled down, offred to him the keyes of yͤ town,

and

The condi-
tions of the ſur-
render of Ca-
lais.

Six burg
of Calais pre-
ſented to the
King.

and beſought him to haue mercie vpon them:but the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commaunded ſtreight that theyr heades ſhoulde be ſtriken off. And although manye of the noble men did make greate intreatance for them, yet woulde no grace bee ſhewed, vntill the Queene being great with childe, came and kneeled downe before the King hir huſbande, and with lamentable cheare and weeping eyes, entreated ſo much for them, that finally the kings diſpleaſure was aſwaged, and hys rygour turned to mercie, ſo that he gaue the priſoners vnto hir to do hir pleaſure with them.

e Queene ineth their on.

Then the Queene commaunded them to be brought into hir Chamber, and cauſed the halters to be takẽ from their necks, clothed them of new, gaue them their dinner, and beſtowing vpon eche of them ſixe nobles, appoynted them to bee conueyed out of the hoſt in ſafegarde, and ſette at libertie.

Calais yeelded to the king of England. 1347

Thus was the ſtrong towne of Calais yeelded vp into the handes of king Edward, the third of Auguſt, in the yeare.1347. The Captaine the Lorde John de Vienne, and al the other captains and menne of name, were ſtayed as pryſoners, and the common ſouldiers and other meane people of the Towne were licenced to depart, and voyde theyr houſes, leauing all their armor and ryches behinde them.

The king would not haue any of the olde inhabitantes to remaine in the towne, ſaue onely a Prieſt, and two other auncient perſonages, ſuch as beſt knew the cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the towne.

Calais made a colonie of Engliſhmen.

He appoynted to ſende ouer thither amongeſt other Engliſh men there to inhabite.xxxvj. Burgeſſes of London, and thoſe of the wealthieſt ſort, for he ment to people the towne only with Engliſhe men, for the better and more ſure defence thereof. The King and the Queene were lodged in the Caſtell, and continued there tyll the Queene was deliuered of a daughter named Margaret.

he Queene ought to ed in the Ca el of Calais. olider.

The Cardinals of whom ye heard before being come as Legates from Pope Clement, to moue communication of peace, did ſo much in the matter, that a truce was graunted betwixte the realme of England and Fraunce, for the tearme of.xij.monethes, or two yeares, as Froiſſart hath. But the Engliſh Chronicle, and Jacobus Meir ſeeme to agree, that this truce was taken but for nine monethes, though afterwards the ſame was proroged. To the which truce all parties agreed Brytayne excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but ſtill purſued the warre the one agaynſt the other.

axton. ames Mair. truce. omen harde agree

After that this truce was accorded, the king with the Queene hys wyfe returned into Englande, and lefte for Captayne wythin Calais, one Sir Americ of Pauie an Italian Knight, or as other Bookes haue, he was but Captayne of the Caſtell, or of ſome one of the Towers of that towne, whiche ſeemeth more lyke to be true, than that the king ſhoulde commyt the whole charge of the Towne vnto hys gouernment, beeing a ſtraunger borne, and therefore Jacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that writeth how ſir Americ of Pauie was left but in charge with the Caſtell onely, and that the towne was committed to the keeping of the Lorde John Beauchampe, and Lewes his brother.

Sir Americ de Pauie.

1348 Thom. VValſ.

But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it ſeemed to the Engliſhe people that the Sunne brake forth after a long clowdie ſeaſon, by reaſon both of the greate plentie of all things, and remembraunce of the late glorious victories: for there were fewe women that were houſekeepers within this lande, but they had ſome furniture of houſhold that had beene brought to them out of Fraunce, as part of the ſpoyle got in Caen, Calais, Carẽten, or ſome other good towne. And beſide houſeholde ſtuffe, the Engliſh Maydes and Matrones were bedecked and trymmed vppe in Frenche womens Jewels and apparell, ſo that as the French women lamented for the loſſe of thoſe things, ſo our women reioyſed of the gaine.

An. Reg. 22. Great raine.

In this.xxij. yeare, from mydſommer vnto Chriſtmaſſe for the more part it continually rained, ſo that there was not one day and night drie togither, by reaſon whereof great floods enſued, and the ground therwith was ſore corrupted, and many inconueniences enſued, as great ſickneſſe, and other, inſomuch that in the yeare following in Fraunce the people dyed wonderfully in dyuerſe places. In Italy alſo, and in many other Countreys, as well in the landes of the Infidels, as in Chriſtendom, this grieuous mortalitie raigned to the great deſtruction of people.

1349 An. reg. 43. A great mortalitie.

About the ende of Auguſt, the like death beganne in dyuerſe places of Englande, and eſpecially in London, continuing ſo for the ſpace of a tweluemonth following. And vpon that enſued great barrenneſſe, as well of the ſea, as the lande, neyther of them yeelding ſuch plentie of things as before they had done. Wherevpon vittaile and corne became ſcant, and hard to come by.

Dearth.

Aboute the ſame time died John Stretforde Archbiſhop of Canterburie, after whome ſucceded John Vfforde, and liued not in that dignitie paſt ten monethes, and then followed Thomas Bredwardin, who deceaſſed within one yere after his cõſecration. ſo yͭ then Simõ Jſlep was cõſecrated Archb. by Pope Clem. yͤ.vj. being.the.liij. archb. yͭ had ſit in that ſeat. Within a while after W. Archb. of York died: in whoſe place ſucceeded

Iohn Torſby being the. xliiij. Archbiſhop that had gouerned that Church.

A practice to betray Calice.

Diuerſitie in writers.

Fabian.

Froiſſart.

The king ſecretly paſſeth ouer to Calice

The L. Geffrey de Charny.

1350

Sir Edward de Renty.

Moreouer in this. xxiij. yere of king Edwards raigne, the great mortalitie in England ſtill continuing, there was a practiſe in hand for the recouering againe of Calice to the French kings poſſeſſion. The Lorde Geffray of Charnye lying in the towne of S. Omers, did practiſe with ſir Amerie de Pauie, to be receyued into the towne of Calice by the Caſtell ſecretly in the night ſeaſon. The Italian gaue eare to the Lord Geffrey hys ſute, and to make few wordes, couenanted for the ſumme of. xx. M. crownes to betray the towne vnto him, in ſuch ſort as he coulde beſt deuiſe. Here writers varie: for Froiſſart ſayth that king Edwarde had information thereof before that ſir Amerie de Pauie vttered the thing himſelfe, but the French Chronicles, and alſo other writers affirme, that the Italian aduertiſed the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him and the Lorde Geffrey of Charny before he wente through with the bargaine. But whether by him or by other, truth it is the king was made priuie to the matter at Hauering Bower in Eſſex (where hee kept the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe) and therevpon departing from thence, he came to Douer, and the day before the night of the appoyntment made for the deliuerie of the Caſtell of Calice (hauing ſecretely made his prouiſion) he tooke ſhipping and landed the ſame night at Calice, in ſo ſecrete maner that few of the towne vnderſtoode of his arriuall, hee brought with him out of England three hundred men of armes, and ſix hundred archers, whom hee layde in Chambers and towers within the caſtel, ſo cloſely that fewe or none perceyued it, the maner he knewe by ſir Amerie de Pauie his aduertiſements (accordingly as it was agreed betwixt them) that the Lorde Geffrey of Charny was appoynted to come and enter the towne that nyght, for the king had commaunded ſir Amerie to proceede in marchandiſing with the ſayd Lord Charny, and onely to make him priuie of the day and houre in the which the feate ſhoulde bee wrought. The Lorde Geffrey de Charny being couenanted that he ſhoulde bee receyued into Calice the firſt night of the newe yeare, departed from Saint Omers, where hee hadde aſſembled fiue hundred Speares, the laſt day of December towarde night, and ſo in ſecrete wiſe hee paſſed forth, till aboute the middeſt of the nexte night after, he approched neare to Calice, and ſending an hundred men of armes to take poſſeſſion of the Caſtell, & to pay ẏ Italian his. xx. M. crownes, came to the poſterne of the Caſtell, where ſir Amerie de Pauie hauing let downe the Poſterne Bridge, was readie to bring them in by the ſame Poſterne, and ſo the hundred men of armes entred, and ſir Edwarde de Rentie deliuered to the Italian his twentie thouſand crownes in a bag, who when he had caſt the crownes into a Coffer (for he had no leyſure to tell them) he brought the Frenchmen into the dungeon of the Caſtell, as it were to poſſeſſe them of the chiefeſt ſtrength of the fortreſſe. Within this dungeon or tower was the king of England cloſely layd with two. C. men of armes, who iſſued out with their ſwordes and axes in their handes, crying Manny to the reſcue, for the king had ſo ordeyned, that both he and his ſon ſhould fight vnder the bāner of the L. Walter de Manny, as chief of that enterpriſe. Then were the Frenchmen greatly abaſhed, in ſuch wiſe, that perceyuing how no defence might aduaunce thē, they yeelded themſelues without any great ſhewe of reſiſtance. Herewith the Engliſh mē iſſued out of the caſtel into the town, and mounted on horſbacke, for they had the French priſoners horſes, & then the archers road to Bollongne gate, where the Lorde Geffray was with his banner before him of Gewels three ſkutchēs ſiluer. He had great deſire to be the firſt that ſhoulde enter the towne: But ſhortly the king of England with the prince his ſonne was readie at the gate, vnder the Banner of the Lorde Walter de Manny to aſſayle him. There were alſo other banners as the Erles of Stafford, and Suffolke, the Lord Iohn Montague, brother to the Erle of Saliſburie, the lord Beauchampe, the L. Berkley, and the Lord de la Ware. Then the great gate was ſet open and all they iſſued forth crying Manny to the reſcue.

The kin eth Ma the reſcu

The Earle Stafford and Suffolke, the Lords Mon gue, Berkley and la Wa.

The French men aligh on foote.

Sir Euſtace de Ribaumo right valia knight.

The French men perceyuing that they were betrayed, alighted from their horſes, and put thēſelues in order of battayle on foote, determining to fight it out lyke valiant men of warre. The King perceyuing thys, cauſed his people lykewyſe to be ſet in order of battayle, and ſent three hundred archers to Newlande bridge to diſtreſſe thoſe French menne, whiche he heard ſhoulde be there.

This was early in the morning, but incontinently it was day: the Frenche menne kepte theyr grounde a whyle, and manye feates of Armes were done of bothe partes, but the Engliſhe menne euer encreaſed oute of Calice, and the French menne diminiſhed, ſo that finally they were ouercome, as well in the one place, as in the other.

It chaunced that in the hoteſt of the fight, the king was matched with ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont, a right ſtrong and hardie knight. There was a ſore encounter betwixt him and the king, that marueile it was to behold them. At length they were put aſunder, for a greate companie of both partes came that way, & there fought fiercely togither.

The Frenche menne did behaue themſelues ryght valyauntly, and eſpecially Sir Euſtace de

Ribaumount:

e is taken
riſoner by
e kyng of
glande.

Ribaumount: he ſtrake the King that daye twiſe vppon his knees, but finally, he was taken priſoner by the King hymſelfe.

The lord Gef-
ey de Char-
ey is taken.

The Lorde Geoffrey of Charnye was alſo taken priſoner, & woũded right ſore, but the king of his noble courteſie, cauſed him to bee dreſſed by ſurgeons, and tenderly looked vnto.

There were ſlayne, Sir Henry de Blois, and Sir Pepin de la ware, with other, to the number of ſixe hundred. Monſieur de Memorancie eſcaped with great daunger. Froyſſart ſayeth, that this battell was fought in the yeare 1348. vpon ẏ laſt of December, towardes ẏ next morning being Newyeres daye, but as Aueſburie & Walſingham haue, that begin the yeare at our Lady day, this enterpriſe chanced 1349. and ſo conſequently, in the 23. yeare of this Kings raigne.

ir Euſtace de
ibaumoun.

All the priſoners were brought to the Caſtell of Calleis, where the King the next night gaue them a ſupper, and made thẽ right hartie cheare, and gaue to Sir Euſtace de Ribaumont a riche chaplet of pearles, whiche hee then did weare on his owne head, in token that he had beſt deſerued it for his manfull prowes ſhewed in the fighte, and beſide that, in fauour of his tried valiancie, he acquit him of his raunſome, & ſet him at libertie.

An. reg. 24.
The death
ceaſſeth.
R. Aueſb.

About the ende of Auguſt, the deathe in London ceaſſed, which had bin ſo great and vehement within that Citie, that ouer and beſide the bodyes buried in other accuſtomed burying places, there were buried that yeare dayly, from Cadlemas til Eaſter, in ẏ Charter houſe yard of Lõdon, more than two hundred dead corpſes.

Commiſſioners meete to talk of peace.

Alſo this yeare, by the earneſt ſute of the two Cardinals which were ſent (as yee haue hearde) from Pope Clement the ſixth, a peace was concluded for one yeare. There met neere vnto Caleis for the treatie of this peace, the foreſaide two Cardinals, as mediators, and for the King of England, the Byſhop of Norwich Treaſorer, and high Chancellor of the Realme, with others, came thither as commiſſioners. And in like manner for the French King, there appeared the Biſhoppe of Lion, and the Abbot of S. Deniſe.

Men borne with fewer teeth than in tymes paſt.
Caxton.
Tho. VValſ.
Polichron.

This yeare in Auguſt dyed Phillippe de Valois the French King. Here is to bee noted, that all thoſe that were borne, after the beginning of that great mortalitie whereof ye haue heard, wãted four cheeke teeth, (when they came to ẏ tyme of grouth) of thoſe 32. which the people before that time commonly vſed to haue, ſo that they hadde but 28.

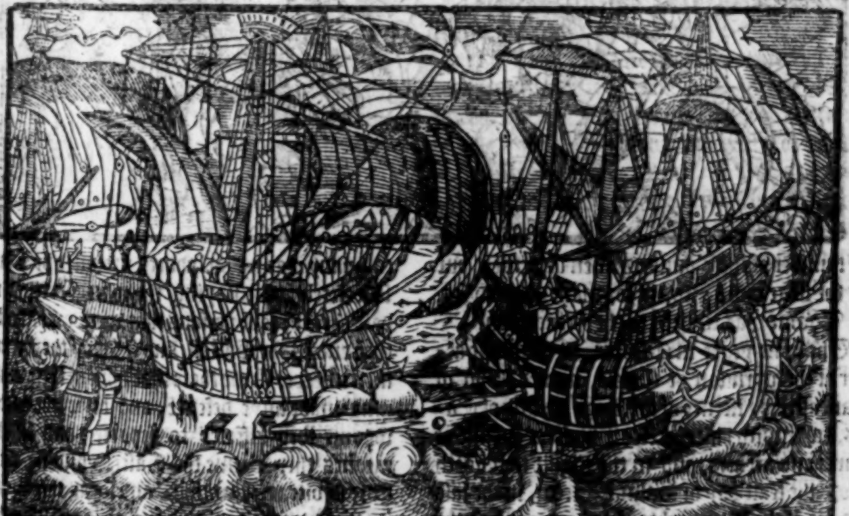
A combat.

In this 24. yeare of this Kings raigne, there was a combate fought in Liſtes within ẏ kyngs palace of Weſtminſter, betwixt the Lord Iohn, baſtard ſonne to Phillip King of Fraunce, and a Knight of the Towne of Ipres in Flaunders, but the baſtard had the vpper hand, and vanquiſhed his aduerſarie.

Aueſburie.
Tho. VValſ.

A Spanyſhe fleete.
Spanyardes vanquiſhed by the king of England by ſea.

About the feaſt of the decollation of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, King Edwarde aduertiſed of a fleete of Spanyardes returning forth of Flaunders, that was laden with clothes and other riches, aſſembled a conueniente power of men of armes, and archers, and at Sandwiche tooke the Sea with them, ſayling forth, till vpon the coaſt of Winchelſee hee mette with the Spanyardes, and there aſſayled them, ſo that betwixt hym and thoſe Spanyardes, there was a ſore fighte, and long continued, to the greate loſſe of people on both partes. but in the ende, the bright beame of victory ſhone vpon the Engliſh ſailes, ſo that all the Spanyardes were ſlayne, for they were ſo proude and obſtinate (as Walſingham affirmeth) that they woulde not yeelde, but rather choſe to die, and ſo they did indeede, either vpon the Engliſhe mennes weapon pointes, or elſe were they



Tho. VValſ.

Aueſburie.

drowned there in the Sea, ſixe and twentie of their ſhippes were taken, in the which was found greate ſtore of good ware and riches. And ſo the Kyng thoughte hym ſelfe well reuenged of the Spanyardes, whiche in the laſt yeare, about Alhallontide, hadde entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth vp towardes Burdeaux, and there finding many ſhippes fraught with wines, ſlewe all the Engliſhmen they founde aborde, and tooke away the Shippes with them: whyche iniurie moued the King to enterpriſe thys exployte now at this time againſt them.

Froiſſart.

Sir Thomas Dagworth ſlayne.

About the beginning of Auguſt, Sir Raoull de Cahors, and dyuers other Knightes and Eſquires, to the number of ſixe ſcore menne of armes, foughte before a Caſtell called Auleon, with ſir Thomas Dagworth, and there ſlewe the ſame Sir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Pope.

There were ſente ſolemne meſſengers thys yeare vnto Auignion, for the eſtabliſhing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the King of Englande and Fraunce, at the ſute of the Pope, ſo that K. Edwarde ſhoulde haue reſigned hys title and clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce, and ẏ Frēch King ſhould haue giuen ouer vnto him ẏ whole Duchie of Guyenne, to holde the ſame freely, without knowledging of reſort or ſuperioritie, or doing any manner of homage for the ſame: but ſuche delayes were made, and the ſute ſo prolonged by the Pope, that the Earle of Derby, whiche with others were ſente to him aboute thys matter, returned withoute ſpeede of his purpoſe, for the whych he went.

An. reg

1351.

Froiſſart.

In the fiue and twentith yeare of King Edwardes raigne, the Frenchmenne, hauing layde ſiege vnto the Towne of Saint John Dangili, the Lorde Dalbrettes ſonne, hauing aſſembled ſixe hundred men of armes, Gaſcoignes & Engliſhmen, meant to worke ſome feate, for reliefe of them within, wherevppon, as hee was marching through the countrey of Xainctonge neere vnto Xainctes the eigth of Aprill, or as other haue, the firſte, hee was encountred by the Lord Guy de Neell, one of the Marſhals of Fraunce, and other French Lordes, where at length, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, many ſlayne, and dyuers taken priſoners, of which number was the ſayde Marſhall, with his brother the Lorde William, and ſir Arnolde de Dandrehen, beſide others, to the number of three hundred men of armes, but yet the ſiege remayned, till for want of vittayles, the Towne was rendred to the Frenchmen.

The ſame yeare in October, an Engliſhe archer of the garniſon of Calcis, named John of Dancaſter, by licence of the Lord deputie of Caleis, tooke with him threeſcore perſons menne of armes and archers, and in the nighte that goeth before the feaſt day of Saint Vincent, in the laſt quarter of the ſame nighte, hee commyng to the Caſtell of Guynes, founde as well the watch as other faſt aſleepe, wherevpon, hee paſſed a water that adioyned to the Caſtell, wading vp to the girdell, and ſo came to the wall, where he and hys company rearing vp ladders, mounted by ẏ ſame ſo ſecretely, that ſlaying the watche, being not paſt three or four perſons that were on ẏ walles, they entred the Caſtell, and finding the Frenchmen aſleepe, ſlewe thoſe that vppon their wakenning made anye defence, and tooke the reſidue, whome they ſuffered to departe: and by thys meanes they wanne the Caſtell, finding greate ſtore of vittayles within, and ſo as they founde it, they kepte it to the Kyng of Englandes vſe.

The Caſtell of Guynes wonne.

The French hiſtories declare, that one Guilliā de Beauconroy, that was Captayne of this Caſtell, betrayed ẏ place to ẏ engliſhmē, for a ſumme of money, and when the Frenche King required reſtitution, bycauſe the truce was not yet expired, he was ſhifted off with this forged anſwer, yͭ nothing was excepted by the aſſurance of the truce, concerning things that ſhoulde be bought and ſolde. The Frenchman that betrayed it, was ſhortly after put to execution at Amiens.

oates and
lfe grotes
ſt coigned.

In this yeare were the firſt peeces of ſiluer called groates and halfe groates of foure pence and two pence the peece ſtamped, by the Kings appoyntment, through the counſell of William de Edington Byſhop of Wincheſter Lorde Treaſorer. Before that time, there were no other coignes, but the Noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the peeces of ſiluer called ſterlings. Bycauſe theſe newe peeces wanted of the weight of the olde ſterling coigne, the prices as well of vittayles as of other wares, did dayly riſe, and ſeruauntes and workemen waxing more craftie than beforetime they had bin, demaunded greater wages.

1352
An.reg.26.

This yeare, vpon the euen of the Aſſumption of our Lady, Sir Iohn Bentley Knight, as the Lord warden of Britaigne, fought with the L. Guy de Nealle, Marſhall of Fraunce, (lately ranſomed out of captiuitie) in the parties of Britaine, neere to a place called Mouron, betwixte Rennes and Plurenuell, where the ſayd Marſhal was ſlayne, togither with the Lorde of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beauvais, and dyuers other, both Britons and Frenchmen.

Movron.

1351
An.reg.27.
Tho. VValſ.
the printed
ooke of ſta-
tes it ſhould
peare, that
is Parliamēt
s rather
olden in the
5. yeare of
is Kings
aigne.

In the ſeuen and twentith yeare of his raigne, King Edwarde helde a Parliamente at Weſtminſter, after the feaſt of Eaſter, in which, an ordinance was deuiſed, what wages ſeruauntes and labourers ſhould be allowed, prohibiting thē to receyue aboue the rate whiche they were accuſtomed to take before the yeare of the great mortalitie. Seruantes and labourers were in deede growen to bee more ſubtill than before time they had bin, but by reaſon that the prices of thinges were enhaunced: it is like they demaunded greater wages than they hadde done before time, and one cauſe of the dearth was imputed to the newe coigne of money, beeing of leſſe weight in the alley thereof, than before it had bin, ſo that the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, being Lord Treaſorer, who hadde counſelled the king to ordeine thoſe groates and halfe groates, was euill ſpoken of amongeſt the people. In this Parliament there were ſtatutes alſo made, that clothes ſhould in length and breadth through the Realme, beare the ſame aſſiſe, as was ordeined in the Parliamēt holden at Northampton. Alſo, that all weares, milles, and other lettes, ſhould be remoued forth of riuers, that might be any hinderance for ſhips, botes, or lighters, to paſſe vp and down the ſame. But theſe good ordinaunces toke little or none effect, by reaſon of bribes that walked abroad, and friendſhippe of Lordes and greate men, that ſought rather their owne commodities, than the common wealthes.

atutes for
aking of
othes.

Weares and
illes.

Creations of noble men.

Shortely after the feaſte of Pentecoſte, the Earle of Derbie, and Lancaſter, was made Duke of Lancaſter, and Raufe Lord Stafforde, was created Earle of Stafforde. Whereas there had bin a treatie betwixte the lordes of Britaine, and the king of Englande, not onely for the deliueraunce of the lorde Charles of Bloys, but alſo for the matching of his eldeſt ſonne in marriage with one of king Edwards daughters, and ſo to enioy the Dukedome in peace. This matter was ſo farre forewardes, that in the yeare laſt paſſed, the ſaid lorde Charles, leauing two of his ſonnes and a daughter in pledge for the paymēt of .xl. M. florens, agreed vpon for his raunſome: hee was permitted to retourne into Britaine, to prouide that money: and withall, to procure a diſpenſation, that his eldeſt ſonne might marrie with one of king Edwards daughters, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe they were within the degrees of cōſanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Hereuppon this yeare about Michaelmas, hee retourned into Englande, with the ſame diſpenſation: but bycauſe aboute the ſame time the

The Lorde Charles of Blois.

Britons had taken by ſtelth an Ilande, wyth a Caſtell therein, that the Engliſhmen had kepte, and put all thoſe whiche they founde therein, to the ſworde, the ſaide Lorde Charles, otherwiſe Duke of Britaine, loſt the Kings fauour, ſo that he woulde heare no more of any ſuche aliance, by way of marriage, as had bin cōmuned of before: by reaſon wherof, the Brittiſh lords, that were in great number come ouer with the lorde Charles de Blois, were cōſtreined to returne home, without atchieuing any part of their purpoſe, leauing the ſaide lorde Charles, and his children behinde them ſtill here in Englande.

Debate betwixt the Dukes of Brunſwike & Lancaſter.

The fourth daye of September, the Duke of Brunſwicke, and the Duke of Lancaſter, ſhould haue fought a combate in Paris, about certayne wordes that the Duke of Lancaſter ſhoulde ſpeake, in derogatiō of the Duke of Brunſwikes honor, for the which, the ſayd Duke had appealed him in the Court of Fraunce: but when they were ready to haue tryed it, and were on horſebacke, with their ſpeares in hand within yͤ liſtes, at poynte to haue runne togither, the Frenche King cauſed them to ſtay, and taking on hym the matter, made them friendes, and agreed them.

Aueſburie. Tho. Walſ. affirmeth, that this remouing of the ſtaple of woolles, was the 28. yeare of King Edwards raigne.

This yeare the King by aduice of his counſell remoued the marte or ſtaple of Woolles from the Townes in Flaunders, and cauſed the ſame to be kept at Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, Lincolne, Briſtowe, Canterbury and Hulle.

Fabian.

This was done in deſpite of the Flemings, bycauſe they helde not the couenauntes and agreementes which they had made with the king, in the life time of Jaques Arteuelde, by whoſe prouiſion, the ſayde mart or ſtaple had bin kept in ſundry townes in Flaunders, to their greate aduauntage and commoditie.

Sir Walter Bentley committed to the Tower.

Sir Walter Bentley, vppon his commyng ouer forthe of Britaine, where he hadde bene the Kings Lieutenant, was committed to the Tower, where he remayned priſoner for the ſpace of twelue monethes, bycauſe hee refuſed to deliuer vp the Caſtels within his gouernemente, vnto ſir John Auenell Knighte, beeing appoynted to receyue the ſame, to the vſe of the Lord Charles de Bloys, at the ſame time when the treatie of agreement was in hande, betwixte the Kyng, and the ſayd Lord Charles. But after, when it was perceyued what damage mighte haue enſued by deliuery of thoſe Caſtels, Sir Walter was ſet at libertie vpon ſureties yet, that were bound for his forth comming, and that he ſhoulde not departe the Realme: at length, he was receyued agayne into the Kings fauoure.

A greate drought.

In the Sommer of this. 27. yeare, was ſo great a drought, that frō the latter end of March, fell little raine, till the latter ende of Julye, by reaſon whereof, manye inconueniences enſued: and one thing is ſpecially to be noted, that corne the yeare following waxed ſcant, and the price began this yeare to be greatly enhaunced.

A dearth.

Alſo beeues and muttons waxed deere, for the want of graſſe, and this chaunced both in Englande and Fraunce, ſo that this was called the deare ſommer.

Caxton.

The Lorde William Duke of Bauiere or Bauarie, and Earle of Zelande, broughte many Shippes vnto London, fraught with Rie, for releefe of the people.

1354

In the eight and twentith yeare of King Edwards raigne, vpon a treatie that was holden by commiſſioners, appoynted by the two Kings of Englande and Fraunce after Eaſter, they were in manner fully agreed vpon a peace, ſo that nothing wanted, but putting vnto their ſeales. In the articles whereof, it was conteyned, that the King of England ſhould enioy all his landes of his Duchie of Aquitaine, without holding the ſame of any by homage, or reſort, and in conſideration thereof, he ſhould reſigne all his clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce.

Hereuppon were Imbaſſadors ſent from eyther King, vnto the Pope, and a truce taken, to endure till the feaſt of Sainte John Baptiſt in the yeare next following.

Imbaſſadors for the King of England, were theſe: Henry Duke of Lancaſter, John Earle of Arundell, the Byſhoppes of Norwich, and London, and the Lorde Guy de Brian.

For the Frenche King, the Archbyſhoppe of Rouen, Lord Chancellor of Fraunce, the Duke of Burbon, and others: but when the matter came to be heard before the Pope about Chriſtmas, all went into ſmoke that had bin talked of: for the Frenchmen denyed that the articles were drawen, according to the meaning of their commiſſioners, and the Pope alſo winked at yͤ matter, ſo that the Engliſhe Imbaſſadors, (when they ſawe that nothing would be concluded) returned home all of them, the Biſhoppe of Norwich excepted (who departed this life there,) and ſo their iourney came to none effect.

1355

This yeare, the tenth of February, there roſe a ſore debate, betwixt the Scholers and Towneſmen of Oxforde. The occaſion roſe by reaſon of the falling out of a Scholler, with one that ſolde wine, for the Scholler perceyuing hymſelfe euill vſed, poured the wine on the drawers head, knocking the potte about hys pate, ſo as the bloud ranne downe by his eares.

Hereuppon beganne a ſore fray, betwixte the Schollers and Towneſmenne, whych continued for the moſt part of two dayes togyther.

There were ſlayne a twentie Towneſmenne, beſyde thoſe that were hurte: but at length, there came a greate number of countreymen foorth of the villages next adioyning, to ayde the Townesmenne, entring the Towne with a blacke banner, and ſo fiercely aſſayled the Scholers, that they were conſtreyned to flee to theyr houſes and hoſtelles, but their enimies purſuing them, brake vp theyr dores, entred their chambers, ſlewe dyuers of them, and threwe them into priuies, tare their bookes, and bare away theyr goodes.

The Scholers herewith tooke ſuche diſpleaſure, that they departed the Vniuerſitie: thoſe of Merton colledge, and other the like colledges onely excepted.

The Byſhoppe of Lincolne inhibited Prieſts to celebrate diuine ſeruice in preſence of anye lay man within that Towne of Oxforde, and the King ſending his Iuſtices thither, to take knowledge of this diſorderly riot, there were diuers, both of the Towneſmen and Scholers endited, and certayne of the burgeſſes cōmitted to warde.

This yeare, the firſte Sunday in Lente, the King helde a royall Iuſtes at Woodſtocke, for ioy of the Queenes purifying, after the birthe of hir ſixth ſonne, the Lorde Thomas, whome the Biſhoppe of Durham named Thomas, helde at the fontſtone. Hee was borne the ſeuenth of Ianuary laſt paſt.

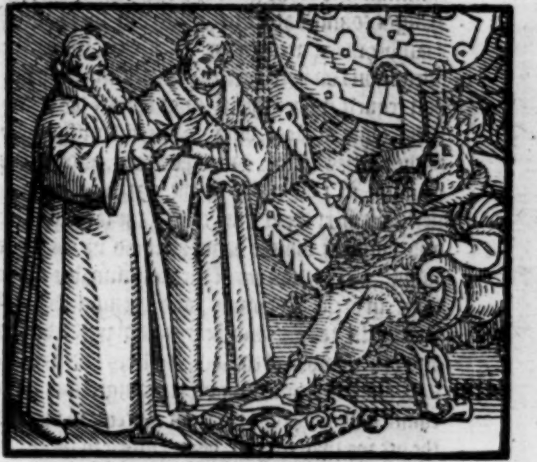
n. VValſ.
ueſburie.
e quarrell
peaſed be-
ixt the
olers and
wneſmen of
forde.

In the Parliamente holden at Weſtminſter this yeare after Eaſter, the Kyng tooke vppon him to make an ende of the quarrell betwixte the Schollers, and Towneſmen of Oxforde, and ſauing to euery man his right, pardoned yͤ Scholers of all tranſgreſſions: and this he ſignifyed into euery ſhire, by writtes directed to the Sherifs, they to proclayme the ſame, for more notice of the thing. And ſo in the ſommer following, the Vniuerſitie began agayne to flouriſhe, ſtudentes reſorting thither from each ſide.

In this Parliamente, the proceſſe of yͤ iudgement had and made againſt Roger Mortimer, late Earle of Marche, was reuoked, adnichilate, and made voyd, ſo that the Lord Roger Mortimer was reſtored to the title and poſſeſſions of the Earledome of Marche, as couſin and heire to his grandfather the ſayd Earle of Marche.

baſſadors
the Pope.

Moreouer to this Parliament, came the Byſhop of Carpentras, and the Abbot of Clugny, beeing ſente from Pope Innocente the ſixth, to make ſute to haue the truce proroged betwixte the two Kinges, of Englande, and Fraunce, to whome the King himſelfe in perſon, made this reſolute anſwere, that he would not agree to any longer truce, for that when diuers times, at the Frenchmens ſute, he had conſented to haue truce by mediation of two Cardinals, ſent to hym about the ſame matter, his aduerſaries in yͤ meane time, whileſt ſuche truces endured, haue done much harme and damage by ſubtill practiſes to perſons, and places beyond the ſea, that were vnder his rule and gouernemente, yet he ſaide, hee would deliberate hereof with his counſell, and after intimate his pleaſure to the Pope, and to them of Fraunce by meſſengers which he woulde ſende ouer for that purpoſe: and ſo theſe Imbaſſadors within foure dayes after their commyng, were thus diſpatched with aunſwere.



Herewith in this Parliamente it was ordeyned, that the Prince of Wales, beeing as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, ſhoulde paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, and haue with him a thouſande men of armes, and two thouſande archers, with a great number of Welchmen.

R. Aneſb.
A nauie prepared.

Aboute the ſame time, the K. cauſed 40. ſhips to be prouided, rigged, and made ready at Rutherhibe, furniſhed with vittailes for one quarter of a yere, and euery of yͤ ſayd ſhips had principall ſtreamers of the Duke of Lācaſters armes, who was appoynted with a greate power of choſen men of armes and archers to paſſe to the Sea wͭ the ſame Shippes, but fewe or none of his company knewe whither, horſes they hadde none. He had with him two of the Kings ſonnes, Lionell of Andwerpe, and Iohn of Gant, the elder of thē being about 16. yeares of age. Alſo, there wente with him the Earles of Northampton, March, & Stafford, beſide many lordes, Barōs, & knightes. The 10. of Iuly, he made ſayle to Greenewich, & there and at Sandwich he ſtayed, till yͤ Aſſumption of our Lady, yͤ winde for yͤ moſt parte, continuing al that while at Weſt and South, contrary to his iourney as it mighte appeare. At length with muche difficultie, he came to Winchelſee, and after to the wight. It was thought, that the Dukes purpoſe was to paſſe into Normandy, to ioine with yͤ K. of Nauarre, who was at variance with the frenche K. But after it was knowen by eſpials that they were made friendes, the Duke of Lancaſter doubting crooked meaſures, & hauing with him no horſemen, returned home

The Duke of Lancaſter.

home, without further attempt.

Record. Tur.

On S. Kenelmes day being friday, and the 17. of July, maſter Humfrey Cherlton, profeſſor of Diuinitie, and John Carleton yͤ yonger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and John Saint Frideſwide Maior, John Bedeford, and John Norton, burgeſſes of the ſayde towne of Oxforde, on the behalfe of the communaltie of the ſame towne, came before the Kinges counſell at Weſtminſter in the counſell chamber there, neere to the Eſchecker, where the allegations on both parties being hearde, and vppon requeſt made, that it might pleaſe his maieſties counſell, according to the ſubmiſſions by bothe parties made, vnto the King, and to hys counſell, to take order in the matter in controuerſie betwixt them, concerning the late tumulte and buſineſſe whiche hadde chanced in the ſayde towne, by the diſorder of the communaltie of the ſame, in breaking downe, and brenning vppe of houſes, in taking and bearing away the bookes and other goodes of the ſaide maſters and Schollers, and in committing other tranſgreſſions, the counſell hauing conſideration thereof, to aduoyd the decaye that mighte haue enſued to the ſayde towne, made thys ende betwixte them, that the communaltie of the ſayde Towne (John Bereforde, beeing in the Kinges priſon, and Roberte Lardiner only excepted) ſhould be bound to pay vnto the ſaid maſters and Scholers, dampnified in the ſayde tumulte and buſineſſe, for amendes, and reformation of iniuries and loſſes ſuſteyned (death and Maheime excepted) two hundred and fiftie poundes, beſide the goodes taken and borne away, to bee reſtored againe, and this money to bee payde to the ſayde Chancellor, maſters and Scholers, on that ſide yͤ monday next before the feaſt of Saint James, or elſe ſufficiente ſureties put in for the paymēt thereof, at certain tearmes, as the parties ſhoulde agree vpon: and in reſpecte thereof, the ſaid John Bedeford, and John Norton, ſhall bee releaſſed out of priſon of the Marſhalſea, at the baile of the ſaid Maior, and of Roberte de Menkes, and John Dimmoks, till the next ſeſſions of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the ſaid ſummes of money be paide, or ſuretie putte in for the paymente thereof, as before is ſaid, or elſe the bodies of the ſaid John Bedeford, and John de Norton, ſhall bee returned to the ſayd priſon, within three dayes after the feaſt of *Peter ad Vincula*, there to remayne in manner as before they did.

The ende and awarde made of the quarrell betwixt the Vniuerſitie and towneſmen of Oxforde.

It was alſo ordeyned by the counſel, with the aſſent of the ſaid Humfrey, and John Carleton, that all and euery manner of perſons of the ſayde Towne of Oxforde, and the Suburbes of the ſame, indited and arreigned of the felonies and tranſgreſſions before mentioned, that ſhoulde yeelde themſelues to the Kings priſon, to be tried by lawe, and alſo all other that were at that preſent in priſon, whiche the ſayd Humfrey, and John de Carleton ſhould name (John de Bereford and Robert Lardiner excepted) mighte bee let to baile, vppon ſufficient ſureties, that ſhoulde vndertake for them, bodyes for bodies, to appeare at the next ſeſſions of gaole deliuerie, there to bee tried, according to the order of lawe.

And further it was ordred, that all ſuch goodes and cattels as were taken and carried away frō the ſaide maſters and Schollers in the ſayde tumulte and buſineſſe, by the menne of the ſayde Towne and ſuburbes, in whoſe handes, and in what places ſoeuer within the ſaide Towne and ſuburbes, by inquiſitions, informations, or other meanes, they ſhoulde or mighte be found, ſhould bee deliuered vnto the ſayde Chauncellor, and procuratoꝛs of the ſayde Vniuerſitie, to bee by them reſtored vnto thoſe perſons, to whome they belonged.

This was the effect of the order taken at that day and place, before the reuerende fathers, John Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, primate and Chancellor of Englande, William Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, Lorde Treaſorer, Thomes de Brembre, Lorde keeper of the priuie ſeale, and Dauid de Wollore, maſter of the rolles, Henry de Ingelby Clearke, and other of the Kings counſell then there preſente.

The Prince of Wales (as yee haue hearde,) beeing appoynted to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, ſette forwarde from London the laſt daye of June, and comming to Plimmouth where hys nauie was appoynted to be made ready, he ſtayed there, for want of conuenient winde and weather a long time after.

The. Fr

The Prin Wales g ouer into Gaſcoigne.

Finally, hauing with him the Erles of Warwike, Suffolke, Saliſbury and Oxforde, alſo, the Lord John Chandos, Sir Robert Knolles, ſir Franke de Halle, the L. James Audeley, with diuers other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers, a greater number, than in Parliamente was firſte to hym aſſigned, hee ſette from Plimmouth on the daye of the natiuitie of oure Lady.

They were in all three hundred ſayle, and finding the winde proſperous, they paſſed ouer into Gaſcoigne, where of the Gaſcoignes they were ioyfully receyued.

In Auguſt, the Engliſhmen that were in Britaine, warring agaynſte the Frenchmenne, that tooke parte with the Lorde Charles de Bloys, ſlewe many of them, and tooke the Lorde of Beaumanor, the vicount of Roan, and dyuers other.

This yeare alſo, aboute Michaelmas the King hauing ſommoned an army to be ready at

Sandwich paſſed ouer to Caleis with the ſame.

There wente ouer with him his two ſonnes, Lionell of Andwerp Earle of Ulſter, and John of Gant Earle of Richmont.

He founde at Caleis a thouſand men of armes, that came to ſerue hym for wages, forthe of Flaunders, Brabant, and Almaigne, ſo that hee had about three thouſand men of armes, and two thouſand archers on horſebacke, beſide archers on foote in great number.

...e Citie of ...don.

The Citie of London had ſente to hym fiue and twentie men of armes, and fiue hundred archers, all in one ſute or liuerie, at their owne coſtes and charges.

The ſecond of Nouember, he ſet from Caleis, marching forthe towardes Saint Omers, waſting the Countrey by the way as he paſſed.

...e king in-...th France ...lord Bou-...t.

The Frenche Kyng beyng the ſame tyme within the Towne of Sainte Omers, ſente the Lord Bouſicaut vnto the Kyng of Englande, that vnder colour of communication, hee might viewe the Kyngs power, who made ſuch reporte thereof, vpon hys returne backe to the Frenche Kyng, that he determined not to fighte with the King of Englande, but rather to paſſe before hym, and ſo to deſtroy vittayles, that for wante thereof, the Kyng of Englande ſhoulde bee conſtreyned to returne. And as he determined ſo it came to paſſe, for the vittayles were ſo cutte off, that the Engliſhmenne for three dayes together, dranke nothing but water.

...iſſart. ...e Kyng for ...e of victu-... returneth.

When therefore Kyng Edwarde had followed his enimies ſo farre as Heyden, where hee brake the Parke, and brente the houſes within and about the Parke, although he entred not into the Towne nor Caſtell, at length, for default of vittayles, he returned backe, and came agayne to Caleis on Saint Martins day, being the tenth after his ſetting forth from thence.

...ueſburie.

...e Coneſta-... of France ...maundeth ...tayle.

The morrow after beyng Thurſday, and the twelfth of Nouember, the Conneſtable of Fraūce, and other Frenchmenne, came to the ende of the cauſey of Caleis, with letters of credence, offering battayle the tueſday nexte following, vnto the King of Englande, in preſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, the Earles of Northampton, and the Lord Walter de Manny, who in the Kings behalfe, declared to the Conneſtable, that the King of Englande, to eſchewe ſhedding of bloud, woulde fight with the French King body to body, ſo to trie their right, and if he liked not of that matche, then if hee woulde chooſe three or foure Knightes to him that were neereſt to hym in bloud, hee ſhoulde chooſe the like number: but when this offer would not be accepted, the Engliſh Lordes offered battell the next day, beyng Fridaye, or elſe on Saterday following, at the Frenchmennes choyce, but the Conneſtable of Fraunce and his company, continuing in theyr firſt offer, refuſed both thoſe dayes. Then the Engliſhe Lordes accepted the daye by them aſſigned, with condition, that if they brought not King Edwarde to giue battayle that daye, they would yelde themſelues priſoners, ſo that the Frenchmen would likewiſe vndertake for theyr King.

...t anſwere ...de to him.

The Conneſtable hauing no aunſwere ready, ſtayed a while, and after flatly refuſed to make any ſuch couenaunt.

Finally, when the Engliſh Lordes perceyued their aduerſaries not to meane battayle, as theyr wordes at the firſt pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home.

The King of Englande ſtayed till the tueſday, and payd the ſtraungers their wages, and ſo came backe into Englande.

Berwike taken by Scottes.

The ſixth of Nouembre, whileſt the Kyng was thus abroade in Picardy, the Scottes very early in the morning of that daye, came priuily to Berwike, entred by ſtelth into the towne, and ſleaing three or foure Engliſhmenne, toke it, with all the goodes and perſons within it, thoſe excepted, which got to the Caſtell.

A parliament.

In a Parliamente ſummoned this yeare, the Monday after the feaſt of Saint Edmonde the King, the Lordes and commons graunted to K. Edward 50. ſ. of euery ſacke of woolle, that ſhuld be carried ouer the ſea, for the ſpace of ſixe yeares next enſuing. By this graunt it was thoughte, ẏ the K. might diſpēd a M. markes ſterling a day, ſuch vent of woolles had the Engliſh merchants in that ſeaſon. The Parliament being ended, the K. about S. Andrews tide, ſet forward towardes Scotland, & held his Chriſtmas at new Caſtell. About which time, by letters ſent frō ẏ Prince, ẏ K. was aduertiſed of his proceedings after hys arriuall in Gaſcoigne, where being ioyfully receiued of the nobles, & other ẏ people of that coūtrey, (as before ye haue heard.) he declared to them the cauſe of his thither cōming, & toke aduice with them how to proceede in his buſineſſe, and ſo about ẏ fifth of October, he ſet forward to paſſe againſt his enimies, firſt entring into a countrey called Juliake, which togither with the fortreſſes, yelded to him, without any great reſiſtāce. Then he rode through ẏ countie Armignac, waſting & ſpoiling the countrey, and ſo paſſed through the landes of the vicountes de la Riuiere, and after entred into the countie de l'Eſtrac, and paſſing through ẏ ſame, came into the countie of Comminges, finding the Towne of Saint Matan boyde, being a good towne, and one of the beſt in that countrey.

The procedinges of the prince of Wales in Aquitayne.

After this, he paſſed by the lande of the Earle of Liſle, till hee came within a league of Tholouſe, where the Earle of Armignac, beyng the French Kings Lieutenant in thoſe parties, and other great Lords and nobles were aſſembled.

The Prince with his army taried there a two dayes, and after paſſed ouer the riuer of Garonne, & after ouer an other riuer thereabouts, a league aboue Tholouſe, lodging that nighte, a league on the other ſide of Tholouſe: and ſo they paſſed through Tholouzaine, taking dayly Townes and Caſtels, wherein they founde great riches, for the countrey was very plentifull.

Upon Alhallowen euen, they came to Caſtell Naudarie, and from thence they tooke the way to Carcaſſon, into the whiche, a greate number of men of armes and commons were withdrawen. But vpon the approch of the Engliſhmen, they ſlipt away, and got them to a ſtrong Caſtell that ſtoode neere at hand. The thirde daye after, the Engliſhmen brente the Towne, and paſſing forth, trauerſed all the countrey of Carcaſſonois, till they came to the Towne of Narbonne. The people there were fledde into the Caſtell, in which the Vicount of Narbonne was encloſed, with fiue hundred men of armes. The Prince ſtayed there two dayes. The Pope ſent two Biſhoppes towardes the Prince, to treate with him of peace, but bycauſe the Prince would not hearken to any treatie, without commiſſion from his father, they could not get any ſaufe conduit to approche neerer.

Carcaſſon.

Narbonne.

Two Biſhops ſente from the Pope to the Prince of Wales.

The Prince hauing aduertiſementes heere, that his enimies were aſſembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meete them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the Earle of Armignac, the Conneſtable of Fraunce, the marſhall Cleremont, and the Prince of Orange, with diuers other, neere to Tholouſe, made ſome ſhewe to impeache the Prince his paſſage, yet in the ende, they withdrew, not without ſome loſſe, for the Lorde Batholmewe de Burwaſch: alias Burgherſch, Sir Iohn Chandos, the L. Iames Audeley, and Sir Thomas Felton, being ſente forth to view them, ſkirmiſhed with two hundred of their men of armes, and tooke of thē fyue and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abyde the Engliſhe power, but ſtill ſhranke away, as the Prince was ready to followe them, and ſo hee perceyuing that the Frenchmen would not gyue him battell, he withdrew towardes Burdeaux, after he had ſpente eight weekes in that his iourney, and ſo comming thither, he wintered there, whileſt his Captaines in the meane time tooke dyuers Townes and Caſtels abroade in the Countrey. And nowe to the ende yee maye haue more playne information of ẏ Princes doings in thoſe parties, I haue thought good to make you partakers of a letter or two, written by Sir Iohn Wingfielde Knighte, attendante on the Prince there in Gaſcoigne.

The
Sir Iohn
Wingfi
letters.

MY Lorde, as touching the newes in theſe parties, maye it pleaſe you to vnderſtande, that all the Earles, Barons, Banerets, knightes and Eſquiers, were in health at the making hereof, and my Lord hath not loſt either Knight or Eſquier in this voyage, except the Lorde Iohn Liſle, who was ſlayne after a ſtraunge manner with a quarrell, the third day after we were entred into our enimies countreys, he dyed the fifteenth of October. And pleaſe it you to vnderſtand, that my Lorde hathe ridden through the country of Arminac, and hathe taken many cloſe townes, and brente and deſtroyed them, except certayne which he hath fortified.

After this, hee marched into the vicountie of Rouergue, where hee tooke a good Towne named Pleaſance, the chiefeſt Towne of that countrey, which he hath brent and deſtroyed, with the countrey round about the ſame.

This done, he went into ẏ County d'Eſtrac, wherein he tooke many Townes, waſted and deſtroyed all the countrey.

After this, hee entred into the countie of Cominge, and tooke many townes there, which he cauſed to bee deſtroyed and brent, togither with all the countrey adioyning: he tooke alſo ẏ town of S. Matan, which is the chiefeſt Towne of that countrey, being as large in cōpaſſe as Norwich.

And after, he entred into ẏ countie of Liſle, and tooke the moſt part of the cloſed townes therein, cauſing diuers of them to be brent and deſtroyed as he paſſed. And after entring into the Lordſhip of Tholouſe, we paſſed the riuer of Garon, & an other, a league aboue Tholouſe, whiche is very great, for our enimies had brent all ẏ bridges, as well on the one ſide of Tholouſe, as the other, except the bridges within Tholouſe, for the riuer runneth through the towne. And ẏ Conneſtable of Fraunce, ẏ marſhal Cleremont, & the Earle of Arminac, were with a greate power within the towne the ſame time. And Tholouſe is a great Towne, ſtrong, faire, and well walled, and there was none in our hoſt that knew the forde there, but yet by the grace and goodneſſe of God, we found it. So then we marched through the ſeignieurie of Tholouſe, & tooke many good Townes encloſed, and brent and deſtroyed them, and all ẏ countrey about. And after, wee entred into the ſeignieurie of Carcaſon, and we tooke many good Townes, before we came to Carcaſon, whiche towne we alſo tooke, which is greater, ſtronger, & fairer than Yorke. And as well this towne as all other townes in the countrey were brent and deſtroyed. And after we had paſſed by many iourneys through the countrey of Carcaſſon, we came into ẏ ſeignieurie of Narbonne, & we rode many townes, and waſted them, till we came to Narbon, which towne was holden againſt vs, but it was

was won by force, and the ſayde towne is little leſſe than London, and is ſituate vpon the Greekes ſea, for that the diſtance from the ſayd towne vnto the Greekiſh ſea is not paſt .ij. leagues, and there is an hauen & a place to arriue at, frō whēce ÿ water commeth vp to Narbonne. And Narbonne is not but .xj. leagues diſtant from Mountpellier and .xx. from Egnemortz, and .30. frō Auignion. And may it pleaſe you to vnderſtande, that the holy Father ſent his meſſengers to my lord, that were not paſt .vij. leagues frō him, and they ſent a Sergeaunt at armes, that was Sergeaunt at armes attendant on the doore of our holy fathers chamber, with their letters to my Lord, praying him to haue a ſafeconducte to come to declare to his highneſſe their meſſage from the holy father, which was to treat betwixt my L. & his aduerſaries of France: & the ſaid ſergeant was .ij. days in ÿ hoſt before any lord wold ſee him, or receiue his letters. And the reſon was, bicauſe he had vnderſtanding, that the power of Fraunce was come forth of Tolouze toward Carcaſſon, ſo that my L. was driuē to turn back towards them ſodeinly, and ſo did. And the third day when we ſhould haue come vpon them, they had knowlege giuen before day, and ſo retiring, got them in to the mountayns, haſting faſte towardes Tolouze, and the country people that were theyr guydes to leade them that waye, were taken as they ſhould haue paſſed the water. And bicauſe the Popes ſergeant at armes was in my keeping, I cauſed him to examine the guides that were ſo taken: and for that the guide which was thus examined, was ÿ Coneſtables guide, & his countreyman, he might wel ſee and know the countenaunce of the French men vpon this examining him. And I ſayde to the ſame ſergeant, that he might well declare to the Pope and to al them of Auignion that which he had heard or ſeene. And as touching the anſwere which my lorde made to them that were ſent to treat with hym you would be wel apayd, if you vnderſtode al the maner: for he would not ſuffer in any wiſe that they ſhoulde come neerer vnto him. But if they came to treat of any matter, he would that they ſhould ſende to the king his father: for my lord himſelfe woulde not doe any thing therein, excepte by commaundemente from my Lord his father. And of my Lords turning back to follow after his enimies, and of the paſſage of the riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of Caſtels and townes in this iourney and of other things whiche he hath done againſt his enimies in purſute of them in this iourney, beeyng things right worthie and honourable as manye know very wel, in like maner as ſir Ric. Stafforde, and Sir Williā Burton can more plainly declare than I to you can write, for it were to muche to put in writing. And my Lord rode thus abrode in the countrey of his enimies viij. whole weekes, and reſted not paſt eleuen dayes in all thoſe places where he came. And knowe it for certayne, that ſith this warre began agaynſt the Frenche Kyng, he had neuer ſuche loſſe or deſtruction as hee hath had in this iourney: For the countreyes and good townes whyche were waſted at thys iourney, founde to the Kyng of Fraunce euery yeare more to the mayntenaunce of his warre than halfe his realme hath done beſyde, excepte the exchaunge of his money whiche he maketh euery yeare, and the aduauntage and cuſtome whiche he taketh of them of Poictow, as I can ſhewe you by good remembrance, whiche were founde in dyuers townes in the receyuers houſes: for Carcaſſon and Le Moignes, whiche is as greate as Carcaſſon, and two other Townes in the coaſtes of Carcaſſon, founde to the King of Fraunce yerely wages for a thouſand men of armes: & beſide that .C. M. of old crownes to mainteyn the warre. And know you, that by the remembrances whiche we found, that the townes in Tholouzein which are deſtroyed, and the townes in the countrey of Carcaſſon, and the town of Narbonne & Narbonnoys did find euery yere with the ſums aforſaid, in aid of his war iiij. C. M. old crowns, as the burgeſes of ÿ great townes and other people of the countrey whiche ought to know it, haue told vs. And ſo by Gods aſſiſtance if my L. had wherwith to mainteyne this warre, and to make the kings profit and his own honor, he ſhuld enlarge wel the engliſh marches, & gain many fair places: for our enimies are greatly aſtonied. And at the making hereof, my L. hath apointed to ſend al the Erles, & al the banerets to abide vpon certaine places on the marches, to make roads, & to anoy his aduerſaries.

Hee meaneth the Merantine ſea.

My lorde, at this preſent I know none other newes to ſend, but you may by your Letters cōmande me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God graunt you good life, ioy, and health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the Tuiſday next before Chriſtmaſſe.

The tenor of an other letter written by Sir Iohn Wyngfield, directed to ſir Richard Stafford knight vvho had bin in Gaſcoyne, and there leauyng his familie, vvas novv returned into England.

The copie of an other letter.

RIght deare ſir, and right louing frende, touching newes after your departure, you maye vnderſtande, that there be taken and yelded fiue Townes incloſed, to witte, Port Saint Mary, Cleyrac, Tonyngs, Burgh Saint Pierre, Chaſtiel Sacret or Satrat, and Braſſack. Alſo ſeuenteene Caſtelles, to wit, Coiller, Buſet, Lemnak, two caſtels called Boloynes, whiche ioyne the one nere to the other, Mounioy, Wircſch, Frechenet, Mountender, Pudeſchales, Mounpoun, Montanak, Waleclare, Cenamont, Leyſtrake, Plaſſake, Cont Deſtabliſon, and Mountcuell. And will it pleaſe you to knowe that my Lorde John Chandos, my lord James Audley, & your men that are with them, and the other Gaſcoins that are in their companie, and my Lord Baldwyn Butetort and that company, and my lord Reynolde Cobham, toke the ſaid towne, which is called Chaſtiel Sacret, or Satrat, by aſſault: and the baſtarde of Liſle whiche was captaine of the ſayd towne was alſo ſlaine there, as they aſſaulted it, being ſtriken with an arrow through the head: and my Lorde Reynolde is retourned backe toward Languedock: and my lord Baldwin towards Braſſack, with their companies: and ẏ lords John & James, and thoſe of their cõpany remain in Chaſtiel Satrat, & haue victuals plentie of al ſorts to ſerue them betwene this and Midſomer, except of freſhe fiſhe, and cabages as they haue aduertiſed vs by letters, wherupon ye neede not to take thought for your mẽ. And there be in that towne more than. iij. C. glaiues, and iij. C. yeomen, & an. Cl. archers. And they haue ridde before Agen, & brent and deſtroyed all their Milnes, and haue brente and broken downe all their bridges that lye ouer Garon, and haue takẽ a Caſtell without the ſame towne, and haue fortified it. And Monſier John Darminak, and the Seneſhal of Agenois, which were in the town of Agen, wold not once put forth their hed, nor any of their people, and yet haue they bin twice before that towne. And Monſ. Fuſgaud was come, & Monſieur Ernald de Spayne, and Grimoton de Chambule, with. iij. C. glaiues, &. iij. ſergeantes Lombards: & they are in the town of Muſchack, which is in Creſſy, & it is but a myle from Chaſtiel Satrat or Sacret, & a league from Breſſak, and ye may well thinke that there will bee good companie to taſte one another. And further may it pleſe you to know, that Monſ. Bartholomew is at Coniack with. vj. ſcore men of armes of my lords houſe, & ſix ſcore archers, and the captau de Buche or Beuf, the lorde Montferrant, and the lorde of Crotony, which haue with them. iij. C. glaiues, and. vj. ſcore archers, &. ij. C. ſergeantes, beſide them which are in Tailbourgh, Tanney, and Rochford, ſo that when they are togyther, they may be well. vj. C. glaiues, and at the making hereof, they were vpon a iourney towardes Aniou and Poitou, and the Earles of Suffolke, Oxford, & Saliſbury, the lord of Muſeden, Mõſieur Ellis de Pomiers, and other Gaſcoygnes, with the whiche are well more than. v. C. glaypues, and. ij. C. ſergeantes, and. iij. hundred Archers, and they wer at the making hereof toward the parties of Noſtre Dame de Rochemade, & haue bin forth aboue twelue days, and wer not returned at the ſending of theſe preſentes. My Lorde John Chandois, my lorde James, & my lorde Baldwin, and thoſe which be in their companie are alſo forth vpon a iourney toward their parties: My Lorde Reinolde and thoſe of the houſhold, with the Gaſcoynes whiche be in their companie, are alſo forth vpon a iorney towardes their parties. The Erle of Warwick hath bene at Tonings and at Cleras, to take thoſe townes, and at the making hereof was gone towardes Mermande to deſtroye their Vynes, and all other things which he can deſtroy of theyrs. My Lord is at Leyborn, and the lord of Pomiers at Fronſak, which is but a quarter of a league fro Leyborne: and my lordes people lye as well at Sainct Milion, as at Leyborne, and Monſieur Berard de Bret is there with hym, and my lord looketh for newes whyche he ſhoulde haue, and according to the newes that he ſhal haue, he will behaue hymſelfe: for as it ſeemeth, he ſtandeth muche on hys honour. At the makyng hereof, the Eaſle of Arminacke was at Auignion, and the Kyng of Arragon is there alſo: and of all other parleys whyche haue bin in diuers places, (wherof you know) I can not certifie you at the makyng hereof. Ryght deare Syr, other thing I can not ſende vnto you, but that you remember your ſelfe to ſend newes to my lord Prince as ſoone as in anye wyſe you maye, and ſo the Lorde graunte you good lyfe and long. Written at Leyborne the one and twentieth of Ianuarye.

Buſcicault.

The captal de Buz.

These Letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I fynde them in the Chronicle of Roberte Aueſburye, to the ende ye may perceiue how other writers agree therwith, ſith the ſame Letters may ſerue as a touchſtone to trie the truthe of the matter. And ſo nowe I wil returne to ſpeake of the kings doyngs in the north parte where we lefte hym.

The fourteenth of Januarie Kyng Edward hauyng hys armye lodged neere the Towne of Berwycke, and hys Nauye ready in the hauen to aſſayle the Scottes that were wythin the Towne, hee entred the Caſtell whiche the Engliſhemenne hadde in theyr handes, the Lorde Walter de Manny being theyr Capitayn, who hadde gotte certayne Myners thyther from the Forreſt of Deane, and other parts of the realme, whyche were buſye to make paſſage vnder the grounde by a myne throughe whyche the Engliſhmen might enter into the towne.

Herevpon, when the Scottes perceyued in what daunger they ſtode, and knewe that they coulde not long defend the Towne againſt him, they ſurrendred it into hys handes without further reſiſtance.

Hec. Boetiu.

In the Scottyſhe Hiſtoryes it is recorded, that when thoſe whiche were wythin the towne of Berwycke hearde howe that an armye of

Engliſhe

Engliſhmen came to the ſuccours of the caſtell, they raſed the walles and brente the houſes of the Towne, and ſo departed wyth all the ſpoyle whych they had gotten there.

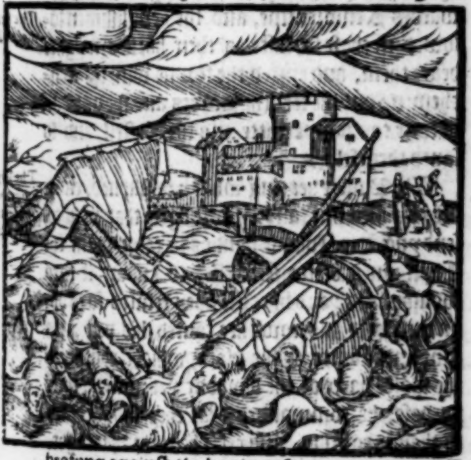
An.reg.30.

The reſignati- n of the realm f Scotlande ade by the Ballioll.

But howe ſo euer it was, kyng Edward being againe poſſeſſed of the towne, he ſet men a worke to repaire it, and paſſyng forth to Roxburg, there met with hym the ryghtfull King of Scots Edwarde Ballioll, who tranſferred and reſigned all the right, title and intereſt, which he had or myght haue to the Crowne and Realme of Scotland into king Edwards handes: which reſignation he confirmed by his Letters patentes therof made and giuen vnder his hand and ſeale, dated the .xxv. of January. 1356. requiring K. Edwarde to perſeuer in purſute of his title to the vttermoſte.

King Edwarde hauing thus receyued the reſignation and releaſe of the Crowne of Scotlande, of Edwarde Ballioll, marched forthe wyth hys armye tyll hee came to Hadington, brenning and deſtroying the countrey on eche ſide round aboute him, as he paſſed. And whyleſt he laye there, abyding for his ſhippes, his men of warre were not ydle, but raunged abroade in the countrey, and did all the damage to their enmies that they coulde deuiſe.

At length his armie whiche he had the ſame tyme on the ſea, arriued on that coaſte, and landyng, ſpoyled a Churche of our Lady, called the White kirke: but being retourned to their ſhips, there roſe ſuche a tempeſt and vehement Northwynde, that many of theyr Veſſels ruſhyng and beatyng againſt the banks & ſandes, were drowned togither with the men that were within thẽ, for diſpleaſure wherof, Kyng Edwarde fell to the ſpoyle of the countrey agayn, not ſparing one place more than an other: by reaſon whereof, as well abbeys as all other Churches and religious houſes both in Hadington, in Edinborough, and through all other the parties of Louthian, where ſoeuer he came, were defaced, and put to ſacke,



K. Edwarde ſore afflicteth the Scots.

At length when he had accompliſhed his will, and ſo ſette things in order, he returned back into Englande with the forſayde Edwarde Balyoll in hys companie, whom he kept with him, for doubte leaſt hee ſhoulde reuolte, and procure ſome newe trouble.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſent to ayde the K. of Nauerre.

In the moneth of July the Duke of Lancaſter being ſente to the ayde of the King of Nauarre, came into Conſtantine, whiche is a portion of Normandie, and there ioyned with the Lorde Philippe of Nauarre, brother to the king of Nauarre, and with the Lord Godfrey de Harcourt, the whiche beyng returned into Fraunce, and reſtored to the Frenche kyngs fauour, was lately agayne reuolted vppon diſpleaſure taken for the death of his nephewe the Lorde John de Harcourte, as in the Frenche hiſtories ye may reade more at large.

Paulus Aemilius.

Froiſſart.

The Caſtell of Orbec reſkued.

They were in all aboute the number of foure thouſande fightyng men, and beyng aſſembled togyther, they wente to Lyſeux, to Orbec, to Ponteau, and reſkued the Caſtell there, whiche had bene beſieged by the Lord Roberte de Houtetot, maiſter of the Croſſebowes in France, more than two monethes: But nowe hearyng that the Engliſhemen and Nauarroys approched, he departed from thence, leauing behynde hym, for haſte, his engins and artillerie.

The citie of Evreux yelded to the Frenchmen.

Vernueil.

The duke of Lancaſter paſſed forwarde vnto Breteuil, which he cauſed to be reliued and furniſhed with neceſſarie things as was conuenient. And then leauing the Citie of Eureux, whiche was as then in the Frenchmẽs handes lately yelded to them after a long ſiege, he went forwarde with the Lorde Philip de Nauarre in hys companye tyll they came to Vernueil in Perch, and there toke both the Towne and Caſtel, and robbed the towne and brent a great part therof.

The French K. cõmeth to giue the Duke of Lancaſter battayle.

The Frenche Kyng who hadde aſſembled a myghtie armye, beyng aduertiſed of theſe matters, haſted forward towarde the Duke of Lancaſter, fully purpoſyng to giue him battayle.

The Duke and the lorde Philip de Nauarre hauyng knowledge that the Frenche kyng folowed them, withdrewe towardes the Towne of the Egle, and the King ſtill wente after them, tyll he came to Tubeuf two leagues from the towne of the Egle, and there it was ſhewed to hym that he coulde not followe his enmies any further by reaſon of the thicke forreſts, which he coulde not paſſe without greate daunger of hys perſone and loſſe of his people. Then returned he wyth all his hoaſte, and tooke from the Nauarroys the Caſtel of Thyllers, and alſo the caſtel of Breteuil, whiche was yelded to him after two monethes ſiege.

Aboute the ſame tyme, that is to ſaye, in Julye, the Prince of Wales, hauyng aſſembled

Froiſſart.

The Prince of VVales inuadeth the french dominions.

an armye of menne of warre, to the number of eyght thouſand, entred into the frenche dominions, and fyrſte paſſyng thorough Auvergne, at length hee came into the countreye of Berrye, waſtyng and brennyng the Townes and vyllages as hee wente, takyng eaſye iourneyes for the better reliefe of his people, and deſtruction of his enimyes: for when hee was entred into anye Towne that was ſufficientely ſtored of things neceſſary, he wold tary there two or three dayes to refreſhe his Souldiours and menne of warre, and when they diſlodged, they woulde ſtryke out the heades of the wyne veſſelles, and brenne the wheate, oates and barley, and all other thynges whyche they coulde not take with them, to the intente theyr enimyes ſhoulde not therwith bee ſuſteyned.

The citie of Burges.

After this, they came before the citie of Burges, and there made a greate ſkirmiſhe at one of the gates, and there were manye feates of armes done. The hoſte departed from thence, without any more doyng, and commyng to a ſtrong caſtell called Iſſoloon, they fiercely aſſayled it, but coulde not winne it: The Gentlemenne within defended the walles and gates ſo manfully.

Iſſoldune aſſaulted.

Vierzon vvonne.

Then paſſed they forewarde, and came to Vierzon, a greate towne and a good Caſtell, but it was nothyng ſtrongly fortifyed, and therfore was it wonne perforce, the people wythin it beyng not ſufficient to reſiſt the valyant puiſſance of the Engliſhemen.

Heere they founde wyne and other victuals in great plentie, and thereupon they taryed there three dayes to refreſhe themſelues at eaſe. But before they departed, the Prince had aduertiſement gyuen hym that the Frenche Kyng was come to Chartres, wyth an huge aſſemble of menne of warre, and that all the Townes and paſſages aboue the ryuer of Loire were cloſed and kepte. Then was the Prince counſayled to retourne and paſſe by Tourayne & Poictou, and ſo that waye to Burdeaux.

The paſſages ſtopped.

The Prynce returneth.

The Prince followyng theyr aduice that thus counſelled hym, ſette forwarde towarde Remorentine. The Frenche Kyng hadde ſente into that Countrey to keepe the Frontiers there, the Lord of Craon, the Lord Bouciquault, and the Hermyte of Chaumount, the which with three hundred men of armes had followed the Engliſhemenne ſixe dayes togyther, and coulde neuer fynde any conuenient occaſion to ſette vpon them: for the Engliſhemen gouerned themſelues ſo ſagely, that theyr enimyes coulde not lightly aſſaile them but to theyr owne diſaduantage. One daye the Frenchemen layde themſelues cloſely in an ambuſh neere to the Towne of Remorentin, at a meruaylous ſtrayte paſſage, by the whyche the Engliſhemenne muſte needes paſſe.

The ſame daye there were departed from the Princes battaile, by licence of the Marſhals, certayne Capitaynes, Engliſhemen, and Gaſcoignes, as the Lorde Bartholomew de Burgherſee, or Burwaſche (as ſome wryte hym) the Lorde of Mucident Gaſcongne, Monſieur Petiton de Courton, the Lorde de la Ware, the Lord Baſſet, ſir Danel Paſſelew, ſir Richarde Ponchardõ, ſir Noel Loring, yͤ yong lord Spencer, and two of the Daubrecicourtes, Sir Edwarde, and an other, who hauyng wyth them two hundred men of armes, wente forthe to renne beefore Remorentin, that they myght viewe the place.

Remorentin.

They paſſed forth alongeſt by the Frenchemen whyche lay in embuſhe, as ye haue hearde, and they wer not aduiſed of them, and they were no ſooner paſſed, but that the Frenchemen brake out, and gallopped after the Engliſhmen with greate randon, hauyng theyr ſpeares in theyr reſtes. The Engliſhemen and the Gaſcoyns hearyng horſſes to come gallopping after them, tourned, and perceyuyng them to bee their enimies, ſtoode ſtyll to abyde them. The Frenchemen couragiouſly gaue the charge, and the Engliſhemen as valyantly defended them, ſo that there enſewed a great ſkirmiſhe, whyche continued a long whyle, ſo that it coulde not be eaſyly iudged who had the better, tyll that the battayle of the Engliſh Marſhalles approched, the whyche when the Frenchemen ſawe commyng by a wood ſyde, they fledde ſtreyghte wayes towardes Remorentine, and the Engliſhmen followed in chaſe ſo faſte as their horſſes myght beare them, and entred the towne with the Frenchemen: but the frenche Lordes and the one half of their companye gotte into the Caſtell, and ſo ſaued themſelues.

A ſkirmiſh.

The frenche menne fledde.

The Prynce lodgeth in the towne of Remorentine.

The Prince hearing what had hapned, came into the Towne, and there lodged that nyght, ſendyng Sir John Chandos to talke wyth the Capitaynes of the Caſtell, to knowe if they woulde yeld: and bycauſe they refuſed ſo to do, on the nexte morrowe hee cauſed his people to giue an aſſaulte to the place, whiche continued the moſte parte of the day, but yet miſſyng their purpoſe, he commanded that they ſhould drawe to their lodgyngs, and reſt them for that night. In the morning as ſoone as the Sunne was vp, the Marſhalles cauſed the Trumpets to ſounde, and thoſe that were appoynted to gyue the aſſaulte agayn, prepared themſelues to it.

The Caſtell of Remorentin aſſaulted.

The Prince himſelfe was preſente perſonally at thys aſſaulte, ſo that the ſame was enforced to the vttermoſte: But when they ſawe that by aſſaultes they coulde not wynne the Caſtell, they deuiſed engines wherewith they caſt wylde

It is ſet on fire.

fyre into the baſe Courte, and ſo ſette it on fyre, whiche encreaſed in ſuche vehemente ſorte, that it toke into the couerying of a great tower, which was couered with reede: and then they wythin perceyuyng they muſt eyther yelde or periſhe with fyre, came down & ſubmitted themſelues to the Prince, who as pryſoners receyued them.

They vvithin ſubmitted them ſelues.

The Caſtell of Remorentine beeyng thus wonne and defaced with fyre, the Prince lefte it voyde, and marched forthe wyth his armye as before, deſtroying the countrey, and approched to Aniou and Touraine.

The Frenche king folovveth the prince of VVales.

The Frenche King came forwarde towarde the Prince, and at Ambois heard how the Prince was in Tourayne, meanyng to returne through Poictow. He was dayly aduertiſed of the Princes doings by ſuch as were appoynted to coaſte hym euer in his iourney.

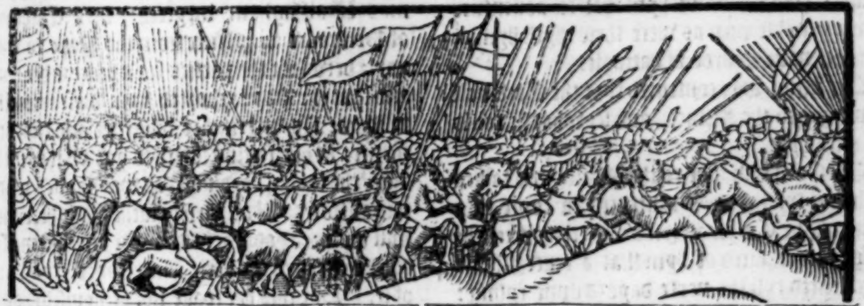
Froiſſart. Seuen thouſād choſen mē hath Tho. VValſin.

Then came the king to Hay in Tourain, and his people were paſſed the ryuer of Loire at ſundrye paſſages, where moſte conuenientely they myghte. They were in number twentie thouſande men of armes: of noble menne there were ſixe and twentie Dukes and Earles, beſyde a greate number of other Lordes and Barons: the foure ſonnes of the Kyng were there, as the Lorde Charles Duke of Normandie, the Lord Lewes after Duke of Aniou, the Lorde Iohn after duke of Berry, and the Lorde Philip whiche was after Duke of Burgongne.

The Frenche king doubtyng leaſt the Prince ſhoulde eſcape by ſpeedye iourneyes oute of his countrey, before he coulde come to giue him battayle, remoued to Chauuignie, and there paſſed the ryuer of Creuſe by the bridge, ſuppoſing that the Engliſhmen hadde bene before hym, but they were not. Some of the Frenchemen taryed behynde at Chauuignie for one nighte, and in the morning followed the king. They were aboute two hundred menne of armes vnder the leading of the Lorde Craon, the Lorde Raoull de Coucye, and the Earle of Ioigny. They chaunced to encounter with certain of the auaunt currours of the Engliſhe armie, which remoued that day from a little village faſt by. Thoſe Engliſhmen were not paſt threeſcore men of armes, but well horſed, and therefore perceyuing the greate number of the Frenchemen, they fledde towarde the Princes battayle, whiche they knewe was not farre off. Capitaines of the Engliſhemen were two knyghtes of Heynault, the Lorde Euſtace Dambreticourt, & the Lord Iohn of Guiſtelles.

Chauuignie.

The Frenchemen beholding them in this wiſe to flee, rode after a mayne, and as they folowed in chaſe, they came on the Princes battayle before they were aware. The Lorde Raoull of Coucy wente ſo farre forewarde with his banner, that hee entred vnder the Princes banner, and fought right valyantly, but yet he was there taken, and the Earle of Ioignie, alſo the Vicount of Bruce, the Lorde Chauuignie and dyuers other, ſo that the moſte parte of thoſe Frenchemen were eyther taken or ſlayne, and very fewe eſcaped. The Prince vnderſtoode by the Priſoners, that the Frenche king was ſo farre aduanced forwarde in purſute of hym, that hee coulde not auoyde the batayle. Then he aſſembled hys men togither, and cōmaunded them to kepe order, and ſo rode that day beeing Saterdaye from morning till it was towarde night, & then came within two leagues of Poictiers: and herewyth ſending forth certain captaynes to ſearch if they could heare where the kyng was, hee encamped hymſelfe that nyght in a ſtrong place amongeſt hedges, vines, and buſhes. They that were ſent to diſcouer the countrey, rode ſo far, that they ſawe where the French king with his great battayle, was marching, and ſetting vpon the tayle of the Frenchemen, cauſed al the hoſte to ſtirre: whereof knowledge being giuen to the king, the which as then was entring into Poictiers, hee returned again, and made all his hoſte to do the like, ſo that it was very late ere he and his people wer beſtowed in their lodgings that nyght.



The lord Raoull de Coucy taken.

Frenchemen diſtreſſed.

The Engliſhe currours retournyng to the Prince, declared what they had ſeene and done. So, that nyghte, the two armyes beeing lodged wythin a ſmall diſtaunce eyther of other, kepte ſtrong and ſure watche aboute theyr campes.

On the morrowe after, beeing Sundaye, and the eyghteenth daye of September the Frenche Kyng cauſed hys hoſte to be deuided into three battayls or wards, and in eche of them were ſixtene thouſande armed men, al muſtered and paſ-

The ordering of the Frenche battell.

ſed for armed men. The firſt battayle was gouerned by the Duke of Orliance, wherein were ſixe and thirtie banners, and twice as many penons. The ſeconde was ledde by the Duke of Normandie and hys brethren, the Lord Lewes and the Lorde John. The thirde the French K. hymſelfe conducted. And whyle theſe battayles were a ſettyng in arraye, the Kyng cauſed the Lorde Euſtace de Ribaumount, and two other noble menne to ryde on before, to ſee the dealing of the Engliſhemenne, and to aduiſe of what number they were.

Thoſe that were thus ſente, rode forth, and behelde the order of the Engliſhemenne at good leyſure: and retournyng, enfourmed the Kyng, that as they coulde iudge, the enimyes were aboute two thouſande menne of armes, foure thouſande Archers, and fifteene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in ſuch a ſtrong place, and ſo well fenced wyth ditches and hedges, that it wold be hard aſſaulting them therin.

The Cardinall of Piergorte.

The Cardinall of Piergort the Popes Legate, as then lying in the Citie of Poictiers, came that mornyng to the Kyng, and required hym to abſtayne from battayle, til he might vnderſtande whether the Prince woulde condeſcende vnto ſuche conditions of peace as he him ſelfe ſhoulde thynke reaſonable, whyche if it myghte be broughte to paſſe, the ſame ſhoulde be more honourable for hym than to aduenture ſo many noble men as were there wyth hym at that preſent in hazarde of battayle.

The King was contented that the Cardinall ſhould goe to the Prince, and ſee what he could doe with hym.

The Prince of VVales contented to come to a treatie.

The Cardinall rode to the Prince, and talked with him tyll hee was contented to come to a treatie. The Cardinall retourned to the Frenche kyng, and required of hym that a truce mighte be graunted tyll the nexte daye Sunne ryſing: whyche truce obteyned, hee ſpente that daye in ryding to and fro betwixt them.

The offer of the Prince of VVales.

The Prince offred, to render into the Kyngs handes all that he hadde wonne in that voyage, as well Townes as Caſtelles, and alſo to releaſe all the Priſoners, whiche he or any of his men had taken in that iorney: and further he was contented to haue bene ſworne not to beare armour agaynſt the French king, within the terme of. vij. yeres next folowing. But the French K. woulde not agree thereto: The vttermoſt that hee would agree vnto, was this, that the Prince and an hundred of hys Knyghtes, ſhould yeld them ſelues as Priſoners vnto hym: otherwyſe hee woulde not haue the matter taken vp.

The Frenche Kinges preſumptuous demaunde.

The Prince in no wyſe coulde be broughte to anye ſuche vnreaſonable conditions, and ſo the Cardinall coulde not make them freendes, althoughe hee trauayled earneſtly betwixt them all that daye. When it drew towardes nyght, he retourned towarde Poictiers.

The Eng[illegible] their Camp.

The Engliſhmen were not ydle, whyleſt the Cardinall thus was in hande to bring the parties to ſome good agreemente but caſte greate ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications aboute the place, where theyr Archers ſtoode, and on the nexte mornyng, beyng Mondaye, the Prynce and hys people prepared them ſelues to receyue battayle, as they had done before, hauyng paſſed the daye before and that nyghte in greate defaulte of neceſſarie thynges, for they coulde not ſtirre abroade to fetche forrage or other prouiſions wythout daunger to be ſurpriſed of theyr enimyes.

The Cardinall came agayne early in the mornyng to the Frenche Kyng, and founde the Frenche army ready in order of battayle by that tyme the Sunne was vp, and though hee eftſones fell in hande to exhorte the Kyng to an agreemente, yet it would not be: and ſo he went to the Prince, and declared to hym howe he coulde doe no good in the matter, and therfore he muſte abyde the hazarde of battayle for ought that he coulde ſee: wherewith the Prince was contente, and ſo the Cardinall retourned vnto Poictiers.

The Card[illegible] trauaileth in vaine.

Here is to be remembred, that when (as Thomas Walſingham wryteth) thys Cardinall of Perigourt was ſente from the Pope to trauayle betwixte the parties for a peace to bee had, and that the Pope exhorted hym verie earneſtly to ſhewe his vttermoſte diligence and endeuor therin: at his ſetting forth to goe on that meſſage, the ſayde Cardinall (as was ſayde) made this anſwere: Moſt bleſſed father, ſayd he, either will we perſwade them to peace and quietneſſe, eyther elſe ſhall the verie Flint ſtones crye oute of it. But this hee ſpake not of hymſelfe, as it was ſuppoſed, but being a Prelate in that time, he propheſied what ſhould follow: for when the Engliſh Archers had beſtowed all their arrowes vppon their enimies, they tooke vp pebles from the place where they ſtoode, beeyng full of thoſe kind of ſtones, and approchyng to their enimies, they threw the ſame with ſuch violēce on them, that lighting againſt their helmets, armour, and targets, they made a great ringing noyſe, ſo that the Cardinals propheſie was fulfilled, that hee would either perſuade a peace, or elſe the ſtones ſhoulde crye out therof.

Tho. Walſ.

A propheſie of a Prelate.

The exhorta[illegible] on of the Prince

The worthye Prince lyke a coragious chieftaine, when he ſaw that he muſt needes fyghte, required his people not to bee abaſſhed of the greate number of theyr enemyes, ſith the victorie did not conſiſt in the multitude of menne, but where God would ſende it: and if it fortu-

ney

ned that the iourney myghte bee theirs and his, they ſhoulde be the moſte honored people of the worlde: and if they ſhould dye in that rightuous quarell, he had the Kyng his father, and alſo hys brethren, in lyke caſe as they hadde freendes and kynſemenne, that woulde ſeeke their reuenge. And therfore he deſyred them that day to ſhewe themſelues lyke valyant men of warre: and for his parte hee truſted in God and Sainct George, they ſhoulde ſee in hys perſone no defaulte.

oble men
vith the
rince of
Vales.

These or the lyke wordes dydde thys moſte gentle Prince ſpeake, whiche greatly comforted all hys people. There were wyth hym of Earles, Warwicke, Suffolke, Saleſburye, Stafforde: of Lordes Cobham, Spencer, Audeley, Berckley, Baſſette, Wareyn, de la Ware, Bradeſton, Burwaſch, Felton, Mallowe and dyuers other: alſo Sir Iohn Chandos, by whome hee was muche counſayled, Sir Richard Stafforde, Syr Richarde of Penbruche, and manye other Knyghtes and valyaunt Eſquyres of Englande.

he Capitall
e Beuf.

Moreouer, there was of Gaſcoyne, the Capitall of Buz or Boef, the Lordes of Prumes, Burguenrye, Chaumount, de Leſpare, Roſen, Monſerant, Lāduras, the Souldich of Leſtrade, or Leſcarde, and other: and of Heynault, ſir Euſtace Daubreticourt, ſir Iohn de Guiſtelles, and other ſtraungers.

he number of
he prince his
rmy.

Al the Princes company paſſed not the number of eight thouſande men one and other, of the whiche (as Iacobus Meire hath) three thouſand were Archers: thoughe Froiſſart, as I haue reherſed before, reporteth the number of Archers to be more, as in one place ſixe thouſande, and in an other place foure thouſande.

he number of
e Frenche.

The Frenche kyng hauyng in his armie three ſcore thouſande fighting men, wherof there were more than three thouſande Knyghtes, made ſo ſure accompte of victorie, as anye man mighte of a thyng not yet hadde, conſideryng his great puiſſaunce, in regarde to the ſmall number of his aduerſaries: and therefore immediatly after that the Cardinall was departed, hee cauſed hys battayles to marche forwarde, and approchyng to the place where the Engliſhemen ſtoode readye to receyue their enimyes, cauſed the onſette to be gyuen. There were certayne French horſmenne to the number of three hundred, wyth the Almayns alſo on horſebacke appoynted to breake the arraye of the Engliſhe Archers, but the Archers were ſo defended and compaſſed aboute with hedges and ditches that the horſemen of the Frenche parte, coulde not enter to doe their feate, and beeing galled wyth the ſharpe ſhotte of the Engliſhe bowes, they were ouerthrowne horſe and man, ſo that the vawarde of the Frenchemenne, wherein was the Duke of Athens, with the Marſhalles of Fraunce, the Lorde Iohn de Clermount, and the Lorde Arnolde Dandrehen or Odenhem beganne to diſorder wythin a whyle, by reaſon of the ſhotte of the Archers, together wyth the helpe of the men of armes, amongſt whome in the forefronte was the Lorde Iames Audeley, to perfourme a vowe which the had made, to be one of the firſt ſetters on. There was the Lorde Arnolde Dandrehen taken pryſoner, and the Lord Iohn de Clermont ſlayne, ſo that the noble prowes of the ſayde Lorde Iames Audeley, breaking through the Frenchmens battayle wyth the ſlaughter of manye enimies, was that day moſt apparant. The loyall conſtancie of the Noble Earles of Warwyke and Suffolke, that foughte ſo ſtoutly, ſo earneſtly, and ſo fiercely, was ryghte manyfeſte: and the Prince hymſelfe dyd not only fulfyll the office of a noble chieftayne, but alſo of a ryght valyant and experte ſouldioure, attempting what ſo euer any other hardye warriour woulde in ſuch caſes haue done.

he battell is
egonne.

he force of
e English ar-
hers.

The Lorde
Iames Audeley.

Tho. VValſ.

The Earles of
VVarvvicke
and Suffolke.

Neyther was thys battayle quickely diſpatched, nor eaſyly broughte to ende, but it was foughte oute wyth ſuche obſtinate earneſtneſſe, that three tymes that daye were the Engliſhemen dryuen to renewe the fyghte, thorough the multitude of enimies that encreaſſed and came ſtill vppon them.

Fynally, the Marſhalles battayle was quite diſcomfited: for the Frenchemen and Almayns fell one vpon an other, and could not paſſe forth, and thoſe that were behynde, and coulde not get forewarde, reculed backe: and whileſt the Marſhalles battayle beyng on horſebacke thus aſſayled the Engliſh armie with great diſaduantage, and was in the ende beaten backe, the two battayles of the Dukes of Normandie and Orleaunce came forwarde, and lykewiſe aſſayled the Engliſhmenne, but coulde not preuayle, the Archers ſhotte ſo fiercelye, that to conclude, the Frenchemen behynd vnderſtanding the diſcomfyture of the Marſhalles battayle, and howe theyr fellowes before coulde not enter vppon theyr enimies, they opened and ranne to theyr horſſes, in whome they dydde put more truſte for theyr ſafeguarde by galloppyng on them awaye, than in theyr manlyke handes, for all theyr late brauerye and greate boaſtes. One thyng ſore diſcouraged the Frenchemen, and that was this: beſyde thoſe Engliſhmenne that were within the cloſure of their campe, there were certayn men of armes on horſebacke, with a number of Archers alſo on horſebacke, appointed to coaſt vnder the couerte of a Mountayne, adioynyng to the place, where they thought to ſtryke into a ſyde of the Duke of Normandies

The Marshalls
battell put to
the vvorſe.

The Frenchemen ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight.
Polider.

battayle, ſo that wyth the terroure heereof, and wyth the continuall ſhotte of the Engliſhe Archers, the Frenchemenne not knowyng where to tourne themſelues, ſoughte to ſaue their lyues by flighte.

Froiſſart.
The valiancye of the Frenche king.
The Frenche king taken.
Iames Mair.
Syr Denyſe Morbecke.

The Prince of Wales, perceyuing how hys enimies (for the more part of them) were fleeyng away, as men diſcomfited, ſent out his horſmen as well on the one hande as on the other, and he hymſelfe wyth hys whole power of footemen ruſhed forth, and manfully aſſayled the mayne battayle of the Frenchemenne, where the King hymſelfe was, who lyke a valyant Prince wold not flee, but fought ryghte manfully: ſo that yf the fourthe parte of his men had done halfe their partes as he didde hys, the victorie by lykelyhod had reſted (as Froiſſart ſayeth) on his ſyde: but he was forſaken of his three ſonnes, and of hys brother the Duke of Orleaunce, whych fledde out of the battayle wyth cleare handes. Finally after huge ſlaughter made of thoſe noble men, and other whiche aboade with hym euen to the ende, he was taken, and ſo lykewyſe was hys yongeſt ſonne Philippe, and bothe put in greate daunger to haue bin murthered after they were taken, by the Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes, ſtriuyng who ſhould haue the kyng to his priſoner, where in deede a knyght of Flaunders, or rather Artoys, borne in Saint Omers, called Sir Denyſe Morbecke, tooke him, but he was ſtrayghte wayes taken from the ſame ſir Denyſe by other that came in the meane ſeaſon.

Froiſſ.
Noble men ſlayne.
Ia. Meir.

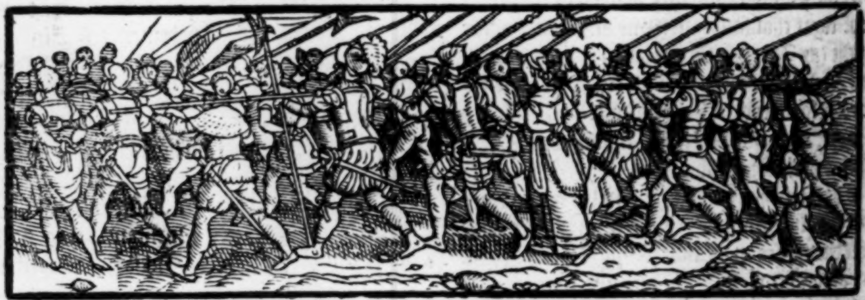
There were ſlayne in this battayle of noble men, the Dukes of Burbon, and Athenes, the Marſhall Cleremount, ſir Geoffreye Charnye, that bare the chiefe ſtandert of Fraunce, the Biſhop of Chaalons, ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont with diuers other to the number of an eight hundred Lordes, knyghts and Gentlemen of name.

Polidor.
The chaſ

In all there dyed of the Frenche parte ſixe thouſande of one and other. The chaſe was continued euen to the gates of Poictiers, and manye ſlayne and beaten downe in the ſtreete before the gates, whiche the Citizens hadde cloſed for doubt leaſt the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde entre with them that fled thyther for ſafegard.

Froiſſ.
Annales
Faxan.
Archembalde Douglas tak
Ia. Meir.
Priſoners ta

There were taken beſide the Kyng and his ſonne, the Lorde Iaques de Burbon, Earle of Ponthieu, brother to the duke of Burbon, that was ſlayne there, the Earle of Ew, the Lorde Charles his brother Erle of Longuile, the Archbiſhoppe of Sens, the Earles of Vandoſme, Saleſbruche, Ventadore, Tankerville, Eſtampes, and Dampmartine: alſo Archembalde Dowglas a noble manne of Scotlande, ſonne to the Lorde William Douglas that was killed in Spayne, the Marſhall Dandrehen or Odehem (as Iacobus Meire hath) with other to the number of .xvij. hundred Earles, Lords, Knightes, and Gentlemen, beſyde thoſe of the meaner ſorte, ſo that the Engliſhemen had twice as manye Priſoners as they themſelues were in number: And therefore it was deuiſed amongeſt them, to put the moſte parte of theyr Priſoners to raunſome there in the fielde, and ſo they dyd for doubt of further daunger, the multitude beyng ſo greate as it was.



The battayle of Poictiers vvhen it vvas.

Thus was the Prince of Wales victor in that notable battayle foughte in the fieldes of Beauvoir and Malpertuſe, two leagues from Poictiers, the nineteenth daye of September beyng Mondaye, in the yeare a thouſande, three hundred, fiftie and ſixe: it began in the morning and ended at noone. But bycauſe the Engliſhemen were ſcattered abroade in chaſe of theyr enimyes, the Princes banner was ſette vp in a buſhe, to drawe all his menne togyther. It was almoſte nyght ere they were all retourned from the chaſe.

The Prince ſuppeth the priſoners.

The Prince made a greate ſupper in his lodging that nyght to the Frenche Kyng, and to the moſte parte of his nobles, that were taken priſoners, and did all the honour that he coulde deuyſe to the Kyng: and where hee perceyued by hys cheere and countenaunce, that hys heart was full of penſiue griefe, carefull thought and heauyneſſe, he comforted hym in the beſte maner that hee myght, and ſayd to him:

The Prince cheereth the French king.

Moſte noble King, there is no cauſe wherefore your grace ſhoulde be penſiue, though God this daye didde not conſente to followe youre will. For your noble prowes and dignitie royall, wyth the ſupreme type of youre Kyngly Maieſtye, remayneth whole and inuiolate, and

what

Paulus Aemilius.

whatſoeuer maye rightly bee called yours, ſo that no violente force of time ſhall blotte out or diminiſhe the ſame: the Almightie God hath determined that the chaunce of warre ſhall reſt in his diſpoſition and will, as all other things. Your elders haue atchieued bothe by lande and ſea many noble enterpriſes. The whole compaſſe of Europe, al the Eaſt parts of the world, all places and countreys, bothe farre and neare are full of monumentes, witneſſing the noble victories attained by the Frenche people. The cauſe of godlie liuing and religion, the dignity and preheminence of Chriſtianitie hathe bene defended and augmented by you, againſte the moſte mightie and puiſſaunt capitaines of the infidels, enemies to the ſaid Chriſtian religion. All ages ſhall make mention of your worthie praiſes, no nation there is but ſhall confeſſe it ſelfe bounden at one time or other for benefites receiued at your handes, neyther is there any people but ſuche as hope to be hereafter bounden to you for reliefe and benefites, to procede from you in time to come: one or two batails haplye haue chaunced amongeſt ſo many triumphs otherwiſe than you wold haue wiſhed. Chaunce woulde it ſhoulde be ſo, whiche maye enfeeble and make weake the power of horſes, armor, and weapon: your inuincible courage and royall magnanimitie lyeth in your power to reteyne: neyther ſhall this day take any thing from you or yours. And this realme of Fraunce whiche hathe procreate and brought forth & noriſhed ſo many of my noble progenitors, ſhall perceyue my good meanyng towardes hir, and not forgetfull of myne elders, and towarde your maieſtie, (if you will vouchſafe that I ſhoulde glorye of that name) a moſt humble kinſman. There are manye occaſions of loue and freendſhippe betwixte you and my father, whiche I truſte ſhall take place, for I knowe all his thoughtes and inwarde meanings: you ſhall agree and come to an attonement right eaſily togither, and I pray God he neuer take me for his ſonne, except I haue you in the ſame degree of honour, reuerence, and faithfull loue, whiche I owe towardes hym.

The Frenche King thanketh the Prince.

The king as reaſon wold, acknowleged this to procede of great curteſie, ſhewed towardes him in the prince, and thanked him accordingly. And the Prince performing in deede that whiche hee ſpake with worde, ceaſed from further vſing of fire, or other endomaging of the Frenche dominions, & taking his way through the countreys of Poictow, and Xaintonge, by eaſie iourneys, he and his people came to Blay, and ſo paſſed ouer the water to Burdeaux in good ſafetie with all their riches and priſoners. The Prince gaue to the lorde Iames Audeley (who hadde receiued in the battaile many ſore woundes): v. C. markes of yearely reuenues aſſigned forth of his landes in Englande, the whiche gifte the knight graunted as freelye as he hadde receiued it vnto foure of his Eſquiers whyche in the battaile hadde bene euer attendaunt aboute his perſon, without whoſe ayde and valiant ſupport, he knewe well that he had bene ſlaine ſundrie times in the ſame battaile by his enimies. When the Prince hearde that he hadde ſo done, hee marueiled what his meaning was therby, and cauſed him to be brought before his preſence, and demaunded of hym wherefore he hadde ſo lightlie giuen away that rewarde whiche hee had beſtowed vpon hym, and whether hee thought that gifte to meane for him or not.

The prince returneth to Burdeaux.

Froiſſart.

The lord Audley revvarded

The Lorde Audeley ſo excuſed himſelfe in extolling the good ſeruice done to him by his Eſquiers, throughe whome he hadde ſo many times eſcaped the daungers of deathe, that the Prince did not onelie confirme the reſignation of the fiue hundred markes, giuen to the eſquiers, but alſo rewarded the lord Audley wyth vj. C. markes more of like yearely reuenues, in maner and forme as hee had receiued the other.

When the newes of this greate victorie came into Englande of the ouerthrowe of the Frenchemen, and taking of the Frenche king, yee may bee ſure there was greate ioy ſhewed by outwarde tokens, as bonfiers made, feaſtes and banquets kept, throughe the whole realme: likewiſe the Gaſcoignes and engliſhemen beeing come to Burdeaux, made greate reuell and paſtime there, ſpending freely that gold & ſiluer which they had won in the battell of Poictiers, and elſe where in that iourney.

Bonfiers.

1357

An. reg. 31.

This yeare in Aprill the Prince of Wales tooke ſhipping with his priſoners at Burdeaux and the fifthe of Maye arriued at Plimmouth.

Ad. to Merimouth.

The prince bringeth the Frenche King ouer into Englande.

The foure and twentieth day of May hee was with greate honour ioyfully receiued of the citizens into the citie of London, and ſo conueyed to the pallace of Weſtminſter, where the Kyng ſitting in Weſtminſter hall, receyued the Frenche king, and after conueyed hym to a lodging appointed for him, where he laye a ſeaſon, but after hee was remoued to the Sauoy, whiche was at that time a goodly houſe, apperteining to the Duke of Lancaſter, though afterwardes it was brent and deſtroyed by Wat Tyler, and Iacke Strawe, and theyr companie.

In this place the Frenche Kyng laye, and kept houſe a long time after.

A Iuſtes holden Smithfielde.

In the Winter followyng were royall Iuſtes holden in Smithfielde, at the whiche were preſente the Kings of England, Fraunce and Scotland, with many greate eſtates of all their thrée kingdomes, of the whiche the more parte of the ſtraungers were as then priſoners.

It was reported, that the French kyng could not ſo diſſemble nor cloke his inwarde thought, but that there appeared ſome tokens of griefe in his countenaunce, whileſt hee behelde theſe warlike paſtimes: and when the king of Englande, and his ſonne Prince Edwarde with comfortable wordes required hym after ſupper to put all penſiue cares out of his fantaſie, and to bee merrie and ſing as other did, he ſhoulde make this aunſwere with a ſmyling countenaunce, *Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena?*

The Frenche King ſorrowfull.

Tho. Walſ.
Froiſſart.

Aboute the ſame time there came ouer into Englande two Cardinalles, the one called Talirande, beyng biſhoppe of Alba, and commonly named the Cardinall of Pierregort, and the other hight Nicholas intitled Cardinall of Saint Vitale (or as Froiſſart hath) of Dargell, they were ſente from Pope Innocent the ſixte, to entreate for a peace betwixte the Kinges of Englande and Fraunce: but they coulde not bring their purpoſe to any perfect concluſion, (althoughe they remained here for the ſpace of two yeares) but only by good meanes yet they procured a truce betwéene the ſaide kings, and all their aſſiſtauntes, to endure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feaſte of Sainct John Baptiſte, whiche ſhoulde bee in the yeare. 1359. out of the whiche truce was excepted the lorde Phillippe of Nauarre, and his alies, the Counteſſe of Mountfort, and the whole Dutchie of Britaine.

Cardinalles ſent into Englande.

A truce for two yeares.

Anone after, the Frenche King was remoued from the Sauoy vnto the caſtell of Windſor with all his houſholde, and then hee wente on huntyng and hauking there aboute at his pleaſure, and the lorde Phillip his ſonne wyth him, all the reſidue of the priſoners abode ſtill at London, but were ſuffred to goe vp and downe, and to come to the Court when they would.

The Frenche King remoued to Windſor.

The ſame yeare the Duke of Lancaſter beſieged the Citie of Rennes in Britayne in the title of the Counteſſe of Richemounte, and hir yong ſonne John of Mountfort, that claimed to bee Duke of Britaine. Thoſe that were within the Citie, as the Vicount of Rohan, and Berthram de Clayquine, (who as then was a luſtie yong bacheler) and others defended themſelues manfullie for a time, but yet at lengthe they were compelled to render the citie into their enemies handes.

Rennes beſieged.

Aboute the ſame tyme two Franciſcane Friers were brent at London, for matters of religion. Moreouer Quene Iſabel mother vnto king Edwarde the thirde, departed this life the ſeuen and twentith day of Auguſte, and was buried the ſeuen and twentieth daye of Nouember, in the Church of the Friers Minors at London, not yet dedicated. Dauid King of Scotlande, ſhortely after the truce was concluded betwixte Englande and Fraunce, was ſette at libertie, paying for his raunſome the ſumme of one hundrethe thouſande markes (as Fourdon ſayeth,) but whether hee meaneth Scottiſhe or ſterling money, I cannot ſaye: he alſo was bounde by couenaunt nowe vpon his deliueraunce, to cauſe the Caſtelles in Nideſdale to be raiſed, which were knowen to be euill neighbours to the Engliſhe borderers, as Dunfriſe, Dalſwinton, Morton, Durſdere, & other nine. His wife Quene Joan made ſuche earneſte ſute to hir brother King Edwarde for hir huſbandes deliuerance, that king Edwarde was contented to releaſe him vpon the paiment of ſo ſmall a portion of mony, and performance of the couenauntes, for the raſing of thoſe caſtells, (although Froiſſart ſayth) that hee was couenaunted to pay for his deliueraunce within the terme of tenne yeares fiue hundrethe thouſande nobles, and for ſuertie of that payment to ſende into Englande ſufficient hoſtages, as the earles of Douglas, Murrey, Mar, Sutherlande, and Fiffe, the baron of Veſeye, and ſir William Camoiſe. Alſo he couenaunted neuer to weare armour agaynſte Kyng Edwarde, within his Realme of Englande, nor conſent that his ſubiectes ſhoulde ſo doe. And further ſhoulde vpon his retourne home, doe the beſte hee coulde to cauſe the Scottes to agrée that their Countreye ſhoulde holde of hym in fée, and that hee and his ſucceſſoures, kings of Scotlande, ſhoulde doe homage to the King of Englande, and his ſucceſſors for the Realme of Scotlande.

Th. Walſ.

Fourdon.

The Kinge Scottes ranſomed.

Polidor.

Froiſſart.

1358

Anno reg. 32.

In this two and thirtie yeare as witneſſeth the frenche Chronicles, Sir Roberte Knolles, James Pipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capitaines and men of warre as ſouldiours to the king of Nauarre vppon the tenthe daye of Marche earely in the morning ſcaled the walles of the citie of Auxerre, and behaued them ſo manfully, that they were maſters of the Towne before the Sunne was vp. They got excéeding muche by the ſpoile of that citie, and by raunſoming the priſoners whiche they toke there.

Annales de France.

At lengthe after they hadde remained eighte dayes in that Citie, and taken their pleaſure of all thinges within it, they wrought ſo with the Citizens, that to haue poſſeſſion of their Citie againe, and to haue it ſaued from fyre, they agreed to giue to ſir Roberte Knolles, and to his

The citie of Auxerre taken by ſir Robert Knolles, his companie, fiftie thouſand motons of golde, whiche amounted to the ſumme of twelue thouſande and fiue hundreth pounde ſterling or there aboute, and yet was it agreed, that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde brenne the gates, and throwe downe the walles in diuers places.

Daubignie ſur le Metre Chaſtilon.

In Aprill nexte enſuing, the Towne of Daubignie ſur le Metre was likewiſe wonne by the Engliſhemenne, and the ſeconde daye of Maye Chaſtelon ſur Loigne was taken by the ſayde Sir Roberte Knolles, and put to ſacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newecaſtell vppon Loyre. And thus did the Engliſhemenne, and other in title of the Kyng of Nauarre, greatly endomage the Realme of Fraunce, dayly winning townes and Caſtelles, raunſomyng the people, and waſting the countreys in moſt miſerable wiſe, as in the hiſtorie of Fraunce you may reade more at large.

Nevvcaſtell ſur Loire.

Talke of a peace and articles thereof drawen.

Caxton,

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixte the Kyng of Englande, and the Kyng of Fraunce, and articles thereof drawn in this forme, That the whole countreis of Gaſcoigne, Guyenne, Poictow, Touraine, Xainctonge, Piergourd, Quercie, Limoſin, Engoliſmois, Calais, Guynes, Bolongne, and Ponthieu, ſhoulde remayne to the Kyng of Englande wholy, withoute doyng homage or paying any reliefe for the ſame: but on the other parte, he ſhoulde renounce all his righte, whiche hee mighte by any manner of meane claime to the countreys of Normandie, Aniou, or Mayne. And further, that the Frenche King ſhoulde pay a certaine ſumme of money for his raunſome, and delyuer ſufficient pledges for the ſame, and ſo departe into Fraunce.

Theſe articles were ſent ouer into Fraũce, that the three eſtates there might confirm them, whiche they refuſed to doe. Whereupon when the truce ended, the warres were agayne reuiued.

The Kyng helde this yeare the feaſte of Sainct George at Windſor, in more ſumptuous manner than euer it hadde bene kepte before.

Tho. VValſ.

The Biſhoppe of Elie.

The ſame yeare alſo, Frier John Liſle Byſhoppe of Elie beyng (as he tooke it) ſomewhat wronged by the Ladye Blaunche de Wake, and other that were of hir counſell, went the laſte yeare againſte the Kynges will unto the Popes Courte, where exhibiting his complaint, he cauſed the Pope to excommunicate all hys aduerſaries, ſending to the Biſhoppe of Lincolne and other of the Clergie, that if they knewe any of them ſo excommunicated to bee deade and buried, they ſhoulde drawe them out of their graues: whiche was done: and bycauſe ſome of thoſe that were excommunicated were of the Kinges counſell, the King tooke ſuche diſpleaſure therewith, that hee greeuouſlye diſquieted the Prelates. Whereupon there were ſente from the Courte of Rome on the behalfe of the Biſhoppe of Elie, certaine perſons, whiche being armed mette the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter Lorde Treſourer, deliueryng to hym Letters from the Pope, the contentes of the whiche were not knowen, and forthwith they ſhranke awaye: but the Kinges ſeruauntes made ſuche purſute after them, that ſome of them they tooke, and bringing them before the Kynges Juſtices, vppon their arreignement they were condempned and ſuffred deathe on the gallowes.

Excommunication.

Suche as deliuered the Pope letters hanged.

Great diſcorde roſe alſo aboute thys time, or rather afore, betwixte the Clergie, and the foure orders of Friers, as in the booke of Actes and Monumentes ſette forthe by maſter Foxe yee maye reade more at large.

Dyſcorde betvvixt Prieſtes and Friers.

In this yeare John of Gaunt Earle of Richemont, ſonne to the Kyng, the nineteenth daye of Maye married the Ladie Blaunche daughter to Henrye Duke of Lancaſter at Reading, and bicauſe they were couſins within the degrees of conſanguinitie, forbidden by the Churche Lawes to marrie, a diſpenſation was procured of the Pope to remoue that obſtacle and lette.

Tho. VValſ.

Iohn fo Gaunt married.

1359

An. reg. 33.

This yeare the Kyng ſette workemenne in hande to take downe muche olde buildings belonging to the Caſtel of Windſor, and cauſed diuers other faire and ſumptuous workes to bee erected and ſette vp, in and aboute the ſame Caſtell, ſo that almoſte all the Maſons and Carpenters that were of any accompte within this lande, were ſente for and employed aboute the ſame workes, the ouerſeer wherof was Wyllyam Wickham the Kyngs Chaplein, by whoſe aduice the Kyng tooke in hande to repaire that place, the rather in deede bycauſe hee was borne there, and therefore hee tooke greate pleaſure to beſtowe coſte in beautifying it with ſuche buildings as maye appeare euen vnto this daye.

VVinſor caſtel repared.

Additions to Trivet.

Moreouer, this yeare in the Rogation weeke was a ſolempne Juſtes enterpriſed at London, for the Maior, and his foure and twentie brethren as chalengers did appoint to anſwere all commers, in whoſe name and ſteede the Kyng wyth hys foure ſonnes, Edwarde, Lionell, John, and Edmunde, and nineteene other greate Lordes, in ſecrete manner came and helde the fielde with honour, to the great pleaſure of the citizens that beheld the ſame.

A ſolempne Iuſtes at London.

Caxton.

The king vvith his foure ſonnes, are of the chalengers parte.

Yee haue hearde howe the Frenchemen refuſed the peace whiche was accorded betwixte King Edwarde, and theyr King as then priſoner here in Englande. Whereupon King Edwarde determined to make ſuche warre againſte the Realme of Fraunce, that the Frenchemen ſhoulde bee gladde to condiſcende and agree to reaſon: and firſte hee commaunded all manner of Frenchemenne (other than ſuche as were priſoners) to auoide out of Englande. Hee alſo appointed the Frenche King to bee remoued from the Caſtell of Hertforde, where hee then remained vnto the Caſtell of Somerton in Lincolneſhire, vnder the garde and conduct of the lord William Deincourte, beeyng allowed fourtie ſhillyngs the daye for the wages of twoo and twentie men at armes, twentie archers, and twoo watchemenne: as thus, for himſelfe and Sir John Kirketon Banerettes, eyther of them foure ſhillings the daye, for three Knightes, Sir Wyllyam Collevill (in place of the Lorde Roberte Collevill, that coulde not trauayle hymſelfe by reaſon of ſickeneſſe) Sir John Deincourte, and Syr Saer de Rochefort, eche of them twoo ſhillings the daye, ſeuenteene Eſquiers eche of them twelue pence the daye, eight archers on horſe backe euery of them ſixe pence the daye, and twelue archers on foote three pence, and the twoo watchemen eyther of them ſixe pence the daye, whiche amounteth in the whole vnto nyne and thirtie ſhillings the daye, and the odde twelue pence was allowed to the ſaide Lorde Deincourte to make vp the ſumme of fortie ſhillings.

The Frenche King remoued. He departed from Hertfourt the .xxix. of Iulie.

Polidore.

This haue I noted the rather to giue a lighte to the reader to conſider howe chargeable the reteining of men of warre is in theſe dayes in reſpect of the former times. But now to our purpoſe. The King meanyng to paſſe ouer hymſelfe in perſon into Fraunce, he cauſed a mightie army to bee muſtered and put in a redineſſe, and ſente before hym the Duke of Lancaſter ouer to Callais with foure hundreth ſpeares, and twoo thouſande Archers, where the ſaide Duke ioyned with ſuche ſtrangers as were alreadye comme to Callais in greate numbers, and togyther with them entred into the Frenche dominions, and paſſing by Saincte Omers and Bethune, came to Mount ſainct Eloy, a goodly Abbey and a rich, a two leagues diſtant from Arras, and there the hoſte tarried foure dayes, and when they hadde robbed & waſted all the Countrey thereaboute, they rode to Bray, and there made a great aſſaulte, at the which a Baneret of England was ſlain with diuers other. When the Engliſhemenne ſawe they coulde winne nothing there, they departed, and followyng the water of Some, came to a town called Cherſye, where they paſſed the riuer, and there tarried Allhallowen daye, and the night following.

The King prepareth to make a iourney into Fraunce.

Froiſſart.

The Duke of Lancaſter.

Bray aſſaulted.

The ſame daye the Duke of Lancaſter was aduertiſed, that the Kyng was arriued at Callais, the ſeuenteenth daye of October, commaunding hym by letters to drawe towardes him with all his companye.

The Kyng arriued at Callais.

Froiſſart.

The Duke according to the Kings commaundement obeyed, and ſo retourned towarde Callais.

The King beeyng there arriued with all his power, tooke counſell whiche way he ſhulde take. Some aduiſed him firſt to inuade Flaunders, and to reuenge the iniurious dealing of the Earle and the Flemings: but hee woulde not agree to that motion, for hee purpoſed fully eyther by plaine force to make a conqueſte of Fraunce, or elſe vtterlye to deſtroye and waſte the countrey throughoute with fire and ſworde.

Polidor.

Hereupon hee ſette forewarde the fourthe of Nouember, and paſſing throughe the countreys of Arthois, and Vermendois, hee came before the Citie of Reimes.

There wente ouer with him in this iourney, and with the Duke of Lancaſter, his foure ſonnes, Edwarde Prince of Wales, Lionell Earle of Vlſter, John Earle of Richemond, and the Lorde Edmunde his yongeſt ſonne. Alſo ther was Hēry ye ſaid Duke of Lancaſter, with the Earles of Marche, Warwike, Suffolke, Herford, who alſo was Earle of Northampton, Saliſburie, Stafford, and Orford, the Byſhoppes of Lincolne, and Durham, & the Lords Percie, Nevyll, Spēcer, Kirdiſtō, Roſſe, Manny, Cobhā, Moubrey de la Ware, Willoughbie, Felton, Baſſet, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audeley, Burwaſche, and others, beſide Knyghtes and Eſquiers, as Sir John Chandos, Sir Stephan Gouſſanton, Sir Nowell Loring, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir John Liſle, Sir Richarde Pembruge, and others.

Froiſſart.

The ſiege was layde before Reimes aboute Sainct Andrewes tide, and continued more than ſeuen weekes: but the Citie was ſo well defended by the Biſhop and the earle of Porcien, and other capitaines within it, that the Engliſhemenne coulde not obtaine their purpoſe, and ſo at lengthe when they coulde not haue fourrage nor other neceſſarie thinges abroade in the countrey for to ſerue their turne, the King rayſed his fielde, and departed with his armie in good order of battaile, taking the way throughe Champaigne and ſo paſſed by Chaalons, and after to Merie on the ryuer of Seyne,

Reimes beſieged.

1360

Anno reg. 34.

Tonnere yvonne.

Guyllon.

Flauignie.

ſtyne. From Mery he departed and came vnto Tonnere, which towne aboute the beginning of the foure and thyrtie yere of his reigne was wonne by aſſaulte, but the Caſtell coulde not bee wonne, for there was within it the Lord Fyennes Coneſtable of Fraunce, and a greate number of other good men of warre, whiche defended it valiantly. After the Kyng hadde reſted there fiue dayes, and that his men were well refreſhed with the wines and other ſuch things, which they founde in that towne in good plentie, hee remoued and drewe towardes Burgongne, cõming to a towne called Guillon or Aguyllon, where he laye from Aſhwedneſdaye vnto Midlente, hauyng good prouiſion of all maner of victualles by the meanes of an Eſquier of hys called John Alanſon, whiche hadde taken the Towne of Flauignie not farre thence, wherein was greate ſtore of bread and wine and other victualles: and ſtill the Marſhalls roade forth, and oftentimes refreſhed the hoſte with newe prouiſion.

The number of cariages.

The Engliſhmen had with them in their carriages, Tents, Pauillions, Milles, Ouens, and Forges: alſo boates of leather cunningly made and deuiſed able to receyue three men a peece, and to paſſe them ouer waters and Riuers. They hadde at the leaſte ſixe thouſande cartes with them, and for euerie carte foure horſes whiche they hadde out of England.

Caxton, Additions to Merimouth.

VVinchelſey burnt by the Frenche.

A compoſition made to ſpare the countrey of Burgoigne.

In this meane while, the Frenchemenne made certaine veſſelles forthe to the ſea vnder the gouernaunce of the Earle of Sainct Paule the whiche vppon the fifteenth daye of Marche landed earlye in the morning at Winchelſe, and before Sunne riſing entred the Towne, and findyng the inhabitantes vnprouided to make any greate reſiſtaunce, fell to and ſacked the houſes, ſlewe many men, women and alſo children, and after ſet fier on the Towne, and vppon knowledge hadde that the people of the countrey nexte adioyning were aſſembled, and comming to the reſcue, hee cauſed his men to drawe to their ſhippes, and ſo they taking their pillage and ſpoile with them, gotte them aboorde, not without ſome loſſe of their companie, whiche were ſlaine in the towne by ſuch as reſiſted their violence. Whileſt the Kyng laye at Aguillon, there came to hym Anſeaume de Sallans Chauncellor of Burgoigne, Jaques de Vienne, and other lordes of the coũtrey, beeyng ſente from theyr Duke to agree wyth the Kyng for the ſparyng of the landes and ſeignories apperteining to the duchie of Burgongne.

Frankes hathe Paradin, in *Les Annales de Burgoigne.*

Froiſſart.

The Kyng of England drawveth tovvards Paris.

The Chancellor, and the other Burgoinſon Lordes founde the Kyng ſo agreeable to theyr requeſt, that a compoſition was made betwixt hym and the countrey of Burgoine, ſo that hee ſhoulde make to them an aſſuraunce for hym, and all his people, not to ouerrunne or endommage that countrey during the ſpace of three yeares, and hee to haue in readie money the ſumme of two hundreth thouſande floreins of golde whiche of ſterling money amounted to the ſumme of fiue and thirtie thouſand poundes. When this agrement was engroſſed vp in wryting and ſealed, the Kyng diſlodged and all his hoſte taking the right way to Paris, & paſſing ỹ riuer of Yonne, entred into Gaſtynois and at length by eaſie iourneys, vppon a Tueſdaye beeyng the laſte of Marche in the weeke before Eaſter, hee came and lodged betweene Mont le Herie, and Chartres, and his people in the countrey there aboute.

A treatie.

Here the Duke of Normandy made meanes for a treatie of peace, whiche was laboured by a Frier called Simon de Langres prouinciall of the Friers Jacobins and the Popes legate: hee did ſo muche, that a treatie was appoynted to bee holden on good Fridaye in the Maladerie of Longegimeau, where there appeared for the Kyng of Englande the Duke of Lancaſter, the Earles of Warwike and Northampton, with Sir John Chandos, Sir Walter de Manny, and Sir William Cheynie knightes: and for the frenche Kyng thither came the Erle of Eu Conneſtable of Fraunce, and the Marſhall Boucyquaut with other, but their treatie came to none effect: wherefore the Kyng vppon the Tueſday in the Eaſter weeke remoued nearer vnto Paris, and vppon the Fridaye following, beeyng the tenth of Aprill, by procurement of the Abbot of Clugny newly come from Pope Innocent the ſixte, the foreſayde Commiſſioners eftſoones did meete to treate of an agreement, but nothing they coulde conclude, the parties in their offers and demaundes were ſo farre at oddes.

The Engliſhmenne before Paris.

Vppon the Sunday nexte following a part of the Kynges hoſte came before the Citie of Paris, and embattailed themſelues in a field faſte by Sainct Marcilles, abiding there from morning till three of the clocke in the afternoone, to ſee if the frenchemenne woulde come forthe to giue battaile: but the frenchemenne woulde not taſte of that veſſell. For the Duke of Normandie well conſidering what loſſe had enſued within fewe yeares paſte vnto the realme of Fraunce, by giuing battaile to the Engliſhmenne, hee woulde not ſuffer any of his people to iſſue forthe of the gates, but commaunded them to bee readye onelie to defende the walles and gates, althoughe hee had in a greate power of men of war within the citie, beſide the huge multitude of the inhabitantes. The Engliſh-

Polidore.

The ſuburbs of Paris brent.

Froiſſart.

The Biſhoppe of Beauvois.

A nevv tretie.

The Duke of Lancaſter perſvvadeth the King to agree.

menne to prouoke their enimies the ſooner to ſallie forthe, brent diuers partes of the Suburbs, and roade euen to the gates of the Citie. When they perceyued that the Frenchemenne woulde not come forthe, aboute three of the clocke in the after noone they departed out of the fielde, and withdrewe to theyr Campe, and then the Kyng and all the Engliſhe hoſte remoued towardes Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to hym the Byſhoppe of Beauuois then Chauncellor of Normandie, with other, and ſo handled the matter with hym, that a newe daye of treatie was appoynted to bee holden at Bretignie, whiche is little more than a mile diſtant from Chartres, vppon the firſte daye of Maye nexte enſuing. In whiche day and place appointed, the foreſaide Duke of Lancaſter, and the ſaide Earles and other commiſſioners mette wyth the ſaide Byſhoppe, and other frenche Lordes and Spirituall men to hym aſſociate, on the behalfe of the Duke of Normandie then regent of Fraunce, to renue the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good concluſion, bycauſe Kyng Edwarde beganne to frame his imaginatiō more to accorde with his aduerſaries, than he had done of late, chiefly for that the Duke of Lancaſter with courteous wordes and ſage perſwaſions, aduiſed him not to forſake ſuche reaſonable conditions as the frenchemenne were contented nowe to agree vnto, ſith that by making ſuche manner of warre as hee hadde attempted, hys ſouldiours only gained, and hee hymſelfe loſte but time and conſumed his treaſoure: and further hee might warre in this ſorte all the dayes of his life before hee coulde attaine to his entent, and leeſe perhaps in one day more than he had gained in twentie yeares.

An hideous ſtorme and tempeſt of vvether

Suche wordes ſpoken for the welthe of the K. and his ſubiects, conuerted the kings minde to fancie peace, namely by the grace of the holy Ghoſt chief worker in this caſe: for it chaunced one daye as hee was marching not farre from Chartres, there came ſuche a ſtorme and tempeſt of thunder, lightning, hayle and raine, as the like had neuer bene ſeene by any of the Engliſhe people. This ſtorme fell ſo hideous in the kinges hoſte, that it ſeemed the worlde ſhoulde haue ended: for ſuche vnreaſonable great ſtones of haile fell from the ſkie, that men and horſes were ſlayne therewyth, ſo that the moſte hardyeſt were abaſhed. There periſhed thouſandes therby, as ſome haue written.

The Kyng then remembring what reaſonable offers of agreement hee hadde refuſed, vppon a remorſe in conſcience, as by ſome writers it ſhoulde appeare, aſked forgiueneſſe of the damage done by ſworde and fire in thoſe partes, and fully determined to graunte vnto indifferent articles of peace, for reliefe of the chriſtian inhabitants of that land: and ſo ſhortlie after, by the good diligence of the commiſſioners on bothe partes, an vnitie, and final peace was accorded, the articles whereof were compriſed in fortye and one articles, the chiefe whereof in effect were theſe.

Fabian.

Froiſſart.

Firſte that the Kyng of Englande ſhoulde haue and enioye (ouer and beſide that whiche hee helde alreadie in Gaſcoigne and Guyenne) the Caſtell, Citie, and Countie of Poitiers, and all the landes and countrey of Poyctou, with the fee of Touars and the lands of Belleuille: the Citie and Caſtell of Xainctes, and all the lands and countrey of Xainctonge on both ſides the riuer of Charent, wyth the towne and fortreſſe of Rochell, wyth theyr appurtenaunces: The Citie & caſtel of Agent, and the countrey of Agenois: The Citie and Caſtell of Piergort, and all the land and countrey of Perigueux. The Citie and Caſtell of Limoges, and all the landes and countrey of Limoſin: The Citie and Caſtell of Cahors, and the lordeſhippe of Cahorſin, the caſtell and countrey of Tarbe: the landes countrey and countie of Bigorre: The countie, countrey, and landes of Gaure: The citie and caſtell of Angoleſme: and the countie, land and countrey of Angoleſmois: The citie, Towne and caſtell of Rodaix: And all the countie, & countrey of Rouergue: And if there were in the Duchy of Guyenne any Lords, as the Earles of Foix, Arminacke, Liſle, and Perigueux, the Vicountes of Carmain, and Limoges, or other holding any landes within the forſaid bounds, it was accorded that they ſhoulde doe homage and other cuſtomarie ſeruices due for the ſame vnto the King of Englande. It was alſo agreed, that Callais and Guiſnes, wyth the appurtenances, the landes of Mōtreull on the ſea with the Countie of Pontieu, wholy and entirelye ſhould remaine vnto the king of Englande. All the whiche countries, cities, townes, and caſtelles, with the other landes and Seigniories, the ſame King ſhould haue and holde to him & his heires for euer, euen as they were in demaine or fee, immediatly of God and free without recognizing any maner of Soueraintie in any earthelie man.

In conſideration whereof, King Edward renounced all ſuche claimes, titles and intereſt as hee pretended vnto any parte of Fraunce, other than ſuche as were compriſed within the charter of couenauntes of this peace firſte agreed vppon at Bretigny aforeſayde, and after confirmed at Callais, as appeareth by the

ſame

he date of e charter of e peace.

ſame charter dated there the foure & twenty day of October in the yeare of our Lorde. 1360.

he Frenche ngs raunſom.

It was alſo couenaunted, that the Frenche King ſhoulde pay vnto the Kyng of England thyrtie hundreth. M. crownes in name of his raunſome: For aſſurance of whiche payment, and performaunce of all the couenauntes afore mentioned, and other agreed vppon by this peace, the Dukes of Orleaunce, Aniou, Berry, and Burbon, with diuers other honorable perſonages, as Earles, Lordes, and Burgeſſes of euerie good Towne, ſome were appointed to be ſent ouer hither into Englande to remaine as hoſtages.

oſtages.

he Frenche ot to aide the cottes.

It was further agreed, that neyther the frenche Kyng nor his ſucceſſours ſhoulde aide the Scottes againſte the King of Englande or his ſucceſſors, nor that King Edwarde nor his heyres, Kings of Englande, ſhoulde ayde the Flemmings againſt the crowne of France. And as for the title or right of the Duchie of Britaine, whiche was in queſtion betweene the Earles of Bloys and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both Kinges beeing at Callais, the parties ſhoulde bee called before them, and if the two kyngs could not make them frendes, then ſhulde they aſſigne certain indifferent perſons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeares reſpite for to ende the matter: and if within that terme, thoſe that ſhould bee ſo appointed to agree them, coulde not take vp the matter betwixte the ſaide Earles, then eyther of them might make the beſt purchaſe for hym ſelfe, that hee coulde, by helpe of friendes, or otherwiſe, but alwayes prouided, that neither of the Kinges nor their ſonnes ſhoulde ſo aide the ſaide Earles, whereby the peace accorded betwixte Englande and Fraunce, myght by any meanes bee broken or infringed.

itaine.

Alſo, to whether of the ſaide Earles the Duchie of Britaine in the ende chaunced to fall by ſentence of Iudges, or otherwiſe, the homage ſhoulde bee done for the ſame vnto the Frenche King.

All theſe ordinaunces, articles and agreementes with many mo (whiche here woulde bee to long to rehearſe) were accorded and ratified by the inſtrumentes and ſeales of the Prince of Wales on the one parte, and of the Duke of Normandie Regent of Fraunce on the other parte, as by their letters patentes then ſealed further appeared, bearing date, the one at Loures in Normandie the ſixteenth day of Maye in the yeare of Grace. 1360. and the other at Paris the tenthe daye of the ſame monethe, and in the yeare aforeſaide, and ouer and beſide this, both the ſaide Princes tooke on them a ſolempne othe to ſee all the ſame articles and couenauntes of agreement throughlye kept, mainteined and performed.

The king of Englande returneth home.

The Earle of VVarvvicke.

This done, Kyng Edwarde embarqued hymſelfe with his foure ſonnes and the moſte part of his nobles at Hunflew the twentith day of May, and ſo ſailed into Englande, leauing behinde hym the Earle of Warwicke to haue the gouernment of all the men of warre which hee left behinde hym, eyther in Guyenne or in any other place on that ſide the ſea.

Tho. VValſ.

The Frenche king goeth ouer to Callais.

There dyed in this iourney diuers noble men of this lande, as the Earles of Marche and Oxforde, the Lorde Iohn Gray then Stewarde of Englande, and the Lorde Geffrey de Say, with diuers other. The eyghte of Iulie nexte enſuyng, the Frenche Kyng hauing licence to departe, landed at Callais, and was lodged in the Caſtel there, abiding till the King of Englande came thither, whiche was not till the ninthe daye of October nexte after.

The Kings receiue a ſolempne othe to ſee the peace performed.

On the foure and twentith day of October bothe the Kings beeyng in two trauerſes and one Chappell at Calais, a Maſſe was ſaid before them, and when they ſhuld haue kiſſed the pare, eyther of them in ſigne of greater friendſhippe kiſſed the other, and there they were ſolemnelye ſworne to maynteyne the articles of the ſame peace, and for more aſſuraunce therof, manye Lordes of bothe partes were lykewiſe ſworne to mainteine the ſame articles to the vttermoſt of their powers. Whileſt theſe kings lay thus at Callais, there was greate banquetting and cheare made betwixt them.

The Duke of Normandie.

Alſo the Duke of Normandie came from Bolongne to Calais, to viſite his father and to ſee the King of Englande, in which meane time two of King Edwardes ſonnes were at Bolongne. Finally, when theſe two Kinges hadde finiſhed all matters in ſo good order and forme that the ſame coulde not be amended nor corrected, and that the Frenche King had deliuered his hoſtages to the Kyng of England, that is to ſay, ſix Dukes, beſide Erles, Lords, and other honorable perſonages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie: On the morrowe after the taking of their othes, that is to ſay on the fiue and twentith day of October, beeyng Sonday, the French King was freely deliuered, and the ſame daye before noone hee departed from Calais, and rode to Bologne. The Kyng of Englande brought hym a mile forewarde on his way, and then tooke leaue of hym in moſte louing manner.

The number of the Frenche hoſtages.

The Prince attended hym to Bolloigne, where bothe hee and the Duke of Normandie wyth other were eftſones ſworne to holde and mainteine the forſaid peace without all fraude or colorable deceit: And this done, the Prince retourned to Callais. Thus was the frenche King ſette at libertie, after hee hadde bin priſoner here in England the ſpace of foure yeres, and as muche as from the nineteenthe daye of September, vnto the fiue and twenty of October. When the King of Englande hadde finiſhed his buſineſſe at Callais, according to his minde, he retourned into Englande, and came to London the ninth daye of Nouember.

The Frenche King ſette at libertie.

Strange wonders.

In this foure and thirtieth yeare of Kyng Edwarde, men and cattell were deſtroyed in diuers places of this Realme, by lightening and tempeſt: alſo houſes were ſette on fier and brente, and manye ſtraunge and wonderfull ſights ſene. The ſame yeare Edward prince of Wales maried the counteſſe of Kente, whiche before was wyfe vnto the Lorde Thomas Hollande: and before that, ſhe was alſo wife vnto the Earle of Saliſburie, and deuorſed from hym, and wedded vnto the ſame Lorde Holland. Shee was daughter vnto Edmund Earle of Kent, brother to Kyng Edwarde the ſecond, that was beheaded in the beginning of this Kings raigne, as before yee haue heard. And bicauſe the Prince and ſhee were within degrees of conſanguinitie forbidden to marry, a diſpenſation was gotten from the Pope to remoue that lette.

A greate death.

In this yeare alſo was a greate deathe of people (namely of men, for weomen were not ſo muche ſubiect thereto.) This was called the ſeconde mortalitie, bycauſe it was the ſeconde that fell in this Kings dayes.

Hen. Marl.

The Primate of Ardmache departed this life.

This yeare alſo by the deathe of Richard Fitz Rauſe Primate of Ardmache, that departed this life in the Courte of Rome: and alſo of Richard Kilminton, deceaſſed here in Englande, the diſcorde that hadde continued for the ſpace of three or foure yeares betwixte them of the Clergie on the one parte, and the foure orders of Friers on the other parte, was nowe quieted and brought to ende.

1360

Additions to Triuet.

Ad. Merimuth.

A ſtrange ſight in the ayre.

Moreouer, this yeare appeared twoo Caſtelles in the aire, of the whiche the one appeared in the Southeaſte, and the other in the Southweſte, out of whiche Caſtelles aboute the houre of noone ſundry times were ſene hoſts of armed men (as appeared to mannes ſight) iſſuing forthe, and that hoſte whiche ſallyed out of that caſtell in the Southeaſte ſeemed white, & the other black. They appered as they ſhoulde haue fought eyther agaynſte other, and firſte the white had the vpper hand, and after was ouercome, & ſo they vaniſhed out of ſight. About the ſame time the ſouldiors whiche were diſcharged in Fraũce and out of wages, by the breaking vp of the warres, aſſembled togyther, and did muche hurte in that Realme, as in the frenche hiſtories ye may reade. Their chiefe leaders were Engliſhmen and Gaſcoins ſubiects to the king of England. The King aſſembled the eſtats of his realme in parliament at Weſtminſter in the feaſte of the conuerſion of ſaint Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor & whole effect of the peace concluded betwixte England and Fraunce, wherewith they were greatly pleaſed, and hereupon the nobles of the realme and ſuche frenchemen as were hoſtages came togither at Weſtminſter church on the firſt Sunday of Lent nexte following, and there ſuche as were not alredy ſworne, receiued the othe for performaunce of the ſame peace, in a right ſolemne manner, hauyng the tenour of their othes written in certaine ſcroles: and after they had taken their othes vpon the Sacrament and maſſe booke, they delyuered the ſame ſcrols vnto certain notaries, apointed to receiue and regiſter the ſame. The mortalitie yet during, that noble Duke Henry of Lancaſter departed this life on the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, and was buryed at Leyceſter. Iohn of Gaunt fourth ſon to the king, who had maried his daughter the Lady Blanche, as before yee haue hearde, ſucceeded him in that Duchie as his heire in right of the ſaid Lady. The ſame yere alſo died the lord Reignold Cobham, the lord Walter Fitz Warein, and three Biſhops, Worceter, London, and Elie.

Souldiors called the companions did much hurte in Fraunce.

Froiſſart.

Anony

A parl

Caxton.

Tho.Walſ

Ad.m

rimuth.

This yeare vpon the .xv. day of Ianuarie there roſe ſuche a paſſing winde that the like had not bin heard off in many yeres before. It beganne about euenſong time in the South, and that with ſuche force, that it ouerthrewe & blew down ſtrong and mighty buildings, as towers, ſteeples, houſes and chimneis. This outragious winde continued thus for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen days, whereby euen thoſe buildyngs that were not ouerthrowen and broken downe, were ſo ſhaken yet, that they without repairing, were not able long to ſtande.

1361

Caxton.

A mightie winde.

Anony

After this, followed a very wette ſeaſon, namely in the Sommer time and harueſt, ſo that muche corne and hay was loſte, for want of ſeaſonable weather to gather the ſame. The Lorde Lionell the Kynges ſonne went ouer into Irelande, to be deputie to his father there, and was created Duke of Clarence, and his brother Eadmunde was created Erle of Cambridge: Alſo Edwarde Prince of Wales was by his father Kyng Edwarde inueſted Duke of Guyenne, and did homage vnto his father for the ſame, in lyke maner and forme as his father and other Kynges of Englande were accuſtomed to doe for the ſaide Duchie vnto the Kynges of Fraunce. And afterwardes about the feaſte of Candlemaſſe nexte enſuing, the

Creation of the Kinges ſonnes to degrees of ho

Hen.Mar

he Prince Wales paſ th ouer into aſcoine.

the ſaid Prince ſayled into Gaſcoigne, and arriued at Burdeaux, taking vpon him the gouernement and rule of the countrey.

o. VValſ.

dditions to d. Merimuth

Iuſtes in mithfielde.

he Staple of ol'es remoued to Caleis.

parliament.

Moreouer this yeare, the fiue firſte dayes of May, were kept royall Juſtes in Smithfielde by London, the King and Queene beeing preſente, with a great multitude of the nobles and Gẽtlemen of both the Realmes of England & France: at whiche time came hither Spanyardes, Cipriottes, and Armenians, requiring ayde of the K. againſt the Infidels, that ſore moleſted theyr cõfynes. The ſtaple of woolles was this yeare remoued to Calais.

Alſo the ſixteene of October, a Parliament began, that was called at Weſtminſter, whych cõtinued til yͤ feaſt day of S. Brice, on which day, the K. that time fiftie yeres then paſt, was borne, whereupon, as it were in the yeare of his Jubilei, he ſhewed himſelfe the more gracious to his people, granting pardon to offendors, releaſſing priſoners, and reuoking outlawes.

pardon.

ſtatute aainſt pureyours.

Moreouer, it was ordeined in this Parliamẽt, that no maner of perſon, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer hee was, the K. the Q. and Dukes onely excepted, ſhould haue any purueyers of vittailes, nor ſhould take vp any thing, without ready paiment, and thoſe that from thenceforth did contrary to this ordinance, ſhould bee extreemely puniſhed. There was granted to the K. in this Parliament. 26. ß. eight d. of euery ſacke of woolle yͭ was to be tranſported ouer to the Sea, for three yeres next enſuing.

Subſidie.

awyers to leade theyt es in Enliſhe.

Caxton.

cholemaiers to teache cholers to cõrue their leſos in Enliſhe.

Furthermore, at the ſute of the commons it was ordeyned and eſtabliſhed by an acte in thys Parliament deuiſed, that mẽ of law ſhuld pleade their cauſes, and write their actions and plaintes in the Engliſhe tong, and not in the Frenche, as they had bin accuſtomed to doe, euer ſince the cõquerors time. It was ordeined alſo, that Scholemaiſters ſhould teache their ſcholers to conſtrue their leſſons in Engliſh, and not in french, as before they had bin vſed. The king ſhewed ſo much courteſie to the french hoſtages, that he permitted them to goe ouer to Calais, and there being nere home, to purchaſe friendſhippe, by oft calling on their friends for their deliuerance. They were ſuffered to ryde too and fro about the marches of Calais, for the ſpace of foure dayes togyther, ſo that on the fourth day before ſunne ſetting, they returned into Calais againe. The Duke of Anjou turning this libertie to ſerue his owne turne, departed from thence, & went home into France, wͭout making his fellowes priuie to his purpoſe.

1363

n.reg.37.

VValſ.

This yeare, a Parliamente was called by the Kyng, whiche began the ninth of October, from the whiche, none of the noble men could obteyne licence to be abſent.

Addi. to Adam Merimuth.

A ſtatute of aray agaynſte coſtly apparel.

In this Parliament, all riche ornamentes of golde and ſiluer vſed to be worne in knyues, girdles, ouches, rings, or otherwiſe, to the ſettyng forth of the body, were prohibited, except to ſuche as might diſpende tenne pound by yeare.

Moreouer, that none ſhould weare any ryche clothes or furres, except they myght diſpende an hundred pound by yeare.

Moreouer it was enacted, that labourers and huſbandmẽ ſhould not vſe any dayntie diſhes, or coſtly drinkes at their tables. But theſe, & ſuche other actes as were deuiſed & eſtabliſhed at this Parliament, toke none effect, as after it appeared.

Three kinges come into England aboute buſineſſe with K. Edward.

In this yeare, there came into Englande to ſpeake with Kyng Edwarde concerning theyr waightie affaires, three Kyngs, that is to witte, the Kyng of Fraunce, the Kyng of Scotlande, and the Kyng of Cypres: They were honorably receiued, and highly feaſted. The K. of Scotlande, and the K. of Cipres after they had diſpatched theyr buſineſſe for the which they came, returned backe againe, but the Frenche Kyng fell ſicke, and remayned heere till hee dyed, as in the nexte yeare yee ſhall heare. He arriued heere in Englande, about the latter ende of this yeare, and came to Eltham (where King Edward as then lay) on the foure and twentith day of January, and there dyned.

1364

After dyner, hee toke his Horſe, and rode towarde London, and vppon blacke heath, the Citizens of London cladde in one kynde of liuerie, and very well horſed, met him, and conueid him from thence thorough London, vnto the Sauoy, where his lodging was prepared.

An. reg. 38.

The death of the French K.

About the beginning of Marche, in this eight and thirtith yeare, the forenamed Frenche Kyng fell into a greuous ſickneſſe, of the whiche he dyed the eight day of Aprill folowing. His corps was conueyed into Fraunce, and there buryed at S. Denice: his exequies were kepte heere in Englande in diuers places right ſolemnely, by Kyng Edwards appoyntment.

Fabian.

This yere, by reaſon of an extreme ſore froſt, continuing from the ſeauen and twentith daye of September laſt paſſed, vnto the beginning of Aprill, in this eight and thirtith yeare (or rather from the ſeauenth day of December, till yͤ nineteenth day of Marche, as Walſingham, and other olde writers do write,) the ground lay vntilde, to the greate hinderaunce and loſſe of all growing things on the earth.

The battayle of Aulroy.

This yeare on Michaelmas day, before yͤ Caſtel of Aulroy, not farre diſtant from the Citie of Vannes in Britaine, a ſore battell was foughte betwixt yͤ Lord Charles de Blois, and the Lord John of Mountford. For when there coulde bee no ende made betwixt theſe two Lords, touching their title vnto the Duchie of Britaine, they renued the warres right hotely in that countrey,

Froiſſart.

and procured all the ayde they might from eache ſide. The King of Fraunce ſent to the ayde of his Couſin Charles de Blois a thouſande ſpeares, and the Erle of Mountford ſent into Gaſcoigne, requiring ſir Iohn Chandos, and other Engliſhmen there to come to his ſuccour. Sir Iohn Chandos gladly conſented to this requeſt, and therevppon got licence of the Prince, and came into Britaine, wher he found the Erle of Moūtforde at the ſiege of the foreſaide Caſtell of Auray. In the meane time, the Lord Charles de Blois, being prouided of men, and all things neceſſary for to giue battaile, came and lodged faſt by his enimies. The Earle of Mountford, aduertiſed of his approche, by the aduice of ſir Iohn Chandos, and other of his Captaines, had choſen out a plotte of grounde to lodge in, and meant there to abide their enimies. With yͤ lord Charles of Blois, was that valiant Knight ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, or Gueſclin, as ſome wryte him, by whoſe aduice, there wer ordeined three battailes, and a reregard, and in eche battaile were appointed a M. of good fighting mē. On the other part, the Erle of Mountford deuided his men likewiſe into three battailes, and a reregarde. The firſte was led by ſir Roberte Knolles, ſir Walter Hewet, and Sir Richarde Brulle, or Burley. The ſeconde by Sir Oliuer de Cliſſon, Sir Euſtace Daubreticourt, and ſir Mathew Gourney. The thirde the Earle of Mountforde hymſelfe guided, and with hym was ſir Iohn Chandos aſſociate, by whome he was muche ruled, for the King of England, whoſe daughter the Earle of Mountforde ſhoulde marrie, hadde written to Sir Iohn Chandos, that he ſhoulde take good heede to the buſines of the ſaide Earle, and order the ſame as ſagelie as he might deuiſe.

Three thouſand and ſixe hundred fighting men, as Walſ. hath.

In eche of theſe three armies were fiue hundreth armed menne, and foure hundreth archers. In the arreregard, were appointed a fiue hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernaunce of ſir Hugh Calverley. Beſide ſir Iohn Chandos, and other Engliſhmenne recited by Froiſſarte, there was the Lorde William Latimer, as one of the chiefe on the Earle of Mountfordes ſide. They were not paſt ſixteene hundreth good fighting men on that ſide, as Thomas Walſingham writeth.

When the hoſtes were ordered on bothe ſides (as before we haue ſaide) they approched togither, the Frenchmenne came cloſe in theyr order of battaile, and were to the number of fiue and twētie hundreth men of armes, after the manner of that age, beſide others. Euery man hadde cutte his ſpeare (as then they vſed, at what time they ſhoulde ioyne in battaile) to the lengthe of fiue foote, and a ſhort axe, hanging at his ſide. At the firſte encounter, there was a ſore battaile, and truelie, the archers ſhotte right fiercelie, howbeit, their ſhotte did litle hurte to the Frenchemenne, they were ſo well armed and paueſhed: the archers perceiuing that (being bigge men and light) caſt away their bowes, and entred in amongſt the Frenchemenne that bare the axes, and plucked them out of theyr handes, wherewith they fought after right hardely. There was don many a noble feate of armes, many taken, and reſcued againe. Againſte the Earle of Mountfords battaile, fought the battaile which the Lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the firſte, the Earle of Mountfords part was ſore oppreſſed, & brought out of order in ſuche ſorte, that if ſir Hugh Calverley hadde not in time relieued them, the loſſe hadde runne on that ſide, but finallie ſo long they fought, that all the battailes aſſembled and ioyned eache to other, except the reregarde of the Engliſhmen, whereof (as is ſaid) Sir Hugh Caluerley was chiefe. He kepte alwayes his battayle on a wing, and euer ſuccoured where hee ſawe neede. At length, the Frenchmen not able to endure the valiant doings of their aduerſaries, began to breake. Firſte the Earle of Auxerres battaile was diſcomfited, and put to flighte, and the ſaide Earle ſore wounded, and taken priſoner, but the battaile of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin as yet ſtoode manfully at defence, howbeit, at lēgth, the Engliſhmen perforce opened it, and then was the ſaid Sir Berthram taken priſoner, vnder the banner of ſir Iohn Chandos. Herewith alſo, all the other battailes of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the Lord Charles de Blois, were cleane diſcomfited, and put out of array, ſo that ſuche as reſiſted, and ſtoode at defence, were ſlayne and beaten downe, and amongſt others, the Lord Charles was there ſlaine himſelfe, and all other, either taken or ſlayne, except thoſe that eſcaped by flight, amongſt the which, there were not many of yͤ nobilitie. For as Thomas Walſingham ſaith, there were ſlaine about a thouſand men of armes, and there were taken two Earles, ſeuen and twentie Lordes, and fiftene hundred men of armes.

The archers.

Sir Hugh Caluerley.

The Earle of Auxerre Priſoner.

Sir Ber de Cle

The chaſe was followed to the Citie of Raynes, an eight greate leagues from the place where the battaile began.

After this victory, the Earle of Mountforde conquered many Townes and Caſtels in Britayne, whereof the French Kyng being aduertiſed, ſente hys brother the Duke of Aniou, vnto the wife of the Lord Charles of Bloys now deceaſſed, to comfort hir in ſuch an heauie caſe, and to take order for things as ſhoulde bee thoughte expediente, till further prouiſion might be made.

Alſo ſhortly after, there were ſent vnto the Earle of Mountforde, the Archebyſhoppe of Reimes, the Marſhall Bouciquault, and the Lord of Cran, as cōmiſſioners, to cōmune with

Am ſent to the of M

him

The variaunce for Britayne compounded.

him of a finall agreement. Whervpon, after hee had ſignifyed the matter vnto the King of England, and vnderſtoode his pleaſure therein, thys treatie was ſo handled, that peace thereof followed, and the parties were agreed in the moneth of Aprill next enſuing.

Fabian.

1365

An. reg. 39.

Fabian.

Tho. Walſ.

This yere as ſome haue written, K. Edwarde finiſhed his warres vpon S. Stephensday, & began the foundation of S. Stephens chappell at Weſtminſter in memorie thereof, which Chappell was afterwards finiſhed by King Richarde the ſecond that ſucceeded him.

In the. 39. yere of K. Edwards raigne, and in the moneth of Februarie, in the Citie of Angoleſme, was borne the firſte ſonne of Prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life in the ſeuenth yeare of his age.

The Lorde Coucy maryeth the king of Englandes daughter.

Polichron.

Alſo this yeare, the 27. of July, Ingeram de Guynes Lord de Coucy a Frenchman, married yͤ Lady Iſabel, daughter to King Edward. The ſolemnization of the marriage feaſt, was kept at Windſor in moſt royall and triumphant wiſe.

The ſaid Lord Coucy was created Earle of Bedford with an yeerely annuitie of 30. markes, going forthe of the iſſues and profites of that countie, ouer and beſide a M. markes by yeare, aſſigned to him and to his ſaide wife, and to the heires males of their bodyes begotten, to be payde forth of the Eſchecker.

Froiſſart.

James Meir.

A treatie of mariage for the Earle of Cambridge.

About this time, there was a treatie alſo for a mariage to be had, betwixt the L. Edmond Erle of Cambridge, and yͤ Lady Margaret, daughter and heire to the Earle of Flanders, whiche treatie went ſo farre, that the Erle came ouer to Douer, where the King was ready to receiue him, & there the Erle promiſed by wordes of affiance, to gyue his ſaid daughter vnto yͤ ſaid L. Edmōd in mariage: and after that the Erle had bin at Douer, the ſpace of three dayes, paſſing yͤ time in greate ſolace & banquetting, whē he had finiſhed his buſines, he returned backe againe into his countrey.

The Earle of Flanders.

The Lord Latymer.

Whileſt the K. was thus at Douer with the Erle of Flanders, the L. Latimer came from the L. John de Mountfort, to vnderſtande his pleaſure, touching yͤ offers that were made for peace, vppon whoſe returne with aunſwere, the peace was concluded as before ye haue heard.

The king of Caſtile chaſed out of his realme.

Froiſſart.

This yere was Peter K. of Caſtile chaſed out of his Realme, by his baſtard brother Hēry, whiche was ayded in that enterprice, by ſir Berthrā de Cleaquin, lately deliuered, and other Frenchmen, ſo that the ſaid Hēry was crowned at Burgus, vpon Eaſter day, wherefore the ſaide Peter was cōſtreined to flee, & ſo came to Burdeaux to ſue for aid at the hands of the Prince of Wales.

This yere by yͤ kings cōmandemēt, a reſtraint was ordeined, that Peter pence ſhould not be frō thenceforth any more gathered within his realm, nor any ſuch paymente made at Rome, whyche had bin vſed to be paid there, euer ſith the dayes of Ine, King of Weſt Saxons, which ordeyned this paymente, towarde the maintenaunce of a Schole for Engliſhe Schollers: but howſoeuer this payment was abrogated at this time by K. Edwarde, it was after renued againe, and yͤ money gathered in certayne Shires of this realme, till the dayes of King Henry the eight.

Peter pens. Ine king of Weſtſaxons.

A raynye harueſt.

Caxton.

In this yeare, fell greate abundance of rayne in the time of hay harueſt, ſo that much corne and hay was loſt.

There was alſo ſuch fighting amongſt ſparrowes in that ſeaſon, that they were founde dead on the ground in great numbers.

Death.

Alſo, there followed greate mortalitie of people, the ſickneſſe being ſo ſharp and vehemēt, that many beeing in perfecte health ouer night when they went to bed, wer found dead in yͤ morning.

Alſo, many dyed of the ſmall pockes, both mē, women and children.

Moreouer this yeare, Simon Iſlep, Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, departed this life, and Simon Langham Byſhop of Elie ſucceeded in his place.

King Richard the ſeconde, borne.

Froiſſart.

This yeare at Burdeaux, was borne the ſecond ſonne of Prince Edward named Richard, on yͤ third day of Aprill, his Godfather at yͤ fount ſtone was Iamys K. of Maiorke. Peter Kyng of Spayne, whiche as ye haue heard, was expulſed out of his realme by his baſtard brother, made ſuche earneſt ſute vnto the Prince of Wales for aide to be reſtored home, that finally the Prince aduertiſing his father K. Edwarde of the whole matter, by aduice from him, determined to bring home the ſaide K. Peter, & to reſtore him agayne to his kingdome, by force of armes, in deſpite of al his aduerſaries. The Prince indeede was very deſirous to take this enterprice vpon him, both of a certain pitiful affection to relieue the miſerable ſtate of K. Peter, & alſo of an ardent deſire which he had to purchaſe a glorious fame through martiall deedes, and noble actes of chiualrie. Therefore, hauing this occaſion to employ his time in ſuch exerciſes, and now cōmanded thereto of his father, he was exceedingly glad in his mind, and with all ſpeede yͤ might be, made his prouiſion both of a ſufficient army of mē of war, & alſo of all other things neceſſary for the furniture of ſuch an enterpriſe: but firſt, he tooke good aſſurāce of king Peter, for yͤ paimēt of yͤ ſouldiers wages, ſo yͤ K. Peter left at Baiōne three of his daughters, Beatrice, Cōſtance, & Iſabell as pledges, for performāce of al yͤ couenants agreed betwixt him & the Prince. Thus whē yͤ Prince, by yͤ aduice & coūſaile of ſir John Chandos, & ſir Robert Knolles (by whome he was much ruled) had takē directiō in his buſines, for that his iourney into Spayne,

1367.

An. reg. 41.

The prince ſetteth foreward towardes Spayne.

He entreth into Nauarre.

The king of Nauarre taken by the Frenchmen.

Sir Martin de Care.

Saint Muchaule.

The king of Spayn ſendeth to the prince.

Victoria Viando.

Polidore.

Sir Willi. Felton

Froiſſ.

in each condition, as was thought behookefull, he with the K. of Spaine in his company, paſſed forth, with a right puiſſante army, and came to ẏ ſtreghtes of Ronceualle, at the entrie into Nauerre; and obteyning ſo muche friendſhip of the King of Nauerre, as to haue the paſſages of hys countrey opened, they entred into his realme thorough the ſame, as friendes, without finding any reſiſtance. In this meane time, Henry Kyng of Spaine hauing knowledge that the Prince of Wales was thus comming againſte him, to reſtore his brother King Peter to his former degree, by aduice of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, gote a great number of ſouldiers out of Fraunce, by whoſe aide, he might the better defend himſelfe againſt his enimies. It chanced, that whileſt the Prince of Wales was paſſing thorough Nauarre, towarde the entrie of Spaine, certaine of thoſe Frenchmenne, vnder the leading of ſir Oliuer Manny, tooke the King of Nauarre priſoner, as he was riding from one Towne to an other, many marueilled of that chance, and ſome there were that thought, he ſuffered himſelfe to be taken for a cautele, bycauſe hee woulde not ayde the Prince of Wales anye further, nor conduct him through his Realme, as hee had promiſed to doe. But the Prince nothing diſmaid herewith, paſſed forwarde, by the guyding of a Knighte of Nauarre, called ſir Martin de Kare, and finally, came to the confynes of Spayne, and lodged at Victoria, not farre from his enimies. For Kyng Henry of Spayne, vnderſtanding whiche way the Prince drewe, came forwarde to encounter him, and pight downe his fielde, not farre frō the bordures of his Realme, at a place called Saint Muchable: and thus were both the hoſtes lodged within a ſmall diſtance, the one againſte the other. King Henry had ſent to the Prince an Herault of armes with a letter, requiring to knowe of him for what cauſe he moued warre agaynſte him ſith he had neuer offended him. The Prince taking deliberation for aunſwere of this letter, kept the meſſenger with him, and perceiuing that King Henry came not foreward, but lay ſtill at Saint Muchable, ſtrongly encamped, he remoued from Victoria, and came to a Towne called Viana, where he ſtayed two dayes to refreſh hys people, and after went forward, and paſſed the riuer, which deuideth the Realmes of Caſtile and Nauarre, at the bridge of Groigne. King Henry aduertiſed heereof, departed from Sainte Muchable, and came before the Towne of Nauarret, ſcituate on the ſame riuer. Not many dayes before the Prince paſſed the riuer at Groigne, King Henry had ſent forth two of his brethren, the Earle Dom Teille, and the Lord Sanches, with ſixe hundred horſemen, to view the Princes hoſt. They chanced to encounter two hundred Engliſh horſemen, whome after long and ſharpe fight, they diſtreſſed, and ſlew ſir Will. Feltō, one of the chiefe leaders of thoſe Engliſhmen, and tooke ſir Thomas Felton his brother, ſir Hugh Haſtings, and diuers other, both Knightes and Eſquiers. Whether that King Hēry was greatly encouraged by this good lucke in ẏ beginning, or that he truſted through the great multitude of his people, whiche he had there with him, to haue the vpper hand of his enimies, true it is, that hee coueted ſore to giue them battaile, and although he might haue wearied the Prince, and conſtreyned him for want of vittailes to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at ſome greate aduauntage, if he had deferred the battayle, as the Marſhall of Fraunce Dandrehen gaue counſaile, yet hee woulde needes fight in all the haſt, and therefore did thus approch his enimies. The Prince perceyuing that his aduerſarie came forward to encounter him, diſpatched the Heraulte with an aunſwer to the letter which he hadde of him receiued, conteyning in effect, that for greate conſiderations, he hadde taken vpon him to ayde the rightfull King of Spaine, chaſed out of hys realme by violent wrong, and that if it might be, hee would gladly make an agreemente betwixte them, but ſo algates, that K. Henry of neceſſitie muſt then forſake the adminiſtration, and all the title of the Kingdome of Spaine, whiche by no rightfull meane he could enioy, and therfore if he refuſed thus to doe, hee was for his part reſolued how to procede. The Herault departed with this aunſwere, and came therewith vnto Kyng Henry, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puiſſant army at Nauarret, ſo that the both parties prepared themſelues to battayle.

The number of the princes armye.

The chiefteins of the ſame armye.

The Prince hauing with him thirtie M. men of Engliſhmen, Gaſcoignes, and other ſtraungers, ordeyned three battailes, of the which, the firſt was led by the Duke of Lancaſter, & with him was ſir John Chādos, Cōneſtable of Guyen, ſir Willi. Beauchamp, ſonne to the Earle of Warwike, the Lord Dalbret, ſir Richard Dangle, and Sir Stephen Couſenton, Marſhals of Guyēne, and diuers other. The midle ward was gouerned by the Prince, and with him was the foreſaide Peter K. of Spaine, and diuers other Lords and Knightes of England, Poictow, and other countreys, as the vicountes of Chatelarrault, and Rochcort, the Lords of Partney, Pynan, Tancboton, and others, ſir Richard Pontchardon, ſir Thomas Spencer, ſir John Grendon, and a great ſort moe, whoſe names it ſhould be too long to rehearſe. The rereward was vnder the gouernaunce of the King of Malorques, and with him were aſſociate the Earles of Armenacke, Dalbreth, Piergort, Cominges, the Capitall of Buckz, ſir Roberte Knolles, and manye other valiant lords, knightes and eſquiers. On the ſecond day of Aprill, the Prince with his battell thus ordred, remoued from Groigne, & marching that daye two leagues forwarde, came before Naueret, and there toke his lodging, within a ſmall diſtance frō his enimies, ſo ỹ both partes prepared to giue battaile the next day in the morning, commaunding that euery man, at the ſounding of the firſte trumpet, ſhould apparell themſelues, that they mighte bee ready vpon the nexte ſound, to be ſet in order of battayle, and to goe againſt their enimies. The Spanyards very erely in the morning, drew into the field, and ordeyned their battailes in this wiſe.

The order of the Spanyardes.

The firſt was led by ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, wherein were all the Frenchmen, and other ſtraungers, to the nūber of four M. knights and eſquires, well armed & appointed, after the manner of France. In the ſecōd battaile was the Erle Dom Tielle, with his brother the L. Sanxes, hauing with them a fiftene M. men on fote, and on horſeback. The third battaile, and the greateſt of all, was gouerned by K. Henry himſelfe, hauing in that battaile ſeauen M. horſemen, and threeſcore M. fotemen, with croſſebowes, dartes, ſpeares, launces, and other abillements of warre: ſo in all three battailes, hee had a foureſcore and ſixe M. men on horſebacke and on foote.

The number of the Spaniſh armye.

The Prince of Wales at the breaking of the day, was ready in the field with hys people, arranged in order of battaile, and aduanced forwarde with them towarde his enimies, an hoſting pace, and as they paſſed a little hill, they might ſee as they were deſcēding downe ỹ ſame, their enimies comming likewiſe towardes them, in good order of battaile.

The Duke of Lancaſter.

When they were approched neere togither, and ready to ioyne, the Duke of Lancaſters battaile encountred with the battaile of ſir Berthram de Cleaquine, whiche two battailes right egrely aſſayled eachother, ſo that there was betwixt them a ſore conflict, and well continued. The Erle Dom Tielle, & his brother the Lord Sanxes, vppon the firſte approch of the Princes battaile towards them, fledde out of the fielde, and with them two M. ſpeares, ſo that the reſidue of their battell were ſhortly after diſcomfited,

The Capitall of Beuſe.

for ỹ Capital of Buz, otherwiſe Beuf, and the Lord Cliſſon, came vpon them on foote, and ſlewe and hurte manye of them, ſo that they brake their array, and fled to ſaue themſelues.

This chance diſcomforted the heartes of the Spanyards right ſore, but yet K. Henry lyke a valiant Gentleman came forward, and encouraged his men in all that he might, ſo ỹ there was a cruell battel, & well foughten a long time, for the Spanyards with ſlings caſt ſtones in ſuche fierce maner, ỹ they claue therewith many an helmet & baſſenet, hurt many, and ouerthrew them to the earth.

The archers.

On the other part, the Engliſh archers ſhot freſhly at their enimies, galled & ſlew the Spanyards, & brought them to great cōfuſion: yet king Hēry nothing abaſhed therwith, whereſoeuer hee perceiueth his men to ſhrinke, thither he reſorteth, calling vpon them, & exhorting thē to remember their eſtimations & dueties, ſo ỹ by his diligēce & mãfull encouragemēt, thrice ỹ day did he ſtay his people, being at point to giue ouer, & ſet them in ỹ faces of his enimies again. Neither did ỹ ſouldiers mãfully with their hãds behaue them, but the captaines thēſelues alſo ſtoutly laid about them.

King Peter.

K. Peter like a Lion preaſſed forwarde, coueting to meete with his brother Henry, that he myghte ſeeke his reuenge on him with his owne handes. Cruell was ỹ fight, & tried throughly, with moſt egre & fierce mindes. At length, when the Spanyards were no lōger able to ſuſteine the force and violēce of ỹ engliſhmē, Gaſcoignes, & other whiche were there againſt thē, they brake their aray, & fled, ſo ỹ neither ỹ auctoritie, nor bold exhortatiō of K. Henry, could cauſe thē to tarry any longer:

The Spanyards put to flighte.

where vpō, when he ſaw himſelfe forſaken of hys people, & that fewe abode with him to reſiſt his enimies, he alſo to ſaue himſelfe fled out of ỹ field, being fully perſwaded, ỹ if hee had bin taken, no raunſome ſhould haue ſaued his life. The battaile that was beſt fought, & longeſt held togither, was that of the ſtraungers, whiche ſir Berthram de Cleaquin led: for if ỹ Spanyardes had done halfe their partes as well as the Frenchmen, and other in this battaile, the matter had gone harder againſt the Engliſhmen than it did: yet finally, by the noble courage of the Duke of Lancaſter, & the valiant prowesſe of ſir John Chandos, Sir Hugh Caluerly, and others, the frenchmē were put to flight, and their battaile quite diſcomfited. The ſlaughter in this battaile was great, both of thē that were ſlaine in ỹ field, & of thoſe that were drowned in ỹ riuer that runneth by ỹ Towne of Naueret. After that ỹ battaile was ended, and that ſuch as had followed ỹ chaſe were returned, ỹ Prince cauſed ỹ fields to be ſearched, to vnderſtād what nūber had bin ſlain in ỹ battaile: they ỹ were appoynted to take the view, vpon their returne reported, ỹ there was dead of mē of armes fiue C. and .lx. & of commons, about ſeuen M. & fiue C. of ỹ engliſh part: there were ſlain of mē of name, but 4. knightes, two Gaſcoignes, one Almaigne, & the fourth an engliſhman, and of other meane ſouldiers, not paſt. 40. as Froiſſart hath. But other affirme, ỹ there were ſlaine of ỹ Princes part about a xvi. C. which ſhould ſeeme to be more like to ỹ trouth, if ỹ battaile was fought ſo ſore and fiercely, as Froiſſart himſelfe doth make report. Howbeit, there be that write, how ỹ Duke of Lancaſter wan ỹ field by great fortune & valiancie, ere ỹ prince came nere to his enimies. But howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhmen obteyned the

The number ſlayne at thys battell at Nauaret.

Fabian.

Caxton.

victory in this battayle, fought vppon a Saterday the third of Aprill, in the yeare. 1367.

Froiſſart.

There were taken priſoners, to the number of two thouſande, and amongſt them the Earle of Dene, Sir Bertram de Cleaquin, the marſhall Dandrehen, or Daudenhem, and many other mē of name.

Caxton.

After the battaile, Kyng Peter went to Burgus, and was receyued into the Citie, and ſhortly after, that is to ſay, on the wedneſday following, the Prince came thither, and there helde his Eaſter with King Peter, and tarried there aboue three weekes. In the meane time, they of Aſturgus, Toledo, Liſbone, Cordoua, Galice, Ciuille, & of all other places of the Kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage vnto King Peter, promiſing him to be true to him euer after: for they ſawe that reſiſtance would not auayle, ſo long as the Prince ſhould be in the Cuntrey. After thys, the Prince was in hand with Kyng Peter, for the ſouldiers wages, by whoſe ayde, he was thus reſtored into his former eſtate. King Peter went vnto Siuille, to make ſhift for money accordingly, promiſing to returne agayne, within a fewe weekes, and to ſee euery man payd, according as he had couenaunted. For when he was driuen out of his Realme, and came to Burdeaux, to craue aid of the Prince, he promiſed, that ſo ſoone as he ſhuld be reſtored to his kingdome, he would ſee the Souldiers contented of their wages, and bound himſelfe thereto, both by his oth and writing geuen vnder his ſeale. The Prince tarried for the returne of King Peter, both weekes and monethes, but coulde not heare anye tidings of him. He therefore ſente vnto him, to vnderſtande the cauſe of the ſtay: his aunſwere was, that hee had prouided money, and ſente it by certayne of his men toward the Prince, but the companions that ſerued vnder the Prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had yͤ conueyance of it: he therefore required the Prince, to ridde the Realme of thoſe Snappehaunſes, and to leaue behinde him ſome of his officers, to whōe in name of him, he would make payment of ſuch money as was due.

Froiſſart.

King Peters diſſimulation

This aunſwere pleaſed not the Prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that preſent he could not haue, for any lykelyhoode he ſawe: and therefore, taking order with King Peter howe the payment ſhould be made, hee prepared to returne into Gaſcoigne. The order therefore taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure monethes nexte enſuing, King Peter ſhoulde paye the one halfe of the wages due to the Souldiers for thys iourney, vnto ſuche as the Prince ſhoulde leaue behinde hym to receyue the ſame, and the other halfe within one yeare. The Prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make money thereof, to pay his ſouldiers, namely, the companions, which he had called foorthe of Fraunce, ſo that hee lefte himſelfe bare of all riches, to keepe touch with them, although K. Dampeter fayled in his promiſe each way foorth. For where the Prince ſhould haue had in recompence towardes his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the ſayde Dampeters aſſignemente, ſo that he ſente one of his Knightes, to take ſeaſine of the ſame lāds, he was neuertheleſſe diſappointed, for hee could not come by any peaceable poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, and ſo returned greatly empouriſhed, hauing ſpente in this iourney al that he could make.

Tho. VValſ.

The Prince put to his ſhiftes, for de- fault of pay.

In the meane time, the baſtard Henry, hauing eſcaped out of the fielde by flighte, got him into Fraunce, and there through fauour of the Duke of Aniou, ſo purchaſed for him ſelfe, that hee got togither a certayne number of Britaines and other Souldiers, and comming to the Frounters of the Princes land in Gaſcoigne, got a Towne in Bigore, called Bāni eres, and made warre vpon the Princes ſubiects. The Prince obteyning paſſage for himſelfe and his men, of the Kings of Aragone and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaux, and then did the baſtard Henry forſake his garriſon at Bannieres, and wente into Arragon, and there got the King of Arragons aſſiſtance: And finally, in the yeare. 1369. returned into Spayne, recouered the kingdome, and ſlew his brother K. Peter, as in yͤ hiſtory of Spayne it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this hiſtorie of England, I do heere paſſe ouer.

The Prince returneth into Gaſcoigne.

This yeare, in the moneth of Marche, appeared a blaſing ſtarre, betwixte the North & Weſt, whoſe beames ſtretched towards France as was then marked, threatning as might be thought, yͭ within a ſmall time after it ſhoulde againe bee wrapped and ſet on fire with newe troubles of warre, and euen then, that countrey was not in quiet, but harried in diuers partes, by ſuch ſouldiers as had bin with the Prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people, were for the more part Engliſhmenne and Gaſcoignes, as ſir Roberte Briquet, ſir Iohn Trelmelle, Roberte Ceny, Sir Gaollard Vigier, the Bourg of Bertveill, the bourg Camoys, or Cominges, as Denice Sauage thinketh, the bourge of Leſpare, Naudon or Nawton of Bargeraut, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, Lamit, and many other. In this. 42. yeare of K. Edwards raigne, his ſecond ſonne the Lorde Lionell Duke of Clarence and Earle of Vlſter, paſſed the Sea with a noble company of Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen, and wente through Fraunce into Lombardie, there to marrie the Lady Violante, daughter to the Duke of Millane. He was honorably receiued in all places where he came, and

1368

Anno reg. 42.

A blaſing Starre.

Polichron.

Polidor.

Froiſſart.

The Duke of Clarence paſ- eth into Ita-

The Lady Violan-

His entertainment in Sauoy

His receyuing into Millan.

Corio in the hiſtorie of Millayne.

Ia. Meir.
Froiſſart.
Caxton.

Froiſſart.

The Prince of Wales con- raine: to bur ya his ſub- ctes with a re ſubſidie.

oyne not to e enhaunced r abaled.

ſpecially at Paris, by the Dukes of Berry, and Burgoigne, the Lord Coucy, and other, the whiche brought him to the Court, where hee dyned and ſupped with the King, and lodged within yͤ pallace. On yͤ next day, he was had to a place, where yͤ Q. lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueyed to yͤ court again, & ſupped yͤ night with yͤ K. and on the morrow following, he toke his leaue of the K. and Q. the which gaue to him great gifts, & likewiſe to yͤ noble mē of England, yͭ came ouer with him, to yͤ valew of. xx. M. florens, & aboue: he was conueyed frō place to place, with certaine of yͤ french nobilitie, till he came to yͤ bordures of the Realme, and then entring into Sauoy, he came to Chamberie, where yͤ Earle of Sauoy was ready to receiue him, and there he remained four days, being highly feaſted amongſt the Ladies & damoſels: & then he departed, and yͤ Earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to doe him the more honor, for his ſiſter was mother to yͤ bride, which yͤ Duke ſhould marrie. To ſpeake of yͤ honorable receyuing of him into the Citie of Millane, and of the great feaſt, triumph and bāquetting, & what an aſſemble there was in Millane of high eſtates, at the ſolemniſing of yͤ marriage, betwixt him, and the ſaid Lady Violant, it were two long a proceſſe to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the Lord Galeas gaue vnto ſuche honorable perſonages, as were there preſente, amounted in valewe, to an ineſtimable ſumme. The writers of the Mylaneſe hiſtories affirme, that this marriage was celebrate on the fifteenth day of Iune, in the yere. 1367. which being true, the ſame chanced in the. 41. yere of thys kings raigne, and not in this. 42. yere, though other authors agree, that it was in the yere. 1368. But to returne to other doings where we left. We haue heard how the Prince of Wales coulde get no money of the K. of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had reteined to ſerue him in the reducing of the ſaide King home into his countrey: wherfore the Prince, hauing bin at great charges in that iourney, was neyther able to ſatiſfie them, nor mainteine his owne eſtate, without ſome great aide of his ſubiectes, & therefore he was counſailed to reiſe a ſubſedie called a fowage, through al the countrey of Aquitayne, to runne only for the ſpace of fiue yeares. To thys payment, euery chimney or fier muſt haue bene contributorie, paying yerely one frank, the rich to haue borne out the pore. And to haue this paimēt granted, al the eſtates of the countrey were called togither at Niort: the Poictouins, and they of Xainctonge, Limoſin, Rouergue, and of Rochel, agreed to the Princes requeſte, with condition, that he ſhould keepe the courſe of his coigne ſtable, for the tearme of ſeauen yeares: but dyuers of yͤ other parties of Guyēne refuſed that ordināce, as the Earles of Arminacke, and Cominges, the Vicount of Carmaigne, the Lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Cande, Pincornet, and diuers other great Barons, but yet to depart quietly from the aſſemble, they required a time to take better aduice, and ſo they repaired into their countreys, determining neither to returne againe accordyng to their promiſes, nor to ſuffer anye fowage to runne amongeſt them at all, and were ſo muche offended with the motion, that they ſoughte occaſions forthwith to reuolt from the Engliſh obeyſance. And therefore dyuers Lordes of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the Peares of France, their complaynts of the greeuous impoſitions, and wronges, which the Prince went aboute to laye vpon them, affirming that their reſorte ought to be to the crowne of Fraunce, and to the kyng there, as to their Lord Peramount.

The demaund of this fowage the cauſe of the Gaſcoynes reuolting to the French K.

The Frenche kyng who woulde not ſeeme to break the peace betwene him and the king of England, diſſimuled the matter, and told them that hee woulde peruſe the tenor of the Charters and letters of the peace, and ſo farreforth as he might by permiſſion of the ſame, he would be glad to do them good. The Erles of Arminack, Perigourd, Cominges, and the Lorde Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this aunſwere, and ſo ſtayed in Fraunce, till they might vnderſtand further, both of the french kings mind, & of yͤ Princes doings.

This yeare in October, was Simon Langham Archb. of Canterbury elected to the dignitie of a Cardinall, and then William Witleſley, Byſhoppe of Worceter, was remoued vnto the Sea of Canterbury.

The Earle of Saint Paule.

Aboute the ſame time, the Earle of Sainct Paule, one of the hoſtages in Englande, ſtale frō hence, without taking anye leaue, or ſaying farewell. At his comming into Fraunce, he greatly furthered the ſute of the Lordes of Gaſcoigne, and finally, ſo muche was done on theyr behalfe, that the Frenche Kyng was contented that the Prince of Wales ſhoulde be appealed, and ſommoned to appeare before the Frenche K. as Iudge in that poynt, for reformation of the wronges which he offered to them that had made their reſort vnto him, as reaſon was they ſhould. This appeale was written, and duelie examined, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

1369.

The prince of Wales appealed to appeare

Charles by the grace of God king of Fraunce, to our nephue yͤ prince of Wales & Aquitain ſende greeting. So it is, yͭ diuers Prelates, Barons, knightes, Vniuerſities, communalties, and Colledges of yͤ marches and limittes of yͤ countrey of Gaſcoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our Realm, beſides diuers other of the Duchie of Aquitaine, are reſorted, and come to our Court, to haue right of certayne grieues, and vnlawfull troubles, whyche you, by vnaduiſed counſayle, and ſimple information, haue purpoſed to do vnto them, wherof we greatly maruell. Therefore, to withſtande, and to redreſſe ſuche things, we are ſo conioyned to them, that we haue thought good, by our royall power, to commaund you to repaire to our Citie of Paris, in proper perſon, and there to ſhewe and preſente youre ſelfe before vs, in the chamber of oure peeres, that you may bee conſtreyned to do righte to youre people, concerning the greyfes whyche they alledge that you are about to oppreſſe them with, who claymeth to haue their reſort into oure Courte: and that you fayle not thus to doe, in as ſpeedy manner as yee can, immediatelp vppon the ſighte and hearing of theſe preſent letters. In witneſſe whereof, we haue to the ſame ſette oure ſeale. Yeuen at Paris, the fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie.

An. reg. 43.

Theſe letters were giuen to a Knighte and a Clearke, to beare and preſente to the Prince, which according to that they had in charge, wēt to Burdeaux, and there getting licence to come before the Princes preſence, they redde the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openly tolde them for a playne aunſwere, that he meant to accompliſhe the French Kings requeſt, for hys comming to Paris, but that ſhoulde bee with hys helmet on his head, and threeſcore thouſande armed men, to beare witneſſe of his appearaunce.

The Princes anſwer to the meſſenger.

The meſſengers perceyuing the Prince to bee ſore offended with theyr meſſage, got them away, without taking their leaue: but before they were paſſed the limittes of the Engliſhe dominion, they were ſtayed by commaundemente of the Prince, and committed to priſon, within the Citie of Agen.

The duke of Berry.

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Berry returned into Fraunce, hauing licence of Kyng Edwarde for an whole yeare, but hee bare hymſelfe ſo wiſely, that he returned not againe at all, for hee excuſed himſelfe, till time that the warre was open.

In like manner, the more parte of all the other hoſtages, by one meane or other, were returned into Fraunce, and ſome indeede were deliuered vpon their raunſomes, or other conſiderations, ſo that the Frenche King beeing deliuered of that obſtacle, was the more ready to breake with the King of Englande, and therefore vppon knowledge had of the Princes aunſwere, to thoſe that hee ſente with the appeale, by ſuche of the meſſengers ſeruauntes as were returned, and declared howe their maſters were dealte with, hee couertly prepared for the warre.

The Lorde Chandos.

The Lorde Iohn Chandos, and other of the Princes counſayle foreſawe what would enſue of the leauing of the fowage, and therefore counſayled the Prince, not to proceede any further in it, but he hauing only regard to the reliefe of hys ſouldiers and men of warre, woulde needes goe forward with it. Indeede, if he might haue brought it to paſſe as it was denied, that euery houſholder ſhould haue payde a franke, for chimnage the ſumme would haue growen to twelue hundred thouſand Frankes by the yeare, whiche had bin a greate reliefe, and that made hym the more earneſt, bycauſe he might haue bin able ſo to haue payd his debtes. When it was perceyued certainly that open Rebellion would thereof enſue, and that King Edwarde was certified of the whole ſtate of the matter, and how dyuers of the Lords of Aquitayne were withdrawen vnto the Court of Fraunce, in manner as before ye haue hearde, he deuiſed a letter, whiche hee cauſed to be publiſhed through all the parties of Aquitayne, the effect whereof was this, that where the people of that countrey found themſelues greeued for ſuche exactions as were demaunded of them, he meant therefore vppon examination of their iuſt complaints, to ſee their wrongs redreſſed. And further, he was contented to pardon al ſuch as were withdrawen to the Frenche K. ſo that within a monethes ſpace, they would returne home, requiring them, that in no wiſe they ſhould ſtirre any ſeditious tumult, but to remember their othes of allegiance, and to cōtinue in the ſame, according to their boundē duties, and as for him, he would be ready to ſee them eaſed, that woulde ſhewe by plaine proofe, how they had bin otherwiſe greeued than reaſon might beare. This was his meaning, and this was the aduice of all his counſaylours.

Chymnage.

A letter publiſhed by the Prince to appeaſe the Gaſcoignes.

But this courteous Letter little auayled, for dayly the Gaſcoignes reuolted from the Prince, and turned to the Frenche part. Moreouer, another occaſion of grudge chanced, to renue the malice betwixt the king of England, and the french King. For whereas ye haue heard, that the Earle of Flaunders had fianced his daughter and heire to the Lorde Edmonde of Langley, Earle of Cambridge, there was ſhift made, namely by the Earles mother, the Counteſſe of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithſtanding the ſame affiance, ſhee was married vnto Phillip Duke of Burgoigne, ſurnamed the hardie: he gote that ſurname of hardie by this occaſion, as Iacobus Meir hath. It chaunced, that whileſt hee was priſoner in England with his father, he was vpon a time appointed to waite at the table, where his father and the King of England ſate togither at meate, and bycauſe a noble man of Englande that was appoynted likewiſe to attende at the ſame table, ſerued firſt the King of Englande before the King of Fraunce, this Phillip vp with his

Ia. Mei.

Phillip duke of Burgoigne marieth the Earle of Flaunders daughter.

The cauſe of his ſurname le Hardie.

his fyſt, and tooke the Engliſh Lorde a blow on the eare, ſaying, wilt thou ſerue the king of Englande firſt, where the Frenche king ſitteth at the ſame table? The Engliſh man out with his dagger, and would haue ſtriken the ſayd Philip, but the king of Englande ſtraytly charged him to the contrary, and prayſing the deed of the yong ſtripling, ſayde vnto him, *Vous eſtes Philippe le hardie.* Thou art (ſayd he) the hardie Philip. And ſo from that day he bare that name euer after.

There bee other that ſay, howe he tooke that ſurname, bycauſe in the battaile of Poictiers he abode ſtill with his father till the ende of the battail, without ſhewing any token of feare, or faintneſſe of courage.

The Earles of Arminack and Perigord. *Froiſſart.*

The Erles of Arminacke, and Perigord, with the other Lordes of Gaſgoigne, that had made theyr appeale (as ye haue heard) to the Chamber of the Peeres of Fraunce, when they vnderſtoode that the Prince had impriſoned the Meſſengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, beganne to make warre on the Princes lands. The firſt enterprice they made, was the diſcomfiting of the Lorde Thomas Wake, Seneſchall of Rouergue, as he was ryding from Agen, vnto the Citie of Rodais, with three ſcore Speares, and two hundred Archers in his companie.

The L. Wake diſcomfited.

Fabian. The Frēch K. proceedeth against the prince in iudgement of the appeale. *Froiſſart.*

Alſo the Frenche King being nowe prouided for the warre, and vnderſtanding the minds of the people within certaine townes vnder the dominion of the Engliſh men, in his high court of Parliamēt holdē at Paris, proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellation before made by the Earles of Arminacke, Perigord, and others, agaynſt Prince Edwarde. And moreouer he ſent ouer into Englande the Erle of Saliſbruche, and a knight called ſir William Dormon, to ſignifie to the king of England, how he thought himſelfe not honorably vſed, and that the king of Englande did but ſlenderly keepe the couenants of the peace, conſidering that hee did not finde meanes to reforme ſuch of his ſubiects Engliſhmen and Gaſgoignes, as daylye robbed and waſted the Countreys and landes belonging to the Crowne of Fraunce.

Theſe Ambaſſadours were ſtayed for the ſpace of two Monethes, and ſtill they complayned of the wrongs that the Engliſhmē had done, contrary to the couenantes of the peace, but the king made ſmall account thereof, bycauſe hee perceyued it was forged matter that they alledged, and ſo in the ende he ſent them away.

At Douer being vpon their returne, there met them a Brytayn that was comming with letters of defiaunce to the king of Englande from the French king, and as he had in commaundement, he declared to thē the effect of his meſſage, whereupon with al ſpeed they paſſed ouer to Bolongne, and were glad they had ſo eſcaped.

The French king ſent to defie the king of England.

The Brytaine came to the Court and delyuered the defiance to the king, according to the inſtructions which he had receyued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceyued by good viewe taken of the ſeale and ſignet, that the ſame were of authoritie, hee licenced the meſſenger to depart, and fel in counſaile with the Peeres of his realme, what he ſhould do in ſo weightie a matter. Whereupon it was thought neceſſarie by them, that he ſhoulde aſſemble his court of Parliament, and ſo he did. In the which vpon declaration made, how iniuriouſly the Frenche king after many wrongfull dealings, had nowe broken the peace, and ſent his defiance vnto the king in ſo deſpiteful wiſe as might be, there was graunted towardes the maintenance of the warre thus begon, three fiftenes of the temporaltie, and three diſmes of the ſpiritualtie, to bee payed in three yeares.

Polidor. A Parliament aſſembled.

Three fifteenes and three tenthes grāted. *Fabian.* *Froiſſart.*

At the ſelfe ſame tyme that the defiance was made to the king here in Englande, the Earle of Saint Poll, and Guy de Chatyllon mayſter of the Croſbowes in Fraunce, entred into the countie of Ponthiew, tooke Abuile, and an Engliſhe knight called ſir Nicholas Louaigne Seneſhall of that Countrey vnder the king of Englande, as then being within it. They tooke alſo Saint Valerie, Crotoy, Rue, Pont Saint Reny, and to be ſhort, reduced the whole Countrey of Ponthiew vnder the French obeyſance, which hadde remayned in poſſeſſion of the Engliſhe men for the ſpace of. Cxij. yeares, euer ſith Edwarde the firſt had the ſame aſſigned to him in name of a dower, with his wife Queene Eleanore, ſiſter to Alfonſe king of Caſtil: and yet were the people of that Country readie now to reuolt to the French dominion, notwithſtanding their former long continued obeyſaunce to the Engliſh men: for otherwiſe coulde not the French men, ſo eaſilye haue come to their purpoſe, but that the people were couenanted before to receyue them, and betray thoſe fewe Engliſhmen that were amongeſt them.

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken.

The Countie of Ponthiew taken by the French king.

About the ſame time alſo, it fell ſo yll for the Engliſhe men, that the Prince of Wales was troubled with a ſore ſickneſſe, that had continued long with him, euer ſith his being in Spaine, by reaſon whereof his enimies were the more bolde to make attempts agaynſt him, and dayly went about to allure and intice his ſubiects of the marches of Guienne to reuolt from him, inſomuche that the citie of Cahors, and diuerſe other townes thereabout turned to the French part. And thus was the peace which had beene ſo ſurely made, and with ſo many ſolemne othes confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen togither by the eares againe in ſundrie places, and namely

The prince of Wales diſeaſed with ſickneſſe.

The Citie of Cahors reuolteth.

in Aquitain, where ſundrie armies were abrode in the fieldes, diuerſe ſieges layde, many townes taken, often encounters and ſkirmiſhes made, ſomtime to the loſſe of the one part, & ſomtyme of the other, and the Countreys in the meane time harried and ſpoyled, that maruayle it is to conſider, and too long a proceſſe it ſhould be to rehearſe the tenth part of ſuche chaunces as dayly happened amongſt them.

Succors ſent into Gaſcoign

Burdille beſieged.

King Edwarde ſent ouer into Gaſcoigne the Earles of Cambridge, and Pembroke, with a certaine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriuing in Brytayne paſſed through that Countrey by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as thē lying at Angoleſme in Poictou, by whome they were ſent to ouerrunne the Earle of Perigordes landes, and ſo they did, and after layde ſiege to Burdille, hauing with them aboute three thouſande men one and other.

There came with them forth of England foure hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers (as Froiſſart hath) and of their Captaines beſide, the Earles he nameth theſe, the Lorde of Taberſtonne (or rather Bradſtone, as I take it) ſir Brian Stapleton, ſir Thomas Balaſter, and Sir Iohn Triuet.

Sir Hugh Caluerley.

Sir Iohn Chandos

Burdille won.

Whyleſt the ſayd Earles went thus to make warre agaynſt the Earle of Perigord, Sir Hugh Caluerley with two thouſand men of warre was ſente alſo to ouerrunne the landes of the Earle of Armynacke, and of the Lorde Dalbret, Sir Iohn Chandos lay in the marches of Tholouſe at Mountaubon, and afterwardes beſieged Terrieres, and in the ende wanne it, and ſo likewyſe did the Earles of Cambridge, and Pembroke, wynne Burdille, by reaſon of a ſailly that they within made forth, and paſſed ſo farre from their Fortreſſe, that the Engliſh men got betwixt thē and home.

Sir Robert Knolles.

Sir Robert Knolles came from ſuch landes as he had in Brytaine, to ſerue the Prince now in theſe warres of Gaſcoigne, and was by him made chiefe gouernor of all his men of warre, who bare himſelfe right worthily in that charge.

The firſt iourney which he made at that time, was into Quercy, hauing with hym beſide hys owne bandes, certayne Knightes of the Princes retinue, as ſir Richard Ponchardon, ſir Stephen Couſenton, ſir Noel Loring, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Iohn Triuet, ſir Thomas Spencer, ſir Thomas Balaſter, ſir Nicholas Bonde, ſir William le Moine Seneſchall of Agenois, ſir Baldwin de Freyuille, and others.

At their comming into Quercy, they beſieged a ſtrong Fortreſſe called Durmell, within the which were diuerſe captaynes of the companions as Aymon d'Ortigo, the little Mechin, Iaques de Bray, Perot de Sanoy, and Arnaudon de Pons, the which ſo valiantly defended the place, that although the Lorde Chandos, accompanied with ſir Thomas Felton, the Captall of Beuſz, ſir Iohn de Pommiers, ſir Thomas Percy, Sir Euſtace Daubreticourt, and others come wyth theyr retinues from Montaubon, to reenforce that ſiege, yet coulde they not obteyne their purpoſe, but rayſing from thence after fiue Weekes ſiege, (conſtrayned therto through want of vittayles,) they marched ſtreyght to a towne called Domme, which they beſieged, hauing in theyr armie fiftene hundred men at armes, beſide two thouſand archers, and Brigans, ſo called in thoſe dayes, of an armor which they ware named Brigandines, vſed then by footemen, that bare alſo Targettes, or Pauoiſes, & certaine Dartes or Iauelynes to throw at their enimies.

The Towne and Caſtell of Domme were ſo ſtrong of themſelues, and ſo well prouided of men of Warre that were appoynted to the garde of the ſame, with the Lorde thereof called ſir Robert de Domme, that after the Engliſh captains perceyued they ſhoulde but loſe tyme to lynger about the wynning of that Towne, they rayſed theyr ſiege, and marching further into the countrey, wanne Gauaches, Freins, Rochmador, and Ville Franche, vpon the Marches of Toulouzain, greatlye to the diſpleaſure of the Duke of Aniou that lay the ſame time in the citie of Toulouze, and coulde not remedie the matter.

But to recyte euery particular enterpriſe, as the ſame was atchieued by the Engliſhe Captaynes and menne of warre in that ſeaſon, it ſhoulde bee more than the purpoſe of thys volume might permytte, and therefore I paſſe ouer dyuerſe things, whiche I fynde regiſtred by Froiſſart and other wryters, onely aduertiſing you that as the Engliſh menne thus made ſore warres agaynſte theyr aduerſaryes abroade in thoſe quarters: ſo the French men on the other parte had aſſembled greate numbers of menne of warre, not onely to defende theyr Frontyers, but alſo by inuaſions to winne from the Engliſhmen townes and Caſtels, and to waſt ſuch countreys as would not turne to their ſide. Thus were all thoſe Countreys in troubles of warre.

The two Kinges alſo of Englande, and Fraunce, ſignifyed to theyr neyghbours the cauſes of this warre, laying the fault eyther to other, and excuſing themſelues as cleare and innocent therein.

Edward duke of Guelderland nephew to the king of Englande, as ſonne to his ſiſter, and the duke of Gulick coſin to the kings children by their mother that was daughter to yͤ erle of Heinault, tooke great diſpite yͭ the French K. had broken the peace, as they wer throughly perſwaded, & that he had defied K. Edward (as before ye haue heard.)

Wherevpon they ſent their defiaunce vnto the French king, threatning to be reuenged on him to the vttermoſte of their powers. Duke Albert of Bauier, was once minded alſo to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwardes ſuch perſwaſions were vſed on the French kings parte, that he choſe to remaine as neutre betwixt them both, refuſing to take any part.

he Duke of auiere.

Among the ſouldiers alſo called companions which ſerued the Prince in this ſeaſon, there were three Captaines, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Ortigo, Bernard de Wiſke, and Bernard de la Sale. Theſe three remayning as then in Lymoſin, hearing that the Duke of Burbons mother, which was alſo mother to ẏ Frēch Queene, lay within the Caſtell of Belleperche in Burbonnois, with a ſmall companie aboute hir, road thither in one day and a night, ſo that in the morning they approched the Caſtel, ſcaled it, and toke it, with the Ladie within it: and though they were after beſieged in the ſame Caſtell by the Duke of Burbon and other French men, yet they defended it, till the Earles of Cambridge, and Pembroke with .xv. hundred Speares, and three thouſand of other men of warre, came & offred the French mē battail, lodging afore them .xv. dayes, and when they perceyued that the French menne would not iſſue out of the Baſtide (in which they lay) to giue battaile, the Earles of Cambridge & Pembroke cauſed all them within the Caſtell to come forth, and to bring with them the Duches of Burbon, whom they led away in ſight of hir ſonne, leauing the Caſtell voyde and free for him to enioy.

he Duke of urbons mo-her taken.

The French king prouided a great number of ſhips to aſſemble togither at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to beſtow them abourde in the ſame ſhippes, that they myghte ſayle into Englande, and make warre agaynſt king Edward in his owne Countrey. Chieftain of this army ſhoulde haue beene his brother the Duke of Burbon, but this iourney was broken, for the Frenche men were eaſed of the paine to come to ſeeke the Engliſh men at home in Englande, they comming ouer into Fraunce, and proffering them battaile euen at theyr owne dores. For the king of Englande hauing leuied a power of Archers, and other men of warre, ſent them ouer vnder the leading of his ſonne the duke of Lancaſter.

e French prepareth aie,

There went with him in this iourney, the Earles of Hereforde and Saliſburie, the Lorde Ros, the Lorde Baſſet, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lorde de la Ware, the Lorde de la Pole, the Lorde Walter of Manny, the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Thomas Grantſon, ſir Alain Burbul, ſir Richard Sturry, and diuerſe other. They went ouer about mydſommer, and after they had reſted them a little, the Duke ſet forwarde and roaded forth into the Countrey, ſpoyling and harrying the ſame, and when he ſaw time, returned againe to Calais.

e Duke of caſter ſent o Flaundre th an army.

The French K. being at Roan, heard of the arriual of this army at Calais, and that his Countrey of Picardie was in great daunger: he chaunged his purpoſe therefore of ſending an army into England, and with all ſpeede appoynted that his power ſhould with his brother the Duke of Burgoigne turne toward Calais, to reſyſt the Duke of Lancaſter.

Herevpon when the Duke of Lancaſter heard that the duke of Burgoigne was thus cōming toward him, he iſſued forth of Calais, and cōming into the valley beneath the hil of Turneham, there toke his fielde, and fortified the place with ſtrong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to reſiſt his enimies if they woulde aſſayle hym.

The Duke of Lancaſter fortifieth his campe.

The Duke of Burgoigne came ſtill forward, till he approched verie neare to the Duke of Lancaſters campe, and pight downe his fielde alofte vpon the hill of Turneham, ſo that the frontes of both hoſtes were within leſſe than a mile eyther of other.

The Duke of Burgoigne.
Fabian.
Froiſſart.

There was come to the Duke of Lancaſter a knight of the marches of Almaine, called Sir Robert de Namur, with an hundred Speares: but yet the Duke of Lancaſters hoſt was but an handfull of men, in reſpect of the huge number of the Frenche armie, wherein were (as Froiſſart writeth) foure thouſande knightes, beſide other. But yet for all his great puiſſance and number of men, he would not aduenture to aſſayle the Engliſh men in their lodgings, as it was thought he would haue done, but kept himſelfe and his men vpon the hill, from the .xxiiij. of Auguſt, vnto the .xij. of September, and then diſlodged not muche to his honour, howſoeuer writers doe excuſe it, declaring how his brother had giuen him ſtraight commaundement, that in no wiſe he ſhould fight with the Engliſhmen: and that when he had ſent to his brother for commiſſion eyther to fight, or to remoue, he was commaunded to turne, with all ſpeede vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that time.

Sir Robert de Namur.

Some there be that write, how that after both theſe hoſtes had layen the one agaynſt the other, a long ſpace, to the reprouſe of both the Chieftains, it chaunced that the Lorde Thomas Beauchampe Erle of Warwike came thitherward by ſea, to be at the battaile, which he heard woulde ſhortly followe betweene the two armies: but ere he was come to land, the French men for feare durſt no longer abide, but ſecretely in the night departed and fled towardes Hedyn, and ſo to Paris, for the which their flight, the Duke of Burgoigne

Caxton.

The Earle of Warwike.

was after blamed of his brother the French king.

Froiſſart.

The Queene of England departeth this life.

Hir three petitions to the king.

The firſt requeſt.

The ſecond.

The thirde.

In this meane while, that is to ſay, on the Euen of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, died that noble Princeſſe, the Lady Philip Queene of England. It is ſayd that when ſhe perceyued that ſhe muſt needes depart out of this tranſitorie life, ſhee deſired to ſpeake with the king hir huſbande, and when he was come to hir, with a ſorowfull heart to ſee hir in that ſtate, ſhee tooke him by the hand, and after courteous wordes of induction, ſhe required of him to graunt hir three requeſtes: one, that all ſuche Merchantes and other men, wyth whome ſhee hadde bargayned in any condition, myght bee aunſwered of all ſuch debtes as ſhee ought to them, whether they dwelled on this ſide the ſea or beyonde. An other was, that all ſuch ordinances and promiſes, as ſhe hadde made to Churches, as well wythin this Realme, as in the parties of the further ſyde the Sea, myght bee perfourmed. And the thirde was, that it myght pleaſe him to chooſe oute none other Sepulchre when God ſhoulde call him oute of this worlde, but beſide hir at Weſtminſter.

The prayſe of Queene Iſabel

The Queenes Colledge.

This Queene to traine the Engliſhe youth vnto vertuous conuerſation, and to giue occaſion that they might be brought vp in learning and good inſtructions, founded a College at Oxford, furniſhing it with goodly buildings, and a church that they might both ſerue God, and profite in theyr ſtudies, whereupon it is called the Queenes Colledge euen to this day.

The Duke of Lancaſter maketh a iourney into Fraunce.

Saint Riquier

But now to returne to the Duke of Lancaſter, ye ſhall vnderſtande that after the departure of the French armie beſide the hill of Turnehain, the ſayde Duke returned to Calais, and there refreſhed himſelfe and his people the ſpace of three dayes. And then he ſet forward againe, and with him as Marſhals of the hoſt, was the Earle of Warwike, and the Lorde Roger Beauchampe, with the Lordes and knightes before remembred. They tooke theyr iourney to Saint Omers, and by Turwin, and then through the Countie of S. Paule, ſtill burning the Countrey as they went. They rode not paſt three or foure leagues a day, and keeping on their way, they came by S. Riquier, and at the planches vnder Abuile paſſed the riuer of Some, & then entred into the countrey of Vimew, in purpoſe to go vnto Harflew, and there to burne the French kings nauie.

Fabian.

The maſte the Croſbo of Fraunce taken.

Thus paſſing forward through Vimew, and the Countie of Ewe, they entred into the Archbiſhoprike of Roan, and marching forth by Deepe, came vnto Harflew: but the Earle of S. Poule, and the Lorde of Fiennes Coneſtable of Fraunce which had coaſted the Engliſh armie in all this iourney, with a great power of men, was gotten before them, and entred into this towne, ſo that they knew how they ſhoulde but loſe theyr paine, if they did aſſayle it, and ſo therfore after they had lyen before it three dayes, on the fourth day they diſlodged, and returned againe towards Calais, returning through the Countrey of Ponthieu, & before Abuile chaunced to encounter a number of French men, which gaue to the Duke battail. In the which was taken ſir Hugh de Chaſtellon, maiſter of the Croſbowes of Fraunce, wyth other Knightes, Eſquiers, and Burgeſſes of that towne, and ſlaine about. xvj. ſcore of the French parte.

Froiſſart.

There be that write otherwiſe hereof, ſhewing how the ſayde ſir Hugh de Chaſtellon was taken by an ambuſh layd by ſir Nicholas Louaigne, as the ſame ſir Hugh was come forth of the towne, with not paſt ten or twelue with him, to ſee how the paſſage of Rowray was kept by them that had charge thereof: howe ſoeuer it came to paſſe, taken he was, and brought to the Duke of Lancaſter, that reioyſed greatly of that good happe: and ſo marching forwarde, he paſſed the Riuer at Blanchetaque, and drew towardes the towne of Rew on the ſea ſide, and ſo to Montreull, and finally to Calais.

Then were the ſtraungers lycenced to depart: and bycauſe it was farre in the Winter, as aboute Sainte Martyns tyde, the Duke and the moſt parte of hys armye returned into Englande.

The third mortalitie.

Caxton.

Polichron.

The Earle of Warwike d parteth this life.

1370

In this yeare chaunced the third mortalitie, which was exceeding great both of men and beaſtes, that the like had not bene heard of. And amongſt other people that periſhed of that peſtilenciall ſickneſſe, that worthie knight and noble captaine the Earle of Warwike dyed at Calays in the Moneth of Ianuarie, after his returne from Harflew.

The Countrey of Aquitaine was full of trouble in thys meane tyme, eyther parte ſeeking to grieue other to the vttermoſte of theyr powers.

Polidor.

Froiſſart.

Iohn Haſtings Earle of Pembroke, hauing with him certaine bandes of men of warre, recouered dyuerſe Townes and Caſtelles in thoſe partyes: but when he perceyued how the enimies that were not farre from the place where he was lodged, ſhewed manifeſt tokens of feare, in marching one while vncertainly forward, and an other while fetching great compaſſes aboute, he ſomewhat vnwarely ſetting vpon them in theyr campe, was diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that getting hym into a place of the Templers, that was cloſed aboute wyth a Wall, he remayned there in great daunger to be taken priſoner of hys enimyes that aſſayled hym, if the Lorde Iohn Chandos Seneſchall of Poictow hadde not come to the reſkue, and pledged hym forth.

Thom. VVals.
Sir Iohn Candos ſlaine.
Froiſſart.

But ſhortly after the ſayde Lorde Chandos was ſlaine by the enimies (whome firſt hee had ouercome) whileſt without good aduiſe, he put of his helmet, and ſo receyuing a ſtroke with a glayue that entred into his head, betwixt his noſe and his forheade, he neuer after ſpake worde, not liuing paſt a day and a night after he was hurt.

The death of this right famous, wiſe, and valiant knight, was bewayled as wel of the French men as Engliſh men. The French king himſelf when he heard that he was ſlaine, greatly lamented the miſhappe, affirming that nowe he beeing dead, there was not any left aliue able to agree the kings and realmes of England and Fraunce: ſo much was he feared, eſteemed, and beloued of all men.

Sir Thomas Percy.

After he was thus ſlaine, ſir Thomas Percy was made Seneſchall of Poictou.

A death.
Hen. Marle.

By reaſon of the great weete and raine that fell this yeare in more abundance than had beene accuſtomed, muche corne was loſt, ſo that the price thereof was ſore enhaunced, inſomuche that wheate was ſolde at three ſhillings foure pence the Buſhell. But as concerning the death, the weſt parts of the realme was ſoreſt afflicted with this mortalitie, and namely at Oxforde there dyed a great number of ſcholers.

The Ducheſ of Lancaſter.
Fabian.

Somwhat before this time, the Lady Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaſter, departed this life, and was buried on the north ſide of the high aulter in the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule within the citie of London, where hir huſbande Iohn of Gaunt was after alſo interred. She ordeyned for hir huſbande, and for hir ſelfe, a ſolemne obite to be kept yearely in that Churche, where the Maior being preſent with the Sherifs, Chamberlaine, and Swordbearer, ſhoulde offer eche of them a pennie, and the Maior to take vp a pounde, the Sherifes eyther of them a Marke, the Chamberlaine ten ſhillings, and the Swordbearer. vj. ſhillings. viij. pence, and euery other of the Maiors officers. xxij. pens, and the number of viij. officers belonging to the Sherifes, (and by them to be appoynted). viij. pens the peece.

Polichron.
An. reg. 44.
Froiſſart.
Polichron.

This yeare was graunted to the king in Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter of the ſpirituall mennes liuings a tenth for the ſpace of three yeares, and a fifteenth of the temporalty during the ſame tearme.

Sir Robert Knolles with an armie ſent into France.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten togither a great ſumme of money, as well by borowing of the Clergie as of the Laitie, he leuied an armie, and ſent the ſame ouer to Calais aboute Mydſommer, vnder the gouernance of that worthie Chieftaine ſir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the Lorde Fitz Walter, the Lorde Granſon, ſir Alan Buxhull, ſir Iohn Bourchier, ſir William Meuille, ſir Geffrey Wourſleſey, and diuerſe other noble men, knightes, and worthie Captaynes.

Truce with Scottes.

About the ſame time, the king of Englande concluded an abſtinence of warre with the Scots for the tearme of. ix. yeares, ſo that the Scottes yet might arme themſelues, and at theyr pleaſure ſerue and take wages, either of the Engliſhe or French, by reaſon wherof, ſir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred ſpeares of the realme of Scotlande.

James Mair.
The number of men of war in this armie.
Froiſſart.

When this armie had lyen and reſted in Calais aboute the ſpace of. vij. dayes, Sir Robert Knolles cauſed euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the firſt day nere to the Caſtell of Fiennes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboue. xij. thouſande men. Froiſſart ſayth they were but fiftene hundred ſpeares, and foure thouſand archers.

Within the Caſtell of Fiennes was the Coneſtable of Fraunce, that was Lord thereof, with ſuch a number of ſouldiers and men of warre, that the Engliſhe men thought they ſhoulde but loſe theyr labour to aſſaile it. And ſo they paſſed forth by Turrouane, & towards Arras, riding not paſt foure leagues a daye, bycauſe of theyr cariages and footemen. They tooke theyr lodging euer about noone, and lay neare vnto great villages.

The French king had furniſhed all his townes and fortreſſes in Picardie with ſtrong garniſons of ſouldiers, to defende the ſame agaynſt al chances, that might happen eyther by ſiege or ſodaine aſſault.

The Engliſh men therefore thought not good to lynger about the wynning of any of the ſtrong townes, but paſſed by them, waſting or raunſoming the Countreys.

The ſuburbes of Arras burnt

At Arras they ſhewed themſelues before the barriers, and when none would iſſue to ſkirmiſh with them, they ſet fire on the Suburbes, and departed.

The towne of Roy burnt.

The French men withdraw into their fortreſſes & ſtrōg townes.

From thence they tooke the way by Baupalmes, and ſo came into Vermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Han in Vermendois, into the which all the people of the Countrey were withdrawen, with ſuch goods as they might carie with them. And in like maner had thoſe done which inhabited about S. Quintin, Peronne, and other ſtrong townes, ſo that the Engliſhe men founde little abroade, ſauing the Barnes full of corne, for it was after harueſt. So they roade faire and eaſily, two or three leagues a day, and ſometime to recouer money of theyr enimies, they would compounde with them within ſtrong townes, to ſpare the Countrey from burning and deſtruction, for ſuch a ſumme as they agreed vpō, by which meanes ſir Robert Knolles got in that voyage aboue the ſumme of an hundred

dred thouſand frankes. For the which he was after accuſed to the king of Englande, as one that had not delt iuſtly in ſo doing.

Thus they paſſed the Countrey, and came before Noyon, and after they had reſted a while before the towne, they went forth waſting and burning the Countrey, and finally paſſed the ryuer of Marne, and ſo entred into Champaigne, and paſſed the Riuer of Aube, and alſo dyuerſe times they paſſed to and fro ouer the riuer of Saine: at length drawing towards Paris, and comming before that Citie, they lodged there in the fielde a day and two nightes, and ſhewed themſelues in order of battaile before the Citie. This was on the .xxiiij. of September.

The Engliſh men before Paris.

The French king was at the ſame time within the Citie, and might behold out of his lodging of S. Poule, the fiers & ſmokes, that were made in Gaſtenois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Engliſhmẽ, but yet he wold ſuffer none of his people to go forth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the Citie, both of ſuch as had coaſted the Engliſh army in all this iourney, and alſo of other which were come thither by the kings commaundement, beſide the Burgeſſes, & inhabitants of the Citie. When ſir Robert Knolles perceyued that hee ſhoulde haue no battaile, he departed and drewe towardes Aniou, where they wanne by ſtrẽgth the townes of Vaas and Ruelly. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell ſuche diſcorde amongſt the Engliſh captaines, through couetouſneſſe and enuie, that finally they deuided themſelues in ſunder, greatly to the diſpleaſure of ſir Robert Knolles theyr General, who could not rule them.

Tho. VValſ.
Sir Simon Minſterworth

There was a knight among them named ſir John Menſterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this army, a good man of his handes, as we call him, but peruers of mind, & verie deceitful and to ſir Robert Knolles to whõ he was muche beholden, moſt vnfaythful.

This knight perceyuing the wilfull minds of certaine yong Lords and knights there in the army, that repined at the gouernment of ſir Robert Knolles, as the Romains did ſomtime at the gouernance of Camillus. The chiefe of them were theſe, the Lorde Grantſon, the Lord FitzWater, and others: hee did his beſt to pricke them forwarde, ſounding them in the eare, that it was a great reproche for them being of noble Parentage to ſerue vnder ſuch an olde raſcall as he was, eche of them being able to guyde theyr enterprice of themſelues, wythout his counſayle. In deede this ſir Robert Knolles was not diſcended of any high lynage, but borne in the Countie of Cheſter of meane offſpring, neuertheleſſe through his valiant prowes, and good ſeruice in warre, growne to ſuch eſtimation, as he was reputed worthie of all honour due to a noble and ſkilfull warrior, ſo that it was thought the King coulde not haue made his choyſe of one more able or ſufficient to ſupplie the roumth of a chieftaine, than of hym: but yet, although this was moſte true, his aduice could not be hearde, nor the authoritie appoynted hym by the King beare any ſway: for where he counſayled that they ſhoulde nowe vpon the approching of Winter drawe forth of Fraunce into Brytayne, and there remayne for the Wynter ſeaſon, they would not ſo agree, nor obey his will.

Bermondſey.

Sir Robert Knolles borne in Cheſſhire.

[illegible]

Wherevpon it came to paſſe, that ſir Bertram de Cleaquin, at that time newly made Coneſtable of Fraunce, vnderſtanding this diuiſion to grow amongſt the Engliſhmen, and that they were deuided into parts, he ſet vpon them ſo much to their diſaduantage, that he diſtreſſed thẽ, and toke or ſlue the more part of them: but ſir Robert Knolles with the flower of the archers and men of warre went into Brytaine, and there ſaued himſelfe, and thoſe that followed him.

Sir Robert Knolles counſaile not followed.

Diſcorde [illegible]
Caxton.

Here may you ſee, how thoſe yͭ before through amitie and good agreement were of ſuch force as their enimies durſt not once aſſay to annoy them, now by ſtrife and diſſention amongſt themſelues were ſlain or taken by the ſame enimies, and brought to confuſion.

In this meane time that ſir Robert Knolles made thys voyage throughe the Realme of Fraunce, the Prince of Wales layde ſiege to the Citie of Lymoges, whiche was reuolted to the Frenchmen.

Froiſſart.
The Citie of Limoges beſieged.

There were with hym at the laying of thys ſiege, his brethren, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Cambridge, ſir Guiſchard Dangle, ſir Loys de Harecourt, the Lorde of Pons, the Lorde of Partenay, the Lorde of Pinane, the Lorde of Tannaybouton, ſir Perciuall de Coulongne, ſir Geffray de Argenton, Poiſtouyns: and of Gaſcoignes, the Lorde of Mountferrant, the Lorde de Chaumount, the Lorde de Longueren, ſir Amerie de Tharſe, the Lordes of Pommiers, Mucident, de l'Eſparre, the Souldiche de Leſtrade, the Lorde of Geronde, and many other: of Engliſhe menne there were, ſir Thomas Percye, the Lorde Ros, the Lorde William Beauchampe, ſir Michaell de la Pole, ſir Stephen Gouſſenton, ſir Richarde Pontchardon, ſir Baldwyn Freuille, ſir Simon Burley, ſir Dangouſſe, Sir John Deuereux, Sir William Menille, (or as ſome Coppes haue) Neuille, and many other.

There was alſo Sir Euſtace Dambrethicourt, and of the Companions, ſir Perducas Dalbreth, who in the begynning of theſe warres beeing turned Frenche, was by the perſwaſion of Sir Robert Knolles procured to returne agayne to the Princes ſeruice before the ſiege of Durmelle.

The Prince beeing thus accompanied wyth theſe worthie Captaynes and men of armes, to the number of .xij. hundred, beſide a thouſand archers and other footmen, endeuoured by al wayes he could deuice to endomage them within. In the ende he cauſed the walles to be vndermined, and quite reuerſed into the ditch, and then giuing aſſault, entred by ye breach, & made an huge ſlaughter of them within, inſomuche that of men women, and children (for none were ſpared in reſpect of age or ſexe) there were ſlain and behedded that day aboue three thouſand.

ymoges taken by force.

The Biſhop with certaine knightes and captaynes were taken, and had their liues graunted, though the Biſhop was in great daunger to haue loſt his head bycauſe he was a chiefe doer in yeelding the Citie before vnto the Frenchmen.

olider.
roiſſart.

Whileſt the Prince lay at ſiege before Lymoges (a little before he wanne it) thither came to hym his brethren, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Cambridge, the Lorde Ros, ſir Michaell de la Poole, ſir Robert Roux, ſir John Saintlo, & ſir William Beauchampe, wyth a faire number of men of warre, ſpeares, & archers.

The Prince then after he had wonne Lymoges, and executed ſome crueltie there to the terrour of other. His maladie which ſtill continued vpō him, rather encreaſed than diminiſhed, ſo that hee was aduiſed by Phiſitions to returne into England, in hope that chaunge of aire ſhould reſtore him to health. For the which conſideration and other cauſes of buſineſſe which he had to doe with his father, touching certain weighty affaires he tooke the ſea, & came ouer into Englād, leauing the gouernment of Aquitain vnto his brother the duke of Lancaſter, as his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimmouth in the beginning of January.

The Prince returneth into ngland.
hom. VValſ.

Moreouer in this .xliiij. yeare of king Edward, the king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at Claringdon found the king, and ther talked with him of ſuche matters as they had to conclude betwixt them two. But for that the K. of Nauarre could not aſſure the king of ſuch couenants as ſhould haue paſſed betwixt them two, it was not thought meete by the kings counſayle to worke to farre vpon his bare worde, that had before time ſhewed apparaunt proufes of his inconſtant dealing. And ſurely this doubt roſe not wythout cauſe, as his doings ſhortly after declared: for although he ſeemed nowe at thys preſent to be a very enimie to the French King, yet ſhortly after hee was reconciled to him agayne, and became his great friend for the time it laſted.

he king of Nauar commeth ouer into England.

lidr.

he king of Nauarres conſtancie ſuſpected.
roiſſart.

1371
An. reg. 45.

This yeare in the moneth of Februarie was a Parliament called, in the which there was demaunded of the ſpiritualtie a ſubſidie of fiftie M. poundes, and as much of the Laitie. The temporall men ſoone agreed to that payment, but the Cleargie excuſed themſelues with fayre wordes and ſhyfting anſweres. Inſomuch that the king tooke diſpleaſure with them and depoſed certaine ſpirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the Chancellour, the Priuie ſeale, the Treaſorer and ſuch other, in whoſe rowmes he placed temporal men.

Caxton.
A Subſidie.

Spirituall men depoſed.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Biſhop of Beauuoys being both Cardinalles were put in commiſſion by Pope Gregorie the .xj. to treate betwixt the kings of England and France for a peace, but howbeit they did their endeuour therein, and moued both kings to the vttermoſte of theyr powers, yet theyr mocions tooke none effect, and therefore was the warre purſued to the vttermoſt betwixt the parties, and namely in Aquitaine, where the Fortreſſes were ſo intermedled one with an other, ſome Engliſhe and ſome French, that one knew not howe to beware of an other, nor to auoyde the daunger, ſo that the Countrey of Poictow and other the marches thereabout were in great tribulation.

Cardinals appoynted to treate of peace

Sir Robert Knolles, ſir Thomas Spencer, ſir John Triuet, and ſir Hugh Haſtings, deuiding theyr powers in ſunder, went to recouer Townes, ſome in one quarter, and ſome in an other, and certaine they aſſayed, but preuayled not, the Inhabitantes doubting to bee puniſhed for theyr vntruthes, made ſuche ſtoute reſiſtaunce.

Polidor.

After this, the Duke of Lancaſter appoynted ſir Robert Knolles, to repayre agayne to Calais, and by the way (if occaſion ſerued) to attempt the recouerie of Ponthieu. Sir Robert taking his iourney through Fraunce by Paris, came into the marches of Picardie: and bycauſe in compariſon to this manne, all the Engliſhe Captaines were little feared of the French men, Sir Berthram de Cleaquin the Coneſtable of Fraunce leauing the fortreſſes in the marches of Aquitaine ſufficiently ſtuffed with men of war and munition, followed ſir Robert Knolles, ſtill readie to aſſayle the hyndermoſt companies, or elſe to ſet on the ſydes of his enimies. So that there chaunced manye ſkirmiſhes betwixt them, and many men were ſlaine on both partes, but at length, whē ſir Robert Knolles ſaw no likelihood to atchieue his purpoſed entent in recouerie of the townes of Pōthieu, as Abuile and other, he drew ſtreight to Calais, & the Coneſtable retired backe into Fraunce.

The feare which the enimies had of ſir Rob. Knolles.

Sir Berthram de Cleaquin.

1372
An. Reg. 46.

In this .xlvj. yeare. ſir Robert Aſhton was ſent into Ireland as Lord Deputie there, and in the ſame yeare, the Duke of Lancaſter being as thē a widower, maried the Lady Cōſtāce eldeſt daughter to Peter king of Spaine, whiche was ſlaine by his baſtarde brother Henrie (as before yee haue hearde.)

Alſo the Lorde Edmonde Earle of Cambridge, maried the Ladie Iſabell, ſiſter to the ſame Cõſtance. Their other ſiſter named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, ſonne to Peter king of Portingale, was departed this life a little before this tyme at Bayonne, where they were all three left as hoſtages by theyr father, when the Prince went to bring him home into his Countrey, (as before ye may reade)

Froiſſart writeth, that the Duke maried the Ladie Conſtance in Gaſcoigne, and that ſhortly after he returned into Englande with his ſayde wife and hir ſiſter, leauing the Capital de Bueff, and other Lordes of Gaſcoigne and Poictou in charge with the rule of thoſe Countreys. By reaſon of that mariage, the duke of Lancaſter as in right of his wife being the elder ſiſter, cauſed himſelfe to be intituled king of Caſtile, and his ſayde wife Queene of the ſame realme.

The Earle of Herefords being ſent to the ſea, with certaine ſhippes of warre, was encountred by the Flemiſh fleete, before an hauen in Brytain called the Bay, where was fought a ſore battaile, and long continued for the ſpace of three houres: howbeit finally the victorie abode with the Engliſh menne, notwithſtanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better prouided for the matter.

There were taken of them .xxv. ſhippes, with theyr Admirall John Peterſon. They had bene at Rochelle for wine, and now were come to the Bay for ſalt vpon theyr returne homewards, and hearing that the Engliſh men woulde come that way, ſtayed for them, and firſt gaue the onſet. For ye muſt remember, that by reaſon that the Earle of Flaunders had maried his daughter to the duke of Burgoine, whiche he had firſt promiſed to the Earle of Cambridge, there was no perfite friendſhip betwixt the Realme of Englande, and the Countreys of the ſayd Erle of Flaunders.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poictou, that was come ouer with the Duke of Lancaſter, to procure the king to ſende ſome newe ayde into Aquitaine, was for his approued valiauncie and tryed truth to the king of Englande, made knight of the Garter. And moreouer at his inſtaunce the king rigged a nauie of ſhippes, and appoynted the Earle of Pembroke as generall, to ſayle wyth the ſame into Aquitayne, and there to remoue the ſiege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell.

Sir Guiſſhard Dangle made knight of the Garter.
Polidor.
Caxton.

The Earle according to his commiſſion tooke the Sea with a fleete of .xl. ſhippes prepared for him: but ere he could enter the hauen of Rochelle, he was aſſayled by an huge fleete of Spaniards, and there vanquiſhed, taken pryſoner, and led into Spaine.

The Erle of Pembroke ſent into Guienne.

The Spaniards had for captaines foure ſkilfull warriours, Ambroſe Bouque negre, Cabeſſe de Vake or Vakadent, Dom Ferand du Pion, and Rodigo de la Rochelle, who had vnder their gouernment .xl. great carreuelles, and thirteene trymme Barques throughly furniſhed and appoynted with good mariners and men of warre.

Froiſſ.

The Earle of Pembroke had with him nothing the like number of ſhippes, nor men: for (as Froiſſart writeth) he had not paſt .xxij. knightes with him, or as other haue not paſt .xij. being for the more part of his owne retinue of houſholde: and yet thoſe fewe Engliſhmen and Poictouins that were there with him, bare themſelues right valiantly, and fought it out to the vttermoſt.

There were ſlaine ſir Simon Houſſagre, ſir John de Mortaing, and ſir John Tuchet: and there were taken priſoners, beſides the Erle himſelfe, ſir Robert Buffort, ſir John Curſon, Sir Othes de Grandſon, ſir Guicharde Dangle, the Lorde of Pinane, ſir John de Griueres, ſir Jaques de Surgieres, the Lorde of Tannaybouton, ſir John de Hardane, and others.

The Earle had (as Froiſſard wryteth) treaſure with him, to haue waged three thouſande men of warre, which neuer did any man good, for as he was informed, the ſhippe wherein it was abourd, periſhed with diuerſe other being burnt or ſunke.

This battaile was fought on Mydſommer euen, in thys .xlvj. yeare of King Edwardes raigne.

The Engliſh wryters ſay, that it was no maruaile though this miſhappe chaunced to him, bycauſe he had in Parliament ſpoken agaynſt men of the Churche, in giuing counſayle that they myght be conſtrayned to pay grieuous ſubſidies, towardes the mainteuance of the kings warres.

By reaſon of this miſfortune thus happened to the Engliſhe fleete, the Frenchmen recouered many townes and Caſtels out of the Engliſhe mens hands, in the Countreys of Poictou, Saintonge, Lymoſyn, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

About the ſame tyme, the French king ſente foure thouſande men to the Sea, vnder the guyding of one Yuans a baniſhed Welch gentlemã, the whiche landing in the Ile of Gerneſey was encountered by the Captaine of that Ile called ſir Edmond Rous, who had gatherd .viij.C. mẽ of his owne ſouldiers togither, with them of the Ile, & boldly gaue battail to the Frenchmẽ: but in the ende the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited, and four .C. of thẽ ſlain, ſo that ſir Edmõd Rous fled into the Caſtle of Cornet, and was there beſieged by the ſayd Juan, till the French king ſent to him to

Froiſſ.

Sir Edmond Rous.

to come backe from thence, and ſo he did, leauing the Caſtell of Cornet, and ſir Edmonde Rous within it as he found him.

The proſpe-
rous ſucceſſe
of the Frech-
men in Poic-
tou.

The Frenchmen this yeare recouered the Citie of Poictiers, alſo Rochelle, and the moſt parte of all Poictou, and finally layde ſiege to Touars in Poictou, wherin a great number of the Lordes of that Countrey were encloſed, the which fell to a compoſition with the French men to haue an abſtinence of warre for themſelues, and theyr landes, till the feaſt of Saint Michaell next enſuing, which ſhoulde be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they ſent to the king of England theyr ſoueraigne Lorde, to certifie hym what conditions they hadde agreed vnto, that if they were not ayded by hym, or by one of his ſonnes within the ſayde tearme, then they to yeelde them and theyr landes to the obeyſaunce of the French king.

ouars in
nger to bee
ſt,

ho. VValſ.

Not long before this, the Captall of Bueffz was taken priſoner, and Sir Thomas Percie with diuerſe other Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes before Soubiſe by ſir Iuan of Wales and other French Captaines, ſo that the Countreys of Poictou and Xaintonge were in greate daunger to bee quite loſt if ſpeedie ſuccours came not in tyme. Whereupon king Edwarde aduertiſed of that agreement which they within Touars had made, rayſed an armie, rigged his ſhippes, and in Auguſt tooke the ſea, purpoſing to come before the day aſſigned to ẏ ſuccours of that fortreſſe: but the winde continued for the ſpace of nine weekes ſo contrarie vnto his entent, that he was ſtyll dryuen backe and coulde not get forwarde towarde the coaſt of Rochelle, where he thought to haue landed, ſo that finally when the daye of reſcuing Touars came, he nor any of his ſonnes coulde appeare in thoſe parties, and ſo to hys great diſpleaſure he returned home, and lycenced all his people to depart to theyr houſes.

By this meanes was Touars delyuered to the Frenchmen, which ceaſſed not in ſuch occaſions of aduauntage to take tyme, and folow the ſteppes of proſperous fortune.

1373.

An. reg. 57.
he Duke of
itaine.

About this ſeaſon the Duke of Brytaine being ſore diſpleaſed in hys mynde, that the Engliſh men ſuſteyned dayly loſſes in the parties of Aquitaine, woulde gladly haue ayded their ſide, if he myght haue got the Nobles of his Countrey to haue ioyned wyth him, but the Lordes Clyſſon, and de la Uale, with the Uicount of Roan, and other the Lordes and Barons of Brytaigne, ſo muche fauoured the Frenche King, that hee perceyued they woulde reuolte from him, if hee attempted any thing agaynſt the French men. Hee therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of Englande his quarell, and fearing to bee attached by hys owne Subiectes, and ſent to Paris, hee diſpatched Meſſengers to King Edwarde, requyring him to ſende ſome power of menne of warre into Brytayne, to defende him agaynſt the malice of ſuche as were altogither Frenche and enimies to Englande.

The Lord Neuil ſent into Britaine.

King Edwarde forthwith ſent ouer the lord Neuil, with foure hundred men of armes, and as many archers, the which arriuing at Saint Mathewes de fine Poterne, remayned there all the winter. Whervpon the Brytaynes being ſore offended therewith, cloſed their townes and fortreſſes agaynſt their Duke, and ſhewed muche euill will towardes him.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited by the Coneſtable of France.

Townes won by him.

The Coneſtable of Fraunce ſir Bertheram de Cleaquin, laying ſiege to the towne and Caſtell of Syreth in Poictou, diſcomfited a number of Engliſhe men that came to rayſe his ſiege, by meanes whereof he got not onely Syreth, but alſo Nyort, Luſignen, and all other the townes and Fortreſſes which the Engliſh men helde tyll ẏ day within Poictou, Xaintonge, & Rochellois.

The coneſtable of France ſent into Britayne.

Shortly after this, the Coneſtable returned into Fraunce, and was appoynted by the King there to goe with an armie of men of warre into Brytaine, and there to take into his handes all ſuche townes and Fortreſſes as belonged to the Duke of Brytayne, bycauſe he had allyed himſelfe with the King of Englande, and receyued Engliſhmen into his Countrey, to the preiudice of the realme of Fraunce.

Sir Robert Knolles.

The duke being aduertiſed of the Coneſtables comming, was counſailed by ſir Robert Knolles (whom the K. of England had ſent to ayd him) that he ſhould paſſe ouer into England, & there to be a ſuter in his owne cauſe for more ayde to bee ſent into Brytayne, to reſiſt the Frenchmen that nowe ſought to bring the whole Countrey into their poſſeſſion.

The Duke of Britaine commeth ouer into Englande.

The Duke enclyning to thys aduice, went ouer into Englande, and in the meane tyme the Coneſtable came and wanne the moſte parte of all the Townes and Fortreſſes of that Duchie, except Breſt, where ſir Robert Knolles was, and certaine other.

The Earle of Saliſbury.

The Earle of Saliſburie with a great nauie of Shippes, well furniſhed with men of armes and archers, lay vpon the coaſt of Brytayne, all that tyme, and greatly comforted them wythin Breſt, inſomuche that he came on lande, and offred battaile to the Coneſtable if hee woulde haue come forward and receyued it.

Polider.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſent ouer into France with an army.

In the moneth of Iulie in this .xlvij. yeere of King Edwardes raigne, the Duke of Lancaſter was ſente ouer vnto Calays with an armie of thirtie thouſande men, (as ſome wryte) but as Froiſſart hath, they were but thirtene thouſande, as three thouſande men of armes, and ten thouſande archers.

Iames Mair.
Froiſſart.

This voyage had bin in preparing for the ſpace of three yeares, before. The Duke of Brytaine was there with them, and of the Engliſh nebility beſide the duke of Lancaſter that was their generall, there were the Erles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the L. Edward Spencer, that was Coneſtable of the hoſt, the Lordes Willoughby, de la Poole, Baſſet, & diuerſe others. Of knights, ſir Henry Percy, ſir Lewes Clifford, ſir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertſart, Walter Hewet, ſir Hugh Caluerley, ſir Stephē Couſington, ſir Richard Ponchardon, and many other.

Noble men that went with him in that iourney.

When they had made redie their cariages and other things neceſſarie for ſuch a iourney whiche they had taken in hande, that is to wit, to paſſe through yͤ realm of France vnto Burdeaux, they ſet forward, hauing their army deuided into three battayles. The Erles of Warwike and Suffolk led the fore warde: the two Dukes of Lancaſter and Brytaine, the middle warde or battaile: and the rerewarde was gouerned by the Lord Spēcer Coneſtable of the hoſt. They paſſed by S. Omers, by Turrouane, and coaſted the Countrey of Arthois, and paſſed the water of Some at Corby. They deſtroyed the Countreys as they went, and marched not paſt three leagues a day. They aſſayled none of the ſtrong townes, nor fortreſſes. For the French king had ſo ſtuffed thē with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceyued they ſhould trauaile in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Vermandois, they reſted them ſeuen dayes, and at their departure ſet fire on the towne, bycauſe they could not win the church which was kept againſt them. Frō thence they drew towards Laon, & ſo marched forward, paſſing the riuers of Yſare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coaſted them, but durſt not approch to giue them battaile.

They paſſed through the country without aſſaulting any townes.

Fabian.

Neare to Ribaumont, about .lxxx. Engliſhe men of ſir Hugh Caluerleys companie were deſtreſſed by ſix ſcore Frēchmen: and likewiſe beſide Soyſſons, ſix ſcore Engliſh ſpeares, (or as other writers) haue fiftie ſpeares, and, xx. archers were vanquiſhed by a Burgonian knight called Sir Iohn de Vienne, that had with him three hūdred French ſpeares. Of more hurt by any encounters I read not that the Engliſh men ſuſteyned in this voyage. For the French men kept them a looſe, and ment not to fight with their enimies, but onely to keepe them from vittayles, and fetching of forrage abrode, by reaſon whereof the Engliſh men loſt many horſes, and were in deed driuen to great ſcarcitie of vitailes. When they had paſſed the riuer of Loire, and were come into the Countrey of Berry, they vnderſtoode how the French men layde themſelues in ſundrie Ambuſhes to diſtreſſe them, if they might eſpie the aduauntage: But the duke of Lancaſter placing his light horſmen, with part of the archers in the fore ward, and in the battail the whole force of his footemen with the menne at armes deuided into wings to couer that battaile, wherein he himſelfe was, the reſidue of the horſmen with the reſt of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and ſo cauſing them to keepe cloſe togither, marched forth till he came into Poictou, and then in reuenge of the Poictouins that had reuolted from the Engliſh obeyſance, he began a new ſpoyle, killing the people, waſting the Countrey, and burning the houſes and buildings euery where as hee paſſed, and ſo finally about Chriſtmaſſe came to Burdeaux.

The Frenchmē ment not to fight with the Engliſhmen.

Polidor.

The orde the Duke Lancaſter ny in ma ching.

He commed into Burde

Froiſſart.

The Archb. Rauenna ſ from the P

Whileſt the duke of Lancaſter was thus paſſing through the realm of France, Pope Gregory the .xj. ſent the Archbiſhop of Rauenna and the Biſhop of Carpentras as Legates from him, to treate for a peace betwixt the Realmes of England and France: they rode to and fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the Duke of Lancaſter: but the Duke and the Engliſhe men kept on their way, and ſo finally aboute Chriſtmaſſe came to Burdeaux. The Legates purſued their treatie, but the parties were ſo harde, that no reaſonable offers woulde be taken. The two Dukes, of Lancaſter, and Brytaine, lay in Burdeaux all the reſidue of the winter, and the Lent following.

Cartha.

Meſſengers ſent to the pope about ſeruations benefices.

The ſame yeare that the duke of Lancaſter made this iourney through Fraunce, the king of England ſent certain Ambaſſadors to the Pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reſeruations of benefices within his realme of Englande, but that thoſe which were elected biſhops might enioy their ſeas, & be confirmed of their metropolitane, & Archb. as of auncient time they had bin accuſtomed. The Pope woulde not at that preſent determin any thing herein, but cōmaunded them that were ſent, that they ſhould certifie him again of the kings pleaſure and further meaning, in thoſe Articles and other touching hym and his realme.

Cathedral Churches.

Alſo this yeare it was decreed in Parliament, that Cathedral Churches might enioy the right of their elections, and that the king ſhoulde not hinder them that were choſen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations.

In the ſame Parliament was graunted to the King a diſme of the cleargie, & a .xv. of the laitie.

Moreouer at the ſute of the Popes Legates, a reſpite of warre was granted betwixt the kings of England and Fraunce, but ſo that the Engliſh men loſt in Gaſcoigne a greate number of Caſtels and townes, by reaſon of a compoſition made before, that if they were not reſkued by the myddeſt of Auguſt, they ſhoulde then yeelde themſelues French: And bycauſe the truce was agreed upon to endure till the laſte of Auguſt, the Engliſh men toke no heed to the matter.

Cōmiſsioners appointed to meet cōmune of peace.

It was further agreed, that in the begynning of September, there ſhoulde meete in the marches of Picardie, the Duke of Lancaſter, and other of the Engliſhe parte, as Commiſſioners to entreat of peace. And the Duke of Aniou and other on the Frenche part, the Popes Legates to be there alſo as mediators.

When this agreement was thus accorded, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Brytayne, with the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, and Stafforde, the Lordes Spencer, Wylloughbie, and others, toke the Sea at Burdeaux the eight of July, & returned into Englande.

Death of the Archb. of Cant.

This yeare the ſixth of June, died William Wittelſey Archbiſh. of Canterburie, after whoſe death the Monkes choſe to that ſea the Cardinal of Wincheſter, with which election the king was nothing contented, ſo that after muche money ſpent by the Monkes to obteyne theyr purpoſe, at length they were diſappoynted, and Doctor Symon Sudberie was admitted to that dignitie, that before was Biſhoppe of London, beeing the lvij. Archebiſhoppe that hadde ruled that See. He was choſen by the appoyntment of the king, and conſent of the Pope: for alreadye was that decree worne out of uſe, whereby the election of Biſhoppes ſhould haue reſted in the voyces of them of the Cathedrall Churche: for not onely thys Simon Archbiſhop of Canterburie, but other alſo were ordeyned Biſhops from thenceforth, by the wyll and authoritie of the Popes and Kings of thys Realme, till at length it came ſo to paſſe, that onely the Kinges inſtituted Biſhoppes, and the Biſhoppes ordeyned other gouernours under them of meaner degrees: ſo that the Popes within a while loſt al their authoritie which they had before time within this realme in the appointing of Biſhops, & other rulers of churches, and in like maner alſo they loſt ſhortly after their authoritie of leuying tenthes of ſpirituall promotions, the which they in former times had uſed, to the great detriment of ye realme: which loſt nothing by this newe ordinance: for the Engliſh people were not cōpelled afterwardes to departe with their money unto ſtraungers ſo largely as before, and ſo then they began to taſte the benefit. For this Edward the thirde was the firſt that cauſed an act to be made, that none under a great penaltie ſhoulde ſeeke to obteyne any ſpirituall promotions within this realme of the Pope, or bring any ſutes to his court, except by way of appeale. And that thoſe that were ye aiders of any ſuch offenders againſt this act, ſhoulde run in daunger of the ſame paine which act by thoſe kings that ſucceeded was not onely cōmaunded to be kept, but alſo cōfirmed with new penalties, and is called the ſtatute of Premunire.

Simon Sudbury elected Archbiſhop.

he beginning
the ſtatute of

Caxton.

1375

An. reg. 49.

The cōmiſsioners meet at Bridges.

Aboute Candlemaſſe there met at Bruges as Cōmiſſioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaſter, the Erle of Saliſburie, & the Biſhop of London. For the French king, the Dukes of Aniou, & Burgoine, the Erle of Salebruce, and the Biſhop of Amiens with others. Finally, whē they could not agree upon no good concluſion for peace, they accorded upon a truce to endure to the firſt of May next enſuing in al ye Marches of Calais, & up to the water of Some, but ye other places were at libertie to be ſtil in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed upon to continue till the feaſt of all Saints next enſuing.

A truce taken betwixt England & France.

Fabian.

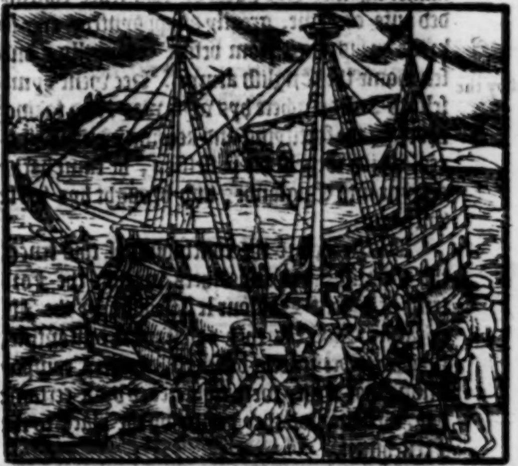
Froiſſart.

About the ſame time that the foreſayde Commiſſioners were at Bruges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did ſo much with his father in law king Edwarde, that about the beginning of April, he ſent ouer with him into Brytaine the Erles of Cābridge, Marche, Warwike, & Stafford, the L. Spencer, ſir Thomas Hollād, ſir Nicholas Camois, ſir Edw. Twiford, ſir Richard Ponchardon, Sir John Leſſelles, ſir Thomas Grandſon, ſir Hugh Haſtings, and diuerſe other worthie captains with a power of three thouſand Archers, and two thouſand men of Armes.

Thom. Walſ.

An army ſent ouer into Britaine with the Duke.

Then landed at Saint Mathewes of Fine



poterne, where they wan the Caſtell by force, and the towne by ſurrender. From thence they went to Pole de Lion, and wanne it likewiſe by force of aſſault, and then went to Brieu de Vaux, which was ſtrongly fenced, and well manned. But hope for to wynne it, the Duke of Britaine and the Engliſh Lordes layde ſiege to it, but hearing that an Engliſh knight, one ſir John Deureux was beſieged in a Fortreſſe which he had newly made, by the Vicount of Roan, the Lorde Cliſſon, and other of the French part, they reyſed from Brieu de Vaux, & haſted forwarde to the ſuccour of ſir John Deureux erneſtly wiſhing to find their enimies in ye felde,

Townes won.

Sir Iohn Deureux.

that they might giue them battaile: but the Britiſh Lordes hearing that the Duke and the Engliſh men approched, made no longer abode, but got them with all ſpeed vnto Campelly a towne of great ſtrength not farre of, and there encloſed themſelues for their more ſafetie. The Duke of Brytaine hearing that they were fledde thyther followed them, and layde ſiege rounde about the Towne, enforcing hymſelfe to obteyne the place, and ſo had done in deede by all likelihoode verye ſhortly, if at the ſame tyme by reaſon of a truce taken for a tweluemonth, he had not beene commaunded by the Duke of Lancaſter, without delay to ceaſſe his warre, and breake vp his campe. There were ſundrie meetings of the Commiſſioners for this treatie of peace, and ſtill they tooke longer time for continuance of the truce. And bycauſe that Brytayne and all the other Countreys of Fraunce (as ſhoulde ſeeme) were included in this truce, it ſeemeth that this was ſome ſeconde truce, and not the firſt truce, whiche included onelye the marches of Calais, and thoſe partes vp to the water of Some. But how ſoeuer it was, the Duke of Brytayne beeing in a great forwardneſſe to haue recouered his Duchie out of the French mennes handes, and to haue reduced his rebellious ſubiectes vnder due obeyſaunce againe, was nowe by this truce concluded oute of tyme, greatly diſappoynted, and ſo brake vp his ſiege from before Campelly, and ſent home the Engliſh armye. Hee went hymſelfe to Iulroy where hys wyfe was, and taking order for the fortifying and keeping of thoſe places, which were in his poſſeſſion, he came backe agayne into Englande, and brought hys wyfe with him.

This truce was concluded to endure frõ midſommer in this 1375 yere vnto midſomer in the yeare next enſuing
Tho. VValſ.

The Duke of Britain diſappointed by the truce.

A little before the concluding of this truce, the Engliſhe men and others wythin the Fortreſſe of Saint Sauiour le Vicount, in the Iſle or rather Cloſe (as they call it) of Conſtantine, which had beene long beſieged, made a compoſition, that if they were not reſcued by a certaine day, then ſhoulde they yeelde vp the place to the Frenchmen.

Nowe bycauſe this truce was agreed before the daye appoynted for the reſcue of that place with condition that eyther parte ſhould enioye and holde that which at that preſent they hadde in poſſeſſion, during the tearme of the truce, the Engliſhe men thought that Saint Sauiour le Vicount ſhoulde be ſaued by reaſon of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarie auouched, that the firſt couenaunt ought to paſſe the laſte ordinance. So that when the day approched, the French king ſent thither ſix.M. ſpeares, knights, and eſquiers, beſide other people: and bycauſe none appeared to giue them battail, they had the towne deliuered to them.

Saint Sauiour le Vicount yelded.

In this xlix. yeare of king Edwards reigne a great death chaunced in this lande, and in dyuerſe other Countries, ſo that innumerable numbers of people dyed and periſhed of that contagious ſickneſſe.

Tho. VVal.
Fabian.

Amongſt other the Lorde Edwarde Spencer died the ſame yere, a man of great renowme and valiancie. Alſo the Erle of Pembroke hauing compounded for his raunſome, as hee was vpon his returne from Spaine, comming homewardes through France, he fel ſike, and being brought in an horſlitter to Arras, he died there, on the xvj. day of Aprill, leauing a ſonne behinde hym not paſt two yeares of age, begotte of the Counteſſe his wyfe called Anne, daughter vnto the Lorde Walter de Manny.

The Lord Spencer departeth this life.
Polidor.
The erle of Pembroke deceaſed.

Polidore miſtaking the matter, ſayth that the Counteſſe of Pembroke Marie that buylded Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, was wife to this Earle of Pembroke Iohn Haſtings, where as in deede ſhe was wife to his aunceſter Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembroke (as Iohn Stow in hys Summarie hathe truely noted.) She was daughter to Guy Earle of Saint Poule, a worthie ladie and a vertuous, tendering ſo muche the wealthfull ſtate of this lande (a greate parte whereof conſiſteth in the good bringing vppe of youth, and trayning them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenaunce of ſtudentes ſhe beganne the foreſayde commendable foundation about the yeare of Chriſt 1343. vppon a plotte of grounde that was hir owne, hauing purchaſed lycence thereto of the King to whome ſhee was of kinne.

Iohn Stow.

During that grieuous mortalitie and cruell peſtilence before remembred, the Pope at the inſtant requeſt of the Engliſh Cardinalles graunted vnto all thoſe that dyed in Englande being ſhriuen and repentant of theyr ſinnes, cleane remiſſion of the ſame, by two Bulles encloſed vnder leade.

The Duke of Lancaſter about the feaſte of all Saintes, mette with the French Commiſſioners againe at Bruges. There was wyth him the Duke of Britaigne, the Earle of Saliſburie, and the Biſhop of London. For the French king there appeared the Duke of Burgoyne, the Earle of Salebruche, and the Biſhop of Amiens. And at Saint Omers laye the Duke of Aniou, the Archebiſhoppe of Rauenna, and the Biſhoppe of Carpentras, tooke greate payne to goe to and fro betweene the partyes: but they were ſo farre at oddes in theyr demaundes, and as it were ſo ſette purpoſe on the Frenche behalfe, that no good could be done betwixt them.

Froiſſart.
Commiſſioners choſen to commune of peace.

The demaundes on both partes.

The Frenche king requyred to haue Calais razed, and to haue again .xiiij. C. thouſand frankes which were payed for the raunſom of king Iohn.

The king of Englande demaunded to haue all the landes reſtored to him in Gaſcoigne and Guienne clearely exempt of all reſortes. So when nothing coulde be concluded touching a finall peace, the truce was renued to endure tyll the feaſt of Saint John Baptiſt next enſuyng which ſhoulde be in the yeare 1376.

1376

An. Reg. 50.

A parliament.

In this fiftieth yeare, King Edward aſſembled his high Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which was demaunded a ſubſidie of the commons for the defence of the kings dominions agaynſt his enimyes. Whereunto anſwere was made by the common houſe, that they might no longer beare ſuche charges, conſidering the manifolde burthens by them ſuſteyned in tyme paſt.

And further they ſayd, it was well knowne the king was riche ynoughe to wythſtande hys enimyes, if his money and treaſure were well employed: but the lande had beene of long time euill guyded by euill officers, ſo that the ſame could not bee ſtored with chaffer, marchandiſe, or other ryches.

The Lord Latimer, Dame Alice Perers. Sir Richard Sturry.

The Commons alſo declared whome they tooke and iudged to bee the chiefe cauſers of thys myſorder, as the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Lorde Latimer Lorde Chamberlain to the king. Alſo Dame Alice Perers, whome the King had long tyme kept to his Concubine. And alſo one named Sir Rycharde Sturry, by whoſe ſiniſter meanes and euill counſayle the king was miſled, and the lande euill gouerned. Wherefore the Cōmons by the mouth of theyr ſpeaker ſir Peers de la Mere, required that thoſe perſons myght be remoued from the king, and other more diſcreete ſette in theyr rowmthes about his perſon, and ſo putte in authoritie, that they might ſee to his honour and weale of the realme, more than the other had done before them.

The request of e commons.

This requeſt of the Commons by ſupport of the Prince was allowed, and graunted, ſo that the ſayde perſons and other of theyr affinitie were commaunded to departe the Court, and other (ſuche as were thought meete by the Prince, and the ſage Peeres of the Realme) were placed in theyr ſteades.

Shortly after the Commons graunted to the king his whole requeſt, ſo that he had of euery perſon, man and woman, being about the age of fourtene yeares, foure pence, poore people that lyued of almes onely excepted.

Lykewyſe the Cleargie graunted, that of euerie beneficed manne, the King ſhoulde haue twelue pence, and of euery Prieſt not beneficed foure pens (the foure orders of Friers onely excepted.) But ere this money coulde be leuyed, the king was conſtrayned to borrowe certayne greate ſummes in ſundry places, and therefore he ſent to the Citie of London for foure thouſand poundes. And bycauſe the Maior Adam Staple was not diligent in furthering that lone, hee was by the kings commaundement diſcharged on the .xxij. day of Marche, and Richarde Whytington Mercer choſen in his place. The .viij. of June being Trinitie Sunday (the Parliament yet continuing) that noble and famous Prince Edward the kings ſonne departed this life within the kings Pallaice at Weſtminſter. His body was conueyed to Canterburie with great ſolemnitie, and there honourably buried. He died in the .xlvj. yeare of his age: A Prince of ſuch excellent demeanour, ſo valiant, wiſe and politique in hys doyngs, that the verie and perfite repreſentation of Knighthoode appeared moſt liuely in his perſon, whyleſt hee lyued, ſo that the loſſe of him ſtroke a generall ſorowe into the heartes of all the Engliſhe Nation. For ſuch was his towardneſſe, or rather perfectiō in princely gouernment, that if he had lyued and attayned to the crowne, euerye manne iudged that hee woulde ſurelye haue exceeded the glorious renowme of all hys aunceſters.

The blacke prince departeth this life.

Polidor.

He is buryed at Canterbury

The French king kept his obſequie in moſte reuerent wiſe, in hys Chapell of hys Palais at Paris.

Froiſſart.

After his death the king called to him againe the foreſayde perſons, that had beene from him remoued, and the ſayd Sir Peers de la Mere that was ſpeaker in the Parliament (as before ye haue hearde) for his eloquence ſhewed in reprouing the miſgouernment of the ſayde perſons, and namelye of the ſayde dame Alice Perers, was nowe committed to pryſon wythin the Caſtell of Notingham.

Sir Peers de la Mere.

Fabian.

Aboute the ſame time the truce was againe prolōged til the firſt day of Aprill next folowing.

The truce Prolonged.

Polidor.

Alſo king Edwarde after the deceaſſe of hys ſonne prince Edward, created the Lord Richard, ſonne to the ſayd Prince, as heyre to him, Prince of Wales, and gaue to him the Earledomes of Cheſter, and Cornwall.

Moreouer bycauſe the king waxed feeble and ſickly through langor (as ſome ſuppoſe) conceyued for the death of his ſonne, hee appoynted the rule of the realme to his ſonne the Duke of Lancaſter, ordeyning him as gouernour vnder hym, and ſo be continued during his fathers life.

Polidor.

A great ryot happened betwixt the ſeruantes of the Earle of Warwike, and the tenants of the Abbot of Eueſham, ſo that many of the ſayd Abbots ſeruaunts were ſlaine and hurt. The fiſhe pondes and warrens belonging to the Abbay were broken & ſpoyled, ſo that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not bene ſent downe to the Erle, commaunding him to ſtay his men from ſuch miſdemeanours.

A riot.

Caxton.

The Nobles ſworne to the prince of Wales.

All the Nobles of the realme were cauſed to ſweare, that after the kings deceaſe they ſhoulde admit and mainteyne Richard Prince of Wales for their king and ſoueraigne Lorde. And vpon Chriſtmaſſe day the king cauſed him to ſit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high eſtate, as repreſenting the perſonage of the heyre apparant to the crowne.

1377

An. reg. 51.

Froiſſart.

Comiſsioners ſent to Bruges.

This yeare being the .lj. and laſte of King Edwardes raigne, there were ſent again to Bruges as Commiſſioners to treate of peace on the part of king Edward, John Lorde Cobham, the Biſhop of Hereford, & the Maior of Lõdon. And for the French part thither came the erle of Salebruche, monſ. de Chatillon, & Phillibert Leſpoit. And ſtill the two Legates were preſent as mediatours betwixt the parties, mouing a maryage to be had, betwixt Richard Prince of Wales, & the lady Mary, daughter to the Frẽch king. But they departed in ſunder for this time without any concluſion. But ſhortly after in Lent following, there was a ſecrete meeting appoynted to bee had at Montreul by the ſea, whither came from the king of England, ſir Richard Dangle a Poictouin, ſir Richard Stan, & Geffrey Chaucer. From the French king there appeared the Lord Coucy, and other.

Cõmiſsioners, ſent to Montreull.

Theſe Commiſſioners treated a long ſeaſon concerning the mariage, and when they had vnderſtanding and felt eche others meaning, they departed and made reporte of the ſame to theyr maiſters. The truce was againe prolonged to firſt day of May.

The trewce eftſoones prolonged.

And in the meane time, the Erle of Saliſburie, the Biſhop of Saint Dauie Lorde Chancellour of Englande, and the Biſhop of Herefor de went ouer to Calais.

In like caſe the Lord of Coucy, and ſir William Dorman Chauncellor of Fraunce came to Montreull. But they durſt not meete at any indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that eyther partie had of the other, for anye thing that the Legates coulde ſay or do. Thus theſe Commiſſioners abode in that eſtate till the truce was expired.

Sir Hugh Caluerley lieutenant of Calais.

And when the warre was open, then Sir Hugh Caluerley was ſent ouer to Calais, to remaine vpon the ſafe keeping of that towne, as deputie there. The Earle of Saliſburie, and the other Commiſſioners returned into Englande, and with them the Duke of Brytayne.

Tho. Walſ.

Fabian.

Sir Iohn Minſterworth beheaded.

On the .xij. day of Aprill this yeare, one Sir John Minſterworth knight, was drawn, hãged, headed and quartered at Tiburne, being firſt condemned and adiudged to ſuffer that execution before the Maior of London, and other the kings Juſtices in the Guilde hall, for treaſon by hym commytted, in defrauding Souldiers of theyr wages: for where he had receyued great ſummes of money to make payment thereof to them, he reteyned the ſame to his owne vſe.

Tho. Wal

Moreouer (as in the .xliiij. yeare of this King ye haue hearde) hee was the chiefe procurer and ſetter forwarde of the diſſention that roſe in the armye whiche vnder the leading of ſir Robert Knolles was ſent into France. And when in that iourney he had loſt moſt of his men, and was eſcaped himſelfe into Englande, hee layde all the blame on ſir Robert Knolles, accuſing him to the king of heynous treaſon, ſo as the King toke no ſmall diſpleaſure agaynſte the ſayde Sir Robert, inſomuche that hee durſte not returne into Englande, tyll he had pacified the kings wrath, with money, and that the knowne Fidelitie of the man hadde warranted him agaynſt the malicious and vntrue ſuggeſtions of hys enimies. Whervpon the ſayde Mynſterworth perceyuing hys crafte to wante the wiſhed ſucceſſe, he fledde to the Frenche King, and conſpyring with him to annoy the Realme of England by bringing the Spaniſhe nauie to inuade the ſame, at length he was taken in the towne of Pampilona in Nauarre, and brought backe into Englande, where he taſted the deſerued fruite of hys contryued treaſon (as before yee haue hearde.)

Tho. Wal.

Iohn Wicli

About this ſeaſon, there roſe in the vniuerſitie of Oxforde a learned man John Wiclife, borne in the North partes, and being a ſecular prieſt, and a ſtudent in diuinitie, began to propone certaine concluſions greatly contrary to the doctrine of the Church in thoſe dayes eſtabliſhed, ſpecially he argued agaynſt Monkes, and other men of religion that enioyed greate riches, and large poſſeſſions.

There were diuerſe that gaue good eare to him, inſomuch that ſundrie learned men of that vniuerſitie preached and ſet forth the doctrine that he taught.

The chiefe articles preached by Wiclife.

Amongſt other articles which they helde, theſe were the chiefe, that the Sacrament of the Aulter after conſecration, was not the bodie of chriſt, but a figure thereof.

Alſo that the Church of Rome, was no more heade of the vniuerſall church than any one other, nor more authoritie was giuen by Chriſt vnto Peter, than to any other of the Apoſtles, and that ẏ Pope had no power in ẏ keyes of the Churche than any other Prieſt whatſoeuer.

Alſo that temporall Lordes might both lawfully and meritoriouſly take the temporall goodes and reuenues from the Church if it offended, and if anye temporall Lorde knewe the Churche to offende, hee was bounde vnder payne of damnation to take from it the temporalties.

Alſo that the Goſpell is ſufficient in this life to direct by rule euery Chriſtian manne. And that all other rules of Sainctes, vnder the obſeruing whereof diuerſe religious doe liue, adde no more perfection to the Goſpel, than waſhing ouer with lyme doth the wall.

Alſo that the Pope nor any other Prelate of the Church ought to haue any priſons wherein to puniſh offenders.

Thoſe and many other opinions theſe men helde and mainteyned, and diuerſe Lordes and great men of the lande fauoured their cauſe. But when theſe concluſions were brought before the Pope, hee condemned the number of. xxiij. of thoſe articles as vaine and hereticall, directing his Bulles to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to the Biſhop of London, that they ſhoulde cauſe the ſayde Wiclife to bee apprehended, and examined vpon the ſayde concluſions, whiche they did in preſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Lorde Percy, and hearing his declaration, commaunded him to ſilence, and in no wiſe to deale with thoſe matters from thenceforth, ſo that for a tyme, both hee and hys fellowes kepte ſilence: But after at the contemplation of dyuerſe of the Temporall Lordes, they preached and ſet forth theyr doctrine agayne.

Wiclif and his felowes maintained by certaine Lordes.

The ſame day that Wiclyfe was conuented thus at London, before the Biſhoppes and other Lordes, throughe a worde ſpoken in reproche by the Duke of Lancaſter to the Byſhoppe of London, ſtreyght wayes the Londoners gettyng them to armour, meante to haue ſlaine the Duke, and if the Byſhoppe had not ſtayed them, they hadde ſurely ſette fyre on the Dukes houſe at the Sauoy: and wyth much a doe myght the Biſhop quiet them.

The Duke of Lancaſter in danger by the Londoners.

Amongeſt other reprochefull partes which in deſpyte of the Duke they committed, they cauſed his armes in the publique ſtreete to be reuerſed, as if he had beene a traytour, or ſome notorious offender.

The Lord Percy.

The Duke and the Lorde Henrie Percye, whome the Citizens ſought in his owne houſe to haue ſlaine him, if he hadde beene founde, hearing of this ryotous ſturre, and rebellious commotion, forſooke theyr dynner, and fledde to Kennington, where the Lorde Richarde, ſonne to the Prince togyther wyth hys mother then remayned, exhibiting before theyr preſence, a grieuous complaynte of the opprobrious iniuries done vnto them, by the wylfull outrage of the Londoners.

For thys and other cauſes, the Citizens were ſore hated of the Duke, inſomuche that hee cauſed the Maior and Aldermen that then ruled to bee diſcharged of their rowmthes, and other to be put in their places.

Tho. Wals.

The deceaſe of king Edwarde the thirde.

The king being more grieuouſly vexed wyth ſickeneſſe from day to day, eyther encreaſing by the courſe thereof, or renued by ſome newe ſurfeyte, finally this yeare departed out of this tranſitorie life at his Manour of Sheene, nowe called Richmonde, the. xxj. day of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord. 1577. After he had lyued. lxv. yeres, and raigned fiftie yeares foure Monethes, and xxviij. dayes.

His iſſue.

He had iſſue by his wife Queene Philip, ſeuen ſonnes, Edwarde Prince of Wales, William of Hatfielde that dyed yong, Lionell Duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, Edmonde of Langley Earle of Cambridge, and after created Duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtocke Erle of Buckingham after made duke of Glouceſter, and an other William which dyed likewiſe yong. He had alſo three daughters, Mary that was maried to Iohn of Mountford duke of Brytayne, Iſabell wedded to the Lorde Coucie Earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in maryage with the Erle of Pembroke.

His praiſe.

This king, beſide other his giftes of nature, was ayded greatly by his ſeemely perſonage. Hee had a prouident wit, ſharpe to conceyue and vnderſtande: courteous and gentle hee was, doyng all things ſagely and with good conſideration, a man of great temperance and ſobrietie. Thoſe he chiefely fauoured and aduaunced to honour, and rowmes of high dignitie, whiche excelled in honeſt conuerſation, modeſtie, and innocencie of life: of bodie well made, of a conuenient ſtature, as neyther of the higheſt nor loweſt ſort: of face fayre and manlyke, eyes bright and ſhyning, and in age balde, but ſo as it was rather a ſeemelineſſe to thoſe his auncient yeares than any diſfiguring to his viſage. In knowledge of martiall affayres verie ſkilfull, as the enterpryſes and worthye actes by hym atchieued doe ſufficiently wytneſſe.

His proportiō of body.

In what eſtimation he was had among ſtrangers it may appeare, in that hee was not onelye made Vicare of the Empyre by the Emperour Lewes of Bauiere, but alſo after the deceaſe of the ſame Emperour, dyuerſe of the electours, as Lewes Marques of Brandenbourgh, Robert or Rupert Count Palatine of the Rheyne, and the yong Duke of Saxonie, wyth Henrie Archbiſhop of Mentz, elected hym to ſucceed in place of the ſayd Emperor Lewes. Neuertheleſſe, he giuing them hartie thankes for the honour which they did to him herein, refuſed to take the charge vppon him, alledging that hee coulde not haue tyme to ſupplye the rowmeth, by reaſon of the warres that hee hadde in Fraunce, to recouer hys ryghte whyche hee hadde to that realme.

This is noted by Writers to bee a token

of great wiſedome in this noble king, that would not goe about to catche more than he might well gripe. Examples of bounteous liberalitie, and great clemencie he ſhewed many, & the ſame verie notable, ſo that in maner he alone amongſt al other kings was founde to be one, ſubiect to none, or at the leaſt, to very lyght and ſmall faultes. But yet he was not voyde of euill happes: for where as during the tearme of fortie yeares ſpace hee raigned in high felicitie, and as one happie in all his doyngs: So in the reſt of his tyme that followed, hee felt a wonderfull chaunge in fortune, ſhewing hirſelfe frowarde and bytter towardes him in moſt part of his proceedings: for ſuche is the ſtate of this worlde, ſeldome doeth proſperitie continue, and guide the ſterne of oure worldly doyngs, as it well appeared by this noble Prince. For in the firſt yeares of his raigne, after he once beganne to gouerne of himſelfe, hee recouered that which had beene loſt in Scotland, by great victories obteyned agaynſte hys aduerſaries in that lande, and paſſed further into the ſame, than euer his Grandfather king Edwarde the firſt had done before him, ſubduing the Countrey on eche hande, ſo that hee placed gouernors, and beſtowed offices, landes, and lyuings in that realme at his pleaſure.

Proſperitie vnſtable.

Amongeſt other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a Charter vnder his great Seale conteyning a graunt made vnto John Evre and his heyres for hys good ſeruice done in thoſe parties, of a Manour called Ketnes in the Countie of Forfar (which lyeth in the North of Scotland) with a Market euerie Monday, and a Fayre for three dayes togyther at Michaelmaſſe, as the euen, the day and the morrowe after. Alſo hee graunted to the ſame John Evre, free warren throughout the ſame Lordſhip.

This John Evre was aunceſter to the Lorde Evre that now lyueth, who hath the ſame Charter in his poſſeſſion.

As for thys kings victoryes in Fraunce, the ſame were ſuch as might ſeeme incredible, if the conſent of all wryters in that age confyrmed not the ſame.

But as theſe victories were glorious, ſo yet they proued not ſo profitable in the ende: For where as hee had ſore burdened hys ſubiects with taſkes, and ſubſidies, at length they waxed wearie, and beganne to wythdrawe theyr forwarde myndes to helpe hym with ſuche ſummes as had beene requiſite for the mayntenaunce of the warres, which the French men prolonged of purpoſe, and refuſed to trye theyr fortune any more in pyght fieldes, whereby when he was conſtrayned to be at continuall charges in ſuch lingering warres, to defende that which he had earſt gotten by force, and couenants of the peace, the ſinewes of warre, to witte money beganne to fayle him, and ſo the enimies recouered a great part of that which before time they had loſt, both on the further ſide the ſeas and likewiſe in Scotlande.

This muſt needes bee a great griefe vnto a Prince of ſuche a ſtoute and valiaunt ſtomacke, namely ſithe he had beene ſo long tyme before accuſtomed to finde fortune ſtill ſo fauourable vnto him in all his interpriſes. But finally the thing that moſt grieued him, was the loſſe of that moſt noble Gentleman, his deare ſonne Prince Edwarde, in whome was founde all partes that might bee wiſhed for in a worthy gouernour.

But this and other myſhappes that chaunced to hym nowe in his olde yeares, myght ſeeme to come to paſſe for a reuenge of hys diſobedience ſhewed to his father in vſurping agaynſte him, although it may be ſayde, that hee dyd it by conſtraynt, and through the aduiſe of others. But whether the remorſe hereof, or of hys other offences moued hym, it maye ſeeme (as ſome wryte) that the conſideration of thys worldes mutabilitie, which he tryed to the full, cauſed him (as is thought) to haue in mynde the lyfe in the worlde to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the Church and Colledge of Saint Stephen at Weſtmynſter, and another at Cambrydge called the Kinges Hall, gyuing thereunto landes and reuenewes, to the mayntenaunce of them that woulde giue themſelues to learning.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furniſhing forth of ſuch other charges and expences as he tooke in hande to beare out, he had ſome helpe by the ſyluer mynes in Deuonſhire and Cornewall, in like maner as his Grandfather K. Edward the firſt had. For one Mathew Crowthorne keeper of his mynes in thoſe parties, yelded diuerſe accountes of the iſſues and profites of the ſame, betweene the ſeconde and .xv. yeare of hys raigne, as well for the ſiluer as for the leade, after the ſiluer was fined from it.

Mynes of gol
and ſiluer.

Alſo John Moneron ſucceeding in the ſame office, accomptant of the profytes of the ſame Mynes, from Michaelmaſſe Anno. xix. of hys raigne, vnto the ſecōd of Nouember Anno. xxiij. yeelded vpon his account both the ſiluer and the lead thereof remayning.

Moreouer hee let by indenture in the. xxxij. yeare of hys reigne, vnto John Ballancer, and Walter Goldbeater, his Mynes of Golde, Syluer, and Copper, in the Countie of Deuonſhyre, for tearme of yeares.

There is an account thereof remayning, and by the ſame (as it appeareth) was aunſwered for the firſt yeare. xx. markes. The ſeconde yeare the patentties dyed, and the king then diſpoſed the ſame to others.

In the eight and twentith yere of his raigne, hee committed by Indenture his ſayde mines in Deuonſhire, to one maſter John Hanner, and one Herman Raynſthorp of Bohemie, Myners, yelding to the Kyng ẏ tenth part of the Ores, as well of the gold and ſiluer, as of the leade and copper that ſhoulde bee gotten forth of the ſayde mynes.

In this Kings dayes, there liued many excellent men, both in learning, in vertue, and in martial prowes, as partly is touched in this diſcourſe of his raigne: as firſt, the ſaide noble, and moſt valiant King, the Prince of Wales his ſon, ſurnamed the blacke Prince: the Dukes of Lancaſter, John of Gant, ſonne to the King, and hys father in lawe Duke Henry: Edmonde Earle of Cambridge, and after Duke of Yorke: the Erles of Warwike, Huntington, Saliſburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell, and others: the Lorde Reginald Cobham: the Lord Baſſet: the Lorde Thomas Holland: the Lord Walter de Manny, an Henuier: the Lord Edward Spẽſer: the Lord John Chandos: the Lord James Audeley: Sir John Copland: Sir Thomas Felton: ſir Robert Knolles, who as I haue ſaid, being borne in Cheſhire of meane parētage, through his manly prowеſſe, & moſt ſkilfull experience in ẏ warres, grew to be right famous: Sir Hugh Caluerley, borne in the ſame ſhire: the Capitall de Beuſe a Gaſcoigne: Sir Thomas Percy: Sir Hugh Haſtings: Sir Baldwine Freiuille: Sir John Harleſton: Sir James Pipe: Sir Thomas Dagworth: and that valiant Engliſhe Knight Sir John Haukewod, whoſe fame in the parties of Italy ſhal remaine for euer, where (as their hiſtories make mention) hee grewe to ſuch eſtimation for his valiant atchieued enterpriſes, that happie might that Prince or common wealth accompt them ſelues that mighte haue his ſeruice, and ſo liuing there in ſuch reputation, ſometimes he ſerued the Pope, ſometimes the Lordes of Millane. Now this Prince or cōmō wealth, now that, & other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, woulde keepe the ſame, till ſome liking entertaynement were offered, and then would hee ſell ſuch towne, where he had thus remayned, to them that would giue him for it according to his minde. Bernabo Lord of Millane gaue vnto hym one of his baſe daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for hir dower. This man was borne in Eſſex as ſome write, and at the fyrſte became a Taylor in London, and afterwardes going into the warres in Fraunce, ſerued in rowmth of an archer, but at length, he became a Captayne and leader of men of warre, highly cōmended and liked of amongſt the ſouldiers, in ſo much, that when by the peace concluded at Bretigny, in the yeare 1360. great numbers of Souldiers were diſcharged out of wages, they gote themſelues togither in companies, and without commaundemente of any Prince, by whoſe authoritie they mighte make warre, they fell two of themſelues, and ſore harried and ſpoyled dyuers Countreys in the Realme of Fraunce, as partly ye haue heard: amongſt whome, this Sir John Hawkewod was one of ẏ principall Captaines, and at length, went into Italy, to ſerue the Marques of Montferrato, againſte the Duke of Millane: although I remember that ſome write, how hee came into that Countrey with the Duke of Clarence, but I thinke the former report be true. But it may well be, that he was ready to attende the ſayd Duke at his comming into Italie. And this muche concerning ſuch famous Captaynes as ſerued this noble King Edward the thirde, although for breefneſſe I paſſe ouer diuers other, no leſſe famous, and worthy for their high manhood and tried valiancie to be remembred, thā theſe afore mentioned.

Of learned men, theſe we finde by John Bale regiſtred in his Centuries: John Baconthorp, borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a Frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, ſo excellently learned, as well in Diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he proceeded Doctor in either facultie at Oxford and Paris, and wrote diuers treatiſes, to his high and ſingular commendation: William Ockam: John Blorham a Carmelite Frier: Nicholas Triuet, borne in Northfolke, ſonne to Sir Thomas Triuet Knight, and one of the Kings Juſticiers, proued excellently learned, and wrote diuers treatiſes, and amongſt other, two hiſtories, and one booke of Annales. He was by profeſſion a blacke Frier, and departed this life about the ſeconde yeare of this King Edward the third, Anno Chriſti. 1328. William Alnewike borne in Northumberland, in the Towne whereof hee tooke name, a Frier Minor: John Tanet, borne in the Iſle of Tanet, an excellēt Muſition, and a Monke in Canterbury: Hugh of Saint Neote, a Carmelite Frier in Hertfordſhire, a notable deuine, as thoſe dayes gaue: William Alton, borne in Hampſhire, a blacke Frier, and a Diuine: Richarde Stradley, borne in the marches of Wales, a Monke, and a deuine, writing certaine treatiſes of the Scripture: W. Herbert a Welchman, a Frier Minor, wrote alſo certaine treatiſes of diuinitie: Richard Comington, a Frier, of the order of the cordeliers, a Preacher, and a writer of diuinitie: William Exeter, a Doctor of Diuinitie, and a prebendarie Canon in Exeter, whereas it is thought he was borne: Lucas Bolden a Weſterne man, and by profeſſion a Carmelite Frier: Thomas Walleis, a Dominike Frier, a great Diuine, as by ſuche bookes as hee wrote it may appeare: Thomas Pontius, a Monke of Canterbury: Iohn Ridewalle, a grey frier: Henry Coſteſay, or Coſſey, a frier minor: Geffrey Alievant, borne in Yorkeſhire, a frier Carmelite: Iohn Euerſden, a Monke of Bury in Suffolke, an Hiſtoriographer: Simon Burneſton, a doctor of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike, or blacke friers, as they called them heere in Englande: Walter Burley, a doctor of Diuinitie, who in his youth was brought vp, not onely in Martin Colledge in Oxforde, but alſo, in the Vniuerſities and Scholes abroade beyonde the Seas, in Fraunce and Germanye, and afterwardes, for hys wiſedome, good demeanor and learning, hee was reteyned with the Byſhoppe of Vlmes in Suabenlande, a Region in hyghe Germanye: Amongſt other Treatiſes whiche he compiled, being manye, and namely of naturall Phyloſophie, he wrote a commentarie of the Ethikes of Ariſtotle, and dedicated the ſame vnto the ſayde Biſhoppe, a worke whiche hath bin highly eſteemed, not only in the Vniuerſities of Italy, Germany, and Fraunce, but alſo heere, in our Vniuerſities of England. To conclude, ſuch was the fame of this Doctor Burley, that when the Lady Phillip, daughter to the Earle of Heynault ſhuld come ouer into England to be married to Kyng Edwarde, this Doctor Burley was reteyned by hir, and appoynted to bee hir Almoigner, and ſo continued in great eſtimation, in ſo muche, that after Edward Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne to King Edwarde, commonlye called the blacke Prince, was borne, and able to learne his booke, the ſaid Doctor Burley amongſt other, was cõmaunded to bee one of his inſtructors, by reaſon whereof, Sir Simon Burley, of whome I haue made ſome mention heeretofore in this Kynges life, and more intende to ſpeake, as occaſion ſerueth in the nexte King, being ſonne to Sir Iohn Burley, neare kinſman to the ſaide Doctor Burley, was admitted among other yong Gentlemenne, to bee Scholefellowe with the ſayde Prince, by occaſion whereof, he grew into ſuche credite and fauoure with the ſayde Prince, that afterwardes when his ſonne Richard of Burdeaux, that ſucceeded Kyng Edwarde his father, was borne, the ſaide Prince for ſpeciall truſt and confidence whiche hee hadde in the ſaide Sir Simon Burley, committed the gouernaunce and education of hys ſonne the ſaide Richarde vnto him, whereby hee was euer after highly in fauoure wyth the ſayde Rycharde, and no leſſe aduaunced by hym, when afterwardes he came to enioye the crowne of this realme.

But nowe to other learned menne of that age. Iohn Barwycke a Frier Minor, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Oxforde: William Notingham: Roger Glacton, borne in Huntingtonſhire, an Auguſtine Frier: Iohn Poleſtede, borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite Frier in Ipſwiche or Gippeſwiche as they write it: Walter Kingham, a Frier alſo, of the order of thoſe Dominikes, whyche they called pied Friers: Roger of Cheſter, a Monke of that Citie, and an Hiſtoriographer: Thomas de Hales, a Frier Minor: Roberte Eliphat, a grey Frier: Geffrey Grandfield an Auguſtine, or blacke Frier: Hugh Wirley, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche: William Eyncourt, a blacke Frier of Boſton: Hugh Ditton, borne in Cambridgeſhire, a Frier Preacher: Adam Carthuſianus, a Doctor of Diuinitie: Iohn Luttrell an excellente Philoſopher, and well ſeene in the mathematicalles: Walter Cotton: Thomas Eccleſton both grey Friers: Iohn Folſham, a Carmelite Frier in Norwiche: Benet of Northfolke: William Southhampton, ſo called of the Towne where hee was borne, a blacke Frier: Iohn Burgh a Monke, wrote an hiſtorie, and certayne homilies: Adam Nidzarde, a maiſter of arte: Edmonde Albon: Robert Counton a grey Frier: William Liſſye a Frier Minor: Iohn Reppyngale, borne in Lincolneſhire, a Carmelite, or a white Frier, as they called them: Chriſtopher Mothuſenſis a blacke Frier: Richarde Aungeruile, borne in Suffolke, that was Biſhoppe of Dureſme, and Lord Chancellor of Englande: Iohn Manduith: Walter Hemyngforde, a Chanon of Giſborne, an hiſtoriographer: Iohn Olney, borne in Glouceſterſhire, in an Iſle ſo called, whereof hee toke hys ſurname, a Chartreux Monke: Thomas Staueſhawe a Frier Minor in Briſtowe: Roberte of Leyceſter, taking that ſurname of the Towne where hee was borne, a Franciſcane, or grey Frier: Iohn of Northhampton, borne in that Towne, and a Carmelite Frier, an excellente Mathemeticien: Roberte Worſop borne in Yorkeſhire, and a blacke Frier in Tickill: William Brunyarde, a blacke Frier: Richarde Chicheſter, a Monke of Weſtminſter, wrote an excellente Chronicle, beginning the ſame at the commyng in of the Saxons, about the yeare of oure Lorde. 449. and continued it till the yeare. 1348. Richarde Rolle, alias Hampole an excellente Diuine, wrote many treatiſes: Iohn Guent, a Welchman, a Franciſcane Frier, and prouinciall of the order: Rodulph Radiptorius a Frier Minor: Robert Holcoth, a blacke Frier, borne in Northampton, excellently learned, and wrote many workes, both of Diuinitie, and other argumentes: William Miluerley a Logician, or rather a Sophiſt:

Pope

phiſi: John Teukeſburie: Thomas Bradwardin, borne in Hartfield, a Towne within the dioceſſe of Chicheſter, Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye ſucceeding John Offord, hee wrote againſte the Pelagians: Richard Wetherſet: William Breton a gray Frier, a Welchman borne, as Bale ſuppoſeth: John of Saint Faith, borne in Northfolke, a Carmelite Frier of Brumham: John Godwicke, borne alſo in Northfolke, an Auguſtine Frier of Linne: William Rothwell a blacke frier: Geffrey Waterton, a Monke of Bury: Richard Fitz Rauſe, whome ſome take to be an Iriſhman, but a Student in Oxford, and Scholer to John Baconthorp profited highly, and wrote many treatiſes, hee was firſt Archdeacon of Lichfield, and after Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and at length, Archb. of Ardmachan in Ireland: Richard Kilington, a Doctor of Diuinitie: William Griſant, a notable phiſition, ſurnamed of the countrey where he was borne Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Marſeilles in Prouance, and had a ſonne, that was Abbot of the regular Chanons in that Citie, who at lẽgth was aduanced to gouerne the ſea of Rome, named Vrban the fifth: John Paſchall, borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite Frier in Gippeſwich, and by K. Edwarde the third, preferred to be Biſhop of Landaph: Adam Woodham, a Frier Minor: Simon Henton, a blacke Frier: William de Pagula: of John Wicliff ye haue heard before. Geffrey Hardeby, a blacke Frier of Leiceſter: William Binham: Roger Counwey, a Welchman borne in Counwey, a grey Frier: Richard Billingham: William Doroch, a Lawyer: John Killingworth, an excellent Philoſopher, Aſtronomer, and Phiſition: William of Couentrie, a Frier Carmelite, profeſſed and borne in the ſame Citie: Ranulf Higeden, a Monke of Cheſter, and borne in thoſe parties, an hiſtoriographer: John Eaſtwood, alias Aſchenton, an excellent philoſopher: Thomas Ratclife, borne in Leyceſter, and an Auguſtine Frier, in Leiceſter towne: Bartholmew Glanuille, diſcended of noble parentage, as of the lignage of thoſe Glanuilles, that were ſometimes Earles of Suffolke, as Bale hathe: Roberte Computiſta, a Monke of Bury: John Wilton a Monke of Weſtminſter: Simon Wichingham, a Frier Carmelite of Norwich: John Deir a Northren man borne, a notable diuine: Simon Iſlep, founder of Canterbury Colledge in Oxford, wrote diuers treatiſes, he was Archb. of Caunterbury, as before ye haue heard: George Chadley: John of Tinnemouth, Vicar of that Towne, in the Biſhopricke of Durham: Peter Babion: Walter Wiborne, or Wimborne: Nicholas de Linne, borne in yͤ towne of that name, in Northfolke a Carmelite frier by profeſſiõ, but as excellẽt an Aſtronomer, as was in thoſe days: John Ridington, borne in Lincolneſhire, a Frier Minor in Stafford: Adam, a Monke of the Ciſteaux order: Roger Wichelpedale, a Mathematicien: Simon de Feuerſham, perſon of Birton in Kent: Mathew Weſtmonaſterienſis, who wrote the Booke called *Flores Hiſtoriarum*: John Elin, a Carmelite, borne in Northfolke, liued in theſe days, but departed this life in K. Rich. the ſecond dais: Tho. de Sturey, an Auguſtine Frier: Nertorius Eualenſis, a Welchman borne: Simon de Tuniſted a grey frier, borne in Northfolke, prouinciall of the grey friers in England: Thomas Stubbes, borne in Yorkſhire, a black Frier: Robert Langland, a ſecular Prieſt, borne in Salopſhire, in Mortimers Cliberie: Lewes Kaerleon, a Welchman, an excellent Aſtronomer, & Mathematicien: John Garanſon: Nicolas Durham a Carmelite frier of Newcaſtell: Will. Nerit an Hermite, wrote ſundry treatiſes, exhorting hys countreymen of Englande to repentaunce, to auoide the vengeaunce elſe likely to come: John Staffordе, a frier Minor, borne in Staforde, whereof he toke name: Thomas Rugſeed, a blacke frier: Rauſe Stride, an excellente Logitian: Will. de Sancta Fide, or of S. Faith ſo called of the towne in Northfolke, where hee was borne, a carmelite frier: John Maundeuille knight, that great trauellor, liued in theſe dayes, and departed this life at Liege, the ſeuenteenth of Nouember, in the yere. 1372. Thomas of Douer a Monke of the Abbey there: Henry Knighton wrote an Hiſtorie, entituled *de geſtis Anglorum*: John Stokes, borne in Suffolke, an Auguſtine frier: John Hornby, a frier carmelite of Boſton: Henry Bederike, or as other rather will, of Bury, an Auguſtine frier: Simon Alcocke a Diuine: Eltred Balſon, borne in the marches of Wales, a Monke of Durham: William Jordan an Auguſtine frier: John Hilton, a frier Minor: William de Lincolne, a carmelite, borne and profeſſed in that citie, whereof hee toke his ſurname: Adam Warlingham a frier of the ſame order, but borne in Northfolke: Simon Mepham, a Prebend of Chicheſter, and a greate diuine: John Bampton, a carmelite, and ſtudente in Cambridge: John Wichingham a grey frier, and diuers other, which for that we are not certaine in what age they liued, we here paſſe ouer.

Pope Vrban the fifth.

Rich. the ſeconde.

An.reg.1. 1377

Fabian.

Tho. VValſ.

Richard, the ſecond of that name, and ſon to Prince Edward, called the blacke Prince, the ſonne of K. Edward yͤ third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, beganne to raigne ouer the realme of England, the.22.day of June, in the yere of the world.5344.of our Lord 1377.after the conqueſt.310.about the.32.yere of yͤ Emperour Charles the fourth, and in the fouretenth yere of Charles the fifth K. of France, and about the ſeuenth yere of yͤ raigne of Roberte the ſecond K. of Scotland: he was named Richarde of Burdeaux, bycauſe hee was borne at Burdeaux in Gaſcoigne, whileſt his father ruled there. The day before it was vnderſtod, that his grandfather K. Edward was departed this life, beeing the.21.of June (on which day neuertheleſſe he deceaſſed) the Citizens of London hauing certayne knowledge that he could not eſcape his ſickneſſe, ſente certayne Aldermen vnto Kingſton, where the Prince with his mother the Princeſſe then lay, to declare vnto the ſaide Prince, their readye good willes, to accept him for their lawfull kyng and gouernour, immediately after it ſhould pleaſe God to call to his mercy his grandfather, beeyng now paſt hope of recouerye to healthe: wherefore they beſought him, to haue their Citie recommẽded vnto his good grace, and that it would pleaſe him to viſit yͤ ſame wͭ his preſence, ſith they were ready in all ſorts to honor & obey hym, & to ſpend both liues & goodes in his cauſe, if neede required.

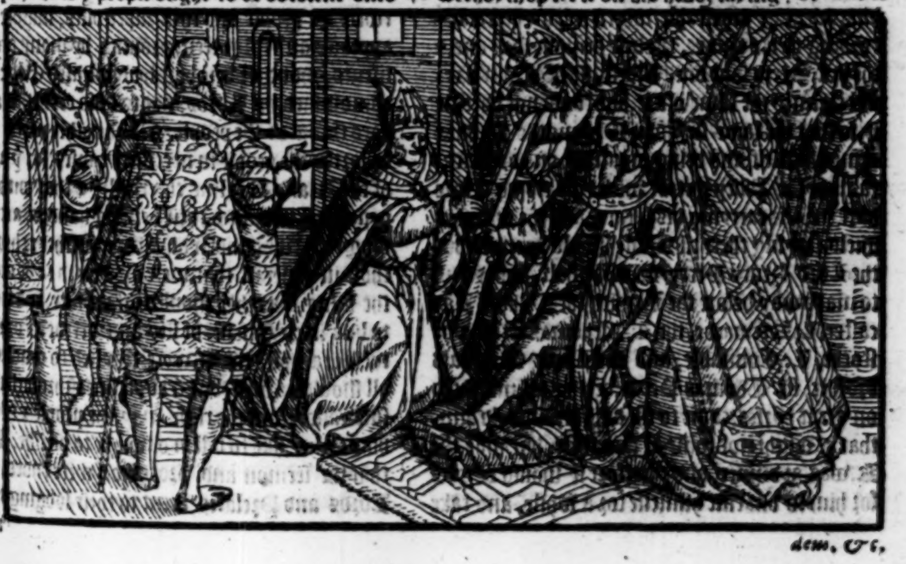
The Londoners ſent to K. Richard, commẽding themſelues to his fauour, before the death of king Edward.

Moreouer, they beſought him, that it myghte pleaſe his grace to make an ende of the diſcorde betwixt the Citizẽs, and the Duke of Lancaſter, which through the malice of ſome, had bin rayſed, to the commoditie of none, but to the diſcommoditie of diuers. When John Philpot, one of yͤ foreſaid Aldermen, that had the words in al their names, had ended his oration, he was aunſwered by the Prince and his counſell, that he would endeuour hymſelfe in all things, to ſatiſfie their requeſts, and ſo were they ſent home to bring a ioyfull anſwere of their meſſage to the Citie. The morrow after, there were ſent to London frõ the K. yͤ Lord Latimer, ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir Simon Burley, & ſir Richard Adderbury knightes, to bring thẽ ſorowful newes of the aſſured death of K. Edwarde, who as we haue ſaid, deceaſſed yͤ day before, but comfortable newes againe, of the grete towardlineſſe & good meaning of yͤ yong K. who promiſed to loue them and their Citie, & to come to the ſame citie, as they had deſired him to doe. And further, that he had ſpoken to yͤ Duke of Lãcaſter in their behalfe, and yͭ the Duke hadde ſubmitted himſelfe to him in all things touching yͤ cauſe, wherevpõ the kings pleaſure was, yͭ they ſhuld likewiſe ſubmitte thẽſelues, & he would doe his endeuour, that an agreemẽt might be had to yͤ honor of yͤ Citizens, and profite of the Citie. The Citizens liked not of this forme of proceeding in the Dukes matter, bycauſe the K. was yong, and coulde not giue order therein, but by ſubſtitutes: yet at lẽgth, with muche adoe, they were contented to ſubmit themſelues, as the Duke had done before, though not, til yͭ the knights had vndertakẽ vpon their oth of fidelitie and knighthood, that their ſubmiſſiõ ſhuld not redound to yͤ reproch or bodily harme of any of thẽ, cõſenting to the kings will in this pointe. And ſo with this caution they toke their iourney towardes Shene, where they found yͤ new K. with his mother, yͤ duke of Lancaſter, & his brethren, vncles to yͤ K. and diuers biſhops, about yͤ body of the deceſſed K. When it was knowen that yͤ Londoners were come, they were called before yͤ K. by whom the matter was ſo handled, yͭ the duke and they were made frends. After this, when yͤ K. ſhuld ride through the Citie towards the coronation, the ſaid Duke and yͤ L. Percy riding on greate horſes before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vſed thẽſelues ſo courteouſly, modeſtly, & pleaſantly, that where before they two were greatly ſuſpected to yͤ cõmon people, by reaſon of their great puiſſance in the Realm, & huge route of reteiners, they ordred the matter ſo, that neither this day, nor yͤ morrow after, being yͤ day of the kings coronatiõ, they offended any maner of perſon, but rather by gentle & ſweete demeanor, they reclaimed yͤ harts of many, to whom before they were greatly had in ſuſpition, & thought euill of. But now ſith we are entred into yͤ matter of this kings coronatiõ, we haue thought good briefly to touch ſome perticular point thereof, as in Tho. Wals. we find it, though nothing ſo largely heere, as the author him ſelfe ſetteth it forth, bycauſe yͤ purpoſe of this worke wil not ſo permit. The K. in riding through yͤ citie towards Weſtminſter, on the 15. of July being Wedneſday, was accompanied with ſuch a traine of yͤ nobilitie & others, as in ſuch caſe was requiſite: ſir Simon Burley bare the ſworde before him, and Sir Nicholas Bonde lede the Kings horſe by the bridle on foote. The noiſe of trumpets & other inſtrumẽts was marueilous, ſo that this ſeemed a day of ioy & mirth, a day yͭ had bin long loked for, bycauſe it was hoped, yͭ now yͤ quiet orders & good lawes of the land, which thorough yͤ ſlouthfulnes of yͤ aged K. deceaſſed, & co-

The Duke of Lancaſter & the Lond ſubmit the quarels kings orde

The maner & order of the kings coronation.

uetouſneſſe of thoſe yͭ ruled about him had bin lōg baniſhed, ſhould now be renued, & brought againe in vſe. The Citie was adorned in all ſortes moſt richly. The water conduites ran wͭ wine, for the ſpace of three houres togither. In the vpper end of Cheape, was a certain Caſtell made with foure towers, out of yͤ which Caſtel, on two ſides of it, there ran forth wine abundantly. In the towers wer placed four beautiful virgins, of ſtature & age like to yͤ K. apparelled in white veſtures, in euery tower one, yͤ which blew in yͤ kings face, at his aproching nere to thē, leaues of gold, and as he approched alſo, they threwe on him and his horſe florens of golde counterfeit. When he was come before yͤ Caſtell, they toke cuppes of gold, & filling thē with wine at yͤ ſpoutes of the Caſtel, preſented the ſame to the K. & to his nobles. On the top of yͤ Caſtel, betwixt the four towers, ſtode a golden Angel, holding a crowne in his hands, whych was ſo cōtriued, that whē the K. came, he bowed downe, & offered to him yͤ Crowne. But to ſpeake of al yͤ Pageants & ſhewes which yͤ Citizens had cauſed to be made and ſet forth in honor of their newe K. it were ſuperfluous, euery one in theyr quarters ſtriuing to ſurmounte other, & ſo with great triumphing of Citizēs, & ioy of yͤ lords and noble menne, hee was conueyed vnto his palace at Weſtminſter, where he reſted for yͤ night. The morowe after, being Thurſday, & the 16. of July, he was fetched to yͤ Church with proceſſion of yͤ biſhops and Monkes, & comming before the high aulter, where the pauemēt was couered with rich clothes of Tapiſtrie, he there kneled downe, and made his praiers, whileſt two biſhops ſong yͤ Letany, which being finiſhed, the K. was brought to his ſeate, yͤ quere ſinging an Anthem, beginning *Firmetur manus tua.* That done, there was a ſermon preached by a B. touching the dutie of a K. how he ought to behaue himſelfe towards the people, & how yͤ people ought to be obedient vnto him. The ſermon being ended, the K. receiued his othe before yͤ Archb. and Nobles: which done, the Archb. hauing the L. Henry Percy L. Marſhall going before him, turneth him to euery quarter of yͤ church, declaring to yͤ people yͤ kings othe, and demanding of thē, if they would ſubmit thēſelues to ſuch a prince & gouernour, & obey his commādemēts: & whē the people with a loude voice had anſwered, yͭ they would obey him, yͤ Archb. vſing certain prayers, bleſſed yͤ K. which ended, yͤ Arch. cōmeth vnto him, & tearing his garmēts from the higheſt part to yͤ loweſt, ſtrippeth him to his ſhirt Then was brought by Erles, a certain couerture of cloth of gold, vnder yͤ which, he remained, whileſt he was anointed. The Arch. as we haue ſaid, hauing ſtripped him, firſt anointed his hāds, after his head, breſt, ſhoulders, & the ioints of his armes with yͤ ſacred oile, ſaying certain prayers, & in the meane time, did the quier ſing yͤ antheme, beginning *Vnxerūt regem Salamonē &c.* And yͤ Arch. added another praier *Deus dei filius &c.* which ended, he with the other byſhops ſong the Hymne, *Veni creator ſpiritus*, the K. kneeling in a lōg veſture, yͤ Archb. with his Suffraganes about him. Whē yͤ Himne was ended, he was lift vp by the Archb. and clad firſt with yͤ coate of S. Edward, and after with his mantell, a ſtole being caſt about his necke, yͤ Archb. in yͤ meane time, ſaying certain praiers apointed for yͤ purpoſe. After this, the Archb. and biſhops deliuered to him yͤ ſword, ſaying *Accipe gladium &c.* And when yͤ prayer was ended, two Erles girded him wͭ the ſword, whiche done, the Archb. gaue to him braceletes ſaying, *Accipe armillas. &c.* After this, yͤ Archb. putteth vpon him an vppermoſt veſture, called a Palle ſaying, *Accipe Pallium &c.* In the meane time, whileſt yͤ Archb. bleſſeth the kings crowne, he to whoſe office it apperteined, did put ſpurres on his heeles. After the Crowne was bleſſed, the Archbyſhop ſet it on his head, ſaying: *C*[illegible] *de*



dem. &c. then did the Archb. deliuer to hym a ring, with theſe wordes, *Accipe annulum. &c.* Immediatly herewith, came the Lord Furniual by vertue of his ofice, offering to him a red gloue, which the Archb. bleſſed, & putting it on his hand, gaue to him the ſcepter, with theſe words, *Accipe ſceptrum. &c.* then did the Archb. deliuer to him in his other hand a rodde, in the top whereof ſtoode a doue, with theſe words, *Accipe virgam virtutu. &c.* after this, the Archb. bleſſed the K. ſaying, *Benedicat de dem. &c.* These things done, the K. kiſſed the biſhops and Abbots, by whome he was led afterwards vnto his ſeate, the biſhops beginning to ſing (*Te deum,*) which ended, the Archbiſhop ſaid to him, *Sta et retine amodo locum. &c.* Whē theſe things wer finiſhed, they begā Maſſe, the biſhop of Worceter redde the Epiſtle, and the B. of Elie the Goſpel. At the offertorie, the King roſe from his ſeate, and was brought to offer. He therfore offered firſt his ſword, and after ſo much golde as he would, but not leſſe than a marke, by reaſon of the cuſtome, for more he might offer to God, and S. Peter, but leſſe he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which, he & the Archb. did after cōmunicate. This done, the Erle, to whom it apperteined to beare the ſworde before the K. redeemed the ſword which the kyng had offered with money, & receyuing yͤ ſame, bare it afore the K. When the Maſſe ſhould be ſong, the K. was brought againe to the Altare, & there kneeling down, and ſaying *Confiteor* to the Archbiſhop, did communicate, & ſo was brought backe to his ſeate. The Wardens of the fiue portes by their office, as well in time of the proceſſion, as when he was annointed alſo at Maſſe time, and as he returned from the Churche to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canapie of blew veluet, faſtned vnto four ſtaues at the foure corners.

In the meane time, ſir John Dimocke that claimed to be the kings champion, had bin at the kings armory and ſtable, where he had choſen according to his tenure, the beſt armour ſaue one, & the beſt Steed ſaue one. Albeit, ſir Balwin Freuill claimed the ſame office, but could not obteine it, ſo that the ſaide ſir John Dimmocke hauyng armed himſelf, and being mounted on horſeback, came to the Abbey gates, with two riding before him, the one carrying his ſpeare, and the other his ſhield, ſtaying there til Maſſe ſhould be ended: but the Lord Henry Percy L. Marſhall, appoynted to make way before the K. with the Duke of Lācaſter, L. Stewarde, the L. Thomas of Woodſtocke, L. Conſtable, and the Lorde Marſhals brother, ſir Thomas Percy, beeing all mounted on great horſes, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not come at that time, but whē the K. was at dinner, and therefore it ſhould be good for him to vnarme himſelfe for a while, and take his eaſe, till the appointed time were come. The knight did as the Lord Marſhall willed him, and ſo after his departure, the K. hauing thoſe Lords riding afore him, was borne on knightes ſhoulders vnto his palace, and ſo had to his chamber, where he reſted a while, beeing ſomewhat faynte with trauell, and toke a ſmall refectiō. After this, cōming into the halle, he created four new Erles, before he ſate downe to meate, to witte, his vncle the L. Thomas de Wodſtocke, Earle of Buckingham, to whom he gaue a thouſand markes a yere out of his treaſure, til he prouided him of lāds to the like value, the Lorde Guiſchard de Engleſme, that had bin his tutor, was created Earle of Huntington, to whome hee gaue likewiſe a thouſand markes annuitie, till he were prouided of lands of the ſame valewe. The Lorde Mowbray was created Earle of Nottingham, and the L. Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland. He made alſo nine knightes the ſame day. To ſhewe what royall ſeruice was at this feaſt, it paſſeth our vnderſtanding to diſcriue, but to conclude, yͤ fare was exceeding ſumptuous, and the furniture princely in all things, that if the ſame ſhoulde be rehearſed, the reader would perhappes doubt of yͤ trueth thereof. In the middes of the Kinges palace was a marble piller reyſed hollowe vpon ſteppes, on the toppe whereof was a greate gilte Egle placed, vnder whoſe feete in the Chapiter of the piller, diuers kindes of wine came guſhing forth, at four ſeuerall places, all the day long, neither was any forbidden to receiue the ſame, were he neuer ſo poore or abiect. The morrow after the Coronation, there was a generall proceſſion of yͤ Archb. Biſhop, and Abbots, then preſent, with yͤ lords, and a great multitude of people, to pray for the K. and the peace of the kingdome: At the going forth of which proceſſion, the Biſhop of Rocheſter preached, exhorting them, that the diſſentions and diſcords which had long continued betwixt the people and their ſuperiours, might be appeaſed and forgotten, prouing by many arguments, that the ſame highly diſpleaſed God: he admoniſhed the Lords, not to be ſo extreame and hard towards the people. On the other parte, he exhorted the people in neceſſary cauſes, for yͤ ayde of the K. and Realme, cheerfully, & that without grudging to put to their helping handes, according to their bounden dueties: he further exhorted thoſe in generall, that were appointed to be about the King, that they ſhould forſake vice, and ſtudy to liue in cleanneſſe of life and vertue. For if by their example, the K. were trayned to goodneſſe, all ſhould be well, but if he declined through their ſufferance from the right way, the people & kingdome were like to fall in daunger to periſhe. After that the ſermon and proceſſion were ended, the Lords and Prelates went to their lodgings: but now

Foure Erles created.

now bycauſe the Engliſhmen ſhould haue theyr ioyes mingled with ſome ſorrowes, it chaunced that the Frenchmen (whiche about the ſame time that the kings grandfather departed this life, wer waiting on the Seas) within a ſixe or ſeauen dayes after his deceſſe, brent the Towne of Rye, whereupon immediately after the Coronation, the Earles of Cambridge & Buckingham, were ſent with a power vnto Douer, and the Earle of Saliſbury, vnto Southhamptõ: but in the meane time, to wit, the .21. of Auguſt, the Frenchmẽ entring the Iſle of Wight, brente diuers townes in the ſame, and although they were repulſed from the Caſtell, by the valiante manhood of ſir Hugh Tirell Captaine thereof, who laid no ſmall nũber of them on the ground, yet they conſtreyned ẏ men of the Iſle to giue them a thouſand markes of ſiluer to ſaue the reſidue of their houſes & goods, and ſo they departed from thence, ſayling ſtill alongſt the coſtes, and where they ſawe aduauntage ſet a lande, brenning ſundry townes neere to the ſhore, as Porteſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth: they made countenance alſo to haue ſet vppon Southhampton, if ſir Iohn Arundell, brother to the Earle of Arundell had not bin ready there, with a number of men of armes & archers, by whom the towne was defended, and the enimies chaſed to their Shippes. From thence ẏ Frenchmen departed, and ſayling towards Douer, brent Haſtings, but Winchelſey they could not winne, being valiantly defended by the Abbot of Batell and others. After this, they landed one day not farre from the Abbey of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the Prior of Lewes, and two Knightes, the one named Sir Thomas Cheynye, and the other Sir Iohn Falleſley, hauing aſſembled a number of ẏ countrey people, encountred the frenchmen, but were ouerthrowen, ſo that there were ſlayne about an hundred Engliſhmenne, and the Prior with the two knightes, and an Eſquier called Iohn Brokas, were taken priſoners, but yet the Frenchmen loſt a greate number of their owne men at thys conflict, and ſo with theyr priſoners retired to their Shippes and galleys, and after returned into Fraunce. But now touching the doings about the new King. You ſhal vnderſtand, that by reaſon of his yong yeres, as yet hee was not able to gouerne himſelfe, and therefore Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, and Edmond Earle of Cambridge, with other peeres of the Realme, were appointed to haue the adminiſtratiõ. He was of good diſpoſition and towardneſſe, but his age being redy to encline which way ſoeuer a mã ſhuld bẽd it, thoſe that were appointed to haue the gouernemente of his perſon, did what lay in them now at the firſt, to keepe him from all maner of lighte demeanor. But afterwards, when euery one began to ſtudy more for his owne priuate commoditie, than for the aduauncement of the common wealthe, they ſet open the gates to other, which being ready to corrupt his good nature, by little and little grewe familiar with him, and dimming the brightneſſe of true honor, with the counterfeite ſhine of the contrary, ſo maſkered his vnderſtanding, that in the ende, they brought him to tract the ſteppes of lewde demeanor, and ſo were cauſers, both of hys and their owne deſtruction. The Frenchmen not ignoraunte of ſuche miſchiefes as were like to growe in Englande, ſuffered no time to paſſe, but tooke occaſiõs of aduantage when they were offered.

roiſſart.
ye brent by
e Frenchmẽ

ho. VValſ.
he Frenche-
men ſpoyle
he Iſle of
Wyght.
yr Hughe
Tyrell.

roiſſart.
ho. VValſ.
ortſmouth.
artmouth, &
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rente by the
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aſtings brẽt.

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he duke of
ancaſter and
e Earle of
mbridge
ppointed pro
ctours.

Among other enterpriſes I finde, that ſhortly after the deceſſe of King Edwarde, the Duke of Burgoigne wanne Arde, and two or three other fortreſſes in thoſe marches.

Froiſſart.

The Scottes this yeare alſo wanne the Caſtell of Barwike by ſtelthe one morning, but ſhortly vpon knowledge had, the Earles of Northumberland and Notingham, the Lordes Neuile, Lucy, Grayſtocke, and Stafford, with other Lords, Knightes, and Eſquiers, came with their powers in all haſt thither, and entring ẏ towne, beſieged the Caſtell, and finally, aſſaulting them that kept it, wanne it of them by force, and ſlewe all thoſe Scottiſhmen whych they found within it, excepte Alexander Ramſey theyr Captayne.

Froiſſart.
Barwik caſtell won by the Scottes.

Barvvik caſtell recouered by the Engliſhmen.

When the Engliſhmen had thus recouered the Caſtell, they entred into Scotland, in hope to find the Scottes, and to fight with thẽ whome they knew to be aſſembled. The Engliſhe hoſt was three thouſande men of armes, and ſeauen thouſand archers, but they ſent forth Sir Thomas Muſgraue, with three hundred Speares, and three hundred archers, to Meuros, to trie if he might vnderſtand any thing of the Scottes in thoſe parties, with whome the Earle Douglas, hauing with him ſeauen hundred Speares, and two thouſand of other called yomẽ, with glaiues and other weapons, encountred by chance, and diſtreſſed him, and his company. Sir Thomas Muſgraue himſelfe, and ſixe ſcore other, were taken priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlayne, the reſidue eſcaped by flighte, making the beſt ſhifte they coulde for them ſelues. The L. Neuill, Sir Thomas Triuet, ſir Wil. Scrope, and dyuers other valiant Captaines of Englande, were ſente into Gaſcoigne this yeare, whiche firſt landed at Burdeaux, on the euen of the Natiuitie of oure Lady, where after they had reſted them a while, they went and reyſed the ſiege, which the frenchmen hadde held before Mortaigne in Poictowe a long time before. Gouernour of thys ſiege at the firſte, was Yuan or Owen of Wales, but hee was murthered one morning as hee ſate alone

An ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the engliſhmen.

The ſiege of Mortaigne rayſed.

viewing the Caſtell, and combing his head, by one of his owne Contreymen, which vnder coulour to ſerue hym, was become with him very familiar. This Owen or Yuan whether ye wil, (for all is one) was ſonne to a noble man of Wales, whome King Edward had put to death for ſome offence by him committed, where thys Yuan got him into Fraunce, being as then very yong, and was brought vp in the French Court, and proued an expert mã of warre, ſo that great lamentation was made for his deathe by the Frenchmen. But the Engliſhmenne, although they miſliked yͤ maner of his death, yet they were not greatly ſorowfull for the chaunce, ſith they were ridde thereby of an extreame enimy.

After that the Engliſhmenne hadde reyſed the Frenchmen from the ſiege of Mortagne, they returned to Burdeaux, and after recouered ſundry Caſtels and fortreſſes in the marches of Burdeloys, and about Bayone. Alſo they ayded the K. of Nauarre, againſt the King of Caſtille, & made a roade into the confynes of Caſtille, but ſhortly after, a peace was concluded betwixte thoſe two Kings, ſo that the Lorde Charles of Nauarre ſhould marrie the daughter of the King of Caſtille, vpon certain conditions: and ſo the Engliſhmen had their wages truely paide them, and therevpon returned.

A Parliamẽt.
Tho. VValſ.

About Michaelmas began a Parliamẽt that was ſummoned at Weſtminſter, whiche continued til the feaſt of Saint Andrew. In this parliament the foreſayde Sir Peter de la Mere and other the Knightes that hadde bin ſo earneſt againſt Dame Alice Perers in the laſt Parliamẽt holden by King Edward the third, ſo proſecuted the ſame cauſe now in this Parliament, that the ſayde Dame Alice Perers was baniſhed the Realme, and all hir goodes moueable and vnmoueable forfeyted to the King, bycauſe cõtrary to that ſhee had promiſed by oth in the ſaide laſt Parliament, ſhe hadde preſumed to come within the Courte, and to obteyne of the King what ſo euer was to hir liking.

Two Citizens of London appointed to keepe the ſubſedie grãted by Parliament.

There was two tenthes graunted by the Cleargie to the King in this Parliament, & two fifteenes of the temporaltie, to bee paide the ſame yeare, and two Citizens of London, William Walworth, and Iohn Philpot were appoynted to haue the keeping of that money, to the ende it might be employed to the Kings neceſſary vſes, for defence of the Realme.

Sir Hugh Caluerley a valiant Captayne.

Sir Hugh Caluerley beeing deputie of Calais, comming one morning to Bulloigne, brent certaine Shippes which lay there in the hauen, to the number of ſixe and twentie, beſides two proper barkes, beeing veſſels of no ſmall accompte: And hauing ſpoiled and brẽt the moſt part of the baſe Towne, he returned to Calais, with a great rich booty of goodes and Cattell.

Alſo, where the Caſtell of Marke in abſence of the Captain, ſir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was loſt through negligence of them that were left in charge within it, the ſame ſir Hugh Caluerley made ſuch ſpeede in the matter, that he recouered it againe the ſame daye it was, loſt by force of aſſault, taking the Frenchmen priſoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certaine picardes ſtipendary Souldiers in the ſaide Caſtell, vnder the ſaide Sir Robert de Salle, for that whileſt the Engliſhmen were gone forth, to ſee the ſhooting of a match which they had made amongſt themſelues, a little off from the Caſtell, thoſe Picards being left within, ſhut the gates againſte them, and receyued in the Frenchmen, with whome they had practiſed in treaſon, keeping the Engliſhmen forth, to whom the ſafekeeping of that Caſtell was committed.

Marke C
recou
ſir Hugh
uerley, th
ſame day
was loſt.

1378

Iohn Wi

This yeare, was a Bulle ſente from the Pope vnto the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, to apprehende Iohn Wicliffe, Parſon of Lutterworth in Leyceſterſhire, within the dioceſſe of Lincolne.

Alſo, there were other Bulles to the ſame effect, ſent to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and to the Biſhop of London.

Likewiſe to the King were letters directed fro the Pope, to require his fauour againſt the ſayde Wiclife, ſo greeuouſly was the Pope incenſed againſte him, and not withoute cauſe, for if hys concluſions in doctrine toke effect, he well perceyued his papiſticall authoritie woulde ſhortly decaye.

The naui
ſetteth fo
and is bea
backe by
peſt.

There went forth this yeare a greate nauie of Shippes to the Sea, vnder the guiding of the Earle of Buckingham, the Duke of Britayne, the Lord Latimer, the Lorde Fitz Water, Sir Robert Knolles, and other valyant Captaines, meaning to haue intercepted the Spaniſh fleete that was gone to Sluſe in Flaunders, but through rage of tempeſt, and contrary windes, they were driuen home, although twice they attempted their fortune: But ſir Hugh Caluerley, deputie of Calice, ſlept not his buſineſſe, doing ſtill what diſpleaſures he could to the Frenchmenne.

Exployt
done by S
Hugh Ca-
uerley.

Shortly after Chriſtmas, he ſpoyled yͤ towne of Eſtaples the ſame daye the faire was kept there, to the which, a great number of Merchants of Bulleigne were come to make their markets, but the ſellers had quicke vtterance for that, that might eaſily be carried away, the Engliſhmenne layde hands on, and cauſed the owners to redeeme the reſidue, with great ſummes of money, which they vndertooke to pay, or elſe ſir Hugh threatned to haue brent all that was left, togither with the houſes.

Ye haue hearde, how at the firſt, the Duke of Lancaſter was one of the chiefe about the yong

King in gouernement of his perſon and Realm, who prudently conſidering, that ſith there muſt needes be an alteration in the ſtate, and doubting leaſt if any thing chaunced otherwiſe than well, the fault and blame might bee chiefly imputed to hym, and thankes (howſoeuer things wente) he loked for none, he gaue therefore the ſlip, obteyning licence of the Kyng to departe, and ſo gote hym home vnto his Caſtell of Kelingworth, permitting other to haue the whole ſway: for before his departure from the Courte, there were with his conſent ordeyned ſuch as ſhould be attending on the Kings perſon, and haue the rule and ordering of matters perteyning to the ſtate, as William Courtney, then Biſhop of London (though ſhortly after remoued to the Archbyſhoppes Sea of Caunterbury) Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, and diuers other, of whome the people had conceiued a good opinion, but yet bycauſe the Byſhoppe of Saliſbury, and the Lorde Latimer were admitted amongſt the reſidue, the commons murmured greatly agaynſt them.

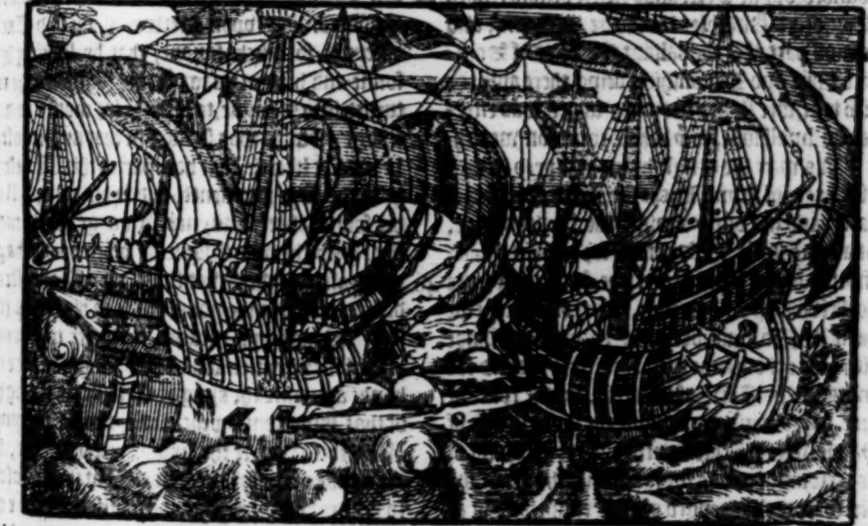
The Duke of Lancaſter miſliking the matters of the Court, getteth himſelf home to the Caſtell of Keling-worth.

The Earle of Northumberland reſigned hys office of Lorde Marſhall, in whoſe place ſucceded Sir John Arundell, brother to the Earle of Arundell.

The Duke of Lancaſter, although retired frō the Court, yet deſirous to haue the money in his handes that was graunted the laſt Parliamente, at length obteyned it, vpon promiſe to defend the Realme from inuaſion of all enimies, for one yeares ſpace: hee therefore prouided a greate nauie to goe to the Sea, hyring nine Shippes of Bayōne, to aſſiſt his enterpriſe herein, the whych in making ſayle hitherwardes, encountred with the Spaniſh fleete, and toke fourteene veſſels laden with wines and other merchandiſe: but in the meane time, one Mercer, a Scottiſhmā, with certayne ſaile of Scottes, Frenchmen, and Spaniardes, came to Scarburgh, and there toke certayne Shippes, and led them away to the Sea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers empriſonment, named John Mercer, who before beyng caught by certayne Shippes of the Northparts, and deliuered to the Earle of Northumberland, was committed to priſon within the Caſtell of Scarbrough.

John Philpot Alderman of London, ſetteth forth a fleete at his owne charges, to recouer certaine Engliſh Shippes taken by the Scottes.

John Philpot that worſhipfull Citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that ſhould haue prouided againſt ſuch inconueniences, made forthe a fleete at his owne charges, ſtrongly furniſhed with men of warre and munition neceſſary: the men of warre meeting with the ſame Mercer, accompanyed with hys owne ſhippes, and fifteene other Spanyards that were newly ioyned with hym, ſet vppon them, and ſo valiantly behaued themſelues, that they toke the ſayd Mercer, with all them that were then in his company, ſo recouering agayne the Shippes that were taken from Scarbourgh, beſides great riches which were founde aborde, as well in the fifteene Spaniſh Shippes, as the other that were of the olde retinue, belonging to the ſayd Mercer. John Philpot was afterwardes blamed of the Lords, for preſuming thus farre, as to ſet forthe a nauie of men of warre, without the aduice of the Kings counſell: but he made his aunſwere in ſuche wiſe vnto the Earle of Stafford, and other that layde the faulte to his charge, that hee was permitted to departe, without further trouble for that matter. Before all ſuche prouiſion as the Duke of Lancaſter prepared for his iourney to the Sea coulde be ready, the Earles of Saliſburie and Arundell ſayled ouer into Normandye, where by ſuche compoſition as was taken betwixt the Kyng of Englande, and the King of Nauarre, who of new was become enimie to the French King, the Towne of Chierburg was de-



Chierburg deliuered to the Engliſhmen.

liuered vnto the ſayd Erles, who ſending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were ſent ouer ſuch, as ſhould haue in charge the keepyng of that towne: and ſo the two Earles returned.

Additions to Merimouth.

We finde, that the Kyng of Nauarre hauing bin heere in Englande, with the King and his counſell, hadde agreed with the King for a certayne yeerely rent to demiſe vnto him the ſayd fortreſſe of Chierburg, whereby the Engliſhmen myghte haue free entrie into Normandye, when they would, as well to ayde the King of Nauarre in his neceſſitie, as to worke anye enterprice, that ſhould be thought expediente, to the aduauntage of the Kyng of England as occaſion ſerued, but the obteyning of the poſſeſſiō of Chierburg brought not ſo much ioy to the engliſh nation, as the miſhappe that happened at the going forth of the ſaide Earles did cauſe lamentation and heauineſſe. For vpon the firſt entring into the Sea, it fortuned, that Sir Phillip, and ſir Peter Courtney, diſcouered a certayne number of Shippes that were enimies, and vndiſcretely entring amongſt them, there ſuddaynely came vpon them the Spaniſh fleete, ſo that the Engliſhe Shippes that were in company with the ſayd Phillip, and ſir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in ſo much, that finally, after that ſir Phillip had loſt diuers of his men that were there ſlayne, hee gote away by flight himſelfe, though greeuouſly wounded, but ſir Peter was taken priſoner, with a fewe other Knightes that were with him, and the moſt part of al the valiant Eſquiers of Sommerſetſhire and Deuonſhire, being there abroade with him, were ſlain & drowned, which was eſteemed no ſmall loſſe, to ẏ whole common wealth.

The Engliſhe nauie is ouermatched and ouercome by the Spaniſh fleete.

Thus were the Engliſhmen occupyed in thys firſte yeare of Kyng Richarde, with troubles of warre, and not onely againſt the Frenchmenne, but alſo againſte the Scottes, for euen in the beginning of the ſame yeare, the Scottes brente Rockeſbourgh, in reuenge whereof, the newe Earle of Northumberlande entred Scotlande with tenne thouſande men, and ſore ſpoyled the landes of the Earle of Marche, for the ſpace of three dayes togither, bycauſe the ſayde Earle of Marche was the chiefe author of the brenning of Rockeſburgh, and ſo for that time, the Engliſhmen were well reuenged of thoſe enimies. But at an other time, when the Northren men woulde needes make a roade into Scotlande, entring by the Weſt bordures, they were encountred by the Scottes, and putte to flight, ſo that many of thē being ſlayne, the Scottes toke the more courage to inuade the bordures, till at length, Edmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche came at the daye of truce, and toke an abſtinence of warre betwixte both nations for the time, though the ſame continued not long.

Rockesburgh brent by the Scottes.

An. reg. 2.

Anone after Midſomer, the Duke of Lancaſter with a ſtrong power toke the Sea, and landing in Britaine, beſieged the Towne of Saint Malo de Liſle, a fortreſſe of greate importance. There wēt ouer with him ẏ Erles of Buckingham, Warwike, Stafforde, and dyuers other of the Engliſhe nobilitie, the whiche made their approches, and fiercely aſſayled the Towne, but it was ſo valiantly defended, that in the ende, the Duke with his army rayſed from thence, and returned without atchieuing his purpoſe.

About the ſame time, there was a notable and haynous murther committed within Sainte Peters Churche at Weſtminſter, by occaſion of variance betweene the Lorde Latimer and Sir Rauſe Ferrers on the one partie, and two Eſquiers, the one called Roberte Hall and the other John Shakell on the other partie, about a priſoner whiche was taken at the battell of Nazers in Spayne, called the Erle of Deane, who as ſome write, was taken by one ſir Franke de Hall at the ſayde battell, and bycauſe hee remayned in his handes at the deathe of the ſayde Sir Franke, hee bequeathed him vnto his ſonne the ſayde Roberte Hall Eſquier. But as other write, the ſayde Earle was taken by the ſayde Roberte Hall hymſelfe, and John Shakell ioyntly, and iudged to bee theyr lawfull priſoner, by the ſentence of the Prince of Wales, and Sir John Shandos, that was maſter to the ſaid Eſquiers: wherevpon afterwards, the ſaid Earle obteyned ſo muche fauour, that by leauing hys ſonne and heire in guage for his raunſome, he returned into Spayne, to prouide for money to diſcharge it, but he was ſo ſlowe in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life, before he made anye paymente, and ſo his lands fell to his ſonne, that remayned in guage for the money, with the two Eſquiers: wherevpon it happened afterwardes, that the Duke of Lancaſter, deſirous to haue the yong Earle in his hands (in hope through hys meanes the better to accompliſhe his enterprice whiche hee meant to take in hande agaynſte the kyng of Caſtille, for the right of that Kingdome) procured hys nephew Kyng Richard to require the ſayde Earle of Deane, at the hands of the ſayd Eſquiers, but they refuſed to deliuer him, keeping their priſoner forthe of the way, ſo that none wiſt where hee was become: the Eſquiers therefore were committed to the Tower, out of the whiche they eſcaped vnto Weſtminſter, and there regiſtred themſelues for ſanctuarie men.

Polidor.

Tho. Wal

The Duke of Lancaſter was herewith ſore offended, and their enimies the ſayde Lorde Latimer, and Sir Rauſe Ferrers toke counſell togither, with Sir Allene Boxhull and others, howe they myghte bee reuenged of thys deſpite: This ſir Alane Boxhull, was Conneſtable of the Tower, and therefore it greued him not alitle, that the Eſquiers had broken frō him, and kept themſelues thus at Weſtminſter, vnder protection of that priuiledged place. Herevpon it was concluded, that Sir Rauſe Ferrers, and the ſayd Alane Boxhull, taking with them certayne men in armour, to the number of a fiftie perſons, ſhoulde goe and fetch them by force from Weſtminſter, vnto the Tower agayne.

The morrow therefore after Saint Laurence day, being ẏ eleuẽth of Auguſt, theſe two knightes accompanyed with certayne of the Kyngs ſeruauntes and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the Church at Weſtminſter, whileſt the ſayde Eſquiers were there hearing of the high Maſſe, which was then in celebrating, and firſt laying handes vppon John Shakell, vſed the matter ſo with him, that they drewe him forthe of the Church, and ledde him ſtraight to the Tower, but when they came to Roberte Hall, and fell in reaſoning with him, hee woulde not ſuffer them to come within his reache, and perceyuing they meante to take him by force, he drew out a falchiō or ſhort ſword which he had girt to him, and therewith layde ſo freely about him, trauerſing twice round about the Monkes quier, that til they had beſet him on eache ſyde, they coulde doe him no hurt, but at length, when they hadde got him at that aduauntage, one of them cloue hys head to the very braynes, and an other thruſt him through the body behinde, with a ſworde, and ſo they murthered him amongſt them. They ſlewe alſo one of the Monkes that woulde haue hadde them to haue ſaued the Eſquiers life. Much adoe was made aboute this matter, for the breakyng thus of the Sainctuarie, in ſo muche, that the Archbyſh. of Canterbury, and fiue other Biſhops his ſuffraganes openly pronounced all them that were preſente at this murder accurſed, and lykewiſe all ſuch as ayded or counſelled them to it chiefly, and namely ſir Alane Boxhull, and ſir Rauſe Ferreis, Captaynes and leaders of them. The king, the Queene, and the Duke of Lancaſter were yet excepted by ſpeciall names. The Biſhop of London a long time after euery Sunday, Wedneſday, and Friday, pronounced thys excommunication in the Church of Saint Paul at London.

cruell morther in Weſtminſter churche.

The Duke of Lancaſter (though excepted in the ſame,) yet in behalfe of his friends, was not a little offended with the Byſhops doings, in ſo muche, that in a Counſell holden at Windeſore (to the which the Byſhop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet ceaſſe the pronouncing of the curſe, notwithſtanding the Kyng had requeſted him by his letters) the Duke ſayd openly, that the Biſhops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (ſaith he) if the King would commaund me, I ſhould gladly goe to London, and fetch that diſobediente Prelate, in deſpite of thoſe rybaulds (for ſo he termed them) the Londoners.

Theſe wordes procured the Duke muche euill will, as well of the Londoners, as of others, for it was commonly ſayde, that whatſoeuer had bin done at Weſtminſter concerning the murther there committed in the Churche, was done by his commaundement.

About the feaſt of Saint Luke, was a Parliamente holden at Glouceſter, for the diſpleaſure as was thought, which ſome of the Counſell had conceyued againſte the Londoners, or rather as ſome tooke it, for feare of them, leaſt if any thyng were done contrary to their myndes, they ſhould be about to hinder it, if the Parliament had bene kept neere to them, for many things (as ſome iudged) were meant to haue bin put forthe and concluded in thys Parliamente, albeit fewe in effect came to paſſe of thoſe matters that were ſurmiſed, ſauing that it was enacted, that the Kyng ſhoulde haue a marke of the Merchauntes, for euery ſacke of theyr wolles, for thys preſente yeare, and for euery poundes worth of wares that was broughte in from beyonde the Seas, and heere ſolde, ſixe pence of the byers.

A Parliament at Glouceſter.

Alſo, certayne priuiledges were graunted in thys Parliamente, to Merchaunte ſtraungers, that they myghte buye and ſell in groſſe, or by retayle within thys Realme, as in the Printed booke of Statutes it appeareth.

Thys yeare came meſſengers from the newe elected Pope Vrbane, with letters, to require the Kynges aſſiſtaunce and ayde agaynſte ſuche Cardinals as hee named Sciſmatickes, that hadde elected an other Pope, whome they named Clemente, whyche Cardinalles ſente lykewiſe theyr meſſengers with letters, to beſeche the Kyng to ayde them with hys fauourable aſſiſtaunce, but through perſwaſion of the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Vrbanes requeſt was graunted, and Clementes reiected.

The Pope ſendeth to the King for ayd.

About the ſame tyme, to witte, on Thurſeday before the feaſt of Saint Andrewe the Apoſtle, the Scottes by ſtealth entred by nyght into the Caſtell of Barwike, and ſlewe Sir Robert Boynton, a ryghte valiant Knighte, that was Conneſtable thereof, permitting his wife, Children, and ſeruauntes, to departe, with condition, that within three weekes next enſuing, they ſhoulde eyther paye them three thouſande markes, or elſe yeelde theyr bodyes agayne to priſon.

Barwike Caſtel wonne by the Scottes.

The morrowe after, the ſame Scottes fetched a great bootie of Cattell out of the countreys next

Alexander Ramſey was only ſaued, as Froyſ. hath.

Barwike Caſtell recouered by the Earle of Northumberland.

Sir Roberte Rous a valiāt Captayne.

1379

adioyning, but immediately after the Earle of Northumberland was aduertiſed hereof, he haſted thither with foure hundred armed men, and aſſaulting the Caſtell on eache ſide, after two houres defence, wanne it, ſlaying of the defendauntes about eight and fortie, reſeruing onely one of the whole number aliue, that he might enforme the Engliſhmen thoroughly of ẏ Scottiſh mens purpoſes. At this enterprice, was the Earle of Northumberlāds eldeſt ſonne, ſpreading there firſt his banner, & doing ſo valiantly, that hee deſerued ſingular commendation, as likewiſe dyd Sir Alane de Heton, and Sir Thomas de Ilderton, with thoſe of the ſurname of the Herons, euery of theſe hauing their quarters aſſigned to aſſault: thus was the Caſtell recouered the ninth day after the Scottes had entred the ſame, ſo that they enioyed not long that victorious exployte. Bycauſe this enterprice was taken in hande againſte the couenaunte of the truce, the Earle of Northumberlande before he attempted to recouer the Caſtell, ſente to the Earle of Marche in Scotlande, to vnderſtand if he would auow that which his countreymen had done, touching the winning of that Caſtell, who ſente him knowledge agayne, that he neyther vnderſtode of their enterpriſe, nor woulde bee partakers with them therein, but if it ſo pleaſed the Erle of Northumberland, he would come himſelfe, and help to recouer it to the King of Englāds vſe, out of thoſe Scottiſhmens hands, whiche withoute publyke authoritie, had made that exployte. This yere, ſir Roberte Rous, Captayne of Chierburgh, was called home, after hee hadde taken Sir Oliuer de Cliſſon, and atchieued manye other worthy aduentures againſt the kings enimies. In his place was ſent ſir Iohn Herleſton, to remayne vppon the garde of that Caſtel. Alſo, ſir Hugh Caluerley, deputy of Calais, that had ſo valiantly borne himſelfe againſt the Frenchmenne, was likewiſe diſcharged, and comming home, was made Admirall, being ioyned in commiſſion in that office, with ſir Ttomas Percy. Sir William Mountague Earle of Saliſbury, was ſent ouer to Calais, to bee the Kinges Lieutenaunte there, who ſhortly after his comming thither, fetched a great bootie of cattell out of the enimies countrey adioyning, ſo that Calais was furniſhed with no ſmall number of the ſame. Sir Hugh Caluerley, and ſir Thomas Percy, going to Sea, tooke ſeauen Shippes laden with merchandiſe, and one Shippe of warre. The Archbiſhop of Caſſils in Irelande, returning from Rome, broughte with him large authoritie, of binding and looſing, grāted to him by Pope Vrbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London in a Sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, howe the Frenche King, holding with the Antipape Clemente, was denounced accurſed, and therefore now was the time for Engliſhmen to make warre in France, hauing ſuch occaſion, as greater coulde not bee offered, ſpecially, ſith it was like that the excommunicated King ſhould haue no courage to make reſiſtance.

The Sanctuary at Weſtminſter confirmed by Parliament.

In a Parliamēt holden at Weſtminſter this yeare after Eaſter, it was ordeyned, that the priuiledges and immunities of the Abbey of Weſtminſter ſhould remaine whole and inuiolate, but yet there was a prouiſo, againſt thoſe that toke Sainctuarie, with purpoſe to defraude their creditours, that their landes and goodes ſhoulde bee aunſwerable to the diſcharging of their debtes.

A ſubſedie to be payd by the great men, and the commons free.

In ẏ ſame Parliament, was granted to the K. a ſubſedie, to be leuied of the great men of ẏ land. To the ende the commons might be ſpared, the Dukes of Lancaſter and Britaine paide twentie markes, euery Earle ſixe markes, Biſhoppes and Abbots with miters aſmuch, and for euery Monke three ſhillings foure pence: alſo, euery Iuſtice, Sherife, Knighte, Eſquier, Parſon, Vicar, and Chapleyne, were charged after a certayne rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laytie.

An. reg. 3. A notable exployt done by ſir Iohn Harleſton.

Ye haue hearde how ſir Iohn Harleſton was ſent to Chierburg, as Captayne of that fortreſſe, who iſſuing abroade one day, with ſuch power as he might take forth, leauing the fortreſſe furniſhed, came to a place, where within a Church and in a mille, the frenchmē had layde vp, as in ſtorehouſes, a great quantitie of vittalles, for prouiſion, which Church and Mille the Engliſhmenne aſſaulted ſo vigorouſly, that notwithſtanding there were within a good number of the enimies, that did their beſt to defende themſelues, yet at length they were taken, and ſir Iohn Harleſton with his company, returned with the vittayles towarde Chierburg, but by the way they were encountred by one Sir William de Bourdes, whome the Frenche King had appoynted to be in Mont Burg, with a ſtrong power of men of warre, to countergariſon Chierburg: here enſued a ſore cōflict, and many an hardy man was beatē to the ground. And although at the firſt it ſeemed that the Engliſhmen were ouermatched in number, yet they ſtucke to it manfully. Their Captayne ſir Iohn Harleſton, fighting in the formoſt preſſe, was felled, and lay on the ground at his enimies feete, in great hazard of death. The Engliſhmen neuertheleſſe continue the fight, till at length, ſir Geffrey Worſley, with a wing of armed footemen, with axes, came to the reſcue (for to that ende hee was left behinde, of purpoſe to come to their ayde, if neede required) with whoſe comming, the Frenchmen were ſo hardly handled, that to conclude, they were broken in ſunder, beaten downe, and wholly vanquiſhed:

there

Sir Iohn Clarke a valiant Captayne.

A policie.

there were of them ſlayne aboue ſixe ſcore, and as many taken priſoners, among whiche number, was their chiefe Capitayne Sir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg, with the reſidue, and there put in ſafekeeping. Thys exployt was archieued by the Engliſhmenne, on S. Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of King Richard his raigne: but leaſt any ioy ſhuld come to the Engliſh people in that ſeaſon, without ſome mixture of grief, one ſir Iohn Clearke, a righte valiaunt Knighte, and fellow in armes with ſir Hugh Caluerley, chaunced this yeare to lye in garriſon in a Caſtell in Britaine, where was an hauen, and diuers Engliſhe Shippes lying in the ſame, whereof the frenche galeys beeing aduertiſed, came thither, to ſet thoſe Shippes on fyre, appoynting one of their galleys firſte to attempt the feate, and if fortune ſo woulde, to trayne the Engliſhmen forthe, till they ſhoulde fall into the lappes of foure other galleys whyche they layde as it had bin in ambuſhe: and as the enimies wiſhed, ſo it came to paſſe, for the Engliſhmen perceyuing their veſſels in daunger to be brent of the enimies, ranne euery man aborde to ſaue the Shippes and goodes within them, and amongſt the reſt, Sir Iohn Clearke their Captayne, meaning to take ſuch part as his men did, got aborde alſo, and ſtreight falling in purſute of the galley that withdrewe for the purpoſe aforeſayd, the Engliſhmen were ſhortly encloſed with the other galleys, before they were aware, not knowing what ſhift to make to auoyde the preſent daunger. Sir Iohn Clearke perceyuing howe the caſe ſtoode, layde about him like a Gyant, cauſing his company ſtill to drawe backe agayne, whileſt he reſiſting the enimies, did ſhewe ſuch proofe of his valiancie, that they were much aſtoniſhed therewith. To be ſhort, he ſo manfully behaued himſelfe, that the moſt parte of his company had time to recouer land, but when hee that had thus preſerued others ſhoulde leape forthe of the Shippe to ſaue him ſelfe, he was ſtriken in the thigh with an axe, that downe he fell, and ſo came into the enimies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almoſt quite cut off from the body, ſo that hee dyed of that and other hurtes preſently, leauing a remembrance behinde him, of many worthy actes through his valiancie atchieued, to his high prayſe and great commendation. The Barke of Yorke was alſo loſt the ſame time, beeing a proper veſſell, and nowe taken ſuddaynely, ſanke with all that were aborde in hir, both Engliſhmen, and the enimies alſo that were entred into hir, thinking to carrie hir away.

The Duke of Britayne reſtored to his Dukedome.

Sir Hugh Caluerly.

An heynous murther of a merchante ſtranger.

Great death in the North Countrey.

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Britayne returning into his countrey, vnder the conduit of Sir Thomas Percy, and Sir Hugh Caluerley, landed at a hauen not farre from Saint Malo, the fourth daye of Auguſt, beeing receyued with vnſpeakable ioy of the Britaynes, as wel lords as commons, ſo that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the Kyng of England, had cauſed his ſubiects in fauoure of Fraunce, to keepe him many yeares forth of his Dukedome, as a baniſhed Prince, but at length, they beeyng ouercome with irkeſomneſſe of his long abſence, with generall conſents, ſent for him home, ſo that there were but fewe of the Brittiſhe nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and thoſe were only ſuche, as firmely linked in ſeruice with the French King, were loth to forgoe ſuche roomthes and dignities as vnder him they enioyed, namely, the Conſtable of Fraunce, ſir Bertram de Cleaquin, the Lord Cliſſon, the Lorde de Rohen, and the Lord Rochfort, and certayne others: The Lord de la Wall amõgſt other, came to him as we finde in Thomas Walſ. offering him his ſeruice as well as the reſidue. At his landing, he was likely to haue loſt all ſuch furniture, as well of vittailes, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or hys trayne had broughte with them, for the Frenche galleys eſpying their time, immediately as hee and his company were ſet a land, before yͤ Ships in which the ſayd furniture was fraughte, coulde enter the hauen, whiche was ſomewhat ſtraighte and narrow, came vppon them, and had them at ſuch aduantage, that if ſir Hugh Caluerley with his Archers hadde not cauſed the maſter of hys Shippe euen againſt his will to returne agayne to the reſcue, the Galleys had taken and gone away with the other Shippes, but through the manfull prowesse of ſir Hugh, the Galleys were repulſed, and the Shippes ſaued: for according to his wonted valiancy, hee would not returne, till hee ſawe all other in ſauetie, and then defendyng himſelfe ſo well as he might, withdrewe into the hauen, & landed ſafely with the reſidue. About the ſame time, was an haynous murther committed in Londou, of a Merchant Genewes, whom certayne Engliſh Merchants vpon a ſpite and enuie which they bare towards him, cauſed to bee ſlayne one euening in the ſtreete, before his owne gates. The cauſe that moued the merchauntes ſo to procure his death was, for that hee vndertooke to furniſhe this lande, hauing the ſtaple allowed hym at Southhamptõ, of all ſuch wares as came forth of Leuant ſo plentifully as was to be had in any place in all theſe weſt partes of Chriſtendome. In the Sommer of this yeare, a greeuous mortalitie afflicted the Northe partes of this land, ſo that the Countrey became almoſt deſolate, and to the increaſe of that miſerie, the Scottes thynkyng the tyme to ſerue theyr

Great ſpoyle by the Scottes in the death time.

turne, inuaded the bordures, and moſt cruelly, harried, robbed, and ſpoyled the ſame, not letting paſſe any parte, of moſt cruell murthering of the people that were left aliue, and not made away by that ſore contagious ſickneſſe. The number of Cattell was infinite which they droue out of the lande with them, not ſparing heardes of Swine which they toke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of Cattell before that preſente.

Before the Scottes made this iourney into Englande, whileſt the mortalitie was moſt in force, they calling vnto certayne of the Engliſhe borderers, asked of thē how it came to paſſe, that ſo great a death raigned amōgſt thē. The Engliſhmen, as good, playne, and ſimple meanyng men, tolde them, that truely they knewe not the cauſe, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in ſuch behalfe: but one thing they knewe, that all calamitie, deathe, and aduerſitie that chaunced vnto them, came by the ſpeciall grace of God, to the ende, that beeing puniſhed for theyr ſynnes, they myghte learne to repent and amende theyr wicked liues. The Scottes hearing this, when they ſhoulde enter this lande, vnderſtandyng lewdely what the Engliſhmen hadde tolde them concerning the diſeaſe, and the grace of God, deuiſed a bleſſing forſooth to bee ſayd euery morning, of the moſt antient perſon in euery family, as thus, *Benedicite* (ſaide hee,) *dominus* ſayde the reſidue: then began hee agayne, ſaying, God and Saint Mango, Saint Romayne and Sainct Andrewe, ſhielde vs thys daye fra Goddes grace, and the foule deathe that Engliſhmenne dyen vpon.

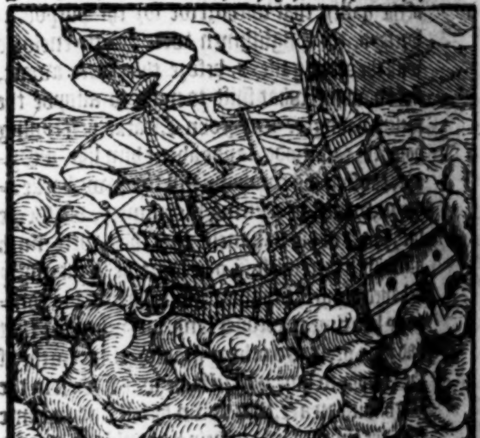
Thus the ſenſeleſſe men miſconſtruing thys worde the grace of God, prayed for their owne deſtruction, whiche if not in this worlde, yet for theyr brutiſhe crueltie vſed at that preſente, agaynſte the miſerable creatures, which the hand of God had ſpared, in time of that greuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, leaſt in another worlde it came to them, as the very words of their prayers imported.

A notable example of a faythfull priſoner.

About the ſame time, John Schakill Eſquier was ſet at libertie, ẏ K. cōpounded with him for his priſoner, giuing fiue C. markes in ready money, & lands to the valew of a C. markes by yere. When he ſhould bring forth his priſoner, and deliuer him to the Kyng, this is to bee noted, as a thing very ſtrange and wonderfull, for when hee ſhoulde appeare, it was knowen to bee the very grome that had ſerued him in all the time of hys trouble, and would neuer vtter himſelfe what hee was, before that time, hauing ſerued hym as an hyred ſeruaunte all that while in priſon, and out of priſon, in daunger of life, when his other maiſter was murthered, where, if he would haue vttered himſelfe, hee might haue bin enterteyned in ſuche honorable ſtate, as for a priſoner of his degree hadde bin requiſite, ſo that the faithfull loue and aſſured conſtancie in this noble Gentleman, was highly commended, and no leſſe marueiled at of all men.

About the feaſt of Sainte Nicholas, in thys third yeare of King Richards raigne, there went to Sea an army of men, that ſhoulde haue paſſed ouer into Britaigne, to the ayde of the Duke there, vnder the conduit of Sir John Arundell, ſir Hughe Caluerley, Sir Thomas Percye, Sir William Elmham, ſir Thomas Moreus, Sir Thomas Baneſter, and many other Knightes and Eſquiers, too long to rehearſe, a ſufficiente power vndoubtedly, to haue done a greate enterpriſe: but they were no ſooner on the Sea, but ſuddainely there aroſe ſuch an hideous tempeſt of winde and ſtormes, that they looked preſently to be all caſt away, they were ſcattered here and there, and driuen they wiſt not whether. The Shippe wherein Sir John Arundell was abord, chaunced to be caſt on the coaſt of Irelād, and there driuen to forſake his Shippe, that was ready to be broken in peeces, by rage of waues, beating it there againſt the rockes: he was drowned before hee coulde winne to lande, in an Ile. neere to the whiche they had thruſt in, the Shippe.

The engliſh nauie ſcattered by a terrible tempeſt.



To the like ende came ſir Thomas Baneſter, ſir Nicholas Trumpington, and Sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt forth of the Shippe: alſo an Eſquier one Muſarde, a moſt ſeemely perſonage and a bolde, and another Eſquier, named Denyoke, being almoſt out of daunger, were fetched away by the ſurges of the ſea, and ſo periſhed, with many other. Robert Ruſt a cunning ſea man, belonging to Blackney in Northfolke, and maſter of the Shippe wherein ſir John Arundell was embarqued, was the firſt that got to lande, giuing enſample to others, how to ſhift for themſelues: but when hee ſaw his chiefe Captayne, the ſayd Sir John Arundell got forth to the ſands, and as one thinking himſelfe paſt all daunger, to ſhake his wette garments about him, the ſayd Ruſt waying the daungerous ſtate wherein the ſayd Sir John Arundell yet ſtoode, came downe, and raught to hym his hand, enforſing hymſelfe to plucke hym to the ſhore: but whileſt hee tooke care for an other mans ſafetie, and neglected his owne, hee loſt his life, and ſo they both periſhed togither, for through a mighty billowe of the raging Seas, they were both ouerthrowen, and with returning of the waues back, drawen into the deepe, ſo that they coulde neuer recouer footeholde agayne, but were drowned.

The ſayd Ruſt was much lamented, bycauſe he was not onely knowen to be a ſkilfull maſter, but alſo counſelled the ſayd Sir John Arundell in no wiſe to goe to ſea, at what time he woulde nedes ſet forward, forcing the ſaid Ruſt and the Marriners to hoiſt vp ſailes, and make waye. They that eſcaped to land in that Iſle, founde nothing there to relieue their miſeries, but bare ground, ſo that diuers ſtarued through cold, wanting fier and other ſuccour: the reſidue that were luſtie and wiſe withall, ranne vp and downe, and ſometime wraſtling, and otherwiſe chaſing themſelues, remayned there in greate miſerie, from the Thurſday, till Sunday at noone next enſuing. At what time, when the Sea was appeaſed and waxen calme, the Iriſhmen that dwelled ouer againſt this Iſle on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and relieued them the beſt they coulde, being almoſt dead, through trauell, hunger and colde.

The ſaide Sir John Arundell loſt not onely his life, but all his furniture and apparell for hys body, which was very ſumptuous, ſo that it was thought to ſurmount the apparell of any King. For he had two and fiftie new ſutes of apparell of cloth of golde, or Tiſſewe, as was reported, all the which, togither with his horſes and geldings, amounting to yͤ valew of ten thouſand markes, was loſt in the Sea. And beſides this, there were loſt the ſame time, a fyue and twentie Shippes, with menne, Horſes, and other riches, whiche attended him in that voyage. Sir Thomas Percy yet, and ſir Hugh Caluerley, with Sir William Elmham, and certayne others, eſcaped, but cruelly tormented with vnmercifull tempeſt: and before Sir Thomas Percy could get to land after the Sea was quieted, hee was aſſaulted by a Spanyarde, againſt whom he ſo defẽded hymſelf, that in the end he toke the Spaniſh veſſel, & brought hir, with all that he found aboorde in hir, vnto the nexte ſhore, and ſolde the ſame for an hundred poundes, and without long delay, tooke the Sea, and paſſed ouer to Breſt, of whiche fortreſſe hee was Captaine ioyntly with Sir Hugh Caluerley, and therefore doubting leaſt ſome inconuenience mighte thereto nowe in both their abſence chaunce, hee made the more haſt, not taking reſt till hee came thither, notwithſtanding his paſſed paynefull trauells.

The exceſſe and ſumptuous apparell, of ſir Iohn Arundell.

There were drowned aboue a thouſand men in one place and other, as the additions to Mermouth do teſtifie.

Sir Hugh Caluerley was neuer in his lyfe in more daunger of deathe, than at that time: for all that were in his Shippe (as Froyſſarte writeth) were drowned, except hymſelfe, and ſeauen marriners.

We fynde, that there were drowned in one place and other, aboue a thouſand Engliſh men, in that vnlucky voyage.

Some writers impute this calamitie to lyghte on the ſaide Sir John Arundell and his company, for the laſciuious and filthy rule, whiche they kept before their ſetting forthe, in places where they laye till theyr prouiſion was ready, and not contented with that whiche they did before they tooke Shippe, in rauiſhing mens wiues, maydes and daughters, they caried them aboord, that they might haue the vſe of them whileſt they were on the Sea: and yet when the tempeſt roſe, like cruell and vnmercifull perſons, they threw them into the Sea, eyther for that they woulde not bee troubled with their lamentable noyſe and crying, or for that they thought ſo long as they had ſuch women aboorde with them (whom they had abuſed ſo long) God would not ceaſſe the rage of the tempeſt.

Outragious wickedneſſe iuſtly puniſhed.

But it ſhoulde appeare this tempeſt was generall, for where the Spaniſh and Frenche fleetes were abroade the ſame time, being aſſembled togither to annoy the coaſtes of this lande, theyr Shyppes were likewiſe toſſed and turmoyled, ſo as no ſmal number of them were loſt, in ſomuch, that the domage which they ſuſteyned, was thought farre to paſſe that which happened to yͤ engliſh nauie.

1380

Thys yeare about Chriſtmas, Sir William de Montacute Earle of Saliſburie, after he had remayned a twelue monethes ſpace at Calaice, the Kyngs Lieutenante there, was called home, and Sir John Deueroux, a ryghte valiaunte Knighte, and an olde man of warre, was ſente thither in his place.

Sir Iohn Deueroux made deputie of Calais.

Alſo, Sir John Harleſton was called home from Chierburgh, and ſir William Windeſhore a noble Knight, was ſent thither, to be Captaine of that fortreſſe.

After the Epiphanie, was a Parliament called at London, whiche continued till the beginning of the Calendes of Marche.

Whereas the yeare before, there had bene certaine, Byſhoppes, Earles, Barons, and Iuſtices appointed, to haue yͤ gouernemẽt and rule about the Kyng, now at the requeſt of the Lordes and

The Earle of Warwike elected protector

commons in this Parliament aſſembled, ẏ Lord Thomas Beauchampe Erle of Warwike, was choſen to remayne continually with the Kyng, as chief gouernour, both of his perſon, and to giue aunſwere to all ſtraungers that ſhould come hyther about any buſineſſe whatſoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of thoſe that were choſen thereto before: it was perceyued that they had ſought to enrich thẽſelues, & had done little, to the aduancemẽt of the kings honor, or ſtate of the common wealth, but rather emptied the Kings cofers.

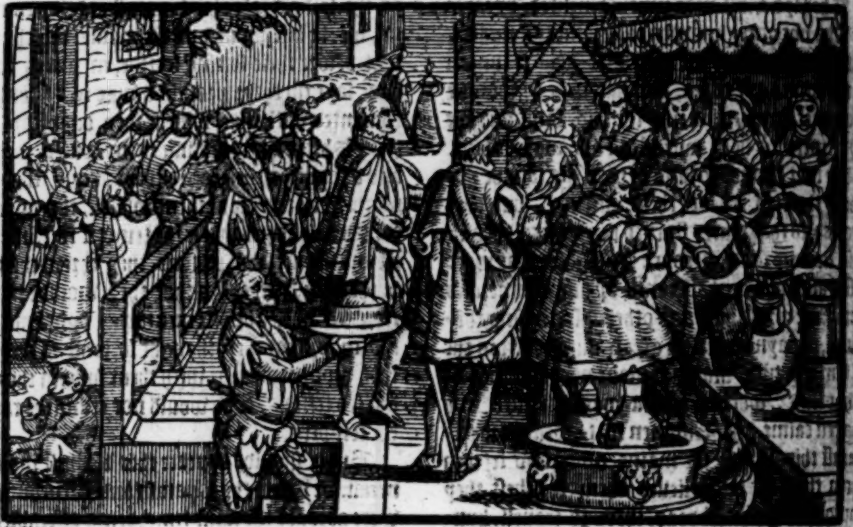
In this Parliamente alſo, the Lord Richarde Scrope gaue ouer the office of Chancellor, and Simon Sudbury Archbyſhop of Canterbury tooke it vpon him.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury made lord Chancellour.

In this Parliament was graunted a tenth by the Cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laytie, with condition that from henceforth, to witte, from ẏ Calends of Marche, vnto the feaſt of Saint Michaell, which then ſhoulde be in the yeare. 1381. there ſhoulde be no more Parliamentes, but thys condition was not performed, as after it appeared.

The kings half ſiſter maried the Erle of S. Poule.

In the Octaues of Eaſter, the Lord Waleran Earle of Saint Paule, married the Kings half ſiſter, the Lady Joane de Courtney: the ſolemnization of this mariage, was holden at Windſor, with great triumphing.



The Princeſſe that was mother to the bride, was greatly againſt the marriage, but the bryde hir ſelfe had ſuche a liking to the Earle, that the King was contented that they ſhould match togither, and ſet him free of his raunſome, whyche he ſhould haue paide, for that hee hadde bin taken priſoner in the marches of Calcis, and further, gaue with his ſiſter by way of endowmente, the Towneſhip and manor of Byfleete.

A combat betwixt ſir John Auſtye and Thomas Katrington.

The ſeuenth of June, a combate was foughte before the Kings palace at Weſtminſter, on the pauement there, betwixte one ſir John Anneſley knight, and one Thomas Katrington Eſquier.

The occaſion of this ſtraunge and notable triall roſe hereof. The knight accuſed the Eſquier of treaſon, for that where the fortreſſe of Sainte Sauiour within the Iſle of Cõſtantine in Normandie, belonging ſometime to Sir John Chãdos, had bin committed to the ſaid Katrington, as Captayne thereof, to keepe it againſte the enimies, he hadde for money ſolde and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was ſufficiently prouided, of men, munition and vittayles, to haue defended it againſt them: And ſith the inheritaunce of that fortreſſe and landes belonging thereto, had apperteyned to the ſaide Anneſley in righte of his wife, as neereſt couſin by affinitie vnto Sir John Chandos, if by the falſe conueyance of the ſaid Katrington, it had not bin made away, and alienated into the enimies handes, hee offered therefore to trie the quarell by combate, againſt the ſaide Katrington; whervpon was the ſame Katrington apprehended, and putte in priſon, but ſhortly after ſet at libertie againe.

Whileſt the Duke of Lancaſter during the time that his father King Edward lay in hys laſt ſickneſſe, did in al things what liked him, and ſo at the contemplation of the Lord Latimer as was thought, hee releaſſed Katrington for the time, ſo that Sir John Anneſley could not come to the effect of his ſute in all the meane time, till nowe. Such as feared to be charged with the like offences, ſtayed the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and auntiente Knightes, it was defyned, that for ſuch a forraine controuerſie that hadde not riſen within the limittes of the Realme, but touched poſſeſſion of thynges on the

Triall by combate in what caſe lawfull.

the further ſide the ſea, it was lawfull to haue it tryed by battayle, if the cauſe were firſte notified to the Conneſtable and Marſhall of the realme, and that the combate was accepted by the parties.

Herevpon was the day and place appoynted, and all things prouided readie, with lyſtes rayled and made ſo ſubſtantially, as if the ſame ſhoulde haue endured for euer. The concourſe of people that came to Lõdon to ſee this tried, was thought to exceede that of the kings coronation, ſo deſyrous men were to beholde a ſight ſo ſtraunge and vnaccuſtomed.

The order of the Combate.

The King and his Nobles, and all the people beeing come togyther in the morning of the day appoynted, to the place where the lyſtes were ſet vp, the knight beeing armed and mounted on a fayre courſer ſeemely trapped, entereth firſt as appellant, ſtaying till his aduerſarie the defendant ſhould come. And ſhortly after was the Eſquier called to defende his cauſe, in this fourme: Thomas Katrington defendant, come and appeare to ſaue the action, for whiche ſir John Annſley Knight and appellant hath publiquely & by wryting appelled thee: He being thus called thriſe by an Herault at armes, at the thirde call hee commeth armed likewiſe, and ryding on a Courſer trapped with Trappes embrodered with his armes.

At his approching to the lyſtes he alyght from his horſe, leaſt according to the lawe of armes the Coneſtable ſhoulde haue chalenged the horſe if he had entered within the lyſtes, but his ſhifting nothing auayled him, for the horſe after hys maiſter was alyght beſide him, ranne vp and downe by the rayles, nowe thruſting his heade ouer, and nowe both heade and breaſt, ſo that the Earle of Buckingham, bycauſe he was highe Conneſtable of Englande, claymed the Horſe afterwardes, ſwearing that hee woulde haue ſo much of hym as had appeared ouer the rayles, and ſo the horſe was adiudged vnto him.

The Erle of Buckingham claymeth the horſe.

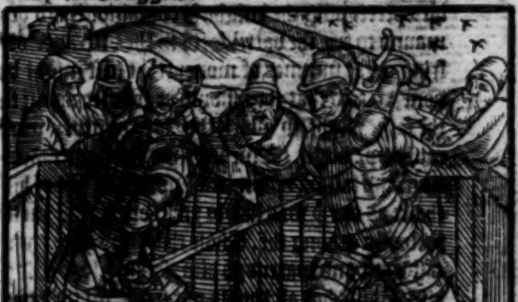
But now to the matter of the combate (for this chalenge of the Horſe was made after) as ſoone as the Eſquier was come wythin the lyſtes the Indenture was brought forth by the Marſhall and Conſtable, which had beene made and ſealed before them, with conſent of the partyes, in which were conteyned the Articles exhibited by the knight agaynſt the Eſquire, and there the ſame was read afore all the aſſemble.

The Eſquier whoſe conſcience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, went about to make exceptions, that his cauſe by ſome meanes might haue ſeemed the ſounder. But the Duke of Lancaſter hearing him ſo ſtaye at the matter, ſware, that except according to the conditions of the combate, and the lawe of armes, hee woulde admit all things in the Indentures comprysed, that were not made without his owne conſent, he ſhoulde as guiltie of the treaſon forthwith be had forth to execution.

The Duke with thoſe wordes wanne greate commendation, and auoyded no ſmall ſuſpition that had beene conceyued of him, as partiall in the Eſquiers cauſe. The Eſquier hearing this, ſayd, that he durſt fight with the knight, not onely in thoſe poyntes, but in all other in the worlde whatſoeuer the ſame might be. For he truſted more to his ſtrength of bodie, and fauour of his friendes, than in the cauſe whiche he had taken vpon hym to defende. Hee was in deede a mightie man of ſtature, where the knight among thoſe that were of a meane ſtature was one of the leaſt.

Friendes to the Eſquier in whom he had great affyance to be borne out through their aſſyſtance, were the Lordes Latimer, and Baſſet, wyth other.

Before they entred battaile, they tooke an othe, as well the knight as the Eſquier, that the cauſe in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witche craft, nor arte Magicke whereby they might obteyne the victorie of their aduerſarie, nor had about them any herb or ſtone or other kind of experiment with which Magitians vſe, to triumph ouer theyr enimies. This othe receyued of eyther of them, and therewith hauing made their prayers deuoutly, they begin the battayle, firſt with ſpeares, after with ſwordes, and laſtly with daggers.



They fought long, till finally the knight had bereft the eſquier of all his weapons, and at length the Eſquier was manfully ouerthrowne by the knight: but as the knight woulde haue fallen vpon the Eſquier, through ſweate that ran downe by his helmet, his ſighte was hindered, ſo that thinking to fall vpon the Eſquier, hee fell downe himſelfe, not comming neare to the Eſquier, who perceyuing what had happened, although he was almoſt ouercome with long figh-

The Eſquire is ouerthrowne.

ting, made to the knight, and threw himſelfe vpon him, ſo that many thought the knight ſhoulde haue beene ouercome: other doubted not but that the knight woulde recouer his feete againe, and get the victorie of his aduerſarie.

The king in the meane tyme cauſed it to bee proclaymed that they ſhoulde ſtay, and that the knight ſhoulde be rayſed vp from the ground, and ſo ment to take vp the matter betwixt them.

To be ſhort, ſuch were ſent as ſhould take vp the Eſquier, but comming to the knight, hee beſought them, that it might pleaſe the king to permit them to lie ſtill, for he thanked God hee was well, and miſtruſted not to obteyne the victorie, if the Eſquier might be layde vpon him, in maner as he was earſt.

Finally, when it woulde not bee ſo graunted, hee was contented to be rayſed vp, and was no ſooner ſet on his feete, but hee cheerefully went to the King, without any mans helpe, where the Eſquier coulde neyther ſtand nor go without the helpe of two men to holde him vp, and therefore was ſet in his Chaire to take his eaſe, to ſee if hee might recouer his ſtrength.

The knight at his comming before the king, beſought him and his nobles, to graunt him ſo much, that hee might bee eftſoones layde on the ground as before, and the Eſquier to be layd aloft vpō him, for the knight perceyued that the eſquire through exceſſiue heate, and the weight of his armor, did marueilouſly faint, ſo as his ſpirits were in maner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceyuing the knight ſo couragiouſly to demaund to trie the battel forth to the vtterance, offring great ſummes of money, that ſo it might be done, decreed that they ſhould be reſtored again to the ſame plight in which they lay whē they were raiſed vp: but in the meane time the eſquier fainting, and falling down in a ſwoune, fel out of his chaire as one ẏ was like to yeeld vp his laſt breth preſently among thē. Those that ſtood about him caſt wine and water vpō him, ſeeking ſo to bring him againe, but all would not ſerue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparel, which thing proued the knight to be vanquiſher, and the eſquier to be vanquiſhed.

The Eſquier fainteth.

The Knight is iudged the vā-quiſhed.

After a little time the eſquire began to come to himſelf, and lifting vp his eyes, began to holde vp his hed, & to caſt a gaſtly looke on euery one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no peece ſince the beginning of the fight) and ſpeaking to him, called him traitor, and falſe periured man, aſking of him if he durſt trie the battel with him againe: but the Eſquier hauing neither ſenſe nor ſpirite whereby to make anſwere, Proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euery one might go to his lodging.

The eſquier immediately after he was brought to his lodging, and layde in bed, beganne to waxe raging woode, and ſo continuing ſtill out of hys wittes, about nine of the clocke the next day hee yeelded vp the ghoſt.

This combate was fought (as before ye haue heard) the vij. of June, to the great reioyſing of the cōmon people, and diſcoragement of traytours.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, the Lorde Oliuer de Cliſſon with a number of ſhippes and gallies of Fraunce and Spayne, tooke the Sea, and comming on the coaſt of Englande, landed in dyuerſe places of the weſt Countrey, and alſo in the South parts, ſpoyling and burning ſundrie townes, taking ſuch ſhippes and veſſelles as they myght lay holde vpon, and ſo continued to endomage the Engliſhe people that inhabited neare to the ſea ſide, all that Sommer following.

The French ſpoyle & bur diuers towne in the weſt country.

In the beginning of the fourth yeare of thys king, Thomas of Woodſtocke Erle of Buckingham, vncle to the king, with an armie of vij. or viij. M. men of armes, and archers, was ſent ouer to Calais, that he might inuade France, and paſſe through the ſame to come into Brytaine vnto the ayde of the Duke there. You haue heard how the French king had ſeaſed into his handes the moſt part of the Duchie of Brytaine, bycauſe that the Duke hadde ioyned himſelfe in league with the king of Englande: but yet there were dyuerſe of the good townes, and alſo many of the Barons and Nobles of the Countrey whiche kept themſelues as neuters a long ſeaſon, but at length, longing to ſee the returne of theyr naturall Lord and duke, ſent vnto him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to ſee to the quieting of the troubled ſtate of his Countrey.

An.1374.

Froiſſart.

The Erle of Buckinghā ſent into Bri-taine to aide the Duke a-gainſt the French king.

The Duke beeing thus earneſtly deſyred to returne home, by the aduice of the king of England and his counſaile graunted to theyr requeſt, that had ſo inſtantly required him, both by letters and ſufficient Meſſengers: wherevpon he tooke the Sea, and ſayling forth, arryued in Brytaine, hauing with him ſir Robert Knolles, and a certaine number of Engliſhmen, both armed men and archers (as before ye haue heard.)

The K. alſo promiſed to ſend him a new ſupply very ſhortly, whiche was not forgotten: but fortune was ſo contrarie, that ſir John Arundell generall of thoſe that were ſent, and many of hys companie, were drowned by force of tempeſt, and the other driuen backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the Duke of Brytaine with ayde of his ſubiectes, did manfully defend his townes & coūtry againſt the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppreſſed by the great puiſſaunce of the Frenchmen, if ayde came not the ſooner. Which being ſignified

part

ouer into Englande, moued the king and hys counſaile to appoynt the Earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this voyage. He landed at Calais three dayes before the feaſt of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the Earles of Stafford, and Deuonſhire, the Lorde Spencer Coneſtable of the hoſte, the Lord Fitz Water Marſhall, the Lorde Baſſet, the Lorde Bourchier, the Lorde Ferreis, the Lorde Morley, the Lorde Darcie, ſir William Windſore, ſir Hugh Caluerley, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Hugh de la Sente, Sir Thomas Percye, Sir Thomas Triuet, ſir Hugh Tirell, ſir William Ferrington, ſir Iohn, & ſir Nicolas Daubriticourt, Thomas Camois, Raufe Neuill, ſonne to the Lord Neuill, ſir Henrie baſterd Ferrers, ſir Hugh Broe, ſir Geffrey Wourſley, ſir William Clinton, ſir Iuon FitzWarren, and diuerſe other.

After they had reſted them at Calais two dayes, they remoued the thirde day oute of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remayned three dayes, till all their companie, cariages, and prouiſions, were come to them oute of Calais: From thence they remoued and came before Arde, where the Earle of Buckingham made knightes, theſe that follow: the Earle of Deuonſhire, the Lorde Morley, the ſonne of the Lord FitzWater, ſir Roger Straunge, ſir Iohn Ipre, ſir Iohn Colle, ſir Iames Tyrell, ſir Thomas Ramſton, ſir Iohn Neuill, and ſir Thomas Ros, or Roſley, as ſome copies haue. Theſe perſons were made knightes bycauſe they went in the vowarde, which was ſent to win a ſtrong houſe called Follant, which the owner had fortified againſt them. But though he defended himſelfe manfully for a time, yet in the ende both hee and all his companie were taken priſoners.

Knights made by the erle of Buckingham at his entry in to France

After this, the Duke paſſed by Saint Omers, ſhewing himſelfe afore it like a mile off, with hys hoſt in order of battail, aloft vpon a Mountaine. Some of the Engliſh men rode to the barriers, requiring that ſome of them within would come forth, and break ſtaues with them, but they could not be anſwered.

Knights again made.

The ſame day that the Engliſh menne thus came before Saint Omers, the Earle of Buckingham made again newe knights, as ſir Rauf Neuill, ſir Bartilmew Bourchier, ſir Thomas Camois, ſir Foulke Corbet, ſir Thomas Danglure, ſir Rauf Petipas, ſir Lewes Saint Albine, and ſir Iohn Pauley, or rather Paulet.

The iourney of the English army through France.

Theſe Engliſhmen rode through the Countrey, demaunding iuſtes and deedes of armes, but they coulde not bee anſwered. In deede the townes of the frontiers were wel repleniſhed and ſtuffed with men of warre, and ſtill were the Engliſhmen coaſted, but they kept themſelues ſo cloſe togither, without breaking theyr order, that theyr enimies coulde finde them at none aduauntage.

They paſſed by Tyrwine, and by Betwyn, where they lodged one day. They made but eaſy iourneis, and ſeemed to require nothing but battaile. They paſſed by Arras, by Myramont, and ſo to Cleyre on the water of Some, and taried there three dayes, and in other places aboute in that Countrey.

The fourth day they diſlodged, and drew towardes Cambray, and ſo to Saint Quintines, and after vp towardes Reimes.

They founde little riches, and ſmall ſtore of vitayles abrode in the Countrey, for the French king had abandoned al to his men of warre, who eyther waſted or conueyed all things of any value into the fortreſſes and walled townes.

The Engliſhe men therefore ſent to them of Reymes, requiring to haue ſome vyttaile ſent to the hoſt, for the which they would ſpare the cōtrey from waſting: but they of Reymes woulde not conſent herevnto. Wherevpō the Engliſhmen began to light them ſuch Candels, as their eyes within the Citie ached to behold the ſame a farre of. Moreouer the Engliſhmen approched ſo nere to the walles & ditches of the citie, ẏ they brought away .xx. thouſand head of cattell, which the Citizens had gotten within the compaſſe of theyr ditches, and further ſent to thē within, that if they would not ſend bread and wine forth to vyttaile the hoſt, in that behalfe they would burne al their corne, for doubt wherof, the Citizens ſent forth to the hoſt ſix Charets, laden with as much breade and wine as they might carie.

The Citizens of Reimes ſaue their corne fieldes from deſtroying by ſending victailes to the Engliſh hoſt.

Thus was their corne ſaued from deſtruction, and the Engliſh men by ſoft and eaſie iourneys drewe towardes the Citie of Trois, in the which was the Duke of Burgoine, with the Dukes of Burbon and Bar, the Earle of Ewe, the Lorde Coucie, ſir Iohn de Vienne high Admyrall of Fraunce, and a great nūber of other of the French nobilitie.

They had made a Baſtide without the town able to receyue a thouſand men of armes: but vpon the Engliſh mens approche to aſſault it, they did forſake that ſtrength, and withdrewe to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a Banaret. Alſo there were certaine new knights made, as Sir Peter Berton, ſir Iohn, and Sir Thomas Pauley, or Paulet, ſir Iohn Stinguley, ſir Thomas Dortingues, ſir Iohn Waſſecoq, ſir Thomas Brayſey. Sir Iohn Brauin, Sir Henrie Vernier, Sir Iohn Coleuile, Sir William Euerat, Sir Nicholas Stiuguley, and ſir Hugh Lunit.

Sir Thomas Triuet created a Baronet.

Knightes created.

Verne or Vernon.

The Engliſh hoſt perceiuing the Frenchmen to withdraw into the towne, drew togither, and

ſtode

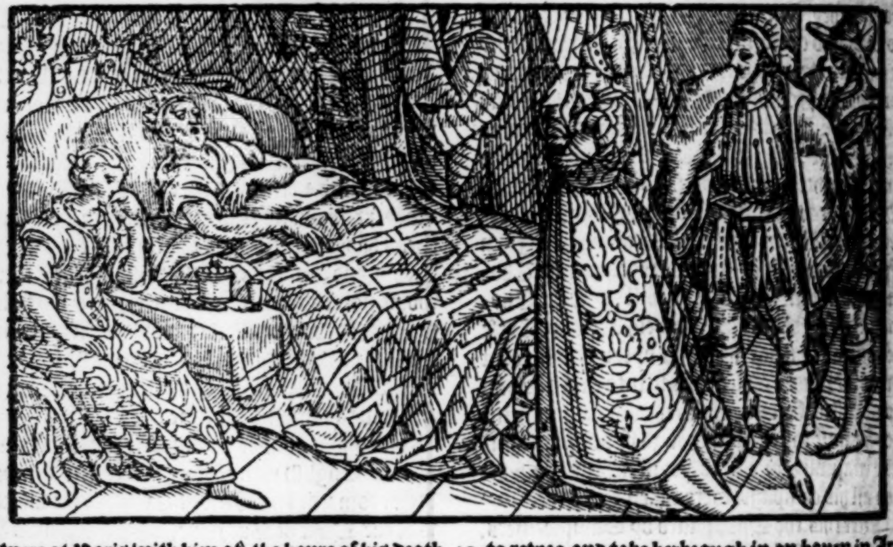
ſtoode in order of battayle, for the ſpace of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remoued to Maillerois le Vicount nere to Sens, and there they remained two dayes and after drew into Gaſtinois, & ſo into Beauſe. They were coaſted all the way by a great power of men of warre, as many or more in number, as they were themſelues, but the French king being a politique prince, wiſely conſidered what loſſes the realme of Fraunce had ſuſteyned afore tyme, by giuing battaile to the Engliſhmen, & therefore was fully reſolued, that in no wiſe he would giue licence to his people to fight with the Earle of Buckingham, but thought better (as he had lerned by good experience) to keepe his townes cloſe agaynſt his enimies, and ſo in the ende to wearie them, than by giuing battaile to put things in hazard, whereas hee knewe they coulde not take from him his Countreys by this kinde of warre, though they ſore endomaged the ſame for a time.

The pollicie of the Frēch king

There chaunced many ſmall ſkirmiſhes amongeſt thoſe that roade forth to diſcouer the countrey, but no notable encounter at all. For the Engliſhmen in thoſe dayes were cattes, not to be catched without Myttens, as Iacob Meir in one place ſayth, and againe the French men were as ware howe they aduentured to come neare them. Onely they ſought how to encloſe them vp in the Countrey, and to famiſhe them that they might then fight with them at ſome great aduantage, but ſtill the Engliſhe hoſt paſſed forwarde, holding on theyr voyage towardes Brytaine by Vandoſme, Pont Volayne, and ſo ouer the riuer of Sartre.

The death of Charles the French king

In this meane while the French king Charles the fifth was taken with a ſore ſickneſſe, whereof he departed this life the ſame day that the Engliſh army paſſed ouer the riuer of Sartre, which was on the .xxvj. of September, his brethren the dukes of Aniou, Berry, Burbon, and Burgoine were at Paris with him at the houre of his death where as a little before they had bin abroode in the Countrey with their powers, to defend the cities and townes of importance againſt the Engliſhe men, and ment indeede if they could haue eſpyed their aduauntage, and gotten licence thereto of the king, to haue giuen their enimyes battaile. But nowe they were otherwiſe occupied. Howbeit they had left their men abroode in the countrey to coaſt the Engliſhmen as they had done before. All the French power was aſſembled in the Citie of Mans, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar, yͤ Lord Coucie, and others.



Thom. VValſ.

The French & Spaniſh gal chaced frō the coaſt of Englād to Kingſale in Ireland and there vanquiſhed.

In this meane while that the Earle of Buckingham was paſſing through the Realme of Fraunce. the French and Spaniſhe gallies did much miſchief on the coaſt of England: but about the latter ende of Iune, by a fleete of Engliſhmen of the weſt countreyes, part of them were forced to retyre, and take herbrough in an hauen in Irelande called Kingſale, where beeing aſſayled of the Engliſhe menne and Iriſh menne, they were vanquiſhed, ſo that to the number of foure hundred of them were ſlaine, and their chiefe Captaynes taken, as Gonſalue de Verſe, and hys brother Iohn Martyn de Motrigo, Turgo Lorde of Morants. Alſo the Lorde of Reyth, Peers Martyn of Vermewe, Iohn Modit of Vermew the Seneſhal of Wargarie, the Seneſhal of S. Andrew, Cornelius of S. Sebaſtians, Paſcale de Biſkey, Iohn Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebaſtiano, and diuerſe other.

There were taken foure of their Barges, with a Ballenger, and .xxj. Engliſh veſſels recouered, which they had robbed and taken away from the owners. There eſcaped yet foure of their notable captains frō the hāds of our mē, Martin Grantz, Iohn Perys Montago, Iohn Huſee de Gitario, and one Garcias of S. Sebaſtiano, ſo that the malice of thoſe robbers ceaſſed not. For they with the French Gallyes ſtill lying on the Seas, when they eſpyed any aduauntage, woulde lande theyr people, and doe what myſchiefe they coulde in taking prayes, and burning townes and villages, although nowe and then they came ſhort to their veſſels againe, loſing ſomtimes an hundred, ſomtymes .lxxx. that were ouertaken by the Engliſhe men that came forth againſt them: but among other inuaſions which they made this ſommer on the coaſtes, we finde that they burnt the towne of Winchelſey, & put the Abbot of battaill to flight with his people, comming to ſuccor that towne, and tooke one of his Monks that was there in armor with the Abbot.

Diuers townes on the engliſh coaſtes deſtroyed and brent.

The Abbot of battel in reſcuing Wynchelſey is put to flight.

Some write alſo, that they burnt Rie, Haſtings,, and Porteſmouth. Finally, their boldneſſe ſo farre encreaſed, that in Auguſt they entring with their gallies into yͤ riuer of Thames, came vp to Graueſend, where they burnt the moſt part of the towne, and on the other ſide of the ryuer, aſwell in Eſſex as Kent, they burnt & ſpoyled diuerſe places, and with their priſoners & booties returned withoute receyuing any hurt, bringyng with them into Fraunce, both riche ſpoyles and good priſoners.

Graueſende burnt.

But to returne to the Erle of Buckingham where we left. The Engliſh army drew ſtil towards Brytaine, but with ſo ſmall doubt of their aduerſaries, yͭ they lay three or foure days ſometimes ſtill in one place. At their approching to the marches of Brytain, they came to Vytry a town ſituate at the firſt entring into that Countrey, and from thence went to Chateau Briant, and there reſted, whither came to thē certaine knightes ſent from the Duke of Brytayne, whiche ſignified to the Earle of Buckingham, what the Dukes meaning was. In deede by the death of the French king, the Dukes malice was greatly abated towarde the Frenchmen, ſo that hee had not much paſſed if the Engliſhmen had beene at home againe.

The Engliſhe hoſt entreth into Britaine.

Moreouer his townes were not determined to receyue the Engliſhe men, as enimies to the crowne of Fraunce: ſo that he was in a perplexity how to order his buſineſſe. At lēgth to ſhew himſelfe a ſtedfaſt friend to the Engliſhmē, & one that was no chaungeling, he determined by their ſupport, to force all thoſe to allow the league whiche he had eſtabliſhed with the Engliſhmen, whiche had denyed to beare armour agaynſt the crowne of Fraunce.

And fyrſt bycauſe they of Nauntes were the ringleaders of that rebellious demeanour, he appoynted fyrſt to beſiege theyr Citie. They hauing knowledge thereof, ſente into Fraunce for ayde.

Nauntes beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

The Dukes of Aniou, Berry, Burgoigne, and Burbon, brethren to the late King, and vncle to his ſonne the yong king, hauing the gouernaunce of the Realme vnder him, ſent ſixe hundred Speares with all ſpeede to ſtrengthen them of Nauntes, whiche defended the Citie in ſuche wiſe from the puyſſaunce of the Engliſhe men which enuironed the ſame wyth a ſtrong ſiege, that in the ende bycauſe the Duke came not to them (according to his promiſe) the ſiege was rayſed, the morrowe after New yeares day, two Monethes and foure dayes after the ſame was firſt layde.

The ſiege at Naunts broken vp.

The Duke of Brytayne woulde gladly haue come to the ſiege of Nauntes, in ſtrengthning of the Engliſh hoſt, but he could not perſwade hys Lordes to ayde hym in any ſuch enterpriſe. And therefore now that the Erle of Buckingham had broken vp his ſiege, he cauſed him to be lodged in the Citie of Vannes, and his men abrode in the Countrey, ſome here, and ſome there, acquiting himſelfe as well towardes them as he might: but ſurely the heartes of the Britains were wonderfully changed, & in no wiſe would cōſent to haue any warre with the Frenchmen, if any reaſonable peace might be cōcluded. For many that hated yͤ father, bare good will & heartie loue towardes the ſonne, whoſe yong yeares and great towardneſſe, allured the heartes of manye to wiſhe him well. Hereupon was mean made for a peace, which by the duke of Aniou his conſent (who bare the greateſt rule in Fraunce in that ſeaſon) a final accord was made, betwixt the yong king and the Duke of Brytaine, ſo that the Duke ſhoulde come and do his homage vnto the French king, and ſweare to be true and faythfull vnto him. Alſo that hee ſhould rid the Engliſhmen out of his Countrey, and helpe them with ſhippes and veſſels to tranſport them home into Englande.

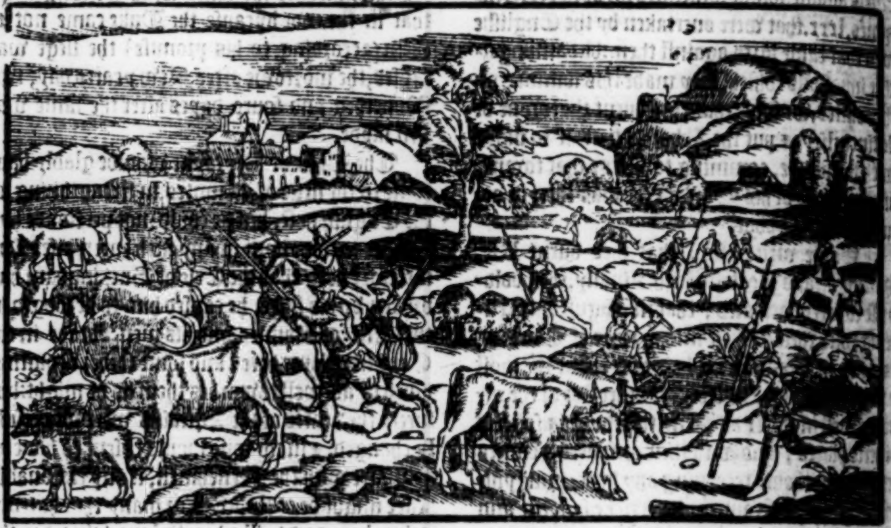
A peace betwixt the French king & the Duke of Britaine.

The Articles of the peace.

The Earle of Buckingham when he vnderſtood of this peace, was not a little diſpleaſed in his minde, conſidering that the Duke of Brytaine had delt ſo vniuſtly with him, and hys nephew the king of Englande. But the duke ſtyll excuſed him by his ſubiectes, as though if hee had not thus agreed, he ſhoulde haue bene in daunger to haue loſte his heritage of that Countrey. Finally, the Earle after he had ſhippes prouided for his paſſage, the .xj. of Aprill departed out of Vannes, and went to the hauen where hys Shippes lay, and ſo went abourde in lyke maner as other of his men did from other Hauens, and ſhortly after (when the wind ſerued) tooke the ſea, and returned into Englande, ſore diſpleaſed with the duke of Britaine, for his great vntruth & diſſimulation (as he tooke it) notwithſtanding all excuſes to cloke the matter by him alledged.

The Erle of Buckingham returned into Englande.

Whileſt the Engliſhmen were thus occupied



in warres agaynſt the Frenchmen (as before ye haue heard) the Scots could not reſt in quiet, but in reuenge for a ſhip, which the townſmē of new Caſtell and Hull had taken on the ſea, knowing them to be pyrates, determined to doe what miſchiefe they coulde vnto the Engliſh borders: for the loſſe of that ſhip grieued them, bycauſe it was eſteemed to be very rich, the goods that were in it being valued to vij. thouſand Markes. Hereupon the Scottes entring by the weſt borders, inuade and ſpoyle the Countreys of Weſtmerland and Cumberlande, and comming into the forreſt of Inglewood, they take away with them ſuche a number of beaſtes and cattel, that they were reckened to xl.M. heades of one and other: beſides this, they cruelly ſlue all ſuch as they coulde lay handes vpon, and burnt vp all the townes, villages, and houſes as they paſſed: and not content herewith, they ſtale vpon the towne of Penreth, when the fayre was kept there, ſleaing, taking, & chaſing away the people, and after gathering togyther all the goodes and ryches there found, toke it away with them, whereof there was ſuch plentie, as might haue ſatiſfied the couetous deſire of a moſt greedie armie.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders & ſpoyle whole countryes carrying away great booties.

They returned by Carleil, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the Countreyes adioynning, they durſte not ſtaye to make anye attempt agaynſte that towne, but compaſſed theyr way to eſcape with theyr booties home into theyr Countrey, whiche they did, although they loſt ſome of theyr companie as they paſſed by an embuſhment of certaine archers of Weſtmerlande and Cumberland, that were layd for them, of purpoſe. When the Earle of Northumberland woulde haue gone forth to reuenge thoſe iniuries done to the Countrey by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his counſaile, to forbeare till the day of truce, at what time it might be knowen what was further to be done in the matter.

About Michaelmas, the Duke of Lancaſter, the Erles of Warwike, and Staffordе, with other Lordes and men of honour, hauing with thē a great power of Souldiers and men of warre, went into the North parties, and cōming to the borders, they lay there till they had conſumed no ſmall ſummes of money, & endomaged the country as much as if the Scottiſh army had inuaded the ſame. The good they did, was that after long treatie with the Scottiſh Cōmiſſioners a truce was agreed vpon till Eaſter folowing, which being concluded, they returned home without any more adoe. For the ſpace of halfe a ſcore yeares togither nowe laſt paſt, the Engliſhe men euerie yere had one or two ſuch treaties with the Scots about the incurſions and roades which they yerely made into the Engliſh borders, ſore endomaging the inhabitants of thoſe north partes of the realme, notwithſtanding any truce or abſtinence of warre that might be cōcluded.

An army lyngring in the North partes greatly enpoueriſheth the country.

[illegible] Adam Mer.

Whileſt the armie (as ye haue heard) lay idle in the north partes, there were certaine letters founde by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto ẏ worthy Citizen John Philpot, who calling vnto him certain other worſhipfull Citizens, opened one of thē, in which was conteyned matter of high treaſon: and perceyning by the ſeale that it belonged vnto ſir Raufe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuie counſail, deliuered that letter with foure other letters cloſed with the ſame ſeale, firſt to the Lord Chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read, and the ſeale knowne to be the ſayd ſir Rauf Ferrers his ſeale, many greatly marueiled that ſo auncient a knight, & one in whom ſo great truſt was put, ſhould go about any ſuch treaſons. One of the letters was directed to ſir Bertram de Claikin, an other to the lord de la Riuer, & chamberlaine

Treaſon in letters written by Sir Rauf Ferrers to certaine French Lordes.

berlaine of France, an other to the Lord Cliſſon, and another to the patrone of the gallies, and to the captaine of the armie of Frenchmen & Spaniardes, which at the ſame time wafting alongſt the coaſtes, did much hurt in diuerſe places of the lande. Forthwith the ſayde Philpot and others were ſent in poſt from the king to the Duke of Lancaſter, that forſomuch as the ſayd ſir Rauſe Ferrers was then in the north partes with hym, intreating with the Scottes, he ſhould arreſt him and put him in ſafe keeping, which commaundement the Duke did accompliſh, and committed him to be ſafely kept in the Caſtell of Dunchue, but ſhortly after in the next Parliament he was ſet at libertie, foure Barons being bound for hys forth comming, till time that he might more euidently declare his innocencie.

A parlament at Northamtō.

About the feaſt of S. Martyn, was a Parliament holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, bycauſe in that ſeaſon of the yere they were conſtrayned to come, where there was no ſtore of fewell to make them fiers: and beſide that, lodgings were very ſtraite for ſo great a multitude. But the cauſe that moued the Counſaile to appoynte this Parliament there, was to the ende that they might the more ſurely procede to the tryall of John Kirkeby a Citizen of London, that had murthered the Geneweis (as before ye haue heard) which Kirkby was condemned at this Parliament, and drawne and hanged in ſight of the Lōdoners that were come thither, which execution if it ſhoulde haue bene done at London, the Lordes doubted leaſt ſome tumult might haue beene rayſed by the Citizens, who were reckened in thoſe dayes verie raſhe and preſumptuous in their doings.

John Kerkby executed for murdering a merchant ſtranger.

A greeuous ſubſidy.

But nowe to the effect of this Parliament. There was a new and ſtraunge ſubſidie or taſke graunted to be leuyed to the kings vſe, and towardes the charges of this armie that went ouer into Fraunce with the Earle of Buckingham, to witte of euerie prieſt ſecular or regular fire ſhillings. viij. pens and as much of euery Nunne, and of euery man & woman maried, or not maried, beeing .xvj. yeares of age (beggers certainly knowne onely excepted) foure pens for euery one. Greate grudging and many a bitter curſe followed about the leuying of this money, and muche miſchief roſe thereof, as after it appeared.

Twelue pens [illegible]

1381 Thom. VValſ.

In this fourth yere of king Richards raigne, immediately after Chriſtmaſſe, Thomas Brantingham Biſhop of Exeter and Lord Treaſorer, was diſcharged of hys office of Treaſorerſhippe, and Sir Robert Hales, Lord of S. Johns was aduaunced in his place, a right noble and manly knight, but not beloued of the Commons.

Wicliffes opiniō

About this time, did John Wicliffe chiefly ſet forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Aultar, denying the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and that it ought not in any wiſe to be worſhipped in ſuch ſort as the Church of Rome then did teach.

There were Embaſſadours ſent into Germanie, to treate with the Emperour for a maryage to be had betwixt the king of Englande, and the Emperors ſiſter.

About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the Cardinall, intituled of Saint Praxede, and the duke of Taſſia, & other nobles that came frō the Emperor, to treat with the king & his counſaile about the ſame mariage.

The Cardinall of S. Praxede.

This Cardinall, whither he paſſed the boundes of his commiſſion and authoritie to him graunted by the Pope (as ſome write) or whether hee was furniſhed with ſuch faculties, he was verye liberall in beſtowing of [illegible], to all ſuche as would come with [illegible]. Indulgences which the Pope had vſed only to reſerue for himſelfe to beſtowe this man graunted the ſame liberally, both Biennals, and Triennals. He gaue alſo letters confeſſionall, to all thoſe that would pay for them, admitting aſwell beneficed men as other, to be the Popes chaplaines. He made notaries for money, and denied not Aulters portatiue to any that woulde pay for them. Hee receyued fortie poundes beſides other giftes of the Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, to graunt to them a generall lycence to eate fleſh indifferently, as well abrode, as they had bene accuſtomed to doe at home within their Monaſteries.

Tryennals.

Al for money.

To thoſe that were excommunicate he gaue abſolution: thoſe that had vowed to goe in Pylgrimage to Rome, to the holy lande, or to Saint James, he would not firſt releaſe them, till he had receyued ſo muche money, according to the true valuation, as they ſhould haue ſpent in their iorneyes: and to be briefe, nothing coulde be aſked, but for money he was readie to graunt it.

And when he was requeſted to ſhew by what power hee did all theſe things, wyth great indignation hee anſwered, that hee woulde let them vnderſtande at Rome, if they woulde needes knowe the authoritie which hee had. At length, his Males were ſo filled with ſyluer, that his ſeruants diſdeyned to make them any anſwere, except they brought golde, ſaying bring vs golde, for we are full of your ſiluer: but at his departure he toke all away with him, both golde and ſiluer in ſuch abundance as was marueylous.

But now to returne to other matters concerning the ſtate of the realme. After the returne of the Erle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduice of cōſaill, that the duke of Lancaſter ſhoulde eftſoones go as ambaſſador frō K. Ri. into Scotlād, to ſee if he might renue the truce (which ſhortly would haue bin expired) for three yeres longer.

Alſo

An army ſent into Portingale to aide the k. there againſt the king of Caſtile.

Alſo whereas there was variaunce and open warre mainteyned, betwixt John king of Caſtille, and John king of Portingale, the Earle of Cambridge, the Lord William de Beauchamp, the Lorde Botreux, and ſir Mathew Gourney, were ſent into Portingale with fiue .C. armed men, and fiue hundred archers to ayd the king of Portingale againſt ẏ K. of Caſtille, which was ſonne to the baſtarde Henrie: for the Duke of Lancaſter reioyced greatly that hee might haue ſuch a friende as the king of Portingale to ioyne with him in ayde agaynſt the king of Caſtille, meaning as ſone as opportunity woulde ſerue, to goe ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and purſue his clayme to the crowne of Caſtille and Leon, agaynſt the vſurper, in ryght of hys wyfe Queene Conſtance, eldeſt daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whome Henrie the baſtarde (as before ye haue heard) did ſtill perſecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdome. It was ment therefore that if the Duke of Lancaſter coulde compaſſe his purpoſe, for the which he went at that tyme into Scotlande, to the honour of the king and Realme, then ſhoulde he ſhortly after follow his brother of Cambridge with a greate power, to trie what chaunce God woulde ſende vnto him, agaynſt his aduerſarie the King of Caſtile. But in the meane tyme other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yeare of king Richarde, ſore to the diſquieting of the ſame, and vtter diſappoynting for that tyme of the duke of Lancaſters intent.

The commons by reaſon of the great ſubſidie and other oppreſſiõs riſe in diuers partes of the realme.

Villaines.

The commons of the realme ſore repining, not onely for the pole grotes that were demaunded of them, by reaſon of the graunt made in Parliament (as ye haue heard) but alſo (as ſome write) for that they were ſore oppreſſed as they toke the matter, by theyr land Lordes, that demaunded of them theyr auncient cuſtomes and ſeruices, ſet on by ſome diueliſhe inſtinct and perſwaſion of theyr owne beaſtly intentions, as men not content with the ſtate whereunto they were called, roſe in diuerſe parts of this realm, and aſſembled togither in companies, purpoſing to enforce the Prince to make them free, and to releaſe them of all ſeruitude, whereby they ſtoode as bondmen to their Lordes and ſuperiors.

The beginning of the rebellion at Derford in Kent.

Where this rebellion of the Cõmons firſt began diuerſe haue written dyuerſly. One Author writeth, that as he learned by one that was not farre frõ the place at that time, the firſt beginning ſhoulde be at Dertford in Kent: For when thoſe pole ſhillings, or rather as other haue, pole grotes, were to bee collected, no ſmall murmuring, curſing, and repyning among the common people, roſe aboute the ſame, and the more in deede, through the lewde demeanour of ſome vndiſcreete officers, that were aſſigned to the gathering thereof, inſomuch that one of thoſe which being appoynted to gather vp the money in Dertford aforeſayd, came to ẏ houſe of one John Tyler, that had both ſeruants in his houſe, and a faire yong mayde to his daughter. The officer therefore demaunding money for the ſayde Tyler, and for his wife, his ſeruantes, and daughter, the wife being at home, & hir huſband abroade at worke in the towne, made anſwere that hir daughter was not of age, and therefore ſhe denied to pay for hir.

Now here is to be noted, that this money was in common ſpeech ſaid, to be due for all thoſe that were vndergrowne, bicauſe that yong perſons as well of the man as of the women kinde, comming to the age of .xiiij. or .xv. yeares, haue commonly heare growing forth aboute thoſe priuie partes, which for honeſties ſake nature hath taught vs to couer & kepe ſecrete. The officer therfore not ſatiſfied with the mothers excuſe, ſaid he would trie whither hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therewith began to miſuſe the mayd, & ſearch further than honeſtie would haue permitted. The mother ſtreight wayes made an outcrie, ſo that hir huſbande being in the towne at worke, & hearing of this ado at his houſe, came running home with his latthing ſtaffe in his hand, and began to queſtion with the officer, aſking who made him ſo bolde to keepe ſuche a rule in his houſe: the officer beeing ſomewhat preſumptuous, and highe minded, woulde forthwith haue flowen vpon this Tyler, but the Tyler auoyding the officers blowe, caught him ſuch a rappe on the pate, that his braynes flew out, & ſo preſently he died.

Greate noyſe roſe aboute this matter in the ſtreetes, and the poore folks being glad, euery man arrayed himſelfe to ſupporte John Tyler, and thus the commons drew togyther, and went to Maydſtone, and from thence to blacke Heathe, where their number ſo encreaſed, that they were reckened to be .xxx. thouſand. And the ſayd John Tyler toke vpon him to be their chiefe captaine, naming himſelfe Jacke Strawe.

Other write, ẏ one Thomas Baker of Fobbinges was the firſt that procured ẏ people thus to aſſemble togither: and that one of the kings ſeruaunts named John Leg, with three of his fellowes, practiſed to feele yong Maydes whether they were vndergrowne (as ye haue heard the officer did at Dertford) which diſhoneſt and vnſeemely kinde of dealing did ſet the people ſtreight in ſuch a rage & vprore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries.

The commons of Eſſex began the commotion as Walſingham hath.

But Thomas Walſingham affyrmeth, that the firſt ſparkes of this rebellion kindled in Eſſex, where the inhabitants of two townes only at the firſt that were the authors and firſt ſtirrers of all this miſchief, did ſend vnto euery litle towne about that all maner of men, as well thoſe that were aged, as others that were in their luſtieſt time, and youthfull yeres, ſhoulde come to them with ſpeed, ſetting all excuſes apart, in their beſt array and furniture for warre, threatning to ſuche as came not, that their goodes ſhould be ſpoyled, their houſes burnt or caſt downe, and they to loſe theyr heades when they were taken. The terror of this threatning, cauſed the ignorant people to flock to them by heapes, leauing of al their buſineſſe, letting plough and cart ſtand, forſaking wife, children, & houſes, ſo that in a ſhort time there was a fiue. M. gotten togither of thoſe commons & huſbandmen, of which number many were weaponed onely with ſtaues, ſome with ruſtie ſwordes and billes, & other with ſmokie bowes, more ruddie than old Iuerie, not hauing paſt two or three arrowes, & the ſame happely with one feather a peece. Among a thouſand of thoſe kinde of perſons, ye ſhould not haue ſeene one well armed: & yet by reaſon of their multitude, when they were once got togither, they thought the whole realme had not bin able to reſiſt thē: & to make their part the ſtronger, thoſe Eſſex mē ſent ouer into Kent, aduertiſing the people ther of their enterprice, and therfore willed them to make them ready to ioine with them for their obteyning of libertie and reforming of the euil cuſtoms of the realme. Whether the Kentiſhmen through perſwaſions of their neighbors of Eſſex, by occaſion of that which had chaunced at Dertford (as before ye haue heard) or as it may be, the ſame chancing at that ſelf time, they being moued as wel by the one as the other, vp they got (as ye haue heard) and gathering their power out of the next quarters adioyning, by the like pollicie which had bin practiſed by the Eſſex men, they ſtirre vp the moſte part of the country to ioyne with them, and forthwith ſtopping the way, that led to Canterburie, and arreſting all ſuch as paſſed by the ſame, they cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould be true to king Richarde, and to the commons, and neuer to receyue anye king that ſhuld be called Iohn. And this was for the enuie which they bare to the duke of Lancaſter Iohn of Gaunt, who in right of his wife Conſtance, that was daughter to king Peter of Caſtille, did name hymſelfe King of Caſtille.

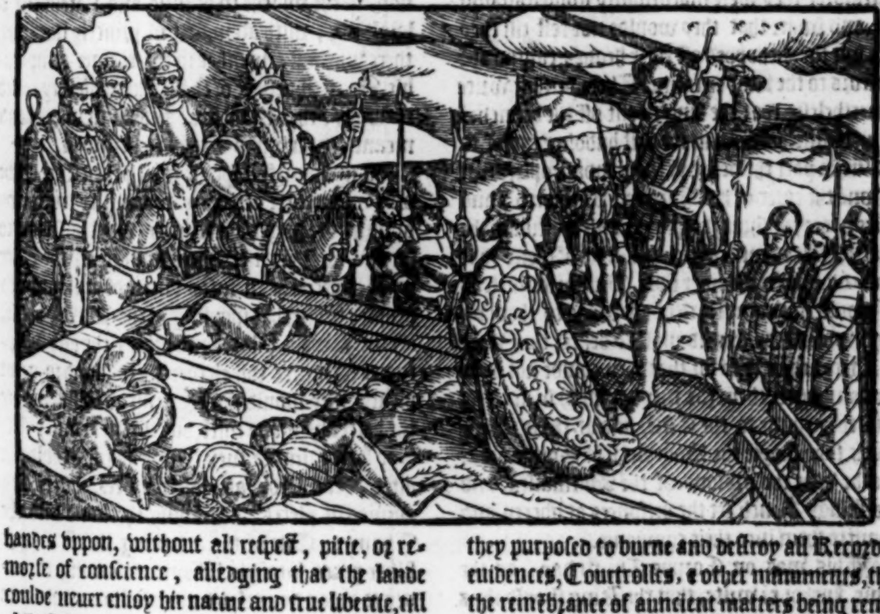
The armor of the Eſſex rebels

The oth miniſtred by the rebels to all paſſengers.

Alſo they cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould be readie to come to them whenſoeuer they ſent for them, and induce all their neighbours to take part with them. And further that they ſhould neuer yeeld to any taxe to be leuied in the realm, except a fifteenth only. Thus it came to paſſe, that after it was ſpreade abrode what ſturre theſe Eſſex and Kentiſh men kept. The Commons alſo in the counties of Suſſex, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Norffolke, and other ſhires about buſtled vp and came togither on heapes, ſo that the number of thoſe vnruly people maruellouſly encreaſed, in ſuche wiſe as nowe they feare no reſiſtance, and therefore began to ſhewe proofe of thoſe things which they had before conceyued in their mindes, beheading all ſuch men of law, Iuſtices, and Iurors, as they might catche, and lay handes vppon, without all reſpect, pitie, or remorſe of conſcience, alledging that the lande coulde neuer enioy hir natiue and true libertie, till al thoſe ſortes of people wer diſpatched out of the way.

The commons of other ſhires hearing of the ſturre in Kent and Eſſex, riſe in like maner.

Lawiers iuſtices and Iurors brought to blockam feaſte by the rebels.



The next way extinguiſh

This talke liked well the eares of the cōmon vplādiſh people, & by the leſſe cōueying the more, they purpoſed to burne and deſtroy all Recordes, euidences, Courtrolles, & other muniments, that the remēbrance of auncient matters being remoued out of mind, their Landlords might not haue wherby to chalēge any right at their hāds. Their number ſtil encreaſed: for all ſuch as were in debt or danger of law, for their miſdemeanors and of-

An huge number of the rebels

Fabian.

Captaines of the Eſſex and Kentiſh rebels

The rebels ſend to the k. to come ſpeake with them.

fences came out of all coaſtes vnto them, ſo that when the Eſſex men, and other of the hither ſide the Thames, were paſſed ouer and ioyned wyth the Kentiſhmẽ, and thoſe that were aſſembled on that ſide the riuer vpon Blackheath, they were eſteemed to be an hundred thouſande, hauing dyuerſe captaines beſides the ſayde Iacke Strawe, as William Wraw, Wat Tyler, Iack Shepheard, Thom Miller, and Hob Carter. Whyleſt they were lodged on Blackheath, the king ſent to them certaine knightes, to vnderſtande of them the cauſe of their gathering thus togither, to whom anſwere was made, that they were come togither to ſpeake with the king, about certaine cauſes and buſineſſe, and therefore they bad the Meſſengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but that hee muſte needes come and ſpeake with them.

Il counſayle.

Froiſſart.

The rebels ſpoyle Southwarke, and ſet al priſoners at large.

When this tale was told to the king, there were ſome that thought it beſt that he ſhould go to them, and know what their meaning was: but Simō de Sudburie the Archbiſhop of Cant. that was L. Chancellor, and alſo ſir Robert Hales Lord of S. Iohns, & as then L. Treaſorer, ſpake earneſtly agaynſt that aduiſe, and woulde not by any meanes that the king ſhuld go to ſuch a ſort of barelegged ribalds, but rather they wiſhed that he ſhoulde take ſome order to abate the pride of ſuch vile raſcals. After that the commons vnderſtoode that the king would not come to them, by reaſon of the contrarie aduice giuen to him by thoſe two perſons, the L. Chancellor, and the L. Treaſorer they were maruelouſly moued againſt thẽ, and ſware that they woulde not reſt till they had got thẽ, & chopped off their heades, calling thẽ traitors to the king & realme. There be that write neuertheleſſe that the king to cut off the braunches of ſuch miſchief now in the firſt budding therof, to ſatiſfie in part the deſire of thoſe rude people, went downe the riuer in his Barge to Retherith, and there neare the ſhore keeping himſelfe ſtil on the water, talked with a great number of them that came downe to the riuer ſide. But forſomuch as he would not come forth of his barge to them on land, which they ſeemed moſt to deſire, they were in a great rage, & ſo for that they coulde not haue him amongeſt them (as they wyſhed) in furious wiſe they runne to the Citie, and at the fyrſt approch, they ſpoyle the Bourough of Southwark, breake vppe the pryſons of the Marſhalſea, and the Kings Bench, ſet the priſoners at liberty, and admitte them into their companie.

The com of London de the re belles.

All rebels pre tend refor tiō but purpoſe de ſtruction of

The Sauoy Duke of Lancaſters houſe brent by the Rebels.

This was on Corpus Chriſti day, as the ſame Authors write, that the King ſhould thus talke with them: but their firſte entring into Southwarke, was on Corpus Chriſti euen, as Thomas Walſingham hath, paſſing at theyr pleaſure to and fro ouer the bridge all that night: for although the Lorde Maior, and other of the beſt Citizens woulde gladly haue cloſed the gates agaynſt them, yet they durſt not doe it, for feare of the Commons of the Citie, that ſeemed to fauour the cauſe of the rebels, ſo apparauntly, that they threatned to kill both the Lorde Maior, and all other that woulde take vpon them to ſhut the gates againſt the cōmons. The Londoners lyked better of the commons, for that they profeſſed the cauſe of their aſſembling togither, was not but to ſeeke out the traytors of the realme, and when they had founde them forth, and puniſhed them according to that they had deſerued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more credite to their ſayings, they ſuffred none of their companie to rob or ſpoile, but cauſed them to pay for that they toke. On the morow being Corpus Chriſti day, on the which day it is reported, that the king ſhould talke with them at Retherith (as before ye haue heard) after that they ſawe that they coulde not haue him to come and talke with thẽ on land as they wiſhed, and that now they had filled their heades full with the fume of ſuch Wines as they dranke in euerie mans Seller that was ſet open for them, enter who would: they fel in talke with the Londoners of many lewde deuiſes, as of the apprehending of traytors, and ſpecially concerning ſuch miſlyking as they had of the Duke of Lancaſter, whom they hated aboue all other perſons. And hereupon agreeing in one minde, after diuerſe other of their outragious doings, they run the ſame day to the ſayd dukes houſe of the Sauoy, to the whiche in beautie and ſtatelineſſe of buylding, with all maner of princely furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in deſpite of the Duke, whō they called traytour, they ſet on fire, and by all wayes and meanes endeuoured vtterly to deſtroy it.

Straunge dealing of the rebels.

The iuſtice the rebels.

The ſhamefull ſpoyle which they there made was wōderful, & yet the zeale of iuſtice, truth, and vpright dealing whiche they woulde ſeeme to ſhewe, was as nice and ſtraunge on the other parte, ſpecially in ſuche kinde of miſgouerned people: for in that ſpoyling of the Dukes houſe, all the Iewels, Plate, and other riche and ſumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man ſhould fare the better by it of a mite, but threw al into ẏ fire, ſo to be cōſumed, & ſuch things as ẏ fire could not altogither deſtroy, as plate & iewels, they brake & punned in pieces, throwing the ſame into the Thames. One of them hauing thruſt a fayre ſiluer peece into his boſome, meaning to conuey it away, was eſpied of his fellowes, who toke him, and caſt both him and the peece into the fire, ſaying they might not ſuffer any ſuch thing, ſithe they profeſſed themſelues to bee zealous of truth and iuſtice, and not theeues nor robbers.

There were .xxxij. of them that being gotten into the Seller of the Sauoy, where the Dukes Wines lay, dranke ſo muche of ſuch ſweete wine as they founde there, that they were not able to come forth, but with ſtones and wodde that fell downe as the houſe burned, they were mured in, ſo that oute they coulde not gette. They lay there ſhowting and crying ſeuen dayes togyther, and were hearde of manye, but none came to helpe them, and ſo finally they periſhed.

he lawiers odgings in e temple rnt by the bels.

Now after that theſe wicked people had thus deſtroyed the duke of Lancaſters houſe, and done what they coulde deuiſe to his reproch, they went to the Temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hande vpon. Alſo the houſe of S. Johns by Smithfielde they ſet on fire, ſo that it burned for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither. On Friday a great number of them, eſteemed to .xx. thouſande, went to the Manour of Heyburie, that belonged alſo to the Lorde of Saint Johns, and ſetting fire on it, ſought vtterly to deſtroy all the whole buildings about it.

he L. Chan- lor and the L. reaſurer awne out of e Tower & to death y the rebels.

They were nowe deuided into three partes, one vnder the leading of Jacke Strawe tooke in hande to ruinate that houſe, and an other number of them lay on Mile ende greene, and the thirde companie kept vpon the Tower hill, and woulde not ſuffer anye vittayles to be conueyed into the Tower, where the king at that tyme was lodged and was put in ſuche feare by thoſe rude people, that hee ſuffered them to enter into the Tower, where they ſoughte ſo narrowly for the Lorde Chauncellour, that fynding him in the Chapell, they drewe him forth togyther with the Lorde Treaſorer, and on the Tower hill without reuerence of theyr eſtates and degrees, with greate noyſe and fell cryes, they ſtroke off theyr heades.

There were alſo beheaded the ſame tyme by thoſe rude people, one of the kings ſeruaunts that was a Sergeant at armes called John Legge, who had vſed himſelfe ſomewhat extreemely in gathering vp of the pole money, as by one writer it appeareth.

arrdſ.

Alſo to make vp the meſſe, they beheaded a Franciſcan Frier, whom they had taken there the ſame time, for malice of the Duke of Lancaſter, bycauſe he was verie familiar with him.

Some write that this Frier was Confeſſor, and other ſay that he was Phiſition to the King, but whatſoeuer he was, the Commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not ſparing for any reſpect that might be alledged in any of their behalfes.

The ſame day alſo they beheaded manye others, as well Engliſh men as Flemings, for no cauſe in the worlde, but onely to ſatiſfie the crueltie of the Commons, that then were in theyr kingdome, for it was a ſport to them, when they gat any one amongſt them, that was not ſworne to them, and ſeemed to myſlike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer ſo little hatred to him, ſtreyghtwayes to plucke off his hoode, with ſuch a yelling noyſe as they tooke vp amongſt them, and immediatelye to come thronging into the ſtreetes, and ſtryke off hys heade. Neither had they any regarde to ſacred places, for breaking into the Churche of the Auguſtine Friers, they drew forth thirtene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open ſtreetes, and out of the pariſhe Churches in the Citie, they tooke forth .xvij. and lykewyſe ſtroke of theyr heades, wythout reuerence eyther of the Churche, or feare of God. But they continuing in theyr miſchieuous purpoſe, ſhewed their malice ſpecially againſt ſtraungers, ſo that entring into euery ſtreete, lane, and place, where they might finde them, they brake vp their houſes, murthered them whiche they founde wythin, and ſpoyled theyr goodes, in moſt outragious maner.

The raging rebels make a paſtime to kil mẽ.

No reſpect of place with the rebels.

Likewiſe they entred into Churches (as before ye haue heard) into Abbeyes, Monaſteries, and other houſes, namely of men of law, whiche in ſemblable ſorte they ranſacked. They alſo brake vp the priſons of Newgate, and of both the Counters, deſtroyed the bookes, and ſet priſoners at libertie, and likewiſe the Sanctuarie men of Saint Martyns le grand. And ſo likewiſe dyd they at Weſtminſter, where they brake open the Eſchequer, and deſtroyed the ancient bookes and other Recordes there.

The outragious dealings of the rebels.

They that entred the Tower, vſed themſelues moſt preſumptuouſly, and no leſſe vnreuerently agaynſt the princeſſe of Wales, mother to the K. for thruſting into hir Chãber, they offred to kiſſe hir, and ſwapt themſelues downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into ſuche feare, that ſhee fell into a ſowne, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water ſide, and put into a Barge, and cõueyed to the place called the Queenes Wardrobe, or the tower Ryall, where ſhe remayned all that day and night following, as a woman halfe deade, till the King came to recomfort hir.

It was ſtraunge to conſider, in what feare the Lordes, knightes, and gentlemen ſtoode of the cruell proceedings of thoſe rude baſe people. For where there were ſix hũdred armed men, and as many archers in the tower at that preſent, there was not one that durſt gainſay theyr doings. Finally, when they hadde eaſed theyr ſtomackes, wyth the ſpoyling, burning, and defacing of ſundrye places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduice of ſuch as were thẽ about him, vpon good deliberation of counſaile, offred to the pardon, and his peace, with condition that they

The K. offreth the rebels pardõ.

ſhould ceaſe from burning and ruinating of houſes, from killing and murthering of men, and depart euerie man to his home without more adoe, and there to tarrie for the kings Charters confirmatorie of the ſame pardon,

Froiſſart.

The Eſſex men were content with this offer, as they that were deſirous to ſee their wiues and children, being waxen wearie of continuall trauaile and paynes which they were conſtrayned to take. The king went forth vnto Mile ende, and there declared vnto the cõmons that they ſhoulde haue charters made to them of his grãnt, to make them all free. And further that euery ſhire, towne, lordſhip and libertie ſhould haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmation of his graunt. Herevpon they ſeemed well appeaſed, and the king rode to the Queenes Wardrobe, otherwiſe called the Tower ryall, to viſit his mother, and ſo did comfort hir ſo well as he coulde, and taried with hir there all night. The Eſſex men ſatiſfied with the kings promiſes, immediately departed homewarde. They appoynted yet certaine of their companie to remayne ſtill and tarie for the kings Charters. The Kentiſh men alſo remayned, and were as buſie in maner the next day being Saterday, in all kinde of miſchieuous dealings, as they had bene before, to wit in murthering of men, ouerthrowing and burning of houſes. The king therfore ſent vnto them ſuch as declared in what ſort their fellowes were gone home well ſatiſfied, and from thenceforth to liue in quiet, and the ſame forme of peace he was contented to graunt vnto them, if it lyked them to accept the ſame. Herevpon their chiefe captaine Wat Tyler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much witte, if he had well applied it, ſayde, that peace indeed he wiſhed, but ſo yet as the conditions might be indited to his purpoſe. He was determined to feede forth the king and his counſaile (bycauſe he was of greater force than they) with cauils and ſhiftes till the next day, that in the night following hee might the more eaſilye haue compaſſed his reſolution, whiche was, hauing all the poorer ſort of the Citie on his ſide, to haue ſpoiled the Citie, and to ſet fire in foure corners of it, killing firſt the king and the Lordes that were aboute him; but hee that reſiſteth the prowd, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngracious deuiſes of the naughtie lewde patrone to take place, but ſodainly diſappoynted his miſchieuous drift: for whereas diuerſe fourmes of Charters hadde beene drawne according to the effecte of the agreement with the Eſſex menne, and none of them might pleaſe this Loodelye fellowe, at length the king ſent to him one of his knightes called ſir John Newton, to requeſte him to come to the king, that they might talke of the articles whiche he ſtoode vpon, to haue inſerted in the Charter, of the which one was to haue had a commiſſion to put to death all Lawyers, Eſcheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to do with the lawe, for his meaning was that hauing made all thoſe away that vnderſtoode the lawes, all things ſhould then be ordered according to the will and diſpoſition of the common people. It was reported in deede, that he ſhoulde ſay with greate pride the day before theſe things chaunced, putting his handes to his lippes, that within foure dayes all the lawes of Englande ſhoulde come forth of his mouth. When therefore the ſayde ſir John Newton called vpon him to come away to the king, he anſwered as it were with indignation: If thou (ſayth he) haſt ſo much haſte to returne to the king, thou mayſt depart, I will come at my pleaſure. When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indeed, but ſomwhat ſlowly. And when hee was come neare to the place in Smithfields where the king then was, with certaine Lordes and knightes, and other companie about him, the ſayde Sir John Newton was ſent to him againe, to vnderſtande what he ment. And bycauſe the knight came to him on horſeback, and did not alight from his horſe, Wat Tyler was offended, and ſayde in his furie that it became him rather a foote than horſebacke to approche into his preſence. The knight not able to abide ſuch preſumptuous demeanor in that proud and arrogant perſon, ſhaped him this anſwer: It is not amiſſe that I being on horſebacke, ſhoulde come to thee ſitting on horſebacke, with whiche wordes Wat Tyler taking indignation, drawe out his dagger, menacing to ſtrike ẏ knight, calling him therewith trayter: the knight diſdayning to be miſuſed at the handes of ſuch a rybauld tolde him that hee lyed falſely, and with that plucked forth his dagger. Wat Tyler being among his men, ſhewed that he woulde not beare that iniurie, and forthwith made towardes the knight to runne vpon him. The king perceyuing the knight in daunger, bad him alight from his horſe, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tyler: but when that woulde not pacifie his prowde and high minde, but that hee woulde needes flie vpon him, the Maior of London William Walworth, and other knightes and Eſquieres that were about the king, tolde him that it ſhoulde bee a ſhame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their preſence before the eyes of their Prince ſo to bee murthered: wherefore they gaue counſaile to ſuccor him forthwith, & to apprehend ẏ vile naughtie ribauld. The king though he was but a childe in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commaunded the Maior to arreſt him. The Maior being a mã of incomparable boldneſſe, forthwith rid to him and arreſted him, in reaching him ſuch a blow on

The rebels
would ha
law abol

Arrogant and
preſumptuous wor
of a vylayn

The wicked
purpoſe of the
rebels.

William Wal-
worth Maior
of London
a ſtout co-
ragious man

the head, yͤ he ſore aſtonied him. therfore ſtreight wayes other that were aboute the king, as John Standiſh an Eſquier, & diuerſe more of the kings ſeruants drew their ſwords, & thruſt him through in diuerſe parts of his bodie, ſo that he fell preſently from his horſe downe to the earth, & died there in the place.

The death of at Tiler ne of the ls.

When the commons behelde this, they cryed out, our captain is traiterouſly ſlain, let vs ſtande togither, and die with him: let vs ſhoote & reuenge his death manfully: and ſo bending their bowes, made them redy to ſhoot. The king ſhewing both hardineſſe & wiſedome at that inſtant, more than his age required, ſet his ſpurres to his horſe, & rode to them, ſaying, what is the matter my mē, what meane you? will you ſhoote at your king? be not troubled nor offended at the death of a traytor & rybauld, I will be your king, captaine and leader, follow me into the fieldes, and you ſhall haue all things that you can deſire. This did the king, to the ende he might appeaſe them, leaſt they ſhould haue ſet fire on the houſes there in Smithfield, & haue attempted ſome further miſchief, in reuenge of the diſpleaſure which they toke for the death of their chiefe leader. They moued with theſe the kings wordes, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet reſolued whether they ſhould ſet vpō the king and ſlea him, or elſe to be quiet, and to returne home with the kings charter.

The K. perſwadeth the rebels.

In the meane time, the Lord Maior of London was returned into the Citie, with one man onely attending vpon him, and cryed to the Citizens, Oh ye good and vertuous Citizens, come forth out of hand, & helpe your king readie to bee ſlaine, and helpe me your Maior ſtanding in the ſame perill, or if yee will not helpe mee for ſome faults committed by me againſt you, yet forſake not your king, but helpe and ſuccour him in thys preſent daunger. When the worſhipfull Citizens and other that in their loial hearts loued the king, had hearde theſe wordes, incontinently they put themſelues in ſtrong and ſure armor, to the number of a thouſand men, and gathering themſelues togither into the ſtreetes, taried but for ſome lord or knight that might conduct them to the King: and by chaunce there came vnto them ſir Robert Knolles, whom all of them requeſted yͭ he would be their leader, leaſt comming out of array & order, they might the ſooner be brokē, who willingly led one part of them, and certaine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armor vnto the kings preſence: the king with yͤ lords, knights & eſquiers, not a little reioyſed at the comming of thoſe armed men, and ſtreightwayes cōpaſſed the commons about, as they had bin a flock of ſheepe that ſhould haue bin cloſed within ſome folde, till it pleaſed the ſheepheard to appoynt forth, whiche ſhould be thruſt into paſture, & which taken to go to the ſhambels.

Vehement words of the Maior of London to the Citizens crying aide againſt the rebels.

army with s captain,

There was to be ſeene a maruellous chaunge of the right hand of the lord, to beholde how they throwing downe ſtaues, billes, axes, ſwordes, bowes & arrowes, humbly began to ſue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the lyfe of the king, and his ſeruaunts wholy and altogither in their handes, power, and diſpoſition. The poore wretches ſought to hide themſelues in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges, and dennes, and whereſoeuer they might get out of the way, ſo to ſafegard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladly haue beene doing with them, and requeſted licence of him to ſtrike off the heades of ſome one or two hundred of them, that it might bee a witneſſe in time to come, that the force of the order of knighthoode, was able to do ſomewhat agaynſt the Carters & ploughmen: but the king woulde not ſuffer them, alledging that many of them were come thither by compulſion, and not of their owne accord, and therefore it might come to paſſe that thoſe ſhould die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commaūded that there ſhould be proclamation made in Lōdon, that the Citizens ſhould haue no dealings with them, nor ſuffer any of them to come within the Citie that night, but to cauſe them to lie without doores: but yet the charter which they had requeſted, faire written and ſealed, to auoyd a greater miſchiefe, he commaunded for a time to deliuer vnto them, knowing that Eſſex & Kent, were not ſo pacified, but that if they were not the ſooner cōtented, and that partly after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was got thus by force of the K. was this.

The rebels quite diſcoraged threw downe their weapons at the comming of the Londoners in ayde of the King.

The forme of the kings Charter of Manumiſsion.

Richardus dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ: omnibus balliuis & fidelibus ſuis, ad quos præſentes litteræ peruenerint, ſalutē. Sciatis quod de gratia noſtra ſpeciali manumiſimus vniuerſos ligeos & ſingulos ſubditos noſtros et alios comitatus Hertfordiæ, & ipſos et eorū quēlibet ab omni bondagio, exuimus & quietos facimus per præſentes ac etiā perdonamus eiſdē ligeis ac ſubditis noſtris omnimodas felonias, proditiones, trāſgreßiones, & extortiones, per ipſos vel aliquem eorū qualitercūq; factas ſiue perpetratas, ac etiā vtlagariam & vtlagarias, ſi qua vel quæ in ipſos vel aliquē ipſorum fuerint vel fuerit hijs occaſionibus promulgata vel promulgata, & ſummā pacem noſtram eis & eorū cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium, has litteras noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud London. xv. die Iunij. Anno regni noſtro quarto.

The like there was graunted to them of other Countries aswel to theſe of Herfordſhire in the ſame forme. the names of the counties changed.

The commons hauing obteyned this charter departed home, but ceaſſed not from their riotous demeanour in ſundrie partes of the realme, & eſpecially at S. Albons, where after the townſmen were returned home, they kept ſuch a coile againſt the Abbot and Monkes, to haue certaine auncient

The townes-mē of S-Albōs not yet quieted

Charters deliuered them that concerned theyr lyberties, & to haue ſuch newe made & deliuered to them as might ſerue theyr purpoſe, that bycauſe ſuch olde Charters as they requeſted were not to be had, the Abbot and Monkes looked euery houre when their houſe ſhoulde be ſet on fire and burnt ouer their heades.

The Prior and certaine other as well Monks as lay men that were ſeruantes to the Abbot, fled for feare of the rage of thoſe miſgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadly, and therefore loked for no courteſey at their handes. They had obteyned the kings letters vnto the Abbot, commaunding him to deliuer vnto them ſuche Charters as they had gyuen information to be remayning in his hands, ſo that vnder color therof, they called for thoſe wrytings in moſt importunate wiſe, threatning ſore if they were not brought to lyght, vtterly todeſtroy the houſe by ſetting it on fire.

But to ſpeake of all the vnrulye partes of thoſe vnruly people, it were to long a proceſſe: yet at length after they vnderſtoode howe theyr grande Captaine and cheife ringleader Watte Tyler was ſlaine, they began ſomewhat to aſſwage theyr preſumptuous attemptes, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalf of the Abbot and his houſe, and yet they were not ſo calmed, but that they continued in requyring to haue charters made to them by the Abbot of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, cõcerning the infranchiſing them frõ bondage, whereby they that obteyned ſuch charters tooke themſelues to be diſcharged of all ſeruices and accuſtomed labors, ſo that they ment not to do any further workes, nor yeeld ſuche cuſtomes as before time they vſually had bin accuſtomed to doe and yeelde vnto their Landlordes.

Neither did the towneſmen of S. Albones, and the tenants of other townes & villages therabout that belonged to the Abbey of S. Albones, thus outragiouſly miſdemeane themſelues, but euery where elſe the cõmons kept ſuch like ſtur, ſo that it was rightly called the hurling time, there were ſuch hurly burlyes kept in euery place, to yͤ great daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of all good gouernmẽt in this land: for euen the ſelfſame Saterday after corpus Chriſti day, in Suffolke there were got togither to the number of fiftie M. men, by the ſetting on of John Wraw, a naughtie lewd prieſt, that had bene firſt among the Eſſex men at London, and was ſent downe in all poſt haſt from Wat Tyler, to ſtirre the cõmons in thoſe partes to commit the like miſchiefe as he had ſeene begon about London. Theſe fellowes therefore after they were aſſembled togither, fell to yͤ deſtroying of the manors & houſes of mẽ of law, & ſuch lawyers as they caught, they ſlue, & beheaded ſir John Cauendiſh lord chief Juſtice of England, and ſet his head vpon the pillorie in the Market place, in S. Edmõdſburie. Alſo ſir John of Cambridge the Prior of S. Edmondſbury, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Mildenhale, and likewiſe beheadded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man preſuming to burie it, during the ſpace of fiue dayes, for feare of the cruell commons. His heade was ſet vpon a pole, & caried before John Wraw and other of thoſe wicked people, the which comming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a Proceſſion: when they came into the Market place where the Pillorie ſtood, as it were in a token of the olde friendſhip betwixt the Lord chiefe Juſtice, and the ſayd Prior, they made ſport with their heades, making them ſomtime as it were to kiſſe, otherwhiles to rounde in either others eare. After they had taken their paſtime ynough herewith, they ſet both the heads againe aloft vpon the Pillorie.

The hurling tyme.

The outragious dealings of the ſuffolke rebels.

Sir Iohn Ca diſh L. chi Iuſtice behe ded.

The prior S. Edmonds bu ry ſlayne.

After this, they beheaded an other Monke called Dan John de Lakinghuyth, whoſe head was likewiſe ſet by the other two vpon the Pillorie.

Moreouer, they cauſed the Monkes to come forth and bring vnto them all ſuche obligations in which the towneſmen ſtoode bounde vnto the Monaſterie for their good abearing, likewiſe ſuch charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Knute the founder of the ſayde Monaſterie, and his ſucceſſors had graunted vnto the ſame, which writings whẽ they had brought forth, and proteſted that they knew of no more, the cõmons would ſcarcely beleue them, & therefore called the towneſmen forth, & bad them ſee if yͤ there were al ſuch writings as they thought ſtood with their aduãtage to haue brought to light. The towneſmen feigned as though they had beene ſorie to ſee ſuch rule kept againſt the Monkes, where in deed they had ſet the commons in hande with al theſe things.

To conclude, the Commons tooke thys order with the Monkes, that if the towneſmen might not obteyne their auncient liberties, by the hauing of thoſe writings, they ſhoulde declare what the ſame liberties were, which they were wont to enioy, and the Abbot of Burie, Edmond Brounfield being then in priſon at Notingham whom they purpoſed to deliuer (ſo that he ſhould celebrat diuine ſeruice in his Monaſtery on Midſommer day next) within. xl. dayes after his comming home, ſhould confirme with his ſeale ſuch Charter as was to be deuiſed and made concerning the ſame liberties of the ſaide towneſmen, & the Couent ſhould likewiſe put therevnto their cõmon ſeale.

This Edmon Brunefield commi priſõ by th for his pr tuous intr into the ab baye of bu

They conſtreyned the Monkes further to delyuer vnto the townſmen, a Croſſe and a Chalice of fine golde, and other Jewels that belõged to the Abbey, being in value aboue ẏ worth of a thouſand poundes in mony, the which was to remaine in the handes of the townesmen, vpon this condition, that if Edmonde Brounfield being deliuered out of priſon enioyed the dignitie of Abbot there, and with all put his ſeale togither with the Couent ſeale within the tyme limitted, vnto a wryting that ſhould conteine the liberties of the towne, that then the ſame Croſſe, Chalice, and other Jewels ſhoulde bee reſtored vnto the Monaſterie, or elſe the ſame to remaine for euer to the Townesmen as forfeyted: ſuche were the doings of thoſe Rebels in and about the towne of Burie, and the like diſorders and breach of peace followed by the Commotions of the Commons in Cambridgeſhire, and in the Jle of Elie, reſembling the others in ſlaughters of men, deſtroying of houſes, and all other ſortes of miſchiefe. In like maner in Norffolke there was aſſembled an huge number of thoſe vnruly Countrey people, whiche vnder the guiding of a dier of cloth, cõmonly called John Litteſter, that had dwelt in Norwiche, attempted and did all ſuch vngracious feates, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater alſo, putting forth their handes vnto rapine & robbery. And whereas they were wholy conſpired togither, and bent to commit all kind of miſchiefe, yet eſteeming their owne authoritie to bee ſmall, they purpoſed to haue brought William Vfford Erle of Suffolke into their felowſhip, ẏ if afterwards they might happily be impeached hereafter, for ſuch their naughty & moſt wicked doings, they might haue had ſome ſhadow or color, as if were through him, why they had delt in ſuch vnruly ſort. But the Erle aduertiſed of their intention ſodenly, roſe from ſupper, and got him away by vnknowne wayes, ſtil fleeing from the Commons, till at length hee got to Saint Albones, and ſo from thence to the king.

John Lytteſter captaine of the Norfolk rebels.

The Early of Suffolke eſcapeth from the rebels.

The Norffolk rebels compel the noble men and gentlemen to be ſworne to them.

Sir Robert Sal ſlayne by one of his own villeyns.

The commons miſſing of their purpoſe for the hauing of him, layd hold vpon al ſuch knights and other gentlemen as came in their way, and and were found at home in their houſes, compelling them to be ſworne to them, and to ride with them through the Country, as the Lord Scales, William Lord Morley, ſir John Brewes, ſir Stephen Hales, and ſir Robert Salle, which ſir Robert continued not long aliue among them, for he could not diſſemble as the reſidue, but begã to reproue openly their naughty doings, for the which he had his braynes daſht out by a Cõtrey Clowne, one that was his bondman, and ſo hee ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tryed his manhoode and ſtrength with them in plaine battaile, had bene able to haue put a thouſande of thoſe villaynes in feare, his valiancie and prowes was ſuch.

The captaine of the Norfolke rebels forceth the noble men and gentlemen to ſerue him at the table.

The reſidue taught by hys example that they muſt either diſſemble or die for it, were glad to curry fauor, prayſing or diſprayſing all things as they ſawe the Commons affected, and ſo comming into credite with their chieftaine John Litteſter, that named himſelf king of the cõmõs, they were preferred to ſerue him at the table in taking the aſſay of his meates and drinkes, and doing other ſeruice, with kneling humbly before him as hee ſate at meate, as ſir Stephen Hales who was appoynted his caruer, & others had other offices aſſigned them. At length when thoſe Commons beganne to waxe wearie of taking paynes in euill doings, they toke counſaile togither, and agreed to ſende two knights, to wit, the lord Morley, and ſir John Brewes, & three of the Commons in whom they put great confidence, vnto the king, to obtaine theyr charter of manumiſſiõ & enfranchiſing, & to haue the ſame charter more larger thã thoſe that were granted to other cõtreys: they deliuered great ſummes of money vnto thoſe whõ they ſent, to beſtow the ſame for the obteining of pardon, and ſuch graunts as they ſued for, which money they had gotte by force of the Citizens of Norwich, to ſaue the Citie from fire and ſacking.

A warlike Biſhop.

Burley Bishops manor

Theſe knights as they were on their iourney, at Ichingham not farre diſtant from Newmarket, not looking for any ſuch thing mette with ſir Henrie Spencer Biſhoppe of Norwich, a man more fitte for the field than the Church, and better ſkilled as may appere in armes than in diuinitie. This biſhop had aduertiſemẽts at his Manor of Burley neare to Okam in the partyes about Stanford, of the ſturre which the Commons in Norffolk kept, and therevpon reſolued ſtreightwayes to ſee what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time not paſt an eight launces, and a ſmall number of Archers.

The Biſhop meeting thus with the knights, examined them ſtreight wayes if there were any of the traitours there with them.

The knights at the firſt were doubtfull to bewray theyr aſſociates: but at length enboldned by the Biſhops wordes, declared that two of the chiefe doers in the Rebellion were there preſent, and the thirde was gone to prouide for their dinner.

The Biſhop ſtreight wayes commaunded thoſe two to be made ſhorter by the head, and the thirde hee hymſelfe went to ſeeke, as one of his Sheepe that was loſt, not to bring hym home to the folde, but to the ſlaughter houſe, as he had well deſerued in the Biſhops opinion, ſith he had ſo miſchieuouſlye gone aſtraye and alienated himſelfe from his dutifull allegiance.

These perſons being executed, and their heads pight on the endes of polles, & ſo ſet vp at Newmarket, the Biſhop with the knightes tooke their way with all ſpeede towards Northwalſham in Norffolk, where the Commons were purpoſed to ſtay for anſwere from the king: and as hee paſſed through the Countrey, his number encreaſed, for the knights and gentlemen of the Countrey, hearing how their biſhop had taken his ſpeare in hād, and was come into the fielde armed, they ioyne themſelues with him. When therefore the biſhop was come into the place where the cōmons were encāped, he perceyued that they had fortified their campe verie ſtrongly with ditches, and ſuch other ſtuffe as they could make ſhift of, as doores, windowes, boords, and tables, and behinde them were all their cariages placed, ſo that it ſeemed they ment not to flee. Herewith the biſhop being chafed with the preſumptuous boldnes of ſuch a ſort of diſordered perſons, commaunded his trumpets to ſound to the battaile, and with the ſpeare in the arreſt, he chargeth them with ſuch violence, that he goeth ouer the ditch, and layeth ſo about hym, that through his manful doings, all his company found meanes to paſſe the ditch likewiſe, and ſo therewith followed a right ſore and terrible fight, both partes doing their beſt to vanquiſh the other: but finally the cōmons were ouercom, and driuen to ſeeke their ſafegarde by flight, which was ſore hindered by their cariages that ſtood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to clime & leape ſo well as they might. Iohn Litteſter and other chiefe captaines were taken aliue. The Biſhop therefore cauſed the ſayd Litteſter to be arreigned of his treaſon, and condemned, and ſo hee was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

pencer biſhop t Norwich oeth as cap- ine againſt he Rebels.

he forteſying f the Rebels ampe.

he Biſhop is he firſt man hat chargeth he rebels in heir campe.

The Norffolk rebels vanquiſhed.

The Biſhop heard his confeſſion, and by vertue of his office aſſoyled him, and to ſhewe ſome parcell of ſorowing for the mans miſchaunce, hee went with him to the gallowes. But it ſeemed that pitie wrought not with the biſhop, to quench the zeale of iuſtice: for he cauſed not Litteſter onely to be executed, but ſought for al other that were the chiefe doers in that rebellion, cauſing them to be put vnto death, and ſo by that meanes quieted the Countrey.

To recite what was done in euery part of the realme in time of thoſe helliſhe troubles, it is not poſſible: but this is to be conſidered, that the rage of the cōmons was vniuerſally ſuch, as it might ſeeme they had generally conſpired togither, to do what miſchiefe they could deuiſe, as among ſundrie other, what wickedneſſe was to compell teachers of children in grammer ſchooles to ſweare neuer to inſtruct any in their arte? Againe could they haue a more miſchieuous meaning, than to burne and deſtroy al olde & auncient monumēts, and to murther & diſpatch out of the way al ſuche as were able to cōmit to memorie, either any new or old records: for it was dangerous among thē to be knowne for one that was lerned, & more dāgerous, if any man were found with a penner & ynkhorne at his ſide: for ſuch ſeldom or neuer eſcaped from them with life. But to returne to ſay ſomwhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterpriſes, you muſt vnderſtand, that after that Watte Tyler was ſlaine at London in the preſence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatly decaied: and yet neuertheleſſe, the king and his counſaile being not wel aſſured, granted to the cōmons (as ye haue heard) charters of Manumiſſion, & enfrāchiſement from all bondage, & ſo ſent them away home to their cōtries: & forthwith herevpon hee aſſembled an army of the Lōdoners, & of al others in the countreys abrode that bare him good will, apointing none to come, but ſuch as were armed & had horſes, for he would haue no footemen with him. This it came to paſſe, that within three days he had about him .xl. thouſand horſemen, as was eſteemed, ſo that in Englande had not bene heard of the like army aſſembled togither at one tyme. And herewith was the king aduertiſed, that the Kentiſh men beganne eftſoones to ſtyrre, wherewith the king & the whole army were ſo grieuouſly offended, that they ment ſtreyght to haue ſette vpon that Country, and to haue wholy deſtroyed that rebellious generation, but through interceſſion made by the Lordes and Gentlemen of that Countrey, the King pacified his moode, and ſo reſolued to procede agaynſt them by order of law and iuſtice, cauſing Iudges to ſit & to make inquiſition of the Malefactors, & eſpecially of ſuch as were authors of the miſchiefes. And about the ſame time did the Maior of London ſit in iudgement as well vppon the offenders that were Citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Eſſex, Southſex, Norffolk, Suffolk, and other coūties, being found within the liberties of the citie, and ſuch as were founde culpable he cauſed them to loſe their heades, as Iack Straw, Iohn Kirkby, Alane Tredera, and Iohn Sterling, that gloryed of himſelf, for that he was the man that had ſlaine the Archbiſhop.

An. Reg. 5.

The captain once ſlaine [illegible]

An army of forty thouſand horſemen.

The Kentiſh eftſoones [illegible]

Iacke Straw and his [illegible]

This fellow (as it is written by ſome Authors) ſtreight wayes after he had done that wicked deed, fell out of his wittes, and cōming home into Eſſex where he dwelt, tied a naked ſword about his neck, that hung down before on his breſt and likewiſe a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, & ſo went vp and downe the lanes and ſtreetes about home, crying out, & proteſting, that with thoſe weapōs he had diſpatched yͤ Archb. & after he had remained a while at home,

he

hee came to London againe, for that hee ſhoulde receyue as hee ſaide, the reward there, of the acte whiche he had committed: and ſo in deede, when he came thither, and boldly confeſſed that he was the man that had beheaded the Archbyſhoppe, he loſt his head in ſtead of a recompence: & diuers other both of Eſſex and Kent that had layd violẽt hãds vpõ the Archb. came to the like end at London, where they did the deede, being bewrayed by their owne cõfeſſions. Heere is to be remembred, that the K. after the Citie of London was delyuered from the daunger of the Rebels (as before ye haue heard) in reſpect of the greate manhoode, & aſſured loyaltie which had appeared in the Mayor, and other of the Aldermen, for ſome parte of recompence of their faithfull aſſiſtance in that dangerous ſeaſon, made the ſayd Mayor Williã Walworth Knighte, with fiue other Aldermen, his brethren, to witte, Nicholas Bramble, John Philpot, Nicholas Twyford, Robert Laundre, and Robert Gayton, alſo John Standiſhe, that as ye haue heard, holp to ſlay Wat Tyler.

he Maior nd fiue Al- ermenne nighted.

Moreouer, the K. granted, that there ſhoulde be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of Lõdon, in the right quarter of the ſhield, for an augmentation of the ſame armes, and for a remembrance of this Maior, his valiãt acte, as doth appeare vnto this daye, for till that time, the Citie bare only the Croſſe, without the dagger.

he armes of ondon aug- ented, by ddition of e dagger.

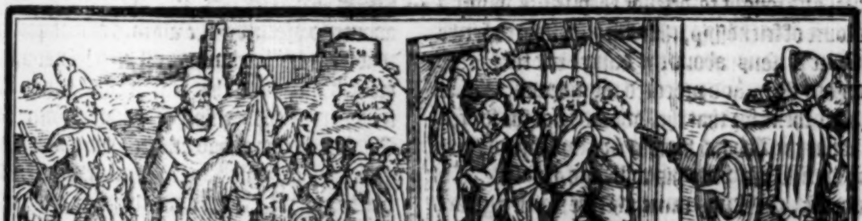
he commõs f Eſſex rebel freſhe.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to ſhew it ſelf, to the terror of rebels, yet the cõmons of Eſſex eftſoones aſſembled themſelues togither, not farre from Hatfield Peuerell, and ſente to the Kyng to knowe of him if his pleaſure was, that they ſhoulde enioy their promiſed liberties: and further, that they might be as free, as their Lords, and not to come to any Court, except it were to the great Lete, twice in the yere. When the king hearde ſuche preſumptuous requeſts, he was in a great chafe, and diſpatched the meſſengers away, with a ſore threatning anſwer, ſaying, ỹ bondmẽ they were, & bondmen they ſhould be, and that in more vile maner than before, to the terrible example of all other that ſhoulde attempt any the lyke diſorders: and forthwith, the Earle of Buckingham, and the Lorde Thomas Percy, brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, were ſente with an army, to repreſſe thoſe Rebels, whome they founde fortifyed within woddes, hedges and ditches very ſtrongly: but with ſmall adoe they were put to flighte, and a fiue hundred of them ſlayne, the reſidue ſaued thẽſelues as well as they might, by ſuccour of the woddes. There were an eyghte hundred horſes alſo taken, whiche thoſe Rebels had there with them, to drawe and carrie theyr baggage. Thoſe of the Rebels that eſcaped, were not yet ſo tamed by that ouerthrowe, but that aſſembling themſelues togither, they made towards Colcheſter: and comming thither, would haue perſwaded the Towneſmen to haue ioyned with them in a new Rebellion. But when they coulde not bring their purpoſe to paſſe, they marched towards Sudbury. The Lord Fitz Water, and Sir John Harleſton, vnderſtanding whyche way they toke, followed them, with a company of armed men, and ſuddaynely ſetting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, ſlewe of them ſo many as it liked them, and the other they ſaued, and ſuffered to departe, or elſe committed them to priſon.

The Rebels of Eſſex are ſcattered & ſlaine

After this, the King came to Hauering at the bowre, and from thence to Chelmiſford, where he appoynted ſir Robert Triſilian to ſit in Judgement of the offendors, and Rebelles of that cõtrey, wherevppon, an inqueſt beeing choſen, a greate number were indited, arraigned, and founde giltie, ſo that vppon ſome one gallowes, there were nyne or tenne hanged togither.

Fabian.



The Rebels executed in euery lordſhip.

In euerie countrie were like enquiries made, and the chiefe offendors apprehended and put to deathe in euery Lordſhip through the Realme, where any of them were detected by tenne, by twelue, twẽtie, thirtie, yea and in ſome places by fortie at once, ſo that the whole number grew to fifteene hundred and aboue.

Froiſſart.

At the firſte, when the Kings Juſtices began to ſitte in Eſſex, Kent, and at London, by reaſon of the multitude that were to bee executed, they onely chopped off their heads, but afterwardes when that kinde of death ſeemed too cloſe and ſecrete for ſo open offences, they proceeded according to the accuſtomed lawe of the Realme, by condemning them to be drawen and hanged, and according therevnto, they were executed.

The King calleth in hys letters of enfranchiſing graunted to the bondmen.

In the meane time, the King by the aduice of his counſell, directed his letters reuocatory into euery Countie there, to bee proclaymed in euery Citie, borrow towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without, by the whiche letters hee reuoked, made voyde, and fruſtrate his former letters, of enfranchiſing the bond menne of hys Realme, and commaunded that ſuch as had the ſame letters, ſhoulde withoute delay bring them in, and reſtore them to him and his counſell to be cancelled, as they woulde aunſwere vppon theyr faith and allegiance whiche they ought to hym, and vppon payne of forfeiting all that they had. The date of whiche letters reuocatorie, was at Chelmeſforde, the ſecond day of July, in the fifth yere of his raigne.

The King remoueth to S. Albons.

When the King had quieted the countrey of Eſſex, and puniſhed ſuche as were the chiefe ſturrers of that wicked commotion in thoſe parties, he went to Saint Albons to ſee iuſtice done vpon ſuche as hadde demeaned themſelues moſt preſumptuouſly againſte the Kinges peace in that towne, namely againſte the Abbot and hys houſe, and ſought to defende themſelues, vnder a couloure of friendſhip, that they truſted to fynde in ſome perſons about the King: but that truſt deceyued them, and procured the more diſpleaſure againſt them, for that they woulde not ſue for fauoure at the Abbots handes in time, by ſubmitting themſelues vnto his will and pleaſure. To bee briefe, the King came thither with a greate number of armed men and archers, and cauſed his Juſtice ſir Robert Triſilian to ſitte in iudgement vpon the malefactors, that were broughte thither from Hertford Jayle. Thither was brought alſo to the King from Couentrie, John Ball Prieſt, whome the Citizens of Couentrie hadde taken, and now heere at Saint Albons they preſented him to the Kings preſence, wherevpon, he was arreigned and condemned, to bee drawen, hanged and headed for ſuche notable treaſons as hee was there conuicted of. He receyued iudgemente vpon the Saterday the firſte day that the ſayde Sir Robert Triſilian ſate in Judgement, but he was not executed till the Monday following.

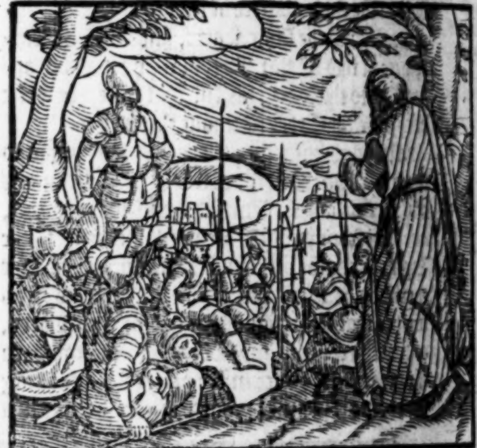
John Ball.

This man hadde bin a Preacher the ſpace of twentie yeres, and bycauſe his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the Biſhoppes mainteined, he was firſte prohibited to preache in any churche or chappell, and when he ceaſſed not for all that, but ſet forth his doctrine in the ſtreets and fieldes where he mighte haue audience, at length hee was committed to priſon, out of the whiche he prophecied, that he ſhoulde be deliuered with the force of twentie thouſand men, and euen ſo it came to paſſe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

John Ball his prophecie.

When all the priſons were broken vppe, and the priſoners ſette at libertie, hee beeing therefore ſo deliuered, followed them, and at Blacke heath when the greateſt multitude was there got togither as ſome write, he made a ſermõ, taking this ſaying or commõ prouerbe for his theme, VVhen Adam delfe, and Eue ſpanne, who was then a gentleman: and ſo continuing his ſermon, wente aboute to proue by the wordes of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bõdage or ſeruitude came in by iniuſt oppreſſion of naughtie men: for if God would haue had any bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who ſhould be bonde and who free. And therefore hee exhorted them to conſider, that nowe the time was come appointed to them by God, in whiche they might if they woulde, caſt off the yoke of bondage, and recouer libertie. Hee counſelled them therefore to remember themſelues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the maner of a good huſbandman that tilled hys grounde, and ridde out thereof ſuche euill weedes as choked and deſtroyed the good corne, they mighte deſtroye firſte the greate Lordes of the Realme, and after the Judges and Lawyers, Queſtmongers and all

John Ball his ſermon to the Rebels.



all other whome they vndertooke to be againſte the commons, for ſo mighte they procure peace and ſuretie to them ſelues in time to come, if diſpatching out of the way the greate men, there ſhoulde bee an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them. When he had preached and ſet forth ſuch kynde of doctrine, and other the like fonde and fooliſhe toyes vnto the people, they extolled hym to the Starres, affirming that hee ought to bee Archbiſhop and Lord Chancellor, where he that then enioyed thoſe roomthes, meaning Sir Simon de Sudburie that then was aliue, was a Traytor to the King and Realme, and worthy to loſe his head, whereſoeuer he mighte be apprehended. Many other things are reported by writers of this John Ball, as the letter, which vnder a kinde of darke ryddelles he wrote to the Captayne of the Eſſex Rebels, the copie whereof was founde in one of theyr purſes that was executed at London, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

John Scheepe Saint Marie Prieſt of Yorke, and nowe of Colcheſter, greeteth well John nameleſſe, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guyle in Bourrough, and ſtande togither in Goddes name, and biddeth Piers Plowman goe to hys worke, and chaſtiſe well Hob the robber, and take with you John Trewman, and all his felowes, and no moe. John the Miller y ground ſmali, ſmall, ſmall, the Kyngs ſonne of heauen ſhall pay for all. Beware or yee bee woe, knowe your friend from youre foe, haue ynough, and ſay whoe, and do well and better, flee ſynne and ſeeke peace, and holde you therein, and ſo biddeth John Trewman, and all his fellowes.

This letter he confeſſed himſelf to haue written, as Thomas Walſ. affirmeth, with many other things which he had done and committed, to the diſquieting of the Realme, for the whiche hee was drawen, hanged, and beheaded at Saincte Albons, the fifteenth of July, being Monday, in this fifth yeare of King Richards raigne.

hn Ball ex-
cuted at S.
lbons.

The ſame day, the Kings Juſtice, ſir Roberte Triſilian, ſate vpon the Rebels of Saint Albõs, and other of the Countrey of Hertforde, afore whome, by ſuche policie as he vſed, there were a great number endited, and diuers being arreigned, were found giltie, as William Grindecobbe, William Cadindon, John Barbor, and certaine others, which were hanged and drawen, to the number of fifteene perſons in all, diuers chiefe men of the Towne were committed to priſon, as Richard Wallingforde, John Garleeke, William Berewill, Thomas Putor, and others of the Countrey about. There were committed to priſon to the number of fourſcore perſons, the which neuertheleſſe, by the Kyngs pardon, were releaſſed, and diſmiſſed.

The hatred which the Towneſmen had conceyued againſte the Abbot and couent of Saincte Albons, was ſurely greate, and manye deuiſes they had to haue ſaued thoſe that were executed. And where as well the Towneſmen, as other of the Abbots and conuects tenauntes, both of Hertfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, had gotten of the Abbot and Conuent letters of diſcharge, from doing any bound ſeruice, the King directed hys letters vnto certaine Commiſſioners, as to John Ludowicke, John Weſtwicombe, John Kenting, Richarde Peters, Walter Saunforde, Richard Giffords, Thomas Eydon, and to William Eccleſhal, commaunding them to cauſe proclamation to bee made in all ſuche townes and places as were thought neceſſarie, through the whole countreys of Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euery perſon and perſons that ought and hadde bin accuſtomed to doe or yeelde anye maner of ſeruices, cuſtomes, or ducties, whether they were bound men or free, vnto the ſayde Abbot and Couente of Saint Albons, ſhoulde doe and yeelde the ſame ſeruices, cuſtomes and dueties, in ſuche like forme and manner, as they had bin vſed to doe, before the time of the late troubles, and not to chalenge or clayme any libertie or priuiledge whiche they enioyed not before the ſame troubles, vpon their faith and allegiance in whiche they ſtoode bound to him, and vpõ payne to forfaite all that they might forfait: and in caſe any were founde to doe contrary therevnto, the ſame commiſſioners hadde authoritie, and were commaunded to arreſt and empriſon them, till for their further puniſhment, order mighte be taken.

The Kyng calleth in by proclamation all ſuch letters of manumiſsion, as the Abbot of ſaint Albons had graunted to his bondmen.

On Saint Margarets day, the Kyng beyng ready to take his iourney to Berkhamſteede in the greate Court of the Abbey of Saint Albons, had all the commons of the countie of Hertforde before him, that had ſummons there to appeare, all that were betwixt fifteene and threeſcore yeres of age, where they tooke an othe togither from thenceforth, to be faithfull ſubiects vnto him, and neuer to riſe or make any commotion, to the diſturbance of his peace, and rather to die, than to conſente vnto anye rebellious perſons, whome they ſhoulde to the vttermoſt of their powers doe their beſt, to apprehende and deliuer them to the Kings priſon, that they mighte be forthe comming.

The commõs of Hertfordſhire ſworne to the Kyng.

After they had receyued this othe, they were licenced to depart, and the King rode to Berkhamſteede, where hee remained for a time, and after went to Eſthamſteede to recreate himſelfe with hunting, where hee was enformed, that thoſe which were hanged at Saint Albons, were taken from the gallowes, and remoued a good way from the ſame: with whiche preſumption he was ſo ſtirred, that he ſent forthwith his letters to the Baylifes of the Towne of Saint Albons, commaunding them vppon the ſighte of the ſame, to cauſe cheynes to be made, and to bring the ſayde bodyes backe vnto the gallowes, and to hang them in thoſe chaynes vpon the ſame gallowes, there to remayne, ſo long as one peece myghte ſticke to an other, according to the forme of the iudgement giuen. The teſte of this writ thus directed to the Baylifes of Saint Albons, was at Eſthamſteede the thirde of Auguſt, in the fifth yeare of this kings raigne. The Townesmen of S. Albons durſt not diſobey the kings commandement, and ſo hanged vp againe in cheynes the dead bodies of their neighbours, greatly to theyr ſhame and reproch, when they could get none other for anye wages, to come neere the ſtincking carcaſſes, but that they were conſtreyned themſelues to take in hande ſo vile an office. And ſuch was the ende of the tumultes at Saint Albons, where as well as in other places, the vnruly cōmons had played their partes. To conclude and make an ende of theſe diueliſh troubles, to yͤ ende it may appeare, in what daunger as well the K. as whole ſtate of the Realme ſtoode, by the miſcheuous attemptes of the vnruly people, I haue thoughte good to declare the confeſſion of Iacke Strawe one of their chiefe Captaynes (and next in reputation amongſt them vnto Watte Tyler) when he came to be executed in London. The ſame time (ſaid he) that we were aſſembled vpon Blackheath, and hadde ſente to the king to come vnto vs, our purpoſe was to haue ſlayne al ſuche Knightes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen as ſhould haue giuen their attendance thither vppon hym: and as for the King, we woulde haue kepte hym amongſt vs, to the ende that the people myghte more boldly haue repaired to vs, ſith they ſhoulde haue thought, that whatſoeuer we did, the ſame had bin done by his authoritie. Finally when we had got power ynough, that we needed not to feare any force that might be made forth againſt vs, we would haue ſlayne all ſuch noble men, as mighte either haue giuen counſell, or made anye reſiſtance againſte vs, ſpecially, the Knightes of the Rhodes, and laſtly, wee woulde haue kylled the Kyng and all menne of poſſeſſions, with Byſhoppes, Monkes, Chanons, and parſons of Churches, onely Friers Mendicants we would haue ſpared, that myghte haue ſuffiſed for the miniſtration of the Sacramentes, and when we hadde made a riddance of all thoſe, wee woulde haue deuiſed lawes, according to the whych, the ſubiectes of thys Realme ſhoulde haue liued, for we woulde haue created Kyngs, as Watte Tyler in Kente, and other in other Countreys: but bycauſe thys oure purpoſe was diſappoynted by the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, that woulde not permitte the King to come vnto vs, wee ſought by all meanes to diſpatch hym out of the way, as at length we did.

The confeſsiō
of Iacke Straw
at the time of
his death.

Moreouer, the ſame euening that Watte Tiler was kylled, wee were determined, hauyng the greateſt parte of the commons of the Citie bent to ioyne with vs, to haue ſette fyre in foure corners of the Citie, and ſo to haue deuided amongſt vs the ſpoyle of the chiefeſt ryches that myghte haue beene founde at oure pleaſure, and thys (ſayde hee) was oure purpoſe, as God maye help me now at my laſt ende.

Thus maye you ſee, after what ſorte they were conſpired, to the deſtruction of the Realme. And leaſt this one mans confeſſion might ſeeme inſufficiente, diuers other of them confeſſed the ſame, or muchwhat the lyke in effect, when they ſawe no remedie, but preſente deathe before their eyes.

To declare the occaſion why ſuche miſchiefes happened thus in the Realme, wee leaue to the iudgemente of thoſe that maye coniecture a troth thereof, by conferring the manners of that age and behauior of all ſtates then, ſith they that wrote in thoſe dayes, maye happely in that behalfe miſſe the trueth, in conſtruing things, according to theyr affections: but, truely it is to bee thoughte, that the faultes, as well in one degree, as other, ſpecially the ſynnes of the whole nation, procured ſuche vengeaunce to riſe, whereby they myghte bee warned of theyr euill doings, and ſeeke to reforme the ſame in tyme conuenient. But as it commeth ſtill to paſſe, when the daunger is once ouerſhotte, repentaunce lykewiſe is putte ouer, and is no more regarded, till an other ſcourge commeth eftſoones to putte menne in remembraunce of theyr duetie, ſo in lyke manner as ſeemeth, it chaunced in this Kynges dayes, as by that whiche followeth it may more playnely appeare.

The cauſe
the late tu-
multes.

In thys meane tyme that theſe troubles were at the hotteſt in Englande, the Duke of Lancaſter beeyng in Scotlande, ſo behaued hymſelfe (in the treatie whyche hee hadde in hande with the Scottes,) diſſembling the matter ſo, as if he had not vnderſtoode of any trouble in Englande at all, that finallye before the Scottes hadde knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to endure (for two yeares) or as other haue, for three yeares. When hee hadde made an ende there, and that all thyngs were agreed vppon and paſſed, for the confirmation of that accorde, hee returned to Berwike, but at

A truce wi
Scotlande
Tho.Wa.
Froiſſ.

his

The captain of Barwyke will not ſuffer the duke of Lancaſter to enter into the town

his comming thither, the Captayne ſir Mathew Redmā would not ſuffer him to enter yͤ towne, bycauſe of a commaundement giuen to him frō the Earle of Northumberlande, Lord Warden of the marches: wherefore the Duke was glad to returne into Scotlande agayne, obteyning licence of the Scottes to remayne amongſt them, till the Realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Hereupon, the Commons in England that fauored hym not, toke occaſion to reporte the worſt of hym that myghte bee deuiſed, calling him nowe in tyme of their rebellious commotions, a traytor to the Realme, declaring that hee hadde ioyned hymſelfe to the Scottes, and meant to take part with them, againſt his owne natiue countrey.

The Kyng indeede hadde ſente commaundemente during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the Earle of Northumberlande, that hee ſhoulde haue good regard to the ſafekeeping of all the Townes and Caſtels vnder his rule, and not to ſuffer anye perſon to enter the ſame, hauing forgot to except the Duke of Lancaſter beeyng then in Scotlande: whereuppon the Duke toke no ſmall diſpleaſure with the Earle of Northumberlande, as after hee well ſhewed at hys cōming home. But before hee returned forth of Scotlande, he wrote to the Kyng, to vnderſtād his pleaſure, in what ſort he ſhould returne, humbling hymſelfe in ſuch wiſe, as hee made offer to come with one Knight, one Eſquier, & a grome, if it ſhould pleaſe the Kyng ſo to appoynt him, or if it ſo were that by his preſence it was thoughte the Realme was like to fall in anye trouble, hee was ready to departe into exile, neuer to returne into his Countrey agayne, if ſo bee that through his abſence the King and Realme mighte enioy peace and quietneſſe.

The Kyng hearing ſuch offers, wrote to him, that his pleaſure was to haue hym to returne home, with all hys whole trayne, and if the ſame were not thoughte ſufficiente to guarde him, hee ſhould take of euery Towne by the which he paſſed, a certayne nūber of men to attend hym vnto the next Towne for hys ſafegarde, and ſo it was done, the Kyng ſending him commiſſion to that effect, and thus cōming to the Courte, he was of the Kyng right honorably receyued.

The Duke of Lancaſter chargeth the earle of Northumberland with ſundry crimes

Within a few dayes after his commyng, hee exhibited a greeuous complaynte agaynſt yͤ Erle of Northumberland, for abuſing hym in dyuers ſortes, in time of the late troubles, ſo as his honor was greatly thereby touched, for whych the Earle was ſente for, and commaunded to come vnto Barkhamſteede, where all the Lordes in manner of the land were aſſembled in Counſell.

Here, after the Duke had layde dyuers things to the Earles charge, for his diſobedience, vnfaithfulneſſe, and ingratitude, the Earle after the manner of his Country, not able to forbeare, brake out into reprochfull wordes againſt the Duke, although hee was commaunded by the Kyng to ceaſſe, where the Duke kept ſilence in humble manner, at the firſt word, when the king commaunded hym to holde his peace, ſo that by reaſon of the Earles diſobedience in that behalfe, he was arreſted. But yet the Erles of Warwike and Suffolke vndertaking for his appearance at the nexte Parliament, he was ſuffered to depart, and ſo the Counſell brake vp.

The duke of Lancaſter and the Earle of Northumberland come to the parliamẽt with greate troupes of armed men.

About the feaſt of all Sainctes, the Parliamente beganne, to the whiche the Duke of Lancaſter came, bringing with him an exceedyng number of armed men, and lykewiſe the Earle of Northumberlande, with no leſſe company came likewiſe to London, and was lodged within the Citie, hauing great friendſhip ſhewed towardes hym of the Citizens, who promiſed to aſſiſt hym at all tymes, when neceſſitie required, ſo that hys parte ſeemed to bee ouerſtrong for the Duke, if they ſhoulde haue come to any triall of their forces at that time.

The Londoners, freends to the Earle of Northumberlande.

The Lords ſi in armour in the parliamẽ houſe.

The Duke laye with his people in the ſuburbes, and euery day when they went to the Parliament houſe at Weſtminſter, both partes went thither in armour, to the great terror of thoſe that were wiſe and graue perſonages, fearing ſome miſchiefe to fall forth of that vnaccuſtomed manner of theyr goyng armed to the Parliamente houſe, contrary to the auncient vſage of yͤ realme. At length, to quiet the parties, and to auoyde ſuche inconueniences as mighte haue growen of theyr diſſention, the Kyng toke the matter into hys handes, and ſo they were made friendes, to the ende that ſome good myghte bee done in that Parliamente, for reformation of things touching the ſtate of the Realme, for whiche cauſe, it was eſpecially called: but nowe after it had continued a long tyme, and fewe things at all concluded, newes came, that the Lady Anne, ſiſter to the Emperoure Wenſlaus, and fyanced wife to the Kyng of England, was come to Caleis, whereupon, the Parliamente was proroged till after Chriſtmas, that in the meane time, the marriage myght bee ſolemniſed, whyche was appoynted after the Epiphanie: and forthwith, great preparation was made to receyue the Bryde, that ſhee myghte bee conueyed with all honor vnto the Kyngs preſence.

The K. maketh an agreemẽt between the duke of Lancaſter and the Earle of Northumberland.

The Emperours ſiſter a fyanced to kyng Richard, is receyued at Douer.

A watershak

Suche as ſhoulde receyue hir at Douer, repayred thither, where at hir landing, a marueilous, and righte ſtraunge wonder happened, for ſhee was no ſooner out of hir Shippe, and got to lande in ſafetie with all hir company, but that forthwith the water was ſo troubled and ſhaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance euer bin hearde of: ſo that the Shippe in which the appoynted Queene came ouer, was terribly rent into peeces, and the reſidue ſo beaten one againſte an other, that they were ſcattered heere and there, after a wonderfull manner. Before hir comming to the Citie of London, ſhee was met on Blackheath, by the Maior, and Citizens of London, in moſt honorable wiſe, and ſo with greate triumph conueyd to Weſtminſter, where at the time appoynted, all the Nobilitie of the Realme being aſſembled, ſhee was ioyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queene, by the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, with all the glory and honor that might be deuiſed.

1382

The Kings marriage with the Emperors ſiſter.

There were alſo holden for the more honor of the ſame marriage, ſolemne Iuſtes for certayne dayes togither, in which, as well the Engliſhmen as ẏ new Queenes Countreymen, ſhewed prowſe of their manhoode and valiantie, whereby prayſe and commendation of Knightly prowes was atchieued, not withoute domage of both the parties.

After that the ſolemnitie of the marriage was finiſhed, the Parliamente eftſoones beganne, in the whiche, many things were enacted, for the behoofe of the common wealthe. And amongſt other things it was ordeyned, that all maner manumiſſions, obligations, releaſſes, and other bondes made by compulſion, dures, and menace, in time of this laſt tumulte and ryot agaynſte the lawes of the lande, and good fayth, ſhould bee vtterly voyde and adnihillate. And further, that if the Kynges faythfull liege people did perceyue any gathering of the Commons in ſuſpect wiſe, to the number of ſixe or ſeauen, holding conuenticles togither, they ſhoulde not ſtay for ẏ Kings writte in that behalfe, for theyr warrante, but forthwith it ſhoulde bee lawfull for them to apprehende ſuche people, aſſembling togither, and to lay them in priſon, till they mighte aunſwere their doings.

Theſe and many other things were eſtabliſhed in this Parliamente, of the whiche, the moſt part are ſet forthe in the Printed Booke of Statutes, where yee maye reade the ſame more at large.

The ſuddayne death of the Earle of Suffolke.

In tyme of thys Parliamente, the Earle of Suffolke, William Vfforde, beeyng choſen by the Knyghtes of the Shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the common wealthe, certayne matters concerning the ſame: The very day and houre in whyche hee ſhoulde haue ſerued that turne, as hee wente vp the ſtaires, towardes the vpper houſe, he ſuddaynely fell downe, and dyed in the handes of hys ſeruauntes, buſie about to take hym vp, whereas hee felte no griefe of ſickneſſe when hee came into Weſtminſter, beeyng then and before merrie and pleaſante ynough, to all mens ſights. Of hys ſuddayne death, many were greatly abaſſhed, for that in hys lyfe tyme, hee hadde ſhewed hymſelfe courteous and amiable to all men.

The Parliamente ſhortly thereuppon tooke ende, after that the Merchauntes had graunted to the Kyng for a ſubſedie certayne cuſtomes of theyr woolles, whiche they bought and ſolde, called a Maletot, to endure for four yeares.

The Lord Richard Scrope was made Lord Chancellor, and the Lorde Hugh Segraue Lord Treaſorer.

The Earle of Marche, his good ſeruice, whileſt he was deputie of Irelande.

About the ſame time, the Lorde Edmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche, the Kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande departed this life, after hee had brought in manner all that lande to peace and quiete, by his noble and prudente gouernemente.

Wiclifes doctrine.

In this ſeaſon, Wiclife ſet forthe dyuers Articles and concluſions of hys doctrine, whiche the newe Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, William Courtney, lately remoued from the Sea of London, vnto the higher dignitie, dyd what hee coulde by all ſhiftes to ſuppreſſe, and to force ſuche as were the ſetters forthe, and mayntayners therof, to recante, and vtterly to renounce. What hee brought to paſſe, in the Booke of Actes and monumentes ſet forthe by maiſter Foxe, ye may finde at large.

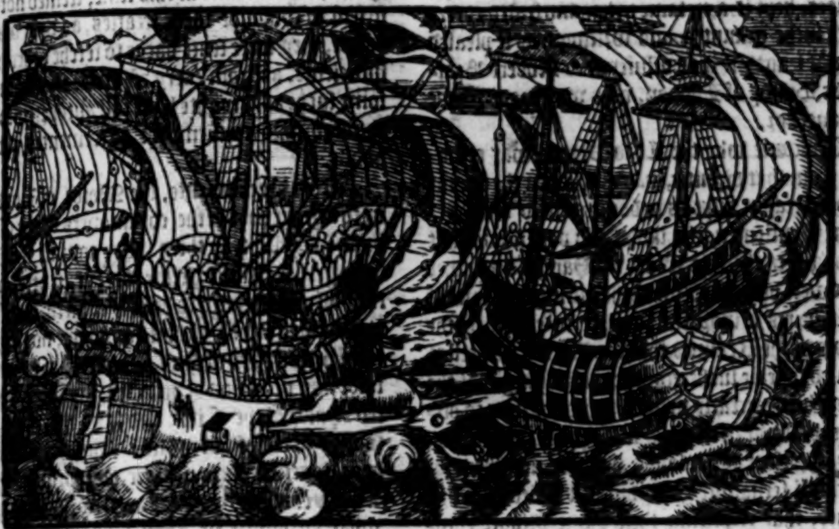
Iohn Wrawe.

The Tueſday next after the feaſt of Saint Iohn Port latine, an other Parliament began, in whiche at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of the Knyghtes of the ſhires, Iohn Wrawe Prieſt, that was the chiefe doer among the commons in Suffolke, at Bury, and Mildenhale, was adiudged to be drawen, and hanged, although many beleeued, that hys lyfe ſhould haue bin redeemed for ſome great portion of money.

A lewde fellowe that tooke vppon hym to bee ſkilfull in Phiſicke and Aſtronomy, cauſed it to bee publiſhed thorough the Citie of London, that vppon the Aſcention euen, there would riſe ſuche a peſtilente Planet, that all thoſe whyche came abroade forthe of theyr chambers, before they hadde ſayde fyue tymes the Lordes prayer, then cõmonly called the Pater noſter, & dyd not eate ſomewhat that morning, before theyr going forthe, ſhoulde bee taken with ſickneſſe, and ſuddaynely dye therof. Many fooles beleeued him, and obſerued hys order, but the nexte daye, when hys preſumptuous lying coulde be no longer faced out, hee was ſet on Horſebacke, with his face towardes the tayle, whyche hee was compelled to holde in hys hande in ſtead of a bridell, and ſo was ledde about the Citie, with two Iorden pottes about hys necke, and a whetſtone, in token that hee had well deſerued it, for the notable lye which he had made.

A Coloprophet ſerued aright.

About



ips of Rye
ke a god
ze.

About the ſame time, certayne Engliſhe Shippes of Rye, and other places, wente to the Sea, and meeting with certayne Pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking a ſeauen Shippes, with a thre hundred men in the. One of thoſe Shippes had bin taken from the Engliſhe men afore tyme, and was called the Fawcon, belongyng to the Lorde William Latimer. They were al richly ladé with wine, wax, and other good merchandiſe.

hn de Nor-
ampton Ma-
r of London,
uere puni-
er of adul-
rie in hys
me.

This yeare, the Maior of London, John de Northhampton, otherwiſe called John de Cõberton, did puniſhe ſuche as were taken in Adultery, very extreamely: for fyrſte, hee putte them in the priſon, called the Tonne, that then ſtoode in Cornehill, and after cauſed the women to haue theyr heare cutte, as theeues in thoſe dayes were ſerued, that were appeachers of others, and ſo were they ledde about the ſtreetes, with trumpettes and pipes goyng before them. Neyther were the menne ſpared more than the women, beeyng putte to manye open ſhames and reproches.

But bycauſe the puniſhmente of ſuche offences, was thoughte rather to apperteyne vnto the ſpirituall iuriſdiction, than to the temporall, the Byſhoppe of London, and other of the Cleargie, toke it in very euill parte, but the Maior beeyng a ſtoute man, woulde not forbeare, but vſed hys authoritie heerein, to the vttermoſt.

e Londo-
nfauoureis
Wicliffes
ine.

About the ſame tyme alſo, when the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterbury ſate in iudgemente vppon a proceſſe that was framed agaynſt one John Aſton, a maiſter of arte, that was an earneſt follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners brake open the dores, where the Archbyſhop with hys Diuines ſate, and cauſed them to gyue ouer, ſo that they durſt proceede no further in that matter.

The Fiſhmongers ſore troubled by the Maior.

The ſame yeare, were the Fiſhmongers of London ſore diſquieted by the foreſayde Maior, who ſoughte to infringe theyr liberties, graunting licence to forreyners, to come and ſell all manner of fyſhe, as freely, and more freely, than anye of the companye of Fiſhmongers: for they mighte not buy it at the forreyners handes to ſell it agayne, by anye meanes, and ſo that companye, whyche before hadde beene accompted one of the chiefeſt in the Citie, was nowe ſo broughte downe, as it ſeemed to bee one of the meaneſt, beeyng compelled to confeſſe, that theyr occupation was no craft, nor worthy ſo to bee accompted amongſt other the craftes of the Citie.

A great earthquake.
Churches ouerthrown by the earthquake.

Thys yeare, the one and twentith of Maye beeyng Wedneſday, a greate earthquake chaunced about one of the clocke in the after noone, it was ſo vehemente, and namely in Kent, that the Churches were ſhaken therewith in ſuche wiſe, that ſome of them were ouerthrowen to the grounde.

A waterquake.

On the Saterday after, beeing the foure and twentith daye of May, early in the morning, chaunced an other earthquake, or as ſome write, a watershake, beeyng ſo vehemente, that it made the Shippes in the hauens to beate one againſte an other, by reaſon whereof, they were ſore bruyſed by ſuche knocking togyther, to the great wonder of the people, who being amaſed at ſuche ſtraunge tokens, ſtoode a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and diſpleaſure, than before, for theſe ſo vnketh and dreadfull wonders thus ſhewed amongſt them.

About

An. reg. 6.

About this ſeaſon, the Lord Richard Scrope, Lord Chācellor, was depoſed from that roumth, and the King receiuing the greate ſeale at hys handes, kept it a certaine time, and ſealed therewith ſuche grauntes and writings as it pleaſed him at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braibroke Biſhop of London, who was made Lorde Chancellor.

The biſhop of London made L. Chancellour in the Lorde Scrope his roome.

The cauſe why the Lord Scrope was remoued from that dignitie, was this, when the Kyng vpon certayne reſpectes hadde graunted vnto certaine Gentlemen, the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged to the late Earle of Marche, and other that were deceaſſed, (which he during the time of their heires minorities, oughte to enioy by the lawes of the Realme) the ſayd Lord Chancellor refuſed to ſeale ſuche grauntes, alledging that the King being greatly in debt, which he was to diſcharge, ſtoode in neede of ſuche profites hymſelfe, and therefore as hee ſayde, he tooke not them for faithfull ſeruauntes, nor dutifull ſubiectes to hys grace, that reſpecting their owne priuate commoditie more than his or the Realmes, did ſue for ſuch grauntes at his hands, aduiſing them to holde themſelues cōtented with ſuch other things as it had pleaſed or mighte pleaſe the King to beſtowe vppon them, for ſurely hee would not conſent, that they ſhoulde enioy ſuche giftes as thoſe were.

They that were thus reiected, made theyr complaynte in ſuche ſort to the King, that he takyng diſpleaſure with the ſayd Lord Scrope, depoſed hym from hys office, to the greate offence, both of the Nobles, and commons, by whoſe conſente, hee was preferred vnto that dignitie.

A new rebellion intended in Norffolke, is bewrayed by one of the conſpiracie before it burſte out.

About Michaelmas this yere, certayn naughtie diſpoſed perſons in Northfolke, not warned by the ſucceſſe of the late Rebellion, went aboute a newe commotion, intending to murther the Byſhoppe of Norwiche, and all the Nobles and Gentlemen of that Countrey: and to bring theyr wicked purpoſe the better to paſſe, they determined to haue aſſembled togither at Saint Faithes fayre, and to haue compelled all thoſe that ſhould haue bin preſente at the ſame faire, to haue taken parte with them, or elſe to haue loſt their liues: and this beeing done, they woulde haue taken Sainct Benettes Abbey at Holme, whyche they woulde haue kepte for a fortreſſe, to haue withdrawen into vpon any force that had bin againſt them. But ere they could bring their purpoſe to paſſe, one of the conſpiracie bewraying the matter, they were apprehended, and loſt their heads at Norwich, for theyr malitious deuiſes.

About the ſame time, a Parliament was called, to the whiche, certayne commiſſioners from the Countrey of Flaunders came, to treate of certayne agreementes betwixt the King and realm, and the eſtates of theyr Countrey: but bycauſe thoſe that came ouer at this time, ſeemed not ſufficient to conclude ſuche treaties, as then was in hande, they were ſente backe to fetche other more ſufficiente, as from euery Towne in Flaunders ſome ſuche as myghte haue full authoritie to goe through, and confirme the agreementes then in hande.

In this Parliamente, the Maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the Citie, vpon ſuggeſtion by them made againſt the fiſhmongers, for vſing greate deceyt in vttering of their fiſhes, obteyned to haue it enacted, that from thenceforth, none of that company, nor anye of the Vintners, Butchers, Groſſers, or other that ſolde any prouiſion of vittailes, ſhould be admitted Maior of the Citie, and ſo by this ſhifte they ſought to cut off all meanes from the Fiſhmongers, to recouer againe their olde former degree. And bycauſe it was knowen well ynough of what authoritie ſir John Philpot Knight was within the Citie, and that hee fauoured thoſe whome the Lord Maior, yͤ ſaid John de Northhampton fauoured not, hee was put off from the benche, and myght not ſitte with them that were of the ſecrete counſell in yͤ Cities affayres, whereas neuertheleſſe he had trauelled more for the preſeruation of the Cities liberties, than all the reſidue.

Sir Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwiche, receyued a little before this preſente, Bulles from Pope Vrbane, to ſigne all ſuch with the Croſſe, that woulde take vpon them to goe ouer yͤ Seas with hym to warre agaynſt thoſe that held with the Antipape Clemente, that tooke himſelfe for Pope, and to ſuche as woulde receyue the Croſſe in that quarrell, ſuche lyke beneficiall pardons were graunted by Pope Vrbane, as were accuſtomarily granted vnto ſuch as went to fighte againſt the Infidels, the Turkes, and Saraſins, to witte free remiſſion of ſinnes, and many other graces.

The Byſhop of Norwiche that had the diſpoſing of the benefites graunted by thoſe Bulles, to all ſuche as eyther woulde goe themſelues in perſon, or elſe giue any thing towardes the furtherance of that voyage, and mayntenance of the that went in the ſame, ſhewed thoſe Bulles now in open Parliamente, and cauſed copies to bee written forth, and ſente into euery quarter, that his authoritie and power Legantine, mighte be notifyed to all menne, for the better bringing to paſſe, of that hee hadde in charge: and truely it ſhoulde appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accompliſhe the Popes purpoſe: and on the other parte yee muſt note, that the priuiledges which he hadde from the Pope, were paſſing large, ſo that as the matter was handled, there were diuers Lordes, Knightes, eſquiers, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offred themſelues to go in that voyage, and to folowe the ſtanderdes of the church with the Biſhop, & no ſmall ſummes of money were leuied and gathered amongeſt the people, for the furniſhing forth of that armie, as after ye ſhall heare. In this meane tyme the erle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whither as ye haue hearde, he was ſent the laſte yeare, and promiſe made, that the duke of Lancaſter ſhould haue folowed him, but by reaſon of the late rebellion, and alſo for other conſiderations, as the warres in Flaunders betwixt the Erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that any men of warre ſhuld go forth of the realme: and ſo the K. of Portingale not able of himſelfe to go through with his enterpriſe againſt ŷ K. of Spain, after ſome ſmal exploits atchieued by ŷ Engliſhmē, & other of the Erle of Cambridge his companie, as the wynning of certain fortreſſes belonging to the King of Caſtille, and that the two kings had layne in field, the one againſt the other by the ſpace of .xv. days without battayle, the matter was taken vp, and a peace concluded betwixt them, ſore againſt the mynde of the Erle of Cambridge, who did what in him lay, to haue brought them to a ſette field: but whē there was no remedie, he bare it ſo paciently as hee mighte, and returned home with his people, ſore offended (though he ſayde little) againſt the king of Portingale, for that he delt otherwiſe in this matter than was looked for. He had fianced his ſonne which hee had by the daughter of Peter ſometime king K. of Caſtille, vnto the king of Portingales daughter nowe in the time of his being there: but although he was earneſtly requeſted of the ſaid king, he would not leaue his ſon behind him, but brought him backe with him again into England (together with his mother) doubting the ſlipper faith of thoſe people.

The Earle of Cambridge returneth out of Portingale.

The Earle of Cambridge his ſonne affyed to the K. of Portingals daughter.

1383.

In the Lent ſeaſon of this ſixt yere of K. Richards raigne an other parliament was called at London, in the which there was hard holde about the bulles ſente to the biſhop of Norwiche from Pope Vrbane, concerning his iourneye that he ſhould take in hand againſt the Clementines as we may call thē for ŷ they held with Pope Clement, whom the Vrbaniſts, that is, ſuch as held with pope Vrbane, toke for Sciſmatiks. Diuers ther were, that thought it not good that ſuch ſummes of mony ſhuld be leuied of the kings ſubiects and the ſame togither with an armie of mē to be committed vnto the guiding of a Prelate vnſkilfull in warrelike affaires: other there were that would needes haue hym to goe, that the enimies of the churche (as they toke them) might be ſubdued. And although the more parte of the lordes of the vpper houſe, and likewiſe the Knightes and Burgeſſes of the lower houſe were earneſtly bent againſt this iorney, yet at length thoſe that were of the contrary minde, preuailed, and ſo it was decreed, that it ſhould forwarde, and that the ſaide biſhoppe of Norwiche ſhoulde haue the fifteenthe graunted to the king in the laſte parliament, to pay the wages of ſuche men of warre as ſhoulde goe ouer with hym: for ſouldiors wythout money paſſed not muche of pardones, no not in thoſe dayes except at the very point of death, if they were not aſſured howe to be aunſwered of their wages, or of ſome other cōſideration wherby they myghte gayne. The tenthe that was graunted afore by the Biſhops at Oxforde, is nowe in this ſame Parliament appoynted to remayne to the king for the keeping of the ſeas, whileſt the Biſhop ſhould be forth of the realme in folowing thoſe warres. Theſe things being thus appointed, the biſhop ſendeth forth his letters ſigned with his ſeale into euery prouince & cōtrey of this lād, giuing to al perſons, vicars, & curates through this realme power & authoritie to heare the confeſſions of their pariſhoners, & to graunte vnto thoſe that wold beſtow any parcel of theyr goods which God had lent them towards the aduauncing of the iorney to be made by the croſſed ſouldiors againſt Pope Vrbans enimies, the abſolution & remiſſion of al their ſinnes by ŷ Popes authoritie, according to the forme of the Bul, before mencioned. The people vnderſtanding of ſo great & gracious a benefite, as they toke it, thus offred to the engliſh natiō, at home in their own houſes, were deſirous to be partakers therof, and thoſe ŷ were warlike men, prepared thēſelues to go forth in that iorney with al ſpeed poſſible: the reſidue that were not fit to be warryours, accordyng to that they were exhorted by theyr confeſſours, beſtowed liberally of theyr goods to the furtheraunce of thoſe that wente: and ſo, fewe there were within the whole kingdome, but that eyther they went, or gaue ſomewhat to the aduauncing forth of the Biſhop of Norwiche his voyage. Which Biſhop choſe diuers to be aſſociate with him, as Captains that were expert in warlike enterpriſes. The firſt & principal was ſir Hugh Caluerley an old mā of warre, & one that in all places had borne himſelf both valiently & politikely: Next vnto him was ſir Williā Farington, who ſtoutely ſpake in the Biſhops cauſe, when the matter came in queſtion in the parliament houſe, touching his going ouer with thys Croyſey. Beſide theſe, ther wēt diuers noble mē and knightes of high renoune, as the lord Henry Beaumount, ſir Williā Elmham, and ſir Thomas Triuet, ſir Iohn Ferrers, ſir Hugh Spēcer, the biſhops nephue by his brother ſir Mathewe Redman captain of Barwicke, Sir Nicholas

Clementines. Vrbaniſtes.

A fifteenth aſſigned to the Biſhop of Norwich towards the warres taken in hande againſt the Antipape.

The Croſſed Souldiours.

The captaines that wēt with the Biſhop of Norwiche againſt the Antipape.

Froiſſart.

Kk.r. Taren-

Tarenſon or Traiſton, ſir William Farington and manye other of the Engliſhe nation: and of Gaſcongne there wente le ſire de Chaſteauneuf, and his brother ſir John de Chaſteauneuf, Raymund de Marſen, Guillonet de Paux, Gariot Vighier, John de Cachitan, and diuers other. Sir John Beauchamp was appointed Marſhal of the field, but bicauſe he was at that preſent in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to paſſe ouer when the Biſhoppe did. The Duke of Lancaſter liked not wel of the Biſhops iorney, for that hee ſawe howe hys voyage that he meant to make into Spayn was hereby for the tyme diſappoynted, and he coulde haue bin better contented, as appeareth by writers, to haue had the money imployed vpon the warres agaynſt the king of Caſtille, that was a Clementine, than to haue it beſtowed vpon this voyage, which the Biſhop was to take in hande againſt the French king, and other in this neerer parties. Herevpon there were not many of the Nobilitie that offered to go with the Biſhop.

The ſtatute againſte Fiſhemongers repealed, they reſtored to their liberties.

But to ſaye ſomewhat of other thyngs that were concluded in this laſt parliament, we fynd, that the Fiſhmongers, whiche through meanes of the late Lorde Maior John of Northampton and his complices were put from theyr auncient cuſtomes and liberties, whiche they enioyed afortyme within the Citie, were nowe reſtored to the ſame agayne, ſauing that they myght not keepe Courtes among themſelues, as in tymes paſt they vſed, but that after the maner of other craftes and companies, all tranſgreſſions, offences and breaches of lawes and cuſtoms by them committed, ſhould be heard, tryed, and reformed in the Mayrs Courte.

All thys winter the matter touching the gathering of mony towards the Croyſey, was earneſtly applyed, ſo that there was leuied what of the diſme, and by the deuotion of the people for obteyning of the pardon, ſo muche as drewe to the ſumme of .xxv. thouſand frankes.

The Byſhoppe of Norvviche ſetteth forvvard vvith hys armye.

When the Biſhop therefore had ſet things in good forwardneſſe for his iourney, he drewe towardes the ſea ſide, and was ſo deſirous to paſſe ouer, & to inuade his aduerſaries, that althoughe the king ſent to him an expreſſe cōmaundement by letters to returne to the Court, that he might conferre with him before he toke the ſeas, yet he excuſing himſelfe, that the tyme would not then permit him to ſtaye longer, paſſed ouer to Caleys, where he landed the .xxiij. of Aprill in thys vj. yeare of King Richards reigne. The armye appoynted to attende him in this iourney, roſe to the number of .ij. M. horſmen, and fifteene thouſand footmen, as ſome write, though other ſpeak of a farre leſſer number: but it ſhould ſeeme that they went not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as ſome before the Biſhop, ſome with him, and ſome after him. And when he and the Captaines before named, were come ouer to Caleys, they toke counſel togither into what place they ſhould make their firſt inuaſion, and bicauſe their commiſſion was to make warre onely againſt them that held with Pope Clement, the moſte parte were of this mynde, that it ſhould be moſt expedient for them to enter into Fraunce, and to make warre againſt the Frenchemen, whome all men knewe to be chiefe maynteyners of the ſayd Clemente. But the Biſhop of Norwiche was of this opinion, that they coulde not doe better than to inuade the countreye of Flaunders, bycauſe that a little before, Earle Lewes hauyng intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part, expulſed all Engliſhmen out of his dominions and countreyes, ſo that the merchauntes whiche hadde their goodes at Bruges, and other places in Flaunders, ſuſteyned great loſſes.

Polidor.

Froiſſart. v.C.ſpeares & xv.C.other.

The Byſhoppe of Norvviche inuadeth Flaunders.

Though there were that replyed againſt the Biſhops purpoſe herein, as ſir Hugh Caluerley and others, yet at length they yelded thereto, and ſo by his commaundement, they wente ſtraight to Grauelyn, the .xxj. day of May, and immediatly wan it by aſſault. Wherevpon Bruckburg was yelded vnto them, the lyues and goodes of them within ſaued. Then went they to Dunkirk, and without any great reſiſtance entred the Towne and wanne there exceeding much by the ſpoyle, for it was full of riches, whiche the Engliſhmen pylfered at their pleaſure. The Earle of Flaunders lying at Liſle was aduertiſed how the engliſhmen were thus entred his countrey, wherevpon he ſent ambaſſadors vnto the Engliſh hoſt to vnderſtande why they made him warre that was a right Vrbaniſt. The biſhop of Norwich for aunſwere, declared to them that were ſente, that hee toke the countrey to appertayne to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knewe to be a Clementine, or at the leaſt he was aſſured, that the countrey therabouts was of the inheritāce of the lady of Bar, which likewiſe was a Clementin, & therfore except the people of that countrey wold come and ioyne with hym to goe againſt ſuch as were knowne to be enimies to Pope Vrban, he would ſurely ſeeke to deſtroy them. And where as the Earles ambaſſadoures required a ſafeconduct, to go into Englande by Caleys to vnderſtand the kings pleaſure in this matter, the biſhop would grant them none at all, wherefore they went back againe to the Erle their maiſter, with that aunſwere. The Engliſhemen after the taking and ſpoyling of Dunkirke retourned to Grauelyn and Bruckburg, whyche places they fortifyed, and then leauyng garnyſons in them,

Ia. Mer.

Dunkirke won and ſacked by the engliſhe.

The Earle of Flaunders ſendeth to the Byſhoppe of Norvviche to knovve the cauſe of his inuaſion of Flaunders.

them, they went to Mardike, and tooke it, for it was not cloſed. In the meanetime, the countrey men of Weſt Flaunders roſe in armour, & came to Dunkirke, meaning to reſiſt the Engliſhmen: whereof when the biſhoppe was certified, with all ſpeede he marched thither, and comming to the place, where the Flemmings, to the number of more than .xii. thouſand, were arranged without the towne, he ſent an herauld vnto them to know the truthe, of whether Pope they helde, but the rude people, not vnderſtanding what apperteined to the law of armes, ranne vpon the herauld at his approching to them, and ſlewe him before he could beginne to tell his tale.

An herauld of ſent to the Flemminges by the Biſhop of Norviche is ſlaine.

The engliſhmen herewith enflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herauld, or to dye for it, and therwith ordered their battailes ready to fight, and being not aboue .v. M. fighting men in all, the biſhoppe placed hymſelfe amongeſt the horſemen, and ſet the footmen in a battaile marſhalled wedgewyſe, broade behind, and ſharpe before, hauing wyth them a banner wherin the croſſe was beaten. The archers were raunged on eyther ſide. The ſtanderde of the church went before, the fielde geules, and two keys ſiluer, ſignifying that they were ſouldiours of Pope Vrbane. Moreouer, the Biſhop had his penon there Siluer and azure quarterly, a frett gold on the azure, a bend gules on the ſiluer: and bicauſe he was yongeſt of the Spencers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approching of the battayles togither, the trumpets blew vp, and the archers beganne to ſhoot againſt the battayle of the Flemmings, the which valiantly defended themſelues, and fought egerly a long tyme: but at length they were ſo galled with arrowes, which the archers ſhot at them a flanke, that they were not able to endure, but were compelled to giue back. They were deuided into two battails, a vaward, & a rerewarde. When the vaward began to ſhrinke, the rerewarde alſo brake order, and fled, but the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo faſt, that they could not eſcape, but were ouertaken and ſlaine in great numbers.

Thom VVal.

The order of the Biſhoppe of Norviche his battaile againſt the Flemmings.

The Flemings diſcomfited by the engliſhmen.

Some ſay, there dyed of them in the battayle & chaſe .v. thouſand, ſome .vi. thouſand: and other write, that there were .ix. thouſand of them ſlain: and Tho. Walſ. affirmeth .xii. M. Many of thē fled into the Towne of Dunkirke for ſuccour, but the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo egerly, that they entred the town with thē, & ſlew thē downe in the ſtreetes. The Flemmings in diuers places gathered themſelues togither againe as they fled, and ſhewed countenance of defence, but ſtill they were driuen out of order, and brought to confuſion. The Prieſtes and religious men that were with the Biſhoppe fought moſt egerly, ſome one of them ſlaying .xvj. of the enimies.

Ia. Meir.

Froiſſart.

Tho. VValſ. Prieſts & religious men hardie ſouldiours.

There dyed of Engliſhmen at this battayle about .iiii. C. The Flemmings had no chiefe men amongeſt them, nor any leaders of Gentlemen: for they ſtood in ſuch awe of the Engliſhmen, that they durſt not come to any battayle with them, but keping themſelues out of their daunger, ſent the commons of the countrey in their ſtede to trye what they againſt the Engliſhmen were able to do in the fielde.

Iames Meir.

This battaile was fought vpon a Monday, being the .xxv. of May. The countrey was put in a wonderfull feare by this ouerthrowe, ſo that the townes on that coaſt yelded them vp without any great doubt, and ſome yelded themſelues to the Engliſhmen, as Berghen and others. Some were wonne by force, as the caſtell of Drinckam, & the towne of S. Venant. To be ſhort, the Engliſhmen became maiſters of all the countrey alongſt the ſea ſide, euen from Grauelyn to Sluſe, and got ſuch riches by pillage and ſpoile, as they could not wiſh for greater. They did ſo farre reach, that they wan in maner all the cloſe townes within the Bayliwickes of Caſſell, of Poperin, Meſſines, and Furneys, with the townes of Newport, Blanckenberke, and diuers other. And entring into the woods of Ypre and Bethune, they found great bootie of kyen and beaſtes, and alſo a great ſorte of priſoners of the countrey people, which were fledde into thoſe woods for feare of the enimies; but the Engliſhmen hauing the pray of good bloudhoundes, founde them out, and ſent all their booties and pray vnto Grauelin and Bourburgh.

Iac. Meir.

The Engliſhmē ſubdue diuers tovvns in Flāders, & ſpoyle the countrey.

The eight daye of Iune they came before the towne of Ipre, and layde ſiege thereto, whereat they continued the ſpace of .ix. weekes. Then there came to their ayde .xx. M. Gauntiners vnder the leading of Frauncis Atremen, Peter Wood, and Peter Wynter: ſo that they within Ipre were ſtraightely beſieged, but there were within it in garniſon diuers valiant knightes and Capitains, which defended the towne right manfully. It was fenced with a mightie ditch or pit, and a thicke hedge, trimly plaſhed and wound wyth thornes, as the manner of fortifying townes was in auncient time amongeſt them in that countrey (as Strabo witneſſeth.)

The tovvne of Ipre beſieged.

The maner of fortifying tovvnes in olde tyme.

During the tyme that the ſiege lay before Ipre, the Engliſhmen ſwarmed abroade in the countrey: for when it was once knowen what good ſucceſſe the firſt companie that went ouer had found, there came dayly forth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir Io. Philpot ÿ fauored the biſhops iorney, prouided them of veſſelles for their paſſage, till the Biſhop vnderſtanding that the more part of thoſe that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and brought nothing with them from home, but onely

Hope of gayne.

ſwordes, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the ſayde ſir John Philpot that he ſhoulde ſuffer none to paſſe the ſeas, but ſuch as were men able and likely to do ſeruice, where a great number of thoſe that were come to hym, were fitte for nothing but to conſume victuals.

The multitude of Engliſhemen and Gauntiners at this ſiege was great, ſo that diuers ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, and ſuch as were appointed by the Erle to lie in garriſons about in the country againſt them: but ſtill the victorie aboade on the Engliſhe ſide. Alſo there was an Engliſh prieſt, one ſir John Boring that wente to Gaunt, with .v.C. Engliſh Archers, by whoſe ayde, Arnold Hans, one of the captains of Gaūt ouercame his enimies in battail, which were laid in a caſtel nere to the hauen of Alloſte, and ſtopped that no victuals mighte ſafely come oute of Holland or Zeland to be conueyd vnto Gaunt.

Iac. Meir.

The Erle of Flaunders was not wel contented in his mynd, that the Engliſhmen were thus entred into his countrey, and therfore he earneſtly laboured to the Duke of Burgogne (that had maryed his daughter, and ſhoulde be heire of all his dominions and ſeigniories after his deceaſſe) to find ſome remedie in the matter. The Duke whome the matter touched ſo neere, did ſo much with his nephue the Frenche king, that eftſones he rayſed his whole puiſſance, and came downe into Flanders, ſo that the Engliſhmē perceiuing themſelues not of power to encounter with this huge and mightie armie, were conſtrayned after a great aſſault, whiche they gaue the .viij. of Auguſt, to reyſe their ſiege from Ipre the Monday after, being S. Laurence day, and to withdrawe into Bruckburg, Berghen, Dixmew, Newport, Caſſell, Dunkirke, Grauelyn, and other places which they had wonne. But at Newporte the townesmen ſet vp the Erles banner, and aſſayling thoſe that were come into the towne, ſlewe diuers of them. The Engliſhmen being ſore offended therwith, came running thither with certain Gauntiners, and made greate ſlaughter of them that had ſo murthered their fellowes. The town was ſacked, & al the goods aſwell Churche iewels, as other, wer ſent away, partly by ſea into England, & partly by waggons vnto Berge. After this, they ſette fire in more than .xxx. places of the towne, ſo that there remained nothing vnbrent. The Engliſhmen and Gantiners ẏ were withdrawn into Berg, got togither al the waggons in the country about, placing the ſame vpon the ditches and rampiers, to fortifye the ſame againſt their enimies. Some write, that after the breaking vp of the ſiege at Ipres, the Biſhop of Norwich wold gladly haue perſwaded the lords and knightes that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offred the Frēch K. bataile, before his whole puiſſance had bin aſſembled: but ſir Tho. Triuet & ſir William Elmhā with other, wold in no wiſe cōſent therunto, ſo that ẏ biſhop taking with him ſir Hugh Caluerley, that did neuer forſake him, bad the other farewell, and firſt making a rode into Picardie, he after withdrew into Grauelyn, whiles the other went to Bruckburg: but by Froiſſart, and other writers, it appereth, that ſir Hugh was certainly at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpoſe to defende it againſt the frenche king, who ſtill followed them and recouered dyuers places out of theyr handes by force, as Mont Caſſell, the caſtell of Drincham, & other. Alſo at his cōming to Berghen, ẏ ſaide ſir Hugh Caluerley, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it againſt ſuche a puiſſaūce as the french K. had there with him, being greater than euer ſir Hugh Caluerley that auncient captaine would haue thought that Frāce had bin able to haue ſet forth, departed, & left the town to be ſpoyled of the Brytons, and other french ſouldiors, which executed there all kinds of cruelty. The more part of ẏ engliſhmen went to Bruckburgh, but ſir Hugh Caluerley went to Grauelin, & ſo to Caleis, as one ſore diſpleaſed in his minde, for that his counſell could not be regarded in all this voiage, which if it had bin followed, wold haue brought it to a better iſſue than now it was, as was ſuppoſed.

An. reg. 7.

The french K. cōmeth dovvn vvith a mightie armie to raiſe the ſiege at Ipre.

The ſiege at Ipre broke vp.

Nevvport ſacked and brente by the Engliſhmen and Gantyners.

Thom. VVal.

A couragious and vvarlik biſhoppe.

The Frenche Kyng followyng the tracte of good fortune, that guided his ſtern, marched forth to Bruckburghe, ſo that the vaward of his army came before that towne on the Holyrood day, in September, vnder the leading of ẏ erle of Flaūders, the duke of Britaine, the Lorde Oliuer de Cliſſon hygh Conſtable of Fraunce, and the L. Walerā erle of S. Paule, the whiche demeaned themſelues in ſuch ſorte that although the engliſhemen within, valiantly defended the frenchemens aſſaulte, yet the iij. day after the frenchemens cōming thither, the engliſhmē by compoſition that they might depart with bag & bagage, yelded vp the towne, which on the .xix. of Septēber being Satterday, as that yere came about, was abandoned to the frenche ſouldiors, to rifle and ſpoile at their plea ſure, in the whiche feate the Britons bare ẏ bell away, doing more miſchiefe vnto the poore inhabitants, than with tong can be recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatly to make the compoſition, that the engliſhmen might departe in ſafetie: for the which doing he was in greate hatred and obloquy of the ſouldiers, the which affirmed that he was not onely a friende to the engliſhemen, but an enimy to hys countrey and a traytor to the commen wealthe.

Bruckburgh yelded to the French.

The duke of Britain a

The Engliſhmen cōming to Grauelyn, ſet it on fire, and departed ſtreight to Caleys, leauing the countrey of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and ſo returned into Englande, where they were not greatly commended for their ſeruice, but were put ſo farre in blame, that ſir Thomas Triueth, and ſir William Elmham were cõmitted to priſon, within the Tower of London, as men ſuſpected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Burkburg and Grauelin to the French mens handes: for immediatly after that they had lefte Grauelyn, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortifyed it for a countergariſon to Caleys. There be that write how the French king offred to giue the biſhop of Norwich .xv.M. markes to raſe the towne of Grauelyn, & ſo to leaue it vnto him, the biſhop hauing libertie with all his people and goodes to depart in ſafetie. The biſhop required to haue libertie for certain days, to make herevnto a full & deliberate anſwere, which was graunted, and in the meane tyme he ſent into England to aduertiſe the king in what ſtate he ſtood, and how the Frenche king lay before him with a mightie armye: & therfore if he meant euer to trie battayle with the Frenchemen, nowe was the tyme.

Grauelyn fortified by the Frenchemen for a countergariſon to Caleys.

Tho. VValſ.

The ſame ſommer, the King & the Queene wẽt abrode in progreſſe, viſiting in their way the riche abbeys of the realme, as Bury, Thetforde, Norwich & others going about a great part of ẏ realme: and when theſe newes came to him frõ the biſhop of Norwich, he was at Dauentrie in Northamptonſhire, and beyng the ſame time at ſupper, he put the table from him, & riſing with al haſt, got him to horſeback, and rode in poſt that night, changing horſe diuers tymes, with ſuche ſpeed that he came to S. Albons about midnight & making no ſtay there longer than he had borowed the Abbots gelding, haſted forth til he came to Weſtminſter: ſo that it appered he wold neuer haue reſted til he had paſſed the ſea, & giuẽ battail to the Frenchmẽ. But after his cõming to Weſtminſter, awearied with that haſtie iorney, he got him to bed, & liked ſo wel of eaſe, that he thought good to ſend a lieutenant in his ſtead to paſſe the ſeas, to deliuer ẏ biſh. frõ danger of his enimies. Herevpon was the duke of Lãcaſter ſent for, that he might with ſuche power as was redy to paſſe the ſeas, goe ouer with the ſame, and giue battayle to the French king: but he protracted time till the reſpite graunted to the Biſhoppe to make anſwer, was expired, and ſo the Biſhop when he ſawe no ſuccour come forth of Englande, raſed the towne, as the couenant was: but money he would not or did not receiue, bicauſe he thought in ſo doing, he ſhould offend the counſaile. At his cõming backe into England, he found the duke of Lancaſter at the ſea ſyde with a great power of menne readye to haue come ouer, althoughe ſome thought that he deferred tyme of purpoſe, for that he myſlyked of the Biſhops whole enterpriſe: and now bycauſe it had thus miſcaried, he blamed the Biſhop for his euill gouernement therein: but ſir Hugh Caluerley he receyued with hym a tyme, doing him all honour, by reaſon of the olde approued valiancie, that had bin alwayes founde in him. And this was the end of the Biſhop of Norwiches iourney.

The Kyng and Quene in progreſſe.

A great heate was cooled.

The biſhop of Norwiche returneth into Englande out of Flaunders.

The Scots in the meane while ſate not ſtill, but made roades into England, toke & brent the caſtel of Wark. Whileſt the ſiege lay before Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certain veſſels, and ſent them to the ſea, namely fiue ballengers, as wel to intercept ſuch as ſhould paſſe betwene Englande and Flaunders, as alſo to ſtop ſuch as were appointed to go ouer into Gaſcoyn, that were ſouldiors alſo of the Croyſey, appointed thither vnder the leading of the Lorde Britrigale de la Brette, and certain others. When they of Porteſmouth vnderſtode that theſe fiue ſhips were abroade, they iſſued forth to the ſea, and meeting with their aduerſaries, fought with them a ſore cruel battaile, and in the end ſlew all the enimies, none excepted, and toke all their veſſels. An other fleet of Engliſhmen toke .viij. French ſhips, which had aboord .vij.C. tonnes of good wines, that comforted the Engliſhmen greatly.

VVarke caſtell brent by the Scottes.

Dyuers French ſhippes taken by the Engliſhmen.

About the feaſt of al Saints was a parliamẽt holden at London, in which was granted to the K. one moytie of a fifteenth by ẏ laytie, & ſhortly after, a moytie of a tenth by the clergie. Moreouer the K. toke into his handes the temporalties ẏ belonged to the Biſhop of Norwich, bicauſe he obeyed not the kings cõmandemẽt when he was ſent for at the time when he toke the ſeas to paſſe into Flanders. The knights alſo ẏ had not ſhewed ſuch obedience to the biſhop as was requiſite in that iorney, were cõmitted to priſon, but ſhortly after they were ſet at libertie vpon ſureties, that vndertoke for them: it was alſo decreed in this parliament, that the Erle of Buckingã the kings vncle ſhoulde goe to the borders againſt Scotland with a thouſand launces, and ij.M. Archers, to repreſſe the preſumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertiſed therof, ſent embaſſadors to treat of peace, but they were diſpatched home againe, without obteyning that which they came to ſue for. At the motion & inſtance of the duke of Britain, immediatly vpon the returne of the Engliſh armie out of Flaunders, there was a meeting of certein commiſſioners in the marches of Caleys, at a place called Lelleghen, for the treatie of a peace to be concluded betwixte the two Realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

A parliament at London.

The temporalties of the biſhoprike of Norvvich ſeyſed into the kings handes for the biſhops diſobedience.

A treatie of peace betvven Englande and Fraunce.

There appeared for king Richard, the duke of Lancaſter, and his brother ẏ Erle of Buckingham, ſir John Hollande brother to the Kyng, Sir Thomas Percye, and a Biſhop. For the

Frenche king, thither came the Dukes of Berry and Burgongne, the Biſhop of Laon, and the Chauncellor of Fraunce. There were alſo the duke of Britain, & the erle of Flanders. Alſo there came a biſhop with other commiſſioners from the king of Spayne: for the Frenchmen would nothing doe except the K. of Spayne might be alſo compriſed in the treatie and concluſion. They were .iij. wekes in comoning of an agreemente: but when nothing elſe coulde be brought to paſſe they concluded a truce to endure till the feaſte of S. Michaell, which ſhoulde be in the yeare. 1384. The erle of Flāders was iudged moſt in blame, for ẏ no peace could be accorded, bicauſe he wold not that the Gantiners ſhould be compriſed therin, but the Engliſhmen would not agree either to truce or peace, except regard might be had of the Gantiners, as their frends and alies. The kings of Spayn and Scotland were compriſed in this truce as confederates to the Frenchmen, whiche ſhuld haue ſignified the ſame into Scotlande, but did not, til great harme folowed through negligēce vſed in that matter, as after ye ſhal perceiue.

A truce taken betvvene Englande and Fraunce.

Tho. VValſ.

The ſame yere in the nighte of the feaſt of the Purification of our Lady, great lightenings and thunders chaunced, which put many in no ſmall feare, ſo huge and hideous was that tempeſt.

Great contention aboute the election of the Maior of London.

Shortly after, there roſe no ſmall adoe in the citie of London about the electiō of their Maior: for ſuch as fauored the late Maior Jo. de Northamton, otherwiſe called John de Comberton, ſtood againſt ſir Nicholas Brambre knight that was choſen to ſucceede the ſayde John de Northampton, inſomuch that a ſhoemaker that was one of the ſame John de Northamptons partakers, procured through a number of perſons that were ready to ſtande him, to take vppon him as Mayor: but through the counſell of ſir Robert Knolles knyght, he was ſodeinly apprehended, drawne, and beheaded as a rebell, and troubler of the kings peace.

Sir Robert Knolles.

In the Lent ſeaſon, the duke of Lancaſter, with his brother the Erle of Buckingham wēt towards the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of knights, eſquiers, & Archers, and after he had remained a certain tyme vpon the borders, about Eaſter he entred Scotland, and comming within three myles of Edenburghe, he ſtayed there a thre dayes, in which meane tyme the Scottes conueyed all their goodes out of the towne ouer the water of Fyrth: ſo that when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walles, which grieued the ſouldiours not a little. The Scots would not come forth to giue any battaile to the Engliſhmē, but got them into woods and mountains, or elſe paſſed ouer the riuer of Firth, ſuffering the Engliſhmen to fight with the vehemēt cold wether, that then ſore anoyed thoſe parts, in ſo much that on Eaſter daye at nighte thorough ſnowe that fell, and ſuche extreme colde and boyſterous ſtormes as ſore afflicted the Armye, beeing encamped within the cōpaſſe of a marcis grounde for their more ſuertie: there died aboue .v. hundred horſſes, to let paſſe the loſſe of men that periſhed the ſame time, of whom we make no mētion. To cōclude after the duke & his brother the Erle had remained a tyme thus in Scotlande, and brent certain townes, they returned into Englande.

The duke of Lancaſter inuadeth Scotland with an army.

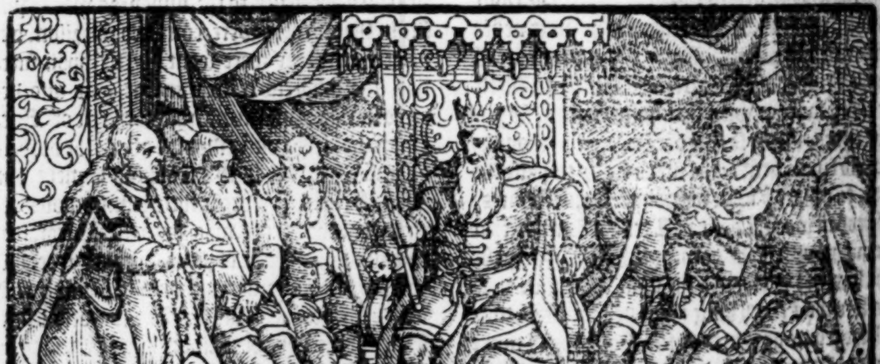
Edenburgh defaced.

Great death of horſes and men in the Engliſh hoſte, by reaſon of extreme colde.

Abont the ſame tyme, to witte, in the Quindene of Eaſter, a parliament of the nobles was holden at Saliſbury, during the which, an Iriſh fryer of the order of the Carmelites, being a bacheler in diuinitie, exhibited to the king a bill againſte the Duke of Lancaſter, charging hym wyth heynous treaſons: as that he ment vpon a ſodayne to deſtroye the Kyng, and to vſurpe the Crowne, ſhewyng the tyme, place and circumſtaunces of the whole contryued matter.

A parliament at Saliſbury.

An Iriſh fryer appeacheth the duke of Lancaſter of treaſon.



The king being yong both in yeares and diſcretion, when he had heard the Fryers information, called two of his Chaplaynes vnto hym, one ſir Nicholas Slake, and an other, and aſked their aduiſe what they thoughte good to be done in ſuch a weighty cauſe: And as they were buſye in talk about ẏ ſame, the duke of Lãcaſter came into the kings chamber after his wonted maner, not vnderſtanding any thing of the mater wherof they were in talk. The king with a ſtern coũtenance beheld the duke, not doing him the honor that he was accuſtomed. The Duke ſuſpecting that the king had somwhat in his head ẏ touched his perſon, withdrew: In the mean time thoſe ij. that were thus in coũſel ŵ the king, fearing haply the Dukes power, or els vpon good will they bare towards him, perſwaded the king that in any wiſe he ſhould call him to ſee and heare what was laid to his charge. The duke after he had red the bill of his accuſation, made ſuch anſwere, & ſo excuſed himſelf in declaring his innocencie, that the king gaue credite to his words, and receiued his excuſe: herewith the duke beſought the king, that the Frier might be kept in ſafegarde, till the time came that he might purge himſelfe of that he had charged him with, & that the Lorde John Holland the Kings halfe brother might haue the cuſtodie of hym till the day appointed, that the Duke ſhould come to his full triall.

Miſerable & euill torture.

The night before whiche day, the ſayd Lord Holland, and ſir Henry Greene, knight, came to this Fryer, and putting a corde about his necke, tied the other end about his priuie members, and after hanging hym vp from the grounde, layde a ſtone vpon his bely, with the weight wherof, and peyſe of his body withall, he was ſtrangled and tormented, ſo as his very back bone burſt in ſunder therewith, beſides the ſtrayning of his priuie members: and thus with three kind of tormentings, he ended his wretched lyfe.

The morow after, they cauſed his dead corps to be drawne about the town, to the end it might appeare, he had ſuffered worthily for his greate falſehode and treaſon.

But now to the Parliament. At length when the K. had obteined of the laytie a graunt of an halfe.xv. the ſame parliament was diſſolued.

Armie into Scotlande.

In the ſommer folowing the borderers of Engl̃ãd & Scotlãd, made rodes ech into others coũtries, to the great diſquieting of both the realms.

Amongs other roades that the Engliſhmenne made ſhortely after Eaſter (as Froiſſarte hath) the Earles of Northumberlande and Nottingham, reyſing an armye of two thouſande ſpeares, and ſix thouſande Archers, entred Scotlande by Rockeſburgh, brente the countreye euen to Edenburgh, and ſo returned without damage. In the meane time came meſſengers frõ from the Frenche king to aduertiſe the Scottes of the concluſion of the truce.

One miſchiefe aſketh another.

But the Scots prouoked with this laſt inuaſion made by the Engliſhemen into theyr countrey, wold not heare of any truce, till they had in parte reuenged their diſpleaſure vpon the Engliſhemen: And ſo wyth certaine men of armes of Fraunce, that lately before were come thyther, not yet vnderſtandyng of any truce, they roaded into Northumberland, doing what miſchief they might: ſo that for the Sommer ſeaſon of this yeare, eyther part ſought to endomage other, as Walſingham hath: although Froiſſart write, ẏ through the earneſt trauaile of the meſſengers that came to intimate the abſtinence of warre takẽ, the parties now that their ſtomacks were wel eaſed with the enterchange of endomaging either others confines, agreed to bee quiet, and ſo the truce was proclaimed in both realms, and accordingly obſerued.

An. reg. 8. The Duke of Lancaſter ſente into Fraunce to treate of a peace.

About the beginning of Auguſt in the eighte yeare of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaſter went ouer agayn into France, to treate of peace, but after he had remained there a long time, and ſpent no ſmal ſtore of treaſure, he returned with a truce, to endure only till the firſt day of Maye then next enſuyng.

John de Northampton late Maior of Londõ cõdemned to perpetuall priſon and all his goodes confiſcate.

Whilſt the duke o Lancaſter was thus forth of the realme, John d Northampton, that had borne ſuche rule in the Citie of London, whyleſt hee was Mayre, and alſo after, (as partely ye haue heard) was accuſed by a Chaplain (that he had in his houſe) of ſeditious ſturres, whiche he went about, ſo that being arraigned therof, he was in the ende condemned to perpetual priſon, and the ſame not to be within the ſpace of one hundred miles at the leaſt of the citie of London. All his goodes were confiſcated, and ſo hee was ſent to the Caſtell of Tyntagill, in Cornewall, and the Kyngs officers ſeyſed vppon his goodes and cattels.

Aboute the feaſt of Saint Martine, a parliament was called at London, in whiche money was demaunded of the clergie and temporaltie, towards the mayntenance of the kings warres.

A Combate.

During this parliamente alſo, a combat was fought within liſts betwixt an engliſh Eſquier, named Jo. Walſhe, & an Eſquier of Nauarre, that accuſed the ſaid Walche of treaſon, though not iuſtly, but moued through diſpleſure, conceiued of an iniury don to him by the ſame Walch whileſt he was vnder captain or vicedeputie, as we may cal him of Chierburgh, in abuſing the Nauarrois wife. Wherevppon when the Nauarrois was vãquiſht, & confeſt ẏ trouth, he was adiudged by the K. to be drawne to the place of execution, and hanged, notwithſtãding that the Quene & diuers other made erneſt ſute for him.

The Appellant being vanquiſhed is adiudged, to be hanged.

Barvviſke caſtel vvonne by the Scottes.

Alſo before that this parliament was diſſolued, newes came forth of the North partes, that the Scots had won the caſtel of Berwike: for which the Erle of Northumberland that was captaine thereof, was put in high blame, for that he hadde not committed the keeping thereof to more circumſpect perſons.

The Duke of Lancaſter that bare no good will to the ſaide Earle, was well apayde that he had ſo good mater to charge his aduerſarie withal, ſo that through his meanes the Erle of Northumberlande, was ſore accuſed, and had muche adoe to eſcape the daunger of beeyng reputed a traytour.

Berwike caſtel recouered by the Earle of Northumberlande.

Whereupon great occaſion of malice and diſpleaſure grew betwixt thoſe two noble perſonages as after it well appered. But howſoeuer the matter was handled, the Earle was licenced by the king to go into his coũtrey, & ſeke to recouer agayne poſſeſſion of the caſtell thus lately loſte. Whereupon he reyſing an armie, and beſiegyng the Scots that were within ẏ caſtel, ſo conſtrayned them, that for the ſumme of. 2000. markes they ſurrendred the fortreſſe into his hands, their liues and goodes ſaued: and ſo the Erle of Northumberlande recouered the Caſtell againe out of the Scottiſhmennes handes, beeing taughte to committe it to more warie kepers than the other before.

1385

The Duke of Lancaſter getteth him to hys caſtell of Pontfret, and fortifyeth it.

The king being incenſed againſt the duke of Lancaſter, meant that he ſhuld haue bin arreſted and arraigned of certain points of treaſon before ſir Robert Tryſylyan chiefe Juſtice (as Tho. Walſing. ſayth) and peraduenture there might be ſome ſuche reporte, that ſuche was the Kings meaning: But yet how this may ſtand, conſidering he was to be tried by his peeres, in caſe that any the like matter had bin pretended, J ſee not.

The Princeſſe of VVales maketh an attonement betvvene the kyng & the duke of Lancaſter.

But how ſoeuer it was, he being warned thereof by ſome of the counſell, got him to his caſtell of Pontfret, which he fortified, and banded him ſelf ſo with his frendes, that it appeared he wold defend his cauſe with force of armes, rather than to come to his tryall by order of lawe afore ſuch a Judge: and by reaſon hereof, it was greatly doubted, leaſt ſome ciuile warre wold haue broken forth. But through the earneſt labor of the kings mother that notwithſtanding hir indiſpoſition of bodie to trauaile, by reaſon of hir corpulencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agreement betwixt the Kyng hir ſonne, and the Duke, to hir greate comforte and contentation of mynde, and no leſſe ſuretie of quietneſſe to the whole realme.

About the ſame tyme the Frenche kyng had a great fleete of Shippes in Flaunders, ſo that it was doubted leaſte he meant ſome inuaſyon into Englande. Whereuppon there was ſente to the ſea the Lorde of Sainct Johns, and Syr Thomas Percye wyth a ſtrong Nauye, but they didde no good, ſufferyng the Frenche fleete dyuers tymes to paſſe by them, and not once offered to ſette vpon them: But the Shippes of Portſmouth and Dertmouth, beſtirred themſelues better: for entring into the riuer of Sayne, they drowned foure of theyr enimyes ſhyppes, and toke other foure, wyth a Barque of the Lorde Cliſſons, one of the fayreſt that was to be founde eyther in Fraunce or Englande.

The [illegible]

In theſe veſſelles the Engliſhemenne hadde a ryche praye of Wynes, and other Merchandyſes.

The Kyng vppon ſome occaſion toke great diſpleaſure agaynſt William Courteney Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye, ſtormyng againſt him ſo, as fewe durſte ſpeake any thyng in hys excuſe.

The Lord Chancellour Michael de la Pole ſeemyng to fauour his cauſe, was lykely to haue runne in hygh diſpleaſure, Syr Thomas Triuet, and Syr John Deuereux intreatyng for hym, were ſore rebuked at hys handes. Yet at length after that the Archebyſhoppe was wythdrawne & had kept hym cloſe for a tyme, he was through mediation of ſome freendes, reconciled to the kinges fauour.

Ia. Mer.

Froiſſ.

The [illegible]

About the ſame tyme the Frenche kyng ſente into Scotlande the Admyrall of Fraunce, with a thouſande men of armes, knyghtes, and Eſquiers, beſides Croſſebowes and other to ioyne with the Scots, and to make warres in Englãd.

The Scottes [illegible]

The Scottes encouraged wyth thys newe ayde, ſente to them out of Fraunce, leuyed a power, and ſo together wyth the Frenchemenne, enter into the Engliſhe confynes, and beginne to rob and ſpoyle, and further toke certain Caſtels and houſes of defence.

An. reg. 9.

The Kyng with an army agaynſt the Scottes.

The King of Englande aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled an huge power of menne of warre, and fyrſte ſente before hym the Duke of Lancaſter wyth parte of the Armye, and afterward folowed hymſelfe, wyth all conuenyent ſpeede that myght bee.

At hys commyng into the parties aboute Yorke, he was enformed that the Scottes and Frenchemen were withdrawne vppon the duke of Lancaſters approche towardes them, but the kyng thought to kepe on his iourney.

Variance [illegible] Hollandes [illegible] & the L. Richard Staffordes.

Whyleſt hee was lodged in thoſe parties a greate myſchaunce happened by reaſon of variaunce that fell betwixte certayne perſones of the retinewe of Sir John Hollande brother vnto the Earle of Kente, and halfe brother to the Kyng, and other of the retinue of the Lorde Rycharde Stafforde, ſonne to the Earle of Stafforde.

The cauſe of their falling out was aboute a knight of Boheme, called ſir Miles, that was come to ſee the Queene. This Knight kepte companie moſte an end with the L. Richarde Stafforde, and chauncing to be at wordes with two of Sir John Hollandes ſeruantes, there came two Archers perteynyng to the Lorde Stafford, which blamed them, that were ſo aboute to myſuſe the ſtranger in wordes, as they tooke it: the ſtrife hereby grewe to that point in the ende, that one of the archers ſhotte at one of ſir John Hollandes ſeruantes, and ſlewe him. This miſhap being reported to ſir John Holland, ſette him in ſuche a furie (by reaſon of the loue which he had to his ſeruant) that immediatly he ruſhed forth of his lodging, to reuenge his deathe, and throughe miſfortune meeting with the Lorde Stafforde ſlewe hym, & doubting in what ſorte his deede myghte be taken, fled ſtraight vnto Beuerley, & there tooke Sanctuarie. The Erle of Stafford tooke this miſaduenture right heuily, as reaſon was, yet bycauſe he would not trouble the hoſte nor diſappoint the iourney whiche they had in hand, vpon the kings promiſe that he would doe vpright iuſtice in the mater, as ſhould be thought meete and conuenient, he bare his griefe ſo paciently as he might, ſo that he wanne himſelfe muche praiſe for his wiſdome therin ſhewed.

The Lord Richard Stafford ſlayne by Sir John Holland.

The King aduauncing forwards with his army, came to yͤ borders, & entring into Scotlād, paſſed thorough Mers and Louthian, waſting & ſpoiling all the towns, houſes and villages in his way. The abbeis of Melros, Dryburgh, & Newebottell were brente, and thoſe Monkes and other people that were founde in the ſame were ſlaine. At his comming to Edenburghe, he founde all the people fled out of the towne, but the houſes & buildings hee conſumed with fier togither with the Churche of ſaint Giles.

Hec. Boetius.

K. Richard entreth into Scotland, and ſpoyleth dyvers townes and places.

Edenborough brent by king Richarde.

At the humble ſute of his vncle the Duke of Lācaſter, Holyrood houſe was preſerued from hurt, for that the ſame Duke in tyme of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that houſe, and found muche gentleneſſe and frendſhippe in the Abbot & Couuent. Thus when the King had reuenged the diſpleſure afore receyued at the Scots & frenchmēs hands (& remained in Edenburgh a fiue dayes) he retourned without proffer of battell, or any notable encounter. The Admirall of Fraunce was earneſtly in hande with the Scottiſh lordes to perſwade them to haue gyuen battell to the Engliſhe army, till he & diuers other Knights of Fraunce were brought to the top of a moūtaine, from whence they might beholde all the Engliſhe army, as the ſame paſſed vnderneath them, by a paſſage that laye by the foote of that mountaine: for after that they had viewed the puiſſaunce of the Engliſhmen, and as neare as they could, numbred thē, they had no ſuch egre mindes to fight with them as before, for they eſtemed them to be a ſixe. M. men of armes & a. lx. M. archers, & other men of warre, where the Scots and Frenchmen were not paſſe a. M. ſpeares and .xxx. M. of all other ſortes, and the moſte parte of thoſe but euill armed.

The Frenche Admirall perſwadeth the Scottes to fight with the Engliſh hoſte.

Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was, to inuade England in an other quarter, whileſt the engliſhmen brente vp their country, and ſo they ſet forwards toward the weſt borders, & paſſing ouer the mountains that deuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entred into Cumberlande, doing muche hurte in yͤ landes that belonged to the Lorde Mowbray, to the Earles of Nottingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Grayſtock, and to the Muſgraues. Laſtly, they came to Carelcill, and boldly aſſaulted the Citie: but ſir Lewes Clifforde, and ſir Thomas Muſgraue, Dauye Holgraue, and diuers other worthie capitaines being within it, ſo defended the walles & gates, that their enimies got ſmall aduantage: and finally hearing that the engliſhe army was returning homewardes, the Scots and frenchemen drewe backe into Scotlande, doubting to be encloſed by the Engliſhmen, as they had bin in deed, if the Duke of Lancaſter and his brethrē, vncles to the king, might haue bin beleued, who counſelled the king to purſue the enimies, and ſtop the paſſages through which they muſt needs paſſe in their comming backe. But the Earle of Oxforde being moſte in fauour and credit with the king, in thoſe dayes, as one that ruled all things at his pleaſure, did aduiſe him to the contrarie, by putting him in beliefe (as was ſaide) that his vncles went about to bring him in daunger to be loſte and ſurpriſed of his enimies, whereuppon hee tooke the nexte way home, and ſo brake vp his iourney.

The Scotts invade England vvhilſt King Richarde is a ſpoiling Scotlande.

Cumberlande ſore ſpoiled by the Scottes.

Carleil aſſaulted by the Scottes.

Good counſell neglected.

When the Scottes and Frenchemen were returned into Scotlande, the Scottiſhe Kyng hauing conceyued a iuſt diſpleaſure towardes the frenche Admirall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had ſuſteined ſuch damage in that ſeaſon, cauſed him and his frenchemen to bee diſpoiled of the moſt part of their goods, and ſente them ſo away out of hys countrey, that the Scottes might receiue ſome comforte by thoſe warres.

Polider.

A noble reuenge.

This yeare was the battell of Algeberota in Portingale, where John king of Portingal diſcomfyted a great hoſt of Spaniards & frēchmen by the helpe & policie of certain engliſhmē which he had there with him vnder the leading of two Eſquiers Norbery and Hartelle. There were

There vvere 600. Engliſhmē vvho vvith their bovves did great ſeruice as by one authour is appeareth.

were ſlaine diuers Erles and greate Lordes of Spaniardes, but for that our writers doe not note rightly the Spaniſh names, but write thẽ corruptly as ſtrangers vſe to doe, wee here omit them. The king of Portingale (after this victorie obteined againſte his enimies) ſent ſixe Galleis vnto the king of England to aide him agaynſte his aduerſaries, the whiche were well receyued and highlye made of by the Londoners and other, ſo that the Portingales had no cauſe to repent of their comming hither.

The King of Portingale ſendeth ſixe Caleis to King Richardes aide,

A good victory of them of Callais againſte the Frenche fleete

The Caliſians & others make a roade into Fraunce and vvinne greate booties.

Fabian.

Creation of Dukes and Earles at the parliament,

Henry of Bollingbroke Earle of Darbie afterwarde King.

The Frenche king this yeare beſieged and wanne the towne of Dam, after he had bin at greate charges aboute it. Whileſt his Nauie returned from Scluis, wher the ſame had laine at Incre a long time, the ſhips by tempeſt were ſcatered and wederdriuen, ſo that in the feaſt day of the Exaltation of the croſſe, two of their galleis, a great ſhip a barge and .vij. balengers were caſte a ſhore aboute Callais, and the Caliſians tooke .v. C. frenchemen and Normans that eſcaped to land. In other day .lxxij. french ſhips (as they were comming from Scluis, to paſſe by Calleis, were mette wyth by them of Callais, who behaued themſeues ſo manfully that they tooke .xviij. of thoſe frenche ſhips and a great Barke, in whiche three ſcore armed mẽ were ſlaine before it coulde be taken. Within three dayes after this the Caliſians mette .xlv. other frenche ſhips, and after .vj. houres fight obteyned the victorie, taking three of the moſte principall veſſels, wherof one being a Hulke of Eaſtlande was hired by the Normans, to gard the reſidue. The other .ij. that were taken were of ſuche molde, that they coulde not enter into the Hauen at Callais, and therefore were ſente to Sandwiche, the one of them beeing a newe ſhippe, the lord Cliſſon had bought at Scluis, paying for hir three thouſand frankes. On S. Denis day the ſouldiors of Callais and other Engliſhe fortreſſes there abouts, made a ſecrete iourney into Fraunce, and got a bootie of foure M. ſheepe, and three hundreth heade of greate cattell whiche they droue towards theyr holdes, and as yͤ lord de Rambures gouernor of Bollongne wold haue recouered yͤ pray, he was vnhorſed with the rencounter of an engliſh ſpeare & being releued by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrewe himſelf, not attempting to trie any further maſtries, and ſo the engliſhmẽ ſafely paſſed forthe with their bootie of cattell, and aboue a hundreth good priſoners which they had taken at this roade. In this .ix. yeare aboute the feaſt of ſaint Martin, the king called his highe Courte of parliament at Weſtminſter, in the whiche amongſt other thinges there concluded, he created two Dukes, a Marques, and .v. Earles. Firſt Edmund Langley erle of Cambridge the Kinges vncle, was created Duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtocke his other vncle, Erle of Buckingham, was created Duke of Glouceſter, Robert Vere erle of Oxforde was made Marques of Deuelin: Henry of Bollingbrooke, ſonne and heire to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, was created Earle of Darbie: Edwarde Plantagenet ſonne and heire to the Duke of Yorke, was made erle of Rutlande: Michaell lorde de la Poole chauncellor of England was created erle of Suffolk and ſir Thomas Moubray erle of Notingham was made earle Marſhall.

The Lorde Mortimer erle of Marche proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne.

The Erle of Marche ſlaine by the wilde Iriſhe.

Alſo by auctoritie of this parliament, Roger lorde Mortimer earle of March, ſonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer Earle of Marche and of the Lady Phillippe eldeſt daughter and heire vnto Lionell Duke of Clarence, thirde ſonne to king Edwarde the third, was eſtabliſhed heire aparant to the crown of this realme and ſhortlye after ſo proclaimed. The whiche erle of Marche anone after the end of the ſame parliament, ſailed into Ireland to his lordſhip of Vlſter, wherof he was owner by right of his ſaide mother: but whileſt he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Iriſhe, a great number of them togither aſſembled, came vpon him and ſlew him, togither with the moſte part of his companie.

The iſſue of the foreſaide Erle of Marche.

This Roger erle of Marche had iſſue Edmunde and Roger, Anne, Ales and Eleanor, whiche Eleanor was made a Nunne. The .ij. ſonnes died without iſſue, and Anne the eldeſt of the daughters was married to Richarde erle of Cambridge, ſon vnto Edmunde of Langlie before remembred: The which Richard had iſſue by the ſaide Anne, a ſonne called Richard, that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to king Edwarde the fourth: alſo a daughter named Iſabell, afterwardes married to the lorde Bourcher. This Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to deathe by Henry the fifth, as after ye ſhall heare. Moreouer, in this yeare Henry of Bullingbrooke Earle of Darbie married a daughter & heir of Hũfrey Bohun, erle of Hereford, in whoſe right he was after made duke of Herford, & by hir he had iſſue Henry, that after hym was K. of this realme, the Ladie Blãche Duches of Bar, and the Ladie Phillip married to the king of Denmarke: alſo Thomas Duke of Clarence, Iohn Duke of Bedforde & Humfrey duke of Glouceſter. The Gauntiners ſtill mainteined warre againſte the Earle of Flãders during his life, and after his deceaſſe againſt Phillip duke of Burgoin, by ſuch aide and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of Englande, till finally this yeare aboute the eighteenth day of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the ſaide duke, and the towne of Gaunt: and ſir John Bourchier that had laine a long ſeaſon there, as Captain vnder Kyng of Englande, and Peter de Boys one of the chiefe captaines of the Gauntiners before the concluding of this peace were ſafely conducted to Caleis by vertue of the duke of Burgoigne his ſafe conduit, and ſo they came ouer into Englande, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pencion of an hundreth markes ſterlyng, yearely to be paide to him out of the ſtaples of the wolles in London.

Froſſart.

The kig of Ar ... commeth ... Englande ...r aide againſt ...e Turkes.

This yere K. Richarde holding his Chriſtmaſſe at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armeny, whoſe countrey and realm beyng in daunger to be conquered of the Turkes, he was come into thoſe Weſte partes of Chriſtendome for aide and ſuccour at the handes of the chriſtian princes here. The king honourably receiued him, and after he had takẽ counſell touching his requeſt, he gaue to him great ſummes of money and other riche giftes, with a ſtipend as ſome write of a .M. poundes yerely to be paide to him during his life. After he had remained here a two Moneths ſpace, he toke leaue of the king and departed. The chiefeſt point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce, but deſtiny woulde not permit ſo good a purpoſe to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, woulde not ſuffer theyr loftye myndes to yeld in any one point further than ſemed good in their owne opinions.

h. VValſ.

Thom VVal.
Froiſſart.
Ia. Meir.
1386
The duke of Lancaſter goth ... Spayne with an armie.

In this nynthe yeare of Kyng Richarde, (though by other writers it ſhoulde ſeeme to bee rather in the yere folowing,) the Duke of Lancaſter with a greate power of men of warre wente into Spain, and ledde with hym thither his wife the Ladye Conſtance, and a daughter whiche he had by hir named Katherin, and two other daughters whiche hee hadde by hys former wife: He hadde bene aboute the preparing of an armye, and all furniture neceſſarie for thys iourneye a two or three yeares before, and therefore hauing nowe a ſeuen galleis and eighteene ſhippes, ſente to hym out of Portingale, (whiche arriued at Briſtowe) he cauſed all ſuch veſſelles as he hadde prouided to reſorte likewiſe thither, where making his generall aſſemble, when all his men of warre were come togyther he beſtowed them aborde, wyth all their horſes and purueyaunces, and cauſing ſailes to bee hoiſed vp, ſet forward on his long wiſhed iorney. This was in the Moneth of Maye, when the ſeas were calme, the ayre ſwete & the windes pleſant and agreeable to his purpoſe. He apointed for Admirall of his whole fleet ſir Thomas Percie, & ſir John Holland that was after created erle of Huntington, and had maried one of his daughters, was ordeined Conſtable of the hoſte, and Sir Thomas Morraux hauing married his baſtard daughter, was one of his Marſhalles.

There were that attended him in this iourney many other Lordes and Knights of honor, as the Lorde Lucie, the Lord Talbot, the lord Baſſet, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Fitz Walter, the lord Poinings, the lord Bradſton, ẏ L. of Pommiers a Gaſcoigne, the L. Pounce Fitz Warren, Henry Lorde Beaumont, William Lorde Beauchampe, Sir Richard Burley that was another of the Marſhalles of the armye, Sir Hughe Spenſer, Sir Wyllyam Windeſor ſir John Daubreticourte, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Wyllyam Farrington, ſir Thomas Worceter, ſir Thomas Treſhã, ſir Mauburin de Liniers, ſir Thomas Worceter, Syr John Sowtrey, ſir Roberte Clinton, ſir Phillippe Tirell, ſir Lewes Rocheſter, Huguelin Caluerley, Dauid Holgraue, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beauceſter, and diuers other: they were in all to the number of fifteene hundreth men of armes, whereof a thouſande at the leaſt were Knightes and Eſquiers, beſides a foure thouſande Archers, and other men of warre, ſo perfectly appointed and arrayed, as coulde bee thought meete and conuenient. As they paſſed by Britaine, they landed at Breſte, the captaine whereof, at that time named Sir John Roche, finding himſelfe greatly annoyed by the frenchmen that were lodged in two Baſtides erected before the Caſtell, declared to the Duke in what ſtate he ſtode. Whereuppon he cauſed the ſaide Baſtides to be aſſailed, which was done by the lorde Fitz Walter, & others, who bare thẽſelues ſo manfully, that the Baſtides were won, broken downe, & a great praye with priſoners obteyned, although not without loſſe of diuers valiant perſonages. And thus were they within Breſt caſtell deliuered of their vnfrendly neighboures by the duke of Lancaſter and his people. Who hauing done their feat toke the ſeas, and ſailed forth till they came on the coaſtes of Gallice, where on S. Laurence euen, they arriued in the hauẽ of Groigne, otherwiſe called Corun, and there they vnſhipped al their prouiſions, determining to inuade the country on that ſide.

Tho. VValſ.
The duke of Lancaſter landeth at Breſte and vvinnethe tvvo Baſtides frõ the frenche menne.

An. reg. 10.
The Duke of Lancaſter landeth at Groigne.
Froiſſart.
Le Groigne & Corone.

After the duke had remained there a moneth, he went to Cõpoſtella, and there ſoiorned for a ſeaſon, during the which, his Conſtable Sir John Hollande, wanne dyuers Townes and fortreſſes whiche the enimies kepte: Diuers yelded to the duke with better will, for that the Ducheſſe hys wyfe was there wyth him, whome they knewe to bee ryghte inherytoure to the Realme.

At Mouſon a towne on the confines betwixte Spaine and Portingale, the King of Portingal and the duke of Lācaſter met, where they communed and toke counſell togyther for the more ſpeedy proceding in their enterpriſe againſt their aduerſaries of Caſtille.

Phillippe the Duke of Lancaſters daughter married to the Kyng of Portingale.

Alſo ther was a mariage concluded betwixt the ſaide K. of Portingale, and the Lady Phillip daughter to the ſaide duke, whiche mariage ſhortly after was wholy conſummated, the ſaid Lady being firſt maried by procuration at Compoſtella, and after ſente into Portingale righte honorably accompanied. The duke continued at Compoſtella all the Winter ſeaſon, till towardes Marche, and then according to appointment taken betwixte him, and the king of Portingale, at theyr beeyng togither at Mouſon, for theyr iourney to bee made into Caſtille, the ſaide King aſſembled an armye of a thouſande menne of armes, and tenne thouſande other ſouldiours, wyth the whyche, entring the confines of Caſtille, hee firſte toke the Towne of Feroule, and after ioyning with the Duke, who hadde in the meane whiles by his Marſhall takē the towns of Ruelles, Ville Lopes, Poūceuoide, Dighos, Baionne in la Maroll, Ribadā, Maures, Beſanſes, and Orens, wyth others in the countrey of Gallice, they marched forthe wyth their whole powers bothe togyther, and paſſing ouer the Riuer of Dure, entred into the countrey de Campo.

The Kyng of Portingale and the Duke of Lancaſter ioyning theyr armies togither inuade Caſtell.

Here the Engliſhe writers make mention of a batail, which ẏ Conſtable of Caſtille ſhuld giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the Dukes ſide, and the Spaniardes chaſed out of the fielde. But Froiſſart who liued in thoſe dayes, and learned that whiche hee wrote of thoſe that were with the Duke in his iorney, maketh no remembraunce of any ſuche thing, but that contrarily the King of Caſtille folowing the aduiſe of ſuche Frenchemenne as were ſente into Spaine to aide hym, cauſed all the riches of the countrey to bee brought into the walled Townes and fortreſſes, whiche he ſtuffed wyth men of warre, to defende them from the Engliſhemenne and Portingales, and further to cutte off their vittualles, and to keepe them from hauing forrage abroade in the countrey, vnleſſe ſuche as were ſente, were garded wyth the greater Troupes for theyr ſuretie and defence. And thus beſtowing the moſte parte of all ſuche menne of warre, bothe Frenchemenne and Spanyardes, as hee coulde make in places moſte conuenient for that purpoſe, he fully determened not to giue battaile till hys enimies hadde wearied themſelues in keeping of the fieldes, and that a newe power was come to his aide out of Fraunce, which hee dayly looked for, by whiche meanes it came to paſſe, that the Engliſhemenne not vſed to ſuche hote wines as they founde in thoſe partes, in that ſeaſon of the yeare (for it was about Midſomer) fell daily into many perillous diſeaſes, wherof no ſmall number died, and other became ſo faint that they were not able to helpe themſelues, ſo that to conſider the miſerie in whiche they were, it woulde haue rued the hartes of their verie foes.

Variaunce amongeſt vvriters.

Herevppon, was the duke conſtreined to fall to a communication for a peace, whiche in the ende was accorded, though not at this inſtant: howbeit a truce was graunted, in ſuche wiſe as it might be at the Engliſhemens choice to retourne into theyr countrey, eyther by Sea or by lande, through Fraunce. Suche as paſſed through Spayne into Fraunce, hadde ſafe conductes ſealed and ſigned by the King of Spaine, but vnneth the halfe of thoſe that came out of Englande with the Duke, retourned thither agayne, they died ſo faſt, aſwell after the breaking vp of their Campe, as before. Amongſt other, there died before the breaking vp of the Campe, one of the greateſt Barons of all the companie, named the Lorde Fitz Walter, and afterwardes within the Towne of Ville Arpent: there dyed (as Froiſſarte hath) three greate Barons of Englande, and menne of great poſſeſſions: ſir Rychardе Burley, a Knyghte of the Garter, who hadde bene as it were highe Marſhall of the armye: the Lorde Poyninges: and Syr Henry Percie couſin Germaine to the Earle of Northumberlande. In the Towne of Noye deceaſſed Sir Mauburin de Liniers, a Poictouin, and in the Towne of Ruelles dyed the Lord Talbot, and ſo here and there ſaithe Froiſſarte, there dyed in all twelue greate Lordes, foure ſcore Knightes, two hundreth Eſquiers, and of the meaner ſorte of Souldiourrs about fiue hundreth. After that the Armie was broken vp, the Duke of Lancaſter and the Ducheſſe his wife went into Portingal, & there remained a ſeaſon, and then taking the ſea, ſailed to Bayonne in the Marches of Gaſcoigne, where hee reſted a long time after.

Froiſſart. The Lorde Fitz VVa

I thinke that none of these three were Barons but onlye the Lorde Poininges.

The Duke of Lancaſter returneth out of Portingale into Gaſcoigne.

In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a marriage to bee hadde beetwixte the Duke of Berry, vncle to the frenche Kyng, and the Ladye Katherine daughter to the Duke of Lancaſter, and of the Ducheſſe hys wife the Ladye Conſtance.

When the Kyng of Spaine vnderſtoode of that treatie, he beganne to doubt, leaſte if that marriage toke place it might tourne to hys diſaduantage, and therefore to bee at quietnes wyth the Duke of Lancaſter, whoſe puiſſance hee doubted, and whoſe wiſedome hee perfectlye vnderſtoode, by pollitike meanes and earneſt

ſuite

A mariage concluded betvveen the Prince of Spayn and the duke of Lancaſters daughter.

R. Fabian.

ſuite, at lengthe hee concluded a peace wyth hym on this wiſe, that his eldeſt ſonne Henrye ſhoulde haue in marriage the Lady Katherin daughter to the Duke of Lancaſter, begotte on hys wife the Ducheſſe Conſtance, and be entituled prince of Auſturgus. In conſideration of whiche marriage to bee had, and all claymes to ceaſſe, whiche the Duke in right of hys wife might chalendge or pretende, it was agreed that the ſaide Duke ſhoulde receyue yerely the ſumme of tenne thouſande markes, to be payde to him, or to his aſſigns in the citie of Baionne in Gaſcoigne, during the terme of the liues of the ſaide Duke and Ducheſſe, and further to haue in hand the ſumme of two hundreth thouſande nobles.

This agreemente and marriage was not concluded, till aboute the thirteenth yeare of King Richardes raigne, ſo that in the meane while many incidentes chaunced in Englande and in other Regions, which in their time and places ſhall bee touched, as to purpoſe ſerueth.

Le Meir.

Froiſſart.

And firſte it is not to bee forgotten, that the Frenchemenne neuer ſhewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, ſith the Linage of the Capetes beganne firſte to rule in Fraunce.

All the ſhippes that they could prouide from the confines of Spaine, vnto the mouth of the Rhine, all alongeſt the coaſte, they aſſembled at Sluiſe, and therabout, and made ſo great preparations for the warre, that the like hadde not bene hearde of, (meaning as they boaſted, and made their auauntes) to paſſe ouer into Englande, and to deuoure the whole countrey, in doyng ſacrifice to the ſoules of their elders with the bloude of the engliſhe people. But according to the prouerbe, The Mountaines trauell, wyth childe, and forth commeth a little mouſe.

A mighty great nauie of french ships at Scluys purposing to inuade England.

An inclosure of timber to compasse the frēch armie, for the [illegible] safetie.

The descripti- on of the inclosure.

There were numbred in the Monethe of September aboute Sluiſe, Daw, and Blankberke. 1287. ſhips, beſide thoſe whiche were rigged in Britain by the Conſtable, who had cauſed an encloſure of a field to be made of timber, like rayles or barriers, that when they were once a lande in Englande, they might therwith encloſe their field, and ſo lodge more at ſuertie, and when they remoued, it was ſo made wyth ioynts, ỹ they might take it vp in peeces & eaſily cōuey it with them. This cloſure or wall of wode, was. 20. fote in heigth, and conteined in lengthe or in compaſſe when it was ſette vp iij. M. paces, and at the end of euery. xij. paces ſtood a Turret able to receiue. x. men, that was higher than the reſt of the wall by. x. fote at the leaſte. There were appointed to haue paſſed ouer in thoſe ſhippes. xx. M. men of armes. xx. M. Croſbowes. & . xx. M. other men of warre

Tho. VValſ.

To haue ſeene the great apparrel, furniture and prouiſiō, the ſhiping, truſſing, bearing, and carrying to and fro of things nedeful for this iorney, a man might haue meruelled, for ſurely the like hath ſeldome bin remembred. All that was done there on that ſide the ſea by the frenchmen, was notified into Englande, ſo that the frēchmē were not more occupied to prepare thēſelues to inuade Englande, than the engliſhemē were to make themſelues redy to defēd theyr country from all daunger of enimies, ſo that euery hauē towne, eſpecially alongſt the Weſt, South and Eaſtcoaſtes, were kepte and warded wyth notable numbers of armed men and archers.

The prouiſion of the Engliſh men to reſiſte great povver oft Frēchmen.

There were redy wythin the realme at that ſeaſon, in one part & other all. 100000. archers, & x. M. men of armes, beſide thoſe that were gon into Spaine with the duke of Lācaſter. All this preparation laſted for the more part of the ſommer, euen till the beginning of winter: and ſtill the french K. that was come downe into Flaūders, ſtayed for the cōming of his vncle the duke of Berry: the whiche at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluiſe, hauing protracted time, of purpoſe, that he might by the excuſe of Winter, cauſe this iorney to be put off till another ſeaſon. Wherin he ſhewed more wit thā all ỹ coūſelors which ỹ french king had about him: for if he had not politikely ſhifted off the matter, the K. had landed here in England, to the great daunger of his perſone and loſſe of hys people. And yet if we ſhall beleue writers that liued in thoſe days, by reaſon of the bruit that was ſpred throughe the realme, of that huge preparation which the french king made to inuade this land, no ſmall feare entred into the hartes of many, namely of the Londoners, who as if the enimies had bin alreadie landed, beſturred them, in making what prouiſiō they might for their defēce, thoughe it ſeemed by their manner of doings, they ſtode in doubt leaſte the whole realme had not bin able to make ſufficient reſiſtance.

The Londoners eſpecially afrayd of the French forces.

Diſſention among the noble men.

In dede diuers were the more afraide, for that they perceiued, howe the barons and great lordes agreed not in many pointes among thēſelues, and ſo being not of one minde, the wiſer ſorte doubted leaſt throughe their diſagreeing in that troubleſome time, ſome daunger mighte growe to the ſtate of the whole realme. Notwithſtanding no ſmal number of others, wiſhed nothing more than that the french king in going forward with his purpoſe, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he ſhold haue foūd ſuch a welcom, as wold haue bē litle to his eaſe.

Froiſſart.

Tho. VValſ.

A parliament at London,

About the feaſte of ſaint Michaell, a parliamēt was called and holden at London, and wythall greate numbers of menne of armes and Archers were appoynted to come and lye aboute London, that they might be ready to marche forthwith agaynſt the enimies wheneſoeuer it chaunced them to lande. Thus all the townes and villages twenty miles in compaſſe round about Londō, were ful of men of armes and archers, lying as it had bin in campe, and wanting both victuals and money, they were driuen to ſpoile, and to take by violence what they might get. At length after they had layne thus to ſmall purpoſe a long ſeaſon, they were licenced to departe home, with commaundemēt to bee readie to retourne againe vppon the firſte ſummonaunce: Many of them were conſtreyned through neceſſitie, to ſell their horſes, and armour, and ſome to ſpoyling and robbing as they wente homewarde, not ſparing what they might laye their handes vppon. Although the menne of warre were diſmiſſed home, the parliamēt yet continued, & the lordes ſtill remained at London, hearkning ſtill for the french kings comming. The Lorde Roberte Veer Earle of Oxford, whom the king in the laſt parliament hadde made Marques of Dubeline, was nowe in this parliament created duke of Ireland: the other lordes ſore enuying ſo high preferremente in a man that ſo little deſerued, as they tooke it: for by reaſon of the kings immoderate affection whiche he bare not onely to this noble man, but alſo to the lorde Michaell de la Poole, whome he had lately created Erle of Suffolke, and after aduaunced him to the office of lorde Chauncellor, as before yee haue hearde, not onely the lords, but alſo the cōmons ſore grudged at ſuche their high preferrement, in ſo muche that in this preſent parliament, the knightes and burgeſſes of the lower houſe, exhibited a bill agaynſte the lorde Chauncellor, of diuers crimes whiche they laide to his charge, and ſo vſed the matter, with the helpe of the Lordes, that in the ende in ſome reſpect they had their willes agaynſte hym, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appeare. And where the King had demaunded a relief of money towards the mainteināce of his eſtate, & charges of the warres, it was aunſwered, that he needed not any tallage of his ſubiectes, ſith he might furniſhe hymſelfe wyth ſuche a ſumme at the handes of the ſaid Earle, that was iuſtely indebted vnto hym therein, as they were able well to proue. But the kyng was nothyng herewith contented, conceyuyng no ſmall diſpleaſure, aſwell agaynſt them of the lower houſe, as againſte the Lordes in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went ſo ſore againſte his minde. Herevppon as was ſaide, (whether trulye or otherwiſe, the Lorde knoweth) by a conſpiracye begon betwixte the kyng and ſuche as were moſte in fauour wyth hym, it was deuiſed, that the Duke of Glouceſter (as principall) and ſuche other Lordes as fauoured the knights and burgeſſes in their ſuite, againſt the Earle of Suffolke, and were otherwiſe againſte the Kyng in his demaunde of money ſhoulde bee willed to a ſupper in London, there to bee murthered. But the Duke comming by ſome meanes to vnderſtande of this wicked practiſe, hadde no deſire to take parte of that ſupper where ſuche ſharpe ſauce was prouided, and with all gaue warning to the reſidue, that they likewiſe ſhould not come there, but to content thēſelues wyth their owne ſuppers at their lodginges. It was ſaid, that ſir Nicholas Brember, who had bin Maior the yeare before, hadde promiſed his aſſiſtaunce in the execution of this horrible facte: but throughe the commendable conſtancie of Richard Exton that was Maior this yeare, being moued by the king for his furtheraunce therein, and denying flatly to conſent to the deathe of ſuche innocent perſones, that heynous practiſe was omitted. This matter being broughte to lighte, the hatred and malice whiche men bare to ſuche counſellors of the king greatly increaſed, and the Duke of Glouceſter and ſuche as withſtoode the King, dayly grewe more and more into the peoples fauour. At length yet throughe the earneſt ſuite of ſome of the greate lordes, there was graunted to the king halfe a tenthe and halfe a fifteenthe, whiche ſhould not be ſpent at the pleaſure of the prince, but by the order and appoyntment of the ſayde lordes, and ſo at lengthe the Earle of Arundell was apointed to receyue it, to furniſh him with a Nauie to the ſeas. But before this payment might be graunted, there was muche a doe, and harde holde ye may be ſure: for where the ſaide Earle of Suffolke then lorde Chauncellour, at the firſt had demaunded of the commons in the kinges name foure fifteenes, for with leſſe (ſaid he,) the king could not mainteine his eſtate and the warres which he had in hande. The whole body of the parliament made aunſwer therto, that without the king were preſent (for hee was then at Eltham) they coulde make therein no aunſwere at all: and heerewith they tooke occaſion at lengthe to ſaye further, that excepte the ſaid Earle of Suffolke were remoued from the office of Chauncellorſhip, they would medle no further with any acte in this parliament, were it neuer of ſo ſmall importance.

Roberte Veer Marques of Dublin created Duke of Irelād.

A bill exhibited by the lower houſe in this parliament againſt the erle of Suffolke lord Chauncellour. A wicked purpoſe preuented.

Richarde Exton iuſtly commended.

The king being aduertiſed hereof, ſente againe to the commons, that they ſhoulde ſende vnto Eltham (where he lay) fortie of the wiſeſt and beſt lerned of the cōmon houſe, the whiche in the name of the whole houſe ſhoulde declare vnto him their mindes: and then the houſe was in no ſmall feare, by reaſon of a brute that was raiſed, howe the Kyng ſought meanes to entrappe and deſtroye them that followed not his purpoſe. Hereuppon aſwell the lordes of the vpper houſe as the commons of the lower, aſſembled togither, and agreed with one conſēt, that the duke of Glouceſter, and Thomas Arundell biſhop of Elie ſhould in the name of the whole parliament be ſente to the king vnto Eltham: which was done, and the king was well contented that they ſhould come. When they came before his preſence, with humble reuerence they declared their meſſage, which conſiſted in theſe points: That the lords and commons aſſembled at that preſente in parliament, beſought him of his lawfull fauor, that they might liue in peace & tranquillitie vnder him. They further declared, that one olde ſtatute and laudable cuſtome was approued, whiche no man could deny, that the Kyng once in the yeare might lawfully ſommon his highe Courte of parliament, and call the Lordes and commons thereunto, as to the higheſt Courte of his realme, in which Courte all right and equitie ought to ſhine as the Sunne being at the higheſt, whereof pore & riche may take refreſhing, where alſo reformation ought to be had of al oppreſſions, wrongs, extortions and enormities within the realme, and there the king ought to take counſell with the wiſe men of his realme, for the maintenaunce of his eſtate, and conſeruation of the ſame. And if it mighte be knowen that any perſons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie, there muſte alſo be deuiſed howe ſuche euill weedes maye be deſtroyed. There muſte alſo be ſtudied and foreſeene, that if any chardge doe come vppon the King and realme, how it may be honorably borne and diſcharged. Further, they declared that til that preſēt his ſubiects, as was thought, had louingly demeaned themſelues towardes him, in aiding him with their ſubſtaunce to the beſte of their powers, and that their deſire was to vnderſtande howe thoſe goodes were ſpente. And further they ſaid, they had one thing to declare vnto hym, how that by an olde ordinance it was enacted, that if the king ſhoulde abſente himſelfe fortye dayes, not being ſicke, and refuſe to come to the Parliament, withoute regarde to the chardges of his people, and their greate paines, they then may lawfully returne home to their houſes: and therefore ſith he had bin abſent a long time, and yet refuſed to come among them, it was greately to their diſcomfort. To this the Kyng as we finde, made this aunſwere: Well, we doe perceiue that our people and commons, goe aboute to riſe againſt vs: wherfore wee thinke wee cannot doe better than to aſke aide of our couſin the french K. & rather ſubmit vs vnto hym, than to our owne ſubiects. The lordes aunſwered, that it ſhoulde not be good for him ſo to doe, but a way rather to bring him into extreme daunger, ſith it was plaine enough, that the frenche Kyng was hys auncient enimie and greateſt aduerſarie, who if he might once ſet foote in the realme of Englande, he would rather diſpoile, and diſpoſſeſſe the Kyng of hys kingdome, than to put hys helping hands to relieue hym: hee might (they ſaide) call to remembraunce, howe hys noble progenitour Kyng Edwarde the thirde, hys Grandfather, and Prince Edward hys father, hadde trauailed in heate and colde, wyth great anguiſhe and troubles inceſſantly, to make a conqueſt of Fraunce, that rightfully apperteyned vnto them, and nowe to hym. In whiche warres he might likewiſe remember how many Lordes, noble men, and good commons of bothe Realmes had loſt their liues, and what chardges bothe the Realmes likewiſe bare in mainteining thoſe warres: and nowe (the more pitie) greater burthens were laide vppon the neckes of the engliſhe ſubiects, for the ſupportation of his charges, by reaſon wherof, they were ſo lowe brought (ſaid they) that they haue not to pay their rents, & ſo by ſuch meanes was his power decaied, his lords brought behind hād, & al his people ſore empouriſhed: & as that Kyng cannot be pore that hath riche people, ſo cannot he be rich that hath pore cōmons: & as he tooke hurte by ſuch inconueniences chauncing through euill counſellours that were aboute hym, ſo the lords and noblemen ſuſteined no leſſe hurt eche one after his eſtate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme muſt needes fall in ruine, and the default ſhould be imputed to hym & to thoſe his euill counſellors. By theſe & the like perſwaſions, the K. was induced to come to the parliament, & according to his appointment, he came indeede. Soone after his comming was John Fortham byſhop of Durham diſchardged of his office of Lord Treaſorer, and in his place was appoynted one John Gilberte, Byſhoppe of Hereforde, that was a Frier of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as ſome reported of hym. Alſo the Earle of Suffolke was diſchardged of hys office of Lorde Chauncellour, and Thomas Arundell Byſhoppe of Elye placed in hys roomthe, by whole conſent of the Parliament. The ſame Earle of Suffolke was chardged wyth many and right great enormious crimes, fraudes, falſeties, and treaſons, whiche hee hadde practized, to the great preiudice of the Kyng and Realme, and therupon was cōmitted to warde in the Caſtell of Windſor. Notwythſtanding they adiudged him not to death, as ſome write, nor diſgraded him of yͤ honor of knighthood, but condemned him to pay a fine of .xx. M. marks,

and

...e Duke of Glocester and the Bishoppe of ...ent to the ...g to Eltham ...whole ...e of the parliament.

Their requeſtes to the King.

...d once if ...d require.

...e cauſe and ...of a parliament.

...ence of the ...g from the ...ment for ...pace of xl. ...s.

...e Kynges ...were.

VVealthe of the people is the glorye of the Prince and ſuretie of his raigne.

Change of officers by the parliament.

The Earle of Suffolke greuouſly fined by the Parliament houſe for ſundry his offēces.

and alſo to forfeit .j.M. poũds of yerely rentes which hee had purchaſed. But other write, that notwithſtanding the K. was ſore offended for the accuſations brought againſt the ſaid erle of Suffolke and others, whom he loued, and was lothe to heare any euill of, yet he was conſtreined at length after he had ſhifted off the matter by ſundry deuiſes, to appoint certaine perſones with full power and auctoritie to heare, and in iudgement to determine thoſe matters. The duke of Glouceſter therefore, and the Earle of Arũdell were apointed as iudges, (which whileſt the King as yet was abſent, who got hym forth of the way of purpoſe, bycauſe he woulde not be preſent at the condẽnatiõ of thoſe whome hee moſte entirely loued and fauoured) wente earneſtly in hande with their buſines, and ſo at length (as Walſinghã hath) the earle of Suffolke was conuict, & found giltie of ſundry crimes, treſpaſſes, & naughtie partes: for which it was thought, that he deſerued to loſe his life & goods, but he was yet ſuffred (as yͤ ſame Walſinghã ſaith) to goe abroade vnder ſuerty, certaine great men being bounde for him in great ſums of mony. But what order ſo euer was taken for the puniſhmẽt of him, ſure it is, hee was diſplaced frõ his office of chaũcellorſhip, as before ye haue heard: and further the lords, & other eſtates in this parliamẽt, cõſidering yͭ through couetouſneſſe of the newe depoſed officers, the kings treſure had bin imbeſelde, leudly waſted, & prodigally ſpent, nothing to his profit, there wer in this parliamẽt .xiij. lords choſen, to haue ouerſight vnder the K. of yͤ whole gouernment of the realme, as by their cõmiſſiõ in the ſtatuts of the .x. yere of this king it dothe in yͤ booke of ſtatutes at large apeare. Of theſe .xiij. ther wer iij. of the new officers named, as the biſhop of Elie L. chaũcellor, yͤ biſhop of Herford L. treaſorer, & Nich. Abbot of Waltham L. keeper of the priuy ſeale. yͤ other .x. were theſe, Wil. archbiſhop of Canterbury: Alexãder archebiſhop of Yorke: Edmũd Langly duke of Yorke: Tho. Duke of Glouceſter: Wil. biſhop of Wincheſter: Tho. biſhop of Exceſter: Rich. erle of Arũdel: Rich. L. Scrope, & John L. Deuereux

XIII. lordes appointed by Parliament to haue the gouernement of the realme vnder the king.

Moreouer, at yͤ kings inſtance and earneſt ſute it was grãted, yͭ Rob. de Veer late Marques of Dublin, & nowe newly created Duke of Ireland, ſhuld haue & receiue to his own vſe .xxx.M. markes, that yͤ frenchmen were to giue for yͤ heires of the L. Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times paſt, chalenged as his rightfull inheritance, the duchie of Britain, againſt the erle of Mõtfort. This grãt was made to the duke of Irelãd, with conditiõ, that beeing furniſhed wyth this mony, he ſhuld paſſe ouer into Irelãd, before yͤ next Eaſter, there to recouer ſuch landes as the K. had giuẽ to him: for aſwell the lords as yͤ cõmons, wer ſo deſirous to haue him gone, yͭ they wiſhed yͤ realm rather to ſpare ſo much treaſure, thã to haue his preſence abiding here, to allure him to folly. The ſame time yͤ king of Armony ſued for a ſafe conduit to come ouer into this lande, to ſpeake with yͤ K. as he had bin about yͤ treating of ſome peace betwixt yͤ .ij. realmes of England & Fraũce: but his meaning was ſuſpected to be to no good ende, but to benefit himſelf by receiuing of ſome great gifts at the kings bountiful handes, and therfore was not grãuted. In this meane time alſo, whileſt the frẽch K. with ſuch a cõpanie of dukes, erles & other lords, as had not bin hearde of, ſtill cõtinued in Flanders, ſtaying aſwel for a conuenient winde, as for yͤ comming of the duke of Berry, it chaunced yͭ certeine engliſh ſhips as they wafted the ſeas, met with .ij. of the french ſhips, yͭ were ſailing towards Sluiſe, & fighting with thẽ, tooke thẽ, & brought them bothe to Sandwich. In theſe ſhips part of yͤ cloſure or wall of wood (whereof ye haue heard) was foũd, the maſter carpenter yͭ was the chiefe deuiſer to frame it, being an engliſh mã borne, but baniſhed his cũtry afore yͭ time, for ſome office: Alſo there was foũd aborde the ſame ſhips, a maſter gunner, that ſometime had ſerued yͤ engliſhmẽ at Callais, whẽ ſir Hughe Caluerley was lieutenaunt there. Alſo diuers greate gunnes and engins to beate downe walles were foũd & taken in the ſame ſhips, with a greate quãtity of powder yͭ was more worthe thã all the reſt. About the ſame time, or rather ſomwhat before, the engliſhmẽ alſo tooke certaine hulks and .vj. cariks of the Genewes, ladẽ with great riches, but bicauſe they were marchãts, they foũd ſuch fauor at the kings hãds through meens of Michael de la Poole thẽ L. Chancellor (whom they had made their friend) yͭ they had their veſſells, & all their goods reſtored, & ſtreighte wayes they paſſed with the ſame vnto Sluiſe where yͤ enimies laye, to make ſale of their wares there. Wherevpon much murmuring roſe among the kings ſubiectes, taking it in euill parte yͭ they ſhuld be ſuffred ſo to goe their wayes to releue the enimies of the realme, with ſuch goodes as were once brought into the engliſhmẽs poſſeſſion, & ſpeciallie the L. Chaũcellor was very euill thought of, for ſhewing ſo much fauor vnto thoſe ſtrangers. The frẽch K. ſtill remaining in Flaunders tarying for the comming of the Duke of Berrie & alſo for a conueniẽt winde, at length on the euen of Allſaintes, the wind came about very fauorably for the frenchemens purpoſe: wherevppon they weyed Ancres, and lanched from the hauẽ of Sluſe, but they were

not

The French fleete ſetting forward towards England, is driuen backe by contrary windes.

not paſt twentie miles forwarde on theyr way, when the winde ſuddaynely turned contrary to their courſe againe, and brought them back with ſuch violence, that diuers of them, as they ſhould enter the Hauen, were broken and bruiſed, and ſo by this occaſion, and the Counſell of the Duke of Berry togither, the French King brake vp his iourney for that yeare, and returned into France.

The kings inordinate affection, towardes the Duke of Ireland, and the Earle of Suffolke.

Ye haue hearde what was done by the ſtates aſſembled in Parliamente againſte the Earle of Suffolke, whome the moſt parte of the Realme ſo greatly hated, but yet neuertheleſſe, the Kyng had ſuch an affection towardes him, that immediately after the Parliamente was diſſolued, hee vndid all that had bin enacted againſte him, receyuing him into more familiaritie than before, and cauſed him to cõtinue with the Duke of Irelande, and Alexander Neuill Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, which two lords, trauelled moſt earneſtly to moue the K. againſt the other Lords, and to diſadnull all that had bin done in the laſt Parliament.

There encreaſed therefore in the King an inward hatred, whyche hee conceyued agaynſt the Lordes, theſe men putting it into his eare, that hee was lyke no King, but rather reſembled a ſhadowe of a King, ſaying, it woulde come to paſſe, that hee ſhoulde bee able to doe nothing of hymſelfe, if the Lordes myght enioy the authoritie which they had taken vpon them.

The King gaue credite to theſe tales, and therefore had the Lordes in greate iealoſie, notwithſtanding they were thought to bee his moſt true and faithfull ſubiectes, and the other craftie, deceitfull, and vntruſtie, but ſuch an affection had the King to them, that no informations, nor accuſations, though neuer ſo manifeſtly proued, could bring them out of his fauoure, in ſo muche, as at the feaſt of Chriſtmas nexte following, he cauſed the Earle of Suffolke to ſitte with hym at his own table, in robes accuſtomarily appointed for Kings to weare, and not for meaner eſtates, which was much noted, and no little encreaſed the enuie againſt him.

1387

The Erle of rundell goth to the Sea, ith fiue C. men of armes and a thouſand archers Froiſſart.

About the beginning of Marche, in this tenth yeare, Richarde Erle of Arundell, being appointed Lorde Admirall, and Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham, the Earle of Deuonſhire, and the Biſhop of Norwiche as Froiſſart hathe, went to the Sea with a warlike power of men of armes and archers, ſo well trimmed and appointed as was poſſible, for the Lorde Admirall vnderſtanding that the Duke of Glouceſter, and many other noble men woulde ſee the muſters of his meinie, vſed all diligence, and ſpared for no coſtes, to haue the moſt choyſeſt and pikeſt felowes that might be gotten, not following the euill example of others in times paſt, whiche receyued tagge and ragge to fill vp their numbers, whome they hired for ſmall wages, and reſerued the reſidue to their purſes, and when to the aduauncement of the Realmes commoditie they ſhoulde haue encountred the enimies, they ſhifted off all occaſions thereto, and onely prolonged time, withoute atchieuing anye enterprice auaylable, to the ende they mighte receyue the whole wages, and keepe themſelues from daunger, whiche they ſhoulde hardly haue auoyded, when they had not about them ſuche able men as were lyke to matche the enimies: but the Earle of Arundell contrarily gote the ableſt menne hee mighte, not ſparing his owne purſe, to the ende that by theyr ſeruice, hee mighte atchieue ſome worthy enterprice, to redounde vnto the commoditie of hys Countrey.

A greate abuſe in choyſe of Souldiers.

After the Duke of Glouceſter had behelde ſo faire and choſen a power of men of warre, they were ſtraight wayes appoynted to gette them a Shippebourd, and ſo beeing embarqued, yͤ whole nauie paſſed forth to the Thames mouth, where they ſtayed to watch for the fleete of Flaunders, that was ready to come from Rochelle with wines. At length, vpon a Sonday being the euen of the Annuntiation of oure Lady, the Flemiſhe fleete was diſcouered a good way off, by one that was mounted into one of the toppes of a Shippe of the Engliſhe fleete. The Earle of Arundell greatly reioycing at thoſe newes, forthwith with his whole fleete made to the Sea. When yͤ Flemings approched neere to our Nauie, they made ſayle, as if they woulde ſette vpon the ſame, and our menne of purpoſe made countenaunce, as if they woulde haue retired, as miſtruſting themſelues to be able to match their aduerſaries, who coueting rather a ſafe paſſage than battayle, paſſed by, but the Engliſhmen hauing once gote the winde fitte for their purpoſe, ſuddaynely ſet vpon the Flemiſh Shippes, and fought with them right fiercely; at length, after a ſore conflict whiche endured foure houres, the victorye fell to the Engliſhemen. There were taken fourescore Shippes, with diuers Captaynes and men of armes, namelye theyr chiefe Admirall, named John Bucke, a perfect good Sea man, and one that had aforetime done much hurt to the Engliſh nation. Diuers of their Shippes were drowned, and ſome eſcaped yet from the battell, but the Earle of Arundell purſued them ſo egrely for the ſpace of two dayes togither, that at length hee tooke them, and brought them backe to his nauie, ſo that what in the battell, and in the chaſe, there were taken of great and ſmall, to the number of an hundred veſſels, all fraught with wines, ſo that there was founde in them the ſumme of nine thouſand tunnes or rather as other haue, nynetene thouſand, which togither with the veſſelles were

A good policie.

A great victorie of the Engliſh nauie againſt the Flemiſh fleete
Ia. Meir.
Tho. VValſ.

Ia. Meir.
Tho. VValſ.

were ſtraight ſente vnto Orwell hauen, and to other hauens abroade in the Realme, beſide that whiche fell to the Kings ſhare, as due to hym by his prerogatiue.

The Citizens of Middlebourgh came to the Earle, and requeſted him that they mighte buy thoſe wines of him, and pay for the ſame after the rate of an hundred ſhillings the tunne, alledging how they were the kings friends, and ſtode in neede of wines: but the Earle of Arundell, thinking it more reaſon, that thoſe whiche hadde borne the charges of his iourney, to witte the cōmons of the Realme of England ſhould haue the commoditie thereof than anye other, hee denyed their ſute, but yet to ſhewe them ſome pleaſure as his friendes, hee gaue to them twentie tunnes to make merrie with: As for that whiche fell to the Earles ſhare, he vſed ſuche bountifulneſſe in beſtowing it among his friends, that he left not to himſelfe ſo much as one tunne, hee wanne therefore no ſmall prayſe, that forbearing his owne commoditie which hee might haue reaped in ſelling thoſe wines to ſtraungers, hee had more regard to the profit of the commons, wherby they might vnderſtand, that that which they had layd forthe towardes the ſetting forward of this iourney, was not altogither loſt nor caſt away. Part of the Flemiſh fleete eſcaping as before yee haue heard, was purſued vnto the hauen of Sluſe, and Blankerke.

The liberalitie of the Erle of Arundell.

All the Countrey of Flaunders, neere to the Sea coaſtes, was in great feare, for the Engliſhmen landed, and euery daye wente abroade into the Countrey, brenning diuers townes and villages, as Mude, Oſtburg, Houckam, Monacharedam, and others. And at length, after they had taken their pleaſure in the Countrey, for the ſpace of tenne dayes togither, they hoiſted vp ſailes, and returned with all their pray and booties, whiche beeing ſolde, and vttered abroade in the Realme, made wine ſo plentifull heere in Englande, that it was ſolde for thirteene ſhillings foure pence the tunne, and twentie ſhillings the beſt and choiſeſt.

Diuers roades made into Flaunders by the Engliſhmen, & greate ſpoyle done.

Wine ſolde for thirteene ſhillings foure pence the tun.

The Earle of Arundel not ſatiſfyed with this happie atchieued enterpriſe, but minding to doe more ſeruice to the benefite of hys Countreye, gathered his Shippes togither, and hyring newe Souldiers to ſupplye the roumthes of them that were hurte, maimed, or ſlayne, turned his ſayles towardes the Caſtell of Breſt, whiche ſeemed to be a keye to the leſſe Britaine, and being (as yee haue heard) in the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, the French menne were about to reyſe vp and build farre greater and ſtronger baſtillions, than thoſe were that the Duke of Lancaſter had taken and deſtroyed as he ſailed forward on his iourney toward Spayne: one of theſe two new Baſtilles ỹ Earle of Arundell wanne by force from them that kept it, and bycauſe it ſeemed neceſſary to be kepte for a defence to the Caſtell, if it were in the Engliſhmens hands, hee committed it to the cuſtodie of certaine Engliſhmen. The other beyng not yet finiſhed, but begunne in ſumptuous wiſe to be builded, he ſet on fyre and brent. This done, furniſhing the garriſon with ſufficient vittailes, and munition to ſerue them for one whole yere, hee returned home into Englande, with greate prayſe and commendations of the commons for his doings: but the Duke of Irelande, the Earle of Suffolke, ſir Simon de Burley, and Sir Richarde Sturrie, that ſtill continued aboute the Kyng, ſeemed rather to enuie the Earle of Arundels good name, than otherwiſe, to commend hym and others to the King, that hadde beene forthe in that iourney, in ſo muche, that when the Earle of Nottingham, otherwiſe called Earle Marſhall, that had beene euer the Kyngs pleyfellowe, and of equall age to hym, came nowe to the Courte, hoping to bee righte welcome, and to receyue great thankes at the kings handes, he hadde no good countenaunce ſhewed hym, neyther of the King, nor of the Duke of Irelande, who diſdeyning once to talke with hym, ſeemed to enuie the worthy prowes in other, whiche he knewe wanted in hymſelfe.

The Earle of Arundell ſayleth into Britayne, with a great power.

Enuy the fo- lowes of ve- tue & prowe

Shortly after, by the counſell of thoſe Lordes and Knightes that remayned aboute the Kyng, the Lorde Henry Percy, ſonne to the Earle of Northumberlande, was ſente to the Seas, to beate backe the attemptes of the enimies, but hee was ſlenderly appoynted to atchieue anye greate enterpriſe: and this was done of ſome enuious purpoſe, bycauſe hee had got a name among the common people, to be a right hardie and valiant Gentleman, as well among Engliſhmen as Scottes. But he eyther ignorant, or not much waying of that whiche they craftely had imagined againſte him, boldly and valiantly executed the buſineſſe enioyned hym, and hauing remayned abroade, during the whole time of hys appoynted ſeruice, returned ſafely home.

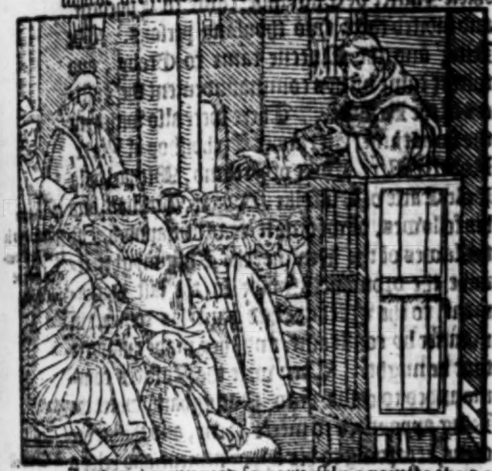
The Lord Percy ſent to the Sea.

Aboute the ſame time, a Frier Carmelite, named Walter Diſſe, that had bene confeſſor to the Duke of Lancaſter, obteyned in fauoure of the ſame Duke, at Pope Vrbanes hands, certayne faculties, to be diſtributed to ſuch as would pray and pay for them.

Among other of thoſe faculties, one was, to make al thoſe whome he thought good, the Popes Chaplaynes, according to forme of law, and the cuſtome vſed in the Court of Rome. Nowe bycauſe ſuch as obteyned this fauour, enioyed great liberties, many were glad to beſtowe largely, to be ſo preferred, the Frier being ready to admitte thoſe that offered moſt.

Frier Pateſhul forſaking his profeſſion, preacheth agaynſt his owne order.

Among other, one Peter Pateſhull a Frier of the Auguſtines order, was made by hym the Popes Chaplayne, a man not vnlearned, and one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and thereupon forſaking his priuate profeſſion, gaue himſelfe to a publique trade of lyfe, whiche might ſeeme to him more holy, commendable, and ſure. Herevpon, he tooke vpon him to preache againſte his owne order, namely, in a Sermon whiche hee made in S. Chriſtofers Churche in London, hee inueyed ſo earneſtly againſte the abuſes and heynous crimes which ẏ Friers, ſometimes his brethren, vſed to put in practiſe, that it was an horror to heare. There were preſente an hundred at the leaſt of Wiclifes opinion at his ſermon, and in the meane while, that hee ſo layde forth what he knewe againſte his late brethren, ſome perſons there were that ranne to the Auguſtine Friers, and declared the whole matter, wherevpon, a dozen of the hardieſt and luſtieſt fellowes among them came to the Churche where this Pateſhull was preaching, and hearing what was ſayde, they began to be ſore moued, in ſo muche, that one of them, more zealous for his Religion than the other, ſtepped forthe, and agayne ſayd thoſe things which the preacher proponed, which thing, when the Wickleuiſts perceyued, they ſette vpon him that ſo diſquieted the congregation, and laying handes on hym, threwe hym downe, trode him vnder their feete, and lent him many a good buffet, and chaſing all the other Friers away, they were fully bente to haue killed them, and ſette their houſe a fyre, crying out with loude voyces, Let vs deſtroy theſe murtherers, let vs brenne theſe Sodomites, and hang vp ſuch traytors of the King and Realme, and running thus with ſuch a furious noyſe and outrage, they purpoſed verily to haue ſette fyre on the Friers lodgings, but that through the humble prayer of Frier Thomas Aſhborne, and one that was his fellow, being reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuinitie, they were ſtayed. The comming alſo of one of the Shiriffes of London, holpe muche to appeaſe them, ſo that by his perſwaſion, they returned home to their houſes, but Peter Pateſhull, being mainteined among them, was counſelled, ſith hee was interrupted in hys ſermon, to ſet downe in writing all ſuch matters as he was about to intreat of, and what he knew further, he therefore deuiſed a lybell, in which hee accuſed diuers of his brethren, of murthering ſundry of their fellowes. And for more proofe to bee giuen to his ſayings, hee tolde the names of them that were made away, and the names alſo of the murtherers, and ſhewed where thoſe that were murthered, were buryed: hee affirmed alſo, that the ſayde Friers his brethren of late, were Sodomites and traytors, both to the king and realme, and many other things hee declared, too badde to ſpeake of, in that his writing or lybell which he faſtned vppon the Churche dore of S. Paule in London, that the more confuſion might thereby redounde vnto his late brethren, the Friers aforeſaid. In the beginning of ẏ ſame Lybell hee proteſted, that hee was got forthe of the Diuels dungeon, and through the grace of God, eſcaped from amongſt wicked and filthy perſons, by reaſon wherof, and for that hee was an auoucher of the veritie, he ſaide, he was ſure to ſuffer great aduerſities at the Friers hands, if they might lay hold on him, but he thanked Pope Vrbane, for that through his graunte, he had obteyned ſuche libertie, that by helpe of his friends, hee might lawfully withdraw himſelfe from ẏ hãds of his enimies. There were diuers men of good worſhip, that mainteyned this Pateſhull, and cauſed a tranſcript of this Lybell, to bee written forth, affirming all to bee true that was therein mentioned.



Wickleuiſtes.

A Lybell by Frier Pateſhul againſt his breethren.

The fauourers of Frier Pateſhull.

Amongſt other that thus fauoured this cauſe, were diuers Knightes, as Sir William Neuill, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Iohn Clanbowe, Sir Richard Sturry, and ſir Thomas Latimer, and the chiefeſt of all, was one ſir Iohn Montague, who cauſed all the Images to bee taken downe, and ſet aſide in corners, which Iohn Aubrey, and his ſucceſſor ſir Alane Buxhull, or any their anceſtors had ſet vp in their Chappell of Chenley.

About the ſame time, the Duke of Irelande ſoughte to bee diuorſed from his lawfull wife, a trimme yong Lady, daughter to the Lady Iſabell, that was one of King Edwarde the thyrde his daughters, and tooke to wife one Lancegrone a Bohemer, one of the Queenes maydes, by reaſon whereof, greate occaſion of ſlaunder and reproch grewe, and diuers Lords, ſpecially ẏ Duke of Glouceſter, that was vncle to the Ladye that was forſaken, tooke greate diſpleaſure herewith. But ſith the King allowed of all the Duke of Irelandes doyngs, the Duke of Glouceſter diſſembled ſuch iniuries done to his neece for the time, till opportunitie mighte ſerue to reuenge the ſame.

The Duke of Irelande vnderſtode all theſe things, and therefore was the more circumſpect for his owne ſafetie, and ſtudyed howe by ſome meanes he mighte diſpatche the Duke of Glouceſter out of the way, as the man whome he moſt feared, leaſt his life ſhoulde be his deſtruction, by one meanes or other.

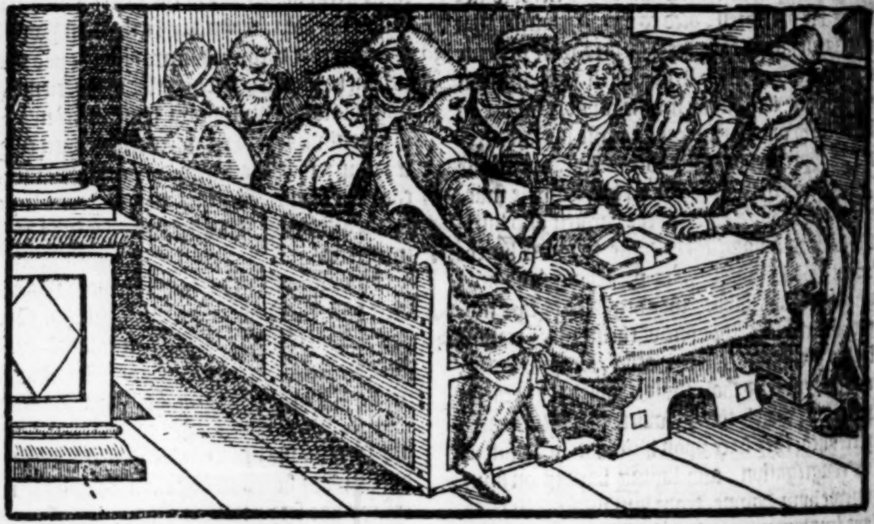
Diſſention betwixt the Kyng, and the nobles.

Eaſter was nowe paſt, the tyme (as yee haue hearde appoynted) before the which the Duke of Irelande ſhould haue tranſported ouer into Irelande, and yet was hee not ſet forward, but leaſt ſomewhat myght be thought in the matter, and for feare of ſome ſturre to be rayſed by the Lords of the Realme, that wiſhed him gone, according to the order preſcribed at the laſt Parliament, the King as it were to bring hym to the water ſide, wente with him into Wales, where beeyng out of the way, they myghte deuiſe how to diſpatche the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Arundell, Warwike, Darbye, and Nottingham, with others of that faction. There were with the King, beſyde the Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Roberte Triſilian Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, and diuers other, whiche doubtfull of theyr owne ſafegardes, dyd what they coulde as writers reporte, to moue the King forwarde to the deſtruction of thoſe noble men.

An. reg. 11.

After the Kyng had remayned in thoſe partes a good while, hee returned, and broughte the Duke of Irelande backe with him agayne, ſo that it ſemed hys voyage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

Grafton.



Certayne queſtions in law demaunded of the Iuſtices.

A Counſell holden at Notingham.

Iuſtice Belknap compelled to ſubſcribe.

Iuſtice Belknaps wordes.

About the ſame tyme, Robert Triſilian Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Englande came to Couentrie, and indited there two thouſand perſons. The King and the Queene came to Groby, and thither came by hys commaundement the Iuſtices of the Realme. There were alſo with hym the ſame tyme, Alexander Archbiſhop of Yorke, Roberte Vere Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian, and his fellowes, of whome it was demaunded, if by the lawes of the Realme, the King myghte reuoke the ordinances made in the laſt Parliament, to the whiche he had giuen his conſente in manner by conſtraint, and they made aunſwere that he might. Then were the Iuſtices commaunded to come vnto Notingham, where the King appoynted to meete them, and thither hee came, according to his appoyntment, and helde a ſolemne Counſell in the Caſtell of Nottingham, the morrowe after Saint Bartholmewes day. In whiche Counſell, were the aforeſayde Archbyſhop of Yorke, the Duke of Irelande, the Earle of Suffolke, Roberte Triſilian Iuſtice, Roberte Bramble Iuſtice, and ſundry other, all which Iuſtices were commaunded to ſette theyr handes vnto the queſtions vnder written, that by meanes thereof, thoſe perſons that were about the Kyng, thought they might haue good occaſion, to putte the Duke of Glouceſter, and other Lords that were his complices vnto death, whiche in the laſt Parliament were ordeyned to haue the gouernaunce of the Realme, and all ſuche as were conſenting to the ſame. Diuers of the Iuſtices refuſed to ſubſcribe, but yet they were conſtreyned to doe as the reſt did, among the whych was Iohn Belknappe, who vtterly refuſed, tyll the Duke of Ireland, and the Earle of Suffolke compelled hym thereto, for if hee had perſiſted in the refuſall, hee had not eſcaped their handes, and yet when he hadde ſet too hys ſeale, he burſt out into theſe wordes: Nowe (ſayde hee) here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I mighte receyue a rewarde worthy for my deſert, and I know, if I had not done this, I mighte not haue eſcaped your handes, ſo that for youre pleaſures and the Kings I haue done it, and deſerued therby death at the handes of the Lordes: whyche indede ſhortly followed, for in the next Parliamente hee was condemned and executed. But nowe that thys myghte remayne in recorde, an Acte of Counſell was made thereof, in manner as followeth.

Addition to Polid.

Memorand. that the fiue and twentith daye of Auguſt, in the eleuenth yeare of the raigne of King Richard the ſecond, at the Caſtell of Notingham aforeſayde, Roberte Triſilian, Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, Roberte Belknap Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the common pleas, Iohn Holte, Roger Fulthorp, and Williã Borough, Knightes and aſſociates of the ſayde Roberte Belknap, and Iohn Lockton, one of the Kyngs ſergeants at the lawe, beeing perſonally required in preſence of the Lordes and other witneſſes vnderwritten by our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng, in that faith and allegiance in whiche to him they were bounden, that they ſhoulde truely aunſwere to certayne queſtions vnderwritten, and vpon the ſame by their diſcretions, to ſay the lawe.

Queſtions to bee demaũded of the Iuſtice.

1 Firſt it was aſked of them, whether the newe ſtatute, ordinaunce, and commiſſion made in the laſt Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, bee hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Whereunto all of one minde aunſwered, that they were hurtfull, and ſpecially bycauſe they bee agaynſte the kings will.

2 Item, it was enquired of them, howe they oughte to bee puniſhed, that procured the ſayde Statute, ordinance and Cõmiſſion to be made. Whereunto with one aſſent they anſwered, that they deſerued death, except the King of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was enquired, how they ought to be puniſhed, whiche moued the King to conſente to the making of the ſaid ſtatute, ordinance, and cõmiſſion. Whereunto they aunſwered, that vnleſſe the King woulde giue them his pardon, they ought to loſe their liues.

4 Item, it was enquired of them what puniſhment they deſerued, that compelled the Kyng to the making of that ſtatute, ordinance, and commiſſion. Whereunto they gaue aunſwere, that they ought to ſuffer as Traytors.

5 Item, it was demaunded of them howe they ought to bee puniſhed that interrupted the Kyng ſo, that hee myghte not exerciſe thoſe things that apperteyned to his regaltie and prerogatiue. Whereunto aunſwere was made, that they ought to be puniſhed as Traytors.

6 Item, it was enquired of them, whether that after the affayres of the Realme, and the cauſe of the callyng togither the ſtates to the Parliamente, were once by the Kyngs commaundemente declared and opened, and other articles on the Kyngs behalfe limitted, vppon whyche the Lordes and commons of the Realme ought to intreate and procede, if the Lordes neuertheleſſe woulde procede vpon other articles, and not meddle with thoſe articles which the Kyng hadde limited, till time the King hadde aunſwered the Articles propoſed by them, notwithſtanding the Kyng enioyned them to the contrarie: Whether in this caſe the Kyng myghte rule the Parliament, and cauſe them to procede vppon the Articles by hym limited, before they proceede any further. To whyche queſtion, it was aunſwered, that the Kyng ſhoulde haue in thys parte the rule, for order of all ſuche articles to be proſecuted, vntill the ende of the Parliamente. And if any preſumed to goe contrary to this rule, he was to be puniſhed as a traytor.

7 Item, it was aſked, whether the King when ſo euer it pleaſed hym myghte not diſſolue the Parliamente, and commaunde the Lordes and commons to depart from thence or not. Whereunto it was aunſwered that hee might.

8 Item, it was inquired, that for aſmuche as it was in the Kyng to remoue ſuche Iuſtices and officers as offende, and to puniſhe them for theyr offences: Whether the Lordes and commons myghte without the Kings will, impeache the ſame officers and Iuſtices, vpõ their offences in Parliament or not. To this aunſwere was made, that they myghte not, and hee that attempted contrarye, was to ſuffer as a Traytor.

9 Item, it was enquired, howe hee is to bee puniſhed, that moued in the Parliamente, that the ſtatute wherein Edwarde, the ſonne of Kyng Edwarde, greate grandfather to the Kyng that nowe is, was endited in Parliamente, myght be ſente for, by inſpection of whyche Statute, the ſayde newe ſtatute or ordinaunce and commiſſion were conceyued, and deuiſed in the Parliament.

To whiche queſtion, with one accorde, as in all the reſidue they aunſwered, that as well hee that ſo ſummoned, as the other, whyche by force of the ſame motion, broughte the ſayde Statute into the Parliamente houſe, be as publique offendors and Traytors to bee puniſhed.

10 Item, it was enquired of them, whether the Iudgemente giuen in the Parliament agaynſte Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, were erronious and reuocable, or not:

To which queſtion likewiſe with one aſſente they ſayd, that if the ſame iudgement were nowe to bee giuen, the Iuſtices and Sergeaunte aforeſayde woulde not gyue the ſame, bycauſe it ſeemed to them, that the ſayde iudgemente is reuocable and erronious in euery part. In witneſſe whereof, the Iuſtices and Sergeaunte aforeſayde, to theſe preſentes, haue ſet their ſeales, theſe beeing witneſſes, Alexander Archbyſhop of Yorke, Roberte Archbyſhoppe of Dublin, Iohn Byſhop of Durham, Thomas Byſhop of Cheſter, Iohn Byſhoppe of Bangor, Robert Duke of Irelande, Mighell Earle of Suffolke, Iohn Rypon Clearke, and Iohn Blake.

Tho. VValſ.

Now beſide theſe Iuſtices and Sergeaunte, there were called at that preſente vnto Notingham, all other Iuſtices of the Realme, and the Sherifes. Alſo, diuers of the Citie of London, which the King knewe would encline to his will the rather, for that ſome of them, hauing aforetime confeſſed treaſon againſt the King, by them imagined, and obteyning pardon for the ſame, were ready at his commaundemente, to recompence ſuche fauoure, in the accompliſhmente of what ſoeuer they knewe myghte ſtand with hys pleaſure. Herevppon, they beeing enpanelled to inquire of certayne treaſons that were ſuppoſed to be committed by the Lordes, which in the laſt Parliament hadde ſo cauſed things to paſſe, contrary to the Kyngs pleaſure, endited the ſame Lordes of many crimes enfourmed againſt them.

The Lordes endited of diuers offences.

The Londoners indeede are euill reported of in thoſe dayes, by ſome writers, for their vnſtableneſſe, one whyle holding on the Kinges part, and with ſuche as were chiefe in counſell about hym, and an other whyle on the Lordes ſyde that were of a contrary faction.

Why the Sherifes of all ſhires were ſent for to the Courte.

But nowe as concerning the cauſe why the Sherifes were called hither, it was chiefly to vnderſtande what power of men they might aſſure the Kyng of, to ſerue hym agaynſte the Lordes and Barons, whome hee tooke to be his enimies: and further, that where he meant to call a Parliament very ſhortly, they ſhoulde ſo vſe the matter, that no Knyght might be choſen, but ſuch as the Kyng and his Counſell ſhoulde name. But aunſwere was made herevnto by the Sherifes, that the Lordes were ſo highly beloued of ẏ commons, that it lay not in their powers to aſſemble any great forces againſte the Lords, and as for choſing the Knightes of the Shires, they ſayde, that the commons would vndoubtedly vſe theyr auntiente liberties, and priuiledges, in chooſing ſuche as they thoughte meeteſt.

But yet after that the indictments were founde, according to the deſire of the kyng and hys counſellors, and that thoſe whiche hadde beene called aboute this matter, were licenced to depart home, the Kyng and the Duke of Irelande ſent meſſengers into euerye parte of the Realme, to reteyne men of warre to aſſiſte them in the quarell againſte the Lordes if neede were. Many made aunſwere, that ſith they knew the Lordes to be faythfull and loyall to the King, euen from the bottome of theyr heartes, and were ready to ſtudy, to deuiſe, and to do all thyngs that might tende to his honor, and wealthe of the Realme, they myghte not by anye meanes beare armoure againſte them. But a great number of other that tooke it that they were reteyned for a good and neceſſary purpoſe, promiſed to be ready whenſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe the King to ſende for them.

Souldiers reteined on all ſides by the K. agaynſt the Lordes.

The Lordes beeing in this meane while aduertiſed of theſe doyngs, were ſtriken with great heauineſſe, for that not knowing themſelues (as they tooke it) giltie of anye offence, the Kyng ſhoulde thus ſeeke theyr deſtruction.

Herewith, the Duke of Glouceſter, meaning to mitigate the Kinges diſpleaſure, receyued a ſolemne othe before the Byſhop of London, and diuers other Lords, proteſting by the ſame othe, that hee neuer imagined, nor wente aboute anye thing, to the Kings hinderance, but to his power, hadde alwayes done what hee myghte, to aduaunce the Kings honor, proſperous ſtate, and good liking, except onely that hee hadde gyuen no good countenaunce to the Duke of Irelande, whome the Kyng ſo muche loued: and ſurely for that the ſayd Duke had diſhonored his kinſwoman, and the Kings alſo, hee was firmely determined to reuenge that iniurie vppon him, and herewith, hee beſoughte the Byſhoppe of London to declare what hys wordes were vnto the King.

The Duke of Glouceſter proteſtation vpon his othe.

The Byſhoppe commyng to the King, made reporte of the Duke of Glouceſters proteſtation, cōfirmed with his othe, in ſuch wiſe, as the king beganne ſomewhat to bee perſwaded, that it was true. But when the Earle of Suffolke perceyued that, fearing leaſt the reconciliation of the King and the Duke his vncle ſhoulde turne to his vndoing, hee beganne to ſpeake againſt the Duke, tyll the Byſhoppe bad hym holde hys peace, and tolde hym, that it nothing became hym to ſpeake at all, and when the Earle aſked why ſo, bycauſe (ſaid the Byſhoppe) thou waſt in the laſt Parliamente condemned for an euill perſon, and one not worthy to lyue, but onely it pleaſeth the King to ſhew thee fauour.

Stoute wordes of the Biſhop of London.

The Kyng beeyng offended with the Byſhoppes preſumptuous wordes, commaunded hym to departe and get hym home to his Churche, who forthwith departed, and declared to the Duke of Glouceſter what he had heard and ſeene.

Herevpon, the great miſliking that had bin afore time betwixte the Kyng and the Lordes, was nowe more vehemently increaſed, the Duke of Ireland, the Earle of Suffolke the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Lord chiefe Juſtice, Robert Triſlian and others, ſtill procuring, ſtirring, and confirming the Kyngs heauie diſpleaſure againſt the Lordes.

The Duke of Glouceſter conſidering to what concluſion theſe things tended, came ſecretely to a conference with the Earles of Arundell, Warwike, and Derby, who were in lyke daunger, if they prouided not more ſpeedelie for their ſafetie, whereuppon, hee diſcouereth to them the perill wherein they all ſtoode in commune, ſo that whē they wayed what was the moſt expedient meane to ſaueguarde theyr lyues, they gathered their powers togither, determining to talke with the Kyng, with their armour vpon their backes, for their more ſuretie, as well concerning his pretence, to bring them to their deathes, as for the fauour which he bare to thoſe whome they reputed to be traytors, both to him, and to the whole ſtate of the Realme, whereby the ſame coulde not auoyde ſpeedie remedie, if ruine were not the ſooner prouided.

The Lordes conſulte howe to preuent the perils pretended againſt them.

The Kyng on the other parte tooke aduiſe, how he mighte apprehende theſe Lordes (whome he tooke to bee playne traytors) eche one a parte, before they mighte gather their ſtrengthes about them, and firſte, hee ſent the Earle of Northumberlande and others, vnto the Caſtell of Reigate to take the Earle of Arundell, who laye there at that preſent. But howſoeuer it fortuned, the Erle of Northumberlande came backe, and fayled to accompliſhe that which hee had in commaundemente.

The Earle of Northumberland ſent to apprehend the Earle of Arundell.

After this, a greate number were ſente by nyghte, to haue layde handes on hym, and to haue broughte hym to the Kyngs preſence, or in caſe hee reſiſted, to haue ſlayne hym, if by anye meanes they myghte: but hee beeyng warned by a meſſenger that came to him from the Duke of Glouceſter, conueyed hymſelfe away, and with ſuche bandes as hee hadde gote togither, rode all that nyghte, ſo that in the morning hauing paſſed a thirtie myles, not without greate trauayle, and all ſpeede poſſible, hee was in the morning aduaunced vnto Haringey Parke, where hee founde the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle of Warwike, with a greate power of menne about them.

The Erle of Arundell ioyneth with the other Lordes.

The ſame tyme, the Kyng was aboute to ſette forwardes towardes Caunterbury, there to performe ſome vowe of pilgrimage, whiche hee hadde vndertaken to make, vnto the ſhrine of Thomas Becket, but a bruite was reyſed, and a ſlaunder (belyke) contriued, to bryng hym in further hatred of his ſubiectes, that hee meante to ſteale ouer into Fraunce, vnto the French King, hauyng promiſed to deliuer vp into hys handes the Towne of Calais, with the Caſtell of Guynes, and all the fortreſſes, whiche hys predeceſſors had poſſeſſed in thoſe parties, eyther by right from their aunceſtors, or by warlike conqueſt, but his iourney to Caunterbury was ſuddaynely ſtayed, vpon knowledge had of the gathering togither of the Lords in Haringey Parke, wherewith the Kyng beeyng ſore amaſed, called togyther ſuch as he truſted, to vnderſtande what their opinion was of the matter, and vnderſtanding that the purpoſed intention of the Lordes, for whiche they were ſo aſſembled, was to this ende as they pretended, to bring hym vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable order of gouernment, hee was ſtraightes ſtriken with no ſmall feare, demaunding of them their aduice, what was beſt for hym to doe in ſuche troubleſome ſtate of things. Some were of this minde, that it ſhoulde bee beſt to ſeeke to appeaſe the Lordes with faire promiſes, aſſuring them, that they ſhould haue their deſires. Other thought it better, to aſſemble the Kings friendes, and ioyning them with the Londoners, to goe forth and trie the hazard of battayle with the Lordes. Among them that were of thys mynde, the Archbyſhop of Yorke was the chiefeſt. But other that were thought to vnderſtande more of the worlde than he did, iudged it not wiſedome ſo to doe, conſidering that if the Kyng loſt the fielde, then ſhoulde great harme and diſhonor followe, and if the victory fell to his ſyde, yet could he gaine naughte, but loſe a great number of his ſubiectes. Thys was in Nouember, at what time the King vpon his returning from Caunterbury, meante to haue holden a Parliamente, but through thoſe ſturres, neyther hys iourney to Caunterbury, nor the Parliamente wente forwarde: hee cauſed yet order to be giuen, that no Citizen of London ſhoulde ſell to the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Arundell, or anye other of the Lordes, anye armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition or matter, that mighte tende to the furniture of warre, vpon a great payne.

Counſell taken how to deale againſt the Lordes.

But notwithſtanding, the Lordes went forwarde with their buſineſſe, and before they approched the Citie of London, they ſente to the Kyng the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, the Lord John Louell, the Lorde Cobham, and the Lorde John Deuereux, requiring to haue deliuered vnto them ſuche as were aboute hym, that were Traytors and ſeducers both of hym, and the Realme, that ſought nothing elſe, but to trouble both poore and riche, and to ſowe diſcorde and variance betwixte the Kyng and his Nobles.

The Lordes ſend meſſengers to the King.

And further, they declared, that theyr comming was, for the honor and wealthe, both of the King and Realme. But the Kyng beeing ruled altogither by the Duke of Irelād, the Erle of Suffolke, and two or three other, was fully perſwaded, that the Lordes intended to bryng him vnder their gouernement, and therefore hee was counſelled, to make the Frenche Kyng hys fast friend, in all vrgent neceſſities, and to be aſſured of him, it was reported, that thoſe Counſellors aduiſed him to render vp into the Frenche Kynges handes, the Towne of Caleis, and all that hee hadde elſe in poſſeſſion, on the further ſide the Sea.

A raſhe anſwer of the Maior of London.

But howſoeuer this matter went, troth it is, that the Kyng ſente for the Maior of London, requiring to know of hym how many able men they thoughte the Citie coulde make, the Maior aunſwered, that hee thought verily the Citizens might make in time of neede, fiftie thouſand men, within an houres reſpit: well ſayd the King, then I beſeech you goe and prowe what will be done: but when the Maior began to attempt the matter, he was anſwered generally, that they would neuer fight agaynſt the Kyngs friendes, and defendours of the Realme, as indeede they tooke the Lordes to be, but againſt the enimies of the king and Realme, they woulde alwayes be ready to fyghte, and ſhewe what reſiſtaunce they were able. This aunſwere the Maior reported to the Kyng.

The Lōdoners refuſe to fight agaynſt the Lordes.

The ſame time, there was about the Kyng the Lorde Raufe Baſſet, who ſayde thus to the King flatly and playnely, Sir, I haue bin, and euer will bee youre true liege man, and my body and goodes ſhall euer be at your graces commaundement, in all iuſtice and trueth. But neuertheleſſe, heereof I aſſure you, that if my happe bee to come into the field, I will without fayle alwayes followe the true parte, and it is not I that will aduenture to haue my head broken, for the Duke of Irelandes pleaſure.

The Earle of Northumberlands and the L. Baſſets wordes to the K. in the behalfe of the lordes.

Likewiſe, the Earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the Court, ſpake theſe wordes to the K. Sir, there is no doubt, but theſe Lordes which nowe be in the field, alwayes haue beene youre true and faithfull ſubiects, and yet are, not intending to attempte anye thing againſt youre ſtate, wealth, and honor. Neuertheleſſe, they feele themſelues ſore moleſted and diſquieted, by the wicked deuiſes of certaine perſons about you, that ſeeke to oppreſſe them: and verily without fayle, all your Realm is ſore greeued therewith, both great and ſmall, as well Lords as cōmons, and I ſee not the contrary, but they mind to aduenture their liues with the Lords that are thus in armes, ſpecially in this caſe, which they recon to be yours and your realmes: and ſir, now ye bee in the chiefe place of your Realme, and in ẏ place of your coronation, order your ſelfe now therfore wiſely, and like a King, ſend to them to come before your preſence in ſome publique place, where they maye declare vnto you the intente and purpoſe of theyr comming, accompanyed with ſo greate a number of people into theſe partes, and I beleeue it verily, they will ſhewe ſuche reaſons, that you will holde them excuſed. The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, and the Lord Chancellor Byſhoppe of Elie, and other of the Biſhoppes alſo there preſente, affirmed the Earles aduice to bee good, and the Kyng conſidering wiſely the caſe as it ſtoode, begunne to bee appeaſed, and accorded to follow theyr aduice, willing the Archebyſhop of Caunterbury, and the Byſhoppe of Elie, to aduertiſe them of his pleaſure, whiche was, that hee willed them to come vnto hym to Weſtminſter, on Sonday then next following, and ſo they repayring to the Lords, made reporte to them of the Kyngs mynde and purpoſe. But the Duke of Glouceſter, and the other Lordes, were ſo fully bente in theyr opinion, that they ſwore all whole togither, that they woulde neuer giue ouer their enterpriſe, ſo long as they hadde a penny to ſpende, in mayntenaunce of theyr cauſe: and if it chanced any of them to departe thys lyfe, the ouerlyuers ſhoulde perſiſt therein, vntill the time that they hadde broughte theyr purpoſe to ſome good effect. And bycauſe they doubted leaſt the Kyng myght ſtirre the Citie of London againſt them, they determined fyrſte to aduertiſe the Maior and the Citie, howe theyr commyng was onely to reforme certayne greate enormities, which they ſet downe in writing, and ſente it to the Maior and Citizens, beſeeching them of their fauour and counſell therein: thys done, they determined yet to keepe their daye on the Sonday following, to appeare before the Kyngs preſence, but this was not got of them, till that the Lorde Chancellor, with dyuers other noble menne of good credite hadde vndertaken vppon theyr othes for the Kings behalfe, that no fraude nor deceipt, no perill nor euill pretence ſhoulde be put in practiſe agaynſte the Lordes, whereby they myghte come to loſſe eyther of lyfe, limme, or goodes, or otherwiſe, through the kings meanes, but that if he ſhould goe about any ſuch things, the ſayd Lorde Chancellor, and other the mediators ſhoulde warne the Lordes aforehande thereof.

An ambuſhe at Mewes.

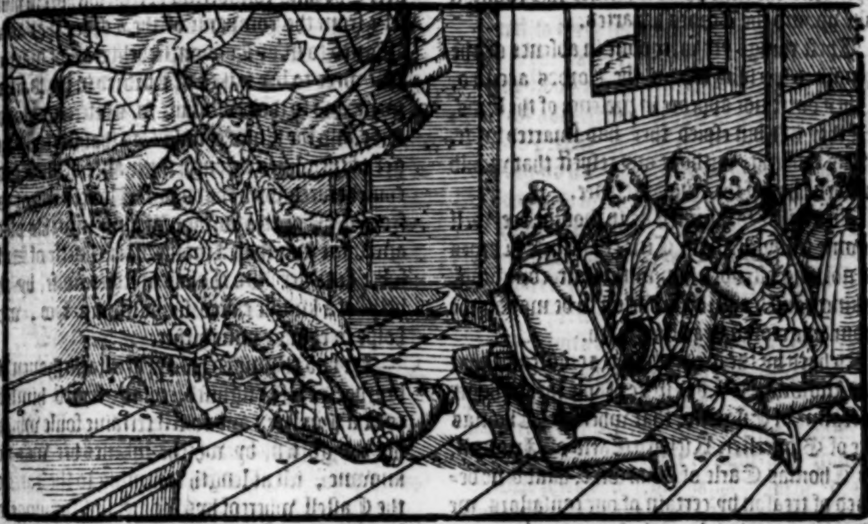
When therefore the Lordes were ready, according to couenaunte, to come vnto Weſtminſter, they were ſecretely aduertiſed, that there was an ambuſh layd in a place called ẏ Mewes, and ſo they ſtayed, and came not at the appointed houre. Whereuppon, when the King demaunded, howe it fortuned that the Lordes kept not promiſe, the Byſhoppe of Ely Lorde Chauncellor made hym this aunſwere, bycauſe ſaith hee, there is an ambuſhe of a thouſande armed men or more layd in ſuch a place, (and namedit) contrarie to couenant, and therefore they neyther conne nor holde you for faythfull of your worde.

The king hearing this, was aſtonied, and affirmed with an othe, that hee knewe of no ſuche thing, and withal he ſent to the Sherifes of London, commaunding them to repaire to the Mewes, and vpon ſearch made, if they founde any force of men there aſſembled, to take and kill all ſuche as they coulde lay handes vppon. But ſir Thomas Triuet, and ſir Nicholas Bramble, knightes, that had in deed aſſembled ſuch a number of men, when they vnderſtoode what order the king had giuen therein, they ſent theyr men backe vnto London.

The Lordes come before the kings preſence in Weſtminſter hal.

The Lords after this, receyuing a ſafe conduct from the king, and perceyuing all to bee ſafe and cleare, came vnto Weſtminſter with a ſtrong power of men about them. The king when hee heard they were come, apparelled himſelfe in his kingly robes, and with his Scepter in hand commeth into the great hall at Weſtminſter.

The Lords as ſoone as they had ſight of him, made vnto him theyr humble obeyſaunce, and ſo went forth vntil they came to the nether ſteps, going vp to the kings ſeate of eſtate, where they made their ſeconde obeyſaunce, and then the king gaue them a countenaunce to come nearer vnto him, & they ſo did, kneeling down before him, and forthwith hee roſe from his place, and louingly welcomming them, tooke eche of thẽ by the hand, and that done ſate him downe againe. Here with the Biſhop of Elie Lord Chauncellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto theſe Lordes in effect as followeth.



e lord Chã- ſpeaketh the king to lordes.

My Lordes (ſayde he) our ſoueraigne Lorde the king, hearing that you were aſſembled in Haringey Parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would not forthwith runne vpon you wyth force to deſtroy you, as he might eaſily haue don, if he had not wiſhed your ſafetie, for no mã doubteth but if his pleaſure had bin to gather an army, he might haue had more people than you coulde haue got to haue taken part with you, agaynſte him, and ſo happily muche bloud myght haue bene ſpylt, which thing certainly our ſoueraigne Lord the king vtterly abhorreth, and therefore vſing pacience and mildeneſſe, he hath rather choſen to talke with you in peaceable wiſe, that hee may vnderſtãd the cauſe why ye haue aſſembled ſo great a number of people togither.

e anſwere the lordes. theire cies.

The Lordes for anſwere herevnto ſayd, that they aſſembled theyr forces togither, for the profit both of the king and realme, and eſpecially to take away from him ſuch traytors as remayned continually about him, to wit, Robert de Vere duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuil Archbiſhop of York, Michaell de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian that falſe Juſtice, and ſir Nicholas Brambre that diſloyall knight of London, for ſo they termed them. And to proue their accuſations true, they threwe downe their gloues, proteſting by their othes to proſecute it by battaile. Nay (ſayth the king) not ſo, but in the next Parliament which we do appoynt before hand to begin the morow after the Purification of our Ladie, both they and you appearing, ſhall receyue according to lawe, all that, whiche reaſon ſhall appoynt.

The k. reproueth the lords doings.

And nowe to you my Lordes I ſpeake, by what meane, or by what reaſon durſt you ſo preſumptuouſly take vpon you within this my land to riſe thus againſt me? Did you thinke to feare me with ſuch your preſumptuous boldneſſe? haue I not armed men ſufficient to haue beaten you downe, compaſſed about like a ſort of Deere in a toyle? if I would: Truly in this behalf I make no more account of you, than of the vyleſt ſkullions in my kitchen.

When he had ſayd theſe wordes, with much more, he lyft vp the Duke of Glouceſter, that all this while kneeled afore him, and commaunded the reſidue to riſe alſo.

The king takes both parties into his protection.

After this, he led them curteouſly to his chamber, where they ſate and dranke togither. And finally it was concluded, that they ſhould al meet togither againe at the next Parliament, and eche one to receyue according to iuſtice; and in the meane time the king toke aſwel the duke of Gloceſter, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, ſo that neither part in the meane time ſhould hurt the other, nor preſume to make any gathering of people vnto the time prefixed: and ſo this counſail brake vp, and the Lordes departed.

Grafton.

Theſe things yet were done in abſence of the fornamed perſons whom the Lordes accuſed, for they durſt not appeare in preſence of the lords, for if they had bin eſpied they had ſmarted for it, as was thought, without any reſpect that would haue bene had of the kings preſence.

And nowe foraſmuch as it ſhoulde bee well knowne through all the Citie, that theſe Lordes had nothing offended him with their comming, the king cauſed a Proclamation to be made, the tenour wherof was as followeth.

A proclamatiō clearing the lordes of any treaſon.

Richard by the grace of God. &c. We wil that it bee knowne to all our liege people throughoute our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Glouceſter, Richard Earle of Arundell, and Thomas Earle of Warwike, haue bene defamed of treaſon by certain of our cōſailors, we as it apperteineth, diligently ſearching ẏ ground & cauſe of this defamation, finde no ſuch thing in them, nor any ſuſpition thereof, wherefore we declare the ſame diffamatiō to be falſe, and vntrue, and do receyue the ſame duke and erles into our ſpeciall protection. And bycauſe theſe accuſers ſhall be notoriouſly knowne, their names are Alexander Archb. of Yorke, ſir Robert Veere duke of Irelande, Michael de la Pole Erle of Suffolk, Robert Triſilian L. chiefe Iuſtice, and ſir Nicholas Brambre of London knight, who in like caſe ſhal remaine till the next Parliament, & there ſhall ſtand to their anſwere: but in the mean time we likewiſe take them into our protection, ſtreytly charging and cōmaunding that no maner of perſon, charge any of the forenamed, either priuily or apertly in word or deed to hurt thē, or cauſe any hurt to be done to them, but all quarels and demaundes agaynſt them to be remitted, vnto the next Parliament prefixed.

And to haue all things in more perfect readineſſe and remembrance, when the eſtates ſhoulde be aſſembled, certain of the Lords were appointed to ſit in the meane time to deuiſe how they might proceed orderly in redreſſe of ſuch matters, as ſeemed to require ſome ſpeedie reformation, neither did they think it good to depart in ſunder, for feare to be entrapped through the malicious practiſe of their aduerſaries: which their doubt ſeemed afterward to ſtand them in ſteed of great wiſedom: for immediately after, their ſayd aduerſaries came to the king, and declared howe they were dayly in dāger of their liues, by reaſon of ẏ malice which the Lords had conceyued againſt them onely for the kings ſake, & not for any matter of their own. And where the king had promiſed that they ſhould appeare at the next Parliament, which was at hād, they told him plainly that they neither durſt nor would put their bodies in ſuch maniſeſt danger. The king conſidering hereof, withdrew himſelfe from the companie of the Lordes that were aſſigned to ſit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to bee talked of & ordred in the Parliament: and ſo that counſaile was deferred, & layde aſide, and the kings counſailors that ſtood in danger of their liues through the malice of the Lords confederated with the duke of Glouceſter, got thē from the Court, & withdrew ſome into this place and ſome into that. Among other the erle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto Calais in ſecrete wiſe, by the helpe of a knight called ſir William Hoo, who holpe to conuey him thither.

The erle of Suf- folk fled o- uer to Calais

He had chaunged his apparell, and ſhauen his bearde, and ſo diſguiſed, counterfeyted himſelfe to be a Poulter, and to ſell certaine foule whiche hee had gotten, by whiche meanes hee was not knowne, till at length comming to the gates of the Caſtell wherof hys brother ſir Edmonde de la Poole was Captaine, hee diſcouered to hym (ſcarcely knowing who he was, by reaſō he was ſo diſguiſed) the whole occaſion of his repayring thyther, requyring him to keepe his counſayle, and that hee mighte remayne with him in priuie maner for a tyme, tyll hee myght heare more howe things wente in Englande, from whence hee was thus fled to auoyde the bloudie handes of his enimies, that ſought his life.

Grafton.

His brother doubting what might be layde to his charge if he ſhoulde conceale this matter from the Lorde William Beauchampe Lord Deputie of the towne, ſtreyghtwayes aduertiſed hym thereof, who tooke order that the Earle ſhoulde forthwith bee ſent backe agayne into Englande to the King, who receyued hym wyth ſmall thanks to them that brought him ouer, inſomuch (as ſome write) his brother being one, was committed to Pryſon for diſcloſing him. But yet bycauſe it ſhoulde not ſeeme that hee impriſoned hym for that cauſe, hee was ſhortlye after ſet at libertie, and returned agayne to his charge at Calais.

The Erle was alſo permytted to go whither he woulde, although the king had vndertaken to preſent him and others at the next Parliament, to anſwere theyr offences, as the ſame might bee layde to theyr charge.

But here it may be doubted by the vncertentie of writers, whether the Erle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calais, before the iourney at Ratcote bridge, or after: but whether it chaunced eyther after or before, it is certain that ſith the time that the Lordes had enforced the King to promiſe to exhibite him and others at the next Parliament to abide their trials, he durſt not openly remaine in the Court, but taking leaue of the king, departed from him. Whereupon the King being oute of quiet for the abſence of him and other his beſt beloued counſaylers, whome hee ſo much eſteemed, and namely of the Duke of Irelande, and the ſayd Erle of Suffolke, he appoynted one Thomas Molineux Coneſtable of the Caſtell of Cheſter, a man of high valiauntie, and great power in the parties of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, to rayſe an armie of men, with the aſſiſtance of the Sherife of Cheſhire, to whome his commiſsion of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great ſeale was directed, to the ende that they might conuey the duke of Irelande in all ſafetie vnto the kings preſence.

A commiſsion to the Sherif of Cheſhire to ſafe conduct the Duke of Ireland to the kings preſẽce.

The Sherife hauing receyued this commiſsion, togither with the ſayd Thomas Molineux, rayſed a power, and ſuch as refuſed to ſerue, in reſpect of ſuch good will as they bare to the Lordes, he committed to priſon, commaunding the Jaylers to keepe them ſtreyte in Irons with bread and water, till his returne.

Moreouer, the king ſent to ſir Raufe Vernon, and ſir Richarde Ratcliffe, willing them to aſſiſt the other. And ſo thus they ſet forwarde with the number of fiue thouſande men.

The lordes ſeeke to ſtop the paſſage of the Duke of Irelande.

When the Lordes vnderſtoode that the duke of Irelande was marching towardes London with ſuch a power of menne, meaning to ioyne with the Londoners, and ſo to make as it had bin an inuincible armie, they beſturred themſelues, and fell in hand to arme theyr men, and to exhort one another, that nowe they ſhoulde not bee negligent in their owne defence, but to make haſt for the diſpatching of thoſe that craftily had gone about to conſpire their deathes. And ſo theſe lordes, to wit, the duke of Glouceſter, the Erles of Darbie, Arundell, Warwike, and Notingham, aſſembled their powers oute of all quarters, to encounter with the Duke of Irelande, and when they had got their companies togither, they forlayde al the wayes by which hee was thought to come.

But the Duke of Irelande hauing wyth him Molineux, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, roade forwarde in ſtately and glorious arraye, with an armie (as yee haue hearde) of fiue thouſande men, ſuppoſing that none durſt come forth to wythſtande him. Neuertheleſſe when he came to Ratcote bridge, not paſt foure miles from Cheping Norton (which bridge if he coulde haue paſſed, he had bene out of the daunger of all enimies) hee ſodainely eſpied where the armie of the Lordes lay, not farre diſtant from him, readie in the midſt of a valley to abide his comming. Some of the Erle of Darbies company had broken the bridge, and ſo ſtopped his paſſage. He therefore perceyuing his enimies intention, ſtayed, and cauſed the kings banner to be ſpred, and began to ſette a good countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, and therewith cauſed the trumpets to ſounde. But when it appeared that as ſome were readie to fight in his quarell, ſo there were other that quite forſooke him, and ſayde flatly they woulde not fight agaynſt ſo many noble men, in ſo vniuſt a cauſe, hee being thereof aduertiſed, began to waxe faint hearted, and to prepare himſelfe to eſcape by flight: and declaring no leſſe openly vnto them, ſayde: before we come to ioyne, I will ſeeke to withdrawe my ſelfe out of the way, and ſaue my ſelfe if I can, for me they onely ſeeke, agaynſte you they haue no quarell, ſo that I being ſhifted away, ye ſhall eaſily be preſerued.

The Duke of Ireland his ſoldiers reuolt from him.

Herewith one of the knightes ſayde to him, you haue brought vs forth of our Countrey, you haue procured vs to giue you our promiſe, you haue cauſed vs to take this iourney in hand: here therefore are wee readie to fight and winne the victorie with you, if our happe be ſuche, or if fortune will not ſo fauour vs, we are readie to ſpend our liues with you. No ſayd he, ye ſhall not ſo doe, and forthwith ſtriking his horſe with the ſpurres, he fled from them. Whereupon many that were with him, curſing thys his demeanour, prepared to yeeld themſelues to the Lordes. But Thomas Molineux determined to fight it out, ſithe the Lordes were not yet all come togyther to that place, but onely the Earle of Darbie and certaine other. Neuertheleſſe, after hee had fought a while, and perceyued it would not auaile him to tarie lõger, as one diſpairing of the victorie, tooke him likewiſe to flight, as the Duke of Irelande had led him the way, and plunging into the riuer which was at hande, it chaunced that ſir Thomas Mortimer being preſent amongeſt other at the ſame place, willed him to come forth of the water vnto him, for if he woulde not, hee threatned to ſhoote him through with arrowes in the riuer where he ſtode. If I come (ſayd Molineux) will yee ſaue my life? I will make you no ſuche promiſe (ſayde ſir Thomas Mortimer) but notwithſtanding, eyther come vp, or thou ſhalt preſently die for it: well then (ſayde Molineux) if there be no other remedie, ſuffer me to come vp,

The Duke of Ireland fleeth from his army and let me trie with hande blowes, eyther wyth you or ſome other, and ſo die like a man: but as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his heade, and ſtreightwayes drawing forth his dagger, ſtroke him into the braynes, and ſo diſpatched him.

Thomas Molyneux ſlayne.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) ſeeking to eſcape by flight, came to the riuers ſide, but finding the bridge broken, he galloped till he found an other bridge, where he found a number of archers readie to ſtoppe his paſſage. When he ſaw that he was thus encloſed with his enimies on the one ſide, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture, and caſting away his gantlets, and ſworde, to be the more nymble, gaue his horſe the ſpurres, & lept into the riuer, but miſſing the fourd, and not able to lande with his horſe on the further ſide, he forſooke him, and ſwimming ouer ſo well as hee might, got to the banke, and ſo eſcaped. It was now night, and therfore his enimies hauing no knowledge of the countrey, folowed him not, but his horſe, helmet, cuiraſſes, gantlet, & ſword being founde, it was thought verily that hee had beene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was ẏ he had paſſed the ſeas, and was got into Hollãd, where he had no great friendly welcome, by reaſon that Albert duke of Bauiere, that was Lorde of that countrey, bare ſuch good will to his coſins of England, the Dukes of Lancaſter, Yorke, and Glouceſter, that hee commaunded this Duke of Ireland to depart forth of his country, as immediately thereupon he did, from thence reſorting to the Biſhoprike of Utreich, & after into other countreys, till finally he ended the courſe of his life, as after in place conuenient it ſhall appeare.

The Duke of Ireland flyeth into Holland.

But now to returne to the armies where wee left them. After the Duke was fledde, and Thomas Molineux ſlaine (as before yee haue hearde) the armie of the Lordes ſet vpon the people that were come with the Duke of Irelande (as hathe beene ſayde) forth of Cheſhyre, Lancaſhire, and Wales, and taking them as enimyes, ſpoyled them of their horſe, armour, bowes and arrowes. The knights and eſquiers had their armour and horſes againe to them reſtored, and were reteined with the Lordes to ſerue them: but the commons without either armor or weapon, were ſent home and had no other harme done vnto them. The Duke of Irelandes cariage being taken, letters were founde in his trunkes or males, whiche the king had written to him, exhorting him with all ſpeede to repayre vnto London, with what power he might make, and there he ſhould find him readie to liue and die with him. Such was the concluſion of this battaile, which happened neare vnto Burfourd, faſt by Bablake, to the great reioyſing of many through the realm, for that the enimies thereof (as they tooke the matter) were thus ouerthrowne. But yet the eſcaping away of the duke of Ireland did ſomwhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncertaine. After this the duke of Glouceſter, and the other Lordes went to Oxforde, being ſory that their fortune was not to haue takẽ the duke of Irelãd.

Letters found in the Duke of Irelands trunkes.

Burforde.

The ſame time, or rather before, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, ſir Robert Triſilian, fearing the indignation of the lordes, withdrew out of the way, and durſt not be ſeene. But now the Lordes who after the iourney at Radcote bridge, were come (as yee haue heard) to Oxford. We find that the ſame tyme a bruyte was rayſed, whether of truth or not, we haue neither to affirme nor denie, how there was a meſſenger taken being ſent from the French K. with letters, in which was conteyned a licence or ſafeconduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland and others, to come vnto Bollongne with a certaine nũber limitted, where they ſhould find the French K. come down thither redie to receiue them, to ẏ end that for a certaine ſumme of money, which the Frenche king ſhould giue to the king of Englande, the Towne of Caleys, and all the other fortreſſes in thoſe parts, which were in the Engliſh mens handes, ſhould be deliuered to the Frenchmen, & further ẏ the K. of England ſhould do his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gaſcoigne, and ſo to haue acknowledged himſelfe his liegeman. The Lords as it was reported, hauing got theſe letters, and taken counſaile togythers, howe to proceede in their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good end, remoue frõ Oxford, & on Chriſtmas eue they come to S. Albons, & there ſtayed that day & the next.

Tho. Wal.

A bruie ſpred that king Richard was to yelde vp Caleys into the French kings hands.

On Saint Stephens day they toke their way to London with an army of .xl. thouſande men as ſome write, and comming into the fieldes, beſide Clerkenwell, muſtred their men, being deuided into three ſeueral battails very wel appointed with Armour and weapon, that it was a beautifull ſight to behold them.

The lords come to London with a great army.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe, not at Weſtmynſter, but in the tower, not doubting but there to be defended what chaunce ſoeuer ſhoulde happen. The Lordes miſtruſting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the Suburbes. They ſent yet two knightes, and two eſquiers, vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie, to vnderſtande whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Irelande, and hys adherents, traytors as they termed them, both to the king and realme.

King Richard kepeth Chriſtmaſſe in the towre of London.

The lords ſend the Maior and citizens of London to vnderſtand their meaning.

The Londoners were now in no ſmall feare and perplexitie, not knowing wel what way was beſt for them to take, weying diuers perils, as firſt the Kinges diſpleaſure, if they opened their gates vnto the Lordes; and if they ſhutte them forth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the Commons that were come thither with the Lordes, and were readie to breake downe theyr walles and gates, if they were neuer ſo lyttle prouoked.

e Lōdoners gaue per- ...ne which ...o paſſe.

Beſides this, they ſtoode moſte in doubt, leaſt if the wealthieſt Citizens ſhoulde not giue theyr conſent to receyue the Lordes into the Citie, the meaner ſort, and ſuch as wiſhed rather to ſee ſome hurle than to continue in peace, woulde ſeeke by force to ſet vpon the gates, and make way for the Lordes and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and ſpoyle whatſoeuer might bee founde of value in the rich mens houſes.

These doubtes with all the circumſtaunces being well weyed and conſidered, the Maior Nicholas Exton and certain of the chiefe men in the Citie, went forth to the Lordes, and offred them to lodge in the Citie at their pleaſure, wyth all things neceſſarie as they ſhould deuiſe.

he Lōdoners ...e to the ...

The Maior cauſed alſo wine, ale, breade, and cheeſe, to be diſtributed amongſt the armie, ſo as eche one had parte, which courteſie turned greatlye afterwardes to the commoditie of the Citie.

The Lordes vpon ſearche made, perceyuing that there was no guile ment by laying of men in ambuſhes within the Citie to entrappe them, or otherwiſe, but that all was ſure ynough & cleare without any ſuch euill meaning, they entred the Citie and there abode quietly.

he lordes en- ...ter Londō

Then went the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other, betwixt the King and the Lordes to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the firſt ſeemed little to eſteeme the matter, ſaying to the Archbiſhop, well let them lie here with their great multitude of people hardely, till they haue ſpent all they haue, and then I truſt they will returne poore ynough and needie, and then I doubt not but I ſhall talke with them, and vſe the matter ſo as iuſtice may require.

he king ...is touch- ...g the lords ...ealings.

The Lordes beeing enformed hereof, were marueilouſly moued, and ſware that they would not depart till they had ſpoke with him face to face, and forthwith they ſent parte of their companies to watche the Thames, for feare the king ſhoulde eſcape theyr handes, and then laugh them to ſcorne.

When the king then perceyued himſelfe to be encloſed on eche ſide, he talked eftſoones with the Archbiſhop and his aſſociates that were Meſſengers betwixt him and the Lordes, willing them to declare to the Lordes that he would be contented to treate with them in reaſonable order, whervpon they required that he ſhould on the morowe next enſuing come vnto Weſtminſter, where he ſhould vnderſtand their demaundes.

When the king heard that, he refuſed to come vnto Weſtminſter, but willed that they ſhoulde come to him there in the Tower. The Lordes ſent him worde againe, that the Tower was a place to be ſuſpected, for that they might there be ſurpriſed by ſome guilefull practiſe deuiſed to intrappe them. The king hereunto made anſwere, that they might ſend ſome two hundred men, or ſo many as they ſhoulde thinke good, to make a through ſearch, whether they needed to feare any ſuch thing, and this accordingly was done, they hauing the keyes of the gates and of al the ſtrong chambers, turrets, and places within the tower, ſent vnto them, and ſo on the Fryday, the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Darbie, and Notingham, came to the king, where he was ſet in a pauilion richely arrayed, and after theyr humble ſalutations done, and ſome talke had betwixte them, they wente at the kings requeſt with him, into his chāber, where they recited vnto him the conſpiracie of their aduerſaries through whiche they had bene indited.

The lords refuſe to come into the tower but after ſearch made they com thither to the kings preſence

Grafton.

Tho. VValſ.

The lords opē their greefes to the king.

They alſo ſhewed forth the letters which hee had ſent to the Duke of Irelande, to leuie an armie vnto theyr deſtruction. Likewiſe the letters which the Frenche king had written to him conteyning a ſafeconducte for him to come into Fraunce, there to confyrme things to the diminiſhment of his honor, to the decay of his power, and loſſe of his fame.

During the time of this communication alſo, the Earle of Darbie deſired the king to beholde the people that were aſſembled in ſight before the Tower, for the preſeruation of him & his realme: which he did, and marueyling to ſee ſuch a goodly armie and ſtrength, as he declared to them no leſſe, the Duke of Glouceſter ſayde vnto him, ſir this is not the tenth part of your willing ſubiectes that haue ryſen to deſtroy thoſe falſe traytours, that haue miſled you with their wicked & naughtie counſaile.

The king being brought to his wittes ende, aſwell with thoſe things whiche the Lordes had charged him with, as otherwiſe with the ſight of that great multitude of people, ſeemed greatly amazed. Wherevpon the Lordes, vnder condition that the next day hee ſhoulde come to Weſtminſter to heare more of theyr myndes, and to conclude further for the behooſe of the common wealth of the Realme, beganne to take leaue of him, meaning ſo to depart; but the King deſired them to tarie all nyght with him & the Queene. The Duke thinking to make all ſure, made excuſe that he durſt not be abſent frō al thoſe folks, which they had brought with them, for feare that ſome diſorder might ariſe, eyther in the armie, or in the Citie: yet at the kings inſtance, the Earles of Notingham and Darbie taried there all night.

Grafton.

Tho. VValſ.

The inconſtancie of the king

The king before his going to bed, was quite turned cõcerning his determination and promiſe made to go the next day vnto Weſtmin. through ſuch whiſpering tales as was put into his eares, by ſome that were about him, telling him that it ſtood neither with his ſafetie, nor honor, ſo lightly to agree to depart frõ the tower, vnto ſuch place as the Lordes had thus appoynted him, to ſerue more for their purpoſe thã for ſuretie of his perſon.

When the Lords therefore vnderſtood that he would not keepe promiſe with them, they were greatly offended, inſomuch as they ſent him flat word, that if he woulde not come (according to promiſe) they would ſurely chooſe an other king, that would and ought to obey the faythful counſaile of his Lordes.

The K. is compelled to condiſcend to the lords requeſts.

The king with this meſſage being touched to the quicke, to ſatiſfie their mindes, and to auoyde further perill, remoued the nexte morning vnto Weſtminſter, where the Lords comming before his preſence, after a little other talke, they declared vnto him, that aſwel in reſpect of his own honour, as the commoditie and wealth of his kingdome, it was behouefull that ſuch traytors, moſt wicked and ſlanderous perſons, as were nothing profitable, but hurtful to him, and his louing ſubiects, ſhould be remoued out of his court, and that other that both could, and would ſerue him more honorably and faythfully were placed in theyr roomthes. The king although ſore agaynſt his minde, when he ſawe how the Lordes were bent, and that he wanted power to withſtande theyr pleaſures, condiſcended to doe what they woulde haue him. And ſo when he had graunted thereto, they iudged that Alexander Neuill Archbiſhop of Yorke, John Fourdham Biſhop of Durham, Lord Treaſorer, Thomas Ruſhoke a Frier of the order of the Preachers, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and confeſſor to the king, were worthie to bee auoyded the Court. But the Archbiſhop of Yorke and the Bi. of Chicheſter would not abide the warnings, but got them out of the way, and [illegible], it was not knowne whither.

Certaine pe ſons expulſ the Court,

The Lordes expulſed alſo out of the Court Lord Zouche of Haringworth, the L. Burnell, the Lord Beaumont, Albrey de Veer, Baldwin de Berefort, Richard Adderburie, John Worth, Thomas Clyfford, and John Louell knights. Theſe were diſmiſſed out of the Court, and remoued from the king, but not diſcharged, for they were conſtreyned to put in ſureties to appeare at the next Parliament.

Certain La expulſed the Court.

There were alſo certaine Ladies expulſed the Court, as thoſe that were thought to doe much harme about the K. to wit the Ladie Poynings, wife to John Worth of Mowen, and the Ladie Moulinge, with others, which alſo found ſureties to anſwere at the next Parliament, to all ſuch things as might be obiected agaynſt them.

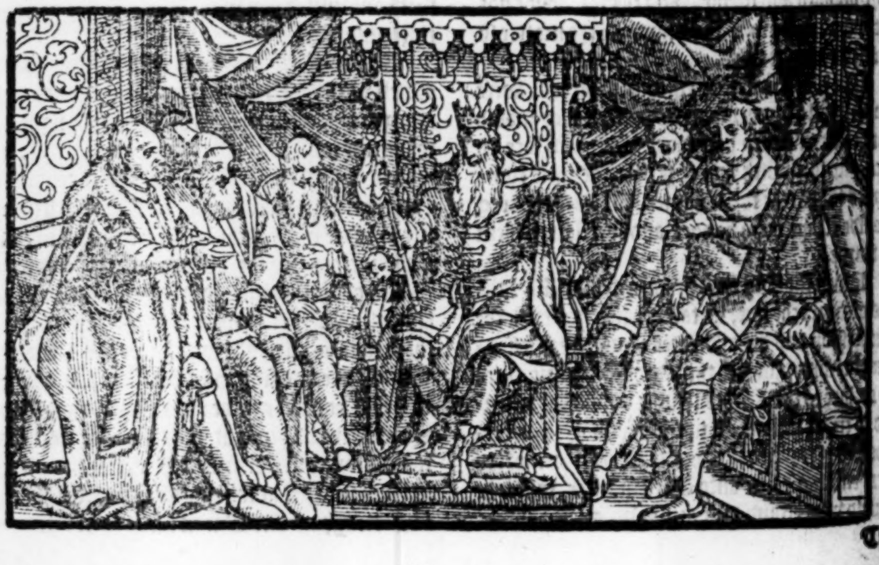
The names o thoſe that we committed t priſon by the Lords.

Moreouer there were arreſted & committed to ſeuerall priſons, ſir Simon Burley, Wil. Elmham, John Beauchampe of Holt ſteward of the kings houſe, ſir John Saliſburie, ſir Thom. Triuet, ſir James Barneis, ſir Nichol. Dagworth, & ſir Nicolas Brambre knights. Alſo Richarde Clifford, John Lincolne, Ric. Mitford the kings chaplains, & Nic. Sclake deane of the kings chapel, whoſe worde might doe much in the Court. There was alſo apprehẽded John Blake an apprentice of the law: al which perſons were kept in ſtrait ward till the next Parliamẽt, in which they were appointed to ſtãd vnto their trial & anſwers.

The parliam that wrought wonders.

Shortly after, to witte, the morrow after the Purification of our lady, the Parliament began, the which was named the Parliamẽt ŷ wrought wonders. The king would gladly haue prorogged the time of this Parliamẽt if by any meanes he might.

Grafton.



The

Grafton. Thorrel.

The Lordes came to the ſame Parliament, with a ſufficiēt armie for their owne ſafeties.

Grafton.

The Iuſtices areſted and ſent to the tower.

The firſt day of this Parliament, were areſted as they ſate in their places, all the Iuſtices (except ſir William Skipworth) as ſir Roger Fulthrop, ſir Robert Belknap, ſir Iohn Carey, ſir Iohn Holt, ſir William Brooke, & Iohn Lockton the kings Sergeant at law, all the whiche were ſent to the Tower, and there kept in ſeuerall places: The cauſe why they were thus apprehēded, was for that where in the laſt Parliament, diuerſe Lordes were made gouerners of the realme, both by the aſſent of the ſame Parliament, and alſo by the aduiſe & coūſail of all the Iuſtices then being, and Indentures tripertite thereof made, of the which one part remayned with the king, an other with the Lordes ſo choſen to gouerne the realme, and the thirde part with the Iuſtices: and yet notwithſtanding, the ſayde Iuſtices at a Councell holden at Notingham (as ye haue heard before) didde goe contrarie to that agreement. Whereupon it was nowe determyned, that they ſhoulde make anſwere to theyr doings.

Why the Iuſtices were, apprehended.

The Duke of Ireland and his adherentes attaynted of treaſon by this parliament.

Moreouer in the beginning of this Parliament, were openly called Robert Veer Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill Archbiſhop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, ſir Robert Triſilian Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, to anſwere Thomas of Woodſtocke Duke of Glouceſter, Rycharde Earle of Arundell, Henrie Earle of Darbie, and Thomas Earle of Notingham vpon certaine articles of high treaſon, which theſe Lordes did charge them with, and foraſmuche as none of theſe appeared, it was ordeyned by the whole aſſent of the Parliament, that they ſhoulde be baniſhed for euer, and theyr landes and goodes moueable and vnmoueable to be forfeyt and ſeyſed into the kings handes, theyr landes entayled onely excepted.

Treſilian chief Iuſtice diſcried by his own mā is executed at Tiburn.

Shortly after was the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, Robert Treſilian founde founde in a Pothecaries houſe at Weſtminſter, lurking there, to vnderſtande by ſpyes dayly what was done in the Parliament: he was diſcried by one of his owne men, and ſo taken and brought to the Duke of Glouceſter, who cauſed him forthwith the ſame day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawne to Tyburne and there hanged.

The morrow after, ſir Nicholas Brambre that ſometime had beene Maior of London, was brought forth to iudgement and condemned, although he had many friendes that made ſuyte to ſaue his life.

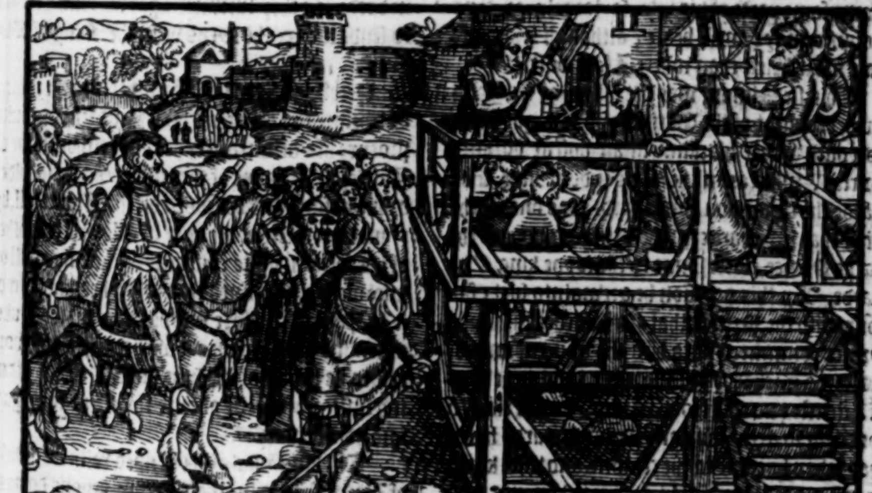
This man had done many oppreſſions within the Citie of London (as was reported.)

In his Mayraltie, he cauſed great and monſtruous Stoks to be made to impriſon men therin, and alſo a common Axe, to ſtrike off the heades of them whiche ſhoulde reſiſt hys wyll and pleaſure, for hee was ſo highly in the kings fauour, that he might doe what he woulde. And the report went, that hee had cauſed eight thouſande or more to be indited, which before had taken part with the Lordes, intending to haue put thē all to death, if God had not ſhortned his days.

Many other euill fauoured reportes went abrode of him, as that hee ment to haue chaunged the name of London, and to haue named it little Troy, of which citie baptiſed with yͤ new name, he purpoſed to bee intituled Duke. But theſe were forged rumors deuiſed and ſpred abrode in thoſe dayes, as many other were, partly by the vaine imagination of the people, and partly of purpoſe, to bring thoſe whome the king fauoured further out of the peoples lyking.

Sir Nicholas Brambre executed with an Axe of his owne deuiſe.

But now touching ſir Nicholas Brambre, In the ende beeing thus called to aunſwere hys tranſgreſſions, hee was founde guiltie, and had



iudgement, neither to bee hanged, nor drawne, but to bee beheaded with his owne axe which before he had deuiſed.

Diuers that ſtode agenſt the lords executed

After this ſir John Saliſburie, and ſir James Berneis, both knights and luſtie yong men, were by iudgement of Parliament drawne & hanged. Thẽ followed John Beauchampe of yͤ Holt, L. Steward of the kings houſe, that had ſerued king Edward the third, and his ſonne Lionel Duke of Clarence: who likewiſe by decree of this Parliament was drawne and hanged.

Alſo John Blake Eſquier, that in an vnfortunate houre ſtood againſt the Lords in the Councell at Notingham, was now drawne and hanged, and ſo was one Thomas Vſke.

Laſt of all (or as ſome holde, firſt of all) was ſir Simon Burley beheaded, although the Earle of Darbie did what he coulde to ſaue his life, by reaſon whereof, great diſſention roſe betwixt the ſayde Earle, and the Duke of Glouceſter: for the Duke beeing a ſore, and a right ſeuere manne, myght not by any meanes be remoued from hys opinion and purpoſe, if he once reſolued vpon any matter.

The Duke of Glouceſter a ſeuere man.

Sir Simon Burley.

Some ſpite he bare (as was thought) towards the ſayde ſir Simon Burley, both as well for the faythfull friēdſhip, whic he was growne betwixte the Duke of Irelande, and the ſayde ſir Simon, as alſo for that he looked to haue had ſuch offices and rowmeths which ſir Sir Simon enioyed, by the kings gracious fauour and grauntes thereof to him made, as the Wardenſhippe of the cinque portes, and Coneſtableſhip of the Caſtel of Douer, and the office of high Chāberlain. But now bycauſe of all theſe which were condemned and executed at this Parliamēt, in our cōmon Chronicles there is leaſt written, and in Froiſſart, and diuerſe priuate Phamphlets I haue read moſt of this Sir Simon, I haue thought good to ſette downe ſome parte of his lyfe, ſo largely as thys Volume maye well beare, although a greate deale more briefe than where I founde it.

This ſir Simon, was the ſonne of ſir John Burley, knight of the Garter, and brought vp in his youth vnder his kinneſman doctor Walter Burley, who (as in the latter ende of king Edwarde the thirde you haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in the bringing vppe of the blacke Prince, eldeſt ſonne to the ſayde king Edwarde. By this occaſion he grewe into ſuche fauour with the Prince, that afterwardes the ſayde Prince committed vnto him the gouernaunce of his ſonne Richarde of Burdeaux, who as he was of a gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceyue ſo great loue and liking towards hym, that when he came to the crowne, and was king, he aduaunced him highly to great honours and promotions, inſomuch that at one time hee was made knight of the Garter, Coneſtable of the caſtell of Douer, Lord warden of the cinque ports, Lorde Chamberlaine, and alſo one of the priuye counſaile to the king. Neyther was there anye thing done concerning the affayres apperteyning to the ſtate, without his counſaile, appoyntment, and direction, wherein he ſo much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the Duke of Irelande, that he was ſore enuied, and greatly hated of dyuerſe of the reſt of the nobilitie, eſpecially of the kings vncle the Duke of Glouceſter, who vpon malice that he bare to the man, not ſomuch for his owne demeanour, as for his allies, and peraduenture for deſire of his rowmeths, more than of his life, cauſed him to bee accuſed of diuerſe offences againſt the Crowne, Realme, and church, namely for that he had (as they ſurmiſed agaynſte hym) ſpoyled and waſted the Kings treaſure, & withholden the pay of the ſouldiers and men of warre. Whereupon he was arreſted, called to account, and hauing no clearke allowed him to make vppe the ſame, was founde in arrerages. 250000. frankes. And although for one part therof he demaunded allowance of money, whiche he had defreyd and and layde out in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings mariage, and for the reſidue deſired dais of payment, yet he could obteyne neyther.

Further, he was accuſed that the duke of Irelande, and he, had gathered great ſummes of money, conueyed the ſame to Douer, and frō thence ſent it in the night by ſea into Germanie.

Laſtly, the Archbiſhop forſooth, & the Monkes of Canterburie, charged him that hee ſought the meanes to remoue the Shrine of the Archb. Thomas, otherwiſe called Thomas Becket, from Canterburie vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, leaſt the Frenchmen being aſſembled in Flaunders to inuade Englande, ſhould lande in Kent, and take Canterburie, and ſpoyle it, where in deede (as they ſurmiſed agaynſt him) he ment to ſende it ouer the Seas vnto the King of Boheme.

Froiſſ.

Herevpon he was firſt cōmitted to the tower, and before the King or his other friendes coulde procure his deliuerance, he was without lawe or Juſtice before anye of the reſidue (as ſome holde) brought forth and beheaded on the Tower hill, by cōmaundement of the duke of Glouceſter, & other of his faction, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge, inſomuch that when hee vnderſtoode it, he ſpake many ſore wordes agaynſt the Duke, affirming that hee was a wicked man, and worthie to be kept ſhorter, ſithe vnder a colour of doing iuſtice, hee went aboute to deſtroy euery good and honeſt man.

The king was alſo offended with the Duke of Yorke, for his brothers preſumptuous doings, though the ſayde Duke of Yorke being verily a man of a gentle nature, wiſhed that the ſtate of the common wealth might haue beene returned without loſſe of any mans lyfe, or other cruell dealing: but the Duke of Glouceſter, and diuerſe other of the nobilitie, the leſſe that they paſſed for the Kings threatning ſpeache, ſo muche more were they readie to puniſh all thoſe whome they tooke to bee theyr enimies. In deede the ſayde Sir Symon Burley, was thought to beare himſelfe more loftie, by reaſon of the Kings fauour, than was requiſite, whiche procured hym enuye of them, that coulde not abyde others to bee in anye condition theyr equalles in authoritie.

Th. Walſ.

It ſhoulde appeare by Froiſſart, that hee was firſte of all in the beginning of theſe ſturres betwixt the king and the Lords, committed to the Tower, and notwithſtanding all the ſhift that eyther the King or the Duke of Irelande, or any other of his friendes coulde make for him, by the duke of Glouceſters commaundement hee was cruelly beheaded, ſo greatly to the offence of the king, and thoſe that were his truſtie counſailers, that thereupon the king cauſed the Duke of Irelande the ſooner to aſſemble an armie againſt the ſaid duke and his complices, thereby to reſtraine their preſumptuous proceedings, but whether he was thus at the firſt or laſt executed, to pleaſe the king the better, now at this Parliament amongſt others that were cōdemned in the ſame: his lands were giuen to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards diſpoſed to diuers men as he thought expedient: but yet in the Parliament holde in the xxj. yere of this kings raigne, the act of atteynder of the ſayd ſir Simon was repealed, and at an other Parliament holden in the ſeconde yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his landes which then remayned vngraunted and vnſold, were reſtored to ſir John Burley knight, ſon & heyre of ſir Roger Burley, brother to the ſayd Simon, of whom lineally is diſcended Thomas Eyns Eſquier, now Secretarie to the Queenes Maj. counſaile in the north parts. And thus far touching ſir Simon Burley, of whom many reports went of his diſloyall dealings towardes the ſtate, as partly ye haue heard, but how truely the Lorde knoweth.

iſet.

Among other ſlaunderous tales that were ſpredde abrode of him, one was that he conſented to the deliuering of Douer Caſtell by the kings appoyntment vnto the Frenchmen for money. But as this was a thing not like to be true, ſo no doubt, many things that the perſons aforeſayde which were executed had bin charged with, at the leaſt by common report among the people, were nothing true at al, although happely the ſubſtāce of thoſe things for which they died, might be true in ſome reſpect. Sir William Elmham that was charged alſo for the withdrawing the ſouldiers wages, diſcharged himſelfe thereof, and of all other thinges that mighte bee layde to hys charge.

Grafton.

The iuſtices condemned to perpetuall exile

As touching the Iuſtices, they were all condemned to death by the Parliament, but ſuche meanes was made for them vnto the Queene, that ſhe obteined pardon for their liues. But they forfeyted theyr landes and goodes, and were appoynted to remayne in perpetuall exile, with a certaine portion of Money to them aſſigned for theyr dayly ſuſtentation: the names of whiche Iuſtices ſo condemned to exile were theſe, Robert Belknap, John Holt, John Cray, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and John Lokton.

The K. taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

Finally, in this Parliament was an othe required and obteyned of the king, that hee ſhoulde ſtand vnto and abide ſuch rule and order as the Lordes ſhoulde take: and this othe was not requyred onely of the king, but alſo of all the Inhabitantes of the realme.

In theſe troubles was the realme of England in theſe dayes, and the king brought into that caſe, that hee ruled not, but was ruled by hys vncles, and other, to them aſſociate.

The erle of Arundel ſent to the ſea with a great Nauie in ayde of the Duke of Britaine.

In the latter ende of this eleuenth yeare was the Erle of Arundell ſent to the ſea with a greate nauie of ſhips and men of war. There went with him in this iorney, of noble men, the Erle of Notingham, and Deuonſhire, ſir Thomas Percy, the Lorde Clifford, the L. Camois, ſir William Elmhā, ſir Thomas Morieur, ſir John Dabreticourt, ſir William Shelley, ſir John Warwike, or Barwike, ſir Stephen de Libery, ſir Robert Sere, ſir Peter Montbrie, ſir Lewes Clanbow, ſir Thomas Coq or Cooke, ſir William Pauley or Paulet, and diuerſe others. They were a thouſande men of armes, and three thouſande archers.

Peraduenter Maluere it may be Mongomery.

The purpoſe for which they were ſent, was to haue ayded the duke of Brytaine (if he woulde haue receyued them) being then eftſoones run into the French kings diſpleaſure, for the impriſoning of the Lord Cliſſon Conneſtable of Fraunce.

An. reg. 12.

But after that (contrary to expectation,) the duke of Brytain was come to an agreemēt with the French king, the Erle of Arundell drew with his nauie alongſt the coaſtes of Poictou, & Xaintonge, till at length hee arriued in the hauen that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Marraunt foure leagues from Rochelle, and beganne to pilfre, ſpoyle, and fetche booties abrode in the Countrey.

The French menne within Rochelle, iſſued forth to ſkirmiſh with the Engliſh men, but they were eaſily put to flight, and followed euen to the barriers of the gates of Rochel. Perot le Bernois a captaine of Gaſcoine, that made warre for the king of England in Lymoſin, and lay in the fortreſſe of Galuſet, came forth the ſame time, and made a road into Berry with foure. C. ſpeares.

The Earle of Arundell after hee had layne at Marrant. xv. dayes, returned to his ſhippes, and finally came backe into Englande, and Perot le Bernois likewiſe returned to his fortreſſe.

The Erle of Arundel returneth out of Fraunce.

About the ſame time was a truce taken betwixte the parties Engliſhe and Frenche on the marches, of Aquitaine to beginne the firſt day of Auguſt, and to endure till the firſt of May nexte enſuing.

This yeare in Auguſt, the Scots inuaded the Countrey of Northumberlande, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Engliſhmen, which the Earle of Northũberlande and his ſonnes had leuied againſt them. In this battaile the Erle Dowglas chiefe of that armie of Scottes was ſlaine, and the Lord Henrie Percy, & his brother ſir Rauſe, ſonnes to the ſayd Erle of Northumberland, were taken priſoners, as in the Scottiſh Chronicles ye may read more at large.

An ouerthrow giuen to the Engliſhemen by the Scots at Otterborne.

After the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, a Parliament was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerſe new ſtatutes were ordeyned, as for the limiting of ſeruants wages: of puniſhment of vagarant perſons: for the inhibiting of certain perſons to weare weapon: for the debarring of vnlawfull games: for maintenaunce of ſhooting in the long bow: for remouing of the Staple of wolles from Middleburgh vnto Calays: for labourers not to be receyued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder Seale of the hundred where they dwell.

Fabian.

Caxton.

A parliament at Cambridge

There was alſo an act made, that none ſhould goe forth of the realme, to purchaſe any benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obteyned of the king, and if they did contrarie hereunto, they were to be excluded out of the Kings protection.

There was graunted to the king in this Parliament, a tenth to be leuied of the Clergie, and a fifteenth of the laitie.

Moreouer, during the time of this Parliamẽt, as ſir Thomas Triuet was ryding towards Barnewel with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horſe too muche with the ſpurres, the horſe fell with him ſo rudely to the grounde, that his intrailes within him were ſo burſt and periſhed, that he dyed the next day after.

Sir Thomas Triuet ſlayne with the fall of his horſe.

Many reioyced at this mans death, as well for that menne iudged him to be exceeding hawtie and prowde, as alſo for that he was ſuſpected not to haue dealt iuſtly with the Biſhop of Norwiche, in the iourney whiche the Biſhoppe made, into Flaunders: but ſpecially men hadde an euil opinion of him, for that hee ſtoode with the king agaynſte the Lordes, counſayling him in the yeare laſt paſte, to diſpatche them oute of the way.

Sir John Hollande, the kings brother on the mothers ſyde, that was lately returned forth of Spaine, where hee hadde beene wyth the Duke of Lancaſter, was nowe made Earle of Huntingdon.

1389

Alſo in this. xij. yeare, were commiſſioners appoynted to meete at Balingham, betwixt Calais and Bollongne, to treate a truce to bee had betwixt the realmes of England, Fraunce, and Scotlande. Walter Skirlow Biſhop of Durham, that had beene lately before remoued from Bathe vnto Durham, from whence John Fordham had beene tranſlated vnto Elie, was ſent as head commiſſioner for the king of England, and with him were ioyned ſir John Clanbow, and ſir Nicholas Dagworth, knightes, and Richarde Rowhale Clearke, a doctor of law.

Comiſſi
ſent to t
truce betw
England,
France, a
Scotland.

By Froiſſart it appeareth that the Earle of Saliſburie was one, & ſir William Beauchamp Lorde Deputie of Calais poynted likewiſe as an aſſiſtant with them.

Froiſſart.

The Biſhop of Bayeux, the Lorde Walerrn Earle of Saint Poule, ſir Guillam de Melin, ſir Nicholas Bracque, & ſir John le Mercier, came thither for the French king. And for the king of Scottes there appeared, the Biſhop of Aberdyne, ſir James, and ſir Dauid Lindſey, and ſir Walter Sanckler, knights.

After long treatie, and muche adoe, at length a truce was concluded to begin at Midſommer next, and to endure for the ſpace of three yeares next enſuing.

Whileſt the Commiſſioners were occupied in the Marches betwixt Calais and Bollongne about this truce, the Scottes entring into Northumberland, did much miſchiefe, leading away many priſoners, of men and women, beſide other great booties & prayes which they got abroade in the countrey. The Lord Thomas Mowbray erle of Notingham was ſent with fiue. C. ſpeares to reuenge thoſe attempts of the enimies: but for that his power was ſmall in compariſon to theirs, he preuayled litle or nothing againſt them ſir John Clanbow, and ſir Richard Rouale Clerke tooke the French kings othe, and the Erle of S. Poule that had maried the Ladie Mawde Courtenay with other noble men, came into Englande, and receiued the kings othe here for the confirming of this laſt mentioned truce. The Scots might not without muche adoe be perſwaded to accept this truce, being ready the ſame time with an army to enter into England, but yet through the diligẽce of ſuche Frenchmen as went thither for that purpoſe, at length they agreed.

The Scots in
the time of
treatie ſpoyle
the cuntry of
Northũberla

The Scots
hauing pro-
uided an a-
rmy to in
england har
ly perſwaded
to accept the
truce.

This yeare the King by counſayle of ſome that were aboute hym, called the Nobles and greate menne of the Realme togyther, and as they were ſet in the Counſaile Chamber ſtaying till hee came: at length he entring into the ſame Chamber, and taking his place to ſit among thẽ, demaunded of them, of what age he was nowe? Whereunto anſwere was made, that he was full twentie yeares olde: then (ſayde hee) I am of yeres ſufficient to gouerne mine owne houſe and family, and alſo myne Kingdome: for it ſeemeth agaynſt reaſon that the eſtate of the meaneſt perſon within my kingdome ſhoulde be better than myne. Euerie heyre that is once come to the age of .xx. yeares, is permitted, if his father be not lyuing, to order his buſineſſe himſelfe: then that thing whiche is permitted to euery other perſon of meane degree by lawe, why is the ſame denied vnto me?

The kings queſtion to his lords & others in the counſel chamber.

When the Barons herewith aſtonied made anſwere, that there ſhoulde bee no right abridged from him, but that he might take vpon hym the gouernment as of reaſon was due: Well ſayde hee, ye knowe that I haue beene a long time ruled by tutors, ſo as it hath not beene lawfull to mee to doe any thing, were it of neuer ſo ſmall importance, without their conſents. Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further with matters perteyning to my gouernment, and after the maner of an heyre come to lawfull age, I will call to my counſaile ſuch as pleaſeth mee, and I will deale in mine owne buſineſſe my ſelfe. And therefore I will firſt that the Chauncellor reſigne to me his ſeale. When the Archbiſhop of Yorke (who in the yeare laſt paſt had bin remoued from Ely vnto Yorke, and Alexander Neuill diſplaced,) had delyuered to him the ſeale, the King receyuing it of him, put it in his boſome, and ſodainly ryſing, departed forth of the Chamber, and after a little while returning, ſate downe againe, and delyuered the Seale to the Biſhop of Wyncheſter, William Wickham, and ſo made him Chancellor, although ſore agaynſt the ſame Biſhops will: he made alſo many other new officers, remouing the olde, and vſed in all things his owne diſcretion and authoritie.

The K. taking vppon him the gouernement of al things diſplaceth diuers officers and ſetteth others in their roomes.

Wickham Biſhop of Wincheſter made L. chancelor.

The Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Warwicke, and other honourable and worthie men, were diſcharged and put from the Counſaile, and others placed in theyr rowmethes, ſuch as pleaſed the king to appoynt. The ſame time he made fiue new Iuſtices.

In this ſeaſon, the followers of Wicklifes doctrine maruellouſly increaſed, ſpecially in the Dioceſſe of Sarum, where they had many that tooke vpon them as Miniſters, both to preach the worde, and to diſpence the Sacraments.

An. reg. 14. Wickleuiſts increaſe.

This they did in ſecrete: but they were diſcouered by one that had beene of theyr fellowſhip, who declared to the Biſhoppe of Saliſburie at his Manour of Sonning, all the whole circumſtaunces therof, as he knewe.

There were of them that preached in thoſe dayes earneſtly agaynſt pylgrimages, callyng ſuch Images as ỹ people had in moſt veneratiō, as that at Walſingham, and the Roode of the North doore at Paules in London, rotten ſtocks, and worme eaten blocks, through which the vnſkilfull people being mocked and deceyued, were compelled moſt manifeſtly to commit idolatrie.

The Biſhops (ſayth Thomas Walſingham) hearing, beholding & knowing theſe things with much more to be true, did little or nothing to redreſſe the ſame, ſaue only the biſhop of Norwich who ſtirred coales, ſwearing and ſtaring, that if any of that ſect preſumed to preache any peruerſe doctrine within his dioceſſe, he would cauſe them either to hop headleſſe, or to frie a fagot for it: he was therefore not a little prayſed and extolled by the Monks and other religious men, as ſhould appeare for that his zeale.

In Nouember, the Duke of Lancaſter came forth of Gaſcoigne into England after he had remayned firſt in Spaine, and after in Gaſcoigne, three yeares togither. Of his ſucceſſe in Spaine is ſpoken before, and likewyſe of the agreement betwixte the King of Caſtille, and the ſayde Duke, whiche was not in all poyntes confyrmed, till a little before his returne nowe into Englande.

The Duke of Lancaſter returneth into England forth of Gaſcoigne.

About the ſame time the King had called a counſaile of his Nobilitie at Reading, to the whiche the Duke of Lancaſter made the more haſte to come, bycauſe hee knewe that the King woulde ſhewe no good countenaunce to ſome of the noble men, and therefore he doubted leaſt malitious offences might ariſe betwixt them, whiche to appeaſe he ment the beſt he coulde, and his trauaile came to good effect: for he did ſo much, that as well the king as the Lordes departed from the Counſaile as friendes, the Lordes taking theyr leaues of him in louing maner, and he curteouſly bidding them farewell: and ſo eche of them reſorted to their homes well pleaſed and ſatiſfied for that preſent.

A counſel holden at Reding where the D. of Lanca. recōcileth the king and the lords.

The king helde his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Woodſtocke, and the Duke of Lancaſter lay at his Caſtell of Hertford.

1390

The ſame tyme the Lorde John de Haſtings erle of Pembroke, as he was practiſing to learne to iuſt, through miſhap was ſtriken about the priuie partes, by a knight called ſir John S. John, that ran againſt him, ſo as his inner parts being periſhed, death preſently followed.

The Erle of Pembrok ſlain as he was learning to iuſt wounded to death.

The loſſe of this erle was greatly bemoned by men of al degrees, for he was liberal, gẽtle, humble, and curteous to eche one, aboue all the other yong Lordes in the land of his time.

Of this Earles aunceſtours thys is reported for a thing ſtraunge and marueylous, that from the dayes of Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembrooke, that was one amongeſt other that ſate in iudgement of Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, there was not any Earle of Pembrooke ſucceeding the ſame Aymer de Valence, vnto the dayes of this yong Earle by miſfortune thus ſlaine, that euer ſaw his father, nor yet anye of their fathers might reioyce in the ſight of anye of their ſonnes, being ſtill called hence, ere the time came for them ſo to doe.

The earle of Lancaſter canoniſed for a Saint.

This yeare, the ſame Thomas Erle of Lancaſter, for the opinion which had bene conceyued of him, by reaſon of myracles and other reſpects, was canonized for a Saint.

A bil againſt wearing of badges.

The Monday next after the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, a Parliament was begonne at Weſtminſter, in which there was a Byll exhibited by the commons, that the Lordes and great men of the realme, ſhoulde not giue to theyr men Badges to weare as their cognizances, by reaſon that through the abuſe thereof, many great oppreſſions, imbraceries, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practiſed, to the hinderaunce of all good orders, lawes and iuſtice.

No reteyners to wear badges

The Lordes woulde not conſent altogither to lay downe their badges, but yet they agreed that none ſhoulde weare any ſuch cognizaunce except their ſeruaunts of houſholde, and ſuch as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare.

In the ſame Parliament, certaine perſons that had gone about ſome new rebellion in Kent being apprehended, were condemned, and ſo were drawne and hanged.

There was alſo an act made againſt ſuche as ſhould paſſe the Seas, to purchaſe prouiſions (as they tearmed them) in any Church or Churches. And if any from thenceforth attempted ſo to doe, he ſhould be reputed and taken as a rebell.

Ad act againſt mediators for wilful murderers.

Alſo there was an act prouided againſt thoſe that committed any wilfull murder, that none ſhould preſume to ſue for their pardon. A duke or an Archb. that ſo ſued, ſhould forfeyt to the king an hundred poundes. Likewiſe an Erle or a Biſhop, an hundred markes. &c.

Moreouer, in this Parliament it was granted, that the King ſhould haue of euery ſacke of wooll fortie ſhillings, of the which ten ſhillings ſhould be applyed preſently to the kings vſes, and xxx.ß. reſidue of the .xl.ß. ſhoulde remaine in the hãds of the Treaſorers, towards yͤ bearing forth of the charges of warres when any chaunced.

Alſo there was a ſubſidie graunted of ſixe pens in the pound, foure pens to the vſe laſt mentioned, and two pens to be imployed at the kings pleaſure.

In the ſame Parliament, John duke of Lancaſter was created Duke of Aquitaine, receyuing at the kings hand the rodde and cappe, as inueſtures of that dignitie. Alſo the duke of Yorke his ſonne and heire was created Erle of Rutland.

The Duke of Lācaſter made Duke of Aquitayne.

Great tempeſt

The fifth of March, a ſore and terrible winde roſe, with the violence whereof, muche hurt was done, houſes ouerthrowne, cattell deſtroyed, and trees ouerturned.

Great plague

After this enſued great mortalitie by peſtilence ſo that much youth died euery where, in cities and townes, in paſſing great numbers.

Great dearth

Herewith followed a great dearth of corne, ſo that a buſhell of wheate in ſome places was ſolde at .xiij. pens, which then was thought to bee at a great price.

A iourney againſt the Saraſyns.

In this .xiij. yeare of king Richardes raigne, the Chriſtians tooke in hande a iourney agaynſte the Sarazens of Barbarie, through ſute of the Genewayes, ſo that there went a great number of Lordes, knights, and gentlemen of Fraunce, and Englande, the duke of Burbon being theyr generall. Out of Englande there went one John de Beaufort baſtarde ſonne to the Duke of Lancaſter (as Froiſſart hath noted) alſo ſir John Ruſſell, ſir John Butler and others. They ſet forwarde in the latter ende of this .xiij. yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not long, but that the gallyes and other veſſels of the Genewayes were readie to paſſe them ouer into Barbarie.

An. Reg. 14.

The Engliſh archers good ſeruice.

And ſo about Mydſommer in the beginning of the fourtenth yeare of thys Kings reigne, the whole armie beeing embarked, ſayled forth to the coaſtes of Barbarie, where neare to the Citie of Afrike they landed, at which inſtant the Engliſh Archers (as ſome write) ſtoode all the companie in good ſteade, with theyr long Bowes, beating backe the enimies from the ſhore, whiche came downe to reſyſt theyr landing.

After they had got to land, they enuyroned the Citie of Affrike (called by the Moores Mahemedia) with a ſtrong ſiege: but at length conſtrained wyth the intemperancie of the ſcalding ayre in that hote countrey, breeding in the armie ſundrie diſeaſes, they fell to a compoſition vpon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Sarazens, and ſo .lxj. dayes after theyr fyrſt arriuall there, they tooke the Seas againe, and returned home, as in the hiſtories of Fraunce and Italy is likewiſe expreſſed.

Where by Polidore Virgile it may ſeeme, that the Lorde Henrie of Lancaſter Earle of Derbie, ſhoulde bee Captaine of the Engliſhe menne, that (as before ye haue hearde) went into Barbarie wyth the French men, & Genewayes, it ſhoulde otherwiſe appeare by other Wryters, who affyrme that the ſayde Earle made a iourney in deede the ſame tyme agaynſte the myſcreantes,

Tho. Walſ.

creantes, not into Barbarie, but into Pruzenlande, where he ſhewed good prouſe of his noble and valiant courage: for ioyning with the maiſters and knightes of the Teutſch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came agaynſt the ſayd order was vanquiſhed, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken priſoners, three other being ſlain, with three hundred of their chiefeſt and beſt approued ſouldiers.

he erle of Derby his exploites in hys iorney againſt the infidels of Pruzeland.

Through the policie alſo and worthie manhood of the Erle of Darbie, there was a certaine Citie taken, where the ſaid Erle and his men firſt entring vpon the walles, did ſet vp his banner: other being ſlouthfull, or at the leaſt vnſkilful how to deale in ſuch exploytes.

There were taken & ſlaine foure. M. of the cōmon people, and amongſt them that were founde dead, the king of Poloignes brother was one.

The Caſtell of the ſame Citie was beſieged fiue weekes ſpace: but by reaſon of ſickneſſe & ſuch infirmities as chanced in the army, the maſters of Prutzen, & Liefland would not tarie any longer, but brake vp their ſiege and returned.

The Maſter of Leifland led with him into his countrey three thouſand priſoners.

In the meane time, whileſt the Chriſtians were thus occupied, as well agaynſt the infidels in Barbarie, as in the Eaſte partes towardes Lyttawe, a royall Iuſtes and Martiall turnament was proclaymed to bee holden wythin Smithfielde in London, to beginne on Sunday next after the feaſt of Saint Michaell. And bycauſe this triumphaunt paſtime was publiſhed, not onely in Englande, but alſo in Scotlande, in Almaigne, in Flaunders, in Brabant, in Heynault, and in Fraunce, many ſtraungers came hyther forth of diuerſe Countreys, namely Waleran Earle of Saint Paule, that had maryed King Richardes ſiſter the Ladie Mawde de Courtenry, and William the yong Erle of Oſteruant, ſon to Albert de Bauiere Erle of Hollande and Heynalt.

royal iuſtes holde in Smith field at Londō.

Some copies haue Oiſternaſt

At the day appoynted, when all things were prepared, there iſſued forth of the Tower about three of the clocke in the after noone lx. Courſers apparelled for the Iuſtes, and vpon euerie one an Eſquier of honour, riding a ſoft pace.

Then came forth. xxiiij. Ladies of honour (lx. ſayth Froiſſart) mounted on Palfreys, ryding on the one ſide richly apparelled, and euery Ladie led a knight with a chaine of golde. Those knightes being on the kings part, had their armor and apparell garniſhed with white heartes and crownes of golde about theyr neckes, and ſo they came ryding through the ſtreets of Lōdon vnto Smithfield, with a great number of Trumpets and other Inſtruments before them.

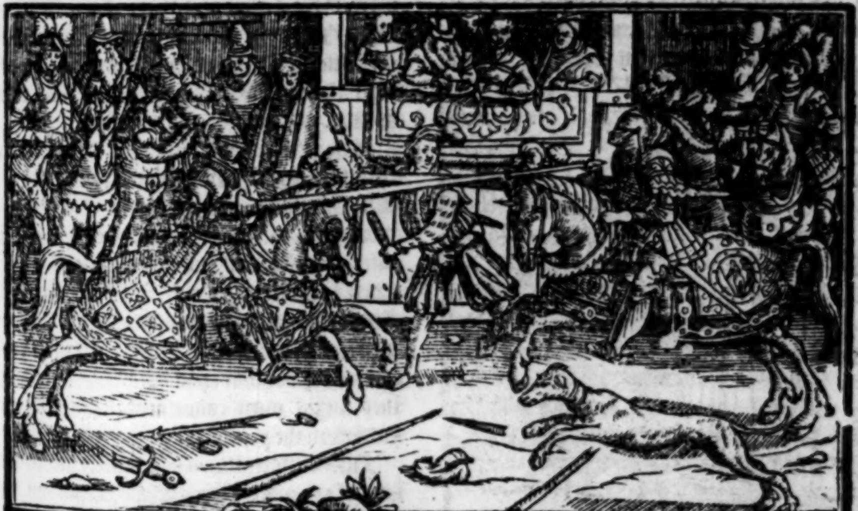
The maner of the iuſts in Smithfield.

Siluer ſayth Froſart.

The King and the Queene, with many other great eſtates were readie placed in Chambers richly adorned to ſee the Iuſtes: and when the Ladies that led the knightes, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their Palfreys, and went vp into Chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the eſquiers of honor from their courſers, and the knights in good order mounted vpon them. And ſo when their helmets were ſet on their heades, and that they were readie in all poyntes, after Proclamations made by the Heraults, the iuſtes began, and many commendable courſes were runne, to the great pleaſure, comfort, and recreation of the King, the Queene, and all other the beholders.

The price that day on the anſwerers part was giuen to the Earle of Saint Paule, and on the Chalengers ſide, to the Earle of Huntington.

On the Monday, the King himſelfe, wyth Dukes, Erles, Lordes, and knights, came to the iuſtes, he being chiefe of the inner part.



That day the price was giuen to the Erle of Oſteruant for the beſt doer, of the vtter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of Englande called ſir Hugh Spencer. On the Tueſday, all maners of Eſquiers iuſted, and likewiſe on the Wedneſday al maner of knights and eſquiers that woulde, on which day was a ſore and rude iuſtes, enduring till night. And ſo many a noble courſe and other martiall feates were atchieued in thoſe foure days, to the great contentation and pleaſure of many a yong batchler deſirous to win fame, & alſo highly to the kings honor, who by all that ſeaſon helde his Court in the Biſhops Palayce by Paules church, keeping open houſhold for all honeſt perſones that thither reſorted, eſpecially euery night after the iuſtes were ended, a right ſumptuous & princely ſupper was prepared for the ſtrangers & other, and after ſupper, the time was ſpent in dancing & reuelling, after the moſt courtlike maner.

The King kept open houſhold in the Biſhop of London his palaice by Paules church.

The Thurſday, the king made a ſupper to al the Lords, knights and gentlemen ſtrangers, and the Queene to all the ladies and gentlewomen.

The K. feſteth the ſtrangers

On the Fryday the duke of Lancaſter feaſted at dinner al the ſayd Lords, knights, & gentlemē ſtrangers, in moſt ſumptuous & plentiful maner.

The Duke of Lancaſter feaſteth the ſtrangers.

On the Saterday, the king and all the whole companie departed from Lōdon vnto Winſore, where newe feaſting beganne, and ſpecially the king did all the honour that might be deuiſed vnto the Erles of S. Paule and Oſteruant.

The Erle of Oſteruant, at the erneſt requeſt of the king, receyued of him the order of the Garter, for the whiche hee was euill thought of afterwardes by his friendes, namely the French king and others.

Finally, after that the king had thus feaſted the ſtrangers and other at Windſore, eche man tooke leaue of the king, the Queene, and the kings vncles, and other Lords and Ladies, and ſo departed the ſtrangers into their own cōutreys, & other home to their houſes, or whither they thoght beſt.

1391

Imbaſſadours were ſent from the Frenche king, vnto the king of Englande, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to endure for euer betwixt the two realmes of England & Fraunce, ſith that by warre it was apparant ynough, that neyther realme could greatly benefite it ſelfe, but rather ſore endomage eyther other, as before time it had come apparantly to paſſe. Therefore the matter beeing well conſidered, both parties ſeemed well affected towardes ſome good concluſion by treatie to bee hadde of a full and perfect peace.

Froiſſat.

About the ſame time, by the king with the aduice of his counſaile, proclamation was made and publiſhed at London, that all beneficed men abyding in the Court of Rome, being Engliſhe men borne, ſhould returne home into Englande before the feaſt of Saint Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeyte all theyr benefices, and ſuch as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewiſe lymitted. The Engliſh men hearing ſuch a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blowe, left the Popes Court, and returned to their natiue ſoyle.

A proclamation that al engliſh beneficed men in Rome ſhould returne into Englande.

The Pope troubled with ſuch a rūbling noiſe, ſent in all haſt an Abbot as his *nuncio* vnto the king of Englande, aſwell to vnderſtand the cauſes of this proclamation, as of ſtatutes deuiſed & made lately in Parliament, agaynſt thoſe that prouided themſelues of benefices in the Court of Rome by the Popes Bulles, which ſeemed not a little preiudiciall to the Church of Rome: in conſideration whereof the ſayd *nuncio*, required that the ſame ſtatutes might be repealed & aboliſhed, ſo farre as they tended to the derogation of ẏ church liberties: but if ẏ ſame ſtatuts were not aboliſhed, the Pope might not (ſayd his *nuncio*) with a ſafe conſcience otherwiſe do than proceede againſt thē that made thoſe ſtatuts, in ſuch order as the Canons did appoint. Moreouer the ſaid *nuncio* declared to the king, certaine daungerous practiſes betwixt the Antipape and the French king, as to make the duke of Touraine the Frēch kings brother king of Tuſkaine and Lombardie, and to eſtabliſh the Duke of Anion in the kingdome of Sicille.

The Popes ſendeth his Nuncio to king Richard.

Moreouer, he gaue the king to vnderſtande, that if the Frenche king might compaſſe by the Antipapes meane to bee choſen Emperour, hee woulde ſeeke to vſurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it ſtoode the king of England chiefly in hande to prouyde agaynſt ſuch practiſes in time. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenchemen ſeemed ſo much to fauour, it was to none other ende, but that vpon agreement once hadde, they might more conueniently compaſſe theyr purpoſe in the premiſſes.

The Popes Nuncio openeth the king the French kings priuy practiſes.

Furthermore, the *nuncio* erneſtly beſought the king of ayd in the Popes behalf againſt the Frēch king, if (as he threatned to do) he ſhoulde inuade him

Nuncio.

him in Italie with open force.

The king ſeemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the *nuncio*, and after aduice taken, appoynted to ſtay till after Michaelmaſſe, at what time a parliament was appoynted to be aſſembled, wherein ſuch things as he had proponed ſhoulde be weyed and cōſidered of, & ſome concluſion taken therein.

The Duke of Glouceſter his iourney into Prutzen land.

About the ſame time, the Duke of Glouceſter went into Prutzen land, to the great griefe of the people, that made account by his departure, as if the ſunne had beene taken from the earth, doubting ſome miſhappe to followe to the common welth by his abſēce, whoſe preſence they thought ſufficient to ſtay all detriments ỹ might chaunce, for in hym the hope of the Commons onelye reſted.

The Duke of Glouceſter in great fauor with the commons.

In his returne home, he was ſore tormented with rough weather & tēpeſtuous ſeas. At length yet he arriued in Northumberlande, and came to the Caſtell of Tinmouth, as to a Sanctuarie knowne to him of olde, where after hee had refreſhed him certaine dayes, he tooke his iourney homewardes to Plaſchy in Eſſex, bryngyng no ſmall ioy for his ſafe returne to all the Kingdome.

Aug. 15.

The ninth of July the Sunne ſeemed darkned, wyth certaine groſſe and euill fauoured cloudes comming betwixt it and the earth, ſo as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from noone, till the ſetting thereof. And afterwardes continually for the ſpace of ſixe Weekes, aboute the midſt of the day, clowds cuſtomarily roſe, & ſomtimes they continued both day and nighte, not vaniſhing away at all.

The ſame tyme, ſuche a mortalitie and death of peope increaſed in Norffolke, and in many other Countrees of England, that it ſeemed not vnlike the ſeaſon of the great peſtilence.

A great death in York & ſundry other places.

In the Citie of Yorke there died .xj. thouſande within a ſhort ſpace.

Henrie Percy Erle of Northumberland lieutenaunt of Calais, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the Marches agaynſt Scotland, & Robert Mowbray was ſent to Calays to be the kings lieutenant there.

A parliament at London.

On Fryday next after all ſoules day, the Parliament began at London, in which the knightes would in no wiſe agree that the ſtatute made agaynſt ſpirituall men, for the prouiding themſelues of benefices in the Court of Rome, ſhould be repelled: but yet they agreed thus much, that it ſhould be tollerated, ſo as with the kings lycence ſuch ſpirituall men might purchaſe to themſelues ſuch benefices till the next Parliament.

Halfe a tenth, and halfe a fifteenth were graunted to the King in thys Parliament, to the furniſhing of the treatie of peace whiche the Duke of Lancaſter was appoynted to proſecute. Alſo conditionally a whole tenth, and a whole fifteenth were graunted to him, if it chaunced that hee made anye iourney that yeare agaynſt the Scottes.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almoſt for the ſpace of two yeres, began to fall immediately after the harueſt got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before throughe immoderate eating of Nuttes, and Aples, fell into the diſeaſe called the Flixe, whereof manye dyed, and ſurely (as was thought) the death and dearth had beene greater, if the commendable diligence of the Lorde Maior of London had not beene, in relieuing the Commons by ſuche prouiſion as hee made for corne to bee brought vnto London, from the parties of beyonde the Seas, where otherwiſe neyther had the Countrey beene able in any thing to haue ſufficed the Citie, nor the Citie the Countrey.

The flix gotte by exceſsiue feeding on fruites.

The L. Maior of London cōmended for his careful prouiſion of corne from beyonde the ſeas in the time of dearth

On Chriſtmaſſe day, a Dolphin that came forth of the Sea vp the Thames vnto London bridge, was eſpyed of the Citizens as he played in the water, and being followed and purſued, wyth much ado was taken. He was ten foote long, and a monſtrous growne fiſhe, ſo as the ſight of him was ſtraunge to many that behelde him. He was thought by his cōming ſo far into the landward, to foreſhew ſuch tempeſts as within a weeke after did follow.

A Dolphyn taken at London bridge.

1392

Ye haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had beene firſt broched by the French king by ſending Ambaſſadours to the king of Englande, to moue the ſame. Which motion beeyng throughly conſidered of the eſtates aſſembled in this laſt Parliament, it was decreed, that it ſhuld goe forwarde (as before ye haue heard) and ſo about Candlemaſſe, the Lorde Thomas Percy, ſir Lewes Clifford, and ſir Robert Briquet, with diuerſe other in their companie, were ſent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, founde him lodged in his houſe of Louure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maiſter towardes peace: and the better to bryng it to paſſe, they ſhewed that king Richardes deſire was to haue ſome place and time appoynted for Commiſſioners to meete, with authoritie to treate and conclude vpon articles, as ſhoulde bee thought expedient.

Embaſſadors ſent to the French king to treate of peace

The French king greatly honored theſe Ambaſſadors, in feaſting and banquetting them for the ſpace of ſixe dayes togither, and for anſwere, concluded with them, that he himſelfe, with hys vncles and other of his counſaile would bee at Amiens by the midſt of Marche neſt enſuing, there to abide the king of Englāds comming, and his vncles, if it ſhould pleaſe them thither to come.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors ſaid there was no doubt, but that either the K. himſelf or his vncles ſhould be there at the day aſſigned, with full authoritie to conclude any agreement that ſhoulde ſeeme reaſonable, and ſo thoſe Ambaſſadors returned with great giftes preſented on the kings behalfe to eche of them, excepted ſir Robert Briquet, vnto whom it ſeemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a French man borne, he had euer ſerued the Nauarrois or Engliſh men, and was nowe one of king Richardes priuie Chamber.

Sir Robert Briquet a Frenchman of king Richard his priuie chamber

The Dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, the erls of Darby and Huntington, the lord Thomas Percy the Biſhops of Durham and London were ſente ouer as Froiſ. hath.

The king of Englande (as ſome write) was once minded to haue paſſed the ſeas himſelfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finally the Duke of Lancaſter, the B. of Durhā, and others, were ſent thither with a traine neare hand of a thouſande horſe.

A royal Ambaſſade.

At their comming into Fraunce they were royally receyued: for the French king had made no leſſe preparation for the Duke of Lancaſters comming, than if he had bene Emperour.

The Duke of Lanca. a Prince of great renoume.

The Duke of Lancaſter verily was eſteemed to be a right mightie Prince, and one of the wyſeſt and ſageſt Princes in all Chriſtendome in thoſe dayes, ſo that it ſeemed the French king reioyced greatly, that he might come to haue conference with him.

There were with the French king here at Amiens, his brother ẏ duke of Thouraigne, his vncles, the dukes of Berry, Burbon, & Burgoigne, and a great number of Erles, Lordes, and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Engliſh mens cōming for auoyding of ſtrife and debate that mighte ariſe betwixt the Engliſhe and French, a Proclamation was ſet forth cōteining certain articles, for the demeanor which ẏ French men ſhould obſerue towards the Engliſh men.

The truce prolonged for a yeere.

Tho. VValſ.

Whileſt they there remayned all the Engliſh mens charges were borne by the French king, from theyr ſetting forth from Calais, till they came backe thither againe. As touching theyr treatie, many things were proponed, diuerſe demaundes made, and ſome offers, though to ſmal purpoſe, for they toke not effect, inſomuch as they departed without concluding any thing, further than that the truce whiche was to ende at Mydſommer next, was prolonged to continue one yere more, that in the meane time, the Lords and eſtates of the realme of Englande might aſſemble, and with good aduice deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agree vnto a determinate peace, or to purſue the doubtfull chaunces of warre. And ſuch was the ende of that royall ambaſſage, to the furniſhing forth whereof, the king demaunded an ayde aſwell of the Abbottes and Priors, as of the cities and good townes through the whole realme.

A counſell at Stamford.

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaſter, and other the Ambaſſadors that had bene at Amiens, a Councell of the Lordes and chiefe eſtates of the realme was called at Stamford, the which as if it had bin to a Parliamēt, there came forth of euery good town certain perſons appointed to deliberate and take aduice in ſo weightie a matter, as eyther to conclude vpon peace, or elſe vpon warre. But in the ende they brought little or nothing to paſſe, ſauing that they agreed to haue the truce to endure for a tweluemonth longer: both the kings ſware to obſerue the ſame, afore ſuche as were appoynted to ſee theyr othes receyued,

The Duke of Gelderland commeth into England.

About the ſame time came the Duke of Guelderland into this realme, being the kings couſin, a right valiant and hardie gentlemā: he was honorably receyued & welcomed of the king, and of his vncles, the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter.

The Duke of Gelderland diſſwadeth the king from peace with the French and Scottes.

This duke of Guelderland counſailed the king not to conclude peace, eyther with the Frenchmē or Scots, except vpon ſuch conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honourable to him and his realme, promiſing that, if hee had occaſion to make war againſt either of thoſe two nations, he woulde be readie to ſerue hym wyth a cōuenient power of men at armes of his country.

After he had bin here a time, and highly feaſted, and banquetted, aſwell by the king as other great eſtates of the realme, he returned home not without diuerſe riche giftes.

The Lōdoners refuſe to lend the K. a thouſand pounds.

The King about this ſeaſon ſent to the Londoners, requeſting to borrow of them the ſumme of one thouſande poundes, which they vncourteouſly refuſed to lende: and moreouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lumbarde (as they tearmed him) whom they beate, and neare hande ſlue: bycauſe hee offered to lende the King that money. Whereof when the king was aduertiſed, hee was ſore moued agaynſt them, and calling togither the moſt part of the Peeres and noble men of hys Realme, declared vnto them the frowarde dealings of the Londoners, complayning ſore of ſuch their preſumption.

The Lordes and great menne, ſeeming not greatly to fauor the Londoners, gaue counſayle that the inſolent pride of thoſe preſumptuous perſons might with ſpeed be repreſſed.

The Citizens of London in thoſe dayes (as ſhould appeare) vſing their authoritie to the vttermoſt, had deuiſed & ſet forth diuerſe orders & conſtitutiōs to abridge the libertie of Forreyners that came to the Citie to vtter their cōmodities: religious men that wrote the doings of that age, ſeemed alſo to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wiclifes opinions, and therfore charge thē with infidelitie, & mainteyning I know not how of lollards and heretiks: but howſoeuer the matter went they fell at this preſent into the kings heauie diſpleaſure.

Some

A greate fire kindled about a little ſparke.

Some there be that write, how the King piked the firſt quarrell againſt the Maior & Sherifes, for a ryot committed by the vnruly Citizens, againſte the ſeruauntes of the Biſhoppe of Saliſbury: for that where one of the ſame Byſhops ſeruauntes had taken a horſe lofe from a bakers mā, as he paſſed by in Fleeteſtreete with his baſket to ſerue his maſters cuſtomers, and would not deliuer it againe, but brake the bakers mans head, when hee was earneſt to haue recouered the lofe, the inhabitants of the ſtreete roſe, and would haue had the Biſhops man to priſon, for breaking the kings peace: but he was reſcued by his fellowes, & eſcaped into Saliſburie houſe, that ſtoode there within the alley, and as then belonged to his maiſter the Byſhop of Saliſburie, beeing at that time high Treaſorer of Englande.

A ryot by the Londoners vpon the Byſhop of Saliſburies men.

The people beeing ſet in a rage for the reſcue ſo made, gathered togither in great multitude about the Biſhops palace gate, and woulde haue fetched out the offendor by force.

To conclude, ſuch a hurling was in the ſtreete, that the Maior, with the Sherifes, and dyuers Aldermen came thither with all ſpeede, to take order in the matter, and ſee the peace kepte, but after the comming thither of the Maior, the commons of the Citie reſorted to the place in farre greater numbers than before, and the more they were, the worſe they were to rule, and would not bee perſwaded to quiet themſelues, excepte the Biſhops ſeruaunte, whoſe name was Walter Romane, might bee had out of the houſe, & committed to priſon: but at length, after manye aſſaultes, liftes, and other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the houſe, the Maior and Aldermen, with other the diſcrete commoners, appeaſed the people ſo, as they broughte them to quiet, and ſent euery man to his houſe.

Walter Romane.

The biſhop of Saliſbury maketh a greeuous cōplaynt of the Londoners to the K.

The Maior & ſheriffs of London ſent for to Windſore to the king, and there impriſoned.

The Byſhop was then at Windeſor, where the Courte lay, and being enformed of this matter, by a greeuous reporte, and happely in worſe manner than the thing had happened indede, toke ſuche indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell, Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, then Lord Chancellor of England, he wente to the King, and made an heynous complaynte againſte the Citizens, for their miſdemeanor, ſo that his diſpleaſure was ẏ more kindled againſt the Citizens, in ſo muche, that whether in reſpect of this laſt remembred complainte, or rather for their vncourteous deniall to lende him the thouſande poundes, and miſuſing the Lombarde that offered to lend the ſame, I cannot ſay, but ſure it is, that the Maior and Sherife, and a great ſorte more of the Citizens, were ſent for to come to the Courte, where diuers miſdemeanors were obiected and layde to their charge, and notwithſtanding what excuſe they pretended, the Maior and Sherifes, with diuers other of the moſt ſubſtanciall Citizens, were arreſted. The Maior was committed to the Caſtell of Windſore, and the other vnto other Caſtels to be ſafely kept, till the King, by the aduice of his Counſell, ſhould determine further, what ſhould be done with them.

The liberties of London ſeyled.

A Gardian appointed to gouerne the citie of London.

The liberties of the Citie were ſeiſed into the Kings handes, and the authoritie of the Maior vtterly ceaſſed, the King appointing a warden to gouerne the Citie, namely Sir Edwarde Darlingrugge Knight, that ſhould both rule the Citie, and ſee that euery man had right miniſtred, as the caſe required.

*An.reg.*16.
Sir Edw. Datlingrugge L. warden of London.

This Sir Edwarde Darlingrugge began to gouerne the Citie of London, by the name of Lorde Warden, the one and twentith of June, on whiche day, the King entred into the ſixteenth yeare of his reigne: by reaſon it was thoughte, that the ſaide Sir Edwarde Darlingrugge was ouerfauourable to the Citizens, hee continued in his office but till the firſt of July, and being then diſcharged, one Sir Baldwine Radington, a right circumſpect and diſcrete Knight, was placed in that roomth, that knewe how both to content the Kings minde, and to comforte the Citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obteyned, to the reliefe of their ſorowe and heauineſſe.

Darlingrugge remoued, and ſir Baldwyne Radyngton made Lorde warden of London.

At length, the King, through ſute and inſtant labour made by certaine noble men, ſpecially the Duke of Glouceſter, began ſomewhat to relent, and pacifie himſelfe, as touching his rigorous diſpleaſure againſt ẏ Londoners, calling to minde ẏ great honor he had diuers ways receyued at their hādes, with ẏ great giftes which they had likewiſe beſtowed vpon him, whereupon, he purpoſeth to deale the more mildly with them, and ſo ſendeth for diuers of the chiefe Citizens to come vnto Windeſor, where hee then kepte hys Court, there to ſhewe forth the priuiledges, liberties, and lawes of their Citie, as well the newe as olde, that with the aduice of his counſell, hee might determine which ſhould remayne in force, and which ſhould be aboliſhed. Hereupon, when the ſayde priuiledges, lawes, and liberties were layd forth, to the view of ſuche perſons as hadde to conſider of them, ſome were ratified, ſome permitted by tolleration, and ſome vtterly condemned and abrogated. Neyther might they recouer at that preſente, either the perſon or dignitie of their Maior, nor obteine the kings entier fauour, till they had ſatiſfyed the King of the domages and iniuries by them done, either to him or hys people. And where he had bin at great charges in preparing forces to chaſtice them, as he was determined, if they had not ſubmitted themſelues

The liberties of London in part confirmed in parte condemned.

vnto him, they were ſure that their purſes muſt aunſwere all that he hadde laid forth about that matter, they therefore with humble ſubmiſſion, in recompence and ſatiſfaction of their treſpaſſes, offered to giue him tenne thouſand poundes, but they were for this time ſent home, and appoynted to returne againe at a certaine daye, not vnderſtanding what they muſt pay, till the Kyng, with the aduice of his Counſell, had taken further order for them. At length, through ſuch dayly ſute as was made for the quieting of the kings whole diſpleaſure towardes the Londoners, hee was contented to pardon all offences paſt, but firſt, the Citizēs were tolde, that the King meant to come from his manor at Shene, to the Citie of London, and then vndoubtedly, vppon knowledge hadde of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themſelues like louing ſubiects, they ſhould obteyne his fauoure.

The Citizens aduertiſed hereof, did not onely prepare themſelues to meete him, and to preſente him with giftes in moſt liberall manner, but alſo to adorne, decke, and trimme their Citie with ſumptuous pageants, riche hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all poyntes like as is vſed at any Coronation.

He was mette with proceſsion of the biſh. and clergie at S. Georges Churche in Southwarke.

At the day appoynted, there met him beſide other, foure hundred of the Citizens on horſebacke, cladde in one liuerie, preſenting themſelues in that order, vppon the heath on this ſide Shene, and in moſt humble wiſe, crauing pardon for their offences paſt, beſought him to take his way to his palaice of Weſtminſter, through the Citie of London.

Gifts preſẽted the K. by the Londoners to pacifie his diſpleaſure conceyued againſt them.

This ſute made by the Recorder, in name of all the Citizens, hee graciouſly graunted, and ſo helde on his iourney, till hee came to London bridge, where vnto him was preſented a paſſing faire ſteede, white, ſaddled, brideled, and trapped in riche cloth of golde, parted with redde & white.

And likewiſe to the Queene was gyuen a milke white palfrey, ſaddled, brideled, and trapped in the ſame ſort, as the other was. Theſe preſents were thankfully accepted, and ſo both the Kyng and the Queene paſſing forward, entred the Citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before ye haue heard) the Citizens ſtanding on each ſide the ſtreetes in their liueries, crying Kyng Richard, King Richard.

K. Richarde royally receyued into London.

At the Stãdert in Cheape, was a right ſumptuous ſtage ordeyned, on whiche were ſet dyuers perſonages, and an Angell, that ſet a rich crowne of golde, garniſhed with ſtone and pearle vppon the Kings head, as hee paſſed by, and likewiſe an other on the Queenes head.

This done, the King rode to Poules, & there offered, and ſo tooke his horſe againe, and rode to Weſtminſter, where the Maior and his companie taking their leaue, returned to London.

More gifts by the Londoners to the king.

On the morrow, the Maior and his brethren went againe to Weſtminſter, and there preſented the King with two baſens gilte, and in them two thouſand nobles of golde, beſeeching him to be good and gracious Lord to the Citie: he receyued their preſent in courteous manner, and gaue them many comfortable wordes. The thirde daye after, they receyued a newe confirmation of all their olde liberties (at the leaſt ſuche as might be an aide to the Citie, and no detriment to Foreyners) wherefore, by counſell of their friends, they ordeined a table for an aulter of ſiluer and gilte, engrauen with imagerie, and enameled in moſt curious wiſe, conteyning the ſtory of Saint Edwarde, it was valued to be worth a M. markes. This was preſented to the King, the whiche hee ſhortly after offered to the ſhrine of Saint Edward within the Abbey. The Londoners beleeued, that by theſe gifts they had bin quite ridde of all danger, but yet they were cõpelled to giue the K. after this, tenne thouſand poundes, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offence and grudging in their mindes.

Tho. Wal. The liberties of London ratified by king Richard.

The duke of Glouceſter made Duke of Irelande.

His iourney into Irelande vnluckely ſtayed.

The ſame time, the Duke of Glouceſter, hauing receyued money to leauie an army whiche hee ſhoulde haue conueyed ouer into Ireland, of which countrey, a good while before that preſent, the king had made him Duke, was nowe readye ſet forward, when ſuddainely, through yͤ malice of ſome priuie detractours about the King, he was contermaunded, and ſo hys iourney was ſtayed, to the great hinderance and preiudice, of both the Countreys of Englande and Irelande: for euen vppon the fame that was bruted of hys comming into Irelande, in manner all the Iriſh Lordes determined to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, ſo greatly was his name both loued, reuerẽced, and feared, euen among thoſe wilde and ſauage people.

Veere, late Duke of Ireland, dieth at Louayne.

This yere Robert Veere, late Earle of Oxford, & Duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaigne in Brabant, in great anguiſhe of mind, & miſerable neceſſitie: which yong gẽtleman doubtleſſe, was apt to al cõmendable exerciſes & partes fitte for a noble mã, if in his youth he had bin well trained and brought vp in neceſſarie diſcipline.

1393

Tho. Wal. A Parliament at Wincheſter.

This yeare after Chriſtmas, a Parliament was called at Wincheſter, in which only a grant was made by the Cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expẽces of the Duke of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, that wer appointed to goe ouer into Frãce to treate of peace, betwixte the two kingdomes.

The Chauncery and Kings bench kept at Yorke, and from thence remoued to London.

The Courtes of the kings bench and Chauncerie, whiche hadde bene remoued from Weſtminſter to Yorke, either in diſfauour only of the Londoners, or in fauoure of the Citizens of Yorke, for that the Archbiſhoppe of that Citie, being Lorde Chancellor, wiſhed to aduaunce (ſo farre as in him lay) the commoditie and wealthe therof, were neuertheleſſe about this ſeaſon brought backe againe to Weſtminſter, after they had remayned a ſmall time at Yorke, to the diſpleaſure of many.

This yere, the Lord Aubrey de Veere, Vncle to the late Duke of Ireland, was made Earle of Oxford.

The two and twentith of Februarie, John Eures, Conneſtable of Douer Caſtel, and Lord Steward of the Kings houſe, departed this life, in whoſe roomth, the Lord Thomas Percy, that before was Vicechamberlayne, was created Lord Steward, and the Lord Thomas Beaumont, was made Conneſtable of Douer, & Lord Warden of the cinque Portes: and the Lorde William Scrope was made Vicechamberlaine, who aboute the ſame time, bought of the Lorde William Montagewe the Iſle of Man, with the regalitie thereof, for it is a Kingdome as Thomas Walſ. affirmeth.

Eures.

The Iſle of Man.

The Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter ſent into Frāce to treate of a peace.

The Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, went ouer vnto Calais, and downe to Bulloigne came yͤ Dukes of Berry and Burgoigne. These noble men were ſufficiently furniſhed with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by Sea and land, betweene the two Realmes of Fraunce and England, and all their Alies.

The place appoynted for thē to treate in, was at Balingham, where tentes and pauilions were pight vp, for the eaſe of both parties.

They mette there twice or thrice a weeke, in a fayre tent prepared for the purpoſe, about nyne of the clocke in the forenoone. This was aboute the beginning of May.

When they entred firſt into communication, and had ſeene eache others authoritie, one of the firſt demaundes that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calais raſed in ſuch wiſe, as there ſhould neuer bee anye habitation there after that tyme. The Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter aunſwered herevnto, howe they had no authoritie to conclude ſo farre, but that England ſhoulde hold Calais ſtill, as in demeyne, and true inheritāce, and therefore, if they purpoſed to enter anye further in the treatie of peace, they ſhould ceaſſe from that demaund, and ſpeake no more thereof.

The Frenche commiſſioners would haue Caleys raſed to the ground.

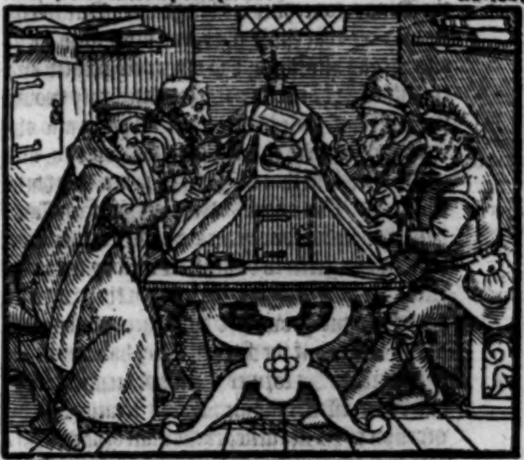
When the Dukes of Berrie and Burgoigne heard their two Couſins of Englande aunſwere ſo roundly, they ſpake no more of that matter.

The demaundes of the Engliſh commiſſioners.

Then the Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter demaunded to haue reſtitution of all ſuche lands as hadde bin deliuered, either to King Richard, or to King Edward the thirde, or to anye their deputies or commiſſioners, and alſo to haue fully payde the ſumme of Florens that was lefte vnpaid, at the time when the warre renued, betwixt England and Fraunce: and this the Engliſh Lawyers proued to ſtande with equitie and reaſon, but neuertheleſſe, the Lords and Chauncellor of Fraunce, argued to the contrary, and ſo agree they could not, in ſo much, as the Frenchmen required, that if the Engliſhmen meant to haue any concluſion of peace, they ſhould drawe to ſome neerer poynts.

Order taken, that the demaundes on eyther ſide ſhould be ſette downe in writing, the better to be conſidered of.

At length, the foure Dukes tooke order, that all their demaundes on eyther ſide ſhoulde bee ſette downe in writing, and deliuered to eyther partie interchangeably, that they might be regarded at length, and ſuche as ſhoulde bee founde vnreaſonable, to be raſed or reformed.



After they had communed togithers dyuers times, and remayned there a fifteene dayes, they appointed to aduertiſe the two Kings of theyr whole doyngs, and after nine dayes ſpace to meete againe.

The Frenche Dukes rode to Abbeuile, where the Frenche King then laye: and the Engliſhe Dukes returning to Calais, wrote to the King of England, of all the whole matter. The Duke of Glouceſter was harder to deale with in eache behalfe, concerning the concluſion of peace, than was the Duke of Lancaſter, for he rather deſired to haue had warre than any peace, excepte ſuch a one as ſhoulde bee greatly to the aduantage and honor of the Realme of Englande: and therefore the commons of Englande vnderſtanding hys diſpoſition, agreed that hee ſhould be ſent, rather than any other. For where in times paſt yͤ Engliſhmenne hadde greatly gayned by the warres of Fraunce, as well the commons, as the Knightes and Eſquiers, who had by the ſame, mainteyned their eſtate, they could not giue their willing conſents, to haue any peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reaſon of the warres, to profyte themſelues, as in times paſt they had done. The Frenche King and the nobles of Fraunce were greately enclined to peace, and ſo likewiſe was the King of England, & the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Engliſhe Gentlemen maynteyned by the French warres.

But

The ſubtiltie of the Frenchmen

But the Frenchmen were ſo ſubtile, and vſed ſo many darke and coloured wordes, that the Engliſhmen had much adoe to vnderſtād them, whiche offended much the Duke of Glouceſter. But neuertheleſſe, at the daye prefixed, theſe foure Dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French Lordes came the King of Armony, newly retorned into France forth of Grecia, for into his owne country he durſt not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, except the ſtrong Towne of Coniche, which the Genewayes held. The K. of Armonye woulde gladly that peace mighte haue bin eſtabliſhed bitwixt Fraunce and Englande, in hope to procure the ſooner ſome ayde of the Kings, to recouer his kingdome. But to cōclude, after that the Dukes, and other with them aſſociate as aſſiſtants, had diligently peruſed and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not paſſe nor ſeale to anye, till all darke and obſcure wordes were cleerely declared, opened, and made perfect, ſo that no generall peace mighte be concluded. Notwithſtanding yet as Froyſſarte hath, a truce for four yeares, vppon certayne articles was agreed to be kept, as well by ſea as by lande. It was thought, that when they were at poynt to haue growen to agreement concerning many articles, if the French King had not newly fallen into his former diſeaſe of frenſie, there had better effect followed of this treatie, but by occaſion of his ſickneſſe, eache man departed, before that anye principall articles coulde be fully ordered and made perfect. The ſame time, Sir Thomas Percy the yonger, was made Lorde Warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

The commiſſioners meete agayne.

The King of Armony.

Obſcure and doutfull words to be opened.

A truce for 4. yeres betwene Englande and Fraunce.

*An.reg.*17.
Great tempeſtes.

In September, muche hurte was done, thorough exceeding greate thunder, lightning, and tempeſtes, whiche chaunced in many partes of Englande, but ſpeciallye in Cambridge ſhire, where manye houſes were brente, with no ſmall quantitie of corne. Greate inundations and flouds of water followed ſhortly after in October, whiche did muche hurt at Bury, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew walles of houſes, and putte men and women in greate daunger of drowning.

Muche hurte done by great flouds in Suffolke.

A great plage in Eſſex.

In Eſſex alſo in September, greate mortalitie fell by peſtilence amongſt the people, whereof many died.

The Towne of Chierburg was reſtored againe to the King of Nauarre, who had engaged it to the King of England, for two thouſand markes.

1394

A Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, whiche began in the Octaues of Saint Hillarie.

The King purpoſing to goe ouer into Ireland, required a ſubſedie, the Cleargie graunted to him a whole tēth, toward the furniſhing forth of that iourney, if he wente himſelfe, if he wente not, yet they agreed to giue to him the moytie of a tenth.

In time of this Parliamente, there appeared great euill will to remayne, betwixt the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Arundell, for the Duke impoſed to the Earle, that about the exaltation of the Croſſe, hee lay wyth a company of armed men in the caſtell of Holte by Cheſter, the ſame time that the country there roſe againſt the Duke, with their Capitaine Nicholas Clifton, and his complices, whome he ment, as the Duke alledged, to haue aided againſt him: but the Erle this flatly denyed, and with probable reaſons ſo excuſed himſelfe, as the quarrell at length was taken vp, and the parties for the time well quieted.

Variaunce betwene the duke of Lancaſter and the Erle of Arundell.

This yeare on Whitſonday beeing the ſeauenth of Iune, Queene Anne departed this life, to the great griefe of hir huſband King Richard, who loued hir entierly. She deceaſſed at Shene, and was buried at Weſtminſter, vpon yͤ South ſide of Saint Edwards Shrine.

The death of Queene Anne.

The King tooke ſuche a conceyte with the houſe of Shene, where ſhe departed this life, that hee cauſed the buildings to bee throwen downe and defaced, whereas the former Kings of this lande, beeing weery of the Citie, vſed cuſtomarilye thither to reſorte, as to a place of pleaſure, and ſeruing highly to theyr recreation.

The K. defaceth the houſe of Shene bycauſe the queene dyed there.

Thus the King, the Duke of Lancaſter, and his ſonne the Earle of Derby, were widdowers, all in one ſeaſon: for the Lady Conſtance Duches of Lancaſter, daughter to Peter Kyng of Spaine, deceaſſed the laſt yeare, whileſt hir huſbande the Duke of Lancaſter was at the treatie in Fraunce: and the ſame tyme alſo deceaſſed the Counteſſe of Derby, wife to the Lorde Henry Earle of Derby.

Moreouer in this yeare. 1394. Iſabell Ducheſſe of Yorke departed this life; that was halfe ſiſter to the Ducheſſe of Lancaſter, being borne of one mother. She was buried at Langley.

An. reg. 1

A procla- tion that al I- riſhmen ſhuld returne into their coun

This yeare in Auguſt, was a proclamation ſette forthe, that all Iriſhmenne ſhoulde auoyde this lande, and returne home into their owne Countrey, before the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Lady, on payne of life.

The occaſion of whiche proclamation was, for that ſuch multitudes of Iriſhmen were come ouer into this region, in hope of gaine, that the Countreys in Ireland, ſubiect to England, were in manner lefte voyde of people, ſo that the enimies ſpoyled and waſted thoſe Countreys at theyr pleaſure, finding fewe or none to withſtande them. And where King Edwarde the third had placed in Ireland his benche and Iudges,

The Engliſh pale in Ire almoſt left d ſolate.

ges, with his Eſchecker, for the good adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and politike gouernemente to bee vſed there, hee receiued from thence yeerely in reuenewes and profites, comming to his owne coffers, the ſumme of thirtie thouſande poundes: the King nowe layde forthe no leſſe a ſumme to repulſe the enimies, whiche by abſence of thoſe that were come ouer hither, could not otherwiſe be reſiſted, ſith the power of the Rebels was ſo increaſed, and the force of the Countreys ſubiect, thorough lacke of the former inhabitantes ſo deminiſhed.

The yeerely reuenewes of Ireland in K. Edward the third his days.

About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of oure Lady, the King ſet forward to paſſe into Irelande, hauing made ſuch preparation for that iourney, as the like for Ireland had not bin heard of, at anye time before.

There wẽt ouer with him the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Marche, Nottingham, and Rutland, the Lord Thomas Percy Lord Stewarde, and diuers other of the Engliſhe Nobilitie.

The Duke of Lancaſter, that in the thirtenth yeare of King Richards raigne had bin created by authority of Parliament, Duke of Aquitaine, was about this preſente time ſent thither, with a fiue hundred men of armes, and a thouſande archers, to take poſſeſſion of that Duchie, according to the Kings graunt, by his letters patents thereof, had, made and confirmed with his ſeale, in preſence of the moſt part of all the Nobles and great Lords of England, to hold all that Countrey to the ſaide Duke and his heires for euer, in as large manner and forme, as his father Kyng Edwarde the third, or any other Kings of Englande, or Dukes of Aquitaine before time hadde holden, and as King Richard at that ſeaſon had and held the ſame, the homage alwayes yet reſerued to the Kings of Englande for euer. But all this notwithſtanding, at his comming thither, ſo farre were the Gaſcoignes, and other people of thoſe marches from receiuing him with ioy and triumph, that they plainely tolde him, they would not atturne to him, nor be vnder his iuriſdiction at any hande, although he had brought ouer with him commiſſioners ſufficiently authoriſed, both to diſcharge them of their former allegiaunce to the King, and to inueſt him in poſſeſſion of that Duchie, in manner and forme as before is ſayde.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſayleth into Aquitayne with an army.

The Gaſcoines flatly refuſe to accept the Duke of Lancaſter for their ſoueraigne.

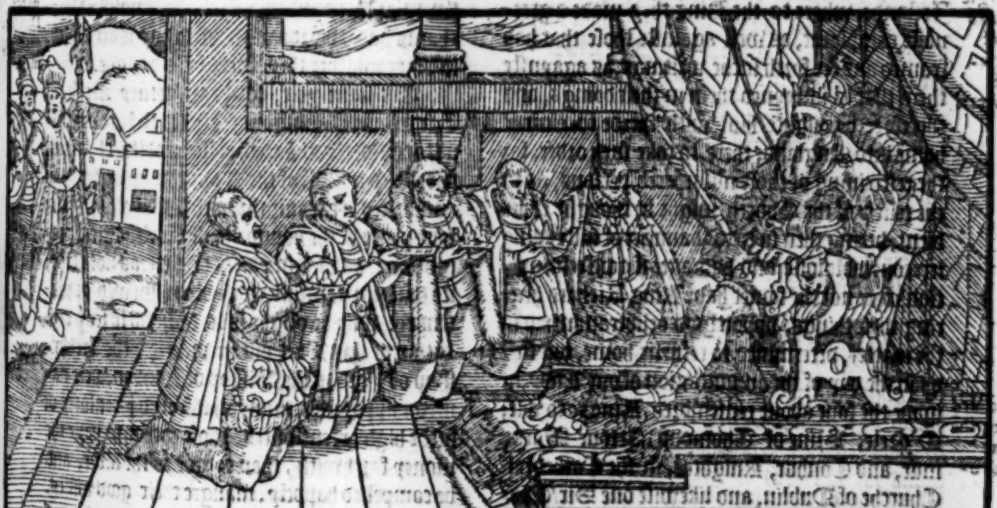
But now to returne to King Richard, ye ſhal vnderſtand, that when all his prouiſion and royall army was ready, about Michaelmas, he toke the Sea, and landed at Waterford the ſecond of October, and ſo remayned in Irelande all that Winter: his people were lodged abroade in the Countrey, and lay ſo warely as they myght, for although the Iriſhmen durſt not attempte anye exployte openly againſt the Engliſhmen, after the kings arriuall with ſo puiſſante an army, yet they woulde ſteale ſometimes vpon them, where they eſpyed any aduantage, and diſquiet them in their lodgings: but when the Engliſhmen ſtill preuailed, diuers of the greateſt Princes amongſt them came in, and ſubmitted themſelues.

King Richard paſſeth ouer into Irelande with a mighty armye.

Amongſt other, foure Kings are mentioned, as the greate Oncle King of Methe, Bryne of Thomounde King of Thomounde, Arthur Mackmurr King of Lineyſter, and Cōbur K. of Cheueno and Darpe: theſe Kings were courteouſly entertayned, and muche made of, by Kyng Richard, who kepte his Chriſtmas this yeare at Dublin. And after that feaſt was ended, he helde a Parliament there, to the which, all his ſubiectes of Ireland, to whome it apperteyned, reſorted, as well thoſe that had continued vnder the Engliſh gouernment aforetime, as thoſe that were lately yeelded.

Froiſſart. Foure Iriſh Kings ſubmit themſelues to K. Richarde.

1395 A Parliament holden in Irelande.



Also

A Parliament at Weſtminſter, King Richard being in Ireland.

Alſo the ſame time, after the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the Duke of Yorke, Lord Warden of England, now in the Kings abſence, cauſed a Parliament to be called at Weſtminſter, to the whiche was ſente forthe of Ireland the Duke of Glouceſter, that he might declare to the cōmons the Kings neceſſitie, to haue ſome graunte of money to ſupply his want, hauing ſpent no ſmal quantitie of treaſure in that iourney made into Irelande. The Dukes wordes were ſo wel heard and beleeued, that a whole Tenth was graunted by the Cleargie, and a fifteenth by the Laitie, but not without proteſtation, that thoſe paimēts were graunted of a meere free will, for the loue they bare to the King, and to haue his buſineſſe goe forwards.

The Wickleuiſts wrote againſt the Cleargie.

The ſame time, thoſe that followed Wickliffes opinions, ſet vp publiquely on the Churche dore of Paules in London, and the Church dores of Weſtminſter, certayne writings, conteyning accuſations of the Cleargie, and concluſiōs ſuch as had not commonly bin heard againſt Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and the vſe of the Sacraments, as the Churche then maynteyned: they were encouraged thus to doe, as it was ſayde, by ſome noble men and Knightes of great worſhip, as ſir Richard Sturrie, Sir Lewes Clifford, ſir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Mōtagew, and others, who comforted and pricked forwarde thoſe kinde of men, then called Heretikes, and Lollardes, to the confounding of Monkes, Friers, and other Religious perſons, by all wayes they myghte. Herevpon, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of London, and certaine other as meſſengers frō the whole ſtate of the Cleargie, paſſed ouer into Irelande, where to the King they made a greeuous complaint, as well againſte thoſe that had framed and ſet forth ſuche writings, as agaynſte them that mainteyned them in their doings, and therefore beſoughte him with ſpeede to returne home into England, there to take ſuch order, for the reſtreining of thoſe miſordered perſons, as to the reliefe of the Church might be thought expedient, beeing then in great daunger of ſuſteyning irrecouerable loſſe and domage, if good reformation were not the ſooner had. King Richard hearing theſe things, vppon good deliberation had in the matter, determined to returne home, but firſt vpon the day of the annuntiation of our Lady, he made the foure aboue remembred Kings, to wit, O Nele, Brine of Thomond, Arthur Mackmur, and Conhur, Knightes, in the Cathedrall Churche of Dublin, and likewiſe one Sir Thomas Orphen, Sir Joatas Pado, and his couſin ſir John Pado.

The Cleargie complaine to the king of the Wickleuiſts, and their fauourers.

King Richard Knighteth the foure Iriſhe Kings, and others.

Froiſſart.

This done, and nowe after that they were ſet in quiet in that Countrey (the Rebels not beyng ſo hardy as to ſtirre, whileſt ſuche a mighty army was there ready at hande to aſſayle them,) the K. about Eaſter, came backe into Englande, without any more adoe, ſo that the gain was thought nothing to coūteruayle the charges, whiche were very greate: for the King had ouer with hym in that iourney, foure thouſand men of armes, and thirtie thouſande archers, as Froiſſart ſaith hee was enformed) by an Engliſh Eſquier, that had bin in that iourney. The King at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of London hadde exhibited to him, againſte thoſe that were called Lollards, and Heretikes, whereupon immediately, hee called afore him certaine of the noble men, that were thoughte and knowen to fauour ſuche kinde of men, threatning terribly, if from thenceforth they ſhoulde in anye wiſe comforte, and releeue them. Hee cauſed Sir Richard Sturry to receyue an oth, that he ſhould not maynteyne frō that day forward anye ſuch erronious opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenaunting with him by an interchangeable othe, that if euer he might vnderſtand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he ſhould die for it a moſt ſhamefull death..

K. Richard r turned ou Ireland.

K. Richarde dealing a- gainst the fa- uourers of Wickeliffe.

This yeare, the Danes that lay rouing on the Seas, did much hurt to the Engliſh Merchants, taking and robbing many Engliſh Shippes, & when the hauen townes alongſt the Coaſtes of Northfolke, made forth a number of Shippes, & ventured to fighte with thoſe Pirats, they were vanquiſhed by the Danes, ſo that manye were ſlayne, and manye taken priſoners, whiche were conſtreined to pay great ranſomes. The enimies alſo found in ranſacking the Engliſhe Shippes, twentie M. poundes, which the Engliſhe Merchants had aboorde with thē to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to goe.

The Danes robbe the E gliſh marcha on the ſea.

Great priſ wonne by t Daniſh ſhips of the engli men.

The ſame yere, Wil. Courtney Archb. of Canterbury, hauing more regard to his own priuate cōmodity, thā to the diſcōmodity of others, purchaſed a Bull of the Pope, whereby hee was authoriſed, to leauie through his whole prouince four pence of the pound of all Eccleſiaſtical promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exēpt, no true nor lawfull cauſe being ſhewed or pretended, why he ought ſo to doe: and to ſee ẏ execution of this Bull put in practiſe, the Archbiſhop of York, & the Biſhop of London, were named & appoynted: many that feared ẏ cenſures of ſuche high executioners, choſe rather to paye the money forthwith, than to goe to the lawe, and be compelled happely, maugre their good willes. Some there were, that appealed to the Sea of Rome, meaning to defende their cauſe, and to procure, that ſo vnlawfull an exaction might be reuoked. Specially, the prebendaries of Lincolne ſtoode moſt ſtiffely againſte thoſe Byſhops,

ſhops, but the death of the Archbyſhop that chanced ſhortly after, made an ende of thoſe ſo paſſing great troubles.

Waltham biſhop of Saliſbury buried at Weſtminſter amongſt the kings.

This yeare, John Waltham, Byſhoppe of Saliſburie, and Lorde Treaſorer of Englande, departed this life, and by King Richarde hys appoyntmente, hadde the honor to haue his bodye entered at Weſtminſter among the Kings.

After his deceaſſe, Roger Walden, that before was Secretarie to the Kyng, and Treaſorer of Calais, was now made Lord Treaſorer.

Aug. 19.

The Duke of Irelands corps conueyed frõ Louayn into Englande, and there royally interred.

Ye haue hearde, that in the yeare. 1392. Robert Veer Duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richarde therefore thys yeare in Nouember, cauſed his corps being enbaulmed, to be conueyed into Englande, and ſo to the Priorie of Colney in Eſſex, appoynting him to bee layde in a Coffine of Cypres, and to be adorned with princely garmentes, hauyng a chayne of golde about his necke, and riche ryngs on his fingers. And to ſhew what loue and affection hee bare vnto him in his life time, the Kyng cauſed the Coffine to bee opened, that hee mighte beholde his face bared, and touche him with hys hands: he honored his funerall exequies, with hys preſence, accompanyed with the Counteſſe of Oxforde, mother to the ſayde Duke, the Archbyſhop of Canterburie, and many other Byſhops, Abbots, and Priors, but of noble men there were very few, for they had not yet diſgeſted the enuie and hatred whiche they hadde conceyued againſt hym.

Froiſſart.

In this meane whyle, the Duke of Lancaſter was in Gaſcoigne, treating with the Lordes of the Countrey, and the inhabitantes of the good Townes, whiche vtterly refuſed to receyue hym otherwiſe than as a Lieutenaunte or ſubſtitute to the Kyng of England, and in the ende addreſſed meſſengers into Englande, to ſignifie to the Kyng, that they hadde bin accuſtomed to be gouerned by Kings, and meant not now to become ſubiectes to any other, contrary to all reaſon, ſith the King could not (ſauing his othe) alyene them from the Crowne.

The Gaſcoyns ſende vnto K. Rich. ſignifying vnto hym, that they ought not to be deuided from the crowne.

The Duke of Lancaſter vſed all wayes hee mighte deuiſe, howe to winne theyr good willes, and hadde ſente alſo certayne of his truſtie counſellors ouer hither into Englande, as Sir William Perreer, Sir Peter Clifton, & two clearkes learned in the lawe, the one called maſter John Pucch, and the other maſter John Richardes a Chanon of Leyceſter, to pleade and ſolicite hys cauſe: but to bee briefe, ſuche reaſons were ſhewed, and ſuche matter vnfolded by the Gaſcoignes, why they ought not bee ſeparated from the Crowne of England, that finally (notwithſtanding the Duke of Glouceſter, and certayne other were againſte them) it was decreed, that the Countrey and Duchie of Aquitayne ſhoulde remayne ſtill in demayne of the Crowne of Englande, leaſt that by thys tranſportyng thereof, it myghte fortune in tyme, that the heritage thereof ſhoulde fall into the handes of ſome ſtraunger, and enimie to the Engliſhe nation, ſo that then the homage and ſoueraigntie mighte perhappes be loſt for euer.

The graunt of the duchie of Aquitayne to the duke of Lancaſter reuoked.

Indeede, the Duke of Glouceſter, beeyng a Prince of an hygh minde, and loth to haue the Duke of Lancaſter at home, being ſo hyghly in the Kyngs fauoure, coulde haue beene well pleaſed, that hee ſhoulde haue enioyed hys gifte, for that hee thoughte thereby to haue borne all the rule about the Kyng, for the Duke of Yorke was a man, rather coueting to liue in pleaſure, than to deale with muche buſineſſe, and the weightie affayres of the Realme.

Aboute the ſame tyme, or ſomewhat before, the Kyng ſente an Ambaſſade to the Frenche Kyng, the Archebyſhoppe of Dublin, the Earle of Rutlande, the Earle Marſhall, the Lorde Beaumonde, the Lorde Spencer, the Lorde Clifforde, named Lewes, and twentie knightes with fortie Eſquiers.

Ambaſſadours ſente into France to treat a mariage betvvene K. Richarde and the French kings daughter.

The cauſe of theyr going ouer, was to intreate of a marriage to be had betwixt hym, and the Lady Iſabell, daughter to the French king, ſhee beeyng as then not paſt an eighte yeares of age, whiche before hadde beene promiſed vnto the Duke of Britaignes ſonne: but in conſideration of the greate benefite that was lykely to enſue by thys communication and alliance with Englande, there was a meane founde, to vndoe that knotte, though not preſently.

These Engliſhe Lordes, at their comming to Paris, were ioyfully receyued, and ſo courteouſly entertayned, banqueted, feaſted, and cheriſhed, and that in moſt honorable ſorte, as nothyng coulde bee more: all their charges and expenſes were borne by the Frenche Kyng, and when they ſhoulde departe, they receyued for aunſwere of theyr meſſage, very comfortable wordes, and ſo with hope to haue their matter ſpedde, they returned.

Tho. VValſ.

But nowe when the Duke of Lancaſter had, by laying forthe an ineſtimable maſſe of treaſure purchaſed in a manner the good willes of them of Aquitayne, and compaſſed hys whole deſire, hee was ſuddaynely countermaunded home by the King, and ſo to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, hee returned into Englande, and commyng to the Kyng at Langley, where hee helde hys Chriſtmas, was receyued with more honor than loue, as was thoughte, whereupon, hee roade in all haſt that might be, to Lincolne, where Katherine Swinforde as then laye,

1396

whome ſhortly after the Epiphanie, hee toke to wife. This woman was borne in Haynaulte, daughter to a Knighte of that Countrey, called ſir Paou de Ruet: ſhee was broughte vp in hir youth, in the Duke of Lancaſters houſe, and attended on his firſt wife the Ducheſſe Blanche of Lancaſter, and in the dayes of his ſeconde wyfe the ducheſſe Conſtance, he kept the foreſaid Katherin to his Concubine, who afterwardes was married to a Knight of England, named Swinford, that was nowe deceaſſed. Before ſhee was married, the Duke had by hir three children, two ſonnes and a daughter, one of the ſonnes highte Thomas de Beaufort, and the other Henry, who was brought vp at Aken in Almaine, proued a good Lawyer, and was after Byſhoppe of Wincheſter. For the loue that the Duke had to theſe his children, he married their mother yͤ ſayd Katherine Swinfort, being now a widow, whereof men marueiled muche, conſidering hir meane eſtate was farre vnmeete to matche with hys highneſſe, and nothing comparable in honor to his other two former wiues. And indeede, the great Ladies of Englãd, as the Duches of Glouceſter, the Counteſſes of Derby, Arundell, and others, diſcended of the bloud royall, greatly diſdeyned, that ſhe ſhould be matched with yͤ Duke of Lancaſter, and by that meanes be accompted ſeconde perſon in the Realme, and preferred in roumth afore them, and therefore they ſayde, that they woulde not come in anye place where ſhee ſhould be preſent, for it ſhould be a ſhame to them that a woman of ſo baſe birthe, and Concubine to the Duke in his other wiues dayes, ſhoulde goe and haue place before them.

The Duke of Lancaſter marrieth a Ladye of a meane eſtate, whome he had kept as his concubine.

The Duke of Glouceſter alſo being a man of an high minde and ſtoute ſtomacke, miſliked with his brothers matching ſo meanly, but the Duke of Yorke bare it well ynough, and verily, the Lady hir ſelfe was a woman of ſuche bringing vp, and honorable demeanor, that enuie coulde not in the ende, but giue place to well deſeruing.

Wicleuiſtes encreaſe.

About this ſeaſon, the doctrine of John Wickliffe ſtill mightely ſpred abroade heere in Englande, and the ſciſme alſo ſtill continued in the Churche, betwixt the two factions of Cardinals Frenche and Romanes, for one of their Popes coulde no ſooner be dead, but that they ordeyned an other in his place.

In this eighteenth yeare alſo, was a wonderfull tempeſt of winde in the monethes of July and Auguſt, and alſo moſt ſpecially in September, by violence whereof, in ſundry places of this Realme, greate and wonderfull hurte was done, both in Churches and houſes.

The Ambaſſadors that hadde bin lately in Fraunce, about the treatie of the marriage, (as before you haue heard, wente thither againe, and ſo after that the two Kings by ſending to and fro were light vppon certaine poyntes and couenauntes of agreemente, the Earle Marſhall, by letters of procuration, married the Lady Iſabell, in name of King Richarde, ſo that from thenceforth ſhe was called Queene of England.

The Erle Marſhall

Richarde.

Amongſt other couenauntes and Articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to endure betwixt the two Realmes of England and Fraunce, for tearme of thirtie yeares.

A truce

yeres be

England and Fraunce.

Tho. Wal.

The Pope wrote to king Richard, beſeching him to aſſiſt the Prelates againſte the Lollardes (as they tearme them) whome hee pronounced to be traytors, both to the Church and Kingdome, and therefore hee beſoughte him to take order, for the puniſhmente of them, whome the Prelates ſhould denounce to be Heretikes.

The ſame time, hee ſente a Bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at hys hands, or at the handes of his Legates or Nuncios purchaſed to be his Chaplaines, & accompting themſelues thereby exempt from their order, ſo that nowe they were by this reuocatorie Bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obſerue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the Friers well, namely the Minors, that ſought by all meanes they mighte deuiſe, how to bring theyr breethren home againe, which by ſuche exemptions in being the Popes Chaplayne, were ſegregate and deuided frõ the reſidue of their brethren.

The Pope

Rich.

K. Rich. goeth ouer to Cal

The King in this twẽtith yere of his raigne, went ouer to Calice with his vncles the Dukes of Yorke, and Glouceſter, and a greate manie of other Lordes and Ladies of honor, and thyther came to him the Duke of Burgoigne, and ſo they communed of the peace. There was no enimie to the concluſion thereof, but the Duke of Glouceſter, who ſhewed well by his wordes, that he wiſhed rather war than peace, in ſo muche as the King ſtoode in doubt of him, leaſt hee woulde procure ſome rebellion againſte him by his ſubiectes, whome he knewe not to fauor greatly thys new aliaunce with Fraunce.

The King after the Duke of Burgoigne had talked with him throughly of all things, and was departed from him, returned into Englande (leauing yͤ Ladyes ſtill at Calais) to open the couenauntes of the marriage and peace vnto his ſubiectes, and after hee hadde finiſhed with that buſineſſe, and vnderſtoode theyr myndes, hee went againe to Calais, and with him hys two Uncles, of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, and dyuers Prelates and Lordes of the Realme, and ſhortly after came the Frenche Kyng to the baſtide of Arde, accompanyed with the Dukes of Burgoigne, Berrie, Britaigne and Burbonne.

There

The maner of the enteruiew betwene King Richarde and the Frenche King.

Fabian.

There were ſet vp for the king of Englande a right faire and riche pauillion a little beyonde Guyſnes within the Engliſh pale, and an other the lyke pauillion was pight vp for the Frenche king on this ſyde Arde, within the Frenche dominion, ſo that betweene the ſayde Pauillions was the diſtaunce of .lxx. paces, and in the midwaye betwixte them bothe, was ordeyned the thirde Pauillion, at the whyche bothe Kings comming from eyther of theyr Tentes ſundrye tymes ſhoulde meete and haue communication togyther: The diſtance betwixte the two tentes was beſet on eyther ſide in tyme of the enterview with knights armed with theyr ſwordes in their hands, that is to ſay, on the one ſide ſtood .iiij. C. french knights in armure with ſwords in their hands, & on the other ſide foure hundred Engliſh knightes armed with ſwordes in theyr handes, making as it were a lane betwixte them through the whiche the two kings came and mette, wyth ſuche noble men as were appoynted to attende them. And a certaine diſtance from the two firſt pauillions, were appointed to ſtande ſuche companies of men as either of them by appointment had couenanted to bring with them.

Froiſſart.

Fabian.

The othe of the two kings.

The two kyngs before their meeting, receyued a ſolemne othe for aſſurance of their faithfull and true meaning to obſerue the ſacred lawes of amitie one towarde an other in that their enterview, ſo as no damage, violence, moleſtation, arreſt, diſturbance, or other inconuenience ſhould be praſſed by them, or their frendes and ſubiectes: and that if any diſorder roſe thorough any myſhappe, arrogancie, or ſtrife moued by anye perſon, the ſame ſhoulde be reformed, promiſing in the wordes of Princes to aſſiſt one an other in ſuppreſſing the malice of ſuche as ſhould preſume to doe or attempt any thyng that myghte ſounde to the breache of freendly amitie, during the tyme of that aſſemble eight dayes before, and ſeuen dayes after.

The .xxvj. of October the King of Englande remoued from Caleys towarde the Caſtell of Guyſnes, and with him the duke of Berry, who was ſente to take his othe.

The morrow after, being the euen of Symon and Jude, the Kings mette, and the Lordes of Fraunce, to witte, the duke of Berry, Burgundie, Orleans, and Bourbon, the Earle of Sauoy, the Vicounte of Meaux and others, conueyed the Kyng of Englande, and from hym were ſente to conduct the Frenche kyng dyuers of the Engliſhe Lordes, as the two Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, foure Earles, to wit, of Derbye, Rutlande, Notingham, and Northumberlande. After the two kinges were come together into the tent for that purpoſe prepared, it was fyrſt accorded betwixt them, that in the ſame place where they thus mette, ſhoulde be buylded of both their coſts a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which ſhould be called the chapell of our Ladie of peace.

The Chappell of our Lady of peace.

On the Saterday being the feaſt daye of the Apoſtles Simon and Jude, the kings talked togither of certayn articles touching the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded vpon the ſame, they receyued eyther of them an othe vpon the holye Euangeliſtes, to obſerue and keepe all the couenantes accorded vppon. On the Mondaye the French king came to the king of Englande his pauillion, and the ſame tyme was brought thyther the young Queene Iſabell daughter to the Frenche King, who there deliuered hir vnto K. Richarde, which taking hir by the hande kiſſed hir, and gaue to hir Father great thanks for that ſo honourable and gracious a gifte, openly proteſting, that vpon the conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receyue hir, that by ſuche affinitie both realmes might continue in quietnes, and come to a good ende and perfecte concluſion of a perpetuall peace. The Queene was committed vnto the ducheſſes of Lancaſter, & Glouceſter, to the Counteſſes of Huntington & Stafforde, to the Marchioneſſe of Dublyn, daughter to the Lord Coucy, to the Ladies of Namure, Poignings, and others, whyche wyth a noble trayne of men and horſſes, conueyed hir to Caleys: for there were .xij. charets ful of ladies and gentlewomen. This done, the kings came togither into the king of Englãds pauilion to diner.

The french K. giueth his daughter to king Richarde in marriage.

The order of the frenche Kings ſeruice at table.

The French K. ſat on the right ſide of the hal, & was royally ſerued after the maner of his coũtrey, that is to wit, of al maner of meates apointed to be ſerued at the firſt courſe in one mightie large diſh or platter, & likewiſe after the ſame ſort at the ſecond courſe. But the K. of Englãd was ſerued after the engliſh maner. Whẽ the tables wer taken vp, & that they had made an end of diner, the kings kiſſed eche other, and toke theyr horſes. The K. of England brought the French K. on his way, & at length they toke leaue either of other, in ſhakyng handes, and embracing on horſebacke. The French king rode to Arde, and the king of England returned to Caleys.

We haue omitted (as things ſuperfluous to ſpeake of) all the honorable demeanor & curteous entertainment vſed & ſhewed betwixt theſe princes & noble men on both parts, their ſundry feaſtings & bãkettings, what rich apparel, plate, and other furniture of cupbords & tables, the princely gifts & rich iewels which were preſented frõ one to an other, ſtriuing as it might ſeem, who ſhuld ſhew himſelf moſt bounteous & liberal: beſide the giftes which the King of Englande gaue vnto the French king, and to the nobles of his realme (whyche amounted aboue the ſumme of tenne

The expences of K. Richard at this enterviewe.

thouſande markes) the king of England ſpent at this tyme (as the fame went) aboue .iij. C. thouſand markes.

The marriage ſolempniſed at Callais,

After the kyngs returne to Caleys on Wedneſday next enſuyng, being Allhallon day, in ſolemne wiſe he maryed the ſayd Ladye Iſabell in the Church of S. Nicholas, the Archebiſhop of Canterburie doing the office of the miniſter.

The Thurſday after, the dukes of Orleance and Bourbon came to Caleys to ſee the Kyng and the Queene: And on the Fridaye they tooke their leaue and departed, and rode to S. Omers to the Frenche kyng. And the ſame daye in the morning the King and the Queene tooke theyr ſhippe, and hadde faire paſſage: for within three houres they arriued at Douer, from whence they ſped them towardes London, wherof the Citizens being warned, made out certaine horſemen well appoynted in one liuerie of colour, with a deuiſe embroudered on their ſleeues, that euery companie mighte bee knowne from other, the whiche with the Mayre and his brethren, clothed in ſkarlet, met the king and Queen on black heath, and there doing their ducties with humble reuerence attended vpon their maieſties tyll they came to Newington: where the King cōmaunded the Mayre with his companie to returne, for that hee was appoynted to lodge that nyght at Kenington.

The Maior of London, and the citizens meete the king and the Quene on Blackheath.

Shortly after, to witte the .xiij. of Nouember, the young Queene was conueyed from thence with greate pompe vnto the Tower, at whiche tyme there was ſuche preaſſe on London bridge, that by reaſon therof, certayn perſones were thruſte to death: among the whiche the Prior of Tiptree, a place in Eſſex was one, and a worſhipfull matrone in Cornehill an other. The Morrowe after ſhe was conueyed to Weſtminſter with the honour that might be deuiſed, and finally there crowned Queene vppon the Sunday being then the .vij. of Ianuarie.

Certaine thruſt to deathe in the preaſſe on Londō bridge. *Iohn Stow.*

The Queenes coronation.

1397

The .xxij. of Ianuarie was a parliament begon at Weſtminſter in whiche the duke of Lancaſter cauſed to bee legittimated the iſſue whiche he had begotte of Katherin Swinford, before ſhe was his wife: & the ſame time Thomas Beaufort ſonne to the ſayde Duke, by the ſayde Katherin, was created Earle of Sommerſet.

The Duke of Lancaſter his baſtardes made legitimate by Parliament.

There was an ordinaunce made in the ſame Parliament, that Iuſtices ſhoulde not haue any to ſit wyth them as aſſiſtaunts. Moreouer, there was a tenth graunted by the clergie to be paide to the kings vſe at two ſeuerall termes in that preſent yeare.

This yere the king contrarie to his othe reuoked the Iuſtices forth of Irelande, whome by conſtraynt as before ye haue hearde, he was inforced to baniſh, therby to ſatiſfie the noble men that woulde haue it ſo.

The Iuſtices reuoked out of exile.

In this .xx. yeare of his reigne king Richard receyuing the ſummes of money (for the which the ſtrong towne of Breſt was engaged to him) by euill counſayle as many thought, deliuered it vnto the Duke of Britayne, by reaſon wherof no ſmall ſparke of diſpleaſure aroſe betwixt the king and the duke of Glouceſter, whiche kindeled vp ſuche a flame as it was eaſy to doe, hauyng matter inough to feede vpon in both their hartes that finally it coulde no longer be kepte downe, nor by any meanes quenched.

Breſt yelded vp to the Duke of Britaine.

In the moneth of Februarye, the King holding a ſumptuous feaſt at Weſtminſter, many of the Souldiors that were newly come from Breſt preaſſed into the hall, and kept a companie together, whome as the duke of Glouceſter beheld, and vnderſtoode what they were, to remember howe that towne was giuen vp contrary to his mynde and pleaſure, it grieued him not a little: and therefore as the Kyng was entred into hys chaumber, and fewe aboute him, he could not forbeare, but brake forth, and ſayde to the king: Syr ſaw you not thoſe felowes that ſate in ſuche number this daye in the Hall, at ſuche a Table? The King aunſwered that hee ſawe them, and aſked the Duke what they were? To whome the Duke made thys aunſwere: Syr, theſe bee the Souldiors come from Breſt, and as nowe haue nothyng to take to, nor yet knowe howe to ſhifte for their lyuyngs, and the worſe, for that as I am enfourmed, they haue bin euill payde. Then ſayde the Kyng, that is agaynſte my wyll: for I woulde that they ſhoulde haue their due wages: And if any haue cauſe to complayne, lette them ſhewe the matter to the Treaſourer, and they ſhall bee reaſonably anſwered: and herewith he commaunded that they ſhoulde be appoynted to foure certaine villages aboute London, there to remayne and to haue meate, drink, and lodging vpon his charges tyll they were payde.

Priuie grudge betwene the K. and the duke of Glouceſter.

The talke betwene the king and the Duke of Glouceſter.

Out of a french pamphlet.

Thus as they fell into reaſoning of this matter, the duke ſayde to the kyng: Syr your grace ought to put your body in payne to win a ſtrong holde or towne by feate of warre, ere you take vppon you to ſelle or delyuer anye Towne or ſtrong holde gotten with greate aduenture by the manhoode and policie of your noble progenitours.

To this the kyng with changed countenaunce aunſwered and ſayde: Uncle, howe ſaye you that? and the Duke boldely without feare reherſed the ſame agayne, not chaungyng one worde in any better ſorte. Whervppon the Kyng being more chafed, replyed thus: Thynke you that I am a Merchaunte, or a verye foole, to ſell my lande? by Sainct Iohn Baptiſt no:

But trouth it is, that oure couſin the Duke of Britayne hath ſatiſfyed vs of all ſuche ſummes of money as our progenitours lente vnto hym, and to his auncetours, vpon guage of the ſayd towne of Breſt, for the whiche reaſon and conſcience will no leſſe but that the towne ſhoulde therevpon be to him reſtored.

Vpon this multiplying of wordes in ſuche preſumptuous maner by the Duke againſt the Kyng, there kindeled ſuche diſpleaſure betwixt them, that it neuer ceaſſed to increaſe in flames, till the Duke was brought to his ende.

The Erle of S. Paule his comming to king Richarde.

The Earle of Saint Paule at his laſte comming into England to receyue king Richardes othe for obſeruing the truce, had conference with the king of diuers matters. The king by way of complaynt, ſhewed vnto him how ſtiffe the Duke of Glouceſter was in hindering all ſuch matters as he would haue forwarde, not onely ſeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realms of England and France, but alſo procuring trouble at home, by ſtirring the people to rebellion.

The Earle of Sainte Paule hearing of this ſtoute demeanour of the Duke, tolde the King that it ſhould be beſt to prouide in tyme againſt ſuche miſchiefes as might enſue therof, and that it was not to be ſuffred, that a ſubiecte ſhould behaue himſelfe in ſuche ſorte towarde his prince.

Polidor.

The kyng marking his wordes, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counſel, and therevpon determined to ſuppreſſe both the duke and other of his complices, and tooke more diligente regarde to the ſayings and doings of the Duke thā before he had done: and as it cōmeth to paſſe that thoſe which ſuſpect any euil, doe euer deme the worſt, ſo he tooke euery thing in euill part, in ſo muche that he complayned of the Duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, in that he ſhould ſtand agaynſt him in al things and ſeeke his deſtruction, the death of his counſellours, and deſtruction of his realme.

The Dukes of Lancaſter, and Yorke, excuſe the Duke of Glouceſter to the Kyng.

The two Dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke to deliuer the kings mynde of ſuſpition, made anſwere, that they were not ignorant, howe theyr brother of Glouceſter, as a man ſomtymes raſh in wordes, woulde ſpeak oftentimes more than he coulde or would bring to effecte, and the ſame proceeded of a faithfull hearte, which he bare towardes the king, for that it greeued him to vnderſtande, that the confines of the Engliſhe dominions ſhoulde in anye wyſe bee diminiſhed: therfore his grace ought not to regard his wordes, ſith he ſhould take no hurt thereby.

Theſe perſuaſions quieted the king for a time til he was enformed of the practiſe which ẏ duke of Glouceſter had contriued (as the fame wente amongſt diuers perſons) to impriſon the Kyng, for then the duke of Lancaſter and Yorke, fyrſte reprouing the duke of Glouceſter for his to liberal talking, and perceyuing that hee ſet nothyng by their wordes, were in doubt leaſt if they ſhould remayne in the court ſtill, he would vpon a preſumptuous mynde, in truſte to bee borne out by the, attempt ſome outragious enterpriſe. Wherfore they thought beſt to depart for a tyme into theyr countreys, that by their abſence hee might the ſooner learne to ſtay himſelfe for doubt of further diſpleaſure. But it came to paſſe, that their departure from the Court was the caſting away of the duke of Glouceſter. For after that they were gone, there ceaſſed not ſuche as bare hym euill will, to procure the King to diſpatche him out of the waye.

The Duke in deede ſore ſtomacked the matter, that his counſell might not be followed in al things, and ſpecially for that he ſawe (as he toke it) that the King was miſguided by ſome perſons that were about him, otherwiſe than ſtoode with his honour: for reformation whereof, he conferred with the Abbot of S. Albons, and the Prior of Weſtminſter. The Abbot was both his couſin and godfather: and hauing one day both the Duke and Prior at his houſe in Saint Albons: after dinner, he fell in talke with the Duke and Priour, and amongſt other communication required of the Priour to tell a trouthe, whether he had any viſion ẏ night before or not. The Prior ſeemed loth to make a direct anſwer, but at lēgth being earneſtly requeſted, as well by the abbot as duke, he declared that hee had a viſion in deede, which was, that the realme of England ſhould be deſtroyed through the miſgouernment of K. Richard. By the virgine Mary, ſayd the Abbot, I had the verie ſame viſion. The Duke herevpon diſcloſed vnto them all the ſecrets of his mynde, and by their deuiſes preſently cōtriued an aſſemble of diuers great lordes of the realme at Arundell caſtell that day fortnighte, at what tyme he himſelfe appointed to be there, with the Earles of Darbie, Arundell, Marſhall, and Warwike: Alſo the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye, the Abbotte of Sainte Albons, the Priour of Weſtminſter, with diuers other.

A conſpiracy betvvene the duke of Glouceſter, and the Abbot of Saint Albons.

Out of an olde frenche pamphlet belonging to Iohn Stovv.

An.reg.21.

Theſe eſtates beeing come to Arundell Caſtell at the daye appoynted, aboute the verie beginning of the .xxj. yere of king Richardes reigne. They ſware eche to other to bee aſſiſtant in all ſuche matters as they ſhoulde determyne, and therewith receyued the Sacrament at the handes of the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, who celebrated Maſſe before them the morrowe after. Whiche doone, they withdrewe into a chaumber, and fell in counſell togyther, where in the ende they light vpon this poynte, to take Kyng Rycharde, the Dukes of Lancaſter, and Yorke, and commytte them to pryſon, and

The purpoſe of the conſpirators.

all the other Lordes of the Kings Counſell, they determined ſhuld be drawen and hanged. Such was their purpoſe whiche they ment to haue accompliſhed in Auguſt followyng.

The erle Marſhall diſcloſeth the conſpiracy.

But the Erle Marſhall that was Lord deputie of Caleys, and had maryed the Erle of Arundels daughter, diſcouered all theyr counſell to the Kyng, and the verie daye in whiche they ſhoulde beginne their enterpriſe. The king bad the Earle Marſhall take heede what hee hadde ſayde, for if it prooued not true, hee ſhoulde repente it: But the Earle conſtantely herevnto anſwered, that if the matter mighte bee prooued otherwiſe, he was contented to bee drawen and quartered.

The king hereupon wente to London, where he dyned at the houſe of his brother the Earle of Huntington in the ſtreete behynde All hallowes churche vpon the banke of the riuer of Thames, whiche was a ryght fayre and ſtately houſe.

After dinner, he gaue his counſell to vnderſtande all the matter, by whoſe aduiſe it was agreed, that the King ſhould aſſemble forthwith what power he might conueniently make of men of armes and archers, and ſtreightwayes take horſſe, accompanied with his brother the Erle of Huntington, and the Erle Marſhall. Hereupon at .vj. of the clock in the after noone, the iuſt houre when they vſed to go to ſupper, the king mounted on horſebacke, and roade his waye, whereof the Londoners had great meruaile.

The Earle of Rutlande. hathe Graſton.

After that the K. began to approche the dukes houſe at Plaſchy in Eſſex, where he then lay, he cōmaunded his brother the Erle of Huntington to ride afore, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tel him that the king was comming at hande to ſpeake with him. The erle with .x. perſons in his companie amending his pace, (for the king had made no greate haſte all the night before, as ſhould appeare by his iorney) came to the houſe, and entring into the court, aſked if the duke were at home, and vnderſtending by a Gentlewoman that made him anſwer, that both the duke and the Ducheſſe were yet in bed, he beſought hir to go to the Duke, and to ſhewe him, that the K. was cōming at hand to ſpeake with him, & forthwith came the king with a cōpetent number of menne of armes, and a greate companie of Archers, riding into the baſe court, his trumpets ſounding before him.

The duke herewith came downe into the baſe court, where the king was, hauyng none other apparell vpon him, but his ſhirt, and a cloke or a mantel caſt aboute his ſhoulders, & with humble reuerence, ſayd, ỹ his grace was welcome, aſking of the lords how it chanced they came ſo early, & ſent him no word of their cōming?

The Kyng herewith courteouſly requeſted him to goe and make him readye, and commaunde his horſſe to be ſadled, for that hee muſte ryde with him a little waye, and conferre with him of buſyneſſe. The Duke wente vp againe into his chamber to put vpon hym his clothes, and the Kyng alyghtyng from hys horſſe, fell in talke with the ducheſſe and hir ladies.

The Earle of Huntington and diuers other followed the duke into the hall, and there ſtayed for him, til he had put on his raiment. And within a whyle they came forth againe all togither into the baſe court, wher the king was, deliting with the ducheſſe in pleaſant talke, whome he willed nowe to returne to hir lodgyng againe, for he might ſtay no longer, and ſo tooke his horſe againe, and the Duke likewiſe: And ſhortly after that the king and all his companie were gone forth of the gate of the baſe court, he commaunded the Erle Marſhal to apprehend the Duke, which incontinently was done according to the Kings appoyntment.

The Duke of Gloceſter areſted.

Here we finde ſome variance in writers: for as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue ſeen) it ſhould appere, the King commanded firſt, that this Duke ſhould be conueyed vnto the Tower, where he ment to commen with him, and not in any other place: but neuertheleſſe the king ſtreightly after appointed, that he ſhould be ſent to Caleys, as in the ſame Pamphlet is alſo conteined: others write, that immediatly vppon his apprehenſion, the Earle Marſhall conueyed him vnto the Thames, and there beeing ſet aborde in a ſhippe prepared of purpoſe, hee was broughte to Calleys, where hee was at lengthe diſpatched out of lyfe, eyther ſtrangled or ſmothered with pillowes, (as ſome doe write.) For the Kyng thynkyng it not good, that the Duke of Gloceſter ſhould ſtand to his anſwer openly, bicauſe the people bare him ſo good much will, ſent one of his Iuſtices called Williā Rikil, an Iriſhman borne, ouer vnto Caleis, there to inquire of the the duke of Glouceſter, whether he had committed any ſuch treaſons, as were alledged againſt him, and the Earles of Arundel and Warwike, as after ſhall be ſpecified. Iuſtice Rikill hearing what he confeſſed vpon his examination, wrote the ſame as he was cōmaunded to doe, and therwith ſpeedily returned to the king, and as it hath bin reported, he enformed the king (whether truly or not, I haue not to ſay) that the duke frankly confeſſed euery thing, wherwith he was charged. Wherevpon the King ſent vnto Thomas Mowbray Erle Marſhall and of Notingham, to make the Duke ſecretly away.

Out of an olde French pamph.

The Earle prolonged tyme for the executing of the kings cōmandement, though the K. wold haue had it done with all expedition, wherby the King conceiued no ſmall diſpleaſure, and ſware that

that it ſhould coſt the Earle his life if he quickly obeyed not his commaundement. The Earle thus as it ſeemed in manner enforced, called out the Duke at midnight, as if he ſhould haue taken ſhippe to paſſe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the Princes Inne, he cauſed his ſeruantes to caſt fetherbeddes vpon hym, and ſo ſmother him to death, or otherwyſe to ſtrangle him with towels (as ſome write.)

This was the ende of that noble man, fierce of nature, haſtye, wylfull, and giuen more to warre than to peace: and in this greatly to bee diſcommended, that he was euer repining againſt the king in all things, whatſoeuer he wiſhed to haue forward. He was thus made away not ſo ſon as the brute ran of his death: but as it ſhuld appeare by ſome authors, he remained alyue till the parliament that next enſued, and then about the ſame time that the Erle of Arundell ſuffered, he was diſpatched, as before ye haue heard. His bodie was afterwardes with all funerall pompe conueyd into England, and buryed at his owne manour of Plaſhy within the church there, in a ſepulchre whiche he in his life tyme had cauſed to be made, and there erected.

The Earle of Arundell apprehended.

The ſame euening that the K. departed from London towardes Plaſhye, to apprehende the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erle of Rutlande, and the Erle of Kent, were ſent with a greate number of men of armes & archers to arreſt the Erle of Arundell, whiche was done eaſily inough, by reaſon that the ſayde Earle was trayned wyth fayre wordes at the kings handes, till hee was within his daunger, where otherwyſe he might haue bin hable to haue ſaued hymſelfe, and deliuered his frendes. The Earle of Warwike was taken, and cōmitted to the Tower the ſame day that the King hadde willed hym to dinner, and ſhewed him verie good countenaunce.

There were alſo apprehended and committed to the Tower the ſame tyme, the Lorde John Cobham, and ſir John Cheyny knightes.

The Earle of Arundell was ſente to the Iſle of Wight, there to remayne as priſoner, till the next parliament, in the whiche he determined ſo to prouide, that they ſhoulde bee all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of ſome commotion that might ariſe amongſt the commons, he cauſed it by open proclamation to be ſignified that theſe noble men were not apprehended, for any offence committed long agone, but for newe treſpaſſes agaynſt the kyng, as in the next Parliament, it ſhuld be manifeſtly declared & proued.

The names of the appellants.

Shortly after, he procured them to be indited at Notingham, ſuborning ſuche as ſhould appeale them in parliament, to wit, Edward erle of Rutlande, Thomas Mowbray Erle Marſhal, Thomas Holland erle of Kent, John Holland Erle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort Erle of Somerſet, John Mountacute Earle of Saliſbury, Thomas Lorde Spenſer, and the Lorde William Scrope, Lorde Chamberlaine.

A garde of Cheshire men about the king.

In the meane tyme, the King fearing what might be attempted againſt him by thoſe that fauoured theſe noble men that were in durance, ſent for a power of Cheſhire men, that might day and night keepe watche and warde about his perſon. They were about .ij. thouſand archers, payde weekely, as by the Annales of Brytayne it appeareth. The King had little truſt in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the erle of Huntington, and the Earle of Rutlande ſon to the duke of Yorke, and in the Earle of Saliſburye: in theſe onely he repoſed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certain knightes and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

In the meane tyme whyles thinges were thus in broyle before the beginning of the parliament, diuers other beſyde them whom we haue ſpoken of, were apprehended and put in ſundry priſons.

The lordes appoynted to come in warlike manner to the parliament.

The Parliament was ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter the .xvij. of September, and writtes thereupon directed to euery of the Lordes to appeare, and to bring with them a ſufficient number of armed men and archers in their beſt aray: for it was not knowen how the Dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, would take the death of their brother, nor howe other peares of the Realme would take the apprehenſion and impriſonment of their kynſemen, the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, and of the other priſoners. Surely the two Dukes when they heard that their brother was ſo ſodainly made away, they wiſt not what to ſaye to the matter, and beganne bothe to be ſorowfull for his death, and doubtefull of their owne ſtates: for ſith they ſawe howe the Kyng (abuſed by the counſell of euill men) abſteyned not from ſuche an heynous acte, they thought he would afterwardes attempte greater miſorders from tyme to tyme. Therefore they aſſembled in all haſte, greate numbers of theyr ſeruauntes, frendes, and tenauntes, and commyng to London, were receyued into the Citie: For the Londoners were ryghte ſorye for the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, who hadde euer ſought their fauour, in ſomuche, that now they woulde haue bin contented to haue ioyned with the Dukes in ſeeking reuenge of ſo noble a mannes death, procured and broughte to paſſe without lawe or reaſon, as the common bruite then walked, although peraduenture he was not as yet made awaye.

Polidor.

The Dukes of Lancaster, and Yorke assemble their powers to resiste the Kings dealings.

Heere the Dukes and other fell in counſell, & manie thinges were propoſed, ſome wold that they ſhould by force reuenge the duke of Glouceſters death: other thought it mete ẏ the Erles

Marſhall and Huntington, and certaine others, as chiefe authours of all the miſchiefs ſhoulde be purſued and puniſhed for their demerites, hauing trayned vp the king in vice and euill cuſtomes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their diſpleaſure was ſomewhat aſſuaged) determined to couer the ſtinges of their griefs for a tyme, and if the king would amende his maners, to forget alſo the iniuries paſt. In the meane time the K. lay at Eltham, and had got about him a greate power (namely of thoſe archers, which he hadde ſent for out of Cheſhyre, in whome he put a ſingular truſt more than in any other.)

Caxton.
Fabian.
Polidor.

There went meſſengers betwixt him and the Dukes, whiche beeing men of honour did theyr endeuor to appeaſe both parties.

The Kyng diſcharged himſelfe of blame for the duke of Glouceſters death, conſidering that he had gone about to breake the truce, whiche he had taken with France, and alſo ſtirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further hadde ſoughte the deſtruction and loſſe of his lyfe, that was his ſoueraigne Lorde and lawfull kyng.

Contrarily, the Dukes affirmed, that their brother was wrongfully put to death, hauing done nothing worthy of death. At length, by the interceſſion and meanes of thoſe noble menne that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, and the kyng promyſed from thenceforth to doe nothyng but by the aſſent of the dukes: but he kept ſmall promiſe in this behalf, as after wel appeared.

The Kyng and the Dukes recōciled.

Caxton.

When the tyme came, that the Parliamente ſhould be holden at Weſtminſter, according to the tenour of the ſummonance, the Lordes repaired thither, furniſhed with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the Erle of Darbie, the Erle Marſhall, the Erle of Rutland, the Lorde Spenſer, the Erle of Northumberlande, with his ſonne the Lorde Henry Percie, and the Lord Thomas Percie the ſayde Erles brother, alſo the Lord Scrope Treaſourer of Englande, and dyuers other. All the whiche Earles and Lordes brought with them a greate and ſtrong power, euery of them in their beſt aray, as it were to ſtrengthen the king againſt his enimies.

The dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke were likewyſe there, giuing their attendance on the king, with lyke furniture of men of armes & archers.

There was not half lodging ſufficient within the Citie and ſuburbes of London, for ſuche companies of men, as the Lordes brought wyth them to this Parliamēt, called the great Parliament: inſomuche that they were conſtrayned to lye in villages abrode. x. or. xij. myles on ech ſide the Citie.

The greate Parliament.

In the beginning of this Parliament, the K. greatly complayned of the myſdemeanour of the peeres and lordes of his realme, as well for thinges done againſt his will and pleaſure, whyle he was yong, as for the ſtraite dealyng, which they had ſhewed towards the Queene, who was three houres at one time on hir knees before the Erle of Arundell, for one of hir eſquiers, named Jo. Caluerley, who neuertheleſſe had his head ſmit from his ſhoulders, & al the anſwere that ſhe could get, was this: Madame, pray for your ſelfe, and your huſbande, for that is beſte, and lette this ſuite alone. Thoſe that ſet forth the kings greeuances, as prolocutors in this Parliamente were theſe: John Buſhy, Williā Bagot, & Thomas Grene.

The Kinges greeuances opened in this Parliament.

Thom. Wal.
John Bushy, VVilliam Bagot, Thomas Greene.

The king had cauſed a large houſe of timber to be made within the Palaice at Weſtminſter, whiche was called an Hall, couered aboue heade with tyles, and was open at the endes, that all men myght ſee thorough it. This houſe was of ſo great a compaſſe, that vnneth it mighte ſtande within the rowmth of the palaice. In this houſe was made an high throne for the Kyng, and a large place for all eſtates beſides to ſit in.

A newe hall made vvithin the Palace of VVestminster for the assemblemente of the Lordes and [illegible].

There were places alſo made for the appellantes to ſtande on the one ſyde, and the defendants on the other, and a lyke rowmth was made behynde for the knights and burgeſſes of the Parliament. There was a place deuiſed for the ſpeaker, named Sir John Buſhy, a knight of Lincolneſhire, accompted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambicious and couetous beyonde meaſure.

Addition to Policro.

Sir Joh. Bushy speaker.

Immediatly after, eche man being placed in his rowmth, the cauſe of aſſembling that parliamente was ſhewed, as that the kyng had called it, for reformation of diuers tranſgreſſions and oppreſſions committed againſt the peace of hys lande by the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Arundell, Warwicke, and others. Then ſir Jo. Buſhy ſtepte forth, and made requeſt on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it myghte pleaſe the kings highneſſe for their heinous acts attempted againſt his lawes and royal maieſtie, to appoint them puniſhment according to their deſeruings, and ſpecially to the Archb. of Canterbury, (who then ſat nexte the K.) whom he accuſed of high treſon, for that he had euil coūſelled his maieſty, inducing him to graūt his letters of pardon to his brother the Erle of Arundel, being a ranke traytor. When the Archbiſhop began to anſwer in his own defence, the K. willed him to ſit down again, and to hold his peace, for al ſhuld be well. Herewith ſir Jo. Buſhy beſought the Kyng, that the Archebiſhoppe ſhoulde not bee admitted to make his anſwer, which if he did by reaſon of his great wit & good vtterāce, he feared leaſt he ſhuld lead men away to beleue him: ſo ẏ Archb. might be heard no further. Sir John Buſhy in all his talke when hee proponed any matter vnto the King, did not attribute to him titles of honour,

The archebishop of Canterburie sitting in parliament is accused of treason by the speaker.

due and accuſtomed, but inuented vnuſed termes and ſuch ſtrange names, as were rather agreable to the diuine maieſtie of God, than to any earthly potentate. The Prince being deſirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requiſite, ſeemed to like wel of his ſpeech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

Impudent flattery.

Thus when the Archbiſh. was conſtrained to kepe ſilence, ſir Iohn Buſhy proceded in his purpoſe, requiring on the behalf of the commons, that the Charters of pardons graunted vnto the traitors, to witte, the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earles of Arundel and Warwike, ſhould be reuoked by conſent of all the eſtates nowe in parliament aſſembled. The King alſo for his parte proteſted, that thoſe pardons were not voluntarily graũted by him, but rather extorted by compulſion, and therefore he beſought them that euery man wold ſhew forth their opinions what they thought thereof. There were two other perſons of greate credite with the King, beſides ſir Iohn Buſhy, that were, as before you haue heard, very earneſt to haue thoſe Charters of pardon reuoked and made voyde, to witte, ſir William Bagot, and ſir Thomas Greene.

Th. VValſ.

But bicauſe this matter ſeemed to require good deliberation, it was firſt put to the Biſhops, who with ſmall adoe, gaue ſentence, that the ſayde Charters were reuocable, and might wel inough be called in: yet the Archbiſhop of Canterburye in his anſwere hereunto ſayde, that the K. from whome thoſe pardons came, was ſo hygh an eſtate, that he durſt not ſay, that any ſuche charters by him granted, might be reuoked: notwithſtanding, his brethren the biſhops thought otherwyſe: not conſidering (ſayth Thomas Walſ.) that ſuch reuoking of the kings Charters of pardon ſhoulde ſound highly to the kings diſhonor: forſomuche as mercie and pardoning tranſgreſſions is accompted to bee the confirmation and eſtabliſhing of the kings ſeate and royall eſtate.

The temporal lords perceiuing what the Biſhops had done, did likewiſe giue their conſents, to reuoke the ſame pardons: but the iudges with thoſe that were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but finally the Biſhops pretendyng a ſcrupuloſitie, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences bee preſente where iudgement of bloud ſhoulde paſſe, they appoynted a laye man to be their prolocutor to ſerue that turn. To conclude, at length all maner of Charters of pardon were made voyde, for that the ſame ſeemed to impeach the ſuretie of the Kings perſon. When ſir Iohn Buſhy and his aſſociats, had obteined that reuocation, it was further by them declared, that the Erle of Arundel had yet another ſpeciall charter of pardon for his owne perſon, which he had obteined after the firſt. And therefore ſir Io. Buſhy earneſtly requeſted in name of the Communaltie that the ſame might likewyſe be reuoked.

The charters of pardon graunted to the lords made voide by Parliament.

The queſtion then was aſked of the biſhops, who declared themſelues to be of the lyke opinion, touching that Charter, as they were of the other. At that ſelfe tyme the Archbiſhop of Canterbury abſented himſelfe from the Parliament, in hope that the king woulde be his frende, and ſtande his verie good Lorde, for that he had promiſed nothing ſhould be done againſt him in the parliament whileſt he was abſent: but neuertheleſſe, at the importunate ſuite of the ſayd ſir Iohn Buſhy and others, the Archbiſhop was condemned vnto perpetuall exile, and appoynted to auoyd the realme within ſix weekes. And therwith the king ſente ſecretly to the Pope for order that the Archebiſhoppe might be remoued from his ſea to ſome other, whiche ſuite was obteyned, and Roger Walden Lorde Treaſorer was ordeyned Archbiſhop in his place, as after ſhal appeare. On the feaſt day of Saint Mathewe, Rich. Fitz Aleyn, Earle of Arundel, was broughte forthe to ſwere before the king and whole Parliamente to ſuche Articles as he was to be charged with.

Tho. VValſ.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury condempned to perpetuall baniſhment.

vi. dayes hath Grafton.

The Earle of Arundell areigreigned.

And as he ſtode at the barre, the Lorde Neuill was commaunded by the Duke of Lancaſter which ſate that day as high ſteward of Englande, to take the hoode from his necke, and the gyrdle from his waſte. Then the Duke of Lancaſter declared vnto him, that for his manyfolde rebellions and treaſons againſt the kings maieſtie he hadde him arreſted, and hytherto kepte in warde, and nowe at the petition of the Lordes and commons, he was called to aunſwere ſuche crimes as were there to be obiected agaynſt him, and ſo to purge himſelfe, or elſe to ſuffer for his offences, ſuche puniſhement as lawe appointed.

The Duke of Lancaſter highe Steevvarde of England at this arreinement.

Fyrſt, he charged him, for that he had traytcrouſly ridde in armour againſt the king in companye of the duke of Glouceſter, and of the Erle of Warwike, to the breache of peace, and diſquieting of the realme.

His anſwere hereunto was, that he didde not this vpon any euill meaning towardes the kings perſone, but rather for the benefite of the King, and realme, if it were interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be.

The Earle of Arundell his aunſvveres to the pointes of his inditement.

It was further demaunded of hym, why hee procured letters of pardon from the kyng, if he knewe hymſelfe giltleſſe? He aunſwered, that he did not purchaſe them for any feare he hadde of faultes by him committed, but to ſtaye the malicious ſpeache of them that neyther loued the K. nor hym. He was agayne aſked, whether he would denye that he made any ſuch roade with the perſones before named, and that in companye of them he entred not armed vnto the kings preſence againſt the kings will and pleaſure?

To this he anſwered, that he coulde not deny it, but that he ſo did.

Then the ſpeaker ſir John Buſhy with open mouth beſought that iudgemēt might be had againſt ſuch a traitour, and your faithful cōmons (ſaid he to the K.) aſke and require that ſo it may be don. The Erle turning his head aſide, quietly ſaid to him, not the kings faithfull cōmōs require this, but thou, and what thou art I knowe.

Then the eight appellants ſtanding on the other ſide, caſt their gloues to him, and in proſecuting their appeale (which already had bin red) offred to fyght with him man to man to iuſtifye the ſame. Then ſayde the Earle, if I were at libertie, and that it myght ſo ſtande with the pleaſure of my Soueraigne, I woulde not refuſe to proue you all lyers in this behalfe.

Then ſpake the duke of Lancaſter, ſaying to him, What haue you further to ſay, to the pointes before ſayde againſt you? He anſwered, that of the Kings grace he hadde his letters generall pardon, which he required to haue allowed.

Then the duke told him, that the pardon was reuoked by the Prelates and noble men in the parliamente, and therefore willed hym to make ſome other anſwere. The Erle tolde him agayn that he had an other pardon vnder yͤ kings great ſeale graunted him long after of the kings owne motion, whiche alſo hee required to be allowed. The Duke tolde hym, that the ſame was lykewyſe reuoked.

The Earle of Arundell condemned.

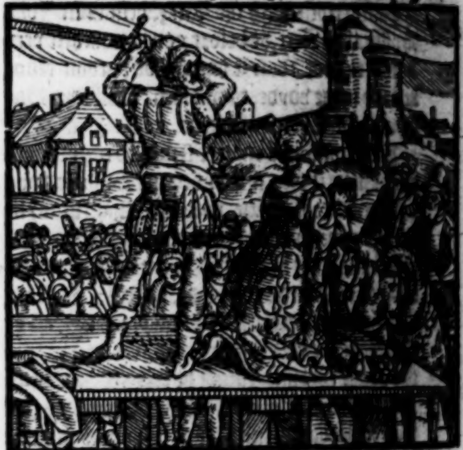
After this, when the Earle had nothing more to ſaye for himſelfe, the duke pronounced iudgement againſt him, as in caſes of treaſon is vſed.

But after he had made an ende, and pauſed a little, he ſayd: The king oure ſoueraigne Lorde of his mercie and grace, bicauſe thou art of hys bloud, and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines, ſauing the laſt, that is to wit, the beheadyng, and ſo thou ſhalt onely loſe thy head, and forthwith he was had away, and ledde through London vnto the tower hill.

There went with him to ſee the execution don vj. great lords, of whom there were three Erles, Notingham (that had maried his daughter) Kēt (that was his daughters ſon,) and Huntington, being mounted on greate horſſes, with a greate companie of armed men, & the fierce bands of the Cheſhire mē, furniſhed wͭ axes, ſwerdes, bowes & arrowes, marching before & behynde him, who only in this parliament, had licence to bear weapon, as ſome haue written. When he ſhould depart the palaice, he deſired that his handes might be lewſed to diſpoſe ſuche money as he had in his purſe betwixte that place and Charingcroſſe. This was permitted, and ſo he gaue ſuche money as he had, in almes with his owne handes, but his armes were ſtill bound behynde hym.

When he came to the Tower hil, the noble men that were about him, moued him right earneſtly to acknowledge his treaſon agaynſte the king. But he in no wiſe wold ſo doe, but mayntayned, that he was neuer traytour in worde or deede: and herewith perceyuing the Earles of Notingham and Kent, that ſtood by with other noble men buſy to further the execution (being as ye haue heard) of kin and alyed to him, he ſpake to them, and ſayd: Truly it woulde haue beſeemed you rather to haue bin abſente than heere at this buſineſſe. But the tyme will come ere it be long, when as many ſhal merueyle at your miſfortune as do nowe at myne.

After this, forgiuing the executioner, he beſoughte hym not to tormente hym long, but to ſtrike off his heade at one blowe, and feeling the edge of the ſworde, whether it was ſharpe ynough or not, he ſayde, It is verie well, do that that thou haſte to doe quickely, and ſo kneelyng downe, the executioner with one ſtroke, ſtrake off his head: his bodie was buried togither with his head in the Churche of the Auguſtine Friers in Breadſtreete within the Citie of London.



The execution of the Earle of Arundell.

The death of this erle was much lamented among the people, conſidering his ſodeyn fall and miſerable ende, where as not long before among all the noble men of this land (within the whiche was ſuch a nūber, as no countrey in the worlde had greater ſtore at that preſent) there was none more eſteemed: ſo noble and valiant he was, that all men ſpake honour of him. After his death, as the fame went, the K. was ſore vexed in his ſleepe with horrible dreames, imaginyng that he ſawe this Earle appeare vnto him, threatening him, and putting him in horrible fear, with which viſions being ſore troubled in his ſleepe, hee curſed the daye that euer he knewe the Earle. And he was the more vnquiet, bicauſe he heard it reported, that the common people tooke the Earle for a martyr, in ſo muche that ſome came to viſite the place of his ſepulture, for the opinion they had

conceyued

conceiued of his holines: and where it was bruted abroade as for a miracle, that his head ſhold be growen to his bodie againe, the .x. day after his buriall, the king ſent aboute .x. of the clocke in the night, certaine of the nobilitie to ſee hys body taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Whiche done, and perceiuing it was a fable, he commanded the Friers to take down his armes that were ſette vp aboute the place of his buriall, & to couer the graue, ſo as it ſhould not be perceyued where he was buryed.

The Earle of Warwicke araigned of treaſon.

But nowe to returne to the parliament. After the death of this earle, the lorde Thomas Beauchamp earle of Warwicke, was brought forth to abide his triall by Parliament, & when his accuſers charged him of like points of treaſon, ſuche as before were impoſed to the Earle of Arundell: he anſwered that he neuer ment euill to the kings perſon, nor thought that thoſe roades and aſſembles that were made in companie of the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Arundel, and others, might be accompted treaſon. But when the Iudges had ſhewed hym, that they could not be otherwiſe taken than for treaſon, he humblie beſought the king of mercy and grace. The king then aſked of hym, whether he had ridde with the Duke of Glouceſter, and the earle of Arundell, as had bin alledged: he anſwered that he could not deny it, and wiſhed that he had neuer ſeen them. Then ſaid the king, doe ye not knowe that you are guiltie of treaſon? hee anſwered againe, I acknowledge it, and with ſobbing teares beſought all them that were preſent, to make interceſſion to the kings maieſtie for him. Then the king and the duke of Lancaſter communed, and after the K. had a while with ſilence conſidered of the matter, he ſaide to the erle, by S. Iohn Baptiſte, Thomas of Warwik, this confeſſion that thou haſt made, is vnto me more agreable than al the duke of Glouceſters, & the earle of Warwikes landes. Herewith the Erle making ſtill interceſſion for pardon, the Lordes humbly beſought the K. to graunt it. Finally the king pardoned him of life, but he baniſhed him into the Iſle of Man, which then was the L. Scropes, promiſing ẏ both hee & his wife & children ſhuld haue good enterteinment: whiche promiſe notwithſtanding, was but ſlenderly kept, for bothe the earle and the Counteſſe liued in great penurie, (as ſome write) and yet the lorde Scrope, that was L. Chāberlaine, had allowed for the erles diet .iiij. M. nobles yerely paid out of the kings coffers. On the Monday nexte after the arreignement of the erle of Warwick, to witte, the .xxiiij. of September, was the Lorde Iohn Cobham, and Syr Iohn Cheyney arreigned, and founde guiltie of like treaſons for whiche the other had bin condempned afore: but at the earneſt inſtance & ſuite of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and baniſhed, or as Fabian hath, condempned to perpetuall priſon. The king deſirous to ſee the force of the Londoners, cauſed them during the time of this parliament to muſter before hym on Blacke Heath, where a man might haue ſeene a great number of able perſonages. And now after that the parliamēt had continued almoſte till Chriſtemaſſe, it was adiourned vntill the Quinden of ſaint Hillarie, then to begin agayne at Shrewſbury.

The parliament adiourned to Shrevvſbury.

The K. keepeth his Chriſtmaſſe at Lichefielde.

1398

The Kyng then came downe to Lichfield, and there helde a Royall Chriſtmaſſe, whiche being ended, he toke his iorney towardes Shrewſbury, where the parliament was appointed to begin in the quinden of S. Hillarie, as before ye haue hearde. In which parliament there holde vpon prorogation for the loue that the K. bare to the gentlemen & cōmons of the ſhire of Cheſter, he cauſed it to be ordeined, that from thence forth it ſhuld be called and knowen by the name of the Principalitie of Cheſter: and herewith he entitled himſelf prince of Cheſter. He helde alſo a roial feaſt, keping open houſhold for al honeſt cōmers, during the which feaſt, he created v. dukes & a ducheſſe, a Marques, and .iiij. erles. The Erle of Derbie was created duke of Hereford: the erle of Notingham ẏ was alſo erle of Marſhall, the duke of Norfolk: the erle of Rutlande, Duke of Aubemarle: the Earle of Kent Duke of Surrey: and the Earle of Huntington Duke of Exceſter: The Lady Margaret Marſhall Counteſſe of Norfolke, was created Ducheſſe of Norfolke: The Earle of Sommerſet Marques Dorſet: the Lorde Spencer Earle of Glouceſter: the Lorde Neuill ſurnamed Dauraby Earle of Weſtmerlande: The Lorde William Scrope Lorde Chamberlaine Earle of Wilteſhire: and the Lorde Thomas Percie Lorde Stewarde of the Kynges houſe Earle of Worceter.

Cheſhire made a Principalitie.

King Richarde Prince of Cheſter.

Creation of dukes and Earles.

And for the better maynteinaunce of the eſtate of theſe noble men, whom he had thus aduaunced to higher degrees of honour, hee gaue vnto them a greate parte of thoſe landes, that belonged to the Duke of Glouceſter, the earles of Warwicke, and Arundell.

And nowe hee was in good hope, that hee had rooted vp all plantes of treaſon, and therefore cared leſſe who might be his friende or foe, than before he hadde done, eſteeming hymſelfe hygher in degree, than any Prynce lyuing, and ſo preſumed further than euer his grandefather did, and toke vpon hym to beare the armes of Sainct Edwarde, ioyning them vnto his owne armes.

King Richarde beareth Sainct Edvva. de hys armes.

To conclude, whatſoeuer hee then did, none durſte ſpeake a worde contrarie thereto. And yet ſuche as were chiefe of his coũſell, were eſteemed of the commons to bee the worſt creatures that might be, as the Dukes of Aumarle, Norfolk and Excester, the Erle of Wilteſhire: ſir John Buſhie: ſir William Bagot: and Sir Thomas Grene: which three laſt remembred, were Knightes of the Bathe, againſte whome the commons vndoubtedly bare greate and priuy hatred.

The Lorde Reignolde Cobham condemned.

But now to procede. In this Parliament holden at Shrewſburye, the Lorde Reignolde Cobham, beeing a verye aged manne, ſimple and vpright in all his dealings, was condemned, for none other cauſe, but for that in the xj. yeare of the Kings raigne, hee was apointed with other, to be attendaunt about the king as one of his gouernors. The actes and ordinaunces alſo deuiſed and eſtabliſhed in the parliament holden in that. xj. yeare were likwiſe repealed. Moreouer, in this Parliament at Shrewesbury, it was decreed, that the Lorde John Cobham ſhoulde be ſente into the Iſle of Gerneſey, there to remaine in exile, hauyng a ſmall portion aſſigned hym to liue vpon. The king ſo wroughte, that hee obteyned the whole power of bothe houſes, to be graunted vnto certaine perſones, as to John duke of Lancaſter: Edmunde duke of Yorke: Edmunde Duke of Aumerle: Tho. duke of Surrey: John duke of Exceſter: John Marques Dorſet: Rog. erle of Marche: Jo. erle of Saliſbury, & Henry erle of Northumberland: Tho. erle of Glouceſter: & Wil. erle of Wiltſhire: John Huſſey, Henry Chelmeſwick, Robert Tey, and Jo. Gouloſer knights, or to. vij. or. viij. of them. Theſe were appointed to heare & determine certaine petitions and maters, yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this graunt, they proceded to conclude vpon other thinges, whiche generally touched the knowledge of the whole parliamẽt, in derogation of the ſtates thereof, to the diſaduantage of the kyng, & perillous example in time to come. When the king had ſpente much money in time of this parliamẽt, he demanded a diſme & a halfe of the clergie, and a. xv. of the temporaltie. Finally, a generall pardon was graunted for all offences to all the kinges ſubiectes (50. only excepted) whoſe names he wold not by any meanes expreſſe, but reſerued them to his owne knowledge, that when any of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his pleaſure name him to be one of the number excepted, and ſo keepe them ſtill within his daunger. To the ende that the ordinaunces, iudgementes, and actes made, pronounced and eſtabliſhed in this Parliamente, mighte be and abide in perpetuall ſtrengthe and force,

The auctoritie of bothe houſes in parliament grãted to certaine perſons.

Tho. VValſ.

the Kyng purchaſed the Popes Bulles, by which were conteined greeuous cenſures & curſes, pronounced agaynſt al ſuche as did by any means go about to breake & violate the ſtatutes in the ſame parliamente ordeined. Theſe Bulles were openly publiſhed and red at Poules croſſe in London, & in other the moſt publike places of the realme. Many other things were done in this parliamẽt, to the diſpleaſure of no ſmall number of people, namely, for that diuers rightfull heires were diſinherited of their lands and liuings, by auctoritie of the ſame parliament: with which wrongfull doings the people were muche offended, ſo that the K. and thoſe that were about him, & chiefe in counſell, came into greate infamy and ſlaunder: In deede the king after he had diſpatched the duke of Gloceſter, and the other noble men, was not a little glad, for that he knewe them ſtill ready to diſappoint him in all his purpoſes, & therefore being nowe as it were careleſſe, did not behaue hymſelfe (as ſome haue written) in ſuch diſcreete order, as many wiſhed: but rather (as in time of proſperitie it often happeneth) he forgot hymſelfe, and beganne to rule by will more than by reaſon, threatning deathe to eche one that obeyed not his inordinate deſires; by meanes wherof, the lordes of the realme began to feare their owne eſtates, being in danger of his furious outrage whome they toke for a manne deſtitute of ſobrietie and wiſedome, and therefore coulde not like of him, that ſo abuſed his auctoritie. Hereupon there were ſundry of the nobles, that lamented theſe miſchiefes, and ſpecially ſhewed their griefes vnto ſuch, by whoſe naughty coũſell they vnderſtode the king to be miſled, and this they did, to the ende that they being aboute him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better coũſell, or elſe he hauing knowledge what euill reporte went of him, might amende his maners. But all was in vaine, for ſo it fell forthe, that in this parliamẽt holdẽ at Shrewſbury, Henry Duke of Hereford, accuſed Tho. Mowbray duke of Norfolke, of certaine wordes which he ſhuld vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they roade togyther lately before, betwixte London and Brainforde, ſounding highely to the kings diſhonor. And for further proofe thereof, he preſented a ſupplication to the K. wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battaile, for a traitour, falſe and diſloiall to the K. and enimy vnto the realme. This ſupplication was redde beefore bothe the Dukes in preſence of the Kyng: whiche done, the Duke of Norfolke toke vppon hym to aunſwere it, declaring that whatſoeuer the Duke of Herforde hadde ſayde agaynſte hym other than well, hee lyed falſely like an vntrue Knighte,

The kyng purchaſeth the Popes Bulles agaynſt the breakers of his ſtatutes.

Rightfull heires diſinherited.

Polidor.

Kyng Richards his euill gouernment.

The Duke of Herfords appealeth the duke of Norfolk of treaſon.

Tho. VVal.

as he was? And whē the king aſked of the duke of Herforde what he ſaide to it, he taking hys hoode off his heade, ſaid: My ſoueraigne Lorde, euen as the ſupplication whiche I tooke you importeth, right ſo I ſay for truthe, that Thomas Moubray duke of Norfolke, is a traitour falſe and diſloyall to your royall maieſtie, your crowne, and to all the ſtates of your realme.

Then the Duke of Norfolke beeyng aſked what he ſaid to this, he anſwered, Right deare Lord, with your fauour that I make anſwere vnto your couſin here, I ſay (your reuerence ſaued,) that Henry of Lancaſter duke of Hereforde, like a falſe and diſloyall traitour as he is, dothe lye in that he hath or ſhall ſay of mee otherwiſe than well. No more ſaide the Kyng, wee haue hearde enough: and herewyth commaunded the Duke of Surrey for that tourne Marſhall of Englande, to arreſt in his name the two Dukes: the Duke of Lancaſter father to the Duke of Herforde, the Duke of Yorke, the Duke of Aumarle Conſtable of Englande, and the duke of Surrey Marſhal of the realm, vndertooke as pledges body for body for the duke of Herford: but the duke of Norfolke was not ſuffred to put in pledges, and ſo vnder arreſt was led vnto Windſor caſtel, and there garded wyth keepers, that were appointed to ſee hym ſafely kept. Nowe after the diſſoluing of the Parliament at Shrewſbury, there was a day appointed about a ſixe weekes after, for the K. to come vnto Winſor to hear and to take ſome order betwixte the two dukes, which had thus appealed eche other.

The Duke of Surry Marshal and the Duke of Aumarle constable of Englande.

There was a greate ſkaffold erected within the caſtell of Windſore for the king to ſit with the Lordes and Prelates of his realme: and ſo at the day apointed, he with the ſaide lords & prelats being come thither and ſet in their places, the duke of Herford appellāt, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were ſent for to come and apeare before the K. ſitting ther in his ſeate of Iuſtice. And then began to ſpeak ſir Io. Buſhy for the K. declaring to the lords how they ſhuld vnderſtand that where the duke of Hereford had preſented a ſupplication to the K. that was there ſet to miniſter iuſtice vnto al men that wold demaund the ſame, as apperteined to his roiall Maieſty, he therfore wold now heare what the parties could ſay one againſt an other, & withall the K. commaunded the dukes of Aumarle & Surrey, the one beyng conſtable, & the other marſhall to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalf, to grow to ſome agreement: and for hys parte, hee woulde be readye to pardon all that hadde bene ſayde or done amiſſe betwixte them, touching any harme or diſhonour to him or hys realme: but they aunſwered bothe aſſuredly that it was not poſſible to haue any peace or agreement made betwixt them. When hee hearde what they hadde aunſwered, hee commaunded that they ſhoulde bee broughte forthwith before his preſence, to heare what they woulde ſaye.

The order of the proceeding in this appeale.

Herewith an Herauld in the Kings name with loude voice commaunded the Dukes to come before the King, either of them to ſhewe his reaſon, or elſe to make peace togither without more delay.

When they were come before the King and Lordes, the King ſpake himſelfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace togither: for it is (ſaide he) the beſt way ye can take.

The Duke of Norfolke with due reuerence hereunto aunſwered, that it coulde not bee ſo brought to paſſe, his honour ſaued.

Then the King aſked of the Duke of Hereforde, what it was that hee demaunded of the Duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye cannot make peace togyther, and become friendes?

Then ſtoode forth a Knight that aſking and obteining licence to ſpeake for the duke of Herford, ſaid, Right dere and ſoueraigne Lorde, here is Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Herefords and Erle of Darbie, who ſaith, and I for hym likewiſe ſay, that Thomas Moubray Duke of Norfolke is a falſe and diſloyall traytour to you, & your royall Maieſtie, and to your whole realme: and likewiſe the duke of Hereford ſaith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke hath receyued. viij. M. nobles to paye the ſouldiors that keepe your Towne of Callais, whiche he hath not done as he oughte: and furthermore the ſaide Duke of Norfolke hath bin the occaſion of all the treaſon that hath bin contriued in your Realme for the ſpace of theſe. xviij. yeres, and by his falſe ſuggeſtions and malicious counſell, hath cauſed to dye and to be murthered your right deire vncle, the duke of Glouceſter, ſonne to king Edwarde.

The obiections against the Duke of Norfolke.

Moreouer, the Duke of Herefordе ſaith and I for hym, that he will proue this with his bodye, againſt the body of the ſaid duke of Norfolke within liſtes.

The king herewith waxed angry, and aſked the Duke of Hereford, if theſe were his wordes, who aunſwered, Right deare Lord, they are my wordes, and hereof I require right, and the battell againſt hym.

There was a Knight alſo that aſked licence to ſpeake for the Duke of Norfolke, and obteining it, began to aunſwere thus: Right deare ſoueraigne Lorde, here is Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke, who aunſwereth and ſaith, and I for him, that all that Henry of Lancaſter hath ſayde and declared (ſauing the reuerence due to the king and his counſell) is a lye, and the ſaide Henrye of Lancaſter hath falſely and wickedly lyed as a falſe and diſloyall Knyght, and bothe hath bene, and is a traitour againſte you, your Crowne, royall Maieſtye, and Realme.

This will I proue and defende as becommeth a loyall Knyghte to doe, wyth my body againſte his: Right deare Lord, I beſeeche you therefore, and your counſell, that it maye pleaſe you in your royal diſcretion, to conſider and marke, what Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Herforde ſuche a one as he is, hath ſaide.

The King then demaunded of the duke of Norfolk, if theſe were his wordes, and whether he had any more to ſay. The Duke of Norfolk then anſwered for himſelf: Right deare ſir, true it is, that I haue receyued ſo muche golde to pay your people of the town of Callaice, which I haue done, & I do auouche that your towne of Callais is aſwell kept at your commaundemente as euer it was at any time before, and that there neuer hathe bene by any of Callais any complaint made vnto you of me. Ryghte deare and my ſoueraigne Lorde for the voiage that I made into Fraunce, aboute your mariage I neuer receyued eyther golde or ſiluer of you, nor yet for the voyage that the Duke of Aumarle, and I made into Almaigne, where wee ſpente great treaſure: mary true it is, that once I laid an ambuſhe to haue ſlaine the duke of Lancaſter, that there ſitteth: but neuertheleſſe hee hathe pardoned mee thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the whiche I yelde hym harty thankes.

The duke of Norfolke his aunſvvere for hymſelfe.

This is that whiche I haue to aunſwere, and am ready to defende my ſelfe againſt mine aduerſarie, I beſeeche you therefore of righte and to haue the bataile againſt him, in vpright iudgement.

After this, when the King had communed with his counſell a little, hee commaunded the two Dukes to ſtande forth, that their anſwers might bee hearde. The kyng then cauſed them once againe to bee aſked if they woulde agree, and make peace togither, and they bothe flatly aunſwered that they woulde not: and wythall the duke of Herford caſte downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolk toke it vp. The king perceyuing this demeanor betwixte them, ſware by S. John Baptiſt, that he wold neuer ſeeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therwith ſir Jo. Buſhy in name of the K. and his counſell, declared, that the king and his counſell had commaunded, and ordeined, that they ſhold haue a day of battell, appoynted them, at Couentrie. Here writers diſagree about the day that was appoynted: for ſome ſay, it was vpon a Monday in Auguſt: other vpon S. Lambertes daye, being the xvij. of September: other on the. xj. of September: But true it is, that the K. aſsigned them not only the day, but alſo apoynted them liſts and place for the combate, and thervpon greate preparation was made, as to ſuche a matter apperteined. At the time appointed the King came to Couentrye, where the two Dukes were readye, according to the order preſcribed therin, comming thither in greate arraye, accompanied with the Lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king had cauſed a ſumptuous ſcaffolde or theatre, and royall liſtes there to bee erected and prepared: The Sundaye before they ſhoulde fight, after diner the duke of Hereforde came to the Kyng (being lodged like a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belõged to ſir Wil. Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morrow after, being the day apointed for the combat about the ſpring of the day came ỹ duke of Norfolke to the Court to take leaue likewiſe of the King.

The combate apointed to bee done at Couentrye.

The Frenche Pamph.
Stowe.
Fabian.

Anno 22.

The Duke of Herforde armed hym in his tent, that was ſet vp nere to the liſts, & the duke of Norfolke putte on his armour, betwixte the gate and the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull houſe, hauing a faire perclois of wood towardes the gate, that none might ſee what was done within the houſe.

The duke of Aumerle that daye being highe Conſtable of Englande, and the duke of Surrey Marſhall, placed themſelues betwixt them, well armed and apointed, and when they ſawe their time, they firſt entred into the liſtes wyth a greate company of men apparelled in ſilke ſendall, embroudered with ſiluer, both richely, and curiouſly, euery man hauing a tipped ſtaffe to keepe the fielde in order.

The order of the combate.

Aboute the houre of Prime came to the barriers of the liſts, the duke of Herford, mounted on a white courſer, barded wyth greene and blewe veluet embroydered ſumptuouſlye wyth Swans and Antelops of goldſmithes worke, armed at all points. The Conſtable and Marſhall came to the barriers, demaunding of hym what hee was, hee aunſwered I am Henry of Lancaſter duke of Herforde, whiche am come hither to do my deuoir againſt Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to god, the K. his realme, and me. Then incontinently hee ſware vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, that his quarell was true and iuſte, and vpon that point he required to enter the liſts.

Then hee put vp his ſworde, which before he helde naked in his hand, and putting down his viſer, made a croſſe on his horſe, & with speare

The c
fixed b
Kyng.

in hande, entred into the liſtes, and diſcended from his horſe, & ſet hym downe in a chaire of greene veluet, at the one end of the liſts, & there repoſed hymſelfe, abiding the comming of his aduerſary. Soon after him, entred into the field with greate triumph, King Richarde accompanied with all the peares of the realme, and in his company was the earle of ſainct Paule, whiche was come out of Fraunce in poſt to ſee this chalenge performed. The King had there aboue tenne thouſande men in armour, leaſt ſome fray or tumult might riſe amõgſt his nobles, by quarrelling or partaking. Whẽ the K. was ſet in his ſeate, which was richely hanged and adorned: a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the King, & of the high conſtable, and Marſhal, to enterpriſe or attempte, to approche or touche any parte of the liſtes, vpon paine of death, excepte ſuche as were appointed to order or marſhall the fielde.

The proclamation ended, an other Herault cried, beholde here Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Hereforde appellant, whiche is entred into the liſtes royall to do his deuoir againſte Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to be founde falſe and recreant.

The duke of Norfolke houered on horſeback at the entrie of the liſts, his horſe being barded with crimoſen veluet, embroudered richly with Lions of ſiluer and Mulbery trees, & when he had made his othe before the conſtable, & Marſhall that his quarrell was iuſt and true, he entred the fielde manfully, ſaying aloude: God aide hym that hath the righte, and then hee departed from his horſe, and ſate hym downe in his chaire which was crimſen veluet, courtined aboute wyth white and redde damaſke. The Lord Marſhal viewed their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall lengthe, and deliuered the one ſpeare hymſelfe to the Duke of Hereforde, and ſent the other vnto the Duke of Norfolke by a Knighte. Then the Herrault proclaimed that the trauerſes, and chaires of the champions ſhoulde bee remoued, commaunding them on the kinges behalfe, to mount on horſebacke and addreſſe themſelues to the battaile and cõbate. The duke of Herford was quickly horſed, and cloſed his bauier, and caſte his ſpeare into the reſte, and when the trumpet ſounded ſette forwarde couragiouſly towards hys enimy ſixe or vij. paces. The duke of Norfolke was not fully ſet forward, when the K. caſte downe hys warder, and the Heraultes cried, ho, ho.

The combate ſtaied by the kyng.

Then the K. cauſed their ſpears to be taken frõ them and cõmaunded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remayned .ij. long houres; while the K. & his cõuſell deliberatly conſulted what order was beſte to be had in ſo weightye a cauſe. Finally after they had deuiſed, & fully determined what ſhuld be done therin, the Heraultes cried ſilence, and Syr Iohn Buſhy the kings ſecretary red the ſentence and determination of the K. and his counſell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henry duke of Herford ſhould within .xv. dayes depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of .x. yeres were expired, except by the Kyng hee ſhould bee repealed again, and this vpon paine of deathe: And that Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolke, bycauſe hee had ſowen ſedition in the realme by his words, ſhould likewiſe auoid the Realme, and neuer to retourne againe into Englande, nor approche the borders or confines therof, vpon paine of death, and that the K. would ſtay the profites of his landes, till he had leuied therof ſuche ſummes of mony as the duke had taken vp of the kings treaſurer for the wages of the garriſon of Calleis, whych were ſtill vnpaide.

The King his dome betvvixt the .ii. Dukes.

When theſe iudgements were once red, the K. called before him both the parties, & made them to ſweare that the one ſhuld neuer come in place, where the other was, willingly, nor kepe any companye to gither in any forrein region, whiche othe they bothe receiued humbly, and ſo wente their waies. The Duke of Norfolke departed ſorowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at the laſte came to Venice, where he for thought and melancoly deceaſed: for he was in hope as writers recorde, that he ſhould haue bene borne out in the matter by the K. which when it fell out otherwiſe, it greeued hym not a little. The Duke of Hereford toke his leaue of the K. at Eltham, which there releaſed .iiij. yeres of hys baniſhement: So he toke hys iorney ouer into Calais, and from thence went into Fraunce, wher hee remained. I wonder it was to ſee what number of people ran after him in euery town and ſtrete, where he came, before he tok the ſea, lamenting & bewailing his departure, as who ſhuld ſay, that whẽ he departed, the only ſhield, defence and comforte of the common wealthe was vaded and gone.

The Duke of Herforde beloued of the people.

At his comming into Fraunce K. Charles hearyng the cauſe of hys baniſhement (whiche he eſteemed to bee verye light) receiued hym gently, and him honorably interteined, in ſo much that he had by fauor obteyned in mariage the only daughter of yͤ duke of Berry, vncle to the frenche K. if King Richard had not bin a let in that matter, who being therof certified, ſent the earle of Saliſbury with all ſpeede into France, both to ſurmiſe by vntrue ſuggeſtion, hainous offences againſt him, and alſo to require the frenche King that in no wiſe hee woulde ſuffer his couſin to bee

The Duke of Hereford is honorably enterteined vvith the french king.

Froiſſart.

1399

matched in mariage with him that was ſo manifeſt an offendor. On Newyeares day this yeare, the riuer that paſſeth betwixte Suelleſton or Snelſton, and Harewood, two villages not farre from Bedforde, ſodeinly ceaſſed hir courſe, ſo as the chanell remained drie by the ſpace of three miles, that any man might enter into, and paſſe the ſame drie foote at his pleſure. This deuiſion whiche the water made in that place, the one part ſeeming as it were not to come nere to the other, was iudged, to ſignifie the reuolting of the ſubiectes of this land, from their naturall Prince: althoughe it may be, that the water of that riuer ſanke into the ground, and by ſome ſecrete paſſage, or chanell tooke courſe till it came to the place where it might riſe again, as in other places is likewiſe ſeene. Ye haue heard before, howe the Archebiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel, was baniſhed the Realme, & Roger Walden was made Archbiſhop of that ſee, who was a greate fauourer of the citie of London, the which was eftſoones about this ſeaſon faine into the kings diſpleaſure: but by the diligente labour of this Archbiſhop, and of Roberte Braybrooke then biſhop of London, vpon the humble ſupplication of the citizens, the kings wrathe was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, many blanke charters were deuiſed, and brought into the citie, which many of the ſubſtanciall & welthie citizens, were fayne to ſeale, to their greate chardge, as in the ende appeared. And the like charters were ſent abroad into al ſhires within the realme, wherby greate grudge and murmuring aroſe among the people: for when they were ſo ſealed, the kings officers wrote in the ſame what liked them, as well for charging the parties with payment of money, as otherwiſe. In this meane time, the duke of Lancaſter departed out of this life at the biſhop of Elies place in Holborne, and lieth buryed in the cathedrall churche of S. Paule in London, on the North ſide of the highe Aulter, by the Lady Blaunche his firſte wife.

Fabian.

Blanke charters.

The deathe of the duke of Lancaſter.

The death of this duke gaue occaſion of encreaſing more hatred in the people of this realm towarde the king, for he ſeaſed into his handes all the goods that belonged to hym, and alſo receyued all the rents and reuenues of his landes whiche ought to haue diſcended vnto the duke of Hereforde by lawfull inheritaunce, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had graunted to him before, by vertue wherof, he might make his attorneis generall to ſue liuery for hym, of any maner of inheritaunces or poſſeſſions that myghte from thenceforthe fall vnto hym, and that hys homage myghte bee reſpited, wyth making reaſonable fine. : wherby it was euident, that the king ment his vtter vndoing.

Thom VVal.

Thys harde dealing was muche miſliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out againſt, of the meaner ſorte: But namely the Duke of Yorke was therewyth ſore amoued, who before this time, had borne things with ſo pacient a mind as he could, though the ſame touched him very neare, as the death of his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, the baniſhment of hys nephewe the ſaid duke of Herteford, and other mo iniuries in greate number, which for the ſlipperie youth of the king, hee paſſed ouer for the tyme, and did forget aſwell as he might.

But now perceiuing that neither law, iuſtice nor equitie could take place, where the kinges wilful wil was bent vpon any wrongfull purpoſe, he conſidered that the glorie of the publike wealthe of his countrey muſt needes decay, by reaſon o the king his lacke of witte, and want of ſuche (as would without flattery) admoniſh hym of hys duty: and therefore hee thought it the parte of a wiſe man to get hym in time to a reſting place, and to leaue the followyng of ſuche an vnaduiſed capitaine, as wyth a leaden ſworde would cut his owne throate.

The duke of Yorke miſliked the court, and goeth home.

Herevpon he wyth the duke of Aumarle his ſonne, went to his houſe at Langley, reioicing that nothing had miſhappened in the common wealthe throughe his deuiſe or conſent. The common brute ranne, that the kyng had ſette to ferme the realme of England, vnto ſir Wylliam Scrope Earle of Wiltſhire, and then treaſourer of Englande, to ſir John Buſhy, ſyr John Bagot, and ſir Henry Greene Knights.

The realme let to ferme by the Kyng.

Aboute the ſame time, the Earle of Arundels ſonne, named Thomas, whiche was kept in the duke of Exeters houſe, eſcaped out of the realme, by meanes of one Willyam Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as then ſoiorning at Coleyn.

Tho. VVal.

King Richarde beeing deſtitute of treaſure to furniſhe ſuche a Princely porte as he mainteined, borowed greate ſummes of money of many of the greate Lordes and Peeres of hys realme, both ſpiritual and temporall, and likewiſe of other meane perſones, promyſing them in good earneſt, by deliuering to them his letters patentes for aſſuraunce, that hee woulde repay the money ſo borowed at a day appointed: which notwithſtanding he neuer payd. Moreoreouer, this yere he cauſed .xvij. ſhires of the realme by way of putting thē to their fines to pay no ſmal ſūmes of money, for redeeming their offēces, that they had aided ẏ duke of Glouceſter, the erles of Arundel, & Warwik whē they roſe in armor againſt him. The nobles, gentlemē, and commons of thoſe ſhires were enforced

Nevve exactions.

alſo to receiue a newe othe to aſſure the king of their fidelitie in time to come, and withall certaine prelates and other honorable perſonages, were ſent into the ſame ſhires, to perſuade men to this payment, and to ſee thinges ordered at the pleaſure of the Prince: and ſurely the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner eſtates of thoſe ſhires were conſtrayned to pay, were not ſmall, but exceeding greate, to the offence of many. Moreouer, the kings letters patentes were ſent into euery ſhire within this land, by vertue whereof, an othe was demaunded of all the kings liege people for a further aſſuraunce of their due obedience, and they were conſtreyned to ratifie the ſame in writing vnder their handes and ſeales.

The paiment of this fine was called a pleſance and were to pleaſe the King withall, but the ſame diſpleaſed many that were thus conſtrained to pay againſt their willes.

The people cõfirme their othe of allegiance by writing ſealed.

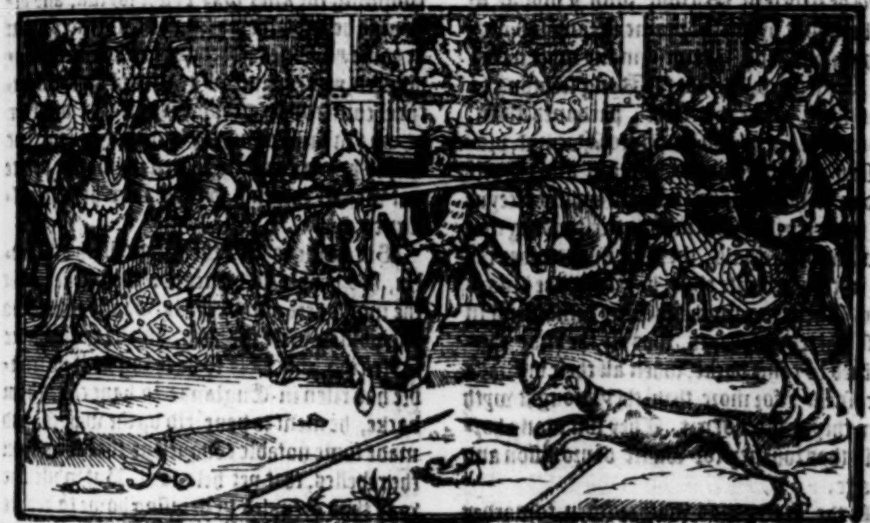
Moreouer they were compelled to put their hands and ſeales, to certaine blankes, whereof ye haue hearde beefore, in the whiche, when it pleaſed hym hee might write, what hee thought good. There was alſo a newe othe deuiſed for the ſheriffs of euery county through the realme to receiue: finally many of the kings liege people were through ſpite, enuie, and malice, accuſed, apprehended, and put in priſon, and after brought before the conſtable and Marſhall of Englande, in the Courte of Chiualrye, and myght not otherwiſe bee deliuered except they could iuſtifie themſelues by combat and fighting in liſts againſt their accuſers hand to hand, although the accuſers for the moſte parte, were luſtie, yong and valiant, where the parties accuſed were perchaunce olde, impotent, maimed and ſickly. Whereupon not onely the greate deſtruction of the realme in generall, but alſo of euery ſingular perſon in particular, was to bee feared and looked for.

Indirect dealings.

In this meane time the King being aduertiſed that the wilde Iriſhe dayly waſted, and deſtroyed the townes and villages within the engliſh Pale, and had ſlaine many of the ſouldiours which lay there in garriſon for defence of that country, determined to make eftſoones a voiage thither, and prepared al things neceſſary for his paſſage nowe againſt the ſpring.

Polidore.

A little before his ſettyng forthe, he cauſed a iuſtes to be holden at Windſor of .xl. knightes and .xl. Eſquiers, againſte all commers, and they to bee apparelled in greene, wyth a white Fawcon, and the Queene to bee there well accompanied with Ladies and damoſels. When theſe iuſtes were finiſhed, the king departed towarde Briſtow, from thence to paſſe into Irelande, leauing the Queene with hir traine ſtill at Windſor: He appointed for hys lieftenaunt generall in hys abſence hys vncle the Duke of Yorke: and ſo in the moneth of Aprill, as diuers authors write, he ſet forward from Windſor, and finally tooke ſhipping at Milford, and from thence with .ij.C. ſhips, and a puiſſant power of men of armes and archers he ſailed into Ireland. The Friday nexte after his arriuall there were ſlaine .ij.C. Iriſhemen at Fourde in Kenlis within the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentleman Ienico Dartois, and ſuche engliſhmen as he had ther with him: and on the morrowe nexte enſuing the citizens of Dublin inuaded the countrey of Obrin, and ſlewe .33. Iriſhemen. The king alſo after hee had remained about .vj. days at Waterford, marched from thence towards Kilkenny, and comming thither, ſtayed thereaboute .xiiij. days, looking for the duke of Aumarle that was appointed to haue met him, but he failed & came not, whereupon the king on Midſomer euen ſet forward again, marching ſtreight towards the country of Mackmur the principall rebell in that ſeaſon within Irelande, who keping himſelfe among woodes



A Iuſtes at VVindſor.

The K. ſailleth ouer into Irelande againe with a greate army.

Fabian and Caxton.

The Duke of Yorke lieftenant generall of England, the king being in Irelande.

Hen.Marl.

Out of a french pamphlet that belongeth to maſter Iohn Dee.

Macmur.

woodes wyth .iij.M. right hardy men ſeemed to paſſe little for any power that myght bee brought againſt hym. The king yet approching to the ſkirtes of the woodes, commaunded hys ſouldiors to fier the houſes and villages, which was executed wyth great forwardneſſe of the men of warre. And here for ſome valiant acte that hee dyd, or ſome other fauourable reſpect, which the king bare to the lord Henry ſon to the Duke of Herford, he made him Knight. This Henry was after king of England, ſucceeding his father and called by the name of Henry the fift: there were a.ix. or.x. others made knights alſo the ſame time.

Pioners ſet a vvorke to cutte dovvne vvoodes.

Moreouer, there were two thouſande.v.C. Pioners ſet a work to cut down the woddes, and to make paſſages throughe, and ſo then the engliſhmen entred, and by force got throughe: for the Iriſhmen ſore feared the engliſh bowes, but yet now and then they eſpying their aduantage, aſſailed oftentimes the engliſhmen wyth their darts, and ſlew diuers that went abroade to fetch in forrage.

The Vncle of Macmur with a wythie or withe about hys necke, came in and ſubmitted hymſelfe, and lykewiſe many other naked and bare legged, ſo that the Kyng ſeemyng to pitye theyr myſerable ſtate, pardoned them, and afterward he alſo ſent vnto Macmur, promyſing that if he woulde come in and require pardon as his vncle had done, he would receyue him to mercy: but Macmur vnderſtanding that for want of victuals, the king muſt needes retire within a ſhorte time, he refuſed the kinges offer. The King wyth his army remaining in thoſe partes.xj.dayes, was in the ende conſtrained to come backe, when all their victualls were ſpent: for more than they brought wyth them they could not get. They loſt many horſes in thys iourney for wante of prouiſion and forrage.

Macmur ſendeth to the king, offering a parley.

As the Kyng was wythdrawen towardes Dubline, marching throughe the countrey, in deſpite of his enimies, that houered ſtill aboute his army, Macmur ſent to the Kyng, offering to talke of an agreement if it ſhould pleaſe him to ſende any noble manne to meete hym at a place appointed.

The Erle of Glouceſter.

The king herevpon commaunded the Erle of Glouceſter to take wyth hym two hundreth launces, and a thouſande archers, and to go to trie if he might by perſuaſion cauſe him to come in and ſubmit himſelfe. The earle went, and cōming to talk with hym, found him ſo obſtinate, that their parley ſtraightways brake off: ſo taking leaue eche of other, they departed and the Earle retourned to the Kyng to aduertiſe hym what hee hadde done and perceyued, by the communication whiche hee had had with Macmur.

The King was ſore offended with the obſtinateneſſe of the rebell, that would not agree otherwiſe: but ſo as he myght remaine ſtill at libertie, without daunger to ſuffer any maner of puniſhment for his paſſed offences. Wherevppon the king after his comming to Dublin, and that the army hadde reſted there, and in the countrey nere to the citie, for the ſpace of fiftene daies, hee deuided his people into three partes, and ſent them abroade into the country to purſue the enimies, and withall made proclamation, that whoſoeuer could bring Macmur vnto his preſence, ſhould haue for his recompence a greate rewarde: for he determined not to departe the countrey till he had hym eyther deade or aliue. But he knew full little then what incidents to hinder his purpoſed intention would after followe.

He came to Dublin the [illegible] as Henry Marl. ſaith.

The Duke of Aumarle.

The ſame daye that he ſent abroade his army thus into.iij. ſeuerall partes, the Duke of Aumarle wyth an.C. ſaile arriued, of whoſe comming the king was ryght ioyfull, and although he had vſed no ſmall negligence in that he came no ſooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentill nature) courteouſly accepted his excuſe: whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to ſay: but verely he was greatly ſuſpected, that he dealte not well in tarying ſo long after his time aſſigned.

But nowe whileſt the king reſteth at Dublin, hys people ſo demeaned themſelues, that the moſt parte of the rebells, what by manhod and pollicie were ſubdued, and brought vnder ſubiection, and (as is to be thought) if no trouble had riſen in Englande to haue called hym backe, he ment to haue rid vp the woodes, and made ſome notable conqueſt at that time vpon the rebelles, that yet helde out. But whileſt he was thus occupied in deuiſing howe to reduce them into ſubiection, and takyng orders for the good ſtaye and quyet gouernement of the countrey, diuers of the nobilitie aſwel Prelats as other, and likewiſe many of the magiſtrats and rulers of the cities, Townes, and Communaltie, here in Englande, perceyuing dayly how the realme drewe to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former ſtate of wealthe, whileſt king Richarde liued and reigned, (as they toke it) deuiſed with great deliberation, and conſiderate aduiſe to ſende and ſignifye by letters vnto Duke Henry, whome they nowe called (as he was in deede) Duke of Lancaſter and Herforde, requiring hym with all conuenient ſpeede to conueye hymſelfe into England, promiſing hym all theyr aide, power and aſſiſtance.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſolicited to expulſe king Richarde, and to take vpon him the regiment.

aſſiſtaunce, if he expulſing King Richard, as a man not meete for the office he bare, would take vpō him the ſcepter, rule and diademe of his natiue land and region: he therfore being thus called vppon, by meſſengers and letters from hys friends, and chiefly, through the earneſt perſwaſion of Thomas Arundell, late Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, (who as before ye haue heard) had bin remoued frō his ſea, and baniſhed the realme by king Richardes meanes, got hym downe into Britaine, togither with the ſaid Archbiſhop, where he was ioyfully receiued of the Duke, and Ducheſſe, and found ſuch frēdſhip at the Dukes handes, that there were certayne ſhippes rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in baſe Britaigne, called le Porte Blanc, as we finde in the Chronicles of Britaigne: and when all his prouiſion was made ready, he tooke the ſea, togither with the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and hys nephew Thomas Arundell, ſonne and heyre to the late Earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tower hill.

The duke of Britaigne a great friende to the duke of Lancaſter.

The Duke of Lancaſter, and his adherentes ſaile into Englande.

Additions to Polichron.

There were alſo with hym, Reginalde Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir Thomas Ramſton knightes, John Norbury, Roberte Waterton, and Fraunceis Coint eſquiers: few elſe were there: for (as ſome write) he had not paſt a .xv. launces, as they tearmed them in thoſe dayes, that is to wit, men of armes, furniſhed and appointed as the vſe then was: yet other write, that the duke of Britaigne deliuered vnto hym three thouſand men of warre, to attende hym, and that he had .viij. ſhips well furniſhed for the warre, wher Froiſſart yet ſpeaketh but of three.

Tho. Walſ.

Chro. Bri.

Froiſſart.

Moreouer, where Froiſſarte and alſo the Chronicles of Britaine auouche, that he ſhould lande at Plimmouth, by our Engliſh writers it ſeemeth otherwiſe: for it appeareth by their aſſured reporte, that he approching to the ſhore, did not ſtraight take lande, but laye aloofe, houering, and ſhewed himſelfe nowe in this place, and nowe in that, to ſee what countenaunce was made by the people, whether they meante enuiouſlie to reſiſte him, or friendely to receyue him.

Tho. Walſ.

When the lorde gouernour Edmond duke of Yorke was aduertiſed, that the duke of Lancaſter kepte ſtill the ſea, and was ready to arriue, (but where hee meant firſt to ſette foote a lande, there was not any that vnderſtoode the certaintie) hee ſente for the Lorde Chauncellour, Edmonde Stafforde Biſhoppe of Exceter, and for the Lorde Treaſurer, Wyllyam Scrope Earle of Wiltſhire, and other of the Kynges priuy counſell, as John Buſhye, Wyllyam Bagot, Henrye Greene, and John Ruſſell Knightes: of theſe he required to knowe what they thought good to bee done in this matter, concerning the Duke of Lancaſter, beeyng on the Seas.

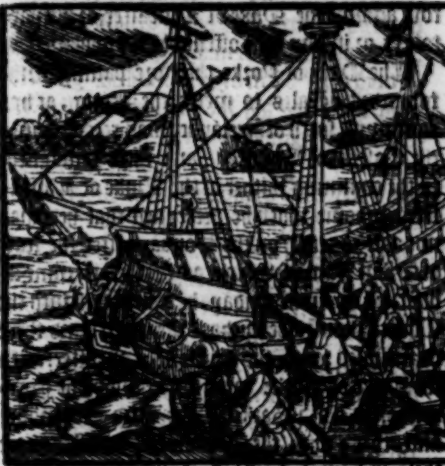
Counſell take by the duke of Yorke Lorde gouernour of Englande how to deale agaynſte the duke of Lancaſter.

Theyr aduiſe was, to depart from London, vnto Sainct Albons, and there to gather an armye to reſiſt the Duke in his landing, but to howe ſmall purpoſe theyr counſell ſerued, the concluſion thereof plainely declared, for the moſte parte that were called, when they came thither boldely proteſted, that they woulde not fight againſt the Duke of Lancaſter, whome they knewe to bee euill dealte with.

The commons deny to reſiſte the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Lorde Treaſorer, Buſhye, Bagot, and Greene, perceyuyng that the commons woulde cleaue vnto, and take parte with the Duke, ſlipped away, leauing the Lorde gouernour of the Realme, and the Lorde Chauncellour to make what ſhift they coulde for themſelues: Bagot got hym to Cheſter, and ſo eſcaped into Irelande, the other fledde to the Caſtell of Briſtowe, in hope there to bee in ſafetye.

The Duke of Lancaſter, after that hee hadde coaſted alongſt the ſhore a certain time, and had gotte ſome intelligence howe the peoples mindes were affected towardes hym, landed aboute the beginning of July in Yorkſhire, at a place ſomtime called Rauenſpurre, betwixte Hulle and Bridlington, and wyth hym not paſſe .lx. perſons, as ſome write: But hee was ſo ioyfully receiued of the Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of thoſe partyes, that hee founde meanes (by theyr helpe) forthwyth to aſſemble a greate number of people, that were willing to take his parte. Fyrſt that came to hym, were the Lordes of Lincolneſhire, and other Countreys adioyning, as the Lordes Willoughby, Ros, Darcy, and Beaumont.



The Duke of Lancaſter landeth in Yorkſhire.

Additions to Polichron.

At his commyng vnto Doncaſter, the Erle of Northumberlande, and his ſonne Sir Henrie Percy, wardens of the Marches againſte Scotland, with the Earle of Weſtmerlande, The Duke of Lancaſters othe to the Lords that ayded hym.

came unto hym, where hee ſware unto thoſe Lordes; that hee woulde demaunde no more, but the landes that were to hym diſcended by inheritance from hys father, and in right of his wife.

Moreouer, hee undertooke to cauſe the payment of taxes and tallages to bee layde downe, and to bring the King to good gouernemente, and to remoue from hym the Cheſhire menne, which were enuyed of many, for that the Kyng eſteemed of them more than of any other, happely, bycauſe they were more faythfull to hym than other, readye in all reſpectes to obey hys commaundementes and pleaſure.

From Doncaſter hauing now gote a mightie armie about hym, hee marched forth with all ſpede through the Countreys, comming by Eueſham, unto Berkeley: within the ſpace of three dayes, all the Kyngs Caſtels in thoſe parties were ſurrendred unto hym.

The harts of the commons wholly addicted to the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Duke of Yorke, whome King Richard had left as gouernour of the Realme in hys abſence, hearing that his nephewe the Duke of Lancaſter was thus arriued, and had gathered an armye, hee alſo aſſembled a puiſſant power of men of armes and archers (as before yee haue hearde) but all was in vayne, for there was not a man that willingly woulde thruſt out one arrow againſt the Duke of Lancaſter, or his partakers, or in any wiſe offende him or his friendes.

The Duke of Yorke therefore paſſing forthe towardes Wales to meete the Kyng, at hys commyng forth of Irelande, was receyued into the Caſtell of Barkeley, and there remayned, til the comming thither of the Duke of Lancaſter, (whome when he perceyued that hee was not able to reſiſt) on the Sonday, after the feaſt of Saint James, whiche as that yeare came about, fell upon the Friday, he came forth into the Church that ſtoode without the Caſtel, and there communed with the Duke of Lancaſter: with the Duke of Yorke were the Byſhops of Norwiche, the Lord Barkeley, the Lord Seymour, and other: with the Duke of Lancaſter were theſe, Thomas Arundell, Archbyſhop of Canterburie, that had bin baniſhed, the Abbot of Leiceſter, the Erles of Northumberlãd and Weſtmerland, Thomas Arundel, ſon to Richard, late Erle of Arũdel, ẏ Baron of Greiſtock, the Lordes Willoughby and Ros, with diuers other, lordes, Knightes, and other people, which daily came to him frõ euery part of the Realm: thoſe that came not, were ſpoyled of all they had, ſo as they were neuer able to recouer themſelues againe, for their goodes being then taken away, were neuer reſtored ⁊ thus what for loue, ⁊ what for fear of loſſe, they came flocking unto him from euery part.

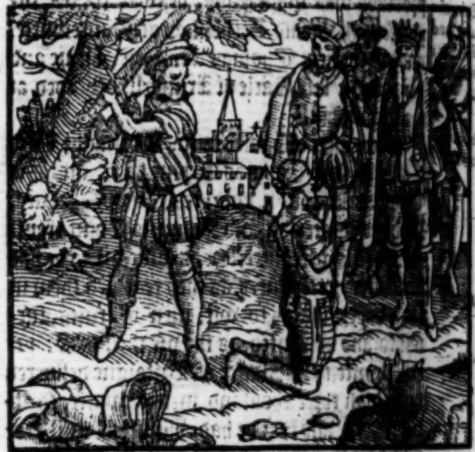
At ẏ ſame preſent, ther wer arreſted, ⁊ cõmitted to ſafe cuſtodie, the B. of Norwiche, Sir Wil. Elmam, ⁊ Sir Walter Burley, Knightes, Laurence Drew, and John Goloſer Eſquiers.

The Duke of Lancaſter marcheth to Briſtowe.

The morow after, ẏ forſayd Dukes w their power, wente towardes Briſtow, where at their comming, they ſhewed thẽſelues before ẏ towne and Caſtell, being an huge multitude of people.

There were encloſed within the Caſtell, the lord Wil. Scrope Erle of Wilſhire, and Treaſorer of Englande, ſir Henry Greene, and Sir John Buſhy knightes, who prepared to make reſiſtance, but when it would not preuayle, they were takẽ, and brought forth bound as priſoners into the Campe, before the Duke of Lancaſter. On ẏ morow next enſuing, they wer arraigned before the Conneſtable and Marſhal, and found giltie of treaſon, for miſgouerning the king and Realm, and forthwith, had their heads ſmit off.

Scrope Lorde Treaſorer, Buſhy and Greene executed.



A politike madneſſe.

Sir John Ruſſell was alſo taken there, who faining himſelfe to be out of his wittes, eſcaped their handes for a time. In this meane time, king Richard aduertiſed, how the Duke of Lancaſter was landed in Englãd, ⁊ that the Lords, Gentlemen ⁊ Cõmons, aſſembled thẽſelues to take hys part, he forthwith cauſed ẏ L. Henry, ſon to the ſayde Duke of Lancaſter, and the L. Humfrey, ſon to the Duke of Glouceſter, to be ſhut up faſt in the Caſtell of Trymme, and with all ſpede, made haſt to returne into Englãd, in hope with an army to encounter ẏ Duke, before he ſhoulde haue time to aſſemble his friends togither. But heere ye ſhal note, that it fortuned the ſame time, in whiche the Duke of Herteforde or Lancaſter, whether ye liſt to call him, arriued thus in England, the ſeas were ſo troubled by tempeſts, and the windes blewe ſo contrary for any paſſage, to come ouer forthe of Englande to the Kyng, remaynyng ſtill in Irelande, that for the ſpace of ſyxe weekes, hee receyued no aduertiſementes from thence: at length yet, when the Seas became calme, and the winde once turned any thyng fauourable, there came ouer a Shippe, whereby the Kyng underſtoode the

Out of maiſter Dees French booke.

maner

manner of the Dukes arriuall, and all his proceedings to that daye, in whiche the Shippe departed from the coaſt of Englande, wherevpon, hee meant forthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make reſiſtance againſt the Duke, but through perſwaſion of the Duke of Aumarle as was thought, he ſtayed, till hee myghte haue all his Shippes, and other prouiſion, fully ready for his paſſage. And in the meane time, he ſent the Earle of Saliſburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by help of the Kings friends in Wales, and Cheſhire, with al ſpeede poſſible, that they myght bee ready to aſſiſt hym agaynſte the Duke, vpon his firſt arriuall, for hee meante hymſelfe to followe the Earle, within ſixe dayes after. The Earle paſſing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwey, and ſente forthe letters to the Kings friends, both in Wales and Cheſhire, to leauie their people, and to come with all ſpeede to aſſiſt the King, whoſe requeſt, with greate deſire, and very willyng myndes they dyd, hoping to haue found the king hymſelfe at Conwey, in ſo muche, that within foure dayes ſpace, there were to the number of fortie thouſande men aſſembled, ready to march with the King againſte his enimies, if hee hadde bin there hymſelfe in perſon, but when they miſſed the Kyng, there was a brute ſpredde among them, that the Kyng was ſurely dead, whyche wrought ſuche an impreſſion, and euill diſpoſition in the myndes of the Welchmenne and others, that for any perſwaſion which the Earle of Saliſburie mighte vſe, they woulde not goe forth with hym, till they ſawe the Kyng: onely they were contented to ſtaye fourteene dayes, to ſee if he ſhoulde come or not, but when hee came not within that tearme, they would no longer abyde, but ſcaled and departed away, whereas if the King had come before theyr breakyng vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the Duke of of Herforde in aduenture of a fielde: ſo that the Kyngs lingering of tyme before his commyng ouer, gaue opportunitie to the Duke, to bryng things to paſſe as hee coulde haue wiſhed, and tooke from the Kyng all occaſion, to recouer afterwardes anye forces, ſufficiente to reſiſt hym. At length yet, an eighteene dayes after that the Kyng had ſente from hym the Earle of Saliſburie, he tooke the Sea, togither with the Dukes of Aumarle, Exeter, Surrey, and dyuers others of the nobilitie, with the Byſhops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed neere to the Caſtell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feaſt of Saint James the Apoſtle, and ſtayed awhyle in the ſame Caſtell, being aduertiſed of the greate forces which the Duke of Lancaſter had gote togither againſte him, wherewith hee was maruellouſly amaſed, knowing certaynely that thoſe whiche were thus in armes with the Duke of Lancaſter agaynſte hym, woulde rather die than gyue place, as well for the hatred as feare whiche they had conceyued of him. Neuertheleſſe, hee departing from Barclowly, haſted with all ſpeede towardes Conwey, where hee vnderſtoode the Earle of Saliſburie to bee ſtill remaynyng: hee therefore taking with him ſuche Cheſhire menne as hee hadde with him at that preſente (in whome all hys truſt was repoſed) hee doubted not to reuenge hymſelfe of his aduerſaries, and ſo at the firſt he paſſed with a good courage, but whē he vnderſtood as he went thus forward, that all the Caſtels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Briſtowe were deliuered vnto the Duke of Lancaſter, and that lykewiſe the Nobles and commons, as well of the South partes, as the North, were fully bente to take parte with the ſame Duke againſte hym, and further, hearing howe hys truſtie counſellors hadde loſt theyr heads at Briſtowe, he became ſo greatly diſcomforted, that ſorowfully lamenting his miſerable ſtate, he vtterly diſpayred of his owne ſafetie, and calling his army togither, whiche was not ſmall, licenced euery mā to departe to his home.

ng Richard
meth out
Ireland, and
deth in
ales.

Tho. VValſ.

Additions to Polichron.

King Richard in vtter deſpaire.

The Souldiers being well bente to fighte in his defence, beſoughte him to be of good cheere, promiſing with an othe to ſtand with hym againſte the Duke, and all his partakers vnto death, but this coulde not encourage him at all, ſo that in the nyght nexte enſuing, he ſtale from his armye, and with the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the Byſhop of Carleill, and Sir Stephen Scrope, and about halfe a ſcore of others, hee gote him to the Caſtell of Conwey, where hee founde the Earle of Saliſburie, determining there to holde himſelfe, till he might ſee yͤ worlde at ſome better ſtay, for what counſell to take to remedie the miſchiefe thus preſſing vppon hym hee wiſt not. On the one parte hee knewe hys title iuſt, true, and infallible, and his conſcience cleane, pure, and without ſpotte of enuie or malice: he had alſo no ſmall affiance in the Welchmen, and Cheſhire men.

King Richard ſtealeth away from his army, and taketh the Caſtell of Flint.

On the other ſide, hee ſawe the puiſſaunce of hys aduerſaries, the ſuddayne departing of them whome he moſt truſted, and all thyngs turned vpſide downe: he euidently ſawe, and manifeſtly perceyued, that hee was forſaken of them, by whome in time hee myghte haue bin ayded and releeued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouerpaſſed.

Thys ſurelye is a very notable example, and not vnworthye of all Princes to bee well wayed, and diligently marked, that this Henry

A ſpecial note worthy to bee well wayed.

Duke of Lancaſter ſhoulde be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and aſſiſtance (almoſt) of all the whole realme, which perchaunce neuer thereof thought or yet dreamed, and that king Richard ſhould thus be left deſolate, voide, and in deſpaire of all hope and comfort, in whom if there were anye offence, it ought rather to bee imputed to the frayletie of wanton youth, than to the malice of his hart: but ſuch is yͤ deceiuable iudgement of man, whiche not regarding thyngs preſent with due cõſideration, thinketh euer that things to come, ſhall haue good ſucceſſe, and a pleaſante delectable ende. Sir Thomas Percye Earle of Worceter, Lord Steward of the kyngs houſe, either being ſo commaunded by the King, or elſe vpon diſpleaſure (as ſome write) for that the King had proclaymed his brother the Earle of Northumberlande Traytor, brake his whyte ſtaffe, which is the repreſenting ſigne and token of his office, and without delay wente to Duke Henry.

The Earle of Worceſter leaueth the K. and fleeth to the Duke.

When the Kyngs ſeruauntes of houſholde ſawe this (for it was done before them all) they diſperſed themſelues, ſome into one Countrey, and ſome into an other. When the Duke of Lãcaſter vnderſtode that King Richarde was returned forth of Ireland, he left yͤ Duke of Yorke ſtill at Briſtowe, and came backe with his power vnto Berkley, the ſeconde daye hee came to Glouceſter, and ſo to Roos, after to Hereforde, where came to him the Byſhop of Hereford, and Sir Edmond Mortimer Knighte.

On the Sonday following, he went to Limſter, and there the Lord Charleton came to him. From thence he went to Ludlowe, and the next day to Shrewesburie, where hee reſted one daye, and thither came to him Sir Roberte Legh, and Sir John Legh, and manie other beeing ſente from Cheſter, to treate with the Duke of Lancaſter, for the Citie and Countie of Cheſter, that were now ready to ſubmit themſelues vnto hym in all things.

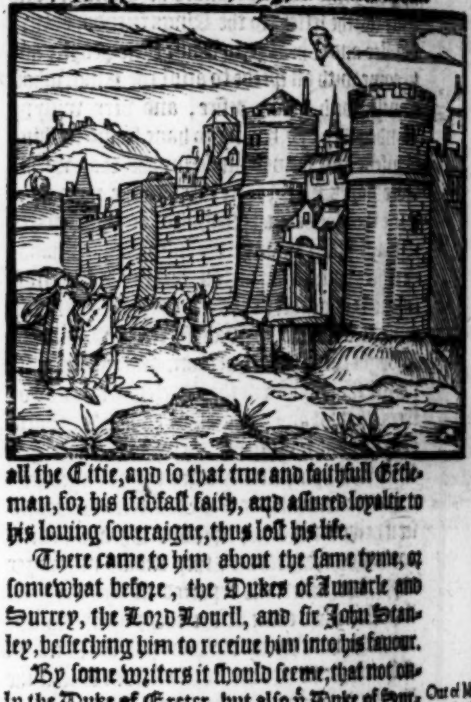
Where fortune fauoreth, thyther the peoples fauor fleeth.

There came hither vnto him alſo the Lorde Scales, and the Lorde Berdolfe, forth of Ireland, hauing bin ſpoyled of all they hadde aboute them in Wales, as they came through yͤ Countrey. From Shrewesburie, he kept on his iourney towards Cheſter, and lodging one night by the way, in a Towne there in the bordures of Wales, he came the ſeconde night vnto Cheſter, and ſtayed there certaine dayes togither, making a iolly muſter of his armye there in ſighte of the Citie. The Cleargie mette, and receyued hym with proceſſion: he ſent forthwith for hys ſonne and heire, and likewiſe for the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne and heire, that were as yet remaining in Ireland, commaunding them with all ſpeede to returne home into England: but the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne, through miſchance periſhed, as he was on the Seas to come ouer, for which loſſe, his mother toke ſuch griefe, that ſhortly after through immoderate ſorrowe, ſhee likewiſe paſſed out of this tranſitorie life.

The duke of Lancaſters cõming to Cheſter.

In this meane time, King Richard beyng in the Caſtell of Conwey ſore diſcomfited, and fearing leaſt he could not remaine there long in ſafetie, vppon knowledge had by his truſtie friendes John Pallet, and Richarde Seimoure, of the dealings and approche of his aduerſaries, ſent the Duke of Exeter, to talke with the Duke of Lãcaſter, who in this meane while, had cauſed one of King Richards faithfull and truſtie friendes, Sir Peers a Legh, commonly called Perkin a Lee, loſe his head, and commaunded the ſame to be ſet vp, vppon one of the higheſt turrets aboute all the Citie, and ſo that true and faithfull Gẽtleman, for his ſtedfaſt faith, and aſſured loyaltie to his louing ſoueraigne, thus loſt his life.

Perkyn a Le



There came to him about the ſame tyme, or ſomewhat before, the Dukes of Aumarle and Surrey, the Lord Louell, and ſir John Stanley, beſeching him to receiue him into his fauour.

By ſome writers it ſhould ſeeme, that not onely the Duke of Exeter, but alſo yͤ Duke of Surrey were ſent vnto Duke Henry from King Richard, and that Duke Henry ſtayed them bothe, and would not ſuffer them to returne to the king againe, keeping the Duke of Exeter ſtill aboute him, and committing the Duke of Surry to priſon, within the Caſtell of Cheſter.

Out of M Dees boo

The King herewith went to Beumaris, and after to Kaernaruon: but finding no prouiſion, either of vittailes or other things in thoſe Caſtels, no not ſo muche as a bed to lie in, hee came backe agayne to Conwey, and in the meane time, was the Caſtell of Holte, deliuered to the Duke of Hereford, by thoſe that had it in keping, wherein was great ſtore of Iewels, to the valew of two hundred thouſand markes, beſide an hundred thouſand markes in ready coyne.

Holt Caſtell deliuered to the Duke.

After this, the Duke with aduice of counſell, ſente the Earle of Northumberlande vnto the King, accompanyed with foure hundred launces, and a thouſand archers, who commyng to yͤ Caſtell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him.

Some write, that the Archbish. of Cant. and the Erle of Weſtmerland were alſo with the Earle of Northumberland to Conwey.

And from thence, hee haſted forthe towardes Conwey, but before he approched neere yͤ place, hee left his power behind him, hid cloſely in two ambuſhes, behinde a craggie mountayne, beſyde the high way that leadeth from Flint to Conwey.

This done, taking not paſt foure or fiue with him, he paſſed forth, till he came before yͤ towne, and then ſending an Herrault to the Kyng, requeſted a ſafe conduct from the King, that hee might come and talke with him, which the kyng graunted, and ſo the Earle of Northumberlande paſſing the water, entred the Caſtell, and comming to the Kyng, declared to hym, that if it mighte pleaſe his grace to vndertake, that there ſhould be a Parliament aſſembled, in the whyche iuſtice might bee had, againſt ſuche as were enimies to the common wealthe, and had procured the deſtruction of the Duke of Glouceſter, and other noble men, and heere with pardon the Duke of Hereford of all things wherein hee had offended him, the Duke woulde bee readye to come to him on his knees, to craue of him forgiuenes, and as an humble ſubiect, to obey hym in all dutifull ſeruices.

The Earle of Northumberlands meſſage to the King.

The King taking aduice vppon theſe offers, and other made by the Earle of Northumberland on the behalfe of the Duke of Hereford: vpon the Earles othe, for aſſurance that the ſame ſhoulde bee performed in eache condition, agreed to goe with the Earle to meete the Duke, and herevpon, taking their horſes, they rode forthe, but the Earle rode before, as it were, to prepare dynner for the King at Rutland, but commyng to the place where he had left his people, he ſtayed there with them.

The king leaueth Conwaye caſtell, and betaketh himſelfe to his enimies

The King keeping on his way, had not ridden paſt foure myles, when he came to the place where the ambuſhes were lodged, and being entred within daunger of them, before hee was aware, ſhewed himſelfe to bee ſore abaſſhed, but now there was no remedie: for the Earle beeyng there with his men, woulde not ſuffer him to returne, as he gladly would haue done if he might, but being encloſed with the Sea on the one ſide, and the rockes on the other, hauing his aduerſaries ſo neere at hande before hym, hee coulde not ſhift away by any meanes, for if he ſhoulde haue fledde backe, they mighte eaſily haue ouertaken hym, ere he could haue got out of theyr daunger, and thus of force hee was then conſtreyned to goe with the Earle, who broughte him to Rutlande, where they dyned, and from thence they rode vnto Flint to bed.

The King hadde very fewe about him of hys friendes, except only the Earle of Saliſburie, the Byſhop of Carleill, the Lord Stephē Scroupe, Sir N. Ferrby, a ſonne alſo of the Counteſſe of Saliſburie, and Jenico Dartois, a Gaſcoigne, that ſtill ware the cogniſance or deuiſe of his maſter King Richarde, that is to witte, a white hart, and would not putte it from him, neither for perſwaſions, nor threates, by reaſon whereof, when the Duke of Hereforde vnderſtood it, hee cauſed hym to bee committed to priſon, within the Caſtell of Cheſter.

A conſtaunt ſeruaunt.

Thys man was the laſt, as ſayth myne Author, whiche ware that deuiſe, and ſhewed well thereby his conſtant heart towardes hys maiſter, for the whiche it was thoughte hee ſhoulde haue loſt his life, but yet hee was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the Dukes fauour, after hee was King.

But now to oure purpoſe, King Richarde being thus come vnto the Caſtell of Flint, on the Monday, the eyghtenth of Auguſt, and yͤ Duke of Hereforde beeyng ſtill aduertiſed from houre to houre by poſtes, how the Earle of Northumberlande ſpedde, the morrowe following beeyng Tuiſday, and the nintenth of Auguſt, he came thither, and muſtred hys armye before the kings preſence, whyche vndoubtedly made a paſſing fayre ſhewe, beyng very well ordered by the Lorde Henry Percye, that was appoynted generall, or rather as wee maye call hym, maiſter of the Campe, vnder the Duke, of the whole armye.

There were come already to the Caſtell, before the approching of the mayne armie, the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburye, the Duke of Aumarle, the Earle of Worcetor, and dyuers other. The Archebyſhoppe entred fyrſte, and then followed the other, commyng into the firſte warde.

The King that was walking aloft on the brayes of the walles, to beholde the commyng of the Duke a farre off, myghte ſee, that the Archebyſhoppe and the other were come, and as hee tooke it to talke with him: wherevpon, hee forthwith came down vnto them, and beholding that they did theyr due reuerence to hym on theyr knees, hee tooke them vp, and drawing yͤ Archebyſhop aſide from the reſidue, talked with hym a good while, and as it was reported, the Archebyſhoppe willed him to bee of good comforte, for hee ſhould bee aſſured, not to haue any hurte, as touching his perſon, but hee propheſied not as a Prelate, but as a Pilate, as by the ſequele it well appeared.

Some write, as before in a marginall note I haue quoted, that the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury went with the Earle of Northumberlande vnto Conwey, and there talked with him: & further, that euen then, the King offered in conſideration of his inſufficiencie to gouerne, freely to reſigne the Crowne, and his Kingly title to the ſame, vnto the Duke of Hereforde: but for as much as thoſe that were continually attendaunte about the Kyng, during the whole tyme of hys abode at Conwey, and tyll hys commyng to Flynt, doe playnly affirme, that the Archbyſhop came not to hym, till this Tuiſday before hys remouing from Flint vnto Cheſter, it maye bee thought (the circumſtances wel conſidered) that he rather made that promiſe heere at Flint, than at Conwey, although by the tenor of an inſtrument, conteyning the declaration of the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and other commiſſioners ſent frõ the eſtates aſſembled in the nexte Parliamente, vnto the ſaide Kyng, it is recorded to be at Conwey, as after ye may read. But ther may be ſome defaulte in the copie, as taking the one place for the other. But wherſoeuer this offer was made, after that the Archbyſhoppe hadde now heere at Flynt communed with the King, hee departed, and taking his horſe agayne, rode backe to meete the Duke, who began at that preſente to approche the Caſtell, and compaſſed it rounde about, euen downe to the Sea, with his people araunged in good and ſeemely order, at the foote of the mountaynes, and then the Earle of Northumberlande paſſing forth of the Caſtell to the Duke, talked with him a whyle in ſighte of the King, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better viewe of the armie, beeyng nowe aduaunced within two bowe ſhootes of the Caſtell, to the ſmall reioycing yee maye bee ſure of the ſorowfull King.

The Earle of Northumberlande, returnyng to the Caſtell, appoynted the King to bee ſette to dynner, (for hee was faſting till then) and after he had dined, the Duke came downe to the Caſtell himſelfe, and entred the ſame all armed, hys baſſenet onely excepted, and beeing within the firſte gate, hee ſtayed there, tyll the Kyng came forthe of the inner parte of the Caſtell vnto hym.

The Dukes behauiour to the king at their meeting.

The Kyng accompanyed with the Biſhop of Carleill, the Earle of Saliſburie, and Sir Stephen Scrope Knight, who bare the ſword before hym, and a fewe other, came forthe into the vtter warde, and ſate downe in a place prepared for hym: forthwith as the Duke gote ſighte of the Kyng, hee ſhewed a reuerente duetie as became him, in bowing his knee, and cõming forewarde, did ſo likewiſe the ſeconde and thirde time, till the King tooke him by the hande, and lift him vppe, ſaying, deere Couſin, ye are welcome: the Duke humbly thanking him ſayde, My ſoueraigne Lorde and Kyng, the cauſe of my comming at this preſente, is (your honour ſaued,) to haue agayne reſtitution of my perſon, my landes and heritage, through your fauourable licence.

The dukes demaunde.

The King heerevnto aunſwered, deare Couſin, I am ready to accompliſh your will, ſo that yee maye enioy all that is yours, without exception. And thus commyng togither, they came forthe of the Caſtell, and the King there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horſebacke, and rode that nyght to Flint, and the nexte daye vnto Cheſter, the thirde vnto Nantwich, the fourth to Newcaſtell: heere with glad countenaunce, the Lorde Thomas Beauchamp Earle of Warwike, mette them, that had beene confyned into the Iſle of Man, as before ye haue hearde, but now was reuoked home by the Duke of Lancaſter. From Newcaſtel they rode to Stafford, and the ſixth daye vnto Lichfielde, and there reſted Sonday all day.

The king and the duke iourney togither towards London.

After this, they rode forthe, and lodged at theſe places enſuing, Couentrie, Dauintree, Northhampton, Dunſtable, Sainte Albons, and ſo came to London: neyther was the King permitted all this while to chaunge his apparell, but rode ſtill through all theſe Townes ſimply clothed in one ſute of raymente, and yet hee was in his tyme exceeding ſumptuous in apparell, in ſo muche, as hee had one coate, whiche he cauſed to be made for him of golde and ſtone, valued at 30000. markes.

K. Richarde ſumptuous in apparell.

The King was nowe broughte vnto Weſtminſter the next way, and the Duke was receyued with all the ioy and pompe that myghte bee of the Londoners, and was lodged in the Byſhops Palace, by Poules Churche.

It was a wonder to ſee what great concourſe of people, what number of Horſes came to hym on the way as he thus paſſed the Countreys, tyll his comming to London, where vpõ his approch to the Citie, the Maior rode forthe to receyue hym, and a great number of other Citizens. Alſo the Cleargie mette him with proceſſion, & ſuche ioy appeared in the countenaunces of the people, vttering the ſame alſo with wordes, as the lyke had not lightly bin ſeene: for in euery towne and village where he paſſed, children reioyced, womẽ clapped their handes, and men cryed out for ioy. But to ſpeake of the greate numbers of people that flocked togither in the fieldes and ſtreetes of London at his comming, I heere omitte, neyther wil I ſpeake of the preſents, welcommings, laudes, and gratifications made to him, by the Citizens and communaltie.

The dukes receyuing into London.

But now to the purpoſe. The next day after his comming to London, the King from Weſt-

minſter

The king cōmitted to the Tower.

minſter, was had to the Tower, and there committed to ſafe cuſtodie. Many euill diſpoſed perſons, aſſembling themſelues togither in greate numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from ſuche as had the conueying of him, that they might haue ſlayne him: but the Maior and Aldermen gathered to them the worſhipfull Commoners, and graue Citizens, by whoſe policie, and not without much adoe, ẏ other were reuoked from their euill purpoſe: albeit, before they might be pacified, they comming to Weſtminſter, toke maiſter John Sclake Deane of the Kings Chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there layde hym faſt in irons.

A Parliament in the kings name.

After this, was a Parliamente called by the Duke of Lancaſter, vſing the name of King Richard in the writtes directed forth to the Lordes, and other ſtates for theyr ſommonaunce.

This Parliamente began the thirtenth day of September, in the which, many haynous pointes of miſgouernaunce, and iniurious dealings in the adminiſtration of his kingly office, were layd to the charge of this noble Prince king Richard, the whiche (to the ende the commons myghte bee perſwaded, that he was an vnprofitable Prince to the common wealthe, and worthy to be depoſed) were engroſſed by in. 33. ſolemne Articles, heynous to the eares of all men, and to ſome almoſt incredible, the very effect of whiche Articles here enſue, according to the copie whyche I haue ſeene, and is abridged by maſter Hall as followeth.

The Articles obiected to king Richard.

1 Firſte, that Kyng Richarde waſtfully ſpente the treaſure of the Realme, and had giuen ẏ poſſeſſions of the Crowne to menne vnworthy, by reaſon wherof, new charges more and more were layde in the neckes of the poore communaltie. And where diuers Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporall, were appoynted by the high Courte of Parliament, to commune and treate of dyuers matters concerning the common wealthe of the Realme, which being buſie about the ſame commiſſion, he with other of his affinitie went about to empeach, and by force and menacing, compelled the iuſtices of ẏ Realme at Shrewſburie to condiſcend to his opinion, for the deſtruction of ẏ ſaid Lords, in ſo much, ẏ he began to raiſe warre againſt John Duke of Lancaſter, Richard Erle of Arundell, Thomas Erle of Warwike, & other Lordes, contrary to his honor and promiſe.

2 Item, that hee cauſed his Uncle the Duke of Glouceſter to be arreſted without lawe, and ſente him to Calais, and there withoute iudgemente murthered him, and although the Earle of Arūdell, vpon his arreignement pleaded his Chartor of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in moſt vile & ſhamefull maner ſuddainely put to deathe.

Item, hee aſſembled certaine Lancaſhire and Cheſſhire men, to the intente to make warre on the ſame Lordes, and ſuffered them to robbe and pill, without correction or repreeue. 3

Item, although the King flateringly, and with greate diſſimulation, made proclamation thorough out the Realme, that the Lords before named, were not attached of anye crime of treaſon, but only for extortions & oppreſſiōs done in this realme, yet he layde to them in the Parliament rebellion, and manifeſt treaſon. 4

Item, he hathe compelled diuers of the ſayde Lordes, ſeruauntes, and friends, by menace and extreame paynes, to make greate fines, to their vtter vndoing, and notwithſtanding hys pardon, yet he made them fyne of newe. 5

Item, where diuers were appoynted to commune of the ſtate of the Realme, and the common wealthe thereof, the ſame King cauſed all the rolles and recordes to bee kept from them, cōtrarie to promiſe made in the Parliamente, to his open diſhonor. 6

Item, he vncharitably commaunded, that no man, vpon paine of loſſe of life and goodes, ſhould once intreate him for the returne of Henry nowe Duke of Lancaſter. 7

Item, where this Realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other Prince, the ſayde King Richard, after hee hadde obteyned dyuers Actes of Parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleaſure, then hee obteyned Bulles and extreame cenſures from Rome, to compell all men ſtraightly to keepe the ſame, contrary to the honour and auntiente priuiledges of thys Realme. 8

Item, although the Duke of Lancaſter hadde done his deuoyre againſte Thomas Duke of Northfolke in proofe of his quarrell, yet the ſayde King, without reaſon or ground, baniſhed hym the Realme for tenne yeares, contrarye to all equitie. 9

Item, before the Dukes departure, hee vnder hys broade ſeale licenced him to make atturneys, to proſecute and defende his cauſes: the ſayde King after his departure, woulde ſuffer none atturney to appeare for him, but did wyth his at his pleaſure. 10

Item the ſame king put oute diuers Sheriffes lawfully elected, and put in their rowmthes diuers other of his owne, ſubuerting the lawe, contrary to his othe and honor. 11

Item, he borowed great ſummes of money, & bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repaymente of the ſame, & yet not one peny payde. 12

Item, hee taxed men at the will of hym and his vnhappie counſayle, and the ſame treaſure ſpent in folly, not paying poore men for their vittayle and viande. 13

14 Item, hee ſayde, that the lawes of the Realme were in his head, and ſometimes in hys breſt, by reaſon of whych fantaſticall opinion, he deſtroyed noble menne, and empoueriſhed the poore commons.

15 Item, the Parliamente ſetting and enacting diuers notable ſtatutes, for the profit and aduauncemente of the common wealthe, hee by hys priuie friendes and ſolicitors cauſed to be enacted, that no Acte then enacted, ſhoulde bee more preiudiciall to him, than it was to anye of hys predeceſſors: through whyche prouiſo, hee dyd often as hee liſted, and not as the Lawe did meane.

16 Item, for to ſerue his purpoſe, hee woulde ſuffer the Shrifes of the Shire, to remayne aboue one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the ſummonance of ẏ Parliament, when Knightes and burgeſſes ſhould be elected, that the election hadde beene full proceeded, hee putte out dyuers perſons electe, and putte other in theyr places, to ſerue hys will and appetite.

18 Item, hee hadde priuie eſpials in euery Shire, to heare who hadde of hym anye communication, and if hee communed of hys laſciuious lyuing, or outrageous doyngs, hee ſtraightewayes was apprehended, and put to a greeuous fyne.

19 Item, the Spiritualtie alledged againſt hym, that he at hys goyng into Irelande, exacted many notable ſummes of money, beſide plate and iewels, without lawe or cuſtome, contrary to his othe taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where dyuers Lordes and Iuſtices were ſworne to ſaye the troth of dyuers things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the Realme, and profite of the Kyng, the ſayde King ſo menaced them with ſore threatnings, that no man woulde or durſt ſaye the righte.

21 Item, that without the aſſente of the nobilitie, he carried the iewelles, plate, and Treaſure ouer into Irelande, to the great empoueriſhmente of the Realme: and all the good recordes for the common wealthe, and againſte hys extortions, hee cauſed priuily to be embeſyled, and conueyed away.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or ſent to the See of Rome, or other regions, his writing was ſo ſubtill and darke, that no other Prince once beleeued him, nor yet his owne ſubiectes.

23 Item, hee moſt tyrannouſly and vnprincely ſayde, that the lyues and goodes of all his ſubiectes were in his handes, and at hys diſpoſition.

24 Item, that contrarye to the greate Charter of Englande, hee cauſed diuers luſtie menne to appeale dyuers olde menne, vpon matters determinable, at the common lawe in the Court Marciall, bycauſe that there is no tryall, but onely by battayle: whereuppon, the ſayde aged perſons, fearyng the ſequele of the matter, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie, whome hee fyned and raunſomed vnreaſonably at his pleaſure.

25 Item, he craftely deuiſed certaine priuie othes, contrary to the lawe, and cauſed diuers of hys ſubiectes firſte to be ſworne to obſerue the ſame, and after bounde them in bondes, for keeping of the ſame, to the greate vndoing of manye honeſt men.

26 Item, where the Chancellor, according to the lawe, would in no wiſe graunt a prohibition to a certayne perſon, the King graunted it vnto the ſame, vnder his priuie ſeale, with greate threatenings, if it ſhoulde be diſobeyed.

27 Item, hee baniſhed the Biſhoppe of Caunterburie without cauſe or Iudgement, and kepte hym in the Parliamente chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the Byſhoppes goodes hee graunted to hys ſucceſſor, vppon condition, that he ſhoulde mayneteyne all his Statutes made at Shrewſburie, Anno. 21. and the Statutes made Anno 22. at Couentrie.

29 Item, vppon the accuſation of the ſayde Byſhoppe, the Kyng craftely perſwaded hym, to make no aunſwere, for hee woulde bee his warrante, and aduiſed hym not to come to the Parliamente, and ſo withoute aunſwere hee was condemned and exiled, and hys goodes ſeaſed.

These bee all the Articles of any effecte, whyche were layde agaynſte hym, ſauing foure other, whyche touched onely the Archebyſhoppes matter, whoſe working wroughte Kyng Richarde at length from hys crowne.

Then for as muche as theſe Articles, and other haynous and deteſtable accuſations were layde agaynſte hym in open Parliament, it was thought by the moſt parte, that hee was worthy to bee depoſed of all Kingly honor, and princely gouernemente: and to bring the matter without ſlaunder the better to paſſe, dyuers of the Kynges ſeruauntes, whyche by licence had acceſſe to hys perſon, comforted hym (beyng with ſorrowe almoſt conſumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the beſt wiſe they coulde, exhorting hym to regarde his health, and ſaue his life.

And fyrſt they aduiſed hym willingly to ſuffer hymſelfe to bee depoſed, and to reſigne hys righte of hys owne accorde, ſo that the Duke of Lancaſter myghte withoute murther or

The King is perſwaded to reſigne the Crowne to the Duke.

battaile obteyne the Scepter and Diademe, after which they well perceyued hee gaped: by meane whereof they thought hee might be in perfect aſſurance of his life long to continue. Whether thys their perſwaſion proceeded by the ſuborning of the Duke of Lancaſter and his fauourers, or of a ſincere affection which they bare to the K. as ſuppoſing it moſt ſureſt in ſuch an extremitie, it is vncertain, but yet the effect followed not, howſoeuer their meaning was: notwithſtāding the K. being now in the handes of his enimies, & vtterly diſpayring of all comforte, was eaſily perſwaded to renounce his Crowne and princely preheminence, ſo that in hope of life only, he agreed to all things that were of him demaunded. And ſo (as it ſhould ſeeme by the Copie of an Inſtrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarily was depoſed from his royal Crowne, and kingly dignitie, the Monday being the. xxix. day of September, and feaſt of Saint Michaell the Archangell, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1399. and in the. xxiij. yeare of his raigne. The Copie of which Inſtrument here enſueth.

Fabia.

A copy of the inſtrument touching the declaration of the commiſſioners ſent frō the ſtates in Parliament vnto k. Richard.

This preſent Indenture made the. xxix. day of September, and feaſt of Saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1399. and the. xxiij. yeare of king Richarde the ſeconde. Witneſſeth that where by the authoritie of the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of this preſent Parliament, and Commons of the ſame, the right honourable and diſcrete perſons hervnder named, were by the ſayde authoritie aſſigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and teſtifie ſuch queſtions and anſweres as then and there ſhoulde be by the ſayde honourable and diſcrete perſones hearde: Know al men to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, that we, ſir Richard Scrope Archbiſhop of Yorke, Iohn Biſhop of Hereforde, Henrie Earle of Northumberlande, Raufe Earle of Weſtmerlande, Thomas Lorde Berkley, William Abbot of Weſtminſter, Iohn Prior of Canterburie, William Thyrning & Hugh Burnell knights, Iohn Markham Iuſtice, Thomas Stowe and Iohn Burbage doctors of the Law ciuill, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knightes, Thomas Fereby and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the day and yere aboueſayd, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone were preſent in the chiefe Chamber of the Kings lodging, within the ſayde place of the Tower, where was rehearſed vnto the king by the mouth of the foreſayde Earle of Northumberlande, that before time at Conway in Northwales, the king being there at his pleaſure and libertie, promiſed vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the ſayde Earle of Northumberlande, that he for inſufficiencie which hee knewe himſelfe to bee of, to occupie ſo greate a charge, as to gouerne the Realme of Englande, he would gladly leaue off and renounce his right & title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of Fraunce, and his maieſtie royall, vnto Henrie Duke of Hereforde, and that to doe in ſuch conuenient wiſe, as by the learned men of this lande it ſhoulde moſt ſufficiently be deuiſed and ordeyned. To the which rehearſall, the king in our ſayde preſences anſwered benignly and ſaid, that ſuch promiſe he made, and ſo to doe the ſame, he was at that houre in ful purpoſe to performe and fulfill, ſauing that he deſired firſt to haue perſonall ſpeache with the ſayde Duke, and with the archbiſhop of Canterburie his couſins. And further, he deſired to haue a bill drawne of the ſayd reſignation, that he might bee perfite in the rehearſall thereof.

This promiſe he made at flint rather thē at Cōwey as by that which goeth before it may be partly coniectured

After which bill drawne, & a copie therof to him by me the ſayd Erle deliuered, we the ſayd Lordes and other departed: and vpon the ſame after noone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaſter, at the laſt the ſayd duke, with the Archb. of Cant. and the perſones afore recited, entred the foreſayde Chamber, bringing wyth them the Lords Ros, Burgeyny, and Willoughbye, with diuerſe other. Where after due obeyſance done by thē vnto the king, hee familiarly and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeared) talked with the ſayde Archbiſhop and Duke a good ſeaſon, and that communicatiō finiſhed, the king with glad countenance in preſence of vs and the other aboue rehearſed, ſayde openly that he was readie to renounce and reſigne all his kingly Maieſtie in maner and forme as hee before had promiſed. And although he had and might ſufficiently haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane perſon, yet for the more ſuretie of the matter, and for that the ſayd reſignation ſhoulde haue his full force and ſtrength, hee him ſelfe readde the ſcrowll of reſignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the inſtrumēt wherby king Richard reſigneth the crowne to the D. of Lancaſter

IN the name of God Amen. I Richard by the grace of God, king of Englande and of Fraunce, & Lorde of Irelande, abſolue and aſſoyle all Archbiſhops, Biſhoppes, and other Prelates, ſeculer, or religious, of what dignitie, degree, ſtate, or condition ſo euer they be of, and alſo al Dukes, Marqueſſes, Erles, Barons, Lordes, and all my liege men, both ſpirituall, and ſeculer, of what maner or degree they be, from their othe of fealtie and homage, and all other deedes and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bondes of allegiance, regaltie and lordſhippe, in which they were or be bounden to mee, or any otherwiſe conſtreyned, and them their heyres and ſucceſſors for euermore, from the ſame bondes, and othes, I releaſe, deliuer and acquite, and ſet them for free, diſſolued, and acquite, and to bee harmeleſſe, for as much as longeth to my perſon by any maner way or tytle of right that to mee might follow, of the foreſayde things or any of them. And alſo I reſigne all my kingly dignitie, Maieſtie and crowne, with all the Lordſhippes, power, and priuiledges to the foreſayde kingly dignitie and Crowne belonging, and all other Lordſhippes and poſſeſſions to me in any maner of wiſe perteyning, what name or condition they be of, except the landes and poſſeſſions for mee and mine obite purchaſed and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of poſſeſſion, which I euer had or haue in the ſame lordſhippes and poſſeſſions, or any of them, with any maner of rightes belonging or apperteyning vnto anye parte of them. And alſo the rule and gouernaunce of the ſame kingdome and Lordſhippes, with all miniſtrations of the ſame, and all things and euerye eche of them, that to the whole Empyre and iuriſdictions of the ſame, belongeth of right or in any wiſe may belong. And alſo I renounce the name, worſhip, & regaltie and kingly highneſſe, clearly, freely, ſingularly and wholy, in the moſt beſt maner and fourme that I may, and wyth deede and worde I leaue off and reſigne them, and goe from them for euermore, ſauing alwayes to my ſucceſſours kings of Englande, all the rightes, priuiledges and appurtenaunces to the ſayde kingdome and Lordſhips aboueſayde belonging and apperteyning. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my ſelfe to bee, and haue beene vnſufficient and vnable, and alſo vnprofitable, and for my open deſertes, not vnworthie to bee put downe. And I ſweare vpon the holy Euangelyſts here preſently with my handes touched, that I ſhall neuer repugne to this reſignation, demiſſion or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in any manner by worde or by deede, by my ſelfe nor by none other: nor I ſhall not ſuffer it to bee impugned, in as much as in mee is priuily, or apert. But I ſhall haue holde and keepe this renouncing, dimiſſion, and leauing vp for fyrme and ſtable for euermore in all and euery part thereof, ſo God mee helpe and all Saintes, and by this holy Euangeliſt, by me bodily touched and kiſſed. And for more recorde of the ſame, here openly I ſubſcribe and ſigne this preſent reſignation with mine owne hande.

And forthwith, in our preſences and other, he ſubſcribed the ſame, and after deliuered it vnto the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, ſaying that if it were in his power, or at his aſſignment, hee woulde that the Duke of Lancaſter there preſent ſhould be his ſucceſſour, and King after him.

And in token hereof, hee tooke a Ring of golde from his finger being his Signet, and put it vpon the ſayde Dukes finger, deſiring and requyring the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, and the Byſhoppe of Hereforde, to ſhewe and make report vnto the Lordes of the Parliament of his voluntarie reſignation, and alſo of his intent and good minde that hee bare towardes his couſin the Duke of Lancaſter, to haue him hys Succeſſour and theyr King after him. And thys done, euery man tooke theyr leaue and returned to theyr owne.

Upon the Morrowe after beeing Tueſday, and the laſt day of September, all the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, with the Commons of the ſayde Parliament, aſſembled at Weſtmynſter, where in the preſence of them, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, and the Biſhoppe of Hereforde, according to the Kings requeſt, ſhewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour alſo whiche he bare to his couſin of Lancaſter for to haue him his ſucceſſor.

And moreouer ſhewed vnto them the ſcedule or byll of renouncement, ſigned with king Rychardes owne hand, which they cauſed to be read firſt in Latine, as it was written, and after in Engliſhe.

This done, the queſtion was firſt asked of the Lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: The which when it was of them graunted and confirmed, the like queſtion was asked of the commons, and of them in like maner confirmed.

K. Richards reſignation confirmed by the parliam

After this, it was then declared, that notwithſtanding the foreſayde renouncing, ſo by the Lords and Commons admitted and confirmed, it were neceſſarie in auoyding of all ſuſpitions and ſurmiſes of euill diſpoſed perſons, to haue in wryting and regiſtred the manifolde crymes and defaults before done by K. Ri. to ẏ ende that they might firſt bee openly declared to the people, and after to remaine of recorde amongſt other of the kings recordes for euer: which was done accordingly: for the articles which before ye haue heard were drawne and engroſſed vp, and there ſhewed ready to be read, but for other cauſes more needful as thẽ to be preferred, the reading of thoſe articles at that ſeaſon was deferred.

Then foraſmuch as the Lordes of the Parliament had well conſidered the voluntarie reſignation of king Richarde, and that it was behouefull and as they thought neceſſary for the weale of the realme, to proceede vnto the ſentence of his depoſing, there were appoynted by the authoritie of al the eſtates there in Parliamẽt aſſembled, the Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, the Abbot of Glaſtenburie, the Erle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Berkley, William Thirning iuſtice, and Tho. Erpingham & Th. Gray knights, ẏ they ſhuld giue & pronoũce the opẽ ſentence of the depoſing of king Richard. Whereupon the ſayde Commiſſioners taking counſaile togither, by good and deliberate aduiſe therein had, with one aſſent agreed, that the B. of S. Aſaph ſhoulde publiſh the ſentence for them and in their names as followeth.

The publication of King Richards deposing.

IN the name of God Amen. We John B. of S. Aſaph, John Abbot of Glaſtenburie, Thomas erle of Glouceſter, Thomas L. Barkley, Wil. Thirninge Juſtice, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Gray knights, choſ & deputed ſpeciall cōmiſſaries by the thre eſtates of thys preſent Parliament, repreſenting the whole body of the realme, for all ſuch matters by the ſayde eſtates to vs committed: we vnderſtanding & conſidering the manifold crymes, hurts, and harmes done by Richarde king of England, and miſgouernance of the ſame by a long time, to the great decay of the ſayd land, and vtter ruine of the ſame ſhortly to haue bin, had not the ſpeciall grace of our God thereunto put the ſooner remedie: and alſo furthermore aduerting, that the ſayd king Richard by acknowledging his own inſufficiencie, hath of his owne mere volunte and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule and gouernance of this lande, with all rights and honors vnto the ſame belonging, and vtterly for his merites hath iudged himſelfe not vnworthily to be depoſed of all kingly Maieſtie and eſtate roial. We the premiſſes well conſidering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is ſaid) committed, pronounce, diſcern, and declare the ſame king Richard, before this to haue bin, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vnſufficient, & vnworthy to the rule and gouernaunce of the foreſayde realmes and Lordſhips, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the ſame belonging. And for the ſame cauſes we depriue him of al kingly dignitie and worſhip, and of any kingly worſhip in himſelf. And we depoſe him by our ſentence definitiue, forbidding expreſly to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, & all other prelates, dukes, Marqueſſes, Erles, Barons and Knights, and al other men of the foreſayde kingdome and Lordſhips, ſubiects, and lieges whatſoeuer they be, that none of them from this day forward, to the foreſayd Richard as K. & lord of the foreſaid realmes and lordſhips be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which ſentence thus openly declared, the ſaid eſtates admitted forthwith the forenamed cōmiſſioners for their procurators, to reſigne and yeeld vp vnto king Richard, al their homage and fealty, which in times paſt they had made & ought vnto him, and alſo for to declare vnto him (if need were) all thinges before done that concerned the purpoſe and cauſe of his depoſing: the which reſignation was reſpited till the morow folowing.

Immediatly as the ſentence was in this wiſe paſſed, & that by reaſon therof the realm ſtood void without head or gouernor for the time, the Duke of Lancaſter riſing from the place where he before ſate, and ſtanding where all thoſe in the houſe might behold him, in reuerent maner made a ſign of the croſſe on his forehed, & likewiſe on his breſt, & after ſilence by an officer cōmaūded, ſaid vnto ẏ people there being preſent, theſe wordes following.

The Duke of Lancaſter claymeth the Crowne,

IN the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt. I Henrie of Lancaſter clayme the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am diſcended by right line of the bloud cōming frō that good Lord king Henrie the thirde, and through the right that God of his grace hath ſent to me, with the helpe of my kyn, and of my friends, to recouer the ſame which was in poynt to be vndone for default of good gouernance and due iuſtice. After whiche wordes thus by him vttered, he returned and ſate him down in the place where before he had ſitten.

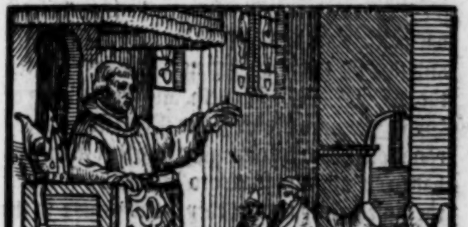
The demaund of the Archbi. of Canterbury to the commons.

Then the Lords hauing heard and wel perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them aſked of other what they thought therin. At length after a little pauſing or ſtay made, the Archb. of Cāterburie hauing notice of the minds of the Lordes, ſtood vp and aſked the commons if they woulde aſſent to the Lordes, which in theyr mindes thought the clayme of the Duke made, to bee rightfull and neceſſarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereunto the Commons with one voyce cried, yea, yea, yea. After which anſwere, the ſayd Archbiſhop going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addreſſed to him his purpoſe in fewe wordes. The which when he had ended, he roſe, and taking the duke by the right hād, led him vnto the kings ſeat, the Archbiſhop of Yorke aſſyſting him, and with great reuerence ſet him therein, after that the duke had firſt vpon his knees made his prayer in deuout maner vnto almightie God. When he thus was placed in his throne to the great reioyſing of the people, ẏ Archb. of Cant. began a brief collatiō

Tho. VValſ.

The Duke of Herford placed in the regal throne.

The Archbi. preacheth.



taking for his theme theſe wordes, written in the firſt booke of kings the ninth Chapter. *Vir dominabitur in populo*, handling the ſame & the whole tenour of his tale to the prayſe of the King, whoſe ſettled iudgement, grounded wiſedome, perfite reaſon, and rype diſcretion was ſuch, (ſayd he) as declared him to bee no childe, neyther in yeares, nor in lighte conditions, but a manne able and meete for the gouernment of a Realme, ſo that there was no ſmall cauſe of comforte miniſtred to them through the fauourable goodneſſe of almightie God, which had prouided them of ſuche a gouernour, as lyke a diſcreete Iudge ſhall deeme in cauſes by ſkylfull doomes, and rule hys Subiectes in vpryghte equitie, ſettyng aparte all wylfull pleaſures, and chyldiſhe inconſtancie.

After the Archbiſhop had ended, wiſhing that it might ſo come to paſſe, the people anſwered Amen.

The wordes of the elected king

The king then ſtanding on his feet, ſaid vnto the Lordes and Cōmons there preſent: I thanke you my Lordes both ſpirituall and temporal, and all the ſtates of this lande, and doe you to witte, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the way of conqueſt, would diſinherite any man of his heritage, franches, or other ryghtes, that him ought to haue of right, nor for to putte him out of that which he now enioyeth, and hath had before time by cuſtome of good law of thys realme, except ſuch priuate perſons as haue beene againſt the good purpoſe, and the common profit of the realme.

When hee had thus ended, then all the Sheriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exerciſe the ſame as before, whiche they could not doe whileſt the kings royal throne was voyde.

Tho. VValſ.

The coronatiō proclaymed.

The parliamēt

Moreouer a Proclamation was made, that the ſtates ſhoulde aſſemble againe in Parliament on Monday then next enſuing, beeing the feaſt day of S. Fayth, whiche is the ſixt of October, and that the Monday then next following, being the .xiij. of the ſame Moneth, and the feaſt day of Saint Edward the king, and Confeſſor, the coronation ſhould be ſolemniſed, and that al ſuch as had to clayme any ſeruice to be done by them at the ſame by any tenure, they ſhoulde come to the white Hall in the kings Palace, afore the ſteward Marſhall and Coneſtable of Englande, on Saterday next before the ſame day of yͤ Parliamēt, and preſenting their petitions that were due and rightfull, they ſhould obteyne that to them apperteyned. Excuſe was alſo made on the kings behalfe, for calling a Parliament vpon ſo ſhort a warning, ſo as the knights and Burgeſſes were not chaunged, but onely appoynted to aſſemble againe, as if the other Parliament had rather bin continued than diſſolued. The cauſe was alledged to bee for eaſing of the charges that woulde haue ryſen if eche man had bene ſent home, and new knightes and burgeſſes called. Theſe things done, the king roſe from his place, and wyth a cheerefull and right courteous countenance regarding the people, went to whyte Hall, where the ſame day he helde a great feaſt.

King Henry the fourth pro- claymed.

In the after Noone were Proclamations made in the accuſtomed places of the Citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth.

On the morrow following being Wedneſday, and firſt of October, the Procurators aboue named, repayred to the Tower of London, and there ſignified to king Richarde of the commiſſion of King Henrie. And the aforeſayde Iuſtice William Thyrning in name of the other, and for all the ſtates of the lande, renounced vnto the ſayde Richarde late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in maner and forme as apperteyned.

King Richard depoſed.

And thus was King Richarde depriued of all kingly honour and princely dignitie, by reaſon he was ſo giuen to followe euill counſaile, and vſed ſuche inconuenient wayes and meanes, through inſolēt miſgouernāce, & youthful outrage, though otherwiſe a righte noble and worthie Prince: He raigned .xxij. yeares, three monethes, and .viij. dayes.

Hall.

His perſon

He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus depoſed, all the goodes that he had, to the ſumme of three hundred thouſande poundes in coyne, beſides Plate and Iewels, as a pledge and ſatiſfaction of the iniuries by him committed and done, in hope to bee in more ſuretie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatſoeuer was promiſed, he was deceyued therein. For ſhortly after his reſignation, hee was conueyed to the Caſtell of Leedes in Kent, and from thence to Pumfret, where he departed out of this miſerable life (as after you ſhal heare.) He was ſeemely of ſhape and fauour, and of nature good ynough, if the wickedneſſe and naughtie demeanor of ſuch as were about him had not altered it. His chaunce verily was greatly infortunate, whiche fell into ſuche calamitie, that hee tooke it for the beſte waye hee coulde deuiſe to renounce hys Kingdome, for the whiche mortall menne are accuſtomed to hazarde all they haue to atteyne thervnto: but ſuch myſfortune, or the lyke oftentymes falleth vnto thoſe Princes, whiche when they are aloft, caſt no doubt for perilles that maye followe. He was prodigall, ambitious, and muche giuen to the pleaſure of the bodie. Hee kept the greateſt port, and mainteyned the moſt plentifull houſe that euer any king in Englande did eyther before his time or ſince.

Harding.

The noble houſe kep of K. Richa

There reſorted dayly to his court aboue .x.M.

perſons that had meate and drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there were three hundred ſeruitors, and euerie other office was furniſhed after the like rate: Of Ladies, Chamberers, & Launderers, there were aboue three hũdred at the leaſt. And in gorgeous and coſtly apparell they exceeded all meaſure, not one of them that kept within the boundes of his degree. Yeomen & Groomes were clothed in ſilkes, with clothe of graine and ſkarlet, ouer ſumptuous ye may be ſure for theyr eſtates. And this vanitie was not onely vſed in the Court in thoſe dayes, but alſo other people abrode in the townes and Countreys, had theyr garments cutte farre otherwiſe than had beene accuſtomed afore his dayes, with embroderyes, riche furres, and goldſmithes worke, and euerie day there was deuiſing of newe faſhions, to the greate hynderaunce and decay of the common wealth.

Exceſſe in apparel.

Moreouer ſuch were preferred to Biſhoprikes, and other Eccleſiaſtical lyuings, as neither could teache nor preache, nor knewe any thing of the ſcripture of God, but onely to call for theyr tithes and ducties, ſo that they were moſte vnworthie the name of Biſhops, being lewd and moſt vaine perſons diſguiſed in Biſhops apparell.

Ignorant prelats.

Moreouer there reigned abundantly the filthie ſinne of lecherie and fornication, with abhominable adulterie, ſpecially in the king, but moſte chiefly in the prelacie, whereby the whole realme by ſuch their euill enſample, was ſo infected, that the wrath of God was dayly prouoked to vengeance, for the ſinnes of the Prince and hys people.

Thus haue ye heard what wryters do report touching the ſtate of the time and doings of this king. But if I may boldly ſay what I think: he was a Prince the moſt vnthankfully vſed of hys ſubiects, of any one of whom ye ſhal lightly read. For although through the frailtie of youth he demeaned himſelfe more diſſolutely than ſeemed conuenient for his royall eſtate, and made choyſe of ſuch Counſaylers as were not fauoured of the people, wherby he was the leſſe fauoured himſelf: yet in no kings days were the commons in greater wealth, if they could haue perceyued their happie ſtate: neither in any other time were the Nobles and Gentlemen more cheriſhed, nor Churchmen leſſe wronged: but ſuch was their ingratitude towardes their bountifull and louing ſoueraigne, that thoſe whom he had chiefly aduaunced, were readieſt to controll him, for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remoue from him ſuch as they miſlyked, and place in theyr rowmthes whome they thought good, and that rather by ſtrong hande, than by gentle and courteous meanes, which ſtirred ſuch malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be aſſwaged without perill of deſtruction to them both.

The Duke of Glouceſter chiefe inſtrument of this miſchiefe, to what ende hee came yee haue heard: and although his nephewe the Duke of Hereforde, tooke vpon him to reuenge his death, yet wãted he moderation and loyaltie in hys doings, for the which both he himſelf and his lineall race were ſcourged afterwardes, as a due puniſhment with rebellious ſubiects, ſo as deſerued vengeance ſeemed not to ſtay long for his ambitious crueltie, that could not be contented to driue king Richard to reſigne his Crowne and regall dignitie ouer vnto him, except hee alſo ſhoulde take from him his guiltleſſe life.

But to let this paſſe to the conſideration of the learned: according to our order, I will ſhewe what wryters of our Engliſh nation liued in his dayes, as wee finde them in John Bales Centuries.

First Henrie Bederic, otherwiſe ſurnamed of Burie, after the name of the towne where hee is thought to haue bin borne, an Auguſtine Frier: Simon Alcocke: Uthred Bolton a Monke of Durham, but borne in the borders of Wales, beyond Seuerne: William Jordan a black Frier: John Hilton a Frier Minor: John Clipton a Carmelite Frier in Notingham: Henrie Daniel a black Frier & a good Phiſition: Raufe Marhã: John Marcheley a gray Frier, or cordelier as ſome call them: Thomas Browne a Carmelite Frier of London: John Bridlington borne in Yorkeſhire: William Thorne an Auguſtine Frier of Canterburie, an Hiſtoriographer: Adam Merimouth a Canon of Saint Paules Church in London, that wrote two treatiſes of hyſtoricall matters, the one intituled *Chronicon. 40 annorum*, & the other, *Chronicon. 60. an.* Simon Bredon borne in Winchcombe, a doctor of Phiſicke, and a ſkilfull Aſtronomer: John Thompſon, borne in Norffolk in a village of that name, and a Carmelite frier in Blackney: Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnſhyre, and an Auguſtine Frier in Stamford: William Packington Secretarie ſometime to the blacke Prince, an excellẽt hiſtoriographer: Geffray Hinghã a ciuilian: John Botleſham borne in Cambridgeſhire a black Frier: William Badby a Carmelite frier, Biſhop of Worceſter, and confeſſor to the Duke of Lancaſter: William Folleuille a Frier minor borne in Lincolnſhire: John Bourgh parſon of Collinghã in Notinghãſhire a doct. of diuinity, and Chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge: William Sclade a Monke of Buckfaſt Abbay in Deuonſhire: John Thoreſbie Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellor of England, was admitted by Pope Urbane the fifth into the Colledge of Cardinals, but he died before K. Richard

came

Aduuerſis Epiſcopus.

came to the Crowne aboute the. xlviij. yeare of king Edwarde the thirde, in the yeare of our lord 1374. Thomas Aſhborne an Auguſtine Frier: John Aſtone an earneſt follower of Wicklifes doctrine, and therefore condemned to perpetuall priſon: Caſterton a Monke of Norwiche, and an excellent diuine: Nicholas Radclife a monke of S. Albones: John Aſhwarby a diuine, and a fauorer of Wicklifs doctrine: Richard Maydſton ſo called of the towne in Kent where hee was borne, a Carmelite Frier of Ayleſford: John Wardby an Auguſtine Frier, and a great diuine: Robert Waldby excellently learned as well in diuinitie as other artes, for the which he was firſt aduaunced to a Biſhoprike in Gaſcoigne, and after he was admitted Archbiſhoppe of Dubline: William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, and Chãcellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, an aduerſarie to Wicklif: Philip Repingtõ Abbot of Leyceſter a notable diuine & deffẽder of Wicklife: Thomas Lombe a Carmelite Frier of Lynne: Nicholas Hereford a ſecular prieſt, a doctor of diuinitie, and ſcholer to Wicklife: Walter Britte alſo another of Wicklifs ſcholers, wrote both of diuinitie and other arguments: Henry Herkley Chauncellour of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wicklife, and a great Sophiſter: Robert Juorie a Carmelite Frier of London, and the. xx. prouinciall of his order here in Englande: Lankine a Londoner, an Auguſtine Frier, profeſſed in the ſame Citie a doctor of diuinitie, an aduerſarie to Wicklife: Wil. Gillingham a Monke of Saint Sauiours in Canterburie: John Chilmarke a fellow of Marton Colledge in Oxford, a great Philoſopher and Mathemetician: John Sharpe a Philoſopher, and a diuine, wrote many treatiſes, a great aduerſarie to Wicklife: Richard Lauingham borne in Suffolke, and a Frier of Gipſwich, an excellent Logitian, but a ſore enimie to thẽ that fauored Wicklifes doctrine: Peter Pateſhull, of whom ye haue heard before: it is ſayde that hee was in the ende conſtrayned for doubt of perſecution to flie into Boheme: William Woodforde a Franciſcane Frier, a choſen champion agaynſt Wicklife beeing nowe dead, procured thereto by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Thomas Arundell: John Bromyard a Dominicke Frier, both a notable lawyer and a diuine, a ſore enimie alſo to the Wickliuiſtes: Marcill Ingelne an excellent Philoſopher, and a diuine, one of the firſt teachers of the Vniuerſitie of Heydelberg, which Robert duke of Bauier and Counte Palatine of the Rhine had inſtituted about that ſeaſon: Richarde Northall ſonne to a Maior of London, (as is ſayd) of that name, he became a Carmelite Frier in the ſame Citie: Thomas Edwardſon Prior of the Frier Auguſtines at Clare in Suffolke: John Sommer a Franciſcan Frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliuiſtes: Richard Withe a learned Prieſt, and an earneſt follower of Wicklif: John Swafham a Carmelite Frier of Linne, a ſtudent in Cambridge, and became biſhop of Bangor, a great aduerſarie to the Wickliuiſts: William Egumonde a Frier Ermite of the ſect of the Auguſtines in Stamford: John Tylſington a Franciſcane Frier, a mainteyner of the Popes doctrine: William Rymſton or Rimington, a Monke of Salley, an enimie alſo to the Wickliuiſtes; Adam Eſton well ſeene in the tongues, was made a Cardinall by Pope Gregorie the xj. but by Pope Vrban the ſixt he was committed to priſon in Genoa, but at the contemplation of king Richarde he was taken out of priſon, but not fully delyuered till the dayes of Boniface the ix. who reſtored him to his former dignitie: John Beauſu a Carmelite of Northamton, proceeded doctor of Diuinitie in Oxforde, and was made Prior of his houſe: Roger Twiford *alias* Goodluck, an Auguſtine Frier: John Treuiſe a Corniſh man borne, and a ſecular Prieſt & Vicar of Berkley, he tranſlated the Byble, Bart. de Proprietatibus, Polichron of Ranulfe Higeden, and diuerſe other treatiſes: Raufe Spalding a Carmelite Frier of Stãford: John Moone an Engliſhman borne, but a ſtudent in Paris, who compyled in the Frenche tongue the Romant of the Roſe, tranſlated into Engliſh by Geffrey Chaucer: William Shirborn: Richard Wichingham borne in Norffolke, and diuerſe other.

H.the
ourth.

When king Richarde had reſigned (as before is ſpecified) the ſcepter & crown Henrie Plātagenet borne at Bullingbroke in ye countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaſter & Heref. erle of Derby, Leyceſter, & Lincolne, ſon to John of Gant duke of Lancaſter, with generall conſent both of the lords & commons, was publiſhed, proclamed and declared king of England and of France, & lorde of Ireland the laſt day of September, in the yeare of the world.5366.of our Lord.1399. of the raigne of the Emperor Wenceſlaus the.22. of Charles the ſixt, king of Fraunce the xx. and the tenth of Robert the third king of Scottes.

fficers
ade.

Forthwith he made certaine new officers. And firſt in right of his Erledome of Leiceſter he gaue the office of high ſteward of England belonging to the ſame Erledome, vnto his ſecond ſonne the Lord Thomas; who by his fathers cōmaundemēt exerciſed that office, being aſſiſted (by reaſon of his tender age) by Thomas Percy Earle of Worceſter. The Erle of Northūberland was made Coneſtable of England: ſir John Scyrley Lord Chauncellor: John Norburie Eſquier L. Treaſorer: ſir Richard Clifford lord priuie ſeale.

parliamēt
ſummoned.

Foraſmuch as by king Richards reſignation & the admitting of a newe king, all pleas in euery Court and place were ceaſſed, and without daye diſcontinued, new writtes were made for ſummoning of the Parliament vnder the name of king Henrie the fourth, the ſame to be holden, as before was appointed, on Monday next enſuing.

ad Tunis

Upon the fourth day of October, the Lorde Thomas ſecond ſonne to the King ſatte as Lorde high ſtewarde of Englande by the kings commaundement in the Whitehall of the kings Palace at Weſtminſter, and as belonged to his office, he cauſed inquirie to be made what offices were to be exerciſed by any maner of perſons the day of the kings coronation, and what fees were belonging to the ſame, cauſing proclamation to be made, that what noble man or other that could claime any office that day of the ſolemniſing the kings coronation, they ſhould come and put in their bylles comprehending their demaundes. Whervpon diuerſe offices and fees were claymed, as well by billes as otherwiſe by ſpeeche of mouth, in fourme as here enſueth.

Clayming of offices at the coronation.

First, the Lord Henrie the kings eldeſt ſonne, to whom he as in right of his Duchie of Lancaſter had appointed that office, clamed to beare before the king the principall ſword called *Curtana*, and had his ſuyt graunted.

Curtana.

John Erle of Somerſet, to whom the king as in right of his Erledome of Lincoln had granted to be Caruer the day of his coronation, claymed that office, and had it confirmed.

The Earle of Sommerſet.

Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland, and high Coneſtable of England, by the kings grant claymed that office, and obteyned it to enioy at pleaſure.

The Earle of Northūberl

The ſame Earle in right of the Iſle of Man, which at that preſent was graunted to him, and to his heyres by the king claimed to beare on the kings left ſide a naked ſworde, with whiche the King was gyrded, when before his coronation hee entred as Duke of Lancaſter into the parties of Holderneſſe, which ſworde was called Lancaſters ſworde.

The Iſle of Manne,

Lancaſter ſword.

Rauf Erle of Weſtmerland, & Erle Marſhal of England, by the kings grant claymed ye ſame office, and obteyned it, notwithſtanding that the attorneys of the duke of Norffolke, preſented to the Lord ſteward their petition on the dukes behalfe, as Erle Marſhal, to exerciſe the ſame.

The Earle of Weſtmerland.

The Duke of Norfolke.

Sir Thomas Erpinghā knight, exerciſed the office of Lord great Chamberleyn, and gaue water to the king when he waſhed, both before & after dinner, hauing for his fees, the Baſon, Ewer, and Towels, with other things whatſoeuer belonging to his office, notwithſtanding Aubrey de Veer Erle of Oxford put in his petitions to haue that office as due to him from his aunceſters.

Sir Thomas Erpingham.

Thomas Beauchampe Earle of Warwicke by right of inheritance, bare the thirde ſworde before the king, and by lyke right was Panter at the coronation.

The Earle of Warwicke.

Sir William Argentine knight, by reaſon of the tenure of his Manour of Wilmundale in the Countie of Hertford, ſerued the king of the firſt cup of drinke which he taſted of at his dinner the day of his coronation: the cup was of ſiluer vngylt, which the ſame knight had for his fees, notwithſtanding the petition which Iuon Fitzwarren preſented to the Lord ſteward, requiring that office in right of his wife ye Lady Mawd, daughter and heyre to ſir John Argentine knight.

Sir William Argentyne.

Ivon Fitz ware

Sir Thomas Neuill Lord Furniual, by reaſon of his Manour of Fernham, with the hamlet of Cere whiche hee helde by the ſeruice of

The L. Furniual.

England after the deceaſſe of his wife, the Lady Joan deceaſſed gaue to the king a gloue for hys right hand, and ſuſteyned the kings right arme ſo long as he bare the ſcepter.

The L. Grey.

The Lorde Reginald Grey of Ruthen, by reaſon of his manor of Aſhley in Norffolke coue‑red the tables, and had for his fees all the Table‑clothes, as well thoſe in the Hall, as elſe where, when they were taken vp, notwithſtanding a petition exhibited, by ſir John Draiton to haue had that office.

Great ſpurres.

The ſame Lorde Gray of Ruthen, bare the kinges great ſpurres before him in the time of his coronation by right of inheritance, as heyre to John Haſtings Erle of Pembroke.

The ſecond werde.

John Erle of Somerſet, by the kings aſſignment bare the ſeconde ſworde before him at his coronation, notwithſtanding that the ſayd Lorde Grey of Ruthen by petition exhibited before the Lorde Stewarde demaunded the ſame office, by reaſon of his Caſtell and Tower of Pembroke, and of his towne of Denbigh.

The Earle of Arundel.

Thomas Earle of Arundel chiefe Butler of Englande, obteyned to exerciſe that office the day of the coronation, and had the fees thereto belonging graunted to him, to wit, the Goblet wyth which the king was ſerued, and other things, to that his office apperteyning (the veſſels of Wine excepted) that lay vnder the bar, which were adiudged vnto the ſayd Lorde ſteward, the ſayd erle of Arundels clayme notwithſtanding.

The citizens of London.

The Citizens of London choſen forth by the Citie, ſerued in the hall, as aſſiſtants to the Lord chiefe Butler, whileſt the king ſat at dinner, the day of his coronation: and when the king entred into his Chamber after dinner, & called for wine the Lorde Maior of London brought to hym a cuppe of golde with wine, and had the ſame cup giuen to him, togither with the cuppe that conteyned water to allay the wine. After the king had drunke, the ſayd Lorde Maior and the Aldermen of London had their table to dine at, on the left hand of the king in the hall.

Thomas Dimmocke.

Thomas Dymocke, in right of his mother Margaret Dymocke, by reaſon of the tenure of his manor of Scriuelbie, claymed to be the kings Champion at his coronation, and had hys ſuyte granted, notwithſtanding a clayme exhibited by Baldwin Freuill, demaunding that office by reaſon of hys Caſtell of Tamworth in Warwikſhire.

Baldwin freuil.

The ſayde Democke had for his fees one of the beſt courſers in the kings ſtable, with ẏ kings ſaddle and all the trappers and harneys apperteyning to the ſame horſe or Courſer: he hadde likewiſe one of the beſt armors that was in the kings armorie for his owne bodie, with all that belonged wholy thervnto.

The Lord Latimer.

John Lorde Latimer, although he was vnder age, for himſelfe and ẏ Duke of Norffolke, notwithſtanding that his poſſeſſions were in the kings hands, by his attourney ſir Thomas Grey knight, claimed and had the office of Almoner for that day, by reaſon of certaine landes which ſomtyme belonged to the Lorde William Beauchampe of Bedford.

They had a Towel of fine lynnen cloth prepared, to put in the ſiluer that was appoynted to be giuen in almes, and likewiſe they had the deſtribution of the cloth that couered the Pauement & floores from the kings Chamber dore, vnto the place in the Churche of Weſtminſter where the Pulpet ſtoode. The reſidue that was lyed in the Church, the Sexten had.

W. le Ven.

William le Venour, by reaſon he was tenant of the Manour of Liſton, claymed and obteyned to exerciſe the office of making Wafers for the king the day of his coronation.

The barons of the fiue portes.

The Barons of the fiue Portes claymed, and it was granted them, to beare a Canapie of cloth of golde ouer the king, with four ſtaues, and foure belles at the foure corners, euerie ſtaffe hauing foure of thoſe barons to beare it. Alſo to dine and ſit at the table next to the king on his right hand in the hall the day of his coronation, and for their fees to haue the foreſayde Canapie of golde, with the belles and ſtaues, notwithſtanding the Abbot of Weſtminſter claymed the ſame.

Edmond Chambers.

Edmond Chambers claymed and obteyned the office of principall Larderer for him and his Deputies, by reaſon of his manour of Skulton, otherwiſe called Burdellebin Skulto, in the countie of Norffolke. Thus was euery man appoynted to exerciſe ſuch office as to him of right apperteyned, or at the leaſt was thought requiſite for the time preſent.

On the Monday then next enſuing, when the ſtates were aſſembled in Parliament, order was taken, that by reaſon of ſuch preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they ſhoulde ſit no more till the morow after Saint Edwards day.

Knights of the Bath.

On the Sunday following being the euen of Saint Edwarde, the newe King lodged in the Tower, and there made. xlvj. knightes of the Bathe, to witte:

Three of his ſonnes,
The Earle of Arundell,
The Earle of Warwickes ſonne,
The Earle of Stafforde,
Two of the Earle of Deuonſhires ſonnes,
The Lorde Beaumont,
The Lorde Willoughbies brother,
The Earle of Staffordes brother,
The Lorde Camois his ſonne,
The Lorde of Maule,
Thomas Beauchampe,

Thomas Pelham,
John Luttrell,
John Liſley,
William Hankeford Juſtice,
William Brinchley Juſtice,
Bartholmew Racheforde,
Giles Daubeney,
William Butler,
John Aſhton,
Richarde Sanape,
John Tiptoſt,
Richard Frances,
Henrie Percy,
John Arundell,
William Stralle,
John Turpington,
Aylmere Saint,
Edwarde Haſtings,
John Greiſley,
Gerard Satill,
John Arden,
Robert Chalons.
Thomas Dymocke,
Hungerforde,
Gibethorpe,
Newporte, and dyuerſe other to the number of .xlvj.

he L. Maior
London.

On the Morrowe beeing Saint Edwardes day, and .xiij. of October, the Lord Maior of London road towards the Tower to attēd the king, with diuerſe worſhipfull Citizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king ridde through the Citie vnto Weſtminſter, where he was ſacred, annoynted, and crowned king by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie with all ceremonies and royall ſolemnitie as was due and requiſite.

he Erle of
ch enuied
he kings pre-
ment.

Though all other reioyſed at his aduauncement, yet ſurely Edmonde Mortimer Earle of March, which was couſin and heyre to Lionell duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten ſonne of king Edwarde the thirde, and Richard Earle of Cambridge, ſonne to Edmonde duke of Yorke, whiche had maried Anne ſiſter to the ſame Edmond, were with theſe doings neither pleaſed nor contented: Inſomuch that now the deuiſion once begon, the one linage ceaſſed not to perſecute the other, till the heyres males of both the lynes were clearly deſtroyed and extinct.

mond erle
Lancaſter vn
ely fained
deformed
uchback.

At the day of the coronation, to the intent hee ſhoulde not ſeeme to take vpon him the crowne & ſcepter royall by plaine extort power, and iniurious intruſion, he was aduiſed to make his tytle as heyre to Edmond, (ſurnamed or vntruly feyned) Crouchbacke, ſonne to king Henry the third, and to ſay that the ſaid Edmond was elder brother to king Edward the firſt, and for his deformitie put by from the crowne, to whō by his mother Blanch, daughter & ſole heyre to Henry duke of Lancaſter, he was next of bloud, and vndoubted heyre. But bycauſe not only his friends, but alſo his priuie enimies, knew that this was but a forged title, conſidering they were ſurely enformed, not onely that the ſayde Edmonde was yonger ſon to king Henrie the thirde, but alſo had true knowledge, that Edmōd was neither crooke backed, nor a deformed perſō, but a goodly gentleman, & a valiant captain, & ſo much fauored of his louing father, that he to preferre him in mariage to the Queene Dowager of Nauarre, hauing a great liuelode, gaue to him the countie Palatine of Lancaſter, with many notable honours, high ſeigniories, and large priuiledges: Therefore they aduiſed him to publiſh it, that hee chalenged the realme not onely by conqueſt, but alſo bycauſe he was by king Richarde adopted as heyre, and declared by reſignation as his lawfull ſucceſſor, being next heyre male to him of the bloud royall.

Sir John Cheny ſpeaker of the parliamēt diſmiſsed and Wil. Durward admitted.

But to procede to other doings, the ſolemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morrow after being Tueſday, the Parliamēt began again, and yͤ next day ſir John Cheyny that was ſpeaker, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his infirmitie & ſickneſſe, not to be able to exerciſe that roumth, was diſmiſſed, and one William Durward eſquire was admitted: herewith were the acts eſtabliſhed in the Parliament of the .xxj. yere of king Richardes raigne repealed and made voyde, and the ordinances deuiſed in the Parliament, holden the .xj. yeare of the ſame king, confirmed, & againe eſtabliſhed for good and profitable.

Acts repealed.

Acts cōfirmed

The ſame day the kings eldeſt ſonne the Lord Henrie, by aſſent of all the ſtates in the Parliament, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Erle of Cheſter, then being of the age of .xij. yeares.

Upon the Thurſday, the commons came and reherſed all the errors of the laſt Parliament holden in the .xxj. yeare of king Richard, and namely in certaine fiue of them.

Firſt, that where the king that nowe is, was readie to arraigne an appeale agaynſt the Duke of Norffolke, he doing what appertayned to hys dutie in that behalf, was yet baniſhed afterwards without any reaſonable cauſe.

Secondly, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Metropolitane of the Realme, was forriudged without anſwere.

Thirdly, the duke of Glouceſter was murthered, and after forieudged.

Fourthly, where the Earle of Arundell alledged his Charter of pardon, the ſame might not be allowed.

Fifthly, that all the power of that euill Parliament, was graunted and aſſigned ouer to certaine perſons, and ſithe that ſuch heynous errors coulde not be cōmitted (as was thought) without the aſſent and aduice of them that were of the late kings counſaile, they made ſute that they might be put vnder arreſt, and committed to ſafe keping till order might be further taken for them.

Thus much adoe there was in this Parliament, ſpecially about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Glouceſters death, and of the condemning of the other Lords that were adiudged traytors in the foreſayde late Parliament holden in the ſayde .xxj. yeare of king Richardes raigne. Sir Iohn Bagot knight then priſoner in the tower, diſcloſed many ſecrets, vnto the which he was priuie, and being brought one day to the barre, a bill was read in Engliſhe which hee had made, conteyning certaine euill practiſes of king Richard, and further what great affection ỹ ſame king bare to the duke of Aumarle, inſomuch that he heard him ſay, that if he ſhuld renounce the gouernment of the kingdom, he wiſhed to leaue it to the ſaid duke, as to the moſt able mã, for wiſdome and manhood of all other: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he ſayde that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreme enimie, and cruell tyrant to the Church.

Fabian.

Sir Iohn bagot diſcloſeth ſecretes.

Henry the fourth ſuſpected not to be wel affected towards the church before his comming to the crown.

It was further conteyned in that Byll, that as the ſame Bagot rode one daye behinde the Duke of Norffolke in the Sauoy ſtreete toward Weſtminſter, the duke aſked him what he knew of the maner of the duke of Glouceſter his death, and he anſwered that hee knewe nothing at all: But the people (quoth he) doe ſay that you haue murthered him. Whervnto the Duke ſware great othes that it was vntrue, and that hee had ſaued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certain other Lords, by the ſpace of three weekes, and more, affyrming with all, that he was neuer in all his life time more affrayde of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calais at that time, to the kings preſence, by reaſon hee had not put the duke to death. And then (ſayd he) the king appoynted one of his owne ſeruants, and certaine other that were ſeruauntes to other Lords to goe with him to ſee the ſayde duke of Gloceſter put to death, ſwearing that as he ſhuld anſwere afore God, it was neuer his mind that he ſhould haue died in ỹ ſort, but only for feare of the king, and ſauing of his owne life. Neuertheleſſe there was no man in the realme to whom King Richard was ſo much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle; for he was the man that to fulfill hys minde, had ſet hym in hande wyth all that was done againſt the ſayd duke, and the other Lords.

The D. of Aumaile accuſed.

There was alſo conteyned in that Byll, what ſecrete malice king Richarde had conceyued agaynſte the Duke of Herforde beeing in exile, whereof the ſame Bagot had ſent intelligence vnto the Duke into Fraunce, by one Roger Smart, who certified it to him by Peeter Buckton, and others, to the intent he ſhould the better haue regard to himſelfe.

There was alſo conteyned in the ſayde Bill, that Bagot had heard the Duke of Aumarle ſay, that he had leauer than twentie thouſand poundes that the Duke of Herforde were dead not for any feare hee had of him, but for the trouble and myſchiefe that hee was like to procure within the realme.

After that the Byll had beene read and heard, the Duke of Aumarle roſe vp and ſayde, that as touching the poynts conteyned in the bill concerning him, they were vtterly falſe & vntrue, which he would proue with his body, in what maner ſoeuer it ſhould be thought requiſit. Therewith alſo the duke of Exceter roſe vp, & willed Bagot that if he could ſay any thing againſt him to ſpeake it openly. Bagot anſwered, that for his part he could ſay nothing agaynſt him: but there is (ſaide he) a yeoman in Newgate one Iohn Hall that can ſaye ſomewhat. Well then (ſayde the Duke of Exceter,) this that I do and ſhall ſay is true, that the late king, the duke of Norffolk, and thou being at Woodſtocke, made me to goe with you into the Chapell, and there the doore being ſhutte, ye made mee to ſweare vpon the aulter, to keepe counſayle in that ye had to ſay to mee, and then yee rehearſed that we ſhould neuer haue our purpoſe, ſo long as the Duke of Lancaſter liued, and therefore ye purpoſed to haue a Councill at Lichfield, and there you woulde arreſt the duke of Lancaſter, in ſuch ſort as by colour of his diſobeying the arreſt; hee ſhoulde be diſpatched out of life. And in this maner ye imagined his death, to the which I anſwered, that it were conuenient that the King ſhoulde ſende for his counſaile, and if they agreed herevnto, I would not bee agaynſt it, & ſo I departed: to this Bagot made no anſwere.

The Duke Aumerle ſwere to B gots byl.

Iohn Hal a yeman.

After this, the King commaunded that the Lordes, Berkley, and Louell, and ſixe knights of the lower houſe, ſhoulde goe after dinner to examine the ſayd Hall. This was on a Thurſday being the .xv. of October.

On the Saterday next enſuing, Sir William Bagot, and the ſayde Iohn Hall, were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certaine poyntes, & ſent againe to priſon.

Bagot and H brought to the barre.

The Lord Fitz Water herewith roſe vp, and ſayd to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuſeth himſelf of the duke of Glouceſters death, I ſay (quoth he) that he was the very cauſe of his death, and ſo hee appealed him of treaſon, offring by throwing downe his hoode as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were .xx. other Lordes alſo that threw downe their hoodes, as pledges to proue ỹ like matter againſt the duke of Aumarle.

The Lord F Water app leth the Du of Aumarle treaſon.

The Duke of Aumarle threwe downe hys

hoode to trie it agaynſt the Lorde Fitz Water, as agaynſt him that lyed falſly, in that hee charged him with, by that his appeale. Theſe gages were deliuered to the Coneſtable & Marſhal of England, and the parties put vnder arreſt.

The duke of Surrey ſtood vp alſo agaynſt the L. Fitzwater, auouching, that where he had ſayd that the appellants were cauſe of yͤ duke of Glouceſters death, it was falſe, for they were conſtreyned to ſue the ſame appeale, in like maner as the ſayd Lorde Fitz Water was compelled to gyue iudgement againſt the duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle of Arundell, ſo that the ſuing of the appeale was done by cohertion, and if he ſayd contrary he lied: & therwith he threw down his hood.

The Lorde Fitz Water anſwered herevnto, that he was not preſent in the Parliament houſe when iudgement was giuen againſt them, and al the Lordes bare witneſſe thereof.

Moreouer, where it was alledged, that the duke of Aumarle ſhould ſend two of his ſeruants vnto Calais, to murther the duke of Glouceſter, yͤ ſayd duke of Aumarle ſaid, that if the duke of Norffolk affyrme it, he lyed falſly, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hoode which he had borowed.

The ſame was likewiſe deliuered to the Coneſtable and Marſhall of England, and the king licenced the Duke of Norffolke to returne, that hee might arraigne his appeale.

Fabian.

John Hal executed.

After this was John Hal cōdemned of treaſon by authoritie of the Parliament, for that hee had confeſſed himſelfe to be one of them that put the duke of Glouceſter to death at Calais, and ſo on the Monday following, he was drawne from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, headed, & quartered: his head being ſent to Calais there to be ſet vp, where the duke was murthered.

Ion. Stow.

The requeſt of the commons.

Hal.

A bold biſhop and faithful.

On Wedneſday folowing, requeſt was made by the commons, that ſith king Richard had reſigned, and was lawfully depoſed from his royall dignitie, he might haue iudgemēt decreed againſt him, ſo as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the cauſes of his depoſing might be publiſhed through the realm for ſatiſfying of the people, which demaund was graunted. Wherevpon the Biſhop of Carleil, a man both learned, wiſe, & ſtoute of ſtomacke, boldly ſhewed forth his opinion concerning that demaunde, affyrming that there was none amongſt them worthie or meete to giue iudgement vpō ſo noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their ſoueraigne and liege Lorde, by the ſpace of. xxij. yeares and more, and I aſſure you (ſayd he) there is not ſo ranke a traytor, nor ſo errant a theef, nor yet ſo cruell a murtherer apprehended or deteyned in priſon for his offence, but hee ſhall be brought before the Iuſtice to heare his iudgement, and ye will procede to the iudgement of an annoynted K. hearing neither his anſwere nor excuſe: and I ſay, that the duke of Lancaſter whom ye cal king, hath more treſpaſſed to king Ric. and his realme, than king Richard hath done either to him, or to vs: for it is manifeſt and well knowne, that the Duke was baniſhed the realme by king Richard and his counſayle, and by the iudgement of hys owne father, for the ſpace of tenne yeres, for what cauſe ye know, and yet without licence of King Richard, he is returned againe into the Realme, and that is worſe, hath taken vpō him, the name, tytle, and preheminence of a King. And therfore I ſay, that yee haue done manifeſt wrong, to procede in anye thing agaynſt king Richarde, without calling him openly to his aunſwere and defence.

As ſoone as the Biſhop had ended this tale, he was attached by the Earle Marſhal, & committed to warde in the Abbey of S. Albons.

The Duke of Britaine.

Moreouer, where the king had graunted to the Erle of Weſtmerland the Countie of Richemond, the Duke of Brytaine pretending a right thereto by an olde tytle, had ſent his letters ouer vnto the eſtates aſſembled in this Parliament, offring to abide ſuch order as the law would appoynt in the like caſe to anye of the Kings ſubiects. Wherevpon the Commons for the more ſuretie of the entercourſe of Marchants, beſought the king, that the matter myght bee committed to the ordering of the Counſaile of eyther of the parties, and of his Counſaile, ſo as an end might be had therein, whiche requeſt was lykewyſe graunted.

After this, the recordes of the laſt Parliament were ſhewed, with the appeales, and the commiſſion made to. xij. perſons to determin things that were moticned in the ſame laſt Parliamēt. Herevpon the commons prayed that they might haue Iuſtice Markham, and maiſter Gaſcoigne a ſergeant at the lawe ioyned with them for counſaile touching the peruſing of the recordes, which was graunted them, and day giuen ouer till the next morow in the White hall, where they ſat aboute theſe matters three dayes togither.

King Richard appointed to be kept in perpetual priſon, *Hall.*

On the Monday following, being the euen of Simon and Iude the Apoſtles, the commons required to heare the iudgement of king Richarde. Wherevpon the Archbiſhop of Canterburye appoynted to ſpeake, declared how that the K. that now is, had graunted King Richard his lyfe, but in ſuche wyſe as hee ſhoulde remayne in perpetuall priſon, ſo ſafely kept, that neyther the King nor realme ſhould be troubled with hym.

It was alſo concluded, that if any man went about to deliuer him, that then he ſhoulde bee the firſt that ſhould die for it.

After this, the Commons prayed that the

Lordes and other that were of king Richardes counſaile, might be put to their anſwers for their ſundrie miſdemeanors, which was graunted.

The Earle of Warwicke.

On Wedneſday following, being the morow after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, all the proceſſe of the Parliament holden the .xxj. yeare of king Richards raign was red openly, in which it was founde howe the Earle of Warwike had confeſſed himſelfe guiltie of treaſon, and aſked perdon and mercie for his offence: but the Earle denied, that euer he acknowledged any ſuch thing by worde of mouth, and that he would proue in what manerſoeuer ſhould bee to him appoynted. Therin was alſo the appeale founde of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrey, and Exceter, the Marques Dorſet, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Glouceſter, to the whiche eche of them anſwered by himſelfe, that they neuer aſſented to that appeale of theyr owne free willes, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affyrmed by their othes & offred to proue it by what maner they ſhould bee appoynted. Sir Walter Cloptō ſaid then to the commons, if ye will take aduauntage of the proceſſe of the laſt Parliament, take it, and ye ſhall be receyued therunto. Then roſe vp the Lord Morley, and ſayde to the Erle of Saliſburie, that he was chiefe of counſail with the duke of Glouceſter, and likewiſe with king Richarde, & ſo diſcouered the dukes counſail to the king as a traytor to his maſter, & that he ſaid he wold with his body proue againſt him, throwing down his hood as a pledge. The Erle of Saliſburie ſore amoued herewith, told the Lorde Morley, that he falſly belied him, for he was neuer traytor, nor falſe to his maiſter all his life time, and therewith threw downe hys Gloue to wage battaile agaynſt the Lord Morley. Their gages were taken vp, and deliuered to the Coneſtable and Marſhall of Englande, & the parties were arreſted, and day to them giuen till another time.

Sir Walter Clopton.

The L. Morley appelleth the E. of Saliſbury

On Monday following, being the morow after al Soules day, the cōmons made requeſt, that they might not be entred in the Parliamēt rolles, as parties to the iudgement giuen in this Parliament, but there as in verie truth they were priuie to the ſame: for the iudgement otherwiſe belonged to the king, except where any iudgement is giuen by ſtatute enacted for the profite of the common wealth, which requeſt was graunted: diuerſe other petitions were preſented on the behalfe of the Commons, part whereof were graunted, and to ſome there was none anſwere made at that time.

Finally, to auoyde further inconuenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it was finally enacted, that ſuch as were appellants in yͤ laſt Parliament againſt the duke of Glouceſter and other, following ſhould in this wiſe be ordred:

Dukes and other depriued of their titles.

The dukes of Aumarle, Surrey, and Exceter, there preſent, were iudged to loſe their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles and dignities thereunto belonging.

The Marques Dorſet beeyng likewyſe there preſent, was adiudged to loſe his tytle and dignitie of Marques, and the Erle of Glouceſter being alſo preſent, was in ſemblable maner iudged to loſe his name, title & dignitie of Earle.

Tho. Wal.

Moreouer, it was further decreed agaynſt the, that they and euery of them ſhoulde loſe and forfeyt all thoſe Caſtels, Lordſhips, manors, lands, poſſeſſions, rents, ſeruices, liberties and reuenues, whatſoeuer had bin giuen to them, at or ſince the laſt Parliament, belonging aforetime to anye of thoſe perſons whome they had appealed, and all other theyr Caſtels, Manours, Lordſhips, lands, poſſeſſions, rentes, ſeruices, liberties, and reuenues whatſoeuer, whiche they helde of the late kings gyft, the day of the arreſt of the ſayd Duke of Glouceſter, or at any tyme after, ſhoulde alſo remaine in the kings diſpoſition from thenceforth, and al letters patents and Charters, which they or any of them had of the ſame names, Caſtels, Manours, Lordſhips, landes, poſſeſſions, and liberties, ſhould bee ſurrendred vp into the Chauncerie, there to be cancelled. Diuerſe other things were enacted in this Parliament, to the preiudice of thoſe high eſtates, to ſatiſfie mennes myndes that were ſore diſpleaſed with their doings in the late kings dayes, as nowe it manifeſtly appeared: for after it was vnderſtoode that they ſhould be no further puniſhed than as before is mentioned, great murmuring roſe among the people agaynſt the king, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Earle of Northumberlande, and other of the Counſaile, for ſauing the liues of men whome the commons reputed moſt wicked, and not worthie in any wiſe to liue. But the King thought it beſt, rather with curteſie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death, to procure the hatred of theyr friendes and allyes, which were many, and of no ſmall power.

The hatred which the commons had conceiued againſt the appellants

The Earle of Saliſbury his requeſt.

After that the foreſayde iudgement was declared with proteſtation by Sir William Thirning Iuſtice, the Earle of Saliſburie came and made requeſt, that he myght haue his proteſtation entred agaynſte the Lorde Morley, whiche Lorde Morley ryſing vp from his ſeate, ſayde, that ſo hee myght not haue, bycauſe in hys firſt aunſwere he made no proteſtation, and therefore he was paſt it nowe. The Earle prayed daye of aduiſement, but the Lorde Morley prayed that hee might loſe his aduauntage, ſith he had not entred ſufficient plea agaynſt him. Then ſir Mathew Gourney ſitting vnderneath the king ſaid, to the Earle of Saliſburie, that forſomuch as at the fyrſt daye in your aunſweres, yee made no

Syr Mathew Gourney.

protestation at all, none is entred of recorde, and ſo you are paſt that aduauntage, and therfore aſked him if he would ſay any other thing. Then the Earle deſired that he might put in mainpriſe; which was graunted: and ſo the Erle of Kent, ſir Rauf Ferrers, ſir John Roche, & ſir John Drayton knightes, mainpriſed the ſayd Erle, bodie for bodie. For the Lord Morley, all the Lordes and Barons offred to undertake, and to be ſureties for him, but yet four of them had their names entred, that is to wit, the Lordes Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Scales and Berkley: they had day till the Friday after to make theyr libell.

The erle of Saliſbury mainpriſed.

The L. Morlei mainpriſed.

After this came the Lorde Fitzwater, and prayed to haue day and place to arraigne his appeale agaynſt the Erle of Rutland.

The Lord Fitz Walter.

The king ſayde he woulde ſend for the Duke of Norffolke, to returne home, and then vpon his returne he ſayde he woulde proceede in that matter. Many ſtatutes were eſtabliſhed in this Parliament, as well concerning the whole bodie of the common wealth, (as by the booke thereof imprinted maye appeare) as alſo concerning diuerſe priuate perſons then preſently liuing, which partly we haue touched, and partly for doubt to be ouer tedious, we doe omit: but this among other is not to be forgottē, that the Archbiſhop of Cantorburie, was not onely reſtored to his former dignitie, being remoued from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue hearde) but alſo the ſayde Walden was eſtabliſhed Byſhop of London, wherewith he ſeemed very well contented.

The Archb. of Canterbury reſtored to his ſee.

Moreouer, the kings eldeſt ſonne Henry alredie created (as heyre to his father, & to the crowne) Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and Erle of Cheſter, was alſo intituled Duke of Aquitaine: & to auoyde all tytles, claymes, and ambiguities, there was an act made for the vniting of yͤ crown vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten, his foure ſonnes, Henrie, Thomas, John, and Humfrey, being named, as to whom the right ſhould diſcend ſucceſſiuely by way of intaile, in caſe where heyres fayled to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himſelfe firmely ſet on a ſure foundation, not needing to feare any ſtorme of aduerſe fortune. But yet ſhortly after he was put in danger to haue bene ſet beſides the ſeate, by a conſpiracie begon in the Abbot of Weſtminſters houſe, as after ſhall appeare.

Tho. VValſ.
Hall.

The crowne intailed.

But now to make an ende with this Parliament, after that things were cōcluded and granted, ſo as was thought to ſtande with the ſuretie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king graunted a free pardon to all his ſubiects, thoſe excepted that were at the murther of the Duke of Glouceſter, and ſuche as had committed wilfull murther, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious theeues. And thoſe that were to take benefite by this pardon, were appoynted to ſue forth the Charters thereof, betwixt that preſent and the feaſt of All Saintes next enſuing: and ſo was this Parliament diſſolued. Immediately after the king (according to an order taken in the ſame Parliament, to giue to vnderſtand vnto all Princes and Countreys about him, by what title and occaſion he had taken to him the kingdome) ſent Ambaſſadours vnto them to ſignifie the ſame.

Tho. VValſ.

Unto Rome were ſent, John Treneuant, Byſhop of Herforde, ſir John Cheyney knight, and John Cheyney Eſquier. Into France, M. Walter Skyrlow Biſhop of Durham, and Thomas Percey Erle of Worceſter. Into Spaine, John Trenour Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, and ſir William Parre knight. Into Almaine the Biſhop of Bangor, and two others.

Ambaſſadours ſent to forrain princes.

The Scottes in time of the late Parliament, taking occaſion of the abſence of the Northren Lords, and alſo by reaſon of great mortalitie that afflicted the northren people that yeare, inuaded the borders, tooke the Caſtel of Warke, that was aſſigned to the ſafe keeping of ſir Thomas Grey knight, who then was at the Parliament, as one of the knights of the ſhire, by meanes of whoſe abſence, the enimies the ſooner (as is to be thought) obteyned theyr deſire, and ſo kept that Caſtell a certaine time, and finally ſpoyled it, & ouerthrew it to the grounde.

The caſtel of wack taken by the Scots.
Sir Tho. Gray.

Beſides this, they did many other miſchiefes in the Countrey, to the vndoing of many of the kings ſubiects.

This yeare Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolke dyed in exile at Venice, whoſe death might haue beene worthily bewayled of all the realme, if he had not bene conſenting to the death of the Duke of Glouceſter.

The death of the Duke of Norfolke.

The ſame yeare deceaſſed the duches of Gloceſter, through ſorrow as was thought, which ſhe

The duches of Glocester deceaſeth.

conceyued for the loſſe of hir ſonne and heyre the Lorde Humfrey, who being ſent for forth of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the peſtilence, and died by the way.

Hall.

What moued the Abbot of Weſtminſter to conſpire againſt the K.

But now to ſpeake of the conſpiracie whiche was contriued by the Abbot of Weſtminſter as chiefe Inſtrument thereof. Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that this Abbot (as it is reported) vppon a tyme hearde king Henrie ſay when hee was but Earle of Darbie, and yong of yeares, that Princes had too little, and religious men too muche. He therefore doubting nowe, leaſt if the king continued long in the eſtate, hee woulde remoue the greate beame that then grieued his eyes, and pricked his conſcience, became an Inſtrument to ſearch oute the mindes of the Nobilitie, and to bring them to an aſſemble and counſaile, where they myght cōſult and cōmen togither, how to bring that to effect which they earneſtly wiſhed and deſired, that was the deſtruction of king Henry, and the reſtoring of king Richard. For ther were diuers lords that ſhewed themſelues outwardly to fauor king Henry, where they ſecretly wiſhed and ſought his confuſion. The Abbot after he had felt the minds of ſundrie of them, called to his houſe on a day in the terme time, all ſuch Lords and other perſons which he eyther knew or thought to be as affectionate to king Richard, as enuious of the proſperitie of king Henrie, whoſe names were, John Holland Erle of Huntingdon late duke of Exceter, Thomas Holland Erle of Kent late duke of Surrey, Edward Erle of Rutland late Duke of Aumaile, ſonne to the duke of York. John Montagew Erle of Saliſburie, Hugh Lord Spencer late Erle of Glouceſter, John the Biſhop of Carleill, Sir Thomas Blount, and Magdalen a Prieſt one of King Richardes Chapell, a man as lyke to hym in ſtature and proportion in all lyniaments of bodie, as vnlyke in byrth, dignitie, and conditions.

The lords that conſpired againſt the king

The Abbot highly feaſted theſe Lords, hys ſpeciall friendes, and when they had well dyned, they withdrewe into a ſecrete Chamber, where they ſate downe in counſaile, and after much talk and conference had aboute the bringing of theyr purpoſe to paſſe cōcerning the deſtruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduice of the Earle of Huntingdon, it was deuiſed that they ſhould take vpon them a ſolemne iuſtes to be enterpryſed betweene him and twentie on his part, and the erle of Saliſburie, and twentie with him at Oxford, to the which triumph king Henrie ſhoulde be deſired, and when hee ſhould bee moſt buſily regarding the Martiall paſtime, hee ſodainly ſhoulde bee ſlaine and deſtroyed, and ſo by that meanes king Richard, which as yet liued, might be reſtored to libertie, and to his former eſtate & dignitie.

A iuſtes deuiſed to be holden at Oxford.

It was further appointed, who ſhould aſſēble the people, the number and perſons which ſhould accompliſh & put in execution their deuiſed enterprice. Hereupon was an Indenture ſextipartite made, ſealed with their ſeales, and ſigned with theyr handes, in the whiche eche ſtoode bounde to other, to do their whole endeuor for the accompliſhing of their purpoſed exployte.

An Indentur ſextipartite.

Moreouer they ſware on the holye Euangeliſtes to be true and ſecrete eche to other, euen to the houre and poynt of death,

He deſi to come ſee the iu

When all things were thus appoynted, the Erle of Huntingtō came to the king vnto Winſore, earneſtly requiring him, ỳ he would vouchſafe to be at Oxford at the day appoynted of their iuſtes, both to behold the ſame, and to be the diſcouerer and indifferent iudge (if anye ambiguitie ſhould riſe) of theyr couragious actes and doing.

The king being thus inſtantly required of hys brother in law, and nothing leſſe imagining than that which was pretended, gently graunted to fulfill his requeſt. Which thing obteyned, all the Lords of the conſpiracie departed home to theyr houſes, as they noyſed it, to ſet armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour againſt the iuſtes, and to prepare all other furniture & things redy, as to ſuch an high & ſolemne triumph apperteyned. The Erle of Hūtingdō came to his houſe and rayſed men on euery ſide, & prepared horſe & harneys for his compaſſed purpoſe, and when he had all things redy, he departed towards Oxford, and at his cōming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for theyr purpoſe, except the Earle of Rutlande, by whoſe folly their practiſed conſpiracie was brought to light & diſcloſed to king Henry. For this Earle of Rutland departing before frō Weſtm. to ſee hys father the duke of Yorke, as he ſate at dinner, had his counterpane of the Indenture of the confederacie in his boſome. The father eſpying it, would needes ſee what it was: and though the ſonne hūbly denied to ſhew it, the father beeing more earneſt to ſee it, by force tooke it out of his boſome, & perceyuing the contents thereof, in a great rage cauſed his horſes to be ſadled out of hande, and ſpitefullye reprouing his ſonne of treaſon, for whom he was become ſuretie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open Parliament, he incontinently mōũted on horſback to ride towardes Winſore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his ſonne and his complices.

The Duke of Yorke tak the Inden from his

The Erle of Rutlande ſeeing in what daunger he ſtood, tooke his horſe, and rode another way to Windſore in poſt, ſo that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the Caſtell Gate, hee cauſed the Gates to be ſhutte, ſaying that hee muſt needes delyuer the keyes to the King.

When he came before the kings preſence, hee kneeled

The earle of Rutland reueleth the whole conſpiracy to the K.

he kneeled downe on his knees, beſeeching him of mercie and forgiueneſſe, and declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euery thing had paſſed, obteyned pardon, and therewith came his father, and being let in, deliuered the indenture which he had taken from his ſonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceyuing his ſonnes wordes to bee true, chaunged his purpoſe for his goyng to Oxforde, and diſpatched Meſſengers forth to ſignifie vnto the Earle of Northumberlande his highe Conſtable, and to the Erle of Weſtmerland hys high Marſhall, & to other his aſſured friends, of al the doubtfull daunger and perillous ieopardie.

Magdalen counterfeited to be king Richarde.

The conſpirators being at Oxford, at length perceyued by the lacke of the Earle of Rutlande that their enterpriſe was reuealed to the king, and therevpon determined now openly with ſpeare & ſhield, to bring that to paſſe which before they couertly attempted, and ſo they adorned Magdalene, a man moſt reſembling king Richarde, in royall and princely veſture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by fauor of his keepers he was eſcaped out of priſon, & ſo they came forwards in order of warre, to the intent to deſtroy king Henrie.

The K. cōmeth to the Tower of London.

Whileſt the confederators with their newe publiſhed Idoll, accōpanied with a ſtrong armie of men, tooke the direct way towards Windſore, K. Henry admoniſhed thereof, with a few horſmē in the night came to the tower of London about xij. of the clocke, where in the morning he cauſed the Maior of the Citie to apparell in armor, the beſt and moſt couragious perſons of the Citie, which brought to him three thouſande archers, & three. M. bil men, beſides them that wer appointed to defende the Citie. The conſpirators comming to Windſore, entred the Caſtell, and vnderſtanding that the king was gone from thence to London, determined with all ſpeede to make towards the Citie: but chaunging that determination as they were on their way, they turned to Colbroke, and there ſtayed. King Henrie iſſuing out of Londō with. xx. M. men came ſtreight to Hunſlo heath, and there pitched his campe, to abide the coming of his enimies: But when they were aduertiſed of the kings puiſſaunce, amazed with feare, & forthinking their begon enterpriſe, as men miſtruſting their owne companie, departed from thence to Barkamſteed, and ſo to Circeſter, and there the Lords tooke their lodging. The Erle of Kent, and the Erle of Saliſburie in one Inne, and the Erle of Huntingdon, and lord Spencer in an other, and all the hoſt lay in the fieldes, wherevpon in the night ſeaſon, the baylife of the towne with fourescore Archers ſet on the houſe, where the Erle of Kent, and the other lay, which houſe was mãfully aſſaulted and ſtrongly defended a great ſpace, the Earle of Huntingdon, being in an other Inne with the lord Spencer, ſet fire on diuerſe houſes in the towne, thinking that the aſſaylants woulde leaue the aſſault and reſcue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The hoſt lying without, hearing noyſe, and ſeeing fire in the towne, thought verily that king Henry had bin come thither with his puiſſance, and therevpon fled without meaſure, euery man making ſhift to ſaue himſelfe, and ſo that which the lords deuiſed for their helpe, wrought their deſtructiō: for if the army that lay wͭout the town had not miſtakē yͤ matter, whē they ſaw yͤ houſes on fire, they might eaſily haue ſuccoured their chieftaines in the towne that were aſſailed, but with a few of the townes mē, in compariſon of the great multitude yͭ lay abrode in the fields. But ſuch was the ordinance of the mightie Lord of Hoſtes, who diſpoſeth things at his pleaſure.

The K. goeth forth againſt them.

hey retire.

hey come to ceſter.

he bailife of ceſter ſet vpon the their lodgings.

he lords ſet e in there lodgings.

Hall.

Froiſſart.

The Erle of Huntingdon and his cōpany ſeeing the force of the townesmen to encreaſe, fledde out on the backſide, entending to repayre to the armie which they found diſperſed & gone. Then the erle ſeeing no hope of comfort fled into Eſſex.

The other Lordes which were left fighting in the towne of Circeſter, were wounded to death and taken, and their heads ſtricken off and ſent to London.

Tho.VVal.

A maske.

Thus wryteth Hal of this conſpiracie, in following what authour I know not: But Thomas Walſingham and diuerſe other ſeeme ſomwhat to diſſent from him in relation of this matter: for they write that the conſpiratours mente vpon the ſodaine to haue ſet vpon the king in the Caſtell of Windſore, vnder colour of a Maſke or Mummerie, and ſo to haue diſpatched him, and reſtoring king Richarde vnto the kingdome, to haue recouered their former titles of honor, wͭ the poſſeſſions whiche they had loſt by iudgement of the laſt Parliamẽt. But the king getting knowledge of theyr pretenſed treaſon, got him with all ſpeede vnto London.

1400

Harding.

The wordes of the earle of kent.

The conſpiratours, to wit, the Earles of Kent and Saliſburie, ſir Raufe Lumley, and others, ſuppoſing that the king had not vnderſtoode their malicious purpoſe, the firſt Sunday of the newe yeare, which fell in the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight of the euening vnto Windſore with 400. armed men, where vnderſtanding that the King was withdrawne vpon warnyng had of their purpoſed intention, they forthwith returned back, and came fyrſt vnto Sunnynges a Manor place not farre from Reading where the Queene wife to K. Richard then lay. Here ſetting a good countenance of the matter, the Erle of Kent declared in preſence of the Queenes ſeruãts that the Lord Henrie of Lancaſter was fled from his preſence with his children and friendes, and had ſhut vp himſelfe and them in the Tower of London, as one afrayed to come abroade for all the bragges made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (ſayth he) my intention is my Lords to go vnto Richard that was, is, & ſhal be our king, who being alreadie eſcaped forth of priſon, lyeth nowe at Pomfret, with an hundred thouſande men: and to cauſe his ſpeech the better to be belieued, he tooke away the kings cogniſannces from them that ware the ſame, as the Collers from their neckes, and the badges of Creſſants frõ the ſleeues of the ſeruants of houſhold, and throwing them away, ſayde that ſuch cogniſances were no longer to be borne. Thus hauing put the Quene in a vain hope of that which was nothing ſo, they departed from thence vnto Wallingford, and after to Abingdon, entiſing the people by all meanes poſſible vnto rebellion, all the waye as they went and ſending their agentes abroade, for the ſame purpoſe, at length they came to Circiter in the darke of the night, and tooke vppe their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne ſuſpecting the matter, and iudging as the truth was, theſe rumors which the Lords ſpred abroade were but dreames, they tooke therevpon counſell togither, got them to armor, and ſtopped al the entries and outgates of the Innes where theſe new gueſtes were lodged, inſomuch that whẽ they about midnight ſecretly attempted to haue come forth and gone their wayes, the towneſmen with bow and arrowes were readie to ſtay them, & kept them in. The Lords perceyuing the daunger, gotte them to their armor & weapons, and did their beſt by force to breake through and repulſe the towneſmen. But after they had fought from midnight till three of the clocke in the afternoone of the next day, and perceyued they could not preuaile, they yeelded themſelues to the towneſmen, beſeeching thẽ to haue their liues ſaued, till they might come to the kings preſence. This requeſt they had obteyned, if a prieſt that was chaplain to one of thẽ, had not in the meane time ſet fire vpon certaine houſes in the towne, to the ende that whiles the towneſmen ſhuld buſie themſelues to quench the fire, the Lords might find means to eſcape: but it came nothing to paſſe as hee imagined, for the towneſmen leauing all care to ſaue their houſes from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the Lords, and ſo to reuenge themſelues of them, they brought them forth of the Abbey where they hadde them in theyr handes, and in the twie light of the euening, ſtroke off their heades.

The lords yeld thẽſelues.

A prieſt ſets fire in the houſes of Circiter.

The Lordes beheaded.

Chron.S.Al.

John Holland Erle of Huntington, (as Tho. Walſ. writeth) was not with the Lordes at the Caſtell of Windſore, but ſtayed about London to beholde the end of this buſineſſe: and hearing how the matter went, farre contrarie to that hee wiſhed, hee ſought to flie by ſea, but not able to gette away, by reaſon the winde being contrarie would not permit him, he tooke his horſe, and hauing a knight with him called ſir John Shelley, he roade into Eſſex, attempting to haue fled from thence by Sea, but ſtill the winde was ſo agaynſt him, that he was continually driuen back when hee was about to make ſaile, and ſo comming againe to lande, he was taken one euening at Pitwell in Eſſex, in a Mill (that belonged to one of his truſtie friendes) as he ſate there at ſupper, togither with the ſayde ſir John Shelley. The Commons of the Countrey that toke him, brought him firſt to Chelmeſforde, and after to Plaſhie, where on the day of S. Maure, that is yͤ xv. of Januarie, about Sunne ſetting he was beheaded in the verie place in whiche the Duke of Glouceſter was arreſted by king Richarde. Hee confeſſed wyth lamentable repentaunce (as wryters do record) that many wayes forth he had offended god & his prince, bycauſe yͤ vnderſtanding

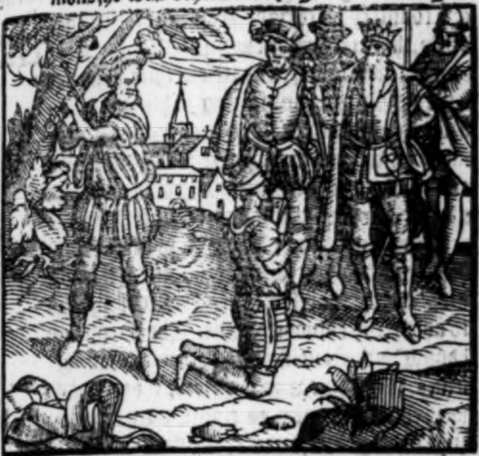
The erle of Huntington taken.

He is beheaded.

the purpoſe of the other Lordes, hee had not reuealed the ſame.

The Lorde Hugh Spencer, otherwiſe called Earle of Glouceſter, as he would haue fledde into Wales, was taken and carried to Briſtowe, where according to the earneſt deſires of ye commons, he was beheaded. Magdaleine fleeing in-

Hall.



to Scotland, was taken by the way, & brought to the Tower. Many other that were priuie to this conſpiracie, were taken, and put to deathe, ſome at Oxforde, as Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Benet Cilie Knight, and Thomas Wintercell Eſquier, but ſir Leonard Brokas, and ſir John Shelley Knights, John Magdalene, and William Ferby Chapleynes, were drawen, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineteene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chiefe cōſpirators were ſet on polles ouer London bridge, to the terror of others.

Execution.

Tho. VValſ.
Hall.

Shortly after, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, in whoſe houſe the conſpiracie was begonne (as is ſayde) goyng betweene his monaſterie and manſion, for thought fell into a ſuddayne palſey, and ſhortly after, without ſpeech, ended thys life. The Biſhop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the ſame conſpiracie, but the King of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned hym of that offence, although hee dyed ſhortly after, more through feare than force of ſickneſſe, as ſome haue written. Thus all the aſſociates of this vnhappie conſpiracie taſted the paynefull penaunce of theyr pleaſant paſtime.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter dieth ſodeinly
Tho. VValſ.

The biſhop of Carleile dieth through feare, or rather thorough grief of minde, to ſee the wicked proper, as he wrote it.
Hall.

Thus haue ye hearde, what writers haue recorded of this matter, with ſome difference betwixt them that write, howe the King ſhoulde haue bin made away at a Juſtes, and other that teſtifie, howe it ſhoulde haue beene at a maſke or mummerie, but whether they meante to haue diſpatched him at a mumming, or at a Juſtes, their purpoſe beeyng reuealed by the Earle of Rutlande, they were broughte to confuſion (as before yee haue heard.) And immediately after, King Henry, to ridde himſelfe of any ſuche lyke daunger to be attempted againſt him thereafter, cauſed King Richard to dye of a violent death, that no man ſhoulde afterwarde fayne hymſelfe to repreſent his perſon, though ſome haue ſayde, he was not priuie to that wicked offence. The common fame is, that he was euery day ſerued at the table with coſtly meate, like a Kyng, to the intente that no creature ſhould ſuſpecte anye thing done, contrarie to the order taken in the Parliament, and when the meate was ſet before him, he was forbidden once to touche it, yea, hee was not permitted ſo muche as to ſmell to it, and ſo he dyed of famine.

The ſundrye reports of K. Richards deth

One writer, whiche ſeemeth to haue greate knowledge of Kyng Richardes doings, ſayeth, that King Henry, ſitting one daye at his table, ſore ſighing, ſayde, haue I no faithfull friende which will deliuer me of him, whoſe life will bee my death, and whoſe death will be the preſeruation of my life. This ſaying was muche noted of them whiche were preſent, and eſpecially, of one, called ſir Piers of Exton. This Knighte incontinently departed from the Courte, with eight ſtrong perſons in his company, and came to Poumfret, commaunding the Eſquier that was accuſtomed, to ſew and take the aſſay before Kyng Richarde, to doe ſo no more, ſaying, let him eate nowe, for hee ſhall not long eate. K. Richarde ſate downe to dinner, and was ſerued without courteſie or aſſay, wherevppon, muche maruelling at the ſuddaine chaunge, he demanded of the Eſquier, why he did not his duetie, ſir (ſayd he) I am otherwiſe commaunded by Sir Piers of Exton, which is newly come from K. Henry: when King Richard heard that worde, he toke the keruing knife in his hand, and ſtrake the Eſquier on the head, ſaying, the Deuil take Henry of Lancaſter, and thee togither, and with that worde, ſir Piers entered the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewiſe armed, euery of them hauing a bill in his hand. King Richard perceiuing this, put the table from him, and ſtepping to the formoſt man, wrong the bill out of his handes, and ſo valiantly defended himſelfe, that hee ſlewe foure of thoſe that thus came to aſſayle him: Sir Piers beeing halfe diſmayed herewith, lept into the chayre, where King Richarde was wont to ſitte, while the other foure perſons fought with him, and chaſed him about the chamber: and in cōcluſion, as King Richard trauerſed his ground, from one ſide of the chamber to an other, and comming by the chayre, where ſir Piers ſtode, hee was felled with a ſtroke of a pollax, which ſir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and therewith ridde him out of life, without giuing him reſpite, once to call to God for mercie, of his paſſed offences.

Some write, that hee pined himſelfe to death, & wold receyue no foode after he knewe howe his frends had ſpedde, and ſo ended his lyfe on S. Valentines day.
Tho. VValſ.

Sir Piers de Extō, the murderer of kyng Richard.

The deſperate manhoode of King Richard.

King Richard murthered.

It is ſayd, that ſir Piers of Exton, after hee had thus ſlayne him, wept right bitterly, as one ſtriken with the pricke of a giltie conſcience, for murthering him, whome he had ſo long a tyme obeyed, as King.

After hee was thus dead, his body was embaulmed, and ſeared, and couered with leade, all ſaue the face, to the intente that all men myghte ſee him, and perceyue, that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueyed from Pontfret to London, in all the Townes and places where thoſe that had the conueyance of it dyd ſtay with it all nighte, they cauſed Dirige to bee ſong in the euening, and Maſſe of *requiem* in the morning, and as well after the one ſeruice as the other, his face diſcouered, was ſhewed to all that coueted to behold it.

The dead body of K. Richard brought to the Tower.

Thus was the corps firſte broughte to the Tower, and after through the Citie, to the Cathedrall Churche of Sainte Paule bare faced, where it laye three dayes togither, that all men might behold it. There was a ſolemne obſequie done for him, both at Poules, & after at Weſtminſter, at the which, both at dirige ouernighte, and in the morning at the Maſſe of *Requiem*, the King and the Citizens of London were preſent. When the ſame was ended, the corps was commaunded to be had vnto Langley, there to be buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers. The Byſhop of Cheſter, the Abbots of Sainte Albons, and Waltham, celebrated the exequies for the buriall, none of the nobles, nor any of the commons to accompt of being preſent: neyther was there anye to bid them to dinner after they had leyde him in the grounde; and fyniſhed the funerall ſeruice. Hee was after by King Henry the fifth remoued to Weſtminſter, and there honorably entombed with Q. Anne his wife, although the Scottes vntruely write, that he eſcaped out of priſon, and ledde a vertuous and a ſolitarie life in Scotlande, and there dyed, and is buried as they hold, in the blacke Friers at Sterling.

He is buryed at Langley.

Forayne princes not without cauſe, abhorre to heare of the ſhamefull murther of King Rich.

When the newes of King Richardes depoſing, was reported in Fraunce, King Charles and all his Court wondered, deteſted, and abhorred ſuche an iniurie done to an annoynted Kyng, to a Crowned Prince, and to the head of a Realme: but in eſpeciall, Walcran, Earle of Saint Paule, which hadde married King Richardes halfe ſiſter, moued of high diſdayne towards King Henry, ceaſſed not to ſtirre Kyng Charles and his counſaile, to make warres againſt the Engliſhmen, and he himſelfe ſent letters of defiance into Englande. The Erles ſute was eaſily agreed vnto, and an army royall appoynted with all ſpeede, to inuade Englande. This army was come down into Picardie, readie to be tranſported into England: but when it was certainely knowen, that K. Richarde was dead, and that the enterpriſe of his deliueraunce, (whiche was chiefly meante) was fruſtrate and voyde, the army was diſſolued: but when yͤ certaintie of King Richards death was intimate to the Gaſcoignes, yͤ moſt part of the wiſeſt mē of yͤ countrey were right penſife: for they iudged verily, that hereby the engliſh nation ſhoulde be brought to diſhonor, and loſſe of their auntiente fame & glory, for committing ſo heinous an offence againſt their K. and Soueraigne Lord, yͤ memorie wherof, they thought would neuer die: and chiefly, the Citizens of Burdeaux toke the matter very ſore at the ſtomacke: for they bare exceding fauour to K. Richard, bycauſe he was borne and brought vp in their Citie, & therfore more than al the reſidue, they ſhewed themſelues to abhorre ſo hainous a dede. The Frenchmen hauing vnderſtanding hereof, thought with thēſelues, that nowe was yͤ time for thē to practiſe with the Gaſcoignes, to reduce them from the engliſh obeyſance, vnder their ſubiection. Herevpon, came Lewes Duke of Burbon vnto Agen, & wrote to diuers Cities and townes, on yͤ confines of Guienne, exhorting them with large promiſes, & faire ſugred words, to reuolt from yͤ Engliſhmen, & to become ſubiects to the crowne of Fraunce, but his trauaile preuayled not: for the people vnderſtanding that the engliſhe yoke was but eaſie in compariſon to the French bondage, determined to abide rather in their old ſubiection, than for a diſpleaſure irrecouerable, to aduenture themſelues on a new doubtfull perill, yet it was doubted, leaſt the Cities of Burdeaux, Dax, and Bayonne, would haue reuolted, if the Lordes of the marches about thoſe places, had leaned to them in that purpoſe, for they ſent their commiſſioners vnto Agen, to treate with the Duke of Burbon: but for ſo muche as the Lordes, Pomiers, Mucident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Roſem, and Langurante, were mynded to continue ſtill Engliſhe, thoſe Cities durſt not well without them turne to the Frenche obeyſance, for they could not haue ſtirred out of theyr gates, but thoſe Lordes woulde haue beene readye at theyr elbowes, to haue caught them by the ſleeues.

How the Gaſcoignes tooke the deathe K. Richard.

The Duke of Burbon.

Froiſſart.

Kyng Henrye beyng aduertiſed of the Frēchmennes couerte meanyngs, and alſo of the wauering myndes of the Gaſcoignes, ſent Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter with two hundred menne of armes, and foure hundred archers into Guyenne, to ayde and aſſiſt Sir Roberte Knolles, hys Lieutenaunte there. The chiefeſt Captaynes that accompanyed the Earle in this iourney, were theſe, fyrſte, hys Nephewe Sir Hugh Haſtings, Sir

Polidor.

Froiſſart.

Thomas Colleuille, Sir William Liſle, John de Grailly, baſe ſonne to the Captall de Boruſ, Sir William Drayton, Sir John Daubreticourt: alſo there went with him the Byſhoppe of London; and maſter Richarde Doalle, or Dolley. The Earle at his arriuall, ſo wiſely entreated the noble men, ſo grauely perſwaded the magiſtrates of the Cities and Townes, and ſo gently and familiarly vſed and treated ẏ commons, that he not onely appeaſed their furie and malice, but broughte them to louing and vniforme obeyſance, receyuing of them othes of obedience, and loyall fealtie, whiche done, hee returned agayne into Englãd with great thãkes.

The Earle of Worceſt. ſent into Gaſcoyn.

The Frenche King perceyuing he coulde not bring his purpoſe aboute, neyther by inuading England, nor by practiſing with ẏ Gaſcoignes, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſade into England, requiring to haue his daughter ẏ Lady Iſabel, ſometime eſpouſed to King Richard, reſtored to him agayne. King Henry gently receyued thoſe that were ſente to him aboute this meſſage, and for aunſwere, promiſed to ſende his commiſſioners vnto Calais, whiche ſhoulde further commune and conclude with them.

Ambaſſadours frō the French king.

It was not ynough that King Henry was thus troubled now in the firſt yere of his raigne, with ciuill ſedition, and the couert practiſes of the Frenchmen, but that the Scottes alſo tooke vpon them to make open warre againſt him: it chaunced, (as in the Scottiſh Chronicles more at large appeareth) that George of Dunbarre, Earle of the marches of Scotland, being in diſpleaſure with Robert King of Scottes, fledde into Englande, to Henry Earle of Northumberland, wherevppon, the Scottiſhe King depriued him of all his dignities and poſſeſſions, and cauſed his goodes to bee confiſcate, and after wrote to the King of England, requiring hym if he would haue the truce any longer to continue, either to deliuer into his poſſeſſion the Erle of Marche, and other Traitors to his perſon, or elſe to baniſhe them out of his Realme and dominions. King Henry diſcreetely aunſwered the Herrault of Scotland, that ẏ wordes of a Prince oughte to bee kepte; and his writing and Seale ought to bee inuiolate, and conſidering that hee had graunted a ſafeconduit to the Earle and his company, he would neyther without cauſe reaſonable breake his promiſe, nor yet deface hys honor, which aunſwere declared to the King of Scottes, hee incontinentlye proclaymed open warre againſt the King of Englande, with fyre and ſworde. Herevpon, one Sir Robert Logon, a Scottiſhe Knight, with certayne Shippes well appoynted for the warre, meant to haue deſtroyed the Engliſhe fleete, that was come on the coaſtes of Scotlãd, about Abirdene, to fiſh there: but as it chaunced, he mette with certaine ſhips of Lynne, that fought with him, and tooke hym priſoner, with the reſidue of hys companye, ſo that hee quite fayled of his purpoſe, and came to the loſſe himſelfe.

George Earle of Marche fleeth into Englande.

The anſwere of K. Henry to the Scottiſhe ambaſſadours.

Open war proclaymed by the kyng of Scott agaynſte Englande.

Tho. VValſ.

Robert Logon take priſoner.

The ſame time, the Engliſhmen ſpoyled alſo certaine of the Iles of Orkeney.

The Iles of Okeney ſpoyled by Engliſh men.

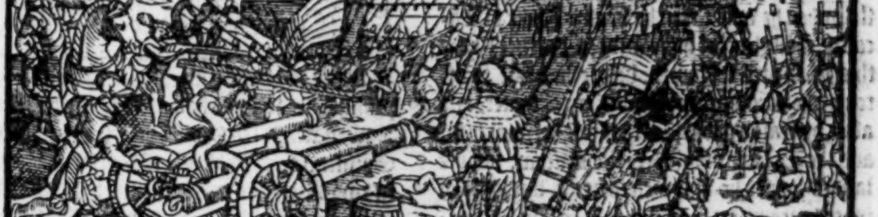
This ſommer, great deathe chaunced in thys lande, manye dying of the peſtilence, wherewith ſundry places were infected.

Mortalitie of people.

Kyng Henry perceyuing that policie oftentimes preuenteth perill, and vnderſtanding the naughtie purpoſes of the Scottes, gathered a great army, and entred into Scotland, burning Townes, Villages, and Caſtels, with a greate parte of the Townes of Edenburgh and Lith, & beſieged the Caſtell of Edenburgh, in the ende of September, whereof was Captaine, David Duke of Rothſay, and Prince of the Realme, with Archebalde Earle of Dowglas, hauyng with

K. Henry inuadeth Scotlande.

The duke of Rothſay.



The duke of Albanie.

with them many hardy men of warre: Roberte Duke of Albany, that was appoynted gouernoure of the Realme, bycauſe the King was ſicke, and not meete to rule, ſent an Herrault vnto K. Henry, promiſing him battayle, within 6. dayes at the furtheſt, if he would ſo long tarrie, which K. Henry promiſed to doe right gladly, & gaue to the Herrault for bringing him ſo acceptable newes, a gowne of ſilke, & a cheine of gold.

An. reg. 2.

But K. Henry ſtayed 6. dayes, and 16. to, without hearing any word of the gouernours comming. Thē the winter beginning to waxe cold, and foule weather ſtil encreaſing, cauſed the K. to breake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned withoute battaile, or ſkirmiſh offered.

King Henrie returneth home.

The Scottes brenne in Northumberlande.

Iuſts at York.

In the meane time that the K. was thus in Scotland, the Scottes made a roade into Northumberlande, and brenned diuers Townes in Bambourrough ſhire. At the Kings comming backe to Yorke, there were two ſtraungers, the one a Frenchman, & the other an Italian, requiring to accompliſh certayne feates of armes, againſt ſir John Cornewall, & Janico de Artois, their requeſt was graunted, & the ſtrangers were put to the worſt, whereby ſir John Cornewall obteined the kings fauor ſo farforth, that he married the kings ſiſter, the widdowe of John Holland, Earle of Huntington. Some ſaid yet, that the Knighte and the Counteſſe were agreed aforehand, without the kings conſent.

Sir Io. Cornewall marieth the kinges ſiſter.

The Welchemen rebell by the ſetting on of Owen Glendouer.

In the kings abſence, whileſt he was forth of the realme in Scotland, againſt his enimies, the Welchmen toke occaſion to rebell, vnder yͤ conduct of their Captaine, Owen Glendouer, doing what miſchiefe they could deuiſe, vnto their engliſh neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was ſon to an eſquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the pariſh of Conway, within the Countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place yͭ hight Glindourwy, which is as muche to ſay in Engliſh, as the valley, by the ſide of the water of Dee, by occaſion whereof, he was ſurnamed Glindour Dewe, he was firſte ſet to ſtudie the lawes of the Realme, & became an vtter barreſter, or an apprentice of the lawe (as they terme him) and ſerued K. Richard at Flint Caſtel, when he was taken by Henry Duke of Lãcaſter, though other haue written, that hee ſerued this K. Henry the fourth, before he came to atteine the Crowne, in rowme of an Eſquier, and after, by reaſon of variãce that roſe betwixt him, and the L. Reginold Grey of Ruthin, aboute landes which he claymed to be his by righte of inheritance: when he ſaw that he might not preuaile, finding no ſuche fauour in his ſute, as hee looked for, he firſte made warre againſt the ſayde L. Grey, waſting his lands and poſſeſſiõs with fire and ſword, cruelly killing his ſeruauntes and tenauntes. The K. aduertiſed of ſuche rebellious exploites, enterpriſed by the ſaid Owen, and his vnruly complices, determined to chaſtice them, as diſturbers of his peace, and ſo with an armye entred into Wales, but the Welchmenne with their Captaine, withdrew into the mountaines of Snowdone, ſo to eſcape the reuenge, which the K. meant towardes them. The K. therfore did muche hurte in the Countreys with fire and ſword, ſleaing diuers, that with weapon in hand came forthe to reſiſt him, and ſo with a greate bootie of beaſts and cattaile he returned.

Stowe.

Owen Glendouer what he was.

Tho. VValſ.

The occaſion that moued him to rebell.

The K. entred into Wales, meaning to chaſtiſe the rebelles.

The Empe- of Conſtan- nople com- into Englan-

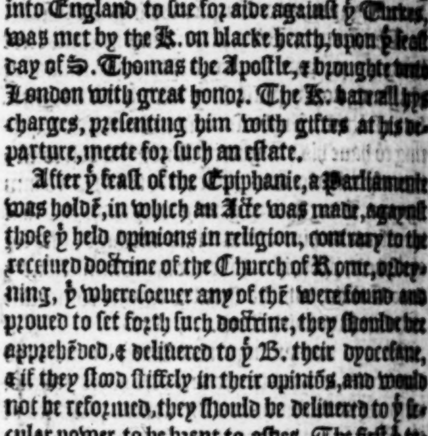
The Emperor of Conſtantinople comming into England to ſue for aide againſt yͤ Turkes, was met by the K. on blacke heath, vpon yͤ feaſt day of S. Thomas the Apoſtle, & broughte vnto London with great honor. The K. bare all his charges, preſenting him with giftes at his departure, meete for ſuch an eſtate.

1401

A parliam-

After yͤ feaſt of the Epiphanie, a Parliamente was holdē, in which an Acte was made, agaynſt thoſe yͭ held opinions in religion, contrary to the receiued doctrine of the Church of Rome, or deyning, yͭ whereſoeuer any of thē were found and proued to ſet forth ſuch doctrine, they ſhould be apprehēded, & deliuered to yͤ B. their dyoceſane, & if they ſtood ſtiffely in their opiniõs, and would not be reformed, they ſhould be deliuered to yͤ ſecular power, to be brent to aſhes. The firſt yͭ taſted the ſmart of this Statute, was one Willi. Hawtree, or Sawtree a prieſt, yͭ being apprehēded, was brēt in Smithfield, in time of this Parliament.

One brent Smithfiel-



Addition the chroni- of Flaun-

About the ſame time, K. Henry according to promiſe made, as ye haue heard, vnto the French Ambaſſadors, ſente ouer into the Country of Guiſnes, Edward Earle of Rutland, otherwiſe in king Richards dayes entituled Duke of Aumarle, ſonne to Edmond Duke of Yorke, Henry Earle of Northumberlande, and his ſonne the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Yuan Fitzwarin, the Biſhops of Winchester and Lincolne, where the Duke of Burbon, the Lordes Charles d'Albert,

There wa- ſo the Earle Deuonſhire Froiſſ. Elie Froiſſ.

Cõmiſſioners t to treate peace.

bert, Charles de Hangeſt, John de Chaſtelmorant, the Patriarke of Jeruſalem, and the Byſhops of Paris, and Beauuois, were ready there to commune with them, and ſo they aſſemblyng togither at ſundry tymes and places, the French men required to haue Queene Iſabell to them reſtored, but the Engliſhmen ſeemed loth to departe with hir, requiring to haue hir married to Henry Prince of Wales, one in bloud and age in all things to hir equall, but the French[illegible]ne woulde in no wiſe condiſcende thereto, withoute their Kings conſente, who at that preſente was not in caſe to vtter his mind, being troubled with his wonted diſeaſe. The commiſſioners then began to treate of peace, and at length, renewed the truce to endure for ſixe and twentie yeares yet to come, whereunto, the foure yeares paſſed beeyng added, made vp the number of thirtie yeares, according to the concluſion agreed vpon, in the life time of King Richard.

The frenche ing troubled th a frenſie.

Truce for. 25. yeres.

Hal.

Some Authors affirme, that ther was a new league concluded, to continue, during the lyues of both the Princes. The Frenchmenne dyuers times required to haue ſome dower aſſigned forth for Queene Iſabell, but that was at all times vtterly denyed, for that the marriage betwixte hir and King Richard was neuer conſummate, by reaſon whereof, ſhe was not dowable. Neuertheleſſe, ſhee was ſhortly after ſente home, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Worceſter, aſſociate with dyuers other noble and honorable perſonages, both men and women, hauing with hir all the iewels, ornamẽts, and plate which ſhe brought into England, with a great ſurpluſage beſides, giuen to hir by the King. She was delyuered betwixte Bulloigne and Calais, vnto Waleran Earle of S. Pol, the French Kings Lieutenant in Picardie, who being accompanyed with the Byſhop of Chartres, the Lord de Hugueuile, the Lady of Monpenſier, ſiſter to the Earle of Marche, the Lady of Lucenburgh, ſiſter to the ſaide Earle of S. Pol and diuers other Ladyes and Gentlewomenne, whiche receyued hir with greate joy and gladneſſe, and taking leaue of the Engliſhe Lordes and Ladies, they conueyed hir vnto the Dukes of Burgoigne and Burbonne, that attended for hir, not far off, vpon a hill, with a great number of people. They firſt conueyed hir to Bulleigne, and after to Abuile, frõ whence the Duke of Orleyaunce conueyed hir to Paris, vnto the preſence of the K. hir father, and the Q. hir mother: She was after giuen in marriage vnto Charles, ſon to Lewis Duke of Orleaunce.

The frenchemen demaũde dower for Quene Iſabel.

Additions of the Chro. of Flaunders.

She is deliuered home.

She is conueied to Paris.

Hir ſeconde marriage.

An. reg. 3.

Owen Glendower.

About the ſame time, Owen Glendouer and his Welchmen did much hurt to the Kings ſubiects. One night as the King was going to bed, he was in danger to haue bin deſtroyed, for ſome naughtie traiterous perſons hadde conueyed into his bed a certaine iron, made with ſmithes crafte, like a Caltroppe, with three long prickes, ſharpe, and ſmall, ſtanding vpright, in ſort, that when he had laid him downe, and that the weighte of hys body ſhould come vpon the bed, he ſhuld haue bin thruſt in with thoſe prickes, and peraduenture ſlayne: but as God would, the K. not thinking of any ſuch thing, chanced yet to feele and perceyue the inſtrument, before he layde him downe, and ſo eſcaped the daunger.

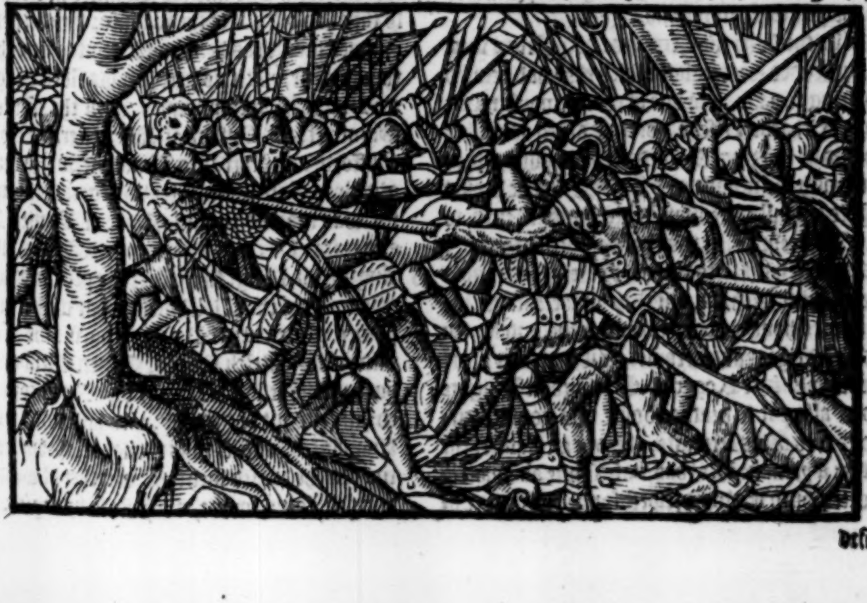
The daunger of the king to haue bene deſtroyed.

1402

The Erle of Warwike departeth this life.

A blaſing Starre.

This yere, the eight day of April, deceaſſed yͤ Lord Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of Warwike. In the moneth of Marche, appeared a blaſing ſtarre, firſt betwene the Eaſt part of the firmament, and the North, flaſhing forth fire and flames round about it, and laſtly, ſhooting forth fierie beames towardes the North, foreſhewing as was thought, the great effuſion of bloud that followed, about the parties of Wales and Northumberland: for muchwhat about yͤ ſame time, Owen Glendouer with his Welchmen, fought with the Lord Grey of Ruthin, cõming forth to



defend

The L. Grey of Ruthin taken in fight by Owen Glendower.

defende his poſſeſſions, whiche the ſame Owen waſted and deſtroyed: and as the fortune of that dayes worke fell out, the Lorde Grey was taken priſoner, and many of his mē were ſlayne. This happe lifted the Welchmen into high pride, and encreaſed maruellouſly their wicked & preſumptuous attemptes.

A brute was ſpred abrode that K. Rich. was liuing.

A prieſt taken.

He is executed

The Priour of Launde apprehended.

About Whitſontide, a conſpiracie was deuiſed by certayne perſons, that wiſhed the Kings deathe, mainteyning and bruting abroade, that King Richarde was aliue, and therefore exhorted men to ſtand with him, for ſhortly he would come to light, and reward ſuch as toke hys part with iuſt recompence: herewith, there was a prieſt takē at Ware, or as ſome bookes haue, at Warwike, who had a Kalender or rolle, in whyche a great number of names were written, moe than were in any wiſe giltie to the fact, as afterwards appeared by the ſame prieſts confeſſion, for being examined, whether he knew ſuch perſons as hee had ſo enrolled, & were there preſent before him, he ſayd, he neuer knewe them at all, and beeyng demaunded wherefore hee had then ſo recorded their names, he aunſwered, bycauſe hee thoughte they would gladly doe what miſchief they could againſt King Henry, vpon any occaſion offered, in reuenge of the iniuries done to King Richarde, by whome they had bin aduaunced, and princely preferred. When therefore there appeared no more credite in the man, he was condemned, drawen, hanged, and quartered, and dyuers that had bin apprehēded about that matter, were releaſſed, and ſet at libertie. Shortly after, ẏ Prior of Launde (who for his euill gouernemement had bin depriued of his ſtate and dignitie) was likewiſe executed, not for attempting any thing of himſelfe, but only for that he confeſſed, that he knew euill counſaile, and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldocke, a Chanon ſometyme in Dunſtable, and by King Richarde promoted to the Priorſhip of Laund.

Grey Friers apprehended.

A gray Fryer hanged in his habite.

Sir Roger Claringdon.

The deuill appeared in lykeneſſe of a Grey Frier.

Eight freers executed.

The Earle of Marche taken priſoner in battaile by Owen Glendowr.

The ſuſpicion of king Henry grounded vpon a guiltie conſcience.

The kings daughter maried into Germanie.

Intemperate weather.

Alſo the ſame time, certayne grey Friers were apprehended for treaſon which they had deuiſed to bring to paſſe, and one of them, whoſe name was Richarde Friſeby, beeing aſked what hee would do if King Richarde had bin aliue, & preſent with them, anſwered ſtoutly, that he would fighte againſte any man in his quarrell, euen to death, heerevpon, he was condemned, drawen, & hanged in his Friers weede, to the great confuſion of his brethren, but they made earneſt inſtance to haue his body taken downe, and buried with Diriges, and exequies, and had theyr ſute graunted. Sir Roger of Claringdon Knighte was alſo put to deathe aboute this conſpiracie, with two of his ſeruants, the one an eſquier, the other a yeman. Hee was baſe ſonne as was reported, vnto Edward, eldeſt ſonne to King Edward the thirde, ſurnamed the blacke prince. On Corpus Chriſti daye, at euenſong time, the Deuill as was thought appeared in a towne of Eſſex called Danburie, entring into the Church in likeneſſe of a grey Frier, behauing himſelfe very outragiouſly, playing his partes like a Deuill in deede, ſo that ẏ pariſhioners were put in a maruellous great fright. At the ſame inſtante, there chanc[illegible] ſuche a tempeſt of wind, thunder, and lig[illegible]g, that the higheſt part of ẏ roofe of that Church was blowen downe, and the Chancell was all to ſhaken, rent, & torne in peeces. Within a ſmall whyle after, eighte of thoſe grey Friers that had practiſed treaſon againſt the king, were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were drawen, and headed at London, and two other ſuffered at Leiceſter, all whiche perſons had publiſhed K. Richarde to be aliue. Owen Glendoſier, according to his accuſtomed manner, robbing and ſpoyling within the Engliſh bordures, cauſed all the forces of the ſhire of Herforde, to aſſemble togither againſte them, vnder the conduct of Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, but comming to trie the matter by battayle, whether by treaſon or otherwiſe, ſo it fortuned, that the Engliſhe power was diſcomfited, the Earle taken priſoner, and aboue a thouſande of his people ſlayne in the place. The ſhamefull villanie vſed by the Welchwomen towardes the dead carcaſes, was ſuche, as honeſt eares woulde be aſhamed to heare, and therefore we omitte to ſpeake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great ſummes of money giuen for libertie to conuey them away. The K. was not haſtie to purchaſe the deliuerance of the Earle of Marche, bycauſe his title to the Crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore ſuffered him to remaine in miſerable priſon, wiſhing both the ſaide Earle, and all other of his lignage out of this life, with God and his Sainctes in Heauen, ſo they had bin out of the way, for then all hadde bin well inough as he thought. But to lette theſe things paſſe, ẏ K. this yere ſent his eldeſt daughter Blaunche, accompanyed with the Earle of Somerſet, the Byſhop of Worceſter, the Lorde Clifford, and other, into Almaigne, which brought hir to Colein, and there with great triumph, ſhe was married to Wil. Duke of Bauier, ſon and heire to Lewes the Emperor. About midde Auguſt, the King, to chaſtice the preſumptuous attemptes of the Welchmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to purſue the Captaine of the Welch Rebels, Owen Glendower, but in effect he loſt his labor, for Owen conueyed himſelfe out of the way, into his knowen lurking places, and as was thoughte, through arte magike, he cauſed ſuch foule weather of windes, tempeſt, raine, ſnowe, and haile to be rayſed, for the annoyance of the Kings army, that the lyke had not bin heard of, in ſuch ſort, that the Kyng was conſtreyned to returne home, hauing cauſed his people yet to ſpoyle, and brenne firſt a great part of the Countrey. The ſame time, the Lord Edmonde of Langley Duke of Yorke departed this life, and was buried at Langley with his brethren. The Scottes vnder the leading of Patricke Heybourne of the Hales the yonger, entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Neſbit, in the marches, as in the Scottiſh Chronicle ye may finde more at large.

The deceſſe of the Duke of Yorke.

Scottes ouerthrowen.

This battell was fought the two and twentith of June, in this yeare of our Lord. 1402.

Archebald Earle Dowglas ſore diſpleaſed in his mind for this ouerthrowe, procured a commiſſion to inuade Englãd, and that to his coſt, as ye may likewiſe reade in the Scottiſhe hiſtories, for at a place called Homildon, they were ſo fiercely aſſayled by the Engliſhmen, vnder the leading of the Lorde Percye, ſurnamed Henrie Hotſpurre, and George Earle of Marche, that with violence of the Engliſhe ſhotte, they were quite vanquiſhed, and put to flight, on the Rood day in harueſt, with a great ſlaughter made by the Engliſhmen. We know that the Scottiſhe writers note this battell to haue chaunced in the yeare. 1403. but we following Thomas Walſingham in this place, and other Engliſhe writers, for the accompt of times, haue thought good to place it in this yeare. 1402. as in the ſame writers we find it. There were ſlaine of men of eſtimation, ſir John Swinton, ſir Adam Gordon. Sir John Leuiſton, Sir Alexander Ramſey of Dalhouſy, and three and twentie Knightes, beſides ten M. of the commons: and of priſoners amongſt other were theſe, Mordack Erle of Fife, ſon to the gouernour Archembalde Erle Dowglas, which in the fight loſt one of his eyes, Thomas Earle of Murrey, Robert Erle of Angus, and as ſome writers haue, the Earles of Atholl, and Menteith, with fiue hundred other of meaner degrees. After this, the Lord Percy, hauing beſtowed the priſoners in ſure keeping, entred Tiuidale, waſting and deſtroying the whole Countrey, and then beſieged the Caſtell of Corklawes, whereof was Captaine one Sir John Grenlow, who compounded with the Engliſhmen, that if the Caſtel were not ſuccoured within three monethes, then he woulde deliuer it into their handes. The firſt two monethes paſſed, and no likelihood of reſcue appeared, but ere the third moneth was expired, the Engliſhmen being ſent for to goe with the K. into Wales, reyſed their ſiege, and departed, leauing the noble men priſoners with the Earle of Northumberlande, and with his ſon the L. Percye, to keepe them to the kings vſe. In this meane while, ſuch as miſliked with the doctrine and Ceremonies then vſed in the Church, ceaſſed not to vtter their conſciences, though in ſecret, to thoſe in whome they had affiance, but as in the like caſes it commonly happeneth, they were bewrayed by ſome that were thought chiefly to fauour their cauſe, as by Sir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leaned to yͤ doctrine a long time, did nowe as Tho. Walſ. writeth, diſcloſe al that he knew vnto yͤ Archb. of Caunterburie, to ſhewe himſelfe as it were to haue erred, rather of ſimpleneſſe and ignorance, than of frowardneſſe or ſtubborne malice. The names of ſuche as taughte the articles and concluſions mayntey ned by thoſe whiche then they called Lollards or Herretikes, the ſaid ſir Lewes Clifforde gaue in writing vnto the ſaid Archb.

Scottes vanquiſhed at Homildon.

The number ſlayne.

Priſoners taken.

The Caſtell of Corklawes beſieged by the L. Percy.

The profeſſors of Wickcliffes doctrine

Sir Lewes Clifford bewrayeth his fellowes.

Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, priſoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irkeſomneſſe of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cauſe, it is vncertaine, agreed to take parte with Owen, againſte the King of Englande, and tooke to wife the daughter of the ſaid Owen. Straunge wonders happened as men reported at the natiuitie of this man, for the ſame night hee was borne, all his fathers horſes in the ſtable were founde to ſtande in bloud vp to the bellyes.

The Earle of March marrieth the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

An.reg.4.

A Parliament.

The morrow after the feaſt of Saint Michaell, a Parliament began at Weſtminſter, which continued the ſpace of ſeauen weekes, in the ſame was a tenth and a halfe graunted by the Cleargie, and a fifteenth by the communaltie.

Moreouer, the commons in this Parliament beſought the King to haue the perſon of George Earle of Marche a Scottiſhman, recommended to his maieſtie, for that the ſame Earle ſhewed himſelfe faithfull to the King and his Realme.

George Earle of March recommended to the King by Parliament.

1403

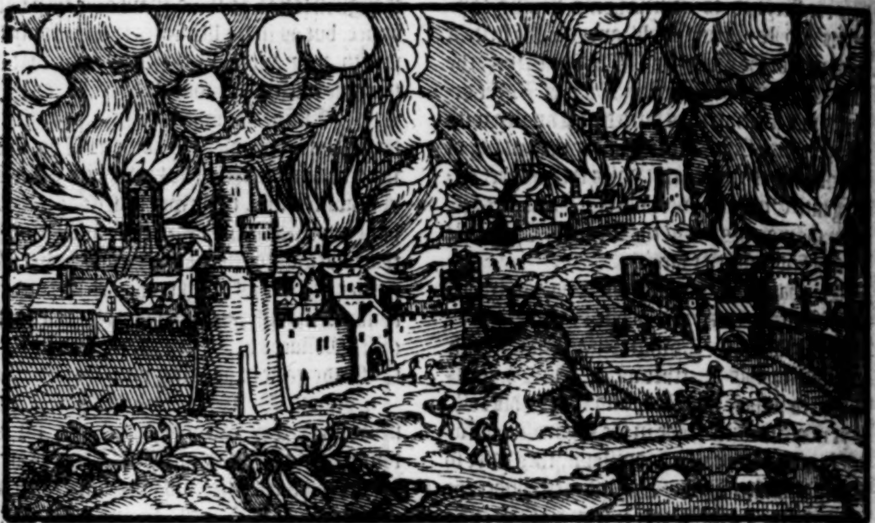
There was alſo a ſtatute made, that the Friers beggers ſhould not receiue any into their order, vnder the age of fourteene yeares.

Ambaſſadors.

In this fourth yere of King Henries reigne, Ambaſſadors were ſent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the Duches of Britaine, the Lady Jane de Nauarre, the widdowe of John de Montford, late Duke of Britaine, ſurnamed the Conquerour, with whome by procurators the king had contracted matrimonie. In the beginning of Februarie, thoſe that were ſent, returned with hir in ſafetie, but not without taſting the bitter ſtormes of the winde and weather, that toſſed them ſore to and fro, before they could get to lande. The Kyng mette hir at Wincheſter, where the ſeuenth of Februarye, the marriage was ſolemniſed betwixte them.

Whileſt theſe thynges were thus adoing in Englande, Waleran Earle of Sainct Paule, bearing ſtill a deadlye and malitious hatred

toward



toward King Henry, hauing aſſembled ſixtene, or ſeuentene hundred men of warre, embarqued them at Harflew, and taking the Sea, landed in the Iſle of Wight, in the whiche he burned two villages, and foure ſimple cottages, and for a triumph of ſo noble an acte, made foure knightes, but when hee hearde that the people of the Iſle wer aſſembled, and approched to fight with him, he haſted to his ſhips, and returned home, wherewith the noble menne of his company were diſpleaſed, cōſidering his prouiſion to be great, and his gaine ſo ſmall.

The Earle of Saint Paule i the Iſle of Wight.

The Earle of Cleremont in Gaſcoigne.

In the ſame very ſeaſon, Iohn Earle of Cleremont, ſonne to the Duke of Bourbon, wanne in Gaſcoigne out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, the Caſtels of Saint Peter, Sainte Marie, and the newe Caſtell, and the Lord de la Bret wanne the Caſtell of Carlaſin, whyche was no ſmall loſſe to the Engliſh nation.

Henry Earle of Northumberland, with hys brother Thomas Earle of Worceſter, and hys ſonne the Lorde Henry Percy, ſurnamed Hoteſpurre, which were to King Henry in the beginning of his raigne, both faithfull friendes, and earneſt aydors, began now to enuie his wealthe and felicitie, and ſpecially, they were greeued, bycauſe the King demaunded of the Earle and hys ſonne, ſuch Scottiſhe priſoners as were taken at Homeldon, and Neſbit, for of all the Captiues whiche were taken in the conflictes foughten in thoſe two places, there was deliuered to yͤ kings poſſeſſion only Mordake Erle of Fife, the Duke of Albanies ſonne, though the King did dyuers and ſundry times require deliuerance of the reſidue, and that with greate threatnings: wherewith the Percies beeing ſore offended, for that they claymed them as their owne proper priſoners, and their peculiar prayes, by the counſell of the Lord Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter, whoſe ſtudy was euer (as ſome write) to procure malice, and ſet things in a broyle, came to the King vnto Windeſor (vppon a purpoſe to proue him) and there required of him, that either by raunſome or otherwiſe, he would cauſe to be deliuered out of priſon, Edmōd Mortimer Erle of Marche, their Couſin Germayne, whome as they reported, Owen Glendor kepte in filthie priſon, ſhakeled with irons, only for that he toke his part, and was to him faithfull and true. The King began not a little to muſe on this requeſt, and not withoute a cauſe, for in deede, it touched him ſomewhat nere, for this Edmond was ſon to Roger Earle of Marche, ſonne to the Lady Phillip, daughter of Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King Edward the thirde, whiche Edmond at king Richardes going into Irelande, was proclaymed heire apparant to the Crowne and Realme, whoſe Aunt called Eleanor, the Lord Henrie Percie had married, and therefore King Henry could not well beare that any man ſhoulde be earneſt, about the aduancement of that lignage. The King when hee had ſtudied on the matter, made aunſwere, that the Earle of Marche was not taken priſoner for his cauſe, nor in his ſeruice, but willingly ſuffered himſelfe to be taken, bicauſe he would not withſtand the attemptes of Owen Glendor, and his complices, and therfore he would neither raunſome him, nor relieue him.

T. e requeſt of the Percie

The Percies with this aunſwere and fraudulent excuſe, were not alittle fumed, in ſo much that Henrie Hoteſpurre ſaid openly: Behold, the heire of the Realme is robbed of his righte, and yet the robber with his owne, will not redeeme him. So in this furie the Percies departed, nothing more minding, than to depoſe King Henry, from the high type of his regality, and to place in his ſeate, their couſin Edmōd, Earle of March, whome

The ſaying the L. Percy.

The conſpiracie of the Percies with Owẽ Glendower.

An indenture tripartite.

A deuiſion of that whiche they had not.

whome they did not onely deliuer out of Captiuitie, but alſo to the high diſpleaſure of Kyng Henry, entred in league with the foreſayde Owen Glendouer. Herewith, they by their deputies in the houſe of the Archedeacon of Bangor, deuided the Realme amongſt them, cauſing a tripartite Indenture to be made and ſealed with their ſeales, by the couenauntes wherof, al England from Seuerne and Trent, South, & Eaſtward, was aſſigned to the Earle of Marche. All Wales, and the landes beyond Seuerne Weſtward, were appoynted to Owen Glendor: and all the remnaunt from Trent Northewarde, to the Lorde Percy.

A vayne prophecie.

This was done (as ſome haue ſayd) through a fooliſhe credite giuen to a vayne prophecie, as though King Henry was the Moldewarp, curſed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the Dragon, the Lion, and the Wolfe, whyche ſhould deuide this Realme betwene them. Such is the deuiation (ſayth Hall) and not diuination of thoſe blinde and fantaſticall dreames of the Welch propheſiers.

The Percies rayſe their power.

They craue aid of the Scots.

King Henry not knowing of this newe confederacie, and nothing leſſe minding, than that which after happened, gathered a great army to goe againe into Wales, whereof the Earle of Northumberlande, and his ſonne were aduertiſed by the Earle of Worceſter, and with all diligence reyſed all the power they coulde make, and ſent to the Scottes, whiche before were taken priſoners at Homeldon, for ayde of menne, promiſing to the Earle Dowglas the Towne of Berwike, and a parte of Northumberlande, and to other Scottiſh Lordes, greate Lordſhips and ſeigniories, if they obteined the vpper hand. The Scottes in hope of gaine, and deſirous to be reuenged of their olde greefes, came to yͤ Erle with a great company.

The Archbiſh. of Yorke of counſell with the Percies in the conſpiracie.

The Percies to make theyr part ſeeme good, deuiſed certayne articles, by the aduice of Richard Scrope, Archebyſhoppe of Yorke, brother to the Lorde Scrope, whome King Henry had cauſed to be beheaded at Briſtowe.

Tho. VValſ.

Theſe articles being ſhewed to dyuers noble men, and other ſtates of the Realme, moued thẽ to fauoure theyr purpoſe, in ſo muche that manie of them did not onely promiſe to the Percies ayde and ſuccoure by wordes, but alſo by theyr writings and ſeales confirmed the ſame. Howbeit when the matter came to tryall, the moſte parte of the confederates abandoned them, and at the day of the conflict left them alone.

Thus after that the conſpirators had diſcouered themſelues, the Lorde Henry Percy deſirous to proceede in the enterprice, vpon truſte to be aſſiſted by Owen Glendor, the Earle of Marche and other, aſſembled an armye of men of armes and archers forthe of Cheſhire and Wales, and incontinently hys Uncle Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter, that hadde the gouernement of the Prince of Wales, who as then laye at London in ſecrete manner, conueyed hymſelfe out of the Princes houſe, and commyng to Stafforde (where hee mette hys nephewe) they encreaſed theyr power by all wayes and meanes they coulde deuiſe. The Earle of Northumberlande hymſelfe was not with them, but being ſicke, hadde promiſed vpon hys amendmente to repayre vnto them (as ſome write) with all conueniente ſpeede.

The earle of Worceſter gouernour to the prince ſlippeth from him. *Hall.*

The pretence of the Percies, as they publiſhed it abroade

Theſe noble men to make theyr conſpiracie to ſeeme excuſable, beſides the Articles aboue mentioned, ſente letters abroade, wherein was conteyned, that theyr gathering of an armye tended to none other ende, but onely for the ſafegarde of theyr owne perſons, and to putte ſome better gouernemente in the common wealthe. For whereas taxes and tallages were daylye leuyed, vnder pretence to bee employed in defence of the Realme, the ſame were vaynely waſted, and vnprofitably conſumed: and where through the ſlaunderous reportes of their enimies, the King hadde taken a greeuous diſpleaſure with them, they durſt not appeare perſonally in the Kings preſence, vntil the Prelates and Barons of the Realme hadde obteined of the King licence for them to come and purge themſelues before him, by lawfull tryall of theyr peeres, whoſe iudgemẽt (as they pretended) they would in no wiſe refuſe. Many that ſaw & heard theſe letters, did commend theyr diligence, and highly praiſed theyr aſſured fidelitie and truſtineſſe towardes the common wealthe. But the King vnderſtanding theyr cloked driſt, deuiſed (by what meanes he might) to quiet and appeaſe the commons, and deface theyr contriued forgeries, and therefore he wrate an aunſwere to their Libelles, that he maruelled muche ſith the Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord Henry Percie his ſonne, had receyued the moſt parte of the ſummes of money graunted to him by yͤ Cleargie and cõmunaltie, for defence of the marches, as he could euidently proue, what ſhoulde moue them to compleyne and reiſe ſuch manifeſt ſlanders. And where as he vnderſtood, that the Erles of Northumberlande and Worceſter, and the Lorde Percy hadde by their letters ſignified to their friends abroade, that by reaſon of the ſlanderous reportes of their enimies, they durſt not appeare in his preſence, without the mediation of the Prelates and nobles of the Realme, ſo as they required pledges, whereby they might ſafely come afore him, to declare and alledge what they had to ſay in proofe of their innocencie, hee proteſted by letters ſente forthe vnder his ſeale,

The kings anſwere to the Percies libell.

that they mighte ſafely come and goe, without all daunger, or any manner of indempnitie to be offered to their perſons: but this coulde not ſatiſfie thoſe men, but that reſolued to goe forwardes wyth their enterpriſe, they marched towardes Shrewesburie, vppon hope to be ayded (as men thought,) by Owen Glendour, and his Welchmen, publiſhing abroade through out the Countreys on eache ſide, that King Richarde was aliue, whome if they wiſhed to ſee, they willed the to repaire in armour vnto the Caſtel of Cheſter, where without all doubt, he was at that preſent, and ready to come forwarde. This tale beeyng reyſed, though it were moſt vntrue, yet it bredde variable motions in mens minds, cauſing them to wauer, ſo as they knewe not to whiche parte they ſhoulde ſticke, and verily, diuers were well affected towardes King Richard, ſpecially ſuche as had taſted of his princely bountifulneſſe (of which ther was no ſmall number) and to ſpeake a troth, no maruell it was, if many enuyed the proſperous ſtate of King Henry, ſith it was euident inough to the world, that hee hadde with wrong vſurped the Crowne, and not only violently depoſed King Richarde, but alſo cruelly procured his death, for the whiche vndoubtedly both he, and his poſteritie taſted ſuch troubles, as put them ſtill in daunger of their ſtates, till their direct ſucceeding line was quite rooted out, by the contrarie faction, as in Henry the ſixth, and Edward yͤ fourth it may appeare.

Poore K. Richarde is ſtill alyue with the that wiſh king Henries ouerthrowe.

But now to returne where we lefte, Kyng Henry aduertiſed of the proceedings of the Percies, forthwith gathered about him ſuche power as hee mighte make, and beeing earneſtly called vppon by the Scotte, the Earle of Marche, to make haſt and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaying of time ſhould ſtill too muche encreaſe, hee paſſed forwarde with ſuche ſpeede, that he was in ſight of his enimies, lying in camp neere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of any ſuch thing, for the Percies thought, that he would haue ſtayed at Burton vppon Trent, till his Counſell had come thither to him to giue their aduice what he were beſt to do. By reaſon of the Kings ſuddaine comming in thys ſort, they ſtayed from aſſaulting the Towne of Shrewesburie, which enterpriſe they were ready at that inſtante to haue taken in hande, and forthwith, the Lorde Percie, as a Captaine of high courage, began to exhorte the Captaynes and Souldiers to prepare themſelues to battell, ſith the matter was growen to that poynt, that by no meanes it could be auoyded, ſo that (ſayde hee) thys daye ſhall eyther bring vs all to aduauncement and honor, or elſe if it ſhall chaunce vs to bee ouercome, ſhall deliuer vs from the Kings ſpitefull malice and cruell diſdayne, for playing the menne as we ought to doe, better it is to dye in battell for the common wealthes cauſe, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, whiche after ſhall be taken from vs, by ſentence of the enimie.

The kinges ſpeedy diligence.

The Percyes troubled with the kinges ſodayn cõming.

The L. Percye exhorteth his complices to ſticke to their tackle.

Herevpon, the whole armie being in number about a fourteene thouſande choſen menne, promiſed to ſtande with him ſo long as life laſted.

The numb
of the Perci
armye.

There were with the Percies as Chieftaines of this armie, the Earle of Dowglas, a Scottiſhe man, the Baron of Kinderton, ſir Hugh Brone, and Sir Richarde Vernon Knightes, with dyuers other ſtout and right valiãt Captaines.

Nowe when the two armies were encamped, the one againſte the other, the Earle of Worceſter and the Lord Percy with their complices ſente the Articles, (whereof I ſpake before) by Thomas Cayton, and Thomas Saluain Eſquiers to King Henry, vnder their hands and ſeales, which Articles in effect charged him with manifeſt periurie, in that contrary to his othe receiued vpon the Euangeliſts at Doncaſter, when he firſte entred the Realme after his exile, he had taken vpon him the Crowne and royall dignitie, empriſoned King Richard, cauſed him to reſigne his title, and finally to be murthered. Dyuers other matters they layde to his charge, as leuying of taxes and tallages, contrary to hys promiſe, infringing lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme, and ſuffring the Erle of Marche to remain in priſon, without trauelling to haue him deliuered, al which things they as Proctors, and protectors of the common wealthe, tooke vppon them to proue againſt him, as they proteſted to the whole world.

The Percie
ſente their a
ticles to the K

King Henrie
charged wyth
periurie.

Procurers
Protectours
the common
wealth.

King Henry after he had redde their articles, with the defiãce which they annexed to yͤ ſame, anſwered the Eſquiers, that he was ready with dint of ſword and fierce battell, to proue their quarrell falſe, and nothing elſe than forged matter, not doubting, but that God woulde ayd and aſſiſt him in his righteous cauſe, againſt the diſloyall and falſe forſworne traytors.

The kinges
ſwer to the
meſſengers
that brou
the article

The next day in the morning early, beeyng the euen of Mary Magdalene, they ſet their battels in order on both ſides, and nowe whileſt the warriers looked when the token of battell ſhould bee giuen, the Abbot of Shrewesburie, and one of the Clearkes of the priuie ſeale, were ſent from the King vnto the Percies, to offer them pardon, if they woulde come to anye reaſonable agreemente.

The ki
freth pa
don his a
ſaries.

By theyr perſwaſions, the Lord Henry Percie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, and ſo ſent with them his vncle the Earle of Worceſter, to declare vnto the K. the cauſes of thoſe troubles, and to require ſome effectuall reformation in the ſame.

…The Earle of Worceſters double dea-…ing in wrong …porting the kings wordes.

It was reported for a troth, that now when the King hadde condiſcended vnto all that was reaſonable at his handes to bee required, and ſeemed to humble himſelfe more than was meete for his eſtate, the Earle of Worceſter vppon hys returne to his nephewe, made relation cleane cõtrarie to that the King had ſayde, in ſuche ſorte, that he ſet his nephewes hearte more in diſpleaſure towardes the King, than euer it was before, driuing him by that meanes to fighte whyther he would or not: then ſuddaynely blewe the trumpettes, the Kings part cried Saint George vpon them, the aduerſaries cried *Eſperance Percy*, and ſo the two armies furiouſly ioyned. The archers on both ſides ſhot for the beſt game, laying on ſuch loade with arrowes, that many died, and were driuen downe, that neuer roſe againe.

Hal.
The Scottes.

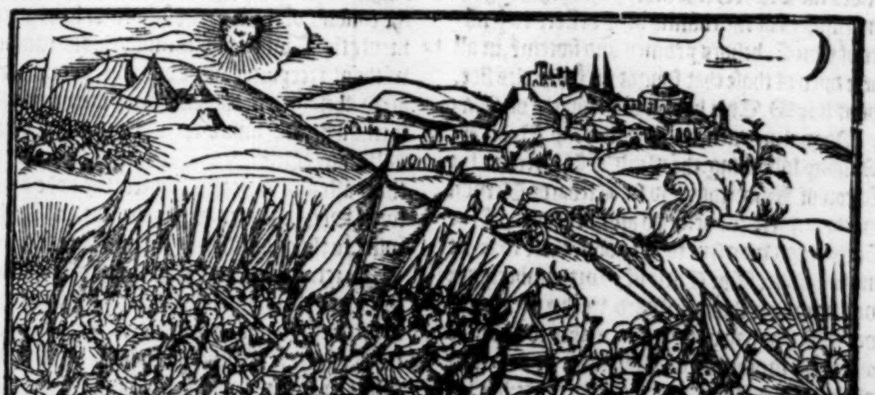
The Scottes (as ſome write) which had the forewarde on the Percies ſide, intending to bee reuenged of their olde diſpleaſures done to them by the Engliſh natiõ, ſet ſo fiercely on the kings forewarde, ledde by the Earle of Stafforde, that they made the ſame to drawe backe, and had almoſt broken their aduerſaries aray.

The Welchemen come to ayde the Percies.

The Welchmen alſo which before had laine lurking in the woddes, mountaines, and mariſhes, hearing of this battell towarde, came to the ayde of the Percies, and refreſhed the weery people with new ſuccours.

The King perceyuing that his men were thus put to diſtreſſe, what with the violente impreſſion of the Scottes, and the tempeſtuous ſtorme of arrowes, that his aduerſaries diſcharged freely againſt him and his people, it was no neede to will him to ſtirre, for ſuddainely with his freſhe battell, hee approched and relieued hys men, ſo that the battell beganne more fierce than before. Heere the Lord Henry Percy, and yͤ Erle Dowglas, a righte ſtoute and hardy Captayne, not regarding the ſhot of the kings battayle, nor the cloſe order of the rankes, preaſſing forwarde togither, bente their whole forces towardes the kings perſon, comming vpon him with ſpeares, and ſwordes ſo fiercely, that the Earle of March the Scot, perceyuing their purpoſe, withdrewe yͤ King from that ſide of the fielde as ſome write, (for his great benefite & ſafegard as it appeared) for they gaue ſuch a violent onſet vpon thẽ, that ſtood about the Kings ſtandert, that ſlaying his ſtandert bearer ſir Blunt, and ouerthrowing the ſtandert, they made ſlaughter of all thoſe that ſtoode about it, as the Earle of Stafforde, that day made by the king Conneſtable of yͤ realme, and diuers other.

The Erle of Marche.
Tho. Walſ.



…ll.
The valiancie …the young …ince.

The Prince that daye holp his father lyke a luſtie yong Gentleman, for although hee was hurt in the face with an arrowe, ſo that dyuers noble men that were about him, would haue cõueyed him forth of the fielde, yet he would in no wiſe ſuffer them ſo to doe, leaſt his departure frõ among his men, might happely haue ſtrikẽ ſome feare into their hartes: and ſo without regarde of his hurt, hee continued with his men, and neuer ceaſſed, either to fight where the battel was moſt hotteſt, or to incourage his men, where it ſeemed moſt neede. This batayle laſted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both partes, till at length, the King crying Sainct George victorie, brake the aray of his enimies, & aduentured ſo far, yͭ as ſome write, the Earle Dowglas ſtrake him down, & at that inſtãt, ſlew ſir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in yͤ kings ſute and clothing, ſaying, I maruel to ſee ſo many kings thus ſuddainely to ariſe, one in yͤ necke of an other. The king indeede was reiſed, and did that daye manye a noble feate of armes, for

A ſore battaile and wel mainteyned.

The valyaunt doings of the Erle Douglas.

The high manhode of the king.
The lord Percie ſlayne.
The erle Douglas takē priſoner.

as it is written, he ſlew that day with his owne handes ſixe and thirtie perſons of his enimies. The other on his parte encouraged by his doings, fought valiantly, and ſlew the Lord Percy, called ſir Henry Hoteſpurre. To conclude, the Kings enimies were vanquiſhed, and put to flight, in whiche flighte, the Earle of Dowglas, for haſt, falling from the cragge of a mountaine, brake one of his genitalles, and was taken, and for his valiantneſſe, of the King frankely & freely deliuered.

The Earle of Worceſter taken.
Knights ſlaine on the kynges parte.
The ſlaughter of Cheſhiremen at this battayle.
The Earle of Worceſter & other beheaded.
The Earle of Weſtmerland reyſeth a power agaynſte the Earle of Northumberlande.
The K. goeth to Yorke.
The Earle of Northumberland commeth to the king.

There was alſo taken the Earle of Worceſter, the procurer and ſetter forthe of all thys miſchiefe, Sir Richard Vernon, and the Baron of Kynderton, with diuers other. There were ſlayne vpon the Kings part, beſide the Earle of Stafford, to the number of tenne Knightes, Sir Hugh Shorly, ſir John Clifton, ſir John Cokayne, ſir Nicholas Gauſell, ſir Walter Blunt, ſir John Caluerley, ſir John Maſſy of Podington, ſir Hugh Mortimer, and ſir Roberte Gauſel, all the which, receyued the ſame morning the order of Knighthoode, ſir Thomas Wendeſley was wounded to death, and ſo paſſed out of this life ſhortly after. There dyed in all vpon yͤ kings ſide ſixteene C. and foure M. were greeuouſlye wounded. On the contrarie ſide were ſlaine, beſides the L. Percy, the moſt part of the knights and eſquiers of the countie of Cheſter, to yͤ nūber of two C. beſides yeomen and footemē, in all there dyed of thoſe that fought on yͤ Percies ſide, about fiue M. This battell was fought on Mary Magdalene euen, being Saterday. Vpon the Monday following, the Earle of Worceſter, the Baron of Kinderton, and ſir Richarde Vernon knightes, were condemned and beheaded. The Earles head was ſent to London, there to be ſet on the bridge. The Earle of Northumberlande was now marching forward with a greate power which he had got togither, either to ayde his ſonne and brother as was thought, or at yͤ leaſt towardes the King, to procure a peace: but the Earle of Weſtmerlande, and ſir Roberte Waterton knight, had got an army on foote, & meant to meete him. The Earle of Northumberlande, taking neither of them to bee his friende, turned ſuddainely backe, and withdrewe himſelfe into Warkeworth Caſtell. The King hauing ſet a ſtay in things aboute Shrewſburie, wente ſtraight to Yorke, from whence hee wrote to the Earle of Northumberland, willing him to diſmiſſe his companies that hee had with him, and to come vnto him in peaceable wiſe. The Earle vpon receipt of the kings letters came vnto him the morrow after Saint Laurence day, hauyng but a few of his ſeruauntes to attend him, and ſo excuſed himſelfe, that the King (bycauſe yͤ Erle had Berwike in his poſſeſſion, and further, had his Caſtels of Alnewike, Warkeworth, and other, fortified with Scottes) diſſembled the matter, gaue him faire wordes, and ſuffered him (as ſaith Hall) to departe home, although by other it ſhoulde ſeeme, that hee was committed for a time to ſafe cuſtodie.

The Welch men moleſt the Engliſh ſubiectes.
It was ſpoken like a Prelate.
A tenth leuied of the Cleargie.
Wil. Wilford.
Ships taken.

The King returning forthe of Yorkeſhire, determined to goe into Northwales, to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous doings of the vnruly Welchmen, who (after his comming from Shrewſburie, and the marches there) had done much harme to the Engliſh ſubiects. But now where the K. wanted money to furniſhe that enterprice, and to wage his Souldiers, there were ſome that counſelled hym to be bolde with the Biſhoppes, and ſupply his wante of their ſurpluſage: but as it fortuned, the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie was there preſente, who in the name of all the reſt boldly made aunſwere, that none of hys prouince ſhoulde bee ſpoyled by anye of thoſe naughtie diſpoſed perſons, but that firſte with harde ſtripes they ſhoulde vnderſtande the price of theyr raſhe enterprice. But the King neuertheleſſe ſo vſed the matter with the Byſhoppes for their good willes, that the Archebyſhoppe at length to pleaſure hym, calling the Cleargie togither, gote a graunte of a tenth, towardes the Kings neceſſarie charges. The Britaines vnder the conduct of the Lorde of Caſſils, ſpoyled and brente the Towne of Plimmouth, and returned without receyuing anye domage, but immediately thereuppon, the Weſterne men manning forthe a fleete, vnder the gouernemente of one William Wilforde Eſquier, made ſaile ouer to the coaſtes of Britaine, where they toke aboue fortie Shippes laden with oyle, ſope, and Rochel wine, to the quantitie of a thouſande tunne.

In returning homewardes, they brente fortie other veſſels, and landing at Pennarch, they brente townes and villages ſixe leagues within the Countrey, togither with the Towne of S. Mathewe, and all the buildings there, three leagues round about the ſame towne.

An. reg. 5.
A Parliament at Couentrie.
Adiourned to London.

About the feaſt of all Saincts, a Parliament beganne at Couentrie, and continued there tyll Sainte Andrewes tyde, but at length, bycauſe vittailes waxed deere, and lodging was ſtreight, it was adiorned from thence vnto London, there to begin againe in the Octaues of the Epiphanie.

A pardon.

The ſame time, a pardon was graunted and proclaymed, for all ſuche as hadde taken parte with the Percies againſte the Kyng, and lykewiſe for all other offendors, thoſe excepted that hadde conſented to betraye Calais, whome the King ſente thyther to ſuffer for theyr offences.

A little before Chriſtmas, the Frenchmenne

meant

Frenchmē inuade the Ile of Wight.

meante to haue robbed and ſpoyled the Ile of Wight, but when a thouſande of them were ſet on lande, and had gote togither a great bootie of Cattell, ſuddainely there came vpon them ſuche number of people, that they were conſtreyned to withdrawe to their Shippes, leauing their pray behinde them, and no ſmall number of theyr mē to pay for theyr ſhotte, ſo that they wanne little by that iourney, returning home with ſhame and diſhonor.

They are repulſed,

1404

The Parliament beginneth agaīne

The Earle of Northumberland reſtored.

The Ile of Man.

This yeare in the Parliament holden at Lōdon (beginning the morrow after the feaſt of S. Hillarie, and continuing twelue weekes) the Erle of Northumberlād was reſtored vnto his former dignities, lands, and goodes, the Ile of Man only excepted, which by reaſon of the forfeyture made by the Earle of Saliſburie, the King had firſt giuen vnto hym, and now depriued him thereof, where all his other landes, poſſeſſions, and liuings were wholly to hym and hys heyres reſtored, by authoritie of the ſame Parliamente.

A ſubſidie.

A ſubſedie was alſo graunted to the Kyng, of euery Knightes fee twentie ſhillings, whether the ſame were holden of hym by menaltie, or otherwiſe.

Moreouer, euery man and woman that myghte diſpende in landes the valew of twentie ſhillings and ſo vpwarde, aboue the reprices, whether the ſame landes belonged to the laye fee, or to the Churche, payed for euery pounde twelue pens, and thoſe that were valued to bee worth in goodes twentie poundes and vpwards, payd alſo after the rate of lands, ỹ is twelue pēce for euery pounde.

The Frenchemen demaūd of the Iſle of Wight.

The Frenchmen aboute the ſame time, came before the Iſle of Wighte, with a greate nauie, and ſent certaine of theyr men to the ſhore, to demaunde in name of King Richarde, and of hys wife Queene Iſabell, a tribute, or a ſpeciall ſubſedie in money, of the inhabitantes of that Ile, who aunſwered, that King Richard was dead, and Queene Iſabell ſometime his wife, hadde bin ſent home to hir parents and countrey, without condition of any dower or tribute, wherfore, they aunſwered reaſonablye, that none they woulde giue, but if the Frenchmen hadde deſire to fighte, they willed them to come on land, and there ſhoulde bee none to reſiſt them, and after they were a lande, they promiſed to giue them reſpite for ſixe houres ſpace to refreſhe themſelues, and that tyme beeyng once expired, they ſhould not fayle to haue battell.

The anſwere of the Ilande men.

When the Frenchmen hearde of this ſtoute aunſwere made by the Ilandmen, they had no luſt to approch neerer to the lande, but returned without further attempt.

The duke of Orleance his chalenge.

About this ſeaſon, the Duke of Orleaunce, brother to the Frenche Kyng, a man of no leſſe pride than hawtineſſe of courage, wrote letters to Kyng Henry, aduertiſing him, that for the loue he bare to the noble feates of Cheualrie, hee coulde imagine nothyng eyther more honorable or commendable to them both, than to meete in the fielde eache parte with an hundred Knyghtes and Eſquiers, all beeyng Gentlemenne, bothe of name and armes, armed at all poyntes, and furniſhed with Speares, axes, ſwordes, and daggers, and there to fyghte and combate to the yeeldyng, and euery perſon to whome God ſhoulde ſende victorie, to haue hys priſoner, and hym to raunſome at hys pleaſure, offeryng hymſelfe with hys companye, to come to hys Citie of Inguleſme, ſo that the Kyng woulde come to the laundes of Burdeaux, and there defende this challenge.

The anſwere of king Henrye.

The Kyng of Englande grauely aunſwered heereunto, that hee marueiled why the Duke vnder coulloure of doyng deedes of armes for a vayne glory, woulde nowe ſeeke to breake the peace betwixte the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, hee beeyng ſworne to mayneteyne the ſame peace, ſithe hee myghte further vnderſtande, that no Kyng annoynted, of verie duetie, was bounde to aunſwere any challenge, but to his peere of equall ſtate and dignitie: and further declared, that when opportunitie ſerued, hee woulde paſſe the Sea, and come into hys Countrey of Gaſcoigne, with ſuche companie as hee thoughte conuenient, and then myghte the Duke ſette forwarde with hys bande, for the accompliſhing of hys couragious deſire, promiſing hym in the word of a Prince, not thence to depart, til the Duke eyther by fulfilling his owne deſyre in manner aforeſayde, or by ſingular combate betwene them two onely, for auoyding of more effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, ſhoulde thynke hymſelfe fully ſatiſfyed.

To this and muche more conteyned in the Kynges aunſwere, the Duke replied, and the Kyng agayne reioyned, not withoute tauntes and checkes vnfitting for theyr eſtates.

The duke of Orleance beſiegeth Vergi in Guyenne.

The Duke of Orleaunce offended hyghly (as hee myghte ſeeme) agaynſte the Kyng of Englande, with an armye of ſixe thouſande menne, entred into Guyenne, and beſieged the Towne of Vergy, whereof was Capitaine Sir Roberte Antelfielde, a right hardye and valiante Knyghte, hauyng with hym onely three hundred Engliſhmenne, whyche defended the fortreſſe ſo manfully, that the Duke after hee hadde layne there three monethes, and loſt many of his men, without honor or ſpoyle, returned into Fraunce.

After this, the Admirall of Britaine, highly encouraged, for that the laſt yeare he had taken certaine Engliſh Shippes laden with wines, accompanyed with the Lord du Chaſtel, a valiant Baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, ſayled forth with thirtie Shippes from Saint Malos, and came before the Towne of Dartemouth, and woulde haue landed, but by the puiſſance of the Towneſmen, and ayde of the countrey, they were repulſed, in the whiche conflict, the Lorde du Chaſtel, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were ſlayne, and aboue two hundred taken priſoners, and put to their raunſomes, amongſt whome, the Lorde of Baqueuille, the Marſhall of Britaine was one.

The Lord du Chaſtel ſlaine.

All this Sommer, Owen Glendouer and his adherents, robbed, brent, and deſtroyed the Coũtreys adioyning, neere to the places where hee haunted, and one while by ſleight and guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he tooke and ſlew many Engliſhmen, brake downe certaine Caſtels, which hee wanne, and ſome he fortified and kept for his owne defence. John Treuor Byſhop of Aſſaph, conſidering with himſelfe how things proſpered vnder the hãds of this Owen, fledde to him, and tooke his parte againſte the King.

Owen Glendouer, waſted the Engliſh marches.

About the ſame tyme, the Britaines and the Flemings tooke certayne Shippes of ours laden with merchandice, and ſlewe all the Marriners, or elſe hanged them.

Crueltie of the Britaines and Flemings.

Alſo, the olde Counteſſe of Oxford, mother to Robert Vere, late Duke of Ireland, that dyed at Louaine, cauſed certain of hir ſeruaunts, and other ſuche as ſhe durſt truſt, to publiſh and brute abrode, through all the parties of Eſſex, that Kyng Richarde was aliue, and that hee woulde ſhortlye come to lighte, and clayme hys former eſtate, honor, and dignitie. She procured a greate number of Hartes to be made of ſiluer and golde, ſuche as King Richarde was wonte to giue vnto his Knightes, Eſquiers, & friendes, to weare as cogniſances, to the ende that in beſtowing them in King Richardes name, ſhee might the ſooner allure men to further hir lewde practiſes: and where the fame wente abroade, that King Richarde was in Scotlande with a great power of Frenchmen and Scottes, readie to come to recouer his Realme, many gaue the more lightly credite vnto this brute thus ſette forth by the ſaid Counteſſe.

The Countes of Oxforde.

K. Rich. once againe aliue.

The perſwaſions alſo of one Serlo, that in times paſt was one of king Richards chamber, greatly encreaſed this error, for the ſame Serlo, hearing in Fraunce, whither he was fledde, that his maſter King Richarde was in Scotland aliue, conueyed himſelfe thither, to vnderſtand the troth of that matter, and finding there one indeede that greatly reſembled him in all linyaments of body, but yet was not the man himſelfe, as he well perceyued, vppon malice that hee bare to King Henry, aduertiſed by letters ſente vnto diuers of King Richards friendes, that hee was aliue indeede, and ſhortly woulde come to ſhew himſelfe openly to the world, when he had once made his way ready to recouer his Kingdome, to the confuſion of his enimies, and comfort of his friends. Theſe forged inuentions cauſed many to belieue the brute reiſed by yͤ Counteſſe of Oxforde, for the whiche they came into trouble, were apprehended, and committed to priſon. The Counteſſe hir ſelfe was ſhut vp in cloſe priſon, and all hir goodes were confiſcate, and hir Secretarie drawen and hanged, that had ſpred abroade this fained reporte, in going vppe and downe the Countrey, blowing it into mens eares, that King Richard was aliue, affirming that he had ſpoke with him in ſuche a place, and ſuche a place, apparrelled in this raymente, and that rayment, with ſuch like circumſtances.

Serlo one of K. Richardes chamber.

The Countes of Oxforde committed to priſon.

Hir ſecretarie executed.

About the feaſt of Sainte John Baptiſt, at the kings commaundement, the Earle of Northumberlande came to Ponfret, and broughte with him his nephewes, & his nephewes ſonnes, whereby hee cleared himſelfe of a greate deale of ſuſpition, many doubting before his comming, that he had giuen euill counſell to the yong mẽ, whereby to moue them to Rebellion, and to withſtand the King. Sir William Clifford alſo came with the Earle, and brought the foreſaid Serlo with him, whome he had apprehended vppon hys comming to hym at Berwike, in hope to haue founde ſuccoure at his handes: in conſideration whereof, the King pardoned the ſayde Sir William Clifforde of his diſobedience ſhewed, in keeping the Caſtell of Berwike againſt hym, in whyche doing, he had committed manifeſt treaſon.

The Earle of Northumberlande commeth to the king.

Sir William Clifford bringeth Serlo to the king.

This Serlo beeing knowen to bee the man that had beene the chiefe murtherer of the Duke of Glouceſter, when he was made away at Calais, was diligently examined, who were helpers with hym in the execution thereof, and after what ſorte they made him away: Serlo knowing there was no way with him but deathe, would not vtter any other, but confeſſed for hys owne parte, hee was worthy for that wicked deede, to dye tenne thouſande deathes, and ſhewed ſuche outward appearance of repentaunce, that many ſore lamented his caſe, and promiſed to hyre Prieſtes to ſing Maſſes, as the manner was, for hys ſoule, of theyr owne coſtes and charges. He was condemned to dye at Ponfret, and was drawen from thence through euery good Towne, through whiche thoſe that hadde the

Serlo examined for the duke of Gloceſters death.

the

He is drawen through euery good towne. He is executed at London.

the conueyance of him, paſſed with him, till they came to London, where hee was executed, confeſſing euery thing to be true, cõcerning his wicked pretence, as before is recited: and further, that when he perceyued how their counterfaite practiſe would come to light and be openly reuealed, he meant to haue retourned into Fraunce, but wanting money, he thoughte to haue bin relieued with ſome portion at the hande of the ſayde Syr William Clyfforde, and this cauſed hym to come vnto Berwyke, to ſhewe hym his neceſſitie, who to make his owne peace, didde apprehende hym, and preſent hym to the king, as before ye haue heard.

An. reg. 6.

King Henrie wantyng moneye in the feaſte of Saint Faythe the Virgin, aſſembled at Couentrie, hys hyghe Courte of Parliamente, in the whiche, the Lorde Stephen Scrope of Maſham, and the Lorde Henry Fitz Hugh obteyned firſt to haue places of Barons.

The lay mens Parliament.

Moreouer, it is to bee noted, that thys was called the lay mannes Parliamente, bycauſe the Sheriffes were appoynted to haue a ſpeciall regarde, that none ſhoulde bee choſen Knightes, for the Counties, nor burgeſſes for the Cities and Townes, that hadde anye ſkill in the lawes of the lande. Thys was done, and when they came togither to talke of the waightie affayres of the Realme, ſpecially howe the King mighte bee relieued with money, to beare ſuche charges as hee was knowen to bee at, as well in defendinng the Realme from the Scottes and Welchmenne at home, as from the Britaines, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroade, it was thoughte moſt expediente, that the Spiritualtie ſhoulde bee depriued of theyr temporall poſſeſſions, to the reliefe of the Kings neceſſitie.

Strife betwixt the laitie and spiritualtie.

Herevpon, roſe greate altercation betwixt the Cleargie and the laitie, the Knightes affirming, that they had oftentimes ſerued the King, not onely with theyr goodes, but alſo with their perſons, in great daungers and ieoperdies, whyleſt the Spiritualtie ſate at home, and holp the king nothing at all. Thomas Arundell Archebyſhop of Caunterburie ſtoutely aunſwered herevnto, that the Cleargie hadde alwaye gyuen to the King, as muche as the laytie hadde done, conſidering they had oftner gyuen theyr tenthes to hym, than the laytie theyr fifteenes: alſo, that more of theyr tenauntes wente forthe into the Kyngs warres, than the tenauntes of them of the lay fee.

The Archbishop of Caunterbury aunswereth for his brethren.

Beſide thys, they prayed daye and night for the Kyngs good ſucceſſe agaynſte his enimies.

Sir Iohn Cheyny speaker of the Parliament. The Archb. chafeth.

When the ſpeaker named ſir Iohn Cheynie, in replying by playne ſpeache, ſeemed little to eſteeme ſuche prayers of the Church, the Archbiſhoppe was ſette in a great chafe, and with ſharp wordes, declaring what hee thoughte muſt needes followe, both of the Kyng and Kyngdome, when prayers, and ſuffrages of Churchmenne, came to be ſo little ſette by, hee grewe to ſuche impatiencie, that hee flatly tolde the ſpeaker, that although hee ſeemed little to eſteeme of the Religion of the Cleargie, hee woulde not haue him to thynke, that hee ſhoulde take awaye the poſſeſſions of the Churche, without fyndyng ſuche as woulde ſeeke to withſtande hym, for if (ſayde hee) the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie maye liue, thou ſhalte haue hote takyng awaye of any maner thyng that hys is.

He spake like a Lorde.

After this, when the Archebyſhoppe perceyued, that the Kyng winked at theſe matters, hee roſe from hys place, and commyng before the Kyng, kneeled downe, and beſought hym to conſider, howe through the fauour and grace of the almightye God, hee hadde attayned to the Kyngdome, and therefore hee ought to remember hys firſte purpoſe and intente, whyche was, to ſaue vnto euery man hys ryght, ſo farre as in hym laye.

Hee willed hym lykewiſe to haue in conſideration, the othe which he willingly hadde receyued, that is, that hee ſhoulde auaunce the honor of the Churche, and the Miniſters thereof cheriſhe and maynteyne. Alſo, to haue in mynde the daunger and diſhonor that redounded to ſuche as brake their othes, ſo that hee beſoughte hym to permitte and ſuffer the Churche to enioye the priuileges and liberties, whyche in tyme of hys predeceſſors it hadde enioyed, requeſting hym to ſtande in awe of that Kyng, by whome all Kyngs dyd raigne, and to feare the cenſures and condemnation that thoſe incurred, whyche toke and bereft from the Churche anye good or righte belonging to it, who moſt certaynely (ſayde hee) are accurſed. When the Archebyſhoppe hadde vſed this, or the lyke ſpeche, the Kyng commaunded hym to goe to hys ſtate againe, aſſuring hym, that his intente and purpoſe was, to leaue the Churche in as good ſtate or better, than hee founde it. The Archebyſhoppe herewith turning to the Knightes and burgeſſes of the Parliamente, ſayde vnto them: you, and ſuche other as you bee, haue giuen counſayle vnto the Kyng and his predeceſſors, to confiſcate, and take into theyr handes, the goodes and poſſeſſions of the celles, whyche the Frenchemenne and Normans poſſeſſed here in Englande, and affirmed, that by the ſame, hee and they ſhoulde heape vp greate riches, and indeede, thoſe goodes and poſſeſſions as is to be proued, were worth many thouſandes of golde, and yet it is moſt true, that the King at thys day is not

The Kings aunswere to the Archb.

halfe one marke of ſiluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of hys handes, and haue appropriated the ſame vnto your ſelues, ſo that we may coniecture very wel, that you requeſt to haue our temporalties, not to aduaunce the Kings profit, but to ſatiſfie youre owne greedye couetouſneſſe, for vndoubtedly if the King (as God forbid hee ſhoulde) did accompliſh your wicked purpoſes and minds, he ſhould not be one farthing the richer the yere next after: and truely, ſooner will I ſuffer this head of mine to bee cutte off from my ſhoulders, than that the Church ſhould loſe the leaſt right that apperteyned to it. The Knightes ſayd little, but yet they proceeded in their ſute to haue their purpoſe forward, whiche the Archbyſhop perceyuing (as an other Argus, hauing his eye on ech ſide, to marke what was done) laboured ſo to diſappoynt theyr doyngs, that hee wanne the fauor of certayne of the temporall Lordes to aſſiſt him, who conſtantly auouched by theyr conſentes, that the Church ſhoulde neuer bee ſpoyled of the temporalties, and heerein, they acquitte the Archbyſhoppe and Prelates, one pleaſure for an other, whiche they hadde done for them before, when the commons in this Parliamente required, that all ſuche landes and reuenewes as ſometyme belonged to the Crowne, and hadde beene giuen away, eyther by the Kyng, or by his predeceſſors King Edward, and King Richard, ſhould be agayne reſtored to the Kyngs vſe, vnto whiche requeſt, the Archbyſhoppe and other the Prelates woulde in no wiſe conſente: thus by the ſtoute diligence of the Archbyſhoppe Arundell, that petition of the commons, touching the Spirituall temporalties, came to none effecte.

Two fifteenes graunted.

Two fifteenes were graunted by the commons, with condition, that the ſame ſhoulde bee payde vnto the hands of the Lorde Furniuall, who ſhould ſee that money employde, for maintenaunce of the Kings warres.

Letters patentes reuoked.

Moreouer, at the importunate ſute of ẏ commons, the letters pattents that had bin made to diuers perſons of Annuities to them granted by King Edward, and King Richard, were called in, and made voyde, not withoute ſome note of diſhonor to the King.

A tenth and a halfe graunted by the clergie.

The Cleargie graunted to the King a tenth and a halfe, notwithſtandyng, that the halfe of one tenth lately graunted was yet behinde, and appoynted to bee payde vppon Saint Martins day now next comming.

Ouerflowings of the sea.

Aboute this ſeaſon, greate loſſe happened in Kente, by breaking in of waters, that ouerflowed the Sea bankes, as well in the Archbyſhop of Caunterburies groundes, as other mennes, whereby muche Cattell was drowned. Neyther did Englande alone bewayle hir loſſes by ſuche breaking in of the Sea, but alſo Zelande, Flanders, and Hollande taſted of the like domage.

The death of Williã Wickham.

William Wickham Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, beeyng a man of greate age, deceaſſed thys yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of hys name, for the notable monumentes whiche he erected, in building two Colledges, one at Wincheſter for Grammarians, and the other at Oxforde called the newe Colledge, purchaſing landes and reuenewes, for the mayntenãce of Studentes there, to the greate commoditie of the common wealthe, for from thence, as out of a good nurcerie, haue come forthe dyuers men in all ages excellently learned in all ſciences.

And heere I haue not thought it impertinent to ſpeake ſomewhat of thys worthy prelate (cõſidering that by him ſo greate a benefyte hathe returned to the common wealthe) according to ſuche notes as I haue ſeene collected, by ẏ painefull traueller in ſearche of antiquities, John Lelande, who ſayth, that as ſome haue ſuppoſed, the ſayde Wickham, otherwiſe called Perot, was baſe ſonne to one Perot, the Towne Clearke of Wickham in Hampſhire, of whyche place he tooke his ſurname, and that one maiſter Wodall a Gentleman, dwelling in the ſayde Towne, brought hym vppe at Schoole, where hee learned his Grammer, and to write very fayre, in ſo much, that the Conneſtable of Wincheſter Caſtell, a greate ruler in thoſe dayes in Hampſhire, gote hym of maiſter Wodall, and reteyned hym to be his Secretarie, with whome hee continued, till Kyng Edwarde the thyrde, comming to Wincheſter, conceyued ſome good lyking of the yong man, and tooke hym to his ſeruice, and withall vnderſtanding that hee was minded to bee a Churchman, he firſt made him perſon, and Deane of Sainte Martins in London, then Archdeacon of Buckingham, but for ſo muche, as his ſeruice was right acceptable to the Kyng, as hee that with greate dexteritie coulde handle ſuche affayres of the ſtate, or other matters of charge as were committed to hys handes, the Kyng ſtill kepte hym aboute hys perſon, as one of hys chiefe Chapleynes of houſholde, and employed hym in ſundrye offices, as occaſions ſerued: and firſt, he made hym ſurueyor of hys workes and buyldings, namely at Windeſor, in repayring of that Caſtell, and alſo at Quinbourrough, where by ẏ kings appoyntmente, a ſtrong fortreſſe was reyſed, for defence of the Realme on that ſide.

He was alſo at one time treaſourer of England (as Leylande gathereth.)

After this, hee was aduanced to the keeping of the priuie ſeale, made ouerſeer of the wardes and forreſtes, alſo treaſorer of the Kings reuenewes in Fraunce, and at length was made Byſhoppe of Wincheſter. The blacke Prince yet dyd not greatly fauoure him, whereuppon, Wickham procured to keepe him occupied in warres beyonde the ſeas. But at length Iohn duke of Lancaſter, and Alice Perers king Edwards concubine, conceiuing ſome great diſpleaſure againſt him, found mean to procure the king to baniſh him the realme, and then hee remayned in Normandie, and Picardie for the ſpace of vij. yeares, or thereabout, and might not bee reſtored ſo long as king Edward liued. But after his deceaſſe, aboute the ſeconde yeare of king Richarde the ſecondes raigne, hee was reſtored home, and purchaſed a generall pardon for all matters paſt, that might be ſurmiſed agaynſt him, or layde to his charge. And afterwardes hee bare himſelfe ſo vprightly in that daungerous tyme, when ſuche miſlyking and priuie enuie raigned betwixt the king and his Nobles, that both partes ſeemed to like of him, inſomuch, that when the king made him Lorde Chauncelor, there was not any that greatly repined therat, and verily in that the king made choyſe of him before others to occupie that place, it argueth there was not ſo euill a diſpoſition in the king, nor lack of diſcretion in order of gouernment, as writers ſeeme to charge hym with. But where other could not ſo well beare iniuries at others hands as happely Wickhã could, the fire of diſſention chiefly kindled therof. For if the Duke of Irelande, and the Earle of Suffolk, with thoſe of that faction coulde haue refrayned to ſhewe theyr diſpleaſures, when the Duke of Glouceſter and other his complices pinched at them (for that they ſawe the king haue them in more eſtimation thã they wiſhed) matters might haue bene qualified peraduenture with leſſe adoe, and withoute daunger to haue enſued to eyther part. But howſoeuer it went with them, it maye doubtleſſe be eaſily coniectured, that Wickham was a man of ſingular wiſedome, and politike forecaſt, that coulde from meane degree in ſuche wiſe climbe aloft, and afterwards paſſe through the chaunces and chaunges of variable fortune, keeping himſelfe euer ſo in ſtate, that he grewe at length to be able to furniſh the chargeable expenſes of two ſuch notable foundations which he left behind him, to make his name immortall. But leauing the conſideration hereof to others, I will returne to the purpoſe from whence I haue thus farre ſtepped.

1405
The erle of Marches ſons. Tho. Walſ.

In this ſixth yeare, the Fryday after Saint Valentines day, the Earle of Marche his ſonnes earely in the morning were taken forth of Winſore Caſtell, and conueyed away, it was not knowne whither at the firſt, but ſuche ſearch and inquirie was made for them, that ſhortly after they were hearde of and broughte backe againe.

The Smith that counterfeyted the keyes, by the which they that conueyed them thence got into the chamber where they were lodged, had firſt his hands cut off, and after his head ſtriken from his ſhoulders.

The lady Spẽcer committed to warde.

She accuſeth hir brother the Duke of Yorke.

The Ladie Spencer, ſiſter to the duke of Yorke and widow of the Lorde Thomas Spencer, executed at Briſtow (as before ye haue heard) being apprehended and committed to cloſe priſon, accuſed hir brother the Duke of Yorke, as chiefe authour in ſtealing away the ſayd Earle of Marche his ſonnes. And further, that the ſayde Duke went to haue broken into the Manor of Eltham the laſt Chriſtmaſſe, by ſcaling the walles in the night ſeaſon, the king being there the ſame time, to the intent to haue murthered him.

William maidſton eſquire offred to fight. In his ladies quarel.

For to proue hir accuſation true, ſhe offred that if there were any knight, or eſquier, that woulde take vpon him to fight in hir quarell, if he were ouercome, ſhe woulde be contented to be burnt for it. One of hir eſquiers named William Maidſton, hearing what offer his Ladie and Miſtreſſe propounded, caſt downe his hoode, and profferred in hir cauſe the combate. The Duke likewiſe caſt downe his hoode, readie by battaile to cleare hys innocencie. But yet the kings ſonne Lord Thomas of Lancaſter arreſted him, and put him vnder ſafekeeping in the Tower, till it were further knowen what order ſhoulde bee taken wyth him, and in the meane time were all hys goodes confiſcate.

The erle Marſhal accuſed.

The ſame time was Thomas Mowbray Earle Marſhall accuſed, as priuie to the purpoſe of the Duke of Yorke, touching the withdrawing of the Erle of Marche his children, who confeſſed in deede, that hee knewe of the dukes purpoſe. But in no wiſe yet gaue his conſent thereunto, and therefore beſought the king to bee good and gracious Lorde vnto him for concealing the matter, and ſo hee obteyned pardon of that offence.

The king wanteth money & cã get none of the Lordes.

The King had aſſembled the ſame tyme the moſt part of the nobilitie at London, to conſult with them for dyuerſe weightie matters, concercerning the ſtate of the common wealth, and about ſome ayde of money which he required: but the Lordes ſhewed themſelues not willing to ſatiſfie his requeſt. He therefore cauſed the ſpirituall Lordes as well as the temporall, to meete at S. Albones in the Lent ſeaſon, about the ſame matter, but yet obteyned not hys purpoſe, by reaſon the barons were ſore agaynſte him, and ſo at length on Palme Sunday they went theyr way eche man to his home, hauing gratified the king in nothing concerning his demaunde.

A battel fought at huske in wales & Owen Glendouers ſonne taken priſoner

In the meane time, to witte the .xv. of March at a place in Wales called Huske, in a conflicte fought betwixt the Welche men and certaine of the Princes companie, the ſonne of Owen Glendouer was takẽ, and fiftene hundred Welch men

men taken and ſlaine.

Alſo in May, about the feaſt day of S. Dunſtane, was the Chancellor of the ſayd Owen taken priſoner, and a great number of other taken and ſlaine. The priſoners were brought vp to London, where the Chancellor was committed to ſafe keeping in the Tower.

Waleran Erle of S. Paule, by the aſſent of the French king, aſſembled fiue. C. m̄ of armes, fiue C. Genewais with croſſebowes, and a. M. Flemings on foote, with the which he layde ſiege to the Caſtell of Marke, three leagues from Calais, vpon the. xv. day of July. Captaine of the Caſtell as then for the king of England, was one ſir Philip Hall, hauing with him. lxxx. archers, and. xxiiij. other ſouldiers, whiche defended the place ſo manfully, that the Earle retyred into the towne, and there lodged, fortefying it, for feare of reſkues that might come from Calais.

The Caſtell of Mark beſieged about the middeſt of May as James Mayr hath.

Sir Philip Hal

The next day he gaue an other aſſault to the Caſtell, and tooke the vtter Court, wherein was founde a greate number of horſe, kine, and other cattell.

The next day there iſſued forth of Calais two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, with ten or. xij. wagons laden with vitaile and artillarie, conducted by ſir Richard Aſton knight, lieutenant of the Engliſh pale for the Erle of Somerſet captaine generall of thoſe Marches.

The Frenchmen aduertiſed that the Engliſhmen were comming to remoue the ſiege, iſſued not forth of their lodgings, but kept them within their cloſure. Neuertheleſſe the Engliſhmen ſhot ſo ſharpely and cloſely togyther, that the Flemings & footmen began to flie: the men of armes fearing the ſlaughter of their horſes, ranne awaye with a light gallop. The Genewais whiche had ſpent the moſt part of their ſhotte at the aſſaultes made to the Caſtell, ſhewed ſmall reſiſtance, and ſo all the number of the Frenche part were ſlaine and put to flight.

The Erle of Saint Pol put to flight.

Ia. Mair.

The Erle of S. Paule and diuerſe other eſcaped away, and by S. Omers got to Therouēne, or as others haue to Saint Omers. But there were taken to the number of three or foure ſcore, and amongſt other the Lord de Dampierre, Seneſhall of Ponthieu, Monſeur de Weriners, Monſiur de Wineles, Mōſeur de Noielles, Mōſeur John de Hangeſtes captain of Bollongne, the Lord de Rambures, Monſ. Lionell Darreis captaine of Graueling, Monſeur Peter Raſſer captaine of Irde: alſo Combernarde captaine of Tirouanne, Boid Chanon captain of Montoire, John Chanon captaine of Liſle, Stenebeck captaine of Ralingham, the baſtarde of Burneuille captaine of Burbourgh. There were ſlain about lx, & among them as chiefe ſir Robert Berengueville, the Lord of Quercqs, Morell de Saueuſes, the Lord Courbet de Rempeupret, and others.

The Engliſhmen had the ſpoyle of the Erles campe, and being returned to Calais, within fiue days after, there iſſued forth about. v. C. m̄, meaning to haue wonne the towne of Arde wyth a ſodaine aſſault, whiche they gaue to it in the nyghte tyme. But ſir Manſed de Bois, and the Lorde Rigne, did ſo valiantly defend it, that the Engliſhmen with loſſe of fortie of their menne were conſtrayned to returne vnto Calays, after they had burnt the deade bodyes in an olde houſe, for that the enimyes ſhoulde not perceyue what loſſe the Engliſhmen had ſuſteyned.

Arde aſſailed by Engliſhmen

After this, the French king to auoyde perils, layd in garniſon at Bollongne, and in other places, the Marques of Pount, ſonne to the Duke of Bar, the Earle of Dampney, and ſir John Harpadan, a Knight of greate renoume and eſtimation.

The Marques du Pount.

The duke of Burgoine likewiſe ſent a number of ſoldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one John Wandewalle, and to other fortreſſes alongſt the coaſt he ſent newe ſupplies, for doubt of the Engliſh mens inuaſions.

The king of England in deede hearing of the preparation made for warre by the Frenchmen, leuied foure thouſande men whiche hee ſent vnto Calais, and to the ſea, of the which three thouſād vnder the conduct of the kings ſonne, the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter, and the Erle of Kent, the. xxij. of May (as ſome write) came vpon the coaſt of Flaunders, and entring the hauen of Sluſe, burnt four great ſhippes which they founde there lying at ancre.

An army ſent to Calays and to the ſea.

Chro. of Fla.

Ia. Mair.

The fifth day after their comming into that hauen they went a land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgoigne. But as other write after they had beſieged the Caſtel that ſtood in the mouth of the hauen, and loſing. lx. of their men, amongeſt whiche they name one to beare the tytle of Earle of Pembroke (whome they buryed for the tyme in the Churche of Mude) fiue dayes after their comming thither they determined to depart from thence, perceyuing the Caſtel would not eaſily be wonne, but firſt they ſpoyled the Countrey about them, and burnt Heyſſleet, otherwiſe called Condekyrke, and diuerſe other places thereabout.

Chro. of Fla.

Iacob Mair.

The Engliſh men beſieged the Caſtel at Sluys.

This done, they tooke vp the bodie of him whō the Flemiſhe wryters call the Earle of Pembroke, and got them againe to the Sea, for that they were aduertyſed howe the Duke of Burgoigne ment to beſiege Calais. Whervppon rayſing their ſiege thus from Sluyſe Caſtel, they returned to the defence of the towne of Calays, ſo muche deſyred of the Frenche Nation. As they returned homewards, they mette with three

Caricks of Genoa, of the which one hauing the winde with hir, ment to haue ouerthrowne the ſhip wherein the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter was abourde: but by the good foreſight of the maſter of the ſhippe that ruled the ſterne, ſodenly turning the ſame, the violent ſway of that huge veſſell comming ſo vpon them, was auoided, but yet the Carick ſtroke off the noſe of the Engliſh ſhip, and bruyſed hir on the ſide. Then began the fight very cruell, till the Erle of Kent came to the reſkue: and ſo finally after a great conflict & bloudy battaile betwixt the Carickes and Engliſh ſhips, the victorie remayned with the Engliſhmē, who taking the Carickes, turned their ſayles towards Normandie, where they arriued and burnt the townes of Hoggue, Mountburg, Berflie, S. Petronilles and other, to the number of. xxxvj. paſſing forth into the Countrey without reſiſtance, the ſpace of. xxx. myles, ſpoyling all that came in theyr way.

fight by

Caricks takes,

wnes in ormandy nt

This done, they returned, and brought the Carickes into the Camber at Rie, where one of them by miſfortune of fire periſhed, to the loſſe & no gain of either of the parties.

heD. of Bur ain prepareth beſiege alays.

Iohn Duke of Burgoyne hauing obteyned licence to beſiege Calais, prepared an armie of ſixe thouſande men of armes, xv. hundred Croſbowes, and. xij. thouſand footmen, the which being aſſembled, and all neceſſarie prouiſion readie at Saint Omers, hee was by the Frenche king countermaunded, and not ſuffred to proceed any further in that weightie enterprice. And this was thought to be partly the cauſe of the malice that he conceyued agaynſt the duke of Orleans, ſuppoſing that through him (enuying his glorie) he was thus diſappoynted of his purpoſe.

he chiefe ore of the alice betwixt e Dukes of rgoyne and leans.

Whileſt ſuch doings were in hande betwixt the Engliſhe and Frenche, as the beſieging of Mark Caſtell by the Earle of Saint Poll, and the ſending forth of the Engliſh fleete, vnder the gouernance of the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Kent, the king was mynded to haue gone into Wales agaynſt the Welche Rebels, that vnder their Chieftaine Owen Glendouer, ceaſſed not to doe much miſchiefe ſtill agaynſt the Engliſh ſubiectes. But at the ſame time, to his further diſquieting, there was a conſpiracie put in practice agaynſt him at home by the Earle of Northumberlande, who had conſpired with Richarde Scrope Archbiſhop of Yorke, Thomas Mowbray Earle Marſhall, ſonne to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, who for the quarell betwixt him and King Henrie had beene baniſhed (as before ye haue herd) the lords, Haſtings, Fauconbridge, Berdolfe, and diuerſe others. It was appoynted that they ſhould meete all togyther wyth theyr whole power, vpon Yorkeſwold, at a day aſſigned, and that the Earle of Northūberlande ſhould be Chieftain, promiſing to bring with him a great number of Scots.

ew conſpi- e againſt king by rle of rthumber- d & others.

The Archbiſhop accompanied with the Erle Marſhall, deuiſed certaine articles of ſuch matters as it was ſuppoſed, that not onely the communaltie of the Realme, but alſo the Nobilitie, founde themſelues agrieued with: which articles they ſhewed firſt vnto ſuch of their adherents as were neare aboute them, and after ſent them abrode to theyr friendes further of, aſſuring them that for redreſſe of ſuch oppreſſions they woulde ſhedde the laſt droppe of bloud in theyr bodyes, if need were.

The Archbi. of Yorke one of the cheefe conſpiratours.

The Archbiſhop not meaning to ſtay after he ſaw hymſelfe accompanied with a greate number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his parte in this quarell, forthwith diſcouered his enterprice, cauſing the articles aforeſayde to be ſet vp in the publike ſtreetes of the Citie of York, and vpon the gates of the monaſteries, that eche man might vnderſtande the cauſe that moued him to riſe in armes agaynſt the king, the reforming wherof did not yet apperteyne vnto him. Hereupon knights, eſquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as wel of the citie, townes and countries about, being allured either for deſire of change, or elſe for a deſire to ſee a reformation in ſuch things as were mētioned in the articles, aſſembled togither in great numbers, and the Archbiſhop comming forth amongſt thē clad in armor, encouraged, exhorted, & by al meanes he coulde, pricked them forth to take the enterprice in hand, and manfully to continue in the begon purpoſe, promiſing forgiueneſſe of ſinnes to all thē, whoſe hap was to die in the quarel: and thus not only all the Citizens of York, but all other in the countries about, that were able to bear weapon, came to the Archbiſhop, and to the Erle Marſhal. In deed the reſpect that men had to the Archbiſhop, cauſed them to like the better of the cauſe, ſince the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aſpect of his amiable perſonage, moued al men to haue him in no ſmall eſtimation.

The Archbi. in armour.

The eſtimatiō which men had of the Archbi. of Yorke.

The king aduertiſed of theſe matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iourney into Wales, and marched with al ſpeed towards the north partes. Alſo Rauſe Neuill Erle of Weſtmerlande, that was not farre off, togither with the lorde Iohn of Lācaſter the kings ſonne, being enformed of this rebellious attempt, aſſembled togither ſuch power as they might make, & togither with thoſe which were appoynted to attend on the ſaid Lord Iohn to defend the borders agaynſt the Scottes, as the Lord Henry Fitzhugh, the Lord Rauſe Euers, the Lorde Robert Umfreuill, and others, made forward agaynſt the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the foreſt of Galtree, cauſed theyr

The Erle of weſtmerland & the L. Iohn of Lancaſter the kings ſon prepare thē-ſelues to reſiſt the kings a-nemies.

The foreſt of Galtree.

ſtandarts to bee pight downe in like ſort as the Archbiſhop had pight his, ouer agaynſt them, being farre ſtronger in number of people than the other, for (as ſome write) there were of the rebels at the leaſt .xx. thouſand men.

The ſubtil policy of the erle of weſtmerlād

When the Erle of Weſtmerlande perceyued the force of the aduerſaries, and that they lay ſtill and attempted not to come forwarde vpon him, he ſubtilly deuiſed how to quail their purpoſe, and forthwith diſpatched Meſſengers vnto the Archbyſhoppe to vnderſtande the cauſe as it were of that greate aſſemble, and for what cauſe contrary to the kings peace they came ſo in armor.

The Archbi. proteſtation where he had on him armes

The Archbiſhop anſwered, that he tooke nothing in hande agaynſt the kings peace, but that whatſoeuer he did, tended rather to aduaunce the peace and quiet of the common wealth, than otherwiſe, and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom hee could haue no free acceſſe by reaſon of ſuche a multitude of flatterers as were about him, and therefore hee mainteyned that his purpoſe was good and profitable, as well for the king himſelfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderſtand a truth: and herewith hee ſhewed forth a ſkroll in whiche the articles were written, whereof before ye haue heard. The Meſſengers returning vnto the Earle of Weſtmerlande ſhewed him what they had heard and brought from the Archbiſhop. When he had read the articles, hee ſhewed in worde and countenaunce outwardly that he lyked of the Archbyſhoppes holy and vertuous intent and purpoſe, promiſing that he and his woulde proſecute the ſame in aſſyſting the Archebiſhop, who reioycing hereat, gaue credite to the Earle, and perſwaded the Earle Marſhall agaynſt hys will as it were to go with him to a place appoynted for them to common togyther.

Here when they were mette with like number on eyther part, the articles were read ouer, and without any more adoe, the Earle of Weſtmerlande and thoſe that were with him, agreed to doe theyr beſt to ſee that a reformation might be had, according to the ſame.

The Erle of Weſtmerlands politicke dealing.

The Earle of Weſtmerlande vſing more policie than the reſt: well (ſayde he) then our trauaile is come to the wiſhed ende: and where oure people haue beene long in armour, let them depart home to their wonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke togyther, in ſigne of agreement, that the people on bothe ſydes may ſee it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a poynt.

They had no ſooner ſhaked handes togither, bnt that a knight was ſent ſtreight wayes from the Archb. to bring worde to the people that there was peace concluded, commaunding eche man to lay aſide armes, & to reſort home to their houſes. The people beholding ſuch tokens of peace, as ſhaking of handes, and drinking togither of the Lordes in louing maner, they being alreadie awearied with the vnaccuſtomed trauaile of war, brake vp their fielde and returned homewardes: but in the meane time whileſt the people of the Archbiſhops ſide withdrew away, the number of the contrarie part increaſed, according to order giuen by the Earle of Weſtmerland, and yet the Archbiſhop perceyued not that he was deceyued, till the Erle of Weſtmerland arreſted both him & the Erle Marſhall, with diuerſe other.

The Arch
Yorke and
erle Marſha
arreſted.

Fabia

Thus hath Walſingham: But other write ſomewhat otherwiſe of this matter, affyrming that the Erle of Weſtmerland in deed, & the lord Rauſe Eures, procured the Archbiſhop, and the Erle Marſhall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground iuſt in the midway betwixt both the armies, where the Erle of Weſtmerland in talke declared to them, how perillous an enterpriſe they had taken in hand, ſo to raiſe the people, & to moue warre againſt the king, aduiſing them therfore to ſubmit themſelues without further delay vnto the kings mercie, and his ſonne the lorde John, who was preſent there in the field with banners ſpred, readie to trie the matter by dynte of ſworde, if they refuſed this counſaile: and therfore hee willed them to remember themſelues well, and if they woulde not yeelde and craue the kings pardon, he badde them doe theyr beſt to defende themſelues. Hereuppon as well the Archbiſhop as the Erle Marſhall, ſubmitted themſelues vnto the king, and to his ſonne the Lorde John that was there preſent, and returned not to theyr army. Whereupon their troupes ſkaled and ſtode their wayes: but being purſued, many were taken, many ſlaine, and many ſpoyled of that they had aboute them, and ſo permitted to goe theyr wayes: howſoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the Archbiſhop, and the Earle Marſhall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduaunced thither wyth hys power, and from thence he went to Yorke, whyther the priſoners were alſo brought, and there beheaded the morrowe after Whitſundey in a place without the Citie, that is to vnderſtand, the Archbiſhop himſelfe, the Earle Marſhal, ſir John Lampley, and ſir Robert Plompton.

The Arch
Yorke th
Marſhal a
other pu
death,

The Archbiſhoppe tooke his death verie conſtantly, inſomuche as the common people tooke it, hee dyed a Martyr, affyrming that certaine myracles were wrought as wel in the field where he was executed, as alſo in the place were hee was buryed: and immediately vpon ſuch bruytes, both men and women beganne to worſhip hys dead carkaſſe, whom they loued ſo much when he was aliue, tyll they were forbydden by the Kinges

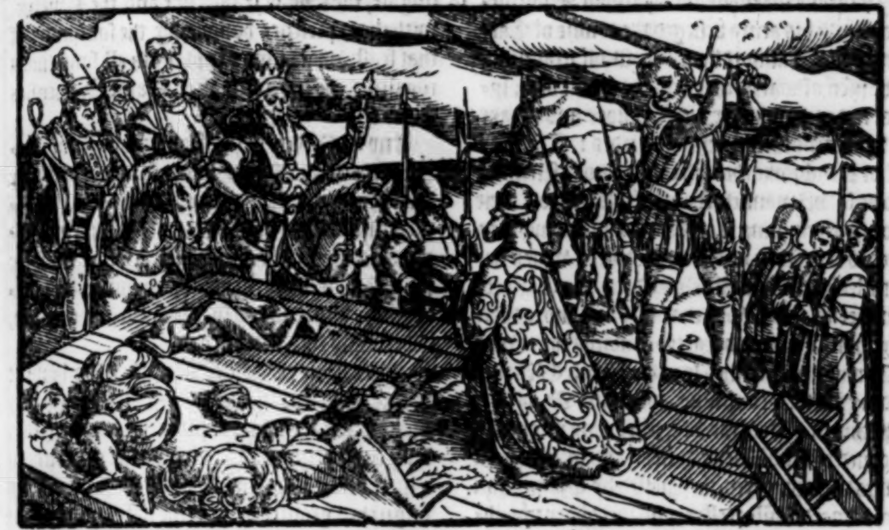
The Arch
pured a m

friendes, and for feare gaue ouer to viſit the place of his ſepulture.

The Earle Marſhals bodie was buried in the Cathedrall Church, but his head was ſet on a pol aloft on the walles for a certaine ſpace, till by the kings permiſſion it was taken downe and buried togither with the bodie.

After the king accordingly as ſeemed to him good, had raunſomed and puniſhed by grieuous fines the Citizens of Yorke (which had borne armor on their Archbiſhops ſide agaynſt hym) he departed from York with an army of .xxxviij. M. fighting men, furniſhed with all prouiſion neceſſarie, marching Northwards agaynſt the Earle of Northumberland. At his comming to Durhā the Lord Haſtings, the Lord Fauconbridge, ſir John Colleuille of the Dale, & ſir John Gri[illegible], being cōuicted of ẏ cōſpiracy were there beheded.

The lordes executed.



The Earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counſail was bewrayed, and his confederates brought to confuſion, through too much haſte of the Archbiſhop of York, with three hundred horſe got him to Berwicke. The king comming forwarde quickly, wan the Caſtell of Warkworth. Wherupon the Erle of Northumberlande, not thinking himſelf in ſuretie at Berwicke, fled with the Lord Berdolfe into Scotlande, where they were receyued of Dauid Lord Fleming.

Erle of rthūberlād ed.

The king comming to Berwike, cōmaunded them that kept the Caſtell againſt him, to render it into his handes, and when they flatly denied ſo to doe, he cauſed a peece of artillerie to be planted agaynſt one of the Towres, and at the firſt ſhot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in ſuch feare, that they ſimplie yeelded themſelues without any maner of condition, wholy to remaine at the kings pleaſure.

wick caſtel ded to the

Herevpon the chiefeſt of them, to wit ſir William Greyſtock, ſonne to Raufe Baron of Greyſtocke, ſir Henrie Beynton, and John Blenkinſoppe, with foure or fiue other were put to death, and diuerſe other were kept in priſon.

ſonne of L. Grey- and o- put to

Some write that the Earle of Northumberlande at his entring into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots, who hearing of king Henries approch, & diſpairing to defende the town againſt him, ſet fire on it, and departed. There was not one houſe that was left vnburnt, except the Friers and the Church.

After that the king had diſpoſed things in ſuch conuenient order as ſtoode with his pleaſure at Berwicke, he came backe, and had the Caſtell of Alnewike deliuered vnto him, with all other the Caſtels that belonged to the Earle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Prodhow, Lāgley, Cockermouth, Aluham, and Newſteed.

The Caſtel of Alnewicke yelded to the King.

Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he tooke his iourney directly into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all hys attemptes had euill ſucceſſe, inſomuche that loſing a fiftie of his cariages through aboundaunce of raine and waters, he returned, and comming to Worceſter, he ſent for the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and other biſhops, declaring to them the misfortune that had chaunced to him, in conſideration whereof he requeſted thē to helpe him with ſome portion of mony, towards the maintenaunce of his warres, for the taming of the preſumpteous and vnquiet Welchmen.

The K. paſſeth into Wales.

He loſſeth his cariages.

He returneth.

In the meane time, the Frenche king had appointed one of the Marſhals of Fraunce called Montmerancie, & the maſter of his Croſbowes, with .xij. M. men to ſaile into Wales to ayd Owen Glendouer. They tooke ſhipping at Breſt, and hauing the wind proſperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an. Cxl ſhips, as Tho. Walſ. hath, though Engueraunt de Monſtrellet maketh mention but of 120. The moſt part of their horſes

Hall.

The Marſhal Mountmerācy ſent to ayd Owen Glēdouer were loſt by the way for lack of freſh water. The Lord Berkley, and Henry Pay, eſpying their aduantage, burnt .xv. of thoſe French ſhips as they lay at road there in the hauen of Milford: & ſhortly after the ſame L. Berkley, and ſir Thomas Swynborne, with the ſayde Henrie Pay, tooke other .xiiij. ſhippes, as they came that way with prouiſion of vitails and munition forth of France to the ayde of the other.

Carmarden wonne by the French.

In the meane while, the Marſhall Montmerancie, with his army beſieged the towne of Carmarden, and wanne it by compoſition, graunting to the men of warre that kept it againſt him, lycence to depart whither they woulde, and to take with them all their moueable goodes: The Caſtell of Pembrooke they attempted not, eſteeming it to be ſo wel manned, that he ſhuld but loſe their labor in attempting it. Notwithſtanding they beſieged the towne of Hereforde weſt, which neuertheleſſe was ſo well defended by the Earle of Arundel and his power, that they loſt more than they wan, & ſo they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they founde Owen Glẽdouer abiding for their comming, with ten. M. of hys Welchmen. Here were the Frenchmen ioyfully receyued of the Welch rebelles, and ſo when all things were prepared, they paſſed by Glamorgan ſhire towards Worceſter, and there burnt yͤ ſuburbes: but hearing of the kings approche, they ſodenly returned towards Wales. The king with a great puiſſance followed, and founde them embattailed on a high mountain, where there was a great valley betwixt both yͤ armies, ſo that either army might plainly perceiue the other, and eyther hoſt loked to be aſſayled of his aduerſarie, & therefore ſought to take the aduantage of ground.

Hereford weſt manfully defended.

Engeret Monſtrellet ſayth they brent the townes but couldenot win the Caſtel.

The ſuburbes of worceſter burnt.

Thus they continued for the ſpace of eyght dayes from morning to night, readie to abide, but not to giue battaile. There were manye ſkirmiſhes, and diuerſe proper feates of armes wrought that meane while, in the which the Frenche loſt many of theyr nobles and gentlemen, as the lord Patroullars de Tries, brother to the Marſhall of Fraunce, the Lorde Matelonne or Martelonne, the lord de la Walle, and the baſtard of Bourbon, with other to the number (as ſome haue writtẽ) of fiue. C. But Enguerant de Monſtrellet affirmeth, that vpon their returne into Fraunce, there wãted not aboue .lx. perſons of all their cõpanies.

French Lordes ſlaine.

After they had lain thus one againſt an other yͤ ſpace of .viij. dayes (as before is ſayde) vitails began to fail, ſo that they were enforced to diſlodge The Frẽch & Welchmẽ withdrew into Wales, and though the Engliſhe men followed, yet empeached with the deſart grounds and barren coũtry, through which they muſt paſſe, as ouer felles and craggie mountaines, from hill to dale, from mariſh to wood, from naught to worſe (as Hall ſayth) without vitailes or ſuccor, the king was of force conſtrained to retire with his army, and returne againe to Worceſter, in which returne the enimies took certaine cariages of his laden with vytayles. The French men after the armies were thus withdrawne, returned into Britain, making ſmall bragges of their painfull iourney.

The French me n retu home.

This yeare at London, the Earle of Arundell maried the baſtard daughter of the king of Portingale, the king of Englande and the Queene, with theyr preſence honouring the ſolemnitie of that feaſt, whiche was kept wyth all ſumptuous royaltie, the morrowe after Saint. Katherines daye.

An. reg. 7.

And on the day of the Conception of our Ladie, the Ladie Philip King Henries daughter was proclaymed Queene of Denmarke, Norwey, and Sweden, in preſence of ſuche Ambaſſadours, as the laſt Sommer came hither from the king of thoſe Countreys, to demaund hir in mariage for him, and had ſo trauayled in the matter, that finally they obteyned.

1406

A parliam

This yeare the firſt of Marche, a Parliament began, which continued almoſt all this yeare: for after that in the lower houſe they hadde denyed a long time to graunt to any ſubſidie, yet at length a little before Chriſtmaſſe in the .viij. yeare of his raign they granted a .xv. to the loſſe and great domage of the comunaltie, for through lingring of time, the expenſes of knights and burgeſſes grewe almoſt in value to the ſum that was demaunded.

A fifteenth g ted by the temporaltie

Moreouer, by the Clergie a new kinde of ſubſidie was graunted, to the King, to bee leuied of ſtipendarie prieſts and Friers mẽdicants, & other ſuch religious men as ſung for the dead, celebrating as they termed it Anniuarſaries: euery of thẽ gaue halfe a marke, in reliefe of other of the Clergie, that had ſtill borne the burthen for them before. Wherevpon now they murmured and grudged ſore, for that they were thus charged, at that preſent. The ſame time the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Bardolfe, warned by the Lord Dauid Fleming, that there was a conſpiracie practiſed to delyuer them into the King of Englandes hands, fledde into Wales to Owen Glendouer.

A new kin of ſubſidie g ted by the clergie.

This coſt the Lorde Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that hee hadde diſcloſed to the Earle of Northumberlande what was ment agaynſt him, and that the Earle therevpon was ſhyfted awaye, certaine of the Scottes ſlue the ſaid Lord Fleming. Wherevpon no ſmall grudge roſe betwixt thoſe that ſo ſlue him, and the ſayde lord Flemings friends. For this & other matters, ſuch diſſention ſprung vp amongſt the Scottiſh Nobilitie, that one durſt not truſt another, ſo that they were glad to ſue for a truce betwixt Englande and them, whiche was graunted to

The L. Fle ming lo life for g knowle the Earle thumberl of that wh was meant gainſt him

Diſſention mõg the tiſh nobility

endure for one yeare, as in ſome bookes we finde recorded.

leuen yeres ſayth Hard.

The prince of Scotland ſtayd here in Englãd

This truce being obteyned, Robert King of Scotland (vpon conſiderations, as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie ye may read more at large) ſent hys eldeſt ſonne James intituled prince of Scotland) a childe not paſt nine yeres of age to be conueyed into Fraunce, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Orkency, and a Biſhop, in hope that hee myght there both remayne in ſafetie, and alſo learne the French tongue. But it fortuned, that as they ſayled neare to the Engliſhe coaſt about Flambrough heade in Holderneſſe, their ſhippe was taken and ſtayed by certaine Mariners of Claye (a towne in Norffolke) that were abroade the ſame time, and ſo he and all his companie being apprehended, the xxx. of Marche, was conueyed to Wyndſore, where though he had letters from his father, which he preſented to the king, conteyning a requeſt in his ſonnes behalfe for fauour to bee ſhewed towardes him, if by chaunce hee landed within any of his dominions: yet was he deteyned, and as wel he himſelfe as the Earle of Orkney was committed to ſafe keeping in the tower of London, but the Biſhop got away and eſcaped (as ſome write) by what means I know not.

By the Scottiſhe writers wee finde that thys chaunced in the yeare. 1404. that is two yeares before the time noted in diuerſe Engliſh writers, as Tho. Walſ. and other. But Harding ſayth it was in the .ix. yere of king Henries raigne, to wit in An. 1408, but whenſoeuer it chanced, it is to be thought that there was no truce at that preſent betweene the two realmes, but that the war was rather open, ſith diuerſe Engliſhe rebelles ſtyll remayned in Scotlande, and were there ſuccored to the high diſpleaſure of king Henrie.

Hall.

By authoritie of the Parliament that all this time continued, the Brytons that ſerued the Queene, with two of hir doughters were baniſhed the realme.

Rob. Holome Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Robert Halome Chauncellor of Oxforde, as then beeing in the Popes Court at Rome, was created Archbiſhop of Yorke.

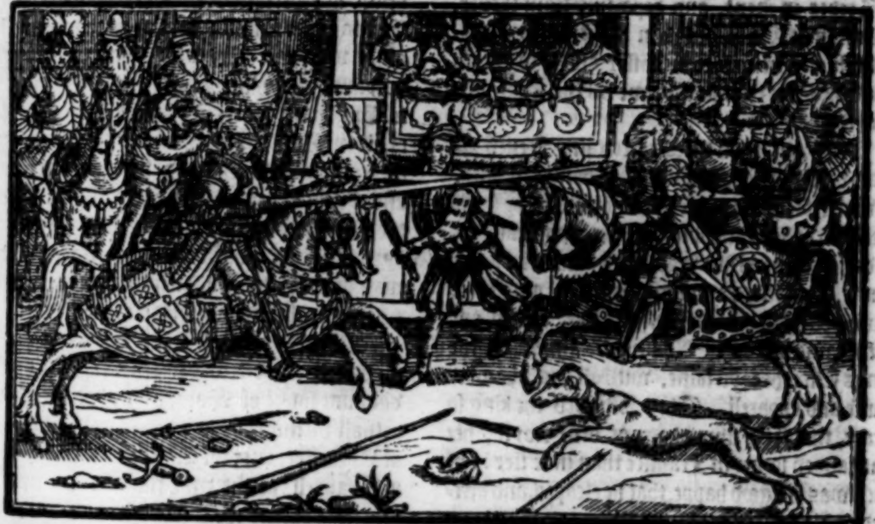
Moreouer the ſame time, the Pope gaue vnto Thomas Langley the biſhoprike of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlaw was then voyde.

The K. and the Queene broughe hir to Lynne where ſhe toke ſhipping.

Tho. Walſ.

In the ſommer of this yeare, the Ladie Philip the kings yonger daughter was ſent ouer vnto hir affianced huſband, Erick king of Denmark, Norway, & Sweden, being conueied thither with great pomp, and there maried to the ſaid king, where ſhe taſted (according to ẏ cõmon ſpeech vſed in praying for the ſucceſſe of ſuche as matche togither in mariage) both ioy & ſome ſorow amõg. There attended hir thither Hẽrie Bowet Biſhop of Bath, and the L. Richard, brother to the duke of Yorke.

There was a Juſtes held at London, betwixt the Earle of Kent, and the Earle of Marre a Scottiſh manne. Alſo ſir John Cornewall, and the Lord Beaumound, againſt other two Scottiſh Knightes, whereof the honour remayned with the Engliſh men.



Anno reg. 8.

The Duke of Yorke reſtored to liberty.

In the Parliament which yet continued, the Duke of Yorke was reſtored to his former libertie, eſtate and dignitie, where many ſuppoſed that he had bin dead long before that time in pryſon.

The erle of kent in fauour with the king.

He maryeth a daughter of Bernabo Lord of Millaine.

Edmond Holland Erle of Kent was in ſuche fauour with king Henrie, that he not onely aduanced him to high offices, and great honors, but alſo to his great coſts & charges obteyned for him the ladie Lucy, eldeſt daughter, & one of the heires of the L. Barnabo of Millane, which Bernabo payed to him .100000. ducates, in the Church of S. Mary Oueries in Southwark, by the handes of Don Alfõſo de Cainuola, vpõ the day of ẏ ſolẽnizatiõ of ẏ mariage, which was the .24. of Jan.

The

1407

The Duke of Orleans beſiegeth townes in Gaſcoigne.

The duke of Orleans hauing leuied a mightie armie, had beſieged the townes of Burg and Blay in Gaſcoigne, meaning with force to win the ſame, but ſo it fortuned, that for the ſpace of eight weekes togither, there paſſed not one daye without tempeſt of raine, ſnow, and hayle, myxed with windes and lightnings, which killed aſwell men as cattayle, by reaſon wherof, he loſte (as was reported) ſixe thouſande men, ſo that he was conſtreyned to breake vp his campes from before both thoſe townes, and to get him away with diſhonor, for all his bragges and boaſtes made at his firſt comming thither.

Henry Pay a valiant ſea man.

The ſame time, Henrie Pay, and certaine other perſons of the fiue ports, with fiftene ſhippes, tooke an hundred and twentie priſes, whiche lay at ancre in and about the coaſt of Brytayne, laden with Iron, ſalt, Oyle, and Rochelle wines.

King R. ſtil aliue as was faigned.

In this ſeaſon alſo bylles were ſet vp in dyuerſe places of London, & on the doore of Poules Church, in which was conteyned, that king Richarde being aliue, and in health, woulde come ſhortly with great magnificence and power, to recouer again his kingdome: but the contriuer of this deuiſe was quickly found out, apprehended, and puniſhed according to his demerites.

The Citie of London this yeare in the ſommer, was ſo infected with peſtilent mortalitie, that the king durſt not repayre thither, nor come neare to it. Wherevpon he beeing at the Caſtell of Leedes in Kent, and departing from thence, tooke ſhip at Quinbourgh in the Ile of Shepey, to ſayle ouer vnto Lee in Eſſex, and ſo to goe to Plaſchy, there to paſſe the time till the mortalitie was ceaſſed.

The k. in danger to be takē by Frēch pirats

Sir Thomas Rāſton taken.

The k. eſcaped through ſwiftnes of his ſhip

As he was vpon the Sea, certaine French pirates which lay lurking at the Thames mouth, to watch for ſome pray, got knowledge by ſome meanes (as was ſuppoſed) of the kings paſſage, and therevpon as hee was in the middeſt of hys courſe, they entred amongſt his fleete, and tooke foure veſſels next to the kings ſhippe, and in one of the ſame veſſels ſir Thomas Rampſton, the kings Vicechamberlaine, with all his chamber ſtuffe and apparell. They followed the king ſo neare, that if his ſhippe had not bene ſwyft, hee had landed ſooner in Fraunce than in Eſſex: but ſuch was his good happe, that he eſcaped, and arriued at his appoynted Port.

The L. Camois put in blame

The Lord Camois, that was commaunded with certaine ſhippes of warre to waft the king ouer (whether the winde turned ſo that he coulde not keepe his dyrect courſe, or that his Shippe was but a ſlugge) ranne ſo farre in the kings diſpleaſure, that hee was attached and indyted, for yͭ (as was ſurmiſed againſt him,) he had practiſed with the French men, that the king might by them haue beene taken in his paſſage.

Henry Bowet Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Ye haue heard that the Pope by vertue of his prouiſion had giuen the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke vnto maiſter Robert Halom, but the King was ſo offended therewith, that the ſayde Robert might in no wiſe enioy that benefice, and ſo at length, to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, maiſter Henrie Bowet was tranſlated from Bathe vnto Yorke, and maiſter Robert Halom was made Byſhoppe of Saliſburie then voyde by remouyng of Henrye Chichelley vnto Saint Dauid.

Abiruſwith.

Owē Glēdouer.

The Lorde Henrie Prince of Wales, thys yeare in the ſommer ſeaſon, beſieged the Caſtell of Abiruſcwith, and conſtrayned them within to compounde with him vnder certaine conditions for truce, but the Prince was no ſooner frō thence departed, but that Owen Glendouer by ſubtill craft entred the Caſtell, put out the keepers, and charging them wyth treaſon for concluding anye agreement wythoute hys conſent, placed other in that Fortreſſe to defende it to hys vſe.

Sir Robert Knolles departeth this life. Bermondſey.

Saint Albons.

He was buried in the white Friers.

About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, that auncient warriour and worthie knight ſir Robert Knolles departed thys lyfe: hee was (as before yee haue hearde) borne of meane parentage, but growing into ſuch eſtimation for his valiant prowes, as he was thought meet to haue the leading of whole armyes and the rule and gouernment of large Prouinces. For not long before hys deceaſſe, hee beeyng gouernour of Aquitaine, encumbred with age, reſigned hys office vnto Sir Thomas Belforte, a ryghte valyaunt Captaine, and therewyth returned into Englande, where he dyed at a Manour place of his in Norffolk, and from thence was brought to London in a Lytter, wyth greate pompe and muche Torche lyght, and was buryed in the Churche of the whyte Friers in Fleeteſtreete by the Ladye Conſtaunce hys wyfe, where was done for hym a ſolemne Obſequie, wyth a great Feaſt, and lyberall dole to the poore.

He built Rocheſter bridge commonly called Knolles bridge.

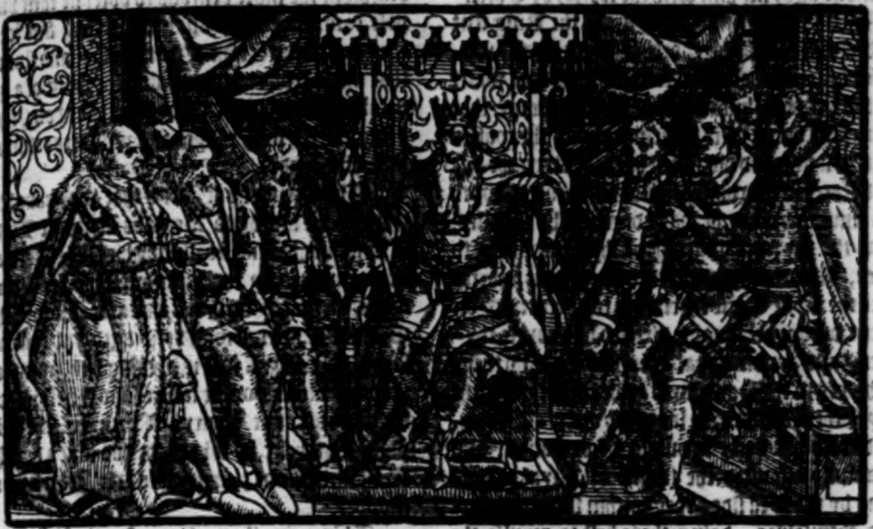
Tho. W

Beſyde the dyuerſe noble exploytes, and famous warrelike enterpryſes, atchieued by thys valiaunt ſonne of Mars, he to continue the perpetuall memorie of his name, buylded the bridge of Rocheſter, ouer the Riuer of Medway wyth a Chappell at the ende thereof, hee repayred alſo the bodie of the Church of the whyte Friers where hee was buryed, which Churche was fyrſt founded by the aunceſtour of the Lorde Gray of Codner. He founded a Colledge of ſecular prieſts at Pomfret, and did many other things in his life right commendable.

Sir Thomas Rampſton Conſtable of the Tower, was drowned in comming from the court, as he would haue ſhut yͤ bridge, the ſtreame being ſo big, that it ouerturned his Barge.

Anno reg. 9.

This yeare the. xx. of October beganne a Parliament holden at Glouceſter, but remoued to London as ſhould appeare in Nouember, for as we finde, in that Moneth this yere.1407.and



ix. of his kings raigne, a ſubſidie was graunted by authoritie of a Parliament then aſſembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.

The L. Camois arraigned and acquited.

The Lord Camois was arraigned the laſt of October, before Edmonde Erle of Kent that day high ſtewarde of England, and by his Peeres acquitte of the offence, whereof he had beene indited (as before ye haue hearde) and ſo diſmiſſed at the barre, was reſtored againe both to his goodes, landes, and offices.

This yeare the Winter was exceeding ſharp through froſt and ſnowe, that continued and couered the ground by al the Monethes of December, Januarie, Februarie, and March.

1408

he Erle of orthum. and e L. Bardolfe ome into ngland.

The Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Bardolf, after they had bene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchaſe ayde againſt king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remayned there nowe for the ſpace of a whole yeare, and as theyr euill fortune woulde, whileſt the king helde a Counſell of the Nobilitie at London, the ſayde Earle of Northumberlande and Lorde Bardolfe, in a diſmoll houre, with a great power of Scots returned into Englande, recouering diuerſe of the Erles, Caſtels and ſeigniories, for the people in great numbers reſorted vnto them. Hereupon encouraged with hope of good ſucceſſe, they enter into Yorkſhyre, and there began to deſtroy the Countrey. At their cõming to Thirſk, they publiſhed a Proclamation, ſignifying that they were come in comfort of the Engliſh nation as to relieue the common wealth, willing al ſuch as loued the libertie of their countrey, to repayre vnto them, with their armor on their backes, in defenſible wiſe to aſſiſt them. The king aduertiſed hereof, cauſed a great armie to bee aſſembled, and came forwarde with the ſame towardes hys enimies: but ere the king came to Notingham, ſir Thomas (or as other copies haue Rauſe) Rokeſby, Sherife of Yorkſhire, aſſembled the forces of the Countrey to reſiſt the Erle and his power, comming to Grimbaut brigges, beſide Knareſbourgh, there to ſtoppe them the paſſage, but they returning aſyde, got to Weatherby, and ſo to Tadcaſter, and finally came forward vnto Brãham More, nere to Hayſelwood, where they choſe their ground meete to fight vpon.

The Sherife of Yorkeshire.

The Sherife was as readie to giue battaile as the Erle to receyue it, and ſo with a ſtandarde of S. George ſpred, ſet fiercely vpon the Earle who vnder a ſtandard of his own armes, encountred his aduerſaries with great manhood.

His hardy corage to fight.

There was a ſore encounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties, but in the ende the victorie fell to the Sherife. The Earle of Northumberland was ſlaine in the field, and the Lorde Bardolfe was taken, but ſore wounded, ſo that hee ſhortly after dyed of the hurtes.

The earle of Northũberlãd slayne.

Theyr heades were ſtryken off, and ſent to London, ther to be ſet vpon the bridge, for a terrour to others.

The Biſhop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when hee was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battaile was foughte the nintenth daye of Februarie.

The King to pourge the Northe partes of all Rebellion, and to take order for the puniſhment of thoſe that were accuſed to haue ſuccoured and aſſyſted the Earle of Northumberlande, went to Yorke, where when many were condemned, and diuerſe put to great fines, and

The Abbot of Hayles hanged

the Countrey brought to quietneſſe, he cauſed the Abbot of Hailes to be hanged, who had beene in armour agaynſt him with the foreſayde Earle.

The Erle of kent ſent to the ſea.

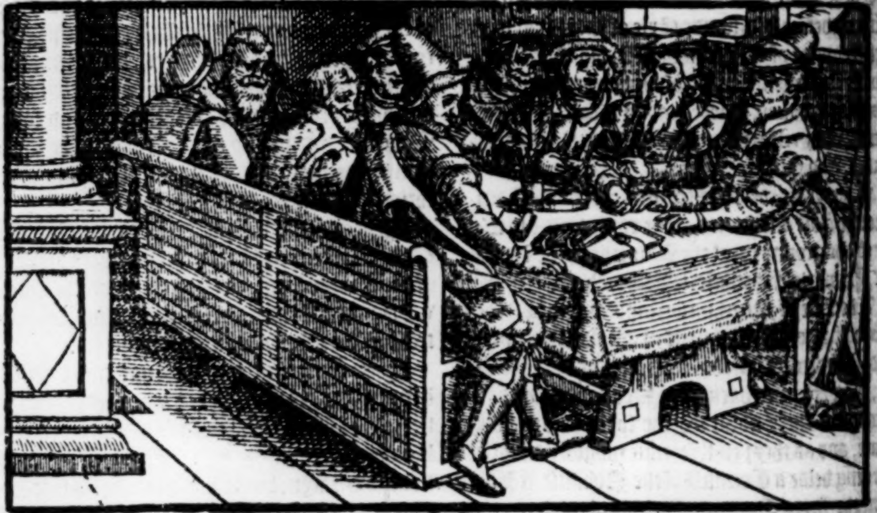
In the begynning of March, the King ſent Edmonde Hollande Earle of Kent with an armie of men embarked in certaine ſhippes of warre vnto the Sea, bycauſe hee had knowledge that diuerſe Rouers were waſting about the coaſtes of this lande, and did much hurt. When the erle had ſearched the coaſtes, and coulde meete wyth no enimie abroade, he was aduertiſed by eſpialles, that the Pyrates hearing of hys comming to Sea, were wythdrawne into Brytayne, wherefore the ſayde Earle entending to be reuenged on them, whom hee ſought, directed hys courſe thyther, and fynding that they had layde vp theyr Shippes in the Hauens, ſo as he coulde not fight wyth them by Sea, he launched out his Boates, and with his fierce Souldiers tooke lande, and manfully aſſaulted the towne of Bryake ſtanding by the Sea ſide: they within ſtoutly defended themſelues, doing theyr beſt to repulſe the Engliſh men, with throwing Dartes, caſting ſtones, and ſhooting quarels, in which conflict the Erle receyued a wounde in his heade, ſo that hee dyed thereof the fifth day after.

Bryake in Britain aſſaulted by the Engliſh men.

The Erle of kent wounded to death.

The Engliſh men not diſmayed wyth hys death, but the more deſirous to obteyne their purpoſe, continued theyr aſſaultes, tyll by fine force they entred the Towne, ſet it on fire, and ſlew all that made reſiſtaunce, and after for want of a generall to commaunde what ſhoulde be done, they being peſtred with prayes and priſoners returned into Englande.

The Counteſſe of Kent that was daughter (as ye haue heard) to Bernabo Viſconte Lorde of Millaine, hauing no iſſue by hir huſbande, was nowe mooued by the King after hir huſbandes death, to marry with his baſtarde brother the Earle of Dorſet, a man verie aged and euill viſaged, wherevpon ſhee miſlyking him, mint rather to ſatiſfie hir owne fancie, and therefore choſe for hir huſbande Henrye Mortimer, a goodly yong Batcheler, by whom ſhe had iſſue a daughter named Anne, maryed to Sir Iohn Ambemonde.



This yeare, the next day after the feaſt day of Marie Magdalen, in a Councell holden at London by the Cleargie, the Doctors of the Vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge being there, with the reſt aſſembled, debated the matter togither, whether they oughte to withdrawe from the Pope, payments of money, and theyr accuſtomed obedience, conſidering that contrarie to his worde and promiſe ſo ſolemnly made, and with an oth confyrmed, hee withdrewe himſelfe from the place where he according to couenants ſhould haue beene preſent, to aduaunce an agreement and concord in the Church.

Vpon the Euen of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, there chaunced ſuch flouddes through aboundance of raine as the like had not bene ſeene afore by any man then lyuing.

An.reg.10.

About the feaſt of all Saintes, the Cardinall of Bourges came into Englande, to informe the king and the Cleargie, of the inconſtant dealing of Pope Gregorie, in lyke maner as he had infourmed the French king and the Frenchmen, to the ende, that he might perſwade both theſe kings which were accounted the chiefe in Chriſtendom, to put vnto their helping handes, that the ſame Pope Gregorie might be induced to obſerue and perfourme that othe, which he had receyued, ſo as by the royall authoritie of thoſe two kings, concord might be had in the Church.

The French king (as this Cardinal alledged) following the aduiſe of the learned men of the Vniuerſities of Paris, Bologna, Orleãs, Tholouſe

and

The reſolution of the French king concerning the two Popes.

and Mountpellier, to auoyde the daunger of ſauouring Sciſme, determyned to obey neyther the one nor the other, that contended for the Papacie, vntill peace and concorde might bee reſtored in Chriſtes Church.

The King vnderſtanding the purpoſe of the Cardinall, ſhewed him what courteſie myght be deuiſed, offering to beare his charges ſo long as it pleaſed him to remaine in England, and promyſed him to conſider aduiſedly of the matter.

1409

A conuocation at Pauls in London

Ambaſſadors appointed to go to the counſel at Piſa.

This yeare after the Epiphanie, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie called the Clergie of the prouince of Canterburie to a Conuocation in Pauls Church at London, to chooſe ſufficient perſons that might goe vnto the generall Councell, appoynted to be kept at Piſa: Hereupon were choſen Robert Halom Biſhop of Saliſburie, Henrie Chicheley Biſhoppe of Saint Dauid, and Thomas Chillingden Prior of Chriſtes Churche in Canterburie. The king before this had ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Pope Gregorie, and alſo to the Cardinals, to witte, ſir John Coluille knight, and maiſter Nicholas Rixton Clearke, with letters, ſignifying the griefe that hee had conceyued for the inconuenience that fell in the Chriſtian common wealth through the ſciſme, and withall putting the Pope in remembrance what miſchief and deſtruction of people hadde chaunced by the ſame ſciſme, ſo as if hee woulde well conſider the miſerable ſtate of things, he would ſurely followe the example of the true mother, that contending before Salomō for hir child with the counterfeyt mother, choſe rather to giue place, than to ſee hir childe cut in peeces.

The contents of the kings letters to the pope.

Theſe and the lyke matters to vtter what deſire he had to haue an vnitie in the Church, he declared frankly in his letters directed to the Pope, ſo as it might appeare to the worlde, how ſoberly and modeſtly hee ſought to induce the Pope to procure a peace and concorde in the Church, but what his perſwaſions profited, it appeareth in the hyſtorie of Italie.

Wicliffes doctrine maynteyned by the learned.

This yeare certaine learned men in Oxforde and other places, publikely in their Sermons maintayned and ſet forth the opinions and concluſions of Wicklife. This troubled the Biſhops and other of the Clergie ſort, inſomuch that in their Conuocation houſe, the .xxvj. of June, by a ſpeciall mandate of the Lorde Chauncellor in preſence of the procurators, regents, and other, as Richard Courtney, Richarde Talbot, Nicholas Souche, Walter Midforde, and ſuche like in greate multitude: ſentence was pronounced by John Welles, doctor of the Canon law agaynſt the bookes of John Wicklife doctor of diuinitie, intituled, *De Sermone in monte, Triologorum de Simonia, de perfectione ſtatuum, de ordine Chriſtiano, de gradibus Cleri Eccleſiæ*: and to theſe was added the third treatiſe, which he compiled of Logique or Sophiſtrie.

Sentence pronounced againſt Wicliffs bookes.

Theſe bookes and the concluſions in the ſame conteyned the Chancellour of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford by common conſent and aſſent of the regents and not regentes of the ſame Uniuerſitie, reproued, diſanulled and condemned, inhibiting on paine of the greate curſſe and depriuation of all degrees ſcholaſticall, that none from thenceforth ſhoulde affyrme, teache, or preache by anye maner of meanes or wayes, the ſame heriticall bookes as (they tearmed them) conteyning anye the lyke opinions as he taught and ſet forth in the ſame bookes.

Fabian.

Iuſtes in Smithfield.

This yeare aboute Mydſommer, were royall Juſtes holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the Seneſhall of Heynault, and certaine Henewyers chalengers, and the Erle of Sommerſet, & certaine Engliſhmen defendants.

Owen Glendouer endeth his life in great miſery.

The Welch Rebell Owen Glendouer, made an ende of his wretched life, in this tenth yeare of K. Henries reigne, being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to ſuch miſerie, that in maner diſpayring of all comfort; hee fledde into deſart places and ſolitarie Caues where beeyng deſtitute of all reliefe and ſuccour, dreading to ſhewe his face to any creature, and finally lacking meate to ſuſtayne nature, for pure hunger and lacke of foode, miſerably pyned away and dyed.

An. reg. 11.

Officers made

This yeare Thomas Beaufort Erle of Surrey, was made Chancellour, and Henry Scrope Lord Treaſorer.

1410

A Parliament.

A Parliament began this yere in the quindene of S. Hillarie, in whiche the Commons of the lower houſe exhibited a byll to the King & Lords of the vpper houſe, conteyning in effect as followeth.

Tho. VValſ.

Fabian.

A ſupplication to the king.

To the moſt excellent Lorde our King, and to all the Nobles in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, your faythfull commons do humbly ſignifie, that our ſoueraigne Lorde the king myght haue of the temporall poſſeſſions, landes and reuennes which are lewdly ſpent, conſumed and waſted by the Biſhops, Abbottes, and Priors, within this Realme, ſo much in value as woulde ſuffice to finde and ſuſtaine, 150. Earles. 1500. knightes, 6200. eſquiers, and one hundred Hoſpitals more than now be.

Tho. VValſ.

The King (as ſome write, vpon aduiſed conſideration hereof had,) miſlyked of the motion, and thereupon cōmaunded that from thenceforth they ſhould not preſume to ſtudie about any ſuch matters. An other thing the cōmons ſued to haue graunted vnto them, but could not obtein, which was that Clerks conuicted ſhould not frō thenceforth be deliuered to the Biſhops priſon.

Moreouer they demaunded to haue the ſtatute either reuoked, or qualified, which had beene eſtabliſhed by authoritie of Parliament, in the ſecond yeare of this kings reigne, againſt ſuch as were reputed to be Heretikes, or Lollards; by force whereof it was prouided, that whereſoeuer ſuche maner of perſons ſhoulde be founde and knowne to preach or teach their erronious doctrine, they ſhould be attached with the kings writ, & brought to the next gaole, but the king ſeemed ſo highly to fauour the Cleargie, that the Commons were anſwered plainly, they ſhould not come by their purpoſe, but rather that the ſayde ſtatute ſhoulde be made more rigorous and ſharpe, for the puniſhment of ſuch perſons.

King Henry a fauorer of the Clergy.

During this Parliament, one John Badby a Taylor, or as ſome write a Smith, being cōuict of hereſie, was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tonne or pipe burnt to death, in pitiful maner: the kings eldeſt ſonne the Lord Henrie Prince of Wales beeing preſent, offred him his pardon, firſt before the fire was kindled, if he woulde haue recanted his opinions, and after when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noyſe very pitifully, the Prince cauſed the fyre to be plucked backe, and exhorted him being ſore amaſkered, to remember himſelfe, and renounce his opinions, promyſing hym not onelye lyfe, but alſo three pens a day ſo long as hee lyued, to be payde out of the Kings Coffers: but hee hauing recouered his ſpirites againe, refuſed the Princes offer, chooſing eftſoones to taſte the fyre, and ſo to die, than to forſake his opinions. Wherevpon the Prince commaunded, that hee ſhoulde bee put into the Tonne againe, from thenceforth not to haue any fauour or pardon at all, and ſo it was done, and the fyre put to hym againe, and hee conſumed to aſhes.

John Badby brent. *Tho. VValſ.*

The prince being preſent at the executiō offreth hym pardon.

Notable conſtancy of Badby.

The King demaunded in thys Parliament, that it myght be graunted to him, to haue euerye yeare in whiche he helde not Parliament a tenth of the Cleargie, and a fifteenth of the Laitie, but the eſtates woulde not agree therevnto, by reaſon whereof, the Parliament continued tyll almoſt the myddle of May. At length they graunted to gyue hym a fyfteenth, not without greate murmuring and grudgyng of the Communaltie.

The kings demaund in the parliament

A long Parliament.

A xv. granted.

Aboute this ſeaſon, dyed the Lorde Thomas Beauford Erle of Surrey.

Erle of Surrie deceaſeth.

The .xj. of Aprill or thereaboutes, the towne of Saint Omers was burnt by caſuall fire, togither with the Abbey, in whiche towne was ſuche ſtraunge and maruellous prouiſion of Engines, and all maner of furniture and preparation for the winning of Calais, as the like had neuer beene ſeene nor heard of.

Preparation made to win Calais.

Some wryte, that they of Calais ſtandyng in doubt of ſuche purueyaunce, and greate preparation deuyſed to annoy them, procured a yong man to kyndle that fyre, whereby all their dreadfull prouiſion was conſumed to Aſhes, and ſo they within Calays deliuered of a great deale of care and feare whiche they hadde thereof.

Tho. VValſ.

Moreouer this yeare ſir Robert Umfreuile vice Admirall of Englande, annoyed the Countreys on the ſea coaſts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth with ten ſhippes of warre, and lying there .xiiij. dayes togither, landed euery daye on the one ſide of the Riuer or the other, taking prayes, ſpoyles, and priſoners, notwithſtanding the Duke of Albanie, and the Earle Dowglas were readie there, with a greate power to reſiſt him: he brunt the Galliot of Scotlande (beeing a ſhippe of greate account) with many other veſſelles lying the ſame time at the Blackneſſe ouer agaynſt Lieth.

Sir Robert Vmfreuile vice admiral.

Harding.

His exploits in Scotland.

At his returne from thence, he brought wyth him .xiiij. good ſhippes, and many other great priſes of cloathes, both woollen and lynnen, pitche, tarre, woad, flowre, meale, wheate and rie, which being ſolde abroade, the Markets were well holpen therby, ſo that his ſurname of Robert Mendmarket ſeemed very well to agree wyth his qualities which name he got by this occaſion.

His ſurname Robyn Mend market.

Aboute foure yeares before this, he burnt the towne of Peples on the Market day, cauſing his men to meete the cloathes, whiche they got there wyth theyr Bowes, and ſo to ſell them awaye, wherevpon the Scots named him Robin Mendmarket.

By what occaſion he came by that ſurname.

Shortly after his returne from the Sea now in this .xj. yeare of king Henryes raigne, he made a roade into Scotlande by lande, hauing wyth hym hys Nephewe yong Gylbert Umfreuile Earle of Augus, (commonly called Earle of Kyme) beeyng then but fouretene yeares of age, and thys was the fyrſte tyme that the ſayde Earle ſpredde hys Banner. They burnte at that tyme Jedworth, and the moſt part of Tiuidale.

The erle of Augus Vmfreuile commonly called erle of Kyme.

This yeare there dyed of the bloodie flixe in the Citie of Burdeaux .xiiij. thouſande perſons, and ſo ſore raged that diſeaſe in Gaſcoigne and Guienne, that there wanted people to dreſſe theyr vines, and preſſe their grapes.

John Prendergeſt knight, and Wylliam Long ſkoured the Seas, ſo as no Pyrate durſte appeare, that Merchants and paſſengers myght paſſe to and fro in ſafetie. But yet through diſdaine of ſome that enuied theyr good ſucceſſe, the ſame Prendergeſt and Long were accuſed of robberies, which they ſhould practiſe in ſpoyling ſuch ſhippes as they mette with, of dyuerſe things agaynſt the owners willes. Prendergeſt was dryuen to take Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter, and

John Prendergeſt and William Long.

and coulde not be ſuffred to lodge in anye mans houſe for feare of the kings diſpleaſure, commaunding that none ſhoulde receyue him, and ſo was conſtreyned to ſet vp a tent within the Porche of Saint Peters Church there, and to haue his ſeruants to watche nightly about him for doubt to be murthered of his aduerſaries: but his aſſociate William Long, lay ſtill on the Sea, til the Lorde Admirall hauing prepared certaine veſſels went to the ſea himſelfe in perſon to fetche him: but yet he could not catch him, till he had promiſed him pardon, and vndertaken vpon his fidelitie that hee ſhoulde haue no harme: but notwithſtanding all promyſes vpon his comming in, hee was ſhut vp faſt in the Tower, and ſo for a time remayned in durance.

Long committed to the Tower.

The Archb. of Canter. minding in this ſeaſon to viſite the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, could not bee ſuffred, in conſideration of priuiledges which they pretended to haue.

The Archbi. of Canterbury not ſuffred to viſite the vniuerſitie of Oxford.

The realme of Fraunce in this meane while was diſquieted, with the two factions of Burgoigne, and Orleans, in moſt miſerable wyſe, as in the French Hiſtories it maye further appeare. Neyther coulde the king, being a Lunatike perſon, and feeble of braine, take any ful order for the reforming of ſuch miſchiefes, ſo that the whole ſtate of the kingdome was marueilouſly brought in decay: neyther tooke thoſe troubles ende by the death of the duke of Orleans (murthered at lẽgth through the practiſe of the Duke of Burgoigne) but rather more perillouſly encreaſed, for the yõg duke of Orleans Charles, ſonne to duke Lewes thus murthered, allyed hymſelfe with the Dukes of Berry, and Bourbon, and with the Earles of Alanſon, and Arminacke, whereby hee was ſo ſtrongly banded againſt the duke of Burgoigne, whom hee defied as his mortall foe and enimie, that the duke of Burgoigne fearing the ſequele of the matter, thought good (bycauſe there was a motion of mariage betwixt the prince of Wales and his daughter) to require ayde of king Henrie, who foreſeeing that this ciuill diſcord in France, (as it after happned) might turne his realme to honor and profite, ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne, Thomas Erle of Arundell, Gilbert Umfreuille Erle of Angus, (commonly called the Earle of Kime) ſir Robert Umfreuille, vncle to the ſame Gilbert, ſir John Oldcaſtell Lord Cobham, ſir John Grey, and William Porter, with. xij. C. archers. They tooke ſhipping at Douer, and landed at Sluys, from whence with ſpeedie iorneys in the latter ende of this. xij. yere of king Henries raigne they came to Arras, where they founde the duke of Burgoigne, of whom they were ioyfully receyued and from thence he appoynted them to go vnto Peronne, where he aſſembled a power alſo of his owne ſubiects, and remouing frõ thence, he marched through the countrey, by Roy, Breteuil, Beauuoys, & Gyſors, til he came with his armie vnto Pontoys, where he remayned aboute the ſpace of three weekes.

France diſquieted with two factions.

The Duke of Orleans murdered.

The Erles of Arundel and Angus with other ſent to ayde the Duke of Burgoigne.

An.reg.13.

From Pontoyſe the. xxij. of October, the duke of Burgoigne marched towards Paris, and paſſing the riuer of Saine at Pont Meulene, hee ſtayed not till he came to Paris, into the which he entred the. xxiij. of October, late in the Euening.

The Duke of Orleance lay the ſame time at S. Denys, with the more part of his armie, and the reſidue kept the towne of Saint Clou, where a bridge lay ouer the ryuer of Saine. On the. ix. of Nouember, with harde and ſharpe fight the Engliſhmen gat the towne of S. Clou, with the bridge, ſlue and drowned nine hundred ſouldiours, that were ſet there to defende that paſſage, beſydes foure hundred that were taken pryſoners.

Saint Cloe taken by help o the Engliſhm

They tooke alſo aboue. xij. C. horſes, which they found in the towne, with great riches, whereof the men of warre made their profite.

Among other priſoners, ſir Manferde de Bos, a valiant captayne was taken, and ſhortly after put to deth, as diuerſe other were, which the Burgonians bought of the Engliſh men, that had taken them priſoners. The Tower that ſtoode at the ende of the Bridge, coulde not bee wonne.

Sir Manſerd de Bos put to death.

At an other bickering alſo, it chaunced that the Engliſhe men vnder the leading of the Earle of Angus or Kyme, had the vpper hande, and tooke many pryſoners, which the Duke of Burgoigne woulde that they ſhoulde haue beene lykewiſe put to death as traytors to theyr Countrey, but the ſayd Earle of Angus anſwered for himſelfe, and the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, that they woulde rather dye all in the place, than ſuffer theyr pryſoners to be vſed otherwyſe than as men of warre ought to bee, that is, to haue their liues ſaued, and to be raunſomed according as the law of Armes requyred, and by that meanes they were preſerued.

Harding.

The Duke of Burgoigne hauing the worlde at will, (for the Duke of Orleans immediatelye after the loſſe of Saint Clou, departing from S. Denys, got him into the higher Countryes) ſent home the Engliſhmen, with heartie thanks, and great rewardes.

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas Beaufort Erle of Dorſet, and his ſonne the Lord Thomas of Lancaſter, that was Lord ſtewarde of Englande, and Erle of Aubemarle, hee created duke of Clarence.

Recor. Turris.

Creations of noble men.

John duke of Burgoigne, hauing now the gouernance, both of the French king and his realme, ſo perſecuted the Duke of Orleauns and hys

Hall.

The Orliancial faction ſueth to the k. of England for ayde.

complyces, that finally they for theyr laſte refuge requyred ayde of King Henrie, ſending ouer vnto hym certayne perſons as theyr lawfull procuratours (of the whiche one hight Alberte Aubemont, a manne of greate witte, learning, and audacitie,) to offer in name of the confederates vnto the ſayde Kyng Henrye, and to hys ſonnes, certayne conditions whiche were made and concluded, the yeare of our Lord. 1412. the eight of May.

The confederates of the Orleancial faction.

The names of the chiefe confederates were theſe, Iohn duke of Berrie and Erle of Poictou, Charles Duke of Orleans, and Valois Earle of Blais, & Beamound Lorde of Coucie and Ich, Iohn Duke of Bourbon, and Auuergne Earle of Clearmont Foreſt, and Lyſle Lorde of Beauieu, and Caſteau Chinou, Iohn Duke of Alanſon, Bernarde Earle of Arminacke, and others.

The Articles of couenants which they offered to the k. of Englande.

The effect of the Articles which theſe confederates were agreed vpon touching their offer to the king of England were as followeth.

1 Firſt, they offred their bodies, finances, and landes, to ſerue the king of Englande, his heyres, and ſucceſſors, in all iuſt cauſes and actions, ſauing alwayes their allegiances, knowing that he would not further enquire of them.

2 Secondly, they offred their ſonnes & daughters, neces, and nephewes, and al other their kinſfolke to bee beſtowed in mariages according to the pleaſure of the king of England.

3 Thirdly, they offred their Caſtels, townes, treaſures, and all their other goodes, to ſerue the foreſayde king.

4 Fourthly, they offered theyr friendes, allies, and well wyllers to ſerue hym, beeing the moſte part of all the Nobles of Fraunce, Churchmen, Clearkes, and honeſt Citizens, as it ſhould well appeare.

5 Fiftly, they offred to put him in poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Guienne, which they were ready to proteſt to belong to the king of Englande, in lyke and ſemblable wyſe, in lybertie and franchiſes, as any other king of Englande his predeceſſor had held and enioyed the ſame.

6 Sixtly, that they woulde bee readie to recogniſe the landes whiche they poſſeſſed within that Duchie, to hold the ſame of the king of England, as of the verye true Duke of Guienne, promiſing all ſeruices & homages after the beſt maner that might be.

7 Seuenthly, they promiſed to deliuer vnto the king, as much as lay in them, all townes and Caſtels, apperteyning to the royaltie and ſeigniorie of the king of England, which are in number xx. townes and Caſtels: and as to the regarde of other townes and fortreſſes whiche were not in their handes, they would to the vttermoſt of their powers, help the king of England & his heyres to win them out of his aduerſaries handes.

8 Eightly, that the duke of Berrie, as vaſſall to the king of Englande, and likewiſe the duke of Orleans, his ſubiect and vaſſall, ſhould holde of him by homage and fealtie, the landes and ſeigniories hereafter following, that is to ſay, the Duke of Berrie to holde onely the Countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the Duke of Orleans to holde the Countie of Anguleſme during his life, and the Countie of Perigourt for euer, and the Earle of Arminacke, to holde foure Caſtels vpon certaine ſureties and conditions, as by Indenture ſhould be appoynted. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requeſted of the king of England to condiſcend vnto theſe conditions enſuing.

The conditions which they requested of the k. of England.

1 Firſt, that the king of England, as Duke of Guienne ſhoulde defende and ſuccor them as hee ought to do, againſt al mẽ as their very lord and ſoueraigne, and ſpecially vntil they had executed iuſtice fully vpon the Duke of Burgoigne, for the crime which he committed vpon the perſon of the Duke of Orleans.

2 Secondly, that hee ſhoulde aſſyſt them agaynſt the ſayde duke of Burgoigne and his fautors, to recouer againe their goodes, which by occaſion of the ſayd duke and his friendes they had loſt and bene depriued of.

3 Thirdly, that he ſhoulde likewiſe ayde them in all iuſt quarelles, for recouering of domages done to their friends, vaſſals and ſubiects.

4 Fourthly, to helpe and aſſyſt them for the concluding and eſtabliſhing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, ſo farre as was poſſible.

And further they beſought the king of England to ſend vnto them. viij. M. men to ayd thẽ agaynſt the Duke of Burgoigne and his complices, whiche dayly procured the French king to make warre vpon them, ſeeking by al wayes and meanes how to deſtroy them.

The king of Englande louingly enterteyned the Meſſengers, and vpon conſideration had of their offers, as wel for that he deteſted the ſhamefull murther of the Duke of Orleans (which remayned vnpuniſhed by ſupport of ſuch as mainteyned the duke of Burgoigne, who as it appeared woulde keepe promyſe no longer than ſerued his owne turne) as alſo for that the ſame offers ſeemed to make greatly both for hys honour and profite, thought that by the office of a King hee was bounde in duetie to ſuccour them that cryed for Iuſtice and coulde not haue it, and namely ſithe in right they were his ſubiectes and vaſſalles, hee oughte to defende them in mayntenaunce of his ſuperioritie and Seigniorie.

Hereupon as Duke of Guienne, he tooke vpon him

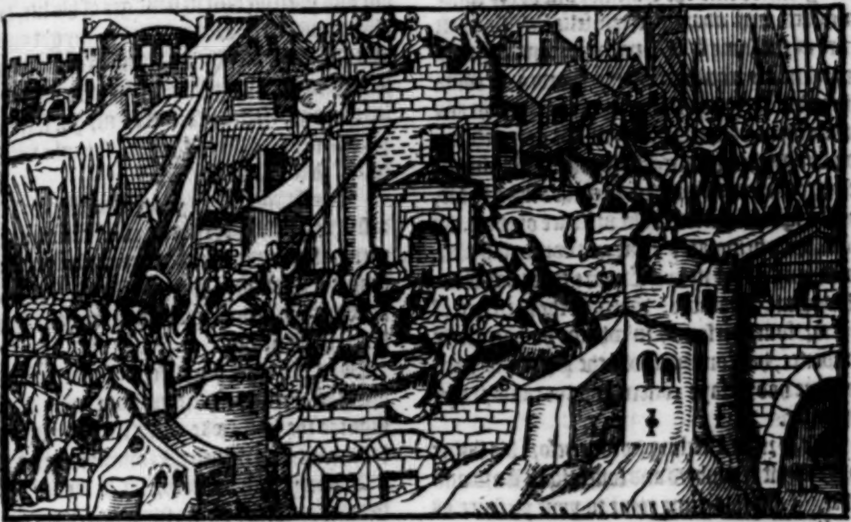
The king of Englande taketh vpon him to defend the Orleaunciall faction.

him to ſuccour and defend them againſt all men, as their verie Lorde and ſoueraigne, and ſo ſending away the Meſſengers, promiſed to ſende them ayde very ſhortly.

The Erle of S. Paul aſſaulteth the Caſtel of Guyſnes.

His fortune againſt Engliſh men.

This feate was not ſo ſecretly wrought, but that it was knowne ſtreight wayes in Fraunce. Wherefore the Frenche kings counſaile ſent the Earle of S. Paule downe into Picardie, wyth xv. hundred horſemen, and a greate number of footmen, who approching to Guiſnes, attempted to aſſault the Caſtell, but was repulſed and beaten backe, ſo that he retired to the towne of Saint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gaine at the Engliſhmens handes, but euer departed frō them with loſſe and diſhonor. In this meane ſeaſon the French king being led by the duke of Burgoin purſued thẽ that tooke part with the duke of Orleans, commonly called Armmacks, and after the winning of diuerſe townes he beſieged the Citie of Bourges in Berrie, comming before it vpon Saterday the .xj. of Iune, with a right huge armie. Within this Citie were the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, the Erle of Auxerre, the lord Dalbret, the Archbiſhops of Sens and Bourges, the Biſhops of Paris and Chartres, hauing with thẽ xv. hundred armed men, and foure hundred Archers and Arbaleſtiers.



There were with the king at this ſiege, his ſon the duke of Aquitaine, otherwiſe called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgoigne, & Bar, and a great number of other erles, lords, knights, & gentlemẽ, ſo that the Citie was beſieged euen til within the Faux burges of that ſide towards Dun le Roy.

The ſiege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignac, Lorde greate maiſter of the Rhodes, and the Marſhall of Sauoy, that were both in the kings campe, trauelling betwixt the parties, there were appoynted Cōmiſſioners on both ſides to treate for a peace, to wit the maſter of the Croſbowes, and the Seneſhal of Heynalt, and certain other for the king, and the Archbiſhop of Bourges, and the Lorde of Gaucourt and others for the Orlientiall ſide.

A peace concluded betwixt the two factions of Burgoin and Orleans.

Tytus.

Theſe comming togither on a Fryday, the .xv. of Iuly in the Dolphins Tent, vſed the matter with ſuch diſcretion, that they concluded a peace, and ſo on the Wedneſday nexte following, the campe brake vp, and the king returned.

The prince of wales accuſed to his father.

Iohn. Stow.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in France, the Lorde Henrie Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certain of his fathers ſeruants were buſie to giue informations agaynſt him, whereby diſcorde might ariſe betwixte him and his father, for they put into the Kings heade, not onely what euill rule (according to the courſe of youth) the Prince kepte to the offence of many: but alſo what greate reſort of people came to hys houſe, ſo that the Courte was nothing furniſhed wyth ſuche a traine as dayly folowed the Prince.

The ſuſpicious iealouſie of the king towards his ſon.

Theſe tales brought no ſmall ſuſpition into the Kings heade, leaſt hys ſonne woulde preſume to vſurpe the crowne, hee beeing yet aliue, through which ſuſpitious iealouſie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his ſonne, as in tymes paſt he had done.

The prince goeth to the court with a great trayne.

The Prince ſore offended with ſuch perſons, as by ſlaunderous reportes, ſought not onely to ſpotte his good name abroade in the realme, but to ſow diſcorde alſo betwixt him and his father, wrote his letters into euery part of the realme, to reproue all ſuch ſlaunderous deuiſes of thoſe that ſought hys diſcredite, and to cleare himſelfe the better, that the Worlde mighte vnderſtande what wrong he had to be ſlandered in ſuch wiſe: aboute the feaſt of Peter and Paule, to witte, the .xxix. daye of Iune hee came to the Courte with ſuch a number of Noble menne and other his frendes that wiſhed him wel, as the like train had beene ſeldome ſeene repayring to the Court at any one tyme in thoſe dayes. He was apparelled in a Gowne of blewe Satten, full of ſmal Oylet holes, at euery hole the needle hanging by a ſilke threde, with which it was ſewed. About his arme he ware an Houndes coller ſette full of SS of golde, and the tyrettes likewiſe being of the ſame mettall.

His ſtrange apparel.

The Court was then at Weſtminſter, where he being entred into the Hall, not one of his companie durſt once aduaunce himſelfe further than the fire in the ſame Hall, notwithſtanding they were earneſtly requeſted by the Lordes to come higher: but they regarding what they had in cōmaundement of the prince, woulde not preſume to do in any thing contrary therevnto. He himſelf onely accompanied with thoſe of the kings houſe, was ſtreight admitted to the preſence of the k. his father, who being at yͤ time grieuouſly diſeaſed, cauſed himſelf yet in hys Chayre to be borne into his priuie Chamber, where in the preſence of three or foure perſons, in whome he had moſte confidence, hee commaunded the Prince to ſhew what hee had to ſaye concerning the cauſe of hys comming.

The prince cōmeth to the kings preſence

The Prince kneeling downe before his father ſayde: Moſt redoubted and ſoueraigne Lord and father, I am this time come to your preſence as your liege man and as your naturall ſonne, in all things to be at your commaundement.

His wordes to his father.

And where I vnderſtand you haue in ſuſpition my demeanour agaynſt your grace, you knowe very well, that if I knewe any man wythin thys realme of whome you ſhoulde ſtande in feare, my dutie were to puniſh that perſon, thereby to remoue that griefe from your heart: Then howe much more ought I to ſuffer death, to eaſe your grace of that griefe which you haue of me, beeing your naturall ſonne and liegeman: and to that ende I haue this day made my ſelfe readie by cōfeſſion and receyuing of the Sacramēt: and therfore I beſeeche you moſte redoubted Lorde and deare father, for the honour of God, to eaſe your heart of all ſuch ſuſpition as you haue of me, and to diſpatche me here before your knees, with this ſame dagger: and withall hee deliuered vnto the king his dagger, in all humble reuerence, adding further, that his life was not ſo deare to him, that hee wiſhed to liue one daye with his diſpleaſure, and therefore (ſayth he) in thus ridding me out of life, and your ſelfe from all ſuſpition, here in preſence of theſe Lordes, and before God at the day of the generall iudgement, I faythfully proteſt clearly to forgiue you.

The king moued herewith, caſt from him the dagger, and embracing the Prince, kyſſed hym, and with ſhedding teares, confeſſed that in derde he had him partly in ſuſpition, though now as he perceyued not with iuſt cauſe, and therefore from thenceforth no miſreport ſhuld cauſe him to haue him in miſtruſt, & this he promiſed of his honour. So by his greate wiſedome, was the wrongfull ſuſpition whiche his father had conceyued againſt him remoued, and hee reſtored to hys fauour. And further, where he coulde not but grieuouſly complayne of them that hadde ſlaundered hym ſo greatly, to the defacing not onely of his honor, but alſo putting him in daunger of his life, he humbly beſought the King that they myght anſwere theyr vniuſte accuſation, and in caſe they were founde to haue forged ſuche matters vpon a malicious purpoſe, that then they myght ſuffer ſome puniſhment for theyr faultes, though not to the full of that they had deſerued.

The kings wordes to the Prince his ſon.

Fabian.

The prince s quest to ha his accuſers anſwer thei wrongful sla ders.

The King ſeeming to graunt his reaſonable deſire, tolde him yet that he muſt tarie a Parliament, that ſuche offenders might be puniſhed by iudgement of theyr Peeres: And ſo for that time he was diſmiſſed, with great loue and ſignes of fatherly affection.

About the ſame time, John Prendergeſt knight, being reſtored to thy kings fauor, with .xxx. ſhips ſkoured the ſeas, toke good priſes of wine and vitayles, which relieued the commons greatly.

Sir Iohn Pendergeſt reſtored to the kings fauour ſent to ſea.

Amongſt other enterpriſes, he landed vpon the ſodaine at Craal on the fayre day, toke the town and robbed the fayre, ſo as they that were come thither to ſell their wares, had quicke vtterance and ſlowe payment.

King Henrie vnderſtanding, that the French King by the ſetting on of the Duke of Burgoine in purſuing the contrarie faction, hadde beſieged the Citie of Bourges (as before yee haue hearde) determyned with all ſpeede to ayde the Duke of Orleans, and ſo aboute the feaſt of the Aſſumption of oure Ladie, hee ſent ouer an armie of viij. hundred menne of Armes, and nine thouſande Archers, vnder the leading of hys ſeconde ſonne the Duke of Clarence, accompanyed wyth Edwarde Duke of Yorke, Thomas Earle of Dorſet, and dyuerſe other Noble men and worthye Captaynes. They landed in the Baye de la Hogue Saint Waſt, in the Countrey of Conſtantine.

The Duke of Clarence ſent to ayde the D. of Orleans.

The Engliſhmen ſwarmed like Bees round about the Countrey, robbing & ſpoiling the ſame.

Shortly after their departure from the place where they landed, there came to them .vj. C. armed men of Gaſcoignes yͤ were enrolled at Burdeaux. When newes therof came to the Frenche court, being then at Auxerre, incōtinently yͤ erles of Alāſon & Richmōt were diſpatched to go vnto the Engliſh camp, bycauſe they had euer bin partakers wͭ the duke of Orleans, to giue thē thanks for their paines, & to aduertiſe them of the peace, that

Enguerant.

The Lo ſon and Ric mont ſent t the Duke of Clarence.

The Duke of Clarence marcheth towards Guyenne.

that had bin lately concluded betwixte the parties, and therefore to take order with them, that they might bee ſatiſfied, ſo as they ſhoulde not ſpoyle and waſt the Countrey, as they had begun: but whereas the Engliſhmen were greedie to haue, and the Duke of Orleance was not rich to pay, they marched on towardes Guyenne in good order, and what by ſacking of Townes, and raunſoming of riche priſoners, they gote greate treaſure, and many good prayes and booties. Being paſſed yͤ riuer of Loyere they ſpoyled the towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and ſword waſted the Coũtreys of Touraine, and Maine. The Lorde de Ramburez appoynted to reſiſt ſuch violence, was eaſily vanquiſhed.

Enguerrant.

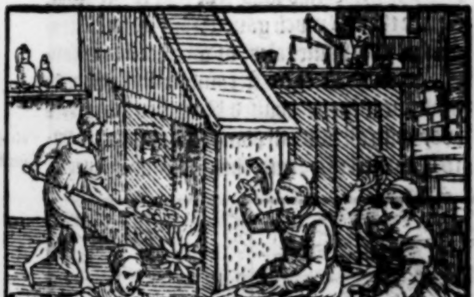
The Lorde of Ramburez.

The Erles of Kent and Warwike, ſent ouer to Caleys.

Moreouer, to the ayde of the Duke of Orleance, the King of England ſent ouer to Calais, the Earles of Kente and Warwike, with two thouſand fighting men, which ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey of Bullennoyes, brente the Towne of Samer de Boys, and tooke with aſſaulte, the fortreſſe of Ruſſalt, and diuers other.

Fabian. Coyne chaunged.

This yeare, the King abaſed the coynes of his golde and ſiluer, cauſing the ſame to be currant in this Realme, at ſuch valew, as the other was valued before, where indede the Noble was worſe by foure pence than the former, and ſo likewiſe of the ſyluer, the coynes whereof hee appoynted to bee currante after the ſame rate.



Anno reg. 14.

The duke of Orleans commeth to the Engliſh army.

Ye haue hearde howe the Duke of Clarence and his army did muche hurte in the Realme of Fraunce, in places as he paſſed, wherevppon at length, the Duke of Orleance being earneſtly called vpon to diſpatch the Engliſhmenne out of Fraunce, according to an article compriſed in the concluſion of the peace, he came to the Duke of Clarence, rendering to him and his armye a thouſande gramercies, and diſburſed to them as much money as he or his friendes mighte eaſily ſpare, and for the reſt, beeing two hundred and nine thouſande frankes remaining vnpayde, hee deliuered in gage his ſecond brother, Iohn Duke of Angoleſme, which was grandfather to King Francis the firſt, that raigned in our dayes, Sir Marcell de Bourges, & ſir Iohn de Samoires, ſir Archibalde Viliers, and dyuers other, whych Earle continued long in England, as after ſhall appeare. When this agreement was thus made betwixt the Dukes of Orleance and Clarence, the Engliſh army with riche prayes, booties and priſoners came to Burdeaux, making warre on the Fronters of Fraunce, to their greate gayne.

The duke of Angoleſme deliuered in gage to the Duke of Clarence.

The lorde of Helie Marſhal of Fraunce.

Sir Io. Blount.

In this meane while, the Lorde of Helie, one of the Marſhals of Fraunce, with an armye of foure thouſand men, beſieged a certaine fortreſſe in Guienne, whiche an Engliſhe Knighte, one ſir Iohn Blunt kepte, who with three hundred men that came to his ayde, diſcomfited, chaſed, and ouerthrew the Frenche power, tooke priſoners, twelue men of name, and other Gentlemen, to the number of ſixe ſcore, and amongſt other, the ſaid Marſhall, who was ſent ouer into Englande, and put in the Caſtell of Wiſſebet, from whence hee eſcaped, and gote ouer into Fraunce, where ſeruing the Duke of Orleance at the battell of Agincort, he was ſlaine among other.

Fabian.

The K. meant to haue made a iourney againſt the Infidels.

In this fourteenth and laſt yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, a Counſell was holden in the white Friers in London, at the whiche, among other things, order was taken for Shippes and galleys to be buylded and made ready, and alſo other things neceſſarie to bee prouided, for a voyage which he meant to make into the holy land, there to recouer the Citie of Ieruſalem from the Infidels. For it greeued him to conſider yͤ great malice of Chriſtian Princes, that were bent vpon a miſcheuous purpoſe to deſtroy one another, to the peril of their owne ſoules, rather than to make warre againſt the enimies of the Chriſtian faith, as in conſcience (it ſeimed to him) they were bound. Hee helde his Chriſtmas this yeare at Eltham, beeing ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, ſo that it was thought ſometime, that he had bene dead: notwithſtanding it pleaſed God that hee ſomewhat recouered his ſtrength againe, and ſo paſſed that Chriſtmas with as much ioy as hee might.

The king is vexed with ſickneſſe.

1413

A parliament.

The morrow after Candlemas day, began a Parliament, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the ſame Parliament was ended: for nowe that his prouiſions were ready, and that he was furniſhed with ſufficient treaſure, ſouldiers, Captaines, vittailes, munitions, tall Shippes, ſtrong galleis, and al things neceſſarie for ſuche a royall iourney as he pretended to take into the holy lande, hee was eftſones take with a ſore ſickneſſe, which was not

The king ſick of an Apoplexie.

a leproſie, ſtriken by the hand of God (ſaith maſter Hall) as fooliſhe Friers imagined but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languiſhed till his appoynted houre, and hadde none other griefe nor maladie, ſo that what man ordeyneth, God altereth at his good will and pleaſure, not gyuing place more to the Prince, thã to the poreſt creature liuing, when hee ſeeth his time to diſpoſe of him this way or that, as to his omnipotent power and diuine prouidence ſeemeth expediente.

Hall.

During this his laſt ſickneſſe, he cauſed hys Crowne (as ſome write) to be ſet on a pillow at his beddes head, and ſuddaynely his pangs ſo ſore troubled him, that he lay as though all hys vitall ſpirites had bin from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verily that hee had bin departed, couered hys face with a lynnen cloth.

The prince taketh away the crowne before his father was dead.

He is blamed of the king. His anſwere.

A guiltie conſcience in extremitie of ſickneſſe pincheth ſore.

The Prince his ſonne being heereof aduertiſed, entered into the chamber, tooke away the Crowne, and departed. The father beeing ſuddainely reuiued out of that traunce, quickly perceyued the lacke of his Crowne, and hauing knowledge that the Prince his ſonne had taken it away, cauſed him to come before his preſence, requiring of him what hee meante ſo to miſuſe himſelfe: the Prince with a good audacitie aunſwered, Sir, to mine and all mens iudgementes you ſeemed dead in this worlde, wherefore I as your nexte heyre apparant, tooke that as myne owne, and not as youres: well faire ſonne ſayde the King (with a greate ſigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth: well quoth the Prince, if you dye King, I wil haue the garland, and truſt to keepe it with the ſword againſt all mine enimies as you haue done: then ſayd the King, I commit all to God, and remember you to doe well, and with that turned himſelfe in his bedde, and ſhortly after departed to God in a chamber of the Abbots of Weſtminſter called Ieruſalem, the twentith daye of Marche, in the yeare 1413. and in the yeare of his age. 46. when he had raigned. 13. yeares fiue monthes and odde dayes in greate perplexitie and little pleaſure.

The death of Henrye the .4.

Fabian.

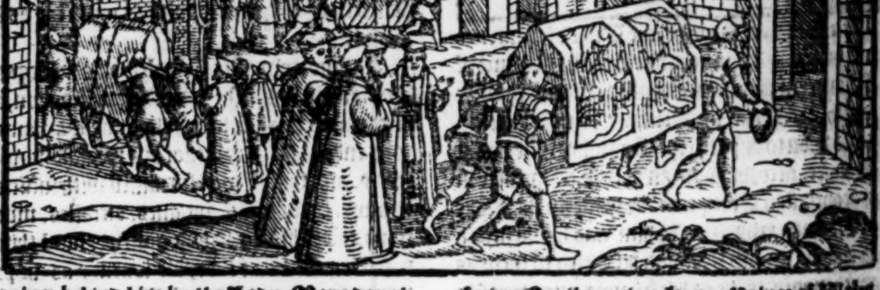
I cã not think he was so ſoone ready to ſet forward, whatſoeuer Fabian writeth here.

We fynde, that hee was taken with his laſt ſickneſſe, while hee was making his prayers at Sainte Edwardes ſhrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and ſo to proceede forthe on hys iourney: hee was ſo ſuddaynely and greeuouſlie taken, that ſuche as were about him, feared leaſt he woulde haue dyed preſently, wherefore to relieue him if it were poſſible, they bare him into a chamber that was nexte at hande, belonging to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, where they layde him on a pallet before the fier, and vſed all remedyes to reuiue him: at length, hee recouered hys ſpeeche, and vnderſtanding and perceiuing himſelfe in a ſtrange place which he knewe not, hee willed to know if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto aunſwere was made, that it was called Ieruſalem. Then ſaide the king, laudes bee gyuen to the father of Heauen, for nowe I knowe that I ſhall dye heere in thys chamber, according to the prophecie of me declared, that I ſhoulde depart this life in Ieruſalem.

He is buried at Caunterburye.

His iſſue.

Whether this was true that ſo hee ſpake, as one that too much gaue credite to fooliſh prophecies and vaine tales, or whether it was fayned, as in ſuche caſes it commonly happeneth, we leaue it to the aduiſed Reader to iudge. Hys body with all funerall pompe was conueyed vnto Caunterburie, and there ſolemnely buryed, leauing behind him by the Lady Mary daughter to ẏ Lord Humfrey Bohun, Erle of Hereford & Northampton, Henry Prince of Wales, Thomas Duke of Clarence, Iohn Duke of Bedford,



Bedford, Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, Blanch Duches of Bauier, and Phillip Queene of Demarke: by his laſt wife Iane, hee hadde no children.

His ſtature.

This King was of a meane ſtature, well proportioned, and formally compact, quicke and deliuer, and of a ſtoute courage. In his latter dayes, he ſhewed himſelfe ſo gentle, that he gate more loue amongſt the nobles and people of this Realme, than he had purchaſed malice and euill will in the beginning: but yet to ſpeake a troth by his proceedings, after hee had atteined to the Crowne, what with ſuch taxes, tallages, ſubſedies, and exactions as hee was conſtreyned to charge the people with, and what by puniſhing ſuche as moued with diſdeyne to ſee him vſurpe the Crowne (contrarie to the othe taken at hys entring into this lande, vppon his returne from exile) did at ſundry times rebell againſt him, hee wanne himſelfe more hatred than in all hys lyfe time (if it had bin longer by many yeares than it was) had bin poſſible for him to haue weeded out and remoued, and yet doubtleſſe, worthy were his ſubiectes to taſt of that bitter cuppe, ſith they were ſo readie to ioyne, and clappe handes with him, for the depoſing of their rightfull and naturall Prince King Richarde, whoſe chiefe fault reſted only in that, that he was too bountifull to his friendes, and too mercifull to his foes, ſpecially, if he had not bin drawen by others, to ſeeke reuenge of thoſe that abuſed his good and curteous nature.

But nowe to returne to the matter preſente. The Duke of Clarẽce immediately vpõ knowledge hadde of his father King Henry the fourth his death, returned out of Guyenne into Englande, with the Earle of Angoleſme, and other priſoners.

But nowe to rehearſe what writers of oure Engliſh nation liued in the days of this Kyng, that renowmed Poete Geffreye Chaucer is worthily named as principall, a man ſo exquiſitely learned in all ſciences, that hys matche was not lightly founde anye where in thoſe dayes, and for reducing our Engliſhe tong to a perfect conformitie, hee hath excelled therein all other. He departed this life about the yeare of our Lord. 1402. as Bale gathereth, but by other it appeareth, that he deceaſſed the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare. 1400. and lyeth buried at Weſtminſter, in the South parte of the great Church there, as by a monumente erected by Nicholas Brigham it dothe appeare: Iohn Gower diſcended of that worthye familie of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkeſhire (as Leland noteth) ſtudyed not only the commõ lawes of this Realme, but alſo other kindes of literature, and grew to greate knowledge in the ſame, namely in poeticall inuentions, applying his endeuor with Chaucer, to garniſh the Engliſhe tong, in bringing it from a rude vnperfectneſſe, vnto a more apt elegancie: for whereas before thoſe dayes, the learned vſed to write onely in latine or Frenche, and not in Engliſhe, oure tong remayned very barreyne, rude, and vnperfect, but now by the diligent induſtrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greatly amended, ſo as it grew not only to be very riche and plentifull in wordes, but alſo ſo proper and apt to expreſſe that which the minde conceyued, as any other vſuall language. Gower departed this life ſhortly after the deceaſſe of his deere and louing friend Chaucer, to witte, in the yere 1402. beeing then come to great age, and blinde for a certaine time before his death. He was buried in the Church of Saint Mary Queries in Southwarke: Hugh Legate borne in Hertfordeſhire, and a Monke of Sainte Albons, wrote Scholies vpon Architreuius of Iohn Hanuille, and alſo vppon Boetius *de Conſolatione*: Roger Alington, Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, a greate Sophiſt, and an enimie to the doctrine of Wickliſe: Iohn Botrel, a Logitien: Nicholas Gorham, borne in a village of the ſame name in Hertfordſhire, a Dominike Frier, fyrſt proceeded maſter of arte in Oxforde, and after going to Paris, became the French Kings confeſſor, and therefore hath bin of ſome taken to be a Frenchman: Iohn Lilleſhull, ſo called of a Monaſterie in the Weſt parties of this Realme whereof hee was gouernour: Walter Diſſe, ſo called of a Towne in Northfolke where he was borne, firſt a Carmelite Frier profeſſed in Norwiche, and after going to Cambridge, hee there proceeded Doctor: hee was alſo confeſſor to the Duke of Lancaſter, and to his wife the Duches Conſtance, a greate ſetter forthe of Pope Vrbanes cauſe againſte the other Popes that were by him and thoſe of his faction named the Antipapes: Thomas Maldon, ſo called of yͤ towne of that name in Eſſex where hee was borne: Iohn Edoe, diſcended out of Wales by lignage, and borne in Herefordſhire, a Franciſcane Frier: Nicholas Fakinham, borne in Northfolke, a grey Frier, proceeded Doctor in Oxford, a great Diuine, and an excellent Philoſopher prouinciall of his order here in Englande: Laurence Holbecke, a Monke of Ramſey, well ſeene in the Hebrewe tong, and wrote thereof a Dictionarie: Iohn Colton, Archbyſhop of Ardmach: Iohn Marrey, ſo called of a village in Yorkeſhire where he was borne, a Carmelite of Doncaſter: Richarde Chefer borne in Northfolke, a diuine, and an Auguſtine Frier in Norwiche: Iohn Lathburie, a Franciſcane Frier of Reading: Nicholas Poutz: Richard Scrope, brother to William Scrope, Lord Treaſorer of England, ſtudyed in Cambridge, and proceeded there Doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocate in the Court of Rome, and afterwardes was aduanced to the gouernemente of the Sea of Couentrie and Litchfield, and at length was remoued from thence, and made Archbyſhoppe of Yorke: he wrote an inuectiue againſte Kyng Henry, and at length loſt his head, as before yee haue heard: John Wrotham, a Carmelite Frier of London, and after made Warden of an houſe of his order in Calays: John Colby, a Carmelite Frier of Norwich: William Thorp a Northerne man borne, and ſtudente in Oxford, an excellent diuine, and an earneſt follower of that famous Clearke John Wicklife, a notable preacher of the word, and expreſſing his doctrine no leſſe in trade of life, than in ſpeeche, he was at length apprehended by commaundement of the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie Thomas Arundell, and committed to priſon in Saltwood Caſtell, where at length hee dyed: Stephen Patrington, borne in Yorkeſhire, a Frier Carmelite prouinciall of his order thorough England, of whiche brood, there were at that ſeaſon. 1500. within this land, he was Byſhop of Sainte Dauids, and confeſſor to Kyng Henry the fifth, about the fifth yeare of whoſe raigne, he deceaſſed: Robert Maſcall, a Carmelite Frier of Ludlowe, confeſſor alſo to the ſayde King, who made him Byſhop of Herceford: Reginald Langham, a Frier Minor of Norwiche: Actonus Dominicanus: Thomas Palmer, warden of the blacke Friers within the Citie of London: Boſton of Burie, a Monke of the Abbey of Burie in Suffolke, wrote a Cataloge of all the writers of the Churche, and other treatiſes: Thomas Peuerell, a Frier Carmelite, borne in Suffolke, hee was aduanced to the Sea of Oſſorie in Irelande by Richarde the ſeconde, and after by Pope Boniface the ninth, remoued to Landaue in Wales, and from thence called by Henrye the fourth, with conſente of Pope Gregorie the twelfth, to gouerne the Sea of Worceſter, and ſo continued Byſhoppe of that Citie, till hee ended his life in the yeare of oure Lord. 1418. whiche was about the ſixth yeare of the reigne of King Henry the fifth: John Puruey, an excellente Diuine, proceeded maſter of arte in Oxforde, hee was apprehended for ſuche doctrine as hee taught, contrarie to the ordinances of the Churche of Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas Arundell, Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie, to recante at Poules Croſſe ſeauen ſpeciall articles: hee wrote diuers treatiſes, and was the ſecond time committed to priſon in Henry ỹ fifth his dayes, by Henry Chichley, that ſucceeded Arundell in gouernement of the Church of Canterburie: William Holme, a grey Frier (and a good Phiſition for curing diſeaſes of the body, whatſoeuer his phiſick was for the ſoule:) he liued til Hẽry the fifth his dais, and deceaſſed about ỹ fourth yeare of his raigne: Nicholas Bayard, a blacke Frier, a Doctor of Diuinitie profeſſed at Oxforde: Thomas Rudburne, Archdeacon of Sudburie, and Byſhop of Saint Dauids in Wales, ſucceding after Stephen Patrington: hee wrote a Chronicle, and certaine Epiſtles (as John Bale noteth:) Nicholas Riſton, who being ſore greeued in mind, as diuers other in thoſe dayes, to conſider what inconuenience redounded to the Church, by reaſon of the ſtrife and brawling among the Prelates, for the acknowledging of a lawfull Pope, two or three ſtill contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, entituled *de tollendo Sciſmate*: John Walter, an excellent mathematicien, being fyrſte broughte vp of a Scholer, in the Colledge of Wincheſter, and after ſtudyed at Oxford: Thomas of Newmarket, taking that ſurname of the Towne in Cambridgeſhire where hee was borne, hee for his worthineſſe as was thoughte, was made Byſhoppe of Carleill, well ſeene both in other ſciences, and alſo in diuinitie: William Inger a Franciſcane Frier, of an houſe of that order in Brigewater: Peter Ruſſell a grey Frier, and of his order the prouinciall heere in England: John Langton, a Carmelite: Roberte Wantham a Monke of Cerneley in Dorſetſhire, wrote a Booke in verſe, of the originall, and ſignification of wordes: William Norton, a Franciſcane Frier of Couentrie: Hugh Sueth, a blacke Frier, and a great preacher: Richard Folſham, a Monke of Norwiche: Robert Wimbeldon, a ſingular diuine, and an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon whiche hee made vpon this texte, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.*

Actes and monuments. page 631. &c.

See maſter Foxe, in his booke of Actes and monumẽts, pa

Actes and monumen page.653

reg. 1.
Henry
he.5.

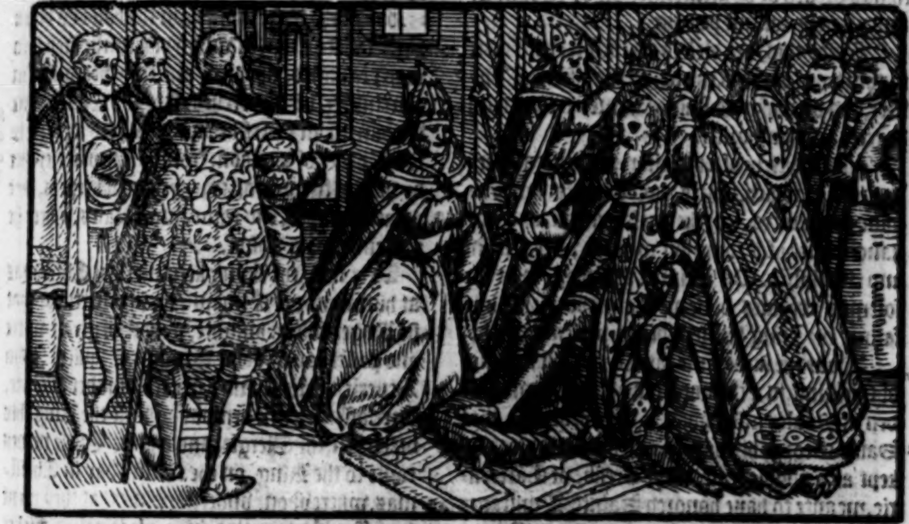
HENRY Prince of Wales, son and heire to Kyng Henrye the fourth, borne at Monmouth in wales, on the ryuer of Wye, after his father was departed this life, tooke vpon him the regimente of thys Realme of Englande, the twentith of Marche, being proclaymed King, by the name of Henry the fifth, in the yeare of the worlde. 5375. after the birth of our sauiour. 1413. the third, or therabouts, of the Emperour Sigismond, the three and thirtie of Charles the sixt king of Fraunce, and about the fifth of James the first K. of Scotland.

1413

Homage done to king Henry before his coronation.

Suche greate hope, and good expectation was hadde of thys mans fortunate successe to followe, that within three dayes after hys fathers decease, diuers noble men, and honourable personages, did to him homage, and sware to him due obedie͂ce, which had not bin sene done to any of his predecessors kings of this Realm, till they hadde bin possessed of the Crowne, and receyued their oth well and truely to gouerne. He was Crowned the ninth of Aprill, beyng Passion Sonday, which was a sore, ruggie and vntemperate daye, with wind, snow and sleete, that men greatly marueiled thereat, making diuers interpretations, what the same mighte signifie.

The day of K. Henryes coronation a very tempestuous daye.



able ex-
ple of a
rthy
ince.

But what so euer mens fancies herof might coniecture, this King was the man, that according to the olde prouerbe, declared and shewed in what sort honors ought to change maners, for immediately after that hee was inuested Kyng, and had receyued the Crowne, hee determined with him selfe to putte vppon him the shape of a new man, turning insolencie and wildnesse into grauitie and sobernesse: And whereas hee hadde passed his youth in wanton pastime, and riotous misorder, with a sort of misgouerned mates, and vnthriftie playfeers, hee nowe banished them from his presence (not vnrewarded, nor yet vnpreferred) inhibiting them vppon a great payne, not once to approche, lodge, or soiourne within tenne miles of his Courte or mansion: and in their places he elected and chose men of grauitie, witte, and high policie, by whose wise counsell, and prudent aduertisement, he might at al times rule to his honoure, and gouerne to his profyte: whereas if he should haue retained the other lustie companions aboute him, he doubted least they might haue allured him vnto suche lewde and lighte partes, as with them before tyme he had youthfully vsed, not alwayes to his owne commendation, nor yet to the co͂tentation of his father, in so much, that where on a time, hee stroke the chiefe iustice on the face with his fiste, for emprisoning one of his mates, he was not only co͂mitted to straighte prison himselfe by the sayde chiefe Justice, but also of his father putte out of the priuie counsell, and banished the Court, and his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence elected president of the Counsel, to his great displeasure and open reproch: but nowe that hee was once placed in the royall throne, and regall seate of the Realme, he conſidering with himſelfe, what charge he had in hand, and what apperteyned to his duetie and office, truſted not two muche to the redineſſe of his owne wit, nor to the iudgement of hys owne wauering wil, and therfore (as I ſaid) called to his counſell ſuch prudent and politike perſonages as myghte helpe to eaſe hys charge, and inſtruct him with ſuche good reaſons, and frutefull perſwaſions, as hee myghte ſhew himſelfe to his ſubiects a mirror of vertue, and an example of vpright dealing. After he had layd this politike foundation, he vertuouſly conſidering in his mind, that all goodneſſe commeth of God, determined to begin with ſome thing acceptable, to his diuine maieſtie, and therefore firſt commaunded the Clergie, ſincerely and truelie to Preache the worde of God, and to liue accordingly, that they mighte bee the lanternes of light to the temporaltie, as their profeſſion required. The lay men he willed to ſerue God, and obey their Prince, prohibiting them aboue all things breach of Matrimonie, vſe of ſwearing, and namely, wilfull periurie.

Beſide this, hee elected the beſt learned men in the lawes of the Realme, to the offices of Iuſtice, and men of good liuing, he preferred to high degrees, and authoritie.

A parliament.

Immediately after Eaſter, he called a Parliament, in which, diuers good ſtatutes, & wholeſome ordinances, for the preſeruation and aduancemente of ẏ common wealth, were deuiſed and eſtabliſhed. On Trinitie Sonday, were the ſolemne exequies done at Canterburie, for hys father, the King himſelfe being preſent thereat.

Thom. VVal.
The funerals of K. Henrye the fourthe, kept at Canterbury.

Saint Georges day made double feaſt,

About the ſame time, at the ſpeciall inſtance of the King, in a conuocation of the Clergie holden at Poules in London, it was ordeyned, that Saint George his day ſhould be celebrate, and kept as a double feaſt. The Archb. of Cãterburie, meante to haue honored Sainte Dunſtanes day with like reuerence, but it tooke not effect.

Sir Iohn Oldcaſtell.

When the K. had ſetled things much to hys purpoſe, he cauſed the body of K. Richard to bee remoued with all funerall pompes, conueniente for his eſtate from Langley to Weſtminſter, where he was honorably interred with Queene Anne his firſte wife, in a ſolemne tombe erected, and ſet vp at the charges of this King.

Alſo, in this firſt yere of this kings raigne, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell, whiche by his wife was called Lord Cobham, a valiant Captaine, and a hardie Gentleman, was accuſed to the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, of certaine poyntes of hereſie, who knowing hym to bee highly in the Kinges fauor, declared to his highneſſe the whole accuſation. The K. firſte hauing compaſſion of ẏ noble mã, required the Prelates, that if he wer a ſtraied ſheepe, rather by gentleneſſe than by rigor, to reduce him to his former folde. And after this, he himſelfe ſent for him, and right earneſtly exhorted him, and louingly admoniſhed him to reconcile himſelfe to God, and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onely thanked him of his moſt fauourable clemencie, but alſo declared firſt to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the grounde of his beliefe, affirming his grace to be his ſupreme head, and competent iudge, and none other perſon, offering an C. Knightes and Eſquiers, to come to hys purgation, or elſe to fight in open liſts, in defence of his iuſt cauſe. The King vnderſtanding and perſwaded by his Counſell, that by order of the lawes of his Realme, ſuch accuſations touching matters of faith, ought to be tried by the ſpirituall Prelates, ſent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the Clergie, according to the ſtatutes in that caſe prouided, after which time, a ſolemne ſeſſion was appointed in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, vpon the .23. day of September, and an other the 25. day of the ſame moneth, in the hall of ẏ black Friers at London, in which places, the ſayd lord was examined, appoſed, and fully heard, and in concluſion, by the Archebyſhop of Canterburie denounced an Heretike, and remitted agayne to the Tower of London, from which place, eyther by help of friends, or corruption of keepers, hee priuily eſcaped, and came into Wales, where he remained for a ſeaſon.

Sir Iohn Ol
caſtell eſc
out of the
Tower.

Titus Liu
1414

After this, the Kyng keeping his Chriſtmas at his manor of Eltham, was aduertiſed, that ſir Roger Acton knighte, a man of greate witte and poſſeſſions, Iohn Browne Eſquier, Iohn Beuerley Prieſt, and a greate number of other, were aſſembled in armour againſt the King, his brethren, the Clergie, and realm. Theſe newes came to the King, on the twelfth day in Chriſtmas, whervpon, vnderſtanding that they ment to aſſemble togyther in a place called Ficket field, beſide London, on the backe ſide of Sainte Giles, he ſtraight got him to his palace at Weſtminſter, in as ſecret wiſe as he mighte, and there calling to him certaine bands of armed men, hee repaired into S. Gyles fieldes, neere to the ſayde place, (where he vnderſtood the aſſemble ſhuld be) about midnight, and ſo handled the matter, that he tooke ſome, and ſlew ſome, euen as ſtode with his pleaſure. The captaines of them afore mencioned, being apprehended, were broughte to the Kings preſence, and to hym declared the cauſes of their commotion and ryſing, accuſing a great number of their complices. The king vſed one policie, which muche imported to the diſcomforting of the aduerſaries (as Tho. Walſing. ſayth. For where as he gaue order, that all the gates of London ſhould be ſtraightly kept and garded, ſo

Hall,
A commo
rayſed by S
Roger Ac
and other.
Titus Li

The rebels
ſurpriſed.

Tho. Wa

as none ſhuld come in nor out, but ſuch as were knowen to goe to the King, the chiefeſt ſuccour appoynted to come to the Captaynes of the rebels, was by that meanes cutte off, where otherwiſe ſurely, if they had not bin thus preuented and ſtayed, there had iſſued forth of London to haue ioyned with them, to the number of fiftie thouſande perſons, one and other, ſeruauntes, prentiſes, and other Citizens, confederate with them, that were thus aſſembled in Ficket fielde.

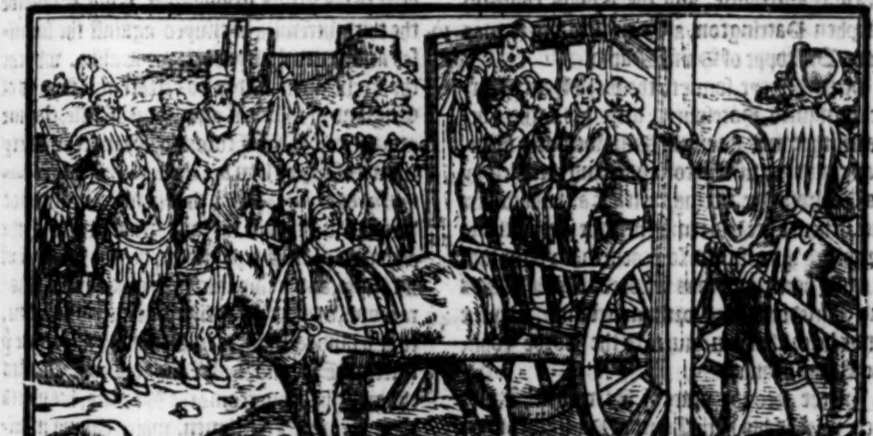
By this exceſsiue number it may appeare, that Walſing. reporteth thys matter according to the cōmon fame, and not as one that ſearched oute an exquiſite truth.

Diuers alſo that came from ſundry partes of the Realme, haſting towardes the place, to bee there at their appoynted time, chanced to lyghte among the Kings men, and being taken and demaunded whither they wente with ſuche ſpeede, they anſwered, that they came to meete with their Captaine the Lord Cobhom, but whether he came thither at all, or made ſhifte for hymſelfe to get away, it doth not certainely appeare, but he could not be hearde of at yͤ time (as Thomas Walſ. confeſſeth) although the King by proclamation promiſed a thouſand markes to him that could bring him forth, with greate liberties to the Cities or Townes, that woulde diſcouer where hee was: by this it maye appeare, howe greatly he was beloued, that there could not one be found, that for ſo great a reward would bring him to light.

Williā Murleye.

Among other that were taken, was one William Murley, that dwelt in Dunſtable, a man of greate wealth, and by his occupatiō a Brewer. He was an earneſt mainteyner of the lord Cobhams opinions, and as the brute ranne, was in hope to bee highly aduanced by him, if their purpoſed deuice had taken place, in ſo muche, as he hadde two horſes, trapped with gilt harneſſe, ledde after him, and in his boſome, when he was taken, were found a paire of gilte ſpurres, ſo that it was deemed, that hee hadde prepared them for himſelfe to weare, looking to bee made Knighte by the Lorde Cobhams handes at that preſente time, but when he ſaw how their purpoſe quayled, he withdrewe backe into the Citie, in greate feare to hide himſelfe out of the way, but hee was perceyued, taken, and finally executed among other. To conclude, after this, ſo many perſons were apprehended, that all the priſons in and about London were full, the chiefe of them were condemned by the Clergie of hereſie, and attaynted of high treaſon, as mouers of warre agaynſt their Kyng, by the temporall lawe, in the Guild hall of London, and adiudged for that offence, to be drawen and hanged, and for hereſie to bee conſumed with fire, gallowes, and all, whyche iudgemente was executed the ſame moneth, on the ſaid Sir Roger Acton, and eight and twentie other.

Sir Rog. Actō and his complices cōdemned of treaſon and hereſie.



Some ſaye, that the occaſion of their death, was onely for the conueying of the Lord Cobham out of priſon. Others write, that it was both for treaſon and hereſie, and ſo it appeareth by the recorde. Certaine affirme, that it was for feined cauſes ſurmiſed by the ſpiritualtie, more vpon diſpleaſure, than troth, and that they were aſſembled to heare their Preacher, the foreſayde Beuerley in that place there, out of the way frō reſort of people, ſith they might not come togyther openly, about anye ſuche matter, without daunger to bee apprehended, as the manner is, and hathe bin euer of the perſecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publiquely the exerciſe of the religiō. But howſoeuer the matter wēt with theſe men, apprehended they were, & diuers of them executed (as before ye haue heard) whether for rebellion or hereſie, or for both, as the forme of the Inditemēt importeth, I neede not to ſpend many wordes, ſith other haue ſo largely treated thereof, & therefore I refer thoſe that wiſh to be more fully ſatiſfyed ſatiſfied herein vnto their diſcourſes, hauing for mine owne parte rather choſen to ſhewe what I finde recorded by Writers, than to vſe any cenſure, to the preiudice of other mens iudgements, and therefore to leaue this matter, and alſo the Lord Cobham, eyther in Wales, or elſe where, cloſely hid for the time, from king Henries reach, I will paſſe from him to ſpeake of other things.

Eyton

A diſdainful ambaſſade.

Whileſt in the Lente ſeaſon the Kyng laye at Kenilworth, there came to him frō Charles, Dolphin of Fraunce, the Frenche Kings eldeſt ſonne, certayne Ambaſſadors, that broughte with them a barrell of Paris balles, which they preſented to hym for a token from their maiſter, whiche preſente was taken in verie ill parte, as ſent in ſcorne, to ſignifie, that it was more mete for the Kyng to paſſe the tyme with ſuche childiſh exerciſe, than to attempte anye worthy exployte: wherefore the Kyng wrote to hym, that ere ought long, hee woulde ſende to hym ſome London balles, that ſhoulde breake and batter downe the roofes of his houſes about hys eares.

Tho. VVal.

This yeare, Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterburie departed this life, a ſtoute Prelate, and an earneſt maynteyner of the Religion then allowed by the Churche of Rome. Henrye Chichellie Byſhoppe of Saint Dauid was remoued, and ſucceeded the ſame Arundell in the Sea of Canterburie, and the Kyngs confeſſor Stephen Patrington, a Carmelite Frier, was made Byſhoppe of Saint Dauid.

Henry Percye, ſonne to the Lord Henry Percie, ſurnamed Hoteſpurre, after his fathers deceaſſe, that was ſlayne at Shrewesburie fielde, was conueyed into Scotlande, and there left by his Grandfather, beeing then but a childe, where euer ſithence hee had remayned, the Kyng therefore pitied his caſe, and ſo procured for him, that he came home, and was reſtored to all his lands and Earledome of Northumberlande, whyche lands before had bin giuen to the Lorde John, the Kings brother.

Percy reſtored to the erldome of Northumberlande.

An. reg. 2.

In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, Kyng Henry called his high Court of Parliament, the laſt day of Aprill, in the Towne of Leiceſter, in the which Parliamente, many profitable lawes were concluded, and manye petitions moued, were for that time deferred: amongſt whyche, one was, that a bill exhibited in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in the eleuenth yeare of King Henry the fourth (whiche by reaſon the Kyng was then troubled with ciuill diſcorde, came to none effect) might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to ſome good concluſion. The effect of whiche ſupplication was, that the temporall lands deuoutely giuen, and diſordinately ſpent by religious, and other ſpirituall perſons, ſhould be ſeaſed into yͤ kyngs hands, ſithence the ſame might ſuffiſe to mainteyne to the honor of the King, and defence of the Realm, fifteene Erles, fifteene C. knightes, ſixe M. two C. Eſquiers, and a C. almes houſes, for reliefe onely of the poore, impotent, and needie perſons, and the King to haue clearely to his coffers twentie M. poundes, with many other prouiſions and values of Religious houſes, which I paſſe ouer. This bill was much noted, and more feared among the Religious ſort, whome ſurely it touched very neere, and therefore to find a remedie againſt a miſchiefe, they determined to aſſay all wayes that might ſerue their purpoſe, to put by, and ouerthrowe this bill, and in eſpeciall, they thought beſt to trie if they might repleniſh yͤ kings braine with ſome pleaſant ſtudie, that he ſhoulde neyther care, nor regarde the ſerious petition of the importunate commons: whereupon, one day, as yͤ King was ſet in the Parliamente Chamber, Henrye Chichelcy Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, made a pithie oration, wherein hee declared, howe not onely the Duchies of Normandy & Aquitayne, with the Counties of Anion and Maine, and yͤ countrey of Gaſcoigne, were by lineall diſcent apperteyning to the King, as lawfull and inhabitate heire of the ſame, but that alſo the whole realme of France, belonged to him by right, as heire to his greate grandfather King Edwarde the third: herewith he enuyed againſt the ſurmiſed and vntruely feyned lawe Salike, whyche the Frenchmen alledge to defeate the Kyngs of England of their iuſt and rightfull title, clayme and intereſt to the Crowne of Fraunce, the very wordes of which law are theſe, *In terram Salicam mulieres ne ſuccedant*, that is to ſaye, lette not women ſuccede in the land Salique, which the Frenche gloſers expounde to bee the Realme of Fraunce, and yͭ this law was made by K. Pharamond, wheras yet their owne authors affirme, that yͤ land Salique is in Germanie, betweene yͤ riuers of Elbe and Sala, and that whē Charles the great had ouercome the Saxons, hee placed there certaine Frenchmen, which hauing in diſdeine the vnhoneſt maners of the Germain women, made a lawe, that the females ſhoulde not ſuccede to anye inheritance within that lande, which at this day is called Meiſen, ſo that if this be true, this law was not made for the Realme of France, nor the Frenchmen poſſeſſed the land Salique, til four C. 21. yeares after the deathe of Pharamond their ſuppoſed maker of this Salique lawe, for this Pharamond deceaſſed in the yere. 426. and Charles yͤ great ſubdued yͤ Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in thoſe partes beyond the riuer of Sala, in the yeare. 805.

A bill exhibited to the parliamēt againſt the Clergie.

The Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye his Oration in the Parliament houſe.

The Salike lawe.

Miſela.

Moreouer, it appereth by their owne writers, that King Pepine, whiche depoſed Childerike, claymes claymed the crowne of Fraunce, as heire generall, for that he was deſcended of Blithild daughter to king Clothair the firſte: Hugh Capet alſo which vſurped the Crowne vpon Charles duke of Lorayne, the ſole heire male of the lyne and ſtocke of Charles the great, to make his title ſeeme true, and appeare good, though in deede it was ſtarke naught, conueyde himſelfe as heyre to the Lady Lyngard, daughter to king Charlemayn, ſonne to Lewes the Emperor, that was ſonne to Charles the great. King Lewes alſo the tenth otherwyſe called Saint Lewes, being very heire to the ſaid vſurper Hugh Capet, coulde neuer be ſatiſfyed in his conſcience howe he might iuſtely kepe and poſſeſſe the crown of France, til he was perſwaded and fully inſtructed, that Queene Iſabell his grandmother, was lyneally deſcended of the Lady Ermengarde daughter and heyre to the abouenamed Charles duke of Lorayn, by the which mariage, the bloud and lyne of Charles the great, was againe vnited and reſtored to the crowne and ſcepter of France, ſo that more cleere than the Sunne, it openly appeareth, that the title of king Pepyn, the clayme of Hugh Capet, the poſſeſſion of Lewes, yea and of the Frenche kynges to thys daye, are deryued and conueyed from the heire female, though they woulde vnder colour of ſuche a fayned Lawe, barre the Kings and Princes of this realme of England, of theyr ryghte and lawfull inheritance.

The Archebiſhoppe further alledged oute of the booke of Numeri thys ſaying: When a man dyeth without a ſonne, let the inheritance diſcende to his daughter. At length, hauing ſaid ſufficiently for the proofe of the kings iuſte and lawfull title to the Crowne of Fraunce, hee exhorted hym to aduance forth his banner to fight for hys ryghte, to conquere hys inheritaunce, to ſpare neither bloud, ſworde, ne fire, ſith his warre was iuſt, his cauſe good, and his clayme true.

And to the intent his louyng Chapleyns and obediente ſubiectes of the Spiritualtie myghte ſhewe them ſelues wyllyng and deſyrous to ayde hys maieſtie, for the recouerie of hys aunciente righte and true inheritaunce, the Archbiſhoppe declared that in theyr ſpirituall Conuocation, they had graunted to his highneſſe ſuche a ſumme of money, as neuer by no ſpiritual perſons was to any Prince before thoſe dayes giuen or aduaunced.

The Earle of Weſtmerland perſuadeth the king to the cõqueſt of Scotlande.

When the Archbiſhoppe hadde ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuill Erle of Weſtmerland, as then Lorde Warden of the marches ageynſt Scotlande, and vnderſtandyng that the kyng vpon a couragious deſire to recouer his right in Fraunce, would ſurely take the warres in hand, thought good to moue the Kyng to begin fyrſte wyth Scotlande, and therevpon declared how eaſye a matter it ſhoulde bee, to make a conqueſt there, and howe greatly the ſame ſhould further his wiſhed purpoſe for the ſubduyng of the Frenche menne, concludyng the ſumme of hys tale with thys olde ſaying: That who ſo wyll Fraunce wynne, muſt with Scotlande fyrſt beginne.

Many matters he touched, as well to ſhewe howe neceſſary the conqueſt of Scotland ſhould be, as alſo to proue howe iuſt a cauſe the Kyng hadde to attempte it, truſtyng to perſwade the Kyng and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Exceter hys wyſe and pythy anſwere to the Earle of Weſtmerlandes ſaying.

A true ſaying.

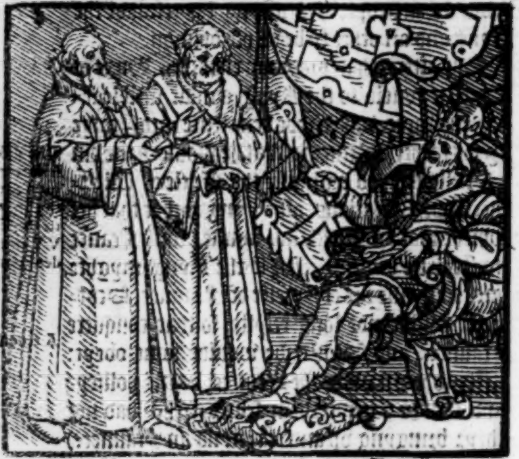
But after he had made an ende, the Duke of Exceſter, vncle to the Kyng, a man well learned and wyſe, who hadde bine ſente into Italye by his father, intendyng that he ſhould haue bin a Prieſt, replyed agaynſte the Earle of Weſtmerlandes Orations, affirmyng rather that hee whiche woulde Scotlande wynne, with Fraunce muſte firſte beginne. For if the Kyng myghte once compaſſe the conqueſte of Fraunce, Scotlande coulde not long reſyſte, ſo that conquere Fraunce, and Scotlande woulde ſoone obeye: (For where ſhoulde the Scottes learne pollicye and ſkill to defende them ſelues if they had not theyr bringyng vp and traynyng in Fraunce?) If the Frenche penſions maynteyned not the Scottiſhe Nobilitie, in what caſe ſhoulde they be? Then take away Fraunce and the Scottes will ſoone be tamed. Fraunce beeyng to Scotlande the ſame that the ſappe is to the tree, which beyng taken awaye, the tree muſte needes dye and wyther.

To be briefe, the Duke of Exceſter vſed ſuch earneſt and pithy perſwaſions to induce the king and the whole aſſemblie of the Parliament to credite hys wordes, that immediately after he hadde made an ende, all the companye beganne to crye, Warre, warre, Fraunce, Fraunce, and the bill putte into the Parliament for diſſoluing of Religious houſes was cleerely forgotten and buryed, and nothyng thoughte on but only the recouerying of Fraunce, accordyng to the title by the Archebiſhoppe declared and ſet forth. And vpon this poynte, after a fewe actes for the wealthe of the Realme eſtabliſhed and decreed, the Parlyamente was prorogued vnto Weſtmynſter.

Some write, that in this Parliament it was enacted, that Lollards and Heretikes with their maynteyners and fauourers ſhoulde be *ipſo facto* adiudged guiltie of high treaſon: but in the ſtatute made in the ſame Parliament againſt Lollardes, wee fynde no ſuche wordes: Albeit by force of that Statute, it was ordeyned, that beyng conuicte and executed, they ſhoulde loſe theyr Landes holden in Fee ſimple, and all other theyr goodes and cattalles, as in caſes of Felonye.

Ambaſſadors from the Frẽch K. and from the Duke of Burgoigne.

During this Parliament, ther came to the K. Ambaſſadors, as wel from the French king that was then in the gouernance of the Orlienciall faction, as alſo from the Duke of Burgoigne, for ayde agaynſt that faction, promiſing more as was ſayd, thã lay well in his power to performe. The K. ſhortly after, ſent Ambaſſadors to them both, as the Biſhop of Durham, and Norwich, with others.



Creation of Dukes.

Harding.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Frãce

Moreouer at this Parliament, John the kings brother, was created Duke of Bedford, and his brother Humfry, Duke of Gloceſter. Alſo, Thomas Beauforte, Marques Dorſet, was created Duke of Exeter. Imediately after, the King ſent ouer into France, his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, the Lorde Grey, Admirall of England, the Archbiſhop of Dublin, and the Biſhop of Norwiche, Ambaſſadoures to the Frenche K. with fiue hundred horſe, which were lodged in the temple houſe in Paris, keping ſuch triumphãt cheere in their lodging, and ſuche a ſolemne eſtate in their ryding through the citie, that the Pariſians and all the Frenchmen had no ſmall meruaile at that honorable porte and lordely behauior. The French king receyued them very honorably, and banketted them right ſumptuouſly, ſhewing to them iuſtes and marciall paſtymes, by the ſpace of three dayes together, in the which Juſtes, the king himſelfe, to ſhewe his courage and actiuitie to the Engliſhmen, manfully brake ſpeares, and luſtily tourneyed. When the triumphe was ended, the Engliſhe ambaſſadours hauing a tyme appoynted them to declare theyr meſſage, and beyng admitted to the Frenche kinges preſence, requyred of hym to delyuer vnto the Kyng of Englande, the realme and Crown of France, wyth the entier Duchyes of Aquitayne, Normandy and Aniou, wyth the countreys of Poictieu and Mayne.

Manie other requeſtes they made, and thys offered withall, that if the French Kyng woulde without warre and effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, render to the King their maſter his verye right & lawfull inheritance, that he woulde be content to take in mariage ẏ Lady Katherine, daughter to the Frenche King, and to endow hir with all the Duchies and Countries before reherſed. And if he would not ſo doe, then the King of England did expreſſe and ſignifie to hym, that with the aide of God, and helpe of his people, he woulde recouer his right and inheritãce wrongfully withholden from him, with mortall warre, and dint of ſword.

The Frenchmen being not a little abaſhed at theſe demaundes, thought not to make any abſolute aunſwere in ſo weightie a cauſe, till they hadde further breathed, and therefore prayed the Engliſh Ambaſſadors to ſaye to the King theyr maſter, that they now hauing no oportunitie to conclude in ſo high a matter, would ſhortly ſend Ambaſſadors into Englande, which ſhould certifie and declare to the King theyr whole minde, purpoſe, and intent.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadors returned with this aunſwere, making relation of euery thyng that was ſaid or done.

King Henry after the returne of his Ambaſſadors, determined fully to make war in Frãce, conceyuing a good and perfect hope, to haue fortunate ſucceſſe, ſith victorie for the moſte parte followeth where right leadeth, beeing aduanced forwarde by iuſtice, and ſet forth by equitie. And bycauſe manye Frenchmen were promoted to Eccleſiaſtical dignities, as ſome to benefices, and ſome to Abbeys and Priories within the realme, and ſente dayly innumerable ſummes of money into Fraunce, for the reliefe of their naturall cõtreymen and kinsfolke, he therefore in fauour of the publike wealth of his Realme and ſubiects, in a counſel called at London, about Michaelmas, cauſed to be ordeined, that no ſtranger hereafter, ſhould be promoted to anye ſpirituall dignitie or degree within this realme, without his eſpeciall licence, and royall cõſent, and all they that ſhuld be admitted, ſhoulde find ſufficient ſuretie, not to diſcloſe the ſecretes of this Realme to anye forraigne perſon, nor to miniſter ayde or ſuccour to any of thẽ with money, or by any other meane. This was confirmed in a conuocation called the ſame time by the new Archb. of Caunterburie.

Tho. VVals. It is not like that in this Counſell vvriters meane the Parliament that vvas adiorned from Leyceſter to VVeſtminſter, vvhere it began in the octaues of Saint Martin, in the ſeconde yeare. 1415.

The Counſell of Conſtance.

Moreouer, ſuch as were to goe vnto the generall counſell holden at Conſtance, were named and appointed to make thẽ ready: for the K. hauing knowledge frõ the Emperor Sigiſmonde, of the aſſembling of that counſell, thought it not conuenient to ſitte ſtill as an hearer, and no partaker in ſo high a cauſe, which touched the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian common wealthe, as then troubled by reaſon of the ſchiſme that yet continued, wherefore hee ſente thither Rycharde

Earle

The Erle of VVarvvick & others ſente to the generall counſell.

Earle of Warwike, the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Bathe, and Hereforde, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and the Prior of Worceſter, with diuers other Doctors and learned men of the ſpiritualtie, beſides Knightes and Eſquiers. They were in number an .viii. C. horſes, ſo wel appoynted and furniſhed as well the menne as horſſes, that all nations merueyled to ſee ſuche an honorable companie come from a countrey ſo farre diſtant.

Engorrant.

Diuers other things were concluded at that preſente: for the Kyng had cauſed not onely the Lordes of the ſpiritualtie, but alſo of the temporaltie to aſſemble here at London, the ſame tyme to treate ſpecially of his iourney that he purpoſed to make ſhortly into Fraunce: and herevpon meanes was made for the gatheryng of money whiche was graunted with ſo good a wil both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, that there was leuied the ſum of three hundred thouſand markes Engliſh, and herewith order was giuen to gather a great hoſt of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increaſing of his nauie, he ſent into Holland, Zeland, and Frizelande, to conducte and hyre ſhippes for the tranſportyng and conueying ouer his men and munitions of warre, and finally prouided for armour, victuals, money, artillerie, cariage, boates to paſſe ouer riuers couered with leather, tentes, and all other things requiſite for ſo high an enterpriſe.

Great preparation for the frenchvvarres.

The Frenchemen hauing knowledge hereof, the Dolphyn who had the gouernaunce of the realme, bicauſe his father was fallen into his old diſeaſe of franſye, ſent for the Dukes of Berrye and Alaunſon, and all the other lordes of the coūſel of Fraunce, by whoſe aduice it was determined, that they ſhoulde not only prepare a ſufficient armye to reſiſt the king of England, when ſo euer hee arriued to inuade Fraunce, but alſo to ſtuffe and furniſhe the townes on the Frontiers, and ſea coaſtes, with conueniente garniſons of men: and further to ſend to the king of Englād a ſolemne embaſſade, to make to him ſome offers according to the demaundes before reherſed. The charge of this ambaſſade was committed to the Earle of Vandoſme, to maiſter William Bouratyer Archbiſhop of Bourges, and to maiſter Peter Fremell Biſhoppe of Lyſeux, to the Lords of Yvry and Braquemonte, and to maiſter Gaultier Cole the kings Secretarie, and diuers other.

An. reg. 3. Imbaſſadours out of France.

Theſe Ambaſſadors accompanied with .350. horſſes paſſed the ſea at Caleys, and landed at Douer, before whoſe arriuall the King was departed from Windſor to Wincheſter, entēding to haue gone to Hampton, there to haue ſurueyd his nauie, but hearing of the Ambaſſadors approching, he taryed ſtill at Wincheſter, where ẏ ſaid Frenche lordes ſhewed themſelues very honorably before the King and his nobilitie.

At tyme prefixed, before the Kinges preſence, ſitting in his throne imperiall, the Archebiſhop of Bourges made an eloquent and a long Oration, diſſuading warre, and praiſing peace, offering to the king of England a great ſumme of money, with diuers countreys, being in verye deede but baſe and poore, as a dowrie with the Ladie Catherine in mariage, ſo that he woulde diſſolue his armie, and diſmiſſe his Souldiours, which he had gathered and put in a readineſſe.

When his oration was ended, the king cauſed the Ambaſſadors to be highly feaſted, and ſet them at his owne table. And after at a day aſſigned, in the foreſaid hall, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to their oration made a notable anſwer, the effect whereof was, that if the Frenche kyng would not giue with his daughter in mariage the duchies of Aquitayne, Aniou, and all other ſeigniories and dominions ſometime appertaining to the noble progenitors of the K. of Englande, he would in no wyſe retire his armie, nor breake hys iourney, but would with all diligence, enter into Fraunce, and deſtroye the people, waſte the countreye, and ſubuerte the townes with blood, ſword, and fyre, and neuer ceaſſe till he had recouered his ancient ryght and lawfull patrimonie.

The Kyng auowed the Archebiſhoppes ſaying, and in the worde of a Prince promyſed to performe it to the vttermoſte.

A proude preſumptuous prelate.

The Archebiſhop of Bourges diſpleaſed, that hys purpoſe toke not effecte, deſiring licence and pardon of the kyng to ſpeake, and obteyning it, verye raſhly and vnreuerently ſayde: Thinkeſt thou to put downe, and wrongfully to deſtroye the moſte chriſtian king our moſt redoubted ſoueraigne Lorde and moſt excellent Prince of all Chriſtendome in blood and preeminence? Oh king, ſauing thyne honour, thinkeſt thou that he hath offered to thee, landes, goods, and other poſſeſſions with his own daughter for feare of thee, or thy Engliſh nation, thy friendes, wel willers or fauourers? No, no. But of a trouth he moued with pitie, as a louer of peace, to the intente that innocent bloud ſhould not be ſpilt, and that Chriſtian people ſhould not be afflicted with battayle, hathe made to thee theſe offers, puttyng his whole affyaunce in God moſt puiſſaunte, accordyng to ryght and reaſon, truſtyng in his quarrell to bee ayded and ſupported by hys beneuolente ſubiectes and fauourable well wyllers. And ſith wee bee hys ſubiectes and ſeruauntes, wee requyre thee to cauſe vs ſafely and ſurely without damage to bee conducted out of thy realme and dominions, and that thou wilt write thyne anſwere wholly, as thou haſte giuen it vnder thy Seale and ſigne manuell.

The Kyng of England being nothing at al

The modeſt & wiſe anſwere of the king to the Biſhope of Bourges.

moued wyth the preſumptuous wordes of the vnnurtured biſhop, ſoberly anſwered him in this maner: My Lord, I little eſteeme your frenche bragges, and leſſe ſet by your power ⁊ ſtrength, I knowe perfectly my right to your region, and except you will denie the apparant truthe, ſo doe you: And if you neither doe nor will knowe it, yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The power of your maiſter you ſee dayly, but my puiſſance ye haue not yet taſted: if your maiſter haue louing ſubiectes, I am I thanke God, not vnprouided of the ſame: but this I ſay vnto you, that before one yere paſſe, I truſt to make the higheſt crowne of your countrey to ſtoupe, ⁊ the proudeſt myter to kneele downe: and ſay this to the vſurper your maiſter, that I within three monethes, will enter into Fraunce, not as into his land, but as into myne owne true and lawful patrimonie entending to conquer it, not with bragging wordes, flatteryng orations, or coloured perſwaſions, but with puiſſaunce of menne, and dente of ſworde, by the ayde of God, in whome is my whole truſt and confidence. And as concerning myne anſwere to be written, ſubſcribed and ſealed: I aſſure you, I would not ſpeake that ſentence, the which I wold not write and ſubſcribe, nor ſubſcribe that lyne, to the which I would refuſe to put my ſeale. Therfore your ſafeconduct ſhall be to you deliuered, with myne anſwer, and then you maye departe ſurely and ſafely I warrant you into your countrey, where I truſt, ſooner to viſite you, than you ſhal haue cauſe to ſalute or bid me welcome. With this anſwere the Ambaſſadors ſore diſpleaſed in their myndes, (although they were highly entertained and liberally rewarded) departed into theyr countreye, reporting to the Dolphyn how they had ſpedde in all thinges.

Harding.

A greate ouerthrowe giuen to the Scots by Sir Roberte Vmfreuile.

·260

After the French Ambaſſadors wer departed, the King lyke a prouident Prince, thought good to take order for the reſiſting of the Scottes, if according to their olde manner, they ſhould attempt any thing againſt his ſubiectes in hys abſence, and therfore appoynted the Erle of Weſtmerlande, the Lord Scrope, the baron of Greyſtocke, ſir Roberte Vmfreuile, and dyuers other hardy perſonages and valyant Capitaines to kepe the frontiers and marches of Scotlande, which ſir Robert Vmfreuille on the day of Mary Magdalen fought with ẏ Scots at the towne of Gedering, hauing in his company only .iij. C. archers, and .vij. ſcore men of armes or ſpeares, wher he after long conflict and doubtful battaile, ſlew of his enimies .lx. and odde, ⁊ tooke .CCClx. priſoners, and diſcomfited ⁊ put to flighte .j. M. and mo, whome he folowed in chaſe aboue .xij. myles, and ſo laded with prayes and priſoners, reculed againe not vnhurt to the caſtel of Rockſborough, of the whiche at that time he was captain. When the King had al his prouiſions ready, and ordered all things for the defence of the realme, he leauing behynde him for gouernor of the realme, the Quene his mother in law, departed to the towne of Southampton, intending there to take ſhippe, and ſo to paſſe the ſeas into Fraunce. And firſte he thought to aduertiſe the French king of his cõming, and therfore diſpatched Antelope his purſeuant at armes with letters to the French K. requiring him reſtitution of that which he wrongfully withheld, contrary to the lawes of God ⁊ man, declaring how ſory he was that he ſhould be thus compelled for recouerie of his righte ⁊ iuſt title of inheritance, to make warre to the deſtruction of chriſtian people, but ſith he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now for faulte of iuſtice, he might (as he thought) lawfully returne to armes. Neuertheleſſe, he exhorted the Frenche K. in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſte, to render vnto him that whiche was his owne, whereby the effuſion of chriſtian bloud might be auoided. Theſe letters conteyning many other wordes, though only to this effect ⁊ purpoſe, were dated frõ Hampton the .v. of Auguſt. When the ſame letters wer preſented to the French king, ⁊ by his counſel wel peruſed, anſwere was made, that he would take aduice, and prouide therin as in tyme ⁊ place ſhuld be thought conuenient, and ſo the meſſenger was licenced to depart at his pleaſure.

The Queene mother gouernour of the Realme.

When K. Henry had his nauie once rigged and decked, and that his men and all prouiſions were redie, perceiuing that his captains miſlyked nothing ſomuch as delaying of time, determined with al diligence to cauſe his ſouldiors to goe aboord the ſhips, and ſo to depart. But ſee the hap, the night before the daye appointed for their departure, he was credibly enformed, that Richard Erle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Yorke, and Henry Lord Scrope of Maſham L. Treſorer, with Tho. Gray a knight of Northumberlãd, being confederated togither, had cõpaſſed his death and final deſtruction, wherfore he cauſed them to be apprehended. The ſayde Lord Scrope was in ſuche fauour with the king, that he admitted him ſometime to be his bedfelow, in whoſe fidelitie and conſtant ſtedfaſtneſſe, hee repoſed ſuche truſt, that when any priuate or publike counſell was in hande, he hadde the determination of it. For he pretended ſo great grauitie in hys countenance, ſuche paſſing modeſtie in his behauiour, and ſo perfect vprightneſſe and vertuous zeale to all godlineſſe in his talk, ẏ whatſoeuer he ſayd was in euery reſpect thought neceſſarye to bee doone and followed. Alſo the ſayde Syr Thomas Grey (as ſome write) was of the Kinges priuie counſell, ſo that in what daunger

The Earle of Cambridge and other Lordes apprehended for treaſon

[illegible]

Titus Liuius.

daunger the king ſtoode, it is eaſy to coniecture, ſith thoſe that were in ſuch authoritie, & ſo neere about hym, ſought his deſtruction.

O curſed thirſt of money.

Theſe priſoners vpon their examination, cōfeſſed, that for a greate ſumme of money which they had receyued of the Frenche king, they entended verily eyther to haue deliuered the Kyng alyue into the handes of hys enimies, or elſe to haue murthered him before he ſhoulde arriue in the duchie of Normandie.

Hal.

King Henries wordes to the traitours.

When King Henrie had heard al things opened, whiche he deſired to know, he cauſed all his nobilitie to come before his preſence, before whō he cauſed to be brought the offēders, and to them ſayd: If you haue conſpired the death and deſtruction of me, which am the head of, the realme & gouernour of the people, without doubt I muſt of neceſſitie thinke, that you lykewyſe haue cōpaſſed the confuſion of all that here be with me, and alſo the finall deſtruction of youre natiue countrey. And although ſome priuate ſcorpion in your heartes, or ſome wylde worme in your heads, hath cauſed you to conſpire my death and confuſion, yet you ſhould haue ſpared that diueliſhe enterpriſe, which can not continue without a capitayne, nor be directed without a guyde, nor yet with the deſtruction of your owne bloud and nation, you ſhould haue pleaſed a foreyn enimie. Wherfore ſeing that you haue enterpriſed ſo gret a miſchiefe, to the intent that your fautours being in the armie, maye abhorre ſo deteſtable an offence by the puniſhement of you, haſte you to receyue the payne that for youre demerites you haue deſerued, and that puniſhmente that by the lawe for your offences is prouided. And ſo immediately they were hadde to execution, whiche done, the K. callyng his Lords afore him, ſpake theſe or the like wordes in effecte: See you not the madde imagination of men, which perſecute me that dayly ſtudy and hourely laboure for the aduancement of the publike welth of this realm: and for that cauſe I ſpare no payne, nor refuſe any tyme to the intente to doe good to all men, and hurte to none, and thus to doe is my ductie, and to this as I thinke, I am borne, I pray to God, that there be none among you that be infected with ſo much vntruth, ẏ had lieffer ſee me deſtroyed & brought to confuſion, than to ſee his countrey flouriſh, encreaſed with honor and empire, I aſſure you, that I conceyue no ſuch opinion in any of you, but put in you bothe truſt & cōfidence, & if I may haue your helpe to recouer the old honor of myne aunceſtours by ſubduing the Frenche nation, I for my ſelfe will forget al perill and payne. and be youre guide, lodeſman, and conductor, and if you drawe backe, and will not moue forwarde, beleeue mee, God will ſo diſpoſe, that hereafter you ſhall be deceyued, and to repent had I wyſt.

The Earle of Cambridge & the other traytours executed.

The kinges ſpeache to his lords touching the traitours.

When the king had finiſhed his ſaying, al the noble men kneeled downe, and promiſed faythfully to ſerue him, and duly to obey him, and rather to die than to ſuffer him to fall into the handes of his enimies.

Thys done, the Kyng thoughte that ſurely all ſedition and ciuill conſpiracie, had bin vtterly extinct: but he ſaw not the fyre which was newely kindled, and ceaſſed not to encreaſe, till at lengthe it burſte out into ſuche a flame, that embracing the walles of his houſe and familie, his lyne and ſtock was clean deſtroyed and conſumed to aſhes, whiche at that tyme mighte perauenture haue bin quenched and put oute.

For diuers write, that Richard erle of Cambridge did not conſpire with the Lorde Scrope, and Thomas Grey for the murthering of King Henry to pleaſe the Frenche King withall, but onely to the intente to exalte to the crowne his brother in law Edmund Erle of March as heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence: after the death of whyche Earle of Marche, for diuers ſecrete impedimentes, not able to haue iſſue, the Earle of Cambridge was ſure, that the crowne ſhoulde come to him by his wyfe, and to his children, of hir begotten. And therfore (as was thoughte) he rather confeſſed himſelfe for neede of moneye to be corrupted by the French king, than he wold declare hys inwarde mynde, and open his verye intent and ſecrete purpoſe, whiche if it were eſpyed, he ſawe plainely that the Earle of Marche ſhoulde haue drunken of the ſame cuppe that hee taſted, and what ſhoulde haue come to his owne children hee muche doubted: And therfore beeing deſtitute of comforte and in deſpaire of life to ſaue hys children, he fayned that tale, deſiring rather to ſaue hys ſucceſſion than himſelfe, which he did in deede, for his ſonne Richarde Duke of York not priuily but openly claimed the crowne, and Edwarde his ſonne, bothe claymed it, and gayned it, as after it ſhall appeare. Which thing if Kyng Henrye had at this tyme eyther doubted, or foreſeene, had neuer bin like to haue come to paſſe, as Hall ſaith.

But whatſoeuer hath bin reported of the confeſſion of the Earle of Cambridge, certain it is, that endited he was by the name of Richard erle of Cambridge of Coneſburgh in the countie of York knight, and with him Tho. Grey of Heton in the countie of Northumberlande knighte, for that that they the .xx. day of Iulye, in the thirde yeare of K. Henry the fifth at Southamton, and in diuers other places within this Realme, had conſpired togither with a power of men to them aſſociate, without the kings licence to haue ledde awaye the Lorde Edmunde Earle of Marche into Wales, and then to haue procured hym to

The effect of the Earle of Cambridge hys inditement.

to take vpon him the ſupreme gouernment of the realme, in caſe that King Richarde the ſeconde were dead: and herewith had purpoſed to ſette forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of the ſayde Earle of Marche, as heire of the crown againſt king Henry, by the name of Henry of Lancaſter the vſurper, to the ende that by ſuche meanes they might drawe the more number of the kings liege people vnto the ſaid Earle, & further to haue conueyde a baner of the armes of England, and a certain crown of Spayne ſet vpon a pallet, & laide in gage to the ſaid Earle of Cãbridge, by the king, together with the ſayd erle of Marche into the parties of Wales aforſaid: & further, that the ſaide Earle of Cambridge, & ſir Tho. Grey had appointed certain of the Kinges liege people to repaire into Scotland, & to bring from thence one Thomas Trumpington, alſo an other reſembling in ſhape, fauor, & countenãce K. Richard, and Henry Percie, togither wyth a great multitude of people to fight with the king, and him to deſtroy in opẽ field. Beſide this, that they had ment to win certain caſtels in Wales, & and to kepe them againſt the K. and many other treaſons they had contriued, as by the inditement was ſpecified, to the intẽt they might deſtroy the king & his brethren, yͤ dukes of Bedford & Glouceſter, and other the great lords and peeres of the realm. And Hẽry Scrope of Maſhã, of Flaxflet, in the countie of Yorke was likewiſe indited, as conſenting to the premiſſes. So that it appeareth their purpoſe was wel inough then perceiued, although haply not much bruted abrode, for cõſiderations thought neceſſary to haue it rather huyſht & kept ſecret. About the ſelfe ſame time the lord Cobham with his frends, whether as one of coũſel in the conſpiracie with the erle of Cambridge or not, we can not certainly affirme) was determined to haue made ſome attẽpt againſt yͤ L. of Bergueuenny, who being aduertiſed therof, got for his defence from Worceſter, Perſore, Teukſbury, & other places therabouts, to the number of v. M. archers, and other armed men, which came to hym vnto his caſtel of Hanley: wherof when the Lord Cobham was aduertiſed, he withdrew again to ſuche ſecrete places about Maluerne, as hee had prouided for his ſuretie, to reſorte vnto: but a Prieſte yͭ belonged vnto him, was taken, & diuers other, who diſcloſed to the L. of Burgueuennye, one of the places where the ſayde Lorde Cobham with his men vſed to kepe themſelues cloſe. They found in deed his money and armor in that houſe piled vp betwixt two walles, handſomly conueyed and framed for the purpoſe, but he with his folkes were withdrawne into ſome other place, after they once heard, that the Earle of Cambridge, and the Lorde Scrope were executed. But now to procede with King Henries doings. After this, when the wind came about proſperous to his purpoſe, hee cauſed the marryners to wey vp ankers, and hoyſe vp ſayles, and ſo ſette forward with a thouſand ſhips, on the vigile of our Ladie day the Aſſumption, and toke land at Caux, cõmonly called Kyd Caux, where the ryuer of Sayne runneth into the ſea, without reſiſtance or bloudſheading.

A Ievvell.

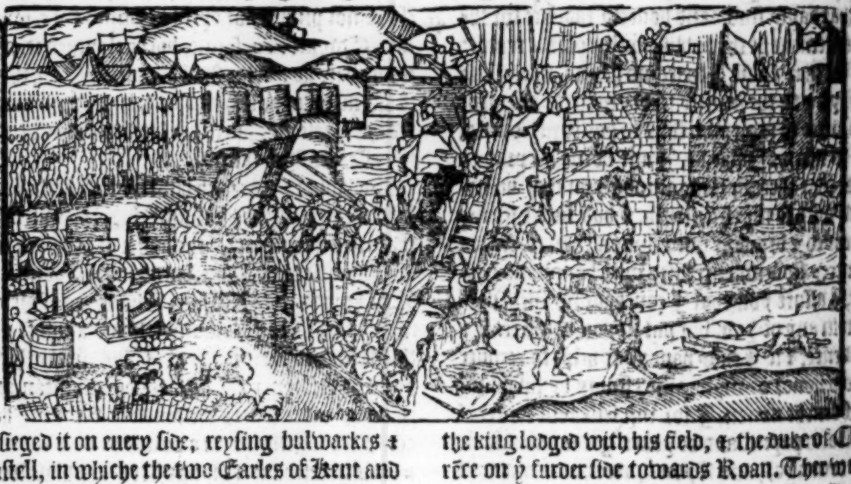
Titus Liuius.

The King ſayleth ouer into Fraunce with his hoſte.

At his firſt comming a land, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that no perſon ſhoulde be ſo hardie on pain of death, eyther to take any thing out of any church that belonged to the ſame, nor to hurt or do any violence either to Prieſts, women, or any ſuche as ſhould be founde withoute weapon or armor, & not ready to make reſiſtãce: alſo that no man ſhuld renue any new quarell or ſtrife, wherby any fray might ariſe to the diſquieting of the armie. The next day after his lãding he marched toward the towne of Harflew, ſtanding on the riuer of Sayne, betwene two hilles,

Titus Liuius.

A charitable proclamation.



& beſieged it on euery ſide, reyſing bulwarkes & a baſtell, in whiche the two Earles of Kent and Huntington were placed with Cornwal, Grey, Steward, & Porter: on that ſide towards the ſea, the king lodged with his field, & the duke of Clarẽce on yͤ furder ſide towards Roan. Ther were within the town the lords de Touteville & Gaucourt, with diuers other that valiantly defend

Harding.

than

themſelues, doing what damage they coulde to their aduerſaries, and damming vp the riuer that hath his courſe through the town, the water roſe ſo high betwixt the kinges campe, and the Duke of Clarence Campe, that were deuided by the ſame riuer, that the Engliſhmen were conſtrayned to withdrawe their artillerie from one ſyde, where they had planted the ſame.

The Frenche king being aduertiſed, that king Henrie was arriued on that coaſt, ſent in all haſt the Lorde de la Breth Conſtable of Fraunce, the Seneſchall of Fraunce, the Lorde Bouciqualt Marſhall of Fraunce, the Seneſchall of Henaut, the Lorde Lignye with other, whiche fortifyed townes with men, vittuall, and artillerie on all thoſe frontiers towardes the ſea. And hearyng that Harflew was beſieged, they came to the caſtell of Caudebecke, beeing not farre from Harflew, to the intent they might ſuccor their frends which were beſieged, by ſome policie or meanes: but the Engliſhmen notwithſtanding al the damage that the Frenchmen coulde worke againſt them, forrayed the countrey, ſpoiled the villages, bringyng many a riche praie to the Campe before Harflewe, and dayly was the towne aſſalted: for the Duke of Glouceſter, to whome the order of the ſiege was committed, made three mynes vnder the grounde, and approching to the walles with his engins and ordinance, wold not ſuffer them within to take any reſte: for although they with their coūtermynyng ſomwhat diſappointed the Engliſhmen, and came to fight with them hande to hande within the mynes, ſo that they wente no further forwarde with that worke, yet they were ſo encloſed on eche ſyde, as well by water as lande, that ſuccour they ſawe coulde none come to them: for the Kyng lying with his battaile on the hill ſide on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyonde the ryuer that paſſeth by the towne, & renneth into Sayne on the other parte, beſide other Lordes and capitaines that were lodged with their retinues for their moſt aduantage: None could be ſuffered to go in, or come forth without their licence, in ſomuche that ſuche powder as was ſente to haue bin conueyed into the towne by water, was taken by the Engliſhe ſhippes that watched the riuer. The Capitaines within the towne, perceyuing that they were not able long to reſiſte the continuall aſſaults of the Engliſhmen, knowing that their walles were vndermyned, and lyke to be ouerthrowne (as one of their bulwarkes was already, where the Erles of Huntington & Kent had ſet vp their baners) ſente an officer at armes forth aboute midnight after the feaſt day of S. Lambert, whiche fell that yeare vpon the Tuiſday, to beſeech the king of England to appoint ſome certayne perſons as Commiſſioners from hym, with whom they within myght treate about ſome agreement. The Duke of Clarence to whom this meſſenger firſt declared his errād, aduertiſed the King of his requeſte, who graunting thereto, appoynted the Duke of Exceſter, with the Lord Fitz Hugh, and Syr Thomas Erpingham, to vnderſtand the myndes of them within the Towne, who at the firſt, requeſted a truce till Sunday next following the feaſt of S. Michaell, in whiche meane tyme if no ſuccoure came to remoue the ſiege, they would vndertake to delyuer the towne into the kings handes, their lyues and goodes ſaued. The Kyng aduertiſed hereof, ſente them worde, that except they wolde ſurrender the towne to hym the morrowe nexte enſuyng without anye condition, they ſhoulde ſpende no more tyme in talke aboute the matter. But yet at length through the earneſt ſute of the French Lords, the king was contented to graūt them truce till nyne of the clocke the next Sunday, being the. xxij. of September, with condition, that if in the meane time no reſkue came, they ſhould yelde the towne at that houre with their bodies and goodes to ſtande at the Kynges pleaſure. And for aſſuraunce thereof, they deliuered into the kynges handes thirtie of their beſt Capitaynes and merchantes within that towne as pledges. But other write, that it was couenaunted, that they ſhoulde delyuer but onely twelue pledges, and that if the ſiege were not reyſed by the Frenche Kinges power within. vj. dayes nexte folowyng, then ſhoulde they deliuer the Towne vnto the kyng of Englandes handes, and thyrtie of the chiefeſt perſonages within the ſame, to ſtande for lyfe or death at hys wyll and pleaſure: and as for the reſidue of the men of warre and Townſmen, they ſhoulde departe whether they woulde, wythoute carrying forth eyther Armour, weapon, or anye other goodes.

Titus Liuius.

Reding.

Tho. VValſ.

P. September. They vvithin Harflevv demaunde parley.

Whether this be true, or the former report, as we fynde it in Thomas Walſingam, and that the Kyng afterwardes when the towne was deliuered accordyng to theſe conditions was contented to take ſuche order, as to receyue onely thirtie of the chiefeſt within the Towne, and to permit the other to goe their wayes freely, we can not certaynely affirme.

But howeſoeuer it was, the kyng was contented to graunt a reſpite vppon certayne conditions, that the Capitaines within myght haue tyme to ſende to the Frenche King for ſuccour, as before ye haue hearde, leaſt he entending greater exployctes, myghte loſe tyme in ſuche ſmal matters.

When thys compoſition was agreed vpon, the Lorde Bacquevile, was ſente vnto the Frenche Kyng to declare in what poynte the towne ſtode. To whome the Dolphin aunſwered, that the kings power was not yet aſſembled, in ſuch number as was conuenient to reiſe ſo greate a ſiege. This anſwere beyng brought to the Captaynes within the Towne, they rendred it vp to the king of England, after that the thyrde day was expired, whiche was on the day of Sainct Maurice beeyng the ſeuen and thirtie daye after the ſiege was firſte layde. The ſouldiours were ranſomed, and the towne ſacked, to the great gayne of the Engliſhemen.

Harflue yelded and ſacked,

This donne, the kyng of Englande ordeyned Capitayne of the towne of Harflewe his Vncle the Duke of Excester, whyche eſtabliſhed hys Lieutenant there, one Syr Iohn Faſtolfe, with fiftene hundred men (or as ſome haue) two thouſande, and .xxxvj. knightes, whereof the Baron of Carew, and ſir Hugh Lutterell, were two counſellours.

And bycauſe many of his nobles whyleſt this ſiege lay before Harflewe, fell ſicke of the Flixe, and other diſeaſes, and diuers were dead, amongeſt whome the Earle of Staffor de, the Biſhop of Norwiche, the Lordes Molyns and Burnell were foure, (beſyde others:) the king licenced his brother the duke of Clarence, Iohn Erle Marſhall, and Iohn Erle of Arundel, being infected with that diſeaſe to returne into England.

King Henry after the winuyng of Harflewe determined to haue proceeded further in the conqueſt and winning of other townes and fortreſſes: but bicauſe the dead tyme of the winter approched, it was determyned by the prudent aduiſe of his counſell, that he ſhoulde in all conuenient ſpede ſette forewarde, and march through the countrey towardes Caleys by land, leaſt his returne as then homewardes ſhould of ſlaunderous toungs be named a running away: and yet that iourney was adiudged perillous, by reaſon that the number of his people was muche myniſhed by the flixe and other feuers, whiche ſore vexed and brought to deathe aboue .xv. hundred perſons of the armie: and this was the cauſe that his retourne was the ſooner appoynted and concluded. But before hys departyng, hee entred into the Towne of Harflewe, and wente on to the Churche of Saincte Martines, and there offered. All the menne of warre whiche hadde not payde their raunſomes, hee ſware them on the holy Euangeliſtes, to yeld themſelues Priſoners at Caleys by the feaſte of Saincte Martine in Nouember nexte.

Greate deathe in the hoſte by the flixe.

There were two ſtrong Towers ſtandyng on the Hauen ſyde, whyche lookyng for ayde did not yelde till tenne dayes after the Towne was rendred. When the K. had repaired the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, & furniſhed it with victuall and artillerie, he remoued from Harflewe towarde Ponthoyſe, entendyng to paſſe the riuer of Some with his armie before the bridges were eyther withdrawne or broken.

Suche victuals and other neceſſaries as were to be caryed forth with the armie, he appointed to bee layde on horſes, leauing the Cartes and wagons behynde for the leſſe encombre.

The Frenche King hearing that the Towne of Harflew was gotten, and that the Kyng of Englande was marching forwarde into the bowelles of the realme of Fraunce, ſent out proclamations, and aſſembled people on euerye ſyde, committing the whole charge of his armie to his ſonne the Dolphyn, and the Duke of Aquitayn, who incontinently cauſed the bridges to be broken, and the paſſages to be kepte.

Alſo he cauſed all the corne & victuals to be cõueyed away, or deſtroyed in all places, where it was coniectured, that the Engliſhmen would repayre, to the intente that they might be kepte in ſome ſtrayte or corner of the countrey, withoute victuals or comforte, ſo that they ſhould be conſtrayned to dye, or yelde through famyne, or to be fought withall, ſo muche to their diſaduauntage, that the victorie mighte be prepared for the Frenche, ere they came to hazarde themſelues in battayle.

Corne and victualles deſtroyed where the engliſh hoſt ſhoulde paſſe.

The king of Englãd nothing diſmayed with with all theſe incõmodities lyke to chaunce vnto hym at one time, kepte his iourney in deſpite of his enimies, conſtreyning them within diuers townes and holds to furniſh hym with victuals: but yet as he paſſed by the towne of Ewe, the garniſon of the town iſſued forth, and gaue the Engliſhemen a ſkirmiſh, although in the end the Frenchmen were beaten into the Towne, with loſſe, namely of a ryght valiant man of armes, named Lancelot Pier. Ther were many engliſh men hurt with quarrells ſhot off from the loupes and walles, as they purſued the enimyes vnto the gates.

Titus Liuius

A ſkirmiſh with the garriſon of Ewe.

Enguerant.

At length yͤ king approched the riuer of Some, where finding all the bridges broken, he came to the paſſage of Blanchetaque, where hys great graundfather king Edwarde the thirde, paſſed a little before the battail of Creſſy, but the paſſage was now ſo impeached with ſtakes ſet in the bottom of the forde, & ſo defended, that he could not paſſe there wythout great daunger, conſidering the multitude of hys enimyes that were bothe beehinde and before, and on eche de of hym, the Countreye in all partes ſwarming wyth embuſhements of men of warre. He therfore marched forwards to Arannes, ſo ordering his army and placing his carriage, that he appeared ſo terrible to his enemies, as they durſt not once offer him battaile, and yet the Lorde Dalbreth Conſtable of Fraunce, the Marſhall Bouchiquault,

Blanchetaque.

Titus Liuius

the erle of Vendoſme great Maſter of Fraũce, the Duke of Alanſon, and the Earle of Richemont, with all the puiſſaunce of the Dolphyn lay at Abuile, and durſt not ſo muche as touch his battailes, but euer kept the paſſages, & coaſted aloof, like a hauke that lyketh not hir pray. The king of Englande ſtill kepte on his iorney till hee came to the bridge of Sainct Maxence, where hee found aboue .xxx.M. frenchemenne, and there pitched his fielde, looking ſurely to be fought withall. Wherefore to encourage his capitaines the more, he dubbed certaine of hys hardy and valiant gentlemen knights, as Iohn Lorde Ferrers of Groby: Reignold of Greyſtock: Piers Tempeſt: Chriſtofer Moriſby: Thomas Pickering: William Huddleſton: Iohn Hoſbalton: Henry Mortimer: Philip Hall: and Willyam hys brother: Iaques de Ormonde, and dyuers other: But when hee ſawe that the Frenche made no ſemblaunce to fight, he departed in good order of battaile by the towne of Amiens, to another towne neare to a caſtell called Bowes, and there laye two dayes looking for battaile euery houre. From thence he came neare to Corby, where hee was ſtayed that night, by reaſon that the common people, and peſantes of the countrey aſſembled in great numbers, and the men of armes of the gariſon of Corby ſkirmiſhed wyth his army in the morning, and were diſcomfited, and the peſantes driuen euen harde to their gates. The ſame day the king founde a ſhallowe fourd betweene Corby, and Peronne, which neuer was eſpied before, at whiche he wyth his armie and carriages the night enſuing, paſſed the water of Some without let or daunger, and therewyth determined to make haſte towardes Callais, and not to ſeeke for battaile, excepte hee were thereto conſtrayned, bycauſe that hys army by ſickenes was ſore diminiſhed, in ſo muche that he had but onely two thouſande horſemen and thirteene thouſande archers, bill men, and of all ſortes of other footemen.

Diuers capitaines knights.

King Henry paſſeth the riuer of Some with his hoſte.

The Engliſhemen were brought into great miſery in this iorney, their victuall was in maner ſpent, and nowe coulde they get none: for their enemies had deſtroied all the corne before they came: Reſte coulde they none take, for their enemies were euer at hande to giue them alarmes, dayly it rained, and nyghtely freeſed: of fewell there was great ſcarſitie, but of fluxes greate plenty: money they hadde inoughe, but wares to beſtowe it vppon, for their reliefe or comforte, hadde they little or none. And yet in this greate neceſſitye, the poore people of the countrey were not ſpoiled, nor any thyng taken of them wythout payment, neyther was any outrage or offence done by the Engliſhemenne of warre, except one, whiche was, that a foliſh ſouldiour ſtale a pixe out of a churche; for which cauſe he was apprehended, and the king would not once remoue till the box was reſtored, and the offender ſtrangled.

The Engliſhe army ſore afflicted.

An example of Iuſtice.

Titus Liuius.

The people of the countreys thereaboute, hearyng of ſuche zeale in hym, to the mayntenaunce of Iuſtice, miniſtred to hys army bothe victuals, and other neceſſaries, althoughe by open proclamation ſo to do they were prohibited. The Frenche King being at Roan, and hearing that King Henry was paſſed the riuer of Some, was muche diſpleaſed therwith, and aſſembling his coũſell to the number of .xxxv. aſked their aduice what was to be done.

Note the force of Iuſtice.

Hall.

The french K. cõſulteth hovv to deale vvith the engliſhmẽ.

There was amongſt theſe fiue & thirtie his ſonne the Dolphin, callyng hymſelfe King of Sicill, the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, the Earle of Pontiew the Kinges yongeſt ſonne, and other highe eſtates. At lengthe .xxx. of them agreed, that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde not departe vnfought withall, and fiue were of a contrary opinion, but the the greater number ruled the matter: And ſo Montioy Kyng at armes was ſent to the king of England to defie him as the enemie of Fraunce, and to tell him that hee ſhoulde ſhortely haue battaile. Kyng Henry ſoberly aunſwered thus: Sir, mine intent is to doe as it pleaſeth God, for ſurely I will not ſeeke your maſter at this time, but if he or his ſeeke me, I will willingly fight with them: And if any of your nation attempte once to ſtoppe me in my iorney now towardes Callais, at their ieoperdy be it, and yet my deſire is that none of you bee ſo vnaduiſed, as to bee the occaſion, that I in my defence ſhall colour and make red your tawny ground with the effuſion of chriſtian bloud: When hee had thus aunſwered the Herauld, hee gaue hym a greate rewarde, and licenced hym to departe. Vpon retourne of the Herrault, wyth this aunſwere, it was incontinently proclaimed, that all men of warre ſhoulde reſorte to the Conſtable to fight with the King of England, and his puiſſance. Whereuppon, all men accuſtomed to beare armour, and deſirous to winne honour throughe the Realme of Fraunce, drewe towarde the field.

The french K. ſendeth deffiaunce to kyng Henry.

King Henryes aunſvvere to the deffiaunce.

The Dolphin ſore deſired to haue bin at the battaile, but hee was prohibited by his father: likewiſe Phillip Earle of Charolois, woulde gladly haue bene there, if his father the duke of Burgoigne would haue ſuffred hym: many of his men ſtale away, and went to the frenchmen. The king of England hearing that the frenchmen approched, and that there was an other riuer for him to paſſe with his army by a bridge, and doubting leaſte if the ſame bridge ſhoulde

Titus Liuius.

be broken, it woulde be greately to his hinderaunce, appoynted certayne capitaynes wyth their bandes, to go thyther wyth all ſpeede before hym, and to take poſſeſſion thereof, and ſo to keepe it, tyll hys commyng thither. Thoſe that were ſent, findyng the frenchemen buſy to break down their bridge, aſſailed them ſo vigorouſly, that they diſcomfited them and tooke and ſlew them, and ſo the bridge was preſerued tyll the king came, and paſſed the riuer by the ſame with his whole army. This was on yͤ .xxij. day of October. The duke of Yorke that led the vātgarde (after the army was paſſed the Riuer) mounted vp to the heigth of an hill wyth his people, and ſente out ſkowtes to diſcouer the countrey, the which vpon their returne aduertiſed hym, that a wonderfull greate army of Frenchmen was at hand, approching towards them. The duke declared to the Kyng what he had heard, and the Kyng thereupon, without all feare or trouble of minde, cauſed the bataile which he led himſelfe to ſtay, and incontinently rode forth to view his aduerſaryes, and that done, returned to hys people, and with cherefull countenaunce cauſed them to bee put in order of battayle, aſſignyng to euery capitayne ſuche roomth and place, as he thought conuenient, and ſo kepte thē ſtill in that order till night was come, & then determined to ſeeke a place to encampe & lodge his army in for that night. There was not one amongſt them that knewe any certayne place whither to goe. in that vnknowen countrey: but by chaunce they happened vppon a beaten way, white in ſighte by the which they were broughte vnto a little village, where they were refreſhed with meate & drinke ſomewhat more plenteouſly, then they had bin diuers dayes before.

King Henry rideth forthe to take the vievve of the Frenche army.

Order was taken by commaundement from the Kyng, after the army was firſte ſet in battayle array, that no noiſe or clamor ſhoulde be made in the hoſte, ſo that in marching forthe to this village, euery man kepte hymſelfe quyet: but at theyr commyng into the village, fiers were made to giue light on euery ſide, as there likewiſe were in the frenche hoſte whiche was lodged not paſte. ij. C. & fiftie paces dyſtaunte from the Engliſhemen.

The chiefe leaders of the french hoſte were theſe: The conſtable of Fraunce, the Marſhall, the Admirall, the lord Rambures maſter of the croſbowes, and other of the frenche nobilitie, which came and pitched downe their ſtanderts and banners in the countye of Sainct Paule, within the Territorie of Agincourt, hauing in their army as ſome write, to the number of .lx. thouſande horſemen beſides footemen, wagoners and other. They were lodged euen in the way by the whiche the engliſhmen muſt nedes paſſe towardes Callais, and all that night after their comming thither, made greate cheare and were very mery, pleaſant, & full of game: The Engliſhmen alſo for their partes were of good comfort, and nothing abaſhed of the matter, and yet they were both hungry, weary, ſore trauailed, and vexed with many cold diſeaſes. Howbeit they made peace wyth God, in confeſſing their ſins, receyuing the ſacrament, and requiring aſſiſtaunce at his handes, that is the only giuer of victory, determined rather to die, than either to yelde, or flee.

The number of the frenchemen. Enguerant.

The day following was the .xxv. of October in the yeare.1415. being then Friday, and the feaſt of Criſpine, and Criſpinian, the moſt faire and fortunate day to the engliſhemen, and moſte ſorrowfull, and vnlucky to the Frenchemen.

The battell of Agincourt.

In the morning of the ſame day, the french Capitaines made three battayles. In the vawarde were .viij. M. healmes of Knyghtes, and Eſquiers .iiij .M. Archers, and .xv.C. croſbowes whiche were guided by the lorde de la Breth, Conſtable of Fraunce, hauyng wyth hym the Dukes of Orleauns and Burbon, the Earles of Ewe and Richemonte, the Marſhall Bouciquault, and the maſter of the croſbowes, the lord Dampier Admirall of Fraunce and other capitaines: The earle of Vandoſme wyth .xvj.C. men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battayle. And the other wyng was guided by Sir Guicharde Dolphin, Syr Clugnet of Brabant, and Sir Lewes Bourdon, with .viij.C. men of armes, of elect and choſen perſones. And to breake the ſhotte of the engliſhmen were appointed, Sir Guilliam de Saueuſes, with Hector and Phillippe his brethren: Ferry de Maylly, and Alen de Gaſpanes with other .viij C. of armes. In the middle warde, were aſſigned as many perſons, or mo, as were in the formoſt battaile, and the chardge thereof, was committed to the Dukes of Bar and Alanſon, the Earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Pree, and of Ruſſy: And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guyded by the Earles of Marle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the Lorde of Lourrey capitaine of Arde, who had wyth hym, the men of the Frontiers of Bolonois: Thus the frenchemen being ordered vnder their ſtanderdes and banners, made a great ſhew: for ſurely they were eſteemed in number ſix times as many or more, than was the whole company of the Engliſhemen, wyth Wagoners, Pages and all. They reſted themſelues, waytyng for the bloudy blaſte of the terryble trumpet, till the houre betweene .ix. and .x. of the

The order of the Frenche army.

the clocke of the ſame day: during whiche ſeaſon, the conſtable made vnto the capitains and other men of warre, a pithie oration exhorting and encouraging them to doe valiantly, wyth many comfortable wordes, and ſenſible reaſons. King Henry alſo like a leader, and not as one led, like a ſoueraigne, and not an inferior, perceyuing a plotte of grounde very ſtrong, and mette for his purpoſe, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein hee hadde lodged the nighte before, and on bothe ſides defended wyth hedges, and buſhes, thought good there to embattaile his hoſte, and ſo ordered his men in the ſame place, as he ſawe occaſion, and as ſtode for his moſte aduantage:

Th order of the Engliſhe army.

Fyrſt, he ſent priuily .ij. C. archers into a lowe meadowe, whiche was nere to the vauntgarde of his enemies: but ſeparate with a greate ditche commaunding them there to kepe themſelues cloſe till they had a token to them giuen, to let driue at their aduerſaries: Beſide this, he appointed a vaward, of the which he made captaine Edwarde Duke of York, that of an hault courage had deſired that office, and with hym were the Lordes Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope, and this battaile was all of archers. The middle warde was gouerned by the kyng himſelfe, with his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earles of Marſhall, Oxforde, and Suffolke, in the which were all the ſtrong bilmen. The Duke of Exceter vncle to the kyng led the rerewarde, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The horſmen like wings went on euery ſide of the battaile.

Archers the greateſt force of the Engliſhe army.

Thus the king hauing ordered his batailes, feared not the puiſſance of his enemies, but yet to prouide that they ſhoulde not with the multitude of their horſemen breake the array of his archers, in whome the whole force of his army conſiſted, hee cauſed ſtakes bounde wyth Iron ſharpe at bothe endes of the length of .v. or .vj. foote to be pitched before the archers, and of eche ſide the footemen like an hedge, to the entente that if the barded horſes run raſhly vppon them they might ſhortly be gored and deſtroyed: certain perſons alſo were appoynted to remoue ye ſtakes, as by the mouing of the archers occaſion and time ſhoulde require, ſo that the footemen were hedged aboute with ſtakes, and the horſmen ſtode like a bulwarke betweene them and their enemies, without the ſtakes.

A politike inuention.

Hall.

This deuiſe of fortifying an army, was at this time firſt inuented, but ſince that time they haue deuiſed caltrappes, harrowes, and other newe deuiſes, to defend the force of the horſemen, ſo that if the enemies runne raſhely vpon the ſame, either are their horſes wounded with the ſtakes, or their feete hurt with the other engins, ſo that of neceſſitie for the very paine the ſely beaſtes, are ouerthrowen and brought to the grounde.

Titus Liuius.

Kyng Henry by reaſon of his ſmall number of people, to fill vp hys battailes, placed his vauntgarde ſo on the right hande of the maine battaile, whyche hymſelfe led, that the diſtance betwixte them might vnneth be perceyued, and ſo in like caſe was the rerewarde ioyned on the left hand, that ye one might ye more readily ſuccour an other in time of nede, when hee hadde thus ordered his battailes, he lefte a ſmall company to keepe his campe, and caryage, whiche remained ſtill in the village, and then calling his capitaines and ſouldiours aboute him, hee made to them a right harty oration, requiring them to play the men, that they might obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was good hope they ſhould, if they would remember the iuſte cauſe and quarrell, for the whiche they fought, and agaynſte whome they ſhoulde matche, beeyng ſuche faint harted people, as their anceſtors had ſo often ouercome. To conclude, many wordes of comforte he vttered to them, to encourage them to do manfully, aſſuring them that Englande ſhoulde neuer be charged wyth hys raunſome, nor any French man triumph ouer hym as a captiue, for either by famous death, or glorious victorye, woulde hee winne honour and fame.

Titus Liuius.

King Henries oration to his men.

It is ſaide alſo, that he ſhould heare one of the hoſte vtter hys wiſhe to another, that ſtode nexte to hym in this wiſe: I woulde to god there were preſent here with vs this day ſo many good ſouldiours as are at this houre within the Realme of Englande, whereto the Kyng aunſwered: I woulde not wiſhe a man more here than I haue, wee are in deede in compariſon to the enemies but a fewe: But if God of his clemency doe fauor vs, and our iuſte cauſe, as I truſte he will, there is no man that may or can aſcribe the victorie gotte againſt ſuche a puiſſant force to our owne ſtrength and might, but onely to Gods aſſiſtaunce, to whome wee ſhall worthily giue thankes therefore. And if ſo bee that for our offences ſakes wee ſhall be deliuered into the hands of our enimies, the leſſe number we be, the leſſe domage ſhal the realme of Englande ſuſteine: but if we ſhould fighte in truſte of multitude of men, and ſo gette the victorie (our mindes being prone to pride) wee ſhoulde thereuppon peraduenture aſcribe the victory not ſo muche to the gifte of God, as to our owne puiſſaunce, and thereby prouoke his highe indignation and diſpleaſure againſt vs: and if the enemye gotte the vpper hand, than ſhoulde our Realme and countrey ſuffer more domage and ſtande in further daunger: But

A wiſhe.

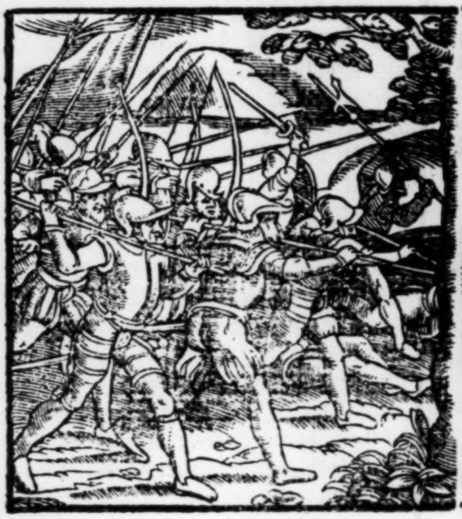
A noble courage of a valiant Prince.

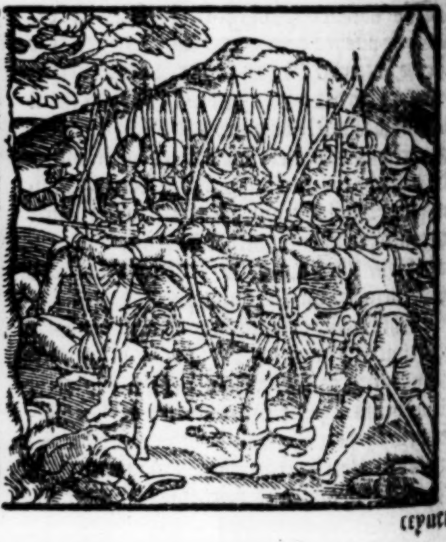
be you of good comforte, and ſhewe your ſelues valiant, God and our iuſte quarrell, ſhall defende vs, and deliuer theſe our proude aduerſaries with all the multitude of them whiche you ſee, or at the leaſte the more parte of them into our handes. Whileſt the king was yet thus exhorting hys people, eyther army ſo maligned the other being as then in open ſight, that euery man cryed forward, forwarde. The Dukes of Clarence, Glouceſter, and Yorke, were of the ſame opinion, yet the king ſtayed a while, leaſt any ieoperdy were not foreſeene, or any hazard not preuented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had bin ſure of victory, made great triumphe, for the captaines had determined before, how to deuide the ſpoile, & the ſouldiours the night before had plaid the engliſhemen at dice. The noble men had deuiſed a chariot, wherin they might triumphantly conuey King Henry beeing captiue to the Citie of Paris, crying to their ſouldiours, haſte you to obtain ſpoile, glory and honour, little remembring that the whirle winde, ſhortely with a puffe, woulde blowe away all their vaine ioye and fooliſhe fantaſticall bragging: of this doing, you may gather that it is as muche madnes to make a determinate iudgemẽt of things to come, as it is wiſedome to doubt what will folow of things begon. Here we may not forget howe the French men beeing thus in theyr ruffe, ſent an Herault to K. Henry, to enquire of hym what raũſome he would offer, and how he annſwered, that within .ij. or .iij. houres he hoped that it ſhould ſo happen, that the frenchmen ſhould common rather with the Engliſhmen for their owne raunſomes, than the engliſhemen ſhould neede to take thought for their deliueraũce, promiſing for his owne part, that his dead carcaſſe ſhoulde rather be a pray to the Frenchemen, than that his liuing body ſhould be endangered of paying any raunſom. When the meſſenger was come backe to the frenche hoſte, the men of warre put on their helmettes & cauſed their trumpets to blow to the battaile. They thought themſelues ſo ſure of victory, that diuers of the noble men made ſuche haſte towards the battaile, that they left many of their ſeruauntes and men of warre behinde them, & ſome of them woulde not once ſtaye for their ſtanderts: as amongeſt other the duke of Brabant when his ſtandert was not come cauſed a baner to be taken from a trumpet, and faſtened to a ſpeare, the which he cõmanded to be borne before him in ſteed of his ſtanderd. But when both theſe armies cõming within ſight either of other, & were ſet in order of battaile, they ſtoode ſtill at the firſt, beholding either others demeanor, bring not diſtant in ſunder paſt .iij. bowſhootes. And when they had thus ſtoode on both ſides a good while without doing any thing, (except that certaine of the frenche horſemẽ aduãcing forward, betwixt both the hoſtes were by the engliſhe archers conſtrained to retourne backe) aduiſe was taken amongeſt the engliſhmen, what was beſt for them to do, and thereupon all things conſidered, it was determined that ſith yͤ frenchmẽ would not come forward, the king wyth his army, embatailed as ye haue heard, ſhoulde marche towards them, & ſo leauing their truſſe & bagage in the village where they lodged the night before, onely wyth theyr weapons, armour, and ſtakes prepared for the purpoſe, as ye haue heard, they made ſomwhat forward, before whõ there went an olde knight ſir Tho. Erpingham (a man of great experiẽce in the warre) with a warder in his hand, & whẽ he caſt vp his warder, al the army ſhouted, but that was a ſigne to the archers in the meadow, which therwith ſhot wholy altogither at yͤ vawarde of the Frenchemen, who when they per-

Hall.

Titus Liuius.

The two armies ioyne battaile.





ceyued the archers in the medow, and ſaw they could not come at the, for a dyche that was betwixt them, with all haſte ſette vpon the forewarde of K. Henry, but ere they could ioyne, ye archers in the forefront, and the archers on that ſide which ſtoode in the meadowe, ſo wounded the footmen, galled the horſes, and combred the men of armes, that the footmen durſt not goe forward, the horſmen ran togither vpon plumps without order, ſome ouerthrewe ſuche as were nexte them, & the horſes ouerthrewe their maiſters, and ſo at the firſt ioyning, the Frenchmen were foully diſcomforted, and the Engliſhmen muche encouraged. When the French vawarde was thus brought to confuſion, the engliſh archers caſte away their bowes, and toke into their handes, axes, malles, ſwordes, billes, and other hand weapons, and with the ſame ſlewe the Frenchmẽ, til they came to the midle warde.

Then approched the K., and ſo encouraged his people, that ſhortly the ſecond battail of the Frenchemen was ouerthrowen, and diſperſed, not without greate ſlaughter of men: howbeit, diuers wer relieued by their varlets, and conueyed out of the field. The Engliſhmen were ſo buſied in fighting, & taking of the priſoners at hand, that they folowed not in chaſe of their enemies, nor would once break out of their aray of battail. The frenchmen ſtrongly withſtode the fierceneſſe of the Engliſhmen, when they came to handy ſtrokes, ſo that the fighte was doubtfull and perillous. And when one parte of the french horſmen thought to haue entred vpon the kings battaile, they were with the ſtakes ouerthrowen to the grounde, and eyther taken or ſlaine. Thus this battaile continued iij. long houres. The K. that day ſhewed himſelfe a valiant knight, albeit notwithſtanding he was almoſte felled by the duke of Alanſon, yet with plaine ſtrength he ſlew. ij. of the dukes company, and felled the duke, whome when he woulde haue yelded, the kings garde contrary to his minde outragiouſly ſlewe. And in concluſion, the K. minding to make an end of that daies iorny, cauſed his horſmen to fetch a compaſſe about, and to ioyne with hym againſt the rereward of the frenchmẽ, in the which was the greateſt number of people. When the frenchmẽ perceyued his intent, they were ſodenly amazed & ran away like ſheepe, without order or aray: which whẽ the K. perceyued, he encouraged his men, & folowed ſo quickly vpon the enemies, that they ran hither and thither, caſting away their armour: and many of them on their knees deſired to haue their liues ſaued. In the meane ſeaſon, while the battaile thus continued, & that the engliſhemen had taken a greate number of priſoners, certayne frenchemen on horſe backe, wherof wer captains Robinet of Borneuile, Riflart of Clamas, & Iſambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of. vj. C. horſmen, which were the firſt that fled, hearing that the engliſh tents and pauilions were a good way diſtant from the army, without any ſufficient gard to defend the ſame, eyther vpon a couetous meaning to gain by the ſpoil, or vpon a deſire to be reuenged, entred vpõ the kings camp, & there ſpoiled the hales, robbed the tents, brake vp cheſts and carried away caskets, & ſlew ſuche ſeruants as they founde to make any reſiſtance, for the which acte they were after committed to priſon, and had loſte their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued: for when the outcry of the lackies & boyes, which ran away for fear of the frenchmẽ thus ſpoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting leſt his enemies ſhould gather togither againe, & begin a newe field, and miſtruſting further that the priſoners would either be an aide to his enemies, or very enemyes to their takers in deede if they were ſuffred to liue, contrary to his accuſtomed gentleneſ, cõmaunded by ſounde of trũpet, that euery man vpon paine of death, ſhould incontinently ſlea his priſoner. Whẽ this dolorous decree, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pity it was to ſee how ſome frenchmẽ were ſodenly ſticked with daggers, ſome were brained with pollaxes, ſome ſlaine with malles, other had their throates cut, and ſome their bellies panched, ſo that in effect, hauing reſpect to the greate number, fewe priſoners were ſaued. When this lamentable ſlaughter was ended, the engliſhmen diſpoſed thẽſelues in order of battaile, ready to abide a newe fielde, and alſo to inuade, and newly ſet on their enemies, and ſo with great force they aſſailed the erles of Marle and Fawconbridge, and the lords of Loneray, & of Thine, the which with. vj. C. men of armes had all day kepte togither, and were now ſlaine and beate downe out of hand. Some write, that the K. perceiuing his enemyes in one parte to aſſemble togither, as though they ment to giue a new battail for preſeruation of the priſoners, ſent to them an Herraulte commaunding them either to depart out of his ſight, or elſe to come forward at once, and giue battaile, promiſing herewith, that if they did offer to fighte agayne not only thoſe priſoners whiche his people alredy had taken, but alſo ſo many of them as in this new conflicte, which they thus attempted ſhould fall into his hands, ſhould dye the death without redemtion. The frenchmen fearing the ſentence of ſo terrible a decree, without further delay departed out of the fielde. And ſo aboute foure of the clocke in the after noone, the Kyng when he ſawe no apparaunce of enemies, cau

ſed

A valiant king.

The kings campe robbed,

An vnpitifull necessitie.

A freſh onſet

Titus Liuius.

Thankes giuen to God for the victorie.

ſed the retreiſte to bee blowen, and gathering his army togither, gaue thankes to almightie god for ſo happy a victory, cauſing his prelates and chapleines to ſing this pſalme, *In exitu Iſraell de Egipto*, and cōmaundyng euery man to kneele downe on the grounde at this verſe. *Non nobis domine, non nobis, ſed nomini tuo da gloriā.*

A vvorthy example of a godly prince.

Which done, he cauſed *Te Deum*, with certain anthēs to be ſong, giuing laud & praiſe to god and not boaſting of his owne force or any humaine power.

Titus Liuius.

That night he & his people toke reſt and refreſhed themſelues with ſuch victuals as they foūd in the french campe, but lodged in the ſame village, where he lay the night before: and in the morning, Mountioy K. at armes & foure other french Heraults came to the K. to knowe the number of priſoners, & to deſire buriall for the dead: Before he made thē anſwere (to vnderſtād what they would ſay) he demaūded of them why they made to him that requeſt conſidering that hee knewe not whether ẏ victory was to be attributed to him, or to their nation but: when Montioy by true and iuſt confeſſion had cleared that doubt to ẏ highe praiſe of the K. he deſired of Montioye to vnderſtand the name of the Caſtell neare adioyning: when they had told him that it was called Agincort, he ſaid that this conflict ſhal be called the batail of Agincourte.

The battaile of Agincourte.

He feaſted the frenche officers of armes that daye, and graunted them their requeſte, which buſily ſought throughe the fielde for ſuche as were ſlaine, but the engliſhmē ſuffred thē not to go alone, for they ſearched wyth them, & found many hurte, but not in ieoperdy of their liues, whom they tok priſoners, & brought them to their tents. Whē the K. of Englande had well refreſhed himſelfe, & his ſouldiours, and had taken the ſpoile of ſuche as were ſlaine, hee wyth his priſoners in good order returned to his towne of Callais: Whē tidings of this greate victory, was blowen into Englande, ſolempne proceſſions and other praiſings to almightie God wyth bonfiers, & ioyfull triumphes, were ordeined in euery towne, City, and borough, & the maior & citizēs of London, went the morow after the daye of S. Simon and Iude from the Church of S. Paule to the church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter in deuoute maner, rendring to God harty thanks for ſuch fortunate lucke ſent to the king and his army.

The ſame day that the nevve maior vvent to VVeſtminſter to receiue his othe, the aduertiſment of this noble victorie came to the citie in the morning betimes ere men vvere vp from theyr beddes

Regiſter of Maiors.

The ſame Sonday that the K. remoued from the campe at Agincourte towards Calais, diuers frenchmē came to the field to view againe the dead bodies, & the peaſants of the countrey ſpoiled the carcaſſes of all ſuch apparell & other things as the engliſhmen had left: for they tok nothing but gold & ſiluer, iewels, riche aparell and coſtly armour, but the ploughmē & peaſāts lefte nothing behinde, neither ſhirt nor clout: ſo that the bodies lay ſtarck naked till Wedneſday, on the whiche day diuers of the noble men were conueied into their countries, and the remainaunte were by Philip Earle Charoloys (ſore lamenting the chaunce, & moued with pitie) at his coſte and chardge buried in a ſquare plot of grounde of .xv. C. yardes, in the which he cauſed to be made .iii. pittes, wherein were buried by accompte .v. M. and viii. C. perſons beſide thē that were caried away by their frendes and ſeruants, and other, which being wounded died in hoſpitalles and other places. After this dolorous iourney and pitifull ſlaughter, diuers clerks of Paris made many lamentable verſes, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that counſellors were parciall, affirming that the noble men fled agaynſt nature, and that the commons were deſtroied by their prodigalitie, declaring alſo that the Clergie were dombe, and durſte not ſaye the truthe, and that the humble commons duly obeied, and yet euer ſuffred puniſhemēt, for which cauſe by deuine perſecution the leſſe nūber vanquiſhed the greter: wherfore they concluded, that al things went out of order, and yet was there no man that ſtudied to bring the vnruly to frame: it was no meruaile though this battaile was lamentable to the french nation, for in it were taken and ſlaine ẏ flower of al the Nobilitie of Fraunce:

Noble men priſoners.

There wer taken priſoners Charles duke of Orleance, nephew to the frēch K. Io. duke of Bourbon, the Lorde Bouciqualt one of the marſhals of Fraūce, which died in England wyth a number of other lords, knightes, and eſquiers at ẏ leaſte .xv. C. beſide the common people.

The number ſlaine on the frenche parte. Engliſhmen ſlaine.

There were ſlaine in al of the frenche parte to the number of .x. M. men, whereof were Princes and noble men bearing baners .Cxxvi. & of knightes eſquiers & gentlemen in the whole were ſlaine viii. M. iiii C. (of the whiche .v. C. were dubbed knights the night before the battail) ſo that of other the meaner ſorte there died not paſſe xvi C. Amongeſt thoſe of the Nobilitie that were ſlain, theſe were the chiefeſt, Charles lord de la Breth high conſtable of Fraunce, Iaques of Chatilō L. of Dāpierre Admiral of Fraunce, the L. Rambures maſter of the croſbowes, ſir Guiſchard Dolphin greate maſter of Fraunce, Io. duke of Alanſon, Anthony duke of Brabāt, brother to the duke of Burgoine, Edward duke of Bar, the erle of Neuers another brother to the duke of Burgoine, with the erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandpree, Rouſſi, Fauconberg, Fois, and Leſtrake, beſide a greate number of Lords and Barons of name: Of engliſhmē, there died at this battail, Edward duke of Yorke, the earle of Suffolke,

ſir

Engliſhmen ſlayne.

Sir Richard Kikley, and Dauy Gamme Eſquier, and of all other, not aboue .xxv. perſons, if you will credite ſuch as write miracles: but other Writers of greater credite affirme, that there were ſlaine aboue fiue or ſixe C. perſons. Titus Liuius ſayeth, that there were ſlaine of Engliſhmen beſide the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Suffolke, an C. perſons at the firſt encounter: the Duke of Glouceſter the kings brother was ſore wounded about the hippes, & borne downe to the ground, ſo that he fel backwards, with his feete towards his enimies, whome the K. beſtridde, and like a brother, valiantly reſcued him from his enimies, and ſo ſauing his life, cauſed him to be conueyed out of the fight, into a place of more ſafetie.

Titus Liuius.

Hal.

After that the K. of England had refreſhed him ſelfe, and his people at Calais, and that ſuch priſoners as he had left at Harflew (as yee haue heard) were come to Calais vnto him the ſixth daye of Nouember, he with all his priſoners tooke ſhipping, & the ſame day lãded at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the Duke of Yorke, & of the Earle of Suffolke, & cauſed yͤ Duke to be buried at his colledge of Fodringhey, & the Earle at new Elme. In this paſſage, the Seas were ſo rough & troublous, that two ſhips belonging to ſir Iohn Cornewall, Lorde Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland, howbeit, nothing was loſt, nor any perſon periſhed. The Maior of London, and yͤ Aldermen, apparelled in orient grained ſcarlet, and foure C. commoners, clad in beautifull murrey, well mounted, and trimly horſed with rich collers, and greate chaines, met the K. on black heath, reioicing at his returne. And the Clergie of London, with rich Croſſes, ſumptuous copes, and maſſie cenſers, receiued him, at S. Thomas of Waterings, with ſolemne proceſſion. The K. like a graue and ſober perſonage, and as one remembring from whome al victories are ſent, ſeemed little to regard ſuche vaine pompe & ſhewes as were in triumphãt ſort deuiſed for his welcomming home from ſo proſperous a iourney, in ſo much, that he would not ſuffer his helmet to be caried with him, and ſhewed to the people, that they might behold the dintes and cuttes whiche appeared in yͤ ſame, of ſuch blowes and ſtripes, as hee receiued the daye of the battell: neyther woulde he ſuffer any dities to be made & ſong by minſtrels, of his glorious victorie, for that he would whollie haue the praiſe and thankes altogither giuen to God. The newes of thys bloudy battell being reported to the French K. as then ſoiourning at Roan, filled the Courte full of ſorrowe, but to remedie ſuche danger as was like to enſue, it was decreed by counſel, to ordeine newe officers in places of thẽ that were ſlaine: and firſte, hee elected his chiefe officer for the warres, called the Conneſtable, the Earle of Arminacke, a wiſe and politike Captaine, and an auncient enimie to the Engliſhmen. Sir Iohn de Corſey was made maſter of the croſſebowes.

Titus Liuius.

The great modeſtie of the K.

The death of the Dolphin of France.

Shortly after, either for melancholy that he had for the loſſe at Agincourt, or by ſome ſodayne diſeaſe, Lewes Dolphin of Viennoys, heire apparant to the Frenche King, departed this life, without iſſue, which happened well for Robynet of Bournouille, and his fellowes, as yee haue hearde before, for his death was their life, and his life would haue bin their death.

1416

After that the French King had created new officers, in hope to releeue the ſtate of his realme and countrey, ſore ſhaken by the late greate ouerthrowe, it chanced, that Thomas Duke of Exeter, Captaine of Harflewe, accompanyed with three thouſand Engliſhmẽ, made a great roade into Normandie, almoſt to the Citie of Roan, in whiche iourney, he got greate abundance, both of riches and priſoners: but in hys returne, the Earle of Arminacke newly made Conneſtable of France, intending in his fyrſte enterpriſe to winne his ſpurres, hauing with him aboue fiue thouſand horſemen, encountred with the Duke: the fight was handled on both partes very hotely, but bycauſe the Engliſhmen were not able to reſiſt yͤ force of yͤ frenchmen, the Duke was conſtreined to retire with loſſe at the leaſt of three C. of his footemen, yet being withdrawẽ into an orchard, which was ſtrõgly fenced and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Engliſhmen, but yet they tooke from them all their horſes and ſpoyle, and aſſaulted them, till it was night, and then retired backe to yͤ town, not far diſtãt from yͤ place where they fought, called Vallemõt, this was vpon yͤ fourtẽth day of Marche, and in the morning, vpon yͤ breake of the daye, the Engliſhmen iſſued forth of the orcharde, where they had kepte thẽſelues all yͤ night, and drew towardes Harflewe, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertiſed, followed thẽ, and ouertooke them vppon the ſandes, neere to Chiefe de Caux, and there ſet on them: but in yͤ ende, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and a greate number of them ſlaine by the Engliſhmẽ, which afterwardes returned without more adoe vnto Harflew. The french writers blame the Conneſtable for this loſſe, bycauſe hee kepte vpon the high grounde with a number of men of warre, and woulde not come downe to ayde his fellowes.

A ſore conflicte.

Anno re. 4.

The Emperor Sigiſmond cõmeth into Eng-

In this fourth yeare of K. Henries raigne, the Emperor Sigiſmond, couſin germaine to K. Henry, came into Englãd, to the intẽt, that he

Titus Liuius.

The ſtraunge manner of receiuing the Emperour at Douer.

Albert duke of Hollande commeth into Englande.

The Emperour an earneſt mediator for peace.

he might make an attonement betwene Kyng Henry, and the french king: with whom he had bin before, bringing with hym the Archebiſhop of Reines, as ambaſſador for the french kyng. At Callais hee was honourably receiued by the Earle of Warwicke Lorde deputy there, and diuers other Lordes, ſente thither of purpoſe to attende hym. Moreouer, the king ſente thither xxx. greate ſhips to bring hym and his traine ouer. At Douer the duke of Gloceſter, and diuers other Lordes were ready to receyue hym, who at his approching to land, entred the water with their ſwordes in their handes drawen, and by the mouth of the ſaide duke, declared to hym, that if hee intended to enter the lande as the kings friend, and as a mediator to intreate for peace, he ſhoulde be ſuffred to arriue: but if he would enter as an Emperor into a land vnder his Imperiall iuriſdiction, then were they ready to reſiſt hym. This was thought neceſſarie to be done, for ſauing of the kings prerogatiue, whiche hath the full preeminence within his owne realme, as an abſolute prince or Emperour: when the Emperor hereupon anſwered that he was come as the kings friend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperial authoritie, hee was of the Duke and other his aſſociats receiued with al ſuch honor as might be deuiſed. The king with all his nobilitie receiued hym on Blacke Heathe, the. vij daye of May, and broughte him throughe London to Weſtminſter, with greate triumphe. Shortly after there came alſo into England, Albert duke of Holland, who was likewiſe friendly enterteyned. Both theſe princes, the Emperour and the duke of Holland were conueyed to Windſore, to ſaint Georges feaſt, and elected companions of the noble order of the Garter, and had the collar and habite of the ſame to them deliuered & ſat in their ſtalls al the ſolemnity of the feaſt. Shortly after that the feaſt was finiſhed, the Duke of Hollande returned into his countrey, but the Emperour tarried ſtil, and aſſayed all maner of meanes to perſwade the Kyng to a peace wyth the Frenchmen: but their euill hap, as they that were appointed by gods prouidēce to ſuffer more domage at the Engliſhmens handes, woulde not permit his perſwaſions to take place: for wheras peace was euen almoſte entring in at the gates, the King was ſodainely ſtirred to diſpleaſure, vppon a newe occaſion, for he beeing aduertiſed of the loſſe of his men at the late conflicte in the territorie of Roan, (as ye haue heard) refuſed to heare this worde peace once named. The Emperor like a wiſe Prince, paſſed ouer that time til an other ſeaſon, that ſome fauorable aſpect of the planets ſhould ſeeme to further hys purpoſe, and when he thought the ſame was comen, he broched againe the veſſell of concorde and amitie, which hee put in ſo faire a cup, and preſented it wyth ſuche effectuous wordes, that ſurely the Kyng had taſted it, if word had not bin brought about the ſame time, that Harflew was beſieged of yͤ french both by water and by land, as it was in deede: for the conſtable of Fraunce encouraged with his laſt victory (though the ſame was not muche to his praiſe) aſſembled an army, & vpon a ſodaine laid ſiege to the town, and at the ſame inſtant John Vicount of Narbon the vice admirall of Fraunce, brought the whole Nauy to the riuage and ſhore adioining to the towne, in purpoſe to haue entred by the water ſide, but the duke of Exceter defeated their intent, and defended the Towne very manfully. Kyng Henry aduertiſed hereof, ment at the firſt to haue gone wyth his nauy in perſon to the ſuccours of his men, but the Emperor diſſuaded hym from that purpoſe, aduiſing him rather to ſend ſome one of his captains. The king folowing his louing and reaſonable aduertiſement, appoynted hys brother the duke of Bedford accompanied with the Earles of Marche, Marſhall, Oxforde, Huntington, Warwicke, Arundell, Sariſbury, Deuonſhire, and diuers Barons, with ij. C. ſaile to paſſe into Normandy, for reſcue of the towne of Harflew, which vſing great diligēce ſhipped at Rie, and after ſome hinderance by contrary windes, at lengthe came to the mouthe of the riuer of Sayne on the day of the Aſſumption of our Lady: When the Vicount of Narbone perceiued the engliſhe nauy to approche, he couragiouſly ſet forewarde, and gat the poſſeſſion of the mouthe of the hauen. The duke of Bedford ſeing his enimies thus fiercely to come forward, ſette before certaine ſtrong ſhips, which at the firſt encounter vanquiſhed, and tooke .ij. french ſhips, the captaines whereof were to raſhe & forward. The duke followed with all his puiſſaunce, and ſet vpon his enemies, the fight was long, but not ſo long, as perilous, nor ſo perilous, as terrible, (for battailes on the ſea are deſperate) till at length the victory fell to the Engliſhmen, ſo that almoſte all the whole Nauy of Fraunce, in the whiche were many Shippes, Hulkes, Carikes, and other ſmall veſſels, to the number of .v. C. was ſunke and taken. Amongſt other veſſelles that were taken, three greate Carikes of Genoa, a citie in Italy, were ſent into England. In the ſame conflicte were ſlaine of the frenchemen no ſmall number, as appeared by the dead bodies, which were ſent euery day ſwimming about yͤ Engliſh ſhips. After this, the duke of Bedford ſailed vp to Harflew, & refreſhed yͤ town both with victual and money (notwithſtanding that

certayne

Harflew beſieged by the Frenche.

Titus Liuius.

A greate ouerthrowe giuen to the Frenche by the Duke of Bedforde.

Titus Liuius.

Titus Liuius.

Harflew reſcued by the Engliſhmen.

French galleys did what they could to haue letted that enterpriſe.) When the Earle of Arminacke hearde that the puiſſant nauie of Fraunce was vanquiſhed, hee reiſed his ſiege, and returned to Paris.

Ciuill diſcord amongſt the nobles in Fraunce.

After this diſcomfiture and loſſe, the puiſſance of the Frenchmen began to decay, for now the Princes and nobles of the Realme fell into deuiſion and diſcord amōg themſelues, ſtudying how to reuenge their olde iniuries, ſo that they refuſed to take payne for the aduancement of the publique weale, and ſafegard of their countrey, and therevpon through priuie diſpleaſure, and couerte hatred, their power beganne to waxe ſo ſlender, and their libertie broughte into ſuche a malitious diuerſitie, and doubtfull difference, that it was maruell their countrey hadde not bin brought into a perpetuall bondage, whiche thing no doubt had followed, if King Henrie hadde longer liued in this mutable world: for as vppon one inconuenience ſuffered, many do followe, ſo was it in Fraunce at that time: for the King was not of ſound memorie: the warre that was toward, ſeemed both doubtful and perilous: the Princes were vntruſtie and at diſcord, and a hundred things moe, (whiche might bryng a realme to ruine,) were out of frame and order in Fraunce in thoſe dayes. After that the Duke of Bedford was returned backe againe into England with great triumph and glory, he was not ſo muche thanked of the King his brother, as praiſed of yͤ Emperor Sigiſmond, being to him a ſtranger, whiche ſaide openly, that happie are thoſe ſubiectes, whiche haue ſuche a K. but more happie is the K. that hath ſuch ſubiects. When yͤ Emperor perceiued that it was in vain to moue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and entred himſelfe into a league with K. Henrie, the contēts of which league cōſiſted chiefly in theſe articles,

Titus Liuius.

The Emperor entreth into league with King Henry.

The contēts of the league.

that both yͤ ſaid Emperor, and K. theyr heires and ſucceſſors, ſhould be friends each to other, as alies and confederates againſte all manner of perſons of what eſtate or degree ſo euer they were (the Churche of Rome, and the Pope for yͤ time being only excepted) and that neyther they, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhoulde bee preſent in counſell, or other place, where either of them, or his heires or ſucceſſors might ſuſteine domage, in lands, goodes, honors, ſtates, or perſons: & that if any of them ſhould vnderſtande of loſſe or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they ſhould impeache the ſame; or if yͭ lay not in their powers, they ſhould aduertiſe the others thereof, with all conuenient ſpeede: and yͭ either of them, and their heires and ſucceſſors, ſhould aduance the others honor and commoditie, without fraude or deceipt. Moreouer, yͭ neyther of thē, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhould permitte their ſubiects to leuie warres agaynſt the others, and that it ſhould be lawfull and free for each of their ſubiects, to paſſe into the others countrey, & there to remayne and make merchādice, either by ſea or lande, paying the cuſtomes, gabels, and ducties due and accuſtomed, according to the lawes and ordinances of the places & countreys where they chanced to ariue. Furthermore, that neither of the ſaide Princes, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhould receiue any rebell, baniſhed man, or traitors of the others wittingly, but ſhould cauſe euery ſuch perſon to auoide out of their countreys, realmes, dominiōs, and iuriſdictions. Againe, that neither of the ſaid Princes, their heires, nor ſucceſſors ſhoulde begin any warres againſte anye other perſon, other than ſuche as they had warres with at that preſent, without conſente of the other his confederate, except in defence of themſelues, their coūtreis, & ſubiects, in caſe of inuaſiō made vpō thē. Alſo, that it ſhould be lawfull for the K. of England, to proſecute his warres againſt the Frēchmē, for recouerie of his right, as ſhould ſeeme to him expediente, and likewiſe to yͤ Emperor, for recouerie of any part of hys right in France, ſo yͭ neither of thē did preiudice yͤ others right in yͭ behalfe. Laſtly, that either of thē ſhould aſſiſt the other in recouerie, and cōqueſt of their right, lāds, and dominions, ocupyed, with-holden, and kept frō them, by him that called himſelf K. of Frāce, and other yͤ princes & Barōs of France. This aliance, with other cōditions, agreemēts, and articles, was cōcluded & eſtabliſhed the .19. daye of October, in yͤ yere of our Lord. 1416.

Titus Liuius.

This done, the Emperor returned homewards, to paſſe into Germany, & the K. partly to ſhew him pleaſure, & partly bycauſe of his owne affayres, aſſociated him to his towne of Calais. During the time of their abode there, the Duke of Burgoigne offered to come to Calais, to ſpeake with the Emperor and the K. bycauſe he had knowledge of yͤ league that was cōcluded betwixt them: the K. ſent his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Erle of March to the water of Graueling, to be hoſtages for the Duke of Burgoigne: and alſo yͤ Earle of Warwike, with a noble cōpany to cōduct him to his preſence. At Graueling ſound the Dukes met, & after ſalutations done, the Duke of Burgoigne was conueyed to Calais, where of yͤ Emperor and the K. hee was highly welcomed & feaſted.

Continuation de la chronicle de Flanders.

A truce betweene the K. and the Duke of Burgoigne.

Here is to be noted, that in Iune laſt, yͤ K. of Englād had ſent the Erle of Warwike, and other, vnto yͤ Duke of Burgoigne, as then remaining at Liſle, where by yͤ diligēt trauaile of thoſe engliſh Imbaſſadors, a truce was concluded betwixte the K. of England, and the Duke of Burgoigne, touching onely the Counties of Flanders, and Arthois, to endure from the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in that preſente yeare.

1416. vnto the feaſt of Sainte Michaell, in the yeare nexte enſuing, whiche truce at the Dukes being now at Calais, (when no further agreement could be concluded) was prolonged vnto the feaſt of S. Michaell, that ſhould be in yͤ yere 1419. The Duke of Glouceſter was receyued at Grauelling, by the Erle Charroloys, and by him honorably conueyed to S. Omers, and there lodged that night. The next day, the Erle Charroloys came with diuers noble men, to viſit yͤ duke of Glouceſter in his lodging, and whē he entred into yͤ chamber, the dukes backe was towardes him, talking with ſome one of his ſeruauntes, & did not ſee nor welcome the Erle at his firſt entrie, but after he ſayde to him ſhortly without any great reuerence, or comming towards hym, you be welcome faire couſin, and ſo paſſed forth his tale with his ſeruāts. The Erle Charroloys for all his youth, was not wel content therwith, but yet ſuffered for that time. Whē the Duke of Burgoigne had done all his buſines at Calais, after the ninth daye, hee returned to Grauelling, where the D. of Glouceſter & he met againe, and louingly departed, yͤ one to Calais, & the other to S. Omers, for the whiche voyage, the Duke of Burgoigne was ſuſpected to bee enimie to the Crowne of Frāce. After the dukes departing frō Calais, yͤ Emperour was highly feaſted and rewarded, & at his pleaſure, ſailed into Holland, & ſo roade towards Beame. The K. likewiſe toke ſhip. & returned into Englād, on S. Lukes euē.

Tit. Liuius.

About the ſame time, the Kyng ſente newe Amballadors vnto yͤ generall Counſell, whych ſtil cōtinued at Conſtance, whither yͤ Emperor Sigiſmonde alſo returned, that in yͤ matter for aboliſhing yͤ Sciſme (which in yͤ ſeaſon diſquieted yͤ Church of Rome, about yͤ admitting of a true Pope) they might vſe al meanes, for the reducing of the parties to an vnitie: wherfore, by yͤ conſente alſo of all nations, it was ordeyned in this Counſell, that this Realme ſhould haue the name of the Engliſhe nation, and bee called and reputed for one of yͤ fiue nations that obeyed the Romane S. whiche to graunte before that tyme, through enuie, yͤ people of other nations had vtterlie refuſed.

The prerogatiue of the Engliſhe natiō in the general Counſell.

Tho. VValſ.

The Kings Oration.

The nintenth of October, the Parliament yͭ had bin broke vp, by reaſon of yͤ Emperors cōming, began againe at Weſt. & there in opē audience, the K. made to thē a ſhort & pithie oratiō, declaring yͤ iniuries lately done, & committed by yͤ french nation, ſhewing alſo the iuſt and lawful occaſiō of his warres, ſignifying furthermore yͤ great diſcord & ciuil diſſentiō which raigned amongſt yͤ nobilitie of Frāce, reherſing many things, for yͤ which it were neceſſarie to follow yͤ warres now in hande againſt thē, & that without delay: he therefore deſired thē to prouide for money & treaſure, yͭ nothing ſhould be wanting, whē neede required: his requeſt heerein was granted, for euery mā was willing and glad to further yͤ voiage, ſo that the Clergie grāted two diſmes, & the laitie a whole fiftēth.

The Duke of Bedford re of England.

In this Parliamēt alſo, John D. of Bedford, was made gouernor or regēt of yͤ realme, to hold & enioy yͤ office, ſo long as the K. was occupied in the french warres.

Thom. VVal

Morouer, in this Parliamēt, the King gaue to yͤ D. of Exeter a M. poundes by yere, to be paid out of his own cofers, beſides .40. pounds yerely, which he was to receiue of yͤ town of Exeter, of the kings reuenewes there. & had the ſame grant confirmed, by authoritie of yͤ Parliament, inſomuch yͤ ſome write, yͤ in this Parliamēt, he was made D. of Exeter, & not before.

Libelles.

The king kept his Chriſtmas at Kenilworth, & the morrow after Chriſtmas day, were certain writings caſt abroade, in greate mens houſes, & almoſt in euery Inne, within yͤ towns of S. Albōs, Northampton, & Reading, conteining ſharp reproofs againſt al eſtates of the Church, & it could not be knowen from whence thoſe writings came, nor who was the author of them.

1417

The K. very earneſtly procured all things to be made ready for the warre, meaning to paſſe the next Sōmer ouer into Fraunce, to recouer his right by force, which by no other meane he ſaw how to obteine.

Anno reg. 5.

Tit. Liuim.

In this meane while, had the Frenchmen hired a great nūber of Genewaies & Italians, with certaine Carrickes and gallies well appointed, the which being ioyned with the Frenche fleete, lay at the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and vp within the ſame riuer, both to ſtoppe all ſuccour by Sea that ſhould come to them within Harflew, and alſo to waſt abroade, and do what domage they could vnto the Engliſh, as occaſion ſerued.

The Kyng therefore ere hee paſſed ouer himſelfe, ſent the Earle of Huntington to ſearch and ſcoure the Seas, leaſt any Frenchmen, lying thus in awaite for him, might ſurpriſe him, ere he ſhould haue knowledge to auoide the danger. This luſtie Earle, called John Holland, ſon to the Earle of Huntington, otherwiſe called D. of Exeter, beheaded at Cirecter, in the tyme of K. Henry the fourth, and couſin to the K. with a greate nauie of ſhips, ſearched the Sea, from the one coaſt to the other, and in concluſion, encountred with nine of thoſe greate Carikes of Genes (the which the L. Jaques, the baſtard of Bourbō had reteined to ſerue the french K.) and ſet on thē ſharply.

A great e ployte b done by the Earle of H tingtō.

Tit. Liui

The conflict was great, & the fight long, (continuing the more part of a Sommers day) but in cōcluſion, the frenchmen & Italians were ouercome, & fled, three of the greateſt Carikes wͭ their patrones, & Monſ. Jaques de Burbon their Admiral, were takē, wͭ as much money as ſhuld haue paid yͤ ſouldiers of yͤ whole fleete for halfe a yere, & thre other Carikes wer bowged. The erle

Tit. Liu

returning

ning backe with this good lucke, found the King at Hampton, who receiued him with thankes, as he had well deſerued. Shortly after, vpon yͤ three and twentith of July, the King tooke his Ship at Portſmouth, accompanyed with the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the Earles of Huntington, Marſhal, Warwicke, Deuonſhire, Saliſburie Suffolke, & Somerſet, the lordes Roſſe, Willoughby, Fitz Hugh, Clintō, Scrope, Matreuers, Bourchier, Ferreis of Groby, and Ferreis of Chartley, Fauhope, Gray of Codnore, ſir Gilbert Umfreuile, ſir Gilbert Talbot, & diuers other, and ſo hauing winde & wether to his deſire yͤ firſt day of Auguſt, he lāded in Normādy nere to a caſtel called Touque, where he conſulted wͭ his Captaines, what way was beſt for him to take cōcerning his high enterprice. His army cōteined yͤ nūber of xvj. M. and four C. ſouldiers & men of war of his own purueiāce, beſide other. The D. of Clarēce had in his retinue a C. lances, & three C. archers, and beſide him, ther were three Erles, which had two C. & 40. lances, and xvij. C. and twētie archers. The D. of Glouceſter four C. and 70. lances, & 14. C. and ten archers. The erles of March, Marſhal, Warwike, & Saliſburie, each of thē one C. lances, and three C. archers apeece. The erle of Huntington fortie lances, & vj. ſcore arches. The erle of Suffolk 30. lances, & xc. arches. Beſide theſe, there were. 13. Lords, as Burguennie, Matreuers. Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Grey, Willoughby, Talbot, Courtney, Burchier, Roos. Louell, Ferrers of Chartley, & Harington, yͤ which had in their retinue the nūber of fiue C. & ſixe lances, & 15. C. and 80. archers. Alſo, ther were in this army. 77. knightes, which had vnder thē. 9. C. and. 45. lances, & two M. eight C. and 52. archers, ſo yͤ in all, ther were 25. M. fiue C. & 28. fighting mē, of which nūber, euery fourth mā was a lance: beſide the ſouldiers & men of war, ther were a M Maſons, Carpenters, & other labourers. The Normās hearing of yͤ Kings arriual, were ſuddenly ſtrikē with ſuche feare, yͤ they fled out of their houſes, leauing the townes & villages, & with their wiues, and children, bagge, & baggage, gote thē into the walled townes, preparing there to defend themſelues, & with all ſpeede, ſent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defence & preſeruation of his louing ſubiectes: heerevpon, the men of warre were appointed to reſorte into yͤ ſtrong townes, to lie within yͤ ſame in garriſons, to reſiſt the power of the Engliſhmen, ſo that all the walled Townes and Caſtels in Normandy, were furniſhed, with men, munition and vittailes. The King of Englande, when hee had reſolued with his Counſell for his proceeding in his enterpriſes, layd ſiege vnto the Caſtell of Touque. The Duke of Glouceſter that ledde the fore warde, had the charge of that ſiege, the whiche by force of aſſaultes, and other warlike meanes, brought it to that point, that they within yeelded yͤ place into his hands, the ninth day of Auguſt. The Earle of Saliſburie alſo which ledde the ſeconde warde or battell of the Engliſhe hoſte, tooke the Caſtel of Aunbreuilliers, the which was giuē to him by the King, and ſo this Earle was the firſt that had any place graunted to him of the kyngs free gift, in this new conqueſt.

King Henry arriueth in Normandie.

The number of the whole armye.

Titus Liuius.

The Normans flee to the walled townes.

uque caſtel
ſieged by
e Engliſhmē
d taken.

Tit. Liu

Amberuilliers caſtell taken.

The King made at the winning of Tonque eight and twentie Knightes, and left ſir Robert Kirkeley Captayne there. After this, vpon deliberate aduice takē how to proceede further in this buſineſſe, it was determined, that the King ſhould goe to Caen, and thereuppon he ſet forward toward that towne in moſt warlike order, waſting the countrey on euery ſide as he paſſed.

The Towne of Caen, ſtandeth in a playne fertile Coūtrey, no ſtronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vitayled and repleniſhed with people, for the Citizens fearing the Kinges comming, had prouided all things neceſſarie and defenſible. The King doubting leaſt the Frenchmen, vpon knowledge had of his approch to the Towne, woulde haue burned the ſuburbes and other buildings without yͤ walles, ſent the Duke of Clarence with a thouſand men before him, to preuente them. The Duke comming thither, founde the ſuburbes already ſet on fire, but he vſed ſuch diligence to quench yͤ ſame, that the moſt part of the houſes were ſaued. Hee alſo wanne the Abbey Churche of Saint Stephen, whiche the Frenchmen were in hend with to haue ouerthrowen, by vndermining the pillers, but the Duke obteyning the place, filled vp the mines, and ſo preſerued the Churche from ruine.

Hee alſo wanne a Celle of Nunnes, verye ſtrongly fenced, after the manner of warre: then came the King before the Towne, who cauſed forthwith to be caſt a deepe trench, with an high Mount, to kepe them within from iſſuing forth, and that done, began fiercely to aſſault yͤ towne, but they within, ſtoode manfully to their defence, ſo that there was ſore and cruell fight betwixte them, and their enimies: but when King Henrie perceyued that hee loſt more than hee wanne by his dayly aſſaultes, hee left off anye more to aſſault it, and determined to ouerthrow yͤ walles, with vndermining, wherefore with al diligence, the Pioners caſt trenches, made mines, and broughte tymber, ſo that within a fewe dayes, the walles ſtoode only vpon poſtes, ready to fall, when fire ſhould be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall aſſaulte, cauſed all the Captaines to aſſemble before him in coūſell, vnto whom he declared his purpoſe, cōmaunding

Caen beſieged

Tit. Liuius.

them not before the nexte day to vtter it, till by ſound of trumpet they ſhoulde haue warning to ſet forwarde, towarde the walles, leaſt his determination being diſcloſed to the enimies, myght cauſe them to prouide the better for their owne defence.

The order of the aſſault.

Moreouer, he preſcribed vnto them, what order he woulde haue them to kepe, in giuing the aſſault, and that was this, that euery Captaine deuiding his bande into three ſeuerall portions, they might be ready one to ſucceede in an others place, as thoſe which fought, ſhoulde happely bee driuen backe and repulſed.

Tit. Liuius.

Caen taken by the Engliſhmē

In the morning nexte following, beeing the fourth of September, ſomewhat before yͤ breake of the day, hee cauſed his people to approche the walles, & to ſhewe countenance, as though they would giue a general aſſault, & whileſt they were buſied in aſſayling and defending on both ſides, the Engliſhmen perced, and brake through the walles by diuers holes and ouertures made by yͤ Pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the King vpon diuers reſpectes, offered them within pardon of life, if they woulde yeeld themſelues and the towne to his mercie, but they refuſing that to doe, the aſſault was newly begun, and after ſore fighte, continued for the ſpace of an houre, the Engliſhmen preuailed, and ſlew ſo many as they found with weapon in hand, ready to reſiſt them. The Duke of Clarence was the firſt that entred with his people, and hauing gote the one part of the towne, aſſayled them that kepte the bridge, and by force beating them backe, paſſed the ſame, and ſo came to the walles on the other ſide of the Towne, where the fighte was ſharpe and fierce betwixte the aſſaylauntes and defendauntes, but the Duke with his people ſettyng on the Frenchmen behinde, as they ſtoode at defence on the walles, eaſily vanquiſhed them, ſo that the other Engliſhmen entred at their pleaſure. Thus when the King was poſſeſſed of the towne, hee incontinently commaunded all armours and weapōs to be brought into one place, whiche was immediately done, without anye gaynesay: then the miſerable people came before the kings preſence, and kneeling on their knees, held vp their handes, and cryed mercy, mercy, to whome the Kyng gaue certayne comfortable wordes, and bad them ſtande vp: all the nighte following, he cauſed his army to keepe thẽſelues in order of battell within the towne, and on the nexte morning, called all the magiſtrates and gouernours of the towne into the Senate houſe, where ſome for their wilfull ſtubberneſſe, were adiudged to die, other were ſore fined and raunſomed. Then he calling togither his ſouldiors & men of warre, not onely gaue them great prayſes and high commendations for their manly doings, but alſo diſtributed to euery man, according to his deſerte, the ſpoyle and gaine gotten in the towne, chiefly bycauſe at the aſſault they hadde ſhewed good proofe of their manhoode and valiant courages.

Tit. Liuius.

Caen Caſtel yelded.

Tit. Liuius.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

Tit. Liuius.

A great army to reſiſt the Scottes.

Tho. Wal.

After that the Towne was thus wonne, the Lord Montainie, Captain of the Caſtell, would not yeelde, but made ſemblance, as though hee meant to defend the place, to the vtterance: but after that hee was ſharply called vpō by Kyng Henry, eyther to yeld it, or elſe that he ſhoulde be aſſured to haue all mercie and fauour ſequeſtred from him, he tooke better aduice, and thereupon being in deſpaire of reliefe, made this compoſition, that if he were not reſcued by the French power by a certaine day, he ſhoulde render the fortreſſe into the Kings handes, with condition, that he and his ſouldiers ſhould be ſuffered to depart with all their goodes, the habilimentes of warre onely excepted: hereupon, twelue hoſtages were deliuered to the King, and when the day came, being the twētith of September, they within rendred the Caſtel into the Kings hāds, and thus, both the Towne and Caſtell of Caen became Engliſh. Whileſt the king was thus occupied about his conqueſts in Normandy, the Scottes aſſembled themſelues togither in great number, and entring Englād, waſted the countrey with fire and ſword whereſoeuer they came. The Engliſh Lords that were left in truſt with the keeping of thoſe parties of the Realme, reyſed the whole power of the Countreys, ſo that there came togither, the number of an hundred thouſand men vpon Baw More, where the generall aſſemble was made, and as it chanced, the Duke of Exeter, vncle to the K. which had lately before muſtred a certayne number of men to conuey thẽ ouer to the K. as a new ſupply to his army there, was yͤ ſame time in yͤ North partes on pilgrimage at Bridlington, and hearing of this inuaſion made by the Scottes, tooke vpon him to be generall of the army prepared againſt them, and to giue them battel. Alſo, the Archb. of Yorke, although he was not able to ſit on horſebacke by reaſon of his great age, cauſed himſelfe to be caried forth in a charet in that iourney, the better to encourage other: but the Scottes hearing that the Engliſhmen approched towarde them with ſuch a puiſſance, withdrew backe into their countrey, and durſt not abide the bickering.

Sir Iohn Oldcaſtel.

The ſeruants of the Abbot of ſaint Albans goe about to catch the Lord Cobham.

The ſame time, the Lord Cobham, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell, whyleſt hee ſhifted from place to place to eſcape the handes of them that he knewe would be glad to lay hold on him, had conueyed hymſelfe in ſecrete wiſe into an huſbandmans houſe, not farre from S. Albons, within the precinct of a Lordſhippe belonging to the Abbot of that Towne: the Abbots ſeruauntes getting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but they miſſed their purpoſe, for hee was gone, but they caughte diuers of his men, whome they carried ſtreighte to priſon. The Lord Cobham herewith was ſore diſmaied, for that ſome of them that were taken, were ſuche as he truſted moſt, being of counſell in all his deuiſes. In the ſame place were found bookes written in engliſh, & ſome of thoſe bokes in times paſt had bin trimly gilte, & limmed, beautified with Images, the heads whereof had bin ſcraped off, & in yͤ Letany, they had blotted forthe the name of our Lady, & of other ſainctes, til they came to yͤ verſe *Parce nobis Domine*. Diuers writings were founde there alſo, in derogation of ſuche honour as then was thought due to our Lady: the Abbot of ſaint Albons ſent the boke ſo diſfigured with ſcrapings & blotting out, with other ſuche writings as there were found, vnto the king, who ſent the boke againe to the Archb. to ſhewe the ſame in his ſermons at Poules croſſe in Londō, to yͤ end, that the citizens and other people of the realme might vnderſtande the purpoſes of thoſe that then were called Lollards, to bring thē further in diſcredit with the people. In this meane time that yͤ king of Englande was occupied about yͤ winning of Caen, the frenchemen had neither any ſufficient power to reſiſt him, nor were able to aſſemble an hoſte togither in this miſerable neceſſitie, by reaſon of yͤ diſſention amongſt thēſelues: For their K. was ſo ſimple, yͭ he was ſpoiled both of treaſure & kingdome, ſo yͭ euery man ſpent & waſted he cared not what. Charles yͤ Dolphin being of yͤ age of xvi. or xvii. yeres only, lamented & bewailed yͤ ruine & decay of his coūtry, he only ſtudied yͤ aduancemēt of yͤ cōmō welth, & deuiſed how to reſiſt his enemies, but hauing neither men nor mony, he was greatly troubled & diſquieted in his minde: In concluſion, by yͤ aduiſe & counſel of yͤ Erle of Arminak yͤ conſtable of Fraunce, he found a meane to get all yͤ treaſure and riches which his mother Q. Iſabell had gottē & horded in diuers ſecret places: & for yͤ cōmō defence and profit of his coūtry he wiſely beſtowed it in waging ſouldiors, & preparing things neceſſary for yͤ warre. The Q. forgetting yͤ great perill that the realme thē ſtode in, remembring onely yͤ diſpleaſure to hir by this act done, vpō a womaniſh malice, ſet hir huſbād Io. duke of Burgoigne in yͤ higheſt auctoritie about yͤ K. giuing him the regiment & direction of the king and his realme, with al preheminence & ſoueraigntie. The duke of Burgoigne hauing the ſworde in his hande, in reuenge of olde iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin, determining, that when hee hadde tamed this yong vnbridled Gentleman, then woulde hee go aboute to wythſtande, and beate backe the common enemies of the realme.

Commendation of the Dolphin of Fraunce.

The duke of Burgoigne chiefe doer in Fraunce.

The like treaſon moued the Dolphin, for hee mynded firſte to repreſſe the authours of ciuill diſcorde, before he woulde ſet vpon foraigne enemies, and therefore prepared to ſubdue and deſtroy the Duke of Burgoine, as the chiefe head and leader of that wicked and curſed miſchiefe, whereby the realme was muche vnquieted, and ſore decayed, and in maner brought to vtter ruine. Thus was Fraunce inflamed, and in euery parte troubled wyth warre and deuiſion, and yet no man woulde eyther prouide remedy in ſo greate daunger, nor once put forthe hys finger to remoue ſo greate miſeries.

King Henry folowing the victory and hys good ſucceſſe, ſente the Duke of Clarence to the Sea coaſte, whiche with greate difficultie, got the towne of Bayeux, whereof the Lorde Matreuers was appoynted Capitaine. The Duke of Gloceſter alſo finding ſmall reſiſtance, toke the Citie of Liſeaux, of whiche Citie, Sir Iohn Kirkeley was appointed capitaine. In the meane time, Kyng Henry himſelfe taried ſtill at Caen, fortefying the Towne and Caſtell, and put out fiftene hundreth women and impotente perſons, repleniſhing the Towne wyth Engliſhe people. While the Kyng ſoiourned at Caen, hee kepte there a ſolemne feaſte, and made many Knightes, and beſide that, he ſhewed there an example of greate pitie and clemency: for in ſearching the Caſtell, hee founde innumerable ſubſtaunce of plate and money, belonging to the Citizens, wherof, hee woulde not ſuffer one peny to bee touched, but reſtored the ſame to the owners, deliuering to euery man that whiche was his owne. When the fame of his mercifull dealing herein, and alſo of his greate clemency ſhewed to captiues, and of his fauourable vſing of thoſe that ſubmitted themſelues to his grace, was ſpredde abroade, all the Capitaines of the Townes adioyning, came willingly to his preſence, offering vnto him themſelues, their townes, and their goodes, whervppon hee made proclamation, that all men, which hadde, or woulde become his ſubiectes, and ſweare to hym allegiaunce, ſhoulde enioy their goodes, and liberties, in as large, or more ample maner, then they did before: whiche gentle entertayning of the ſtubborne Normans, was the very cauſe, why they were not only contente, but alſo gladde to remoue and turne from the Frenche parte, and became ſubiectes to the crowne of Englande.

Bayeux taken.

Lyſeaux taken

Caen peopled with Engliſhe inhabitants.

A worthy and rare example of equitie in king Henry.

When Kyng Henry hadde ſet Caen in good order, hee lefte there for Capitaines, the one of the Towne, the other of the Caſtell. Sir Gilbert Vmfreuille Earle of Kyme or Angus, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, and made Bailiffe there, Sir Ioh. Popham, & ſo departed from Caen the firſt

The caſtell of Courſie rendred.

of October, and comming to the Caſtell of Courſye, within three dayes had it rendred vnto hym. From whence, the fourth of October, hee departed, and came vnto Argenton, they within that Towne and Caſtell offered, that if no reſcue came by a day limited, they woulde deliuer both the Towne and Caſtell into the Kings hands, ſo that ſuch as would abide and become yͤ kings faythfull ſubiects ſhoulde be receiued, the other to departe with their goodes and liues ſaued, whither they would: The King accepted their offer.

Argenton buylded.

When the day limited came, and no ſuccors appeared, they yeelded according to the couenauntes, and the King performed all that on his behalfe was promiſed. The Lord Grey of Codnor was appointed Captaine there.

Sees yelded.

After this, reſorted dayly to the King, of the Normans, people of all ſortes and degrees, to ſweare to him fealtie and homage. The Citie of Sees whiche was well inhabited, and wherein were two Abbeys of great ſtrength, namely one of them yeelded to the King, and ſo likewiſe did diuers other townes in thoſe parties, withoute ſtroke ſtriken.

Alanſon beſieged and yelded vp.

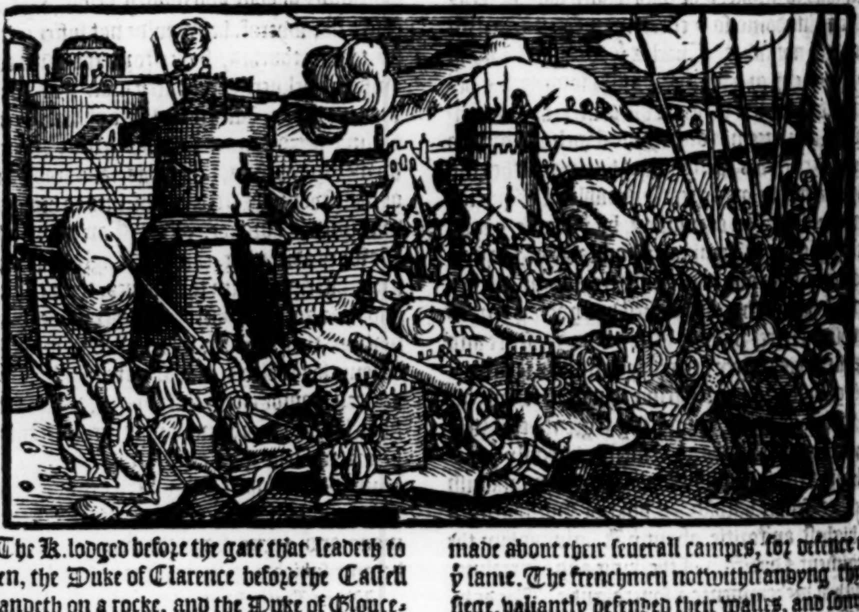
The towne of Alanſon abode a ſiege for the ſpace of eighte dayes, they within defending it right valiantly at the firſt, but in the ende conſidering with themſelues, what ſmall hope there was for anye ſuccours to come to remoue the ſiege, they grew to a compoſition, that if within a certaine day they were not relieued, they ſhould yeelde both the Towne and Caſtel into yͤ kings hands, which was done, for no ſuccours coulde be heard of. The K. appointed Captaine of thys Towne, the Duke of Glouceſter, and his Lieutenant ſir Rauſe Lentall. The Duke of Brytaine vnder ſafeconduit came to the Kyng, as hee was thus buſie in the conqueſt of Normandie, and after ſundry poyntes treated of betwixte them, a truce was taken, to endure, from the ſeuententh daye of Nouember, vnto the laſt of September, in the yeare nexte following, betwixte them, their ſouldiers, men of warre, and ſubiectes. The like truce was granted vnto the Q. of Jeruſalẽ and Sicill, and to hir ſonne Lewes, for the Duchie of Aniou, and the Countie of Mayne, the Duke of Britaine being their deputie, for concluding of the ſame truce.

Tit. Liuius.

A truce taken betweene king Henry and the duke of Britayne.

About yͤ ſame time alſo, at the ſute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was had at Touque, for a finall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanſon, the K. ſet forwarde towards the Towne and Caſtell of Faleis, meaning to beſiege the ſame, where the Frenchmen appointed to the keeping of it, had fortified yͤ towne by al meanes poſſible, & prepared themſelues to defend it to yͤ vttermoſt. The Erle of Saliſburie was firſt ſent thither before with certaine bands of ſouldiers to encloſe the enimies within the Towne, and to view the ſtrength thereof. After him came the K. with his whole army, about the firſt of Decẽber, and then was the towne beſieged on eache ſide.

Faleis beſieged.

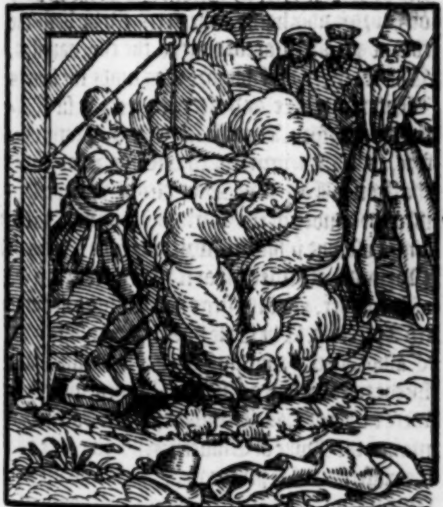


The K. lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the Duke of Clarence before the Caſtell yͭ ſtandeth on a rocke, and the Duke of Glouceſter, lay on yͤ kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were aſſigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be ſure frõ taking domage by any ſuddaine inuaſion of the enimies, there were great trenches and rampiers caſt and made about their ſeuerall campes, for defence of yͤ ſame. The Frenchmen notwithſtandyng thys ſiege, valiantly defended their walles, and ſometimes made iſſues forth, but ſmall to their gaine, and ſtill the Engliſhmen with their gunnes and great ordinance made batterie to the walles and bulwarkes. The Winter ſeaſon was very colde, with ſharpe froſtes, and hard weather, but the Engliſhmen made ſuche ſhift for prouiſion of all things neceſſarie to ſerue their turnes, that they were ſufficiẽtly prouided, both againſt hunger and colde, ſo that in the ende, the Frenchmen perceyuing they coulde not long endure againſt them, offered to talke, and agreed to gyue ouer the Towne, if no reſcues came by a certain day appointed.

Tho. VVal.
Sir Iohn Oldcaſtell taken.

Aboute the ſame ſeaſon, was ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell, Lord Cobham taken in the Countrey of Powes lande, in the borders of Wales, within a Lordſhip belonging to the Lord Powes, not without daunger and hurtes of ſome that were at yͤ taking of him, for they could not take him, till he was wounded himſelfe. At the ſame time, the ſtates of the Realme were aſſembled at Lõdon, for the leuying of money, to furniſh yͤ kings exceeding great charges, which he was at, about the mayntenaunce of his warres in Fraunce: it was therfore determined, that the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtell ſhould be brought, and put to his triall, ere the aſſemble brake vp. The Lord Powes therefore was ſente to fetch him, who broughte him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith, beeing firſte layde faſt in the Tower, ſhortly after he was brought before the Duke of Bedford, regent of the Realme, and the other eſtates, where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawen from the Tower vnto S. Giles fielde, and there hanged in a chayne by the midle, and after conſumed with fire, the gallowes and all.

Sir Iohn Oldcaſtel executed



1418
Faleis rendred vp to king Henry.

When the daye was come, on the whiche it was coueunaunted, that the Towne of Faleiſe ſhould be deliuered, to wit, the ſeconde of Ianuarie, bycauſe no ſuccours appeared, the Towne was yeelded to the king, but the Caſtell held ſtil, into the whiche, the Captaine and gouernoure, both of the Towne and Caſtell withdrew himſelfe, with al the Souldiers, and being ſtraightly beſieged, defended himſelfe, and the place ryghte ſtoutely, although he was ſore layde to, vntill at length, perceiuing his people awearied with continuall aſſaultes, and ſuche approches, as were made to, and within the very walles, hee was driuen to compounde with the King, that if hee were not ſuccoured by the ſixth of Februarie, then ſhould he yeeld himſelfe priſoner, and deliuer the Caſtell, ſo that the Souldiers ſhoulde haue licence to depart, with their liues only ſaued. When the day came, the coueuauntes were performed, and the Caſtell rendered to the kings handes, for no aide came to the reſcue of them within. The Captaine named Oliuer de Manny, was kept as priſoner, till the Caſtell was repayred at his coſts and charges, bicauſe yͤ ſame, through his obſtinate wilfulneſſe, was ſore beaten and defaced, with vnderminings and baterie. Captaine there, by the King, was appoynted ſir Henry Fiz Hugh.

Hiſtorie des Dukes de Normandie.

After this, King Henry returned to Caen, and by reaſon of a proclamation which he hadde cauſed to bee made for the people of Normandie, that had withdrawen themſelues forthe of the Bayliwickes of Caen, and Faleis, he granted away to his owne people, the lands of thoſe that came not in, vppon that proclamation, and in ſpeciall, he gaue to the Duke of Clarence, during his life, the Vicounties of Auge, Orbec, and Ponteau de Mer, with all the landes of thoſe that were withdrawen forth of the ſame vicounties. This gift was made the ſixtenth of Februarie, in this fifth yeare of this kings raigne.

Tho. VValſ.
Titus Liuius.

All the Lent ſeaſon, the King lay at Bayeux with part of his army, but the reſidue were ſente abroade, for the atchieuing of certaine enterpriſes, bycauſe they ſhould not lye idle.

A ſore tempeſt

Whileſt the King of Englande wanne thus in Normandie, his nauie loſt nothing on the Sea, but ſo ſcoured the ſtreames, that neyther Frenchmenne nor Brytons durſt once appeare, howbeit, one day there aroſe ſuche a ſtorme and hydeous tempeſt, that if the Earles of Marche and Huntington hadde not taken the Hauen of Southhampton, the whole nauie had periſhed, and yet the ſafegarde was ſtrange, for in the ſame Hauen, two Balingers, and two greate Carickes, laden with merchandice were drowned, and the broken maſt of an other Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of the Towne.

When the furie of this outragious winde and weather was aſſwaged, and the Sea waxed calme, the Earles of Marche and Huntington paſſed ouer with all their company, and landed in Normandie, and marched through the countrey, deſtroying the villages, and taking prayes on eache hand, till they came to the King where he then was.

Anno reg. 6.

In the ſixth yeare of King Henries raigne, hee ſente the Earle of Warwike, and the Lorde Talbot, to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtell of Dampfront. The Duke of Clarence was alſo ſente, to beſiege and ſubdue other townes, vnto whome, at one time & other, we finde, that theſe townes vnderwritten were yelded, wherein he put Captaynes as followeth.

Townes in Normandie yelded to king Henry.

In Courton, Iohn Aubyn.
In Barney, William Houghton.
In Chambys, Iames Neuille.
In Bechelouin, the Earle Marſhall.
In Harcourt, Richard Wooduille Eſquier.
In Faugernon, Iohn Saint Albon.
In Creucuer, Sir Iohn Kirkby, to whome it was giuen.
In Anuilliers, Robert Horneby.
In Bagles, Sir Iohn Arture.
In Freſney le Vicont, ſir Robert Brent.

The Duke of Glouceſter the ſame tyme, accompanyed with the Earle of Marche, the Lorde Grey of Codner, and other, was ſente to ſubdue the Townes in the Iſle of Conſtantine, vnto whome theſe townes hereafter mentioned were yelded, where hee appointed Captaines as followeth.

At Carentine, the Lord Botreux.
At Saint Lo, Reginald Weſt.
At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.
At Pont Done, Dauy Howell.
At the Hay de Pais, ſir Iohn Aſton.
At S. Saueur le vicont, ſir Iohn Robſert.
At Pontorſon, ſir Robert Gargraue.
At Hamberie, the Earle of Suffolke, Lord of that place by gift.
At Briqueuille, the ſaide Earle alſo by gifte.
At Auranches, Sir Phillip Hall, Bayliſe of Alanſon.
At Vire, the Lord Matreuers.
At S. Iames de Beumeron, the ſame Lord.

Chierburgh beſieged by the Engliſh.

After that yͤ Duke had ſubdued to yͤ Kyngs dominion, yͤ moſt part of all yͤ townes in yͤ Iſle of Conſtantine, Chierburgh excepted, hee returned to the K. and forthwith was ſente thither again, to beſiege that ſtrong fortreſſe, which was fenſed with men, munition, vitalles, and ſtrong walles, towers, and turrets, in moſt defenſible wiſe, by reaſon whereof, it was holden agaynſte him yͤ ſpace of fiue monethes, although he vſed al wayes & meanes poſſible, to anoy them within, ſo that many fierce aſſaultes, ſkirmiſhes, iſſues, and other exploites of warre, were atchieued betwixt the frenchmen within, and the Engliſhmẽ without, at length yet, the Frenchmen were ſo conſtreined by power of baterie, mines, and other forcible wayes of approchings, that they were glad to compounde to deliuer the place, if no reſcue came, to reiſe the ſiege, either from the Dolphin, that then was retired into Aquitaine, or from the Duke of Burgoigne, that then laye at Paris, within the tearme of .62. dayes, for which reſpite the Duke graunted, where they within, preſuming of the ſtrength of their fortifications, & in hope of ſuccour, either frõ the Dolphin, or yͤ Duke required a far longer tearme. Nowe were the Dolphin, and the Duke of Burgoigne growen to a certaine agreemẽt, by mediatiõ of Cardinals ſent frõ the Pope, ſo that the Engliſhmẽ ſurely thought, that they would leauie a power, and come downe to reſcue Chireburg, by reaſon whereof, yͤ Duke of Glouceſter cauſed his camps to bee ſtrongly intrenched, and manye defenſible blockhouſes of timber to bee raiſed, lyke to ſmall turrets, that the ſame might be a ſafegard to hys people, and to cõclude, left nothing vnforſene nor vndone, that was auailable for yͤ defence of hys army. The K. doubting leaſt ſome power ſhuld be ſent downe, to the danger of his brother, and thoſe that were with him at this ſiege of Chirburgh, cauſed two M. men to bee embarqued in thirtie ſhips of the Weſt countrey, by order ſent vnto certaine lords there. The frẽchmen within the towne, perceiuing thoſe ſuccours to approche neere to yͤ towne, thought verily that there had bin a power of frenchmen cõming to their ayde: but when they ſaw them receiued as friends into yͤ Engliſh camp, their comfort was ſone quailed, & ſo when the day appointed came, beyng yͤ nintenth of October, or rather aboute the latter end of Nouember, as the hiſtorie of the Dukes of Normandie hathe, they rendred vp both the towne & Caſtell, according to the couenauntes. The L. Grey of Codnore was made the kyngs Lieutenant there, and after his deceaſſe ſir Walter Hungerford. About yͤ ſame time, or rather before, as Ti. Li. writeth, to wit, the .22. of Iune, the ſtrong Caſtell of Dampfront was yelded into the handes of the Earle of Warwike, to the kings vſe, but yͤ hiſtorie written of the Dukes of Normãdy affirmeth, that it was ſurrẽdred yͤ 22. of Septẽber, after the ſiege had cõtinued about it frõ Aprill laſt. The Erle of Warwike, and yͤ L. Talbot, after yͤ winning of this fortreſſe, made ſpeede to come vnto yͤ ſiege of Rouen, wher they were imployed, as after ſhal appeare. And in like maner, the Duke of Glouceſter, hauing once got the poſſeſſion of Chirburgh, haſted towardes yͤ ſame ſiege, for yͤ better furniſhing of whych enterpriſe, he had firſt cauſed an army of fiftene M. mẽ to be brought ouer to him, vnder the leading of his vncle yͤ Duke of Exeter, who embarquing with the ſame, about the feaſt of the holy Trinitie, was appoynted by the King to beſiege the Citie of Eureux, as the Earle of Angus, otherwiſe called Earle of Kyme, was ſent to winne the Caſtell of Milly Leueſche.

Chierburgh yelded to the Engliſhmen.

The Caſtell of Dampfront yelded.

These townes being deliuered to the kings vſe, the Duke ordeyned Captaine of Eureux ſir Gilbert Halſall knight.

The king nowe determining with all ſpeede to beſiege Rouen, prepared all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe. Into this Citie the Normans had conueyed out of euery parte theyr money, iewels, and houſhold ſtuffe, as into the moſt ſure and ſtrongeſt place of the whole duchie. For ſith his arriuall, they had not onely walled that Citie and fortified it with rampiers and ſtrong Bulwarkes, but alſo furniſhed it with valiant Captaynes, and hardie ſouldiers, to the number of foure thouſande, beſide ſuche of the Citizens as were appoynted for the warre, according to their eſtates, of the which there were at the leaſt fiftene thouſande readie to ſerue in defence of the Citie, as ſouldiers and men of warre in all places where they ſhoulde be aſſigned.

King Henrie to haue the Countrey free before he would beſiege this citie, thought good firſt to winne ſuch townes as lay in his way, & therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feaſt of Saint George) the .ix. day of Iune hee marched ſtreight vnto the towne of Louiers, and layd his ſiege about the ſame.

They within the towne being well furniſhed of al things neceſſarie for the defending of a ſiege, manfully reſiſted the Engliſhe mens enforcementes, whiche ſpared not to deuiſe all wayes and meanes howe to approche the walles, and to batter the ſame with their great Artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yeeld the town on theſe conditions, that if by the .xxiij. of Iune there came no ſuccour from the French king to rayſe the ſiege, the towne ſhould be deliuered into the kings handes, the ſouldiers of the garniſon ſhould ſerue vnder the king for a time, and the townesmen ſhoulde remaine in theyr dwellings as they did before, as ſubiectes to the king: but the Gunners that had diſcharged any peece agaynſt the Engliſhmen ſhould ſuffer death.

When the day came, and no ayde appeared, the couenants were performed accordingly.

From thence went the king with all ſpeed vnto Ponte de Larch, ſtanding vpon the Ryuer of Seine .viij. miles aboue Roan towards Paris: he came thither about the .xxvij. of Iune.

When the French men which kept the paſſage there, heard of the kings approch, they gathered togither a greate number of menne of warre, mynding to defende the paſſage agaynſte hym, appoynting an other bande of men (if they fayled) to keepe the further ſyde of the bridge, and to watch that neyther by boate nor veſſell, he ſhould come ouer the riuer by any maner of meanes.

At his comming neare to the towne, he perceyued that it was not poſſible to paſſe by the bridge without great loſſe of his people, and therfore he retyred almoſt a myle backwarde, where in a pleaſant and commodious place by the Ryuer ſyde hee pytched his campe, and in the nyght ſeaſon, what wyth Boates and Barges, & what with Hoggeſheads and Pypes, he conueyed ouer the broade ryuer of Seane a great companye of his ſouldiers, without any reſiſtance made by his enimies. For they which were on the hither ſyde of Sein thinking that the Engliſhmen had gone to wynne ſome other place, followed them not, but ſtudied how to defende theyr towne, which was ynough for them to doe.

The Engliſh army paſſeth the ryuer of Seyne.

And to put the French men in doubt, leaſt the Engliſh men ſhould ſeeke paſſage ſomwhere elſe, the King appoynted certaine of the ſouldiers which had ſkill in ſwimming, to goe to a place a three myles from the ſiege by the Riuer ſide, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noyſe, as though they had ment to haue paſſed, but they had in commaundement not to trauerſe paſte halfe the Ryuer, ſo to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwardes, whileſt the King in one place, and his brother the Duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in ſuch number, before the Frenche men had any vnderſtanding thereof, that when they made towardes them, and perceyued that they were not able to encounter them, they fled backe, and durſt not abide the Engliſh footmen, which would fain haue beene doing with them.

A good policy.

When the king ſaw that his men were on the other ſide of the water, he (the next day early) returned to the towne, & aſſaulted it on both ſides. When the Inhabitants therefore ſaw thẽſelues compaſſed on both ſides, contrarye to theyr expectation, wyth humble heart and ſmall ioy, they rendred vp the towne vnto the Kings handes.

Pont de Larch rendred vp to the engliſhmẽ

After this, the king hauing no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to beſiege yͤ Citie of Roan, and firſt ſent before him his vncle yͤ Duke Exceter, with a great companie of horſemen and Archers to viewe the place, and therevpon wyth Banner diſplayed came before the Citie, and ſent Wynſore an Herault at Armes to the captaynes within, willing them to deliuer the Citie to the king his maiſter, or elſe hee woulde purſue them with fire and ſworde. To whom they proudly anſwered, that none they receyued of him, nor any they woulde deliuer him, except by fine force they were therevnto compelled: and herewyth there iſſued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and encountred fiercely with the Engliſh men, the which receyuing them wyth lyke manhoode, and great force, draue the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their loſſe, for they left thirtie of their felowes behind priſoners and dead in the field.

The Duke returned with this good ſpeede and prowde anſwere of the French men vnto the king which remayned yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the Duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie ſir Iohn Godard knight.

After that the Duke of Exceter was returned to Pont Larche, the Frenche Captaines within Roan, ſette fire on the Suburbes, beate downe Churches, cut downe trees, ſhred the buſhes, deſtroyed the Vines rounde aboute the Citie, to the entent that the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue no reliefe nor comfort eyther of lodging or fewell.

Roan beſieged by k. Henry.

When the king heard of theſe deſpitefull doings, he with his whole armie remoued frõ Pont-Larch, and the laſt day of Iuly, came before the Citie of Roan, and compaſſed it rounde aboute with a ſtrong ſiege.

Before Pont Saint Hillarie

Titus Liuius.

The order of the ſiege.

Before the gate called Markevile.

Titus Liuius.

Saliſbury and Huntingtõ on the other ſide of the riuer of Sayne.

The king lay with a great puiſſaunce at the Chartreux houſe, on the Eaſt ſide of the Citie, and the Duke of Clarence lodged at S. Geruais, before the Port of Caux on the Weſt part. The Duke of Exceter tooke his place on the Northe ſide: at the port S. Denys betweene the dukes of Exceter and Clarence, was appoynted the Earle Marſhall, euen before the gate of the Caſtell, to whom were ioyned the Erle of Ormond, and the Lordes Harington and Talbot, vpon his comming from Damfront: and from the Duke of Exceter towarde the king, were encamped the Lordes, Ros, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and ſir William Porter, with a greate bande of Northren men, euen before the Port Saint Hillarie. The Earles of Mortaigne and Saliſburie, were aſſigned to lodge about the Abbey of Saint Katherine. Sir Iohn Grey was lodged directly againſt the Chapell called Mount S. Michaell: Sir Philip Leeche Treaſorer of the warres, kept the hill next the Abbey, and the Baron of Carew kept the paſſage on the ryuer of Seyne, and to him was ioyned that valiaunt Eſquire Ienico Dartoys.

On the further ſide of the ryuer, were lodged the Earles of Warren, and Huntingdon, the Lordes Neuil and Ferrers, ſir Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furniſhed companie of warlike ſouldiers, directly before the Gate called Port de Pont.

And to the entent that no ayde ſhould paſſe by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chain of yron deuiſed at Pontlarch, ſet on Pyles from the one ſide of the water to the other: and beſide that cheyne, there was ſet vp a new forced bridge, ſufficient both for cariage and paſſage, to paſſe the ryuer from one campe to another.

The L. Talbot

The Earle of Warwicke that had lately won Dampfront, was ſent to beſiege Cawdebecke, a towne ſtanding on the Ryuer ſide, betweene the ſea and the Citie of Roan, whiche towne yet ſo hardly handled with fierce and continuall aſſaultes, that the Captaines within offred to ſuffer the Engliſh nauie to paſſe by their towne without impeachment, vp to the Citie of Roan. And alſo if Roan yeelded, they promiſed to render the towne without delay.

Hervpon the Engliſhe nauie to the number of an hundred ſayles paſſed by Cawdebecke, and came to Roan, and ſo beſieged it, on the water ſide.

There came alſo to this ſiege the Duke of Glouceſter, with the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord Burgueuenny, which had takẽ (as before ye haue heard) the towne of Cherbourgh, and lodged before the port Saint Hillarie, nearer to their enimies by .xl. rodes, than any other perſon of the armie.

The Lo. Kil-
mayne cap-
taine of the
Iriſhmen.

During this ſiege alſo, there arriued at Harflew, the Lorde of Kilmayne in Irelande, with a bande of .xvj. hundred Iriſhmen, in mayle, with Dartes and Skaynes after the maner of their Countrey, all of them being tall, quicke and deliuer perſons, which came and preſented themſelues before the king lying ſtil at the ſiege, of whom they were not onely gently receyued and welcomed, but alſo bycauſe it was thought that the French king and the Duke of Burgoigne would ſhortly come, and eyther attempt to rayſe the ſiege, or vitayle and man the towne by the north gate, they were appoynted to keepe the northſide of the armie, and in eſpeciall the way that commeth frõ the Foreſt of Lions. Which charge the Lorde of Kylmayne, and his companie ioyfully accepted, and did ſo their deuoire therein, that no men were more prayſed, nor did more domage to their enimies than they did: for ſurely their quickneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of foote, did more preiudice to their enimies, than their barded horſes dyd hurt or domage to the nymble Iriſhmen.

The good ſe
uice of the I-
riſhmen a
ſiege.

Titus Li

The Ki
Portinga
ſendeth
to king

Alſo the kings couſin germaine and alie the king of Portingale, did ſend a great nauie of well appoynted ſhippes vnto the mouth of the Ryuer of Seyne, to ſtoppe that no French veſſels ſhould enter the ryuer, and paſſe vp the ſame, to the ayde of them within Roan.

Thus was the fayre Citie of Roan compaſſed about with enimies, both by water and lande, hauing neither comfort nor ayde of King, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was ſtrong withoute, there lacked not within, both hardie Captaines, and manfull ſouldiours. And as for people, they had more than ynough: For as it is written by ſome that had good cauſe to knowe the truth, and no occaſion to erre from the ſame, there were in the Citie at the time of the ſiege, two hundred and tenne thouſand perſons. Dayly were iſſues made out of the Citie at dyuerſe gates, ſometime to the loſſe of the one party, and ſometime of the other, as chaunces of warre in ſuch aduentures happen.

The num'er within Roan.

The French men in deed preferring fame before worldly riches, and deſpyſing pleaſure the enimie to warlike prowes, ſware ech to other, neuer to render or deliuer the Citie, while they myght eyther holde ſworde in hande, or ſpeare in reaſt.

The king of England aduertiſed of their hault courages, determined to conquer them by famin, which would not be tamed with weapon. Wherfore he ſtopped all the paſſages, both by water and lande, that no vittayle coulde be conueyed to the Citie: hee caſt trenches rounde aboute the walles, and ſet them full of ſtakes,, and defended them with Archers, ſo that there was left neither way for the within to iſſue out, nor for any that were abrode to enter in without his licence.

Tit. Liuius.

To rehearſe the great paynes, trauaile and diligence, which the king toke vpon him in hys owne perſon at this ſiege, a man myght wonder: and bycauſe dyuerſe of the ſouldiers had lodged themſelues for their more eaſe, in places ſo farre diſtant one from another, that they might eaſily haue beene ſurpriſed by theyr enimies, ere any of their fellowes coulde haue come to theyr ſuccors, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that no man on paine of death ſhoulde lodge without the precinct appoynted them, nor goe further abroade from the campe, than ſuche boundes as were aſſigned: and as it chaunced, the king in going about the campe, to ſuruey and view yͤ warders, he eſpyed two ſouldiers that were walking abroade without the lymittes aſſigned, whome he cauſed ſtraight wayes to be apprehended and hanged vp on a tree of great heigth, for a terror to other, that none ſhould be ſo hardie to breake ſuch orders as he commaunded them to obſerue.

King Henry his iuſtice.

ho. Walſ.

Whileſt the king lay thus with his power about the mightie Citie of Rouen, the Frenchmen ſought to endomage aſwel thoſe that were at that ſiege, as other of the Engliſhmen that laye in garniſons within the townes that were alreadie in the king of Englandes poſſeſſion, inſomuche that as ſome haue written, within the octaues of the Aſſumption, thre notable victories chaunced to the Engliſhmen in three ſeuerall places, firſt an hundred Engliſhmen at Kylbuef, toke three great Lordes of the Frenchmen, beſydes fourſcore other perſones, and put three hundred to flight.

ree great ictories on e Engliſh de within a hort time gether.

Alſo vpon the Thurſday within the ſame octaues, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entred within the Suburbs of Eureux were repulſed by eleuen Engliſh men, that toke foure of thoſe Frenchmen priſoners, ſlue .xij. of them, and toke .xl. horſes.

On the Saterday following, the Frenchmen toke in hand to ſteale vpon them that lay in garniſon within Louiers, in hope to ſurpriſe yͤ towne early in the morning: but the Captaine perceyuing their purpoſe, ſallied forth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thouſande, toke an hundred and fourſcore of them, being all gentlemen.

But to returne to them before Rouen. The ſiege thus continuing from Lammas, almoſt to Chriſtmas, dyuerſe enterpriſes were attempted, and diuerſe pollicies practiſed, howe euery parte might endomage his aduerſaries: no part greatly reioyced of their gaine. But in the meane time vittaile began ſore to fayle them within, ſo that onely Uinegar and water ſerued for drinke.

If I ſhould reherſe (according to the report of diuerſe writers) howe deerly dogges, rattes, miſe, and cattes were ſolde within the towne, and how greedily they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dayly dyed for fault of fode, and yong Infantes laye ſucking in the ſtreetes on theyr mother breaſtes, lying deade, ſteruen for hunger, the Reader myghte lamente their extreme miſeries.

Extreme famine within Roane.

A great number of poore ſillie creatures were put out at the gates, which were by the Engliſhe men that kept the trenches beate and driuen back again to the ſame gates, which they found cloſed and ſhut agaynſt them. And ſo they lay betwene the walles of the Citie, and the trenches of the enimies ſtill crying for helpe and reliefe, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dayly died. Yet king Henrie moued with pitie, on Chriſtmaſſe day in the honor of Chriſtes Natiuitie, refreſhed all the poore people with vittaile, to their greate comfort, and his high prayſe: yet if the Duke of Burgoignes letters had not beene conueyed into the Citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made reſiſtance ſo long time as they did, for by thoſe letters they were aſſured of reſkue to come. Diuerſe Lordes of Fraunce hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in ſuch comfort herewith, that immediatlye to expreſſe their great reioyſing, all the Belles in the Citie were roong forth cheerefully, whiche during all the time of the ſiege till that preſent had kept ſilence. In deede by reaſon of a faynt kinde of agreement procured betwixt the Dolphin and the Duke of Burgoigne, it was thought verily that a power ſhould haue beene rayſed, for preſeruation of that noble Citie, the loſing or ſauing thereof being a matter of ſuch importance.

A vertuous & charitable prince.

Chron. S. Al.

The king of Englande to preuent the enimies purpoſe, cauſed a large trench to bee caſt without his campe, which was pight full of ſharpe ſtakes, with

A large trench without the Campe.

with a greate rampire fenced with bulwarkes, and turnepykes, in as defencible wiſe as might be deuiſed. Sir Robert Bapthorpe knight, was appoynted Comptroller, to ſee this worke performed, which he did with all diligence accompliſh, in like caſe as hee had done, when the other trench and rampire ſtrongly ſtaked and hedged was made at the firſt betwixt the campe and the Citie, to reſtreyne ſuch as in the beginning of the ſiege, reſted not to pricke forth of the Gates on horſebacke. And ſo by this meanes was the army defended both behinde and before.

1419

Finally the whole number of the Frenchmen within the Citie were brought to ſuche an extremitie for want of vitayles, that they were in danger all to haue ſterued. Whervpon being nowe paſt hope of reliefe, they determined to treat with the king of England, and ſo vpon newyeares euen there came to the Walles, ſuche as they had choſen amongeſt them for commiſſioners, which made a ſigne to the Engliſhmenne lying withoute the Gate of the Bridge, to ſpeake wyth ſome Gentlemanne, or other perſonne of Authoritie.

The Earle of Huntingdon whiche kept that part, ſent to them ſir Gylbert Umfreuile vnto whom they declared, that if they might haue a ſafeconduct, they woulde gladly come forth to ſpeake with the king. Sir Gylbert repayring to the Duke of Clarence, and other of the Kings Counſayle, aduertiſed them of this requeſt.

Herevppon the Duke of Clarence wyth the other Counſaylors, reſorted to the kings lodging to infourme him of the matter, and to know his pleaſure therein, who after good aduiſement and deliberation taken, willed ſir Gylbert to aduertiſe them, that he was content to heare twelue of them, whiche ſhoulde be ſafely conueyed to his preſence.

They within Roane demand parlee.

This anſwere being brought to the Frenchmen by the ſaid ſir Gilbert, on the next day in the morning, foure knightes, foure learned men, and foure ſage Burgeſſes, all clothed in blacke, came forth of the Citie, and were receyued at the port Saint Hillarie by ſir Gilbert Umfreuile, accompanyed with diuerſe Gentlemen and yeomen of the Kings houſholde, commonly called yeomen of the Crowne, by whom they were conueyed to the kings lodging, whom they founde at Maſſe, whiche being ended, the King came oute of hys trauers, ſternely, and Princely beholding the French Meſſengers, and paſſed by them into his Chamber. And incontinently after commaunded that they ſhould be brought in before his preſence, to heare what they had to ſay: One of them lerned in the Ciuill Lawes, was appoynted to declare the Meſſage in all theyr names, who ſhewing himſelfe more raſhe than wiſe, more arrogant than learned, fyrſt tooke vpon him to ſhewe wherein the glorie of victorie conſiſted, aduiſing the king not to ſhewe his manhoode in famiſhing a multitude of poore ſimple and innocent people, but rather ſuffer ſuch miſerable wretches as laye betwixt the walles of the Citie, and the trenches of his ſiege, to paſſe through the campe, that they might get theyr lyuing in other places, and then if hee durſt manfully aſſaulte the Citie, and by force ſubdue it, he ſhould win both worldly fame, and merite great meede at the handes of almightie God, for hauing compaſſion of the poore needie and indigent people.

A preſump- ous Orator.

When this Oratour had ſayde, the King (who no requeſt leſſe ſuſpected, than that whiche was thus deſyred) beganne a whyle to muſe, and after hee had well conſidered the craftie cautele of hys enimyes, with a fierce countenaunce, and bolde ſpirite hee reproued them, both for theyr ſubtill dealing wyth hym, and theyr malapert preſumption, in that they ſhoulde ſeeme to goe aboute to teache him what belonged to the dutie of a Conquerour, and therefore ſince it appeared that the ſame was vnknowne vnto them, hee declared that the Goddeſſe of battayle called *Bellona*, had three Handmaydens, euer of neceſſitie attending vpon hir, as bloud, fyre, and famyne. And whereas it laye in hys choyce to vſe them all three, yea, two, or one of them at his pleaſure, hee hadde yet appoynted onely the meekeſt Mayde of thoſe three Damoſelles to puniſhe them of that Citye, tyll they were brought to reaſon. And where as the gayne of a Captaine atteyned by any of the ſayde three Handmaydens, was both glorious, honourable, and worthie of tryumphe: yet of all the three, the yongeſt Mayde, whiche hee meant to vſe at that tyme was moſte profytable and commodious: And as for the poore people lying in the Dyches, if they dyed through famyne, the faulte was theyrs, that lyke cruell Tyrauntes hadde put them oute of the Towne, to the intente hee ſhoulde ſlea them, and yet had hee ſaued theyr lyues, ſo that if any lacke of charitie was, it reſted in them, and not in hym: but to theyr cloked requeſt, hee ment not to gratifie them within ſo much, but they ſhould keepe them ſtill to helpe to ſpende theyr vytayles, and as to aſſaulte the Towne, hee tolde them that hee woulde they ſhoulde knowe, hee was both able and wyllyng thereto, as he ſhoulde ſee occaſion: but the choiſe was in hys handes, to tame them eyther wyth bloude, fyre, or famine, or with them all, whereof he woulde take the choyſe at his pleaſure, and not at theyrs.

The King were to this proude meſ- ſage.

This aunſwere put the French Ambaſſadours in a great ſtudy, muſing much at hys excellent witte and hautineſſe of courage: and after they had dyned (as his commaundement was they ſhould) with his officers, they vpon conſultation had togither, required once againe to haue acceſſe to his royall preſence, which being graunted, they humbling themſelues on their knees, beſought him to take a truce for eight dayes, during the whiche they mighte by theyr commiſſions take ſome ende and good concluſion with him and his Counſaile.

A truce for eight dayes.

The King like a mercifull Prince graunted to them their aſking, with whiche anſwer they ioyfully returned.

After their departure were appoynted and ſet vp three tentes, the one for the Lordes of Englande, the ſeconde for the Commiſſioners of the Citie, and the thirde for both parties to aſſemble in, and to treate of the matter.

The Commiſſioners for the Engliſhe parte were the Earles of Warwicke, and Saliſburie, the Lorde Fitz Hugh, ſir Walter Hungerford, ſir Gilbert Umfreuille, ſir Iohn Robſert, and Iohn de Vaſques de Almada. And for the French part were appoynted, Sir Guy de Buttler, and ſixe other.

Commiſſioners appoynted.

Theſe Commiſſioners met euery day, arguing and reaſoning aboute a concluſion, but nothing was done the ſpace of eight dayes, nor ſo much as one article concluded: wherefore the Engliſhe men toke downe the Tentes, and the Frenchmen toke theyr leaue: but at their departing, they remembring themſelues, required the Engliſhe Lordes for the loue of God, that the truce might endure till the Sunne ryſing the next day, to the which the Lordes aſſented.

When the French Commiſſioners were returned into the Citie without any concluſion of agreement, the poore people ran about the ſtreetes crying, and calling the captaines and gouernors, murtherers, & manquellers, ſaying that for their pride and ſtiffe ſtomackes, all this miſerye was happened, threatning to ſlea them, if they woulde not agree to the King of Englande hys demaunde.

The Magiſtrates herewyth amaſed, called all the towneſmen togither to knowe theyr myndes and opinions. The whole voyce of the Cōmons was, to yeelde rather than to ſterue. Then the Frenchmen in the Euening, came to the Tent of ſir Iohn Robſert, requyring him of gentleneſſe to moue the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure dayes. The king therevnto agreed, and appoynted the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, & the other ſeuen before named for his part, and the Citizens appoynted a like number for them. So the Tents were again ſet vp, and dayly they met togither, and on the fourth daye they accorded on this wiſe, that the Citie and Caſtell of Roane ſhould be delyuered vnto the king of England, at what time after the middeſt of the .xix. day of that preſent moneth of Ianuarie, the ſayde King willed the ſame, and that all the Captaines and other men whatſoeuer, dwelling or beeing within the ſayd Citie and Caſtell, ſhould ſubmit them in all things to the grace of the ſayd king: and further, that they ſhould pay to the ſayd king three hundred thouſande Scutes of Golde, whereof alwayes two ſhould be worth an Engliſh Noble, or in the ſtead of euerie Scute, .xxx. great blankes white, or .xv. grotes.

The articles cō ning the yel ing vp of oane.

Moreouer it was accorded, that euerie ſouldier and ſtraunger being in the ſayde Citie and Caſtel, ſhoulde ſweare on the Euangeliſtes before their departure, not to beare armour agaynſt the king of Englande, before the firſt day of Ianuarie next to come.

Alſo they within the towne ſhould ſuffer al the poore people lying in ditches, or about the ditches of the Citie, which for penurie were chaſed oute, to enter the Citie againe, and to finde them ſufficient food vntil the ſayd ninteenth day of Ianuarie.

There were diuerſe other Articles, in all to the number of .xxxij. agreed, aſwell on the behalfe of the Citizens, as of king Henrie, who graunted, that all the Souldiers ſtraungers and other within the ſaid Citie and Caſtel at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, ſhuld depart after that the Citie and Caſtel was once yeelded, frely without let, leauing to the ſaid king al their armors, horſes, harneſſe, and goodes, except the Normans, which if they ſhoulde refuſe to become lieges to him, were appoynted to remayne as his priſoners, togither with one Luca Italico and certaine other.

Luca. Italico.

The Vicare general of the Archbi. of Rouen for denoūcing the king acurſed was deliuered to him and deteyned in pryſon til he dyed.

When the day of appoyntment came, which was the day of S. Wolſtan, ſir Guy de Buttler, & the Burgeſſes, deliuered the keyes of the Citie & Caſtel vnto the king of England, beſeching him of fauor and compaſſion. The king incontinently appoynted the Duke of Exceter, with a great companie to take poſſeſſion of the Citie, who like a valiant Captaine mounted on a goodly courſer firſt entred into the Citie, and after into the Caſtell.

Titus. Liuius.

One Alane Blāchart was likewiſe deliuered to him, and by his commaundement put to death.

The next day being Fryday, the king in great tryumph like a conquerour, accompanied wyth foure Dukes, ten Erles, viij. Biſhops, xvj. Barons, and a great multitude of knightes, eſquiers, and men of warre, entred into Roan, where he was receyued by the Clergie, with .xlij. Croſſes, and then met him the Senate, and the Burgeſſes of the towne, offering to him diuerſe fayre and coſtly preſents.

Tranſlator of *Titus Liuius.*

King Henries entry into Roane.

In this maner he paſſed through the Citie to our Ladie Church, and there hauing ſayde his oriſons, he cauſed his Chaplaines to ſing this Antheme: *Quis eſt tam magnus dominus?* VVho is ſo great a Lorde as our God.

This done, he came to the caſtel, where he cõtinued a good ſpace after, receyuing homages & fealties of the burgeſſes & townesmen, and ſetting orders amongſt them. He alſo reedified diuerſe fortreſſes, & townes, during which tyme hee made Proclamation, that all menne whiche woulde become hys ſubiectes, ſhoulde enioy theyr goods, landes and offices, whiche Proclamation made many towns to yeeld, and many men to become Engliſh the ſame ſeaſon.

Titus Liuius.

The Duke of Brytaigne vnderſtanding that if the King of Englande ſhoulde continue in poſſeſſion of Normandie, his Countrey could not but bee in greate daunger, if hee prouided not to haue him his friend, vpon ſafecõduict obteyned for him and his retinue, came to Roan with fiue. C. horſes, and being honourably receyued of the K. after cõference had betwixt thẽ of diuers things, at length they agreed vpon a league on this wiſe, that neither of them ſhould make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or ſubiectes, except he that ment to make that warre denounced the ſame ſixe Monethes before.

A league concluded betwene K. Henry and the D. of Britãine.

Thus this league being concluded, the Duke tooke leaue of the king, and ſo returned into Brytayne.

About the ſame time, at the ſuyte of certaine Biſhops and Abbottes of Normandie, the King confirmed vnto them theyr auncient priuiledges, graunted by the former Dukes of Normandie, and kings of Fraunce, except ſuch as were graunted by thoſe whom he reputed for vſurpers and no lawfull kings or dukes. Hee alſo eſtabliſhed at Caen the Chamber of accountes of the reuenues of his dukedome of Normandie.

In Rouen he began the foundation of a ſtrong Tower behinde the Caſtell, that from the caſtell to the Tower, and from the Tower to his Palayce, the men of warre appoynted there in garniſon, myght paſſe in ſuretie without daunger of the Citie, if perhaps the Citizens ſhould attempt any rebellion.

She was committed to the ſafe keping of .. Pelham who appointed hir ix. ſeruãnts to attend hir & conueyed hir to the caſtel of Pemſey.

In this ſixth yeare, whyleſt theſe thinges were adoing in Normandie, Queene Ioan late wife of king Henry the fourth, and mother in law to this King, was areſted by the Duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his abſence, & by him committed to ſafekeeping in the caſtell of Leedes in Kent, there to abide the kings pleaſure.

Tho. VValſ.
Frier Randoll.

About the ſame time, one Frier Randoll of the order of Franciſcanes that profeſſed diuinitie, and had bene confeſſour to the ſame Queene, was taken in the Iſle of Gerneſey, & being firſt brought ouer into Normandie, was by the kings commaundement ſent hither into Englande, and cõmitted to the Tower, where he remayned till the perſõ of the tower quarelling with him, by chance ſlue him there within the Tower warde. It was reported that hee had conſpired with the Queene by ſorcerie and nigromancie to deſtroy the King.

Whyleſt the king remayned in Rouen, to ſet things in order for the eſtabliſhment of good policie in that Citie, hee ſent abroad dyuerſe of hys Captaynes, with conuenient forces to ſubdue certayne Townes and Caſtelles in thoſe partyes, as hys brother the Duke of Clarence, who wanne the ſtrong Towne of Vernon, and Mante. In Vernon was ſir William Porter made Captayne, and in Maunte the Earle of Marche.

Vernon and Maunte taken by the engliſh.

The Erle of Saliſburie wan Hunflew, after he had beſieged it from the fourth of Februarie, vntill the. xij. of March.

Titus Liui
Hunflew yel

This towne was giuen afterwardes vnto the duke of Clarence. Alſo the ſayde Earle of Saliſburie wan the Townes of Monſter de Uilliers, Ew, Newcaſtell, and finally all the places in that quarter, which till that preſent were not vnder the Engliſh obeyſaunce. At Newcaſtell Sir Philip Leech was made captaine.

After Candlemaſſe, the King departed from Rouen to go to Eureux, whither he had promyſed to come in like caſe as the Dolphin had promiſed to be at Dreux, to the end that they might aduiſe vpon a conuenient place where to meete to entreate of a peace to bee concluded betwixt the two Realmes. But the Dolphin by ſiniſter perſwaſion of ſome enimies to concorde, brake promiſe, and came not. When the king ſawe that through default of his aduerſarie, no treaty would be had, he remoued to Vernon, and there a while remayned.

Ann. reg. 7.

Nowe from Eureux the king had diſpatched the Erle of Warwicke vnto the ſiege of la Roch Gyion, which fortreſſe he ſo conſtrayned, that it was yeelded into his handes, the ſixth of Apryll, in the beginning of this ſeuenth yeare of King Henries raigne, and giuen to ſir Guy Buttiler late Captaine of Rouen, of the kings free and liberall graunt.

Roch Gaion rendred vp.

Chateau G
ardo beſieg

About the ſame ſame time, the Duke of Exceter layde ſiege vnto Chateau Galyarde, which ſiege continued from the laſt of Marche, vnto the latter ende of September, or (as ſome write) vnto the. xx. of December, as after ſhall appeare.

Yury taken by aſſault.

The Duke of Gloceſter beeing ſent to wynne the Towne and Caſtell of Yuri, tooke the Towne by aſſault, and the Caſtell was delyuered by compoſition after fortie dayes ſiege.

After this the Engliſhmen ouerranne the countrey about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enimies in all places where they came.

The heartes of the Frenchmen were ſore diſcouraged with the loſſe of Rouen, and the other townes which yeelded one after another, thus to the Engliſhmen, ſo that ſuch as loued the wealth of their Countrey, ſore lamented the imminent miſchiefes, which they ſaw by the diuiſion of the Nobilitie, like ſhortlye to fall on theyr heades, namely bycauſe they ſawe no remedie prepared. But who euer elſe was diſquieted with this matter, John Duke of Burgoigne raged, and ſwelled, yea and ſo muche freated therewith, that hee wyſt not what to ſay, and leſſe to doe: for hee knewe well that hee was neyther free from diſdaine, nor yet delyuered from the ſcope of malice, bycauſe that he onely ruled the King, and had the whole doings in all matters aboute hym. And therefore he conſidered that all ſuch miſhappes as chaunced to the ſtate of the cõmon wealth would bee imputed to his negligence and diſordred gouernment.

To finde ſome remedie againſt ſuch daungers at hand, he thought firſt to aſſay, if hee might by any reaſonable meanes cõclude a peace betwixt yͤ two mightie kings of England & France, which if hee might bring to paſſe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarell eaſily ynough againſt the Dolphin Charles, and to repreſſe all cauſes of grudge and diſdaine. Herewith intending to build vpon this fraile foundation, he ſent letters and Imbaſſadours to the king of England, aduertiſing him that if he woulde perſonally come to a communication to bee had betweene him and Charles the Frenche king, hee doubted not but by hys onelye meanes, peace ſhould bee brought in place, and bloudie battaile clearely exiled.

mbaſſadors ent on either de.

itus Liuius.

King Henrie giuing courteous eare to theſe Imbaſſadors, ſent with them the Earle of Warwicke as his Imbaſſador, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as the remaining in the French Court at the towne of Prouins.

The Erle was aſſayled by the way as he iorneyed, by a great number of rebellious perſons, gotten into armor, of purpoſe to haue ſpoyled him of ſuch money and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high valiancie of the Engliſh people, with the ayde of theyr Bowes, the Frenchmenne were dyſcomfyted and chaſed.

The Earle at hys commyng to Prouins was honourably receyued, and hauing done the effect of his Meſſage returned, and wyth him the Earle of Saint Paule, and the ſonne and heyre of the Duke of Bourbon, were ſent as Ambaſſadours from the French King, to conclude vpon the time and place of the meeting, with al the circumſtances, whereupon the king of England agreed to come vnto the towne of Mante, wyth condition that the duke of Burgoigne, and other for the French king ſhuld come to Pontoyſe, that either part might meet others in a cõuenient place betwixt thoſe two townes neare vnto Meulan: According to this appoyntment, King Henrie came to Mante, where in the feaſt of Pentecoſt he kept a liberall houſe to all commers, and ſate himſelfe in great eſtate: Upon the which day, eyther for good ſeruice alreadie by them done, or for the good expectation of things to come, hee created Gaſcon de Fois, otherwyſe called the Captau or Captall de Buef, a valiaunt Gaſcoigne, Earle of Longueuile, and Sir John Grey, Erle of Tankeruile, and the Lorde Bourſhier, Earle of Eu.

Creation of Earles.

After this ſolemne feaſt ended, the place of the enteruiew and meeting was appoynted to be beſide Meulan on the riuer of Seyne, where in a fayre place euery parte was by commiſſioners appoynted to theyr ground.

When the daye of appoyntment approched, whiche was the laſte day of Maye, the King of England accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence, and Glouceſter, his brethren, the Duke of Exceter his Uncle, and Henrie Beauford Clerke his other vncle, which after was Biſhop of Wincheſter and Cardinall, with the Erles of Marche Saliſburie, and others, to the number of a thouſand men of warre, entred into his ground which was barred about and ported, wherein his tentes were pight in a princely maner.

Eyther part was appointed to bring with them not paſſe ii.M.v.C. men of war as Tit. Liu. hath.

Likewyſe for the Frenche part, came Iſabell the Frenche Queene, bycauſe hir huſbande was fallen into hys olde frantike diſeaſe, hauing in hir companie the Duke of Burgoigne, and the Earle of Saint Paule, and ſhee had attending vppon hir the fayre Ladie Katherine hir daughter, wyth .xxvj. Ladies and Damoſelles: and had alſo for hir furniture a thouſand men of of warre: The ſayde Ladie Katherine was brought by the Queene hir mother, onelye to the intent that the King of Englande beholding hir excellent beautie, ſhoulde bee ſo enflamed and rapt in hir loue, that hee to obteyne hir to his wife, ſhoulde the ſooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concorde. But though many wordes were ſpent in this treatie, and that they mette at eight ſeuerall tymes, yet no effect enſued, nor any concluſion was taken by thys friendly conſultation, ſo that both partyes after a Princely faſhion tooke leaue eche of other, and departed, the Engliſhe menne to Mant, and the Frenche men to Pontoyſe.

A treatie of peace.

Seuen times the laſt being on the laſt day of Iune.

Tit. Liuius.

Some Authours write that the Dolphyn to ſtaye that no agreement ſhoulde paſſe, ſent Sir Taneguye de Chaſtell to the Duke of Burgoin, declaring that if hee woulde breake of the treatie with the Engliſhe men, he woulde then common with him, and take ſuch order, that not only they but the whole Realme of Fraunce ſhould thereof be glad and reioyce. Howſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is, that where it was agreed, that

Chro. of Flan.

Titus Liuius.

they ſhoulde eftſones haue met in the ſame place on the thirde of July. The King according to that appoyntment came, but there was none for the French part, neither Queene nor Duke, that once appeared, ſo that it was manifeſt ynough how the fault reſted not in the Engliſhmen but in the French men, by reaſon whereof no concluſion ſorted to effect of all this communication, ſaue onely that a certaine ſparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the ſight of the Lady Katherine.

The king without doubt was highly diſpleaſed in his minde, that this communication came to no better paſſe. Wherefore he miſtruſting that the Duke of Burgoigne was the verie let and ſtoppe of his deſires, ſayde vnto hym before his departure: Couſin we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demaunde with hir, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well ſayd the Duke of Burgoigne, before you driue the king and me out of his realme, you ſhall be well wearied, and thereof wee doubt little.

An egreement betweene the Duke of Burgoine and the Dolphyne.

Titus Liuius.

Shortly after, the Duke of Burgoigne and the Dolphin mette in the plaine fieldes beſydes Melun, and there comming togither, concluded apparantly an open peace and amytie, which was proclaimed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoys. This agreement was made the vj. of July in the yeare 1419. It was engroſſed by Notaries, ſigned with their handes, and ſealed with their great ſeales of armes: but as the ſequel ſhewed, hart thought not, what tongue ſpake, nor mind ment not, that hand wrote. Whiles theſe things were a doing, diuers of the Frenchmen in Roan wente about a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſhmen, whereof the King beeing aduertiſed, ſent thyther certayne of his nobles, which tryed out theſe conſperators, cauſed them to be apprehended, had thē in examination, and ſuch as they found guiltye were put to death, and ſo ſetting the Citie in quietneſſe, returned to the king.

A cōſpiracy in Roane.

These bendes be longed to the Earle of Lōgueville & to the Lord de Leſpar Gaſcoignes hiſt. dez Ducz de Norman.

The K playe.h the Porters part.

The king of Englande perceyuing by this newe alliance, that nothing was leſſe to be looked for, than peace at the handes of the Frenchmen, deuiſed ſtill howe to conquere townes and Fortreſſes, which were kept agaynſt him: and nowe that the truce was expired, on the. xxx. day of July, he being as then within the towne of Maunte, appoynted certaine bandes of ſouldiers in the after noone to paſſe out of the Gates, giuing onely knowledge to the captaines what he would haue them to doe. And to the intent that no ynkling of the enterprice ſhould come to the enimies eare, he kept the gates himſelfe as Porter.

Theſe that were thus ſent forth, being guided by yͤ Erle of Lōgueuile, otherwiſe called yͤ Captau de Buef, were commaunded in as ſecret maner as they coulde, to draw towarde the towne of Pontoyſe, and to keepe themſelues in couert tyll the darke of the night, and then to approch the walles of that towne, and vpon eſpying their aduauntage to enter it by ſcaling, hauing ladders, and all things neceſſarie with them for the purpoſe.

Moreouer, about the cloſing of the day and night in the Euening, he ſent forth the Earle of Huntingdon, with other bandes of ſouldiers, to ſuccor and aſſyſt the other, if they chaunced to enter the towne according to the order taken.

This Capta was broth the Erle of Foix.

Hall.

Thoſe that were firſt ſent forth, (according to their inſtructions) conueyed themſelues ſo cloſely to their appoynted places, that the enimies hard nothing of theyr doings. Whereupon whē the night was come, they came in ſecret wiſe vnder the walles, and there watched their time till the morning began to draw on: In the meane time, whileſt the watch was departed, and before other were come into their places to relieue it, the Engliſhmen ſetting vp their ladders, entred and brake open one of the Gates to receyue the other that followed.

Pontoyſe ſurpriſed by the Engliſhmen.

The Frenchmē perceiuing that yͤ walles were taken, & their enimies entred into the town, at the firſt were ſore amaſed: but after perceyuing the ſmall nūber of the Engliſhmen, they aſſembled togither, & fiercely aſſailed them, ſo that they were conſtrayned to retyre to the walles and turrets, which they had taken, and with much adoe defended the ſame, ſome leaping down into the ditches, and hyding them in the vines, till at length the Earle of Huntingdon, with his companies came to theyr ſuccours, and entring by the Gate which was open, eaſily bet backe the enimies, and got the Market place: which thing when the lord Liſle Adam captaine of the towne perceyued, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which hee with al his retinue, and diuerſe of the townſmen to the number of ten thouſand in all, (as Enguerant de Monſtr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking away with thē their coine, iewels, & plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauuays, were met with, and ſtripped of that they had, by Jehan de Guigni, and Jehan de Claw, two Captaines that ſerued the Orliential faction.

Hall.

Hall.

There wer within the towne of Pontoyſe at that tyme when it was thus taken by the Engliſhmen, a thouſand launces, and two thouſande Arbeleſtiers, as Thomas Walſ. affyrmeth, and of Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes that went fyrſt forth of Maunt with yͤ Captal de Beuf, not paſt xv. hundred as Hall reporteth. Although Enguerant de Monſtrellet ſayth, they were about three thouſand. But how many ſoeuer they were, they durſt not at the firſt by reaſon of their ſmal number (as may be thought) once deuide themſelues, or fall to pylfering till about the houre of Prime, that the Duke of Clarence came to theyr ayde wyth fiue thouſand men, and much prayſing the valiantneſſe of the Earle and his retinue that had thus wonne the towne, gaue to them the chiefe ſpoyle of the which there was great plentie.

e Duke of rence cō- th befor: is with his y.

Then went the duke forth towardes Paris, & cōming thither, lodged before it two dayes & two nightes, without perceyuing any proffer of iſſue to be made forth agaynſt hym by hys enimyes, and therefore ſeeing that they durſt not once looke vpon him, hee returned to Pontoyſe, for the taking of whiche Towne the whole Countrey of Fraunce, and ſpecially the Pariſians were ſore diſmayed: for nowe there was no fortreſſe able to withſtande the Engliſh puyſſance. Inſomuch that the Iriſhmen ouerran all the Iſle of France, and did to the Frenchmen domages innumerable (as theyr wryters affyrme) and brought daylye prayes to the Engliſh army.

e Iriſhmen rrle the Iſle Fraunce.

And beſides that, they woulde robbe houſes, and lay beddes on the backes of the Kine, and ride vpon them, and carie yong children before them, and ſel them to the Engliſhmē for ſlaues: which ſtraunge doings ſo feared the Frenchmen wythin the territorie of Paris, and the Countrey aboute, that the rude perſons fled out of the villages with all their ſtuffe into the Citie.

The Frenche King, and the Duke of Burgoigne lying at Saint Denys, in this ſeaſon departed from thence with the Queene and hir daughter, and went to Troys in Champaigne, there to conſult of theyr buſineſſe, hauing left at Paris the Earle of Saint Paule, and the Lorde Liſle Adam, with a great puyſſance to defend the Citie.

The King of Englande immediately after that Pontoyſe was won (as before ye haue herd) came thither in perſon, as well to giue order for the placing of a ſufficient garniſon there for defence thereof, as to proceed further into the countrey for the conqueſt of other townes and places: and ſo after he had ſeene euery thing vſed in ſuch ſort as might ſtande with the good gouernment, and ſafe keeping of the ſayde Towne of Pontoys, the .xviij. day of Auguſt hee departed out of the ſame wyth his maine armie. And bycauſe they of the garniſon that laye in the Caſtell of Vauconvillers had done, and dayly dyd diuerſe and ſundrie diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen, hee pyght downe his fielde neare to the ſame, the better to reſtrayne them from theyr cruell attempts, and withal ſent part of his armie to beſiege them wythin that Caſtell, whiche put them in ſuche feare, that they diſpeyring of all reliefe or ſuccor, and perceyuing they ſhoulde not be able long to defende the place agaynſt the kings puyſſaunce, yeelded the place with all theyr coigne and other goods into the kings handes.

us Liuius.

e caſtel of con Vil- beſieged d taken.

Titus Liuius

The Souldiers of that garniſon, and the inhabitantes, at the contemplation of a certaine Ladie there amongſt them, were licenced by the king to depart without armor or weapon, onely with their liues ſaued.

John a Burgh that was after Bayliffe of Gyſours, was appoynted captaine of this caſtel.

Gyſoures beſieged and yelded to the Engliſhmen.

After this, all the townes and Caſtels within a great circuite offred to yeelde themſelues vnto the Engliſh obeyſaunce, the ſtrong towne and Caſtell of Gyſours onely excepted, which ſtil held out, and woulde ſhewe no token of will to yeeld: Herevpon the king the laſt of Auguſt beganne to approch the ſame, but at the firſt hee coulde not come nere, by reaſon of the mariſhes and fennes: but yet ſuch was the diligence of the Engliſhmen aduaunced by the preſence of the king being there in perſon, readie in all places to commende them that were forwarde in their buſineſſe, and to chaſtice ſuch as ſlacked their duetie, that dayly they came nearer and nearer, although the Frenchmen iſſued forth daily to encounter them, giuing them many ſore and ſharpe ſkirmiſhes. For the towne being double walled and fenced with thoſe brode mariſhes, ſo encouraged them within, that they thought no force had beene able to haue ſubdued them: but at length calling to remembrance, that the King of Englande came before no towne, nor Fortreſſe, from which he would depart before he had brought it vnder his ſubiection, they offred to come to a Parlee, and in the ende compounded to render the towne into the kings hands the .viij. day of September next enſuyng, and the Caſtell (bycauſe it was the ſtronger peece) they couenanted to delyuer the .xxiiij. of the ſame, if in the meane time no reſkue came to rayſe the ſiege. Herevpon when no ſuche reliefe coulde be hearde of, at the dayes limitted, the ſouldiers of the garniſon, and the more part of the towneſmen alſo, ſubmitted themſelues, and receyued an othe to bee true ſubiects to the king, and ſo remayned ſtill in theyr rowmethes. The Erle of Worceſter was made captaine there.

Tho. VValſ.

Duke of Clarence hath Grafton.

Titus Liuius.

About the ſame time, to witte, the .xxiij. of September (as ſome write) was Chateau Galiard ſurrendred to the handes of the Duke of Exceter, which had bene beſieged euer ſince the laſte day of March (as before ye haue heard). But other write that it held out a ſeuen Monethes, and was not deliuered till the .xx. of December.

This Caſtell was not onely ſtrong by ſituation, ſtanding vpon the toppe of a ſteepe hyll, but alſo cloſed with mightie thicke walles, and furniſhed with men, and all maner of munition and things neceſſarie. The king appoynted the Lord Ros captaine of it.

After that Giſours and Caſtell Galiard were

Al Normandy reduced to the engliſh ſubiectes.

thus yelded to the Engliſh obeyſaunce, all the other townes and caſtels thereaboute, and in the countrey of Veulqueſſin, ſhortly after yelded to the king, as Gourney, Chaumount, Neauſle, Dangu, and other ſmall fortreſſes. Of Gourney, was ſir Gylbert Umfreuile made Captaine at Neauſle, the Earle of Worceter, and at Dangu Richarde Wooduile.

Shortly after was the Caſtell Daumal yelded to the Earle of Warwicke, to whome it was giuen. And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (Mont Saint Michael only excepted) reduced to the poſſeſſion of the right heyre, whiche had beene wrongfully deteyned from the kings of England euer ſith the dayes of king Iohn, who loſt it about the yeare. 1207.

To ſatiſfie thoſe that be deſirous to know what Captaynes were appoynted by the King in dyuerſe townes that were yelded to him, of which we haue made no mention heretofore but in generall, hereafter follow the names of the ſayd captaynes and townes, as wee finde them in the Chronicles of Maiſter Hall.

At Crewleye, Sir Henrie Tanclux an Almaine.

At Torigny, Sir Iohn Popham, to whome it was giuen.

At Chamboy the Lord Fitzhugh.

At Vernueil in Perche ſir Iohn Neuill.

At Eſſay, Sir William Huddleſton baylyfe of Alanſon.

At Crulye ſir Loys Robſert.

At Conde Norean, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe.

At Cawdebecke ſir Loys Robſert.

At Deepe, William Lorde Bourchier Erle of Eu.

At Aubemarle, the Earle of Warwike, and his deputie thereof William Montfort.

At Bell incombre, ſir Thomas Rampſton Lorde thereof by gyft.

At Longueuille, the Captall de Beuf or Buz, Erle thereof by gyft.

At Danuille, ſir Chriſtofer Burden.

At Couches, ſir Robert Marburie.

At Chierburg, ſir Iohn Gedding.

At Bacqueuille, the Lorde Ros.

At Arques ſir Iames Fines, baylife of Caux.

At Monceaux ſir Philip Leeche.

At Eſtrie Pagny, Richard Abraham.

At Sentler Surget, William Baſſet.

At Bretueil, Sir Henry Mortimer Baylife of Hunflew.

The Duke of Burgoign: murthered.

But nowe to returne where we left, the wyſe and graue perſonages of the realme of France ſore lamenting and bewayling the miſerie of theyr Countrey, ſawe they had puyſſaunce ynough to defende their enimies, if they were of perfite concord amongſt themſelues, and therfore to remoue all rancor and diſpleaſure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Burgoigne, they procured a new meeting, whiche was appoynted to bee at Monſtreau ou fault Yonne, where the two princes at the day aſſigned met: but ſuch was the fortune of Fraunce, that the Duke of Burgoigne was there murthered, as hee kneeled before the Dolphin: whereupon enſued greater debate than before. For Philip Erle of Charroloyes, ſonne and heyre to the ſayde Duke, tooke the matter verye grieuouſly, as he had no leſſe cauſe, and determined to be reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie of the murther.

Ambaſſadors ſent to King Henry.

Titus Liuius.

When he had well conſidered of the matter, and taken aduiſe with his counſayle, he firſt ſent Ambaſſadors to the king of Englande, then lying at Gyſours, to treate and conclude a truce betwene them both for a certaine ſpace, that they might talke of ſome concluſion of agreement.

King Henrie receyued the Ambaſſadors very courteouſly, and graunted that cõmunication might be had of peace, but vtterly denyed any abſtinence of warre, bycauſe hee woulde not loſe tyme, if the treatie ſorted not to good effect. Hereupon hauing his armie aſſembled at Maunte, he deuided the ſame into three parts, appoynting the Duke of Glouceſter with one part to go vnto the caſtel of S. Germain in Lay, & to lay ſiege therto.

The caſtel of Saint Ge in Lay and Montioy yelded to the E liſhmen.

The duke according to his cõmiſſion cõming before that caſtel, within a while conſtrayned thẽ within by continuall ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults to deliuer vp the place into his hands. An other part of the army was ſent vnto the caſtel of Montioy, which likewiſe by ſuch fierce aſſaults and manful approches as the Engliſhmen made thereto, was ſhortly giuen ouer and yelded. The thirde part of the hoſt went to Meulanc, a verie ſtrong town compaſſed aboute with the ryuer of Seyne, but the King deuiſed to faſten boates and barges togither, and to rere vp certaine frames of timber aloft on the ſame for defence of his ſouldiers, that ſhould by that meanes approch the walles, wherwith thoſe that had the towne in keeping were ſo put in feare, that theyr Captaine was glad to come to a communication, and agreed to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, if no reſkue came before the. xxx. day of October next enſuing. On whiche daye, for that no ſuccours appeared, the Towne (according to the conenantes) was gyuen vp into the Kings handes. Sir Thomas Rampſton was made Captaine there, and after him ſir Iohn Faſtolfe.

The ſtro towne of lans yelded the engli

The king whileſt theſe places were beſieged, and thus brought vnder his ſubiection, continued for the moſt parte at Maunt, but yet oftentimes he went forth to viſite his campes, and to ſee that nothing ſhoulde bee wanting, that might further the ſpeedie diſpatche of his enterpriſes.

Aboute the ſame tyme, there came agayne Ambaſſadours to him from the Frenche King Charles, and from the Duke of Burgoigne to treate wyth hym of ſome good concluſion of peace to bee had, but as yet hee had no ſuche truſt in theyr ſute, but that hee doubted their meaning, and therefore ceaſſed not to procede in the wynning of Townes, and Caſtels, as he hadde done before.

Nowe when Chriſtmaſſe approched, the King withdrewe to Roan, and there kepte the ſolemnization of that Feaſt, appoynting in the meane tyme hys men of warre to be occupied as occaſion ſerued.

1420

The Earle of Saliſburie was ſent to beſiege the towne of Freſney, the which after ſtoute reſiſtance made at the firſt, ſhortly after was deliuered to him to the kings vſe.

Anno reg. 8.

The Earles Marſhall, and Huntingdon, ſir John Greene Cornewall, ſir Philip Leech, and diuerſe other, were ſente into the Countrey of Mayne, where not farre from the Citie of Mans they were encountred by a power of Frenche men, whiche the Dolphin hadde ſent agaynſt them.

There was at the firſt a ſharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the ende the victorie remayned with the Engliſhmen, ſo that many of the Frẽch men were ſlaine, and taken, and the reſidue chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine (as Thomas Walſinghã hath, at the poynt of fiue thouſande, and two hundred taken priſoners, among whom was the Marſhal de Rous, and dyuerſe others of good account. The two Engliſh Erles remayned there as Victors, in the Countrey which was by the Kyng to them aſſigned.

A great victorie on the Engliſh ſide.

Whileſt theſe victorious exploytes were thus happely atchieued by the Engliſhmen, and that the King lay ſtill at Roan, in giuing thankes to Almightie God for the ſame, there came to him eftſoones Ambaſſadours from the Frenche King and the Duke of Burgoigne to moue him to peace.

The King mynding not to be reputed for a deſtroyer of the Countrey, whiche hee coueted to preſerue, or for a cauſer of Chriſtian bloud ſtil to be ſpylt in hys quarell, beganne ſo to encline and giue eare vnto theyr ſuyt and humble requeſt, that at length after often ſending to and fro, and that the Biſhop of Arras, and other men of honor had beene with him, and likewiſe the Earle of Warwike, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter hadde beene wyth the Duke of Burgoigne, they both finally agreed vpon certayne Articles, ſo that the French King and his commons woulde thereto aſſent.

ng Henry inclendth to meanes of ace.

Now was the French King and the Queene with theyr daughter Katherine at Troys in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which ſo much fauored the Duke of Burgoigne, that they woulde not for any earthly good, once hynder or pull backe one iote of ſuch Articles as the ſame Duke ſhoulde ſeeke to preferre: and therfore what needeth many wordes, a truce tripertite was accorded betweene the two kings and the Duke, and theyr Countreys, and order taken that the king of Englande ſhoulde ſende in the companie of the duke of Burgoigne his Ambaſſadours vnto Troys in Champaigne ſufficientlye authoriſed, to treate and conclude of ſo great a matter.

A truce tripertite.

The King of Englande being in good hope that all his affayres ſhoulde take ſo good ſucceſſe as he coulde wiſh or deſire, ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne his Uncle, the Duke of Exceter, the Earle of Saliſburie, the Biſhop of Elie, the Lorde Fanhope, the Lorde Fitz Hugh, ſir John Robſert, and ſir Philip Hall, with diuerſe doctours to the number of fiue. C. horſe, which in the company of the Duke of Burgoigne came to the Citie of Troys the .xj. of March.

Ambaſſadors frõ K. Henry to the Frẽch K.

The king, the Queene, and the Ladie Katherine them receyued, & hartily welcomed, ſhewing great ſignes and tokens of loue and amitie.

After a few dayes they fel to counſel, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of Englande ſhould come to Troys, and marry the Ladie Katherine, and the king hir father after his death ſhould make him heire of hys realm, crown and dignitie.

The Articles of the peace concluded betwene K. Hẽry and the French king.

It was alſo agreed, that king Henrie during his father in lawes life, ſhoulde in his ſteade haue the whole gouernment of the realm of France, as regent therof, wyth many other couenantes and articles, as after ſhall appeare. To the performaunce whereof it was accorded, that all the nobles and eſtates of the realme of France, as well ſpirituall as temporall, and alſo the Cities and cõmonalties, Citizens and Burgeſſes of townes that were obeyſant at that time to the French K. ſhould take a corporall othe.

Theſe Articles were not at the firſte in all poynts brought to a perfect concluſion. But after that the effect and meaning of them was agreed vpon by the commiſſioners, the Engliſh men departed towards the king their maiſter, and left ſir John Robſert behinde, to giue his attendance on the Ladie Katherine.

King Henry being enfourmed by them of that which they had done, was well content with the agreement, and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Troys, and thervpon hauing all things in a redineſſe, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the Erles of Warwik, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, Eu, Tankeruile, & Longuile, & .xv. M. men of warre, went

Tho. VValſ.

Titus Liuius.

King Henry commeth to Troyes to the French king.

King Henry affieth the French kings daughter.

from Roane to Pontoyſe, and departing from thence the eight day of May, came to Saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pont charenton, where he left a ſtrong garniſon of men, with ſir William Gaſcoigne, to kepe the paſſage, and ſo then entring into Brie, he toke by the way a Caſtell which was kept agaynſt him, cauſing them that ſo kept it ſome to bee hanged, and the reſidue to be led forth with him as priſoners. And after this keeping on his iourney by Prouins, and Nogent, at length he came to Troyes. The Duke of Burgoigne accompanyed wyth many Noble men, receyued him two leagues withoute the towne, and conueyed him to his lodging: All his armie was lodged in ſmal villages thereabout. And after that he had repoſed himſelfe a little, he went to viſite the French King, the Queene, and the Ladie Katherine, whome he founde in Saint Peters Church, where was a ioyous meeting betwene them. And this was on the .xx. day of May, and there the king of Englande, and the Ladie Katherine were affianced.

After this the two kings and their counſaile aſſembled togythers dyuerſe dayes, wherein the firſt concluded agreement, was in diuerſe poynts altered and brought to a certaintie, according to the effect aboue mentioned.

Titus Liuius.

When this great matter was finiſhed, the kinges ſware for their partes to obſerue al the couenants of this league and agreement. Likewiſe the duke of Burgoigne and a great number of other Princes and Nobles which were preſent, receiued an othe, the tenor whereof as the Duke of Burgoigne vttered it in ſolẽne wordes, thus enſueth accordingly as the ſame is exemplifyed by *Titus Liuius de Frulouiſijs.* In Latine.

The oth of the D. of Burgoigne.

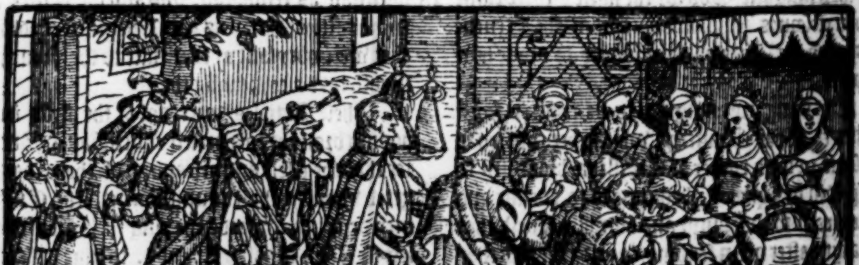
Ego Philippus, Burgundiæ dux per me meosq́ hæredes, ad ſacra dei Euangelia domino regi Hẽrico Angliæ, Franciæq́, pro Carolo rege regenti iuro, quod humiliter ipſi Henrico fideliterq́ cunctis in rebus quæ remp. ſpectant & Frãciæ coronã, obediemus, & ſtatim poſt mortẽ Caroli domini noſtri, domino Hẽrico regi ſuiſq́ ſucceſſoribus in perpetuũ ligei fideles erimus, nec alium quempiã pro domino noſtro ſupremo Franciæ rege, quã Henricũ & ſuos hæredes habebimus, neq́ patiemur. Nõ erimus præterea in conſilio vel cõſenſu cuiuſquàm damni regis Hẽrici, ſuorum ve ſucceſſorũ, vbi quicquam detrimẽti patiantur capitis ſiue mẽbri vel vitæ perdãt ſed prædicta (quãtũ in nobis fuerit) quam citiſſimè literis vel nuntijs, vt ſibi melius prouidere valeant, eis ſignificabimus.

The ſame is engliſhed thus.

I Philip duke of Burgoigne, for my ſelfe, and for mine heires, do here ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſt of God, vnto Henry K. of England, & regẽt of France for K. Charles, ẏ we ſhal humbly & faithfully obey the ſaid Hẽry in al things which concerne the cõmon welth & crowne of France, & immediatly after the deceaſe of our ſoueraign L. king Charles, we ſhal be faithful liegemẽ vnto ẏ ſaid K. Henry, & to his ſucceſſors for euer. neither ſhal we take or ſuffer any other for our ſoueraign Lord & ſupreme K of France, but the ſame Henrie & his heires, neither ſhal we be of counſel or cõſent of any hurt towards the ſaid K. Henry or his ſucceſſors, whereby they may ſuffer loſſe & detrymẽt of life or limme, but that the ſame ſo farre as in vs may lie, wee ſhall ſignifie to them with all ſpeed, by letters or meſſengers, that they may the better prouide for themſelues in ſuch caſes.

The like othe a great number of the Princes and Nobles both ſpirituall and temporall which were preſent, receyued the ſame time.

This done, the Morrow after Trinitie Sunday, being the thirde of June, the mariage was ſolemnized and fully cõſummate, betwixt the K. of England, and the ſaid Ladie Katherine.



Herewith was the king of Englande named and proclamed heyre and Regent of Fraunce, and as the Frenche king ſent the Copie of thys

treatie to euery towne in Fraunce, ſo the king of Englande ſent the ſame in Engliſh to euery citie and Market towne within his realme, to be proclaimed and publiſhed. The true copie whereof as wee finde it in the Chronicle of maiſter Hall, we haue thought good here to ſet downe, for the more full ſatiſfying of thoſe that ſhall deſire to peruſe euery clauſe and article thereof.

The articles and appointments of peace betwene the realmes of England and France.

HEnrie by the grace of God K. of Engl. heire, and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind to chriſten people, & all thoſe that be vnder our obeyſance, we notifie and declare, that though there hath bin here before diuerſe treaties betwene the moſt excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwene the two realmes of France and Englande, the whiche heretofore haue borne no fruit: we conſidering the great harmes, the which hath not onely fallen betwene thoſe two realmes, for the great diuiſion of that hath beene betweene them, but to all holy Churche: Wee haue taken a treatie with our ſayde father, in whiche treatie betwixt our ſayde father and vs, it is concluded and accorded in the forme after the maner that followeth.

1 Firſt, it is accorded betwixte our father and vs, that foraſmuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of ẏ peace betwene vs and our moſt deare beloued Katherine, daughter of oure ſayde father, and of our moſt deare mother Iſabell his wife, the ſame Charles and Iſabell beene made our father and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we ſhall haue and worſhip, as it fitteth and ſeemeth ſo worthie a Prince and Princeſſe, to be worſhipped principally before all other temporall perſons of the worlde.

2 Alſo we ſhall not diſtrouble, diſeaſon or lette oure father aforeſayde, but that hee holde and poſſede as long as hee lyueth, as he holdeth and poſſedeth at this tyme, the Crowne and dignitie royall of Fraunce, and rentes and profites for the ſame, of the ſuſtenaunce of his eſtate and charges of the realme. And our foreſayd mother alſo hold as long as ſhee liueth, the ſtate and dignitie of Queene, after the maner of the ſame realme, with conuenable conuenient parte of the ſayde rentes and profites.

3 Alſo that the foreſayde Ladie Katherine ſhal take and haue Dower in our realme of England as Queenes of Englande here afore were wont for to take and haue, that is to ſay, to the ſumme of .xl. thouſand Scutes, of the which two algate ſhall be a noble Engliſh.

4 And that by the wayes, maners, & meanes that we without tranſgreſſion or offence of other made by vs, for to ſpeake the lawes, cuſtomes, vſages and rightes of our ſayde Realme of Englande, ſhall done our labour and purſute that the ſayde Katherine all ſo ſoone as it may be done, be made ſure to take, and for to haue in oure ſayde Realme of Englande, from the tyme of oure death, the ſayde dower of .xl. thouſande Scutes yearely, of the whiche twaine algate bee worth a noble Engliſh.

5 Alſo if it happe the ſayde Katherine to ouerliue vs, wee ſhall take and haue the Realme of France immediately, from the tyme of our death, dower to the ſumme of .xx. thouſande frankes yearely of and vpon the landes, places and lordſhippes that helde and had Blaunche ſometyme wyfe of Philip Boſeile to our ſayde Father.

6 Alſo that after the death of our ſayde father aforeſayde, and from thence forwarde, the crowne and the realme of Fraunce with all the ryghtes, and appurtenaunces, ſhall remayne and abyde to vs, and bene of vs and oure heyres for euermore.

7 And foraſmuche as our ſayd father is withholden with diuerſe ſickneſſe, in ſuch maner as he maye not intende in his owne perſon for to diſpoſe for the needes of the foreſayde Realme of Fraunce: therefore during the life of oure foreſayde father, the faculties and exerciſe of the gouernaunce and diſpoſition of the publique and common profite of the ſayd Realme of Fraunce, with Counſayle, and Nobles, and wiſe men of the ſame Realme of Fraunce, ſhall bee and abyde to vs: ſo that from thenceforth wee may gouerne the ſame Realme by vs. And alſo to admitte to our Counſayle and aſſyſtaunce of the ſayd Nobles ſuche as wee ſhall thinke meete, the whiche faculties and exerciſe of gouernaunce thus being toward vs, we ſhal labor & purpoſe vs ſpeedfully,

diligently, and truly, to that that may be & ought for to be, to the worſhip of God, and our ſayd father and mother, and alſo to the common good of the ſayde realme, and that realme with the counſaile and helpe of the worthie and great nobles of the ſame realme or to be defended, peaſed and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Alſo that we of our owne power ſhal do the court of the Parliament in France to be kept and obſerued in his authoritie and ſoueraigntie, and in all that is done to it in all maner of places that now or in time comming, is, or ſhall be ſubiect to our ſayd father.

9 Alſo we to our power ſhall defend and helpe all & euery of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, townes comunalties, and ſingular perſons, nowe or in time comming, ſubiectes to our father in theyr rightes, cuſtomes, priuiledges, freedoms, and frãchiſes, longing or due to thẽ in al maner of places now or in time comming ſubiect to our father.

10 Alſo we diligently and truly ſhall trauaile to our power, and do that iuſtice be adminiſtred & done in the ſame realme of France after yͤ lawes, cuſtomes, & rights of the ſame realm, without perſonall exception. And that we ſhall kepe & holde the ſubiects of the ſame realme in tranquilitie and peace, and to our power we ſhall defende them againſt all maner of violence and oppreſſion.

11 Alſo we to our power, ſhall prouide, and doe to our power, that able perſons and profitable bin taken to the offices as well of Iuſtices and other offices, belonging to the gouernance of the Demaynes, and of other offices of the ſayde realme of Fraunce, for the good right and peaceable iuſtice of the ſame, and for the adminiſtration that ſhall be committed vnto them, and that they bee ſuche perſons, that after the lawes and rightes of the ſame Realme, and for the vtilitie and profite of oure ſayde father, ſhall miniſter, and that the foreſayde realme ſhal be taken and departed to the ſame offices.

12 Alſo that we of our power, ſo ſone as it may commodiouſly be done, ſhall trauaile to put into the obedience of our ſayd father, all maner of Cities, townes, and caſtels, places, Countreys, and perſons within the realme of France, diſobedient, and rebels to our ſaide father, holding with them which been called the Dolphin or Arminack.

13 Alſo that we might the more commodiouſly, ſurely and freely done exerciſe and fulfill theſe things aforeſayd. It is accorded that all worthie nobles and eſtates of the ſame realme of France, aſwel ſpirituals as tẽporals, & alſo cities notables & cõmunalties, & citizens, burgeſſes of townes of the realm of France, yͭ bene obeyſant at this time to our ſaid father, ſhal make theſe othes yͭ folowẽ.

14 Firſt to vs hauing the facultie, exerciſe diſpoſition, and gouernance of the foreſaid common profite to our heſtes and commaundements, theſe ſhall meekly and obediently obey and intend in al maner of things cõcerning the exerciſe of gouernance of the ſame realme.

15 Alſo that the worthie great nobles & eſtates of the ſaid realme, aſwel ſpirituals as temporals, and alſo cities and notable cõmunalties & citizens & burgeſſes of yͤ ſame realm in al maner of things wel & truly ſhall kepe & to their power ſhall doe to be kept of ſo much as to them belongeth or to any of them, all thoſe things that bene appoynted and accorded betwene our foreſayd father and mother and vs, with the counſaile of them whom vs lyſt to call to vs.

16 And that cõtinually frõ the death, and after the death of our ſaid father Charles, they ſhall be our true liegemen, and our heyres, & they ſhall receiue and admit vs for their liege & ſoueraigne and very king of Fraunce, and for ſuch to obey vs without oppoſition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they ben to our foreſaid father during his life, neuer after this realme of France ſhal obey to mã as king or regẽt of Frãce, but to vs & our heires. Alſo they ſhal not be in counſail, help, or aſſent that we leeſe life or lym, or be take with euill taking or that we ſuffer, harme, or diminution in perſon, eſtate, worſhip, or goodes, but if they knowe any ſuche thing for to be caſt or imagined againſt vs, they ſhall let it to their power, and they ſhall done vs to weten thereof, as haſtily as they may by themſelfe, by meſſage, or by letters.

17 Alſo that all maner of conqueſts that ſhuld be made by vs in Fraunce vpon the ſaide inobedients, out of the duchy of Normandy, ſhalbe done to the profit of our ſaid father, & that to our power we ſhal do that al maner of lãds & lordſhips that bene in the places ſo for to be conquered, longing to perſons obeying to our foreſaide father which ſhal ſweare for to kepe this preſent accord, ſhall be reſtored to the ſame perſons to whõ they long to.

18 Alſo that all maner of perſons of the holye Church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of Fraunce, ſubiect to our father, and fauoring the partie of the dukes of Burgoigne, which ſhall ſweare to kepe this preſent accorde, ſhall reioyce peaceably theyr benifices of holy Church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforeſayde.

19 Alſo likewiſe al maner of perſons of holye church, obedient to vs & beneficed in the realme of Frãce, & places ſubiect to our father, yͭ ſhal ſweare to kepe this preſẽt acord ſhal inioy peaceably their benefices of holy church in places next aboueſayd.

20 Alſo that all maner of Churches vniuerſities and ſtudies general, and all colledges of ſtudies & other colledges of holy church being in places now or in time comming ſubiect to our father or in yͤ duchy of Nor. or other places in yͤ realme of France,

Fraunce ſubiect to vs ſhall enioy their rightes and poſſeſſions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchiſes, longing or due to them in any maner of wiſe in the ſaid realm of France, ſauing the right of the crowne of France, and euery other perſon.

21 Alſo by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the crowne of Fraunce, the Duchie of Normandie and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce, ſhall bow vnder the cōmaundement, obeyſance and Monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Alſo that we ſhal force vs, & do to our power that recompence be made by our ſaid father without diminution of the crowne of Fraunce to perſons obeying to him, & fauoring to that partie ẏ is ſaid Burgoigne, to whō longeth landes, lordſhips, rents, or poſſeſſions in ẏ ſaid duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of Fraunce, conquered by vs hither toward, giuē by vs in places, & lands gotten or to be gotten, & ouercome, in the name of our ſaid father vpon rebels & inobedients to him. And if ſo be that ſuch maner of recōpence be not made to the ſaid perſons, by the life of our ſaid father, we ſhall make that recompence in ſuch maner & places, of goods when it hapneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if ſo be that the lands, lordſhips, rentes or poſſeſſions, the which lōgeth to ſuch maner of perſons in the ſaid duchy & places be not giuen by vs, the ſame perſōs ſhalbe reſtored to them without any delay.

23 And during the life of our father, in al places now or in time cōming ſubiect to him, letters of cōmon iuſtice, & alſo grants of offices and giftes, pardons or remiſſions, & priuiledges ſhalbe written and proceed vnder the name & ſeale of our ſaid father. And foraſmuch as ſome ſingular caſe may fall, that may not be forſeene by mans wit, in the which it might be neceſſarie & behouefull, that we do write our letters, in ſuch maner caſe if any hap for the good and ſuretie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is beforeſayd, & for to eſchewen perils that otherwiſe might fal, to ẏ preiudice of our ſayd father, to write our letters, by the which we ſhal cōmaund, charge, & defende after the nature & qualitie of the neede, in our fathers behalfe and ours as Regent of France.

24 Alſo that during our fathers life, wee ſhall not call nor write vs king of Fraunce, but verily we ſhall abſteyne vs from that name, as long as our father liueth,

25 Alſo that our ſayd father during his life ſhal nempe, call, and write vs in Frenche in this maner. *Noſtre treſchier filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretere de Fraunce.* And in Latine in this maner. *Præclariſſimus filius noſter Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ.*

26 Alſo that we ſhall put none impoſitions or exactions, or do charge the ſubiectes of our ſayde father without cauſe reaſonable and neceſſary, ne otherwiſe than for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the ſaying and aſking of the lawes and cuſtomes reaſonable approued of the ſame realme.

27 Alſo that we ſhall trauaile to our power to the effect and intent, that by the aſſent of the three eſtates of either of the realmes of France & England, that all maner of obſtacles may be done away, & in this partie, that it be ordeyned & prouided, that frō the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to ſay of Fraunce & England perpetually be togither in one and in the ſame perſon, that is to ſay, frōm our fathers life to vs, & from the terme of our life thenceforwarde in the perſons of oure heyres, that ſhall bee one after another, and that both realmes ſhall be gouerned from that wee or any of our heyres come to the ſame, not ſeuerally vnder diuerſe kings in one time, but vnder the ſame perſon whiche for the time ſhall bee king of both the realmes, and our ſoueraigne Lorde (as it is before ſayd,) keeping neuertheleſſe in all maner of other things to eyther of the ſame Realmes, theyr rightes, libertyes, cuſtomes, vſages, and lawes, not making ſubiect in any maner of wiſe one of the ſame realmes to the rights, lawes, or vſages of that other.

28 Alſo that thenceforwarde, perpetually, ſhall be ſtill reſt, and that in all maner of wiſe, diſſentions, hates, rancours, enuies and warres, betwene the ſame realmes of Fraunce and Englande, and the people of the ſame realmes, drawing to accord of the ſame peace, may ceaſſe and be broken.

29 Alſo that there ſhal be frō henceforward for euermore, peace and tranquilitie, and good accord and cōmon affection, & ſtable friendſhip betwene the ſaid realmes, and their ſubiects beforeſaid: the ſame realms ſhal kepe themſelues with their counſaile, helpes, and common aſſyſtence againſt all maner of men that enforce them for to doen or to ymagin wrōgs, harms, diſpleaſures, or grieuāces to them or either of them. And they ſhalbe conuerſant and marchandiſen freely and ſurely togither, paying the cuſtom due and accuſtomed. And they ſhal be conuerſant alſo, that all the confederates & allies of our ſayd father and the realme of Fraunce aforeſayd, and alſo our confederates of the realme of England aforeſayd, ſhall in .viij. Monethes frō the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will drawe to this accorde, and will bee comprehended vnder the treaties and accorde of this peace, ſauing neuertheleſſe eyther of the ſame crownes, and alſo all maner actions, rightes & reuenues, that longen to our ſayd father and his ſubiects, and to vs and our ſubiectes, againſt all maner of ſuch allies and confederates.

30 Alſo neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgoine ſhall begin, ne make wyth Charles, cleping himſelf the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by counſel and aſſent of all & eche of vs three, or of other the three eſtates of either of the ſaide realmes aboue named.

31 Alſo that we with aſſent of our ſayde brother of Burgoigne, and other of the nobles of the realme of Fraunce, the which thereto owen to be called, ſhal ordeyne for the gouernance of our ſaid father ſekerly, louingly, and honeſtly after the aſking of his royall eſtate and dignitie, by the maner that ſhall be to the worſhip of God, and of our father, and of the realme of Fraunce.

32 Alſo all maner of perſons, that ſhall bee about our father to do him perſonal ſeruice, not only in office, but in all other ſeruices, aſwel the nobles & gentles as other, ſhall be ſuch as hath beene borne in the realm of France, or in places longing to Fraunce, good, wiſe, true and able to that forſayd ſeruice. And our ſaide father ſhall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where elſe. Wherefore we charge and commaunde our ſayd liege ſubiects, and other being vnder our obedience that they keepe and doe to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accorde & peace after the forme and maner as it is accorded. And that they attempt in no maner wiſe, any thing yͭ may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the ſame accorde & peace, vpon payne of life and lymme, and all that they may forfeyte agaynſt vs. Yeuen at Troes, the xxx. day of May. 1420. and proclamed in London the xx. day of Iune.

33 Alſo that we for the things aforeſayde, and euery one of them, ſhall giue our aſſent by our letters patents, ſealed with our ſeale vnto our ſayde father, with all approbation and confyrmation of vs, and all other of our bloud royall, and all other of the Cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our ſeales accuſtomed. And further oure ſayde father beſydes hys letters Patentes ſealed with oure greate Seale, ſhall make or cauſe to bee made Letters approbatorie, and confyrmations of the Peeres of his Realme, and of the Lordes, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the ſame vnder hys obedience. All whiche Articles, wee haue ſworne to keepe vppon the holye Euangeliſtes.

Tho. VValſ.

The. xiiij. of Iune being Fryday, there was a ſolemne Proceſſion at London, and a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, in whiche the Preacher openly declared the effect of the kings maryage, and the articles cōcluded vpon the ſame, by reaſon wherof (he ſayd) there muſt be a new great ſeale deuiſed, and the olde broken, and in the newe the kings name with a newe addition of his tytle as Regent of Fraunce, & heyre apparant of that kingdome was to be engraued.

A league betweene king Henry and the Duke of Burgoigne.

Beſide the league thus concluded by K. Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuate league accorded betwixt him and the Duke of Burgoin the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

Firſt, that the duke of Burgoigne ſhould procure this peace lately before concluded, to be obſerued firme and ſtable in all couenants & poynts therof ſo farre as he by any meanes might further the ſame: in conſideration wherof, one of the brethren of king Henry ſhould take to wife one of the ſaid duke of Burgoigne his ſiſters. That K. Henrie ſhould euer haue in ſingular fauor the ſaid D. of Burgoigne, as his moſt dere brother, & ſupport him in all his rights. That the ſaid duke after the deceaſſe of king Charles ſhuld take an othe of fealtie to be true to king Henrie & his heyres according to the forme & tenor therof before expreſſed, & ſhuld in al things be friend to K. H. & his heires for euer. That K. Henry ſhuld do his vttermoſt endeuor, that due puniſhment might bee had for the murther of Duke Iohn, father to the ſayd Duke of Burgoigne, aſwell vpon Charles that named himſelfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were guiltie and priuie to that murther: If the ſayd Dolphin chanced to be takē, either in battail or town beſieged, or if any other chanced ſo to be taken, that ſhould be proued guiltie or priuie to the murther of the ſayd duke Iohn, he ſhould not be deliuered without iuſt puniſhment for his deedes, nor without the cōſent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, & of the three eſtates of both the realmes. In conſideration of the great diligence, and painfull trauaile ſuſteyned by the duke of Burgoigne, it was alſo agreed, that he ſhould haue by Patent graunted of king Charles and Queene Iſabells fee of. xx. thouſand pounds Pariſien, of yerely reuenues, aſſigned forth neare to the confines of his Countrey, to enioy the ſame to him and to hys wyfe the Duches Michel, and to the heires males betwixt them two lawfully begotten, to the obteyning wherof, king Henry ſhould ſhew all hys furtherance, & if it might not be brought to paſſe till king Henrie had obteyned the Crowne of Fraunce, then ſhould hee ſee the ſame perfourmed, vpon the receyuing of his homage.

The effect King Hen Oration to French kin

The king of Englande after all the articles of the ſaid treaties and agreements were concluded, paſſed & ſworne vnto, made to the French K. the duke of Burgoigne, & other the French Lordes, a ſumptuous banquet, & before they departed fro the ſame, he ſadly and ſoberly made to the a right pithie and ſententious oration, declaring to the both how profitable the ioyning of the two kingdomes ſhoulde bee to the ſubiectes of the ſame, and alſo the right that hee had thereto, being by lyneall diſcent of the womans ſide, (which is the [illegible]) rather a Frenchman than an Engliſhman, and though he was an Engliſhman borne, yet he aſſured them to tender the wealth of the Realme of France, as much as he would the aduancement of his owne natiue Countrey of England: herewith, hee inueyghed againſte Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onely maintayner of all the ciuill diſcord, whoſe wicked nature, and cruel diſpoſition, did wel appeare in the murther of the late Duke of Burgoigne, he therfore willed thē, according to their ductie, othe, and agreement, to ſtand with him, and help to reduce ſuche a ſtubborne and diſloyall ſonne, vnto the obeyſance of his father K. Charles, that hee might ſhew himſelfe conformable vnto ſuche orders and decrees, as they had taken, appointed, and agreed vpon: and for his parte, he promiſed to worſhippe, loue, and honor his father in lawe ẏ ſaid K. Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concorde and agreemente, truſting the ſame to bee a peace finall. And to conclude, he promiſed, that if they ſhewed thēſelues true and loyall to him, according to the ſame agreement, the Ocean Sea ſhould ſooner ceaſſe to flow, and the bright ſunne loſe his light, than he woulde deſiſt from doing that whiche became a Prince to do to his ſubiect, or a father to his naturall child. When hee had thus perſwaded the nobilitie, and diſpatched his buſineſſe at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the frēch King, and the Duke of Burgoigne, departed frō thence the fourth of Iune, and vpon the ſeuenth day of the ſame moneth, came before the towne of Sens in Burgoigne, which held on the Dolphins part, but after four days ſiege, it was yeelded vnto the King; and there he made Captaine, the Lord Genuille. From thence, hee remoued to Monſtreaw ou fault Yonne, which towne was taken on the three and twentith day of Iune, by aſſault, and many of the Dolphins part apprehended, before they could get to the Caſtell.

It was rendred vp the tenth of Iune.

Titus Liuius.

Sens & Monſtreau beſieged and taken. The ſiege was layde the. xvi. of Iune.

Whileſt ẏ ſiege lay there, and before ẏ towne was entred, the Duke of Bedforde came thither vnto the K. bringing with him a faire retinue of Souldiers out of England. After the getting of the Towne, the Caſtell being well vittelled and manned, denyed to render; and therefore was it enuironed with a ſtrong ſiege, during the which, the Duke of Burgoigne was enformed in what place of the towne the Duke his father was buried, who was ſlaine there (as before you haue heard) and his corps was taken vp againe by his commaundement, and ſo conueighed vnto Digeon in high Burgoigne, & there buryed by his father Duke Philip. Bycauſe they within the Caſtell of Monſtreaw gaue opprobrious wordes to the kings Herault that was ſent to them, the King cauſed a gibet to be ſet vp before the Caſtell, on the which were hanged twelue priſoners, all Gentlemen, and friendes to the Captaine named Monſ. de Guitrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no meanes he could be ſuccoured, and fearing to be taken by force, begā to treate with the King of Englande, who for the ſpace of eight dayes would hearken to none of his offers, but in concluſion, hee and his rendred themſelues ſimply, their liues only ſaued, ſixe weekes after they had bin beſieged. The erle of Warwike was made Captaine, both of the Towne and Caſtell, who fortified it with men, munition, and vittailes. The King departing from thence, came to Melun vppon Seine, the thirtenth day of Iuly, and beſieged it rounde about, hauing then in company with him ẏ french King, and the yong King of Scottes, the dukes of Burgoigne, Clarence, Bedford, Glouceſter, & Bar, the Prince of Orange, and one and twentie Earles, beſides Lords, Barons, and knights, equall to Lordes in degree, to the number of 57. what of England and Frāce, and beſide alſo fifteene maiſter ſouldiers. This ſiege continued the ſpace almoſt of ſeauen monethes, or as Thomas Walſ. hathe, fourteene weekes, and foure days, with ſkirmiſhing, ſcaling, aſſaulting, and defending, to the loſſe no doubt of both partes. Captain of this towne, was one Monſ. de Barbaſon, a Gaſcoigne of ſuche experience and approued valiācie in warres, that his renowne was ſpred through the world. At the firſt laying of the ſiege, he called all the Souldiers there in garriſon, and likewiſe the townſmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of deathe, that none of them ſhould bee ſo hardie, as to treate, or once to motion any word of ſurrendring the towne, or of comming to any compoſition or agreemēt with the two kings, except they made him being their Captaine, priuie thereto, before they attempted any ſuch thing. In the meane ſeaſon, ẏ frēch Queene, the Queene of England, and the Ducheſs of Burgoine, lying at Corbell, came dyuers times to viſit their huſbāds, and to ſee their friendes, whome the King of Englande highly feaſted, & louingly entertained, that euery creature reported great honor of him. This Towne of Melun ſeemed very ſtrong, both by reaſon of the riuer of Saine, which compaſſed part thereof, & alſo by ſtrong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulwarkes made about it. The K. therefore to take away all the iſſues & entries from them within, made a bridge ouer the riuer, able to beare horſmen and carriage; and againe, appointed dyuers boates, furniſhed with men of warre, to keepe the ſtreame, ſo that they within ſhould haue no way to come abroade, either by water or lande: yet one day, the Frenchmen iſſued forth, and aſſailed ẏ Engliſh lodgings, where the Earle of Warwike was encam-

It held not out ſo lōg as ſhuld appere by Titus Liuius, who ſaith, that it was rendred the fourth of Iulye.

Melun beſieged by kyng Henry.

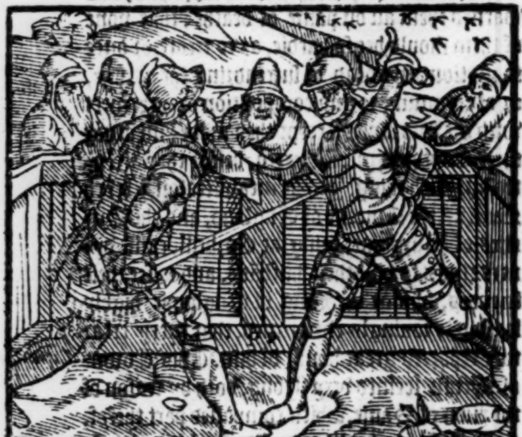
Eighteene wekes haue the Chronicles of Flaunders.

Titus Liuius.

Monſieur de Barbaſon a valiant captaine.

Titus Liuius

encamped on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, not far from the D. of Burgoigne, but by the valiaunt proweſſe & manly courage of the Engliſhmen, the enimies were eaſily beaten backe, and conſtreyned to retire into the Towne againe, with theyr loſſe. Heere is to be remembred, that during thys ſiege before Melun, there came to the K. the D. of Bauiere, ẏ kings brother in law, but the kings ſiſter that had bin married to him, was not then liuing, and brought with him ſeuen hundred wel appointed horſemē, which were reteined to ſerue the K. and right worthely they bare themſelues, and therefore moſt liberally recompenced at the kings hande, for the time they continued in hys ſeruice. The K. enforced this ſiege by all wayes & meanes poſſible, to bring the towne into ſubiection, as well by mines as otherwiſe, but they within ẏ towne ſo valiantly behaued thēſelues, as well by coūtermines, whereby at length they entred into ẏ kings mines, as by other wayes of reſiſtaunce, that by force of aſſaultes it was not thought any eaſie matter to winne the ſame. It fortuned one day, that whileſt ther roſe a cōtention betwixt two Lords of the kings hoſt, who ſhould haue the honor to goe firſt into ẏ mine, to encounter with ẏ frēchmen, ẏ now had brought their mine through into ẏ engliſh mines, & made barriers betwixte, that they might ſafely come & fight with the Engliſhmen: the K. to auoide the ſtrife, entred the mine himſelfe firſt of all other, & by chance, came to fight hande to hand with the L. Barbaſon, that was likewiſe entred ẏ myne before all other of them within the towne, & after they had fought a good ſeaſon togither, at length they agreed to diſcouer to eyther other their names, ſo as ẏ L. Barbaſon, firſt declaring what he was, ẏ K. likewiſe tolde him, that he was the K. of England, wherevppon, Barbaſon perceyuing with whome he had fought, cauſed ẏ barriers forthwith to be cloſed, and withdrewe into ẏ Citie, & the K. returned backe to his campe. At length, vittailes within the towne began to faile, & peſtilence began to waxe hote, ſo that the Lord Barbaſon began to treate, and in concluſion, about the middes of Nouember (as Fabian hath) the towne was yeelded vpon certaine conditiōs, whereof one was, that all ẏ were conſenting to the death of ẏ D. of Burgoigne, ſhoulde be deliuered to ẏ K. of England, of whom the L. Barbaſon was ſuſpected to be one. The K. ſente them vnder the conduit of his brother the D. of Clarence, to the Citie of Paris, whereof ẏ french K. made him Captaine, & ſo at his cōming thither, he toke poſſeſſiō of ẏ Baſtill of S. Anthonie, the Loure, ẏ houſe of Neelle, & the place of Boys de Vincennes. Monſ. de Barbaſon was accuſed by the D. of Burgoigne, and his ſiſters as giltie to their fathers death, but he in open Court defended himſelfe, as not giltie of that crime, granting indeede and cōfeſſing, ẏ he was one of ẏ familiar ſeruants to the Dolphin, but ẏ he was priuie or cōſenting to ẏ death of the D. of Burgoigne, he vtterly denied: where vpon, he was not condemned, neither yet acquited, by reaſon of ſuche preſumptions & coniectures as were alleged and brought againſt him, ſo ẏ he remained in priſon at Paris & elſe where, ẏ ſpace of nine yeres, til at length, beeing broughte vnto Caſtel Galliard, it chanced ẏ the ſame Caſtell was won by thoſe of the Dolphins partie, & he being as their priſoner there, eſcaped out of danger, & ſo by that meanes was ſet at libertie, as after ſhall appeare. Some write, ẏ he had bin put to death, if he had not appealed from K. Henries ſentence, vnto the iudgement of ẏ officers at armes, alledging, that by ẏ lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwardes ought to put him to deathe for any cauſe or quarell, & that he was the kings brother in armes he proued it, for ẏ he had fought with him hãd to hand within ẏ mines (as before ye haue heard) which combate was thought of equall force by the Heraults as if he had fought wͭ the K. body to body, within ſolemne liſtes. But for ẏ credite of this matter, we leaue it to ẏ cōſideration of ẏ Readers. The Erle of Hūtingtō, was made Captaine of Melū, & from thence, ẏ K. departed with his army vnto Corbeil, where ẏ french K. & the two Queenes then ſoiourned, & after, both ẏ kings accompanied wͭ the dukes of Bedford, Burgoine, Glouceſter, & Exceter, & the Erles of Warwike & Saliſburie, wͭ a great nūber of noble mē & knights, ſet forth towardes Paris, whome the Citizens in good order met without the gates, & the Clergie alſo wͭ ſolemne proceſſiō: all the ſtreetes were hanged with rich clothes, the two kings rode togither (the K. of England giuing ẏ vpper hand to his father in lawe) through ẏ great Citie of Paris, to our Lady Church, where after they hadde ſaide their deuotions, they departed to their lodgings,



The duke of Bauiere commeth to king Henry with a number of horſemen.

The tranſlator of Tit. Liuius.

K. Henry and Monſire Barbaſon fighte hand to hand.

It was ſurrendred about All halowtide, as Tho. Walſi. noteth.

Melun yelded vp to K. Henry.

Titus Liuius.

Note this appeale.

King Henry receiued into Paris.

kings, the french K. to ẏ houſe of S. Paule, and ẏ K. of Englãd to ẏ Caſtel of Louer. The next day, the two Queenes made their entrie, & were receiued with like ſolemnities, as their huſbands were ẏ day before. During ẏ ſeaſon ẏ theſe two Kings lay in Paris, there was a great aſſemble called, as wel of ẏ ſpiritualtie, as of the nobles of ẏ tẽporaltie, in ẏ whiche, the kings ſate as Judges, before whom, the Duches of Burgoigne, by hir proctor, appealed the Dolphin, & ſeuen other, for the murther of D. John hir huſband. To the which appeale, the counſell of ẏ other part made diuers offers of amẽds, as wel of foundations of Chãtries for prieſts, to pray for ẏ ſoule, as recõpence of money to the widowe & children, for the final determination wherof, ẏ kings to take further aduice therin, appointed another day. At this ſame time, ẏ three eſtates of the Realme of France aſſembled at Paris, & there euery perſon ſeuerally ſware vpõ the holy Euãgeliſt, to kepe, ſupport, mainteine, & defend the treatie and finall accord, which was concluded betweene the two kings, & therto euery noble mã, ſpirituall gouernor, & tẽporal ruler, ſet two their ſeales, which inſtrumẽts wer ſent to ẏ kings treaſurie of his Eſchequer at Weſt. ſafely to be kept, wher they yet remaine. The french K. at ẏ ſame time, being in good & perfect ſtate of health, opẽly there in Parliamẽt declared, ẏ the peace was cõcluded, accorded, & made by his free aſſent, & with ẏ aduice of al ẏ counſell of France, & that he woulde for hys owne part, & that his ſucceſſors ought for theyr parts, obſerue & keepe ẏ ſame, with al the articles therin cõteined. And likewiſe, that al his ſubiects were bound for euer, to obſerue & keepe the ſame, without breaking or doing any thing preiudicial therto. During the time ẏ the two kings thus ſoiourned in Paris, the french king kept a ſmall port, very few, & thoſe of ẏ meaner ſort reſorting vnto his Court, but the K. of Englãd kept ſuch a ſolemne ſtate, wͭ ſo plẽtifull an houſe, & ſhewed himſelfe ſo bountiful in giftes, & ſetting forth of warlike ſhewes & princely paſtimes, that all the noble mẽ & other reſorted to his palace, to ſee his eſtate, & to do him honor. He toke vpõ him as regẽt of France, to redreſſe cauſes, remoue officers, reforme things ẏ were amiſſe, and cauſed a newe coigne to be made, called a Salute, wherin were ẏ armes of France, & the armes of England and Frãce quarterly ſtamped. Alſo, to ſet al things in quiet, he cõſtituted ſir Gilbert Vmfreuile Captain of Melũ, wͭ a good nũber of valiant Souldiers, to remaine there in garriſon, & the Earle of Hũtingtõ, couſin germaine to the K. was deputed Captaine at Blois de Vincennes, & the Duke of Exeter, wͭ fiue C. men of warre, was aſſigned to keepe Paris. The D. of Bauier about ẏ ſame time, wͭ the kings licence, departed into his coũtrey, both he & his retinue, receiuing large giftes of ẏ kings great liberalitie, and amongſt other things, the K. gaue to him a cup of golde, garniſhed & ſet with precious ſtones of great price and value. Moreouer, he had a penſiõ giuen him of a M. markes by yere, vnder the kings letters patents, to be had & receiued of ẏ kings free & liberal grant, during the life of the ſaid Duke.

The duches of Burgoigne hir appeale.

The othe of the three eſtates of France.

King Henrye taketh vppon him the office of Regent of France.

When the King had thus ordred his buſines, he wͭ the Q. his wife, the princes, & nobles of the Realme departed frõ Paris ẏ ſixth of Januarie, & came to Rouen, but firſt before his departing, he cauſed proces to be made & awarded forth againſt Charles ẏ Dolphin, cõmanding him to appeare at the marble table at Paris, where for lacke of appearance, hee was with al ſolemnitie in ſuch caſe requiſite, denounced giltie of ẏ murther & homicide of John D. of Burgoigne, & by the ſentence of Parliament, baniſhed the realme: but ẏ Dolphin withdrew into Languedoc, and after to Poictiers, getting to him ſuch friends as he could, & namely, he found ẏ erle of Arminacke very faithfull to him, not only aiding him with men, but alſo in his owne perſon, he continually ſerued him againſt all his aduerſaries. The K. of England comming to Roane, ſoiourned there a certain time, & receiued ẏ homage of all ẏ nobles of Normãdie, amõgſt whom, ẏ erle of Stafford did homage for ẏ countie of Perche, and Arthur of Britaigne lykewiſe for the countie of Iurie,

1421

Theſe Counties they enioyed of the kings gift.

He alſo ordeined his Lieutenaunt generall, both of France & Normandy, his brother Tho. D. of Clarence. & his deputie in Normãdy was the Erle of Saliſburie. Whẽ the feaſt of Chriſtmas was paſſed, hee departed frõ Roane, wͭ the Q. his wife, & by Amiens came to Calais, wher he toke ſhip the morow after Candlemas day, & landed at Douer, & came to Canterburie, & from thẽce to Eltham, & ſo through Londõ to Weſt. I paſſe ouer to write what ioy & triumph was ſhewed by the Citizens of Londõ, and of al other his ſubiectes in euery place where he came. The King hymſelfe to render vnto God hys moſt humble and hartie thankes, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be obſerued and kept fiue dayes togyther in euery Citie and towne. After that done, he made great purueyance for the coronation of his Q. & ſpouſe, the faire Lady Katherine, whiche was done the daye of S. Mathie, beeing the 24. of Februarye, with all ſuch Ceremonies and princelyke ſolemnitie as apperteined, and as in ẏ Chronicles of Robert Fabian is at large expreſſed. After the ſolemne feaſt of the Coronation once ended, the King as well to viſit certayne places for deuotion, by way of pilgrimage, as alſo to ſee in what ſtate and order diuers parts of his Realm ſtode, departed from the Q. appointing day and place where ſhe ſhould meete hym,

and

He landed at Douer on Cãdelmaſſe euen ſayeth Tho. Walſingham.

K. Henry returneth into England with his new wyfe.

Tho. Walſing. ſaith, ſhe was crowned the firſt Sunday in Lent, whiche that yeare fell vpon the ninth of February.

The coronation of Queene Catherine.

and ſo iourneyed forthe from place to place, thorough ſundry Countreys, as well of Wales as Englande, and in euery quarter where he came, hee heard with diligent eare the complaintes of ſutors, & tooke order for the adminiſtration of iuſtice both to high and lowe, cauſing manie myſdemeanors to be reformed. At length he came to the town of Leyceſter, where he fou͂d the Quene according to the appointment before taken.

Iuſtice miniſtred by kyng Henry in progreſſe.

An.reg.9.

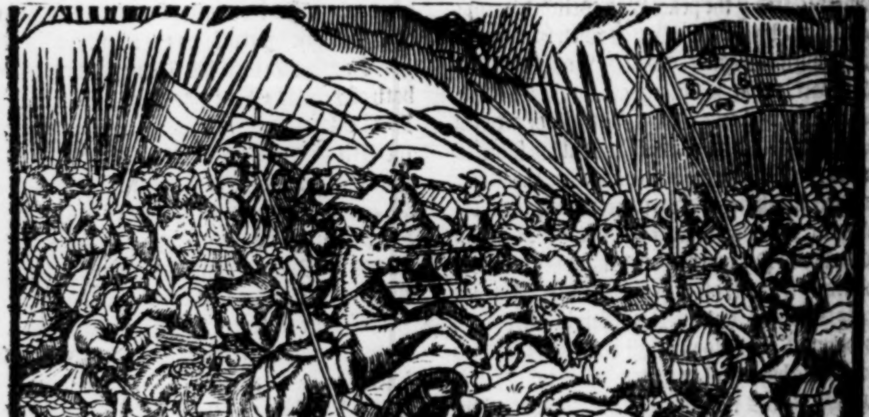
Heere at Leiceſter, he held the feaſt of Eaſter: but while theſe things wer thus adoing in England, the D. of Clarence, the Kings Lieutenant in France and Normandie, aſſembled togither all the garriſons of Normandie, at the Towne of Bernay, and from thence departed into yͤ cou͂trey of Maine, and at Pont le Gene he paſſed the riuer of Yonne, and rode through all the Countrey to Lucie, where he paſſed the riuer of Loire, and entred into Aniou, and came before the Citie of Angiers, where he made many Knightes, that is to ſay, ſir William Ros, ſir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowlande Rider, ſir Thomas Beaufort, called the baſtard of Clarence, and diuers other. and after that hee had forrayed, brente, and ſpoiled the countrey, hee returned with pray and pillage, to the towne of Beaufort, in the valley, where he was aduertiſed, that a great number of his enimies, Frenchmen, Scottes, Spanyards, and other, were aſſembled togither, at a place called Viell Bauge, that is, olde Bangie, with the Duke of Alanſon, calling hymſelfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphin. The D. of Clarence had a Lombard reſorting vnto him, reteined with the parte aduerſe (his name was Andrewe Forguſa) of whome the Duke enquired the number of his enimies, to whome he reported, that their number was but ſmall, and not of puiſſance to match with halfe the power of hys ſtrong armye, entiſing him with aſſurance of victorie, to ſet on the Frenchme͂. The Duke like a couragious Prince, aſſembled togither all the horſemen of the army, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the baſtard of Clarence, and two Portingales, Captaines of Freſney le Vicont, ſaying, that he onely and the nobles would haue yͤ honor of that iourney. Whe͂ the D. was paſſed a certaine ſtraight and narrow paſſage, he eſpied his enimies raunged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had ſold him to his enimies, and his aduerſaries had laid ſuch buſhments at the ſtraightes, that yͤ duke by no waies without battell, coulde either retire or flee. The Engliſhmen ſeing this, valiantly ſet on their enimies, which was four to one, by reaſon wherof, at length the Engliſhmen were oppreſſed with multitude, & brought to confuſion.

The duke of Clarence made a roade into Aniow.

Viel Bauge or Bauge.

Forguſa, a Lombard, betrayeth the duke of Clarence.

The Engliſhmen diſcomfited.



There were ſlaine, the Duke of Clarence, the Earle of Tankeruile, the Lord Ros, ſir Gilberte Vmfreuile Earle of Angus, and ſir Iohn Lomley, Sir Robert Verend, and almoſt two thouſand Engliſhmen: and the Earles of Somerſet, Suffolke, and Perche, the Lorde Fitz Water, ſir Iohn Barkeley, ſir Raufe Neuile, Sir Henrye Inglis, ſir William Bowes, ſir William Lo͂gton, ſir Thomas Borough, and diuers other taken priſoners. And of the Frenchmen wer ſlaine aboue twelue hundred of the beſt men of warre they had, ſo that they gained not much. The baſtard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being enformed of the great number of the Fre͂chmen, made forward with al the archers, to come to the ſuccoure of the Duke, but they came to late, for the Frenchme͂ hearing of the approching of the archers, fledde with their priſoners, and lefe the body of the Duke, and other the dead carcaſes behind them. The archers buried them all ſauing the Dukes corps, whiche with great ſolemnitie was ſent into England, and buried at

The duke of Clarence and dyuers nobles of Englande ſlayne.

Canterburie beſide his father. After this, ẏ Engliſhmen brent & ſpoiled the Countrey of Maine, and ſo returned to Alanſon, and after departed euery man to his garriſon. This battell was fought on Eaſter euen, in the yeare. 1421. But now to returne to the king. After he had kept his Eaſter at Leiceſter, hee with the Queene remoued, and wente Northwarde, till they came to Yorke, where they were receiued with great ioy of the Citizens, and other the nobles and Gentlemen of the countrey. The K. went vnto Beuerley, to viſit the ſhrine of S. Iohn, and immediately vpon his departure frō thence, the ſorowful newes of his brother ẏ D. of Clarence his death, came to him, for the which he was right penſiue: but ſith mourning would not auaile, he called to remembrance what he had to do, and thervpon without delay, ſente Edmōd erle of Mortaigne, brother to the Erle of Sōmerſet into Normandie, giuing to him like authoritie & preheminēce, as his brother the late deceaſſed D. of Clarence had before enioyed.

e Earle of
Mo tigne
de lieutenāt
Normandy.

After this, he called hys hygh Court of Parliament, in the whiche, he declared with ſuch great wiſedome and grauitie, the actes which had bin done in Fraunce, the eſtate of the time preſent, and what was neceſſarie to be prouided for the time to come (if they woulde looke to haue that iewell and high kingdome, for the whych they hadde ſo long laboured and fought) that the communaltie gladly granted a fifteene, and ẏ Clergie beneuolently offred a double diſme, and bycauſe no delay ſhoulde bee in the Kings affaires for lacke of paiment, the B. of Wincheſter the kings vncle leant vnto him twentie M. pound, to be receiued of ẏ ſame diſmes.

A pliament.

Whē al things neceſſary for this iourney were ready and prepared, he ſent his brother the D. of Bedforde before him to Calais, with al his army, being as ſome write, four M. men of armes, and twentie M. archers and others, (though ſome haue written, that the whole armie paſſed not twelue M. of one and other.) The K. himſelfe ſhortly after, about ẏ middle of May, paſſed the Seas to Calais, & ſo frō thēce, he marched through ẏ Countrey vnto Boyes, de Vincennes, where ẏ french K. and the Queene as then ſoiourned.

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The D. of Burgoigne alſo that had receiued him at Monſtrell, attended him to Dowaſt in Ponthiew, & there hauing taken leaue of him for ſixe days, returned now again to him, according to his promiſe. Then did they cōſult togither, about their affaires, & appointed in al haſt to fighte with the Dolphin, & to reiſe the ſiege of Chartres whiche he had there plāted. Hereupon, the K. of Englād with al his puiſſance, came to ẏ town of Maūt, & thither repaired the D. of Burgoigne, but ere they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puiſſant army of the K. of England, approching towards him, was retired with his people towardes Toures in Torayne, wherefore the K. of England incontinently, did not onely ſend backe the Duke of Burgoigne into Picardie, to reſiſt ẏ attempts of ſir Iaques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrey for the Dolphin, but alſo appoynted the K. of Scottes, with the D. of Glouceſter, to beſiege the towne of Dreux. They comming thither about the. 18. of Iuly, planted ſiege on euery ſide, both of towne & Caſtell, & what with power of batterie, and other forcible meanes, ſo cōſtreined thē within, ẏ on the. 8. day of Auguſt, they cōpounded, that if no ſufficient reſcue came to reiſe the ſiege, before the end of twelue dayes next enſuing, both the towne and Caſtell ſhould be deliuered to the K. of Englands vſe, ſo as the ſouldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Engliſhmā, which was knowen to be amōgſt thē, being fledde for treaſon out of the kings dominions. On the twētith day of Auguſt, which was the day of the apointment, ẏ K. of Scottes receiued the towne & Caſtell, to the behoofe of his ſoueraigne L. the kyng of England, who during al the time of the ſiege, lay at Moraumell. The Townesmen ẏ would remaine ſtill in their houſes, were ſworne to bee true ſubiectes to the K. and the other whyche refuſed, departed with the ſouldiers. The Engliſhman ẏ was excepted, was deliuered, according to the couenantes, and after executed, as hee had deſerued. The Earle of Worceſter was made Captaine of Dreux, and ſir Henrye Mortimer Bailiffe there.

The King of Scots ſerueth King Henry. Dreux beſieged, and rendred to the engliſhemen.

This done, the K. hearing that the Dolphin ſhould be at Baugencie aſſembling his power, haſted thitherwards, but at his comming into thoſe parties, he founde no appearance of enimies in ẏ field, & ſo he remained there a fifteene dayes, in which meane while, the Erle of Suffolke was ſent forth, to diſcouer the Countrey, & the K. wan by aſſault the towne of Baugencie, & after when vittailes began to faile, hee marched forward, meaning to purſue the Dolphin, but ẏ Dolphin doubting the Engliſh puiſſance, conueyed al ẏ vittailes forth of thoſe quarters, & retired himſelf to Bourges in Berrie, choſing that place as his ſureſt refuge, and therefore determined there to remaine, till Fortune turning hir wheele, ſhould looke on them with a more fauorable countenance: heereof in ſcorne was he cōmonly called K. of Berrie.

King Henry purſueth the Dolphin.

The Dolphin why called K. of Berry.

The K. of England followed, till vittailes and forrage began ſore to faile on al ſides, & then returning, paſſed towards Orleans, taking the Caſtel of Rouge Mont by aſſault: he ſtayed three dayes before Orleans, & from thence for want of vittailles, marched thorough Gaſtinois, til he came to Vigny-ſur Yōne, where he remained for a ſeaſon, to refreſh his people

Titus Liuius.

people that were ſore trauelled, in that painefull paſſed iourney, in which yͤ K. loſt not only many of his menne for lacke of vittailes, but alſo a great nūber of horſes and carriages. Some haue written, that about yͤ ſame time, he ſhould win the Citie of Sens, otherwiſe called yͤ kings new towne by ſurrender, but after hee had remained for a time at Vignie, wee finde that he remoued to Paris, where he was honorably receiued.

Les hiſtories des ducz de Normandie.

Shortly after, he conſidering with himſelfe yͭ the towne of Meaux in Brie beeing repleniſhed with enimies, was not to be ſuffered to remayne in that ſtate, in the middes of his new gottē ſubiects, determined to take away the open ſcruple yͭ might poiſon and infect the members, dwelling hard by: wherfore with a great number of Erles and Barons in his company, he came to beſiege it. This towne was no leſſe well vittelled than manned, and no better manned than fortified, ſo that the King coulde neither haue it to him deliuered at his pleaſure, nor gaine it by aſſaulte, without yͤ great loſſe of his people, yet neuertheleſſe, he determined not to depart, til he had gote it by one meane or other. The riuer of Marne deuided this towne into two parts, ſo that there was no entrie from the one into the other, but by a bridge, reiſed vp, & made ouer yͤ riuer, ſuſteined with many arches. The one parte is called the city, and the other *Le marche*, being the ſtrongeſt & beſt fortified. The K. firſt lodged a mile off, in a Caſtel, and ſente the D. of Exeter to begin the ſiege, which he did, according to his inſtructions, vpon the ſixth of October. Shortly after, the K. himſelf came, & lodged in the Abbey of Pharon, the D. of Exeter in the Abbey *de Chage*, the erle of March at the grey Friers, & the Erle of Warwike directly againſte that parte that is called *la Marche*. They within defended themſelues right valiantly, ſo that the Engliſhmen were not al at their eaſe, but ſpecially through lacke of vittailes many dyed, & many fel ſicke, by reaſon whereof, no ſmall nūber returned home into Englande, where in yͤ meane time, on the firſte of Decēber, a Parliamente was called and holden at Weſt. by the D. of Bedford, gouernor of the Realm in the kings abſence. In this Parliament, a fiftth was granted to the K. towards the maintenāce of the warres, the one moitie to be paid at Cādlemas, and the other at Martiumas, of ſuch money, as at the time of the grante was currante.

The ſtrong towne of Meaux beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

A Parliament called by the Duke of Bedforde, the king beeing in France.

Windſore. The birth of King Henry the ſixte.

This yeare at Windſor, on the day of Sainct Nicholas in December, the Queene was deliuered of a ſon named Henry, whoſe Godfathers were Iohn Duke of Bedford, and Henry B. of Wincheſter, and Iaquete, or as the Frenchmen called hir, Iaqueline of Bauiere, Coūteſ of Holland was his Godmother. The K. beeing certified hereof, as he lay at ſiege before Meaux, gaue God thankes, in that it hadde pleaſed his deuine prouidence to ſende him a ſon, which might ſucceede in his Crowne & ſcepter. But whē he heard reported the place of his natiuitie, were it that hee fantaſied ſome olde blind propheſie, or hadde ſome foreknowledge, or elſe iudged of his ſonnes fortune, he ſaide to the Lord Fitz Hugh his truſtie Chamberlaine theſe wordes, My Lorde, I Henrie borne at Monmouth, ſhall ſmall time reigne, and much get, & Henrie borne at Windſore, ſhall long reigne, and all leeſe, but as God will, ſo be it. The King held his Chriſtmas at the ſiege before Meaux, for he would not giue ouer that ſiege, although his army was greatly diminiſhed, by reaſon of lacke of vittailes, extreame colde, foule weather, and other diſcommodities, that bredde great ſtore of diſeaſes and ſicknes among his people: notwithſtanding, all the helps and meanes that might bee, he deuiſed to remedie the ſame, ſo that beſide ſuch as dyed, as well of ſickneſſe as by the enimies hand, many returned home into their Countreys. But yet he ceaſſed not to continue the ſiege, beating the walles with hys ordinaunce, and caſting downe bulwarkes and rampiers on eache ſyde the Towne, made approches as well by water as land, with mightie engines deuiſed of boords to defende the Engliſhmen, as they approched the walles, and gaue aſſaultes. The walles alſo were in diuers places vndermined. After this, the Engliſhmen found meanes, by bridges made of boates, to paſſe the riuer, but yet the Souldiers and other within, defended their rampiers, and breaches moſt ſtoutely, and with gunnes and quarrels ſtill ſhot at the Engliſhmen, of whome they ſlew many, and among other, the Earle of Worceſter was ſlaine, with a bullet of the great Artillerie, and the Lord Clifford, with a quarrel of a Croſſebowe, but yet the Engliſhmen ſtill wanne ground, and got neerer and neerer to the walles. They alſo wonne the chiefeſt part of a bridge from the enimies, and kepte watche and ward vppon and about the ſame. The Earle of Warwike had alſo taken a Vaunmure from the of the market place, built on the South ſyde thereof, able to receiue and lodge a good number of men, whiche ſeruing to good purpoſe, for the better brideling of them within, he cauſed to bee kept, and thus were they within Meaux ſore oppreſſed on euery ſide, ſo that in February, yͤ Captaines doubting leaſt the Citie could not be defended long, cauſed all the vittailes and goods to be conueyed into the market place, and retired all the men of warre into the ſame, leauing none in the other part of the Citie, but the commons, and ſuch as were not able to do any auailable ſeruice in warre. The King aduertiſed hereof, commāded in all haſt to aſſaulte the Citie, whiche was

King Henry propheſied of his ſonne.

Tit. Liuius.

1422

quickly

Meaux taken by aſſault.

quickly done, ſo that the Citie by fine force, was within three houres taken and ſpoyled, and the ſame day, was the market place beſieged round about, and a Mille wonne, adioyning to the ſame.

An. reg. 10. Queene Katherine ſaileth into Fraunce.

In April, the Queene paſſed ouer into Fráce, with a faire retinue of men, vnder the conduit of the Duke of Bedforde, the Duke of Glouceſter remayning Lorde gouernour of the Realme in his place.

At hir comming thither, ſhe was ſo welcommed, and honorably receiued, firſt of hir huſbād, and after of hir father and mother, that ſhee appeared to be no leſſe loued of hir noble huſbande, than of hir deere and naturall parents.

Oliuer Māny

Whileſt the ſiege ſtill continued before Meaux, Oliuer Manny, a valiant man of warre of the Dolphins part, (which before was Captaine of Faleiſe, and yeelding it, ſware neuer to beare armour againſt the King of England) aſſembled a great number of menne of warre, as well Britaines as Frenchmen, that is to ſay, the lord Montborchier, the Lord of Coynon, the Lorde of Chatelgiron, the Lord Tintignace, the Lord de la Howſſay, and diuers other, which entred into the Countrey of Conſtantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Engliſhmenne, where they might either eſpie or take them at their aduantage, but the Earle of Suffolke, keeper of thoſe marches, hearing of their doings, ſent for the Lord Scales, ſir John Aſton Bailiffe of Conſtantine, Sir William Hall, Sir John Banaſter, and many other, out of the gariſons within that territorie, the which encountred with their enimies, at a place called *le Parke leueſque*, in Engliſh, the Biſhops Parke. There was a ſore fight and a long betwixte them, but finally, the Frenchmen were put to flight, ſo that in the conflict and chace were ſlaine, the Lorde of Coynon, the Lord of Caſtellgiron, and three hundred other: and there wer taken priſoners, the Lord de la Howſay, and Sir Oliuer Manny, with threeſcore others. The King pardoned ſir Oliuer Manny his life, though he ill deſerued ſo great a benefite, for that he had broken his othe and promiſe, but he was ſent into Englād, there to learne to ſpeake Engliſh, and ſo beeing brought to London, ſhortly after dyed, being as then a very aged man, and was buried in the white Friers.

A ſore conflict

The King lying ſtill before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue hearde) ſore beate the walles with his ordinance, and caſt downe Bulwarkes and rampiers on euerye ſide the Towne, ſo that he hadde made an open breache for his people to enter, whereof the Lord of Offemont beeyng aduertiſed, with a companye of choſen perſons ſente by the Dolphin, aſſayed in the night ſeaſon to enter the Towne, to the ſuccours of them within: but though diuers of hys people got ouer yͤ walles, by help of ladders whiche they had ſet vp, yet ſuch was his chance, that as he paſſed a plāke, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditche, and in the meane time, the Engliſhmen perceyuing by the noyſe what the matter meant, came running to the ditche, tooke the Lorde of Offemont, and ſlewe dyuers of his company that ſtoode in defence.

Continuation des Chroniques de Flandres.

The Captaines within, perceyuing in what caſe they ſtoode, by reaſon their ſuccours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by aſſault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treate with the King of England, who appointed the Earle of Warwike, and the Lord Hungerford, to commune with them, and in concluſion, an accord was taken, and ſo the Towne and market place, with al the goods, were deliuered into the Kyng of Englandes handes, the tenth daye of May, in the yeare 1422.

Tit. Liuius.

The condition of the ſurrender of Meaux into the kings handes.

The appoyntmente taken with them of thys towne was this, that they ſhould yeeld themſelues ſimply to the kings pleaſure, their liues only ſaued: and herevpon, many of thē were ſente ouer into England, amongſt whome, was the B. of yͤ towne, which ſhortly after his ariuall heere, fel ſicke and dyed. There were alſo foure perſons excepted, agaynſt whome, the Kyng myghte by order of lawe and iuſtice, procede as hee ſawe cauſe, for theyr faultes and treſpaſſes committed. As firſte, the Capitaine of the towne, named the baſterde of Vaureu, the whiche hadde done many greeuous oppreſſions to the people of the Countrey thereaboutes, in ſpoylyng them of their goodes, and ranſoming them at his pleaſure. He had alſo put diuers to death moſt cruelly, when they were not able to pay ſuch finance and raunſomes as he demaunded: whervppon, being now put to deathe himſelfe, his body was hanged vppon a tree that ſtoode on an hill without the towne, on the which, hee had cauſed both huſbandmen, and townesmen, and other priſoners, to be hanged before time.

His ſtãdert alſo which was wont to be borne before him in battell, was ſet vp in thẽ ſame tree.

The Bailife alſo of the towne, and two of the chiefeſt burgeſſes that had bin of counſell with him in his vnlawful doyngs, were lykewiſe executed.

Alſo beſyde theſe, there were founde in thys towne diuers that were accuſed to be giltie of the Duke of Burgoigne his deathe, wherefore they were putte to theyr triall, in the Parliamente at Paris, and ſome of them beeing founde giltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the ſtrong towne of Meaux was publiſhed through the Countrey, all the Townes and fortreſſes in the Iſle of Fraunce, in Lannoys, in Brie and in Champaigne, yeelded themſelues to the King of England, which appointed in the ſame valiant Captaines, and hardie ſouldiers.

After that hee had thus got poſſeſſion of Meaux, and the other fortreſſes, he returned agayne to Boys de Vincennes, and beeing there receiued of the King and Queene of Fraunce, and of the Queene his wife the thirtith day of May, being Whitſon euen, they remoued altogither vnto Paris, where the King of England lodged in the Caſtell of Loure, and the Frenche King in ths houſe of Saint Paule.

The royall port of the K. of Englande.

Theſe two kings kept great eſtate with their Queenes, at this high feaſt of Pentecoſt, but the King of Englandes Court greatly exceeded, ſo that al the reſort was thither. The Pariſiẽs that beheld his princely port and high magnificence, iudged him rather an Emperour than a Kyng, and their owne King to be in reſpect to him like a Duke or a Marques. The Dolphin hauyng knowledge by eſpials where the King of England and his power lay, came with all his puiſſance ouer the riuer of Loyre, and beſieged Coſney, a towne ſcituate vpon that riuer, a ſixe ſcore miles diſtant from Paris, and appointed parte of his army to waſt and deſtroy the confynes of the Duchie of Burgoigne, to the intẽt to deuide the power of the Kyng of Englande, from the ſtrength of the Duke of Burgoigne, ſuppoſing as it came to paſſe indeede, that the Duke would make haſt towardes Burgoigne, to defende hys owne lands. In the meane time, they within Coſney were ſo hard handled, that they promiſed to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not reſcued by the King of Englãd within tenne dayes. King Hẽry hearing theſe newes, woulde not ſend any one creature, but determined to goe himſelfe, to the reyſing of that ſiege, and ſo with all diligence came to the Towne of Corbeil, and ſo to Senlis, where, (whither it were with heate of the ayre, or that he with hys daily labour were feobled or weakened) he began to ware ſicke, yea and ſo ſicke, that hee was conſtreyned to tarrie, & ſend his brother the Duke of Bedford to reſcue them of Coſney, which he did, to his high honor, for the Dolphin hearing that the Duke of Bedford was comming to reiſe his ſiege, departed thence into Berrie, to his great diſhonor, and leſſe gaine.

Coſney beſieged by the Dolphyn.

The king falleth ſicke.

Coſney reſcued by the duke of Bedford.

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Britain ſent his Chancellor ỹ Biſhop of Maunces, with the Biſhop of Vannes, and others of his counſell, as Ambaſſadors from him vnto K. Henrye, with full commiſſion, to ratifie and allowe for him and his people the peace cõcluded at Troyes: but by reaſon of the Kings greeuous ſicknes, nothing as then was done in that matter.

Titus Liuius.

The Duke of Britayne ſendeth ambaſſadors to the K. of England.

Neuertheleſſe, the Duke himſelfe in perſon came afterwardes to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appoynted his Ambaſſadors at this time in his name to haue done, and accompliſhed.

In the meane ſeaſon, King Henrye waxed ſicker and ſicker, and ſo in an horſelitter was cõueyed to Boys de Vincennes, to whome ſhortly after repared the Dukes of Bedforde & Gloceſter, and the Earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, whome the King louingly welcomed, and ſhewed himſelfe right glad of their preſence: and when he ſaw thẽ penſiue for his ſickneſſe & great danger of life wherin he preſently laye, he with many graue, curteous, & pithie wordes, recomforted them the beſt he could, and therwith exhorted them to be truſtie and faithfull vnto his ſon, and to ſee that he might be wel and vertuouſly brought vp, and as cõcerning the rule and gouernãce of his realmes, during the minoritie & yong yeares of his ſaid ſonne, he willed them to ioyne together in frendly loue and concorde, keping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgoigne, and neuer to make treatie with Charles that calleth himſelfe Dolphyn of Vyenne, by the whyche any part eyther of the crown of France, or of the Duchies of Normandie and Guyenne may be leſſened, or dimyniſhed, and further, that the Duke of Orleauns, and the other Princes ſhoulde ſtyll remayne Priſoners, tyll hys ſonne came to lawfull age, leaſt retournyng home againe, they myght kindle more fyre in one day, than myght be quenched in three. He further aduiſeth thẽ, that if they thought it neceſſarye, that

The king of Englande is brought ſicke to Boys de Vincennes.

His aduice vpon his death bedde.

it ſhoulde be good to haue his brother Humfrey duke of Gloceſter to be protector of Englande, during the nonage of his ſonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgongne to rule and to be regent of France, commaunding him with fire and ſworde to perſecute the Dolphyn, til he had either brought him to reaſon and obeyſance, or elſe to driue and expell hym out of the realme of Fraunce. And herewith he proteſted vnto them, that neyther the ambitious deſyre to enlarge his dominions, neyther to purchaſe vayne renowne and worldlye fame, nor any other conſideration hadde moued him to take the warres in hande, but onely that in proſecuting his iuſt title, he might in the end atteyn to a perfect peace, and come to enioy thoſe peeces of his inheritance, whiche to him of right belonged, and that before the beginning of the ſame warres, he was fully perſwaded by menne bothe wyſe and of greate holyneſſe of lyfe, that vppon ſuche intent, he myghte and ought bothe beginne the ſame warres, and follow them til he had brought them to an end iuſtly and rightly, and that without all daunger of Gods diſpleaſure or perill of ſoule.

Titus Liuius.

The noble men preſent, promiſed to obſerue his preceptes, and to perfourme his deſires, but their hearts were ſo penſife, and repleniſhed with ſorow, that one could not for weping, behold an other. Then he ſayd the. vij. pſalmes, and receyued the ſacrament, and in ſaying the Pſalmes of the Paſſion, ended his dayes here in this world, the laſt of Auguſt, in the yere a thouſand, foure hundred twentie and two.

He departed this life.

This Henry was a king, whoſe lyfe was immaculate, and his liuing without ſpotte. Thys king was a Prince whome all men loued, and of none diſdayned. This Prince was a captain againſt whome fortune neuer frowned, nor miſchance once ſpurned. This captain was a ſhepheard, whom his flocke both loued and obeyed. This ſhephearde was ſuche a Juſticiarie, that lefte no offence vnpuniſhed, nor frendſhip vnrewarded. Thys Juſticiarie was ſo feared, that all rebellion was baniſhed, and ſedition ſuppreſſed. Hys vertues were no more notable, than his qualities were worthie of praiſe: for in ſtrengthe and nimbleneſſe of bodie from his youthe, fewe were to hym comparable, for in wraſtling leaping, and running, no mã almoſt durſt with him preſume, in caſting of great iron barres and heauie ſtones he excelled commonly all menne. No colde made him ſlouthfull, nor heat cauſed him to ſhrinke, and when he moſte laboured, his head was vncouered. He was no more weary of harneſſe, than of a lyght cloake. Hunger and thirſte were not to him noyſome. He was neuer afearde of a wounde, nor ſorowed for the pain: he neyther turned his noſe from euill ſauour, nor from ſmoake or duſt, hee woulde not cloſe his eyes: No man coulde be founde more temperate in eatyng and drynkyng, whoſe dyete was not ſo delicate, but rather more meete for menne of warre, than for dayntie and delicate perſons. Euery honeſt perſon was permitted to come to him, ſitting at his meale, and eyther ſecretely or openly to declare his mynde and intente. Highe and weyghtie cauſes as well betwene men of warre & other, he wold gladly heare, and either determined them himſelf, or cõmitted them to other to giue ſentence: he ſlept very litle, and that onely by reaſon of bodily labor and vnquietneſſe of minde, from the which, no ſmall noiſe coulde awake him, in ſo muche that when his ſouldiors either ſong in the nightes, or their mynſtrels played, that the campe ſounded therewith, he then ſlept moſt ſoundly: his corage was inuincible, and his heart ſo immutable, that feare was baniſhed from him. If any alarum chaunced to be raiſed by his enimies, he was firſt in armure, and the firſt that was ſet forward. In the time of warre he found meanes to get knowlege not only what his enimies didde, but what they ſaid, and intended, ſo that al things to him were knowne, and of his deuices fewe perſons before the thing was at the poynt to be done, ſhould be made priuie. He had ſuch knowledge in ordring and guiding an armie, and ſuch a gift to encourage his people, that the Frenchmẽ ſayd he could not be vanquiſhed in battayle. He had ſuch wit, ſuche prudence, and ſuche policie, that he neuer enterpriſed anye thyng, before he had fully debated it, and foreſeene all the mayne chaunces that mighte happen, and when the ende was once concluded, hee wyth all diligence and courage, ſette hys purpoſe forewarde. What pollicie he hadde in fyndyng ſodayne remedies, for preſente myſchieues, and what practiſe hee vſed in ſauyng him ſelfe and his people in ſodayne diſtreſſes, excepte by hys actes they dyd playnely appeare, I thinke it were a thyng almoſt incredible to be tolde. Meruayle it is to heare, howe he didde continually abſteyne hymſelfe from laſciuious lyuing and blynde auarice, in ſuche eſtate of wealth, richeſſe, and prouoking youth: yea in the tyme of loſſe he was no more ſadde, than in the time of victorie, whiche conſtancie fewe menne can vſe.

The commendation of kyng Henry the fifte, as expressed by maiſter Hall.

What ſhoulde I ſpeak of his bountyfulneſſe and liberalitie? No mã could be more free, gentle, and liberall, in beſtowyng rewardes to all perſons, according to their deſertes: ſaying that he neuer deſyred money to kepe, but to giue and ſpend. What ſhuld I ſay, he was the blaſing comete and apparant lanterne in his days. He was the myrroure of Chriſtendome, and the glorye of his countrey, the floure of kings paſſed, and the glaſſe of them that ſhoulde ſucceede. No prince had leſſe of his ſubiectes, & no kyng conquered more, whoſe fame by hys deathe liuely floriſhed, as his actes in his life were ſeene and remembred. The loſſe of ſuch a prince (ye may be ſure) was exceedingly lamented of his ſubiectes, blaming fortune, whiche had taken away ſo precious a Jewell, ſo noble ornament, and ſure defēce: for no doubt as much hope as was taken away from the engliſhmē for the getting of Fraunce, by his ſodain deathe, ſo much truſt was encreaſſed in the ſtomackes of the Frenche nation, to recouer their late loſſes. Peter Baſſet eſquier, whiche at the time of his death was his chāberlain affirmeth, that he died of a pleureſie, though other writers allege otherwiſe: as the Scots, whiche write that hee died of the diſeaſe of ſaint Fiacre, which is a palſey and a crampe: Enguerant ſaith, that he died of ſaint Anthonies fier: but bycauſe a pleureſie was ſo rare a ſickneſſe in that ſeaſon, and ſo ſtrange a diſeaſe, that the name was to the moſt parte of men vnknowen, and phiſitions were acquainted as little with any remedy for the ſame, and therfore euery man iudged as he thought, and named a ſickneſſe that hee knewe, ſhooting not nere the prick, nor vnderſtanding the nature of the diſeaſe. This king reigned .ix. yeres .v. monethes and .xxiij. daies, and liued not full .38. yeares. He was of ſtature higher than the common ſort, of body leane, well mēbred & ſtrongly made, of face beautiful, ſomwhat long necked, blacke heared, ſtoute of ſtomacke, eloquent of tong, in martiall affaires a perfect maiſter, & of chiualry the very paragone. His body was embalmed and cloſed in lead, & layd in a chariot royall, richly apparelled with cloth of gold, vpon his corps was laid a repreſentation of his perſon, adorned with robes, diademe, ſcepter, & ball, lyke a king, the whiche chariot .vj. horſes drewe richly trapped, with ſeuerall armes, the firſt with the armes of ſaint George, the ſecond with the armes of Normandy, the thirde with the armes of king Arthur, the fourth with the armes of ſaint Edwarde, the fifte with the armes of Fraunce, and the ſixte with the armes of Englande and Frāce. On this chariot gaue attendaunce James king of Scots, the principall mourner, his vncle Thomas duke of Exceter, Richarde earle of Warwicke, the erle of Marche Edmund, the earle of Stafforde Hūfrey, the earle of Mortaigne Edmunde Beaufort, the lord Fitz Hughe Henry, the lorde Hūgerford Walter, ſir Lewes Robſert L. Bourchier, ſir John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crumwell were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the lord Audeley, the lord Morley, the lord Sowche bare the banners of ſaintes, and the baron of Dudley bare the ſtanderd, and the earle of Longuile bare the baner. The hachementes were borne onely by Capitaines to the number of .xij. and round about the chariot rode .v.C. mē of armes all in black armour and their horſes barded blacke with the but ends of their ſpeares vpwards. The conduit of this dolorous funeralles was cōmitted to ſir William Philip, Threaſourer of the kings houſhold, and to ſir William Porter, his chief caruer, and other. Beſide this, on euery ſide of the chariot wente iij.C. perſons, holding long torches, and lordes bearing baners, baneroles, and penons. With this funerall pompe he was conueied frō Bois de Vincēnes, to Paris, and ſo to Roan, to Abuile, to Calais, to Douer, and ſo through Londō to Weſtminſter, where he was buried with ſuche ſolemne ceremonies, ſuche mourning of lordes, ſuch prayer of prieſtes, ſuch lamenting of cōmons, as neuer was before thoſe days ſene in the Realme of England. Shortly after this ſolempne buriall, his ſorowfull Queene returned into England, and kepte hir eſtate with the king hir yong ſon. Thus ended this puiſſaunte Prince hys moſte noble and fortunate raigne, whoſe life (ſaith Hall) although cruell Atropos abbreuiated, yet neyther fyre, ruſt, nor fretting time ſhall amongſt vs engliſhmen, eyther appall his honor, or blot out his glory, whiche in ſo few yeares, and ſhorte dayes, atchieued ſo high aduētures. Of lerned men & writers, theſe I finde remembred by Bale and others, to haue liued in the dais of this noble and valiant king Henry the fift. Fyrſt Alain de Linne, borne in Lynne, and profeſſed a Carmelite Frier in that town, and at length became Prior of that couent, but procceded Doctor of diuinity in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and wrote manye treatiſes: Thomas Otterborne that wrote an hiſtorie of Englande, is thought to liue aboute this ſeaſon, he was a Franciſcan or grey Frier, as they called them, and a greate ſtudent bothe in diuinitie and philoſophy: John Seguarde an excellent Poet, and a Rhetoritian, he kepte a ſchole, and read to his ſchollers in Norwich, as is ſuppoſed, writing ſundry treatiſes, reprouing aſwell the profaning of the Chriſtian religion in Monkes and Prieſtes, as the abuſe of poetrie in thoſe that toke vppon them to write filthye Verſes, and rithmes: Roberte Roſe a Frier of the Carmelites order in Norwiche commonly called the white Friers, both an excellent Philoſopher, and a diuine, hee proceded Doctor at Oxforde, he was promoted to bee Priour of his houſe, and wryting diuers treatiſes: amongeſt all the Sophiſtes of his tyme (as ſayeth Bale,) he offended none of the

He vvas of an indifferent ſtature neither to high nor to lovv of bodye ſlender and leane, but of a meruelouſe ſtrength, as Titus Liuius vvriteth.

Wicleuiſts, which in that ſeaſon ſet foorth purely the worde of God, as maye appeare by hys workes: John Lucke, a Doctor of diuinitie in Oxford, a ſore enimie to the Wicleuiſts: Rich. Caiſter borne in Norffolke, Vicar of S. Stephens in Norwiche, a man of greate holyneſſe and puritie in lyfe, fauoring though ſecretly, the doctrine of Wicliffe, and reprouing in his Sermons, the vnchaſte manners and filthie example that appeared in the Clergie: Of Sir John Oldcaſtell Lord Cobham ye haue heard before: William Walleys a blacke Frier in Lyn, and prouinciall of his order here in England: Rich. Snetiſham, a ſtudent in Oxford, where he profited ſo greatly in lerning and wiſedome, that he was accõpted for the chiefeſt in all that vniuerſitie, in reſpect wherof he was made chancellor of the ſame, he was choſen alſo to be one of the .xij. to examine and iudge vpon Wiclifes doctrine by the Archbi. of Canterbury: John Langdene a monk of Chriſts church in Canterbury, another of the .xij. that were choſen to iudge of Wiclifes opinions: William Taylor a prieſt, and a maiſter of arte in Oxford, a ſtedfaſt follower of Wiclefes doctrine, and was brente for the ſame in Smithfield at London, the ſecõd day of March in the yeare of our Lord. 1422. and laſt of Kyng Henry the fifths reigne: Richard Graſdale ſtudied in Oxforde, and was one of thoſe .xij. that were appointed to iudge of Wiclefs doctrine. William Lyndwood a lawyer excellently learned, as well in the Ciuill as Canon lawes, hee was aduaunced to the ſeruice of this king Henry the fifth, and made by hym keeper of the priuye Seal, was ſent in ambaſſade bothe to the kyng of Spayne and of Portingale, aboute buſineſſe of moſt weightie importance. It is ſaid that he was promoted to the Biſhoprike of S. Dauid: Bartholomew Florarius, ſuppoſed (as Bale ſaieth) by Nicholes Brigham, to be an engliſhmã, wrote a treatiſe called *Florarium*, wherof he tooke his ſurname, and alſo an other treatiſe of abſtinence, in whiche he reproueth certaine corrupte maners in the clergie, and the profeſſion of Friers mendicants: Iohã Hemmelington, a Carmelite Frier, ſtudied both in Oxford and in Paris: William Batecombe is placed by Bale, about the tyme of other learned men, which liued in king Henry the fifthes tyme, but in what ſeaſon he liued, he ſaith he knoweth not: he was an excellent Mathematicien, as by the title of hys workes which he wrote it ſhoulde appeare. Titus Liuius de Foro Luuiſijs liued alſo in theſe dayes, and wrote the lyfe of this Henry the fifth, an Italian borne: but ſith he was bothe reſiant here, and wrote the lyfe of this Kyng, I haue thought good to place him among other of oure Engliſhe writers. One there was that tranſlated the ſayd hiſtorie into Engliſhe, adding as it were by waye of notes in manye places of that booke ſundrye thinges for the more large vnderſtanding of the hiſtorie, a copie wherof I haue ſeene belonging to John Stow citizen of London. There was alſo aboute the ſame tyme an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the ſayd Liuius in the order of his booke, as it were chapiter for chapiter, onely chaunging a good, familiar and eaſy ſtile, which the ſaid Liuius vſed, into a certayn Poeticall kinde of writing, a copie wherof I haue ſeene (and in the life of this king partly followed) belonging to maiſter John Twine of Kent, a lerned Antiquarie, and no leſſe furniſhed wyth olde and autentike monumentes than ripe iudgemente and ſkilfull knowledge for the perfect vnderſtanding therof, as by the fruites of his labors, parte wherof (as I am enfourmed) he meaneth to leaue to poſteritie, it will (no doubt,) ryght euidently appere.

1422

Henry the.6.

Anno.reg.1.

After that Death had bereft the worlde of that noble Prince King Henry the fyfth, his onely ſonne Prince Henry, beyng of the age of nyne moneths, or thereaboute, wyth the ſounde of Trumpettes, was openly proclaimed kyng of England and of Fraunce the thirtie daye of Auguſt, by the name of Henrye the ſixte, in the yeare of the worlde fyue thouſande, three hundred eightie and nyne, after the birth of our Sauiour. 1422. about the twelfth yeare of the emperour Fredericke the thirde, the fortie and two and laſte of Charles the ſixte, and the firſte of James the thirde king of Scotlande.

The cuſtodie of this young prince was appoynted to Thomas duke of Exceſter, and to Henry Beauforde Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, the duke of Bedford was deputed Regent of France and the Duke of Glouceſter was ordeyned protectour of Englande, whiche takyng vpon him that office, called to hym wyſe and graue counſellours, by whoſe aduice he prouided and tooke order as well for the good gouernemente of the Realme of Englande, and the ſubiectes of the ſame at home, as alſo for the mayntenaunce of the warres abroade, and further conqueſte to be made in Fraunce, appoynting valyant and expert capitaynes, whiche ſhoulde be ready, when neede required.

Beſide this, he gathered great ſummes of money to mayntayne men of warre, and left nothing forgotten that might aduance his purpoſed enterpriſes.

Whyle theſe things were a doing in Englande, the duke of Bedforde Regent of France, ſtudyed moſte earneſtly, not onely to keepe and well to order the countreys by king Henry late conquered, but alſo determyned not to leaue off from dayly warre and continuall trauayle, tyll the tyme that Charles the Dolphin (which was nowe a ſlote bycauſe king Charles his father in the Moneth of October in thys preſente yeare was departed to God) ſhoulde eyther bee ſubdued, or brought to due obeyſance.

And ſurely the death of this Kyng Charles, cauſed many alterations in the realm of France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, whiche before eyther for feare of the Engliſh puiſſance, or for the loue of this king Charles (whoſe authoritie they followed) helde on the Engliſhe part, didde nowe reuolt to the Dolphyn, endeuoring themſelues to driue the Engliſhe nation oute of the Frenche territories.

The Duke of Bedforde being greatly moued wyth theſe ſodaine chaunges, fortified hys Townes bothe with garniſons of men and munitions of armour, weapon and vittals. He aſſembled alſo a great armie of Engliſhmen and Normans, and ſo effectuouſly exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their liege and lawfull lorde yong king Henry, that the hearts of many of the Frenche capitains willingly ſware to kyng Henry fealtie and obedience, by whoſe example the comminaltie did the ſame.

Thus al the people being quieted, and the ſtate of the countrey eſtabliſhed in an order within the realme of France, nothyng was mynded but warre, and nothing ſpoken of but conqueſt.

Pont Meulan ſurpriſed by the Frenche.

1423

Enguerant

The Dolphyn whiche laye the ſame tyme in the citie of Poictiers, after his fathers deceſſe cauſed hymſelfe to be proclaymed kyng of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the ſeuenth; And then beeyng in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an hault courage prepared warre, and aſſembled a greate armie: and firſte the warre beganne by light ſkirmiſhes, but it proceeded into mayne battayles. The Dolphyn thinking not to ſurceaſſe any occaſions of well doyng, ſente the Lorde Grauile to the town of Pont Meulan, ſtandyng on the riuer of Seyne, who comming to the ſame vppon the ſodaine, the .xiiij. of Januarie, tooke it, and ſlewe a greate number of Engliſhe ſouldiors, whiche he found within it.

When the Duke of Bedford, otherwyſe cleped the Regente of Fraunce was aduertiſed of thys ſodayn enterpryſe, he appoynted the Lorde Thomas Montacute earle of Saliſbury (a man both for his great policie and hault corage, fitter to be cõpared to the olde Romans than to mẽ of his days, accõpanied with the erle of Suffolk, the L. Scales, the yong L. Poinings, ſir Jo. Faſtolf maiſter of the houſhold with yͤ ſaid L. Regent, & diuers other, to beſiege yͤ ſaid town of Põt Meulan, which after .ij. months ſiege was rẽdred to yͤ ſaid erle, & the L. Grauile ſware to be true to the K. of England euer after that daye, but ſhortly after, he forgetting his othe, returned to his olde maſter again. The erle of Saliſbury apointed ſir Hẽry Mortimer, & ſir Ric Vernõ captains of yͤ town: And frõ thẽce went into Chãpaigne, and there beſieged the towne of Sens, tooke it, & ſlewe Will. Marin the captaine within it, and ſlewe all the Souldiors that kepte that Towne, and made capitains there ſir Hugh Gedding, and ſir Richarde Aubemonde. In this ſeaſon Humfrey duke of Glouceſter, either blinded with ambition or doting for loue, maryed the Ladye Iaquet or Iaquelyn, daughter and ſole haire to William of Bauiere duke of Hollande, which was lauful wife to Iohn duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards what by force and what by ſpiritual compulſaries (as after ye ſhall heare) recouered hir out of the duke of Glouceſters handes.

The chances thus hapning as you before haue heard, Iohn Duke of Bedforde, Philippe duke of Bourgoigne, and Iohn Duke of Britayne made an aſſemble and frendly enteruiew in the citie of Amiens, where they renued the old league and aunciente amitie made betweene the noble Prince king Henry the fifth and them, addyng thereto theſe conditions and agreements, eche of them to be to the other friend and ayder, and the enimie of the one to be enimie to the other, and al they to be both frends and ayders to the King of England, and welwilling to his welwillers and aduerſarie to his aduerſaries. And (bicauſe that affinitie is an embracer of amitie) ther was concluded a mariage betwene the duke of Bedford, and the Lady Anne ſiſter to the Duke of Burgoigne. This mariage was after ſolemniſed according to the concluſion at Troys in Champaigne, in the preſence of the duke of Burgoigne brother to the bryde, and of hir vncle the duke of Brabant, the Erles of Saliſbury and Suffolk, and of .ix. C. lordes, knights, and Eſquiers, with ſuch feaſt and triumph, as before that tyme had not bin ſeene of the Burgoignions.

Affinitie an enterteiner of kinſhippe.

Whyleſt theſe matters were in hand, the Pariſians thinking to blynd the eyes of the duke of Bedford, wrote to hym how dyuers caſtels and fortreſſes lying about their territories, were repleniſhed with theyr enimies, dayely ſtopping their paſſages, and robbing their merchants, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not relieued. But this was but a gloſe of the Pariſiãs, meaning to cauſe him to go about the winning of ſome ſtrong hold, whileſt they in his abſence might bring into the citie Charles ẏ Dolphyn, ẏ then called himſelf French K. for ſo had they apointed, aſſigning to him the day of his cõming, & the poſt of his entrie. But their practiſe being diſcouered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entred into Paris, one day before the fayre was appointed, &. ij. nightes before he was looked for of his enimies being vnprouided, and ſodeinly cauſed the conſpirators within the Citie to bee apprehended, and openly to be putte to execution.

The Pariſians preuented of their practiſes.

Thys done, putting a myſtruſt in the Pariſians, he cauſed the Caſtels and fortreſſes neere and adioyning to the Citie, to be furniſhed with Engliſhemen. And to auoyde all nyght watchers about Paris, and the cõfines therof, he firſt toke into his poſſeſſion either by aſſault or compoſition, the towne of Traynelle and Bray vpon Seyne: and bicauſe two caſtels, the one called Pacy, and the other Courſay were alſo euyll neyghbours to the Pariſians, he ſente ſir Iohn Faſtolfe greate mayſter of his houſholde wyth a notable armie to win the ſame caſtels, whiche he didde, and with praye and priſoners, returned backe agayne to his maiſter, the Regent.

In this verye ſeaſon, the Dolphyn ſente the Lorde William Stewarde, Earle of Buchquhane that was Conneſtable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Ventadoure in Auuergne, and manye other noble mẽ of his part, to lay ſiege to the towne of Crauaunt in the Countie of Auxerre, within the parts of Burgoigne, wherof hearing the Lorde Regent, and the Duke of Burgoigne they aſſembled a great armie, and appoynted the Earle of Saliſbury to haue the guidyng therof, who with his Captains and men of warre, Engliſh and Burgoignions came in good array to giue battayle to the beſiegers of the Towne of Crauaunt: and bicauſe the riuer of Yonne, whiche runneth by the ſayd towne, was betwene the Engliſhe armie, and their aduerſaries, they could not well aſſayle their enimies, whiche defended the bankes and paſſages verie ſtrongly: yet notwithſtanding, both horſmen and footmen of the Engliſh parte couragiouſly put themſelfes into the riuer, and with fine force recouered the bank, whom the Burgonions incontinently followed. When they were all gotten into the playne, the Archers ſhotte, the bill men ſtrake, and long was the fyghte in doubtefull ballaunce. But in concluſion the Frenchmen, not able to reſiſt the force of the Englyſhe Nation, were dyſcomfited, ſlayne, and chaſed leauyng a glorious victorye to the Engliſhmen and Burgoignions. There were ſlayn of the Frenchmen an. xviij. C. knightes and eſquyers, beſyde commons: of Scottes neere hand .iij. thouſand. Amongſt the Frenchemen theſe were the chiefeſt that were ſlayn: The Erle of Leſtrake, the earle of Compgens: The erle of Tonnoire: the lord Coquarde Comeron, the baſtarde of Armynac, the Vicount of Touraye, the baſtarde of Forreſtes, the Lorde de Port, and the Lord Memorancy: Of Scottes the Lorde of Saint Iohns towne, ſir Iohn of Balgary, ſir Iohn Turnbul, ſir Iohn Holiburton, ſir Robert Liſley, ſir William Conyngham, ſir Will. Douglas, ſir Alexander Hume, ſir Williã Liſle, ſir Io. Rotherford, ſir Will. Crayford, ſir Tho. Seton, ſir Will. Hamilton, & his ſonne, Iohn Pillot. There were taken the Erle of Buchquhane conſtable of France, whiche loſt his eye, the earle of Wantadour, ſir Alexander

The engliſhe armye entreth the riuer, and vvinneth the banke.

Meldoryne, ſir Lewes Ferigny, & .xxij. C. gentlemen of the Frenche part. Of Engliſhmen there were ſlaine Sir Iohn Grey, ſir William Hall, ſir Gilberte Halſall, one of the Marſhalles of the field, Richard ap Madocke, and .xxi. C. ſouldiours and men of warre.

An.reg.2.

After this fortunate victorie was the Earle of Saliſbury made by the lord Regent, Lieutenant and vicegerẽt for the king and the ſayd lord Regent in the countreys of France, Bry, and Chãpaigne: and ſir Iohn Faſtolf was ſubſtituted deputie vnder the lord Regent within the duchie of Normandie on this ſyde the riuer of Seyne, and withall he was alſo made gouernour of the countreyes of Anion and Mayne. The earle of Saliſbury after .v. moneths ſiege, wanne by ſurrender, the towne and Caſtel of Montaguillon in Bry, the capitaines whereof, the one named Pregent of Cotynye, and Guille Bourgoys Brytons, ſware neuer to beare armure againſte the Engliſhmen on this ſyde the riuer of Loyre.

In the meane tyme of that ſiege, the Erle of Suffolke toke by force the Caſtell of Coucy, and the ſtrong Caſtell of la Roche in Maſconnoys, he got by appoyntment.

1424

In this ſecond yeare of king Henry the ſixte, Iames K. of Scotland, agreeing to take to wife the Ladie Iane, daughter to Io. erle of Somerſet deceſſed, and ſiſter to Iohn then duke of Somerſet, and alſo couſin germain remoued to K. Henry, and neece to the Cardinall of Wincheſter, and to the duke of Exceſter, was ſet at libertie, couenaunting to pay a ſmall portion of money more than was allowed to hym for hys wyues mariage money, and lefte hoſtages for the ſame. But before his departure oute of the realme, he did his homage to the yong kyng of Englãd, Henry the .vj. at the caſtel of Windſore, before iij dukes .ij. Archbiſhops .xij. Erles, ten Biſhops, twentie barons, and .ij. C. knights and Eſquiers, beſide others, according to the tenour hereafter folowing.

Homage done by the King of Scotlande to King Henry the ſixt.

I Iames Steward, king of Scottes, ſhall be true and faithfull vnto you, Lord Henrye by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and ſuperior Lorde of the kingdome of Scotlande, and to you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome of Scotlande, which I holde and clayme of you, and I ſhall beare you my my fayth and fidelitie of life and lim and worldly honour againſt all men: and faithfully I ſhall knowledge and ſhal do to you ſeruice due for the kyngdome of Scotlande aforeſayde. So God helpe me, and theſe holy Euangeliſtes.

But notwithſtanding this hys othe, and the great, bounteous liberalitie of the mother, and vncles of his wife, in beſtowing on him great abundance of plate and riche clothes of arras, after he had once taken the aire of Scotlande, and ſmelt the ſente of the Scottiſh ſoyle, he became lyke to his fraudulent progenitours, newly alying hymſelfe with the Frenche nation, and ſhewing himſelf a verie enimie to the realm of England, wherin he had bin moſt princely brought vp both in learning, knowledge & good nurture, highly to his aduancement and commendation, if his vnthankfulneſſe had not defaced his other vertues.

Hal.

But now to leaue the Scottiſh king amongſt his countreymen in Scotlande, and returne to the doings of England. I find that the duke of Glouceſter, beeing protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of .x. M. men of warre, and ſent them ouer to his brother the regent into France, the whiche comming into the territorie of Paris, were ioyfully of him receyued. About the ſame time the Frenchemen got by ſtelth diuers townes out of the Engliſhmens hands, and amongſt other the faire town of Champiegne was one, and the prettie towne of Crotoy an other. When the duke of Bedforde was aduertiſed hereof, he determined not to let the matter paſſe in ſuche ſorte, but with all conuenient ſpeed, ſent forth his people to recouer thoſe townes agayn. And firſt the Erle of Suffolke accõpanied with the Erle of Ligny, and diuers other capitaines of the Engliſhemen, wente to beſiege Compiegne, and lodged on the one ſide of the riuer of Sohanne, as the Lorde Liſle Adam, ſir Thomas Rampſton, and the prouoſt of Paris, lay on the other ſide. The Frenchmẽ within the towne being wel furniſhed with good ſouldiours munition and vittualls, couragiouſly defended themſelues againſt the aſſaylantes.

Compiegne ſurrendred to the Engliſhe by a pollicie.

The Engliſhemen remẽbring that Guilliam Remonde, otherwiſe called Mariolayne had bin the leader of the ſouldiors within ẏ towne, which Mariolayn before at Pacy was takẽ priſoner by ſir Io. Faſtolf, cauſed him to be brought frõ Paris vnto the campe, & ſet him in a chariot with an halter about his neck, and conueyd him to the gibet without the town, ſending word to thẽ within, that if they woulde not without delay render the towne, their captain ſhould incontinently be ſtrangled afore their faces: wich moued the ſoldiors ſo muche, by reaſon of the loue they bare to their old captain & gouernor, that for the deliuerãce of him and ſafegard of themſelues, they yelded the town, ſo that both he and they might departe with horſe and harneis, only in ſure cõduct & ſafetie: yet long ere this towne of Compiegne was deliuered, ſir Philip Hall which was ſent to Crotoye by the Lord Regent with .viij. C. men to beſiege it, gotte it ſodeynly by aſſault, ere the Frenchmen had eyther diſpoſed their garriſon, or appointed their lodgings.

About the ſame time ſir John de la Poole brother to the duke of Suffolk, being captain of Auranches in Normandie, aſſembled all the garriſons of the baſe marches of the coũtrey of Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, brente the ſuburbes, ſpoiled & deſtroyed the whole countrey, and hauing as many priſoners as his men myghte goe awaye with, he was encountred by the Earle of Aumale, the vicount of Narbonne, and .vj. M. Frenchmen, whiche finding the Engliſhmen out of araye, encombred with carriage of their great ſpoyle, ſodeynly ſet on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlew .xij. C. and toke many priſoners, as the ſaid ſir John de la Poole, ſir Jo. Baſſet, John Aufort, lieutenant of Faleyſe, Jo. Clifton, Henry Mortimer, & other to the number of .vj. C. But though the Frenchemen got here in this place, they went not away with like gain in an other: For the Baſtard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignar capitains of Courallon with a great bande made a roade into Maſconnoys, whom by chaunce Mathewe Gough, and other Engliſhemen, whiche were alſo abroade in the countrey, met and encountred. There was a ſore fyght betwene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall, but after long conflicte, the Frenchmen almoſt all were ſlain and taken, and the baſtard being wel horſed, fled, after whõ folowed vpon the ſpurres, Mathew Gough chaſing him euen to his caſtell gate, and there toke him, for the which acte he was muche prayſed of the Earle of Saliſbury (to whome he preſented the ſayd baſtard) and had not onely the rightes giuen him that belonged to the priſoner, but alſo was rewarded with a goodly courſer at the erles hands. About this ſeaſon Arthur brother to Jo. Duke of Britayne, commonly called the Earle of Richemond, hauyng neyther profite of the name, nor of the countrey, notwithſtanding that king Henrye the fifthe hadde created hym Earle of Yury in Normandie, and gaue him not only a great pencion, but alſo the whole profites of the ſame towne of Yury, yet nowe bycauſe that the Duke his brother was retourned to the parte of the Dolphyn, he lykewiſe reuolting from the Engliſhe obeyſaunce, came to the Dolphyn to Poyctiers, and there offred himſelf to ſerue him, whome the Dolphyn gladly accepted, reioyceing more therof, than if he hadde gayned an hundred thouſand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Yury, hearyng that their maiſter was ioyned wyth the Dolphyn, kept both the towne and Caſtell againſt the Duke of Bedforde, furniſhing it dayly with new mẽ, & munitiõs. The Lord Regent aduertiſed hereof, reyſed an armye of Engliſhmen and Normans to the number of xviij. C. men of armes, and .viij. M. archers and other. He hadde in his companye the Earles of Saliſbury and Suffolke, the Lordes Scales, Willoughby, and Poynyngs, Syr Reginald Grey, ſir John Faſtolfe, Sir John Saluayne, ſir Lancelot Liſle, ſir Philippe Hall, Sir John Paſheley, Sir John Gray, ſir Thomas Blunt, Sir Robert Harling, Sir William Oldhal, and many other both knightes, and Eſquyers, with whome he came before the town of Yury, which was wel defended til they within perceiued thẽſelues in daunger, by reaſon of a myne whyche the Engliſhmen made, whereuppon they yelded the Towne, but the Capitaynes of the Caſtell would not preſently render the place, howbeit they promiſed to deliuer it, if the ſame were not reſkued at a day aſſigned, by the Dolphin, or his power. Upon which promiſe, hoſtages were deliuered into the poſſeſſion of the Lorde Regent, by whoſe licence an Heraulte was ſente to the Dolphyn, to aduertiſe him of the time determined, who vnderſtanding the diſtreſſe of his frendes, incontinently ſent John Duke of Alanſon, as his lieutenant generall, the Earle Douglas, whome at their ſetting forth, hee made duke of Tourayne, and the Erle Buchquhane, as then Coneſtable of Fraunce, the Erles of Aumale, Vantadour, Tonnerre, Maulleurier, & Forreſts, the Vicountes of Narbonne, and Touars, the lordes of Grauile, Gaules, Malicorn, Manny, Ballay, Fountayns, Mountforte, and many other noble knights and eſquiers, to the number of fiftene thouſand Frenchmen and Britons, beſydes .v. thouſand Scots, whome the Earle Douglas had lately tranſported out of Scotlande.

This royall Armye approched wythin two myles of Yury, but when the Duke of Alanſon vnderſtode by ſuche as hee hadde ſente to viewe the conduit of the Engliſhmen, that hee coulde not get any aduauntage by aſſayling them (although the Dolphyn had giuen him ſtraight commaundement to fight with the Regent) he retyred backe with his whole armie to the towne of Verneuil in Perche, that belonged to the Kyng of England, ſending worde to the gariſon, that he had diſcomfited the Engliſhe armye, and that the Regent wyth a ſmall number wyth hym by ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, had ſaued himſelfe.

Verneuil gotten from the Englishemen by crediting a lye.

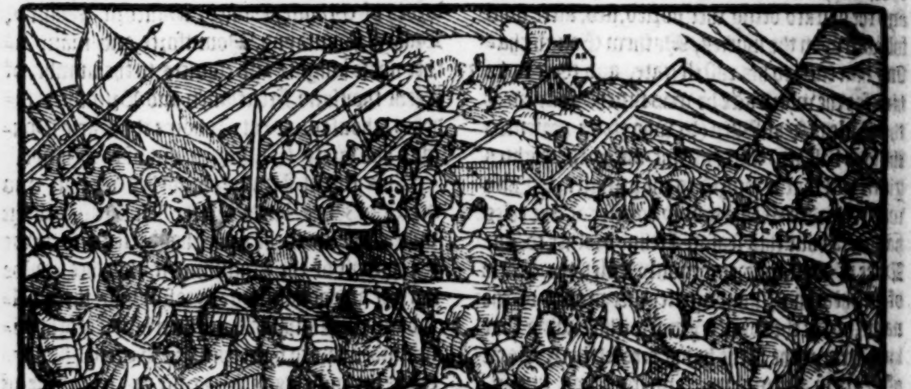
The inhabitants of Verneuil, giuing to light credite hereunto receyued the Duke of Alanſon with all his armie into the towne. In the meane tyme came the day of the reſcous of Yury, whiche for want therof was deliuered to the duke of Bedforde by the Capitaine cleped Gerarde de la Pallier, who preſenting vnto the D. of Bedford the keyes of the caſtell, ſhewed him a letter, alſo ſigned and ſealed wyth the handes and ſeales of eyghteene greate Lordes, whyche the daye before promiſed by the tenour of the ſame letter to gyue the Duke battaile, and to reyſe the ſiege.

Well (ſayd the Duke) if their heartes would haue ſerued, their puiſſance was ſufficient once to haue proffred, or to haue performed this faithfull promyſe: but ſith they diſdayne to ſeeke me, God and Sainte George willyng, I ſhall not deſiſt to follow the tract of theyr horſſes till one part of vs be by battayle ouerthrown. And herewith he ſente forth the Earle of Suffolke wyth vj. C. horſmen to eſpy the doings of the Frenchmen, & where they were lodged. The erle riding forth paſſed by Dampvile, & came to Bretueill, where he heard certain newes where the Frenchmenne hadde gotten Verneuil, and remayned there ſtill.

These newes he ſent by poaſt vnto the Duke of Bedforde, the which incontinently vpon that aduertiſement, ſette forewarde in great haſte towardes his enimies. The Frenchemen hearing of his comming, ſette their people in araye, and made all one mayne battaile without foreward or rereward, and appoynted foure hundred horſmenne Lombardes, and other to breake the araye of the Engliſhmen, either behynd, or at the ſydes, of the whiche was captaine ſir Stephan de Vinoylles, called the hyre. The D. of Bedford lykewiſe made one entier battayle, and ſuffered no man to be on horſebacke, and ſet the archers (euery one hauing a ſharp ſtake) both on the front of the battayl, and alſo on the ſides, like wings. And behynde thẽ were al their horſſes tyed together, eyther by ẏ reines, or by the tayles, with the cartes and cariages, to the defence wherof, were two thouſand archers apointed. Herewith either part being come almoſt to the ioining, the duke of Alanſon, on the one ſyde, exhorted hys people to play the men, declaring vnto them, that the concluſion of this battaile, ſhuld eyther deliuer them out of vile ſeruitude, or place them in the vale of bondage. On the other ſide, ẏ duke of Bedforde to encorage his mē willed them to remēber how oft they hadde ſubdued thoſe theyr aduerſaries in battaile (with whom they ſhould nowe cope) for the moſte part, euer being the leſſe number againſt ẏ greater. Agayn, he declared how neceſſarie it was to tame ẏ bold attempts of the preſumptuous Dolphyn now in the beginning, leſt if the fyre were ſuffred ſtill to flame, as it had begon, they ſhould ſcant haue water to quenche it.

The ordering of their battayles.

Many wordes he vttered, to put them in hope of good ſucceſſe and victorie. But ſkarce had he ended his exhortation, when the Engliſhmenne ruſhed forth, and boldly ſet on their enimies, crying Saint George Bedford, and the Frenchmen lykewyſe cryed Montioy Saint Denys. Then began the battaile right fierce on both ſydes continuing for the ſpace of. iij. houres in doubtfull balance, Fortune ſhewing hir ſelfe ſo equal, that no herault coulde determine to whether part ſhe was more fauourable: but at lengthe after that thoſe foure hundred horſemen, whiche were appoynted, as ye haue heard, to breake the arraye of the Engliſhmen, had paſſed thorough on the one ſyde vnto the place where the caryages and horſes ſtood, and coulde not paſſe further, by reaſon of the fierce ſhot of the Engliſh bowes, they falling to the ſpoyle made a bande, and therwith departed. Thoſe Archers then that were appointed to keepe the cariages, being nowe at libertie, came forwarde, and ſo fiercely ſhot at the thickeſt preaſe of theyr enimies fyghting on foote, that in the ende they were not able longer to endure, but were borne downe by fyne force, and ſo vanquiſhed.



The battayle of Vernoyle.

Thys battayle was foughte the eyght and twentieth of Auguſte in the yeare of our Lorde a thouſande foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battaile were ſlayn of the Frenchmen the erles of Aumarle, Ventadour, Foreſt, Mary, the Lordes Grauile, Gaules, Fountaines, Amboys, Touars, Mounteny, Combreſte, Boynell, Tumble, and Poiſy, beſide. iij. C. knights Alſo the Vicount Narbonne, whoſe body was hanged on a gibbet, bycauſe he was one of the murtherers of the duke of Burgoin. Of Scots alſo were ſlaine, Archibald earle Douglas, that was made as before is mentioned duke of Touraine, Iames Douglas ſon to the ſayd Archibald earle of Wigton, Iohn earle of Boughen newly made Coneſtable of Fraunce, ſir Alexander Meldrin, ſir Henry Balglauie, ſir Iohn Sterling, William of Homelſdon, ſir Iames Gray, ſir Roberte Kanden, ſir Alexander Linſaye, ſir Robert Stewarde, ſir Robert Swinton, and. xxvij. C. Scots of name and armes, beſide other: ſo that in this battaile were ſlaine by report of Montioy king at armes in Frāce, and the Engliſhe Herraultes there preſent, of Frenchemen, and Scottes. ix. M. & vij. C. and of Engliſhemen. xxj. C. but no man of name, ſauing. v. yong Eſquiers. And there were taken priſoners, Iohn duke of Alanſon, the baſtarde of Alanſon, the Lorde of Faiett, the L. of Horinit, ſir Piers Hariſon, ſir Lois de Gaucourte, ſir Roberte Bruſſet, ſir Iohn Turnebull a Scot, and. ij. C. gentlemenne. beſide cōmon ſouldiors. The Frenchemen within Vernoil, ſeeing the Dolphins armye thus ouerthrowen, deliuered the towne to the Regent, their liues ſaued. Then was ſir Phillip Hall, appointed capitaine there, and the Lorde Regent retourned, and came to Roan, and after to Paris.

Fiue thouſande ſaithe Aemilius, but Nicholas Giles ſaieth there died but fowre thouſand on both partes.

Dudley and Charleton two of the engliſhe nobilitie were ſlaine at this battaile, as Iacob Maire ſaithe.

The Dolphin that called himſelfe Kyng of Fraunce, was ſore amaſed with the ouerthrow of his army, and no merualle: for he was driuen out of all the countries in manner, that apperteined to the crowne of Fraunce and might reſort to none except to Bourbonois, Auuergn, Berry, Poictow, Touraine, a parte of Aniow, and Languedoc: yet to ſhewe himſelfe as king, he erected his court of Parliament, his chauncerie and al other courts in the citie of Poictiers, and there eſtabliſhed hys great ſeale, wyth all due circumſtaunces thereto apperteyning: whiche there continued the ſpace of. xiiij. yeares togither, and then was remoued to Paris, after that he had got poſſeſſion of that citie, and expulſed the Engliſhemen, as after ſhall appeare. The Duke of Bedforde lying at Paris, ſente the Lorde Scales, ſir Iohn Montgomerie, ſir Io. Faſtolf, with two thouſand mē to conquer the countries of Aniow, & Maine, vnto whom were rendered without aſſaulte, the ſtrong caſtels of Beaumont le Vicount, Teune, Silly, Oſce, Courcericrs, Rouſſy, Vaſſe, Couetemenant, and twentye other, whyche I doe heere paſſe ouer.

The Lorde Scales ſent to conquere Aniow & Maine

Suche was then the opinion conceyued of the Engliſhe puiſſaunce, ſo ofte tried, proued, and aſſayed, that the Frenchemen thought that the Engliſhemen woulde and ſhoulde haue all things, whyche they eyther wiſhed or enterpriſed.

The Earle of Saliſbury, with the ſayde Lorde Scales, and the other capitaines before named, were appointed wyth an army of ten thouſande men, to beſiege the riche and ſtrong citie of Mans, the chief citie of al ẏ country of Maine. The Engliſhemenne comming before that Citie, made their approches, and planted their battery to the walles, ſo that with the ſhot of their great peeces (whyche kinde of engins beefore that time had not bene muche ſeene nor hearde off in Fraunce) the Citie was within a fewe dayes, diſpoiled of all hir Towers and outwarde defences.

The Citizens of Mans, and the ſouldiours within, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtood, and knewe not how to remedy the matter, offered the Towne vppon this condition, that all perſons which woulde tary within the towne might abide, and all that woulde departe with horſe and harneſſe only, ſhoulde be permitted: whiche offers were accepted, and the Towne rendred, whereof the Earle made capitaine the Earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenaunt Syr Iohn Faſtolfe.

Mans deliuered to the Engliſhemen.

After this, the Earle of Saliſburye beſieged the faire Towne of Sainct Suſan, whereof was capitaine one Ambroſe de Lore, a right valiant chiefetain. The Erle cauſed the towne to bee aſſaulted at his firſte comming to it, but he loſte more than he gained, and therefore lefte off his aſſaults, and cauſed a trenche to be caſte aboute the Towne, and ſo planted his battery, by force whereof hee ouerthrewe the walles in ſuche ſorte that the captaine offered for himſelfe and his ſouldiors. 20000. crownes, ſo that they might departe in their doublettes onely, whiche ſumme bycauſe winter approched was accepted, and the towne yelded.

Of this Towne Sir Iohn Popham was made Capitaine. Then the Earle wente to Maine la Iubez, which towne after fiue wekes ſiege was yelded, and appointed to the keeping of ſir Iohn Montgomerye knighte. After the feaſte of the Purification of our Lady, the erle of Saliſbury beſieged the caſtel de la Fert Barnarde, during whiche ſiege a ſale was made of the towne of Alanſon being in the engliſhemens poſſeſſion by a Gaſcoigne that was one of the gariſon there, but this ſale being opened to the Erle of Saliſbury by the ſame Gaſcoine, at the daye appointed, the Lorde Willoughby and ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, with. ij. M. men were ſent to encounter with the buiers of that town, ſo that when Charles de Williers chiefe marchãt of this enterpriſe, came early in a morning with. ij. C. horſemen, and. iij. C. footemen, and approched the town, abiding for the Gaſcoigne, ere he was aware, the Engliſhmen had cõpaſſed him and his company rounde aboute, and ſetting vpon the frenchmen, ſlew and tooke all the whole number of them, ſaue Peter Dãthenazie and. xxv. other, which by the ſwiftnes of their horſes, ſaued themſelues. After this cõflicte ended, the lord Willoughby retourned to the erle of Saliſbury, lying ſtill at ſiege before the towne de le Fert Bernarde, which ſhortly after was rendred vp into the Earle of Saliſburies handes, to whom the lord Regent gaue it, to enioy to him and his heires for euer. Beſide this, the ſaid earle partly by aſſault, partly by compoſition tooke diuers other, as S. Kales, where he made captaine Richarde Gethin eſquier: Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Mathewe Goughe: Guerlande, of yͤ which he aſſigned ruler Iohn Banaſter: Malicorne, wherof he made captaine Wil. Glaſdale eſquier: Liſle Soubz Boulton, whereof was made captain ſir Lancelot Liſle knight: Loupelland, wherof was made captain Henry Brãche: Montſeur, of yͤ which was made captaine ſir Wil. Oldehall knight: la Suze, was aſſigned to yͤ keping of Iohn Suffolk eſquier. And beſide this, aboue. xl. caſtels & piles were ouerthrowen & deſtroyed. The newes herof reported in Englande, cauſed great reioyſing among the people, not only for the conqueſt of ſo many towns & fortreſſes, but alſo for that it had pleſed god to giue thẽ victory in a pitched field: wherfore general proceſſions were apointed to render vnto god humble thankes, for his fauor ſo beſtowed vpon thẽ.

General proceſſions after victorie.

This yere after Eaſter, the king called his highe court of parliament at Weſtminſter, by aduiſe of the peeres, and comming to the parliament houſe himſelfe, he was conueyd through the citie vpon a great courſer, with great triumphe, the people flocking into yͤ ſtreetes to beholde the childe, whom they iudged to haue the liuely Image, purtrature, and countenaũce of his father, & like to ſuccede him, & be his heire in all princely qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aſwell as his vndoubted inheritor in his realms, ſigniories and dominions.

A ſubſidie.

In this parliamẽt was granted to the K. a ſubſidy of. xij d. the pound, towards yͤ maintenaũce of his warres, of al marchandiſe, cõming in or going out of the realme, aſwell of engliſhmen as ſtrãgers.

The prince of Portingale cõming to London.

During which parliament came to Londõ, Peter duke of Quimb, & ſonne to the K. of Portingale, couſin germain remoued to the K. which of yͤ duke of Exceter & yͤ biſhop of Winchester his vncles was highly feaſted, he was alſo elected into the order of the garter. During yͤ ſame ſeaſon Edmũd Mortimer, the laſte earle of Marche, of that name (which long time had bin reſtreined frõ his libertie, & finally waxed lame) deceaſſed without iſſue, whoſe inheritaunce deſcended to the lorde Richard Plantagenet, ſonne and heire to Richard erle of Cambridge, beheaded, as before ye haue hearde at the towne of Southampton. In the time of this parliament, alſo was ſir Iohn Mortimer, couſin to yͤ ſame erle, either for deſerte or malice, attainted of treſon, & put to execution, of whoſe deathe no ſmall ſlaunder aroſe amongſt yͤ cõmon people. After al theſe things done in England & in Fraunce, Humfrey duke of Glouceſter (who had married the Lady Iaquet, or Iaqueline of Bauiere, cõteſſe of Heynault, Holland, & Zelãd: notwithſtanding ſhe was coupled in marriage afore to the Duke of Brabãt, as yet liuing, and had continued with him a long ſpace) paſſed nowe yͤ ſea with yͤ ſaid lady, & went to Mons or Bergen in Heinault, where the more part of the people of that countrey, came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, as vnto their ſoueraine lord, in right of his ſaid wife, the lady Iaquet or Iaquelin: with which doing Iohn duke of Brabant hir former huſbãd was greatly moued, and likewiſe the Duke of Burgoign, being great frend to the ſame duke of Brabant, was muche offended: but firſt bycauſe of olde familiaritie, he wrote louingly to the duke of Gloceſter, requiring him to reforme himſelfe according to reaſon, and to forſake his vngodly life, bothe in keping of an other mans wife, and alſo in ſeeking to vſurpe other mens right and titles. Hervpon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length whẽ the Duke of Burgoine perceiued that the duke of Gloceſter ment to purſue his quarrell, & to make war againſt the duke of Brabant, he tooke part wyth yͤ duke of Brabant ſo earneſtly that he conſented to fight with the duke of Gloceſter body to body within liſtes in defence of the duke of Brabantes quarell, & further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres againſt yͤ duke of Gloceſter, with all his puiſſance, in ſo muche that in yͤ end (after the duke of Gloceſters return into England) yͤ duke of Brabãt recouered all the towns in Heynault, whiche the Lady Iaquet or Iaquelin held againſt him: & further the ſame lady was by compoſition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons vnto the duke of Burgoigne, who cauſed hir to be conueied vnto Gant, from whence ſhe made ſhift to eſcape into Hollande, where ſhe was obeied as counteſſe of yͤ countrey, & then made warre in hir own defence agaynſt the Dukes of Burgoigne & Brabant, the which ſought to ſpoile hir of al hir townes and landes: & further procured Pope Martine the .v. before whome the matter was brought, to giue ſentence that the firſt matrimony with the duke of Brabant was good & effectuall, and the ſeconde eſpouſels celebrated with the duke of Glouceſter, to be vnlawfull. But in the meane time, the L. Fitz Walter being ſent ouer to the aide of the lady Iaquet or Iaquelin, with a power of engliſhemen, landed in Zelande, neere vnto the town of Zerixe, againſt whome came the duke of Burgoign, and encountring with them and other ſuch Hollanders and Zelanders, as were ioyned with them nere to a place called Brewers hauen, there diſcomfited them, ſo that of engliſhmen Holanders and Zelanders that were with the ſaid lorde Fitz Walter, there were ſlaine .vij. or .viij. hundred, and the reſidue chaſed to the water.

Anno re. 4.

It length, when the duke of Glouceſter vnderſtode the ſentence pronounced againſt hym by the Pope, he beganne to waxe weary of hys wife the ſaide Lady Iaquet, by whom he neuer had profit, but loſſe, and toke to his wife by a ſeconde marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lorde Cobham of Sterberow, which before (as the fame went) was his ſoueraine Ladye and paramoure, to his greate ſlaunder and reproche.

Alai Berri. 6.

A little beefore thys tyme, Syr Thomas Rampſton, ſir Phillippe Branche, ſir Nicholas Burdet, and other engliſhmen to the number of .v.C. men of war, repaired and fortified the towne of ſaint Iames de Beuuron, ſituate on the fronters of Normandie towardes Britaine, within half a league of the duke of Britaines grounde, with whome as then they had open warre, and ſo began to do many diſpleaſures to his people. Wherevpon Arthur Earle of Richemont and Iury, brother to the ſayde duke, & lately before created conſtable of Fraũce, aſſembled an huge power of men to the number of .xl. M. as ſome haue writtẽ, & with the ſame came before the ſayd towne of ſaint Iames de Beuron, and planted his ſiege very ſtrongly about it, enforcing with his greate ordinaunce to ouerthrow the walles. And one day amongſt other, he determined to giue the aſſault, and ſo did, the whiche continued a long ſpace very hot and earneſt. The Bretons Bretonantes were come downe into a lowe bottome, where there was a little ponde or fiſhe poole, and they muſte nedes paſſe by a ſtreite way to come to the walles in greate danger. On that ſide of the town was a little Boulleuert whiche Syr Nicholas Burdet kept, hauing with hym a .lx. or .lxxx. fighting men, and ouer againſt the ſame Boulleuert there was a gate well furniſhed alſo wyth Engliſhe ſouldiors, ſo that the Bretons which came downe into the ditches in greate number to giue the aſſault, heard on either ſide them, the Engliſhemen (within the ſaide Boulnert, and gate) make a great noiſe, in crying Saliſbury, and Suffolke, with the which cry, the Bretons being maruellouſly aſtonied, began to recuile in greate diſorder. And therewith the ſaid ſir Nicholas Bourdet iſſued forth vppon them, and purſuing them ryghte valiantly, ſlewe them downe wythout fynding any greate defence, ſo that there died of them what by the ſworde, and what by drowning in the ſaide poole, aboute a vij. or .viij. C. and to the number of .l. were taken priſoners. And beſide this, thoſe engliſhmen gained an .xviij. ſtanderts and one baner. Incontinently the newes hereof were reported to the conſtable of Fraunce, who was buſy at the aſſault on the other ſide of the towne, whereat he was ſore diſpleaſed, and no leſſe amazed, ſo that hee cauſed the retreit to bee ſounded, for all the ſiege on that ſide towarde the poole, was already rayſed. After this, vpon counſell taken amongſt the frenchmen, it was determined that they ſhoulde diſlodge: And ſo aboute the middeſt of the nexte night, the Conſtable and al the reſidue of his people departed towarde Fougieres, leauing behind them greate plentie of Artillerie bothe greate and ſmall, with vittailes, and all their other prouiſions: as .xiiij. greate gunnes and .xl. barells of pouder. iij.C. pypes of wine. ij.C. pipes of biſket and flower. ij.C. frailes of figs and reaſyns, and .v.C. barelles of herring. Somewhat before this ſeaſon fell a great deuiſion in the realm of England, which of a ſparcle was like to haue growen to a great flame: For whether the Biſhop of Wincheſter called Henry Beaufort, ſonne to Iohn duke of Lancaſter by his thirde wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfrey duke of Glouceſter, protector of the Realme, or whether the Duke diſdained at the riches and pompous eſtate of the Biſhop, ſure it is that the whole Realme was troubled with them and their partakers: ſo that the citizens of London were faine to kepe daily and nightly watches, and to ſhut vp their ſhops for feare of that which was doubted to haue enſued of their aſſembling of people about them. The archebiſhoppe of Canterbury and the Duke of Quimbre, called the prince of Portingal, rode eight times in one daye betwene the two parties, and ſo the matter was ſtaied for a time. But the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter to cleare himſelfe of blame ſo farre as hee myght, and to charge hys nephew the Lorde protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the Regent of Fraunce, the tenor whereof enſueth.

XX.M. ſaithe Nichol Gilles.

Saint Iames de Beuron beſieged.

Sir Nicholas Burdet.

Enguerant de Monſtrellet.

Diſcention betvvixt the duke of Glouceſter and the Byshop of VVincheſter.

RIght high and mightie Prince, & my right noble, & after one, lieueſt lorde, I recõmende me vnto you with all my hart. And as you deſire the welfare of the king our ſoueraigne lord and of his realmes of Englande and Fraunce, your owne healthe, and ours alſo, ſo haſte you hither. For by my truthe if you tarrie, we ſhall put this lande in aduenture with a fielde, ſuche a brother you haue here. God make him a good man. For youre wiſedome knoweth, that the profit of Frãce ſtandeth in the welfare of England. &c. Written in great haſt on Allhallown euen. By your true ſeruaunt to my liues end. Henry Wincheſter.

The duke of Bedford being ſore greeued and vnquieted with theſe newes, conſtituted the erle of Warwicke, whyche was lately come into Fraunce with vj. M. men, hys lieutenaunt in the Frenche dominions, and in the Duchie of Normandie, and ſo with a ſmall companie, he with the Ducheſſe his wife, returned againe ouer the ſeas into Englande, and the .x. daye of January, he was with all ſolemnitie receyued into London, to whome the Cityzens gaue a paire of Baſins of Syluer and gylte, and a thouſand markes in money. And from Londõ hee roade to Weſtminſter, and was lodged in the Kings pallace. The .xxv. day of Marche after his comming to London, a Parliament beganne at the towne of Leiceſter: where the Duke of Bedforde openly rebuked the lordes in generall, bicauſe that they in the time of warre through their priuie malice and inward grudge hadde almoſte moued the people to warre, and commotion, in whiche time all men oughte or ſhoulde be of one mind, harte and conſent: requiring them to defende, ſerue and dreade their ſoueraigne Lord Kyng Henry, in performing his conqueſt in Fraunce, whiche was in manner brought to concluſion. In this parliament the Duke of Glouceſter laide certaine articles to the biſhop of Wincheſters charge, the whiche with the aunſwers hereafter doe enſue.

A parliament holden at Leiceſter.

The Articles of accuſation and accorde betweene the lorde of Glouceſter, and the lorde of VVincheſter.

Articles ſette forthe by the Duke of Glouceſter, againſte Henrye Biſhop of VVincheſter.

HEre enſueth the Articles, as the Kynges counſaile hathe conceyued, the whiche the high and mighty prince my Lord of Glouceſter hathe ſurmiſed vpon my Lorde of Wincheſter Chauncellour of Englande with the anſwere to the ſame.

Fyrſt, wheras he being protectour, and defendour of this land, deſired, the Tower to bee opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richarde Woduile Eſquier hauing at that time the chardge of the keping of the Tower, refuſed his deſire, & kept the ſame Tower againſte hym vnduely and againſte reaſon, by the commaundement of my ſayd lorde of Wincheſter: and afterwarde in approuing of the ſaid refuſe, hee receiued the ſayd Woduile, and cheriſhed hym againſt the ſtate and worſhip of the kyng, and of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter.

2 Item, my ſaid lord of Wincheſter without the aduiſe and aſſent of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter, or of the Kings counſaile, purpoſed and diſpoſed hym to ſet hand on the Kings perſone, & to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that hee was in, to Windſore, to the intent to put him in gouernaunce as him liſte.

3 Item, that where my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter, to whome of all perſones, that ſhoulde be in the lande, by the way of nature and birth, it belongeth to ſee the gouernance of the kings perſon, informed of the ſaide vndue purpoſe of my ſaid L. of Wincheſter, declared in the article next abouesaid, and in letting thereof determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue prouided as the cauſe required. My ſaid Lorde of Wincheſter vntruely and againſt the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter going to the king, purpoſing his deathe, in caſe that hee hadde gone that way, ſet men of armes and archers at the ende of London Bridge nexte Southwarke: and in forbarring of the kings high way, let drawe the chaine of the ſtoupes there, and ſet vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of Bulwarkes: and ſet men in Chambers, Cellers, and Windows with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring to finall deſtruction my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſters perſon, aſwell as of thoſe that then ſhoulde come wyth hym.

4 Item, my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter ſaith and affirmeth, that our ſoueraigne Lorde hys brother that was king Henry the fift, tolde him on a time, when our ſoueraigne Lorde being prince was lodged in the pallace of Weſtminſter in the greate chamber, by the noiſe of a ſpaniell, there was on a night a man ſpied and taken behinde a tapet of the ſayde Chamber, the whyche man was delyuered to the Earle of Arundell, to bee examined vppon the cauſe of his being there at that time, the which ſo examined, at that time confeſſed that hee was there by the ſtirring vp and procuring of my ſaide Lorde of Wincheſter, ordeined to haue ſlaine the ſaide Prince there in his bedde: Wherefore the ſaide Earle of Arundell let ſacke him forthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

5 Item, our ſoueraigne Lorde that was, Kyng Henry the fift ſaide vnto my ſayd Lord of Glouceſter, that his father Kyng Henry the

fourth liuing, and viſited then greately wyth ſickneſſe of the hand of God, my ſaide Lord of Wincheſter ſaide vnto the king (Henry the fift then being prince) that the king his father ſo viſited with ſickneſſe was not perſonable, and therefore not diſpoſed to come in conuerſation and gouernance of the people, and for ſo much, counſailed him to take the gouernance & crown of this lande vpon hym.

The aunſwere of the Biſhop.

HEre enſue the aunſwers to the accuſations made by my Lorde of Wincheſter Chauncellour of Englande, vnto the cauſes and matters of heauineſſe, declared in the Articles againſt him by my Lorde of Glouceſter.

1 Fyrſt as of the refuſe made vnto my lord of Glouceſter, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commaundement of my ſaide lorde of Wincheſter, he aunſwereth, that in the preſence of my ſaide Lord of Glouceſter before his comming out of his countrey of Heinault, for cauſes ſuche as were thought reaſonable, it ſeemeth lawfull that the Tower ſhoulde haue bin notably ſtored and kepte with victuall, howbeit it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewiſe after that my ſaid lord of Glouceſter, was gone into his ſaid countrey of Heinault, for ſeditious and odious billes and languages, caſte & vſed in the citie of London, ſounding of inſurrection and rebellion againſte the kings peace, and deſtruction aſwell of diuers eſtates of this lande as ſtrangers being vnder the defence, in ſo muche that in doubt thereof, ſtraungers in greate number fledde the lande: And for the more ſure keping of the ſaid Tower, Richarde Wooduile eſquier ſo truſted with our ſoueraigne lord the king that deade is (as well ye knowe) and alſo chamberlaine and counſellor vnto my Lorde of Bedforde, wyth a certaine number of defenſible perſons aſſigned vnto hym, was made deputie there by the aſſent of the kings counſell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the ſafegarde thereof, and ſtraightlie chardged by the ſaide counſell, that during that tyme of his ſayde chardge, he ſhoulde not ſuffer any man to be in the Tower ſtronger than hymſelfe, without ſpeciall charge or commaundement of the king by the aduiſe of his counſell.

2 Item, that after, ſoone vppon the comming of my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter into this lande from his countrey of Heinault, the ſaide lords of the kings counſell were informed, that my ſaid Lorde of Glouceſter, grudged with the ſaide manner of enforcing the Tower, and let ſay to them of London, that hee had well vnderſtande that they had bin heauily threatned for the time of his abſence, and otherwiſe than they ſhould haue bin, if he had bin in this land. Wherfore hee was right euill contented, and eſpecially of the ſaid forcing of the Tower, ſet vpon them in manner of a chaſt villayne, conſideryng the good equitie and truthe that they had alwayes kepte vnto the king, offering them therevpon remedy if they woulde.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieuetenaunt of the Tower by the commaundement of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter broughte vnto him Frier Randolphe, the which he had long before confeſſed treaſon done by hym againſte the Kings perſon that deade is, for the whiche knowledge, he was put to bee kept in the ſayde Tower, and ſtraightly commaunded vnder greate paine giuen vnto the ſaid Scot, to kepe him ſtraightly, and ſurely, and not to lette him out of the ſaide Tower wythout commaundement of the Kyng by the aduiſe of his counſell. The whiche Frier Randolphe, my ſaide Lord of Glouceſter kept then with himſelf (not witting to the ſaide Scot) as he declared vnto my ſayde Lorde of Wincheſter, ſoone after that he had broughte the ſaide Frier Randolph vnto my Lorde of Glouceſter, ſaying vnto my Lorde of Wincheſter, that he was vndone but hee helped hym, and expreſſed, as for cauſe of the withhoulding of Frier Randolphe: And ſaying moreouer, that when hee deſired of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter, the deliueraunce of the ſaide Frier Randolphe, to leade him againe vnto the Tower, or ſufficient warrant for hys diſchardge, my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter aunſwered him, that his commaũdement was ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for hym. In the whiche thing aboueſaid, it was thought to my lord of Wincheſter, that my ſaid lord of Glouceſter, tooke vpon hym further than his auctoritie ſtretched vnto, and cauſed him to doubt and dreade leaſte that he would haue proceeded further. And at ſuche time as the ſaide Wooduile came vnto hym, to aſke his aduiſe & counſell, of lodging my ſaid L. of Gloceſter in yͤ Tower, he aduiſed and charged him, that before he ſuffred my ſaide lord of Glouceſter, or any perſon lodge therein ſtronger than himſelfe he ſhoulde puruey him a ſufficiẽt warrant therof, of the K. by the aduiſe of his counſell.

Fryer Randolph.

4 Item, as to the ſaid article of the foreſaide cauſes of heauineſſe, my ſaid lord chauncellour anſwereth, that hee neuer purpoſed to ſet hande on the kings perſõ, nor to remoue him, or that he ſhoulde be remoued, or put in any manner of gouernaũce, but by the aduiſe of the kings coũſell. For hee coulde not perceyue any manner of goodnes or of aduãtage yͭ might haue growne to him therof, but rather great perill & charge,

and herof my ſaide lord of Wincheſter, is ready to make proofe, in time and place conueniẽt.

5 Item, as to the. iij. article of the foreſaid cauſes and heauines, my ſaide lorde Chauncelor anſwereth, ỹ he was ofte & diuers times warned, by diuers credible perſõs, aſwell at the time of the kings laſt parliamẽt, holdẽ at Weſtminſter, as before & ſith, ỹ my ſaid L. of Glouceſter, purpoſed him bodily harm, & was warned ther of, and counſelled by the ſaid perſons, & that diuers times, to abſtaine hym from comming to Weſtminſter, as my ſaid L. of Wincheſter declared vnto my ſaid lorde of Glouceſter.

6 Item, that in ỹ time of ỹ ſaid parliament, diuers perſons of low eſtate of the citie of Lõdon in great number, aſſẽbled on a day vpon ỹ Wharfe, at the Crane of the Vintrie, & wiſhed & deſired that they had there ỹ perſon of my L. of Wincheſter, ſaying, that they would haue throwen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to ſwimme with wings. Wherof billes & language of ſlaũder and threatnings were caſt and ſpoken in the ſaid citie by my ſaide L. the Chauncellor, which cauſed him to ſuppoſe that they that ſo ſaid and did, willed and deſired his deſtruction, although they had no cauſe.

7 Item, that after ỹ cõming to Lõdon of ſir Rafe Botiller, & maiſter Lewes, ſẽt frõ my L. of Bedford, to ỹ reſt of ỹ lords of the counſell, they being informed, that my ſaid L. of Glouceſter did beare diſpleaſure to my ſaide lorde of Wincheſter, they came to the ſaid L. of Glouceſter to his Inne, ỹ ſecõd Sonday next before Alhalonday, & ther opened vnto him, ỹ they had knowledge and vnderſtãding of ỹ ſaid diſpleaſure, praying him to let them knowe if hee bare ſuch diſpleaſure againſt my ſaide L. of Wincheſter, and alſo the cauſes therof. At the which time (as my ſaid L. of Wincheſter was afterwards informed) my ſaid Lorde of Glouceſter affirmed that he was heauy towarde hym, and not without cauſes that peraduenture he wold put in writing.

8 Item, that after the Monday nexte before Allhallon day laſte paſte in the nyght, the people of the ſaid citie of Londõ by the cõmaundement of my ſaid lorde of Glouceſter, as it was ſaid: For what cauſe my lord the Chauncelor, wiſte not, aſſembled in the citie, armed & arraied, and ſo continued all the night. Amongſt diuers of the which (the ſame night by what excitation, my ſaid L. the Chauncellor wiſt not) ſeditious & heauy language was vſed and in eſpeciall againſt ỹ perſõ of my ſaid L the Chancellor. And ſo ỹ ſame Monday at night my ſaid lord of Glouceſter ſent vnto ỹ Innes of Court at London, charging thẽ of the Courte dwelling in the ſame, to be with him vpon the morrowe at eighte of the clocke in their beſt array.

9. Item, that on the morrowe being Tueſdaie next folowing, early my ſaid L. of Glouceſter, ſent vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the ſaid citie of London to ordaine hym to the nũber of. iij, C. perſons on horſe backe, to accompany hym to ſuch place as hee diſpoſed hym to ride, whiche (as it was ſaid) was vnto the king, to the intẽt to haue his perſon & to remoue him from the place that he was in without aſſent or aduiſe of the Kings counſell, the whiche thing was thought vnto my ſaid lord the Chauncellor that hee ought in no wiſe to haue done, nor had not bin ſene ſo before.

10 Item, that my ſaid Lord the Chancellor, conſidering the things aboueſaid, and doubting therfore of perills that might haue enſued therof, intending to puruey theragainſt, & namely for his owne ſurety and defence, according to ỹ lawe of nature, ordeined to let that no force of people ſhuld come on the bridge of Lõdon towards him, by the whiche he or his might haue bin endaungered or noyed, not intending in any wiſe bodily harme, vnto my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter, nor to any other perſon, but only his owne deſẽce, in eſchuing ỹ perill abouesaid.

11 Item, as toward the fourthe & fifte of the ſaid articles, my L. the Chauncellor anſwereth that he was euer true to all thoſe that were his ſoueraigne lords and raigned vpon him, and ỹ he neuer purpoſed treaſon or vntruthe againſte any of their perſons, and in eſpeciall againſt the perſon of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord Henry the fift. The whiche conſidering the great wiſdom, truthe, & manhode that all men knewe in hym, hee woulde not for the time that he was kyng, haue ſet on my ſaid lord the Chaũcelor ſo greate truſt as he did, if he had foũd or thought in him ſuch vntruthe. The which thing my ſaid lord ỹ Chaũcellor offered to declare & ſhewe, as it belongeth to a man of his eſtate to doe, requiring therevpon my lord of Bedford and all ỹ lords ſpirituall and temporall in this parliament, that it might be ſeene that there were Iudges conuenient in this caſe, that they woulde doe hym ryght, or elſe that hee might haue leaue of the king by their aduiſe to goe ſue his right, before him that ought to be his Iudge.

And as toward the letter ſent by my lord of Wincheſter vnto my lorde of Bedforde, of the which the tenor is before reherſed, of the which my Lorde of Glouceſter complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpoſe of my ſaid lorde of Wincheſter, as toward the aſſembling of the people, and gathering of a fielde in the Kinges land, in troubling thereof, and againſt the kings peace: my ſaid lorde of Wincheſter anſwereth, that if his ſaid letters duely vnderſtande, and in ſuch wiſe as he vnderſtood & ment in the writing of them, it may not reaſonably be gathered and takẽ, yͭ my ſaid lord of Wincheſt. intended to gather any field, or aſſemble people, in troubling of the kings land, & againſt yͤ kings peace, but rather purpoſed to acquite him to the K. in his truth, & to kepe the reſt and peace in the kings land, & to eſchue rebelliõ, diſobediẽce & all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the ſayde letter, he calleth my ſayd Lord of Bedford his lieueſt Lord after one, that is the king, whom he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will keepe.

13 Moreouer, in the ſaid letter he deſireth yͤ cõming home of my L. of Bed. for yͤ welfare of the K. & of his realms of Engl. & of France, whiche ſtãde principally in keping of his reſt & peace, & praieth my ſaid L. of Bedf. to ſpeed his cõming into Engl. in eſchuing of ieopardie of the land, & of a field which he dread him, might haue folowed, if he had lõg taried: As toward thoſe wordes, and ye tarie, we ſhal put this land in aduenture wͭ a field, ſuch a brother ye haue here &c. My ſaid L. of Wincheſter ſaith, the ſoth is: before or he wrote yͤ ſaid letter by the occaſion of certaine ordinãces made by yͤ Maior & Aldermen of Lõdon againſt the exceſſiue taking of maſons, Carpenters, tylers, plaſterers, and other laborers for their dayly iorneys, and approued by the kynges deuice & counſel, there were caſt many heuineſſes & ſeditious billes vnder the names of ſuch labourers, thretning riſing with many thouſands, and menacing of eſtates of the land, and likewiſe ſeditious and euil language ſowen & ſo cõtinued & likely to haue enſued, of purpoſe & intẽt of diſobedience & rebellion. To the redreſſing of which, it ſemed to my lord yͤ Chãcellor, yͭ my ſaid lord of Glouceſt. did not his indeuor nor diligence yͭ he might haue ſhewed: for lack of which diligence, they that were diſpoſed to do diſobeyſance were encouraged and emboldned, ſo that it was lyke, that they ſhoulde haue made a gathering, and that the King and his true ſubiects ſhoulde haue bin compelled to haue made a field to haue withſtand them, the which field making, had bin aduenturing of this lande, and in tokening that it was neuer my ſaid Lorde Chancellors intente, to gather no field, but as truth moſt ſtirred hym againſt ſuch as riotouſly woulde make ſuch aſſemblie againſte our ſoueraigne Lorde, and the weale of this lande, hee deſired ſo haſtely the cõming of my ſayde L. of Bedford, the whiche hee woulde in no wiſe haue ſo greatly deſired, if hee woulde haue purpoſed him vnto anye vnlawfull making of a field, for he wiſt well, that my ſayd Lord of Bedford would moſt ſharply haue chaſtiſed, and puniſhed all thoſe that ſo woulde anye riotous aſſemble make. When this aunſwere was made, the Duke cauſed this writing following, openly to be proclaymed.

BE it knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my Lorde of Bedforde, and all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, aſſembled in this preſent Parliamente, to acquite him & them, and to procede truely, iuſtly, & indifferently, without any parcialitie in any maner of matter or quarels moued or to be moued betwene my L. of Glouceſter, on that one partie, and my Lord of Wincheſter, Chancellor of Englande, on that other partie. And for ſure keping of the kings peace, it is acorded by my ſaid L. of Bedford, and by my ſayd Lordes, ſpirituall and temporall, an othe to be made in forme as followeth, that is to ſay.

The oth of the Lordes.

That my ſayd Lord of Bedford, and my ſayd Lords, ſpiritual and temporal, & each of them ſhal as farre forth as their cunnyngs and diſcretions ſuffiſen, truely, iuſtlye, and indifferently counſell and aduiſe the K. and alſo procede and acquit themſelues in all the ſayd matters, & quarels, without that they or any of them ſhall priuily and apertly make or ſhewe himſelfe to bee partie or parciall therein, not leauyng or eſchuing ſo to doe for affection, loue, nede, doubte, or dreade of any perſon or perſons. And that they ſhall in all wiſe kepe ſecret al that ſhall be cõmoned by way of counſell in the matters and quarrels aboueſayd, in the ſayd parliament, without that they or any of them ſhall by worde, writing of the king, or in anie wiſe open or diſcouer it to anie of the ſaide parties, or to any other perſon that is not of the ſaide counſaile: But if he haue a ſpeciall Comaundement or leaue thervnto of the K. or of my ſayd lord of Bedf. And that eche of thẽ ſhall with all his might and power, aſſiſte by way of counſell, or elſe ſhew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, & to the reſt of my ſaid lordes to put the ſaid parties to reaſon, and not to ſuffer that any of the ſaid parties by them, or by their aſſiſtance, procede or attempt by waye of fight againſt the kings peace: nor helpe, aſſiſt or comfort any of them therto: but lette them with al their might and power, withſtande them, and aſſiſt vnto the king, and my ſaid Lorde of Bedforde, in keeping of the Kinges peace, and redreſſing all ſuche maner of proceedyng by waye of fight or force.

The Dukes.

The Duke of Bedforde.
The Duke of Norffolke.
The duke of Exceſter.

Biſhoppes.

The Archebiſhop of Canterbury.
The Biſhop of Carlile.
The Biſhoppe of Bathe.
The Biſhoppe of Landaffe.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter.
The Biſhop of Chicheſter.
The Biſhop of Worceſter.
The Biſhop of Saint Dauids.
The Biſhop of London.
The Biſhop of Dureſme.

Earles.

The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Stafforde.
The Earle of Oxforde.

Lordes.

The Lorde Hungerforde.
The Lorde Tiptoſte.
The Lorde Poynings.
The Lorde Cromewell.
The Lorde Boroughe.
The Lorde Louell.
The Lorde Botreux.
The Lorde Clinton.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Audeley.
The Lorde Ferreis of Grouby.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Roos.
The Lorde Grey.
The Lord Grey of Ruthen.
The Lorde Fitz Walter.
The Lorde Barkeley.

Abbottes.

The Abbot of Waltham.
The Abbot Glaſtinbury.
The Abbot of S. Auguſtines in Canterbury.
The Abbot of Weſtminſter.
The Abbot of ſaint Maries in Yorke.
The Abbot of ſaint Albones not ſworne bicauſe he was not preſent.

Whiche othe in manner and fourme aboue rehearſed, as the lords aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, beeing in this Parliament at Leyceſter aſſembled, the fourth day of Marche, promiſed vpon their faith dutye and allegiaunce, which they owe to the king their ſouerain Lord, truly to obſerue and kepe, acording to the true meaning and purporte of the ſame.

The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God Amen, we Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas duke of Excester, John duke of Northfolke, Tho. Biſhop of Dureſme, Philip biſhop of Worceſter, John biſhop of Bathe, Hūfry erle of Stafford. Will. Alnwick keper of yͤ kings priuy ſeale, Rafe L. Cromwell, Arbitrators in al maner of cauſes, matters ⁊ quarrelles of heauineſſes ⁊ greuāces with all incidents, circūſtāces, dependēts, or cōnexes being ⁊ hanging betwene yͤ high ⁊ worthy prince Hūfry duke of Glouceſter on the one party, and the worſhipfull father in god Henry biſhop of Wincheſter ⁊ chauncelor of Englande on yͤ other party, by either of thē, for yͤ peaſing of the ſaide quarrels ⁊ debates taken ⁊ choſe in maner ⁊ fourme as it is contained more plainly in a compromiſe made thervpon, of the whiche the tenor enſueth in this fourme.

Memorandū yͤ .vij. day of March in yͤ fourth yere of our ſouerain L. the king Henry yͤ ſixt, yͤ high and mighty prince Hūfrey duke of Glouceſter at yͤ reuerence of god, ⁊ for the good of the king our ſoueraine lord in this land, ⁊ namely at yͤ reuerence ⁊ eſpecially at yͤ requeſt ⁊ praier, of the mighty and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put, ⁊ putteth al maner matters and quarrells indeede, with all their incidēts, circūſtaūces, dependēts ⁊ cōnexes that touchen him ⁊ his perſō, that he hath in any wiſe do, or feeleth himſelfe greued or heauy againſt my lord his vncle, my Lord of Wincheſter. Or elſe that my lord of Wincheſter findeth him greued againſt him, in as muche as they touche him or his perſon fro yͤ beginning of the worlde vnto this day. In yͤ aduiſe, ordinaūce ⁊ arbitrement of yͤ worthy father in god, Henry Archb. of Canterbury, yͤ high and noble prince Thomas duke of Exceſter, and John Duke of Northfolke, the worſhipfull father in god Tho. biſhop of Dureſm. Philip biſhop of Worceſter, John biſhop of Bathe, the noble lord Humfrey earle of Stafforde, yͤ worſhipfull perſons maſter Wylliā Alnewicke keper of the kings priuy ſeale, and Rafe lord Cromwell, promiſſing and behighting by yͤ faith of his body, and word of his princehood and kings ſon. to do, kepe, obſerue, and fulfill for him and his behalf, all that ſhall be declared, ordeined, ⁊ arbitred, by yͤ forſaid Archb. dukes biſhops, erle, keper of yͤ priuy ſeale ⁊ lord Cromwell in all matters ⁊ quarels abouesaid. Graūting alſo and promiſing ouer that, to be cōprehended in the foreſaid arbitrement, as toward putting away all heauineſſes ⁊ diſpleaſures, in any wiſe conteined, by my L. of Glouceſter againſt all thoſe that haue in any wiſe, aſſiſted, coūſelled, or fauored vnto his ſaid vncle of Wincheſter, and as toward any matters that bee touching my Lorde of Glouceſter remitteth it, and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the King and his counſell, they to deeme it by the aduiſe of his counſaile, as hym thinketh it to be done. In witneſſe of the whiche thing to this preſēt compromiſe my ſaid L. of Glouceſter hath ſubſcribed his name with his owne hand: Humfry Glouceſter. And in like forme my lord of Winch. in an other cōpromiſe hath ſubſcribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his prieſthoode to ſtand at the aduiſe, ordināce, arbitrement of the perſōs abouſaid *mutatis mutādis*.

A decree or order taken by the kings counſell for the pacifying of the quarrels and variances that were betwene the duke of Glouceſter & the Biſhop of VVincheſter.

The cauſes aforeſaid and quarrels by vs ſent, heard ⁊ diligently examined ⁊ decreed, by the aſ-

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aſſent of the ſayde parties, ordeyne and awarde, that my Lords of Glouceſter and Wincheſter, for any thing done or ſhewed by that one partie agaynſt that other, or by any other perſon or perſones, afore the date of this preſent Moneth of March, neuer hereafter take cauſes, quarels, diſpleaſures or heauineſſes, that one agaynſt the other, nor agaynſt the Counſailers adherents or fauourers of that other, for any thing or things afore this paſt. And that my ſayde Lorde of Glouceſter, be good Lorde to my ſayde Lorde of Wyncheſter, and haue him in loue and affection as his kinſman and vncle. And that my ſayde Lorde of Wyncheſter, haue to my ſayde Lorde of Glouceſter, true and ſad loue and affection, do, and be readie to doe to him ſuche ſeruice as apperteyneth of honeſtie to my ſayde Lorde of Wyncheſter and his eſtate to doe. And that eche of them be good Lorde vnto all the adherents, counſailours and fauourers of that other, and ſhew them at all tymes fauourable loue and affection, as for any thing done by them, or ſayde before the ſeuenth day of March.

And we decree, ordeyne and awarde, that my ſayd Lord of Wincheſter, in the preſence of the King our ſoueraigne Lord, my Lorde of Bedford, and my Lord of Glouceſter, and the reſidue of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and commons being in this preſent Parliament, ſay and declare in manner and forme that followeth.

My ſoueraigne Lord, I haue well vnderſtood, that I am noyſed among the ſtates of your land, how that the King our ſoueraigne Lord that was that time, being Prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Weſtminſter, by the barking of a ſpanyell, there was on a night taken behind a tapet in the ſame chamber, a man, that ſhoulde haue confeſſed, that he was there by mine excitation, and procuring to haue ſlaine the foreſayde Prince there in his bedde, wherevpon hee was ſacked, and forthwith drowned in the Thames.

And furthermore, I am accuſed, how that I ſhould haue ſtirred the K. that laſt dyed, the time alſo that hee was Prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this Realme, & the Crowne vpon him, liuing his father ẏ ſame time, being K. Through which language and noiſing, I feele my name & fame greatly emblemiſhed in diuers mens opinions, wherevpon, I take firſt God to my witneſſe, and after all the worlde, that I haue beene at all times, & am true louer, and true man, to you my ſoueraigne Lord, and ſhall be al my life. And alſo, I haue bin to my ſoueraigne L. ẏ was your father, all time of his raigne, true man, and for ſuch he tooke me, truſted me, and cheriſhed me to his liues end, and as I truſt, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor deſtructiō of his perſon, nor aſſenting to any ſuch thing, or like therto, ẏ time that hee was Prince, nor ſith in other eſtate.

And in like wiſe, I was true man to King Henry the fourth, all the time that he was my ſoueraigne Lord, and raigned vpon vs. In whiche matters, in manner of wiſe, that it liketh to your ſoueraigne Lord, for to commaund me, I am ready it to declare now. And furthermore, wheresoeuer, and when it ſhall like you, by ẏ aduice of your counſaile, to aſſigne me: wherfore I beſeeche you my ſoueraigne Lord, as humbly as I can, conſidering that there is not grounde to proceſſe, by the whiche I might be lawfully in this matter aforeſaid, be conuict, bleſſed be God, to iudge and declare me, by the aduice of all ẏ lords, ſpirituall and temporall, being in this preſent Parliament, that I am true man to you my ſoueraigne Lord, & ſith I haue bin vnto my ſoueraigne lordes ẏ were your father and graundfather, true man. Alſo to haue bin at all times that ye and your ſaid father was in eſtate of Prince, or elſe in any other eſtate, the ſaid language and noiſing notwithſtanding, and this ſame declaration, to be enacted in this your ſaid preſent Parliament.

The which wordes declared in maner as it is aboue ſaid, it ſeemeth to my ſaid Lords the arbitratours, that it is meete, that my ſaide Lorde of Wincheſter, goe from him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being preſent, bee ſingularly examined therevpon, & ſay their aduice. And if it bee aſſented by them, in maner as my ſaid Lorde of Wincheſter deſired, let him be called againe, and that then my Lord of Bedford haue theſe wordes in effect that followe.

Faire Vncle, the King my Lord, by ẏ aduice of his counſaile, hath commaunded me to ſaye to you, that he hath well vnderſtand and conſidered, all the matters whiche yee haue heere openly declared in his preſence, and therevpon, ye deſire a petition, that hee will declare you, and by the aduice and aſſent of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, being in this preſent Parliament, he declareth you a true man to him, and that ye haue ſo bin, to my Lorde his father, & Grandfather, alſo true man to my lord his father, while he was prince, or elſe in any other eſtate, the ſaid diſclander and noiſing notwithſtanding, and will that the ſayd declaration be ſo enacted in this preſent Parliament. After the which wordes thus ſaid, (as before is declared) it was decreed alſo by the ſayde Lords arbitratours, that ẏ ſaid lord of Wincheſter ſhoulde haue theſe wordes that followeth, to my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter.

My Lord of Glouceſter, I haue conceyued to my great heauineſſe, that yee ſhould haue receyued by diuers reportes, that I ſhoulde haue purpoſed and imagined againſt your perſon, honor, and eſtate, in diuers maners, for the which, yee haue taken againſt me great diſpleaſure, for, I take God to my witneſſe, that what reportes ſo euer haue bin to you of me, peraduenture, of ſuch as haue had no great affection to me, God forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purpoſed any thing that might bee hindering or preiudice to youre perſon, honor, or eſtate. And therefore I pray you, that yee be vnto me good L. from this time forthe, for by my will, I gaue neuer other occaſiō, nor purpoſe not to doe hereafter by gods grace. The which wordes ſo by him ſaid, it was decreed by the ſame arbitratours, that my Lorde of Glouceſter ſhould anſwere and ſay:

Faire Vncle, ſith ye declare you ſuch a man, as yee ſaye, I am right glad that it is ſo, and for ſuche a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreede by the ſaid arbitratours, that euery eache of my L. of Glouceſter, & Wincheſter, ſhould take either other by ỹ hand, in ỹ preſence of the K. and al the Parliament, in ſigne & token of good loue and accorde, the whiche was done, and the Parliament was adiorned til after Eaſter.

When the greate fire of this diſſention, betweene theſe two noble perſonages, was thus by the arbitratours, to their knowlege and iudgement, vtterly quēched out, and layd vnder boord, all other controuerſies, betweene other Lordes, taking part with the one party or the other, were ſoone appeaſed, and brought to concord, for ioye whereof, the King cauſed a ſolemne feaſt to bee kept on Whitſonday, on the which day, he created Richard Plantagenet, ſonne and heire to the Earle of Cābridge (whom his father at Southhāpton had put to death, as before ye haue hard) Duke of Yorke, not foreſeeing that this preferment ſhoulde bee his deſtruction, nor that hys ſeede ſhoulde of his generation bee the extreame ende, and finall confuſion. He the ſame day alſo, promoted John Lord Mowbray, & Erle Marſhall, ſonne and heire to Thomas D. of Northfolke, by King Richard the ſeconde, exiled thys Realme, to the title, name, and ſtile, of the Duke of Northfolke, during whiche feaſt, the Duke of Bedford adorned the King with the high order of Knighthood, whiche on the ſame day, dubbed wͭ the ſword theſe knights, whoſe names enſue.

Richard Duke of Yorke.
John Duke of Norffolke.
The Earle of Weſtmerlande.
Henry Lord Percy.
John Lorde Butler, ſon to the Earle of Ormond.
The Lord Roſſe.
The Lord Matrauers.
The Lord Welles.
The Lord Barkeley.
Sir James Butler.
Sir Henry Grey of Tankeruile.
Sir John Talbot.
Sir Raufe Grey of Werke.
Sir Robert Ueere.
Sir Richard Grey.
Sir Edmond Hungerforde.
Sir Walter Wingfelde.
Sir John Butler.
Sir Reginald Cobham.
Sir John Paſhley.
Sir Thomas Tunſtall.
Sir John Chidiocke.
Sir Raufe Langſtre.
Sir William Drurie.
Sir William ap Thomas.
Sir Richard Carbonell.
Sir Richard Widuile.
Sir John Shirdelowe.
Sir Nicholas Blunket.
Sir William Cheyney Juſtice.
Sir William Babington.
Sir Raufe Butler.
Sir Robert Beauchampe.
Sir Edmond Trafford.
Sir John Jume, chiefe Baron, and diuers other.

After this ſolemne feaſt ended, a great ayde & ſubſidie was graunted, for the continuance of the conqueſt in France, & ſo therevpon, money was gathered, and men were prepared in euery Citie, towne, & countrey, during which buſines, Thomas Duke of Exeter, great vncle to the King, a right ſage & diſcrete counſellor, departed out of this mortall life, at his manor of Grenewiche, & with all funerall pompe, was conueyghed through London to Berrie, and there buried.

The Duke of Exceter died.

The ſame yeare alſo dyed the Lady Elizabeth, halfe ſiſter to the ſame duke, and of ỹ whole bloud with King Henry the fourth, maried firſt to the Lorde John Holland, Duke of Exceſter, and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at ỹ black Friers of London.

While theſe things were thus a doing in Englande, the Earle of Warwike, Lieutenant for the Regent in Fraunce, entred into the Countrey of Maine, and beſieged the Towne of Chateau de Loyre, the whiche ſhortly to him was rendered, whereof he made Captaine, Mathew Gough, Eſquier.

After this, he tooke by aſſaulte the Caſtell of Maiet, and gaue it for his valiantneſſe to John Winter eſquier, and after that he conquered the caſtell of Lude, and made there Captayn William Gladiſdale Gentleman.

Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were aſſembled in the coūtrey of Beauſſe, wherevppon hee haſted thytherwardes to haue giuen them battaile, but they hauing knowledge of his approche, durſt not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight fielde, but fledde before hee came neere them.

The Earle in his returne, wanne the Caſtell of Montdublean by ſurrender, where he left the valiant Lorde Willoughby, and then returned to Paris. During whiche ſeaſon, he was ordeyned by the three eſtates of the Realme of Englande, to bee gouernour of the yong King, in the place of the Duke of Exceſter deceaſſed: howbeit, hee dyd not as yet returne into Englande, but remayned in Fraunce for a ſeaſon, and atchieued many worthy enterpriſes.

The Earle of Warwicke made gouernour of the yong king.

An. reg. 5.

Whileſt the Lorde regent of Fraunce was thus in Englãd, meanes was made by yͤ Duke of Burgoigne, for the deliuerie of the Duke of Alanſon, taken at the battell of Vernoyle, and nowe for the ſumme of two hundred thouſande crownes, hee was ſet at libertie, but neyther for releaſſe of all, or abatement of parte of his raunſome, woulde hee by any meanes acknowledge the King of Englande, to be his liege and ſoueraigne Lorde.

1427

After that the Duke of Bedford hadde ſet all things in good order in England, hee toke leaue of the King, and togither with his wife, returned into Fraunce, firſt landing at Calais, where the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter (that alſo paſſed the Seas with him) receyued the habite, hatte, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all ceremonies to it appertayning.

The late Kyng Henry the fifth, had forbidden him, eyther to ſue for, or to receyue that dignitie, bicauſe he would not that Cardinals hats ſhoulde in anye wiſe preſume to bee equall with regall crownes, whyche hee doubted woulde come to paſſe in thys man, if hee myghte once atteyne to the honor of wearing one of thoſe hattes, ſuche an haultie ſtomacke, and loftie courage hee euer noted to bee in him, from hys youth vpwards.

But nowe the Kyng beeyng yong, and the regent hys friend, he obteyned his purpoſe, to his great profite, and the empoueriſhing of the ſpiritualtie of thys Realme: for by a Bull legantine which hee purchaſed from Rome, he gathered ſo muche treaſure, that no man in manner hadde money, but hee, ſo that he was called the ryche Cardinall of Wincheſter.

After that the Lorde Regent was arriued in Fraunce, the Lorde of Ruſtinian, marſhall of Britaigne, aſſembled a greate company of the Britiſhe nation, whiche fortifyed and repared the Towne of Pontorſon, and after, the ſayde Marſhall, with a thouſande men, entred into the Countrey of Conſtantine, and commyng before the Towne of Auranches, was encountred by the Engliſhmen of that garriſon, and after long fighte, hys people were putte to the worſe, chaſed, and diſcomfited, and hee hymſelfe taken priſoner in the fielde.

The Duke of Bedford hearing that yͤ towne of Pontorſon, ſcituate within two leagues of Mont Saint Mighell, was newly fortified, and ſtrongly defended, ſent thither the Erle of Warwike, accompanyed with the Lord Scales, and other valiant Captaynes and Souldiers, to the number of ſeauen thouſande men, to beſiege the Towne, who ſo enuironed it on euery ſyde, that neyther any man coulde ſteale in or out.

The ſiege thus long continuing, vittailes began to waxe ſcant in the Engliſh army: wherefore, the Lorde Scales, hauing in hys company Sir John Harpley Baylife of Conſtantine, Sir William Brearton Bailiffe of Cam, Sir Rauſe Teſſon, Sir John Carbonell, and three thouſande good men of warre, departed from the ſiege, to get vittayle, powder, and other things neceſſary for their purpoſe.

And as they were returning with their cariages by the Sea coaſt, neere to Saint Michaels Mount, they ſuddaynely were encountred by theyr enimies, whereof were chiefe, the Baron of Coloſes, the Lorde Dauſeboſt, Captayne of the ſayde Mount, the Lord Mountabon, the Lorde Montburchier, the Lorde of Chateaugiron, the Lord of Tintigniate, the Lord of Chateaubrian, with ſixe thouſand men of warre.

The Lord Scales and his company, perceyuing themſelues beſet on the one ſyde with the Sea, and on the other with theyr enimies, alight from their horſes, & like coragious perſons, there in an vnſpeakable furie, ſet on their enimies.

The fight was fierce and cruell, the Engliſhmen kept themſelues cloſe togither, ſo that their enimies could get no aduantage of them. At the laſt, the Lord Scales cried S. George they flee, whereupon, the Engliſhmen toke ſuch courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were ſo diſmayd, that they began to flee indeede: the Engliſhmen leaped then againe on horſebacke, and followed them ſo, that they flew & toke aboue eleuen C. perſons, among yͤ which wer taken, the Baron of Coloſes, yͤ Vicount of Roan, & other. The L. of Chateaugiron, with a Scottiſh Captayne, and diuers other mẽ of name were ſlaine.

A hotte ſkirmiſhe.

On the Cene thurſday.

Enguerrant.

After this victorie, the Lord Scales, with his vitailes, prouiſion and priſoners, returned to the ſiege, where he was of the Erle, and other noble men ioyouſly receyued.

Whileſt the ſiege thus continued before Pontorſon, Chriſtopher Hanſon, and other ſouldiers of the garriſon of Saint Suſan, made a roade into yͤ Countrey of Aniou, and came to a Caſtel called Ramfort, whiche Caſtell was ſo priuily ſcaled, that yͤ Captaine within, & his company, were taken or ſlayne, before they knewe of theyr ennimies approching.

When knowledge heereof was giuen to the Frenchmen whiche were aſſembled, to the number of of twentie thouſand, to reyſe the ſiege that lay before Pontorſon, they left that enterpriſe, and went, to recouer the ſaid Caſtell of Ramkfort, and ſo comming before it, plãted their ſiege ſo on each ſide of it, that at length by cõpoſition, the Engliſhmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendred vp the Caſtell, hauing libertie to depart with bagge and baggage.

Shortly after, the Lorde of Raux, callyng hymſelfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entred into Mayne, with an armie of three M. men, and by force tooke yͤ Caſtell of Malicorne, whereof was Captayne, an Engliſhman, one Oliuer Oſbaterſby.

In like manner, they tooke the little Caſtell of Lude, and therein William Blackborne, Lieutenant for William Glaſdale Eſquier.

After this, the frenchmen returned backe to yͤ Dolphin, and kept not on that iourney to Pontorſon, for that they vnderſtoode by eſpials, that the Earle of Warwike, and the Engliſhmenne there, determined to gyue them battell, if they once attempted to reyſe the ſiege.

Pontorſon rendred to the Engliſhmen.

They within the Towne, beeing ſtraightly beſieged, perceiuing no likelyhoode of ſuccours, & ſeeing the Engliſhe armye dayly encreaſe, fell to treatie, for doubt to be taken by force, and ſo rendred the towne vpon cõdition, yͤ they myght depart with horſe and harnes only, whiche beeyng granted to thẽ, the Erle like a valiant Captaine entred into the towne, & there appointed for gouernors, the Lorde Ros, & the L. Talbot, & leauing there a conuenient garriſon, returned to the Lord Regent. After the taking of this towne of Pontorſon, there was a league, & a treatie concluded, betweene the Regent, and the D. of Britaigne, by yͤ articles of which agremẽt, yͤ townes of Põtorſon, & S. Iames de Bewron, were beaten downe to the grounde, and raſed.

After the Lord of Rays was departed out of Mayne as ye haue heard, Chriſtopher Hanſon, Philip Gough, Martin Godfrey, called yͤ Scaler, tooke by ſtelth the Caſtell of S. Laurence de Mortiers. At the ſame time, whẽ the Captaine, & the moſt part of his company, were gone forth to heare Maſſe, in a Churche ouer againſte the ſame Caſtell and keeping themſelues cloſe, tyll the Capitaine returned, tooke him as he was entred within the firſt gate, and ſo was this Caſtel ſtuffed with Engliſhemen, and Captaine therof appointed ſir William Oldhaule.

The ſame ſeaſon, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, gouernour of the Countreys of Iniou, and Maine, aſſembled a great puiſſance of men of warre, and layde ſiege before the Caſtell of Saint Owen Diſtays, beſyde the Towne of Lauall, and after he had layne there tenne dayes, the Caſtell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour only to them graunted, by the tenor of the compoſition, which they tooke with yͤ ſame ſir Iohn Faſtolfe.

After the winning of this Caſtell, the Engliſhmen remoued to the ſtrong Caſtell of Grauile, and after twelue dayes, they within offered to yeelde the Caſtell by a daye, if they were not ſuccoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken, and pledges deliuered.

Then Sir Iohn Faſtolfe returned in poſt to the Regent, aduertiſing him of this compoſition and agreement, wherefore, the ſaid Regent reyſed a great power to fighte with the Frenchmen at the day appoynted, and in his company, were the Earles of Mortaigne and Warwike, the Lords Ros and Talbot, Sir Iohn Faſtolfe, ſir Iohn Aubemond, ſir Iohn Ratcliffe, and diuers other, to the number of twentie thouſande men, and ſo marched forwardes, in hope to meete and ioyne battel with their aduerſaries, but yͤ french power, beeing not farre off from the place, durſt not approche, wherefore, the Regent ſent to Sir Iohn Faſtolfe incontinently, to receyue yͤ Caſtell, but they within (contrary to promiſe and appointmente) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and ſo forſaking the pledges, and theyr fellowes in armes, refuſed to render the fortreſſe, wherefore, the pledges were brought before their ſighte, and there before the Caſtell openly put to death.

The Lord Talbot, a valiant Captaine.

After this, the Lorde Talbot was made gouernour of Iniou and Maine, and ſir Iohn Faſtolfe was aſſigned to another place, which Lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into Fraunce, obteyned ſo manye glorious victories of his enimies, that his only name was, and yet is dreadfull to the French nation, and much renowmed amongſt all other people.

This luſtie and moſt valiant Captaine, entred into Mayne, where he ſlew men, deſtroyed Caſtels, brent Townes, and in concluſion, ſuddaynely tooke the Towne of Lauall. The Lord Loghac, and diuers other, withdrew into yͤ Caſtell, in the whiche, they were ſo ſtreightly beſieged, that in the ende, they agreed to pay to the Lord Talbot, an hundred thouſand Crownes, for licence to departe, with all theyr bagge and baggage.

Then was this Caſtel deliuered, to yͤ keeping of Gilbert Halſall, which after was ſlaine at the ſiege of Orleauns, in whoſe place, Mathewe Gough was made Captayne there, who beeyng at the iourney of Senlis, by treaſon of a Miller that kepte a Mille adioyning to the wall, the Frenchmen entred into the towne, and brought it againe into their ſubiection.

The Duke of Bedford hearing that yͤ towne of Montargis, in the territorie of Orleauns, was but ſlenderly kept, and not throughly furniſhed, ſent the Earle of Suffolke, with his brother Sir John Poole, and Sir Henry Biſſet, hauing in their company a ſixe thouſande men to aſſault that towne, but when they came thither, and found the Towne, both well manned, and ſtrongly fortified, contrary to their expectation, they ſurceaſſed from giuing the aſſault, and only layd theyr ſiege round about it.

The Earle of Warwike was appoynted to lye with a greate number of men of warre, at Sainte Mathelines de Archempe, to encounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempte to ayde or vittaile thoſe within the towne.

The ſituation of this towne was ſuche, that by reaſon of waters and mariſhes, the Engliſhe army muſt needes ſeuer it ſelfe into three parts, ſo that the one coulde not eaſely help the other, but eyther by boates or bridges.

This ſiege continued aboue two monethes, ſo that in the meane time, the Frenchmenne had leyſure to prouide for the ſuccour thereof, and ſo it came to paſſe, that the Conneſtable of Frãce Arthur of Britaigne, the Lorde Boyſac one of the Marſhals, Stephen la Hire, Pothon de Saintreiles, the lord Grauille, and diuers other, to the number of three thouſande horſemen, were ſente forthe by the Dolphin, the which priuily in the night ſeaſon, came on that ſide, where Sir John de la Poole, and Sir Henrye Biſſet laye, whome they found ſo out of order, and without good watche, that the Frenchmenne entred into theyr lodgings, ſlewe manye in theyr beddes, and ſpared none, for theyr reſiſtance was but ſmall.

A gret ſlaughter by negligence of the watche.

Sir John de la Poole, with his horſe ſaued hymſelf, and ſir Henry Biſſet eſcaped by a boate, and eight other with him.

The reſidue fleeing in plumpes, and ſtriuing to paſſe by a bridge of timber, the whiche beeyng peſtered with preaſſe of the multitude, brake, and ſo there were a greate number drowned, in ſo muche, that there were ſlayne by the enimes ſword, and drowned in the water, a fifteene hundred men.

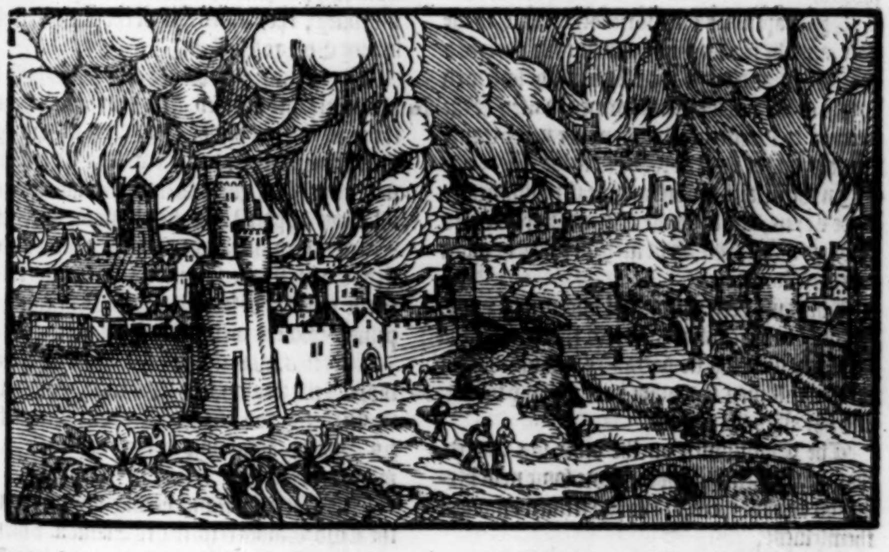
The Earle of Warwike hearing of this miſfortune, departed from Saint Mathelines with all ſpeede, and commyng before Montargis, offered battell to the Frenche Captaynes, whyche aunſwered, that they had manned and vittelled the towne, and intended to doe no more at that time.

The Engliſhmen ſeeing it would be no better, came ſoftly backe againe with all their ordinance to the Duke of Bedford.

Sur Nicholas Burdet.

Polidor.

It ſeemed, that Fortune would not permitte the Frenchmen long to enioy in this ſeaſon any good ſucceſſe, without enterlacing yͤ ſame with ſome diſpleaſure, for at thys very tyme, Sir Nicholas Burdet; appoynted by the Duke of Somerſet to endomage hys enimies in the coaſtes of Britaigne, ſente horſemen into euerie parte, working all the diſpleaſure to the people that myghte be deuiſed, the Countrey, through which he paſſed, was waſted, yͤ townes were brent, the houſes ſpoyled, and greate number of priſoners taken, the ſmall villages were deſtroyed, and the walled Townes raunſomed, and ſo without hurte or domage, the ſayde Sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normandye.



Theſe newes being ſignified to the Conneſtable, and other the french Captaines, aſwaged their greate mirth and triumphant ioy, conceyued for the victorie of Montargis, that loth they were to attempt any further enterpriſes agaynſt the Engliſh nation. But the Duke of Alanſon, whiche as yee haue hearde, was lately deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the dulled ſpirites of the Dolphin, and ſomewhat aduaunced, in hope of good ſpeede, the fainting hartes of hys Captaines, ſo that vppon occaſion offered, they determined to atchieue a notable feate as they tooke it, againſt the Engliſhmen, which was the recouerie of the Citie of Mans out of theyr hands: for ſo it happened, that diuers of ẏ chiefe rulers in that Citie, and namely, diuers ſpiritual perſons, meaning to reuolt to the Dolphins ſide, aduertiſed him by letters of their whole mindes, whiche letters were conueyed vnto him by certaine Friers.

The Dolphin glad of thoſe newes, appointed the Lordes de la Breth, and Faict, Marſhals of France, accõpanyed with the Lords of Mount Iehan, of Buel, Dorual, Torſie, Beaumanor, the Hire, and his brother Guilliam, with fyue hundred other valiant Captaines and ſouldiers, to the accompliſhing of this enterpriſe, the whiche comming thither at the day aſſigned, in the night ſeaſon approched towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in ſight of the towne, to ſignifie their comming, whiche beeing perceyued by the Citizens that nere to the great church were watching for the ſame, a burning creſſet was ſhewed out of the ſteeple, whiche ſuddainely was put out and quenched. What needeth many words.

The Captaines on Horſebacke came to the gate, and the traitors within ſlewe the porters & watchmen, and let in their friends, the footemen entred firſte, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent, that if muche neede required, they might fight in the open fielde.

Mauns loſt by treaſon of the Citizens.

In the meane ſeaſon, manye Engliſhmenne were ſlayne, and a greate crie and noyſe reyſed through the Town, as in ſuch ſurpriſes is wont and accuſtomed.

The cauſe heereof was not knowen to anye, but only to the conſpirators, for the remnant of the Citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Engliſhmen had made hauocke in ẏ towne, and put all to the ſworde.

The Engliſhmen on the other ſide iudged, that the Citizens hadde begunne ſome new Rebellion againſt them, or elſe had ſtriuen amongſt themſelues.

The Earle of Suffolke, whiche was gouernour of the Towne, hauing perfect knowledge by ſuch as eſcaped frõ the walles, howe the matter went, withdrew without any tariance, into the Caſtell, which ſtandeth at the gate of Sainte Uincent, whereof was Conſtable, Tho. Gower eſquier, whither alſo fled ſo many Engliſhmen, that the place was peſtered, and there if they were not the ſooner reſcued, likely to be famiſhed: and ſurely, they were ſore aſſaulted by their enimies, ſo that they could not haue endured long, if they hadde not priuily ſente a meſſenger to the Lorde Talbot, whiche then lay at Alanſon, certifying hym in what a wofull caſe they were.

The Lord Talbot hearing theſe newes, neither ſlept, nor banquetted, but in all haſt aſſembled togither about ſeauen hundred men, and in the euening departed from Alanſon, and in the morning came to a Caſtell called Guyerch, a two miles frõ Mans, and there ſtayed a while, till he had ſente out Mathew Gough, as an eſpiall, to vnderſtand how the Frenchmen demeaned themſelues.

Mathew Gough ſo well ſpedde hys buſines, that priuily in the night he came into the Caſtel, where hee learned, that the Frenchmen verye negligently vſed themſelues, without takyng heede to theyr watch, as though they had beene out of all daunger.

When thys Mathewe hadde knowen all the certaintie, he returned againe, and within a mile of the Citie, met the Lorde Talbot, and ẏ Lorde Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence.

The Lordes then to make haſt in the matter, bycauſe the daye approched, with all ſpeede poſſible, came to the poſterne gate, and alighting from theyr horſes about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, they iſſued out of the Caſtell, crying Saint George Talbot.

The Frenchmen beeing thus ſuddainely taken, were ſore amaſed, in ſo much, that ſome of them, beyng not out of theyr beddes, gote vp in their ſhirtes, and lept ouer ẏ walles. Other ranne naked out of the gates to ſaue their liues, leauing all theyr apparell, horſes, armour, and riches behynde them, none was hurt, but ſuche as reſiſted. To bee ſhorte, there were ſlayne and taken, to the number of foure hundred Gentlemen, the priuate ſoldiers were frankely let goe.

Mauns recouered.

After this, was inquiſition made of the authors of the treaſon, and there were accuſed thirtie Citizens, twentie Prieſtes, and fifteene Friers, whiche according to their demerites, were put to execution.

Trayton executed.

Anno reg. 6.

The Citie of Mans beeing thus recouered, the Lord Talbot returned to Alanſon, & ſhortly after, the Earle of Warwike departed into Englande, to bee gouernoure of the yong Kyng, in ſtede of Thomas Duke of Exceſter, lately

1428 departed to God, and then was the Lord Thomas Montacute Earle of Saliſburie, ſente into Fraunce, to ſupplye the roomth of the ſayd Earle of Warwike, who landed at Calaice with fiue thouſand mē, and ſo came to the D. of Bedford, as thē lying in Paris, where they fel in counſell togither, concerning the affaires of France, and namely, the Earle of Saliſburie began marueilouſly to phanteſie the gayning of the Citie and Countrey of Orleans.

This Earle was the man at that time, by whoſe witte, ſtrength, and policie, the Engliſhe name was much feareful and terrible to yͤ french nation, which of himſelfe, mighte both appoynt, commaund, and do all things in manner at hys pleaſure, in whoſe power (as it appeared after his death) a greate part of the conqueſt conſiſted: for ſurely, he was a man both paynefull, diligente, & readie to withſtande all daungerous chaunces that were at hande, prompte in counſell, and of courage inuincible, ſo that in no one man, men put more truſt, nor any ſingular perſon wanne the hearts ſo much of all men.

Montacute Erle of Saliſburie a politike and valiant man.

Herevppon, after this great enterpriſe hadde long beene debated in the priuie counſell, the Erle of Saliſburies deuice therein was of them all graunted and allowed, ſo that he beyng repleniſhed with good hope of victorie, and furniſhed with artillerie and munitions apperteining to ſo great a ſiege, accompanyed with the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunte armye, to the number of tenne thouſande menne, departed from Paris, and paſſed through the countrey of Beauſſe. There he tooke by aſſault, the Towne of Genuille, and within fiue dayes after, had the Caſtell deliuered vnto hym, by them that were fledde into it for theyr ſafegarde.

He alſo tooke the towne of Baugencie, ſuffering euery man which woulde become ſubiect to the Kyng of England, to enioy theyr lands and goodes.

The Townes of Meun vppon Loyre, and Iargeaulx, hearing of theſe doings, preſented to them the keyes of theyr Townes vppon lyke agreement.

Anno reg. 7. Orleans beſieged. Baſterd of Orleans.

After this, in the moneth of September, hee came before the Citie of Orleans, and planted hys ſiege on the one ſyde of the ryuer of Loyre, but before hys comming, the Baſterd of Orleans, the Byſhop of the Citie, and a greate number of Scottes, hearing of the Earles intente, made dyuers fortifications about the Towne, and deſtroyed the ſuburbes, in the whyche, were twelue pariſhe Churches, and foure orders of Friers.

They cutte alſo downe all the vynes, trees, and buſhes, within fyue leagues of the Citie, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue neyther comfort, refuge, nor ſuccour.

After the ſiege hadde continued three weekes full, the baſterd of Orleans iſſued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Engliſhmen, but they receyued hym with ſo fierce and terrible ſtrokes, that he was with all his company compelled to retire and flee backe into the Citie, but the Engliſhmen followed ſo faſt, in killing and taking of theyr enimies, that they entred with them: the Bulwarke of the bridge, whiche with a great tower ſtanding at the ende of the ſame, was taken incontinentlye by the Engliſhemenne.

In this conflict, many Frenchmen were taken, but moe were ſlayne, and the keeping of the Tower and Bulwarke was cōmitted to William Glaſdale Eſquier.

By the taking of this bridge, the paſſage was ſtopped, that neyther men nor vittaile, could goe or come by that way.

After this, the Earle cauſed certaine Bulwarkes to be made rounde about the towne, caſting trenches betweene the one and the other, laying ordynance in euery place where he ſawe that any batterie might be deuiſed.

When they within ſaw that they were enuironed with fortreſſes and ordinance, they layde gunne againſte gunne, and fortified towers againſt Bulwarkes, and within, caſt newe rampiers, and fortified themſelues as ſtrongly as mighte bee deuiſed, againſt the violence of their enimies battle and aſſaultes.

The Baſterd of Orleans, and the Hire, were appoynted to ſee the walles and watches kepte, and the Byſhop ſaw that the inhabitants within the Citie were put in good order, and that vittaile were not wantonly conſumed, or vaynely ſpent.

In the Tower that was taken at the bridge ende (as before you haue hearde) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of yron, by the which, a man myghte looke all the length of the bridge into the Citie, at whiche grate, many of the chiefe Captaynes ſtoode many times, viewing the Citie, and deuiſing in what place it was beſt to giue the aſſault. They within the Citie well perceyued thys tooting hole, & layde a peece of ordināce directly againſt the windowe.

It ſo chanced, that the. 59. day after the ſiege was layd, the Erle of Saliſburie, Sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glaſdale, with diuers other, went into the ſaid tower, & ſo into the high chamber, & looked out at the grate, and within a ſhort ſpace, the ſonne of the maſter gunner, perceiuing mē looking out at the window, tooke his match, as his father had taught him, who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gunne, the ſhot whereof brake, and ſheuered the iron barres of the grate, ſo that one of the ſame barres ſtrake the Earle ſo violently on the head, that it ſtroke awaye one of hys eyes, and the ſyde of hys cheeke.

The Earle of Saliſbury ſlain

Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewiſe ſtriken, and dyed within two dayes.

The Earle was conueyghed to Meun, on Loire, where after eight dayes, he likewiſe departed this worlde, whoſe body was conueyed into Englande with all funerall pomp, and buried at Biſſam by his progenitors, leauing behind him an only daughter named Alice, married to Richarde Neuill, ſonne to Rauſe Earle of Weſtmerlande, of whome, more ſhall bee ſayd heereafter.

The domage that the Realme of Englande receyued by the loſſe of thys noble man, maniſeſtly appeared, in that immediately after hys death, the proſperous good lucke whiche had folowed the Engliſh nation, began to decline, and the glory of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the Sea, fell in decay.

Though al men were ſorowful for his death, yet the Duke of Bedford was moſt ſtriken with heauineſſe, as he that had loſt his only right hãd, and chiefe ayde in time of neceſſitie. But ſith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour, appointed the Earle of Suffolke to be his Lieutenante and Captaine of the ſiege, and ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, ſir John Faſtolfe, & diuers other right valiant Captaines.

Theſe perſons cauſed baſtilles to bee made rounde about the Citie, and left nothing vnattempted, whiche mighte aduaunce their purpoſe.

1429

In the Lent ſeaſon, vittaile and artillerie began to waxe ſcant in the Engliſh camp, wherefore the Earle of Suffolke appoynted Sir John Faſtolfe, ſir Thomas Rampſton, and ſir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the Lord Regent, to enforme him of their lacke, who incontinently vpon that information, prouided victuall, artillerie and munitions neceſſarie, and loded therewith many chariots, cartes, & horſſes: and for the ſure conueying of the ſame, hee appointed Sir Simon Morhier, prouoſt of Paris, with the guard of the Citie, and diuers of his owne houſhold ſeruants to accompany Sir John Faſtolfe and his complices, to the armie lying at the ſiege of Orleans.

Engueran.

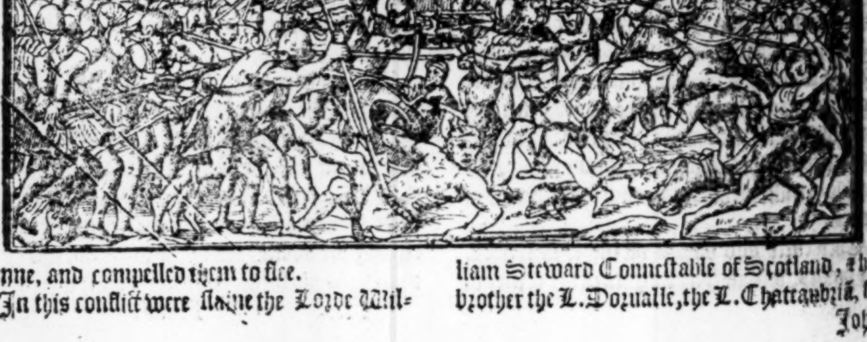
They were in all, to the number of fifteene hundred men, of the which, there were not paſt a fiue or ſixe hundred Engliſhmen, the whiche departing in good order of battell out of Paris, came to Genuille in Beauſſe, and in a morning early, in a great froſt, they departed from thence towarde the ſiege, and when they came to a Towne called Rowray, in the lãds of Beauſſe, they perceyued their enimies comming towards them, beeing to the number of nine or tenne thouſand of Frenchmen, and Scottes, of whom were Captaines Charles of Cleremont, ſonne to the Duke of Bourbon, then being priſoner in England, Sir William Steward Conneſtable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the Earle of Perdriacke, the Lorde John Vandoſme, ẏ Vidame of Chartres, the Lorde of Toures, the Lord of Lohar, the Lord of Eglere, the Lorde of Beaniew, the baſterd Tremoile, and manye other valiant Captaines: wherefore ſir John Faſtolfe ſet all hys companye in good order of battell, and pitched ſtakes before euery archer, to breake the force of the horſemen.

At their backes they ſette all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tyed all their horſes.

In this manner ſtoode they ſtill, abiding the aſſault of their enimies.

The Frenchmen, by reaſon of their greate nũber, thinking themſelues ſure of the victory, egrely ſette on the Engliſhmen, whiche with greate force, them receiued, and manfully defended thẽſelues as it ſtoode them vpon, conſidering the inequalitie of their number. At length, after long and cruell fyghte, the Engliſhmenne droue backe, and vanquiſhed the proude Frenchemenne, and compelled them to flee.

A noble victory of the Engliſhmen.



In this conflict were ſlaine the Lorde William Steward Conneſtable of Scotland, & his brother the L. Dorualle, the L. Chatteaubriã, ſir

John Baſgot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of .xxv. hundred, and aboue .xj. C. taken priſoners, although the French wryters affirme the number leſſe.

After this fortunate victorie, ſir John Faſtolfe and his companie, hauing loſt no one man of any reputation, wyth all theyr caryages, vytaile, and pryſoners, marched forth and came to the Engliſh campe before Orleans, where they were ioyfully receyued, and highly commended for theyr valiauncie and worthie prowes ſhewed in the battaile, the which bycauſe moſt part of the caryage was Herring, and Lenton ſtuffe, the French men call it the battaile of Herrings.

The battel of the herrings.

The Earle of Suffolke being thus vytayled, continued the ſiege, and euery day almoſt ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in diſpayre of all ſuccours) offred to treate, and in concluſion, to ſaue themſelues, and the Citie from captiuitie of theyr enimyes, they deuiſed to ſubmit the Citie, themſelues, and all theirs vnder the obeyſance of Philip duke of Burgoign, bycauſe he was extract out of the ſtock and bloud royall of the auncient kings of Fraunce, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to break or diminiſh the great amitie betwene the Engliſhmen and him.

This offer was ſignifyed by them vnto the Duke of Burgoigne, who with thankes certified them againe, that he would gladly receyue them, if the Lord Regent woulde therewith be contented. Herevpon he diſpatched Meſſengers to the Duke of Bedforde, who, though ſome counſelled that it ſhould be verie good and neceſſarie for him to agree to that maner of yeelding, yet hee and other thought it neither cōuenient nor honourable, that a Citie ſo long beſieged by the king of England his power, ſhuld be deliuered vnto any other forreyne prince or potentate, than to him, or to hys Regent, and that bycauſe the example mighte prouoke other townes hereafter to ſeeke the lyke agreement.

Herevpon the Regent anſwered the Burgonian Ambaſſadors, that ſith the king of England had beene at all the charges aboute the beſieging and winning of the Citie, it was not conſonant to reaſon that the Duke ſhoulde enioy the fruites of an other mans labour.

Hereof folowed a double miſchief to the Engliſh proceedings in the realme of France, for both the Duke of Burgoigne conceyued an inwarde grudge agaynſt the Engliſhmen, for that hee ſuſpected them to enuy his glory and aduancement, and againe the Engliſhmen left the ſiege of Orleans, which by this treatie they might haue recouered out of theyr enimies hands, and put their friendes in poſſeſſion of it. But mortall men can not foreſee all things, and therefore are guided by fortune which ruleth the deſtinie of man, and turneth hir wheele as ſhee lyſteth.

While this treatie was in hand, the Dolphin ſtudied dayly how to prouide remedie by the deliuerie of his friendes in Orleans out of preſent danger. And euē at the ſame time, that mōſtrous womā named Joan la Pucell de Dieu, was preſented vnto him at Chinon, where as then hee ſoiourned, of whiche woman yee maye finde more written in the French hiſtorie, touching hir birth, eſtate, and qualitie. But briefly to ſpeake of hir doings, ſo much credite was giuen to hir, that ſhe was honoured as a Saint, and ſo ſhe handled the matter, that ſhe was thought to be ſent from god to the ayde of the Dolphyn, otherwiſe called the French king, Charles the ſeuenth of that name, as an Inſtrument to deliuer Fraunce out of the Engliſhmens handes, and to eſtabliſh him in the kingdome.

Ione la Pucell de Dieu.

Herevpon ſhe being armed at all poyntes lyke a iolye Captaine, roade from Poictiers to Bloys, and there founde men of warre, vytaile and munitions readie to be conueyed to Orleans.

Here was it knowen that the Engliſh men kept not ſo diligent watch as they had beene accuſtomed to doe, and therefore this Mayde with other Frenche Captaynes comming forwarde in the deade tyme of the nyghte, and in a greate rayne & thunder, they entred into the Citie with all their vytaile artillerie and other neceſſarie prouiſions.

The next day the Engliſh men boldly aſſaulted the Towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles ſo, as no greate feat worthie of memorie chanced that day betwixt thē, though the Frenchmen were amaſed at the valiaunt attempt of the Engliſh men, wherevpon the Baſtarde of Orleans gaue knowledge to the Duke of Alanſon, in what daunger the towne ſtoode without his preſent helpe, who comming within two leagues of the Citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they ſhoulde bee readie the next daye to receyue him. Which accordingly was accompliſhed: for the Engliſhmen willingly ſuffered him and hys armie alſo to enter, ſuppoſing that it ſhould be for their aduauntage to haue ſo great a multitude to enter the Citie, whereby theyr vytayles (whereof they within had great ſcarcitie) might the ſooner be conſumed.

On the next day in the morning, the Frenchmen altogither iſſued out of the towne, and wan by aſſaulte the Baſtile of Saint Lou, and ſet it on fire. And after they likewiſe aſſaulted the Tower at the bridge foote, which was manfully defended, but the Frēchmen being more in number, at length tooke it ere the Lorde Talbot could come to the ſuccours, in the which Wil. Gladdeſdale the captain was ſlaine, with the Lord Molins, and the Lord Poynings alſo.

The Frenche men puffed vp with thys good lucke, fetched a compaſſe about, & in good order of battaile marched toward the Baſtile, which was in the keeping of the Lord Talbot, the which vpon the enimies approche, lyke a Captaine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, iſſued forth agaynſt them, and gaue them ſo ſharpe an encounter, that they not able to withſtand his puyſſaunce, fled (like ſheepe before the Wolfe) againe into the Citie, with great loſſe of men and ſmall artillerie. Of Engliſhmen were loſt in the two Baſtiles, to the number of ſixe hundred perſons, or thereabout, though the Frenche wryters multiplie this number of hundred, to thouſandes as theyr manner is in theyr gloryous hyſtoryes.

The Earle of Suffolke, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales and other Captaynes aſſembled togyther in Counſaile, and after cauſes ſhewed to and fro, it was amongeſt them determined to leaue theyr fortreſſes and Baſtiles, and to aſſemble in the plaine field, and there to abyde all the day, to ſee if the Frenchmen woulde iſſue forth to fight with them.

This concluſion taken was accordingly executed: but when the Frenchmen durſt not once come forth to ſhew their heades, the Engliſhmen ſet fire in theyr lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orleans.

ſiege of
s bro-

The next day, which was the .viij. day of May the Erle of Suffolk rode to Iargeaux with foure hundred Engliſhmen, and the Lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Meun. And after he had fortifyed that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, and wan it, togither with the Caſtell, ſore puniſhing the townesmen for theyr cancred obſtinacie agaynſt them.

Thus when the Engliſhmen had ſeuered themſelues into garniſons, the Duke of Alanſon, the baſtard of Orleans, Ioan la Pucelle, the lord Gawcourt, and diuerſe other Captaines of the Frenchmen, came the .xij. day of Iune, before the towne of Iargeaux, where the Earle of Suffolke and his two brethren ſoiourned, and gaue to the towne ſo fierce an aſſault on three partes, that Poyton de Sentrailes perceyuing an other part voyde of defendants, ſcaled the walles on that ſide, and wythout difficultie tooke the towne, and ſlue ſir Alexander Poole, brother to the Erle, and many other to the number of two hundred, but the Frenchmen gayned not much thereby, for they loſt three .C. good men and more. Of the Engliſh men .xl. were taken, with the Earle and his other brother named Iohn.

The Frenchmen as they returned to Orleans, fell at variance for their priſoners, and ſlue them all, ſauing the Earle and his brother.

Shortly after, the ſame Frenche armie came to Mehun, where they tooke the Tower at the bridge foote, and put therein a garniſon.

From thence they remoued to Baugency, and conſtrayned them that were within the towne to yeelde, vpon condition they might depart wyth bagge and baggage.

At the ſame place there came to the duke of Alanſon, the new Conſtable Arthure of Brytain, and with him was the Lord Delbret, and other.

Alſo after this the Earle of Vendoſme came to them, ſo that by the dayly repayre of ſuch as aſſembled togither to ſtrengthen the Frenche part, they were in all to the number betweene .xx. and .xxiij. thouſand men, the whiche beeing once ioyned in one armie, ſhortly after fought with the Lord Talbot (who had with him not paſt ſix .M. men) nere to a village in Beauſe called Patay, at which battail the charge was giuen by the Frẽch ſo vpon a ſodaine, that the Engliſh men had not leyſure to put themſelues in aray, after they had pight vp their ſtakes before their Archers, ſo that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture.

Nichol Gile.
Fiue thouſand ſaith Hall,

This battaile continued by the ſpace of three long houres: for the Engliſh men though they were ouerpreſſed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foote, tyl theyr Captayne the Lorde Talbot was ſore wounded at the backe, and ſo taken. Then theyr heartes began to faint, and they fledde, in which flight were ſlaine aboue twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, the Lord Hungerforde, and ſir Thomas Rampſton were chiefe.

Great loſſe on the engliſh ſi
The Lords Talbot, Scal
and Hungerford taken.

Diuerſe archers after they had ſhot all theyr arrowes, hauing onely their ſwordes, defended themſelues, and with helpe of ſome of their horſmen came ſafe to Mehun.

This ouerthrew, and ſpecially the taking of the Lorde Talbot, did not ſo muche reioyce the Frenchmen, but it did as much abaſh the Engliſhmen, ſo that immediatly thervpon the townes of Ienuile, Mehun, Fort, and diuers other, returned from the Engliſh part, and became French.

From this battail departed without any ſtroke ſtriken ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, the ſame yeare for hys valiantneſſe elected into the order of the Garter, for which cauſe the Duke of Bedforde tooke from him the Image of Saint George, and his Garter, though afterward by meane of friendes, & apparant cauſes of good excuſe, the ſame were to him againe deliuered agaynſt the mynde of the Lorde Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin yͤ called himſelfe French K. perceiuing fortune to ſmile thus vpõ him, aſſembled a great power, & determined to conquere the Citie of Reimes, that hee might be there ſacred, crowned, & annoynted, according to the cuſtome of his progenitors, that all men might iudge that he was by al lawes and decrees a iuſt and a lawfull king.

In his way thitherwardes he beſieged the citie of Auxerre, the Citizens whereof compounded with him to yeelde, if they were not reſkued within certaine dayes.

From thence he came before Troys, and after .xij. dayes ſiege had that Citie deliuered vnto him, by compoſition, that the Captaine ſir Philip Hall, with his people, and moueables myght depart in ſafetie.

After that Troyes was yeelded, the communaltie of Chaalons rebelled agaynſt Sir John Awbemonde theyr Captaine, and conſtreyned him to deliuer the towne vpon lyke compoſition.

In ſemblable maner did they of Reimes, deſiring him to giue ſafeconduct to all the Engliſhe men ſafely to depart.

When Reimes was thus become French, the foreſayde Charles the Dolphin in the preſence of the Dukes of Lorrainne and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was ſacred there King of Fraunce by the name of Charles the ſixt, with all rytes and ceremonies thereto belonging.

The French K. rowned.

They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, ſubmytted themſelues to him, and ſo likewiſe did all the Citie and townes adioyning.

The Duke of Bedford aduertiſed of all theſe doings, aſſembled his power about him, and hauing togither ten thouſand good Engliſhmen (beſide Normans) departed oute of Paris in Warlike faſhion, and paſſing through Brie to Monſtreau ſault Yōne, ſent by his Herault Bedford, letters to the Frenche King, ſignifying to hym, that where hee had contrarie to the finall concluſion accorded betweene his noble brother King Henrie the fifth, and king Charles the ſixte, father to him the vſurper, by allurement of a diueliſhe witche, taken vpon him the name, tytle and dignitie of the king of Fraunce, and further had by murther, ſtealing, craft, and deceytfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept diuerſe cities and townes belonging to the king of Englande his nephewe, for prouſe whereof hee was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the Countrey of Brie, by dynt of ſworde, and ſtroke of battaile to proue his wryting and cauſe true, willing his enimie to chooſe the place, and in the ſame he would giue him battaile.

The new French king being come frō Ryems to Dampmartyne, ſtudying howe to compaſſe them of Paris, was halfe abaſhed at this meſſage, But yet to ſet a good countenance on the matter, hee anſwered the Herault, that hee woulde ſooner ſeeke his maiſter, than his maiſter ſhould need to purſue him.

The Duke of Bedforde hearing this anſwere marched towarde the king, and pitched his fielde in a ſtrong place.

The French king though at the firſt he ment to haue abyden battaile, yet when he vnderſtood that the Duke was equall to him in number of people, he chaunged his purpoſe, and turned with his armie a little out of the way. The Duke of Bedford perceyuing his faynt courage, followed him by hilles and dales, till hee came to a towne not farre from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged, wherefore hee ordred his battailes like an expert chieftaine in martiall ſcience, ſetting the Archers before, and himſelfe with the Noble men in the maine battaile, and put the Normans on both ſides for wings. The Frenche king alſo ordred his battailes with the aduiſe of his captaines.

Thus theſe two armies lay two dayes and two nightes eyther in ſight of other, without any great doing, except a few ſkirmiſhes, wherein the Dukes light horſemen did verie valiauntly. At length in the deade of the nighte (as priuily as myght be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Bray. The Duke of Bedford had much ado to ſtay his people in the morning from purſuyte of the Frenche armie: but for that hee miſtruſted the Pariſians, hee woulde not depart farre from that Citie, and ſo returned thyther againe.

In this ſeaſon, Pope Martine the fifth of that name, meaning to ſubdue the Bohemers that diſſented from the Church of Rome in matters of Religion, appoynted Henrie Beaufort Biſhop of Wincheſter and Cardinall of Saint Euſibie, to be his Legate in an armie that ſhoulde inuade the Kingdome of Beame, and to bring a power of men with him out of Englande. And bycauſe the warre touched religion, he licenced the Cardinal to take the tenth part of euerie ſpirituall dignity, benefice, and promotion.

Boheme.

This matter was opened in the Parliament houſe, and aſſented to: whereupon the Biſhoppe gathered the money, and aſſembled foure thouſand men and aboue, not without greate grudge of the people, which dayly were with tallages and aydes weryed and ſore burdened.

As this Biſhop was come to Douer readie to paſſe the ſeas ouer into Flaunders, the Duke of Glouceſter hauing receyued letters from the Duke of Bedford, conteyning an earneſt requeſt to relieue him with ſome ſpeedie ayde of men of warre, was conſtreyned to write vnto the Biſhop of Wincheſter, willing him in time of ſuche neede, when all ſtoode vpon loſſe or gaine, to paſſe with all his armie toward the Duke of Bedford, to aſſyſt him agaynſt his aduerſaries, which thing done, and to his honour atchiued, he might performe his iourney agaynſte the vngracious

Bohemers.

The Cardinall (though not well contented with this countermaunde) yet leaſt he ſhould run into the note of Infamie, if he refuſed to ayde the Regent of Fraunce in ſo great a cauſe, paſſed ouer with his power, brought the ſame vnto hys couſin to the Citie of Paris.

About the ſame ſeaſon, the French king in hope to bee receyued into the townes of Compeigne and Beauvois (by reaſon of the fauor and good will which the Inhabitantes bare towardes him) was come with an armie towardes Compiegne, whereof the Duke of Bedforde being aduertiſed, and hauing nowe his hoſte augmented with the newe ſupply, which the Cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great ſpede towarde the place where hee vnderſtoode the French king was lodged. And cōming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were encamped vpon the Mount Piloll, betweene Senlis and Compiegne.

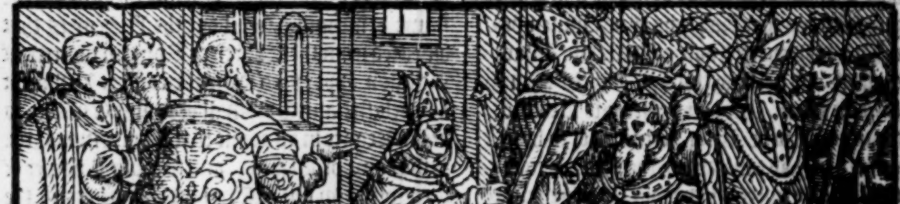
Here might eyther armie beholde the other: whervpon for the aduoyding of daungers that myght enſue, the campes were trenched, and the battayles pitched, and the fields ordred as though they ſhould haue tryed the matter by battaile, but nothing was done except with ſkirmiſhes, in the which the Normans ſore vexed the Frenchmen, and therfore receyued great commendations and prayſes of the Lorde Regent, who vndoubtedly determined to haue giuen battaile to his enimies, if they woulde haue abydden it.

But after the armies had thus lyen eyther in ſight of other, for the ſpace of two dayes togither, the Frenche King determining not to aduenture in an open battaile the whole chaunce of the game, leaſt he might thereby receyue a perpetuall checkmate, in the night ſeaſō remoued his campe, and fled to Creſpy, though his number was double to the Engliſh armie.

The Duke of Bedford ſeeing that the French king was thus Cowardly reculed with all hys power and armie returned again to Paris, euer ſuſpecting the deceytfull fayth of the Pariſians. Anreg. 8.

The Biſhoppe of Wynchester, after that the Frenche king was retreated backe, went into Beame, and there did ſomewhat, though ſhortly after without anye great prayſe or gaine hee returned into Englande, more glad of his comming backe than of hys aduauncing forwarde. Anon after the Pope vnlegated him, and ſette an other in hys place, wherewith he was nothing contented. Boheme.

On the ſixth day of Nouember, being the day of Saint Leonarde, King Henrie in the eyght yeare of his raigne, was at Weſtminſter with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England.



The ſame yeare the Frenche King was receyued into the towne of Compiegne, and ſhortly after were the townes of Senlis, and Beauvoys rendred to him. And the Lorde Longueual tooke by ſtealth the Caſtell of Aumarle, and ſlue all the Engliſhmen within it.

Also about the ſame tyme, the Frenchmen recouered Caſtell Galiarde forth of the Engliſhe mens handes, where the Lorde Barbaſon was found in a dungeon, encloſed within a great grate of Iron like to a little Chamber, and forthwyth they brake open the grate, but Barbaſon woulde not come forth, bycauſe he had gyuen his fayth and promiſe to one Kingſton that was captaine of that Fortreſſe for the king of Englande, to bee true priſoner, vntil the Frenchmen had ſent to the ſame Kingſtone (that was departed vpon ſuche conenants as they were agreed vpon at the delyuerie of that fortreſſe) willing him to come backe againe vpon ſafeconduct, which at theyr earneſt Tho. VValſ.

requeſt he did, and withall diſcharged the Lorde Barbaſon of his othe, and ſo then he came forth and remayned at his libertie, to the greate reioyſing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had bene rather deade than aliue all that time of his impriſonment.

About the ſame time alſo the French K. ſought by all meanes poſſible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of Englande, and the houſe of Burgoigne, whereof the Duke of Bedforde hauing intelligence, thought it ſtoode him vpon the more earneſtly to looke to his charge, and namely as it were for an ancreholde, hee determined to prouide that hee might defende and ſafely kepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appoynting the Biſhop of Terrowen, and Ely, named Lewes of Lutzenburgh, Chancellor for King Henrie, of the realme of Fraunce, to remayne at Paris vpon the defence of that Citie, with a conuenient number of Engliſhmen, he departed into Normandie, and comming to Roan, called a Parliament there of the three eſtates of the Duchie, in the which he declared many things vnto them, touching the happy life, and great freedome which they might be aſſured to enioy, ſo long as they continued vnder the Engliſh obeyſance, and therefore he exhorted them to abyde conſtant in theyr allegiaunce, fayth and promyſe made and ſworne to his noble brother King Henrie the fifth.

pliment
Roan called
the Duke
Bedford,

Whyleſt the Duke of Bedforde was buſie to retaine the Normans in theyr due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis, and comming to the towne of Saint Denys, found it in maner deſolate, ſo that he entred there without reſiſtance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr, and Abberuilliers neare vnto the Citie of Paris. And from thence ſent John Duke of Alanſon, and his ſorcereſſe Joan la Pucelle, with three thouſande light horſemen to aſſault the Citie, and followed himſelfe, in hope to get it, eyther by force or treatie, But the Engliſh Captaynes euery one keeping his warde and place aſſigned, ſo manfullye defended themſelues, their walles and towers, with the aſſyſtance of the Pariſians, that they repulſed the Frenchmen, and threwe downe Joan theyr great Goddeſſe into the bottom of the town ditche, where ſhe lay behinde the backe of an Aſſe ſore hurt, till the tyme that ſhee (all filthie wyth myre and durt) was drawne out by Guyſcharde of Thienbrone, ſeruant to the Duke of Alanſon.

The French king perceyuing that he coulde not preuaile in this enterpriſe, left the dead bodies behinde him, and taking with him the wounded Captaine, returned into Berrie. But in the meane way, the inhabitants of Laignie ſubmytted themſelues vnto him.

The Duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this ſodain attempt, with all haſt poſſible came to Paris, where he gaue many greate thankes, with highe commendations vnto the Captaynes, ſouldiers and Citizens for theyr aſſured fidelitie, great hardineſſe, and manly doing, which his gentle words ſo encouraged the hearts of the Pariſians, that they ſware promiſed and concluded, to bee friendes for euer to the king of Englande, and his friends, and enimies alwayes to his foes and aduerſaries, making proclamation by this ſtyle, friendes to king Henrie, friends to the Pariſians, enimies to England, enimies to Paris. Marie whether this was vttered from the bottome of theyr hearts, it is heard to ſo ſay, but the ſequele of their acts would ſeeme to proue the contrarie.

Soone after theſe doings, came to Paris with a great companie, Philip Duke of Burgoigne, and then vpon long conſultation had for the recouerie of theyr loſſes, it was agreed that the Duke of Bedford ſhoulde rayſe an armie, and that the Duke of Burgoigne ſhoulde be his Deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defence of the Citie.

The Duke of Bedforde then withoute anye great reſiſtance recouered againe the towne of Saint Denys with dyuerſe other fortreſſes.

And after this hee ſent the Baſtarde of Clarence to laye ſiege to the Caſtell of Torſie, the which (notwythſtanding the great ſtrength thereof) after ſix monethes ſiege, was rendred vp into his handes.

During the ſiege of this Caſtell, ſir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure. C. Engliſhmen departed from Gourney in Normandie, and rode by Beauvoys, ſpoyling and robbing the Countrey to the Suburbes of Cleremount, whereof the Earle of that towne hauing aduertiſement, aſſembled all the men of warre of the garniſons adioyning, and wyth the ſame ſet forwarde to fight wyth the Engliſhmen whom he founde in a ſtrayte place neare to Beauvoys.

The Earle of Cleremonte perceyuing that hee coulde not hurte them wyth hys men of Armes by reaſon of the ſtrength, came downe on foote wyth all hys companye, and fiercely ſette on the Engliſhmenne: but by the terrible ſhotte of the Engliſhe Archers, the Frenchemenne in the ende were conſtrayned to flee, and the Engliſh menne perceyuing the matter, ſtreyght leapt on Horſebacke and followed the chaſe. In the whiche were taken two hundred Priſoners, and thrice as many ſlaine. The Earle eſcaped by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe.

At the ſame ſeaſon the Earle of Suffolke beſieging the Towne of Aumarle (whereof was Captayne the Lorde of Ramburres) after. xxiiij. greate aſſaultes gyuen to that Fortreſſe, had the towne and Caſtell ſimplye to hym rendred. Thus by lyttle and lyttle the Engliſhe menne recouered many Townes which before they had loſt.

But yet aboute the ſame tyme, the Frenche mē ſtale the towne of Laual, by treaſon wrought by a Myller, which keeping a Myll that ioyned to the Wall, ſuffred the Frenche to paſſe through his Myll into the towne.

Shortly after alſo ſir Stenē de Vignoilles ſurnamed la Hyre, toke by ſcaling, the towne af Louiers in Normandie.

Laygny beſieged by the engliſhmen.

The Engliſhe men in the colde Moneth of December beſieged the towne of Laigny in the whiche was the Puſelle, and diuerſe other good Captaynes. The weather was ſo cold, and the raine ſo great and continuall, that the Engliſhe menne by that vntemperauncie of the ayre, and not by the enimyes, were conſtreyned to rayſe theyr ſiege.

1430

Compeigne beſieged.

After this the Duke of Burgoigne accompanied with the Earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the Lorde Iohn of Lutzenburgh, beſieged the towne of Compiegne with a great puyſſance.

This towne was well walled, manned, and vitayled, ſo that the beſiegers were conſtrayned to caſte trenches, and make mynes, for otherwiſe they ſawe not howe to compaſſe their purpoſe.

In the meane time it happened in the night of the Aſcention of our Lord, that Poyton de Saintreyles, Ioan la Puſelle, and fiue or ſixe hundred men of armes iſſued oute by the bridge towarde Mondedier, intending to ſet fire in the tentes and lodgings of the Lorde Bawdo de Noyelle.

At the ſame verie tyme, ſir Iohn de Luxenburgh, with eight other Gentlemen, chaunced to be nere vnto the lodgings of the ſayd lord Bawdo, where they eſpyed the Frenchmen which beganne to cut downe Tents, ouerthrow Pauilions, and kill men in theyr beddes, whereuppon they with all ſpeede aſſembled a great number of men, as well Engliſh as Burgonions, and couragiouſly ſet on the Frenchmen, and in the ende beate them backe into the towne, ſo that they fled ſo faſte that one letted another, as they woulde haue entred.

Saint Albons.

In the chaſe and purſute was the Puſelle taken with diuerſe other, beſydes thoſe that were ſlaine, which were no ſmall number.

Diuerſe were hurte alſo on both partes. Among the Engliſhmen, ſir Iohn Montgomerie, had hys arme broken, and Sir Iohn Stewarde was ſhotte into the thigh with a quarell.

Ioan the Puſel taken.

The ſame Puſelle was afterwardes ſent vnto Roan, where being preſented vnto the Duke of Bedforde, ſhe was long tyme kept in pryſon, and at length by due proceſſe of the lawes condemned for a Sorcereſſe. But at the firſt abiuring hir errours and great wickedneſſe, it was thought ſhee ſhoulde haue eſcaped death. But when it was after proued agaynſte hir, that ſhee fell into the relaps, proteſting the ſame vppon a wylfull and obſtinate minde, ſhee was committed to the ſecular power, and by force thereof finally burnt to Aſhes.

Engueran.

The Puſelle brent.

After the taking of the ſayd Ioan la Puſelle, the ſiege ſtill continued before Compiegne, and the Duke of Bedforde ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne lying at the ſiege, the Earle of Huntingdon, and ſir Iohn Robeſert, with a thouſand archers which dayly ſkirmiſhed wᵗ thē within, and made ſuche Baſtiles and Fortreſſes, that the Towne had beene rendred into theyr handes, but that the Duke of Burgogne departed from the ſiege to goe into Brabante, to receyue the poſſeſſion of that Duchie, by the death of his couſin Philip the Duke of that Countrey, as then departed this worlde.

Anno. 9.

Sir Iohn de Lutzenburg was lefte by the duke of Burgoigne as generall of the ſiege before Compiegne, the which he rayſed within a ſhorte ſpace after, contrarie to the myndes of the Engliſhe menne, whiche were verie deſirous to haue lyen there tyll the Towne hadde beene rendered, whiche if the ſiege had beene continued but eight dayes longer, muſte needes haue come to paſſe, by reaſon that peſtilence and famine hadde almoſte conſumed all the Souldiers wythin the Towne, ſo that it remayned in maner withoute defence.

1431

After the breaking vppe of this ſiege, Iohn Duke of Norffolke tooke agayne the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chaſſe Mongay wyth diuerſe other townes.

Alſo the Earle of Staffoꝛde tooke the towne of Bryn Countie Robert, and from thence foraged all the Countrey to Sens, and after tooke Queſnoy in Brie, Grand Puys, and Rampellon.

During which tyme, the French men on the other ſide, tooke Louiers, and Villeneuf.

Then alſo did the Towne of Melun rebell, and had ſuche ayde of other townes adioyning, that the Engliſh Souldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Morret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull ballance, betwixt the two nations Engliſh and French.

But bycauſe the Engliſhe ſore myſtruſted further daunger, it was concluded, that King Henrie in his royall perſon wyth a newe armie, ſhoulde come into Fraunce, partly to viſite and comfort his owne ſubiectes there, and partly eyther by feare or fauour (bycauſe a childe of hys age and beautie doth commonly procure them loue of elder perſons,) to moue the Frenchmen to continue theyr due obeyſaunce towardes hym.

Wherefore

Wherfore after a great hoſt conuenient for that purpoſe aſſembled, and money for maintenaunce of the warre readie gathered, and the realme ſet in an order vnder the gouernment of the Duke of Gloceſter Protectour (which during the Kings abſence appeaſed diuerſe riottes, and puniſhed the offenders) the king with a great power tooke ſhipping at Douer, on Saint Georges Euen within night, and landed at Calays on the morrow, being Saint Georges day, and Sunday, by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning. He remayned in Calays a good ſpace, and from thence hee remoued to Roan, beeing there receyued wyth all tryumphe. Hee taryed in that Citie a long time, his Nobles dayly conſulting on their great buſineſſe and weightie affayres.

Henry ... in per- ... with ... into ... nce.

... Albons.

Anno reg. 10.

In the Moneth of Nouember, hee remoued from Roan to Pontoyſe, and ſo to Saint Denyſe, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris and there to be ſacred king of Fraunce.

There were in his companie of his owne Nation, his vncle the Cardinall of Wincheſter, the Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedforde, Yorke, and Norffolke, the Earles of Warwicke, Saliſburie, Oxforde, Huntingdon, Ormonde, Mortaine, and Suffolke. Of Gaſcoignes, there were the Earles of Longuile, and Marche, beſide many other noble men of Englande, Guienne, and Normandie. And the chiefe of the French Nation, were the Dukes of Burgoigne, and Lewes of Luxenburg, Cardinal and Chauncellour of Fraunce for king Henrie: the Biſhoppes of Beauoys, and Noyoune, both Peeres of Fraunce, beſyde the Biſhoppe of Paris, and dyuerſe other Byſhoppes, the Earle of Vaudemount and other Noble menne, whoſe names were ſuperfluous to rehearſe. And hee had in a garde aboute his perſon three thouſande price Archers, ſome on horſebacke, and part on foote.

To ſpeake with what honour he was receyued into the Citie of Paris, what Pageauntes were prepared, and how richly the gates, ſtreetes, and bridges on euerie ſyde were hanged wyth coſtly clothes of Arras and tapeſſerie, it would be too long a proceſſe, and therefore I doe here paſſe it ouer with ſilence.

King Henry ... crowned in Paris.

On the. xvij. day of December, he was crowned king of France, in our Ladie Church of Paris, by the Cardinall of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Paris not being contented that the Cardinall ſhould doe ſuch an high ceremonie in his Church and iuriſdiction.

After all the ceremonies were finiſhed, the K. returned toward the Palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him, & one ſcepter in his hande, and the ſecond borne before him.

This high and ioyous feaſt paſſed not wythout ſome ſpice of diſpleaſure amongſt the Engliſh nobilitie: for the Cardinall of Wincheſter, which at this time would haue no man to be equall with him, commaunded the Duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of Regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the chiefe ruler being in preſence, the authoritie of the ſubſtitute to be cleerly derogate, according to the cōmon ſaying, In ye preſence of the higher power, the ſmaller giueth place.

The Duke of Bedford tooke ſuch a ſecrete diſpleaſure with this doing, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but ſtoode agaynſt him in all things that he would haue forwarde.

This was the roote (as ſome haue thought) of that diuiſion amongeſt the Engliſhe Nobilitie, whereby their glorie within the realme of France began firſt to decline.

The nexte daye after the ſolemne feaſt of the kings coronation, were kept tryumphant iuſtes and tourneys, in the which the Erle of Arundell, and the baſtard of S. Poll, by the iudgement of the Ladies wan the price.

The King kept open houſe the ſpace of xx. dayes to all commers, and after bycauſe the ayre of Paris ſeemed contrary to his pure complexion, by the aduice of his counſail, he remoued to Roan where he kept his Chriſtmaſſe. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of Fraunce and Normandie did to him homage, & the commen people ſware to him fealtie.

In this meane time, ſir Frances called the Arragoignois, a noble captaine of the Engliſh part in Normandie, tooke by force and policie, the towne of Montargis, with a great pray of treaſure and priſoners, and put therin a garriſon, leauing it wel furniſhed with vitails and munition.

Montargis recouered by the Engliſhmen.

About the ſame time, the Earle of Arundel being truly enformed that the Lord Bouſac Marſhall of Fraunce was come to Beauuoys entending to do ſome feate in Normandie, aſſẽbled the number of xxiij. hundred mẽ, and comming nere to the ſayde towne of Beauuays, ſent a greate number of lighte horſemen to runne before the towne, to treyne out the Frenchmen within, the whiche iſſuing out and following the Engliſche horſemen vnto their ſtale, were ſo encloſed and fought with, that in maner al the number of them ſaue a fewe which fledde backe into the Towne wyth the Marſhall, were ſlaine or taken.

Amongeſt other of the chiefeſt priſoners, that valiaunt Captaine Ponton de Santrailles was one, and without delay was exchaunged for the Lorde Talbot, before taken priſoner at the battaile of Patay.

There was alſo taken one called the ſhepherd, a ſimple man, and a ſillie ſoule, but yet of ſuche

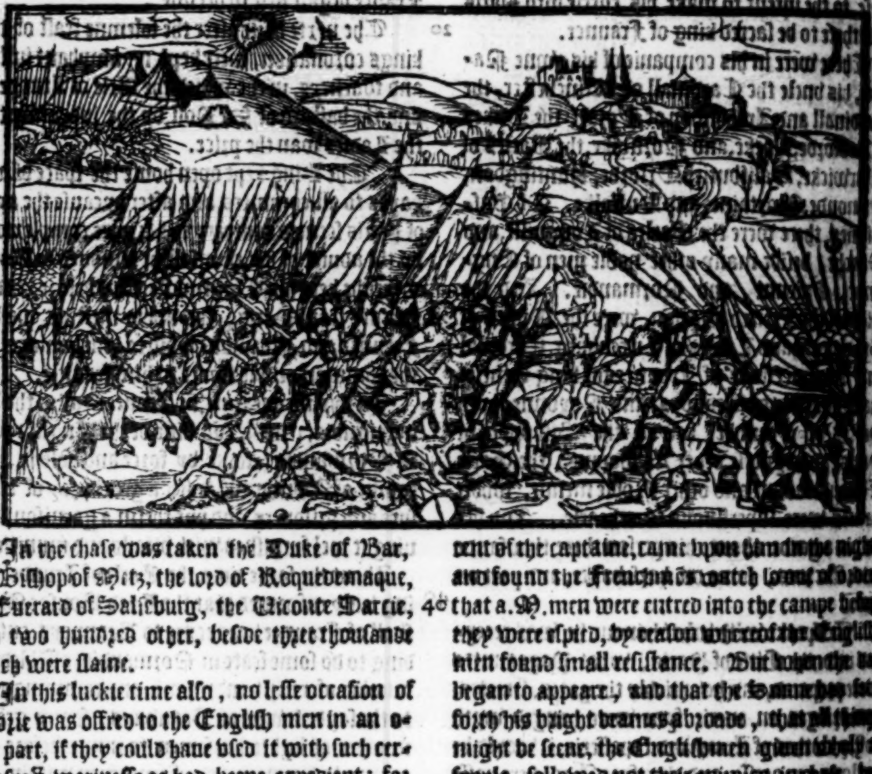
The holy ſhepard.

reputation for his ſuppoſed holyneſſe amongeſt the French men, that if hee touched the Wall of any of theyr aduerſaryes townes, they beleeued it would incontinently fall downe.

This chaunce ſucceeded not fortunately alone vnto the Engliſhe nation; for Richarde Beauchampe Earle of Warwicke had a great ſkyrmiſhe before the towne of Gourney, where hee diſcomfited and repulſed his enimies: and beſyde thoſe that were ſlaine, he tooke .lx. horſmen, all being gentlemen of name and armes.

Vaudemount beſieged.

Like chaunce happened to the friendes of king Charles, toward the marches of Lorraine, where Reigner Duke of Bar beſieged the Towne of Vaudemont perteining to the Erle therof named Anthonie, couſin to the ſame duke Reigner. This Erle before the dukes approching, left a conuenient crew within the towne to defende it, and with all ſpeede rode to the Duke of [illegible] goigne, being then at the Court kept [illegible] at Paris, where he purchaſed ſuch [illegible] handes, bycauſe hee had euer taken their part, that not onely ſir John Faſtolfe was [illegible] to go with him, hauing in his company [illegible] Archers, but alſo the Duke of [illegible] Marſhall named ſir Anthonie Tou[illegible] panied with .xv. C. other men [illegible]. When the duke of [illegible] heard [illegible] mies were thus comming towards [illegible] hardie captaine, he rayſed his ſiege [illegible] fare with the erle and his company, [illegible] was a cruell and mortall battell. The [illegible] the French ſide enclined long, but in [illegible] Engliſh archers ſo galled their horſes, & wounded the men, that the Barrois, [illegible] & other of duke Reigniers ſide were compelled to [illegible]



The Duke of Bar taken.

In the chaſe was taken the Duke of Bar, the Biſhop of Metz, the lord of Roquedemaque, ſir Euerard of Saliſburg, the Vicounte Darcie, and two hundred other, beſide three thouſande which were ſlaine.

Saint Seuerine beſieged,

In this luckie time alſo, no leſſe occaſion of victorie was offred to the Engliſh men in an other part, if they could haue vſed it with ſuch circumſpect warineſſe as had beene expedient: for Robert Lord Willoughby, & Mathew Gough, a valiant Welchman, with .xv. hundred Engliſh men, laid ſiege to a towne in Anion called S. Seuerine, whereof Charles the Frenche king beeing aduertiſed, ſent with all ſpeede the Lord Ambroſe de Lore, with many noble men to the ſuccors of them within the towne, whereof the ſame Lorde Ambroſe was captaine, and therefore made the more haſt to relieue his deputie, and the other being ſtraytly beſieged, but yet ſtayed at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him. The Engliſhmen aduertiſed of this intent of the captaine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch ſo out of order, that a .M. men were entred into the campe before they were eſpied, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhe men found ſmall reſiſtance. But when the day began to appeare, and that the Sunne had ſette forth his bright beames abroade, that all things might be ſeene, the Engliſhmen giuen wholy to ſpoyle, followed not their enimies in chaſe, but being contented with their pray and gaine, began to retreyt toward the ſiege againe, which the Lord Willoughbie ſtill maynteyned with a part of the armie.

But ſee the chaunce, the Frenchmen which were comming after, heard by the noyſe of the people that ſome fray was in hande, put ſpurres to their horſes, and ſet on the Engliſh men peſtered with bagge and baggages of the ſpoyle and pray which they had gotten in the French campe.

The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and ayded their fellowes, ſo that the Engliſhmen beeing taken oute of order, were compelled to flee, of whō Mathew Gough and diuerſe other were taken priſoners, and yet of the other part many were ſlaine, and a great nūber taken: amongſt whome was the L. de Lore, who for all that the French men coulde doe was kept & not deliuered. The L. Willoughby hearing of this miſhap, rayſed his ſiege and departed verie ſore diſpleaſed in his minde, but coulde not remedie it.

legate from
...e ſent to
...e of peace
...twixt the
...gliſh and
French.

About this ſeaſon, Nicholas the Cardinall of the holy Croſſe, was ſent into Fraunce as a Legate from Eugeny the fourth as then Biſhoppe of Rome, to treate a peace betweene the Engliſhe men and Frenchmen, but when after greate inſtance and labour made betwene the parties, hee ſawe their obſtinate and frowarde myndes, nothing enclined to any agreement, he wan ſo much at theyr handes by earneſt ſute, that a truce was graunted to endure for ſix yeares to come: but as the ſame was hardly graunted, ſo was it of the Frenchmen ſone and lightly broken. For the baſtard of Orleans newly made Erle of Dunoys, toke by treaſon the towne of Chartres from the Engliſh men, affyrming by the lawe of armes, that ſtealing or buying a towne withoute inuaſion or aſſault was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he ſlue the Biſhop, bycauſe he was a Burgonian. Hereby did new malice encreaſe, and mortal warre beganne eftſones to be put in vre.

...ruce for vi.
...eares,

...artres take
...y treaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were doing in Fraunce, the Cardinal of Wincheſter was come backe againe into Englande, to appeaſe certaine commotions and ſturres attempted by certaine perſons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Maundeuille, and John Sharpe the chiefe authors therof were apprehēded and executed by the gouernour and the kings Juſtices, the reſidue yelded and confeſſed their offences, whereof two articles were theſe (as ſome write) that Prieſtes ſhould haue no poſſeſſions, and that all things by the order of charitie among chriſtian people ſhuld be in common.

Other ther be, that haue thought how their opinions were not ſo farre diſagreeing from the ſcripture, as to mainteyne any ſuche errors, but that their enimies contriued to ſpread abrode ſuch rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

...liament
...ed by the
...Glouceſ-
...the k. being
...rance.

After that their conſpiracie was thus by diligent inquirie therof had, clearly quenched, a Parliament was called by the Duke of Glouceſter, in the which money was aſſigned to be leuied, and men appoynted, whiche ſhoulde paſſe ouer into Fraunce to the ayde of the Duke of Bedford, for the better maintenance of the warres, bycauſe it was ſuſpected that the truce woulde not long continue.

A peace concluded with the Scots.

During this Parliament, James the king of Scots ſent Ambaſſadors to cōclude a peace with the Duke of Glouceſter, who (bycauſe the King was abſēt) referred the matter to ẏ three eſtates. After long conſultation, not without great argumentes, a peace was concluded.

When the Parliament was ended, the Cardinall well furniſhed with men and money, departed out of England, and came to Roan to the king, to whom alſo reſorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to conſult of things not vnlikely to follow. Hereupon a great counſaile was kept in the Caſtell of Roan, and many doubtes moued, and few weightie things out of hande concluded. At length after great diſputation, with many argumentes ended, the dukes of Bedford and York, and Edmond late Erle of Mortaigne, and nowe by ẏ death of John Duke of Sommerſet (which dyed wythout heyre Male, leauing behinde him a ſole daughter called Margaret after Counteſſe of Richmonde) receyued to the name and tytle of Duke of Sommerſette, lyked and approued the Argument and reaſon of thoſe that helde how it was expedient to haue an armie in a readineſſe for defence, leaſt the Frenchmen ſodainly ſhoulde attempt any enterpryſe to the daunger of the Engliſhmen and loſſe of thoſe townes and Countreys which were vnder their rule and dominion.

1432

K. Henry returneth out of France into England.

When all things were agreed, King Henry departed to Calays, and from thence to Douer, and ſo by eaſie iourneyes hee came the xxj. day of Februarie to the Citie of London, where he was both triumphantly receiued, and richly preſented, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian it maye at large appeare.

After that the King was departed forth of Fraunce into Englande, the Duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, and Captaine of Calays, taryed behynde in the Marches of Pichardie, where hee was enfourmed that certaine Souldiours of Calays grudging at the reſtraynte of Wolles, beganne to murmure agaynſt the king and his Counſaile, ſo that the towne was like to haue ſtand in ieopardie.

The Duke therefore foreſeeing the miſchiefe that might enſue, and thinking it wiſedome to withſtande the firſt motion, cauſed the chiefe doers to be apprehended, and vpon due examination had, diuerſe were put to death, and many baniſhed that towne and marches for euer.

The Duches of Bedford ſiſter to the Duke of Burgoigne deceaſed.

In the meane tyme, the Ladie Anne Ducheſſe of Bedforde departed thys lyfe at Paris, by whoſe death the aſſured loue and faythfull friendſhip betwixt the Duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgoigne, began to decay.

The Duke of Bedford maryeth with the Erle of Saint Pol his daughter.

Shortly after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare. 1433. the ſayde Duke of Bedforde being thus a wydower, through the perſwaſion of the Lorde Lewes of Lutzenbourgh Biſhop of Tyrwinne and Ely, and Chancellor of France for king Henrie, agreed to marry the Lady Iaquet, daughter to Peter Earle of Saint Pol, and neece to the ſayde Biſhoppe, and to the Lorde Iohn of Lutzenbourgh.

The maryage was ſolemnized at Tyrwinne with greate triumph. After which ſolemne feaſt ended, the Duke of Bedforde returned wyth hys newe ſpouſe (being aboute the age of .xvij. yeres) vnto Calays, and ſo into Englande, where hee remayned vntill Auguſt next, and then returned againe to Paris.

The Duke of Burgoigne was nothing pleaſed with this new alliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the houſe of Lutzenbourgh: but the mariage was conſummate ere he coulde finde any remedie to hinder it.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, in other places the French ſouldiers lacking wages began priuilye (as the tyme ſerued) to take both Engliſhmenne and Burgonians, raunſoming and ſpoyling them at theyr pleaſure.

The Engliſhmen herewith moued to diſpleaſure, prepared for warre after ſixe Monethes that the truce had beene taken. So by ſuche meanes was the warre againe renued.

Thē Frenchmē breake the truce and take the towne of Saint Valerie.

The Frenchmen as open trucebreakers, rayſed a crew of men, & ſodenly toke the town of S. Valerie ſtanding in Normandie, neare to the mouth of the Riuer of Somme, and an other army vnder the leading of Sir Ambroſe de Lore, waſted and deſtroyed al the country about Caen. The Duke of Bedforde not myndyng to bee ydle on his part, ſent the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Warwikes ſonne, the Lord Liſle Adam marſhall of Fraunce for king Henrie, and .xij. C. men of warre with ordinance and munitions to beſiege the towne of Laigny vpon the Riuer of Marne. The Earle with ſhot of Canon brake the arche of the bridge, and got from the Frenche men theyr Bulwarke, and ſet it on fire. Diuerſe aſſaultes were attempted, but the towne was wel defended, for there were within it an .viij. hundred men of armes, beſide other meane ſouldiers.

Laigny beſieged.

The Duke of Bedforde hereof aduertiſed gathered an armie of ſixe thouſande men, whereof were Captaynes Robert Lorde Willoughbie, ſir Andrew Ogard Chamberlaine to the Duke, ſir Iohn Saluaine baylyf of Roan, ſir Iohn Montgomerie baylife of Caux, ſir Philip Hall baylife of Vernoille, ſir Richarde Ratcliffe Deputie of Calays, ſir Rauſe Neuill, ſir Rauſe Standiſh, ſir Iohn Hanforde, ſir Richarde Euthyn, ſir Richard Haringthon Baylife of Eureux, ſir William Fulthorpe, ſir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dauie Hall, Tho. Stranguiſh, Leonard Ormſtone eſquiers, and Thomas Gerard.

The Duke of Bedforde furniſhed with this armie and companie of worthie Captaines came to the ſiege before Laigny, where he made a bridge of Boates, and brought his ordinaunce ſo neare the towne, that to all people it ſeemed not long able to reſiſt. But the Earle of Dunoys otherwiſe called the Baſtarde of Orleans, with diuers hardie Captaynes as valiauntly defended as the Engliſh men aſſaulted. At length the Frenche King perceyuing thys Towne to bee the three corner Key betweene the territories Burgonian, Engliſh and French, and the loſſe thereof ſhould turne him to irrecouerable domage, ſent the Lord of Rieux, Poyton, the Hyre, the Lord Gawcourt and ſixe thouſande men, with great plentie of vytaile, to the intent eyther to rayſe the ſiege, or elſe to vytaile the towne.

The French men made a bragge as though they woulde haue aſſayled the Engliſh men in theyr campe, but when they perceyued the courage of the Lorde Regent, and the deſire which he had to fight, they framed themſelues ſo in order of battaile, as though they could do al things and yet in effect did nothing, but that whyleſt parte of them mainteyned a ſkyrmiſhe, a ſorte of rude and ruſticall perſons were appoynted to conuey into the towne thirtie Oxen, and other ſmall vytayle: but thys ſweete gayne was dearelye payed for, if the loſſe wyth the gayne bee pondered in equall Ballaunce: for hauing regarde to thirtie leane Oxen, in the ſkirmiſhe were ſlaine the Lorde Sayntreiles brother to that valiaunt Captayne Poyton de Sayntreylles, alſo Captayne Iohn brother to the Lord Gawcourt, and fiftie other noble and valiaunt perſonages.

The Frenchmen perceyuing they coulde not atchieue theyr entrepryce as then to theyr aduantage, conſidering not onely how the Engliſhmen were planted in a place not eaſie to be won, and again the vnſpeakable heate which ſore trauayled theyr people, being in the beginning of Auguſt, they remoued and went vnto Fort vnder Perre, where by a bridge of tunnes they paſſed into the Iſle of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedforde (like a wiſe Prince) not myndyng to leaſe the more for the leſſe, nor the accident for the ſubſtance, reyſed his ſiege & returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarell with dint of ſworde againſt hys enimies, if they would thereto agree. And hereupon he ſent Bedford his Herauld to the L. Gawcourt and other captayns of the French army, offring them battail & a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoynt.

The

Hal.

The French Captaynes anſwered the Engliſh Herault, that there was both tyme to gaine, and time to loſe, of the whiche they doubted not to eſpie the one, eyther to theyr greate gayne or apparant loſſe.

1433 The Caſtle of Roan likely to be taken by treaſon of the Captayne.

Shortly after, Peers Audebeuſe Coneſtable of the Caſtell of Roan, corrupted with money, ſuffred the Marſhall of Fraunce, with two hundred other, as perſons diſguiſed to enter the place by ſtealth, but they were ſoone eſpyed, and driuen to the dungeon, where they were conſtrayned to yeeld themſelues priſoners, of the whiche ſome were hanged, ſome headed, and ſome raunſomed, at the pleaſure of the Regent.

This pageant thus played and ended, the lord Regent ſent the Earle of Saint Paule, and Robert Lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to beſiege yͤ towne of Saint Ualerie whiche the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This ſiege continued the ſpace of three Weekes, at the ende whereof the Frenchmen within yeelded the towne and departed with theyr horſe and harneſſe onely ſaued. The Earle putte there in garniſon freſhe and valiaunt Souldiours, and appoynted Captayne there, Sir Iohn Aubemounde.

In the ſame towne (whether by infection of ayre, or by corrupt vitaile, which the towneſmen did eate) a great Peſtilence ſhortly after happened which conſumed within a ſmall time two partes of the people.

The Earle of Saint Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby returning back to the Regent, were ioyfully receyued, and within a while after, the Earle departed from Paris to laye ſiege to the Caſtell of Mouchas, but being encamped neare to yͤ town of Blangy, he by a ſodain maladie departed this life, yͤ laſt of Auguſt, leauing hys ſeignories to Lewes de Lutzenburg his ſon & heyre.

An. reg. 12.

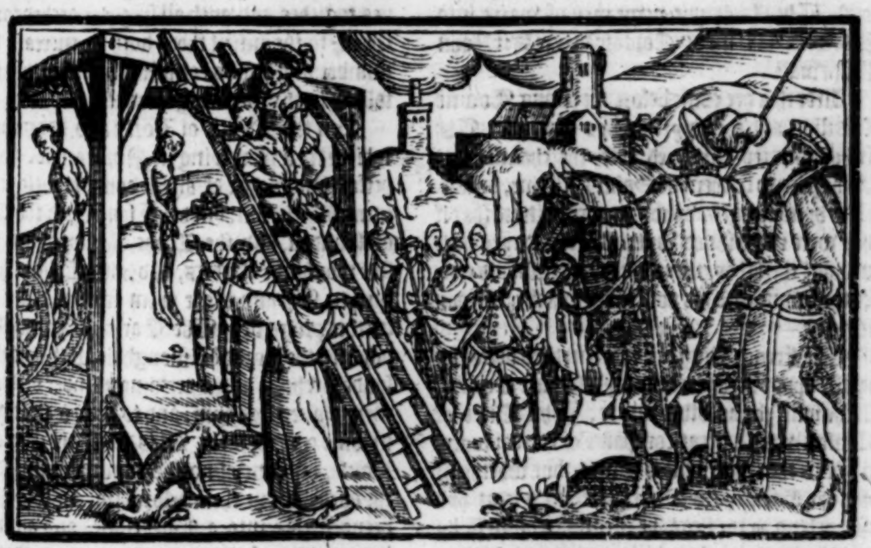
Bycauſe this dead Earle was father in lawe to the Regent, ſolemne obſequies were kepte for him both in Paris and in London.

In the meane ſeaſon the French men entring into high Burgoigne, burnt tooke, and deſtroyed, diuerſe townes, whereupon the Burgonions aſſẽbled a great armie, both to reuẽge their quarels, and to recouer theyr townes taken from them, to whome as to hys friendes the Duke of Bedforde ſente the Lorde Wylloughbie, and Sir Thomas Kiriell with a conuenient number of Souldiers, whiche entring into the landes of Laonnoys, were encountered with a greate power of theyr enimyes: But after long fyghte, the Frenche menne were ouerthrowne, and of them lefte deade in the fyelde an hundred and ſixtie Horſemen, beſyde priſoners, which after in a furie were all kylled and putte to deſtruction.

1434 The Lord Talbot ſayleth into Fraunce.

Whileſt theſe things happened thus in France, Iohn Lorde Talbot gathered togither a crewe of choſen men of warre in England, to the number of .viij. hundred, and ſayled into Normandie, and paſſed by Roan to Paris.

In his waye hee tooke the ſtrong Caſtell of Ioing betwene Beauuays and Gyſours, and cauſed all the Frenchmen within to bee taken and hanged, and after raſed and defaced the Caſtell.



After he had reſted himſelfe a whyle at Paris, and taken aduice with the Counſaile there, what way it ſhould be beſt for him to take, without prolonging tyme, he with the Lorde de Liſle Adam and others, departed from thence, hauing in theyr retinues .xvj. hundred men of war, and comming to the caſtell of Beaumont vpon Oyſe, whereof was captain ſir Amadour de Uignolles brother to the Hire, they foũd it abãdoned by thẽ yͭ had it in keping, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creil, whither the Lorde Talbot followed them, and ſleaing in a ſkirmiſh the ſaid Amadour, he wan at length the ſayd Towne of Creil, & after the townes of Pont S. Maxence, Neufville in Eſmoy, la Rouge Maiſon, Creſpy en Valoys, and Clermont in Beauuoſis, & after with great ryches and good priſoners returned to Paris: neither had the Lorde Talbot ſuch good & proſperous ſucceſſe alone, but the Erle of Arundel alſo at the verie ſame ſeaſon tooke the Caſtell of Bomeline, and razed it to the grounde, and after got by force the caſtell of Dorle, and from thence came to S. Selerine, where the Lord Ambroſe de Lore, beeing Captayne, iſſued oute and fought with the Engliſh men ſo egerly, that hee droue them backe an arrowe ſhoote by fine force: but the Earle ſo encouraged his men, that they gaue a freſhe onſet vppon the French menne, and followed it ſo fiercely, that they ſlue a greate number of them, and droue the reſidue into the towne.

Loueirs beſieged.

After this victorie, he beſieged Louiers, whereof was Capitayne the Hyre and hys brother, which rendred the towne without aſſault.

Then the Earle aſſembling togither a greate armie, returned againe to Saint Selerine, and enuyroned the towne with a ſtrong ſiege. When hee had lyen there almoſt three monethes, euerye day attempting or doing ſomewhat, hee finally gaue ſo fierce an aſſault, that by force he entred the Towne, and ſlue John Allemaigne, and Guilliam Saint Albine, the chiefe Captaynes, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le Seigneur de Lore were taken pryſoners. The Earle put newe men of warre into the towne, and made Captaine there Sir John Cornewall.

After this hee came before the ſtrong Towne of Sillye, and there pytched hys Campe. The Inhabitauntes diſmayed with the chaunce that had happened to them of Saint Selerine, deliuered to hym pledges, vppon thys condition, that if they were not reſkued wythin thirtie dayes next enſuing, then they (theyr lyues ſaued) ſhould render the towne into his poſſeſſion: which offer was receyued.

The French King being aduertiſed hereof by a poſt, appoynted (as ſome ſay) Arthure Earle of Richmont, (or as other wryte, John Duke of Alanſon) with a great companie of men of warre to goe to the reſkue of this towne, but whether it was the Earle or the Duke, certaine it is at hys approching to the ſiege, he encamped himſelfe by a brooke ſide, ouer the whiche a man might haue ſtryden, and perceyueng how ſtrongly the Engliſhmen were encamped agaynſt him, he thought it not for his profit to gyue battayle, and ſo in the night ſeaſon cayſed and went his way wythoute further attempt.

When they within the towne knew that their ſuccours fayled, they rendred themſelues to the mercie of the Earle of Arundell, who gently receyued them, and leauing a garniſon in the towne, departed to Mans, and in his way tooke the Caſtelles of Mellay and S. Laurence.

About this time the Lorde Willoughbie and ſir Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victorie oute of Burgoigne, paſſing by the towne of Louiers lately reduced to the Engliſh obeiſance, furniſhed it both with men and munition.

An inſ
in Norman

Amongſt ſo many good chaunces, ſome euill are accuſtomed to happen, or elſe the gayners woulde not knowe themſelues. And ſo at thys tyme it happened, that a great number of the common and ruſticall people in Normandye dwelling by the Sea coaſt, eyther prouoked by the Frenche King, or deſyrous of alteration and chaunge (which thing the commons much couet and deſire) made an inſurrection, put on harneis, and by force expulſed certaine Engliſhe garniſons oute of theyr holdes, publyſhing and proclayming openly, that theyr onelye purpoſe and intent was to expell and baniſhe the whole Engliſhe Nation out of theyr Countreys and Coaſtes. Wherefore it may euidently appeare, that the blacke Morian will ſooner chaunge hys colour, than the vniuerſall people bredde in Fraunce, will heartily loue or inwardly fauour an Engliſh borne childe.

Hereupon this vngracious people, forgetting theyr dutie and allegiance vnto theyr ſoueraigne Lorde and King, frantikely aſſembled themſelues togither, and with all ſpeede marched toward Caen, to the intent there both to encreaſe theyr number, and alſo to conſult what way they ſhuld follow in their new begun enterpriſe.

But the Dukes of Yorke and Sommerſet, whiche then were lying in Normandie, hauing perfect knowledge of all the doing of theſe rebels, immediately without delay ſent forth the Earle of Arundell, and the Lorde Willoughbye with ſixe thouſande Archers, and .xiij. C. light horſemen to ſtay and keepe them from making anye further progreſſe. The Earle of Arundell appoynted the Lorde Willoughbie, with two thouſande Archers, and a certaine number of Horſemen to goe afore hym, and to lie in a ſtale within ſome couert place. This done, the Earle followed, and encloſing the ragged multitude at the backe, droue them before him, as they hadde beene Deare into a Buckeſtale, and when the ignoraunt multitude approched nere to the place of the ſtale, the Earle made a token, and ſhotte a Gunne for a ſigne. Therewyth the Lorde Wylloughbie ſette on them before, and the Earle behynde, ſhoting ſo fiercely, that the baſtarde people, wounded and galled with the ſhot of arrowes, threwe away theyr harneſſe, deſiring nothing but death.

The Earle of Arundell moued with compaſſion, cauſed his ſouldiers to ſtaye from further ſlaughter, & apprehending thoſe which he thought to be the leaders & chiefe ſtyrrers of the people, let the other returne home without any further domage: but yet ere the ſouldiers coulde bee brought backe vnder their ſtandarts, there were aboue a thouſand of the rebels ſlaine.

After this commotion was thus appeaſed, vpon inquirie had of the principall offenders, ſuch as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions as they had well deſerued.

During which rebellion, Peter Rokeforde, and his companie, gat by treaſon the Towne of Deepe, and dyuerſe other holdes thereto adioyning.

After the Earle of Arundell had obteyned ſo many conqueſtes, and notable victories (as partly ye haue hearde) hee attempted another, whiche was the laſt worke and finall labour of his lyuing dayes. For the Duke of Bedford being informed that his aduerſaryes hadde gotten the Towne of Rue, and therein putte a garniſon, whiche ſore vexed the Countreyes of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Bolennoys, ſent worde to the Erle that he without delay ſhuld beſiege ẏ ſaid towne. The Erle obeying his commaundement aſſembled his people, and came to Gourney, where hee heard tell how there was a Caſtel neare to Beauays called Gerberoy, the which being fallen in decay, Charles the French King had appoynted ſir Stephen de Uleignoilles, commonly called the Hyre, to repayre and newly to fortifie, bycauſe it ſtoode commodiouſly to ſerue as a countergarniſon agaynſt the Engliſh townes and fortreſſes on thoſe frontiers.

The Erle aduertiſed hereof, and perceyuing that this new building would be greatly preiudiciall to the Engliſhe men, determined firſt to diſpoſſeſſe his enimies of that place, ſuppoſing to finde ſmall reſiſtaunce, but he was deceyued, for there was the ſayde Hyre, and a three thouſand men of warre with him. The Erle cõming thither, encamped himſelfe with fiue. C. horſemen in a little cloſe not farre from the Caſtell.

The Frenchmen perceyuing that the Earle and his horſes were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to ſet vpon him before the comming of his footemen, the which they knewe to be little more than a mile behinde. Wherefore for a policie, they ſet forth fiftie horſemen, as though there had beene no mo within the Caſtell. The Erle perceyuing this, ſent forth ſir Randolfe Standiſh to encounter them, hauing with him an hundred horſes.

The Frenchmen fought couragiouſly awhile, and ſodainly came out all the remnant, and ſlue ſir Randolfe Standiſh, and all his companie, and boldly ſet on the Erle and his bande, which manfully reſiſted the French men, till at length the Hyre cauſed three Culuerings to be ſhotte off amongſt the Engliſhmen, whereof one ſtrake the Earle on the ancle, and ſo brake his legge, that for payne he fell from his horſe. Then the French menne entered amongeſt the Engliſhenne, toke the Earle lying on the grounde, wyth Sir Rycharde Wooduile, and ſixe ſcore moe, and there were ſlaine almoſte two hundred. The reſidue ſaued themſelues as well as they might.

The Earle was caryed to Beauays, where of his hurt he ſhortly dyed, and was buried in the Frier Minors.

He was a man of ſyngular vertue, conſtancy, and grauitie, whoſe death in ſo troublous a ſeaſon did ſore appall the heartes of the Engliſhe people.

Thus did mightie Mars oftentymes chaunge his variable countenaunce, ſo that one tyme the Engliſh menne got by aſſault, and yeelding dyuerſe ſtrong Townes, Caſtelles, and Pyles, and at another ſeaſon the Frenche people, ſomtime by bargaine, ſometyme by aſſault obteyned, the ſame againe, or other in their ſteede.

Aboute the Moneth of June in this twelfth yeare, John Duke of Bourbon and Auuergne, taken priſoner at the battayle of Agincourt. xviij. yeares paſt (as before ye haue heard) nowe paying his raunſome, whiche was eightene thouſande pounde ſterling, was taken with a moſte ſore and grieuous Feuer, the which made an end of his lyfe in the Citie of London, the ſame daye that was appoynted for his departure towardes Fraunce, whoſe corps was enterred in the gray Friers of the ſame Citie. So thus maye euerye creature ſee, howe man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth.

The Duke of Bourbon dyeth at Londõ.

Continuation Chro. of Flan.

This yeare alſo about the latter end of May, was an enteruiew appoynted to be had at Saint Omers betwixt the Dukes of Bedford & Burgoigne, for the qualifying of certaine diſpleaſures and grudges betwixt them kindled and maintayned by ſome flattering taletellers, which feyning things of reproche touching highly theyr honors, bredde ſuche grudges, that all loue betwixte them ceaſſed, all affynitye was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was drowned through diſdayne in the bottomleſſe caue of Obliuyon. Suche a peſtilent breathe hath flatterye, and ſuche myſchiefe enſueth of Princes lyght credence.

These two Dukes being come to the towne of S. Omers, the duke of Bedford being Regent of France, and ſonne, brother, and vncle to kings, thought that the Duke of Burgoigne ſhoulde haue come and viſited him in hys lodging.

The Duke of Burgoigne on the other parte, being Lorde and ſoueraigne of the Towne, iudged it not meete to goe to hym where hee was lodged, but was content by intreatie of friendes to meete him in a place indifferente betweene both theyr lodgings, which offer was not accepted, and ſo both parties departed diſcontent, and neuer after ſawe nor communed togither.

Thus by the prowde diſdeyne and enuious diſcorde of theſe two highe ſtomacked Princes, Bedforde not myndyng to haue any Peere, and Burgoigne not willing to abyde any ſuperiour, ſhortly after Englande loſte, and Burgoigne gayned not long, as by the ſequele maye appeare.

An.reg.13.

The Baſtarde of Orleans called the Earle of Dunoys, the Lorde Rochforde Marſhall of Fraunce, with other, in the beginning of thys thirteenth yeare, tooke the Towne of Saint Denys by treaſon, ſkyrmiſhed with them of Paris, and leauing behynde them a great garniſon, tooke the Towne of Howdone, and Pont S. Maxence by compoſition.

And at the ſame tyme was the towne of Pont Meulan taken by the ſodaine ſcaling of two fyſhermen which entred vp at a cõmon priuie ſtanding in the wall.

Thus as yee maye perceyue, the warre was continually purſued betwixte theſe two mightye Nations, Engliſhe and Frenche, within the Realme of Fraunce, beeing as it were the lyſtes within the which they had appoynted to trye the game, ſo that no Countrey in the worlde was thought more miſerable than the ſame. And though the poore people and Inhabitantes of the good Townes and Villages, ſuſteyned moſt loſſe in theyr ſubſtaunce, yet the menne of warre oftentymes payed deare for theyr chieuance, being dayly ſlaine, wounded, and taken priſoners, and that on both partes, as the chaunce of warre accuſtomably falleth out.

The fruites of warre.

At length when ſacietie of ſlaughter, aboundaunce of murders, remembraunce of loſſe of goodes and expences had ſomewhat ſoftened the ſtonie heartes of theſe loftie ſtomacked people, ſo that eyther parte was deſirous of peace, yet the one diſdained openly to offer it, and the other priuately to receyue it.

The crye and noyſe of this deteſtable warre was blaſted throughe Chriſtendome, but ſpecially the bruyte thereof was greate at Baſile, where the generall Councell was as then holden, the Emperour Albert, and all the Princes of Chriſtendome beeing preſent there, eyther in perſone or by theyr procuratours, for the abboliſhing of the Sciſme that then continued in the Churche of Rome for this indubitate Pope.

1435

Wherefore the Emperour and the temporall Princes, ſuppoſing the exhortation of ſpirituall Fathers ſhoulde muche profite to the quieting of the ſtryfe betwixt the Realmes of England and Fraunce, deſyred Eugenie then Pope, to bee a mediatour betwixt them.

And one thing put them in good hope of ſome good concluſion, bycauſe the Duke of Bourgoigne was wylling (ſo that it were not of hys owne ſuyte) to returne & reconcile himſelfe, with the French King his mortall enimie and auncient aduerſarie.

Hereupon by authoritie of this generall Councell, two diſcrete perſons, the Cardinals of the holy Croſſe, and Cypres, came to the towne of Arras in Arthoys, whither were ſent from the King of Englande, Henrie Beauforde Cardinal of Wincheſter, Henrie Archbiſhop of Yorke, William de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, and John Hollande Earle of Huntingdon, with dyuerſe other Knights and Eſquiers. And for the French king were there preſent Charles Duke of Bourbon, Lewes Earle of Vandoſme, Arthure of Brytayne Coneſtable of Fraunce, the Archbiſhop of Reimes, and ſir Philip Harecourt.

A ſolempne tre
tie of peace at
Arras.

The duke of Burgoigne was there in proper perſon, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the Erles of Eſtampes, Lygny, S. Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, and Daniel ſonne to the Prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant cõpanie.

Vpon the day of the firſt ſeſſion, the Cardinal of S. Croſſe, declared to the three parties the innumerable miſchiefes, that had followed to the whole ſtate of the chriſten cõmon welth by theyr continual diſſention and dayly diſcord, exhorting them for the honour of God, and for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his fayth and true religion, to conforme themſelues to reaſon, and to lay aſide all rancor, malice & diſpleaſure, ſo that in concluding a godly peace, they might receyue profit and quietneſſe here in this worlde, and of God an euerlaſting rewarde in heauen.

After this admonition thus to them giuen, & after diuerſe dayes of communication, euery part brought in their demaunds, which were moſt cõtrarie, and farre from any likelyhood of comming to a good concluſion.

The Engliſhmen required that K. Charles ſhould haue nothing but what it pleaſed the king of England, & that not as dutie, but as a benefite by him of his mere liberalitie giuen and diſtributed. The Frenchmen on the other part woulde that king Charles ſhoulde haue the Kingdome frankly and freely, and that the king of England ſhoulde leaue the name, armes and tytle of the

King of Fraunce, and to bee contente with the Dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forſake Paris, and all the townes whiche they poſſeſſed in France, betwene the ryuers of Somme and Loyr, being no percel of the Duchie of Normandie. To bee briefe, the pride of the one part, and the ambition of the other, hindered concorde, peace, and quietneſſe.

The Cardinals ſeeing them ſo farre in ſunder, mynded not to diſpute theyr tytles, but offred them reaſonable conditions of truce and peace for a ſeaſon, which notwithſtanding either of frowardneſſe, or of diſdeyne vpon both partes, were openly refuſed. Inſomuch that the Engliſhmen in great diſpleaſure, departed to Calays, and ſo into England.

One Writer affyrmeth, that they being warned of a ſecrete conſpiracie moued agaynſt them, ſodainly departed frõ Arras, and ſo returned into their Countrey.

Whiles this treatie of peace was in hande, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lorde Scales, with the Lorde Liſle Adam, and fiue thouſande men of warre, beſieged the towne of Saint Denys with a ſtrong band. The Erle of Dunoys hearing thereof, accompanied wyth the Lorde Lohac, and the Lorde Bueill, wyth a great companie of horſemen haſted thitherwards to rayſe the ſiege, and by the waye encountred with ſir Thomas Kiriell, and Mathew Gough, ryding alſo towarde Saint Denys, betweene whom was a great conflict, and many ſlaine on both partes, but ſodainly came to the ayde of the Frenchmẽ, the garniſon of Pont Meulan, which cauſed the Engliſhmen to returne withoute any greate harme or domage, ſauing that Mathewe Gough by foundering of his horſe was taken, and caryed to Pont Meulan.

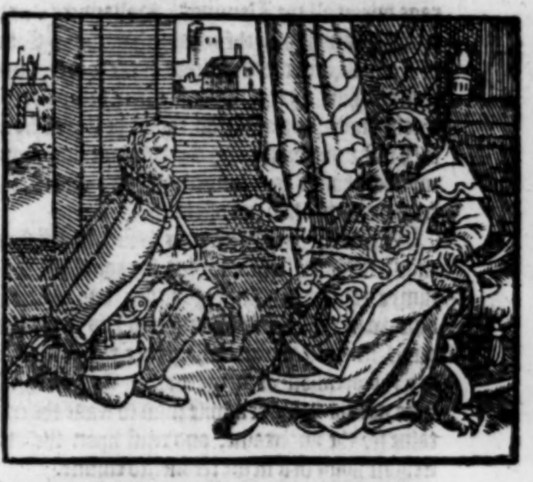
Saint Deniſe taken by the Engliſhemen.

In the meane time was the towne of Saint Deniſe rendred to the Engliſhmen, the which razed the walles & fortifications, ſauing the walles of the Abbey, and of the tower called Venin.

Shortly after the towne of Pontoyſe, where ſir John Ruppelley was captaine, rebelled, and by force the Engliſhe menne were expulſed, the Inhabitantes yeelding themſelues to the French King. This towne was ſmall, but the loſſe was greate, bycauſe it was the Key that opened the paſſage betwixt the Cities of Paris and Roan.

But nowe to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the Engliſh Commiſſioners held betwixt the Frenchmen and Burgonians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and ſworne betwixt K. Charles and Duke Philippe of Burgoine, vpon certaine cõditions, as in the French hyſtories more plainly appeareth.

After that the ſame peace was agreed: the duke of Burgoigne, to ſet a vayle before the King of Englandes eyes, ſent Thoiſon Dore his King at Armes to King Henrie with letters, excuſing the matter by way of information, that hee was conſtrayned to enter into this league with King Charles, by the dayly outcryes, complaintes, and lamentations of his people, alledging agaynſte hym that hee was the onelye cauſe of the long continuance of the warres, to the vtter empoueriſhing of his owne people, and of the whole nation of Fraunce: Therefore ſith hee coulde not otherwiſe doe, but partlye to content his owne people, and chiefely to ſatiſfie the requeſt of the whole generall counſayle, was in maner compelled for his part to growe to a peace and amitie wyth King Charles: he likewyſe wiſhed that King Henrie vppon reaſonable and honeſt conditions of agreement offered, ſhould in no wyſe refuſe the ſame, whereby the long continued warre at length myght ceaſſe and take ende, to the pleaſure of almightye God, whiche is the Authour of peace and vnitie: and hereto hee promyſed hym his ayde and furtherance, wyth many fayre and pleaſant flattering wordes, which I paſſe ouer.



The ſuperſcription of this letter was thus.

To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God King of Englande, his welbeloued couſin. Neither naming him king of Fraunce, nor his ſoueraigne Lorde, according as (euer before that time) he was accuſtomed to do.

This Letter was much marueyled at, of the Counſayle, after they had throughly conſidered and pondered all and ſingular the contentes therof, and as reaſon moued them, they could not but be muche diſquieted therewith, ſo farre forth that dyuerſe of them ſtomaked ſo muche the vntruth of the Duke, that they coulde not temper theyr paſſions, nor brydle their tongues; but openly called him traytor.

But when the rumor of the Dukes reuolting was publiſhed amõgſt the people, they left wordes and fell to beſtowing of ſtrypes: for being pricked with this euill tidings, they ranne in great outrage vppon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgonions which thẽ inhabited within yͤ Citie of London, and the Suburbes of the ſame, and ſlue and hurt a great nũber of them before they, by the kings proclamation, coulde be ſtayed from ſuch iniurious doing, for the king nothing more mynded than to ſaue innocent bloud, and to defend them that had not offended.

The officer at armes was willed to tell hys maiſter, that it ſtoode not with his honor to bee enimye to the Engliſhe Nation, and that his dutie was (all things conſidered) to keepe hys auncient truth and olde allegiance, rather than to bee the occaſion of newe warre. And further it was not the point of a wiſe man to leaue the certaine for the vncertaine, and truſt vpon the vnſtedfaſt holde of a newe reconciled enimie.

When the Meſſenger with thys aunſwere was diſpatched and ſent awaye, the King of Englande and his Counſayle purpoſed to worke the Duke of Burgoigne ſome diſpleaſure, and therevpon by rewardes, corrupted certaine rulers of Cityes and Townes within his Dominions to moue ſome rebellion agaynſt hym, which indeede ſore troubled the Dukes wittes and a great while diſquieted his minde by their diſobedyent conſpiracie.

*An.reg.*14.
The death of the Duke of Bedford Regent of France.

This yeare the .xiiij. day of September dyed Iohn Duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, a man as politike in peace, as hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull, when hee had the victorie, whoſe bodie was with all funerall pompe, and ſolemne Exequies buryed in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in Rouen, on the North ſyde of the highe Aulter, vnder a ſumptuous and coſtlye monument, whiche Tombe when King Lewis the eleuenth by certayne vndiſcreete perſones was counſayled to deface, affyrming that it was a greate dyſhonour, both to the King and to the Realme, to ſee the enimye of hys father and theyrs to haue ſo ſolemne and riche memoriall: He aunſwered ſaying, what honour ſhall it bee to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the grounde the deade bones of him, whome in hys lyfe tyme neyther my father nor your progenitours, wyth all theyr power, puiſſaunce, and friendes were once able to make flee one foote backewarde, but by hys ſtrength, wytte, and policie, kept them all oute of the principall Dominions of the Realme of Fraunce, and out of thys Noble and famous Duchie of Normandie: Wherefore I ſay, fyrſt, God haue his ſoule, and let hys bodie nowe lye in reſt, whiche when hee was alyue, woulde haue diſquieted the prowdeſt of vs all: and as for the Tombe, I aſſure you, is not ſo decent nor conuenient, as his honour and actes deſerued, although it were much rycher, and more beautifull.

A worthy ſaying of a wiſe Prince.

Great froſt.

The froſt was ſo extreme thys yeare begynning about yͤ .xxv. daye of Nouember, and continuing tyll the tenth of Februarie, that the Shippes wyth Marchandice arryuing at the Thames mouth, coulde not come vppe the Riuer, by reaſon it was ſo frozen, and ſo their lading being there diſcharged, was brought to the Citie by lande.

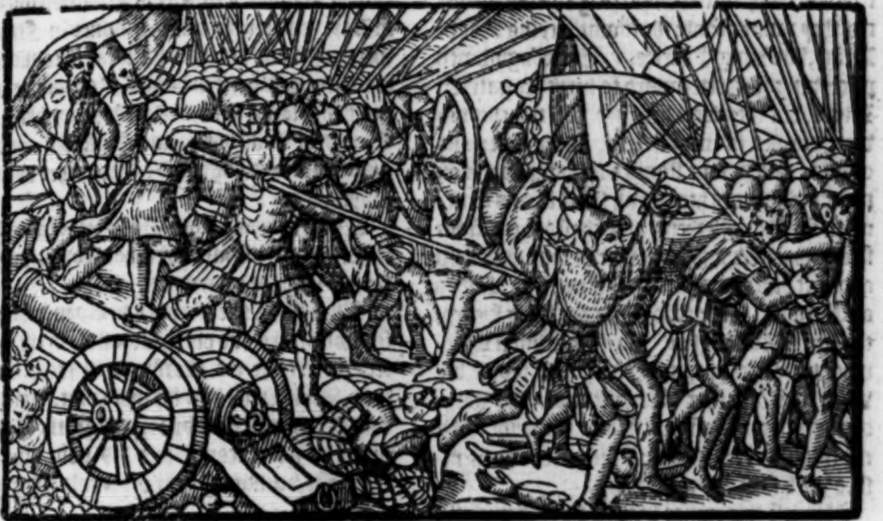
After the death of that Noble Prince the Duke of Bedforde, the bright Sunne that in Fraunce commonly ſhone moſte fayre and beautyfull vppon the Engliſhe menne, beganne to be clowdie, and daylye to waxe more darke, for the Frenchmenne beganne not onely to wythdrawe theyr obedyence whiche they had by oth promyſed to the King of England, but alſo tooke ſworde in hande and openly defyed the Engliſhmenne: but yet coulde not all theſe miſhappes any thing abaſhe the valiaunt courages of the Engliſhe people: for they hauing no myſtruſt in God and good fortune, ſette vppe a newe ſayle, beganne the warre agayne afreſhe, and appoynted for Regent in Fraunce, Richard Duke of Yorke, ſonne to Richard Erle of Cambridge.

The Duke of Yorke made Regent of France.

Although the Duke of Yorke was worthye both for byrth and courage of this honor and preferment, yet hee was ſo diſdeyned of Edmonde Duke of Sommerſet being couſin to the King, that by all meanes poſſible hee ſought hys hynderaunce, as one glad of hys loſſe, and ſorye of his well doing: by reaſon whereof, ere the Duke of Yorke coulde gette hys diſpatche, he was conſtrayned to lynger, tyll Paris and dyuerſe other of the chiefeſt places in Fraunce were gotten by the French king.

The Duke of Yorke perceyuing his euil wil, openly diſſembled that, which he inwardly mynded, and thus eyther of them wrought things to the others diſpleaſure, till through cancred malice, and peſtiferous diuiſion, continuing in the heartes of theſe two Princes, at length by mortall warre they were both conſumed, wyth almoſt all theyr whole lynes and ofſprings.

The Normans of the Countrey of Caux, beeyng heartened by the death of the Duke of Bedforde, beganne a new rebellion, ſlue diuerſe Engliſhmen, robbed many Townes that were vnder yͤ Engliſh obeyſaunce, and tooke the towne of Herflew by aſſault, and dyuerſe other townes. But the Lorde Regent beeing aduertiſed, ſente forth the Lorde Scales, ſir Thomas Kiriel, and the Lorde How, whiche ſo afflicted thoſe rebels of Caux, yͭ they ſlue aboue .v. M. perſõs, ⁊ burnt all the Townes and villages in the Countrey, not being walled, ſo that in that parte, was neyther habitation nor tiliage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beaſts of the Countrey were broughte to Caudebecke, where a good ſheepe was ſolde for an Engliſh peny, & a Cow for twelue pence. Dayly was ſkirmiſhing and fighting in euery part, in ſo much, that the Lord Scales diſcomfited at the Rye beſide Roan, the Hire, and fifteene hundred valiant Frenchmen, of the whiche, aboue three hundred, were taken priſoners, beſide ſeauen goodly faire courſers.



Amongſt other of the priſoners, were ſir Richard Reignold de Fountaynes, ſir Alayne Gerond, Alayn de Monſay, and Geoffrey Grame, capitayne of the Scottes. But yet this victorie and others the lyke, ſtayed not the Frenchemen from working treaſon dayly, in ſomuche, that diuers townes turned to the part of K. Charles, and ſome were taken by practiſe, as Dieppe, Boys de Vincennes, and other.

Herre is one chiefe pointe to be noted, that eyther the diſdeyne among the chiefe peeres of the realme of England (as ye haue heard) or the negligence of the Kings counſell (whiche did not foreſee daungers to come) was the loſſe of the whole dominion of France, betweene the ryuers of Soane and Marne, and in eſpeciall, of yͤ noble Citie of Paris. For where before, there were ſent ouer thouſands for defence of the holdes and fortreſſes, now were ſent hundreds, yea and ſcores, ſome raſcalles, and ſome not able to drawe a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the Lord Willoughby, and the Biſhop of Terrouanne, whiche had the 1436 gouernaunce of the great Citie of Paris, had in their company, not two thouſand Engliſhmen, which weakeneſſe, King Charles wel perceiued, and therefore he appointed the Conneſtable, Arthur of Britaigne, the Earle of Dunoys, the Lords de la Roche, and Liſle Adam, with other valiant Captaines and men of warre, as well Burgonions as Frenche, to goe before Paris, truſting by fauoure of certaine Citizens, with whome he had intelligence, ſhortly to bee Lorde of the Citie, without great loſſe or battell. So theſe Captaines came before the Citie of Paris but perceiuing yͭ all things ſucceeded not, according to their expectatiō, they returned to Mont Martir, and the next day, ſuddainely ſet on the Towne of Saint Denis, and conſtreyned the Engliſhmen that kept it, to flee into the Abbey, and into the tower Venin.

In this conflict, two hundred Engliſhmen were ſlayne, and the reſidue vppon a reaſonable compoſition, rendred vp the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas Lorde Beaumonte, whiche of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, iſſued forth of the citie with. vj. C. ſouldiors onely intending to view the doings and number of the Frenche armie, but he was ſodeynly eſpyed and compaſſed aboute, ſo that within a ſmall ſpace he was diſcomfited and taken, and wyth him. lxxx. priſoners, beſide. ij. C. which wer ſlain in yͤ field, & the remnant chaſed to the very gates of the citie. The Pariſians, & eſpecially yͤ maſter of yͤ Halles, and ſome of the Vniuerſitie, & Michael Lallier, and many notable burgeſſes of the Citie (which euer with an Engliſhe countenãce couered a French heart) perceiuing the weaknes of the Engliſhmen, and the force of the Frenchmen, ſignified to the Frenche Capitaynes their myndes and intentes, willing them with all diligence to come, that they myght receyue ſo riche a pray to them without any difficultie, ready to be giuen and deliuered into their handes.

The Conſtable delaying no time, came with his power, and lodged by the Charter houſe, and the Lord Liſle Adam, approching to the walles, ſhewed to the Citizens a Charter, ſealed with the great ſeale of King Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted to them all their olde liberties, and auntient priuiledges, ſo that they would hereafter be to him true and obedyente: whiche thing to them declared, they ranne aboute the towne, crying Saynt Denis, liue King Charles. The Engliſhmen perceyuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceiued, for the cheynes were drawen in euery ſtreete, and women and children caſt downe ſtones & ſcalding water on the Engliſhmens heads, and the Citizens in armour fought with them, and chaſed them from ſtreete to ſtreete, and from lane to lane, and ſlew and hurt diuers and many of them. The Biſhop of Tyrwine, Chancellor there for King Henry, the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Simon Morhier, tooke great payne to appeaſe the people, but when they ſaw that all auailed not, they withdrewe into the Baſtell of Saint Anthony, whiche fortreſſe, they had well vittailed, and furniſhed with men and munitions.

The treaſon of the Pariſians.

Paris yelded to the frenche King.

Whileſt this rumor was in the Towne, the Earle of Dunois, and other, ſcaled the walles, and ſome paſſed the riuer by boates, and opened the gate of Saint James, by the which, yͤ Conneſtable, with his banner diſplayde, entred, at whoſe entrie, the Pariſians made great ioy. The Byſhop and the Lord Willoughby, with theyr ſmall companye, defended their fortreſſe tenne dayes, looking for ayde, but when they ſaw that no comfort appeared, they yelded their fortreſſe, ſo that they and theirs, with certaine baggage, might peaceablye returne to Roan.

Thus was the Citie of Paris broughte into the poſſeſſion of Charles the French King, thorough the vntrue demeanor of the Citizens, the which contrarie to their othes, and promiſed allegiance, like wauering and inconſtant mynded people, reuolted from the Engliſhmē, when they ſawe them at the weakeſt.

After this glorious gayne, the Frenchmen beſieged the towne of Crayle vpon Oyſe, whereof Sir William Chamberlaine was Captaine, the which with fiue hundred Engliſhmen, iſſued out of the Towne, and after long fight, diſcomfited his enimies, and ſlew two hundred, & tooke a greate number priſoners: the remnant not lyking the market, departed to Compeigne, and other townes adioyning. During whiche ſeaſon, twelue Burgeſſes of the Towne of Giſors ſold it for money, vnto Poyton de Xantrailes, but he had not the Caſtell deliuered, and therefore with all his power, he beſieged the ſame, whereof, the Lord Talbot being aduertiſed, ſent for the lord Scales, and they both with eighteene hundred men, reſcued the Caſtell, tooke the Towne, and diſcomfited their enimies, and ſlewe of them aboue four hundred perſons. Nowe according to the olde prouerbe (when the ſteede is ſtollen, ſhut the ſtable dore) the Duke of Yorke appointed at the laſt Parliament, to be regent of Fraunce (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germaines in Lay, and diuers other Townes in Fraunce were taken and betrayed for lacke of conuenient ſuccours) was ſente ouer into Normandie with eight thouſande men, and in his company, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Suffolke, and the Lord Fawconbridge, and dyuers other valiante Captaynes.

When he was landed, the Earle of Saliſburie beſieged the Caſtell of Chamboys, whyche ſhortly was to him rendred.

Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where hee ſet good orders, and did great iuſtice in the countrey, wherefore the Normans in theyr Chronicle, highly extoll him for that point. Howbeit, they ſay, that he gate by long ſiege, the Towne and Abbey of Fecamp, and did none other notable acte, during the time of his rule and gouernement.

The Duke of Burgoyne prepareth an army agaynst Calays.

In this fourtenth yeare, the Duke of Burgoigne determined by the aduice of his counſell, to attempte the winning of Calais. The prouiſion was wonderous great which was made for the atchieuing of this enterpriſe: whereof, Sir John Ratclife, deputie of the Towne of Calais, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertiſed king Henrye, and his counſell, whiche incontinently ſente thither the Earle of Mortaigne, ſonne to the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lord Cameys, with fifteene hundred men, and greate foyſon of vittailes, whiche iſſued out of Calais, and came before Grauclin, where they were encountred with a great number of Flemings, whych were ſhortly diſcomfited, and four hundred of them ſlaine, and ſixe ſcore taken priſoners. And within two dayes after, the Engliſhmen draue by fine force, the Lords of Warren and Bado, to the barriers of Ard, and diſcomfited their companie, to the number of fifteene hundred, and ſlewe ſeauen valiant Captaynes, & tooke many Gētlemen priſoners.

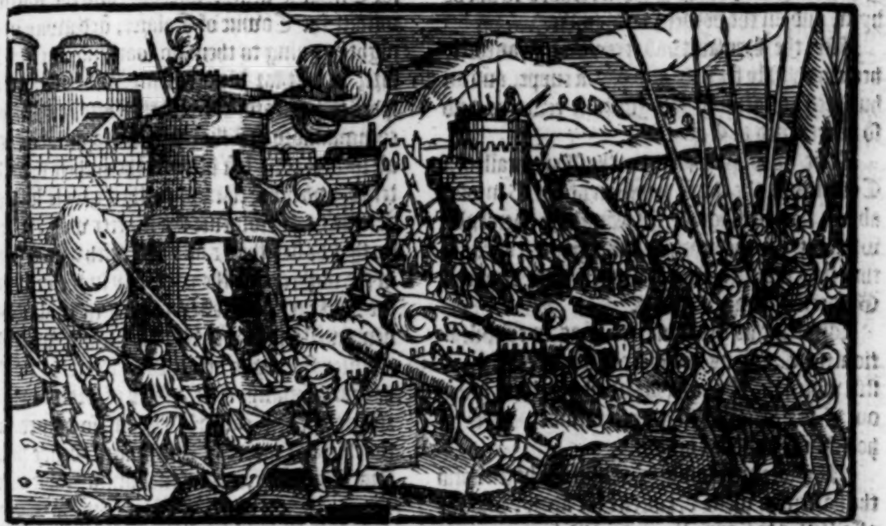
The Duke of Burgoigne remayning ſtil in his former purpoſe, aſſembled togither, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Henneweyrs, a great army, to the number of fortie thouſand, ſo well armed, ſo well vittailed, ſo well furniſhed with ordinaunce, and ſo well garniſhed in all things, that they thought in their harts, and blaſted amongſt themſelues, that the Caliſians woulde leaue their towne deſolate, and flee for their ſafegard, hearing onely of the Dukes approch: but they reconed before their hoſt, and ſo

payd

paydе moꝛe than the ſhot came to.

When this mightie army was paſt the water of Graueline, the Duke intending to begin his great conqueſt, aſſaulted the little poꝛe Caſtell of Oye, which hauing in it but fiftie ſouldiers, of the which, twelue ſolde their liues deerely, the remnant compelled by neceſſitie, yeelded themſelues to the dukes mercie, which to pleaſe the Gantoyſe, beeing of number moſt puiſſante in all the armye, liberally gaue to them, both the Caſtel, and priſoners, the which rude and beaſtly people, nothing expert in the lawes of armes, not only raſed the Caſtell, but alſo hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and hadde ſo done with the reſidue, if the Duke, diſobeyning theyꝛ crueltie, had not intreated foꝛ the reſt.

After this viсtoꝛie, the Picardes beſieged the Caſtell of Marke, and gaue thꝛee aſſaultes to it. The Engliſhmen within, being in number two hundꝛed, and ſixe, vnder the gouernemente of their Captayne Sir John Gedding, valiauntly defended the place, till at length, deſpairing of ſuccours, they yeelded themſelues, their liues and limmes ſaued. The Caſtel of Marke being thus deliuered, was raſed to the ground.



Caleys beſieged by the duke of Burgoigne.

After this, the Duke of Burgoigne, accompanyed with the Duke of Cleues, the Earle of Eſtampes, the Loꝛds of Dantoing, Croy, Criſquy, Humiers, and many other valiant Barons and Knightes, with his great army, came befoꝛe the towne of Calais, and placed his ſiege about the ſame, moſt to his aduantage: hee gaue thꝛee aſſaultes to the Towne, but his people gayned nothing at the ſame, ſo that they were conſtreyned to abſteyne, from further appꝛoching to the walles.

At the firſt aſſault, the Hyꝛe which was come to ſee the Duke of Burgoigne, was ſoꝛe wounded and hurte.

Beſide this, one thing troubled the Dukes eyes, bycauſe that at euery tyde, Shippes arriued in the Hauen out of England, openly befoꝛe his face, laden with vittailes, munitions and men.

The Duke one day roade about to view and beholde the ſituation of the towne, to the intente to take his moſt aduantage, eyther by aſſaulte oꝛ otherwiſe: hee was quickly eſpyed, and with the ſhotte of a canon, a Trumpetter, which rode next befoꝛe him, and thꝛee hoꝛſſes in his companie were ſlayne out of hand.

The Loꝛde of Croy, and a conuenient number with him, was appoynted to beſiege the Caſtell of Guiſnes, where he gote little pꝛofite, and did leſſe harme. Moꝛeouer, foꝛ ẏ better aduãcing of his enterpꝛice, the Duke minded to ſtoppe vp the Hauen, ſo that no ſuccours ſhould enter there. Heerevpon, he cauſed foure greate Hulkes to bee fraught with great ſquare ſtones, cimented and ioyned togither with leade, to the intente they ſhoulde lie ſtill lyke a Mount, and not to ſeuer in ſunder. Theſe Shippes, with the reſidue of the Dukes nauie, were conueyd into the mouth of Calais Hauen, and at a full Sea, by craſt and policie, were ſonke downe to ẏ ground, but whether God woulde not that the Hauen ſhoulde be deſtroyed, eyther the conueyghers of the Hulkes knewe not the very channel, theſe foure greate Shippes, at the low water, lay openly vppon the ſands, without hurting the roade oꝛ Channell, whiche when the ſoldiers perceyued, they iſſued out of the towne, bꝛake the Shippes, and caried both the ſtones, and timber into the Towne.

Another deuice yet was accompliſhed by the Duke, whiche was the building of a ſtrong baſtell, ſet on a little Mountayne, furniſhed with foure hundꝛed men, and much artillerie, whyche foꝛtreſſe did impeach the Engliſhmen from iſſuing foꝛth of the Towne, to their high diſpleaſure.

Whiles theſe things were adoing, there arriued in the Dukes armie an Herrault of England, called Penbroke, belonging to the Duke of Glouceſter, which declared to the Duke of Burgoigne, that the protector of Englande his maiſter (if God woulde ſend him wind and weather) woulde giue battell to him, and to his whole puiſſance, either there, or in any other place within his owne Countrey, where he would appoynte, but the daye he could not aſſigne, bycauſe of the inconſtancie of the winde. The Duke (lyke a noble man) aunſwered the Herrault, Sir, ſay to your maiſter, that his requeſt is both honorable, and reaſonable: howbeit, hee ſhall not neede to take the paines to ſeeke me in mine owne countrey, for (God willing) he ſhall finde me here, till I haue my will of the Towne, readye to abyde hym, and all the power he can make.

After the Herrault had receyued this anſwer, hee was highly feaſted, and had a cuppe, and an hundred guildens to him giuen in rewarde, and ſo he returned to Calaice.

After whoſe departure, the Duke called a Counſell in the chiefe pauilion of the Gantois, about this meſſage of the Engliſhe Herrault, where it was determined with greate courage, that they would abide the battell, if the Duke of Glouceſter came to offer it.

Whileſt this great matter was in conſultation, the Caliſians not wel contented with yͤ baſtill which the Duke hadde newly builded, iſſued out of the Towne in greate number, parte on horſebacke and part on foote.

The footemen ranne to aſſault the baſtill, and the horſemen went betweene the army, and the aſſailantes to ſtoppe the ayde and ſuccours that might come.

Vppon the ſounding of the alarme, the Duke himſelfe in perſon was comming on foote, to relieue his men, but beeing kepte backe a ſpace by the Engliſh horſemen, in that delay of time, the baſtill was wonne by fine force, and eyght ſcore perſons of thoſe that kept it ſlayne, beſide the reſidue whiche were taken priſoners, and ledde to Calaice, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high diſpleaſure of the Duke, and hys counſayle.

The Duke of Burgoigne breaketh vp the ſiege before Calais, and fleeth.

The nexte day after, there ſprang a rumor in the armye (no man could tell how) that yͤ Duke of Glouceſter with a great puiſſance was alreadie embarqued, and woulde arriue at the nexte tide. What was the very cauſe, I cannot truely write, but ſurely the ſame nyghte, the Duke fledde away, and ſente in all haſt to the Lorde of Croy, to reyſe his ſiege before Guiſnes, whyche tidings were to him very ioyous, for he neither got nor ſaued, ſo theſe two Captaines departed, leauing behynd thē, both ordinãce, vittailes, & great riches.

The French writers to ſaue the honor of the Duke of Burgoigne ſaye, that there was a certaine diſcord & cōmotion amōgſt the Flemings & Duche nation, affirming, that the great lordes and the Picards (whom yͤ frenchmē greatly extolle) woulde betray and ſell the Flemings, and their frendes, & that for the ſame cauſe, in a great furie they cried, home, home, and would not tarie for anye requeſt that the Duke coulde make, and ſo by their miſgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to reyſe his ſiege, and to depart.

The Flemmiſh authors affirme the contrarie, ſaying, that they were readie to abide yͤ comming of the Duke of Glouceſter: but the Duke of Burgoigne fearing to be entrapped betweene the Engliſhe armye without, and the garriſon within the Towne of Calaice, fled away in the nighte, giuing to them no warning thereof before, ſo that for lacke of time, and conueniente ſpace to lade and carrie their ſtuffe, and beeyng commaunded vpō the ſuddaine, to diſlodge with all ſpeede, they left behinde them their vittailes, tents, and other things, to their greate loſſe and detriment. Howſoeuer the matter was, the troth is, that he fled the ſix and twentith day of Iuly, in the nighte, and the next day in the morning, the Duke of Glouceſter landed in Calaice hauen, and ſtreight went into the camp, where hys enimies the night before were lodged, and there he founde manye faire peeces of ordinance, and eſpecially, one called Dygeon, ſo named, after the chiefe Towne of Burgoigne, beſide pauilions, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vittell.

The Duke of Glouceſter ſpoileth Flanders.

The Duke of Glouceſter, ſeing his enimies reculed, hauing in his company fiue and twentie thouſend men, entred into Flanders, burning houſes, killing ſuch as made reſiſtāce, deſtroying the Countrey on euery parte, ſetting fire in the Townes of Poperinch, Bailleul, and other.

Alſo, they waſted the ſuburbes of diuers cloſed Townes, and after paſſed by Newcaſtell, Rimeſture, and Walon Chapell, and then entring into Arthois, they came to Arques and Blandeſques, ſetting fire in euery part wher they came.

Thus, they paſſed by Saint Omers, and finally by Arde, returned to Guiſnes, and ſo to Calaice at ſixe weekes ende, with greate booties of Cattell, and other riches.

Zerland.

Enguerant.

In all this their iourney, they had but ſmall ſtore of bread, whiche cauſed much faintneſſe, and diuers diſeaſes in the armie, whereof a greater number dyed, than did of the enimies ſworde: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Bruges diſtreſſed, to the nūber of two M. Engliſhmen in this iourney: howbeit, the french writers affirme, that the Engliſhmen loſt moe of theyr compa-

company in the marches about Arde, than they did in all other places where they had bin before, hauing paſſed through the parties of Flaunders, without encounter, or anye domage done to thẽ by the enimies.

After that the Duke of Glouceſter was returned into Englãd, he was aduertiſed, that James King of Scottes hadde beſieged the Caſtell of Rockeſbourrough, with thirtie thouſand menne, but the Captayne therof, Sir Rauſe Grey, defended it ſo manfully, for the ſpace of twentie dayes, that King James being then aduertiſed, that the Earle of Northumberlande was comming to fight with him, fledde, with no leſſe loſſe than diſhonor, home to his towne of Edenburgh.

An. reg. 15. Shortly after that the Duke of Burgoigne had bin before Calais, as in the laſt yere is mentioned, by meane of friendes, and at the deſire of Princes, a truce or abſtinence of warre for a time was moued, betweene the King of Englande, and the ſaid Duke, for the whiche cauſe, were ſente to Graueline for the King of Englande, Henry Beauford, Cardinall of Wincheſter, John Lorde Moumbray Duke of Northfolke, Humfrey Earle of Staffordе, and dyuers other, well learned, and honorable perſonages. And for the Duke of Burgoigne, there appeared the Ducheſſe his wife, the Byſhop of Arras, the Lord of Croy, and diuers other.

A truce taken betweene the king of England and the duchesse of Burgoigne.

At this treatie, a truce was taken for a ſmall time, and for a leſſe ſpace obſerued, which abſtinence of warre was concluded, betweene the King of Englande, and the Ducheſſe of Burgoigne (enterleſſing the Duke, and his name.)

Some thinke, that the King of Englande woulde neuer enter in league with him, bycauſe he had broken his promiſe, oth, and writing, ſealed to him, and to his father.

Other imagined this to bee done of a cautell, to caſt a miſt before the Frenche Kings eyes, to the intent hee ſhould beleeue, that this feate was wroughte by the Ducheſſe, without aſſente or knowledge of the Duke or his counſell.

Thus may yee ſee, that Princes ſometyme, with ſuche vayne gloſes, and ſcornefull expoſitions, will hide theyr doyngs, and cloke their purpoſes, to the intent, they woulde not eyther be eſpyed, or elſe that they maye plucke their heads out of the coller, at their pleaſure.

1437 About this ſeaſon, Queene Catherin mother to the king of Englãd, departed out of this life, and was buried by hir huſband in the minſter of Weſtminſter.

Catherin mother to Kyng Henry, maried Owen Teuther.

This woman, after the death of kyng Henry the fifth hir huſband, beyng yong and luſtie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than friendly counſel, and regarding more priuate affection than hir princelyke honour, toke to huſband priuily a goodly Gentleman, and a ryght beautyfull perſon, endued with manye goodlye giftes bothe of nature and grace, called Owen Teuther, a man deſcended and come of the noble lynage and auncient lyne of Cadwallader laſt king of the Britons, by whom ſhe conceyued and brought forth three goodly ſonnes, Edmund, Jaſper, & an other, which was a Monke in Weſtminſter, and liued a ſmall time: alſo a daughter, which in hir youth departed out of this tranſitorie life.

King Henrye, after the death of his mother, bycauſe, they were his brethren of one wombe deſcended, created Edmond Earle of Richmõd, and Jaſper Earle of Pembroke, which Edmõd engendred of Margaret daughter and ſole heire to John Duke of Somerſet, Henry, which after was King of this Realme, called Henry the ſeauenth, of whome yee ſhall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the Queene his wife, was apprehended, and committed to warde, bycauſe that contrarie to the ſtatute made in the ſixte yeare of this King, hee preſumptuouſly had married the Queene, without the Kings eſpeciall aſſent, out of whiche priſon, he eſcaped, and let out other with him, and was againe apprehended, and after eſcaped agayne.

Likewiſe, the Ducheſſe of Bedforde, ſiſter to Lewes Earle of Saint Paule, minding alſo to marrie rather for pleaſure than for honor, without counſel of hir friends, maried a luſty knight, called Sir Richarde Wodduile, to the great diſpleaſure of hir Uncle the Biſhop of Tyrwine, and the Earle hir brother.

This Sir Richarde, was made Baron of Riuers, and after Earle, and had by this Lady many noble ſonnes, and faire daughters, of the which, one was yͤ Lady Elizabeth, after Queene of Englande, by reaſon ſhee was married vnto Edward the fourth, as heereafter ſhall appeare.

Whileſt this marriage was a celebratyng, Jane late Queene of England, and before Ducheſſe of Britaine, daughter to the King of Nauerre, and wife to King Henrie the fourth, dyed at the manor of Hauering, and was buryed by hir huſband at Canterburie.

And about the ſame time, deceaſſed alſo the Counteſſe of Warwike, and Henrie Archbyſhop of Yorke.

In this yeare alſo, the Duke of Somerſet, accompanyed with yͤ Lords of Faucombridge, Talbot, Sir Francis Surien.the Arragonnois, Mathewe Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, John Gedding, William Watton Eſquiers, and Thomas Hilton, Bailiffe of Roane, with a great cõpanie

Harflew beſieged & won by the Engliſhmen.

of the Engliſhe partie, beſieged the Towne of Harflew (lately before gotten by the Frenchmē) both by water and lande: the Captayne within the towne, was one Sir John d'Eſtouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a ſixe hundred good fighting men.

The aſſailants caſt trenches, and ſo fortifyed themſelues in their campe and lodgings, that when the Earles of Ewe and Dunois, the valiant baſterd of Bourbon, the Lord Gawcourt, and other famous Captaines, with a four thouſand mē, ſent to the reſcue of them within, came before the Towne, they coulde not ſuccour theyr frendes, nor annoy their enimies by any meanes they could deuiſe, and ſo for feare to loſe honour they returned backe again, with much trauaile, and little profite. The Capitaines within the towne perceiuing they could not bee ayded, did ſhortly after render the town to the duke of Somerſet, who after cōmitted it to the keepyng of Thomas Paulet, William Lymbrik, Chriſtofor Barker, and George ſaint George, whiche many yeres (til the deuiſion began in England) manfully and valiantly defended both the town and hauen. But afterward, when this Duke of Somerſet was Regent and gouernour of Normandie, he not only loſt this towne of Harflew, but alſo the citie of Roan, and the whole duchie of Normandie, where as nowe being but a deputie, he got it to his high prayſe and glorie.

James king of Scottes murthered.

In this yeare was James kyng of Scottes murthered by certaine traitours of his own ſubiectes.

The Lord Talbot beſieged Tankerville, and after four moneths, had it ſimply to him rēdred.

This towne was no great gayne to the Engliſhmen, for in the meane ſeaſon, the Frenche king in his own perſon beſieged the ſtrong town of Monſtreau ou fault Yōne, whereof Thomas Gerarde being capitayne, more for deſire of reward, than for feare of enimies, ſold the Towne to the French King, and had of him great gifts, and good cheere, as afterwards was opēly knowen.

The Earle of Warw k made Regent of Fraunce.

This Towne had bin reſcued or the Frenche King fought withall, if one chance had not happened, for the Duke of Yorke about that tyme, was diſcharged of his office, and the Earle of Warwike preferred to the ſame, ſo that the duke of Yorke, lying as then at Roan, woulde haue gladly reſcued the Towne, if his authoritie had not ſurceaſſed, & the Erle of Warwike could not come in time, for yͤ wind was contrarie to him.

This preſente yeare, was a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in the whiche, manye good and profitable actes for the preſeruation of concord at home, and defence againſt the enimies abroade, were ordeyned and deuiſed.

Arthur of Britaigne, Conneſtable of France, and John Duke of Alenſon, were ſente by the Frenche King into Normandie, with a greate army, to beſiege the towne of Auranches, ſtanding vpon the knoppe of an hill, where after they had layen a certayne ſpace, without gayne, the Lord Talbot with a valiant company of men, came thither, and offered the enimies battaile, which when they, at all hands refuſed, the Lorde Talbot perceyuing theyr faint harts, reyſed his field, and in the open ſight of them all, entred into the Towne, and the next day, iſſued out, and finding the Frenchmen riding abroade to deſtroy the playne Countrey, he compaſſed them about, and ſlewe many of them, and tooke diuers priſoners.

Although the Frenchmen gote neyther honor nor profit by this iourney, yet they enterpriſed a greater matter, as the winning of Roan, inſomuch, that Pothon de Santreiles, and the Hire, with manye other notable Captaines, hauyng promiſe of certaine burgeſſes of that Citie, to haue entrie made thē, ſecretly in the night, came forwarde to a Towne called Riſe or Riz, not paſt a foure leagues frō Roan, and there lodged.

The Lord Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and ſir Thomas Kiriel, hearing of their approche, ſette out of Roan at midnight, and with great paine, came to Riſe in the morning ſo couertly, that yͤ Frenchmen beeing ſuddainely ſurpriſed, and ſet vpon like men, all amaſed ranne away, & fledde.

In the chaſe were taken, the Lorde of Fontaines, Sir Aleine Geron, Sir Lewes de Balle, and threſcore Knightes and Eſquiers, beſide other, and there wer ſlaine two hundred and moe.

The Hire eſcaped very narrowly, by ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, though not vnwounded.

The Engliſhmen returned to the Towne of Riſe, and founde there greate number of horſes, and other baggages, which they ioyouſly brought with them to Roan.

An.reg.

On the ſixth day of Nouember, this preſent yeare, the Earle of Warwike, as Regente of France, paſſed the Sea, after hee had bin ſeauen times ſhipped and vnſhipped, & landed at Homflew, with a thouſande freſh Soldiers, and came to Roan, and then the Duke of Yorke returned into England.

Crotey be-
ged by th
of Burgog

Betweene yͤ change of theſe two Captaines, the Duke of Burgoigne (whiche ſore enuied the glorie of the Engliſhmen) beſieged the Towne of Croytoy, with tenne thouſand men and moe, hauing with him greate plentie of gonnes, and goodly ordinance.

The Earle of Warwike aduertiſed hereof, ſente the Lorde Fawconbridge, Sir Thomas Kiriell, ſir John Montgomerie, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandos, Dauie Hall, and dy-ners other Knightes and Eſquiers, and manye tall yeomen, to the number of fiue thouſand mẽ, which paſſed yͤ riuer of Somme, beſide yͤ towne of Saint Valerie, wading in the water vp to yͤ chinne, ſo glad were they to reſcue their felowes.

Crotoy reſcued.

When the Duke of Burgoigne was enformed of the approching of the Lorde Talbot, hee with all his power, ſauing four hundred (whych were left in a baſtill by him there newly builded) fled to Abuille, the baſtill was ſone gained by yͤ Engliſhmen, and thoſe within eyther ſlayne or taken.

After this, the Lord Talbot ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne, ſignifying to hym, that except he would come forth, & giue him battell, he woulde vtterly waſt his Countrey of Picardie, and according to his promiſe, he brent Townes, ſpoyled and ſlewe many people in Picardie: but for all thoſe his doings, the Duke of Burgoigne appeared not, but got him from Abuile to Amiens, ſo that the Lorde Talbot abode twentie dayes full in Picardie and Arthois, deſtroying al afore him, and after returned without impeachment.

And in the meane ſeaſon, Sir Thoms Kiriell had gotten all the Dukes cariages and ordinance, and left as much vittaile in the towne of Crotoy, as would ſerue ſixe hundred menne a whole yeare, and conueyed the reſidue to the Earle of Warwike, who highly prayſed them for their hardie doings.

1438

After this enterpriſe atchieued, Henry Earle of Mortaigne, ſon to Edmond Duke of Sommerſet, arriued at Chierburg with foure hundred archers, and three hundred ſpeares, and paſſed through Normandie, till he came into the countie of Maine, where he beſieged a Caſtell called Saint Anyan, in the which, were three hundred Scottes, beſide Frenchmen. This Caſtel he toke by aſſaulte, ſlewe the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmenne, bycauſe they were once ſworne Engliſh.

After this, hee got alſo an other Caſtell, two miles from Sainte Julians, called Alegerche, which was ſhortly after recouered, and the Lord Camewis, which came to the reſcue of yͤ ſame, in the meane way was entrapped, and taken.

Thus flowed the victorie, ſometime on the one partie, and ſometime on the other. For about the ſame time alſo, the Townes of Meaux in Brie, and Saint Suſan, were ſolde and delyuered to the French parte, by the vntrueth of the burgeſſes, and inhabitants of the ſame townes, about the latter ende of this ſixteenth yeare.

An. reg. 17.
Dearth of vittails.
1439

This yeare, by reaſon of great tempeſts, vnmeaſurable windes, and rayne, there roſe ſuche ſcarcitie, that wheate was ſolde at three ſhillings foure pence the buſſhell, wine at twelue pence the gallon, bayſalt at fourteene pence the buſſhell, and malt, at thirteene ſhillings foure pence the quarter, and all other graynes were ſolde at an exceſſiue price, aboue the olde rate.

In the moneth of June, the Earle of Huntington (as Stewarde of Guien) with two M. archers, and four hundred ſpeares, was ſent into Gaſcoigne, as a ſupply to the Countrey, and commons of the ſame; for the K. of Englande and his counſaile were informed, that the Erle of Dunois lay in the frontiers of Tholouſe ſecretly, by rewards and faire promiſes practiſing to procure diuers townes in Guiẽne, to become French, wherefore this Erle (like a politike warrior) altered not onely the Captaines in euerye Towne and Citie, but alſo remoued the magiſtrates, and changed the officers from towne to towne, & rowme to rowme, ſo that by this meanes, the Earle of Dunoys at yͭ time, loſt both trauel and coſt. In the ſame moneth alſo, Sir Richard Wodvile, ſir William Chamberlaine, ſir Wil. Peito, and ſir Wil. Storie, with a M. men, were ſent to ſtuffe the Townes in Normandie, which at that time, had therof great neede, for yͤ Engliſh Captaines had ſmall cõfidẽce in the Normans, & not to much in ſome of their owne nation, for that harlot briberie, with hir felowe couetouſneſſe, ranne faſte abroade with Frenche Crownes, that vnneth anye creature (without ſpeciall grace) coulde holde either hande cloſe, or purſe ſhut. In this yere, the Dolphin of France, allied with John Duke of Alanſon, and John Duke of Burgoigne, rebelled againſt his father King Charles, but in the end, by wiſe perſwaſions, and wittie handling of the matter, yͤ knotte of that ſeditious faction was diſſolued, and the King with his ſonne, and the other confederates openly and apparantly pacified.

Two ſhrewde perſwaders.

The Engliſhmen (whiche euer ſought their aduantage) hearing of this domeſticall deuiſion in France, reiſed an armie, and recouered againe diuers townes, whiche were ſtollen from them before, and prepared alſo to haue recouered yͤ Citie of Paris, til they heard of the agremẽt made betwixte the father and the ſonne, for then they left off that enterpriſe, and wente no further about it.

Anno re. 18.

In the moneth of Nouember in this preſente yere, there was ſuch a great froſt, & after that, ſo deepe a ſnow, yͭ al the ground was couered therwith, & al yͤ diches froſen, which weather put the Engliſhmen in hope to recouer againe yͤ towne of Ponthoiſe, by the French King gotten before by corrupting with money diuers burgeſſes of yͤ Towne, wherefore the Engliſhmen, being clothed all in white, wͭ John L. Clifford their Captain, came in yͤ night to yͤ diches, and paſſed thẽ without danger, by reaſon of the froſt, ſcaled the walles, ſlew the watch, & toke the towne, with

Ponthoiſe recouered by the Engliſh.

many profitable priſoners.

After the regaining of the Towne of Ponthoyſe, the Lord Richarde Beauchamp, Erle of Warwike, dyed in the Caſtell of Roan, and was conueyed into England, and with ſolemne Ceremonies, buryed in his Colledge of Warwike, in a very faire and ſumptuous ſepulture.

Anno.re.19.

About the beginning of Lente, the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lorde Talbot, with other Captaines and men of warre, to the number of two thouſand, whiche they had aſſembled in the marches of Normandie, towards Rouen, marching forward towards Picardie, paſſed ouer the Riuer of Somme, and through the Towne of Monteruel, came before the fortreſſe of Folleuille, whiche the Duke beſieged, whileſt the Lorde Talbot entred further into the Countrey.

Enguerrant.

After that the Duke had mounted his greate artillerie, and began to batter the holde, the Captayne within chanced to be ſlaine, with a ſhotte of the ſame artillerie, and ſhortly after, the baterie being ſtill continued, the reſt of the menne of warre that ſerued vnder him, yeelded the place, in which, the Duke left a competent gariſon of ſoldiers; whiche afterwardes, ſore endomaged the Countrey.

This done, the Duke followed the Lorde Talbot, who was alreadye entred a good way within the Countrey of Santhois, and nowe ioyning their powers togither, they came to a fortreſſe called Lyhons, in Santhois, whyche was alſo rendred vnto them, after they hadde brent the church which the Coũtrey people kept againſte them, and woulde not yeelde it, till they were fiered out; and brent and ſlayne, to the nũber of three hundred.

After the fortreſſe was deliuered into theyr handes by compoſition, the Duke with his power lay there about tenne dayes, ſending diuers troupes of his menne of warre abroade into the Countrey, whiche ſpoyled the ſame, tooke yͤ fortreſſe of Herbonneres, and the Lord therof within it, who for his raunſome, and to haue his ſubiects and houſe ſaued from ſpoyle and fire, compounded with his takers for a thouſand Saluz of golde, which he paid to them.

Finally, after the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lord Talbot with their power, had layne in Lyhons about tenne dayes, they departed from thence, and returned into Normandie, without any empeachment.

1441

The Duke of Yorke againe made regent of France.

After the death of the Earle of Warwike, the Duke of Yorke was againe made Regente of Fraunce, which accompanyed with the Earle of Oxforde, the Lorde Bourchier called Earle of Ewe, Sir Iames of Ormond, the Lord Clinton, Sir Richarde Woodville, and diuers other noble men, ſayled into Normandie, before whoſe arriuall, the Frenche King ſore greued with the taking of the Towne of Ponthoiſe, aſſembled a greate armie, and beſieged the ſaid towne hymſelfe in perſon, enuironing it with baſtilles, trenches, and ditches, beating the walles and Bulwarkes with ſhot of great ordinance, and giuing therevnto diuers greate and fierce aſſaultes, but Iohn Lorde Clifford, like a valiant Captayne, defended the Towne ſo manfully, that yͤ frenchmen rather loſt than wanne.

Ponthoiſe beſieged by the French King.

The Duke of Yorke at his landing, receyued true aduertiſement of this ſiege, wherevppon, hee ſent for the Lord Talbot, and a great number of Soldiers, and ſo came neere to the Towne of Ponthoiſe, and there encamped himſelfe, and therewith, ſente worde to the French King, that thither hee was come to giue him battell, if hee woulde come out of his ſtrength and baſtilles, but the Frenche King, by aduice of his councell, determined not to venture his perſon, with men of ſo baſe degree, but meant to keepe his grounde, bidding the Lorde Regente to enter at his perill, and in the meane ſeaſon, did what hee coulde to ſtoppe the paſſage of the riuer of Oyſe, ſo that no vittaile ſhould be brought to the Engliſh armie by that way, in hope ſo to cauſe them to recule backe.

The Duke of Yorke, perceyuing that yͤ French King minded not to fighte, purpoſed to paſſe ouer the riuer of Oyſe, and ſo to fighte with hym in his lodging, wherevpon, he remoued his camp, and appointed the Lorde Talbot, and other, to make a countenaunce, as they woulde paſſe the riuer by force at the port of Beaumont, and appoynted an other companye in boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of cordes & ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried with hym in Chariots) to paſſe ouer beneath the Abbey.

While the Lorde Talbot made a crie, as though he would aſſault the gate, certaine Engliſhmen paſſed the water in boates, and drew a bridge of cordes ouer, ſo that a greate number of them were gote to the other ſide, ere the Frenchmen were aduiſed what had happened. When they ſaw the chance, they ranne like madde men, to haue ſtopped the paſſage, but it was too late, for the moſt parte of the Engliſhmen were gote ouer, in ſo muche, that they chaſed theyr enimies backe, and ſlewe Sir Guilliam de Chaſtell, nephew to the Lorde Taneguy du Chaſtell, and diuers other.

Enguerant de Monſtrella.

The Frenchmen ſeeing their euill happe irrecouerable, returned to the French King, and told to him, what had chanced, wherevpon, he doubting to be aſſailed to his diſaduantage, thought not good longer to tarrie. but with all ſpeede, remouing his ordinance into the baſtill of Sainte Martin, whiche hee had newly made, diſlodged in the nyghte from Maubuyſſon, and wente to Poyſſy, leauyng the Lorde de Cotigny admirall of Fraunce, with. iij. M. men to kepe the baſtile. If he had taried ſtil at Maubuyſſon, the Lord Talbot which had paſſed the riuer of Oyſe in two ſmall leather boates, had eyther taken or ſlayne hym the ſame night.

The Engliſhmen the next daye in good order of battayle came before the town of Ponthoyſe, thinkyng there to haue founde the French king, but he was gone, and in his lodging they found great riches, and muche ſtuffe whiche he coulde not haue ſpace to carie away for feare of the ſodayn inuaſion. Then the Duke with his power entred into the towne, and ſent for new victual, and repaired the towers and bulwarkes aboute the Towne, and diuers tymes aſſaulted the baſtile of the Frenchmen, of the whiche hee made no great accompte, bycauſe they were not of power eyther to aſſaulte or ſtoppe the victuals or ſuccours from the towne.

After this, the Duke intendyng once agayne to offer the Frenche king battaile, left behind him at Ponthoyſe for captain there, ſir Geruais Clifton, ſir Nicholas Burdet, Henry Chandos, and a thouſande ſouldiors, and therewith remouing with his whole armie, came before Poyſſy, where he ſet himſelfe and his men in good order of battayle ready to fighte. There iſſued out ſome of the Frenche Gentlemen to ſkirmiſhe with the Engliſhemen, but to their loſſe: for dyuers of them were ſlain, and foure valiant horſemen taken priſoners. The Duke perceyuing the faynte hearts of the Frenchmē, and that they durſt not encounter in field with the Engliſhe power, diſlodged from Poyſſi, and came to Maunte, and ſone after to Roan.

An. reg. 20.

Ponthoyſe gotten by the Frenche.

When the Regent and the lord Talbot were returned agayne into Normandie, the Frenche K. conſidering howe muche it ſhoulde redounde to his diſhonor to let reſt the town of Ponthoyſe in his enimies hāds, ſith he had bin at ſuch charges and trauaile aboute the winnyng therof, hee eftſones aſſembled all his puiſſance, and retourning ſodeinly again vnto Ponthoyſe, he firſt, by aſſault gat the church, and after the whole town, toke the captain, and diuers other Engliſhmen, and ſlewe to the number of. iiij. C. whiche ſolde their lyues dearely: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king loſt there. iij. M. men and the whole garniſon of the Engliſhmen was but only a thouſand. Among other that were ſlayne here of the defendants, was ſir Nicholas Burdet knight, chief Butler of Normandie.

Enguerant.
Sir Nicholas Burdet ſlayne.

After this hotte tempeſte, the weather began ſomewhat to waxe more calme: for king Henry and kyng Charles, agreed to ſende Ambaſſadours to commen of ſome good concluſion of peace: So that King Henry ſente the Cardinall of Wyncheſter, wyth dyuers other noble perſonages of his counſel to Caleys, with whom was alſo ſent Charles duke of Orleans yet priſoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and alſo procurer of his owne deliuerаunce.

The French king ſent the Archbiſhop of Reimes, and the Erle of Dunoys: and the Duke of Burgongne ſent the Lord de Creuecueur, & dyuers other. All theſe mette at Caleys, where the Duke of Orleans curteouſly receiued the Earle of Dunoys (his baſtarde brother) thanking him greatly for his paynes taking in gouerning hys landes and countrey, during the time of his captiuitie and abſence. Diuers cōmunications wer had, as well for the deliuerаunce of the Duke, as for a fynall peace, but nothyng was concluded, ſauyng that an other meetyng was appoynted, ſo that in the meane ſeaſon the demaundes of eyther partie mighte be declared to their Soueraigne Lordes and Maiſters. And herevpon the Commiſſioners brake vp their aſſemble, and returned into their countreys.

The Duke of Orleans deliuered.

The Engliſhmen as the Frenche writers recorde, required not only to poſſeſſe peaceably the two Duchies of Aquitayne and Normandie, diſcharged of al reſort, ſuperioritie, and ſoueraintie, againſte the Realme of Fraunce, the Kings and gouernors of the ſame, but alſo to be reſtored to al the towns, cities, and places, which they within. 30. yeres nexte before gone and paſt, had conquered in the realme of France. Whiche requeſt the Frenchmen thought very vnreſonable, and ſo both parts minding rather to gain or ſaue than to loſe, departed for yͤ time, as ye haue herd.

After this meting thus prorogued, Philip D. of Burgogne, partly moued in conſcience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleans as yet priſoner in Englād for the death of duke Lewes his father, whom duke Iohn, father to this D. Philip, cruelly murthered in the Citie of Paris, and partly intending the aduauncement of his neece, yͤ Lady Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue, (by the which aliāce, he truſted, that al old rācors ſhuld ceaſſe) contriued ways to haue the ſayd D. of Orleans ſet at libertie, vpon promiſe by hym made to take yͤ ſaid lady Mary vnto wife. This Duke had bin priſoner in Englande euer ſith the bataile foughten at Agincourt, vpon the daye of Criſpyne and Criſpynian, in the yere. 1415. and was ſet now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare. 1440. paying for his raunſome. iiij. C. thouſand crowns, though other ſay but. iij. hundred thouſande. The cauſe that he was detained ſo long in captiuitie, was to pleaſure thereby the Duke of Bourgongne: For ſo long as the Duke of Burgougne continued faithfull to the King of Englande, it was not thought neceſſarie to ſuffer the duke af Orleans to be raunſomed, leaſt vpon his deliuerance hee would not ceaſſe to ſeeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgongne, for the old grudge and diſpleaſure betwixt their two families, and therfore ſuche ranſome was demaunded for him as he was neuer able to paye: but after that the duke of Burgongne had broken his promiſe, and was turned to the French part, the counſell of the king of England deuiſed how to deliuer the duke of Orleans, that thereby they might diſpleaſure the duke of Burgoygne: Whych thing the duke of Burgogne perceyuing, doubted what mighte followe if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therfore to hys greate coſte practiſed his deliuerance, payde his raunſome, and ioyned to him amitie & aliance by mariage of his niece.

The Duke of Orleans deliuered.

This Duke being nowe deliuered, and ſpeaking better Engliſh than Frenche, after his arriuall in France, repaired to the Duke of Burgogne, and according to hys promiſe and conuention, maryed the Ladie Mary of Cleue, in the towne of Saint Omers, on whome he begat a ſonne, whiche after was Frenche Kyng, and called Lewes the twelfth.

Yet here is to be noted, that olde rancour ſodainly appeaſed, cōmonly ſpringeth out againe, for although the vnhappie deuiſion betwixte the two families of Orleans & Burgogne, were by benefyte of this mariage for a tyme ſtayed and put in forgetfulneſſe, for the ſpace of twenty yeres and more, yet at length it brake out betwene their children and Couſins, to the great vnquietyng of the more parte of the Chriſtian world, ſpecially in the tymes of Kyng Fraunceis the fyrſte, and hys ſonne Henry the ſeconde, very heyres of the houſe of Orleans: For Iohn erle of Angoleſme, vncle to this Duke Charles, begatte Charles, father to the ſayde King Frauncis, whyche Earle Iohn had bene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewes Duke of Orleans, ſith the laſt yere of K. Henry the fourth, till that nowe his nephewe beyng deliuered, made ſhifte for money, and raunſomed hym alſo, and at length reſtored him to his countrey,

In the begynnyng of thys twentieth yeare, Richarde Duke of Yorke, Regent of Fraunce, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territoryes of his enimyes both by ſundrye Armyes, and in ſeuerall places, and thervppon without delaying of tyme, he ſente the Lord of Willoughby wyth a great crew of Souldiours to deſtroye the countrey of Amyens, and Iohn Lorde Talbot was appoynted to beſiege the Towne of Dieppe, and the Regent hym ſelfe accompanyed wyth Edmunde Duke of Somerſet, ſet forward into the Duchy of Aniow. The Lorde Willoughby accordyng to hys Commiſſyon entred into the countrey of hys enimyes in ſuche wyſe vppon the ſodayne, that a great numbre of people were taken ere they coulde withdrawe into any place of ſafegarde or fortelet.

The Frenchemenne in the garryſons adioyning, aſtonyed wyth the clamoure and crye of the poore people, iſſued out in good order, and manfully foughte wyth the Englyſhmen, but in the end, the Frenchmen ſeyng theyr fellowes in the forfront ſlayn down, & kyld without mercie, tourned their backes, and fled: the Engliſhmen followed, and ſlewe manye in the chaſe, and ſuche as eſcaped the ſworde, were robbed by the Earle of Saynte Pol, whyche was commyng to ayde the Englyſhmen.

In thys conflicte were ſlayne aboue ſix hundred men of armes, and a great number taken.

The Dukes of Yorke and Somerſet lykewyſe entred into Aniow and Mayne, and there deſtroyed Townes, and ſpoyled the people, and wyth great prayes and Priſoners, repayred agayne into Normandie, whether alſo the lorde Willoughby withdrewe after his valyaunt enterpriſe atchieued (as before ye haue heard) with ryche ſpoyle and good priſoners.

This ſhould be as Enguerant noteth two yeares after this preſent yeare xix. in vvrite.

An. 1442

The Duke of Somerſet not ſatiſfyed wyth hys former gayne, entred into the marches of Britayne, and toke by fierce aſſaulte, a towne named la Gerche, appertaynyng to the Duke of Alanſon, ſpoyling and burning the ſame.

This done, he went to Ponzay, where he ſoiorned two Moneths, ſendyng forth dayly his men of warre to deſtroy the countreys of Aniou Traonnoys, & Chatragonnoys. The Frenche Kyng ſente the Marſhall Loyach with .iiij. M. men to reſiſt the inuaſiō of the duke of Somerſet, whiche Marſhall intended to haue ſet on the Duke in his lodgyngs in the deade tyme of the night: but this enterpriſe was reueled to the D. who marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the way, and after long fighte, diſcomfited them, ſlewe an hundred of the Marſhals men, and toke .lxij. priſoners, wherof the chiefe were the Lord Dauſigny, ſir Lewes de Buell, and al the other (almoſt) were knightes and Eſquiers.

After this encounter, the duke toke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, & manned all the fortreſſes on the frontiers of his enimies, and wyth riche booties and priſoners, returned again to the duke of York. In this meane time yͤ L. Talbot beſieging the town of Dieppe, enuironed it with deepe trenches and terrible rampiers, buyldyng alſo vppon the mount Poulet, a ſtrong and defenſyble Baſtyle, but at lengthe perceyuing the Towne to be ſtrongly defended, and that he lacked ſuch furniture of men, vittuals, & ordinance as was neceſſarie for the winning of it, he delyuered the cuſtodie of the baſtile, with the gouernaunce of the ſiege to his baſtarde ſonne, a valyaunt yong man, and departed to Roan for aide, money and munition. The Frenche king aduertiſed hereof, ſente his ſonne the Dolphyn of Vyenne wyth the Earle of Dunoys, and a fiftene thouſande men to reyſe the ſiege from Dieppe. Three dayes they aſſayled the Baſtyle, in the which, vj. C. Engliſhmen were encloſed, and at length bicauſe pouder & weapon failed the within, the Frenchmen wan it, and toke the baſtard Talbot pryſoner, with ſir William Peytowe, and ſir John Repley, whiche ſhortly after were redemed. The other Engliſhe ſouldiours ſeyng the baſtyle wonne by the Frenchemen, ſtode all a day in good order of battaile, and in the nyghte followyng, politikely returned to Roan, without loſſe or damage. In the aſſaulting of the baſtile, the Frenchemen ſaye, they ſlewe two hundred Engliſhmen, and denye not but that they loſt fiue hundred of their owne men, beſide thoſe that were hurte.

H. M. hath Nicolle Giles.

Whyles theſe thinges were a doing, Philippe Duke of Burgongne made ſuche ſharpe warre agaynſt the Earle of Saint Pol, in taking from him his townes and Caſtels, that hee was conſtrayned to renounce his allegiaunce ſworne and promiſed to the King of Englande, and returned to the Frenche parte.

The Earle of Saint Poll reuolteth to the Frenche.

1442

Tartas beſieged.

The Engliſhe capitaynes in Guyenne beſieged the ſtrong towne of Tartas, belongyng to the Lord Dalbreth theyr olde and auncient enemie. The capitains wythin the town perceiuing that they were not able to reſiſte the force of the Engliſhmen any long time, toke this appointment, that the Towne ſhould remayne Neuter, and for the aſſuraunce thereof, they delyuered Cadet the ſonne of the Lorde de la Brethe in pledge, vpon this condition, that if the ſaid lorde de la Breth would not aſſent to the agreement, then he ſhoulde ſignifye his refuſall to the Engliſhe Capitaines within three monethes nexte enſuing, and he to haue his pledge, and they to do their beſt. The French K. at the requeſt of the lords of Guyenne, cauſed the lord de la Breth to ſignifye his diſagreement vnto the Erle of Huntington, as then lieutenãt to the K. of England in the duchie of Aquitayne: and therto to gratifie the Lords of Guyenne, he aſſembled an armie of lx. M. men, & came to Tholouſe, and ſo to Tartas, to whom the chieftains of the town, ſeing no ſuccors cõming from the K. of Englãd, rendred the towne, and Cadet de la Breth, whiche was left there as a pledge, was alſo deliuered.

The French king after the yelding of Tartes remoued to S. Seuere, which towne he toke by force, ſlew. iij. C. perſons, and toke ſir Thomas Rampſton priſoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, toke a bulwarke by force, and had the Towne yelded to him by compoſition.

The capitayn which was the Lord of Montferrant departed with all the Engliſhe crewe to Burdeaux, where he founde the Earle of Longuille, the Capdaw de Bucke, & ſir Tho Rampſton, whiche was a little before deliuered. After this, the fortreſſes of the Riuer Mermandie, were alſo yelded to ỹ French K. Who notwithſtanding at legth was cõſtrained for lack of victuals (which wer cut off by the Engliſhmen, ỹ lay abrode in diuers fortreſſes for ỹ purpoſe, to break vp his armie, and to retire into France. And then after his departure, the engliſhmen recouered againe the citie of Arques, & the other towns by the Frenche king gayned, & toke priſoner his lieutenant called Reignalt Guilliam the Burgonion, & many other Gentlemen, & al the meane ſouldiors were either ſlaine or hanged.

The chaunce of vvarre.

While the Frenche Kyng was in Guyenne, the Lorde Talbot toke the towne of Conches, and after marched towarde Galardon, which was beſieged by the baſtarde of Orleans, otherwiſe called the Erle of Dunoys, which erle hearing of the Lord Talbots approche, reiſed his ſiege, & ſaued himſelf. The Frenchmen a little before this ſeaſon, had taken the towne of Eureux by treaſon of a Fiſher. Sir Frauncis the Arragonoys hearing of that chance, apparelled. vj. ſtrõg felows, like men of the countrey, with ſacks and baſkets, as cariers of corne & victual, & ſent thẽ to the caſtel of Cornyl, in the which diuers engliſh men wer kept as priſoners, & he with an ambuſh of Engliſhmen lay in a valey nye to ỹ fortreſſe. The ſix counterfait huſbandmẽ entred the caſtel vnſuſpected, and ſtreight came to the chãber of ỹ captain, & laying hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that lay in ambuſh to come to their ayd the which ſodeinly made forth, and entred ỹ caſtell, ſlewe and toke all the Frenchmen, & ſet the Engliſhmen at libertie: which thing done, they ſet fire in the caſtell, and departed to Roan with their bootie and priſoners.

The Lorde Talbot.

The Earle of Dunois.

Thus maye ye ſee, that in warre nothyng is certain, and victorie is euer doubtfull, whiche ſometyme ſmyled on the Engliſhe parte, and ſometime on the Frenche ſide, according to hir variable nature. But nowe to ſpeake ſomwhat of the doings in England in the meane tyme.

Whyleſt the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and dayly ſkirmiſhes within the Realme of Fraunce, ye ſhall vnderſtande that after the Cardinall of Wincheſter, and the Duke of Glouceſter, were to the outward apparaunce of the worlde, reconciled eyther to other. the Cardinall, and the Archebyſhop of Yorke ceaſſed not to do many things without the conſent

A nevv breach etvveene the uke of Glouceſter, and the iſhoppe of VVincheſter.

ſent of the King or of the Duke, being during the minoritie of the K. gouernour and protector of the Realme, wherfore the ſayde Duke lyke a true hearted Prince, was nothyng pleaſed, and therevppon in wrytyng declared to the Kyng wherein the Cardinall and the Archebyſhoppe hadde offended both his Maieſtie and the lawes of the realme.

This complaynt of the Duke of Glouceſter was conteyned in foure and twentie articles, as in the Chronicle of Maiſter Hall ye may reade at full, the whyche for breefeneſſe I here omitte.

But the cheefeſt point reſted, in that it was apparant howe the Cardinall hadde from tyme to tyme through the ambitious deſyre to ſurmount all others in high degrees of honour and dignitie, ſought to enriche hymſelfe to the great & apparant hynderaunce of the king, as in defraudyng hym not onely of his treaſure, but alſo in doing and practiſing thyngs greatly preiudiciall to his affaires in Fraunce, and namely by ſettyng at libertie the Kyng of Scottes, vpon ſo eaſy conditions, as the Kynges Maieſtie greatly loſte thereby.

When the Kyng hadde hearde the accuſations thus layde by the Duke of Glouceſter agaynſte the Cardinall, he commytted the examination thereof to his Counſell, whereof the more parte were ſpirituall perſons, ſo that what for feare, and what for fauoure, the matter was winked at, and nothyng ſayde to it: onely faire countenance was made to the Duke, as though no malice hadde beene conceyued agaynſt hym: but venym wyll breake out, and inwarde grudge wyll ſoone appeare, whiche was thys yeare to all men apparant: for dyu rs ſecrete attemptes were aduaunced forwarde thys ſeaſon agaynſt thys noble man Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter a farre off, whiche in concluſyon came ſo neere, that they bereſte hym bothe of lyfe and lande, as ſhall hereafter more playnly appeare.

For fyrſt this yeare, Dame Eleanore Cobham, wyfe to the ſayde Duke, was accuſed of treaſon, for that ſhee by ſorcerie and enchauntement entended to deſtroy the kyng, to the intent to aduaunce hir huſbande to the Crowne.

Vppon thys, ſhee was examined in Sayncte Stephens Chappell before the Byſhop of Canterbury, and there by examination conuicte and iudged to doe open penaunce in three open places wythin the Citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetual impriſonmēt in the yſle of Man, vnder yͤ keping of ſir Jo. Stanley knight.

At the ſame ſeaſon were arreſted, arrayned, and adiudged gyltie; as ayders to the Ducheſſe, Thomas Southwell Prieſte, and Chanon of Saynte Stephens at Weſtminſter, John Hun prieſt, Roger Bolyngbroke, a cunnig Necromancer as it was ſaid, and Margerie Iordayn, ſurnamed, the Witche of Eye.

s John

The matter layde againſt them, was for that they, at the requeſte of the ſayde Ducheſſe, had deuyſed an Image of waxe, repreſentyng the Kyng, whiche by their ſorcerie by little and little conſumed, entendyng thereby in concluſion, to waſte and deſtroye the Kyngs perſone.

Margerie Iordayne was brente in Smythfielde, and Roger Bolyngbroke was drawne to Tyborne, and hanged and quartered, takyng vpon his death, that there was neuer any ſuche thing by them imagined. John Hun hadde his pardon, and Southwell dyed in the Tower before execution.

The Duke of Glouceſter bare all theſe thinges paciently, and ſayd little.

King Edvvard the fourthe borne.

Edward ſon to the duke of Yorke was borne this yeare the .xxix. of Aprill at Roan, his father being the Kings lieutenant of Normandie.

1441

Anno reg. 21.

The Counſell of Englande forgat not the late enterpriſe of the Frenche king, atchieued in the Duchie of Guyenne, and therfore doubting ſome other the lyke attempte, they ſente thyther Syr Wyllyam Wooduile wyth eyght hundred menne to fortifye the frontiers, and farther, ſet forth a proclamation, that all men which wold tranſporte anye Corne, Cheeſe, or other vittuall thyther, ſhoulde pay no maner of cuſtome or tallage: whyche licence cauſed the Country of Aquitayne to bee well furnyſhed of all thynges neceſſarye.

John Lorde Talbot created Earle of Shrevvſbury.

Aboute this ſeaſon John the valiaunt Lorde Talbot for his approued prowes and tried valiancie ſhewed in the Frenche warres, was created Earle of Shrewſbury, and with a companie of three thouſande menne ſente agayne into Normandie, for the better defence of the ſame.

1443

In this yeare dyed in Guyenne the Counteſſe of Comynges, to whome the French king and alſo the Earle of Arminacke pretended to be heyre, inſomuche that the Earle entred into all the landes of the ſayde Ladie, and bycauſe hee knewe the Frenche Kyng woulde not take the matter well, to haue a Roulande agaynſte an Olyuer, he ſente ſolemne ambaſſadours to the king of Englande, offeryng him his daughter in mariage, wyth promyſe to be bounde (beſide greate ſummes of money, whyche hee woulde giue wyth hir) to deliuer into the Kyng of Englands handes, all ſuche Caſtelles and Townes as he or his aunceſters deteyned from him within any part of the Duchie of Acquitayne, eyther by conqueſt of his progenitors, or by gifte or deliuerie of any Frenche king, and further to ayde the ſame Kyng, wyth money for the recouerye of other Cityes wythin the ſame Duchye by the Frenche Kyng, or by any other perſone from hym vniuſtly kept, and wrongfully withholden.

Thys offer ſeemed ſo profytable and alſo honorable to King Henry and to the realme, that the Embaſſadours were well hearde, honourably receyued, and wyth rewardes ſente home into theyr countrey.

After whome were ſente for the concluſion of the marriage into Guyenne, ſir Edwarde Hull, ſir Robert Ros, and John Grafton deane of S. Seuerines, the whyche (as all the Chronographers agree) both concluded the marryage, and by proxie affyed the yong Ladye.

The Frenche kyng not a litle offended herewyth, ſent his eldeſt ſonne Lewes the Dolphyn of Vyenne into Rouergue wyth a puiſſant armye, whyche toke the Earle and hys youngeſt ſonne, with both his daughters, and by force obteyned the countreyes of Arminack, Lobuergne, Rouergue, and Mouleſſonoys, beſide the cities Seuerac, Cadeac, and chaſed the baſtarde of Arminack out of his countreyes, and ſo by reaſon herof, the concluded mariage was deferred, and that ſo long that it neuer toke effect, as hereafter it may appeare.

Anno reg. 22.

Thus whyleſt England was vnquieted, and Fraunce by ſpoyle, ſlaughter, and brennyng ſore defaced: all Chriſtendome lamented the continuall deſtruction of ſo noble a realme, and the effuſion of ſo muche chriſten bloud, wherfore to agree the two puiſſant Kings, all the Princes of Chriſtendome trauayled ſo effectuouſly by their oratours and Embaſſadors, that a dyet was appoynted to be kept at the citie of Tours in Tourayne, where for the king of Englande appeared William de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, doctour Adam Molyns keeper of the Kings priuie ſeale, alſo Sir Robert Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were appointed Charles duke of Orleans, Lewes de Bourbon earle of Vandoſme, greate Maiſter of the Frenche Kynges houſholde, Piers de Breſſe Stewarde of Poyctowe, and Bertram Beauuau Lorde of Precigny.

The dyet at Tours for a peace to bee had betwene Englande and Fraunce.

There were alſo ſente thyther Embaſſadours from the Empire, from Spayne, from Denmarke, and from Hungarie, to bee mediatours betwixte the two Princes.

The aſſemble was greate, but the coſte was muche greater, inſomuche that euerye parte for the honour of theyr Prince and prayſe of theyr countrey, ſette forth themſelues, as well in fare as apparell, to the vttermoſte.

Many meetings were had, and many things moued to come to a fynall peace: but in concluſion by reaſon of many doubtes whyche roſe on both parties, no finall concorde coulde be agreed vppon, but in hope to come to a peace, a certayn truce as well by ſea as by lande, was concluded by the Commiſſioners for eyghteen Monethes, whyche afterwarde agayne was prolonged to the yeare of our Lord. 1449. if in the mean time it had not bene broken.

A truce for. 18. monethes.

1444

In the treatyng of this truce, the Earle of Suffolke extending his commiſſion to the vttermoſt, without the aſſent of his aſſociates, imagined in his fantaſie, that the next way to come to a perfecte peace, was to moue ſome marriage betwene the Frenche Kinges kinſewoman, the Ladye Margarete daughter to Reyner Duke of Aniou, and hys Soueraygne Lorde Kyng Henrye.

This Reyner duke of Aniou named himſelfe king of Sicile, Naples, and Ieruſalem, hauing only the name and ſtile of thoſe realmes, without any penie profite, or foote of poſſeſſion.

This mariage was made ſtraunge to the erle at the firſt, and one thyng ſeemed to bee a greate hinderaunce to it, whiche was, bicauſe the kyng of Englande occupyed a greate parte of the Duchye of Aniowe, and the whole Countie of Mayne, apperteyning (as was alledged) to king Reyner.

The Earle of Suffolke (I can not ſaye) eyther corrupted with brybes, or to muche affectioned to thys vnprofytable mariage, condeſcended and agreed, that the Duchie of Aniowe and the Countie of Mayne ſhould be deliuered to the King the brydes father, demaunding for hir marriage, neyther pennye nor farthyng, as who woulde ſay, that this newe affinitie paſſed all riches, and excelled bothe golde and precious ſtone. And to the intent that of this truce might enſue a finall concorde, a daye of enterview was appointed betwene the two kings in a place conuenient betwene Chartres and Roan.

When theſe thyngs were concluded, the earle of Suffolke wyth his companie retourned into Englande, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he hadde taken, out of the whyche there was a greate hope that a fynall peace myght growe the ſooner for that honourable marryage, whyche hee hadde concluded, omittyng nothyng that myght extoll and ſette forth the perſonage of the Ladye, or the nobilitie of her kinne.

But although this mariage pleaſed the kyng and dyuers of hys Counſell, yet Humfrey duke of Glouceſter protector of the realme was much agaynſte it, alledging that it ſhould be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and diſhonorable to the Prince, if he ſhoulde breake that promiſe and contract of mariage made by ambaſſadors ſufficiently therto inſtructed, with the daughter of the Erle of Arminack, vpon conditions, both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable.

But the Dukes wordes coulde not be heard, for the Earles doings were only liked and allowed. So that for performance of the concluſions, the Frenche king ſent the Erle of Vandoſme, great maiſter of his houſe, and the Archebiſhop of Remes fyrſt peere of Fraunce, and diuers other into Englande, where they were honorably receyued and after that the inſtrumentes were once ſealed and deliuered on both partes, the ſayd ambaſſadors retourned into their countreys with greate giftes and rewardes.

Creations of eſtates.

When theſe things were done, the king both for honour of his Realme, and to aſſure to himſelfe mo frends, he created Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington Duke of Exceſter as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: & Henry erle of Warwike was erected to the title of duke of Warwike, to whom the K. alſo gaue the caſtell of Briſtowe, with yͤ Iſle of Ierneſey, and Garneſey. Alſo the erle of Suffolk was made Marques of Suffolk, which Marques with his wife and many honorable perſonages of men and women richely adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them many coſtly chariots & gorgeous horſliters, ſailed into France for the conueyance of the nominated Queene into the realm of England. For king Reigner hir father, for all his long ſtile had too ſhort a purſe to ſend his daughter honorably to the King hir ſpowſe.

Anno 23. 1445

This noble cōpany came to the citie of Tours in Tourayne, where they were honorably receiued both of the French K. and of the K. of Sicil.

The Marques of Suffolke as procurator to K. Henry, eſpouſed the ſayd Lady in the churche of S. Martins.

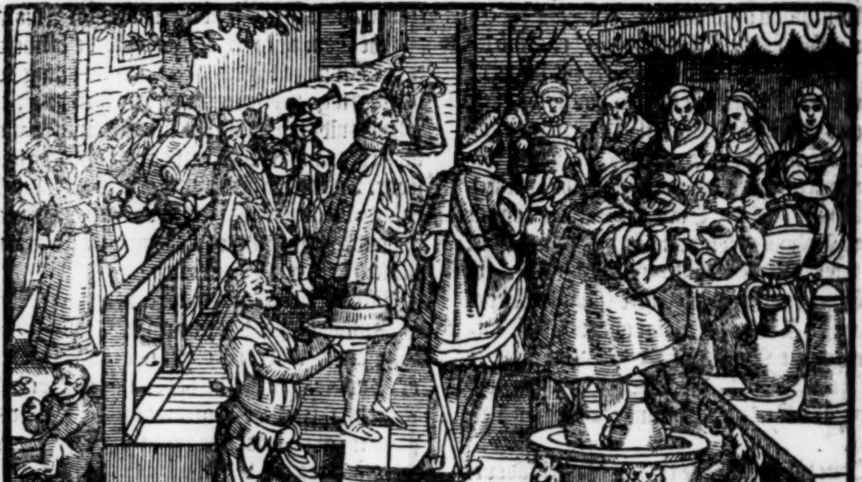
At the whiche mariage were preſente the father and mother of the bryde, the Frenche Kyng himſelf, which was vncle to the huſband, and the French Queene alſo, whiche was Aunt to the wyfe. There were alſo the Dukes of Orleans, of Calabre, of Alanſon, and of Britayne, vij. Erles. xij. barons, xx. Biſhops, beſide knightes and Gentlemen.

When the feaſt, triumph, bankets and iuſtes were ended, the Lady was deliuered to the Marques, which in great eſtate he conueyed through Normandie vnto Diepe, and ſo trāſported hir into Englande, where ſhee landed at Porteſmouth in the moneth of Aprill.

This woman excelled al other, aſwel in beautie and fauor, as in wit and policie, and was of ſtomacke and courage more lyke to a man, than a woman.

Margaret daughter to Reiner king of Sicill and Ieru-alem maried to Henry the ſixt.

Shortly after hir arriuall, ſhee was conueyed to the towne of Southwike in Hamſhire, where ſhe with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matrimonie to King Henrye the ſixte of that name, and vpon the thirtie of Maye nexte followyng, ſhee was Crowned Queene of thys realme of Englande at Weſtminſter, with all the ſolemnitie thereto appertaynyng. This mariage ſeemed to many both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of Englande, and that for many cauſes. Fyrſte, the King had not one penye with hir, and for the fetchyng of hir, the Marques of Suffolke demaunded a whole fiftenth in open parliamente. And alſo, there was deliuered for hir the duchye of Aniou, the Citie of Mans, and the whole Countie of Mayne, whiche Countreys were the verye ſtayes and backeſtandes to the Duchie of Normandie.



And furthermore, the Earle of Arminacke tooke ſuche diſpleaſure with the Kyng of Englande for thys marryage, that hee became vtter enemye to the Crowne of Englande, and was the chiefe cauſe that the Engliſhmen were expulſed out of the whole Duchie of Aquitayne.

But moſte of all it ſhoulde ſeeme, that God was diſpleaſed wyth this marriage: For after the confirmation thereof, the Kings friends fell from hym, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his Realme fell at diuiſion, and the commons rebelled in ſuche ſorte, that fynally after many fieldes foughten, and many thouſands of men ſlayn, the Kyng at length was depoſed, and his ſonne ſlayn, and this Queene ſent home agayne, with as muche myſerie and ſorrowe as ſhe was receyued with pompe and triumph: ſuch is the inſtabilitie of worldly felicitie, and ſo wauering is falſe flattering fortune.

This yere after the deceaſſe of Henry Chicheley Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſucceded John Stafford in gouernment of that ſea, being tranſlated from Bathe and Welles. He was the.lxj. Archbiſhop, as Polydore noteth.

During the tyme of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and dyuers other capitaines, repaired into Englande, both to viſite their wyues, children and frendes, and alſo to conſult what ſhuld be done, if the truce ended.

An. reg. 24.

1446

The Duke of Somerſet made Regent of Normandie.

For the whiche cauſe a Parliament was called, in the which it was eſpecially cōcluded, that by good foreſight Normandie mighte be ſo furniſhed for defence before the ende of the Truce, that the Frenche king ſhould take no aduantage through wante of tymely prouiſion: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the Frenche kyng did prepare to imploye his whole puiſſance to make open warre. Hereuppon money was graunted, an armye leuyed, and the Duke of Somerſet appoynted to be Regent of Normandie, and the Duke of Yorke thereof diſcharged.

I haue ſeene in a Regiſter booke belongyng ſomtime to the Abbey of S. Albons, that the D. of Yorke was eſtabliſhed Regent of France after the deceaſe of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the terme of.v. yeres, which being expired, he returned home, and was ioyfully receiued of the king with thanks for his good ſeruice, as he had full well deſerued in tyme of that his gouernement: and further, that now when a newe Regent was to be choſen & ſent ouer to abide vpon ſafegard of the countreys beyond the ſeas as yet ſubiect to the Engliſh dominion, the ſaid duke of Yorke was eftſoones (as a man moſt meete to ſupplie that roomth) appointed to go ouer again as Regent of Fraunce with all his former allowances.

But the Duke of Somerſette ſtill maligning the Duke of Yorkes aduauncement, as hee had ſought to hinder his diſpatche at the firſte when he was ſent ouer to be regent, as before ye haue heard: he likewyſe nowe wrought ſo, that the king reuoked his graunt made to the duke of Yorke for enioying of that office the terme of other fiue yeares, and with helpe of Williā Marques of Suffolke obteyned that graunt for him ſelfe: Whiche malicious dealing the Duke of Yorke mighte ſo euill beare, that in the ende the heate of diſpleaſure burſt out into ſuche a flame, as conſumed at length not only bothe thoſe two noble perſonages, but alſo many thouſandes of others, though in dyuers tymes & ſeaſons, as in places hereafter as occaſion ſerueth, it ſhal more euidently appeare. But nowe to returne to the Parliament.

The Marques of Suffolkes requeſtes.

The Marques of Suffolke ſuppoſing that all men had as well lyked his doinges (duryng the tyme of hys Legation in Fraunce) as the ſeme pleaſed himſelfe, the ſeconde daye of June in the fyrſt Seſſion of this Parliamente, before all the Lordes bothe Spirituall and Temporall in the hygher houſe aſſembled, openly, eloquently, and boldly declared his payne, trauaile, and diligence ſuſteyned in his ſayde Legation, as well for the takyng and concluding an abſtinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage, opening alſo to them, that the ſayd truce expired the firſte of Aprill next comming, except a finall peace, or a farther truce were concluded in the meane ſeaſon: and therfore he aduiſed them to prouide and forſee things neceſſarie for the warre (as though no concorde ſhoulde ſuccede) leaſt happly the Frenchemen perceyuing them vnprouided, wold take theyr aduauntage, and agree neyther to peace nor amitie, ſaying vnto them, that ſyth hee hadde admonyſhed the Kyng and them accordyng to hys duetie, if anye thyng happened otherwyſe than well, hee was therof innocente and guyltleſſe, and hadde acquyted hymſelfe like a true and louyng ſubiecte, and a faythfull counſaylour, praying the Lordes to haue it in remembraunce.

Lykewyſe on the morrowe after, he deſcended into the common houſe, accompanyed with certain Lordes, and there declared the ſame matter to the Knyghtes, Citizens, and Burgeſes, praying the Commons for hys diſcharge, that as well all hys doyngs and proceedyngs in the Kyngs affaires beyonde the ſea, as alſo his aduertiſemente and counſell opened to the Lordes and Commons nowe together aſſembled, might bee by the Kyng and them enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament.

Whereuppon the morrow after, the Speaker William Burleye, and the company of the lower houſe, repayred vnto the Kyngs preſence, then ſyttyng amongſt the Lordes of the vpper houſe, and there humblye required that the requeſt of the Marques myght be graunted, and ſo likewiſe the Lordes made the like petition kneling on their knees, in ſo muche that the Kyng condeſcended to their deſires: and ſo the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declarations of the ſayde Marques, together wyth the deſyres not only of the Lordes, but alſo of the commons, as wel for the honor of him, and his poſteritie, as for his acquitall & diſcharge, were enacted & enrolled in the recordes of the Parliament. By yͤ Quenes meanes ſhortly after alſo, was the ſaid Marques aduaunced ſo in authoritie, that hee ruled the Kyng at his pleaſure, and to his hyghe preferment, obteyned the wardſhips both of the bodye and landes of the Counteſſe of Warwike, and of the Ladie Margaret ſole heire to John Duke of Somerſet, whiche Ladie was after mother to King Henry the ſeuenth: and beſide that, cauſed the kyng to create John de Foys, ſonne to Gaſton de Foys, Earle of Longvile, and the Captaw de Bueff Earle of Kendall, whiche John had maryed his neece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter, the ſayde Gaſton, and John his ſonne, giuyng to the ſonne towardes the mayntenaunce of hys degree, landes and caſtelles, amounting to the ſumme of one thouſande poundes, whiche landes, name, and ſtyle, the iſſue and lyne of the ſayde Earle of Kendale at this daye haue and enioye.

Theſe things being thus in doing, the French king ſeeyng that the Towne of Mans was not deliuered accordyng to the appoyntement taken by force of the mariage, rayſed an armie for to recouer the ſame. Wherof the king of England beeing aduertiſed (leaſt the breache of the truce ſhould come by him) cauſed the towne to be deliuered without any force.

A commotion in Norvviche.

This yeare was a great commotion in Norwiche agaynſt the Prior of the place. At length the Citizens opened the gates to the Duke of Norffolke whiche came thyther to appeaſe the matter, though at the fyrſt they woulde not ſuffer hym to enter.

The liberties of Norvviche ſeaſed into the kings handes.

The chiefe offenders were accordyng to their demerites, greuouſly puniſhed and executed, and the Mayre was diſcharged of hys office, & Sir John Clyfton was made Gouernour there, till the Kyng hadde reſtored the Citizens to theyr auncient liberties.

Indirect meanes ſought to reforme vvrongs.

This commotion was begonne for certayne newe exactions whyche the Pryour claymed and tooke of the Citizens, contrarye to theyr auncient freedome: But thys was not the way to come to their right, and therefore they were worthily corrected.

An. reg. 25.

Whyleſt the warres ceaſſed by occaſion of the truce, the myndes of men were not ſo quiet but that ſuch as were bent to malicious reuenge, ſoughte to compaſſe their prepenſed purpoſe, not agaynſt forreyn foes and enemies of their countrey, but againſte their owne countrey menne, and thoſe that hadde deſerued verye well of the common wealthe: and this ſpecially for lacke of ſtoutneſſe in the Kyng, who by his authoritie myghte haue ruled bothe parties, and ordered all differences betwixte them, as might haue ſtande wyth Reaſon: but where as hee was of ſuche pacience and integritie of lyfe, as nothing ſeemed to hym worthie to be regarded, but that apperteyned vnto heauenly matters and health of hys ſoule, the ſauyng whereof, hee eſteemed to bee the greateſt wyſedome, and the loſſe thereof the extremeſt folly that might be.

The deſcription of Kyng Henry the ſixte.

Deſcription of the Queene.

The Queene contrarywyſe, was a woman of a greate witte, and no leſſe courage, deſyrous of honoure, and furnyſhed wyth the giftes of reaſon, policye and wyſedome, but yet to ſhew hir ſelfe not altogether a man, but in ſome one poynte a verie woman, oftentymes when ſhe was vehemente and fully bente on a matter, ſhe was ſodeynly lyke a Weathercocke, mutable and tournyng.

Thys woman diſdaynyng that hir huſband ſhould be ruled rather than rule, could not abyde that the Duke of Glouceſter ſhoulde do all thinges concernyng the order of weyghtye affayres, leaſt it myghte bee ſayde, that ſhe had neyther wytte nor ſtomacke, whyche woulde permitte and ſuffer hir huſbande beeyng of perfecte age, lyke a young pupill to bee gouerned by the diſpoſition of an other manne. Althoughe thys toye entred fyrſte into hir brayne thorough hir owne imagination, yet was ſhee pricked forwarde to reforme the matter both by ſuche of hir huſbandes counſell, as of long tyme had borne malice to the Duke for his playneneſſe vſed in declaryng theyr vntrouth, as partely yee haue hearde, and alſo by the aduertiſement giuen to hir from Kyng Reygner hir father, aduyſyng hir, that ſhee and hir huſbande ſhoulde in anye wyſe take vppon them the rule and gouernance of the Realme, and not to bee kepte vnder, as wardes and deſolate Orphanes.

The Queene taketh vppon hir the gouernment, and diſchargeth the Duke of Gloceſter.

What needeth many wordes? the Queene perſuaded by theſe meanes, firſte of all excluded the Duke of Glouceſter from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibiting ſuche as ſhee knewe to bee hys mortall foes to inuente and imagine cauſes and griefes agaynſt hym and hys, in ſo much that by hir procurement, diuers noble men cōſpired againſt him, of the which diuers writers affirme the Marques of Suffolk, and the duke of Buck. to be the chief, not vnprocured by yͤ Cardinall of Wincheſt. & the Archbiſhop of Yorke. Dyuers Articles were layde agaynſte hym in open counſel and in eſpecially one, that he had cauſed menne adiudged to dye, to bee put to other execution, than the lawe of the land aſſigned: for ſurely the duke being very wel learned in the lawe ciuill, deteſting malefactors, & puniſhing offences, gat greate malice and hatred of ſuche as feared condigne rewarde for their wicked dooings. Althoughe the duke ſufficiently aunſwered to all things againſt him obiected: yet bicauſe his death was determined, his wiſdome little helped, nor his innocencie nothing auailed.

1447

A parliament at ſaint Edmundesbury.

But to auoyde the daunger of ſome tumulte that might be reyſed, if a Prince ſo well beloued of the people ſhuld be openly executed, they determined to worke their feats and bring him to deſtruction, ere he ſhuld haue ani knowledge or warning thereof. So for the furtherance of their purpoſe, a parliament was ſummoned to be kepte at Berry, wheather reſorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongſt them the duke of Gloceſter, which on the ſecond day of the ſeſſion was by the lorde Beaumond, then high coneſtable of England, acompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arreſted, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his ſeruauntes ſequeſtred from him, and .xxxij. of the chief of his retinew wer ſent to diuers priſons, to the greate admiratiō of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to priſon, beeing the .xxiiij. of February was founde deade in his bedde, and his body ſhewed to the lordes and commons, as though hee had dyed of a palſey, or of an impoſtume: but all indifferent perſons (as ſaithe Hall) well knewe, that hee dyed of ſome violent deathe: ſome iudged him to be ſtrangled, ſome affirme that an hotte ſpit was put in at his fundement: other write that he was ſmouldered betwene .ij. fetherbeds, and ſome haue affirmed that hee dyed of verye griefe, for that he might not come openly to his anſwere. His deade corps was conueied to S. Albons, and there buried. After his death none of his ſeruāts ſuffred, although fiue of them, to wit, ſir Roger Chāberlain knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arteiſe eſquiers, and Richard Nedhā gentleman, were arreigned, condempned and drawen to Tiborne, where they were hanged, let downe quick, & ſtriped to haue bin bowelled and quartered, but the Marques of Suffolke cōming at that inſtant brought their pardons, ſhewed the ſame openlye, and ſo theyr lyues were ſaued.

The Duke of Glouceſter ſodainly murthered.

Dukes of Glouceſter vnfortunate.

Some thinke that the name and title of Glouceſter, hathe bene vnluckye to diuerſe, whiche for their honoures haue bene erected by creation of princes, to that ſtile and dignitie. as Hughe Spenſer, Thomas of Wodſtocke, ſon to Kyng Edwarde the thirde, and this Duke Humfrey: Whiche .iij. perſons by miſerable deathe finiſhed their dayes, and after them king Richarde the thirde alſo, Duke of Glouceſter, in ciuill war was ſlaine and brought to death: ſo that this name of Glouceſter is taken for an vnhappy ſtile, as the prouerbe ſpeaketh of Seians horſe, whoſe rider was euer vnhorſed, and whoſe poſſeſſor was euer brought to miſery.

But ſurely, by the vnworthy deathe of this noble Duke and politike gouernor, the publike wealthe of the Realme of Englande came to greate ruyne, as by the ſequele of this pamphlet may more at lardge appeare.

There is an olde ſaid ſaw, that a man intendyng to auoyde the ſmoke, falleth into the fyre: So heree. the Queene mindyng to preſerue hir huſbande in honoure, and hirſelfe in auctority, conſented to the deathe of this noble man, whoſe only deathe brought that to paſſe, whyche ſhee hadde moſte cauſe to haue feared, whyche was, the depoſing of hyr huſbande, the decay of the houſe of Lancaſter, whyche of likelyhood hadde not chaunced if this Duke hadde liued: for then durſte not the Duke of Yorke haue attempted to ſet forthe his title to the Crowne, as hee afterwardes didde, to the greate diſquieting of the Realme, and deſtruction of Kyng Henry and of many other noble men beſide.

This is the opinion of menne, but gods iudgementes are vnſearcheable, againſt whoſe decree and ordinaunce preuaileth no humaine counſaile.

But to conclude with this noble Duke: he was no doubt a right mirrour of an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his endeuoures to the aduauncement of the common wealth, no leſſe louing to the pore commons, than beloued of them again. Learned he was, and wiſe, full of curteſie, and voide of all pride and ambition, a vertue rare in perſonages of ſuche high eſtate, albeit where the ſame chaunceth, moſt commendable.

But ſithe the praiſe of this noble man deſerueth a large diſcourſe, and meete for ſuche as haue cunning howe to handle the ſame, I referre the readers vnto Maiſter Foxes booke of Actes, and Monumentes, fyrſte Volume Page 833.

An. reg. 26.

In this ſixe and twentieth yere of the raign of this King, but in the firſte of the rule of the Queene, I finde nothing done worthye of rehearſall within the Realme of Englande, but that the Marques of Suffolke, by greate fauor of the Kyng, and more deſire of the Queene, was created to the title and name of Duke of Suffolke whiche dignitie hee ſhorte time inloyed: for Richard duke of Yorke being greatly alyed by hys wife to the chiefe Peeres and Potentates of the Realme, ouer and beſide hys own progeny, perceiuing the king to be a ruler not ruling, and the whole burthen of the realm to reſte in the ordinaunces of the Queene, and the Duke of Suffolke, began ſecretly to allure his friendes of the Nobilitie, and priuily declared vnto them hys tytle and ryghte to the crowne, and likewiſe didde he to certaine wiſe and ſage gouernours and rulers of diuers Cities and Townes: whych priuy attempt was ſo pollitickely handled, and ſo ſecretly kepte that his prouiſion was ready before his purpoſe was openly publiſhed, and his friendes opened themſelues ere the contrary parte coulde them eſpie: for in concluſion, time reueled truthe, and olde hidde hatred ſoddainely ſprong out, as yee maye hereafter both learne and heare.

1448

The deathe of the Biſhoppe of Vincheſter & his deſcription.

During theſe doings, Henry Beauford Biſhop of Wincheſter, and called the riche Cardinall, departed out of this worlde, and was buried at Wincheſter. This man was ſonne to John Duke of Lancaſter, deſcended of an honourable linnage, but borne in baſte, more noble in bloud than notable in learning, hault of ſtomacke, and highe of countenaunce, riche aboue meaſure, but not very liberall, dyſdainfull to his kinne, and dreadefull to hys louers, preferring money before friendeſhippe, menye things beginning and fewe performing: hys couetous inſaciabilitie, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe to forgette God, his Prince, and hymſelfe: of the getting of his goodes both by power Legantine, and ſpirituall bribery, I will not ſpeake, but the keping of them for his ambitious purpoſe was bothe greate loſſe to hys naturall Prince and natiue countrey: for hys hydden riches might haue well holpen the King, and his ſecret treaſure might haue releued the communaltie, when money was ſcante and importunate charges were dayly imminent.

An. reg. 27.

Sir Frauncis Suriennes.

Fougieres.

After the deathe of this Prelate, the affaires in Fraunce were neither well loked to, nor the gouernors of the countrey wel aduiſed: for an engliſh capitain called ſir Frãcis Suriennes, ſurnamed the Aragonois, of the countrey wher he was borne, a man for his wit and actiuitie admitted into the order of the Garter toke by ſtealing ſoddainely in the nyght of the euen of our Lady day in Lent, a Town on the Frontiers of Normandy, belonging to the Duke of Britaine called Fougiers, ſpoylyng the ſame and killing the inhabitantes.

The Duke of Britaigne beeing hereof aduertiſed, ſent worde by the biſhop of Remmes to the Frenche Kyng, beſeching him of his aid and counſaile in the matter.

The French King forthwith ſent his caruer John Hauart, and John Coſinet one of the Maiſters of his requeſtes to the King of Englande: and to the Duke of Somerſet, he diſpatched Peter de Fontaines the Maiſter of his horſe, to the whiche meſſengers aunſwere was made aſwell by the Kyng as the duke, that the fact was done without their knowledge. And for the truce to be kepte, and not onely reſtitution, but alſo amends to be made to the Duke of Britayne, a daye of dyet was appoynted to be kepte at Louuiers, where the commiſſioners on both partes being aſſembled, the frenchmen demaunded amendes, wyth no ſmall recompence. The Engliſhemen aunſwered that without offence, nothing by Juſtice ought to be ſatiſfied, affirming the doing of Sir Frauncis Surcinnes to be only his act, without conſent eyther of the Kyng of Englande, or of the Duke of Somerſet hys lieuetenaunt and Regent.

Pont de Lar taken by the Frenchmen by a ſubtil ſleyte

But whiles wyth long delay, they talked of this matter at Louuiers, certain Frenchmen by aduertiſement of a wagoner of Louuiers, vnderſtãding that the town of Pont de Larche was but ſlenderly manned. The wagoner laded his wagon, and paſſed forward hauing in his companye two ſtrong Varlettes clad like Carpenters, wyth greate axes on their ſhoulders, and hereto le Seigneur de Breze wyth a choſen company of men of armes, lodged himſelfe in a buſhement neare to the gate of Saint Andrewe, and Capitayne Floquet accompanied wyth ſir James de Clermont, and another greate companye priuily lurked vnder a woode towarde Louuiers.

When all things were appointed for the purpoſe, earely one morning about the beginning of the moneth of October, deuiſed to take the ſame town on this maner: The wagoner came to the gate, and called the porter by name, praying hym to open the gate, that hee myghte paſſe to Roan, and retourne agayne the ſame nyght.

The Porter (whiche well knewe the voyce of hys cuſtomer) toke little heede to the other two companions, and ſo opened the one gate and ſent another felowe of hys to open the formoſte gate. When the Chariot was on the drawe bridge betwene both the gates, the chariot Maiſter gaue the Porter money, and for the nonce let one peece fall on the grounde, and while the Porter ſtouped to take it vp, the wagoner wyth hys dagger ſtroke hym in at hys throate, ſo that he cried for no helpe, and the .ij. great lubbers ſlewe the other porters, and with their axes cut the axeltree of the wagon, ſo that the

the drawe bridge coulde not be ſhortly drawen vppe. This done they made a ſigne to Capitaine Floquet, whyche wyth all ſpeede entred the Towne, ſlewe and tooke all the Engliſhemenne: and amongeſt other, the Lorde Fauconbridge Capitaine of the ſaide Towne was taken priſoner. The loſſe of this place was of no ſmall importance, being the very kay & paſſage ouer the riuer of Seyne, from France into Normandy, beeing diſtant from Roan onely foure leagues.

When requeſt was made to haue it reſtored againe to the Engliſhemen, aunſwere was made, that if they woulde reſtore to the Duke of Britayne, the Towne of Fougieres wyth condigne amends for the domages done there, the Towne of Pont Larche ſhoulde then bee againe deliuered, or elſe not.

And ſhortely after, in hope of good ſpeede the Frenche King aſſembled an army, and deuiding the ſame into three parts, gotte by ſurrender after ſundry aſſaults, and loſſe of diuers of his men, the townes of Louuiers, and Gerborye, whereof Wyllyam Harper was Capitayne. Alſo the Towne, Caſtell, and greate Tower of Verneueil in Perche were rendred into the Frenche Kyngs handes, after twenty dayes of reſpite graunted, to ſee if reſcues wold haue come.

The Frenche wryters affirme the Towne to be taken by aſſault. Thus was the warre renued, before the terme of the truce was fullye expired, and the Engliſhe Capitaines were brought to their wittes end, what with appeaſing dayly rumors wythin the Townes, and what wyth ſtudie howe to recouer caſtels loſte and taken, for while they ſtudied how to keepe and defende one place, foure or fiue other folowing fortunes chaunce tourned to the french parte. The chiefe cauſe of whyche reuoltyng was, for that it was blowen abroade throughe France, how the realm of England, after the death of the duke of Glouceſter by the ſeuerall factions of princes was deuided in two parts, and that Wyllyam de la Poole lately created Duke of Suffolke, and diuerſe other whyche were the occaſion of the ſaide Duke of Glouceſters deathe, vexed and oppreſſed the poore people, ſo that mennes mindes were not intentiue to outwarde affaires: but all their ſtudye giuen to keepe off wrongs offered at home, the Kyng lyttle regardyng the matter, and the Quene ledde by euill counſell, rather further d ſuche miſchiefes, as dayly beganne to growe, by ciuill diſcorde, than ought to reforme them, ſo that the Normans and Gaſcoignes vnderſtanding in what ſtate thynges ſtoode tourned to the Frenche parte, as he, reafter it maye appeare.

A rebellion in in Irelande.

Aboute the ſame time alſo, beganne a newe rebellion in Irelande, but Richarde Duke of Yorke beeing ſent thither to appeaſe the ſame, ſo aſſwaged the fury of the wilde and ſauage people there, that he wanne hym ſuche fauoure amongeſt them, as coulde neuer bee ſeparated from hym, and hys lynnage, whiche in the ſequele of thys hiſtorye maye more plainely appeare.

The Engliſhe loſſe all in Fraunce.

The Frenchemenne hauing perfect vnderſtandyng of the vnreadineſſe of the Realme of England, diſplayd their banners, and ſet forth theyr armyes, and in ſhorte ſpace gat by yelding, Conſtance, Gyſors, Caſtell Galliarde, Ponteau de Mere, ſaint Lo, Feſtampe, Newcaſtell, Touque, Maulcon, Argenton, Liſieux, and diuers other Townes and places within the countrey of Normandy.

Roan yelded to the Frenchemenne.

Lykewiſe in Guienne was the Towne of Mauliſſon rendred to the Erle of Fois. Theſe Townes were not yelded voluntarily by the Engliſhe ſouldiors: but they were compelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which hauyng intelligence of the feeble eſtate of the Realme of Englande, roſe againſte the Capitaynes, opened the gates to the ennemyes, or conſtreined them to render vpon compoſition. By whyche enforcement, was the riche Citie of Roan deliuered: for ſurely the Duke of Somerſet and the Earle of Shrewſbury had well kepte that Citie, if they had bin no more vexed with the Citizens, than they were wyth theyr ennemies. For after that the Frenche Kyng had giuen ſummonaunce to the Citie, the inhabitantes ſtreyght wayes didde not only deuiſe which way they might betray the citie, but alſo put on armor, and rebelled openly againſt their Capitaines, the whiche perceyuing theyr vntruthe, retired into the Caſtell or Pallaice, where for a certayne ſpace, wyth arrowes and handegunnes, they ſore moleſted the vntrue citizens, but at lengthe vnderſtanding the great puiſſaunce of the Frenche King, and diſpairing of all aide and ſuccoure, they yelded vpon condition, that wyth all their goodes and armoure they ſhoulde ſafely departe to Caen, and that certayne Townes ſhoulde bee deliuered by a daye. And till the ſame Towns were rendred, the Earle of Shrewſbury, and the Lord Butler ſonne to the Earle of Ormonde, were lefte behinde as pledges, whiche were ſent to the caſtell of Eureux, bycauſe they ſore feared the malice of the citizens of Roan.

Harflevve beeſeged. Sir Thomas Curſon.

The Frenchemenne followyng the victorie came to Harflewe, and fiercely aſſaulted the walles, but by the highe prowes and vndaunted valiauncy of the Capitayne, Syr Thomas

Curſon they were to their great loſſe manfully by him repulſed, and beaten backe. The frenchmen learning witte by this greate perill, lefte their ſkaling, and deuiſed dayly howe to batter and breake the walles, make the breaches reaſonable for them to enter. This ſiege long continued to the greate loſſe of bothe parties. When Sir Thomas Curſon ſawe no likelyhoode of gaine, but great apparance of preſent loſſe, hee fell at compoſition with the enimies, and ſo departed wyth all his goodes.

Harflevve yelded to the Frenche.

An. reg. 28.

After which Towne rendred, the fortreſſe of Hunflewe was vppon like compoſition alſo yelded. Thus maye you ſee howe fortune is euer wythout meaſure, eyther too muche fauouring, or too much hating: for beſide theſe towns ſurrendred in Normandye, the Duke of Britain recouered againe Fougieres, ſaint Iames de Beuuron, and diuers other.

1450

Sir Thomas Kiriell.

In the meane ſeaſon the King of Englande ſente into Normandye (with a newe ſupply of a thouſande fiue hundreth men) a right valiant Capitayne called Sir Thomas Kiriell, who ioygning hymſelfe wyth other Engliſhe capitaines recouered the Townes of Liſieux, and Valongnes, and hauing wyth him power ſufficient, as he tooke it, to keepe the fieldes, he departed the twelfth of April from Valongnes, meaning to paſſe towardes Baieux, and after to Caen, but on the eyghteenth day of the ſame Moneth, hee was encountred at a place called Formigny betwixt Carenten and Baieux, by the Earle of Clermont, and other Frenchemen with Scottes. At the firſt onſet, the Engliſhemen receyued their enemies wyth ſuche manhoode, that the Frenchemen were driuen back, and the Engliſhmen tooke from them two Culuerines, albeit in the ende, by the comming of the Conſtable of Fraunce, Arthur de Britaine Earle of Richmont, who broughte with hym two hundreth or twelue ſcore menne of armes, and an eyght hundred archers or demylaunces, the Engliſhemenne were diſcomfited, put to flight, and ſlaine to the number of three thouſande ſeuen hundred three ſcore & thirteen, as Enguerāt noteth, beſide priſoners, of whom there were diuers perſonages of accompte, as the ſaide Sir Thomas Kiriell hymſelfe, Syr Henry Norbery, Sir Thomas Drewe, Syr Thomas Kirkly, Chriſtofer Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Iennequin, Vacquier, Gobarte, Caleuille, and ſundry other.

The Engliſhemen ouerthrovven at Formigny.

Sir Robert Veer, and ſir Mathew Gough that valiant Welchmā, and many other eſcaped ſo wel as they might ſome to Baieux ſome to Caen, and other to other places as ſeemed to ſtand beſt with their ſafeties.

After thys victorye obteyned, the Frenche Kyng aſſembled an army royal, and cōming before Caen, beſieged it on all ſides, and after makyng hys approches fiercelye aſſaulted the walles, but the Duke of Somerſet, and the other Capitaines within the Towne, manfully withſtoode their enemies, ſhewyng both force and greate pollicye in defendyng and beatyng backe the aſſailants. The Frenche Kyng perceyuing hee coulde not preuaile that way, ſent for all his greate ordinaunce to Paris, whiche beeing brought, he dayly ſhotte at the walles, and did ſome hurte, but to the Caſtell whych ſtoode on a rocke, and in it a Dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, hee didde no harme at all. Though the duke of Somerſet was the kings lieuetenaunt, yet Syr Dauy Hall as captain of thys Towne, for hys Mayſter the Duke of Yorke owner therof, tooke vpon hym the chiefe chardge. Sir Roberte Veer was Captaine of the Caſtell, and Sir Henry Radforde Captaine of the Dungeon. Dayly the ſhotte was greate, but more terrible than hurtfull, ſauing one daye a ſtone ſhot into the Towne, fell betweene the Ducheſſe of Somerſet, and hir children, whiche being amazed with this chaunce, beſought hir huſband kneeling on hir knees, to haue mercy and compaſſion of his ſmalle infantes, and that they might bee deliuered oute of the Towne in ſafegarde.

Caen beſieged and yelded to the Frenche.

The Duke more pityfull than hardy, moued wyth the ſorrowe of hys wife, and loue of his children, rendred the Towne agaynſt the minde of Sir Dauy Hall, (whoſe counſell and faithefull diligence in acquyting himſelfe to aunſwere the truſte committed to hym by hys Maiſter,) if other hadde followed, the Frenche had ſuſtayned more trauaile and loſſe, ere they ſhoulde haue ſo eaſely atteined their purpoſe. The concluſion of the ſurrender was, that the Duke of Somerſette and his, might departe in ſafegarde with all their goodes and ſubſtance: ſir Dauy Hall with diuers of his truſty frinds departed to Chierburghe, and from thence ſailed into Ireland to the duke of Yorke, making relation to hym of all theſe doings, whyche thing kindled ſo great a rancour in the Dukes harte and ſtomacke, that hee neuer lefte perſecuting of the Duke of Somerſette, till hee had broughte hym to hys fatall ende, and confuſion.

After the obteyning of this ſtrong towne of Caen, the Earle of Clermonte beſieged the Citie of Liſieux, whereof was Capitaine Mathewe Goughe wyth three hundred Engliſhe men, who in the ende, deliuered that towne, vppon condition, that he and his people might departe to Chierburghe. Then was Falaiſe beeſieged, whereof were Capitaynes, for the

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Erle of Shrewſbury that was the owner, Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton eſquiers, which being in dyſpaire of all ſuccours, agreed to deliuer it vpon two conditions:

The one was, that the erle their Maiſter whiche remayned in pledge, for performaunce of certaine appointmentes, concluded at the deliuerye of Roan (as yee haue hearde) ſhoulde be ſet at libertie. The other, that if they were not reſcued within .xij. dais, that then they & theirs ſhoulde departe wyth armoure, and all their goodes moueable, whither it pleaſed them. At the day appoynted, the Towne was rendred, and ſo likewiſe was the Towne of Damfront vppon the ſemblable agreement. Nowe reſted onely Engliſhe the Towne of Chierburghe, wherof was captayne one Thomas Gonuille, whyche ſurely as long as victuall and munition ſerued, defended the Town right manfully, but when theſe two handes were conſumed, hee beeing deſtitute of all comforte and ayde, vppon a reaſonable compoſition, yelded the Towne, and went to Callais, where the Duke of Somerſette, and many other Engliſhemen then ſoiorned. Thus was Normandye loſte clerely out of the Engliſhemennes hands, after it had continued in their poſſeſſion the ſpace of .xxx. yeares by the conqueſte of Henry the fifte. In the whiche Duchie were an hundred ſtrong Townes and fortreſſes, able to be kepte and holden, beſide them whiche were deſtroyed by the warres, and in the ſame is one Archebiſhopprike, and ſixe Biſhopprickes. Some ſaye that the Engliſhemenne were not of puiſſaunce eyther to manne the Townes, as they ſhoulde haue bene, or to inhabite the countrey, whiche was the cauſe that they could not kepe it. Other ſaye, that the Duke of Somerſette, for his owne peculiar aduauntage, kepte not halfe the number of ſouldiours whiche he was appoynted and allowed, but put the wages in his purſe, but the chiefe, and onely cauſe vndoubtedly, was the deuiſion within the realm, euery great man deſiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enimie abroade, as by that whiche followeth, you may plaincly perceiue.

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An. reg. 29.

For whileſt the Frenche made theſe conqueſts in the Duchie of Normandie, three miſchieuous Capitaynes, ſette the people of thys realme (aſwell thoſe of the nobilitie, as of the meaner ſorte) in ciuill warre and ſedition: for among the highe Princes and Peeres reigned inwarde grudge, among the Clergie flattery and adulation, and among the communaltye diſdaine of laſciuious ſoueraigntie, whyche the Queene wyth hir mynions and vnprofitable counſellors daily toke and vſurped vpon them. Wherefore they (not minding to bee charged further than their backes were able to beare, and herewyth perceiuing how throughe want of prouydent wiſedome in the gouernoure all things went to wracke, aſwell within the realm as without) beganne to make exclamation againſt the Duke of Suffolk, affirming him to bee the onely cauſe of the deliuerie of Aniow, and Maine, the chief procurour of the Duke of Glouceſters death, the very occaſion of the loſſe of Normandy, the ſwallower vp of the kyngs treaſure, the remouer of good and vertuous counſellours from aboute the Prince, and the aduauncers of vicious perſons, and of ſuche, as by their doings ſhewed themſelues apparant aduerſaries to the common wealthe.

The commons exclame againſt the duke of Suffolke.

The Quene doubting not only the dukes deſtruction, but alſo hir owne confuſion, cauſed the Parliament beefore begon at the blacke Friers, to be adiourned to Leiceſter, thynking there by force, and rigor of lawe, to ſuppreſſe and ſubdue all the malice and euill wil conceiued againſte the Duke and hir, at whiche place fewe of the Nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Weſtminſter, where was a full apparaunce.

The Parliament adiourned from London to Leiceſter, and from thence to VVeſtminſter.

In the whiche ſeſſion the commons of the nether houſe, put vp to the kyng and the lords many articles of treaſon, miſpriſion, and euill demeanor, againſte the Duke of Suffolke, the effect whereof wyth hys aunſweres here enſueth, as we finde the ſame recorded in the Chronicles of Maiſter Edwarde Hall,

Articles propoſed by the Commons againſt the duke of Suffolke.

1 Fyrſte they alledged that hee hadde traiterouſlye excited, prouoked, and counſayled Iohn Earle of Dunois baſtarde of Orleans, Bertram Lorde Preſigny, Wyllyam Coſinet, ennemies to the King, and friendes and Imbaſſadours to Charles, calling himſelf French Kyng, to enter into this Realme, and to leauie warre againſte the King and his people, to the intent to deſtroy the K. and his frendes, and to make Iohn his ſon King of this realm, marying him to Margaret, ſole heire to Iohn Duke of Somerſet, pretending and declaring hir, to be nexte heire inheritable to the crowne, for lack of iſſue, of the kings body laufully begotten.

2 Item, the ſaide Duke being of the Kings priuie and neare counſaile, allured by greate rewards and faire promiſſes, made by the forſaid Earle of Dunois, cauſed the King to delyuer and ſette at libertye, Charles Duke of Orleans, ennemy to the King, and the Kings noble father, whiche delyueraunce was prohibited by expreſſe words, in the laſte will of the kings moſte victorious father.

3 Item, that beefore the departure of the ſaid

ſaide Duke of Orleans, the aforenamed Duke of Suffolke trayterouſlye faſte cleauyng to Charles called the Frenche King, counſailed, prouoked, and entiſed the ſaide Duke of Orleans, to moue the ſame Kyng to make warre againſte England, both in Fraunce and Normandie: according to which procurement and counſayle, the ſaide Frenche King hathe recouered the whole Realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandie, and taken priſoners the Earle of Shrewesbury, the Lorde Fauconbridge, and many other valiant Capitaines.

Theſe three Articles aforenamed he denyed, eyther for facte or thought.

4 Farther it was alledged, that he beeyng ambaſſador for the K. of England, to Charles calling hymſelfe Frenche King, promyſed to Reyner king of Sicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, ennemies to the king, the releaſe of Aniow, wyth the deliueraunce of the Countie of Maine, and the citie of Mawnt or Mauns, wythout the knowledge of the other Ambaſſadours, which him accompanied, which promiſe after his return, he cauſed to be performed, to the kings diſinheritance and loſſe irrecuperable, and to the ſtrengthe of his enemies, and feebliſhement of the Duchie of Normandie. To this article he anſwered, that his commiſſion was to conclude, and doo all thinges accordyng to his diſcretion, for the obteynyng of a peace, and bycauſe wythout deliuerye of thoſe countreys, hee perceyued that truce coulde not bee obteyned, he agreed to the releaſe and deliueraunce of them.

5 Alſo they ſurmiſed, that the ſaide Duke beeing in Fraunce in the Kings ſeruice, and one of the priuieſſe of his counſaile there, trayterouſlye declared and opened to the Capitains and Conduiters of warre, apperteyning to the Kinges enemies, the Kinges counſaile, purueyance of his armies, furniture of his towns, and all other ordynaunces, whereby the Kings enemies (enformed by hys trayterouſe information) haue gotten Townes and fortreſſes, and the king by that meane depriued of his inherytaunce.

6 Item, the ſayde Duke declared to the Earle of Dunoys, to the Lord Preſigny, and Wyllyam Coſinet ambaſſadors for the french king lying in Londō, the priuities of the kings counſaile, bothe for the prouiſion of further warre, and alſo for defence of the Duchie of Normandye, by the diſcloſing wherof, the Frenchmenne knowing the Kinges ſecretes, preuented the tyme, and obteyned theyr purpoſe.

7 Item, that the ſaide Duke at ſuche time as the King ſent Ambaſſadours to the French King, for the intreating of peace, trayterouſly beefore their comming to the Frenche Courte, certified king Charles of their commiſſion, authoritie and inſtructions, by reaſon whereof, neither peace nor amitie ſucceded, & the kings inheritaunce loſte, and by hys enemyes poſſeſſed.

8 Item, the ſame Duke ſayde openly in the ſtarre chamber before the lords of the counſaile, that hee had as hyghe a place in the counſaile houſe of the French king, as hee had there, and was as well truſted there as here, and could remoue from the French king, the priuieſt man of his counſaile, if hee would.

9 Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and ſouldiours readie waged to paſſe ouer the Sea, to reſiſte the Kings enemies: the ſayde duke corrupted by rewards of the french king, hathe reſtrayned and ſtayed the ſaide armies, to paſſe any farther.

10 Item, the ſaid Duke being Ambaſſador for the King, compriſed not in the league as the kings alies, neyther the King of Arragon, neyther the Duke of Britaigne, but ſuffred them to bee compriſed on the contrarie partie, by reaſon whereof, the olde amitie of the king of Aragon, is eſtranged from this Realme, and the Duke of Britaine became enemie to the ſame: Giles his brother the Kinges ſure freinde, caſte in ſtrong priſon, and there like to ende and finiſhe his dayes.

All theſe obiections hee vtterly denyed, or faintly auoided, but none fully excuſed. Diuers other crimes were layde to hys charge, as enriching hymſelfe with the Kynges goodes and lands, gathering togither, and making a Monopolie of offices, fees, wardes, and Farmes, by reaſon wherof, the Kings eſtate was greatly miniſhed and decayed, and he and his kinne highely exalted and enriched, with many other pointes, which bycauſe they be not notable nor of greate force or ſtrengthe, I omitte and ouerpaſſe.

The Duke of Suffolke committed to the Tower.

The Quene which entierly loued the duke, doubting ſome commotion and trouble to ariſe, if hee were let go vnpuniſhed, cauſed him to be committed to the tower; where he remained not paſſe a Moneth, but was agayne deliuered and reſtored to the Kynges fauour, as muche as euer hee was beefore. This doing ſo much diſpleaſed the people, that if politike prouiſion hadde not bin, greate miſchiefe had immedyatly enſued: for the commons in ſundry places of the Realme aſſembled togyther in greate companyes, and choſe to them a Capitaine, whome they called Blewberde, but ere they hadde attempted any enterpriſe their leaders were apprehended, and ſo the matter paci-

Blewberde Capitaine of the Rebels.

ſed without any hurte committed.

After this little rage thus aſſwaged, the parliament was adiourned to Leiceſter, whyther came the King and Queene in great eſtate, and wyth them, the Duke of Suffolke as chiefe counſellor. The commons of the lower houſe not forgetting their olde grudge, beſought the King, that ſuche perſons as aſſented to the releaſe of Aniow, and delyuerance of Mayne might bee duely puniſhed, and to bee priuie to that facte they accuſed as principall, the Duke of Suffolke, with Iohn Biſhop of Saliſbury, and Sir Iames Fines, Lord Say, and diuers other. When the king perceiued that there was no remedy to appeaſe the peoples fury by any diſſembling wayes, to beginne a ſhorte way to pacifie ſo long an hatred, hee fyrſte ſequeſtred the Lorde Saye being Threaſourer of England, and other the Dukes adherents from their offices, and rowmthes, and after baniſhed the Duke of Suffolke as the abhorred tode, and common noyſaunce of the realme for the terme of fiue yeares, meaning by this exile to appeaſe the furious rage of the people, and after when the matter was forgotten, to reuoke hym home againe: but fortune woulde not that ſo vngracious a perſon ſhoulde ſo eſcape, for when hee ſhipped in Suffolke, intending to tranſporte ouer into Fraunce, hee was encountred with a ſhippe of warre, appertaynyng to the Duke of Exceter, Conneſtable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The Capitayne of that Barke wyth ſmall fight entred into the Dukes ſhip, and perceyuing hys perſon preſent, brought hym to Douer Rode, and there on the one ſide of a cocke boate, cauſed his heade to be ſtriken off, and left his body with the heade lying there on the ſands, which corps beyng there founde by a chaplein of his, was conueyed to Wingfield colledge in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Poole Duke of Suffolke, as menne iudge by Gods prouidence, for that he hadde procured the deathe of that good duke of Glouceſter, as before is partly touched.

The death of the Duke of Suffolke.

But the deathe of this Duke brought not the Realme in quiet, for thoſe that fauoured the Duke of Yorke, and wiſhed the Crowne vppon his heade, for that (as they iudged) hee hadde more right thereto, than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner.

ke Cades bellion in nt.

A certain yong man of a goodly ſtature and right pregnaunt of witte, was enticed to take vppon hym the name of Iohn Mortimer (although his name was Iohn Cade) and not for a ſmall pollicie, thinking by that ſurname, that thoſe which fauored the houſe of the Earle of Marche woulde be aſſiſtaunt to hym.

This Captaine aſſembled a great companye of tall perſonages, aſſuring them, that the enterpriſe whiche he tooke in hande, was bothe honorable to God and the kyng, and profitable to the whole Realme; for that eyther by force or pollicye they might gette the King and Queene into their handes, that he woulde cauſe them to bee honourablye vſed, and take ſuche order for the puniſhing and reforming of the miſdemeanors of their counſellours, that neither fifteenes ſhoulde hereafter be demaunded, nor once any impoſitions or taxes ſhoulde bee ſpoken of.

The Kentyſhe people prouoked with theſe perſwaſions and other faire promiſſes of liberty (which they moſt deſire) in good order of battaile, thoughe not in great number, came with their ſaide Capitaine vnto the plaine of Blackheath, betwene Eltham and Greenewiche.

And to the intent the cauſe of this glorious Capitaines comming thither, might bee ſhadowed from the King and his counſaile, vnder a cloked veile of good meaning, thoughe his intent was malicious, he ſent vnto hym an humble ſupplication, affirming that his comming was not againſt his grace, but againſt ſuche of his counſellours, as were louers of themſelues, and oppreſſors of the poore communaltye: flatterers of the King, and enemies to his honor: ſuckers of his purſe, & robbers of his ſubiectes: parciall to their friendes, and extreeme to their enemies: through bribes corrupted, and for indifferency doing nothing.

This proude bill was of the King and hys counſaile diſdainfully taken, and vppon conſultation hadde, it was concluded, that ſuche proude Rebelles ſhoulde rather bee brought down by force and violence, than pacified with faire wordes, and gentle aunſwers: Whereupon the King aſſembled a greate army, and marched towarde them, whiche hadde lyen on Blacke heathe by the ſpace of eight dayes.

The ſubtill Capitain Iacke Cade, intending to bring the King further within the compaſſe of his nette, brake vp his Campe, and retired backe to the town of Seuenocke in Kent: The Queene whiche bare the rule being of his retraite well aduertyſed, ſente Syr Humfrey Stafford Knighte, and William hys brother, with many other gentlemenne, to followe the chaſe of the Kentiſhemenne, thinking that they hadde fledde, but they were deceyued, for at the firſt ſkirmiſhe bothe the Staffordes were ſlaine, and all their company ſhamefully diſcomfited.

The Staffordes ſlaine at Seuenock by Iacke Cade.

The Kings army being at this time come to Blacke heath, hearing of this diſcomfiture, beganne to grudge and murmure amongeſt themſelues, ſome wiſhing the Duke of Yorke at home to ayde the captaine hys couſin: ſome deſiring the ouerthrowe of the Kyng and hys counſayle: other openlye crying oute on the Queene and hyr complices.

This rumor publiſhed abroade, cauſed the King and certaine of his counſaile (to appeaſe the furious rage of the multitude) to commit the Lorde Say Threaſourer of England, vnto the Tower of London, and if other againſte whome like diſpleaſure was borne, hadde bene preſent, they had ben likewiſe cõmitted. When Iacke Cade had obteyned the victorie againſte the Staffordes, hee apparrelled hymſelfe in ſir Humfreys brigandins ſet full of guilt nailes, and ſo wyth pompe and glorye, returned againe toward London, diuers idle and vagarande perſons reſortyng to hym from Suſſex, and Surrey, and other places, and from other parties to a greate number. Thus this glorious Capitaine enuironed wyth a multitude of euill, rude and ruſticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blacke heathe, and there ſtrongly encamped hymſelfe, to whome were ſent from the Kyng, the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye, and Humfrey Duke of Buckinghem, to common with hym of his greeues and requeſtes.

Theſe lordes founde hym ſober in talke, wiſe in reaſoning, arrogant in hart, & ſtiffe in opinion, for by no meanes he would grãt to diſſolue his army, except the king in perſon wold come to him, and aſſent to all things he would require. The king after he had vnderſtoode the preſumptuous aunſwers and requeſtes of this villanous rebell, beganne aſmuche to doubt his owne familiar ſeruauntes, as hys vnknowen ſubiectes, (which ſpared not to ſpeake, that the Capitaynes cauſe was profitable for the common wealthe) departed in all haſte to the Caſtell of Killingworthe in Warwickeſhire, leauing only behind him the lord Scales to keepe the tower of London. The Kentiſhe captaine beeing aduertiſed of the Kings abſence, came firſte into Southwark, and there lodged at the white harte, prohibiting to all his retinue murder, rape, and robbery, by which colour of well meanyng, hee allured to hym the hartes of the common people, But after this, hee entred into the Citie of London, and cutte the ropes of the drawe bridge, ſtrikyng hys ſworde on London ſtone, ſaying now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a flattering declaration made to the Maior of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and vpon the thirde day of Iuly hee cauſed ſir Iames Fines Lorde Say and threaſorer of England, to be brought to the Guyld hall, & there to be arreined, which being before the kings Iuſtices, put to anſwer, deſired to be tried by his Peeres, for the lenger delay of his life. The captaine perceyuing his dilatorie plea, by force tooke hym from the officers, & brought hym to the ſtandard in Cheape, and there before his confeſſion ended, cauſed his heade to bee ſtriken off, and pitched it vpon an highe pole, which was openly borne before him throughe the ſtreetes. And not content herwith hee went to Mileend, and there apprehended ſir Iames Cromer then ſheriffe of Kent, and ſon in lawe to the ſaide Lorde Say, cauſing likewiſe hym without confeſſion or excuſe heard, to bee beheaded, and his heade to bee fixed on a pole, and with theſe .ij. heedes this bloudy bucher entred into the citie againe, and in deſpite cauſed them in euery ſtreete to kiſſe togither, to the great deteſtation of all the beholders. After this, ſucceeded open rapine, and manifeſt robbery in diuers houſes within the citie, and eſpecially in the houſe of Philip Malpas Aldermã of London, & diuers other, ouer and beſide raunſoming and fining of diuers notable merchãts, for the ſuertye of their liues, and goods, as Roberte Horne Alderman, whyche payde .v.C. marks: he alſo put to execution in Southwarke diuers perſones, ſome for breakyng hys ordynaunce, other being of his olde acquaintaunce, leſt they ſhoulde bewraye his baſe linnage diſparaging him for his vſurped ſurname of Mortimer. The Maior and other the Magiſtrates of London, perceyuing themſelues neyther to bee ſure of goodes, nor of life well warranted, determined to repulſe and keepe out of their citie ſuche a miſchieuous tyraunt and his wicked company, and to be the better able ſo to do, they made the lorde Scales and that renowmed captaine Mathewe Goughe priuye bothe of their intent and enterpriſe, beſeeching them of their helpe and furtherance therin. The Lord Scales promiſed them his aide with ſhoting off the artillery in the tower, and Mathew Gough was by hym apointed to aſſiſte the Maior & Londoners in all that he might, and ſo he & other captaines appointed for defence of the Citie, tooke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge, and woulde not ſuffer the Kentiſhmen once to approche. The rebelles which neuer ſoundly ſlept for feare of ſodaine chaunces, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with greate haſte to open that paſſage, where betwene bothe parties was a fierce and cruell encounter. Mathew Goughe perceuing the rebelles to ſtand to their tackling more manfully than hee thought they woulde haue done, aduiſed his company, not to aduance any further towarde Southwarke, till the day appeared that they might ſee where the place of ieoperdy reſted, and ſo to prouide for the ſame: But thys little auailed. For the rebelles wyth theyr huge multitude drawe backe

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The Lord ſay beheaded at the Standard in Cheape the Citizens frō the ſtoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and began to ſet fire in dyuers houſes: greate ruth it was to beholde that miſerable chance, for ſome deſiring to eſchue the fire, fell vpon their enimies weapon, and ſo died: fearefull women, with children in their armes amazed & paſſing no remembrāce, lept into yͤ riuer, other doubting how to ſaue thēſelues, betweene fire, water, & ſword, were in their houſes choked, and ſmothered. Yet yͤ Captaines nothing regarding their chaunces, fought on the bridge all the night valiantly, but in concluſion, yͤ rebels gat the drawe bridge, & drowned many, & ſlew Iohn Sutton Alderman, & Robert Heyſand, a hardye Citizen, wᵗ many other, beſide Mathew Gough, a man of great wit, & much experience in feates of chiualry, yͤ which in cōtinual warres, had ſpēt his time in ſeruice of the King and his father.

This ſort conflict endured in doubtfull wiſe on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning, for ſometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to S. Magnus corner: and ſuddaynely againe, the Rebels were repulſed to yͤ ſtoulpes in Southwarke, ſo that both parts being faint and werie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next day, vppon condition, that neyther Londoners ſhould paſſe into Southwarke, nor yͤ Kentiſhmen into London.

After this abſtinence of warre taken, thys rakehell Captaine hoping vppon more friendes, brake vp the gaſles of the Kings benche, and the Marſhalſey, and ſet at libertie a ſwarme of gallauntes, both meete for his ſeruice, and apt for his enterpriſe.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie being Chācellor of Englande, and as then for his ſuretie lying within the Tower, called to him the Byſhop of Wincheſter, who likewiſe for feare, lurked at Halywell: theſe two Prelates, ſeeing the furie of the Kentiſhe people, by reaſon of theyr late repulſe and beating backe, to bee ſomewhat aſwaged, paſſed the riuer of Thames, from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great ſeale, a general pardon vnto all the offendors, and cauſed the ſame to be openly publiſhed. The poore people were ſo glad of this pardon, and ſo readye to receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their Captayne, they withdrew thēſelues yͤ ſame night, euery mā towardes his owne home, as men amazed, and ſtriken with feare, but Iacke Cade, deſpayring of all ſuccours, and fearing nowe the ſequeale of his lewde dealings, departed ſecretely in habite diſguiſed into Suſſex, hoping ſo to eſcape, but after that proclamation was made, that who ſo euer could apprehēd the ſaid Iacke Cade, ſhuld haue in rewarde a M. markes for hys paynes, many ſought for him, but few eſpied him, tyll at length, one Alexander Iden, a valiant Eſquier of Kent, founde him out in a garden, and hym there in his defence, manfully ſlew, and brought his dead body to London, whoſe head was pitched on a polle, and ſet vpon London bridge.

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Iacke Cade, a deſperate Rebell ſlayne.

After this, the King himſelfe came into Kent, and there ſate in iudgement vpon the offendors: and if he had not mingled his iuſtice with mercie, more than fiue hundred by rigor of lawe, had bin iuſtly put to execution, but he puniſhing onely the ſtubborne heads, and diſloyall ringleaders, deliuered and pardoned ignorant & ſimple perſons, to the great reioycing of all his ſubiectes.

During this commotion about London, Raufe Bi. of Saliſburie, was by his owne tennantes, and ſeruantes, murthered at Edington, and ſo from thenceforth, myſchief followed murther, ſlaughter, and diſſention.

The French King vnderſtanding all this ciuill diſcord, and rebellious ſturres in England, made thereof his foundation, hoping to get into his handes and poſſeſſion, the Duchie of Aquitaine, and thervpon, ſent yͤ Erles of Pointiure and Perigort, to lay ſiege to the towne of Bergerat, ſituate vppon the riuer of Dordonne, of which towne was Captaine, Iohn Geyring, who vppon reaſonable conditions, rendred the Towne: but yet the Lords Camus, ſir George Seymor, and ſir Iohn Arundel, with diuers other valiant Captaines, hauing the gouernance of the Countrey, manned Townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting harts of the Gaſcoignes in all that they could, & withall, ſent letters ouer into England, certifying to yͤ kings maieſtie, that without ſpeedie aide, & ready ſuccours, the whole countrey was like to bee conquered & won out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſiō.

Many letters were ſente, & manye faire aunſweres were brought, but reliefe neyther appeared, nor one man of warre was thither ſhipped, by reaſon whereof, the frenchmen purſuing the victorie, gote the fortreſſes of Ianſacke, and S. Foye, with diuers other peeces of importaunce thereaboutes. Alſo, about yͤ ſame time, the L. Doruell, third ſonne to the L. de la Breth, with a great number of men, as wel on horſebacke as on foote, departed from Baſas, to conquere and deſtroy yͤ Ile of Medoc, wherevpon, the Maior of Burdeaux iſſuing out, & encountering with his enimies, was vāquiſhed, loſing ſixe C. Engliſhmen & Gaſcoignes: albeit, the frenchmen gained not this victorie with cleere handes, for ther were ſlaine of them to the nūber of eight C. perſons.

1451

After this, the baſtarde of Orleans, with hys brother Iohn Earle of Angoleſme, which had bin long priſoner in England, and many other valiant Captaynes, beſieged yͤ Caſtell of Mōtguyon, which to them was rēdered. Afterward, they beſieged the Towne of Blay, ſtanding on the riuer of Garõne, the which in concluſion by very force, was cõquered and won. The baſterd of Kendall, Captaine of the Caſtell, ſeeing the towne loſt, vpon certaine reaſonable conditions, deliuered his fortreſſe to the baſterd of Orleans, the french kings Lieutenãt. After this, yͤ townes of Burge and Liborne, after fiue weekes ſiege, were likewiſe yelded to the frenchmẽ. Thẽ was yͤ Citie of Acques beſieged by the Erle of Foys, and the Vicont de Lawtrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewiſe alſo was the ſtrong towne of Rion by the Earle of Arminacke, extreame enimie to yͤ realm of Englãd, for breach of yͤ mariage cõcluded betweene K. Henrye and his daughter. The Earle of Ponthieubre layde ſiege to Chatillon in Perigort, and the Earle of Dunoys enuironned with greate puiſſaunce the towne of Fronſacke. The Engliſhmen perceiuing in what ſtate they ſtood within yͤ towne, couenanted with the ſaid Earle, yͭ if the Towne were not ſuccoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt next enſuing, yͭ then the towne of Frõſack ſhould be yeelded to them, whiche was the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe in all that Countrey, and the very key of Guyenne. Hereof wer pledges delyuered, & writings made and ſealed, which agreement once blowen through the countrey, the citie of Burdeaux, and all other townes (excepte Bayonne) made the like agreement. So did al yͤ noble men and Gentlemen whiche were ſubiects and vaſſals to the Crowne of Englande. Euery day was looking for ayde, but none came, for the diueliſhe deuiſion that raigned in Englande, ſo encombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the Realme was cleerely forgotten, ſo that (to conclude) the day appointed came, but ſuccour looked for came not, by reaſon whereof, all yͤ townes in Aquitaine (except Bayonne) deliuered their keyes, and became vaſſales to the french nation, yet the Citizens of Burdeaux, in hope of reſcues, required a longer daye of battell, which was graunted, but at the day appoynted, when no reliefe came, they rendred themſelues and the Citie to their aduerſaries, their liues and goodes ſaued, with licence and ſafeconduit to all perſons which would depart and ſaile into England. Then finally was the Citie of Bayon beſieged, and with mines and baterie conſtreyned to yeeld it ſelfe into the Frenchmens handes.

Beſide the agreements taken and made with the townes, diuers noble mẽ made ſeuerall compoſitiõs, as Gaſton de Foys, Capdaw de Buef, whome King Henrie the fifth made Earle of Longeuile, and Knight of the garter, whoſe anceſtors were euer true to Englande, whiche agreed, that he and his ſon John de Foys, whom King Henrie the ſixth made Earle of Kendale, and alſo Knight of the garter, ſhoulde enioy all their landes in Aquitaine, giuen to them by the kings of Englande, or by the Dukes of Aquitaine, and bycauſe their intente was ſtil to ſerue yͤ king of England, they agreed to deliuer into yͤ cuſtodie of the Erle of Foys, the ſon and heire of the ſaide Earle of Kendale, beeing of the age of three yeares, to the intent, that if he at his ful age denyed to become ſubiect to the French King, or before that time deceaſſed, that thẽ after yͤ death of his father and grandfather, all the ſaide landes ſhould wholly remaine to the next heire of theyr blond, either male or female, being vnder the obeyſance of the French King or his heires. Many other noble men, whoſe harts were good Engliſh, made like compoſitiõs, and ſome came into England, and others wente to Calais, & bare great offices there, as the L. Duras, whiche was Marſhall of that Towne, and Monſ. Vauclere, which was deputie there, vnder yͤ Erle of Warwike. Thus were the Engliſhmen cleerely diſplaced, and loſt the poſſeſſiõ of al yͤ cõtreys, townes, Caſtels, and places within the Realme of France, ſo yͭ only Calais, Hãmes, & Guines, wͭ the marches therof, remained in their hãds, of al thoſe their dominiõs & ſeignories which they ſometime held in the parties of beyond the ſeas.

Ed.ha.pa.
The Duke of
Yorke mak
clayme to th
Crowne.

The Duke of Yorke pretending (as yee haue heard) a right to the Crowne, as heire to Lionel Duke of Clarence, came this yere out of Irelãd vnto London, in the Parliament time, there to conſult with his eſpecial friends, as John Duke of Northfolke, Richarde Earle of Saliſburie, and the Lorde Richarde his ſonne, whiche after was Earle of Warwike, Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, and Edward Brooke lord Cobham.

After long deliberation, & aduice takẽ, it was thought expediente, to keepe their chiefe purpoſe ſecret, and that the Duke ſhould reyſe an armye of mẽ, vnder a pretext to remoue diuers Counſellors about the King, and to reuenge the manifeſt iniuries done to the common wealthe by yͤ ſame rulers, of the which as principall, the D. of Somerſet was namely accuſed, both for that he was greatly hated of the commons for yͤ loſſe of Normandie, and for that it was wel knowẽ, that he would be altogither againſt the Duke of Yorke in his chalenge to bee made (when tyme ſerued) to the Crowne.

Whethã.
The Duke of
Yorke ray
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for recoue
of his righ
the Crowne.

Therfore, when the Duke of Yorke had thus by aduice of his ſpeciall friends, framed the foundation of his long intended enterpriſe, he aſſembled a greate hoſt, to the nomber of ten M. able men, in yͤ marches of Wales, publiſhing opẽly, that yͤ cauſe of this his gathering of people, was for the publike wealth of the Realme.

The King muche aſtonyed at the matter, by aduice of his counſell, reyſed a great power, and marched forward toward the Duke, but he being thereof aduertiſed, turned out of that way, whiche by eſpials he vnderſtoode that the King held, and made ſtreighte towarde London, and hauing knowledge, that he might not be ſuffered to paſſe through the Citie, hee croſſed ouer the Thames at Kingſton bridge, and ſo kept on towards Kent, where he knewe that he hadde both friendes and good willers, and there on Brent heath, a mile frō Dertforde, and twelue miles frō London, he embatelled, and encamped hymſelfe very ſtrongly, enuironing his field with artillerie and trenches.

The King hereof aduertiſed, brought his army with all diligence vnto blacke heathe, and there pight his tents.

rhethaſted.

Whileſt both theſe armies lay thus embatelled, the King ſente the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Thomas Boucher, Biſhoppe of Elie, Richard Woduille, Lord Riuers, & Richard Andrew, the keeper of his priuie ſeale, to the Duke, both to know the cauſe of ſo great a comm[illegible], & alſo to make a concord, if yͤ requeſts of the D. and his companye ſeemed conſonant to reaſon.

The Duke hearing the meſſage of the Byſhops, aunſwered, that his comming was neyther to dammifie the K. in honor, nor perſon, neither yet any good man, but his intente was, to remoue from him certaine euill diſpoſed perſons of his counſayle, bloudſuccors of the nobilitie, pollers of the Cleargie, and oppreſſors of yͤ poore people, amongſt whome, he chiefly named Edmond Duke of Somerſet, whome if the Kyng would commit to warde, to aunſwere ſuche articles as againſt him in open Parliament ſhuld bee both proponed and proued, hee promiſed not only to diſſolue his army, but alſo offered hymſelfe like an obediēt ſubiect, to come to the kings preſence, and do to him true and faithfull ſeruice, according to his loyall and bounden duetie.

When the Biſhops & the others, were returned with this aunſwere, for the auoiding of bloudſhed, & pacifying of yͤ D. and his people, the D. of Somerſet was committed to warde, as ſome ſay, or elſe commanded to keepe himſelfe priuie in his owne houſe, as other write, till the furie of the people were ſomewhat qualified.

VVhethaſted.

But it ſhuld ſeeme by that whiche ſome haue writē, yͤ the D. of Yorke was deceiued of yͤ hope whiche he had, to be aided of the Kentiſhmen, in ſo much, yͤ whē he ſaw himſelfe ouermatched by yͤ K. in number of people, who had got togither thrice as many men as yͤ D. had there wᵗ him, yͤ D. was yͤ more eaſie to deale with, & ſo cōming to yͤ K. and ſubmitting himſelfe, by mediatiō of certaine of yͤ nobilitie, he obteined pardon of that his former preſumptuous enterpriſe, & within a few dayes after his cōming to London with the K. he openly in the Church of S. Paule (the K. being preſent) receiued a ſolemne oth, that from thenceforth, he ſhould no more commit any ſuch offence, nor attempt any thing, either againſt the K. or any other of his liege people, contrarie to yͤ order of law and iuſtice. Howſoeuer the matter wente, troth it is, that the D. of Yorke, the firſte day of March, diſſolued his army, & brake vp his camp, & came to yͤ kings tent, where contrary to his expectatiō, & againſt promiſe, made by yͤ K. as other write, he found the D. of Somerſet going at large, & ſet at libertie, whom the Duke of Yorke boldly accuſed of treaſon, briberie, oppreſſion, and many other crimes.

The Duke of Yorke accuſeth the D. of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet not only made anſwere to the Dukes obiections, but alſo accuſed him of high treaſon, affirming, that he with hys fautors and complices, had conſulted togither, how to obteine the ſcepter & regal crowne of this realm: by mean of which words, the K. remoued ſtreight to London, and the Duke of Yorke as priſoner, rode before him, & ſo was kepte awhile.

The King aſſembled togither a great Counſaile at Weſtminſter, to heare the accuſations of the two Dukes, the one obiecting to the other many haynous and greeuous crimes.

But the Duke of Somerſette, whiche nowe conceyued in his minde the thing that ſhortly followed, inceſſantly exhorted the Counſayle, that the Duke of Yorke, by cõpulſion or otherwiſe, might be driuen to confeſſe his offence, that ſo being atteinted of treaſon, he might ſuffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduerſaries to their natiue countrey, to the intente, that by the loſſe of this only Prince, and his ſequeale, all ciuill war, and inward deuiſion might ceaſſe and be repreſſed, beſeching almightie God, that ſo greate an enimie to the King and his bloud, might neuer eſcape puniſhmente, nor continue long in life.

Deſtenie, or rather Gods prouidence cannot be auoyded.

The Duke of Somerſet ſette forth this matter the more vehemently, bycauſe hee knewe perfectly, that the Duke of Yorke dayly imagined with himſelfe, howe to get the Crowne, and to depoſe and deſtroy both the King and him, but the neceſſitie of deſtenie cannot by any mannes deuiſe, bee either letted or interrupted, for many things (to common iudgement) declared the D. of Yorkes innocencie in this caſe. Firſt, his free and voluntarie comming to the King, without conſtreynt, when he was partly of puiſſance able to haue encoũtred with the kings whole power. Secondly, his humble ſubmiſſiõ, and reaſonable requeſts, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons, whiche argued, that hee ſought for no ſoueraignetie, but theſe things he vſed for a cautele, to daſle mens eyes withall.

1452

While the counſayle treated of ſauing or diſpatching of this dolorous D. of Yorke, a rumor ſprang through London, that Edward Erle of Marche, ſon & heire apparant to the ſaid D. accõpanyed with a great army of Marchmẽ, was comming towarde London, which tidings ſore appalled the Queene, and the whole counſayle.

Beſide this, the very ſame day, came Imbaſſadors frõ the chiefe Citizens & magiſtrates of yͤ Citie of Burdeaux, whereof the chiefe were, the Erle of Kendale, and the L. de Leſparre, which ſignified to yͤ Counſaile, that if they would ſende an armie into Gaſcoigne, the people of yͤ countrey would reuolt from the frẽch part, & eftſones become Engliſhe. Theſe two things ſore troubled the heads of the Counſaile, which leaſt inward ſedition might hinder outward conqueſts, ſet the D. of Yorke at libertie, & permitted him to goe to his Caſtell of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, by whoſe abſence, the D. of Somerſet roſe in ſuch high fauour, both with the King and Queene, that his word only ruled, and hys voice alone was heard.

An.reg.
1453

The Counſaile not forgetting the offer of yͤ Gaſcoignes, & that they might now haue yͤ Citie of Burdeaux, with the country round about, by requeſt of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant Captaine Iohn L. Talbot, Earle of Shrewſburie, to goe thither with an armie, who arriuing in the Iſle of Madre, paſſed forthe with his power, being ſcant three thouſand men, and toke the ſtrong towne of Fronſacke, and dyuers other townes and fortreſſes. The inhabitantes of Burdeaux, hearing of the Earles arriual, ſent to him meſſengers in the darke night, requiring him with all ſpeede, to come and receiue the Citie. The Earle loſt not one houre, but haſted forth, and came before that Citie, eare the french men within vnderſtood any thing of the Citizẽs purpoſe. When they were aduertiſed that there was a gate ſet open for the Engliſhmen to enter, they thought to haue eſcaped ſecretly by a poſterne, but they were purſued, ſlayne, and taken, by the L. de Leſparre, and other of the Engliſh armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaux, there arriued at Blay the baſterde of Somerſet, ſir Iohn Talbot, L. Liſle by his wife, ſonne to the ſayde Earle of Shrewſburie, the L. Molins, the L. Harington, the Lorde Cameis, Sir Iohn Howard, Sir Iohn Montgomerie, ſir Iohn Vernon, with. 22. hundred men, with vittailes and munitions.

When the Erle was thus, according to hys in[illegible]te, of all things furniſhed, firſte he fortifyed B[illegible]eaux with Engliſhmen, and ſtore of vittayle, and after that, he rode into the Country abroade, where hee obteyned Cities, and gote Townes, without ſtroke, or dint of ſworde, for the people already awearyed of the French ſeruitude, and longing ſore to returne to the Engliſh libertie, ſeemed to deſire nothing more than to haue the Earle to receyue them into the Engliſh obeyſance. Amongſt other townes, yͤ towne and Caſtell of Chaſtillon in Perigort, was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men, and ordinance very ſtrongly.

In the meane time, the Frenche King beyng aduertiſed of all theſe doings, reyſed an army to reſiſt this inuaſion made by the Earle of Shrewſburie, and firſte he appointed his Capteynes to beſiege the Towne of Chaſtillon, to the reſcue whereof, the Earle haſted forward, hauyng in his company eight hundred horſemen, vnder the leading of his ſonne the Lord Liſle, the Lord Molins, the Lord Cameys, Sir Edward Hull, Sir Iohn Howard, and Sir Iohn Vernon.

Hee appointed alſo fiue thouſande footemen, vnder the conduit of the Earle of Kendalle, and the L. de Leſparre, to follow him with al ſpede.

In his way, hee toke by fine force a tower, whiche the Frenchmen had taken, and ſlewe all that he found within it, and after by the way, he met fiue hundred frenchmen, going a foraging, of whome he ſlew the more part, and chaſed the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that lay at the ſiege, perceyuing by thoſe good runners away, that the Erle approched, left yͤ ſiege, & retired in good order into the place whiche they hadde trenched, diched and fortified with ordinance.

The Earle aduertiſed how the ſiege was remoued, haſted forwarde towardes his enimies, doubting moſt, leaſt they woulde haue bin quite fledde and gone before his comming: but they fearing the diſpleaſure of the French King (who was not farre off) if they ſhould haue fled, abode the Earles comming, and ſo receiued him, that though he firſte with manfull courage, and ſore fighting wanne the entrie of their camp, yet at length, they compaſſed him about, and ſhooting him through the thigh with an handgunne, ſlew his horſe, and finally killed hym, lying on the ground, whome they durſt neuer looke in the face, while he ſtoode on his feete.

The valiant Earle of Shrewſbury and his ſonne māfully ſlayne.

It was ſaid, that after he perceyued there was no remedie, but preſente loſſe of the battell, hee counſelled his ſonne the Lord Liſle, to ſaue himſelfe by flight, ſith the ſame could not redounde, to any great reproch in him, this being the firſte iourney in which he had bin preſent. Manye wordes hee vſed to perſwade him to haue ſaued his life, but nature ſo wrought in the ſonne, that neither deſire of life, nor feare of death, coulde either cauſe him to ſhrinke, or conueigh hymſelfe out of the daunger, and ſo there manfully ended his life with his ſaid father.

There died alſo the Erles baſterd ſonne, Henry Talbot, and Sir Edwarde Hull, elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other menne of name, and right valiant perſonages of the Engliſh nation.

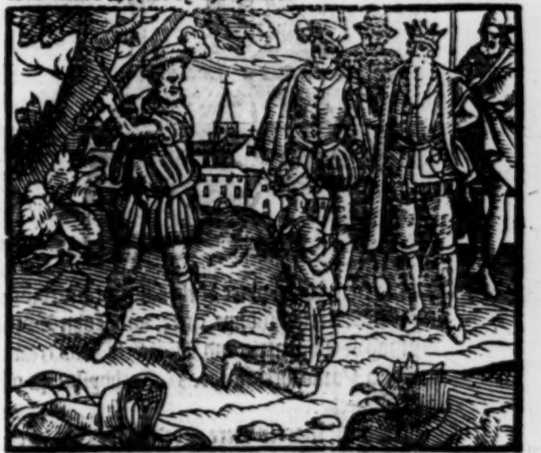
The Lord Molines was taken priſoner with lx. others. The reſidue of the Engliſh people fled to Burdeaux, and other places, of whom in the flight were ſlayne aboue a thouſand perſons.

Thus at this battaile of Chatillon fought the xiij. day of July in this yere, ended his life John Lord Talbot, and of his progenie the firſt Erle of Shrewſbury, after that he with muche fame and moſte victorie, had valiantly made warre, and ſerued his Prince and countrey by the ſpace of. xxiiij. yeares, in the parties of beyond the ſea, whoſe corps was left on grounde, and after was founde by his frendes, and conueyed to Whitchurch in Shropſhire, where it was enterred.

After thys diſcomfiture dyuers Lordes fledde to Burdeaux, but the Earle of Candall, the lordes of Montferrant, of Roſayn, and of Dangladas entred into the Caſtell of Chaſtillon, whiche by yͤ ſpace of ten days they defended, but in the ende, diſpayring of all ſuccours, rendred the fortreſſe, and came ſafe to Burdeaux.

After this, the townes of Saint Million, Liborne, and all other whiche the Earle of Shrewſburie had conquered, rendred themſelues to the Frenchmen, Burdeaux only except, the whiche Citie beeing the laſt refuge of the Engliſhe people, the French King in perſon beſieged with all his puiſſance, and in concluſion, conſtreyned both the garniſons and inhabitants to yeelde, ſo that the Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes myghte ſafely depart into England or to Calaice, with all their ſubſtance, and that the Lordes de Leſparre, Duras, and thirtie other, ſhould neuer vppon paine of death, be founde within any of the French Kings dominions, which Lord de Leſparre being after taken in Gaſcoigne diſguiſed, was made ſhorter by the head.

Burdeaux yelded againe to the Frenche.



When this compoſition was agreed and ſealed, the Engliſhmen were ſhortly tranſported ouer into Englande, in the moneth of October this preſent yeare.

Thus was the Duchie of Aquitaine, whyche had continued in the Engliſhe poſſeſſion, from the yeare of our Lorde. 1155. vnto this preſente yeare, which is neere hands three hundred yeres, by the mariage of Alienor, daughter and heyre to William Duke of Aquitaine, wife to Kyng Henry the ſecond, finally reduced and broughte againe to the Frenche obedience and ſeruitude.

Within that only Duchie, be foure Archbyſhops, foure and twentie Biſhops, fifteene Erledomes, two hundred and two Baronies, and aboue a thouſand Captaineſhippes and Baliſewikes, whereby yee maye conſider, what a loſſe this was to the Realme of England.

The thirtenth day of October this yeare, was the Q. deliuered at Weſtmin. of a faire ſonne, The Queene deliuered of hir ſon Prince Edward.

which was chriſtened, and named Edward.

His mother ſuſteyned not a little ſlander and obloquie of the common people, who had an opinion, that the King was not able to get a childe, and therefore ſticked not to ſay, that thys was not hys ſonne, with manye ſlaunderous wordes, greatly ſounding to the Queenes diſhonor, which neede not heere to be rehearſed.

After the birth of this childe, he highly aduanced his brethren on his mothers ſide, for Edmōd he made Earle of Richmond, which was father to King Henry the ſeuenth, and Jaſper he created Erle of Pembroke, which died without iſſue.

This yeare, John Stafford, Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie departed this life, & John Kemp, Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, was remoued from that

Sea, to ſucceede in place of the ſaid Stafford, being the. 62. Archbyſhoppe there, and John Both Byſhop of Couentrie and Liechfield, was tranſlated to Yorke, beeing the. 51. Archbyſhoppe of that Churche.

An. reg. 32.

1454

When the warres were ended in forayne parties, ciuil diſſention began againe to renne within the Realme, beeing deuided into two ſeuerall factions, for King Henry diſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter, clayming the Crowne from hys grandfather King Henry the fourth (firſt author of this deuiſion) and Richard Duke of Yorke, as heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence, third ſonne to King Edward the third, wreſtled for yͤ game, and ſtroue for the wager, by reaſon whereof, the nobles as well as the common people, were into partes deuided, to the vtter deſtruction of many a man, and to the great ruyne & decay of this region: for while the one partie ſtudyed to deſtroy the other, all care of the common wealth was ſet aſide, and iuſtice and equitie cleerely exiled.

The duke of Yorke imagineth the deſtructiō of the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Yorke aboue all things, firſte ſought meanes how to prouoke the malice of the people againſt the Duke of Sommerſet, imagining, yͭ he being made away, his purpoſe ſhould ſhortly come to a good concluſion.

He alſo practiſed to bring the King into the hatred of the people, for that hee was not a man apt to the gouernemente of a Realme, wanting both witte, and ſtomacke, ſufficient to ſupply the roomth which he held.

Many of the high eſtates, not liking yͤ world, and diſalowing the actes and doings both of the King and his counſaile, determined to practiſe howe things might come to ſome alteration.

He banded hymſelfe with the Neuilles.

When the Duke vnderſtoode their mindes, he chiefly entertayned, and wanne the fauour of two Neuilles, and both named Richarde, the one Earle of Saliſburie, and the other Earle of Warwike, the firſt being the father, and yͤ ſecond the ſonne.

The iſſue of Rich. Neuile erle of Saliſbury.

This Earle of Saliſburie, was ſecond ſonne to Raufe Neuill Earle of Weſtmerland, whoſe daughter the Duke of Yorke had married, and the ſayde Richard was eſpouſed to Lady Alice, the only childe and ſole heire of Thomas Montacute Earle of Saliſburie, ſlayne at the ſiege of Orleans (as before is declared) of which woman, he begate Richarde, John and George: Richard the eldeſt ſonne, eſpouſed Anne, the ſiſter & heyre of the entire bloud, to Lord Henry Beauchamp Earle, and after Duke of Warwike, in whoſe right and title he was created, and named Erle of Warwike.

The deſcriptiō of the erle of Warwike.

This man through a certaine naturall inclination and practiſe, did ſo ſet forward a ſort of good qualities whiche reſted in him, with witte and gentle demeanor towardes all maner of perſons, both of high and lowe degree, that he grew into ſuche fauoure and eſtimation amongſt the common people, that they iudged him able to do all things, & that without hym nothing could be well done. For whiche cauſes his authoritie ſo farforth increaſed, that whiche way he bowed, that way ranne the ſtreame, and what parte hee tooke, that ſyde got the game.

An. reg. 33.

The Duke of Somerſet arreſted.

When the Duke of Yorke hadde faſtened hys chaine betwene theſe two ſtrong pillers, he with his frendes wrought ſo effectuouſly, and handled his buſineſſe ſo politikely, that the Duke of Somerſet was arreſted in the Queenes great chamber, and ſente to the Towre of London, where he kept his Chriſtmaſſe without great ſolemnitie, againſt whome, in open Parliamente were layd diuers and heynous articles of high treaſon, as wel for the loſſe of Normandie, as for the late miſchance which happened in Guyenne.

1455

The king at yͤ time was ſicke at Clarendon, and conueyed to London, by reaſon whereof, no fynall determination proceeded in thys weightie cauſe, but all was put in ſuſpence, tyll the next aſſemblie of the high Court of Parliamente.

We

Wethamſted

The king ſick

We finde in ſome Writers, that whileſt the K. was ſicke, the D. of Yorke bare all the rule, & gouerned as Regent or Viceroy, by authoritie committed to him by the Lords of the Realme, then aſſembled in counſell, to ſee to the preſeruation, and good gouernemente of the common wealth, during the time of that yͤ kings ſicknes, which was ſo greeuous, that hee lay ſenſeleſſe, and was not able for a time, either to goe or ſtande.

The duke of Somerſet ſette at libertie.

He is made deputie of Caleis

The Duke of Yorke therefore hauing obteyned an abſolution of the Pope, to diſcharge him of his oth before taken, did now diſcouer the ſparkes of his hatred, hid vnder the aſhes of diſſimulation, againſt the D. of Somerſet: but yet when the K. had recouered ſtrength againe, and reſumed to hym hys former princely gouernemente, eyther of hys owne mynde, or by the Queenes procurement, hee cauſed the Duke of Somerſet to be ſet at libertie, by whiche doyng, great enuie & diſpleaſure grew. And to aggrauat more the malice of the D. of Yorke, & his friẽds, the Queene whiche then bare the chiefe rule, cauſed the Duke of Somerſet to be preferred to the Captaineſhippe of Calaice, wherewith not only the commons, but alſo many of the nobilitie were greately greeued and offended, ſaying, that he had loſt Normandie, and ſo would he do Calaice.

The duke of Yorke aſſembled an army.

The Duke of Yorke and his adherentes, perceyuing that neither exhortation ſerued, nor accuſatiõ preuailed againſt the Duke of Somerſet, determined to reuenge their quarell, and obteyne their purpoſe by open warre: and ſo he being in the marches of Wales, accompanyed with his ſpeciall friends, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham, and others, aſſembled a power, and like warlike perſons, marched toward London.

Whethamſted.

The King enformed heereof, aſſembled lykewiſe a great hoſt, & meaning to meete with the Duke, rather in the North parts than about London, where it was thought he had two many friends, with great ſpeede, and ſmall lucke, being accompanied with the Dukes of Somerſet, and Buckingham, the Earles of Pembroke, Stafford, Northumberlande, Deuonſhire, Dorſet, & Wilſhire, the Lords Clifford, Sudley, Berneis, Roos, and others, beeing in all aboue two thouſande men of warre, departed from Weſtminſter the twentith, or as ſome haue, the one and twentith of May, and laye the firſte nighte at Wadford. Of whoſe doings, the Duke of Yorke by eſpials hauing ſtill aduertiſement, with al his power, beeing not paſt three thouſande men (as ſome write) coaſted the Countrey, and came to the ſaid Towne of Saint Albons, the third day next enſuing.

The King had pight his Standert in a place called Goſelowe, otherwiſe Sandiford, in Saint Peeters ſtreete: the Lord Clifforde kept the barriers of the Towne, to ſtoppe that the D. being aſſẽbled in Keye fielde, ſhuld not enter yͤ towne.

But the King, whẽ he heard firſt of yͤ Dukes approche, ſente to him meſſengers, as the Duke of Buckingham, and others, to vnderſtãd what he meant by his comming, thus furniſhed after the manner of warre.

Whethamſted.

The duke of Buckingham ſent to the D. of Yorke.

The Duke of Somerſet burdened with all thinges that had happened amiſſe.

The Duke of Buckingham, doing his meſſage as hee had in commaundement, was aunſwered by the Duke of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of them the Kings faithfull liege ſubiects, and intended no harme to him at all: and the cauſe of our comming hither (ſay they) is not to doe anye hurt to his perſon, but let that wicked and naughtie man the Duke of Somerſet bee deliuered vnto vs, who hathe loſt Normandie, and taken no regard to the preſeruation of Gaſcoigne, yea, and furthermore, hath brought this Realme of England vnto this miſerable eſtate, that where it was the floure of nations, and the Princeſſe of all prouinces, now doth it ſitte as a widowe forſaken, not hauyng any louing ſonnes, but ſuche whome that euill man ſeeketh to deſtroy, and to deuoure both thẽ and their ſubſtance: if it therefore pleaſe the kyng to deliuer him into our handes, wee are readye without trouble or breach of peace, to returne in quiet home into our Countrey, but if the Kyng be not minded ſo to doe, but denye our requeſt, bycauſe he will by no meanes miſſe him, let hym vnderſtand, that we will rather dye in the fielde, than now to returne without our hoped pray.

The firſt battaile at Sainct Albons.

Whethamſted

Hall.

The King aduertiſed of this the aunſwere and purpoſed intention, more wilfull than reaſonable, choſe rather to trie the hazard of battell, than to deliuer the Duke of Somerſet into the handes of his enimies, whiche they perceyuyng, ſtraightway ſounded the trumpet to battell, or rather as Hall hath, while king Henry ſent forth his Ambaſſadors to treate of peace, at the one end of yͤ towne, the Erle of Warwike, with his Marchmen entred at the other end, & fiercely ſetting on yͤ kings forward, within a ſmall tyme diſcomfited the ſame. The place where they firſt brake into yͤ towne, was about the middle of S. Peters ſtreete. The fight for a time was ryghte ſharp & cruell, for yͤ D. of Somerſet, wᵗ the other lords, cõming to yͤ ſuccours of their companiõs that were put to yͤ worſe, did what they could, to beate backe yͤ enimies, but the D. of Yorke, ſent euer freſh men to ſuccour the weerie, & to ſupplye the places of them that were hurt, by which policie, the Kings army was finally brought to cõfuſion, and all the chieftaines of the fielde ſlaine and beaten downe, for there dyed vnder yͤ ſigne

Thomas Lord Cliffords hath Whethamſted

of the Caſtell, Edmond Duke of Sommerſet, who as hath bin reported, was warned long before to auoyde all Caſtels: and beſide hym laye Henry the ſeconde of that name, Earle of Northumberland, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, ſonne to the Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Lord Clifford, Sir Barthram Antwiſell Knight, a Norman borne (who forſaking his natiue Countrey to continue in his loyal obedience to King Henrie, came ouer to dwell heere in Englande when Normandie was loſt,) William Zouche, Iohn Bontreux, Raufe Bapthorp, with his ſonne W. Corwyn. W. Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Raynold Griffon, Iohn Dawes, Elice Wood, Io. Eithe, Ra. Woodwarde, Gilbert Skarlock, and Rafe Willoughby Eſquiers, with manye other, in all to the number of .viij. thouſande, as Edwarde Hall ſayth in his Chronicle, if there eſcaped not a fault in the Impreſſion, as .8000. for .800. ſith hundreds in very deede, would better agree with the number of the Kings whole power, whiche he brought with him to that battell, beeyng not many aboue two thouſande, as by writers it appeareth.

Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, being woũded, and Iames Butler Earle of Ormond and Wilſhire, and Thomas Thorp, Lord chiefe Baron of the Eſchequer, ſeeing fortune thus to bee againſt them, left the King poſt alone, and with a great number fledde away.

Thoſe that thus fledde, made the beſt ſhifte they coulde to get away, through gardens, and backeſides, through ſhrubbes, hedges, & woddes, ſeeking places where to hide themſelues, til that danngerous tempeſt of the battell were ouerblowen.

The kinges part vanquiſhed.

Diuers of the Kings houſe alſo that coulde better ſkill to play the Courtiers than warriors, fledde with the firſt, and thoſe of the Eaſt partes of the Realme, were likewiſe noted of too much lacke of courage, for their ſpeedie withdrawing themſelues, and leauing the King in danger of his aduerſaries, who perceyuing hys men thus fledde from him, withdrewe into a poore mans houſe to ſaue himſelfe from the ſhot of arrowes, that flewe about his eares as thicke as ſnowe, falling from the ſkye,

The Duke of Yorke aduertiſed of the place, into the whiche the King was withdrawen, haſted thither with all ſpeede, and comforted hym in the beſt wiſe he could, aſſuring him, that now that the common enimie of the Realme was diſpatched, to witte, the Duke of Sommerſet, he had cauſe rather to reioyce, than to bee ſorie, ſith his deſtruction was the Kings preſeruation, and for himſelfe and all his adherents, he vndertooke that they were and would remayne duryng life, his moſt faithfull liege people, ready in al points to ſerue hym, as his truſtie and obediente ſubiectes.

After he hadde vſed ſuche wordes to him as he thought beſt to comforte him with, he broughte him forth of that ſimple houſe (into the which he was crept) withe all due reuerence, ſhewed towarde hym, fyrſte to the Shrine, and after to his chamber.

Whileſt the Duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the King, the Souldiers that had the victorie nowe in their hands, applyed the ſpoyle, namely, the Northerne men, ſtripping not only thoſe that had borne armour againſt them, but alſo the Towneſmen and other, with whome they might meete, ſo that it was thoughte, if the King had taken vp his lodging at his firſt comming thither, within the Abbey, as hee did not, but in the middes of the Towne (to prouide the better to reſiſt his enimies) the Abbey had beene ſpoyled alſo.

This was the ende of the firſte battell at S. Albons, whiche was foughte on a Thurſeday, next before the feaſt of Penthecoſt, being yͤ three and twentith daye of May, in thys three & thirtith yeare of the kings raigne.

The bodies of the noble men, were buried in the monaſterie in our Ladies Chappell, and the meane people, in other places.

Foure of th to wit, the D. of Somerſe, the earle of Northumberland, & the L. Clifford, we buried in ou Ladies chapel.

This Edmond Duke of Sommerſet, left behinde him three ſonnes, Henrye, Edmonde, and Iohn, which to the extremitie of death, tooke part with the line of King Henry.

Whethamſt

The Duke of Yorke hauing got this victorie, remembred well, that hee hadde publiſhed abroade howe the onely cauſe of this warre was, for the aduancemente of the common wealthe, and therefore vſing al courteſie, would not touch the Kings perſon, after anye violente ſorte, but with all honor, and due reuerence, conueyed him to London, and ſo to Weſtminſter, to whiche place, was ſummoned a Parliamente, whyche began the ninth daye of Iuly, in the whiche ſeſſiõ, the late Duke of Glouceſter was openly declared a true ſubiect, both to the King, and to the Realme.

A parliame

Beſide this, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhoulde either iudge or report any poynt of vntroth of the Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, or of anye Knighte, Eſquier, archer, or other, for comming in warlike aray againſt the King, at Saint Albons, conſidering theyr enterprice was only, to ſee yͤ kings perſon in ſafegard.

Whethamſt

Collaterall.

A letter ke from the ki of purpoſe.

But all the blame was put vpon the Duke of Sommerſet, Thomas Thorp, Baron of the Eſchequer, & Wil. Ioſep Eſquier, yͤ kings collateral companion, bicauſe that they vpõ a malitious purpoſe, kept a certain letter from yͤ kyngs know-

knowledge, and would in no wiſe ſuffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithſtãding yͤ ſame made to the aduancement of ſome good aſſured peace, if it had beene throughly and aduiſedly read, weyed, and conſidered, in which letter they declared, that as faythfull and humble ſubiectes, they requyred onely that it would pleaſe the king (whoſe honor, health, ſuretie and preſeruation, they chiefly wyſhed) not to giue credence to theyr aduerſaries malicious ſuggeſtions, till theyr comming to his preſence, vnto the which they hũbly beſought him that they might be admitted as his faythfull liege people, to ſhewe the intent and purpoſe of their commings, which was to none other ende, than to enlarge theyr fidelitie and allegiance towards his moſt dread perſon, intending to put themſelues with as much diligence, induſtrie, and trauaile in all things that might preferre & aduaunce his honour, health, ſuretie, and ſafegarde, as anye ſubiect he had liuing.

Duke of
ke com-
ing again the
k. iuſtified

The keeping back of this letter from the kings ſight and knowledge, did miniſter matter ſufficient ynough to the Parliament to colour and iuſtifie for well done all tranſgreſſions committed in the late battayle and chaſe at Saint Albons.

D. of York
de protec-
of the
ime.

In this Parliament alſo, the Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the realme, and the Erle of Saliſburie was appoynted to be Lord Chancellor, and had the great ſeale to him deliuered, and the Earle of Warwike was elected to the office of the captainſhip of Calays, and the territories of the ſame, and thus the rule of the Realme reſted in the orders of the Duke and Chancellor, and all warlike affayres remayned principally in the Erle of Warwike. And ſo amongſt them it was agreed, that king Henry ſhould ſtill raigne in name and dignitie, but neyther in deede nor in authoritie, not mynding to deſtroy him leaſt they might ſodainly prouoke the furie of the common people agaynſt them, bycauſe that of the ſymple ſort of people hee was for hys holyneſſe of lyfe, and aboundant clemencye muche fauoured and highly eſteemed.

thon.
acte for the
g to reuoke
grants.

In this Parliament alſo it was enacted, that the king ſhoulde reſume, take into his handes againe, haue and retaine in his poſſeſſion, all honours, Caſtels, Lordſhips, townes, villages, manours, landes, tenements, waſtes, foreſts, chaſes, rentes, reuerſions, fees, fermes, ſeruices, iſſues, profites, counties, aduouſons of Priories, Churches, hoſpitals, and free Chapels, and all other reuenues with theyr appurtenances, the whiche had paſſed from him ſith the firſt day of his raigne vnto that preſent, eyther by his letters patents, or authoritie of Parliament, and any other meanes, whether by graunt, confirmation, or releaſe from him made in fee ſimple, or fee taile for tearme of life or yeares, to anye maner of perſon and perſons in Englande, Wales, Scotlande, or the Marches, in Irelande, or in the townes of Calays, and Guiſnes, and the marches there, and likewiſe all grauntes made of ſuche things as is aboue mentioned, being parcell of the Duchie of Lancaſter, and further all graunts of offices, rowmeths, fees, wages, or commodities, not accuſtomed to belong to any office or charge before the ſayde firſt day of the kings raigne, were likewiſe reuoked.

Diuerſe other things were alſo conteyned within this reuocation, and generall reſumption of things into the kings hands, with certaine exceptions yet and prouiſoes had, as were thought cõuenient, and as by the ſame act it doth and may more plainly appeare.

Moreouer nowe that the Duke of Yorke and his adherẽts had wraſted the whole rule and gouernment into their handes.

All ſuche perſons as the king eyther loued, or the Queene fauoured, were put beſide the priuie counſaile, and ſuche put in their places, as was knowne to fauor the houſe of Yorke.

Shifting of officers.

Alſo the officers were chaunged, throughout the realme at the will and diſpoſition of the Protector, Chancellor, and captain of Calays, ſo that they cõſtituted as it were a triumuirate, ruling all things at their owne diſcretion. And yet in all theyr rule I finde not that any mention is made of theyr deferring of iuſtice, or of any polling or brybery as was openly proued by ſuch as gouerned before their time. Onelye they were noted with an execrable and damnable offence of diuerſe ſpirituall perſons, and namely of the Abbot of Weſtminſter and his Munkes, for that they toke oute of the Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter John Hollande Duke of Exeter, being repugnant to the order taken in the laſt Parliament, and conueyed him to the Caſtell of Pomfret.

Henry D. of Sommerſet.

But that venemous worme, that dreadfull Dragõ called diſdaine of ſuperioritie, which hath conſumed the bloud of ſo manye noble Princes, and deſtroyed the lygnage of ſo many gouernors in all realmes and kingdomes, as well Pagan as Chriſtian, coulde not but incenſe the heartes of the Lord Henrie Beauforde, newly inueſted duke of Somerſet by the death of Duke Edmond hys father, which at the battaile of Saint Albons (as aboue is rehearſed) loſt his life, and of Humfrey Duke of Buckingham (who had loſt his ſonne and heyre at the ſame battaile) and of other lordes and men of authoritie fauouring the part of king Henrie, whiche bewayled the vnſure ſtate of the ſame king, bycauſe they perceyued whereunto the cloked courteſie and diſſembling maner of the Duke of Yorke did drawe, and therefore thought it neceſſarie to puruey for a remedie ere the miſchiefe happened. Herevpon they conſulted with the Queene, and by hir aduice was a great coūſail called at Greenwich, where the duke of Yorke was diſcharged of his protectorſhippe, and the Earle of Saliſburie depriued alſo of his office: whiche malicious chaunge amongeſt the Nobilitie cauſed ſodaine alterations, and ſeditious attemptes to ſpring and aryſe in the communaltie, and in eſpeciall wythin the Citie of London. For a yong Marchaunt which before time hadde beene in dyuerſe Cities within the Countrey of Italy, and there forbydden by the Magiſtrates to weare anye weapon, chalenged an Italian in Cheapeſide for wearing a Dagger, alledging agaynſte hym the lawes of hys owne Countrey: and bycauſe the Italian aunſwered ſomewhat diſdainefully, the Marchaunt not wylling to ſuffer ſo open a reproche in a ſtreete ſo fraught with people, tooke by force from him his Dagger and with the ſame brake his pate.

The Duke of York diſcharged of his office.

1456

This Italian in greate haſt complayned to the Maior of thys offence, ſo that at the nexte Court holden at the Guilde hall, the Marchant was ſent for, and his offence beeing declared vnto him, he was commaunded to warde, wherevpon dyuerſe other light perſons within the Citie, aſſembled togyther in great plumps, and by force conſtrayned the Maior to delyuer the pryſoner out of Newgate, and not ſo ſatiſfied, like madde men ran to the ſeuerall houſes of dyuerſe Venetians, Lucaſes, and Florentines, and them ſpoyled, robbed, and rifled wythout reaſon or meaſure.

An vprore in the citie of London.

A foule diſorder.

The Maior perceiuing this enormious doing, aſſembled a greate number of ſubſtantiall and graue Citizens, which not without great bloudſhed and mayming of ſundrie perſons finally appeaſed the rage, and cauſed the miſruled people to depart to their houſes.

The begynner of this outragious vprore got him to Weſtminſter, and there regiſtred him for a Sanctuarie man.

The Queene whiche now againe ruled all things, aduertiſed of this vnlawful miſdemeanor ſent the dukes of Exceter and Buckingham, accompanied with other noble men, to Lōdon with a commiſſion of Oyer and Determiner, for the puniſhment of ſo ſeditious an offence: But when the Maior, the two Dukes, and the two chiefe iuſtices were ſet in the Guild hall for performance of theyr Commiſſion, vppon intelligence that a number of lyght wytted Citizens, were mynded in armour to reſkue the priſoners that had beene apprehended for the late committed robberie and ryot as as they ſhoulde goe to their triall and arraignment: the two Dukes and the other commiſſioners ſodenly departed from the Guildehal & left their inquirie for that daye, though in deede they were in no ſuch daunger as they doubted: for certaine diſcreete and ſage Citizens ſo handled the matter, that no miſorder followed of that great tumult and ſodaine furie of the people.

The Maior on the next day called a common counſaile, whereof the number was an hundred foureſcore and odde perſons, & by authoritie of the ſame, ordeyned that all wardens of myſteryes ſhould aſſemble their myſteries in their common halles, where they ſhoulde exhort them to the obſeruation of peace, and if they ſpyed any man eyther readie to ſtyrre a rumor, or deſirous of the deliuerance of ſuch as were accuſed and in priſon, that their names ſhoulde be ſecretly written, and couertly deliuered to the Lord Maior: which politike doing finally ended the outragious attemptates of the vnruly people. And ſo the commiſſioners returned to the Guildehall, where many of the robbers were attainted and put to execution, beſide diuerſe greate fines and raunſomes payed, which were ſet vpon the heades of dyuerſe Marchants for winking at the matter.

A common counſel called

This yeare Iohn Kempe Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe, and Thomas Burſtlyer Byſhoppe of Elye was remoued to ſucceede in his place, beeing the threeſcore and three Archbiſhop that ſat in the ſea of that Archbiſhops ſea.

The French nation hearing of the ciuill diſſention within the Realme of England, thought to worke ſome domage to the Engliſhe people, in reuenge of olde iniuries.

Anno 35.

1457

Herevpon were two Nauies appoynted to inuade the townes ſtanding vppon the ryuage of the Sea. The Captaynes of the one Fleete, was William Lorde Pomyers, and of the other Sir Peers Breſſy, a great ruler in Normandie.

These two captaines taking their courſe oute of the mouth of Saine, ſeuered themſelues, the one Weſtwarde, and the other Eaſtward, which was ſir Peter de Breſſy. This luſtie Captaine ſayling alongſt all the coaſtes of Suſſex & Kent, durſt not once take lande, till hee arryued in the Downes, and there hauing by a certaine eſpyall perfite notice that the Towne of Sandwiche was neyther peopled nor fortified, bycauſe that a lyttle before, the chiefe Rulers of the Towne were from thence departed, for to auoyde the peſtilenciall plague, whiche ſore there afflicted and ſlue the people, entred the Hauen, ſpoyled the towne, and after ſuch poore ſtuffe as he there foūd rifled and taken, hee fearing an aſſemble of the Countrey, ſhortly returned.

Sandwich ſp led by the French.

The Lorde Pomyers likewyſe tooke hys courſe Weſtwarde, and by nyght burnt certaine houſes in Foulnay, and with a little pyllage retyred into Brytaine.

Foulnay.

The Scots alſo not forgetting their old prāks, entred

entred

The Scots inuade England.

entred into Northumberlande, king James the ſeconde being there in perſon) and burned certain poore houſes, and little cottages: but in the verie middeſt of theyr great enterpriſe, they hearing of the duke of Yorkes marching toward them with a great armie, with much paine and no gaine, in all haſt returned to their countrey.

But nowe to paſſe ouer outwarde inuaſions and to returne to the dayly diſorder put in vre amongeſt the Nobles at home, a greate conflict chaunced betwene the Lord Egremonde, and the ſonnes of the Earle of Saliſburie, in the whiche fray, many perſons were ſlaine, and a great number hurt.

The Lord Egremond committed to newgate.

He made an eſcape.

The Lorde Egremond could not eſcape, but by force was taken and brought before the kings counſaile, & there the King & the Queene to ſhew themſelues to all perſons indifferent, adiudged him to paye to the Earle of Saliſburie a greate ſumme of money, and for his heynous offence committed agaynſt the Kings lawes, hee was committed to the gaile of Newgate within the Citie of London, oute of the whiche by helpe of friendes hee eſcaped, to the great vexation of the Sheriffes of London at that tyme being.

A practiſe to haue intrapped the Duke of Yorke.

The Queene ſecretely thyrſting for the deſtruction of the Duke of Yorke and his friendes, perceyued that ſhe could attempt nothing againſt him neare to the Citie of London, bycauſe the Duke was had in more eſtimation there among the Citizens and communaltie, than eyther the King hir huſbande, or hirſelfe, and therefore ſhee cauſed the King to make a progreſſe into Warwikſhire for his health and recreation, and ſo with hawking and hunting came to the Citie of Couentree, where dyuerſe wayes were ſtudied to cõpaſſe the Queenes long wiſhed deſire: for the accompliſhing whereof, the Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Warwike (whoſe deſtruction was chiefly ſought) were ſent for to Couentrie by the Kings letters, vnder his priuie ſeal, to which place the ſayd Lordes without ſuſpition of euill, obediently reſorted, but beeing admoniſhed by ſecrete friendes, what was intended agaynſt them, they auoyded that daunger, where as otherwiſe their lyues had beene loſt without al remedie. And ſo not ſaying farewell, they deparparted from the Court, the Duke vnto Wygmore in the marches of Wales, the Erle of Saliſburie to his faire Caſtell of Middleham in the North countrey, and the Erle of Warwike ſayled to the towne of Calays.

But nowe although the bodies of theſe three noble perſonages were thus ſeparated, yet theyr heartes were knitte and coupled in one, and ſtyll went meſſengers with letters betwixt them, to communicate theyr deuiſes, and to giue ſignification of theyr mindes and purpoſes from one to another.

An. reg. 39. 1458

In this yeare Reginald Peacocke Biſhop of Chicheſter, abiured at Paules Croſſe, and all his bokes were burnt; & he himſelf cõmaunded to kepe his owne houſe during his naturall life, bycauſe ye he being very wel learned, & better ſtomacked, beganne to moue queſtions, not priuily but openly, in the Vniuerſities, concerning the annates, Peter pens, and other iuriſdictions and authorities apperteyning to the Biſhop of Rome, and not onely put forth ſuch queſtions, but declared hys minde and opinion in the ſame.

Some ſay he held, that ſpirituall perſons by Gods lawe ought to haue no temporall poſſeſſions.

VVhethamſ.

Other wryte that he ſayde that perſonall tythes were not due by Gods law. And as ſome haue recorded, hee helde that it was not needfull to beleeue that Chriſt after his paſſion did deſcend into hell, neither yet to beleeue in the Catholike Church, nor the communion of Saints.

Alſo that he held howe the vniuerſall Church might erre in matters of fayth. And that it is not of neceſſitie to beleue, that that which is allowed, ordeyned, and determined in fauour of fayth, and the health of mans ſoule, by a generall Counſaile or by the vniuerſall Church, ought to be allowed and holden of all chriſtian people.

Moreouer he helde, that it was lawfull to euerie man to vnderſtande the ſcriptures in the literall ſenſe, and that none is bounde to cleaue vnto any other ſenſe, vpon anye neceſſitie of ſaluation.

King Henrie and his adherentes perceyuing that the Duke of Yorke lay ſtill and ſtyrred not, returned to London, and there called a great cõſaile, openly declaring that the French and Scots emboldned by the ciuill diſcorde within this realm would attempt to annoy the ſame, as of late they had ſhewed apparant tokens of theyr euill malicious meaning, and would not ceaſſe vpon occaſions to doe further diſpleaſures, tyll they perceyued a perfite concorde and an vnfeyned amitie to be concluded betwene him and his friendes, and thoſe of the contrarie part and confederacie.

And to the intent that he woulde be the chiefe Author of peace, hee promiſed ſo to entertaine the Duke of Yorke and his fautors, that al old grudges being not onely inwardly forgotten, but alſo outwardly forgiuen, ſhould be the cauſe of perpetuall loue and aſſured amitie.

This deuiſe was of all men preſent well taken, and adiudged for the beſt. Whervpon dyuerſe graue perſons were ſente to the Duke of Yorke, and al other the great eſtates of the realm, whiche ſince the battaile of Saint Albons neuer met nor communed togither, commaunding the for great cauſes and reaſonable conſiderations, to reſort to the kings Palace without delay.

The peeres of the Realme called to a treatie.

At his cõmaundement came to London Rychard Duke of Yorke, with foure. C. men, and was lodged at Baynards caſtell being his owne houſe, and after him came the Erle of Saliſburie with fiue hundred men, and was likewiſe lodged at his owne houſe called the Herber. Then came the Dukes of Exceter, and Somerſet with. viij. hundred men, and were lodged without Temple Barre, and the Earle of Northumberlande, the Lorde Egremonde, and the Lord Clifforde came with. xv. C. men, and lodged withoute the Citie. The Erle of Warwicke alſo came from Calais with ſix hundred men in red Jackets, embrodered with white ragged ſtaues behind and before, and was lodged at the gray Friers.

Thus were all thoſe of the one faction lodged within the citie, and theſe of the other without, in Holborne, towarde Weſtmynſter, and in other places of the Suburbs, as who ſayd yͭ as the Jewes diſdeined the companie of the Samaritains, ſo the Lancaſtrians abhorred the familiaritie of the Yorkiſh lynage.

After yͭ theſe Lords were thus come vnto Lõdon, the King and the Queene ſhortly followed, comming thither the. xvij. day of Marche, and lodged in the Biſhops Palace.

Bicauſe no riotous attempt or bickering ſhuld be begon betweene any of the parties, or their retinues, the Maior and Aldermenne of the Citie kept great watch, as well by day as by night, ryding about the citie by Holborne, and Fleetſtreet, with fiue thouſand men well armed & arrayed, to ſee good order and peace on all ſides kept.

The Lordes which lodged within the city held a dayly counſaile at the black Friers. The other parte ſoiourning without the walles, aſſembled lykewiſe in the Chapiter houſe at Weſtminſter. At length by the diligent trauaile, good exhortation, and prudent aduice of the Archb. of Cant. & other vertuous Prelates, both parties were perſwaded to come to a communication, and ſo did, where after long debating of their grieuaunces, they were accorded, promiſing to forget all olde rancors, and to be friendes eche to other, and obedient to the King, whereof writings were ſealed, ſigned and deliuered. The principall poyntes whereof the king beeing named and reputed as whole arbitratour conſiſted herein.

The Lords are brought to agree.

Whetham.
The awarde.

The clergy were ſure in thoſe dayes to loſe nothing by their contentions howe ſo euer the world went.

Firſt, that at the coſts, charges, and expences, of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Warwik, and Saliſburie, xlv. poundes of yearely rent, ſhoulde be lawfully aſſigned, giuen and aſſured by waye of a mortizement for euer, vnto the Monaſterie of Saint Albones, for Suffrages and Obites to be kept, and almes to bee employed for the ſoules of Edmond late duke of Somerſet, Henry late Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late L. Clifford, which being ſlaine in the late battaile of S. Albones, were buried there in the Abbey Church, and alſo for the ſoules of all other ſlaine in the ſame battaile. The ſaide Duke of Somerſet, the Earle of Northumberlande, and L. Clifforde, by vertue of the ſame award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, & ſo to be holde and reputed in the day of their deathes, aſwel as yͤ ſaid duke of York, the erles of Warwik & Saliſb.

Moreouer it was decreed, that the D. of York ſhould giue to Elenore Ducheſſe of Somerſet, & to Henrie Duke of Somerſet hir ſon, the ſumme of fiue thouſand Markes of good aſſignments of debts which the K. ought to him for his wages due, during the time of his ſeruice in Irelãd, to be diuided as the K. ſhould think cõuenient betwixt the brethren & ſiſters of the ſayd D. of Somerſet.

The Lord Egremond

Alſo that the Erle of Warwick ſhould giue to the Lorde Clifforde, the ſumme of a thouſande Markes, in good and ſufficient aſſignmentes of debts which the king ought to him to be deſtributed betwixt the ſaid L. Clifford his brethren and ſiſters. Alſo where Thomas Percie knight, L. Egremond, & Richard Percy his brother, ſonnes of the Lady Elenor Counteſſe of Northumberland, had bin in a Seſſions holde within yͤ countie of Yorke before Richard Bingham, & Rauſe Pole the kings Juſtices & other cõmiſſioners, cõdemned vnto the Erle of Saliſburie in the ſum of viij. M. marks, & to the ſame erle, and to his wyfe Alice in the ſum of fiue. M. marks, & to Tho. Neuil knight, ſonne to the ſaid Erle of Saliſburie, in the ſumme of a. M. marks, & to the ſaid Thomas & Mawd his wife, in the ſum of two. M. markes, and to John Neuil knight, ſon to the ſaid Erle of Saliſburie, in the ſumme of. viij. C. markes for tranſgreſſions & treſpaſſes there found to bee done by the ſaid L. Egremond, & Richard his brother, vnto the ſaid erle of Saliſb. Alice, Thom. Neuil, Mawd & John Neuil, as by the record appeared. It was ordeyned that the ſaide Erle & his ſonnes ſhould releaſe all the ſaid ſummes of money, & the executions thereof, and likewiſe releaſe vnto Rauf Verney, & John Steward late Sheriffes of London, vnto whoſe cuſtodie the ſaide L. Egremond had bin for the ſame cõdemnations cõmitted, and from thẽ eſcaped, al actions which they or any of thẽ might haue againſt the ſaide Verney & Steward for the ſame eſcape. But yet it was decreed by this award, that the ſayd Lorde Egremond ſhould be bound by recogniſance in the Chancerie to keepe the peace againſt the ſayde Earle and his wife, their children, ſeruents and tenants.

Alſo where diuerſe knights, Eſquiers and other ſeruaunts and tenaunts to the ſayd Earle of Northumberlend, & to the ſayd lord Egremond, were by their ſeuerall Obligations bound, by occaſion of the ſayde debates vnto the ſayde Duke of Yorke, Earle of Saliſburie, or any of theyr children, to ſtande to theyr order and gouernement, it was ordeyned that the ſame obligations ſhoulde be deliuered to them that ſo ſtoode bound, before the feaſte of Saint Peter ad Vincula nexte enſuing, at the Citie of Yorke, or elſe that the parties ſo bounde, ſhoulde haue ſufficient acquittances in diſcharge of the ſame obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variaunce, diſcord debates, controuerſies, appeales & actions perſonels that were or had beene betwixt any of the perſons aforeſayde, or anye of theyr ſeruants or tenants, ſhould be for euer determined and ended, ſauing to euerie one his title, action & right, which he had by any euidēce of arrerages of rents or ſeruices, accompts, detinues, or debtes due by reaſon of anye lawfull contract or deede had and made for any reaſonable conſiderations, other thā the variance before ſayd.

And for the more aſſurance of both parties, it was ordeyned that eyther ſhould releaſe to other all maner of actions, that were mere perſonals and appeales, whiche anye of them mighte haue againſt the other, by reaſon of the variaunces and diſcordes afore mentioned.

Alſo it was decreed, that if any action, ſuyte or quarell, chaunced betwixt any of the ſeruantes or tenants of any of the parties, for matter or tytle ſuppoſed to be had, occaſioned or moued before this time, that from thenceforth, none of the ſayd partyes ſhould maintaine, ſupport, or ayde any of them that will ſo ſue and moue ſtrife and debate, but ſhould rather ſo deale as the matter may be brought to peace and quietneſſe.

It was further awarded, that if any man cōplayned, pretended or ſurmiſed, that this awarde was not kept, but in ſome poynt broken by anye of the parties, for yͤ which breach he would haue a *Scire facias*, or ſome other action proſecuted in the kings name vpon any recogniſance made to the king for the performāce of this award, yet ſhould not the ſame *Scire facias* or action be proſecuted till the kings counſaile might be throughly certified of the matter by the complaynant, and vpon conſideration ſee iuſt cauſe, why the ſame *Scire facias* or action ought to be had & proſecuted in the kings name. And if any variaunce roſe betwixt the counſayle of both the partyes in making of the recogniſaunces, releaſes, acquittaunces or other wrytings, the ſame variaunce ſhoulde bee determined by the two Lords chiefe Iuſtices that ſhould be fully inſtructed of the kings intention in thys behalfe.

And beſydes this, it was notifyed and declared by the ſame awarde, that the parties being ſeuerally bounde in the Chauncerie in great ſums to obey and performe this awarde, ordinance and iudgement made by the King, it was the Kings will and pleaſure, that the ſame recogniſaunces ſhould ſtand in force, and no parcels of the ſums therein conteyned to bee pardoned in anye wiſe, withoute the agrement and conſent of the partie, for whoſe aſſurance the ſame recogniſaunce was taken. And if any of the ſayde ſummes, or anye parcell thereof ſhoulde bee recouered by action or execution taken & proſecuted in the kings name, vpon any of the ſayde recogniſaunces, the partie to whoſe hynderaunce the awarde was broken, ſhoulde haue the one halfe of the money ſo recouered, and the other moitie ſhoulde be aſſigned to the Treaſorer of the kings houſe, towardes the charges and expences of the ſame houſe.

This ordinance, award and agreement, was giuen vp vnder the kings great ſeale, at the kings Palace of Weſtminſter, the .xxiiij. day of March in the .xxxvj. yeare of his raigne.

A ſolemne proceſsion at Paules.

For the outwarde publiſhing of this ioyfull agreement, there was vpon our Ladie daye in Marche a ſolemne Proceſſion celebrate within the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule in the Citie of London, at the which the king was preſent in his habite royall, with his Crowne on his heade. Before him went hand in hande the duke of Somerſet, the Earle of Saliſburie, to Duke of Exceter, and the Erle of Warwike, and ſo one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behinde the King the Duke of Yorke, and the Queene with greate familiaritie to all mennes ſightes, though their heartes were as farre in ſunder, as their bodies were then nere ioyned by that their mutuall leading hande in hande. For notwithſtanding this cloaked pageant, and diſſembling Proceſſion, it ſhortly after appeared, that theyr thoughtes were all inuenomed, and full of ranke poyſon, though their tongues and flattering countenaunces vttered the taſte of moſte ſweete and pleaſant ſugred confections.

An. reg. 37.

But as fire incloſed in a ſtrayte place, will by force vtter his flame, and as the water beeing ſtopped will in proceſſe of time burſt out and win paſſage, ſo this cancred Crocodrile, coulde not long lurke in malicious myndes, but in concluſion according to hir nature ſhee ſhewed hirſelfe. For after this apparant concord, and inward diſcorde, according to the verie propertie of diſſimulation, diuerſe noble men of byrth ſmally regarding theyr honours, forgot theyr othe, and brake theyr promiſe.

The fruit of diſsimulation

1459

For not long after this diſſimuled amitie, a certaine fray eyther by chaunce, or of a pretenced purpoſe, was made vpon a yeoman of the Erles of Warwike, by one of the kings ſeruants, in the which the aſſaylant was ſore hurt, but the erles man fled.

The kings meniall ſeruauntes ſeeing theyr fellow hurt, and the offender eſcaped, aſſembled

The Erle of Warwicke aſſaulted.

togither and watched the Earle, when hee returned from the counſaile chamber towardes hys Barge, and ſodainly ſet on him, the yeomen with ſwordes, and the blacke garde with ſpittes and firefor kes. After long fight, and many of the Earles men maymed and hurt, by helpe of hys friendes hee tooke a Wherry, and ſo eſcaped to London.

The queenes purpoſe.

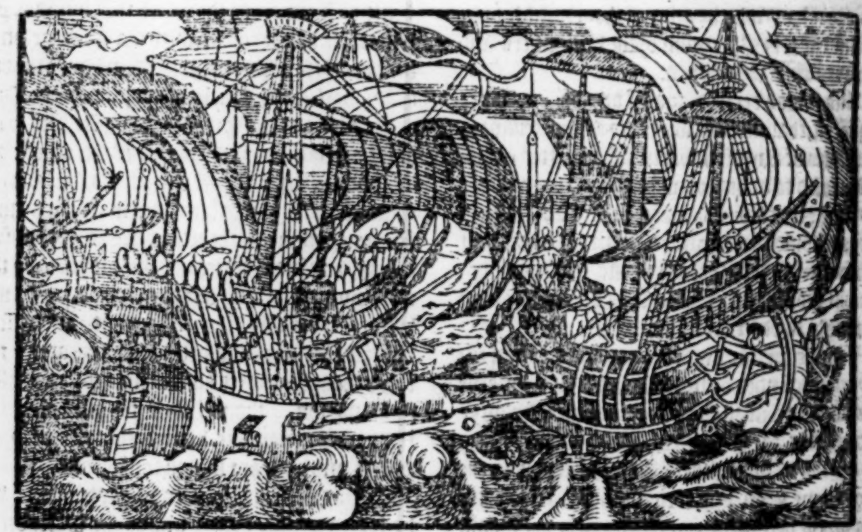
The Queene aduertiſed hereof, incontinently commaunded that he ſhoulde bee apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had bin taken) he had ſhortly ended his dayes.

By this vnhappy fray, there aroſe anon after ſuch trouble and terrible warre, that the whole Realme was thereby diſquieted. For after thys diſpleaſure done to the Earle, and the Queenes good minde towardes him, by his ſecrete friendes reuealed, he with all diligence tooke his iourney to Warwicke, and after into Yorkſhire, where he found the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Saliſburie, declaring vnto them the aſſault made vpon him by the kings ſeruants, and the pretenſed euill purpoſe of the Queene. After whiche complaint made, he fearing to be diſpoſſeſſed of hys roumth at Calays, with great ſpeed embarqued himſelfe and ſayled thither.

VVhether The Erle of warwicke lo Admiral.

He was not onely Deputie or Lieutenant of Calais, but alſo high Admiral of the Seas, which office was to him confirmed for the ſpace of fiue yeares, whervpon whether before hys arryuall now at Calais, or ſhortly after, I cannot ſaye, but this yeare aboute the myddeſt of Sommer, the ſayde Earle hauing with him a. xiiij. well appoynted ſhippes, ſayled abroade to ſkoure the Seas, and by chaunce mette wyth fiue greate ſhippes, whereof three were Carakes of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heigth and length than the Carakes.

The Earle thoughe hee was vneth able to deale agaynſt them, yet he valiantly encountring them, there was a right ſore and long continued battaile fought betwixt them, for it laſted almoſte the ſpace of two dayes. In the ende yet the victorie fell to the Engliſhe, ſo that two of thoſe ſhippes being forced to ſaue themſelues by flight, the other three were taken, which the Erle brought vnto Calais, with all the Marchandice abourde in the ſame, the value whereof in Wine, Oyle, Waxe, Iron, cloth of Golde, and other ryches, was eſteemed to the ſumme of ten thouſand pound and aboue, by reaſon whereof, that was ſolde nowe for .xij. pens, which woulde not haue beene bought before for two ſhillings.



A riche Priſe.

There were taken a greate number of priſoners, beſide a thouſand perſons of the enimies that were ſlaine in the fight. Of the Erles part there were fiftie ſlaine.

The Earles fame hereby encreaſed not a little, and many a bleſſing hee had for this peece of ſeruice.

An. reg. 38.

But now to the former purpoſe. After that the ſayde Erle was departed the realme, and gone ouer to Calais, the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Saliſburie falling in conſultation togither, it was at length agreed betwixt them, with aduice of theyr friendes, that the ſayde Earle of Saliſburie with a warlike companie ſhould march toward the king, and ſignifie to him by way of cõplaint, both the manifeſt iniurie done to his ſon, and alſo the vncurteous breach of the ſworne amitie and late agreement, in which ſute if he preuayled, hee ſhoulde not then let paſſe the occaſion giuẽ for reuenge of diſpleaſures to him done, both by the Queene and her ſiniſter counſaylers.

The Erle of Saliſbury.

After concluſion of this deuiſe, the Erle of Saliſburie remoued from Middleham Caſtell, accompanied with foure or fiue thouſand men, and toke his way through Lancaſhire, to paſſe that waye

Three tho hath Whe- hamſted.

towardes London.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Queene which was aſſyſted and ruled by the dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham, hauing a vigilant eie to all hir buſineſſe, ymagined that the Erle of Warwike had kindled this fire, to the intent to ſet the Crown on the Duke of Yorkes head: wherefore ſhe appoynted James Twichet Lorde Audley (bycauſe his power laye in thoſe partyes by the whiche the Earle of Saliſburie muſte paſſe) to rayſe an hoſt of men wyth all ſpeede, and to giue battaile to the ſame Earle, if he ſawe cauſe and place conuenient.

Shee had deuiſed a cogniſaunce of the whyte Swanne, which ſhe willed all ſuch as ſhee knew to beare fauour vnto hir ſonne to weare, for a ſignification of their good mindes and heartie loue towardes him, whiche cogniſaunce ſhe had giuen to many Gentlemenne of Cheſſhire, and other countreyes thereaboute.

She hirſelfe lay the ſame time at Eccleſale in Staffordeſhire, but the King remayned at Coleſhill in Warwikeſhire, whither the Earle of Saliſburie ment to come, as he pretended to haue communed with him for a reformation of matters depending in controuerſie betwixt him and of the Duke Yorke and others. But the Queene conſtruing that they ment no good, neither to hir, nor hir huſbande, requeſted the Lorde Awdeley to apprehende hym, if by anye meanes hee might.

The Lorde Awdeley according to hys commiſſion, aſſembled aboute tenne thouſande men of Cheſſhire and Salopſhire, and knowing by hys eſpialles, which way the Earle kept, approched neare to him vpon a fayre playne called Bloreheathe, wythin a myle of a towne called Drayton in Shropſhyre. The Earle perceyuing in what ieopardie he ſtode, determined to abyde the aduenture, with fame and honour, rather than to flie with loſſe and reproch, and ſo encamped himſelfe all the night on the ſide of a little brooke, not verie brode but ſomewhat depe.

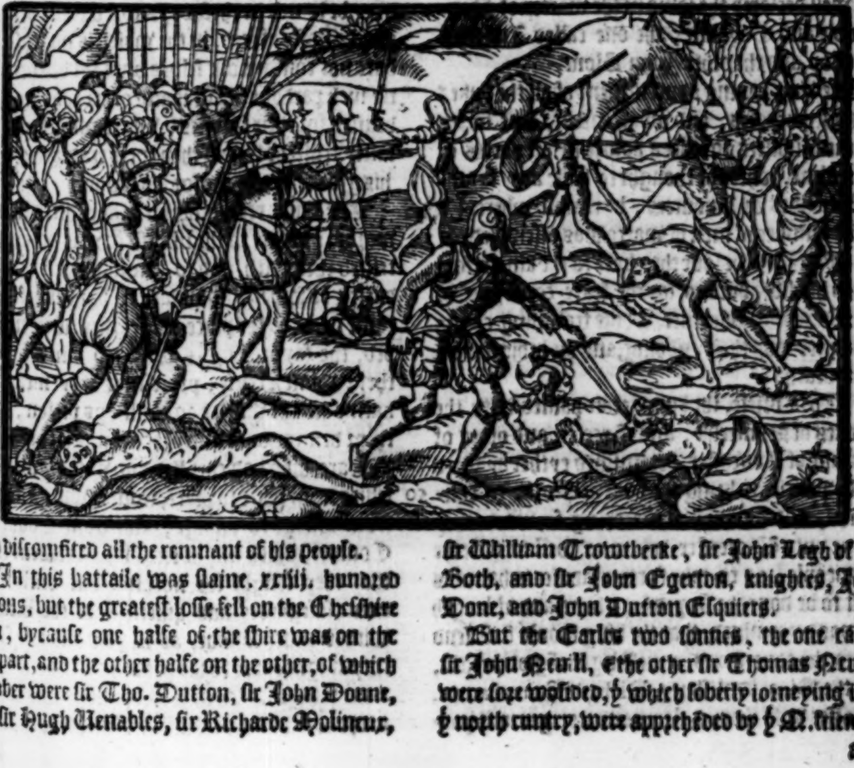
Blore heath.

The xxiii of September.

In the morning early being the day of Saint Tecle, hee cauſed his ſouldyours to ſhote theyr flightes towardes the Lorde Awdeleyes companie, whiche lay on the other ſide of the ſayde water, and then hee and all his people made a ſigne of retreyt. The Lorde Awdeley ſuppoſing hys aduerſaries had fledde in deede, cauſed his Trumpettes quickly to blowe vp, and ſetting forth hys vowarde, ſpeedily paſſed the water. The Earle of Saliſburie which knewe the ſleightes of warlike policie, ſodainly returned and ſet vpon the Lorde Awdeley and his chiefe Captaynes, ere the reſidue of his armye coulde paſſe the water. The fight was ſore and dreadfull. The Earle deſyring the ſauing of hys lyfe, and hys aduerſaryes coueting his deſtruction, fought ſore for the obteyning of theyr purpoſe: but in concluſion, the Earles armie, as men not looking for other ſuccours nor meane to eſcape, but by theyr owne manhood, ſo egrely aſſaulted theyr foes, that they ſlue the Lord Awdeley, and all his Captaynes, and diſcomfited all the remnant of his people.

Policie oftentimes ouercommeth force.

The L. Audley ſlayne.



In this battaile was ſlaine .xxiiij. hundred perſons, but the greateſt loſſe fell on the Cheſſhire men, bycauſe one halfe of the ſhire was on the one part, and the other halfe on the other, of which number were ſir Tho. Dutton, ſir John Dounе, and ſir Hugh Venables, ſir Richarde Molineux, ſir William Trowtbecke, ſir John Legh of the Both, and ſir John Egerton, knightes, John Done, and John Dutton Eſquiers.

But the Earles two ſonnes, the one called ſir John Neuill, & the other ſir Thomas Neuill, were ſore woũded, yͤ which ſoberly iorneying into yͤ north cuntry, were apprehẽded by yͤ Q. friends,

The Erle of Saliſburies ſonnes apprehended.

and togither with ſir Thomas Harington that was likewiſe taken, were conueyed to Cheſter, but their keepers delyuered them ſhortly after, or elſe had the Marche menne deſtroyed the Gayles. Such fauour had the Commons of Wales to the Duke of Yorke his bande, that they could not ſuffer any wrong to be offred, or euill worde to be ſpoken agaynſt him or his friends.

The Duke of Yorke aſſembleth an army

After this battell fought at Blower heath (as before ye haue heard) the Duke of Yorke perceyuing that the deſtruction of him and his friendes was intended, and that his priuie intentes were alreadie diſcloſed to the king and the Queene, hee thought nowe no longer to lynger his buſineſſe, but with all diligence to diſplay and aduance his banner. And therefore ſending for his chiefe mate the Earle of Saliſburie, after long communication had of theyr weightie affayres, they determined to rayſe an armie, and by fine force eyther to die, or to winne theyr purpoſe.

Hervpon were men forthwith aſſembled, friendes ſent for, and a puiſſaunt armie was gathered, both of Northren men and Welchmen, whiche in good order came into the marches of Wales adioyning to Shropſhire, determining there to abide their enimies, or to meete them if occaſion ſerued.

Andrew Trollop, Iohn Blũt

There came to him from Calais the Earle of Warwike, bringing with him from that towne a great number of expert men in martiall feates, whereof two were Captaines knowne for men of great experience and approued policie, as they had well declared the ſame in the warres of Normandie and Guyenne, the one called Andrewe Trollop, and the other Iohn Blont.

The king raiſeth an army.

The king hauing aduertiſment of all the dukes doings, purpoſes, and whole intent, ſent forth Commiſſioners to leuie a power in all partes of the realme, where he thought to haue any faythfull friendes or fauourers, by reaſon whereof a great number of men of warre was aſſembled.

Many for the loue they bare to the king reſorted to his ſide, but mo for the feare conceyued of the Queenes diſpleaſure, whoſe frowning countenaunce was their vndoing, and hir indignation their death.

Whetham.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury ſent to the Duke of Yorke and others.

To be briefe, the king accompanied with the Dukes of Somerſet, and Exceter, and other of the lyne of Lancaſter, determined eyther by force or by policie, to bring the duke of Yorke to confuſion, and therevppon marching forwarde they came vnto Worceſter, where as well to refreſhe his people, as to take further aduice what was beſt to be done, he ſtayed for a time, and at length it was determined, that the king ſhould firſt ſend vnto the aduerſaries, a meſſenger of good accoũt, as the Bi. of Saliſbury, Richard Beauchampe, to offer vnto them a cleare and free generall pardon, of all treſpaſſes, offences, and tranſgreſſions whatſoeuer, if they woulde giue ouer theyr enterpriſe, and become true and obedient ſubiects.

When the Biſhop was come vnto them, and hadde declared his meſſage, they firſt withdrewe themſelues apart, and fell togither in counſaile, and after they gaue aunſwere by the mouth of the Earle of Warwike, which conſiſted in three poyntes: Fyrſt, that as concerning the pardon, they durſt not truſt vnto it, conſidering they had dyuerſe pardons before, and the ſame confyrmed by Parliament, and yet nothing auaylable to their aſſurance.

Secondly, that notwithſtanding ſuche pardons, thoſe that were about the king were preſumptuous and vnruly, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commaundements, nor were any thing abaſhed to be noted for yͤ breach thereof.

Thirdly, although by lawe of the lande, and right of the ſtatute, euery Lorde by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the Parliament, ought ſafely to come, ſafely there to remaine, and ſafely to depart and returne home, this notwithſtãding, the ſayd erle of Warwike himſelfe, at a certaine counſail holden at Weſtminſter, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie ſeale beeing there in perſon, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduice & counſaile for the profit of the cõmon wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lorde aboue had not the better prouided for his eſcape, more than any humaine power or force of the kings pardon: for the whiche cauſe (quoth he) ſith the kings pardon may be likned in theſe days to a buckler of glaſſe, or to a ſtaffe of reed, in the which is no truſt, we dare not commit our ſelues vnto the defence of any ſuch pardons. But if any other way might be deuiſed for their ſureties, whereunto they might ſafely truſt (he ſayde) they were readie to come to his grace, and to ſue for his fauour.

The King receyuing ſuche aunſwere in theſe wordes, or other to the like effect, was nothing cõtented therewith, and ſo commaunded his ſtandardes eftſoones to aduaunce, but yet before hee came neare to the place where they were encamped, the ſayde Lordes wrote to him a letter in theyr owne excuſe, proteſting they meante no harme in the worlde agaynſt hys perſon, as by theyr demeanours and proceedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled and withdrawne themſelues from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from Countie to Countie, which might ſerue for an euident token that they ſought for nothing but onely theyr owne ſafegardes and quietneſſe of the Realme, with ſo much fauour, as in good and ſafe ſuretie they might come to his preſence, to declare certaine things which in their opinions might turne to the welth of the realm: and further to make anſwere

ſwere all things that had beene obiected agaynſt them, and nowe (ſayde they) we are here remayning in the vttermoſt partes and confines of the lande, that is in the Marches towardes Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not vpō any preſumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlineſſe of mind & bodie, to abide his graces cōming, which they beſought of God might be in ſome peaceable maner and fauourable in their behalfes.

A proclamatiō.

The king hauing receyued this letter, and coniecturing that venome lay hid vnder ſo ſweete and ſoft ſpeche, commaunded his armie againe to marche forth, and comming within halfe a mile of the aduerſaries campe, pight downe his field, and forthwith cauſed proclamation to bee made, that whoſoeuer of his aduerſaries would giue ouer his lewde begon enterpriſe, and repayre to his preſence to ſue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offences.

This Proclamation comming to the vnderſtāding of them in the duke of Yorks hoſt, cauſed a great number that were there with him agaynſt the king, to get away and come to the kings ſide.

Andrew Trollop forſaketh the Lords.

Moreouer, there roſe among the reſidue greate murmuring, ſo as they ſeemed very lyke to growe to a grieuous mutinie. Amongſt other of thoſe that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was chiefe, who with ẏ other Caliſiās which had long ſerued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceyuing now that they ſhould fight agaynſt theyr ſoueraigne Lorde himſelfe (whoſe friend they eſteemed before that time the Erle of Warwike euer to haue bene, and in no wiſe hys enimie) in the dead of the night before the daye of the battell they ſecretly departed from the Dukes campe, and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, admoniſhing him of all things deuiſed for his loſſe and deſtruction. For the Duke of Yorke perceyuing by his expert Captaynes, a way how to ſet vppon his enimies, and eaſily to diſcomfit them, thought to take the occaſion, and ſo on the nexte morning ment to haue aſſayled the king and hys people ere they could haue bene readie, or ware of his determination: but nowe by the going away thus of his captaynes and people, no effect folowed of that his ymagination. For being aduertiſed that Andrew Trollop was thus departed, hee was now as much diſcomforted therby, as before by the truſt which he put in him he was encouraged, and therewith perceyuing that all his counſayle and purpoſe was by the forenamed Andrew reuealed and diſcloſed, thought it better for him and his to depart in ſuretie, than to abide ẏ chaunce of mutable fortune: wherevpon he with his yonger ſonne Edmond Erle of Rutland, ſecretly fled into Wales, and ſo paſſed into Ireland, where hee was with all ioy and honour gladly receyued, all the Iriſh offring to die and liue with him.

Whethāſted.

The eſtimatiō of Andrew Trollop.

The Duke of Yorke his cōplices flee.

The Erle of Marche ſonne and heire apparant to the ſaid duke, accompanied with the Earles of Saliſburie and Warwicke, and ſir Iohn Wenlocke, ſtale awaye the ſame night, and came into Deuonſhire, where, by the meanes of Iohn Dynham eſquire (which after was highe Treaſorer of England in the dayes of king Henrie the ſeuenth) they bought a ſhip which coſt .C.x. markes at Exmouth, and ſayled into Gernſey, and after came to Calais, and were let in at the poſterne, and ioyfully welcomed of theyr friendes, namely of ſir William Neuil Lord Fauconbridge, that was the Erle of Warwikes vncle, and brother to the Erle of Saliſburie, who had the towne & Caſtell in keping.

But now to returne to the king: when in the morning he was aduertiſed that the duke of Yorke and his partakers were fled & gone, he cauſed al his horſmen to folow them, although in vain, for they were got farre ynoughe out of daunger (as before ye haue heard.)

The king pardoned all the poore ſouldiours ſauing certaine ring leaders of the which ſome he puniſhed and fined, and ſome he hanged and quartered.

After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his hoſt, and ſpoyled the towne and Caſtell, and ſent the Duches of Yorke with hir two yong ſonnes to be kept in warde with the Duches of Buckingham hir ſiſter. This done, he proclamed theſe Lordes, traytours to him, enimies to their countrey, and rebels to the crowne, confiſcating their landes, goods, and offices, and committed the gouernaunce of the north partes to the Erle of Northumberland, and to the Lord Clifford, as to his truſtie and moſte faithfull friendes, and of his towne of Calais, hee made Captaine Henrie the new duke of Somerſet. Thys duke reioyſing much in his new office, choſe forth dyuerſe valiant and hardie ſouldiers, and with great pompe ſhortly after toke the ſeas, and ſayled towards Calais, but when he thought to haue entred the hauen, the artillery ſhot ſo hotly, both out of the towne, and from Riſebanke, that he ſuffring there a ſore repulſe, was faine to lande at Whitſandbay, and ſent worde to the Captaines of the towne to receyue him as the kings lieutenant, ſhewing to them his letters patents, but neither he nor his writing was once regarded, & ſo of neceſſitie hee reſorted to the Caſtell of Guiſnes, dayly ſkirmiſhing with the garniſon of Calais, more to his loſſe than gaine.

The Duke of Somerſet made Captaine of Caleys.

Diuers of the mariners of thoſe ſhips that went with him, after his arriuall owing more good will to the Earle of Warwike than to this yong duke, conueyd their ſhips into the hauē of Calais, and in them diuerſe of the erle of Warwikes enimies, as Iauin Findyll, Iohn Felow, & diuerſe other, the which being preſented vnto the Earle of Warwike, hee cauſed their heades to bee ſtryken off.

Shortly after Rychard Lorde Ryuers, and ſir Anthonie Wooduile his valiaunt ſonne that was after Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike perſons, were appointed to paſſe ouer to Guiſnes, to ayde the Duke of Somerſet agaynſt his aduerſaries, which lay in Calais, but as they ſoiourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to tranſport them ouer, the Erles of Marche and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and ſent Iohn Dynham with a ſmall number of men (but a multitude of valiant heartes) vnto the towne of Sandwich, which ſodainly entred the ſame, and tooke the Lorde Riuers in his bed, and his ſonne alſo, robbing houſes, and ſpoiling ſhips, and beſide this, they tooke the principall ſhippes of the kings nauie, and had them away with them to Calais, and there preſented them to the Earle of March, of whom he was ioyfully receyued, for though in the fight hee was ſore hurte and maymed in the legge, ſo as he halted euer after, yet hee bare himſelfe ſo worthily in that enterpriſe, that hys prayſe was great amongſt all men.

Iohn Dynham

The Lord Riuers taken.

After this good fortune thus chaunced to the Lordes, dyuerſe of the beſt ſhippes taken in the Hauen of Sandwiche, were well vitayled and manned, and with them the Earle of Warwike ſayled into Irelande, to common with the Duke of Yorke of his great affayres and buſineſſe.

The weather and wind were ſo fauourable to the Earles purpoſe, that within leſſe than thirtie dayes hee paſſed and repaſſed from Calais to Dubline, and backe againe.

The Duke of Exceter being chiefe Admirall of the Sea, lay in the Weſt Countrey, and durſte not once meddle with the Earle of Warwikes nauie, as he came by, by reaſō of ẏ miſtruſt which hee had in the Captaines and Mariners of hys own nauy, who by their murmuring wel ſhewed that they wiſhed ẏ erle of Warwiks good ſucces.

A parliament at Couentry

VVhethāſted.

During this time, the king called a Parliament in the Citie of Couentrie, which began the xx. of September; in the whiche the Duke of Yorke and his confederates were attaynted of highe treaſon. But yet when the King ſhoulde come to giue his conſent vnto the actes paſſed in the ſame Parliament, and that the Clerke of the Parliament had read that ſtatute of the attainder of thoſe Lordes, ſuch was the kings modeſtie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he cauſed a prouiſo to be had in and added vnto the ſame ſtatute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all tymes fully without authoritie of any other Parliament, to pardon the ſame noble men, and reſtore them againe to their former eſtates, degrees, and dignities in all things, ſo that they would come in vnto him, and in the ſpirite of humbleneſſe beſeche him of grace and fauour.

The kings inclination to mercy.

Herewith alſo order was taken for the defence of the hauens and landing places alongſt the ſea coaſtes.

Sir Simond Mountforde with a great number of men, was appoynted to kepe the Downes, and the fiue Portes, and all men paſſing into Flaunders were vpon payne of death prohibited to paſſe by Calais, leaſt the Lordes there ſhould borrowe of them any money, as they did preſt lately before of the Marchants of the Staple the ſumme of xviij. M. pound. The Lords were not ignorant of all the kings prouiſions made agaynſt them, but were aſcerteyned dayly what was done euen in the kings priuie Chamber, wherefore firſt they ſent a company to Sandwiche vnder the gouernance of the Lord Fauconbridge, which tooke the town, and ſir Simon or Oſbert Mountford within it, and ſent him with all his mates to Calais, where incontinently he with twelue of his chiefe fellowes loſt their heades on the Sandes before Riſebanke.

Oſbert Mountfort eſquire hath Whethāſteed, who ſhould alſo haue gon ouer to Guynes with v.C. ſouldiers, to the ayde of the Duke of Somerſet.

The Lord Fauconbridge was chiefe of this enterpriſe ſaith Whethamſteed.

After the kings nauie gayned, and his Captaynes, on the arriuage of the ſea taken, and deſtroyed, the Lords lying at Calais, being aduertiſed frō the Lord Fauconbridge, who after the taking of Mountford lay ſtill in Kent, that the people of that Countrey and other partes were altogither bent in their fauour, they conceyued therevpon ſo great hope in their friendes within the Realme, that they determined to paſſe the ſea, and therewith entring their ſhippes, with a fifteene hundred men landed with them at Sandwich.

VVethamſt

1466

And from thence came to Canterburie and ſo paſſing throughe Kent, there came to them the Lord Cobham, Iohn Guilford, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other Gentlemen, ſo that before they approched to London, their number was eſteemed aboue .xl. thouſand fighting men, for the fame of their landing being once knowen, Gentlemen repayred, and yeomen reſorted out of all the South partes of the realme, vpon which rumor, Thomas Lorde Scales, a man in greate fauor with the King and Queene, accompanied with the Earle of Kendall a Gaſcoigne, and the Lorde Louell, reſorted to London with a greate companie of armed men, declaring to the Maior that their repayre onely was to defende and kepe the Citie, from ſpoyle of ſuch traytors as the king was credibly informed did thither reſort, to whō the Maior anſwered, that hee needed no fellowe helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which aunſwere the lord Scales and his aſſociates nothing cōtented, entred into the tower, dayly deuiſing wayes howe to grieue the Citizens, whō he perceyued to fauor rather the duke of Yorkes part, than the kings.

But ſhortly after the Earles of Marche and Warwicke, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the Maior and Citizens ioyouſly receyued, to whom reſorted the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of London, Lyncolne, Saliſburie, Ely, and Exceter, with many other Prelates, and religious perſons.

Upon good deliberation and aduiſe had and taken amongſt theſe Lordes how to go forwarde with their weightie enterprice, the Earles of Marche and Warwike, William Lorde Fauconbridge, Henrie Lorde Bourchier, called Erle of Eu, with a great number of men whiche came out of Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, and Suſſex, to the number (as ſome wryters affyrme) of. xxv. M. perſons, departed from London toward the king lying at Couentrie, then called the Queenes ſecrete herbour, leauing behinde them to keepe the Londoners in theyr promiſed obeyſance, the Erle of Saliſburie, the Lorde Cobham, and ſir Iohn Wenlocke, which tooke ſuch order and watched the gates and entries on eche ſide ſo diligently, that no ſuccours might come to the Lord Scales lodging in the Tower, who tooke therewith ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſhot out his great ordinaunce agaynſt them within the Citie, and they likewiſe ſhot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleaſure of both partes.

Couentry the Queenes ſecret Harbor.

The king hauing knowledge of all theſe doings, aſſembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Somerſet (lately come frõ Guiſnes) & the duke of Buckingham, and diuerſe other great Lordes that tooke his parte, came to Northanton, where the Queene perceyuing her puiſſance to be able to matche in fight with the aduerſaries, tooke vpon hir to encourage hir friends and well willers: for the King ſtudied of nothing but of peace, quietneſſe, and ſolitarie life. When the whole hoſt of the kings part was aſſembled, the ſame iſſued forth of the towne, and paſſing ouer the riuer of Nine, lodged in the new fielde betweene Harſington and Sandifford, ſtrongly fencing themſelues about with high banks, and deepe trenches.

Whethãſted

On the other part, the Lords being herewyth aduaunced verie neare the place where the kings people lay without Northãton, the Biſhops that were there with them, by the aduice and conſent of the ſaid Lordes, ſent vnto the king the Biſhop of Saliſburie to vnderſtand his mind, & to moue him vnto ſome treatie of peace, and to admitte the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the'other biſhops there preſent, to be mediatours in the matter, that ſome good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, ſo as an vniuerſall peace might bee reſtored in all parts through the whole realme.

The Biſhop of Saliſburie doing this meſſage not ſo circumſpectly as had beene conuenient, returned without bringing any towardly anſwere, but rather wordes of high deſpite and vtter defiance. For the Lordes that were about the king truſting in their warlike engines and ſtrength of place in whiche they were encãped, though otherwiſe inferior in number of men, purpoſed to abide the brunt of battel, & ſo led with the ſpirite of raſhneſſe, ſent none other anſwere back againe by the biſhop, but contumelious wordes ſounding greatly to the reproch of theyr aduerſaries, who being ſore offended therewith, determined to ſeeke reuenge with dynt of ſworde.

The Erle of Marche as thẽ being in the floure of his luſtie and moſt couragious youth, lying betweene Toucetor and Northampton, determined to ſet on the kings armie without longer delay: and therevpon in the night ſeaſon remoued his campe toward Northampton, & in marching forwarde ſet his men in order of battaile, whereof the bãtwarde was led by the Erle of Warwick, whiche eyther by ſtrength, or ſtealth, wanne a ſtreyte which the Lorde Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe, and herewith entring freſhly wyth his people, beganne the battayle aboute ſeuen of the clocke the ninth day of Iulye. After him followed the Earle of Marche with the banner of his father. Other write, that the Earle of Marche led the forewarde, the Earle of Warwicke the middleward, and the lord Faucõbridge the rerewarde.

The battel of Northampton,

Whethãſted

Moreouer that Edmond Lord Grey of Ruthin, who was on the kings ſide, fayled in yͤ truſt committed to him: for where the enimies coulde not (without great daunger to be beaten downe and ſlaine) enter vpon the Kings campe, by reaſon of a mightie trench and rampyre pight full of pyles, and ſharpe ſtakes, wherewith the campe was compaſſed about, the ſayd Lord Gray came with his men, and with helping handes pulled the enimies vp, & receyued them into the field, where the battaile was begonne with greate force and violence, for being now entred the field, they ſette vpon the Kings people ſo fiercely, that it ſeemed they mente eyther to obteyne the victorie, or to dye for it, euen all the whole number of them.

The L. Grey of Ruthen.

The fight continued ryght fierce and cruell, wyth vncertayne victorie, till the houre of nine, at whiche tyme the Kings armie was diſcomfited, and of the ſame ſlaine and drowned in the Riuer, few leſſe than ten thouſande tall Engliſh men, and the king himſelfe left comfortleſſe alone was taken by the aduerſaries, as a'man predeſtinate to miſerie.

Hall.

The kings Part diſcomfited.

The k. taken.

At this battaile were ſlaine Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Talbot Earle of Shrewesburie, a valiaunt perſonne, and not degenerating from his noble parentes, Thomas lord Egremond, Iohn Viſcont Beaumont, & ſir

William Lucie which made great haſte to come to part of the fight, and at his fyrſt approche was ſtryken in the heade wyth an Axe.

Beſide theſe that were ſlaine, many were taken pryſoners, bycauſe they left theyr horſes, alighting to fight on foote. The Duke of Somerſet, and other, whiche narrowly eſcaped, fled with the Queene & prince into the biſhoprike of Durham. The Erles hauing got the victorie in thys bloudie battaile, conueyed the king to London, & lodged him in the Biſhops Palace.

The tower deliuered to the Erle of March.

After whoſe comming to the Citie, the tower was deliuered to the Erle of Marche, vpon a certaine compoſition, but the Lord Scales ſuſpecting the ſequele of the deliuerie thereof, tooke a wherrie priuilye, intending to haue fledde to the Queene, but hee was eſpyed by dyuerſe watermen belonging to the Earle of Warwike (whiche wayted for his forth comming on the Thames) and ſodenly taken, and ſhortly ſlaine with many dartes and daggers, and his bodie left naked & all bloudie at the gate of the Clink, which after was buried in the Churche adioyning. Then were diuerſe perſons apprehended, and indyted of treaſon, whereof ſome were pardoned, & ſome executed.

The L. Scales ſlayne.

Tho. Thorpe

Thomas Thorpe ſeconde Baron of the Eſchequer, was committed to the Tower, where he remayned long after, for that he was knowne to be great friend to the houſe of Lancaſter.

An. reg. 39.

During this trouble, a Parliament was ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter, in the month of October next following.

VVhethaſted

The Duke of Yorke commeth forth of Ireland.

In the meane time the Duke of Yorke aduertiſed of all theſe things, ſayled from Dubline towardes Englande, and landed at the redde banke neare to the Citie of Cheſter, with no ſmal companie, and from Cheſter by long iourneys, hee came to the Citie of London, which he entred the Fryday before the feaſt of S. Edward the Confeſſor, with a ſword borne naked befor him, with trumpets alſo ſounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of hys friends & ſeruants. At his cōming to Weſtm. he entred the palace, & paſſing forth directly through the great hall, ſtayed not till he came to the chamber, wher the King and Lordes vſed to ſit in the Parliament time, cōmonly called the vpper houſe or chamber of the Peeres, and being there entred, ſtept vp vnto the throne royall, & theyr laying his hande vppon the cloth of eſtate, ſeemed as if hee ment to take poſſeſſion of that whiche was hys ryght, for hee helde his hande ſo vpon that cloth a good pretie while, and after withdrawing hys hande, turned hys face towardes the people, beholding theyr preaſſing togither, and marking what countenance they made.

VVhethaſted

A. ſtrange demeanor of the D. of Yorke.

Whileſt he thus ſtoode and behelde the people, ſuppoſing they reioyced to ſee his preſence, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Thomas Bourchier, came vnto him, and after due ſalutations, asked him if he would come and ſee the King. With which demaunde he ſeeming to take diſdaine, anſwered briefely, and in fewe wordes thus: I remember not that I know any within this realm, but that it beſeemeth him rather to come and ſee my perſon, than I to goe and to ſee his. The Archbiſhop hearing his anſwere, went backe to the King, and declared what anſwere he hadde receyued of the Dukes owne mouth.

His bold ſpe

After the Archbiſhop was departed to the king that lay in the Queenes lodging, the Duke alſo departed, and wente to the moſte principall lodging that the king hadde within all his Palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and ſo lodged himſelfe therein, more lyke to a King than a Duke, continuing in the ſame lodging for a time to the great indignation of many, that could not in any wiſe lyke of ſuch preſumptuous attempts, made by the ſayde Duke, to thruſt himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crowne, and to depoſe King Henrie, who had raigned ouer them ſo long a time.

Maiſter Edwarde Hall in his Chronicle maketh mention of an Oration which the Duke of Yorke vttered ſitting in the regall ſeate there in the Chamber of the Peeres; eyther at this hys firſt comming in amongſt them, or elſe at ſome one tyme after, the which we haue thought good alſo to ſet downe, although John Whethamſted the Abbot of Saint Albones, who liued in thoſe dayes, and by all likelyhoode was there preſent at the Parliament, maketh no further recytall of any wordes, which the Duke ſhoulde vtter at that time in that his booke of Recordes, where hee entreateth of this matter. But for the Oration (as maiſter Hall hath written thereof) wee finde as followeth.

During the time (ſayth he) of this Parliament, the Duke of Yorke with a bolde countenance entred into the chamber of the Peeres, and ſat downe in the throne roial, vnder the cloth of eſtate (which is the kings peculiar ſeate) and in the preſence of the nobilitie, as well ſpirituall as temporall, (after a pauſe made) he began to declare his title to the Crowne, in this forme and order as enſueth.

The Duke of Yorkes or made to the Lordes of the Parliament.

My ſingular good Lordes, maruayle not that I approche vnto this throne: for I ſit here as in the place to mee by very iuſtice lawfully belonging, and here I reſt, as to whō this chaire of right apperteineth, not as hee which requyreth of you fauour, parcialitie, or bearing, but egal right, friendlye indifferencie, and true adminiſtration of Juſtice: For I beeing the partie grieued, and complaynant, cannot miniſter to my ſelf the medicine that ſhould helpe me (as expert Leches and chirurgiās may) except you be to me both faithful ayders and alſo true Counſaylers. Nor yet this noble Realme and our naturall Countrey ſhall neuer be vnbuckeled from hir dayly Feuer, except I (as the principall Phiſition, and you as the true and truſtie Apothecaries) conſult togither, in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure ſtuffe, frõ the corrupt and putrifyed drugges. For vndoubtedly the root and bottom of this long feſtured canker, is not yet extyrpate, nor the feeble foundation of this fallible buylding, is not yet eſpied, which hath been, and is the daylie deſtructiõ of the nobilitie, and the continual confuſion of the poore communaltie of this realme & kingdome. For all you know (or ſhould know) that the high and mightie prince K. Richarde the ſeconde, was the true & vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror & renowmed prince K. Edward the third, as ſon & heire to the hardie knight & couragious captaine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornwal, eldeſt ſonne to the ſaid K. Edward the third, which king was not onely in deed, but alſo of all men reputed & taken for the true and infallible heire to the wiſe and politique prince king Henrie the third, as ſon & heire to king Edwarde the ſeconde, ſonne and heire to king Edwarde the firſt, the verie heyre and firſt begotten ſonne of the ſayd noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the thirde. Whiche king Richarde of that name the ſecond, was lawfully and iuſtly poſſeſſed of the Crown and Diademe of this realme and region, till Henrie of Darbie Duke of Lancaſter and Herforde, ſonne to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, the fourth begotten ſonne to the ſayde king Edward the thirde, & yonger brother to my noble aunceſter Lionel duke of Clarence, the third begotten ſonne of the ſayd king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and alſo to his homage to him both done and ſworne, rayſed warre and battayle at the caſtell of Flinte in Northwales, agaynſt the ſayde king Richarde, and him apprehended, and impriſoned within the tower of London, during whoſe life and captiuitie, he wrongfully vſurped and intruded vpon the royall power, and high eſtate of this realm and region, taking vpon him the name ſtile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the ſame. And not therewith ſatiſfyed, and contented, cõpaſſed and accompliſhed the death and deſtruction of his naturall Prince, and moſte worthie ſoueraigne Lord, not as a common homicide and butcherly murtherer, but as a regicide, & deſtroyer of his king. After whoſe piteous death, & execrable murther, the right and title of the Crowne, and ſuperioritie of this Realme was lawfully reuerted and returned to Roger Mortimer Earle of Marche, ſonne and heyre to Ladie Philippe the onely childe of the aboue rehearſed Lionell Duke of Clarence, to whiche Rogers daughter called Anne, my moſt deareſt and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heyre, whiche diſcent all you cannot iuſtly gainſay, nor yet truely denie. Then remember this, if the tytle be mine, why am I put from it? If I bee true heyre to the Crowne (as I am in deede) why is my ryght witholden? If my clayme bee good, why haue I not iuſtice? For ſurely learned men of great ſcience and knowledge, ſaye and affyrme, that lineall diſcent, nor vſurped poſſeſſion can nothing preuayle, if continuall clayme bee lawfullye made, or openly publiſhed. For the auoyding of which ſcruple and ambiguitie: Edmonde Earle of Marche my moſte welbeloued Vncle in the tyme of the firſte Vſurper in deede, but not by right called King Henrie the fourth, by hys couſins the Earle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Percie, he beeing then in captiuitie wyth Owen Glendor, the Rebell in Wales, made hys tytle and righteous clayme to the deſtruction of both the noble perſons. Likewiſe my moſt deereſt Lorde and father, ſo farre ſet forth that right and tytle, that hee loſt his life and worldly ioy at the towne of Southhampton, more by power than indifferent Iuſtice. Sithe whoſe death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer deſyſted to purſue my tytle, and requyre my right, whiche by meanes of ſinyſter counſayle and iniuſt detention, I can neyther obteyne nor recouer. So that of fine force, I am compelled to vſe power in ſteade of prayer, and force in ſteade of requeſt (not as I ſayde before) for my priuate emolument, and peculiar profite, but to reſtore peace, loue, and quietneſſe to thys oure naturall Region, which euer ſith the firſt vngodly vſurpation of the aforenamed Henrie, vntruly called king Henrie the fourth, hath beene clearely baniſhed, and oute of the ſame iniuſtlye exyled. What murthers and manſlaughters hathe beene perpetrated and committed wythin thys Countrey, ſithe the begynning of that vngracious vſurpation? what number of noble men haue beene ſlaine, deſtroyed, and executed ſithe that infortunate day? It is to lamentable and manifeſt. For although Henrie of Lancaſter Earle of Darbye tooke vpon hym the Scepter and the Crowne, and wrongfullye bare the name and ſtyle of a King, and was not muche tickled wyth myne Vncle the Earle of Marche, at that tyme being wythin age: yet was he neuer in ſuretie of himſelfe, nor had or enioyed any profite, quietneſſe, either in minde or in bodie: For ſurely, a corrupt conſcience neuer feeleth reſt, but looketh when the ſworde of vengeance wil diſcende and ſtrike: his ſon alſo called king Henrie the fifth, obteyned notable victories, & immortal praiſes for his noble actes done in the realm of Frãce: yet God for yͤ offence of his vntrue parent: ſodenly touched him, vnbodying his ſoule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of hys conqueſt. And although he had a fayre ſonne and a yong, apparant heyre, yet was this orphan ſuch a one, as preachers ſaye, that God threatned to ſende for a puniſhment to his vnruly & vngracious people, ſaying by his Prophet Eſay, I ſhal giue you children to be your Princes, and infants without wiſdome, ſhall haue the gouernaunce of you. The Prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fift (whoſe fame no man can iuſtly reproue or deface) ſucceded his ſonne, whom all we haue called our naturall Prince, and obeyed as his heyre, in whoſe time & wrongfull raigne, I require you diligently to conſider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped and ſcourged this miſerable Iſle, yea with ſuch and ſo many ſcourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egiptians only except) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I wil not ſpeake of rebellious murthers, & oppreſſions, which of late haue beene done and exerciſed here among vs: But I will declare & manifeſt to you, how the crown and glory of this realm is by the negligence of this ſilly man, and his vnwyſe counſail miniſhed, defaced and diſhonored. Is not Normandie which his father gate regained & conquered again, by ẏ inſolencie of him and his couetous counſaile? Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two. C. and odde yeares peaceably poſſeſſed by the kings of this realme, in one yere and a little more, gotte out of our hands & ſeigniory? What ſhoulde I ſpeake of Aniou and Maine, or the loſſe of the Iſle of France, with the rich Citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparaunt, neither will I moleſt you with the recitall of all the particulers thereof: But now in the middeſt of this affliction and to make an ende of the ſame, God of his ineffable goodneſſe loking on this countrey, with hys eies of pitie and mercie, hath ſent me in the truth, to reſtore againe his decayed kingdome, to hys ancient fame and olde renowne, whereof here in open Parliament according to my iuſt and true title, I haue and do take poſſeſſion of this royall throne, not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine ayd and aſſiſtance of you the Peeres of this realme, I ſhall beautifie and mainteyne the ſame to the glorie of him, honour of my bloud, and to the publique wealth as well of you all here preſent, as of all the poore Commons and ſubiectes of this kingdome and regiment.

When the Duke had made an ende of hys Oration, the Lordes ſate ſtyll as men ſtryken into a certayne amaſedneſſe, neyther whiſpering nor ſpeaking forth a worde, as thoughe theyr mouthes had bene ſowed vp.

The Duke not verie well content with their ſtrange ſilence, aduiſed them to conſider throughly, and ponder the whole effect of his wordes and ſayings, and ſo neyther fully diſpleaſed, nor yet altogither pleaſed, departed to his lodging in the kings Palace.

While he was declaring thus his tytle in the chamber of the Peeres, there happened a ſtraunge chaunce in the verie ſame inſtaunt amongeſt the Commons in the nether houſe then there aſſembled: for a Crowne whiche did hang in the middle of the ſame to garniſhe a braunch to ſet lights vppon, without touche of any man, or rygour of wind, ſodainly fell downe. And at the ſame time alſo fell downe the Crowne which ſtode on the toppe of the Caſtell of Douer, whiche chaunces were interpreted by the common people, to be as ſignes that the Crowne of the Realme ſhoulde bee deuided and chaunged from one lyne to another.

Prodigious
kens.

The Lordes of the Realme forgatte not the Dukes demaunde, and therfore to take ſome good direction therein, dyuerſe of them, as well of Spirituall Lordes, as Temporall, wyth many graue and ſage perſons of the Commonaltie dayly aſſembled at the blacke Friers and other places, to treat and commen of this matter, being of ſo great importance.

During which time the Duke of Yorke, although he and the King were both lodged in the Palace of Weſtmynſter, yet would hee not for any prayers or requeſt made vnto him, once viſite or ſee the King, tyll ſome perfect concluſion were taken in thys greate and weightie matter, ſaying and affyrming, that he was ſubiect to no man, but onely to God, and hee was Lorde and ſuperiour and none other.

The King of Scottes partlye encouraged through the ciuill diſcorde here in England, and partly for the diſpleaſure which he had conceyued for the death of Edmonde Duke of Somerſet his mothers brother, this yere beſieged the Caſtell of Roxbourgh, and by the breaking of a Bombarde, as the ſame was ſhotte off agaynſte the Caſtell, hee chaunced to bee ſlaine. Yet the Scottes lefte not off theyr enterpryſe aſſaulting the Caſtell, tyll they gatte it, and then defended it a long tyme after, tyll Rycharde Duke of Gloceſter it conquered and deſtroyed.

The Caſt
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After long debating of the matter, with many arguments made, and deliberate conſultation had amongeſt the Peeres, Prelates, and Commons of the realme, vpon the vigill of all Saints, it was condiſcended and agreed by the three eſtates, for ſo much as King Henrie had beene taken as King by the ſpace of. xxxviij. yeares and more, that he ſhould enioy the name and title of King, and haue poſſeſſion of the Realme during his naturall lyfe.

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And if he eyther dyed, or reſigned, or forfeyted the ſame for breaking or going agaynſt any poynt of thys concorde, then the ſayde Crowne and authoritie royall ſhould immediatelye bee deuolued, and come to the Duke of Yorke, if hee then lyued, or elſe to the next heyre of his lynage. And that the D. of York from thenceforth ſhould bee Protectour and Regent of the lande.

This agreement beeing put in Articles, was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworne by the two parties, and alſo enacted in the highe Court of Parliament. For ioy whereof the King hauing in hys companie, the Duke of Yorke, roade to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule within the Citie of London, and there on the daye of all Saintes with the Crowne on hys heade, wente ſolemnly in Proceſſion, and was lodged a good ſpace after in the Biſhops Palace, neare to the ſayde Church.

The Duke of Yorke proclaymed heire apparant and protector of the realme.

And vpon the Saterday next enſuyng, Rycharde Duke of Yorke was by ſound of Trumpet ſolemnely proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande, and Protector of the Realme.

The parliamẽt at Couentrye made fruſtrate.

After this, the Parliament kept at Couentrie the laſt yeare, was declared to bee a diueliſhe counſaile, and onely celebrate for the deſtruction of the Nobilitie, and no lawfull Parliament, bycauſe they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the lawe, but ſecretely named by them, which deſyred rather the deſtruction than the aduauncement of the common wealth.

When theſe agreementes were done and enacted, the King diſſolued his Parliament, whiche was the laſte Parliament that euer hee ended.

The Duke of Yorke well knowing that the Queene woulde ſpurne agaynſt the concluſions agreed vpon in this Parliament, cauſed both hirſelfe and hir ſonne to be ſent for by the King. But ſhe being a ſtout Dame, vſing to rule, and not to be ruled, and thereto counſayled by the Dukes of Exceter, and Somerſet, not only denyed to come, but alſo aſſembled a greate army, entending to take the King by fine force oute of the Lordes handes.

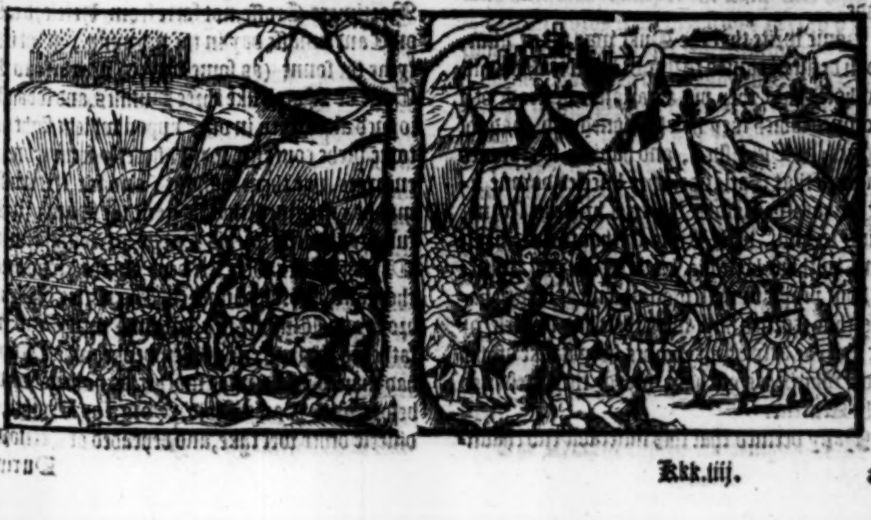
The Protector being in London, and hauing perfite knowledge of all theſe doings, aſſigned the Duke of Norffolke, and the Earle of Warwike his truſtie friendes to be about the King, and hee with the Earles of Saliſburie and Rutlande, and a conuenient number of men, departed out of Lōdon the ſeconde day of December northward, and ſent to the Earle of Marche his eldeſt ſonne to followe him with all hys power. The Duke came to his Caſtell of Sandall beſide Wakefield on Chriſtmaſſe euen, and there beganne to aſſemble his tenaunts and friendes. The Queene being thereof aſcerteyned, determined to cope with him ere his ſuccour were come. And ſo hauing in hir companie the Prince hir ſonne, the Dukes of Exceter, and Somerſet, the Earle of Deuonſhire, the Lorde Clifforde, the Lorde Ros, and in effect all the Lordes of the North partes, wyth xviij. thouſande men (or as ſome write. xxij. thouſande) marched from Yorke to Wakefielde, and bad baſe to the Duke, euen before his Caſtell Gates. He hauing with him not fully fiue thouſande perſones, contrarie to the myndes of hys faythful Counſailers, would needes iſſue forth to fight with his enimies.

The Duke of Somerſet and other of the Queenes part, deuiſed how to take theyr moſt aduauntage, and ſo appoynted the Lord Clifford to lie in one ſtale, and the Earle of Wilſhire in another, and the Duke with other kept the main battaile.

The battaile of Wakfielde.

The Duke of Yorke ſlayne.

The Duke of Yorke wyth his people diſcended downe the hill in good order and array, & was ſuffred to paſſe on towarde the maine battaill: but when he was in the plaine field betweene his caſtel and the town of Wakefield, he was enuironed on euery ſide, like a fiſhe in a net, ſo that he manfully fighting was within halfe an houre ſlaine & dead.



and his whole armie diſcomfited: and with hym dyed of his truſtie friends, his two baſtarde Uncles, ſir John, and ſir Hugh Mortimers, ſir Dauy Hall, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Thomas Neuill, William, and Thomas Aparre, both brethren, and two thouſande and eyght hundred other, whereof many were yong Gentlemen, and heires of greate parentage in the South partes, whoſe lynages reuenged theyr deathes wythin foure Monethes next and immediatly enſuing, as after ſhall appeare.

Only ſeuen C. Southern men ſaith Whethã-ſted.

In this conflict was wounded and taken priſoner, Richarde Earle of Saliſburie, ſir Richarde Lymbricke, Rauſe Stanley, John Harow, captaine Hanſon, & diuerſe other. The Lord Clifford perceyuing where the Earle of Rutland was cõueyed out of the fielde by one of his fathers chapleyns, and ſcholemaiſter to the ſame Earle, followed him, and ouertaking him, and underſtanding what he was, ſtabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him.

This Earle was but a childe at that time of xij. yeares of age, but neither his tender yeares, nor his dolorous countenance which he ſhewed in holding vp both his handes, and crauing mercie and grace with his lamentable geſture (for hys ſpeache was gone for feare) coulde not plie the cruel heart of the Clifford to take pitie vpon him, ſo that hee was noted with great infamie, for that his vnmercifull act and murther made of that yong gentleman.

The cruel murder of the yong Erle of Rutlãd

But the ſame Lorde Clifforde not ſatiſfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpſe of the Duke of Yorke lay, and cauſed his heade to be ſtriken off, and ſet on it a Crowne of Paper, and ſo fixed it on a Poll, and preſented it to the Queene, not lying farre from the fielde, in greate deſpite and muche deriſion, at which preſent muche ioy, and great reioyſing was ſhewed: but they laughed then, that ſhortly after lamented, and were glad then of other enemies deathes, that knewe not theyr owne to bee ſo neare at hande.

VVhethãſted.

Some write that the Duke was taken aliue, and in deriſion cauſed to ſtande vpon a Molehill, on whoſe heade they put a garlande in ſteade of a Crowne, which they had faſhioned and made of Segges, or Bulruſhes, and hauing ſo crowned him with that Garlande, they kneeled downe before him as the Jewes did to Chriſte in ſcorne, ſaying to him, hayle King without rule, hayle King without heritage, hayle Duke and Prince without people or poſſeſſions. And at length hauing thus ſcorned him with theſe and dyuerſe other the lyke deſpitefull wordes they ſtroke off his heade, whiche (as yee haue heard) they preſented to the Queene.

Many deemed that this miſerable end chaunced to the Duke of Yorke, as a due puniſhment for breaking his othe of allegiance to his ſoueraigne Lord king Henry: but other helde him diſcharged thereof, bycauſe he obteyned a diſpenſation from the Pope, by ſuch ſuggeſtion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the ſame othe was adiudged voyd, as that which was receyued vnaduiſedly, to the preiudice of himſelfe, and diſinheriting of all his poſteritie.

Mark the Popes diſpenſation.

After this victorie obteyned thus by the Q. and hir part, the Earle of Saliſburie and all the priſoners were ſent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whoſe heades togyther with the Duke of Yorkes head, were conueyed to Yorke, and there ſet on Polles ouer the gate of the Citie, in deſpite of them and their lynage.

The priſoners beheaded.

1491

The Erle of Marche ſo commonly called, but now after the death of his father, in deede and in ryght verie Duke of Yorke, lying at Glouceſter was wonderfully amazed, when the ſorowfull newes of theſe miſhappes came vnto hym: but after comfort gyuen to him by hys faythfull louers and aſſured allyes, hee remoued to Shrewſburie, declaring to the Inhabitauntes of that towne, and to them of the other townes in thoſe partyes, the murther of his father, the ieoparde of himſelf, and the preſent ruine of the cõmon welth.

The people on the Marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladly offred him their ayde and aſſyſtance than he could deſire the ſame, ſo that hee had incontinently a puiſſaunt armye, to the number of xxiij. thouſand, ready to go againſt the Queene, and the murtherers of his father.

But when hee was ſetting forwarde, newes was brought to him, that Jaſper Earle of Pembroke, halfe brother to King Henrie, and James Butler Earle of Ormond and Wilſhire, had aſſembled togither a greate number of Welche and Iriſhe people, ſodainely to take and ſurpriſe him: he being herewith quickened, retyred backe and mette with his enimies in a fayre plaine, neare to Mortimers Croſſe, not farre from Hereford eaſt, on Candlemaſſe day in the morning, at whiche tyme the ſonne (as ſome wryte) appeared to the Earle of March like three Sunnes, and ſodainly ioyned altogither in one, vppon whiche ſight hee tooke ſuche courage, that he fiercely ſetting on his enimyes, put them to flight: and for this cauſe, menne ymagined, that he gaue the Sunne in his full bryghtneſſe for his Badge or cogniſaunce. Of his enimies were left dead on the groũd three thouſand and viij. hundreth. The Erles of Pembroke and Wilſhire fled, but ſir Owen Tuder, father to the ſayd erle of Pembroke, which Owen had maried K. Henries mother (as ye haue hearde before) with Dauid Floid, Morgã ap Rutheg, & diuerſe other were take, and beheaded at Hereford.

The erle of Pembroke.

The Battaile at Mortimers croſſe.

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During this ſeaſon, the Queene encouraged with hir late gayned victorie, with a great multitude of Northerne people, marched towarde London, intending to vndoe all that which had bin ordeyned in the laſt Parliament.

hethamſted.

Theſe Northerne people, after they were once paſſed ouer the riuer of Trent, ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey afore them, in maner as if they had bin in the land of forayne enimies. At length, they approched to Saint Albons, & hearing that the Duke of Northfolke, and the Erle of Warwike, with other, whome the Duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the King in hys abſence, had by the Kings aſſent, aſſembled a great hoſt, and were encamped neere to that Towne.

The Northerne men enter into Saint Albons.

Thoſe Northerne Lordes and other that were with the Queene, made forwarde, and entring into Saint Albons, meante to paſſe through the Towne, and ſo to coape with their enimies, but finding a ſorte of archers raunged neere to the greate croſſe in the market place, to defend their paſſage, they were receyued with ſuche a ſtorme of arrowes which came flying about their eares as thicke as hayle, that they were quickly repulſed backe, and with loſſe, driuen to retire vnto the Weſt ende of the Towne, where by a lane that leadeth Northwards vp to Saint Peters ſtreete, they made their entrie, and had there alſo a ſharp encounter, againſt certayne bands of the kings people, but yet after greate ſlaughter on both partes, they gote through, and vppon the heathe that lyeth at the North ende of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fiue thouſande of the Kyngs armie, that ſeemed as they had bin auaunt courrers, whiche gaue tho onſet ſo fiercely at the beginning, that the victorie reſted doubtfull a certaine tyme, ſo that if ẏ Eaſterne and Southerne men had continued as they began, the field had bin theirs, but after they had ſtoode to it a prettie while, and perceyued none of their fellowes from the great armie to come and aſſiſt them, they began to faint, and turning their backes, fledde amaine, ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thinne, woddes and buſhes, ſeeking ſo to eſcape the handes of their cruell enimies, that followed them with egre minds, to make ſlaughter vpon them, namely, the Northerne prickes, nowe in the chace purſued moſt hotely, and bare downe many, and more had done, if the night comming vppon, had not ſtayed the execution of their vnmercifull willes.

They paſſe through it.

The ſecond battell at Saint Albons.

The Kings part fleeth.

When the daye was nowe cloſed and darkened with the ſhadow of night, thoſe that were about the King, being in number a twentie thouſande perſons, hearing howe euill their fellowes had ſped, began vtterly to deſpaire of the victorie, and ſo fell without anye long tarriance, to running away, by reaſon whereof, the nobles that were about the King, perceyuing how the game went, and withall ſaw no comfort in the King, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew alſo, leauing the King accompanyed with the Lord Bonneuille, and Sir Thomas Kiriell of Kent, which vpon aſſurance of the Kings promiſe, tarried ſtill with him, and fled not, but their truſt deceyued them, for at the Queenes departing from Saint Albons, they were both beheaded, though contrarie to the minde and promiſe of hir huſbande. Sir Thomas Thorp, Baron of the Eſchecker, was alſo beheaded the ſame day, at Highgate, by the commons of Kent.

Such was the fortune of this ſeconde battell foughte at Sainte Albons, vppon Shroue Tewſday, beeing the ſeuenteenth of Februarie, in which were ſlayne three and twentie hundred men, and not aboue, of whome, no noble man is remembred, ſaue Sir Iohn Grey, which the ſame day was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colney.

1916. as Iohn Stow noteth. Sir Iohn Grey ſlayne.

Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king lefte in maner alone without any power of men to garde his perſon, hee was counſelled by an eſquyer called Thomas Hoo, a man wel languaged, and well ſeene in the lawes, to ſend ſome conuenient meſſenger to the Northern lordes, aduertiſing them that he wold now gladly come vnto them (whome he knew to bee his verie freendes, and had aſſembled themſelues togyther for his ſeruice) to the ende he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernment of the Southern lords. According to the aduice and counſell of this eſquier, the king thought it good ſo to ſende vnto them, and withall appointed the ſame eſquier to beare the meſſage, who firſte went & declared the ſame vnto the Erle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certayne lordes with him, who conueyed the King firſt vnto the Lorde Cliffords tent, that ſtoode next to ẏ place where the Kings people had encamped.

Thomas Hoo Eſquier, ſent to the Northerne Lords.

This done, they went and brought ẏ Queene and hir ſonne Prince Edwarde vnto his preſence, whome hee ioyfully receiued, embracing and kiſſing them in moſt louing wiſe, and yeelding hartie thankes to almightie God, whome it hadde pleaſed thus to ſtrengthen the forces of the Northerne men, to reſtore his dearely beloued and onely ſonne againe into his poſſeſſion.

Thus was the Queene fortunate in hir two battailes, but vnfortunate was the King in all his enterpriſes: for where his perſon was preſent, the victorie ſtill fledde from him to the contrary part.

Hall.

The Queene cauſed the King, to dubbe hir

Prince Edward made knight.

ſon prince Edward Knight, with. 30. other perſons, which the day before, fought on hir ſide againſt his part.

This don, they went to yͤ abbey, where of the abbot & Monks they were receiued, wͭ hymnes & ſongs, & ſo brought to the high Altare, & after to the Shryne, & ſo to the chamber in which the K. was wont to lodge. The Abbot made ſute yͭ order might be taken to reſtrain the Northern men frō ſpoiling yͤ town, & proclamation in deed was made to yͤ effect, but it auailed not: for they mainteined, yͭ the ſpoile of things was granted thē by couenāt, after they were once paſſed ouer yͤ riuer of Trent: & ſo not regarding any proclamation or other cōmandement, they ſpared nothing that they could lay hāds vpon, if the ſame were mete for thē to carie & beare away. The Queene hauing thus got the victorie, ſēt to yͤ Maior of Lōdon, cōmanding him without delay to ſend certain carts laded with Lenton victuals for the refreſhing of hir & hir army. The Maior incōtinētly cauſed carts to be laded, & wold haue ſent thē forward, but the cōmons of the citie would not ſuffer them to paſſe, but ſtayed them at Criplegate, notwithſtanding, the Maior did what hee could by gentle perſwaſions to quiet them.

The Northren men ſpoile the Towne of S. Albons.

The Queene ſendeth to the Maior of London for vittailes.

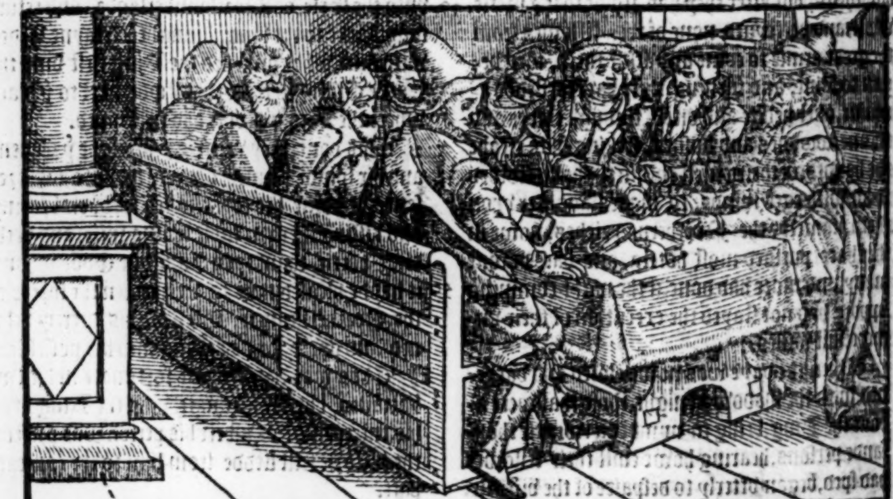
During which controuerſie, diuers of yͤ Northerne horſemen, came & robbed in the ſuburbes of yͤ Citie, & would haue entred at Criplegate, but they were repulſed by yͤ comoners, and three of thē ſlaine, wherevpō the Maior ſent yͤ Recorder to Barnet to yͤ kings counſel there, to excuſe the matter, & the Ducheſſe of Bedford, the Lady Scales, wͭ diuers fathers of yͤ ſpiritualtie, wēt to yͤ Q. to aſwage hir diſpleaſure cōceiued againſt yͤ Citie. The Q. at their hūble requeſt by aduice of hir counſell, appointed certaine Lordes and knights, with four C. tall perſons, to ride to the citie, & there to view & ſee the demeanor & diſpoſition of yͤ people: & diuers Aldermē were appointed to meete thē at Barnet, & to conuey them to London. But what man purpoſeth, God diſpoſeth, for al theſe deuiſes were ſhortly altered into an other forme, bicauſe true report came not only to the Q. but alſo to the Citie, that the Earle of Marche, hauing vanquiſhed the Erles of Pēbroke & Wilſhire, had met wͭ the Erle of Warwike (after this laſt battell at Sainte Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotſold, and that they wͭ both their powers, wer cōming toward Londō. The Q. hauing little truſt in Eſſex, and leſſe in Kente, but leaſt of all in London, with hir huſband & ſon, departed frō S. Albōs, into yͤ North countrey, where the roote and foundation of hir aide and refuge only conſiſted.

The Queene returneth Northward.

The Duches of Yorke, ſeeing hir huſbande and ſonne ſlaine, and not knowing what ſhould ſucceede of hir eldeſt ſonnes chance, ſent hir two yonger ſonnes, George and Richard, ouer yͤ ſea, to the Citie of Utrecht in Almayne, where they were of Phillip Duke of Burgoine well receyued, and ſo remayned there, till their brother Edward had gote the Crowne, and gouernemēt of the Realme.

The Earles of Marche and Warwike, hauing perfect knowledge that the King and Q. with their adherents, were departed from Saint Albons, rode ſtraight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the firſte weeke of Lent, whoſe comming thither was no ſooner knowen, but that the people reſorted out of Kent, Eſſex, and other the counties adioyning, in great numbers, to ſee, aide, and comfort this luſtie Prince, and flower of chiualrie, in whome, the hope of their ioy, and truſt of theyr quietneſſe only conſiſted.

This prudent yong Prince, minding to take time when time ſerued, called a great Counſell,



both of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that hee had to the Crowne, rehearſing alſo the articles concluded betwixte King Henrie and his father, by their writings ſigned and ſealed, and alſo confirmed by act of Parliament, the breaches whereof, he neither forgate, nor left vndeclared.

After the Lordes had conſidered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the ſayde Counſell, that bycauſe King Henry hadde done contrarie to the ordinances in the laſt Parliament concluded, and was inſufficient of hymſelfe to rule the Realme, hee was therefore depriued of all kingly honor, and regall ſoueraigntie, & incontinently, was Edward Earle of March, ſonne and heire to Richarde Duke of Yorke, by the Lords in the ſaid Counſel aſſembled, named, elected, and admitted for King and gouernoure of the Realme, on whiche day, the people of the Earles parte, beeing in their muſter in Sainte Johns field, and a great number of the ſubſtanciall Citizens there aſſembled, to beholde theyr order, ſuddainely the Lorde Fawcombridge, whiche toke the muſters, wiſely declared to the people, yͤ offences and breaches of the late agreemente, committed, ſuffered, and done, by Kyng Henrye the ſixth, and demaunded of the people, whether they would haue the ſaid King Henry, to rule & reigne any longer ouer them, to whome they with whole voice aunſwered, nay, nay. Then he aſked them, if they woulde ſerue, loue, honor, and obey the Earle of Marche, as theyr earthly prince and ſoueraigne Lorde, to whyche queſtion they aunſwered, yea, yea, crying Kyng Edwarde, with manye greate ſhoutes and clapping of hands.

The Earle of Marche, elected King.

The Lord Fawcombridge.

The Lordes were ſhortly aduertiſed of the louing conſente whiche the commons frankely and freely of their owne free willes had gyuen, whereupon incontinently, they all with a conuenient number of the moſt ſubſtanciall commons, repayred to Baynards Caſtell, makyng iuſt and true reporte of their election and admiſſion, and the louing aſſent of the commons.

The Earle after long pauſing, firſt thanked God of his greate grace, and benefite then towards him ſhewed, and the Lords and cõmons alſo for their hartie fauoure, and aſſured fidelitie: notwithſtanding, like a wiſe Prince, he alledged his inſufficiencie for ſo great a roumth, & weightie burthen, as lacke of knowledge, want of experience, and diuers other qualities to a gouernour appertaining, but yet in concluſion, beyng perſwaded by the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, the Byſhoppe of Exeter, and other Lordes then preſente, hee agreed to their petition, and toke vpon him the charge of the Kingdome, as forfeited to him by breache of couenauntes, eſtabliſhed in Parliamente, on the behalfe of Kyng Henry.

The Earle of Marche taketh vpon him as King.

But now before we procede any further, ſith the raigne of King Henrye may ſeeme heere to take ende, we will ſpecifie ſome ſuch learned men as liued in his time. John Leland, ſurnamed the elder (in reſpect of the other John Leland, that paynefull antiquarie of our time) wrote dyuers treatiſes, for the inſtruction of Grammarians: John Haynton, a Carmelite or white Frier (as they called them) of Lincolne: Roberte Colman, a Franciſcane Frier of Norwich, and Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: Williã White a Prieſt of Kent, profeſſing yͤ doctrine of Wicklife, and forſaking the order of the Romayne Churche, married a wife, but continued his office of Preaching, till at length, in the yeare. 1428. he was apprehended, and by William, B. of Norwiche, and the Doctors of the Friers Mendicantes, charged with thirtie articles, which he mayntayned, contrarie to the doctrine of the Romane Church then in vſe, and in September, the ſame yeare, ſuffered death by fire: Alexander Carpenter, a learned man, ſet forthe a Booke called *Deſtructorium vitiorum*, wherin he enueygheth againſt the Prelates of the Churche of that time, for their crueltie vſed, in perſecuting the poore and godly Chriſtians: Richarde Kendale, an excellente Gramarian: John Bate, Warden of the white Friers in Yorke, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent Philoſopher, and a diuine, he was alſo ſeene in yͤ Greeke tong, a thing rare in thoſe dayes: Peter Baſſet, Eſquier of the priuie chamber to King Henrye the fifth, whoſe life he wrote: John Pole a prieſt, that wrote the life of S. Walburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this Realme of Englande, whiche Walburg as hee affirmeth, builded our Lady Churche in Andwerp: Thomas Iſmaelite, a Monke of Sion: Walter Hilton, a Chartreaux Monke alſo of Sheene, eyther of theſe wrote certaine treatiſes full of ſuperſtition, as John Bale noteth: Tho. Walden ſo called of the Towne where he was borne, but his fathers ſurname was Netter, a white Frier of London, and the three and twentith prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedly learned, and throughly furniſhed with cunning of the Scholes, but a ſore enimie to them yͤ profeſſed the doctrine of Wicklife, writing ſundrye greate volumes and treatiſes againſte them: hee dyed at Rouen in Normandie, the ſeconde of Nouember, in the yere. 1430. Richard Vllerſton, borne in Lancaſhire, wrote diuers treatiſes of Diuinitie: Peter Clearke, a ſtudent in Oxforde, and a defender of Wicklifes doctrine, whereupõ, when he feared perſecution heere in England, he fled into Bohemie, but yet at length, he was apprehended, *Fabian and Caxton.*

prehended by the Imperialiſtes, and dyed for it, as ſome write, but in what order, is not expreſſed: Roberte Howndeſlow, a religious man of an houſe in Howndeſlow beſide London, whereof he toke his ſurname: Thomas Walſinghã, borne in Northfolke, in a Towne there of the ſame name, but profeſſed a Monke in the Abbey of Sainte Albons, a diligente hiſtoricien: John Tilney, a white Frier of Yermouth, but a ſtudent in Cambridge, and proued an excellent diuine: Richarde Fleming, a Doctor of diuinitie, profeſſed in Oxford, and by the King aduanced to the gouernement of the Biſhopricke of Lincolne: he founded Lincolne colledge in Oxford, in which Uniuerſitie, he had bin ſtudente: John Lowe, borne in Worceſterſhire, an Auguſtine Frier, a Doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by King Henry the ſixth, made firſte Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, and after remoued from thence to Rocheſter: Thomas Kingſtede the yonger, not the ſame ŷ was Byſhop, but a doctor of the lawe, and Uicar of Mildenhall in Suffolke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuers treatiſes: John Felton, a doctor of Diuinitie of Magdalene Colledge in Oxforde: Nicholas Botleſham, a Carmelite Frier borne in Cambridgeſhire, and ſtudent firſte in the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he proceeded Doctor of Diuinitie: Thomas Rudburne, a Monke of Wincheſter, and an Hiſtoriographer: John Holbroke, borne in Surrey, a greate Philoſopher, and well ſeene in the Mathematikes: Peter Paine, an earneſt profeſſor of Wicliffes doctrine, and fearing perſecution heere in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great eſtimation for his greate learning and no leſſe wiſedome: Nicholas Upton, a Ciuilian, wrote of Heraldry, of colours in armorie, and of the duetie of chiualrie: William Beckley, a Carmelite Frier of Sandwich, and warden of the houſe there, a diuine, and profeſſed degree of Schole in Cambridge: John Torp, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche: John Capgraue, borne in Kent, an Auguſtine Frier, proceeded Doctor of diuinitie in Oxforde, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and proued without controuerſie, the beſt learned of anye of that order of Friers heere in England, as John Bale affirmeth: hee wrote manye notable volumes, and finally, departed this life at Lynne in Northfolke, the twelfth of Auguſt, in the yere 1464. which was in the fourth yeare of K. Edward the fourth: Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, Earle of Pembroke, and Lorde Chamberleine of Englande, alſo protector of the Realme, during the minoritie of his nephew King Henrye the ſixth, was both a greate fauourer of learned men, and alſo very well learned himſelfe, namely in Aſtrologie, whereof beſide other things, hee wrote a ſpeciall treatiſe, entituled, *Tabula directionum*: John Whethamſted, otherwiſe called *Frumentarius*, was Abbot of Sainte Albons, and highly in fauoure with the good Duke of Glouceſter laſt remembred; hee wrote diuers treatiſes, and among other, a booke as it were of records of things, chancing whileſt he was Abbot, whiche booke I haue ſeene, and partly in ſome parcell of this Kings time, haue alſo followed: Roger Onley, borne in the Weſt countrey (as Bale thinketh) was accuſed of treaſon, for practiſing with the Ladye Eleanor Cobham, by ſorcerie, to make the King away, and was therof condemned, and dyed for it, though he were innocent therof, as ſome haue thought; he wrote a treatiſe, entituled, *Contra vulgi ſuperſtitiones*, alſo an other *De ſua innocentia*: Nicholas Cantlow, a Welchman borne, diſcended of an auncient family in Southwales, as by Bale it ſhould appeare, became a Frier Carmelite in Briſtow: Henry Wichinghã, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche, a notable diuine, a greate Preacher, and wrote alſo ſundrie treatiſes of diuinitie: John Lidgate, a Monke of Burie, an excellente Poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of al other that practiſed the ſame within this land; he trauelled through Fraunce and Italy to learne the languages and ſciences, how greatly he profited in atteyning to knowledge, the workes whyche he wrote, doe ſufficiently teſtifie: Nicholas Hoſtreſham, an excellent Phiſition: John Blackney, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie, entituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and Prior of an houſe of the ſame order, at Ingham in Northfolke, he was ſurnamed Blackney, of the towne where he was borne: Thomas Beckington, Biſhop of Bathe, wrote againſte the lawe Salique, whereby the Frenchmen woulde ſeclude the Princes of this Realme, from theyr title to the Crowne of Fraunce: John Baringhã, a Carmelite Frier of Ippeſwich or Gippeſwiche in Suffolke: Dauid Boys, borne in Wales, and a Frier Carmelite, profeſſed in Glouceſter, a doctor of diuinitie: John Brame, an Auguſtine Frier: Michael Trigurie, a Corniſhe man borne, whome for his excellencie in learning, K. Henry the fifth appointed to be maſter or gouernoure, whether ye liſt to call him, of that ſchole or Uniuerſitie, which he inſtituted in the Citie of Caen in Normandie, after hee had broughte it vnder his ſubiection: John Amundiſham, a Monke of Sainte Albons: Oſwalde Anglicus, a Monke of ŷ Chartreux order: John Keningale, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche: Peter *de Sancta fide*, that is, of Sainte Faith, a Carmelite alſo of Norwiche: Reginalde Pecocke, Biſhop of Chicheſter, of whome yee haue heard before, he was borne in Wales, and Student in Orial Colledge in Oxforde, where hee proceeded doctor of Diuinitie, hee wrote manye treatiſes touching the Chriſtian religion: John ſurnamed Burie of the towne where hee was borne, an Auguſtine Frier in the Towne of Clare in Suffolke: Robert Fleming: Thomas Gaſcoigne, borne at Hunſleete in Yorkſhire, of that worſhipfull familie of ẏ Gaſcoignes there, a Doctor of Diuinitie, and Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde: William Staplhart, borne in Kente, but by profeſſion, a white Frier in London: Robert Fimmigh a borne in Northfolke, a Franciſcane Frier in Norwich: Nicholas Montacute, an Hiſtoriographer: John Chandler, Chancellor of Welles: William Botoner, diſcended of a good houſe, a Knight by degree, and borne in Briſtowe, very ſtudious in antiquities, and other ſciences: John Stowe, a Monke of Norwiche, but Student in Oxeford, where he proceeded doctor of Diuinitie: Thomas Langley, a Monke of Hulme: Nicholas Bungey, borne in a Towne of Northfolke of that name, wrote an hiſtorie, called *Adunationes chronicorum*. Henrye Beauford Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, baſe ſonne to John Duke of Lancaſter, of whome before we haue made ſufficient mention: hee was aduanced to the dignitie of Cardinall, by Pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare. 1426. Adam Homlington, a Carmelite Frier: William Coppinger, maſter of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: Thomas Stacie, an experte Mathematicien, and no leſſe ſkilfull in Aſtronomie: John Talaugerne, a Monke of Worceſter: William Sutton, an Aſtrologicien: Robert Balſacke, wrote a booke entitled *De re militari*, that is to ſaye, of warre or cheualrie, ſo that as is thoughte, hee was both a good ſouldier, and a painefull ſtudent of good letters: Thomas Dando, a Carmelite Frier of Marleburg, hee wrote the life of Alphred Kyng of Weſt Saxons: William Grey, borne of the noble houſe of the Greys of Codnor: hee wente to atteyne to ſome excellencie of learning into Italy, where hee hearde that noble Clearke Guarinus Veronenſis reede in Ferrara: hee was preferred to the Biſhopricke of Elie, in the yeare. 1454. by Pope Nicholas the fifth, when Thomas Burchier was tranſlated from thence to Caunterburie: John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, and after remoued from thence to Caunterbury, as before yee haue heard: hee was made Cardinall of Saint Albine, by Pope Eugenie the fourth: Adam Molins or Milner (as Bale calleth hym) keeper of the Kinges priuie Seale, excellently learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt King Henry, and the Duke of Yorke, loſt his head as many other did, in time of thoſe helliſhe tragedies, God deliuer euerye Chriſtian Realme from the like: Thomas Chillenden, a Doctor, both of the lawe Ciuill and Canon, became at length a Monke in Canterburie: Roberte Bale, ſurnamed the elder, excellently learned in the lawes of the Realme, was aduanced to the office of Recorder of London, gathered as it were a Chronicle of the cuſtomes, lawes, foundatiõs, changes, reſtoring Magiſtrates, offices, orders, and publique aſſemblies of the Citie of London, with other matters, touching the perfect deſcription of the ſame Citie: he wrote other workes alſo touching the ſtate of the ſame citie, and the actes of King Edwarde the thirde, hee departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 1461. euen about the beginning of the raigne of King Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will nowe agayne returne.

An. reg. 1.
Edward the. iiij.

The Earle of Marche taketh vpon him as King.

AFTER that thys noble Prince Edward Erle of March had conſented to take vpõ him ẏ gouernemente of thys Kingdome of Englande, through perſwaſion of the Prelates, and other of the nobilitie, as before ye haue hearde: the morow next enſuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the Church of Saint Paule, and there offered: and after *Te Deum* ſong, with greate ſolemnitie hee was conueyd to Weſtminſter, and there ſet in the hall, with the Scepter royal in his hand, where to all the people there in great number aſſembled, his title and clayme to the Crowne of England, was declared two maner of wayes, the firſt, as ſonne and heire to Duke Richard hys father, right inheritor to the ſame: the ſecond, by authoritie of Parliament, and forfeiture committed by King Henry. Whereupon, it was agayne demaunded of the commons, if they woulde admitte, and take the ſayde Earle, as their Prince, and ſoueraigne Lord, whiche all with one voyce cryed, yea, yea.

His title declared.

This agreement then being thus concluded, he entred into Weſtminſter Churche vnder a Canapie, with ſolemne proceſſion, and there as king offered, and herewith, taking the homages of all the nobles there preſent, hee returned by water to London, and was lodged in the Biſhops palais, and on the morow after, he was proclaymed K. by the name of Edwarde the fourth, throughout the Citie.

He is proclaymed King.

This was in the yeare of the world. 5427. and after the birth of our ſauiour. 1461. after our accompt, beginning the yeare at Chriſtmas, but after the vſuall accompt of the Church of England 1460. about the twentith of the Emperor Frederike the thirde, the nine and thirtith and laſt of Charles the ſeuenth King of Fraunce, and fyrſte yeare of the raigne of James the thirde, King of Scottes.

Whileſt theſe things wer adoing in ẏ South partes, King Henry beeing in the North Countrey, aſſembled a great armie, truſting with little payne and ſmall loſſe, to ſubdue the reſidue of hys enimies, namely, ſith their chiefe ringleader the Duke of Yorke was ſlaine, and diſpatched out of the way, but he was deceyued: for out of the dead ſtocke ſprang ſo mightie a branche, that by no meanes the ſame myght bee broken off, whiche was this Edwarde the fourthe, beeing ſo highly fauoured of the people, for hys greate liberalitie, clemencie, vpright dealing, and courage, that aboue all other, hee was commended and praiſed to the very heauens: By reaſon whereof, men of all ages, and of euery degree, to hym dayly repaired, ſome offering themſelues, and their men to ieopard their liues with him, and other plentuouſly gaue him money to ſupporte his charges, and to mayneteine his warre: by which meanes, he gathered togither a puiſſant army, to the intente to deliuer battell to his enimies, and in one day to make an ende of all hys troubles.

When his army was ready, and all thinges prepared, he departed out of London the twelfth daye of Marche, and by eaſie iourneys, came to the Caſtell of Pomfret, wher he reſted, appointing the Lorde Fitz Walter to keepe the paſſage at Ferribridge, wyth a greate number of talle perſonages.

King Henry on the other parte, hauyng hys army in a readineſſe, committed the gouernance of the army to the Duke of Somerſet, the Earle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Cliffords, as men deſiring to reuenge the death of their parentes, ſlayne at the fyrſte battayle of Sainct Albons.

Theſe Capitaines, leauing King Henry, hys wife, and ſon, for their moſte ſafegard within the Citie of Yorke, paſſed the riuer of Wharfe wyth all their power, intending to ſtop kyng Edward of his paſſage ouer the riuer of Ayre.

And for the better and more eaſye exploite of their purpoſe, the Lorde Cliffords determined to make an aſſaye to ſuche as kepte the paſſage of Ferribridge, and ſo hee departed wyth hys light horſemen from the great army on the Saterday before Palmeſonday, and earely ere his enemies wer aware, gat the bridge, and ſlewe the keepers of the ſame, and all ſuche as woulde withſtande hym.

The Lord Fitz Walter hearing the noiſe, ſodainely roſe out of his bedde, and vnarmed, with a pollaxe in his hande, thinking that it had bin a fraye amongſt his men, came downe to appeaſe ẏ ſame, but ere he eyther began his tale, or knew what the matter ment, he was ſlaine, and with him the baſtard of Saliſbury, brother to the erle of Warwike, a valiant yong Gentleman, and of greate audacitie.

When the Earle of Warwicke was enformed hereof, like a man deſperate, hee mounted on his hackney, and came puffing and blowing to King Edward, ſaying, Sir, I pray God haue mercie of their ſoules, which in the beginning of your enterpriſe, haue loſt their liues, and bicauſe I ſee no ſuccours of the world, I remit the vengeance and puniſhment to God, our creator and redeemer, and with that alighted downe, & ſlewe his horſe with his ſworde, ſaying, lette him flee that will, for ſurely I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me, and kiſſed the croſſe of hys ſword.

The Earle of VVarwike.

King Edward perceyuing the courage of his truſtie friend the Earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afrayde to fight, ſhould departe, and to all thoſe that tarried the battell, he promiſed great rewardes, with addition, that anye Soldiour whiche voluntarily woulde abyde, and afterwardes, either in, or before the fighte ſhould flee or turne his backe, that then hee that could kyll hym, ſhould haue a great rewarde, and double wages.

A proclamation.

After thys proclamation ended, the Lorde Fawcombridge, Sir Walter Blunt, Roberte Horne with the fore ward, paſſed ẏ riuer at Caſtelford, thre miles from Ferrybridge, intendyng to haue enuironed the Lord Clifford and his cōpanie, but they being thereof aduertiſed, departed in great haſt towarde King Henries armie, but they met with ſome that they looked not for, and were attrapped ere they were aware, for the Lord Clifford, either for heate or paine, putting off his gorget, ſuddainely with an arrow (as ſome ſay) without an head, was ſtriken into the throte, and immediately rendred his ſpirite, and the Erle of Weſtmerlands brother, and all his companye almoſt, were there ſlayne, at a place called Dintingdale, not farre from Towton.

The Lorde Clifford ſlaine.

Dintingdale.

This ende had the Lord Clifford, which ſlew the Earle of Rutlande kneeling on his knees, whoſe yong ſon Thomas Clifford, was brought vp with a Sheppard in poore habite, and diſſimuled behauiour, euer in feare to publiſhe hys lignage and degree, till King Henry the ſeuenth obteyned the Crowne, by whome he was reſtored to his name and poſſeſſions.

When this conflict was ended at Ferrybridge, the Lord Fawcombridge hauing the fore ward, bycauſe the Duke of Northfolke was fallen ſicke, valiantly vpon Palmeſonday in the twylight, ſet forth his army, and came to Saxton, where hee mighte apparantly behold the hoſt of his aduerſaries, which were accompted threeſcore thouſand men, and thereof aduertiſed King Edward, whoſe whole armie amounted to eyghte and fortie thouſande ſixe hundred and threeſcore perſons, which incontinently with the Earle of Warwike ſette forwarde, leauing the rerewarde vnder the gouernaunce of Sir John Wenlocke, Sir John Dinham, and other, and firſt of all, he made proclamation, that no priſoner ſhould bee taken, nor one enimie ſaued.

The Lorde Fawcombridge.

…en, Whethamſted …th, that K. …ries power …ceeded in …mber King …wards a …M. men.

An heuie proclamation.

On the ſame daye, about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and twentith day of March, being Palmeſonday, both the hoſtes approched in a faire playne fielde, betweene Towton, and Saxton.

Palmeſunday fielde.

When each parte perceyued other, they made a great ſhout, and at the ſame inſtant, there fell a ſmall ſleete or ſnowe, whiche by violence of the winde that blewe againſt them, was driuen into the faces of them whiche were of King Henries part, ſo that their ſighte was ſomewhat blemiſhed, and dimmed.

The Lorde Fawcombridge leadyng the fore warde (as is ſayde before) of Kyng Edwardes parte, cauſed euery archer vnder hys Standerte to ſhote one flight (whiche before hee cauſed them to prouide) and then made them to ſtande ſtill.

The Northerne menne feeling the ſhotte, but by reaſon of the ſnowe, not well viewing the diſtaunce betweene them and their enimyes, lyke hardye menne, ſhotte their ſheafe arrowes as faſt as they myghte, but all theyr ſhotte was loſt, for they came not neere the Southerne men by threeſcore Taylors yardes.

When theyr ſhotte was almoſt ſpente, the Lorde Fawcombridge marched forwarde with his archers, whiche not onely ſhotte theyr whole ſheafes, but alſo gathered the arrowes of theyr enimies, and lette a greate parte flie agaynſte theyr firſte owners, and ſuffered a great ſorte of them to ſtande, which ſore troubled the legges of the Northerne menne, when the battell ioyned.

The Earle of Northumberlande and Andrew Trollop, which were chiefe Captaynes of Kyng Henries vawarde, ſeeyng theyr ſhotte not to preuaile, haſted forwarde to ioyne with theyr enimies, and the other part ſlacked not, to accompliſh their deſire.

The Earle of Northumberlande.

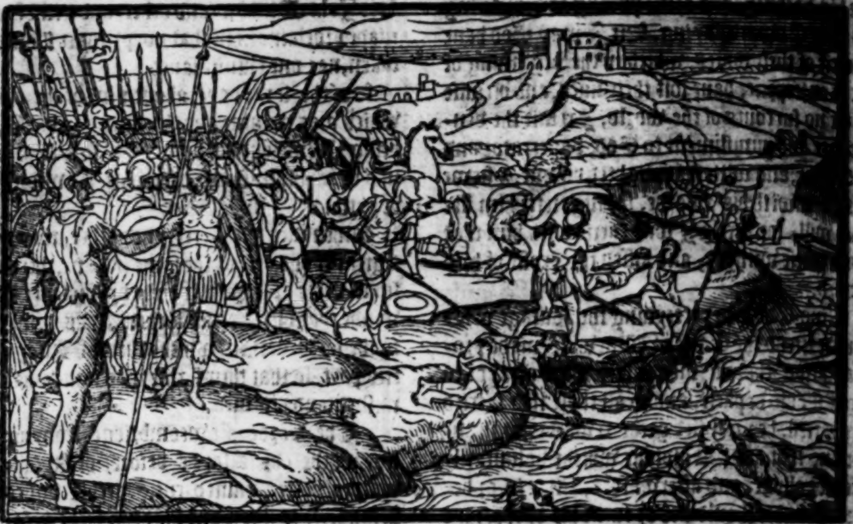
This battell was ſore foughten, for hope of life was ſet aſide on eyther parte, and takyng of priſoners proclaymed a great offence, by reaſon euery man determined to conquere, or to dye in the field. This deadly battell and bloudy conflict, continued tenne houres in doubtfull victorie, the one parte ſometime flowing, and ſometime ebbing: but in concluſion, King Edwarde ſo couragiouſly comforted his men, that the other part was diſcomfited, and ouercome, & like to men amazed, fled towarde Tadcaſter bridge to ſaue them ſelues, but in the meane way, there is a little broke called Cocke, not very broade, but

The obſtinate myndes of both partes.

Kyng Henries parte diſcomfited.

Cock a riuer.

but of a greate deepeneſſe, in whiche, what for haſt to eſcape, and what for feare of followers, a greate number was drencht and drowned.



It was reported, that men aliue paſſed the riuer vpon dead carcaſſes, and that the greate riuer of Wharfe, whiche is the great ſewer of that broke, and of all the water comming frō Towton, was couloured with bloud.

The chaſe continued all night, and the moſt parte of the nexte daye, and euer the Northerne men, as they ſawe anye aduantage, returned againe, and fought with their enimies, to ÿ greate loſſe of both partes. For in theſe two dayes were ſlaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts ſixe and thirtie thouſand ſeauen hundred threeſcore and ſixteene perſons, all Engliſhmen, and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the Erles of Northumberlād and Weſtmerland, and the Lord Dakers, the Lord Welles, Sir John Neuill, Andrew Trolop, Robert Horne, and many other Knightes and Eſquiers, and the Earle of Deuonſhire was taken priſoner, but the Dukes of Somerſet and Exceſter fledde from the field, and ſaued themſelues.

The number ſlayne in battayle, of Saxton, otherwiſe called Palme ſunday fielde.

After this great victorie, King Edward rode to Yorke, where hee was with all ſolemnitie receiued, and firſt he cauſed the heads of his father, the Earle of Saliſburie, and other his friends, to bee taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies, and there hee cauſed the Earle of Deuonſhire, and three other, to be beheaded, and ſet their heads in the ſame place.

King Hēry, after he heard of the irrecouerable loſſe of his armye, departed incontinently with his wife and ſonne, to the Towne of Berwike, and leauing the Duke of Somerſet there, wente into Scotlande, and comming to the King of Scottes, required of him and his counſell, ayde, ſuccour, reliefe, and comfort.

King Henrye withdraweth to Berwike, & from thēce into Scotland.

The yong King of Scottes, lamenting the miſerable ſtate of King Henry, comforted hym with faire words and friendly promiſes, and aſſigned to him a competente pencion to liue on, during his abode in Scotland.

Kyng Henry in recompence of this curteſy and frendſhip ſhewed to him by the K. of Scottes, deliuered to the ſayd king the towne of Berwike.

After that the Scottiſhe king had gote poſſeſſion of this towne, hee faythefully ſupported the parte of king Henrye, and concluded a mariage betwixt his ſiſter, and the yong Prince of Wales, but yet the ſame mariage was neuer conſummate, as after ye ſhall heare.

When king Henry was ſomewhat ſettled in the realme of Scotlande, he ſente his wyfe and his ſonne into France to K. Reigner hir father, truſting by hys ayde and ſuccour to aſſemble an armie, and once agayne to poſſeſſe his Realme and former dignitie, and hee in the meane tyme determined to make his aboade in Scotlande, to ſee what waye his friendes in Englande would ſtudie for his reſtitution.

Queene Margaret with hir ſonne goeth into France.

The Queene beyng in Fraunce, did obteyne of the young Frenche king then Lewes the. xj. that all hir huſbandes friendes, and thoſe of the Lancaſtriall band, might ſafely and ſurely haue reſorte into any parte of the Realme of France, prohibityng all other of the contrarie faction any acceſſe, or repaire into that countrey.

Thus yee haue hearde, how King Henry the ſixth, after he had raigned eight and thirtie yeres and odde monethes, was expulſed and driuen out of this Realme, and now leauing him with the Princes of his faction, conſulting togither in Scotlande, and Queene Margaret his wife gathering of menne in Fraunce, I will returne where I left, to proceede with the doings of king Edwarde.

This yong Prince hauing with proſperous ſucceſſe obteyned ſo glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towton, and chaſed all hys aduerſaries out of the Realme, or at the leaſt wayes put them to ſilence, returned, after yͤ maner and faſhion of a triumphant conqueror, with great pomp vnto London, where according to the olde cuſtome of the Realme, he called a great aſſemblie of perſons of all degrees, and the nyne and twentith daye of June, was at Weſtminſter with al ſolemnitie, crowned, & anoynted K.

In the which yeare, this King Edwarde called his high courte of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the whiche, the ſtate of the Realme was greatly reformed, and all the Statutes made in Henry the ſixt his time (whiche touched eyther his title or profite) were reuoked.

In the ſame Paliament, the Erle of Oxford, farre ſtriken in age, and his ſonne and heire, the Lord Awbrey Veer, eyther through malice of theyr enimies, or for that they had offended the King, were both, with diuers of theyr counſellors, atteinted, and put to execution, which cauſed John Earle of Oxforde, euer after to rebell.

There were alſo beheaded the ſame time, Sir Thomas Tudenham Knyghte, William Tirell, and John Mongomerie Eſquiers, and after them diuers others.

Alſo after this, hee created his two yonger brethren Dukes, that is to ſaye, Lorde George Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richarde, Duke of Glouceſter, and the Lord John Neuill, brother to Richarde Earle of Warwike, hee firſte made Lord Montacute, and afterwardes created hym Marques Montacute.

Beſide this, Henrye Bourchier, brother to Thomas Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie, was created Earle of Eſſex, and William Lorde Fawconbridge, was made Earle of Kent.

To this Henrye Lorde Bourchier, a man highly renowmed in martiall feates, Richarde Duke of Yorke, long before this time, had gyuen his ſiſter Elizabeth in marriage, of whome hee begate foure ſonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henrye, the whiche William, beeing a man of great induſtrie, witte, and prouidence, in graue and weightie matters, married the Lady Anne Wooduile, diſcended of high parentage, whoſe mother Jaquet, was daughter to Peter of Luxenburgh, Earle of Sainte Paule, by the whyche Anne, hee had Lord Henry Earle of Eſſex, one Daughter, named Cicile, maried to Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and an other called Iſabell, which dyed vnmaried.

1462

The Earle of Kente was appoynted about this time to keepe the Seas, being accompanyed with the Lord Audeley, the Lord Clinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Walgraue, and other, to the number of tenne thouſand, who landing in Britayne, wanne the Towne of Conquet, and the Iſle of Reth, and after returned.

An. reg. 2.

The Duke of Somerſet and other, ſubmit them to King Edwarde.

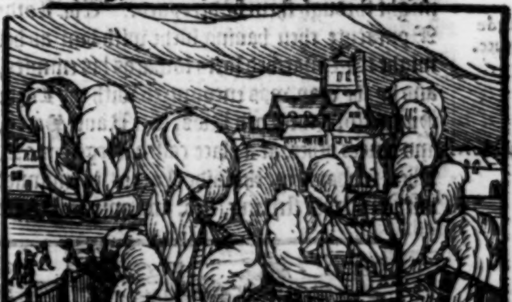
When all things were brought in order, and framed as Kyng Edwarde in manner coulde wiſhe, Henrye Duke of Somerſet, Sir Raufe Percye, and diuers other, being in deſpaire of all good chance to happen vnto King Henrye, came humbly, and ſubmitted themſelues vnto Kyng Edward, whome he gently receyued.

1493

An. reg. 3.

The Queene retourneth forthe of Fraunce

All this ſeaſon, was King Henry in Scotland, and Queene Margaret being in Fraunce, found ſuch friendſhip at the French kings hands, that ſhe obteined a crew of fiue hundred Frenchmen, with whiche ſhee arriued in Scotlande, and after that ſhe hadde repoſed hir ſelfe a time, ſhee ſayled with hir gallante bande of thoſe ruffling Frenchmen, toward Newcaſtell, and landed at Tinmouth, but whether ſhee were afraid of hir owne ſhadowe, or that the Frenchmen caſt to many doubtes, the troth is, that the whole army returned to their Shippes, and a tempeſt roſe ſo ſuddaynely, that if ſhee had not taken a ſmall caruelle, and that with good ſpeede arriued at Berwike, ſhee hadde bin taken at that preſente tyme by hir aduerſaries. And although Fortune was ſo fauourable to hir, yet hir company with ſtormy blaſtes, was driuen on the ſhore before Banborough Caſtell, where they ſet their ſhips on fyre, and fledde to an Iſlande called holy Iſlande, where they were ſo aſſailed by the baſterd Ogle, and an Eſquier, called John Manners, with other of K. Edwardes friendes, that many of them were ſlayne, and almoſt foure hũdred taken priſoners: but their Coronell Peter Breſſie, otherwiſe called Monſ. de Varenne, happened vpon a fiſherman, and ſo came to Berwike vnto Q. Margaret, who made him Captaine of the Caſtell of Alnwike, which he with his frenchmen kept, till they were reſcued.



Shortly after, Queene Margaret obteyned a great company of Scottes, & other of hir friẽds, and ſo bringing hir huſbande with hir, and leauing hir ſonne, called Prince Edward, in the towne of Berwike, entred Northumberlande,

Banborough Caſtell.

tooke the Caſtell of Banborough, and ſtuffed it with Scottiſhmen, and made thereof Captaine, Sir Rauſe Grey, and came forwarde, towarde the Biſhopricke of Durham.

The Duke of Somerſet reuolteth.

When the Duke of Somerſet heard theſe newes, hee without delay reuolted from King Edwarde, and fledde to King Henry. So likewiſe did Sir Rauſe Percie, and many other of the kings friẽds, but many moe followed King Henrye, in hope to get by the ſpoyle, for his army ſpoyled and brenned townes, & deſtroyed fields wherſoeuer he came. King Edwarde aduertiſed of all theſe things, prepared an army, both by ſea and land. Some of hys Shippes were rigged and vittailed at Linne, and ſome at Hull, and well furniſhed with ſoldiers, herewith were ſet forth to the ſea.

Alſo, the Lorde Montacute, was ſent into Northumberlande, there to reyſe the people, to withſtand his enimies. And after this, the King in his proper perſon, acompanyed with his brethren, and a greate parte of the nobilitie of hys Realme, came to the Citie of Yorke, furniſhed with a mightie army, ſending a great part thereof, to the ayde of the Lord Montacute, leaſt peraduenture, he giuing too much confidence to the men of the Biſhopricke and Northumberlande, might through them be deceyued.

The Lorde Montacute.

The Lorde Montacute then hauing ſuche with him as hee might truſt, marched forth towards his enimies, and by the way, was encountred with the Lorde Hungerford, the Lord Roos, Sir Rauſe Percy, and diuers other,

Hegely More.

at a place called Hegely more, where ſuddaynely, the ſaide Lordes in manner without ſtroke ſtriking, fled, and only ſir Rauſe Percy abode, and was there manfully ſlayne, with diuers other, ſaying, when he was dying, I haue ſaued the bird in my boſome, meaning, that he had kept his promiſe and oth made to K. Henry, forgetting belike, that hee in King Henries moſt neceſſitie abandoned hym, and ſubmitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

Sir Rauſe Percye ſlaine.

The Lorde Montacute ſeeing fortune thus proſperouſly leading his ſayle, aduanced forward, and learning by eſpials, that King Henry with his hoſt was encamped in a faire playne called Lyuels, on the water of Dowill in Exhamſhire, haſted thither, and manfully ſet on hys enimies in their owne campe, whiche like deſperate perſons, with no ſmal courage receiued him.

Exham fielde.

There was a ſore foughten fielde, and long ere eyther parte could haue any aduãtage of ẏ other, but at length, the victorie fell to the Lord Montacute, who by fine force, entred the battell of his enimies, and conſtreyned them to flee, as deſpairing of all ſuccours.

The Duke of Somerſet taken.

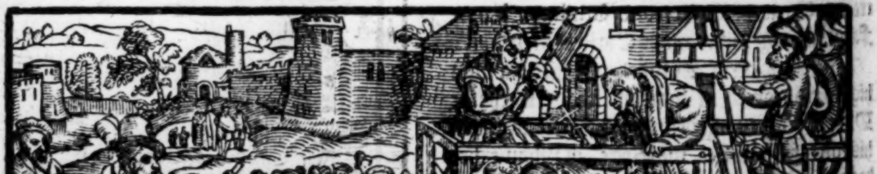
In whiche flighte and chaſe were taken Henrye Duke of Somerſet, whyche before was reconciled to Kyng Edwarde, the Lord Roos, the Lorde Molins, the Lord Hungerford, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Thomas Huſey, Sir John Finderne, and manye other.

King Henry fledde.

King Henrie was a good horſeman that day, for he rode ſo faſt away, that no man might ouertake him, and yet hee was ſo neere purſued, that certaine of his Henxmen were taken, theyr horſes trapped in blew veluet, and one of them hadde on his head the ſayde Kyng Henries helmette, or rather (as maye bee thought) and as ſome ſaye, his highe cappe of eſtate, called Abpcocke, garniſhed with two riche crownes, which was preſented to king Edward at Yorke, the fourthe daye of May.

The Duke of Somerſet beheaded.

The Duke of Somerſette was incontinentlye beheaded at Exham, the other Lordes and Knyghtes



were

1464

were had to Newcaſtell, and there after a little reſpite, were likewiſe put to death.

Beſide theſe, diuers other, to the number of fiue and twentie, were executed at Yorke, and in other places.

The earle of Kyme, other-wiſe Angus, beheaded.

Sir Humfrey Neuill, and William Taylboys, calling hymſelfe Earle of Kyme, Sir Rauſe Grey, and Richard Tunſtall, with dyuers other, which eſcaped from this battel, hidde themſelues in ſecrete places, but yet they kepte not themſelues ſo cloſe, but that they were eſpyed, and taken. The Earle of Kyme was apprehended in Riddeſdale, and brought to Newcaſtell, and there beheaded. Sir Humfrey Neuill was taken in Holdernes, and at Yorke loſt his head. After this battell called Exam field, Kyng Edwarde came to the Citie of Durreſme, and ſent from thence into Northumberland, ỹ Erle of Warwike, the Lord Montacute, the Lordes Fawconbridge, and Scrope, to recouer ſuche Caſtels, as his enimies there held, and with force defended.

Alnewike Caſtell beſieged.

Eight thouſand hath Harding.

They firſt beſieged the Caſtell of Alnewike, whiche Sir Peers Breſſe, and the Frenchmen kepte, and in no wiſe woulde yelde, ſending for ayde to the Scottes, whervppon Sir George Douglas earle of Angus, wyth thirteene thouſande choſen men, in the daye tyme, came and reſcued the Frenchmen out of the Caſtell, the Engliſhmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the Caſtell, without loſſe of theyr men, than to leeſe both the Caſtell, and theyr men, conſidering the greate power of Scottes, and their owne ſmall number, and ſo they entred the Caſtell, and manned it.

After this, they wanne the Caſtell of Dunſtanborough by force, and likewiſe the Caſtel of Bamborough.

Iohn Goys, ſeruant to the Duke of Somerſet, being taken within Dunſtanbourough, was brought to Yorke, and there beheaded, and Syr Rauſe Grey beeing taken in Bamborough, for that he had ſworne to be true to King Edward, was diſgraded of the high order of Knighthood at Doncaſter, by cutting off his gilt ſpurres, renting his coate of armes, and breaking his ſword ouer his head: and finally, he was there beheaded for his manifeſt periurie. After this, King Edwarde returned to Yorke, where in deſpite of the Earle of Northumberlande, whiche then kepte himſelfe in the Realme of Scotland, he created Sir Iohn Neuill, Lorde Montacute, Earle of Northumberlande, and in reproofe of Iaſper Earle of Pembroke, he created William Lorde Herbert, Earle of the ſame place, but after when by mediation of friends the Earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauoure, hee reſtored him to his poſſeſſions, name, and dignitie, and preferred the Lord Montacute, to the title of Marques Montacute, ſo that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the Earle of Warwike, but in power, policie, and poſſeſſiõs, far meaner.

An. reg. 4.

King Edwarde, though all things myghte ſeeme nowe to reſt in good caſe, yet hee was not negligent, in making neceſſarie prouiſiõ, againſt all attemptes of his aduerſarie King Henrye, and his partakers, and therefore reyſed Bulwarkes, and buylded fortreſſes on eache ſide of his Realme, where anye daunger was ſuſpected for the landing of any armie.

King Henry taken.

He cauſed alſo eſpials to be laide vpon ỹ marches, fore againſt Scotlande, that no perſon ſhoulde goe out of the Realme to King Henrie and his companie, whiche then ſoiourned in Scotland. But all the doubtes of trouble that might enſue by the meanes of K. Henries being at libertie, were ſhortly taken away and ended, for he himſelfe, whether he was paſt all feare, or that he was not wel eſtabliſhed in his wits and perfect minde, or for that he could not long keepe himſelfe ſecret in a diſguiſed apparell, boldly entred into England. He was no ſooner entred, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the King, whome the Earle of Warwike mette on the way by the kings commaundement, & brought him through London to the Tower, and there he was layde in ſure hold.

Queene Margaret his wife, hearing of the captiuitie of hir huſband, miſtruſting the chance of hir ſonne, al deſolate and comfortleſſe departed out of Scotland, & ſailed into France where ſhe remayned with hir father Duke Reigner, tyll ſhe returned into Englande to hir harme, as after ye ſhal heare. The new D. of Somerſet, and his brother Iohn, ſailed into France, where they alſo liued in greate miſerie, till Duke Charles, bycauſe he was of their kinne, as diſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter by his mother, ſuccoured thẽ with a ſmall penſion, which was to thẽ a greate comfort. The Earle of Pembroke went from countrey to countrey, not alwayes at his hartes eaſe, nor in ſafetie of life.

The earle of Pembrooke.

King Edward being thus in more ſuretie of his life than before, diſtributed the poſſeſſions of ſuch as tooke part with King Henry the ſixt, to his ſouldiers and Captaines, whiche he thought had well deſerued: and beſide this, he lefte no other point of liberalitie vnſhewed, by the which he might allure to him the beneuolente mindes, and louing hartes of his people. And moreouer, to haue the loue of all men, hee ſhewed himſelfe more familiar both with the nobilitie, and communaltie than (as ſome men thought) was conuenient either for his eſtate, or for his honor, notwithſtanding the ſame liberalitie he euer after vſed.

The lawes of the Realme in parte hee reformed, and in part he newly augmented.

New coyne ſtamped.

The coyne both of golde and of ſiluer, whych yet at this day is, he newly deuiſed, and deuided, for the golde hee named royals and nobles, and the ſiluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

After this, hee made Proclamation, that all perſons, which were adherẽts to his aduerſaries parte, and woulde leaue their armour, and ſubmitte themſelues wholly to hys grace and mercie, ſhoulde bee cleerely pardoned and forgyuen.

By this kind of courteous dealing, he wanne him ſuch fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, hee was through their aide and ſupport, a victor and conquerour.

When his Realme was thus brought into a good quiet eſtate, it was thought meete by hym and thoſe of his counſell, that a marriage were prouided for him in ſome conuenient place, and therefore was the Earle of Warwike ſente ouer into Fraunce, to demaunde the Lady Bona, daughter to Lewes Duke of Sauoy, and ſiſter to the Ladye Carlote, then Queene of France, which Bona was then in the French Courte.

The Earle of Warwike ſent into Fraunce about a mariage.

The Earle of Warwike commyng to the Frenche King, as then lying at Tours, was of him honorably receyued, and righte courteouſly entertayned. His meſſage was ſo well liked, and his requeſt thoughte ſo honorable for the aduancemente of the Lady Bona, that hir ſiſter Queene Carlote obteyned both the good will of the Kyng hyr huſbande, and alſo of hir ſiſter the foreſayde Lady, ſo that the matrimonie on that ſide was cleerely aſſented to, and the Earle of Dampmartine, appoynted with other, to ſayle into Englande, for the full finiſhyng of the ſame.

But heere conſider the olde prouerbe to bee true, whyche ſayeth, that mariage goeth by deſtinie.

For during the tyme that the Earle of Warwike was thus in Fraunce, and according to his inſtructions, brought the effect of his commiſſion to paſſe, the king beyng on huntyng in ẏ Foreſt of Wychwood beſide Stony Stratford, came for his recreation to the Manor of Grafton, where the Ducheſſe of Bedforde then ſoiorned, wyfe to ſir Richard Wooduile Lord Riuers, on whome was then attendaunt a daughter of hirs, called the Lady Elizabeth Gray, widowe of ſir John Gray knyght, ſlayne at the laſt batayle of Saint Albons, as before you haue heard.

The Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Thys widdowe hauing a ſuite to the Kyng for ſuche landes as hir huſbande had giuen hir in ioynture, ſo kindled the Kings affection towards hir, that he not only fauoured hir ſuite, but more hir perſon, for ſhe was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie, and yet both of ſuche beautie and fauor, that with hir ſober demeanour, ſweete lookes, and comely ſmyling, (neither too wanton, nor to baſhfull) beſide hir pleaſant tongue and trimme wit, ſhe ſo allured and made ſubiect vnto hir the hearte of that great Prince, that after ſhe had denyed hym to be his paramour, with ſo good maner, and wordes ſo well ſet as the better coulde not be deuiſed, hee finally reſolued with himſelfe to marrie hir, not aſking counſell of any man, till they might perceyue it was no boote to aduiſe him to the cõtrarie of that his concluded purpoſe: But yet the Ducheſſe of Yorke his mother letted it as much as in hir laye: and when all woulde not ſerue, ſhee cauſed a precontracte to bee alleged, made by hym wyth the Ladie Elizabeth Lucye. But all doubtes reſolued, all things made cleere, and all cauillations auoyded, priuily in a morning, he marryed the ſayde Ladye Elizabeth Graye at Grafton aforeſayde, where hee firſte beganne to fanſye hir.

1465

An. reg. 5.

And in the next yere after ſhe was with great ſolemnitie crowned Queene at Weſtminſter. Hir father alſo was created Earle Riuers, and made high Conſtable of Englande: hir brother Lorde Anthonie was marryed to the ſole heyre of Thomas lorde Scales: Sir Thomas Graye ſonne to ſir John Greye the Queenes firſte huſbande, was created Marques Dorſet, and married to Cicelie heire to the Lorde Bonuille.

The Frenche king was not well pleaſed to be thus dalyed with, but hee ſhortely to appeaſe the grief of his wyfe and hir ſiſter the Ladye Bona, maried the ſaid lady Bona to the Duke of Millane.

The Earle of Warwike offended with the kings maieſtie.

Now when the erle of Warwike had knowledge by letters ſent to him out of England from his truſtie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wyfe, he was not a little troubled in his mynde, for that as hee toke it, his credence thereby was greatly miniſhed, and his honour much ſtayned, namely in the courte of Fraunce, for that it myght be iudged, he came rather lyke an eſpyall, to moue a thyng neuer mynded, and to treat a mariage determined before not to take effect. Surely he thought hymſelf euill vſed, that when he had brought the matter to his purpoſed intente and wiſhed concluſion, then to haue it quayle on his parte, ſo as all men mighte thinke at the leaſte wyſe, that his Prince made ſmall accompte of hym, to ſend him on ſuch a ſleeueleſſe errand.

All men for the moſte parte, agree that this mariage was the onely cauſe, why the Earle of Warwike conceyued an hatred agaynſte Kyng

Edwarde, whome hee ſo muche before fauoured.

Other affirme other cauſes, and one ſpecially, for that King Edwarde did attempte a thing once in the Earles houſe, whiche was muche againſt the Earles honeſtie (whether hee woulde haue defloured his daughter or his neece, the certayntie was not for both their honors openly reuealed) for ſurely, ſuche a thing was attempted by King Edwarde, whyche loued well, both to beholde, and to feele faire Damoſels: but whether the iniurie that the Earle thought hee receyued at the Kings handes, or the diſdeyne of authoritie that the Earle had vnder the King, was the cauſe of the breach of amitie betwixt them: troth it is, that the priuie intentions of their heartes, brake into ſo many ſmall peeces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them againe, during their naturall lyues. But though the Earle of Warwike was earneſtly inflamed againſt the King, for that hee had thus married himſelfe without his knowledge, hauing regard onely to the ſatiſfying of his wanton appetite, more than to his honor, or ſuretie of his eſtate, he did yet ſo diſſimule the matter at his returne into Englande, as though hee had not vnderſtoode any thing thereof, but only declared what he had done, with ſuch reuerence, and ſhewe of friendly countenance, as hee hadde bin accuſtomed: and when hee hadde tarried in the Court a certayne ſpace, he obteyned licence of the King, to depart to his Caſtell of Warwike, meaning whẽ time ſerued, to vtter to the worlde, that whych he then kept ſecrete, that is to ſaye, hys inward grudge, whiche hee bare towardes the Kyng, with deſire of reuenge, to the vttermoſt of hys power.

Te Earle of Warwik: kepith his grefe ſecre.

Neuertheleſſe, at that tyme hee departed to the outewarde ſhewe, ſo farre in the Kynges fauoure, that manye Gentlemen of the Courte for honour ſake gladly accompanyed hym into his countrey.

1466

Anno re. 6.

This yere alſo, the kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, after wife to Kyng the ſeauenth was borne, Kyng Edwarde concluded an ametie and league with Henrye King of Caſtill, and John King of Aragon, at the concluding whereof, hee graunted licence for certayne Cotteſolde Sheepe, to be tranſported into the Countrey of Spayne (as people reporte) whych haue there ſo multiplyed and increaſed, that it hath turned the commoditie of England, much to the Spaniſhe profite.

Coteſolde ſheepe tranſ-ported into Spayne.

Beſide thys, to haue an amitie with his next neighbor the King of Scottes, hee winked at the loſſe of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fifteene yeares.

Truce wyth Scottes.

Thus King Edwarde, though for refuſall of the Frenche Kings ſiſter in law, wanne him enimies in Fraunce, yet in other places hee procured him friends, but thoſe friendes had ſtande hym in ſmall ſteede, if Fortune hadde not holpe hym to an other, euen at hys elbowe.

This was Charles Earle of Charoloys, ſonne and heire apparant vnto Philippe Duke of Burgongne, whiche Charles beeyng then a widdower, was counſelled to bee a ſuter vnto Kyng Edwarde, for to haue in marriage the Lady Margaret, ſiſter to the ſame Kyng, a Lady of excellent beautie, and endowed with ſo many worthy giftes of nature, grace, and fortune, that ſhee was thought not vnworthy, to matche with the greateſt Prince of the worlde.

1467

An. reg. 7.

The baſterd of Burgoigne ambaſſador into Englande.

The Lorde Anthonie baſterde, brother to the ſayde Earle Charoloys, commonly called the baſterd of Burgoigne, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantneſſe, was appoynted by hys father Duke Phillip, to goe into Englande in Ambaſſade, about this ſute, who being furniſhed of plate and apparell, neceſſarie for his eſtate, hauing in his companie Gentlemen, and other expert in al feates of cheualrie and martiall proweſſe, to the number of foure hundred horſes, toke hys Shippe, and arriued in Englande, where he was of the King and nobles honorably receyued.

Thys meſſage beeyng declared, yee maye be ſure the ſame was ioyfully hearde of the Kyng and hys counſayle, the whiche by that affinitie, ſawe howe they myghte bee aſſured of a buckler agaynſte Fraunce: but yet the Earle of Warwike, bearyng hys hartie fauoure vnto the french King, did as muche as in hym lay by euill reportes, to hynder thys marriage: but this notwithſtandyng, at length, the Kyng graunted to the baſterdes requeſt, and the ſayde baſterde openly in the Kyngs greate chamber contracted the ſayde Ladye Margaret, for , and in the name of hys brother the ſayde Earle of Charroloys.

Iuſtes betwixt the baſtarde of Burgongne & the lord Scales

After thys marriage thus concluded, the baſterde chalenged the Lorde Scales, brother to the Queene, a man both egall in hart and valiantneſſe with the baſterde, to fighte with hym both on horſebacke, and on foote, whyche demaunde, the Lorde Scales gladlye accepted.

The Kyng cauſing lyſtes to bee prepared in Weſt Smythfielde for theſe champions, and very faire and coſtly galeries for the Ladyes, was preſente at thys martiall enterpriſe hymſelfe.

The firſte daye, they ranne togyther diuers courſes with ſharp ſpeares, and departed with egall honour.

The nexte daye, they tourneyd on horſebacke.

The Lorde Scales horſe had on his chafron a long ſharp pike of ſteele, and as the two champions coaped togither, the ſame horſe (whether through cuſtome or by chance) thruſt his pike into the noſethrilles of the baſterdes horſe, ſo that for very payne, he mounted ſo high, that hee fell on the one ſide with his maiſter, and the Lorde Scales rode rou̅d about him, wt his ſword in his hand, till the King commaunded the Marſhall to help vp the baſterd, which openly ſaid, I cannot hold me by the clowdes, for though my horſe faileth me, ſurely I will not faile my contercompanyon. The Kyng would not ſuffer them to do any more that day.

The morowe after, the two noble men came into the fielde on foote, with two polcaxes, and fought valiantly, but at the laſt, the poynte of the Polcaxe of the Lorde Scales, happened to enter into the ſight of the baſterds healme, and by fine force, mighte haue plucked him on his knees: the King ſuddaynely caſt downe his warder, and then the Marſhals them ſeuered.

The baſterde not content with this chaunce, and truſting on the connyng whiche hee had at the Polcaxe, required the King of iuſtice, that he might performe his enterpriſe. The lord Scales refuſed it not, but the Kyng ſayd, he would aſke counſell, and ſo calling to him the Conneſtable, and the Marſhall, with the officers of armes, after conſultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearſed, it was declared for a ſentence difinitiue, by the Duke of Clarence, then Conneſtable of Englande, and the Duke of Northfolke, then Marſhall, that if he would goe forward with his attempted chalenge, he muſt by yͤ law of armes, bee deliuered to hys aduerſarie, in the ſame ſtate and like condition, as he ſtoode, when he was taken from him.

The law of armes.

The baſterd hearing thys iudgemente, doubted the ſequeale of the matter, and ſo relinquiſhed his chalenge. Other chalenges were done, & valiantly atchieued by the Engliſhmen, whiche I paſſe ouer.

The death of the Duke of Burgoigne.

Shortly after, came ſorowfull tidings to the baſterd, that his father Duke Phillip was dead, and thereuppon, taking his leaue of King Edwarde, and his ſiſter the newe Duches of Burgoigne, liberally rewarded with plate & iewels, with all ſpeede he returned to his brother yͤ new Duke, who was not a litle glad, of the contract made for him with the ſaid Lady, as after it wel appeared.

In this ſame yeare, Kyng Edward, more for the loue of the Marques Montacute, than for any fauour hee bare to the Earle of Warwike, promoted George Neuill their brother, to the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke.

George Neuil Archbiſhop of Yorke.

1468

An. reg. 8.

Charles Duke of Burgoigne, reioycing that he had ſo well ſpedde, for concluſion of mariage with King Edwardes ſiſter, was very deſirous to ſee hir, of whome he had heard ſo great prayſe, wrote to King Edward, requiring him to ſende his ſiſter ouer vnto him, according to the couenants paſſed betwixt them.

King Edward being not ſlacke in this matter, appoynted the Dukes of Exceſter and Suffolke, and theyr wiues, beeing both ſiſters to the Lady Margaret, to attende hir, till ſhee came to hir huſband. And ſo after that Shippes, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions were ready, they beeing accompanyed with a greate ſorte of Lordes and Ladyes, and other, to the number of fyue hundred horſe, in the beginning of Iune, departed out of London to Douer, and ſo ſayled to Sluſe, and from thence, was conueyd to Bruges, where the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt the Duke and hir, with great triumph, & princely feaſtings.

The Lady Margaret, ſiſter to King Edward ſent ouer to the Duke of Burgoigne.

In this meane time, the Earle of Warwike, bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, ſith his laſt returne out of Frãce, perſwaded ſo with his two brethren, the Archbyſhoppe, and the Marques, that they agreed to ioyne with him in any attempt which he ſhould take in hande againſt the ſaid Kyng.

The Archebyſhoppe was eaſily allured to the Earles purpoſe, but the Marques coulde by no meanes bee reduced, to take any part agaynſte King Edward of a long tyme, til the Earle had both promiſed hym great rewards, and promotions, and alſo aſſured him of the ayde and power, of the greateſt Princes of the Realme.

And euen as the Marques was loth to conſente to thys vnhappie conſpiracie, ſo with a faynte harte, hee ſhewed himſelfe an enemie vnto King Edwarde, whyche double diſſimulation, was both the deſtruction of hym, and hys brethren.

Beſide this, the Earle of Warwike, beeyng a farre caſting prince, perceyued ſomewhat in the Duke of Clarence, whereby hee iudged, that hee bare no greate good will towards the King hys brother, and thereuppon, feelyng hys mynde, by ſuch talke as he of purpoſe miniſtred, underſtoode how hee was bente, and ſo wanne hym to hys purpoſe, and for better aſſuraunce of hys faythfull friendſhippe, he offered him his eldeſt daughter in marriage, with the whole halfe deale of his wiues inheritance.

And heereuppon, after conſultation hadde of theyr weightie buſineſſe and daungerous affayres, they ſayled ouer to Calaice, of the whych whiche towne the Earle was capitayne, where his wyfe & two daughters then ſoiorned, whome the duke (being in loue with hir perſon) had great deſire to viſite.

But the Earle hauing in continuall remembrance his purpoſed enterpriſe, apointed his brethren, the Archbiſhop & the Marques, that they ſhoulde by ſome meane in his abſence ſtirre vp ſome new rebellion in the Countie of Yorke, and other places adioyning, ſo that thys ciuile warre ſhould ſeeme to all men to haue bin begun without his aſſent or knowledge, he being on the further ſide the Seas.

1469
Anno. re. 9.

The Duke of Clarence beeing come to Calais with the Earle of Warwike, after he hadde ſworne on the Sacrament to keepe his promiſe and pact made with the ſaide Earle whole and inuiolate, hee married the Lady Iſabell, eldeſt daughter to yͤ Earle, in our Lady Church there.

Shortly after, according as had bin aforehād deuiſed, a commotion was begunne in Yorkeſhire, to the great diſquieting of that Countrey. The ſame chanced by this meanes.

Saint Leonardes Hoſpitall in Yorke.

There was in the Citie of Yorke, an old and rich Hoſpitall, dedicated to Sainct Leonard, for the harbourrough and relieuing of poore people. Certaine euill diſpoſed perſons, of the Earle of Warwikes faction, intending to ſet a broyle in the Countrey, perſwaded the huſbandmen to refuſe to giue any thing to the ſaide Hoſpitall, affirming, that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vſe of the poore, but was conuerted to the behoofe of the maiſter of the Hoſpitall, and the Prieſtes, whereby they grew to be riche, and the poore people wanted their due ſuccoure and reliefe: and not contente with theſe ſayings, they fell to doings: for when the proctors of the Hoſpitall, according to their vſage, went about the Countrey to gather the accuſtomed corne, they were ſore beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

A Rebellion.

Roberte Huldorne Capitaine of the rebelles, taken and beheaded.

Shortly after, the conſpiracie of the euill diſpoſed people, grew to an open Rebellion, ſo that there aſſembled to the number of fifteene thouſand men, euen ready bent, to ſet on the Citie of Yorke, but the Lord Marques Montacute, gouernour and preſidente of that countrey for the King, taking ſpeedie counſaile in the matter, with a ſmall number of men, but well choſen, encountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke, where after a long conflict, he tooke Robert Huldorne their Captayne, and before them, commaunded hys head to bee ſtriken off, and then, (bycauſe it was a darke euening) he cauſed hys Souldiers to enter into Yorke, and there to refreſh them. Heere manye men haue maruelled, why the Marques thus put to deathe the Captayne of thoſe people, whiche he had procured to this their rebellious enterpriſe. Some ſay, he did it, to the intent to ſeeme innocent and faultleſſe of his brothers doings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promiſe made to his brother, he was determined to take part with King Edwarde, with whome (as it ſhall after appeare) he in ſmall ſpace entred into grace and fauour.

The Rebels being nothing diſmayd with the death of their Captain, but rather the more bent on miſchiefe, by faire meanes, and craftie perſwaſions, gote to them Henry, ſonne to the Lord Fitz Hugh. and Sir Henrye Neuill, ſonne and heyre to the Lorde Latimer, the one beeing nephew, and the other couſin germayne to the Erle of Warwike.

Sir Iohn Coniers.

Although theſe yong Gentlemen bare the names of Captaynes, yet they had a gouernour that was Sir Iohn Conyers, a man of ſuche courage and valiantneſſe, as fewe were to bee found in his dayes within the North partes.

After they ſaw that they could not get Yorke bycauſe they wanted ordinance, they determined with all ſpeede to marche toward London, intending to rayſe ſuche a toy in the peoples myndes, that they ſhoulde thinke King Edward neyther to bee a lawfull Prince, nor yet profitable to the common wealth.

The Earle of Pembroke.

King Edwarde hauing perfect knowledge of all the doyngs of the Earle of Warwike, and of his brother the Duke of Clarence, was by diuers letters certified, of the greate armie of the Northerne men, with all ſpeede commyng towarde London, and therefore in greate haſt, hee ſente to William Lord Herbert (whome as yee haue heard, hee had created Earle of Pembroke) requiring hym withoute delay, to reyſe hys power, and encounter with the Northerne men.

The Lorde Stafforde.

The Earle of Pembroke, commonly called the Lorde Herberte, both ready to obey yͤ kings commaundemente, accordyng to hys duetie, and alſo deſirous to reuenge the malice whyche he bare to the Earle of Warwike, for that hee knewe howe hee hadde beene the onely let why he obteyned not the wardſhip of the Lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldeſt ſonne, accompanyed with hys brother Sir Richarde Herberte, a valiaunt Knyghte, and aboue ſyxe or ſeauen thouſande Welchmenne, well furniſhed, marched forwarde to encounter with the Northernemē. And to aſſiſt him wͭ archers, was apointed Humfrey L. Stafford of Southwike, named, but not created Earle of Deuonſhire by the King, in hope that he would ſerue valiantly in that iourney: he had with him eight hundred archers.

When theſe two Lordes wer met at Cotteſholde, they hearde how the Northernemen were going toward Northampton, whereuppon, the Lorde Staffor de, and Sir Richarde Herberte, with two thouſande well horſed Welchmenne, rode forth afore the maine armye, to ſee the demeanor of the Northerne men, and at length, vnder a woods ſide, they couertly eſpyed them, paſſing forward, and ſuddainely ſet on the rereward: but the Northerne mē with ſuch nimbleneſſe turned about, that in a moment, ẏ Welchemenne were diſcomfited, and many taken, the remnaunte returned to the armye with ſmall gayne.

The Welchmen diſcomfited.

The Northernemen well cooled with thys ſmall victorie, went no further Southward, but toke their way towards Warwike, looking for aide of the Earle, whiche was lately come from Calais, with his ſonne in lawe the Duke of Clarence, and was rayſing menne to aide hys friends and kinſfolke.

The King likewiſe aſſembled people to ayde the Earle of Pembroke, but before eyther parte receyued ſuccoure from his frende or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a fayre playne, neere to a Towne called Hedgecote, foure miles diſtante from Banburie, where there are three hilles, not in equall diſtance, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lying in manner (although not fully) triangle.

Hedgecote. Banbury field.

The Welchmen gote firſt the Weſt hill, hoping to haue recouered the Eaſt hill alſo, which if they might haue obteyned, the victorie had bin theirs, as their fooliſh propheciers tolde them before.

Theſe Northerne menne encamped on the South hill, the Earle of Pembroke, and the Lord Stafford of Southwike, were lodged in Banburie the day before the fielde, whiche was Saint James day, and there the Erle of Pembroke put the Lorde Staffor de out of an Inne, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a Damoſell that dwelled in the houſe: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them ſo euer obteyned firſt a lodging, ſhoulde not be diſplaced.

Diſcord what it breedeth.

The Lord Stafford in great deſpite, departed with his whole bande of archers, leauing the Earle of Pembroke almoſt deſolate in ẏ towne, who with all diligence returned to his hoſt, lying in the fielde vnpuruayed of Archers.

Sir Henry Neuill, ſonne to the Lord Latimer, toke with him certaine light horſemenne, and ſkirmiſhed with the Welchmen in the euening, iuſt before their camp, where doing ryghte valiantly, but alittle to hardilie aduenturing himſelfe, was taken and yelded, and yet cruelly ſlayne, whiche vnmercifull acte, the Welchmen ſore rewed the next day ere night: for the Northerne men ſore diſpleaſed for the deathe of thys noble man, in the nexte morning, valiantly ſet on the Welchmen, and by force of archers, cauſed them quickly to diſcend the hill, into the valley, where both the hoſtes fought.

The Earle of Pembroke did right valiantly, and ſo likewiſe did hys brother Sir Richarde Herbert, in ſo muche, that with his Polaxe in hys hande, hee twice by fyne force paſſed through the battell of his aduerſaries, and without anye hurte, or mortall wounde returned.

The valiant manhoode of Sir Richard Herbert.

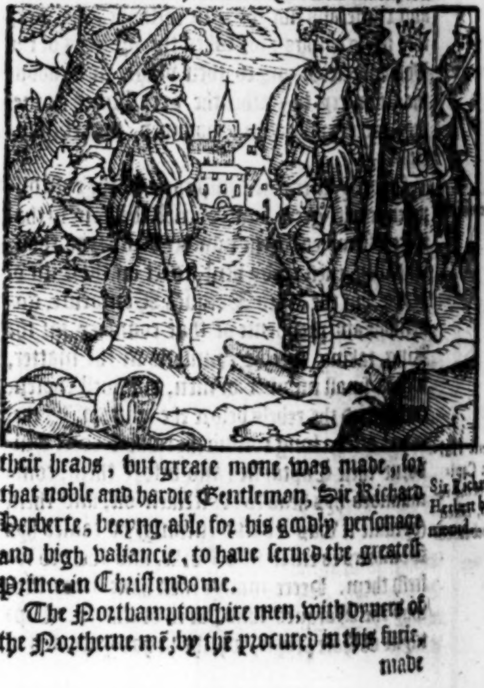
But ſee the happe, euen as the Welchmenne were at poynte to haue obteyned the victorie, John Clappam Eſquier, ſeruaunte to the Erle of Warwike, mounted vp the ſyde of the Eaſt hill, accompanyed onely with fyue hundred menne, gathered of the raſcals of the Towne of Northampton, and other villages aboute, hauyng borne before them the ſtandert of ẏ Earle of Warwike, with the white beare, crying, a Warwike a Warwike.

Iohn Clappa

The Welchmenne thynking that the Earle of Warwike hadde come on them with all hys puiſſance, ſuddaynely as menne amaſed, fledde: the Northren men them purſued, and ſlewe without mercie, ſo that there dyed of the Welchmen that day, aboue fiue thouſande, beſyde them that fledde and were taken.

The Welchmen ſlayne.

The Earle of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, with diuers Gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the Erle with hys brother, and other Gentlemen, to the number of tenne, that were lykewiſe taken, loſt their heads, but greate mone was made, for that noble and hardie Gentleman, Sir Richard Herberte, beeyng able for his goodly perſonage and high valiancie, to haue ſerued the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendome.



Sir Richard Herbert bemoned.

The Northamptonſhire men, with dyuers of the Northerne mē, by thē procured in this furie, made them a captaine, called Robert Hilliard, but they named him Robin of Reddeſdale, and ſodainly came to Grafton, where they toke the Earle Riuers, father to the Queene, and hys ſonne ſir John Wooduile, whom they brought to Northamton, and ther beheaded them both without iudgemente.

Robyn of Redeſdaal.

The E. Riuers and his ſonne beheaded.

The King aduertiſed of theſe miſchaunces, wrote to ẏ Sherifs of Somerſetſhire, & Deuonſhire, that if they might by any meanes take the Lord Stafford of Southwike, they ſhould without delay put him to death. Hereupon ſearch was made for him, till at lẽgth he was found in a village within Brentmarch, and after brought to Bridgewater was there beheaded.

The L. Stafford of Southwike beheaded.

After the battaile thus fought at Hedgecote commonly called Banburie fielde, the Northren men reſorted toward Warwike, where the Earle had gathered a great multitude of people, whiche Earle receyued the Northrenmen with greate gladneſſe, thanking ſir John Coniers, and other theyr Capitaynes for theyr paynes taken in hys cauſe.

The king in this meane time had aſſembled his power, and was comming toward the Erle, who being aduertiſed thereof, ſent to the Duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and ioyne with him. The Duke being not farre off, with all ſpeede repared to the Earle, and ſo they ioyned theyr powers togither, and vpon ſecret knowledge had, that ẏ king (bycauſe they were entred into termes by waye of comunication to haue a peace) toke ſmall heede to himſelfe, nothing doubting anye outward attẽpt of his enimies: the Erle of Warwike intending not to leeſe ſuch oportunity of aduantage, in the deade of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as ſecretely as was poſſible) ſet on the kings fielde, killing them that kept the watche, and ere the king was ware (for he thought of nothing leſſe than of that which the happened) at a place called Wolney, foure myles from Warwike, he was taken priſoner & brought to the Caſtell of Warwike.

…ng Edward …en priſoner

And to the intent his friendes ſhoulde not knowe what was become of him, the Earle cauſed him by ſecrete iourneys in the night to be conueyed to Myddleham Caſtell in Yorkſhire, and there to be kept vnder the cuſtodie of the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke and other his friendes in thoſe parties.

King Edwarde being thus in captiuitie, ſpake euer faire to the Archbiſhop, and to his other keepers, ſo that he had libertie diuerſe dayes to goe on hunting. And one day vpon a playne when hee was thus abrode, there mette with him ſir William Stanley, ſir Thomas a Borough, and dyuerſe other of his friends, with ſuch a great bande of menne, that neither his keepers woulde, nor once durſte moue hym to returne vnto Priſon againe.

Williã …ley.

King Edward is deliuered out of Captiuitie.

Some haue thoughte that his keepers were corrupted with money, or fayre promiſes, and therefore ſuffered him thus to eſcape oute of daunger.

After that he was once at libertie, hee came to Yorke, where he was ioyfully receyued, and taryed there two dayes: but when he perceyued he coulde get no armie togither in that Countrey to attende him to London, he turned from Yorke to Lancaſter, where he founde his Chamberleyn the Lorde Haſtings well accompanied, by whoſe ayde and ſuche others as drewe to hym, beeyng well furniſhed, hee came ſafely to the Citie of London.

He commeth to London.

When the Earle of Warwike, and the Duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edwarde by the treaſon or negligence of them (whom they had put in truſt) was eſcaped their handes, they were in a wonderfull chaufe: but ſith the chaunce was paſt, they began eftſoones to prouide for the warre, which they ſawe was like to enſue, and found muche comfort, in that a great number of men, delyting more in diſcorde then in concorde, offred themſelues to ayde theyr ſide. But other good menne deſirous of common quiete, and lamenting the miſerable ſtate of the realme, to redreſſe ſuch miſchiefs as appeared to be at hand, by theſe tumultes, toke paine, and road betwene the King, the Erle, and the Duke, to reconcile them eche to other.

Theyr charitable motion and cauſes alledged, bycauſe they were of the chiefeſt of the Nobilitie, and therefore caried both credite and authoritye with them, ſo aſſwaged the humors both of the king, the Duke and the Erle, that eche gaue faith to other to come and goe ſafely without ieopardy. In which promiſe both the Duke and Erle putting perfite confidence, come both to London.

At Weſtminſter, the King, the Duke, and the Earle, had long comunication togither for to haue come to an agreement, but they fell at ſuche great wordes vpon rehearſal of olde matters, that in gret furie without any concluſion they depart, the king to Canterburye, and the Duke and the Earle to Warwike, where the Earle procured a newe armie to be rayſed in Lincolnſhire, & made Captaine therof, ſir Robert Welles ſonne to Richard Lorde Welles, a man of greate experience in warre.

1470

The King aduertiſed herof, without delaye prepared an armie, and out of hand he ſent to Richard Lorde Welles, willing him vpon the ſighte of his letters, to repayre vnto him: whiche to doe he had oftentymes refuſed, excuſing himſelfe by ſickneſſe and feebleneſſe of bodie. But when that excuſe ſerued not, he thinking to pourge himſelfe

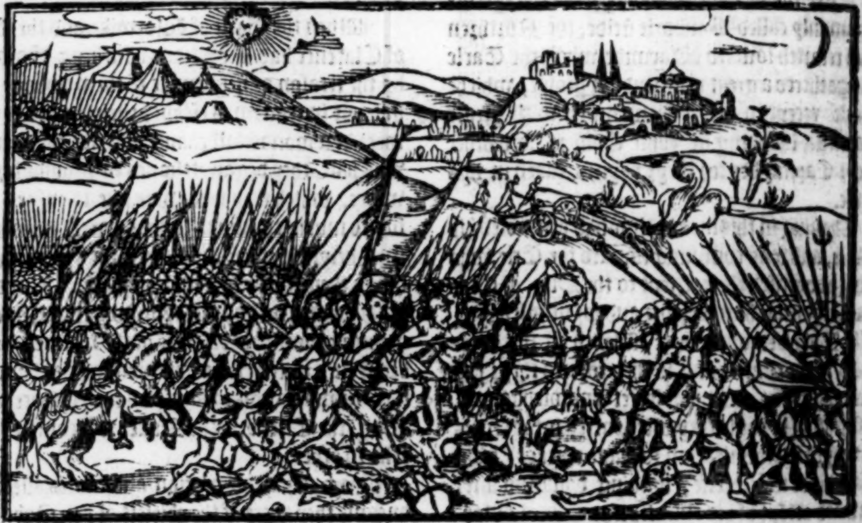
Sir Thomas Dymmock.

ſufficiently, of all offence & blame before the kings preſence, tooke with him ſir Thomas Dimmocke who had maryed his ſiſter, & ſo came to London, and when he was come vp, being admoniſhed by his friendes that the king was greatly with him diſpleaſed, hee with his brother in law tooke the Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter: but king Edwarde truſting to pacifie all this buſie tumult wythoute any further bloudſhed, promiſed both thoſe perſõs their pardons, cauſing them vpon his promiſe to come out of ſanctuarie to his preſence, and calling to him the Lorde Welles, willed him to write to his ſonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane ſeaſon he with his armie went forwarde, hauing with him the Lord Welles, & ſir Thomas Dimmocke, and being not paſt two dayes iourney fro Stamforde, where his enimies had pitched theyr field, and hearing that ſir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe ſtill, he cauſed the Lord Welles father to the ſaid ſir Robert, and ſir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded contrarie to his promiſe.

An.reg.10.

The L. Wel and Thomas Dimmock beheaded.

Sir Robert Welles hearing that the king approched, and that his father and ſir Thomas Dimocke were beheaded, though he was ſomewhat doubtfull to fight, before the Earle of Warwike were with his power aſſembled, hauing yet a big and luſtie courage, manfully ſet on his enimies. The battaile was ſore fought on both ſides, and many a man ſlaine, till ſir Robert perceyuing his people at poynt to flie, was buſily in hand to exhort them to tarie, and in the meane time being compaſſed about with his enimies was there taken, and with him ſir Thomas de Laund knight, and many mo.



After the taking of their Captain, the Lincolnſhire men amaſed, threw away their coates the lighter to runne away, and fled amaine, and therefore this battaile is called there yet vnto this day, Loſecote fielde.

Loſecotefield.

The king reioyſing at this victorie, cauſed ſir Robert Welles and diuers other to be put to execution in the ſame place. The fame went that at this battaile was ſlaine ten M. men at the leaſt.

The Earle of Warwike lay at the ſame time at his Caſtell of Warwike, and ment to haue ſet forwarde the next day towarde his armie in Lincolnſhire, but when he heard that the ſame was ouerthrowne, he tooke newe counſaile, and wyth al diligence ymagined how to compaſſe Thomas Lorde Stanley, which had maryed his ſiſter, that he might be one of the conſpiracie: whiche thing when hee could not bring to paſſe (for the Lorde Stanley had anſwered him, that he woulde neuer make warre agaynſt king Edwarde) he thought no longer to ſpende time in waſt, and miſtruſting hee was not able to meete with his enimies, he with his ſonne in lawe the Duke of Clarence, departed to Exceter, and there tarying a fewe dayes determined to ſayle into Fraunce, to purchaſe ayde of King Lewes. And reſting vppon this poynte, hee hyred Shippes at Dartmouth, and when the ſame were readie trimmed and decked, the Duke and the Earle wyth theyr wyues, and a greate number of ſeruauntes embarqued themſelues, and fyrſt tooke theyr courſe towardes Calays, whereof the Earle was Captayne, thinking there to haue lefte hys wyfe, and daughters, till hee had returned out of Fraunce.

The faithfulneſſe of the L. Stanley.

The Duke Clarence the erle of wike take ſea.

But when they were come before the towne of Calays, they coulde not be ſuffered to enter, for the Lord Vauclere a Gaſcoigne, being the Erles Deputie in that towne, whether hee did it by diſſimulation or bearing good will to King Edwarde, (as by the ſequele it may be doubted whether hee did or no) in ſteade of receyuing his maſter wyth tryumph, hee bent and diſcharged agaynſt

The erle of Warwik out at Cal

gaynſt him diuerſe peeces of ordinaunce, ſending him worde, he ſhould not there take lande. This Nauie lying thus before Calays at an anker, the Ducheſſe of Clarence was there delyuered of a fayre ſonne, whiche childe the Earles Deputie would vneth ſuffer to bee Chriſtened within the towne, nor without great intreatie would permit two Flagons of wine to bee conueyed abourde to the Ladies lying in the Hauen.

The king of England aduertiſed of the refuſall made, by Monſeur de Vawclere to the Erle of Warwike, was ſo much pleaſed therwith, that incontinently he made him chiefe captaine of the towne of Calays by his letters patents, which he ſent to him out of hand, and therof diſcharged the Erle as a traytor and a rebell.

...ſieur de ...dere made ...ptaine of ...ays.

The Duke of Burgoigne (vnto whom King Edward had written, that in no wiſe he ſhoulde receyue the Earle of Warwike, nor any of hys friendes within hys Countreyes) was ſo well pleaſed with yͤ doings of Monſeur de Vawclere, that he ſent to him his ſeruaunt Philip de Commynes, and gaue to him yearely a thouſande Crownes in pencion, praying and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie towarde King Edwarde, as he had ſhewed and begonne. But though Monſeur de Vawclere ſware in the ſayd Philippes preſence, truly to take king Edwards part, yet hee ſente priuily to the Earle of Warwike lying at Wytſandbay, that if he landed, he ſhoulde be taken and loſt, for all Englande (as he ſayde) tooke part agaynſt him, the Duke of Burgoigne, and al the inhabitants of the towne, with the Lord Duras the kings marſhal, and all the trinue of the garniſon were his enimies.

...e double ...ling of ...ſieur Vau... ...re.

...e Lord Du... ...ras a Gaſ... ...igne alſo.

The Erle hauing this aduertiſement from his feyned enimie, with his nauie ſayled towardes Normandie, and by the way ſpoyled and tooke many ſhippes of the Duke of Burgoignes ſubiects, and at the laſt with all his nauie and ſpoile, hee tooke land at Dieppe in Normandie, where the gouernour of the Countrey friendly welcomed hym, and aduertiſed King Lewes of hys arriuall.

...erle of ...wik lan... ...at Dieppe.

The French king deſirous of nothing more than to haue occaſion to pleaſure the Earle of Warwike, of whom the high renowme cauſed al mẽ to haue him in admiration, ſent vnto him, requiring both him and his ſonne in lawe the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his Caſtel of Amboys where he then ſoiourned.

The Duke of Burgoigne hearing that the Duke and Earle were thus receyued in France, ſent a poſt with letters to the king Lewes, partly by way of requeſt, and partly by way of menacing, to diſſwade him from ayding of his aduerſaries, the ſaid duke and erle. But the French K. little regarded this ſute of the duke of Burgoigne and therefore anſwered that he might & woulde ſuccour his friends, and yet breake no league with him at all.

In the meane time king Edwarde made inquirie for ſuch as were knowne to bee ayders of the Erle of Warwike within his realme, of whō ſome he apprehended as guiltie, and ſome doubting themſelues fledde to Sanctuarie, and other truſting to the kings pardon, ſubmitted themſelues, as Iohn Marques Montacute whome hee courteouſly receyued.

Iohn Marques Montacute.

When Queen Margaret that ſoiourned with duke Reigner hir father heard tell that the Earle of Warwik was come to the French court, with all diligence came to Amboys to ſee him with hir onely ſonne prince Edward. And with hir came Iaſper Earle of Pembroke, and Iohn Earle of Oxford, which after diuerſe impriſonments lately eſcaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this aſſemble.

The erles of Pembrok and Oxford.

Theſe perſones after intreatie had of their affayres, determined by meane of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And firſt to begin withall for the ſure foundation of their newe treatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne ſeconde doughter to the Earle of Warwike, which Ladie came with hir mother into Fraunce.

A league.

Edward Prince of wales maried.

After which mariage, the Duke & the Erles tooke a ſolemne othe, that they ſhoulde neuer leaue the warre, till eyther king Henrie the ſixt, or hys ſonne Prince Edwarde were reſtored to the Crowne, and that the Queene and the Prince ſhoulde depute and appoynt the Duke and the Erle to be gouernours and conſeruators of the common wealth, til time the prince were come to eſtate. Many other conditions were agreed as both reaſon and the weightineſſe of ſo great a buſineſſe required.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in the Frenche Court, there landed a Damſell belonging to the Ducheſſe of Clarence (as ſhe ſaid) which made Monſeur de Vawclere beleeue, that ſhe was ſent from king Edward to the Duke of Clarence, & the Erle of Warwike with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tydings, Vawclere was very glad for the Erles ſake: but this damoſell comming to the duke, perſwaded him ſo much to leaue off the purſute of his conceyued diſpleaſure towardes his brother king Edward, that he promiſed at his returne into England, not to be ſo extreme enimie againſt his brother as he was taken for, and this promiſe afterward he did keepe.

The promiſe of the Duke of Clarence.

With this anſwere the Damoſell returned into England, the Erle of Warwike therof being clearely ignorant.

The French King lent both ſhippes, men

and money vnto Queene Margaret, and to hir partakers, and appoynted the Baſterd of Bourbon, Admyrall of Fraunce with a great nauie to defende them agaynſt the nauie of the Duke of Burgoigne, whiche hee layde at the mouth of of yͤ riuer Saine readie to encounter them being of greater force than both the Frenche nauy and the Engliſh Fleet: and yet king Reigner did alſo helpe his daughter with men and munitions of warre. When their ſhips and men were come togither to Harflue, the Erle of Warwike thought not to linger time, bycauſe he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that aſſone as he had taken lande, there would be readie many thouſandes to do him what ſeruice and pleaſure they coulde or might.

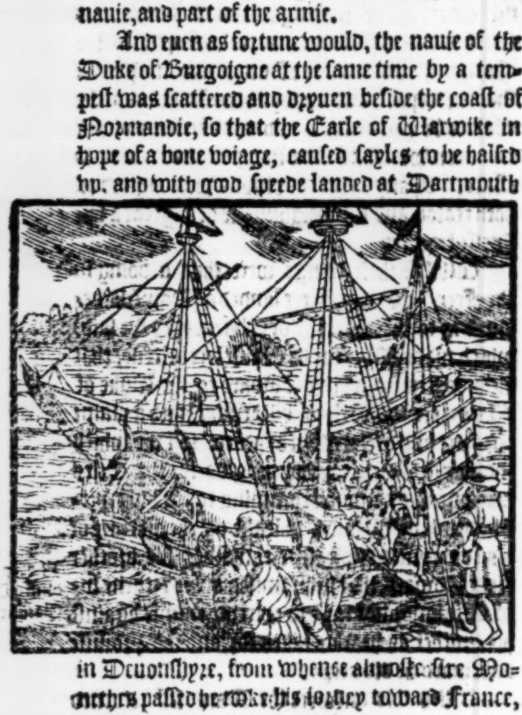
And beſide this, diuerſe noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armour money, and all things neceſſarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarel.

The loue which the people bare to the erle of Warwike.

Surely his preſence was ſo muche deſired of all the people, that almoſt all men were readie in armour, loking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the very Sunne was taken from the worlde, when he was abſent.

When hee had receyued ſuche letters of comfort, he determined with the Duke, and the Erles of Oxforde and Pembroke (bycauſe Queene Margaret and hir ſonne were not fully yet furniſhed for the iourney) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie.

And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the Duke of Burgoigne at the ſame time by a tempeſt was ſcattered and dryuen beſide the coaſt of Normandie, ſo that the Earle of Warwike in hope of a bone voiage, cauſed ſayles to be haiſed vp, and with good ſpeede landed at Dartmouth in Deuonſhyre, from whence almoſt fiue Monethes paſſed he tooke his iorney toward Fraunce, (as before you haue heard.)



A proclamatiō

When the Earle had taken lande, he made a Proclamation in the name of King Henrie the ſixt, vpon high paynes commaunding and charging all men able to beare armour, to prepare themſelues to fight agaynſt Edwarde Duke of Yorke, which contrarie to ryght had vſurped the Crowne.

It is almoſt not to be beleeued, howe manye thouſandes of men of warre at the firſt tidings of the Earles landing reſorted vnto him.

King Edwarde wakened with the newes of the Erles landing, and the great repayre of peopl that came flocking in vnto him, ſent forth letters into all parts of his realme to rayſe an army, but of them that were ſent for, fewe came, and yet of thoſe fewe the more part came with no greate good willes: which when he perceyued, hee began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the Duke of Glouceſter hys brother, the Lorde Haſtings hys Chamberlaine, whiche had maryed the Earles Syſter, and yet was euer true to the King his maiſter, and the Lorde Scales brother to the Queene, hee departed into Lyncolnſhyre, and bycauſe hee vnderſtode that all the Realme was vp agaynſt hym, and ſome parte of the Earle of Warwickes power, was within halfe a dayes iourney of him, following the aduice of hys Counſayle, with all haſt poſſible hee paſſed the Waſhes in greate ieopardie, and comming to Lynne, founde there an Engliſh Shippe, and two Hulkes of Hollande readie (as fortune woulde) to make ſayle, whereupon hee with his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, the Lorde Scales, and dyuerſe other hys truſtie friendes, entred into the ſhip. The Lorde Haſtings taryed a whyle after, exhorting all hys acquaintaunce, that of neceſſitie ſhoulde tary behinde, to ſhewe themſelues openly as friendes to king Henrie, for theyr owne ſafegarde, but heartily requiring them in ſecret, to continue faythfull to king Edward.

King Edwa
commeth to
Lynne and
ke th ſhipp
paſſe ouer

The L.Haſ-
tings.

This perſwaſion declared, he entred the ſhip with the other, and ſo they departed, being in nūber in that one ſhippe and two Hulkes, about ſeuen or eight hundred perſons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other neceſſarie things with them, ſauing apparell for warre.

The numbe
that paſſed
uer with ki
Edwarde.

As king Edward with ſayle and oare was thus making courſe towardes the duke of Burgoignes Countrey (whither he determined at the firſt to go) it chanced that ſeuen or eight gallant ſhips of Eaſterlings, then open enimies both to England and Fraunce, were abroade on thoſe Seas, and eſpying the Kings veſſels, beganne to chaſe him. The kings ſhip was good of ſayle, and ſo much gat of the Eaſterlings, that he came on the coaſt of Holland, & ſo diſcended lower before a towne in yͤ country called Alkmare, & there caſt ancre as nere the towne as was poſſible, bycauſe they could not enter the hauē at an ebbing water.

King Edw
arriued at
mare.

The Eaſterlings alſo approched the Engliſh ſhip as neare as their great ſhips could come at the lowe water, intending at the floud to haue their pray as they were verie like to haue atteined it in deede, if the Lorde Gronture, gouernour of that Countrey for the Duke of Burgoigne, had not by chaunce beene at the ſame tyme in that Towne, and vpon knowledge had of King Edwardes arriuall there in the Hauen, and in what daunger he ſtoode, by reaſon of the Eaſterlings, commaunded them not to bee ſo hardie as once to meddle with any Engliſh men, being both the Dukes friendes and allies. And then did King Edwarde and all his companye come a lande after they had beene well refreſhed and gentlye comforted by the Lorde Gronture, they were by hym brought to the Haghe, a riche Towne in Hollande, where they remayned a while, hauing all things neceſſarie miniſtred vnto them by order of the Duke of Burgoigne, ſente vnto the Lorde Gronture, immediately vpon certificate ſent from the ſayd Lorde Gronture of king Edwardes arriuall.

The Lord Gronture.

He commeth alande.

When the ſame was once ſpred abroade that King Edwarde was fledde the Realme, an innumerable number of people reſorted vnto the Earle of Warwike to take hys part, but all king Edwardes truſtie friends went to diuerſe Saintuaries, and amongſt other his wife Queene Elizabeth tooke Saintuarie at Weſtminſter, and there in great penurie forſaken of all hir friendes, was deliuered of a fayre ſonne called Edwarde, whiche was with ſmal pompe lyke a poore mans chylde Chriſtened, the Godfathers beeing the Abbot and Priour of Weſtminſter, and the Godmother the Ladie Scrope.

King Edwards friends take Sanctuary.

Queene Elizabeth deliuered of a Prince.

The Kentiſhmen this ſeaſon (whoſe myndes be euer moueable at the change of Princes) came to the Suburbs of London, ſpoyled manſions, robbed beerehouſes, and by the counſaile of Sir Giffray Gates and other Saintuarie men, they brake vp the kings Benche, and deliuered priſoners, and fell at Radcliffe, Limehouſe, & Saint Katherines, to burning of houſes, ſlaughter of people, and rauiſhing of women, whiche ſmall ſparckle had growne to a greater flame, if the Erle of Warwike with a greate power had not ſodainly quenched it, and puniſhed the offenders, which benefite by him done, cauſed him muche more to be eſteemed and lyked amongſt the commons than he was before.

The kentiſhmen make an hurly burley.

When he had ſetled al things at his pleaſure, vpon the .xij. day of October, he rode to the tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie oute of the warde, where hee before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was ſerued according to his degree. And the .xxv. day of the ſayde Moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied with the Earles of Warwike and Shrewesburie, the Lorde Straunge, and other Lordes & Gentlemen, ſome for feare, and ſome for loue, and ſome onely to gaſe at the wauering worlde, went to the Tower, and from thence brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew Veluet, through London to the Church of Saint Paule, the people on euerye ſyde the ſtreetes reioyſing and crying, God ſaue the king, as though ech thing had ſucceeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offred as kings vſe to do, he was conueyed to the Biſhops Palais, where he kept his houſhold like a king. When K. Henry had thus readepted and eftſoones gottē his Regal power & authoritie, he called hys highe Court of Parliament to begin the .xxvj. day of Nouember, at Weſtm. in the which K. Edward was adiudged a traytor to the countrey, and an vſurper of the Realme. His goodes were confiſcate and forfeyted. The like ſentence was giuen againſt all his partakers & friends. And beſide this it was enacted, that ſuch as for his ſake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large vpon ſureties, ſhould be extreemely puniſhed according to their demerites, amongſt whō was the L. John Tiptoft Erle of Worceſter lieutenāt for king Edwarde in Irelande, exerciſing there more extreme crueltie than princely pitie, and namely on two infants being ſonnes to the Erle of Deſmond. This Erle of Worceſter was eyther for treaſon to him layde, or for malice againſt him conceyued, atteynted and beheaded.

ing Henry ed out of towre and ſtored to his ngly gouern ent.

A parliament.

King Edward adiudged an vſurper.

The E. of Worceter Tiptoft beheaded.

Moreouer, all ſtatutes made by king Edward were clearely reuoked, and the Crownes of the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, were by authoritie of the ſame Parliament entayled to king Henrie the ſixth, and to his heyres Males, and for default of ſuch heyres, to remaine to George Duke of Clarence, and to his heyres male: and further the ſayd Duke was enabled to bee next heyre to his father Richard Duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had beene his eldeſt ſonne at the tyme of his death. Jaſper Erle of Pembroke, and Iohn Earle of Oxford, and diuerſe other by king Edward attainted, were reſtored to their old names, poſſeſſions, and ancient dignities.

The Crowne entailed.

Beſide this, the Earle of Warwike (as one to whom the common welth was much bounden) was made gouernor of the realme, with whome as fellow was aſſociated George Duke of Clarence. And thus was the ſtate of the realme quite altered. To this Parliament came the Marques Montacute, excuſing himſelfe that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwardes part, which excuſe was accepted.

The Erle of Warwicke inſtituted gouernour of the realme.

When Queene Margaret vnderſtoode by hir husbands letters that the victorie was gotten by theyr

theyr

their friendes, ſhe with hir ſon Prince Edwarde and hir traine entred their ſhips, to take their voiage into England: but the winter was ſo ſharpe, the weather ſo ſtormie, and the winde ſo contrarie, that ſhe was faine to take lande againe, and to deferre hir iourney till another ſeaſon.

Iaſper Erle of Pembroke.

About the ſame ſeaſon, Iaſper Erle of Pembroke went into Wales to viſite his landes there in Pembrokeſhire, where he found Lorde Henry ſon to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age, he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorably brought vp by the Lady Herbert, late wife to William Erle of Pembroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onely daughter and heire of Iohn the firſt duke of Somerſet, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which Ladie though ſhe were after ioined in mariage with Lorde Henrie ſon to Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanley Earle of Darby, both being yong and apt for generation, yet ſhe had neuer any mo children; as though ſhee had done hir part to bring forth a man childe, and the ſame to be a king (as hee after was in deede, entituled by the name of Henrie the ſeuenth: as after ye ſhall heare.)

Margaret coũteſſe of Richmond and Darbie.

The Erle of Pembroke toke this childe being his nephew, out of the cuſtodie of the Ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the childe wyth him to London to king Henrie the ſixte, whome when the king had a good while beheld, he ſayde to ſuch princes as were with him: Lo ſurely this is he to whom both we and our aduerſaries leauing the poſſeſſion of all things ſhall hereafter giue rowme and place.

The ſaying of king Henry the ſixte, of Henry of Richmont after k. Henry the ſeuenth.

So this holy man ſhewed before the chaunce that ſhould happen, that this Erle Henrie ſo ordeyned by God, ſhould in tyme to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioy the kingdome, and whole rule of this realme of England.

The Erle of Warwike vnderſtanding, that his enimie the Duke of Burgoigne had receyued king Edward, and ment to ayde him for recouerie of the kingdome, hee firſt ſent ouer to Calais foure. C. Archers on horſbacke to make warre on the Dukes countreys, and further prepared foure M. valiant men to go ouer very ſhortly, that the Duke might haue his handes euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the Erle of Warwike was kept out of Calais at his fleeing out of Englande into Fraunce, ye ſhall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was known that he was returned into England, and had chaſed King Edwarde oute of the Realme, not onely Monſeur de Vawclere, but alſo all other of the garniſon & towne, ſhewed themſelues to be his friends, ſo that the ragged ſtaffe was taken vp and worne in euery mans cap, ſome ware it of golde enameled, ſome of ſiluer, and hee that could haue it neither of golde nor ſiluer, had it of whytiſh ſilke or cloth: ſuche wauering myndes haue the common people, bending like a reed with euery winde that bloweth.

The ragged ſtaffe.

The Duke of Burgoigne hauing an armye readie at the ſame time to inuade the frontiers of Fraunce, to recouer the townes of Saint Quintines and Amiens, lately by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatly by the Engliſh men, if he ſhould bee conſtrayned to haue war with them: for the duke of Burgoigne helde not onely at that ſeaſon Flaunders, but alſo Bulleyne, and Bullennoys, and all Artoys, ſo that hee was thereby in daunger to receyue harme out of Calais on eche ſide. Therefore he ſent Ambaſſadours thither, which did ſo muche with the Counſayle there, that the league was newly confirmed betwixt the Realme of Englande and the Dukes Countreys, only the name of Henrie put in the wryting in ſteade of Edwarde.

The D. of Burgoigne ſendeth Ambaſſadours to Caleys.

This matter hyndered ſore the ſute of King Edwarde, dayly ſuing to the Duke for ayde at hys handes, the more earneſtly in deede, bycauſe of ſuche promiſes as by letters were made vnto him oute of Englande, from hys aſſured friends there.

1471

He aydeth K. Edward vnder hand.

But Duke Charles woulde not conſent openly to ayde King Edwarde, but yet ſecretly vnder hande by others, he lent to him fiftie thouſande Florens of the Croſſe of Saint Andrew, and further cauſed foure great Shippes to be appoynted for him in the hauf of de Vere, otherwiſe called Camphire in Zealãd, which in thoſe dayes was free for all men to come vnto, and the Duke hyred for him fourtene ſhips of the Eaſterlings well appoynted, and for the more ſuretie toke bonde of them to ſerue him truely till hee were landed in Englande, and fyftene dayes after.

The Eaſterlings were glad of this iourney, truſting if he got agayne the poſſeſſion of Englande, they ſhoulde the ſooner come to a peace, and obteyne reſtitution of theyr lyberties and franchiſes whiche they claymed of former tyme to haue wythin this realme.

The Duke of Burgoigne cared not muche, on whoſe ſide the victorie fell, ſauing for payment of his money: For he would oft ſay, that he was friende to bothe partyes, and eyther partie was friendly to him.

In deede as hee was brother in lawe to the one, ſo was hee of kynne to the other, as by hys Grandmother being daughter to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter.

When therefore all King Edwardes furniture and prouiſion for his iourney were once readie, hauing nowe with him about two thouſand able menne of warre, beſyde Mariners, hee entred into the Shippes wyth them in the Hauen before Fliſhing in Zealande, vppon the ſeconde day of Marche: and bycauſe the winde fell not good for hys purpoſe, hee taryed ſtill aboorde for the ſpace of nine dayes, before it turned meete for his iourney.

An.reg.11.

But after that the wind once came about as he wiſhed, the ſayles were hoyſed vp on the .xj. of March being Monday, and forward they ſayled, directing their courſe ſtreight ouer towardes the coaſt of Norffolke.

rriueth on
e coaſt of
orfolke.

On the next day being Tueſday, and the .xij. of March, towardes the Euening they roade before Cromer, where the king ſent a lande ſir Robert Chamberlaine, with ſir Gylbert Debenham knights, and diuerſe other, to the ende they might diſcouer the Countrey, and vnderſtand howe the people within the lande were bent towardes him, eſpecially thoſe countreys there next adioyning.

Upon their returne, he vnderſtoode that there was no ſuretie for him to lande in thoſe partyes, by reaſon of the good order whiche the Earle of Warwike, and the Erle of Oxford eſpecially had taken in that countrey to reſiſt him: for not only the duke of Norffolk, but all other the gentlemen (whom the Erle of Warwike had in any ſuſpition) were by letters of priuy ſeale ſent for, and eyther committed to ſafe keeping about London, or elſe enforced to finde ſuretie for their loyall demeanour towards king Henrie: yet thoſe knights and other that were thus ſente forth to make inquirie, were well receyued of their friendes, and had good cheare. But after the king perceyued by theyr report, how things ſtood thereaboutes, hee cauſed his Shippes to make courſe towardes the north partes.

he Earle of
ford.

The ſame night following, a great ſtorme of windes and weather roſe, ſore troubling the ſeas, and continued till the .xiiij. day of that moneth being Thurſday, on the whiche daye with great daunger, by reaſon of the tempeſtuous rage and torment of the troubled Seas, he arriued at the head of Humber, where the other ſhips were ſcattered from him, eche one ſeuered frō other, ſo that of neceſſitie they were driuen to land in ſunder where they beſt might, for doubt to be caſt away in that perillous tempeſt,

rriueth
the head of
mber.

The king with the Lord Haſtings his chamberlaine, and other to the number of fiue hundred men being in one ſhip, landed within Humber on Holderneſſe ſide, at a place called Rauenſpurre, euen in the ſame place where Henrie Erle of Darbie, after called k. Henrie the fourth, landed, when hee came to depriue king Richarde the ſecond of the crowne, and to vſurpe it to himſelfe.

landeth at
uenſpurre.

Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, and three hundred men in his companie, toke land in an other place foure miles diſtant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land.

The Earle Riuers, and with him two hundred men landed at a place called Pole, fourtene miles from the hauē where the king came a land. The reſidue of his people landed ſome here ſome there in places where for theyr ſuretyes they thought beſt.

On the morow being the .xv. of March, nowe that the tempeſt ceaſed, and euery man being got to land, they drewe from euerye of their landing places towardes the king. who for the firſt nyght was lodged in a poore village two miles frō the place where he firſt ſet foote on land.

As touching the folkes of the Countrey, there came few or none to him, for by the incenſing of ſuch as had bene ſent into thoſe parties from the Erle of Warwike and other his aduerſaries, the people were ſhrewdly induced to ſtande agaynſte him. But yet in reſpect of the good will that many of them had borne to hys father, they coulde haue beene content, that hee ſhoulde haue enioyed his ryght to his dewe enheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke, but in no wyſe to the tytle of the Crowne. And hereuppon they ſuffered hym to paſſe, not ſeeking to annoy him, till they myght vnderſtande more of his purpoſed meaning.

The king perceyuing howe the people were bent, noyſed it abroade that hee came to make none other chalenge, but to hys inheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke, and withall ment to paſſe firſt vnto the Citie of Yorke, and ſo forward towardes London, to encounter with hys aduerſaryes, that were in the South partes: For although his neareſt way had beene through Lincolnſhyre, yet bycauſe in taking that waye hee muſte haue gone agayne to the water, in paſſing ouer Humber, he doubted leaſte it woulde haue beene thought, that he had withdrawne himſelfe to the ſea for feare, and ſo to auoyde the rumours that might haue beene ſpredde therof, to the hynderaunce of his whole cauſe, he refuſed that way and tooke this other, ſtill bruyting it (as before we ſayde) that his comming was not to chalenge the Crowne, but onely to bee reſtored vnto hys lawfull right and inheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke, which was diſcended to him from his father: and here it ſeemed that the colour of iuſtice hath euer ſuche a force in it ſelfe, amongeſt all men, that where before fewe or none of the commons coulde be founde that woulde offer themſelues to take his parte, yet nowe that hee did (as they thought) clayme nothing but that which was his right, they began ſtreyght to haue a lyking of his cauſe. And where there were gathered to the number of ſix or ſeuen thouſande men in dyuerſe places, vnder the leading chiefely of a Prieſt, and of a Gentleman called Martine de la

Martyn de la Mare or Martyne of the ſea

de la Mare, in purpoſe to haue ſtopped his paſſage: now the ſame perſons tooke occaſion to aſſiſt him, and when hee perceyued mens myndes to bee well qualifyed wyth this feyned deuice, he marched forth till hee came to Beuerley, whiche ſtoode in his direct way as hee paſſed towardes Yorke. He ſent alſo to Kingſtone vpon Hull, diſtant from thence a ſixe myle, willing that hee might be there receyued, but the inhabitants who had beene laboured by his aduerſaries, refuſed in any wiſe to graunt therevnto.

He paſſeth towardes Yorke.

The Earle of Warwike aduertiſed by Meſſengers of king Edwardes arriuall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all haſt wrote to his brother the Marques Montacute, who hadde layne at the Caſtell of Pomfret all the laſte Winter, wyth a greate number of Souldiers, willing hym to conſider in what caſe theyr affayres ſtoode, and therevpon with all ſpeede to ſette vppon King Edwarde, or elſe to keepe the paſſages, and to ſtay him from comming any further forwarde, tyll hee himſelfe as then being in Warwikeſhyre buſie to aſſemble an armye, myght come to hys ayde with the ſame.

But this notwythſtanding, although there were greate companies of people of the Countreyes thereaboutes aſſembled, they came not yet in ſight of the King, but ſuffred hym quietly to paſſe, eyther bycauſe they were perſwaded that hee ment (as hee in outwarde wordes pretended) not to clayme any tytle to the Crowne, but onely his ryght to the Duchie of Yorke, or elſe for that they doubted to ſette vppon hym, although his number were farre vnequall to theirs, knowing that not onely he himſelfe, but alſo hys companie were mynded to ſell theyr liues dearelye before they woulde ſhrynke an ynche from any that was to encounter them. It maye bee that dyuerſe of the Captaynes alſo were corrupted: and although outwardly they ſhewed to bee agaynſt him, yet in heart they bare him good wil, and in no wiſe minded to hinder him.

K. Edward without interruption paſſeth forward to Yorke

So, forwarde hee marched, tyll hee came to Yorke, on a Monday beyng the eightenth day of Marche.

Th. Conyers recorder of Yorke

Before hee came to the Citie by the ſpace of three Myles, the Recorder of Yorke, whoſe name was Thomas Coniers (one knowne in deede not to beare hym any faythfull good will) came to hym, and gaue him to vnderſtande, that it ſtoode in no wiſe with his ſuretie, to preſume to approche the Citie, for eyther hee ſhould bee kept oute by force, or if he did enter, hee ſhoulde bee in daunger to be caſt awaye by hys aduerſaries that were within.

King Edwarde neuertheleſſe ſithe hee was come thus farre forwarde, knewe well ynoughe there was no going backe for him, but manfully to proceede forwarde with hys begunne iourney, and therefore kepte on hys waye, and ſhortly after there came to him out of the Citie, Robert Clyfforde, and Rycharde Bourgh, who aſſured him that in the quarell whiche hee pretended to purſue, to witte, for the obteyning of hys right to the Duchie of Yorke, he ſhoulde not fayle, but be receyued into the Citie: but immediately after came the ſayde Coniers agayne with the like tale and information as hee had brought before, and thus King Edwarde one while put in comforte, and an other while diſcouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the Citie, where his people ſtayed whyleſt hee and aboute .xvj. or xvij. other ſuch as hee thoughte meeteſt, wente forth, and entred the Citie wyth the ſayde Cliſforde and Bourgh, and (as ſome wryte) there was a prieſt ready to ſay Maſſe, in which Maſſe tyme the King receyued the Sacrament of the Communion, and there ſolemnly ſware to keepe and obſerue two ſpeciall Articles: although it was far vnlyke that he mynded to obſerue eyther of them: the one was that hee ſhoulde vſe the Citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that hee ſhoulde bee faythfull and obedient vnto King Henries commaundementes. For this wilfull periurie (as hath beene thought) the iſſue of this king ſuffered for theyr fathers offence, the depriuation not onelye of landes and worldlye poſſeſſions, but alſo of theyr naturall lyues by theyr cruell Vncle king Richarde the thirde.

King Edw
commeth to
to Yorke.

He recei
an othe.

When king Edwarde had thus gotten into the Citie of Yorke, he made ſuch meanes among the Citizens, that he got of them a certaine ſum of money, and leauing a garniſon within the citie contrarie to his othe, for feare leaſt the Citizens after his departure, might happily moue ſome rebellion aginſt him, he ſette forwarde the next day towards Tadcaſter, a towne .x. miles from thence, belonging to the Erle of Northumberland. The next day he tooke his way towards Wakefielde, and Sendall, a Caſtell and Lordſhip belonging to the inheritaunce of the Dukes of Yorke, leauing the Caſtell of Pomfret vpon his left hande, where the Marques Montacute with his armie lay, and did not once offer to ſtop him. Whether the Marques ſuffred him to paſſe by ſo, with his good will or no, diuerſe haue dyuerſly coniectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the Marques greatly to annoy him, both for that the king was wel beloued in thoſe parties, and againe all the Nobles and commons there for the moſt part were towardes the Earle of Northumberlande, and wythoute him or his commaundement, they were not willing to ſtirre. And therefore the Erle in ſitting ſtill & not mouing to or fro, was thought to do K. Edward

The Marq
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as good ſeruice as if he had come to him, and rayſed people to aſſyſt him, for diuerſe happilye that ſhoulde haue come with him, remembring diſpleaſures paſte, woulde not haue beene ſo faythful as the Erle himſelfe, if it had come to the iumpe of any hazarde of battaile.

About Wakefielde and the partes there adioyning, ſome companie of his friendes came to him, whereby his power was encreaſed, but nothing in ſuch numbers as he looked for. From Wakefielde he croſſed on the left hand, ſo to come againe into the high way, and came to Doncaſter, and frō thence vnto Notingham. Here came to him ſir William Parre, and ſir Iames Harington, with ſix hundred men well armed and appoynted: alſo there came to him ſir Thomas a Bourgh, and ſir Thomas Montgomerie with their aydes, which cauſed him at theyr firſt comming to make Proclamation in his owne name, to witte, of King Edwarde the fourth, boldely affyrming to him, that they would ſerue no mā but a king.

Whileſt he remayned at Notingham, and alſo before he came there, hee ſent abrode diuerſe of his auaunt courrers to diſcouer the countrey, and to vnderſtande if there were anye power gathered agaynſt him. Some of them that were thus ſent approched to Newarke, and vnderſtoode that within the towne there, the duke of Exceter, the erle of Oxford, the lord Bardolfe, & other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure M. men, whiche they had aſſembled in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and in the ſhires of Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolne.

The duke of Exceter and the Erle of Oxford, and other the chiefe chaptains aduertiſed that K. Edwards forriders had bene afore the towne in the Euening, ſuppoſed verily that hee and his whole armie were comming towards thē, wherevpon they, not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with al ſpeed to diſlodge, and ſo about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Newarke, leauing ſome of theyr people behinde, which either ſtale away from thē, and taried of purpoſe, or could not get away ſo ſone as their fellowes. In deede the forriders that ſo diſcouered them within the towne of Newarke, aduertiſed the king thereof in al poſt haſt, who incontinently aſſembled his people, and forthwith marched towards them: but before hee came within three miles of the towne, hee had knowledge that they were fledde and gone from Newarke, wherevpon he returned again to Notingham, intending to keepe on his neareſt waye towardes the Earle of Warwike, whom he vnderſtood to be departed from London, and to bee come into Warwikeſhyre, where and in the Countreys adioyning he was buſied in leuying an army, with the which he purpoſed to diſtreſſe him.

King Edwarde commeth to Leyceſter.

The King then from Notingham came to Leyceſter, where three thouſande able men, and well furniſhed for the warre came vnto him. Theſe were ſuch as he knewe would liue and die in his quarell, the moſt parte of them belonging vnto the Lorde Haſtings the kings Chamberlaine. And thus he being more ſtrongly accompanied than before, departed from Leyceſter, and came before the walles of the Citie of Couentrie the, xxix. day of March.

The earle of Warwick in Couentry.

The Earle of Warwike was withdrawne into this Citie, keeping himſelfe encloſed therein with his people, beeing in number ſixe or ſeuen thouſande men.

King Edwarde prouoketh the erle of Warwicke to fight.

The king ſent to him, and willed him to come forth into the fielde, and there to make an ende of the quarell in plaine battaile: but the Erle at that preſent refuſed ſo to do. For although vnder pretence of king Henries authoritie, he was reputed the kings generall lieutenant of the whole realm, whereby he had got ſuch power togither, as was thought able ynough to matche with the King for number, yet bycauſe hee doubted howe they were bent in his fauour, hee durſt not committe the matter vnto the doubtfull chaunce of a battayle, till he had more of hys truſtie friendes about him.

Hee commeth to Warwicke.

The king therefore three dayes togither prouoked him to come forth, but when hee ſawe it would not be, he remoued to Warwike an eight myles from Couentrie, where hee was receyued as king, and ſo made his Proclamations from that tyme forth in all places where he came, vnder his accuſtomed name and tytle of king. Hee lodged here at Warwicke, the rather (as was thought) to prouoke the Earle to iſſue forth of Couentrie to giue him battaile, howbeit that deuiſe nothing auayled: but yet there came dayly dyuerſe perſons on the Earles behalfe to treate with the king about a peace, that ſome good compoſition might haue bene concluded, and the king for the aduauncement of peace and tranquilitie within the realme, offred large conditions, as a free pardon of life to the Erle and all his people, with many other beneficiall Articles on their behalfes, which to manye ſeemed verie reaſonable, conſidering their heynous offences. But the Erle would not accept anye offers, except hee might haue compounded ſo as it pleaſed himſelfe, and as was thought in no wiſe to ſtande with the kings honour, and ſuretie of his eſtate.

A treaty for peace.

The Duke of Clarence.

In this meane while, the Earle of Warwike ſtill looked for the Duke of Clarence, who by the ſayde Earles appoyntment had aſſembled a power of men of warre about London: but whē the Erle perceyued that the Duke lingered forth the tyme, and did not vſe ſuch diligence as was requiſite, as one that had bene in doubt of warre or peace, he began to ſuſpect that the Duke was of his brother corrupted, and therin he was nothing deceyued: for true it is, that whileſt the king was as yet beyond the ſeas, in the Dominion of the duke of Burgongne, the duke of Clarence began to wey with himſelfe the greate inconuenience into the which aſwell his brother King Edwarde, as himſelfe and his yonger brother the Duke of Glouceſter were fallen, through the diſſention betwixt them (which had bene compaſſed & brought to paſſe by the politique working of the Earle of Warwicke and hys complices) as fyrſt the diſinheriting of them all from theyr rightfull tytle to the Crowne, ſecondlye the mortall and deteſtable warre, that coulde not but enſue betwixt them to ſuche miſchiefe, that to whether part the victorie enclyned, the victorer ſhould remaine in no more ſuretie of his owne perſon or eſtate after the vpper hande gotte, than before: and thirdly he well perceyued alreadie, that hee was had in great ſuſpition, and not heartily beloued of anye the Lordes and Rulers that were aſſured partakers with king Henry and the Lancaſtrian faction, inſomuch they ſticked not dayly to goe about to breake and make voyde the appoyntments, articles, and couenants, made and promiſed to him, and of likelyhoode would dayly more and more intende thereto, for in truth hee ſawe that they purpoſed nothing ſo much as the deſtruction both of him and of all his bloud, all which things throughly conſidered, with many other as they were layde afore him, by right wiſe and circumſpect perſons, which in this behalf had cōference with him, he conſented that by ſome ſecret wayes and meanes a recōciliation might be had betwixt him and his brethren, the king & the duke of Glouceſter, the whiche to bring to ſome good and full effect, theſe honourable perſonages following became dealers therein. Firſt of all the duches of Yorke their mother, the duches of Exceter, and the duches of Suffolke their ſiſters, the Lorde Cardinall of Canterburie, the Biſhop of Bathe, the Earle of Eſſex, but moſt eſpeciallye the Duches of Burgongne their ſiſter alſo, and diuerſe other right wiſe and prudent perſonages, who wrought by mediation of certaine Prieſtes, and other ſuche as they vſed for meſſengers betwixt them.

Prieſts vſed for priuy meſſengers.

Kyng Edward and his brother of Clarēce reconciled vnwitting to the Erle of Warwike.

Finally by the earneſt trauaile and diligence ſhewed by the ſayd Duches of Burgongne (who inceſſantly ſent to & fro ſuch hir truſtie Meſſengers now to the king being on that ſide the ſeas, and then to the Duke remayning here in Englande) at length they were made friendes, and a perfect agreement concluded and ratifyed, wyth aſſurance betwixt them ſo ſtrongly as might be, to the furthering whereof the Kings Chamberlaine the Lorde Haſtings fayled not to doe hys beſt, ſo as by his good diligence, it was thought the king was the ſooner induced to wiſh to ioyne eftſoones in true friendſhip with his ſayde brother of Clarence.

And as it well appeared the Duke of Clarence acquit himſelfe faythfully therein: for hearing now that his brother king Edwarde was landed and coming forwards towards London, he gathered his people, outwardly pretending to paſſe with them to the ayde of the Erle of Warwike agaynſt his brother, although inwardly he ment the contrarie, and ſo accompanied wyth aboue foure thouſande men, he marched forth towardes the place, where he thought to finde hys brother.

The diſſi
lation of th
D. of Cla

King Edwarde being then at Warwike, and vnderſtanding that his brother of Clarence approched, in an after noone iſſued forth of that towne with all his forces, and paſſed on till hee came into a fayre large fielde three myles diſtant from Warwike towards Banburie, where hee might beholde his brother of Clarence in good array of battayle, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile approched togither, the king placed his people in order of battaile, vnder their banners, and ſo left the ſtanding ſtill, and appoynted them to keepe their grounde, whileſt he taking with him hys brother of Glouceſter, the Lorde Riuers, the Lorde Haſtings, and a fewe other, went forth to meete hys brother of Clarence: and in like ſort the Duke of Clarence tooke with him a fewe of the Nobilitie that were about him, and leauing his armye in good order departed from them to meet the king, & ſo they met betwixt both the hoſts with ſo ſweete ſalutations, louing demeanor, & good countenances, as better might not bee deuiſed betwyxt brethren of ſo highe and noble eſtate: and beſydes that, the lyke friendly entertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the ſalutings of the other Noble men, that were on them attendant, whereof al ſuch as ſawe it, and loued them, greatly reioyced, gyuing God thankes for that ioyfull meeting, vnitie, and concorde, appearing thus manyfeſtly betwixte them, and herewyth the Trumpettes and other Inſtruments ſounded, and the King withall brought the Duke vnto his armie, whom he ſaluting in moſt courteous wyſe, welcomed them into the lande, and they humbly thanking him, did to him ſuch reuerence as apperteyned.

The bre
meete louing
ly togither.

This done, the K. leauing his hoſt again keeping their ground wͭ the ſame few perſons which he toke with him before, went with his brother of Clarence vnto his armie, and ſaluting thē with ſweete & courteous words, was ioyfully of them welcomed, and ſo after this, they all came togyther ioyning in one, and either part ſhewing thēſelues glad thus to meete as friends with the other, they went louingly togither vnto Warwik with the king, where and in the countrey thereaboutes they lodged as they thought ſtoode moſt with their eaſe and ſafeties.

Herewith the Duke of Clarence deſyrous aboue all things to procure ſome good and perfite accorde, betwixte hys brother the King, and the Erle of Warwike (which ſhould bring great quietneſſe to the lande, and delyuer the common wealth of many daungers that myght enſue by reaſon of ſuche numbers of partakers, as well Lordes as other that were confederate with the Earle) the ſayde Duke treated with the Kyng preſent, and ſent meſſengers vnto Couentrie to the Earle, mouing as well the one as the other moſt inſtantly to frame theyr mindes vnto a pacification.

Te Duke of Carence seeketh to make pace betwixt e K. and the Ld Warwik.

The king at the inſtance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the Earle and his partakers, if they woulde haue accepted them: but the Earle whether vtterly diſpayring of his owne ſafetie, if hee ſhoulde agree to any peace, or elſe happily for that he thought it ſtoode with his honour to ſtand vnto ſuch promiſes and couenaunts as hee had made with the French King, and with Queene Margaret, & hir ſon prince Edward, vnto whom he was bounde by othe not to ſhrinke or ſwarue from the ſame, he refuſed all maner of ſuche conditions as were offred.

Inſomuch that when the Duke had ſent to him, both to excuſe himſelfe of the act whiche he had done, and alſo to require him to take ſome good waye wyth King Edwarde, nowe while he myght, the Erle after hee had patiently hearde the Dukes meſſage, hee ſeemed greatlye to abhorre his vnfaythfull dealing, in turning thus from hys confederates and alies, contrarie to his othe and fidelitie.

To the meſſengers (as ſome write,) hee gaue none other anſwere but this, that he had leuer bee like himſelfe, than like a falſe and periured Duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leaue warre, till he had either loſt his own life, or vtterly ſubdued his enimies.

e erle of Warwiks anre to the ke of Clace meſſage

As it was thought, the Erle of Oxfords perſwaſion wanted not, to make him the more ſtifly to hold out, and rather to trie the vttermoſt hazard of war, than to agree to acknowledge K. Edward for his lawfull ſoueraigne lord & king. Wherevpon no appoyntment nor any agreement at all could be brought to paſſe, & ſo al that treaty which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off and tooke none effect.

There came to the Erle of Warwike whileſt he lay thus at Couentrie, beſide the Erle of Oxford, the duke of Exceter, & the Lorde Marques Montacute, by whoſe comming that ſide was greatly ſtrengthned, & the nūber much encreaſed.

The K. vpon conſideration herof, and perceiuing he could not get the Earle to come forth of Couentrie, departed from Warwike, and eftſoones ſhewing himſelf with his people before the Citie of Couentrie, deſired the erle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarel by battel: which the erle and the other lords with him vtterly refuſed as thē to do. This was ẏ .v. of April being Friday. The K. herevpō was reſolued to march towards London, where his principall aduerſarie king Henry remayned, vſing his kingly authoritie by diuerſe ſuch of the nobilitie as were about him, wherby K. Edward was barred and diſappoynted of many aydes & aſſiſtants, which he was ſure to haue, if he coulde once breake that force of the royal authoritie, that was ſtill thus exerciſed agaynſt him in K. Henries name. Wherefore (by the aduice of his brethren and other of his counſaile) accordingly as it had bene ordeined before this his laſt ſetting forth frō Warwik, he kept on his way towards Londō, cōming to Dauētrie on the Saterday at night, and on the morow being Palmſonday, he hearde ſeruice in ẏ church there, & afterwarde to Northāpton, where he was ioyfully receyued. Frō thence he toke the next way towardes London, leauing continually behind him as he paſſed forth a competēt band of ſpeares & archers, to beat back ſuch of ẏ erle of Warwiks people, as peraduenture he might ſend abrode to trouble him & his army by the waye. In this meane while, that things paſſed in maner as before ye haue heard, Edmund duke of Somerſet, & his brother John Marques Dorſet, Tho. Courtney erle of Deuonſhire, & other being at London, had knowledge by aduertiſemēts out of France, that Q. Margaret with hir ſon prince Edward, the counteſſe of Warwik, the prior of S. Johns, the L. Wenlocke, & diuerſe other their adherents and partakers, with al that they might make, were ready at ẏ ſea ſide, purpoſing with al ſpeede to ſaile ouer into England, & to arriue in the weſt countrey, wherevpon they departed forth of London, and with al haſt poſſible drew weſtwarde, there to raiſe what forces they could, to ioine with thoſe their friends immediately after they ſhould once come to land, & ſo to aſſiſt thē againſt K. Edward & his partakers.

King Edwarde paſſeth towards Londō. *An.reg.11.*

True it is, that the Queene with hir ſon, and the other perſones before mentioned, tooke their ſhippes, the .xxiiii. daye of Marche, continuyng on the Seas before they coulde lande (through tempeſtes and contrary windes) by the ſpace of twentie dayes, that is tyll the thirteenth of April, on which day, or rather on the fourteenth, they landed at Weymouth, as after ſhall appeare: but now touching king Edwardes proceeding forward on his iourney towards London, yee haue to vnderſtand, that vpon the Tueſday the .ix. of Aprill he came to Saint Albons, from whence he ſent comfortable aduertiſements to the Queene his wife, remayning within the Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter, & to other his faythfull friendes in and about Lōdon, to vnderſtand by couert meanes how to deale to obteyne the fauor of the Citizens, ſo as he might be of them receyued. The Erle of Warwike vnderſtanding all his doings and purpoſes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in any wiſe to kepe king Edward out of their citie, & in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he ſent to his brother the Archb. of Yorke, willing him by al meanes poſſible to perſwade the Lōdoners not to receiue him, but to defend the Citie agaynſt him for yͤ ſpace of two or three dayes at the leaſt, promiſing not to faile but to come after him, & to be readie to aſſaile him on the back, not doubting but wholy to diſtreſſe his power, & to bring him to vtter confuſion. The Archb. hereupon the .ix. of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all ſuch Lords, knights, and gentlemen, & other that were partakers on yͤ ſide, to the number in all of ſix or ſeuen thouſand men in armor, and herewith cauſed king Henrie to mount on horſebacke, and to ride from Paules through Cheepe down to Walbroke, & ſo to fetch a compaſſe as the cuſtome was when they made their general Proceſſions, returning backe againe to Paules vnto the Biſhoppes Palace, where at that time he was lodged.

The Archbi.
of Yorke.

King Henry
ſheweth his
ſelfe to the
Londoners.

The Archbiſhop ſuppoſed that ſhewing the king thus riding through the ſtreetes, hee ſhoulde haue allured the Citizens to aſſyſt his part. True it is that the Maior and Aldermen had cauſed the gates to be kept with watch and warde: but now they well perceyued that king Henries power was to weake, as by that ſhewe it had well appeared, to make full reſiſtance againſt K. Edwarde, and ſo not for them to truſt vnto, if King Edward came forward, & ſhould attempt to enter the Citie by force: for it was not vnknowne vnto them, that many of the worſhipfull Citizens, and other of the Commons in great numbers, were fully bent to ayde king Edward, in all that they might, as occaſion ſerued.

Thus what through loue that many bare to King Edwarde, and what through feare that diuerſe ſtoode in, leaſt the Citie beeing taken by force myght happily haue beene put to the ſacke, with the loſſe of many an innocent mannes life, the Maior, Aldermen, and other the worſhipfull of the Citie fell at a poynt among themſelues, to keepe the Citie to king Edwardes vſe, ſo as hee might haue free paſſage and entrie into the ſame at his pleaſure.

The Londoners reſolue to receyue K. Edwarde.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke perceyuing the affections of the people, and howe the moſt part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edwarde vppon the ſayde Kings approche towardes the Citie, he ſent forth ſecretely a Meſſenger to him, beſeeching hym to receyue him againe into hys fauour, promyſing to bee faythfull to hym in tyme to come, and to acquitte this good turne hereafter wyth ſome ſingular benefite and pleaſure.

The Archb
of Yorke.

The king vpon good cauſes and conſiderations thereunto him mouing, was contented to receyue him againe into his fauour. The Archb. hereof aſſured, reioyced greatly, and well & truely acquit him concerning his promiſe made to the king in that behalfe.

The ſame night following was the Tower of London recouered to king Edwards vſe. And on the morrow being Thurſday, and the .xj. of Aprill, king Edward quietly made his entrie into the Citie with his power, hauing fiue .C. ſmokie gunners marching formoſt being ſtrangers, of ſuch as he had brought ouer with him. He firſt rode to Paules Church, and from thence he went to the Biſhops Palace, where the Archb. of York preſented himſelf vnto him, and hauing K. Hērie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edwarde, who being ſeaſed of his perſon, and diuerſe other his aduerſaries, he went from Paules to Weſtmynſter, where he made his deuout prayers, gyuing God moſt hearty thanks for his ſafe returne thither againe.

The tower
couered to
Edwards

King Edw
entreth into
London.

King Henry
deliuered to
him.

This done, he went to the Queene to comfort hir, who with greate pacience had abiden there a long time, as a Sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enimies, and in the mean ſeaſon was deliuered of a yong Prince, which ſhee nowe preſented vnto him, to his great heartes reioycing and comfort. From Weſtminſter the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the Queene with him, and lodged in the houſe of the Duches his mother.

On the morrow being good Fryday, he tooke aduiſe with the Lordes of his bloud, and other of his counſayle, for ſuch buſineſſe as he had in hād, namely howe to ſubdue ſuche his enimies as ſought his deſtruction.

The Earle of Warwike calling himſelfe lieutenant of England vnder the pretenſed authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that King Edwarde ſhoulde haue much a doe to enter into London, marched forth from Couentrie with all his puiſſance, following the king by Northāton, in hope to haue ſome great aduantage to aſſaile him, ſpecially if the Londoners kept him out of their city, as he truſted they would, for then hee accounted himſelf ſure of the vpper hand, or if he were of the

The earle of
Warwike
loweth the

receyued, yet hee hoped to find him vnprouided in celebrating the feast of Easter, and so by setting vpon him on the sodaine, hee doubted not by that meanes to distresse him: but K. Edward hauing intelligence of the Earles intention, prouided all things necessarie for battaile, & hearing that the Erle of Warwike was now come vnto Saint Albons with his armie, he determined to marche forth to encounter him before hee shoulde approche neare the Citie.

Hall.

The Earle of Warwike, accompanied with John Duke of Excester, Edmond Duke of Somerset, John Earle of Oxford, and John Neuill Marques Montacute his brother, vnderstanding that king Edward was not onely receyued into London, but also had got king Henrie into his hands, perceyued that the tryall of the matter must needes bee committed to the hasard of battell, and therefore being come to the towne of S. Albons, he rested there a while, partly to refreshe his souldiers, and partly to take counsaile how to proceed in his enterprice. At length, although he knew that his brother the Marques Montacute was not fully wel perswaded wᵗ himself, to like of this quarell which they had in hand, yet the brotherly affection betwixt them tooke away all suspition from the Earle, and so he vtterly resolued to giue battaile, and thervpon remoued towards Bernet, a towne standing in the midway betwixt London and Saint Albons aloft on a hill, at the ende whereof towardes Saint Albones there is a fayre plaine for two armyes to meete vpon, named Gladmore heath. On the further side of which plaine towardes Saint Albons the Erle pight his campe.

Gladmore heath.

King Edwarde on the other part being furnished with a mightie army (hauing ioyned to that power which he brought with him certaine new supplies) vpon Easter euen the .xiij. of April in the after noone marched forth, hauing his sayd army deuided into foure battailes. He tooke with hym king Henrie, and came that euening vnto Bernet, tenne small myles distant from London, in which towne his foreryders finding certaine of the Erle of Warwikes forerydres, bet them out, and chased them somewhat further than halfe a myle from the Towne, where by an Hedge side they founde readie assembled a great number of the Earle of Warwikes people.

The ordering the kings army.

The King after this comming to Bernet, woulde not suffer a manne to remayne in the Towne (that were of his hoste) but commaunded them all to the fielde, and with them drewe towardes hys enimyes, and lodged wyth hys armye more nearer to them than hee was aware of, by reason it was darke, so as hee coulde not well descerne where they were encamped, fortifying the fielde the best hee coulde for feare of some sodaine inuasion.

King Edward lodged more neere his enimies.

He tooke his grounde not so iust afore them as hee woulde haue done, if he might haue discouered the place, where they had lyne, and by reason thereof he encamped somewhat asyde slippes of them, causing his people to keepe as much silence as was possible.

They had great artillerie on both partes, but the Earle was better furnished therewith than the king, and therefore in the nyghte time, they shotte off from his campe in maner continually, but doing little hurt to the kings people, still ouershooting them by reason they lay muche nearer than the Erle or any of his men did esteeme. And suche silence was kept in the Kings campe, that no noyse bewrayed them where they lay. For to the ende it shoulde not bee knowne to the enimyes, howe near the King wyth his armie was lodged vnto them, the King woulde not suffer any of hys Gunnes in all that nyght to bee shot off, least therby they myghte haue gessed the ground, and so leuelled theyr Artillarie to his anoyance.

Artillerie.

A good pollicy

Early on the nexte morning betwixt foure and fiue of the Clocke, notwithstanding there was a greate myste that letted the sight of bothe parties to discouer the fieldes, the king aduaunced hys Banners, & caused his Trumpettes to sounde to the battaile.

On the other part, the Erle of Warwike at the verie breake of the day, had likewise set hys men in order of battaile in this maner:

Hall.

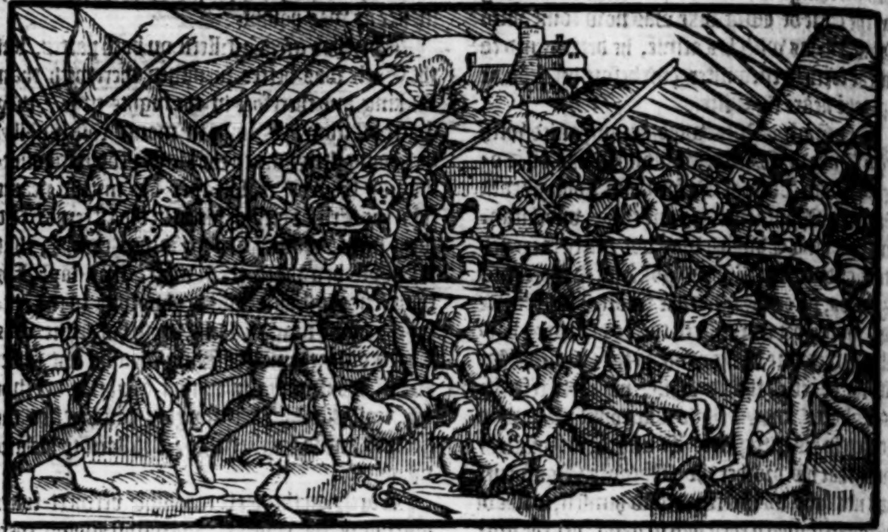
In the right wing hee placed the Marques Montacute, and the Earle of Oxforde with certaine horsemen, and he with the Duke of Excester tooke the left wing, and in the myddest betwene both, he set Archers, appoynting the duke of Somerset to guide them as their chieftaine.

The order of the battel of both sides.

King Edwarde had set the duke of Gloucester in the foreward, the middleward he himselfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them King Henrie, did rule and gouerne. The Lorde Hastings led the rerewarde, and beside these three battails he kept a companie of fresh men in store, which did him greate pleasure before the ende of the battaile.

Here is to be remembred, that aswell the king on his parte, as the Earle of Warwike on hys, vsed many cōfortable wordes to encourage their people, not forgetting to set forth theyr quarels as iust and lawfull, the king naming his aduersaries traytours and rebels, and the Erle accounting him a tyrant, and a torcious vsurper. But when the tyme came that they ōnce got sight eyther of other, the battel began very sharpe & cruel, first wyth shotte, and after by ioyning at hande blowes. At the fyrst yet they ioyned not front to frōt, as they should haue done, by reason of the myſt that tooke away the ſight of eyther armye, and ſuffred the one not to diſcerne perfectlye the order of the other, inſomuche that the one ende of the Earle of Warwikes armie ouerraught the contrarie ende of the Kings battaile whiche ſtoode Weſtward and by reaſon thereof through the valiancie of the Earle of Oxforde that ledde the Earles vowarde, the Kings people on that part were ouermatched, ſo that manye of them fled towardes Barnet, and ſo to London, bringing newes that the Earle of Warwike hadde wonne the fielde.

The valiancy of the erle of Oxforde.



The Earles men in deede followed freely in chaſe of thoſe, that were thus put to the worſe, and ſlue many of them, but the reſidue of thoſe, that fought in other partes coulde not perceyue this diſtreſſe of the Kings people, bycauſe the thicke myſte woulde not ſuffer them to ſee anye ſpace, farre off, but onelye at hande, and ſo the kings battaile that ſaw not any thing what was done beſide them, was nothing diſcouraged. For a fewe excepted, that ſtoode next to that part, there was not any one that wyſt of that diſcomfiture, and the other of the Erle of Warwikes men, that fought in other places ſomewhat diſtant from them, were nothing the more encouraged by this proſperous ſucceſſe of theyr fellowes, for they perceyued it not. And in like caſe as at the Weſt ende the Earles battaile ouerreached the Kings, ſo at the Eaſt ende the Kings ouerreached the Earles, and with like ſucceſſe put the Erles people in that place to the worſe. At length after ſore fight, and great ſlaughter made on both ſides king Edwarde hauing the greater number of men (as ſome write, though other affyrme the contrarie) beganne ſomewhat to preuaile: but the Earle on the other ſyde remembring his auncient fame and renowme, manfully ſtucke to it, and encouraged his people ſtill ſupplying wyth newe ſuccours in places where hee ſawe expedient, and ſo the fight renued more cruel, fierce, and bloudie than before, inſomuche that the victorie remayned ſtill doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now farre in the day.

The manfull courage of the Erle of Warwike

K. Edward therefore willing to make an ende of ſo long a conflict, cauſed a new power of freſh men (which he had for this purpoſe kept in ſtore) to ſet on his enimies. The Erle of Warwicke was nothing abaſhed herewith, but vnderſtanding that this was all the reſidue of King Edwardes power, comforted his men to beare oute this laſt brunt, and in ſo doing the victorie was ſure on their ſide, and the battayle at an ende: but King Edwarde ſo manfully and valiauntly aſſayled hys aduerſaryes, in the myddle and ſtrongeſt part of theyr battayle, that with great violence he bare downe all that ſtoode in his way, for hee was followed and aſſyſted by a number of moſte hardye and faythfull menne of warre, that ſhewed notable prouſe of tried manhoode in that inſtant neceſſitie.

The Earle of Warwike, (when his ſouldiers awearyed with long fight, and ſore weakened wyth woundes and hurtes receyued in the battaile) gaue little heede to his wordes, (beeing a man of an inuincible ſtomacke) ruſhed into the middeſt of his enimies, whereas he (aduenturing ſo farre from his companie, to kill and ſlea his aduerſaryes, that hee coulde not bee reſkued) was amongeſt the preaſſe of his enimyes ſtriken downe and ſlaine.

The Earle of Warwicke ſlaine.

The Marques Montacute thinking to ſuccour his brother, was likewiſe ouerthrowne and ſlain, with many other of good calling, as knights and Eſquiers, beſide other Gentlemen.

The Marque Montacut ſlayne.

Some write that this battaile was ſo driuen to the vttermoſt point, that king Edward himſelfe was conſtrained to fight in his own perſon, and that the Erle of Warwike which was wont euer to ride on horſbacke from place to place, and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduiſed by yͤ Marques his brother, to leaue his horſe, and to trie the extremitie by hand ſtrokes. On both parties were ſlaine (as Hall hath) ten thouſande at the leaſt, where Fabian ſayth but .xv.C. and ſomewhat aboue. Other wryte that there dyed in all about three thouſand.

The number ſlaine at Bernetfield.

Upon the kings part were ſlaine, the Lorde Crumwell, the Lord Say, the Lorde Montioys ſonne and heyre, ſir Humfrey Bourchier ſonne to the L. Berners, & diuerſe other knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen. The battaile dured the ſpace of three houres very doubtfull by reaſon of the miſt, & in ſkirmiſhing and fighting, now in this place now in that, but finally the victorie fell on the Kings ſide, and yet it could not bee eſteemed that his whole armie paſſed nine thouſande fighting men, (as ſome wryte) where his aduerſaryes (as by the ſame wryters appeareth) were farre aboue that number. But bycauſe thoſe that ſo wryte, ſeeme altogyther to fauour King Edwarde, we may beleue as we liſt.

The Duke of Somerſet, and the Earle of Oxforde fledde in companie of certaine Northren menne, whiche hadde beene at the battayle, and as ſome wryte, the Earle of Oxford kepte forth wyth them, and retyred after into Scotlande, but yet as well the Duke of Somerſet, as the ſayd Erle of Oxforde in fleeing towarde Scotland, changed their purpoſe vpon the way, and turned into Wales to Jaſper Earle of Pembroke.

The Duke of Sommerſet & the Erle of Oxford.

Fab.

The Duke of Exceter being ſtryken downe and ſore wounded, was left for deade in the field, amongſt other the dead bodies, bycauſe hee was not knowne, and by reaſon thereof comming to himſelfe, got vp, and in greate daunger eſcaped vnto Weſtminſter, and there tooke Sanctuarie.

The Duke of Exceter.

King Edwarde hauing got this victorie, refreſhing himſelfe and his people a while at Bernet, returned the ſame day vnto London, lyke a tryumphaunt Conquerour, leading wyth hym King Henrie as a captiue priſoner, and making a ſolemne entrie at the church of S. Paule offred his ſtandert.

The dead bodyes of the Earle and Marques, were brought to London in a Coffyn and before they were buryed, by the ſpace of three dayes, lay open viſaged in the Cathedrall church of Saint Paule, to the intent that all menne might eaſily perceyue, that they were truly deade.

The common brute ranne, that the King was not ſo ioyous of the Earles death, as ſorowfull for the loſſe of the Marques, whome hee full well knewe, (and no leſſe was it euident to other,) to be his faythfull friende and well wyller, for whoſe onely ſake, hee cauſed both theyr bodies to bee buried wyth theyr aunceſters at the Priorie of Biſſam.

On the Tueſday in Eaſter Weeke, came knowledge to King Edwarde, that Queene Margaret the wyfe of King Henrie, wyth hir ſonne Prince Edwarde was landed vpon Eaſter day at Weymouth in Dorcetſhire, accompanyed with John Longſtrother Priour of Sainte Johns, commonly called Lorde Treaſorer of Englande, who went ouer into Fraunce to fetche them: Alſo the Lorde Wenlocke, a man made onely by king Edwarde, beſyde dyuerſe other Knightes and Eſquires, of whome part had beene long forth of the Realme, and part newly gone ouer thyther to them in companie of the Lorde Treaſorer.

Queene Margaret landeth with a power out of France

They tooke theyr Shippes at Hunflue, the xxiiij. of Marche (as before you haue heard) but through contrarie wyndes and tempeſtes, they were driuen backe, and conſtrayned to abide for conuenient winde, whiche although it came ſometyme about fitte for theyr purpoſe, it continued not long in that ende, ſo as if therevppon they tooke the Sea, at any tyme, they were forced to returne backe againe to land ere they could paſſe halfe the way ouer: and thus being diuerſe tymes vnder ſayle, in hope to paſſe the Seas hyther into Englande, they were ſtyll driuen backe againe, till the thirteenth of Aprill beeing Eaſter euen, on which day the winde comming fauourably about, they tooke the Seas, and ſayled forward towards this land. The Coūteſſe of Warwike hauing a ſhip of aduauntage, arriued before the other at Porteſmouth, & from thence ſhe went to Southāpton, meaning to haue gone to Weymouth, where ſhe vnderſtood that yͤ Queene was landed: but here had ſhe knowledge of the loſſe of Bernet field, & that hir huſband was there ſlain. Whervpon ſhee went no further towardes the Q. but ſecretely gotte hir ouer the water into the newe Foreſt, and tooke Sanctuarie within the Abbay of Beaulieu.

The counteſſe of Warwik taketh Sanctuary

Queene Margaret, & hir ſonne Prince Edwarde, with the other that landed at Weymouth, went from thence to an Abbey neare by called Cerne. Thither came vnto them Edmond duke of Somerſet, and Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, with other, and welcomed thē into England, cōforting the Queene in the beſt maner they could, and willed hir not to deſpayre of good ſucceſſe; for albeit they had loſt one fielde, (whereof the Queene had knowledge the ſame daye being Monday in Eaſter Weeke, the fifteenth of Aprill, and was therefore ryght ſorowfull) yet they doubted not but to aſſemble ſuche a puyſſance, and that very ſhortly, forth of diuerſe

The Duke of Sommerſet & the erle of Deuonſhire cōfort Queene Margaret.

partes of the Realme, as beeing faythfull and wholy bent to ſpende theyr lyues and ſhed the beſt bloud in theyr bodyes for hir ſake, and hir ſonnes, it ſhoulde be harde for King Edwarde to reſiſt them with all the power hee had or coulde make.

Hall.

The feare whiche Queene Margaret had for hir ſonne.

The preſence of theſe noble men greatly comforted hir, and relieued hir of the ſorrowes, that in maner ouerwhelmed hir penſiue hearte, for ſhee doubted ſore the ende of all theſe proceedings, the which they concluded vpon to follow, for the aduancement of hir and hirs, ſpecially it miſgaue hir, that ſome euill ſhoulde chaunce to hir ſonne prince Edward, for ſhe greatly weyed not of hir owne perill (as ſhe hirſelf confeſſed, & therefore ſhe would gladly haue had them either to haue deferred the battell till a more conuenient time, or elſe that hir ſon might haue bene conueyed ouer into France againe, there to haue remayned in ſafetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie minde, and namely the duke of Somerſet, ſhe at let length conſented to that which they were reſolued vpon.

Thus euery man being bent to battaile, gathered his power by himſelfe, firſt in Somerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, and part of Wilſhyre, and after in Deuonſhire and Cornwall, for the better encouraging of which Countreys to ioyne with them in theyr quarell, they repayred to Exceter. Here they ſent for ſir John Arundell, and ſir Hugh Courtney, and many other, in whome they had any confidence.

To be ſhort, they wrought ſo, that they rayſed the whole powers of Cornwall and Deuonſhire, and with a great army departing forth of Exceter, they tooke the right way to Glaſtenburie, and from thence to Bathe, rayſing the people in all partes, where they came: for thoſe Countreyes had beene ſo laboured, firſt by the Earle of Warwike, and after by the duke of Somerſet, and the Erle of Deuonſhire (which two noble men were reconed as olde inheritors of the ſame countreys) that the people ſeemed there greatly enclyned in the fauour of king Henrie.

King Edwards ſetteth forward his enemies.

King Edward being at London, was dayly aduertiſed by faythfull eſpials of all the doings of his aduerſaries, and was in no ſmall agonie, bycauſe he coulde not learne what way his enimies ment to take, for he purpoſed to encounter them in one place or other, before they ſhould approche nere to London. And vpon ſuch reſolution with ſuch an army as he had got about London, furniſhed with all artillerie and other prouiſions neceſſarie, hee ſet forward the .xix. of Aprill, & came to Windſore, where hee ſtayed a ſeaſon, as well to celebrate the feaſt of Saint George, as to abide the comming of ſuche bandes as he had appoynted to repayre thither vnto him, making there his generall aſſemble.

The enimies to maſker him the more, ſent forth their forerydders vnto ſundrie townes, both as well to rayſe people in the Countreys aboute, as to make the King to beleeue, that their purpoſe was to paſſe thoſe wayes, where neuertheleſſe they ment not once to come: and herevpon when they departed from Exceter, they ſent firſt theyr forerydders ſtreyght to Shafteſburie, and after to Saliſburie, and then they tooke the ſtreight way vnto Taunton, to Glaſtenburie, and after to Welles, where houering about in the Countrey, they ſente another time their forerydders vnto a towne called Yuell, and to Bruton, as if theyr meaning had bene to drawe towardes Reading, and ſo through Barkſhire, and Oxfordſhire, to haue marched ſtreight to London, or elſe to haue ſet vpon the king at ſome aduauntage, if it were offered.

But king Edwarde conſidering aduiſedly of the matter, perceyued well that they being in an angle of the Realme, if they ment to go to London, they muſt eyther holde the ſtreight waye forth by Saliſburie, or elſe drawing vp to the ſea ſide, paſſe alongſt through Hamſhyre, Suſſex, and Kent, or happily if they miſtruſted theyr owne ſtrengthes, as not able to matche wyth his puyſſaunce, they woulde then ſlyppe on the left hande, and drawe towardes Cheſſhire, and Lancaſhyre, there to encreaſe theyr forces, and peraduenture by the waye to ioyne wyth a power of Welche menne, vnder the leading of Jaſper Earle of Pembrooke, who hadde beene ſente into Wales long afore, to frame and putte in a readineſſe the people there to aſſyſte King Henryes friendes, at theyr commyng thytherwardes. And ſuche was theyr purpoſe in deed, for they had great confidence in ſuch ayde as they truſted to haue of the Cheſſhire and Lancaſhire men.

King Edwarde meaning to approche nearer vnto them, that hee might the ſooner make way to ſtoppe them of theyr paſſage, on whiche hande ſoeuer they drewe, departed from Windſore the morrowe after Saint Georges day, beyng the .xxiiij. day of Apryll, keeping wyth hys iourneye tyll on Saterdaye the .xxvij. of Apryll he came to Abingdon, where hee lay Sunday all day.

On Monday hee marched forwarde to Chicheſter, where hee hadde ſure aduertiſement, that they intended to bee at Bathe the nexte daye beeyng Tueſdaye, and on Wedneſdaye to come forwarde to gyue him battaile: Wherevpon king Edwarde deſirous to ſee his people in order of battayle, drewe with them forth of the towne, and incamped in the fielde three miles diſtant from thence.

On the morrowe, hearing no certayntie of their cōming forward, hee marched to Malmeſburie, ſtil ſeeking to encounter them: but here hee had knowledge, that they hauing changed theyr purpoſe, meante not to gyue hym battaile, and therefore were turned aſide, and gone to Briſtowe, where they were receyued, relieued, and well refreſhed, by ſuche as fauoured theyr cauſe, as well with vittayles, men, and money, as good ſtore of artillerie: wherevppon, they were ſo encouraged, that the Thurſeday after, they tooke the fielde agayne, purpoſing to giue King Edwarde battell indeede, and for the ſame intente, had ſente theyr foreriders to a Towne, diſtaunt from Briſtowe nyne myles, called Sudburie, appoynting a grounde for theyr fielde, a myle off the ſame Towne, towardes the Kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

bury hill.

The King hereof aduertiſed, ẏ ſame Thurſeday, being the firſt of May, with hys army fayre raunged in order of battaile, came towards the place, by them appoynted for their field: but they came not there, for hearing that King Edwarde did thus approche, vpon a new change of reſolution, they left that way: albeit, ſome of theyr herbengers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there ſurpriſed fiue or ſixe of the Kings partie, that were raſhly entred that Towne, attending onely to prouide lodgings for theyr maiſters.

The Lordes thus hauing eftſoones chaunged theyr purpoſe, not meaning as yet to fight with the King, directed their way ſtraight towardes Berkeley, trauelling all that night. Frō Barkeley, they marched forwarde towardes Glouceſter.

The King in the meane time, on the Thurſeday after noone, came to the ſame ground, called Sudburie hill, and there ſtayed, ſendyng forth the ſcowrers, to hearken what they mighte vnderſtand of the enimies, whome he tooke to be ſomewhere at hand: but when hee coulde not heare anye certaynetie of them, he aduaunced forwarde, lodging hys vantgarde in a valley beyonde the hill, towardes the Towne of Sudburie, and lay hymſelfe with the reſidue of hys people at ẏ ſame place, called Sudburie hill.

About three of the clocke after midnight, hee was aduertiſed, that his enimies hadde taken theyr way by Barkely, towardes Glouceſter. Hereupon, taking aduiſe of hys counſell, what was beſt to doe, he was cōſelled to ſend ſome of hys ſeruauntes with all ſpeede vnto Glouceſter, to Richarde Beauchamp, ſonne and heire to the Lorde Beauchamp of Powike, to whome hee hadde before thys preſente, committed the rule and cuſtodie of the Towne and Caſtel of Glouceſter.

The Kyng ſente therefore with all ſpeede vnto him, commaundyng hym to doe hys beſt, to defend the Towne and Caſtell agaynſte hys enimies, if they came to aſſayle the ſame, as it was ſuppoſed they intended, and if they ſo dyd, hee promiſed to come with hys whole armie preſently to the reſcue.

The meſſengers dyd theyr diligence, and ſo beeyng ioyfully receyued into Glouceſter, the Towne and Caſtell, by the vigilant regarde of the ſayde Richard Beauchamp, was put in ſafe keeping.

And this meſſage was done in good tyme, for true it is, there were diuers in the Towne, that could haue bin well contented, that the Queene, and the Lordes with hir, ſhoulde haue bin receyued there, and woulde haue aduentured to haue broughte it to paſſe, if they had not bin thus preuented: and the Queene and the Lordes with hir, hadde good intelligence with dyuers in the Towne, ſo as they were putte in greate hope, to haue entred the ſame: wherevpon, they trauelled theyr people ryghte ſore all that night and morning, comming before the Towne of Glouceſter, vppon the Friday, about tenne of the clocke. And when they perceyued that they were diſappoynted of theyr purpoſe, and theyr entrie ſtoutly denyed, they were highly therewith diſpleaſed: for they knew very well, that dyuers within the Towne bare theyr good willes towardes them: but after they hadde uſed certayne menacyng brauerie, and made a ſhewe, as if they hadde meant to aſſault ẏ gates and walles, ſo to haue entred by force, they departed theyr wayes, marching with all ſpeede towardes Tewkeſburie.

It might be marueylled at, why they attempted not the winning of Glouceſter indeede, conſidering the friendes whiche they knewe they hadde within it: but the cauſe, whiche moued them chiefly to forbeare, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the Towne, knewe that Kyng Edwarde approched at hande, and was ready to ſet vppon them on the backe, if they hadde once begunne to haue aſſaulted the Towne, and ſo neyther they within the Towne, that were the Kynges friendes, doubted the enimies forces, nor the enimies themſelues durſt attempte anye ſuche enterpriſe agaynſt them.

Glouceſter, why it was not aſſaulted.

About foure of the clocke in the after noone they came to Tewkeſburie: hauing trauelled that nighte laſt paſt, and that day, ſixe and thirtie long myles, in a foule Countrey, all in lanes and ſtonie wayes, betwixt woodes, without anie good refreſhing, ſo that as well the men as the horſes were ryght weerie, and where the more parte of theyr armie conſiſted of foote-

A long march

men, the Captaynes coulde not haue gone any further, excepte they woulde haue left theyr footemenne behynde them, and ſo of neceſſitie, they were driuen to ſtaye there, determinyng to abide the aduenture that God woulde ſende them, for well they knewe that the Kyng followed thẽ very neere at hande, ſo as if they ſhoulde haue gone further, and lefte the moſt parte of theyr companie behynde, as it coulde not otherwiſe haue chanced, he would haue bene readye to haue taken the aduauntage whollye, ſo to diſtreſſe them.

The place where the Lords encamped.

Herevpon, they pight theyr fielde in a cloſe, euen harde at the Townes ende, hauyng the Towne and the Abbey at theyr backes, and directly before them, and vpon eache ſyde of them, they were defended with comberſome lanes, deepe ditches, and manye hedges, beſide hylles and dales, ſo as the place ſeemed as noyſome as myght bee, to approche vnto.

The Kyng thys Friday, verye earely in the mornyng, aduaunced hys Standerdes, and in good order of battell, hauing deuided his armye into three wardes, marched thorough ye playnes of Cotteſwolde, the daye was very hotte, and hauyng in hys armye aboue three thouſande footemenne, hee trauelled with them and the reſidue a thirtie myles and more, by all whyche way, they could fynde neyther horſemeate, nor mans meate, no not ſo muche as water for theyr horſſes, excepte one little brooke, of the whiche, they receyued no greate reliefe, for what with the horſes and carriages that paſſed thorough it, the water became ſo troubled, that it ſerued them to no vſe: and ſtill all that daye, Kyng Edwarde with hys armye, was within fyue or ſyxe myles of hys enimies, hee in the playne Countrey, and they among the woodes.

The painefull march of King Edward with his armye.

Kyng Edwarde had euer good eſpials, to aduertiſe hym ſtill what his enimies did, and which way they tooke.

At length, he came with all hys armye, vnto a village called Chiltenham, lyke a fyue myles diſtant from Tewkeſburie, where he hadde certayne knowledge, that hys enimies were alreadye come to Tewkeſburie, and were encamped there, purpoſing to abyde hym in that place, and to delyuer hym battell.

Chiltenham.

Kyng Edwarde thereuppon, made no long delay, but tooke a little refection hymſelfe, and cauſed hys people to doe the lyke, with ſuch prouiſion of vittayles as he had appoynted to bee conueyed forth with hym, for the reliefe of hymſelfe and hys armye.

Thys done, hee ſet forwarde towardes hys enimies, and lodged that nyghte in a fielde, not paſt three myles diſtaunt from them.

On the morrowe beeyng Saterday, and fourth of May, hee drewe towardes hys enimies, and marſhalled his armye, deuided into three battayles in thys ſort. He putte hys brother the Duke of Glouceſter in the forewarde, and hymſelfe in the middle ward. The Lorde Marques, and the Lorde Haſtings ledde the rereward. Herewith, hee approched the enimies camp, whyche was righte harde to be aſſayled, by reaſon of the deepe ditches, hedges, trees, buſhes, and comberſome lanes, wherewith the ſame was fenced, both a frount, and on the ſydes, ſo as the King coulde not well approche them to any aduauntage: and to be the better in a readineſſe, to beate backe the Kyngs power, when hee ſhoulde come to aſſaulte them, they were embattelled in thys order: the Duke of Somerſet, and hys brother the Lorde John of Somerſette ledde the foreward: The middle warde was gouerned by the Prince, vnder the conduct of the Lorde of Saint Johannes, and the Lorde Wenlocke (whome King Edwarde hadde aduanced to the degree of a Baron.) The rereward was appoynted to the rule of the Erle of Deuonſhire.

The orderi of King Ed- wards ba

The orderi of the Lo host,

Thus may ye perceyue, that King Edwarde was put to hys ſhiftes, howe (to any aduantage) to aſſault hys enimies. Neuertheleſſe, he beeyng well furniſhed with greate artillerie, the ſame was aptly lodged, to annoy the enimies, that they receyued greate domage thereby, and the Duke of Glouceſter, who lacked no policie, galled them greeuouſly with the ſhotte of arrowes, and they rewarded theyr aduerſaries home agayne, with lyke paymente, both with ſhotte of arrowes, and greate artillerie, although they hadde not the lyke plentie of gunnes as the king hadde.

The Duke o Glouceſter,

Tewkeſburi fielde.

The paſſages were ſo comberſome, that it was not poſſible to come vpon any euen hande, to ioyne at handblowes.

The Duke of Glouceſter vppon a politike purpoſe (as ſome haue written) recuyled backe with all his companie, which when the Duke of Somerſet perceyued, eyther moued therewith, or elſe bycauſe he was too ſore annoyed with the ſhotte in that place where he with his fore warde ſtoode, (like a Knyght more couragious than circumſpect,) came out of his ſtrength with hys whole battell, and aduaunced hymſelfe, ſomewhat aſyde ſlippes the Kings vowarde, and by certayne paſſages aforehande, and for that purpoſe prouided on the Kings parte, although vnknowen) hee paſſed a lane, and came into a fayre open cloſe, right afore the K. where he was embattelled, not doubting, but the Prince, and the Lorde Wenlocke, with the middle warde, had folowed iuſt at his back, but whether ye L. Wenlocke diſſimu-

The Duke o Somerſet.

diſſimuled the matter for king Edwardes ſake, or whether his hart ſerued him not, ſtill he ſtode, and gaue the looking on.

ll.

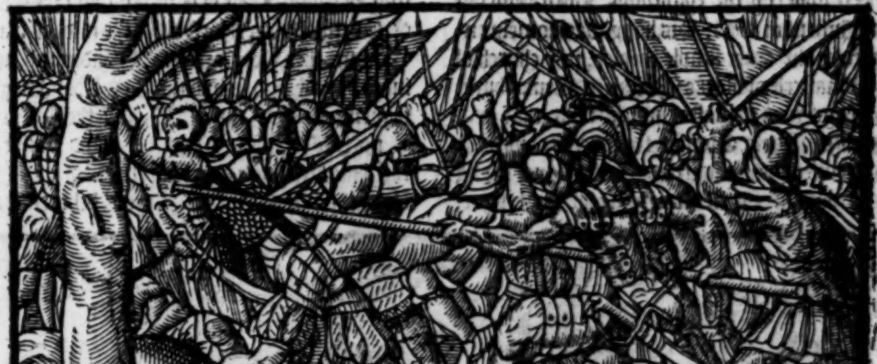
The king, or as other haue, the duke of Glouceſter, taking the aduantage that he aduiſed before turned againe face to face to the duke of Somerſet his battayle, and winning the hedge and ditche of hym, entred the cloſe, and with greate violence put hym and his people vp towardes the hill from whence they were deſcended.

The politike forſight of the King.

Here is to bee noted, that when the king was come before hys enimies, ere he gaue the onſette hee perceyued that vppon the ryghte hande of theyr Campe, there was a Parke, and muche ſtore of wodde growyng therein, and doubtyng leaſt hys aduerſaries hadde layde any ambuſhe within that wodde, he choſe forth of his companies two hundred ſpeares, commandyng them to keepe a ſtale, lyke a quarter of a myle from the fielde, to attende vpon that corner of the wodde, out of the whiche the ambuſhe, if any were, was to iſſue, and to encounter with them, as occaſion ſerued: but if they perceyued that there was no ambuſhe at all, then to imploye their ſeruice as they ſhoulde ſee it expediente and behouefull for the tyme.

This politik prouiſion for danger that might haue enſued, (although there was none that way forth) ſerued yet before th'ende of the battayle, to greate good purpoſe: for when thoſe ſpeares perfectly vnderſtode that there was no ambuſhe within the wood, and withall ſawe conueniente tyme ſo employe them ſelues, they came and brake with full randon vppon the Duke of Somerſette and hys vowarde a flanke, in ſo violent wyſe vppon the ſodayne, that where they hadde before ynough to doe with thoſe wyth whome they were firſte matched, nowe with this newe charge giuen vppon them, by thoſe two hundred ſpeares, they were not a little diſmayed, and to conclude, ſo diſcouraged, that ſtreightwayes they toke them to flyght, ſome fledde into the Parke, other into the meadowe there at hande, ſome into the lanes, and ſome hidde them in dykes, eche one makyng what ſhift he could, by the whyche he hoped beſte to eſcape: but many neuertheleſſe were beaten downe, ſlayne, and taken priſoners.

The vantgard of the Lords diſtreſſed.



terrible ſtroke.

The Duke of Somerſet ſeyng this vnfortunate chance, as ſome write, tourned to the middle warde, and there finding the Lord Wenlock ſtanding ſtill, after he had reuiled him, and called him traytour, with his axe he ſtroke the braynes out of his head.

The Duke of Glouceſter purſuing after them, that fledde with the Duke of Somerſette to theyr camp, wher the reſt of their armie ſtode, entred the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himſelfe ſo knightely, that therevpon the Queenes parte wente to wracke, and was put to flight, the king and other falling in chaſe after them, ſo that many were ſlayne, but eſpecially at a mylne in the medow faſt by the towne, a great ſorte were drowned, many ran towards the towne, ſome to the churche, and diuers to the Abbey, & other to other places, wher they thought beſt to ſaue themſelues.

Hall.

Prince Edward taken.

In the winning of the campe, ſuche as ſtoode to it were ſlayne out of hande. Prince Edward was taken as he fled towardes the towne, by ſir Richarde Croftes, and kept cloſe.

Nobles ſlaine.

In the fielde and chaſe were ſlayne, the Lord John of Somerſet, called Marques Dorſet, Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, Sir John Delues, Sir Edwarde Hampden, Sir Roberte Whitingham, and Sir John Leukener, with three thouſand other.

After the fielde was ended, proclamation was made, that whoſoeuer could bring forth Prince Edwarde alyue or deade, ſhoulde haue one Annuitie of a hundred pounde during hys lyfe, and the Princes lyfe to be ſaued, if he were broughte forth alyue. Sir Richarde Croftes nothing miſtruſtyng the kings promiſe, broughte forth hys pryſoner Prince Edwarde, beeyng a fayre and wel proportioned yong Gentleman, whom when kyng Edwarde hadde well aduyſed, hee demaunded of hym, howe he durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter into his Realme with banner diſplayed? whereunto the Prince boldly anſwered, ſaying, to recouer my fathers Kingdome & heritage from his father and graundfather to him, and from him after hym, to me lineally deſcended. At whyche wordes, kyng Edwarde ſayde nothyng, but with hys hande thruſte him from hym, or as ſome ſay, ſtroke him with his gantlette, whome incontinently, George Duke of Clarence, Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, Thomas Grey Marques Dorcet, and Wylliam Lorde Haſtings that ſtoode by, ſodeynely murthered: For the which cruell acte, the more part of the doers in theyr latter dayes dranke of the lyke Cuppe, by the ryghtuous Juſtice and due puniſhment of God. His body was homely enterred wͭ the other ſimple corpſes, in yͤ church of yͤ Monaſterie of blacke Monks in Teukeſbury.

Sir Richard Crofts deliuereth the prince in hope that his life ſhould haue bin ſaued

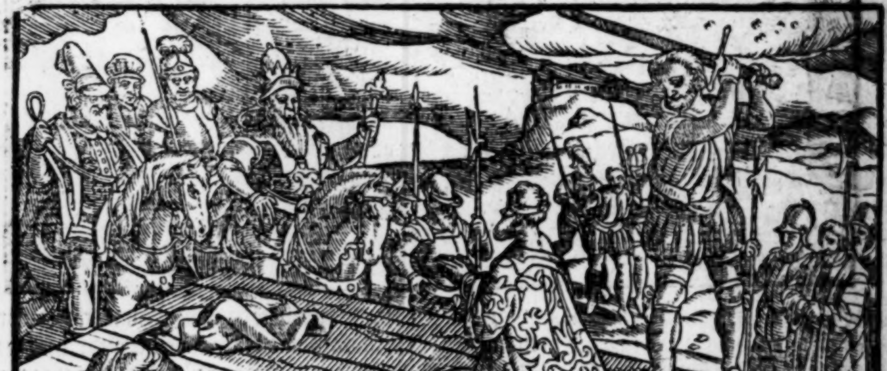
Prince Edward murthered.

Thys was the laſte ciuill battayle that was foughte in King Edward the fourths days, whiche chaunced thys fourth daye of Maye, beyng Saterdaye, in the eleuenth yeare of his reygne, and in the yeare of our Lorde. 1471. [illegible]

After the victorie was thus atchieued, the king repayred to the Abbey Churche there, to gyue God thankes for that good ſucceſſe, whyche it hadde pleaſed hym to bleſſe him with: and there findyng a greate number of his enimyes, that were fledde thyther to ſaue themſelues, he gaue them all hys free pardon: Albeit there was no franchyſe there for rebelles: but that he myghte haue commaunded them to haue bene drawen forth without breache of any liberties of that Churche. Hee graunted alſo that the deade bodies, as well of the Lordes as other, ſlayne in that battel, myght be buried in the ſame church, or els where it pleaſed their frendes or ſeruauntes, without any quartering or headyng, or ſetting vp the heades or quarters in any publike places.

There were found in the abbey and other places of the towne, Edmunde duke of Somerſet, John Lonſtrother, Lorde Prior of S. Johannes, Sir Thomas Treſham, Sir Gerueys Clifton, and diuers other Knightes and Eſquiers, whiche were apprehended, and all of them being broughte before the D. of Glouceſter, ſitting as Conneſtable of England, and the Duke of Northfolke, as Marſhall in the middeſt of the Towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die, and ſo vpō the Tewſday, being yͤ ſeauenth of May, the ſaid D. and the L. Prior, wͭ the two forenamed Knightes, and twelue other knightes, were on a ſcaffold ſet vp in yͤ middle of the towne for that purpoſe, beheaded, and permitted to bee buried, without anye other diſmembring, or ſetting vp of their heads, in any one place or other. The ſame Tewſday, the K. departed from Tewkeſburie towards Worceſter, and by the way had knowledge, that Q. Margaret was found in a poore houſe of religion, not far frō thence, into yͤ which ſhe was withdrawē, for ſafegard of hir ſelfe, the Saterday in the morning, beeing the day of the battell. She was after brought to London as priſoner, and ſo kept, till hir father ranſomed hir with greate ſummes of money, whyche hee borowed of Lewes the eleuenth, Kyng of Fraunce, and bycauſe hee was not able to make repaymente thereof, he

The Duke of Somerſet and other beheaded.



Queene Margaret taken.

he ſold vnto the ſaid Lewes (as the French writers affirme) the Kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Prouance.

King Edward being at Worceſter, had aduertiſements brought forth of the North partes, that the people there, were about to aſſemble in armour againſt him, in fauour of King Henry, wherevpon, he left the right way to London, and rode to Couentrie, meaning to encreaſe the number of his people, and ſo with a puiſſant army, to goe Northwards. Herevpon, comming to Couentrie, the eleuenth of May, and remayning there a three dayes, he well refreſhed ſuch as had bin with him at Tewkeſburie fielde. Hither was broughte to him Queene Margaret, from whence ſhe was conueyd to London, there to remain in ſafekeeping (as before ye haue heard.)

Whileſt hee was buſie in ſending abroade to his friends to leauie an armie, he was aduertiſed that the commotion in the North was pacified, for after that it was knowen abroade, howe hee had obteyned the victorie, as well at Tewkeſburie, as at Barnet, and in manner, ſubdued al his enimies, the Captaynes that had ſtirred the people to that Rebellion, began to quayle, and forſaking their companies, dyuers of them made ſute to the Earle of Northumberlande, that it mighte pleaſe him to be a mediator to the King for their pardon, ſo that now, there was no Rebellion in all the North partes, but that as well, the Citie of Yorke, as all other places, were at the Kings commaundement, readie in al things to obey him, as true and loyall ſubiectes. And this was confirmed by the Earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fourtenth of May, came to the King, as yet remayning at Couentrie, by reaſon wherof, it was not thought needefull, that the King ſhoulde trauell any further Northwarde at that time, either about the pacifying of the people, or to ſee execution done vpon the offendors, ſith all was there in good tranquilitie and quiet.

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But now when al things ſeemed to be at reſt, and no Rebellion after ſo happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his commyng to Couentrie, from the Lords of his bloud, abiding at London, that one Thomas Neuill, baſterde ſonne to that valiant Captayne the Lord Thomas Fawconbridge (who had lately before bene ſente to the Sea, by the Earle of Warwike, and after fallen to practiſe piracie) had ſpoyled dyuers Merchante Shyppes, Portingalles, and others, in breache of the auncient amitie that long had continued betwixte the Realmes of England and Portingale: and furthermore, had now got to him a greate number of Marriners, out of all parts of the lande, and manye traitors and miſgouerned people, from each quarter of the Realme, beſyde dyuers alſo forth of other countreys, that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke ſome exployte againſte the King: and verily, his puiſſance increaſed dayly, for hauing bin at Calais, and broughte from thence into Kente many euill diſpoſed perſons, he began to gather his power in that Countrey, meaning (as was thoughte) to attempte ſome great and wicked enterpriſe.

mas Ne-
baſterde
conbridge.

After the Kings comming to Couentrie, hee receiued aduertiſementes, that this baſterd was come before London, with many thouſandes of men by lande, and alſo in Shippes by water, purpoſing to robbe and ſpoyle the Citie. Many Kentiſhmen were willing to aſſiſt hym in thys miſcheuous enterpriſe, and other were forced againſte their willes, to goe with him, or elſe to ayde hym with their ſubſtance and money, in ſo much, that within a ſhort time, he had got togyther ſixteene or ſeauenteene thouſande men, as they accompted thẽſelues, with whome he came before the Citie of London the twelfth of May, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of King Henry, whome hee alſo meant to haue out of the tower, and to reſtore him againe vnto his Crowne and royall dignitie, and for that intente, he required to enter the Citie with his people, that receyuing King Henrye forth of the Tower, they myghte paſſe with him thorough the Citie, and ſo to march ſtraight towards King Edward, whoſe deſtruction they vowed to purſue, with all theyr vttermoſt indeuors. But the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie, woulde not in any wiſe agree to ſatiſfie theyr requeſt herein, vtterly refuſing to receyue him, or any of his company, into the Citie. King Edwarde from tyme to time by poſtes was enformed of all theſe doyngs, and by aduiſe of counſell, the fourteenth of May, ſent to the ſuccoures of the Maior and Aldermen, a fifteene hundred of the choyſeſt ſoldiers he hadde about him, that they myghte help to reſiſt the enimies, till hee had got ſuch an armie togyther, as was thoughte neceſſarie, meaning with all conuenient ſpeede, to come therewith to the reſcue of the Citie, and preſeruation of the Queene, Prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in very good ſafegard, conſidering the euill diſpoſitions of many within the Citie of London, that for the fauour they had borne to the Earle of Warwike, and deſire to bee partakers of the ſpoyle, cared not if the baſterd myghte haue atteyned to his full purpoſe, and wiſhed intente.

The baſterde Faucombridge before London wyth an army.

Succours ſent to the Citie of London.

The ſixtenth of May, King Edwarde ſette forth of Couentrie, towardes London. But here yee haue to vnderſtand, that when the baſterde coulde not be receiued into the Citie, neyther by gentle perſwaſions, nor greeuous threatnings, he made ſemblaunce, to paſſe ouer the Thaymes at Kingſton bridge, a tenne miles from Londō, and thitherwards hee drewe with his whole power by lande, leauing hys Shippes afore Saint Katherines and thereaboutes.

The baſterdes purpoſe to ſpoile the ſuburbs of London.

His pretēce was, to ſpoyle and deſtroy Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbes of the Citie on that ſide, and after, to aſſault the Citie it ſelfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and ſo to bee reuenged of the Citizens, that had refuſed to receyue hym: but as he was onwards vppon this iourney, hee was aduertiſed, that Kyng Edward was preparing to come forwardes agaynſt hym, aſſiſted in manner, with al the great Lords of ẏ realme, and others in great number, more than he hadde bin at any time before, by reaſon whereof, doubting what myghte followe, if paſſing the ryuer, he ſhoulde fortune ſo to be encloſed, that he ſhuld be driuen thereby to encounter with the Kyngs power at ſuch oddes, hee thought it beſt to alter his purpoſe, and ſo returning, came backe agayne before London, and muſtered hys people in Saint Georges field, araunged and placed in one entier battaile, and to the intent they might worke theyr purpoſed feate, before the Kinges comming to the reſcue, they reſolued with all theyr forces to aſſault the Citie, and to enter it if they could by playne ſtrength, that putting it to the ſacke, they mighte conuey the riches to theyr Shyppes, whyche lay in the Riuer, betwixte Sainte Katherins and Blacke wall, neere to Ratcliffe: heerevpon, hauing broughte certayne peeces of artillerie forth of theyr Ships, they planted the ſame alongſt the water ſyde, ryghte ouer agaynſte the Citie, and ſhotte off luſtely to annoy them within, ſo muche as was poſſible: but the Citizens on the other ſide, lodged their great artillerie againſte their aduerſaries, and with violente ſhotte thereof, ſo galled them, that they durſt not abide in anye place alongſt the water ſyde, but were driuen euen from theyr owne ordinance.

The baſterd altereth his purpoſe.

The baſterde meaneth to enter the City by force.

The baſterd yet meanyng not to leaue anye way vnaſſayed that myghte aduance hys purpoſe, appoynted a greate number of hys retinue, to ſet fire on the bridge, ſo to open the paſſage, and to enter into the Citie that way forth, and withall, hee cauſed aboue three thouſande other to paſſe by Shyppes ouer the Thaymes, giuing order, that when they were gote ouer, they ſhuld deuide themſelues into two battailes, the one to aſſault Aldgate, and the other Byſhoppes gate, whiche order accordyngly was executed, they doyng theyr beſt at both places to force ẏ gates, not ſparing to bende and diſcharge ſuch gunnes as they hadde broughte with them againſte the ſame, nor ceaſſing with arrowes, to annoy thoſe that there ſtoode at defence, whereby much hurte was done, as well at the one place as the other, fire beeyng ſet on both the gates, in purpoſe to haue brent them vp, and ſo to haue entred.

Aldgate, and Biſhopſgate aſſaulted.

The fire which they had kindled on ẏ bridge, little auayled them (although they brente there, to the number of a threeſcore houſes) for the Citizens hadde layde ſuche peeces of ordinance directly in their way, that although the paſſage hadde bin wholly open, they ſhoulde haue hadde harde entring that way forth.

Houſes bren on the bridg

The Maior, Aldermen, and other worſhipfull Citizens, were in good aray, and eache man appoynted and beſtowed where was thought needefull.

The Earle of Eſſex, and manye Knyghtes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen, with theyr friendes and ſeruauntes, came to ayde the Citizens, takyng great payne to place them in order, for defence of the gates and walles: and furthermore, deuiſed howe and in what ſorte they myghte make a ſally forth vppon the enimies to diſtreſſe them: and ſurely, by the intermingling of ſuche Gentlemen and Lordes ſeruauntes in euerye parte with the Citizens, they were greatly encouraged to withſtand theyr enimies. The Rebels yet, vnder the leading of one Spiſing, bare themſelues ſo ſtoutely at Aldgate, that they wan the bulwarkes there, and droue the Citizens backe, within the portculice, and entred with them, to the number of ſixe or eyghte, but ſome of them were ſlayne with the fall of the portculice that was let downe vpon them, to keepe the reſidue out, and thoſe that were entred within the gate, were ſone diſpatched. Heerewith, they laſſhed freelie, the one parte at the other, with gunnes and bowes, although no great hurt was done with ſhotte, till at length Roberte Baſſet Alderman (that was appoynted to the keeping of this gate, with the moſt part of the Citizens) and the Recorder, named Urſewike, either of them being well armed in ſtrong Jackes, commaunded the portculice to bee drawen vp, and mayntenauntly ruſhed forth vpon their enimies, putting them backe vnto Sainte Bothulphes Church.

The vill of Robert Baſſet Al man.

At the ſame inſtante, the Earle Riuers, hauing gote togyther a foure or fiue hundred men, well choſen, and apparelled for the warre, iſſued forthe at the poſterne, by the Tower, and aſſayling the Kentiſhmen, euen vppon the poynte as they were thus put backe, mightely layde vppon them, firſte with arrowes, and after ioyning with them at handſtrokes, ſlewe and tooke manie of them priſoners, ſo that the Rebels were fully putte to flighte, and followed firſte to Mile ende, and from thence, ſome vnto Poplar, ſome to Stretforde, and Stepnith, and in manner, eache way forth, aboute that parte of the Citie,

the

the chaſe beeyng followed for the ſpace of two miles in lengthe, many of them were of Eſſex, and ſo made their courſe homewardes, but the more parte of them fledde to the water ſide, and getting to their ſhippes, paſſed ouer the Thames to the reſte of their companye. The other likewiſe that were buſie to aſſault Byſhopſgate, when they vnderſtode that their fellowes were diſcomfited and fled from Aldgate, they likewiſe ſlipped away, and made the beſt ſhifte they could to ſaue themſelues. There were a ſeuen hundred of them that fledde from Aldgate, and other places, ſlaine out right, beſide the priſoners. And yet there were fiers brennyng all at once at Aldgate, Byſhopſgate, and on the bridge, and many houſes conſumed wyth the ſame fiers. But now the baſterde, vnder whom that company was directed, that had ſet fier on the bridge, when he ſawe that hee myght not preuaile, and vnderſtode the euill ſucceſſe of thoſe whiche he had ſette ouer the Thaymes, hee withdrewe alſo, and lefte the bridge.

Here the hardy manhoode of Rauſe Ioſſelin Alderman is not to bee paſſed wyth ſilence, who after hee hadde valiantly reſiſted the baſterde and his bande that aſſaulted the bridge, vpon their retire, ſallied forthe vppon them, and followyng them in chaſe a long the water ſide, till they came beyonde Ratcliffe, ſlewe and tooke verye many of them.

The baſterde notwithſtanding gathered his companyes togyther, and wyth ſuche as were willyng to remayne wyth hym, encamped on Blacke heathe, by the ſpace of three dayes next enſuyng, to witte, the ſixteenth, ſeuenteenth, and eighteenth of May, vtterly deſpayryng of hys wiſhed praye, ſith hee hadde beene thus repulſed from London, to hys vtter confuſion.

And nowe to conclude, hearyng that Kyng Edwarde was commyng wyth a ryghte puiſſaunt armye, the ſayde baſterde and hys people durſte no longer abide, but brake vp and diſperſed themſelues, ſome one way, and ſome an other. They of Calais gotte them thither agayne wyth all ſpeede, and ſuche as were of other Countryes, repayred likewiſe to theyr homes, and many of the Kentiſhemen went alſo to their houſes.

The baſterde wyth hys Mariners and ſuche riotous rebelles, robbers, and wicked perſons as ſoughte nothyng but ſpoile, gotte them to ſhippeborde, and wyth all their veſſelles drewe downe to the coaſte.

King Edward hauyng aſſembled an armie of thirtie thouſande men (as ſome write) and accompanied in manner wyth all the greate Lordes of Englande, came to London the one and twentye of May, beeing Tueſday, where hee was honourablye receyued by the Mayor, Aldermen, and other worſhippefull Citizens, where euen vppon their fyrſte meetyng wyth hym, hee dubbed diuers of them Knightes, as the Maior, the Recorder, and other Aldermen, and worſhippefull Commoners of the Citie, whyche hadde manfullye and valiauntlye acquite themſelues againſte the baſterde Fauconbridge and hys wicked companye of Rebelles.

Moreouer, here is to bee remembred, that poore Kyng Henrye the ſixth, a little before depriued (as yee haue hearde) of hys Realme and imperiall Crowne, was nowe in the Tower ſpoyled of hys lyfe, by Rycharde Duke of Glouceſter, (as the conſtante fame ranne) who to the intente that hys brother Kyng Edwarde myghte rayne in more ſuretie, murthered the ſayde King Henry with a dagger, althoughe ſome writers of that time fauouryng altogyther the houſe of Yorke, haue recorded, that after hee vnderſtode what loſſes hadde chaunced to hys friendes, and howe not onely his ſon, but alſo all other hys chief partakers were dead and diſpatched, he toke it ſo to harte, that of pure diſpleaſure, indignation, and melancolie, hee dyed the three and twentith of May.

Hall.
King Henry the ſixth murthered in the Tower.

The dead corps on the Aſcention euen, was conueyed with bylles and gleaues pompouſly (if you wyll call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower, to the Churche of Sainte Paule, and there layde on a beere, where it reſted the ſpace of one whole daye, and on the nexte daye after, it was conueyd without Prieſt or

The nine and twentith of May.

Clearke, torche or taper, ſinging or ſaying, vnto the Monaſterie of Charteſey, diſtant from London fiftene miles, and there was it firſt buryed, but after, it was remoued to Windeſore, and there in a newe vawte, newly intumulate. Hee raigned eyght and thirtie yeares, ſixe monethes & odde dayes, & after his readẽption of ẏ Crowne ſixe monethes. He lyued two and fiftie yeares, hauyng by hys wife one onely ſonne, called Edwarde, Prince of Wales. He was of a ſeemely ſtature, of body ſlender, to whiche proportion, all other members were aunſwerable, hys face beautifull, in the whiche continually was reſidente, the bountie of minde, with the whiche hee was inwardlye indewed. Of hys owne natural inclination, he abhorred all the vices, as well of the body as of the ſoule. His pacience was ſuche, that of all the iniuries to hym done (whyche were innumerable) hee neuer aſked vengeaunce, thinkyng, that for ſuche aduerſitie that chaunced to hym, hys ſynnes ſhoulde bee forgotten and forgyuen. What loſſes ſo euer happened vnto hym, hee neuer eſteemed, nor made anye accompt thereof, but if any thyng were done, that myghte ſounde as an offence towards GOD, hee ſore lamented, and with great repentaunce ſorowed for it, ſo that full vnlyke it is, that hee dyed of anye wrath, indignation, and diſpleaſure, bycauſe hys buſineſſe about the keeping of the Crowne on hys head, tooke no better ſucceſſe, excepte peraduenture yee will ſaye, that it greeued hym, for that ſuch ſlaughters and miſchieues as hadde chaunced within thys lande, came to paſſe onely through hys folly and defaulte in gouernemente, or that more is, for hys fathers, his Grandfathers, and hys owne vniuſt vſurping, and deteyning of the Crowne. But howſoeuer it was, for theſe before remembred, and other the lyke properties of reputed holyneſſe, whych was ſayde to reſt in hym, it pleaſed God to worke miracles for hym in hys lyfe tyme, as menne haue lyſted to report, by reaſon whereof, King Henrye the ſeauenth ſewed to Pope Iulio the ſeconde, to haue hym canonized a Sainct, but for that the canonizing of a King, ſeemed to bee more coſtly than of a Byſhoppe; the ſayde Kyng left off hys ſute in that behalfe, thynkyng better to ſaue his money, than to purchaſſe a newe holy day of Sainte Henrye, with ſo great a price, remitting to God the iudgemente of hys will and intent.

Canonizing of kings, deere

Eaton colledge.

Kinges colledge in Cambridge.

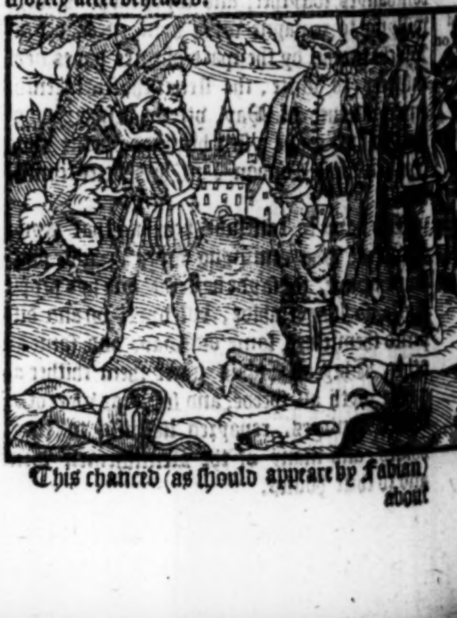
Thys Henrye the ſixte, amongſt other good deedes, buylte the Schoole of Eton by Windeſor, and alſo the Kings Colledge in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, whereof hys liberal mind towardes the mayntenance of good learning, may euidently be coniectured.

But nowe to returne to King Edward. Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that after hys commyng to London, hee reſted there but one day, or two at the moſt, takyng hys iourney forthrighte into Kente with all hys armie, following the baſterd, and other his complices, to ſuppreſſe them, if they were in anye place aſſembled agayne to reſiſt him, but after they were once diſperſed, they durſt not ſhewe themſelues agayne in armour, thoſe onely excepted, that were withdrawen vnto Sandwiche with the baſterde, whiche for the more parte were marriners, an eyght or nine hundred, beſyde certayne other euill diſpoſed perſons, that accompanyed hym, as hys ſoldiers, and men of warre, with whoſe aſſiſtance, the Baſterde kepte that Towne by ſtrength, hauing in the hauen a ſeauen and fortie Shyppes, greate and ſmall vnder his gouernaunce, but vpon the Kings approching neere vnto thoſe parties, they ſente to hym for pardon, promiſing, that vpon a reaſonable appoyntment, for ẏ ſafegard of their liues, and other indempnities to bee hadde for their benefite, they woulde become hys faithfull ſubiectes, & deliuer into his hands all the Shippes. Their offer the K. vppon great conſiderations, & by good deliberate aduice of counſell, thought beſt to accept, & there vpon, being at that time in Canterburie, he graunted to theyr petitions, and ſent immediately vnto Sãdwich hys brother Richard Duke of Glouceſter, to receyue them to mercie, togither with all the Shippes, which according to their promiſe, they deliuered into his handes. But notwithſtanding that (as ſome write) the Baſterde Fauconbridge, and other of hys companie that were gote to Sandwiche, had thus theyr pardons by compoſition at the Kyngs hande, we finde neuertheleſſe, that the ſayde Baſterd, beeing afterwards at Sea (a rouing belyke, as hee hadde vſed before) came at length into the open hauen at Southhampton, and there taking lande, was apprehended, and ſhortly after beheaded.

Sandwiche
by the rebe

The rebelles
ſue for pard

The baſterde
of Faucon-
bridge beh
ded.



This chanced (as ſhould appeare by Fabian) about the latter ende of October. Moreouer Roger Vaughan that had bin ſent by K. Edwarde into Wales, anon after Teukeſbury field (being a man of great power in that countrey) to entrap and ſurpriſe by ſome ſecrete ſleight the Earle of Pembroke, the ſayd erle being therof aduertiſed, caught the ſame Roger, and without delay ſtroke off his head. After this, was the erle beſieged in the towne of Pembroke by Morgan Thomas, but the ſiege was reiſed by Dauid Thomas brother to the ſayd Morgan, a faithfull frende to the Erle, and then the erle by his help was conueyed to Tynby, where he got ſhips, and with his nephew the Lord Henry erle of Richmond ſayled into Britain, where of the Duke they were curteouſly intertayned, with aſſurance made, that no creature ſhould do them any wrong or iniurie within his dominions.

King Edward viſiting diuers places in Kent ſatte in iudgement on ſuch as had ayded the baſtard in the laſt cōmotion, of whom diuers were condemned and executed, as Spiling one of the captains that aſſaulted Algate, whoſe head was ſet vp ouer the ſame gate: and ſo likewiſe was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other captaine amongſt them, and chief of thoſe that aſſaulted Biſhops gate, as ſome write.

Moreouer, at Canterbury, the Maior of that citie was executed, and diuers other at Rocheſter, Maydſtone, and Blackheath: for the Lord Marſhal and other Iudges beeing appointed to hold their Oyer and determiner in that countrey of Kent, there were aboue an hundred indited & condemned. Diuers alſo of the Eſſex men that had bin partakers in this rebellion with the baſtard, and holpe to ſet fire on Biſhops gate & Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford & London. Manie of the welthy cōmons in Kent were put to grieuous fines, and when the king had made an end of his buſineſſe in that countrey, he returned to London, comming thither againe vppon Whitſon euen, being the firſte of Iune, and hauing thus within the ſpace of .xj. weekes, recouered in maner the whole poſſeſſion of his realme, being relieued of the moſt part of all his doubtfull ſtate, he ment to remoue al ſtops out of the way, and therfore ſent the Archbiſhop of Yorke brother to the Erle of Warwike, and to the Marquis Montacute ouer to Guyſnes, ther to be kept in ſafe cuſtodie within the caſtell, where he continued a long ſeſon, til at length he was by frendſhip deliuered, and ſhortly after through very anguiſh of mind, departed this life, whom Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the ſea of Yorke, did ordinarilly ſucceede.

The archb. of Yorke.

Beſyde this, Iohn Earle of Oxford, whiche after Barnet field, both manfully and valiantly kept Saint Michaels mount in Cornwall, either for lacke of ayde, or perſwaded by his frendes, gaue vp the Mount, and yelded himſelfe to king Edward (his life onely ſaued) which to him was graunted, but to be out of all doubt of his imaginations, King Edward alſo ſente hym ouer the ſea to the Caſtell of Hammes, where by the ſpace of twelue yeares he was in ſtrong priſon ſhut vp and warely looked to.

The Earle of Oxforde.

1472

An. reg. 12.

King Edwarde was not a little diſquieted in his minde, for that the Earles of Pembroke and Richmont were not onely eſcaped out of the Realme, but alſo well receyued and entertained of the Duke of Britaine, hee ſente therefore in ſecrete wiſe graue and cloſe meſſengers to the ſayde Duke, the whyche ſhoulde not ſpare to promiſſe the Duke greate and large rewardes, ſo that hee would deliuer both the Earles into their handes and poſſeſſion.

Meſſengers ſent to the duke of Britaine.

The Duke after hee hadde hearde them that were ſente, made thys aunſwere, that hee could not with his honour deliuer them to whome hee hadde giuen his faith to ſee them preſerued from all iniurie, but this (hee ſaide) he woulde do for the King of Englande, that they ſhoulde bee ſo looked vnto, as he needed not to doubt of anye attempt to bee made againſt hym by them or by theyr meanes. The Kyng receyuing this aunſwere, wrote louingly to the Duke of Britaine that hee woulde conſider his friendſhippe, wyth conuenient rewardes, if it ſhoulde pleaſe him to bee as good as hys promiſſe. The Duke perceiuyng gaine commyng by the abode of the two Engliſh earles in his country, cauſed them to be ſeperated in ſunder, and all their ſeruaunts being Engliſhmen to be ſequeſtred frō them, & in their places appointed Britons to attend them.

In the thirteenthe yeare of his raigne King Edwarde called his highe courte of Parliament at his Pallaice of Weſtminſter, in the whiche all lawes and ordinaunces made by hym before that day were confirmed, and thoſe that King Henry had abrogated after his readeption of the Crowne were againe reuiued. Alſo lawes were made for the confiſcation of traytors goodes, and for the reſtoring of them that were for his ſake, fled the realme, whiche of his aduerſaries hadde ben attaynted of high treaſon, and condemned to dye. Moreouer towards his charges of late ſuſteyned, a competent ſumme of money was demaunded and freely graunted. There was alſo a pardon graunted almoſt for all offences, and all men then being within the Realme, were releaſed and diſcharged of all high treaſons & crimes, although they had taken part with his aduerſaries againſt him. In this ſeaſon the D. of Burgongne had ſore warres with the French K. & to be the more ſpedily reuenged on his aduerſarie, he ſent Ambaſſadors into Englande, to perſwade

1473

An. reg. 13.

A Parliament.

A Subſidie.

A pardon.

Ambaſſadours from the duke of Burgongne.

kyng Edward to make war alſo on the French Kyng, for the recouerie of his auncient right in the Realme of Fraunce, by the ſame Frenche Kyng agaynſt all equitie, withholden and deteyned.

King Edward not ſo much for yͤ loue he bare to the duke of Burgongne, as for deſire to be reuenged on the Frenche king, whome he toke to be his enimie for aydyng the Earle of Warwike, Queene Margaret, and hir ſonne Prince Edward, and their complices, gaue good eare to the duke of Burgongne his meſſengers, and finally after he had taken aduice of his counſell, the ſaid Meſſengers were anſwered, that K. Edwarde in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Caleys with a puiſſaunt armie, both to reuenge ſuche iniuries as hee had receiued at the Frenche kings handes, and alſo to recouer his right, whiche he wrongfully deteyned from him.

Oportunitie not to bee neglected.

The Earle of Sainct Pol.

In deed the tyme ſerued verie well for yͤ Engliſhmẽ to atchieue ſom high enterpriſe in Frãce at that preſent, for not onely the Duke of Burgongne as then made warre againſt the French K. but alſo many great men within the realm of France, miſlyking the maners of their king, began to haue ſecret intelligẽce with the ſaid duke, and namely Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of S. Paule Coneſtable of France was ſecretly confederate with the duke of Burgongne, intendyng verily to bring the French kyng to ſome great hinderance, the better to haue his purpoſe accompliſhed in certain weightie matters.

A shift to recouer money.

King Edward vnderſtanding all theſe thinges, was greatly encoraged to make a iorney into France, & thervpon with all diligence prepared all things ready for the ſame, and bicauſe he wanted money, and coulde not well charge hys cõmons with a newe ſubſidie, for that he had receyued the laſt yeare great ſums of money granted to him by Parliament, he deuiſed this ſhift to call afore him a great number of the wealthyeſt ſort of people of his realme, and to them declaring his neede, and the requiſite cauſes therof, he demaunded of euerye of them ſome portion of money, which they ſticked not to giue, and therfore the K. willing to ſhew yͭ this their liberalitie was very acceptable to him, he called this grant of money a Beneuolence, notwithſtanding that many with grudge gaue great ſummes toward that newe found ayde, which of them might bee called a Maleuolence: but the K. vſed ſuche gentle faſhions toward them, with frendly prayer of their aſſiſtance in his neceſſitie, that they coulde not otherwyſe doe but frankely and freelye yeelde and giue hym a reaſonable and competent ſumme.

1474

An. reg. 14.

The king an army pa ouer into France.

When all things conuenient for ſuche an enterpriſe were in a redineſſe, the king came to Douer, where he founde .v. C. ſhippes and hoyes redie to tranſport hym and his armie. And ſo the fourth day of Iuly he paſſed ouer, and landed at Caleys with great triumph, but his armie, horſes, and munitions of warre ſcarce paſſed ouer in .xx. dayes.

The ſiege of Nuſſe.

The Lorde Scales.

In thys Armye (beeing one of the beſt appoynted that had paſſed oute of Englande into Fraunce in many yeares before) were fiftene hundred men of armes well horſed, of the which the moſt parte were barded and richely trapped, and many of them trimmed in one ſuite. There were alſo .xv. M. Archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number rode on horſebacke: there were alſo a great companie of other fighting men, and of ſuche as ſerued to ſette vp Tentes and pauilions, to attende the artillerye and to encloſe their campe, and otherwiſe to labour, and to bee employed in ſeruice. In all this armye was there not one Page. The King of Englande was at his arriuall highly diſpleaſed wyth the Duke of Burgongne, whiche in the worde of a Prince hadde promiſed to meete hym at hys landyng wyth two thouſande men of armes and lyghte horſemenne, beſide a great number of Launſquenetz, and Halberdiers, and that hee woulde haue begonne the warre three monethes before the Kings tranſporting, whereas contrarily, the duke lay lingeryng at the ſiege of Nuſſe, and let paſſe the occaſion of atchieuing a more profitable enterpriſe. Kyng Edwarde incontinently diſpatched the Lord Scales in poſte vnto the Duke, to put hym in remembraunce of his promiſe, and to aduiſe him to come and ioyn wyth hym before the Sommer were ſpente.

A defyaunce ſent to the Frenche King.

Before King Edwarde departed from Douer, hee ſente an officer of armes vnto the french King wyth a defyaunce. The Frenche Kyng receyuyng the King of Englandes letters at the meſſengers hande, redde the ſame, and after he hadde conſidered thereof at leaſure, hee called the Engliſhe Harrault aſide, and to hym declared the little truſte that was to bee putte in the Duke of Burgongne, and the Coneſtable, by whoſe procurement hee knewe that King Edwarde was procured to come at that ſeaſon into Fraunce, and therefore it ſhoulde bee better for hym to haue peace wyth an old enemy, than to ſtaye vppon the promiſſes and familiaritie of a newe diſſimulyng friende, whyche peace bothe moſt pleaſed God, & was the thyng that he moſt deſyred: when hee hadde ſayde, he gaue to the Herrauld three hundred Crownes, promyſyng him a thouſande Crownes if any good appointment came to paſſe.

The office of an Harrault.

Thys Herrauld was borne in Normandie, & being more couetous of the crowns thã ſecrete according as of duetie by his office hee ought to haue bin, promiſed to do all things that in hym lay, and further ſhewed wayes by the whiche the Frenche king myght enter into the port of treatie for peace, the whiche he doubted not but would ſorte to a good concluſion. The Frenche kyng glad to heare theſe things, gaue to the Heraulde when he ſhould depart, beſyde the other rewarde, a peece of crimſen veluet of .xxx. yardes long. The [illegible] cōming to ẏ duke of Burgongne, before Nuſſe, could not perſwade him to ryſe his ſiedge, & as it ſtode him vpon, to come and ioyne with K. Edward, til at length conſtrained therto by other means, he left Nuſſe vnconquered, ſending the moſte parte of his armie into Lorrain, came with a ſmall company to K. Edward, lying before Caleys. King Edwarde at the firſte cōming of the duke vnto him, ſemed much to reproue his vnwyſe dealing, in makyng ſo ſlowe haſt to ioyne with him at thys tyme, ſith for his ſake, and at his ſute, he had paſſed the ſeas with his army, to the intent to make warres in Frāce in reuenge of both their iniuries, the time ſeruing their turnes ſo well as they could wiſh or deſire; the oportunitie wherof, could neuer happely bee recouered agayn. The Duke after he had excuſed himſelfe, with alledging the diſhonour that ſhould haue redounded to him if he had lefte the ſiege of Nuſſe, without meane of ſome ſhew of compoſition, encoraged K. Edward to aduance forward with many golden promiſes, aſwell of his owne parte, as of the Conneſtable; the King agreed to ẏ dukes perſwaſion, & ſo ſet forwarde: but yet when he was entred into the dukes contreys, ẏ Engliſhmē were not ſo frendly entertained as they loked to haue bin: for at their cōming to Peronne, there were but a fewe ſuffred to enter the gates, the remnant were driuen to lodge in the fieldes, better purueyed of their owne, than of the dukes prouiſion. And at their cōming before S. Quintines (which town the Coneſtable had promiſed to deliuer into the hands of ẏ duke of Burgongne) the artillerie ſhot off, and they of the town came forth both on horſeback & foot to ſkirmiſh with them ẏ approched, of ẏ which, ij. or .iij. were ſlaine. This entertaynment ſeemed ſtrange to K. Edw. pondering the laſt days promiſe, & this dayes doing. But ẏ duke excuſed the matter, & woulde haue perſwaded him to make coūtenāce to beſiege the town, ẏ the Coneſtable might haue a color to render it into his hands, as though he did it by cōſtrainte. But the K. remembring what had bin tolde to hys Herralde by the French K. how he ſhuld be diſſimuled wt, perceiued the Frēch kings wordes to be too true, & therfore thought it more ſurer to heare the fair wordes of the Coneſtable, & the duke, than to giue credite to their vntrue & diſceytfull doings. The engliſh men returned to their campe in a great chafe towards the Coneſtable, & the next day to increaſe their diſpleaſure, an other corſey was miniſtred, that ſmarted ſorer; for duke Charles of Burgongne toke his leaue ſodainly of K. Edward, alledging that he muſt needes ſee his armie in Barroys, promiſing ſhortly with all his puiſſance to returne agayne to the great commoditie of them both. This departing muche troubled the king of England, bicauſe he loked for no ſuche thing, but thought rather ẏ he ſhoulde haue had the duke his continual felow in armes: & therfore this diſſembling and yuil cōceiued working, cauſed the king to thinke, that he neuer thought, & to doe that he neuer intended. The Frenche K. in thys meanwhile had aſſembled a mighty power, ouer the whiche he had made captaine Monſ. Rob. de Eſtoutvile, whome he ſent into Artoys, to defend the frontiers there againſt the king of Englandes entrie, and hee hymſelfe tarried ſtill at Senlis. But though hee ſhewed countenaunce thus of warre, yet inwardly deſirous of peace, according to the aduice giuen him by the engliſhe Herraulde, hee cauſed a varlet or yoman, as I may cal him, to be put in a cote armor of Frāce, which for haſt was made of a trumpet baner, for K. Lewes was a man nothyng preciſe in outward ſhewes of honor, of many yeres hauing very fewe officers of armes nor trumpet in his courte.

The Duke of Burgongne commeth to king Edward.

The Duke of Burgongne departeth.

This counterfaite Herraulde being throughly inſtructed in his charge, was ſente to the K. of England, & ſo paſſing forth when he approched the Engliſhe campe, hee put on his cote of Armes, & beyng eſpied of the outriders, was brought to the tent where the Lord Howarde, and the Lorde Stanley were at diner, of whome he was curteouſly receiued, and by them conueyed to ẏ kings preſence, vnto whom he declared his meſſage ſo wittily, that in the ende he obteined a ſafe conduct for one hundred horſes, for ſuche perſons as his maiſter ſhould appoint to meete, as many to be aſſigned by K. Edward in ſome indifferent place betweene both the armies, to haue alyke ſafeconduct from his ſaid maiſter, as he receiued from him.

The Conſtable of Fraunce a doble diſſembler.

A meſſenger ſent to the K. of Englande.

After that the ſafe conducts were deliuered on both partes, the Ambaſſadors mette at a village beſide Amiens: on the kyng of Englandes ſyde, the Lorde Howarde, Sir Thomas Sentleger, doctor Morton after biſhop of Ely, and Chancellour of England, were chiefe. For the Frenche K. the baſtard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of Sainte Pierre, the Byſhoppe of Eureux called Heberge, were apointed as principall. The Engliſhmen firſt demaunded the whole Realme of Fraunce, or at the leaſt Normandye and whole Acquitayne, the allegations were proued by the Engliſhmen, and politikely defended by the Frenchmen, ſo that with

Commiſſioners appointed to treate of peace.

argumentes, without concluſion, the daye paſſed, and the commiſsioners departed, and made relation to their maiſters. The Frenche K. & his counſel wold not conſent yͭ the Engliſhmē ſhuld haue one foot of land within Fraunce, but rather determined to put himſelf & the whole realme in hazard & aduenture. At the next meting yͤ commiſsioners agreed vpon certain articles, which were of both yͤ princes accepted & allowed. It was firſt accorded yͭ the French K. ſhuld pay to yͤ king of Englād without delay. 75000. crownes of yͤ ſun, & yerely .L.M. crownes to be payd at London, during K. Edwards life.

Articles of agrement betvvene kyng Edvvarde and the french king.

And further it was agreed, yͭ Charles the Dolphyn ſhould mary the lady Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to K. Edward, & they two to haue for yͤ maintenāce of their eſtates, the whole duchy of Guyenne, or elſe .L.M. crownes yerely, to be payd within yͤ toure of Lōdon by yͤ ſpace of .ix. yeres, & at the end of yͤ terme, the Dolphyn & his wife to haue yͤ whole duchye of Guyenne, & of yͭ charge the French K. to be clerely acquit. And it was alſo cōcluded, that the .ij. princes ſhuld come to an enterview, & ther take a corporal othe for the performance of thys peace, eyther in ſight of other.

VVant of money procureth peace.

On the K. of Englands part wer cōpriſed as alyes (if they wold therto aſſent) yͤ dukes of Burgoigne & Britain. It was alſo couenāted, yͭ after the whole ſum aforeſayd of 75000. crowns were payde to K. Edw. he ſhuld leaue in hoſtage the L. Haward, & ſir Ja. Cheyny maiſter of his horſe, til he & al his army was paſſed the ſeas. This agrement was very acceptable to yͤ French K. for he ſaw himſelf and hys realme therby deliuered out of great peril yͭ was at hand: for not only he ſhuld haue bin aſſailed, if this peace had not takē place, both by yͤ power of Englād & Burgongne, but alſo by the duke of Britain, & diuers of his own people, as yͤ Conſtable & others. The K. of England alſo vnderſtanding his own ſtate, for wante of moneye, to mayntayne the warres, if they ſhuld long continue (though otherwiſe he deſired to haue attempted ſome high enterpriſe againſt the Frenchmē) was the more eaſily induced to agree by thoſe of his counſel, yͭ loued peace better thā war, & their wyues ſoft beds better thā hard armor & a ſtony lodging.

The duke of Glouceſter an enimie to peace

But the D. of Glouceſter & other, whoſe ſwords thirſted for Frenche bloud, cried out on this peace, ſaying yͭ al their trauell, pain & expenſes wer to their ſhame, loſt and caſt away, & nothing gayned but a continual mocke.

The Duke of Burgongne cōmeth in haſte to the King of Englande.

When the duke of Burgogne heard yͭ there was a peace in hand betwixt K. Edward & the French king, he came in no ſmall haſt from Lutzenburgh, only accōpanied with .xvj. horſes into the K. of Englandes lodging, and began as one in a greate chafe ſore to blame his doings, declaring in plain termes how diſhonorable this peace ſhuld be vnto him, hauing atchieued nothing of that aboute the which he came. The K. of England after he had giuen him leaue to ſpeake his fanſie, anſwered him ſomwhat courtly againe, openly ſignifying him for his promiſe breaking & vncurteous dealing with him, wherfor his cauſe, chiefly he had paſſed the ſeas, & now found him not to kepe touch in any one point which he had couenāted. The duke being in a great rage, bad the king of England farwel, & ſodainly toke his horſe, & rode againe to Lutzenburgh, promiſing not to enter into any league with the Frenche King, till king Edward was paſſed the ſeas againe into England & had bin there .iij. monthes: but this promiſe was not performed, for of neceſſitie hee toke a wiſer way, & agreed with the French K. vpon a truce immediatly after the departure of the Engliſhe armie oute of his countreye.

He departeth from the King in a rage.

The Conſtable of France alſo, doubting yͭ his vntrouthe would be diſcloſed to his deſtruction, by meanes of this agreement betwene yͤ kings of England & France, as ſoon as he heard they were entred into communication therof, ſent to king Edw. requiring him not to credite the French kings promiſes, which he would no lōger obſerue, thā vntil he ſhuld once vnderſtand, that he was on the other ſide of the ſea: & rather than he ſhuld agree, for want of money, he offred to lend him .L.M. crowns. But the king of England, ſith the accord was paſſed & agreed, wold not change any thing for the promiſes of ſo ſlipper a merchāt as he knew the conſtable to be.

The Conſtable of Fraunce his offer to King Edvvard.

After yͭ the peace was concluded, the Engliſhmen were permitted to enter into the towne of Amiens, and there to buy ſuch neceſſarie things as they wanted, & had plentie of wine and good cheere made them of the French kings coſt, for at the entrie of euery gate, there were .ij. long tables ſet on euery ſide of the ſtreete where they ſhould paſſe, & at euery table ſat .v. or .vj. gentlemen of the beſt companions of all the countrey were appointed to enterteyn the engliſhmen as they entred, and to ſee them ſerued without lacking. This chere laſted .iij. or .iiij. dayes not only to the Frenche kings coſte, but alſo to hys vnquietnes at length, doubting to haue bin diſpoſſeſſed of his towne: For one day there were the number of .ix. M. engliſhmen well armed in ſundry companies, ſo that no frenchman durſt once forbid them to enter, but finally, order was takē by the king of England, who ment no deceit, that no greater nūber ſhuld enter, than was conuenient, & the other were called backe, ſo that the French king & his counſel were well quieted, & rid of caſting further perils thā nede required.

After this, bothe the Kynges enteruiewed togither at Picqueny on the water of Somme .iij. leagues aboue Amiens, ſhewyng greate curteſie eyther to other. The letters of both their agree-

The enteruievv betvvix King Edvvard the fourth, and the French King.

ments were opened & red, and then either Prince layd his right hand on the miſſal, & his left hande on yͤ holy Croſſe (as it was tearmed) & toke there a ſolemne othe to obſerue and kepe the treatie for ix. yeares concluded betweene them with al their confederates and alies, compriſed, mencioned and ſpecified in the ſame, and further to accompliſhe the marriage of their children. There was wyth either prince .xij. noble mẽ at this meeting, which was vpõ a bridge caſt ouer the water of Sōme, a grate beyng ſet a trauerſe the ſame in the middes, ſo from ſide to ſide, that the one Prince could not come vnto the other, but only to imbrace eche other, in putting their armes through the holes of the grate. There were four Engliſhmen appointed to ſtand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to ſee their demeanor; and likewiſe .iiij. Frenchmen were appointed to the Engliſhmen for the ſame purpoſe. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the erle of Northumberland, the biſhop of Elie his chãcellor, the lord Haſtings his chamberlain, and .viij. others. They hadde louing and very familiar talke togither a good ſpace, bothe afore their company, and ſecretly alone, whileſt their company of curteſy withdrew ſomewhat backe. Finally, when theſe Princes had ended their communication, they toke leaue eyther of other in moſt louyng & amiable wiſe, & then mounting on horſback, they departed, the French king to Amiens, and Kyng Edward to his armie. The Frenche king gaue to dyuers of the Engliſh Lords great rewards, as to the L. Chancellor, to the L. Haſtings, to yͤ L. Haward, to ſir Thomas Montgomery, to ſir Thomas Sentleger, to ſir John Cheyny, to the Marques Dorſet, and to diuers other. And beſide the extraordinarie rewards, which he beſtowed amongſt them to haue their ſtedfaſt fauour and good willes, he gaue to them great pẽcions, amounting to the ſumme of .xvj. thouſand crounes a yere. When the king of England had receiued his money, & his nobilitie their rewardes, he truſſed vp his tents, and laded his baggage, & departed towards Caleys, where at his cõming thither, he toke ſhip, and ſailed with a proſperous winde into Englande, and was royally receyued vpon Blackheath by the Mayre of London and the Magiſtrates, & .v.C. comoners appareled in Murrey, the .28. daye of September, and ſo cõueyed thorough yͤ citie of Weſtmin. where for a while after his long labor, he repoſed himſelfe. About the ſame ſeaſon, the French king to compaſſe his purpoſe for the getting of the Conneſtable into his hands, toke truce with the duke of Burgongne for .ix. yeres, as a cõtractor in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alye. The K. of England aduertiſed hereof, ſente ouer Sir Thomas Montgomerye to the French king, offring to paſſe the ſeas agayn the next ſommer in his ayde to make warres on the duke of Burgongne, ſo that the French K. ſhuld pay to him fiftie thouſand crownes for the loſſe whiche hee ſhould ſuſtein in his cuſtome, by reaſon that the wolles at Caleys bycauſe of the warres could haue no vent, and alſo pay half the charges, and half the wages of his ſouldiors and men of warre. The Frenche K. thanked the K. of England for his gentle offer, but hee alleged that the truce was already concluded, ſo that he coulde not then attempte any thing againſt the ſame without reproche to his honour. But the trouth was, the French K. neither loued the ſight nor liked the companie of the King of England on yͤ ſide the ſea, but when he was here at home, he both loued him as his brother, and toke hym as his frende. Syr Thomas Montgomery was with plate richly rewarded, and ſo diſpatched.

The Frenche king liberalitie.

King Edward returneth into Englande.

Sir Thomas Montgomery.

There returned with him the Lord Hawarde and ſir John Cheyny, whiche were hoſtages with the French king till the Engliſh army were returned into Englande.

1475

An. reg. 15.

K. Edw. hauing eſtabliſhed al things in good order, as mẽ might iudge, both within his realme & without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that Hẽry the erle of Richmond, one of yͤ bloud of K. Henry yͤ vj. was aliue, & at libertie in Britaine: therfore to attẽpt eftſoons the mind of Fraunceis D. of Britain, he ſent ouer vnto yͤ ſaid duke, one doctor Stillington & two other his ambaſſadors laden with no ſmal ſum of gold. Theſe ambaſſadors declaring their meſſage, affirmed yͭ the K. their maſter willed to haue the erle of Richmõd, only for this purpoſe, to ioyn with him in alyãce by marriage, & ſo to plucke vp al the leauings of diſcord betwixt him & the contrary faction. The duke gently heard the Orators, & thoughe at the firſt he by excuſes denied their requeſt, yet at the length beleuing that K. Edw. wold giue to the erle his eldeſt daughter, yͤ lady Elizabeth in marriage, he conſented to deliuer him, & receyued of yͤ engliſh Orators a great ſumme of mony: but ere they were embarked with their pray, the D. being aduertiſed, that the erle of Richmond was not ſo earneſtly ſought for, to be coupled in marriage with K. Edward his daughter, but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, cauſed his treaſorer Peter Landoyſe to cõuey the ſayd Erle of Richmond into a ſanctuarie at S. Malo, wher the Engliſh ambaſſadors then lay, only ſtaying for a cõuenyẽt wind: who complayned, that they were euill vſed to bee ſpoyled both of their moneye and merchandiſe, yet bycauſe the matter was ſo handeled, that it ſeemed the Earle eſcaped into the Sanctuarie thoroughe theyr owne negligence, after they hadde receyued hym into their handes,

Henry earle of Richmonde.

Ambaſſadours into Britaine.

The Earle of Richmonde taketh Sanctuarie.

they were ſone annſwered, but yet promiſe was made that the Erle ſhould be ſafely kept, either in the Sanctuarie, or elſe as priſoner in the Dukes houſe, that they ſhuld not need to feare him more than his ſhadow. And thus the K. of Englande purchaſed for his money, the keeping of his enimie, the ſpace onely of .iij. dayes, and no more.

King Edw. was ſomwhat diſpleaſed wyth this chance, but yet truſting that the D. of Britayn wold according to promiſe, ſee the Erle of Richmont ſafely kept from doing any greuance to him or his ſubiects, put all doubtes therof out his mynd, & began to ſtudy how to kepe a liberal princely houſe, and therupon ſtoryng his cheſts with money, hee imployed no ſmall portion in good houſe keepyng.

1476

An. reg. 16. The deathe of the Duke of Burgongne.

This yere the duke of Burgongne was ſlain by the Swytzers, before the towne of Nancy in Lorrayne, after whoſe death the French K. wan all the townes which the ſayd Duke held in Picardie and Arthoys, and bycauſe that the towne of Bolongne and countie of Bolongnoys, appertayned by right of inheritance vnto the Lord Berthram de la Toure, Earle of Auuergne, the Frenche king bought of hym his righte and title in the ſame, and recompenced hym wyth other landes in the countie of Foreſts, and in other places. And bicauſe the forenamed town and countye were holden of the Erledome of Arthoys, he chāged the tenure, and auowed to hold the ſame towne and countye of our Lady of Bolongne, and therof did homage to the image in the great churche of Bolongne, offering there an heart of gold, weying two thouſand crowns, ordeyning further that his heires and ſucceſſors at their entrie into their eſtates, by them ſelues or their deputies, ſhuld offer an hart of like weight & value as a reliefe & homage for ẏ ſame town & coūtye.

1477

About this ſeaſon through great miſhap, the ſparke of priuie malice was newly kindeled betwixt the K. and his brother the D. of Clarence, inſomuch that where one of the dukes ſeruantes was ſodeinly accuſed (I can not ſay whether of truth, or untruly ſuſpected by the dukes enimies) of poyſoning, ſorcerie or inchauntmente, and therof cōdemned, & put to executiō for the ſame, the Duke whiche might not ſuffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conſcience iudged) nor yet forbeare but to murmure and reproue the doyng therof, moued the Kyng with his dayely exclamation to take ſuche diſpleaſure with hym, that finally the Duke was caſt into the Tower, and therwith adiudged for a traytour, and priuilye drowned in a butte of Malmeſey, the .xj. of Marche, in the beginning of the .xvij. yeare of the kings reigne.

An. reg. 17. George Duke of Clarence drovvned in a butte of Malmey.

Some haue reported, that the cauſe of thys noble mans death roſe of a fooliſh propheſie whiche was, that after king Edwarde ſhould reigne one, whoſe firſt letter of his name ſhould be a G. wherewith the K. and the Quene were ſore troubled, & began to conceiue a greuous grudge againſt this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuill is wont to encomber the myndes of men which delite in ſuche diueliſh fantaſies, they ſaid afterwarde that that propheſie loſt not his effect, when after king Edward, Glouceſter vſurped his kingdom. Other alledged, that the cauſe of his death was for, that the duke being deſtitute of a wife by ẏ meanes of his ſiſter the lady Margarete, Ducheſſe of Burgongne, procured to haue the Lady Mary daughter & heire to hir huſband duke Charles. Which mariage K. Edward (enuying the proſperitie of his brother) both againſayd and diſturbed, and thereby olde malice reuiued betwixt them, whiche the Queene and hir bloud (euer miſtruſting, and priuily barking at the kynges lynage) ceaſſed not to encreaſe. But ſure it is, ẏ although king Edward were conſenting to his death, yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, and repent his ſodeyn execution. Inſomuch that when any perſon ſued to hym for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accuſtomably ſaye, and openly ſpeake: O infortunate brother, for whoſe life not one wold make ſuite, openly and apparantly meanyng by ſuche wordes that by the meanes of ſome of the nobilitie he was deceyued & brought to his confuſion.

Prophecies deuillish fantaſies.

This duke left behynd him two yong infantes begot of the body of his wife, the daughter of Richard late erle of Warwike, whiche children by deſtinie as it were, or by their owne merites, folowing the ſteps of their anceſtors, ſucceded them in like miſfortune and ſemblable euill chaunce. For Edward his heire whome K. Edward had created earle of Warwike was .xxiiij. yeares after in the tyme of Henry the ſeuenth, attaynted of treaſon, and on the Tower hill loſt his head: Margarete his ſole daughter maryed to ſir Richard Pole knight, and by Henry the .viij. reſtored to the name, title and poſſeſſiōs of the earledom of Saliſbury, was at length for treaſon cōmitted againſt the ſayd Henry the .viij. atteynted in open parliamēt, & ſixtie two yeres after hir father had ſuffred death in the tower, ſhe on the greene within the ſame place was beheaded. In whoſe perſon dyed the very ſurname of Plantagenet, whiche from Geoffrey Plantagenet ſo long in the bloud royall of this realme had floriſhed & continued. After ẏ death of this D. by reaſon of great heat & intemperancie of aire, happened ſo fierce and quicke a peſtilence, that fiftene yeares warre paſſe conſumed not the third parte of the people, that only foure moneths myſerably & pitifully diſpatched & brought to their graues.

Edvvar
of VVa
ſonne a
to Geo
duke o
rence.

Marga
teſſe of
bury.

A greate peſtilence.

The

1478
An. reg. 18.

The counſellors of the yong Duches of Burgongne ſent to King Edwarde for ayde againſt the French king, & aboute the ſame time had the Quene of Engl. ſente to the lady Margaret duches of Burgongne for ẏ preferrement of hir brother Anthonie erle Riuers to ẏ yong damſel: but the counſel of Flanders cōſidering ẏ he was but an Earle of meane eſtate, & ſhe the greateſt inheritrice of all Chriſtendom at that time, gaue but deafe eare to ſo vnmeet a requeſt. To which deſire, if the Flemings had but giuen a lyking eare by outwarde ſemblance, and with gentle wordes delayed the ſuit, ſhe had bin both ſuccoured & defended. Whether K. Edw. was not contented with this refuſall, or ẏ he was loth to breake with the Frenche K. he wold in no wiſe conſent to ſend an armie into Flāders againſt ẏ French king, but yet he ſent Ambaſſadors to hym with louing & gentle letters, requiring hym to growe to ſome reſonable order and agreement with the yong Ducheſſe of Burgongne, or at the leaſt to take a truce with hir at his requeſt.

The ambaſſadors of Englād wer highly receiued, bountifully feaſted, & liberally rewarded, but anſwer to their deſire had they none, but that ſhortly after, the French K. wold ſend Ambaſſadors, hoſtages, and pledges to the K. of Englād their maiſter, for the perfecting and concludyng of all things depending betwene thẽ two, ſo that their ſoueraine lorde and they, ſhould haue cauſe to be contented and pleaſed. Theſe faire wordes were only delayes to driue tyme till hee mighte haue ſpace to ſpoyle the young Damoſell of hir townes and countreys. And beſide thys, to ſtay king Edwarde from taking parte with hir, hee wrote to him that if he would ioyne with him in ayde, he ſhould haue and enioye to him and hys heyres the whole countie and countrey of Flanders, diſcharged of homage, ſuperioritie and reſort to be claimed by the French K. or his ſucceſſors: and further he ſhould haue the whole duchy of Brabant, wherof the French king offered at his owne coſt & charge to conquer .iiij. the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt townes within the ſayd Duchye, and them in quiet poſſeſſion to deliuer to the K. of Englande, graunting further to pay to hym .x.M. angels toward his charges, with munitions of warre and artillerie, whiche he promyſed to lende him, with men and cariage for the conueyance of the ſame. The king of England refuſed to make any warres agaynſte thoſe countreyes that were thus offered to him: but if the Frenche King would make him partener of hys cōqueſts in Picardie, rendring to him part of the towns alredie gotten, as Bolongne, Monſtrel, and Abuile, then he wold ſurly take his part, and ayde him with men at his owne coſts & charges.

Large offers made to the K. of Englande by the French K.

Thus paſſed faire wordes and golden promiſes betwene theſe two princes, and in the meane time the yong ducheſſe of Burgongne was ſpoiled of hir townes, caſtels and territories, tyll at length for maintenance, ſhe condiſcended to marie w Maximilian ſonne to ẏ emperor Frederik, that he might kepe the wolfe from the folde.

1479
An. reg. 19.

King Edward in the .xix. yere of his reign began more than he was before accuſtomed to ſearch the forfaiture of penall lawes and ſtatutes, aſwel of the chief of his nobilitie as of other gentlemen being proprietaries of great poſſeſſions, or aboundantlye furniſhed with goodes, likewyſe of merchāts, & other inferior perſons: by reaſon wherof, it was of all men iudged ẏ he wold proue hereafter a ſore and a rigorous Prince among his ſubiects: but this his new inuēted practiſe and couetous meaning, (by reaſon of foreyn affaires and abridgement of his dayes in this tranſitorie lyfe, which were within two yeares after conſumed) toke ſome but not great effecte.

1480
An. reg. 20.

Ambaſſadors were ſent to and fro betwixt the K. of England & France, and ſtil the french king fed the K. of England with faire wordes, putting him in hope to match his ſon and heire the Dolphyn with the lady Elizabeth daughter to the K. of England, according to the concluſions of agreemēt had & made at Pyqueny betwixt them, although in very deede he meante nothing leſſe. His ambaſſadors euer made excuſes if any thing were amiſſe, & he vſed to ſend chaunge of ambaſſadors, ſo ẏ if thoſe which had bin here afore, and were returned, had ſayde or promiſed any thing (though they were authoriſed ſo to doe) whyche might turne to their maſters hindrance, the other that came after mighte excuſe themſelues by ignorance of ẏ matter, affirming that they wanted cōmiſſion once to talk or meddle with that matter, or if he perceiued that any thing was lyke to be concluded contrary to his mynde, for a ſhifte he would call his Ambaſſadours home in greate haſte, and after ſend an other with new inſtructions nothing depending on the olde.

Thus the French king vſed to dally with K. Edward in the caſe of this mariage, only to kepe hym ſtil in amitie: And certainly the king of England being a mā of no ſuſpicious nature, thought ſooner that the Sun ſhould haue fallen from his circle, than that the French king would haue diſſimuled or broken promiſe with him: but there is none ſo ſoone begyled, as he that leaſte myſtruſteth, nor anye ſo able to deceyue as hee to whom moſt credence is giuen: but as in myſtruſting nothing is great lightneſſe, ſo in too much truſtyng is to muche folly, whiche well appeared in this matter: for the Frenche king by cloakyng his inwarde determinate purpoſe, wyth greate dyſſimulation and large promyſſes, kept hym ſtil in frendſhip with the king of England,

The French K. fedeth the king of Englande vvith faire vvordes and promiſes.

till he had wrought a greate parte of his will againſt the yong Dutcheſſe of Burgougne, which king Edward would not haue ſuffered, if he had put any great doubt in the french kings fair promiſes, conſidering that the crown of France was in this mean time ſo much encreaſed in dominions, to the great reinforcement of that realme.

1481
An. reg. 21.

In this very ſeaſon James the thirde of that name K. of Scots ſent into England a ſolemne ambaſſade for to haue the ladie Cicelie, K. Edwards ſecond daughter to be maried to his eldeſt ſonne James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothſay, and earle of Carick. King Edward and his couſel, perceiuing that this affinitie ſhuld be both honorable and profitable to the Realme, did not only graunt to his deſire, but alſo beforehand diſburſed certain ſummes of money, to the only intent that the mariage ſhould hereafter neyther be hindred nor broken, with this condition, that if ẏ ſaid mariage by any accidentall meane ſhould in tyme to come take none effecte, or that K. Edw. wold notifie to the K. of Scots, or his counſell, that his pleaſure was determined to haue ẏ ſayd mariage diſſolued: Then ẏ Prouoſt & merchāts of the town of Edenburgh, ſhuld be bound for repayment of the ſaid ſum again. Al which things were with great deliberatiō cōcluded, paſſed and ſealed, in hope of cōtinuall peace & indiſſoluble amitie. But K. James was known to be a man ſo wedded to his own opinion, ẏ he could not abide thē that wold ſpeake cōtrary to his fantaſy, by meanes whereof, he was altogither led by the counſel and aduice of men of baſe linage, whome for their flatterie, he had promoted vnto great dignities & honorable offices, by which perſons, diuers of the nobilitie of his realme were greately miſuſed & put to trouble both with impriſonmēt exactions & death, inſomuche that ſome of them went into voluntarie exile. Amongſt whome Alexander duke of Albany, brother to K. James, being exiled into France, & paſſing through England, taried with king Edward, & vpon occaſion moued him to make war againſt his brother, ẏ ſaid K. James, for that he forgetting his othe, promiſe and affinity cōcluded with K. Edward, cauſed his ſubiectes to make roades & forrayes into the Engliſh borders, ſpoyling, brenning, & killing king Edwards liege people. King Edward not a little diſpleaſed with this vnprincely doing, prouoked & ſet on alſo by the D. of Albanye, determined to inuade Scotland with an armie, as wel to reuenge his owne iniuries receyued at the hands of king James, as to helpe to reſtore the D. of Albany vnto his countrey and poſſeſſions again. Herevpon al the winter ſeaſon, he muſtred his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged his ſhips, and left nothing vnprouided for ſuch a iorney, ſo that in the beginning of the yeare, all things appertayning to the warre, and neceſſarie for hys voyage, were in a readineſſe.

Ambaſſadours foorth of Scotlande.

Preparation for vvarre againſt Scotld.

1481
An. reg. 22.

To be his chieftayn of his hoſt, and lieutenant general, Rich. duke of Glouceſter was appoynted by his brother king Edward, and with him were adioyned as aſſociates, Henry the fourth earle of Northumberland, Tho. L. Stanley lorde Steward of the kings houſe, the L. Louell, the lorde Greyſtocke, and diuers other noble men, & worthie knights. Theſe valiant captains came to Alnewik in Northumberland, about the beginning of July, where they firſt encāped themſelues, & marſhalled their hoſt: The forewarde was led by the erle of Northūberland, vnder whoſe ſtanderd were the L. Scrope of Bolton, ſir Jo. Middleton, ſir Jo. Dichfielde, & diuers other knights, eſquiers and ſouldiors, to the number of vj. M. & vij. C. In the middle warde was the Duke of Glouceſter, and wyth hym the Duke of Albany, the lorde Louell, the lorde Greyſtock, ſir Edward Wooduile, and other to the number of fiue thouſand and eight hundred men. The L. Neuile was appoynted to folow, accompanied with iij. M. The Lorde Stanley led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battail with. iiij. M. men of Lancaſhire & Cheſhire. The Lord Fitzhugh, ſir Williā a Parre, ſir James Harrington, with the number of two thouſande ſouldiors, guyded the left wing: And beſide all theſe, there were one thouſand appointed to giue their attendaunce on the ordinance. This royall armie not intending to loſe tyme, came ſodeynly by the water ſide to the town of Barwike, and there what with force and what with feare of ſo great an army, tooke & entred the towne: but the erle of Bothwel being captain of the caſtell, wold in no wiſe deliuer it: wherfore the capitains vpon good and deliberate aduice, plāted a ſtrong ſiege roūd about it. Whē this ſiege was laid, the ij. dukes & al the other ſoldiors (except ẏ L. Stāley, ſir Jo. Elringtō treaſorer of ẏ kings houſe, ſir Will. a Parre, & 4000 men that were lefte behinde to keepe the ſiege) before

An army ſent into Scotland.

Barvvik vvon by the Engliſhmen.

before the caſtell) departed from Berwicke toward Edinborough, and in marching thitherward, they brent and deſtroyed many townes and baſtiles. King James hauing ſmall confidence in his communaltie, and leſſe truſt in his nobilitie, kept himſelfe within the caſtell of Edenborough. The Duke of Glouceſter entred into the towne, & at the ſpeciall deſire of the duke of Albany ſaued the towne, and the inhabitantes from fyer, bloude, and ſpoile, taking only of the marchauntes, ſuche preſents as they gentilly offered to hym and his captains, cauſing Gartier principall king at armes, to make a publike proclamation at the high croſſe in the market place of Edenborough, by the which he warned and admoniſhed king James, to keepe, obſerue, and performe, all ſuche promiſſes, compactes, couenauntes, and agreements, as he had concluded and ſealed to, with the king of Englande, and alſo to make ſufficiẽt recompence to his ſubiects, for the tyranny, ſpoile, and crueltie, which hee and his people had committed and don, contrary to yͤ league, within the marches of his realm of England, before the firſt day of Auguſt next enſuing. And further without delay to reſtore his brother the duke of Albany to his eſtate, and all his poſſeſſions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied and enioyed the ſame before: or elſe the duke of Glouceſter lieutenaunt generall for the king of England, was ready at hande to deſtroy hym, his people, and countreys, with ſlaughter, flame, and famine. King James woulde make no anſwer neyther by worde nor wrytyng, but kepte hymſelfe cloſe within the caſtell: but the lordes of Scotland lying at Hadington with a great puiſſaũce, determined firſt to practiſe with yͤ duke of Glouceſter for a peace, and after by ſome meanes to allure the duke of Albany from the Engliſhe amitie, & vpon this motion, the .ij. day of Auguſte they wrote to the duke of Glouceſter, requiring that the mariage betwene the prince of Scotland, & king Edwards daughter might be accompliſhed, according to the couenants, and further that a peace from thenceforth might bee louingly concluded betwene both realms. The duke of Glouceſter anſwered again to theſe demaundes, that for the article of the mariege, he knewe not the King his brothers determinate pleaſure, either for the affirmaunce, or denyall of the ſame, but neuertheleſſe he deſired full reſtitution of all yͤ ſums of money preſted out in lone vppon the ſame mariage, and as for peace he aſſured them he would agree to none, except the caſtel of Berwik might be to him deliuered, or at the leaſte wiſe that they ſhoulde vndertake yͭ the ſiege lying afore yͤ ſame ſhuld not be troubled by the K. of Scots, nor by any of his ſubiects, nor by his or their procuremẽt or meanes. The Scottiſh lordes vpon thys anſwer and demaundes of the duke of Glouceſter, ſent to hym the elect of Murray, & the lord Darnley, which excuſed the matter, touching the repayment of the mony, for that the time of the lawfull contracte of the ſame mariage, was not yet come, & no day appointed for the money to be paide before the contract begãne. But for further aſſurance, either for the contract to be made, or for the paiment of the money, they promyſed thereunto accordingly (as reaſon ſhould require) to agree. Secondarily as touching yͤ caſtel of Berwicke, they alledged that it apperteined to the realme of Scotland, as the olde inheritãce of the ſame. The duke notwithſtanding, all that they could ſay, wold agree to no peace, except yͤ Caſtell of Berwicke might be deliuered to the king of England, and ſo the meſſengers departed. The ſame day the archbiſhop of ſainct Andrewes, the Biſhop of Dunkell, Colin earle of Argyle, lord Cambell, and lord Andrewe lord of Auandale chauncellor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albany a ſolemne and an autenticall inſtrument, ſigned & ſealed with their hãds and ſeales, concerning a generall pardõ to him and his ſeruauntes, vpon certaine conditions to be graunted, which conditiõs ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that yͤ duke of Albany deſirous to be reſtored to his olde eſtate, poſſeſſions, and natiue countrey, willingly accepted the ſame: but before he departed from the duke of Glouceſter, he promyſed bothe by worde and wrytyng of his owne hand, to do & performe all ſuche things, as he before that time had ſworne and promiſed to king Edward, notwithſtãding any agreemẽt nowe made, or after to be made, with the lordes of Scotland: and for performaunce of the effect hereof, he againe tooke a corporall othe, & ſealed the wrytyng before the D. of Glouceſter in the engliſhe campe at Leuington beſides Hadington, the thirde day of Auguſt in the yere. 1482. After he was reſtored, the Lords of Scotlande proclaimed him great lieutenaunt of Scotland and in the kings name made proclamatiõ, that all men within .viij. dayes ſhoulde be ready at Craufhaus, both to reiſe the ſiege before the caſtell, and for the recouering againe of the towne of Berwicke. The Duke of Albany wrote all this preparation to the Duke of Glouceſter, requiryng hym to haue no miſtruſte in hys dealings. The duke of Glouceſter wrote to him againe his minde very roundely, promiſing that he with his army woulde defende the beſiegers frõ all enemies that ſhould attempt to trouble them, or elſe die in the quarrell. To be briefe, when the lordes of Scotland ſawe that it booted them not to aſſay the reiſing of the ſiege, ex-

The Biſhoppe elected of Murray ſent to the Duke of Glouceſter.

The Duke of Albanie reſtored home.

He is created greate lieutenaunt of Scotlande.

The Caſtell of Bervvicke deliuered.

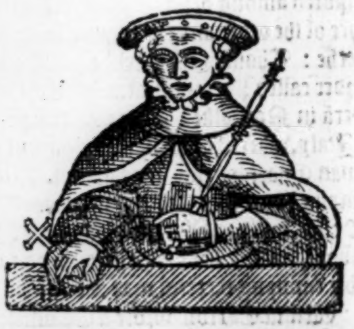
Gartier king of armes is ſent into Scotland.

cept they ſhoulde make accompt to bee fought wythall, they determined to deliuer the Caſtell of Berwicke to the engliſhmē, ſo that therevpon there might be an abſtinence of warre taken for a ſeaſon. And herewith they ſent to the duke of Gloceſter a charter indented whych was dated the .xxiiij. day of Auguſte, in the ſayde yeare 1482. contracted betwene the duke of Gloceſter lieutenant general for the king of Englād, and Alexander duke of Albany lieutenāt for James king of Scottes, that an eſpeciall abſtinence of warre ſhuld be kept betwixt ȳ realms of England and Scotland, aſwell by ſea, as by lande, to begin the .viij. day of Septēber nexte comming, to endure till the .iiij. day of Nouember nexte following. And in ȳ ſame ſeaſō, the towne and caſtell of Berwicke, to be occupied and remaine in the reall poſſeſſion of ſuche as by the king of Englands deputie ſhulde be appointed. Herevnto the duke of Glouceſter agreed, and ſo then was the caſtell of Berwicke deliuered to the lord Stanley, and other thereto appointed, which therein put both engliſhmen and artillery ſufficient to defend it againſt all Scotlande, for .vj. moneths. The duke of Albany alſo cauſed the prouoſt and burgeſſes of Edenborough, to make a ſufficient inſtrument obligatorye, to king Edward, for the true ſatiſfaction, and cōtentation of the ſame mony, which he alſo ſent by the ſaide prouoſte, to the duke of Gloceſter to Alnewike. It was conteined in the ſaid inſtrument or writing, that king Edward ſhuld intimate his pleaſure vnto the ſaide prouoſt & burgeſſes of Edenboroughe, before the feaſt of Allſaintes nexte following, whether he would the mariage ſhoulde take place, or that he woulde haue the payment of the money, accordyng to which article, K. Edward ſet Gartier his principall king of armes, & Northumberland Herauld, to declare his refuſall of the mariage and the election & choiſe of the repaiment of the mony. They came to Edenbourgh. 8. days before ȳ feaſt of Allaints, where according to their cōmiſſion and inſtructions, Gartier declared the pleaſure of the king his maiſter, vnto ȳ prouoſt & burgeſſes of Edenboroughe, who made anſwer ȳ now knowing his determination therin, they wold accordyng to their bond, prepare for repaiment of the mony, Gartier and his felowe were gentilly enterteined, and in ſafetie conueyed backe to Berwicke, and ſo cōming to Newecaſtell, where the duke of Gloceſter than lay, made relation to him of all their doings, & then the duke with all ſpeede returned to Shriuehuton and there abode. Althoughe king Edward reioyced that his buſines came to ſo good concluſion with the Scots, yet he was aboute the ſame time ſore diſquieted in his minde towards the frenche king, whome he now perceiued to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage, to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the lady Elizabeth: for the lord Haward being as then returned out of Frāce, certified the king of his owne knowledge, how that he being preſent, ſaw the lady Margaret of Auſtrich daughter to duke Maximilian, ſon to the emperor Frederike, receiued into Frāce with great pompe and ſolemnitie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted, and eſpouſed. King Edward highly diſpleaſed with ſuch double & vniuſt dealing of the frenche king, called his nobles togither, & opened vnto them his griefes, who promiſed him for themſelues therin, to be ready with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleaſure and appointment.

1483

But whileſt he was buſie in hande to make his puruiaūce for warres thus againſt Frāce: whether it was with melancolye & anger, whiche he tooke with the french kings doings & vncurteous vſage, or were it by any ſuperfluous ſurfet (to the which he was much giuen) he ſodainely fell ſicke, and was ſo greeuouſly taken, that in the end he perceiued his naturall ſtrength in ſuch wiſe to decay, that there was litle hope of recouerie in the cūning of his phiſitions, whiche hee perceyued only to prolong hys life for a ſmall time, wherefore he began to make readye for his paſſage into an other worlde, not forgetting as after ſhal appeare, to exhorte the nobles of his realme aboue all things, to an vnitie among themſelues: & hauing as he tooke it, made an atonement betwixte the parties that were knowen to be ſcant friends, he cōmended vnto their graue wiſedoms the gouernmēt of his ſon the prince, & of his brother the Duke of Yorke, during the time of their tēder yeres. And thus hauing ſet things in good ſtay as might be ſuppoſed, hee ſhortely after departed this life at Weſtminſter the .ix. of April in the yere .1483. After he had reigned .xxij. yeres, one moneth, & viij. dayes, his body was with funerall pompe conueyed to Windſor & there buried, he left behinde him iſſue by the Quene his wife ij. ſons, Edward and Richard, with .v. daughters, Elizabeth that was after Quene maried to Henry the .vij. Cicilie maried to the vicount Welles, Briget a Nunne profeſſed in Sion or Dertfort as ſir Tho. More hath: Anne maried to the L. Thomas Howarde, after erle of Surrey, and duke of Norffolke: Katherin wedded to the L. Williā Courtney ſon to the earle of Deuonſhire: beſide theſe he left behinde him likewiſe, a baſe ſon named Arthur that was after vicoūt Liſle: for the deſcription of his perſon & qualities I will referre you to that whiche ſir Tho. More hath written of him in that hiſtorie which he wrote and left vnfiniſhed of his ſon Edward the fift, & of his brother king Richard the third, which we ſhall god willing hereafter make you partaker of, as wee finde the ſame recorded among his other workes, word for word, when firſte we haue according to our begon order rehearſed, ſuche writers of our nation as liued in his dayes. As firſt, Nicholas Kenton borne in Suffolke a Carmelit Frier in Gippeſwich, prouinciall of his order throughe Englande: Henry Parker a carmelite Frier of Doncaſter, preched againſte the pride of prelates, and for ſuche doctrine as he ſet forthe, was impriſoned wyth his fellowe Tho. Holden, and a certaine blacke Frier alſo for the like cauſe. Parker was forced to recant .iij. ſpeciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Lelande: John Harding an eſquier borne in the Northe partes, wrote a Chronicle in Engliſh verſe, & among other ſpeciall points therein touched he gathered all the ſubmiſſions and homages had and made by the Scottiſhe kings euen from the dayes of King Athelſtone Whereby it euidently may appeare, howe the Scottiſhe Kingdome euen in maner from the firſte eſtabliſhing thereof here in Britaine, hath bene apperteining vnto the kings of England, and houlden of them, as their chiefe and ſuperior Lordes: William Ive a doctor of Diuinitie and prebendarie of Sainct Poules in London: Thomas Wilton a diuine, and Deane of the ſayde Churche of Poules in London: Julian Bernes, a gentlewoman endued with excellent giftes bothe of body and minde, wrote certaine treatiſes of hauking and hunting, delighting greatly hirſelfe in thoſe exerciſes and paſtimes: ſhe wrote alſo a booke of the lawe of armes, and knowledge apperteyning to the Harolds: John Stambery borne in the Weaſte partes of this Realme, a Carmelite Frier, and confeſſor to King Henry the ſixte, hee was alſo Maiſter of Eaton Colledge, and after was made Biſhop of Bangor, and remoued from thence to the See of Herreforde: John Slutley an Auguſtine Frier prouinciall of hys order: John Forteſkew a Judge and Chauncellor of England, wrote diuers treatiſes concerning the lawe, and pollitike gouernement: Rochus a Charterhouſe Monke borne in London, of honeſte parentes, and ſtudied in the Uniuerſitie of Paris, he wrote diuers epigrammes: John Phreas borne alſo in London was fellowe of Bailioll Colledge in Oxforde, and after wente into Italy, where hee hearde Guarinus that excellent Philoſopher read in Ferrara: he proued an excellent phiſition and a ſkilfull lawier, There was not in Italy whileſt hee remained there, that paſſed hym in eloquence and knowledge of bothe the tongues, Greeke and Latin: Walter Hunt a Carmelite Frier, a greate deuine, and for his excellency in lerning ſent from the whole body of this realme, vnto the generall counſell houlden firſte at Ferrara, and after at Florence by Pope Eugenius the .iiij. where he diſputed among other wyth the Greekes in defence of the order and ceremonies of the latine Churche: Thomas Wighenhall a Monke of the order called Premonſtratenſis in the Abbey of Derã in Norffolke: John Gunthorpe went into Italy, where he hearde that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Farrara. After his commyng home into England, he was Deane of Welles, and keeper of the priuy ſeale: John Hamboys an excellent Muſicion, and for hys notable cunnyng therein, made doctor of Muſicke: Williã Caxton wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, & an appendix vnto Treuiſa, beſide diuers other bookes & tranſlations: John Milverton a carmelite Frier of Briſtow and prouinciall of his order through England, Irelande and Scotland, at lengthe bycauſe he defended ſuch of his order as preached againſt endowments of the church with temporall poſſeſſions, he was brought into trouble, committed to priſon in caſtell ſaint Angelo in Rome, where he continued .iij. yeares, and at length was deliuered throughe certaine of the Cardinalles that were appointed hys Judges: Dauid Morgan a Welcheman, Threaſourer of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, and a diſcriptiõ of the country: John Tiptot, a noble man borne, a greate trauailer, excellently learned, and wrote diuers treatiſes, & finally loſt his head in the yere. 1471. in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter: John Shirwood biſhop of Durham: Thomas Kent an excellent philoſopher, Roberte Huggon borne in Norffolk in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certayne vayne prophecies: John Marfielde a learned phiſition: William Greene a carmelite Frier: Thomas Norton borne in Briſtow an Alcumiſte: John Meare a Monke of Norwich: Richarde Porlande borne in Norffolke a Franciſcan Frier, and a doctor of diuinitie: Thomas Milling a Monke of Weſtminſter, a Doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the Biſhopricke of Herreforde: Skogan a learned Gentleman and ſtudent for a time in Oxforde, of a pleaſaunte witte, and bent to mery deuiſes, in reſpect whereof he was called into the Courte, where giuing himſelfe to his naturall inclination of mirthe and pleaſaunt paſtime, he plaied many ſporting partes, althoughe not in ſuche vnciuill maner as hath bene of hym reported.

¶ The hiſtorie of king Edward the fifth, and king Richard the third vnfiniſhed, written by Maiſter Thomas Moore then one of the vnder Shiriffes of London, about the yeare of our lorde. 1513. according to a Copie of his owne hande: Printed among his other woorkes.



Edward the. v.

1483

KIng Edward of that name the fourth, after that hee had liued fiftie and three yeres, ſeuen monethes, and ſixe dayes, and therof raigned two and twentie years, one Monethe, and eyght dayes, died at Weſtminſter the ninth day of Aprill, the yeare of out redemption, a thouſande foure hundreth foure ſcore and three, leauyng muche fayre iſſue, that is to witte, Edwarde the Prince, a thirteene yeare of age: Richarde Duke of Yorke, two yeare yonger: Elizabeth, whoſe fortune and grace was after to bee Queene, wyfe vnto Kyng Henry the ſeuenth, and mother vnto the eyght: Cicelie not ſo fortunate as faire: Briget, whyche repreſentyng the vertue of hyr, whoſe name ſhee bare, profeſſed and obſerued a religious life in Dertforde, an houſe of cloſe Nunnes: Anne, that was after honourablye married vnto Thomas, then Lorde Hawarde and after Earle of Surrey: And Katherine, which long time toſſed in either fortune, ſomtime in wealth, ofte in aduerſitie, at the laſte, if this be the laſte, for yet ſhee liuethe, is by the benignitye of hir Nephewe King Henry the eyghte, in very proſperous eſtate, and worthy hir birthe and vertue.

The loue of the people.

This noble Prince deceaſſed at his Palaice of Weſtminſter, and wyth greate funerall honour and heauineſſe of his people from thence conueyed, was enterred at Windſor. A King of ſuch gouernaunce and behauiour, in time of peace (for in warre eche parte muſte needes bee others enimye) that there was neuer any Prince of this lande, attaynyng the Crowne by battaile ſo hartelye beeloued wyth the ſubſtaunce of the people: nor he hymſelfe ſo ſpecially in anye parte of hys life, as at the time of hys deathe. Whiche fauour and affection, yet after hys deceaſſe by the crueltie, miſchiefe, and trouble of the tempeſtuous worlde that folowed, highelye towarde him more increaſed. At ſuche tyme as he died, the diſpleaſure of thoſe that bare hym grudge, for Kyng Henryes ſake the ſixte, whome he depoſed, was well aſſwaged, and in effect quenched, in that, that many of them were deade in more than twentye yeares of hys raigne, a greate parte of a long life: And many of them in the meane ſeaſon growen into his fauour, of whiche he was neuer ſtrange. He was a goodlye perſonage, and Princely to beholde, of harte couragious, politique in counſell, in aduerſitie nothyng abaſhed, in proſperitie rather ioyfull than proud, in peace iuſte and mercifull, in warre ſharpe and fierce, in the fielde bolde and hardye, and natheleſſe no further than wiſedome woulde aduenturous, whoſe warres who ſo wel conſider, hee ſhall no leſſe commende hys wiſedome where hee voyded, than his manhoode where he vanquiſhed. Hee was of viſage louelye, of body mightye, ſtrong, and cleane made: howbeit in his latter dayes wyth ouer liberall dyet, ſomewhat corpulent and boorely, and natheles not vncomely, hee was of youth greately giuen to fleſhely wantonneſſe: from which health of body in great proſperity and fortune, without a ſpeciall grace hardely refraineth.

Deſcription of Edwarde the fourth.

Thys faulte not greately greeued the people: for neyther coulde anye one mans pleaſure, ſtretche and extende to the diſpleaſure of verye manye, and was wythout violence, and ouer that in hys latter dayes leſſed and well lefte. In, whiche time of his latter dayes, this Realme was in quiet and proſperous eſtate, no feare of outwarde enemyes, no warre in hand, nor none towarde, but ſuche as no man looked for, the people towarde the Prince, not in a conſtrained feare, but in a willyng and louyng obedience: among themſelues, the commons in good peace. The Lordes whome hee knewe at variaunce, hymſelfe in his deathbed appeaſed: hee hadde lefte all gathering of money (whiche is the onely thing that withdraweth the hartes of Engliſhemen fro the Prince) nor any thing intended he to take in hande, by whyche hee ſhoulde bee driuen thereto, for hys tribute, out of Fraunce; hee hadde before obteyned. And the yeare foregoing his deathe, he hadde obteyned Barwicke. And albeit that all the time of his raigne hee was with his people ſo benigne, courteous, and ſo familiar, that no part of his vertues was more eſteemed: yet ÿ condition in the ende of his dayes (in whyche many Princes by a long continued ſoueraintie, decline into a proude porte from debonaire behauiour of their beginning) merueilouſly in hym grewe and increaſed, ſo farre forth, that in the ſommer the laſte that euer he ſawe, hys highneſſe being at Windſore in hunting, ſente for the Maior and Aldermen of London to hym for none other errande, but to haue them hunt and bee merie with hym, where hee made them not ſo ſtatelye, but ſo frendly and ſo familiar cheare, and ſente veniſon from thence ſo freely into the Citie, that no one thing in many dayes before, gate hym eyther mo heartes or more heartye fauour amongeſt the common people, whiche oftentimes more eſteeme and take for greater kindneſſe, a little courteſie, than a greate benefite. So deceaſſed (as I haue ſayde) this noble King, in that time, in whiche his life was moſte deſired. Whoſe loue of hys people, and their entire affection towarde him, hadde bene to hys noble children (hauyng in themſelues alſo as manye giftes of nature, as many Princely vertues, as muche goodlye towardneſſe as their age coulde receyue) a merueilouſe fortreſſe and ſure armour, if diuiſion & diſſention of their friendes had not vnarmed them, and lefte them deſtitute, and the execrable deſire of ſoueraintie, prouoked hym to their deſtruction, whiche if eyther kinde or kindneſſe hadde houlden place, muſte needes haue bene their chiefe defence. For Richarde the Duke of Glouceſter, by nature their vncle, by office their protectour, to their father beholden, to themſelfe by othe and allegiaunce bounden, all the bandes broken that binden man and man togyther, wythout anye reſpecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contriued to bereue them, not onely their dignitie, but alſo their liues.

But foraſmuche as this Dukes demeanour miniſtreth in effecte all the whole matter whereof this booke ſhall intreate, it is therefore conuenient, ſomewhat to ſhewe you ere wee farther goe, what manner of man thys was, that coulde finde in his harte ſo muche miſchiefe to conceiue.

Richarde Duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, beganne not by warre, but by lawe, to chalendge the Crowne, puttyng hys claime into the Parliament, where his cauſe was eyther for righte or fauour ſo farre forthe auaunced, that King Henry his bloude (albeit he had a goodly Prince) vtterly reiected, the Crowne was by authoritie of parliament entailed vnto the Duke of Yorke and his iſſue male in remaynder, immediatly after the deathe of Kyng Henry. But the Duke not induryng ſo long to tarry, but intendyng vnder pretexte of diſſention and debate ariſing in the Realme to preuent his tyme, and to take vppon hym the rule in Kyng Henry his life, was with many nobles of the Realme at Wakefielde ſlaine, leauing three ſonnes, Edwarde, George and Richard. All three as they were greate ſtates of birth, ſo were they great and ſtately of ſtomack, greedy and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners. Edwarde reuenging his fathers deathe depriued Kyng Henry, and attained the Crowne. George Duke of Clarence was a goodly noble prince, & at all points fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not ſet him againſt hys brother, or the enuy of his enemies his brother againſt hym. For were it by the Queene and lordes of hir bloude whiche highly maligned the kings kinred (as women commonly not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbandes loue,) or were it a proude appetite of the duke hymſelf, intending to be king: at the leaſt wiſe heinous treſon was there layde to his charge, and finally were hee faultie, were he faultleſſe, attainted was he by Parlyamente, and iudged to the deathe, and thereupon haſtily drowned in a butte of Malmeſey, whoſe death kyng Edwarde (albeit hee commaunded it) when he wyſt it was done, piteouſly bewayled, and ſorowfully repented.

Richarde the thirde ſonne, of whome wee nowe intreate, was in witte and courage egall with either of them, in bodie and prowes farre vnder them both, little of ſtature, yll featured of limmes, croke backed, his left ſhoulder muche hygher than hys ryght, harde fauoured of viſage, and ſuche as is in ſtates called warlye, in other men otherwyſe, he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his byrth euer frowarde. It is for truth reported, that the Ducheſſe his mother hadde ſo much adoe in hir trauaile, that ſhe could not be deliuered of hym vncut, and that he cam into the worlde with the feete forward, as me be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) alſo not vntothed, whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or elſe that nature chaunged hir courſe in his beginning, which in the courſe of his life many things vnnaturally committed.

None euill captain was he in the warre, as to which his diſpoſition was more metely than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and ſomtimes ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne perſon, eyther of hardineſſe or politike order,

Richarde Duke of Yorke.

Edvvarde.

George Duke of Clarence.

The diſcription of Richard the thirde.

order, free was he called of diſpence: and ſomewhat aboue hys power liberall, wyth large giftes hee gate hym vnſtedfaſte frendeſhippe, for whiche he was faine to pill and ſpoile in other places, and gette hym ſtedfaſte hatred. Hee was cloſe and ſecrete, a deepe diſſimuler, lowly of countenaunce, arrogant of harte, outwardelye coumpinable where hee inwardelye hated, not lettyng to kiſſe whome hee thought to kill: diſpitious and cruell, not for euill will alwaye, but ofter for ambition, and eyther for the ſurety or increaſe of hys eſtate. Frend and foe was muche what indifferent, where his aduauntage grewe, hee ſpared no mans deathe, whoſe life wythſtoode his purpoſe. Hee ſlewe wyth his owne handes Kyng Henry the ſixte, being priſoner in the Tower, as men conſtantly ſaide, and that wythout commaundement or knowledge of the Kyng, which woulde vndoubtedlye, if hee hadde intended that thyng, haue appointed that butcherly office to ſome other, than his owne borne brother.

The deathe of Kyng Henry the ſixte.

Some wiſe men alſo weene that his driſte couertly conueyed, lacked not in helpyng forth his brother of Clarence to his deathe: whiche hee reſiſted openly, howbeit ſomewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than hee that were hartelye minded to hys wealthe. And they that thus deeme, thinke that hee long time in King Edwards life, forethought to be King in caſe that the King his brother (whoſe life hee looked that euill diet ſhoulde ſhorten) ſhoulde happen to deceaſſe (as in deede hee did) while his children were yong. And they deeme, that for this intent hee was gladde of his brothers deathe the duke of Clarence, whoſe life muſt needes haue hindered hym ſo intending, whether the ſame Duke of Clarence hadde kepte hym true to his Nephewe the yong Kyng, or enterpriſed to be King himſelfe. But of all this pointe, is there no certaintie, and who ſo deuineth vppon coniectures, may aſwell ſhote to farre as to ſhorte. Howbeit this haue I by credible enformation learned, that the ſelfe nyght, in whyche Kyng Edward dyed, one Miſtlebrooke long ere morning, came in greate haſte to the houſe of one Pottier dwellyng in Redecroſſtreete wythout Creeplegate: and when hee was wyth haſtye rappyng quicklye letten in, hee ſhewed vnto Pottier that King Edwarde was departed.

By my truth man quod Pottier, then will my Maiſter the Duke of Glouceſter bee King. What cauſe hee had ſo to thinke harde it is to ſaye, whether hee beeing towarde hym, anye thyng knewe that hee ſuche thing purpoſed, or otherwiſe hadde any inkeling thereof: for he was not likelye to ſpeake it of nought.

But nowe to retourne to the courſe of this hyſtorye, were it that the Duke of Glouceſter hadde of olde foreminded this concluſion, or was nowe at erſt thereunto moued, and putte in hope by the occaſion of the tender age of the yong Princes, his Nephewes (as opportunitie and likelyhoode of ſpeede putteth a man in courage of that hee neuer intended) certaine it is that hee contriued their deſtruction, wyth the vſurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himſelfe. And forſomuche as hee well wiſte and holpe to maintaine, a long continued grudge and hearte brenning betweene the Queenes kinred and the Kings bloud, eyther partie enuying others authoritie, hee nowe thoughte that their diuiſion ſhoulde bee (as it was indeede) a furtherlye beginnyng to the purſuite of hys intent, and a ſure grounde, for the foundation of all hys buildyng, if hee might firſte vnder the pretext of reuenging of olde diſpleaſure, abuſe the anger and ignoraunce of the tone partie, to the deſtruction of the tother: and then winne to his purpoſe as many as he could, & thoſe that could not bee wonne, myght bee loſte ere they looked therefore: For of one thyng was hee certayne, that if hys intent were perceyued hee ſhoulde ſoone haue made peace betweene the bothe parties with hys owne bloude.

Kyng Edwarde in hys life, albeit that this diſſention betweene his friendes ſomewhat irked hym: yet in his good healthe he ſomwhat the leſſe regarded it, bycauſe hee thought whatſoeuer buſines ſhoulde fall betwene them, himſelfe ſhoulde alwaye bee able to rule bothe the parties. But in his laſt ſicknes, when hee perceyued his naturall ſtrengthe ſo ſore enfebled, that hee diſpaired all recouerie, then hee conſidering the youthe of his children, albeit he nothyng leſſe miſtruſted than that that happened, yet well foreſeeing that many harmes myght growe by their debate, while the youthe of hys children ſhoulde lacke diſcretion of them ſelfe, and good counſaile of their friendes, of whiche eyther partie ſhoulde counſaile for their owne commoditie and rather by pleaſaunt aduiſe to wynne themſelfe fauoure, than by profitable aduertiſement to doo the children good, hee called ſome of them before hym that were at variaunce, and in eſpeciall the Lorde Marques Dorſet the Queenes ſonne by his firſte husband, and William the Lord Haſtings a noble man then Lorde Chamberlaine, againſt whom the Queene ſpecially grudged, for yͤ greate fauour the King bare hym: and alſo for that ſhe thought hym ſecretely familiar with the Kyng in wanton company. Hir kinred alſo bare him ſore, aſwell for that the Kyng hadde made hym Capytayne of Calys, whyche Office the Lorde Riuers brother to the Queene claymed of the kings former promiſſe, as for diuers other great giftes which he receiued, that they looked for. When theſe Lordes with diuers other of both the parties were come in preſence, the King lifting vp himſelfe and vnderſet with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wiſe ſayde vnto them.

The Oration of the King in his deathbed.

My Lordes, my deare kinſmenne and alies, in what plight I lye you ſee, and I feele. By which the leſſe while I looke to liue with you, the more deepely am I moued to care in what caſe I leaue you, for ſuch as I leaue you, ſuch bene my children like to finde you. Which if they ſhoulde (that God forbid) finde you at variaunce, might hap to fall themſelues at warre ere their diſcretion woulde ſerue to ſet you at peace. Ye ſee their youth, of whiche I recken the only ſuretye to reſte in your concorde. For it ſuffiſeth not that all you loue them, if eche of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulneſſe happely woulde ſuffiſe. But childehoode muſte be maintained by mens authoritie, and ſlipper youthe vnderpropped with elder counſell, whiche neyther they can haue, but yee giue it, nor yee giue it, if yee gree not. For where eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of eche of others perſon, impugneth eche others counſaile, there muſte it nedes bee long ere anye good concluſion go forwarde. And alſo while eyther partye laboureth to bee chiefe, flatterie ſhall haue more place than plaine and faythfull aduiſe, of whiche muſte nedes enſue the euill bringing vp of the Prince, whoſe minde in tender youthe infecte, ſhall redily fall to miſchiefe and riot, and drawe downe with his noble Realme to ruine, but if grace turne hym to wiſedome: whyche if god ſende, then they that by euill meanes before pleaſed hym beſte, ſhall after fall fartheſt out of fauoure, ſo that euer at length euill driftes draw to nought, and good plaine wayes proſper. Greate variaunce hathe there long bene betwene you, not alway for greate cauſes. Sometime a thyng right well intended, our miſconſtruction turneth vnto worſe, or a ſmall diſpleaſure done vs, eyther our owne affection or euill tongues agreeueth. But this wot I well, yee neuer hadde ſo greate cauſe of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That wee bee all men, that wee bee Chriſten men, this ſhall I leaue for preachers to tell you (and yet I wot neare whither any preachers wordes ought more to moue you, thã his that is by and by going to the place that they all preache of).

But this ſhall I deſire you to remember, that the one parte of you is of my bloude, the other of mine alies, and eche of you wyth other eyther of kinred or affinitie, whyche ſpirituall kinred of affinitie, if the Sacramentes of Chriſtes Churche, beare that weyght wyth vs, that woulde God they didde, ſhoulde no leſſe moue vs to Charitie, than the reſpecte of fleſhly conſanguinitye. Our Lorde forbidde, that you loue togyther the worſe for the ſelfe cauſe ye you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where finde we ſo deadly debate, as among them, whyche by nature and lawe moſt ought to agree togither. Suche a peſtilent ſerpent is ambition, and deſire of vaine glorie and ſoueraintie, whiche among ſtates where hee once entreth, crepeth forth ſo farre, till with deuiſion and variaunce he turneth all to miſchiefe. Firſt longyng to be next the beſte, afterwarde egall wyth the beſte, and at laſte chiefe and aboue the beſte. Of whiche immoderate appetite of worſhippe, and thereby of debate and diſſention, what loſſe, what ſorowe, what trouble hathe within theſe fewe yeares growne in this Realme, I pray God aſwell forget as wee well remember.

Ambition.

Which things if I could aſwell haue foreſeene, as I haue with my more paine then pleaſure proued, by Goddes bleſſed Ladye (that was euer his othe) I woulde neuer haue won the courteſie of mens knees, wyth the loſſe of ſo many heades. But ſithen thinges paſſed cannot bee gayne called, much ought wee the more beware, by what occaſion we haue taken ſo greate hurte afore, that we eftſoones fall not in that occaſion agayne. Now bee thoſe griefes paſſed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to proſper in wealthfull peace vnder your couſins my children, if God ſende them life and you loue. Of whiche two things, the leſſe loſſe were they, by whome though God did his pleaſure, yet ſhoulde the Realme alway finde Kings, and peraduenture as good Kings. But if you among your ſelfe in a childes raigne fall at debate, many a good man ſhall periſhe and happly hee to, and yee to, ere this lande finde peace againe. Wherefore in theſe laſte wordes that euer I looke to ſpeake wyth you, I exhorte you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to mee; for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you; for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all, from this time forwarde, all griefs forgotten, eche of you loue other. Whiche I verely truſte you will, if yee any thing earthly regarde, eyther God or your King, affinitie or kinred, this realme, your owne countrey, or your own ſuretie: And therewithall the King no longer induryng to ſitte vp, laid him downe on his right ſide, hys face towarde them: and none was there preſent that coulde refraine from weepyng. But the Lordes recomfortyng him wyth as good wordes as they coulde, and aunſweryng for the time as they thought to ſtande with hys pleaſure, there in hys preſence, as by theyr wordes appeared, eche forgaue other, and ioyned theyr handes togyther, when (as it after appeared by theyr deedes) their hartes, were farre aſunder. As ſone as the King was departed, the noble Prynce his ſonne drewe toward London, whiche at the time of hys deceaſſe, kepte hys houſholde at Ludlowe in Wales, whiche countrey beeing farre of from the lawe and recourſe to Iuſtice, was begon to be far out of good wil, and waxen wyld robbers & reuers, walkyng at libertie vncorrected.

And for thys encheaſon the Prince was in the life of hys father ſente thither, to the ende that the authoritie of hys preſence, ſhoulde reſtraine euill diſpoſed perſons fro the boldeneſſe of their former outrages. To the gouernaunce and ordering of this yong Prince at hys ſendyng thither, was there appoynted Sir Anthony Wooduile lord Riuers, and brother vnto the Queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counſel. Adioyned wer there vnto him other of ỹ ſame partie, & in effect euery one as he was nereſt of kin vnto the Queene, ſo was planted next about ỹ Prince.

Lorde Riuers.

That drifte by the Queene not vnwiſely deuiſed, whereby hir bloude might of youthe bee rooted in the Princes fauoure, the Duke of Glouceſter turned vnto their deſtruction, and vppon that grounde ſette the foundation of all his vnhappye buildyng. For whomſoeuer he perceyued, eyther at variaunce wyth them, or bearing hymſelfe theyr fauoure, hee brake vnto them, ſome by mouthe, ſome by wrytyng and ſecret meſſengers, that it neyther was reaſon nor in any wiſe to bee ſuffered, that the yong Kyng their Maiſter and kinſman, ſhoulde bee in the handes and cuſtodye of his mothers kinred, ſequeſtred in manner from their company and attendaunce, of whiche euery one oughte hym as faithfull ſeruice as they, and manye of them farre more honourable parte of kinne than his mothers ſide. Whoſe bloude (quod hee) ſauing the Kings pleaſure, was full vnmeetelye to bee matched wyth his: whiche nowe to bee as who ſaye remoued from the Kyng and the leſſe noble to bee left aboute hym, is (quod he) neyther honourable to his Maieſtie nor vnto vs, and alſo to his grace no ſuretie to haue the mightieſt of his frendes from hym, and vnto vs no little ieoperdye, to ſuffer our well proued euill willers to growe in ouergreat authoritie with the prince in youth, namely whiche is lighte of beliefe and ſone perſwaded. Ye remember I trowe King Edwarde hymſelfe, albeit he was a man of age and of diſcretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bende, more than ſtoode either with his honour, or our profite, or to the commoditie of any man els, except only the immoderate aduauncement of themſelues. Whiche whether they ſorer thirſted after their owne weale, or our woe, it were hard I wene to geſſe. And if ſome folkes frendeſhippe had not houlden better place wyth the Kyng, than any reſpect of kinred, they myght peraduenture eaſily haue betrapped and brought to confuſion ſome of vs ere this. Why not as eaſily as they haue done ſome other already, as neere of his royall bloude as we? But our Lorde hath wrought his wil, and thanke be to his grace that peril is paſte. Howbeit as great is growing, if we ſuffer this yong king in our enemies hande, whiche without his wittyng might abuſe the name of his commaundement, to any of our vndoyng, whiche thyng God and good prouiſion forbydde.

Of whiche good prouiſion none of vs hath any thing the leſſe neede, for the late made attonement, in whiche the kings pleaſure had more place than the parties willes. Nor none of vs, I beleeue is ſo vnwiſe, ouerſone to truſte a newe frinde made of an olde foe, or to thinke that an hourely kindneſſe, ſodainely contract in one houre, continued yet ſcante a fortnyght, ſhoulde bee deeper ſettled in their ſtomackes than a long accuſtomed malice many yeres rooted. Wyth theſe wordes and writynges and ſuche other, the Duke of Glouceſter ſone ſet a fire, them that wer of themſelf ethe to kindle, & in eſpeciall twayn, Edward duke of Buckingham, & William Lord Haſtyngs & Chamberlain, both men of honour and of great power.

The tone by long ſucceſſion from his anceſtrie, the tother by his office, and the Kyngs fauoure. Theſe two not bearing eche to other ſo muche loue as hatred bothe vnto the Queenes part: in this poynt accorded togyther wyth the Duke of Glouceſter, that they woulde vtterly amoue from the kings companye, all hys mothers frends, vnder the name of theyr enimies.

Vppon this concluded, the Duke of Glouceſter vnderſtandyng that the Lordes whiche at that time were aboute the King, entended to bring him vp to his coronation accompanied with ſuche power of their friends, that it ſhuld bee harde for hym to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, without the gathering & great aſſemble of people & in maner of open warre, whereof ỹ end he wiſt was doubtfull, & in which the K. being on their ſide, his parte ſhuld haue the face and name of a rebellion: he ſecretly therfore, by diuers meanes cauſed the Queene to bee perſwaded & brought in the minde, that it neyther were neede, & alſo ſhoulde bee ieopardous, the Kyng to come vp ſtrong. For whereas nowe euerye Lorde loued other, and none other thyng ſtudied vpon but about the Coronation and honour of the King: if ẏ Lordes of hir kindred ſhould aſſemble in the Kings name muche people, they ſhoulde giue the Lordes atwixte whome and them had bin ſometime debate, to feare and ſuſpect, leaſte they ſhould gather thys people, not for ẏ Kings ſafegard, whome no man impugned, but for theyr deſtruction, hauing more regarde to theyr olde variance, than theyr new attonement. For whiche cauſe they ſhoulde aſſemble on the other partie muche people agayne for theyr defence, whoſe power ſhe wiſt well farre ſtretched. And thus ſhould all the Realme fall on a rore. And of all the hurt that thereof ſhould enſue, which was likely not to bee little, and the moſt harme there like to fall where ſhe leaſt would, all the worlde would put hir and hir kindred in the wight, and ſay that they hadde vnwiſely and vntruely alſo broken the amitie and peace, that the Kyng hir huſband ſo prudently made, betweene his kinne and hirs in his deathe bed, and whiche the other partie faithfully obſerued.

The Queene beeing in this wiſe perſwaded, ſuch word ſent vnto hir ſonne, and vnto hir brother beeing about the King, and ouer that the Duke of Glouceſter himſelfe and other Lordes the chiefe of his bende, wrote vnto the King ſo reuerently, and to the Queenes friendes there ſo louingly, that they nothing earthly miſtruſting, brought the King vp in great haſt, not in good ſpeede, with a ſober companye. Now was the King in his way to London gone frõ Northampton, when theſe Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham came thither, where remayned behinde the Lord Riuers the Kings Vncle, intending on the morrowe to followe the Kyng, & be with him at Stonie Stratford, miles thence early or he departed. So was there made that night muche friendly cheere betweene theſe Dukes and the Lorde Riuers a greate whyle. But incontinente, after that they were openly with great curteſie departed, and the Lorde Riuers lodged, the Dukes ſecretely with a fewe of theyr moſt priuie friendes, ſet them downe in counſayle, wherein they ſpente a greate parte of the night. And at their riſing in the dawning of the day, they ſente about priuily to their ſeruauntes in their Innes and lodgings about, giuing them commaundement, to make themſelfe ſhortly readie, for their Lordes were to horſebackewarde. Vppon whiche meſſages, manye of theyr folke were attendaunte, when many of the Lord Riuers ſeruauntes were vnready. Nowe had theſe Dukes taken alſo into their cuſtodie the keyes of the Inne, that none ſhoulde paſſe forth without their licence.

And ouer this, in the high way toward Stonie Stratford, where the King lay, they had beſtowed certaine of their folke, that ſhoulde ſende backe agayne, and compell to returne, any man that were gotten out of Northampton, towarde Stonie Stratforde, till they ſhoulde giue other licence. For as much as the Dukes themſelfe intended for the ſhewe of theyr diligence, to bee the firſte that ſhoulde that daye attende vpon the Kings highneſſe out of that Towne: thus bare they folke in hand. But when the Lorde Riuers vnderſtoode the gates cloſed, and the wayes on euery ſide beſet, neyther his ſeruauntes nor hymſelfe ſuffered to gone out, perceyuing well ſo great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naughte, comparing this manner preſente, with this laſt nightes cheere, in ſo fewe houres ſo great a change, maruellouſly miſliked. Howbeit, ſith he could not get away, and keepe hymſelfe cloſe he woulde not, leaſt hee ſhoulde ſeeme to hyde hymſelfe for ſome ſecrete feare of hys owne faulte, whereof hee ſawe no ſuche cauſe in himſelfe. He determined vpon the ſuretie of hys owne conſcience, to goe boldly to them, and inquire what this matter myghte meane, whome aſſone as they ſawe, they began to quarrel with him and ſay, that he intended to ſet diſtaunce betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confuſion, but it ſhould not lie in his power. And when he began (as he was a very well ſpoken man) in goodly wiſe to excuſe himſelfe, they taried not the ende of his aunſwere, but ſhortly tooke hym, and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith wente to Horſebacke, and tooke the way to Stony Stratforde, where they founde the King with hys companie, readie to leape on Horſebacke, and departe forwarde to leaue that lodging for them, bycauſe it was to ſtraight for both companyes. And aſſone as they came in his preſence, they lighte adowne with all theyr companie about them. To whome the Duke of Buckingham ſayde, goe afore Gentlemen and yeomen keepe your roomes.

The Lorde Riuers put in warde.

And thus in a goodly aray, they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble wiſe, ſalued his grace, whiche receyued them in very ioyous and amiable manner, nothing earthly knowing nor miſtruſting as yet. But euen by and by in his preſence, they piked a quarrell to the Lorde Richarde Grey, the Kings other brother by his mother, ſaying, that he with ẏ Lorde Marques his brother, and the Lord Riuers hys Vncle, had compaſſed to rule the King and the Realme, and to ſet variance among the ſtates, and to ſubdue and deſtroy the noble blood of the Realme. Towarde the accompliſhing whereof they ſayd that the Lord Marques had entred into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the Kings treaſure, and ſent menne to the Sea.

The Lorde Grey.

All which things theſe Dukes wiſt wel were done for good purpoſes & neceſſarie by the whole counſayle at London, ſauing that ſomewhat they muſt ſay. Vnto whiche wordes the Kyng aunſwered. What my brother Marques hathe done I cannot ſay: But in good faithe I dare well aunſwere for mine vncle Riuers and my brother heere, that they be innocent of anye ſuch matter. Yea my liege quoth the Duke of Buckingham, they haue kept theyr dealing in theſe matters farre fro the knowledge of youre good grace. And forthwith they areſted the Lord Richard and Sir Thomas Vaughan Knighte, in the Kings preſence, and brought the King and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further Counſell. And there they ſente away from the Kyng, whome it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruauntes about hym, ſuche as lyked better them than him. At whiche dealing hee wepte, and was nothing contente, but it booted not. And at dinner, the Duke of Glouceſter ſent a diſh from his owne table to the Lord Riuers, praying him to bee of good cheere, all ſhoulde bee well ynough. And hee thanked the Duke, and prayed the meſſenger to beare it to his nephewe the Lord Richard with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, who hee thoughte hadde more neede of comforte, as one to whome ſuch aduerſitie was ſtrange. But hymſelfe hadde bin all hys dayes in vre therewith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for all thys comfortable curteſie of the Duke of Glouceſter, hee ſente the Lorde Riuers, and the Lorde Richarde, with ſir Thomas Vaughan into the North Countrey, into dyuers places to priſon, and afterwarde all to Pomfraite, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The death of the L. Riuers and Others.

In this wiſe, the Duke of Glouceſter tooke vpon hymſelfe the order and gouernaunce of the yong Kyng, whome with much honor & humble reuerence, hee conueyd vpwarde towarde the Citie. But anone, the tidyngs of thys matter came haſtily to the Queene a little before the midnighte following, and that in yͤ ſoreſt wiſe, that the King hir ſonne was taken, hir brother, hir ſonne, and hir other friendes arreſted, and ſent no man wiſt whither, to bee done with G O D wot what. With whyche tydyngs, the Queene in greate flighte and heauineſſe, bewayling hyr childes raigne, hir friendes miſchance, and hyr owne infortune, damning the tyme that euer ſhe diſſwaded the gathering of power about the King, gate hir ſelfe in all the haſt poſſible with hir yonger ſonne and hir daughters, out of the palace of Weſtminſter, in which ſhe then lay, into the Sanctuarie, lodging hir ſelfe and hir cōpanie there in the Abbots place.

The Q. taketh Sanctuary.

Nowe came there one in likewiſe not long after midnight fro the Lord Chamberlayne, vnto the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, then Chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Weſtminſter. And for that hee ſhewed his ſeruauntes that he hadde tidings of ſo greate importance, that his maiſter gaue him in charge, not to forbeare his reſt, they letted not to wake hym, nor hee to admitte this meſſenger into his beds ſide. Of whome hee hearde that theſe Dukes were gone backe with the Kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithſtanding Sir (quoth hee) my Lorde ſendeth youre Lordſhippe worde, that there is no feare: for hee aſſureth you that all ſhall bee well. I aſſure him quoth the Archebyſhoppe, be it as well as it will, it will neuer be ſo well as we haue ſeene it. And thereupon, by and by after, the meſſenger departed, he cauſed in all the haſt all his ſeruauntes to bee called vp, and ſo with hys owne houſhold about hym, and euerye man weaponed, he tooke the greate ſeale with hym, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whome he founde muche heauineſſe, rumble, haſt and buſineſſe, carriage and conueyance of hir ſtuffe into Sanctuarie, cheſtes, coffers, packes, fardels, truſſed all on mens backes, no man vnoccupyed, ſome lading, ſome going, ſome diſcharging, ſome comming for more, ſome breaking downe the walles to bring in the nexte way, and ſome yet drewe to them that holp to carrie a wrong way.

The Queene hir ſelfe ſate alone alowe on the ruſhes all deſolate and diſmayde, whome the Archbyſhop comforted in the beſt manner hee coulde, ſhewyng hir that hee truſted, the matter was nothyng ſo ſore as ſhe tooke it for. And that hee was putte in good hope and out of feare by the meſſage ſent hym from the Lord Chamberlayne. Ah wo worth him (quoth ſhe) for he is one of them that laboureth to deſtroy mee and my bloud.

Madame (quoth he) be yee of good cheere, for I aſſure you, if they Crowne anye other King than youre ſonne, whome they nowe haue with them, wee ſhall on the morrowe Crowne hys brother, whome you haue heere with you. And heere is the greate ſeale, whiche in lykewiſe as that noble Prince youre huſband deliuered it vnto me, ſo heere I deliuer it vnto you, to yͤ vſe and behoofe of your ſonne, and therewith hee betooke hir yͤ greate ſeale, & departed home againe, yet in yͤ dawning of the day. By which tyme, he might in his chamber window, ſee al yͤ Temmes full of boates of the D. of Glouceſters ſeruants, watching that no man ſhould goe to Sanctuarie, nor none could paſſe vnſearched. Then was there great commotion and murmure, as well in other places about, as ſpecially in the Citie, the people diuerſly diuining vpon thys dealing. And ſome Lordes, Knyghtes, and Gentlemen, eyther for fauoure of the Queene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundrye companyes, and wente flockemele in harneys: and many alſo, for that they reckoned this demeanoure attempted, not ſo ſpecially againſte the other Lordes, as againſt the King hymſelfe in the diſturbance of his Coronation. But then by and by yͤ Lords aſſembled togither at Towarde whyche meeting, the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke fearing that it woulde bee aſcribed (as it was indeede) to hys ouermuche lightneſſe, that hee ſo ſuddaynely hadde yelded vp the greate ſeale to the Queene, to whome the cuſtodie thereof nothing perteyned, without eſpeciall commaundement of the Kyng, ſecretely ſent for the ſeale agayne, and brought it with him after the cuſtomable manner. And at thys meetyng the Lorde Haſting, whoſe trouth toward the king, no man doubted nor needed to doubte, perſwaded the Lordes to beleeue, that the Duke of Glouceſter was ſure and faſtly faythfull to his Prince, and that the Lorde Riuers and Lord Richard with the other Knightes were for matters attempted by them againſte the Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham, put vnder areſt for their ſuretie, not for the Kings ieopardie: and that they were alſo in ſafegarde, and there no longer ſhoulde remayne, than til the matter were, not by yͤ Dukes only, but alſo by al the other Lordes of the kings counſayle indifferently examined, and by other diſcretions ordered and eyther iudged or appeaſed.

But one thing he aduiſed them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forthe, ere they knewe the trueth, nor turning theyr priuate grudges into the common hurte, yrriting and prouokyng men vnto anger, and diſturbing the Kings Coronation, towarde whych the Dukes were commyng vp, that they myght peraduenture bryng the matter ſo farre out of ioynt, that it ſhoulde neuer bee broughte in frame agayne. Which ſtrife if it ſhould happe, as it were likely to come to a fielde though both parties were in all other things egall, yet ſhoulde the authoritie be on that ſyde where the King is himſelfe, with theſe perſwaſions of the Lorde Haſtings, whereof parte hymſelfe beleeued, of parte hee wiſt the contrarie, theſe commotions were ſomewhat appeaſed. But ſpeciallie by that that the Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham were ſo neere and came ſo ſhortly on with the Kyng, in none other manner, with none other voyce or ſemblaunce than to hys coronation, cauſing the ſame to be blowen about, that theſe Lordes and Knyghtes which were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckyngham, and of other the noble bloud of the Realme, to the ende that themſelfe woulde alone demeane and gouerne the Kyng at theyr pleaſure.

And for the coulourable proofe thereof, ſuche of the Dukes ſeruauntes as rode with the cartes of theyr ſtuffe that were taken (among whyche ſtuffe, no marueill though ſome were harneys, whyche at the breaking vppe of that houſholde, muſt needes eyther bee broughte away, or caſt away) they ſhewed vnto the people al the wayes as they wente: loe heere bee the barrels of harneys that theſe Traytors hadde priuily conueyde in theyr carriage to deſtroye the noble Lordes withall.

Thys deuiſe albeit that it made the matter to wiſe menne more vnlykely, well perceyuing that the intendours of ſuche a purpoſe woulde rather haue hadde theyr harneys on theyr backes than to haue bounde them vppe in barrels, yet muche parte of the common people were therewith verye well ſatiſfyed, and ſayde it were almoyſe to hang them.

The Kings comming to London.

When the King approched neere to the Citie, Edmonde Shaa goldeſmith, then Maior, with William White, and John Mathewe Sheriffes, and all the other Aldermen in Scarlette, with fyue hundred Horſe of the Citizens in violet receyued hym reuerently at Harneſey: and riding from thence accompanyed hym into the Citie, whyche hee entred the fourth daye of Maye; the fyrſte and laſte yeare of hys raigne.

The protectour made.

The Biſhop of Lincolne made Lorde Chancellour.

But the Duke of Glouceſter bare hym in open ſyght ſo reuerently to the Prince, with all ſemblaunce of lowlyneſſe, that from the greate obloquie in whych he was ſo late before, he was ſuddaynely fallen in ſo greate truſt, that at the Counſayle next aſſembled, hee was made the onely man choſe and thought moſt meete, to be Protector of the King and hys Realme, ſo (that were it deſtenie or were it follie) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to keepe. At whych Counſayle alſo, the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke Chauncellour of Englande whyche hadde deliuered vp the greate ſeale to the Queene, was thereof greately reproued, and the Seale taken from hym, and deliuered to Doctor Ruſſell Byſhoppe of Lincolne, a wiſe man and a good, and of muche experience, and one of the beſte learned menne vndoubtedly that England had in hys tyme. Diuers Lordes and Knyghtes were appoynted vnto diuers romes. The Lord Chamberlayne and ſome other kepte ſtill theyr offices that they had before.

The protectors oration.

Now all were it ſo that the Protector ſo ſore thirſted for the furniſhing of that hee hadde begunne, that thoughte euerye daye a yeare, till it were atchieued, yet durſt he no further attempte, as long as hee hadde but halfe his pray in hys hande: well witting, that if he depoſed the one brother, all the Realme woulde fall to the tother, if hee eyther remayned in Sanctuarie, or ſhoulde happely bee ſhortlye conueyd to hys fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lordes at the Counſaile, he propoſed vnto them, that it was a haynous deede of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice towarde the Kings Counſailers, that ſhe ſhould keepe in Sanctuarie the kings brother frō hym, whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure and comforte were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir done to none other intente, but to bring all the Lordes in obloquie, and murmure of the people. As though they were not to be truſted with yͤ kings brother, that by the aſſente of the Nobles of the land, were appoynted as the kings neereſt friēds, to the tuicion of his owne royall perſon. The proſperitie whereof ſtandeth (quoth he) not all in keeping from enimies, or ill vyande, but partlye alſo in recreation, and moderate pleaſure: which hee cannot in this tender youth, take in the companie of auncient perſons, but in the familiar cōuerſacion of thoſe that be neyther farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age. And naytheleſſe of eſtate cōuenient to accompanie his noble maieſtie, wherfore with whome rather, than with hys owne brother? And if any man thinke this conſideration (whiche I thinke no man thinketh that loueth the King) let him conſider, that ſometyme without ſmall thinges, greater cannot ſtande. And verily, it redoundeth greately to the diſhonor both of the Kinges highneſſe, and of all vs that bene about his grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this Realme only, but alſo in other lands (as euill wordes walke farre) that the kings brother ſhoulde bee fayne to keepe Sanctuarie. For euery man will weene, that no man will ſo do for naught. And ſuch euil opinion once faſtned in mens heartes, harde it is to wraſt out, and may growe to more griefe than any man can heere deuine. Wherefore me thynketh it were not worſt to ſende vnto yͤ Queene, for the redreſſe of this matter, ſome honorable truſtie man, ſuche as both tendereth the Kynges weale, and the honour of his counſayle, and is alſo in fauoure and credence with hir. For all whiche conſiderations, none ſeemeth mee more meetely, than our reuerende father heere preſent, my Lorde Cardinall, who maye in this matter doe moſt good of any man, if it pleaſe him to take the payne, whiche I doubte not of hys goodneſſe he will not refuſe for the Kyngs ſake and ours, and wealth of the yong Duke himſelf, the kings moſt honorable brother, and after my ſoueraigne Lorde hymſelfe, my moſte deere nephewe, conſidered that thereby ſhall be ceaſſed the ſlaunderous rumor and obloquie nowe goyng, and the hurtes auoyded that thereof myghte enſue, and muche reſt and quiete growe to all the Realme. And if ſhe bee percaſe ſo obſtinate, and ſo preciſelie ſette vppon hir owne will, that neyther hys wiſe and faythfull aduertiſemente, can not moue hir, nor anye mans reaſon contente hir: then ſhall we by myne aduice, by the kyngs authoritie, fetche hym out of that priſon, and bryng him to his noble preſence, in whoſe continuall companie, hee ſhall be ſo well cheriſhed and ſo honorablie intreated, that all the worlde ſhall to our honor and hir reproche perceyue, that it was only malice, frowardneſſe, or follie, that cauſed hir to keepe him there: this is my mynde in this matter for this time, except any of youre Lordſhippes any thing perceyue to the contrarie, for neuer ſhall I by Goddes grace ſo wedde my ſelfe to myne owne will, but that I ſhall be readie to change it vpon your better aduiſes.

When the Protector hadde ſayde, all the Counſayle affirmed, that the motion was good and reaſonable, and to the King and the Duke his brother, honorable, and a thing that ſhoulde ceaſſe great murmure in the Realme, if yͤ mother mighte be by good meanes enduced to delyuer him. Which thing the Archbiſhop of Yorke, whome they all agreed alſo to bee thereto moſt conueniente, tooke vppon hym to moue hir, and therein to doe his vttermoſt deuoire. Howbeit, if ſhe could be in no wiſe intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and ſuch other as were of the Spiritualtie preſente, that it were not in anye wiſe to bee attempted to take him out againſt hir wil. For it would be a thing that ſhould turne to the great grudge of all men, and high diſpleaſure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy place ſhoulde nowe be broken, whyche had ſo manie yeares be kept, whiche both Kings and Popes ſo good had graunted, ſo many hadde confirmed, and whiche holy grounde was more than fyue hundred yeares agoe by S. Peter in his owne perſon in ſpirite accompanyed, with great multitude of Angels by nighte, ſo ſpecially halowed, and dedicate to God (for the proofe whereof, they haue yet in the Abbey Saynt Peters Cope to ſhew) that from that time hytherward, was there neuer ſo vndeuout a King, that durſt that ſacred place violate, or ſo holy a Byſhop, that durſt it preſume to conſecrate. And therefore (quoth the Archebyſhop of Yorke) God forbid that any man ſhuld for any thing earthly enterpriſe to breake the immunitie and libertie of yͤ ſacred Sanctuarie, that hath bin yͤ ſafegard of ſo

Sanctuary.

of ſo many a good mans life. And I truſt (quoth hee) with Goddes grace, wee ſhall neuer neede it. But for any manner neede, I would not we ſhoulde doe it. I truſt that ſhee ſhall bee with reaſon contented, and all thynges in good maner obteyned. And if it happen that I bryng it not ſo to paſſe, yet ſhall I towarde it ſo farreforth doe my beſt, that yee ſhall all well perceyue, that no lacke of my deuoire, but the mothers dread and womaniſhe feare, ſhall bee the lette. Womaniſhe feare, naye womaniſhe frowardeneſſe (quoth the Duke of Buckyngham) For I dare take it vpon my ſoule, ſhe well knoweth ſhee needeth no ſuche thyng to feare, eyther for hir ſonne or for hir ſelfe. For as for hir, heere is no man that will be at warre with women. Woulde God ſome of the men of hir kinne, were women too, and then ſhoulde all be ſoone in reſt. Howbeit, there is none of hir kynne the leſſe loued, for that they bee hir kynne, but for their owne euill deſeruing. And natheleſſe, if we loued neither hir nor hir kinne, yet were there no cauſe to thynke that we ſhould hate the kings noble brother, to whoſe Grace, we oure ſelfe bee of kynne. Whoſe honoure, if ſhe as muche deſired as our diſhonoure, and as muche regarde toke to hys wealthe, as to hir owne will, ſhee woulde bee as loth to ſuffer hym from the King, as any of vs be. For yf ſhee haue anye witte, (as woulde God ſhee had as good will as ſhee hathe ſhrewde witte) ſhe reckoneth hir ſelfe no wiſer, than ſhee thynketh ſome that be heere, of whoſe faythfull mynde, ſhee nothyng doubteth, but verily beleeueth and knoweth, that they would bee as ſorie of hys harme as hir ſelfe, and yet woulde haue hym from hir if ſhee byde there: And we all (I thynke) content, that both be with hir, if ſhee come thence and byde in ſuche place where they may with theyr honour be.

Nowe then if ſhee refuſe in the deliueraunce of him, to followe the counſaile of them whoſe wiſedome ſhee knoweth, whoſe trueth ſhe well truſteth: it is eaſie to perceyue, that frowardneſſe letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, ſuppoſe that ſhe feare (as who may lette hir to feare hir owne ſhadowe) the more ſhee feareth to deliuer hym, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir handes. For if ſhee caſt ſuch fonde doubtes, that ſhe feare his hurt: then will ſhe feare that he ſhall bee fette thence. For ſhe will ſoone thynke, that if menne were ſette (whych God forbidde) vpon ſo greate a miſchiefe, the Sainctuarie woulde little lette them: which good menne myghte as me thynketh, without ſinne, ſomewhat leſſe regard than they doe.

Nowe then, if ſhe doubte, leaſt hee myghte be fetched from hir, is it not lykely ynough that ſhe ſhal ſend hym ſome where out of the realme? Verily I looke for none other. And I doubte not, but ſhee nowe as ſore myndeth it, as we the lette thereof. And if ſhee mighte happen to bryng that to paſſe, (as it were no greate maiſtrie, wee letting hir alone) all the worlde woulde ſaye that we were a wiſe ſort of Counſailers aboute a Kyng, that lette his brother be caſt away vnder oure noſes. And therefore, I enſure you faythfully for my mynde, I will rather maugre hir minde fetch him away, then leaue him there, till hir frowardneſſe and fonde feare conuey him away. And yet will I breake no Sainctuarie therefore. For verily, ſith the priuileges of that place and other lyke, haue bene of long continued, I am not hee that would be about to breake them. And in good fayth, if they were nowe to begynne, I woulde not be he that ſhoulde be about to make them.

Of Sanctuaries.

Yet will I not ſay naye, but that it is a deede of pitie, that ſuch menne as the Sea, or their euill dettours haue broughte in pouertie, ſhoulde haue ſome place of libertie, to keepe their bodyes out of the daunger of theyr cruell creditours.

And alſo, if the Crowne happen (as it hathe done) to come in queſtion, whyle eyther partie taketh other as Traytors, I will well there be ſome places of refuge for both.

But as for theeues, of whyche, theſe places bee full, and whyche neuer fall from the crafte, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the Sainctuarie ſhoulde ſerue them. And much more, manquellers, whome GOD bade to take from the Aulter and kyll them, if theyr murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwiſe, there neede wee not the Sanctuaries that God appoynted in the olde lawe. For if eyther neceſſitie, hys owne defence, or miſfortune draweth hym to that deede, a pardon ſerueth, which eyther the lawe graunteth of courſe, or the King of pitie maye.

Then looke me nowe howe fewe Sainctuarie men there be, whom any fauourable neceſſitie compelled to goe thyther. And then ſee on the other ſyde, what a ſort there be commonly therein of them, whome wilfull vnthriftineſſe, hathe brought to naught.

Weſtminſter and Saint Mertins.

What a rabble of theeues, murtherers and malitious heynous Traytors, and that in two places ſpecially. The one at the elbowe of the Citie, the other in the verye bowelles. I dare well auowe it, way the good that they doe, with the hurte that commeth of them, and yee ſhall fynde it muche better to lacke both, than haue both. And thys I ſaye, although they were not abuſed as they nowe bee, and ſo long haue bee, that I feare me euer they will bee, whyle menne be afrayde to ſette their handes to the amendmente, as though God and Sainct Peter, were the patrones of vngratious lyuing.

The abuſe of Sanctuaries.

Nowe vnthriftes riote, and runne in debte, vpon the boldneſſe of theſe places, yea, and riche men runne thither with poore mens goodes, there they buylde, there they ſpende, and bidde theyr creditors goe whiſtle them.

Mens wiues runne thyther with theyr huſbandes plate, and ſaye, they dare not abyde with theyr huſbandes for beating.

Theeues bring thither theyr ſtollen goodes, and there lyue thereon.

There deuiſe they newe robberies, nightelie they ſteale out, they robbe, and reaue, and kyll, and come in agayne, as though thoſe places gaue them not onely a ſauegarde for the harme they haue done, but a licence alſo to doe more. Howbeit, much of thys miſchiefe if wiſe menne would ſette theyr handes to it, might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breache of the priuiledge.

The reſidue, ſith ſo long agoe I wote neuer what Pope, and what Prince more piteous than politike, hathe graunted it, and other men, ſince of a certayne religious feare, haue not broken it, lette vs take a payne therewith, and lette it a Goddes name ſtande in force, as farre forthe as reaſon will, whych is not fully ſo farre forthe, as maye ſerue to lette vs of the fetching forthe of thys noble man, to hys honor and wealthe, out of that place, in whyche hee neyther is, nor can be a Sanctuarie man.

A Sanctuarie ſerueth alway to defende the bodye of that man that ſtandeth in daunger abroade, not of greate hurte onely, but alſo of lawfull hurte, for agaynſte vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor Kyng intended to priuiledge any one place, for that priuiledge hathe euerye place: knoweth anye man, anye place, wherein it is lawefull one manne to doe another wrong?

That no man vnlawfully take hurte, that lybertie, the Kyng, the lawe, and verye nature, forbyddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regarde, for euery man euery place a Sanctuarie.

But where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuicion of ſome ſpeciall priuiledge, whyche is the onely grounde and cauſe of all Sanctuaries: from whyche neceſſitie, thys noble Prince is farre, whoſe loue to hys Kyng, nature and kindred proueth, whoſe innocencie to all the worlde, his tender youth proueth, and ſo Sanctuarie, as for hym, neyther none he needeth, nor alſo none can haue.

Men come not to Sanctuarie, as they come to Baptiſme, to require it by theyr Godfathers, he muſt aſke it himſelfe, that muſt haue it, and reaſon, ſith no man hathe cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his owne fault maketh him fayne, neede to require it, what will then hath yonder babe? whyche and if hee hadde diſcretion to require it, if neede were, I dare ſaye would nowe bee ryght angrie with them that keepe hym there: and I would thynke without anye ſcruple of conſcience, without any breach of priuiledge, to bee ſomewhat more homely with them that be there Sanctuarie menne in deede.

For if one goe to Sanctuarie with another mans goodes, why ſhoulde not the Kyng, leauing his bodye at libertie, ſatiſfie the partie of hys goodes, euen within the Sanctuarie? for neyther Kyng nor Pope can gyue any place ſuche a priuiledge, that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his debtes, beeyng able to pay. And with that, dyuers of the Cleargie that were preſente, whyther they ſayde it for hys pleaſure, or as they thought, agreed playnelye, that by the lawe of God and of the Churche, the goodes of a Sanctuarie man ſhoulde be delyuered in paymente of hys debtes, and ſtollen goodes to the owner, and onely lybertie reſerued hym to gette hys liuing with the labour of hys handes. Verilye (quoth the Duke) I thynke you ſay very trueth, and what if a mans wife will take Sanctuarie, bycauſe ſhee liſt to runne from hir huſbande, I woulde weene if ſhee coulde alledge none other cauſe, hee maye lawfully, withoute anye diſpleaſure to Sainte Peter, take hir out of Sainte Peters Churche by the arme.

And if no bodye maye bee taken out of Sanctuarie, that ſayeth hee will byde there, then if a childe will take Sanctuarie, bycauſe he feareth to goe to Schole, hys maiſter muſt lette him alone.

And as ſimple as that ſample is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe than in that, for therein, though it bee a childiſhe feare, yet is there at the leaſtwiſe ſome feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I haue often hearde of Sanctuarie menne, but I neuer hearde earſt of Sanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the concluſion of my mynde, who ſo maye haue deſerued to neede it, if they thynke it for theyr ſuretie, let them keepe it.

But hee can bee no Sanctuarie man, that neyther hathe wiſedome to deſire it, nor malice to deſerue it, whoſe life or libertie, can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtande in ieopardie.

And hee that taketh one out of Sanctuarie to doe hym good, I ſaye playnely, that hee breaketh no Sanctuarie.

When the Duke hadde done, the Temporall menne whole, and a good parte of the ſpirituall alſo, thynkyng no hurte earthely, meant towarde the yong babe, condiſcended in effect, that if hee were not delyuered, hee ſhoulde bee fetched.

Howbeit, they thoughte it all beſt, in the anoyding of all manner of rumor, that the Lord Cardinall ſhoulde fyrſte aſſay to gette hym with hir good will.

And thervppon, all the Counſayle came vnto the Starre Chamber at Weſtminſter, and the Lorde Cardinall, leauing the Protector with the Counſayle in the Starre Chamber, departed into the Sanctuarie to the Queene, with dyuers other Lordes with hym, were it for the reſpect of hys honoure, or that ſhee ſhoulde by preſence of ſo manye perceyue, that thys errande was not one mans mynde: or were it, for that the protector intended not in thys matter, to truſt anye one manne alone, or elſe, that if ſhee finallye were determined to keepe hym, ſome of that companie hadde happily ſecrete inſtruction incontinente, maugre hir mynde, to take hym, and to leaue hir no reſpite to conuey hym, whyche ſhe was lykelye to mynde after thys matter, broken to hir, if hir time woulde in any wiſe ſerue hir.

When the Queene, and theſe Lordes were come togyther in preſence, the Lorde Cardinall ſhewed vnto hir, that it was thoughte vnto the protector, and vnto the whole Counſayle, that hir keepyng of the Kynges brother in that place, was the thyng, whyche highlye ſounded, not onely to the greate rumour of the people and theyr obloquie, but alſo to the importable griefe and diſpleaſure of the Kynges royall maieſtie, to whoſe grace it were as ſingular comforte, to haue hys naturall brother in companye, as it was their bothe diſhonoure, and all theyrs and hirs alſo, to ſuffer hym in Sanctuarie, as though the tone brother ſtoode in daunger and perill of the tother.

And hee ſhewed hir, that the Counſayle therefore hadde ſente hym vnto hir, to require hir the deliuerie of hym, that hee myghte be broughte vnto the Kynges preſence at hys lybertie, out of that place, whyche they reckoned as a priſon, and there ſhoulde hee bee demeaned, accordyng to hys eſtate, and ſhee in thys doyng, ſhoulde both doe greate good to the Realme, pleaſure to the Counſayle, and profite to hir ſelfe, ſuccoure to hir friendes that were in diſtreſſe, and ouer that (whyche hee wiſt well ſhee ſpecially tendered,) not onely greate comforte and honor to the Kyng, but alſo to the yong Duke hymſelfe, whoſe both greate wealthe it were to bee together, as well for many greater cauſes, as alſo for theyr both diſporte and recreation: whyche thyng, the Lorde eſteemed no ſlighte, though it ſeeme lyghte, well pondering that their youth without recreation and playe, cannot endure, nor anye ſtraunger, for the conuenience of their both ages and eſtates, ſo meetely in that pointe for any of them, as eyther of them for other.

Protector.

The Queenes aunſwere.

My Lorde (quoth the Queene) I ſaye not naye, but that it were very conueniente, that thys Gentleman whome yee require were in companye of the Kyng hys brother: and in good faythe, mee thynketh it were as greate commoditie to them bothe, as for yet awhile, to beene in the cuſtodie of theyr mother, the tender age conſidered of the elder of them both, but ſpecially, the yonger, which beſydes hys infancie, that alſo needeth good lookyng too, hathe awhyle beene ſo ſore diſeaſed, vexed wyth ſickneſſe, and is ſo newly rather a little amended, then well recouered, that I dare putte no perſone earthely in truſt wyth hys keepyng, but my ſelfe onely, conſideryng that there is (as Phiſitians ſaye) and as wee alſo fynde, double the perill in the recidiuation, that was in the fyrſte ſickneſſe, with whyche diſeaſe, Nature beeyng ſore laboured, forwearied and weakened, waxeth the leſſe able to beare out & ſuſteine a newe ſurfette.

And albeit there myghte bee founden other that woulde happily doe theyr beſte vnto hym, yet is there none that eyther knoweth better howe to order hym, then I that ſo long haue kepte hym: or is more tenderlye lyke to cheryſhe hym, than hys owne mother that bare hym.

No manne denyeth, good Madame, (quod the Cardinall) but that youre grace were of all folke moſte neceſſary aboute your chyldren: and ſo woulde all the Cornſell not onely bee contente, but gladde that ye were, if it myghte ſtande wyth youre pleaſure to bee in ſuche place as myghte ſtande wyth theyr honoure. But yf you doe appoynte youre ſelfe to tarry heere, then thynke they it more conuenyente that the Duke of Yorke were wyth the King honourably at hys lybertye to the comforte of them bothe: than heere as a Sanctuarye manne, to their bothe diſhonour and obloquie, ſithe there is not alwaye ſo greate neceſſytie to haue the Chylde to bee with the Mother: but that occaſion maye ſometime be ſuche, that it ſhoulde be more expediente to keepe hym elſe where, whyche in thys well appeareth, that at ſuche time as youre deereſt ſonne then Prince, and nowe Kyng, ſhoulde for hys honor, and good order of the Countrey, keepe houſholde in Wales, farre out of your company: youre grace was well contente therewith youre ſelfe. Not very well contente quoth the Queene: And yet the caſe is not lyke, for the tone was then in healthe, and the tother is nowe ſicke: In whiche caſe, I maruell greately, that my Lord protector is ſo deſirous to haue hym in his keeping, where if the childe in hys ſickneſſe miſcarried by nature, yet myghte hee runne into ſlaunder and ſuſpition of fraude. And where they call it a thing ſo ſore agaynſte my childes honor, and theyrs alſo, that he bydeth in this place: it is all theyr honors there to ſuffer hym byde, where no man doubteth he ſhall bee beſt kepte, and that is heere, whyle I am heere, which as yet intende not to come forth, and ieoparde my ſelfe after other of my friendes, whiche woulde God were rather heere in ſuretie with me, than I were there in ieopardie with them. Why Madame (quoth another Lorde) knowe you anye thyng why they ſhoulde be in ieopardie? Nay verily ſir quoth ſhee, nor why they ſhoulde bee in priſon neyther, as they nowe bee. But it is I trow, no greate maruell though I feare, leaſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in dureſſe withoute couloure, will let as little to procure theyr deſtruction without cauſe.

The Cardinall made a countenaunce to the other Lorde, that hee ſhoulde harp no more vpon that ſtring, and then ſaid he to the Quene, that he nothyng doubted, but that thoſe Lordes of hir honorable kynne, whyche as yet remayned vnder arreſt, ſhoulde vppon the matter examined, doe well ynough: and as towarde hir noble perſon, neyther was, nor could be any manner ieoperdy. Whereby ſhoulde I truſt that (quoth the Queene) in that I am giltleſſe? as though they were giltie, in that I am with theyr enimies better loued than they? when they hate them for my ſake, in that I am ſo neere of kynne to the King? and howe farre they be of, if that would helpe, as God ſende grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet, to depart hence. And as for thys Gentleman my ſonne, I mynde that hee ſhall bee where I am, tyll I ſee further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſee ſome menne ſo greedie, without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue hym, thys maketh me much the more fearder to delyuer hym. Truely madame, quoth hee, and the fearder that you bee to deliuer hym, the fearder bin other menne to ſuffer you to keepe him, leaſt your cauſeleſſe feare myghte cauſe you farther to conuey him, and many bee there that thynke he can haue no priuiledge in thys place, whiche neyther can haue will to aſke it, nor malice to deſerue it, and therefore, they recken no priuiledge broken, though they fetche hym out, whyche if yee finally refuſe to delyuer hym, I verily thynke they will. So muche dread hathe my Lorde hys Uncle, for the tender loue hee beareth him, leaſt your grace ſhould hap to ſend him away.

The Quene.

A Syr (quod the Queene) hath the Protector ſo tender zeale, that hee feareth nothyng but leaſt hee ſhoulde eſcape hym? Thynketh hee that I woulde ſende hym hence, whyche neyther is in the plyghte to ſende oute: and in what place coulde I recken hym ſure, if hee bee not ſure in thys Sanctuarie? whereof was there neuer Tyrãnt yet ſo diuelyſhe that durſte preſume to breake: And I truſte God is as ſtrong nowe to withſtande hys aduerſaries, as euer he was.

But my ſonne can deſerue no Sanctuarye, and therefore he can not haue it. Forſooth hee hathe founden a goodlye gloſe, by whyche that place that maye defende a Theefe, maye not ſaue an Innocente. But hee is in no ieopardye, nor hathe no neede thereof, woulde God hee hadde not. Troweth the Protectoure (I praye GOD hee maye proue a Protectoure) troweth hee that I perceyue not wherevnto hys paynted proceſſe draweth? It is not honourable that the Duke byde heere: It were comfortable for them both, that hee were wyth hys brother, bycauſe the Kyng lacketh a playfellowe bee ye ſure. I praye God ſende them bothe better playfellowes than hym, that maketh ſo high a matter vppon ſuche a tryfelyng pretexte: As though there coulde none bee founden to playe wyth the Kyng, but if hys brother that hath no luſte to playe for ſickeneſſe, come out of ſanctuarye out of hys ſafegarde to playe with hym: As though princes as yõg as they be, could not play but with their peeres, or children coulde not play but with their kinred, with whom for the more parte they agree much worſe than with ſtraungers.

But the chylde can not requyre the priuiledge, who told him ſo, he ſhal heare him aſke it, & he wil. Howbeit this is a gay matter, ſuppoſe he coulde not aſke it, ſuppoſe he woulde not aſke it, ſuppoſe he woulde aſke to goe oute, if I ſay he ſhall not, if I aſke the priuiledge but for my ſelfe, I ſay he that agaynſt my will taketh him oute, breaketh the Sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my perſon onely, or for my goodes too? Ye may not hence take my horſe fro me: and maye you take my childe fro me? He is alſo my warde:

for as my learned counſaile ſheweth me, ſithe hee hath nothing by diſcent holden by knightes ſeruice, the lawe maketh his mother his gardaine. Then may no man I ſuppoſe take my warde fro me out of Sanctuarie, without the breache of the Sanctuarie. And if my priuiledge coulde not ſerue him, nor he aſke it for himſelfe, yet ſith the lawe committeth to me the cuſtodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardaine onely for his goodes and landes, diſcharging him of the cure and ſafekeeping of hys bodie, for whiche onely both landes and goodes ſerue.

that is
betwene
marke *
this marke
* was not wri-
by him in
but is
out
this hiſtory
he wrete
in Latin.

* And if examples be ſufficient to obteyne priuiledge for my childe, I neede not farre to ſeeke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is nowe in queſtion whether my childe may take benefite of it) mine other ſonne nowe king was borne, and kept in his Cradle, and preſerued to a more proſperous fortune, which I pray God lõg to continue. And as all you know, this is not the firſt time that I haue taken Sanctuarie. For when my Lord my huſbande was baniſhed, and thruſt out of hys kingdome, I fled hither, beeing great with childe, and here I bare the Prince. And when my Lorde my huſbande returned ſafe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, & from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when he firſt tooke him in his armes. And I pray God that my ſonnes palace may bee as great ſauegarde vnto him now raigning, as this place was ſometyme to the kings enimie. In which place I intende to keepe his brother ſithe. &c. * Wherefore here intende I to keepe him, ſince mans law ſerueth the gardaine to keepe the infant. The law of nature will the mother keepe hir childe, Gods lawe priuiledgeth the Sanctuarie, and the Sanctuarie my ſonne, ſithe I feare to put him in the Protectors handes that hath his brother alreadie, and were (if both fayled) inheritor to the crowne. The cauſe of my feare hath no man to do to examine. And yet feare I no farther than the lawe feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euerye man the cuſtodie of them, by whoſe death he may inherite leſſe lande than a kingdome. I can no more, but whoſoeuer he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuarie, I pray God ſhortly ſende him neede of Sanctuarie, when hee may not come to it. For taken out of Sanctuarie would I not my mortall enimie were.

The Lorde Cardinall perceyuing that the Queene waxed euer the longer the farther off, and alſo that ſhe began to kindle and chafe, and ſpake more byting wordes agaynſt the Protector, and ſuch as he neither beleeued, and was alſo loth to heare, he ſayd to hir for a finall concluſion, that he would no longer diſpute the matter: but if ſhe were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other Lordes preſent, he durſt lay hys owne bodie and ſoule both in pledge, not onely for hys ſuretie, but alſo for his eſtate. And if ſhe woulde giue them a reſolute anſwere to the contrarie, hee woulde forthwith depart therewithall, and ſhyfte who ſo woulde with this buſineſſe afterwardes, for hee neuer intended more to moue hir in that matter, in which ſhe thought that he and al other alſo ſaue hirſelfe lacked eyther wit or truth. Wit if they were ſo dull that they coulde nothing perceyue what the Protector intended: truth if they ſhould procure hir ſonne to be deliuered into hys handes, in whom they ſhoulde perceyue towarde the childe any euill intended.

The Queene with theſe wordes ſtood a good while in a greate ſtudie. And foraſmuche as hir ſeemed the Cardinall more readie to depart than ſome of the remnant, and the Protector himſelfe readie at hande, ſo that ſhee verily thought ſhee coulde not keepe him there, but that he ſhould incontinent bee taken thence: and to conuey hym elſe where, neyther had ſhe time to ſerue hir, nor place determined, nor perſõs appointed, al things vnreadie, this meſſage came on hir ſo ſodainly, nothing leſſe looking for, than to haue him fet out of Sanctuarie, which ſhe thought to be now beſet in ſuch places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly as ſhee thought it myght fortune, hir feare to bee falſe, ſo well ſhe wyſte it was eyther needleſſe or bootleſſe: wherefore if ſhe ſhould needes go from him, ſhe deemed it beſt to deliuer him. And ouer that, of the Cardinalles fayth ſhee nothing doubted, nor of ſome other Lordes neyther, whom ſhe there ſawe. Whiche as ſhe feared leaſt they might be deceyued: ſo was ſhe well aſſured they woulde not bee corrupted: then thought ſhee it ſhoulde yet make them the more warely to looke to him, and the more circumſpectly to ſee to his ſurety, if ſhe with hir own handes betooke him to them of truſt. And at the laſt ſhe tooke the yong duke by the hande, & ſeyde vnto the Lordes: My Lordes (quoth ſhee) and all my Lordes, I neythir am ſo vnwyſe to myſtruſte youre wyttes, nor ſo ſuſpitious to myſtruſt your truthes: Of which thing I purpoſe to make you ſuche a proofe, as if eyther of both lacked in you, myghte turne bothe mee to greate ſorowe, the Realme to muche harme, and you to great reproch. For loe, heere is (quoth ſhe) thys Gentleman, whome I doubt not, but I coulde heere keepe ſafe, if I woulde, whatſoeuer anye man ſaye: and I doubte not alſo, but there bee ſome abrode ſo deadly enimies vnto my bloud, that if they wyſt where any of it laye in theyr owne bodie, they would let it out. Wee haue alſo experience that the deſire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred. The brother hath beene the brothers bane: and may the nephewes be ſure of their vncle? Eche of theſe children is the others defence while they be aſunder, and eche of their liues lieth in the others bodie. Keepe one ſafe and both be ſure, and nothing for them both more perillous, than to be both in one place. For what wiſe Marchant aduentureth all his goodes in one ſhip? All this notwithſtanding, here I deliuer him, and his brother in him, to keepe, into youre handes, of whom I ſhall aſke the both afore god and the world. Faythfull ye be that wote I well, and I know well you be wiſe. Power & ſtrength to kepe him if you liſt, neither lack ye of your ſelf, nor can lacke helpe in this cauſe. And if ye cannot elſe where, then may you leaue him here. But only one thing I beſeech you, for the truſt which his father put in you euer, & for ẏ truſt that I put in you nowe, that as farre as ye thinke that I feare too muche, be you well ware that you feare not as farre too little. And therewithall ſhe ſayde vnto the childe, fare well mine owne ſweete ſon, God ſend you good keeping: let me kiſſe you yet once ere you goe, for God knoweth when wee ſhall kiſſe togither agayne. And therwith ſhe kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, turned hir backe & wept, and went hir way, leauing the childe weeping as faſte.

When the Lorde Cardinall, and theſe other Lordes with him, had receyued this yong duke, they brought him into the Starre Chamber, where the Protector tooke him in his armes, and kiſſed him, with theſe wordes: now welcome my Lord euen with all my very heart. And he ſayd in that of likelyhoode as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother, into the Biſhoppes Palace at Poules, and from thence throughe the Citie honourably into the Tower, out of the which after that day they neuer came abrode.

O diſsimulation.

This that is heere betwene this marke * and this marke * was not written by him in engliſh but is tranſlated out of this Hiſtory which he wrot in Latten.

* When the Protector had both the children in his handes, he opened himſelfe more boldely, both to certaine other men, and alſo chiefly to the duke of Buckingham. Although I knowe that many thought that this duke was priuy to al the Protectors counſaile, euen from the beginning, and ſome of the Protectors friends ſayde, that the duke was the firſt mouer of the Protector to this matter, ſending a priuie meſſenger vnto hym, ſtreight after king Edwards death. But other againe which knew better the ſubtil wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterpriſe to the duke, vntill he had brought to paſſe the things before rehearſed. But when hee had impryſoned the Queenes kinſfolkes, and gotten both hir ſonnes into his owne handes, then he opened the reſt of his purpoſe with leſſe feare to them whō he thought meet for the matter, and ſpecially to the duke, who being won to his purpoſe, he thought his ſtrength more than halfe increaſed.

The matter was broken vnto the duke by ſubtill folkes, and ſuch as were their craftmaiſters in the handling of ſuch wicked deuiſes: who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for hys kinſfolkes ſake, and if hee were euer able he would reuenge them. Who would pricke him forwarde thereunto if they eſcaped (for they would remember their impriſonment) or elſe if they were put to death, without doubt the yong king woulde bee carefull for their deathes, whoſe impriſonment was grieuous vnto him. And that with repenting the duke ſhoulde nothing auaile, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefites, but he ſhoulde ſooner deſtroy hymſelfe than ſaue the king, who with his brother and his kinſfolkes he ſawe in ſuch places impriſoned, as the Protectour myghte wyth a becke deſtroye them all: and that it were no doubt but he would doe it in deede, if there were any newe enterpriſe attempted.

And that it was likely, that as the Protectour had prouided priuie garde for himſelfe, ſo hadde hee ſpyalles for the Duke, and traynes to catche him, if hee ſhoulde be agaynſt hym, and that peraduenture from them, whome hee leaſte ſuſpected. For the ſtate of things and the diſpoſitions of men were then ſuch, that a man coulde not well tell whom he might truſt, or whome he might feare.

Theſe things and ſuch like, beyng beaten into the Dukes mynde, brought him to that point that where hee had repented the way that he had entred, yet woulde he goe forth in the ſame, and ſince he had once begonne, he would ſtoutely go through. And therefore to this wicked enterpriſe which he beleeued coulde not be voyded, he bent himſelfe, and went through and determined, that ſince the common miſchiefe coulde not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

Then it was agreed, that the Protector ſhould haue the Dukes ayde to make him king, and that the Protectors onely lawfull ſonne ſhould mary the Dukes daughter, and that the Protectour ſhould graunt him the quiet poſſeſſion of the erledome of Hertford, which he claymed as his inheritaunce, and could neuer obteyne it in king Edwardes tyme.

Beſides theſe requeſtes of the Duke, the Protector of his owne minde promiſed him a greate quantitie of the kings treaſure, and of his houſeholde ſtuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwene themſelues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king as they wold haue it ſeme. And that they might turne both the eies & mindes of men frō perceyuing of their driftes otherwhere, the lords being ſent for frō all partes of the Realme, came thicke to that ſolemnitie. But the Protectour and the Duke after that, that they had ſent the Lorde Cardinal, the Archbiſhop of Yorke then Lorde Chauncellour, the Biſhop of Elie, the Lorde Stanley, and the lord Haſtings then Lorde Chamberlaine, with many other noble men, to common and deuiſe aboute the coronation in one place, as faſt were they in another place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the Protector King. To which Councell, albeit there were adhibited very fewe, and they were ſecrete: yet began there here and there aboute, ſome maner of muttering among the people, as though all ſhould not long be well, though they neyther wyſte what they feared, nor wherefore, were it that before ſuch great things mens hearts of a ſecrete inſtinct of nature miſgiue them.

As the ſea without wind ſwelleth of himſelf ſometime before a tempeſt: or were it that ſome one man happily ſomewhat perceyuing, filled many men with ſuſpition, though hee ſhewed fewe men what hee knew. Howbeit ſomewhat the dealing it ſelf made men to muſe on the matter, though the Councell were cloſe. For by little and little, all folke withdrewe from the Tower, and drewe to Croſbies in Biſhops gates ſtreet, where the Protector kept his houſhold. The protectour had the reſort, the King in maner deſolate.

While ſome for theyr buſineſſe made ſute to them that had the doing, ſome were by theyr friendes ſecretely warned, that it might happily turne them to no good, to bee too much attendaunt about the King wythout the Protectors appoyntment, whiche remoued alſo diuerſe of the princes olde ſeruants from him, and ſet new about him.

Thus many things comming togyther, partly by chance, partly of purpoſe, cauſed at length not common people onely, that wound with the winde, but wiſe men alſo, and ſome Lordes eke to marke the matter, and muſe thereon, ſo farre forth, that the Lorde Stanley that was after Earle of Darby, wiſely miſtruſted it, and ſayde vnto the Lorde Haſtings, that he muche miſlyked theſe two ſeuerall Councels. For while wee (quoth hee) talke of one matter in the tone place, little wote wee, whereof they talke in the tother place. My Lorde, (quoth the Lorde Haſtings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thence, neuer can there be thing once moued, that ſhoulde ſounde amiſſe towarde me, but it ſhoulde bee in mine eares ere it were well out of their mouthes.

Catſby.

This ment he by Cateſby, which was of hys neare ſecrete counſaile, and whome he verie familiarly vſed, and in his moſt weightie matters put no man in ſo ſpecial truſt, reckening himſelfe to no man ſo liefe, ſith hee well wyſt there was no man ſo muche to him beholden as was thys Cateſbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the ſpeciall fauour of the Lorde Chamberlayne, in good authoritie, and much rule bare in all the Countie of Leyceſter, where the Lorde Chamberleynes power chiefly laye.

But ſurely greate pitie was it, yͭ hee had not had eyther more truth or leſſe wit. For his diſſimulation onely, kept all that miſcheife vp. In whome if the Lorde Haſtings, hadde not put ſo ſpeciall truſt, the Lorde Stanley and he had departed with dyuerſe other Lordes, and broken all the daunce, for many yll ſignes that he ſawe, which he nowe conſtrues all to the beſt. So ſurely thought he, that there coulde be none harme toward him in that Councell intended, where Cateſbie was.

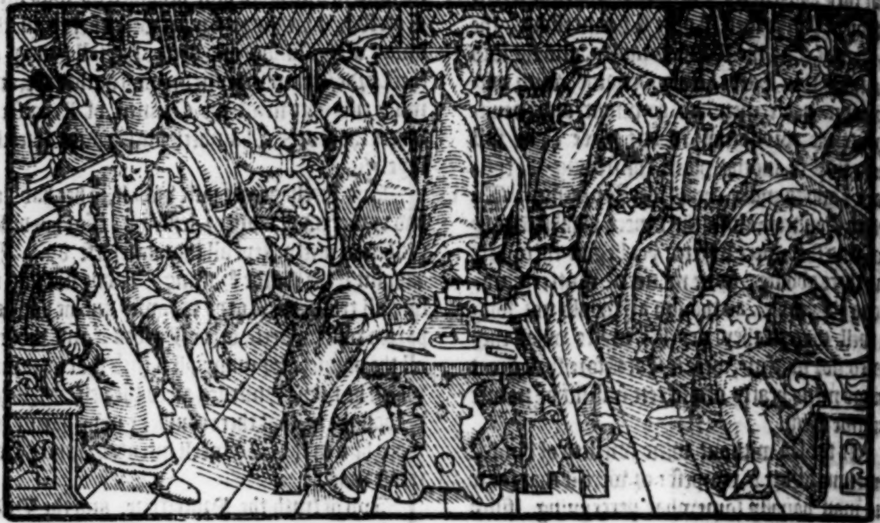
And of truth the Protectour, and the Duke of Buckingham, made verie good ſemblaunce vnto the Lord Haſtings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedly the Protector loued him well, and loth was to haue loſt him, ſauing for feare leaſt his lyfe ſhoulde haue quayled their purpoſe. For which cauſe he moued Cateſbie to proue with ſome wordes caſt out a farre off, whether he coulde thinke it poſſible to win the Lorde Haſtings vnto their part. But Cateſbie whether he aſſayed him, or aſſayed him not, reported vnto them, that he found him ſo faſt, and heard him ſpeake ſo terrible wordes, that hee durſt no further breake.

And of truth the Lorde Chamberlaine of verie truſt ſhewed vnto Cateſbie the diſtruſt that other beganne to haue in the matter. And therefore hee fearing leaſt theyr motion mighte with the Lorde Haſtings miniſhe his credence, whereunto onely all the matter leaned, procured the Protector haſtily to rid him. And muche the rather, for that he truſted by his death to obteyne muche of the rule that the Lorde Haſtinges bare in his Countrey: the onely deſire whereof was the allectiue that induced hym to bee partner and one ſpeciall contriuer of all thys horrible treaſon.

Whereupon ſoone after, that is to wit on the Fryday the day of many Lordes aſſembled in the Tower, and there ſate in Councell, deuiſing the honourable ſolemnitie of the Kings Coronation, of which the tyme appoynted then ſo neare approched, that the pageauntes and ſubtilties were in making, daye and night at Weſtminſter, and much vytaile killed therefore, that afterwarde was caſt away.

Thirteenth of Iune.

Theſe Lordes ſo ſitting togither commoning of this matter, the Protector came in amongſt them, firſt about .ix. of the clocke, ſaluting them courteouſly, and excuſing himſelfe that hee had beene from them ſo long, ſaying merily that he had bene a ſleeper that day.



And after a little talking with them, he ſayde vnto the Biſhop of Elie: My Lorde you haue very good Strawberies at your Garden in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a meſſe of them. Gladly my Lorde (quoth he) woulde God I had ſome better thing as readie to youre pleaſure as that. And therewith in all the haſte hee ſent hys ſeruant for a meſſe of Strawberies.

The Protectour ſet the Lordes faſt in communing, and thereupon praying them to ſpare him for a little while, departed thence. And ſoone after one houre, betweene tenne and eleuen he returned into the Chamber among them al, chaunged with a wonderful ſoure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawyng on his lyppes, and ſo ſatte hym downe in his place, all the Lordes muche diſmayde and ſore maruelyng of this maner of ſodaine chaunge, and what thing ſhould him ayle. Then, when he had ſitten ſtill a while, thus he beganne: What were they worthie to haue that compaſſe and ymagine the deſtruction of me, being ſo nere of bloud vnto the king, and Protector of his royal perſon and his realme? At this queſtion, al the Lordes ſat ſore aſtonied, muſing much by whom this queſtion ſhould be ment, of whiche euery man wyſt himſelfe cleare.

Then the Lorde Chamberlaine as he that for the loue betweene them thought he might bee boldeſt with him, annſwered and ſayde, that they were worthie to be puniſhed as heynous traitors, what ſoeuer they were. And all the other affyrmed the ſame. That is quoth he yonder ſorcereſſe my brothers wife, and other with hir, meaning the Queene.

At theſe wordes manye of the other Lordes were greatly abaſhed, that fauoured hir. But the Lord Haſtings was in his minde better content, ỹ it was moued by hir, thã by any other whõ he loued better: Albeit his heart ſomwhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counſell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his aſſent before, deuiſed to be beheaded at Pomfreet this ſelfe ſame day, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuiſed, that himſelfe ſhould be beheaded the ſame day at London. Then ſayd the Protector, ye ſhall all ſee in what wiſe that ſorcereſſe, and that other Witche of hir counſaile Shores wife with their affinitie, haue by theyr ſorcerie and witchcraft waſted my body. And therewith he plucked vp his dubled ſleeue to hys elbow vpõ his left arme, where he ſhewed a weriſh withered arme, and ſmall, as it was neuer other. And thereupon euery mans minde ſore miſgaue them, well perceyuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wyſt that the Queene was too wiſe to goe aboute anye ſuche folly. And alſo if ſhee woulde, yet would ſhee of all folke leaſt, make Shores wife of counſaile, whome of all women ſhee moſte hated, as that Concubine whom the king hir huſband had moſt loued.

And alſo, no man was there preſent but well knewe that his arme was euer ſuche ſince hys byrth. Naytheleſſe the Lorde Chamberlayne (which frõ the death of King Edwarde kept Shores wyfe, on whome he ſomewhat doted in the Kings lyfe, ſauing (as it is ſayd) he, that while forbare hir of reuerence towarde the king, or elſe of a certayne kynd of fidelitie to his friend) annſwered and ſayde: certainlye my Lorde, if they haue ſo heynouſly done, they be worthie heynous puniſhment.

What (quoth the Protectour) thou ſerueſt me I wene wyth iffes and wyth andes, I tell thee they haue ſo done, and that I will make good on thy bodie traytour: and therewith as in a greate anger, he clapped his fyſt vpon the bourd a greate rappe. At which token giuen, one cried treaſon withoute the Chamber. Therewith a doore clapped, and in come there ruſhing men in harneſſe, as many as the chamber myght holde. And anone the Protectour ſayd to the Lord Haſtings: I arreſt thee Traytour: What mee my Lorde? (quoth he) yea thee traytour quoth the Protector. And another let flie at the Lorde Stanley, whiche ſhrunke at the ſtroke, and fell vnder the Table, or elſe his heade had beene cleft to the teeth: for as ſhortly as he ſhranke, yet came the bloud about his eares. Then were they all quickly beſtowed in diuerſe Chambers, except the Lorde Chamberlaine, whome the Protectour bade ſpeede and ſhriue him apace, for by Saint Paule (quoth hee) I will not to dinner till I ſee thy head off.

he Lord Stã- ounded.

It booted him not to aſke why, but heauily tooke a prieſt at auenture, and made a ſhort ſhrift for a longer would not be ſuffered, the Protector made ſo much haſt to dinner, which hee myghte not goe to, till this were done, for ſauing of hys othe. So was hee brought forth into the greene beſide the Chappell within the Tower, and hys heade layd downe vpon a long logge of tymber, and there ſtryken off, and afterwarde his bodie with the heade enterred at Windſore beſyde the bodie of king Edwarde, whoſe both ſoules oure Lorde pardon.

A marueylous caſe is it to heare eyther the warnings of that he ſhoulde haue voyded, or the tokens of that hee coulde not voyde, for the ſelfe night next before his death, the Lorde Stanley ſent a truſtie ſecrete Meſſenger vnto him at midnight in all the haſt, requyring him to riſe and ryde away with hym, for hee was diſpoſed vtterlye no longer to byde, hee hadde ſo fearefull a dreame, in whiche him thought that a Boare with his tuſkes ſo raſed them both by the heades, that the bloud ranne about both theyr ſhoulders. And foraſmuch as the Protector gaue the Boare for his cogniſaunce, this dreame made ſo fearefull an impreſſion in his heart, yͭ he was throughly determined no lõger to tarie, but had his horſe readie, if the Lorde Haſtings would go with him to ride yet ſo farre the ſame night, that they ſhuld be out of daunger ere day. Ha good Lorde (quoth yͤ Lord Haſtings to this meſſenger) leaneth my Lorde thy maiſter ſo much to ſuch tryfles, and hath ſuch fayth in dreames, whiche eyther hys owne feare fantaſieth, or doe ryſe in the nyghtes reſt by reaſon of his day thoughtes? Tell hym it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in ſuch dreames, whiche if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might bee as lykely to make them true by our goyng, if wee were caughte and broughte backe (as friendes fayle fleers) for then had the Boare a cauſe likely to race vs wyth hys Tuſkes, as folke that fledde for ſome falſehoode, wherefore eyther is there no perill, nor none there is in deede: or if any bee, it is rather in going than byding. And if wee ſhould needes coſt fall in perill one way or other, yet hadde I leeffer that menne ſhoulde ſee that it were by other mennes falſehoode, than thinke it were eyther by our owne faulte, or faynt heart. And therefore go to thy maiſter man, and commende mee to him, and pray him be merie and haue no feare: for I enſure him I am as ſure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine own hande. God ſend grace ſir, quoth the meſſenger, and went his way.

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me,

Certaine is it alſo, that in ryding towardes the Tower the ſame morning in which he was beheaded, hys Horſe twiſe or thriſe ſtumbled wyth him, almoſt to the falling, which thing albeit eche man wote wel dayly happeneth to them to whome no ſuch myſchaunce is towarde, yet hath it beene of an olde ryte and cuſtome, obſerued as a token oftentymes notably foregoyng ſome great miſfortune.

Nowe this that followeth was no warning but an enuious ſkorne.

The ſame morning ere hee was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courteſie, to accompanie him to the Councell, but of truth ſent by the Protectour to haſt him thitherwardes, with whom he was of ſecret confederacie in that purpoſe, a meane man at that time, and nowe of great authoritie.

This knight when it happed the Lord Chamberlayne by the way to ſtay his horſe, and commune a while wyth a Prieſt whome he mette in the Tower ſtreete, brake his tale, and ſayde merily to him, what my Lord I pray you come on, whereto talke you ſo long wyth that Prieſt, you haue no neede of a Prieſt yet: and therewyth hee laughed vpon him, as though he would ſay, ye ſhall haue ſone. But ſo little wyſt the tother what he ment, and ſo little miſtruſted, that he was neuer merryer, nor neuer ſo full of good hope in his lyfe, which ſelfe thing is often ſeene a ſigne of chaunge. But I ſhall rather let anye thing paſſe me, than the vaine ſuretie of mannes minde ſo neare his death.

Upon the verie Tower Wharfe, ſo neare the place where his head was off ſoone after, there met he with one Haſtings a Purſeuaunt of his owne name. And of theyr meeting in that place, hee was put in remembraunce of another tyme, in whiche it had happened them before to meete in

lyke

like maner togither in the ſame place. At which other time the Lorde chamberlaine had beene accuſed vnto King Edwarde by the Lorde Ryuers the Queenes brother, in ſuche wiſe as hee was for the while (but it laſted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, and ſtoode in great feare of himſelfe. And foraſmuche as hee now met this Purſeuaunt in the ſame place that ieopardie ſo well paſſed, it gaue him great pleaſure to talke with him thereof, wyth whome he hadde before talked thereof in the ſame place, while he was therein. And therefore he ſayd: Ah Haſtings art thou remembred when I met thee here once with an heauie heart? Yea my Lorde, (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked bee God, they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo (quoth hee) if thou kneweſt as much as I knowe, which few know elſe as yet, and mo ſhall ſhortly. That ment hee by the Lordes of the Queenes kyndred that were taken before, and ſhould that day be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wyſt, but nothing ware that the Axe hung ouer his owne heade. In fayth man (quoth he) I was neuer ſo ſorie, nor neuer ſtoode in ſo greate dreade in my lyfe, as I did when thou and I mette here. And lo howe the worlde is turned, nowe ſtand mine enimyes in the daunger (as thou mayeſt happe to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my lyfe ſo mery, nor neuer in ſo great ſuretie.

O good God the blindneſſe of our mortal nature, when he moſt feared, he was in good ſuretie, when hee reckened himſelfe ſureſt he loſt his life, and that within two houres after.

The diſcriptiō of the Lord Haſtings

Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of greate authoritie wyth his Prince, of lyuing ſomewhat diſſolute, plaine and open to his enimie, and ſecrete to hys friend, eaſie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage foreſtudied no perilles, a louyng man and paſſing well beloued: verie faythfull and truſtie ynough, truſting too much.

Nowe flewe the fame of this Lordes death ſwiftly through the Citie, and ſo forth further about like a wynde in euerie mans eare.

But the Protector immediatly after dinner, entending to ſette ſome colour vpon the matter, ſent in all the haſt for many ſubſtantiall men out of the Citie into the Tower. And at theyr comming, himſelfe with the Duke of Buckingham, ſtoode harneſſed in olde yll faring Bryganders, ſuche as no man ſhoulde wene that they woulde vouchſafe to haue put vpon theyr backes, except that ſome ſodaine neceſſitie had conſtrayned thē.

And then the Protector ſhewed them, that the Lorde Chamberlayne and other of his conſpiracie had contriued to haue ſodainly deſtroyed him, and the Duke there the ſame day in the coūcell. And what they intended further was as yet not well knowne. Of whiche their treaſon hee neuer had knowledge before tenne of the clocke the ſame forenoone, whiche ſodaine feare draue them to put on for theyr defence ſuch harneſſe as came next to hande. And ſo had God holpen thē, that the miſchiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it. And this hee requyred them to report.

The procla- Proclam

Euery man aunſwered him fayre, as though no man miſtruſted the matter, which of troth no man beleeued. Yet for the further appeaſing of the peoples mynde, hee ſent immediately after dinner in all the haſte, one Heraulte of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the citie in the kings name, conteyning that the Lord Haſtings with diuers other of his traiterous purpoſe, had before conſpired the ſame day, to haue ſlaine the Lorde Protectour, and the Duke of Buckingham, ſitting in the Councell, and after to haue taken vpon them to rule the king, and the Realme at theyr pleaſure, and thereby to pill and ſpoyle whome they lyſte vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuiſed to the ſlaunder of the Lorde Chamberlain, as that hee was an euill Counſailer to the kings father, intiſing him to manye things highly redounding to the miniſhing of his honour, and to the vniuerſall hurt of his realme by his euil company, ſiniſter procuring, & vngracious enſample, as well in many other things, as in the vicious liuing and inordinate abuſion of his bodie, both with many other, & alſo ſpecially with Shores wife, which was one alſo of his moſt ſecret counſaile of this heynous treaſon, with whome he lay nightly, and namely the night laſt paſt next before his death, ſo that it was the leſſe maruaile, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappie ending, which he was now put vnto, by the moſt dread commaundement of the kings highneſſe, and of his honourable and faythfull counſayle, both for his demerits being ſo openly taken in his falſly conceyued treaſon, and alſo leaſt the delaying of his execution, myght haue encouraged other miſchieuous perſons partners of his conſpiracie, to gather and aſſemble themſelues togither, in making ſome greate commotion for his deliuerance: whoſe hope now being by his well deſerued death, politikely repreſſed, all the realme ſhould by Gods grace, reſt in good quiet & peace.

Now was this Proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, & it was ſo curiouſly indited, and ſo faire written in parchment, in ſo wel a ſet hand, & therwith of it ſelfe ſo long a proces, yͭ euery childe might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the tyme betweene his death & the proclayming, could ſcant haue ſufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had

it bene

it beine but in Paper, and ſcribled forth in haſte at aduenture. So that vpon the proclayming therof, one that was ſchoolmaiſter of Pauls of chaunce ſtanding by, and comparing the ſhortneſſe of the time with the length of the matter, ſayd vnto them yͤ ſtood about him, here is a gay goodly caſt, foule caſt away for haſte: and a marchaunt aunſwered him, that it was written by prophecie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetiſe, the Protectour ſent into the houſe of Shores wife (for hir huſbande dwelled not with hir) and ſpoyled hir of all that euer ſhe had, aboue the value of two or three thouſand mark, and ſent hir bodie to priſon. And when he had a while layd vnto hir (for the maner ſake) that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and that ſhe was of cōſaile with the Lorde Chamberlaine to deſtroy him: in concluſion when that no colour coulde faſten vpon theſe matters, then hee layde heynouſly to hir charge, that thing that hir ſelfe coulde not denie, that all the world wyſt was true, and that naytheleſſe euerie man laughed at, to heare it then ſo ſodainly, ſo highly taken, that ſhe was naught of hir bodie.

And for this cauſe (as a goodlye continent prince, cleane and faultleſſe of himſelfe, ſent oute of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he cauſed the Biſhop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the Croſſe in Proceſſion, vpon a Sunday wyth a Taper in hir hande. In whiche ſhee went in countenaunce and pace demure ſo womanlye, and albeit ſhe were out of all array ſaue hir kyrtle onely, yet went ſhe ſo fayre and louely, namely while the wondering of the people caſt a comely rudde in hir cheekes (of whiche ſhee before had moſt miſſe) that hir great ſhame wanne hir much prayſe, among thoſe that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir ſoule. And many good folk alſo that hated hir liuing, and glad were to ſee ſinne corrected: yet pityed they more hir penaunce, than reioyced therein, when they conſydered that the Protectour procured it, more of a corrupte intente, than any vertuous affection.

he deſcripti-
n of Shores

This woman was borne in London, worſhipfully friended, honeſtly brought vp, and verie well maryed, ſauing ſomewhat too ſoone, hir huſbande an honeſt Citizen, yong and godly, and of good ſubſtaunce. But foraſmuche as they were coupled ere ſhe were well rype, ſhe not verie feruently loued, for whome ſhee neuer longed, which was happely the thing that the more eaſily made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when hee required hir. Howbeit the reſpect of hys royaltie, the hope of gay apparell, eaſe, pleaſure, and other wanton wealth, was able ſoone to pierſe a ſoft tender heart. But when the King hadde abuſed hir, anon hir huſbande (as hee was an honeſt man, and one that coulde hys good, not preſuming to touche a Kings Concubine) left hir vp to him altogither.

When the king died, the Lorde Chamberlaine tooke hir, which in the kings dayes, albeit he was ſore enamoured vpon hir, yet he forbare hir, eyther for reuerence, or for a certaine friendlye faythfulneſſe. Proper ſhe was and fayre: nothing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if you would haue wiſhed hir ſomewhat higher.

Thus ſay they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit ſome that now ſee hir (for yet ſhe liueth) deme hir neuer to haue bene wel viſaged, whoſe iudgement ſeemeth me ſomewhat like, as though men ſhould geſſe the beautie of one long before departed, by hir ſcalpe taken out of the charnell houſe: for now is ſhe old, leane, withered, and dryed vp, nothing left but riueld ſkinne and hard bone. And yet beeing euen ſuch: who ſo well aduiſe hir vyſage, myght geſſe and deuiſe, which partes how filled woulde make it a fayre face. Yet delyted not men ſo much in hir beautie as in hir pleaſant behauiour. For a proper wit had ſhe, and could both read well and write, merrie in companie, readie and quicke of aunſwer, neyther mute nor full of bable, ſomtime taunting without diſpleaſure, and not without diſport.

King Edwards three concubines.

The king would ſay that he had three concubines, which in three dyuerſe properties diuerſly excelled. One the merieſt, another the wilyeſt, the thirde the holyeſt harlot in his realme, as one whome no man coulde gette out of the Churche lightly to any place, but it were to his bed. The other two were ſomewhat greater perſonages, & naytheleſſe of theyr humilitie cōtent to be nameleſſe, & to forbeare the prayſe of thoſe propertyes. But the merieſt was this Shores wife, in whom the King therefore tooke ſpeciall pleaſure. For many he hadde, but hir he loued, whoſe fauour to ſay the troth (for ſinne it were to belie the Diuell) ſhee neuer abuſed to any mannes hurt, but to many a mannes comfort and reliefe: where the king tooke diſpleaſure, ſhe would mitigate and appeaſe hys mynde: where men were out of fauour, ſhee woulde bring them in hys grace. For manye that had highly offended, ſhee obteyned pardon. Of great forfeytures ſhee gat men remiſſion. And finally, in many weightie ſuites ſhee ſtoode many men in great ſteade, eyther for none or verye ſmall rewardes, and thoſe rather gaye than riche: eyther for that ſhee was content wyth the deede ſelfe well done, or for that ſhee delyted to bee ſued vnto, and to ſhewe what ſhee was able to doe wyth the King, or for that wanton women and welthie bee not alwayes couetous.

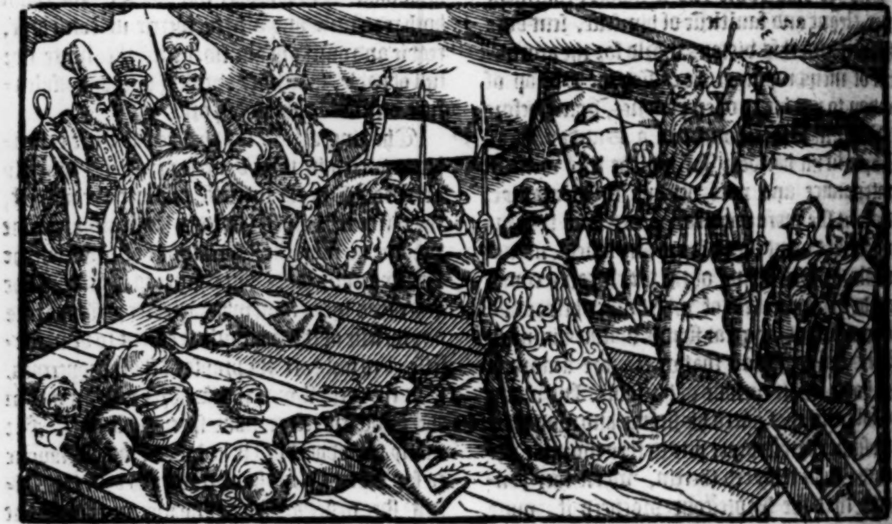
I doubt not ſome ſhall thinke this woman to ſleight a thing to bee written of, and ſet among the remembraunces of greate matters: whiche they ſhall ſpecially thinke, that happily ſhall eſteeme hir onely by that they nowe ſee hir. But me ſeemeth the chaunce ſo muche the more worthie to be remembred, in howe much ſhe is nowe in the more beggerly condition, vnfriended and worne out of acquaintance, after good ſubſtance, after as great fauour with the Prince, after as great ſute and ſeeking to with al thoſe that thoſe dayes had buſineſſe to ſpeede, as many other men were in theyr tymes, which be now famous onely by the infamy of theyr yll deedes. Hir doyngs were not much leſſe, albeit they be much leſſe remembred bicauſe they were not ſo euill. For men vſe if they haue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who ſo doeth vs a good turne, we write it in duſt, whiche is not worſt proued by hir: for at this day ſhee beggeth of many at this day lyuing, that at thys day had begged if ſhee had not beene.

Now was it ſo deuiſed by the Protector and his counſaile, that the ſelfe day in which the Lord Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Towre of London, and aboute the ſelfe ſame houre, was there (not without his aſſent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremembred Lordes and Knightes that were taken from the King at Northampton and Stonie Stratforde. Which thing was done in the preſence, and by the order of ſir Rycharde Ratcliffe knight, whoſe ſeruice the Protector ſpecially vſed in that Councell, and in the execution of ſuch lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had beene long ſecrete with him, hauing experience of the worlde, and a ſhrewde wit, ſhort and rude in ſpeech, rough and boyſterous of behauiour, bold in miſchief, as farre from pitie as from all feare of God.

Sir Richa Ratcliff.

This knight bringing them out of the priſon to the ſcaffolde, and ſhewing to the people aboute that they were traytors, not ſuffring them to declare and ſpeak their innocencie, leaſt their wordes might haue inclined men to pitie them, and to hate the Protector and his part: cauſed them haſtily without iudgement, proces, or maner of order to be beheaded, & without other earthly gilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the Queene.

The Lord R uers and o beheaded.



Nowe when the Lorde Chamberlaine and theſe other Lordes and knightes were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men muſed what the matter ment, while the Lordes of the Realme were about him out of their owne ſtrengthes, while no man wyſt what to thinke, nor whome to truſt, ere euer they ſhoulde haue ſpace to diſpute and digeſt the matter and make partyes, it were beſt haſtily to purſue his purpoſe, and put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crowne, ere men coulde haue tyme to deuiſe any way to reſiſt.

But now was all the ſtudie by what meane this matter being of it ſelfe ſo heynous, might be firſt broken to the people, in ſuche wiſe that it might be well taken.

To this councell they tooke diuerſe, ſuche as they thought meetly to be truſted, likely to be induced to that part, and able to ſtãde them in ſtead eyther by power or policie.

Among whom they made of counſaile Edmonde Shaa knight then Maior of London, whiche vpon truſt of his owne aduauncement, whereof hee was of a prowde heart highly deſirous, ſhould frame the Citie to theyr appetite. Of ſpirituall men they tooke ſuch as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people for opinion of theyr learnyng, and hadde no ſcrupulous conſcience.

Edmond Sh Maior of Lo don.

Among theſe had they Iohn Shaa Clearke, brother to the Maior, and Frier Penker, prouinciall of the Auguſtine Friers both Doctors of diuinitie, both great Preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. For they were before greatly eſtemed among the people: but after that neuer. Of theſe two the tone had a ſermon in prayſe of the Protectour before the coronation, the tother after, both ſo full of tedious flatterie, yͤ no mēs eares could abide thē. Penker in his ſermon ſo loſt his voyce, that he was fain to leaue off & come downe in the midſt. Doctor Shaa by his ſermon loſt his honeſtie, and ſone after his life, for verie ſhame of the worlde, into which he durſt neuer after come abrode. But the Frier forced for no ſhame, and ſo it harmed him the leſſe. Howbeit ſome doubt and many thinken, that Penker was not of counſaile of the matter before the coronation, but after the common maner fel to flatterie after: namely ſith his ſermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at S. Marie Hoſpitall at the Eaſter after. But certain it is, that Doctor Shaa was of counſaile in the beginning, ſo farre forth that they determined that hee ſhoulde firſt breake the matter in a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, in which he ſhoulde by the authoritie of his preaching, incline the people to the Protectors ghoſtly purpoſe.

But nowe was all the labour and ſtudie, in the deuiſe of ſome conuenient pretext, for which the people ſhoulde bee contente to depoſe the Prince, and accepte the Protectour for King. In whiche dyuerſe things they deuiſed. But the chiefe thing and the weightie of all that inuention, reſted in this that they ſhoulde alledge baſtardie, eyther in king Edwarde himſelfe, or in his children or both. So that he ſhould ſeeme diſabled to inherit the crowne, by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

To lay baſtardie in king Edwarde, ſowned openly to the rebuke of the Protectors owne mother, which was mother to them both, for in that poynt could be none other coulour but to pretend that hys owne mother was one aduoutreſſe, which notwithſtanding, to further this purpoſe hee letted not: but naytheleſſe hee woulde that poynt ſhoulde bee leſſe and more fauourably handled: not euen fully playne and directlye, but that the matter ſhoulde bee touched aſlope craftily, as though men ſpared in that poynt to ſpeake all the trothe, for feare of hys diſpleaſure.

But the other poynt concerning the baſtardie that they deuiſed to ſurmiſe in king Edwards children, that woulde he ſhoulde be openly declared and inforced to the vttermoſt. The colour and pretext whereof, cannot bee well perceyued. But if we firſt repeate you ſome things long before done about king Edwards mariage.

After that King Edwarde the fourth had depoſed king Henrie the ſixth, and was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Realme, determining himſelfe to marrie as it was requiſit both for hymſelfe and for the Realme, hee ſente ouer in Imbaſſade the Earle of Warwike, with other noble men in his companie vnto Spaine, to intreate and conclude a mariage betweene king Edward and the Kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the Earle of Warwicke founde the parties ſo towarde and willing, that hee ſpeedilye according to his inſtructions wythout any difficultie, brought yͤ matter to verie good concluſion.

Now happened it, yͭ in the mean ſeaſon there came to make a ſute by petition to the King Dame Elizabeth Gray, whiche was after hys Queene, at that time a Widowe, borne of noble bloud, ſpeciallye by hir mother, whiche was Duches of Bedforde, ere ſhee maryed the Lorde Woodfielde hir father. Howbeit this Dame Elizabeth hir ſelfe, being in ſeruice with Queene Margaret, wyfe vnto King Henrie the ſixth, was maryed vnto one   Graye an Eſquire, whome King Henrie made Knight, vpon the fielde that he hadde on   at   agaynſt King Edwarde. And little while enioyed he that knighthoode: for he was at the ſame field ſlaine.

Dame Elizabeth Gray.

His name was Iohn Gray.
Barnard heath by S. Albons.

After whiche done, and the Earle of Warwicke being in his Imbaſſade about the afore remembred maryage, this poore Ladie made humble ſute vnto the king, that ſhe myght be reſtored vnto ſuch ſmall landes as hir late huſbande had gyuen hir in ioynture. Whome when the King behelde, and heard hir ſpeake, as ſhee was both fayre and of a goodlye fauour, moderate of ſtature, well made, and verie wiſe: hee not onely pityed hir, but alſo waxed enamoured of hyr. And taking hir afterwarde ſecretely aſide, beganne to enter in talking more familiarlye. Whoſe appetite when ſhe perceyued, ſhe vertuouſly denied him. But that did ſhee ſo wiſely, and with ſo good maner, and wordes ſo well ſet, that ſhee rather kyndled his deſyre than quenched it.

And finally, after many a meeting, muche wooyng, and many great promiſes, ſhe well eſpyed the Kings affection towarde hir ſo greatly encreaſed, that ſhe durſt ſomewhat the more boldly ſay hir mynde, as to him whoſe heart ſhe perceiued more feruently ſet, than to fall off for a worde.

And in concluſion, ſhee ſhewed him playne, that as ſhe wyſt hirſelfe to ſymple to be his wyfe, ſo thought ſhe hir ſelf too good to be his cõcubine. The King much marueyling at hir conſtancie, as hee that had not beene wont elſe where to be ſo ſtiffely ſayde nay, ſo much eſteemed hir continence and chaſtitie, that he ſet hir vertue in the ſtead of poſſeſſion and ryches. And thus taking counſaile of his deſire, determined in all poſſible haſt to mary hir.

And after hee was thus appoynted, and had betwene them twaine enſured hir: then aſked he counſaile of his other friendes, and that in ſuche maner, as they might then perceiue, it booted not greatly to ſay nay. Notwithſtanding the Duches of Yorke his mother was ſo ſore moued therwith, that ſhe diſſwaded the mariage aſmuch as ſhe poſſible might, alledging yͭ it was his honour, profite, and ſuretie alſo, to marie in a noble progeney out of his realme; wherevpon depended greate ſtrength to his eſtate, by the affinitie and greate poſibilitie of encreaſe of his poſſeſſion. And that he coulde not well otherwiſe doe, ſtanding that the Earle of Warwike had ſo farre moued alreadie, which were not likely to take it well, if all his voyage were in ſuch wiſe fruſtrate, and his appoyntments deluded. And ſhe ſayde alſo, that it was not Princely to marie his owne ſubiect, no great occaſion leading therevnto, no poſſeſſions, or other commodities depending therevpon, but onely as it were a riche man that would marie his mayd, only for a little wanton dotage vppon hir perſon. In which mariage many mo cõmend the maidens fortune than the maſters wiſdome. And yet therein ſhe ſaide was more honeſtie than honor in this mariage. Foraſmuch as there is betwene no marchant and his own mayd ſo great difference, as betwene the king and this widow. In whoſe perſon, albeit there was nothing to be miſlyked, yet was there (ſhe ſayd) nothing ſo excellẽt but that it might be found in diuerſe other that were more meetly (quoth ſhe) for your eſtate, and maydens alſo, whereas the only wydowheade of Elizabeth Gray, though ſhee were in all other things conuenient for you, ſhould yet ſuffice as me ſeemeth to refrayne you from hir mariage, ſithe it is an vnſitting thing, & a verie blemiſh and highe diſparagement to the ſacred maieſtie of a Prince, that ought as nigh to approche prieſthoode in cleanneſſe as he doth in dignitie, to bee defouled with Bigamie in hys firſt mariage.

The Kinges Mother

The king when his mother had ſayde, made hir anſwere, part in earneſt part in play merily, as he that wyſt himſelfe out of hir rule. And albeit hee woulde gladly that ſhe ſhould take it well, yet was at a poynt in his owne minde, tooke ſhee it well or otherwiſe. Howbeit ſomewhat to ſatiſfie hir, he ſayde, that albeit maryage beeyng a ſpirituall thing, ought rather to bee made for the reſpect of God, where his grace enclineth the parties to loue togither, as he truſted it was in hys, than for the regarde of any temporall aduauntage: yet naytheleſſe, him ſeemed that this mariage euen worldly conſidered, was not vnprofitable. For he reckened yͤ amitie of no earthly Nation ſo neceſſarie for him, as the friendſhip of his owne, whiche he thought likely to beare him ſo much the more hartie fauour, in that he diſdeyned not to marie with one of his owne lande. And yet if outwarde alliance were thought ſo requiſite, he woulde finde the meanes to enter thereunto, much better by other of his kinne, where all the partyes could be contented, than to mary himſelf whom he ſhould happely neuer loue, and for the poſſibilitie of more poſſeſſions, leaſe the fruite and pleaſure of this that hee had alreadie. For ſmall pleaſure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beſide, if he be wiued agaynſt his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be as ye ſay other, that be in euery poynt comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wedde them. No more is it reaſon, that it miſlyke any man, that I mary where it lyketh me. And I am ſure that my couſin of Warwike neither loueth me ſo litle, to grudge at that I loue, nor is ſo vnreaſonable to looke that I ſhoulde in choyſe of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine own: as though I were a warde that were bounde to marie by the appoyntment of a Gardaine. I woulde not bee a King wyth that condition, to forbeare mine owne libertie in choyſe of myne owne maryage. As for poſſibilitie of more inheritaunce by newe affinitie in ſtraunge lands, is oft the occaſion of more trouble than profite. And we haue alredie tytle by that meanes, to ſo much as ſufficeth to get and keepe well in one mannes dayes. That ſhe is a Widow, and hath alreadie childrẽ, by Gods bleſſed Ladie, I am a Bachelor and haue ſome to, and ſo eche of vs hath a proufe that neither of vs is like to bee barraine. And therefore (Madame) I pray you bee content, I truſt in God ſhe ſhall bring forth a yong Prince that ſhall pleaſe you. And as for yͤ Bygamye, let the Biſhoppe hardly lay it in my way when I come to take orders. For I vnderſtande it is forbidden a Prieſt, but I neuer wyſt it yet, that it was forbidden a Prince.

The Kinges Anſwere to his mother.

The Duches with theſe wordes nothing appeaſed, and ſeeing the King ſo ſet thereon, that ſhee coulde not pull him backe, ſo highly ſhe diſdeyned it, that vnder pretext of hir duetie to godwarde, ſhe deuiſed to diſturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that hee ſhoulde marie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the King had alſo not long before gotten with child. Wherfore yͤ kings mother openly obiected agaynſt his maryage, as it were in diſcharge of hir conſcience, that the Kyng was ſure to Dame Elizabeth Lucy and hir huſband before God. By reaſon of which wordes, ſuch obſtacle was made in the matter, that eyther the Biſhops durſt not, or the King would

Elizabeth Lucy.

woulde not proceede to the ſolemnization of this wedding, till theſe ſame were clearly purged, and the troth well and openly teſtified. Wherevpon dame Elizabeth Lucy was ſent for.

And albeit that ſhe was by the kings mother and many other put in good comfort, to affirme that ſhee was enſured vnto the king: yet when ſhee was ſolemnly ſworne to ſay the troth, ſhee confeſſed that they were neuer enſured, Howbeit ſhee ſayde his grace ſpake ſo louing wordes vnto hir, that ſhe verily hoped hee woulde haue maryed hir. And that if it had not beene for ſuch kinde wordes, ſhee woulde neuer haue ſhewed ſuche kindneſſe to him, to let him ſo kindly get hir with childe.

he kinges
riage.

This examination ſolemnly taken, when it was clearly perceyued that there was none impediment: the king with great feaſt and honourable ſolemnitie, maried dame Elizabeth Gray, and hir crowned Queene that was his enimyes wife, and many time had prayed full heartily for his loſſe, in which God loued hir better than to graunt hir hir bone.

he king fled

he Erle of
arwicke.

ing Henrie
e ſet vp

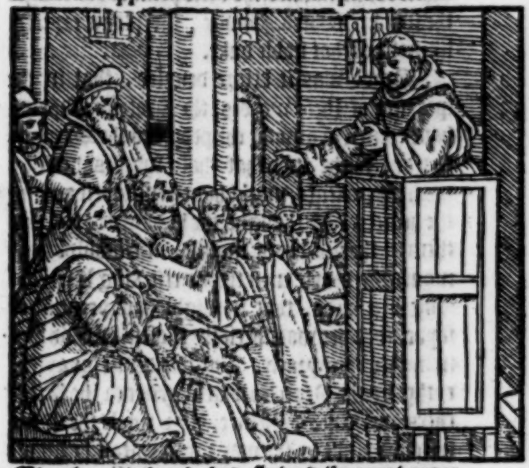
But when the Erle of Warwike vnderſtood of this mariage, he toke it ſo highly that his Ambaſſade was deluded, that for very anger and diſdaine, he at his returning aſſembled a great puiſſance againſt the king, and came ſo faſt vpon him or he could be able to reſiſt, that he was faine to voyd the realme, and flee into Holland for ſuccor, where he remayned for the ſpace of two yeares, leauing his new wife in Weſtminſter in Sanctuarie, where ſhe was deliuered of Edwarde the prince, of whom we before haue ſpoken. In which meane time the erle of Warwike toke out of priſon, and ſet vp againe king Henry the ſixt, which was before by king Edwarde depoſed, and that much what by the power of the Earle of Warwike which was a wiſe man, and a couragious warrior, and of ſuch ſtrength, what for his landes, his alliance, and fauour with all people, that hee made kings, and put downe kings almoſt at his pleaſure, and not impoſſible to haue atteyned it himſelfe, if he had not reckened it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king. But nothing laſteth alway: for in concluſion king Edwarde returned, and with much leſſe number thā he had at Barnet on the Eaſterday field, ſlue the erle of Warwike, with many other great eſtates of that partie, and ſo ſtably atteyned the crowne againe, that he peacably enioyed it vntill his dying day: and in ſuch plight left it, that it could not be loſt, but by the diſcorde of his verie friends, or falſehoode of his fayned friends. I haue rehearſed this buſineſſe about this mariage ſomewhat the more at length, bycauſe it might thereby the better appeare vppon how ſlipper a grounde the Protector buylded his colour, by whiche he pretended king Edwards children to be baſtards. But that inuention ſimple as it was, it liked them to whō it ſufficed to haue ſomewhat to ſay, while they were ſure to be compelled to no larger prouſe thā themſelfe lyſt to make.

he Erle of
arwick
ine.

Doctor Shaes Sermon.

Now then (as I began to ſhew you) it was by the protector & his counſaile concluded, that this doctor Shaa ſhould in a ſermon at Paules croſſe ſignifie to the people, that neyther king Edward himſelfe, nor the Duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of Yorke, but gotten vnlawfully by other perſons, by adoutrie of the duches their mother. And that alſo dame Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of King Edwarde, and ſo the Prince and all his children baſtards, that were begotten vpon the Queene.

According to this deuiſe doctor Shaa the ſunday after, at Paules Croſſe in a greate audience (as alwaye aſſembled greate number to his preaching) he toke for his Theme. *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas.* That is to ſay: Baſtarde ſlippes ſhall neuer take deepe roote.



Whervpon when he had ſhewed the great grace that God giueth and ſecretly infundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he that commonly thoſe children lacked that grace, and for the puniſhment of their Parents were for ẏ more part vnhappie, which were gottē in baſe, & ſpecially in adoutrie. Of which though ſome by the ignorance of the world & the truth hid from knowledge inherited for the ſeaſon other mens landes, yet God alway ſo prouideth, that it continueth not in their bloud long, but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be reſtored, & the baſtard ſlip pulled vp ere it can be rooted deepe. And when he had laid for the proofe and confirmation of this ſentence certaine enſamples taken out of the olde teſtament, and other ancient hiſtories, Then began he to diſcend into the prayſe of the Lorde Richarde late Duke of Yorke, calling him father to the Lord protector, and declared the title of his heyres vnto yͤ crown, to whome it was after the death of king Henrie the ſixt entayled by authority of Parliamēt. Thē ſhewed he that his verie ryght heyre of his bodye lawfully begotten was only the Lord Protector. For he declared then, that King Edwarde was neuer lawfully maryed vnto the Queene, but was before God husband vnto Dame Elizabeth Lucie, and ſo his children baſtardes. And beſides that, neyther King Edwarde himſelfe, nor the Duke of Clarence, among thoſe that were ſecrete in the houſholde, were reckened verie ſurely for the children of the noble Duke, as thoſe that by theyr fauours more reſembled other knowne men than him. From whoſe vertuous cōditions he ſayd alſo that kyng Edwarde was farre off. But the Lorde Protectour hee ſayde, the verie noble Prince, the ſpeciall paterne of Knightly prowes, as wel in all Princely behauior as in the lineaments and fauour of his viſage, repreſented the verie face of the noble Duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fathers owne figure, this is hys owne countenaunce, the verie print of his viſage, the ſure vndoubted Image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of that noble duke.

Nowe was it before deuyſed, that in the ſpeaking of theſe wordes, the Protector ſhoulde haue comen in among the people to the Sermon warde, to the ende that thoſe wordes meeting with his preſence, might haue bene taken among the hearers, as thoughe the holy ghoſt had put them in the preachers mouth, and ſhoulde haue moued the people euen ther to crie, king Richard, king Richarde, that it might haue beene after ſayde, that hee was ſpecially choſen by God and in maner by myracle. But this deuiſe quayled, eyther by the Protectors negligence or the Preachers ouermuch diligence. For while the Protectour founde by the way tarying, leaſt he ſhould preuent thoſe wordes, and the Doctor fearing that he ſhoulde come ere hys Sermon coulde come to theſe wordes, haſted his matter thereto, he was come to them, and paſte them, and entred into other matters ere the Protector came. Whome when he behelde comming, he ſodainly left the matter with which he was in hande, and without any deduction therevnto, out of all order and out of all frame began to repeate thoſe wordes againe: this is the verye noble Prince, the ſpeciall patrone of knightly prowes, whiche as well in all princely behauiour, as in the liniaments & fauor of his viſage, repreſenteth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this his owne countenance, yͤ very print of his viſage, the ſure vndoubted Image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of the noble duke, whoſe remembrance can neuer die while he liueth. While theſe wordes were in ſpeaking, the Protector accōpanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonly ſtande in the vpper ſtorie, where he ſtood to hearken the ſermon. But the people were ſo farre fro crying king Richard, that they ſtoode as they had beene turned into ſtones, for wonder of this ſhameful Sermon.

Preaches.

After which once ended, the Preacher gat him home, and neuer after durſt looke out for ſhame, but kept him out of ſight like an Owle. And when hee once aſked one that had beene his olde friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conſcience well ſhewed him that they talked no good, yet when the tother anſwered him, that there was in euery mannes mouth ſpoken of him muche ſhame, it ſo ſtrake him to the heart, that within fewe dayes after hee withered and conſumed away.

Then on the Tueſday folowing this ſermon, there came into the yeeld hal in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerſe lords and knights, mo than happily knewe the meſſage that they brought. And there in the Eaſt ende of the hal, where the Maior kepeth the Huſtings, the Maior & all the Aldermen being aſſembled about him, all the cōmons of the Citie gathered before them: after ſilence cōmaunded vpon great paine in the protectors name: the duke ſtood vp, and (as he was neither vnlerned, and of nature marueylouſly well ſpoken) he ſayd vnto the people with a cleare and a loude voyce in this maner of wiſe.

The Duke
Buckingh
Oration.

FRiends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comē to breake vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no leſſe weightie than pleaſing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable, than to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, that thing that we wote wel ye haue long time lacked, and ſore lōged for, that ye would haue giuen great good for, that ye would haue gone farre to fetche, that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, coſt, aduenture or ieopardie. What thing is that? Certes the ſuretie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the ſafegarde of your goodes: of all which things in times paſt ye ſtood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would recken himſelfe lord of his owne good among ſo many greeuāces & traps as was ſet therfore, among ſo much pilling and polling, among ſo many taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer ende, & oftentimes no neede: or if any were, it rather grewe of ryot, and vnreaſonable waſt, than any neceſſary or honourable charge. So that there was dayly pilled fro good men and honeſt, great ſubſtance of goodes to be laſhed out among vnthrifts, ſo farre forth that fifteenes ſuffiſed not, nor anye vſuall names of

knowen

knowne taxes: but vnder an eaſie name of beneuolence and good will, the comiſſioners ſo much of euery man tooke, as no man coulde with hys good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence, had ſignified that euery man ſhoulde pay not what himſelfe of his owne good will liſt to graunt, but what the king of his good will lyſt to take. Which neuer aſked little, but euery thing was hawſed aboue the meaſure, amercimentes turned into fines, fines into raunſoms, ſmal treſpaſſe into miſpriſion, miſpriſion into treaſon. Whereof I thinke no man loketh that we ſhould remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a worde ſpoke in haſt cruelly beheaded, by the miſconſtruing of the lawes of this realme, for the Princes pleaſure: with no leſſe honour to Markam then chiefe Iuſtice, that left his office rather than hee woulde aſſent to that iudgement, than to the diſhoneſtie of thoſe, that eyther for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Cooke your owne worſhipfull neighbour, Alderman and Maior of this noble Citie, who is of you ſo eyther negligent that he knoweth not, or ſo forgetfull that he remembreth not, or ſo hard hearted that he pityeth not, that worſhipful mans loſſe? what ſpeake we of loſſe? his vtter ſpoyle and vndeſerued deſtruction, onely for that it happed thoſe to fauour him whom the prince fauored not. We need not I ſuppoſe to rehearſe of theſe anye mo by name, ſith there bee (I doubt not) manye here preſent, that either in themſelues, or in their nigh friendes haue knowen as well their goods as their perſons greatly endaungered, eyther by feyned quarels, or ſmall matters agreeued with heynous names. And alſo there was no crime ſo great, of whiche there could lacke a pretext. For ſith the king preuenting the time of his inheritance attayned the crowne by battaile: it ſufficed in a riche man for a pretext of treaſon, to haue bin of kindred or alliance neare familiaritie or lōger acquaintaunce with any of thoſe that were at any tyme yͤ kings enimies, which was at one time and other, more than halfe the realme. Thus were neither your goods in ſurety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beſide the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit that it is euer the wil and occaſion of much miſchiefe, yet is it neuer ſo miſchieuous as where any people fall at diſtaunce among thēſelues, nor in none earthly nation ſo deadly and ſo peſtilent, as when it hapneth amōg vs: and among vs neuer ſo long continued diſſention, nor ſo many battailes in that ſeaſon, nor ſo cruell and ſo deadly foughten as was in that kings days that dead is, God forgiue it his ſoule. In whoſe time, and by whoſe occaſion, what about the getting of the garland, keeping it, leaſing, and winning againe, it hath coſt more Engliſh bloud, than hath twiſe the winning of Fraunce. In which inwarde warre among our ſelues, hath bene ſo great effuſion of the auncient noble bloud of this realme, that ſcarcely the halfe remayneth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land, beſide many a good towne ranſacked & ſpoiled by them, that hath bene going to the fielde or comming from thence. And peace long after not much ſurer than warre. So that no time was therein which rich men for their money, & greate men for their lands, or ſome other for ſome feare, or ſome diſpleaſure were not out of perill. For who truſted he that miſtruſted his owne brother? whom ſpared he that killed his owne brother? or who could perfitely loue him, if his owne brother could not? What maner of folke he moſt fauored we ſhal for his honor ſpare to ſpeake of, howbeit this wote you well al, that who ſo was beſt, bare alway leaſt rule, and more ſute was in his dayes vnto Shores wife, a vile and an abhominable ſtrumpet, than to al the Lords in Englād, except vnto thoſe yͭ made hir their proctor, which ſimple woman was wel named & honeſt, till the king for his wanton luſt and ſinfull affection bereft hir frō hir huſband, a right honeſt ſubſtantiall yong mā among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am ſorie to ſpeake of, ſauing that it is in vaine to kepe in counſaile that thing that all men know, the kings greedie appetite was inſatiable, and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no woman was there any where, yong or olde, riche or poore, whom he ſet his eye vpon, in whom he any thing lyked, eyther perſon or fauour, ſpeeche, pace, or countenaunce, but without any feare of god, or reſpect of his honor, murmure or grudge of the worlde, he woulde importunely purſue his appetite, & haue hir, to the great deſtruction of many a good woman, and great dolor to their huſbande, and their other friendes, which being honeſt people of thēſelues, ſo much regarde the cleanneſſe of their houſe, the chaſtitie of their wiues, and their children, that them were leauer to leaſe all that they haue beſyde, than to haue ſuche a villanye done them. And all were it that wyth thys and other importable dealyng the Realme was in euerye parte annoyed: yet ſpeciallye yee heere the Cityzens of thys noble Citye, as well for that amongeſt you is moſte plentye of all ſuche things as myniſter matter to ſuche iniuryes, as for that you were neareſt at hande, ſithe that neare here about was commonly hys moſt abyding. And yet be ye the people whome he had as ſingular cauſe well and kindlye to entreate, as any parte of hys Realme, not onely for that the Prince by thys noble Citie, as hys eſpeciall Chamber, and the ſpeciall well renowmed Citie of hys Realme, muche honourable fame

Ciuill warre.

London the Kings eſpeciall chamber.

receyueth among all other Nations: but alſo for that ye not without your great coſt, and ſundrie perils and ieopardies in all his warres, bare euen your ſpeciall fauor to his part, which your kinde mindes borne to the houſe of Yorke, ſith hee hath nothing worthily acquited, there is of that houſe that nowe by Gods grace better ſhall, whiche thing to ſhewe you is the whole ſumme and effect of this our preſente errande. It ſhall not I wote well, neede that I rehearſe you agayne, that ye haue alreadie hearde, of hym that can better tell it,, and of whome I am ſure ye will better beleeue it. And reaſon is that it ſo bee. I am not ſo prowde to looke therefore that yee ſhoulde recken my wordes of as greate authoritie as the Preachers of the worde of God, namely a man ſo cunning & ſo wiſe, that no man better woteth what hee ſhoulde ſaye, and thereto ſo good and vertuous, that hee woulde not ſaye the thyng whiche he wyſt he ſhoulde not ſaye, in the Pulpet namely, into the which no honeſt man commeth to lie, which honourable Preacher yee well remember ſubſtanciallye declared vnto you at Paules Croſſe, on Sunday laſt paſſed, the right and title, that the moſt excellent prince Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, nowe Protectour of thys Realme hath vnto the Crowne and kingdome of the ſame. For as the worſhipfull man groundly made open vnto you, the children of K. Edward the fourth, were neuer lawfully begotten, foraſmuche as the king (leauing his verie wife Dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer lawfully maried vnto the Queene their mother, whoſe bloud ſauing that he ſet his voluptuous pleaſure before his honor, was full vnmeetly to bee matched with hys, and the mingling of whoſe blouds togither, hath beene the effuſion of great part of the noble bloud of this realme. Whereby it may well ſeeme the mariage not wel made, of which there is ſo much miſchiefe growne. For lacke of which lawful accoupling, and alſo of other things which the ſayd worſhipfull doctor rather ſignified than fully explayned, and which things ſhall not be ſpoken for me, as the thing wherein euery man forbeareth to ſay that hee knoweth in auoyding diſpleaſure of my noble Lord Protector, bearing as nature requireth a filiall reuerence to the Duches his mother, for theſe cauſes I ſay before remēbred, that is to wit, for lacke of other iſſue lawfully cōming of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke to whoſe royall bloud the Crowne of England and of Fraunce, is by the high authoritie of Parliamen entayled, the right and title of the ſame, is by the iuſt courſe of enheritaunce according to the common lawes of this lande, deuolute and common vnto the moſte excellent Prince the Lorde Protector, as to the very lawfully begottē ſon of the forremembred noble duke of Yorke. Which thing well conſidered, and the greate knightlye prowes pondered, with manifolde vertues which in his noble perſon ſingularly abound, the nobles and commons alſo of this realme, and ſpeciallye of the north part, not willing any baſtarde bloud to haue the rule of the lande, nor the abuſions before in the ſame vſed any longer to continue, haue cōdiſcended and fully determined to make humble petition to the moſte puiſſaunte Prince the Lorde Protectour, that it may lyke his grace at our humble requeſt, to take vpon him the guiding and gouernaunce of this Realme, to the wealth and encreaſe of the ſame, according to his verie right and iuſt tytle. Which thing I wote it well, hee will bee loth to take vppon hym, as he whoſe wiſedome well perceyueth the labor and ſtudie both of minde and bodie, that ſhall come therewith, to whomeſoeuer ſo will occupie the rowme, as I dare ſay hee will if he take it. Which rowme I warne you well is no childes office. And that the great wiſe man well perceyued, when he ſayd: *Veh regno cuius rex puer eſt:* VVo is that Realme that hath a childe to their king. Wherfore ſo much the more cauſe haue we to thanke God, that this noble perſonage which is ſo righteouſly intituled therevnto, is of ſo ſad age, and thereto ſo great wiſedome ioyned with ſo great experience, which albeit hee will bee loth (as I haue ſayd) to take it vpon him, yet ſhall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciouſly incline, if ye the worſhipfull Citizens of this the chiefe citie of this realm, ioyne with vs the nobles in our ſaide requeſt. Which for your owne weale we doubt not but ye wil: and natheleſſe I hartily pray you ſo to do, wherby you ſhal do great profit to all this realme beſide, in chooſing thē ſo good a king, and vnto your ſelfe ſpecial commoditie, to whō his maieſtie ſhal euer after bear ſo much the more tender fauor, in how much he ſhall perceiue you yͤ more prone & beneuolētly minded toward his election. Wherin dere friends what mind you haue, we require you plainly to ſhew vs.

When the Duke had ſayde, and looked that the people whome he hoped that the Maior had framed before, ſhould after this propoſition made, haue cried king Richard, king Richarde, all was huſht and mute, and not one worde anſwered therunto: wherwith yͤ duke was marueilouſly abaſhed, and taking the Maior nearer to hym, with other that were aboute him priuie to that matter, ſayde vnto them ſoftly, what meaneth this, that this people be ſo ſtill. Sir (quoth the Maior percaſe they perceyue you not well. That ſhall we mende (quoth he) if that will) helpe.

And by and by ſomewhat lowder he rehearſed them the ſame matter agayne in other order and other wordes ſo well and ornatelye, and naytheleſſe ſo euidently and plaine, with voyce, geſture, and countenance ſo comly, and ſo conuenient, that euery man much marueiled that heard him, and thought that they neuer had in theyr liues heard ſo euill a tale ſo well tolde.

But were it for wonder or feare, or that eche looke that other ſhould ſpeake firſt: not one word was there aunſwered of all the people that ſtoode before, but all was as ſtill as the mydnight, not ſo muche as rowning amongeſt them, by which they might ſeeme to commune what was beſt to doe. When the Maior ſawe this, hee with other partners of that Councell drewe aboute the duke, and ſayde that the people had not beene accuſtomed there to be ſpoken vnto, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will aunſwere. With that the Recorder called Fitz William, a ſad man, and an honeſt, which was ſo newe come into that office, that he neuer had ſpoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to beginne, notwithſtanding, therevnto commaunded by the Maior, made rehearſall to the Commons of that the Duke had twiſe rehearſed them himſelfe. But the Recorder ſo tempered his tale, that he ſhewed euerie thing as the dukes wordes, and no part his owne. But all this noting no chaunge made in the people, which alway after one, ſtoode as they had bene men amaſed, whereupon the duke rowned vnto the Maior and ſayd: this is a marueillous obſtinate ſilence, and therwith he turned vnto the people again with theſe words: Deere friēds we come to moue you to that thing, which peraduenture we not ſo greatly needed, but that the Lords of this realme, & the cōmons of other parties might haue ſufficed, ſauing ẏ we ſuche loue beare you, & ſo much ſet by you, ẏ we would not gladly do without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale & honor, which as it ſeemeth, either you ſee not, or wey not. Wherefore wee require you giue vs aunſwere one or other, whether you bee minded as all the nobles of the realm be, to haue this noble prince now protectour to be your king or not.

William

At theſe words the people began to whiſper among themſelues ſecretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor diſtinct, but as it were the ſound of a ſwarme of Bees, till at the laſt in the neather end of the Hall, a buſhment of the dukes ſeruants and Naſhfieldes, and other longing to the protectour, with ſome prentiſes and laddes that thruſt into the hall among the preaſe, beganne ſodainly at mennes backes to crie out as lowde as theyr throtes would giue: King Richard, King Richarde, and threw vp their cappes in token of ioy. And they that ſtood before caſt backe their heads maruelling thereof, but nothing they ſayde.

And when the Duke and the Maior ſaw this manner, they wiſely turned it to theyr purpoſe, and ſayde it was a goodly crie, and a ioyfull to heare, euery man with one voyce, no man ſaying nay. Wherefore friendes (quoth the Duke) ſince that we perceiue it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, whereof we ſhall make his grace ſo effectuall report, that we doubt not but it ſhall redounde vnto your great weale and commoditie: we require ye that ye to morrowe go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble requeſt vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the Lordes came downe, and the companie diſſolued and departed, the more part all ſad, ſome with glad ſemblaunce that were not verie merie, and ſome of thoſe that came thither with the duke, not able to diſſemble their ſorow, were faine at his backe to turne theyr face to the wall, while the dolour of theyr harte burſt out at theyr eyes.

Then on the morrowe after, the Maior with all the Aldermen and chiefe Commoners of the citie in their beſt maner apparelled, aſſembling themſelues together, reſorted vnto Baynardes Caſtell, where the protectour lay. To which place repayred alſo according to their appoyntment, the Duke of Buckingham, with diuerſe noble men with him, beſide many knightes and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke ſent worde vnto the L. Protectour, of the being there of a great and honorable cōpanie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Whereupon the protectour made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he firſt knewe ſome part of their errand, as though he doubted & partly diſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number vnto him ſo ſodainly, without any warning or knowledge whether they came for good or harm. Then the duke when he had ſhewed this vnto the Maior and other, that they might thereby ſee howe little the Protectour looked for this matter, they ſent vnto him by the meſſenger ſuch louing meſſage againe, and therewith ſo humbly beſought him to vouchſafe, that they might reſort to his preſence, to purpoſe their intent, of which they would vnto none other perſon any part diſcloſe, that at the laſt he came forth of his Chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but ſtoode aboue in a Gallerie ouer them, where they might ſee him, and ſpeake to him, as though he would not yet come too nere them, till he wiſt what they meant.

The Maiors comming to Baynards Caſtell.

And thereupon the Duke of Buckingham, firſt made hūble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to purpoſe vnto his grace the intent of their comming without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obteined, they durſt not be bolde to moue him of that matter. In which albeit they ment as much honour to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beſide; yet were they not ſure howe his grace would take it, whome they woulde in no wyſe offende. Then the Protectour (as he was verie gentle of himſelfe, and alſo longed ſore to witte what they ment) gaue him leaue to purpoſe what him lyked, verily truſting for the good minde that he bare them all, none of them any thing woulde intend vnto him warde, wherewith he ought to be grieued.

When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to ſpeake, then waxed hee bolde to ſhew him their intent and purpoſe, with all the cauſes mouing them thereunto as ye before haue heard, and finally to beſeech his grace, that it wold like him of his accuſtomed goodneſſe and zeale vnto the Realme, now with his eye of pitie, to behold the long continued diſtreſſe and decaye of the ſame, and to ſet his gracious handes to redreſſe and amendment therof, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernaunce of thys Realme, according to hys right and tytle lawfully deſcended vnto him, and to the laude of God, profite of the lande, and vnto his grace ſo muche the more honour, and leſſe paine, in that that neuer Prince reigned vpon any people, that were ſo glad to liue vnder his obeyſaunce, as the people of thys Realme vnder his.

When the Protector had heard the propoſition, he looked verie ſtraungely thereat, and anſwered: that all were it that he partly knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet ſuche entire loue hee bare vnto king Edward and his children, that ſo much more regarded his honor in other realmes about than the crowne of any one of whiche hee was neuer deſirous, that he could not finde in his hart in this point to encline to thier deſire. For in all other Nations where the truth were not well knowne, it ſhoulde peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambicious minde and deuiſe, to depoſe the Prince, and take himſelfe the Crowne, with which infamie hee woulde not haue his honour ſtayned for any crowne, in which he had euer perceyued much more labor and paine, than pleaſure to him that ſo would ſo vſe it, as he that would not, were not worthie to haue it. Notwithſtanding he not onely pardoned thē the motion that they made him, but alſo thanked them for the loue and heartie fauour they bare hym, praying them for hys ſake to giue and beare the ſame to the Prince, vnder whome hee was, and woulde be content to liue, and with his labor and counſayle as farre as ſhoulde lyke the King to vſe him, he woulde doe his vttermoſt deuoyr to ſet the realme in good ſtate, whiche was alreadie in this little while of his Protectorſhip (the praiſe giuen to God) well begonne, in that the malice of ſuch as were before occaſion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good policie, partly more by Gods ſpeciall prouidence, than mans prouiſion repreſſed.

Vpon this aunſwere geuen, the Duke by the Protectours licence, a litle rounded, aſwell with other noble men about him, as with the Maior and Recorder of London. And after that vpon like pardon deſired and obteyned, he ſhewed aloud vnto the Protector, that for a finall concluſion, the realme was appointed K. Edwardes line ſhould not any longer raigne vpō them, both for that they had ſo farre gone, that it was nowe no ſuretie to retreate, as for that they thought it for the weale vniuerſall to take that way, although they had not yet begon it.

Wherfore if it woulde like his grace to take the Crowne vpon him, they woulde humbly beſech him thervnto. If he woulde giue them a reſolute aunſwere to the contrarie, whiche they woulde be lothe to heare, then muſte they needes ſeeke and ſhould not fayle to find ſome other noble man that would.

Theſe wordes much moued the Protector, which elſe as euerie man may wit, woulde neuer of likelyhode haue enclyned thervnto. But when hee ſawe there was none other waye, but that eyther hee muſte take it, or elſe hee and hys both goe from it, he ſayde vnto the Lordes and Commons: Sith we perceyue well that all the Realme is ſo ſet, whereof we bee very ſorie that they will not ſuffer in any wiſe King Edwards line to gouerne them, whome no man earthlye can gouerne agaynſt theyr willes, and we well alſo perceyue, that no man is there, to whome the Crowne can by iuſt tytle apperteyne, as to our ſelfe, as verie right heyre lawfully begotten of the bodie of our moſte deare father Rycharde late Duke of Yorke, to whiche tytle is now ioyned your election, the Nobles and Commons of thys Realme, whiche we of all tytles poſſible take for moſte effectuall: We be content and agree fauourablye to encline to your petition and requeſt, and according to the ſame, here we take vpon vs the royall eſtate, preeminence and kingdome of the two noble Realmes, Englande and Fraunce, the tone fro this day forwarde, by vs and our heyres to rule, gouerne, and defende: the tother by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and ſubdue, and eſtabliſhe for euer in due obedience vnto thys Realme of Englande, the aduauncement whereof wee neuer aſke of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

The prot
taketh vp
him to be
king.

With this there was a greate ſhoute, crying King Rycharde, King Richarde. And then the Lordes went vp to the King (for ſo was he from that tyme called) and the people departed, talking dyuerſlye of the matter, euery man as hys fantaſie gaue hym. But much they talked and marueyled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both partes made ſo ſtraunge, as though neyther had euer communed with other

therof

thereof before, when that them ſelfe wyſte there was no manne ſo dull that hearde them, but hee perceyued well ynough, that all the matter was made betwene them. Howbeit ſome excuſed that agayne, and ſayde all muſte be done in good order though: And men muſte ſometyme for the manners ſake, not be aknowen what they knowe. For at the conſecration of a Biſhop, euery man woteth well by the paying for his Bulles, that he purpoſeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing elſe. And yet muſt he be twyce aſked whether he will be Biſhop or no, and he muſt twice ſay nay, and at the thyrde tyme take it, as compelled therevnto by his owne will. And in a ſtage play, all the people knowe right well, that hee that playeth the Sowdaine, is percaſe a ſowter, yet if one ſhoulde can ſo little good, to ſhewe out of ſeaſon what aquaintaunce hee hath with him, and call hym by hys owne name while he ſtandeth in his maieſtie, one of hys tormentors myghte happe to breake his head, and worthie for marring of the play. And ſo they ſayde, that theſe matters bee kings games, as it were ſtage playes, and for the more part, played vpon ſcaffoldes. In which poore men be but the lookers on. And they yͭ wiſe be will meddle no further. For they that ſometime ſtep vp, and play with them, when they cannot playe theyr partes, they diſorder the playe, and doe themſelues no good.

he would allure to winne unto him the nobles, the merchauntes, the artificers, and in concluſion all kynde of men, but eſpecially the Lawyers of this realme. And finally to the intent that no man ſhould hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie myght get hym the good will of the people, when he had declared the diſcommodities of diſcorde, and the commodities of concorde and unitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mynde all enimities, and that he there did openly pardon all offences committed againſt him. And to the intent that he myght ſhewe a proofe thereof, he commaunded that one Fogge, whome he had long deadly hated, ſhould be brought then before hym, who being brought out of the Sanctuarie (for thyther had he fledde for feare of him) in the ſight of the people, hee tooke hym by the hande. Whiche thyng the Common people reioyced at, and prayſed, but wyſe menne tooke it for a vanitie. In his returne homewarde, whome ſo euer he met, he ſaluted. For a mynde that knoweth it ſelfe guiltie, is in a manner deiected to a ſeruile flatterie.

Rich. the.iij. 1483

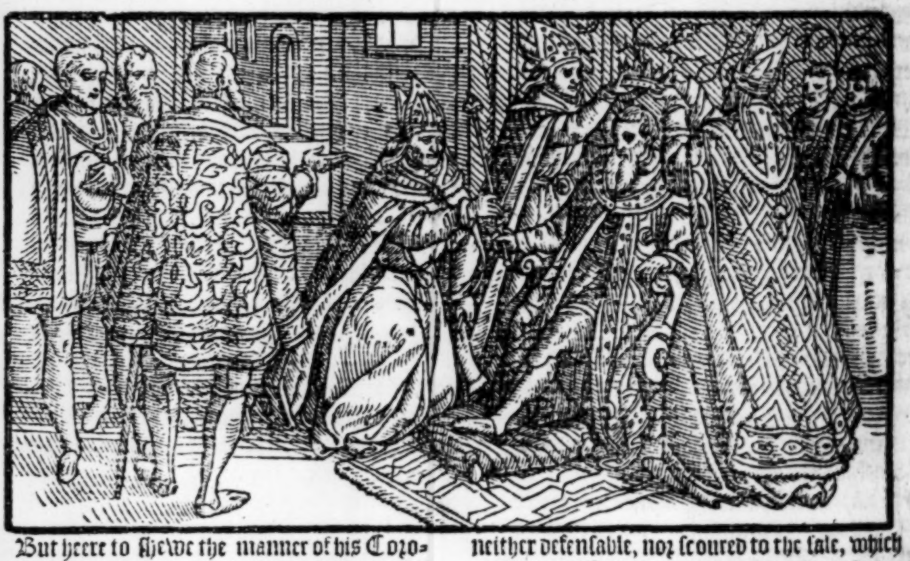
An. reg. 1.

"This that is here betweene this mark and this marke* was not writen by maiſter Moore in this hiſtorie writen by him in Engliſhe, but is tranſlated out of this hiſtory which he wrote in latin.

"THE next day, the Potector w̄ a great trayne, wente to Weſtminſter hall, and there when hee had placed himſelfe in the Court of the Kinges benche, declared to the audience, that he woulde take upon him the Crowne in that place there, where the King himſelfe ſitteth and miniſtreth the lawe, bycauſe hee conſidered that it was the chiefeſt duetie of a King to miniſter the lawes.

Then with as pleſant an Oration as he could,

When he had begonne his reigne the daye of June, after this mockiſhe election, then was hee Crowned the daye of the ſame moneth. And that ſolemnitie was furniſhed for the moſt parte, with the ſelfe ſame prouiſion that was appoynted for the coronatiō of his nephue.*



rom thys ma:k" to this* s not founde ı Sir Thomas Moore, but in naiſter Hall nd Grafton.

But heere to ſhewe the manner of his Coronation, as the ſame is inſerted in this Pamphlet of Sir Thomas More, by maſter Hall and Richard Grafton, although not found in the ſame Pamphlet, thus we find it by them reported.

"Firſt to be ſure of all enimies (as he thoughte) he ſent for fyue thouſande men of the Northe againſt his Coronation, which came up euill apparelled, and worſe harneiſed, in ruſtic harneis, neither defenſable, nor ſcoured to the ſale, which muſtered in Finſeburie field, to the great diſdeine of all the lookers on.

The fourth day of July, he came to the Tower by water with his wiſe, and the fifth day he created Thomas Lord Haward Duke of Norfolke, and Sir Thomas Haward his ſonne, hee created Earle of Surrey, and William Lorde Barkeley was then created Earle of Nottingham,

ham, and Fraunces Lord Louel, was then made Vicount Louell, and the King his Chamberlayne: and the Lord Stanley was deliuered out of warde, for feare of his ſonne the L. Strange, which was then in Lancaſhire gathering men (as men ſayde) and the ſayde Lord was made Stewarde of the King his houſholde: lykewiſe the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke was deliuered: but Morton Byſhoppe of Elie, was cōmitted to the Duke of Buckingham to keepe in warde, which ſent him to his manor of Brecknock in Wales, from whence hee eſcaped to King Richarde hys confuſion. The ſame nyght, the King made ſeuenteene Knyghtes of the Bathe, whoſe names enſue.

Sir Edmond the Duke of Suffolkes ſonne.
Sir George Grey, the Erle of Kents ſonne.
Sir William, the Lord Souches ſonne.
Sir Henry Burganie.
Sir Chriſtopher Willoughbie.
Sir William Barkeley.
Sir Henrie Babington.
Sir Thomas Arondell.
Sir Thomas Boleyne.
Sir Gerueys of Clifton.
Sir William Saye.
Sir Edmond Bedingfield.
Sir William Enderbie.
Sir Thomas Lekenor.
Sir Thomas of Vrmon.
Sir Iohn Browne.
Sir William Barkeley.

The next day, being the ſixth day of Iulie, the King rode through the Citie of London toward Weſtminſter with great pomp, being accompanied with theſe Dukes, Earles, Lordes, and Knightes, whoſe names followe.

Edward Prince of Wales, the Kings onely ſonne.

Dukes.

The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Buckingham.
The Duke of Suffolke.

Earles.

The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Arondell.
The Earle of Kent.
The Earle of Surrey.
The Earle of Wilſhire.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Nottingham.
The Earle of Warwike.
The Earle of Lincolne.

Lordes.

The Lord Liſle Vicount.
The Lord Louell Vicount.
The Lord Stanley.
The Lord Audeley.
The Lord Dakers.
The Lord Ferrers of Chertley.
The Lord Powes.
The Lord Scrope of Vpſale.
The Lord Scrope of Bolton.
The Lord Gray Codner.
The Lord Gray of Wilton.
The Lord Sturton.
The Lord Cobham.
The Lord Morley.
The Lord Burganie.
The Lord Souche.
The Lord Ferrers of Groby.
The Lord Welles.
The Lord Lomney.
The Lord Matreuers.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Becham.

Knightes.

Sir Iames Tirell.
Sir William Kniuet.
Sir Thomas Aborow.
Sir William Standley.
Sir William Aparre.
Sir George Browne.
Sir Robert Middleton.
Sir Iohn Henningham.
Sir Nicholas Latimer.
Sir Thomas Mongomery.
Sir Thomas Delamer.
Sir Gilbert Debnam.
Sir Terrie Robſart.
Sir William Brandon.
Sir Iohn Sauell.
Sir Henry Wentford.
Sir Edward Standley.
Sir Henry Seyntmont.
Sir William yong.
Sir Thomas Bowſer.
Sir Henry Winkefielde.
Sir Thomas Wortley.
Sir Iohn Seyntlow
Sir Charles of Pilkinton.
Sir Iames Harington.
Sir Iohn Aſheley.
Sir Thomas Barkley.
Sir Richard Becham.
Sir William Hopton.
Sir Thomas Percy.
Sir Robert Dymocke.
Sir Iohn Cheyny.
Sir Richard Ludlowe.
Sir Iohn Eldrington.
Sir William Sands.
Sir Richard Dudley.

Sir William Seintlowe.
Sir Thomas Twaightes.
Sir Edmond of Dudley.
Sir Raufe Aſhton.
Sir Richard Charlington.
Sir Thomas Gray.
Sir Phillip Barkeley.
Sir Robert Harington.
Sir Thomas Greſley.
Sir Richard Harecourt.
Sir Wiliam Noris.
Sir Thomas Selenger.
Sir Richard Hodleſten.
Sir Iohn Conias.
Sir William Stoner.
Sir Phillip Courtney.
Sir William Gaſcoigne.
Sir Richard Amedilton.
Sir Roger Fynes.
Sir George Vere.
Sir Henry Percie. Sir Iohn Wood.
Sir Iohn Iparre.
Sir Iohn Gray. Sir Iohn Danby.
Sir Richard Tailebuſhe.
Sir Iohn Rider.
Sir Iohn Herring.
Sir Richard Enderby.
Sir Iohn Barkeley.
Sir Iames Strangwiſhe.
Sir Raufe Carnbrecke.
Sir Iohn Conſtable.
Sir Robert Eliarde.
Sir Richard Darell.
Sir Iohn Gilforde. Sir Iohn Lekenor.
Sir Iohn Morley.
Sir Iohn Hewes.
Sir Iohn Boleyne.
Sir Edmond Shaa Alderman.

On the morrowe beeing the ſixte daye of Iulye, the King with Quene Anne hys wife, came down out of the White Hall into the great Hall at Weſtminſter, and went directly to the kings bench. And from thence, the king and the Quene going vpon raye clothe barefooted, wente vnto Sainct Edwardes Shrine, and all his nobilitie goyng wyth hym, euery Lorde in his degree. And firſte went the trumpets, and then the Herraultes of armes in their riche coates, and nexte followed the Croſſe with a ſolempne proceſſion, the Prieſtes hauyng fine ſurpleſſes and graye amiſſes vpon them. The Abbottes and Byſhops mitred and in riche Copes, and euery of them caried theyr Croſiers in their handes. The Byſhop of Rocheſter bare the Croſſe before the Cardinall. Then followed the Earle of Huntyngton bearyng a paire of guilt ſpurres ſignifiyng Knyghthoode. Then followed the Earle of Bedforde bearing Sainct Edwardes ſtaffe for a relique. After them came the Earle of Northumberlande bareheaded, wyth the Pointeleſſe ſworde naked in his hande which ſignifyed mercye. The Lorde Stanley bare the mace of the Coneſtableſhippe. The Earle of Kent bare the ſeconde ſworde on the right hande of the Kyng naked, wyth a pointe, whyche ſignifyed Iuſtice to the Temporalitie. The Lord Louell bare the thirde ſworde on the lefte hande wyth a pointe, whyche ſignifyed Iuſtice to the Clergye. The Duke of Suffolke followed wyth the Scepter in his hande, whiche ſignifyed peace. The earle of Lincolne bare the Ball and Croſſe, whyche ſignifyed a Monarchie. The Earle of Surrey bare the fourth ſword before the King in a riche ſcabberd, and that is called the ſworde of eſtate. Then went three togither, in the middeſt wente Garter King at armes in his rich cote: and on his left hande wente the Maior of London, bearing a mace: and on his righte hande wente the Gentleman Vſher of the priuie chamber. Then followed the Duke of Norffolke, bearing the Kings Crowne betweene his hands. Then followed King Richard in his robes of purple veluet, and ouer his head a canapie, borne by foure Barons of the fiue portes. And on euery ſide of the King there went one Byſhop, that is to ſay, the Byſhop of Bath, and the Biſhoppe of Durham. Then followed the Duke of Buckingham bearing the Kings trayne, with a white ſtaffe in his hande, ſignifying the office of the high Steward of England. Then there followed a great number of Earles & Barons before yͤ Queene. And then came yͤ Erle of Huntington, who bare yͤ Queenes Scepter, & the Vicount Liſle bearyng the rodde with the Doue. And the earle of Wilſhire bare the Queenes Crowne. Then followed Queene Anne daughter to Richard Erle of Warwicke in robes like to yͤ King, betweene two Byſhoppes, and a Canapie ouer hir heade borne by the Barons of the Ports. On hir head a riche Coronall ſet wyth ſtones and pearle. After hir followed the Counteſſe of Richemonde heire to the Duke of Somerſette, whiche bare vp the Queenes traine. After followed the Dutcheſſe of Suffolke and Norffolke, wyth Counteſſes, Baroneſſes, Ladies and many faire Gentlewomen. In this order they paſſed through the Pallaice, and entred the Abbey at the Weſt end, and ſo came to their ſeates of eſtate. And after diuers ſongs ſolempnly ſong, they bothe diſcended to the hyghe Aulter and were ſhifted from their robes, and had diuers places open from the middle vpwarde, in whiche places they were anointed. Then bothe the King and the Queene chaunged them into clothe of golde and aſcended to their ſeates, where the Cardinall of Caunterburye, and other Byſhoppes them

Crowned according to the cuſtome of ẏ realme, giuing him the Scepter in the left hande, and the ball with the croſſe in the righte hande, and the Queene had the Scepter in hir right hande, and the rodde with the doue in the left hande.

On euery ſide of the King ſtoode a Duke, and before hym ſtoode the Earle of Surrey with the ſworde in his handes. And on euery ſide of the Queene ſtanding a Biſhoppe and a Lady kneeling.

The Cardinall ſong Maſſe, and after paxe, the King and the Queene deſcended, and before the high Aulter they were both houſeled, with one hoſt deuided betweene them.

After Maſſe finiſhed, they both offered at S. Edward his Shrine, and there the King left the Crowne of Sainte Edward, and putte on hys owne Crowne. And ſo in order as they came, they departed to Weſtminſter Hall, and ſo to their chambers for a ſeaſon, during which time, the Duke of Norffolke came into the hall, hys horſe trapped to the ground in cloth of golde, as high Marſhall, and voided the hall.

About foure of the clocke, the King & Queene entred the hall, and the King ſate in the middle, and the Queene on the left hand of the table, and on euery ſide of hir ſtoode a Counteſſe, holding a cloth of pleaſaunce, when ſhe liſt to drinke. And on the right hand of the King ſate the Byſhoppe of Caunterburie, the Ladyes ſate all on one ſide, in the middle of the hall. And at the Table againſte them, ſate the Chancellor and all the Lordes.

At the table next the cupborde, ſate the Maior of London, and at the table behind the Lords, ſate the Barons of the portes.

And at the other tables ſate noble and worſhipfull perſonages.

When all perſons were ſet, the D. of Norfolke Earle Marſhal, the Earle of Surrey, Conneſtable for that day, the Lorde Stanley Lorde Stewarde, Sir William Hopton Treaſourer, and Sir Thomas Percy comptroller, came in, and ſerued the King ſolemnelie, with one diſhe of golde, and another of ſiluer, and the Queene all in gilte veſſell, and the Biſhop all in ſiluer.

At the ſeconde courſe came into the hall, Sir Robert Dimmocke the Kings Champion, making proclamation, that whoſoeuer woulde ſay, that King Richarde was not lawfull King, hee would fight with him at the vtterance, & threwe downe his gantlet, and then all the hall cryed King Richarde. And ſo he did in three partes of the Hall, and then one broughte him a cuppe of wine couered, and when he hadde dronke, he caſt out the drinke, and departed with the cuppe.

After that the Herauldes cryed a largeſſe thrice in the hall, and ſo went vp to their ſtage.

At the ende of dynner, the Maior of London ſerued the King and Queene with ſweete wine, and had of each of them a cuppe of golde, with a couer of golde. And by that time that all was done, it was darke nighte. And ſo the King returned to his chamber, and euerye man to hys lodging.

When this feaſt was thus finiſhed, the kyng ſente home all the Lordes into their Countreys that woulde departe, excepte the Lord Stanley, whome he reteyned, till he heard what his ſonne the Lorde Strange went about. And to ſuche as went home, hee gaue ſtraighte charge and commaundement, to ſee their Countreys well ordered, and that no wrong nor extorcion ſhoulde be done to his ſubiectes. And thus hee taughte other to execute iuſtice and equitie, the contrarie whereof he dayly exerciſed: he alſo with great rewardes giuen to the Northernemen, whiche he ſente for to his Coronation, ſente them home to their Countrey with great thankes: whereof dyuers of them (as they be all of nature very greedie of authoritie, and ſpecially when they thinke to haue any comforte or fauoure) toke on them ſo highly, and wroughte ſuche maiſteries, that the King was fayne to ride thither in his fyrſte yeare, and to put ſome in execution, and ſtay the Countrey, or elſe no ſmall miſchiefe had enſued.

Sir Thomas More againe.

Nowe fell there miſchieues thicke. And as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kepte, thorough all the tyme of his reigne neuer ceaſſed there cruell death and ſlaughter, till his owne deſtruction ended it. But as hee finiſhed his tyme with the beſt death and the moſt righteous, that is to wit, his owne, ſo beganne hee with the moſt piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent nephues, the yong kyng and his tender brother: whoſe death and final infortune hath natheleſſe comen ſo farre in queſtion, that ſome remayn yet in doubt, whether they were in his dayes deſtroyed or no. Not for that onely that Perkyn Werbecke by manye folkes malice, and moe folkes folly, ſo long ſpace abuſing the worlde, was as well with princes as the porer people, reputed and taken for the younger of theſe two, but for that alſo that all things were in late dayes ſo couertly demeaned, one thyng pretended, and another meant, that there was nothing ſo playne and openly proued, but that yet for the common cuſtom of cloſe and couert dealyng, men hadde it euer inwardly ſuſpect: as many well counterfaited Iewels make the true myſtruſted. Howbeit concerning the opinion, with the occaſions mouyng eyther partie, we ſhal haue place more at large to intreate, if we herafter happen to write the tyme of the late noble Prince of famous memorie King Henrie the ſeauenth, or percaſe that hiſtory of Perkin

in

Perkyn Werbecke.

Cloſe dealing is euer ſuſpected.

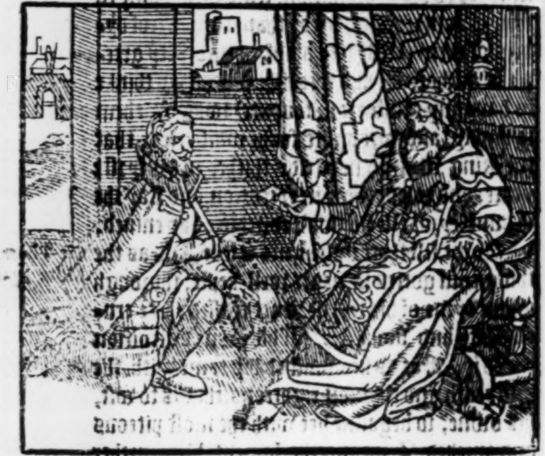
in any compendious proceſſe by it ſelfe. But in the meane time for this preſent matter, I ſhal rehearſe you the dolorous ende of thoſe babes, not after euery way that I haue heard, but after that way that I haue ſo hearde by ſuche men and by ſuche meanes as me thinketh it were hard, but it ſhould be true.

John Greene. Robert Brakenbery Conneſtable of the Tower.

King Richard after his Coronation, takyng his way to Glouceſter to viſit, in his newe honour, the towne of which he bare the name of his olde, deuiſed as he rode, to fulfill the thing whiche he before had intended. And for aſmuche as hys minde gaue him, that his nephewes liuing, men would not recken that he could haue right to the Realme, he thoughte therefore without delay to ridde them, as though the killing of his kinſmen could amend his cauſe, and make him a kindelie King. Wherevpon, he ſent one Iohn Greene, whome hee ſpecially truſted vnto, Sir Roberte Brakenbery, Conneſtable of the Tower, with a letter and credence alſo, that the ſame ſir Robert ſhould in any wiſe put the two children to death. This Iohn Green did his errand vnto Brakenbery, kneeling before our Lady in the tower, who playnely aunſwered, that he would neuer putte them to death to die therefore: with which aunſwere, Iohn Greene returning, recounpted the ſame to King Richard at Warwike yet in hys way. Wherewith he toke ſuch diſpleaſure and thought, that the ſame night he ſaid vnto a ſecret page of his: Ah whome ſhall a man truſt? thoſe that I haue broughte vp my ſelfe, thoſe that I had went would moſt ſurely ſerue me, euen thoſe fayle me, and at my commaundemente will doe nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lyeth one on your pallet without, that I dare well ſay, to do your grace pleaſure, the thing wer right harde that he would refuſe, meaning this by Sir Iames Tirrel, which was a man of right goodly perſonage, and for natures giftes worthy to haue ſerued a much better Prince, if he had wel ſerued God, and by grace obteyned aſmuche trothe and good will as he had ſtrength and wit. The man had an high heart, and ſore longed vpward, not riſing yet ſo faſt as hee had hoped, being hindered and kepte vnder by the meanes of Sir Richarde Ratcliffe, and Sir William Cateſbie, whyche longing for no moe partners of the Princes fauoure, and namely not for him, whoſe pride they wiſt woulde beare no peere, kepte him by ſecrete driftes out of all ſecrete truſt, which thing, this Page well had marked and knowen: wherefore this occaſion offered, of very ſpeciall friendeſhippe hee toke hys tyme to put him forwarde, and by ſuche wyſe doe hym good, that all the enimies hee hadde excepte the Deuyll, coulde neuer haue doone hym ſo muche hurte. For vpon thys pages wordes, Kyng Richarde aroſe. (For thys communication hadde he ſitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for ſuche a counſell) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he founde in bed ſir Iames & ſir Thomas Tyrels, of perſon like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then ſaid the king merily to them, what ſirs be ye in bed ſo ſoone, and calling vp ſir Iames, brake to him ſecretely his mynde in this miſcheuous matter. In which he founde him nothyng ſtrange. Wherefore on the morow he ſent him to Brakenburye with a letter, by which he was commaunded to deliuer Sir Iames all the keys of the tower for one nighte, to the end he might there accompliſhe the kinges pleaſure, in ſuch thing as he had giuen him commaundement. After whiche letter deliuered, & the keys receyued, ſir Iames appointed the nyghte next enſuying to deſtroye them, deuiſing before and preparing the meanes. The prince as ſoone as the protectour left that name, and toke himſelf as king, had it ſhewed vnto hym, that he ſhoulde not reigne, but his vncle ſhould haue the crown. At which word, the Prince ſore abaſhed, began to ſigh, and ſayd: Alas, I wold my vncle wold let me haue my life yet, though I leeſe my kingdome. Then he that tolde him the tale, vſed him with good wordes, and put him in the beſt comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both ſhut vp, and all other remoued from them, only one called black Will, or William ſlaughter excepte, ſet to ſerue them and ſee them ſure. After whiche time the Prince neuer tyed his points, nor aught rought of himſelf, but with that young babe his brother, lingred with thought and heauineſſe, till this traiterous death deliuered them of that wretchedneſſe. For Sir Iames Tyrell deuiſed that they ſhould be murthered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appoynted Myles Foreſte, one of the foure that kept them, a felowe fleſhed in murther before time. To him he ioyned one Iohn Dighton his own horſkeeper, a bigge, brode, ſquare, ſtrong knaue.

Sir Iames Tyrell.

Authoritie loueth no partners.



knaue.

The yong Kyng and hys brother murthered.

Then all the other beeing remoued from them, this Myles Forreſt, and John Dighton about midnight (the ſelie children lying in theyr beddes) came into the chamber, and ſuddaynely lapped them vp among the clothes, ſo to bewrapped them and intangled them, keeping downe by force the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto theyr mouthes, that within a while, ſmothered and ſtifled, their breath fayling, they gaue vp to God their innocente ſoules into the ioyes of heauen, leauing to the tormentors their bodyes dead in the bedde. Which after that the wretches perceyued, firſte by the ſtrugling with the paines of death, and after long lying ſtill to bee throughly dead, they layde theyr bodyes naked out vppon the bed, and fetched Sir James to ſee them, whiche vpon the ſight of them, cauſed thoſe murtherers to burie them at the ſtaire foote, meetely deepe in the grounde, vnder a greate heape of ſtones.

Then rode Sir James in great haſt to Kyng Richarde, and ſhewed him all the maner of the murther, who gaue him greate thankes, and (as ſome ſay) there made hym Knight. But he allowed not as I haue hearde, the burying in ſo vile a corner, ſaying, that hee would haue them buryed in a better place, bycauſe they were a Kings ſonnes. Loe the honorable courage of a King. Wherevpon they ſay, that a Prieſt of S. Robert Brakenbery tooke vp the bodyes againe, and ſecretely enterred them in ſuche place, as by the occaſion of his deathe, whiche onely knew it, could neuer ſince come to light. Very troth is it, and wel knowen, that at ſuch time as ſir James Tirrell was in the Tower, for treaſon cōmitted againſt the moſt famous Prince King Henrye the ſeauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confeſſed the murther in manner aboue written, but whether the bodyes were remoued, they could nothing tell. And thus as I haue learned of thē that much knewe, and little cauſe had to lie were theſe two noble Princes, theſe innocent tender childrē, borne of moſt royal bloud, brought vp in great wealthe, likely long to lyue, raigne, and rule in the Realm, by traytrous tirannie taken, depriued of their eſtate, ſhortlye ſhut vp in priſon, and priuily ſlayne and murthered, their bodies caſt God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall vncle and his diſpiteous tormentors. Which things on euery parte well pondered, God neuer gaue thys world a more notable example, neyther in what vnſuretie ſtandeth this worldly weale, or what miſchiefe worketh the proude enterpriſe of an high heart, or finally, what wretched ende enſueth ſuch diſpiteous crueltie. For firſt to beginne with the Miniſters, Myles Forreſt, at Saint Martins peecemeale rotted away. Dighton indeede yet walketh on alyue in good poſſibilitie to be hanged ere hee dye. But Sir James Tyrell dyed at the Tower hill beheaded for treaſon. King Richarde himſelfe, as yee ſhall hereafter heare, ſlayne in the fielde, hacked and hewed of his enimies handes, haried on Horſebacke dead, his heare in deſpite torne and tugged like a curre dogge. And the miſchiefe that hee tooke, within leſſe than three yeares of the miſchiefe that hee did. And yet all the meane time, ſpente in muche payne and trouble outwarde, muche feare, anguiſh and ſorowe within. For I haue hearde by credible reporte of ſuche as were ſecret with hys Chamberlayne, that after thys abhominable deede done, hee neuer hadde quiet in hys minde. Hee neuer thoughte hymſelfe ſure. Where hee wente abroade, hys eyen whirled about, hys body priuily fenced, hys hande euer vppon hys dagger, hys countenaunce and manner lyke one, alwayes readye to ſtrike agayne, hee tooke ill reſt anyghtes, lay long wakyng and muſing, ſore weeryed with care and watche, rather ſlumbered than ſlepte, troubled with fearefull dreames, ſuddaynely ſometyme ſtert vppe, lepte out of hys bedde, and ranne aboute the chamber, ſo was hys reſtleſſe hearte continuallie toſſed and tumbled with the tedious impreſſion and ſtormie remembraunce of his abhominable deede. Nowe hadde he outwarde no long tyme in reſt. For herevpon, ſoone after, beganne the conſpiracie, or rather good confederation, betweene the Duke of Buckingham, and many other Gentlemen agaynſte hym.

The out and inward troubles of tirants.

The occaſion wherevpon the Kyng and the Duke fell out, is of dyuers folke diuers wyſe pretended.

Thys Duke (as I haue for certayne beene enformed) as ſoone as the Duke of Glouceſter, vppon the deathe of Kyng Edwarde, came to Yorke, and there hadde ſolemne funerall ſeruice for Kyng Edwarde, ſente thither in the moſt ſecrete wiſe he coulde, one Perſall his truſtie ſeruaunte, who came to John Warde a Chamberer of lyke ſecrete truſt with the Duke of Glouceſter, deſiring, that in the moſt cloſe and couerte manner, hee myghte be admitted to the preſence and ſpeeche of hys maiſter. And the Duke of Glouceſter aduertiſed of hys deſire, cauſed hym in the dead of the nyghte, after all other folke auoyded, to bee broughte vnto hym in hys ſecrete Chamber, where Perſall after hys maſters recommendation, ſhewed hym that hee hadde ſecretely ſente hym to ſhewe hym, that in thys newe worlde, hee woulde take ſuche parte as hee woulde, and wayte vppon hym with a thouſande good fellowes, if neede were. The Meſſinger ſente ſent backe with thankes, and ſome ſecrete inſtruction of the Protectors minde: yet mette him agayne with farther meſſage from the Duke hys maſter, within fewe days after at Nottingham: whither the Protector from Yorke with manye Gentlemen of the North Countrey to yͤ number of ſixe hundred horſes, was come on his way to Londonwarde, and after ſecret meeting and communication had, eftſoone departed. Whereupon at Northampton, the Duke met with the Protector hymſelfe with three hundred horſes, and from thence ſtill continued with hym partner of all hys deuiſes, till that after his Coronation, they departed as it ſeemed very great frēds at Glouceſter. From whence aſſoone as the duke came home, he ſo lightly turned from him, and ſo highly conſpired againſte him, that a manne woulde maruell whereof the change grew. And ſurely, the occaſion of their varriance is of diuers men diuerſlie reported. Some haue (I heard ſay) that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector the Duke of Herefordes lands, to the which hee pretended himſelfe iuſt inheritor. And foraſmuch as the title whiche he claymed by inheritance, was ſomewhat interlaced with yͤ title to the Crowne, by the line of King Henrye before depriued, the Protector conceyued ſuch indignation, that hee reiected the Dukes requeſt with manye ſpitefull and minatorie wordes, whiche ſo wounded hys heart with hatred and miſtruſt, that he neuer after coulde endure to looke a righte on King Richard, but euer feared his own life, ſo farre forth, that when the Protector rode through London towarde his Coronation, hee fayned hymſelfe ſicke, bycauſe he would not ride with hym. And the other taking it in euill part, ſent hym worde to riſe, and come ride, or he would make hym bee carried. Whereupon, he rode on with euill wyll, and that notwithſtanding on the morrowe, roſe from the feaſt, fayning hymſelfe ſicke, and King Richard ſayde, it was done in hatred and deſpite of hym. And they ſayde that euer after continually, eache of them liued in ſuche hatred and diſtruſt of other, that the Duke verily looked to haue bin murthered at Glouceſter. From whych naytheleſſe, hee in faire manner departed. But ſurely ſome right ſecrete at that days denie this: and manye righte wiſe men thinke it vnlikely, (the deepe diſſembling nature of thoſe both men conſidered, and what neede in that greene worlde the Protector had of the Duke, and in what peril the Duke ſtoode, if hee fell once in ſuſpicion of the Tyrant) yͤ eyther the Protector would giue the Duke occaſion of diſpleaſure, or the Duke the Protector occaſion of miſtruſt. And verily, men thinke, that if King Richard had anye ſuch opinion conceyued, he would neuer haue ſuffered him to eſcape his hands. Very troth it is, the D. was an high minded man, and euill coulde beare the glorie of an other, ſo that I haue hearde of ſome that ſay they ſaw it, that the Duke at ſuch time as the Crowne was firſt ſet vpon the Protectors head, his eye coulde not abyde the ſighte thereof, but wried his head another way. But men ſaye, that he was of troth not well at eaſe, and that both, to King Richarde well knowen, and not ill taken, nor any demaund of the dukes vncurteouſly reiected, but hee both with greate giftes and high beheſtes, in moſt louing and truſtie manner, departed at Glouceſter. But ſoone after his comming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his cuſtodie by the commaundement of King Richarde Doctor Morton, Byſhop of Elie, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the Counſell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whoſe wiſedome abuſed hys pride to his owne deliuerance and the Dukes deſtruction. The Byſhop was a man of great naturall witte, very well learned, and honorable in behauiour, lacking no wiſe wayes to winne fauour. He had bin faſt vpon the parte of King Henrye, while that part was in wealth, and naytheleſſe, lefte it not, nor forſooke it in woe, but fledde the Realme with the Queene and the Prince, while King Edwarde hadde the King in priſon, neuer came home, but to the fielde. After whiche loſſe, and that part vtterly ſubdued, the tother for hys faſt fayth and wiſedome, not only was contente to receyue hym, but alſo wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in ſecrete truſt, and very ſpeciall fauour, whiche hee nothing deceyued. For he being as ye haue heard after king Edwards death firſte taken by the Tirante for his troth to the King, founde the meane to ſette this Duke in hys toppe, ioyned Gentlemen togither in aide of King Henry, deuiſing firſte the marriage betweene him and King Edwardes daughter, by whiche his faith declared the good ſeruice to both his maſters at once, with infinite benefite to the Realme by the coniunction of thoſe two blouds in one, whoſe ſeueral titles had long enquieted the lande, he fledde the Realme, went to Rome, neuer mynding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King Henry the ſeauenth gate him home againe, made him Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie, and Chancellor of England, whereunto the Pope ioyned the honor of Cardinall. Thus lyuing many dayes in as much honor as one man mighte well wiſhe, ended them ſo godly, that his deathe with Gods mercie well changed his life.

1484
An. reg. 2.

This man therefore as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proofe, as well of proſperitie, as aduers fortune, hadde gotten by great experience the very mother and miſtreſſe

ſtreſſe of wiſedome, a deepe inſighte in politike worldly driftes. Whereby perceyuing now this Duke glad to commune with him, fedde him with faire wordes, and many pleaſaunt prayſes. And perceyuing by the proceſſe of their communications, the Dukes pride, nowe and then balke out a little bredde of enuie, towarde the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him eathe to fall out if the matter were well handled: he craftely ſought the wayes to pricke him forwarde, taking alwayes the occaſion of his commyng, and ſo keeping himſelfe ſo cloſe within his boundes, that hee rather ſeemed to followe hym, than to leade him. For when the Duke firſte beganne to prayſe and boaſt the King, and ſhew how much profite the Realme ſhoulde take by his raigne: my Lorde Morton aunſwered: Surely my Lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I woulde ſweare the contrarie, your Lordſhip woulde not I weene beleeue, but that if the worlde woulde haue gone as I woulde haue wiſhed, Kyng Henries ſonne had hadde the Crowne, and not King Edward. But after that God had ordered him to leeſe it, and King Edwarde to raigne, I was neuer ſo madde that I woulde with a dead man ſtriue againſte the quicke. So was I to King Edward a faithfull Chaplayne, and glad would haue bin that hys chylde hadde ſucceeded him. Howbeit, if the ſecrete iudgemente of God haue otherwiſe prouided, I purpoſe not to ſpurre againſt a pricke, nor labour to ſette vp that God pulleth downe. And as for the late Protector and now King. And euen there he left, ſaying that he had already meddled to muche with the worlde, and woulde from that day meddle with his Booke and hys beades, and no farther. Then longed the Duke ſore to heare what hee woulde haue ſayd, bycauſe he ended with the King, and there ſo ſuddaynely ſtopped, and exhorted hym ſo familiarly betweene them twayne, to be bolde to ſay whatſoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promiſed, there ſhoulde neuer come hurte, and peraduenture more good than hee woulde wene, and that himſelfe intended to vſe his faithfull ſecrete aduiſe and counſell, whiche hee ſayde was the onely cauſe for which he procured of the King to haue him in his cuſtody, where hee might recken himſelfe at home, and elſe had hee bin putte in the handes of them with whome hee ſhould not haue founden the like fauoure. The Byſhop right humbly thanked him, and ſayde, In good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault, foraſmuch as it ſhall not bee taken as the partie meante it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And euer I thinke on Eſops tale, that when the Lion hadde proclaymed, that on payne of death, there ſhould none horned beaſt abyde in that wood: one that had in his forhead a bunche of fleſhe, fled awaye a great pace. The Foxe that ſaw hym runne ſo faſt, asked hym whyther he made all that haſte? And he anſwered, In fayth I neyther wote, nor recke, ſo I were once hence, bicauſe of this proclamation made of horned beaſtes. What foole quoth the Foxe, thou mayſt abyde well ynough, the Lion meant not by thee, for it is none horne that is in thine head. No mary (quoth hee) that wote I well ynough. But what and hee call it an horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merily at the tale, and ſayd, My Lorde, I warrant you, neyther the Lion nor the Bore ſhall pyke any matter at any thing heere ſpoken, for it ſhall neuer come neere their eare. In good faith Sir ſayde the Byſhop if it did, the thing that I was about to ſay, taken as well (as afore God, I meant) it could deſerue but thanke. And yet taken as I weene it woulde, mighte happen to turne mee to little good, and you to leſſer. Then longed the Duke yet much more to witte what it was, whereuppon the Byſhoppe ſaide, in good fayth my Lorde, as for the late Protector, ſith he is nowe King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title, but for the weale of this Realm, whereof hys grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and whereof I am my ſelfe one poore member. I was about to wiſhe, that to thoſe good habilities whereof he hath already right many, little needing my prayſe: it mighte yet haue pleaſed God, for the better ſtore, to haue giuen hym ſome of ſuche other excellente vertues, meete for the rule of a Realme, as our Lord hathe planted in the perſon of youre grace: and there lefte agayne.

Here endeth Sir Thomas More, and this that followeth is taken out M. of Hall.

The Duke ſomewhat maruelling at his ſuddayne pauſes, as though they were but parentheſes, with a high countenaunce ſayd: My Lorde, I euidently perceyue, and no leſſe note your often breathing, and ſuddayne ſtopping in youre communication, ſo that to my intelligence, your wordes neyther come to any direct or perfect ſentence in concluſion, whereby either I might perceyue, and haue knowledge what your inwarde intent is now toward the King, or what affection you beare towarde me. For the compariſon of good qualities aſcribed to vs both (for the whiche I my ſelfe knowledge and recogniſe to haue none, nor looke for no prayſe of any creature for the ſame) maketh me not a little to muſe, thynkyng that you haue ſome other priuie imaginatiō, by loue or by grudge, engraued and emprinted in your hart, which for feare you dare not, or for childiſh ſhamefaſtneſſe, you be abaſhed to diſcloſe and reueale, and ſpecially to me being your friend, which on my honour do aſſure you, to bee as ſecrete in this caſe, as the deaffe and dumme perſon is to the ſinger, or the tree to the hunter. The Byſhop beeing ſomewhat bolder, conſidering the Dukes promiſe, but moſt of all animated and encouraged, bycauſe he knew the Duke deſirous to be exalted and magnified, and alſo he perceyued the inwarde hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward King Richard, was now boldened to open his ſtomacke euen to the very bottome, intending thereby to compaſſe howe to deſtroy, and vtterly confound King Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie royall, or elſe to ſet the Duke ſo a fyer with the deſire of ambition, that hee himſelfe mighte be ſafe, and eſcape out of all daunger and perill, whiche thing hee brought ſhortly to concluſion, both to the kings deſtruction and the Dukes confuſion, and to his owne ſafegard, and finally, to hys high promotion. And ſo (as I ſayde before) vpon truſt and confidence of the Dukes promiſe, the Byſhoppe ſayd: my ſinguler good Lord, ſith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces cuſtodie, I may rather call it a liberall libertie, more than a ſtraighte empriſonmente, in auoyding idleneſſe, mother and nouriſher of all vices, in reading Bookes and auntient Pamphlets, I haue founde this ſentence written, that no manne is borne free, and in libertie of himſelfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or ſhould owe to his parents for his procreation by a very natural inſtincte and filiall curteſie: another parte, to hys friendes and kinſfolke, for proximitie of bloud, and natural amitie, doth of very duetie chalenge and demaunde: But the natiue Countrey in the whiche hee taſted firſte the ſweete ayres of thys pleaſant and flattering world after his natiuitie, demaundeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neyther to bee forgotten, nor yet to be put in obliuion, which ſaying cauſeth me to conſider in what caſe this Realme my natiue Countrey nowe ſtandeth, and in what eſtate and aſſurance before this time it hath continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler wee mighte haue, for I playnely perceyue the Realme beeing in this caſe, muſt needes decay, and bee broughte to vtter confuſion, and finall exterminion: But one hope I haue encorporate in my breſt, that is, when I conſider, and in my mynd do diligently remember, & dayly behold your noble perſonage, your iuſtice, and indifferencie, your feruent zeale, and ardent loue towarde youre naturall Countrey, and in like manner, the loue of your Countrey toward you, the great learning, pregnaunt witte, and goodly eloquence, which ſo much doth abounde in the perſon of youre grace, I muſte needes thinke this Realme fortunate, yea twice more than fortunate, whiche hath ſuch a Prince in ſtore, meete, and apte to bee a gouernoure, in whoſe perſon beeyng endued with ſo manye princely qualities, conſiſteth and reſteth the very vndoubted ſimilitude and image of true honour,

Here endeth Sir Thomas More, and this that followeth is taken out of Maiſter Hall.

But on the other ſide, when I call to remembrance the good qualities of the late Protector, and nowe called King, ſo violated and ſubuerted by Tyrannie, ſo changed and altered by vſurped authoritie, ſo clouded and ſhadowed by blynde and inſaciable ambition, yea, and ſo ſuddaynely (in manner by a metamorphoſis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to deteſtable tyrannie: I muſt needes ſaye, and iuſtly affirme, that hee is neyther meete to be a king of ſo noble a Realme, nor ſo famous a Realme meete to bee gouerned by ſuche a tyraunt: Was not his firſt enterpriſe to obteyne the Crowne begunne and incepted by the murther of diuers noble valiant, true, and vertuous perſonages: O a holy beginning, to come to a miſcheuous ending, did he not ſecondarily procede contrarie to al lawes of honeſtie, ſhamefully againſte his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour, and more vertue, declaring hir openly to bee a woman giuen to carnall affection, and diſſolute liuing? (whych thing if it had bin true as it was not indeede, euery good and naturall childe would haue rather mummed at, than to haue blaſted abroade, and eſpecially ſhee beeing aliue.) Declaring farthermore his two brethren, and his two nephewes to bee baſterdes, and to be borne in aduoutrie: yet not with all this content: After that hee had obteyned the garland for the which he ſo long thirſted, hee cauſed the two poore innocentes hys nephewes, committed to him for eſpeciall truſt, to be murthered, and ſhamefully to be kylled. The bloud of which ſely and little babes, dayly crie to God, from the earth for vengeaunce. Alas, my heart ſobbeth, to remember this bloudy butcher, and cruell monſter, what ſuretie ſhall be in thys realme to any perſon, either for life or goodes vnder ſuch a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the deſtruction of his owne bloud, and then leſſe the loſſe of other. And moſt eſpecially as oftentymes it chanceth, where a couetous or a cruell Prince taketh ſuſpicion, the ſmalleſt, ſwaruing that is poſſible (if the thing be miſconſtrued) may be the cauſe of the deſtruction of many giltleſſe perſones: and in eſpeciall of noble and wealthye perſonages, hauing great poſſeſſions and riches: Suche a Lorde is Lucifer when he is entred into the heart of a proude Prince, giuen to couetouſneſſe and crueltie. But nowe my Lord to conclude what I meane toward your noble perſon, I ſaye and affirme, if you loue GOD, youre lygnage, or youre natiue Countrey, you muſt youre ſelfe take vppon you the Crowne and imperiall Diademe of thys noble Empyre, bothe for the maynetenaunce of the honoure of the ſame (whiche ſo long hathe flouriſhed in

ſame

fame and renowne) as alſo for the deliueraunce of youre naturall Countreymen, from the bondage and thraldome (worſe than the captiuitie of Egypt) of ſo cruell a Tyrant and arrogant oppreſſor. For thus I dare ſaye, if any foreyne Prince or Potentate, yea the Turke hymſelfe woulde take vppon him the regiment heere, and the Crowne, the commons would rather admit and obey hym, than to liue vnder ſuche a bloudſupper and childe kyller: but howe muche more ioyful and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all knowe to be a ruler meete and conuenient for them, and they to be louyng and obedient ſubiectes, meete to liue vnder ſuch a gouernor: deſpiſe not, nor forſake not ſo manifeſt an occaſion ſo louingly offered. And if you your ſelfe knowing the paine and trauaile that apperteyneth to the office of a King, or for anye other conſideration, will refuſe to take vppon you the Crowne and Scepter of this Realme: Then I adiure you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your honour and by your othe made to Saincte George, patrone of the noble order of the garter (whereof you bee a companyon) and by the loue and affectiō that you beare to your natiue Coūtrey, and the people of the ſame, to deuiſe ſome way, how this Realme nowe beeing in miſerie, may by youre high diſcretion and princely policie, bee broughte and reduced to ſome ſuretie and conueniente regimente, vnder ſome good gouernour by you to be appoynted: for you are the very patrone, the only help, refuge, and comfort for the poore amaſed and deſolate commons of thys Realme. For if you could either deuiſe to ſet vp againe the lignage of Lancaſter, or aduaunce the eldeſt daughter of King Edward to ſome hygh and puiſſant Prince, not only the new crowned King ſhall ſmall time enioy the glory of his dignitie, but alſo all ciuill warre ſhoulde ceaſſe, all domeſticall diſcord ſhould ſleepe, and peace, profite and quietneſſe ſhould be ſet forth and embraſed. When the Byſhop had thus ended his ſaying, the Duke ſighed and ſpake not of a greate while, which ſore abaſhed the Byſhop, and made him change coulour: which thing when the duke apperceyued, he ſaide, be not afraid my Lord, all promiſes ſhall be kepte, to morow we will common more: lette vs goe to ſupper, ſo that nyghte they cōmoned no more, not alittle to the diſquieting of the Biſhop, whiche nowe was euen as deſirous to know the Dukes mind and intente, as the Duke longed the day before to knowe hys opinion and meaning. So the next day, the duke ſent for the Byſhop, and rehearſed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betweene them before, and ſo pauſed awhile, and after a little ſeaſon, putting off his bonet he ſayd: O Lorde God creator of all things, howe muche is this Realme of England, and the people of the ſame bounden to thy goodneſſe, for where we now be in vexation and trouble with greate ſtormes oppreſſed, ſayling and toſſing in a deſperate Shippe, without good maſter or gouernour: but by thy help good Lorde I truſt or long time paſſe, that wee ſhall prouide for ſuche a ruler, as ſhall bee both to thy pleaſure, and alſo to the ſecuritie and ſauegarde of this noble Realme. And then hee put on hys bonet ſaying to the Byſhop, my Lord of Ely, whoſe true hart and ſincere affection toward me at all times, I haue euidently perceyued and knowen, and nowe moſt of all in our laſt priuie communication and ſecrete deuiſing, I muſte needes in hart thinke, and with mouth confeſſe and ſay, that you be a ſure friend, a truſty counſellour, a vigilant foreſeer, a verye louer of youre Countrey, & a natural Countreyman: for which kindneſſe for my part, I moſt louingly render to you my harty thankes now with wordes, hereafter truſting to recompence and remunerate you with deedes, if life and power ſhall ſerue. And ſith at oure laſt communication, you haue diſcloſed, and opened the very ſecretes and priuities of youre ſtomacke, touching the Duke of Glouceſter now vſurper of the Crowne, and alſo haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of Yorke and Lancaſter: I ſhall likewiſe not only declare and manifeſt vnto you, al my open actes, attemptes, and doings, but alſo my priuie entents, and ſecret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckled youre bouget of your priuie meanings, & ſecrete purpoſes to me: ſo ſhal all my clowdy workyng, cloſe deuiſes, and ſecrete imaginations, bee (as cleere as the ſunne) reuealed, opened, and made lighteſome to you. And to beginne, I declare: That when King Edwarde was deceaſed, to whome I thought my ſelfe little or nothing beholden, (although we two hadde maried two ſiſters) bycauſe he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthy, and had deſerued, neither fauored nor regarded me, according to my degree and birthe: for ſurely I had by him little authoritie, and leſſe rule, and in effect nothing at all: which cauſed me leſſe to fauour his children, bycauſe I founde ſmall humanitie, or none in their parent. I then began to ſtudy, and with rype deliberation, to ponder and to conſider, howe and in what manner this Realme ſhould be ruled & gouerned. And firſt I remembred an olde prouerbe worthy of memorie, that often rueth the Realme, where children rule, and women gouerne. This olde adage ſo ſanke and ſettled in my head, that I thought it a great error, and extreame miſchiefe to the whole realme, either to ſuffer the yong Kyng to rule, or the Queene his mother to be a gouernoure ouer him, conſidering that hir brethren, and hir firſte children (although they were not extract of hygh and noble lynage) toke more vpon them, & more exalted themſelues, by reaſon of the Queene, than did the Kings brethren, or anye Duke in his Realme: which in concluſion, turned to their confuſion. Then I beeing perſwaded with my ſelfe in this poynt, thought it neceſſarie both for the publique & profitable wealth of this Realme, and alſo for myne owne commoditie and emolument, to take parte with the Duke of Glouceſter: whome I aſſure you I thought to bee as cleane without diſſimulation, as tractable without iniurie, as merciful without crueltie, as now I know him perfectly to be a diſſembler without veritie, a Tyraunt without pitie, yea, and worſe than the tyraunt Phaleres deſtitute of all trueth and clemencie: and ſo by my meanes, at the firſt Counſayle holden at London, when hee was moſt ſuſpected of that thing that after happened (as you my Lord know well ynough) hee was made Protector and defender, both of the King, and of the Realme, whiche authoritie once gotten, and the two children partly by policie brought vnder his gouernaunce, hee beeing moued with that gnawing and couetous ſerpente, deſired to raigne, and neuer ceaſſed priuily to exhort and require (yea and ſometimes with minatorie tearmes) to perſwade mee and other Lordes, as well ſpirituall as temporall, that hee might take vppon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeares, and were able to gouerne the Realme, as a rype and ſufficient King: which thing, when he ſawe mee ſomewhat ſticke at, both for the ſtrangeneſſe of the example (bycauſe no ſuche preſident had bene ſeene) and alſo bycauſe we remembred that men once aſcended to the higheſt tipe of honour and authoritie, will not gladly diſcende againe, hee then brought in inſtruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depoſitions of diuers witneſſes, teſtifying King Edwards children to be baſterds, whiche depoſitiõs then I thought to be as true, as now I knowe them to be fayned, and teſtifyed by perſons with rewards vntruely ſubornate. When the ſaid depoſitions were before vs redde and diligently hearde, he ſtoode vp bareheaded ſaying: Well my lords, euen as I and you ſage and diſcrete counſaylers would that my nephew ſhoulde haue no wrong, ſo I pray you do me nothing but righte. For theſe witneſſes and ſayings of famous doctors being true, I am onely the vndubitate heire to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adiudged to bee the verye heire to the Crowne of this Realme, by authoritie of Parliament, whiche things, ſo by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, cauſed me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted Prince and ſoueraigne Lord. For well wee knew that the Duke of Clarence ſonne, by reaſon of the attaynder of his father, was diſabled to inherite, and alſo the Duke himſelfe was named to be a baſterd, as I my ſelfe haue heard ſpoken, and that vpon great preſumptions more times than one: ſo agayne, by my ayde and fauoure, hee of a protector was made a King, and of a ſubiect made a gouernor, at whiche time hee promiſed me on his fidelitie, laying his hande in mine at Baynard Caſtell, that the two yong Princes ſhould liue, and that he would ſo prouide for them, and ſo mayntaine them in honorable eſtate, that I and all the Realme ought and ſhoulde bee content. But when he was once Crowned Kyng, and in full poſſeſſion of the whole Realme, he caſt away his olde conditions, as the adder doth hir ſkinne, verifying the olde prouerbe, Honours change manners, as the pariſhe Prieſte remembreth that hee was neuer pariſh clearke. For when I my ſelfe ſued to hym for my parte of the Earle of Hartfords landes whiche his brother King Edwarde wrõgfully deteyned and withheld from me, and alſo required to haue the office of the high Conneſtableſhip of Englande, as diuers of my noble aunceſters before this time haue hadde, and in long diſcent continued, in this my firſt ſute ſhewing his good mind toward me, he did not only firſte delay me, and afterward denay mee, but gaue me ſuch vnkynd words, with ſuch taunts and retauntes, yea in manner checke and checke mate, to the vttermoſt proofe of my pacience, as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him, as though I had put him downe, and not ſet hym vp: yet all theſe ingratitudes and vndeſerued vnkindneſſe I bare cloſely, and ſuffered paciently, and couertly remembred, outwardly diſſimuling that I inwardly thoughte, and ſo with a paynted countenaunce, I paſſed the laſte ſummer in his laſt companie, not without many faire promiſes, but withoute anye good deedes. But when I was credibly enformed of ẏ death of the two yong innocents, his owne naturall nephewes contrarie to his faith and promiſe, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agreed, nor condiſcended. O Lord, how my veynes panted, how my body trembled, and my heart inwardly grudged, in ſomuch, that I ſo abhorred the ſight, and muche more the companie of him, that I coulde no longer abide in his Courte, excepte I ſhould be openly reuenged. The ende whereof was doubtfull, and ſo I fayned a cauſe to depart, and with a merrie countenaunce and a deſpitefull heart, I tooke my leaue humbly of him, (he thinking nothing leſſe, than that I was diſpleaſed) and ſo returned to Brecknock to you.

But in that iourney as I returned, whether it were by the inſpiracion of the holy Ghoſt, or by Melancolous diſpoſition, I had diuers and ſundry imaginacions howe to depriue this vnnaturall vncle, and bloudy Butcher, from his royal ſeate, and princely dignitie. Firſte I fanteſyed, that if I liſt to take vppon me the Crowne, and imperiall Scepter of the Realme, nowe was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the way made playne, and the gate opened, and occaſion giuen, which now neglected, ſhoulde peraduenture neuer take ſuch effect and concluſion. For I ſaw he was diſdeyned of the Lordes temporall, execrate and accurſed of the Lordes Spirituall, deteſted of all Gentlemen, and deſpiſed of all the communaltie: ſo that I ſaw my chaunce as perfectly as I ſaw my own image in a glaſſe, that there was no perſon (if I had bin greedy to attempte the enterpriſe) coulde nor ſhoulde haue wonne the ring, or got the gole before mee. And on this poynt I reſted in imagination ſecretely with my ſelfe, two dayes at Tewkeſberie. And from thẽce ſo iourneying, I muſed and thought that it was not beſt nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conquerour, for then I knew that al mẽ and eſpecially the nobilitie, woulde with al their power withſtande me, both for reſcuyng of poſſeſſiõs, and tenoures, as alſo for ſubuerting of the whole eſtate, lawes, and cuſtomes of yͤ Realm: Such a power hath a conquerour as you know well inough my Lord. But at the laſt, in al this doubtfull caſe there ſprang a newe branche out of my head, which ſurely I thought ſhould haue broughte forthe faire floures, but the ſunne was ſo hote, that they turned to drie weedes, for I ſuddaynely remembred that Lorde Edmonde Duke of Somerſet my Grandfather, was with King Henrye the ſixte in the two and three degrees, from Iohn Duke of Lancaſter lawfully begotten: ſo that I thought ſure, my mother being eldeſt daughter to Duke Edmond, that I was nexte heire to King Henrye the ſixte of the houſe of Lancaſter. This title pleaſed well ſuche as I made priuie of my counſaile, but muche more it encouraged my foliſh deſire, and eleuated my ambicious intente, in ſomuche, that I cleerely iudged, and in mine owne minde was determinately reſolued, that I was indubitate heire of the houſe of Lancaſter, and therevppon concluded to make my firſte foundation, and erect my new buylding. But whether God ſo ordeyned, or by fortune it ſo chanced, while I was in a maze, other to conclude ſuddaynely on thys title, and to ſet it open amongſt the cõmon people, or to keepe it ſecret a while, ſee the chance: as I rode betwene Worceter and Bridgenorth, I encountred with the Lady Margaret, Counteſſe of Richmond, now wife to the Lorde Stanley, which is the very daughter and ſole heyre, to Lord Iohn Duke of Somerſet, my Grandfathers elder brother, whiche was as cleane out of my minde, as though I hadde neuer ſeene hir, ſo that ſhee and hir ſonne the Earle of Richmond, be both bulwarke and portecolice betwene mee and the gate, to enter into the maieſtie royal and getting of the Crowne.

And whẽ we had cõmuned a little concerning hir ſonne, as I ſhal ſhew you after, and were departed, ſhe to our Ladie of Worceſter, and I to Shrewſbury: I then new changed, and in maner amazed, began to diſpute with my ſelfe, little conſidering that thus my earneſt title was turned to a tittel not ſo good as Eſt Amen. Eftſones I imagined whether I were beſt to take vpon me, by the election of the nobilitie and communaltie, which me thought eaſie to be done, the vſurper king, thus being in hatred and abhorred of this whole realm, or to take it by power, which ſtandeth in fortunes chaunce, and difficile to bee atchieued and brought to paſſe. Thus tumbling and toſſing in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the ſtone and ſacrifice, I conſidered firſt the office, dutie, and payne of a King, whiche ſurely thynke, I that no mortall man can iuſtly and truly obſerue, except he be called, elected, & ſpecially appoynted by God as king Dauid, and dyuers other haue bin. But farther, I remembred that if I once toke on me the ſcepter, and the gouernaunce of the realme: That of two extreme enimies I was dayely ſure, but of one truſtye frend (which now a days be gone a pilgrimage) I was neither aſſured, nor credibly aſcertayned, (ſuche is the worldes mutation) for I manifeſtly perceiued, that the daughters of king Edward and their alyes, and frendes, whiche be no ſmall number, being both for his ſake muche beloued, and alſo for the greate iniurie and manifeſte tyrannie done to them by the newe vſurper, muche lamented and pitied, would neuer ceaſſe to barke if they can not byte at the one ſide of me. Semblably, my couſyn the Earle of Richmond, hys aydes and kinſfolke, whiche be not of little power, will ſurely attẽpt lyke a fierce grandhound, eyther to byte or to pierce mee on the other ſide. So that my lyfe and rule, ſhould euer hang by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death, or depoſition. And if the ſayde two lynages of Yorke and Lancaſtre, whiche ſo long haue ſtriued for the Imperiall diademe, ſhoulde ioyne in one againſte mee, then were I ſurely mated, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue cleerely determined, and with my ſelfe concluded, vtterly to relinquiſhe all ſuche fantaſticall imaginations, concerning the obteyning of the Crowne.

But all ſuche plagues, calamities & troubles (which I feared and ſuſpected) might haue chãced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this Realme, I ſhall with a reredemayne ſo make them rebound to our common enimie that calleth himſelfe King, that the beſt ſtopper that he hath at tenice, ſhall not well ſtoppe without a faulte: for as I tolde you before, the Counteſſe of Richmonde in my returne from the newe named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed mee firſte for kinred ſake, ſecondarily for the loue that I bare to my Grandfather Duke Hũfrey, which was ſworne brother to hir father, to moue the King to bee good to hir ſonne Henrye Earle of Richmond, and to licence him with hys fauour to returne agayne into England: and if it were his pleaſure ſo to doe, ſhee promiſed that the Earle hir ſonne ſhoulde marrie one of Kyng Edwardes daughters, at the appoyntmente of the King, without any thing to bee taken or demaunded for the ſayde eſpouſals, but onely the Kings fauoure, whiche requeſt I ſoone ouerpaſſed, and gaue hir faire wordes, and ſo departed. But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate ſtudie, and did circumſpectly ponder them, I fully adiudged, that the holy Ghoſt cauſed hir to moue a thing (the ende whereof ſhe could not conſider) both for the ſecuritie of the Realme, as alſo for the preferment of hir childe, and the deſtruction and finall confuſion of the common enimie King Richard. Whiche thing, ſhe neither then thought (I am ſure) as I by hir wordes coulde make coniecture, nor I my ſelfe caſt not hir deſire to be ſo profitable to the Realme, as I now doe perceyue, but ſuche a Lord is God, that with a little ſparkle, hee kyndleth a great fire, and ſo finally to declare to you the very cõcluſion, to the which I am both bent and ſet, my minde is, and my power and purſe ſhall help, that the Erle of Richmond, very heire of the houſe of Lancaſter (in the quarrell of the which linage, both my father and Graundfather loſt their lyues in battayle) ſhall take to wife Lady Elizabeth eldeſt daughter to King Edward, by the which marriage both the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter maye bee ioyned, and vnited in one, to the cleere ſtabliſhmente of the title to the Crowne of this noble Realme. To which concluſion, if the mothers of both parties, and eſpecially the Earle himſelfe, and the Lady will agree, I doubt not but the bragging Bore, which with his tuſkes rayſeth euery mans ſkinne, ſhall not only be brought to confuſion as he hath deſerued, but that this empire ſhall euer be certaine of an vndubitate heire, and then ſhall all ciuile and inteſtine warre ceaſe, whiche ſo long hathe continued to the paring of many mẽs crownes, and this Realme ſhall be reduced againe to quietneſſe, renoune and glory. This inuentiõ of the Duke manye menne thoughte after, that it was more imagined for the inwarde hatred that hee bare to King Richard, than for any fauour that he bare to the Earle of Richmond. But of ſuche doubtfull matter, it is not beſt to iudge for erring to farre from the minde and intent of the author: But whatſoeuer hee entended, this deuice once opened to King Richard was the very occaſion, that he was rounded ſhorter by the whole head, without attainder or iudgemente. When the Duke hadde ſaid, the Biſhop whiche fauoured euer the houſe of Lancaſter, was wonderous ioyfull, and muche reioyſed to heare this deuice, for nowe came the winde about euen as hee woulde haue it, for all his imaginacion tended to thys effect to haue King Richarde ſubdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and King Henry the ſixth agayne raiſed and aduaunced. But Lorde howe hee reioyced to thinke howe that by this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaſter ſhould be conioyned in one, to the very ſtedfaſtneſſe of the publique wealth of this Realme.

And leaſt the Dukes courage ſhoulde ſwage, or his mynde ſhould againe alter, as it did often before, as you may eaſily perceyue by his owne tale. He thought to ſet vp all the ſayles that hee hadde, to the intent that the ſhip of his pretenſed purpoſe, myghte come ſhortely to ſome ſure port: And ſayde to the duke, My Lorde, ſith by Gods prouiſion and youre incomparable wyſedome and policie, this noble coniunction is firſte moued, nowe is it conuenient, yea & neceſſary to conſider what perſonages, & what frends we ſhal firſt make priuie of this high deuice and politike cõcluſiõ. By my truth, quod the duke, we wil begin wͭ the ladie Richmõd, yͤ erles mother, which knoweth where he is, eyther in captiuitie, or at large in Britayn. For I heard ſay, yͭ the duke of Britayn reſtored him to libertie, immediatly after the death of king Edward, by whoſe meanes hee was reſtreyned. Sith you will begin that way (ſaid the Biſhop) I haue an old friend with the Counteſſe, a man ſober, ſecret, and well witted, called Reignold Bray, whoſe prudente policie I haue knowen to haue cõpaſſed thyngs of greate importance, for whome I ſhall ſecretly ſend, if it be your pleaſure, and I doubte not hee will gladly come and that with a good will. So with a little diligence, the Byſhop wrote a letter to Reignold Bray, requiring him to come to Brecknocke with ſpeede, for great and vrgent cauſes, touching his miſtreſſe: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the meſſenger rode into Lancaſhire, where Bray was with the Counteſſe, and Lord Thomas Stanley hir huſband, and deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he tooke it as a ſigne or preſage of ſome good fortune to come, and ſo with the meſſenger he came to the Caſtell of Brecknock, where the Duke and the Byſhop declared what thing was deuiſed, both for to ſet the realme in a quiet ſtedfaſtneſſe: as alſo for the high preferment of the Erle of Richmond, ſon to his Lady & miſtreſſe: willing hir firſte to compaſſe how to obteyne the good will of Q. Elizabeth, and alſo of hir eldeſt daughter bearing the ſame name: & after ſecretely to ſend to hir ſon into Britaine, to declare what high honor was prepared for him, if hee woulde ſweare to marrie the Lady Elizabeth aſſone as he was K. & in royall poſſeſſion of the Realme. Reignold Bray with a glad hearte, forgettyng nothing giuen to him in charge, in greate haſt & with good ſpede returned to yͤ counteſſe his Lady & miſtreſſe. Whē Bray was departed, & thys great doubtful veſſel once ſet abroche, yͤ Byſhop thirſting for nothing more thā for libertie: whē he ſaw yͤ D. pleaſant & wel minded toward him, he told yͤ Duke, that if hee were in his yle of Ely he could make many frīds to further their enterpriſe, & if he were there & had but foure dayes warning, he little regarded the malice of K. Richard, his countrey was ſo ſtrōg. The D. knew well al this to be true, but yet loth hee was that the B. ſhoulde departe, for he knew well, that as long as the B. was with him, he was ſure of politique aduiſe, ſage counſayle, and circumſpect proceeding. And ſo he gaue the B. faire wordes, ſaying, that hee ſhoulde ſhortly depart, and that wel accompanyed for feare of enimies. The B. being as wittie as the D. was wilie, did not tarie till the Dukes company were aſſembled, but ſecretly diſguiſed, in a night departed (to yͤ dukes great diſpleaſure) & came to his ſee of Ely, where he found mony and friends, & ſo ſailed into Flāders, where hee did the Earle of Richmond good ſeruice, and neuer returned agayne, till the Earle of Richmond after beeing K. ſente for him, and ſhortly promoted him to the ſea of Canterburye. Thus the B. wound himſelfe from the D. when he had moſt neede of his aide, for if he had taryed ſtil, the D. had not made ſo many blabbes of his counſaile, nor put ſo much cōfidēce in yͤ Welchmē, nor yet ſo temerariouſly ſet forward, without knowledge of his friendes as hee did, whyche things were his ſuddayne ouerthrowe, as they that knew it did report.

When Reignold Bray had declared his meſſage & priuie inſtruction to the coūteſſe of Richmond his miſtreſſe, no maruell though ſhe were ioyous and glad, both of the good newes and alſo for the obteining of ſuche a high friende in hir ſonnes cauſe as the D. was, wherefore ſhe willing not to ſlepe this matter, but to farther it to the vttermoſt of hir power and abilitie, deuiſed a meanes how to breake this matter to Q. Elizabeth then beeing in Sanctuarie at Weſt. And thereupon, ſhe hauing in hir family at that time for the preſeruatiō of hir health a certain Welſhman called Lewes, learned in phiſicke, which for his grauitie and experience, was well knowen, and much eſteemed amongſt great eſtates of the Realm: with whome ſhe vſed ſometime liberally & familiarly to talke, now hauing opportunitie and occaſion to breake hir minde vnto him of this weightye matter, declared that the time was come that hir ſonne ſhould be ioyned in mariage with Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heire to K. Edward, and that K. Richard being taken and reputed of all men for the common enimie of the Realme, ſhould out of all honoure and eſtate bee deiected, & of his rule & kingdome be cleerely ſpoiled and expulſed: and required him to goe to Q. Elizabeth (with whome in his facultie he was of counſaile) not as a meſſenger, but as one yͭ came friendly to viſite & conſolate hir, and as time and place ſhoulde require, to make hir priuie of thys deuiſe, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpoſe by him imagined. This phiſician did not long linger to accompliſh hir deſire, but with good diligence repaired to the Q. being ſtil in the ſanctuary at Weſt. And whē he ſaw time propice and conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſaid vnto hir: Madame, although my imaginatiō be very ſimple, & my deuice more foliſh, yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you & your childrē, I am ſo bold to vtter vnto you a ſecrete & priuie conceit yͭ I haue caſt & cōpaſſed in my fantaſtical braine. Whē I wel remēbred and no leſſe conſidered the greate loſſe & dammage that you haue ſuſteyned by the death of your noble and louing huſbande, & the great doloure and ſorow that you haue ſuffered and tollerated, by yͤ cruell murther of youre innocent children: I can no leſſe do both of boundē ductie and chriſtian charitie, than dayly to ſtudie, & hourely imagine, not only how to bring your heart to comfort and gladnes, but alſo deuiſe how to reuēge the righteous quarell of you & your children on that bloudy bloudſupper, and cruel tyrant K. Richard. And firſt cōſider, what battaile, what manſlaughter, what miſchief hath riſen in this Realme by the diſſention betweene the two noble houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter, which two families (as I haue contriued) if they may bee ioyned in one, I thinke, yea and doubte not, but youre line ſhalbe againe reſtored to the priſtinate eſtate and degree, to your great ioy and cōfort, and to yͤ vtter cōfuſion of your mortall enimie the vſurper K. You know very well Madame, yͭ of the houſe of Lancaſter, yͤ erle of Richmond is next of bloud, which is liuing, & a luſtie yōg batcheler, & to yͤ houſe of Yorke your daughters now are heires: if you could agree and inuēt the meane howe to couple youre eldeſt daughter with the yong erle of Richmond in matrimonie, no doubt but the vſurper of the Realme ſhoulde be ſhortly depoſed, and your heire againe to hir right reſtored.

When the Queene had hearde this friendely motion (which was as farre from hir thought, as the man that the rude people ſay is in yͤ Mone) lord how hir ſpirites reuiued, and how hir hearte lept in hir body for ioy and gladneſſe, and fyrſte giuing lawde to Almightie GOD, as the chiefe author of hyr comfort, ſecondarily to maſter Lewes, as the deuiſer of the good newes and tydyngs, inſtantely beſought hym, that as hee hadde bin the fyrſte inuenter of ſo good an enterpriſe, that nowe hee woulde not relinquiſhe nor deſiſt to follow the ſame: requiring hym farther (bycauſe he was apperteyning to the Counteſſe of Richmonde mother to the Earle Henry) that he would with all diligente celeritie reſort to hir, then lodging in hir huſbandes place, within the Citie of London, and to declare on the Queenes behalfe to the Counteſſe, that all the friends and fautors of King Edwarde hir huſband, ſhoulde aſſiſt and take parte with the Earle of Richemond hir ſonne, ſo that he would take a corporall othe after the Kingdome obteined, to eſpouſe and take to wife the Lady Elizabeth hir daughter, or elſe Lady Cecyle, if the eldeſt daughter were not then liuing.

Maiſter Lewes with all dexteritie ſo ſped his buſineſſe, that he made and concluded a final end and determination of this enterpriſe, betweene the two mothers, and bycauſe he was a Phiſition, and out of all ſuſpicion, and miſdeeming, hee was the common currer and dayly meſſenger betweene them, ayding and ſetting forth the inuented conſpiracie againſt King Richarde. So the Lady Margaret Counteſſe of Richmonde, broughte into a good hope of the preferment of hir ſonne, made Reignold Bray hir moſt faithfull ſeruaunt, chiefe ſolliciter and priuie procurer of this conſpiracie, giuing him in charge ſecretely to enuegle and attract ſuch perſons of nobilitie to ioyne with hir & take hir part, as he knewe to be ingenious, faithfull, diligent, and of actiuitie. This Reignold Bray within few dayes, brought vnto his lure, (firſte of all taking of euery perſon a ſolemne othe, to be true and ſecret) ſir Giles Daubeney, ſir John Cheyney Knight, Richard Guylford and Thomas Rame Eſquiers, and diuers other. The Counteſſe of Richemond was not ſo diligente for hir parte, but Q. Elizabeth was as vigilant on the other ſide, and made friends, and appoynted Counſellors to ſet forward and aduaunce hir buſineſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Counteſſe of Richmonde tooke into hir ſeruice Chriſtopher Urſwike, an honeſt and a wiſe Prieſte, and after an othe of him for to bee ſecrete taken and ſworne, ſhe vttered to him all hir minde and counſayle, adhibiting to hym the more confidence and truth that hee all his life had fauoured and taken parte with King Henrye the ſixte, and as a ſpeciall iewell put to hir ſeruice by Sir Lewes hir Phiſition. So the mother ſtudious for the proſperitie of hir ſonne, appoynted this Chriſtopher Urſwike to ſayle into Britaine to the Earle of Richmonde, and to declare and to reueale to him all pactes and agreements betweene hir and the Queene agreed and concluded: but ſuddaynely, ſhee remembring that the Duke of Buckingham was one of the firſte inuentors, and a ſecret founder of thys enterpriſe, determined to ſend ſome perſonage of more eſtimation than hir Chaplayne, and ſo elected for a meſſenger Hugh Conwey Eſquier, and ſente him into Britaine with a greate ſumme of money to hir ſonne, gyuing him in charge, to declare to the Earle the greate loue and eſpeciall fauoure that the moſt part of the nobilitie of the Realme bare towarde him, the louing heartes and beneuolent mindes whiche the whole commonaltie of theyr owne free will frankely offered and liberally exhibited to him, willing and aduiſing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion apparantly offered, but with all ſpeede and diligence to addict and ſettle his mind and ful intētion how to returne home againe into Englād, where hee was both wiſhed and looked for, gyuing him farther monicion and councell to take land and arriuall in the principalitie of Wales, where he ſhould not doubt to finde both aid, cōfort, & friēds. Richard Guilford leaſt Hugh Cōwey mighte fortune to bee taken or ſtopped at Plimmouth, where he intēded to take his nauigatiō, ſent out of Kent Tho. Rame with yͤ ſame inſtructions: & both made ſuch diligence, and had ſuch wind & weather, yͭ one by land frō Calais, & the other by water from Plimmouth, yͭ within leſſe than an houre, both arriued in yͤ D. of Britaines court, & ſpake with the Erle of Richmōd, which frō the death of K. Edward, went at hys pleaſure and libertie, & to him counted & manifeſted yͤ cauſe & effect of their meſſage and ambaſſade. When yͤ Erle had receiued this ioyful meſſage, whiche was the more pleaſaunt, bycauſe it was vnloked for, he rendred to Jeſu his ſauioure his moſt humble & harty thākes, being in firme credence & beliefe yͭ ſuch things as he with buſie mind & laborious intent had wiſhed and deſired, coulde neuer haue taken any effect, without the help & preferment of almightie God. And nowe being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate and breake to the D. of Britaine all his ſecretes, and priuie meſſages, which were to him declared, aduertiſing him that he was entered into a ſure and ſtedfaſt hope, to obteyne, and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England, deſiring him both of his good wyll and friendly helpe toward the atchieuing of hys offered enterpriſe, promiſing him when he came to his intended purpoſe, to render to him againe equall kindneſſe and condigne recompence.

Although the Duke of Brytaine before that day by Thomas Hutton Ambaſſador from king Richard, had both by money and prayers beene ſolicited and moued to put again into ſafe cuſtodie the Erle of Richmonde, he neuertheleſſe promiſed faythfully to ayde him, and his promiſe he truely performed.

1485 Aug. 3.

Whervpon the Earle with all diligence ſent into England again Hugh Conway, and Thomas Rame, whiche ſhould declare his comming ſhortly into England, to the intent that al things which by counſaile might be for his purpoſe prouided, ſhould be ſpeedily and diligently done, and that all things doubtfull ſhould of his friends bee prudently foreſeene, in auoyding all engines and ſnares which king Richarde had or might ſet in diſturbance of his purpoſe: and hee in the meane ſeaſon woulde make his abode ſtill in Brytaine, till all things neceſſarie for his iourney were prepared and brought in a readineſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon, the chieftaines of the coniuration in Englande, began togither many enterpriſes: Some in conuenient fortreſſes put ſtrong garniſons: ſome kept armed men priuily, to the intente that when they ſhoulde haue knowledge of the Earles landing, they woulde beginne to ſtyrre vppe the warre: Other did ſecretly moue and ſolicite the people to riſe and make an inſurrection: Other (amongſt whome John Morton Biſhop of Elie then being in Flāders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked meſſengers, did ſtirre and moue to this new coniuration, al ſuch which they certainly knew to haue a roted hatred, or to beare a cākred malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterpriſe were neuer ſo priuily handled, and ſo ſecretly amongſt ſo circumſpect perſons treated, compaſſed and conueyed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the ſodaine chaunce was not a little moued and aſtonied. Firſt bycauſe he had no hoſt readie prepared, ſecondly, if he ſhoulde raiſe an army ſo ſodainlye, hee knewe not were to meete his enimies, or whither to go, or where to tary. Wherfore he determined to diſſemble the matter, as though hee knew nothing, till hee had aſſembled his hoſte, and in the meane ſeaſon eyther by ẏ rumor of the cōmon people, or by the diligence of his eſpials to ſearch out all the counſailes, determinations, entents and compaſſes of his cloſe aduerſaries, or elſe by policie to intercept and take ſome perſon of the ſame coniuration, conſidering that there is no more ſecrete nor hid eſpiall, than that which lurketh in diſſimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and ſhadowe of counterfeyte humanitie and feyned kindneſſe. And bycauſe hee knewe the Duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe heade and ayde of the coniuration, he thought it moſte neceſſarie to plucke him from that parte, eyther by fayre promiſes, or open warre.

The duke of Buckingham conſpireth agaynſt King Richard.

Whervpon he addreſſed his louing letters to the Duke, full of gentle wordes, and moſt friendly ſpeech, giuing further in charge to the meſſenger that caried the letter, to promiſe the duke on his behalfe, golden hilles, and ſiluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleaſaunt meanes to perſwade and exhorte the Duke to come to the Court.

But the Duke as wily as the King, miſtruſting the fayre flattering wordes, and the gaye promiſes to him ſo ſodainly without any cauſe offred, knowing the craftie caſtes of K. Richards bow, which in diuerſe affayres before time he had ſeene practiſed, required the king to pardon hym, excuſing himſelfe that hee was ſo diſeaſed in hys ſtomacke, that ſkant he could eyther take refection or reſt.

King Richarde not being content with thys excuſe, would in no wiſe admit the ſame, but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rogher and hawtier ſort, not without taunting and byting tearmes, and checking wordes, commaunding him (all excuſes ſet apart) to repayre wythoute any delaye to hys royall preſence.

The duke made to the meſſenger a determinate anſwere, that hee woulde not come to hys mortall enimie, whom hee neither loued, nor fauoured: and immediately prepared open warre againſt him, and perſwaded al his complices and partakers, that euerie man ſhould in his quarter with all diligence rayſe vp the people and make a commotion. And by this meanes almoſt in one moment Thomas Marques Dorſet came oute of Sanctuarie, where hee ſithe the beginning of King Richards dayes had continued, whoſe life by the onely helpe of ſir Thomas Louell, was preſerued from all danger and perill in this troublous worlde, gathered togither a great bande of men in Yorkeſhire.

Sir Edward Courtney, and Peter his brother Biſhop of Exeter, rayſed an other army in Deuonſhire & Cornwall. In Kent Richard Guilford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of ſouldiers, and openly began warre. But king Richard which in the meane time had gotte togither a great ſtrength and puiſſance, thinking it not moſt for his part beneficiall to diſperſe and deuide his greate armye into ſmall braunches, and particularly to perſecute any one of the coniuration by himſelfe, determined all other things being ſet aſide, with his whole puiſſaunce to ſette on the chiefe head, which was the Duke of Buckingham. And ſo remouing from London, hee tooke his iourney toward Saliſburie, to the entent that in his iourney hee myght ſet on the Dukes armie, if he might knowe him in any place encamped or in order of battaile arrayed. The king was ſcarce two dayes iourney from Saliſburie, when the Duke of Buckingham accompanied wyth a great power of wilde Welchmen, whom hee beeing a man of greate courage and ſharpe ſpeeche, in maner againſt theyr willes had rather therto inforced and compelled by Lordly and ſtrayte commaundement, than by liberall wages and gentle reteynour, whiche thing was the verie occaſion why they left him deſolate, and cowardly forſooke him.

The Duke wyth all his power marched throwe the Foreſt of Deane, intending to haue paſſed the riuer Seuerne at Glouceſter, and there to haue ioined his armie with the Courtneis, and other Weſterne men of his confederacie and affinitie, which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had beene in great ieopardie, eyther of priuation of his Realme, or loſſe of his life, or both. But ſee the chaunce, before hee coulde attaine to Seuerne ſide, by force of continuall rayne and moyſture, the riuer roſe ſo high that it ouerflowed all the Countrey adioyning, inſomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houſes with the extreme violence were ouerturned, children were caryed about the fieldes ſwimming in Cradels, beaſtes were drowned on hilles, whiche rage of water laſted continually tenne dayes, inſomuch that in the Coũtrey adioyning they call it to this day the great water, or the Duke of Buckinghãs great water. By this floud the paſſages were ſo cloſed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to him: during the which time, the Welchmen lingring ydlely, and without money, vytaile, or wages, ſodainly ſcattered and departed: and for all the Dukes fayre promiſes, threatnings, and enforcements, they woulde in no wiſe neither go further nor abyde. The Duke being thus left almoſt poſt alone, was of neceſſitie compelled to flie, and in his flight was with this ſodaine fortune maruellouſly diſmayde: and beeing vnpurueyed what counſaile he ſhould take, and what way he ſhuld follow, like a man in diſpayre, not knowing what to doe, of verie truſte and confidence conueyed himſelfe into the houſe of Humfrey Banaſter his ſeruant beſide Shrewſbury, whom he had tenderly brought vp, and whom he aboue al men loued, fauored, and truſted, now not doubting but that in his extreme neceſſitie he ſhould find him faythfull, ſecrete, and truſtie, intending there couertly to lurke, till either he might rayſe againe a new army, or elſe ſhortly to ſayle into Brytaine to the Erle of Richmond.

The great water.

But when it was knowne to his adherents, which were readie to giue battaile, that his hoſt was ſcattered, and had left him almoſt alone, and was fled, and could not be founde, they were ſodainly amaſed and ſtryken with a ſodaine feare, that euery man like perſons deſperate ſhifted for himſelfe and fled; ſome went to Sanctuarie, and to ſolitarie places, ſome fled by Sea, whereof the moſt part within a few dayes after arriued ſafely in the Duchie of Brytaine. Among which nũber were theſe perſons, Peter Courtney Biſhop of Exceter, & ſir Edmond Courtney his brother, by king Henrie the ſeuenth after created Earle of Deuonſh. Thomas Marques Dorſet, Iohn lord Wells, ſir Iohn Bourchier, ſir Edward Wooduile, a valiant man in armes, brother to Queene Elizabeth, ſir Robert Willoughbie, ſir Gyles Daubeney, ſir Thomas Arũdel, ſir Iohn Cheyney and his two brethren, ſir William Barkeley, ſir William Brandon, and Thomas hys brother, ſir Richarde Edgecombe: all theſe for the moſte parte beeing Knightes; Iohn Halwell, and Edwarde Ponings, a politike captaine.

At this verie ſeaſon, Iohn Morton Biſhop of Ely, and Chriſtofer Vrſwike prieſt, and another companie of noble men ſoiourned in Flaunders, and by letters and meſſengers procured many enimies agaynſt king Richarde, which vſing a vigilant eye, and a quicke remembrance, being newly come to Saliſburie, hauing perfite notice and knowledge how the duke was fled, and how his complices intended to paſſe out of the realme. Firſt he ſent men of warre to all the next portes and paſſages, to keepe ſtraytly the Sea coaſt, ſo that no perſon ſhould paſſe outwarde, nor take lande within the realme without their aſſent and knowledge. Secondarily he made proclamation, that what perſon could ſhewe and reueale where the Duke of Buckingham was, ſhoulde be highly rewarded, if he were a bondman, he ſhoulde be enfranchiſed and ſet at libertie, if he were of free bloud, he ſhould haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thouſand poundes.

Furthermore, bycauſe he vnderſtood by Thomas Huttõ, which (as you haue herd) was newly returned out of Brytaine, that Frances Duke of Britain, not onely refuſed to keepe the Erle of Richmond as a priſoner, at his contemplation, and for his ſake, but alſo that he was readie to aid and ſuccour the ſayde Earle, with men, money, and all things neceſſarie for his tranſporting into England: he therefore rigged & ſent out ſhips of warre, well furniſhed and decked wyth men and artyllerie, to ſcoure and kepe that parte of the ſea that lyeth ouer agaynſt Brytayne, to the entente that if the Earle of Richmonde woulde aduenture to ſayle towarde Englande, either he ſhoulde be taken captiue, or be beaten and driuen from the coaſt of England.

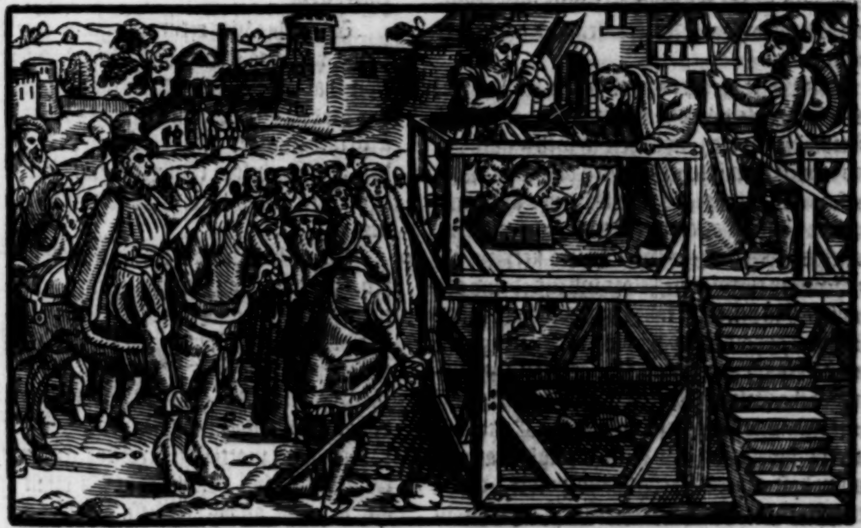
And moreouer, to the entent that euery coaſt, way, paſſage, and corner, ſhoulde bee diligently watched and kept, he ſet at euery doubtfull and ſuſpected place men of warre, to ſeeke, ſearch, and inquire, if anye creature coulde tell tydings of the Duke of Buckingham, or of any of his confederation, adherentes, fautours or partakers.

frey Ba- ter ſeruant the Duke Bucking- betrayed maiſter.

While this buſie ſearche was diligently applyed and put in execution, Humfrey Banaſter (were it more for feare of lyfe and loſſe of goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious deſire of the thouſande poundes) hee bewrayed hys gueſt and maiſter to John Mitton then Sherife of Shropſhire, which ſodainly with a ſtrong power of men in harneſſe apprehended the Duke in a little groue adioyning to the manſion of Humfrey Banaſter, and in greate haſte and euyll ſpeede, conueyed hym apparayled in a pylled blacke Cloake to the towne of Shrewſburie, where King Rycharde then kepte hys houſeholde.

Whether this Banaſter bewrayed the duke more for feare than couetous, many menne doe doubt: but ſure it is, that ſhortly after he had betrayed the Duke his maiſter, his ſonne and heyre waxed mad, and ſo died in a Bores ſtie, his eldeſt daughter of excellent beautie, was ſodainly ſtrycken with a foule leaprie, his ſecond ſonne maruelouſly deformed of his limmes, and made lame, his yonger ſonne in a ſmall puddle was ſtrangled and drowned, and he being of extreeme age, arraigned, and found guiltie of a murther, and by his cleargie ſaued. And as for his thouſand pound king Richard gaue him not one farthing, ſaying that he which would be vntrue to ſo good a maiſter, would be falſe to all other: howbeit ſome ſay that hee had a ſmall office or a farme to ſtop hys mouth withall. The duke being by certaine of the kings counſaile diligently vpon interrogatories examined what things hee knewe preiudiciall to the Kings perſon, opened and declared frankly, & freely all the coniuration wythout diſſembling or gloſing, truſting bycauſe hee had trulye and plainely reuealed and confeſſed all things that were of him requyred, that he ſhould haue licence to ſpeake to the king, whiche (whether it were to ſue for pardon and grace, or whether hee beeing brought to hys preſence, woulde haue ſtycked him with a dagger as men then iudged) hee ſore deſired and required. But when he had confeſſed the whole fact and conſpiracie, vpon Allſoulne day without arraignment or iudgement, hee was at Saliſburie in the open market place, on a newe ſcaffold behedded and put to death.

The Duke of Buckingham beheaded.



This death (as a reward) the Duke of Buckingham receyued at the hands of king Richard, whom he before in his affayres, purpoſes and enterpriſes, had holpen, ſuſteyned and ſet forwarde, aboue all Gods forbode.

By this all men may eaſily perceyue, that hee not onely loſeth both his labor, trauaile, and induſtrie, and further ſteyneth and ſpotteth his line with a perpetuall ignominie & reproche, which in euill and miſchiefe aſſyſteth and aydeth an euill diſpoſed perſon, conſidering for the moſte part, that hee for his friendly fauour ſhoulde receyue ſome great diſpleaſure or importunate chaunce. Beſide that, God of his iuſtice in concluſion appoynteth to him a condigne paine and affliction for his merits and deſerts.

Whyle theſe things were thus handled and ordred in England, Henrie Earle of Richmonde prepared

prepared an army of fiue thouſand manly Brytonnes, and fortie well furniſhed ſhips.

When all things were prepared in a readineſſe, and the day of departing & ſetting forwarde was appoynted, whiche was the .xij. day of the Moneth of October, the whole armie went on ſhipbourd, and halſed vp their ſayles, and wyth a proſperous wind tooke the ſea: but toward night the wind chaunged, and the weather turned, and ſo huge and terrible a tempeſt ſo ſodainly aroſe, that with the verie power and ſtrength of the ſtorme, the ſhips were diſparcled, ſeuered and ſeparate a ſunder: ſome by force were driuen into Normandie, ſome were compelled to returne againe into Brytaine. The ſhip wherein the erle of Richmond was, aſſociate onely with one other Barke, was all night toſſed and turmoyled.

In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempeſt was aſſwaged, and the yre of the bluſtring winde was ſome deale appeaſed, about the houre of noone the ſame day, the Erle approched to the South part of the realm of England, euen at the mouth of the Hauen of Pole, in the Countie of Dorcet, where he might plainly perceyue all the Sea bankes and ſhores, garniſhed and furniſhed with men of warre and ſouldiers, appoynted and deputed there to defende hys arriual and landing (as before is mentioned.) Wherfore he gaue ſtraight charge, and ſore commaundemẽt, that no perſon ſhuld once preſume to take lande, and goe to the Shore, vntill ſuche tyme as the whole Nauie were aſſembled and come togither.

And while hee taryed and lyngered, hee ſent out a Shipbote towarde the lande ſide, to knowe whether they which ſtood there in ſuch a number, and ſo well furniſhed in apparell defenſiue, were his foes and enimies, or elſe his friends and comforters. They that were ſent to enquire, were inſtantly deſired of the men of warre keeping the coaſt (which therof were before inſtructed and admoniſhed) to diſcend & take lande, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to awayt and tarie for the arriuall and landing of the Erle of Richmonde, and to conduct him ſafely into the campe, where the Duke not farre of laye incamped with a mightie armie, and an hoſt of great ſtrength and power, to the intent that the Duke and the Earle ioyning in puiſſaunces and forces togither, might proſecute and chaſe King Richarde being deſtitute of men, and in maner deſperate, and ſo by that meanes, and their owne labors, to obteyne the end of their enterprice which they had before begon.

The Earle of Richmonde ſuſpecting theyr flattering requeſt to be but a fraude (as it was in deede) after hee perceyued none of his ſhippes to appeare in ſight, hee weyed vp his Ancors, halſed vp his ſayles, and hauing a proſperous and ſtreynable winde, and a freſhe gale ſent euen by God to delyuer him from that perill and ieopardie, arriued ſafe and in all ſecuritie in the Duchie of Normandy, where he to refreſh and ſolace hys ſouldiers and people, tooke his recreation by the ſpace of three dayes, and clearely determined with part of his companie to paſſe all by lande againe into Brytaine. And in the meane ſeaſon he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Frenche king, called Charles the eight, which newly ſucceded his father king Lewes the eleuenth, not long before departed to God, requiring of him a ſafeconduct & licence to paſſe through his country of Normandie into Brytaine.

The yong King hauing compaſſion of the miſfortune of the Earle of Richmond, not onely gently graunted and aſſigned to him a paſport, but alſo liberally diſburſed to him a great ſumme of money for his conduct and expences neceſſarie in his long iourney and paſſage. But the Erle truſting in the French kings humanitie, aduentured to ſende his ſhippes home into Brytaine, and to ſet forward himſelf by land on his iorney, making no great haſt til his meſſengers were returned, which being with that benefit ſo comforted, and with hope of proſperous ſucceſſe ſo encoraged, marched towarde Brytayne, wyth all dyligence entending there to conſult further with his louers and friendes of his affayres and enterprices.

When hee was returned againe into Brytayne, hee was certifyed by credible information that the Duke of Buckingham had loſte hys heade, and that the Marques Dorcet, and a greate number of Noble men of Englande, had a lyttle before enquyred and ſearched for hym there, and were nowe returned to Vannes.

When he had heard theſe newes thus reported, he firſt ſorrowed and lamented his firſt attempt and ſetting forwarde of his friendes, and in eſpecial of the Nobilitie, not to haue more fortunately ſucceeded. Secondarily, he reioyced on the other part, that God had ſent him ſo manye valiant and prudent Captaynes to bee his companiõs in his martiall enterpriſes, truſting ſurelye and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his buſineſſe ſhoulde bee wiſely compaſſed, and brought to a good concluſion. Wherefore he determining with all diligence to ſet forwarde his new begon buſineſſe, departed to Renes, and ſent certain of his priuie ſeruitors to conduct and bring the Marques and other noble men to his preſence.

When they knew that hee was ſafe returned into Brytayne, Lorde howe they reioyced, for before that tyme they miſſed him, and knewe not in what part of the worlde to make inquirie or ſearch for him.

For they doubted and no leſſe feared leaſt he had taken lande in Englande, and fallen in [illegible] the handes of King Richarde, in whoſe perſon they knew well was neyther mercie nor compaſſion. Wherefore in all ſpedie maner they galoped toward him, & him reuerendly ſaluted, which meeting after great ioy and ſolace, and no ſmal thankes giuen and rendred on both partes, they aduiſedly debated and commoned of their great buſineſſe and weightie enterpriſe, in the which ſeaſon the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt happened, on which day all the Engliſh Lordes went with their ſolemnitie to the chiefe Churche of the Citie, and there eche gaue fayth and :promiſe to other.

The Erle himſelfe firſt tooke a corporall othe on his honour, promiſing that incontinent after he ſhoulde be poſſeſſed of the Crowne and dignitie of the Realme of Englande, he would be conioyned in matrimonie with the Ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edwarde the fourth. Then all the companie ſware to him fealtie, and did to him homage as though he had beene that tyme the crowned king, and annoynted Prince, promiſing faythfully, and firmly aſſuring, that they would not onely leaſe theyr worldly ſubſtaunce, but alſo be deprited of their lyues and worldly felicitie, rather than to ſuffer king Richarde that tyraunt longer to rule and raigne ouer them. Which ſolemne othes made and taken, the Earle of Richmonde declared and communicated all theſe doings to Fraunces Duke of Brytayne, deſyring and moſt heartily requiring him to ayd him with a greater armie to conduct him into his Countrey, whiche ſo ſore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and comunaltie called and deſired, (which with Gods ayde, and the Dukes comfort) he doubted not in ſhort time to obtaine, requiring him farther to preſt to him a conuenient ſum of mony, affyrmingthat all ſuch ſummes of money whiche hee had receyued of his eſpeciall friends, were ſpent and conſumed in preparation of his laſte iourney made towarde Englande, which ſummes of money after his enterpriſe once atchieued, he in the worde of a Prince, faythfully promiſed to repay and reſtore againe. The Duke promiſed hym ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof hee rigged his ſhippes, and ſette forth hys Nauye well decked with ordinance, and warlikely furniſhed wyth all things neceſſarie, to the intent to ſaile forward ſhortly, and to loſe no time.

In the meane ſeaſon, king Richard apprehended in diuerſe partes of the realme certain gentlemen of the Erle of Richmonds faction, and confederation, whiche eyther intended to ſayle into Brytayne towarde him, or elſe at his landing to aſſyſt and ayde him. Amongſt whom ſir George Browne, ſir Roger Clifforde, and foure other were put to execution at London, and ſir Thomas Sentliger which had maried the Duches of Exceter the kings owne ſiſter, & Thomas Ram, and dyuerſe other were executed at Exceter. Beſide theſe perſons, diuerſe of his houſhold ſeruants whō either he ſuſpected, or doubted, were by great crueltie put to ſhamefull death.

After this, he called a Parliament, in the which he attaynted the Erle of Richmond and all other perſons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or any other cauſe, as enimies to him, and to their naturall Countrey, and all their landes, goods, and poſſeſſions, were confiſcate and ſeaſed to the kings vſe. And yet not content with thys pray, whiche no doubt was of no ſmall valour and moment, hee layde on the peoples neckes a great tax and tallage, and ſurely neceſſitie to that acte in maner him compelled. For what wyth purging and declaring his innocencie concerning the murther of his Nephewes toward the world, and what with coſt to obteyne the loue and fauour of the comunaltie (which outwardly gloſed, and openly diſſembled with him) he gaue prodigally ſo many & ſo great rewards, that now both he lacked, & ſcarce wiſt honeſtly how to borow.

The Erle of Richemond attaynted in Parlament.

In this troublous ſeaſon, nothing was more maruelled at, thā that the Lord Stanley had not bene taken, and reputed as an enimie to the King, conſidering the working of the Ladie Margaret his wife, mother to the Earle of Richmond: but foraſmuch as the enterpriſe of a woman was of him reputed of no regard or eſtimation, and that the Lord Thomas hir huſband had purged himſelf ſufficiently to be innocent of all doings and attempts by hir perpetrated & cōmitted, it was giuen him in charge to kepe hir in ſome ſecrete place at home, without hauing any ſeruant or companie, ſo that from thenceforth ſhe ſhuld neuer ſend letter or meſſenger vnto hir ſon, nor any of his friends or cōfederates, by the which the king might be moleſted or troubled, or anye hurt or preiudice might bee attempted agaynſte his realme and comunaltie. Which commaundemēt was a while put in execution and accompliſhed according to his dreadfull commaundement. Yet the wilde worme of vengeance wauering in his heade, coulde not bee content wyth the death of dyuerſe gentlemen ſuſpected of treaſon, but alſo he muſt extende his bloudy furie agaynſt a poore gentlemā called Collingborne, for making a ſmall rime of three of his vnfortunate counſaylers, which were the Lord Louell, ſir Richard Ratcliffe his miſchieuous Minion, and ſir Williā Cateſby his ſecrete ſeducer, which meetre or ryme was thus.

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our Dogge,
Rule all England vnder an Hogge.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadful wild Bore, which was the kings cogniſance, but becauſe the firſt line ended in dogge, the Metrician could not obſeruing the regiments of metre, end the ſeconde verſe in Bore, but called the Bore an hog. This Poeticall ſcholemaiſter corrector of Breeues and Longs, cauſed Collingborne to bee abbreuiate ſhorter by the head, and to be deuided into foure quarters.

Collingburne executed.

Collingborns inditement

Here is to be noted, that beſide the rime which is reported by ſome to be the only cauſe for which this gentleman ſuffred, I finde in a regyſter booke of Inditements concerning felonyes and treaſons by ſundrie perſons committed, that the ſayde Collingborne by the name of Wilyam Collyngborne late of Lidyarde in the Countie of Wiltſhire eſquier and other his aſſociates were indited in London for that that they about the tenth day of Julie, in this ſecond yeare of King Richardes raigne in the Pariſhe of Saint Botulphes in Portſoken warde had ſolicited and requeſted one Thomas Yate, offring to him for his paynes eyght pounde, to goe ouer into Brytayne vnto Henrie Erle of Richmond, Thomas Marques Dorſet, John Cheyney Eſquier, and others (whiche in the laſt Parliament holden at Weſtminſter had beene attainted of ſundrie high treaſons by them practiſed wythin the kings dominion) to declare vnto them that they ſhoulde doe verie well to returne into Englande with all ſuch power as they might get before the feaſt of Saint Luke the Euangeliſt next enſuing, for ſo they might receyue all the whole reuenues of the realme due at the feaſt of Saint Michaell nexte before the ſayde feaſt of Saint Luke, and that if the ſayde Earle of Richmonde and his partakers, following the counſaile of the ſayde Collingborne, would arriue at the hauen of Pole in Dorcetſhire, he the ſayd Collingborne and other his aſſociates, woulde cauſe the people to riſe in armes, and to leuie warre agaynſt king Richarde, taking part wyth the ſayde Earle and his friendes, ſo that all things ſhoulde be at theyr commaundements.

Moreouer, to moue the ſayde Earle to ſende the ſayde John Cheyney vnto the French King, to aduertiſe him that his Imbaſſadours ſent into England ſhould be dallyed with, only to driue of the time till the winter ſeaſon were paſt, and that then in the beginning of Sommer king Richarde ment to make warre into Fraunce inuading that realme with all his puiſſance, and ſo by this meanes to perſwade the French king to ayd the Erle of Richmonde & his partakers in their quarell againſt king Richard. Further that the ſayd William Collingborne beeing confederate with the ſayd Erle & other his adherents, aſwell within the Realme as without, the. xviij. day of Ju[illegible], in the ſaid ſecond yeare, within the Pariſhe of S. Gregories in Faringdon ward within, had deuiſed certaine bylles and wrytings in ryme, to the ende that the ſame beeing publiſhed, myght ſtirre the people to a commotion againſt the king and thoſe billes and writings in rime ſo deuiſed & written, the ſame Collingborne the day and yere laſt mentioned, had faſtened and ſet vppon dyuerſe dores of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, for the more ſpeedie furthering of hys intended purpoſe. Thus farre the Inditement. But whether he was guiltie in part or in all, I haue not to ſay.

King Richard being thus diſquieted in mind, and doubtfull for the ſuretie of his owne eſtate, called to remembraunce that confederations, honeſt bandes, and pactes of amitie concluded and had betwixt Princes and gouernours, are the efficient cauſe that Realmes and common wealthes are ſtrengthned with double power, that is with ayde of friendes abroade, and their owne forces at home. Whereupon he deuiſed howe to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the King of Scottes, who not long before had made diuerſe incurſions and roades into the Realme of Englande. And although he had not much gotten, yet verily hee loſt not much, and nowe euen as King Richard could haue wiſhed he of himſelfe made ſuyte for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richarde, who wyllingly giuing eare to that ſuyte, Commiſſioners were appoynted to meet aboute the treatie thereof, as in the Hiſtorie of Scotlande it maye appeare, at length agreed vpon a truce for three yeares, and withall for a further encreaſe of fyrme frindſhippe and ſure amitie (betwixt hym and the King of Scottes) King Richarde entered into a treatie alſo of alliaunce for the concluding of a maryage betwyxt the Duke of Rotheſay, eldeſt ſonne to the King of Scottes, and the Ladie Anne de la Poole daughter to John Duke of Suffolke and the Duches Anne, Siſter to King Richarde, whiche Siſter hee ſo muche fauoured, that ſtudying by all wayes and meanes poſſible howe to aduaunce hir lynage, hee did not onely thus ſeeke to preferre hir daughter in maryage, but alſo after the death of hys ſonne, hee proclaymed John Earle of Lyncolne hir ſonne and hys Nephewe, heyre apparant to the Crowne of Englande, diſinheriting King Edwards daughters, whoſe brethren (as yee haue heard) hee moſte wickedly had cauſed to be murthered and made away.

Pag. 404. 40

a truce betw
England and
Scotland.

The King of Scottes ſtanding in neede of friendes, althoughe not ſo greatlye as King Richarde did willyngly conſent to that motion of maryage, fyrſt broched by King Richarde, inſomuche that it tooke effect, and by Commiſſioners was paſſed and concluded, in maner as in the hyſtorie of Scotlande it likewyſe appeareth.

A mariage concluded betwixt the Prince of Roth ſay and Duke of Suffolkes daughter.

But albeit that by this league and amitie thus couenanted and concluded, it mighte bee thought, that all conſpiracies, coniurations, and confederacies agaynſt King Richarde had beene extinct, eſpecially conſidering the Duke of Buckingham and his allyes were diſpatched oute of the way, ſome by death, and ſome by flight and baniſhment into farre Countreys, yet King Richarde more doubting than truſting to his owne people and friendes, was continually vexed and troubled in mynde for feare of the Earle of Richmondes returne, which dayly dreade and hourely agonie, cauſed him to liue in dolefull miſerie, euer vnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie.

Wherefore he intending to be relieued and to haue an ende of all his doubtfull daungers, determined clearely to extyrpate and plucke vp by the rootes all the matter and grounde of his feare and doubtes.

Wherefore after long and deliberate conſultation had, nothing was for his purpoſe and intent thought eyther more neceſſarie or expedient than once againe with price, prayer, and rewardes, to attempt the Duke of Brytayne, in whoſe territorie the Earle of Richmonde then abode, to delyuer the ſayde Earle into his handes, by which onely meanes he ſhoulde be diſcharged of all feare of perill, and brought to reſt and quietneſſe both of bodie and mynde. Wherefore incontinent he ſent certayne Imbaſſadours to the Duke of Brytayne, whiche tooke vpon them, (beſyde the greate and ample rewardes that they brought wyth them into Brytayne) that king Richarde ſhoulde yearely pay and aunſwere the Duke of all the reuenues, rentes, and profites of the ſeigniories, landes, and poſſeſſions, as well belonging and apperteyning to the Earle of Richmonde, as to any other Noble or Gentleman, which then were in the Earles companie, if hee after that tyme woulde keepe them in continuall pryſon, and reſtrayne them from lybertie.

The Imbaſſadors furniſhed with theſe and other inſtructions, arryued in Brytain, and came to the Dukes houſe, where with him they coulde haue no matter of communication concernyng their weightie affayres, by reaſon that hee beeyng faint and weakned by a long and dayly infirmitie, began a little to wax ydle and weake in hys wit and remembrance. For whiche cauſe Peter Landoyſe his chiefe Treaſorer, a man both of pregnant wit and great authority, ruled and adiudged all things at his pleaſure and commaundement, for which cauſe (as men ſet into authority bee not beſt beloued) he excited & prouoked agaynſt him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Brytaine, which afterward for diuers great offences by him duryng his authoritie perpetrate committed, by their meanes was brought to death and confuſion.

Peter Landoiſe

The Engliſh Imbaſſadors moued their meſſage and requeſt to Peter Landoyſe, and to him declared their maiſters commaundement, inſtantly requiring, and humbly deſiring him (in whoſe power it lay to do all things in Brytayn) that he woulde friendly aſſent to the requeſt of King Richarde, offring to hym the ſame rewardes and landes, that they ſhoulde haue offred to the Duke.

This Peter whiche was no leſſe diſdeyned than hated almoſt of all the people of Brytayne, thought that if he did aſſent and ſatiſfie king Richardes petition and deſire, he ſhould be of power and abilitie ſufficiently to withſtande and reſiſt the malicious attempts and diſdainfull inuentions of his enuious aduerſaries. Wherefore hee faithfully promiſed to accompliſh king Richards requeſt and deſire, ſo that he kept promiſe wyth him, that he might be able to withſtand the cankerd malice of his ſecrete enimies.

This act that he promiſed to doe, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the Erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at S. Malos, when he was in great doubt of life, and ieopardy: but as cauſe riſeth we euer offende, and that curſed hunger of golde, and execrable thyrſt of lucre, and inwarde feare of loſſe of authoritie, driueth the blinde mindes of couetous men, and ambitious perſons to ruſſles and myſchiefes innumerable, not remembring loſſe of name, obloquie of the people, nor in concluſion the puniſhment of God for their merites and deſerts.

But fortune was ſo fauourable to the publique wealth of the Realme of Englande, that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while Poſtes ranne, and letters were ſent to and fro for the finiſhing of this greate enterpryſe betweene King Richarde and Peter Landoyſe, Iohn Morton Biſhop of Ely ſoiourning then in Flaunders, was of all this craftie conueyaunce certifyed by hys ſecrete and ſure friendes: Wherefore hee ſent Chriſtopher Vrſwike (whiche at that verie ſeaſon was come out of Brytayne into Flaunders) to declare to the Earle of Richmonde howe all the deceyte and craftie working was conueyed and compaſſed, giuing him in charge to counſayle

ſayle and aduiſe the Earle in all haſte poſſible with all his companie to retire out of Brytayne into Fraunce.

When theſe newes were brought to the erle, he then kept houſe in Vannes, and incontinent diſpatched again Chriſtofer Vrſwike, to Charles the French king, requiring him that hee and his, might ſafely paſſe into Fraunce, which deſyre being obteyned, the meſſenger ſhortly returned to his Lorde and Prince. The Erle well perceyuing that it was expedient and neceſſarie, wyth all ſpeede and diligence, to looke to this weighty matter, calling verie fewe to counſaile, hee made inquirie and ſearche of all ſecrete and bywayes, and ſent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindneſſe they ſhoulde viſite and comfort the Duke, which then for recreation and chaunge of ayre, lay on the borders and confines of Fraunce. And ſecretely hee gaue charge to the Earle of Pembroke whiche was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approched the Marches and limittes of Brytayne; they ſhoulde diuert and take the next way into Fraunce.

The noble menne ſomewhat ſuſpitious of things newly imagined, withoute any tarying, ſkouring the wayes as faſt as theyr horſes could runne, came out of the Duchie of Brytayne, into yͤ Duchy of Aniou in the dominion of France, where they taryed the Earles comming, which two dayes after departed out of Vannes, onely accompanied with fiue ſeruitours, as though hee had gone ſecretly to viſite a familiar friend of his, in a ſmall village adioyning. No man ſuſpected that he would depart, conſidering that a great multitude of Engliſhe men were left and continued in the Citie, but after that he had paſſed directly fiue miles forwarde, he ſodainly turned into a ſolitarie woodde next adioyning, where clothing himſelfe in the ſimple coate of his poore ſeruant, made and appoynted his ſayd miniſter, leader and maiſter of his ſmall companie, and he as humble page diligently followeth and ſerueth his counterfeyte gouernour, neyther reſting nor themſelues refreſhing, except the bayting of their horſes, tyll they by wayes vnknowne, now thys way, now turning that way, came to their companie, abiding them in Angiers.

The fourth day after the Erle of Richmonde was thus departed, that craftie marchant Peter Landoyſe, thruſting ſtill after his pray, promiſed by king Richarde, was readie to ſet forward hys crew of ſouldiors, which he priuily had conſigned with certaine truſtie captaines for that only purpoſe appoynted and elected, to performe and atchieue his pretenſed enterpriſe, diſſembling and feyning them to be conducted and hyred by hym to ſerue the Earle of Richmonde, and hym to conduct in hys returne towarde his natiue countrey, meaning none other thing but to apprehende him, and the other noble men in hys retinue, which no ſuche fraude ſuſpected, nor yet any treaſon ymagined, vnware and vnprouided, and deſtitute of al ayde, and them to caſt and commit ſodainly into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched & naughtie acte, he myght ſatiſfie the charitable requeſt, and louing deſire of good king Richarde, more for his owne profite than king Richardes gaine.

But when this craftie diſſembler Peter Landoyſe, which was no wilier than an olde Foxe, perceyued that the Earle was departed, (thinking that to bee true that he ymagined) Lorde howe currours ranne into euery coaſt, how light horſemen galloped in euery ſtreete, to follow and deteyne him, if by any poſſibilitie he could be met with and ouertaken, and him to apprehende and bring captiue into the Citie of Vannes. The horſemen made ſuche diligence, and with ſuche celeritie ſet forwarde theyr iourney, that nothing was more likely than they to haue obteyned, yea and ſeaſed theyr pray. For the Earle of Richmonde was not entered into the Realme of Fraunce, ſcarce one houre, but the folowers came to the limits and confines of Brytaine, and durſt aduenture no further, but vainly without their deſire ſorrowfully returned.

At which ſeaſon were left at Vannes aboute the number of three C. Engliſh men, which not being called to counſaile, & vnware of this enterpriſe, but knowing of the Earles ſodaine departure, were ſo incontinently aſtonied, that in maner they were al in diſpayre both of him and their owne ſuretie and ſauegarde. But fortune turned hir ſaile, and otherwiſe it happened than their feare them encombred. For the Duke of Brytayne nowe being ſomewhat recouered, was ſore diſpleaſed, and nothing contented that the Earle of Richmond was in his dominion ſo vncourteouſly tracted and entreated, that he ſhoulde be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leaue and flie out of his Duchie and Countrey, contrary to his honour. Wherefore he tooke great diſpleaſure with Peter Landoyſe his Treaſorer, to whome (although he knew not and was ignoraunt that all the drift was driuen and deuiſed by him) he layde the fault and imputed the crime. Wherefore he ſent for Edward Wooduile, and Edwarde Ponings valiaunt Eſquiers of Englande, and deliuered vnto them money ſufficient for theyr conduct, willing them to cōuey the reſt of the Engliſh men being in Brytaine, to the Erle of Richmonds preſence.

When the Erle was thus furniſhed, and appoynted with his truſtie companie, & was eſcaped all the daungers, Labirinthes, and ſnares that were ſet for him, no meruayle though hee were iocond and glad of the proſperous ſucceſſe that happened in his affayres. Wherefore, leaſt hee ſhould ſeeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, hee ſent diuerſe of his Gentlemen to the Duke of Britayne, the which ſhould publiſh and declare to him on the behalfe of the Earle, that he and his were onelye by his benefite and fauour conſerued and deliuered from the imminent daunger that they were lyke to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendred to him his moſt hartie thankes in wordes, truſting and not doubting but in time to come liberally to recompence him with quites and deedes.

After this the Earle toke his iourney to Charles the French king, lying then at Langes vpon the ryuer of Leyre: to whom after greate thankes giuen for manifolde pleaſures by him to the Earle ſhewed, he diſcloſed and manifeſted the cauſe and occaſion of his acceſſe and repayre to his perſon.

After that, he required of him helpe and ſuccor, to the intent that by his immortall benefit to him at that time ſhewed, hee might ſafely returne to the nobilitie of his realm, of whō he was generally called to take vpon him the crowne and ſcepter of the Realme, they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richarde. King Charles promiſed him ayde and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare, for he aſſured him that he would gladly ſhew to him hys beneuolent minde & bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leauing with him the Erle of Richmond, and all the noble perſonages of his retinue and faction.

While the Earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Vere Erle of Oxforde (which as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in priſon within the Caſtell of Hammes) ſo perſwaded James Blunte Captaine of the ſame fortreſſe, and ſir John Forteſcue Porter of the towne of Calays, that he himſelfe was not onely diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie, but they alſo abandoning and leauing theyr fruitful offices, condiſcended to go with him into Fraunce to the Earle of Richmonde, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wiſe captain bicauſe he left his wife remayning in the Caſtell before his departure, he fortified the ſame both with new munitions and newe Souldiours.

When the Erle of Richmonde ſaw the Earle of Oxforde, hee was rauiſhed with an incredible gladneſſe, that he being a man of ſo high nobility, of ſuch knowledge & practiſes in feates of warre, and ſo conſtant, truſtie and aſſured (which alway had ſtudied for the maintenance and preferment of the houſe of Lancaſter) was nowe by Gods prouiſion deliuered out of captiuitie and impriſonment, and in time ſo neceſſarie and conuenient come to his ayde, ſuccour and aduancement, in whom more ſurer than any other he might put his truſt and confidence, and take leſſe paine and trauaile in his owne perſon. For it was not hyd from him, that ſuche as euer had taken parte with King Edwarde before thys tyme, came to do him ſeruice, eyther for malice that they bare to King Richarde, orelſe for feare to liue vnder hys cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French King returned againe to Paris, whom the Earle of Richmond folowed, entending there to ſolicite his matter to the concluſion. Wherevpon hee beſought King Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defence of him and his cauſe, ſo that hee and hys companie being by his meanes ayded and comforted, ſhoulde confeſſe and ſaye, theyr wealth, victorie and aduauncement to haue flowed & budded forth of his bountifulneſſe & liberalitie, which they would God willing ſhortly recquite.

In the meane ſeaſon, diuerſe Engliſh men which either fled out of Englād for feare, or were at Paris to learne and ſtudie good literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarily and ſubmitted themſelues to the erle of Richmonde, & vowed and ſware to take his part. Amongſt whom was Richard Fox a prieſt, a man of great wit and no leſſe learning, whom the Earle incontinent receiued into ſecret familiaritie, and in briefe time erected and aduaunced him to high dignities and promotions, and in concluſion he made him Biſhop of Wincheſter.

In the meane ſeaſon, king Richarde was credibly aduertiſed, what promiſes and othes the Erle and his confederates had made and ſworne togither at Rennes, & how by the Erles meanes all the Engliſh men were paſſed out of Brytain into Fraunce. Wherefore being ſore diſmayd, and in a maner diſperate, bicauſe his craftie chieuance toke none effect in Brytayne, ymagined and deuiſed how to infringe and diſturbe the Erles purpoſe by another meane, ſo that by the mariage of Ladie Elizabeth his Neece, he ſhould pretend no clayme nor tytle to the crowne. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the Erles chiefe combe had bene clearly cut. And bycauſe that he being blinded with the ambitious deſire of rule before thys tyme in obteyning the kingdome, had committed and done manye curſed actes, and deteſtable tyrannies, yet according to the olde Prouerbe, let him take the Bull that ſtale away the Calfe, he thought all factes by him committed in times paſſed to be but of ſmall moment and not to bee regarded in compariſon of that miſchieuous imagination, which he now newly began & attempted.

There came into his vngracious mind a thing not onely deteſtable to be ſpoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering mind, how great a fountaine of miſchiefe toward him ſhoulde ſpring, if the Earle of Richmonde ſhoulde bee aduaunced to the mariage of his nece, which thing he heard ſay by the rumour of the people, that no ſmall number of wiſe and wittie perſonages enterpriſed to compaſſe and bring to concluſion, he clerely determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife Queene Elizabeth, eyther by fayre wordes, or liberall promiſes, firmely beleeuing hir fauour once obteyned, that ſhee woulde not ſticke to commit (and louingly credite) to hym the rule and gouernance both of hir & hir daughter, and ſo by that meanes the Erle of Richmōd of the affinitie of his Nece, ſhoulde be vtterly defrauded and beguiled.

A ſubtil and lewde practiſe of king Richard.

And if no ingenious remedie could bee otherwiſe inuented, to ſaue the innumerable miſchiefs which were euen at hande, and like to fall, if it ſhoulde happen Queene Anne his wife to depart out of this preſent life, then hee himſelfe woulde rather take to wife his couſin and Nece the Ladie Elizabeth, than for lacke of that affinitie the whole Realme ſhoulde runne to ruine; as who ſayde, that if he once fell from his eſtate and dignitie, the ruine of the Realme muſt needes ſhortly enſue and follow. Wherefore hee ſent to the Queene being in Sanctuarie, dyuerſe and often meſſengers, which firſt ſhoulde excuſe and purge him of all things before agaynſt hir attempted or procured, and after ſhoulde ſo largely promiſe promotions innumerable, and benefites, not onelye to hir, but alſo to hir ſonne Lorde Thomas Marques Dorcet, that they ſhoulde bring hir, if it were poſſible into ſome wanhope, or as men ſay, into a fooles Paradiſe.

The Meſſengers being men both of wit and grauitie, ſo perſwaded the Queene with greate and pregnant reaſons, what with fayre & large promiſes, that ſhe began ſomewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare, inſomuch that ſhee faythfully promiſed to ſubmitte and yeelde hirſelfe fullye and frankely to the Kings will and pleaſure.

And ſo ſhe putting in obliuion the murther of hir innocent children, the infamie and diſhonor ſpoken by the king hir huſband, the lyuing in adoutrie layde to hir charge, the baſtarding of hir daughters, forgetting alſo the faythfull promiſe and open othe made to the Counteſſe of Richmonde mother to the Earle Henrie, blynded by auaricious affection, and ſeduced by flattering wordes, firſt deliuered into King Richards handes hir fiue daughters, as Lambes once againe committed to the cuſtodie of the rauenous Wolfe.

The inconſtancie of Queene Elizabeth.

After ſhe ſent letters to the Marques hir ſonne being then at Paris with the Erle of Richmonde, willing him in any wyſe to leaue the Earle, and without delay to repayre into Englande, where for him were prouided great honours, and honourable promotions, aſcertaining him further, that all offences on both parties were forgotten and forgyuen, and both he and ſhe highly incorporated in the Kings heart. Surely the inconſtancie of this woman were muche to be maruayled at, if all women had beene founde conſtant, but let men ſpeake, yet women of the very bonde of their nature will follow their owne kinde.

After that king Richarde had thus with glorious promiſes and flattering wordes pleaſed and appeaſed the mutable mynde of Queene Elizabeth, which knewe nothing leſſe than that he moſt intended, he cauſed all his brothers daughters to be conueyed into hys Palayce with ſolemne receyuing, as though with hys newe familiar and louing interteynment they ſhoulde forget, and in theyr myndes blotte out the old committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Nowe nothing was contrarie and obſtacle to his deuilliſhe purpoſe, but that his mancion was not voyde of his wife, whiche thing hee in anye wiſe adiudged neceſſarie to be done. But there was one thing that ſo muche feared and ſtayed him from committing this abhominable murther, bycauſe (as you haue hearde before) hee began to counterfeyte the Image of a good and well diſpoſed perſon, and therefore hee was afearde leaſt the ſodaine death of his wyfe once openly knowne, he ſhoulde leaſe the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deſert, conceyued and reported.

But in concluſion, euill Counſayle preuayled in a wytte lately mynded to myſchiefe, and turned from all goodneſſe. So that hys vngratious deſire ouercame hys honeſt feare. And fyrſt to enter into the gates of hys imagined enterprice, he abſteyned both from the bed and companie of his wife.

After he complayned to diuerſe noblemen of the realme, of the infortunate ſterilitie and barrenneſſe of his wife, bycauſe ſhee brought forth no fruite and generation of hir bodie. And in eſpeciall he recounted to Thomas Rotheram Archbiſhop of Yorke (whome lately hee had delyuered out of warde and captiuitie) theſe impedimentes of his Queene and diuerſe other; thinking that he woulde reueale to hir all theſe things, truſting the ſequele hereof to take hys effect, that ſhee hearing this grudge of hir huſband, and taking therefore an inward thought, would not long liue in this worlde.

Of this the Biſhop gathered (which well knewe the complexion and vſage of the King) that the Queenes dayes were ſhort, and that he declared to certaine of his ſecret friendes.

After this he procured a common rumor, but he would not haue the authour knowne, to bee publiſhed and ſpred abroade among the common people, that the Queene was deade, to the intent that ſhee taking ſome conceyte of this ſtraunge fame, ſhoulde fall into ſome ſodaine ſickneſſe or grieuous maladie, and to proue if afterward ſhee ſhoulde fortune by that or anye other wayes to leaſe hir life, whether the people would impute hir death to the thought or ſickneſſe, or thereof would lay the blame to him.

When the Queene heard tell that ſo horrible a rumor of hir death was ſprung amongeſt the communaltie, ſhe ſore ſuſpected & iudged the worlde to be almoſt at an ende with hir, and in that ſorowful agonie, ſhe with lamentable countenance and ſorrowfull cheare, repayred to the preſence of the king hir huſband, demaunding of him, what it ſhoulde meane that hee had iudged hir worthie to die. The king anſwered hir with fayre wordes, and with ſmiling and flattering leaſings comforted hir, and bidde hir bee of good cheare, for to his knowledge ſhe ſhould haue none other cauſe. But howſoeuer that it fortuned, either by inwarde thought and penſiueneſſe of heart, or by infection of poyſon (which is affyrmed to bee moſt likely) within few dayes after the Queene departed out of this tranſitorie life, and was with due ſolemnitie buried in the Church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter.

This is the ſame Anne, one of the daughters of the Earle of Warwicke, which (as you haue heard before) at the requeſt of Lewes the French king, was maried to Prince Edwarde, ſonne to king Henrie the ſixth.

The king thus (according to his long deſire) loſed out of the bondes of matrimonie, began to caſt a fooliſh fantaſie to Ladie Elizabeth his neece, making much ſuyte to to haue hir ioyned wyth him in lawfull matrimonie. But bycauſe al men and the mayden hirſelfe moſt of all, deteſted and abhorred this vnlawfull, and in maner vnnaturall copulation, hee determined to prolong and deferre yͤ matter, till he were in a more quietnes. For all that verie ſeaſon he was oppreſſed wyth great, weightie, and vrgent cauſes, and buſineſſes on euerie ſide, conſidering that dayly part of the Nobilitie ſayled into Fraunce to the Earle of Richmond: Other priuily fauoured and ayded certaine of the coniuration, ſo that of hys ſhorte ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And the common people for the moſte part were brought to ſuch deſperation, that many of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of hys enimies, than to abyde the chaunce and hazarde to haue theyr goodes taken as a ſpoyle of victorie by his enimies.

Amongſt the noble men whom he moſt miſtruſted, theſe were the principall, Thomas lord Stanley, ſir William Stanley his brother, Gilbert Talbot, and ſix hundred other, of whoſe purpoſes although king Richard were not ignorant, yet he gaue neyther confidence nor credence to anye one of them, and leaſt of all to the Lorde Stanley, bycauſe hee was ioyned in matrimonie with the Ladie Margaret, mother to the Earle of Richmonde, as afterwarde apparantly yee may perceyue. For when the ſayde Lord Stanley woulde haue departed into his Countrey to viſite his familie, and to recreate and refreſh his ſpirites (as he openly ſayde) but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfite readineſſe to receyue the Earle of Richmonde at his firſt arriuall in Englande: the king in no wiſe woulde ſuffer him to depart, before he had left as an hoſtage in the Court, George Stanley Lorde Straunge, his firſt begotten ſonne and heyre.

While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginations of the troublous tyme that was like to come: Lo, euen ſodenly he hearde newes that fire was ſprung oute of the ſmoke, and the warre freſhly begonne, and that the Caſtell of Hammes was deliuered into the handes of the Earle of Richmonde, by the meanes of the Earle of Oxford, and that not onely he, but alſo Iames Blunt Captaine of the Caſtell, were fled into Fraunce to ayde the Earle Henrie. Wherefore he thinking it great politie to withſtande the firſt brunt, ſent the moſt part of the garriſon of Calais, to recouer againe by force the Caſtell of Hammes. They which were in the Caſtel perceyuing theyr aduerſaries to approche, prepared munitions and Engines for theyr defence, and ſent alſo to the Earle of Richmonde, to aduertiſe him of their ſodaine inuaſion, requiring him of haſtie ayde and ſpeedie ſuccor.

The Earle ſleeping not this firſt begonne aſſault, ſent the Earle of Oxforde, wyth an electe companie of Souldiours to rayſe the ſiege, and reſkue the Caſtell: whiche at theyr firſte arriuing, pitched their campe not farre from theyr enimies.

And while king Rychardes men gaue vigilant eye, wayting leaſt the Earle of Oxforde ſhoulde take any aduauntage of them that laye on that ſyde of the Caſtell, Thomas Brandon with thirtie appoyned men of warre by a mariſh whiche laye on the other ſide, entered into the Caſtell.

The Souldiours within greatly encouraged, and muche comforted by thys newe ſuccour and ayde, grieued the enimyes, by ſhooting from the walles more than they were accuſtomed to doe.

And they of the Caſtell vexed theyr enimies on the fore part: the Earle of Oxforde no leſſe moleſted and vnquieted them on the other part, whiche was the occaſion that King Richardes men offered of theyr owne mere motion, licence to all being within the Caſtel to depart in ſafety, with bagge and baggage, nothing excepted: whiche condition the Earle of Oxforde comming onelye for that purpoſe to delyuer his louing friendes out of all perill and daunger, and chiefely of all, his olde Hoſteſſe Jane Blunte, wife to James Blunte the Captaine, woulde in no wiſe forſake or refuſe: and ſo leauing the caſtell bare and vngarniſhed, both of vitaile and Artelerie, came ſafely to the Earle of Richmond ſoiourning in Paris.

During this time, King Richarde was credibly infourmed of his inquiſitours and eſpialles, that the Earle of Richmond was with long ſute in the Court of Fraunce ſore wearied, and deſyring great ayde, coulde obteyne ſmall reliefe: Inſomuch that all things went ſo farre backwards, that ſuche things as were with great diligence, and no leſſe deliberation purpoſed, and determined to be ſet forwardes, were nowe daſhed and ouerthrowne to the grounde.

King Richarde either being to light of credence, or ſeduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatly reioyced as though he had obteyned the ouer hande of his enimies with triumphant victorie, and thought himſelfe neuer ſo ſurely deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations, ſo that hee needed nowe no more once for that cauſe eyther to wake, or to breake his golden ſleepe. Wherefore hee called home againe his Shippes of warre, whiche hee had appoynted to keepe the narrowe Seas, and diſpatched all ſuche ſouldiours as he had deputed to keepe certaine garniſons, and to ſtoppe certaine paſſages (as you haue hearde before.) Yet leaſte he might for lacke of prouiſion be ſodainly trapped, he ſtraightly charged and gaue in commaundement to all noblemen, and eſpecially ſuche as inhabited neare to the ſea coaſt, and on the frontiers of Wales, that according to the vſage of the Countrey, they ſhoulde keepe diligent watche and ſtrong warde, to the intent that his aduerſaries in no wiſe ſhould haue any place oportune, eaſily to take lande, without defence or rebutting backe. For the cuſtome of ẏ Countrey adioining neare to the Sea is, (eſpeciallye in the tyme of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a Beaken with a great Lanterne in the toppe, whiche may bee ſeene and diſcerned a great ſpace of. And when the noyſe is once bruyted that the enimies approche neare the lande, they ſodainelye putte fyre in the Lanternes, and make ſhoutes and outcryes from Towne to Towne, and from Village to Village. Some runne in poſt from place to place, admoniſhing the people to be readie to reſiſt the ieopardie, and defende the perill. And by this policie the fame is ſoone blowne to euerie Citie and Towne, inſomuch that aſwell the Citizens as the rurall people bee in ſhort ſpace aſſembled and armed to repulſe and put backe the newe arriued enimies.

Nowe to returne to our purpoſe, King Rychard thus ſomewhat eaſed of hys accuſtomed penſiueneſſe, beganne to be ſomewhat more merier, and tooke leſſe thought and care for outward enimies than he was woont to doe, as who ſay, that hee with politique prouiſion ſhoulde withſtande the deſtinie whiche hong ouer his heade, and was ordeyned in briefe tyme ſodainly to fall. Such is the force and puiſſance of diuine iuſtice, that euery man ſhall leſſe regarde, leſſe prouide, leſſe be in doubt of all things, when he is moſt neareſt puniſhment, and next to his miſchaunce for his offences and crymes.

About this ſeaſon, while the Earle of Richmonde was deſiring ayde of the Frenche kinge, certeyne noble men were there appoynted to rule the realme of Fraunce during the minoritie of King Charles, which amongſt themſelues were not of one opinion. Of which diſſention, Lewis Duke of Orleans was the chiefe ſtyrrer, which bycauſe hee had maryed Ladie Joane ſiſter to the French king, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and adminiſtration of the whole Realme. By reaſon of which controuerſie, no one man was ſuffered to rule all: wherefore the Earle of Richmonde was compelled to make ſuyte to euery one of the Counſaile ſeuerally one after another, requyring and deſiring them of aide and reliefe in his weightie buſineſſe, and ſo hys cauſe was prolonged and deferred.

During which time, Thomas Marques Dorcet, which was (as you haue heard) entiſed by his mother to returne againe into Englande, partly diſpayring in the good ſucceſſe of the Earle of Richmond, and partly ouercome and vanquiſhed with the fayre gloſing promiſes of king Richarde, ſecretely in the night ſeaſon ſtole out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition, tooke his iourney towarde Flaunders.

When relation of his departure was made to the erle of Richmond, and the other noble men, no maruaile though they were aſtonied & greatly amaſed. Yet that notwithſtanding, they required of the French king, that it myght bee lawfull to them in his name, and by his commaundement, to take and ſtay their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counſaile, in what place within his realm and territorie ſo euer they coulde finde him. Which petition once obteyned, they ſent out Currours into euerye parte, amongſt whom Humfrey Cheyney playing the part of a good Bloudhound, followed the tract of the flier ſo euen by the ſent, that he ouertooke and apprehended him not farre from Compeigne, and ſo what with reaſon, and what with fayre promiſes, being perſwaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The Earle of Richmonde vnburdened of this miſaduenture, leaſt by lyngering of dayes, and prolonging of tyme, he might leaſe the great oportunitie of things to him offered and miniſtred: alſo leaſt hee ſhoulde further wounde and moleſt the myndes of hys faythfull and aſſured friendes, whiche dayly dyd expect and tarie for his comming, determyned no longer to protract and deferre the tyme, but wyth all diligence and celeritie to attempt hys begonne enterprice: and ſo obteyning of King Charles a ſmall crewe of men, and borrowing certaine ſummes of money of him, and of dyuerſe other hys pryuate friendes, (for the whiche hee left as debter, or more likelyer as a pledge or hoſtage) Lord Thomas Marques Dorſet (whome he halfe miſtruſted) and ſir Iohn Bourchier, hee departed from the Frenche Courte, and came to the Citie of Roan.

While he taried there making prouiſion at Harflete in the mouth of the riuer of Seyne for all things neceſſary for his nauye, tidinges were brought to him that king Richarde being without children, and now Widower, entended ſhortly to marye the Ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the Ladie Cicile hir ſiſter to a manne founde in a Clowde, and of an vnknowne lynage and familie. Hee tooke theſe newes as a matter of no ſmall moment (and ſo all things conſidered) it was of no leſſe importaunce than he tooke it for. For this thing onely tooke away from him and al his Companions theyr hope and courage, that they had to obteyne an happie enterpriſe. And therefore no marueyle though it nipped him at the verie ſtomacke: when he thought that by no poſſibilitie hee might attaine the maryage of any of King Edwardes daughters, whiche was the ſtrongeſt foundation of his buylding, by reaſon whereof he iudged that al his friendes in England would abandon and ſhrinke from hym. Wherefore making not many of his counſaile, after diuerſe conſultations he determined not yet to ſet forwarde, but to tary and attempt howe to get more ayde, more friends, and more ſtronger ſuccors.

And amongſt all other, it was thought moſt expedient to allure by affinitie in his ayde as a companion in armes, ſir Walter Herbert, a man of an auncient ſtocke, and great power amongſt the Welchmen, whiche had with hym a fayre Lady to hys ſyſter, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonie.

And for the atchieuing of this purpoſe, meſſengers were ſecretly ſent to Henrie erle of Northumberlande (which had before maried another ſiſter of ſir Walter Herbertes) to the intent that he ſhould ſet forward all this deuice and purpoſe, but the wayes were ſo narowly watched, and ſo many ſpyes layed, that the Meſſenger proceeded not in his iourney and buſineſſe. But in the meane ſeaſon, there came to the Earle a more ioyfull meſſage from Morgan Kidwelly, learned in the temporall law, whiche declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no leſſe valiauntneſſe than actiuitie, and Iohn Sauage an approued Capitaine, woulde with all theyr power be partakers of his quarell. And that Reignolde Bray had collected and gotten togither no ſmall ſumme of money for the payment of the wages to the Souldiours and men of warre: admoniſhing him alſo to make quicke expedition, and to take his courſe directly into Wales.

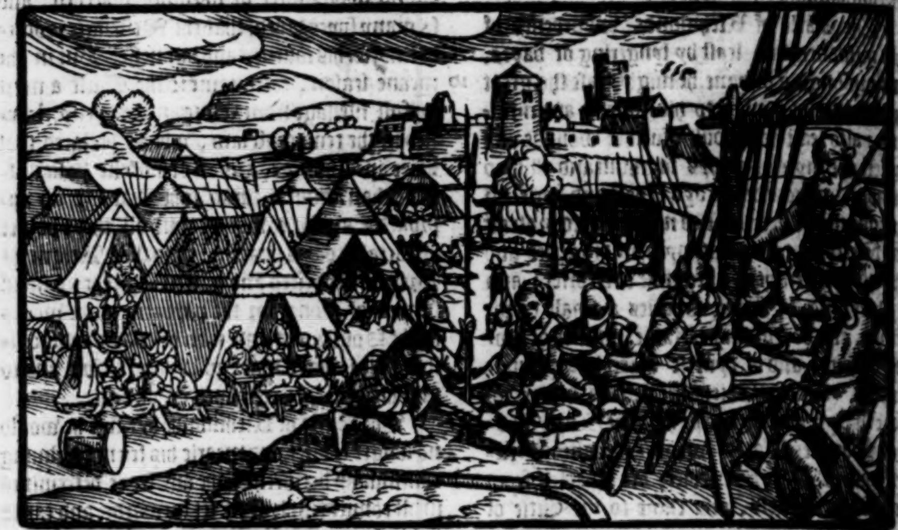
The Earle of Richmonde bycauſe he would no longer lynger and wearie his friendes, liuing continually betweene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient haſt to ſet forwarde, and caried to his ſhips armor, weapons, vitaile, and al other ordinances expedient for warre.

After that all thing was in a readineſſe, the Earle being accompanied only with two thouſande men, and a ſmall number of ſhippes, weyed vp his Ancors, and halſed vppe his ſayles in the Moneth of Auguſt, and ſayled from Harflete with ſo proſperous a winde, that the ſeuenth day after his departure, hee arriued in Wales in the Euening, at a place called Mylforde Hauen, and incontinent tooke lande, and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard ſay that a certaine companie of his aduerſaries were layde in garriſon to defend his arriuall all the laſt winter, And the Earle at the Sunne riſing remoued to Herford weſt, being diſtant from Dalle not fully ten myles, where he was ioyfully receyued of the people, & he arriued there ſo ſodainly, that he was come and entred the Towne at the ſame time when the Citizens had but knowledge of hys comming.

Mylford Hauen

Here he herd newes which were as vntrue as they truely were reported to him in Normandy, that Rice ap Thomas, and Iohn Sauage with bodie and goodes, were determined to ayde king Richard.

While he and his companie were ſomewhat aſtonied of theſe newe tydyngs, there came ſuch meſſage from the Inhabitauntes of the towne of Pembrooke, that refreſhed and reuiued theyr frozen heartes and daunted courages. For Arnolde Butler a valiaunt Captaine, whiche fyrſt aſking pardon for hys offences before tyme committed agaynſt the Earle of Richmonde, and that obteyned, declared to hym that the Pembrochians were readie to ſerue and gyue theyr attendaunce on theyr naturall and immediate Lorde, Iaſper Earle of Pembrooke. The Earle of Richmonde hauing his armie thus encreaſed, departed from Herford weſt to the towne of Cardigan beeing fiue miles diſtant from thence.



While the ſouldiours were refreſhing and trimming themſelues in their campe, ſtraunge tidings ſprong among them without any certain authour, that ſir Walter Herbert which lay wyth a great crewe of men at Carmarden, was nowe with a greate armie readie to approche and byd them battaile. With whiche newes the armie was ſore troubled, and euerie man aſſayed hys armure and prooued his weapon, and were preſt to defende theyr enimies. And as they were in this fearefull doubt, certaine horſemen which the Earle had ſent to make inquirie and ſearche, returned and reported all the Countrey to be quiet, and no let nor impediment to be layde or caſt in their iourney.

And euen at the ſame time, the whole armie was greatlye recomforted, by reaſon that the comming of Richarde Griffyth, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithſtāding that he was confederate with ſir Walter Herbert, and Richarde ap Thomas, yet at that verie inſtant he came to the Erle of Richmond with all his companie whiche were of no great number. After him the ſame day came Iohn Morgan with hys men.

Then the Earle aduaunced forward in good haſt, making no repoſe or abode in any one place. And to the entent to paſſe forward with ſure and ſhorte expedition, he aſſaulted euerie place where his enimies had ſet any men of warre, whiche with ſmal force, and leſſe difficultie he briefly did ouercome and vanquiſhe. And ſodainly he was by his eſpials aſcertayned, that ſir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harneſſe before him, readie to encounter with his armie, and to ſtoppe theyr paſſage. Wherfore like a valiant Captain, he firſt determined to ſet on them, and eyther to deſtroy or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puiſſance to giue battaile to his mortal enimie K. Richard. But to the intent his friendes ſhoulde knowe in what readineſſe he was, & how he proceeded forward, he ſent of his moſt ſecret & faithfull ſeruāts with letters and inſtructions to the Ladie Margaret his mother, to the lord Stanley & his brother, to ſir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his truſty friends, declaring to them that he being ſuccored and holpen with the ayd and reliefe of his friends, intended to paſſe ouer the Riuer of Seuerne at Shrewſburie, and ſo to paſſe directly to the Citie of London, requiring them, as his ſpecial truſt and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they woulde meete him by the way with all diligent preparation, to the entent that he and they at time and place conuenient, myght communicate togither the deepeneſſe of all hys doubtfull and weyghtie buſineſſe.

When the Meſſengers were diſpatched with theſe commaundements and admonitions, he marched forward towarde Shrewſburie, and in his paſſing, there met and ſaluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bande of Welchmen, which making an oth and promiſe to the Earle, ſubmitted himſelfe wholy to his order and commaundement. For the Earle of Richmond two days before made to him promiſe, that if he wold ſweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he wold make him chief gouernor of Wales, which part as hee faythfully promiſed and graunted, ſo after that hee had obteyned and poſſeſſed the realme and Diademe, hee liberally performed and accompliſhed the ſame.

In the meane tyme, the Meſſengers that were ſent diligently executed theyr charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whom they were ſent, returned to him the ſame day that hee entred into Shrewſburie, and made relation to him that his friendes were readie in all poyntes to do all thinges for him, which eyther they ought or might do.

The Erle Henrie brought in good hope with this pleaſant meſſage, continued forth his intended iourney, and came to a little Towne called Newporte, and pytching hys Campe on a little hyll adioynyng, repoſed himſelfe there that night.

In the Euening the ſame day, came to him ſir Gylbert Talbot, with the whole power of the yong Earle of Shrewſbury than being in ward, which were accounted to the number of two thouſande men. And thus his power encreaſing, he arryued at the Towne of Staffordde, and there pawſed. To whome came ſir William Stanley, accompanied with a fewe perſons: and after that the Earle and hee had communed no long time togither, he reuerted to his Souldiers which he had aſſembled togither to ſerue the erle, which frō thēce departed to Lichfield, & lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning he entred into the towne, and was with all honor like a prince receyued.

A day or two before, the Lorde Stanley hauing in his bande almoſt fiue thouſand men, lodged in the ſame towne, but hearing that the erle of Richmonde was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, diſlodging him and his, and repayred to a towne called Aderſtone, there abiding the comming of the Earle, and this wilye Foxe did this acte to auoyde all ſuſpition, being afrayde leaſt if he ſhould be ſeene openly to bee a fautour or ayder to the Earle his ſonne in lawe before the day of the battayle, that king Richard, which yet did not vtterly putte in him diffidence and miſtruſt, woulde put to ſome cruell death hys ſon and heyre apparant George Lord Strange, whome King Richarde (as you haue hearde before) kept wyth him as a pledge or hoſtage, to the intent that the Lorde Stanley hys father, ſhoulde attempt nothing preiudiciall to him.

King Richarde at this ſeaſon keeping hys houſe in the Caſtell of Notingham, was informed that the Earle of Richmonde, with ſuch baniſhed men as fled out of Englande to him, were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all things neceſſary to his enterprice were vnprouided, vnpurueyed, and verie weake, nothing meete to withſtande the power of ſuche as the King had appoynted to meete him.

This rumor ſo inflated his minde, that in maner diſdayning to heare ſpeake of ſo ſmall a companie, determined at the firſt to take litle or no regarde to this ſo ſmall a ſparcle, declaring the Earle to be innocent and vnwiſe, bycauſe that he raſhly attempted ſuch a great enterpriſe, with ſo ſmall and thinne a number of warlike perſons, and therefore he gaue a definitiue ſentence, that when he came to that poynt that he ſhoulde bee compelled to fight agaynſt his wyll, he eyther ſhould be apprehended aliue, or elſe by all likelyhode he ſhould of neceſſitie come to a ſhamefull confuſion: and that he truſted to ſee ſhortly done by ſir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with egall power and like authoritie. But yet he reuoluing and caſting in his minde, that a ſmall warre begonne and winked at and not regarded, may turne to a great broyle and trouble, and that it was prudent pollicie not to contemne and diſdaine the little ſmall power and weakeneſſe of the enimie, be it neuer ſo ſmall, thought it neceſſarie to prouide for afterclaps that myght happen and chaunce. Wherefore hee ſent to Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Henry Earle of Northumberlande, Thomas Earle of Surrey, and to other of his eſpeciall and truſtie friendes of the Nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and eſteeme his wealth and honor than theyr owne ryches and pryuate commoditie, wyllyng them to muſter and view all theyr ſeruaunts and tenants, and to elect and choſe the moſt couragious and actiue perſons of the whole number, and with them to repayre to his preſence with all ſpeede and diligence. Alſo hee wrote to Robert Brakenburie Lieutenant of the Tower, commaunding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him as fellowes in armes, Sir Thomas Bourchier, and ſir Walter Hungerford, and diuerſe other knights & eſquiers in whom he caſt no ſmall ſuſpition.

While he was thus ordring his affayres, tydings came that the Earle of Richmonde was paſſed Seuerne, and come to Shrewſburie without any detriment or encombraunce. At which meſſage he was ſore moued and broyled wyth Melancholie and dolour, and cryed out, aſking vengeance of them, that contrarie to theyr othe and promiſe had ſo deceyued him. For which cauſe he began to haue diffidence in other, inſomuch that he determined himſelfe out of hande the ſame day to meete with and reſiſt hys aduerſaries. And in all haſte ſente out eſpialles to view and eſpie what waye his enimies kept and paſſed. They diligentlye doing theyr duetie, ſhortly after returned, declaring to the king that the Earle was encamped at the towne of Lichfielde.

When hee had perfite knowledge where the Earle with his armie was ſoiourning, he hauing continuall repayre of his ſubiectes to him, began incontinently without delay to marſhall and put in order his battayles (like a valiaunt Captayne and politike leader) and firſt he made his battails to ſet forward, fiue and fiue in a ranke, marching towarde that way where his enimies (as was to him reported) entended to paſſe. In the middle part of the armie hee appoynted the traffike and cariage apperteyning to the armie.

Then he enuironed wyth hys Garde, with a frowning countenaunce and cruell viſage, mounted on a greate whyte Courſer, and followed with his footemenne, the wings of Horſemen coaſting and raunging on euerie ſyde: and keeping this array, hee with great pompe entred the Towne of Leyceſter after the Sunne ſet.

The Earle of Richmonde rayſed his campe, and departed from Lichfielde to the Towne of Tamworth thereto neare adioyning, and in the midde way paſſing, there ſaluted him ſir Walter Hungerforde, and ſir Thomas Bourchier, knightes, and dyuerſe other whiche yelded and ſubmitted them to his pleaſure. For they being aduertiſed that king Richarde had them in ſuſpition and ielouſie, a little beyonde Stonie Stratforde left and forſoke priuily their Captaine Robert Brakenburie, and in wandring by night, and in maner by vnknowne pathes & vncertaine wayes ſerching, at the laſt came to Erle Henrie.

Diuerſe other noble perſonages, which inwardly hated king Richard worſe than a Toad or a Serpent, did likewiſe reſort to him with all their power and ſtrength.

A ſtraunge chaunce that happened to the Earle of Richmonde.

There happened in this progreſſion to the erle of Richmond a ſtrange chance worthie to be noted: for albeit he was a man of valiant courage, and that his armie encreaſed, and dayly more and more he waxed mightier & ſtronger, yet hee was not a little afeard, bicauſe he in no wiſe coulde be aſſured of his father in law Thomas Lord Stãley, which for feare of the deſtruction of the Lord Straunge his ſonne (as you haue herd) as yet inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the Earle, and that notified to king Richarde, hys ſonne had beene ſhortly executed. Wherefore he accompanyed wyth twentie lyght horſemen lingered in hys iourney, as a manne muſing and ymagyning what was beſt to bee done. And the more to aggrauate his penſiueneſſe, it was ſhewed hym, that King Richarde was at hande, with a ſtrong power and a greate armie.

While he thus heauily dragged behinde hys hoſt, the whole armie came before the Towne of Tamworth, and when hee for the deepe darkeneſſe could not perceyue the ſteppes of them that paſſed on before, and had wandered hither and thither, ſeeking after his companie, and yet not once hearing any noyſe or whiſpering of them, he turned to a verie little Village being about three myles from his armie, taking great thought, and muche fearing leaſt he ſhoulde be eſpyed, and ſo trapped by king Richardes ſkoutewatch. There he taryed all nyght, not once aduenturing to aſke or demaunde a queſtion of any creature, hee beeing no more amazed with the ieopardie and perill that was paſſed, than with thys preſent chaunce, ſore feared that it ſhoulde be a prognoſtication or ſigne of ſome infortunate plague afterwarde to ſucceede. As hee was not merie being abſent from his armie, likewiſe hys armie much marueyled, and no leſſe mourned for hys ſodaine abſence.

The next morning early in the dawning of the day he returned, and by the conduct of good fortune, eſpyed and came to his armie, excuſing himſelfe, not to haue gone out of the way by ignorance, but yͭ for a policie deuiſed for the nonce, he went from his campe to receyue ſome glad meſſage from certaine of hys priuie friendes and ſecret alyes.

This excuſe made, he priuily departed againe from his hoſt to the Towne of Atherſtone, where the Lorde Stanley and ſir William his brother with their bandes were abyding. There the Earle came firſt to his father in lawe, in a lytle Cloſe where he ſaluted him, and ſir William his brother, and after dyuerſe and many friendlye embracings, eche reioyced of the ſtate of other, and ſodainly were ſurpriſed with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate ſucceſſe in all their affayres and doings.

Afterwarde, they conſulted togyther howe to gyue battayle to king Richarde if he would abide, whom they knew not to be farre off with an huge hoſt.

In the Euening of the ſame day, Sir John Sauage, ſir Brian Sanforde, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, leauing King Richard, turned and came to the part of the Earle of Richmonde, with an elect companie of men. Which refuſall of King Richardes partie, by meane of ſuche experience, did augment and increaſe both the good hope, and the puiſſaunce of the Earle of Richmond.

In the meane ſeaſon, King Richard (which was appointed now to finiſh his laſt labour by the verie diuine iuſtice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne puniſhment for his miſchieuous deſertes) marched to a place meete for two battails to encounter, by a village called Boſworth, not farre from Leyceſter, and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Beame, refreſhed hys Souldiours and tooke his reſt.

The dreame of king Richard the thirde.

The fame went, that he had the ſame night a dreadfull and a terrible dreame, for it ſeemed to him beyng a ſleepe, that he did ſee dyuers ymages lyke terrible deuyls, whyche pulled and haled hym, not ſuffering him to take any quiet or reſt. The whiche ſtraunge viſion not ſo ſodaynly ſtrake his hearte wyth a ſodayne feare, but it ſtuffed his heade and troubled his mynde wyth many buſy and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart beyng almoſte damped, he prognoſticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battayle to come, not vſing the alacritie and mirth of mynde and of countenance as he was accuſtomed to doe before he came toward the battayle. And leaſt that it myghte bee ſuſpected that he was abaſhed for fear of his enimies, and for that cauſe looked ſo pitiouſly, hee recited and declared to his familiar friends in the mornyng, his wounderfull viſyon and fearefull dreame. But I thynke thys was no dreame, but a punction and pricke of hys ſinfull conſcience; for the conſcience is ſo muche more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater and more heynous in degree, whyche pricke of conſcience, although it ſtryke not alway, yet at the laſte daye of extreme lyfe, it is wonte to ſhewe and repreſente to vs oure faultes and offences, and the paynes and puniſhementes whych hang ouer our heads for the committing of the ſame, to the intente that at that inſtant, wee for oure deſertes beyng penitent and repentaunt, maye be compelled lamenting and bewayling our ſins lyke forſakers of this worlde, iocunde to depart out of this miſerable lyfe.

Nowe to returne agayne to our purpoſe, the nexte daye after, kyng Richard beyng furniſhed with men and all abiliments of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the playn, ordered his fore warde in a meruaylous lengthe, in whyche he appointed both horſemen and footmen, to the intent to imprinte in the harts of thẽ that looked a farre off, a ſodaine terror and deadly feare, for the greate multitude of the armed ſouldiours: and in the fore fronte hee placed the Archers, lyke a ſtrong fortifyed trenche or bulwarke: Ouer this battayle was captaine, John duke of Norffolke, with whome was Thomas Erle of Surrey his ſonne. After this long vantgarde, folowed king Richarde hymſelfe, with a ſtrong companie of choſen and approued men of warre, hauing horſemen for wings on both the ſides of his battayle.

After that the Earle of Richmonde was departed from the communication of his friendes, as you haue heard before, he began to be of a better ſtomacke, and of a more valiante courage, and with all diligence, pitched his field iuſt by the camp of his enimies, and there he lodged ẏ night.

In the morning betime, he cauſed his men to put on theyr armoure, and apparell themſelues ready to fight and giue battayle, and ſent to the Lord Stanley (which was now come with hys band in a place indifferent betweene both the armies) requiring him with his men, to approche neere to his army, and to helpe to ſet the ſoldiers in array, hee anſwered that the Earle ſhoulde ſet his owne men in a good order of battaile, whyle he would array his company, and come to hym in time conuenient. Whiche aunſwere made otherwiſe than the Earle thought or would haue iudged, conſidering the oportunitie of the tyme, and the weight of the buſineſſe, and although hee was therewithal a little vexed, began ſomewhat to hang the head, yet he without any time delaying, compelled of neceſſitie, after this manner inſtructed and ordered his men. He made his foreward ſomewhat ſingle and ſlender, according to the ſmall number of his people.

In the frount he placed the archers of whome he made Captayne John Earle of Oxford. To the right wing of the battaile, he appoynted Sir Gilbert Talbot to be the leader. To the lefte wing, hee aſſigned Sir John Sauage, who had broughte thither with him a crewe of righte able perſonages, cladde in white coates and hoodes, whiche muſtered in the eyes of their aduerſaries right brimly. The Earle of Richmond himſelfe, with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley, gouerned the battaile, accompanyed with the Earle of Pembroke, hauing a good companie of horſemẽ, and a ſmall number of footemenne: For all hys whole number exceded not fiue thouſand men, beſide the power of the Stanleys, whereof three thouſand were in the fielde, vnder the Standert of Sir William Stanley: The Kings number was double ſo much and more. When bothe theſe armies were thus ordered, and all men ready to ſet forward, king Richard called his chieftaines togither, and to them ſaide: Moſt faithful and aſſured fellowes, moſt truſtie and wel beloued friendes, and elected Captaynes, by whoſe wiſedome and policye I haue obteyned the Crowne, and type of this famous Realme, and noble region: by whoſe puiſſance and valiantnes I haue enioyed and poſſeſſed the ſtate royall and dignitie of the ſame, maugre the ill will, and ſeditious attemptes of all my cancred enimies, and inſidious aduerſaries, by whoſe prudent and politike cũſaile, I haue ſo gouerned my realme, people, & ſubiectes, that I haue omitted nothing apperteyning to the office of a iuſt Prince, nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the ductie of wiſe and ſage counſailers. So that I may ſay, and truely affirme, that your approued fidelitie and tried conſtancy, maketh mee to beleeue firmely, and thinke that I am an vndoub-

The Oration of K. Richard the third.

ſed King, and an indubitate Prince. And although in the adeption and obteyning of ẏ Garland, I beeyng ſeduced, and prouoked by ſiniſter counſaile, and diabolicall temptation, did commit a wicked and deteſtable acte. Yet I haue with ſtraite penaunce and ſalt teares (as I truſt) expiated and cleerely purged the ſame offence, which abhominable crime I require you of frendſhip as cleerely to forget, as I dayly remember to deplore and lament the ſame. If ye will nowe diligently call to remembraunce in what caſe & perplexitie we now ſtand, and in what doubtfull perill we be nowe intricked: I doubt not, but you in heart will thinke, and with mouthe confeſſe, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betweene Prince and ſubiectes, or betweene ſubiect and ſubiect: or if euer bond of alegiãce obliged the vaſſall to loue and ſerue his naturall ſoueraigne Lord, or if any obligation of duetie bounde anye Prince to aide and defend his ſubiectes? All theſe loues, bondes, and duties of neceſſitie are now thys daye to bee tryed, ſhewed and put in experience. For if wiſe men ſaye true, there is ſome policie in getting, but muche more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chaũce, and the other high witte and policie, for whiche cauſe, I with you, and you with me, muſt needs this dey take labour and payne, to keepe & defend with force, that preheminence and poſſeſſion, which by your prudente deviſes I haue gotten and obteyned. I doubt not but you know, how the Deuill continuall enimie to humane nature, diſturber of cõcord, and ſower of ſedition, hath entred into the heart of an vnknowen Welchman whoſe father I neuer knew, nor him perſonally ſaw) exciting him to aſpire and couet oure Realme, Crowne, and dignitie, and thereof cleerely to depriue and ſpoyle vs and our poſteritie: ye ſee farther, howe a companie of traytors, theeues, outlawes, and runnegates of our owne nation, bee aiders and partakers of his feate and enterpriſe, ready at hand to ouercome and oppreſſe vs: You ſee alſo, what a number of beggerly Britaines and faint harted frenchmen be with him arriued to deſtroy vs, our wiues and children. Whyche imminent miſchiefes and apparante inconueniences, if we wil withſtand and refell, wee muſte liue togither like brethren, fighte togither lyke Lions, and feare not to die togither like menne. And obſeruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleeue mee, the fearefull hare neuer fled faſter before the greedy greyhounde, nor the ſillie larke before ẏ ſparowhawke, nor the ſimple ſheepe before the rauenous wolf, than your proud bragging aduerſaries aſtonied and amaſed with the only ſight of your manly viſages, wil flee, runne, and ſkyr out of the field. For if you conſider and wiſely ponder all things in your minde, you ſhal perceyue, that we haue manifeſt cauſes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victory.

And to begyn with the Earle of Richmond captayne of this rebellion, he is a Welſh milkſoppe, a man of ſmall courage and of leſſe experience in martiall actes and feates of Warre, broughte vp by my brothers meanes and myne lyke a captiue in a cloſe cage in the court of Frãcis duke of Britayn, and neuer ſawe armie, nor was exerciſed in martiall affayres, by reaſon whereof he neyther can nor is able by his owne will or experience to guyde or rule an hoſte. For in the witte and policie of the capitayn, conſiſteth the chiefe adeption of the victorie & ouerthrow of the enimies. Secondarily feare not, and put awaye all doubtes, for when the traytoures and runagates of our realme, ſhall ſee vs with banner diſplayed come againſt them, remembryng their othe, promyſe and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their ſoueraigne lorde and anoynted king, they ſhal be ſo pricked & ſtimulate in the bottome of their ſcrupulous conſciences, that they for very remorſe and dread of the diuine plague, wil either ſhamefully flee, or humbly ſubmit themſelues to our grace and mercie. And as for the Frenchmẽ and Britons, their valiantneſſe is ſuch, that our noble progenitors, and your valiant parents haue them oftner vanquiſhed & ouercome in one moneth, thã they in the beginning imagined poſſible to cõpaſſe and finiſh in a whole yere. What wil you make of them, braggers without audacitie, drunkards without diſcretiõ, ribalds without reaſon, cowards without reſiſting, & in cõcluſion, the moſt effeminate and laſciuious people, ẏ euer ſhewed themſelues in front of batail, ten tymes more couragious to flee & eſcape, than once to aſſault the breaſt of our ſtrõg & populous armie. Wherfore conſidering all theſe aduauntages, expell out of your thoughts all doubts, and auoyd out of your myndes all feare, and like valiant champions auaunce forth your ſtandardes, and aſſay whether your enimies can decide and try the title of battaile by dint of ſworde, auance (I ſay agayne) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither policie, wiſedome, nor puiſſance. Euery one giue but one ſure ſtripe, and ſurely the iourney is ours. What preuayleth a hãdful to a whole realm? deſiring you for the loue that you beare to me, and the affection that you haue to your natiue and naturall countrey, & to the ſafegard of your Prince and your ſelf, that you wyl this day take to you your accuſtomed corage & couragious ſpirites, for the defence and ſafegard of vs al. And as for me, I aſſure you, this day I wil triumph by glorious victorie, or ſuffer death for immortal fame. For they be maymed & oute of the palace of fame diſgraded, dying withoute renoune, which do not aſmuche preferre and exalte the perpetuall honour of theyr natiue countrey, as their owne mortall and tranſitorie lyfe.

Now ſent George to borow, let vs ſet forwarde and remember well, that I am hee whiche ſhall with high aduancementes, rewarde and preferre the valiaunt and hardy champions, and puniſhe and torment the ſhamefull cowards and dreadfull daſtardes. This exhortation encouraged all ſuch as fauoured him, but ſuche as were preſente more for dread than loue, kiſſed them openly, whome they inwardlye hated, other ſware outwardly to take part with ſuch, whoſe death they ſecretely compaſſed, and inwardly imagined, other promiſed to inuade the Kinges enimies, whiche fledde and fought with fierce courage againſt the King: other ſtoode ſtill and looked on, intēding to take part with the victors and ouercommers. So was his people to him vnſure and vnfaithful at his end, as he was to his nephewes vntrue and vnnaturall in his beginning.

When the Earle of Richmond knew by hys forriders that the King was ſo neere embattayled, he rode about his army, from ranke to ranke, from wing to wing, giuing comfortable wordes to all men, and that finiſhed (being armed at all peeces ſauing his helmette) mounted on a little hill, ſo that all his people mighte ſee and beholde him perfectly, to their greate reioycing: For hee was a mā of no great ſtature, but ſo formed and decorated with all giftes and liniaments of nature, that he ſeemed more an Angelicall creature, than a terreſtriall perſonage, his countenaunce and aſpect was cheerefull and couragious, hys heare yellow like the burniſhed golde, hys eyes gray ſhining and quicke, prompte and ready in anſwering, but of ſuche ſobrietie, that it coulde neuer be iudged whither he were more dull than quicke in ſpeaking (ſuch was his temperaunce.) And when he had ouerlooked his army ouer euery ſide, he pawſed awhile, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde ſpirit, ſpake to his companyons theſe or like wordes following.

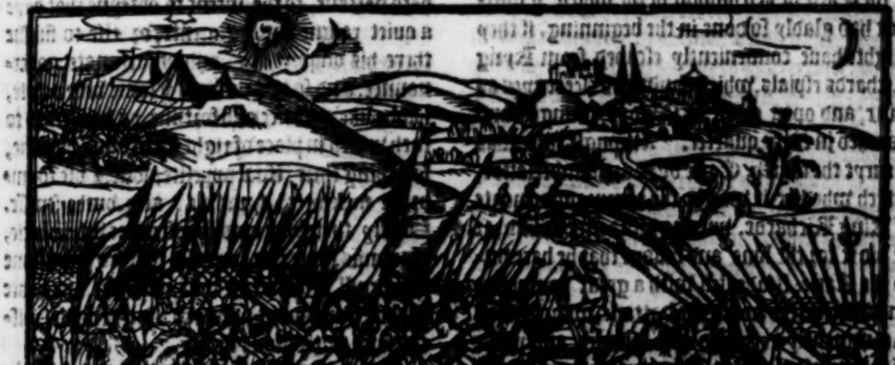
e Oration f Kīg Hen- e ſeuēth.

If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iuſt quarrell, or if he euer aided ſuche as made warre for the wealth and tuition of theyr owne naturall and nutritiue Countrey, or if hee euer ſuccoured them whiche aduentured their lyues for the reliefe of innocentes, ſuppreſſing of malefactors and apparante offendors, no doubte my fellowes and friendes, but hee of his bountifull goodneſſe, will this day ſend vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie iourney ouer our proude enemies, and arrogant aduerſaries: for if you remēber and conſider the very cauſe of our iuſt quarrell, you ſhall apparantly perceyue the ſame to be true, godly, and vertuous. In the whiche I doubt not, but God will rather ayde vs (yea and fight for vs) than ſee vs vanquiſhed and ouerthrowē by ſuch as neither fear him nor his laws, nor yet regard iuſtice or honeſtie. Our cauſe is ſo iuſt, that no enterpriſe can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine and ciuill, for what can be a more honeſt, goodly, or godly quarrell, than to fight againſt a Captaine, being an homicyde and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extreame deſtroyer of his nobilitie, and to hys and our Countrey and the poore ſubiectes of the ſame, a deadly malle, a fyrie brand, and a burthen vntollerabl: beſyde him conſider, who bee of hys band and company, ſuch as by murther and vntruth committed againſt their owne kinne and linage, yea againſt their Prince and ſoueraigne Lord, haue diſherited mee and you, and wrongfully deteyne and vſurp our lawfull patrimonie and lyneall inheritance. For he that calleth hymſelfe King, keepeth from me the Crowne and regimente of this noble Realme and Countrey, contrarie to all iuſtice and equitie. Likewiſe, hys mates and friendes occupie youre landes, cutte downe your woods, and deſtroy your manours, letting your wiues and children raunge abroade for theyr liuing: which perſons for their penance and puniſhmente I doubt not, but God of hys goodneſſe will eyther deliuer into our handes, as a greate gaine and booty, or cauſe them beeyng greeued and compuncted with the pricke of theyr corrupt conſciences cowardly to flie, and not abide the battaile: beſide this I aſſure you, that there be yonder in the great battaile, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue, ſouldyers by force compelled, and not with good will aſſembled, perſons which deſire rather the deſtruction than ſaluation of theyr maiſter and Captayne: And finally a multitude, whereof ẏ moſt part will be our friends, and the leaſt part our enimies. For truely I doubt which is greater, the malice of the Soldyers toward theyr Captaine, or the feare of him conceyued of his people: for ſurely this rule is infallible, that as ill men dayly couet to deſtroy the good, ſo God appointeth the good men to confound the ill, and of all worldly goodes the greateſt is, to ſuppreſſe Tyrants, and relieue innocents, whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If thys be true (as Clearkes Preache) who will ſpare yonder Tyrant Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, vntruely calling himſelfe King, conſidering that hee hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God and man? what vertue is in him whyche was the confuſion of his brother, and murtherer of his nephewes? what mercy is in him that ſleyeth his truſtie friends as well as his extreame enimies? Who can haue confidence in hym whiche putteth diffidence in all menne? If you haue not red, I haue heard of Clearkes ſay, ẏ Tarquine the proude for the vice of the body loſt the Kingdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquine baniſhed the Citie for euer: yet was not hys fault faulte ſo deteſtable as the facte of cruell Nero, whiche ſlewe his owne mother, and opened hyr entrayles, to beholde the place of his conception. Behold yõder Richard, which is both Tarquine and Nero: Yea a Tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not only murthered his nephewe beeyng his King and ſoueraigne Lorde, baſtarded hys noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of hys vertuous and womanly mother, but alſo compaſſed all the meanes and wayes that he coulde inuent, howe to defile and carnally knowe hys owne neece, vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimonie, whiche Lady I haue ſworne and promiſed to take to my make and wife, as you all knowe and beleeue. If this cauſe be not iuſt, and this quarrell godly, let God the giuer of victory, iudge and determine. We haue (thankes bee gyuen to Chriſt) eſcaped the ſecret treaſons in Britaine, and auoyded the ſubtill ſnares of our fraudulent enimies there, paſſed the troublous Seas in good and quiet ſafegard, and without reſiſtãce haue penetrate the ample region and large coũtrey of Wales, and are now come to the place, whiche wee ſo muche deſired, for long wee haue ſoughte the furious Bore, and nowe wee haue found him. Wherefore let vs not feare to enter into the toyle where we may ſurely ſley him, for God knoweth that we haue liued in the vales of miſerie, toſſing oure Shippes in daungerous ſtormes: lette vs not nowe dread to ſet vp oure ſailes in faire weather, hauing with vs both him and good fortune. If wee hadde come to conquer Wales and had atchieued it, our prayſe had bin great, and our gayne more: but if wee win thys battayle, the whole riche Realme of Englande, with the Lords and rulers of the ſame, ſhall bee ours, the profit ſhall be ours, and the honour ſhall be ours. Therefore laboure for youre gaine, and ſweate for youre right: while wee were in Brytayne, we had ſmall liuings, and little plentie of wealth or welfare, nowe is the time come to get abundance of riches, and copy of profit, whyche is the reward of your ſeruice, and merit of youre payne. And this remember with your ſelues, that before vs be our enimies, and on eyther ſyde of vs be ſuche, as I neyther ſurely truſte, nor greatly beleeue, backwarde we cannot flie: So that heere wee ſtand lyke Sheepe in a folde, circumcepted and compaſſed betweene our enimies and our doubtfull friends. Therefore let all feare bee ſet aſide, and like ſworne brethren, lette vs ioyne in one, for this day ſhall bee the end of oure trauayle, and the gaine of our laboure, eyther by honorable deathe or famous victorie: And as I truſt, the battayle ſhall not bee ſo ſowre, as the profit ſhall bee ſweete. Remember that victorie is not gotten with the multitude of menne, but with the courages of heartes and valiantneſſe of mindes. The ſmaller that our number is, yͤ more glory is to vs if we vanquiſh, if we be ouercome, yet no laude is to bee attributed, to the victors, conſidering that ten men foughte againſte one: and if wee ſo die ſo glorious a death in ſo good a quarrell, neyther freting time, nor cancarding obliuion, ſhall bee able to darken or race out of the booke of fame either oure names, or oure godly attempt. And this one thing I aſſure you, that in ſo iuſt and good a cauſe, and ſo notable a quarrell, you ſhall finde mee this daye, rather a dead carrion vpon the colde grounde, than a free priſoner on a carpet in a Ladyes chamber. Let vs therefore fight like inuincible Giants, and ſet on our enimies like vntimorous Tygers, and baniſhe all feare like ramping Lyons. And now aduance forwarde true men againſt Traitors, pitifull perſons againſt murtherers, true inheritors againſte vſurpers, the ſcourges of God againſte tyraunts, diſplay my banner with a good courage, march forth like ſtrong and robuſtious champions, and begin the battaile like hardye conquerors: the battaile is at hande, and the victorie approcheth, and if we ſhamefully recule, or cowardly flee, we and all our ſequele be deſtroyed, and diſhonored for euer. This is the daye of gayne, and this is the time of loſſe, get this daye victorie, and bee conquerers, and leſe this dayes battayle and bee villaynes, and therefore in the name of God and Saint George, let euery man couragiouſly aduance forth his ſtanderd.

These cheerefull wordes he ſet forth with ſuch geſture of his body, and ſmiling countenance, as though already he hadde vanquiſhed his enimies, and gotten the ſpoyle.

He hadde ſcantly finiſhed his ſaying, but the one army eſpyed the other, lord howe haſtely the ſoldiers buckled their healmes, howe quickly the archers bente their bowes and fruſhed their feathers, how readily the bilmen ſhoke their billes, and proued their ſtaues, ready to approche and ioyne, when the terrible trumpet ſhoulde ſounde the bloudy blaſt to victorie or death. Betweene both armies, ther was a great marreſſe then (but at this preſent, by reaſon of diches caſt, it is growen to be firme ground) which yͤ Earle of Richmond left on his right hand, for this intent, that it ſhould be on that ſide a defence for hys parte, and in ſo doing, he hadde the ſunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When Kyng Richard ſawe the Earles companie was paſſed the marreſſe, he commaunded with all haſt to ſet vppon them: then the trumpettes blewe, and the ſoldiers ſhowted, and the Kings archers couragiouſly let flie their arrowes, the Earles bowmen ſtoode not ſtill, but payed them home agayne. The terrible ſhot once paſſed, the armies ioyned, and came to handſtrokes, where neyther ſword

The battay betweene K Richard, a King Henrie the ſe nor hill was ſpared: at whiche encounter, the L. Stanley ioyned with the Earle. The Earle of Oxford in the meane ſeaſon, fearing leaſt whyle his company was fighting, they ſhould be compaſſed and circumuented with the multitude of the enimies, gaue commaundemente in euerye ranke, that no man ſhould be ſo hardy, as go aboue tenne foote from the ſtandard, which commaundemente once knowen, they knitte themſelues togither, and ceaſſed a little from fighting: the aduerſaries ſuddaynely abaſhed at the matter, and miſtruſting ſome fraude or deceyte, began alſo to pauſe, and lefte ſtriking, and not againſt the willes of many, whiche had leuer haue had the King deſtroyed, than ſaued, and therfore they foughte very fayntly, or ſtoode ſtill. The Earle of Oxforde bringing all his band togyther on the one parte, ſet on his enimies freſhely againe: the aduerſaries perceyuing that, placed their men ſlender and thinne before, and thycke and broad behinde, beginning againe hardely the battayle. While ẏ two forwardes thus mortally fought, eache intending to vanquiſh and conuince the other, King Richard was admoniſhed by his explorators and eſpials, that the Earle of Richmond accompanyed with a ſmall number of men of armes, was not farre off, and as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectly knewe his perſonage, by certayne demonſtrations and tokens, which hee had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outragious malice, he putte hys ſpurres to his horſe, and rode out of the ſyde of the range of his battayle, leauing the auantgarde fighting, and like a hungrye Lion, ranne with ſpeare in reſt toward him. The Earle of Richmond perceyued well the King furiouſlye comming towarde him, and bycauſe the whole hope of his wealth and purpoſe was to be determined by battayle, he gladly profered to encounter with him body to body, and man to man. K. Richard ſet on ſo ſharply at the firſt brunt, that hee ouerthrewe the Earles Standerd, and ſlewe Sir William Brandon his Standard bearer (which was father to Sir Charles Brandon by King Henry the eyght, created Duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with ſir John Cheyney, a man of greate force and ſtrength, which would haue reſiſted him, and ẏ ſaid John was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and ſo hee making open paſſage by dint of ſworde as hee went forwarde, the Erle of Richmond withſtood his violence, and kept him at the ſwordes poynt, without aduantage, longer than his companions either thought or iudged, which being almoſt in deſpaire of victory, were ſuddaynely recomforted by ſir William Stanley, whyche came to his ſuccours with three thouſand tall men, at which very inſtant, King Richardes men were driuen backe and fledde, and he himſelfe manfully fighting in the middle of his enimies, was ſlaine and brought to his death as he worthily had deſerued.



In the meane ſeaſon, the Earle of Oxforde, with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley, after no long fight, diſcomfited the forward of King Richard, whereof a greate number were ſlayne in the chaſe and fight, but ẏ greateſt number which (compelled by feare of the King, and not of their meere voluntarie motion) came to the field, gaue neuer a ſtroke, & hauing no harme nor damage, ſafely departed, which came not thither in hope to ſee the king proſper and proſperouſly, but to heare that hee ſhoulde be ſhamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battayle dyed here aboue the number of a thouſande perſons: And of the nobilitie were ſlayne John Duke of Norfolke, whyche was warned by diuers to refraine from ẏ fielde, in ſo muche that the night before he ſhoulde ſette forwarde towarde the King, one wrote on hys gate.

Iacke of Norffolke be not to bolde
For Dikon thy maſter is boughte and ſolde.

Yet al this notwithſtãding, he regarded more his othe, his honor and promiſe made to Kyng Richard, lyke a Gentleman & as a faithfull ſubiect to his Prince, abſentep not himſelfe from his maiſter, but as he faithfully liued vnder him, ſo he manfully dyed with him, to his greate fame and laude.

There were ſlayne beſyde hym, Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richarde Radcliffe, and Roberte Brakenburie, Lieutenante of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen moe. Sir William Cateſbey, learned in the lawes of the Realme, and one of the chiefe counſaylers to the late King, with diuers other, were two days after beheaded at Leyceſter. Amongſt them that ran away, were Sir Francis Vicount Louell, and Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, whiche toke Sanctuary in Sainct Iohns at Glouceſter. Of captiues and priſoners there was a great number, for after the death of King Richard was knowen and publiſhed, euery man in manner vnarming himſelfe, and caſting away his abilimentes of warre, meekely ſubmitted themſelues to the obeyſance and rule of the Earle of Richmond: of the which, ỹ more part had gladly ſo done in the beginning, if they might haue conueniently eſcaped from Kyng Richards eſpials, which hauing as cleere eyes as Lynx, and open eares as Mydas, raunged and ſearched in euery quarter. Amongſt theſe was Henrye the fourth, Earle of Northumberlande, which whether it was by the commaundemente of King Richarde, putting diffidence in him, or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the Earle, ſtoode ſtill with a great company, and intermitted not in the battaile, whiche was incontinently receyued into fauoure, and made of the counſayle. But Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, which ſubmitted himſelfe there, was not taken to grace, bycauſe his father was chiefe counſayler, and hee greatly familiar with Kyng Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remayned, and in concluſion deliuered, and for his trueth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices and dignities. On the Earle of Richmondes part, were ſlayne ſcarce one hundred perſons, amongſt whome the principal was Sir William Brãdon his ſtanderd bearer.

This battaile was foughte at Boſworth in Leyceſterſhire, the two and twentith daye of Auguſt, in the yeare of our redemption. 1485. the whole conflicte endured litle aboue two houres.

King Richard as the fame went, might haue eſcaped and gotten ſafegard by fleeing. For when they which were next about his perſon ſaw and perceyued at the firſte ioyning of the battayle the ſouldiers fayntly and nothing couragiouſly to ſet on their enimies, and not only that, but alſo that ſome withdrewe themſelues priuily out of the preaſe and departed, they began to ſuſpect fraude and to ſmell treaſon, and not only exhorted, but determinately aduiſed him to ſaue himſelfe by flight: and when the loſſe of the battaile was imminent and apparãt, they brought to him a ſwift and a light horſe, to conuey hym away.

He whiche was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the commõ people bare toward him, caſting away all hope of fortunate ſucceſſe and happie chance to come, aunſwered (as men ſay) that on that day he would make an ende of all battailes, or elſe there finiſhe his life. Suche a great audacitie and ſuch a ſtout ſtomacke reigned in his body, for ſurely he knew that to be the day in the which it ſhould be decided and determined whither he ſhould peaceably obteyne and enioy his kingdome during his life, or elſe vtterly forgoe and be depriued of the ſame, with whiche to much hardineſſe, he being ouercome, haſtily cloſed his helmet, and entred fiercely into the hard battaile, to the intent to obteyne that daye a quiet raigne and regimente, or elſe to finiſhe there his vnquiet life, and vnfortunate gouernaunce. And ſo this miſer at ỹ ſame very point, hadde like chaunce and fortune, as happened to ſuch which in place of right iuſtice and honeſtie, folowing their ſẽſual appetite, loue, & vſe to embrace miſchiefe, tyrannie, and vnthriftineſſe. Surely theſe be examples of more vehemẽcie, than mãs tong can expreſſe, to feare and aſtonie ſuch euill perſons, as will not liue one houre vacant from doing and exerciſing crueltie, miſchiefe or outragious liuing.

When the Earle had thus obteyned victorie, and ſlayne his mortall enimie, he kneeled downe and rendred to almightie God his harty thanks, with deuoute and godly oriſons, beſeeching his goodneſſe to ſende him grace to aduance and defende the Catholike faith, and to mainteyne iuſtice and concord amongſt his ſubiects and people, by God now to his gouernaunce committed and aſſigned.

Which prayer finiſhed, hee repleniſhed with incomparable gladneſſe, aſcended vppe to the toppe of a little Mountaine, where hee not onely prayſed and lawded his valiant ſoldiers, but alſo gaue vnto them his harty thankes, with promiſe of condigne recompence for their fidelitie and valiaunte factes, willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded perſons to be cured, and the dead carcaſſes to be deliuered to the ſepulture. Then the people reioyced, and clapped theyr handes, crying vp to heauen, King Henry, King Henry.

When the Lord Stanley ſawe the good will and gladneſſe of the people, he tooke the crowne of King Richarde which was founde amongeſt the ſpoyle in the fielde, and ſet it on the Earles head, as though he had bene elected king by the voyce of the people, as in auncient tymes paſt in diuers realmes it hath bene accuſtomed, and this was the firſt ſigne and token of his good lucke and felicitie.

I muſt put you here in remembraunce, howe that king Richard putting ſome diffidence in the Lord Stanley, whiche had with him as an hoſtage the Lord Straunge his eldeſt ſonne, which lorde Stanley (as ye haue heard before) ioyned not at the firſt with his ſonne in lawes armye, for feare that king Richard wold haue ſlayne the Lord Straunge his heyre. When king Richard was come to Boſworth, he ſente a purſiuante to the lorde Stanley, commaunding him to aduaunce forward with his companie, and to come to his preſence, which thing if he refuſed to do, he ſware by Chriſtes paſſion, that he woulde ſtryke off his ſonnes head before hee dyned. The Lorde Stanley anſwered the purſiuant that if the king did ſo, he had more ſonnes alyue, and as to come to hym, he was not then ſo determined. When king Richarde hearde this anſwere, he commaunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, which was at that very ſame ſeaſon, when both the armies had ſight eche of other. The counſaylors of king Richard pondering the time and cauſe, knowing alſo the Lorde Straunge to be innocent of his fathers offence, perſwading the K. that it was now tyme to fyght, and not time for execution, aduiſing him to kepe the lord Strange as a priſoner till the battayle were ended, & then at leyſure his pleaſure myght be accompliſhed. So (as God wold) king Richard brake his holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kinges Tentes, to be kepte as a priſoner: which when the fielde was done, and theyr maiſter ſlaine, and proclamation made to knowe where the chyld was, they ſubmitted themſelues as priſoners to the Lorde Strange, and he gently receiued them, and brought them to the newe proclaymed King, where of him and of his father, hee was receued with great ioy and gladneſſe.

After this the whole campe remoued wyth bagge and baggage, and the ſame night in the Euening King Henry with great pompe came to the Towne of Leyceſter. Where aſwell for the refreſhing of hys people and ſouldiours, as for preparing all thinges neceſſarie for his iourney towarde London, hee reſted and repoſed hym ſelfe two dayes. In the meane ſeaſon, the dead corps of king Rycharde was as ſhamefully caryed to the Towne of Leyceſter, as he gorgiouſly the day before wyth pompe & pryde departed out of the ſame Towne. For his body was naked and dyſpoiled to the ſkin, and nothing left about him, not ſo much as a clowte to couer hys priuie members, and was truſſed behinde a Purſiuant of armes called *Blaunche ſenglier*, or white Bore, like a hog or a Calfe, the head and armes hanging on the one ſyde of the horſe, and the legges on the other ſide, and all beſprinckled with myre and bloude he was brought to the gray Friers Church within the Towne, & there laye like a miſerable ſpectacle: but ſurely conſidering hys miſcheuous actes and vngracious doynges, men maye worthely wonder at ſuche a caytiue: and in the ſayde Church he was with no leſſe funerall pompe and ſolemnitie entered, than he woulde to be done at the burying of his innocent Nephewes, whom he cauſed cruelly to be murthered, & vnnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was knowne, fewe lamented, and manye reioyſed: the proude bragging white Bore (which was his badge) was violently raſed and plucked downe from euery ſigne and place where it might be ſpied, ſo ill was his life, that men wiſhed the memorie of him to be buried with his carreine corpſe. He reigned two yeares, two monethes, and one day.

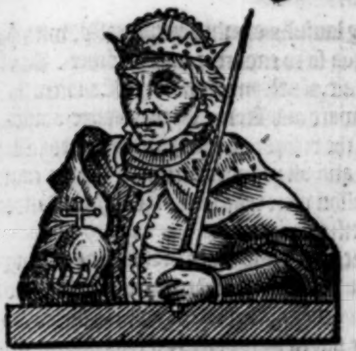
As he was ſmall and litle of ſtature, ſo was he of bodie greatly deformed, the one ſhoulder higher than the other, his face ſmall, but his countenance was cruell, and ſuche, that at the firſt aſpect a man would iudge it to ſauour and ſmell of malice, fraude and deceit: when he ſtode muſing, he would byte and chawe buſily his nether lippe, as who ſayde, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie, alwais chafed, ſtirred, and was euer vnquiet: beſyde that, the dagger whiche he ware, he wold when he ſtudyed, with his hande plucke vp and downe in the ſheath to the mids, neuer drawing it fully out: he was of a ready, pregnant & quicke witte, wyly to feyne, and apt to diſſemble: he had a proude mynde and an arrogant ſtomacke, the whiche accompanied him euen to his death, rather chuſing to ſuffer the ſame by dint of ſworde, than being forſaken and left helpleſſe of hys vnfaithfull companyons, to preſerue by cowardly flight, ſuche a frayle and vncertayn lyfe, whiche by malice, ſicknes, or condigne puniſhment was lyke ſhortly to come to confuſion.

Thus ended this Prince his mortall life, with infamy & diſhonor, whiche neuer preferred fame or honeſtie before ambition, tyrannie and miſchiefe. And if hee had continued ſtill Protector, and ſuffered his Nephewes to haue liued and raigned, no doubt but the Realm had proſpered, and he much prayſed and beloued, as he is nowe abhorred, and had in hatred: but to God whyche knew his inwarde thoughtes at the houre of hys death, I remitte the puniſhment of his offences committed in his life.

King Henry the ſeauenth cauſed a Tombe to bee made and ſet vp ouer the place where hee was buried in the Churche of the grey Friers at Leyceſter, with a picture of alablaſter, repreſenting his perſon, doing that honor to his enemie, vpon a princely regard and pitifull zeale, whyche King Richard (moued of an ypocriticall ſhewe of counterfaite pitie) did to King Henry ÿ ſixte, whome he had firſt cruelly murthered, and after in the ſecond yeare of his vſurped raigne, cauſed his corpes to bee remoued from Chertſey vnto Windeſore, and there ſolemnly enterred.

And nowe to conclude wyth this cruell Tyraunt king Richarde, we maye conſider in what ſorte the ambitious deſire to rule and gouerne in the houſe of Yorke, was puniſhed by Gods iuſt prouidence: for although that the right myghte ſeeme to remayne in the perſon of Richard duke of Yorke, ſlayne at Wakefielde, yet may there bee a faulte worthyly reputed in hym ſo to ſeeke to preuent the tyme appoynted hym by authoritie of Parliamente to attayne to the Crowne, entayled to hym and hys iſſue, in whome alſo, and not onely in hymſelfe that offence (as may bee thoughte) was duely puniſhed: for although his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde the fourthe, beeyng a Prince right prouidente and circumſpect for the ſuretie of hys owne eſtate and his children, in ſo muche, that not contented to cut off all his armies and apparant enimyes, he alſo of a ſiniſter feare, made away his brother the Duke of Clarence, and ſo thought to make all ſure. But Gods vengeance myghte not be diſappoynted, for as ye haue partly heard, he did but lay then thereby the deſtruction of his iſſue, in taking awaye hym that onely myghte haue ſtayed the Tyrannous crueltie of theyr vncle of Gloceſter, who ouergreedie for a crowne and kingdome, berefte his innocent nephues of their lyues and eſtates. And euen thus it well appeared, that the houſe of Yorke ſhewed it ſelfe more bloudie in ſeeking to obteyne the kingdome, than that of Lancaſter in vſurping it: ſo it came to paſſe, that the Lordes vengeance appeared more heauie towardes the ſame than towardes the other, not ceaſſing till the whole iſſue male of the ſayd Richarde Duke of Yorke was extinguiſhed. For ſuche is Gods Iuſtice, to leaue no vnrepentant wickedneſſe vnpuniſhed, as eſpecially in thys caytife Richarde the thirde, not deſeruing ſo muche as the name of a man, muche leſſe of a kyng, moſte manifeſtly appeareth.

But nowe of learned men that liued, and wrote in the dayes of this vſurper and hys nephew king Edward the fyfth, theſe we fynde recorded by Iohn Bale: firſte Iohn Penketh an Auguſtine Frier of Warington in Lancaſhire, a right ſubtile fellow in diſputation, folowing the footeſteppes of his Maiſter Iohn Duns, whom he chiefly ſtudied. He wrote diuers treatiſes, and made that infamous ſermon at Poules croſſe, in fauour of the Duke of Glouceſter then protector, to the diſenheriting of Edward the fifth, his lawfull king and gouernour: Iohn Kent of Caerleon in Southwales: George Ripley firſt a Chanon of Bridlington, and after a Carmelite Frier in Boſton, a greate Mathematician, Rhetorician and Poet: Iohn Spyne a Carmelite Frier of Briſtowe, that proceeded Doctour of diuinitie in Cambridge, and ſuche lyke.



Henry the .vij. Anno. re. 1.

KIng Hẽry hauing thus got the victorie at Boſworth, & ſlayn his mortal enemie there in field, he ſente before his departure from Leyceſter, ſir Rob. Willoughby knighte, to the manour of Sheriffehuton in the coũtie of York, for Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwik, ſon and heire to George duke of Clarence then being of the age of xv. yeares, whom king Richard had kept there as priſoner during the tyme of his vſurped reigne.

The Erle of VVarwicke ſonne and heire to George duke of Clarence committed to the Tower.

Sir Robert Willoughby receyuing the yong Earle of the Conſtable of that Caſtel, conueyed him to London, wher he was ſhut vp in the Tower, for doubt leaſt ſome vnquiet and euill diſpoſed perſons might inuent ſome occaſion of newe trouble by this yong Gentleman, and therefore king Henry thought good to haue him ſure.

There was beſide him in the caſtell of Sheriffehut in the Ladye Elizabeth eldeſt daughter to Kyng Edward the fourth, whome Kyng Rycharde, as yee haue hearde, meant to haue maryed, but God otherwyſe ordeyned for hir, and preſerued hir from that vnlawfull copulation and inceſtuous bedde.

King Henrye commeth to London.

Shortly after, ſhe being accompanyed with a greate number as wel of noble men, as honorable matrones, was wyth good ſpeed conueyed to London, and brought to hir mother. In the meane ſeaſon kyng Henry remoued forwarde by ſoft iourneys toward London, the people commyng in from all ſides to behold him, and exceedingly reioycing at his preſence, as by their voyces and geſtures it well appeared.

At his approching nere to the citie, the Mayre and his brethren, with other worſhipfull Citizens, being cloathed in violet, met him at Shorediche, and reuerently ſaluted hym, and ſo wyth greate pompe and triumph, he rode through the citie to the cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, where he offred three ſtandards: In the one was the image of Saint George, in an other was a red fyerie dragon beaten vpon white and greene ſarcenet, and in the third was paynted a Dunne cowe, vpon yealow tarterne. After his prayers ſayd, and *Te deum* ſong, he departed to the Biſhops paleice, and there ſoiorned a ſeaſon. Anon after, he aſſembled togither yͤ ſage counſellors of the realme, in which counſel lyke a Prince of iuſt fayth and true of promiſe, to auoyde all ciuile diſcorde, he apointed a day to ioyne in mariage with the Lady Elizabeth, heire of the houſe of York, with his noble perſonage, heire to the line of Lancaſter, whiche thing not onely reioyced the heartes of the nobles and Gentlemen of the realme, but alſo gayned the fauours and good willes of all the commons.

Henry the ſeuenth crovvned King.

1485

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto Weſtminſter, and there the thirtith day of October, was with all ceremonies accuſtomed, anoynted, and crowned king, by the whole aſſent as well of the commons as of the nobilitie, and cleped Henry the ſeuenth of that name, whiche was in the yeare of the worlde. 5452. and after the birth of our Lorde. 1485. in the. xlvj. yeare of Frederike the thirde then Emperour of Almayne Maximilian his ſonne being newly elected K. of Romaines, in the ſeconde yeare of Charles the eyght then king of Fraunce, and in the. xxv. of king James, then ruling the realm of Scotland.

A Parliament at VVeſtminſter, and a generall Pard

For the eſtabliſhing of all things, as well touching the preſeruation of his owne eſtate, as the commendable adminiſtration of iuſtice and preferrement of the common wealth of his realme, he called his hygh court of Parliament at Weſtminſter the ſeuenth day of Nouember, wherein was attainted Richarde late Duke of Glouceſter, calling and namyng himſelfe by vſurpation, King Richard the thirde: likewiſe there was attainted as chiefe ayders and aſſiſtants to him in the battayle at Boſworth, auaunced againſte the preſent Kyng, John late Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Earle of Surrey, Francis Louell knyght Vicont Louell, Water Deuereux knight late lorde Ferrers, John lorde Souche, Robert Harrington, Richarde Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Barkley of Weley, Robert Midleton, James Harrington, Roberte Brakbury, Thomas Pilkinton, Walter Hopton, William Cateſby, Roger Wake, Williã Sapcote of the countie of Huntington, Humfrey Stafforde, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geoffrey Sainte Germaine, Richarde Watkyns Herraulde of Armes, Rycharde Reuell of Darbyſhire, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kente, John Walche, otherwyſe called Haſtynges, John Kendall late Secretarie of the ſayde Richarde late Duke of Glouceſter, John Bucke, Andrewe Rat, and Willyam Brampton of Burforde, in whiche atteynder neuertheleſſe there were dyuers clauſes and Prouiſos for the benefyte of their wiues and other perſons that hadde or myghte clayme any ryghte, title, or intereſt lawfully vnto any caſtels, manours, lordſhips, townes, townſhips, honors, lands, tenementes, rentes, ſeruices, fee fermes, annuities, knightes fees, aduouſons, reuerſions, remainders, and other hereditaments, whereof the ſaid perſons atteynted were poſſeſſed or ſeyſed, to the vſes of ſuche other perſons, with a ſpeciall prouiſo alſo, that the ſayd atteynder ſhould not be preiudiciall to John Cateſby knight, Tho. Reuell, and William Aſhby eſquiers, in, of, and vpon the manor of Kirkeby vpon Wretheke in the Countie of Leyceſter, nor in of and vppon any other landes and tenementes in Kirkby aforeſayde, Melton, Somerby, Thropſeghfield, and Goodby, whiche they had of the gift & feoffement of Tho. Dauuers, and John Lye. And further notwithſtanding this attainder, dyuers of the ſayde perſons afterwardes were not only by the Kig pardoned, but alſo reſtored to their lands & liuings: and moreouer in this preſente Parliamente, hee cauſed proclamation to be made, that al mẽ were pardoned and acquited of their offences, whiche woulde ſubmit themſelues to his mercy, and receiue an othe to be true and faithfull vnto hym: wherupon many that came out of Sainctuaries and other places were receiued to grace, and admitted for his ſubiectes. After this, hee began to remember his eſpeciall frends, of whom ſome he aduaunced to honor and dignitie, and ſome hee enriched with goodes and poſſeſſions, euery man according to his deſerts and merites. And to begin, his vncle Jaſper erle of Pembroke, he created duke of Bedford: Tho. lorde Stanley was created erle of Darby, & the L. Chandew of Britain his eſpecial frend, he made erle of Bath: Sir Giles Daubeney was made lord Daubeney: ſir Robert Willoughby was made L. Brooke: And Edward Staforde eldeſt ſonne to Henrye late Duke of Buckingham, he reſtored to his name, dignitie and poſſeſſions, which by king Richard were confiſcate and attainted.

Beſide this, in this parliament was this notable acte aſſented to and concluded as followeth.

An acte for the eſtabliſhing of the Crovvne.

To the pleaſure of Almightye God, wealth, proſperitie and ſuretie of this Realme of England, and to the ſingular comfort of all the kinges ſubiectes of the ſame, in auoyding all ambiguitie and queſtions: Be it ordeined, eſtabliſhed, and enacted by this preſent parliament, that the inheritance of the crowne of this realme of England, and alſo of Fraunce, with all the preeminẽce, and dignitie royal to the ſame apertaining and all other ſeigniories to the king belongyng, beyond the ſea, wᵗ the appurtenãces therto in any wiſe due or apertaining, ſhal reſt remain & abide in the moſt royal perſon of our nowe ſoueraigne lord K. Henry the ſeuẽth, and in the heires of his body lawfully coming, perpetually, with yͤ grace of god ſo to endure, & in none other. And beſide this act, al atteynders of this K. enacted by king Edward and Kyng Richard were adnichilate, and the recorde of the ſame adiudged to be defaced, and all perſones atteinted for his cauſe and occaſion were reſtored to their goods landes and poſſeſſions.

Diuers acts alſo made in this time of king Edward and king Richard were reuoked, and other adiudged more expedient for the cõmon wealthe were put in their places and concluded. After the diſſolution of this parliament, the king remembring his frends left in hoſtage beyonde the ſeas, that is to wit, the Marques Dorſet, and ſir Jo. Bourchier, he with all conueniẽt ſpede redemed them, & ſente alſo into Flanders for John Morton Biſhop of Ely. Theſe actes performed, he choſe to bee of his counſayle, a conuenient number of right graue and wyſe counſellours.

King Henry the ſeuenthe taketh to vvife Elizabeth eldeſte daughter of Edvvard the fourthe.

1486

Although by this meanes al things ſeemed to be brought in good and perfect order, yet ther lacked a wreſt to the harpe, to ſet all the ſtrings in a monacorde and perfecte tune, which was the matrimonie to be finiſhed betwene the king and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward, which like a good Prince, according to his othe, & promiſe, did both ſolemniſe & cõſummate ſhortly after, that is to ſaye, on the. xviij. day of Januarie, by reaſon of whych mariage, peace was thought to deſcende out of heauen into Englãd, conſidering that the lynes of Lancaſter & Yorke were now brought into one knot, and connexed togither, of whoſe two bodies, one heire myght ſucceede to rule and enioye the whole monarchie and realme of Englande. Shortly after, for the better preſeruation of his royall perſon, he conſtituted and ordeyned a certaine number, as well of good Archers, as of dyuers other perſons, hardie, ſtrong, and actiue, to giue dayly attendance on his perſone, whome he named yeomen of his garde, which preſident men thought that he lerned of the French king, when he was in France.

Yeomen of the garde firſte brought in.

For it is not remembred, that any Kyng of Englande before that daye vſed any ſuſh furniture of dayly ſouldiours.

Another parliament the ſame yeare.

In the ſame yeare a newe kynde of ſickneſſe inuaded ſodeynly the people of this lande, paſſing thorough the ſame from the one ende to the other. It began about the. xxj. of September, and continued till the latter end of October, beyng ſo ſharpe and deadly, that the lyke was neuer hearde of to any mannes remembrance before that tyme. For ſodeynly a deadely burnyng ſweate ſo aſſayled theyr bodies, and diſtempered their bloud wyth a moſte ardent heat, that ſcarſe one amongſt an hundred that ſickned did eſcape with life: for all in maner as ſone as the

The ſvveating ſickeneſſe.

the ſweat toke them, or within a ſhort tyme after yelded vp the ghoſt: beſyde the great number which deceaſſed within the citie of London two Mayres ſucceſſiuely died within viij. days & vj. Aldermē. At length by the diligent obſeruatiō of thoſe that eſcaped (whiche marking what things had done thē good, & holpen to their deliuerance, vſed the lyke agayne: when they fell into the ſame diſeaſe, the ſecond or thirde tyme, as to dyuers it chaunced, a remedie was founde for that mortall maladie, which was this: If a man on the daye tyme were taken with the ſweate, then ſhould he ſtreight lye downe with al his clothes and garments, and continue in hys ſweat .xxiiij. houres, after ſo moderate a ſort as might bee. If in the nyghte hee chaunced to be taken, then ſhoulde he not ryſe out of his bedde for the ſpace of .xxiiij. houres, ſo caſtyng the cloathes that he myght in no wyſe prouoke the ſweate, but ſo lye temperately, that the water mighte diſtyll out ſoftly of the owne accord, and to abſtein from all meat if he might ſo long ſuffer hunger, & to take no more drinke neyther hot nor colde, thā wold moderatly quench & aſſuage his thirſtie appetite. And thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and meaſurable clothes manye eſcaped: fewe whiche vſed this order after it was founde out dyed of that ſweat. Mary one point diligētly aboue all other in this cure is to be obſerued, that he neuer put out his hande or feete out of the bed, to refreſhe or coole himſelf, which to do is no leſſe ieopardie than ſhort and preſent death.

A remedye for the ſweating ſickneſſe.

Thus this diſeaſe comming in the firſt yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of ſome) to be a token and ſigne of a troublous reigne of the ſame king, as the profe partly afterwardes ſhewed it ſelfe.

The king ſtanding in neede of money to diſcharge ſuche debtes, and to mayntayn ſuch port as was behouefull, ſente the Lorde Treaſourer with Maiſter Reignold Bray, and others, vnto the Lord Mayre of London, requiryng of the Citie a preſt of ſixe thouſand markes: Wherevpon the ſayd Lord Mayre and his brethren, with the Commons of the Citie, graunted a preaſt of two thouſande poundes, whiche was leuyed of the companies, and not of the wardes: and in the yeare next enſuyng, it was well and truly agayne repayde euery penny, to the good contentation and ſatiſfying of them that diſburſed it.

The king conſidering that the ſuretie of his royall eſtate and defence of the realme conſiſted chiefly in good lawes and ordinaunces to bee hadde and obſerued among his people, ſummoned eftſoones his highe courte of Parliamente, therein to deuiſe and eſtabliſhe ſome profitable actes and ſtatutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people, and then after hauyng ſette thinges in quiet about London, hee toke his iorney into the North partes, there to purge all the dregges of malicious treaſon that myghte reſt in the heartes of vnquiet perſons, and namely in Yorkeſhire, where the people bare more fauour vnto king Richarde in his lyfe tyme, than thoſe of any other part of the realm had cōmonly doon. He kept the feaſt of Eaſter at Lincolne, where hee was certified that the Lorde Louell and Humfrey Staffourde, and Thomas Stafforde, his brother were departed out of the Sanctuarie at Colcheſter, to what place or whether no man as yet could tell.

The King little regarding the matter, kept on his iourney, and came to Yorke, where as ſoone as he was once ſetled, it was openly ſhewed and declared for a truthe to the King hymſelfe, that Frauncis Lorde Louell was at hande wyth a ſtrong and mightye power of men, and woulde with all diligence inuade the citie: alſo that the forenamed Staffords were in Worceſterſhire, & had reyſed a greate bande of the countrey people and commons there, and hadde caſte lottes what parte ſhould aſſault the gates, what men ſhould ſcale the walles of the Citie of Worceſter, and who ſhould let the paſſages for lettyng of reſcues and aiders.

A rebellion made by the Lord Louell and others.

Humfrey Stafforde.

Thomas Stafforde.

The Kyng coulde not beleeue thys reporte to bee true at the firſte, but after that by Letters of credence ſente from hys friendes, hee was fully perſwaded that it was too true, hee was put in no ſmall feare, and not without greate cauſe, for hee wiſely conſidered, that hee neyther hadde any competent army ready, nor conuenient furniture to arme them that were preſent. And alſo hee was in ſuche place, where hee coulde not aſſemble anye power, but of thoſe whome hee ſore miſtruſted, as friendes to them that were moſte his enemies, the memorie of King Richarde as yet being not amongſt thē forgotten nor worne out of minde.

But bycauſe the matter required quicke expedition, hee appoynted the Duke of Bedforde wyth three thouſande men not altogyther the beſte armed (for theyr breaſt plates for the moſt parte were of tanned leather,) to marche forth agaynſt the Lorde Louell, and to ſette vppon him without any lingring of tyme.

The Duke haſtyng forwarde, approchyng to the Campe of hys enimyes, and before hee woulde aſſayle them, hee cauſed the Herraldes to make proclamation, that all thoſe that wold departe from theyr armure, and ſubmitte themſelues as ſubiectes vnto theyr naturall Prince and ſoueraigne Lorde, ſhould be pardoned of all former offences.

The Lord Louel vppon this Proclamation,

eyther putting myſtruſt in hys Souldiours, or fearyng himſelfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuily in a nyght from his companie, and lefte them as a flocke of ſheepe without a ſhepeherd: which departure when his armie vnderſtode, it put the ſouldiours in ſuche diſpayre of atchieuing anye further enterpriſe, that they immediatly put off their armour, and came directly vnto the Duke, euery man humbly ſubmitting himſelfe, and deſiring pardon of his offences.

Sir Hamfrey Stafforde taken out of Colnehã Sanctuary, and executed.

So in this wyſe was that dangerous ſtorme and cruell rage of thoſe furious rebelles appeaſed, whiche was doubted to haue growne to the deſtruction of many a man. The Lord Louell the procurer of this buſineſſe, eſcapyng awaye, got him into Lancaſhyre, and there for a certain ſpace laye lurkyng in ſecrete with Sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in thoſe parties was a man of no ſmall authoritie & power. Sir Humfrey Stafforde alſo hearyng what hadde happened to the Lorde Louell, in great diſpleaſure and ſorrowe, and for feare lefte his enterpryſe, and in lyke manner fledde, and toke Sainctuarie at Colnham, a village not paſte two myles from Abyndon. But bycauſe that Sainctuarie was not a ſufficient defence (as was proued before the Iuſtices of the Kings benche) for traytours, hee was taken from that place, and broughte to the Tower, and after put to execution at Tyborne: but his brother Thomas that was with hym, was pardoned, bycauſe hee was thought not to haue attempted anye thyng of hym ſelfe otherwyſe than by the euill counſell and perſwaſion of his elder brother.

An.reg.2.

The birth of Prince Arthur.

After that the Kyng hadde quieted all theſe commotions and tumultes, and reformed the rude & brabblyng people of the North partes, he retourned to London, and ſhortly after he went to Wincheſter, where his wyfe Queene Elizabeth was brought to bedde of a fayre Prince, named at his baptiſme Arthur.

In thys meane tyme, of a ſmall matter and the ſame altogether falſe and fayned, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconuenience to enſue: the whyche matter myghte ſeeme verye ſtraunge howe ſuche trouble and myſchiefe ſhoulde growe thereof, if the tyme were not conſydered, in whyche it happened: for in thoſe dayes manye perſons, eyther borne in the wombe of continuall diſſention, or nouryſhed wyth the mylke of Ciuile ſedition, coulde not forbeare theyr vſuall Cuſtome of mouyng ſtryfe, and ſowyng debate, euer gladde to haue any occaſion, thoughe neuer ſo ſmall, to ſtyrre vprores of warre, and ſlaughter of people.

Sir Richard Simond a Prieſte.

Amongeſt other ſuche monſters and lymmes of the Diuell, there was one Sir Richard Symond Prieſt, a man of baſe byrthe, and yet well learned, but not ſo learned as wyly, nor ſo wylye as vngracious, delightyng in fraude and deceyte, euen from hys youthe vppe, had a ſcholer called Lamberte Symnell, one of a gentle nature and pregnaunt witte, to bee the organe and chiefe Inſtrument, by the whych he might conueye and bryng to paſſe hys myſchieuous attempte.

Lambert Senell the counterfet Earle of VVarwicke.

The diuell chiefe maiſter of ſuche practiſes, put in the venemous brayne of this diſloyal and trayterous Prieſte, to deuyſe howe hee myghte make his Scholler the foreſayde Lamberte to bee reputed as ryght inheritour to the Crowne of thys realme: namely for that the fame went that Kyng Edwardes chyldren were not dead, but fledde ſecretely into ſome ſtraunge place, and there to be lyuyng: and that Edward earle of Warwyke, ſonne and heyre to the Duke of Clarence, either was, or ſhortly ſhuld be put vnto death.

Theſe rumors though they ſemed not to be grounded of any lykelyhode to the wyſer ſorte of men, yet encouraged this peuiſhe Prieſte to thinke the tyme come, that his Scholer Lambert might take vpon him the perſon and name of one of king Edwardes children, and hereupon at Oxforde, where their abyding was, the ſaid Prieſt inſtructed his pupil both with princely behauiour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaryng to hym of what lynage he ſhould affirme himſelfe to be deſcended, and omitted nothing that might ſerue for his purpoſe.

Soone after, the rumour was blowne abrode, that the Earle of Warwike was broken out of priſon. And when the Prieſt ſir Richarde Symonde hearde of this, he ſtreight intended now by that occaſion to bryng his inuented purpoſe to paſſe, and chaungyng the chyldes name of baptiſme, called him Edward, after the name of the yong Earle of Warwike, the whiche were both of lyke yeres, & of like ſtature, and then he with his ſcholer ſayled into Irelande, where hee ſo ſette forth the mater vnto the nobilitie of that countreye, that not onely the Lorde Thomas Gerardine Chauncellour of that lande deceiued through his craftie tale, receyued the counterfaite Earle into his Caſtell, with all honour and reuerence, but alſo many other noble men, determined to ayde hym (with all their powers) as one deſcended of the bloud royall, and lyneally come of the houſe of Yorke, whiche the Iriſhe people euermore hyghly fauored, honoured and loued aboue all other.

Thomas Gerardine Chancelor of Irel.

By this meanes euery manne throughout all Irelande, was willyng and ready to take his parte, and to ſubmit themſelues to him, already reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that nowe they of this ſecte by the aduice of the prieſte ſente into England certayn priuie meſſangers to get friendes here, & alſo they ſent into Flanders to yͤ Ladie Margarete, ſiſter to King Edward, & late wyfe to Charles Duke of Burgogne, to purchaſe ayde and helpe at hir handes.

Margaret Dutcheſſe of Burgogne ſiſter to Kyng Edvvard the fourthe.

Thys Ladie Margarete bare no ſmal rule in the low countreys, and in verie dede ſore grudged in hir heart, that Kyng Henrye being deſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſhould reigne and gouerne the realme of Englande: and therfore though ſhe well vnderſtode, that thys was but a coloured matter, yet to worke hir malicious intention againſt K. Henry, ſhe was glad to haue ſo fitte an occaſion: and therefore promiſed the meſſengers all the ayde that ſhe ſhould bee able to make in furtheraunce of the quarell, and alſo to procure al the frendes ſhe could in other places to be aiders and partakers of the ſame conſpiracie.

Kyng Henrye aduertized of al theſe doings, was greatly vexed therwith; and therfore to haue good aduiſe in the matter, hee called togyther his counſell at the Charterhouſe beſyde his manour of Richmond, and there conſulted with thē, by which meanes beſt this begon conſpiracie might be appeſed and diſappointed without more diſturbaunce. It was therfore determined, that a generall pardon ſhould be publiſhed to all offenders that were content to receyue the ſame.

This pardon was ſo freely graunted, that no offence was excepted, no not ſo muche as high treaſon committed agaynſte the Kinges royell perſon.

It was further agreed n the ſame Counſell for the tyme then preſent, that the Erle of Warwike ſhould perſonally be ſhewed abroade in the citie, and other publike places, whereby the vntrue reporte falſly ſpred abroade, that he ſhoulde be in Irelande, myght be amongeſt the comminaltie proued and knowen for a vayne imagined lye.

In this ſolemne counſel diuers & many things for the wealth of the realme were debated & concluded, and amongeſt other it was determyned, that the Lady Elizabeth wyfe to King Edward the fourth, ſhould leeſe and forfayte all hir lands and poſſeſſions, bycauſe ſhe had voluntarily ſubmitted hir ſelfe, and hir daughters wholly to the handes of king Richarde, contrarye to hir promiſe made to the Lordes and nobles of thys realme in the beginnyng of the conſpiracie made againſt king Richard, wherby ſhe did inough to haue quayled all the purpoſe of them that ioyned with hir in that mater: But thoughe hir faulte was greeuous, yet was it iudged by ſome men that ſhee deſerued not by equitie of Juſtice ſo greate a loſſe and puniſhement.

Lady Elizabeth late vvife to King Edvvarde the fourthe, adiudged to forfeit al hir landes.

But ſuche was hir chaunce by that hir lightneſſe and inconſtancie, ſhe wanne the diſpleaſure of many menne, and for that cauſe lyued after in the abbey of Bermondſey beſyde Southwarke, a wretched and a miſerable lyfe, where not many yeeres after ſhe deceaſſed, and is buryed with hir huſband at Windſore.

Though Fortune thus ruleth many thinges at his pleaſure, yet one worke that this Queene accompliſhed, can not bee forgotten: For in the lyfe tyme of hir huſbande Kyng Edward the fourth, ſhee founded and erected a notable Colledge in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge for the fynding of Scholers and ſtudentes of the ſame vniuerſitie, and endowed it with ſufficient poſſeſſions for the long mayntenaunce of the ſame, whyche at thys daye is called the Queenes Colledge.

Queenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the Lady Elizabeth Kyng Edvvarde the fourthe hys vvidovve.

When all thyngs in thys counſell were ſagely concluded and agreed to the kings mynde, he returned to London, giuing in commaundement, that the next Sunday enſuyng, Edward the young Earle of Warwike ſhuld be brought from the Tower thorough the moſte publyque ſtreetes in all London, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, where hee wente openlye in Proceſſion, that euery man myght ſee him, hauing communication with many noblemen, and with them eſpecially, that were ſuſpected to bee partakers of the late begonne conſpiracye, that they myght perceyue howe the Iriſhmenne vppon a vayne ſhadowe moued warre againſte the Kyng and his realme.

But this medicine little auayled to euill diſpoſed perſons. For the Earle of Lincolne ſonne to John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edwarde the fourth, thynking it not meete to neglect and omitte ſo ready an occaſion of newe trouble, determyned to vpholde the enterpriſe of the Iriſhmenne, and other complices of this conſpiracie: Wherevpon conſultyng wyth Syr Thomas Broughton, and certayne other of hys moſte truſtye friendes, purpoſed to ſayle into Flaunders to his Aunte the Lady Margaret ducheſſe of Burgogne, truſting by hir helpe to make a puiſſant armie, and to ioyne with the companions of the newe raiſed ſedition.

Therefore after the diſſolution of the Parliamente, whiche then was holden, he fledde ſecretly into Flaunders vnto the ſayd Ladie Margarete, where Francis Lorde Louell landed certaine dayes before. Here after long conſultation had howe to proceede in their buſineſſe, it was agreed, that the Earle of Lyncolne, and the Lorde Louell ſhoulde goe into Irelande, and there to attend vpon the ducheſſe hir counterfaite nephue, & to honor him as a K. and with the power of the Iriſhemen to bryng hym into Englande, and if their doynges hadde good ſucceſſe, then the foreſayde Lamberte, (myſnamed the Erle of Warwike) ſhoulde by the conſente of the counſell bee depoſed, and Edwarde the true Earle of Warwike to bee delyuered out of priſon and anoynted king.

King Henry ſuppoſyng that no man woulde haue bin ſo madde as to haue attempted anye further enterpriſe in the name of that newe found counterfayted Earle, hee onely ſtudyed howe to ſubdue the ſeditious conſpiracie of the Iriſhmen: But hearyng that the Earle of Lincolne was fledde into Flaunders, he was ſomwhat moued therwith, and cauſed ſouldiors to bee put in a readyneſſe out of euery part of his Realme, and to bring them into one place aſſigned, that when his aduerſaries ſhoulde appeare, hee might ſodeynely ſette vppon them, vanquiſhe and ouercome them.

The Marques Dorſet committed to the Tovver.

Thus diſpoſing things for his ſuretie, he went towardes Saint Edmundes Burye, and beeing certifyed, that the Marques Dorſet was comming towardes his Maieſtie, to excuſe himſelfe of thinges that hee was ſuſpected to haue done when he was in Fraunce, hee ſente the Earle of Oxford to arreſt the ſayde Marques by the way and to conueye hym to the Tower of London, there to remayne till his truthe might be tryed.

1487

From thence the King wente forth to Norwiche, and taryng there Chriſtmaſſe daye, departed after to Walſingham, where he offered to the Image of our Ladye, and then by Cambridge, he ſhortly retourned to London.

Martin Svvard a valiant capitaine of the Almaines.

In this meane tyme, the Earle of Lincolne had gotten together by the ayd of the lady Margaret about .ij. M. Almayns, with one Martine Swarde, a noble capitaine to leade them. With this power the Erle of Lincolne ſayled into Ireland, and at the citie of Diuelyn, cauſed young Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of Englande, after the moſte ſolemne faſhion, as though he were the verie heire of the bloud royal lineally borne and deſcended.

The counterfet arle of VVarvicke vvith ll his adherēts andeth in Engande.

And ſo with a greate multitude of beggerly Iriſhmenne, almoſte all naked and vnarmed, ſauyng ſkaynes and mantelles, of whome the Lorde Thomas Gerardine was Capitayn and conductour, they ſayled into Englande wyth thys newe founde kyng, and landed for a purpoſe at the pyle of Fowdreye, wythin a little of Lancaſter, truſtyng there to fynde ayde by the meanes of ſir Thomas Broughton, one of the chiefe companyons of the conſpiracie.

The Kyng hadde knowledge of the enimies intente before theyr arriuall, and therefore hauyng aſſembled a greate Armye, (ouer the whyche the Duke of Bedforde, and the Earle of Oxforde were chiefe Capitaynes) hee went to Couentrye, where hee was aduertiſed, that the Earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaſter with his newe kyng.

Here he toke aduice of his counſellors what was beſt to be done, whether to ſet on the enemyes wythoute further delaye, or to protracte tyme a whyle, but at length it was thought beſte to delaye no tyme, but to gyue them battayle before they ſhoulde increaſe their power, and thereuppon hee remoued to Notyngham, and there by a little woode called Bowres, he pitched hys fielde, vnto whome ſhortely came the Lorde George Talbot Earle of Shrewſburye, the Lorde Straunge, Sir John Cheyny, ryght valyaunt Capitaynes, with manye other noble and experte menne of warre, namely of the countreyes nere adioynyng, ſo that the Kynges armie was wonderfully increaſed.

In this ſpace the Earle of Lincolne beyng entred into Yorkeſhyre, paſſed ſoftly on hys iourney withoute ſpoylyng or hurtyng of anye manne, truſtyng thereby to haue ſome companye of people reſorte vnto hym, but after hee perceyued fewe or none to followe hym, and that it was too late nowe to retourne backe, he determyned to try the matter by dynt of ſworde, and hereuppon directed hys waye from Yorke to Newarke vppon Trente, but before he came there, Kyng Henrye knowing all hys enemies purpoſes, came the nighte before the day of the battayle to Newark, and taryyng there a little, went three myles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night.

The Earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abaſhed, but kepte ſtill on his iourney, and at a little village called Stoke, nighe to the Kyng and his armye, ſette downe his campe.

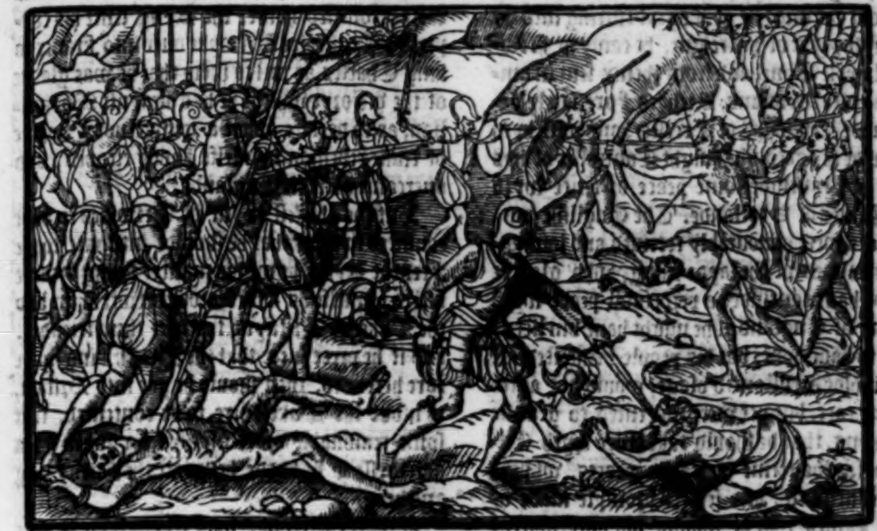
The armyes ioyne.

The nexte daye the King deuided his whole power into three battayls, and after in good array, approched nygh to the towne of Stoke.

The Earle likewyſe ſet forth his army, & encountring with the kings people in a faire playn there, meete for the tryall of ſuche a conflict, ſet vppon them with a manly courage, deſiring his ſouldiors to remember his honor and their owne liues. And ſo both the armies ioyned and fought verye earneſtly, in ſo muche that the Almaynes, beeyng tryed and experte menne of warre, were in all thynges, as well in ſtrengthe as pollicie, egall and matches to the Engliſhemenne. But as for Martine Swarde theyr Coronell, fewe of the Engliſhemen, eyther in valyaunt courage or ſtrength, and nymbleneſſe of bodye was to hym comparable. On the other ſyde, the Iriſhmen, although they fought manfully, and ſtucke to it valiantly, yet bicauſe they were after

The battaile of Stoke.

after the maner of their countrey, almoſt naked, without anye conuenable furniture of armour they were ſtriken downe and ſlayn lyke dull and brute beaſtes, which was a great diſcouragement



to the reſidue of the companie.

Thus they foughte for a ſpace ſo ſore and ſo egrely on both partes, that no manne coulde well iudge, to whome the victorie was lyke to enclyne.

But at lengthe the Kings fore warde beyng full of people, and well fortifyed wyth winges, whiche only both began and continued the fight, ſet vpon the aduerſaries with ſuch force and violence, that firſt they oppreſſed and killed ſuch capitaynes one by one as reſiſted their mighte and puiſſaunce. And after that, put all the other to flyghte, the whiche were eyther apprehended as Priſoners in their running away, or els ſlayne and broughte vnto confuſyon in a ſmall momente.

But when thys battayle was ended, and fought out to the extremitie, then it wel appered, what hyghe prowes, what manfull ſtomackes, what hardie and couragious heartes reſted in the kings aduerſaries. For there the chiefe captaines the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lorde Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martine Swarde, and the Lorde Gerardine capitain of the Iriſhmen were ſlaine and found dead in the verie places whiche they hadde choſen alyue to fighte in, not giuing one foote of grounde to theyr aduerſaries. Howbeit ſome affirme, that the lord Louell toke his horſſe, and would haue fledde ouer Trente, but was not able to recouer the further ſide for the highneſſe of the banke, and ſo was drowned in the ryuer.

All the capitains ſlayne.

There were killed at that battaile with theyr fiue captains before rehearſed, of that partie about foure thouſand. Of the kings part there were not half of them which fought in the fore warde, and gaue the onſet, ſlayne or hurt. Then was Lambert the youngling, whiche was falſly reported to be the ſonne of the duke of Clarence, and his maiſter ſir Richard Symond Prieſt both taken, but neyther of them put to death, bycauſe that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares inſufficient of hymſelfe to doe any ſuch enterpriſe, and the other was pardoned of lyfe, bycauſe hee was a prieſt, and annoynted man, but yet was committed to perpetuall pryſon.

Lambert and his maiſter Symonde taken.

Lamberte was at lengthe made one of the kings Faulconers, after that he had bin a turnebroache for a ſpace in the kings kitchen.

This battayle was foughte on a Saterdaye beyng the ſixtenth day of Iune, in thys ſecond yeare of this kings reygne.

In whiche yeare alſo dyed Thomas Bourchier Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye: and Iohn Morton Biſhoppe of Elye, a manne of excellente learnyng, vertue and policie, ſucceded in his place, whome Alexander Pope of Rome, the ſixte of that name, created a Cardinall, and the Kyng created hym hygh Chauncellour of England.

Morton Byſhop of Elye made Archebiſhop of Canterbury, & chauncellour of Englande.

After that the King had got the vpper hand of his enimies, hee remoued to Lincolne, and there taryed three dayes, cauſyng euery of the ſame dayes ſolemne proceſſions to bee made in rendryng thankes to GOD for his fortunate victorye.

Thankeſgiuing to God after victorie.

Then cauſed he execution to be done of ſuche rebels and traytors, as were taken in the field either at the battaile, or in the chaſe. And ſhortely after he went into Yorkſhire, and there coaſted the countrey ouerthwart, ſearching out ſuche as had ayded his enimies, and were thought to bee ſeditious perſons, whome he puniſhed, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by fines, and ſome by death, according to the qualitie of their offences, and as was thought moſt expedient.

An. reg. 3.

Fox Biſhoppe of Exceſter ſent Ambaſſador into Scotlande.

About the middeſt of Auguſt entring into the the thirde yeare of his reigne, he came to Newcaſtell vpon Tyne, and from thence ſent in ambaſſade into Scotland, Richard Foxe, lately before made Biſhoppe of Exceſter, and with hym Richarde Edgecombe knight Controller of hys howſe, to conclude ſome peace or truce wyth king Iames of Scotlande. The Engliſhe ambaſſadors were honourably receiued and louingly entertayned of the ſayde King, who gladlye woulde haue concluded a perpetuall peace wyth the king of England if he might haue bin licenced ſo to haue done, but his people being ſtedfaſt in their olde accuſtomed vſage, would not agree to any peace, but yet were contented to gratifie their kyng, that he ſhould take truce wyth Englande for the terme of ſeauen yeares, whyche was concluded, and ſecrete promyſe made by King Iames, that he woulde not only obſerue peace, and continue in perfecte amitie with the king of England during his life, but alſo would renew againe this truce now taken for other ſeuen yeares before the firſt ſeuen yeares wer fully expired.

A truce vvith Scotlande for ſeuen yeares.

The King of Scottes in deed was as deſyrous of the Kyng of Englandes friendſhippe as the Kyng of Englande was of his, bicauſe that his ſubiects bare him much euill will, miſlyking wyth all things that eyther he coulde do or ſay.

King Henry after the returne of his Ambaſſadors out of Scotland, came back again from Newcaſtell to Yorke, and ſo towarde London, and in the way being at Leyceſter, there came to him Ambaſſadoures from Charles the Frenche king, which declared both the recouerie of certain townes out of the handes of Maximilian kyng of Romains which he had wrongfully deteined from the crowne of Fraunce before that tyme, and alſo that their Maiſter kyng Charles, had nowe warres in hande agaynſt Fraunces duke of Britayn, bicauſe that he ſuccored and mainteyned diuers noble men, as the Duke of Orleans and others that were rebelles and traytors againſt him and the realm of France. Wherfore his requeſt was, that for the olde familiaritie whiche hath bin betwixt them, he woulde nowe eyther aſſiſt and helpe him, or elſe ſtand as neuter betwixte them, neyther helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

Vpon good and deliberate aduice takẽ in this matter, bicauſe it was iudged weightie, the king for anſwere told the French Ambaſſadors, that he woulde neyther ſpare payne nor coſte, to ſette ſome reaſonable ſtaye betwixte their ſoueraigne Lord king Charles, and the duke of Britayne, ſo that a finall ende and ſome perfect concluſion of frendſhippe myght be hadde betwixt them. And ſo as ſone as the Frenche Ambaſſadoures were retourned home, the Kyng ſente his chaplayne Chriſtofer Vrſwyke ouer into France to king Charles, as wel to ſhew that he was gladde of the victorye whiche he had agaynſt Maximilian, as to declare what a tempeſtuous ſtorme of ciuile rebellion hymſelfe hadde eſcaped, and ouercome heere in Englande,

But the chiefeſt poynt of Vrſwikes errande conſiſted in this, that he ſhoulde intimate to the Frenche Kyng howe his maiſter Kyng Henrye offred himſelfe as a mediatour betwixt him and the Duke of Britayne, to make them friendes, and if he perceyued that the French king gaue eare herevnto, then ſhould he goe into Britain, to moue the Duke there to be contented, that ſome reaſonable order myghte bee taken for a quietneſſe to be hadde betwixte the French king and hym.

Whyleſt Vrſwike was trauaylyng in thys matter according to his Commiſſion, the King came backe againe to London, where hee was receyued of the Citizens wyth greate ioye and triumphe, they beeing hartyly gladde and greatly reioycing that hee wyth ſuche good ſucceſſe ſubdued his enimies.

Chriſtofer Vrſvvicke.

Shortly after, he delyuered the Lorde Thomas Marques Dorſet out of the Tower, receyuing him agayn to his former fauor & old familiaritie, bicauſe his truth and loyaltie by diuers aſſays and ſundry argumentes had bin throughly tryed and ſufficiently proued.

In whyche meane tyme the Kyng for the greate loue that hee bare to hys wyfe Queene Elizabeth, cauſed hir to be crowned and anointed Queene on Sainct Catherins daye in Nouember, wyth all ſolemnitie, as in ſuche caſes appertayneth.

In the meane ſeaſon Chriſtofer Vrſwyke according to hys Commiſſion, trauayleth betweene the Frenche Kyng and the Duke of Britayne in the Kyng of Englandes name to make them friendes: But although the French Kyng ſeemed wyllyng ynough to haue peace, yet meante hee nothyng leſſe, in ſo muche that whyleſt hee goeth aboute with fayre wordes, courtrous Letters, and ſweet promiſes to keepe the King of Englande in hande to laboure a peace betwixte hym and the Brytaynes, he enforceth his whole puiſſance to ſubdue them, and beſiegeth the citie of Nanntes. And on the other part, the Duke of Orleans being withdrawn to the duke of Britain, and one that ruled moſte about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he coulde to hinder it.

The Engliſh ambaſſador Chriſtoffer Vrſewike hauyng thus paſſed from the Frenche king to the to the Duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French King, retourned ſhortely after into Englande, and ſhewed vnto King Henrye what hee hadde done betwixt them.

Immediatlye after came from the Frenche King the Lorde Bernarde Daubeny a Scot borne, whyche on the Frenche Kings behalfe required King Henry to make ſome maner of ende of thoſe Brittiſhe warres, whatſoeuer it were. King Henry being deſirous of the ſame, ſent ouer againe into Fraunce, John the Abbot of Abingdon, ſir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Chriſtofer Vrſwicke wyth full and perfect commiſſion and long inſtructions howe to proceede in ſekyng of ſome agreement betwixt the Frenchmenne and the Britons.

These orators accordyng as they hadde in commaundement, firſt went vnto the Frenche king, and after they had communed wyth him, Sir Richarde Edgecombe, & Chriſtofer Vrſwicke departed ſtraight to the duke of Britain in full hope to conclude a peace vpon ſuche offers and articles as they had to propone vnto hym. But al their hope was vaine, for the duke refuſed to agree vpon any ſuche articles and conditions as they offered, and ſo without concluding any thyng with the Duke, they returned backe into Fraunce, and from thence ſignified to the King of Englande by letters, all that they knewe or had done. But in the mean time Edwarde Lorde Woduille vncle to the Queene, ſued to King Henrye that hee myght haue a power of men apointed to him, with the whiche hee woulde ſteale priuily ouer without licence or paſſeport, ſo that euery man ſhoulde thinke that he was fledde the Realme, without knowlege of the king, for that no warre ſhould ariſe by his meanes betwixt the Realmes of Fraunce and England, and yet ſhuld the duke of Britaine bee aided agaynſte the power of the Frenchemen, whiche ſought to vanquiſhe hym that they myght ioyne hys countrey vnto the dominion of Fraunce, which in no wiſe ought to be ſuffred, conſideryng what annoyaunce & hurte the ſame myght bryng to the Realme of Englande in time to come.

1488

Edvvard lorde VVoodvile aideth the duke of Britaine, without the kings consent.

Althoughe this requeſte was vtterly denyed, and that the Lord Woduile was ſtraightly commaunded by the kyng to make no ſuche attempt, yet coulde not all that ſtaye hym, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capitaine, hee there gathered togyther a crewe of talle and hardy perſonages, to the number of .iiij.C. and with proſperous winde and weather arriued in Britaine, and ioined himſelf with the Britons againſte the Frenchemen.

The Frenche King aduertiſed hereof, was not wel pleaſed in his minde towards the king of Englande, till king Henry by newe meſſengers excuſed hym how guiltles he was in the matter, and that by plaine ignorance it happened. With the whiche excuſe the Frenche King ſeemed the better pacifyed, and was content to diſſimule the matter. And ſo the Engliſh ambaſſadors renewing the league and amitie betwixt King Henry, and the Frenche kyng for the ſpace of twelue Monethes, they retourned into England, and ſhewed the king all things that they had eyther hearde or ſeene, ſo that he perceyued that the Frenche king dealt craftelye in this matter of Britayne, ſtyll mouyng peace when he ment nothyng elſe but warre. He therefore called his high courte of Parliament, in the which it was not only determined, that the Duke of Britaine ſhould be aided with a power of men, againſte the wrongfull inuaſions of the Frenchemen, but alſo there were diuers ſummes of mony graunted to the ſetting forth and maintaynaunce of the ſame.

The league renued betvvixt Englande, and Fraunce.

And immediatly here vpon, the kyng ſente his Ambaſſadours into Fraunce to certifye the Frenche Kyng what the eſtates aſſembled in Parliament here in Englande had decreed, and therefore hee required hym eyther to ſurceaſſe the warres whiche he had in handes againſt the Britons, or elſe not to be greeued, though he were condiſcended to the iudgement & determination of the Lordes, bothe ſpirituall and temporall, and commons of hys Realme, in takyng vpon him the defence of the Duke of Britaine, promyſing neuertheleſſe that the Engliſhe armye ſhoulde onely take lande wythin the Dutchie of Britayne, and ſeeke to defende the ſame agaynſte all thoſe that didde inuade it, and not to make anye warre wythin anye of the Frenche dominions.

This meſſage was nothyng regarded of the Frenche King, in ſo muche that the French army proceeded in oppreſſing the Britons, deſtroying the country, and beſieging Townes.

At lengthe on the ſeuen and twentieth, or as the Chronicles of Aniowe haue the eighte and twentith daye of July, the Duke of Britons armye gaue battaile to the Frenche hoſte neare to a towne called Saint Aulbin, hauing apparelled a thouſande and ſeuen hundreth of the Britons in coates wyth redde croſſes, after the Engliſhe faſhion, to make the Frenchemen beleeue that they had a great number of Engliſhemen, althoughe they hadde but foure hundrethe onely wyth the Lorde Woduille.

The battaile of Saint Aulbin in Britaine.

The victory in this battell fell to the frenchmen, ſo that almoſte all the engliſhemen were ſlain with the Lord Woduille, beſyde .vi.M.

Britons: The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orainge were taken priſoners, whiche were ther on the Britons part. The frenchmenne loſte twelue hundred men, and amongſt other, that valiant Italian Capitaine Iames Galeot.

These newes being brought into England, cauſed King Henrye to make haſte in ſendyng forthe his army, and therefore was the Lorde Brooke, wyth Syr Iohn Cheyney, Syr Iohn Middleton, Sir Rauſe Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Laton, and Sir Edmunde Cornewall ſent ouer into Britaine wyth all conuenient ſpeede, hauyng wyth them an eyghte thouſande men, well armed and furniſhed in warrelike wiſe, to ayde the Duke of Britayne agaynſte the Frenchemen.

These luſtye Capitaines beyng arriued in Britaine, after they had a little refreſhed them, marched forward, and commyng neare to their enemies, pitched downe their fieldes, not farre from the Frenchmens campe.

The Frenchemen by experience knowyng the Engliſhemenne (ſo long as they bee freſhe and luſtie) in maner to be inuincyble, thought not good to matche wyth them in open battell, till they were ſomewhat wearyed wyth lying and lingeryng abroade in the fielde, and therefore at the firſt they ſought to weary them with light ſkirmiſhes, appointyng their horſemenne to giue them alarmes, and ſome ſkirmiſhes, in the whiche the Frenchemen by reaſon of the Engliſhe archers (which galled bothe men and horſes) were euer put to the worſe.

But beholde the mutabilitie of worldelye chaunces, whiles this warre was thus ſet forwarde, Fraunceis Duke of Britaine departed this life, and then the chiefe rulers of Britayne falling at diſſention amongſt themſelues, tendred not the defence of their countrey, but rather minded the deſtruction thereof, ſo that the Engliſhemenne perceyuyng in what daunger they were, and conſidering that it was in the middeſt of Winter, a time not meete for men of warre to lye in the colde and froſtie fieldes, they returned into England, within fiue Monethes after their firſt ſettyng forth. So that finally the French king got the vpper hand of the Britons, and didde incorporate that Dutchie to hys Realme and Crowne of Fraunce, as in the hiſtorye of Fraunce it maye appeare at large.

Stow.

In Iuly this yeare was a Preſt leuyed for the Kyng in the Citie of London, of foure thouſende pounde whiche was repaide the yere nexte followyng.

In September, the Queene was deliuered of hir firſte ſonne, named Prince Arthur, and the fiue & twentith of Nouember nexte enſuing ſhee was crowned at Weſtminſter with al due ſolemnitie.

An. reg. 4.

Yee haue hearde, howe there was in the laſte Parliament mony graunted for the furniſhyng forthe of the armye into Britayne. That is to wit, it was agreed, that euery man ſhoulde be taxed after the rate of his ſubſtaunce to paye the tenth penye of his goodes, which money the moſt part of them that dwelled in the Biſhoppricke of Durham, and in the parties of Yorkeſhire refuſed vtterly to paye, eyther for that they thought thēſelues ouercharged with the ſame, or were procured to ſhewe themſelues diſobedient, throughe the euill counſaile of ſome ſeditious perſones, whyche conſpired agaynſte the King, to put him to newe trouble. Therefore ſuche as were appoynted Colectours, after that they could not get the mony, according to their extreites delyuered to them by the Commiſſioners, they made their complaint priuily to Henrye the fourthe Earle of Northumberlande, chiefe ruler of the Northe partes.

1489

The Earle of Northumberland murthered by the Northern rebelles.

The Earle forthwith ſignifyed to the king all that matter, and the Kyng not willing to pardon them of any one peny (leaſt the example might do hurt by encouragyng others to ſhewe the like ſtubburnes in other parts of the realme) commaunded the Erle eyther by diſtreſſe, or otherwiſe, to leuy the mony, as he ſhould thinke moſte meeteſt. The rude beaſtly people hearing of this aunſwer from the king, by and by wyth greate violence ſet vppon the Earle by the exciting of a ſimple fellow named Iohn a Chāber, whom the Earle with faire wordes ſought to appeaſe, but they like vnreaſonable vilains, aledging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the taxe, furiouſlye and cruelly murthered bothe hym and dyuers of hys houſholde ſeruaunts.

Diuers affirme that the Northerne menne bare againſte this earle continuall grudge euer ſince the deathe of King Richard, whome they entirely fauoured.

A rebellion in the Northe for a taxe granted by parliament.

Although this offence was greate and hainous, yet there ſucceeded a more miſchiefe: for incontinently to cloke thys preſumptuous murther, the Northerne men gotte them to armoure, and aſſembling togyther, choſe them a Capitaine, no leſſe ſeditious then deſirous of trouble, called Sir Iohn Egremonde Knight, and paſſing by the countreys, they publiſhed & declared that they woulde bidde the kyng battaile only in defence of their liberties, and common freedome, of the whiche hee went aboute to bereeue them. But when the matter ſhoulde come to bee tried wyth blowes, theyr hartes ſo fainted that they ſcattered awaye, euery man ſeekyng to ſaue hymſelfe by flight, but that little auailed them; for the king hearing of this buſines, ſent forthe Thomas Earle of Surrey (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his ſpeciall fauour) wyth a crewe of men, to chaſtice thoſe rebelles of the Northe partes, who ſkirmiſhed wyth a certain company of them, & them diſcomfited, and tooke aliue John a Chamber, the firſte beginner of this rebellion.

The King himſelfe roade after into Yorkeſhire, of whoſe commyng the ſturdye rebelles were ſo abaſhed and afrayde, that they fledde more and leſſe: whyche afterwarde were apprehended, and puniſhed accordyng to their demerites. Yet the King of his clemency pardoned the innocente people, & executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke vpon a gibbet ſet vpon a ſquare paire of gallowes like an archtraytor, and his complices and lewde diſciples, were hanged on the lower gallowes rounde aboute their Maiſter, to the terrible example of other. But ſir John Egremonde fledde into Flaunders to the Lady Margaret Dutcheſſe of Burgongne, that euer enuied the proſperitie of King Henry.

After this, the king retourned to London, leauing the Earle of Surry to rule the North partes, and appointed Sir Richard Tunſtall, a man of greate witte and pollicy to gather the Subſidye to hym due of the people.

This yeare the king borrowed of euery Alderman of London twoo hundred pounde, and of the Chamber nine thouſãd eightie two poũd ſeuenteene ſhilings foure pence; whiche he repaied againe, to the vttermoſte, wyth greate equitie and thankfulneſſe.

A rebellion in Flaunders.

Maximilian King of Romans impriſoned at Bruges by the townſmen.

In this ſeaſon, the Emperour Fredericke made warre againſte the Flemings, namely againſt Bruges and certaine townes of Flaunders, which had rebelled againſt his ſon Maximilian, Kyng of Romaynes, theyr liege and ſoueraigne Lord, in ſo muche that they of Bruges had not only ſlayne hys officers but impriſoned him within their Towne, till they hadde cauſed him to pardon all their offences, and alſo to ſweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the ſame in time to come. But his father Fredericke the Emperor coulde not ſuffer ſuche a reproche and diſhonor done to his ſon, to paſſe vnreuenged, and therefore ſcourged the country of Flanders with ſharpe and cruell warre. The lorde of Rauenſtein being driuen to take the ſame othe, that his Maſter Maximiliã tooke at Bruges, to ſhewe that the warre was not begon with his aſſent, forſooke Maximilian his Lord, and tooke the Towns of Ipre & Scluſe with bothe the Caſtels of the ſame hauen, and further dyd not onlye ſtirre the Gauntois, and Brugeans, and other Townes of Flaunders, to rebell agaynſt their ſoueraine lord, but alſo ſent to the French kings lieutenãt in Picardy, the Lorde Cordes, to aide him to conquere ſuch Townes of Flaunders, as were not of hys opinion.

The Lorde Cordes, otherwiſe called Monſieur de Querdes, was glad to haue ſo good occaſion to ſet foote in Flaunders, as he that had ſufficient inſtructions of his Maiſter, the French King, vpon any ſuche offerd occaſion ſo to do; ſent forthwith to the aide of the Flemings viij. M. Frenchmen, commaunding them to conquere ſuche Townes, as were in the way betwixt Fraunce and Bruges.

The capitaines according to his deuiſe beſieged a little walled towne, called Dixmew, to whome came .iiij. M. Flemings with vittuall and artillerie, ſent from the Lord of Rauenſtein. They laide ſiege on the North ſide of the towne, in a mariſhe grounde than beeyng drye, and ſo deepely ditched, and rampired their campe about (on which rampire they laide their ordinaunce) that it was in manner impoſſible to enter their campe, or do them any diſpleaſure or domage.

The king of Englande was daily aduertiſed of theſe doings, whiche nothyng leſſe deſired than to haue the Engliſhe Pale enuironed wyth Frenche fortreſſes, wherefore to preuent that miſchiefe in time, with all expedition he ſent ouer to the Lorde Daubeney, and his deputye of Calais, the Lord Morley, with a crue of valiant archers and ſouldiours, to the number of a thouſande men, with priuy inſtructions what they ſhould do.

At their commyng ouer, it was bruited abroade, that they were ſent only to defende the Engliſh Pale, againſt al attempts that might vpon the ſuddaine in any wiſe be made by the Frenchemen, or Flemings: but their enterpriſe was all otherwiſe. For on a Tuiſdaye at the ſhutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubney chieftaine of the army, the Lorde Morley, Sir James Tirrell capitaine of Guiſnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and ſir Humfrey Talbot Marſhall of Calais, wyth diuers other Knightes, and Eſquiers, and other of the gariſons of Hammes, Guyſnes, and Callais, to the number of twoo thouſand men, or thereabouts, iſſued priuily out of Callais, & paſſed the water of Grauelyng, in the morning betimes, and left there for a ſtale, and to keepe the paſſage, Sir Humfrey Talbot with ſixe ſcore archers, and came to Newport, where they founde the ſoueraigne of Flaunders with ſixe hundred Almaines, and there they ſtayed that night.

On the nexte day they went toward Diremewe, and by the guidyng of a priſoner, that ſhould haue bin hanged on the nexte morning, they iſſued out of the Southe gate of the town of Diremew, & were conueyed by their ſayde guide by an high banke ſet wyth willowes, ſo that the Gantois coulde not well eſpye them, & ſo ſecretly to the end of their enemies campe, and there pauſed.

The Lorde Daubency commaunded all men to ſend their horſes, and wagons backe, but the Lorde Morley ſaide hee would ride till hee came to hande ſtrokes.

Thus they marched forthe till they came to a lowe banke, and no deepe ditche, where the ordinaunce laye, and there the archers ſhot altogyther, euery man an arrowe, and ſo fell proſtrate to the grounde. The enemies herewyth diſcharged their ordynaunce and ouerſhotte them. The Almaines kept ouer the ditche with their moris pikes. The Engliſhemenne in the forefront, waded the ditche, and were holpen vp by the Almaines, and ſet on their enemies, & tooke many priſoners. The other Engliſhmen haſted by the cauſey to enter in at the Northe gate of the campe, where the Lord Morley being on horſebacke in a riche coate, was ſlayne wyth a gunne.

The Lorde Morley ſlaine.

When his deathe was knowen, euery man killed his priſoner, and ſlewe all ſuche as didde wythſtande them, to the number of eight thouſande men, in ſo muche that of twoo thouſande that came ot of Bruges (as the Flemiſh chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundreth. On the Engliſhe parte was ſlayne the Lorde Morley, and not an hundreth mo. The Engliſhemen tooke their ordinaunce, and ſent it to Newporte, wyth all the ſpoile and greate horſes. And by the way hearing certaine frẽchmen to be at Oſtend, they made thitherwarde: but the Frenchemen fled, & ſo they burned parte of the towne, and came againe to Newporte, where the Lord Daubney left al yͤ Engliſhmen that were hurte, and returned to Calais, where he buried the body of the Lord Morley.

The Engliſhemen got greate riches at this fielde, for they that went forthe in clothe, came home in ſilke, and thoſe that went out on foote, came home on great horſes. The Lord Cordes being at Ipre with twenty thouſand men was ſore diſpleaſed wyth this ouerthrowe, & therfore thinking to be reuenged, beſieged the towne of Newport right ſtrongly, and ſhot daily at the walles, breaking them in many places. But the Engliſhmen that were hurte at Diremew field before, and might eyther ſtande or drawe bowe neuer came frõ the walles. One day the Frenchemenne gaue a greate aſſault to a Tower, and perforce entred it, and ſet vp the banner of the Lorde Cordes: but ſee the chaunce, during the time of the aſſaulte, there arriued a barke wyth foure ſcore freſhe Engliſh archers, which came ſtraight to the Tower, and did ſo muche, that what wyth the helpe of ſuche as before were wounded, and hurtemen, and of the couragious hartes of the newe come archers encouraged greatly by the women of the towne crying, ſhoote Engliſhmen, ſhoote, the Tower was regaigned out of the Frenchemens handes, and the banner of the Lorde Cordes rent in peeces, and in place therof, the penon of Saint George ſet vp. Then the Frenchmen ſuppoſing a great aide of Engliſhemen to haue bene come to the towne by ſea, lefte the aſſault.

Newport beſieged by the Frenchemen.

Engliſhe archers.

And the night folowing, the enuious Lord Cordes (whiche ſo ſore longed for Calais, that hee woulde commonly ſaye, that hee coulde be content to lye ſeuen yeares in Hell, ſo that Calais were in poſſeſſion of the Frenchmen) brake vp his ſiege, and retourned to Heldyng wyth ſhame. And the Engliſhmen glad of this victorie returned to Calais. This yeare Iames the thirde of that name, King of Scots, was ſlaine by his owne Subiectes, after they had vanquiſhed hym in a pight fielde.

Iames king of Scottes, ſlaine by his owne Subiectes.

Aboute the ſame time one Adrian an Italian was ſente in Ambaſſade from Pope Innocent the eight, into Scotland, to haue taken vp the variaunce betwixte the King there, and his people. But being arriued here in Englãd, he was enformed that king Iames was ſlaine, and therefore taryed here certaine Monethes, & for that hee was a man of excellent learnyng, vertue, and humanitie, i the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury Iohn Morton, ſo commended him to the King, that he made him firſte Biſhoppe of Herefordе, and ſhortely after, that reſigned and giuen ouer, hee promoted him to the Biſhopricke of Welles, and Bathe. And after that wyth theſe honours he was retourned to Rome, hee was aduaunced by all the degrees of Spirituall dignities into the Colledge of the Cardinalles, and worthie ſure he was of great preferrement, for by hys meanes learned men were moued to ſeeke out the vſe of eloquent writyng, and ſpeaking in the latine tongue, he being the firſte in the tyme of our fathers that taught the trade to chooſe and vſe apte wordes and fitte termes.

Adrian an Italian, made Biſhoppe of Herforde, & after of Bathe, and VVelles.

1490

Anno reg. 6.

In the ſixte yeare of King Henries raigne there came Ambaſſadors to him frõ the Frenche king the lord Frãcis of Lutzenburg, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine Miniſter of the Bonnehommes of the Trinitie. The effect of their comming, was to haue concluded a peace with King Henrye, and that with good will the French King might diſpoſe of the mariage of the yong Dutcheſſe of Britaine, as he ſhoulde thinke good, and to make void the contract, and former mariage, which by proxie the deputie of Maximilian king of Romains had before time contracted, and made with hir. But thereto woulde not King Henry giue his conſent, euer harping on this ſtring, that the maidē being once lawfully combined in matrimonye with Maximilian, ought not to be compelled againſte hir will and promiſſe, yea and contrary to all lawe, right and equitie, to take any other perſon than him to hir ſpouſe and huſbande.

In deede Kyng Henry was lothe that the Frenche King ſhoulde marry the Dutcheſſe of Britaine hymſelfe (as he perceued his meaning was) and ſo ioyne the Dutchie of Britayne to the Crowne of Fraunce, and therefore hee did what he coulde to hinder that bargaine.

At lengthe yet it was agreede that a forme of a league ſhould be drawen with conditions, clauſes, and couenauntes, and for the full concludyng of the ſame, it was thought expedient that the King of Englande ſhoulde ſend Ambaſſadours to the Frenche Kyng to finyſhe all matters beetwyxte them. Whereuppon the Frenche Ambaſſadours beyng diſmiſſed wyth great rewardes, ſtraight waies Thomas earle of Ormonde, and Thomas Goldenſton Prior of Chriſtes Churche in Canterbury were appointed by the king to folow them into Fraunce inſtructed fully in all things that he wold haue on his behalfe, either moued or determyned.

Lionel Biſhop of Concordia.

In this meane ſpace, Lionell the Biſhop of Concordia was ſente as Orator from Pope Alexander the ſixte, to the Frenche Kyng for certaine matters: and amongſt other things he hadde in chardge to conclude a peace and vnitye betwixte the Frenche Kyng and the King of Englande. Hee mouyng thys matter to the Frenche King, founde hym nothyng ſtrange to encline to his motion. Wherupon the Biſhop of Concordia conceyuyng good hope, and therwith deſyrous (as became hym beſte bearyng that title) to ſet an attonement beetwixte thoſe two Kings, tooke his iourney towardes Englande, to the intent he might moue King Henry to bee agreable therevnto, and ſo comming to Calais, found the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours there, beeing ſo farre on their way towards the Frenche King, and being honourably receiued of them into that Towne, after they had communed togither, the Biſhoppe tooke the ſea, and was trāſported ouer into England, & the Ambaſſadors departed toward the Frenche King.

After the Biſhoppe of Concordia had talked with King Henry, and perceyued that vpon reaſonable conditions he coulde be content to conclude a peace wyth all Chriſten Princes, and to lyue in reſte after ſo many troubles aforetime ſuſtained, the ſaide Biſhop retourned backe into Fraunce to ſollicite thys purpoſe to ſome perfect concluſion. But the Frenchmen ſo handled the matter, that whileſt they outwardly ſhewed how they deſired nothyng but frendſhip & amitie, they alured the yong Dutcheſſe of Britayne, to ſubmit hirſelfe wholy to their diſcretion, ſo that ſhortly after ſhee was maried to King Charles. And the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours, after they perceyued whiche waye the winde would vire, returned again to their countrey, and nothing done or agreed vpon in their matter. King Henry ſore troubled in hys mynde therewyth, determined no more wyth peaceable meſſages, but with open warre to determine all controuerſies betwixt hym and the Frenche King, called his highe courte of Parliament, & there declared the cauſe why he was iuſtely prouoked to make warre agaynſte the frenchemen, and therfore deſired thē of their beneuolent aide of men and money towarde the maintenaunce thereof. The cauſe was ſo iuſte that euery man allowed it, and to the ſettyng forthe of the warre taken in hande for ſo neceſſarie an occaſion, euery man promiſed his helping hand. The king commēded them for their true and faithfull hartes, and to the intent that he might ſpare the poorer ſorte of the commons (whome he euer deſired to keepe in fauour) hee thought good firſte to exact mony of the richeſt ſorte by way of a beneuolence, whiche kinde of leuying money was firſt deuiſed by King Edwarde the fourthe, as it apeareth before in hys hiſtorie. King Henry folowing the like example, publiſhed abroade, that by their open giftes he would meaſure, and ſearche their beneuolent heartes and good mindes towardes him, ſo that he that gaue moſte, ſhoulde be iudged to be his moſte louing friende, and he that gaue litle, to be eſteemed accordyng to hys gifte. By thys it appeareth that whatſoeuer is practiſed for the princes profit, & brought to a preſident by matter of record, may be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rulers in auctoritie will ſo adiudge and determine it.

A Parliam

But by this meanes King Henrye got innumerable great ſummes of money, with ſome grudge of the people, for the extremitie ſhewed by the commiſſioners in diuers places. Ye haue hearde before howe the Lorde of Rauenſtein by the ayde of Bruges, and Gaunt, hadde taken the Towne, and two Caſtels of Scluiſe, whiche hee kepte againſt his ſoueraigne lorde Maximilian, and getting into the hauen certaine

1491

taine ſhips and barkes, robbed ſpoiled and toke priſoners, the ſhippes and veſſelles of all nations, that paſſed alongeſt by that coaſt towards the Marte at Andwarpe, or into any parte of Brabant, Zeland, or Friſeland, and was euer ſufficiently vittailed out of Fraunce, and Picardye.

There was a little Towne alſo two miles from Bruges towarde the Sea, called Dam, whyche was a Bulwarke to Bruges, and an headſpring to Sluiſe. The King of Romains hadde attempted the winnyng of this Towne diuers times, but miſſed his purpoſe, til at lẽgth Albert Duke of Saxony, a great friende to the King of Romaines, by policye found meanes to gette it. This Duke fainyng hymſelfe as a Newtre betwixte the King of Romaines, and the rebelles of Flaunders, required of the lords of Bruges that hee myght enter peaceably into their Towne accordyng to hys eſtate, wyth a certaine number of men of armes to communicate with thẽ diuers maters of great weight, and ſent before his carriages and herbengers to make prouiſion. They of Bruges were in no doubt of hym, ſo that his men of warre entred into the Cytie in good order, and he followed. They that wente beefore, enquired for Innes, and lodgings, as though they would haue reſted there all the night, and ſo went forthe ſtill in order aſkyng after lodgings, till they came to the gate that leadeth directly toward Dam, diſtant from Bruges a Flemiſhe mile, whyche is called the Bulwarke of Bruges. The Captaines and inhabitantes of Dam ſuſpecting no harme to come out of Bruges, thought theyr friendes (knowyng ſome daunger towardes) had ſent thẽm aide, and ſo nothyng miſtruſting thoſe that approched their towne, ſuffred them to enter, and ſo was the Towne of Dam taken by ſleight, whiche coulde not be wonne by open force. This chaunce ſore diſpleaſed them of Bruges, for nowe coulde they haue no recourſe to the Sea, ſo that they muſte needes fall into ruine and decay. The Duke of Saxonye thus hauing won the towne of Dam, ſente to the King of Englande, that if it would pleaſe hym to miniſter any aide by ſea, he would beſiege Sluiſe by lande. The king well remembring that Sluiſe was a roueſneſt, and a very denne of theues to them that trauerſed the ſeas towardes the Eaſte partes, incontinentlye diſpatched ſir Edward Poinings a right valiant Knight, and hardye Capitayne wyth twelue ſhippes well furniſhed with bolde ſouldiours, and ſufficient artillerie. Whiche Sir Edward ſailed into the Hauen, and kepte the Lorde of Rauenſtein from ſtarting by ſea.

Dam taken by policy.

The Duke of Saxony beſieged one of the caſtels lying in a Churche ouer againſt it, and the Engliſhemen aſſaulted the leſſe Caſtell, and iſſued out of theyr ſhippes at the ebbe, neuer ſuffering theyr enemies to reſte in quiet one daye togither, for the ſpace of twenty dayes, and euery daye ſlewe ſome of their aduerſaries, and on the Engliſh parte were ſlaine one Vere brother to the Earle of Oxforde, and fiftye mo.

The Lorde of Rauenſtein hadde made a brydge of Boates betweene both Caſtelles, to paſſe from the one to the other, whyche brydge the Engliſhemen one night ſet on fyre. Then hee perceiuyng that he muſte loſe his Caſtelles by force, and that the Flẽmings coulde not aide hym, yeelded the Caſtelles to Syr Edwarde Poinings, and the towne to the duke of Saxony vpon certaine conditions, Sir Edwarde Poinings kepte the caſtelles a while, of whom the Almaines demaunded their wages, bycauſe the duke hadde nothyng to paye. Then theſe two Capitaynes ſo handled them of Bruges, that they not only ſubmitted thẽſelues to their Lord Maximilian, but alſo were contented to paye, and diſpatche the Almaines.

Sir Edwarde Poinynges a valiant Captaine ſent into Flaunders with an army

And ſo Syr Edwarde Poynyngs tarryed there a long ſpace, and at lengthe retourned to the King before Bolongne.

The ſixte daye of Aprill this preſent yeare, the nobles of the Realme aſſembled in the Cathedrall Churche of Saynct Paule in London, where *Te Deum*, was ſolempnely ſong, and thankes rendred to God for the victorie that the King of Spaine hadde gotte of the Saraſins, in conquerying on them the whole Realme of Granado.

Maximilian King of Romaines entendyng to bee reuenged on the Frenchemenne for the many iniuries done to hym of late (and eſpeciallye for that Kyng Charles hadde forſaken hys daughter the Ladye Margaret, and purpoſed to take to wyfe the Ladye Anne of Britayne:) bycauſe he was not ryche inoughe to maintayne the warre of hymſelf, he ſent his Imbaſſadour one Iames Contibald, a man of great wiſedome, to require the King of Englande to take hys parte agaynſte the Frenche King, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it ſhould pleaſe hym ſo to do.

King Henry no leſſe deſirous than Maximilian to put the Frenche Kyng to trouble, and chieflye to ayde the Britons in the extremitye of theyr buſineſſe, gladdelye conſented to the requeſt of Maximilian, and promiſed to prepare an armye wyth all ſpeede, and in time conuenient to paſſe the ſeas with the ſame and inuade the Frenche territories.

Anno. re.7.

In this very ſeaſon Charles the french king receyued the Ladye Anne of Britayne, as hys pupill into his hands, and wyth great ſolempnitie hir eſpouſed, hauyng wyth hir in dower, the whole Dutchye of Britayne. Thus was Maximilian in a greate chafe towardes the Frenche King, not only for that he had refuſed his daughter, but alſo had bereeued hym of hys aſſured wife the ſayd Lady Anne, contrarie to all right and conſcience. Wherefore hee ſente vnto king Henry, deſiryng hym with al ſpeede to paſſe the ſeas with his army, that they might purſue the warre againſt their aduerſarie wyth fyre, ſworde, and bloude. King Henry hearing this, and hauing no miſtruſt in the promiſſe of Maximilian, with all ſpeed leuied an army, and rigged his nauye of ſhips, and when all things were readye, he ſente his Almoner Chriſtofer Vrſwicke, and ſir John Riſeley Knyght vnto Maximilian to certifye hym, that the king was in a readineſſe, and would arriue at Calais, as ſoone as hee ſhoulde bee aduertiſed that Maximilian and his men were readye to ioyne wyth hym.

These Ambaſſadors comming into Flaunders, perceyued that Maximilian was neyther purueyed of men, money, nor armoure, nor of any other thyng neceſſarie for the ſetting forth of warre, ſaue only that his will was good, althoughe his power was ſmalle.

King Henry being aduertiſed hereof by letters ſente to hym from hys ſaid Ambaſſadors, was ſore diſquieted in his minde, and was almoſte broughte to his wittes ende, to conſider howe his companion in armes ſhuld thus faile hym at neede, but takyng aduiſe of his counſel, at lengthe hee determined not to ſtaye his prepenſed iourney, and therefore hee ſo encreaſed his numbers before he tooke ſhippe, that he with his owne power might bee able to matche with his aduerſaries.

When hee hadde thus gathered and aſſembled his army, he ſailed to Calais the ſixte day of October, and there encamped hymſelfe for a ſpace to ſee all hys men and prouiſion in ſuche redineſſe, as nothing ſhoulde bee wanting.

In this place all the army hadde knowledge by the Ambaſſadours (whiche were newly retourned out of Flaunders) that Maximilian coulde not ſette forthe any army, for lacke of money, and therefore there was no ſuccour to bee looked for at his hand, but the Engliſhemen were nothyng diſmayd therewith, as they that iudged themſelues able inough to matche with the Frenchmen without the helpe of any other nation.

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In the meane ſeaſon, althoughe the Frenche King hadde an army togither, bothe for number and furniture able to trye in battaile wyth the Engliſhemen, yet hee made ſemblaunce as though he deſired nothing more thã peace, as yͤ thing muche more profitable to him than warre, conſidering the minds of the Britons were not yet wholy ſettled: and again, he was called into Italy to make warre agaynſte the Kyng of Naples, whoſe Kingdom he pretended to appertaine to hym by lawfull ſucceſſion from his father King Lewes, to whome Reigne Duke of Aniowe laſte King of Sicill, of the houſe of Aniowe, hadde tranſferred hys ryghte to that kingdome (as partely beefore yee haue hearde) wrongfully and wythout cauſe diſinheritying his couſin, godſonne and heyre, Reigne Duke of Lorraine, and Bar: The Lord Chordes hauing commiſſion from his Maiſter the Frenche king to make ſome entry into a treatie for peace with the King of Englande, wrote letters to him before he paſſed ouer to Calais, ſignifying to hym, that if it might ſtand with his pleaſure to ſende ſome of his counſellours to the borders of the Engliſh Pale adioining to France, there ſhoulde bee ſo reaſonable conditions of peace profered, that he doubted not but his grace might with greate honor brake vp his campe, and retire hys army home againe.

The King of Englande conſideryng that Britaine was clearely loſte, and paſte recouerye, and that Maximilian for lacke of money, and miſtruſte which he had in his owne Subiects, lay ſtill like a Dormouſe doing nothing, and herewith waying that it ſhoulde be honorable to hym, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloudeſhed, appointed the Biſhoppe of Exceter, and Giles Lorde Daubney to paſſe the Seas to Calais, and ſo to commen with the Lord Chordes of articles of peace, whiche tooke effect as after ye ſhal perceiue.

In the meane time, whyleſt the commiſſioners were commenyng of peace on the Marches of Fraunce, the Kyng of Englande, as yee haue heard, was arryued at Calais: from whence after all things were prepared for ſuch a iourney, hee remoued in foure battailes forewarde, till he came neare to the towne of Bolongne, & there pitched his tentes before it in a conuenient place for hys purpoſe, meaning to aſſaile the towne with his whole force and puiſſaunce. But there was ſuche a ſtrong gariſon of warlyke Souldyours wythin that fortreſſe, and ſuche plentye of artillerye, and neceſſarye munityons of warre, that the loſſe of Engliſhmẽ aſſaulting the towne (as was doubted) ſhuld bee greater domage to the Realme of Englande, than the gayning thereof ſhould be profite. Yet the daily ſhotte of the kings battering peeces brake the walles, and ſore defaced them:

Bolongne beſieged by the Englyshemen.

But when euerye man was readye to giue the aſſaulte, a ſodaine rumor roſe in the army that peace was concluded: whyche bruite as it was pleaſaunt to the Frenchmen, ſo was it diſpleaſaunt to the Engliſhmenne, bycauſe they were preſt and ready at all times to ſette on theyr enemies, and brought into greate hope to haue bene enryched by the ſpoyle and gayne, to haue fallen to their lottes of their enemies goo̅ds, beſide the glorious fame of renowmed victorye. And therefore to be defrauded hereof by an vnprofitable peace, they were in a great fume, and very angrye: And namelye for that diuers of the captaines to ſet themſelues and their bands the more gorgeouſly forward, hadde borrowed large ſummes of money, and for the repaiment had morgaged their landes and poſſeſſions, and ſome happely had made through ſales therof, truſtyng to recouer all againe by the gaines of this iourney. Wherefore offended wyth thys ſoddayne concluſion of peace, they ſpake euill bothe of the Kyng and his counſell. But the King like a wiſe prince aſſwaged their diſpleaſure in parte with excuſing the matter, alledgyng what loſſe, and bloudſhedde was like to enſue bothe of Captaines and ſouldiours if the aſſault ſhould haue bin giuen to the vtterance, eſpecially ſith that the towne was ſo well furniſhed with men and munitions. When he had ſomewhat appeaſed their minds with theſe and many other reaſons, hee retourned backe again to Calais.

Polidore.
Sir Iohn Sauage ſlayne at this ſiege.

There were not many of the Engliſhe armye loſte at this ſiege of Bolongne, and fewe or no men of name, ſauyng that valiant Capitaine ſir John Sauage Knight, the whyche as hee and ſir John Riſely rode aboute the walles of the towne, to viewe in what place it might bee eaſieſt aſſaulted, was compaſſed aboute by certaine Frenchmen that were iſſued out of the towne, and there ſlain ſtanding at defence, and vtterly refuſing to yelde hymſelfe as priſoner. But ſir John Riſley eſcaped by fleeing away.

When the King was thus returned to Calais, he began to ſmell a certayne ſecrete ſmoke, whiche was lyke to tourne to a greate flame, wythout wiſe forſight, and good lokyng to. For by the craftye inuention, and diuelliſhe imagination of the Lady Margaret Ducheſſe of Burgongne, a newe Idoll was ſette vp in Flaunders, and by a forged name called Rycharde Plantagenet ſecond ſonne to king Edwarde the fourthe, as though he had bin reyſed from deathe to life. The newes hereof ſomewhat troubled hym, ſo that hee was with better will content to receiue the honourable conditions of peace offered of his enemie bycauſe hee ſhoulde not be conſtrained at one time to make warre bothe at home, and alſo in a forrein Region.

The concluſion of the peace.

The concluſion of this agreement made with the Frenchmen, was this. That the peace ſhoulde continue bothe their liues, and that the Frenche Kyng ſhoulde paye to the Kyng of Englande a certaine ſumme of money in hand, according as the commiſſioners ſhuld appoynt for his charges ſuſteined in this iourney.

Whiche as the King certifyed the Maior of London by his letters the ninth of Nouember, amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen hundred fortie fiue thouſande duckets, whiche is of ſterling money one hundred foure ſcore and fiue thouſande two hundred and fiftie pounds, and alſo ſhoulde yearely for a certayne ſpace, paye or cauſe to be paide, for the mony that the king hadde ſpent and expended in the defence of the Britons fiue and twenty thouſande crownes, whiche yearely tribute the French King afterwardes continuelly occupied wyth the warres of Italy yearely, ſatiſfied and payde ſo long as King Henry liued, who after he hadde tarried a conuenient ſpace at Calais, toke the ſea, and arriued at Douer, and ſo came to his Manor of Greenewiche.

Alphonſe duke of Calabre made Knight of the Garter.

Immediatlye after hys retourne thus into England, he elected into the felowſhip of ſaynt George commonly called the order of the Garter, Alfonſe Duke of Calabre ſonne and heire to Ferdinando K. of Naples, Chriſtofer Urſwicke the Kyngs Aulmoner was ſente to him vnto Naples with the garter, coller, Mantel, and other habellementes appertainyng to the companio̅s of that noble order, the which was reuerently receiued of the ſayd Duke who in a ſolemne preſence reueſted hymſelfe wyth that habite, ſuppoſing by the countenaunce of that apparell to bee able to reſiſte his aduerſarye the French King, ſith he was nowe made a friend and companio̅ in order wyth the king of Englande: but that little auailed hym, as after it was ryght apparant.

The birth of Henry duke of Yorke, after King.

This yeare the two and twentye of June, was borne at Greenewiche the Lorde Henry, ſeconde ſonne of thys Kyng Henrye the ſeuenth, whiche was created Duke of Yorke, and after Prynce of Wales, and in concluſion ſucceeded hys father in gouernaunce of this Realm, by the name of Henry the eight, father to our gracious ſouerayn Queene Elizabeth.

1491

But now to returne to the new found ſonne to King Edwarde, coniured by mens policies from death to life: Ye ſhall vnderſtand that the Ducheſſe of Burgongne euer deſiryng to caſt a Scorpion in the boſome of Kyng Henrye, not for anye diſpleaſure by hym towardes hir wroughte or done, but onely bycauſe

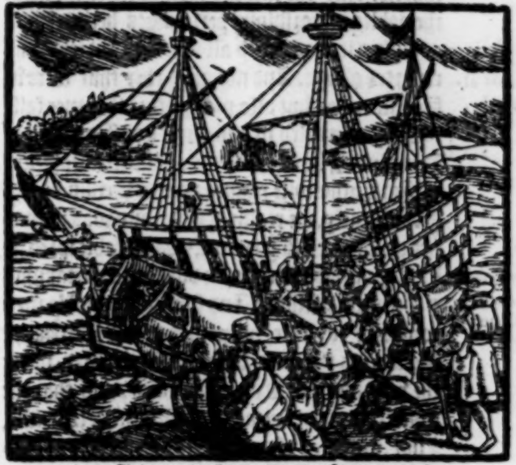
hir

in War-

kin War-
arriueth
Irelande.

he was diſcended of yͤ houſe of Lancaſter, being an enimie to hir line, began to ſpin a new webbe like a ſpider, that daily weaueth when his call is toꝛne: foꝛ after that the Erle of Lincolne, whiche was by hir ſet foꝛth, had miſſed yͤ quiſſhen, & loſt both hoꝛſe and ſpurres, ſhe could not be quiet, till ſhe had pꝛactiſed a new deuiſe to put K. Henrye to trouble. And as the Deuill pꝛouideth venemous ſauſe to coꝛrupt ſtomackes, ſo foꝛ hir purpoſe, ſhe eſpyed a certayne yong man of viſage beautifull, of countenance demure, of wit craftie & ſubtile, called Peter Warbecke, & foꝛ his faintneſſe of ſtomacke, of the Engliſhmen in deriſion called Perkin Warbecke, accoꝛding to yͤ Dutch phꝛaſe, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yonglings and little boyes, which foꝛ wãt of age, lacke of ſtrength and manlyke courage, are not thoughte woꝛthy of the name of a man. This yong man trauelling many Countreys, could ſpeake Engliſh and diuers other languages, & foꝛ his baſeneſſe of birthe and ſtocke, was almoſt vnknowen of all men, and dꝛiuen to ſeke liuing frõ his childhood, was conſtreined to ſeeke and trauaile through many cõſtreys. The Duches glad to haue got ſo meete an oꝛgane foꝛ the conueying of hir inuented purpoſe, as one not vnlike to bee taken and reputed foꝛ the Duke of Yoꝛke, ſonne to hir bꝛother K. Edward, whych was called Richarde, kepte him a certaine ſpace with hir pꝛiuily, and him with ſuche diligence inſtructed, both of the ſecretes and common affaires of the Realme of England, and of the lignage, diſſent and oꝛder of the houſe of Yoꝛke, that like a good ſcoller, not foꝛgetting his leſſon, hee could tel al that was taught him pꝛomptly without any ſtackering oꝛ ſtay in his woꝛds, and beſides that, he kept ſuch a pꝛincely countenaunce, and ſo counterfaite a maieſtie roiall, that all mẽ in manner did firmely beleeue, that hee was extracted of yͤ noble houſe, and family of yͤ Dukes of Yoꝛke: foꝛ ſurely, it was a gifte giuen to that noble pꝛogenie, as of nature planted in the roote, that all the ſequeale of that line and ſtocke, dyd ſtudie and deuiſe how to be equiualẽt in honour and fame with their foꝛefathers, and noble pꝛedeceſſoꝛs. Whẽ yͤ Duches had framed hir cloth meete foꝛ the market, ſhe was enfoꝛmed that K. Henry pꝛepared to make warre againſt Charles the Frenche King, wherefoꝛe, ſhee thinking that the time ſerued well foꝛ the ſetting foꝛthe of hyꝛ malicious inuentions, ſent this Perkyn hir new inuented mawmet, firſt into Poꝛtingale, and ſo craftily into the Countrey of Ireland, to the intent, that he being both wittie and wilie, mighte inuegle the rude Iriſhmen (being at thoſe dayes moꝛe enclined to Rebellion, than to reaſonable oꝛder) to a new ſeditious commotion. Shoꝛtely after his arriuall in Irelande, whether by hys ſhꝛewde witte, oꝛ the malicious exhoꝛtation of the ſauage Iriſhe gouernours, he entred ſo farre in credite with the people of that Ile, that hys woꝛdes were taken to be as true as hee vntruely with falſe demonſtrations ſette foꝛth and publiſhed them. The French King aduertiſed hereof, then being in diſpleaſure with King Henry, ſent foꝛ Perkin into Irelande, to the intent to ſende him againſte King Henry, which was then inuading Fraunce (as ye befoꝛe haue heard.) Perkin thought himſelfe aloft now, that he was called to the familiaritie of Kings, and therefoꝛe with all diligence, ſailed into Fraunce, and coming to the Kings pꝛeſence, was of him royallie receiued, and after a pꝛincely faſhion enterteined, and had a gard to him aſſigned, wherof was gouernour the Loꝛde Congreſhall, and to hym being at Paris, reſoꝛted Sir George Neuill baſterd, Sir John Tailer, Rowland Robinſon, and an hundꝛed Engliſh Rebels. But after that a peace as befoꝛe is ſaid was concluded betwixte the French King, and the king of Englande, the Frenche king diſmiſſed Perkin, and woulde no longer keepe him. But ſome haue ſaid whyche were there attending on him, that Perkin, fearing leaſt the french king ſhould deliuer hym to the king of Englande, beguiled the Loꝛd Congreſhall, and fled frõ Paris by night. But whether the French King knewe of his departure oꝛ not, the troth is, that hee being in manner in deſpaire, returned to his firſte founder the Ladye Margaret, of whome he was ſo welcomed to all outward appearance, that it ſeemed ſhe could not haue reioyced at any earthly thing, moꝛe than ſhe did at his pꝛeſence (and as ſhe could well diſſimule) ſhe made ſemblaunce as though ſhe had neuer ſeene him befoꝛe that time. And as ſhe had ſoꝛe longed to knowe not once, but diuers times in open audience, and in ſolemne pꝛeſence, ſhee willed him to declare and ſhew by what meanes he was pꝛeſerued from death and deſtruction, & in what countreys he had wandꝛed and ſoughte friend-

Perkin ſaileth into Fraunce.



friendſhip. And finally, by what chance of fortune he came to hir court, to the intente, that by yͤ open declaration of theſe fained phantaſies, the people might be perſwaded to giue credite, & beleeue, that he was the true begottẽ ſon of hir brother K. Edward. And after this, ſhee aſſigned to him a guard of thirtie perſõs in Murrey, & blew, & highly honored him, as a great eſtate, and called him the white roſe of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all reuerence. In England, yͤ brute of him being blowen throughout the Realm, ſore diſquieted the people, in ſomuch, that not only the meaner ſort, but alſo many of the nobles & worſhipful perſonages belieued and publiſhed it abroade, yͭ all was true whiche was reported of him. And not only they that were in Sainctuaries, but alſo many other that wer fallẽ in debt, aſſembled in a cõpany, & paſſed ouer the Seas into Flanders, to their counterfaite Duke of York, otherwiſe rightly named Perkin Werbeck. Truely, the realm of England was in maner deuided (with yͤ rumor, & vaine fable ſpred abroade of this twice borne duke) into partakings & contrarie factions. And ſome of the noble men conſpired togither, purpoſing to aid yͤ foreſayde Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to bee the very ſonne of Kyng Edward, and that the matter was not feigned, but altogither true, iuſt, & not imagined of any malitious pretẽce or purpoſe: and bicauſe the thing was weightie, and required greate aide & aſſiſtance, therefore they determined to ſend meſſengers vnto yͤ Lady Margaret, to know whẽ Richard D. of York might conueniently come into England, to the intent, that they being thereof certified, might be in a redineſſe to helpe and ſuccoure him at his arriuall.

Perkin named by the Duches of Burgoigne, the white roſe of Englande.

1493

Such long and looked for alteration of ſtates.

Falſe rumors, occaſions of great diſquietnes.

An. reg. 8.

So by yͤ cõmon conſent of the conſpirators, ſir Rob. Clifford knight, & Wil. Barley, wer ſẽt into Flanders, which diſcouered to yͤ Duches, all the ſecret intents & priuie meanings of the frẽds & fautors of yͤ new foũd D. The Duches gladly receiued this meſſage, & after ſhe had heard their errand, ſhe brought the meſſenger to the ſight of Perkin, who ſo well counterfeited the geſture, countenãce, and maner of Richard D. of Yorke, that ſir Robert Clifford beleeued verily, that hee was the ſecõd ſon of K. Edward, & therof wrote a letter of credit into England to his complices, & to put thẽ out of doubt, he affirmed yͭ he knew him to be K. Edwards ſon by his face, & other liniaments of his body. Upon this letter, the chiefe doers in this buſineſſe ſpred the ſignificatiõ therof abroade through the Realme, to the intent to ſtirre the people to ſome newe tumulte and commotion, but it was done by ſuche a ſecret craft, yͭ no man coulde tell who was the author of that rumor. The K. perceyuing that this vayne fable was not baniſhed out of the mad braines of the common people, to prouide therefore againſt all perils yͭ might therby enſue, ſent certain knights that were ſkilfull mẽ of war, with cõpetẽt bands of ſoldiers, to keepe the ſea coaſtes, and hauens, to vnderſtand who came in, and went out of the Realme, doubting leaſt ſome greate conſpiracie were in brewing againſt him. He alſo ſent into yͤ low countreys certain perſons to learne yͤ troth of this forged dukes progenie, where ſome of thẽ that were ſo ſente, comming to Tourney, gotẽ knowlege that he was borne in that citie of baſe lignage, & named Perkin Warbecke. The king then aduertiſed not only by his eſpials vpõ theyr returne, but alſo from other his truſty friendes, determined with al ſpeede to haue the fraud publiſhed, both in Englande and forraine parties, and for the ſame cauſe, ſente ſir Edwarde Poinings Knight, and ſir Wil. Warram, Doctor of the lawes, vnto Phillip Archduke of Burgoigne, & to his counſailers (bycauſe he was not yet of age able to gouerne of himſelfe) to ſignifie to him and them, that the yong man being with the Lady Margaret, had falſely and vntruely vſurped yͤ name of Rich. D. of Yorke, which long before was murthred wͭ his brother Edw. in the Tower of London, by yͤ cõmandement of theyr vncle King Richard as many men then liuing, could teſtifie.

Perkins true lignage.

The Ambaſſadors cõming to yͤ court of the Archduke, Philip, were honorably enterteyned of him, & of his counſaile, & willed to declare the effect of their meſſage. Wil. Warrã made before thẽ an eloquẽt Oratiõ, & in the later ende ſomewhat inueighed againſt the Lady Margaret, not ſparing to declare, how ſhe now in hir later age, had brought forth (within yͤ ſpace of a few yeres togither) two deteſtable monſters, that is to ſay, Lãbert (of whom ye heard before) and this Perkin Warbecke, and being conceiued of theſe two great babes, was not deliuered of them in eyght or nine monethes, as nature requireth, but in the C. and. 80. monethes, for bothe theſe at the leaſt, wer. 15. yeres of age, ere ſhe would be brought in bed of them, & ſhew thẽ openly, & whẽ they were newly crept out of hir womb, they wer no infãts but luſty yõglings, & of age ſufficiẽt to bid battel to kings. Althogh theſe tãuts angred yͤ Lady Margaret euen at yͤ hart, yet Perkin was more vexed with the things declared in this Oration, and eſpecially bycauſe his cloked iuggling was brought to light. The Duches intẽding to caſt hote ſulphure, to yͤ new kindled fire, determined wͭ might & main to arme and ſet forward pretie Perkin againſt the K. of Englãd. Whẽ yͤ Ambaſſadors had done their meſſage, & that yͤ Archdukes counſel had long debated the matter, they made anſwere, that to haue the K. of Englãds loue, yͤ Archduke & they would neither aide nor aſſiſt Perkin nor his complices in anye cauſe or quarell. Yet notwithſtāding, if the Lady Margaret, perſiſting in hir rooted malice towards the K. of Englande, would bee to him aiding & helping, it was not in their power to withſtande it, for bycauſe in the landes aſſigned to hir for hyr dower, ſhee mighte frankely and freely order all things at hir will and pleaſure, without contradiction of any other gouernour.

An.reg.9. Eſpials ſent into Flanders.

After that ẏ Imbaſſadors wer returned with this aunſwere, the K. ſtraight ſent forth certaine eſpials into Flanders, which ſhould faigne thē ſelues to haue fled to the D. of Yorke, and thereby ſearch out the whole intent of the conſpiracie, and after what ſort they meant to proceede in ẏ ſame. Other were ſent alſo to entice ſir Roberte Clifford, and Wil. Barly to returne into Englande, promiſing to them pardon of all their offences, and high rewards, for obeying the kings requeſt. They that were ſent, did ſo earneſtly and prudently apply their buſines, that they brought al things to paſſe at their owne deſires. For firſt they learned, who were the chiefe conſpiratoꝛs, and after perſwaded ſir Robert Clifford to giue ouer that enterpriſe, which had no grounded ſtay to reſt vppon. Albeit. Wil. Barley at the fyrſte woulde not leaue off, but continued his begunne attempt, til after two yeares, he repenting him of his folly, and hauing pardon graunted him of ẏ K. returned home into his natiue cōuntry. Whē the K. had knowledge of the chiefe captaines of this cōſpiracie (by ẏ ouerture of his eſpials whiche were returned) he cauſed them to bee apprehended, and brought to London before hys preſence. Of the which, the chiefe were John Ratcliffe, L. Fitzwater, ſir Simon Mounforde, Sir Tho. Twhaitz knightes, Wil. Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Tho. Creſſenor, & Tho. Aſtwood. Alſo certaine prieſts & religious mē, as ſir Wil. Richford, doctor of diuinitie, & ſir Tho. Poynes, both friers of S. Dominikes order, doctor Wil. Sutton. ſir Wil. Worſeley, Deane of Paules, Robert Layborne, & ſir Richard Leſſey. Other which were giltie, hearing ẏ their fellowes were apprehended, fled and toke Sainctuarie. The other that were taken, were condemned, of the which, ſir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, & Wil. Daubeney, wer beheaded. The other had their pardons, and the prieſts alſo for their order ſake, but yet fewe of them liued long after. The L. Fitz Water pardoned of life, was conueyed to Calais, & ther laid in hold, & after loſt his head bycauſe he went about to corrupt his keepers wͭ rewards, that he might eſcape, intending as was thought, to haue gone to Perkyn. King Henrye taking diſpleaſure with the K. of Romaines, for that he kept not touch in aiding him agaynſt the frēch K. & partly diſpleaſed with ẏ Flemmings, but ſpecially wͭ the Lady Margaret, for keeping & ſetting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onely baniſhed al Flemmiſh wares, & merchādiſes out of his dominiōs, but alſo reſtreined all Engliſhe merchants frō their repaire & traffike, into any of the lands & territories of the K. of Romaines, or of ẏ Archduke Philip, ſon to the ſame K. of Romaines, cauſing ẏ mart to be kept at Calais, of al Engliſh merchādices & commodities. Wherfore, the ſaid K. and his ſon baniſhed out of their lāds & ſigniories al engliſh clothes, yarne, tinne leade, & other cōmodities of this Realm. The reſtraint made by the K. ſore hindred ẏ merchants aduenturers, for they had no occupying to beare their charges, & to ſupporte their credite withall. And ẏ moſt greeued thē, the Eaſterlings beeing at libertie, brought into ẏ Realm ſuch wares as they were wont, and ſo ſerued their cuſtomers through out ẏ realme. wherevpon, there enſued a riot by the ſeruāts of ẏ mercers, haberdaſhers, & clothworkers within the Citie of London, the Tewſday before S. Edwards day: for they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maiſters in that they were not able ſo wel to keepe thē, as before they had done, aſſembled togither in purpoſe to reuenge their malice on ẏ Eaſterlings, & ſo came to ẏ Stiliard, & began to riſe and ſpoile ſuch chambers & warehouſes as they coulde get into. So ẏ the Eaſterlings had much ado to wͭſtand them, & keepe thē backe out of their gates, which with help of Carpēters, Smithes, & other ẏ came to thē by water out of Southwark, they ſhored, & ſo fortified, ẏ the multitude of the ſeruants and prentiſes, being aſſembled, coulde not preuaile: & at length, came the Maior wͭ a ſufficient number of men, defenſibly weaponed, to remoue ẏ force, at whoſe approche, thoſe riotous perſons fled away like a flocke of ſheepe, but diuers of thē were apprehended, & vppon inquirie made before ẏ kings commiſſioners, aboue. 80. ſeruants and apprentiſes were found to be conſpired togither, & ſworne not to reueale it, of whome ſome of the chiefe beginners were cōmitted to the Tower, & there long continued, but in concluſion, bycauſe none of their maſters, nor anye one houſholder was found culpable, the K. of his clemencie pardoned their offence, and reſtored them to libertie.

Flemmiſhe wares forbidden.

The mart kept at Calais.

Engliſh commodities baniſhed out of Flanders.

A riot made vpon the Eaſterlings.

1494

An.reg.10.

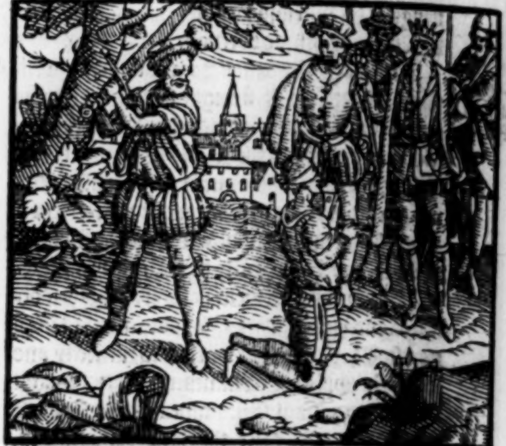
Shortly after ſir Rob. Clifford partly truſting on ẏ kings promis, & partly miſtruſting ẏ deſperat begon enterpriſe, returned ſodenly again into Englād. The K. being certified before of his cōming, wēt ſtreight to ẏ tower of London ẏ morow after the day of the Epiphanie, & there taried till ſuche tyme that ſir Roberte Clifforde was there preſented to his perſon. This was done for a policie, that if ſir Robert accuſed any of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without ſuſpition of any euill, and there attached and layd faſt.

Sir William Stanley a fauourer of Perkin.

Some thought alſo, that for a policie, Kyng Henry did ſend ſir Roberte Clifford ouer, as an eſpie, or elſe he would not ſo ſone haue receyued him into fauour againe. Neuertheleſſe, ther were greate preſumptions that it was nothing ſo, for both was he in great daunger after his begunne attempt, and neuer was ſo much eſteemed with the K. afterward, as he was before. But thys is true, vpon his cõming to the kings preſencẽ, hee beſought him of pardon, and obteyned it, & therewith opened all the maner of the conſpiracie, ſo far as he knewe, and who were aiders, fautors, and chief beginners of it, amongſt whome, hee accuſed ſir Wil. Stanley, whom yͤ K. had made his chiefe Chamberlaine, and one of hys priuie counſell. The K. was ſorie to heare this, & could not be enduced to beleeue that there was ſo much vntroth in him, til by euident prooues it was tried againſt him. Then the K. cauſed him to be reſtreined from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrate tower, and there appoynted him by his priuie counſaile, to bee examined, in which examinatiõ, he nothing denyed, but wiſely and ſagely agreed to all things layde to hys charge, if hee were therein faultie and culpable. The report is, that this was his offence. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned ſir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkyn, which falſely vſurped the name of K. Edwardes ſon, Sir Wil. Stanley ſaid, that if he knew certainely that the yõg man was the indubitate heire of K. Edwarde the fourthe, hee would neuer fight nor beare armor againſt him. This point argued, that hee bare no hartie good wil toward K. Henry as then, but what was the cauſe that he had cõceyued ſome inward grudge towards yͤ king, or how it chanced that the K. had withdrawen his ſpeciall fauour from hym, many haue doubted. Some indeede haue geſſed, that ſir Wil. Stanley, for the ſeruice whiche hee ſhewed at Boſworth field, thought that al yͤ benefites which he receyued of the K. to be far vnder that which he had deſerued in preſeruing not only the kings life, but alſo in obteyning for him the victorie of his enimies, ſo that his aduerſarie was ſlaine in the fielde, and therefore deſiring to be created Earle of Cheſter, and thereof denyed, he began to diſdeine the K. and one thing encouraged him much, which was the riches & treaſure of K. Richard, which he only poſſeſſed at yͤ battaile of Boſworth, by reaſon of which riches and greate power of men, he ſet naught by the king his ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter. The king hauing thus an hole in his coate, doubted firſt what hee ſhould doe with him, for loth hee was to loſe the fauour of his brother the Erle of Derby, and againe to pardon him, he feared leaſt it ſhould be an euil example to other that ſhould goe about to attempt the like offence, and ſo at lẽgth, ſeueritie gote the vpper hand, and mercy was put backe, in ſo much, that he was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and adiudged to die, and according to that iudgement, was brought to the Tower hill the ſixteenth day of February, and there had his head ſtriken off.

1495

Sir William Stanley beheaded.



Aboute the ſame time, diuers were puniſhed alſo, that had vpon a preſumptuous boldnes ſpoken many ſlaunderous wordes againſt the kings maieſtie, hoping ſtill for the arriuall of the feygned Richard Duke of Yorke.

Anno reg. 11.

After the deathe of ſir Wil. Stanley, Gyles L. Daubeney, was elected and made the kings chiefe Chamberlaine. Alſo, the K. ſent into Ireland (to purge out the euill and wicked ſeedes of Rebellion, amongſt the wild and ſauage Iriſhe people, ſowed there by the craftie conueyance of Perkin Warbecke) ſir Henry Deane, late Abbot of Langtonie (whom he made chancellor of that Iſle) and ſir Edward Poinings knight, with an army of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that ſir Edwarde Poynings was come with a power to perſecute them, withdrewe ſtraightewayes, and fled into the woods & mariſhes, for the ſafegard of themſelues. Sir Edwarde Poynings according to his commiſſion, intending to puniſhe ſuche as had aided and aduanced the enterpriſe of Perkin, with his whole army marched forward againſt the wild Iriſhmẽ, bycauſe that all other being culpable of that offence, fled and reſorted to them for ſuccour. But when hee ſaw that his purpoſe ſucceded not as he would haue wiſhed it, both bycauſe the Iriſhe Lordes ſent him no ſuccour according to their promiſes, and alſo for that his owne number was not ſufficient to furniſh his enterpriſe, bycauſe his enimies were diſperſed amongſt woddes, Mountaines, and mariſhes, hee was conſtreined to recule backe, ſore diſpleaſed in his minde agaynſte Geralde Earle of Kildare, being then the Kings deputie, whome he ſuſpected to bee the cauſe that

Sir Edwarde Poinings ſent into Irelande with an army.

Gerald Earle of Kildare, deputy of Ireland apprehended.

he had no ſuccours ſent him, & was ſo enformed indede by ſuch as bare to yͤ erle no good wil. And therfore ſuddainely he cauſed yͤ erle to be apprehended, & as a priſoner brought him in his company into Englande. Whiche earle being examined, & ſundry points of treaſon laid to him, he ſo auoided thẽ all, and laid the burthen in other mens neckes, that he was diſmiſſed, and ſente into Ireland againe, there to be deputie & lieutenant as he was before. The King being now in ſome better ſuretie of his eſtate, did take his progreſſe into Lancaſhire the. 25. day of Iune, there to make merrie with his mother the Coũteſſe of Derby, whiche then laye at Lathome in that Countrey.

Perkin attempteth to land in Kent.

Perkins men diſcomfited.

Perkins Captaines taken and executed.

Perkin reculeth into Flanders.

The death of Cicely Duches of Yorke

Perkin ſailleth into Irelande.

Katherine daughter to the Earle of Huntley maried to Perkin

1496

The Scottiſhe K. inuadeth England with a great army in Perkin his behalfe.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbeck, being in Flanders, ſore troubled that his iuggling was diſcouered, yet he determined not to leaue of his enterpriſe, in hope at lengthe to attayne the crowne of England, and ſo gathering a power of al nations, ſome banquerouts, ſome falſe Engliſh ſainctuarie men, ſome theeues, robbers, and vacabunds, whyche deſiring to liue by rapine, wer glad to ſerue him. And thus furniſhed, tooke ſuch ſhips as his frendes had prouided for him, & departing frõ Flanders towards England, arriued vpon yͤ Kẽtiſh coaſt, & there caſt anker, purpoſing to proue how yͤ people there were affected towards him, & therfore he ſent certayne of his men to lande, to ſignify to the Countrey his arriual with ſuche a power, that the victorie muſte needs encline to his part. The Kentiſhmen vnderſtanding yͭ Perkyn was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make accompt of) but ſtrangers borne, like faithful ſubiectes, determine to fal vpon thoſe that were thus newe come to lande, & eke to trie if they myght allure yͤ whole number out of their ſhippes, ſo to giue them battaile. But Perkyn wiſely conſidering yͭ the maner of a multitude, is not to conſult & ſagely to aduyſe with themſelues in any deliberate ſorte, but ſodeynly & raſhly to run headlong into Rebellion, would not ſet one foote out of his ſhip till he ſaw al things ſure. Yet he permitted ſome of his ſouldiors to goe on land, which being trayned forth a pretie way frõ their ſhips, were ſodainly compaſſed about & beſet of yͤ Kentiſhmen, and at one ſtroke vanquiſhed & driuen backe to their ſhips: of whom ther wer taken priſoners an C.lx. perſons, whereof fiue, Montfort, Corbet, White, Belt, Quintine, or otherwiſe Genin, being captaines, were brought to Londõ by ſir Iohn Pechy, ſheriffe of Kent, railed in ropes like Horſes, drawing in a cart, and after vpon their arrainment, cõfeſſed their offẽce, & were executed, ſome at London, & other in the townes adioining to yͤ ſea coaſt. And thus Perkyn, miſſing of his purpoſe, fled backe into Flãders. In this very ſeſon departed to God Cicilie Duches of Yorke mother to K. Edward yͤ .iiij. at hir caſtel of Berkhãſtede, a womã of ſmal ſtature, but of much honor & high parentage, & was buried by hir huſbãd in yͤ colledge of Fodringey. The K. being aduertiſed yͭ his enimies were landed, leauing off hys progreſſe, purpoſed to haue returned to London, but being certified the next day of yͤ lucky ſpeede of his faithfull ſubiectes, cõtinued his progreſſe, & ſent ſir Rich. Guylford both to cõmend the fidelitie & manhod of the Kentiſhmen, & alſo to render to thẽ moſt harty thãks for yͤ ſame. He alſo cauſed order to be takẽ for yͤ erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that hee ſhoulde not bee receiued in Englande, ſailed into Ireland, truſting there to augment his nũbers, and then to returne towards yͤ coaſt of England again, and to take land in the Weſt cũtrey, if occaſion ſerued, but if not, thẽ he determined to ſaile ſtraight into Scotl. to ſeeke friẽdſhip ther. After he had therfore ſtayed a while in Irelãd, and perceiued yͭ the hope of victory conſiſted not in yͤ Iriſh nation, being naked people, wͭout furniture of armour or weapon, he tooke yͤ ſea againe at Corke, & ſailed into Scotlande, where cõming to the preſence of K. Iames, he forged ſuche a painted proceſſe, to moue him to beleeue that he was the very ſonne of K. Edward, that the Scottiſhe King, whether blinded by error, or vſing diſſimulatiõ, yͭ he mighte vnder a coulourable pretext, make war againſt England, begã to haue Perkin in great honour, and cauſed him openly to bee called Duke of Yorke. And to perſwade yͤ world yͭ ſo he was indeede, he cauſed the Lady Katherine, daughter to Alexander Erle of Huntley, his nigh kinſmã, to be eſpouſed to him. And ſhortly after, hauing this Perkin with him in cõpany, he entred into England with a puiſſant army, & cauſed proclamation to be made, to ſpare al thoſe yͭ would ſubmit thẽſelfs vnto Richarde D. of Yorke, & herrewith, they began the war in moſt cruel maner, wͭ ſlaughter of men, brenning of Townes, ſpoiling of houſes, and committing of all other deteſtable enormities, ſo that all the Countrey of Northumberlande, was by them in manner waſted, and deſtroyed.

At length, when the ſouldiers were ladẽ with ſpoile, and ſaciate with bloud, perceiuing that no ſuccoures came out of Englãd vnto the new inuented Duke, contrary to that whiche he had made them to beleeue would come to paſſe, they determined to returne, rather with aſſured gaine, than to tarrie yͤ vncertaine victorie of that counterfaite Duke, and ſo therevpon, they withdrew backe into Scotland, enriched with prayes and booties.

It is ſaide, that Perkin Warbecke, beeyng retourned into Scotlande with the Kyng of Scottes, vnder a cloked pretence, ſhould ſore lamente the greate ſlaughter, ſpoyle, and domage, which had bin done at this laſt roade made into Englande, and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue towarde his natiue Countrey, beſoughte the King of Scottes, that from thenceforth, hee woulde no more ſo deface his naturall Realme, and deſtroy his ſubiects with ſuche terrible fire, flame, and hauocke, as who ſhould ſay, he beeing ouercome now with compaſſion, dyd bewayle the cruell deſtruction of his naturall Countrey of England. But the Scottiſh King told him, that he ſeemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, ſith that not ſo much as one Gentleman or yeoman for ought that he coulde ſee, would once ſhewe themſelues ready to ayde hym in the warre begunne for his cauſe, and in his name, within that realme whiche he pretended ſo cleerely to appertaine to him.

The Kyng of Englande beeing certyfied of this inuaſion, prepared an armye with all diligence to haue reſiſted the Scots, but they were returned ere the Engliſhe power could aſſemble togither.

An.reg.12.

When the King was truely certified that the Scottiſhe King was returned home, hee ſtayed all the preparations made at that time to goe againſt him, but yet meaning to bee reuenged of the wrongs done to hym by King Iames and his people, he firſt called a Parliament, and in that aſſemblie of the three eſtates of his Realm, he declared the cauſe of the inſtant warre, & how neceſſarie it ſhould be for the ſuretie and welth of the realme of England to haue that war purſued againſt thoſe enimies that had begon it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholly agreed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a ſubſidie was by whole aſſent of the parliament freely giuen and graunted. Which payment though it was not great, yet manie of the cõmon people ſore grudged to pay yͤ ſame, as they that euer abhorre ſuch taxes & exactions. At the ſame parliament were diuers acts & ſtatutes made, neceſſarie and expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realm. In the meane ſeaſon the K. of Scots perceyuing that the Engliſhmen would ſhortly goe about to reuẽge the iniuries done to them by him and his people, aſſembled eftſoons a puiſſant armie, that he might either defende his realme againſt the Engliſh power, attempting to inuade his countrey, or elſe a freſh to enter into the Engliſh borders. And thus theſe two mightie princes mynded nothing more than the one to endomage the other. But the king of England wold not deferre one houre by his good will til he were reuenged, and therfore prepared a mightie army to inuade Scotland, and ordeyned for chieftayn therof yͤ lord Daubeney. But as this army was aſſembled, and that the lord Daubeney was forward on his iourney towards Scotland, he was ſodainly ſtayed and called backe again by reaſon of a new commotion begon by the Corniſhmen for the paimẽt of the Subſidie which was graunted at the laſt parliament. Theſe vnruly people the Corniſhmen inhabiting in a barryn country and vnfruitful, at the firſte ſore repined that they ſhould be ſo greuouſly taxed, and burdened the kings counſell as the only cauſe of ſuch polling & pilling. And ſo being in their rage, menaced the chiefe authors with death and preſent deſtructiõ. And thus being in a roare, two perſõs of yͤ ſame affinitie, the one called Thomas Flammocke, a gentleman, lerned in the lawes of the realme, and the other Mighel Ioſeph a Smith, men of ſtout ſtomacks and high courages, toke vpon them to be captains of this ſeditious cõpanie. They laide the fault & cauſe of this exaction vnto Io. Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury, & to ſir Reinold Bray, bicauſe they wer chief of the kings cõuſel. Such rewards haue they cõmonly yͭ be in great authority wͭ kings & princes. The captains Flãmock and Ioſeph exhorted the cõmon people to put on harneis, & not to be afeard to follow them in that quarell, promiſing not to hurte any creature, but only to ſee them puniſhed that procured ſuch exactions to be layd on the people without any reſonable cauſe, as vnder the color of a little trouble with the Scottes, whiche (ſith they were withdrawne home) they toke to be well quieted and appeaſed. So theſe Captaines bent on miſchiefe (were their outward pretẽce neuer ſo finely couloured) perſwaded a great number of people to aſſemble togither, & condiſcended to do as their Captaines would agree and appoint. Then theſe captaines praiſing much the hardineſſe of the people, whẽ al things were ready for their infortunate iourney, ſet forwarde with their army, and came to Taunton, where they ſlew the prouoſt of Peryn, which was one of yͤ cõmiſſioners of yͤ ſubſedie, & from thẽce came to Welles, ſo intẽding to goe to London, where the K. then ſoiourned. Whẽ the K. was aduertiſed of theſe doings, he was ſomewhat aſtonyed, & not without cauſe being thus troubled wͭ the war againſt yͤ Scottes, and this ciuil cõmotiõ of his ſubiects at one inſtant, but firſte meaning to ſubdue hys rebellious ſubiects, & after to procede againſt the Scots as occaſiõ ſhould ſerue, he reuoked the L. Dawbeney (which as you haue hearde) was going againſt the Scottes, & encreaſed his army wͭ many choſen & piked warriors. Alſo miſtruſting that the Scots might now (hauing ſuch oportunitie) inuade yͤ realme again, he appointed the L. Tho. Howard Erle of Surrey (which after the death of the L. Iohn Dinham, was made hygh treaſo-

1497

A Rebellion in Cornewall for the payment of a ſubſedie.

treaſoꝛer of Englād) to gather a band of mē in yͭ countie Palatine of Durham, yͭ they wͭ yͤ aid of yͤ inhabitāts adioining, & the boꝛderers might keepe back yͤ Scots if they chanced to make any inuaſiō. The nobles of yͤ realme hearing of yͤ rebelliō of yͤ Coꝛniſhmē, came to Lōdon euery mā wͭ as many mē of war as they could put in a readines to aid yͤ K. if neede ſhould be. In yͤ which number were yͤ erle of Eſſex, & the L. Montioy, wͭ diuers other. In yͤ mean time, Iames Twichet L. Audeley, being confederate with the Rebels of Coꝛnewall, ioined with thē, being come to Welles, & toke vpon him as their chief Captain, to leade them againſt their natural L. and K. Frō Welles, they went to Saliſbury, & from thēce to Wincheſter, & ſo into Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceiued in that their expectation. Foꝛ the Earle of Kente, George L. of Burgeiny, Iohn Bꝛoke, L. Cobham, ſir Edw. Poinings, ſir Rich. Guilfoꝛd, ſir Tho. Bourchier, Io. Peche, Wil. Scot, & a great nūber of people, wer not only pꝛeſt and ready to defend yͤ countrey, to keepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fighte with ſuche as would lift vp ſwoꝛd, oꝛ other weapon agaynſt their ſoueraigne Loꝛd, in ſo much, that the Kentiſh mē would not once come neere the Coꝛniſh men to aid oꝛ aſſiſt them in any maner of wiſe. Which thing maruellouſly diſmaid the heartes of yͤ Coꝛniſhmē, whē they ſaw themſelues thus deceiued of the ſuccours which they moſt truſted vpō, ſo yͭ many of thē (fearing yͤ euill chance that might happen) fled in the night frō their cōpany, & left thē, in hope ſo to ſaue thēſelues. The Captaines of the Rebels perceiuing they coulde haue no help of the Kentiſhmen, putting their onely hope in their owne puiſſance, bꝛought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles diſtante from London, and there in a playne on the toppe of an hill, they oꝛdered their battailes, either readye to fight with the K. if he would aſſayle them, oꝛ elſe to aſſault the Citie of London, foꝛ they thought the K. durſt not haue encountred with them in battaile: but they were deceyued: foꝛ the K. although he had power ynogh about to haue fought with them befoꝛe their comming ſo neere to the Citie, yet hee thoughte it beſt to ſuffer them to come foꝛward, till he had them farre off frō their natiue countrey, and then to ſet vpon them being deſtitute of aid in ſome place of aduantage. The Citie was in a great feare at the firſt knowledge giuen, how the Rebels were ſo neere encamped to the Citie, euery man getting himſelfe to harneys, and placing thēſelues, ſome at the gates, ſome on the walles, ſo that no parte was vndefended: but the K. deliuered yͤ Citie of that feare: foꝛ after that he perceyued how the Coꝛniſhmen were all day ready to fight, and that on the hill, he ſent ſtraight Iohn Earle of Oxfoꝛd, Henrye Bourchier, Erle of Eſſex, Edmond de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke, ſir Ryſe ap Thomas, and ſir Humfrey Stanley, noble warrioꝛs, with a great companye of archers and hoꝛſemen, to enuiron the hill on the righte ſide, and on the lefte, to the intent that all bywayes being ſtopped and foꝛecloſed, al hope of flight ſhould be taken from thē, and incontinently, he himſelfe being as well encouraged with māly ſtomacke as furniſhed with a populous army and plenty of artillerie, ſet foꝛward out of the Citie, and encamped himſelfe in S. Geoꝛges field, where he the Friday at nighte then lodged. On the Saterday in the moꝛning, he ſent the L. Daubeney with a great company to ſet on thē early in the moꝛning, which firſt gote the bꝛidge at Dertfoꝛd Strand, which was manfully defended by certaine archers of the rebels, whoſe arrowes as is repoꝛted were in lēgth a full clothyard. While the Earles ſet on them on euery ſide, the Loꝛd Daubeney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Coꝛniſhmen were ouercome, but firſte they toke the Loꝛde Daubeney pꝛiſoner, and whether it were foꝛ feare, oꝛ foꝛ hope of fauour, they let him goe at libertie, without hurt oꝛ detriment. There were ſlaine of the rebels whyche fought & reſiſted, aboue two thouſand menne, as Hall noteth, and taken pꝛiſoners an infinite nūber, and amongſt them the blacke Smith, and other the chiefe Captaines, which were ſhoꝛtely after put to death. When this battel was ended, the K. wanted of al his numbers but thꝛee hundꝛed, which were ſlayne at that conflict. Some affirme, that the King appointed to haue fought with them, not till the Monday, and pꝛeuenting the time, ſet on thē on the Saterday befoꝛe, taking them vnpꝛouided, and in no aray of battel, and ſo by that policie obteyned the field and victoꝛy. The pꝛiſoners as well captaines as other, were pardoned, ſauing the chiefe captaynes and firſt beginners, to whome hee ſhewed no mercye at all. The L. Audeley was dꝛawen frō Newgate to the Tower hill in a coate of hys owne armes, paynted vppon paper reuerſed and all to toꝛne, and there was beheaded the four and twētith of Iune. Tho. Flammock & Mighel Ioſeph were hanged dꝛawen and quartered after yͤ maner of Traitoꝛs, and their heads and quarters were pitched vpon ſtakes, and ſet vp in Londō, and in other places. Although at the firſt, the K. meant to haue ſent thē into Coꝛnewal, to haue bin ſet vp there foꝛ a terroꝛ to all others, but hearing that the Coꝛniſhmen at home were readie to begin a new cōſpiracy, leaſt he ſhould yͤ moꝛe irritate and pꝛouoke them by that diſpleaſaunte ſight, he changed his purpoſe foꝛ doubte to wꝛap himſelfe in moꝛe trouble than needed.

Iames Twichet Lorde Audeley chief captayne of the Cornish Rebels.

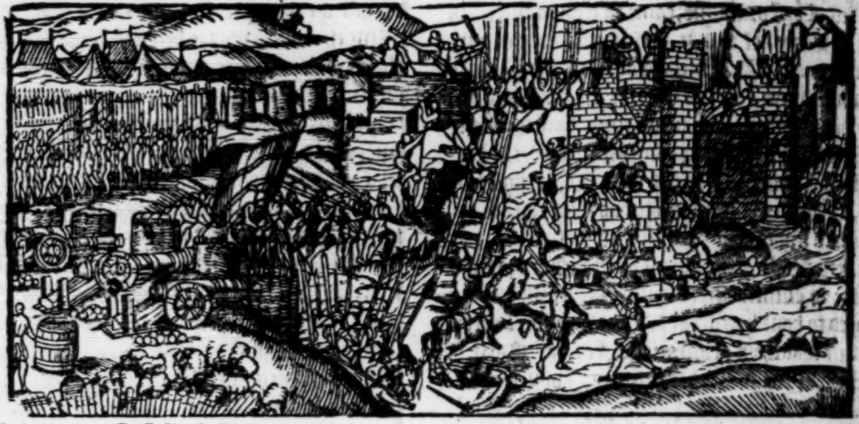
Blackheath field.

Three hundred ſlayne, and a thouſand fiue hundred taken priſoners, as Iohn Stowe hath.

Iames Lorde Audeley beheaded.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

While theſe things were adoing in England, the K. of Scots beeing aduertiſed of the whole matter & rebellion of the Corniſhmē, thought not to let paſſe that occaſion, & therefore hee eſtſones inuaded the frontiers of Englande, waſting the countrey, burning townes, and murthering the people, ſparing neither place nor perſon: & whyle his light horſemen were riding to forray and deſtroy the Byſhopricke of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his army, beſieged the Caſtell of Norham.



Foxe biſhop of Durham.

The Biſhop of Durham Richard Foxe, being owner of that Caſtell, had well furniſhed it, both with men and munitions aforehand, doubting leaſt that would follow which came nowe to paſſe.

The Byſhoppe after that the Scottes made this inuaſion, aduertiſed the King (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the North parts, and ſent in all poſt haſt to ẏ Erle of Surrey, to come to the reſcue.

The Earle being then in Yorkeſhire, and hauing gathered an army vpon knowledge giuen to hym from the Byſhop, with al diligence marched forward. and after him folowed other noble men out of all the quarters of the North, euerye of them bringing as many men as they coulde gather, for defence of their countrey. Amongſt whom, the chiefe leaders were theſe, Rauſe Erle of Weſtmerlād, Thomas Lord Dacres, Rauſe Lord Neuill, George Lord Straunge, Richard Lorde Latimer, George Lorde Lumley, John Lorde Scrope, Henrye Lorde Clifford, George Lord Ogle, William Lord Conyers, Thomas Lord Darcy. Of Knightes, Thomas, Baron of Hilton. Sir William Percy, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Gaſcoigne, Sir Rauſe Bigod, Sir Rauſe Bowes, Sir Tho. a Parre, Sir Rauſe Ellecker; Sir John Conneſtable; Sir John Ratclif, Sir John Sauill, Sir Tho. Strangweys, & a great nūber of other knightes and Eſquiers beſydes. The whole armye was little leſſe than twentie thouſand men, beſide the nauie, whereof the Lord Brooke was Admirall. When the Scottes had diuers wayes aſſaulted and beaten the Caſtell of Norham, but coulde make no batrie to enter the ſame, they determined of their owne accorde to reyſe the ſiege, and returne, and that ſo much the ſooner in very dede, bycauſe they heard that the Erle of Surrey was within two dayes iourney of them, with a great puiſſance. Wherefore, King James reyſed hys ſiege, and returned home into his owne Realme.

When the Earle knew of the Kings returne, he followed him with all haſt poſſible, truſtyng ſurely to ouertake him, and to giue him battayle. When the Earle was entred Scotlande, he ouerthrewe and defaced the Caſtell of Cawdeſtreymes, the tower of Hetenhall, the tower of Edingtō, the tower of Fulden, and he ſent Norrey King at armes, to the Captayne of Hayton Caſtel, whiche was one of the ſtrongeſt places betwixt Berwike and Edēburgh, to deliuer him the Caſtel, which he denied to do, affirming, that he was ſure of ſpeedie ſuccours. The Erle hereupon layde his ordinance to the Caſtel, and continually beate it, from two of the clock, till fiue at night, in ſuch wiſe, that they within rendered vp the place, their liues only ſaued. The Earle cauſed his miners to raſe and ouerthrow ẏ fortreſſe to the playn groūd. The Scottiſh K. was wᵗin a mile of the ſiege, & both knew it, & ſawe ẏ ſmoke, but would not ſet one foote forward to ẏ reſcue. While the Earle lay at Hayton, the K. of Scottes ſent to him Machemont, and an other Herrauld, deſiring him at his election, eyther to fight with whole puiſſance againſt puiſſance, or elſe they two to fight perſon to perſon, requiring, that if the victorie fell to the Scottiſh K. that then the Earle ſhould deliuer for his raunſome, the town of Berwike, with the fiſhgarthes of the ſame. The Earle made aunſwere hereto, that the Towne of Berwike was the Kyng his maiſters, and not his, the whiche hee neyther oughte nor woulde lay to pledge, without the King of Englands aſſent, but he woulde guage his bodie which was more precious to him than all the townes of the worlde, promiſing on hys honour, that if he tooke the king priſoner in that ſingular combate, he would releaſe to him all his part of his fine and raunſome, and if it chaunced the king to vanquiſh him, hee woulde gladly pay ſuch raunſome as was conuenient for the degree of an Earle, and thanked him greatly for the offer: for ſurely he thought himſelfe much honored, that ſo noble a Prince woulde vouchſafe to admit ſo poore an Erle to fight with him body to body. When he had rewarded and diſmiſſed the heraulds, he ſet his armie in a readineſſe to abide the comming of the king of Scots, and ſo ſtoode all day.

But K. James not regarding his offers, wold neyther performe the one nor the other, fearing to cope with the Engliſh nation in anie cōdition and ſo therevpon fled in the night ſeaſon with all his puiſſance.

Whē the Erle knew that the king was reculed and had beene in Scotlande ſixe or ſeuen dayes, being dayly and nightly vexed with continuall wind and raine, vpon good and deliberate aduiſe returned backe to the town of Berwik, and there diſſolued his armie, tarying there himſelf, till hee might vnderſtande further of the Kings pleaſure.

In the meane time there came an Imbaſſadour to the King of Scottes, from the king of Spaine, one Peter Hyalas, a man of no leſſe learning than witte and policie, to moue and intreate a peace betweene the two kings of Englande and Scotland.

Imbaſſa-
from the
g of Spaine
cure a peace
twixt Eng-
and Scot-
d.

This Spaniſh Imbaſſador ſo earneſtly trauailed in his meſſage to the king of Scottes, that at length he found him conformable to his purpoſe, and therfore wrote to the king of England, that it would pleaſe him to ſende one of his Nobilitie or counſayle, to be aſſociate with him in concluding of peace with the Scottiſh king. The king of England was neuer daungerous to agree to any reaſonable peace, ſo it might ſtand with his honour, and therfore appoynted the Biſhop of Durham doctor Fox, to go into Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hyalas had begon.

The Biſhoppe according to his commiſſion, went honorably into Scotland, where he, & Peter Hyalas at the town of Jedworth, after lōg arguing and debating of matters with the Scottiſhe Commiſſioners, in ſteade of peace concluded a truce for certaine yeares, vppon condition that James king of Scottes ſhoulde conuey Perkyn Werbecke out of his Realme, ſeigniories, and dominions.

About the ſame time, king Henrie receyued the Ambaſſadours that were ſente to him from the French king, and had bene ſtayed at Douer, tyll the Corniſh Rebelles were vanquiſhed and ſubdued.

Alſo the lord of Camphire, and other Orators of Philippe Archduke of Auſtriche, and Duke of Burgongne came to him for the concluſion of amitie, and to to haue the Engliſh marchantes to reſort againe into their Countrey, whiche requeſt being verie agreable to the quietneſſe and wealth of his Realme, and eſpecially at that tyme, he did fauourably graunt and agree vnto. And ſo did the Engliſhmen reſort again into the Archdukes dominions, and were receyued into Andwerpe with generall Proceſſion: ſo glad was that town of their returne.

The Engliſh marchantes receyued into Anwerpe with generall Proceſſion.

Shortly after the concluding of the truce betwene Englande and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke, being willed of the king of Scottes to depart out of the Scottiſh dominions, ſayled with his wife and and familie into Irelande, there determining with himſelfe eyther to repayre into Flaunders to his firſte ſetter vp the Duches of Burgongne, or elſe to ioyne and take part wyth the Corniſhmen.

But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, whileſt hee lay in Ireland, he had knowledge from the Corniſh men, that they were readie to renue the warre againe. Whereupon he minding not to let paſſe ſo fayre an occaſion, hauing with him foure ſmal ſhippes, and not aboue ſixeſcore men, ſayled into Cornwall, and there landed in the Moneth of September, and came to a Towne called Bodman, and there did ſo prouoke the wauering people, what with fayre wordes and large promiſes, that hee gathered to him aboue three thouſande perſons, which immediatly called him their captaine, promiſing to take his part, and follow him to the death.

Perkyn Warbeck arriueth Cornwell.

Then Perkin well encouraged, made Proclamations in the name of king Richarde the fourth, as ſonne to king Edward the fourth. And by the aduice of his three coūſailers, John Heron Mercer, a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a Tayler,

Another rebellion by the Cornishmen.

Exceter aſſaulted by Perkyn and the Corniſhmen.

and John Aſtely a Scriuener determined firſte of al to aſſay the winning of Exceter, and ſo haſting thither he layd ſiege to it, and wanting ordinaunce to make batterie, ſtudyed all wayes poſſible how to breake the Gates, and what with caſting of ſtones, heauing with yron barres, and kindling of fire vnder the gates, hee omitted nothing that could be deuiſed for the furtherance of his purpoſe.

The Citizens perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, firſt let certaine Meſſengers downe by coardes ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of theyr neceſſitie and trouble.

Fire repulſed by fire.

And herewith taking vnto them boldneſſe of courage, determined to repulſe fire with fire, and cauſed fagottes to be brought and layd to the inwarde part of the gates, and ſet them all on fire, to the intent that the fire being enflamed on both ſides the gates, might as well keepe out their enimies from entring, as ſhut in the Citizens from fleeing oute, and that they in the meane ſeaſon might make Trenches and Rampires to defende theyr enimies in ſteade of gates and Bulwarks. Thus by fire was the Citie preſerued from fire.

Then Perkyn being of verie neceſſitie compelled to forſake the gates, aſſaulted the towne in dyuerſe weake and vnfortified places, and ſet vp Ladders to take the citie. But the Citizens with helpe of ſuch as were come forth of the Countrey adioining to theyr ayde ſo valiantly defended the walles, that they ſlue aboue two hũdred of Perkyns ſouldiers at that aſſault.

The king hauing aduertiſement of this ſiege of Excetter, haſted forth with his hoſt, in as much ſpeede as was poſſible, and ſent the Lorde Dawbeney with certaine bandes of lyght horſemen before, to aduertiſe all men of his comming at hande.

But in the meane ſeaſon, the Lord Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonſhire, and the valiaunt Lorde William his ſonne, accompanyed wyth ſir Edmond Carew, ſir Thomas Trencharde, ſir William Courtney, ſir Thomas Fulford, ſir John Halcwel, ſir John Croker, Water Courtney, Peter Egecombe, William Saint Maure, with all ſpeede came into the Citie of Exceter, and holp the Citizens, and at the laſt aſſault was the Earle hurt in the arme with an arrowe, and ſo were many of his companie, but verie fewe ſlaine.

When Perkyn ſaw that he could not winne the Citie of Exceter, ſith the ſame was ſo well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the .xx. day of Septẽber he muſtred his mẽ, as though hee were readie to giue battaile: But perceyuing his number to be miniſhed, by the ſecrete withdrawing of ſundrie companies from him, he began to put miſtruſt in all the remnant. In deede when the people that followed him in hope that no ſmall number of the Nobilitie wold ioyne with him, ſawe no ſuche matter come to paſſe, they ſtale away from him by ſecrete companies.

When the king heard that hee was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all ſpeede. And by the way ther came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a yong Prince of greate towardneſſe, and him folowed a great companie of noble men, knightes and eſquiers, as ſir Alexander Baynam, ſir Maurice Barckley, ſir Robert Tame, ſir John Guiſe, ſir Roberte Poyntz, ſir Henrie Vernon, ſir John Mortimer, ſir Thomas Tremaile, ſir Edward Sutton, ſir Amyſe Pawlet, ſir John Bicknell, ſir John Sapcotes, ſir Hugh Lutterell, ſir Frauncis Cheyney, and diuerſe other.

At the kings approching to the Towne of Taunton, hee ſent before him Robert Lorde Brooke Lorde Stewarde of his houſe, Giles lord Dawbney his chiefe Chamberlaine, and ſir Rice ap Thomas. But as ſoone as Perkyn was informed that his enimies were readie to giue him battaile, hee that nothing leſſe mynded than to fight in open field with the kings puyſſance, diſſembled all the day tyme with his companie, as though nothing could make him afrayde, and about mydnight being accompanied with threeſcore horſemen, departed from Taunton in poſt to a Sanctuarie town beſide Southampton, called Beaudley, and there he and John Heron with other, regiſtred themſelues as perſons priuileged.

Perkin fle
and taketh
Beaudley Sa
ctuarye.

When king Henrie knewe that Perkyn was thus fled, he ſent after him the Lorde Dawbney, with fiue hundred horſemen, toward the ſea ſide, to apprehende him before he ſhould get away.

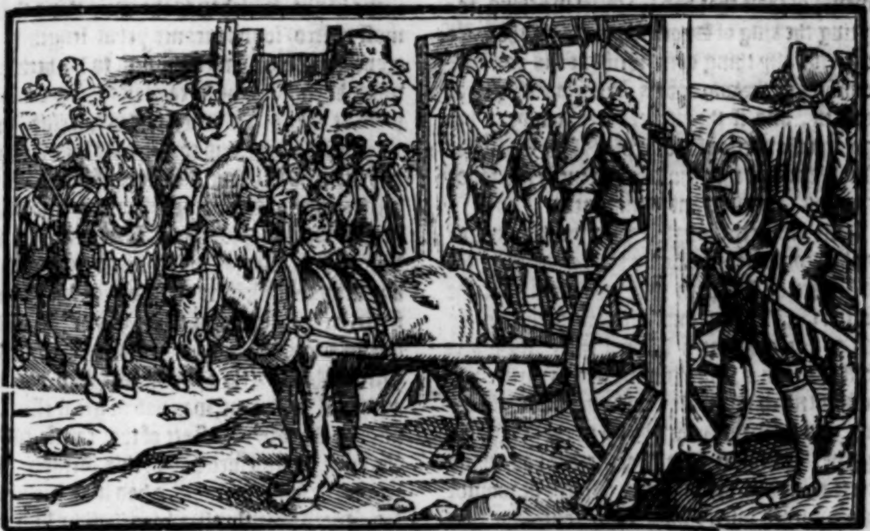
Although Perkyn eſcaped (as I haue ſayde) vnto Sanctuarie, yet many of his chiefe Captaynes were taken and preſented to the king.

Alſo the horſemen that were ſent, without a ſtoppe or ſtay came to Saint Michaels Mount, and there (as chaunce was) found the Lady Katherin Gorden, wife to Perkyn, and brought hir ſtreight to the king. At whoſe beautie and amiable countenance the king much marueyled, and thought hir a pray more meete for a Prince, than for the meane ſouldiours, and ſent hir incontinently vnto London to the Queene, accõpanied with a ſort of ſage matrones and gentlewomen, bycauſe ſhe was but yõg.

The common people that had followed Perkyn, after that their chieftaine was fled, threwe away theyr armour as people amazed, and ſubmitted thẽſelues to the king, humbly beſeeching him of mercie, which hee moſt gently graunted, and receyued them to his fauour.

After this the king road to Exceter, and there not onely commended the Citizens, but alſo hartily thanked them for doing ſo well their duties in defending theyr citie from his enimies.

He alſo put there to execution diuerſe Corniſh men which were the authours and principall beginners of this new conſpiracy and inſurrection.



And whileſt he remayned at Exceter, he conſidered with himſelfe, that hee had done nothing if he could not get into his handes the chiefe head of this trouble and ſeditious buſineſſe. Wherefore he cauſed the Sainctuarie wherein Perkyn was encloſed, to bee enuironed with two bandes of lyght horſemen, to watch diligently that Perkyn ſhoulde not eſcape by any meanes forth of that place vntaken. And withall attempted by fayre promiſes of pardon and forgiueneſſe, if Perkyn woulde ſubmit himſelfe to him and become hys man.

Perkyn perceyuing himſelf ſo ſhutte vp, that hee coulde no way eſcape, of his owne free will came out of the Sanctuarie, and cōmitted himſelfe to the kings pleaſure.

When the king had thus atchieued his purpoſe, he returned to London, and appoynted certaine keepers to attend on Perkyn, which ſhould not (the breadth of a nayle) go from his perſon, leaſt he ſhoulde conueigh himſelfe by any meanes out of the land.

After this the king cauſed enquiries to bee made of all ſuch as had ayded with men or mony the Corniſh rebels, ſo that diuerſe perſons aſwell in Somerſetſhire, as Deuonſhire, were detected of that offence, whiche hee mynded for example ſake, ſhoulde taſte ſome part of due puniſhments for theyr crymes, according to the quantitie thereof. And therefore he appoynted Thomas Lorde Darcie, Amys Pawlet knight, & Robert Sherborne Deane of Poules (that was after Biſhop of Chicheſter) to be Commiſſioners for aſſeſſing of their fines that were founde culpable.

These Commiſſioners ſo beſtirred themſelues, in toſſing the Coffers and ſubſtaunce of all the Inhabitants of both thoſe ſhyres, that there was not one perſon enbrewed or ſpotted with the filth of that abhominable crime, that eſcaped the paine which he had deſerued: but to ſuch yet as offended rather by conſtraynt than of malice, they were gentle and fauourable, ſo that equitye therein was verie well and iuſtly executed.

An. reg. 4.

In this yeare the warre had like to haue bene renued betwixte the Realmes of Englande and Scotland, by a ſmall occaſion, as thus.

Certaine yong men of the Scottes came armed before Norham Caſtell, and beheld it wonderous circumſpectly, as though they would fain haue beene of counſaile to know what was done therein. The keepers not perceyuing any domage attempted agaynſt them for the firſt time, determined not to moue any queſtion to them, or once to ſtyrre out.

But when they came againe the nexte daye, and vewed it likewiſe, the keepers of the Caſtell ſuſpecting ſome euill meaning, demaunded of them what their intēt was, and why they vewed and aduiſed ſo the Caſtell. The Scottes anſwered them roughly with diſdainfull wordes, ſo farre forth that the Engliſhmen fell to and replyed with ſtrokes, and after many blowes gyuen and receyued, diuerſe Scots were wounded, and ſome ſlaine, and the reſidue outmatched with multitude of the Engliſhmen, fled as faſt as their horſes could cary them.

The Scottiſh king hereof aduertiſed, was highly diſpleaſed, and in all haſt ſignified to king Henrie by his Heraulde Marchemount, in what ſort his people to the breache of the truce were vſed and handled.

King Henrie being not in wil to breake with any of his neighbours, excuſed the matter, affyrming that he was not of knowledge to the miſdemenor of thoſe that had the caſtel in keping. requyring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for any thing done without his conſent, promiſing in the worde of a King to enquyre of the truth, and if the offence were founde to bee begon on the partie of the keepers of the Caſtel, he aſſured him that they ſhuld for no meed nor fauor eſcape due correction and puniſhment.

This anſwere though it was more than reaſonable, could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the Biſhop of Durham that was owner of the Caſtell of Norham, and ſore lamented that by ſuch as hee appoynted keepers there, the warre ſhould be renued, with ſundrie letters written to the Scottiſh king, at lẽgth aſſwaged his diſpleaſure, that he wrote courteouſly to the Biſhoppe agayne, ſignifying that bycauſe hee had many ſecrete things in hys mynde, whiche he woulde communicate onelye with hym touching thys matter nowe in variaunce, hee therefore requyred him to take the payne to come into his countrey, truſting that hee ſhoulde thinke hys labour well beſtowed.

The Biſhop was glad, and ſent word hereof to the king his maiſter, who willed him to accompliſh the deſire of the Scotiſh king whiche hee tooke to be reaſonable.

At his comming into Scotland, he was curteouſly receyued of the king himſelfe at the Abbey of Melroſe. And there after the king had for a countenance complayned muche of the vniuſte ſlaughter of his mẽ lately committed at Norhã, vpon the Biſhops gentle anſweres therevnto, hee forgaue the ſame, and after began to talke ſecretly without witneſſes alone with the biſhop. And firſt declared what iuſt cauſes mooued him in tymes paſt to ſeeke amitie with the king of England, which now he deſired muche more to haue confirmed, for the further maintenance & increaſe thereof, which he doubted not but ſhoulde ſort to a fortunate concluſion, if the king of Englande would vouchſafe to giue to him in matrimonie his firſt begotten daughter the Lady Margaret, vppon whiche poynt hee purpoſed lately to haue ſent his Ambaſſadors into Englãd, which thing he would the ſooner do if he knew the Biſhoppes mynde therin to be readie to further his ſute. The Biſhop anſwered but fewe wordes, ſauing that when he were returned to the king his maiſter, he would do the beſt in the matter that he could.

Margaret eldeſt daughter to king Henry the ſeuenth.

When the Biſhop was returned into England, and come to the king, he declared to him al the communication had betweene king Iames and him, from poynt to poynt in order.

The king liked well thereof, as he to whome peace was euer a ſoueraigne ſolace and comfort.

1499

In this meane time Perkin Warbecke diſappoynted of all hope to eſcape out of the Engliſhe mens hands (which was the onely thing that he moſt deſired) found meanes yet at length to deceyue his keepers, and tooke him to his heeles: but when he came to the Sea coaſtes, and could not paſſe, he was in a marueylous perplexitie, for euery byway, lane, and corner was layd for hym, and ſuch ſearch made, that being brought to hys wittes ende, and cut ſhort of hys pretenced iourney, he came to the houſe of Bethlem, called the Priory of Shene beſide Richmond in Southery, and betooke himſelfe to the Prior of that Monaſterie, requiring him for the honour of God to beg his pardon for life, of the kings Maieſtie. The Prior which for the opinion that men had conceyued of his vertue, was had in great eſtimatiõ, pitying the wretched ſtate of that caitife, came to the king, and ſhewed him of this Perkyn, whoſe pardon he humbly craued, & had it as freely granted. Incontinently after, was Perkyn brought to the Court againe to Weſtminſter, and was one day ſet fettred in a paire of ſtocks, before the dore of Weſtmynſter hal, and there ſtood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks, and ſcornings. And the next day he was caryed thorow London, & ſet vpon a like ſkaffold in Cheape by the ſtandard, with like ginnes and ſtocks as he occupied the day before, & there ſtood al day, & read openly his own confeſſion, written with his own hand, the very copie wherof here enſueth.

Perkin War. becke eſcaped from his kepers.

FIrſt it is to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turny in Flanders, & my fathers name is Iohn Oſbeck, which ſaid I. Oſbeck was Cõptroller of ẏ ſayd town of Turney, & my mothers name is Katherin de Faro. And one of my Grandſires vpõ my fathers ſide was named Dirick Oſbeck, which died, after whoſe death my grandmother was maried vnto Peter Flamin, ẏ was receiuer of the fornamed town of Turney, & dean of the botemen ẏ row vpõ the water or riuer called le Scheld. And my grandſire vpõ my mothers ſide was Pet. de Faro, which had in his keping the keyes of the gate of S. Iohns within the ſame towne of Turney. Alſo I had an vncle called M. Iohn Stalin, dwelling in the pariſh of S. Pias within ẏ ſame town, which had maried my fathers ſiſter, whoſe name was Ioan or Iane, wͭ whõ I dwelt a certaine ſeaſon. And after I was led by my mother to Andwarpe for to learn Flemiſh, in a houſe of a couſin of mine, an officer of the ſayde towne, called Iohn Stienbecke, with whom I was the ſpace of halfe a yere. And after that I returned againe to Turney, by reaſon of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yere folowing I was ſet wͭ a marchãt of ẏ ſaid town of

The confeſſi on of Perkin as it was wri ten with his owne hand of Turney named Berlo, to the Marte of Andwarpe, where I fell ſicke, which ſickneſſe continued vpon mee fiue Monethes. And the ſayde Berlo ſet me to borde in a ſkinners houſe, that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſh Nation. And by him I was from thence caried to Barow Mart, and I lodged at the ſigne of the Olde man, where I abode for the ſpace of two Monethes. And after this the ſayd Berlo ſet me with a marchant of Middleborow to ſeruice, for to learne the language, whoſe name was John Strew, with whom I dwelt from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, & then I went into Portingal in cōpany of ſir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ſhip which was called the Queenes ſhip. And when I was come thither, thē I was put in ſeruice to a knight that dwelled in Luſhborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which ſayde knight had but one eye. And bycauſe I deſired to ſee other Countreys, I toke licenſe of him, and then I put my ſelf in ſeruice with a Briton, called Pregēt Meno, which brought me with him into Irelande: and when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the town, (bicauſe I was arrayed with ſome clothes of ſilke of my ſayde maiſters) came vnto me, and threatned vpon me, that I ſhould be the duke of Clarence ſon, that was before time at Dublin. And foraſmuch as I denied there was brought vnto me the holy Euāgeliſts, and the croſſe, by the Maior of the towne, which was called John Lewellin, & there in the preſence of him & other, I toke mine oth as the truth was, that I was not the foreſayd dukes ſon, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto mee an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Steuē Poitron, and one John Water, and layd to me in ſwearing great othes, that they knew wel that I was king Richards baſtard ſon: to whom I anſwered with like othes, that I was not. And then they aduiſed me not to be afearde, but that I ſhoulde take it vpon me boldly, and if I would ſo do, they would ayd and aſſyſt me with all theyr power agaynſt the king of England, & not only they, but they were aſſured well, that the Earles of Deſmond and Kildare ſhould do the ſame. For they forced not what parte they toke, ſo that they might be reuenged vpō the king of England: and ſo agaynſt my will made me to learne Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, ſeconde ſonne to king Edward the fourth, bycauſe king Richardes Baſtarde ſonne was in the handes of the king of Englande. And vpon this the ſayde Water, Stephen Poytron, John Tyler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the foreſayde Erles, entred into this falſe quarell, and within ſhort time other. The Frēch king ſent an Ambaſſadour into Irelande, whoſe name was Loyte Lucas, and maiſter Stephen Friham, to aduertiſe me to come into France. And thence I went into France, and from thence into Flanders, and from Flanders into Irelande, and from Irelande into Scotland, and ſo into England.

When the night of the ſame day (being the .xv. of June) was come, after hee had ſtand all that day in the face of the Citie, he was committed to the Tower, there to remaine vnder ſafe keeping, leaſt happily he might eftſoones runne away, and eſcape out of the lande, to put the king and realme to ſome new trouble.

An. reg. 15.

Patrik an Auguſtine Frier.

In this yeare there was an Auguſtine Frier called Patricke in the Parties of Suffolke, which hauing a ſcholer named Rauſe Wilford (a Shomakers ſonne in London, as Stow noteth) had ſo framed him to his purpoſe, that in hope to worke ſome greate enterpriſe, as to diſappoynt the king of his crowne and ſeate royal, toke vpon him to be the Earle of Warwike, inſomuch that both the maiſter and ſcholer hauing counſayled betwene themſelues of their enterpriſe, they went into Kent, and there began the yōg Mawmet to tel priuily to many, that he was the very Erle of Warwicke, and lately gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this Frier Patrike. To which ſayings when the Frier perceyued ſome lyght credence to be giuen, he declared it openly in the pulpet, and deſired all men of helpe. But the daunger of this ſeditious attempt was ſhortly remoued and taken away, the maiſter and ſcholer being both apprehēded and caſt into priſon and atteinted. The ſcholer was hanged on Shrouetueſday at S. Thomas Waterings, & the Frier condemned to perpetuall priſon. For at that time ſo much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that to a prieſt although he had committed high treaſon agaynſt his soueraigne lorde, his life was ſpared, in like caſe as to any other offender in murder, rape, or theft, that had receiued any of the three higher holy orders.

Rauf Wilford the counterfeit erle of Warwike.

Perkin corrupted his keepers.

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in holde, by falſe perſwaſions & great promiſes, corrupted his keepers, Stranguers, Blewet, Aſtwood, and long Roger, ſeruants to ſir John Digby lieutenant of the Tower. Inſomuch that they (as it was at their arraignment openly proued) intended to haue ſlaine their maſter, and to haue ſet Perkin and the erle of Warwike at large. Which Erle of Warwik had bene kept in priſon within the tower almoſt from his tender yeares, that is to wit, from the firſt yere of the king, to this .xv. yeare, out of all company of men, & ſight of beaſts, inſomuch that he could not diſcerne a gooſe from a capon, and therefore by cōmon reaſon and oftē apparance could not of himſelf, ſeeke his owne death and deſtruction, but yet by the drift & offence of another he was brought to his death and confuſion, for beeing made priuie of this enterpriſe deuiſed by Perkyn and hys complyces, thereunto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he aſſented and agreed. But thys craftie deuiſe, and ſubtill ymagination beeing reuealed, ſorted to none effect, ſo that Perkyn and John Awater ſometyme Maior of Corke in Irelande, one of his chiefe founders, and his ſon, were the .xvj. daye of Nouember arreigned and condemned at Weſtminſter. And on the .xxiij. day of the ſame moneth, Perkyn and John Awater were drawne to Tyburne, and there Perkyn ſtanding on a little ſkaffolde, read his confeſſion as before he had done in Cheape ſide, taking it on his death to bee true. And ſo hee and John Awater aſked the king forgiueneſſe, and dyed paciently.

Perkin and Iohn Awater executed at tiborne.

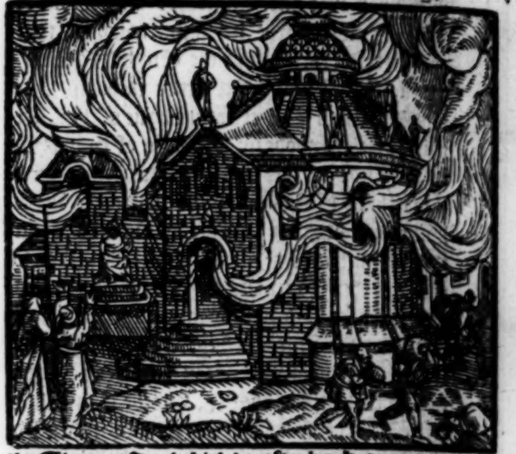
This was the rewarde of the feyned gloſe and counterfeyte coment of Perkyn Warbecke, the whiche as by his falſe ſurmiſes in his life tyme, had brought many honorable perſonages to their deathes, & vndone many an honeſt man: ſo nowe at his death hee brought other of the ſame ſort to theyr not altogyther vndeſerued puniſhment. And amongeſt other Edwarde Plantagenet the forenamed Earle of Warwicke, which (as the fame went) conſented to breake priſon, and to depart out of the Realme with Perkyn (which in priſoners is high treaſon) was the .xxj. day of the ſayde Moneth arraigned at Weſtmynſter before the Earle of Oxforde then high Stewarde of Englande of the ſayde treaſon, which whether it were by inticement and perſwaſion of other, or of his owne free will many doubted, bycauſe of his innocencie) confeſſed the fact, & ſubmitted himſelf to the kings mercie. And vpō his cōfeſſion had his iudgement, and according therevnto the .xxviij. day of Nouember in the yeare. 1499. was brought to the Skaffolde on the tower hill, and there beheaded.

Edward Erle of Warwick beheaded.

The fame after his death ſprang abrode that Ferdinando king of Spaine would make ful cōcluſion of the matrimonie to bee had betweene Prince Arthure and the Ladie Katherin daughter to the ſayde Ferdinando, nor ſende hir into England as long as this erle liued. For he ymagined that ſo long as any Earle of Warwike lyued, Englande ſhoulde neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuie ſedition, ſo much was the name of Warwike in other regions had in feare & iealouſie. The next yeare after there was a greate plague whereof men died in manye places verie ſore, but ſpecially and moſt of all in the Citie of London where died in that yeare .xxx. thouſande.

1500
A great plague

The .xxiiij. of Februarie in this .xv. yeare of this kings raigne his thirde ſonne was chriſtened and named Edwarde.



Alſo in this yeare was burned a place of the kings called the Manour of Sheene ſituate nigh the Thames ſide, which he after buylded againe ſumptuouſly, and chaunged the name of Shene and called it Richmond, becauſe his father and he were Earles of Richmond.

The manour of Shene brent and Richmond built in place thereof.

The king whether to auoyde the daunger of ſo great and perillous ſickneſſe, then raigning, or to take occaſion to common with the Duke of Burgongne, he perſonally tooke his ſhip at Douer in the beginning of May, and ſayled to Calais, whether the Duke of Burgongne, ſent to him honourable perſonages in Ambaſſade to welcome him into thoſe partyes, and to declare that the ſayde Duke woulde gladly repayre perſonally to his preſence with ſuche a number as the King ſhoulde appoynt, ſo that it were within no walled towne nor fortreſſe. For hauing denyed the Frenche king to enter into anye of hys fortreſſes to talke with him, hee woulde be loth nowe to giue a preſident to him to deſire the lyke meeting. The kng enterteyning the Ambaſſadours, and thanking the Duke of hys courteous offer, appoynted the place at Saint Peters Church without Calais.

King Henrie the ſeuenth ſayleth to Caleys.

Upon Tueſday in Witſon weeke the Archduke Philippe came thither with a conuenient companie. The King and the Queene with many a luſtie Lorde and Ladie road thither to welcome him, and after moſte louing enterteynments, banquettings, myrth and paſtime ſhewed amongeſt them there was communication of maryages, treating of further ſtrengthning of leagues, requeſtes of tolles in Flaunders to be miniſhed, with many other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countreys. And when all things were ſet in order, the two Princes tooke theyr leaue and departed, the King to Calays, and the Archduke to Saint Omers.

The king of Englād & the Duke of Burgongne meete at ſaint Peters church without Caleſi.

After hys departyng, there came Ambaſſadours from the French King the Lorde Gronthouſe gouernour of Pycardie, and the Lorde Meruciliers bailiffe of Amyens, which declared to the king the getting of Millane and taking of the Duke, the Kyng highly feaſted them, and rewarded them princely at their departing.

An.reg.16. Soone after when the death was ſlaked, the king returned againe into Englande aboute the ende of June. Shortly after there came to him one Gaſper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and moſt ciuill behauiour, ſent from Alexander the Biſhop of Rome to diſtribute the heauenly grace (as he termed it) to all ſuche as letted by any forcible impedimẽt, could not come to Rome that yeare to the Jubile, whiche was there celebrate, being the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour.1500.

This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogyther freely gyuen. For Alexander looking to the health of mennes ſoules, thought to do ſomewhat for his owne priuate commoditie, and therfore he ſet a certaine price of that his grace and pardon, and to the ende that the king ſhoulde not hynder his purpoſe, he offred part of his gaine to the king. And to colour the matter with ſome fauourable pretext, and to make men the better willing and more readie to gyue frankly, hee promyſed wyth that money to make warre agaynſte the Turke.

By this meanes the Pope got a great maſſe of money, and yet nothing done agaynſte the Turke, which in the meane ſeaſon did much hurt to the Chriſtians: but God amende all that is amiſſe.

About this time died three Biſhops in England John Morton Archbiſhop of Canterburye Thomas Langton Biſhop of Wyncheſter, and Thomas Rotheram Archbiſhop of Yorke. After him ſucceded Thomas Sauage Biſhop of Lõdon, a man of great honour and worthineſſe: in whoſe place ſucceeded William Warham, of whõ before is made mention. And Henry Deane Biſhop of Saliſburie, was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Richarde Foxe was remoued from Durham to the ſea of Wincheſter.

Alſo this yeare two notable mariages were concluded, but not conſummate till afterwards, as you ſhall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie graunted his daughter Ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scottes. And Ferdinando king of Spaine, gaue his daughter Ladie Katherine to Arthure Prince of Wales, ſon and heyre apparaunt to the king of England.

1501

Among other articles of the maryage concluded with the Scottiſh king this was one, that no Engliſh men ſhoulde be receyued into Scotlãd without letters cõmendatorie of their ſoueraigne Lord or ſafeconduct of his Wardaine of the Marches, and the ſame prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scottes.

This yeare the Ladie Katherine of Spaine was ſent by hir father King Ferdinando with a puiſſant nauie of ſhippes into Englande, where ſhe arriued in the Hauẽ of Plimmouth the ſecond day of October then being Saterday. An.reg.17.

The fourth of October as Stow hath noted.

Upon the .xij. of Nouember ſhe was conueyed from Lambeth through London with all tryumph and honour that myght be deuiſed to the Biſhops Palaice, the ſtreetes beeing hanged and Pageants erected after the maner as is vſed at a coronation.

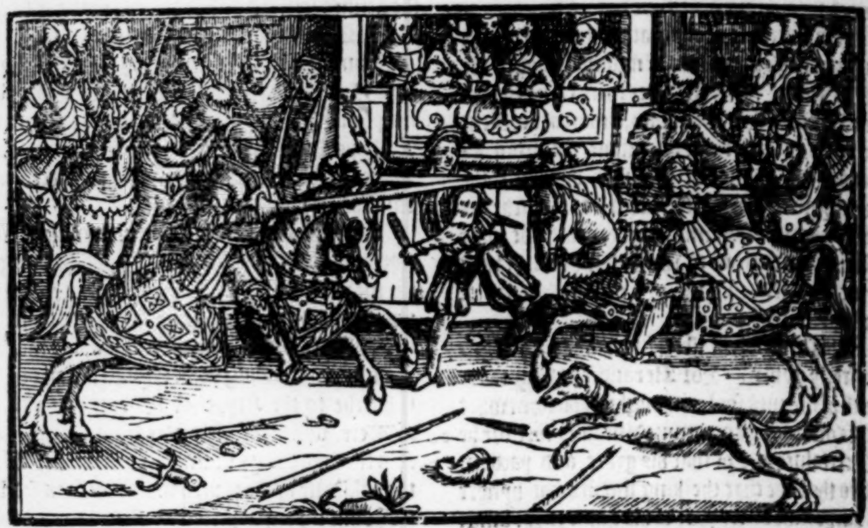
Whileſt this Ladie ſoiourned for hir recreation in the Biſhops Palaice of London, being in the meane time viſited of the king, the Queene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Pauls Church a long bridge made of Tymber, extending from the Weſt doore of the Churche to the ſteppe at the entring into the Queere, which was ſixe foote from the grounde. On the ſayd bridge or ſtage, euen directly before the cõſiſtorie of the church was a place raiſed like a Mount for eight perſons to ſtand vpon, cõpaſſed round about with ſteps to aſcend and deſcend, which was couered with fine red worſted, and in like wiſe were all the rayles of the ſayd ſtage. On the north ſide of this mount was a place decked & trymmed for the King and Queene, and ſuch other as they appoynted to haue. On the Southſide the ſame Mounte ſtoode the Maior and the Magiſtrates of the Citie.

The ſolemnization of the mariage betwene Arthur prince of Wales & Katherin daughter to the king of Spaine.

When all things were prepared and ſet in order vpon the .xiiij. of Nouember then being Sunday, the foreſayde Ladie was ledde to the ſayde Mounte, and there Prince Arthur openly eſpouſed hir, both being clad in White, both luſtie and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and ſhe of the age of .xviij. or thereaboutes, the King and Queene ſtanding priuilye on theyr ſtage.

After the matrimonie celebrate, the prince and his wife went vp into the Quere, and there heard a ſolemne Maſſe ſung by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſociate with .xix. Prelates mytred. And after the Maſſe finiſhed, the Bryde was ledde homewardes to the Biſhoppes Palayce by the Duke of Yorke, being then a goodly yong prince, and the Legate of Spaine. Next after followed the Ladie Cicile, ſiſter to the Queene, ſupporting the trayne of the ſpouſe. But to ſpeake of all the ſolemne pompe, noble companie of Lordes and Ladies, and what a ſumptuous feaſt and plentifull, was kept with dauncing and diſguiſings, wordes myght ſooner fayle than matter worthye of rehearſall. But euery day endeth, and nyght enſueth, and ſo when nyght was come, the Prince and his beautifull Bride were brought and ioyned togyther in one bedde, where they lay as man and wife all that night.

Shortly after the king and the Queene, with the newe wedded ſpouſes went from Baynards Caſtell by water to Weſtminſter, on whom the Maior and communaltie of London, in barges gorgeouſly trymmed gaue their attendance. And there in the Palace were ſuch martiall feates, valiant iuſtes, vygorous turneys & ſuch fierce fight at the barriers as before that time was of no man had in remembraunce. Of this royall triumph Lord Edward Duke of Buckingham was chief chalenger, and Lorde Thomas Gray Marques Dorcet cheife defender, which with their aydes & companions bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that they got great praiſe and honor, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countrymen.



During the time of theſe iuſtes and triumphs, were receyued into London, an erle, a biſhop, and diuerſe noble perſonages ſente from the king of Scots into Eugland for concluſion of the mariage betwene the Lady Margaret and him, which Erle by proxie, in the name of king Iames hys maiſter, affyed and contracted the ſayde Ladie. Which affiance was publiſhed at Paules croſſe, the day of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in reioycing whereof *Te Deum* was ſong, and great fiers made through the Citie of London.

Margaret eldeſt daughter to king Henry affied to Iames king of Scots.
1502

These things being accompliſhed, the Imbaſſadours as well of Spaine as Scotland, tooke their leaue of the King, and not without great rewardes returned into their countreys.

When the Imbaſſadours were departed, he ſent his ſon Prince Arthur again into Wales, to keepe that Country in good order, appoynting to him wiſe and expert Counſaylers, as ſir Rycharde Poole his kinſman, which was his chiefe Chamberlayne, alſo ſir Henrie Vernon, ſir Rycharde Croftes, ſir Dauid Philip, ſir William Vdall, ſir Thomas Englefield, ſir Peter Newton, knightes, Iohn Walleſton, Henry Marion, and Doctor William Smith, preſident of his counſaile, and doctor Charles, of the which two doctors, the one was after Biſhop of Lincolne, and the other Biſhop of Hereford.

A few monethes before the maryage of prince Arthur, Edmonde de la Poole Earle of Suffolke ſonne to Iohn Duke of Suffolke, and Ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edward the fourth, being bolde and raſhe withall, was indyted of murther, for ſleaing of a meane perſon in his rage and furie, and although the king pardoned him whom hee might iuſtly haue put to death for that offence, yet bycauſe he was brought to the barre afore the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he tooke as a greate maime and blemiſhe to hys honour) ſhortly after vpon that diſpleaſure hee fledde into Flaunders vnto his Aunte the Ladie Margaret, the king not being priuie to his going ouer. Neuertheleſſe, whether he was perſwaded by his friends thereunto, whom the king hadde wylled to deale with hym therein, or whether vpon truſt of his innocencie, true it is that he returned againe, aud excuſed himſelfe to the king, ſo that he thought hym to be guiltleſſe of anye cryme that myght bee obiected agaynſt him.

Edmonde
Erle of Su
flieth into
flaunders

But when the maryage betwixt the prince and the Ladie Katherin of Spaine was kept at London, this Erle eyther for that he had paſſed hys compaſſe in exceſſiue charges and ſumptuouſneſſe at that great tryumph and ſolemnitie, and by reaſon thereof was farre run into debt, eyther elſe through the procurement of his aunt the foreſayd Lady Margaret, or pricked with ſome priuie enuie, which could not paciently with open eyes behold king Henry, being of the aduerſe faction to his lignage ſo long to reigne in wealth and ſelicitie, in concluſion with his brother Rycharde fled againe into Flaunders.

This departure of the Earle ſore vexed the king, doubting of ſome newe trouble to enſue thereof. But yet to vnderſtande the full meaning of the ſayd Erle, the King vſed his olde ſleyght: for immediatly after the Erle was fled, he appointed ſir Robert Curſon whom he had aduaunced to the order of knighthoode, and made Captaine of Hammes Caſtell, a valiant man, and a circumſpect, to diſſemble himſelfe to bee one of that conſpiracie, went into Flaunders, to eſpie what was done there by the Ladie Margaret, and hir Nephewe the Earle of Suffolke.

After that the ſayde ſir Robert Curſon was thus gone into Flaunders, the king to put hym out of al ſuſpition with the ſaid ladie Margaret & the Earle, cauſed the ſayde Earle, and ſir Robert Curſon, and fiue perſons more to be accurſed at Paules Croſſe, the firſt Sunday of Nouember, as enimies to him and his realme.

To be briefe, the king by this meanes, and other ſuch diligent inquiſition as hee made, tryed out ſuch as he ſuſpected partly to be deuiſers of miſchiefe agaynſt him, and partly to beare no ſincere affection towardes his perſon, ſo that hee coulde readilye name them, whereof a greate parte were within fewe dayes apprehended and taken.

And amongeſt them William Lorde Courtney, ſonne to the Earle of Deuonſhire, whiche had maryed the Ladie Katherine, daughter to king Edwarde the fourth, Lorde William de la Pole, brother to the forſayde Erle of Suffolk, ſir James Tyrrell, ſir John Wyndam. Both the Williams were rather taken of ſuſpition, bicauſe they were ſo neare of kinne to the Conſpyrator, than for any proued matter. But Sir James Tyrrell, and John Windam, bycauſe they were traytours, and ſo attaynted, the ſixt day of May after theyr apprehenſion, they were on the tower hill beheaded.

Tyrell and Windham beheaded.

When the Earle of Suffolke hearde what fortune thus happened to his friendes, as one in vtter diſpayre to haue anye good ſucceſſe in hys pretenſed enterprice, wandred about all Germanie, and France, to purchaſe ſome ayde and ſuccour, if by any meanes hee myght. But when hee perceyued no ſtedfaſte grounde to catche anchor holde vpon, he ſubmitted himſelfe vnder the Protection of Philip Archduke of Auſtriche. But his brother Richarde being a politique man, ſo wiſely ordred himſelf in this ſtormy tempeſt, that he was not entrapped either with net or ſnare.

The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill ſedition, bycauſe a great number of euill diſpoſed perſons partakers of this conſpiracie, were fledde into ſundrie Sainctuaries, deuiſed to haue all the Gates of Sainctuaries and places priuileged ſhutte and locked vp, ſo that none ſhoulde iſſue out from thence to perturbe and vnquyet him. And for that intent he wrote vnto Pope Alexander, deſiring him by his authoritie to abridge all Engliſhmenne being fledde to Sainctuarie for the offence of treaſon as enimyes to the Chriſtian fayth, interdyting and prohybiting the refuge and priuiledge of Sanctuarie, to all ſuch as once had enioyed the libertie and protection of the ſame, and after had ſlypte out, and eftſoones returned againe. Whiche thing after that the Pope had graunted, turned to the great quietneſſe of the King and his Realme. For manye that had offended, for feare to fall into daunger, returned to the due ſubiection of theyr Princes, and other that were yet free from peryll, durſt not hazarde themſelues ſo boldely as they durſt haue done before, vpon hope of ſuche ſtaying holes.

Sanctuaries reſtrayned.

When the king had thus ſetled things to his owne contentation and pleaſure, there ſodainly happened to him a lamentable chaunce. For that noble Prince Arthure, the kings firſt begotten ſonne, after he had beene maryed to the lady Katheryn his wife, the ſpace of fiue monethes, departed out of this tranſitorie life, in the caſtell of Ludlow, and with great funerall obſequie, was buried in the Cathedrall Church at Worceſter.

The death of Arthur Prince of Wales.

His brother the Duke of Yorke was ſtayed from the title of Prince by the ſpace of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the Ladie Katheryn wyfe to the ſayde Prince Arthure was conceyued with childe or not.

An. reg. 18.

1503

In this. xviij. yeare, the. xxiiij. day of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after noone of the ſame day, the firſt ſtone of our ladie Chapel within ẏ Monaſterie of Weſtmynſter, was layde by the handes of John Iſlip Abbot of the ſame Monaſterie, Sir Reignalde Bray knight of the Garter, Doctor Barnes Maiſter of the Rolles, Doctor Wall, Chaplayne to the kings Maieſtie, Maiſter Hugh Oldham Chaplayne to the Counteſſe of Derbie & Richmond the kings mother, ſir Edwarde Stanhope knight, and diuerſe other.

Upon the ſame ſtone was this ſcripture ingrauen. *Illuſtriſſimus Henricus ſeptimus rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, poſuit hanc petram in honore beatæ virginis Mariæ. 24. die Ianuarij, anno domini. 1502. Et anno dicti Regis Henrici ſeptimi, decimo octauo.*

Queene Elizabeth lying within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a fayre daughter on Candlemaſſe day. Which was there chriſtened and named Katherin, and the. xj. of the ſame month the ſayd Queene there deceaſed, and was buryed at Weſtminſter, whoſe daughter alſo lyued but a ſmall ſeaſon after hir mother.

The .xviij. of Februarie the king at his Palace of Weſtminſter created his onely ſonne Henrie Prince of Wales, Earle of Cheſter, &c. who afterwardes ſucceeded his father in poſſeſſion of the regall Crowne of this realme.

Moreouer, this yeare alſo, after the deceaſſe of that noble Queene, for hir vertue commonlye called good Queene Elizabeth, departed oute of thys worlde alſo ſir Reignalde Bray knight of the Garter, a very father of hys Countrey, for his high wiſedome and ſingular loue to iuſtice well worthie to beare that tytle. If any thing had beene done amyſſe, contrarie to lawe and equitie, hee woulde after an humble ſorte plainelye blame the King, and giue hym good aduertiſement, that he ſhould not onelye reforme the ſame, but alſo bee more circumſpect in any other the lyke caſe.

Sir Reignold Bray his death

Iuſt commendacions of Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Sir Reynold Bray.

Of the ſame vertue and faythfull plainneſſe was John Morton Archbiſhop of Canterburie, whiche dyed (as is ſhewed aboue) two yeares before.

So theſe two perſõs were reſtrainers of yͤ kings vnbrydeled libertie, where as the common people ignorant altogyther of the truth in ſuche matters, iudged and reported, that the counſayle of thoſe two worthie perſonages, corrupted yͤ kings cleane and immaculate conſcience, contrarie to his princelye diſpoſition and naturall inclynation. Suche is euer the errour of the common people.

About this tyme dyed Henrie the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, whoſe rowmth Doctor William Warham Biſhop of London ſupplyed. And to the Sea of London William Barnes was appoynted, and after his death ſucceded one Richard Fitz James.

This yeare alſo the Lorde Cazimire Marques of Brandenburg, accompanyed with an Erle, a Biſhop, and a great number of gentlemẽ well apparailed, came in ambaſſade frõ the Emperor Maximilian, & were triumphantly receiued into Lõdon, & lodged at Croſbies place.

Theyr Meſſage was for three cauſes, one to comfort the King in hys tyme of heauineſſe for the loſſe of hys wyfe. The ſeconde for the renuing of amitie, and the olde league. The thirde (which was not apparant) was to moue the king to marrye the Emperours daughter, the Ladie Margaret, Duches dowager of Sauoy. The two firſt toke effect. For the King vpon Paſſion Sunday road to Paules in great triumph, the ſayd Marques ryding on his left hand. And there the Bi. made to the K. an excellent conſolatorie oration concerning the death of the Queene. And there alſo the king openly ſware to keepe the new renouate league & amitie during their two liues. But the third requeſt (whether the let was on the mans ſide, or the womãs) neuer ſorted to any cõcluſion. The Ladie Margaret the kings daughter, affied (as ye haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conueyed into Scotland, by the Erle of Surrey: and the Erle of Northũberland, as warde of the Marches, was cõmaunded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And ſo hereupon after hir comming to Berwike, ſhe was cõueied to Lamberton kirke in Scotlãd, where the king of Scots, with the flower of al the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland was readie to receyue hir, to whom the Erle of Northumberland (according to his commiſſion) deliuered hir.

The ſayd Erle of Northumberland that day, what for the ryches of his coat being goldſmithes work, garniſhed with pearle and ſtone, and what for the gallant apparell of his Henxmen, & braue trappers of his horſe, beſide foure C. tal men well horſed and apparailed in his colours, was eſteemed both of the Scots and Engliſh men, more like a Prince than a ſubiect. From Lamberton, the foreſayd Ladie was conueyed to Edenborough, & there the day after, King James the fourth, in the preſence of all his nobilitie, eſpouſed hir, & feaſted the Engliſh Lordes, and ſhewed iuſtes and other paſtimes very honorably, after the faſhion of that coũtrey. And after all things were finiſhed according to their cõmiſſion, the erle of Surrey with al yͤ engliſh lords & ladies, returned into their cũtry.

The mariag betwene the king of Sco and Lady margaret king Henry eldeſt daugh ter.

An. reg.

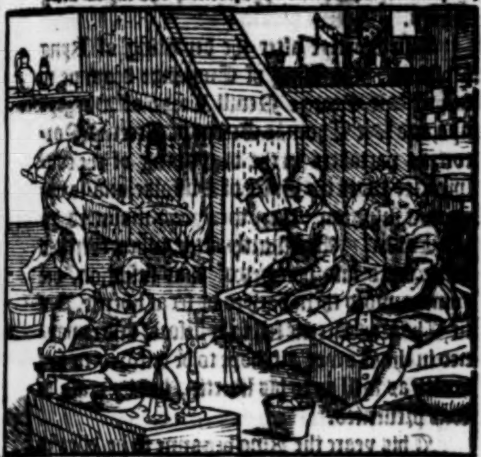
In this yere the king kept his high Court of Parliament, in the which, diuers acts eſteemed neceſſarye for the preſeruation of the cõmon wealth were eſtabliſhed, & amongſt other, it was enacted, that theeues & murderers duely conuicted by the law to die, and yet ſaued by theyr bookes, ſhoulde be committed to the Biſhops cuſtodie.

After this, a ſubſedie was granted, both of the temporaltie, and ſpiritualty, & ſo that Parliamẽt ended. But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his cheſts with abundance of treaſure, was not ſatiſfied with this only ſubſedie, but deuiſed an other meane how to enrich himſelfe, as thus. He conſidered that the Engliſh men little regarded the keeping of penal lawes, and pecunial ſtatutes, deuiſed for the good preſeruation of the common welth, wherfore he cauſed inquiſition to be made of thoſe that had tranſgreſſed any of the ſame lawes, ſo that there were but few noble mẽ, marchants, farmers, huſbandmen, groſiers, or occupiers, that coulde clearely proue themſelues faultleſſe, but had offended in ſome one or other of the ſame lawes.

1504

At the firſt, they that were found guiltie were eaſily fined. But after there were appointed two maſters & ſurueyers of his forfeyts, the one ſir Ri. Empſon, & the other Edmõd Dudley, both lerned in the lawes of the realme, who, meaning to ſatiſfie the princes pleaſure and to ſee their commiſſion executed to the vttermoſt, cared little to reſpect the perill that might enſue: and thervpon they being furniſhed with a ſort of accuſers, commonly called Promoters, or as they themſelues will be named Enformers, troubled manie men, wherby they wanne them great hatred, and the King by ſuch rigorous procedings loſt the loue and fauour, which his people before time had borne towardes him; ſo that he for ſetting them a worke, and they for executing of it in ſuch extreme wiſe, ran into obloquie of the ſubiectes of this realme.

A newe coyne of ſyluer was ordeyned of Grotes and halfe Grotes, and ſome peeces of the value of twelue pens were then ſtamped,



although verye fewe of that ſorte came abroade.

The king after he had gotten a greate maſſe of money togyther, hauing pitie of the people which oppreſſed with the ſharp proceedings of his greedie officers, cried dayly to God for vengeance, ment to haue depriued them of theyr offices (as ſome write) and that ſuche money as had beene violently exacted, ſhoulde haue beene reſtored and deliuered againe, if hee had not beene preuented by death. And yet by his laſt will he commaunded that it ſhould be duly and truly performed, but in the meane ſeaſon manye mens Coffers were emptied.

In this verie ſeaſon, and the yeare of our lord 1506, Elizabeth Queene of Caſtile dyed without iſſue male, by reaſon wherof, the inheritaunce of Caſtile (bycauſe that kingdome is not partible) deſcended to Ladie Iane hir eldeſt daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was maryed to Philippe Archeduke of Auſtriche. Wherefore the yeare following, about the ſixth day of Ianuarie, hauing a great nauie prepared, he intituled nowe king of Caſtile, ſayled out of Flaunders with his wife towardes Spaine, but by a mightie tempeſt of winde and foule weather, the whole nauie was diſperſed and ſparkled abrode in diuerſe places of the coaſt of Englande, the kings ſhippe with two other veſſelles, were driuen by tempeſt on the weſt part of the Realme, to the Port of Waymouth in Dorcetſhyre.

The king being ſore vexed with the toſſing of the ſea, as one not long vſed therto, contrary to the minde of his Counſellers, came a lande to refreſh himſelfe.

Philip Archduke of Auſtrich landeth in the weſt partes of Englande.

When it was knowen that ſtraunge ſhippes were arriued in that place, there repayred thither in great number, as well of Gentlemen as of others of the countrey, to beat them backe if they pretended to be enimies. But when they perceyued that it was the king of Spayne, who through force of weather was driuen thither, ſir Thomas Trenchard knight, the chiefe of the company, went with great humbleneſſe vnto him, and did what he could to haue him to his houſe, being not farre off, and alſo to cauſe him to ſtay, till ſuch time as king Henrye might be certified of his arriuall: to whome with all ſpeede he ſent diuerſe poſtes to aduertiſe him of K. Philips landing.

In this meane while came people in from all ſides, vpon knowledge giuen of this ſtraunge Princes comming. And among other there came ſir Iohn Carew, with a goodly band of perſonages. Which ſir Iohn, and ſir Thomas Trenchard, intreated the king of Caſtile not to depart vntill ſuch time as he had ſpoken with the king.

The king of Caſtile refuſed hym by neceſſitie of his weightie enterpriſes, but when he perceyued that if he would profer to go once aboorde to his ſhippes againe, he might bee letted, and was like ſo to be, then thought good rather to aſſent to their humble requeſt, and ſo ſeeme to gratifie them, than by denying it, to procure their euill willes, and yet miſſe the effect of his purpoſe.

When king Henrie was enfourmed of hys landing, hee was ryght glad thereof, and wrote vnto Sir Iohn Carew and to Sir Thomas Trenchard, that they ſhoulde entertayne hym in the moſt honourable ſort they coulde deuiſe, till he might come himſelfe in perſon to welcom him.

Beſide this, he ſent the Earle of Arundell with many Lordes and knightes to attende vpon him. Which Erle according to the kings letters receiued him with three hundred horſes, all by torche light, to the great admiration of the ſtraungers.

King Philip ſeeing no remedie but that hee muſt needes tary, woulde no longer gaſt after King Henryes comming, but tooke hys iourney towardes Wyndſore Caſtell, where the King lay, and fiue myle from Windſore the Prince of Wales accompanied with fiue Erles, & diuerſe Lordes and knightes, and other to the number of fiue hundred perſons gorgeouſlye apparayled, receyued him after the moſt honourable faſhion. And within halfe a myle of Wyndſore, the king accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, and a great parte of the nobilitie of thys Realme welcomed him, and ſo conueyed him to the Caſtell of Wyndſore, where hee was made companion of the noble order of the Garter.

After him came to Wyndſore his wife Queene Jane, ſiſter to the Princes Dowager, late wife to Prince Arthure.

After the two kings had renued and confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, King Henrie deſired to haue Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke to be deliuered into hys handes. To whome the King of Caſtile aunſwered, that he verily was not wythin hys Dominion, and therefore it lay not in him to deliuer hym. In deede he was loth to be the authour of his death, that came to him for ſuccour, and was receyued vnder his protection, yet vppon the earneſt requeſt and aſſured promiſe of king Henrie (that he would pardon him of all executions and paynes of death) he graunted to king Henryes deſire. And ſo incontinently cauſed the ſayde Earle ſecretly to be ſent for.

After this to protract tyme, till he were poſſeſſed of his pray, king Henrie conueyed the king of Caſtile vnto the Citie of London, that he might ſee the heade Citie of his Realme, & there ledde hym from Baynards Caſtell by Cheape to Barking, and ſo returned by Watling ſtreete againe, during which tyme there was ſhot out of the Tower a wonderfull peale of Ordinance. But he woulde not enter into the Tower, bycauſe (as ye haue hearde before) hee had vowed not to enter the Fortreſſe of of any forraine Prince, in the which a garniſon was mainteyned.

From London the King brought him to Richmonde, where many notable feates of armes were proued both of tylte, tourney, and barriers.

In the meane ſeaſon the Earle of Suffolke perceyuing what hope was to be had in forraine Princes, and truſting that after hys lyfe to him once graunted, king Henrie would briefly ſet him at his full libertie, was in maner contented to returne agayne into his natiue countrey.

When all pactes and couenaunts betweene the kings of Englande and Caſtile were appoynted, concluded, and agreed, king Philippe toke hys leaue of king Henrie, yeelding to hym moſt heartye thankes for hys highe cheare and Princely entertaynment. And being accompanyed with dyuerſe Lordes of Englande, came to the Citie of Excetter, and ſo to Falmouth in Cornwale, and there taking ſhippe ſayled into Spaine, where ſhortly after hee dyed being .xxx. yeares of age.

The death and deſcription of Philip king of Spaine.

He was of ſtature conuenient, of countenance amiable, of bodie ſomewhat groſſe, quick witted, bolde and hardie ſtomacked.

The tempeſt that he ſuffered on the Sea, was huge and wonderfull alſo vpon the lande, inſomuch that the violence of the wynde blew downe an Eagle of Braſſe, being ſet to ſhewe on which part the wynde blewe, from a pynacle or Spire of Paules Churche, and in the falling the ſame Eagle brake and battered an other Eagle that was ſet vppe for a ſigne at a Tauerne dore in Cheape ſide. And hereupon men that were giuen to geſſe things that ſhoulde happen by marking of ſtraunge tokens, deemed that the Emperour Maximilian which gaue the Eagle ſhould ſuffer ſome greate myſfortune, as hee did ſhortly after by the loſſe of hys ſonne, the ſayde king Philip.

Alſo ſhortlye after the departing of Kyng Philippe, the King of Englande beganne to ſuſpect Sir George Neuill Lorde of Burgeyny, and Sir Thomas Greene of Greenes Norton, as partakers in the begynning of the conſpiracie, wyth the Earle of Suffolke, and ſo vpon that ſuſpition, they were commaunded to the Tower. But ſhortly after, when they had bene tryed and pourged of that ſuſpition, hee commaunded them both to be ſet at libertie. But ſir Thomas Greene fell ſicke before, and remayned in the Tower, in hope to be reſtored to hys health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was preuented.

Anno reg. 22.

This yeare the King beganne to be diſeaſed of a certayne infyrmitie, whiche thriſe euerye yeare, but eſpecially in the Spring tyme ſore vexed him, and bycauſe for the moſte parte the harme that chaunceth to the Prince, is parted wyth his Subiectes, the ſweating ſickeneſſe, whiche (as yee haue hearde) in the fyrſt yeare of this king, fyrſt afflicted the people of this realme, nowe aſſayled them agayne, howbeit by the remedie founde at the begynning of it, nothyng the lyke number dyed thereof, nowe thys ſeconde time as did the firſt time, til the ſaid remedie was inuented.

The ſweating ſickneſſe eftſoones retur-neth.

But nowe the thirde plaghe egall to the Peſtilence enſued, by the working of the Maiſters of the forfeytures, and ſuche infourmers as were appoynted thereto. By whoſe meanes many a riche and wealthie perſon by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme, were cōdemned and brought to great loſſe and hinderance. A greate part of which theyr vndoyngs proceeded by the inconuenience of ſuche vnconſcionable officers, as by the abuſe of exigentes outlawed thoſe that neuer hearde, nor had knowledge of the ſuytes commenced agaynſt them, of whiche harde and ſharpe dealyng (the harme that thereof enſueth conſidered) if the occaſion might be taken away by ſome other more reaſonable fourme and order of lawe deuyſed, whereby the partie myght haue perſonall warning, it woulde both preſerue many an Innocent manne from vndeſerued vexation and daunger of vnmercifull loſſe of goodes, and alſo redounde highly to the commendation of the Prince, and ſuch other as ſhaunced to bee refourmers of that colourable law, where they be called only in the counties without other knowledge giuẽ to thẽ or theirs at their dwelling houſes. But now to returne; ſuch maner of outlawries, olde recognisaunces of the peace, and good abearings, eſcapes, riottes, and innumerable ſtatutes penall, were put in execution and called vpon, that euerie man both of the Spiritualtie and Temporaltie, hauing eyther lande or ſubſtance, were inuited to that plucking banket. Sir Gilbart Talbot Knight, and Richard Bere abbot of Glaſtenburie, and Doctor Robert Sherborne Deane of Pouls, were ſent as ambaſſadors from the king vnto Rome, to declare vnto Pius the third of that name newly elected Pope, what ioy and gladneſſe had entred the Kings heart for his preferment, but hee taryed not the comming of thoſe Imbaſſadours, for within a Moneth after that he was inſtalled, hee rendred his debt to nature, and ſo had ſhort pleaſure of his promotion.

1507

he Lord
ny dieth.

At the ſame time dyed Gyles Lord Dawbeney the kings chiefe Chamberleyne, whoſe office Charles, baſtarde ſonne to Henrie laſt Duke of Somerſet occupied and enioyed, a man of good wit, and great experience.

An.reg.23.
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e of Vrbin
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Soone after the king cauſed Guidebalde duke of Vrbyne to be elected knight of the order of the Garter, in like maner as his father Duke Frederike had beene before him, which was choſen and admitted into yͤ order by K. Edward the fourth.

Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two Ambaſſadors being appointed to keepe on their iourney vnto Pope July the ſeconde, elected after the death of the ſayde Pius the thirde, bare the habite and coller alſo vnto the ſayde Duke Guidebald, which after he had receyued yͤ ſame, ſent ſir Balthaſer Caſtalio, knight, a Mantuan borne, as his Orator vnto king Henrie, whiche was for hym enſtalled, according to the ordinãces of the order.

This yere that worthie prelate Thomas Sauage Archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life at his Caſtel of Cawood, a man beſide the worthineſſe of his birth highly eſteemed with his Prince for his faſt fidelitie and great wiſdome. He beſtowed greate coſt in repayring the Caſtell of Cawood and the Manor of Scroby. His body was buried at Yorke, but he appoynted by his teſtament, that his hart ſhould be buried at Macclesfield in Cheſhire, where hee was borne, in a Chapell there of his foundation, ioyning to the Southſide of the Churche, meaning to haue founded a Colledge there alſo, if his purpoſe had not beene preuented by death. After him ſucceeded doctor Bendbridge in the Archbiſhops ſea of Yorke the. 56. Archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſea.

About this ſame time Lewes the French king maried his eldeſt daughter named Clare, vnto Frances de Valois Dolphin of Vienne, and duke of Ingoleſme, which Ladie was promiſed vnto Charles the king of Caſtile: whervpon by Ambaſſadors ſent to and fro betwixt K. Henrye and the ſaid king of Caſtile, a mariage was cõcluded betwixt the ſaid K. of Caſtile, & the ladie Marie, daughter to K. Henry, being about the age of ten yeres. For concluſion of which mariage, the lord of Barow, and other Imbaſſadors wer ſent into England from the Emperor Maxilian which with great rewardes returned.

1508

An.reg.24.

The ſickneſſe which held the king dayly more and more encreaſing, he well perceyued that hys end drew nere, and therfore meaning to do ſome high pleaſure to his people, graunted of his free motion a general pardon to all men, for al offences done and cõmitted againſt any his lawes or ſtatutes, theeues, murtherers, and certaine other were excepted. He payed alſo the fees of all priſoners in the Gales in and about London, abiding there only for that dutie. He payed alſo the debts of all ſuch perſons as lay in the Coũters or Ludgate, for. xl. ß. & vnder, & ſome he relieued that wer condemned in. x. li. Herevpon were proceſſions generally vſed euery day in euery citie & pariſh, to pray to almightie God for his reſtoring to health & long cõtinuãce of yͤ ſame. Neuertheleſſe he was ſo waſted wͭ his long malady, yͭ nature could no lõger ſuſtein his life, & ſo he departed out of thys world the. xxij. of April, in his palace of Richmõd in the yere of our lord. 1509. His corps was conueied wͭ al funeral pompe to Weſtm. & there buried by the good Q. his wife in a ſumptuous chapel which he not lõg before had cauſed to be builded. He reigned. xxiij. yeres, & more thã. vij. Moneths, & liued. lij. yeers. He had by his Q. Elizabeth foure ſonnes, & foure daughters, of yͤ which three remained aliue behind him. Henry his ſecond ſon prince of Wales, which after him was king, Margaret Q. of Scots, & the lady Mary promiſed to Charles k. of Caſtile. He was a mã of body but leane and ſpare, albeit mighty & ſtrong therewith, of perſonage & ſtature ſomwhat higher thã the mean ſort of mẽ, of a wõderful beauty & faire complexion, of countenance mery & ſmyling eſpecially in his communication, his eies gray, his teeth ſingle, & heare thin, of wit in al things quick & prompt, of a princely ſtomack & haute courage. In great perils, doubtful affaires, & matters of importance ſupernatural & in maner diuine, for hee ordred all his doings aduiſedly and with greate

1509

The death of King Henrie the ſeuenth

The deſcription of King Henry the ſeuenth.

deliberation.

Beſides this, he was ſober, moderate, honeſt, courteous, bounteous, and ſo muche abhorring pride and arrogancie, that he was euer ſharpe and quicke to them that were noted with that fault. Hee was alſo an indifferent and vpryght Iuſticier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the heartes of many people, and yet to thys ſeueritie of hys, hee ioyned a certayne mercyfull pitie, whiche he did extende to thoſe that had offended the penall lawes, and were put to theyr fynes by hys Iuſtices. Hee dyd vſe hys rygour onelye (as hee ſayde hymſelfe) to daunte, bryng lowe, and abate the highe myndes and ſtoute ſtomacks of the wealthie and wylde people nouriſhed vp in ſeditious factions and ciuill rebellions, rather than for the greedie deſyre of money, although ſuch as were ſcourged wyth amerciamentes, cryed oute and ſayde, it was rather for the reſpect of gaine, than for any politike prouiſion.

Iuſtice mingled with mercye.

In deede he left his Coffers well ſtuffed, for hee was no waſtfull conſumer of his ryches by any inordinate meanes.

Out of the Biſhoppe of Rocheſters funerall ſermon preached in Poules church at London.

To conclude, he had aſmuch in him of giftes both of bodie, minde and fortune, as was poſſible for any king to haue, his politique wiſedome in goueraunce was ſinguler, his wytte alwaye quicke and ready, his reaſon pithie and ſubſtanciall, his memorie freſh and holding, his experience notable, his counſailes fortunate and taken by wiſe deliberation, his ſpeche gratious in diuerſe languages, his perſon, (as before ye haue hard) right comlie, his natural complexion of the pureſt mixture, leagues and cōfederations he had with all Chriſtian Princes. His mightie power was dread euery where, not onely wythin hys Realme but without.

Alſo his people were to him in as humble ſubiection as euer they were to King, his lande many a daye in peace and tranquilitie, hys proſperitie in battayle agaynſte his enimyes was marueilous, hys dealing in tyme of perilles and daungers was colde and ſober, with great hardyneſſe. If anye treaſon were conſpired agaynſte hym, it came oute wonderfully. Hys buyldings moſt goodly, and after the neweſt caſt, all of pleaſure.

And ſo thys King lyuing all his tyme in fortunes fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for hys noble actes and prudent policies, is worthy to bee regyſtred in the Booke of fame, leaſt tyme (the conſumer of all worthie things) ſhoulde blotte out the memorie of his name here in Earth; whoſe ſoule wee truſte lyueth in Heauen, enioying the fruition of the Godhead, and thoſe pleaſures prepared for the faythfull.

Of learned menne that lyued in hys dayes, (as Maiſter Bale noteth them) theſe are recorded. Firſte George Rippeley a Carmelite Frier at Boſton, ſeene in the Mathematikes, and wrote dyuerſe Treatiſes, and after hys deceaſe was accounted a Nigromancien: Iohn Erghom borne in Yorke, a blacke Frier, a doctour of Diuinitie profeſſed in Oxforde, ſtudious of Propheſies, as by the tytle of the workes whiche hee wrote, it maye appeare: Iohn Parceuall a Chartreux Monke: Thomas Maillorie a Welchman borne, wrote I wote not what of King Arthure, and of the rounde Table: Iohn Rouſſe, borne in Warwikeſhyre, a diligent ſearcher of antiquities, whereupon few Libraries were any where to bee ſeene in Englande and Wales, where he made not ſearche for the ſame, and wrote ſundrye Treatiſes of Hyſtoricall Argumentes. He deceaſſed at Warwicke the fourtenth of Ianuarye in the yeare 1491. and was buryed in our Ladye Churche there: Thomas Scrope, otherwiſe ſurnamed Bradley, deſcended of the noble familye of the Scropes, profeſſed ſundrie kyndes of Religion, as that of the order of Saint Benette, and Saint Dominicke, and likewyſe hee became a Carmelite, and laſt of all hee fell to and preached the Goſpell in heare and ſackecloth, tyll hee vnderſtoode hymſelfe to bee in the diſpleaſure of Walden and other (that coulde not away with ſuch ſingularitie in hym or other, ſounding, as they tooke it to the daunger of bringing the doctrine of the Romiſhe Church in miſlyking with the people) for then hee withdrewe hymſelfe to his houſe agayne, and there remayned twentie yeares, leading an Ankers lyfe, but yet after that tyme hee came abroade, and was aduaunced to bee a Biſhoppe in Irelande, and wente to the Roades in Ambaſſade, from whence being returned, hee went barefooted vp and downe in Norffolke, teaching in townes and in the countrey abroade the tenne commaundements. Hee lyued tyll hee came to bee at the poynte of an hundred yeares olde, and departed thys lyfe the fiftenth daye of Ianuarie in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1491. and was buryed at Leſſolke in Suffolke: Iohn Tonneys a Diuine, and an Auguſtine Frier in Norwiche, wrote certaine Rules of Grammer, and other things printed by Richarde Pynſon: Geffrey ſurnamed the Grammarian: Iohn Alcock Biſhoppe of Elie, chaunged a Nunrie at Cambridge into a Colledge named Ieſus Colledge, aboute the yeare of Chryſt. 1496. The chiefe cauſe of ſuppreſſing the Nunrie is noted to bee, for that the Abbeſſe and other of the Couent lyued diſſolute liues: Stephen Hawes a learned Gentleman, and of ſuche reputation, as hee was admitted to bee one

Dromorenſi Epiſcopus.

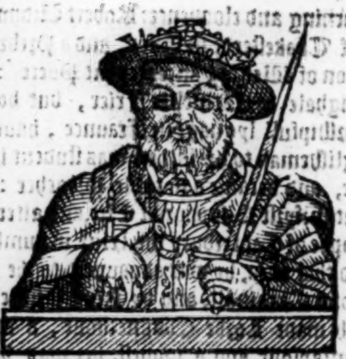
of the priuie Chamber to King Henrie the ſeauenth: William Bintre ſo called of a towne in Norffolke where he was borne, by profeſſion a Carmelite Frier in Burnham, a great diuine: William Galion an Auguſtine Frier in Linne and at length became prouinciall of his order: Robert Fabian a Citizen and Marchaunt of London, an hyſtoriographer, hee was in his time in good eſtimation for his wyſedome and wealthe in the Citie, ſo that hee bare office and was Shiriffe in the yere. 1494: William Celling, borne beſide Feuerſham in Kente, a Monke of Canterburie: Thomas Bourchier diſcended of the noble lignage of the Earles of Eſſex, was firſt Byſhoppe of Ely, and after remoued from thence to Canterburye ſucceeding John Kempe in that Archbiſhoppes Sea, at length created by Pope Paule the ſeconde a Cardinal: Philippe Bromyarde a Dominike Frier, a deuine: John Myles a Doctor of both the lawes, Ciuill and Canon, he ſtudyed in Oxforde in the Colledge of Brazennoſe, newly founded in the dayes of this King Henrye the ſeuenth by William Smyth Biſhoppe of Lyncolne: Richarde Shirborne Biſhop of Chicheſter, and imployed in Imbaſſade to diuerſe Princes, as a manne moſt meete thereto for his ſingular knowledge in learning and eloquence: Robert Widows Vicar of Thakeſteede in Eſſex, and a Prebendarie Canon of Welles, an excellent Poete: Peter Kenighale a Carmelite Frier, but borne of Worſhipfull lygnage in Fraunce, hauing an Engliſheman to his father, was ſtudent in Oxforde, and became a notable Preacher: John Morton, fyrſt Biſhoppe of Elie, and after Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury the. lxiiij. in number that ruled that Sea, he was aduaunced to the dignitie of a Cardinall, and by King Henrie the ſeuenth made Lorde Chauncellour, a worthye Counſaylour and a modeſt, hee was borne of worſhipfull Parentes in Dorſetſhire, and departed this life in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1500. Henrye Medwall Chaplaine to the ſayde Morton: Edmunde Dudley borne of noble Parentage, ſtudyed the lawes of this lande, and profited highly in knowledge of the ſame, hee wrote a booke intituled *Arbor Reipublicæ*, the tree of the common wealth, of this man yee haue heard before in the life of this king, and more God wylling ſhall be ſayde in the beginning of the nexte king, as the occaſion of the Hiſtorie leadeth: John Bokingham an excellent Schoolman: William Blackney a Carmelite Frier, a doctor of diuinity and a Nigromancien.

Ann. iij.

* * *

H. the. eight.

1509.



H. the eight.

1509.

An. Reg. 1.

Nowe after the death of this noble Prince Henrie the ſeuenth, his ſonne Henrie the viij. began his raigne the .xxij. day of Aprill in the yeare of the worlde .5475. after ẏ byrth of our ſauiour 1509. and in the .xviij. yere of his age, in the .xvj. yeare of Maximilian then being Emperour, in the .xj. yeare of Lewes the .xij. that then raigned in Fraunce, and in the .xx. of king James the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scottes. Whoſe ſtyle was proclaymed by the blaſte of a trumpet in the Citie of London, the .xxiij. daye of the ſayde Moneth, with muche gladneſſe and reioyſing of the people.

Henry the eight proclamed king

And the ſame day he departed from his manour of Richmonde, to the Tower of London, where he remained cloſely and ſecretely wyth hys Counſayle, till the funeralles of his father were finiſhed.

Polidor.

Although this king nowe comming to the Crowne was but yong (as before is ſayde) yet hauing beene in his firſte yeres trained vp in lerning dyd for reſpect of hys owne ſuretye and good gouernement of his people, prudently by aduice of his graundmother, the Counteſſe of Richmonde and Darbie, elect and choſe forth diuers of the moſte wiſe and graue perſonages to bee of his priuie Counſayle, namely ſuch as he knewe to bee of his fathers right deare and famyliar friendes, whoſe names were as followeth. William Warham Archebiſhop of Canterburie and Chauncellour of Englande, Richard Foxe Biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas Howarde Earle of Surrey, and Treaſorer of Englande, George Talbot Earle of Shrewesburie, and Lorde Steward of the kings houſeholde, Charles Somerſet Lorde Chamberlaine, Sir Thomas Louell, ſir Henrie Wiat, doctor Thomas Ruthall, ſir Edward Poynings. Theſe graue & wiſe counſailors, fearing leaſt ſuch aboundance of riches and wealth as the king was nowe poſſeſſed of, might moue his yong yeres vnto riottous forgetting of himſelfe, for that no King at any time before was ſeene greater of the like riches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other moueables, as was left to him by his father. And therefore his ſayde counſaylers trauayled in ſuch prudent ſort with him, that they got him to be preſent with them when they ſate in counſaile, ſo to acquaint him with matters perteining to the politike gouernment of the Realme, that by little and little hee might applie himſelfe to take vpon him the rule and adminiſtration of publike affayres, with the which at the firſt he could not well endure to be muche troubled, being rather inclined to followe ſuche pleaſaunt paſtimes as his youthfull yong yeares did more delight in, and therefore could he verie wel conſent, that other graue perſonages ſhould take paines therein.

Counsailers to king Henry the eight.

The ſame day alſo that the king came to the Tower, the Lorde Henrie Stafforde brother to the Duke of Buckingham was arreſted, and committed to the Tower: and the ſame day alſo doctor Ruthal was named Biſhop of Durham.

The .xxv. day of Aprill was proclaimed that the kings grace ratified all the pardons graunted by his father, and alſo pardoned all ſuche perſons as were then in ſuyte for any offence whatſoeuer it was, treaſon, murther, and fellonie onely excepted.

And nowe wheras the perfourmance of the deceaſſed kings will was thoughte right expedient with all ſpeede to be perfourmed, a Proclamation was alſo ſet forth and publiſhed throughe the Realme, that if any man coulde proue himſelf to be hurt, and depriued of his goods wrongfully by the Commiſſioners of the forfeytures, he ſhoulde come and preſent his plaint to the king, being redie to ſatiſfie euerie one of all iniuries ſuſtained.

A proclam

After this Proclamation was notified abrode, all ſuche as had beene conſtrained eyther by right or wrong (as Polidor ſayth) to pay any thing for anye forfeytures of lawes and cuſtomes by them tranſgreſſed, came flocking to the Court, & there declared their griefs, in what ſort they had wrongfully bin compelled (as they ſurmiſed) to pay this or that ſumme. The counſaile heard euery mans complaint, & ſuche as were founde to haue paide any thing without plaine proof of iuſt cauſe, they tooke ſuch order for them that they had their money again. Which being once knowen, it was a ſtrange thing to ſee how thick other came in, yea euen thoſe that had bin worthily fined & puniſhed for their diſorderly tranſgreſſions, making earneſt ſuit for reſtitutiõ, feining, & forging many things to make their cauſe ſeme good, and to ſtand with equitie: and the better to be hearde in their ſuyte, they made friends as wel with brybes and large giftes as otherwiſe, leauing no wayes vnaſſayed to compaſſe their deſires, whiche greedineſſe in ſuch multitude of ſuters, brought the commiſſioners, and other that had delt in the forfeytures into daunger, and did themſelues no good: for the counſell perceyuing that it was not poſſible to ſatiſfie them all, refuſed to heare anye further complayntes or ſuites for reſtitution, but thought it beſt to committe thoſe to priſon, by whom the compleynantes pretẽded themſelues to haue bin wrõged, & hervpon was ſir Rich. Empſon knight, and Edmonde Dudley Eſquier, great counſellours to the late Kyng attached, and broughte to the Tower, thereby to quiet mens myndes, that made ſuche importunate ſuite to haue their money agayne reſtored, whiche in the late Kynges dayes they hadde beene compelled to diſburſe, through the rigorous proceedings, as they alledged, of the ſayd two counſellours, and others.

pſon and dley committed to the Tower.

Truely greate exclamation was made agaynſt them, as it often happeneth, that where anye thyng is doone contrarye to the lykyng of yͤ people, thoſe that be dealers vnder the Prince, & by hys commaundemente procede in the execution thereof, runne in hatred of the multitude.

But howe ſo euer it was, theyr apprehenſion and committyng to priſon, was thought by the wyſe to bee procured by the malice of them that in the late Kynges dayes, were offended with theyr authoritie.

Shortely after, as Edwarde Halle ſayeth, were apprehended dyuers other perſones, that wer called promoters, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derbye, Wrighte, Symſon, and Stocton, of the whyche, the more parte ware papers, and ſtode on the Pillorie.

moters puniſhed.

When all things were prepared ready for the funeralles of the late Kyng, his corps with all ſumptuous pompe and ſolemne Ceremonyes, was conueyed from Richmont to Saint Georges fielde, where the Clergie of the Citie mette it, and at the Bridge the Mayre and hys brethren wyth many Commoners all cloathed in blacke lykewyſe mette it, and gaue theyr attendaunce on the ſame thorough the Citie, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saincte Paule, where was ſong a ſolemne Dirige and Maſſe, and a Sermon made by the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter John Fyſher.

The nexte daye the corps was had to Weſtminſter, and there the daye followyng, put into the earth wyth all due ſolemnities as appertayned.

After that the funeralles of the ſayde late Kyng were once ended, great preparation was made for the Coronation of thys new King, whiche was appoynted on Midſomer daye next enſuyng: Duryng the tyme of whyche preparation, the Kyng was aduyſed by ſome of his counſell to take to wyfe the Ladye Katherine, late wyfe to hys brother Prince Arthur, leaſt ſhe hauing ſo greate a dowrie as was appoynted to hir, might marrye out of the realme, whiche ſhould be to his hinderaunce.

The Kyng beeyng hereto perſwaded, eſpouſed the ſayd Ladye Catherine the thirde daye of June, the whyche maryage was diſpenſed with by Pope July, at the ſuite of hir father, kyng Ferdinando.

Lady Katherin Prince Arthure his widow, maried to his brother King Henry the eyght.

On the eleuenth day of this moneth of June, the King came from Greenewiche to the Tower ouer London bridge, and ſo by Gracechurche, with whome came many a Gentleman rychely apparelled, but ſpecially the Duke of Buckingham, whiche had a gowne all of Goldeſmithes worke, very coſtly.

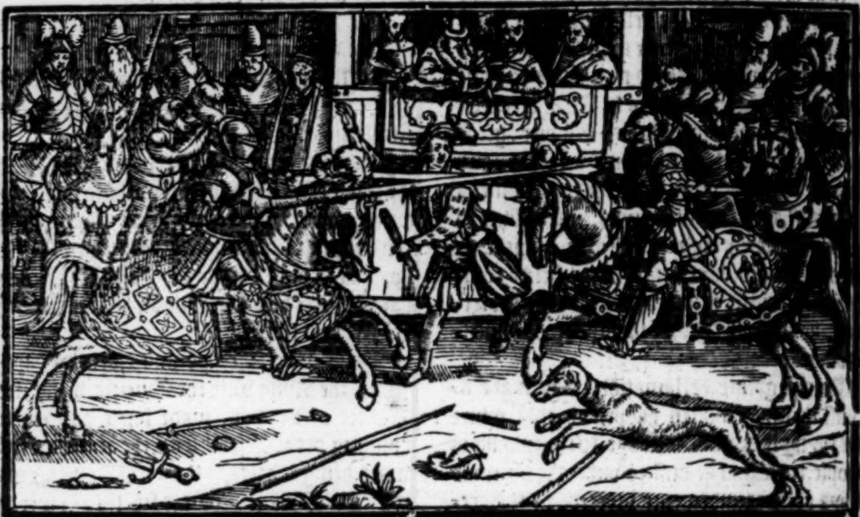
On Friday, the two and twentith daye of June, the Kyng with the Queene, being in the Tower of London, made foure and twentie knightes of the Bath. And the morrowe following, being Saterday the 24. of June, his grace with the Queene departed frõ the Tower thorough London, the ſtreetes beeing hanged with tapeſtrie, & cloth of arras very richly. And a great parte of the South ſide of Chepe with clothe of gold, and ſo was ſome part of Cornhill. But to ſpeake of al yͤ ſolemne ſhew ſet forth that daye, & how yͤ craftes, Aldermen, and Lord Maior ſtode in their appointed places, or of the rich & ſumptuous apparel, which not only yͤ K. and Queene ware that day, but alſo other eſtates whiche dyd attẽd their maieſties, it would aſke a long time, & yet I ſhoulde omit many things, & faile of the nũber. The trappers & rich furnitures of horſes, palfreys, & charets were wonderfull. Of cloth of tiſſew, golde, ſiluer, embroderies, & goldſmithes worke there was no want, beſide the great number of chaynes of gold & bauderikes, both maſſy & greate, righte gorgeous to behold. And thus wt great ioy and honor, they came to Weſtminſter.

The morrow following being Sunday, & alſo Midſomer day, that noble Prince, wt his wife Q. Katherine, wente from the Palaice, to the Abbey of Weſtmin. where according to the auncient cuſtome, they were annointed & Crowned by the Archb. of Cant. with other Prelates of the Realm there preſent, & the nobilitie, and a greate multitude of the cõmons. After with the ſolemnity of yͤ ſaid coronation, according to the ſacred obſeruances vſed in that behalf ended, the Lords Spirituall and temporall, did to him homage, and then he returned to Weſtminſter Hall with the Queene, where they dined, all the ſolemne cuſtomes and ſeruices being vſed & done, whiche in ſuch caſes apperteined, euery L. & other noble manne, according to their tenures before claymed, viewed, ſeene, and allowed, entring into their

The coronation of Kyng Henry, and Q. Katherine.

Homage done to the King at his coronatiõ, by the lordes ſpirituall and temporall.

their roomths and offices that day to execute the ſame accordingly. When the feaſt or diner was ended, and the tables auoyded, the King and the Queene went vnto their chambers. For the more enobling of this coronation, there was prepared both iuſtes and tourneys, whiche within the palaice of Weſtminſter were performed and done, with great triumph and royaltie.



The enterpriſers of which martiall feats, wer theſe perſons whoſe names enſue: Thomas Lord Howard, ſonne and heire apparant to the Erle of Surrey: ſir Edward Howard Admirall his brother: the Lorde Richarde Gray brother to the Marques Dorſet: ſir Edmunde Howarde: ſir Edmunde Kneuet: and Charles Brandon Eſquier.

And on the other ſide as defendauntes were theſe eight perſones, Sir John Pechye, ſir Edwarde Neuill, ſir Edwarde Guilforde, ſir John Carre, Sir Willyam Parre, Sir Giles Capell, Sir Griffeth Doun, and Syr Roulande. The King pardoned the Lorde Henrye brother to the Duke of Buckingham committed to the Tower (as yee haue heard) vppon ſuſpition of treaſon: But when nothyng coulde bee proued agaynſte hym, hee was ſette at libertie, and at the Parliament after created earle of Wilſhire.

Alſo this yeare the kyng ordeyned fifty Gentlemen to bee ſpeares, euerye of them to haue an Archer, a Demylaunce, and a Cuſtrell, and euerye ſpeare to haue three great horſes to be attendaunt on his perſon, of the whiche bende the earle of Eſſex was lieutenaunt, and Sir John Pechy Capitaine. Thys ordynaunce continued but a while, the chardges was ſo greate, for there were none of them, but they and their horſes were apparayled and trapped in clothe of golde, ſiluer and Goldſmithes worke.

A great plague in Calais.

This yeare alſo was a greate peſtilence in the Towne of Calais, ſo that the King ſente one Syr John Pechie wyth three hundreth men to tarrye there vppon the defence of that Towne til the ſickeneſſe was ceaſſed.

A parliament.

Furthermore, this yeare the King ſommoned his Parliament in the Monethe of Nouember, to begin in the Monethe of Januarye nexte enſuyng. Whereof Sir Thomas Inglefielde was choſen ſpeaker.

Empſon and Dudley attainted of treaſon.

At this Parliament Syr Rycharde Empſon Knight, and Edmond Dudly eſquier late counſellours to Kyng Henrye the ſeuenthe were atteynted of highe treaſon.

Polidor.

They were chardged with many offences committed in the late kings dayes, as partely before you haue hearde, and being broughte before the counſell, as they were graue and wiſe perſonages, and bothe of them learned and ſkilfull in the lawes of this realm, they alledged for themſelues right conſtantlye in their owne defences muche good & ſufficient matter, in ſo muche that Empſon being the elder in yeres, had theſe words: I know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and neceſſarie lawes are for the good preſeruation of mans lyfe, without the which neither houſe, town, nor citie can long continue or ſtand in ſafetie, which lawes here in Englande thorough negligence of magiſtrates were partly decayed, and partely quite forgotten and worne out of vſe, the miſchief wherof dayly increaſing, Henry the. vij. a moſt graue and prudent Prince, wiſhed to ſuppreſſe, & therfore appointed vs to ſee that ſuche lawes as were yet in vſe might continue in their ful force, and ſuch as were out of vſe might againe be reuiued and reſtored to their former ſtate, and that alſo thoſe perſons which tranſgreſſed the ſame, might bee puniſhed according to theyr demerites, wherein we diſcharged oure duties in moſt faythfull

wiſe,

wyſe, and beſte manner we coulde, to the greate aduauntage and cōmoditie no doubt of yͤ whole common wealthe: wherefore wee moſt humbly beſeech you in reſpect of your honours, courteſie, goodneſſe, humanitie, and iuſtice, not to decree any greeuous ſentence againſt vs, as though wee were worthy of puniſhmente, but rather to appoint how wͭ thankefull recompence our paines and trauaile may be worthily conſidered. Many of the counſell thoughte that hee had ſpoken well, and ſo as ſtoode with greate reaſon, but yet the greater number ſuppoſing that the reuiuing of thoſe lawes had proceeded rather of a couetous meaning in the King and them, than of anye zeale of Iuſtice, and hauing alſo themſelues felte the ſmart lately before for their owne offences, and tranſgreſſions, hadde conceiued ſuch malice towardes the men, that they thoughte it reaſon, that ſuche as hadde bene dealers therein, were worthy to loſe their heads in like ſorte, as they had cauſed others to loſe their money. Hereupon, their accuſers were maynteyned, and many odde matters narrowly ſought out againſt thē, as by two ſeuerall inditementes framed againſt Sir Richarde Empſon (the copies whereof, I haue ſeene) it may well appeare.

In the one hee is charged, that to winne the fauoure and credite of the late King, not waying hys honour, nor the proſperitie of him, or wealthe of his Realme, hee hadde in ſubuerſion of the lawes of the lande, procured dyuers perſons to be endited of diuers crimes and offences ſurmiſed agaynſte them, and thereupon to bee committed to priſon, without due proceſſe of lawe, and not ſuffered to come to theyr aunſweres, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable loſſes, and vtter empoueriſhment.

Alſo diuers vntrue offices of intruſions and alienations, made by ſundrye the late Kyngs liege people, into manors, lands, and tenements were found, it being vntruely alledged, that they held the ſame of the Kyng *in capite*. And when ſuch perſons as were thus vexed, offered to trauerſe thoſe offices, they coulde not bee admitted thereto, in ſuche due and lawfull forme, as in ſuche cauſes the lawe prouideth, till they hadde compounded to paye greate fynes and raunſomes.

Moreouer, the kings Wardes, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to ſue theyr lyueries, tyll they hadde paide exceſſiue fynes and raunſomes, vnto their greate anoyance, loſſe, and diſquieting, and to no leſſe contempte of the ſayde late King.

And further, where as dyuers perſons had bin outlawed, as well at the ſuite of theyr aduerſaries, as of the ſayde late Kyng, they coulde not be allowed to purchaſe theyr charters of pardon out of the Chancery, according to the lawe of the Realme, till they were driuen to aunſwere halfe the iſſues and profites of all theyr landes and tenementes by the ſpace of two yeares, whiche the Kyng receyued to hys vſe, by the ſayde Richarde Empſons procuremente, who enformed hym that hee myghte lawfully take the ſame, although hee knewe that it was contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme: whereuppon, the people vexed and moleſted by ſuche hard dealings, ſore grudged agaynſte the ſayde late Kyng, to the greate perill and daunger of hys perſon and Realme, and ſubuerſion of the lawes, and auntiente cuſtomes thereof.

Alſo, it was alledged againſte the ſaid Empſon, that he hadde ſente forth preceptes directed vnto dyuers perſons, commaundyng them vpon greate penalties, to appeare before him, and other hys aſſociates, at certayn dayes and times within hys houſe in Sainte Brydes Pariſhe, in a warde of London, called Farringdon without, where they makyng theyr appearances, accordyng to the ſame preceptes, were impleaded afore hym and other his ſayde aſſociates, of dyuers murthers, felonies, outlaries, and of the articles in the ſtatute of prouiſors conteyned, alſo of wilfull eſcapes of Felons, and ſuch like matters and articles apperteyning to the plees of the Crowne, and common lawes of the Realme. And that done, the ſayde perſons were committed to dyuers priſons, as the Fleete, the Tower, and other places, where they were deteyned, tyll they hadde fined at hys pleaſure, as well for the commoditie of the ſayde late Kyng, as for the ſingular aduauntage of the ſayde Sir Richarde Empſon.

Moreouer, whereas the ſayde Empſon, beeing Recorder of Couentrie, and there ſate with the Maior and other Iuſtices of the peace, vpon a ſpeciall gaole delyuerie within yͤ Citie, on the Monday before the feaſt of S. Thomas the Apoſtle, in the ſixteenth yeare of the late kyngs raigne, a priſoner that hadde beene endited of felonie, for takyng out of an houſe in that Citie, certayne goodes, to the value of twentie ſhillings, was arraigned before them, and bycauſe the Iurie would not finde the ſayde priſoner giltie, for wante of ſufficient euidence, as they after alledged, the ſayde Sir Richarde Empſon ſuppoſing the ſame euidence to be ſufficient, cauſed them to be committed to ward, wherein they remayned foure dayes togyther, till they were contented to enter band in fortie pound a peece, to appeare before the Kyng and hys Counſell, the ſecond returne of the tearme then nexte enſuing, being *Quindena Hillarij*, and thereuppon, they keeping their day, and appearing before the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and other of the kings counſell, according to their bandes, were adiudged to pay euery of them eyght pound for a fyne, and accordingly made payment thereof, as they were then thought well worthy ſo to do. But nowe this matter ſo long paſt, was ſtill kepte in memorie, and ſo earneſt ſome were to enforce it to the vttermoſt againſt the ſayd Empſon, that in a Seſſions holden at Couentrie nowe in thys firſt yere of this kings raigne, an inditemẽt was framed againſt him for this matter, and thereof he was found giltie, as if therein he had committed ſome great and heynous offence againſte the Kings peace, his Crowne and dignitie.

Thus haue I thought good to ſhew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find ſome coulour of ſufficiẽt matter, to bring the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, & maſter Edmonde Dudley, within daunger of the lawes, whereby at lengthe, they were not onely condemned by acte of Parliament, through malice of ſuch as might ſeeme to ſeeke their deſtruction, for priuate grudges, but in the end alſo, they were arreigned, as firſt the ſaid Edmond Dudley in the Guild hall of London, the ſeuententh of July, and ſir Richarde Empſon at Northãpton, in October nexte enſuing, and beeing there condemned, was from thence broughte backe againe to the Tower of London, where hee remained till the time of his execution, as after yee ſhall heare.

This yeare, the plague was greate, and raigned in diuers parts of this Realme.

1510

The King kepte hys Chriſtmas at Richemond.

The twelfth of January, dyuers Gentlemen prepared to iuſt, and the Kyng and one of hys priuie chamber, called William Compton, ſecretely armed themſelues in the little Parke of Richmond, and ſo came into the iuſtes, vnknowen to all perſons.

The Kyng neuer ranne openly before, and did exceedinglye well.

Maſter Compton chanced to be ſore hurt by Edward Neuill Eſquier, brother to the Lord of Burgeinie, ſo that he was lyke to haue dyed.

One perſon there was that knew the Kyng, and cryed God ſaue the Kyng, and with that, all the people were aſtonyed, and then the Kyng diſcouered hymſelfe, to the great comfort of the people.

The Kyng ſone after came to Weſtminſter, and there kepte his Shrouetide with greate banquettings, dauncings, and other iolly paſtimes.

Ambaſſadors.

This yeare alſo came Ambaſſadors, not only from the Kyng of Arragon and Caſtile, but alſo from the Kynges of Fraunce, Denmarke, Scotlande, and other princes, whych were highly welcomed, and nobly entertayned.

An. reg. 2.

Thys yeare, the Kyng celebratyng the feaſt of Pentecoſt at Greenewiche, the Thurſeday in that weeke, with two other, whome hee choſe of purpoſe to aſſiſt hym as aydes, chalenged all commers, to fyghte with them at the barriers, with target, and punching ſtaffe of eyghte foote long, and that done, to fyghte eache of them twelue ſtrokes with two handed ſwordes, with and againſt all commers, none except, beeyng a Gentleman, where the Kyng behaued hymſelfe ſo well, and deliuered hymſelfe ſo valiauntlye, that through hys manly prowes and greate ſtrengthe, the laude and prayſe of that martiall paſtime was gyuen to hym and his aydes, notwithſtandyng that dyuers valiante and ſtrong perſonages had aſſayled them.

In this ſeconde yeare, the Kyng beeing forth on his progreſſe, hearde euerye daye more and more complayntes of Empſon and Dudley (ſet forthe and aduaunced no doubte by the driſte of theyr deadly enimies) wherefore, he ſent writtes to the Shiriffes of London, to putte them to execution, and ſo the ſeauententh daye of Auguſt, they were both beheaded at the Tower hil, and both theyr bodyes and heads buryed, ẏ one at the white Friers, and the other at the blacke Friers.

The ſeuenth day hath Ioh Stowe.
Empſon and Dudley beheaded.

The Kyng beeyng in hys luſtie youthe, and muche deſirous to ſee the nobles and Gentlemen of hys Courte exerciſed in warlyke feates, cauſed thys yeare dyuers iuſtes and Torneys to be enterpriſed, and he himſelfe for the moſt part made euer one amongſt them, acquiting himſelfe ſo worthely, that the beholders tooke paſſing pleaſure to ſee hys valiaunte demeanoure in thoſe martiall feates.

1511

The birth of the firſt begotten ſonne of K. Henry the eyght.

Vpon New yeares day, thys yeare, at Richmonde, the Queene was deliuered of a Prince, to the great gladneſſe of the Realme, for the honoure of whome, fyers were made, and dyuers veſſels with wyne ſette abroache, for ſuche as woulde take thereof, in dyuers ſtreetes in London, and generall Proceſſions made thervpon to laude God.

Godfathers at the Chriſtenyng, were the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburye, and the Earle of Surrey: Godmother, the Lady Katherine, Counteſſe of Deuonſhire, daughter to Kyng Edwarde the fourth, his name was Henry.

Ambaſſadors from the ki of Spayne, for aid againſt t Moores.

In the moneth of Februarye thys yeare, came Ambaſſadors from the Kyng of Arragon and Caſtile, to require an ayde of fifteene hundred archers, to be ſent to the ſame king, hauing at that time warre agaynſte the Moores, enimies of the Chriſtian faith.

The Kyng hearing theyr meſſage, gently graunted theyr requeſt: and bicauſe the Lord Thomas Darcy, a Knighte of the garter, made humble ſuite to the King to be generall of that crue, that ſhoulde bee thus ſent into Spayne; the Kyng vppon truſt of his approued valiancie, graunted his deſire.

There were appoynted to goe with him the Lorde Anthony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorſet, Henry Guilford, Weſton Browne, and William Sidney Eſquiers of the Kings houſe, Sir Roberte Conſtable, Sir Roger Haſtings, and ſir Rauſe Elderton, wᵗ diuers other gentlemen to be Captaynes.

The King aboute thys ſeaſon was muche giuen to play at tenice, and at the dice, which appetite, certayne craftie perſons aboute hym perceyuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, and ſo hee loſt muche money, but when hee perceyued theyr crafte, hee eſchued their company, and let them goe.

An.reg.3.
at Grene-
ch, the king
ng chiefe
alenger.

On May daye, the Kyng lying at Greenewiche, rode to the woode to fetch May, and after on the ſame day, and the two dayes nexte enſuing, the King, Sir Edwarde Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edwarde Neuill as chalengers, helde iuſtes againſt all commers.

On the other parte, the Marques Dorſet, the Earles of Eſſex and Deuonſhire, with other as defendauntes, ranne agaynſte them, ſo that many a ſore ſtripe was giuen, and manye a ſtaffe broken.

On the third day, the Queene made a greate banquet to the Kyng, and to all them that had iuſted, and after the banquet done, ſhee gaue the chiefe price to the Kyng, the ſecond to the Earle of Eſſex, the thirde to the Earle of Deuonſhire, and the fourth, to the Lord Marques Dorſet.

On the fifteenth daye of the ſame moneth; was another iuſtes begonne by the Kyng on the one partie, and the Earle of Eſſex on the other. Many that feared leaſt ſome euill chaunce might happen to the King, wiſhed that hee ſhoulde rather haue beene a looker on, than a doer, and thereof ſpake as much as they durſt, but his courage was ſo noble, that hee woulde euer be at the one ende.

le Lorde
y.

In this meane time, the Lord Darcy, and other appoynted to the viage agaynſt the Mores, made ſuche diligence, that they and al theyr people were ready at Plymmouth by the middes of May, and there muſtered theyr ſouldyers before the Lord Brooke, and other the Kings commiſſioners.

The Lord Darcy as Captayne general, ordeyned for his prouoſt Marſhall, Henry Guylford Eſquier, a luſty yong man, and welbeloued of the King.

On the Monday in the Rogation Weeke, they departed out of Plimmouth Hauen with foure ſhippes royall, and the winde was ſo fauourable to them, that the firſt day of June, being the euen of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, he arriued at the port of Cales in South Spayne, and immediatly by the aduice of his counſaile, hee diſpatched meſſengers to the Kyng, whome they founde beſyde the Citie of Ciuil, where hee then lay, and declared to him, how the Lord Darcye by the King theyr maiſters appoyntment, was come thither with ſixteene hundred archers, and lay ſtill at Cales to know his pleaſure.

The Kyng of Caſtile anſwered them gentlie, that the Lorde Darcie, and all other that were come from hys louyng ſonne, were welcome, and hartily thanked them of theyr paines, requiring the meſſengers to returne to their captaine, and tell him that in all haſt he would ſend certaine of hys counſell to him. And ſo vpon Saterday the eyght of June, a Byſhop and other of the Kings counſell came to Cales, and there abode till Wedneſday, beeing the euen of Corpus Chriſti, at which day, the Lord Capitayne tooke lande, and was honorably receiued of the King of Aragons counſell, and on the morrowe, was highly feaſted at dinner and ſupper. And at after ſupper, the Byſhop declared the Kyng hys maiſters pleaſure, giuing to the Lord Captayne as hartie thankes for hys paynes and trauell, as if hee hadde gone forward with his enterpriſe againſt the Mores: but whereas by the aduice of his counſell, circumſpectly conſidering the ſuretie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge hadde, that the Frenchmen meant to inuade hys dominions in his abſence, he had altered his former determinatiõ, & taken an abſtinence of warre with the Mores, till an other time. He therefore required the Lorde Darcy to be contented to returne home againe, promiſing him wages for all hys ſouldyers, and if it ſhould pleaſe hym to come to the Court, he ſhould receyue high thankes of the Kyng, and ſuche cheere, as there coulde be made him.

The Lord Darcy was nothing pleaſed with thys declaration, but ſith hee ſawe there was no remedie, he ſayd, that whatſoeuer the Kyng had concluded, he could not but agree to it, conſidering hee was ſente to him: but ſurely it was againſt his mind to depart home, without doing any thyng agaynſt Gods enimies, with whome he had euer a deſire to fight. And as for his comming to the Court hee ſaide, he coulde not leaue his men whome hee hadde broughte out of theyr Countrey, without an head, and as for ẏ kings banquette, it was not the thing that hee deſired.

On the nexte daye in the morning, many

was ſent to pay the Souldiers their wages, for their conduction againe into England with dyuers giftes giuen to the Lorde Darcy, and other Gentlemen, yet notwithſtanding, he was hyghly diſpleaſed, howbeit, like a wiſe man, hee diſſimuled the matter.

A ſhrewde fray begun vpon a ſmall occaſion.

The ſame day, being the fourtenth daye of Iune, and Friday, there chanced a fray to be begunne in the towne of Cales, betwixt the Engliſhmen, and them of the towne, by reaſon that an Engliſhman would haue had for his money a loſe of bread from a mayd that had bin at the Bakers to buy bread, not to ſell, but to ſpende in hir miſtreſſe houſe. The cōmon bell was rong, and all the Towne wente to harneys, and thoſe few Engliſhmenne that were a lande, wente to their bowes.

The Spanyardes caſt dartes, and the Engliſhmen ſhotte, but the Captaynes of England, and the Lordes of the Counſell for their parte, tooke ſuche payne, that the fray was ceaſſed, and but one Engliſhman ſlayne, though diuers were hurte: and of the Spaynardes, dyuers were ſlayne.

After this, vppon requeſt made by the Lordes of Spayne, the Lord Darcy and all his men the ſame night, went aborde their Shippes, but Henry Guilforde, Weſton Browne, and William Sidney, yong and luſty Eſquiers, deſired licence to ſee the Courte of Spayne, which being granted, they wente thyther, where they were of the King highly entertayned.

Henry Guilford, and Weſton Browne, were made Knightes by the King, who alſo gaue to Sir Henrye Guilforde, a Canton of Granado, and to Sir Weſton Browne, an Egle of Sycill on a chiefe, to the augmentation of theyr armes.

William Sidney ſo excuſed hymſelfe, that he was not made Knight.

When they had ſoiourned there awhile, they tooke theyr leaue of the King and Queene, and returned through Fraunce into England.

The Lorde Darcy returneth out of Spayne.

During which ſeaſon, the Lord Darcy made ſayle towarde England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the King at Windeſore, and ſo this iourney ended.

During the time that the Lorde Darcy was in Spaine, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy, and daughter to Maximilian the Emperoure, and gouernour of Flaunders, Brabante, Holland, Zeland, and other the low Countreys appertayning to Charles the yong Prince of Caſtile, ſent in the ende of May to the Kyng of Englande, to haue fifteene hundred archers, to aide hir againſte the Duke of Gelders, whiche ſore troubled the countreys aforeſaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the requeſt of ſo noble a Ladie, moſt gently granted hir requeſt, and appointed ſir Edwarde Poynings, Knight of the garter, and comptroller of his houſe, a valiant Captayne, & a noble warriour, to be Lieutenant and leader of the ſaid fifteene C. archers, whiche accompanyed with his ſon in law the Lord Clinton, ſir Mathew Browne, ſir John Digby, Io Werrõ, Richard Whethill, and Shelley Eſquiers, with other Gentlemen and yeomen, to ẏ foreſayd number of fifteene C. tooke ſhippe a mile beſide Sandwich, the eightenth day of Iuly, and landed at Armewe the nineteenth daye, not without ſome trouble, by reaſon of a litle ſtorme. From thence, they were conducted to Barowe, whether the Lady Regēt came to welcome thē. On the Sunday, being the .27. of July, they departed to Roſſindale, & on Thurſday the laſt of July, they came to Buldike. And the nexte day, the whole army of Almaynes, Flemmings, and other appertaining to the ſaid Lady, mette with the Engliſhmen without Buldike, where they ſet forth in order, the Lady Regente being there preſent, which tooke hir leaue of all ẏ Captaines, and departed to Buldike. The army, to the nūber of ten M. beſide the fifteene C. Engliſhe archers paſſed forwarde, and the tenth day of Auguſt, being S. Laurēce day, came before a little Caſtel, ſtanding on the higher ſide of the Maſe, called Brimnoiſt, belōging to ẏ baſtard of Gelderland. The ſame nighte, Tho. Hert, chiefe gouernoure of the ordinance of the Engliſhe parte, made his approch, and in ẏ morning, made battrie ſo, that the aſſault thervpon being giuen, ẏ fortreſſe was wonne, and the Captaine and .80. and oddemen were ſlaine, and nineteene taken, of ẏ which, eleuen were hanged. John Morton, Captaine of C. Engliſhmen, and one Guyot an Eſquier of Burgoigne, crying S. George, were the firſte that entred, at which aſſault, there was but one Engliſhman ſlaine. On Thurſeday, the fourtenth of Auguſt, the army ferryed ouer the riuer of Maſe into Gelderland. The next day, they came to a little Towne called Ayſke. The people were fled, but there was a little Caſtell raſed, and caſt downe, which was newly builte vppon this ſide of the ſayd riuer. Vpon the twentith day of Auguſt, they brent ẏ foreſaid towne of Aiſke, and al the coūtrey about it, and came at the laſt to a towne called Straulle, beyng very ſtrong, double diked, and walled. Within it were three C. 60. good men of warre, beſide the inhabitants. At the firſt, they ſhewed good countenance of defence, but when they ſawe their enimies approch neere vnto them with rampiers and trenches, they yelded by compoſition, ſo that the ſoldyers might depart with a little ſticke in their handes. But the townesmen reſted priſoners, at the will of the Prince of Caſtile. And ſo on S. Bartholmewes

mewes day, the Admirall of Flanders, and Sir Edwarde Poynings entred the Towne with great triumph.

The ſixe and twentith day, the army came before Venlow, and ſent an Herrault called Arthoys, to ſommon the Towne: but they within would not heare, but ſhotte gunnes at him.

The eyghte and twentith daye, the army remoued vnto the Northe ſide of Venlowe, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, and ſo beſieged the towne as ſtraightly as theyr number would giue them leaue, but yet for al that they could doe without, they within kept one gate euer open.

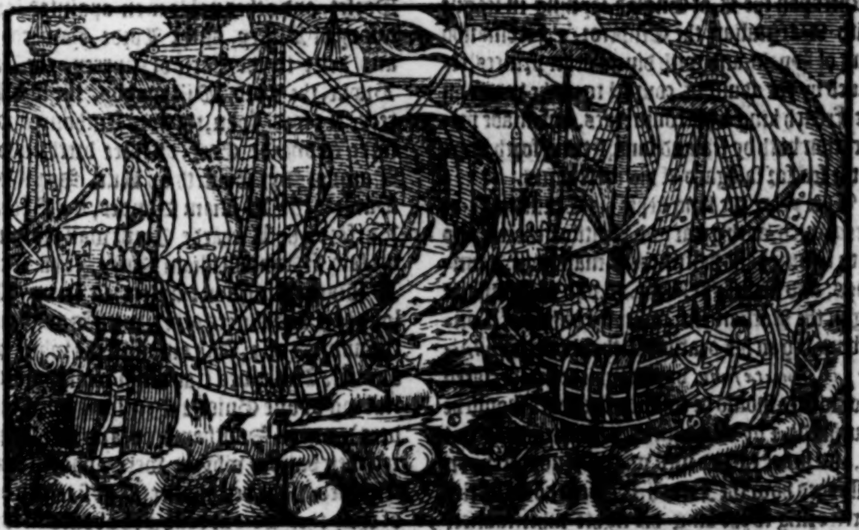
At length, the Engliſh Captaines perceiuing that they laye there in vayne, conſidering the ſtrength of the towne, & alſo how the army was not of nũber ſufficient to enuiron ẏ ſame on each ſide, wrote to the K. who willed them with all ſpeede to returne, and ſo they dyd. Sir Edwarde Poynings went to ẏ court of Burgogne, where he was receiued right honorably of ẏ yõg prince of Caſtil & of his aunt ẏ lady Margaret. John Norton, Iohn Fogge, Io. Scot, & Tho. Lynde, were made knightes by the Prince. And ẏ Lady Margarete perceiuing the ſouldiors coates to be worne & foule with lying on the ground (for euery man lay not in a tent) gaue to euery yeoman a cote of wollen cloth of yealowe, red, white and grene colors, not to hir litle laud & praiſe among the Engliſhmẽ. After ẏ ſir Edw. Poynings had bin highly feaſted & more praiſed of al mẽ for his valiantnes & good order of his people, he returned wt his crue into Englãd, & had loſt by war & ſickneſ not fully an C. perſons. Whẽ ẏ Engliſhmẽ were departed, the Gelders iſſued out of the gates of Venlow, daily ſkirmiſhed with ẏ Burgognions, & aſked for their archers: & herewith winter began ſharply to approch, & the riuer of Maze by abũdance of rain roſe ſo high, that it drowned vp the trenches, ſo that al things conſidered, the captains without, determined to raiſe their ſiege, and ſo they did, and after they had waſted al the countrey aboute Venlowe, they returned euery man to his home.

Sir Edwarde Poinings.

In June the K. being at Leiceſter, heard tydings, that one Andrew Barton a Scottiſhman and pirate of the ſea, ſaying that the K. of Scots had war with the Portingals, robbed euery nation, & ſtopped the kings ſtreames, that no merchant almoſt could paſſe. And when he toke Engliſhmens goods, he bare thẽ in hand ẏ they were Portingales goods, and thus he haunted & robbed at euery hauẽs mouth. The king diſpleaſed herewith, ſent ſir Edmund Howard lord Admirall of England, & lord Thomas Howard, ſonne & heir to the erle of Surrey in all haſt to the ſea, which haſtily made ready two ſhippes, & taking ſea, by chaunce of weather were ſeuered. The Lord Howard lying in the Downes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotland, and ſo faſt ẏ ſaid lord chaſed him, that he ouertoke him,

Andrew Barton a Scottiſh Pirate.

A cruell fight on the Sea.



and there was a ſore battaile betwixt them. Andrew euer blew his whiſtle to encourage his mẽ, but at length the L. Howard and ẏ Engliſhmen did ſo valiantly, that by cleane ſtrength they entred the Mayne deck. The Scots fought ſore on the hatches: but in concluſion Andrew was taken, & ſo ſore wounded, that he dyed there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken wyth their ſhippe called the Lyon.

All this while was the lord Admirall in chaſe of the Barke of Scotlande called Jenny Pirwyn, which was wonte to ſayle with the Lyon in companie, & ſo much did he with other, that he layd him aborde, and though the Scots manfully defended themſelues, yet at length ẏ engliſh men entred the Barke, ſlew many, and toke all the reſidue. Thus were theſe two ſhippes taken, and brought to Blackewall the ſeconde of Auguſt.

King Henry the eyght taketh the popes part againſt the french K.

The Scottes that were taken priſoners, wer pardoned of their liues, and ſent home into their Countrey. The King of Scottes hearing of the death of Andrew Barton, and the taking of his two ſhippes, was wonderfully wroth, and ſente letters to the King, requiring reſtitution, according to the league & amitie. The K. wrote to the K. of Scots againe with brotherly ſalutation, of the robberies done by ẏ ſayd Andrew, and that it became not a Prince to lay breache of peace to his confederate, for doing iuſtice vpon a Pirate and theefe: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deſerued to die by iuſtice, if hee had not extended his mercy. And with this aunſwere, the Scottiſh Herrault departed. About this ſeaſon, the Frenche K. made ſharp warre againſt Pope July: wherefore the K. of England wrote to the french K. that he ſhould leaue off to vexe the Pope in ſuche wiſe, being his friend, and confederate: but when the French K. ſeemed litle to regarde that requeſt, the king ſent him worde to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandy and Guyenne, & the countries of Aniou & Mayne, and alſo of his crown of France, or elſe he woulde come with ſuche a power, that by fine force he wold obteyne his purpoſe: but notwithſtanding thoſe writings, the French King ſtill purſued his warres in Italye. Wherupon the K. of Englãd, ioyning in league with Maximilian the Emperor, & Ferdinando king of Spain, and with diuers other princes, reſolued by the aduiſe of counſel to make warre on the French king & his countreyes, and made preparation both by ſea and land, ſetting forth ſhips to the ſea, for ſafegard of his merchants.

1512

A Parliament.

This yeare the king kepte his Chriſtmaſſe at Grenewich, with great and plentiful cheere, alſo with triumphant paſtimes, as maſkings, dauncings, and ſuche lyke. The .xv. day of Ianuarie began the Parliament, wher the biſhop of Canterbury began his oration with this verſe *Iuſtitia & pax oſculatæ ſunt*, vppon whiche hee declared how iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred, & peace ſhould be nouriſhed, & by what meanes Iuſtice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And therevpon he ſhewed how the French K. wold do no iuſtice in reſtoring to the king his righte inheritaunce, wherefore for lacke of Iuſtice, Peace of neceſſitie muſt be turned into warre. In this Parliament was graunted two fifteenes of the temporaltie, & of the Cleargie two diſmes. After that it was concluded by the whole body of the realme in the high court of Parliament aſſembled, that warre ſhuld be made on the French K. & his dominiõs, wherevpon was wonderful ſpede made in preparing all thinges neceſſarie bothe for Sea and lande.

The K. of Aragon alſo hauyng at that tyme warre with the Frenche king wrote to his ſon in law king Henry, that if he wold ſend ouer an armie into Biſkay, and ſo to inuade Frãce on that ſide, for ẏ recouerie firſt of his duchie of Guyenne, he would ayde them with ordinaunce, horſemen, beaſtes & cariages, with other neceſſaries appertaining to the ſame. The king and his counſell putting their affiance in this promiſe of K. Ferdinando, prepared a noble armie all of footemen, and ſmall artillerie, appoynting the noble Lord Thomas Greye Marques Dorſet to bee chiefe conductour of the ſame.

An. reg. 4

The kyng dayly ſtudying to ſet forth his war which he had begon againſt the French K. cauſed Sir Edmund Haward his Admirall, wyth diligence to make readie diuers goodly tall ſhips, as the Souerain & other, to the number of .xviij. beſide other ſmaller veſſels, and therwith hauing in his companie ſir Weſton Browne, Griffyth Doune, Edwarde Cobham, Thomas Windham, Thomas Lucy, William Pirton, Henry Shirebourne, Stephen Bull, George Witwange, Iohn Hopton, William Gunſtõ, Thomas Draper, Edmonde Cooke, Iohn Burdet, and diuers other, he tooke the Sea, and ſcowring the ſame, about the middes of May he came before Porteſmouth.

About the very ſelfe time the Lord Marques Dorſet, and other noble men apointed for the iorney of Biſkey, as the Lorde Hawarde ſon and heire to the Earle of Surrey, the Lorde Brooke, the Lord Willoughby, the lord Ferrers, the lord Iohn, the lord Anthony, and the lorde Leonarde Grey, all three brethren to the Marques Syr Griffeth ap Riſe, Syr Morris Barkely, ſir William Sandes, the Baron of Burforde, ſir Richarde Cornewall brother to the ſaid Baron, William Huſey, Iohn Meltõ, William Kingſton eſquiers, ſir Henry Willoughby, and diuers other, with Souldiors to the number of .x. M. (amongſt the which were fiue .C. Almaynes clad all in white, vnder the leading of one Guiot a Gentleman of Flaunders) came to Southampton, and there muſtered their bandes whyche were appoynted and trimmed in the beſt maner. The ſixtenth daye of May they were al beſtowed abourd in Spaniſh ſhippes furniſhed with vittual, & other neceſſaries for that iourney. The winde ſerued ſo well for their purpoſe, ẏ they came all in ſafety on the coaſt of Biſky at the Port of Paſſaghe Southweſt of Fonteraby, and ſo the third day of Iune they landed, tooke the fielde, embattailing themſelues for their ſafegarde right ſtrongly.

Within three days after that the army was thus a land there came to the Marques an erle and an other noble man to welcome him and his companie. Then the Lord captain remoued his field and tooke an other place nerer to Fonterabye, where he lay a long tyme looking euery day to haue ayde of horſemen and artillerie of the King of Arragon, but none came. Syr John Style cauſed to bee boughte two hundred Mulettes and Aſſes of ſucye price as the Spanyardes gained greately, and when they were put to cary and drawe, they woulde not ſerue the turn, for they were not exerciſed therto before that tyme, and ſo for want of beaſts to drawe ſuch ordinance as the Engliſhemen had there with thē, they loſt the doing of ſome greate exployte againſt the Frenchmen on the frontiers of Gaſcoygne, for they mighte haue runne a great waye into that countrey, being as then deſtitute and vnpurueyed of men and munitions. One day the Frenchmen made a ſkrye toward the Engliſhe campe, but the Engliſhmen perceyuing them, paſſed the riuer that was betwixt them, and with Arrowes chaſed the Frenchmen, ſo that for haſte many of theyr horſſes foundered, and fell, ere they came to Bayonne: If there had bene any horſemenne amongſt the Engliſhmen, they hadde ſore endomaged their enimies.

The engliſhe … greatly … ted for … of beaſts … drawe their … dinance.

A gentle offer by the king of Nauarre to the Engliſhmen.

The King of Nauarre doubtyng leaſt the Engliſhmen were come into thoſe parties for no good meaning towardes him, ſent to the L. Marques a biſhop, and diuers other, offering to miniſter vittuals vnto the Engliſhmē for their money, if it ſhould ſtand ſo with his pleaſure.

The Lord Marques thanked him for the offer, and promiſed that if they of Nauarre wold vittaile his people, they ſhould pay them well and truly for the ſame, and alſo he wold warrant their paſſing and repaſſing in ſafetie, and that by the Engliſhemen no preiudice ſhoulde be done to his realme. Hereupon were the Engliſhmen vittailed oute of Nauerre, to theyr great comfort. After that the armie had layne xxx. days in the ſecond camp, there came from the King of Arragon a Biſhop and other nobles of his counſell.

This biſhop was the ſame that made the anſwere to the Lorde Darcy at Cales, the laſte yeare. The effect of his meſſage was to deſire the Lord Captayne and his people to take patience for a while, and they ſhould ſee that ſuch preparation ſhould be made for the furniſhing of their enterpriſe, as ſhuld ſtand with the honour of his maiſter and their aduancements.

The Engliſhmen ſore diſcontented with their idle lying ſtill in the field, miſliked wyth his excuſes, ſuppoſing the ſame (as they proued in deed) to be nothing but delayes. In the meane tyme that the Engliſhmen thus lingered without attemptyng any exployte, theyr vittuall was muche parte Garlyke, and they eating thereof with all theyr meates, and drinking hotte wynes, and feeding alſo on hot frutes, procured their bloud to boyle within their bellies, that there fell ſicke three thouſande of the flixe, and therof dyed an eighteene hundred perſones.

Great death of the flixe by vnvvonted dyet.

The L. Marques ſendeth to the king of Spayne to performe promiſe.

The Lord Marques perceyuing this myſchief, ſent to the king of Spayne, certain of his capitaines to know his pleaſure. The K. tolde them that ſhortely the duke of Alua ſhoulde ioyne with them, bringing with him a mightye power, ſo that they mighte the more aſſuredly procede in theyr enterpriſe.

With this anſwer they returned to the Lord Marques, who liked it neuer a deale, bycauſe he iudged that the king ment but to driue time with him, as after it proued.

In the meane tyme there beganne a mutenie in the Engliſhe campe thorough a falſe report, contriued by ſome malicious perſone, whiche was, that the Capitaines ſhould be allowed eight pens for euery common ſouldior, where the truth was, that they had allowed to them but onely ſix pens.

The Lord generall aduertized that the ſouldiours began to gather in companyes, founde meanes to apprehend the chiefe beginner, and deliuered him vnto Williā Kingſton eſquier, then prouoſt Marſhall, and ſo was hee put to death to the terror of all other.

Whileſt the Engliſhmen lay thus in camp on the borders of Biſkay towards Guyenne, the archers went oftentymes a forraging into the French confines almoſte to Bayonne, and brent many petie villages. The K. of Spain reyſed an armie, and ſent forth the ſame vnder the leading of the Duke of Alua, whiche came forwarde as thoughe hee mente to haue come to the Engliſhmen, who being aduertized of his approche, were meruaylouſly glad thereof, in hope that then they ſhoulde be employed about the enterpriſe for the whiche they were come.

But the Duke entendyng an other thing, when he was aduaunced forth within a days iourney of them, ſodeynly remoued his army towarde the realme of Nauerre, and entryng the ſame, chaſeth out of his realme the Kyng of that lande, and conquereth the ſame to the K. of Spayns vſe, as in the hiſtorie of Spayn more playnly it doth appeare.

The kingdome of Nauerre gotten to the K. of Spayne.

After that the Kyng of Spayn was thus poſſeſſed of the Kyngdome of Nauerre, hee ſente vnto the Lorde Marques, promyſyng to ioyne with him ſhortly, and ſo to inuade the borders of Fraunce, but he came not, wherfore the engliſhmen thought themſelues not wel vſed: for it greued them muche, that they ſhuld lye ſo long idle, ſith there was ſo great hope cõceyued at their ſetting forth, that there ſhoulde be ſome great exployte atchieued by them thorough the aide that was promiſed by the kyng of Spayne.

Thus whileſt the armie lyngered withoute remouing, there chanced an affraye to riſe betwixt the Engliſhmen and the townes men of *Sancta Maria*, a village ſo called, wherunto ſuch Engliſhmen as fell ſicke, had their reſorte, and therupon the alarm being brought to the camp, the Engliſhmen and Almains ran in great furie to the ſuccor of their fellowes, and notwithſtanding all that the captains could do to ſtaye them, they ſlew and robbed the people without mercie. The Biſcayans that could get away, fled ouer yͤ water into Guyenne. The capitaines yet ſo ordred the matter, that all the pillage was reſtored, and .xxj. ſouldiors were condemned, which wer apprehended as they were fleeing awaye with a bootie of .x.M. ducates into Gaſcoigne, ſeuen of them were executed, and the reſidue pardoned of lyfe, at the ſuite of certayn Lordes of Spayne, whiche were as then preſent. The Frenchmen hearing of this ryot, came forth of Bayonne to ſee and vnderſtand the maner therof, but perceiuing that the Engliſhmen had eſcried them, they ſodenly returned. The Engliſhmen followed, and cõming to the towne of Sainte Iehan de Lucy, they brent and robbed it, and ſlew the inhabitantes. Diuers other villages they ſpoyled on the borders of Guyenne, but bicauſe they wanted both horſſes of ſeruice, and horſes to draw forth their ordinance, they could not do any ſuch domage as they might and wold haue done, if they had bene furnyſhed accordyng to their deſires in that point.

S. Iehan de Lucy brent by the Englishe.

Thus continued the Engliſh armie in ſuch wearyſome ſorte tyll the moneth of October, and then fell the Lord Marques ſicke, and the Lorde Howard had the chiefe gouernaunce of the armie, vnto whome were ſent from the K. of Spayne dyuers Lordes of his priuie counſell to excuſe the matter for that hee came not accordyng to his promyſe, requiring them that ſith the tyme of the yeare to make warre was paſſe, it mighte pleaſe them to breake vp theyr campe, and to deuide themſelues abroade into the Townes and villages of his realme til the Spring tyme of the yeare, that they might then goe forwarde with theyr fyrſte pretenced enterpryſe.

The Lorde Howard ſhewed well in wordes that the Engliſhmen could not think well of the king of Spaynes fayned excuſes, and vnprofitable delayes, to his ſmall honoure and their great hinderance and loſſe, hauyng ſpente the King their maiſter ſo muche treaſure, and doon ſo little hurt to his aduerſaries. The Spanyardes gaue faire wordes, and ſo in courteous maner departed.

Then about the ende of October it was agreed amongſt all the Lordes of the Engliſhe hoſt that they ſhould breake vp their campe, & ſo they did. The L. Marques and his people wẽt to Saynt Sebaſtian, the Lorde Howard and his retinue to Rendre, the Lord Willoughby to Garſchang, and ſir William Sandes, with many other capitayns repaired to Fonterabie, and ſo euery captaine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other.

The Englishe campe in Biskey breaketh vp.

The armie dispersed to sundry villages.

The K. of England aduertiſed of the king of Spayne his meaning, ſent an herrauld called Windſore, with letters vnto his armye, willyng his men there to tarry, promyſing to ſend ouer to them right ſhortly a new ſupplye, vnder the guydyng of the Lorde Herberte his chamberlain. When this letter was read, & the contents therof notified, the ſouldiors began to be ſo highly diſpleſed, and ſpake ſuch outragious words, as it was maruell to heare, and not contented with words, they were bente to haue don outragious dedes, in ſo muche that in their furie they had ſlain the lord Howard and diuers other, if they had not followed their intentes, & herevpon they were glad to hyre ſhips and ſo embarked themſelues in the moneth of Nouember. When the Lorde Marques was brought a boord, he was ſo weake & feeble of remembrance through ſickneſſe, yͭ he aſked where he was.

Vnappeaceable rage amongest the English souldiers.

In the beginning of December they landed heere in Englande, and were gladde to be at home, and got out of ſuche a countreye, where they hadde little health, leſſe pleſaure, & muche loſſe of tyme.

The English army retourneth oute of Biskay.

The king of Spayne ſeemed to be ſore diſcontented with their departure, openly affirming, yͭ if they had taried till the next Spring he would in their cõpanie haue inuaded Frãce.

About the ſame time that the Marques went into Spayn, that is to wit, about the middeſt of May, ſir Edward Howard lord Admirall of Englande being on the ſea afore Porteſmouth, made forth again to the ſea, and directing his courſe towards Britayn, on Trinitie Sunday ariued at Berthram bay with .xx. great ſhips, and ſodeinly ſet his men on land, & there wan a bulwarke which the Britaynes kept and defended a whyle, but beyng ouercome, fled oute of their holde, and left it to the Engliſhmen.

The L. Admiral in Britayn.

The

Then the Lord Admirall paſſed, ſeuen myle into the countrey, brenning and waſting townes and villages, and in returning he ſkirmyſhed with diuers men of armes, and ſlew ſome of them: and notwithſtanding that the Britons fought valiantly in defence of their countrey, yet they were put to the worſſe, and ſo the Lorde Admirall returned to his ſhips.

Conquet, and diuers other places brent by S. Edvv. Hawarde Lorde Admirall of Englande.

The .23. of May being Monday, he landed in the morning, and cõmaunded to burne the houſe of the Lorde Piers Moguns, wyth the towne of Conket, and diuers other places, and chaſed the Britons into the caſtel of Breſt, and notwithſtanding al the aſſemblies and ſhewes that yͤ Britons made, yet they ſuffred the engliſhmen peaceably to returne with their prays and booties. The firſt of Iune the Engliſhmẽ toke land in Croyton Bay, & then the lords of Britain ſent word to the L. Admiral, that if he wold abide, they would giue him battail. The Admiral rewarded the meſſenger, & willed him to ſay to them that ſent him, yͭ all that day they ſhould find him in that place tarying their cõming. Then to encourage diuers gentlemen yͤ more earneſtly to ſhew their valiancie, he dubbed them knights, as ſir Edward Broke, brother to the lord Cobham, ſir Griffyth Doune, ſir Tho. Windhã, ſir Tho. Lucy, ſir Io. Burdet, ſir William Pyrton, ſir Henry Shirborn, & ſir Stephen Bull. Whẽ the L. Admiral ſaw yͤ Frenchmẽ come, he cõforted his men wͭ pleaſant words, therby the more to encourage thẽ. The whole nũber of the Engliſhemen was not much aboue. xxv. C. where the Frenchmẽ were at the leaſt. x. M. and yet when they ſaw yͤ order of the Engliſhmen, they were ſodeinly aſtonnyed. Then a gentleman of good experience & credit amõgſt thẽ, aduiſed the other captains not to fight, but to retire a little, & to take a ſtrong ground, there to remain till the Engliſhmen returned towards their ſhips, & then to take yͤ aduãtage. And ſo yͤ captains began to retire, which whẽ the cõmons ſaw, they al ran away as faſt as they might, ſuppoſing yͭ theyr captains had ſeene or knowne ſome great peril at hande, bycauſe they were not priuie to the purpoſe of their captains. The Lord Admirall ſeing what hapned, when night came departed to his ſhips. After this, the gentlemen of Britain ſent to the Admirall for a ſafeconduct for diuers perſons which they ment to ſend to him about a treatie. The Lorde Admirall was of his gentleneſſe content to graunt their requeſt.

Diuerſe Gentlemen Knyghted by the lord Admirall.

Then certayne Lordes of Britayne toke a boate and came to the ſhippe of the Lorde Admyrall, where he was ſette wyth all his counſell of the armie about him.

The requeſte of the Brittons was, that it might pleaſe him to ſurceaſſe his cruell kynd of warre in brenning of towns and villages: but the Admirall playnly tolde them that he was ſent to make warre and not peace. Then they required a truce for ſix dayes, which would not be graunted, and to their reproſe, the Admiral told them that gentlemẽ ought to defend their countrey by force, rather than to ſue for peace. And thus (makyng them a bankette) he ſente them away, and after hearyng that there were ſhips of warre on the ſeas, he coaſted frõ thence alongſt the countrey of Normandie, ſtill ſkouring the ſea, ſo that no enimie durſte appeare. And at length he came and laye by the Iſle of Wight, to ſee if any enimies would appeare, during which time, diuers ſhippes kepte in the northſeas, vnder the conducte of ſir Edwarde Ichingham, Iohn Lewes, Iohn Lonedaye, and other.

Iuſtes at Grenvviche.

This yeare alſo in Iune the King kepte a ſolemne iuſtes at Grenewiche, the king and ſir Charles Brandon taking vpon them to abyde all commers. After this, the kyng hauing prepared men and ſhips ready to go to the ſea vnder the gouernance of ſir Anthonie Oughtred, ſir Edward Ichyngham, William Sydney, & diuers other Gentlemen, apointed them to take the ſea, and to come before the Iſle of Wight, there to ioyne with the L. Admiral, which they did but in their paſſage, a galey was loſt by negligence of the Maſter. The K. hauing a deſire to ſee his nauie togither, rode to Portſmouth, and ther appointed captains for one of the chiefeſt ſhips called the Regent, ſir Thomas Knevet maiſter of his horſes, and ſir Iohn Carew of Deuonſhire, and to the Soueraine wer appointed for captains ſir Charles Brandon, and ſir Henry Gylforde, and with them in the Soueraigne were put .lx. of the talleſt yeomen of the kings garde. Many other gentlemen were ordeyned capitains in other veſſels. And the K. made them a bankette before their ſetting forward, and ſo committed them to God. They were in number. xxv. faire ſhippes, of greate burdeyne, well furniſhed of all thinges neceſſarye.

The Kings nauye ſetteth out

The Frenche king in this meane whyle had prepared a Nauie of. xxxix. ſayle in the hauen of Breſt, and for chiefe wer ordeyned a greate Carrike of Breſt, appertey ning to the Quene his wife, called Cordelier, a verie ſtrong ſhip, and well appointed. This nauie ſet forwarde out of Breſt the tenth of Auguſt, and came to Britayne Bay, in the which the ſame day was the Engliſhe fleet arriued. When the Engliſhmen perceiued the Frenchmen to be iſſued forth of the hauen of Breſt, they prepared themſelues to battail, & made forth toward their enimie.,

The Engliſhe nauye encountreth vvith the Frenche vpon the coaſte of Britaine.

whiche came fiercely forward, and comming in ſight eche of other, they ſhotte of their ordinaunce ſo terribly together, that all the Sea coaſt ſounded of it. The Lord Admirall made with the great ſhippe of Depe, and chaſed hir. Sir Henry Guylforde and Sir Charles Brādon made with the great Carricke of Breſte, beyng in the Soueraine, and layde ſtemme to ſtemme to the Carrike, but by negligence of the maiſter, or elſe by ſmoke of the Ordinance, or otherwiſe, the Soueraigne was caſt at the ſterne of the Carrike, wyth whyche aduauntage the Frenchmen ſhouted for ioy: but when Sir Thomas Kneuet whyche was readye to haue bourded the greate ſhippe of Deepe ſawe that the Soueraigne miſſed the Carricke, ſodeynly he cauſed the Regent (in the whiche he was aborde) to make to the Carricke, & to craple with hir a long borde, and when they of the Carrike perceyued they coulde not departe, they let ſlippe an ancre, and ſo with the ſtreame the ſhippes tourned, and the Carrike was on the weather ſyde, and the Regente on the lye ſide. The fight was cruell betwixt thoſe two ſhippes, the Archers on the Engliſhe ſide, and the Croſſebowes on the Frenche parte doyng theyr vttermoſt to annoy eche other: but finally the Engliſhmen entred the Carricke whyche being perceiued by a Gunner, he deſperatly ſet fyre in the gunpowder, as ſome ſaye, thoughe there were that affirmed, howe ſir Anthonye Oughtred following the Regent at the ſterne, bowged hir in diuers places, and ſet hir powder on fire.

A cruell fight betwixt the two Nauies.

The Engliſhe Regent, and the Frenche Carricke brent togither.

But howe ſoeuer it chanced, the whole ſhip by reaſon of the powder was ſet on fyer, and ſo both the Carrike & the Regent being crappled togyther, ſo as they coulde not fall off, were bothe conſumed by fier at that inſtant.

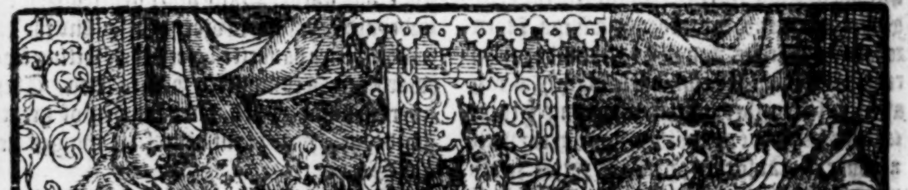
The Frenche nauie perceiuyng this, fled in al haſt, ſome to Breſt, and ſome to the Iles adioyning. The Engliſhmen made out boates to helpe them in the Regent: but the fire was ſo terrible, that in maner no man durſt approche, ſauing yͭ by the Iames of Hull certain Frenchemen that could ſwim were ſaued. Captain of this Carrike was ſir Piers Morgan, & with him he had in the ſame ſhip .ix. C. men: & with ſir Thomas Kneuet, and ſir Iohn Carowe were .vij. C. & al drowned and brent. The Engliſhmen that night lay in Berthram Bay, for the Frenche fleete was diſparpled as ye haue heard. The L. Admirall after this miſchaunce thus hapned to theſe two worthy ſhips, made agayn to the ſea, and ſkoured all alongeſt the coaſtes of Britayne, Normandie and Picardie, taking many Frenche ſhips, and brenning ſuche as they could not well bring away wyth them. The K. of England hearing of the loſſe of the Regent, cauſed a great ſhip to be made, ſuch one as the like had neuer bin ſene in Englād, & named hir Henrie grace de dieu.

Henry grace de Dieu.

The Frenche Kyng aboute the ſame tyme ſent to a Knighte of the Rhodes called Priour Iehan, a Frenchman borne, of the countrey of Guyenne, requiring him to come by the ſtraytes of Marrocke into Britaine, the whiche he did, bringing wͭ him .iij. Galeis of force with diuers foiſts & rowgaleys ſo wel ordinanced & trimmed, as the like had not bin ſeene in theſe parties before his cōming. He had layn on the coaſts of Barbarie to defend certeine of the religion as they came from Tripolie.

This yeare in the Moneth Nouember the king called his high courte of Parliamente in the which it was concluded, that the K. himſelf in perſon with an army royall ſhoulde inuade Fraunce wherupon notice therof being giuē to

A Parliament wherein it was concluded that Kyng Henry in proper perſon ſhoulde inuade Fraunce.



ſuche

ſuch as ſhould attend, they made their purueyance with all diligence that myght be.

After that this Parliament was ended, the king kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe at Grenewich, with daunces and mummeries in moſt princely maner. After Candelmaſſe the King created ſir Charles Brandon vicount Liſle. In Marche following, was the kings nauie of ſhippes royall and other ſet forth to the number of .xlij. beſide other balengers vnder the conduite of the Lorde Admirall, accompanied with ſir Walter Deuereux, Lord Ferrers, ſir Wolſtan Browne, ſir Edward Ichyngham, ſir Anthony Poyntz, ſir John Wallop, Sir Thomas Wyndam, Syr Stephen Bull, William Fitz William, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sydney Eſquiers, and diuers other noble and valiant capitains. They ſayled to Porteſmouth, and there laye abyding wynde, and when the ſame ſerued their tourne, they weyed anker, and makyng ſayle into Briteyne, came into Berthram Bay, and there laye at anker in ſight of the French nauie, which kept it ſelfe cloſe within the hauen of Breſte, without proferyng to come abroade.

1513

Sir Charles Brandon created Viſcount Liſle.

The nauie ſet forth againe.

The Engliſhmen perceyuing the manner of the Frenchmen, determined to ſet on them in the hauē, and making forward in good order of battayl, at their firſt entrie one of their ſhips wherof Arthur Plantagenet was captain, fell on a blind rock, and braſt in ſunder, by reaſon wherof, all the other ſtayed, and ſo the engliſh captains perceyuing that the hauen was dangerous to entre without an expert lodeſman, they caſte aboute, and returned to their harborough at Berthram Bay againe. The Frenchmen perceyuing that the Engliſhmen meant to aſſayle them, moored their ſhips ſo neere to the caſtell of Breſt as they coulde, and placed bulwarkes on the land on euery ſide to ſhoote at the Engliſhmen. Alſo they trapped togither .xxiiij. greate hulkes that came to the Bay for ſalte, and ſet them on a rowe, to the intent that if the Engliſhmen hadde come to aſſault them, they would haue ſet thoſe hulks on fire, and haue let them driue with the ſtreame amongeſt the Engliſh ſhipps. Priour Jehan alſo lay ſtill in Blank ſable Bay, and plucked his galeys to the ſhore, ſetting his baſiliſkes and other ordinance in the mouth of the Bay, which baye was bulwarked on euery ſyde, that by water it was not poſſible to be wonne. The L. Admirall perceiuyng the French nauie thus to lye in fear, wrote to the king to come thyther in perſon, and to haue the honour of ſo high an enterpriſe: whiche writing the kings counſell nothing allowed, for putting the king in ieopardie vpon the chance of the ſea. Wherefore the kyng wrote to hym ſharply againe, commaundyng him to accompliſhe that which appertained to his dutie: which cauſed hym to aduenture thynges further than wiſdome would he ſhould, as after ye ſhal heare.

The Engliſhe nauie purpoſing to ſet vpon the Frenche in the hauen are defeated by a miſchaunce.

Prior Jehan keping himſelfe within the hold as a priſoner in a dungeon, did yet ſomtime ſend out his ſmall foyſtes to make a ſhewe before the Engliſh nauie, which chaſed them to their Bay: but bicauſe the Engliſh ſhips were myghtie veſſels, they coulde not enter the Bay, and therfore the L. Admiral cauſed certain boates to be manned forth, which toke one of the beſt Foyſts that Prior Jehan had, and that with great daunger: for the galeys and bulwarks ſhot ſo freſhly al at one inſtant, that it was marueil how the engliſhmen eſcaped. The L. Admirall perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not come abroade, called a counſel, wherin it was determined, ẏ firſt they would aſſaile Prior Jehan and his galeys lying in Blanke ſable Bay, & after to ſet on the reſidue of the French fleete in the hauen of Breſt. Then firſt it was appointed, that the Lord Ferrers, ſir Stephen Bull, and other, ſhould go a land with a conuenient number to aſſault the bulwarkes, while the Admirall entred with row barges and little Galeys into the Baye, and ſo ſhoulde the Frenchmen be aſſayled both by water and land.

An. reg. 5.

The Lord Admirall by the counſel of a Spaniſhe knight called Sir Alfonſe Charant, affirming that he might entre the Bay with litle ieopardie, called to him William Fitz William, William Cooke, John Colley, and ſir Wolſtan Browne, as his chiefe and moſt truſtie frendes, making them priuie to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterpriſe, with their aſſiſtance, and ſo on Saint Markes day, whiche is the .xxv. of April, the ſayde Admirall put hymſelfe in a ſmall rowe barge, appoynting three other ſmall rowing ſhippes, and his owne ſhypboate to attend him, and therwith vpon a ſodain rowed into the Bay, where Prior Jehan hadde moored vp his galeys faſt to the grounde, whiche galeys with the bulwarkes on the lande ſhot ſo terribly, that they that folowed were afrayd, but the Admirall paſſed forwarde, and as ſone as he came to the Galeys, he entred & droue out the Frenchemenne. William Fitz William within his ſhippe was ſore hurt with a quarell. The Bay was ſhallow, and the other ſhips could not enter, for the tyde was ſpent: Which thyng the Frenchmen perceyuing, they entred the galeys agayn with Moris pikes, and foughte with the Engliſhemen in the galeys. The Admirall perceyuing their approche, thought to haue entred agayne into his rowe barge, whiche by violence of the tide was dryuen downe the ſtreame, and wyth a pike hee was throwen ouer the borde, and ſo drowned, and alſo the forenamed Alfonſe was there ſlayne. All the other boates and veſſelles eſcaped verye hardlye awaye:

Sir Edvvarde Lord Admiral drovvned.

for if they had taryed, the tyde had fayled them, and then all had bin loſt. The Lord Ferrers and the other captaines were right ſorowfull of thys chance, but when there was no remedy, they determined not to attempte anye further, till they might vnderſtand the kings pleſure, and ſo they returned into England.

The Frenchmen perceyuing that the Engliſh flete departed from the coaſts of Britayne, and drewe towardes Englande, they came forth of their hauens, and Prior Iehan ſet forth his galeys and foyſts, and drawing alongſt the coaſts of Normandie and Britayn, coaſted ouer to the borders of Suſſex with all his company, & there landed, and ſet fire on certaine poore cotages.

The Frenche gallies land in Suſſex, and brent certayne cotages.

The Gentlemen that dwelte neere, reyſed the countrey, and came to the coaſt, and droue Prior Iehan to his galeys.

The King was right ſory for the death of his Admirall, but ſorrowe preuaileth not when the chaunce is paſt. Therfore the king hearyng that the French nauie was abrode, called to hym the lord Thomas Howard eldeſt brother to the late Admirall, and ſonne and heire apparante to the Erle of Surrey, whom he made Admiral, willing him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Howard humbly thanked his grace of the truſte that he put in him, and ſo immediatly wente to the ſea, and ſkoured the ſame, that no Frenchman durſt ſhew himſelf on the coaſt of Englãd, for he fought with them at their owne portes.

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde made Admirall.

The king hauing all his prouiſions ready for the warre, and meaning to paſſe the ſea in hys owne perſon, for the better taming of the loftye Frenchemen, appoynted that worthy counſellor and right redoubted chieftayne, the noble George Talbot erle of Shrewſburie, hygh Steward of his houſehold to be capitayn generall of his forward, and in his companie were appoynted to goe, the Lord Thomas Stanley erle of Derby, Lorde Decowrey Prior of Saint Iohans, ſir Robert Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Haſtings the Lorde Cobham, ſir Rice ap Thomas, ſir Thomas Blunt, ſir Richarde Sacheuerell, Sir Iohn Digby, ſir Iohn Aſkewe, ſir Lewes Bagot, ſir Thomas Cornwal, and many other knights, and eſquiers and ſouldiors, to the number of eight thouſande men. Theſe paſſed the ſea, and came to Caleys about the middle of May.

The Earle of Shrewesbury ſent into Frãce wyth an army.

The Lorde Herbert called ſir Charles Somerſet, Lorde Chamberlayn to the kyng, in the ende of the ſame moneth folowed the ſayd earle of Shrewesbury, with ſixe thouſande menne: in whoſe companie were the Earles of Northumberlande Percye, of Kent Graye, of Wylſhyre Stafforde, the Lorde Dudley, the Lorde Delaware, and his ſonne Sir Thomas Weſte, Syr Edwarde Huſſey, ſir Edwarde Dymmocke, ſir Dauy Owen, with many other knights, eſquyers, and Gentlemen. After they had ſoiorned certayne days in Caleys, and that all their neceſſaries were readye, they iſſued forth of the towne, ſo to begin their camp. And firſt the erle of Shrewſburie & his company toke the fielde, & after him, the Lord Herbert with his retinue in maner of a rerewarde. Then folowed that valiant knight ſir Ryce ap Thomas, with .v. C. light horſmen and archers on horſbacke, who ioyned himſelf to the forewarde. Theſe two Lordes thus embattailed did remoue the .xvij. of Iune to Sandfield, and on the .xviij. they came to Marguyſon, on the further ſide of the water, as though they would haue paſſed ſtreightways to Bolongne: but they meaning an other thing, the next day tooke an other way, and ſo coaſted the country with ſuche diligence, that the .xxij. of Iune they came before the ſtrong citie of Terrouanne, and pight their tents a mile from the town. The ſame night (as certain captains were in counſell within the lord Herberts tent,) the baron of Carew was ſlayne with a bullet ſhotte oute of the towne, whyche ſodain aduenture muche diſmayed the aſſemble, but the lord Herbert comforted them with many wordes, and ſo his death was paſſed ouer. All the countrey of Arthoys and Picardie fortified their holdes, and made ſhewes as the Engliſhe armie paſſed, but they durſt not once aſſayle thẽ.

The Engliſhe armie marched vnto Terwyn.

The Baron of Carew ſlayne.

The citie of Terrouanne was ſtrongly fortified with walles, rampiers, bulwarks, and large ditches. The Lorde Pontremy was gouernour within it, hauing with him .vj. C. horſmen, and 2500. Almaynes, beſide the inhabitauntes. The walles and towers were full of ordinance which oftentimes did much diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmẽ. The Erle of Shrewſbury planted his ſiege on the Northweaſt ſyde of the towne, and the Lorde Herbert on the Eaſt ſide, cauſing greate trenches to be made to couer his people withall: for on that ſide there was no hyll to ſuccoure or defend him.

The Lorde Pontremy captayne of Terwin.

Terwyn beſieged.

The Frenchemen and Almaynes would dyuers tymes iſſue oute, but the Archers were euer readie to beat them into the Citie agayne.

The Erle of Shrewſbury got into an hollow ground or valey neare to the Citie, & likewiſe the Lorde Herbert by reaſon of his trenches approched likewiſe very neare to the ditches.

The ſeuen and twentith day of Iune being Monday. Sir Nicholas Vaux and ſir Edward Belknappe hauyng with them .iiij. C. and .lx. men, ſette from Guyſnes to conducte foure and twentie Cartes laden with victuals towardes the ſiege at Terrouanne, but the Duke of Vandoſme Lieutenaunt of Picardye with eyght hundred horſemen ſette on them as they paſſed through Arde and founde them ſo out of order, that notwithſtanding al yͭ the Engliſh captains coulde do to bring them into array, it would not be: for the Frenchmen ſet on ſo redily, that they kept the Engliſhmen in ſunder: yet the horſmen of Guyſnes, beyng not paſſe foure and twentie in all, toke theyr ſpeares, and ioyned with the Frenchemen ryght manfully, and lykewiſe three ſcore Archers ſhotte freſhly at their enimies, but the Frenchmen were ſo many in number, that they obteyned the place, ſlewe .viij. Gentlemen, and dyuers archers. Sir Nicholas Vaux, and ſir Edward Belknappe fled towarde Guyſnes.

Thus were the victualles loſte, and yet the Frenchemen went not away with cleere hands, for thoſe fewe archers that cloſed together, ſhotte ſo egerly, that they ſlew and hurte diuers Frenchemen, and on the fielde lay .lxxxviij. great horſes, whiche dyed there in the place, and neuer went further.

The King in perſon paſſeth ouer into France.

The .xv. day of Iune the king departed from Grenewiche, taking his iorney towardes Douer, whether he came by eaſye iorneys, and the Queene in his companie. After hee had reſted a ſeaſon in the Caſtell of Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in his abſence, he toke leaue of the Queene, and entring his ſhippe the laſt day of Iune, being the day of Saint Paule: he ſayled ouer to Caleys, where he was receyued with great ioye by the deputie ſir Gilbert Talbot, and all other there. At his entryng into Caleys, all the baniſhed men entred with hym, and were reſtored to the libertie of the towne.

The king laye in Caleys a certayn tyme, till al his prouiſions were ready, but the army laye in campe at Newnham bridge.

The order of the kings army.

On the .xxj. of Iuly, the kings Maieſtie paſſed forth of Caleys, and toke the field, deuiding the armie which he had there with him into three battayles. The Lorde Liſle Marſhal of the hoſt was captaine of the forewarde, and vnder hym iij. thouſand men: ſir Richard Carewe with .iij. hundred, kept on the right ſyde of the ſame forewarde, as a wing thereto: and the Lord Darcye with other three hundred men, was a wyng on the lefte hande. The foreryders of this battayle were the Northumberland men on light geldinges. The Erle of Eſſex was Lieutenant generall of the Speares, and ſir Iohn Pechye was vicegouernor of all the horſemen, and ſir Iohn Burdet ſtanderd bearer to the Kings ſpeares. An eyghte hundred Almayns went on a plumpe by themſelues before the Kings battayle, and the Duke of Buckingham with ſixe hundred men was on the kings lefte hande, egall with the Almayns, in like maner as Sir Edward Poyninges was on the ryght hande, with other vj. hundred men egall with the Almayns.

In the kings battayl where was the ſtanderd of the armes of Englande borne by ſir Henrye Guyldforde, there was .iij. thouſand, and the lord of Burgaynye with .viij. C. men, was wing on the right hand, and ſir William Compton with the retinue of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and of maiſter Wolſey the kings almoner being in number viij. C. was in maner of a rereward. Sir Anthonie Oughtred and ſir Iohn Neuill with the kings ſpeares that folowed wer .iij. C. and ſo the whole armie conteined .xj. M. and three hundred men. The number of yͤ cariages wer .xiij. C. and the number of them that attended the ſame were .xix. C. men, and all theſe were reckened in the battayle: but of good fighting men and ſouldiors appoynted for the purpoſe, there were not full .ix. M. In this order the king ẘ his armie marched forward through the confines of his enimies to the ſiege of Terrouanne, entring into the French ground the .xxv. of Iuly being Monday. On the morowe after, as the armie marched forwarde, by negligence of the Carters that myſtoke the way, a great Curtall called the Iohn Euangeliſt, was ouerthrowne in a deepe ponde of water and coulde not quickly bee recouered. The king being aduertiſed, that the Frenchmen approched to fight with him, left the gunne (bicauſe yͤ maiſter Carpenter vndertoke to wey it ſhortly out of the water) & ſet forwarde, paſſing on by Tornohan, whiche he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pitched downe his fielde, abyding for his enimies, the which (as hee was informed) were not farre off. On the morow after, being Wedneſday, the Relief of the ſpeares brought worde that they had aſcryed the French army cōming forward in order of battaile, to the number of .xj. M. footemen, and .iiij. thouſand horſemen. Capitains of this armie were the Lorde de la Palyce, the lorde de Priennes, the Duke of Longuile, the Earle of Saint Paule, the Lord of Floringes, the lorde of Cleremont, and Richard de la Poole, a baniſhed man, ſonne to Iohn duke of Suffolke. They came within two miles of the kings armie, and there the footmen ſtaled, & came no further. But certayn of the horſemen to the number of .iij. M. came forward, and at the end of a wood ſhewed themſelues in open ſight of the Engliſhe army. And thus they ſtood countenancing the Engliſhmen. Some of the Northerne prickers made to them, and in ſkirmiſhing with them, toke ſome of them priſoners. About noone the ſame day, that valiant Welche knight Syr Ryce ap Thomas with his retinue of horſemen beeing departed from the ſiege of Terrouanne, came to the king, and ſtreight ways was ſent to the erle of Eſſex, which with .ij. C. ſpeares was layde in a ſtale, if the Frenchmen had come neerer. When they were ioyned togither, they drew

This man vvas afterwvarde Cardinall.

The Frenche army approcheth.

The Northern rickers.

aboute the hill, hauyng with them ſir Thomas Guylford, with .ij. C. archers an horſback, meaning to ſet on the Frenchmen, the which perceyuing that, & doubting leaſt more companye had followed, they ſodenly drewe backe, and ioyned them with their great battayle. Then the erle of Eſſex, and the Engliſh horſmen followed them til they came nere to the armie of France, & then ſcaled and ſente forthe light horſemen to viewe the demeanor of the Frenchmenne. When the Frenchmen of armes were retorned to their battaile, then bothe the horſmen and footmen withdrewe in order of battayle and ſtill the Engliſhe ſcurrers followed them for the ſpace of three leagues, and then retourned to the Earle, makyng report to hym of that they hadde ſeene, who then brake vp his ſtale, and came to the Kyng, declaring to hym howe the Frenchemenne were gone backe. This was called the drye Wedneſdaye, for the daye was wonderfully hote, and the king with his armye ſtoode in order of battaile, from ſixe of the clocke in the mornyng till three of the clocke in the after noone. And ſome dyed for lacke of moiſture, and generally euery man was burned about the mouthe with heate of the ſtomacke for drinke lacked, and water was not neare. After this ẏ king remoued toward Trerobanne and as he was ſetting forward, the Lord Walon of Flanders came to him with his horſmen, which were already in the kings wages.

The drye VVedneſdaie.

As the armie paſſed, by negligence the ſame day in a lane was ouerthrowne one of the kings Bombards of yron, called the redde gonne, and there lefte. The king lodged that night two miles from S. Omers on the north ſide the towne.

On the thurſdaye being the. xxviij. of Iulye the maiſter Carpenter with an hundred carpenters & laborers, without knowledge of the Marſhal, wēt to way vp the great gonne that was in the ponde, as ye haue heard, & by force of engins drew it vp, and carted it redy to bring away: but ſodeinly there came an .viij. C. Frenchmen with ſpeares, croſſebowes and handgons, which ſet on the labourers ſo fiercely, that not withſtanding their manful defence, the moſt part of them were ſlayne, and the reſidue taken, and both they and the peece of ordinance conueyed to Bolongne.

The great gunne gotten by the Frenche, by the foliſhe hardynes of the Maiſter Carpenter.

The Frenchmen glad of this chaunce, aſſembled a great number to fetch the other gonne alſo the which lay yet in the lane. But the lorde Berners being captain of the Pioners, and hearing all theſe things, prepared to recouer that gonne, & ſo on the morowe went to fetche it. There were appointed to goe back to ſee him ſafe conduited, the Erle of Eſſex with his company of ſpeares, ſir Richard ap Thomas with his retinue, and ſir Iohn Neuill with the Northumberlande men. The Almayns alſo were commaunded to retire backe to the ſuccours of them that were gone for the gunne. The Almayns went forth tyll they came within two myles of the place where the gunne lay, and further they would not go. The Frenchmē to the number of nine or ten thouſād men, as ſome eſteemed, were abrode, & came toward the place where the Engliſhemen were a carting the peece of ordinance. The Northumberland horſmen hauing eſpyed thē, gaue knowledge to the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, who prepared themſelues to defend their ground againſt the enimies, and the earle of Eſſex ſente to the Lord Walon, willing him with his companye to come to his ayde, but the lorde Walon ſente worde agayn, that he was come to ſerue the K. of England more than for one day, and therfore he wiſhed, that al the Engliſhmen would return ſith that with the great power of Fraunce they were not able to matche. Thys aunſwere was muche diſpleaſant to the Earle of Eſſex, and the other captains. In this meane tyme the forerydders of the Frenche part were come to the handes of the Engliſhmen, and ſo they fell in ſkirmiſhe verie hotly: but at length all things conſidered, and ſpecially the ſmall number of the Engliſhe men, being not aboue .vij. C. horſemen, it was thought beſt that they ſhould returne, and folow the gunne, whiche they had ſent forward: and ſo they retreyted in order, & not in any fleeing maner, ſtill folowyng the gunne. The Frenchmen perceyuing that, pricked forwarde to the number of two thouſand horſemen, and came iuſt to the backes of the Engliſhmen, who therwith caſt about, and made returne to the Frenchmen. Syr William Tyler, and ſir Iohn Sharpe were the firſte that charged, and after all the other Engliſhe men. The Frenchmen fledde immediatly ſo faſt backe, that happie was he that myghte be foremoſt. The whole hoſt ſeyng theyr horſmen thus had in chaſe, ſodeinly retourned.

The erle of Eſſex withdrewe to an hill, and ther cauſed his trumpet to blow to the ſtanderd, for feare of ſuttle dealing, and when his mē wer come in, and gathered togither, he returned.

The ſame day beyng Friday, the .xxix. of Iuly, the king came to Arkes, and there encamped, whither the erle of Eſſex came to him, and declared what had bin done that day, the King thanking him and other the capitains for their pains and diligence. The king laye here at Arkes till Monday the firſt of Auguſt, and then remoued to a village mydwaye betwixte Tyrwyn, and Sainte Omers, where he laye tyll Thurſdaye the fourth of Auguſt, and came that day in good order of battaile before the citie of Tyrwyn, and there pight vp his tents and pauillions in moſte royal maner, fencing his campe righte ſtrongly with ordinance, and other warlyke deuiſes.

The King encampeth at Arkes.

The K. cōmeth to the ſiege.

The ordinaunce that was planted againſt the walles did ſore beate and breake the ſame, and on the other ſide they within the town were no niggardes of their ſhotte wherewyth they hurt & ſlew many of the Engliſhmen in their trenches. Alſo the Frēche army lay houering a loofe to take what aduantage they coulde of the Engliſhe forragers, and other that went abroade. There were certaine light horſemen amongeſt the Frenchmē of the parties of Greece, and Albany, called Eſtradiotes, with ſhorte ſtirropes, beuer hattes, ſmall ſpeares, and ſwordes lyke Turkiſhe Cimiteries: with theſe Eſtradiotes or Albanoiſes, the Northerne lyght horſemen oftentymes ſkirmiſhed and tooke dyuers of thē priſoners.

Stradiotes.

Whileſt the Engliſhemen thus laye before Terrouanne, the Captaine of Bolongne aſſēbled to the number of a. M. men, the which ſetting forward one Euening came to Newnhā bridge by thre of the clock in the morning, & findyng the watchmen a ſlepe, entred the bulwarke and ſlew them.

Watchmen [illegible] ſleeping [illegible].

Then letting the bridge fall, all entred that were appointed. The capitaine of Bolongne kepte .vj. C. men for a ſtale at the bridge, and ſente the other into the Mariſhes and Medows to fetche away the beaſts and cattaile which they ſhould finde there. This was done, and ſome of them came ſo neare the walles of Calais, that they were eſcried, and about a ſixeſcore Coupers, Bakers, Shipmen, and other whych lay without the town hearing the alarme got togyther, and ſetting on thoſe Frenchemen whiche were aduaunced ſo neare the town, ſlew them downe that abode, chaſed them that fled euen into Newnhem bridge, and recouered the ſame, and put backe their enemies. About fiue of the clock in the morning the gate of Calais called Bolongne gate was opened, and then by permiſſion of the deputie one Culpeper the vnder Marſhall wyth .ij. C. archers vnder a banner of ſainte George iſſued forthe, and in great haſte came to Newnham bridge, where they founde the other Engliſhmen that had won the bridge of the Frenchemen, and ſo altogither ſet forward to aſſaile the Frenchmen that kepte the ſtale, and tarried till the reſidue of their company which were gone a foraging vnto Calais walles were come, for the other that had ſpoiled the Mariſhes were retourned with a great booty.

Culpeper vnder Marſhall of Calais.

At the firſt whē the frenchmen ſaw the Engliſhmē approch, they thought they had bin their owne fellowes. But when they ſaw the banner of ſaint George, they perceyued howe the matter went, and ſo determined to defēd themſelues againſt their enemies: but the Engliſhemen ſet ſo fiercely on, that finally the Frenchemenne were diſcomfited, and foure and twenty of them ſlaine, beſide twelue ſcore that were taken priſoners, & all the ordynaunce, and booty againe recouered. The eleuenth day of Auguſt the king, & the Emperour Maximilian, met togither betwixte Ayre and Terrouanne, and after they had moſte frendly ſaluted eyther other, and talked a while togyther, they departed for ỹ time. He that deſireth to vnderſtande howe richely the Kings Maieſtie, the Duke of Buckingham, and other the nobles of Englande were apparayled at this enterview, he may reade thereof in the Chronicles of Maiſter Hall. The Emperour and his retinue were all in blacke as mourners, for the Empreſſe lately before was deceaſſed.

The Emperour Maximilian, and the King of Englande meete.

Wythin a daye or two after thys enterview, and that the King was retourned to his campe, thither came a King at armes of Scotlande called Lion, wyth his coate of armes on his backe, who within ſhort time was by Garter King of armes broughte to the Kyngs preſence, where hee being almoſte diſmaide to ſee the Kyng ſo noblye accompanyed, wyth fewe wordes and meetely good countenaunce deliuered a letter to the King, which his grace receyued, and readde it himſelf, and therwith hauyng conceyued the whole contentes thereof, made aunſwere immediatly to the Herault, after a ſharpe ſorte reprouing the great vntruth in the Kyng of Scottes hys Maiſter, whyche nowe accordyng to the cuſtome of dyuers hys anceſtours woulde ſo diſhonourablye breake hys faithe and promyſſe: But ſithe hee hadde myſtruſted no leſſe, and that nowe his vniuſte dealyng well appeared, hee badde the Herault tell hys Mayſter that hee ſhoulde neuer bee compriſed in anye league wherein hee was a confederate, and that he hadde lefte an Earle in hys Realme that ſhoulde bee able to defende hym, and all hys power: and further that where hee was the verye owner of Scotlande, as of whome it was holden by homage, he woulde not faile at hys retourne to expulſe hym out of his Realme, and ſo (ſaythe hee to the Herault) tell thy Mayſter.

A letter of deffiaunce ſent by the Scottiſh King to King Henry.

Sir ſaid the Kyng of armes, I am hys naturall ſubiect, and hee my naturall Lorde, and that he commaundeth me to ſay, I may boldely ſay wyth fauour, but the commaundements of other I maye not nor dare ſaye to my ſoueraigne: But your letters, with your honoure ſent, maye declare your pleaſure, for I may not ſay ſuch wordes of reproche to hym, vnto whome I owe only myne allegiance and faith.

Then ſaide the Kyng, wherefore came you hither, will you receiue no anſwere. Yes ſaide Lion, but your aunſwer requireth doyng and no writyng, that is, that immediatly you ſhuld retourne home. Well ſayde the Kyng, I will returne to your domage, and not at thy Maiſters ſummoning. Then the king commaunded Garter to take him to his tent, and to make hym good cheare, whiche ſo did, and cheriſhed hym well: for hee was ſore abaſhed.

The effect of the Scottiſhe Kings letter to King Henry.

After hee was departed, the King ſent for all the Capitaines, and before them, and hys counſell, cauſed the letter to be redde, the contentes whereof were, that King Henry hadde not delt wyth hym vprightly in ſundry points, as in maintainyng of thoſe whiche had ſlayne hys people of Scotland by ſea, and alſo in ſuccouryng baſterde Heron wyth his complices, whiche hadde vnder truſte of dayes of meeting for Iuſtice, ſlaine his Wardein. Alſo his wifes legacie was by hym withhoulden: And moreouer, where firſte hee hadde deſired hym in fauour of his deare couſin the duke of Gelder not to attempt any thyng agaynſte hym, yet hadde hee ſente his people to inuade the ſayde Dukes countrey, whiche did what in them laye to deſtroye and diſinherite the ſaide Duke, that had nothyng offended agaynſte hym. And nowe againe, where hee hadde made the lyke requeſt for his brother and couſin the moſte Chriſten Kyng of Fraunce, yet notwythſtandyng, had the King of Englande cauſed hym to loſe hys Dutchie of Millaine, and at this preſent inuaded hys Realme wyth all his puiſſance, to deſtroy hym and hys Subiectes, where as yet the ſaide Kyng of Fraunce hadde bene euer friend to hym, and neuer giuen hym occaſion thus to doe. In conſideration of whiche iniuries receyued in his owne perſon, and in his frends, he muſte nedes ſeeke redreſſe, and take part with hys brother and couſin the ſaid king of France, Wherefore hee requyred hym to deſiſte from further inuaſion and deſtruction of the Frenche dominions, which to do if he refuſed, he plainlye declared by the ſame letters, that he would do what hee coulde to cauſe him to deſiſte from further purſute in that hys enterpriſe, and alſo giue Letters of Marque to hys Subiectes for the denial of Iuſtice made to them by the king of Englande.

The letters thus ſent to the Kyng of Englande, were dated at Edenburghe the ſixe and twentith daye of Iulye, and gyuen vnder the ſignet of the ſaide Scottiſhe King.

King Henry his aunſwere to the Scottishe Kings letters

When the King had thus cauſed theſe letters to bee readde, and throughly conſidered of them as apperteyned, hee ſente them ſtrayght vnto the Earle of Surrey, whiche then laye at Pomfret, and cauſed other letters to bee deuiſed to the Kyng of Scottes, the effect wherof was, that althoughe hee well perceyued by the Kings letters, whiche he hadde receyued from hym, in what ſorte vnder colour of contriued occaſions and fained quarrells, hee ment to breake the peace, hee didde not muche meruaile thereat, conſideryng the auncient accuſtomed manners of ſome his progenitours: Howbeit if loue and dreade of God, nigheneſſe of bloud, honour of the worlde, lawe and reaſon, hadde bounde hym, it myght bee ſuppoſed that hee woulde neuer ſo farre haue proceeded, wherin the Pope and all princes chriſtened might well note in hym diſhonourable demeanor, whiche hadde dyſſimuled the matter, whileſt hee was at home in hys Realme, and nowe in hys abſence thus went aboute vppon forged cauſes to vtter his olde rancor, whiche in couert manner hee hadde long kept ſecrete: Neuertheleſſe vppon miſtruſte of ſuche vnſtedfaſteneſſe, hee had put his Realme in a readineſſe to reſiſt his enterprices, as hee doubted not through gods fauour, and the aſſiſtaunce of hys confederates, hee ſhoulde bee able to reſiſte the malice of all Sciſmatickes, and their adherentes, beyng by generall counſell expreſſelye excommunicate, and interdited, truſtyng alſo in tyme conuenient to remember hys frendes, and to requite his foes.

Moreoeuer, hee willed hym to ſette before his eyes the example of the King of Nauarre, who for aſſiſtaunce gyuen to the French King was nowe a King wythout a Realme. And as touchyng aunſwere to bee made to the manifolde griefes in the Scottiſhe Kings letters ſurmiſed, if Lawe or Reaſon coulde haue remoued hym from hys ſenſuall opinions, he had bene many times already aunſwered ſufficientlye to the ſame, onleſſe to the pretended grieues therin amongſt other compriſed for the denying of a ſafeconduit to the Scottiſhe Ambaſſadour to haue bene laſtely ſente vnto hym: whereunto thus hee aunſwered, that the ſame ſafeconduit hadde bene graunted if the Scottiſh Herrault woulde haue taken it with hym.

And finally, as touching the Scottiſh kings requeſte to deſiſte from further attemptyng againſte the Frenche King: he ſignifyed to him, that hee knewe hym for no competent Iudge of ſo high auctoritie, as to require hym in that behalfe, and therefore God willyng he mente wyth the ayde and aſſiſtaunce of hys confederates and alies to proſecute his begon attempt, and as the Scottiſhe King ſhoulde do to hym, and to hys Realme, ſo it ſhoulde bee hereafter remembred and acquited.

Theſe letters were written in the campe before Tirwin the twelfth of Auguſte, and giuen vnder the Kings ſignet, and therwith deliuered to Lyon Kyng of armes, who hadde giuen hym of the Kyng, an hundred Angelles in reward, and ſo departed with his letters into Flaunders, there to take ſhyppe to ſaile into Scotlande: but ere he coulde haue a veſſell and winde for his purpoſe, hys Maiſter was ſlain, as after yee ſhall heare.

In this meane while the Frenchemen beyng aſſembled and lodged in camp at Blangie on this ſide Amiens, the French King appointed that all the horſmen to the number of eight thouſande (as Paulus Iouius recordeth) ſhuld go with victuals vnto Terrouanne, & put the ſame into the Towne, if by any meanes they might, for that thoſe wythin ſtoode as then in greate neceſſitie for want of victualls.

Carts of
es lacke
ſieur de
ppy.

The charge of this conuey was committed vnto Monſieur de Piennes, bycauſe he was lieuetenaunt of thoſe Marches, notwythſtandyng there were amongeſt the number, other noble men of more highe degree in honor, and alſo of great prowes, fame and experience, furniſhed wyth ſundry bandes of men at armes of long approued valiauncye, and vſed to go awaye with victory in many a dangerous conflict and battaile, wantyng at this preſent nothyng but their olde accuſtomed good fortune.

ſieurre de
es appoin-
ly the
che King
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ane.

Whileſt the Frenchemen were thus prepared to come with victuals to Terrouanne, the Emperour Maximilian came from Ayre to the kings camp before Terrouanne the xij. of Auguſt, wearing a croſſe of Saint George as the kings ſouldioure, hee was honorably receyued, and lodged in a riche tent of cloth of gold prepared for hym, accordyng as was conuenient for his eſtate. He tarried til Sonday being the xiiij. of Auguſte, and then returned to Ayre, & on the morrow after came againe being Monday the .xv. of Auguſte, on whyche daye there chaunced a great fray betwixt the Almaines of the Kings campe, and the Engliſhemen, in ſo muche that many were ſlayne. The Almaines ranne to the Kynges ordinaunce and toke it, and embattailed themſelues, and bent the ordinaunce againſte the King and his Campe. The Engliſhemen prepared their bowes, and the Almaines made ready their pikes: But the captains toke ſuche paines in the matter, that the fray was appeaſed: and as this trouble was in hande, the Emperour came from Ayre, and ſaw all the demeanor of bothe partes, and was glad to beholde the diſcreete behauioure of the captaines. After that the Emperour was thus come to the kings field, the king called a counſell, at the whiche the Emperour was preſent, where it was debated, by whiche meanes they might beſt conſtraine them wythin to deliuer vp the Towne, and eſpecially howe to keepe them from victuals and other ſuccours, which the Frenche armye (as it was knowen) ment very ſhortly to miniſter vnto them. Some were of this minde, and namely the Emperour, that bridges ſhoulde be made ouer the riuer to paſſe ouer a parte of the army to beſiege the towne on that ſide, where otherwiſe the Frenche armye might victuall the towne at their pleaſure. Other were of a contrary minde, doubting what might happen, if the army ſhuld be ſo deuided, leſt the Frenchmen ſetting on the backe of ẏ one part of the army, and they within the towne to ſally out in their faces, ſome miſfortune myght happen ere the other part coulde paſſe the riuer to the ſuccour of their felows. Yet at length the former purpoſe was allowed as moſt neceſſary, and therfore commaundement was geuen to the Maiſter of the ordinaunce, that in all haſte he ſhuld cauſe fiue bridges to be made ouer the water for the armye to paſſe. The Carpenters ſo applied their worke that night, that the bridges were made by the next morrowe, and all the horſemen firſte paſſed ouer, and then the Kyng wyth hys whole battaile, and the greate ordinaunce followed and paſſed ouer to the other ſide of the water. This was on the ſixtenth daye of Auguſte being Tueſdaye. The ſame morning the Frenchmen were comming with their conuey of victualles to refreſhe the Towne, hauyng appoynted one parte of their troups to keepe on that ſide the riuer where the Engliſh army was firſt encamped, & where the Earle of Shrewſbury ſtill kept hys fielde, that in offering the ſkirmiſh on that ſide, the reſidue of the horſmen might with more eaſe and ſafetie, put the victuals and other neceſſary things into the towne on the other ſide. Here might a man haue ſeene of what force in warres ſoddayne chaunce is oftentimes, for the king thus wyth his batalle paſſing the riuer, meaning to beſiege the town on euery ſide, and the frenchmen at that ſame inſtant hauing alſo paſſed the riuer wyth other carriages laden wyth victualls, purpoſing to releue the town on that ſide, cauſed no ſmall doubte to be conceyued of eche others meaning, on bothe partes, leaſte that the one hauyng knowledge of the others, purpoſe hadde bin prepared for to hinder the ſame: and yet was it nothyng ſo, for neyther the Kyng knewe of the Frenchemens approche that day, neither they, of his paſſing ouer the water. But when the King had aduertiſement giuen hym (by the light horſmen that were ſent abrode to diſcouer the countrey) how the Frenchemenne were at hande, he prepared hymſelfe to the battaile, and firſte ſette forthe hys horſemen, and then followed himſelfe with his battell of footmen. The Frenche Capitaynes beeing hereof aduiſed, determined not to fight without their footmen, and therfore with all ſpede ſent backe their carriages, and ſtaied with their horſemen till

he Emperour
Maximilian
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oſſe of ſainct
George as
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ing of Eng-
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ray betwen
e Almaines
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ampe, and the
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ell appeaſed
y the diſcreti-
on of the Capi-
taynes.

e Kyng and
e Emperor
ult vvhych
ye beſte to
ſiege Tir-
vvyne, to pre-
nt the vic-
ling of it.

Fiue bridges made in one nyght for the armye to paſſe ouer the riuer at Tirvvinne.

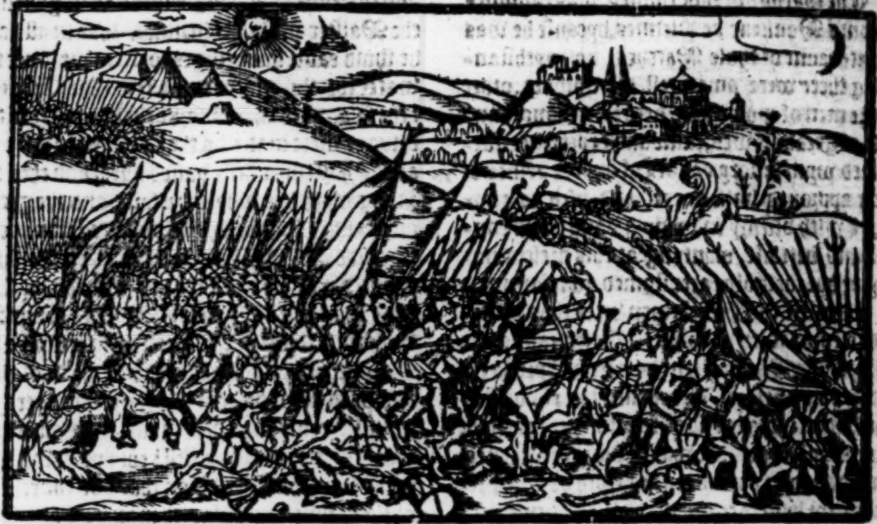
Polidore.

Hall and Polidore.

till the carriages might haue leaſure to get out of daunger.

In the meane tyme the Engliſhemen aduaunced forwarde, and their horſemen mounted vp the hill, where the French horſmen were in troupe with .xxx, iij. ſtanderts ſpredde and myght ſee the Engliſhemenne commyng, and the Kings battaile marchyng forwarde wyth the Almaines. There were amongſt the Frenchmen certaine companies of Eſtradiottes, whiche being placed before the French hoſt, as they came downe the hill to ſkirmyſh wyth the Engliſhemen ſawe where the banners of the Engliſhe horſemen were comming, and the kings battaile followyng vpwarde, weenyng verely that all hadde bene horſemen, whereupon they caſte themſelues aboute and fled. The Frenchmen were ſo laſte in array, that the Eſtradiots could not enter, and ſo they ran ſtill by the [illegible] of the Frenchmens ranges. Herewith the Engliſhe horſemen ſette on, and also the [illegible] ted archers on horſe backe, [illegible] ſide their horſes, and let fly [illegible] a village ſide called Bomy, [illegible] of their enemies, and alſo certaine culuerines being placed on the top of an hill were diſcharged

The Eſtradiots miſtaking footmen, for horſemen fled.



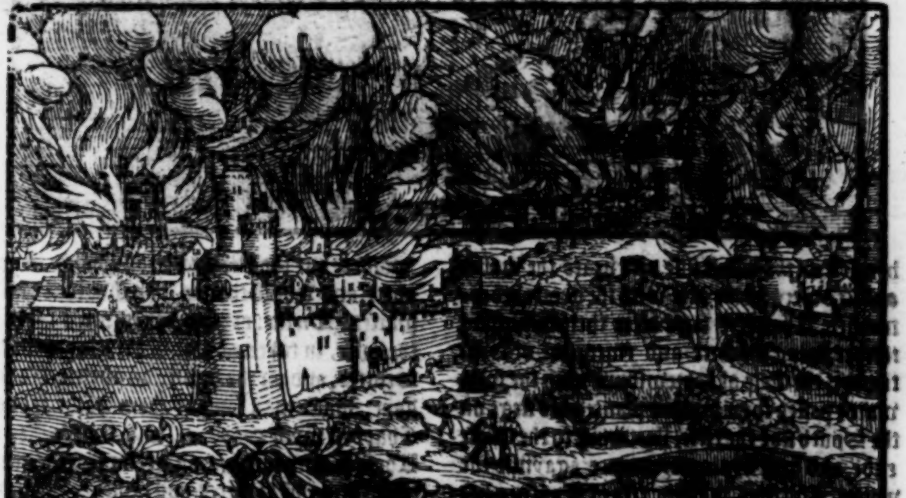
amongſt thickeſt preaſſe of the Frenchemen, ſo that finally the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, for thoſe that were behind ſawe the fall of ſome of their ſtanderts, which the Engliſhemen ouerthrew, and their Eſtradiotes alſo (in whom they hadde greate confidence) returne, they that were furtheſt off fledde firſte, and then the Engliſhemen and Burgongnyon horſemen whiche were wyth them, egerly followed the chaſe, in the whiche were taken the Duke of Longuile brother to the Earle of Dunois that hadde maried the daughter and heire to the Marques of Rothloys, the Lorde of Cleremont, Captaine Bayarde, Monſieure de Buſie, and other to the number of twelue ſcore priſoners, and all brought to the Kinges preſence wyth ſixe ſtanderttes, which were likewiſe taken. The Burgongniōs brought not their priſoners to ſight. Monſieur de la Palyce, and Monſieure de Imbrecourt being taken of them and known, were put to theyr raunſomes, and licenced mayntenantlye to departe vppon their worde.

Thus was the power of the Frenche horſemenne by the ſharpe encounter of the Engliſhe horſemen, and full ſight of the battayles of the footemen following in array at the backes of the horſemen, and the dischardgyng of certain culuerines amongſt them, quickly put to flight wythout any greate reſiſtaunce. The Emperor Maximilian was preſent wyth the King, and ware a Sainct George croſſe, greately encouraging the Almaines to ſhewe themſelues like men, ſith the place was fortunate to hym and them, to try the chaunce of battayle in, as they might call to remembraunce by the victory they obteyned againſte the Frenchemen a foure and thirtie yeres paſte. This encounter chauncyng thus on the ſixeteenth daye of Auguſte, beeyng Tuiſday, in thys fift yeare of Kyng Henryes raigne, whyche was the yeare after the incarnation 1513. was called the battaille *Des Eſprons* by the Frenchemen themſelues, that is to ſaye, the battaile of Spurres, forſomuche as they in ſteede of ſworde and launce vſed their ſpurres, with all might and maine to pricke forthe their horſes to gette out of daunger. That wing of horſemen alſo, whiche was appointed to ſkirmiſhe with the Engliſhemen on the other ſide the riuer, whileſt the other might haue conueied the victualles into the Towne, was fiercely beaten backe by the martiall prowes of the valiaunt erle of Shrewſbury, Sir Riſe ap Thomas,

The battayle of Spurres.

Thomas, and other worthie capitaynes, whiche laye on that ſide the water. The Duke of Alanſon, the Earle of ſaint Paule, and Monſieur de Florenges, had the leadyng of thoſe Frenchemen. They wythin the Towne were in greate hope of ſuccour this daye, and when they ſawe the Frenche power approche, they ſallied forth on that ſide where the Lorde Herbert laye, and ſkirmiſhed with his people very prowdly, but they were repulſed to the gates of their Towne, and many of them ſlayne by the highe valiauncye of the ſaide Lorde Herbert and his capitaines.

After that the Engliſhemen were retourned from the chaſe of the Frenchemen, whome they had followed a three long miles from the fielde, the Kyng made ſir John Peche a baneret, and John Carre Knight, whiche was ſore hurt: Sir John Peche had his guydon taken, and diuers of hys men hurte, they followed ſo farre in the chaſe. After this ouerthrowe of the French horſmen the King compaſſed the town more ſtraightlye on eche ſide, and the batterye was brought ſo nighe the walles as might be, wherwyth breaches were made in ſundry places, by meanes whereof the Lorde Pontremy diſpairyng any long time to keepe the Town, fell to a compoſition, and yelded it vp to the Kinges handes, with condition that the Souldiours might departe wyth horſe and armure, and that ſuche Townſmen as woulde there remayne, myght haue their liues and goods ſaued. And thus was the Citie of Terwin deliuered vp to the King of Englande, wyth all the ordeynaunce and munitions, as then beeing found within the ſame. This was on the .xxiij. of Auguſte. The earle of Shrewſbury entred the ſame night, and cauſed the banner of ſaint George to bee ſet vp in the higheſt place of the Towne in ſigne of victorie. When the Lorde Pontremy, and all the ſouldiours were departed, and that the earle of Shrewſbury had ſerched all the towne to ſee that euery thyng was ſure, hee called the towneſmen afore hym, and ſware them to be true to the king of England. The .xxiiij. of Auguſte the king hymſelfe entred the town with great and royall triumphe, and dined in the Biſhoppes Palaice. He after none hee returned to his campe, & on the .xxvj. daye of Auguſte hee remoued againe to Guinegate, where he was encamped after the chaſe of the Frenche horſmen. Here it was determyned in counſell that the walles and fortifications of Terwin ſhoulde be raſed, whych was done,



and the Towne brenned, except the Cathedrall Churche and the Palaice. All the ordinaunce was ſent to Ipre to be kepte there to the kings vſe. After this, it was concluded that the kyng ſhuld lay ſiege to the citie of Tourney, whereuppon hee ſet forwarde in three battayles, the earle of Shrewſbury leadyng the vawarde, the K. and the Emperour gouernyng the battaile and the Lord Chamberlayne followyng with the rerewarde. The firſte night they encamped beſide Ipre. Diuers Engliſhemen taryyng behinde at Terwin for pillage, were ſurpriſed by the Frenchemen, whiche ſlewe ſome of them, [illegible] The Kyng with his armye [illegible] Tourney. And by the way he viſited the yong Prince of Caſtell, & the Lady Margaret gouerneſſe of the prince in the Towne of Liſle, [illegible]

There were appoynted to attende the kyng vnto Liſle the Duke of Buckyngham, the Lorde Marques Dorſet, the Earle of Eſſex, and

Teruin yelded vp to Kyng Henry.

Sir John Peche made baneret, and John Carre Knight.

The citizens of Teruin ſworne to Kyng Henry.

The Kyng entreth into Teruin.

Teruin brēt.

Kyng Henry marcheth on wyth his army to beſiege Teruin.

The Kyng goeth to Liſle to viſite the yong Prynce of Caſtill.

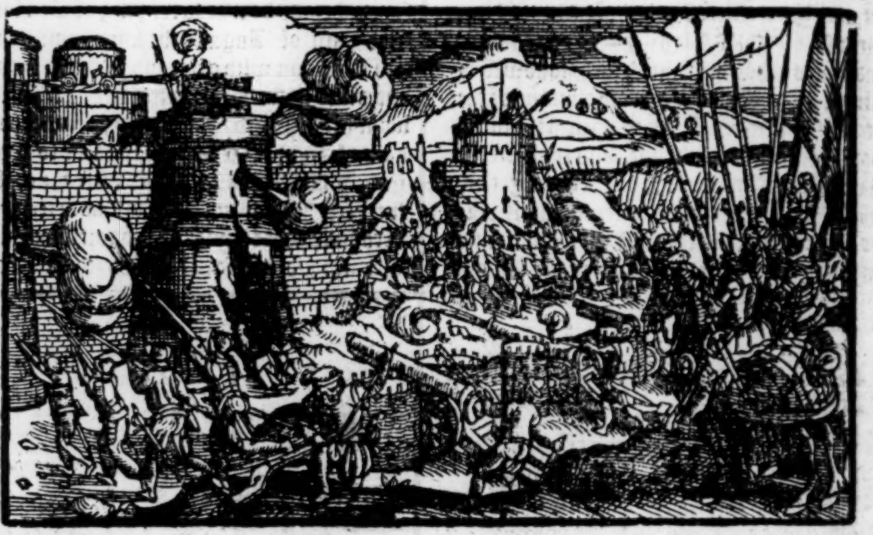
The Emperor and the Palſgraue of the Rhine came to the King in his campe.

Tourney ſommoned by Garter King of armes.

and the Lorde Liſlie wyth dyuers other. Hee was receyued wyth all honour that myght bee deuiſed, and feaſted in moſte royall maner: he tarried there three dayes, and then he returned to his camp, which was lodged at that preſent in a cõuenient place betwixt Liſle and Tourney. The day after being the xxj. of Septẽber he remoued his camp to a place within 3. miles of Tourney, and thither came to hym the Emperour, and the Palſegraue of the Rhine, which hadde bin with hym at Liſle. aud there holpe to receyue hym. Hee cauſed firſte his horſemen to viewe the Towne, and the demeanor of them within, and after ſent Garter Kyng of armes to ſommon thẽ to yelde it ouer into his hands, to whom they made anſwere, that they receyued no Citie of the king of England to keepe, nor any would they render to hym, wyth whiche aunſwere he departed.

Tourney beſieged by Kyng Henry.

After this, he approched the Citie wyth hys whole army, and they of the citie iſſued forthe to proffer the ſkirmiſhe, but the Archers beate them backe. Alſo the carriage men that came with the Herbengers, ſaw where certaine wagons were entryng the Citie, vnto the whyche they ran, and toke ſome of them. At this ſkirmiſhe the horſe of the Lorde John Graye was ſlaine vnder hym as he came to defende the carriage men, but hee himſelfe had no hurte. The King with his battaile planted his ſiege on the North ſide the citie. The Erle of Shrewſbury with the foreward lodged toward ẏ South ſide of the riuer, and there lay that night. The Lorde Herbert, with the rerewarde encamped hymſelf on the Weſt ſide, and beate the walles and Towers of the citie with the greate ordeynaunce. The nexte daye after their commyng thither, being the three and twentithe of September, the Erle of Shrewſbury with the forewarde paſſed the riuer, and planted his ſiege on the South ſide the citie, ſtretching to the Eaſte ende, and bent hys ordeynaunce agaynſte the walles And thus was the city of Tourney beſieged on all partes. On the .xxv. day of September the King receued letters from the earle of Surrey wyth the Scottiſhe Kings gantlet, wherby he was certified of the ſlaughter of the ſaide King, and howe all thyngs hadde bene handled at the battayle of Floddon, whereof hereafter yee ſhall finde further mention. The King thanked God of the newes, and highely commended the prowes of the Earle, and other the captaines: Howbeit he had a ſecrete letter, that Cheſſhiremen and other fledde from Syr Edmunde Howard in the battaile, which letter cauſed greate hartburnyng, and many wordes, but the King toke all thyngs in good parte, and would that no man ſhoulde be diſpraiſed. On the .xxvj. day fiers were made in the hoſte, in token of that victorye agaynſt the Scottes, and on the .xxvij. day being Tewſdaye, Maſſe was ſong by them of the Kyngs Chappell wyth *Te Deum*, and the Byſhop of Rocheſter made a ſermon, declaryng the death of the King of Scottes, aud lamentyng hys euill happe, and periurie: But now to our purpoſe of the ſiege of Tourney. The citizẽs within did valiantly defende themſelues: though at the firſte they were maruaillouſlye amazed. They diſpatched a meſſenger to the Frenche King for ſuccour, but in fine, when they ſawe themſelues enuironed on eche ſide, and perceyued in what danger they ſtood if they ſholde be ouercome by force of aſſault, they concluded to yelde the Citie vnto the Kyng of Englande, and ſo gettyng a ſafeconduit, the prouoſte, and a xj. other of the chiefe citizens came forth, and firſt talking with the kings counſel, were after brought



brought to his Maieſties preſence, and ſurrendred the Citie into hys handes, requiryng hys grace to receyue the ſame, ſo as all their auncient lawes, cuſtomes, liberties, and frenchiſes, might remaine to them in ſuche ſorte and maner, as they had vſed the ſame vnder other Princes, and with that condycyon they were contented to become his vaſſals and ſubiectes. The Kyng remitted them to hys counſell, and ſo entring into the tent of counſell, the Tourneſines fell at a poynt to yelde the Citie, and to paye .x. M. li. ſterlyng for the redemption of their liberties. The. xxix. daye of September the citizens came to the Kyng, where hee ſate in his tent, and were ſworne to hym, and ſo became his ſubiects. Then the king appointed the lords Liſle, Burgueny, & Willoughby to take poſſeſſion, which w̃ .vj. M. men entred the citie, and tooke the market place & the walls, and ſearched the houſes for doubt of treaſon. And then maiſter Thomas Woulſy the kings Almoner called all the citizens before him, yong and olde, whom he ſwore to be true to the king of England, the number of them was. 80. M. On Sunday the ſeconde of October, the king entred the Citie at Porte Fontayne in triumphant wiſe. The ſame day the king made new Knightes, as Edwarde Guilforde: William Fitz William: John Sauage: John Daunſey: John Hampden: William Tiler: John Sharp: William Huſſie: Chriſtofer Garniſh: Edwarde Ferrers, and dyuers other. On Monday the. xj. of October, the king without the citie receiued the Prince of Caſtell, and the Lady Margaret, with manye other nobles of the lowe countryes, and them with greate honour broughte into the citie of Tourney. The noiſe went, that the Lord Liſle was a ſuter in way of mariage vnto the ſaide Lady Margaret, which was Dutcheſſe of Sauoy, & daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, which Emperour was departed from the king before this time with manye riche rewardes, and money borrowed. The prince of Caſtell, and the ſaide Lady Margaret remained in Tourney wyth the king for the ſpace of. x. dayes, duryng whiche time a great Juſts was holde on the. xviij. of October, the king and the lord Liſle anſwering all cõmers. The. xx. daye of October the prince of Caſtell, & the Lady Margaret retourned to Liſle, with all their train highly rewarded to their great contentatiõ. Whẽ all things were ſette in order, for the ſure keeping of the citie of Tourney, the king betooke it to the gouernance of ſir Edward Poinings, the which kept it in good order and Juſtice, to his hyghe cõmendation and praiſe. After this the king, and all other, ſauyng ſuche as were appoynted to remaine with ſir Edward Poinings departed from Tourney the xx. day of October. The King and the noble men that were wyth hym made ſuch ſpede, that they were ſhortly at Calais, and on the. xxiiij. daye of October, the king tooke his ſhip, and came ouer the ſame day vnto Douer, and from thence roade in poſte to Richemonde, where the Queene as then laye. Aboute the ſame ſeaſon a great mortalitie and death of people began in London, and in other places, ſo that much people died. Al this Winter the kings nauy kept the ſeas, and robbed & ſpoiled the Frenchemen on their owne coaſtes. But now I muſte returne to ſpeake of the doings in the North parts betwixt the Engliſhmen, and Scottes, whileſt the king was occupied in hys warres againſt France in the Sõmer of this yeare, as before is mentioned: Yee haue hearde how the king of Scottes ſent his letters vnto the king, as then lying at ſiege before Terrouãne, and what anſwer was made thereto by the king.

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iectes to the K.
Englande.

The Prince of Caſtell, and the Ducheſſe of Sauoy come to Tourney to king Henry.

Iuſts at Tourney.

Syr Edvvarde Poinings made gouernour of Tourney.

The King retourneth into England.

Immediatly vpon the ſendyng of thoſe hys Letters conteyning in effecte a defyance, the king of Scots aſſembled his people to inuade the Engliſhe confines: But before his whole power was come togyther, the Lorde Humes that was lorde Chamberlaine of Scotland one day in Auguſte entred England with a. vij. or viij. M. men, and gettyng togyther a greate bootie of cattel, thought to haue returned therewith into his countrey. But as hee came to paſſe through a field ouergrowen with broome, called Mill fielde, the Engliſhemen vnder the leadyng of Sir William Bulmer, and other valiant captaines, hauing with them not paſſe a. M. ſouldiors being laide within that fielde in buſhementes, brake forthe vppon hym: and though the Scots on foote defended themſelues right manfully, yet the Engliſhe archers ſhot ſo wholly togither, that the Scots were conſtreyned to giue place.

There were of them ſlaine at thys bickering a fiue or ſixe hundreth, and a foure hundrethe or more taken priſoners, the Lorde Chamberlayne hymſelfe eſcaped by flight, but his banner was taken.

This was called by the Scots the Ill road.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotlands aſſembled, with the which king James approching to the borders, and comming to Norham Caſtell, laide ſiege thereto, hauyng there wyth hym an hundreth thouſand men. After he had beaten this caſtell with hys ordinaunce for the ſpace of ſixe dayes togyther the ſame was deliuered vp into his handes, for the Captaine was ſo liberall of his ſhotte, and powder, ſpendyng the ſame ſo freely be-

Lorde Humes entreth the bourders of Englande.

Englyshmen aſſaile the Scots.

Scottes put to flight.

Lorde Chamberlaine eſcapeth.

The ill roade.

Norham caſtel beſieged.

Norham caſtel deliuered.

fore he had cauſe ſo to do, that when it ſhoulde haue ſtande hym in ſteede, he had none lefte to ayde hym, ſo that in the ende hee yelded hymſelfe without more reſiſtaunce.

The Earle of Surrey lieutenaunt of the North reyſeth an army.

In whiche meane time, the Earle of Surrey being lieutenaunt of the Northe partes of Englande, in abſence of king Henry, had giuen order to aſſemble a power of a. xxvj. M. men, and comming to Alnewicke the thirde of September being Satterday, taryed there all the nexte day till the whole number of his people were come, whyche by reaſon of the foule way were ſtayed, and could not come forward with ſuch ſpeede as was apointed. This fourth day of September then being Sunday, his ſon the Lorde Admirall with a. M. ſouldiours, and able men of warre, whiche had bin at ſea, came to his father, whereof he greatly reioyced for the great wiſedom, manhood, & experience, which he knewe to be in hym.

The Lorde Admirall ioyneth vvyth the Earle of Surrey his father.

The Lord Hovvarde Admirall Capitayne of the vauvvarde.

Then the Earle, and hys counſell wyth greate deliberation appointed his battailes in order, wyth wings, and wyth horſmen neceſſarie. Firſte of the forewarde was ordayned Capitayne the Lorde Howarde Admirall of England, aſwell with ſuch as came with him from the Sea, as others.

Fyrſte the Lorde Clyfforde: the Lorde Coniers: the Lord Latimer: the lord Scrope of Vpſall: the Lorde Ogle: the Lorde Lomley: Sir Nicholas Appliarde Maiſter of the ordinaunce: ſir Stephan Bull: ſir Henrye Shirborne: ſir Wyllyam Sidney: ſir Edwarde Echingham: ſir Wyllyam Bullmer, wyth the power of the Byſhopprike of Durham: ſir Wyllyam Gaſcoygne: ſir Chriſtofer Warde: ſir John Eueringham: ſir Thomas Metham: ſir Walter Griffith, and many other: Of the wyng on the ryght hande of the forewarde was Capitayne ſir Edmunde Howarde Knyght Marſhall of the hoſte, and with him Brian Tunſtall: Rauſe Brearton: Jo. Laurence: Rich. Bold, eſquiers: ſir John Bothe: ſir Thomas Butler Knyghtes: Richarde Done: John Bigod: Thomas Fitz Wyllyam: John Claruys: Bryan Stapulton: Roberte Warcoppe: Richard Cholmley, with the men of Hulle, and the Kings tenauntes of Hatfielde, and other. Of the wyng on the lefte hande was capitayne ſir Marmaduke Conneſtable with his ſonnes and kinſemen: ſir Wyllyam Percye, and of Lancaſhire a thouſande men.

Of the rerewarde was capitayne the earle of Surrey hymſelfe, and with hym the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, ſir Phillyppe Tilney, ſir George Darcy, ſir Thomas Berkely, ſir John Rocliffe, ſir Chriſtofer Pikeryng, Richarde Tempeſte, ſir John Stanley with the Biſhop of Elies ſeruauntes, ſir Bryan Stapulton, Lionell Percye, with the Abbot of Whitbies tenauntes, Chriſtofer Clapham, ſir William Gaſcoygne the yonger, ſir Guy Dawney, Maiſter Magnus, Maiſter Dalbies ſeruants, ſir John Normanuile, the Citizens of Yorke, ſir Ninian Markanuile, ſir John Willoughby, with other. Of the wing on the right hand was capitaine the Lorde Dacres with his power. Of the lefte hande wing was captayne ſir Edward Stanley Knyght with the reſidue of the power of the two countyes Palantine of Cheſter and Lancaſter.

Thus was the hoſte appointed and deuided into Wardes and wynges at the firſte, thoughe afterwarde vppon occaſion, this order was ſomewhat altered. And nowe that euery man knew what to do, the Erle of Surrey commyng wyth hys power towardes the place where hee thought to finde the Scottiſhe hoſte, hee was enformed howe King James being remoued a ſix miles from Norham, lay embattailed vppon a greate mountaine called Flodden, a place of ſuche ſtrengthe, as it was not poſſible for the Engliſhmen to come neare hym, but to their greate diſaduantage: for at the foote of the ſame hill on the lefte hand, there was a great mariſhe grounde full of reed and water. On the ryght hande it was defended with a riuer called Till, the courſe whereof being ſo ſwifte, and the chanell in ſome places ſo deepe, that it myght not conuenientlye bee paſſed.

The ſtrengthe of the place vvhere Kyng James lay encamped called Flodden.

On the backe halfe there were ſuch craggy rockes and thicke woods, that it was not poſſible to aſſayle hym to anye aduauntage that way forthe. And on the fore parte of the campe where Nature hadde lefte an eaſye entry for men to come to the ſame, all his ordinaunce was planted alofte vpon the ſides of ſuch trenches, as hee had cauſed to bee caſte for defence on that parte.

An Herraulte ſent from the earle of Surrey to King James.

The Earle of Surrey hereupon, conſydering with hymſelf that onleſſe he might deuiſe ſome policie to cauſe the Scottiſhe armye to diſcend the hil, it wer not poſſible for him to accompliſh his deſire, he calling about him his counſell, and with them taking aduice in this point, at length it was cōcluded & determined among other things, to ſend Rouge Croſſe, Purſeuaunt of armes, wyth a trumpet to the Kyng of Scottes, wyth a Meſſage and certain Inſtructions, whych in ſubſtance was to ſhewe and declare vnto the ſayde Kyng of Scottes, that where hee contrarye vnto hys othe and league, and vnnaturallye agaynſt all reaſon and conſcience, hadde entred, and inuaded this his brothers Realme of England, and done greate hurte to the ſame, in caſtyng downe Caſtels, Towers, and houſes, brenning, ſpoyling, and deſtroying the ſame, and cruelly murthering the Kyng of England his brothers ſubiectes, he the ſayde Earle woulde bee readie to trie the rightfulneſſe of the matter with the king in battayle, by Friday next comming at the fartheſt, if he of his noble courage would giue him tarying and abode. And the ſame, the ſaid Earle promiſed, as he was a true Knight to God, and the Kyng of Englande hys maiſter. And before Rouge Croſſe ſhould departe with the ſayde inſtructions, the Lorde Admirall gaue him in credence to ſhewe the ſayde Kyng of his comming, and parte of hys companye from the Sea with him, and that hee had ſoughte the Scottiſhe nauie then beeing on the Sea, but hee coulde not meete with them, bycauſe they were fledde into Fraunce by the coaſt of Ireland.

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And in as muche as the ſayde Kyng, hadde diuers and many times cauſed the ſayde Lorde, to bee called at dayes of truce, to make redreſſe for Andrewe Barton, a Pirate of the Sea, long before that, vanquiſhed by the ſame Lorde Admirall, hee was nowe come in hys owne proper perſon, to be in the vantgard of the field, to iuſtifie the death of the ſayde Andrew againſt hym, and all hys people, and woulde ſee what coulde be layde to hys charge the ſayde day, and that he nor none of his company ſhould take no Scottiſhe noble man priſoner, nor any other, but they ſhould dye if they came in his daunger, vnleſſe it were the Kings owne perſon, for hee ſayde, hee truſted to none other curteſie at the hands of the Scottes.

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And in thys manner, hee ſhould finde hym in the vantgard of the fielde, by the grace of God, and Sainte George, as he was a true Knight.

Yet before the departing of Rouge Croſſe, with the ſayde inſtructions and credence it was thought by the Earle and his counſayle, that the ſayde King woulde fayne and imagine ſome other meſſage, to ſend an Herrault of his with the ſame, onely to view and ouerſee the manner and order of the Kyngs royall army, ordinance, and artillerie, then beeing with the Earle, whereby myghte haue enſued greate daunger to the ſame, and for the eſchuing thereof, hee hadde in commaundemente, that if anye ſuche meſſage were ſente, not to bryng any perſon commyng therewith within three or two mile of the fielde at the nigheſt, where the ſayde Earle woulde come, and heare what hee woulde ſaye. And thus departed Rouge Croſſe, with hys Trumpette, apparrelled in hys coate of armes.

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On Monday, the fifth daye of September, the Earle toke hys fielde at Bolton in Glendale, as he hadde appoynted, where all the noble men and Gentlemen mette hym with their retinues, to the number of ſixe and twentie thouſande menne.

And about midnight nexte enſuing, came the Trumpette, whiche wente to Rouge Croſſe, and declared howe the Kyng of Scottes, after the meſſage done to hym by Rouge Croſſe, accordyng to hys inſtructions, the ſayde Kyng deteyned hym, and ſente one Ilay a Herrault of hys with hym vnto the Earle, to declare to hym the Kyngs pleaſure, to whome the Earle ſente Yorke Herraulte at armes, to accompanye the ſayde Ilay, at a Village called Milo, two myles from the fielde; vntyll the commyng thyther of the ſayde Earle the nexte morrow.

The ſixthe daye of September, earely in the morning, the Earle accompanied with the moſt parte of the Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of the fielde, euery man hauing with him but one ſeruaunte to holde hys Horſe, rode to the place, and ſo the ſayde Herrault mette with the Earle, and with blunte reuerence, declared to him, that hee was come from hys maiſter the Kyng of Scottes, whiche woulde knowe, whether the Earle ſente any ſuch meſſage by Rouge Croſſe, the Earle iuſtifyed the ſame, ſaying further, that Rouge Croſſe, hadde the ſame meſſage of hym in writing, ſigned with his owne hand, whereunto, the ſaide Ilay ſayde. As to the abydyng for battayle betwene that and Friday, then nexte following, the Kyng hys maiſter bade hym ſhewe to the Earle, that hee was as welcome, as anye noble man of Englande, vnto the ſayde Kyng, and that if hee hadde beene at home in hys Towne of Edenburgh, there receyuing ſuche a meſſage from the ſaide Earle, hee woulde gladly haue come, and fulfilled the ſayde Earles deſire.

And the Herrault aſſured the Earle, on the Kyng hys maiſters behalfe, that the ſame kyng would abyde hym battaile at the daye prefixed, whereof the ſayde Earle was right ioyous, and muche praiſed the honorable agreemente of the ſaid royall King, and eſteemed the ſame to proceede of an high and noble courage, promiſing the Herrault, that he and good ſuretie with hym ſhould be bounde in tenne thouſande pound ſterling, to keepe the ſayde day appoynted, ſo that the Kyng woulde fynde an Earle of hys, and thereto a good ſuretie wyth hym to bee bounde in lyke ſumme, for the performaunce of the ſame.

And furthermore, the Erle bade the Herrault to ſaye vnto hys maiſter, that if hee for hys parte kepte not his appoyntmente, then he was contente that the Scottes ſhoulde Baffull him, whiche is a greate reproch among the Scottes, and is vſed, when a man is openly periured, and then they make of him an Image, painted, reuerſed, with hys heeles vpwarde, with hys name, wondering, crying, and blowing out on him with hornes, in the moſt deſpitefull maner they can, in token that hee is worthie to bee exiled the companye of all good creatures.

Baffulling what it is.

The Ilay deliuered to the Erle a little ſcedule, written with the Kings Secretaries hande vnſigned, the tenor whereof followeth.

AS to the cauſes alledged of oure commyng into Englande agayne our band and promiſe (as is alledged) thereto we aunſwere, oure brother was bounde als farre to vs, as wee to him. And when wee ſware laſt before his Ambaſſador, in preſence of our counſaile, we expreſſed ſpeciallie in an othe, that wee would keepe to oure brother, if oure brother kepte to vs, and not elſe: wee ſweare oure brother brake firſte to vs, and ſith his breake, wee haue required dyuers tymes hym to amende, and lately, we warned our brother as hee did not vs, or hee brake, and thys we take for oure quarrell, and with Gods grace, ſhall defende the ſame at youre aſſured tyme, whyche with Goddes grace wee ſhall abyde.

And for aſmuche as the King kepte Rougecroſſe with hym, who was not yet returned, the ſame Earle cauſed the ſame Ilay to bee in the keeping of Sir Humfrey Liſle, and Yorke Herauld in the ſame village, vntill the time that a ſeruaunte of the ſame Ilay, myghte ryde in all haſt to the Kyng of Scottes, for the deliuering of the ſayde Rougecroſſe.

Then the Erle ioyous of the Kings anſwer, returned to hys campe, and ſette forwarde fyue mile, to a place called Woller Haugh, in ſuche order of battaile, as euen then hee ſhoulde haue foughte, and there lodged for that nighte, three little miles from the King of Scottes. And betweene the Kyng and hym, was a goodly and large corne fielde, called Milfield, whiche was a conueniente and faire grounde for two hoſtes to fighte on: there eyther hoſt myghte perceyue other.

The Erles deſire was, to procure the Scottes to diſcend the hill into ſome euen ground, where he mighte fighte with them, without diſaduauntage of place.

But the King, though he had a great deſire to fight, yet vppon diuers conſiderations, by aduice of his counſayle, hee ſtill kept his ground, & ment not to remoue at al out of his ſtrenght, whereupon, the Earle of Surrey not able long to continue in ſuche groundes of diſaduantage, by reaſon of myres, and marriſhes, amongſt the which he was lodged with hys army, that was almoſt famiſhed for lacke of ſufficient vittuals, whyche coulde not bee recouered in ſuch a barren Countrey, determined to ſeeke all wayes poſſible, if hee mighte conſtreyne the Scottiſhe King to come downe beſide the hill. Hee therefore reyſed hys camp, and leauing his enimies on the left hand, and paſſing ouer the water of Till, he drew into a more commodious ground, at the end of Barmore wood, to the end he mighte refreſh hys ſoldiers ſomewhat heereby, after they had bin toyled for the ſpace of three dayes togither, in claggie mires, and foule filthy wayes, to their greate diſeaſe and wearineſſe.

The Earle of Surrey remoueth his camp ouer the water of Till.

The Earle of Surrey beeing thus lodged, the water of Till ran betwixte the two campes of Scottes and Engliſhmenne, deuiding them in ſunder, and ſtill by reaſon the one was within the ſhotte of a culuering of the other, they ceaſſed not to beſtowe ſhotte and pouder, either at other, though without doyng anye greate hurt at all.

For the Engliſh camp on that parte, whyche lay towarde the Scottes, was couered with an hill, riſing from the hither banke of Til water, with an eaſie ſtepeneſſe, to the heigth of a miles, ſpace or thereaboutes.

Thomas Lord Howarde, ſonne and heire to the Earle of Surrey, from the toppe of thys hill beholding all the Countrey on euery ſide aboute him, declareth to his father, that if hee did eftſoones remoue his camp, and paſſe the water of Till agayne in ſome place alittle aboue, and by fetching a ſmall compaſſe come and ſhew himſelfe on the backe halfe of hys enimies, the Scottiſhe King ſhoulde eyther bee enforced to come downe forth of his ſtrength, and giue battaile, or elſe bee ſtopped from receiuing vittuals, or anye other things out of Scotland.

The Lord Howard taketh view of the Scottiſh arm

The Earle of Surrey deſirous of nothing ſo much as to ioyne with the Scottes in battayle, after hee vnderſtoode that hys ſonne had enformed him nothing but trueth, he reyſed hys field, and marching a three myles vpward, by the riuer ſide, paſſed ouer his army in two partes at two ſeuerall bridges, all at one time.

The Earle of Surrey remo neth agayne ouer the w of Till.

King James when hee ſaw this manner of hys enimies, and perceiuing what theyr meaning was, by coniecture of theyr doyngs, thought it ſtoode not with his honor to ſitte ſtill, and ſuffer hymſelfe to bee foreſtalled forthe of hys owne Realme: and againe, that it might ſore deminiſhe the opinion of his princely power, if hee ſeemed to remaine, as it were, beſieged within a fortreſſe, hauing more confidence in ſtrength of the place, than in the manhood of his people: whereupon immediately, he reyſed hys campe, and get an hill, which he doubted leaſt the enimie ſhould haue taken before him. But by ſuch diligence as he vſed, and by reaſon of the great ſmoake, whyche was reyſed and ſpredde ouer all the countrey by brennyng of the litter and cabanes, wherein the Scottes hadde lodged, purpoſely ſette on fyre to the ſame intente, hee was gotte to the place whyther hee intended, before the Engliſhe menne knewe for anye certaintie that hee was diſlodged, thoughe they were as then within a myle of hym.

Thus Kyng James keepyng the toppes of the hylles, the Earle of Surrey, with the Engliſhe Armye came to the foote of the ſame hylles, and ſtaying there a whyle, for ſo much as he ſawe howe the hylle to the whyche the Scottes were gotten, was neyther ſteepe nor harde to aſcende, hee determined to mount the ſame, and to fyght wyth the Scottiſhe hoſte ere they ſhoulde haue leyſure to fortifie theyr campe.

And heerewyth callyng his people togyther, hee made vnto them a briefe Oration, declaryng vnto them both what neceſſitie there was for them to ſhew their manhod, and what iuſt cauſes they had alſo to fyght agaynſt thoſe enemies, that againſt both the Lawes of God and man had moſt cruelly inuaded the realm of Englande, in the quarell of a Sciſmatik, and one that was accurſed and excommunicate by the cenſures of the Churche.

The Engliſhemen kyndeled wyth deſire to fighte, the more thorough thoſe wordes of the Earle, required incontinently to be led forthe againſt the Scottes, that they might ſhew what earneſt willes they had to bee reuenged, not onely of newe receyued wrongs, but alſo of auncientе iniuries, for there ſhoulde neyther heyghte of hill, nor any other obſtacle, hinder them, but they woulde eyther returne with victory, or elſe loſe theyr liues in the payne.

The ordering of the engliſh armie.

The Earle of Surrey conceyued no ſmall hope of victorie in this chearefull readyneſſe of hys ſouldiours, and therevpon with all ſpeede (as the occaſyon then moued hym at that inſtant) deuided his army into three battailes, or rather foure, vnto the vauntgarde wherof, the Lorde Howarde was capitayne, his brother ſir Edmunde Howard was ioyned as a wing, the Earle hymſelfe ledde the middle warde, and the rerewarde was guyded by Sir Edwarde Stanleye, afterwardes created Lorde Montegle.

The L. Dacres with a number of horſemen was ſette a parte by hymſelfe to ſuccor where neede ſhould ſeme to appeare. The ordinance was placed in the fronte of theſe battayles, and in places betweene, as was thought expedient.

In this order, forward they make with a manly courage towardes the Scottes a good marching pace.

In the meane time, King James beholding all the demeanour of the Engliſhmen, from the height of the hill, thoughte with himſelfe, that there was offered him that daye a goodly occaſion of victory, if he might come to fight with the enimies at ſuche aduantage of place and number, and therefore, beyng haſted forward through the ſtirrable force of deſtiny, or rather Gods ordinance, he commaunded his ſtanderds to be reyſed and ſpred, and euery man to reſort to hys appoynted place, that they myght forthwith encounter the enimies, that preſumed thus to ſeeke battaile, and herewith torning hym to the Lordes and Captaines that ſtoode aboute him, hee ſpake vnto them manye comfortable wordes touchyng the occaſion offered them at that preſente to gayne bothe a famous victorye, and to reuenge ſo manyfolde iniuries and diſpleaſures as they hadde ſuſteyned dyuers ways forthe at the Engliſh mennes handes.

Hee had vnneth made an ende of his tale, but the ſowldiers with great noyſe and clamor cryed forward, vpon them, ſhaking their weapons, in ſigne of an earneſt deſire they had, as then they ſhewed, to buccle with the Engliſhmen. Wherevpon, without delay, King James putting hys horſe from him, al other as wel nobles as meane men, did the like, that the daunger beeing equall, as well to the greateſt as to the meaneſt, and all hope of ſuccour taken away, whiche was to bee looked for by flight, they might be the more willing to ſhew their manhoode, ſith their ſafegarde onely reſted in the edges and poyntes of theyr weapons.

King James and al the reſt alight from horſebacke.

Then was the whole army deuided into fiue wardes or regiments, to this intent that the battaile wherein the King him ſelfe ſtoode with hys ſtanderd, might be encloſed as it were with two wings, on eyther ſide one.

The order of the Scottiſhe hoſte.

In the righte wing, the Earles of Huntley, Crafforde, and Montroſe, were placed as chiefe leaders thereof, and in the lefte were the Earles of Lenox, and Argile, with the Lorde Hume, Lord Chamberlaine of Scotland, being men of great ſkill in warlike affaires as was reported.

Moreouer, in euery bande (almoſte generally throughout) there was a knyght appointed for Captayne and guyder, and amongeſt them certain French capitaynes, the whiche king

Frenche capitaynes in the Scottiſh hoſt.

Lewes hadde ſent ouer into Scotland lately be- fore; to trayne the Scottes in the practiſe of warres.

The ordinance was lodged in places moſt conuenient, though by reaſon they marched downe the hill, theyr ſhotte dyd ſmall domage to the Engliſhmen comming vpwards towardes them, and yet they beſtowed it freſhly on eyther ſide one at another.

The battaile is begun.

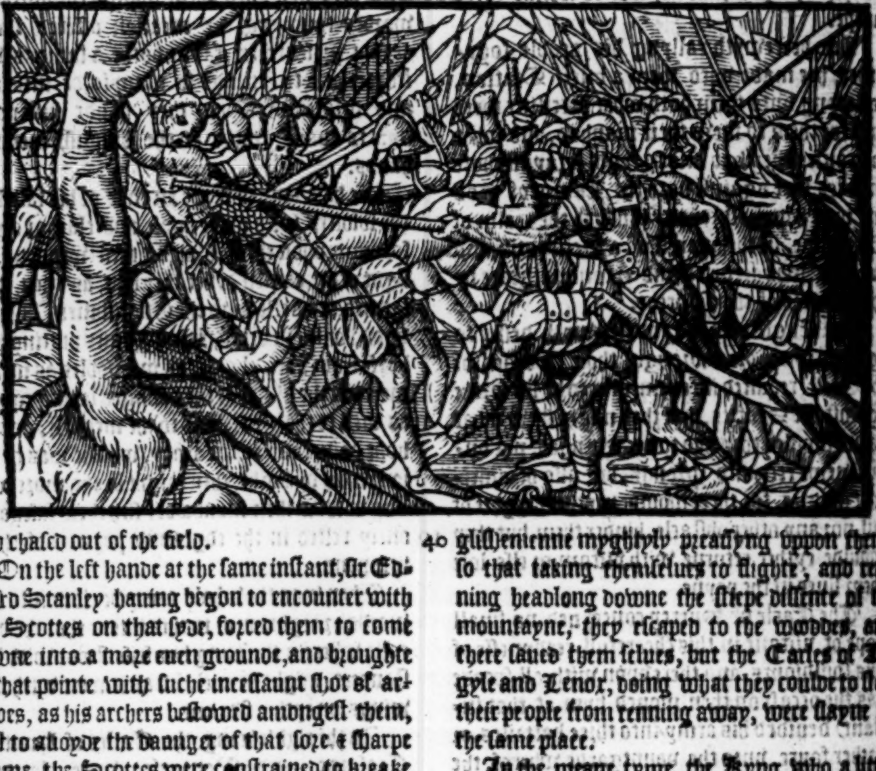
And herewith, ſir Edmond Howard with his wing, was got vp on the hill ſide, with whome the Lorde Home, and the two forſayde Earles of Arran and Argile encountred with ſuche violence, that this battaile of Scottes with ſpeares on foote on that parte, beate downe and broke that wing of the Engliſhmen, in ſuch wiſe, that Sir Edmond Howard was in manner lefte alone, and felled to the earth, that had not baſtard Heron come to his ſuccours at that inſtant, hee hadde bin ſlayne there without all remedy.

And on the other part, the Lord Dacres marching to a place where nede appeared, came in on the ſydes of the Scottes, and gaue a charge on them with his horſemen, whereby Sir Edmond Howard being ſomewhat releeued, eſcaped to the Engliſh vaumgard, which was ledde as before is mentioned by his brother the Lorde Howard, who beyng nowe alſo got aloft on the hill, preſſed ſtill forwarde to renue the battayle, and to ſuccoure thoſe whome he ſawe put to the worſe, ſo that thereby they tooke new courage, and layd about them agayne.

Thus hathe Iouius, although Hall ſaith, that the Lord Dacres ſtood ſtill all day vnfoughten with.

Herewith the Erles of Crawford and Montros came with their battaile of Speares alſo on foot, and encountring with the ſayde Lorde Howarde after ſore fighte on both ſides continued with more malicious hatred than force of the parties, both the ſayde Earles were ſlayne, beſydes a greate number of other, the whole battayle whyche they ledde, beyng put to flyghte,

The Scottes put to the worſe in the right wing,



and chaſed out of the fielde.

On the left hande at the ſame inſtant, ſir Edward Stanley hauing begon to encounter with the Scottes on that ſyde, forced them to come downe into a more euen grounde, and broughte to that pointe with ſuche inceſſaunt ſhot of arrowes, as his archers beſtowed amongeſt them, that to auoyde the daunger of that ſore & ſharpe ſtorme, the Scottes were conſtrained to breake their araye, and to fyghte not cloſed together in order of battayle, but in ſunder, one ſeparated from an other, ſo that their ſtanderdes beganne to ſhrynke here and there: Whiche thing when ſir Edward Stanley perceyued, forthwith bringing about three bandes, which he had kepte in ſtore for ſuche lyke purpoſe, he inuaded the open ſydes of his enimies by a freſhe onſette, and put them in ſuche diſorder, that they were not able anye longer to abyde the violence of the Engliſhemenne myghtyly preaſſyng vppon them, ſo that taking themſelues to flighte, and renning headlong downe the ſtiepe diſcente of the mountayne, they eſcaped to the woddes, and there ſaued them ſelues, but the Earles of Argyle and Lenox, doing what they coulde to ſtay their people from renning away, were ſlayne in the ſame place.

The left wing of the Scottes is diſcomfited

In the meane tyme, the Kyng who a little before hadde ioyned wyth the Earle of Surrey, perceyuing that the wings of his battaile were diſtreſſed, and that his enimyes began to encloſe him on eche ſyde, he baſhed nothing at the matter, but wyth aſſured countenaunce, exhorted thoſe that were aboute him to ſticke to him, and to remember their worthy aunceſtours, in committing nothing that mighte any wayes ſounde to their reproche.

And herewith, ruſhing forthe vppon his enimies,

mies,

e fight.

mies, a newe battaile more egre than the firſte began to ariſe, for that battaile beeing well appoynted and armed, paſſed little for the Engliſh mens arrowes, in ſo muche, that perſing the Earles battayle, they entred well neere ſo farre within the ſame, that they were at poynte to haue ouerthrowen his ſtanderts.

There were on eyther parte a number of tall mens bodies, choſen forth of purpoſe by the captaynes, for the good opinion conceyued of theyr hardy valiancie, and the battaile betwixte them ſeemed long time doubtfull and variable, nowe one while fauourable to the one parte, and an other while to the other.

King him- right fully.

The King himſelfe on foote euen in the formoſt ranke, fought right valiantly, encouraging hys people, as well by example as exhortation, to do their deuoires.

Neyther did the Earle of Surrey for hys part fayle in the ductie of a righte worthy generall, but whileſt the battaile was thus foughten in moſt earneſt maner about the ſtanderts with doubtfull chance of victory, the Lorde Howarde and ſir Edward Stanley hauing vanquiſhed the enimies in eyther wing, returned to the middlewarde, and finding them there thus occupyed, they ſet on, in two partes ſeuerally, with greate violence, and at the ſame time, the Lord Dacres came with his horſemen vpon the backes of the Scottes, ſo that they beeyng thus aſſayled behinde and before, and on eyther ſyde, were conſtreyned (as enuironed about) to fight in a round compaſſe.

The ſtout ſtomacke of king Iames.

King Iames as hee behelde Sir Adam Forman hys ſtandert bearer beaten downe, thought ſurely then, ther was no way for him but death, and that euen out of hand, wherefore to deliuer hymſelfe from ſuche deſpitefull reproche, as was like to followe, hee ruſhed forthe into the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, and there fighting in moſt deſperate wiſe, was beaten downe and ſlayne.

is ſlayne.

And a little beſide hym, there dyed with lyke obſtinate wilfulneſſe, or if yee liſt ſo to tearme it manhoode, diuers honorable Prelates, as the Archebyſhop of Sainte Andrewes, and two other Byſhops. beſydes foure Abbots. Alſo, of Lords and Knightes of honor a ſixe and thirtie.

wo battailes of Scottes fought not, but gaue the looking on.

The Lorde Hume and the Earle of Huntley got Horſes, and eſcaped away togither with certayne bandes, placed in two the hindermoſt wardes, whiche of all that daye, neuer came to handſtrokes, but ſtoode ſtill, and gaue the looking on.

Thus through the power of God, on Friday being the ninth of September, in the yeare. 1513. was Iames. the fourth of that name, King of Scottes ſlayne at Bramſton, and his armye diſcomfited by the Earle of Surrey, Lieutenant to Henry the eyght Kyng of Englande, whyche a little before hadde wonne the Towne of Turwan, and was then preparing to goe to beſiege Tourney.

Iouius.

Hall.

There were ſlayne in thys battaile on the Scottiſh part, of all ſortes, the number of eyght thouſande perſons at the leaſt, ſome ſaye twelue thouſand, beſide priſoners that were taken, as Sir William Scotte, Chancellor to the ſayde Kyng, and Sir Iohn Forman his ſergeaunte porter, with diuers other.

Alſo in manner, all the Scottiſhe enſignes were taken, and a two and twentie peeces of greate ordinance, amongſt the whiche were ſeauen culuerings of a large aſſiſe, and verye fayre peeces.

The ſeauen ſiſters.

King Iames named them (for that they were in making one very lyke to an other) the ſeauen ſiſters.

Though the victory thus remayned with the Engliſhmen, yet they bought it deere, loſing no ſmall number of their people, as well of thoſe that were ſlayne in the fielde, as of other that were taken priſoners, for the Scottes foughte very ſtoutely, and gaue it not ouer for a little, in ſo muche, that there were ſlayne and taken about a fifteene hundred men, as appeared by the booke of wages, when the ſoldyers were payde.

Hall.

Many Engliſhmen that followed ouer raſhly in chaſe of the Scottes, went ſo far, that they wiſt not whiche way to returne, and ſo were taken of the Scottes that were in the two battailes that wente away with cleere handes, and neuer fought.

Alſo, diuers were taken by the Lord Chamberlaine, whiche foughte with the wing of Sir Edmonde Howarde, and were caried away by hym and his company into Scotland; as Iohn Fitton Eſquier, and others. During the tyme of the fight, and the night after, manye Engliſhmen loſt their horſes, & ſuch ſtuffe as they left in their tents and pauilions, by the robbers of Tindale and Tiuidale.

When ẏ field was done, and that the ſkoutes brought word ẏ there was no more appearance of ẏ Scots, but that they were all auoided and gone, the Erle gaue thankes to God, & called to him certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, and them made knights, as ſir Edmond Howard his ſon, the L. Scrope, ſir Wil. Percy, ſir Edw. Gorge, and diuers other. The Erle and the Lord Admiral, departed to Bermar wood, & there lodged that night, leauing ſir Philip Tilney knight & diuers other worthy captaines, with a conueniente power of men to keepe the place where the field had bin fought, for ſafegard of the ordinance.

The body of King Iames found.

The body of the King of Scottes was not foũd til the next day, and then being founde and knowen by the Lord Dacres, there appeared in the ſame diuers deadly woundes, and eſpecially, one with an arrow, and an other with a bill.

The ſame day, there appeared ſome Scottes on an hill, but one William Blacknall that had the chiefe rule of the ordinaunce, cauſed ſuche a peale to be ſhot off at them, that the Scots fled, or elſe the L. Admiral, which was come to view the fielde, had bin in great daunger as was ſuppoſed: but now that the Scottes were fled, and withdrawen, all the ordinance was broughte in ſafetie to Etyll, and there remayned for a tyme. After that the Earle of Surrey had taken order in al things, and ſet the North parts in good quiet, he returned to the Queene with the dead body of the Scottiſh King cired.

When the King was returned into Englād from his conqueſt made in Fraunce of the Cities of Tirwine and Tourney, hee forgate not the good ſeruice of thoſe that hadde bin with the Erle of Surrey at the battaile of Bramxton, wherefore hee wrote to them hys louing letters with ſuch thankes and fauourable wordes, that euery man thought himſelfe well rewarded.

1514

And on the day of the purification of our Lady, at Lambeth, the K. created the Erle of Surrey Duke of Norffolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotlande, & ſir Charles Brandon vicount Liſle, he created Duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Howard high Admirall, he created Earle of Surrey, and ſir Charles Sommerſet Lord Herbert his chief Chamberlaine, he created Erle of Worceſter: and after this, hee alſo made ſir Edward Stanley for his good ſeruice ſhewed at Bramxſton field, Lorde Mountaigle, and in Marche following, was maiſter Tho. Wolſey the Kings Almoner, conſecrate Byſhop of Lincolne. This man was borne at Ypſwich, & was a good Philoſopher, very eloquent & ful of witte, but paſſingly ambitious, as by his doings it wel appeared. In ẏ time of K. Henry the ſeauenth it was agreed betwixt the ſaid K. and Philip K. of Caſtile, that Charles, King Philips eldeſt ſon ſhoulde marrie the Lady Mary, daughter to the ſaid K. Henrye, with a dower to hir appoynted: but for want of ſufficiēt aſſurance of the dower, the reſt of the couenaunts were made voyd, and yet had the K. highly prouided for the ſending of hir ouer, now after his cōming from Tourney.

Wolſey deſcribed.

This yeare, the Citizens of London, finding themſelues greeued with the incloſures of ẏ cōmon fields about Iſlington, Horſton, Shordich & other places neere to the Cities, whereby they could not be ſuffered to exerciſe their bowes, nor other paſtimes in thoſe fields, as before time they had bin accuſtomed, aſſembled themſelues one morning, and wente with ſpades and ſhouels vnto the ſame fields, and there like diligēt workmen, ſo beſtirred themſelues, that within a ſhort ſpace, al the hedges about thoſe townes wer caſt downe, and the ditches filled. The kings counſaile comming to the grey Friers, to vnderſtand what was meant by this doing, were ſo anſwered by the Maior & counſaile of the citie, that the matter was diſſimuled, and ſo when the workemen hadde done their worke, they came home in quiet maner, & the fields were neuer after hedged.

Encloſures of the fields about London, caſt downe & ouerthrowē

An. reg.

In the moneth of May, the K. and the newe D. of Suffolke, were defenders at the tilte againſt al commers. At thoſe iuſtes were broken a C. and .14. ſpeares in a ſhort ſeaſon. The nineteenth day of May, was receiued into London, a cap of maintenance, ſent from Pope Iuly, with a great company of nobles & Gentlemen, whych was preſented to the K. on the ſonday thē nexte enſuing, with great ſolemnitie in the Cathedrall Churche of S. Paule. About the ſame time, the warres yet continuing betwene Englande and France, Prior Iehan (of whome ye haue hearde before in the fourth yeare of this Kings raigne) greate Captaine of the Frenche nauie, with hys galeis & foiſtes, charged with great baſiliſks and other artillerie, came on the bordure of Suſſex in the nighte ſeaſon, at a poore village there called Brighthelmſton, & brente it, taking ſuche goodes as he found. But when people began to gather, by firing the beacons, Prior Iehan ſounded hys trumpet, to call his menne aborde, and by that time it was day. Then certain archers that kept the watch, followed Prior Iehan to ẏ ſea, & ſhot ſo faſt, ẏ they bet the galey men from the ſhore, & wounded many in the foiſt, to the whiche Prior Iehan was cōſtreined to wade, and was ſhot in the face with an arrow, ſo that he loſt one of hys eyes, & was like to haue died of the hurt, & therefore he offered his image of waxe before our Lady at Bulleine, with the Engliſhe arrow in the face, for a miracle. The L. Admiral offended wt this proude parte of the french men, in making ſuch attempt on ẏ Engliſh coaſtes, ſent ſir Iohn Wallop to the ſea with diuers ſhippes, whyche ſayling to the coaſts of Normandie, lāded there, & brente .21. villages & townes, with diuers ſhips in ẏ hauēs of Treaport, Staples, & other where. Men maruelled greatly at the manfull doyngs of ſir Iohn Wallop, conſidering he had not paſt an eight C. men, and tooke land there ſo often.

A cap of m tenance ſe the king f the Pope.

Brighthel ſton in S brent.

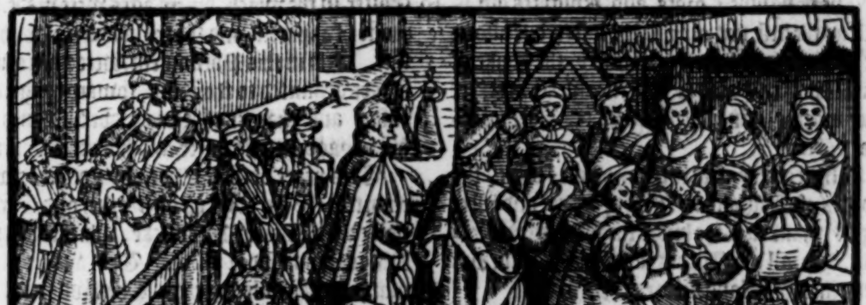
Prior Ioh Captaine o the French galleys, ſh into the ey with an ar

Sir Iohn W lop in Nor mandy.

In Iune, Sir Tho. Louel was ſent ouer to Calais with ſixe hundred mē, to ſtrengthen that towne, & other the fortreſſes within the Engliſh pale, for doubt of any ſuddaine attempte to bee made by the Frenchmen, bycauſe Monſ. de Pōtremie, with a mighty army & great ordinance, was come downe neere to Arde, howbeit, he taried not long, but reiſed his camp within a while after his cōming thither, and returned without any moꝛe doing. The frẽch K. perceiuing what loſſes he had ſuſteined by yͤ warres againſt England, and doubting leaſt one euil luck ſhould ſtill followe in the necke of an other, determined to make ſute foꝛ peace, and firſt agreing with Pope Leo, deſired him to bee a meane alſo foꝛ yͤ procuring of ſome agreement betwixte him and the K. of England. Herevpõ, the veſſell of amitie being firſt bꝛoched by the Popes letters, the french K. by an Herrault at armes ſent to the King of England, required of him a ſafeconduit foꝛ his Imbaſſadoꝛs, which ſhould come to entreate foꝛ a peace & atonement to be concluded betwixt thẽ and their realmes. Upon grant obteined thereof, the french K. ſent a commiſſion with the preſidẽt of Roan and others, to intreate of peace and aliance betwixte both the Pꝛinces. And moꝛeouer, bycauſe they vnderſtood that the marriage was bꝛoken betweene the Pꝛince of Caſtile and the Lady Mary, they deſired yͭ the ſaid Lady might be ioyned in mariage with yͤ french K. offering a great dower and ſureties foꝛ yͤ ſame. So muche was offered, that the K. moued by his counſayle, & namely by the Biſhop of Lincolne Wolſey, conſented vpon condition, that if the French K. dyed, then ſhe ſhould if it ſtood with hir pleaſure, returne into England againe with al hir dower & riches. After that they were accoꝛded vppon a ful peace, & that the french K. ſhould marrie thys yong Lady, the indentures were dꝛawen, engroſſed, and ſealed, & peace thereupon pꝛoclaimed the ſeuenth day of Auguſt, & the K. in pꝛeſence of the french Imbaſſadoꝛs, was ſwoꝛne to keepe yͤ ſame, & likewiſe there was an Imbaſſade ſente out of England to ſee the french King ſweare yͤ ſame. The dower that was aſſigned vnto the bꝛide to be receiued after hir huſbands deceaſſe if ſhe ſuruiued him, was named to be .22. crownes of yeerely reuenues & to be receiued out of certain lands aſſigned foꝛth therefoꝛe during all hir naturall life. And moꝛeouer, it was further agreed and couenanted, that the frenche K. ſhould content & pay yerely vnto K. Henry, during yͤ ſpace of fiue yeres, the ſumme of one hundꝛed thouſand crownes. By concluſion of this peace, was the D. of Longuile with the other pꝛiſoners deliuered, paying their raunſoms, and the ſaid D. affyed the Lady Mary, in the name of his maiſter K. Lewes. In September following, the ſayde Lady was conueyd to Douer by the K. hir bꝛother, and the Queene, and on the ſeconde day of October, ſhe was ſhipped, and ſuche as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, as the Duke of Noꝛffolke, the Marques Doꝛſet, the Biſhop of Durham, the Earle of Surrey, the L. de la Ware, the L. Berners, the Loꝛd Montaigle, the four bꝛethꝛen of the ſaid Marques, ſir Maurice Barkeley, ſir John Peche, ſir William Sandes, ſir Tho. Bulleyne, ſir John Car, and many other knightes, Eſquiers, Gentlemen and Ladyes. They had not ſailed paſt a quarter of the Sea, but that the wind aroſe, and ſeuered the ſhippes, dꝛiuing ſome of them to Calais, ſome into Flanders, and hir ſhippe with great difficultie was bꝛought to Bulleyne, not without great ieoperdie at the entring of the hauen, foꝛ the maſter ranne the ſhip hard on ſhoꝛe, but the boates wer ready, & receiued yͤ Lady out of the ſhip, & ſir Chꝛiſtopher Garniſh ſtood in the water and toke hir in his armes, & ſo caried hir to land, wher the D. of Vandoſme, & a Cardinall, with many other great eſtates, receiued hir with great honoꝛ. From Bullein with eaſie iourneys ſhe was cõueid vnto Abuile, and there entred the eyghth of October, and the moꝛrow following being Mõday, and S. Deniſe daye, the mariage was ſolemniſed betwixte the French King, & the ſayde Lady, with all honour, ioy, and royaltie.

The Ladie Mary affyed to K. Lewes of Fraunce.

The mariage ſolemnized betwene the French king, and the Lady Mary, ſiſter to King Henrye.



When the feaſt was ended, the Engliſh lords returned with great rewards back into Englād.

Solemne iuſtes proclaymed at Paris.

Before their departure from Abuile, the Dolphin of France, Francis Duke of Valoys, cauſed a ſolemne Iuſtes to be proclaymed, whyche ſhould be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouember next enſuing, the ſaid Dolphin with his nine aydes to aunſwere all commers, being Gentlemen of name and armes.

When this Proclamation was reported in England, by the noble men that returned from the marriage, the D. of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, and his four brethren, the Lord Clintō, Sir Edwarde Neuill, Sir Giles Capell, Tho. Cheinie, and other, got licence of the K. to goe ouer to this chalenge, and therevpon, preparyng themſelues for the purpoſe, departed towarde Fraunce, and did ſo much by iourney, that they came to Paris about the later ende of October, and were hartily welcome to the King & Dolphin, but moſt of al to the french Queene, which then lay at S. Deniſe, and was not yet crowned, nor entred into Paris.

The Dolphin deſired the Duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Marques Dorſet, to be two of his immediate aydes, which thereto gladly aſſented.

The Coronation of the french Quene.

In the meane time, whileſt all thyngs were a preparing for the Iuſtes, the fifth of Nouember, being Sonday, the Queene was Crowned with greate ſolemnitie in the Monaſterie of S. Deniſe.

And on the morrow following, the ſayde Q. was receyued into the Citie of Paris, with all honour that might be deuiſed.

On yͤ ſeuenth day of October, being Tewſday, began the Iuſtes, which cōtinued the ſpace of three dayes, in the whiche were aunſwered three hundred and fiue men of armes, and euery man ranne fyue courſes with ſharp ſpeares.

The Engliſhe Lordes and Knightes did as well as the beſt, not only in the iuſtes, but alſo at the tourney and barriers, namely, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, and his brother, that worthy yong Gentleman the Lorde Edward Gray.

When all the greate triumph was done, the Lordes of England toke theyr leaue, and were highly thanked of the king, the Queene, yͤ Dolphin, and all the Lordes, and ſo departed, and came into England before Chriſtmas.

In this meane time, that is to ſaye, in Nouember, the Queene of Englande was deliuered of a Prince, whych lyued not long after.

Richard Hun hanged in Lollards tower

In December, one Rychard Hun a merchāt Taylor of London, that was layd in Lollardes Tower by commaundemente of the Byſhop of London, called Richarde Fitz Iames, and hys Chancellor, Doctor Horſey, was founde dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of ſilke within the ſaid Tower. That ye may vnderſtande the cauſe of his empriſonmente, the beginning was this. The ſame Hun had a child that dyed in his houſe, being an infant, the curate claymed yͤ bearing ſheete for a mortuarie, Hun aunſwered, yͭ the infant had no propertie in the ſheete. Wherevpon, the prieſt aſcited him in the ſpiritual court. He taking to him counſaile, ſued the Curate in a premunire, and when this was knowen, meanes was found, that Hun beeing accuſed of Hereſie, was attached, & laid in Lollards tower, wher he was founde dead, as ye haue heard. Muche adoe was made about his death, for the Byſhop & the Chancellor ſaid, that he hanged himſelf, but many of the temporalty affirmed, that he was murthered, greatly lamenting yͤ caſe, for he was wel beloued, & namely of yͤ pore, whiche cryed out againſt thē that were ſuſpected to haue made him away. He was a good almes man, and greately relieued the needy. The queſtiō of his death was ſo farre put forth, that vpō the ſuſpitiō he ſhould be murthered, twelue men were charged before yͤ coroner. After they had taken view of the body, yͤ ſame was brēned in Smithfield by the byſhops apointment, notwithſtāding the coroners queſt indited doctor Horſey, with one Io. Spalding, otherwiſe called belringer, & Charles Ioſeph the ſomner of the murthered, howbeit, vpon his arreignement, through great ſuite, and corruption of money, as many iudged, the Kings attorney declared Doctor Horſey not to be giltie.

1515

Iuſts at Weſt
minſter.

The thyrd day of February, the King made a ſolemne iuſtes at Weſtminſter, where hee and the Lord Marques Dorſet toke vpon them to anſwer all commers, and ſo did, acquiting themſelues right worthily.

This yeare alſo, was a Parliamente called, whiche began the fifth of October, and helde tyll Eaſter, in the which, diuers actes were made, as yͤ acte of apparell, and that of labourers, with other. Alſo in this Parliament, were diuers ſubſedyes graunted to the King, toward his greate coſtes and charges that hee hadde ſuſteyned by his voyage into Fraunce, and his other warres.

Doctor Ben-
brick Arch-by
ſhop of Yor
is empoyſo-
ned at Roa

This yeare dyed at Roane by poiſon as was reported, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Cardinall called Doctor Benbricke, whiche was the Kings Ambaſſador there. This was a wyſe man, and of a iolly courage. Then was the Biſhop of Lincolne preferred to the Archebyſhopricke of Yorke, who in that ſeaſon bare al yͤ rule about the King, ſo that what he ſayd, was obeyed in all places.

The dethe
the French

The firſt day of January, the Frenche Kyng departed this life, after he had bin married to the Lady Mary of Englande, the tearme onely of foureſcore and two dayes.

The king of England being therof aduertiſed, cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to bee kept for him in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, wyth a coſtly hearſe. At the whiche many nobles were preſent.

After this hee ſent a letter to comfort the M. his Syſter, requyring to knowe hir pleaſure, whether ſhee woulde continue ſtill in Fraunce, or returne into England. And when he was aduertiſed of hir minde, which was to returne into Englād, the duke of Suffolk, ſir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calais, and Doctor Weſt, with a goodly bande of Gentlemen, and yeomen all in blacke, were ſent into Fraunce, and comming to Paris, were well receyued of the newe Frenche king Fraunces the firſt of that name, to whome they declared the effect of their commiſſion, which was to receyue the Queene Dowager, according to the couenants of the mariage.

The Duke of Suffolke and others ſente into Fraunce to bring the french Queene into England.

The counſaile of Fraunce by the kings appoyntment, aſſigned fourth hir dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the Queene deliuered to the duke by Indenture, who behaued himſelfe ſo towards hir, that he obteyned hir good will, to be hir huſband.

The Duke of Suffolke winneth the good will of the Queene dowager of France Elder.

It was thought, that when the king created him Duke of Suffolke, he perceyued hys ſyſters good will towarde the ſayde duke, and that he ment then to haue beſtowed hir on him, but that a better offer came in the way. But howſoeuer it was now, he wanne hir loue, ſo as by hir conſent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meeklye beſeeching him of pardon in his requeſt, whiche was humbly to deſire him of his good will and contentation.

Ed.

The king at the firſt ſtayed, but after long ſuyte, and ſpeciallye by meane of the Frenche Queene hirſelfe, and other the Dukes friendes, it was agreed that the Duke ſhoulde bring hir into England vnmaried, and at his returne to marie hir in Englande: but for doubt of change he maried hir ſecretly in Paris at the houſe of Clugny, as was ſayde.

An. reg. 7.

The french Queene maried to the Duke of Suffolke.

After he had receyued hir with hir dowre appoynted, and all hir apparell, iewels, and houſeholde ſtuffe delyuered, they tooke leaue of the new Frenche king, and ſo paſſing through Fraunce, came to Calais, where ſhe was honorably enterteyned, and after openly maryed with great honor vnto the ſayde Duke of Suffolke. Doctor Weſt as then nominated Biſhop of Elie, remained behinde at Paris, to go through with the full concluſion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

This yere in September, the king being at his manour of Oking, after his returne from his progreſſe which he made that yeare into the weſt partes, the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke came thither to him: whileſt hee ſoiourned there, a letter was brought to the ſayde Archbiſhop from Rome, aduertiſing him that hee was elected Cardinall, which letter incontinently he ſhewed to the king, diſabling himſelfe in wordes, though his intent was otherwiſe, and ſo the king did encourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie vppon him, and called him from thenceforth my Lorde Cardinal. But his Hat, Bul, nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke elected Cardinall.

In Nouember, the king aſſembled his highe Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherein diuerſe actes made in the ſixth yeare were reformed and altered, and eſpicially the act of apparel, and the act of laborers, as by the booke of ſtatutes more plainly appeareth.

A Parliament at Weſtminſter.

At the ende of this Parliamēt, Doctor Warham Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and as then lord Chauncellour, perceyuing howe the new Lorde Cardinall medled further in his office of Chauncellourſhip than he could well ſuffer, except hee ſhould aduenture the kings diſpleaſure, for thys and for other conſiderations gaue vp his office of Chauncellor into the kings handes, and deliuered to him the great ſeale, which incontinently was deliuered by the king vnto the Lorde Cardinall, and ſo was he made Lorde Chauncellor. He was no ſooner in that office, but hee directed forth Commiſſions into euerie ſhire, for the execution of the ſtatutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings ſhewed himſelfe more loftie and preſumptuous than became him, which cauſed him to be greatly miſlyked of many, and the more, for that his baſe byrth was knowne of all men, ſo that the nobilitie (as reaſon was) diſdeyned to be at his correction.

Cardinall Wolley made L. Chancellor.

In the end of Nouember, the Cardinals hat was ſent into Englande, which the Gentlemen of Kent receyued, and brought to London, wyth ſuch tryumph as though the greateſt Prince in Europe had bene come to viſit the king. And on a Sunday in Saint Peters Church at Weſt-

The Cardinals hatte receyued by the Kentiſhe Gentlemen with great ſolemnitie.

minſter, he receyued the habite, hat, piller, & other ſuch tokens of a Cardinal. And now that he was thus a perfite Cardinall, he looked aboue all eſtates, whiche purchaſed him great hatred and diſdaine on all ſides.

The Lorde Mõtioy made gouernour of Tourney.

After the ende of the Parliament, ſir Edward Poynings labored to be diſcharged of the keping of Turney, bicauſe he could not haue helth there: and ſo he was diſcharged, and ſir Williã Blunt Lorde Mountioy was ſent thither to haue that rowmth, and for Marſhall was appoynted ſir Sampſon Norton.

A muteny amõgst the ſoldiers at Tourney.

Immediatly vppon their comming thither, chaunced a great ryot rayſed by the ſouldiers, ſo that to appeaſe thẽ, the Lord Mountioy was put in ieopardie of his life. In concluſion, to quiet thẽ ſir Sampſon Norton was baniſhed the towne for euer, but what the matter was I haue not found reherſed by any wryter.

After that the Citie was appeaſed, and euery thing thought to bee forgotten, diuerſe of the offenders were executed, and diuerſe baniſhed the towne, Some fled, and were confined both out of Englande and the towne.

The birth of Margaret daughter to the Queene of Scottes and of the Earle Angus maried afterwards to the Erle of Leneuxe.

This yeare the new league accorded betwixt the king and the French king was openly proclaimed through the Citie of London by a trumpet. Margaret Queene of Scottes, eldeſt ſiſter to the king, came this yeare into England, and at Herbottell Caſtell was deliuered of a daughter, begot by hir ſecond huſbande, the Lord Archymbalde Dowglas Erle of Angus. This daughter was cleped at the Font ſtone after hir mother Margaret.

Hall.

The Queene of Scottes and the Earle of Angus hir huſband come into England.

The ſayde Queene after the death of hir late huſband king James, maried the ſayde Earle of Angus, without conſent of hir brother king Henrie, or other of hir friendes, chiefely as ſome haue thought, for hir ſonnes ſake, doubting if ſhee ſhoulde not haue taken hir choyſe at home, ſhee ſhould haue maryed in ſome other place, and ſo haue beene ſequeſtred from hir ſonne, whoſe bringing vp apperteyned now chiefely vnto hir. But ſuch contention roſe ſhortly after in Scotlande amongeſt the Lordes, that both ſhee and hir huſbande were glad to ſeeke ſuccour in Englande at hir brothers hande, who was contented to relieue them, aſſigning them the ſayde Caſtell of Herbottell to lie in, till his further pleaſure ſhould be knowne.

1518

The birth of ladie mary the kings daughter afterwards Queene.

An. reg. 8.

The. xviij. day of Februarie this yeare, the Ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie the. viij. was borne at Greenwich. This was ſhe that afterwardes was Queene of this realme, and maried the king of Spaine. This yere alſo died the king of Aragon father to the Q. for whõ was kept a ſolemne obſequie in yͤ cathedral church of Pauls.

The king ſent for his ſiſter the Queene of Scots & hir huſbãd to come to the court for their ſolace: wherevpon comming vp to London, they lay at Saint Johns without Smithfielde barres for a time, and after at Baynardes Caſtell, from whence the Queene was conueied to Greenwich where ſhe was ioyfully receyued of the king, the Queene his wife, and of the French Queene hir ſiſter.

Thus was ſhe ſometime at the Court, and ſometyme at Baynards Caſtell, and ſo continued in England all this yeare.

The king for the honour of his ſiſter the. xix. and. xx. day of May, prepared two ſolemne days of Juſtes, wherein the king himſelfe, the Duke of Suffolke, the Earle of Eſſex, and Nicholas Carew Eſquier, anſwered all commers.

At length the Earle of Angus returned into Scotlande, leauing the Queene his wife behinde him.

A caſtell bulded by the king at Tourney.

About the ſame time were ſent out of Englande twelue hundred Maſons, and Carpenters, and three hundred laborers to the Citie of Tourney to beginne the foundation of a Caſtell, which the king had determined to buylde there, for the better chaſtiſing of the Citie, if they ſhoulde attempt any rebellion.

This yeare the Cardinal cauſed all thoſe to be called to accoũts that had medled with the kings money, and had the occupying thereof, in the warres or elſe where.

Periury greuouſly puniſhed by Cardinal Wolſey.

Iuſtice executed by the Cardinal.

This audite troubled manye, for ſome were founde in arrerages, and ſome ſaued themſelues by policie and briberie, and waxed rich, and ſome were wrongfully puniſhed. And ſurely he ſo puniſhed periurie with open infamie, cauſing the offenders to weare Papers, and ſo forth, that in his time it was leſſe vſed. He puniſhed alſo Lordes, knightes, and men of all degrees, for riots, for bearing out wronges, and for maintenance practiſed in their country, that the poore men liued quietly, ſo that no man durſt vſe ſuche bolſtring, for feare of impriſonment.

Theſe doings were worthie of commendation in him, but ſurely much more, if hee had beene a man that coulde haue kept a meane, which hee coulde not doe, but through his pompe and preſumptuous pride, wanne him high diſdaine in the ende, of al men, not only offending the nobles, and high eſtates of the realme, but alſo the whole multitude of people, which could not away with his vaineglorious pride, and namely for that hee tooke vppon him the gouernaunce of the whole realme, in maner into his only handes.

It was a ſtraunge matter to ſee, a man not ſkilled in the lawes to ſit in the ſeat of iudgement to pronounce the law, being ayded at the firſt by ſuch as according to the auncient cuſtome, dyd ſit as aſſociate with him: but he would not ſticke to determine ſundrie cauſes, neyther rightly decided nor adiudged by order of law, and againe ſuche as were cleare caſes, hee would ſometyme prohibite the ſame to paſſe, call them into iudgement, frame an order in controuerſies, and puniſh ſuch as came with vntrue ſurmiſes afore the Iudges, and ſharply reproue the negligence of the Iudges themſelues, whiche had receyued ſuch ſurmiſes, and not well conſidered of the controuerſies of the parties. Hee ordeyned by the kings Commiſſion, diuerſe vnder Courtes, to heare complayntes by byll of poore men, that they might the ſooner come by iuſtice.

ld.

ilder.

And ſuch was the adminiſtration of the Cardinall vnder a colour of Iuſtice at the firſt; but bycauſe the ſame ſeemed at length to be but a verie ſhadow or colour in deed, it quickly vaniſhed away, he taking vpõ him the whole rule himſelf, for that he ſaw how the king made ſmall accoũt of any other but onely of him. Whereby it came to paſſe that many of the Peeres and high eſtates of the realme withdrew them from the Court, as firſt the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Byſhop of Wincheſter, which got them home into their Dioceſſes, but yet before their departure, as good fathers of their Countrey, they inſtantlye beſought the king, that he woulde not ſuffer any ſeruant to exceede and paſſe his maiſter, borowing that ſentence out of the Goſpell of Saint Iohn, where our Sauiour ſpeaking to his diſciples ſayth to them, Verily, verily, I ſay vnto you the ſeruãt is not greater thã his maſter. Herevnto the king knowing that they mẽt this by the Cardinal, made this anſwere, that he would diligently ſee that euery ſeruaunt ſhoulde obey and not commaund.

dom is con
ie to this.

After this the Duke of Norffolke departed home into his Countrey, and laſt of all the duke of Suffolke alſo followed the other. For hee hauing ſpent liberally in his iourneys when hee went as Ambaſſadour into Fraunce, alſo in the ſolemnization of his mariage, and in houſekeeping, ſithe hee was maryed, borowed greate ſummes of money of the king whiche hee hoped ſhoulde haue beene forgyuen him: but the Cardinall would not haue it ſo, to the intent that the Duke being behind hande in debt, ſhoulde bee the more at commaundement. For as wealth maketh menne loftie, ſo doeth wante make them lowly.

ld.

In the moneth of October, in this. viij. yeare of king Henry, Mathew Biſhop of Sion or Sitten, a Cardinal (commonly called the Cardinal of the Swiſſes) came into England from the emperor Maximilian.

ambaſſa-
from the
perour.

At the cõtemplation of this Cardinall, the king lent to the Emperor a great ſumme of money. But the chiefeſt matter that moued the king to be ſo free to Maximilian, was bycauſe the ſame money ſhoulde be imployed on men of warre agaynſt the French king, towardes whome the king, or rather Cardinal Wolſey of late had conceyued a grudge, as thus: True it is that the king beſtowed the reuenues of the Sea of Tourney on the Cardinall, at what tyme that citie came into the kings handes: and therefore the Cardinall being deſirous to aſſure to himſelfe the ſame, made ſuyte to the Frenche king, that hee would prouide Guillarde the former Biſhop of Tourney of ſome other Biſhoprike in Fraunce, ſo that he might reſigne the Biſhoprike of Tourney clearly into his handes.

The French king perceyuing how much this ſhoulde make agaynſt his purpoſe, that vpon occaſion hoped euer to recouer the poſſeſſion of Tourney, would not gratifie the Cardinal herein: wherevpon the Cardinall turning the kings minde at his pleaſure, perſwaded him that the next way to abate the Frenche kings puiſſance (whiche in the beginning of his raigne had recouered Myllaine, and grewe euerie day in power more than other) ſhoulde bee to mainteyne the Emperour with money agaynſt him, ſo as the Frenchmen ſhould be chaſtiſed without the trauaile of him or his people.

Herevpon was Richarde Pace ſent firſt into Germanie with a greate ſumme of money to wage the Swiſſes, whiche vnder the conducte of the Emperour Maximilian, inuaded the duchie of Myllaine, but without any great gaine returned from thence, leauing Myllaine in the French mens handes at that tyme: and now for a newe reliefe was this Cardinall of Sion ſente from Myllaine, at whoſe inſtance money was aſſigned to bee delyuered, and certayne Genewayes vndertooke the exchaunge, which made not payment therof at the day, although they had receyued it of the king.

Hall.

1507

About this ſeaſon, there grew a great heartburning and malicious grudge amongeſt the Engliſh men of the Citie of London agaynſte ſtraungers, and namely the Artificers founde themſelues ſore grieued, for that ſuch numbers of ſtraungers were permitted to reſort hyther wyth their wares, and to exerciſe handie craftes, to the great handerance and impoueriſhing of the kings liege people.

This malice grewe to ſuch poynt, that one Iohn Lincolne a Broker, buſied himſelfe ſo farre in the matter, that about Palme Sunday in this eight yeare of the Kings raigne, hee came to one doctor Henrie Standiſhe with theſe wordes: Sir, I vnderſtande that you ſhall preach at the Sanctuarie Spittle on Monday in Eaſter weeke, and ſo it is, that Engliſhmen, both Marchants and other are vndone, for ſtraungers haue more li-

bertie

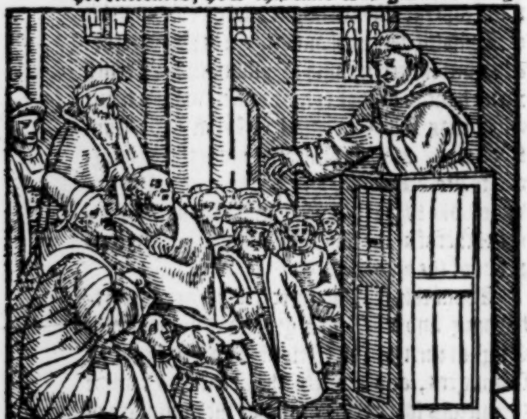
John Lincolne
the author of
inſurrection
vpon yll may
daye.

bertie in this lande than Engliſh men, which is agaynſt all reaſon, and alſo againſt the common weale of the realme, I beſeech you therefore to declare this in your Sermon, and in ſo doing ye ſhall deſerue great thankes of my Lorde Maior, and of all his brethren: and herewith he offred vnto the ſayde Doctor Standiſh a bill, conteyning this matter more at large.

But Doctor Standiſhe (wiſely conſidering that there might more inconuenience riſe thereof, than he would wiſh, if he ſhould deal in ſuch ſort) both wiſely refuſed the Bill, and tolde Lincolne plainly that he ment not to meddle with any ſuch matter in his Sermon, wherevpon the ſayde Lyncolne went vnto one Doctor Bele a Canon of the foreſayde Spittle, that was appoynted to preache likewiſe vppon the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke at the ſame Spittle, whome he perſwaded to read his ſayde byll in the Pulpet. Which Bill in effect conteyned the griefes that many founde with ſtraungers for taking the liuings awaye from artificers, and the entercourſe from marchants, the redreſſe whereof muſt come from the commons knit in one: for as the hurt touched all men, ſo muſt all ſet to theyr helping handes.

An vndiſcrete Preacher.

When hee had read this letter, or the chiefeſt part therof, comprehending much ſeditious matter, he began with this ſentence, *Cælū cæli domino, terram aute dedit filys hominum*, & vpon this text hee entreated, how this land was giuen to Engliſh men, and as byrdes defende theyr neſtes, ſo ought Engliſh men to cheriſhe and mainteine themſelues, and to hurt and greeue aliens for reſpect of their common wealth: and vpon this text *Pugna pro patria*, hee brought in howe by Gods law it was lawfull to fight for theyr Countrey: and thus he ſubtilly moued or rather vndiſcretely prouoked the people to rebell agaynſt ſtraungers.



By this fooliſh ſermon, many a light perſon tooke courage, and openly ſpake agaynſt ſtraungers. And as vnhappe woulde, there had beene diuerſe euill partes played of late by ſtraungers, in and about the Citie of London, which kindled the peoples rancour the more furiouſly agaynſte them.

Anno reg. 9.

The .xxviij. day of Aprill, dyuerſe yong men of the Citie pyked quarels to certaine ſtraungers as they paſſed by the ſtreets, ſome they did ſtrike, ſome they buffeted, and ſome they threwe into the Canell: wherefore the Maior ſent ſome of the Engliſh men to priſon, as Stephen Studley Skinner, Bettes, Stephenſon, and diuerſe other. Then ſodainly roſe a ſecrete rumour, and no man coulde tell how it began, that on May day next the Citie would rebell and ſlea all the aliens, inſomuch that dyuerſe ſtraungers fledde out of the Citie.

This bruite ranne ſo into euery mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of the kings counſayle, wherevpon the Lord Cardinall ſent for the Maior, and other of the counſayle of the Citie, giuing them to vnderſtande what he had hearde. The Maior as one ignorant of the matter, tolde the Cardinall that he doubted not but ſo to gouerne the Citie, as peace ſhould be obſerued. The Cardinall willed him ſo to doe, and to take good heede, that if any ſuch ryotous attempt was intended, hee ſhoulde wyth good policye preuent it.

Counſayle t ken by the Maior and h brethren ho to preuent th ſtirre at ha

The Maior came from the Cardinals houſe at foure of the clocke in the after noone on May euen, and in all haſt ſent for his brethren to the Guildhall, yet was it almoſt ſeuen of the clocke ere the aſſemble was ſet. Vpon conference had of the matter touching the rumour that was ſpred abrode of the rebellion agaynſt ſtraungers, ſome thought it neceſſarie that a ſubſtanciall watche ſhould be ſet of the honeſt citizens houſholders which myght wythſtande the euill doers, if they went about any myſrule: but other were of this opinion, that it was daungerous to rayſe men in armour, bycauſe it was harde to tell whome they myght truſt: but rather they thought it beſt that commaundement ſhoulde bee gyuen to euery man through euery warde, to ſhutte in his doores, and to keepe his ſeruantes within. Before .viij. of the clocke the Recorder was ſent to the Cardinall with theſe opinions, who hearing the ſame, allowed the latter for beſt and moſte ſureſt. And then the Recorder and ſir Thomas More late vnderſhirife of London, and nowe of the kings counſaile, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre before nine of the clocke, and there ſhewed the pleaſure of the Kings Counſayle, wherevpon euerye Alderman ſent to hys warde that no man ſhould ſtyrre after ſeuen of the clock out of his houſe, but to keepe his doores ſhut, and his ſeruants within, tyll nine of the clocke in the morning.

After this commaundement gyuen in the Euening, as Mr. John Mundie Alderman came from his warde, and founde two yong men in Chepe playing at the Bucklers, and a great many of yong men looking on them (for the commaundement was then ſcarce knowne) he commaunded them to leaue off: and for that one of them aſked him why? hee woulde haue had him to the Counter. Then all the yong prentiſes ſtept to and reſiſted the Alderman, taking the yong fellow from him, and cryed prentiſes and clubbes. Then out at euery doore came clubbes and weapons. The Alderman fled and was in great daunger. Then more people aroſe out of euery quarter, and forth came ſeruing men, watermen, courtiers and other, ſo that by .xj. of the clocke, there were in Cheape, ſix or ſeuen.C. and out of Pauls Church yearde came three.C. which knew not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, and brake vp the counters, tooke out the priſoners that the Maior had thither committed for hurting the ſtraungers, and came to Newgate, and tooke out Studley and Petit committed thither for that cauſe.

The Maior and Sherifes were preſent there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeyed. Herewith being gathered in plumpes, they ran through S. Nicholas Shambles, and at Saint Martines gate, there mette with them ſir Thomas More, and other, deſiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus entreating, and had almoſte perſwaded the people to departe, they within Saint Martyns threwe out ſtones and battes, ſo that they hurt diuerſe honeſt perſons, that were ther with ſir Thomas More, perſwading the rebellious perſons to ceaſſe, inſomuche as at length one Nicholas Downes a Sergeant of armes being there with the ſayde ſir Thomas More, and ſore hurt amongſt other, in a furie, cryed downe with them, and then all the miſruled perſons ranne to the doores and windowes of the houſes within ſaint Martines, and ſpoiled all that they found.

After that they ran headlong into Cornehill, and there likewiſe ſpoiled diuerſe houſes of Frenchmen that dwelled within yͤ gate of maiſter Mewtas houſe called greene gate. This maſter Mewtas was a Picard borne, and reputed to be a great bearer of Frenchmen in their occupyings & trades contrarie to the lawes of the Citie. If the people had found him, they would ſurely haue ſtriken off his head, but when they found hym not, the watermen and certaine yong prieſtes that were there fell to ryfling, and ſome ranne to Blanchchapelton, & brake vp the ſtraungers houſes, and ſpoyled them.

Thus from tenne or eleuen of the clocke, theſe ryotous people continued in theyr outragious doings tyll aboute three of the clocke, at what tyme they beganne to withdrawe, and went to theyr places of reſort, and by the way they were taken by the Maior and the heades of the Citie, and ſent, ſome of thẽ to the tower, ſome to Newgate, and ſome to the Counters, to the number of three.C. Many fled, and ſpecially the watermen, prieſtes, and ſeruing men, but the prentiſes were caught by the backes and had to priſon. In the meane time, whileſt the hotteſt of this muſtring laſted, the Cardinall was aduertiſed thereof by ſir Thomas Parre, wherevpon the Cardinal ſtrengthened his houſe with men and ordinance, and ſir Thomas Parre rode in all haſt to Richmonde, where the king lay, and enfourmed him of the matter, who incontinently ſent forth haſtily to London, to vnderſtande the ſtate of the Citie, and was truly aduertiſed howe the ryot was ceaſed, and many of the myſdoers apprehended.

The Lieutenant of the Tower ſir Roger Cholmeley, during the tyme of this hurling, ſhot off certaine peeces of ordinaunce agaynſt the Citie, and though they did no great harme, yet hee wanne muche euill will for his haſtie doing; bycauſe men thought he did it of malice, rather than of any diſcretion.

About fiue of the clocke the Erles of Shrewſbury, and Surrey, Thomas Dockerey Lorde of Saint Johns, George Neuill Lorde of Burgeyny, and other, which had heard of thys ryot, came to London, with ſuche ſtrength as they coulde make vpon that ſodaine, and ſo did the Innes of Court: but before they came, whether with feare of the brute of theyr comming, or otherwiſe, the ryotous aſſemble was broken vp, and manye of the miſdoers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the priſoners examined, and the Sermon of Doctour Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and ſent to the Tower.

Herewith was a Commiſſion of Oyer and determiner directed to the duke of Norffolke, and to diuerſe other Lordes, to the Lorde Maior of London, and the Aldermen, and to all the Iuſtices of Englande, for puniſhment of this inſurrection: wherevpon all the Iuſtices, with the kings Counſaile learned in the lawes, aſſembled at the houſe of ſir John Fineux Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande neare to S. Brides by Fleteſtreete, to take aduice, and conclude vpon the order which they ſhoulde folowe in this matter, and firſt there was read the Statute of the thirde of Henrie the fifth, the effect whereof enſueth in theſe wordes following: bycauſe that diuerſe Nations compriſed within the truſes concluded as well by oure ſoueraigne Lorde the King that nowe is, as by his ryght noble father, haue beene robbed and ſpoyled by the Kings Liegemen and ſubiectes, as well on the mayne Seas as within the

A Commiſsi of Oier and determiner.

The ſtatute quinto of H. the fith.

the portes and coaſtes of Englande, Irelande, and Wales, by reaſon whereof, the truſes and ſafeconductes haue beene broken and violated, to the domage, diſhonour, and ſlaunder of the king, and agaynſt hys dignitie, and the manſleyers, ſpoylers, robbers, and violaters of the ſame truſes and ſafeconductes, (as before is declared) haue beene recetted, procured, counſayled, vpholden, and mainteined by diuerſe of the kings liege people vpon the coaſtes: our ſayde ſoueraigne Lorde the king by the aduice and aſſent aboueſayde, and at the prayer of the ſayd Commons, hath ordeyned and eſtabliſhed that all ſuch manſlears, robbers, ſpoylers, breakers of truſes, and ſafecõducts graunted by the king, and the wilfull recetters, abetters, procurers, counſaylers, ſuſteyners and mainteyners of ſuch perſons, hereafter in time to come, being any of the lieges and ſubiectes of thys Realme of Englande, Irelande, and Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as guiltie of high treaſon committed agaynſte the Crowne and dignitie of the king. And further in euerie Hauen and port of the ſea, there ſhall be from henceforth made and aſſigned by the king, by his letters patents, one lawfull officer named a conſeruator of truſes and ſafeconductes graunted by the king, which officer ſhall diſpend at the leaſt tenne pound in land by yeare. &c. as in the ſtatute more at large is expreſſed.

The which ſtatute being read and well conſidered of, bycauſe there were diuerſe leagues of truſes betwixt the king and diuerſe other princes, as one betwixt him & the French king, an other betwixt him and the Archeduke of Burgongne, and an other betwixt him and the king of Spain, (all the which truces were violated by the ſayd inſurrection) it was determined by the whole coũſaile there aſſembled, that the kings ſergeants and Attourneyes ſhould go to the L. Chauncellor to haue a ſight of all the ſayde leagues and charters of truſes, to the intent they might frame their indytements according to the matter.

And note that iudge Fineux ſayd, that al ſuch as were parties to the ſaid inſurrection, were giltie of high treaſon, as wel thoſe that did not commit any robberie, as thoſe that were principall doers therein themſelues, bycauſe that the inſurrection in it ſelfe was highe treaſon, as a thing practiſed againſt the regal honor of our ſoueraign lord the king, and the ſame law holdeth of an inſurrection (ſaid Fineux) made agaynſt the ſtatute of laborers, for ſo (ſayd he) it came to paſſe, that certaine perſons within the Countie of Kent, began an inſurrection in diſobedience of the ſtatute of labourers, and were attainted therefore of high treaſon, and had iudgement to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. He ſhewed where, and when this chaunced. &c.

It was further determined by the ſame Fineux, and all the Iuſtices of the lande, that vpon the ſayde Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, in London, the Iuſtices named in the ſame commiſſion, might not arraigne the offenders, and proceed to their tryall in one ſelfe day, no more than myght the Iuſtices of peace. But Iuſtices in Eyre myght ſo doe, as well as the Iuſtices of Gaole deliuery, and as the ſufficiencie of the Iurours wythin the Citie to paſſe betwyxte the King and the ſayde Traytours, the Iuſtices determined, that hee that hadde landes, and goodes to the valewe of an hundred Markes, ſhoulde bee inhabled to paſſe vppon the ſayde indytementes.

And thys by the equitie of the Statute of Anno vndecimo Henrici ſeptimi, the which wil, that no manne bee admytted to paſſe in any Inqueſt in London in a Plea of landes, or other action in which the damages ſhall paſſe the value of fortie ſhillings, excepte hee bee worth in landes or goodes, the valew of an hundred Markes.

On Saterday the ſeconde of May, in thys ninth yeare, all the Commiſſioners wyth the Lorde Maior, Aldermen and Iuſtices, wente to the Guylde hall, where manye of the offendours were indyted as well of the Inſurrection as of the robberyes by them committed agaynſt the truſes.

Hereuppon they were araigned, and pleading not guiltie, hadde day gyuen till the Monday nexte enſuyng.

On which day being the fourth of May, the Lorde Maior, the Duke of Norffolke, the Earle of Surrey and other, came to ſitte in the Guilde hall to procede in theyr Oyer and Determiner as they were appoynted.

The Duke of Norffolke entred the Citye with thirtene hundred armed men, and ſo when the Lordes were ſette the Pryſoners were brought throughe the Streetes tyed in Ropes ſome menne, and ſome laddes of thirtene yeares of age.

Among them were dyuerſe not of the Citie, ſome Prieſtes, ſome Huſbande menne, and labourers. The whole number amounted vnto two hundred three ſcore and eyghtene perſons.

This daye was Iohn Lyncolne indyted as a principall procurour of this miſchieuous inſurrection, and therevppon hee was arraigned, and pleading not guiltie, had day giuẽ ouer til Wedneſday, or as Hall ſayth tyll Thurſday next enſuyng.

He was charged with ſuch matter, (as before ye haue hearde) concerning his ſuyte vnto Doctor Standiſh, and Doctor Bele, for the reading of this bil in their ſermons, and opening the matter (as before yee haue heard) all whiche matter with the circumſtances he had confeſſed on ſunday the thirde of May, vnto ſir Richard Cholmley, ſir John Daunſie, & ſir Hugh Skeuington. Diuerſe other were indited this Monday, and ſo for that time the Lordes departed.

The next day the Duke came againe, and the Erle of Surrey with two. M. armed men, which kept the ſtreetes. It was thought that the Duke of Norffolk bare the citie no good will, for a lewd prieſt of his which the yeare before was ſlaine in Cheape. When the Maior, the duke, the erles of Shrewſburie and Surrey, were ſet, the priſoners were arreyned, & .xiij. found guiltie & adiudged to be hāged, drawne, & quartered, for executiō whereof were ſet vp .xj. paire of galowes in diuerſe places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchchapelton, Gracious ſtreete, Leaden hall, and before euery Counter one, alſo at Newgate, at Saint Martins, at Alderſgate, and at Biſhopſgate.

Then were the priſoners that were iudged brought to thoſe places of executiō, and executed in moſt rigorous maner, in the preſence of the L. Edmond Howard ſon to the duke of Norffolke, and knight Marſhall.

hn Lincolne
e Author of
ll May day
cuted in
eapſide.

On Thurſday the ſeuenth of May, was Lyncolne, Shyrwin, and two brethren called Bets, and diuerſe other adiudged to die. They were layd on Hardels, and drawne to the Standert in Cheap, and firſt was John Lincolne executed, and as the other had the rope aboute theyr neckes, there came a commaundement from the king to reſpite the execution, and then was the Oyer and determiner deferred till an other day, & the priſoners ſente againe to warde, and the armed men departed out of London, and all things were ſet in quiet.

The king cō-
meth to Weſt
minſter Hal &
there ſate in
iudgement
himſelfe.

Thurſday the .xxij. of Maye, the king came into Weſtminſter hall, and with him was the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, yͤ erles of Shrewſbury, Eſſex, Wilſhire, & Surrey, with many lords, & other of the kings cōſell.

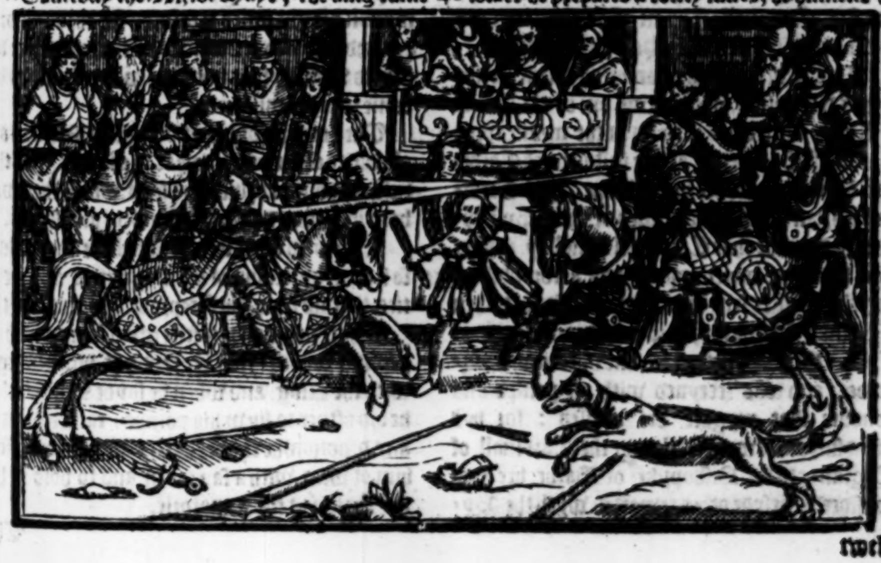
The Maior and Aldermen, with other of the chief Citizens were there in theyr beſt liuereys by nine of the clocke in the morning, according as the Cardinall had appoynted them. Then came in the priſoners bound in ropes, in ranke one after another in their ſhirtes, and euery one had an halter about his necke, being in number foure. C. men, & .xj. women. When they were thus come before the kings preſence, the Cardinall layd ſore to the Maior and Aldermen their negligence, and to the priſoners he declared howe iuſtly they had deſerued death. Then all the priſoners togither cryed to the king for mercie, and therewith the Lordes with one conſent beſought his grace of pardon for theyr offences, at whoſe requeſt the king pardoned them all. The Cardinal then gaue to them a good exhortation, to the great reioyſing of the hearers. And when the general pardon was pronounced, all the priſoners ſhouted at once, & caſt vp their halters into the roofe of the hal. This company was after called the blacke Wagon.

The king par-
doneth al the
rebels.

After that theſe priſoners were thus pardoned, All the gallowes within the Citie were taken downe, and the Citizens tooke more heed to their ſeruants than before they had done. The .xviij. of May, yͤ Q. of Scots departed out of Londō toward Scotlād, richly appoynted of all things neceſſarie for hir eſtate, through the kings greate liberality & bountiful goodneſſe. She entred into Scotland the .xiij. of June, and was receiued at Berwik by hir huſbād. Al hir charges within the realme both in cōming abiding, and returning, were borne by the king.

The Queene of
Scots retour-
neth into Scot
lande.

In June there were wͭ the K. diuers Imbaſſadors frō forraine parts, in honor of whō, & for their ſolace he prepared a coſtly iuſtes, he himſelfe and



twelue other, taking vpon them to iuſt with the Duke of Suffolke, and twelue of hys partakers. There were broken betwene the parties fiue hundred and eight ſpeares.

The ſweeting ſickneſſe.

The ſweating ſickeneſſe this yeare inuading the people of this lande, brought great numbers to theyr ende.

Many died in the kings Court, as the Lorde Clynton, the Lorde Gray of Wilton, and many knights, Gentlemen and officers. By reaſon of this contagious ſickneſſe, Michaelmaſſe terme was adiourned: and bycauſe the death continued from July to the myddeſt of December, the king kept himſelfe with a ſmall companie aboute him, willing to haue no reſort to the Court for feare of infection, the ſweate was ſo feruent and infectious, that in ſome townes halfe the Inhabitants died thereof, and in ſome a thirde part.

1519

An. reg. 10.

The terme begon at Oxford and adiourned to Weſtminſter.

In the begynning of this yeare, Trinitie terme was begon at Oxford, where it continued but one day, and was again adiourned to Weſtminſter.

Cardinal Campeius ſent frō the Pope.

Polidor.

This yeare came to Calais from Pope Leo, a Legate *de Latere* called Laurence Campeius borne in Bologna la Graſſe, commonly called Cardinall Campeius, to require the king of ayde agaynſt the Turke.

Hall.

At the requeſt of the King of Englande, and alſo of the French king (which ſought now to be receyued into friendſhip with the King of England chiefly by Cardinal Wolſeis meanes) Pope Leo conſtituted the ſayd Cardinall Wolſey his Legate in England, ioyning him in commiſſion with the ſayde Campeius, the whiche ſtayed at Calais till the Bulles were brought from Rome touching that matter.

There was alſo an other cauſe that ſtayed Campeius at Calays, and that was a ſuyte whiche Cardinall Wolſey hadde moued for the obteyning of the Biſhopryke of Bathe, which benefice Cardinall Adrian Caſtalian enioyed by the collation of King Henry the ſeuenth.

Cardinal Campeius receiued with great pompe.

This Cardinall Adrian being fallen in the Popes diſpleaſure, wythdrewe out of the Court of Rome vnto Venice, and in the meane tyme Cardinall Campeius, at the inſtance of Cardinall Wolſey, wrote to the Pope, that Cardinall Adrian myght be depriued of that Byſhoprike, to the ende that Cardinall Wolſey myght haue the ſame, which requeſt was accompliſhed, and the Bulles ſent vnto Calays, ſo that then Cardinall Campeius, after he had remayned at Calays three Monethes, came ouer into Englande, and was receyued with all pompe and honoure that myghte bee deuiſed: for hys friendſhippe ſhewed in helpyng the Cardinall of Englande to the Biſhoprike of Bathe, hee was conſidered (beſyde other rewards) wyth the Biſhoprike of Saliſburie, the profites whereof hee receyued tyll the acte was eſtabliſhed, that no foreyner ſhoulde enioy anye ſpirituall benefice within this Realme. But for the chiefeſt errand, yͭ this Cardinall Campeis came, he coulde haue no towarde aunſwere, whiche was, to haue leuyed a ſumme of money by waye of tenthes in thys Realme, to the mainteinaunce of the warre in defence of the Chriſtian confines agaynſte the Turke.

A craftie fea

There were at the ſame tyme other Legates ſent into other parties of Chriſtendome aboute the ſame matter, as into Fraunce, Spaine, and Germanie: For Pope Leo, calling to remembraunce, that the feare conceyued of the Turkes had brought no ſmall gaynes to dyuerſe of hys Predeceſſours, hee beganne to feare too, but for yͭ ſuch feare was now too well knowne to bee vſed as an ordinarie ſhyfte of the Popes, when they ſtoode in neede of money, this practiſe was at this tyme vſed in vayne, ſo that Campeius hearing that it tooke not place in other partyes, left off his earneſt ſuyte about it, and with great rewardes receyued of the King and Cardinall, returned to Rome, not wythoute hope yet (by reaſon of promiſes made to him by hys friends,) that the Popes requeſt might hereafter be graunted according to his motion.

The court the legate rected by th Cardinal.

There attended him to Rome one John Clearke a Lawyer, as Ambaſſadour from the King, which obteyned for the Cardinall authoritie to diſpenſe with al mē for offences committed agaynſt the ſpirituall lawes, which parte of his power legantine was verie profitable and gainfull. For then he ſet vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, in the whiche he proued teſtaments, and hearde cauſes, to the great hynderance of al the Biſhops of this Realme.

He viſited Biſhops, and all the Clergie exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation hee got much treaſure, for through bribes and rewards, notorious offendours were diſpenſed with, ſo that nothing was reformed but came to more miſchiefe.

Exemple of great ones what it do

The example of his pride, cauſed Prieſtes and all ſpiritual perſons to waxe ſo prowde, that they ruffled it out in veluet and ſilkes, which they ware both in gownes, iackets, doublets and ſhowes.

They vſed open lechery, and bare themſelues ſo ſtoute by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no man durſt reproue any thing in thē.

The exce pride of the Cardinal.

The Cardinall himſelfe grew ſo into ſuch exceeding pryde, that hee thought himſelfe egall with the King, and when he ſayde Maſſe (which he did oftner to ſhew his pompe, rather than for any deuotion) he made Dukes and Erles to ſerue him of wine, with a ſay taken, and to hold to him the Baſon at the Lauatorie.

Thus was the pride of the Cardinall and other prieſts ſo paſt the compaſſe of reaſon, that in maner al good perſons abhorred and diſdeyned it.

It fortuned that the Archbiſhop of Canterburie wrote a letter to the Cardinal, anon after that he had receyued his power legantine, the whiche letter after his olde familiar maner, he ſubſcribed thus: Your brother William of Canterburie. With which ſubſcription, bycauſe the Archbiſhop wrote him brother, he was ſo much offended, as though the Archbiſhop had done him great iniurie, that he could not temper his mood, but in high diſpleaſure ſayde, that he would ſo worke within a while, that he ſhould well vnderſtand howe he was his ſuperior, and not his brother.

When the Archbiſhop (being a ſober wiſe man) hearde of the Meſſenger that bare the letter how the Cardinall tooke it not well, but ſo as it might ſeeme there was a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as one that miſlyked the Cardinals preſumption herein: peace (ſayde the Archbiſhop) knoweſt thou not howe the man is become madde with too muche ioy. And thus the Cardinall forgetting to holde the right path of true laude and prayſe, ſought to be feared rather than beloued of all good men.

In this meanetime the French king greatly coueting to redeeme the Citie of Tourney out of the handes of the king of Englande, & knowing that he muſt make way thereto through the Cardinals friendſhip, ceaſſed not with high gifts to winne his good will, and moreouer in often wryting to him, exalted him with titles of honor and ſo magnified him, that the Cardinall, as one tickled with vaineglorie more than can be imagined, thought that he coulde not doe pleaſure ynough to the Frenche King, that did eſteeme ſo much of him.

he French
ig writeth
o Cardinall
Wolſey.

Hereupon the French king hoping to compaſſe his deſire, after he perceyued the Cardinals good will towardes him, ſignified his meaning vnto ỹ ſayd Cardinall, who founde meanes to breake thereof to the King, in ſuche wiſe as hee was contented to heare the French Kings Ambaſſadours, that ſhoulde be ſent hyther to talke of that matter.

The Frenche king then vnderſtanding the King of Englande his pleaſure, ſent ouer the Lorde Bonniuet high Admirall of Fraunce, and the Biſhop of Paris as chiefe Ambaſſadors, accompanied with a great ſort of luſtie gentlemen of the French kings court, to the number of .lxxx. and aboue, on whome attended ſuch a companie of other of the meaner ſorte, that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred one and other, whiche were thought to be many for an Ambaſſade.

mbaſſadours
the French

reaſona-
ber for
mbaſſade.

On Monday the .xxvij. of September, the Earle of Surrey high Admirall of Englande, with an hundred and threeſcore gentlemen richly apparayled, receyued theſe Ambaſſadours of Fraunce on blacke Heath, and brought them to London, and ſo through the Citie vnto Taylers hall, where the chiefe Ambaſſadors lodged, and the reſidue in marchants houſes about.

When theſe Lordes were in theyr lodgings, then the French haber men that came with theſe Ambaſſadors opened their wares, & made Taylers hall like the Paunde of a Marte. At whiche doing many an Engliſh man grudged, but it auayled not.

The laſt of September, the French Ambaſſadors tooke theyr Barge, and came to Greenewich where the Court then lay. They were brought to the Kings preſence, and there the Biſhop of Paris made a ſolemne oration, which ended and anſwere made thereto, the king highly enterteyned the Admirall and his companie, and ſo did all the Engliſh Lordes and gentlemen.

The Ambaſſadors after this were dayly in counſaile, till at length an agreement was concluded vnder pretence of a maryage to be had betweene the Dolphin of Fraunce, and the Ladie Marie, daughter to the king of Englande, in name of whoſe mariage mony, Tourney ſhould be deliuered to the French king, he paying to the king of England for the Caſtell whiche hee had made in that citie, ſix hundred thouſand crownes, to be payed in .xij. yeares ſpace, that is to ſay, fiftie thouſande euery yeare during that terme. And if the mariage chaunced not to take effect, then ſhould Tourney be againe reſtored to the king of Englande, for performance of which article, hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, that is to wit, Monſieur de Mountmorancie, Monſieur de Montpeſat, Monſieur de Moy, Monſieur de Morret.

Articles of agreement for the deliuerie of Tourney.

Moreouer the French king ſhoulde pay to the Lord Cardinall of England, a thouſand markes of yearely penſion in recompence of his reuenues before time receyued of the Biſhoprike of Tourney. And likewiſe to other of the kings counſayle he ſhould alſo giue certaine ſummes of money as yearely penſions, in lyke maner as his aunceſtors had done to the Counſaylors of the kings of Englande afore time.

Alſo the French king couenaunted to call backe the duke of Albany out of Scotlande, that the ſuretie of king Iames might the better be prouided for, and leſſe occaſion of trouble miniſtred to the king of Englande.

And further the French king was contented that the ſaide king Iames ſhould be receyued as a confederate in this peace.

When al things were concluded, the king and the Ambaſſadors rode to the cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London from Durham place, where

where the Cardinal of England ſang the Maſſe in moſte pompous maner: and after that Maſſe was ended, Doctor Pace the kings Secretarye, made an eloquent Oratiō in praiſe of peace: and that done, the king and his nobles and the Ambaſſadors went to the Biſhops Palace, and ther dined, and after dinner, the king roade againe to Durham place. The eight of October at Grenewich, was ſong a ſolemne Maſſe by the Biſhop of Durham, and after Maſſe, Doctor Tunſtall, maiſter of the Rolles, made an eloquent propoſitiō in praiſe of the matrimony to be had betwixt the Dolphin and the Ladye Marye. But to bee ſhorte, after that theſe Ambaſſadors had bin feaſted, and enterteined, with all paſtime, diſporte, and ſolace, in moſte royall ſorte by the King, the lord Cardinal, & other of the peares of the realme, and alſo of the lord Maior of Londō, they finally toke their leaue of the King and Queene, and of the Counſell, and then departed wyth high rewardes, beſtowed on them of the Kyngs greate and bountifull munificence.

Ambaſſadours ſent from king Henrie to the French King.

Shortly after their departure, the Earle of Worceſter, L. Chamberlaine, the Byſhop of Ely, the Lorde of S. Johans, ſir Nicholas Uaux, ſir John Pechy, ſir Tho. Bulleine, as Ambaſſadors from the King of Englande, accompanyed with.70. Knightes, and Gentlemen and yomē, to the number of four hundred and aboue, paſſed the Sea to Calais, and ſo from thence wente to Paris, where they were nobly receiued, and beeing broughte to the Frenche kings preſence, the

Biſhop of Ely made a ſolemne Oration, touching the mariage and peace concluded. Heere is to be remembred, that immediately after the concluſion of the mariage, a rumor was reyſed, that the Dolphin was dead before, and that this mariage was but a colourable pretext; deuiſed of the frenchmen for a policie, to come by their purpoſe; and therefore, after that the Engliſhe Ambaſſadors had bin feaſted and enterteined, with banqueting and Princely paſtime, the B. of Ely, with ſir Tho, Bulleine, and ſir Rich. Weſtō, were appointed to goe vnto Conyacke to ſee the Dolphin, where they were honorably receyued, & brought to the preſence of the Dolphin, beeing a goodly yong child, whom they kiſſed and embraced in moſt louing wiſe. The Earle of Worceſter, and with him ſir Nicholas Uaux, ſir John Pechy, ſir Edw. Belknap, and diuers other at ẏ ſame time, toke leaue of the french K. and roade to Tourney to ſee the Citie deliuered to ẏ frenchmen, whereupon, the eyghth of February, the L. Chatillon came thither with one and twenty C. men, and after ſome controuerſie moued about ẏ deliuery of his commiſſion, and ſealing an Indenture, whiche the Erle had there ready engroſſed, conteining the articles of agreement, in conſideration wherof it was deliuered, the Captain ſir Richard Jerningham was diſcharged, and the frenchmen ſuffered to enter with drumſleddes and minſtrelſie, but not with ſtanderts nor banners, which the Engliſhmen cauſed them to rolle vp greatly agaynſt theyr willes.

1520

Tourney de
liuered to th
Frenche Ki

Before they came to the gates, they ſealed the Indenture, confeſſing howe they receyued the City as a gyfte, and not as a righte, and deliuered theyr cōmiſſion, whereby they were authorized to receaue it, which at the firſte they refuſed to do, affirmyng, that it was ſufficient for them to ſhewe it.

Thus was Tourney deliuered in this tenthe yeare of the Kyngs reigne, on the eighte daye of Februarye, and the Engliſhmen returned into England, ſore diſpleaſed in their myndes, for therby many a tall yeoman lacked liuyng, the whiche would not labour after their retourne, but fell to robbyng. The eighte of Marche, ſolemne Juſtes were holden, the King hymſelfe and eight young Gentlemen, takyng vppon them to anſwere the Duke of Suffolke, and eighte of hys companyons, all of them beeyng gorgeouſlye trymmed, and runnyng exceedingly well, for the which, they wer highly cōmended of ẏ ſtrangers.

A ſolemne Iuſtes.

Aboute the ende of Marche, the Kyng ſente for all the yeomen of the garde that were come from Tourney, and after many good wordes gyuen to them, he graunted to euerye of them foure pence the daye without attendaunce, except they were ſpecially commaunded.

The ſoldiers of Tourney rewarded.

This yeare, the twelfthe of Februarye, dyed the Emperor Maximilian, for whome, the King cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to be kept in Paules Churche.

The death
the Emper
Maximilia

This yeare, the Kyng helde the Feaſt of S. George at Windeſor with all ſolemnity, where were preſent all the Knyghts of the order then beeing within the realme.

An. reg. 1
The K. ke
S. George
feaſt at Wi
ſor with g
ſolemnitie.

The King was ſolemnelye ſerued, and the ſurnappe caſt like as at the feaſt of a coronation.

It

At the Maſſe of *Requiem* was offered the banner and other hachements of honor, belonging to Maximilian the Emperour lately deceaſſed.

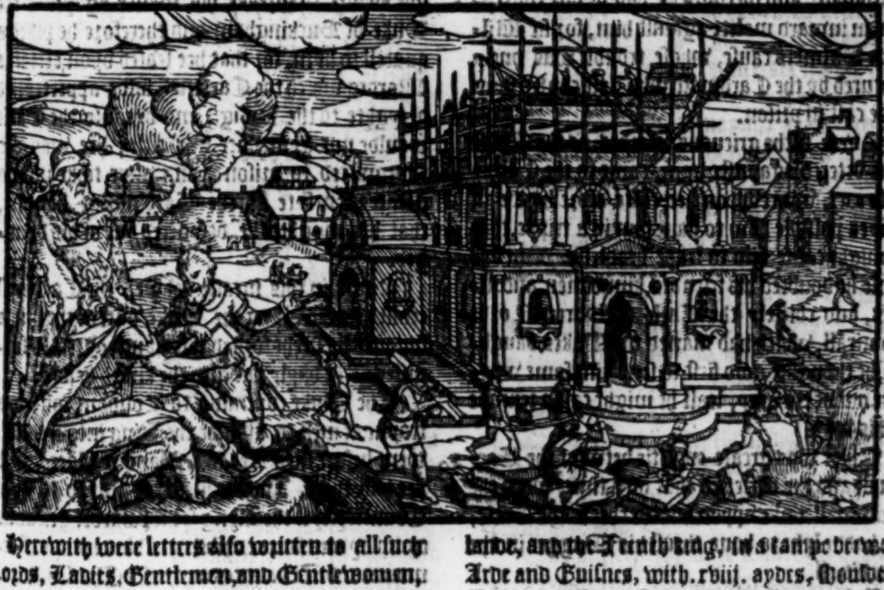
Shortly after, certaine Gentlemen of the priuie chamber, which through the kings gentle nature, a great curteſie in bearing with their lewdneſſe, forgot themſelues and their dutie toward his grace, in being too familiar with him, not hauing due reſpect to his eſtate and degree, were remoued by order taken by the Counſaile, vnto whom the king had giuen authoritie to vſe their diſcretion in that behalfe, and then were foure ſad and auncient knightes put into the kings priuie Chamber, whoſe names were theſe, ſir Richarde Wingfield, ſir Richard Jerningham, ſir Richard Weſton, and ſir William Kingſton; and beſide theſe diuerſe officers were changed in al places.

In the moneth of Nouember the king came from Lambeth to Weſtminſter hall, & ſo to the ſtarre Chamber, & there wer brought before him ye Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Howarde, ſir Mathewe Browne, ſir William Bulmer, and John Scot of Camerwel, for diuerſe riots, miſdemeanors, & offences by them committed: but the king eſpecially rebuked ſir Wil. Bulmer knight, bicauſe he being hys ſeruaunt ſworne, refuſed the kings ſeruice, and became ſeruant to ye Duke of Buckingham: yet at length vppon his humble crauing of mercie, ſtill kneeling on his knees before his grace, the king pardoned him his offence, and likewiſe he pardoned the Lorde Howarde, and Sir Mathewe Browne, theyr offences: but bycauſe the Lorde Ogles matter concerned murther, he remitted hym to the common lawe. And then he roſe and went to his Barge, and by the way made James Yarforde Maior of the Citie of London Knight, and ſo returned to Lambeth.

1520 The Frenche King deſirous to continue the friendſhippe lately begunne betwixte him and the king of Englande, made meanes vnto the Cardinall, that they might in ſome conuenient place come to an enterview togither, that hee might haue further knowledge of king Henrie, and likewiſe king Henrie of him.

But the fame went that the Cardinall deſired greatly of himſelfe, that the two Kings might meete, who meaſuring by his will what was conuenient, thought it ſhoulde make much with his glorie, if in Fraunce alſo at ſome high aſſemble of noble men, he ſhoulde be ſeene in his vaine pompe and ſhew of dignitie: he therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, declaring howe honorable, neceſſarie, and conuenient it ſhoulde be for him to gratifie his friende therein, and thus with his perſwaſions the king beganne to conceyue an earneſt deſire to ſee the Frenche King, and thervpon appoynted to goe ouer to Calays, and ſo in the marches of Guiſnes to meete wyth the Frenche king.

Then were there ſent vnto Guiſnes, vnder the rule of ſir Edwarde Belknap three M. artificers, which buylded out of the earth on the playne before the Caſtell of Guiſnes, a moſt pleaſant palayce of tymber, ryght curiouſly garniſhed without and within. *Hall.*



Herewith were letters alſo written to all ſuch Lords, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, which ſhould giue their attendance on the king, and the Queene, which incontinently put themſelues in a readineſſe after the moſt ſumptuous ſort. Alſo it was appointed that the king of Englande, and the Frenche king, in a campe betweene Arde and Guiſnes, with .xviij. aydes, ſhoulde in June next enſuing, abide al commers being gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourney, and at barriers, whereof Proclamation was made by Orleans King of Armes of Fraunce here in the Courte of of Englande, and by Clarenceaux king of armes of Englande, in the Court of Fraunce, and in the Court of Burgongne, and in diuerſe other courts and places in Almaine and Italy.

The whole maner of the enteruiew committed to the Cardinall.

Moreouer now that it was concluded, that the kings of Englande and Fraunce ſhoulde meete (as ye haue hearde) then both the kings committed the order and maner of their meeting, and how manye dayes the ſame ſhoulde continue, and what preheminence eche ſhoulde gyue to other, vnto the Cardinall of Yorke, which to ſette all things in a certaintie, made an inſtrument conteyning an order and direction concerning the premiſſes by him deuiſed and appoynted.

The Peeres of the Realme receyuing Letters to prepare themſelues to attende the Kyng in thys iourney, and no apparant neceſſarie cauſe expreſſed why nor wherefore, ſeemed to grudge that ſuche a coſtly iourney ſhoulde bee taken in hande to theyr importunate charges and expences, withoute conſente of the whole bourde of the Counſaile: but namely the Duke of Buckingham, beeyng a manne of a loftye courage, but not moſt liberall, ſore repyned that he ſhoulde bee at ſo greate charges for his furniture forth at thys tyme, ſaying, that hee knewe not for what cauſe ſo muche money ſhoulde bee ſpent about the ſight of a vayne talke to bee had, and communication to be miniſtred of things of no importance. Wherefore he ſticked not to ſay, that it was an intollerable matter to obey ſuch a vile and importunate perſon.

Great hatred betweene the Cardinall, and the Duke o Buckingham.

The Duke indeede coulde not abyde the Cardinall, and ſpecially he had of late conceyued an inward malice againſt him, for ſir William Bulmers cauſe, whoſe trouble was onely procured by the Cardinall, who firſt cauſed hym to be caſt in priſon.

Nowe ſuche grieuous wordes as the Duke thus vttered agaynſte hym, came to the Cardinals eare; wherevppon hee caſte afore hande all wayes poſſible how to haue him in a trippe, that he might cauſe him to leape headleſſe. But bycauſe he doubted his friendes, kinneſmen, and allyes, and chiefely the Earle of Surrey Lorde Admirall, which had maried the Dukes daughter, he thoughte good firſt to ſend him ſome whyther out of the way, leaſt he might caſt a trumpe in his way.

There was greate enmitie betwixt the Cardinall and the Erle, for that on a time, when the Cardinall tooke vppon him to checke the Earle, hee hadde lyke to haue thruſt his Dagger in the Cardinall.

At length, there was occaſion offered hym to compaſſe his purpoſe, by occaſion of the Earle of Kildare hys commyng out of Irelande. For the Cardinall knowing that he was well prouided of money, ſought occaſions to fleece him of part thereof.

The Earle of Kyldare beeyng widower, was deſirous to haue an Engliſhe woman to wyfe, and for that he was a ſuyter to a wydow contrary to the Cardinalles minde, he accuſed hym to the King, of that he had not borne hymſelfe vprightly in his office in Irelande, where he was the kings lieutenant.

The Earle o Kildare co mitted to warde.

Suche accuſations were framed agaynſte hym when no brybes woulde come, that he was committed to priſon, and then by the Cardinals good preferment the Earle of Surrey was ſent into Irelande as the Kings Deputie, in lieu of the ſayde Earle of Kyldare, there to remayne rather as an exile, than as lieutenant to the King, euen at the Cardinals pleaſure, as hee hymſelfe well perceyued.

Hall.

And ſo in the beginning of Aprill, the ſayde Earle paſſed ouer into Irelande, and had with him dyuerſe Gentlemen that hadde beene in the garniſon of Tourney, and one hundred yeomen of the Kinges Garde, and other, to the number of a thouſande menne, where he by hys manhoode and policye, brought the Earle of Deſmonde, and diuerſe other Rebelles to good conformitie and order. Hee continued there two yeares, in whyche ſpace, he hadde manye bickerings and ſkirmiſhes wyth the wylde Iriſhe.

Good ſeruice done by the Erle of Sur

Polidor.

There reſted yet the Earle of Northumberlande, whome the Cardinall doubted alſo, leaſte hee myght hynder hys purpoſe, when he ſhoulde goe aboute to wreake his malice agaynſte the Duke of Buckingham: and therefore he piked a quarell to hym, for that hee ſeaſed vpon certaine Wardes which the Cardinall ſaide apperteyned of ryghte to the Kyng, and bycauſe the Earle woulde not gyue ouer hys title, hee was alſo committed to priſon, and after tooke it for a greate benefyte at the Cardinalles handes, that hee myghte be delyuered out of his daunger.

The Earle of Northumb land commit ted to priſ

Nowe in this meane whyle, the Cardinall ceaſſed not to bryng the Duke oute of the kings fauoure, by ſuche forged tales, and contriued ſurmiſes as he dayly put into the kings head.

The Duke comming to London, with hys trayne of men to attende the King into Fraunce, went before into Kent to a Manour place which hee had there. And whileſt hee ſtayed in that Countrey tyll the Kyng ſet forwarde, grieuous complayntes were exhibited to him by hys Fermours and Tenauntes agaynſte Charles Kneuet his Surueyour, for ſuche brybing as he had vſed there amongſt thẽ, wherevpon the duke tooke ſuche diſpleaſure agaynſt hym, that hee depriued hym of his office, not knowing how that in ſo doing he procured his owne deſtruction, as after it appeared.

reg.12. he king ſet- forward ard Fraunce

The Kings Maieſtie perſeuering in purpoſe to meete with Fraunces the French King, remoued with the Queene, and all his Court the. xxj. day of May being Monday, from his Manour of Greenewiche towards the Sea ſyde, and ſo on the Fryday the. xxv. of May, hee arriued at the Citie of Canterburie, intending there to kepe his Whitſuntide.

On the morrow after, the Emperour being on the Sea returning oute of Spaine, arryued wyth all hys nauie of ſhippes royall on the coaſt of Kent, direct to the Porte of Hyeth the ſayde day by Noone, where hee was ſaluted by the Viceadmirall of Englande, ſir William Fitzwilliam, with ſixe of the Kings greate ſhippes well furniſhed, which lay for the ſafegarde of paſſage betwixte Calays and Douer.

Towardes Euening the Emperour departed from his ſhippes, and entred into his Boate, and comming towardes lande was met and receyued of the Lorde Cardinall of Yorke wyth ſuche reuerence as to ſo noble a Prince apperteyned.

The Emperor Charles the. v. landeth in England.

Thus landed the Emperour Charles the fifth at Douer, vnder his clothe of eſtate of the blacke Eagle, all ſpredde on riche cloth of golde. He had with him many noble men, and many fayre Ladyes of his bloud.

When he was come to lande, the Lord Cardinall conducted him to the Caſtell of Douer, whiche was prepared for him in moſte royall maner.

The meeting of the Emperor and king Henrie at Douer Caſtel.

In the morning, the king rode with all haſt to the Caſtell of Douer to welcome the Emperor, and entring into the Caſtell alighted, of whoſe comming the Emperor hauing knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him on the ſtayres, where either of them embraced other in moſt louing maner, and then the king brought the Emperor to his chamber.

The Emperor and K. Henrie kepe Whitſuntide at Canterburie.

On Whitſunday early in the morning, they toke theyr horſes, and rode to the Citie of Canterburie, the more to keepe ſolemne the feaſt of Pentecoſt, but ſpecially to ſee the Q. of England his aunt, was the Emperor his intent, of whõ ye may bee ſure, he was moſt ioyfully receyued and welcomed.

Thus the Emperour and his retinue both of Lords and Ladies, kept their Whitſuntide with the king and Queene of Englande, in the Citie of Canterburie with all ioy and ſolace.

Polidor.

The Emperor yet himſelf ſeemed not ſo much to delite in paſtime and pleaſure, but that in reſpect of his youthfull yeres, there appeared in him a great ſhewe of grauitie: for they coulde by no meanes bring him to daunce amongſt the reſidue of the Princes, but onely was contented to be a loker on. Peraduenture the ſight of the Ladye Marie troubled him, whom he had ſometime loued, and yet through fortunes euill happe might not haue hir to wife.

The emperor laboureth to hinder the purpoſed enterniew.

The chiefe cauſe that moued the Emperour to come thus a lande at this tyme, was to perſwade that by worde of mouth, which he had before done moſt earneſtly by letters, whiche was, that the King ſhoulde not meete the French king at anye enterview: for hee doubted leaſt if the King of England and the French King ſhoulde growe into ſome greate friendſhippe and faythfull bonde of ametie, it might turne him to diſpleaſure. But nowe that he perceyued howe the king was forwarde on his iourney, hee did what he coulde to procure that no truſt ſhould be committed to the fayre wordes of the French men, and that if it were poſſible, the great friendſhippe that was nowe in breeding betwixte the two kings might be diſſolued.

And foraſmuch as he knewe the Lorde Cardinall to be wonne with rewardes, as a fiſh with a bayte, he beſtowed on him greate gyftes, and promyſed him much more, ſo that he woulde be his friende, and helpe to bring hys purpoſe to paſſe.

The Cardinall not able to ſuſteyne the laſte aſſault, by force of ſuch rewardes as hee preſently receyued, and of ſuche large promiſes as on the Emperours behalfe were made to him, promiſed to the Emperour, that he woulde ſo vſe the matter, as his purpoſe ſhould be ſpedde, onely hee required him not to diſallow the Kings intent for enterview to be had, which he deſired in any wiſe to goe forwarde, that hee myght ſhewe hys high magnificence in Fraunce, according to his firſt intention.

Hall.

The Emprerour remayned in Canterburie til the Thurſday, being the laſt of May, and then taking leaue of the King, and of hys Aunte the Queene, departed to Sandwich, where hee toke his ſhips and ſayled into Flaunders.

The king landeth at Calais.

The ſame daye the King made ſayle from the Porte of Douer, and landed at Calays about eleuen of the Clocke, and with him the Queene and Ladies and many Nobles of the Realme, his grace was receyued into the checker, and there reſted.

The fourth of Iune, the King and Queene with all their trayne remoued from Calays to his princely lodging newly erected beſide the towne of Guiſnes.

The deſcriptiõ of the new palace before Guiſnes.

This princely Palayce was buylt quadrant euerie ſquare conteyning three hundred. xxviij. foote long of a ſiſe, ſo that the compaſſe was. xiij. hundred and. xij. foote about.

The ſame Palayce was ſet on Stages by

great cunning and ſumptuous worke, moſt gorgeouſly decked, trymmed, and adourned, both within and without, with ſuch ſumptuous and royall furniture of all ſortes neceſſarie for the receyuing of ſuch highe eſtates, that the like might vneth bee ymagined or deuiſed, by the wytte of man.

The French king was likewiſe come to the Towne of Arde, neare to the which his loggyng was alſo prepared, but not fully finiſhed. And like as diuerſe of the French Nobilitie had viſited the King of Englande whyleſt hee lay in Calays, ſo lykewiſe nowe the Lorde Cardinall as Ambaſſadour to the King, roade wyth a noble repayre of Lordes, Gentlemen, and Prelates, to the towne of Arde, where hee was of the French king highly enterteyned, with great thankes, for that by his meanes hee had ioyned in friendſhip wyth the King of England, to his high contentation and pleaſure, as hauing obteyned the thing which he had long deſired.

The greate pompe of Cardinal Wolſey.

The noble port, ſumptuous ſhew, and great trayne of Gentlemen, Knightes, Lordes, and number of ſeruaunts, in riche apparell and ſuyte of leuereys attendant on the Cardinall, made the Frenchmen greatly to wonder at his triumphant doings.

The king of Englande had giuen vnto the ſayde Cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to affirme and confirme, binde and vnbind, whatſoeuer ſhoulde be in queſtion betweene him and the Frenche king, and the lyke authoritie, power, and libertie, did the French king by hys ſufficient letters patent, graunt to the ſame Cardinall, which was reputed to be a ſigne of great loue, that he ſhoulde commit ſo greate a truſt to the king of Englands ſubiect.

Great credite committed to the Cardinall by both the kings.

The day of meeting was appoynted to bee on the Thurſday the ſeuenth of June, on whiche day the two kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with ſuche a number of the Nobilitie of both the Realmes, ſo richely appoynted in apparayle, and coſtlye Jewelles, as Chaynes, Collors of SS, and other the lyke ornamentes to ſet forth theyr degrees and eſtates, that a woonder it was to beholde and viewe them in theyr order and rowmethes, which euerie man kept according to his appoyntment.

The enterview of the two kings in the vale of Andren.

The two Kinges meeting in the fielde, eyther ſaluted other in moſte louing wyſe, firſt on horſebacke, and after alyghting on foote eftſoones embraced with courteous wordes, to the greate reioyſing of the beholders, and after they had thus ſaluted eche other, they went bothe togither into a riche Tente of clothe of golde, there ſet vp for the purpoſe, in the whiche they paſſed the tyme in pleaſaunt talke, banquetting, and louyng deuiſes; till it drewe towarde the Euening, and then departed for that nyght, the one to Guiſnes, and the other to Arde.

Hall.

Saterday the ninth of June, in a place within the Engliſh Pale, were ſet vp in a fielde called the Campe, two trees of muche honour, the one called the *Aubeſpine*, that is to ſay, the Hawthorne in Engliſhe, for Henrie, and the other the *Framboiſter*, whiche in Engliſhe ſignifieth the Raſpis berie, after the ſignification in French.

The deſcrip of the two tificiall tree figuring H and France

Theſe trees were curiouſly wrought, the leaues of greene Damaſke, the braunches, boughes, and wythered leaues, of cloth of golde, and all the bodyes and armes of the ſame clothe of golde layde on tymber: they were in heigth from the foote to the toppe. xxxiiij. foote of aſſiſe, in compaſſe about an C. twentie and nine foote, and from bough to bough. xliij. foote: on theſe trees were flowers and fruites in kyndly wyſe, with ſiluer and Veniſe golde: their beautie ſhewed farre.

The ſame daye the two kings came to thoſe trees of honour, nobly accompanied, in ſuch royal ſort as was requiſite. The Campe was in lẽgth nine hundred foote, and in bredth three. C. and xx. foot, ditched rounde about (ſauing at the entries) with brode and deepe ditches. Diuerſe ſkaffoldes were reared about this campe for the eaſe of the Nobles.

On the right ſide of the field ſtood the Queene of England, & the Queene of France, with many Ladies. The campe was ſtrongly rayled and barred on euerie end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared for the two kings, wherin they might arme themſelues, and take their eaſe.

Alſo in the ſame cõpaſſe there were two great ſellers couched full of wine, which was liberally beſtowed to all men.

The two kings as brethren in armes, vndertooke to deliuer all perſons at iuſtes, tourney, and barriers, and with them were aſſociate by the order of armes, the duke of Vandoſme, the duke of Suffolke: the Counte S. Paule, the Marques Dorcet: M. de Roche, ſir Williã Kingſton: M. Brian, ſir Richard Jarningham: M. Cauaan, ſir Giles Capell: M. Bukkal, maiſter Nicholas Carew: M. Montaſlion, & ma. Antony Kneuet.

Mondaye the eleuenth of June, the two Queenes of Englande, and of Fraunce, came to the Campe, where eyther ſaluted other righte honourably, and went into a ſtage for them prepared.

The two Queenes at the camp

At the houre aſſigned, the two kings armed at all peeces mounted on horſebacke, and with their companyes entred the fielde, preſented themſelues to the Quenes, and after reuerence done, toke their places, abiding the anſweres whiche were deliuered in order as they came in moſt knightly wiſe, to the great contentation and pleaſure of all the beholders.

Thoſe iuſtes and martiall feates laſted till Fryday the .xv. of June, and on the Saterdaye being the .xvj. of the ſame moneth, the Frenche King with a ſmall number came to the caſtell of Guiſnes, aboute the houre of eyght in the morning.

french
commeth
Guiſnes,
the king
land go-
Arde.

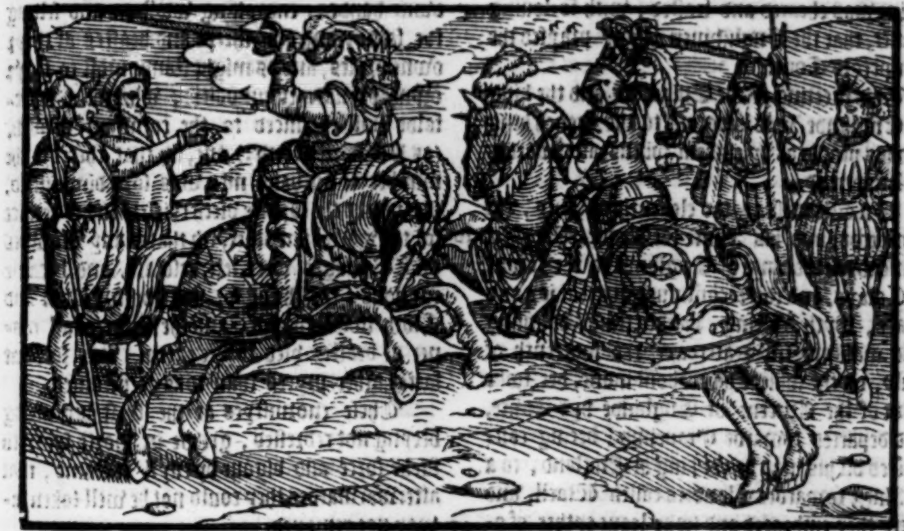
The king hauing thereof knowledge (as then being in his priuie chamber) with all haſt in gladſome wiſe went to receyue him. And after he had welcomed him in moſt louing maner, he departed and road to Arde, leauing the Frenche king ſtill at Guiſnes, and ſo comming to Arde was ioyfully receyued of the French Queene and other nobles of the realme of Fraunce, with al honour that might be deuiſed. And thus were theſe two kings, the one at Guiſnes, and the other at Arde, highly entertained, feaſted, and banquetted, in ſuch royall and princely ſort, that wonder it is to heare, and more merueile to conſider, of the great plentie of fine and delicate viandes, the huge ryches of ſiluer and golde in plate and veſſell, and all other furniture of ineſtimable value there preſent, and ſet forth that day, as well in the one place as in the other.

Towarde the Euening at time conuenient, they tooke their leaues and returned, the Frenche King to Arde, and the King of Englande to Guiſnes.

Monday the .xviij. of June was ſuch an hideous ſtorme of winde and weather, that manye coniectured it did prognoſticate trouble and hatred ſhortly after to follow betweene princes.

Tueſday the .xix. of June, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all peeces, and there abode them that woulde come, ſo that then began the iuſtes afreſh.

On Wedneſday the .xx. of June, the two kings began to holde tourneys with all the perteyners of theyr chalenge armed at all peeces.



The Queene of Fraunce, and the Queene of Englande, were in the places for them prepared; and there was many a goodly battayle perfourmed, the Kings doing as well as the beſt, ſo that all the beholders ſpake of them honor.

Thurſday the .xxi. of June, the two Kings likewiſe kept the tourneys, ſo that all thoſe noble men that woulde proue their valiancies, were deliuered according to the articles of the tourneys, which this day tooke ende.

Fryday the .xxij. of June, the two kings with their retinue did battaile on foote at the Barriers, and there deliuered all ſuch as put forth themſelues to trie their forces.

Cardinall
Maſse
the two

On Saterday the .xxiij. of June the Lorde Cardinall ſang an highe and ſolemne Maſſe by note aloft vpon a pompous ſtage before the two Kings and Queenes, the which being finiſhed, Indulgence was giuen to all the hearers.

The two kings dyned in one Chamber that day, and the two Queenes in another.

After dinner, the two kings with their bendes entred the field on foote before the Barriers, and ſo began the fight, which continued, battaile after battaile, till all the commers were anſwered.

There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battaile, an .C. and ſixe perſons; the two laſt battails did the kings. And ſo that Saterday the whole chalenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iuſtes, tourneys, & battayles on foote at the Barriers, by the ſayde two kings and their aydes.

Maſkes.

After this, there folowed royall maſkes, and on the Sunday the .xxiiij. of June, the King of Englande with foure companyes, in euerie companie ſixe, trymlye appoynted in maſkyng apparell rode to Arde, and lykewiſe the Frenche king accõpanied with. xxxviij. perſons, as maſkers repayred to Guiſnes. They met on the way, and eche company paſſed by other without any countenance making or diſuiſering.

They were honourably receyued, as well at the one place as the other, and when they had ended theyr paſtime, banquetting, and daunces, they returned and met againe on the way homewardes, and then putting off their viſers, they louingly embraced: and after amiable communication togyther, they tooke leaue either of other, and for a remembraunce gaue giftes eyther to other, verie rich and princely.

King Henry departed from Guiſnes to Caleys, and from thence to Graueling to viſite the Emperour.

On the Morrow after being Monday, the xxv of June, the king with the Queene remoued from Guiſnes to Calays, where hee remayned till the tenth of July, on whiche day he roade to Graueling, and was receyued on the waye by the Emperor, and ſo by hym conueyed to Graueling, where not onely the king, but alſo all his traine was cheared and feaſted, with ſo louing maner, that the Engliſhmen highly prayſed the Emperors Court.

This meeting of the Emperour and the king of Englande, was a corſie to the French king and his people, as by euident tokens afterwardes well appeared.

The emperour commeth to Caleys to king Henrye.

On Wedneſday the eleuenth of July, the Emperour and his Aunte the Ladie Margaret came wyth the king of Englande to the towne of Calays, and there continued in great ioy and ſolace, wyth feaſting, banquetting, daunſing and maſking till Saterdaye the fourtenth of July, on the whiche day about noone, hee tooke leaue of the Queene of Englande hys Aunte, and departed towarde Graueling, beeing conduited on his way by the king of England, to a Village towardes Flanders called Waell, and there they embraced and tooke leaue eyther of other in moſt louing maner.

They did not altogither ſpend the tyme thus whileſt they were togither, in vayne pleaſures, and ſporting reuels, for the Charters before time concluded, were there read, and all the Articles of the league tripartite, agreed betwixt the Emperour, the King of Englande, and the French king, were at full declared, to the whiche the French king had fully condeſcended: and for the more proufe thereof, and exemplyfication of the ſame, he ſent Monſieur de Roche with letters of credence to ſignifie to the Emperour, that in the worde of a Prince he woulde obſerue, fulfil, performe, and keepe all the ſame articles, for him his realme and ſubiects.

The king returneth into England.

Shortly after that the Emperour and the King had taken leaue eche of other, and were departed, the king ſhipped, and with the Queene and all other the Nobilitie returned ſafely into England.

The King kept hys Chriſtmaſſe at Grenewiche this yeare, with much nobleneſſe and open Court.

1521

Polidor.

About the ſame tyme, the King hauing regarde to the common wealth of his realme, conſidered how for the ſpace of fiftie yeares paſt and more, the Nobles and Gentlemen of Englande being giuen to graſing of cattell, and keeping of ſheepe, had inuented a meane howe to encreaſe their yearely reuenues to the great decay and vndoing of the huſbandemen of the lande. For the ſayde Nobles and Gentlemen after the maner of the Numidians, more ſtudying how to encreaſe their paſtures, than to mainteyne tyllage, beganne to decay huſbande tackes and tenements, and to conuert errable grounde into Paſture, furniſhing the ſame with beaſtes and ſheepe, and alſo deare, ſo encloſing the fieldes with hedges, dytches, and pales, whiche they helde in theyr owne handes, engroſſing woolles, and ſelling the ſame, and alſo ſheepe and beaſtes at theyr owne pryſes, and as might ſtande moſt to theyr owne pryuate commoditie, whereof a threefolde euill chaunced to the common wealth, (as Polidore noteth:) one, for that thereby the number of huſband men was ſore diminiſhed, the whiche the Prince vſeth chiefely in his ſeruice for the warres: an other, for that many Townes and Vyllages were left deſolate, and became ruynous: the thirde for that both Wooll and Cloth made thereof, and the fleſhe of all maner of beaſtes vſed to bee eaten, was ſolde at farre higher pryces than was accuſtomed.

These enormityes at the fyrſt beginning beeyng not redreſſed, grewe in ſhorte ſpace to ſuche force and vigour by euyll cuſtome, that afterwarwardes they could not be well taken away nor remoued.

Commiſſion graunted for the maintenaunce of tillage and laying open of incloſures.

The King therefore cauſing ſuche good ſtatutes as had beene deuiſed and eſtabliſhed for reformation in thys behalfe, to be reuyued and called vppon, taketh order by directing forth hys Commiſſion vnto the Juſtices of peace, and other ſuche Magyſtrates, that preſentmente ſhoulde bee hadde and made of all ſuche Incloſures, and decay of huſbandrye as had chaunced within the ſpace of fiftie yeares before that preſent tyme. The Juſtices and other Magiſtrates according to their commiſſion executed the ſame.

And ſo commaundement was giuen that the decayed, houſes ſhould be buylt vp again, that the huſbandmen ſhould be placed eftſoones in ỹ ſame, and that incloſed grounds ſhuld be laid open, and ſore puniſhment appointed agaynſte them that diſobeyed.

Theſe ſo good and wholeſome ordinances, ſhortly after were defeated by meane of bribes giuẽ vnto the Cardinal: for when the nobles and Gentlemen, whiche had for their pleaſures imparked the common fieldes, were loth to haue the ſame againe diſparked, they redemed their vexation with good ſummes of money, and ſo had licence to keepe their parkes and grounds encloſed as before.

Thus the great expectation whiche men had conceiued of a generall redreſſe, proued voyde: howbeit, ſome profite the huſbandmen in ſome partes of the realme gotte by the mouing of this matter, where the incloſures were already layde open, ere miſtreſſe money coulde preuente them; and ſo they enioyed their commons, whiche before had bin taken from them.

e Cardinall ſeeketh the ſtruction of e Duke of ckingham.

After that thys matter for incloſures was thus diſpatched, the Cardinall boyling in hatred againſt the duke of Buckingham, and thirſting for hys bloud, deuiſed to make Charles Kneuet, that had bin the Dukes ſuruevour, and put from hym (as yee haue hearde) an inſtrumente to bring the Duke to deſtruction.

Thys Kneuet beyng had in examination afore the Cardinall, diſcloſed all the Dukes lyfe, and firſte hee vttered, that the Duke was accuſtomed by way of talke, to ſay, howe he meante ſo to vſe the matter, that hee woulde atteyne to the Crowne, if King Henrye chaunced to dye without iſſue, and that hee had talke and conference of that matter one tyme with George Neuil, Lord of Burgauennye, vnto whom hee hadde giuen his daughter in marriage, and alſo that he threatned to puniſh the Cardinall for his manifolde miſdoings, beeing without cauſe his mortall enimie.

The Cardinall hauing gotten that, that hee ſought for, encourageth, comforteth, and procureth Kneuet with manye comfortable wordes, and greate promiſes, that hee ſhoulde with a bolde ſpirite and countenaunce obiecte, and laye theſe thynges to the Dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required.

Then Kneuet partely prouoked with deſire to bee reuenged, and partely moued with hope of rewarde, openly confeſſeth, that the Duke hadde once fully determined to deuiſe meanes, how to make the Kyng away, beeyng broughte into a full hope, that hee ſhoulde bee King, by a vayne propheſie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a Monke of an houſe of the Chartreux order, beſyde Briſtow, called Henton, ſometime his confeſſor had opened vnto him.

e Cardinall ſeth the ke of Buc ngham to Kyng.

The Cardinall hauing thus taken the examination of Kneuet, wente to the Kyng, and declared vnto hym, that hys perſon was in daunger by ſuche trayterous purpoſe, as the Duke of Buckingham hadde conceyued in his heart, and ſheweth hym that nowe there is maniſeſt tokens of hys wicked pretence, wherefore, hee exhorteth the Kyng to prouide for hys owne ſuretie with ſpeede.

The King hearing the accuſation, enforced to the vttermoſt by the Cardinall, maketh thys aunſwere, if the Duke haue deſerued to bee puniſhed, lette hym haue according to hys deſertes.

Hall.

The Duke hereuppon is ſente for vp to London, and at his comming thither, is ſtraightewayes attached, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henry Marney, Captayne of the garde, the ſixteenth of Aprill.

There was alſo attached the foreſayde Chartreux Monke, maiſter John de la Kar, alias de la Court, the Dukes confeſſor, and Sir Gilbert Perke prieſt, the Dukes Chauncellour.

An. reg. 13.

The Duke of Buckingham indited of treſon.

After the apprehenſion of the Duke, inquiſitions were taken in dyuers Shires of England of hym, ſo that by the Knightes and Gentlemen, he was endited of high treaſon, for certaine wordes ſpoken, as before yee haue hearde, by the ſame Duke at Blechingly, to the Lorde of Burgauennie, and therwith was the ſame Lorde attached for concelement, and ſo likewiſe was the Lord Montagew, and both led to the Tower.

Sir Edwarde Neuill, brother to the ſayde Lorde of Burgauennie, was forbidden the kings preſence.

The effect of the Dukes inditement.

Th Duke is indited of treſon in Londõ.

This Hopkins had ſent one of the Prior of Hẽtõs ſeruãts to the Duke the day afore, to will hym to ſende ouer to hym hys Chauncellour as by an other inditement it appeareth.

Moreouer, in the Guild hall, within ỹ Citie of London, before John Brugge Knyghte, then Lorde Maior of the ſame Citie, by an inqueſt whereof one Miles Jerrard was foreman, the ſaid Duke was endited of dyuers poyntes of high treaſon, as by the ſame Inditemẽt it appeareth, infering that the ſayde Duke intendyng to exalt himſelfe, and to vſurp the Crowne, the royall power, and dignitie of the Realme of England, and to depriue the Kings maieſtie thereof, that he the ſayd Duke myght take vpon hym the ſame againſt his allegiance, had the tenthe daye of Marche, in the ſeconde yeare of the kings maieſties reigne, and at diuers other tymes before and after, imagined and compaſſed the Kings death and deſtruction at London, and at Thornbury, in the Countie of Glouceſter, and for the accompliſhment of his wicked intent and purpoſe, (as in the enditement is alledged) the 24. of Aprill, in the fourthe yeare of the Kynges reigne, he ſent one of his Chapleynes called Jo. de la Court, vnto the priorie of Henton in Somerſetſhire, whiche was an houſe of Chartreux Monkes, there to vnderſtande of one Nicholas Hopkins, a Monke of the ſame houſe (who was vaynely reputed by way of reuelation, to haue foreknowledge of things to come) what ſhoulde happen, concerning this matter, whiche hee hadde ymagyned, whiche Monke, cauſing the ſaid de la Courte firſte to ſweare vnto him, not to diſcloſe his wordes to anye manner of perſon, but only to the Duke his maiſter, therewith declared, that his maiſter the ſayde Duke, ſhoulde haue all, willing him for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, to ſeeke to winne the fauour of the people. De la Court came backe with this aunſwere, and tolde it to the Duke at Thorneburye the morrow after, being the .25. of Aprill.

Alſo, the .22. of July in the ſame fourth yeare, the Duke ſente the ſame de la Court, with letters vnto the ſaide Monke, to vnderſtand of him further of ſuch matters, and the Monke tolde to him againe for aunſwer, that the Duke ſhoulde haue all, and being aſked as well now as before, at the firſte time howe hee knewe this to be true, he ſayd, by the grace of God, and with this aunſwere, de la Court now alſo returning, declared the ſame vnto the D. the .24. of July at Thornebury aforeſaid.

Moreouer, the ſaid Duke ſent the ſame de la Court againe vnto the ſayde Monke with hys letters, the ſixe and twentith of Aprill, in the fifth yeare of the Kings raigne, when the Kyng was to take hys iourney into Fraunce, requiring to vnderſtande, what ſhoulde become of theſe warres, and whether the Scottiſh King ſhoulde in the Kings abſence inuade this Realme or not. The Monke among other things for anſwere of theſe letters, ſent the Duke worde, that the King ſhould haue no iſſue male.

Againe, the ſaide Duke the twentith daye of February, in the ſixth yeare of the Kings raigne, being at Thornebury, ſpake thoſe wordes vnto Raufe Earle of Weſtmerlande, Well, there are two new Dukes created heere in Englande, but if ought but good come to the King, the Duke of Buckingham ſhould be next in bloud to ſucceed to the Crowne.

After this, the ſaide D. on the ſixtenth daye of Aprill, in the ſaid ſixth yeare of the kings raigne, went in perſon vnto the priorie of Henton, and there had conference with the foreſaide Monke, Michelas Hopkins, who tolde him, that he ſhuld be K. whervnto the D. ſaide, that if it ſo chanced, he would ſhew himſelfe a iuſt and righteous prince. The Monke alſo tolde the Duke, that he knew this by reuelation, and willed hym in anye wiſe to procure the loue of the commons, the better to atteine his purpoſed intention. The Duke the ſame time, gaue and promiſed to giue yerely vnto the ſaid priorie, ſixe pound, therwith to buy a tun of wine. And further, hee promiſed to giue vnto the ſame Priorie, in ready money twentie pound, whereof ten pounde he gaue in hand, towards the conueying of water vnto the houſe by a conduit. And to yͤ ſaid Monke Michelas Hopkins, he gaue at that preſente in reward three li. and at another time, fortie ſhillings, at an other time a marke, and at an other time ſixe ſhillings eight pence. After this, yͤ twentith day of March, in the tenth yere of the Kings raigne, he came to the ſame Priorie, and eftſones had conference with the ſaid Monke, to be more fully informed by him in the matters aboue ſpecified, at what time, the Monke alſo told him, that he ſhould be King, and the D. in talke tolde the Monke, that he hadde done very well to binde his Chaplayne John de la Court, vnder the ſeale of confeſſion, to keepe ſecret ſuch matter, for if the king ſhould come to the knowledge thereof, it would be hys deſtruction. Likewiſe, the twentith daye of October, in the ſeuenth yeare of the kings reigne, and at diuers other times, as well before as after, the ſaid D. had ſent his Chancellor Robert Gilbert Chaplaine, vnto London, there to buy certaine clothes of golde, ſiluer, and veluets, euery tyme ſo much as amounted to the worth of three C. li. to the intent that the ſaid D. might beſtow yͤ ſame, as wel vpon knightes, eſquiers, Gentlemē of the kings houſe, and yeomen of his gard, as vpon other the kings ſubiects, to winne theyr fauours and friendſhippes to aſſiſt him in his euill purpoſe, which clothes the ſaid Gilbert did buy, & brought the ſame vnto the ſaid D. who yͤ twentith day of January, in the ſaid ſeuenth yere, and diuers other dayes and yeares before and after, did diſtribute & giue the ſame vnto certayne of yͤ kings ſubiects, for the purpoſe afore recited, as by the inditement it was inferred. Furthermore, the ſaid duke, the tenth of July, in yͤ tenth yere of the kings raigne, & diuers other dayes and times, as wel before as after, did conſtitute more ſeuerall & perticuler officers in his Caſtels, honors, lordſhips, & landes than he was accuſtomed to haue, to the ende they might be aſſiſtant to him vnder coulour of ſuch offices, to bring his euill purpoſe to paſſe. Moreouer, the ſame D. ſent to the K. the tenth of May, in the ninth yere of his raigne, for licence to reteine any of the kings ſubiects, whom it ſhould pleaſe him, dwelling within the ſhires of Hereford, Glouceſter, and Somerſetſhire, and alſo, that he might at his pleaſure, conuey diuers armures, and habiliments for war into Wales, to the intent to vſe the ſame againſt the K. as the enditemente importeth, for the accompliſhing of his naughtie purpoſe, whiche was to deſtroy the K. and to vſurp the royal gouernement and power to himſelfe, whiche ſute for licence to haue reteiners, & to conuey ſuche armoures and habilimentes of war, the ſaid Gilbert, the twentith day of May, in the ſaide ninth yere, and diuers other days before and after, at Lōdon, & Eaſt Grenewich did followe, labouring earneſtly, both to ỹ K. and counſaile, for obteining ỹ ſame. And the twentith day of July in the ſaid ninth yeare, the ſaid D. ſent the ſaid Gilbert vnto Henton aforeſaid, to vnderſtãd of the foreſaid Monke Nicholas Hopkins, what he heard of him: and ỹ Mõke ſent him word, that before Chriſtmas next, there ſhoulde bee a change, and that the Duke ſhoulde haue the rule and gouernement of all England. And moreouer, the twentith of February, in the eleuenth yere of the kings raigne, at Blechinglee in the countie of Surrey, the ſaid Duke ſaid vnto the ſaid Robert Gilbert his Chancellor, that he did expect and tarrie for a time more conuenient to atchieue his purpoſe, and that it myghte eaſily be done, if the nobles of this Realm would declare their mindes togither: but ſome of them miſtruſted, and feared to ſhew their minds togither, and that marred all. He ſaid further ỹ ſame time vnto the ſaid Gilbert, that whatſoeuer was done by the kings father, was done by wrong: & ſtil the D. murmured againſt all that the Kyng then preſently reigning did. And further he ſaid, that he knew himſelfe to be ſo wicked a ſinner, ỹ he wanted Gods fauour, and therefore he knew, that whatſoeuer he toke in hand againſt the K. had the worſe ſucceſſe. And furthermore, ỹ ſayd D. (to alienate the minds of the kings ſubiects, from their dutiful obeiſance towards the ſaid K. and his heires(the twẽtith day of September, in the firſt yere of his raigne) being then at Londõ, reported vnto ỹ ſaid Robert Gilbert, that he had a certaine writing ſealed with the Kings greate ſeale, comprehending a certaine acte of Parliament, in the which it was enacted, that the D. of Somerſet, one of the kings progenitors was made legitimate: and further, that the ſaid Duke meante to haue deliuered the ſame writing vnto K. Henry the ſeuenth, but (ſaid he) I woulde not that I had ſo done, for ten thouſand pound. And furthermore, the ſame D. the fourth day of Nouember, in the eleuenth yere of the kings raigne, at Eaſt Grenewich, in ỹ countie of Kent, ſayde vnto one Charles Kniuet Eſquier, after that the K. had reproued the D. for reteining Wil. Bulmer Knighte, into his ſeruice, that if hee hadde perceiued that hee ſhould haue bin committed to the tower, as he doubted he ſhould haue bin, hee would haue ſo wrought, that the principal doers therein ſhould not haue had cauſe of great reioicing, for he would haue plaid the part which hys father intended to haue put in practiſe againſte K. Richarde the thirde at Saliſburie, who made earneſt ſute to haue come vnto the preſence of the ſame K. Richard, whiche ſuite, if hee might haue obteined, he hauing a knife ſecretely about hym, would haue thruſt it into the body of K. Richard as hee had made ſemblance to kneele downe before him, and in ſpeaking theſe words, he maliciouſly laid his hand vpon his dagger, and ſayde, that if he were ſo euil vſed, hee would do his beſt to accompliſh his pretenſed purpoſe, ſwearing to confirme his worde by the bloud of our Lorde. And beſide all this, the ſame D. the tenth daye of May, in the twelfth yeare of the kings raigne, at London, in a place called the Roſe, within ỹ pariſh of S. Laurẽce Poultney in Canwike ſtreete ward, demanded of the ſaid Charles Kniuet eſquier, what was the talke amõg the Londoners, concerning the kings iourney beyond the ſeas: & the ſaid Charles told him, ỹ many ſtood in doubt of ỹ iourney, leaſt the frenchmen meant ſome deceit towards ỹ K. wherevnto the D. anſwered, ỹ it was to be feared, leaſt it would come to paſſe, according to the words of a certaine holy Mõke. For ther is (ſaith he) a certain Chartreux Mõke, that diuers times hath ſent to me, willing me to ſend vnto him my Chancellor, and I did ſende vnto him John de la Court my Chaplain, vnto whom he would not declare any thing, til De la Courte had ſworne vnto him to keepe al things ſecret, and to tel to no creature liuing, what he ſhould heare of him, except it were to me, and the the ſaide Monke tolde to De la Court, neither ỹ the K. nor his heires ſhould proſper, and that I ſhoulde endeuour my ſelfe to purchaſe the good willes of the cõmunaltie of England, for I the ſame D. and my bloud ſhould proſper, & haue the rule of the realm of Englãd. Then ſaid Charles Kniuet, the Monke may be deceiued through ỹ Diuels illuſion, and that it was euil to medle in ſuch matters. Well ſaide the D. it can not hurte me, and ſo (ſaith the enditement) the D. ſemed to reioyce in the dukes wordes. And further, ỹ ſame time, the D. told the ſaid Charles, that if the K. had miſcaried now in his laſt ſickneſſe, he would haue chopped off the heads of the Cardinall, of ſir Tho. Louel knight, & of others, and alſo ſaid, that he had rather die for it, than to be ſo vſed as he had bin. Moreouer, the tenth day of September, in the ſaid eleuẽth yere of this kings raigne, at Blechinglie, in the Countie of Surrey, walking in the gallerie there with George Neuill Knight, L. of Burgauenny, the D. murmuring againſt the kings counſellors, and their gouernment, ſaid vnto the ſaid George, that if the kyng dyed, hee woulde haue the rule of the Realme in ſpite of who ſo euer ſaid the contrary, and withal ſaid, that if the ſaid Lord Burgueunie woulde ſay, that the D. had ſpoken ſuch wordes, he would fight with him, and lay his ſword vpon his pate, and this he bound vp with many great othes.

alle pro-
ſying
nke.

The Duke of Buckingham arraigned at Westminster.

The names of the Lordes peeres for hys triall.

Theſe were the ſpeciall articles and poyntes compriſed in the enditemente, and laide to hys charge, but how truely, or in what ſort proued, I haue not further to ſay, eyther in accuſing or excuſing him, other then as I fynde in Hall and Polidor, whoſe wordes in effect, I haue thoughte good to impart to ẏ reader, & without any parcial wreſting of the ſame, eyther to or fro: ſauing ẏ (I truſt) I may without offence ſay that as ẏ rumor then went, the Cardinal chiefly procured ẏ death of this noble man, no leſſe fauoured and beloued of the people of this realme in that ſeaſon, than the Cardinall himſelfe was hated and enuyed, whiche thing cauſed the Dukes fall the more to be pitied & lamented, ſith he was the mã of all other, that chiefly went about to croſſe the Cardinall in his lordly demeanour, and heady proceedings. But to the purpoſe. Shortly after that the D. had bin endited (as before yee haue hearde) he was arraigned in Weſtminſter Hal, before the Duke of Norffolke, being made by ẏ kings letters patents, high ſteward of Englãd, to accompliſh ẏ high cauſe of appeale of ẏ peere, or peeres of the realme, and to decerne and iudge the cauſes of the peeres. There were alſo appoynted to ſitte as peeres and iudges vpon the ſaide D. of Buckingham, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, the Erles of Worceſter, Deuonſhire, Eſſex, Shrewſburie, Kent, Oxford, and Derby, the Lord of Saint Iohns, the Lord de la Ware, the lord Fitz Warren, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Brooke, the Lorde Cobham, the Lord Herbert, and the Lord Morley. There was made within the Hall at Weſtminſter a Scaffolde for theſe Lords, and a preſence for a Iudge, rayled and counterrayled about, and barred with degrees. When the lordes had taken their place, the Duke was brought to the barre, and vppon his arraignemente pleaded not giltie, and put hymſelfe vpõ his peeres. The was the enditement read, which the D. denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reaſons to falſifye the enditement, pleadyng the matter for his owne iuſtification very pithely, and earneſtly. The Kings attourney againſt the Dukes reaſons alledged the examinations, confeſſions, and proues of witneſſes. The D. deſired that ẏ witneſſes might be brought forth, & then came before him Charles Kneuet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the Monke of the Priory of the Charterhouſe beſide Bath, which like a falſe hypocrite, had induced the Duke to the treaſon, with his falſe forged propheſies. Diuers preſumptions and accuſations were layd to him by Charles Kneuet, which he would faine haue couered. The depoſitions were redde, and the deponents deliuered as priſoners to the officers of the Tower.

The Duke of Buckingham araigned at Weſtminſter.

The names of the Dukes peeres for hys triall.

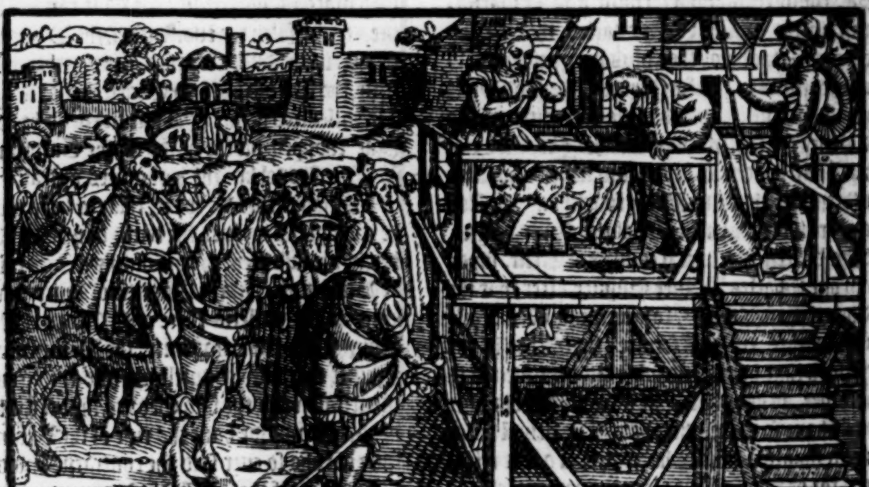
Polidor.

Hall.

Finally to conclude, there was he found giltie by hys peeres, and hauing iudgemente to ſuffer as in caſe of treaſon is vſed, was led agayne to his Barge, and ſo conueyed by water to the Temple, where he was ſet a land, and there Sir Nicholas Vaux, and ſir Wil. Sands Baronets receiued him, and led him through the ſtreetes of the Citie to the Tower as a caſt man. On Friday the ſeuententh of May, he was with a great power deliuered to the Sheriffes of Lõdon, who led him to the Scaffold on Tower hill about a eleuen of the clocke, and there he was beheaded.

The Duke of Buckingham conuict of treaſon.

The Duke of Buckingham beheaded.



The Auſteyne Friers tooke his head and body, and buried them.

Great lamentation was made for his death, but ſuch is the ende (ſaid ſome) of ambition, falſe prophecies, euill life, and naughty counſell.

In this meane while, were the Emperoure and the Frenche King fallen at variance, ſo that the warre was renued betwixt them: for the pacifying whereof, the Cardinall of Yorke was ſent ouer to Calais, where the Ambaſſadors of both thoſe princes were appoynted to come vnto him. He arriued there the ſecond of Auguſt.

Cardinall Wolſey ſent ouer to Calais.

Emperor
the french
their
aſſadors
at Ca-
to treate
peace.

Emperor
eiueth the
dinal with
at honor
Bruges.

There went ouer with him the Erle of Worceſter, then L. Chamberlain, the L. of S. Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the L. Herbert, the B. of Dureſme, the B. of Ely, the primate of Armacane, ſir Tho. Bulleigne, ſir John Peche, ſir Jo. Huſſey, ſir Rich. Wingfield, ſir Henry Guilford, and many other knightes, eſquiers, Gentlemen, doctors, & learned men. Shortly after his arriuall at Calais, thither came the Chancellor of France, and the counte de Palice, with foure C. horſe, as Ambaſſadors from the French K. and likewiſe from the Emperoure came great Ambaſſadors, either partie being furniſhed with ſufficient cōmiſſions, to treate & conclude of peace as ſhould appeare, but yet whē it came to the point, as the one partie ſeemed conformable to reaſonable offers, ſo the other would not encline that way, in ſo much, that they were neuer at one time agreeable to anye indifferente motion that coulde bee made. Ther were alſo the Popes Ambaſſadors, whereupon, the Cardinall would haue furthered a league betwixte the Emperour, the K. of England, the King of France, and the Pope: but the Popes Ambaſſadors wanted commiſſion thereto, and therefore were letters ſent to Rome in all haſt, and the frenchmen taried ſtil in Calais, till anſwere came from thence. The Cardinall rode into Flanders to ſpeake with yͤ Emperour, whiche as thē lay in Bruges. A mile without Bruges the Emperoure receiued him, and did to hym as much honour as could be deuiſed. The chere was great which was made to the Engliſhmen, and of euery thing there was ſuche plentie, that there was no wante of things neceſſary. The Cardinal after he had ſoiourned in Bruges by yͤ ſpace of thirtene dayes, & concluded diuers matters with the Emperour, & accompliſhed his cōmiſſion, he toke leaue of his maieſtie, and by cōuenient iourneis, returned to Calais, where the Ambaſſadors of France taried his comming, & immediatly after his returne to Calais, he treated with them of peace, but not ſo earneſtly as he did before. In fine, nothing was concluded, but only that fiſhermen of both the Princes, myght freely fiſhe on the ſeas without diſturbance, till yͤ ſecond of February next. When no concluſiō of agreement could be accorded, the Cardinall ſent to the Emperour the Lord of S. Johns, and ſir Tho. Bullein Knight, to aduertiſe his maieſtie what had bin done, and likewiſe to the Frēch K. (as then lying in camp with a mightie army in the marches about Cambrey) the Erle of Worceſter, and the B. of Ely were ſente to enforme him of all things that had bin mocioned, exhorting him to encline to peace, but hee gaue little eare thereto: and then after they had bin a nynetene or twenty dayes in his hoſt, they returned. During the cōtinuance of the Cardinall in Calais, all writtes and patents were there by hym ſealed, and no Sheriffes choſen for lacke of hys preſence, hauing there with him the great ſeale, & ful power in things, as if the King had bin there in perſon. Ambaſſadors comming from the K. of Hungary towardes the K. of England, were receiued honorably of the Cardinall during his abode in Calais. After the returne of the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, which the Cardinall had ſent to yͤ Emperour, and to the french K. he returned into Englande, hauing (as ſome write) concluded a new league with the Emperour, and ſignified by way of intendment to the french K. in the treatie with his Ambaſſadors, that the K. of Englād meant him not ſo muche friendſhip, as of late he had done, for diuers cauſes, but ſpecialy this was vttered, that where it was concluded that the K. of Scottes ſhould be included within the league (as before ye haue heard) contrary to that agreement, the ſaide K. refuſed to enter as a confederate into the ſame league: and this no doubt proceded through counſell of yͤ french, by whome he was wholly guided. This quarrell was layd as an occaſion, why to moue the K. of Englande (perceiuing himſelfe to bee diſſembled with) to withdraw his good wil from the French K. who when he vnderſtood the driftes of the Cardinall, & concluſion of the new league confirmed betwixt the K. of Englande and the Emperour, he condemneth the Cardinall of vntroth, accuſeth hym of diſſimulation, abhorreth his practiſes, as by yͤ which he loſt the fruition of the K. of Englande his friendſhip, and might no longer enioy it: and herewith hee determined with himſelfe neuer to put confidence in any Engliſh man after, nor to beſtow any giftes or penſions vpon them, for he vſed yearely to ſende vnto diuers of the Kynges counſaile after the maner of his predeceſſors ſundry giftes and ſummes of money: and bicauſe he had imployed more on the Cardinall than on yͤ reſidue, he was the more offended towarde hym, as the head of all this iniurious doing. Yet hee found not himſelfe ſo muche greeued, as to vtter any bitter wordes towards the K. but contrarily within a while after, directed his leters vnto him, ſignifying, that he meant to continue the league as his friend: but it may be he did this after a diſſembling ſort, bicauſe he would not be at warres with two ſo mightie Princes at one tyme.

Cardinall Wolſey carieth the great ſeale with him to Calais, and there ſealeth writtes and patents.

Polidor.

In this meane while, the warre was purſued betwixt the Emperour, and the French Kyng, as well on the confynes towardes Flanders, as beyond the Mountaynes in the parties of Lombardy. Tourney was beſieged by the Lorde Hugh de Moncada, a Spanyard, the whyche comming vppon the ſuddaynie, toke manye abrode in the feldes, ere they knew of his approch, & after this, comming afore yͤ Citie, he enuironed it with

Hote warres betweene the Emperor and the french K.

Tourney beſieged by the Emperor hys men.

it with a ſiege, to keepe the Citizens from ſtirring forth, and ſet part of his army with ÿ light horſemẽ, to forley the ſtreetes and paſſages, that no ſuccour ſhould come to them within.

Hall.

The Frenche Kyng aſſembled an armye, in hope to aide them of Tourney, with men, munitions, and vittailes; the whiche armye aſſayed twice or thrice with all indeuour, to haue approched the Citie, but in vayne, for with no ſmall loſſe the Frenche were repulſed by the imperials, which neuertheles, felt their part of ſlaughter, loſing ſundry of their Captaynes, as baſtard Emery, and the Captaine of Gaunt. Finally, the French army brake vp, and was diſperſed into fortreſſes, wherevpon, they of Tourney perceiuing the ſuccours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at neede, rendred the Citie to the Emperour the laſt of Nouember, in this thirtenth yere of King Henries raigne.

Tourney deliuered vp to the Emperor.

Polidor.

Cardinal Wolſey maketh meanes to be elected Pope.

Pope Leo died this yere, and doctor Richarde Pace was ſent to Rome, to make friends in the behalfe of ÿ Cardinal of Yorke, who was brought into a vayne hope, through the kings fauour and furtherance, to be elected Pope, but Adrian ÿ ſixthe of that name was choſen before Doctor Pace could come to Rome, and ſo that ſute was daſhed. Yet Pace kept forthe his iorney according to his commiſſion. This Pace was a right worthye man, and one that gaue in counſayle faithfull aduice. Learned he was alſo, & endowed with many excellent good giftes of nature, courteous, pleaſant, and delighting in muſicke, highly in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the Prince fauoured him, the more was he miſliked of the Cardinall, who ſought only to beare all the rule himſelf, and to haue no partner, ſo that he procured that this doctor Pace vnder coulour of Ambaſſades, to be ſent forth of the Realme, that his preſence about the King, ſhould not win him too muche authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

The deſcription of Doctor Pace.

Hall.

Doctor Tunſtall made Byſhop of London.

This yeare was a great death in London and other places of the Realme. Many men of honor and great worſhip dyed, and amongſt other, the Biſhop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whoſe place was doctor Tunſtall elected. The Earle of Surrey returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the fiue and twentith of January. Many complaintes were made by the Merchaunts to the King and his counſaile of the Frenchmen, which ſpoyled them by ſea of their goodes, for by reaſon that the warres were open betwixte the Emperour, and the French King, many ſhippes of warre were abroad on both partes, and nowe and then the Engliſhmen fell into their handes, and were vſed as enimies, namely by the French men, which naturally hated the Engliſhmen.

1523

The Frenche Kings Ambaſſadors promiſed reſtitution of euery thing, but little was reſtored.

In this moneth of January therefore, the King commaunded all his Shippes to be rigged, and made ready, whiche was done with all diligence.

The title o defendor o the faith to the K England his for euer.

The ſeconde daye of February, the King as then being at Grenewich, receiued a Bull from the Pope, whereby hee was declared defendor of the Chriſtian faith, and likewiſe his ſucceſſors for euer.

The Cardinal of Yorke ſang the high Maſſe that day with all the pompous ſolemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remiſſion of ſinnes to all that heard it. In this meane time, grudges and diſpleaſures ſtill grew and increaſed betwixt the King of England and the French King, ſo that their greefes ranckled dayly more and more, till at length the Duke of Albany returned into Scotlande, contrary to that whiche was couenaunted by the league. The French King indeede alledged, that hee was not priuie to his goyng thither, and wrote to the King, that the ſayde Duke was entred Scotland without his aſſent, but it was otherwiſe iudged and knowen, that he had commiſſion of the French K. to goe thyther. Herevpon, the K. was ſore offended, and prepared for warres, muſters were made of able men, and a note taken of what ſubſtance men were of. The King alſo ſent ſixe ſhippes to the ſea, wel trimmed, manned, and vitailed. The Admirall was one Chriſtopher Coo, an expert ſea man. His commiſſion was, to ſaufgard ÿ merchants, & other the kings ſubiects, that were greeuouſly ſpoyled and robbed on the ſea, by French men, Scottes, and other rouers. The eighth of February, the Lord Dacres, warden of the marches fore anenſt Scotlande, entred into Scotland with fiue C. men by the kings commaundemente, and there proclaimed, that the Scottes ſhould come in, to the kings peace, by the firſte of March following, or elſe to ſtand at their perils, the D. of Albany being then within fiue miles with a mighty power of Scottes. The eleuenth of Februarye, the L. Aburgauenie was brought from the Tower to Weſtminſter, and there in the kings bench confeſſed his enditement of miſpriſion. The Lord Montagewe was aboute the ſame time reſtored to the kings fauour. The ſecond of Marche, certaine noble men of the Empire, ariued in Englande, to paſſe into Spayne, who were honorably receyued, and in honor of them, greate iuſtes and triumphes were made, which beeing finiſhed and done, they tooke theyr leaue and departed on their iourney. A Scottiſh rouer called Duncane Camell, after long fight, was taken on the Sea by John Arundell an eſquier of Cornwall, who preſented hym to the K. he was committed to the Tower, and there remay-

Chriſtopher Coo.

The Lord of Burgeyny araigned at Weſtminſter.

remayned priſoner a long ſeaſon. All the Kings ſhippes were putte in a readineſſe, ſo that by the beginning of Aprill, they were rigged and trimmed ready to make ſaile. This yeare, dyed the L. Broke, ſir Edward Poinings, Knight of the garter, ſir John Pechy, & ſir Edw. Belknap, valiant Captaines, which were ſuſpected to be poiſoned at a banket made at Arde, when the two kings met laſt. Wheate was ſolde this yeare in the Citie of Londō, for twenty ſhillings a quarter, and in other places for. 26. ſhillings eyghte pence.

In this yeare, Gawan Dowglas, Biſhop of Dunkell fled out of Scotland into England, bicauſe the D. of Albany being come thither, had takē vpon him the whole gouernement of the K. and Realme there, the ſequeale of whoſe doings, this B. ſore miſtruſted. The K. aſſigned to thys B. an honeſt penſion to liue on. And ſhortly after, was Clarēceaux yͤ Herrault ſent into Scotland, to the D. of Albany, to commaund him to auoid that Realme for diuers conſiderations, & if he would not, then to defie him, ſith contrary to the articles of the league concluded betwixte France and England, he was entred Scotland without his licence. The D. refuſed to accompliſh the kings commandement, and was therefore defyed by the ſaide Clarenceaux. The ſixth of Marche, the french K. commanded all Engliſhmens goods, being in Burdeaux, to bee attached, and put vnder arreſt, and reteined not only the money due to bee paide for the reſtitution of Tourney, but alſo withheld the french Queenes dower.

The Cardinall vnderſtanding that he was euill ſpoken of, for vſing his power legantine to ſuche aduantage as he did, in ſelling graces and diſpenſations, he thought to beſtowe ſome parte therof amongſt the people freely, without taking any thing for the ſame: and therevppon, when Lent drew neere, he appointed the Preachers at Paules croſſe, to declare, that it ſhould be lawful to all perſons for that Lent ſeaſon, to eate milke, butter, cheeſe, and egges, and to the ende that no man ſhoulde haue any ſcrupulouſneſſe of conſcience in ſo doing, hee by his authoritie graunted remiſſion of ſinnes to all thoſe that did eate ſuch white meates, knowing as it were afore hande, that the people gyuen to the obſeruance of theyr religious faſt, woulde not eaſily bee broughte to breake the ſame, contrarye to the auntiente cuſtome vſed in their countrey.

Neyther was he deceiued therein, for ſo farre were the people from receiuing or accompting this as a benefyte, that they tooke it rather for a wicked and curſed dede in thoſe yͭ receiue it, and fewe or almoſt none coulde be enduce to breake their olde order, and ſcrupulous trade in that behalfe.

An. reg. 14.

The King vnderſtanding howe his ſubiectes were handled at Burdeaux by the Frenche kings commandement in breach of the league, the Frenche Ambaſſador was called afore the Counſell, and the Cardinall layde ſore to hys charge, that contrarie to his promiſe at all tymes made on the Frenche kyng his maiſters behalf, affirming that he ment nothing but peace and amitie to be obſerued in all poyntes with the Kyng of England, yet nowe the Engliſh Merchaunts had not onely theyr goods ſtayed at Burdeaux, but alſo they and theyr factors were layde in priſon, in full breach of all peace and amitie afortime concludad.

The Frenche Ambaſſador is called before the counſell.

The ambaſſador in words ſo wel as he could excuſed his maſter, but in the end he was commaunded to kepe his houſe, and the French hoſtages that were appoynted here to remain for the money to be payde for the deliuerie of Turney were committed to the ſafe keeping of the Lord of Saint Johns, ſir Thomas Louell, ſir Andrew Windſor, and ſir Thomas Neuill, euery of them to haue one. Herewith alſo all the Frenchmen in London wer arreſted, cōmitted to priſō, & put to their fines: but they wer more curteouſly vſed than the Engliſhemen were in Frāce, for after they had bin in durāce .x. days, they wer ſet at libertie, vpon finding ſureties to appere before yͤ Maior, or elſe afore the cōſel at a certain day, & to pay yͤ fine vpon thē aſſeſſed, which fine the King pardoned to diuers of the poreſt ſort. But in cōpariſon of the Scottiſhe nation, you would haue ſaide, the Frenchemen were in ſmall diſpleaſure: for not only thoſe that were borne in Scotlande, but alſo diuers Northernmen borne within Engliſh ground, for enuious ſpyte called Scottes, were apprehended, impriſoned, and grieuouſly fined, although ſome of them by ſtrayte enquirie tryed to be Engliſhmen, eſcaped without paying the fyne. Ther were ſent to the ſea vnder the conduite of ſir William fitz William viceadmiral. xxviij. goodly ſhips wel manned and trimmed for the warres, and. vij. other ſhips were ſente towardes Scotlande, whiche entred the Forth, and profered to enter the Scottiſh ſhips that laye in the hauens, but the Scots ranne theyr ſhippes a lande, and the Engliſhmenne followed with boates, landed, and ſette the ſhippes on fyre, and at Lith tooke certain priſoners, which they brought into Englande: and ſtill the kings great Nauie kepte the narowe ſeas: for then was neither peace betwixt England and France nor opē warres. The K. vnderſtanding yͭ the emperor wold come to Caleis ſo to paſſe into Engl. as he went towards Spayn, appointed the Lord Marques Dorſet to goe

The Frenchemen in Londō are all areſted, and put to their fines.

Polidor.

All the Scottes in Englande apprehended and fined.

The nauy ſetteth forthe.

Cardinall Wolſey hys pomp, when he receiued the Emperour at Douer.

The Marques Dorſet receyueth the Emperour at Graueling.

The Emperor landeth at Douer.

Iuſtes and Tourneys at Grenewich.

to goe ouer to Calais, there to receiue him, and likewiſe the Lord Cardinall was appoynted to receiue him at Douer. The Cardinall takyng his iourney forward the twentith of May, rode through Lōdon, accompanied with two Erles, ſixe and thirtie knightes, and an hundred Gētlemen, eyght Byſhops, ten Abbots, thirtie Chaplaynes, all in veluet and ſattin, and yeomen ſeauen hundred. The Marqueſſe Dorſet was gone ouer before vnto Calais, and the fiue and twentith of May being Sonday, the ſaid Marqueſſe, with the Byſhop of Chicheſter, the Lorde de la Ware, & diuers other at yͤ water of Graueling, receiued the Emperoure in the name of the K. of England, and with all honor brought him to Calais, where he was receiued with proceſſion, & by the L. Berners lieutenant of the towne, by the Maior and Merchantes of the Staple in the beſt maner that might be deuiſed. On the Monday hee tooke ſhippe at Calais, and landed at Douer, where the Cardinall with three hundred Lords, Knightes, and Gentlemen of England, was ready to receiue him, and with al honor that mighte bee, brought him to the Caſtell where he was lodged. On the Wedneſday, beeing the Aſcention euen, the king came to Douer, and there with great ioy and gladneſſe, the Emperour and he met. On the Friday in the after noone, they departed from Douer, and came that night to Canterbury, and ſo from thence by eaſie iourneys to Greenewiche, where the Queene receiued hir nephew with all the ioy that might be. Heere the Emperour tarried certaine dayes in great ſolace and pleaſure. And the more to honor his preſence, royall iuſtes and tourneys were appoynted, the which were furniſhed in moſt triumphant maner. The K. and the Earle of Deuonſhire, and ten aydes with them, keeping the place againſt the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, and other tenne aydes vppon theyr part. On Friday the ſixth of Iune, the King and the Emperoure with all their companies, marched towards London, where the City was prepared for their entrie, after the maner as is vſed at a coronation, ſo that nothing was forgotten that might ſet forth the honor of the Citie.

Sundry pageants were deuiſed, and ſtages very faire and excellent to behold, with ſuch melodie of inſtruments, and other tokēs of ioy and gladneſſe, that wōder it was to conſider the maner thereof.

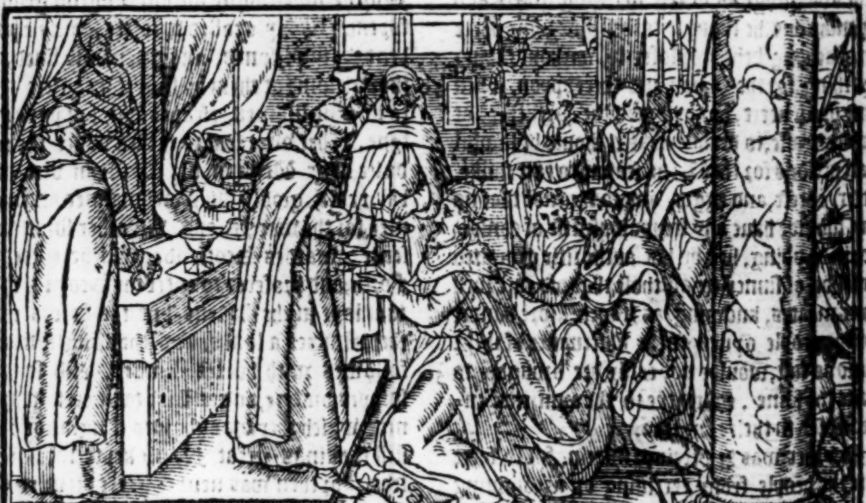
The Emperor was lodged at the blacke Friers, and all his nobles in yͤ new palace of Bridewell.

Note the p of Cardinall Wolſey.

On Whitſonday beeing the eyght of Iune, the Emperour and the King rode to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, and there hearde Maſſe, whiche was ſong by the Cardinall, that had his trauers, and cupbord.

Before Maſſe, two Barons gaue him water, and after the Goſpell, two Earles, and at yͤ laſt lauatorie, two dukes, which pride, the Spanyards ſore diſdeyned.

The Emperoure thus remained with the K. certaine dayes, and rode to diuers places wyth him, beeing ſtil feaſted and banquetted, and had all the pleaſure ſhewed to him that might be imagined. At Windeſor they tarried a whole weeke and more, where on Corpus Chriſti day, the Emperoure ware his mantell of the garter, and ſate in his owne ſtall.



The Emperor and the King of Englande ſweare each to other to obſerue the league made betwixt them.

The ſame day, both the Princes receyued the Sacramente, and after that ſeruice was ended, they tooke their corporall othes to keepe and obſerue the league, which was concluded betwixte them. On the morrow after, they departed from Windeſor, and by ſoft and eaſie iourneys, they came to Wincheſter, the .25. of Iune.

Before the Emperour was thus come to Wincheſter, the Earle of Surrey being highe Admirall of Englande, was come to Hampton with all the Kings nauie, and with him the L. Fitzwater, the baron Curſon, ſir Nicholas Carewe, ſir Richard Wingfelde, ſir Richard Ierningham, Francis Brian, ſir William Barentine, ſir Adrian Foſkew, ſir Edward Done, ſir Edwarde Chamberlaine, ſir Richarde Cornwall, ſir Anthonie Poynes, ſir Henrie Shirborn, and the Viceadmirall ſir William Fitzwilliam, ſir Edmunde Bray, ſir Gyles Capell, ſir Williã Pirton, Iohn Cornewalles, ſir Iohn Wallop, ſir Edward Echingham, ſir William Sidney, Anthonie Browne, Gyles Huſey, Thomas More, Iohn Ruſſell, Edwarde Bray, Henrie Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdhall, Thomas Louell, Robert Ierningham, Anthonie Kniuet, ſir Iohn Tremayle, and ſir William Seauington the Maiſter of the kings ordinance, and Iohn Fabian ſergeant at armes, by whome this enterpriſe was chiefly moued, with diuers other, the which in the ende of Iune departed from Hampton, noyſing that they ſhould onely ſcoure the ſeas for ſafegarde of the Emperour and his nauie.

The firſt of Iuly, the Emperours nauie came before Hampton, conteyning Clxxx. goodlye ſhippes. Then the Emperour toke leaue of the King, of whome he had many great gifts, and notable ſummes of money by way of loane, and ſo the vj. of Iuly, he toke his ſhyppe, and made ſayle towardes Spayne, where he arriued in ſafetie the x. day after.

The Emperor departeth out of Englande wards Spain

The king borowed of the citie of London xx. M. poundes, and deliuered priuie ſeales for warrant of the repayment. None were charged but men of good wealth. The lyke loane was practiſed through al the Realme, not without grudge of many perſons, that were called vpon for the ſame.

The Earle of Surrey hauing waſted the Emperour ouer to the coaſt of Biſcay, vpon hys returne finding the wynde fauourable, according to his inſtructions, made to the coaſt of Britain, & landing with his people (in number vij. M.) about v. miles from Morleys, marched thither, and aſſaulting the towne, wan it, for the maiſter gunner Chriſtopher Morreys hauing there certaine fawcons, with the ſhotte of one of them, ſtroke the locke of the wicket in the gate, ſo that it flewe open, and then the ſame Chriſtopher & other gentlemen, with their ſouldiers, in the ſmoke of the gunnes preſſed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entred, and ſo finallye was the towne of Morleys wonne, and put to ſacke. The ſouldiers gayned much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding riche, and ſpecially of lynnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne throughly, and taken their pleaſure of all things therein, the Earle cauſed them by ſound of trumpet to reſort to their ſtandardes, and after they had ſet fire in ẏ towne, & burned a great part thereof, the Earle retreated with his armie towardes his ſhippes, burning the villages by the way, and all that night lay on lande.

The maner of the winning of Morleys in Britaine by the Earle of Surrey.

On the morowe after they toke their ſhips, and when they were beſtowed on borde, the Earle commaunded xvj. or xvij. ſhippes ſmall and greate, lying there in the hauen, to bee brent.

When the L. Admirall had thus wonne the towne of Morleys, he called to him certayne eſquires, and made them knights, as ſir Fraunces Brian, ſir Anthony Browne, ſir Richard Cornwale, ſir Thomas More, ſir Giles Huſey, ſir Iohn Ruſſell, ſir Iohn Reynſforde, ſir George Cobham, ſir Iohn Cornewalles, ſir Edwarde Rigley, and diuers other.

Diuers gentlemen knighted by the Earle of Surrey vpon the winning of Morleys.

After this they continued a whyle on the coaſt of Britaine, and diſquieted the Britons, by entring their hauens, and ſometimes landing and doing diuerſe diſpleaſures to the inhabitantes about the coaſt. After that the Earle had lyen a whyle thus on the coaſt of Britaine, hee was countermaunded by the Kings letters, and therevpon brought backe his whole fleete to a place called the Cow, vnder the Iſle of Wight, and then went a lande himſelfe, diſcharging the more part of his people, and leauing the reſidue with certayne ſhyppes vnder the gouernaunce of the Viceadmirall ſir William Fitzwilliam, to kepe the ſeas againſt the French.

Polidoro.

In this meane whyle, diuerſe exploytes were atchieued betwixt them of the garriſons in the marches of Caleys, and the Frenchmenne of Bollongne and Bollongnoys, but ſtill the loſſe ranne for the more part on the French ſide. For the Engliſhe frontiers were well and ſtronglye furniſhed with good numbers of men of warre, and gouerned by right ſage and valiant Captaynes which dayly made inuaſions vppon the Frenche confines, and namely Sir Willyam Sandes treaſurer of the towne of Caleys, and ſir Edward Guilforde Marſhall, were two that did the Frenchmen moſt diſpleaſure.

The thirde of Iulye, three hundreth Frenche horſemen coming neare to the caſtell of Guines, kept themſelues in couert, appointing viij. or x. of their companie to ſhewe themſelues in ſight to the Engliſhmen within, wherevpon there went forth viij. archers, and fell in ſkirmiſh with thoſe horſemen, til there came three other to the reſkew of the Frenchmen, and ſkirmyſhed wyth the Archers on foote. Herewith iſſued forthe of Guyſnes, twelue Demilances all Welchmen, in releefe of the footemen, and then all the trouppe of the French horſmen brake forth and ſet on the Welchmen, the footemen ſo long as they had any arrowes to beſtowe, ſhot luſtily, and in the ende were driuen to defende themſelues with their ſwordes, the Welchmen keeping togither, entred into the bende of the Frenchmen, brake their ſpeares, and after fought and layde aboute them with their ſwordes, ſo that they made a waye, and eſcaped from thoſe three hundreth French horſmen: of the French ſide were ſlayne three men and fiue horſes, the Engliſhe archers on foote ſelling their liues dearly, were all ſlaine, for the Frenchmen woulde not take any of them priſoners, they were ſo angrie for the loſſe of their fellowes.

The valiancie of the Welchmen.

The xxv. of July, the Treaſurer and Marſhall of Caleis with fourtene hundred footemen, entred the French pale, and finding not Monſieur de Foyat for whom they ſought, they went to Whitſande bay, ſet the towne on fire, and aſſaulting the Church, into the which the people were withdrawen, wan it, & afterwards ſet fire on the ſteeple, bicauſe that diuers hauing ſhut vppe themſelues therein through counſell of a Prieſt that was with them, refuſed to yeelde till the fire cauſed them to leape downe; and ſo manye of them periſhed, and the reſt were taken priſoners, and led to Caleis.

About two days before this, to wit, the xxiij. of July, one Thwaites a Captaine of an Engliſhe ſhip, with vj. ſcore men, archers and other, tooke lande beſide Bolongne, and paſſing vp into the countrie three myles to a towne called New caſtell, forrayed all the partes as he went, and in his returne ſet fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came agayne to his ſhippe in ſafetie, notwithſtanding lxxx. hagbutters, and three hundreth other men of warre of the countrie, came forth and purſued the Engliſhmen very fiercely, but the Engliſhmen putting them backe, got to their ſhippe, and loſt not a man.

Moreouer, whyleſt the warres were thus followed in Fraunce, the Lorde Roſſe, and the Lorde Dacres of the North, whiche were appoynted to keepe the borders againſt Scotland, burnte the towne of Kelſie, and foure ſcore villages, and ouerthrewe eyghtene towres of ſtone, with all their barnekines.

The Lordes Roſſe and Dacres of the north inuade Scotlande, and ſpoyle the countrey.

Alſo the King appointed the earle of Shrewſburie to be his Lieutenant generall of the north partes, agaynſt the inuaſion which was intended by the Duke of Albanie, which Earle directed his letters to all the ſhires lying from Trent Northwarde, that all men ſhoulde be in a readyneſſe.

Order was taken by the Cardinall, that the true value of all mens ſubſtance might be knowen, and he woulde haue had euery man ſworne to haue vttered the true valuation of that they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof to be graunted towardes the Kings charges nowe in his warres, in lyke caſe as the Spiritualtie had graunted a fourth part, and were content to liue on the other three partes. This demaunde was thought grieuous to them of the Citie of London where the Cardinall firſt moued it, ſo that many reaſons were alledged by them why they iudged themſelues ſore delt with. In the ende they brought in their billes, which were receyued vpon their honeſties.

The Cardinal will haue euery man ſworn to tell what he is worth.

The King in this meane tyme, being nowe entred into warres with Fraunce, thought not to ſuffer his enimies to reſt in quiet, and therefore leuied an armie which he ſent ouer to Caleys, appoynting the Earle of Surrey to be generall of the ſame. When the Earle was come to Caleys, and had taken order in his buſineſſe for that iourney, he ſet forwarde with his armie, being deuided into three battayles or wards, of the which, the firſt was led by ſir Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwater, the middle ward or battayle, the Earle himſelfe guyded, and with him was his brother the Lorde Edmunde Howarde. The rerewarde was gouerned by Sir William Sandes, and Sir Richarde Wingfielde both being knightes of the Garter. Captaine of the horſemen was Sir Edward Guilforde.

The Earle of Surrey ſent with an armie to inuade Fraunce.

They entred into the French grounde the ſeconde of September being Tueſday, and tooke their iourney towarde Heding: by the way there came vnto them a great power of Burgonions from the Ladie Margaret, as then Regent of Flaunders, according to the Articles of the league.

The Burgonions ioine with the Engliſhe hoſte.

All the townes, villages, and caſtelles in the countrie through the which they marched, were burned, waſted, and deſtroyed on euerye ſide of their way, as the towne and Caſtell of Selloys, the townes of Brume bridge, Senekerke, Botingham, and Manſtier, the towne and caſtell of Nerbins, the towne of Dauerne, the Caſtels of Columberge, and Rew, the towne and Church fortified of Boardes, Saint Marie de Boys, the towne of Waus, the Towne and Caſtell of Fringes.

The xvj. daye of September, the Earle of Surrey with his armie of Engliſhmen and Burgonions, came before the Caſtell of Heding, and planted his ſiege before it. The towne was entred, and parte thereof burned by the Burgonions. Within the Caſtell was Captayne, Monſieur de Bitz hauing prouided for defence of the place, all thynges neceſſarye, ſo

The caſtell of Heding beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

ſo that the Earle of Surrey, & other the captayns of the hoſte, perceyuing they could not within any ſhort time win it, after they had bene before it xj. dayes, they rayſed their ſiege, chiefely bycauſe they had no great battering peeces to ouerthrow the walles, for the wether was ſuch, and the wayes waxed ſo deepe towarde the later ende of that Sommer, that they coulde not conuey with them any great ordinance.

From Heſding they paſſed forwarde, and coming to Dorlens, burned the towne, and raced the Caſtell. From thence they came to the towne of Darriet, which they burnt alſo and ſpoyled. Thus they burned and ſpoyled all the waye as they paſſed, but the weather ſtill waxed worſe and worſe, ſo that many fell ſicke through intemperancie thereof, and the Burgonions and Spanyardes which were in the armie, returned into Flaunders, and then the Earle of Surrey perceyuing that he coulde no longer keepe the fielde in that ſeaſon of the yeare, turned backe towardes Caleys in good order of battayle, and came thither the xvj. of October. He woulde gladly in deede before the departure of the Burgonions and Spanyardes, haue paſſed the water of Somme: but other captaynes conſidering the time of the yeare to be paſt, and that the whole armie conteyned not aboue xviij. M. men, iudged it more wiſedome to returne, and ſo in the ende their opinions were followed.

Te Earle of
urrey retur-
ed with his
mie to Ca-
lis.

After that the Engliſhe armie was returned to Caleys, the Earle of Surrey ſent forth Sir William Sandes, Sir Morice Barkley, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and with them three thouſande men, which burnt Marguyſon, the towne of Saint Iehans Rhode, and Temple towne, with many villages, and brought a marueylous great bootie of goodes out of the countrey, which they got at this roade, as xiiij. M. ſheepe, a M. iiij. C. Oxen and Kyne, and other great cattell, a M. iij. C. Hogges, and viij. C. Mares and Horſes, beſide priſoners. When the Earle of Surrey had ſet things in order, and appointed forth ſuch as he woulde haue remaine in the garriſons on that ſide the ſea, he returned, and all the reſidue of the armie, ſauing thoſe that were commaunded to tarie, came ouer alſo with the nauie, and arriued in the Thames, and ſo euery man into his countrie at his pleaſure.

A great bootie
wonne by the
Engliſhmen.

The Earle of
Surrey retur-
neth with his
armie into
Englande.

There remayned alſo behinde a companie of men of warre called aduenturers, which ſerued without wages, liuing only of that which they coulde catch and winne of the enimies. There were foure hundreth of them that went with the armie now this laſt time into Fraunce, and did much hurt to the Frenchmen, for they were by practiſe become expert and ſkilfull in the poynts of warre, and daily exployted one enterprice or other, to their aduauntage, and hinderaunce to the enimie.

Aduenturers.

The Duke of Albanie being in this meane whyle eſtabliſhed gouernour of Scotland, rayſed an armie of lxxx. M. men and aboue, with the which he approched to the Engliſhe borders: but he made no inuaſion. The miſtruſt that he had in the Scottes cauſed him to ſtay, and therefore he ſent to the French king for ſixe thouſande Almaynes, the which he daily looking for (and that in vaine) droue off time till the ende of Sommer was now at hande, and then requiring a truce for certaine monethes, obteyned it at the Kings handes. The Earle of Shrewſburie had in a readineſſe xxviij. M. men to haue reſiſted him if he had entred vpon the Engliſhe confines.

The D. of Albanie leuieth an armie of Scots to inuade Englande.

Polidore.

Truce betwixt Englande and Scotlande.

Hall.

After that an abſtinence of warre was taken betwixt Englande and Scotland, & in October following, there came into Englande three perſonages of ſmall behauior (as it ſeemed) Ambaſſadors out of Scotlande: they were ſmally regarded, and ſhortly departed. Their Commiſſion was only to vnderſtande whether the King had aſſented to the truce or not. Whervpon it was thought that they were ſent rather for a countenance only of fulfilling the promiſe made by the Duke of Albanie at that preſent when the truce was graunted, than for any true meaning to accompliſhe that which was promiſed, that is to witte, to agree vnto ſome vnfeyned and perfect concluſion of peace.

A meane ambaſſade out of Scotlande.

The king hereupon doubting their old prankes, ordeyned the Earle of Northumberland Henrie Percie the v. of that name, Warden of the whole Marches, which thankfully receyued the honor thereof, & ſo he departed. But whatſoeuer matter it was that moued him, ſhortly after he began to make ſuite to the king, and ceaſed not, til he was of that office diſcharged, and then the Earle of Surrey Lorde Admirall of England was made general Warden, and the Lord Marques Dorſet was made Warden of the Eaſt and middle marches, and the Lord Dacres of the weſt marches. The Earle of Northumberlande was for this refuſall of exerciſing the office of L. warden, greatly blamed of his owne tenants, and accoũted of all men, to be voyde of the loue and deſire that Noblemen ought to haue to honor and chiualrie. The L. Marques Dorcet accompanied with ſir William Bulmer, & ſir Arthur Darcie, with many other of the Nobilitie, the ſeconde of April then being Thurſday before Eaſter, entred into Tiuidale, & ſo paſſing forward x. miles into Galoway, brent on euery ſide townes & villages. All ẏ night he taried within the Scottiſh groũd, & on the morow being Goodfriday, he withdrew back into England with iiij. M. neate, hauing burned Grimſley, Mowehouſe, Douſforde

1523

The Marques Dorcet entreth into Scotland and burneth diuerſe townes there.

Mylles, Ackforth, Crowling, Nowes manor, Mydder, Crowling, Marbottell, Lowbog, Seforth manor, Myddell right, Primſted, Broket, Shawes Harwell, Wyde open haugh, with other.

A parliament holden at the blacke Friers in London.

The xv. of Aprill beganne the Parliament, which was holden as then at the blacke Friers.

This yeare was the Citie and the whole Iſle of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the chriſtians diſplaced out of the ſame. Alſo the Biſhop of Dureſme departed this lyfe, and the king gaue that Biſhopricke to the Cardinall, who reſigned the Biſhopricke of Bathe to Doctor Iohn Clerke maſter of the Rolles, end Sir Henrie Marney that was vicechamberlain was made Lorde priuie ſeale, and ſhortly after was created Lorde Marney.

Cardinall Wolſey made biſhop of Durham.

In the ende of this yeare, Doctor Blythe biſhop of Cheſter was attached for treaſon, but he acquit himſelfe. And about this ſeaſon, the Cardinall exerciſed his authoritie (whiche he pretended by his power Legantine) very largely, not onely in prouing of Teſtamentes in his Court, calling the Executors and Adminiſtrators before him, of what Dioceſſe ſo euer they were, but alſo by prouiſions he gaue al benefices belonging to ſpirituall perſons, and ran thereby within danger of the Premunire, as afterwards was layd to his charge: but after that he perceiued his owne folly, and raſhe doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which woulde not permitte that any ſuch things as were moued, within the Prouince of Canterburie, might be concluded without the authoritie of the Archbiſhop, he ſent them agayne to Paules, and ſate himſelfe at Weſtminſter with his Clergie of the prouince of Yorke. And euen as there was much ado amongſt them of the Common houſe about their agreement to the ſubſidie, ſo was there as harde holde for a whyle amongſt them of the Clergie in the Conuocation houſe, namelye Richarde Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Iohn Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, helde ſore agaynſt it, but moſt of al, Sir Rowlande Philips Vicar of Croydon, and one of the Canons of Paules, being reputed a notable Preacher in thoſe dayes, ſpake moſt againſt that payment. But the Cardinall taking him aſide, ſo handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the houſe, willingly abſenting himſelfe, to his great infamie, and loſſe of that eſtimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the Bellweather giuing ouer his holde, the other yeelded, and ſo was graunted the halfe of all their ſpirituall reuenues for one yeare, to be payde in fiue yeares following, that the burthen might yͤ more eaſily be borne.

Polidor.

An.reg.15.

The Parliament being begonne, as ye haue hearde, the Cardinall the xxix. daye of Aprill came into the Common houſe, and there ſhewing the great charges that the king neceſſarilye was at, and dayly muſt be at, in maintenaunce of his warres againſt the French and Scottes, demaunded the ſumme of eyght hundreth thouſande pounde to be raiſed of the fift part of euery mans goodes and landes, that is to wit, iiij. s. of euery pounde. This demaunde was enforced on the morowe after, by Sir Thomas More then Speaker of the Parliament: but he ſpake not ſo much in perſuading the houſe to graunt it, but other ſpake as earneſtlye againſt it, ſo that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the vttermoſt. There were that proued howe it was not poſſible to haue it leuied in money, for men of landes and great ſubſtance had not the v. part of the ſame in coyne, and ſythe the king by the loane had receyued two ſhillings of the pounde, which by this rate amounted to foure hundred thouſand pound, and now to haue iiij. ſhillings of the pounde, it woulde amount in the whole vnto twelue hundreth thouſande pounde, which is firſt and laſt vj. ſhillings of the pound, being almoſt a third part of euery mans goods, whiche in coyne might not be had within this Realme: for the proofe whereof was alledged, that if there were in England but twentie thouſand pariſhes, and euery pariſhe ſhould giue an C. marks, that were but xv. C. M. marks, which is but a C. M. poundes, and there be not verye many pariſhes in Englande one with another, able to ſpare an hundreth markes, out of cities and townes, & where it is written that in Englande there be xl. M. pariſhe Churches, it was proued that there were not xiij. M. at this day.

A great ſubſidie demaunded by the Cardinall in the cõmon houſe.

Hard holde about the graunt of the great ſubſidie.

There are not 10000. pariſhes in Englãd as Stowe hath truly noted.

Harde holde there was about this demaunde, and certaine wyſe and diſcrete perſons were ſent to the Cardinall, to moue him to be a meane to the king, that a leſſe ſumme might be accepted: but he aunſwered that he woulde rather haue his tongue plucked out of his heade with a payre of pynſons, than to moue the king to take any leſſe ſumme: and ſo with that anſwere they departed, reporting to the houſe the Cardinalles wordes. Then euery daye was reaſoning, but nothing concluded. Wherevpon the Cardinall came agayne into the lower houſe, and deſired that hee might reaſon with them that were againſt the demaunde: but he was anſwered, that the order of that houſe was to heare, and not to reaſon, except among themſelues. Then he began to ſhew arguments of the great wealth of the Realme, ſo that it might be thought that he repyned and diſdayned that any man ſhoulde be welthye but himſelfe.

The obſtinate anſwere of the Cardinall to the motion of the common houſe in the parliament.

After he was gone, the Commons debated the matter according to their former maner, & ſo in the ende concluded of ij. s. of the ℔. from xx. ℔.

vpwards,

vpwardes, and from xl.s. to xx.li. of euery xx.s. xij.d. and vnder xl.s. of euery head of xvj. yeres and vpwarde .iiij.d. to be payde in two yeares.

Sir Iohn Huſey

When this was notified to the Cardinall, he was much therewith offended, ſo that to pleaſe him, at length, the Gentlemen of fiftie pounde lande and vpwarde, by the liberall motion of ſir Iohn Huſey a knight of Lincolneſhire, were burthened with xij.d. more of the pounde of the ſame landes, to be payde in three yeares.

Polidore.

Cardinal Wolſey reprooued by the king.

The Cardinall to moue them thereto, bare them in hande that the Lordes had agreed to foure ſhillings of the pound, which was vntrue, for they had graunted nothing, but ſtayed till they might vnderſtande what the Commons would do. The king therfore hauing knowledge of this, and ſuch other notable lyes vttered by the Cardinal, reproued him therfore very ſharply, and ſayde that ere it were long he would looke to things himſelf without any ſubſtitute. A marueilous matter to conſider how much the Cardinall was cooled herewith, and how lowly for a whyle he bare himſelfe, ſo that thereby it well appeared howe the maiſters ſharpeneſſe now and then, doth much to refrayne the euill nature of the ſeruaunt. But the Cardinall within a fewe dayes after, pacifying the kings diſpleaſure towards him, became nothing the better.

After that the foreſayde graunt was paſſed and accorded, the Parliament was prorogued till the x. of Iune.

In this ſeaſon, the Cardinall by his power Legantine diſſolued the conuocation at Paules, called by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, calling him and all the Clergie to his conuocation at Weſtminſter.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne, the Gentlemen that perceyued themſelues charged with xij.d. more of ỹ pound for their landes, did ſo much, that it was graunted, that men of fiftie pounde and vpwarde in goodes, ſhoulde alſo pay xij. pence of euerye pounde in the fourth yeare, which coulde not be brought about, but with great a do, and much grudging of the Burgeſſes and Commons.

The xxj. of Iuly, the Parliament was adiourned to Weſtminſter, and there continued till the xiij. of Auguſt, and that daye at nyne of the clocke at night diſſolued.

Arthur Plantagenet created vicount Liſle.

During the time of this Parliamẽt, the xxvj. of Aprill, was ſir Arthur Plantagenet, baſtarde ſonne to king Edwarde the fourth, at Bridewell created Vicount Liſle in right of his wyfe, which was wyfe to Edmunde Dudley beheaded.

The king of Denmarke arriueth in Englande.

The citie of London banketteth the k. of Denmarke.

The king of Denmark departeth out of England into Flaunders.

This yeare the xv. of Iune, Chriſtierne king of Denmarke, with his wyfe, and a ſmal traine with them, landed at Douer, where he was nobly receyued by the Earle of Deuonſhire, the biſhoppes of Exceter and Rocheſter, and diuerſe Knights and Eſquires whiche brought them to Grenewich, where the King and Queene receyued them with all honor, and after he had remayned at the Court certaine dayes, he was brought to London, and lodged at Bathe place. He ſawe the watche on S. Peters euen, beyng brought vnto the Kings heade in Cheape, accompanied with the Duke of Suffolke, the erles of Oxforde, Eſſex, and Kent, and diuers other Lordes and Ladies. The Citie made to him and to his wyfe a coſtly banket that night, and after he had paſſed the time a while in London, he reſorted againe to the king, and had of him great giftes, and ſo likewiſe had his wyfe of the Queene hir aunt, and then taking their leaue, departed and were conueyed to Douer. And thus after this king had bene in Englande xxij. dayes, he tooke ſhipping, and ſayled againe into Flaũders, where he remayned as a baniſhed man out of his countrey.

Polidore.

The Earle of Kildare reſtored to his office of Deputiſhip of Irelãd

About the ſame time, the Earle of Kildare being reſtored to the Cardinals fauour, & taking to wife the Lady Elizabeth Grey, was ſent ouer again into Irelande, to occupy his former office, where by the aſſiſtaunce of his faithfull frende Hugh Inge Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Chancellour of that lande, he brought the countrie into reaſonable good order ſo farre as the rebellious doings of the wilde Iriſh woulde permit.

Hall.

Scotland ſore ſpoyled.

In this meane whyle, the warre was earneſtly purſued betweene England and Fraunce, and Englande and Scotlande, inſomuch that eche part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotlande lay the Earle of Surrey highe Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorſet, with his brethren, ſir Williã Compton, and ſir William Kingſton, with diuerſe other Knights and Eſquires ſent to them by the King, which dayly inuaded the Realme of Scotlande, and threwe downe the caſtell of Wederborne, the caſtell of Weſt Neſgate, the caſtell of Blacka[illegible], the towre of Markwaſtes, ỹ towre of Eaſt Neſgate, and manye other, and burnt to the number of xxxvij. villages, and harried the countrie from the eaſt marches to ỹ weſt, and euer had ſkirmiſh with the Scottes, albeit they ſhewed themſelues in plumpes, waiting ſome aduauntage, they durſt not yet approch to the mayne battaile of the Engliſhmen, ſo that in all this iourney there were but fewe Engliſhmen loſt. When the Lordes perceyued that the Scots ment not to make any inuaſion into Englande this yeare, they made order for the fortifying of the frontiers, and ſo returned.

Polidor.

It was thought that the Cardinall perceyuing in what fauour Sir William Compton was with the king, and doubting leaſt the ſame might deminiſhe his authoritie, deuyſed to ſend him thus into the warres agaynſt the Scots, for the ſayde ſir William coulde not well brooke the Cardinals preſumption, in taking vpon him ſo highly to the derogation of the Kings ſupreme gouernement, and therefore the Cardinall in his abſence thought to worke him out of fauour, but it would not be, for ſhortly after was ſir William Compton called home to the Court againe.

The French men meaning to deſtroy Caleis hauen are diſapointed by miſsing the chanell.

The Frenchmenne burned a ſhippe fraught with ſtone in the hauen of Caleys, vpon hope to haue deſtroyed the hauen, but they miſſed the chanell in bringing in their ſhippe, and ſo after that the ſhippe was conſumed with fire, the ſtones were recouered out of the water, & brought into Caleys, which ſerued the Engliſhe to good vſe. Diuers enterpriſes were atchieued betwixt them of the garriſons French and Engliſhe in thoſe marches.

A rode made into the Frēch grounde.

In July the Lord Sandes treaſurer of Caleys, with other captayns and ſouldiers, to the number of xij. C. entred into the confines of their enimies, and came before Bullein, where they had a great ſkirmiſhe, and put their enimies to the worſe, and after, marching into the countrey, tooke diuers churches & other places which the Frenchmē had fortified, as the church of Oderſael, the ſteeple of Odingham, and the caſtel of Hardinghā, & ſo after they had ben within the enimies countrie almoſt two nightes & two dais, they came back to Caleys, hauing not loſt paſt a dozen of their men.

The Engliſh fleete landeth in Treyport hauen.

The king of Englande being aduertiſed that the duke of Albany woulde returne ſhortly into Scotlande by ſea, and bring with him a power of Frenchmen, prepared a fleete of tall and ſtrong ſhippes meete to encounter with the ſame Duke and his power, and appoynted for Admirall, ſir William Fitzwillyam, and with him ſir Fraunces Bryan, ſir Anthony Poynes, ſergeant Rot, John Hopton, William Gunſton, Anthony Kneuet, Thomas Weſt, & other, which vſed great diligēce to haue met with the ſayd Duke of Albanie, and as they lay on the French coaſt, the x[illegible] of Auguſt being Sunday, at vij. of the clock in the morning, they landed in the hauen of Treyport, and aſſaulted the Frenchmē that were in certaine bulwarks on the ſhore, & did what they could to impeach the Engliſhmens landing: but the Engliſhmen encouraged by their Captaines, did ſo valiantly (although they were but an handful of men in compariſon of their enimies, as vij. C. to vj. M.) that in the end they repulſed the Frenchmen, & wan their bulwarks of thē, & in the ſame founde diuers peeces of ordinaunce, which they ſeazed, & perceyuing that the Frenchemen fled to the towne of Treyport, they followed, and ſhot at them right egrely, ſo that many of the French men were ſlayne and wounded, ere they coulde get to the towne. The Engliſhmen aſſaulted the gates, but coulde not breake them open, but they ſet fire on the ſuburbes, and alſo brent. vij. ſhips which lay in the hauen. The Engliſh captains perceyuing how the people of the countrie came downe in great numbers to the reſcue of the towne, cauſed their men to get togither ſuch ſpoile as they might bring away in that ſodain, and then after they had bene on lande v. houres, with lyke ſpeede as they came, they retyred back againe to their ſhips, not without ſome loſſe & domage of men both hurt and ſlayne, as it often happeneth when thoſe be not founde vnprouided which a man vnaduiſedly aſſayleth.

Polidore.

In this ſeaſon the King hauing put an armie of men in a redyneſſe, cauſed the ſame to be tranſported ouer to Caleys, and appointed the D. of Suffolke to haue the leading thereof, and to make a iourney into Fraunce.

Polidore.

Hall

The duke according to his commiſſion, came to Caleys the xxiiij. of Auguſt, and there abyding the armie, cauſed all things to be prepared neceſſarie for the ſame, as vittayles, munition, and ſuch lyke.

The Duke of Suffolke entreth into Fraunce with an armie.

There were appoynted to attend him in this iourney, the Lord Montacute, and his brother ſir Arthur Pole, the Lorde Herbert ſonne to the Earle of Worceſter, the L. Ferrers, the L. Marney, the L. Sandes, the L. Barkley, the L. Powes, and the Baron Curſō, and of Knights, ſir Richard Wingfielde chauncellor of the duchie of Lancaſter, ſir John Weſt, ſir Edwarde Neuile, ſir Willyam Kingſton, ſir Richarde Weſton, ſir Andrewe Windſor, ſir Robert Wingfielde, ſir Anthonie Wingfield, ſir Edward Guylford, ſir Edward Greuile, ſir Edwarde Chamberlaine, ſir Thomas Lucie, ſir Euerarde Digby, ſir Adrian Foſkew, ſir Richarde Cornewall, ſir Willyam Courtney, ſir William Sidney, ſir Henry Owen and many other. The whole armye (as appeared by the muſters taken therof) conſiſted in 600. dimilaunces, 100. archers on horſeback, iij. M. archers on foote, and v. M. byl men. To theſe alſo were adioined xvij. C. whiche were taken out of the garriſons and crewes of Hammes, Guyſnes, & Caleys, ſo that in all they were x. M. v. C. well armed and appoynted for the warre. Beſide them, there were alſo two thouſand vj. C. labourers and pioners. When this army was come ouer to Caleys, & all things redy for the iourney, they iſſued out of Caleys, and tooke the fieldes. The vantgard was led by the L. Sands. Captain of the right wing was ſir Willyam Kingſton, and on the left, ſir Euerarde Digby. The Marſhall of Caleys ſir Edwarde Guilforde was captaine of all the horſemen. The Duke himſelfe gouerned the battaile, and Sir Richarde Wingfielde was Captaine of the Rerewarde.

Bell caſtell aſſaulted.

Bell caſtel yelded vp to the Engliſhmen.

The firſt enterpriſe that they attempted, was the wynning of a Caſtell called Bell caſtell, to the which the Lorde Sandes and the Lord Ferrers being ſent, did ſo much by the power of battrie, that after the walles were beaten, thoſe that were appointed to giue the aſſaulte, prepared them thereto, which when the Frenchmen within perceyued, they yeelded the place into the Engliſhmens handes, and themſelues to the mercye of the Duke, which receyued them as priſoners, and deliuered the Caſtell to ſir William Scauington, the which he cauſed to be raced downe to the grounde the xxvij. of September.

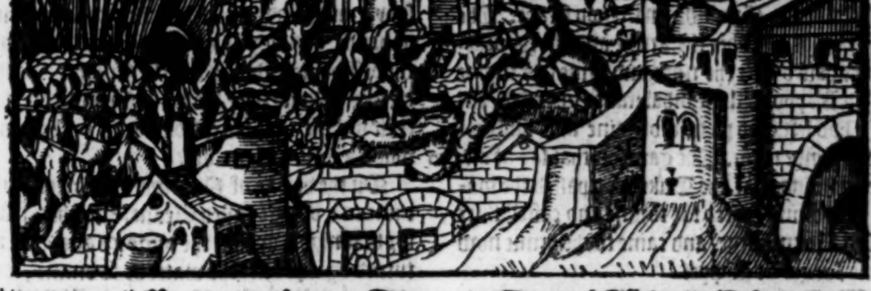
Sir John Ruſſell.

In this ſeaſon was the Duke of Burbon high Conſtable of Fraunce reuolted from the French king to the ſeruice of the Emperour, and the king of Englande. For after it was knowne that this Duke had his mynde alienated from the French king, ſir John Ruſſell that was after created Earle of Bedford, was ſent into Fraunce vnto the ſayd Duke, which in diſguyſed apparel ordered himſelfe ſo wiſely and fortunately in his iorney, that in couert maner he came to the Duke, and ſo perſwaded him, that he continued in hys former determination, and auoyded the Realme of Fraunce, as in the French hiſtorie ye maye more at large perceyue. The more to encourage the Engliſhe ſouldierrs, there was a proclamation made in the hoſte the xxviij. of September, how the ſayde Duke of Burbon was become enimie to the French king, & frende to the king of Englande, ſo that hauing in his wages x. M. Almaynes, he was ready to inuade Fraunce in another part, the more to let and diſturbe the French kings purpoſes. For the accompliſhing whereof there was ſent to him money in no little ſumme. After this proclamation the xxix of September the D. of Suffolke remoued to Arde, & ſo forward into Picardie. At Cordes a village betwene Tirwyne and S. Omers, there came to him the Lorde of Iſilſteyn, and with him of Spanyardes, Almaynes, Cleueners, and other, iij. M. footemen, and v. C. horſemen. The Duke being thus furniſhed with newe ayde, marched forward in wet weather, and made bridges, and mended the wayes where he paſſed, as wel as he might, ſending out diuers companies of his mē of warre, to take townes, and fetch in booties on euery ſide. The Frenchemen were ſo afrayde of the Engliſhmen, that they fled out of their houſes, and left the townes and villages voyde, conueying ſuch goodes as they coulde, awaye with them, but oftentimes they left good ſtore behynde them, ſo that the Engliſhmen gayned greatly, & namely at Anker, which was a rich towne, and vpon the Engliſhmens approch, thinhabitants fled out of it, and then the Engliſhmen entred. They tooke alſo the Caſtell of Bonnegarde, and put therein a garriſon, whereof was Captain the Lorde Leonard Grey, brother to the Marques Dorſet, to conduct vittailers to the army, which now was farre from any ſuccors of the Engliſh part. The Duke paſſed forwarde till he came to the towne of Bray, in the whiche were xvj. C. men of warre, vnder the gouernance of Captain Adrian, and beſide his retinue, there came to the ſuccors of the towne, Monſieur Pontdormie, yͤ Vicount Lauerdam, the Vicount Tourrayne, Monſieur Applingcourt, & Mõſieur Dampney, with v. C. horſmen, ſo yͭ in the town beſide yͤ inhabitants were ij. M. good men of warre. This towne ſtandeth on the riuer of Somme, xxiiij. Engliſh myles from Arras, and xiiij. of the ſame myles aboue Amiens.

The Spanyardes ioine with the engliſh armye.

The caſtel of Bonnegarde manned by thengliſhmen.

The towne of Bray beſieged.



The xx. of October, the Duke cauſed his ordinãce to be brought afore it by foure of the clock in the morning, the whiche was ſo well applyed in making batterye to the walles of the towne that by nine of the clocke the towne was made aſſaultable, and then the Engliſhmenne, Flemmings and Burgonians, made forwarde, and by the good comfort of the Lorde Sandes and other Captaynes, they got the dyches, and after entred vpon the walles. The Frenchmen ſtoode at defence with Pikes, Croſſbowes, Hand gunnes, and Halbards, but they were to weak, for on all partes entred the Engliſhmen, and ſodainly the Frenchmen fled, and the Engliſhmen followed. On the further ſide of the towne there was a bulwarke fortified with ordinaunce very ſtrongly to defende the paſſage ouer the water of Somme, which there is deuided into diuerſe braunches.

Bray wonne by aſſault.

The French horſemen being withdrawne to the paſſage, defended it till the footemen were got ouer the bridge, and then they plucked away the plankes of the bridge, ſo that no man ſhould followe: but the Engliſhmen caſt plankes on the bridge, and got ouer, in which paſſing, diuers were drowned: but ſuch diligence and enforcement was vſed, that all men paſſed, both horſemen and footemen. Then was the Bulwarke fiercely aſſaulted, and finally taken by the Engliſhmen, with all the ordinaunce. There was alſo taken Captaine Adrian and Captaine Vtterlieu. The Engliſhe horſemen followed the Frenchmen, and ſlewe and tooke many of them. Sir Robert Jerningham brake a ſpeare on the Lorde Pontdruire. The Lorde Leonarde Grey did valiauntly that day, which was come from the caſtell of Bonne garde, and was here at the winning of Bray, which was taken in maner aboue rehearſed the xx. of October.

A trayne of gunpowder layde.

The Frenchmen when they perceyued that they ſhoulde not be able to defende, had layde a trayne of gunpowder to ſet it on fire, in hope to haue deſtroyed many of the Engliſhmen as they ſhoulde be occupied in gathering the ſpoyle, but by reaſon that they followed their enimies, and got ouer the paſſage, the fire tooke and ſet the towne on fire ere the Engliſhmen returned. Yet much wyne was ſaued which laye in Sellers, and ſtoode the Ennliſhmen in good ſteade. The xxj. daye of October the armie and all the ordinance paſſed ouer the riuer, and came to a towne called Kappe. All the inhabitants were fled, but they had left good plentie of wine and other riches behinde them. The garriſon that lay at anker knowing that the Duke was paſſed the water of Somme, raced the towne and caſtell there called Bonnegarde, and came to the armie now being lodged at Kappe.

Kappe taken.

Roy yeelded to the Duke of Suffolke.

The Duke ſent to them of Roy, requiring to haue the Towne deliuered to him, which they graunted to doe, bicauſe they had no garriſon of ſouldiers within to defende the towne. Thither was ſent ſir Richarde Cornewall, with foure hundreth menne which receyued the towne and kept it in good quiet till the Duke came thither with his whole armie.

Lyhome takẽ

Montdedier beſieged.

The xxv. day of October, the Duke remoued to a village called Lyhome where the ſouldiers had great pillage. The next daye they wente to Dauenker, and the xxvij. day they came before the towne of Montdedier, in the whiche were a thouſande footemen, and v. C. horſemen vnder the gouernaunce of Monſieur de Roche baron, purpoſing to defende the towne to the vttermoſt, but after that Sir Willyam Scauington had made batterie from foure of the clock in the next morning till eyght in the ſame forenoone, wyth ſuch force that the wals were ouerthrowne and made aſſaultable, they within yeelded the towne into the Dukes handes, with condicion they might go with bagge and baggage.

Montdedier yeelded.

The Frenchmen made ſuch haſte, and were ſo glad to be gone, that they left much houſholde ſtuffe behinde them, and great plentie of wyne. Thengliſhmen alſo wold not ſuffer thẽ to beare their ſtandardes vnſpredde, but rent the ſame in peeces, wherewith the Lorde Roche baron was highlye diſpleaſed, but he coulde not amende it. The Duke remayning in Montdedier till the laſt of October, add then remoued to Roy, where he reſted a whyle with all his armie.

Knights made by the Duke of Suffolke in Fraunce.

On Alhalowen day, the Duke of Suffolke in the chiefe Churche of Roye made knightes, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Powes, Oliuer Manners, Arthur Pole, Richarde Sandes, Robert Jerningham, Robert Saliſburie, Edmond Beningfielde, Richarde Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, Willyam Storton, Walter Mantell, George Warram, Edward Seymor, that was after Duke of Somerſet. The morowe after the armie remoued to a place called Neele. The ſouldiors being thus ledde from place to place, beganne to grudge bicauſe of the winter ſeaſon, being nothing meete for their purpoſe to kepe the fieldes, it grieued them that the Burgonions being prouided of wagons, made ſhift to ſende the ſpoyle and pillage home into their countrie being at hande, and they to want ſuch meane to make the beſt of thoſe things whiche they got, ſo that as they tooke it, they bet the buſhe and other had their byrdes. This grudge was yet by gentle wordes ceaſſed for a time.

Mutinie amongſt the Engliſh ſouldiers.

On the vj. day of Nouember the whole army came to a village called Weane, and there reſted for that night, and on the morowe after they returned againe ouer the water of Somme, and came to a place called Beauforde. At this paſſage the Duke made John Dudley and Robert Vtreight knightes.

The viij. of Nouember the Duke remoued

to a place called Mont Saint Martine, & from thence was ſent the Lorde Sandes to the king in poſte to aduertiſe him in what caſe the armye ſtoode, and the armie remoued to Permont, and there reſted for a time. The Welchmen ſtill murmured that they might not returne home now that the wynter was thus far entred. But there were a ſort of mē of war, to the number of a thouſand perſons vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, which had little wages or none, liuing only on their aduenture, and were therfore called aduenturers, and of ſome they were called Kreekers, which had as good will to be ſtill abroade, as the Welchmen had deſire to returne home. For theſe Kreekers by ſpoyling of townes, taking of priſoners, and other ſuch practiſes of warlike exploytes, made their hauntes, and dayly brought to the campe, horſes, mares, vittayle, cloth, corne, and other neceſſaries, which might not haue bene miſſed.

Sir Iohn Wallop.

Aduenturers & krekers.

After great raynes and wyndes which had chaunced in that ſeaſon, there followed a ſore froſt, which was ſo extreme, that many died for colde, and ſome loſt fingers, and ſome loſt toes, and many loſt nailes beſide their fingers, ſo was the rigour of that froſt.

A biter and nipping froſt.

The xiij. day of Nouember the Duke remoued to a place within two myles of Bowham caſtell, and ſtill it froſe. The Welchmen in the morning ſet out a ſhoute and cryed home, home, & the Kreekers hearing that, cryed hang, hang. Hereof buſineſſe was lyke to haue enſued, but by policie it was ceaſſed. Sir Edwarde Guilforde Captaine of the horſemen viewing the caſtell of Boghan, perceyued that the mariſhes (wherewith it was enuironed) were ſo hard froſen that great ordinãce might paſſe ouer the ſame, which he ſignified to the Duke, and therwith the Duke was contented that he ſhoulde trye what ſucceſſe woulde come of giuing the attempt to wynne it. So was the ordinance brought ouer the maryſh grounde, whereof they within being aduertiſed, immediatlye after three ſhottes of Cannon diſcharged againſt them, they yeelded the Caſtell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good ſtore, as a lxxvj. peeces great & ſmall. The keeping of this Caſtel was deliuered to the Seneſhall of Hennegow.

Boghan caſtell aſſaulted and yelded.

In this meane whyle the Lord Sandes was come to the Court, and enformed the king of the ſtate of the armie. The king had before his comming hearde that his people in the ſayde armye were in great miſerie, both by reaſon of the intemperate weather, the vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, the lacke of vittayles, and ſuch other diſcommodities, wherfore he cauſed a newe power of ſixe thouſand men to be prepared to be ſent vnto the Duke of Suffolke for a reliefe. Vnder the leading of the Lorde Mountioy. But ere thys power coulde be put in order to paſſe the ſea, and before the Duke coulde haue knowledge againe from the king of his further pleaſure, he was conſtreyned to breake vp his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and ſo through Flaunders vnto Caleys. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie.

The Duke of Suffolke breaketh vp the armie and commeth to Caleis

The king was ſomewhat diſpleaſed with the breaking vp of the armie thus contrarie to hys mynde, but hearing the reaſonable excuſes which the Duke and the Captaines had to alledge he was ſhortly after pacified, and ſo after they had remayned in Caleys a certaine tyme, till their friends had aſſwaged the kings diſpleaſure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they receyued into as much fauour as before.

But nowe to returne to the doings in other partes, as betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots) which chanced in this meane whyle that the D. of Suffolke was thus in Fraunce. Ye ſhall vnderſtande that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into Fraunce, thought that nothing ſhoulde be attempted againſt them, and therefore waxed more bolde, and beganne to rob and ſpoyle on the marches of Englande, wherefore the king ſent agayne thither the Earle of Surrey Treaſurer and high Admirall of Englande, the which with all ſpeede comming to the weſt borders, ſent for an armie of vj. thouſande men, with the which entring into Scotlande by the drie marches, he ouerthrewe certaine caſtels, pyles, and ſmall holdes, till he came through the Dales to Iedworth, wherein lay a great garriſon of Scottes which ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhmen right ſharply at their firſt comming, but yet at length the towne, abbey, and caſtell were wonne, ſpoyled, and burnt.

The Scottes ſpoyle the Engliſh marches.

The Earle of Surrey inuadeth Scotland.

Iedworth bret

After this the Earle encamped within the Scottiſhe grounde from the xxij. of September till the xxv. of the ſame moneth, and then returned backe againe into England. During which time the Lord Dacres wanne the caſtel of Fernyherſt. The French king perceyuing that the Scottes did not worke any notable trouble to the Engliſhmen to ſtay them from ẏ inuading of Fraunce, and the caſe was, as he toke it, for that they lacked the Duke of Albanie, whome they named their gouernour. He therefore prouided a nauie of ſhippes to haue tranſported him ouer into Scotlande, ſo that all things were ready for his iourney, but ẏ the Engliſhmē were ſo ready on the ſea vnder the conduct of Sir William Fitzwilliam to ſtoppe his paſſage if he had ſet forwarde, wherefore he cauſed his ſhippes to be brought into Breſt hauen, and bruited abroade, that he woulde not go into Scotlande,

The caſtle of Fernyherſt wonne by the Lorde Dacres.

that yeare. The king of Englande being certified that the Duke meant not to depart out of Fraunce of all that yeare, about the myddeſt of September, commaunded that his ſhips ſhould be layde vp in hauens till the next ſpring. The duke of Albanie being thereof aduertiſed, boldly then tooke his ſhippes, and ſayled into Scotlande with all conuenient ſpeede, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye may reade more at large.

Shortly after his arriuall there, he wrought ſo with the Scottes, that an armie was leuyed, with the which he approched to the borders of Englande, and lodged at Cawde ſtreame, ready to enter into Englande.

The king of England hauing aduertiſement giuen to him from tyme to tyme of the proceedings of his aduerſaries, with all diligence cauſed to be aſſembled the people of the North parts beyonde Trent, in ſuch numbers that there were three thouſande Gentlemen bearing coates of armes with their powers & ſtrength, which were all commaunded to repayre to the Earle of Surrey with ſpeede.

Barwick chiefly regarded.

The noble Marques Dorſet was appoynted with vj. thouſande men to keepe Barwicke, leaſt the Scots ſhoulde lay ſiege thereto.

The Duke of Albany hearing of the preparation which the Earle of Surrey made againſt him, ſent to him an Herault, promiſiug him of his honor to giue him battayle, and if he tooke him priſoner, he woulde put him to courteous raunſome, and his bodie to be ſafe. To whome the Earle aunſwered, that much he thanked the Duke of his offer, promiſing him to abyde battayle if he durſt gyue it, and that if the ſayd duke chaunced to be taken by him or his men, he wold ſtryke off his heade, and ſende it for a preſent to his mayſter the king of Englande, and bade him that he ſhoulde truſt to none other. At this aunſwere the Duke and the Scottes tooke great deſpite.

The Earle of Surrey being at Alnewicke, there came to him the Earles of Northumberlande and Weſtmerlande, the Lordes Clifford, Dacres, Lumley, Ogle, and Darcie, with many Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and other ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of fortye thouſande. And from the Court ther came the Maiſter of the horſe, ſir Nicholas Carewe, ſir Fraunces Brian, ſir Edwarde Baynton and others.

The caſtel of Warke aſſaulted by the Scots.

The laſt of October being Saterday, in the night before the ſame day, the Duke of Albanie ſent two or three thouſand men ouer the water to beſiege the Caſtel of Warke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, bet the caſtell very ſore, and wanne the vttermoſt Warde called the Barnekynnes.

Sunday and Monday being the firſt and ſeconde of Nouember, they continued their batterie, and then thinking that the place was ſaultable, courageouſly ſet on the Caſtell, and by ſtrength entred the ſeconde Warde. Sir William Liſle that was Captaine of this Caſtle, perceyuing the enimies to haue wonne the falſe Brayes, and that nothing remayned but onely the inner Warde or Dungeon, encouraged hys men to the beſt of his power, with wordes of great comfort and manhoode, and therwith iſſued forth with thoſe fewe that he had lefte aboute him (for he had loſt many at other aſſaults) and what with couragious ſhooting and manfull fighting, the enimies were driuen out of the place, and of them were ſlayne, and namely of thoſe Frenchmen which the Duke had brought forth of Fraunce, to the number of three hundreth, which laye there deade in ſight when the Earle of Surrey came thither, beſide ſuch as dyed of woundes, and were drowned.

The Scots and French driuen backe from Warke caſtel.

Then the Scottes and Frenchmen remoued their ordinaunce ouer the water in all haſte, and by that time that they were got ouer, the earle of Surrey was come with fiue thouſand horſmen, and all his great armie followed. He was ſorie that his enimies were gone, and much prayſed ſir William Liſle for his valiancie.

The Earle woulde gladly haue followed his enimies into their own borders, but his Commiſſion was onely to defende the Realme, and not to inuade Scotland, and therfore he ſtayed, not onely to the great diſpleaſure of himſelfe, but alſo of many a luſtie Gentleman, that wold gladly haue ſeene further proofe of the Scottiſh mens manhoode.

Shortly after, the Queene of Scots, mother to the king, ſent to hir brother the king of Englande, for an abſtinence of warre, till further communication might be had about the concluſion of ſome good agreement betwixt the two Realmes of Englande and Scotlande, whiche requeſt to hir was graunted, and ſo the Engliſh armie brake vp, and the Earle of Surrey returned to the court.

Whyleſt the Earle of Surrey was in the marches of Scotlande, and the Duke of Suffolk in Fraunce, as before ye haue hearde, the Cardinall ſent out Commiſſions in the month of October, that euery man being worth fortie pounde, ſhoulde pay the whole ſubſidie before graunted, out of hande, not tarying till the dayes of payment limitted. This was called an Anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the tyme appoynted, and was a newe terme, not knowen before thoſe dayes: but they payd ſweetely for their learning.

An Anticipation.

In December were taken certayne traytors in the Citie of Couentrie, one called Frauncis Philip, ſchoolemaſter to the Kings henchmen, and one Chriſtopher Pickering Clerke of the Larder, and one Anthonie Mainuyle gentleman, which by the perſuaſion of the ſayd Francis Philippe, intended to haue taken the Kings treaſure of his ſubſidie, as the Collectors of the ſame came towardes London, and then to haue reysed menne and taken the Caſtell of Kelingworth, and to haue arreared warre againſt the king. The ſayd Fraunces, Chriſtopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyborne the eleuenth day of Februarie, and the other were ſent to Couentrie, and there executed.

The archduke of Auſtrich made knight of the garter.

In this yeare the King ſent the Lord Morley, Sir Wyllyam Huſey knight, and Doctor Lee his Almener to Don Ferdinando the Archduke of Auſtriche, with the order of the garter, which in the towne of Nuremberg receyued the ſame, where all the Princes of Germanie were then aſſembled at a Dyet or Counſell.

In this meane whyle, diuers enterpriſes and feates of warre were practiſed and atchieued by them of the garriſons in the marches of Caleys, and the Frenchmen of Bulleygne, and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonly were put to the worſe.

Breteton captaine of the aduenturers taken and ſlayne.

Amongſt other exploytes, it chaunced that one Brereton a gentleman, and Captaine of a number of the Aduenturers, as he went about to ſpoyle the towne of Waſſe, was taken by the French horſemen, and ſolde to the Peſauntes of the Countrie, the which vnmercifully ſlew him and xviij. which were taken with him, after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murther was reuenged ſhortly by other of the aduenturers, which comming to the ſame town of Waſſe, toke xxvij. priſoners of the inhabitauntes, and ſlewe of them xxxvj. and burned the towne.

1524

Bolton Prior of S. Bartholomewes buildeth a houſe at Harowe on the hill to auoyde floudes prognoſticated that yeare.

In this yeare through bookes of Ephimerides, and Prognoſtications, forſhewing much hurt to come by waters and floudes, many perſons vittayled themſelues, and went to highe groundes for feare of drowning, ſpecially one Bolton Prior of Saint Bartholomewes in Smithfielde, builded him an houſe vpon Harow on the hill, onely for feare of this floude, and thither he went, and made prouiſion of all things neceſſarie for the ſpace of two monethes. This great rayne and waters ſhoulde haue fallen in Februarie, but no ſuch thing happened, whereby the folly of men was ſhewed. The Aſtronomiers for their excuſe ſayde, that in their computation they had miſcounted in their number an hundred yeares.

An. reg. 16.

A legate from Rome to treat a peace betwene king Henry and the French king.

A Legate was ſent from the Pope to the king to moue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumſtance of his tytle, for the which he made warres againſt the Frēch men, and thereof deliuered notes to the ſayd Legate, the which departed with the ſame backe to Rome in poſt. He had bene firſt with the French king, and with the Emperor, but coulde not bring them to any good conformitie, as his deſyre was to haue done, ſo that his trauayle was without fruite in maner, as it appeared.

Many enterpriſes, ſkirmiſhes, forreys, and other feates of warre were attempted and put in vre betwixt the Engliſhmē of Caleys, Guiſnes, and other fortreſſes there in thoſe marches, and the Frenchmen of Bulleygne, and other of the garriſons in the frontiers of Picardie, and ſtyll Sir Willyam Fitzwillyam as then Captaine of Guyſnes, Sir Robert Jerningham Captaine of Newnam bridge, Sir John Walloppe, and Sir John Gage were thoſe that did to the Frēch men moſt dammage. And Monſieur de Bees being Captaine of Bulleygne, did for his parte what he coulde to defende the frontires there, and to annoy his enimies. Yet one day in May, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and Sir Robert Jerningham, with ſeauen hundreth men (accounting in that number the Kreekers) went to Bulleygne, and there ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, whileſt Chriſtopher Coo a Captaine of foure Engliſhe ſhippes toke lande, and fought with them of baſe Bulleigne on the one ſide, as the Kreekers aſſayled them on an other. There was a ſharpe bickering, and in the ende the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and diuerſe of them ſlayne and taken, ſpecially by the Kreekers, that wanne the barriers of them, and ſo when the tyde turned, Chriſtopher Coo with his men withdrewe to his ſhippes, and the Kreekers returned to Sir Wyllyam Fitzwilliam, the which ſtayed for them, and then gathering hys men togither by ſounde of a trumpet, ſent forth ſuch as might fetch the driftes of beaſts and cattayle in the countrey neare adioyning, and with the ſame returned backe in ſafetie.

Chriſtopher Coo.

The Kreekers good ſeruitors

The eyght of Auguſt Monſieur de Bees accompanied with diuers French Lords and men of warre, to the number of eyght hundreth footemen, and as many horſemen, came very early in a morning to a village called Bonnings, within the Engliſhe pale, and leauing there three hundreth horſemen in embuſhe, made to Kalkewell, and there appoynted to tarie with other three hundreth men, and the reſidue of the horſemen and footemen with banner diſplayed, went forth and forrayed all the countrie.

Sir Robert Jerningham with lxxx. horſemen iſſued forth of Caleys to vnderſtande the demeanor of the Frenchmen, but being not able to reſiſt the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chaſed, and ſaued himſelfe by flight. But this diſpleaſure was ſhortlye after reuenged by the ſayde Robert, the which comming to Marguiſon the twelfth of Auguſt with three hundreth footemen, and three ſcore horſmen, ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen that ſtoode at defence, chaſed them into the Church, and fired them out of the ſame, ſo that the Frenchmen leapt out of the Church to their deſtruction, for of thre hundreth there was ſaued but three ſcore aliue.

The Scots enter into Englande and rob the Market folks going to Barwick faire.

The xxj. of May being Trinitie Sunday, v. hundreth Scottiſhe men in the morning verye early, entred by ſeuerall fourdes into England, and lay couertly by the high ways, in purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed ſuch market men as came to the Fayre that day kept at Barwicke. They tooke diuers, but finally being eſpyed, the alarme roſe, and they were fought with right ſharply, who defended thẽſelues with ſuch manhode in drawing backe to their aduauntage, that if the yong Lorde of Fulberie had not come to the ſuccours of the Engliſhmen, the Scottes had gone away with their bootie. Notwithſtanding in the ende they were glad to ſeeke refuge by flight, looſing two hundreth of their number which were taken in the chaſe.

The v. of Iulye next enſuing, Sir Iohn a Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and baſtarde Heron, with diuerſe other Engliſhe Captaynes, hauing with them nine hundreth men of warre, entred the Mers, minding to fetch out of the ſame ſome bootie, and encountring wyth the Scots being in number two thouſande, after ſore and long fight, cauſed them to leaue their grounde, and to flie, ſo that in the chaſe were taken two hundreth Scottes, and many ſlaine, and amongſt them were diuers Gentlemen: but ſir Rauſe a Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and the baſtarde Heron with xxx. other Engliſhmen well horſed, followed ſo farre in the chaſe, that they were paſt reſcues of their companie, whereof the Scottes being aduiſed, ſodainly returned, and ſet on the Engliſhmenne, which oppreſſed with the multitude of their enimies, were ſoone ouercome, and there was taken ſir Rauſe a Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and ſixe other, and baſtarde Heron, with ſeauen other were ſlayne. The reſidue by chaunce eſcaped. The other Engliſhmen with their two hundreth priſoners, returned ſafely into Englande.

The ſeuenth of Iuly, the Engliſhmen fought with like fortune againſt the Scottes that were entred Englande at the Weſt marches; for in the beginning they put the Scots to the worſe, and tooke three hundreth of them priſoners, but afterwardes, bicauſe the Engliſhmen that had taken thoſe priſoners, withdrewe out of the field with the ſame priſoners, the Scots perceyuing the number of the Engliſhmen to be diminiſhed, gaue a newe onſet on the Engliſhmen, and them diſtreſſed.

After this, the Scots ſued for a truce, and had it graunted to endure till the feaſt of Saint Andrewe.

The Popes ambaſſadour preſenteth the K. with the golden Roſe.

This yeare the firſt of September was Doctor Thomas Hanniball maiſter of the Rolles receyued into London with Earles, and Biſhoppes, and diuerſe other Nobles and Gentlemẽ, as Ambaſſadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a Roſe of golde for a token to the King, and on the daye of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, after a ſolemne Maſſe ſong by the Cardinall of Yorke, the ſayde preſent was deliuered to the King, which was a tree forged of fine golde, and wrought with branches, leaues, and floures reſembling Roſes. This tree was ſet in a pot of golde which had three feete of anticke faſhion. The pot was of meaſure halfe a pynte, in the vppermoſt Roſe was a fayre Saphire loupe pierced, the bigneſſe of an Acorne, the tree was of heygth halfe an Engliſh yarde, and a foote in bredth.

This yeare in Iuly the Lorde Archimbalde Douglas Earle of Angus, whiche had maryed the Queene of Scots ſiſter to the king of Englande, eſcaped out of Fraunce (where he had remayned for a ſeaſon, in maner as a baniſhed man) and came into Englande to the king, as then being at Grenewich, and was of him curteouſly receyued.

Commiſſioners ſent into Ireland to reforme the countrey.

Sir Anthonie Fitzherbert one of the Iuſtices of the common place, ſir Rauf Egerton knight, and Doctor Denton Deane of Lichfield, being ſent in the beginning of this yeare into Irelande as Commiſſioners, behaued thẽſelues ſo ſagely, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought ſundry of the wylde Iriſhe by fayre meanes vnto obedience, and made by the kings authoritie, the earle of Kildare, Deputie of the lande, before whome the great Onele bare the ſworde. And the Lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was Deputie, was now made high treaſurer of Ireland. In September the ſayd Commiſſioners returned.

The Earle of Kildare made Deputie of Irelande.

During all this ſeaſon, there were dayly attemptes made and practiſed by the Engliſhmen in the lowe countrie, namelye the Engliſhe horſemen and the Aduenturers reſted not, but daily made inuaſions vpon the French confines. But the Aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterpriſe to fetch ſome bootie from a village lying towarde Muttrell. They were not fully two hundreth men, and of thoſe there were xxv. horſemen. The Frenchmen by chaunce the ſame time were abroade vnder the conduct of the Earle of Dammartine, whiche was going to S. Omers with xv. hũdred horſmen, and viij. C. footemen, and perceyuing where the Aduenturers were comming made towardes them, and after long and cruell fight ouercame them, and ſlue moſt part of them, for that in defending themſelues moſt ſtoutly, they had ſlayne and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen ere they coulde be ouercome, keping themſelues cloſe togither, and might not be broken ſo long as they had any arrowes to ſhoote.

The ende of the Kreekers.

This was the ende of the Aduenturers otherwiſe called Kreekers, being as hardie men as euer ſerued Prince.

In December there came to London diuers Ambaſſadors out of Scotlande about a peace to be had, and a mariage concluded betweene the King of Scottes, and the Ladie Marie daughter to the King of Englande, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye ſhall finde more at large expreſſed.

Before the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the Lorde Leonarde Grey, and the Lorde John Grey, brethren to the Marques Dorſet, ſir George Cobham, ſonne to the Lorde Cobham, Willyam Cary, ſir John Dudley, Thomas Wyat, Frãcis Pointz, Francis Sidney, ſir Anthonie Browne, ſir Edwarde Seymor, Oliuer Manners, Perciuall Hart, Sebaſtian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen, Eſquires of the Kings houſholde, entrepriſed a chalenge of feates of armes againſt the feaſt of Chriſtmas, which was proclaymed by Winſore the Herault, and perfourmed at the time appointed after the beſt maner, both at Tylt, Turney, Barriers, and aſſault of a Caſtell erected for that purpoſe in the Tilte yarde at Greenewiche, where the King helde a royall Chriſtmas that yeare, with great myrth and Princely paſtime.

1525

The friers obſeruants impugne the Cardinals authoritie.

In the Moneth of Januarie, the Cardinall by his power Legantine, would haue viſited the Friers obſeruants, but they in no wyſe woulde thereto condiſcende, wherefore nineteene of the ſame Religion were accurſed at Paules croſſe, by one of their owne Religion, called Frier Foreſt.

John Jokin Stewarde of houſholde to the French kings mother, this yere whyleſt the French king was in Italy, came into Englãd, and was receyued in ſecret maner into the houſe of one Doctor Larke, a Prebendarie of S. Stephens, and oftentimes talked with the Cardinal about the affayres betwixt the Kings of Englande and Fraunce, motioning ways for a peace to be concluded. When this was known abrode as at the length it was, Monſieur de Prate the Emperors ambaſſador miſliked ſuch couert doings, and ſore grudged thereat.

The xxiiij. of Januarie, the Preſident of Roan called Monſieur Brinion, came to London as Ambaſſador from the French king, and was lodged with the ſayde John Jokin.

Ambſſadours from the Emperour and their requeſts.

Sunday the v. of March, were receyued into London Monſieur de Beuer Lorde of Campher, Admirall of Flaunders, and maiſter John de la Cos preſident of Malines, & Maſter John de la Gache, as ambaſſadours from the Ladie Margaret in the name of the Emperor. Theſe Ambaſſadors required thre things in their ſuite. Firſt they demaũded the Ladie Marie the kings onely daughter to be deliuered out of hande, and ſhe to be named Empreſſe, and to take poſſeſſion of all the lowe countreys, and to be gouernor of the ſame. Alſo that all ſuch ſummes of money as the king ſhoulde giue with hir in mariage for a dower to be made to hir, ſhoulde be payde incontinently. Thirdly, that the king of Englãd himſelfe ſhoulde paſſe the ſea, and make warre in Fraunce the next Summer. The two firſt demaundes were not agreed to for cauſes, & as to this laſt, the king ſayde he woulde take aduiſement.

Thurſday the ix. of March, at vij. of the clocke in the morning, there came a gentleman in poſt from the Ladie Margaret gouerneſſe of Flaunders, which brought letters conteining how that the xxiiij. of Februarie, the ſiege of Pauia where the French king had lyen long, was rayſed by force of battayle, and the French king himſelfe taken priſoner.

The ſame day the Preſident of Roan, & John Jokin were going to the Court, for they had not yet ſpoken with the king, & in Holborne in their way hearde theſe tydings, wherupon they returned to their lodging right ſorowfull, and within ſhort ſpace after returned to the Regent of Frãce.

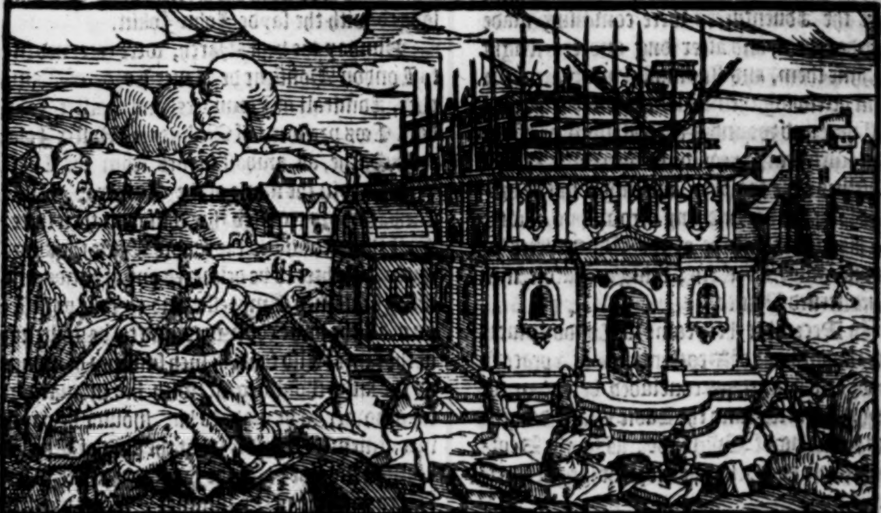
It was thought the king woulde haue agreed with the French king, if this chaunce had not happened, for all the people of England grudged againſt Flaunders, for the euill demeanor of the Flemmings in time of the warre. Alſo the king was diſpleaſed with them for enhauncing hys coyne there, which cauſed much money to be cõueyed out of this Realme dayly ouer into that countrey. Bonefires & great triumph was made in London for the taking of the French king, on Saterday the xj. of March, and on the morowe after being Sunday the xij. of March, the king came to Paules, & there hearde a ſolemne Maſſe, and after the ſame was ended, the Quere ſong *Te Deum*, & the Minſtrels playde on euery ſide.

The Cardinall being ſtill moſt highly in the kings fauour, obteyned licence to erect a Colledge at Oxeforde, and another at Ipſwich, the towne where he was borne, the which foundations he began rather of a vayne deſire of glorie

and

The Cardinal erecteth two new Colleges.

and worldly prayſe, than vpon the inſtitution of true religion, & aduauncement of doctrine, and therefore ſithe he was not moued therto in reſpect of true godlyneſſe and bountifull liberalitie, he



went about to clothe Peter and rob Paule: for he firſt got licence of the king to ſuppreſſe certaine ſmall Monaſteries, and after got a confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the goodes, landes, and reuenues belonging to thoſe houſes, to the maintenance of thoſe his two colledges, whereby not only he, but alſo the Pope were euil ſpoken off through the whole Realme.

Polidor.

Hall.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperour.

In March the king ſent Cuthbert Tunſtall biſhop of London, and ſir Richarde Wingfield, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancaſter, and Knight of the Garter, into Spaine, to common with the Emperor for great cauſes, concerning the taking of the French king, and for warres to be made into Fraunce on euery ſide.

The ſixt part of euery mans ſubſtance demaunded.

The king being determined thus to make warres in Fraunce, & to paſſe the ſea himſelfe in perſon, his Counſell conſidered that aboue all things great treaſure and plentie of money muſt needes be prouided. Wherefore by the Cardinal there were deuiſed ſtraunge Commiſſions, and ſent in the ende of Marche into euery ſhire, and Commiſſioners appoynted, and priuie inſtructions ſent to them howe they ſhoulde procede in their ſittings, and order the people to bring them to their purpoſe, which was, that the ſixt part of euery mans ſubſtance ſhould be payde in money or plate to the King without delay, for the furniture of his warre. Herof folowed ſuch curſing, weeping, & exclamation againſt both King and Cardinall, that pitie it was to heare. And to be briefe, notwithſtanding all that coulde be ſayd or done, forged or deuiſed by the Commiſſioners to perſuade the people to this contribution, the ſame would not be graunted, & in excuſe of their deniall it was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the auncient cuſtomes and lawes of the Realme broken, which woulde not any man to be charged with ſuch payment, except it were graunted by the eſtates of the Realme in Parliament aſſembled. The like anſwere was made by them of the Spiritualtie, of whom was demaunded the fourth part of their goodes.

Monſieur de Prate the Emperors ambaſſador, whether offended for admitting of John Jokin into the Realme, as before ye haue heard, or for ſome other cauſe, the ix. of Aprill he departed out of Englande, not taking leaue of the K. nor of the Cardinall, and ſo much did by ſafeconduct, that he paſſed through Fraunce in poſt, and came to the Emperour before the Ambaſſadors of Englande came thither, and whether it was by his report, or otherwiſe, the accuſtomed fauour that the Emperor and his counſel ſhewed to the Engliſhmen, beganne then to decay, as was wel perceiued, whatſoeuer the matter was. This yeare at Whitſontide died Thomas D. of Norfolke, & was honorably buried at Thetford.

An. reg. 17.

The Commiſſioners for the taxe reſiſted.

The Cardinall trauailed earneſtlye with the Maior and Aldermen of London, about the ayde of money to be graunted, and likewiſe the Commiſſioners appoynted in the ſhires of the Realme, ſate vppon the ſame, but the burthen was ſo grieuous, that it was generally denyed, & the Commons in euery place ſo moued, that it was lyke to growe to rebellion. In Eſſex the people would not aſſemble before the Commiſſioners in no houſes, but in open places, and in Huntingtonſhire diuerſe reſiſted the Commiſſioners, and woulde not ſuffer them to ſit, whiche were apprehended, and ſent to the Fleete. The Duke of Suffolke ſitting in Commiſſion about this ſubſidie in Suffolke, perſuaded by courtous meanes the riche Clothiers to aſſent thereto: but when they came home, and went about to diſcharge & put from thē their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weauers, and other artificers, which they kept in worke afore time, the people began to aſſemble in companies, whereof when the D. was aduertiſed, he commaunded the Conſtables that euery mans harneſſe ſhoulde be taken from them: but when that was knowne, then the rage of the people encreaſed, rayling openly on the D. and ſir Robert Drurie, and threatening them with death, and the Cardinall alſo, and herewith there aſſembled together after the maner of Rebels, iiij. M. men of Lanam, Sudberie, Hadley, and other townes thereabout, which put themſelues in harneſſe, and rang the belles alarme, and began ſtill to aſſemble in great number.

rebellion in uffolke by e grieuouſ- axe of the ubſidie.

The Duke of Suffolke perceyuing this, began to gather ſuch power as he coulde, but that was very ſlender. Yet the Gentlemen that were with the Duke, did ſo much that all the Bridges were broken, ſo that the aſſemble of thoſe rebels was ſomwhat letted.

The Duke of Norfolk commeth with a power against the rebels in Suffolke.

The Duke of Norfolke being thereof aduertiſed, gathered a great power in Norfolke, and came towarde the Commons, and ſending to them to knowe their intent, receyued aunſwere, that they woulde lyue and die in the Kings cauſes, and be to him obedient. Herevpon he came himſelf to talke with them, and willing to know who was their Captaine, that he might anſwere for them all: it was tolde him by one John Greene a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Pouertie was their Captaine, the which with his couſin Neceſſitie, had brought them to that doing: for whereas they and a great number of other in that countrey, liued not vpon themſelues, but vpon the ſubſtantiall occupiers, nowe that they through ſuch payments as were demaunded of them, were not able to maintaine them in worke, they muſt of neceſſitie periſhe for want of ſuſtenance. The Duke hearing this matter, was ſorie for their caſe, and promiſed thē that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane for their pardon to the king. Wherevpon they were contented to depart.

After this, the D. of Norfolke, and the D. of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither reſorted much people of the countrie in their ſhertes, and halters about their neckes, mekely deſiring pardon for their offences. The Dukes ſo wiſely demeaned themſelues, that the commons were appeaſed, and the demaunde of money ceaſed in all the Realme, for well it was perceyued, that the Commons none woulde paye. Then went the two Dukes to London, & brought with them the chief Captaines of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleete.

The captaynes of the rebels committed to priſon.

The king then came to Weſtminſter to the Cardinalles place, and aſſembled there a great counſell, in the which he openly proteſted, that his mynde was neuer to aſke any thing of hys Commons which might ſounde to the breach of his lawes, wherefore he willed to know by whoſe meanes the Commiſſions were ſo ſtraitly giuen forth, to demaunde the vj. part of euerye mans goodes. The Cardinall excuſed himſelf, and ſaid that when it was moued in Counſaile howe to leuie money to the kings vſe, the kings Counſel, and namely the Judges, ſaid, that he might lawfully demaund any ſumme by Commiſſion, and that by the conſent of the whole Counſel it was done, and toke God to witneſſe that he neuer deſired the hinderaunce of the Commons, but like a true Counſaylor deuiſed how to enrich the king. The king in deede was much offended that his Commons were thus intreated, and thought it touched his honor, that his Counſell ſhoulde attempt ſuch a doubtful matter in his name, and to be denied both of the Spiritualtie and Temporalitie. Therefore he woulde no more of that trouble, but cauſed letters to be ſent into all ſhires, that the matter ſhoulde no further be talked off, and he pardoned all them that had denied the demaunde openly or ſecretly.

The Cardinall to deliuer himſelfe of the euill will of the Commons, purchaſed, by procuring and aduauncing of this demaunde, affirmed, and cauſed it to be bruted abrode, that through his interceſſion the king had pardoned and releaſed all things.

The rebels pardoned.

Thoſe that were in the Tower and Fleete for the rebellion in Suffolke, and reſiſting the Commiſſioners aſwell there as in Huntington ſhire, and Kent, were brought before the Lordes in the Star chamber, and there had their offences opened & ſhewed to them, and finally the kings pardon declared, and therevpon they were deliuered.

In this ſeaſon, a great number of men of warre lay at Bollongne, and in other places thereabout, which diuerſe times attempted to endomage the Engliſhmen, and to ſpoyle the Engliſh pale, but they coulde neuer ſpoyle the mariſhes where the greateſt part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants, was kept.

Tyndale men great robbers.

Tyndale men with ayde of the Scottes, did much hurt in Englande by robberies, which they exerciſed, and therefore were ſent thither, ſir Richarde Bulmer, and ſir Chriſtopher Dacres, to reſtraine their doings. Diuerſe came to them, & ſubmitted themſelues, but the greateſt theeues kept them in the mountaines of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they ſeuered, and many of them were taken.

The Cardinall by his power Legantine ſent one of his Chapleins called Doctor John Allen, to viſit the religious houſes of this realme about this ſeaſon, whiche Doctor practiſed amongſt them greatly to his profite, but more to the ſlaūder both of himſelfe and of his maiſter.

Creations.

The xviij. day of Iune, at the manor place of Bridewel, the Kings ſonne (which he had begot of Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to ſir Iohn Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroy, was created firſt Earle of Notinghā, and after on the ſelfe ſame day he was created Duke of Richmonde & Somerſet. Alſo the ſame day the L. Henrie Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, and coſin germane to the king, was created Marques of Exceter, and the Lord Henrie Brandon ſonne to the Duke of Suffolke and the French Queene, a childe of ij. yeares olde, was created Earle of Lincolne, and ſir Thomas Manners Lorde Roos was created Earle of Rutlande, and ſir Henrie Clifforde Earle of Cumberlande, and the L. Fitzwater ſir Robert Ratcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and Sir Thomas Bulleyne treaſurer of the kings houſeholde, was created Vicount Rochefort.

A truce betweene Englād and Fraunce, for xl. dayes.

The French kings mother as then Regent of Fraunce, procured a ſafeconduct for an ambaſſador to be ſent into Englande to treate of peace, and therewith ſent Iohn Iokin called Monſieur de Vaux, which as ye haue heard in the laſt yeare was kept ſecret in maſter Larks houſe. By his procurement a truce was graunted to endure from the xiij. of Iuly for xl. days betwene Englande and Fraunce both by ſea and lande.

In the later end of Iuly came into England ẏ chief preſident of Roan with ſufficient authoritie to conclude any agreement that ſhoulde be graunted. At his ſuite the king was contented that a truce ſhoulde be taken to endure from the xiiij. of Auguſt, till the firſt of December.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Denmarke.

This yere the king ſent Doctor Henry Standiſhe biſhop of Saint Aſſe, and Sir Iohn Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreate with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their K. Chriſtierne to his Realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him ſo much for his crueltie, that they coulde not abyde to heare of anye ſuch matter, and ſo theſe Ambaſſadors returned without ſpeeding of their purpoſe for the which they were ſent.

A peace proclaymed betweene England & France

But the French ambaſſadors did ſo much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condiſcended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclaymed in London with a Trumpet the viij. of September. By the couenants of this peace the King of Englande ſhoulde receyue at certayne dayes xx. C. thouſande Crownes, which then amounted in ſterling money to the ſumme of iiij. C. M. ℔. ſterling, of the which, one payment of fiftie thouſand pounde was payde in hande.

The Ladie regent ſweares to performe the articles of the league.

In October were ſent into France, ſir William Fitzwilliam treaſurer of the Kings houſe, and Doctor Taylor, as ambaſſadors from the king of Englande, to the Ladie Regent, whom they founde at the Citie of Lion, where of hir they were honourably receyued, and in their preſence the ſayde Ladie Regent tooke a corporall othe in ſolemne wiſe, and according to the cuſtome in ſuch caſes vſed, to performe all the articles and couenants paſſed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by hir Cōmiſſioners.

The Emperour was nothing pleaſed, in that the king of Englande had thus concluded peace with the Frenchmen, and therefore the Engliſh merchants were not ſo courteouſly dealt with as they had bene afore time.

The ſtill Chriſtmas.

In this winter was great death in London, ſo that the Terme was adiourned, and the king kept his Chriſtmas at Eltham, with a ſmall number, and therefore it was called the ſtill Chriſtenmas.

1526

In Ianuarie was a peace concluded betwixt the Realmes of Englande and Scotland for iij. yeares and ſixe monethes.

The Cardinal altereth the ſtate of the kings houſholde.

The Cardinall about this time comming to the Court, which then laye (as before ye haue hearde) at Eltham, tooke order for altering the ſtate of the Kings houſe. Many officers and other ſeruaunts were diſcharged, and put to their pencions and annuities. In which number were lxiiij. yeomen of the garde, which before hauing xij. d. the day with checke, were nowe allowed vj. d. the day without checke, and commaunded to go home into their countries. Diuers ordināces were made at that ſeaſon by the Cardinall touching the gouernāce of the kings houſe, more profitable than honorable, as ſome ſayde, & were called long after, the ſtatutes of Eltham.

The ſtatutes of Eltham.

Doctor Barnes beareth a fagot.

On Shrouetueſdaye there was a ſolemne iuſtes helde at the manor of Grenewich, the king and xj. other on the one part, and the Marques of Exceter with xj. other on the contrarie parte. At thoſe iuſtes by chaūce of ſhiuering of a ſpeare ſir Fraunci s Brian loſt one of his eyes. The xj. of Februarie being Sunday, the Cardinall with great pompe came to the Cathedrall Church of Paules, where he ſate *in Pontificalibus* vnder his cloth of eſtate of rich cloth of gold, and there D. Barnes an Auguſtine frier bare a fagot for certaine points of hereſie, alleaged againſt him, and two merchants of the Stilyarde bare fagots for eating fleſh on a Friday. and there the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter Doctor Fiſher made a ſermon againſt Martine Luther, which certaine yeares before, that is to witte, about the yeare 1518. had begonne to preach and write againſt the authoritie of the Pope.

All this yeare was continuall ſuite made to the Emperour and his Counſell by the Ladye

Regent

A peace concluded.

Regent of France & other, for the deliueraunce of the French king, and finally vpō certaine articles there was a peace and league cōcluded, & the king of Englande included in the ſame. Amongſt other articles, it was couenaunted, and the French king promiſſed to diſcharge ẏ Emperor againſt the king of Englande for the ſumme of .200000. crowns, which the emperor ought then to the king of England, and to deliuer to the Emperour a ſure acquittance for the ſame. The king of England hearing that the French K. ſhuld now be deliuered, ſent to him a knight of his chamber, called ſir Tho. Cheney to ſignifie to him the great ioy & gladnes, which he cōceiued for his reſtitution to libertie, & ẏ concluſion of the generall peace, for which kindnes & curteous remembrance, the French king thought himſelfe much bound to the king of Englande, & thanked him greatly therfore. After that this peace was accorded, & the French king deliuered, ẏ Emperor maried ẏ Lady Iſabell daughter to Emanuell king of Portingal, & had wyth hir .xj. C. M. ducats. Ye muſt here note, that ẏ Emperor being at Winſor in the .14. yeare of the kings raigne couenaunted amongeſt other things to take to wife ẏ Lady Mary daughter to the king of England, but now vpon cōſiderations his minde changed, for the whiche the Engliſhemen ſore murmured againſt him.

An. reg. 18.

Kyng Henry ſworn to performe the league concluded.

A ſecret league betwixte the Pope and certain ſtates of Italye.

The .29. of April being Sundaye ẏ Cardinall ſong a ſolemne Maſſe in the kings Chapell at Greenwich, & after the ſame was ended, the king ſware in preſence of the Ambaſſadors of France, & of the Ambaſſadors of Rome, of ẏ Emperor, of Venice, & of Florence, to obſerue, & keepe the peace & league concluded beetwixte him, and his louing brother, & perpetuall allie ẏ Frenche king, during his life & one yeare after. In this mean while, there was a ſecrete league concluded betwixt the Pope, the Venetians, ẏ Florentins, & Francis Sforza duke of Millan, into the which league the French king alſo entred, after he was returned into France. Ther was alſo place lefte to the king of England to enter into the ſame league, and likewiſe to all other kings & princes, & if the King of Englād wold, he ſhould be admitted as protector of the ſame. But the Emperor might not be admitted till he had deliuered the French kings children (hauing a reaſonable ſum of mony for the ſame) and hadde reſtored the Duke of Millan to his whole Dutchy. It was thought in deede that the Emperor being wrongfully enformed againſt this Duke rather through enuy of ſome of the Emperors Captaines, than for any cauſe miniſtred by the Duke, dealte very ſtraightlye with him, and ment to defeat him of his Duchie. For redreſſe whereof, and alſo to prouide that the Emperour ſhould not grow to ſtrong to Italy to the daunger of other eſtates, this league was concluded, by force wherof, he might bee brought to reaſon, if he wold refuſe conuenient offers, & indifferent wayes of agreement.

This league was concluded the two and twentith of May in this yeare. What followed thereof, ye maye reade more at large in the hiſtories of Italy and Frāce, where the warres are more at large touched, whiche chaunced in that ſeaſon betwixte the Emperour, and the Confederates, and howe the Imperiall armye tooke the Citie of Rome, and beſieging the Pope in Caſtell Saincte Angelo, conſtreyned him to yelde.

Great grudge againſte ſtraungers for procuring licences to ſell vvoad.

This yeare in the citie of London a greate grudge was conceiued agaynſt merchāt ſtrangers, for that they by vertue of licences, whiche they hadde purchaſed, to bring woade into the realme contrary to a ſtatute thereof prouided, brought ouer ſuch plentie thereof, and vttered it aſwell in the citie, as abroade in the countrey, ſo frankely, that Engliſhe mennes woade layd vnbought.

At length the Maior called a counſel, wherin to bridle thoſe ſtrangers, it was enacted, that no citizen, nor freeman, ſhoulde buy or ſell, nor exchange, or haue to doe wyth certayne ſtrangers, whoſe names were expreſſed.

Valuation of certain coyne.

In this ſeaſon the angell noble was iuſt the ſixt part of an ounce Troy, ſo that .vj. Angels were iuſt an ounce, which was .xl. s. ſterling, and the angell was worth two ounces of ſiluer, ſo that ſixe Angelles were worth .xij. ounces, which was but .xl. s. in ſiluer. By reaſon of the good weight, and lowe valuation of the Engliſhe coigne, Merchauntes dayly carryed ouer great ſtore, bicauſe the ſame was much enhaūced there, ſo that to meete with this inconuenience, in September proclamation was made through all Englande, that the angell ſhoulde go for .vij. s. iiij. d. the royall for .xj. s. and the crowne for .iiij. s. iiij. d. and the laſt of Nouember following by proclamation againe the angell was enhaunſed to .vij. s. vj. d. and ſo euery ounce of golde ſhoulde be .xlv. s. and an ounce of ſiluer at iij. s. ix. d. in value.

The king kepte a ſolempne Chriſtmaſſe at Greenewiche wyth reuelles, maſkes, diſguiſings, and banquets.

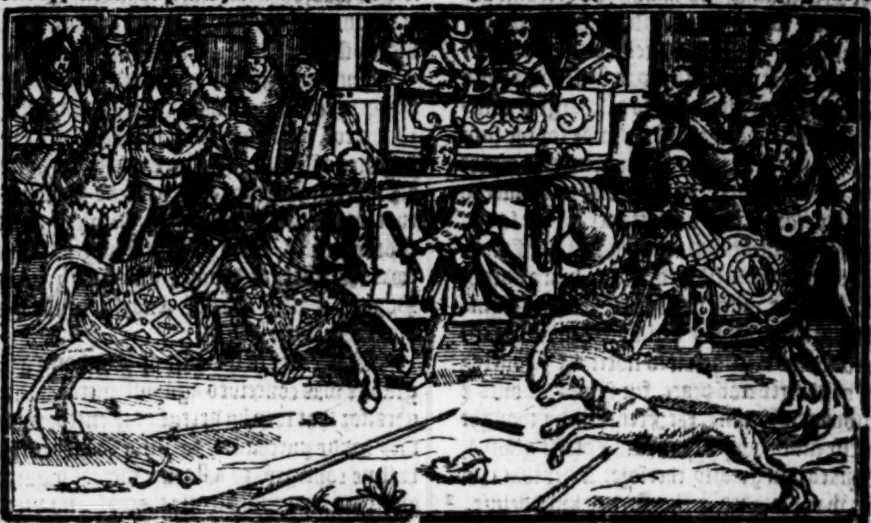
1527

An Ambaſſadour from the Emperour.

The fourteenth of Ianuarye came to the court Don Hugo de Mēdoſa, a man of a noble familye in Spaine: he came as Ambaſſadour from the Emperor to the king, with large commiſſiō, for the Emperor put it to ẏ kings determinatiō whether his demaūds which he required of the French king were reaſonable or not.

This noble man tarried here two yeres full.

The ſeconde of Marche were receyued into London the Biſhop of Tarbe, Frauncis Vi-



countie of Thurayne, & maiſter Anthony Veſcy ſeconde preſident of Paris, as Ambaſſadors frō the french king.

Ambaſſadours from the french King.

They were lodged in Taylors hall. On Shrouetueſday the Kyng and .viij. with him helde Juſtes againſt the Marques of Exceter, & .viij on his parte. There were broken betwixt them .286. ſpeares according to the accompt thereof taken. The French Ambaſſador ſued (as was ſaide) to haue the Ladye Mary daughter to the King of England, giuen in mariage to the Duke of Orleaunce ſecond ſon to their maiſter the French king, but that matter was put in ſuſpence for dyuers conſiderations, & one was for that the Preſident of Paris doubted whether yͤ mariage betwene the king and hir mother (ſhe beeyng hys brothers wife) was lawfull or not.

Ambaſſadoures from Fornãdo.

The .xiiij. of March were conueied from London to Greenewiche by the earle of Rutlande, and other, the Lord Gabriell de Salamanca earle of Ottenburg: John Burgraue of Silluenberg: & John Faber a famous clerk after Biſh. of Vienne as Ambaſſadors frō Don Ferdinando brother to yͤ Emperor newly elected king of Hūgary & Bohem, after the death of his brother in lawe king Lewes, whiche was ſlayne by the Turke the laſte Sommer, as in the hiſtorie of Hūgarie, it doth appeare. Maiſter Faber made before the kyng an eloquent Oration touchyng the purpoſe of their comming, which was to deſier the King of aide againſt the Turke. To the which Oration the king by the mouth of Sir Tho. More made anſwere as was thought conuenient for the time. In the Winter ſeaſon of this yere fell great abundaunce of raine, & namely in Septēber, Nouember, and December. And on the .xvj. of January it rained ſo aboundantly that great floudes thereof enſuing, deſtroied corne, fieldes, paſtures, and drowned many ſheepe, and beaſtes. Then was it drye till the .xij. of Aprill, and from thence it rayned euery day or night till the thirde of June, and in Maye it reined .xxx. houres continually without ceaſſing, whiche cauſed greate floods, & did muche harme, namely in corne, ſo that the nexte yere it failed within this realme, and great darth enſued.

An. reg. 17. The French Ambaſſadours in the name of their Maiſter ſweare to obſerue the league.

The French Ambaſſadors at Greenwich on Sunday the .v. of May ſware in the name of their maiſter the French king to obſerue the peace & league concluded betwene thē, for terme of the .ij. Princes liues. Theſe Ambaſſadours had great cheare, & Juſtes were enterpriſed for the honor & pleaſure of them at the kings commaundement by ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Robert Jernyngham, ſir Anthony Browne, and Nicholas Haruy Eſquier chalengers. Againſt whom ran the Marques of Exceter, and .xiij. with him as defendants. When theſe Ambaſſadors ſhould returne, they had great rewards giuen them of the king, and ſo toke their leaue and departed.

Ambaſſadours into Fraunce.

Shortly after the king ſente ſir Thomas Bollongne Vicounte Rocheforde, & ſir Anthony Browne knyght as Ambaſſadors from him into Fraunce, whiche came to Paris to the Biſhoppe of Bathe that lay there, for the king as legier, and then theſe .iij. wente to the Courte, and ſawe the Frenche Kyng in perſon ſweare to keepe the league, & amitie concluded betwene him and the King of Englande.

An Ambaſſade to the Emperour.

Alſo the king ſent ſir Fraunces Pointz knight Ambaſſador from him to Charles the Emperour, & with him went Clarenceaux kyng of armes to demaunde the one halfe of the treaſure and ordinaunce, whiche was taken at Pauia, forſomuche as yͤ warre was made aſwell at yͤ kings charge as at the Emperors. Alſo they were cōmaunded to demaund one of the french kings ſonnes whiche lay in hoſtage wyth the Emperour, that is to wit, the duke of Orleance to be deliuered to the king of Englande, and further

ther

Engliſhe marchauntes.

ther that he ſhoulde call backe his army out of Italy, and if ſo were that hee refuſed theſe ſo reaſonable requeſtes, then ſhoulde they in the kings name denoũce open warre againſt him. The engliſhe marchauntes liked the matter nothing at all, that there ſhoulde bee any warres betwixte the Emperour, and the king of Englande, and where they wer deſired by the Cardinal to kepe their marts at Calais, they wold not aſſent thereto.

Rome taken & ſacked.

The kinges mariage brought in queſtion.

In this meane time was Rome taken by the Imperialls, and the Pope brought into captiuitie, wherwyth the Kyng was ſo incenſed agaynſt the Emperour by the inſtigation of the Cardinall, that he had determined not to ſpare any treaſure for the Popes deliuerance. There roſe a ſecret brute in London that the kings confeſſor Doctor Longlãd, and diuers other great Clerkes had tolde the King that the mariage betweene hym, and the Ladye Katherine late wife to hys brother Prince Arthur was not lawfull: wherevpon the king ſhoulde ſue a diuorſe, and marry the Dutcheſſe of Alanſon ſiſter to the Frenche King at the towne of Calais this Sõmer, and that the Vicount Rocheforde had brought wyth hym the picture of the ſaide Lady.

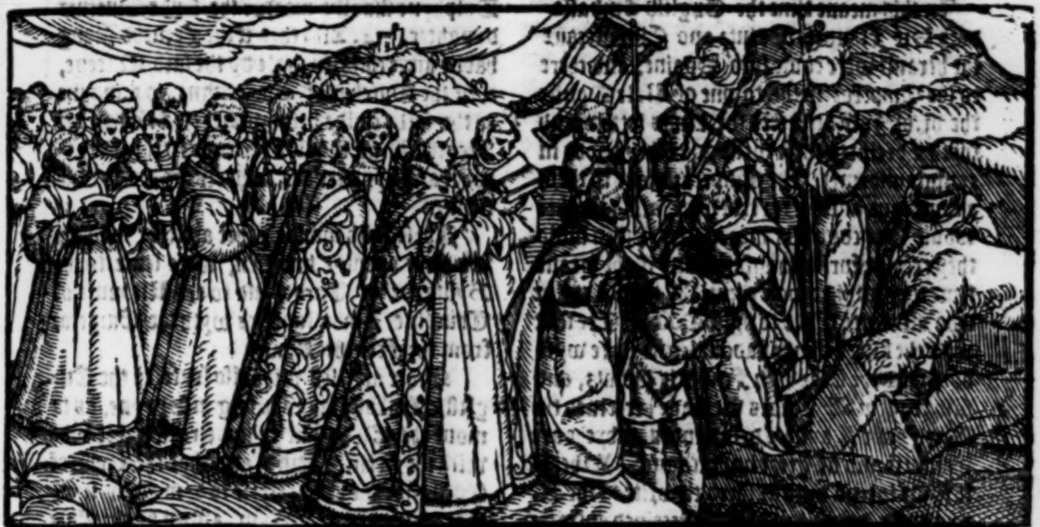
The Kyng was offended wyth thoſe tales, and ſente for ſir Thomas Seimer maior of the citie of London, ſecretely chardging him to ſee that the people ceaſed from ſuche talke.

But whatſoeuer the commons talked, it was determined that the Cardinall ſhould go ouer into Fraunce as high Ambaſſador for the king, and to take with him .xij. ſcore thouſand pound to be emploied on the warres to be made by the confederates againſt the Emperor, if he would not condiſcende to ſuche demaundes as the Engliſh Ambaſſadors on the kings behalfe ſhoulde exhibite vnto him.

The Cardinall goeth Ambaſſadour into Fraunce.

A Proceſſion? A newe deuiſed Letany.

The thirde of July this triumphant Cardinall paſſed through London wyth .xij. C. horſe toward the ſea ſide, and comming to Canterburye reſted there, and declared to the people what happe chaunced to the Pope, and cauſed the Monkes of Chriſtes Churche to ſing their Letany after this maner: *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente Papa. &c.* Then he exhorted ẏ people to faſt & pray for the Popes deliueraũce accordingly as he had already ſent commiſſions to



al the biſhops within the realme to follow that order, which was to faſt .3. days in the weeke & to vſe in euery pariſh ſolemne proceſſiõs. The .xj. of July ẏ Cardinall toke ſhipping at Douer, & landed the ſame day at Caleis, frõ whence he departed the .22. of July, and with him was the Byſhop of London Cutbert Tunſtall, the Lord Sands Chamberlain to ẏ king, the earle of Darby, ſir Henry Guilforde, Sir Thomas Moore, with many other knightes & eſquiers, in all to the number of .xij. C horſe, and of carriages there were .80. wagons, & .60. moiles and ſumpter horſes. He that is deſirous to vnderſtande wyth what honor this triumphaunt Cardinall was receyued in al places as he paſſed through Picardie by order geuen by the French King, may reade thereof at large in the chronicles of maiſter Hall. At Amiens he was receyued by the French K. himſelfe, & by his mother with al other the chiefe Peeres of France. There was nothing forgot that might do hym honor or pleaſure. But to the effect of this buſines, after he had ſhewed his cõmiſſion, they fell in counſell, & in the end grew to a full concluſion of a league to be accorded & eſtabliſhed betwixt the kings of Englãd & France, the couenauntes and articles wherof were drawen and written vp in a faire charter which was ſealed

The Cardinall is honorablye receiued by the French kyng.

A league betvveene Englande, and Fraunce.

in ſolempne wiſe & deliuered to the Cardinalls by the kings owne hand. After this, it was agreed, yͤ Odet de Fois cōmonly called Monſieur de Lawtrecke ſhould go into Italy with a puiſſaunt army to procure the Popes deliuerannce, and expulſe the Emperours power out of all yͤ parties of Italy, if he refuſed ſuch reaſonable offers and articles of agreement as were drawen, and ſhuld be exhibited to him. In this army went ſir Robert Jernynghā, and John Carew of Hakam & 60. other engliſh gentlemē, whiche were ſent by the Cardinall frō Amiens.

Monſieure de avytrecke.

Si. Robert Ieringham.

When the armye was aſſembled, the Cardinall deliuered yͤ mony which he had brought out of Englād with him in barrells, with the which the armye was paide two Monethes beffore hād, and yͤ ſurpluſage was deliuered to ſir Robert Jernyngham, whyche was called Threaſourer of the warres.

This armye was called in latine *Exercitus Anglia & Gallorum Regum pro Pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to ſay, the army of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliuerannce of the Byſhoppe of Rome, and ſo was it reputed.

The name of the army ſent nto Italy.

In this meane time the Engliſh Ambaſſadors Sir Frauncis Pointz and Clarenceaux the herault were come into Spaine, and there to the Emperor in the towne of Vale Doliſſe the vj. of July deliuered the kings letters, and further declared their meſſage as they hadde in commaundement. The Emperor made to them a courteous anſwer for that time, and ſaide hee would take counſell in the matter, & then ſhuld they receiue further aunſwer, and in the meane time they might repoſe them. Within a day or two after, hee called to hym Doctour Lee that was the kings Ambaſſadour legier there wyth hym, and the ſaide Syr Fraūcis Pointz, and ſaid to them, My lordes we haue perceiued the Kyng your Mayſters demaundes, whyche are weightie and of great importaunce. Wherefore we intend with al ſpeed to write to the K. our vncle, and when we haue receiued anſwere frō him, we ſhall deliuer you of ſuch things as you require, praying you in the meane time to take patience. The Emperour protracted tyme of purpoſe bycauſe he was lothe to anſwer directly to ſuch greuous and moſt irkeſome complaints bycauſe he geſſed by yͤ courſe of things that the French king would ſhortly be cōſtrained to agree to thoſe conditions of peace, whiche he at the firſte had offered.

But the Frenche King, and the Cardinall being togither at Amies, amongſt other things determined there betwixt them in counſell, deuiſed further what articles of offer ſhoulde bee ſente to the Emperor, which if he refuſed, then open defyaunce to be made to hym in name of both the Kings. The articles were theſe in effecte.

Articles propoſed to the Emperour.

Fyrſt that the French king ſhuld pay for his ranſom 25000. crowns, one writer called it .ij. millions. 2 Alſo that hee ſhoulde releaſe all the penſiō that he had in Naples, with all the right of the ſame. 3 Alſo that he ſhoulde neuer claime title to the Dutchie of Millans. 4. Alſo hee ſhulde releaſe the ſuperioritie of Flaunders for euer, and the right whiche hee had to the Citie of Tourney. 5. Alſo hee ſhoulde releaſe all the homages of all perſones within thoſe cōuntryes. 6. Alſo to withdrawe his armye out of Italy. 7. Alſo to forſake the ayde of the Switzers againſte the Emperour. 8. Alſo to take no more parte wyth Robert de la Marche agaynſte the Emperour. 9. Alſo neuer to aide the Kyng of Nauarre againſt him, although he had married the Kings ſiſter. 10. Alſo neuer to aide the Duke of Gelderland, nor to chalenge the ſame Dutchie. 11. Alſo to aide the Emperour wyth ſhippes and men to hys Coronation. 12. Alſo to marry the Lady Elenore Queene of Portingale ſiſter to the Emperor. 13. Alſo that the Dolphyne ſhoulde marrye the ſayde Queenes daughter. 14. Alſo that if the Frenche Kyng hadde anye children male by the ſaid Queene, then the Dutchye of Burgongne, to remayne to the ſaide childe being male. 15. Alſo that the Frenche King ſhould be friende to the Emperour, and hys friendes, and enemye to hys ennemies.

These with manye other articles, whyche were not openlye knowen, were ſente to the Byſhoppe of Tarbe, and to the Vicounte of Thuraine Ambaſſadours wyth the Emperor from the Frenche Kyng.

Other articles were alſo ſente to the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours beyng in Spayne, as to moue the Emperour to ſome reaſonable ende with the Frenche King, and that the Kyng of Englande woulde releaſe to hym all the ſummes of money due to hym, aſwell by the Emperour Maximilian his Grandefather as himſelfe, and take the Frenche King as debter for the ſame.

If hee woulde not agree to theſe offers, then was it accorded that the Frenche K. ſhuld marrie the Ladie Mary daughter to the kyng of Englande, and they bothe to bee enemyes to the Emperoure.

The Cardinal retourneth of Fraunce.

When all theſe thynges were concluded, the Cardinall toke hys leaue of the Frenche Kyng and hys mother, and wyth greate rewardes retourned, commyng to Rychemonte where the Kyng then laye, the laſte of September.

In October, there came Imbaſſadours from the French King into England, the lord Annas de Montmorancy, great Maſter of the ſaid French kings houſe, the Biſhoppe of Baionne chiefe preſidente of Roan, and Monſieur de Humieres accompanied wyth .lx. Gentlemen well appointed. Theſe Imbaſſadors were receyued with all honor that might be deuiſed.

On Alhallon daye the Kyng came ridyng to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, where the Cardinall ſang the Maſſe, & ſware before the high Aulter in the preſence of the French Imbaſſadors to kepe and perfourme the league.

The K. of England receyveth the order of S. Michaell.

On Sonday the .x. of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of Saint Michaell, receiued at Grenewich the ſaide order by the handes of the great maiſter of Fraunce, and Mounſier Humieres that were companions of the ſame order, in like caſe as the French K. the ſame day at Paris receiued the order of the Garter by the handes of the lorde Liſle, Doctor Taillor maiſter of the Rolls, ſir Nicholas Carew knight maiſter of the kings horſes, ſir Antony Brown knight, & ſir Thomas Wriotheſley knight, otherwiſe called Garter Kyng of Armes, the whiche were ſente thither wyth the whole habite, coller, and other habiliments of the order as appertained. After that the French Imbaſſadors had ben highly feaſted, banqueted, & entertained, with al honor & paſtime conuenient, the great maiſter and all his company toke leaue of the king, & wyth great rewardes returned into Fraunce, leauing the Biſhop of Baionne behind them, who abode ambaſſador legier in Englãd. In this Moneth of Nouember Arthur Bilney, Geffrey Lome, & one Garret ÿ ſpake againſt the Popes authoritie, were abiured by the Cardinall. By reaſõ of the great weet that fell in the ſowing time of the corne, & in the beginning of the laſte yeare, now in the beginning of this, corne ſo failed, that in the citie of Londõ for a while breade was ſcant, by reaſon that commiſſioners appointed to ſee orders taken in ſhires aboute, ordeined that none ſhuld be cõueied out of one ſhire into an other, which order had like to haue bred diſorder, for ÿ euery cuntry & place was not prouided a like, and namely London, that maketh hir prouiſiõ out of other places, felte great inconuenience hereby, till the marchants of the Stiliarde, and other out of the Theutſch countryes, broughte ſuch plentie, ÿ it was better cheap in London than in eny other part of England, for the king alſo releeued the citizens in time of their nede with a M. quarters by way of lone of his own prouiſion. The ſcarcetie at the firſt was more than the derth, for in the beginning of their wante, wheate was only at .xv. ſ. a quarter, and from thence it roſe to .xx. ſ. & after to .xxvj. ſ. viij. d. the quarter, till remedy by outward prouiſion was procured and had. In this meane while, ÿ Lorde Lautrec with his army was entred into Italy, where howe he ſped, and what came of that expedition, ye ſhall finde in the hiſtories of Fraunce and Italy, and therefore in this place I paſſe it ouer. Sir Francis Poines knight, in the end of December returned out of Spain into England leauing Clarenceaux behind him, to bring farther anſwer. The Emperor at the requeſt of this ſir Fraunceis Poines, who made ÿ ſuing in name of his maiſter the K. of England, was contented to releaſe .ix. articles, which were reputed moſt preiudiciall to the French king, only ÿ to gratifie the king of England: but the Cardinall kepte the kyng ſtill in diſpleaſure towarde the Emperor, for the loue whiche hee bare to the French king, whoſe only purpoſes he ſought to aduaunce. The articles whiche were drawē at Amiēs whē the Cardinal was there, were exhibited to ÿ Emperor by the Frēch Imbaſſadors, & bycauſe he refuſed the ſame, worde was ſēt to Clarenceaux king of arms, to make defiaunce to the Emperor. Whereupon on the Wedneſday the .xxij. of Januarie, Guyenne king of arms to the French king and Clarenceaux king of arms to the king of England, being in the citie of Bourgues in Spain, came to the Court of Charles the elect Emperor, about 9. of the clocke in the morning, and there did requeſt of his maieſtie, that it wold pleaſe him to appoint thē an houre of audience. The lord de Chaux by ordinaunce from hys maieſtie, gaue them anſwer that it ſhuld be about .x. of ÿ clocke before none the ſame daye. And at the ſame houre his Maieſtye came into the greate hall of his Courte, accompanyed wyth diuers Prelats, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Erles, Barons, & other great lords and good perſonages, of diuers nations of his kyngdome & ſeigniories in great number.

The Frenche K. receyveth the order of the garter.

Bilney and others abiured.

Derth of corn.

The Emperour ſittyng in a chayre prepared accordyng to his dignitye, the two kinges of armes of Fraunce and Englande, being in the nether end of the hall, holdyng vpon their left arms eche one his coate of armes, did make .3. ſolemne reuerences accuſtomed, wyth knee to the ground. And whē they were at the loweſt ſteire before hys Emperiall Maieſtie, Clarenceaux king of armes of Englande, hauing the words in bothe their names, ſpake as followeth.

Sir, following the three Edictes inuiolably kept and obſerued by your predeceſſours Emperours of Rome, Kings, Princes, and Captaynes, Guyenne Kyng of armes of the moſte Chriſtened Kyng, and alſo Clarenceaux

King of armes to the Kyng of Englande our ſoueraigne and naturall lordes, were preſentyng our ſelues before your ſacred maieſty, for to declare certaine things from the ſaide kings our maiſters, beſeching your maieſtie, that hauing regarde vnto the ſaide laws according to your benignitie and mercy, that it would pleaſe you to geue vs ſure acceſſe and good intreatyng in your countreis, lands and ſeigniories attendyng your aunſwere, with ſure conducte to returne vnto the cou̅treis, lands, and ſeigniories of our ſaide ſoueraigne Lordes. The Emperour then bad them ſaye on whatſoeuer the Kyngs your maiſters haue giuen you in chardge, your priuiledges ſhall be kepte, none ſhall do you any diſpleaſure within my kingdomes or territories.

After thys, Guyenne read in wrytyng that whych followeth, ſigned wyth ẏ hand of ẏ ſaid Guienne king of armes: Sir, the moſt chriſtned Kyng my ſoueraigne and naturall Lorde hathe commaunded me to ſaye to you, that hee hath conceyued a maruellous griefe and diſpleaſure of that, that in place of amitie, whiche hee ſo muche deſired to haue with you, the former enmytie in full force ſtill remaineth. By the whiche he ſeeth and perceyueth, that the euils and inconueniences long ſince begon, ſhal continue and augment, not only vnto you, and vnto him, & your vaſſals & ſubiectꝭ, but alſo vnto all Chriſtendom, and that the forces & youths whyche the one and the other oughte to employ againſt the enimyes of the faith, ſhall bee ſpent to the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and in offence vnto God, and that you and he endowed with ſo many gracious gifts ſhall not inioye the benifits, which it pleaſed the ſonne of God to leaue to vs, by his teſtament, which is peace, whereof all goodnes proceedeth. And in place of the ſame ſhall haue warre: whereof followeth all calamities, daungers, inconueniences, pouerties, and myſeries. And heerewith, you ſhall ſubmitte your ſelfe vnto them whome you maye commaunde, and ſhall hazarde the bloud and ſubſtaunce of your ſubiectes in the purſſes of ſtraungers: euery one as for himſelfe ought to haue regarde therto, and for the ſhorte tyme that we haue heere to lyue, not to goe aboute to depriue hymſelfe of that tranquillitie, ioye, good regarde and paſtyme, that the Princes maye haue by peace: And by followyng the warre, to bee in pouertie, heauineſſe, and hazarde of loſſe of goodes, honours, and lyues, and that worſſe is, after they haue hadde euyll dayes in thys world, to be in danger of eternall payne in the worlde to come, thorough them that haue bene the cauſe thereof, and that woulde not yeelde vnto reaſon.

The Kyng my ſoueraigne Lorde is ready to put hymſelfe for his parte in all deuoir, and more than ſo, to haue peace and amitie wyth you: and by this meanes peace ſhall be procured throughout all Chriſtendom, wherby men myght doe God good ſeruice, in making warre on the Infidelles, whyche will bee ſo thankefull to hym, that it wyll put off the puniſhement of faultes, whyche haue bene committed heretofore by reaſon of the warres, whyche haue too long indured betweene you two, and not yet lyke to ceaſſe, conſideryng the termes whyche you holde and ſeeke to mayntayne. Seth on the one parte, certaine aduowyng them ſelues on you, haue aſſailed and taken by force the Citie of Rome, whyche is the place of the holy and Apoſtolike Sea, where they haue committed and doone all the myſchiefe that might be deuiſed.

The Churches and relikes were prophaned, the Pope holding Saint Peters ſeate, as Vicare of God on earth, taken and put oute of his libertie: By the meanes whereof, they that haue committed and executed the ſaid execrable dedes and wickedneſſe, wyth theyr authours and fautours, be fallen and run in paines of right, & they that hold them captiue, beare themſelues on you, and he that dothe keepe them, hath bin and is of the principall capitaynes, of whome you haue bene ſerued in your warres in Italy and other partes: And on the other ſyde, the difference whiche at this time reſteth betweene you and the king my ſoueraine & naturall lord, is principally vpon the raunſome and recouery of the Princes hys ſonnes, whyche you holde for hoſtages of the ſame: hee hathe oftentimes offered, and yet dothe offer to pay to you, and giue to you, not only that whiche may be ſaide to be reaſonable, and in ſuch caſes accuſtomed, but alſo more largely. And you oughte not to ſtand vppon thynges whych by force and conſtraint he hath promiſed, the whiche iuſtly and honeſtly he may not performe nor accompliſh: you had a great deale more gained to haue taken the ſaide raunſome which was offered vnto you, than to continue the war, and to giue occaſion of all the euilles and inconueniences that dayly happen thereby through Chryſtendome.

You ſee the king of England, with whom he hath brotherlye amitie for euer, and alſo the Venetians, Florentins, and Duke of Bar, and other Princes and Potentates, following and holding the partie of the ſaid Chriſten king, for that they ſee he yeldeth to reaſon, & by reaſo̅ you wil not therto encline, ẏ vniuerſal peace ca̅not be co̅cluded in Chriſtendom. The enemies of ẏ faith gain cou̅tries: Al Italy is in arms, blud &

rapine, and the Apoſtolicall Sea in trouble, ſo that if on your parte you ſeeke not remedie, and that things doe thus continue as they haue begonne, it is to bee feared, that God will bee angrie.

And for as muche (Sir) as to the declarations which the aboueſaid princes haue offered vnto you, and the preſentations which the ſaid chriſtian king hath made vnto you, you haue refuſed to giue eare, therby to come to ſome accord with him, and to content your ſelfe with a ranſome more than reaſonable: alſo for that you will not render vnto his good brother, perpetuall allie and confederat, the king of England, that which is his, ſet the Pope at libertie, and leaue Italie in peace and tranquillitie, he hath commanded me to declare, ſignify, and notifye vnto you to his greate griefe and diſpleaſure, with his ſaid good brother the king of Englãd, that they will holde & take you for their enemy, declaring al maner of treaties and couenaunts heretofore paſſed betweene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & vtility to bee nothing, and that of his parte he will not obſerue nor keepe the ſame: But by all meanes that he may imagine with his good friendes allies and confederates, & wyth all his forces endomage you, your countries, lands, & vaſſals by warre, or otherwiſe, in ſuch ſort as he may deuiſe, vntill the tyme that you haue reſtored to hym hys children, wyth honeſt meanes and couenaunts touching his raunſome, deliuered the Pope, rendred vnto the king of Englande that you hold of hym, and acquitted the ſumme whiche you owe hym, and ſuffer his allies and confederates to liue in peace, reſt, and tranquillitie, and proteſteth before god and all the worlde, that he doth not wiſhe nor deſire the warre, but that it wholly diſpleaſeth hym, and is not therefore the cauſe of the euill that is or maye come thereof, conſidering that he hath put, and will put himſelfe vnto all reaſon, as he hath offered and ſignified vnto you and to all other chriſtian princes, and yet doth, and of all this he calleth god who knoweth all things to witnes, and for that vnder colour of the publication of the pretended treaty of Madrill made, he being priſoner in Spaine, diuers of your ſubiects, and of them of the King of Englande, and of hys haue carried their marchandiſes & others goods into the kingdomes, ſtraightes and ſeigniories the one of the other, whereby may enſue great domages, if of them no mention ſhoulde bee made in this preſent declaration and ſignification; my ſoueraigne Lord and the ſaid King of Englãd be contented, that liberty be giuen vnto all ſubiectes being in the ſaide Kyngdomes, countreis, ſtraightes and ſeigniories, to retire and departe from thence with all their goods & marchandiſes within .xl. days after this intimation made, prouided that you ſhall do the like vnto their ſubiectes in all and euery their marchandiſes giuen the .xj. day of Nouember. Anno 1527. And ſigned Guienne king of armes. The Emperor after the defiance giuē by Guienne ſpake in this ſorte: I do vnderſtand that whiche you haue redde from the King your Maiſter: I do muche marueill why he doth defye me, for he being my priſoner by right war, and I hauyng his faithe by reaſon hee cannot do it. It is vnto me a nouelltie to bee defied of hym, ſeeing it is ſix or ſeuen yeares that he hath warred againſte mee, and yet giuen me no defyaunce, and ſithe that by the grace of God I haue defended my ſelfe from hym, as he hath ſeene, and euery one elſe, without that he hathe giuen mee any warnyng, or conſidering the reaſon and iuſtification whereon I do reſt my ſelfe, for the whiche I thinke I haue not otherwyſe deſerued towards God, I hope that at this time now you aduertiſe me of it, being aduertiſed I ſhall defend myſelf the better, in ſuch ſort that the king your maiſter ſhall do mee no hurte, for ſince hee doth defy me, I am halfe aſſured.

And touchyng that whyche you ſpake of the Pope, none hath bin more ſorowfull than I of that which was done, and it was without my knowledge or commaundement: and that which hathe bene done, was done by vnruly people, without obedience to any of my Captaines. And yet I aduertiſe you, that the Pope long ſince is ſet at libertie; and yeſterdaye I hadde certayne newes of it. And as touchyng the ſonnes of youre Maiſter, hee knoweth that I houlde them for pledges, and alſo my Lordes his Imbaſſadours knowe well that the faulte hath not layne in mee that they haue not beene deliuered.

And as for that of the Kyng of Englande my good brother and vncle, I beleeue if it bee ſo as you doe ſaye, that hee is not well informed of thyngs paſſed, and if hee were, yet could I not ſaye as your writyng conteyneth, I deſire to ſende hym my reaſons for to aduertiſe hym of all the truthe. And I beleeue when he ſhall knowe it, that hee will bee vnto me as he hathe bene. I neuer denied the money whiche I borrowed of hym, and I am readye to pay it as by reaſon and right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enoughe to doe it. Neuertheleſſe if he will make warre againſte mee, it will bee to my greate diſpleaſure, and cannot but defend myſelfe. I pray to God that he gyue mee no more occaſion than I thinke I haue giuen vnto him.

And to the reſte, for that your writyng is great, and the paper ſheweth it ſelf to be gentle, ſeing that they haue written what they would: You ſhall giue mee the writing, wherby more particularly I may anſwer in an other paper, wherin ſhall be nothing but truth.

This aunſwere being made by his Maieſtie with his own mouth vnto Guyenne K. of armes, the ſayd Guyenne tooke his cote of armes that he had on his lefte arme (as before is ſaid) and put it on, and then Clarenceaux Kyng of armes of England, ſayd vnto his maieſtie not by writing but by mouth, as foloweth.

Syr, the king my ſoueraigne Lord hath cōmaunded me to ſaye vnto you, that ſeyng the neceſſitie of peace in the Chriſtian religion, as wel by reaſon of the enforcement many yeeres paſt, begonne by the great Turke enimie vnto our fayth, whiche by force of armes hath taken away from the Chriſtians the citie and Ile of the Rhodes, one of the principall bulwarkes of Chriſtendow, and in Hungarie the fortreſſe of Belgrade, & part of the coūtrey there, as alſo by hereſies and newe ſectes, of late riſen in diuers places of Chriſtendome. And likewiſe knowing the greate warres being kindeled in al parts, by meanes of which, al chriſtendome is in trouble, cōfuſion, and maruellous deuiſion, and not long ſince by your people and miniſters and ſouldiers in your armie, and vnder your captains the holie citie of Rome, hath bin ſacked, and robbed, the perſon of our holy father yͤ Pope taken priſoner, & kept by your people: The Cardinals likewiſe takē & put to ranſom, yͤ churches robbed, Biſhops, prieſts & people of religion put to the ſworde, and ſo many other euils, cruelties, & inhumain facts cōmitted by your people, that the ayre & the land are infected therwith. And it is very like, yͭ God is greatly ſtirred and prouoked vnto ire: & to ſpeak after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable euils & inconueniences ſhall happen vnto al Chriſtendom. And for that the roote & encreacement of the ſaid warres proceedeth of the cōtentions & debates betwene you, & the moſt chriſtened K. his good brother & perpetuall allie: to make an end of which debates, the K. my ſoueraine lord hath ſent his ambaſſadors & others, vnto the moſt chriſtened K. his good brother, with whom hee hath done ſo much, that for the loue that he hath borne him, he hath made vnto you ſo great offers, and ſo reſonable, that you can not, nor ought not reaſonably to refuſe thē, as conditions & offers for his raunſome exceeding the raunſom accuſtomed of all kings. And if in this, the conſideration of peace had not bin, an euil exāple might therof growe for other kings & chriſtened princes ſubiecte vnto the like fortune: Of whiche offers and conditions he hath lykewiſe aduertiſed you by his Embaſſadors, prayed and beſought you for the honor of God, and the welth of all chriſtendome, for the benefits & pleaſures that he hath done vnto you diuers wayes, and that in tyme of your great neede, that it would pleaſe you to accept the ſayde offers, and make an ende of the ſayd warres, that haue ſo long endured. Lykewyſe as a Chriſtened Prince bounde to the protection of the Pope, and Sea Apoſtolike, and conſequentely, to the deliuerance of his holyneſſe, (which you can not, nor ought to kepe priſoner, without great offence) that you woulde reſtore his holyneſſe vnto a full and entier libertie. Alſo hee hath oftentymes ſhewed by diuers obligations and other meanes howe you are indebted vnto him in diuers great ſummes of money, that he hath giuen and lent you in your neceſſitie, requiring you to make payment: of all whiche thinges you haue made no accompte from tyme to tyme, but deferred it, and helde in ſuſpence the embaſſadours of the king my ſoueraine, without hauing regard to gods honor, and the neceſſitie of all chriſtendome, and the reuerence that you ought to haue vnto the holy ſeate and perſon of our holy father the Pope, the vicare of God on earthe, or vnto the pleaſures that you haue receyued of hym, or vnto your faithe and promiſe, that you ſo oftētimes haue made.

And for this cauſe the King my ſaide ſoueraigne by honeſt reaſon and iuſtice, conſtrayned by great and ripe deliberation of his counſell, hopyng for a finall concluſion, hathe cauſed agayne to bee preſented offers more larger and to greater aduauntage than the others before, to put you in deuoir, and to auoyde and take away all occaſion to deferre and diſſimule to come to reaſon, whych offers and the augmentyng of the ſame, haue bene made and made agayne with all remonſtrances and honeſt reaſons, that hathe bin poſſible, and in the end there hathe bin made vnto you inſtance for the deliuerie of our ſaid holy father, whoſe holyneſſe you haue reſtrayned, or cauſed to be reſtrayned in place of deliuerye, whyche is verye ſtraunge, and againſte the true eſtate and dutye of a chriſtian Prince. So that the king my ſoueraign and the moſt chriſtian king his brother and perpetual allie, cannot no lenger indure it wyth theyr honours and duty towardes God and the Churche.

And ſeing you wil not condeſcend to reaſon, nor accept the ſaid offers being more thā reaſonable, nor ſatiſfie the king my ſaid ſoueraine of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded with the ſaide moſte chriſtened king his good brother and perpetuall allie, and other of hys confederates, to doe his endeuor to conſtraine you by force and might of armes to delyuer our holy father, & lykewiſe the children of Fraunce, whiche you hold, in paying you a reaſonable raunſome, & to ſatiſfie him of that you owe hym. Therefore the King my ſoueraigne Lorde, as a true and conſtant prince, willing to kepe inuiolable his faithe, whiche he hathe promiſſed vnto the ſaid chriſtian prince, and other his allies, & not willing to leaue the perſon of our ſaide holy father the Pope in captiuitie, as alſo will not the ſaid chriſtian king, they two do ſommon you this tyme for all, to accepte theſe laſte offers, for the deliueraunce of the ſaid children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuerſall peace, and to deliuer the perſon of our ſaide holy father, and alſo to paye ſpeedely and without any more delay, the debts by you due vnto the King my ſoueraigne, and if you doe refuſe theſe finall offers, & alſo to delyuer the perſon of our ſaide holy father, and pay the ſaid debtes, as a good Chriſtian Prince and louer of peace is bound to do, the King my ſoueraigne, and the ſaid chriſtian king his good brother, not without great ſorrowe and diſpleaſure, do declare to be your enemyes, and ſo hereafter do holde and repute you for ſuche one, denouncyng vnto you warre by ſea and lande, defying you with all their forces. Neuertheles, cōſidering that there is diuers of your ſubiects, & great quantitie of their goodes in the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and other landes and lordſhips of the ſaid princes: likewiſe ther be diuers of the ſubiectes of the kings of Englande and France, and of their goods in your kingdomes, countreis, landes, and lordſhips, the whiche may receiue aſwell of the one parte as on the other, great and vnrecouerable hurts and domages, if wythout aduertiſements and monition they ſhould be taken and deteyned, the kings Maieſtie my ſoueraigne, & the moſte chriſtian K. of Frāce his good brother be willyng that libertye be giuen vnto your ſubiectes being in their kingdomes, countries, and lordſhips, for to retire & depart with all their goods & marchandiſe, within 40. days after this intimation, ſo that the like libertie and permiſſion, be in like ſorte graunted to their ſubiectes. To this deffiaunce of the king at armes of Englād the Emperors Maieſtie did aunſwere in theſe words: I haue vnderſtood that which you haue declared, and I cannot thinke that if the kyng of Englād were throughly aduertiſed of things as they haue paſſed, & of the reaſon to which I haue yelded, he would not ſaye that which you haue ſaide, and therfore my intentyon is to aduertiſe hym. As to that which you ſpeake of the Pope, I was neuer cōſenting to his deſtruction, which was neuer done by my commaūdement, & I giue you to vnderſtād, that he is deliuered, and I am ſorie for the harmes that wer done at the time when he was taken, of yͤ which I take my ſelfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king of armes of Frāce. And as to the deliueraunce of the French kings ſons, wher meanes hathe bin made for their deliueraunce, I haue bin ready to giue eare therto, & the fault reſteth not in me, for that the peace hathe not bin concluded, but nowe that ye tell me that the king your maiſter will force me to deliuer thē, I will anſwer therto in other ſorte than hitherto I haue done, and I truſt to kepe thē in ſuch wiſe, that by force I ſhall not neede to deliuer thē: for I am not accuſtomed to bee forced in things which I do. As to yͤ debt which the King of Englande hath lent me, I haue neuer denied it, neither do I deny it, but am redy to pay it as right requireth, as I haue cauſed it to be declared vnto hym, and I my ſelfe haue ſhewed no leſſe to his Ambaſſadors, and deliuered my ſaying by writing, & I cannot beleeue, that for ſuch thing (which I refuſe not to accompliſhe) he will make warre againſte me, and if he will ſo do, it will greeue me, but yet I muſte defende my ſelfe: and I pray god that the king your maſter giue me not greater occaſion to make him warre, than I haue giuē to him. You ſhall deliuer me in wrytyng, that which you haue ſaide, to the which I will alſo anſwer by writyng particularly. This anſwer made by the Emperor to the K. of armes Clarenceaux, the ſaid Clarenceaux tooke his coate of armes which hee had lying on his lefte arme (as before is ſayd) and put it vpon hym. The Emperor herwith commaunded him to deliuer by writing into the hands of the Lord of Bouclans all that he had vttered by word of mouth as is aboue expreſſed, which Clarenceaux promiſed to do, and ſo he did afterwards, ſigned with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaux hauing thus done his duty, incontinently wythdrewe: but before hys departure, the L. of Bouclans ſaid to him & alſo to Guyene, theſe words inſuing. Behold here this writing in my hand. This is the copy of the capitulatiō, made touching yͤ deliuerance of the Pope, and howe hee is deliuered, and departed from Caſtell ſaint Angelo, the. x. of December laſte paſte: put it in your relatiō. The ſaide king of armes anſwered, we will ſo do, & at the ſame inſtāt the Emperor called before hym the ſayd Guienne king of armes of France, and ſaid to him as followeth: Sith it is reaſō that you enioye your Priuileges, you ought alſo to do your dutie, and therefore I pray you declare to your maiſter, yea euen to hys owne perſon that which I ſhall tell you, which is this: that ſith the treatie of Madrill cōtrarie to the ſame, diuers of my ſubiectes haue bin taken going about their buſineſſes, & other alſo going to ſerue me in Italy, which haue bē deteined priſoners euill intreated, and by force thruſt into the galleis: & bycauſe I haue of his ſubiectes the whyche I might likewiſe take, yee ſhall aduertiſe hym, that if hee deliuer vnto me mine, I will deliuer his, if not, as he ſhall intreate mine, I will intreate his, and that hee ſende me aunſwer hereof within .xl. days: if not, I will take the refuſall for an anſwer. The king of armes Guienne asked if his maieſtie ment this, concerning the marchantes: wherevnto the Emperor anſwered: This is beſide that which is conteyned in your writyng, touchyng the Marchants, to which point (ſaid he) I will anſwer by writyng: and herewith Guyenne makyng iij. obeiſances, ſaide, ſir I will gladly doe it. Then ſaide the Emperor, Tell the King your maiſter further, that I beleeue that he hathe not bene aduertiſed of that whyche I tolde to hys Ambaſſador in Granado, which toucheth him neare, for I holde him in ſuche a caſe ſo noble a Prince, that if he had vnderſtood the ſame, he woulde haue made me an anſwere, he ſhall do well to know it of his Ambaſſador, for by that he ſhall vnderſtande that I haue kepte better faith to him in that I haue promiſed at Madril than he to me, and I pray you ſo tell hym, and faile not hereof: Guienne anſwered, without doubt ſir I will do it, and ſo making his obeyſance he departed. The Emperor appointed Iohn Alemāt the barō of Bouclans to ſee that no diſpleaſure nor euill ſpeache were vſed to the ſaid kings of armes, but that they ſhuld bee well vſed, whiche was done to their good contentation. After this, the .xxvij. of Ianuary the ſaide kings of armes came to the ſaide lord of Bouclans, who by the emperors apointment deliuered an anſwer vnto eyther of them in writyng accordingly as the Emperor hadde promiſed, the copies whereof are ſette forth at large in the Annales of Aquitaine, & for breefneſſe heere omitted. To conclude, the French king tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the Emperors anſwers made vnto his king of arms Guyēne, wherby he was chardged to do otherwiſe than by his faithe giuē he ought to haue done, that the .xxviij. day of Marche being in the citie of Paris accompanyed wyth a greate number of the princes of his bloude, Cardinalles and other Prelats and nobles of his realme, and alſo the Ambaſſadors of diuers princes and Potentates, he called before hym Nicholes Perenot lorde of Granuelle, vnto whom he ſaid in effect as followeth. My Lorde Ambaſſador, it hathe greeued me and dothe greeue me, that I haue bin cōſtrained to handle you not ſo courteouſly and gratiouſly as for the good and honorable behauiour, which you haue ſhewed in dooing your duty being here with me, you haue deſerued at my handes, ſith I muſt needes ſay, ye haue acquite your ſelfe in euery behalfe, aſwell to the honor of your maiſter, as good contentatiō of eche man elſe, ſo that I am aſſured yͤ fault reſteth not in you, why thynges haue not come to better end & purpoſe than they haue done, for the good zeale and affection, whiche I haue euer proued in you to the aduaūcement of peace and quietyng of things, wherein I doubte not but you haue done your duetie to the full: but being enformed what your maſter the elect Emperor, againſt all right and law, aſwell diuine as humain, had cōmaunded to be done vnto my Ambaſſadors, and likewiſe to the other of the league remaynyng wyth hym, for the furtheraunce of things towards a peace, and cōtrary to all good cuſtomes, which hitherto haue bin obſerued betwixt princes, not only Chriſtians, but alſo Infidels, me thought I coulde not otherwiſe doe, for the behoof of my owne Ambaſſadors, arreſted and againſt reaſon kept in warde, but to do the ſame to you, althoughe I had no minde to vſe you euill, for the reaſons aboue ſaid, for yͤ which, & for yͤ duty you haue ſhewed in doing that appertained, I aſſure you my lorde Ambaſſador, that beſide that I doubt not but your maiſter will recompence you for the ſame, yee may be aſſured that when particulerly in any thing I may pleaſure you, I wil do it with as good a will as you can require me. And to make anſwer to that whiche your Maiſter by worde of mouth hath ſaid vnto Guyenne and Clarenceaux kings of arms of the king my good brother and perpetuall and beſt allie, and of me vpō the intimation of the warre whiche hath bin made by vs, conſiſting in viij. points, I will that ech one vnderſtande it. Firſt as to yͤ which he ſaith he meruaileth of that he hauyng mee a priſoner by iuſte warre & hauing alſo my faith, I ſhulde defie hym, & that in reaſon I neyther may nor ought to do it. I anſwer therto, that if I were his priſoner here, & that hee hadde my faith, he had ſpoken true: but I knowe not that the Emperor hath euer at any time had my faithe, yͤ may in any wiſe auaile him: for firſt in what warre ſoeuer I haue bene, I know not that I haue either ſeene him or encountred with him: whē I was priſoner garded with .iiij. or .v. C. harquebuſiers ſick in my bedde, and in daunger of death, it was an eaſy matter to cōſtreine me, but not very honorable to him that ſhuld do it, and after that I returned into Frāce, I knowe not any that hath had power to compell me to it, and to do it willingly without cōſtraint, it is a thing whiche I way more than ſo lightly to bind my ſelfe therto. And bicauſe I will not that my honor come in diſputation, althoughe I know well that euery manne of warre knoweth ſufficiently, that a priſoner garded is not bound to any faith, nor can bind himſelf therto in any thing. I do neuertheleſſe ſende to your Mayſter this writing ſigned with mine owne hande, the which my lord Ambaſſador, I pray you reade, and afterwards to promyſe mee to deliuer it vnto your maiſter, and not to any other, and herewith the king cauſed it to be deliuered to the ſaid Ambaſſador by Maiſter John Robertet one of the Secretaries of the eſtate, & of his chamber. The Ambaſſador tooke yͤ writing in his hande, and after excuſed himſelfe to yͤ king, ſaying, yͭ as to him, by the letter whiche his maiſter and ſouerain lorde had written vnto him now laſtly, his commiſſion was already expired, & that he had no further commaundement nor inſtructions from his maieſtie, but to take leaue of the king wyth as muche ſpeed as he might, & to returne home, whych he moſt hūbly beſought him to permit him to do wythout further charge or commiſſion, althoughe he knew that hee was at hys commaundement, & that he might at his pleaſure conſtraine him, as ſeemed to him good. Herevnto the king anſwered: my lord Ambaſſador, ſith you will not take vpon you to reade this writing, I will cauſe it to be red in this company, to the end that euery one may vnderſtand, and know that I am cleered in that whereof againſt truthe hee goeth about to accuſe me, and if you afterwardes will not beare it, and deliuer it to him, I will ſend one of my heraults here preſēt to go in company with you, for whom you ſhal procure a good & auailable ſafeconduct, that he may paſſe vnto your maiſter, & preſent vnto him the ſame writing, proteſting and demaundyng that an acte may be regiſtred before this company, that if he will not that it ſhuld come to his knowledge, that I am diſcharged, in that I do my beſt to cauſe him to vnderſtande it accordinglye as I ought to do, & in ſuche ſorte as hee can not pretende cauſe of ignoraunce. After he had made an end of theſe words, he called to him the ſaid Robertet, and with loud voice he commanded him to reade the ſaid writing, which was done worde for worde, in maner as followeth.

WE Frauncis, by the grace of God, king of Fraunce, Lorde of Genes &c. to you Charles by the ſame grace, choſen Emperor of Rome, & King of Spaine: we do you to wit, that being aduertiſed, that in al the anſwers that you haue made to our Ambaſſadors and heraults, ſent to you for the eſtabliſhing of peace, in excuſing your ſelf, wͭout al reaſon you haue accuſed vs, ſaying yͭ wee haue plight you our faith, and that thervpon (beſides our promiſe) we departed out of your hands & power. In defence of our honor, whiche hereby might be burthened to muche againſte all truthe, wee thought good to ſend you this writing, by whiche we giue you to vnderſtand, (that notwithſtanding that no man being in ward is bound to keepe faith, & that the ſame might be a ſufficient excuſe for vs: yet for the ſatiſfiyng of all men, and our ſaid honor (which we mynde to keepe, and will keepe, if it pleaſe God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will chardge vs, not only with our ſaid faith, & deliueraūce, but that euer wee did anye thyng, that became not a Gentleman that had reſpect to his honor, that yee lye falſly in your throte, and as ofte as yee ſay it, ye lye, and do determine to defende our honor, to the vttermoſt drop of our bloude. Wherefore ſeeing ye haue charged vs agaynſt all truth, write no more to vs hereafter, but appoint vs the fielde, and wee will bring you the weapons, proteſting that if after thys declaration ye write into any place, or vſe any words againſt our honor, that the ſhame of the delay of the combate ſhall light on you, ſeeing that yͤ offering of combat is the ende of all writyng. Made at our good Towne and Citie of Paris, the .28. daye of Marche. *Anno*. 1528. before Eaſter: Thus ſigned. Frauncis.

After that Robertet had redde this writing there in preſence of the Emperors Ambaſſador, the king made further replie vnto the poynts conteyned in the Emperors anſwers to the defiance, and withall to conclude, tolde the ſaid Ambaſſador, that his maiſter the Emperor had conſtreined him by ſuch meſſage as he had ſent to him, to make yͤ anſwer in truth, which he had made, and further willed him to deliuer vnto yͤ Emperor yͤ writing which he had ſigned with his hand, and to ſay to him, that hee tooke him for ſo honorable a prince, that cōſidering yͤ matter wherewith he chardged him, & the anſwere that he made, he wold not faile but to anſwer him like a Gentleman, and not by writing like an aduocate, for if he otherwiſe do (ſaid the K.) I will anſwer his Chaūcellor by an aduocate, and a man of his eſtate, and a more honeſt man than he. Shortly after the Emperors Ambaſſadors returned home into Spaine in ſafetie, and well entreated, and vpō their returne the Ambaſſadors of France were ſet at libertie, & deliuered beyōd Fonterabie, & ſo came ſafely home into Frāce, & a French herault appointed to accōpanie the Ambaſſador Grandeuell, brought the writing of the combat, vnto the Emperor, bicauſe Granduelle refuſed to medle with it, to the which the Emperor v. months after, or therabouts, ſent an anſwer by one of his Herauldes, who being arived at Paris, mẽt vpon yͤ ſodain, to preſent his letters vnto yͤ frẽch K. but the K. getting intelligẽce therof, the .x. of September, ſitting wͭin his great hall of his palace at Paris aforſaid: before yͤ table of marble in a royal ſeat adreſſed & ſet vp for him .6. ſteps in heigth appointed to giue audiẽce to yͤ ſaid herald: On his right hand ſat in chaires yͤ K. of Nauarre, the duke of Alanſon & Berry, the erle of Foix & Arminack, & on yͤ ſame ſide ſat alſo vpon a bẽch the D. of Vandoſme a pere of Frãce, lieutenãt general & gouernor of Picardie, Don Hercules d'Eſte, eldeſt ſon to yͤ duke of Ferrare duke of Chartres & Montarges, who lately before had maried yͤ lady Renee, a daughter of Frãce, the D. of Albanie regent & gouernor of Scotlãd, the duke of Longueuille great chamberlain of France, & nere to thẽ vpon an other bench ſat yͤ preſidents & coũſellors of yͤ court of Parliamẽt, & behind them many gentlemẽ, doctors & lerned men: on the left hand wer ſet in chaires prepared for thẽ, the Cardinal Saluiarie yͤ Popes legate, the Cardinal of Bourbõ & duke of Laon, a peere of Frãce, the Cardinall of Sens Chancellour of France, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Archb. of Narbõne, yͤ ambaſſadors of yͤ kings of England & Scotlãd, of the ſeigniorie of Venice, of Milan, of the cantons of yͤ Suyſſes, & of Florẽce: on an other bench ſat yͤ biſh. of Trãſiluania, ambaſſador for the K. of Hũgarie, the Biſhop & duke of Langres, one of the peeres of Frãce, the biſh. & erle of Noyon, an other of the peeres of Frãce, the Archb. of Lyon, primate of al France, the Archbiſh. of Bourges primate of Aquitain, yͤ archbiſhops of Aux & Rouen, yͤ biſhops of Paris, Meaux, Lizeux, Maſcon, Limoges, Vabres, Cõſerãs & Terbe, & behind thẽ ſat the maſters of the requeſts & the coũſelors of the great counſel. On either ſide the kings ſeat ſtode the erle of Beaumont great maiſter and Marſhal of France, the L. de Brion admirall of Frãce lieutenãt general, & gouernor of Burgogne, & behind yͤ ſame ſeat wer many knights of the order, yͭ is to wit, the erle of Laual, lieutenant general & gouernor of Britayn, the lord of Montmorancy, yͤ L. Daubigny captain of an .C. launces, and of the Scottiſh garde, the erle of Bryenne, Ligny & Rouſſy, the Lord of Fleuranges marſhal of France, the L. of Ruffoy, the L. of Genoillyac great eſquier & maſter of the artillerie of France, Loys monſier d'Elenes, the L. of Humieres, & the erle of Carpy, & behind thẽ was the Erle of Eſtãpes prouoſt of Paris, & with him many gentlemen of yͤ kings chãber, among the which was the erle of Tancaruille, the L. of Guyenne, the ſon of the erle of Rouſſy, the ſon of the lord of Fleuranges, yͤ L. de la Rochepot, the lord Douarty great maſter of the waters & foreſts, yͤ L. of Lude, yͤ lord of Iauly, the L. de Villebonne, baily of Rouẽ, the baron of Chaſteau Morãt, yͤ L. de la Loue the vicõt de la Mothe au groing, & the L. of Vertes, & beſides theſe, the maſters & officers of the houſhold & gentlemen waiters, wͭ the more part of yͤ ij. C. gentlemen, or penſioners as we terme thẽ. At the entrie into the ſaide throne or tribunall ſeat, were the captains of the gards, & the prouoſt of yͤ houſhold, & before the K. kneled yͤ Vſhers of the chãber vpon yͤ one knee, & at the foot of the ſtep yͭ went vp to the kings ſeat were the prouoſts of the merchãts & Eſcheuins of the town of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates wherof were ſtil open) ther was an infinit nũber of people of al natiõs, & in preſence of them al, yͤ K. made this declaratiõ. The cauſe wherfore I haue made this aſſẽbly, is for yͭ the emperor elect hath ſent to me an herault of armes, who as I cõiecture, & as the ſame herault hath ſaid, & as his ſafeconduit importeth, hath brought me letters patents & autentike cõcerning yͤ ſuertie of the field for the combat yͭ ſhuld be betwixt the ſaid elected Emperor and me: And foraſmuche as the ſaid Herauld, vnder color to bring the ſuretie of yͤ field, may vſe certain fictions, diſſimulatiõs or hipocriſies to ſhift off yͤ matter, wheras I deſire expeditiõ, & to haue it diſpatched out of hand, ſo yͭ by the ſame an end of the warres which haue ſo lõg cõtinued, may be had, to yͤ eaſe & cõfort of all Chriſtendom, to auoyd the effuſion of bloud & other miſchieues which come therof, I haue wiſhed it knowne to al Chriſtendom, to the end yͭ euery one may vnderſtand the truth, from whence procedeth yͤ miſchief & the long continuance therof, I haue alſo cauſed this aſſẽblie to be made, to ſhewe yͭ I haue not wͭout great cauſe enterpriſed ſuche an act: for the right is on my ſide: & if I ſhould otherwiſe haue don, mine honor had bẽ greatly blemiſhed: A thing, which my lords yͭ ar of my bloud, & other my ſubiects, wold haue takẽ in euil part: And knowing yͤ cauſe of yͤ cõbat and my right, they will beare wͭ it, as good & loyall ſubiects ought to do, truſting by Gods helpe to proceed in ſuch ſort therin, yͭ it ſhal plainly appere if yͤ right be on my ſide or not, and how againſt truth I haue bin accuſed for a breaker of my faith, which I wold be loth to do, nor at any time haue ment ſo to do. The kings my predeceſſors & anceſtors whoſe pictures ar engrauẽ & ſet here in order wͭin this hall, which in their days haue ſucceſſiuely atchieued glorious acts & greatly augmented yͤ realm of France, wold think me vnworthy & not capable to be their ſucceſſor, if againſt myne honor I ſhuld ſuffer my ſelf to be charged wͭ ſuch a note by yͤ emperor, & ſhuld not defẽd my perſon & honor in yͤ maner and form acuſtomed. And herwith he declared the whole caſe as it ſtode: firſt how being taken at Pauia by fortune of warre, he neuer gaue his faith to any of his enimies, & conſenting to be led into Spayne, cauſed his owne galeys to be made redie to conuey him thither, where at his arriual, he was cõmitted to ward within ye caſtell of Madrill, garded with a great nũber of harquebuſiers and others: which vncurteous dealing found in the emperor, ſo muche greeued him, yt he fel ſicke, & lay in danger of death. Wherevpõ the Emperor cõming to viſite him after his recouerie of helth, an accord was made betwixt ye deputies of the Emperor & the ambaſſadors of the Lady his mother then regent of France, which accord was ſo vnreaſonable, that no prince being in libertie wold haue conſented therto, nor for his deliuerãce haue promiſed ſo great a ranſome: Which treatie yet they conſtreined him (as he ſaid) to ſweare to performe, being priſoner, againſt ye proteſtation, whiche he diuers times had made, yea as yet being ſicke, & in danger of recidiuation, & ſo conſequently of death. After this, he was cõueyd forth on his iorney homewards, ſtil garded & not ſet at libertie, & it was told him, yt after he came into Frãce, it was cõuenient yt he ſhould giue his faith, for yt it was known wel enough, yt what he did or promiſed in Spain it nothing auailed, and further he remembred not yt the Emperor had tolde him at any time, yt if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he wold hold him for a breker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make any anſwer: Two things therfore ſaid he, in this caſe ar to be cõſidered, one, yt the treatie was violently wrong out frõ them, yt could not bind his perſon, and yt which (as to ye reſidue) had bin accõpliſhed by his mother, deliuering his ſons in hoſtage: The other thing was his pretended faith, on whiche they can make no groũd, ſith he was not ſet at libertie. And hereto he ſhewed many reaſons to proue yt his enimies could not pretende in right yt they had his faith. Further he ſaid, that in matter of combat there was the aſſailant whiche oughte to giue ſuretie of ye field, & the defendant the weapons. Herwith alſo he cauſed a letter to be red, which the Emperor had written to Maiſter Iehan de Caluymont preſidẽt of Burdeaux, ye ſaid kings ambaſſador in the courte of the ſaid Emperor: The tenor of which letter imported, that ye emperor put the ſaid ambaſſador in remembrance of ſpeech which he had vttered to ye ſayd ambaſſador in Granado, repeting the ſame in ſubſtance as followeth, that the Kyng his maiſter hadde done naughtily in not keping his faith, which he had of him, acording to the treatie of Madril, and if the K. wold ſay the contrary, I wil (ſaid the Emperor) mainteine the quarel with my bodie againſt his: and theſe bee the ſame wordes that I ſpake to ye king your maiſter in Madril, that I wold hold him for a lewd and naughtye mã, if he make the faith which I had of him &c. Then after the ſaid letter had bin red, he cauſed alſo his anſwere made by way of a cartel to be red, the tenor wherof ye haue heard before. & ye king then continued his tale in declaring what order he had obſerued to procure the emperor to the combat, without all ſhifting delayes: ſo as if the Herald now come frõ the Emperor wold vſe any talk other than to deliuer him in a patent writing ſuretie of the field, & not obſerue the contents of his ſafe conduct, he ment not to giue him audience: and herevpon was ye herald called to come in, and declare his meſſage, who appareled in his coat of armes, made his appearing before the king there ſitting, accompanied as ye haue heard, vnto whom the King ſayde: Herauld, doeſt thou bring the ſuretie of the field, ſuch one as thy maiſter being the aſſaylãt ought to deliuer vnto the defendãt, being ſuch a perſonage as I am? The Herauld herevnto ſaid: Sir, may it pleaſe you to giue me licence to do myne office. Then ſaid the K. Giue me ye patent of ye field, & ſay what thou wilt. The Herauld beginning his tale: The ſacred Maieſtie (ſaid the K.) ſhew me the patent of the fielde, for I hold thy maiſter ſo noble a Prince, that he hath not ſent thee without the ſuretie of ye field, ſith I haue demaunded it, and thou knoweſt yt thy ſafeconduct conteineth no leſſe but yt thou ſhouldeſt bring it. The Herauld anſwered, yt he truſted he had brought yt which might contente his maieſtie. The K. replied & ſayde: Herauld giue me the patent of ye field, giue it me; & if it be ſufficient, I will receiue it, & after ſay what thou wilt. The herauld ſaid, that he had in cõmaundement not to deliuer it, except he might declare yt which he had firſt to ſay. The king ſaid: Thy maiſter can not giue lawes to vs in Frãce. To conclude, he tolde the Herald, yt he peraduenture might ſpeake things yt his maiſter would not auouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his maiſter. The Herald then required yt he might haue licence to depart, which the K. granted, and withall, the K. cõmaunded yt it might be regiſtred what had paſſed in thys behalf, for a teſtimonie that the fault reſted not in him, in that he receiued not the patent. The herauld likewiſe for his diſcharge, required a copie in writing of that which had paſſed, and the ſame was graunted.

The felde is a place where they may ſafely com fight in liſtes before indifferent Iudges.

Thus far haue I ouerpaſſed the cõmon boũdes of my purpoſe, in ſpeking ſo largely of this matter of combat, bicauſe of the rareneſſe therof, chauncing betwixt two ſo mighty princes, although it came not to the effect of triall. And now to returne vnto that which followed further vpon the defiance, denoũced to the emperor by the two Kings of armes, Guyenne & Clarenceaux

The Emperour defied by the kinges of Englande and Fraunce.

Englishe marchants staied in Spayne.

The incommoditie rysing of lacke of entercourse for trafficke.

reuctant, ye ſhal underſtand that the lordes and nobilitie, to the nũber of vij. C. in whoſe preſence it was giuen, toke it ſo offenſiuely, ẏ drawing forth their ſwordes, they ſware ẏ the ſame ſhuld be reuenged, for otherwiſe they proteſted, that the infamie wold redound to them ⁊ their heires for euer. Herewith the warre was proclaimed through al Spayn wͭ banets diſplayed in which wer painted a red ſword, with a running reſſel againſt ẏ Frenche K. ⁊ his partakers, but not mentioning the K. of Englãd by expreſſe name, but it was recited in the proclamation ẏ the king of England had menaced ⁊ defyed ẏ Emperor in the French kings quarel. Then were ẏ engliſh merchants in Spayn attached, ⁊ their goods put in ſafetie, til it might be known how the Emperors ſubiectes wer ordred in Englande. Then likewiſe were all the ſhips of the Emperors ſubiectes here areſted: ⁊ in ſemblable maner all the Engliſhmen ⁊ their goods ⁊ ſhips were areſted by the Lady regent in the low countreys. The common people in England much lamented that warre ſhuld ariſe betwene the emperor ⁊ the K. of England ſpecially bicauſe the Emperors dominions had holpen and releued them wͭ grain in tyme of their neceſſitie ⁊ want. But chiefly this matter touched the merchants, which haunted the emperors dominions. At length yet were thoſe of the low countreys ſet at libertie, ⁊ their goodes to thẽ deliuered, in fauor of entercourſe of merchandiſe: but foraſmuch as ẏ Spanyards were ſtil deteined, the lady Regent alſo deteyned the ſhips ⁊ goods of the engliſh merchants though ſhe ſet their perſons at libertie. By this meanes the trade of merchandiſe was in maner forlet here in England, ⁊ namely the clothes laye on their handes, wherby the cõmon welth ſuffered great decay, and great numbers of Spinners, carders, tuckers, and ſuche other that liued by clothworking, remained ydle to their great impoueriſhment. And as this warre was diſpleaſant to the Engliſhmen, ſo was it as muche or more diſpleaſant to the townes ⁊ people of the low cuntreis, ⁊ in eſpecial to ẏ towns of Andwerpe and Barrow, where the marts ar kept, ſo that at length ther came Ambaſſadors from the Lady Regent, the which aſſociating themſelfe with Don Hugo de Mendoſa ambaſſador for the Emperor, came to the king to Richmõt the .29. of March, and there moued their ſuite ſo effectually, that an abſtinence of warre was graunted, til time that a further cõmunication might be had: and upon this point letters wer ſent into Spayn, Fraunce, and Flanders, and ſo this matter cõtinued til anſwers wer brought from thence again. The emperors ambaſſadors entreated not ſo earneſtly to moue the King to haue peace with their maiſter, but the Frenche ambaſſadors ſollicited the K. as earneſtly to enter into the warre againſt him, and ſurely they had the Cardinal on their ſide: but yet the king wiſely conſidering with other of his counſell what damage ſhould enſue therby to his ſubiectes, ⁊ ſpecially to the merchantes and clothiers, wold not conſent ſo eaſily to the purpoſe of the Frenchmẽ, though he had .xx. M. pound ſterling out of Frãce, of yerely penſion, to continue frende ⁊ allye to the French K. but he proteſted euer that he wold ſee the realme of Fraunce defended to his power, ⁊ ſtudy no leſſe to haue a peace concluded, which he might be as honorable to the French king as to himſelfe.

1519

Creation of the Earle of Osserie.

Sir Edmonde Walsingham.

[illegible]

The sweating sickenesse.

Sir William Compton.

Doctor Longlande Bishoppe of Lincolne.

The .xxiij. of Februarye the king created at Windſor ſir Piers Butler of Ireland erle of Oſſerey. Alſo a Dutche Crayer of Armew chaſed a French Crayer vp the Thames from Margate to the Toure wharf, ⁊ ther as they fought ſir Edmund Walſinghã lieutenant of ẏ toure perceiuing them, called his men togither, ⁊ entring the ſhips toke both the captains. The kinges counſell toke vp the matter betwixt them: for the Fleming chalenged the Frencheman as a lawfull priſe. An abſtinence of the warre was takẽ in ẏ beginning of this yere betwene Flanders, ⁊ the countreys of Picardie on this ſide the riuer of Some, to begin ẏ firſt of May, to endure til the laſt of February. By meanes of this truce all Engliſhemen might lawfully paſſe into the low cõuntreys, but not into Spain which ſore greued the merchants that haunted thoſe parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had during the time of this truce, then all merchants ſhould haue reſpite .ij. moneths after to paſſe into their owne countreis wͭ their wares ⁊ merchãdiſes in ſafetie. In the end of May, began in ẏ citie of Lõdon ẏ diſeaſe called ẏ ſwating ſicknes, which afterwards infected al places of the realm, and ſlew many wͭin .v. or .vi. houres after they ſickned. By reaſon of this ſickneſſe, the term was adiorned, ⁊ the circuit of the aſſiſes alſo. There died diuers in the court of this ſickeneſſe, as ſir Francis Pointz, which had bin ambaſſador in Spayn, ⁊ diuers other. The K. for a ſpace remoued almoſt euery day till he came to Tyntynhangar, a place of the Abbot of S. Albons, and there he with the Quene, ⁊ a ſmall company about them, remained til the ſickneſſe was paſſe. In this great mortalitie died ſir Williã Comptõ knight, ⁊ Williã Cary eſquier, which were of the kings priuie chãber. Ye haue heard how the people talked a little before the Cardinals goyng ouer into Fraunce the laſte yeare, that the king was tolde by Doctor Longland Biſhop of Lincolne ⁊ other, that his marriage with Queene Katherine coulde not bee good nor lawfull: the trouth is, that whether, this doubt was firſt moued by the Cardinall, or by the ſayd Longland, being the kings confeſſor, the king was not only brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no, but alſo determined to haue the caſe examined, clered, & adiudged by lerning, lawe, and ſufficient authoritie. The Cardinall verily was put moſte in blame for this ſcruple now caſt into ẏ kings conſcience, for the hate he bare to the Emperor, bycauſe he would not graunt to him the Archbyſhoprike of Toledo, for the whiche hee was a ſuiter, and therefore he did not onely procure the Kyng of Englande to ioygne in friendſhippe with the Frenche king, but alſo ſoughte a diuorſe betwixte the Kyng and the Queene, that the king mighte haue had in mariage the Ducheſſe of Alanſon, ſiſter to the French king, and as ſome haue thought, he trauailed in that matter with the Frenche king at Amiens, but the Ducheſſe wold not giue eare thereto.

y the Car- was ſuſ- ed to be a- ſt the mar- ge.

lidor.

ld.

But howe ſoeuer it came about, that ẏ king was thus troubled in conſcience concernyng his mariage, this folowed, that like a wiſe prudent Prince, to haue the doubt clearely remoued, he called together the beſte learned of the realme, which were of ſeueral opinions, wherfore he thought to know the trouth by indifferent iudges, leaſt peraduenture the Spanyardes, and other alſo in fauor of the Queene, wold ſay, that his owne ſubiects were not indifferent Iudges in this behalfe, and therefore he wrote his cauſe to Rome: and alſo ſente to all the Vniuerſities of Italy and France, and to the greate Clerkes of all Chriſtendome, to knowe their opinions, and deſired the Court of Rome to ſende into his realme a Legate, which ſhuld bee indifferente, and of a greate and profounde iudgement to heare the cauſe debated.

dynall, Campeius ſent into Englande.

At whoſe requeſte, the whole Conſiſtorie of the College of Rome, ſente thither Laurence Campeius, a prieſt Cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, whiche was ſent hither before in the tenth yeare of this King, as ye haue heard, and with him was ioyned in cōmiſſion the Cardinall of Yorke, and legate of England.

The matter touchyng the Kings marriage debated.

This Cardinall came to London in October, & did intimate bothe to the king & Queene the cauſe of his cōming, which being knowne, great talke was had therof. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent for ẏ famous doctors of both the vniuerſities to Lambeth, and there were euery daye diſputations and commonings of this matter: and bicauſe the king ment nothing but vprightly therein, and knewe well that the Queene was ſomewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wiſhed that ſhe ſhoulde doe nothyng without counſell, he bad hir chooſe the beſte clearkes of his realme to be of hir counſell, and licenced them to do the beſt on hir part that they coulde, according to the truth.

The Queene choſeth lawyers for hir part

Then ſhe elected William Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Weſt Biſhop of Ely, doctors of the laws, and Iohn Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Henry Standiſhe biſhop of Saint Aſaph, doctors of Diuinitie, and many other doctors and well lerned men, which for a ſuretie lyke men of great learnyng, defended hir cauſe as farre as learnyng might maynteyne and hold it vp.

Polidor.

This yere was ſir Iames Spencer Maior of London, in whoſe time the watche in London on Midſomer night was layd downe.

Doctor Stephen Gardner.

1530

Doctor Pace.

Aboute this time the king receiued into fauor Doctor Stephen Gardiner, whoſe ſeruice he vſed in matters of great ſecrecie & weighte, admitting him in the roume of Doctor Pace, the which being continually abroade in ambaſſades, and the ſame oftentymes not muche neceſſarie, by the Cardinalles appointemente, at length he toke ſuch greefe therwith, that he fell out of his right wittes.

An. reg. 21.

Hall.

The place where the Cardinals ſhould ſit to heare the cauſe of Matrimonie betwixt the king and the Queene, was ordeined to be at the blacke Friers in London, where in the greate Hall was preparation made of ſeates, tables, & other furniture, according to ſuche a ſolemne Seſſion and apparāce. The king & the Queene were aſcited by Doctor Sampſon to appeare before the Legates at the forenamed place, the xxviij. of May, being the morrow after ẏ feaſt of Corpus Chriſti.

The King and Queene aſcited.

Polidore.

The King at the day aſſigned, came firſt to the court, and there ſtanding vnder his cloath of eſtate, had theſe wordes to the Legates:

The Kinges wordes to the legates.

Ye reuerend fathers, I haue in marriage a wyfe to me moſt deare & entierly beloued, both for hir ſingular vertues of mynde, and alſo for hir nobilitie of birth: but ſith I am the king of a mightie kingdome, I muſte prouide that it may be lawfull for me to lyue with hir duely, lawfully, iuſtly, and godly, and to haue childre by hir, vnto the whiche the inheritance of the kingdome may by righte moſte iuſtly deſcende, which two things ſhall followe, if you by iuſte iudgement approue our mariage lawful. But if there be any doubte in it, I ſhall deſyre you by your authoritie to declare the ſame, or ſo to take it awaye, that in this thing, both my conſcience & the myndes of the people may be quieted for euer. After this, cōmeth in the Queene, the which there in preſence of the whole courte moſte greuouſly accuſeth the Cardinall of vntrouth, deceyt, wickedneſſe, and malice, which had ſowen diſſention betwixt hir and the king hir huſband, and therfore openly proteſted, that ſhe did

The Queene accuſeth Cardinall Wolſy.

ſhe did vtterly abhorre, refuſe, and forſake ſuche a iudge, as was not onely a moſt malicious enimie to hir, but alſo a manifeſt aduerſarie to all right and Iuſtice, and therwith did ſhe appeale vnto the Pope, committyng hir whole cauſe to bee iudged of him: and thus for that day the matter reſted.

She appealeth to the Pope.

But notwithſtanding this appeale, the Legates ſate weekely, and euery day were argumentes brought in on bothe partes, and proues alledged for the vnderſtanding of the caſe, and ſtill they aſſayed if they coulde by any meanes procure the Queene to call backe hir Appeale, whiche ſhe vtterly refuſed to doe.

The king myſtruſteth the legates of ſeking delayes.

The King woulde gladly haue had an ende in the matter, but when the Legates droue tyme, and determined vpon no certaine point, he conceyued a ſuſpition, that this was done of purpoſe, that their doings might drawe to none effect or concluſion.

Whyleſt theſe thinges were thus in hande, the Cardinall of Yorke was aduiſed that the King had ſet his affection vpon a yong Gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Syr Thomas Bulleyn, vicount Rochforth, whiche did wayt vpon the Queene.

This was a great grief vnto the Cardinal, as he that perceyued aforehande, that the king woulde marie the ſayd Gentlewoman if the diuorce toke place, wherefore he began wyth all diligence to diſappoynt that matche, which by reaſon of the myſlyking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoyded more than preſent death.

The ſecrete working and diſſimulation of Cardinall VVolſey.

Whyleſt the matter ſtode in this ſtate, and that the cauſe of the Queene was to be hearde and iudged at Rome, by reaſon of the appeale which by hir was put in: the Cardinall required the Pope by letters and ſecrete meſſengers that in any wiſe he ſhuld deferre the iudgemẽt of the diuorce, till hee might frame the Kinges minde to his purpoſe: but he went aboute nothing ſo ſecretly, but that the ſame came to the kings knowledge, who toke ſo highe diſpleaſure with ſuche his cloaked diſſimulation, that he determined to abaſe his degree, ſith as an vnthankfull perſon, he forgotte himſelfe and his dutie towardes him, that had ſo highly aduanced him to all honor and dignitie.

The king conceyueth diſpleaſure againſt the Cardinall.

Hall.

Articles exhibited againſte the Cardinall.

When the nobles of the realme perceyued the Cardinall to bee in diſpleaſure, they began to accuſe him of ſuche offences, as they knewe myght be proued againſt him, and therof they made a booke conteyning certayne articles, to whyche diuers of the kings counſell ſet their handes.

The king vnderſtanding more playnly by thoſe articles, the great pride, preſumption and couetouſneſſe of the Cardinall was ſore moued againſt him, but yet kepte his purpoſe ſecrete for a whyle, and firſt permitted Cardinal Campeius to departe backe agayne to Rome, not vnrewarded.

Shortly after, a Parliament was called to beginne at Weſtminſter the third of Nouember next enſuyng.

In the meane tyme the King being informed, that all thoſe thyngs that the Cardinall had done by his power Legantine within this realme were in the caſe of the Premunire and prouiſion, cauſed his attorney Chriſtopher Hales, to ſue out a writte of Premunire againſte hym, in the whiche he licenced him to make his attourney.

The Cardinall ſued in a Premunire.

And further the .xvij. of Nouember the King ſent the two Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to the Cardinalles place at Weſtminſter, to fetche away the greate Seale of Englande, Sir William Fitz William knight of the Garter and Treaſorer of his houſe, and doctor Stephen Gardiner newely made Secretarie, were alſo ſent to ſee that no goodes ſhoulde be conueyed out of his houſe. The Cardinall himſelfe was appointed to remoue vnto Aſhere, beſyde Kingſton, there to tary the kings pleaſure, and had things neceſſarie deliuered vnto hym for his vſe.

The great ſeale taken from the Cardinall.

Iohn Scott, & Edmund Ienny.

The Cardinall condemned in a Premunire.

After this, in the Kings benche his matter for the Premunire, beyng called vpon, two atturneys whiche he had authoriſed by hys warrant ſigned with his owne hande, confeſſed the action, and ſo had iudgement to forfeit all hys landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattelles, and to be out of the Kings protection: but the king of hys clemencie ſente to hym a ſufficient protection, and lefte to hym the Byſhoprickes of Yorke and Wincheſter, wyth plate and ſtuffe conuenient for his degree.

The Biſhopricke of Dureſme was gyuen to Doctor Tunſtall Biſhoppe of London, and the Abbey of Saincte Albons to the Priour of Norwiche. Alſo the Biſhopricke of London being nowe voyde, was beſtowed on Doctor Stokeſley, then Ambaſſadoure to the Vniuerſities beyonde the Sea for the Kyngs maryage.

The Ladye Margaret ducheſſe of Sauoye aunte to the Emperour, and the Ladye Loyſe Ducheſſe of Angoleſme, mother to the French Kyng, mette at Cambreye in the beginnyng of the Moneth of Iune, to treate of a peace, where were preſente Doctour Tunſtall Biſhoppe of London, and Sir Thomas More then Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaſter, cõmiſſioners for the K. of Englãd. At length through diligence of the ſayde Ladies a peace was cōcluded betwixt the Emperour, the Pope, the Kings of Englande and France. This was called ẏ womans peace, & proclaimed by Heralts with ſound of trumpets, in ẏ City of London, to ẏ great reioycing of the Merchauntes, who during the warres, had ſuſteyned much hinderance.

The frenche King was bound by one article among other, to acquite the Emperour of fourescore and ten thouſand crownes, which he ought to the King of England.

The four and twentith of Nouember, was Sir Thomas More made Lorde Chancellor, and the nexte day led into the Chancerie by the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, & ther ſworne.

e Parlia- begin-

At the day appointed, the Parliament began, and Tho. Audeley Eſquier attorney of the Duchie of Lancaſter, was choſen ſpeaker for the cōmons of the lower houſe.

he commōs the lower houſe com- pyne againſt e Clergie.

In this Parliament, the commons of the nether houſe beganne to common of their greefes, wherwith the ſpiritualtie had ſore oppreſſed thē, and namely ſixe great cauſes wer ſhewed, wherin the Cleargie greatly abuſed the temporaltie. The firſt in the exceſſiue fines, whiche the ordinaries toke for probate of Teſtamentes. The ſecond in the extreame exactions uſed for takyng of corps preſentes, or mortuaries. The thyrde, that Prieſts contrary to their order, uſed the occupying of Fermes, graunges, and paſtures, for graſing of Catell. &c. The fourth, that Abbots, Priors, and other of the Cleargie, kepte tanne houſes, and bought and ſolde wolle, cloth, and other merchandiſes, as other common merchants of the temporaltie did. The fifth cauſe was, the lacke of reſidence, whereby both the poore wanted neceſſary refreſhing for ſuſtenance of their bodyes, and all the pariſhoners, true inſtructions, needefull to the health of their ſoules. The ſixth was the pluralitie of benefices, and the inſufficiencie of the incumbents, where diuers well learned ſchollers in the Uniuerſities, had neyther benefice nor exhibition. Herewith were thre billes deuiſed for a reformation to be had in ſuch caſes of great enormities, as firſte one bill for the probate of teſtaments, alſo an other for mortuaries, and the third for none reſidence, pluralities, and taking of Fermes by ſpirituall men.

he Biſhops ake hard a- ainſt the lles.

There was ſore hold about theſe billes, before they might paſſe the vpper houſe, for ẏ Biſhops replyed ſore againſte them, yet after the ſame were qualified after an indifferent and reaſonable ſorte, they paſſed and were eſtabliſhed for actes.

Alſo there was a bill agreed unto, touchyng the releaſſe of all the ſummes of money whyche the King hadde receyued by way of lone, in the fiftenth yeare of his raigne, as before yee haue hearde.

There was alſo a Booke ſente downe to the commons, conteyning articles which the Lords had put to the King againſt the Cardinall, whiche Booke was redde in the common houſe, and was ſigned by the Cardinals owne hande.

Articles exhibited againſte the Cardinall.

Alſo there was a writing ſhewed, which was ſealed with his ſeale, by the which he gaue to the King all his mouables and unmouables.

Creations.

On the daye of the conception of our Lady, the King lying at Yorke place at Weſtminſter, in the Parliamente time, created the Uicounte Rochford, Earle of Wilſhire, and the Uicounte Fitz Water, Earle of Suſſex, and the Lord Haſtings Earle of Huntington.

The ſeuententh of December, the King gaue his royall aſſent to all things done by the Lords and cōmōs, and ſo prorogued his court of Parliament, till the next yeare.

The K. whiche all this while ſith the doubte was moued touching his marriage, abſteyned frō the Queenes bedde, was nowe aduertiſed by his Imbaſſadors, which he hadde ſent to dyuers Uniuerſities, for the abſoluing of his doubt, that the ſayde Uniuerſities were agreed, and cleerely concluded, that the one brother mighte not by Gods lawe marrie the other brothers wife, carnally knowen by the firſt mariage, and that neither the Pope nor ẏ court of Rome, could in any wiſe diſpenſe with the ſame. For ye muſt underſtand, that amongſt other things alledged for diſproofe of the mariage to be lawfull, euidence was giuen of certaine wordes, whiche Prince Arthur ſpake the morrowe after he was firſt married to the Queene, whereby it was gathered, that hee knew hir carnally ẏ night the paſſed. The wordes were theſe, as we finde thē in ẏ Chronicle of maiſter Edward Hall. In the morning after, he was riſen from the bedde, in which he had lyen with hir all night, he called for drinke, whych hee before time was not accuſtomed to doe. At whiche thing, one of his Chamberlaynes marueling, required the cauſe of his drought. To whome hee aunſwered merily, ſaying, I haue this nighte bene in the middeſt of Spayne, whiche is a hote region, and that iourney maketh me ſo drie, and if thou haddeſt bene under that hote climate, thou wouldeſt haue bin drier than I.

Agayne, it was alledged, that after the deathe of Prince Arthur, the King was deferred from the title and creatiō of Prince of Wales, almoſt halfe a yeare, whiche thing could not haue bene doubted, if ſhe had not bin carnally knowen.

Alſo, ſhe hir ſelfe cauſed a Bull to be purchaſed, in the which were theſe wordes *vel forſan cognitam*, that is, and peraduenture carnally knowen, whiche wordes were not in the firſt Bull graunted by Pope Iulye at hir ſecond mariage to the King, which ſecond Bull with that clauſe was only purchaſed to diſpenſe with the ſeconde matrimony, although there were carnall copulation before, which Bull needed not to haue bin purchaſed, if there had bin no carnal copulation, for then the firſt Bull had bin ſufficient.

To conclude, when theſe and other matters were layd forth to proue that which ſhe denyed, the carnall copulation betwixte hir and Prince Arthur, hir Counſellers left that matter, and fell to perſwaſions of naturall reaſon, and laſtly, when nothing elſe would ſerue, they ſtoode ſtiffe in the appeale to the Pope, and in the diſpenſation purchaſed from the Court of Rome, ſo that the matter was thus ſhifted off, and no end likely to be had therein. The King therefore vnderſtanding now that the Emperour and the Pope were appointed to meete at the Citie of Bonony alias Bologna, where the Emperour ſhoulde be crowned, ſente thither in Ambaſſade from hym the Earle of Wilſhire, Doctor Stokeſley, elected Byſhop of London, and his Almoner, Doctor Edward Lee, to declare both vnto the Pope and Emperour, the law of God, the determinations of Vniuerſities in the caſe of his mariage, and to require the Pope to do iuſtice accordyng to trueth, and alſo to ſhewe to the Emperoure, that the King did moue this matter, onely for diſcharge of his conſcience, and not for anye other reſpect of pleaſure, or diſpleaſure earthely.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Italy.

These Ambaſſadors comming to Bonony, were honorably receyued, and firſt doyng theyr meſſage to the Pope, had aunſwere of him, that he would heare the matter diſputed whẽ he came to Rome, and according to right he woulde do iuſtice. The Emperour aunſwered that he in no wiſe woulde be againſte the lawes of God, and if the Court of Rome would iudge that the matrimony was not good, he could be content: but he ſolicited both the Pope and Cardinals, to ſtand by the diſpenſation, whiche he thought to be of force ynough to proue the mariage lawfull. With theſe aunſweres, the Ambaſſadors departed, and returned homewardes, till they came on this ſide the Mountaynes, and then receyued letters from the King, which appoynted the Earle of Wilſhire, to goe in ambaſſade to the French King, which then lay at Burdeaux, making ſhift for money for redeeming of hys children: and the Byſhop of London, was appoynted to goe to Padoa, and other Vniuerſities in Italy, to know their full reſolutions and determinate opinions in the Kings caſe of matrimony: and the Kings Almoner was commaunded to returne home into England, and ſo he did.

The Emperors aunſwere to the Ambaſſadors.

1530

In the Lente ſeaſon of this yeare, the Kyng licenced the Cardinall to repaire into his dioceſe of Yorke, commanding him after his comming thither, not to returne Southward, without the Kings ſpeciall licence in writing.

The Cardi licenſed to paire into Yorkeſhire.

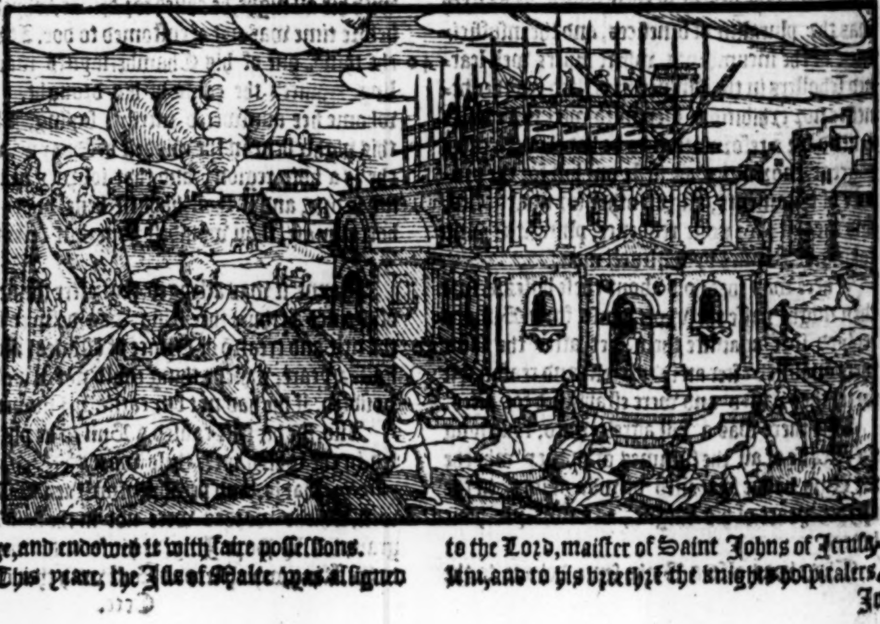
Aboute the ſame time, Thomas Cromwell, that had ſerued the Cardinall, was admitted to the kings ſeruice.

Thomas Cromwell.

The Cardinall comming to Southwell, which is within the dioces of Yorke, lay there all this yeare.

The lands which he had giuen to his colleges in Oxford and Ipſwich, were now come to the Kings hands by the Cardinals attainder in the premunire, and yet the King in fauoure of learning, erected againe the Colledge in Oxforde, and where it had bin called the Cardinals Colledge, he cauſed it to be called the Kings colledge, and endowed it with faire poſſeſſions.

The kings colledge in Oxford, other wiſe called Chriſt Chur



This yeare, the Iſle of Malte was aſſigned to the Lord, maiſter of Saint Iohns of Ieruſalem, and to his brethrẽ the knights hoſpitalers.

In

Anno.22.

In the beginning of this yeare was the hauing and reading of the new Testament in Englishe translated by Tyndall, Joy, and others, forbidden by the King, with the aduice of hys counsell, and namely the Byshoppes, which affirmed, that the same was not truely translated; and that therein were prologues and prefaces, sounding to heresie, with vncharitable rayling against Bishops and the Clergie.

he new Testament Translated into nglishe.

The King therefore commaunded the Byshops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the Uniuersities, should cause a new translation to be made, that the people without danger might reade the same for their better instruction in the lawes of God, and his holy worde. Diuers persons that were detected to vse reading of the new Testament and other Bookes in English, set forth by Tindale, and such other as were fled the Realme, were punished by order taken against them by Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, who helde greatly agaynste suche Bookes, but still the number of them dayly encreased.

The nineteenth of September, in the Citie of London, a Proclamation was made, that no person, of what estate or degree so euer hee was, should purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome, or else where, nor vse and put in execution, diuulgue or publish any thing within that yeare passed, purchased, or to bee purchased hereafter, conteyning matter preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iurisdiction, and prerogatiue royall of this Realme, or to the hinderance and impeachmente of the King his maiesties noble and vertuous intended purposes.

proclamation.

Some iudged, that this Proclamation was made, bycause the Queene (as was sayde) hadde purchased a new Bul for ratification of hir mariage, other thought, that it was made, bycause the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the King, if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and suffer hym to correct the spiritualtie, the King not to meddle with the same.

In deede many coniectured, that the Cardinall grudging at his fall from so high dignities, sticked not to write things sounding to ẏ kings reproche, both to the Pope, and other princes, for that many opprobrious wordes were spoken to Doctor Edwarde Keerne the kings Orator at Rome, and that it was saide to hym, that for the Cardinals sake, the King shoulde haue ẏ worse speede in the sute of his matrimony.

But the King dissembled the matter all thys yeare, till that the Cardinall made his preparation to be installed at Yorke, after such a pompous manner, as the lyke hadde not bin seene in that Countrey, whereby hee did but procure to himselfe new enuy, whose late fall, mercy began to releeue, and had set him againe in good state, if hee could haue ruled hys loftie pride, but hee to shewe hymselfe what hee was, wanting nowe suche riche and precious ornamentes and furniture, as might aduaunce hys honor, and sette him oute in so solemne a daye, was not ashamed to sende to the Kyng, requiring him to lend hym the Mytre and Pall whiche hee was wonte to weare, when he sang Masse in any solemne assembly.

The Kings words of the Cardinall.

The King vpon sight of hys letters, coulde not but maruel at the proude presumptuousnesse of the man, saying, what a thing is this, that Pride shoulde thus reigne in a person that is quite vnderfoote. But euen as there was greate preparation made in that Countrey of them that were required of hym to attende hym at Yorke at the daye appoynted of that solemne feast and inthronization, the King not able to beare with his high presumption anye longer, directed hys letters to the Earle of Northumberlande, commaundyng hym with all diligence, to arrest the Cardinall, and to delyuer him vnto the Earle of Shrewesbury, high Steward of his house.

The Earle of Northumberland appoynted to apprehend the Cardinall.

The Earle according to that commaundemente, came with a conuenient number vnto the manor of Cawood, where the Cardinall as then lay, and arrested hym there in his owne chamber the fourth of Nouember, and from thence conueyd hym the sixth of Nouember vnto Shefield Castell, and there delyuered hym vnto the Earle of Shrewesbury, who kept him, till Sir William Kingston, Captayne of the gard, and Connestable of the Tower, came downe with a certayne companye of yeomen of the gard, to fetche hym to the Tower, who receyuing hym at the handes of the Earle of Shrewesbury, diseased as hee was in his body, occasioned through sorrowe and griefe of mynde, broughte hym forwarde with soft and easie iourneys, til hee came to the Abbey of Leicester the seauen and twentith of Nouember, where through verye feeblenesse of nature, caused by a vehemente laske, hee dyed the seconde nyghte after, and in the Churche of the same Abbey was buryed.

The Cardinall deliuered to the Earle of Northumberlande.

Sir William Kingston.

Suche is the suretie of mans brittle state, vncertayne in birthe, and no lesse feeble in lyfe.

Thys Cardinall, when hee beganne wyth the businesse of the Kynges marriage, was in hygh degree of honor & worldly felicitie, and so that whyche hee hoped shoulde haue made for hys aduauncemente, turned to hys confusion.

The deſcription of Cardinal Wolſey.

This Cardinall, as Edmonde Campion in his hiſtorie of Ireland deſcribeth him, was a mā vndoubtedly borne to honor: I thinke (ſayth he) ſome Princes baſterd, no Butchers ſonne, exceeding wiſe, faire ſpoken, high minded, full of reuenge, vitious of his body, loftie to his enimies, were they neuer ſo bigge, to thoſe that accepted and ſought his friendſhip wonderfull courteous, a ripe ſcholeman, thrall to affections, brought a bedde with flatterie, inſatiable to gette, and more princely in beſtowing, as appeareth by hys two Colledges at Ipſwich and Oxford, the one ouerthrowen with his fall, the other vnfiniſhed, and yet as it lyeth for an houſe of Studentes, conſidering all the appurtenances incomparable through Chriſtendome, whereof Henry the eigth is now called founder, bycauſe he let it ſtand. He helde and enioyed at once the Biſhoprickes of Yorke, Dureſme, and Wincheſter, the dignities of Lord Cardinal, Legate, and Chancellor, the Abbey of Saint Albons, diuers Priories, ſundry fatte benefices *in commendum*, a greate preferrer of his ſeruauntes, an aduauncer of learning, ſtout in euery quarrell, neuer happy till this hys ouerthrow. Therein he ſhewed ſuch moderatiō, and ended ſo perfectly, that the houre of his death did him more honour, than all the pomp of hys life paſſed. Thus farre Campiō. After his death, the whole Cleargie of England was in danger to haue bin atteinted in the ſtatute of premunire for that they had mainteyned his power legantine.

The Cleargie in daunger of a premunire.

The ſpirituall Lordes were called by proceſſe into the Kings bench to aunſwere, but before their day of appearance, they in their conuocation concluded an humble ſubmiſſion in writing, and offered an hundred thouſand poūds to be graunted by acte of Parliament to the K. to ſtand their good Lord, and to pardon them of all offences, touching the premunire, the whiche offer with much labour was accepted.

The offer of the Cleargie to the Kyng.

In this ſubmiſſion, the Cleargie called the King ſupreme head of the Church of England, which thing they neuer before confeſſed.

The King nominated ſupreme head of the Church.

1531

When the Parliament was begun the ſixth of January, the pardon of the Spirituall perſons was ſigned with the Kings hand, and ſent to the Lords, which in time conuenient aſſented to the bill.

Then went it downe to the commons, where it coulde not paſſe, bycauſe diuers froward perſons woulde needes that the King ſhoulde alſo pardon the laytie, as well as the ſpiritualtie, ſaying, that all men which had delt with the Cardinall, were in the ſame danger.

This their ſtay and bold demand, was thought more than reaſon would beare, for that they dyd not only ſeeme to enuy other mens wealthe, but alſo to reſtreine the King of his libertie, and to enforce him to ſhew mercie at their appoyntment.

They ſeemed yet at length to be ſorowfull, in that they hadde delt ſo vnaduiſedly, and then the King ſente them their pardon alſo, for the which they humbly thanked him.

The thirtieth day of March, the Lord Chancellor, and diuers other Lords, both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, came into the common houſe, and there the Lorde Chancellor declared what the King had done, touching the doubt of his marriage, to knowe the opinions of dyuers Vniuerſities in Chriſtendome, and of great learned men beſide.

And there were ſhewed and redde the determinations of the ſame Vniuerſities, which they had publiſhed, written and ſealed, for ſufficient proofe of the ſame, concluding by their ſaide determinations, that the kings mariage could not be lawfull: and therewith were ſhewed about an hundred Bookes drawen by Doctors of forreine regions, whiche agreed vppon the inualiditie of the ſame mariage, but were not redde, for that the day was ſpent.

Determina ons of diue Vniuerſitie touching t valawful of the king mariage.

Theſe were the Vniuerſities, which had thus determined of the vnlawfulneſſe of this mariage, Orleans, Paris, Aniou, Bourges in Berry, Bononie, Padua, and Tholouſe.

When Eaſter beganne to drawe neere, the Parliamēt for that time brake vp, and was proroged till the laſt of Marche in the nexte yeare.

Anno.24.

The Kyng wylling to gyue the Queene to vnderſtande, what the vniuerſities and learned men of foreyn parties had determined of the mariage betwixte them two, ſente vnto hir dyuers Lordes of the counſell, the laſt of May being the Wedneſdaye in Whitſon weeke, the whiche Lordes in hir Chamber at Greenewiche, declared to hir all the determinations aforeſaide, and aſked hir whether ſhe woulde for the quietneſſe of the Kyngs conſcience, put the matter to foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lordes of thys Realme, or abyde by hir appeale.

The Queene alledged many arguments of preſumption, that the marriage ſhould bee lawfull, as the wiſedome and circumſpection of both their fathers, the licence of Pope July graunted at the ſuite of hir father at the time of the ſame mariage: and to be briefe, ſhe affirmed, that ſhee was his lawfull wife, as ſhe verily beleeued, and would therefore abide in that poynt, til yͤ Court of Rome (whiche was priuie to the beginning) had made a finall end therein.

For ſo muche as Merchant ſtrangers bringing their wares into the Realme, did receyue ready money for them, and euer deliuered the ſame money to other merchants by exchange, not employing it upon the commodities of the Realme, a Proclamation was ſet forth & made, that no perſon ſhoulde make any exchange, contrary to the meaning of a ſtatute ordeyned in the time of King Richarde the ſeconde, by reaſon whereof, clothes and other commodities of thys Realme ſhortly after were well ſolde, till they fell to exchange agayne, and that this Proclamation was forgotten.

clamatiō merchaunts angers.

After Whitſontide, the King and ẏ Queene remoued to Windſore, and there continued tyll the fourteenth of July, on the whiche day, the K. remoued to Wodſtocke, and left the Queene at Wyndeſore, where ſhe remayned a while, and after remoued to the More, and from thence to Eſtamſtede, whither the King ſente to hir dyuers Lordes, to aduiſe hir to bee conformable to the lawe of God, ſhewing diuers reaſons to perſwade hir to their purpoſe; but ſhee ſtoode ſtiffely in hir firſte opinion, that ſhee was his true and lawfull wife, and from the ſame woulde not by any meanes be remoued.

Queene ſtiffe his opinion ng ouer- hir riage.

The Prieſtes of London beeing called afore the Byſhoppe that would haue hadde them contributaries to the payment of the hundred thouſande pounde graunted to the Kyng for his pardon of the premunire, kept ſuche a ſtirre in breaking into the Chapiter houſe (where the Byſhop ſate) all at once, and ſtriking and buffeting the Byſhoppes ſeruauntes whiche gaue them euill language; that the Byſhoppe was fayne to gyue them his bleſſing, and ſuffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, upō complainte made to the Lorde Chancellor, diuers of them and of their partakers were areſted, and committed to priſon, to the number of fifteene Prieſtes, and fiue lay men, ſome to the Tower, and ſome to the Fleete, and to other places, where they remayned long after.

Thomas Bilney, Bacheler of law, was brent at Norwiche the nineteenth of Auguſt, and the fourth of December, Sir Rees Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hewes, was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered.

The fiue and twentith of May, betweene London and Greenewich, were taken two greate fiſhes called Horle pooles, male and female.

In this ſeaſon, there was in the Realm much preaching, one learned man holding agaynſt an other, namely in the matter of the Kyngs mariage.

1532

After Chriſtmas, the Parliament began to ſitte agayne, in the which, the commons founde themſelues ſore greeued with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called menne afore them *Ex officio.*

ueltie of inaries.

It length, a Booke was drawen of all the griefes of the commons, for the cruell demeanour of the Cleargie, and the ſame deliuered to the King by the ſpeaker, humbly beſeeching him in name of all the commons, to take ſuche alteration therein, as to his high wiſedome myghte ſeeme moſt expedient.

The King anſwered, that he woulde take aduice, and heare the partie accuſed ſpeake.

He was not ſo ready to gratifie the commons in their requeſts, as ſome thought that he would haue bin, if they had not ſticked and refuſed to paſſe a ſtatute, whiche hee had ſent to them touching wardes and primer ſeaſons.

After this, was the Parliament proroged tyll the tenth of Aprill.

The Parliament proroged.

In this Parliament was an acte made, that Byſhops ſhoulde pay no more annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope, for it was proued that there had bin paide for Bulles of Byſhoppes, ſith the fourth yeare of Henry the ſeuenth, 160. thouſand pound ſterling, beſide other diſpenſations and pardons.

Annates forbidden to bee paide.

When the Parliamente was begun agayne after Eaſter, there was a motion made to helpe the King with money towarde his charges about the ediſying of houſes, piles, and other fortifications, upon ẏ bordures fore ageynſt Scotlande, both for better habitation to be had there, and alſo for the reſtreint of the Scottes that uſed to make inuaſions. There was therefore a fiftenth graunted, but not enacted at this ſeſſion, bycauſe that ſuddenly begā a peſtilēce in Weſtminſter, wherefore the Parliament was proroged as ye ſhall heare in the next yeare.

A fifteenthe graunted.

In thys yeare, was an old tolle demaunded in Flanders of Engliſhmen called the toll of the hound, whiche is a riuer and a paſſage. The toll is twelue pence of a fardell. It had ben often demaunded, but neuer paid, in ſo much that K. Henry the ſeuenth for the demaund of that toll, prohibited all his ſubiectes to keepe any marte at Andwerp or Barrow, till it was promiſed, that upon theyr returne, the ſayd tolle ſhoulde neuer be demaunded.

A tolle demaunded in the lowe countrey.

The K. ſent doctor knight, and other to Calais, whither came the Emperoures commiſſioners, and there upon talke, the matter was put in ſuſpenſion for a time. The K. hauing purchaſed of the Cardinall after his attendure in the premunire his houſe at Weſtminſter, called Yorke place, and gote a confirmation of the Cardinals feoffement thereof made of the Chapitre of the Cathedrall Churche of Yorke, purchaſed thys yeare alſo all the medowes about Saint James, and there made a faire manſion and a Parke for his greater commoditie and pleaſure, and bycauſe hee hadde a greate affection to the ſayde houſe at Weſtminſter, hee beſtowed greate

Yorke place or white Hall nowe the Palaice of Weſtminſter.

Saint Iames.

coſt in going forwarde with the building thereof, and changed the name, ſo that it was after called the Kings Palaice of Weſtminſter.

An.reg.24.

The Parliament prorogued.

The fourtenth day of May, the Parliament was prorogued till the fourth of February nexte comming. After which prorogation, Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of Englande, after long ſutes made to the King to bee diſcharged of hys office, the ſixtenth of May he deliuered to the K. at Weſtminſter the greate Seale of Englande, and was with the Kinges fauour diſcharged, which Seale, the Kyng kepte till Monday in Whitſon weeke, on which day, he dubbed Thomas Audeley, ſpeaker of the Parliament, knight, and made him Lord keeper of the greate Seale, alſo ſo he was called.

Sir Thomas More deliuereth vp the great ſeale.

Sir Thomas Audley lorde keeper of the great Seale.

The King being enformed, that the Pope and the French King ſhould meete in the beginnyng of the next ſpring at Marſelles, he thought good for diuers conſiderations to ſpeake with ẏ frenche K. in his owne perſon, before the Pope and hee came togither: wherevpon it was concluded, that in October following, both the Princes ſhoulde meete betwixte Calais and Bulleigne. Wherefore, the King of England ſent out his letters to his nobles, Prelates, and ſeruauntes, commanding them to bee ready at Caunterbury the ſixe and twentith of September, to paſſe the Seas with him, for the accompliſhmente of the enterview betwixt him and the French Kyng.

The Ladye Anne Bolleign created Marchioneſſe of Penbrooke.

The firſt of September beeing Sonday, the King being come to Windeſor, created the Lady Anne Bulleigne Marchioneſſe of Pembroke, and gaue to hir one thouſand pound land by the yeare, and that ſolemnitie finiſhed, he rode to the Colledge, where after that ſeruice was ended, a new league was concluded and ſworne betwene the King, and the french King, Meſſire Pomoray the french Imbaſſador then being preſente.

The kyng paſſeth ouer to Calais.

The tenth of October, the Kyng came to Douer, and on the eleuenth day in the morning at three of the clocke, he toke ſhipping at Douer Rode, and before tenne of the ſame day, he with the Lady Marchiones of Pembroke, landed at Calais, where he was receyued with all honour, and lodged at the Exchecker.

There came to hym whileſt hee lay in Calais, diuers Lords from the French Court, and amongſt other, the Lord great maiſter of France, and the Archbiſhop of Roan, whiche were honorably of him receiued, and with them hee toke a daye and place of meeting with the King theyr maiſter.

Wherevpon, the one and twentith of October, hee marched out of Calais, accompanyed with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marqueſſes of Dorſet and Exeter, the Earles of Arundell, Oxforde, Surrey, Eſſex, Derby, Rutland, Huntington and Suſſex, with diuers Vicountes, Barons, Knightes of the Garter, and other of the nobilitie and Gentlemen, richly apparelled, and ryally furniſhed, and comming to the place appointed by their Heraulds, the French King, who was come to receiue him with all honour that might bee, and after ſalutations and embracings vſed in moſt louing manner, the K. of England went with the French K. to Bulleigne, and by the way, was encountred by the Frenche Kinges three ſonnes, and other great Lords that attended them, which welcoming the K. of England, he them right gentlie receiued, and ſo all this noble company came to Bulleigne, where the K. of England and his nobles were ſo nobly entertayned, feaſted, banqueted, and cheared, that wonder it was to conſider the greate plentie of viandes, ſpices, wines, and all other prouiſion neceſſary for man and horſe, ſo that there was no more but aske and haue, and no man durſt take any money, for the french Kyng payd for all.

The enteruiewe betwy the kings of England and Fraunce.

The fiue and twentith of October, whileſt ẏ K. lay thus in Bulleigne, the French King called a chapiter of the companions of his order called S. Michell, of whome the K. of Englande was one, and ſo ther elected the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, to be companions of ẏ ſame order, and being broughte to the chapiter, hadde their collers deliuered to them, and were ſworne to the ſtatutes of the order, their obeyſance to their ſoueraigne Lord alwayes reſerued.

The Dukes Norffolke a Suffolke, elected into the order of S. Michaell.

Thus the two kings lay in Bulleigne, Monday, Tewſday, Wedneſday, & Thurſeday, and on Friday the .25. of October, they departed out of Bulleigne to Calais. Without the Towne of Calais, about the diſtance of two miles, the D. of Richmond the Kinges baſe ſonne, with a great company of noble men, which had not bin at Bulleigne, met them, & ſaluting the french K. embraſed him in moſt honorable and courteous maner. Thus they paſſed forwarde, and came to Newnham bridge, and ſo to Calais, where was ſuche prouiſion made for the receiuing of them, as well for lodgings, plate, and all ſuche other furniture of houſholde, as alſo of all ſortes of viands, wines, and other neceſſaries, that it ſeemed wonderful, in ſo much as the proportion aſſigned to the French Lords, oftentimes was ſo abundante, that they refuſed a greate parte thereof.

The duke of Rychmond

The French Kings trayne was twelue hundred horſes, or rather aboue. But there was lodging ynough in Calais, not onely for them, but alſo for manye other, ſo that there were aboute eight thouſand perſons lodged within the towne in that ſeaſon.

The french K. comming thither on ẏ Friday, tarried taried there till Tewſday the thirtith of October, and then departed the Kyng of Englande accompanying hym out of the Towne, till hee came to enter into the French grounde, and there eyther toke leaue of other, with right princely countenaunce, louing behauiour, and ſo hartie wordes, that all men reioyced that ſawe them.

he great
aiſter, and
dmirall of
rance made
nights of the
arter.

Whileſt the two kings lay in Calais, the L. Annas de Montmorancie Earle of Beaumont, great maiſter of the french kings houſe, and Philip de Chabot Earle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, were admitted into the order of the Garter, the K. calling a chapitre for that purpoſe of the knightes of that order, at the whiche, the Frenche King was preſente, and ware a blew mantel, bycauſe he was one of the ſame order.

While the King was in the French Kyngs dominion, hee hadde the vpper hand, and likewiſe had the French King in his dominion, and as the French King payd all the Engliſhmens charges at Bulleigne, ſo did the King of Englande at Calais.

There roſe aboute the ſame ſeaſon, ſuche ſore weather, ſtormes and rigorous windes, continuing for the more part at North and Northweſt, that the King ſtayed at Calais for a conuenient winde, till Tewſday the thirtenth of Nouember at midnight, and then taking his Ship, landed at Douer the nexte daye aboute fiue of the clocke in the morning.

he king re-
neth into
glande.

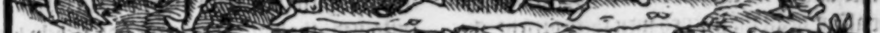
emarrieth
he Lady
ne Bol-
leyne.

And herewith, vpon his returne, hee married priuily the Lady Anne Bulleigne the ſame day, being the fourtenth of Nouember, and the feaſt day of Saint Erkenwald, which marriage was kept ſo ſecrete, that very few knewe it till Eaſter next enſuing, whē it was perceiued that ſhe was with childe.

When the King ſhould paſſe ouer the ſea, he conſidered that the Scottes woulde happely attempt ſomewhat, to the preiudice of his ſubiectes in his abſence, which ſticked not, he being within the Realme, to robbe both by ſea and land, wherfore to reſiſt their malice, he appointed ſir Arthur Darcy with thre hundred mē, to goe vnto Berwike to defend the borders from inuaſions of the Scottes, the whiche ſhortly after by the middle marches entred the Realme, and came to a place called Fowbery, and fyring certaine villages in their way, returned.

The Earle of Angus as then was at Berwike as a baniſhed man, and the ſaide Sir Arthur determined to reuenge this diſpleaſure, and thervpon with four hundred men, made a rode into Scotland, and ſet a village on fire. Then immediately aſſembled togither eight hundred Scottes, and began to approch neere to the Engliſhmenne, who perceyuing them, cauſed their Trumpette to blowe the retreat, and the Earle and twentie with him, ſhewed hym ſelfe on an hyll, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the Trumpette blewe at theyr backes, ſo that the Scottes thought that there hadde bin two companyes, whyche cauſed the Scottes to flee, and the Engliſhmenne followed and ſlewe a greate number of them, and toke many of them priſoners.

Scots diſcomfited by the Engliſhemen.



1533

r Thomas
dley Lord
ancellor.

After Chriſtmas, Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord keeper of the greate ſeale, was made hygh Chancelloure of England.

And when the Parliamente began, bycauſe the office of the ſpeaker was voyde, Humfrey Wingfielde of Greis Inne, was choſen ſpeaker.

In this Parliamente was an acte made, that no perſon ſhoulde appeale for anye cauſe out of this Realme, to the Courte of Rome, but from the commiſſarie to the Byſhop, and from the Byſhoppe to the Archebyſhoppe, and from the Archbyſhoppe to the Kyng, and all cauſes of the King, to bee tryed in the vpper houſe of the conuocation.

It was alſo enacted the ſame tyme, that Queene Katherine ſhoulde no more bee called Queene, but Princes Dowager, as the widow of Prince Arthur.

Queene Katherine to be named Princeſſe Dowager.

In the ſeaſon of the laſt Sommer, dyed William Warham, Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie, and then was named to that ſea Thomas Cranmer the Kings Chaplayne, a man of good learning, and of a vertuous life, whiche lately before hadde bin Ambaſſador from the King to the Pope.

Queene Anne.

After that the King perceyued his newe wife to be with childe, he cauſed all officers neceſſary to be appointed to hir, and ſo on Eaſter euen, ſhe went to hir cloſet openly as Queene, and then the King appoynted the day of hir coronation to be kept on Whitſonday nexte following, & writings were ſente to all Sheriffes, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounde, to receiue the order of knighthood, or elſe to make fine. The aſſeſement of the fine was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, maiſter of the kings iewel houſe, and counſellor to the Kyng, and newly receiued into hygh fauour. He ſo vſed the matter, that a great ſumme of money was reyſed to the Kings vſe by thoſe fynes.

The matter of the Queenes appeale whereunto ſhe ſtill ſticked, and by no meanes could be remoued from it, was communed of both in the Parliamente houſe, and alſo in the conuocation houſe, where it was ſo handled, that many were of opinion, that not only hir appeale, but alſo all other appeales made to Rome, were voyde, and of none effect, for that in auncient counſelles it had bin determined, that a cauſe riſing in one prouince, ſhould be determined in the ſame.

Anreg.25.

This matter was opened with all the circumſtance to the Lady Katherin Dowager (for ſo was ſhe then called) the which perſiſted ſtill in hir former opinion, and woulde reuoke by no meanes hir appeale to yͤ Court of Rome: wherevpon, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, accompanyed with the Byſhops of London, Wincheſter, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuers other learned men in great number, rode to Dunſtable, which is ſixe mile from Ampthill, where the Princes Dowager lay, and there by one Doctor Lee, ſhe was aſcited to appeare before the ſayde Archbyſhop in cauſe of Matrimony in the ſayde towne of Dunſtable, and at the day of appearance, ſhee appeared not, but made default, and ſo ſhee was called peremptorie euery daye fifteene dayes togither, and at the laſt, for lacke of appearance, by the aſſent of all the learned men there preſent, ſhe was diuorſed from the King, and the mariage declared to be voyde and of none effect.

The Lady Katherine Dowager called peremptorily.

Of this diuorſe, and of the Kinges mariage with the Lady Anne Bulleine, menne ſpake dyuerſly, ſome ſayd the King had done wiſely, and ſo as became him to doe in diſcharge of his conſcience.

Other otherwiſe iudged, and ſpake theyr fanſies as they thoughte good: but when euerye man had talked ynough, then were they quiet, and all reſted in good peace.

In May, Pope Clemente ſente an orator to the King, requiring hym to appeare perſonally at the generall counſell, which he had appoynted to be kept the yere following: but when his commiſſion was ſhewed, at the earneſt requeſt of the King, there was neyther place nor time ſpecified for the keeping of that councell: and ſo with an vncertayne aunſwere to an vncertaine demaunde he departed, but not vnrewarded.

Ambaſſadors to the French King.

The King vnderſtanding that the Pope, the Emperour, and the Frenche King ſhould meete at Nice in Iune following, hee appoynted the Duke of Norffolke, the Lord Rochfort brother to Queene Anne, ſir William Paulet Comptroller of his houſe, Sir Anthony Browne, and ſir Francis Brian Knightes, to goe in ambaſſade to the French King, and both to accompany him to Nice, and alſo to commune with the Pope there concerning his ſtay in the kyngs diuorſe.

Theſe worthy perſonages made their prouiſion readye, and ſo with the number of eyghte ſcore horſes, they wente to Douer, and paſſing ouer to Calais, toke their way through France, to accompliſhe their ambaſſage as they hadde in commaundement.

Knightes of the Bath.

The. 29. of May, being Thurſday, Queene Anne was conueyed by water frō Greenewiche to the Tower, with all honor that might be deuiſed, and there of the King ſhe was receyued, and ſo lodged there till Saturday, on the which daye, were made Knightes of the Bath by the King, according to the ceremonies thereto belonging, the Marques Dorſet, the Erle of Derby, the Lorde Clifforde, the Lorde Fitz Water, the Lord Haſtings, the L. Montegle, Sir Iohn Mordant, the Lord Vaux, Sir Henry Parker, Sir William Winſor, Sir Francis Weſton, Sir Thomas Arondell, Sir Iohn Huddleſton, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir Henrye Sauell, Sir George Fitz William, Sir Iohn Tindall, Sir Thomas Iermey.

The ſame daye, the Queene paſſed through London to Weſtminſter, in ſuche ſolemne wiſe as is vſed, the Citie beeing prepared, and the ſtreetes garniſhed with Pageants in places accuſtomed, the houſes on euerye ſide richely hanged, with clothes of great value, and great melodie made with inſtruments, appoynted in places conuenient.

Queene Anne crowned.

On the morrowe after beeing Whitſonday, and the firſt of Iune, ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter, with all ſuche ceremonies, ſolemnitie, and honour, as in ſuche a caſe apperteyned, nothing was lette paſſe or forgotten that mighte aduaunce the eſtimation of that high and royall feaſt, euerye man clayming to exerciſe ſuche office and ſeruice, as by way of anye tenure, graunte, or preſcription hee coulde proue to be belongyng vnto hym at ſuch a coronation.

On Monday were the Iuſtes holden at the Tylt, but there were but fewe ſtaues broken, bycauſe theyr horſes would not cope.

On Mydſommer day after, dyed the French Queene, then wife to the duke of Suffolke.

The ſeuenth of September being Sunday, betweene three and foure of the clocke in the after nowne, the Queene was deliuered of a fayre yong Ladie, on which day the Duke of Norffolk came home to the Chriſtening, which was appoynted on the Wedneſday next following, and was accordingly accompliſhed on the ſame day, with all ſuch ſolemne ceremonies as were thought conuenient.

The Godfather at the Font, was the Lorde Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Godmothers, the olde Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchioneſſe Dorcet wydow: at the confyrmation the Marcioneſſe of Exceter was Godmother: The childe was named Elizabeth, whiche after with great felicitie and ioy of all Engliſh heartes atteyned to the Crowne of this Realme, and now reigneth ouer the ſame, whoſe heart the lord direct in his wayes, and long preſerue hir in lyfe, to his godly will and pleaſure, and the comfort of all hir true and faythfull ſubiects.

About this ſeaſon, the craftie practiſes of one Elizabeth Barton, named the holy Mayde of Kent, came to light and were diſcouered, ſo that ſhee and hir adherentes in Nouember following were brought to the Starre Chamber, and there before the Kings Counſayle confeſſed their feyned hypocriſie and diſſimuled holineſſe, traiterous purpoſes and intents.

The names of thoſe hir adherents, whiche were preſented with hir before the Lordes in the Starre Chamber, were as followeth: Richarde Maſter prieſt, parſon of Aldington in Kent: Edwarde Bocking doctor in Diuinitie, a Monke of Canterburie, Richarde Dering Monke alſo of Canterburie, Edwarde Twaytes Gentleman, Thomas Laurence, regyſter to yͤ Archdeacon of Canterburie: Henrie Golde parſon of Aldermary, Batchler of Diuinitie: Hugh Rich Frier Obſeruant, Richarde Riſby, and Thomas Gold gentleman.

They were adiudged vpon their confeſſion aforeſayde, to ſtande at Poules Croſſe in the ſermon time, where they with their owne handes ſhoulde ſeuerally deliuer eche of them to the preacher that ſhoulde be appoynted, a Byll, declaring theyr ſubtile, craftie and ſuperſtitious doings. Which thing they did the Sunday nexte following, ſtanding vpon a ſtage at the croſſe erected for that purpoſe.

But for their treaſons committed, the order was reſpited till the Parliament next following, in the which they were atteynted, and ſuffred (as after ye ſhall heare.)

The Scottes moue warre.

In this meane time the Scottes were not quiet, but ſtill robbed the kings ſubiectes both by ſea and lande, wherevpon the king cauſed them to be requited, not onely by the borderers and other to them aſſociate, which entring by the marches, burnt many of their ſtrong piles, but alſo he ſet forth certaine ſhippes which entred into theyr ſtreames, and fetched out many of thoſe pryſes, whiche they had taken out of theyr hauens and creekes, mawgre of their heades. Yet was there no warre proclaymed, and ſtill Commiſſioners ſet and commoned of agreement, and amendes to be made on either part. But in the ende when the Scottes had much demaunded, and little or nothing granted, they for that time being wearie of war, deſired peace, which was cōcluded to endure both the kings liues. And ſo the .xx. day of May in the yeare next following, it was openly proclaymed, to the comfort of all them that delyted in peace and godly quietneſſe.

A curſe procured from the Pope.

At the ſuyte of the Ladie Katherin Dowager, a curſſe was ſent from the Pope, which accurſed both the King and the Realme. This curſſe was ſet vp in the towne of Dunkyrke in Flaunders (for the bringer thereof durſt no nearer approche) where it was taken downe by one William Locke a Mercer of London.

Bycauſe it was knowne that the Ladie Katherin Dowager had procured this curſe of the Pope, all the order of hir Court was broken, for the Duke of Suffolke beeing ſent to hir as then lying at Bugden beſide Huntingdon, according to that he had in commaundement, diſcharged a great ſort of hir houſeholde ſeruants, and yet left a conuenient number to ſerue hir like a Princeſſe, which were ſworne to ſerue hir not as Queene, but as Princeſſe Dowager. Such as toke that othe ſhe vtterly refuſed, and would none of theyr ſeruice, ſo that ſhe remayned with the leſſe number of ſeruants about hir.

1534

Elizabeth Barton attaynted.

After Chriſtmaſſe the Parliament beganne, wherein the forenamed Elizabeth Barton, and other hir complices were attaynted of treaſon for ſundry practized deuiſes & tales by them aduanced, put in vre, and told, ſounding to the vtter reproch, perill, and deſtruction of the kings perſon, his honor, fame, and dignitie: for they had of a diueliſh intent, put in the heades of manye of the kings ſubiects, that to the ſayde Elizabeth Barton was giuen knowledge by reuelation from God and his Saints, that if the King proceeded to the diuorſe, and maried another, he ſhould not be king of this Realme one Moneth after, and in the reputation of God not one daye nor houre.

This Elizabeth, firſt through ſickneſſe, being oftentymes brought as it were into a traunce, whereby hir viſage and countenaunce became marueilouſly altered at thoſe times whẽ ſhe was ſo vexed, at length, by the encouraging, procurement and information of ÿ forenamed Richard Maſter perſon of Aldington, ſhe learned to counterfaite ſuch maner of traunſes (after ſhe came to perfect health) as in hir ſickeneſſe by force of the diſeaſe ſhe hadde bin aquainted with, ſo that ſhee practiſed, vſed, and ſhewed vnto the people, diuers marueilous and ſundry alterations of the ſenſible partes of hir body, craftely vttering in hir ſayde feygned and falſe traunces, diuers & many counterfaite vertuous and holy words, tending to the rebuke of ſinne, and reprouing of ſuche new opinions as then began to riſe.

And to bring the people the more in beliefe with hir hypocriticall doings, ſhe was counſelled to ſay in thoſe hir traunſes, that ſhe ſhould neuer be perfectly whole, till ſhee had viſited an Image of our Lady, at a place called Court at Streete, within the pariſh of Aldington aforeſaid.

Thither was ſhe brought, and by the meanes of the ſayd Richard Maſter, and Edward Bocking, that was now made of counſel in the matter, there aſſembled a two thouſand perſons at the day appointed of hir thither comming, to ſee the miracle.

A forged miracle.

At which day, ſhee being thither brought afore all that aſſemble and multitude of people, ſhe falſely feigned and ſhewed vnto the people in the Chappel of our Lady there at Court at Streete, many alteracions of hir face, and other outwarde ſenſible partes of hir body, and in thoſe traunces, ſhe vttered wonderous words, as ſhe was before ſubtilly and craftely induced and taughte by the ſaid Edward Bocking and Richard Maſter.

And amongſt other things ſhe vttered, that it was the pleaſure of God, that the ſayde Bocking ſhould be hir ghoſtly father, and that ſhe ſhould be a religious woman.

And within a while after ſuche feigned and counterfeite traunſes, ſhee appeared to the people to be ſuddaynely relieued from hir ſickneſſe and afflictions, by the interceſſion and meane of the Image of our Lady, being in the ſame Chappel. By reaſon of whiche hipocriticall diſſimulation, the ſaid Elizabeth was broughte into a maruellous fame, credite, and good opinion of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme, and to encreaſe the ſame, by the counſell of the ſaid Edward Bocking ſhe became a Nunne in the priorie of S. Sepulchres at Canterbury, to whome the ſaid Edwarde Bocking had commonly hys reſorte, not withoute ſuſpition of incontinencie, pretending to be hir ghoſtly father by Gods appoyntment. And by conſpiracie betwene hir and him, ſhe ſtill continued in practiſing hir diſſimuled traunſes, alledging, that in the ſame ſhe had reuelations from almightie God & his Saincts, and amõgſt other, that which as before we haue mentioned, touching the Kinges mariage as yet haue heard.

Elizabeth Barton becommeth a Nunne.

This mater proceeded ſo farre, that ther was a booke writtẽ by hir complices, and namely, by Thomas Laurence, regiſter to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, of hir feigned and counterfaite miracles, reuelations, and hipocriticall holyneſſe. All things were handled ſo craftely, that not only the ſimple, but alſo the wiſe and learned were deceiued by the ſame, in ſo muche, that William Warham the late Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and Iohn Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, and dyuers other, beeing enformed thereof, gaue credite thereto. All whiche matters and many other, had bin traiterouſly practiſed and imagined amongſt the parties many yeares, chiefly, to interrupt the diuorſe, and to deſtroy the King, and to depriue him from the Crowne and dignitie royall of this Realme, as in the acte of their atteinder made, more at large it may appeare, and likewiſe in ÿ Chronicles of maiſter Edward Hall.

The Archb
ſhop of Ca
terbury, a
the Byſhop
Rocheſter,
giue credit
to hir hypo
criticall p
tiſes.

Therefore to conclude with hir and hir adherents, the one and twentith of Aprill nexte following, ſhee with diuers of them before condemned, was drawen to Tiborne, and there executed, as iuſtly they had deſerued.

Elizabeth Barton executed.

At the very time of hir deathe ſhee confeſſed howe ſhe had abuſed the world, and ſo was not only the cauſe of hir own death, but alſo of theirs that there ſuffred with hir, and yet they could not (as ſhee then alledged) bee worthy of leſſe blame than ſhe, conſidering that they being learned and wiſe enoughe, myght eaſily haue perceyued, that thoſe things which ſhe did were but fained. Neuertheleſſe bycauſe the ſame were profitable to them, they therefore bare hir in hand, that it was the holy Ghoſt that did them, and not ſhe, ſo that puffed vp wyth their praiſes, ſhee fell into a certayne pryde and fooliſhe fantaſie, ſuppoſing ſhee might faine what ſhe would, whiche thyng had brought hir to that ende, for the whiche hir miſdoings ſhe cried God and the Kyng mercy, and deſired the people to praye for hir, and all them that there ſuffred with hir.

In this Parliament alſo was made the acte of ſucceſſion, for the eſtabliſhing of the Crowne, to the whiche euery perſon beyng of lawfull age ſhoulde be ſworne.

The acte of the eſtabliſhing of the Crowne.

On Monday the three & twentith of Marche in the Parliament time, were ſolemnely receyued into London Ambaſſadors from Iames the fifth King of Scottes, the Byſhop of Aberdine, the Abbot of Kynlos, and Adam Otterborne the Kings attourney, with diuers Gentlemen on them attendaunte, whiche were broughte to the Taylers Hall, and there lodged. And on the day of the

Ambaſſadors
forth of Scot
land.

of the Annunciation they were brought to the kings Palaice at Weſtminſter, where they ſhewed their commiſſion and meſſage, for the which the king appointed them dayes to counſayle.

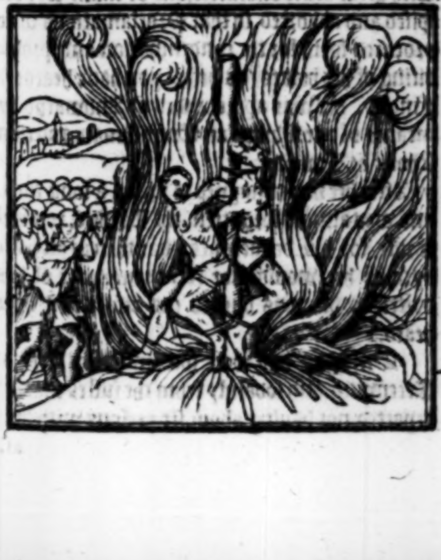
During the Parliament time, euery Sunday at Paules Croſſe preached a Biſhop, declaring the Pope not to bee ſupreme heade of the Church.

The .xxx. day of March was the Parliament proroged, and there euery Lorde, knight, and burgeſſe, and all other were ſworne to the Acte of ſucceſſion, and ſubſcribed their handes to a parchement fixed to the ſame. The Parliament was proroged till the thirde of Nouember next.

After this were Commiſſioners ſent into all partes of the realme, to take the othe of al men and women to the act of ſucceſſion. Doctor Iohn Fiſher, and ſir Thomas More knight, and doctor Nicholas Wilſon Parſon of Saint Thomas Apoſtles in London, expreſſely denied at Lãbeth before the Archbiſhop of Canterb. to receyue that oth. The two firſt ſtood in their opinion to the verie death (as after ye ſhall heare) but doctor Wilſon was better aduiſed at length, & ſo diſſembling the matter eſcaped out of further daunger.

The .ix. of Iuly was the Lord Dacres of the North arraigned at Weſtminſter of high treaſon, where the Duke of Norffolke ſat as Iudge, and high ſteward of England. The ſayd Lorde Dacres being brought to the barre, with the Axe of the Tower before him, after his Inditement read, ſo improued the ſame, anſwering euery part and matter therein conteyned, and ſo plainly and directly confuted his accuſers, whiche were there readie to auouch their accuſations, that to their great ſhames, and his high honor, he was founde that day by his Peeres not guiltie: whereof the Commons not a little reioiſed, as by their ſhowt and crie made at thoſe wordes, not guiltie, they freely teſtified.

The .xxii. of Iuly was Iohn Frith burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the Sacrament: and with him the ſame time, & at the ſame ſtake,



ſuffred alſo one Andrew Hewet a yong man, by his occupation a Tayler.

The .xi. of Auguſt were all the places of the obſeruant Friers ſuppreſſed, as Greenwich, Canterburie, Richmont, Newarke, and Newcaſtell, and in their places were ſet Auguſtin Friers, and the obſeruant Friers were placed in the roomthes of the gray Friers.

Stow.

The .xxix. of September, Doctor Tayler maiſter of the Rolles, was diſcharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell ſworne in his place the .ix. of October.

The Parliament againe beginneth.

Moreouer the thirde of Nouember, the Parliament began againe, in the which was concluded the Act of Supremacie, which authorized the kings highneſſe to be ſupreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the Pope aboliſhed out of the realme.

In the ſame Parliament alſo was gyuen to the king, the firſt fruites and tenthes of all ſpirituall dignities and promotions.

The Admirall of France commeth in Ambaſſade into England.

This yeare came the great Admiral of France into Englãd, Ambaſſador from the French king, and was honorably receyued.

1535

In this time dyed the Earle of Kildare, priſoner in the Tower, and his ſon Thomas Fitz Garet began to rebell, and tooke all the kings ordinance, and ſent to the Emperor, requiring him to take his part. Alſo he ſlue the biſhop of Dublyn, and robbed all ſuche as woulde not obey him.

An. reg. 27.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Duke of Norffolke, and the Biſhop of Elie went to Calays, and thither came the Admirall of Fraunce.

Stow.

The .xxii. of Aprill, the Prior of the Charterreux at London, the Prior of Beuall, the Prior of Exham, Reynaldes a brother of Sion, & Iohn Vicar of Thiſleworth, were arraigned and condemned of treaſon, and therevpon drawne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne, the fourth of May. Their heades & quarters were ſet ouer the bridge and gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was ſet vp at the Charterreux at London.

The eight of May, the king commaunded that all belonging to the Court ſhould poll their heades, and to giue enſample, cauſed his owne heade to be polled, and his bearde from thenceforth was cut round, but not ſhauen.

Monkes of the Charterhouſe executed.

The .xix. of Iune were three Monkes of the Charterhouſe hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyburne, and their heades and quarters ſet vp about London, for denying the king to bee ſupreme heade of the Church. Their names were, Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter beheaded.

Alſo the .xxi. of the ſame Moneth, and for the ſame cauſe, doctor Iohn Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter was beheaded, and his heade ſet vppon London bridge. This Biſhop was of many ſore lamented, for hee was reported to bee a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The Pope had elected him a Cardinall, and ſent hys hatte as farre as Calais, but his head was off before his hat could come.

Sir Thomas Moore beheaded.

The ſixt of July was ſir Thomas Moore beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denying the king to be ſupreme head. This man was both learned and wiſe, but giuen much to a certaine pleaſure in merye tauntes and ieaſting in moſte of his communication, whiche manner hee forgatte not at the verye houre of hys death.

The king of Scots knight of the garter.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter Ambaſſador into France.

This yeare in the tyme that the king went his progreſſe to Glouceſter, and to other places Weſtwarde, the king of Scottes was inſtalled knight of the Garter at Windſore by his procurator the Lorde Erſkyn: and in October following, Stephen Gardiner (whiche after the Cardinalles death was made Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter) was ſente Ambaſſadoure into Fraunce, where hee remayned three yeares after.

Stow.

In Auguſt the Lorde Thomas Fitzgerarde, ſonne to the Erle of Kyldare, was taken in Ireland, and ſent to the tower of London.

In the Moneth of October, Doctor Lee and other were ſent to viſite the Abbayes, Priories, and Nunries in Englande, who ſet all thoſe religious perſons at liberty that would forſake their habite, and all that were vnder the age of. xxiiij. yeres, and the reſidue were cloſed vp that would remaine.

Further, they toke order that no men ſhoulde haue acceſſe to the houſes of women, nor women to the houſes of men, except it ſhould bee to heare theyr ſeruice. The Abbot or Prior of the houſe where any of the brethren was willing to depart, was appoynted to giue to euerie of them a prieſtes gowne for his habit, & .xl. ſ. in mony, the Nunnes, to haue ſuch apparell as ſecular women ware, and to go whither them liked beſt.

The. xj. of Nouember was a great Proceſſion at London for ioy of the French kings recouerie of health from a daungerous ſickneſſe.

In December a ſuruey was taken of al Chanteryes, and the names of them that had the gyft of them.

1536

The Lady Katherin dowager deceaſeth.

The Princes Dowager lying at Kimbalton, fell into hir laſt ſickneſſe, whereof the King being aduertiſed, appoynted the Emperours Ambaſſadour that was leger here with him, named Euſtachius Caputius, to go to viſite hir, and to doe his commendations to hir, and will hir to bee of good comfort. The Ambaſſadour with all diligence doth his dutie therein, comforting hir the beſt hee myght: but ſhee within ſixe dayes after, perceyuing hir ſelfe to waxe verie weake and feeble, and to feele death approching at hande, cauſed one of hir Gentlewomen to write a letter to the King, commending to him hir daughter and his, beſeeching him to ſtande good father vnto hir, and further deſired him to haue ſome conſideration of hir Gentlewomen that had ſerued hir, and to ſee them beſtowed in maryage. Further that it woulde pleaſe him to appoynte that hir ſeruauntes might haue their due wages, and a yeares wages beſide.

This in effect was all that ſhee requeſted, and ſo immediately hervpon ſhee departed thys life the. viij. of Januarie at Kimbalton aforeſaid, and was buried at Peterborow.

Religious houſes giuen to the king.

The fourth of Februarie the Parliament began, in the whiche amongſt other thinges enacted, all Religious houſes of the value of three hundred Markes and vnder, were gyuen to the King, with all the landes and goodes to them belonging.

Stow.

The nũber of theſe houſes were. 376. the value of their lãds yerely aboue. 32000. li. their mouable goodes one hundred thouſand. The religious perſons put out of the ſame houſes, amounted to the number of aboue ten thouſand.

William Ti dall burnt.

This yeare was William Tindall burned at a towne betwixt Bruxels and Maclyn called Willefort.

This Tyndal otherwiſe called Hichyns, was borne in the Marches of Wales, and hauing a deſire to tranſlate and publiſhe to his Countrey dyuerſe bookes of the Byble in Engliſh, & doubting to come in trouble for the ſame, if he ſhoulde remaine here in Englande, got him ouer into the parties of beyond the ſea, where he tranſlated not onely the newe Teſtament into the Engliſhe tongue, but alſo the fiue bookes of Moſes, Joſua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the kings, & Paralipomenon, Nehemias, or the firſt of Eſdras, & the Prophet Jonas. Beſide theſe tranſlations, he made certain treatiſes, and publiſhed the ſame, which were brought ouer into Englande, & read with great deſire of diuerſe, and of many ſore deſpiſed and abhorred, ſo that Proclamations were procured forth for the condemnation and prohibiting of his bookes (as before you haue hearde.) Finally, hee was apprehended at Andwarpe by meanes of one Philips an Engliſhman, and then ſcholer at Louaine.

After hee had remayned in priſon a long time, and was almoſt forgotten, the Lorde Cromwel wrote for his deliuerance, but then in all haſte bycauſe hee woulde not recant any part of hys doctrine, hee was burned (as before you haue heard.)

An. reg. 2

On May day were ſolemne iuſtes kept at Greenwich, and ſodainly from the iuſtes the king departed, not hauing aboue ſix perſons with him, and in the Euening came to Weſtminſter. Of this ſodaine departing many men muſed, but moſt chiefely the Queene, who the next day was apprehended, and brought from Grenewich to the Tower of London, where ſhee was arraigned of high treaſon, and condemned.

Anne
ted to
wer,

Alſo at the ſame tyme were apprehended the Lorde Rochford, brother to the ſayde Queene, and Henrie Norrice, Marke Smeton, William Brereton, and ſir Francis Weſton, all beeing of the kings priuie Chamber. Theſe were likewiſe committed to the tower, and after arraigned and condemned of high treaſon.

Anne
ded.

All the Gentlemen were beheaded on the ſkaffold at the Tower hill, but the Queene with a ſworde was beheaded within the Tower. And theſe were the wordes whiche ſhee ſpake at the houre of hir death the: xix. of May. 1536. Good chriſtian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the lawe I am iudged to die, and therefore I will ſpeake nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeake any thing of yͤ whereof I am accuſed & condemned to die, but I pray God ſaue the king and ſend him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was there neuer, and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and a ſoueraigne Lorde. And if any perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to iudge the beſt. And thus I take my leaue of the worlde, and of you all, and I heartily deſire you all to pray for me, Oh Lorde haue mercie on me, to God I cōmende my ſoule, Ieſu receyue my ſoule, diuerſe tymes repeting thoſe wordes, till that hir heade was ſtriken off with the ſworde.

Bycauſe I might rather ſay much than ſufficiently ynough in prayſe of this noble Queene, as well for hir ſingular witte and other excellent qualities of mynde, as alſo for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale of religion, and liberalitie in diſtributing almes in reliefe of the poore, I wyll referre the reader vnto that which maſter Foxe in his ſeconde volume of Actes and Monumentes, doth write of hir, where he ſpeaketh of hir maryage. Pag. 1198. and. 1199. and alſo where hee maketh mention of hir death. Pag. 1233. and. 1234. of the impreſſion. 1570.

he king ma-
ed Ladie
Seymer.

Immediatly after hir death, in the weeke before Whitſuntide, the King maryed the Ladie Iane Seymer, daughter to ſir Iohn Seymer knight, whiche at Whitſuntide was openly ſhewed as Queene.

And on the Tueſday in Whitſunweeke, hir brother ſir Edwarde Seymer was created Vicont Beauchampe, and ſir Water Hungerforde, Lorde Hungerford.

Parliament.

The .viij. of Iune beganne the Parliament, during the which the Lorde Thomas Howarde, without the kings aſſent, affied the Ladie Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Queene of Scottes, and Nece to the King, for which acte he was attainted of treaſon, and an acte made for like offenders, and ſo he dyed in the Tower, and ſhe remayned long there as priſoner.

The Lord Th. Howard attainted of treaſon.

In the time of this Parliament, the Biſhops and all the Cleargie of the Realme helde a ſolemne conuocation at Paules Church in London, where after much diſputation and debating of matters, they publiſhed a booke of religion, intituled Articles deuiſed by the kings highneſſe. &c. In this booke is ſpeciallye mentioned but three Sacraments.

A booke publiſhed concerning religion by the king.

Alſo beſide this booke, certaine Iniunctions were giuen forth, whereby a number of their holy dayes were abrogated, and ſpecially thoſe that fell in harueſt time.

Thomas Cromwel Secretarie to the king, and maiſter of the Rolles, was made Lorde keeper of the priuie Seale, and the ninth of Iuly the Lorde Fitzwaren was created Earle of Bath, and the morrow after the ſayd Lorde priuie ſeale Thomas Cromwell, was created Lorde Cromwell. The .xviij. of Iuly he was made knight, and Vicar generall vnder the King ouer the ſpiritualtie, and ſat dyuerſe times in the conuocation amongeſt the Byſhoppes as head ouer them.

The .xxij. of Iuly, Henrie duke of Richmont and Somerſet, erle of Northampton, baſe ſonne to the King, begot of the Ladie Tailebois, departed this life at Saint Iames, and was buryed at Thetford in Norffolke.

In September, Thomas Cromwell Lorde priuie ſeale and Vicegerent, ſent abroade vnder the kings ſpirituall priuie Seale, certayne Iniunctions, commanding that the Parſons & Curates ſhoulde teach theyr Pariſhioners the *Pater Noſter*, the *Aue* and Creede, with the ten Commaundements, and Articles of the fayth in Engliſhe.

Theſe Articles and Iniunctions being eſtabliſhed by authoritie of Parliament, and now to the people deliuered, bred a greate miſlyking in the heartes of the common people, whiche had beene euer brought vp and trayned in contrary doctrine, and herewith diuerſe of the Cleargie as Monkes, Prieſtes, and other, tooke occaſion hereby to ſpeake euill of the late proceedings of the King, touching matters of Religion, affyrming that if ſpeedie remedie were not in tyme prouided, the fayth would ſhortly be vtterly deſtroyed, and all prayer and diuine ſeruice bee quite abolyſhed and taken away.

Many ſiniſter reportes, ſlaunderous tales, and feigned fables were blowne abroade, and put into the peoples eares, and diuerſe of the Nobilitie did alſo what they could to ſtyrre the commons to rebellion, faythfully promiſing both ayde and ſuccor agaynſt the king.

The people thus prouoked to miſchiefe, and deceyued through ouer light credence, incontinently as it were to mainteyne that Religion, whiche hadde ſo manye yeares continued, and beene eſteemed, they ſtiffely and ſtoutly conſpired togither, and in a part of Lincolnſhyre they firſt aſſembled, and ſhortly after ioyned into an armie, being (as it was ſuppoſed) of men apt for the warres, in number about twentie thouſande. Agaynſt theſe rebels with all the haſt that might be, the king in proper perſon vppon intelligence thereof had marched towardes them, being furniſhed with a warlike armie, perfectly appoynted of all things that to ſuche a companie ſhoulde appertayne.

A trayterous conſpiracie.

The Lincolnſhire men in armes agaynſt the king.

The rebels hearing that his perſon was preſent with his power to come thus agaynſt them, began to feare what woulde follow of theyr doings: and ſuche nobles and gentlemen as at the firſte fauoured theyr cauſe, fell from them, and withdrew, ſo that they beeing deſtitute of Captaynes, at length put certaine petitions in wryting, which they exhibited to the King, profeſſing that they neuer intended hurt towardes his royal perſon.

The king receiued theyr peticions, which conſiſted in choyſe of Counſaylers, ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, maintenance of the ſeruice of Almightie God, the ſtatute of vſes, the releaſe of the fiftenth, and receiuing of the firſt fruites, with ſuche other matters as nothing appertayned to them: wherevpon he made them anſwere in pythie ſentence, reprouing them of theyr preſumptuous folly and rebellious attempt, to meddle in any ſuch matters and weightie affayres, the direction whereof onelye belonged to him, and to ſuch noble men and counſaylers as his pleaſure ſhoulde be to elect and chooſe to haue the ordring of the ſame. And therefore he aduiſed them to remember theyr raſh and inconſiderate doings, and that now in any wiſe they ſhould reſort home to their houſes, and no more to aſſemble contrary to his lawes, and their owne allegiances, and alſo to cauſe the prouokers to this miſchiefe to bee deliuered to the handes of his Lieutenant, & further to ſubmit themſelues wholy to ſuch puniſhment as hee and his nobles ſhoulde thinke them worthie to receyue: for otherwiſe he woulde not ſuffer that iniurie at theyr handes to goe vnreuenged.

After the Lyncolnſhire men had receyued the kings anſwere thus made to theyr petitions, eche miſtruſting other who ſhoulde be noted the greateſt medler, ſodainly they beganne to ſhrinke, and got them home to their houſes withoute longer abode.

The Lincolnſhiremen gaue ouer their rebellious enterpriſe.

Herewith the Duke of Suffolke the Kings Lieutenant, was appoynted to goe with the armye to ſee the Countrey ſet in quiet, accompanied with the Lord Admirall, ſir Frances Bryan, and ſir John Ruſſell, that were ioyned with him alſo in ỹ cõmiſſiõ for the ordring of things there within the Countie of Lincolne. The Duke entred into the Citie of Lincolne the ſeuententh of October.

On the .xix. al the Inhabitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the duke) came to Lincolne, and there in the Caſtell made theyr ſubmiſſion, holding vp their handes, and crying for the kings mercie. And herewith were choſen forth Nicholas Melton, Captaine Cobler, and .xiiij. mo, which were commaunded to warde, and all the reſidue were newe ſworne to the king, renouncing their former othe receyued in tyme of theyr rebellion, and then departed home to their houſes in the kings peace.

After this were Proclamations made abrode in the Countrey in euery Market towne by the Heraulds at armes, Somerſet, and Wynſore, that the Captaines and Souldiers of the Dukes armie ſhuld not take any mans goodes, catailes, or vitayles, except they payed or agreed with the owners for the ſame. And further commaundement was giuen, that al Inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and villages about, ſhould repayre to the Citie of Lyncolne, with all maner of vytaile as well for men as horſes, where they ſhould receyue payment at reaſonable pryſes for the ſame.

After this, there was likewiſe Proclamation made, for the apprehending of all ſuch lewde perſons, as had ſowne any falſe rumors abroade in the Countrey, the chiefe occaſion of this rebelliõ, bruting that the king pretended to haue the golde in the handes of his ſubiectes brought into the Tower to be touched, and all their cattaile vnmarked, the Chalices goodes and ornamentes of pariſh Churches, fines for chriſtnings, weddings, and buryings, for licences to eate white meate, bread, pigge, gooſe, or Capon, with many other ſlaunderous, falſe, and deteſtable tales and lyes, forged of diueliſh purpoſe to encourage the people to rebellion. If therefore any man could apprehende ſuch as had bene the ſetters forth & ſowers of ſuche ſeditious reportes, they that brought them in ſhoulde bee ſo rewarded, as they ſhoulde thinke their labor well beſtowed.

Falſe rumo
the occaſio
rebellion.

Moreouer, if there were any aſſemblies made in any part of the realme without the Kings licence, by any vnruly perſons, and would not departe to theyr houſes vpõ warning by his graces Proclamations, they ſhould not looke for further mercie at the kings hande, but to bee perſecuted with fire and ſword to the vttermoſt.

To cõclude, by the wiſe & ſage directiõ takẽ in appeaſing the Countrey by that noble Duke, all things were quieted in thoſe parties. Diuerſe of yͤ principal offenders were ſent vnto London. He that toke vpon him as chief Chaptain of the rowte, was the ſame that called himſelfe Captaine Cobler, but he was in deede a Monke named Doctor Makarell, which afterwardes wyth diuerſe other was executed.

mmotion north

But nowe in the meane tyme whyleſt the Duke was ſente forwarde into Lincolneſhyre, wythin ſixe dayes after the King was truely informed, that there was a newe ſturre begonne in the North partyes by the people there, whiche had aſſembled themſelues into an huge army of warlike men and well appoynted, both with captaynes, horſe, armor, and artillarie to the number of fortie thouſand men, which had encamped thẽſelues in Yorkſhire.

Theſe men declared by their Proclamations ſolemnely made, that this theyr ryſing and commotion ſhoulde extende no further, but onely to the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Chriſt, and delyueraunce of holy Church, ſore decayed and oppreſſed, and alſo for the furtheraunce as well of priuate as publike matters in the Realme, touching the wealth of all the kings poore ſubiects.

holy pyl- ge.

They named this theyr ſeditious voyage, an holy and bleſſed Pylgrimage: They had alſo certayne Banners in the fielde, in which was paynted Chriſte hanging on the Croſſe on the one ſide, and a Chalice with a paynted Cake in it on the other ſide, with diuerſe other Banners of like hypocryſie and feigned holineſſe.

The Souldiers had alſo embrodered on the ſleeues of theyr coates in ſteade of a Badge, the ſimilitude of the fiue woundes of our Sauiour, and in the myddeſt thereof was written the name of our Lord.

Thus had the Rebelles hoſt of Sathan with falſe and counterfeyte ſignes of holyneſſe ſet out themſelues onely to deceyue the ſimple people in that theyr wicked and rebellious enterpryce agaynſte theyr liege Lorde and naturall Prince.

he faythfull ligence of Earle of sburie.

The ſpeedie diligence and loyall duetie which was founde at yͤ preſent in yͤ worthie Counſaylour George Earle of Shrewſburie, is not to bee forgotten, who immediatly after hee vnderſtoode howe the Northern menne were thus vppe in armes, conſidering howe muche it imported to ſtoppe them of theyr paſſage before they ſhoulde aduaunce to farre forwardes, whereby they might both encreaſe in power, and put all other partes of the Realme in hazard through feare or hope to enclyne to theyr wicked purpoſes, hee ſent abroade with all ſpeede poſſible to rayſe ſuche power of his Seruauntes, Tenants, and friendes, as by any meanes he myght make, and withall diſpatched one of hys ſeruauntes to the King, both to aduertiſe hym what hee hadde done, and alſo to purchaſe his pardon, for making ſuche leuie of a power, before hee hadde receyued his Maieſties Commiſſion ſo to do.

I haue hearde by relation of men of good credite that were preſent, that when ſuch Knightes and Gentlemen as were of his Counſayle, and other of his eſpeciall friendes were come vnto him, hee put forth thys queſtion vnto them, whether his facte in rayſing a power of armed menne withoute the Kinges Commiſſion (although hee had done it to reſyſt the Rebelles) were treaſon or not, whereunto when aunſwere was made by ſome that were knowne to haue ſkill in the lawes of the Realme, howe that by no meanes it coulde bee intended treaſon, ſithe his intent was good, and no euill thereby ment, but contrarily the aduauncement of the Kings ſeruice ductifully ſought. Ye are fooles (quoth the Earle) I knowe it in ſubſtaunce to bee treaſon, and I woulde thinke my ſelfe in an hard caſe, if I thought I hadde not my pardon comming.

Suche a reuerende regarde had this noble Earle vnto his bounden allegiance towardes his Prince, that whatſoeuer ſeemed but as it were to ſounde in any behalfe to the breache thereof, it ſo troubled his loyall mynde, that he coulde not be ſatiſfyed, till as it were in confeſſing his faulte, where according to the truth there was none at all, hee hadde ſignifyed his aſſured fidelitie in crauing pardon, where otherwiſe hee might haue looked for thankes, which indeed he receyued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commiſſion to proceed as he had begon.

The Duke of Norfolke the Kings Lieutenant.

Moreouer, where as there were dyuerſe ſpeaches amongeſt the Souldiours in the armie vttered, by ſome not altogyther happily well diſpoſed, that the ſayde Earle had ſo good lyking of the Northern mennes cauſe, that when it came to the poynt of tryall, hee woulde ſurelye ioyne with them agaynſt that part, whiche he yet pretended to maintayne: to put that matter oute of doubt, he cauſed the multitude of hys Souldiours to come before him, and there declared to them, that hee vnderſtoode what lewde talke hadde beene rayſed of hys meanyng amongeſt them in the Campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the Rebelles: but (ſayeth hee) whatſoeuer theyr colourable pretence may be, true it is, that Traitours they are in this their wicked attempt, and where as my aunceſters haue bene euer true to the crowne, I meane not to ſtaine my bloud now in ioyning wͭ ſuch a ſort of traytors, but to liue & die in defence of yͤ crowne, if it ſtood but vpõ a ſtake, and therefore thoſe that will take my part in this quarell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be any that be otherwiſe mynded, I woulde wiſh them hence. And herewith hee cauſed hys Chaplaine to miniſter an othe to him, whiche hee receyued to the effect aforeſayde, in preſence of them all. And verily this was thought to be done not without great cauſe that moued him thereto: for where, as the more part of his ſouldiors conſiſted of the Countrey people, and with forged tales, and wicked ſurmiſes were eaſily ledde to beleeue, whatſoeuer was reported in fauour of the rebelles, and diſfauour of ſuche as were then chiefe Counſaylours to the King, againſt whom they pretended to ryſe (although there was no reaſonable occaſion leading them therevnto) it was greatly to bee ſuſpected, leaſt they myghte through ſome trayterous practiſe haue beene induced to forget theyr dutifull allegiance to theyr ſoueraigne, and ſouldierlyke obedience to theyr leaders, inſomuche that the Captaynes of the Rebelles, were perſwaded (and ſome of them reported no leſſe) that they myghte haue foughte wyth the Duke of Norffolke, and the Earle of Shreweſburie, on this hither ſyde of the Riuer of Dun, euen with theyr owne men, not needing to haue brought a man of theyr army with them. Therefore it was thought, that the othe whiche the Earle of Shrewſburie in that ſort receyued before all hys people there openly in field, ſerued to great purpoſe, to put out of hys Souldiers wauering heades, all ſuche lewde expectation that he woulde turne to the enimyes, ſtaying thereby theyr fickle myndes, ſithe they were now aſſured, that he being theyr Chieftaine ment no diſſimulation, a matter truly of no ſmall importaunce, conſidering the fauour whiche the Commons bare towardes him, and the opinion they had conceyued of hys highe prowes, ſo that whiche way he inclyned, it was thought verilye the game were likely to go.

But nowe after the King was aduertiſed of that perilous commotion of the Northern men, he appoynted not only the ſaid Erle of Shrewſburie to rayſe a power to reſyſt them, but alſo ordeyned the Duke of Norffolke his Lieutenant generall, with the Marques of Exceter, and the ſayde Earle of Shreweſburie, the Earles of Huntingdon and Rutlande, accompanied wyth a mightie power to go againſt them.

The Duke of Norffolke the kings Lieutenant.

Theſe Lordes rayſing ſuch retinues of ſouldiours and men of warre as were to them aſſigned, made forwarde to the place where the armye of the Rebelles was then encamped, whiche was beyonde the Towne of Doncaſter, in the high way towards Yorke.

But fyrſt the ſayde Earle of Shreweſbury, with the Earles of Huntington, and Rutlande, and ſuch other that were next adioyning to thoſe parties, with theyr powers aſſembled oute of the Shires of Salop, Stafforde, Leyceſter, Rutlande, Notingham and Darby, came to a place in Notinghamſhire called Blithlowe, and there taking the muſters of their people, ſtreightwayes paſſed forth to Dancaſter, and appoynted certaine bandes of theyr men, to lie in places where anye fourdes or paſſages laye ouer the Ryuer of Dun, that runneth by the Northſyde of Dancaſter, to ſtay the enimies if they ſhoulde attempt to come ouer.

Shortly after came the Duke of Norffolke, and finally the Marques of Exceter with a lusty company of Weſterne men, well and perfectly appoynted.

When theſe Captaynes and ſage Counſaylers being here aſſembled, vnderſtoode the maner of the Northern men, theyr number, and readyneſſe to battayle, they firſt practiſed with greate policie, to haue pacified the matter without bloudſhedding: but the Northern men were ſo bent to mayntayne theyr wylfull enterpryſe, that there was no hope to take vp the matter without battaile: therfore a day was ſet on the which they ſhould trie the quarell betwixt them with dint of ſworde.

The cum Simon and Iude.

But ſee the chaunce, the night before the day aſſigned for this bloudye and vnnaturall battayle, to haue beene fought betwyxt men of one Nation, and ſubiectes to one King, there fell a raine not great to ſpeake of, but yet as it were by myracle, the Riuer of Dun roſe ſodainely on ſuch a heigth, that ſeldome had beene ſeene the like hugeneſſe of water, ſo that the day when the houre of battayle ſhoulde come, it was not poſſible for the one armie to come at the other, and ſo the appoyntment made betweene both the armyes for tryall of the matter by force of armes, was by Gods good prouidence diſappoynted, and many an innocent mans life preſerued, that ſhould haue died, if their purpoſes had taken place.

A flud.

Gods proui dence ſtaye them from battaile.

After this, by the great wiſedome and policie of the Nobles and Captaynes, a communication was had, and an agreement made vpon the Kings pardon, obteyned for all the Captaynes and chiefe doers in this inſurrection, and promiſe made that they ſhoulde bee gently heard, to declare ſuch things as they found themſelues agreeued with, and that vpon theyr Articles preſented to the King, theyr reaſonable petitions ſhoulde be graunted, as by hym and hys Counſaile it ſhoulde be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might bee quieted, and eche thing brought to a good concluſion.

The ma taken vp.

Herewith euerye man departed, and thoſe whiche before were as hote as fire to fight, letted of theyr deſperate purpoſe, by Gods mercifull prouidence, went now peaceably to their houſes without any more buſineſſe.

The ſelfeſame time that theſe Northern men were lodged neare to Dancaſter, and the Kings power readie to ſtoppe them of theyr paſſage (as before ye haue hearde) there was an other armye readie to haue marched Southwardes through Lancaſhyre, but by the faythfull diligence of the Earle of Darbie, who with the forces of Lancaſhyre and Cheſhyre was appoynted to reſiſt them, they were lykewiſe kept backe and brought to quiet. Notwithſtanding they were a verie great number aſſembled togyther of the Commons oute of Cumberland, Weſtmerland, and of the North partes of Lancaſhire.

The Earle of Suſſex was ſente downe by the King, to ioyne in aſſyſtaunce wyth the Earle of Darbie; who cauſing dyuerſe of the chiefe procurers of that Rebellion in thoſe parties to be apprehended and arraigned, they being founde guiltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the Abbottes of Walley, Saulley, and others.

In tyme of this rebellion, a Prieſt that by a Butcher dwelling within fiue myles of Wyndſore had beene procured to preach in fauour of the Rebelles, and the butcher (as well for procuring the Prieſt thereto, as for wordes ſpoken as hee ſolde his meate in Wyndſore) were hanged, the Prieſte on a Tree at the foote of Wyndſore Bridge, and the Butcher on a payre of newe Gallowes ſet vp before the Caſtell gate, at the ende of the ſame bridge.

The wordes whiche the Butcher ſpake were theſe. When one bad him leſſe for the carkaſſe of a Sheepe than he thought hee coulde make of it: Nay by Gods ſoule (ſayde hee) I hadde rather the good fellowes of the North had it, and a ſcore more of the beſt I haue, than I woulde ſo ſell it.

This Prieſt and Butcher being accuſed on a Monday in the morning whyleſt the Kings armie was in the fielde, and the king himſelfe lying at Wyndſore, they confeſſed theyr faultes vpon theyr examinations, and by the lawe martiall, they were adiudged to death, and ſuffred as before is mentioned.

This yeare in December, the Thames was froſen ouer. And in Chriſtmaſſe the King by his meſſengers and Herauldes ſente downe into the North his generall pardons to all the offenders, and ſhortly after Aſke that had beene the principall procurer, and as it were chiefe Captaine of the Northern Rebelles, came to London, and nowe was both pardoned and receyued into fauour, receyuing of the Kings bounteous liberalitie, apparayle, and dyuerſe other rewardes, whereof hee was moſte vnworthye, for there lyued not (as Hall ſayeth) a veryer Wretche, as well in perſon as conditions and deedes, ſpecially towardes the Kings Maieſtie, as after it appeared.

The Earle of Kildare executed.

Selbie.

The thirde of Februarie, Thomas Fitzgerard late Earle of Kyldare, and fiue of hys Vncles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for treaſon.

A newe rebellion.

In the ſame Moneth Nicholas Muſgraue, Thomas Tylbie, with other, beganne a newe rebellion at Kyrkbie Stephan in Weſtmerland, who hauing got togither eight thouſande men, beſieged the Citie of Carlile, from whence they were beaten with the onely power of the Citie, and in returning from thence, the duke of Norfolke, who then was Lieutenant of the North, encountred with them, tooke the Capitaynes, and according to the law Martiall arraigned lxxiiij. of them, whome hee hanged on Carleyl walles, but Muſgraue eſcaped.

Sir Frances Bygot.

In the ſame Moneth of Februarie began a newe Commotion, by the procurement of Sir Fraunces Bigod, who being entiſed to that miſchieuous enterpriſe by certaine wicked perſons, forgat his dutie to his Prince, although hee had bene a man (as Hall ſayth) that vndoubtedly loued God, and reuerenced his Prince with a right obedient & louing feare: but ſuche are men when God leaueth them, and that they will take in hande things whiche Gods moſte holye worde vtterly forbyddeth. This laſt Rebellion began in Setrington, Pikering Leigh, and Skarborrow, but it was quickly ſuppreſſed, and the ſayde ſir Fraunces Bigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower.

The ſayde ſir Fraunces, and one Halam hauing rayſed a great companie of Rebelles, ment to haue taken the Towne of Hull, there to haue fortifyed themſelues, and to haue aſſembled more power, but by the wiſedome of Sir Rauſe Ellercker, and the Maior of the Towne of Hull, the ſayde Halam, and threeſcore other of the Rebelles without any ſlaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwardes hanged in Chaynes, and two other wyth hym, at the ſayde Towne of Hull. Sir Fraunces Bygod fled, and coulde not be hearde of for a tyme, but at length he was alſo apprehended.

Aske and other practiſe to rayſe a new rebellion.

Moreouer, aboute the latter ende of thys xxviij. yeare, the Lord Darcy, Aſke, ſir Robert Coneſtable, ſir John Bulmer and his wyfe, ſir Thomas Percye brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt Eſquier, William Lomley, ſonne to the Lorde Lomley, beganne eftſoones to conſpire, although euerie of them before had receyued theyr pardons: and nowe were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as priſoners.

This yeare Robert Packington a Mercer of London, a man both riche, wiſe, and of good credite, dwelling at the ſigne of the legge in Cheapeſide, one morning going (as his cuſtome was) aboute foure of the clocke to heare Maſſe, in the Churche then called Saint Thomas of Acres, and nowe the Mercers Chapell, as hee croſſed the ſtreete from hys houſe to the Churche, was ſodaynly murthered wyth a Gunne, the cracke whereof was hearde of the neighbours, and of a great number of labourers that ſtode at Soper Lane ende, and ſawe the ſayde Packington goe forth of his houſe, but there was ſuch a thicke myſt that morning, as the lyke had not beene ſeene, by couert whereof the murtherer founde ſhyft the more eaſily to eſcape.

Robert Packington murthered.

Many were ſuſpected, but none founde in fault, albeit for ſo muche as hee was one that woulde ſpeake hys mynde freely, and was at the ſame tyme one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament for the Citie of London, and had talked ſomewhat agaynſt the couetouſneſſe and crueltie practiſed by the Cleargie, it was miſtruſted leaſt by ſome of thē he came thus to his ende. At length the murtherer in deede was condemned at Banburie in Oxfordſhyre, to die for a felonie which he afterwardes committed, and when hee came to the Gallowes on whiche hee ſuffered, he confeſſed that he did this murther, and till that tyme hee was neuer had in anye ſuſpicion thereof.

The .xxix. of Marche, were twelue of the Lincolneſhyre Rebelles drawne to Tyborne, and there hanged and quartered, fiue of them were prieſtes, the reſidue lay men. One of the prieſtes was Doctour Makarell, and another was the vicar of Louth.

Grafton. The inuention of caſting pipes.

About this ſeaſon the maner of caſting pipes of leade for the conueyaunce of water vnder the ground, without occupying of ſoder to the ſame, was inuented by Robert Brocke Clearke, then one of the kings Chaplaynes, an inuention right neceſſarie for the ſauing of expenſes, for two men and a boy, will doe that in one day, which before could not be done by many men in many dayes. Robert Cowper Goldſmyth was the fyrſt that made the inſtruments, and put this inuention in practiſe.

An.reg.29.

In the verie beginning of this yeare, certaine Commiſſioners beeing ſent into Somerſetſhyre to take vp corne, the people beganne to make an Inſurrection, but by the wiſedome and diligence of yong maſter Paulet and others, the ſame was ſuppreſſed, and the begynners therof, to the number of .lx. were apprehended and condemned, and .xiiij. of them were hanged and quartered. One of the number being a woman. The reſidue were ſaued by the kings mercifull pardon.

In Iune the Lorde Darcie, and the Lorde Huſey, were arraigned at Weſtminſter before the Marques of Excester then high Stewarde, where they were founde giltie, and had iudgement as in caſes of high treaſon.

Execution.

Shortly after alſo were arraigned ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir Thomas Percie, ſir Frances Bigot, ſir Stephan Hamilton, ſir Iohn Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as ſome report) his paramour: alſo William Lomley, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Thirſt Abbot of Fountaynes, Adam Sudburie Abbot of Ieruaux, William Wolde Prior of Bidlington: alſo the Abbot of Ryuers and Robert Aſke. They were all founde giltie of high treaſon, & al put to death. Sir Robert Conſtable was hanged in chaynes out Beuerley gate at Hul, and Robert Aſke was alſo hanged in chaynes on a tower at Yorke, and Margaret Cheyney ſir Iohn Bulmers paramor burnt in Smithfield in London. The other ſuffered at Tiborne.

Arraigne

In the latter end of Iune, was the lord Darcy beheaded at the tower hill, & ſhortly after the lord Huſey was likewiſe beheaded at Lincolne.

Execution.

This yeare at Saint Georges feaſt, was the Lord Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

In October on Saint Edwardes euen, which falleth on the twelfth of that Moneth, at Hampton court the Queene was deliuered of hir ſonne named Edward, for whoſe byrth great ioy was made through the Realme, with thankes giuing to almightie God, who hadde ſent ſuche a yong Prince to ſuccede his father in the Crowne of this Realme, as afterwarde he did by the name of king Edward the ſixt.

The birth of king Edw the ſixt.

His Godfathers at the Font ſtone, were, the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and the Duke of Norffolke. The Ladie Marie was his Godmother. And at the Biſhopping, the Duke of Suffolke was his Godfather.

But as ioy is often myxed with ſorrowe, ſo at that tyme it came to paſſe by the death of his mother, that noble & vertuous Lady Queene Iane, whiche departed out of thys lyfe the fourtenth day of this Month of October, to the great grief of the whole realme, but namely the king hir huſband toke it moſt grieuouſly of all other, who remouing to Weſtminſter, there kept himſelfe cloſe a great while after. The .viij. of Nouember, the corps of the Queene was caried to Winſore, with great ſolemnitie, & there buried in the midſt of the Quiere in the caſtell Church. There was alſo a ſolemn herſe made for hir in Pauls church, & funeral exequies celebrate, as well as in al other churches within the Citie of London.

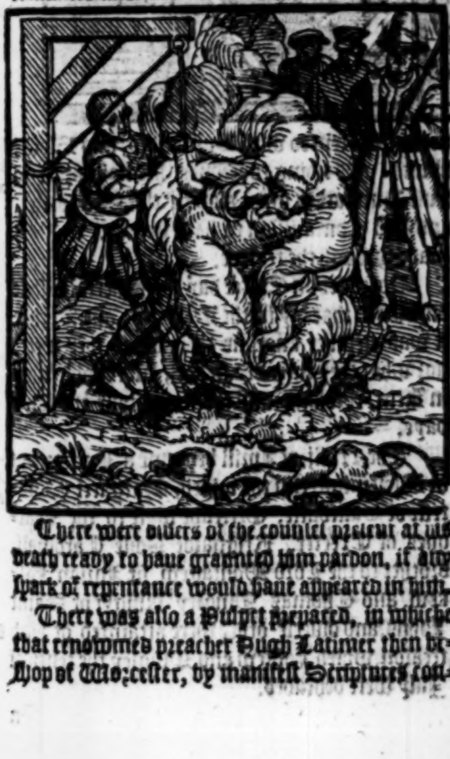
The death Queene Ian

The king held his Chriſtmas at Greenewich, and as well he as all the Court ware mourning apparell, till the morowe after Candlemaſſe day, and then he and all other chaunged.

1538

This yeare the vicount Beauchampe was created Earle of Hertford, and ſir William Fitzwilliam Lorde high Admiral, was created Earle of Southampton.

In May a Frier obſeruant called Frier Foreſt was apprehended for that he was knowne in ſecrete confeſſions to haue declared to many of the Kings liege people, that the king was not ſupreme heade of the Church, where he had by hys othe neuertheleſſe affyrmed him ſo to be. Whereupon in his examination, that poynt beyng layde to hys charge, he anſwered that hee toke his othe with his outwarde man, but hys inwarde man neuer conſented therevnto. But beyng further accuſed of dyuerſe hereticall and damnable opinions that he helde and mainteyned contrarie to the Scripture, at length beyng not able to defende the ſame, he ſubmitted himſelf to the puniſhment of ẏ Church. But whẽ vpon thys hys ſubmiſſion hauing more libertie thã before he had to talke with whom he would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him, he was incẽſed by ſome ſuch as had conference with him, that the Frier when his abiuration was ſent him to read & peruſe, he vtterly refuſed it, and obſtinately ſtood to al his hereſies & treaſons, thervpon he was cõdemned, and afterwardes on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in Smithfield, he was hãged by the middle and armholes al quicke, and vnder the gallowes was made a fire wherewith hee was conſumed and burnt to death.



There were diuers of the counſel preſent at his death ready to haue graunted him pardon, if any ſpark of repentance would haue appeared in him.

There was alſo a Pulpit prepared, in whiche that renowmed preacher Hugh Latimer then biſhop of Worceſter, by manifeſt Scriptures confuted the Friers errors, and with many godly exhortations moued him to repentance, but hee would neither heare nor ſpeake.

A little before the execution, an huge and great Image was brought to the gallowes. This Image was fetched out of Wales, which ẏ Welſh men had in great reuerẽce. It was named Daruell Gatherne. They had a propheſie in Wales that this Image ſhoulde ſet a whole Forreſt on fire, which prophecie was nowe thought to take effect, for he ſet this Frier Forreſt on fire, and conſumed him to nothing. The Frier when he ſaw the fire come, caught hold on the ladder, which he would not let goe, but in that ſort vnpaciently toke his death, ſo as if one might iudge him by his outward man, he appeared (ſaith Hal) to haue ſmall knowledge of God, and leſſe truſt in hym at his ending.

A prophecie.

In July was Edmonde Coningſbie attainted of treaſon, for counterfeyting the kings ſigne manuell, and in Auguſt was Edward Clifforde for the ſame cauſe attainted, and both put to execution as traytors at Tiborne.

Execution.

In September by the ſpecial motion of the L. Crõwel, all the notable Images, vnto the which were made any eſpeciall pilgrimages & offrings, were vtterly takẽ away, as the Images of Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter, the lady of Wilſdon with many other, and likewiſe the ſhrines of counterfeyte Saintes, as that of Tho. Becket, and other. And euen forthwith, by meanes of the ſayde Cromwell, all the orders of Friers and Nunnes, with their cloyſters and houſes, were ſuppreſſed and put downe.

Certaine Images takẽ away and remoued from their places.

In this ſeaſon, ſute was made to the king by the Emperour, to take to wife the Ducheſſe of Millaine: but ſhortly after that ſuite brake of, bicauſe (as was thought) the Emperors counſaile meant by a cautell to haue brought the King in mind to ſue for a licence of the Pope. Then the Duke of Cleue began to ſue to the King, that it would pleaſe him to match with his ſiſter the ladie Anne, which after toke effect.

In Nouember, one John Nicholſon, otherwiſe called Lambert, a prieſt, was accuſed of hereſie, for holding opinion agaynſt the bodily preſence in the ſacrament of the Aulter. He appealed to the kings Maieſtie, who fauourably conſented to heare him at a day appoynted, againſt whiche day, in the kings Palace at Weſtmynſter, within the Kings Hall, there was ſet vp a throne or ſiege royall for the King, with ſcaffoldes for all the Lordes, and a ſtage for Nicholſon to ſtande vpon.

Iohn Nicholſon alias Lambert.

This Nicholſon was eſteemed to bee a man wel lerned, but that day he vttred no ſuch knowledge (ſaith Hal) as was thought to be in a mã of that eſtimation, diuers argumẽts were miniſtred to him by the Biſhoppes, but namely the King preſſed him ſore, and in the ende offred him pardon if he woulde renounce his opinion, but hee woulde not conſent thereto, and therfore he was there condemned, and had iudgement, and ſo ſhortly after he was drawne into Smythfielde, and there burnt to Aſhes.

The Marques of Exceter cōdemned.

The thirde of Nouember, Henrie Courtney Marques of Exeter and Earle of Deuonſhyre, Henrie Poole Lord Montagew, and ſir Edward Neuill brother to the lord of Burgueuenny, were ſent to the Tower, being accuſed by ſir Geffrey Poole, brother to the Lorde Montagew, of high treaſon. The Marques, and the Lorde Montagew were arraigned the laſt of December at Weſtminſter before the Lorde Audley that was Chauncellor, and for that preſent time high ſteward of Englād, & there were they found giltie.

The third day after were arraigned ſir Edward Neuill, ſir Geffrey Poole, two Prieſtes called Croftes and Collyns, and one Holland a Marriner, and all attaynted.

1539

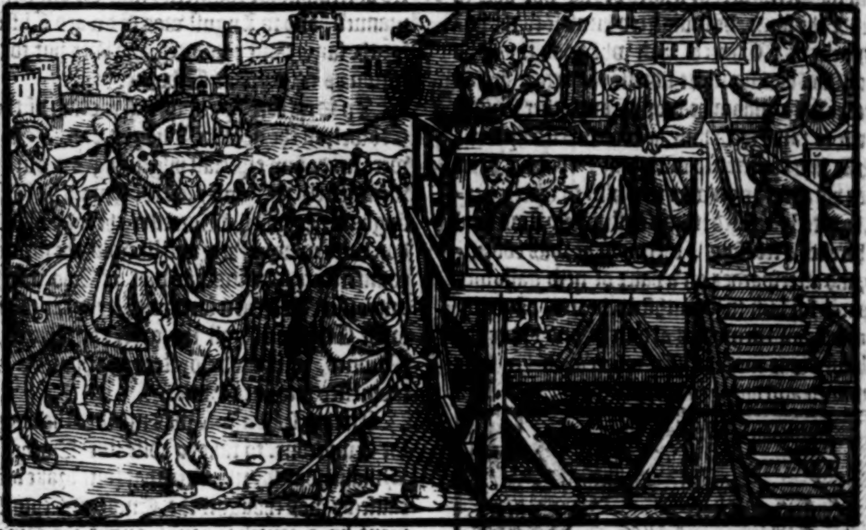
The lord M ques execut

The ninth of Ianuarie, the Lord Marques, and the Lord Montagew, with ſir Edward Neuell loſt their heades on the Tower hill. The two prieſtes and Holland, were drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered. Sir Geffrey Poole had his pardon.

On Aſhwedneſday, John Iohnes, Iohn Potter, and William Manering, were hanged in the Princes liuereys (bycauſe they were the Princes ſeruants) on the ſouthſide of Poules church yard, for killing Roger Cholmeley Eſquier in that place of malice prepenſed.

Sir Nichol Carew executed.

The thirde of March, ſir Nicholas Carew of Bedington in the Countie of Surrey knight of the Garter, and maſter of the kings horſe, cōdemned before of treaſon, was beheaded on the tower



hill, where he made a godly confeſſion, both of his fault, and ſuperſtitious faythe, giuing God thankes, for that his happe was to be priſoner in the Tower, where he firſt ſauored the pleaſaunt taſt of Gods holy worde, meaning the Byble in Engliſh, which there hee read by the exhortation of one Thomas Philippes then keeper of that Priſon, and ſometyme a Citizen and Poyntmaker of London, who had beene in ſome trouble for Religion, and examined before Doctour Stokeſley Biſhop of London, and ſir Thomas More, but through his wiſe demeanor and colde anſwers, he eſcaped their handes.

Creations.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir William Paulet knight Treaſorer of his houſe, Lord Saint John, and ſir John Ruſſell Comptroller of his houſeholde Lorde Ruſſell. Alſo either then or ſhortly after, was ſir William Par created Lord Par.

Bulwarks a Blockhouſe buylded.

The ſame time the King cauſed all the Hauens to bee fenced with Bulwarkes, and Blockhouſes, and riding to Douer, hee tooke order to haue Bulwarkes made alongſt the Sea coaſtes, and ſent Commiſſion to haue generall muſters made through the realme.

Moreouer on Eaſter day there were. lx. ſaile diſcouered that lay in the Downes, and for that it was neyther knowne then what they were, nor what they intended to doe, all the able men in Kent, rose and muſtred in armour the ſame daye.

An. reg.

A Parliament Attaindo

The. xxviij. of Aprill beganne a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which, Margaret Counteſſe of Saliſburie, Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Exceter, Reignalde Poole Cardinall, brother to the Lord Montagew, ſir Adrian Foſkew, and Thomas Dingley Knight of Saint Iohns, and diuerſe other were attainted of high treaſon, which Foſkew and Dingley the tenth of Iuly were beheaded.

Execution.

In

The ſtatute of the ſix articles

An inqueſt of inquirie.

In this Parliament, the Act of the ſixe Articles was eſtabliſhed. Of ſome it was named the bloudie ſtatute, as it proued in deede to many, and euen ſhortly after the making therof, when the fyrſt inqueſt for inquirie of the offenders of the ſame Statute, ſate in London at the Mercers Chappell, thoſe that were of that inqueſt were ſo choſen forth for the purpoſe, as there was not one amongeſt them, that wiſhed not to haue the ſayde Statute put in execution to the vttermoſt, inſomuche that they were not contented onely to inquire of thoſe that offended in the ſixe Articles conteyned in that Statute, but alſo they deuiſed to inquyre of certayne braunches, (as they toke the matter) belonging to the ſame, as of thoſe that came ſeldome to heare Maſſe, that helde not vp theyr handes at the ſacryng tyme, who toke no holy breade, nor holy water, who vſed to reade the Byble in Churches, or in communication ſeemed to deſpiſe prieſtes, or Images in the Church. &c.

To conclude, they enquyred ſo diligently of them that had ſo offended in any of thoſe Articles, or the braunches, that they indyted and preſented of ſuſpition, to the number of fiue hundred perſons and aboue, ſo that if the King had not graunted his pardon, for that he was informed by the Lorde Audley then Lorde Chauncellour, that they were indyted of malice, a great meyny of them, which alreadie were in Priſon, had died for it in Smythfielde, in frying a Fagot. But although the king at that preſent graunted hys gracious pardon, and forgaue all thoſe offences, yet afterwardes, during the tyme that this Statute ſtode in force, whiche was for the ſpace of eight yeares enſuyng. they brought many an honeſt and ſimple perſon to death. For ſuche was the rygour of that lawe, that if two witneſſes true or falſe had accuſed any, and auouched that they had ſpoken agaynſt the Sacrament, there was no way but death, for it booted him not to confeſſe that hys fayth was contrarie, or that he ſayde not as the accuſers reported, for the witneſſes for the moſt part were belieued.

The extreme proceeding in execution of the ſix articles.

Prouiſion for defence of the realme,

The king being informed that the Pope by inſtigation of Cardinall Poole, had moued and ſtirred dyuerſe great Princes and potentates of Chriſtendom to inuade the Realme of England, without all delay road himſelfe towarde the Sea coaſtes, and ſent diuerſe of his Nobles and counſaylers to ſuruey all the portes and places of daunger on the coaſtes, where any meete and conuenient landing place might be doubted, as well on the borders of Englande, as alſo of Wales, in which daungerous places, he cauſed Bulwarkes and fortes to be erected, and further hee cauſed the Lorde Admirall Erle of Southampton to prepare in a readineſſe his nauie of ſhippes for defence of the coaſtes.

Beſide this, he ſent forth Commiſſions to haue generall muſters taken through the realme, to vnderſtande what number of able men hee might make account of, and further to haue the armure and weapons ſeene, and viewed. Sir William Forman knight at that preſent Maior of Lõdon, was cõmaunded to certifie the names of all the able men within the Citie and liberties therof, betwene the ages of. lx. and. xvj. with the nũber of armors & weapons of all kinds of ſorts. Wherevpon the ſaid Maior & his brethren ech one in his ward, by the othes of the cõmon counſail & conſtable, toke the nũber of men, armor, & weapons, & after wel cõſidering of the matter by view of their bokes, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole nũber certified for apt & able men, and therefore aſſembling themſelues againe, they choſe forth the moſt able perſons, & put by the reſidue, ſpecially ſuch as had no armor, nor for whõ any could be prouided: but when they were credibly aduertiſed by Th. Crõwell L. priuie ſeale (to whom the Citie was greatly beholden) that the K. himſelf would ſee the people of the citie muſter in a conuenient number, and not to ſet forth all theyr power, but to leaue ſome at home to keepe the Citie: then eftſones euery Alderman repayred to his warde, and there put aſide all ſuche as had Jackes, coates of plate, of Mayle, and Brigandines, and appoynted none but ſuche as had white armor, except ſuch as ſhould beare Moriſh Pykes, which ware no armour but ſkulles, and there was no ſtraunger (although he were a deniſine) permytted to be in this muſter.

Preparation in London for a muſter to be made and ſhewed before the king.

Euery man being of any abilitie, prouided himſelfe a coate of white ſilke, and garniſhed theyr Baſſenets with turues, lyke cappes of ſilke, ſet with Owches, furniſhed with chaynes of golde, and feathers, or cauſed theyr armour to be gylt, and lykewiſe theyr Halberdes and Pollaxes.

Some and eſpecially certaine Goldſmythes, had theyr whole armour of ſiluer Bullion. The Lorde Maior, the Recorder, the Aldermen, and euery other officer beſyde were gorgeouſly trymmed, as for their degrees was thought ſeemely. The Lord Maior had ſixtene tall fellowes a foot attending on him with gilt halberts, apparayled in white ſilke dublets, & their hoſe and ſhoes were likewiſe white, cut after the Almaine guiſe, poũced and pulled out with red ſarcenet. Their Jerkins were of white leather cut, and chaynes about their necks, with feathers and brouches in theyr caps. The Recorder & euery Aldermã had about him four halberders trimmed alſo in warlike ſort. The chãberlain of the citie, the coũſellors & Aldermẽs deputies were apointed to be wiflers on horſback, which aloft on their armor ware white damaſk cotes mounted on good horſes wel trapped, with great chaynes about their neckes, and proper Iauelins or Battelaxes in their handes, and caps of veluet richly trimmed.

The Wiflers on foote being in number foure hundred proper light perſons, were clad in white Ierkins of leather cut, with white hoſe & ſhooes, euery man with a Iauelin or ſlaughſworde in his hands, to keepe the people in array. They had Chaynes aboute theyr neckes, and feathers in theyr cappes. The Minſtrels were in white, with the armes of the Citie, and ſo was euery other perſon at this muſter without any diuerſitie, the Lorde Maior, Recorder, and Aldermen, onely excepted, who had Croſſes of Veluet or Satyn pirled with golde. The ſtandart bearers were the talleſt men of euery warde, for whome were made .xxx. new ſtandarts of the deuiſe of the Citie, beſide baners. Euery Alderman muſtred hys own ward in the fields, to ſee that euery mã were in furniture prouided as was requiſite.

The .viij. of May beeing the day appoynted for to ſhew themſelues before the king, euery Alderman in order of battayle, with thoſe of hys warde, came into the fieldes at Mile ende, and then all the Gunners ſeuered themſelues into one place, the Pykes into an other, and the Archers into an other, and likewiſe the Bylmen, and there caſt themſelues in Rings, and other fourmes of battayle, whiche was a beautifull ſight to beholde, for all the fieldes from Whyte Chapell, to Mile ende, and from Bednal greene to Ratcliffe and Stepney, were all couered wyth armour, men, and weapons, and eſpecially the battayle of Pykes ſeemed to bee as it had beene a great Forreſt. Then was euery part deuyded into three battayles, a forewarde, a middlewarde, and a rerewarde.

The order of the Londoners in their muſters.

About .viij. of the clocke, marched forwarde the light peeces of ordinance, with ſtone & powder. After them followed the Drummes and Fyfes, and immediately after them a guydon of the armes of the Citie. Then followed maiſter Sadler Captaine of the Gunners, on horſebacke armed, and in a coate of Veluet, with a chaine of gold, and foure Halberders about him apparayled as before is recited. Then followed the Gunners foure in a ranke, euery one going fiue foot in ſunder, which ſhot altogither in diuerſe places verie liuely, and in eſpecially before the kings maieſty, which at that time ſate in his new gate houſe at his palayce of Weſtminſter, where he viewed all the whole companie. In like maner paſſed the other companies of all the three battailes in good and ſeemely order. The foremoſt Captaine at .ix. of the clocke in the morning, by the little cunduit came and entred into Paules church yard, & from thence directly to Weſtminſter, and ſo through the Sanctuary, and round about the parke of S. Iames, and vp into the fielde, comming home through Holborne, and as the firſt captain entred againe to the little cunduite, the laſt of the muſter entred Paules Church yard, which was then about foure of the clocke in the after noone. The number beſide the Wiflers, and of other wayters was .xv. thouſand.

The king taketh view of the Londoners in their muſters.

The nũber of Londoners in this muſter.

The Palſgraue and other ſtraungers come ouer into England.

This yeare the .xvj. of September came to London, Duke Fredericke of Bauiere, the Palſgraue of the Rhine, and the .xviij. of the ſame Moneth, came to London the Marſhal of Hans Fredericke Prince elector of Saxonie, and the Chauncellor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulick, Gelderland, and Berghen.

The Palſgraue was receyued and conducted to Wyndſore by the Duke of Suffolke, and the other were accompanied with other noble men, and the .xxiij. of the ſame moneth they all came to Windſore, where eight dayes togither they were continually feaſted, & had paſtime ſhewed them, in hunting and other pleaſures, ſo muche as might be.

The mariage concluded betwixt king Henrie and the Ladie Anne of Cleue.

The Palſgraue ſhortly after departed homewardes, and was Princely rewarded, and at that preſent was the mariage concluded betwixt the King and the Ladie Anne, ſiſter to Duke William of Cleue, and great preparation was made for the receyuing of hir.

The .xiiij. of Nouember, Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Reding, & .ij. prieſts, the one called Rug, and the other Onion, attainted of high treaſon, for denying the ſupremacie of the king ouer the Church of England, were drawne, hanged, and quartred at Reding. The ſame day was Richard Whiting Abbot of Glaſtenburie likewiſe hanged & quartred on tower hil beſide his monaſtery, for yͤ ſame matter & other treaſons wherof he had bin cõuicted. The firſt of Decẽber was Iohn Beche Abbot of Colcheſt. put to death for yͤ like offence.

Pencioners inſtitued.

In December were appointed to waite on the kings perſon fiftie gentlemen called Pencioners, or ſpeares, vnto whõ was aſſigned the ſumme of fiftie poundes yearly a peece, for the maintenance of themſelues, and two horſes, or one horſe and a gelding of ſeruice.

The .xj. day of December at the turne pyke on this ſyde Graueling, was the Ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the Lord Deputie of the towne of Calais, and with the Speares and horſemen belonging to the retinue there.

When ſhee came within little more than a myle of the towne of Calais, ſhe was met by the Erle of Southampton high Admiral of Englãd, who had in his companie .xxx. gentlemen of the Kings houſeholde, as ſir Frances Brian, ſir Thomas Seymer, and others, beſide a greate number of Gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blewe Veluet, and Crimoſyn Satyn, and hys yeomen in Damaſke of the ſame colours.

The Mariners of his ſhippe were apparelled in Satten of Bridges, coates and ſloppes of the ſame colour. The Lord Admirall brought hir into Calais by the Lanterne gate. There was ſuch a peale of ordinaunce ſhotte off at hir entrie, as was marueylous to the hearers. The Maior preſented hir with an hundred Markes in golde, the Marchants of the Staple with an hundred ſoueraignes of golde in a riche purſe. She was lodged in the kings place called the Checker, and there ſhe lay fiftene dayes for want of proſperous winde.

The lady Anne of Cleue recei-ued into Ca-lays.

During which time goodly iuſtes and coſtly bankets were made to hir, for hir ſolace and recreation. And on Saint Iohns day in Chriſtmaſſe, ſhee with fiftie ſayle tooke paſſage about Noone, and landed at Dele in the Downes about fiue of the clocke, where ſir Thomas Cheyney lord Warden of the portes receyued hir. She taryed there a certaine ſpace in a Caſtell newly built, and thither came the Duke of Suffolke, and the duches of Suffolke, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter with a great number of Knightes and Eſquiers, and Ladies of Kent & other, which welcomed hir grace, & brought hir that night vnto Douer Caſtell, where ſhe reſted til Monday, on which day notwithſtanding it was very foule & ſtormy weather, ſhe paſſed towards Cãterburie, & on Baram downe, met hir the Archb. of Cant. with the Biſhops of Elie, S. Aſſe, S. Dauies, & Douer, and ſo brought hir to S. Auſtens without Canterburie, where ſhe lay ẏ night. The next day ſhe came to Sittingborne, and lay there that night. As ſhe paſſed towards Rocheſter on Newyeares euen, on Reynam downe met hir the duke of Norffolk and the Lord Dacre of the South, and the Lord Montioy, with a great companie of knights, and eſquiers of Norffolk and Suffolke, with the Barons of the Eſcheker which brought hir to Rocheſter, where ſhee lay in the Palayce all Newyeares day. On which day, the king (longing to ſee hir) accompanied with no more but. viij. perſons of his priuie chamber, both he and they all apparayled in Marble coates, priuily comming to Rocheſter, ſodenly came to hir preſence, whereof at the firſt ſhe was ſomwhat aſtonied, but after hee had ſpoken to hir and welcomed hir, ſhee with louing countenance and gracious behauior him receyued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gently tooke vp and kiſſed, and all that after noone comuned and deuiſed with hir, ſupped that night with hir, and the next day he departed to Greenewich, and ſhee came forwarde to Dartford.

landeth in

1540

The king com-meth to see hir at Ro-chester.

On the Morrow the thirde of Ianuarie being Saterday, in a fayre plaine on Blackheath, more neare to the foot of Shooters hill, than the aſcendent of the ſame, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a Pauilion of rich cloth of gold, & diuerſe other tentes and pauilions, in which were made fiers and perfumes for hir and ſuche Ladies as were appointed to receyue hir, and from the tents to the park gate of Greenwich, all the buſhes and Firres were cut downe, and a large open waye made for the ſhew of all perſons. And firſt next to the Parke pale on the Eaſt ſide, ſtoode the Marchants of the Stiliard, and on the weſt ſide ſtood the Marchants of Genoa, Florence, and Venice, and the Spaniardes in coats of Veluet. Then on both ſides the way ſtood the Marchaunts of the Citie of London, and the Aldermen, with their counſaylors of the ſayde Citie, to the number of .C.l. which were mingled with the Eſquiers. Then the fiftie gentlemen Penſioners: and al theſe were apparelled in veluet & cheynes of gold, truely accounted to the nūber of .xij. C. & aboue, beſyde them that came with the king & hir, which were ſix. C. in veluet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen ſtood the ſeruingmen in good order well horſed & apparelled, that whoſoeuer had well viewed them, might haue ſaid, that they for tal and comly perſonages, & cleane of lim & body, were able to giue the greateſt prince in chriſtendome, a mortal breakefaſt, if he had bin the kings enimie. About .xij. of the clock, hir grace with al the companie which were of hir owne nation, to the number of an. C. horſe, accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Archb. of Cant. and other Biſhops, Lordes, & knightes, which had receyued & conueyed hir, came downe Shooters hill towardes the tents, & a good ſpace fro the tentes met hir the Erle of Rutland, appointed L. Chamberlaine to hir grace, ſir Th. Deniſe hir Chancellor, and al hir counſailers & officers, amongeſt whom doctor Day (appointed to be hir Almoner,) made to hir an eloquent oration in latin, preſenting to hir on the kings behalf al the officers and ſeruāts, which oratiō was anſwered vnto by the duke hir brothers ſecretary, there being preſent which was with hir. Then the Lady Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the Q. of Scots, the lady Marques Dorcet, daughter to the French Q. being neeces to the K. & the duches of Richmont, the counteſſes of Rutland & Hereford, with diuerſe other ladies & gentlewomē to the nūber of .lxv. ſaluted & welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir charriot, the which ſhee had rid al hir long iourney: and with courteous demeanor and louing countenaunce, gaue to thē harty thāks, & kiſſed thē al, & after al hir counſailers & officers kiſſed hir hād, which donne, ſhe with al the ladies entred the tents, and there warmed them a ſpace. When the king knew that ſhe was arryued in hir Tent, he with all diligence ſet oute through the Parke. And firſt iſſued the Kings Trumpets, then the Kings officers ſworne of

The order of receyuing hir on Blackheath.

The Ladies that receiued hir on Black-heath.

The meeting of the king & the lady Anne of Cleue on Blackheath.

his Counſayle, next after came the Gentlemen of his priuie Chamber, after them followed Barons, the yongeſt fyrſt, and ſir William Hollis Lorde Maior of London, rode with the Lorde Par that was the yongeſt Baron. Then followed the Biſhoppes, and immediately after them the Earles, and then the Duke of Bauiere, and Countie Palatine of the Rhyne, wyth the liuerey of the Toyſon or golden fleece about his necke.

Then came the Embaſſadours of the French king and Emperour, next to whome followed the Lorde priuie Seale Lorde Cromwell, and the Lorde Chauncellour, then Garter king at armes, and the other officers and Sergeantes of armes, gaue their attendaunce on eche ſide the Lordes. The Lorde Marques Dorſet, bare the ſworde of eſtate, and after him a good diſtance followed the Kings highneſſe, mounted on a goodly Courſer.

To ſpeake of the riche and gorgeous apparell that was there to bee ſeene that daye, I haue thought it not greatly neceſſarie, ſithe eche man may well thinke it was right ſumptuous, and as the time then ſerued, very fayre and coſtly, as they that are deſirous to vnderſtande the ſame maye reade in Maiſter Halles Chronicle, more at large, which in this part I haue thought good to abridge.

After the King, followed the Lord Chamberlayne, then came ſir Anthonie Browne maiſter of his horſe, a goodly gentleman, and of perſonage very ſeemely, richly mounted, and leading the kings horſe of eſtate by a long reyne of Gold. Then followed his Pages of honour ryding on great Courſers, and laſtly followed ſir Anthony Wingfielde Captaine of the Garde, and then the Garde well horſed, and in their rich coates.

In this order roade the king till hee came to the laſt ende of the ranke of the Pencioners, and there euery perſon that came with him placed him ſelfe on the one ſyde or the other, the King ſtanding in the middeſt.

The meeting of the king & the lady Anne of Cleue on Blackheath.

When hir Grace vnderſtoode that the King was come, ſhe came forth of hir Tent, and at the doore thereof being ſet on a fayre and beautifull horſe richly trapped, road forth towards the king, who perceyuing hir to approch, came forwarde ſomewhat beyonde the Croſſe on Blackheath, and there ſtayed tyll ſhee came nearer, and then putting of his cap, he made forwarde to hir, and with moſt louing countenance and princely behauiour, ſaluted, welcomed and imbraced hir, to the great reioyſing of the beholders, and ſhe likewiſe not forgetting hir dutie, with moſt amiable aſpect and womanly behauior, receiued him with many apt wordes and thankes, as was moſt to purpoſe. Whileſt they were thus talking togyther, the 50. Pencioners with the gard departed to furniſh the hall at Grenewich.

After the king had talked with hir a ſmal while he put hir on his right hãd, and ſo with their footmen they road togither, and with their companies being thus met, returned in this maner through the rankes of the knightes and Eſquiers (which ſtood ſtill all this while and remoued not.)

Firſt hir Trumpets ſet forwarde being .xij. in number, beſide two little drummes on horſeback. Then followed the Kings Trumpetters, then the Kings Counſaylers, then the Gentlemen of the priuie Chamber, after them the Gentlemen of hir Graces Countrey in coates of Veluet, and all on great horſes. Then the Maior of London with the yongeſt baron, then all the Barons: next them the Biſhops, then the Erles, with who road the Earles of Ouerſteyne, and Waldec hir Countrymen, then the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and duke Philip of Bauier: next folowed the Embaſſadors, then the Lorde priuie ſeale, and the Lorde Chancellor, then the Lord Marques Dorcet that bare the ſword, next followed the king himſelfe equally riding with the Lady Anne, and behinde hir roade ſir Anthonie Browne with the Kings horſe of eſtate as ye haue hearde, and behinde him road ſir John Dudley maiſter of hir horſes, leading hir ſpare horſe trapped in rich tiſſue down to the ground. After them followed Henxmen, and pages of honor. Then followed the Lady Margaret Dowglas, the Lady Marques Dorcet, the duchesses of Richmont & Suffolke, the counteſſes of Rutland & Hertford, and other coũteſſes. Thẽ came hir chariot in which ſhe had rid all hir iourney wel carued & gylt with the armes of hir coũtry curiouſly wrought and couered with cloth of gold, al the horſes were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them roade pages of honor, in which chariot rode two ancient Ladies of hir countrey, next after the chariot, folowed ſix ladies & gentlewomen of hir countrey very beautiful and richly apparelled, & with them roade ſix ladies of Englande. Then folowed an other chariot, gilt & furniſhed like to the other, & then came .x. Engliſhe Ladies, & next thẽ an other chariot couered wyth black cloth, & therin rode foure gentlewomen that were hir chamberers. Then folowed all the remnant of the Ladies, gentlewomen & damoſels in great nũber: and laſt of all came an other chariot al blacke, with three laũders apperteyning to hir grace, next after followed an horſlitter of cloth of glold and crimoſen veluet vpõ veluet paled, with horſes trapt accordingly, which the king had ſent to hir. Thẽ folowed the ſeruingmẽ of hir train, all clothed in black, moũted on great horſes.

In this order they road through the rankes and through the Parke, till they came at the late Friers wall, where all menne alighted excepte the

the King, the two maſters of the horſe, and the Henxmen, which rode to the Hall dore, and the Ladyes rode to the Court gate, and as they paſſed, they might beholde on the Wharfe how the Citizens of London were rowing vp and downe on the Thames righte before them, euery crafte with his Barge garniſhed with baners, flagges, ſtreamers, pencels, and targets, painted and beaten with the kings armes, ſome with hir armes, and ſome with yͤ armes of their craft & miſterie.

There was alſo a Barge called the Batchelers barke, richly decked, on the which wayted a foiſt that ſhot greate peeces of artillerie, and in euerye Barge was great ſtore of inſtruments, of diuers ſorts and men and children ſinging and playing altogither, as the K. and the Lady Anne paſſed by on the Wharfe. When the K. and ſhe were within the vtter court, they alighted from theyr horſes, and the K. louingly embraſed hir, kyſſed hir, and bade hir welcome to hir owne, leadyng hir by the left arme through the Hall, which was furniſhed beneath the harth with the garde, and aboue the harth with the fiftie penſioners, with their battaile axes, and ſo the King brought hir vp to hir priuie chamber, where hee lefte hir for that time. Aſſone as the K. and ſhe were entred the Court, was ſhot off frō the Tower of Grenewich, and there about, a great peale of artillerie.

e King
elcommeth
to Grene-
ich.

When the Kinges companye and hirs were once come within the Parke (as before yee haue heard) then all the Horſemen on Blacke heathe brake their aray, and hadde licence to depart to London or otherwhere to their lodgings.

he mariage
s ſolemniſed
twixt King
enry and the
ady Anne of
leue.

On the Tewſday following, being the daye of the Epiphany, the mariage was ſolemniſed betwixt the K. and the ſaid Lady. She was fetched from hir chamber by the Lords, ſo that ſhee going betweene the Earle of Ouerſteyne, and the graund maſter Hoſconder, which had the cōduit, and order to ſee the mariage performed, ſhe paſſed through the Kings chamber, al the Lords before hir, til ſhe came into the galerie, where the K. was ready, ſtaying for hir, to whome ſhee made three low obeiſances and courteſies. Then the Archb. of Canterbury receiued thē, and maried them togither, and the Earle of Ouerſteine did giue hir. When the mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the kings cloſet, and there hearing Maſſe, offered their tapers, and after Maſſe was ended, they had wine and ſpices. And that done, the K. departed to his chamber, and al yͤ Ladyes waited on hir to hir chamber, the D. of Norffolke goyng on hir righte hande, and the D. of Suffolke on hir left hande.

After nine of the clocke, the K. hauing ſhifted his apparell, came to his cloſet, and ſhee likewiſe in hir heare, and in yͤ ſame apparell ſhe was maried in, came to hir cloſet with hir Sergeant at armes, and all hir officers before hir like a Q. and ſo the K. and ſhe went openly in proceſſion, and offered and dined togither. After they hadde ſupped togither, there were bankets and Maſkes and diuers diſportes ſhewed, till time came, that it pleaſed the King and hir to take reſt. On the Sunday after, were kept ſolemne Juſtes, which greatly contented the ſtrangers. This daye ſhee was apparelled after the Engliſh manner, with a french hood, which became hir excedyng well.

Iuſtes.

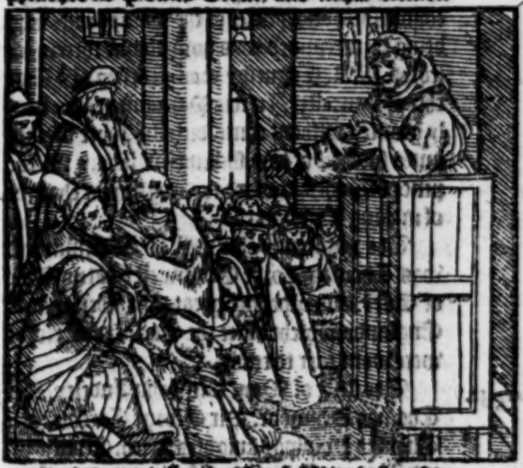
When the Erle of Ouerſteine and the other Lordes and Ladyes whiche had giuen their attendance on hir grace all that iourney, had bene highly feaſted and entertayned of the K. and other of the nobles, they tooke leaue, and had great giftes giuen to them, both in money and plate, and ſo returned towarde their countrey, leauyng behind them the Earle of Walderke, and dyuers Gentlemen and damoſels to remaine with hir, til ſhe were better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth of February, the King and ſhe remoued to Weſtminſter by water, on whom, the L. Maior and his brethren, and twelue of the chiefe companies of the Citie, al in Barges gorgeouſly garniſhed with baners, penons, and targets, richly couered, and furniſhed with inſtruments, ſweetely ſounding, gaue their attendāce, and by the way, all the ſhippes ſhot off, and likewiſe from the Tower, a great peale of ordināce wente off luſtely. The twelfth of February, the D. of Norffolke was ſente in Ambaſſade to the french K. of whom he was wel entertained, and in the ende of the ſame moneth, hee returned againe into England.

The Duke of Norffolke Ambaſſador into France.

Doctor Barnes

The third ſonday in Lēt, one doctor Barnes preached at Poules Croſſe, and in his ſermon enueyghed againſte the B. of Winchester, for doctrine by him preached in the ſame place, the firſt ſonday of that Lent, intreating of iuſtification. Among other taunts that Barnes vttered againſte the B. this was one, that if hee and the B. wer both at Rome, he knew yͤ great ſummes



of money woulde not ſaue his life, where but for the Byſhop, there was no great feare, but ſmall entreatance would ſerue. The B. offended herewith, compleyned to the K. of Barnes, and had him examined, and at length, by the kings commaundement, hee came to the Biſhoppes houſe, where the matter was ſo handled at this tyme, yͤ Barnes, with two other Preachers, the one named Hierome, and the other Garret (of whome hereafter more ſhall be ſaide) were appoynted to Preache at S. Mary Spittle by London in the Eaſter weeke. In that ſermon whiche Barnes made before all the people, he aſked the Byſhop forgiueneſſe, for ſpeaking ſo vnreuerently of him in his former Sermon, and he required the B. if he did forgiue him, in token thereof to hold vp his hand, which like as it was long before he did, ſo as many thought afterwardes, it was but a feigned forgiueneſſe. The twelfth of Aprill, began a Parliamente, and Sir Nicholas Hare was reſtored to the office of ſpeaker, who togither with ſir Humfrey Browne Knight, and Wil. Cogneſby Eſquier, the three and twentith of February laſt paſt, had bin called before the Lords into the Starre Chamber, for being of counſell to ſir Iohn Shelton knight, in making a fraudulent wil of his lands, to the hinderance of the Kings prerogatiue, and contrary to the ſtatute of anno 27. for the which offence, they were at that tyme diſmiſſed of their offices and ſeruices to the king, and the two knights were immediately ſent to yͤ Tower, and a three dayes after, Cogneſby was committed thither alſo. They remained there in warde about ten dayes, and were then deliuered. Sir Humfrey Browne was the kings ſeriaunt at law, ſir Nicholas Hare was one of the kings counſellors, and ſpeaker of the Parliament, who being then depriued, was now againe thereto reſtored. Wil. Cogneſby was attorney of yͤ Duchie of Lancaſter. In this Parliament, were freely granted without contradictions, foure fifteenes and a ſubſedie of two ſhillings of lãds, & twelue pence of goodes, toward the kings great charges of making Bulwarkes.

Sir Iohn Shelton, Sir Nicholas Hare, Sir Humfrey Browne.

The eyghtenth of Aprill at Weſtminſter, was Thomas Lorde Cromwell created Earle of Eſſex, and ordeyned great Chamberlayne of Englande, whiche office the Earles of Oxforde were wont euer to enioy.

An.reg.32.

Iuſtes.

The firſte of May, Sir Iohn Dudeley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir George Carewe, Sir Thomas Poinings knightes, Rich. Cromwell, and Anthony Kingſton Eſquiers, enterpriſed a royall Iuſtes, Torney, and barriers. The Iuſts beganne the firſt of May: the ſecond of May, the ſayde Richard Cromwell, and Anthony Kingſton were made Knightes. The Torney began the third day, and the barriers the fifth of yͤ ſame moneth, whiche challenge they valiantly performed againſt al commers: and at Dureſme place they kept open houſholde, feaſting the King, the Q and all the Lordes. Beſide this, on Tewſday in the rogation weeke, they feaſted all yͤ knights and burgeſſes of the common houſe, and the morrow after, they had the Maior, the Aldermen, and all their wiues to dinner, and on the Friday after, they brake vp houſhold. In the Parliamente which began the eighteenth of Aprill laſt paſt, the religion of S. Iohns in Englande, commonly called the order of Knightes of the Rodes, was diſſolued, and on the aſcentiõ day, being the fifth of May, ſir Wil. Weſton Knight, prior of S. Iohns departed this life for thought as was reported which he tooke to heart, after hee heard of that diſſolution of his order.

The order the Rodes diſſolued.

The ſame moneth were ſente to the Tower Doctor Sampſon, Biſhoppe of Chicheſter, and Doctor Wilſon, for relieuing of certayne trayterous perſons: and for the ſame offence, was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthie man, and of good eſtimatiõ in the Citie, committed to the Marſhall See, and after at Weſtminſter Hall arreigned, and atteynted in the premunire, ſo that he loſt all his goodes.

The Byſho Chicheſter, and Doctor Wilſo mitted to Tower.

The nineteenth of Iuly, Tho. L. Cromwell, late made Earle of Eſſex, as in the laſt yeare yee may reade, beeing nowe in the counſel chamber, was ſuddainely apprehended, & committed to yͤ Tower of London, which his miſfortune many lamented, but mo reioiced thereat, ſpecially ſuche as either had bin religious men, or fauoured thẽ. The nineteenth of Iuly, he was by Parliamente atteinted, & neuer came to his aunſwere, both of hereſie & high treaſon, as in yͤ record it appeareth.

The Lorde Cromwell committed the Tower.

[illegible] by Parliame and [illegible]

The. 28. day of Iuly, hee was brought to the ſcaffold on the Tower hill, where he ſpake theſe wordes following. I am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelfe as may happen, ſome think yͭ I will, for if I ſhoulde ſo doe, I were a verye wretch and miſer. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my L. God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offence, for ſithẽce the time yͭ I came to yeares of diſcretion, I haue lyued a ſinner, and offended my L. God, for yͤ whiche I aſke him hartily forgiuenes. And it is not vnknowen to manye of you, that I haue bene a great traueyler in the worlde, and being but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithẽce the time I came thereunto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aſke him hartily forgiueneſſe, and beſech you al to pray to God with me, that he wil forgiue me, O father forgiue me, O ſonne forgiue me, O holy Ghoſt forgiue me, O three perſons in one God forgiue me, and nowe I pray you that be here, to beare me recorde, I die in the Catholike faith, not doubting in anye article of my faith, no nor doubting in any ſacrament of the church. Many haue ſlandered me, and reported that I haue bin a bearer of ſuch as haue mainteined euil opinions, which is vntrue, but I confeſſe, ẏ like as God by his holy ſpirite doth inſtruct vs in the truth, ſo the deuil is ready to ſeduce vs, and I haue bin ſeduced: but beare me witneſſe, that I die in the Catholike faith of the holy Churche, and I hartily deſire you to pray for the kings grace, that hee may long liue with you in health and proſperitie, and after him that his ſonne prince Edward, that goodly impe may long raigne ouer you. And once againe, I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſhe, I wauer nothing in my faith. And then made he his prayer, which was long, but not ſo long as godly and learned, and after committed his ſoule to the hands of God & ſo patiently ſuffered the ſtroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miſer, which euil fauouredly performed the office. This man beeyng borne in Putney, a village in Surrey by the Thaimes ſide, foure miles diſtant from London, was ſonne to a Smith, after whoſe deceaſſe, hys mother was maried to a Sherreman: but notwithſtanding, the baſeneſſe of his birth and lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to many other) a great let and hinderance for vertue to ſhew hir ſelfe, yet through a ſingular excellencie of wit, ioined with an induſtrious diligence of minde, and help of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauaile, and marking the courſes of ſtates and gouernements as wel of his natiue countrey at home, as in forraine parties abroade, hee grewe to ſuche a ſufficient ripeneſſe of vnderſtãding & ſkill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that hee was thought apt and fitte to anye roomth or office whereunto hee ſhould be admitted, which being apperceiued of the Cardinall of Yorke Wolſey, he tooke him to his ſeruice, and making him his ſolicitor imployd him aboute buſines oftentimes of moſt importance, wherein he acquit himſelfe with ſuche dexteritie, as anſwered alwayes the credite committed to hym. After the Cardinals fall, he was aduanced to ẏ Kings ſeruice, behauing himſelfe ſo aduiſedly in matters whiche hee tooke in hande, that within a ſmall time hee roſe to high authoritie, and was admitted to bee of the priuie Counſell, bearyng moſt rule of all other vnder the king, as partely ye haue hearde, ſo that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of heroycall vertues, whyche aduance menne to fame and honour, reſteth not only in birth and bloud, as a priuilege appropriate, and all onely annexed to noble houſes, but remaineth at the diſpoſition of the Almightye God, the giuer and diſpoſer of all giftes, who reyſeth the poore many times from the baſeſt degre, and ſetteth him vp with Princes.

Neuertheleſſe, concerning the Lorde Cromwell Earle of Eſſex, if we ſhal conſider his comming vp to ſuch high degree of honor as hee atteined vnto, wee maye doubte whether there bee cauſe more to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthy and induſtrious demeanor. But ſith in the Booke of actes and monuments yee maye find a ſufficient diſcourſe hereof, we neede not to ſpende more time aboute it, ſaue only as maiſter Foxe hathe truely noted, ſuch was his actiuitie & forward ripeneſſe of nature, ſo ready and pregnant of wit, ſo diſcrete and wel aduiſed in iudgement, ſo eloquent of tong, ſo faithfull and diligẽt in ſeruice, of ſuche an incomparable memorie, ſo bold of ſtomacke and hardie, and coulde doe ſo wel with his penne, that being conuerſant in the ſight of men, he could not long continue vneſpyed, nor yet vnprouided of fauour & help of frẽds, to ſet him forward in place and office. Thãkeful he was, and liberall, not forgetting benefites receiued, as by his great courteſie ſhewed to Friſcobald the Italian, it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their ſutes, and readye to relieue them, that were in daunger to bee oppreſſed by their mightie aduerſaries: a fauourer to ẏ Goſpel, and an enimie to ẏ pride of Prelates, very ſtout, and not able well to put vp iniuries, which wan him ſhrewde enimies, that ceaſſed not (as was thoughte) to ſeeke his ouerthrowe, till at length they had broght it to paſſe as they wiſhed. Carefull he was for his ſeruants, and ready to doe thẽ good, ſo that fearing the thing whiche came to paſſe, he prouided wel for the more part of them, notwithſtanding his fall. And thus much for the Lord Cromwell. The morrowe after Midſomer day, the K. cauſed the Queene to remoue to Richmonde, purpoſing it to bee more for hir health, and more for hir pleaſure: but the ſixth of July, certaine Lordes came downe into the nether houſe, and expreſſely declared cauſes, for the which, the mariage was not to be taken lawfull: and in concluſion, the matter was by the conuocation cleerely determined, that the King might lawfully marrie where he would, and ſo mighte ſhe. And thus were they clearely diuorſed, and by the Parliament it was enacted, that ſhee ſhoulde bee taken no more for Q. but called the Ladye Anne of Cleue. In this yeare, the L. Leonard Gray, brother to Tho. Marques Dorſet, beyng the kings Lieutenant in Ireland, was reuoked home, and vpon his comming to London, was ſent to the Tower. In July, the Prince of Salerne, & the L. Lois Dauola came into England to ſee the K. and after they were departed, Don Frederike, Marques of Padula, brother to the D. of Ferrara, the Prince of Macedonie, the Marques of Terra Noua, and Monſ. de Flagy,

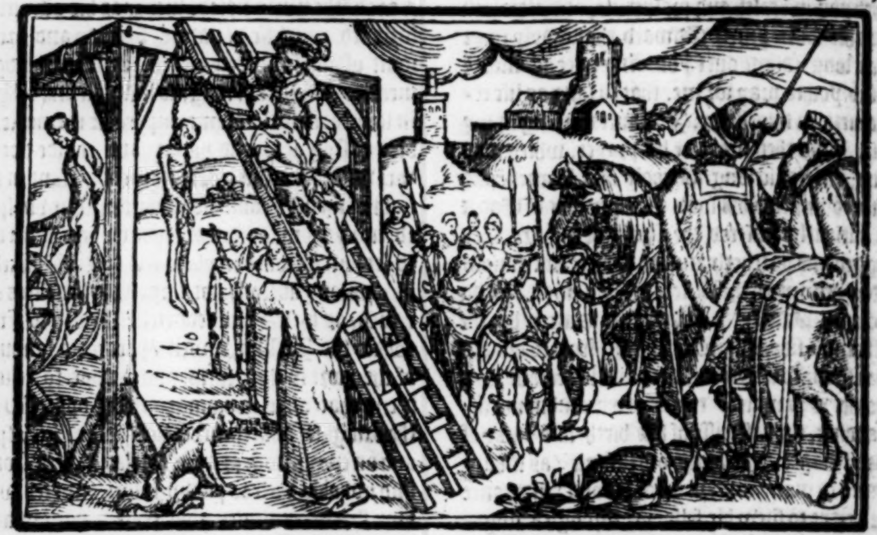
The marriage betwixt the King and the Lady Anne of Cleue, adiudged vnlawfull.

The Lorde Leonard Grey committed to the tower.

The prince of Salerne.

with other, came from the Emperors court into England to ſee the King, the whiche on Marye Magdalens daye came to the Courte at Weſtminſter, & after they had bene highly feaſted, and nobly entertained, they were highly rewarded as the other, and ſo departed. The .xxviij. of Iulye as you haue heard before, the Lorde Cromwell was beheaded, and likewiſe with him the Lorde Hungerford of Heyteſburye, who at the houre of his deathe ſeemed vnquyet as many iudged hym rather in a frenzie than otherwiſe: he ſuffered for buggerie. The thirtith of Iuly were drawen on hurdles from the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Barnes doctor of Diuinitie, Thomas Garard, & William Ierom bachelers in diuinitie. Ierome was vicar of Stepney, and Garard was perſon of Honylane, alſo Powell Fetherſton, and Abell prieſts. The firſte three were drawne to a ſtake, there before ſet vp, and were brent. The other .iij. were drawne to the galowes, and hanged beheaded and quartred.

Executio Barnes, a other.



The three firſt as is founde in their atteynder, were executed for diuers hereſies, but none alledged, whereat (ſayeth Hall) I haue muche meruayled, that their hereſies were ſo manie, and not one alledged as a ſpeciall cauſe of their death: and verily at their deathes they aſked the Sheriffes what was their offence for whiche they wer condemned? who anſwered, they could not tell: but moſt men ſayd it was for preaching againſt the doctrine of Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who chiefly (as the ſame Hall ſayth) procured their deaths. The laſt .iij. to wit, Powel, Fetherſton and Abell ſuffred for treaſon, as in their atteinder was ſpecial mention made, to wit, for denying the kings ſupremacie, and affirming his marriage with the Lady Catherine Dowager to be good.

The .iiij. of Auguſt Thomas Empſam ſomtime a Monke of Weſtminſter whiche had bin in priſon for treaſon in Newgate nowe for the ſpace of .iij. yeares and more, came before the Iuſtices of Gaole deliuerie at Newgate, and for that he would not aſke the Kings pardon, nor bee ſworne to be true to hym, his Monkes garment was plucked from his backe, and he repriued till the king were enformed of his malicious obſtinacie: & this was the laſt Monke that was ſeene in his clothing in England till Queene Maries dayes. The .iiij. of Auguſte were drawen from the Tower of London vnto Tiborn Giles Heron Gentleman, Clemẽt Philpot gentleman, late of Calais, and ſeruãt to the lorde Liſle, Darby Gennyng, Edmund Brindholm prieſt, chapleyne to the ſaide lorde Liſle, Williã Horne late a laye brother of the Charterhouſe of London, and an other offendour, which .vj. perſons were there hanged, & quartered, & had bin attainted of treaſõ by parliament. The ſame daye alſo was one Charles Carow gentleman, hanged for robbing of the Lady Carow. The .8. of Auguſt was the Lady Katherin Howarde neece to the duke of Norfolke, & daughter to the lorde Edmũd Howard ſhewed openly as Queene at Hãpton courte. In yͤ later end of this ſommer was vniuerſally through yͤ moſt parts of this realme great death by a ſtrange kinde of hot agues & fluxes, & ſome peſtilẽce, in whiche ſeaſon was ſuch a drought, yͭ welles & ſmall riuers were clean dried vp, ſo that much cattel died for lack of water & the Thames was ſo ſhallow, and the freſhe water of ſo ſmall ſtrength, yͭ the ſalt water flowed aboue London bridge, til the rain had increaſed the freſh waters.

Thomas Empſam an obſtinate Monke.

A death, a droughte. Stow.

On the .22. of September, Raſe Egerton ſeruant to the Lord Audley, lord Chancellor, & one Tho. Harman were drawne, hanged and quartered, yͤ one for counterfaiting of yͤ kings ſeale, in a ſignet, wherwͭ he ſealed licences for denizens, vnder the name of the clerkes of yͤ chancerie, and the other, yͭ is to ſay Harman, for writing them.

In the ende of this yeare, the Frenche Kyng made a ſtrong Caſtel at Arde, and alſo a bridge ouer into the Engliſhe pale, whiche bridge, the crew of Calais did beate downe, and the French men builte it vp agayne, and the Engliſh men beate it downe agayne. After this, the King ſente a fiftene C. workemen to fortifie the Towne of Guiſnes, and ſente with them a fiue C. men of war to gard them. It was reported in Fraunce, that a mightie armye was come ouer forthe of Englād with great ordinance, which brute cauſed the Frenche K. to ſend to the fronters of Picardie, the D. of Vandoſme, and other captaines with all ſpeede to defend the ſame. The Kyng of Englande hearing therof, ſente the Earles of Surrey and Southhampton, and the Lorde Ruſſell, high Admiral, into the Marches of Calais, to ſet order there, and after them he lykewiſe ſent two C. light horſemē of yͤ borders of Scotland, whome the Frenchmen called Stradiotes. The Lordes hauing ſet order in things, ſhortly returned. A boy, one Richarde Mekins, not paſt a fifteene yeres of age, was brent in Smithfield, for ſpeaking againſt the Sacramente, and contrary to the ſtatute of the ſixe articles.

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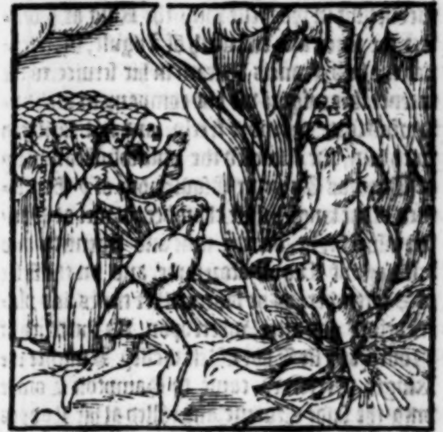


The Byſhoppe of London was thoughte in great faulte, for procuring that terrible executiō, ſeeing the yong fellowe was but an ignoraunte foole without learning, and gladly recanted that which he was charged with.

1541

About the later ende of this yeare, Doctor Sampſon, Byſhoppe of Chicheſter, and Doctor Wilſon, whiche had bin committed to the Tower as before ye haue heard, were now pardoned of the King, and ſet againe at libertie.

...reg. 33. ...ew rebel- ...on practiſed ...n Yorkeſhire.

In the beginning of this yeare, fiue prieſtes in Yorkeſhire began a newe rebellion, with the aſſente of one Leigh, a Gentleman, and nine temporall men, All which perſons were apprehended, and in diuers places put to execution. The ſayde Leigh, and two other, the one named Tatterſall a clothyer, and the other Thornton a yeoman, the ſeuenteenth of May, were drawen through London to Tiborne and there executed. And ſir Iohn Neuil knight, and ten other perſons, dyed, for yͤ ſame cauſe at Yorke. The ſame day, Margaret, Counteſſe of Saliſbury, that had remayned a long tyme priſoner in the Tower, was beheaded there within the Tower. She was the laſt of the right line and name of Plantagenet. The ninth of Iune for enſample ſake, two of the kings gard, the one named Damport, and the other Chapman, were hanged at Greenewiche by the Friers wall, for robberies whiche they hadde committed. The Lord Leonard Gray, beeyng endited of certain points of treaſon by him committed as was alledged againſt him, during the ſeaſon that he was the kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande, to wite for deliuering his nephew Girald Fitz Garard, brother to Thomas Fitz Gararde before executed, and alſo for that hee cauſed certain Iriſhmen to inuade the landes of the Kings friendes, whome hee fauoured not, the fiue and twetith of Iune, he was araigned at Weſtminſter in the Kinges benche, and appoynted to bee tryed by knightes, bycauſe he was a L. by name, and no L. of the Parliament, but hee diſcharged the Iury, and confeſſed the enditemente, whervpon he had iudgemente, and on the eyghte and twentith of Iune, being Saint Peters euen, hee was beheaded at Tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly and godly. This noble man as he was come of high lignage, ſo was he a ryghte valiant and hardy perſonage, hauing in his time done his Prince and countrey good ſeruice, both in Irelande, France, and other places, greatly to his commendation, although now his happe was thus to loſe his head.

Sir Iohn Neuill executed. The counteſſe of Saliſburie beheaded.

Execution.

The Lorde Leonard Grey beheaded.

The ſame day that he ſuffered, there were executed at S. Thomas Waterings three Gentlemen, Iohn Mantel, Iohn Frowds, and George Roydon.

They dyed for a murther committed in Suſſex (as their inditement imported) in company of Thomas Fines, Lorde Dacres of the Southe. The truth wherof was thus: the ſayde Lorde Dacres, through the lewde perſwaſion of ſome of them, as hath ben reported, meaning to hunt in the Parke of Nicholas Pelham Eſquire, at Laughton, in the ſame countie of Suſſex, beyng accompanyed with the ſayd Mantel, Frowdes and Roydon, Iohn Cheynie, and Thomas Iſley Gentlemen, Richarde Middleton, and Iohn Goldwell yeomen, paſſed from his houſe of Hurſtmonſeux, the laſt of April, in the night ſeaſon, towarde the ſame parke, where they entended ſo to hunt, and comming into a place called Pikehay in the pariſh of Hellingley, they founde one Iohn Buſbrigge, Iames Buſbrigge, and Richard Sumerer, ſtanding there togither: and as it fell out through quarrelling, there enſued a fray ſtay betwixte the ſayde Lorde Dacres, and hys company on the one partie, and the ſayde John and James Buſbrigge, and Richard Somener on the other, in ſo muche, that the ſayde John Buſbrigge receiued ſuch hurt, that he dyed thereof the ſecond of May next enſuing, wherevpon, as well the ſayde L. Dacres, as thoſe that were there with him, and diuers other likewiſe that were appointed to goe an other way, to meete them at the ſaid parke, were endited of murther, and the ſeauen and twentith of June, the Lorde Dacres himſelfe was araigned before the Lorde Audeley of Walden, then Lord Chancellor, ſitting that daye as high Stewarde of Englande, with other Peeres of the Realme aboute hym, who then and there condemned the ſayde Lorde Dacres to die for that tranſgreſſion, and afterwards, the nine and twentith of June, being S. Peters daye, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, the Sheriffes of London, accordingly as they were appointed, were ready at the Tower to haue receiued the ſaide priſoner, and hym to haue led to execution on the Tower hill, but as the priſoner ſhoulde come forthe of the Tower, one Heire, a Gentleman of the L. Chancellors houſe came, and in the Kings name, commaunded to ſtay the execution, till two of the clocke in the afternoone, whiche cauſed many to thynke, that the King would haue graunted his pardon. But neuertheleſſe, at three of the clocke in the ſame afternoone, he was brought forth of yͤ Tower, and deliuered to the Sherifes, who led him a foote betwixt them vnto Tiborne, wher he dyed. His body was buryed in the Churche of S. Sepulchers: hee was not paſt four and twentie yeare of age, when he came thus through great miſhappe to his ende, for whome manye ſore lamented, and likewiſe for the other three Gentlemen, Mantell, Frowdes, and Roydon, but for the ſaid yong L. being a right towardly Gentleman, and ſuche a one, as many hadde conceyued greate hope of better proofe, no ſmall moane and lamentation was made, the more indeede, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt ſuch follie whiche occaſioned his deathe, by ſome light heads that were then about him.

The King goeth in progreſſe into Yorkeſhire.

This Sommer, the King kept his progreſſe to Yorke, and paſſed through Lincolneſhire, where was made to him an humble ſubmiſſion by the Temporaltie, and confeſſing their faults, they humbly thanked him for his pardon, which he had graunted them.

Giftes giuen to him by them of Lincolneſhire.

The Towne of Stanford gaue to him twenty pound, the citie of Lincolne fortie pounde, Boſton fiftie pounde, that parte of the Shire whiche is called Linſey, gaue three C. pound, and Kèſterne and the Church of Lincolne preſented him with fiftie pound. At his entring into Yorkeſhire, hee was met with two hundred Gentlemen of the ſame ſhire, in coates of veluet, and foure M. tall yeomen and ſeruing menne well horſed, whiche on their knees made their ſubmiſſion, by the mouth of Sir Roberte Bowes, & gaue to the K. nine hundred pounde.

Giftes giuen by them of Yorkeſhire.

On Barneſdale, the Archb. of Yorke, with three C. Prieſtes and more, met the K. and makyng a like ſubmiſſion, gaue to him ſixe C. pounde.

The like ſubmiſſion was made by the Maiors of Yorke, Newcaſtell, and Hull, and eache of them gaue to the King an hundred poundes.

Hull

After he had bin at Yorke twelue dayes, hee came to Hull, where he deuiſed certayne fortifications. This done, he paſſed ouer the water of Humbre, and ſo through Lincolneſhire, returned towards the South parts, and at Alhallowen tide, came to Hampton Court.

Aboute the ſame time, the Kyng had knowledge, that the Queene lyued diſſolutely, in vſing the vnlawfull companye of one Frauntis Diram, with whome ſhe had bin too familiar before hir marriage with the King, and not meaning to forgoe his company now in time of hir mariage, without regard had, eyther to the feare of God, or the King hir huſband, the laſt Sommer beeing in progreſſe with the King at Pontfret, the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt, ſhe reteyned the ſaid Francis Diram in hir ſeruice, to the intente ſhee mighte vſe his company in ſuch vnlawfull ſorte the more freely, and not ſatiſfyed with him, ſhe alſo vſed the vnlawfull company of Thomas Culpeper Eſquier, one of yͤ Gentlemen of the kings priuie chamber, as wel at Pontfret aforeſayde, on the nine and twentith and laſt daye of Auguſt aforeſaide, and on the firſte of September, as at diuers other times and places before and after, wherevpon, the thirtenth of Nouember, ſir Tho. Wriotheſley Knighte the Kinges Secretary, came to Hampton Courte vnto the ſaide Queene, and called al hir Ladyes Gentlewomen and ſeruauntes into hir greate chamber, and there openly in preſence of them al, declared hir offences committed in abuſing of hir body before hir mariage, and therewith hee diſcharged hir houſhold. The morrow after, ſhe was conueyed to Sion, the Lady Baynton and certaine Gentlewomen and ſome of his ſeruants being appoynted to wayte vpon hir there, till the Kyngs pleaſure might be farther knowen. Culpeper, Diram and others, were ſent to the Tower.

At Lincolne ſaith Hall in Auguſt, wher ſhe gaue to him a rich ca and a chayne.

Queene Katerin detected of incontinent liuing.

1541

Diram in his examination beeing charged with the familiaritie which had bin betwixt them before ſhee was maried to the King, confeſſed, that he and the ſaid Queene had made a precontract togither, and that he concealed it for his preferment in mariage to the King, after he vnderſtoode the K. began to caſt a liking towards hir.

The ſixte of December, Culpeper and Diram were araigned at the Guild hall in London before the L. Maior, ſitting there in iudgement as chiefe iudge, hauing the L. Chãcellor vpon his right hande, and the Duke of Norffolke vpon his lefte hande, the Duke of Suffolke, the Lord priuie ſeale, the Earles of Suſſex and Hereford, with dyuers other of the Counſayle, ſitting there alſo as Iudges in commiſſion that day: the priſoners in the ende confeſſed the inditement, and had iudgement to dye as in caſes of treaſon.

lpeper and
am exe-
ed.

The tenth of December, the ſayde Culpeper and Diram were drawen from the Tower vnto Tiburne, and there Culpeper hadde his head ſtriken off, and Diram was hanged, diſmembred and headed. Culpepers body was buryed in Sainte Sepulchers Churche, but both their heads were ſet on London bridge.

nyolors.

The two and twentith of December, were arraigned in the Kings benche at Weſtminſter, the Lady Margaret Howard, wife to the Lorde William Howarde, Katherine Tilney, Alice Reſtwold Gentlewomen, Ioane Bulmer, wife to Anthony Bulmer Gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to Henry Howard Eſquier, and brother to the late Queene, Malcyn Tilney Widdowe, Margaret Benet, wife to Iohn Benet Gentleman, Edwarde Walgraue Gentleman, William Aſhby Gentleman, all theſe were condemned of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealyng the Queenes miſdemeanour.

And the ſame day in the afternoone, the Lorde William Howarde, and Damporte, a Gentleman, were likewiſe araigned, and condemned of the ſame offence, and as well theſe as the other, were adiudged to loſe their goodes, and the profites of their lands during life, and to remayne in perpetuall priſon.

Parliament.
1542

The ſixtenth of January, the Parliament began at Weſtminſter, in the whiche, the Lordes, and commons exhibited certaine petitions to the King.

Firſte, that hee woulde not vexe himſelfe with the Queenes offence, and that ſhe and the Lady Rochfort might bee atteinted by Parliament; and to auoyd protracting of time, they beſought him to giue his royall aſſent thereto, vnder his greate ſeale, without ſtaying for the ende of the Parliamente. Alſo, that Diram and Culpeper before atteinted by the commõ law, might alſo be atteinted by Parliament; and that Agnes Duches of Norffolke, and Katherin Counteſſe of Bridgewater hir daughter, which for concealing the ſayd offence, were committed to ẏ Tower, and indited of miſpriſion, and the Lorde William Howard arreigned of the ſame, might likewiſe be atteynted.

Alſo, that who ſo euer had ſpoken or done any thing in deteſtation of hir naughtie life, ſhoulde be pardoned.

The Queene and other atteynted by Parliament.

To theſe petitions the King granted, thanking the commons, for that it appeared they toke his griefe to bee theirs, whervppon, the Queene and the Lady Rochford were atteynted by both the houſes.

The Queene ſent to the Tower.

On the tenth of February, the Queene was conueyd from Sion to the Tower by water, the Duke of Suffolke, the Lord priuie ſeale, and the Lord great Chamberlayne, hauing the conduction of hir.

The next day after beyng Saterday, and the eleuenth of February, the King did ſend his royall aſſent by his great ſeale, and then all ẏ Lords were in their robes, and the common houſe called vp, and there the acte was redde, and his aſſente declared: And ſo on the thirteenth daye, thoſe two Ladyes were beheaded on the greene within the Tower with an axe, where they confeſſed their offences, and dyed repentant.

She is beheaded.

The King proclaymed K. of Irelande.

Before this, on the three and twentith day of January, was the King proclaymed Kyng of Irelande, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the Parliament here, and alſo of an other Parliament holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirteenth of Iune laſt paſt, before Sir Anthony Saintleger Knighte, and the Kings deputie there, where as till that time, the Kyngs of England were onely entituled Lords of Irelande.

In the beginning of March dyed Sir Arthur Plantagenet Vicount Liſle, baſtarde ſonne to Edwarde the fourth, in the Tower of London vnatteynted, when he ſhoulde haue bin deliuered and ſet at libertie.

The occaſion of his trouble for the which hee was committed to the Tower, roſe vppon ſuſpition, that he ſhould be priuie to a practiſe, which ſome of his men (as Philpot and Brindeholme executed the laſt yeare as before ye haue hearde) had conſented vnto, for the betraying of Calais to the French, whileſt he was the Kings Lieutenant there. But after that by due triall it was knowen that hee was nothing giltie to the matter, the kyng appoynted Sir Thomas Wriothſley his Maieſties Secretarie, to goe vnto hym, and to deliuer to hym a ring, with a riche diamond for a token from him, and to will hym to be of good cheare, for although in that ſo weightie a matter hee woulde not haue done leſſe to hym if hee hadde bene hys owne ſonne, yet nowe vpon through triall had, ſith it was maniſeſtlye prooued, that hee was voyde of all offence, hee was ſory that hee hadde bene occaſioned ſo farre to trie his troth, and therefore willed hym to bee of good cheere and comforte, for he ſhould find that he woulde make accompt of him as of hys moſt true and faithfull kinſman, and not onely reſtore hym to his former libertie, but otherwiſe forthe be ready to pleaſure hym in what he could. Maſter Secretary ſet forth thys meſſage with ſuch effectuall wordes, as hee was an eloquent and well ſpoken man, that the Lord Liſle tooke ſuche immoderate ioy thereof, that his heart beeing oppreſſed therewith, hee dyed the night following through too much reioycing. After his deceaſſe, the twelfth of the ſame moneth of Marche, ſir John Audeley, ſonne and heire to the ſaid Lord Liſles wife, was at Weſtminſter created Vicount Liſle. The ſeuenteth of March one Margaret Dauie, a yong woman, being a ſeruant, was boyled in Smithfield for poyſoning of hir miſtres with whome ſhe dwelt, and diuers other perſons.

The Lord Liſle died through immoderate ioy.

George Ferrers.

In the Lent ſeaſon, whileſt the Parliamente yet continued, one George Ferrers Gentleman, ſeruaunt to the K. being elec̃t a Burgeſſe for the Towne of Plimmouth, in the Countie of Deuon, in going to the Parliament houſe, was arreſted in Londõ by a proces out of yͤ kings bench at the ſute of one White, for the ſumme of two C. markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a ſuretie for the debt of one Weldon of Saliſburie: which arreſt being ſignified to ſir Tho. Moyle knight, then ſpeaker of the Parliament, and to the knights and Burgeſſes there, order was taken, that the Sergeant of the Parliamente, called S. John, ſhoulde forthwith repaire to yͤ Counter in Bredſtreete (whither the ſaid Ferrers was caried) and there to demaunde deliuerie of yͤ priſoner. The Sergeant (as he had in charge) went to the Counter, and declared to the Clearkes there what he had in commaundement. But they & other officers of yͤ Citie, were ſo far from obeying the ſaid commandement, as after many ſtout wordes they forcibly reſiſted the ſaid Sergeant, wherof enſued a fray within the Counter gates, betwene the ſaid Ferrers, and the ſaid officers, not without hurt of eyther part, ſo that the ſaide Sergeante was driuen to defende himſelfe wᵗ his mace of armes, & had yͤ Crowne therof broken by bearing of a ſtroke, and his man ſtriken downe. During this braule, the Sherifes of London, called Rowlande Hill, and Henrye Suckliffe, came thither, to whome the Sergeant complayned of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the ſaide Burges as afore. But they bearing with their officers, made little accompt, either of his complaint or of his meſſage, reiec̃ting the ſame contemptuouſly, with much proude language, ſo as the Sergeãt was forced to returne without the priſoner. And finding the ſpeaker, and al the knightes and burgeſſes ſette in their places, declared vnto them the whole caſe as it fell, who tooke the ſame in ſo ill parte, that they altogither (of whome there were not a fewe, as wel of the kings priuie counſayle, as alſo of his priuie chamber) would ſit no longer without their burges, but roſe vp wholly, and repaired to the vpper houſe, where the whole caſe was declared by the mouth of the ſpeaker, before ſir Tho. Audeley knight, then L. Chancellor of Englande, and all the Lordes and Judges there aſſembled, who iudging the contempt to be very greate, referred the puniſhmente thereof to the order of the common houſe. They returning to their places againe, vpon new debate of the caſe, tooke order, that their Sergeant ſhould eftſoones repaire to the Sheriffes of London, and require deliuerie of the ſaid Burges, without any writte or warrant had for the ſame, but only as afore. Albeit, the Lorde Chancellor offered there to graunt a writte, which they of the cõmon houſe refuſed, beeing in a cleare opinion, that all commaundements and other actes proceeding from the nether houſe, were to bee done and executed by their Serieant without writte, only by ſhew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the Serieantes returne into London, the Sheriffes hauing intelligence howe heynouſly the matter was taken, became ſomewhat more milde, ſo as vpon the ſayd ſecond demaund, they deliuered the priſoner without any denyall. But the Serieant hauing then further in commaundemente from thoſe of the nether houſe, charged the ſayde Sheriffes to appeare perſonally on the morrow by eyght of the clocke before the Speaker in the nether houſe, and to bring thither the Clearkes of the Counter, and ſuch other of their officers as were parties to the ſayde affray, and in like manner, to take into his cuſtody the ſayd White, which wittingly procured the ſayde arreſt, in contempte of the priuiledge of the Parliamente. Whiche commaundemente beeing done by the ſayde Serieant accordingly, on the morrowe, the two Sheriffes, with one of the Clearkes of the Counter (whyche was the chiefe occaſion of the ſayde affray) togyther with the ſayde White, appeared in the common houſe, where the ſpeaker charging them with theyr contempte and miſdemeanoure aforeſayde, they were compelled to make immediate aunſwere, withoute beeyng admitted to any counſayle. Albeit, Sir Roger Cholmeley, then Recorder of London, and other of the Counſayle of the Citie there preſent, offered to ſpeake in the cauſe whiche were all put to ſilence, and none ſuffered to ſpeake, but the parties themſelues: wherevpon in concluſion, the ſaid Sheriffes and the ſame White, were committed to the Tower of Londõ, & the ſaid Clearke (whiche was the occaſion of yͤ fray) to a place there called litle eaſe, & ŷ officer of London which did ŷ arreſt, called Tailor, with iiij. other officers, to Newgate, where they remained frō the xxviij. vntill ŷ xxx. of March, & then they were deliuered, not without humble ſuit made by the Maior of London & other their frendes. And foraſmuch as the ſayd Ferrers being in execution vpon a condemnation of debt, and ſet at large by priuiledge of Parliament, was not by lawe to be brought againe into execution, and ſo the partie without remedie for his debt, as well againſt him as his principall debter, after long debate of the ſame by the ſpace of ix. or x. dayes togither, at laſt they reſolued vpon an Acte of Parliament to be made, and to reuiue the execution of the ſayde debt againſt the ſayde Welden which was principall debter, and to diſcharge the ſayde Ferrers. But before this came to paſſe, the Common houſe was deuided vpon the queſtion: but in concluſion, the Acte paſſed for the ſayde Ferrers, wonne by xiiij. voyces. The King then being aduertiſed of all this proceeding, called immediatlye before him the Lord Chauncelor of England and his Judges, with the Speaker of the Parliament, and other of the graueſt perſons of the nether houſe, to whome he declared his opinion to this effect. Firſt commending their wiſedome in maintayning the priuiledges of their houſe, (which he woulde not haue to be infringed in any poynte) alledged that he being heade of the Parliament, and attending in his owne perſon vpon the buſineſſe thereof, ought in reaſon, to haue priuiledge for him and his all ſeruauntes attending there vpon him. So that if the ſayde Ferrers had bene no Burgeſſe, but onely his ſeruant, that in reſpect thereof, he was to haue the priuiledge as well as any other. For I vnderſtand (quoth he) that you not onely for your owne perſons, but alſo for your neceſſarie ſeruauntes, euen to your Cookes and Horſekepers, enioy the ſayde priuiledge, inſomuch as my Lorde Chancelour here preſent, hath informed vs, that he being Speaker of the Parliament, the Cooke of the Temple was arreſted in London, and in execution vpon a ſtatute of the Staple. And foraſmuche as the ſayde Cooke, during all the Parliament, ſerued the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the priuiledge of the Parliament. And further we be informed by our Judges, that we at no time ſtand ſo highly in our eſtate royall, as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as heade, and you as members, are conioyned and knit togither into one bodie politike, ſo as whatſoeuer offence or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meaneſt member of the houſe, is to be iudged, as done againſt our perſon, & the whole court of Parliament, the which prerogatiue of ŷ court is ſo great (as our lerned counſel informeth vs) as all actes & proceſſes comming out of any other inferiour Courtes muſt for the tyme ceaſe and giue place to the higheſt. And touching the partie, it was a great preſumption in him, knowing our ſeruant to be in this houſe, and being warned thereof before, would neuertheleſſe proſecute his matter out of time, and therefore was well worthie to haue loſt his debte (which I would not wiſh) and therefore we commend your equitie, that hauing loſt the ſame by lawe, haue reſtored him to the ſame againſt him who was his debter. And this we would ye ſhould well conſider, what a charge doth it bring to vs and you all, not onely in expence of our ſubſtance, but alſo in loſſe of time, which ſhould haue bene employed to aduance the affaires of our Realme, to ſitte here waiting one whole fortnight about this one priuate caſe, he may thinke himſelfe better vſed than his deſerts. And this may be a good example to other to learne good maners, and not to attempt any thing againſt the priuiledge of this Court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I muſt referre my ſelfe to the iudgement of our Juſtices here preſent, and other learned in our lawes. Wherevpon ſir Edward Mountague then L. chiefe Juſtice very grauely declared his opinion, confirming by diuerſe reaſons all that the King had ſayd, which was aſſented vnto by all the reſidue, none ſpeaking to ŷ contrary. The acte aforeſayde paſſed not the higher houſe, for the Lordes had not time to conſider of it, by reaſon of the diſſolution of the Parliament, the feaſt of Eaſter then approching. Bicauſe this caſe hath bene diuerſly reported, and is commonly alledged as a preſident for the priuiledge of the Parliament, I haue endeuoured my ſelfe to learne the troth thereof, & ſo ſet it forth with the whole circumſtance at large according to their inſtructions who ought beſt both to know and remember it.

An.reg.34.

A loane.

This yere in May the King demaunded a lone of all ſuch as were valued at l. li. & vpward in ŷ ſubſidie bokes. The L. priuy ſeale, ŷ B. of Wincheſter, ſir John Baker, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſley were cōmiſſioners about this lone in London, where they ſo handled the matter, ŷ of ſome head citizens they obteyned a M. markes in preſt to the kings vſe. They that layde forth any ſumme in this wiſe, had priuie ſeales for the repayment therof within two yeares next enſuing. Diuerſe of ŷ Iriſh nobilitie came this yere into Englād, & made their ſubmiſſion to ŷ K. as in the Iriſh Chronicle it is more particularly touched.

Submiſsion of the Iriſh nobilitie.

Alſo warres fell out betwixt England & Scotland, ŷ cauſes wherof, as appeareth by a declaration ſet forth by ŷ K. of Englād, at this preſent in effect, were theſe. Firſt there were diuers of ŷ Engliſh rebels, ſuch as had moued ŷ commotion in ŷ north & Lincolnſhire, fled into Scotland, & there maintained, & although requeſt had bene made ŷ they might be deliuered, yet it would not be graunted.

The cauſes of the warres betwixt England and Scotland.

Moreouer, where the King of Scottes had promiſed to repayre vnto Yorke the laſt yeare, and there to meete his vncle the King of Englande, wherevpon the king of Englande to his great charges, had made preparation for their meeting there, the ſame was not onely diſappoynted, but alſo at the kings being at Yorke, in lieu thereof an inuaſion was made by the Scots as it were, in contempt and deſpite of the king of Englande, who notwithſtanding imputing the default of meeting to the aduiſe of his Nephewes counſell, and the inuaſion to the lewdneſſe of his ſubiectes, was contented to gyue courteous audience vnto ſuch Imbaſſadors as the ſame king of Scottes ſent into Englande, which came to the king at Chriſtmas laſt, and with many ſweete and pleaſant wordes excuſed that that was done amyſſe, and ſought to perſuade kyndeneſſe and perfect amitie in tyme to come. And for the better accompliſhment thereof, they offered to ſende Commiſſioners to the borders, there to determine the debate betwixte them of the confines, if it woulde pleaſe the king likewiſe to ſende Commiſſioners for his parte, which to doe he graciouſly condiſcended, deſirous to make triall of his nephewe in ſome correſpondence of deedes, to the fayre and pleaſant meſſages in wordes, which he had receiued from him. Herevpon Commiſſioners were ſent from eyther king, the which mette and talked: but where the Engliſhmenne chalenged a peece of grounde, vndoubtedly vſurped by the Scottes, being for the ſame ſhewed ſuch euidence as more ſubſtantial, or more autentike can not be brought forth for anye grounde within the Realme, the ſame was neuertheleſſe by the Scottes denyed and reiected, only for that it was made (as they alledged) by Engliſhmen, and yet was it ſo ancient, as it coulde not be counterfeited now, and the value of the grounde ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weyght, as no man woulde attempt to falſifie a wryting for ſuch a matter. But yet this deniall notwithſtanding, the Engliſh Commiſſioners departed from the Scottiſhe Commiſſioners as frendes, taking order, as hath bene accuſtomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time to be obſerued.

The wilfull obſtinateneſſe of the Scottiſh cõmiſsioners.

After their departure, the Lorde Maxwell warden of the weſt marches in Scotland, made proclamation in dede for good rule to be kept. But neuertheleſſe added therewith that the borderers of Scotlande ſhoulde withdrawe their goodes from the borders of England, and incontinently after the Scottiſhmẽ borderers, the iiij. of July, entred into England ſodenly, and ſpoyled the Kings ſubiectes, contrarie to the league, and euen after the playne maner of war. Wherevpon the King of Englande greatly maruayling, was driuen to furniſhe his borders with a garriſon for defence of the ſame.

Iames Leirmouth.

Then was James Leirmouth Maiſter of the Scottiſhe kings houſholde ſent into Englande with letters deuyſed in the beſt maner, offering a good redreſſe of all attemptes, and yet neuertheleſſe at the entrie of the ſayde Leirmouth into Englande, a great number of Scottes then not looked for, made a roade into Englande, to the great annoyance of the Engliſhe borders, which dealing, though it much moued the king of Englande to take diſpleaſure againſt the Scottes, yet he gaue gentle audience vnto Leirmouth at his comming vnto him, and by hys fayre wordes and promiſes, was partly pacified. But in the meane time, the dedes of the Scottiſhe borderers were as extreame as might be, and in a roade made by ſir Robert Bowes for reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert, and many other with him, were taken priſoners, and could not be deliuered, nor admitted to paye their fine and raunſome, as hath bene euer accuſtomed betwixt them on the borders.

K. Henrie forced to take ar- mes againſt the Scots.

And where at the ſame time, an aſſuraunce was made on both ſides for a time, at the ſuite of the ſayde Leirmouth, the Scots ceaſed not to make ſundrie inuaſions into Englande, in ſuch wiſe, as the king no longer truſting to their fayre wordes, but weying their deedes, put an armie in a readyneſſe for defence of his ſubiectes, as the due meane to attayne ſuch a peace, as for the ſafetie of his people he thought it ſtoode with his honor to procure.

After whiche preparation made, and knowledge thereof had, the king of Scots made newe ſuite to haue the matter taken vppe by treatie. Wherevpon the king cauſed the armie to ſtaye about Yorke, and appointed the D. of Norffolk his Lieutenant generall, the Lorde priuie ſeale, Biſhop of Durham, and ſir Anthonie Browne Maiſter of his horſes, to treate and conclude with the Ambaſſadors of Scotland, ſome frendly peace, vpon reaſonable and indifferent condicions, as ſhoulde be thought requiſite, for the auoyding of warres, then by ſundrie inuaſions of the Scottes made open and manifeſt.

But after they had vewed eche others Commiſſions, and beganne to propone articles, the Scottiſh commiſſioners, to protract time, at the firſt ſeemed to like ſuch articles as the Engliſhe commiſſioners had proponed, & made ſemblance as if there were no doubt, but that in caſe their k. & ours might mete, all matters ſhould be quietly cõpounded & ended, & ſo taking it as for a thing ſure and certaine, they only deſired vj. dayes to obtaine anſwere from their Maiſter, and our armie for that time to ſtaye, wherevnto the Engliſhe Commiſſioners accorded.

The doubl dealing of th Scots in the negotiation about an a- greement.

After thoſe ſixe dayes, was ſent a Commiſſion out of Scotlande, to conclude a meeting preciſely at ſuch a place as they knew well coulde not in the Winter ſeaſon be obſerued nor kept. Wherewith when the Engliſh Commiſſioners ſeemed nothing content, the Scottiſh Commiſſioners ſhewed forth inſtructions, wherein libertie was giuen to them to exceede their Commiſſion in the appoynting of a place, and to conſent to any other by the Engliſhe Commiſſioners thought meete and conuenient: but when the Engliſh Commiſſioners refuſed to deale with men wanting ſufficient Commiſſion to warrant their doings, the Scottiſhe Commiſſioners required other vj. dayes reſpite to ſend for a larger commiſſion, which being graunted, at the end of thoſe ſix dayes, they brought forth a commiſſion made in good forme, and without exception or reſtraint of place. But therewith they ſhewed inſtructions conteyning a lyke reſtraint, as in the former Commiſſion was expreſſed. And thus driuing forth the matter by triſling, vpon purpoſe onely to winne tyme, they hoped thereby through the Winter comming on, that the Engliſhe armie ſhoulde not be able much to annoye their Countrie for that yeare. And ſo their talke brake vp without any concluſion of agreement at all, and forthwith was the armie ſet forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of treatie in Yorke, and in the Countrie thereabouts.

The Engliſh armie entreth into Scotland.

When the whole power was aſſembled, the Duke of Norffolke Lieutenaunt generall, accompanied with the Earles of Shrewſburie, Darbie, Cumberlande, Surrey, Hertford, Angus, Rutlande, and the Lordes of the Northe partes, and ſir Anthonie Browne Maſter of the Horſe, Sir John Gage Comptroller of the Kings houſe, and others, hauing with them twentie thouſande men well and warrelike appointed, entred Scotlande the xxj. of October, and taried there eyght dayes without hauing any battayle offered vnto them, in whiche ſpace they brent theſe townes and villages, Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skitſhell, Newthorne, Smailhem ſpittle, the two Merdens, Sedenelles, and the two Slichtes, Floris and the lower Ednam, Ednem ſpittle, Roxborough, Kelſey and the Abbay, long Sproſtoune, Ryden, and Hawden. And while the Duke was at Furnicton, the fourth day after his comming into Scotlande, there came to ſpeake with him halfe a myle from the Campe, the Biſhoppe of Orkeney, and James Leirmouth ſent from the king of Scottes to intreate of peace, but they agreed not.

Finally, after the Engliſhmen had lyen ſo long within Scotlande as they might recouer vittayle, at length for neceſſitie they returned to Berwicke. In all which iourney the ſtanderte of the Earle of Southhampton, late Lorde priuie ſeale (which dyed at Newcaſtell before their entring into Scotlande) was borne in the forward, bicauſe he was appoynted captaine of the ſame.

The Earle of Southamptons ſtandart.

The king of Scots hearing that the Engliſh armie was returned, rayſed a power of fiftene thouſande menne forth of all partes of his Realme, vnder the guiding of the Lorde Maxwell (or rather of Oliuer Sincleir, as the Scots affirme) boaſting to tarie as long in Englande, as the Duke of Norffolke had taried in Scotlande. And ſo on the Friday beeing Saint Katherines euen, they paſſed ouer the water of Eſk, and brent certayne houſes of the Greues on the very border.

An armie of Scots inuade Englande.

Thomas baſtarde Dacres, with Iacke of Muſgraue, ſent worde to ſir Thomas Wharton Lorde Warden for the King vpon the weſt marches, to come forwarde to ſuccour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring very fiercely, the foreſaid two valiant captaines, baſtard Dacris and Muſgraue, manfully ſet vpon the Scots with C. light horſes, & left a ſtale on the ſide of the hill, wherewith the Scottes were wonderfully diſmayed, thinking that either the D. of Norffolke with his whole armie had bene come to thoſe weſt marches, or that ſome other great power had bene comming toward them, when they ſaw onely ſir Thomas Wharton with iij.C. men marching forwards towardes them: But ſo it fortuned at that time vndoubtedly, as Edwold haue it, that the Scots fledde at the firſt brunt, whom the Engliſhmen followed, and toke priſoners at their pleaſure. For there was ſmall reſiſtance, or none at all ſhewed by the Scottes.

The error of the Scottes.

The Scots flee

Scottiſh Lords taken at Solem Moſſe.

Amongſt other that were taken, wee finde theſe men of name, the Earle of Caſſill & Glencarne, the Lorde Maxwell Admirall of Scotlande, and Warden of the Weſt marches, the Lorde Flemming, the Lorde Sommerwell, the Lorde Oliphant, the Lorde Graye, ſir Oliuer Sincler the Kings minion, John Roſſe Lorde of Gragy, Robert Erſkin ſonne to the Lorde Erſkin, Carre Larde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwels two brethren, John Leſley baſtarde ſonne to the Earle of Rothus, George Hume Larde of Hemitton, John Mattelande Larde of Wike caſtell, James Pringel, James Sincler brother to Oliuer Sincler, John Carmell Captayne of Crayforth, Patricke Heborne Eſquire, John Seton Eſquire ſonne in lawe to the Lorde Erſkin, William Seton Eſquire, John Steward couſin to the King, John Morrowe Eſquire, Henrie Droumont Eſquire, James Mitton Eſquire, John Cormurth Eſquire Captaine of Gainſforth, James Mitton Eſquire, and other Eſquires and Gentlemen, (beſide the Earles and Lordes before mencioned) to the number of two hundreth and aboue, and more than viij. C. other perſons of meaner calling, ſo that ſome one Engliſhman, yea ſome women had three or foure priſoners. They toke alſo foure and twentie peeces of ordinance, foure Cartes laden with ſpeares, and ten pauilions, ſo that this might well be ſayde to be the handie worke of God, and the verſe of the Pſalme verified, *Nunc vidi & dixi, hac eſt mutatio dextra excelſi.*

The number of priſoners and artillerie taken.

The death of the king of Scotlande.

The King of Scottes toke ſuch griefe and inwarde thought for his ouerthrow, and alſo for the murther of an Engliſhe Herault that was ſlayne at Dunbar, by one Leeche an Engliſhe man (the whiche for the rebellion in Lincolne ſhire, was fledde into Scotlande) that he fell into a hote ague, and therof dyed, although many reported that he was at the byckering, and receyued there his deathes wounde, and fledde therewith into Scotlande. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter, ye may ſee more in the hiſtorie of Scotlande.

xiiij. hath Hall.

Scottes priſoners brought to London

Of theſe priſoners before named, xxj. of them were brought vp to London, and on the xix. of December entred into the Citie by Biſhopſgate, and ſo were conueyed to the tower, where they remained for the ſpace of two dayes, and vpon Saint Thomas daye the Apoſtle, being the xxj. of December, they were conueyed to Weſtminſter, ſir John Gage Conſtable of the Tower ryding before them, and the Lieutenant of the ſame Tower ryding behinde them. They roade two and two togither, and eyght of them being Earles and Lordes, had newe gownes of blacke Damaſke furred with black Conie, cotes of blacke Veluet, and doublets of Satten, with ſhirtes and other apparell bought newe for them at the Kings charges. Thus being ſolemnelye conueyed through the ſtreetes of London vnto Weſtminſter, they came before the Counſell ſitting in the Starre Chamber, and there the Lorde Chauncellour declared to them their vntruth, vnkindeneſſe, and falſe diſſimulation, declaring further howe the King had cauſe of war agaynſt them, both for the denying of their homages, and alſo for their trayterous inuaſions made into his Realme without defiance, and alſo for keeping his ſubiectes priſoners without redemption, contrarie to the auncient lawes of the Marches, for whiche doings, God, as they might perceyue, had ſcourged them. Howbeit the King more regarding his honour than his Princelye power, was content to ſhewe them kyndeneſſe for vnkyndeneſſe, & right for wrong. And although he might keepe them in ſtrait priſon by iuſt lawe of armes, yet he was content that they ſhoulde haue libertie to be with the nobles of his Realme in their houſes, and ſo according to their Eſtates, they were appoynted to Dukes, Earles, Biſhoppes, Knightes, and Gentlemen, which ſo entertayned them, that they confeſſed themſelues neuer to be better vſed, nor to haue had greater cheare in all their life times. The Earle of Caſſils was appointed to be with the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterburie, the Earle of Glencarne with the Duke of Norffolke, the L. Flemming with the Lorde priuie ſeale, the Lord Maxwell with ſir Anthonie Browne, the Lord Somerwel with the Lord Chancelor, the Lord Oliphant with ſir Thomas Lee, Oliuer Sencler with the Duke of Suffolke, Robert Erſkin with the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, the lord Monteth with ſir Anthonie Wingfielde, the Lorde Moũketh with ſir Rauſe Sadler, George Hume with the Earle of Hertforde, the Lorde of Gragie with ſir Thomas Cheiney, the Larde of Gredon with maiſter Goſtwike, Henrie Maxwell with ſir Richarde Long, Thomas Craſforde with ſir Arthur Darcy, Patrick Heborne with ſir Thomas Wriotheſley, James Pringel with ſir Richard Rich, John Maitlād, with ſir Edwarde North, the Lorde Grey, James Sencler and John Leſley were apointed to men of ſuch credit, as were thought mete to anſwere for their ſafe keping. The xxij. of Decẽber tidings came of the king of Scottes death, and vpon S. Johns day in Chriſtmas weeke, yͤ foreſaid lords of Scotlād were brought to yͤ court, which was then at Grenewich, where they had great chere, & went before the King to yͤ chappel, & were lodged within the court. Hereupõ ye muſt cõſider, yͤ where as the K. of Scots had left no iſſue behind him in life but only one daughter, yͤ King & hys Counſell

The Scottes priſoners before the Counſell in the ſta Chamber.

Counſell perceyuing a meane nowe offered, wherby without warre the two Realmes might be vnited, theſe Scottiſhe Lordes hauing firſt made the motion themſelues for a mariage to be had betwixt Prince Edwarde and their yong Queene, the king required them to helpe to the furtherance of that matter, which myght be ſuch a benifit to themſelues, and their countrie. This they promiſed faithfully to doe, and aſwell by themſelues as their friendes, to bring the ſame to effect, ſo muche as the king coulde require. Whereupon the king was not only contented to releaſe them home, but alſo highly rewarded them with rich gyftes in moſt bountifull wiſe.

The xxx. of December, they departed from the Court, and the morrow after, eyght of them dyned with Sir Iohn Coates then Lorde Maior of London, and the reſt with the Sheriffes, and had very great cheare.

1543

On Newyeares daye they departed from London homewardes towardes Scotlande, and roade to Enfielde to ſee the Prince, and there dyned that daye, greatly reioycing, as by their wordes and countenance it ſeemed, to beholde ſo proper and towardly an ympe.

From thence they kept on their iourney till they came to the North partes, where they founde the Duke of Suffolke the Kings Lieutenant there, and with him remayned till ſuche pledges were come forth of Scotlande, as it was couenanted they ſhould leaue behind them.

The Duke then after he had receyued the hoſtages, permitted them to depart, and ſo they returned into Scotlande, where they were gladlye welcommed by their kinſemen and friendes. With them went alſo the Earle of Angus, who had bene baniſhed Scotlande, and hauing remayned here in Englande a long time, receyued of the Kings fee, a thouſande markes by yeare, and likewiſe his brother Sir George Douglas, who had fiue hundreth markes yearely, likewiſe of the Kings gift. They were nowe both reſtored home into their countrie, and that as was ſayde, by the laſt Kings will. The ſayde Earle of Angus, and diuerſe of the Lordes that had bene priſoners here in Englande, were made of the priuie Counſell of the Realme, by the Earle of Arrayne, that was choſen gouernour to the yong Queene, and of the Realme, as next heire apparent. Notwithſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, and Cardinall of the ſea of Rome, enimie mortall to the King of Englande for the Popes cauſe (and partlye ſet on by the French king, had forged a will, expreſſing howe the king had made him gouernour, (aſſociate with two Earles of his affinitie) as well of the Queene as Realme, contrarie to the lawes of Scotland. Whereupon the ſaid Earle of Arreyne, according to his right, as he pretended, with the helpe of his frendes, toke vpon him the authoritie of Gouernour, and put the ſayde Cardinall in priſon, and deliuered Sir Robert Bowes, and the other Engliſhe priſoners, by their handes, according to the cuſtome of the marches.

The Earle of Arraine.

Sir Robert Bowes deliuered.

All this yeare was neyther perfect peace nor open warre betwixt Englande and Fraunce, but the merchants ſhippes were taken and robbed on both partes, and at length merchantes goodes were ſeazed, and the Ambaſſadors of both Realmes ſtayde. Howbeit ſhortly after the Ambaſſadors were deliuered: but the merchants ſtill were robbed, and no warre proclaymed.

Ambaſſadors from Scotland

In the ende of this yeare came from the Gouernour of Scotlande as ambaſſadors, ſir William Hamelton, & Iames Leirmouth the ſecretarie of Scotlande, whoſe meſſage was ſo meanely liked, that they were fayne to ſend an Herald into Scotlande for other Ambaſſadors, and ſo hither came the Earle of Glencarne, and Sir George Douglas, but whatſoeuer their anſwere was, ſir George returned in poſte, and within xx. dayes came backe agayne with an aunſwere that was well liked of. But ſhortly after they brake promiſe, and went from that which they had couenanted, greatly to their reproche.

A dearth.

Wood was ſolde very deare in the Winter ſeaſon of this yeare, and likewyſe vitayles both fleſhe and fiſhe grewe to an high price towardes the Spring, by reaſon, as was thought, of the intemperate wette Summer laſt paſt, cauſing great death among cattayle. A quarter of Mutton was ſolde for two ſhillings, and iiij. grotes. A lambe at three ſhillings, and three ſhillings and foure pence. Which afore that time was eſteemed ſcant worth ſixtene pence. Againſt Eaſter at a Court of Aldermen kept in the Guyldehall the xx. of Marche 1542. it was enacted by the Lorde Maior and his brethren, that the Maior and Sheriffes ſhoulde be ſerued at their tables but with one courſe at dinner and ſupper in their houſes, the Maior to haue but ſeuen diſhes at the moſt at one meaſe for his owne table, and the Sheriffes and euery other Alderman but vj. diſhes, vpon payne to forfeyt for euery diſhe fortie ſhillings at euery time when they offended in this ordinance. Alſo that the ſeriants and yeomen of their houſes ſhould haue but thre diſhes at diner or ſupper, the ſwordbearers meſſe only excepted, which ſhould be alowed to haue one diſh more. Moreouer it was enacted, that from the feaſt of Eaſter then next enſuing, neyther the Maior nor his brethren ſhould buie any Crane, Swan, or Buſtarde, vpon payne to forfeyte for euery fowle by them ſo bought, xx. s. the offence to be tried by othe if it ſhoulde be preſented.

A neceſſarie and holeſome ordinance.

An.reg.35.

A league betwixt the king of Englande and the Emperour.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Trinitie Sundaye was a newe league ſworne betweene the King and Emperour at Hampton Court, eyther of them to be frendes to the others frends, and enimie to the others enimies.

The thirde of June came to the Court from the Realme of Irelande, three Iriſhe Lordes, Obrin, Mack William a Burgh, and Mack Gilpatrik.

Creations.

In July the ſayde Obrin was created Earle of Towmon, Mack William a Burgh, Earle of Claurickford, and Sir Dunon Obrin was made Baron of Ebranky, and ſo with rewards they tooke leaue, and returned.

The ſame Moneth alſo, the Scottiſhe Imbaſſadors returned with great rewards.

The king marieth the Lady Katherin Par.

The xij. of July, at Hampton Courte, the King married the Ladie Katherine Parre widowe, late wife to the Lorde Latimer deceaſed, and then ſhe was nominated Queene, and ſo proclaymed.

Corporations, fraternities, & communalties payde more as well of their landes as gods as appeareth by the ſtatute.

In the Parliament holden this yere at Weſtminſter, a ſubſidie was graunted to the king, to be payde in three yeares. Euery Engliſhman being worth in goodes xx.s. and vpwarde to fiue pounde, payde foure pence of euery pound. From fiue pounde to ten pounde, eyght pence. From ten pounde to twentie pound, ſixtene pence. Frõ twentie pounde and vpwarde, of euery pounde, two ſhillings. Straungers aſwell Denizens as other, being inhabitants, doubled this ſumme, and euery ſtraunger not being an inhabitant, that was xvj. yeares of age and vpwards, payde foure pence for euery poll. And for landes, fees, and annuities, euery one borne within the kings dominions payde eyght pence of the pound from twentie ſhillings to fiue pounde. And from fiue pounde to ten pounde, ſixtene pence. From ten pounde to twentie pounde, two ſhillings. And from twentie pounde and vpwardes, three ſhillings, Straungers ſtill doubling this ſumme. The Clergie graunted a ſubſidie of ſixe ſhillings the pounde, to be payd of their Benefices in perpetuities in three yeares enſuing, and euery prieſt hauing no perpetuitie, but an annuall ſtipende, payde yearely during the ſayde three yeares, ſixe ſhillings and eyght pence.

Articles demanded of the French king.

About the ſame time, the King and the Emperour ſent Garter and Toyſon dor, Kings at armes, to demaunde the performance of certaine Articles of the French king, which if he denyed, they were commaunded then to defie him, but he woulde not ſuffer them to come within his land, and ſo they returned. Where the king cauſed the ſayde demaundes to be declared vnto the French ambaſſador at Weſtminſter.

And in July the king ſent ouer ſixe thouſande men, vnder the leading of ſir John Wallop, appoynted to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with diuerſe other Knights, Eſquires and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Seymor was Marſhall of that armie, ſir Robert Bowes treaſurer, ſir Richarde Cromwell Captayne of the horſemen, and ſir George Carewe his Lieutenant: There were likewiſe ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir John Reynſforth, ſir John Saint John, and ſir John Gaſcogne, knights, that were Captains of the footemen. They were appoynted to ioyne with the Emperours power, and ſo to make warre into Fraunce. They departed from Calais the xxij. of July. The thirde of Auguſt open war was proclaymed in London betwixt the Emperour and the king of Englande on the one part, and the French king on the other, as enimie mortall to them both, and to all other Chriſtian princes beſide, as he that had confederated himſelfe with the Turke.

Landerſey beſieged.

The French king commeth to the reſcue of Landerſey.

The armie that was ſent ouer vnder the leading of ſir John Wallop, paſſed forth from the marches of Caleis, and keeping alongſt betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and ioyning with the Emperors forces, Spanyards, Wallons, and Dutch, came at length before Landerſey, a towne lately fortified by the French, within the borders of the Emperors dominions, to the which they layd a ſtrong ſiege. At length the Emperor hauing diſpatched his warres againſt the Duke of Cleue, who had ſubmitted himſelf vnto him, came now to the ſiege of Landerſey, with a mightie power of ſundrie nations, ſo that the towne was ſore conſtreyned, & in danger to haue bene loſt, if at that preſent the French K. had not likewiſe with an huge armie of Frenchmẽ, Swiſers, Lãſquenets, Italians, & other, come to the reſkew, pitching downe his campe, making countenance, as if he ment preſently to giue battaile: & verily it was thought that two ſuch powers as were there at that time ſo neare togither, ſhould neuer haue departed without battayle. The Emperor thinking ſurely to fight, rayſed his ſiege, & drew his people into the fielde. The French men therby eſpying their aduauntage, put as well freſhe men as vitailes, and all kinde of munition neceſſarie, into the towne, and in the meane whyle kept yͤ Emperors people occupied with hote ſkirmiſhes.

But nowe after the towne was thus relieued, which thing the French king only wiſhed to accompliſh, the next day when the Emperor was readie with his armie arranged in battailes to haue fought with his aduerſaries, yͤ French k. put his armie alſo in order, but hauing no minde to come forward, he trifled forth that day, and in the night following, ſecretly departed wyth as much haſte as was poſſible. When the nexte morning had diſcouered the Frenchmens flight (for ſo many termed this their ſodaine retire) it was no neede to byd diuers troupes of the Emperours armie to hye after them: but ſome made to much haſte: for the French king ſuſpecting what woulde enſue, appoynted his eldeſt ſonne Henrie the Dolphin to remayne behinde with the rerewarde, accompanied with diuerſe noble Captaynes, which ordered their people in their retire, with ſuch warineſſe and heedefull ſkill, as the reaſon of warre required, that ſuch of the Emperours campe as aduentured ouer raſhly, and ſhewed themſelues more forwarde than wyſe, fell within daunger of ſuch embuſhments as were by the waye couertly layde in places of aduauntage: and ſo diuers were taken, as Sir George Carew, Sir Thomas Palmer Knight porter of Caleys, Edwarde Bellingham, and others. But neuertheleſſe a great number of ſuch Frenchmen as coulde not make waye, and keepe pace with their mayne troupes, were ſnapped vp, ſlayne, and taken in no ſmall numbers by their enimies ỹ folowed thẽ as egre as tigres.

The French king retireth backe with his armie.

This was after Alhalowentyde, ſo that now by reaſon the Winter was farre entred, and the weather waxing extreame foule, and contrarie to an armie that ſhoulde lye in the fieldes, the Emperour brake vp his campe and licenced the moſt part of his people to departe home into their countries, for all hope to wyn Landerſey at that time was cleane cut off, ſithe it was vittayled & newly furniſhed with freſh men & munitiõ.

The Emperor braketh vp his campe.

After that the warres were once open betwixt Englande and Fraunce, ſundrie enterpriſes were attempted by the parties on eyther ſide in the marches of Caleys and Bollognoys, in which, for the more part, the Engliſhmenne got the vpper hande of their enimies.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eyght hundred comming in the night ſeaſon to enter into the Engliſhe pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpoſe to make ſome ſpoyle in the countrey there, were aſſayled vppon the ſodaine by ſir George Somerſet, and Sir William Walgraue, lately before come ouer wyth two hundreth men out of Suffolke, to ſtrengthen the Engliſhe pale againſt the enimies, and at this time did behaue themſelues ſo valiantly, that they diſappoynted the enimies of their purpoſe: for where as they were entred into a lane encloſed with hedges on eyther ſide, ſixtene Archers getting into the groundes on the backe ſide of the hedges lying alongſt the lane, through which the Frenchmenne were marching, placed themſelues as they ſawe their aduauntage, and ſo beſtowed their ſhotte, that they galled the Frenchmenne, in ſuch wyſe, that they were forced to recule in ſo great diſorder, that other of the Engliſhmenne comming vpon them, eaſily ſlew and toke of them no ſmall number.

Beſide this, at ſundrie times the Engliſhe menne inuading the Countrie of Bollognoys, waſted the townes and villages, brought away great booties of goodes and cattayle, to the great impouriſhing of the Countrie.

They burnt at one time the towne of Iudinghen, and toke the Steeple of the Churche there, into the which were fled vj. ſcore peſants, with their wyues and children, whome the Engliſhmenne threwe downe headlong out of the ſteeple, bicauſe they had moſt ſtubbornely refuſed to yeelde.

A great death in London.

In this yeare a great death of the Peſtilence reigned in London, and therfore Michaelmas terme was adiourned to Saint Albons, and there kept till the ende thereof.

Ambaſſadors from the Emperour.

In Chriſtenmas weeke came to the king lying at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga Viceroy of Sicilie, prince of Malfeta, Duke of Iuano, the Emperors captaine generall. The chiefeſt cauſe of his comming, was to appoynt what time the Emperours armie ſhould be redy to inuade Fraunce, he had great cheare, and at his departure was rewarded with Clij. ounces of golde in plate, & iiij. M. iij. ounces in gylt plate, all verye curiouſly wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The ſunday before Chriſtmas the L. William Parre brother to the Queene, who had maried ỹ daughter & heire of Henrie Burchier earle of Eſſex, at Hampton Court was created earle of Eſſex, & ſir William Par knight, vncle to the both, was made Lord Par of Horton, and chamberlaine to the Queene. On New yeares day, was ſir Thomas Wriotheſley the kings ſecretarie, made L. Wriotheſley of Tichefield. In this meane while was the Cardinal of Scotland deliuered forth of priſon, & ſhortly after got into his hãds again al ſuch [illegible] as were made vou-

The Lord Par created Earle of Eſſex.

1544

The Lorde Wriotheſley.

ching the mariage betwixte the Queene of Scots and Prince Edwarde, procuring in maner all the Lordes and Nobles of the Realme, to renounce that, whiche they had promiſed to the King of Englande, as well diuerſe of thoſe whome the ſayde king had releaſed home out of captiuitie, as other, wherwith the king toke ſuch ſore diſpleaſure, ẏ he prepared an armie to paſſe into Scotlande by ſea, and ordeyned the Earle of Hertforde to be Lieutenant of the North partes, and to haue the leading of the ſame armie, who went thither in Marche, as well for defence of ẏ borders, as to foreſee al things in order for the armie that ſhould thus go into Scotlande, whereof he was appoynted generall.

The Earle of Hertforde -ieutenant of he North.

When all things were in a readineſſe for the nauie which was rigged to ſet forward towards Scotlande, and that the ſouldiers were come whiche were appointed to goe with Sir Iohn Dudley Lorde Liſle, and high Admirall of Englande in that voyage, they were imbarked, and ſo the xxij. of March the ſayde Lorde Admirall, with ſir Nicholas Pointz, and diuerſe other Knights and Captaynes departed from the port of London towards the North parts, and comming to Newcaſtell, founde the Earle of Hertforde readie with ſuch power as was appoynted to be there at a day aſſigned, forth of thoſe cou̅tries that lye from Trent northwardes, and now wanted nothing to further their iourney, but a conuenient wynde which cauſed them to ſtaye certaine dayes at the ſayde towne of Newcaſtel, and in the villages thereabouts.

The Lord admirai Dudley etteth forth rom London owards Scotade.

An.reg.36.

After that the Earle of Hertforde, and the Lord Admirall, accompanied with the Earle of Shrewſburie, the Lordes Cobham, Clinton, Conyers, Sturton, the Lorde William Howarde, and many other right valiant Knights, Gentlemen, and Captaynes, had lyen with the armie and nauie readie at Newcaſtell a certaine tyme, loking for a proſperous wynde to ſet forwarde on their purpoſed iourney, at length the ſame came about very fitte to ſerue their turne, and then with all ſpede the ſouldiers were beſtowed abourd, euery companie in their appointed veſſels, and herewith vp went the ſayles, and forth they got into the maine ſeas, making their courſe directly towardes the Forth, a gulfe or riuer in Scotland, able to beare veſſels fiftie myles vp within the countrie. There were at the leaſt two hundred ſayle which the Lorde Admirall had cauſed to come togither, according to his Commiſſion, rigged, trimmed, and furniſhed wyth all things neceſſarie for the conduction of ſuch an armie. The number whereof was eſteemed to be about x.M.men.

he army ſeteth forwarde y ſea towards cotland.

he number f the Engliſh rmie.

The thirde of May they arriued in the Forth, entring betwene two Ilands, the Bas and the Maye.

he Engliſhe rmie landeth n Scotland.

The next day being the fourth of Maye, the whole armie was landed two myles beweſt the towne of Lythe, at a place called Grantham cragge, and forthwith the Lord Lieutenant putting his people in good order of warre, marched on towardes the ſayde towne of Lythe. The Lorde Admirall led the forewarde, the Lorde Lieutenant the battayle, & the Earle of Shrewſburie gouerned the rerewarde.

Before they came to the towne of Lythe, they founde in their way readie to impeache their paſſage, vj. M. horſemen beſide footemen.

At the firſt the Scottes made towardes the Engliſhmen as if they had ment to ſet vpon the vowarde: but being manfully aſſayled by the harquebutters, fiue hundred in number, and ſhrewdly by them curried and galled, they had no mynde to come forwarde, but perceyuing how willing the Engliſhmen were to encounter with them, after certaine ſhot on both ſides, they made a ſodaine retreate, and leauing their artillerie behinde them, they fled to Edenburgh.

The Scots offer to impeach the Engliſhe mens paſſage.

The Scots fle to Edenburgh.

The firſt man that fled, as the talke went, was the Cardinall, who perceyuing the deuotion which the Engliſhmen had to ſet his holyneſſe, had no minde to tarie. With him alſo fled the Gouernour, the Earles of Huntley, Murrey, and Bothwell.

The Engliſhmen thus hauing put their enimies to flight, and ſeazed vpon their artillerie, made ſtreyght to the towne of Lythe, and entred it without any great reſiſtance, wherein they encamped themſelues the ſame night to their moſt eaſe and aduantage, and afterwardes landed their vittayles and great artillerie. They founde alſo in this towne ſuch plentie of riches as they loked not to haue founde in anye one towne of Scotlande.

The Engliſh armie entreth into Lythe.

The ſixt of May they went towards Edenburgh, and as they approched neare the towne, the Prouoſt of the ſame towne accompanied with one or two Burgeſſes, and two or three officers at armes, deſired to ſpeak with the kings Lieutenant, & in the name of all the towne, ſayde that the keyes of the towne ſhoulde be deliuered vnto his Lordſhip, condicionally that they might go with bagge and baggage, and the towne to be ſaued from fire. Whereunto aunſwere was made by the ſayde Lord Lieutenant, that where the Scots had ſo manifeſtly broken their promiſes confirmed by othes and ſeales, and certified by the whole Parliament, as was euidently knowne to the world, he was ſent thither by the Kings highneſſe to take vengeance of their deteſtable falſhode, to declare and ſhewe the force of his highneſſe ſworde to all ſuch as ſhoulde make any reſiſtance vnto his Graces power ſent thi-

The prouoſt of Edenburghs requeſt.

The Earle of Hertfords anſwere.

ther

The names of the Knightes made at Leith after the brenning of Edenburgh by the Earle of Hertforde, generall of the Kings army there, on ſunday the eleuenth of May, in the ſixe and thirtith yeare of the raigne of Kyng Henry the eight, Anno Chriſti. 1544. as they were deliuered to me by Sir Gilbert Dethike Knight, alias Garter, King of armes.

The Lord Clinton.
The Lord Conyers.
Sir William Wroughton.
Sir Thomas Holcroft.
Sir Edward Dorrell.
Sir John Luttrell.
Sir John Jenins.
Sir Thomas Waterton.
Sir Charles Howard.
Sir George Blount.
Sir Peter Mewtas.
Sir Edward Warner.
Sir Raufe Bulmer.
Sir Hugh Cholmeley.
Sir Tho. Lee, commonly called Doctor Lee.
Sir Richard Legh.
Sir Peter Legh.
Sir John Legh of Boothe.
Sir Laurence Smith.
Sir William Vauaſour.
Sir Richarde Shirburne.
Sir Robert Stapleton.
Sir Thomas Holt.
Sir William Dauenport.
Sir Raufe Leyceſter.
Sir Humfrey Bradborne.
Sir Thomas Maliuerey.
Sir Fraunc is Hothome.
Sir John Maſſy.
Sir Leonard Beckwith.
Sir Thomas Cokayne.
Sir Peter Freſhwell.
Sir Richard Egerton.
Sir Anthony Neuill.
Sir John Neuill.
Sir William Radcliffe.
Sir George Bowes.
Sir Urian Brereton.
Sir William Brereton.
Sir Roger Brereton.
Sir Edward Waren.
Sir Brian Leyton.
Sir Robert Wurſeley.
Sir Thomas Talbot.
Sir Hugh Caluerley.
Sir John Clere.
Sir Richard Holland.
Sir Thomas Uenables.
Sir John Conneſtable.
Sir Edmund Trafford.
Sir John Atherton.
Sir Richard Cholmeley.
Sir Philip Egerton.
Sir Hugh Willoughby.
Sir Thomas Conneſtable.
Sir William Woodhouſe.
Sir Edmond Sauage.
Sir Thomas Gerard.

Theſe names muſt come in at the. 1593. page, ſecond Collome and ſecond line.

ther for that purpoſe. And therefore he told them reſolutely, that vnleſſe they woulde yeelde vp their towne franklye without condicion, and cauſe man, woman and chylde to iſſue forth into the fieldes, ſubmitting them to his will and pleaſure, he would put them to the ſworde, and their towne to the fire. The Prouoſt aunſwered that it were better to ſtand to their defence. Wherevppon commaundement was giuen to the ſayde Prouoſt and officer at armes, vpon their perill to departe, and forthwith the Lorde Lieutenant ſent to the vowarde, commaunding that they ſhoulde marche towarde the towne, which right hardily they did, and the Engliſh gunners manfully aſſayled the gates, namely ſir Chriſtopher Morice Maiſter of the ordinaunce, inſomuche that the Scottes were beaten from their ordinaunce; and the gate called Canogate beaten open with ſhot of the great artillerie, & therewith the Engliſhmen entring the ſame gate by fine force, did winne & ſlewe a great nūber of Scots, and continually without ſtaying was the great ordinaunce drawne vp the ſtreete to the Caſtell gates, but thoſe that were within the Caſtell ſhot ſo freely at the Engliſhmen thus approching with their great artillerie, that diuerſe were ſlayne, the artillerie of the Caſtell beate ſo directly alongſt the high ſtreete, as the Engliſhe men came vp the ſame. At length alſo one of the Engliſhmens Caluerings was ſtriken, and diſmounted, and thervpon they were forced to retire backe and giue ouer their enterpriſe of making battrie to the Caſtell, wanting Pioners, baſkets, and other things neceſſarie for ſuch a purpoſe.

Sir Chriſtopher Morice.

...burgh entred by force.

This daye the Engliſhmen ſet fire in diuers partes of the towne, but they had not leyſure to maintaine it, by reaſon of the ſmoke ryſing and troubling them ſo extremely, that no great hurt coulde be done that daye, for that the night alſo came on, and ſo they departed backe againe to their campe at Lythe. But the next daye, a certaine number of Engliſhmen vnder the leading of Peter Megh, went againe to Edenburgh, and did what they coulde vtterly to deſtroye the whole towne with fire, and ſo continued all that day and the two dayes next following.

In the meane time, foure thouſand light horſmen, vnder the leading of the Lord Eures, came from our borders, as vpon it was taken afore, and ioyned themſelues with the armie thus lying in Lythe, where after their comming, they did ſuch exploytes, in ryding and waſting the countrie, that within ſeauen myles euery waye of Edenburgh, they left no place, either pyle, village, or houſe vnburnt. And beſide this, they brought great numbers of cattell dayly into the armie, and met with much good ſtuffe, which the inhabitantes of Edenburgh had for the ſafetie of the ſame conueyed out of the towne.

The L. Eures brought a power of horſmen from the borders.

The xiiij. day, the Engliſh men brake downe the pyre of the hauen of Lythe, and brent euerye ſticke of it. This done, and hauing ſhipped their great artillerie, and taken forth all ſuch Scottiſh ſhippes as were meete to ſerue, appointing them to attende on their ſhippes, they toke vpon them to returne home by lande. Amongſt other ſhips which the Engliſhmen had in Lythe hauen, there were two of notable fayreneſſe, the one called the Salamander, giuen by the French king at the mariage of his daughter into Scotland, and the other called the Unicorn, made by the late Scottiſhe king. The balaſt of theſe two ſhippes was Canon ſhot, which they founde in the towne, to the number of foure ſcore thouſande. The reſt of the Scottiſh ſhippes being taken away togither with their owne ſhips, which they brought with them, were for the moſt part peſtered with the ſpoyle and booties of the ſouldiers and mariners.

On the xv. of Maye, their armie and their fleete departed from Lythe both in one houre, the towne being ſette on fire and burned to the grounde.

Lythe burnt.

The Engliſhe armie encamped that night at a place called Seton, ſeuen myles from Lythe, where they burnt the caſtell, and deſtroyed the orchards and gardens with the more deſpite, for that the Lorde Seton owner of the place, was the chiefe labourer to helpe the Lorde Cardinall out of priſon.

The Lord Seton.

The ſame daye was Hadington burnt, with a great Nunrie and houſe of Friers there.

Hadington burnt.

The next night they encamped beſide Dunbar, where they had an alarme giuen them, but in the morning they burnt the town of Dunbar, and marched forth, though ſomewhat ſtayde by the way, by reaſon of the myſt and fogge, which was very thicke, continuing all the forenoone, and becauſe alſo they vnderſtoode how yͤ Lords of Seton and Hume, with the Larde of Bucclough, and others, had aſſembled a power of men of warre, and were minded to impeach their paſſage, at a ſtrait named the Peaſe. But after that the myſt brake vp, which was about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Engliſh men came forwarde, & paſſed the ſame ſtrait without any reſiſtance, for the Scottiſhe Lordes perceyuing that they were not of power ſufficient to encounter with the Engliſhmen, thought not to put their people in further danger, but wiſely retired, ſuffering the Engliſhmen to paſſe at their pleaſure, who that night lodged at Ranton, eyght myles diſtant from our borders, where hauing ouerthrowne a pyle which ſtoode there, they diſlodged the next morowe, and the ſame daye being the xviij. of Maye, they entred into Bar-

Dunbar brent.

The ende of this voyage.

wicke, ſo ending their voyage with great ioye and gladneſſe, not hauing loſt paſt fortie perſons in all this iourney.

Townes brent in the ſame voyage.

The names of the chiefe townes, Caſtels and places burnt in this voyage, were theſe: the borowe and towne of Edenburgh, with the Abbay called holy Roode houſe, and the kings palace adioyning to the ſame. The town of Lythe brent, and the hauen and pire deſtroyed. The Caſtell and village of Cragmiller. The abbay of Newbottell. Part of Muſkelborow towne, with the Chappell of our Ladie of Lauret. Preſton towne, and the Caſtell. Seton Caſtel, Hadington towne, with the Friers and Nunrie. A Caſtell of Oliuer Sanklers. The towne of Dunbar, Lanreſton with the grange.

Drilaw.
Weſter crag.
Enderligh, the pyle,
and the towne.
Broughton.
Cheſter fieldes.
Crawnend.
Dudiſton.
Stan houſe.
The Ficket.
Beuerton.
Tranent.
Shenſton.
Markle.
Trapren.
Kirklande hill.
Hatherwike.
Belton.
Eaſt barnes.
Bowlande.
Butterden.
Quickwoode.
Blackburne.
Ranton.
Byldy and the
Towre.

Kynkorne, Saint Mineers, the Queenes ferry, part of Petin Waynes, & the brent Ilande, were brent by the fleete on ẏ ſea. For during the continuance of the armie at Lythe, the ſhippes laye not ydle, but ſcouring the riuer, brent diuerſe places, and left neyther ſhip, Craper, nor Boate belonging to any village, towne, creeke, or hauen, vpon eyther ſide of the Forth, betwene Sterling, and the mouth of the riuer, vnbrent, or brought awaye, whiche ſpace conteyneth fiftie myles in length.

See more hereof in Scotland.

About the ſame time, the Earle of Lenoxe fled out of Scotlande into this Realme of Englande, where he was right gladly receyued by K. Henrie, and ſhortly he obteyned in mariage the Ladie Marie Douglas, Neece to the king of Englande, and returned ſoone after into Scotlande by ſea, accompanied with a good competent crewe of Engliſhmen, but finding no ſuche friendſhip among his countrymen as he looked to haue done, he was conſtreyned to returne without atchieuing the enterpriſe which he had taken in hande, in hope of ſuch aſſiſtance by his frends, as nowe fayled him at neede.

An armie leuied to inuade Fraunce.

About the ſame time that the armie before remembred, was ſet forwarde into Scotland vnder the guyding of the Earle of Hertforde, as before ye haue hearde, the King by aduiſe of his Counſell, tooke order for the leuying of a mightie armie, to paſſe ouer into Fraunce, according to the appoyntment taken with his confederate, frend and colleague, the Emperour, againſt the French king, at that preſent, common aduerſarie to them both. There were appointed thre battayles, the vowarde vnder the leading of the Duke of Norffolke, the battaile vnder the guiding of the Duke of Suffolke, which alſo was reckened to be the Kings battaile, bicauſe his Maieſtie ment to be preſent with the ſame in perſon, and the rerewarde was led by the Lorde Ruſſell Lord priuie ſeale. Thoſe of the forewarde were apparailed in blewe cotes garded with red, and had cappes and hoſen after the ſame ſuite, partie blewe and partie red, their cappes made fit for their ſculles, which were put into the ſame. The battaile in coates, cappes, and hoſen, after the like faſhion, but their colours were red and yelowe, and the rerewarde blewe and yelowe.

Thre battailes appointed with their ſeuerall Lieutenants.

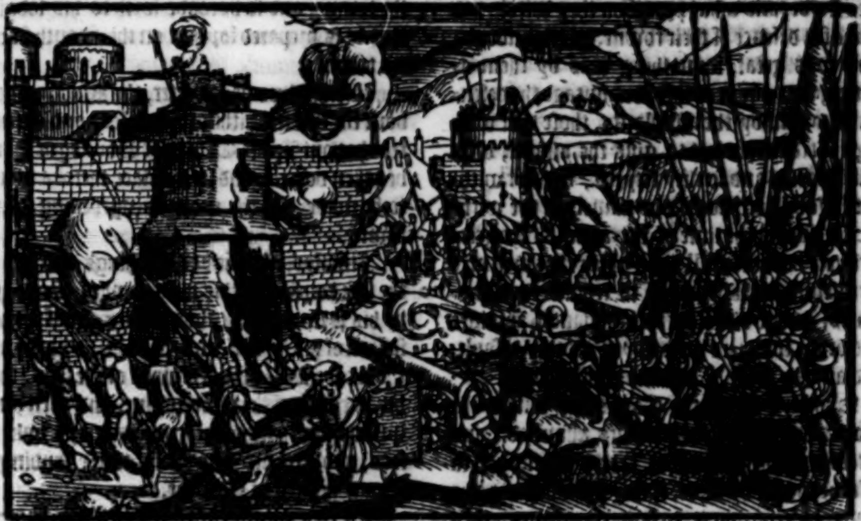
The Duke of Norfolke and the Lord priuie ſeale.

The Duke of Norffolk and the Lord priuie ſeale, accompanied with diuerſe other noble men, as the Earle of Surrey ſonne to the ſayde Duke of Norffolke, marſhall of the fielde, the Earle of Oxforde, the Lorde Grey of Wilton Lieutenant of Hammes, whoſe name euen then began to growe famous, the Lorde Ferrers of Chartley, and ſir Richarde Deuereux his ſonne and heire, that brought with them a great number of Welchmen, ſir Thomas Cheiny Lorde Warden of the Cinque ports, the Lord Mountioy a towardly yong gentleman, well learned, and for his time perfect in all pointes and qualities fit for a noble man, Sir Frauncis Bryan knight, one of the Kings priuie chamber, and no leſſe affectioned to his ſeruice, than of him fauored and well eſteemed, ſir Thomas Poynings Captaine of Guiſnes, and diuerſe other beſide, no leſſe worthie to be remembred for their valure and merites, if time woulde permitte to rehearſe them, paſſed ouer to Caleis about Whitſuntide, and from thence marching forward into France, left Bologne on their right hande, and keeping forth towards Muttrell, ioyned with an armie whiche the Emperour had rayſed for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of the Countie de Buren Admirall of the lowe countries; and ſo theſe armies being vnited in one, came before Muttrell, and there layde ſiege to that towne, being well manned and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for defence, as well in vittayles as munition.

The Conte de Buren.

Monſieur de Bies.

The chiefe Captaine of which towne, was Monſieur de Bies one of the Marſhals of Fraunce, and gouernour alſo in the abſence of Monſieur de Vandoſme, of Picardie: who being within Bullogne and hearing howe the English armie was paſſed by, and drawe towards Muttrell, he left Bullogne, and with all ſpeede got him into Muttrell, not miſtruſting any thing of that policie which the king of Englande went about, which was, to ſende this armie to beſiege Mutrell, to the ende the Frenchmenne mighte bee kept occupied further off, while he with the reſidue of his power ſhould come and beſiege Bollogne, which towne ſtanding moſt commodious for his purpoſe, he ment by force to bring vnder his ſubiection.



The Duke of Suffolke.

Herevpon was the Duke of Suffolke appoynted with the kings armie to paſſe ouer, accompanied with the Earle of Arundell marſhall of the fielde, the Lord ſaint John, and the biſhop of Winchester, ſir John Gage Comptroller of the Kings houſe, ſir Anthonie Browne Maiſter of the Kings horſe, with diuerſe other worthie Captaines, the which the xix. of Julye came before Bollogne, encamped on the Eaſt ſide of the ſame towne aloft vpon the hill, and after for his more ſafetie remoued into a valley, where after many ſharpe ſkirmiſhes they firſt entred the baſe towne being left and forſaken by the inhabitants, which hauing ſet fire on their fiſhing nets, and other ſuch baggage, vnder couert of the ſmoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Engliſhmen coulde eſpie them.

Bollogne beſieged.

After this, the Olde man, otherwiſe called *le toure dordre*, ſtanding without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the hauen, and nowe being kept by xvj. ſouldiers, was yeelded vp by them vpon preſenting the Canon before it.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being diſpoyled of thoſe two places, yet ſpared not to ſhoote off from their walles and bulwarkes, doing what domage they might deuiſe, and namely from the Caſtell and greene Bulwarke they did much hurt to the Engliſhmenne with their ſhotte, whereof they made no ſpare, til at length they were forced to be quiet, for the Engliſhmen ſo applyed thẽ with ſuch plentie of their ſhot, that the Frenchmen had no oportunitie to doe them any great hurt with their artillerie.

The king paſſeth the ſeas to Bologne.

The xiiij. of July, the King in perſon, accompanied with diuerſe of the Nobilitie, paſſed the ſeas from Douer to Caleys, and the xxvj. day of the ſame Moneth, encamped himſelfe before Bologne on the North ſide, within leſſe than three quarters of a myle of the towne, where he remayned, till the towne was ſurrendred into his handes.

Beſides the trenches whiche were caſt, and brought in maner rounde about the towne, there was a mount raiſed vpon the Eaſt ſide, and diuerſe peeces of artillerie planted aloft on the ſame, the which togither with the morter peeces, ſore annoyed them within, battered downe the ſteeple of our Ladie Church. To conclude, the batterie was made in moſt forcible wiſe in three ſeuerall places, and the walles, towers, and caſtell were vndermined, and the towne within ſo beaten with ſhot out of the campe, and from the mount and trenche by the Morter peeces, that there were very fewe houſes left whole therein. The towne thus ſtanding in great diſtreſſe, there were two hundred French men and Italians, which enterpriſed vnder the conduct of Joncurtio to enter the towne in couert of the night, which exployt they ſo manly atchieued, that by meanes of a Prieſt that could ſpeake the Engliſh tongue, they paſſed by the ſcowtes, and through the watch, ſo as the moſt part of them were got ouer the trenches ere it was knowen what they were: to the number of ſixe ſcore of them got into the towne, but the reſidue after they were once diſcried, being intercepted, were taken or ſlaine. Although this ſmal ſuccours ſomewhat relieued them within, and put them in ſome hope to defende the towne ſomewhat longer againſt the

Kings power, yet at length when a peece of the Caſtel was blowne vp, and the breaches made, as was thought reaſonable, the aſſault was giuen by the Lorde Admirall Dudley, that was come thither from the ſea, which he had ſcoured after his returne forth of Scotland. This aſſault was couragiouſly giuen, and to ſpeake a troth, no leſſe manfully defended: ſo that when the aſſaylants had perceyued in what ſtate the breaches were, and what prouiſion they within had made for defence of their towne, which vndoubtedly was great, for nothing was by them omitted, that might eyther aduauntage the defendants, or annoy the aſſaylants, thoſe that were appoynted in this ſort to giue the aſſault, were called backe, and ſo they retyred, but not without loſſe on both ſides, and namely of the within: for during the time of the aſſault, the great artillerie did beate ſtill vpon them that preſented themſelues at the breaches, to repulſe the aſſaylantes, and ſo diuerſe of their valiant Captaines and braue ſouldiers were ſlayne at this aſſault, and among other, Captaine Philip Corſe.

Boullogne aſſaulted.

Shortlye after, the Captaynes within the towne, doubting to be eftſoones aſſaulted, and perceyuing themſelues in extreme daunger to loſe the towne by force, if they prouided not the ſooner, by rendring it, to ſaue themſelues: they ſent forth two of their chiefe Captaynes, Monſieur Semblemont, and Monſieur de Hayes, which declared vnto the King, that Monſieur de Veruine gouernour of the towne, with his retinue, was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his Grace, with condicion that they might paſſe with bagge and baggage, which requeſt, the king lyke a noble and mercifull Prince, freily graunted, and ſo the next daye, the Duke of Suffolke roade into Boullogne, vnto whom in the Kings name the keyes of the towne were deliuered, and in the afternone departed out of Bologne all the Frenchmen.

Boullogn deliuered.

The number of the men of warre that were ſtrong and able to ſerue, were of horſemen ſixtie ſeuen, of footemen fiftene hundred, lxiij. of which number eyght hundred were Harquebutters, of hurt men, foure ſcore and ſeauen, of women and children, ninetene hundred and twentie ſeauen, beſide a great number of aged and ſicke perſons, not able to depart with the other. The laſt perſon that came forth, was Monſieur de Veruine him ſelfe, who vpon his approche to the place where the King ſtoode, alighted from his horſe, and came to the King, and after he had talked with him a ſpace, the King tooke him by the hande, and he reuerently kneeling vpon his knees, kiſſed his hande, and afterwarde mounted vpon his horſe, and ſo departed, following his companie.

The number of them that went forth of Bollogne.

The eyght of September, the King hauing the Sworde borne afore him, by the Lord Marques Dorſet, like a puiſſant Conquerour roade into Bollogne, and the Trumpetters ſtanding on the walles, ſounded their Trumpettes at the time of his entring, to the great comfort of the beholders.

In the entring, there mette him the Duke of Suffolke, and deliuered vnto him the keyes of the towne, and ſo he roade forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the South ſide of the towne.

The King entreth into Bollogne.

Within two dayes after, the King roade about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our Ladie Church of Boullogne ſhould be taken downe, and in the place therof a mount to be made, for the more ſtrengthening of the towne.

Finallye, after he had ſet things in order for the ſafe keeping of this his towne of Bollogne, by his Princely force thus wonne out of the poſſeſſion of his aduerſaries handes, he appoynted the Lorde Liſle high Admirall of the ſeas, to be his Deputie of the ſame towne, and then determining not to ſtaye there any longer, he tooke the ſeas, and returned into Englande, landing at Douer the firſt of October.

The king returneth into Englande.

In this meane time, whyleſt the King of Englande lay, as ye haue hearde, with his ſiege about Bollogne, and the Duke of Norffolke, and Lorde priuie ſeale about Muttrel, the Emperour inuaded Fraunce by Champaigne, winning diuerſe Caſtelles and townes, as Comerſis, Ligny, Saint Deſir, Chaſteau Thiery, and others. But at the length, meane was made by treatie to haue the matter taken vppe, as in the ende it was, and a peace concluded, without the conſente of the King of Englande, although there was place left for him, and other Princes, to enter into this agreement of peace: but the Kyng of Englande hauing nowe defrayed no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in theſe warres, beſide the trauayle of his owne perſon and his people, and hauing the thing nowe in a maner ſure in his poſſeſſion, which he chiefly went about to obteyne, that is to wit, the ſtrong towne of Bollogne, he woulde not agree vnto any peace, except he might enioy that towne, at that inſtant readie to be deliuered into his handes, and euen nowe after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certaine, the peace was concluded betweene the Emperour and the Frenche King, he determined to breake vp his Campes: but neuertheleſſe to keepe Bollogne in his poſſeſſion, in deſpite of all his aduerſaries.

The Emperor concludeth a peace with the French king.

But here, before wee proceede anye further, we haue thought good ſomewhat to ſpeake touching the ſiege which all this whyle continued afore Muttrell, where the Engliſhe men and Burgonions enforced themſelues by all wayes and meanes they coulde deuyſe, howe to conſtrayne their enimies within the towne. On the other parte, Monſieur de Biez, and thoſe that were with him in garriſon of the ſame towne, lefte nothing vndone that might ſerue for their defence, and make to the annoyance of their enimies.

The number of the men of warre in Muttrell.

There were with Monſieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the Conſtable of Fraunce, vnder the leading of the Lorde de la Guiche, an experte man of warre. There were alſo with the Lorde of Genly, foure enſignes of Frenche footemen. Counte Berenger a Neapolitane, with a thouſande footemen Italians. Captaine Franciſco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane alſo, with the lyke number of Italian footemen: ſo that the towne might ſeeme ſufficiently furniſhed wyth men; and they wanted neyther ſhotte nor powder requiſite, ſo that there was no ſpare thereof when occaſion ſerued on eyther part.

A mount raiſed

The Duke of Norffolke and the Lord priuie ſeale cauſed a mount to be rayſed, and alofte thereon were certayne peeces of artillerie planted to ſhoote into the towne. Moreouer, they compaſſed the walles ſo on eche hande with their ſeuerall Campes and trenches, that hardlye might any eſcape eyther in or out, vneſpied.

Sir Francis Brian.

Sir Franncis Bryan was appoynted with certayne bandes conteyning about the number of a thouſande men, to lodge in a Campe fortified, by himſelfe, ouer agaynſt one parte of the towne, to ſtoppe certaine paſſages on that ſide, that no ſuccours ſhoulde enter by the ſame to the reliefe of them within.

There were ſkirmiſhes dayly betwixt them that ſallyed forth of the gates, and the Engliſhe men that watched and warded in the trenches, and other places.

Tiberio that ſtill ſerued the king of Englande.

One daye as ſir Thomas Poynings ſouldiers were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian ſecretly comming forth of the towne, fetched awaye the ſayde ſir Thomas Poynings his enſigne, and notwithſtanding the purſuite that was made after him, he eſcaped and got into the towne with it, to the great diſpleaſure of the whole campe.

But as the enimies ſometimes went awaye with the aduauntage of their attempted enterpriſes, ſo oftentimes againe, they payde for their aduenturing ouer raſhlye, aboue the common price of the market.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence vſed in that ſeaſon: for there is not one Engliſh writer to be founde extant, that hath written any thing effectually of the exploytes atchieued in that ſiege, ſo as we are driuen to borowe of the aduerſaries that haue written thereof, wanting ſuche helpes of our owne Nation to furniſh our bookes herein according to our wiſhed purpoſe. But neuertheleſſe to giue occaſion to thoſe that yet liue, and can beſt do it, to ſette forth hereafter a more perfect diſcourſe thereof, I haue thought it not amiſſe to recite in parte what I haue read & learned of ſuche things as then were accounted worthie of relation, and nowe lyke to be buried in the dymme booke of obliuion, vnleſſe ſome fauourer of notable exercites chauncing in the aſſegement of thoſe two townes, Boulogne and Muttrell, will put to his helping hande, to report the ſame to poſteritie.

Negligence of Engliſhmen for not putting their valiant doings in writing.

Among other ſtratagemes, one I remember, deuiſed and put in practiſe by the Lorde Mountioy, as thus. The enimies had eſpyed a place of aduauntage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the ſhotte of certayne peeces of their great artillery lodged vpon ſome platformes or Bulwarkes within the towne, they might lye without the walles, betwixte the Engliſhe mennes trenches and the townes diches, and there couer themſelues within a little trenche or Counterſcarpe made for the purpoſe, and out of the ſame be readie with their harquebuſſes, to ſhoote at the Engliſhe menne, ſo ſoone as anye of them ſhoulde once ſhewe his heade out of the trenches, to the great daunger of them that warded in the ſame.

The Lorde Mountioye perceyuing this, deuiſed with himſelfe howe to rowſe the enimies out of that lurking place, and with all came to the Duke of Norffolke, and deſired licence to put the deuiſe (which he had alreadie forecaſt in his mynde) in practiſe: but the Duke being not willing that he ſhoulde putte himſelfe in ſuche daunger, was lothe to graunt thereto, but rather perſwaded with him not to attempt it: for (ſayde he) my Lorde, ye may doe the King better ſeruice, than ſo to hazarde your lyfe, and caſt your ſelfe away, as it is very like you ſhoulde, in aduenturing vppon ſuch a deſperate peece of ſeruice, and therefore I woulde not wyſhe you to meddle therewith, for we ſhall otherwyſe prouyde for the matter well ynough. But the Lorde Mountioy ſtill perſiſted in his ſuite very earneſtlye, declaring that he doubted not by Gods helpe but to atchieue his purpoſe to his good contentation without any great daunger, if that were executed which he tooke to be neceſſarie for the accompliſhment of his deuiſe, and that was to haue certaine peeces of the great ordinance ſhot of that way forth, at what time the winde ſtoode meete to carie the ſmoke full vppon the place where the Frenchmen lay.

A politike fea atchieued by the L. Mountioy.

At length vpon his earneſt ſuite, the Duke

gaue

the Duke gaue him licence to trie what he coulde doe, commaunding the great ordinaunce to be layd and charged ready to ſhoote off as he ſhoulde appoynt it. Herewith the Lorde Mountioye, taking with him foureteene of his owne ſouldiers (of the which number, one of them forſooke to go through with him when it came to the poynt) immediatly vpon the ſhooting off of the artillerie, and that all the grounde about was couered ouer with ſmoke, he ranne to the place where thoſe Frenchmenne laye vnder couert of their trenche, and ſo diſplaced them, that they had no lyking eftſoones to lodge ſo neare vnto ſuch vnfrendly neighbors.

The L. Montioy a noble yong gentleman.

Many other valiant and politike feates, no doubt, were atchieued during this ſiege, and happily as worthie the rehearſall as this: but ſithe it was the inuention of ſo noble a yong Gentlemanne, I haue eſteemed it not impertinent to ſpeake thereof, and withall to lament the loſſe of the inuentor, who being taken awaye ſhortlye after, in his returne homewardes, by vntimely death, was lyke (if he had liued to greater yeres of experience) to haue proued comparable in valure to any of his noble progenitors.

But nowe to ſpeake of other incidentes that chaunced whyleſt this ſiege remayned before Muttrell, you muſt vnderſtande that the moſte part of the vittayles that was ſpent in the campe was brought to them eyther from the Kings campe at Boullogne, or elſe from Saint Omers, and to conuey the ſame ſo farre off, it was needefull to haue the cariage garded with good troupes and bandes both of horſemen and footemen: for the Frenche fortreſſes were ſtronglye furniſhed with great numbers of men of warre, which vppon occaſions were readie to take aduauntages offered.

And as it fortuned at one time among other, there was a conuoy of certayne wagons loaden with vittayles, appoynted to come from Saint Omers, the ſame being garded with diuerſe bandes of Engliſhmenne and Burgonions, ſent thither for that purpoſe, the which marching forwarde from Saint Omers, kept not ſo good order as had bene requiſite, whereof certayne companies of Frenche horſemen (that were abroade) being aware, ſet vpon the Burgonians that were attendant vpon the formoſt cariages, and finding them in ſome diſorder, eaſily diſcomfited them, followed, and ſlewe them in the chaſe, till they came to the vndermoſt cariages, where ſixe hundreth Engliſhe men that attended on the ſame, empaled themſelues with their wagons, ſo as the Frenchmen coulde take no aduauntage: but with ſhot of the Engliſhe archers were ſo curried and galled, that they were driuen to retire, and that in ſuch haſte, as they lefte diuerſe of their cōpanie captiues in the Engliſhmens hands, beſide thoſe ẏ were fayre layd to take their laſt ſleepe there on the ground. Neuertheleſſe, of the Burgonions there were ſlayne foure hundreth, and much good vitayles loſt, the bottomes of the hoggeſheades and other veſſels being beaten out, and many a good Flemmiſh Mare killed or taken. For the French men founde ſmall reſiſtance, as before ye haue hearde, till they approched to the Engliſh men, by whoſe accuſtomed manhoode, ſome parte of the vittayles of that connoye was ſaued, to the reliefe of the Campe, which notwithſtanding, by loſſe of the reſidue ſuffered great want for the time.

he Engliſh
chers gall
e French
ſitemen.

Moreouer, ſomewhat towardes the latter ende of this ſiege, the Earle of Surrey ſonne to the Duke of Norffolke, and Marſhall of his fielde, accompanied with the Lorde Warden of the Cinque portes, and diuerſe other valiant Captaines Engliſhe and Burgonions, marched forth into the countrey towardes Abbeuile, where they tooke and brent a proper towne called Saint Requiers, and after comming to another towne called Rieu, they founde no bodie at home, but women and children, for the men were departed oute of it before their comming thither.

Saint Requiers brent by the Engliſhme

Rieu ſacked.

When they had taken their pleaſure in ſacking all ſuch goods as they founde there fit to be caried away, they ſpared the towne from fire, & ſo departed. And thus after they had bene two dayes and two nights abroade in the Countrie, they returned home to the Campe with a great bootie of beaſtes, ſheepe, and other things which they had got in that voyage.

But nowe to conclude with this ſiege of Muttrell, after the King had wonne Boulogn, and vnderſtoode howe the Emperour had agreed with his aduerſarie the French King, he reſolued to haue his armie to rayſe that ſiege, whiche thus had lyen before Muttrell, and with all conuenient ſpeede to drawe towardes Caleys, and bicauſe it was ſignified that the Dolphin of Fraunce Henrie was comming forwarde with a great power whiche had bene rayſed by his father the Frenche king, to reſiſt the Emperour, and nowe was ſent vnder the conduct of the ſayde Dolphin, to the ſuccours of them that were beſieged in Muttrell, the King ſent the Earle of Arundell, ſir John Gage, ſir George Carowe, ſir John Reynſforth, and other, with a choſen number of luſtie ſouldiers vnto Muttrell, to reenforce his armie there, that in rayſing the Campe, and withdrawing backe, they might be the better able to withſtande anye attempte whiche the enimies might put in execution to their annoiaunce. And verily this was done with

The ſiege at Muttrell broken vp.

good aduiſe, and neceſſarie conſideration, for the Engliſhmenne that had lyen ſo long a tyme at the ſiege before Muttrell, wanting ſuche behouefull refreſhment as thoſe were ſtored with that laye before Boullogne (hauing the ſeas open, and all things at pleaſure brought vnto them forth of Englande) were ſore weakened and decayed by death and ſickeneſſe, and nowe in rayſing their Campe had manye things to looke vnto, as well for the conueying of their ordinaunce, truſſe and baggage, as their feeble and diſeaſed perſons, ſo that if the Dolphin with his armie, might haue made ſuch ſpeede forwarde, as to haue ouertaken them with his mayne power, before they had come to Boullogne, it was to be feared leaſt he myght haue put them in daunger of a playne diſtreſſe. But with ſuch timely foreſight as was vſed, the ſiege was rayſed, and the armie retired firſt to Boullogne, and after to Caleys without loſſe, although the French horſemen in great number folowed, and ſundrie times made proude profers to giue the charge vpon the hindermoſt companies: but nothing was done to make great account of, except certayne ſkirmiſhes that were procured, and alarmes giuen, as in ſuche caſes it fortuneth.

The Dolphin commeth before Boulogne with his great power.

The Dolphin notwithſtanding that the ſiege was thus rayſed from Muttrell, ere hee coulde come thither, yet he kept forwarde his iourney to proue what he might doe to recouer Boullogne, whiche towne, the King of Englande, as ye haue heard, had left in the keeping of the Lord Liſle high Admirall. The ſame towne being then weake, God knoweth, on all ſides, through batterie and mynings, whiche by the Kings power had bene made, to bring it into his ſubiection, and the trenches not caſt downe, nor the ordinance mounted.

A camiſado giuen to baſe Boulogne.

The Dolphin being come before the towne, ſent certayne bandes of his beſt ſouldiers by night to giue a Camiſado vnto the baſe towne. They that thus were ſent, entred the ſame the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they toke the ſtande watches, and ſlewe beſide a greate number of ſicke and weake perſons, as well ſouldiers as other, before they coulde array themſelues, or well gette out of their beddes. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to ryfling and breaking vp of cofers, ſcattering here and there abroade, and beganne to fall to their vittayles whiche they founde there in good plentie, the Engliſhmen that were driuen vppe to the gates of the hyghe towne, got weapons that were throwne downe vnto them forth of the ſame, and aſſembling togither, fiercely entred in amongſt the preace of their enimies. And herewith there ſallyed forth of the high towne, Sir Thomas Poynings with a bande of two hundreth ſouldiers, the which togither with the other, ſo behaued themſelues, that they manfully beate backe the enimies, ſlewe to the number of eyght hundreth of them, and chaſed the reſidue out of the towne, which fledde ouer the ſandes vp to the hill, where the Dolphin himſelfe ſtoode with a great troupe of horſemen about him, and durſt not once come downe to the reſcewe of his people, for feare of the greate artillerie that with plentie of bullets ſaluted the enimies, after that the breake of the daye had once diſcouered them in ſight.

An ouerthrow giuen to the French at baſe Boulogne.

Amongſt other that were ſlayne in this repulſe, of the Frenchmen, le Seigneur de Foquessolles, an other of the Marſhall de Biez his ſonnes in lawe, and Seneſchall of Boullogne was one.

Thus the Dolphin perceyuing that it would nothing auayle him to make anye further attempt againſt Boulloyne, paſſed forth towardes Guyſnes, and ſhortly after through want of vittayles, and ſickeneſſe which ſore infeſted his Campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into Fraunce.

Monſieur de Biez commeth before Bologne with an armie.

But ſhortly after Chriſtmas, came downe an armie of fourteene thouſande, vnder the conduction of Monſieur de Biez, the which the xvj. of Ianuarie, encamped on the Weſt ſide of Boullogne beyonde the hauen, where they laye tenne dayes: but on the ſixth of Februarie, the Earle of Hertforde, the Lorde Admirall, as then L. Lieutenant of the town of Boulogn, the Lorde Greye of Wilton, Sir Thomas Poynings and others, hauing aſſembled out of the garriſons on that ſide the ſeas, to the number of foure thouſande footemen, and ſeuen hundreth horſemen, whereof an hundreth or foure ſcore were Albanoyſes, iſſued forth of Boullogne about foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the King had encamped during the time of the ſiege, they ſtayde there, and put themſelues in order of battayle, and about ſixe of the clocke, it being then a lowe water, Captaine Edwarde Braye with three hundreth ſhotte, was appoynted to paſſe ouer, and to giue the enimies an alarme in their camp. At which inſtant the Trumpettes ſounded, and the Drummes ſtroke vp in the Engliſhe armie, and herewith they being deuided into three battayles, and to eche one his garde of two hundreth horſemen, beſide the odde hundreth that attended as a defence to the reſidue, they ſhewed themſelues to their enimies.

The French men diſlodge out of their campe.

The Frenchmen perceyuing this, packed away with all haſte poſſible, marching towarde Hardilowe in two battayles. Whereupon the

Engliſhe Captaynes leauing their footmen behinde them, & taking only with them the horſemenne, followed with all ſpeede after their enimies, and comming to the Bridge commonlye called Pont de Briques, which certayne Engliſhe Carpenters garded, with a number of harquebuſiers, and ſome ſmall fielde peeces, had forced and repaired the ſame that night, and ſo the horſemen finding it ſufficiently repayred, paſſed ouer, and comming to Saint Eſtienne, they founde fiue there hundreth Dutche horſemen, commonlye called Swart Reiſters, that were lodged there to keepe that paſſage: but being ſurpriſed on the ſodaine by the Englyſhe horſemen, and ſharply aſſayled, they were wholy diſtreſſed, and the moſt parte of them taken priſoners, and therewith left with the followers of the armie, were after ſlayne, bicauſe they knewe not where to beſtowe them.

But nowe the hill of Saint Eſtienne being thus gayned by the Engliſhe horſemenne, they put themſelues in order of battayle againe, appoynting an hundreth of their men at armes to followe and keepe aloofe as a ſtale to relieue their fellowes in tyme of neede, when they ſawe them in any daunger.

A

The comfor-
able wordes
f the Engliſh
Captaines.

The Lordes to encourage euery one to doe his dutie, roade vp and downe about the troups, and vſing manye comfortable wordes, deſired them that although they were but an handfull in compariſon, to the number of their enimies, they woulde yet in regarde of the honour of the Realme of Englande, make a profer of an onſet to the enimies, that they might perceyue that there they were to giue them battayle, and to followe, as they ſhoulde ſee them their Captaynes and gouernours to leade them the waye. Herewith forwarde they make towardes the enimie, and ouertaking them three myles on the hyther ſide of Hardilo ſandes, they valiantly gaue the charge, and thruſting in betwixt the two Frech battayles, ouerthrewe their cariages, tooke their ordinaunce and munitions, ſlewe and bare downe manye of them that preaſed forth to defende the ſame.

he Engliſhe
orſmē charge
he Frenche
attayles.

he valiant
rder of Mon-
ur de Biez.

Monſieur de Biez being in the forewarde, brought backe the ſtrongeſt and beſt armed men he had, to reſiſt his enimies, raunging them in order ſo, as he ment to haue encloſed the Engliſhe horſemen betwixt his battailes and the ſea, and ſo to haue diſtreſſed them. But this purpoſe being eſpyed firſt of all by the Lorde Admirall, the Engliſhmenne by his valiant encouragement, gaue a newe charge, and breaking through their rankes by force, came backe again vnto their hundreth men of armes that kept aloofe, and there ſtayed till their footemen might come to them, who by this time were aduaunced within ſight of them, but diſtant yet by the ſpace of two Engliſhe myles, or litle leſſe.

he Lord Ad-
irall his rea-
e cōceyuing
e meaning
the enimies

Monſieur de Biez perceyuing that the Engliſhe footemen began thus to approch, made forwarde agayne with his armie ſo faſt as was poſſible for his people to marche, drawing ſtill his armed men and beſt ſouldiers to the hindermoſt rankes, there to be readie to withſtande the Engliſhe menne as they ſhoulde offer to aſſayle them, and in this order, the Frenchmen made awaye, and reſted not till they came to Hardilo ſandes, being a place of ſuche ſtrength and aduauntage, by reaſon of the ſtraite, that after they were once got thither, they might account themſelues out of all daunger, and therfore there they ſtayed, and diſpatched an Heraulte vnto the Chieftaynes of the Engliſhe armie, to ſignifie vnto them that there they ment to abyde and to giue them battayle, if they woulde aduaunce forwarde to fight with them: but yet they would not in any wiſe come forth of their ſtrength vnto ſome euen grounde, although they were earneſtly required therevnto. Wherevpon the Engliſhmen, to light them a candle that they might ſee where they were, ſet all the villages & houſes about on a light fire, continuing the ſame al that afternoone, and moſt parte of the night following, and the next morning betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke, they came backe agayne vnto Boullogne with all their ſpoyle and priſoners.

Hardilo ſandes.

They tooke in this encounter ſeauen peeces of artillerie, two of Braſſe, and fiue of Iron. Alſo the peeces of aduauntage of the armour of Monſieur de Biez, beſide apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie, as well taken in the field, as alſo in their campe, where they left their tents ſtanding, & all their prouiſion of vittayles wholy vnremooued. The ſame peeces of armour were ſent ouer into Englande to the King for a wytneſſe of the good ſucceſſe that had thus happened to his people in this famous enterpriſe, in the atchieuing wherof there were not paſt halfe a dozen Engliſh men ſlayne, beſide thoſe that were hurt, which neyther were many, as vnder halfe a ſcore at the moſt.

Artillerie gayned.

Whyleſt ſuche things were a doing aboute Boulogne, and other places, as before ye haue hearde in this xxxvj. yeare, the ſhippes of the weſt countrey and other coaſtes of this Realme, waſted abrode on the ſeas, and tooke to the number of three hundred and odde French ſhippes, ſo that the Grey friers Churche in London, was layd full of wyne, the Auſtine friers, and Black friers full of herring, and other fiſh that was taken as the ſame ſhoulde haue bene conueyed into Fraunce.

Stow.

Great prizes of French goods taken by the weſtern ſhips.

About the ſame ſeaſon, the King demaun-

ded

A beneuolence

ded a beneuolence of hys ſubiectes ſpirituall and temporall, towardes the maynteynaunce of his warres agaynſte the Frenchmenne and Scottes.

The diſcomfiture gotten by the Scottes at Halden rigge.

The valiaunt ſir Rafe Euers ſlayne.

In the beginnyng of Marche ſir Raufe Euers Lord wardeyn of the marches after manye fortunate roades and forreyes made into Scotland, aſſembled nowe about foure thouſand men, and entryng with the ſame into Scotlande, was encountred at Halydon rigge by the Earle of Arrayn and other Scottiſhmen, which ſo beſet the Engliſhmen with three battayles on eche ſyde, that in the ende they ſlewe the ſayd Lord Warden, with the Lord Ogle, and a great number of other Gentlemen and commons, beſyde priſoners, whiche they toke, ſo that fewe eſcaped the Scottiſhmens handes.

Rede, Alderman of Lōdon.

Among other Priſoners taken, Richarde Read an Alderman of London was one, who for that hee refuſed to paye ſuche a ſumme of money as the cōmiſſioners for the beneuolence demaunded of him, was cōmanded forthwith to ſerue the King in hys warres agaynſte the Scottes, and ſo was taken nowe at thys ouerthrowe. The death of Sir Raufe Euers was greatly bemoned: for he had ſhewed great proofe of his valiant prowes at ſundry tymes before, namely in thys yeare paſt, as at the taking and brenning of the towne of Iedworth, which enterpriſe was atchieued the .x. of Iune, beſide dyuers other exploytes fortunately brought to paſſe by his highe valiancie and manhoode, till his hap was at this preſent to finiſhe his dayes.

An. reg. 37. Grafton.

This yeare on Sainct Georges daye Syr Thomas Wriotheſley Lorde Chauncellor of England was made knight of the garter: alſo Trinitie Terme was adiourned by reaſon of the warres, but the Eſchecker and the Court of the Tenths were open, for thoſe that were accomptable in eyther of the ſayd courtes.

Anne Aſkue & others arreigned & acquitte

The .xiij. of Iune Robert Luken ſeruaunt to ſir Humfrey Browne one of the Iuſtices of the kings benche, Anne Aſkew gentlewoman, otherwyſe called Anne Kyme, wyfe to one Kyme, a Gentleman of Lyncolneſhire, and Ioane Sauterey, wyfe to Iohn Sauterey of London, were arraigned in the Guyld hall of London, for ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Aultar (as they tearmed it) contrarie to the eſtatute of .the .vj. articles: but bicauſe no witneſſe appeared againſt the women, nor againſte Lucane, one onely excepted, who was thought to accuſe him rather of malice, than otherwyſe, they were by .xij. honeſt ſubſtantiall men of the Citie (ſworne to paſſe vppon theyr Inditementes) clearely acquit and diſcharged.

Thomas Daye Pewterer.

The ſame daye alſo was a Pewterer named Thomas Day diſcharged, by the pardō graunted in the laſte Parliament, after hee hadde remayned in pryſon in Newgate the ſpace of three yeares nowe paſſe, condempned long before the date of the ſame pardon, for the article of auryculer confeſſion comprysed wythin the ſame ſtatute.

Martin du Bellay.

The new fort before Bulleyn

Aboute the ſame tyme, to wytte the ſeuenth of Iune a greate armye of Frenchemen came downe to Boullongne, and neare vnto the hauen encamped themſelues. In this army were reconed to bee .xij. M. Lanſquenetz .xij. M. Frenche footemen. vj. M. Italians, iiij. M. of Legeonarie ſouldiors of France, & a. M. or .xij. hūdred men of armes, beſide .vij. or .viij. C. light horſmen. After ſome ſkirmiſhes not greatlye to their aduantage, they began yet to build a forte, whiche at length they accompliſhed, as after ſhall appeare. The ſame moneth alſo the lord Liſle Admirall of England with the Engliſhe fleete entred the mouthe of Sayne, and came before Newe hauen, where a greate nauy of the Frenchmen lay, to the number of .ij. C. ſhips, and .xxvj. galeys. whereof the Pope (as was reported) had ſent .xx. well furniſhed with men and mony, to the aide of the Frenche kyng. The Engliſhmen being not paſt an .C. and .lx. ſaile, and all greate ſhippes, determined not to ſet vpon the Frenchmen where they lay. but yet approching neare vnto them, ſhotte off certaine peeces of ordinance at them, and thereby cauſed the galleys to come abroade, whiche chaunged ſhot agayn wyth the Engliſhmen.

The Engliſhe fleete cōmeth before Newhauen.

The Galleis at the fyrſte hadde greate aduantage, by reaſon of the great calme. Twiſe eyther parte aſſaulted other with ſhotte of theyr greate artillerye, but ſuddainelye the wynde roſe ſo high, that the Galeys could not endure the rage of the ſeas, and ſo the Engliſhmenne for feare of flattes wer compelled to enter the mayne ſeas, and ſo ſayled vnto Porteſmouthe where the Kyng laye, for he hadde knowledge by hys eſpialles that the Frenchemen intended to lande in the Iſle of Wyght, wherefore hee repaired to that coaſte, to ſee his Realme defended.

The Frenche fleete landeth in the Iſle of VVight.

The Frenchemen lande in Suſſex.

After this, the eighteenth of Iuly the Admirall of France Monſieure Danebalte halſed vppe ſayles, and wyth his whole Nauie came forthe into the Seas, and arryued on the coaſt of Suſſex afore Bryght Hamſtede, and ſet certaine of his ſouldiours a lande, to burne and ſpoile the countrey: but the Beacons were fired, and the inhabitantes thereaboutes came downe ſo thicke, that the Frenchemenne were driuen to flee with loſſe of diuers of their number, ſo that they did lytle hurte there.

Immediatly hervpō they made to the point of the Iſle of Wight called ſaint Helens point, and there in good order vpon their arriuall they caſte ankers, and ſent daily .xvj. of their galleis to the verye hauen of Portſmouth.

The Engliſhe nauie lying there in the ſame hauen, made them readye, and ſet out towards the ennemyes, and ſtill the one ſhotte hottelye at the other, but the winde was ſo calme, that the kynges ſhippes could beare no ſaile, whiche greatly greeued the minds of the Engliſhmen, and made the ennemies more bolde to approch wyth their galleis, and to aſſayle the Shippes with their ſhot euen within the hauen. Yet the twentith of Iuly, the whole nauie of the Engliſhmen made out, and purpoſed to ſette on the Frenchmē, but in ſetting forward, through to much follye, one of the Kings ſhippes called the Marye Roſe was drowned in the myddeſt of the hauen, by reaſon that ſhe was ouer laden with ordinaunce, and had the Portes lefte open, whiche were very lowe, and the great artillerie vnbreeched, ſo that when the ſhip ſhold tourne, the Water entred, and ſoddainly ſhee ſunke. In hir was ſir George Carewe knight and foure hundreth ſouldioures vnder his guiding. There eſcaped not paſte fortie perſons of all the whole number.

The Marye Roſe drovvned by negligence.

The morrowe after aboute two thouſand of the Frenchmen landed in the Iſle of Wight, where one of their chiefe Capitaynes named le Cheualier Daux, a Prouancoys was ſlayne with manye other, and the reſidewe wyth loſſe and ſhame driuen backe agayne to their galleyes.

Frenchmen diſtreſſed in the Iſle of VVight.

The King perceyuyng the greate Armada of the Frenchmen to approche, cauſed the beacons to be fiered, & by letters ſent into Hampſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and into diuers other countries adioining, gaue knowledge to ſuche as were appointed to bee ready for that purpoſe, to come with all ſpeede to encounter the ennemies. Whereupon they repaired to his preſence in greate numbers well furniſhed with armour, weapon, victualles, and all other things neceſſarie, ſo that the Iſle was garniſhed, & all the frontiers alongſt the coaſtes fortified wyth exceedyng greate multitudes of men.

The Frenche Capitaynes hauyng knowledge by certaine Fiſhermen, which they toke, that the king was preſent, and ſo huge a power readie to reſiſte them, they diſancred and drew along the coaſte of Suſſex, and a ſmall number of them landed againe in Suſſex, of whom fewe retourned to their Shyppes, for dyuers Gentlemen of the countrey, as Sir Nicholas Pelham, and others, with ſuch power as was reyſed, vpon the ſoddayn, toke them vp by the way and quickly diſtreſſed them.

When they had ſearched euery where by the coaſte, and ſaw men ſtill readie to receiue them with battaile, they tourned ſterne, and ſo gotte them home agayne wythout any acte atchieued worthie to be mencioned.

The number of the Frenchmen was greate, ſo that diuers of them that were taken priſoners in the Iſle of Wyght, and in Suſſex, dyd report that they were three ſcore thouſande.

The number in the Frenche nauie.

The Frenche King aduertiſed the Emperour moſte vntruely by letters, that his armye had gotten the Iſle of Wight with the Ports of Hampton, and Porteſmouth, and diuers other places.

In Auguſte followyng, the Earle of Hertford entred againe into Scotland with twelue thouſande men, and deſtroyed all the Towns in the myddle Marches, brente Coldyngham Abbey, and paſſed to the Weaſte Marches, for annoying and endomagyng the Scots, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen, that were ſente into Scotlande this yeare to the ayde of ẏ Scots vnder ẏ ledyng of Monſieur de Lorges, Montgomerie his father, durſt once come forth into the field to encounter with him.

The Earle of Hertford forrayeth the middle marches of Scotlande.

Alſo in the beginnyng of this Moneth the Citie of London ſet forthe a thouſande Souldiors of archers, harquebuſiers pikes, and bills, whiche went to Douer, and ſo paſſed ouer vnto Callais, to ſerue the King in his warres on that ſide the ſeas.

The Londoners ſet foorth a povver into Fraunce.

The ſame Moneth that valiant Capitaine Sir Thomas Poinyngs Knyght, Lorde Poinings, and the kings lieutenant of his town & Marches of Bolongne departed this lyfe, after hee hadde to hys great honour atchieued many wor-

The death of the valiaunt L. Poynings.

worthye enterpriſes in ſeruyce of hys Prynce agaynſte the ennemyes; ſo that hys deathe was muche lamented. A Gentleman vndoubtedlye deſeruing to bee hadde in perpetuall memorye: and pitie it is, that diuers ſuche valiant feates as he in his life time atchieued, were not committed to wryting, to remain for examples ſake to paſteritie.

The death of the Duke of Suffolke.

Alſo the ſame moneth at Guilford died the noble and valiaunt Duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon Lorde greate Maiſter of the Kings houſholde, a ryght hardie Gentleman, and yet not ſo hardye, as almoſte of all eſtates and degrees of men, hygh and lowe, ryche and poore, hartely beloued, and his deathe of them greatly lamented: hys body was honorably buryed at Windſore, at the Kyngs coſtes. This man in his daies had done to the king and Realme, ryght agreable ſeruyces, as well in peace, as in warres, both in England, France, Scotland, and Irelande, he died the kyngs generall lieutenaunt of his armye then appoynted to reſiſte the Frenchemen, if they durſte haue landed.

His iuſt commendations.

Monſieur de Lorges ſent into Scotland with certayne French bandes.

But nowe wheras, in this meane time we haue ſpoken nothing of the doings in Scotlãd, where the warre was ſtill continued, the King of France ſent thither certain bands of Frenchmen, vnder the gouernement of Monſieure de Lorges to aide the Scottes againſte the Engliſhemen, and the Kyng of Englande waged many ſtrangers, and ſent them wyth certayne Engliſhemen to the borders, for defence of the ſame againſte the inuaſions of the enemies: For after the arriuall of the Frenchmen, a great armye of Scots was reiſed, and approched neare to the borders, where for a certayne tyme they encamped, ſo that many thought ſome notable enterprice would haue ben attempted. But after they had laine in campe a certaine time they brake vp, & departed without attempting any further exploite.

The Earle of Hertforde inuadeth Scotlãd.

Shortely after the Earle of Hertforde lying on the borders, as lieuetenaunt of the Northe partes of Englande, callyng to hym an armye of .xij. M. men or thereabouts, what of Engliſhmen and ſtraungers, entred Scotland with the ſame, and brent a greate parte of the Mers, and Teuidale, as Kelſay Abbey and the town, Melroſe Abbey, and Driborn Abbey, alſo Iedworth Abbey, and diuers other places, towns, and villages, to the number of fiue ſcore.

Kelſay abbey was defended a while by three hundred Scottes, but in the ende the moſt part of them were ſlaine, and taken by the ſtrangers and other that gaue the aſſaulte. Thus the erle of Hertforde ſore endomaged the Scots by this inuaſion, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen theyr aſſiſtantes, durſt come forth into the fielde once to encounter with hym.

On the ſixteenth of September a number of Scots and Frenchemen attempted to enter into Englande on the Eaſte borders. But the Engliſhemen perceyuyng them aboute to paſſe by a certayne ſtraite, ſette vppon them, and ſlewe and toke of them to the number of ſeuen ſcore. Among the priſoners that were taken, the lorde of Humes ſonne, and a French Captaine were accompted chiefeſt. Alſo in an other roade made into the Weſt borders, the Lorde Maxwels ſonne, & dyuers other were taken. But at an other time, aboute the ſame ſeaſon, alſo certaine Engliſhmen to the number of .v. C. making their entrye by the Weaſte borders into Scotland, were diſcomfited by the Scots, and the more parte of them eyther taken or ſlayne. Thus were they occupyed as well on the borders betwixt Englande and Scotlande, in this ſeaſõ, as alſo in the marches of Calais, Guines and Bullognois, where the garniſons lying in thoſe places, made contynuall roades and forreis into the marches of the enemies countrey, and oftentymes chaunced to encounter wyth ſome of their troupes.

Ouerthrovves on both ſides betvvixt the Engliſhe and ſcottes.

The Captaine of Arde Monſieur de Dampiere hauing got for a ſupplie from the french campe at Boullogne, the companye of the men of armes that belonged vnto the duke of Orleans, led by his lieuetenãt Monſieur de Tauannes, chanced one day to encoũter with yͤ Engliſhmen guyded by that valiãt Baron the L. Grey of Wylton, captaine of the Towne of Guines, who being accompanied with a number of valiant Gentlemen and Souldiors, diſtreſſed their ennemyes, and ſlew the Captayn of Arde the foreſayd Lord de Dampierre there in fielde. Diuers other ſkirmiſhes and encounters chaunced in that Sommer, on the further ſide the ſeas: and moreouer, now after that the Frenche Nauie was withdrawen, as yee haue hearde from the coaſtes aboute Porteſmouthe, that Martiall chieftain, ſir John Dudley, lord Liſle, and high Admirall of England, hauing all his ſhyppes, men, munition, and furniture readie, ſet forwarde from Porteſmouth hauen, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had ſtill kept the Seas, but they were withdrawne home into harburgh.

Whereupon the lorde Admirall meanyng to reuenge theyr brauades, and preſumptuous attemptes made at Porteſmouthe, and in the Iſle of Wight, approched to the coaſts of Normandye, and landed wyth ſixe thouſande men at Treyporte, brente the Suburbes of that towne, wyth the Abbey, and certayne villages & houſes therabouttes. Alſo they deſtroyed .xx. ſhips and a Barke there found in the hauen, &

after they hadde wrought their pleaſures, they returned to the ſea, and ſo home, not hauyng loſt paſte fourtene perſons in the execution of this whole enterpriſe. In thys meane whyle Monſieur de Biez beeing encamped neere to Bullongne wyth ſuche a puyſſaunt armye as beefore yee haue hearde, buſied aboute the buildyng of a forte, there was not ſuche diligence vſed therein, as was promyſſed on hys parte in accompliſhing the ſame, to the Frenche Kyngs great diſpleaſure, as ſome write, who had ment wyth that armye (if this forte had bene finiſhed at the appointed time) to haue gone to beſiege the towne and Caſtel of Guiſnes: But nowe the time beeyng prolonged, and not wythout ſome ſuſpition leaſte Monſieure de Biez cared not how long the warres endured in that ſorte, ſo as he might commaunde ouer ſo many princes and greate Lordes as were there vnder hys gouernaunce, at lengthe beefore the forte were fully finiſhed, hee remoued to Mont Lamberte wyth the more parte of the armye, pretendyng as thoughe hee ment to fight wyth the Engliſhemen, the whiche as he ſaide hee vnderſtoode were purpoſed to come wyth a conuaye of victuals from Callais to Bullongne. Whyleſt he there remained, many princes and great Lords came from the court that lay at an Abbey called Forreſt Montier. xj. leagues from Bollongne, beyonde Muttrell, on the waye towardes Abuille, in hope that battaile ſhould haue folowed betwixt the Engliſhe and Frenche armies. Among other that came thither are theſe remembred as principall, Monſieur Danguien, Monſieure Daumalle, Monſieure le Duc de Neuers, Monſieur le Conte de Lauall, and Monſieure de la Trimouille, Monſieure Daumalle eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Guiſe being lodged in the vantgarde that was gouerned by Monſieur de Briſſac chaunced one day to be preſent at a ſkirmiſhe, where ſhewyng hymſelfe verye forwarde he was ſtryken throughe the ſight of his helmet, with a light horſemans ſtaffe, that pearcyng in betwixte his noſe and his eye, entred halfe a foote into hys heade, as Monſieure de Langey wryteth, and breakyng off a two fingers beneath the yron, the ſame yron remained ſtill within his heade, but yet eſcaping out of the Engliſhemens handes, hee came backe to the campe, hadde the truncheon and yron pulled out of his head, and being dreſſed was conueied in a litter to Piquignye, where hee laye for two or three dayes, in ſuche daunger, that no manne looked that hee ſhoulde haue eſcaped wyth life.

Martin du Bellay, ſeigneur Lãgey in his memoires.

There wer many of theſe ſkirmiſhes wherin the Engliſhmen bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that the Frenchemen wente away oftentymes with loſſe of many of their noble men and beſte Souldiours. At one time they loſte the Lorde Menaineville brother to the Lorde de Villebonne, being ſlaine wyth ſtroke of Launce and pike. At an other time, they loſt likewiſe a yong Lorde of Picardye called le Seigneur de Fretoye.

At length, after their newe forte or Baſſillion was brought in ſome ſtrengthe, they furniſhed it in moſt defencible wiſe with mē, munition and victualls, namyng it Monpleaſire: herewyth Monſieurre de Biez departyng from Mont Lambert with parte of the armie, came downe towardes Calais, and entring into the Engliſhe Pale beſide Grauelyn, wanne certaine Bulwarks, and encountring diuers new bandes of Leiceſterſhiremen and other, latelye before ſent ouer, diſtreſſed them, and after brent certaine villages, forreyed the countrey almoſt to Marke, and afterwards in great haſte with their bootie and pillage they returned. This enterprice was exployted by the Frenchemenne aboute Saincte Matthewes daye in September.

Monſieur de Biez forrayeth the Engliſhe pale aboute Caleys.

There were with Monſieur de Biez at this enterprice the Lorde of Briſſac, who gouerned the vauntgarde, and had wyth hym his owne companye of men of armes, and the light horſmen of whome hee had the generall conducte. There was alſo the company of men at armes that belonged to the Conſtable of Fraunce, led by the lorde of Guiche and fifty men of armes, vnder the gouernaunce of the Lorde of Helley, the compagnye alſo of the Lorde of Boiſy, the compagnye of the Lord Eſcars, and that of the lord de la Roche du Maine and others. There was alſo Monſieure de Tayes generall of the Frenche footmen, and many yong princes and Lordes of highe eſtate, as Monſieure Francis de Bourbon, Duc Danglien, Francis de Lorraine Duke Daumalle lately recouered of hys hurte, the Duke of Neuers, and the Earle de Lauall that in this voyage was hurte with an harquebuſhe ſhotte in the arme.

Martin du Bellay.

The three and twentieth of Nouember, a Parliament beganne at Weſtminſter, in the which was granted to the King a Subſidie of the Spiritualtie of ſixe ſhillyngs the pounde, to bee paide in two yeares nexte enſuing: and of the Temporaltie two ſhillings & eight pence of the pounde in goodes, and foure ſhillings of the pound in lands, to be paide likewiſe within two yeares.

A Parliament, A Subſidie graunted.

Alſo in this Parliamente all Colledges, Chauntries, and Hoſpitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or tranſpoſing, the ſame as to hym ſhoulde ſeeme expediente, which at the prorogation of the ſame Parliament

ment he promiſſed ſhould be done to the glorye of God, and the common profit of the realme. The. xxiiij. of December the ſaide parliament was proroged, on whiche day the King commyng into the houſe to gyue hys royall aſſente vnto ſuch actes as were paſſed, the ſpeaker made vnto him an eloquent Oration, to the whyche althoughe the cuſtome hathe euer bene that the Lorde Chauncellor ſhoulde make aunſwere, it pleaſed the king at that preſent to make the anſwer himſelf, whych he vttred as here enſueth.

Althoughe my Chauncellor for the time being, hath before this time vſed verye eloquently and ſubſtancially, to make aunſwer to ſuche Orations, as hathe ben ſet forthe in this hyghe Courte of Parliament, yet is hee not ſo able to open and ſette forthe my minde and meaning, and the ſecreates of my harte, in ſo plaine and ample manner, as I my ſelfe am and can doe: wherefore I taking vpon me to aunſwer your eloquent Oration Mayſter ſpeaker, ſay, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both prayſed and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceyued to bee in mee, I moſte hartilye thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my duty, which is to endeuour myſelfe to obtaine and gette ſuch excellent qualities, and neceſſarie vertues, as a Prince or Gouernour ſhoulde or ought to haue, of whiche giftes I recogniſe my ſelfe both bare and barren, but of ſuch ſmall qualities as God hathe endewed me withall, I render to his goodnes my moſt humble thanks, entending with all my witte and diligence to get and acquier to me ſuch notable vertues and princely qualities, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my perſone: theſe thankes for your louing admonition and good counſell firſt remembred, I eftſones thank you: again, bycauſe that you conſidering our greate chardge, not for our pleaſure, but for your defence, not for our gaine, but to our greate coſte, whiche wee haue lately ſuſteined, aſwell in defence of our and your ennemies, as for the conqueſte of that fortreſſe, whiche was to this realme moſte diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be by gods grace hereafter, to our nation moſte profitable and pleaſant, haue freely of your owne mindes graunted to vs a certaine Subſidye, here in an acte ſpecified, whyche verilye wee take in good parte, regarding more your kindenes, than the profite thereof, as hee that ſetteth more by your louyng hartes than by your ſubſtance. Beſide thys harty kindeneſſe, I can not a little reioyce when I conſider the perfecte truſte and confidence, which you haue put in mee, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfained beleefe in my good doings, and iuſt proceedings for you, without my deſire or requeſte, haue committed to mine order & diſpoſition al Chauntries, Colledges, Hoſpitalles, and other places ſpecified in a certayne acte, firmly truſting that I will order them to the glorye of God, and the profit of the common wealth. Surely if I contrarie to your expectatiõ ſhuld ſuffer the miniſters of the Church to decay, or learning, which is ſo greate a Iewell, to bee miniſhed, or pore and miſerable, to bee vnreleeued, you myght ſaye that I beeing put in ſo ſpeciall a truſte, as I am in this caſe, were no truſtye friende to you, nor charitable to mine euen Chryſtian, neyther a louer of the publyke wealthe, nor yet one that feared God, to whome accompt muſt be rendred of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerued, more godly and goodly than you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceiue.

Nowe ſithens I finde ſuche kindeneſſe on your parte towardes mee, I cannot choſe, but loue and fauour you, affirmyng that no Prince in the world more fauoreth hys Subiectes than I doe you, nor no ſubiectes or commons more loued and obeied their ſoueraigne Lorde, than I perceyue you doe mee, for whoſe defence my treaſure ſhall not bee hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, my perſone ſhall not bee vnaduentured: yet although I wiſhe you, and you with mee, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this friendely amitie cannot continue, except bothe you my Lordes Temporall, and my Lordes Spirituall, and you my louing ſubiectes, ſtudy and take payne to amende one thyng, whyche ſurelye is amiſſe, and farre out of order, to the whiche I moſte hartyly require you, whiche is, that Charitie and concorde is not among you, but diſcorde and diſſention beareth rule in euery place. Sainct Paule ſaith to the Corinthians, and the thirteenthe Chapiter, Charitye is gentle, Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude, and ſo forthe in the ſaide chapiter. Beholde then what loue and Charitye is among you, when the one calleth an other heretik and Anabaptiſte, and he calleth hym agayn Papiſt, hipocrite & Phariſie? be theſe tokens of charitie amõgſt you, are theſe ſigns of fraternal loue betwene you? no, no, I aſſure you that this lack of Charitie amongſt your ſelues wil be yͤ hinderãce & aſſuaging of the feruẽt loue betwene vs, as I ſaid before, except this wound be ſalued, & clerely made hole, I muſt needes iudge yͤ fault & occaſion of this diſcorde, to be partly by negligence of you yͤ fathers & preachers of the ſpiritualtie: For if I know a man, which liueth in adulterie, I muſte iudge him a lecherous, & a carnall perſon: if I ſee a man boaſt & bragge hymſelfe, I can not but deeme hym a proude man: I ſee here dayly that you of the Clergie, preache one againſte an other, teache one contrarie to an other, inueygh one againſt an other without charitie or diſcretion: ſome be to ſtiffe in their olde *Mumpſimus*, other be to buſy and curious in their newe *ſumpſimus*: thus all men almoſte bee in varietie and diſcorde, and fewe or none preaches truly and ſincerely the worde of God, accordyng as they ought to do: Shall I iudge you charitable perſones doyng this? no, no, I can not ſo doe: Alas, howe can the poore ſoules liue in concorde, when you preachers ſow amongeſt them in your ſermons debate and diſcorde: of you they loke for light, and you bryng them to darkeneſſe. Amende theſe crimes I exhorte you, and ſet forth Gods worde, bothe by true preachyng, and good example giuyng, or elſe I, whome God hathe appointed his Vicar, and highe Miniſter here, will ſee theſe deuiſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected, accordyng to my very dutye, or elſe I am an vnprofitable ſeruant, and an vntrue offycer. Althoughe I ſaye the Spirituall men bee in ſome faulte, that Charitie is not kept amongſt you, yet you of the Temporaltie bee not cleare and vnſpotted of malice and enny, for you raile on Biſhoppes, ſpeake ſlaunderouſlye of Prieſtes, and rebuke and taunte Preachers, bothe contrarye to good order and Chriſtian fraternitye. If you knowe ſurely that a Biſhoppe or Preacher erreth or teacheth peruerſe doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our counſell or to vs, to whome is committed by God the high auctoritie to reforme and order ſuche cauſes and behauiours, and be not Iudges your ſelues, of your owne fantaſticall opinions, and vayne expoſitions, for in ſuche highe cauſes you may lightlye erre. And although you be permytted to reade holy Scriptures, and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you muſte vnderſtande, that it is licenced you ſo to doe, only to informe your owne conſciences, and to inſtruct your children and family, and not to diſpute, and make ſcripture a railyng and a tauntyng ſtocke, agaynſt Prieſtes and Preachers, as manye lyght perſons doe. I am very ſory to knowe and heare, howe vnreuerentely that moſte precious iewell the worde of God is diſputed, rimed, ſong, and iangled in euerye ale houſe and Tauerne, contrarye to the true meanyng and doctrine of the ſame: and yet I am euen as muche ſorye, that the readers of the ſame, followe it in doing ſo faintly and coldly: for of this I am ſure, that charitie was neuer ſo faint amongeſt you, and vertuous and godly liuing was neuer leſſe vſed, nor God himſelfe amongeſt Chriſtians was neuer leſſe reuerenced, honored, or ſerued, therefore (as I ſaide before) bee in charitie one wyth an other, lyke brother and brother: loue, dreade, and ſerue God, to the which I as your ſupreme heade and ſoueraygne Lorde, exhorte and require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and league, that I ſpake of in the beeginning, ſhall neuer be diſſolued or broken betwene vs. And to the making of lawes whiche we haue now made & concluded, I exhort you the makers, to bee as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furtheryng of the ſame, or elſe your laboure ſhall be in vaine, and your common wealth nothing releued. Now to your petition, concerning our royall aſſent, to be giuen to ſuche actes as hath paſſed both the houſes, they ſhall bee red openly that ye may heare them: then were they openly redde, and to many his grace aſſented, and diuers he aſſented not vnto. Thus the kings oration was to hys Subiectes there preſent ſuche comforte, that the like ioye coulde not bee vnto them in this world. And thus the actes redde (as the manner is) and hys aſſent gyuen, his grace roſe and departed.

1546

The Reingraue.

The Engliſhemen put to flyght.

The Barke Ager an engliſhe ship recouered.

Many proper feats of armes were exploited and done in this meane while betwixt the partyes Engliſh and Frenche aboute Bolongne. On the morrow after the feaſte of the Epiphanie there came a conuoye of victuals towards the Frenche forte, garded wyth three or foure thouſand lancequenetz vnder their coronell the Reingraue and certaine French horſmen. The Erle of Surrey then lieutenant of Bolongne aduertiſed thereof, made out wyth ſuch power as he might conueniently ſpare of them within Boullongne and the old man, to cutte off thoſe victualles: but comming to encounter with the ennemyes at Saynct Eſtiennes hee was put to flyght, Syr Edwarde Poynynges Captayne of a bande called the Kynges garde of Bollongne was ſlaine in that conflicte, wyth a fifteene or ſixtene other Captains, beſide officers and common Souldiors. About the ſame time the Frenchemen made a voyage vnto the Iſle of Braſill, with a ſhip called the Barke Ager, whiche ſhyppe they hadde taken from the Engliſhemen before: and in their way they mette with a little crayer: of the which one Golding was maiſter, a proper man and an hardy. The Bark perceiuing the Craier to be an Engliſhman, ſhotte at hir and bouged hir. Whereupon ſtraightwayes the Craier drewe to the greate Barke, and .6. or .7. of the Engliſhemen leapte into hir. In the meane time while the Frenchmen without regarde of perill towardes themſelues loked ouer hatches to beholde howe the Crayer ſank there at hand before them not miſtruſting any thing yͤ the Engliſhmẽ might do againſt them it fortuned that thoſe Engliſhmen which got vp into the bark, found in the ende thereof a greate number of lime pottes, which they with water quenched, or rather as the nature thereof is, ſet them on fier, and threw them ſo thicke at the Frenchmen, whiche were there abord, that they blinded them, in ſuch wiſe as thoſe fewe Engliſhmen that entred the ſhippe, vanquiſhed the Frenchmen, and driuing them vnder hatches, ſhut the ſame, and brought the barke away with them home into Englande.

he Stevves ppreſſed.

In the latter ende of March the bordell houſes called the Stews on ẏ bank ſide in Southwarke were conuerted from ſuch filthie vſes by the kinges commaundement, the bawdes & ruffions beeing put out, & other perſons of honeſte behauior placed in their roumths to inhabite in the ſame houſes. This was done by proclamation, & ſound of trumpet by an Herault of armes.

An.reg.38.

This peace by meanes made by the Emperor, commiſſioners were appoynted to meete to treate of ſome accorde betweene the realmes of Englãd & France, ſo that the kyng of Englande ſent ouer to Guiſnes, Cutbert Tunſtall Biſhoppe of Dureſme, ſir William Paget his Secretarie, and Doctour Tregonell: and the French king ſent to Arde a Biſhop, the chiefe Preſident of Rouen, & a Notarie, but no concluſion followed of their trauaile. Whervpon the king of Englãd hauing perfect knowledge howe the Frenchmen intended to builde a fortres at ſaint Johns Road betwen ẏ Bollogne and Callais, to the greate annoyance of bothe thoſe places if they might haue compaſſed their purpoſe, hee ment to preuent that deuiſe of his aduerſaries, ſendyng ouer the erle of Hertforde and the lord Liſle highe Admirall of Englande with many valiant Captaynes, which got the road but two dayes before the Frenchmen had appointed to bee there. But when they vnderſtood that the engliſhmen had ſo preuented thẽ, they ſtayed about Hardilow, where Monſieur de Biez their generall, gaue order to encampe, and durſt not once come forwarde to aſſay the Engliſh forces, ſo that without any impeachment by lande, the Engliſhmen built certaine fortreſſes, to wit, two at the ſame place of S. Johns Road, otherwiſe called Hamble Tewe, & an other aboute a two miles from thence, at a place called Blank Neſſe. There was in the earle of Herefordes campe beſide Engliſhemen diuers ſtrangers, Almaines, Spaniardes, and Italians, and bicauſe it is not much impertinent to the matter, we haue thought good here to ſet downe the whole number of all the Kyngs forces at that preſent in his paye that were there vnder the ſaide Earle of Herfforde the Kinges generall Lieutenant.

Hamble Tevve fortifyed by the Engliſhmen.

Next the ſayde earle, two hundreth.
The lord William Stafford, three hundred.
The lorde John Grey, brother to the Marques Dorſet, two hundred.
The lord Braye, one hundred.
Sir Thomas Seymer knight Marſhall of the hoſt, one hundred.
Sir Henry Kneuet captain of the horſemen, one hundred.
Sir John Harrington threaſourer of the army one hundred.
Sir Thomas Wiat maiſter of the ordenaunce one hundred.
Sir Maurice Barkeley, three hundred.
Sir Thomas Holcrofte, two hundred.
Sir Walter Dennis, two hundred
Sir George Blewet, two hundred.
Sir Richard Greenefelde, two hundred.
Sir George Cornewall, two hundred.
Sir John Luttrell, one hundred.
Sir Edmund Huſſy, one hundred.
George Throckmorton, two hũdre
Captaine Broughton, two hũdred
Captaine Palmer, two hundred.
Captaine Chalice, two hundred.
Captaine Windam, two hũdred.
Captaine Stukley, one hũdred.
Captaine Blewet, one hundred.
Captaine Stonam, one hundred.
Captaine Breat, one hundred.
Captaine Dier, one hundred.
Captayne Euans, one hundred.
Spaniardes, fifteene hundred.
Italians, two hundred.
Cleueners, three hundred.
Launcequenetz vnder the Gouernemente of their Coronell Conrade Phennyng, commonly called Curpeny. 3000.
Summe of all the Souldiours in Boullogne and Boullongnoys. 93000.

Here muſt you note, that whyleſt the Engliſhe armye laye thus in the fielde till the fortes of Hamble Tewe, and Blanke neſſe were in buildyng, the Frenche galleis were on the ſeas, and nowe and then came and approched neare to the ſhore, where the Engliſhe armye laye in campe, at the which they ſhotte off their ordinaunce, and the Engliſhemen aunſwered them againe with the like. They came alſo before Callais, and ſhotte off at the towne. But the lorde Admirall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithſtandyng they did ſuffer much hurte, and tooke away diuers of the Engliſhe veſſells laden with vittails.

The .xviij. daye of Maye, there were foure of the Kyngs ſhippes, and foure Pinaſſes abroade on the ſeas afore the hauen of Hamble Tewe, and there came an. 18. of the Frenche

A french galey taken

galeys to ſet vpon them, and ſo ther was great ſhooting betwixt them, and at lengthe one of theſe galeys was taken, in the whiche were aborde fourteene ſcore ſouldiours, and .vij. ſcore rowers: the reſt of their galeys packed away.

A mutinie in the Engliſhe campe.

Moreouer, whyleſt the Campe laye thus at Hamble Thewe, it chaunced that one day a mutinie roſe among the Lanſquenetz againſt their Captaine, ſo that they got themſelues into order of battayle, ſeyzed vpon the great artillerie, and ſhewed coutenance as if they wold haue ſet vpon the reſidue of the whole campe.

Hereupon euery ſouldior was commaunded to repaire to his enſeigne, and the Spanyardes came and ioyned themſelues with the Engliſhmen, ready to take ſuche parte as they did. At length by the diligence of the chieftaynes and good countenance of the Engliſh ſouldiors and Spanyards, the tumult was ſtayed, and ſix of the principall beginners thereof, were hanged.

The .xxj. of Maye the Frenche armie came and encamped beyond Bollongne at the churche on the hill, and the morrow after, the earle of Hertforde marched wyth hys power to a place within two myles of them, and certaine footemen and horſmen went forth and ſkirmiſhed with them, and in the meane tyme, the artillerie ceaſſed not to ſhoot off, as well from the French campe and fortreſſe, as from Bologne, and the old man. This day were ſlayn .xiiij. Frenchmen, and two taken priſoners, and .iij. of the Engliſhe parte were likewyſe taken, and ſo the Earle of Hertford returned to his camp, and left the Lanſquenetz vpon the hill, encamped before the enimies faces, not two myles diſtant from them, in whych place a forte was begonne to be reyſed, whiche was after called the forte of Bolongne berg.

A greate ſkirmiſhe.

The next day, to wit, the .xxiij. of May, the ſouldiors of Bolougne, and the Lanſquenetz ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, ſlew and toke of them .vij. ſcore and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in coates of veluet, and diuers with chaynes.

Here ye muſt vnderſtand, that nowe in thys meane whyle by the motion of diuers princes, a meeting was had of diuers commiſſioners, appoynted to treate of ſome peace to bee concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Hereupon there came to Guyſnes for the king of England the Erle of Hertford, the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir John Dudley vicoũt Liſle baron of Maupas, and high Admirall of England, ſir William Paget the kings Secretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canterburye. For the Frenche king there came to Arde Monſieur Claude Danebaulte Admirall of France, being alſo one of the foure Marſhals of that realme, the biſhop of Eureux, Monſieur Reymund chiefe preſident of Roan, the Secretarie Bouchetel. Diuers times they met betwixt Arde and Guyſnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuers breakings off, at length yet the ſeuenth of Iune, a peace was concluded, and proclaimed, as well in the court as in the citie of London, on Whitſunday, the .xiij. of Iune, with ſound of trumpet according to the maner: and in lyke ſorte the ſame day it was proclaymed at Paris and at Rouen. The chiefeſt article of whiche peace was this, that the French king paying to the King of England .800000. crownes within the terme of .8. yeares, ſhould haue Boulogne againe to hym reſtored, whiche in the meane tyme ſhould remayne in the handes and poſſeſſion of the King of England as a pledge and guage for aſſurance of the ſayd money. Sir Henry Kneuet was ſent ouer to repreſent the Kings perſon, being willed to be godfather at the baptiſme of the Dolphins daughter, that was borne in the latter end of March laſt paſt, and now chriſtned at Fountaynbleau with greate ſolemnitie. She was named Iſabell.

A peace concluded and proclaymed.

Syr Henry Kneuet.

An. reg. 38.

The Dolphyns daughter Iſabel chriſtened.

A combate betwene Iulian Romeron, and Morowe.

The ſame tyme was a combat foughte before the french king betwixt two Spanyardes, Iulian Romeron, & one Morowe. They both ſerued the king of England in theſe laſt warres againſt France: but Morowe had reuolted from his ſeruice to the Frenche kings, and for certain ſpeeches which he had vttered, was chalenged to fight the ſayd combat by the ſaid Iulian, for whom ſir Henrye Kneuet vndertooke that he ſhould ſtande to his chalenge, and trye it with his aduerſarie, whiche he nowe did, and vanquiſhed him in liſtes, the fight being appointed on horſback. Incontinently after, ſir Henry Kneuet ſickned and dyed at Corbeil, and was buryed in Parys within the churche of Sainct Paule. Moreouer, for the full eſtabliſhment of the peace, and to receiue the french kings othe, the Vicount Liſle Lorde Admirall, with the Biſhop of Dureſme, and diuers other lordes, and gentlemen, to the number of one hundred and aboue, all in veluet coates and chaynes of golde with .xlv. yeomen ryghte ſeemly appointed, went into Fraunce, departing from Boulongne the tenth of Iulye, and came to Mellune, a towne beyonde Paris, where the French kyng then lay, by whom and the Dolphyn his ſonne, they were royally receiued, feaſted, and banketted, and hauyng done that for the whyche hee was ſente, the ſayde Lorde Admirall Dudleye the fyrſte of Auguſte, tooke his leaue of the French Kyng, who rewarded him with a cupborde of plate all gold, valewed at .1500.li. The lordes alſo and gentlemen

The death of ſir Henry Kneuet.

The L. Admiral Dudley wente into France to receyue the Frenche kings othe.

had

n ambaſſade
ut of France.

The kings ſhips
ſtaye in the
[illegible] betvvixt
Graueſend and
[illegible], ſo there
[illegible], and
likewiſe the
french galeys
[illegible] them
[illegible]

The Frenche
Admirall recei-
ued by Prince
Edvvarde.

The Admirall
of Fraunce re-
ceiueth an othe

He giftes that he
had of the king
and others.

hadde chaines of golde giuen to them, and the yeomen had .100. crownes beſtowed amongſt them, and ſo the lorde Admirall returned into Englande. In the ſame Moneth of Auguſte Monſieur Dannebalt high Admirall of Frãce, accompanied wyth the Byſhop of Eureux, the earle of Manteuill knight of the order, the earle of Villers, the chief preſident of Roan, Secretarie Bauchetall, Monſieure de Canaples knight of ÿ order, Monſieure de Tays knight of the order, Monſieure de Maillerie Viceadmirall of France, Monſieur de Deſſe, the Baron de la Gard, with diuers other lords & capteins of honor, beſide .ii. C. Gentlemen well apointed, leuſed from Dieppe with .xii. galleis & a right faire ſhip, called the Sacre of Dieppe, and ſo making ſaile he ſtaied not any where to take land, till he came into the Thames, where at Blacke wall he was receyued into the kings Barge by the earles of Darby, and Eſſex, who brought him to Grenewich, where he landed, & lodged there that night. The next day he came vp with all his galleis, & landed at the Tower Wharfe. Vpon all the bankes by the water ſide were laide peeces of artillerie, which ſhotte off freely, & ſo lykewyſe did all the artillerie in the ſhips, but in eſpeciall frõ the Tower was ſhot a marueylouſe great peale of ordinaunce. From whence being horſed, they roade through London in great triumph (the Maire and the craftes ſtanding in the ſtreetes in very good order) vnto the Biſhoppes palace, by Poules, where the Frenche Admirall lodged till Bartholmew euen, on whiche day hee was conueied towarde Hampton Court, where in the way the Prince hauing with him the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the earles of Hertforde, & Huntington, and aboue .ii. M. horſe, mette him & embraced hym in ſuch curteous and honorable wiſe, that all the beholders greately reioyſed, & much merueiled at the ſaid princes high wit & great audacitie, and ſo the Frenche Admirall came to the Courte, giuing the prince the vpper hande as they roade. And at the vtter gate of the Courte, the Lorde Chauncellor, and all the Kings counſell receyued him, and brought him to his lodging. On Bartholmew day the king admittyng hym to his preſence, welcomed him, and in greate triumphe wente to the Chappell, where the Kyng receiued hys othe to performe the articles of the league, as it was couenaunted.

To ſpeake of the banquetyngs, huntings, and ſuch like honourable ſortes of enterteignementes, it were muche to vtter, and harde to beleeue.

But on Friday folowing, being the .xxviij. of Auguſt, he being rewarded wyth a cupborde of plate to the valewe of twelue hundreth poundes, returned to London, and on the Sundaye nexte enſuyng toke his Galleis and departed.

Beſide the kings giftes, hee hadde giuen to hym by the Citie of London two Flaggons gilte, and two other that were parcell gilte, valewed at one hundreth thirtie fiue poundes, beſide wine, waxe, and torches.

There were diuers of his company alſo that wente not awaye vnrewarded, hauyng bothe plate, and alſo many horſes, and greyhoundes giuen them.

Althoughe this peace pleaſed bothe the Engliſhe and Frenche Nations, yet ſurely bothe miſtruſted the continuaunce thereof, and verely the olde prouerbe, ſeemed to be throughly verified, whiche ſayth, That what the eye ſeeth, the hearte rueth: for the Frenchmen ſtill longed for Bulloygne, and the Engliſhmen were not willingly to giue it ouer. For during ÿ French Admirals being in Englãd, Monſieur Chatillon captaine of Montplaiſir began to make a new baſtilion euen at the verye mouth of the hauen, naming it Chatillons garden. Wherevpon that noble Gentleman the Lord Grey of Wilton, ſhortly after appointed to bee deputie of the towne and countie of Boulongne, perceiuing the great inconuenience that this new buylding would bring to the towne if it went forwards, did aduertiſe the king thereof, earneſtly beſeechyng his grace, that the matter might be throughly cõſidered of. Sir Thomas Palmer was the meſſenger.

The lord Grey
of VVilton.

Sir Thomas
Palmer.

The king vppon the intelligence, aſked hys counſels aduice, which only went wholly, that the conditions of the peace were not in anye wiſe to be infringed. This reſolued, Secretarie Paget then knight, and afterwards Lord, was commaunded accordingly to drawe a letter to my Lord Grey, the which the kyng him ſelfe did ſigne, willing that the meſſenger ſhuld further knowe of his pleaſure before he departed. Wherevpon ſir Thomas Palmer hauing his diſpatche at the Secretaries handes, did get word to be giuen to the K. who preſently ſent for him into his priuie chamber, and betwixte them two, vſed theſe wordes: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to the L. Grey, that he do in no wyſe deale in the matter that he hath by you aduertiſed vs of. Notwithſtãding, I wil that you deliuer him this meſſage from vs. Bid him call to minde howe that his brethren and himſelfe not a ſhorte time, but euen from tender yeres, not farre off, but ſtill nere to our perſon, we haue broght him vp, which (tel him) not vniuſtly, if that be in him that we conceyue doth breede in vs an odde truſt of feruencie to ſerue vs of him, more than a common ſeruant or ſubiect. By that token wil him whatſoeuer I haue written to the cōtrary, that he preſently impeache the fortification of Chatillons garden, & raſe it if it be poſſible: and this my meſſage ſhall be his clearing therein, and the ſeruice gratefully accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer ſomwhat aſtonied hereat, cōſidering ẏ weightineſſe of the cauſe, and the contrarietie of the letter & meſſage, began to put the king in mind of the ſmall credite that his bare errād of right was like to haue, ſo flatte againſt that whiche his Maieſties letters imported. But the kyng cutting of his tale, Deliuer thou the meſſage (quod he) at his choyce then bee the executyng therof. Sir Thomas thus diſpatched, wyth great ſpeed arriued at Boulougne immediatly vpon the openyng of the gates at after noone. His letters and meſſage deliuered, the Lorde Grey ſtreighte aſſembled the counſell, ſhewed vnto them the kings letters, which red, he cauſed ſir Tho. to pronounce before them the meſſage alſo. Euery man was to ſay his aduice: It went roundly thorough the borde without anye queſtion, that the letter was to be folowed, the meſſage not to be ſtayed on. The lord Grey hauing herd, and not replying any thing, willed ſir Thomas to be called in agayne, bad him repete his meſſage, and therwhileſt made a clerke of the counſel to write ẏ ſame *verbatim*. This don, he prayed the whole table to ſet their handes vnto it, which they did, and my Lorde Grey taking the ſame into his hands, without further opening, declaring his reſolution, brake vp counſell, commaunded ſtreight the gates to be ſhut, gaue priuie warning, that certain bandes with armour and weapon, and lykewyſe Pioners ſhould that night by an houre be in a readineſſe. The houre comen, himſelf with the warned cōpanie, iſſued out, paſſed ouer the water, & without any alarme of the enimie, ouerthrew in iij. or four houres, what in .ij. or three moneths had bin reyſed, and ſo in great quietnes returned into the towne. Preſently he diſpatched Sir Thomas Palmer back againe to the king with the newes, whoſe returne was ſo ſodeyn, as the king hymſelf being in the chamber of preſence, & ſeing him, ſayd aloude: What wyll he do it or no? Sir Thomas giuing none other anſwer, but preſenting his letters, & ſaying, that therby his Maieſtie ſhuld know. The king again in earneſt mood, Nay tell vs I ſay, whether he wil do it or not? Then ſir Thomas tolde him, that it was doone, and the whole fortification cleane raſed. Wherat the king taking great ioy, preſently called to certain of the Lordes of the counſel that were by, and ſayd: How ſay you my Lords, Chatillons garden the new forte is layd as flat as this flore. One ſtreight amongſt them gaue iudgement: That he that had done it, was worthy to loſe his head. The king ſtreight replyed, he had rather loſe a dozen ſuch heads as his was that ſo iudged, than one ſuch ſeruantes as had done it: And herewith he cōmanded, ẏ the L. Greys pardon ſhuld preſently be made, ẏ which with a letter of great thankes, and promiſſe of rewarde, was returned by the ſayd ſir Thomas Palmer to the ſayd Lord Grey, but the reward fayled, the king not continuyng long after in lyfe, the like happe whereof had oftentymes happened vnto diuers of his worthie aunceſtors vpon their due deſertes to haue bin conſidered of, and therfore the caſe the leſſe ſtraunge.

Chatillons garden overthrowen and raſed downe.

This haue I ſet downe the more willyngly, for that I haue receiued it from them, which haue herd it reported, not only by the L. Greys owne mouthe, but alſo by the relation of Syr Thomas Palmer, and others that were preſent: The ſame not tendyng ſo muche to the Lord Greys owne prayſe, as to the betokening of the kings noble courage, and the great ſecret truſt which he worthyly repoſed in the ſayde Lord Grey.

Here is to be noted alſo, leaſt any man ſhuld miſtake the matter, as if the K. dealt indirectly herein, that his Maieſtie knowyng howe the Frenchmen in goyng about to buyld this fort, did more than they might, by the couenāts of ẏ peace, & therfore was reſolued at the firſt aduertiſement thereof, to haue it raſed. But yet for ẏ it might haply haue bin ſignified ouer vnto the frēchmen before my L. Grey could haue accōpliſhed the feate, he therfore wiſely wrote one thing in his letters, wherunto many might be priuie, & ſent ſecrete knowledge by wordes contrarie to the contents of the ſame letters, ſo as if the meſſenger were truſtye, hys pleaſure might not bee diſcouered to the hinderance or diſappointing of the ſame: but nowe to oure purpoſe.

The French king after this, bycauſe as yet he woulde not ſeeme to breake the peace, commaunded the trenches and newe fortifications made aboute thys fortreſſe, called Chatillons Garden thus caſt down, to be filled by his own people, and ſo it reſted, during the lyfe of king Henry: but afterwardes it was begon againe, and finiſhed, as after ye ſhall heare.

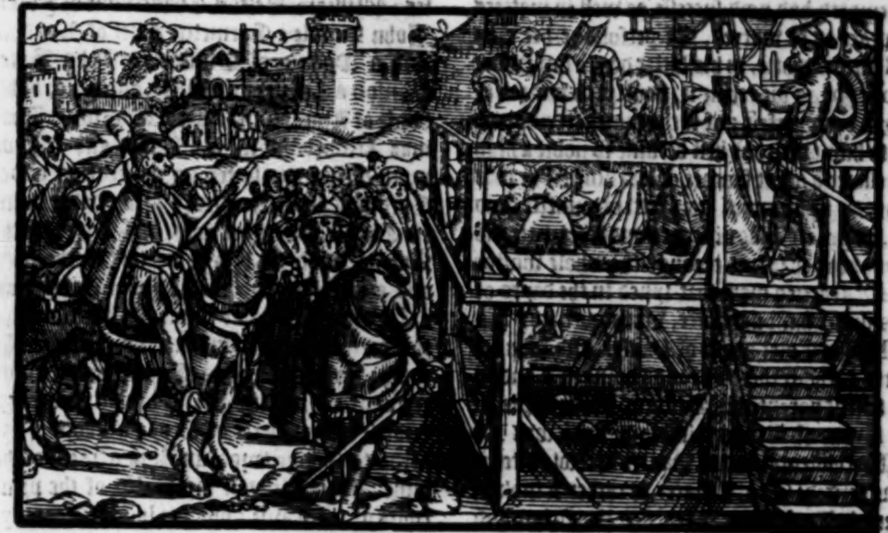
The Duke of Norfolke cōmitted to the Tower.

1547

Aboute Michaelmaſſe in this preſent yeare, Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Henry Earle of Surrey that was his ſonne and heire, vpon certaine ſurmiſes of treaſon, were committed to the Towre of London, and immediatly after Chriſtmaſſe, the .xiij. of Ianuarie, the king then lying in extremities of deathe, the ſayde Earle was arraigned in the Guylde hall of

London, before the Lorde Mayre, the Lorde Chauncellour, and dyuers other Lordes and Judges being there in commiſſion. Where if he had tempered his anſwers with ſuch modeſtie as he ſhewed token of a righte perfecte and ready witte, his prayſe had bin the greater. Some things he flatly denyed, ſeking to weaken the credite of his accuſers by certaine circumſtances: Other he excuſed with interpretatiõs of his meaning, to proue the ſame to be farre otherwyſe than was alleoged agaynſte him. And one eſpeciall matter amongeſt other wherewith he was charged, was, for bearyng certaine Armes that were ſayde to belong to the king and to the Prince. The bearyng whereof hee iuſtifyed and maynteyned, that as he toke it, he mighte beare them as belonging to diuers of his anceſtors, and withall affirmed, that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. But yet to his inditement he pleaded not giltie: And for that he was no lorde of the Parliament, he was enforced to ſtande to the tryall of a common Inqueſt of his countrey; whiche found him giltie, and therupon he had iudgement of death, and ſhortly after, to wit, the .xix. of Januarie, he was beheaded on the Tower hyll.

The Earle of Surrey beheaded.



The Duke was atteynted by Parliament, and the Atteynder after reuerſed in the fyrſte yeare of Queene Mary. The euill hap as well of the father, as of the ſonne, was greatly lamented of many, not onely for the good ſeruice which the Duke had done in his dayes in defence of this realme, but alſo, for that the Erle was a Gentleman well learned, and knowne to haue an excellent witte, if he had bin thankfull to God for the ſame, and other ſuche good giftes as he had endued him with.

The king maketh his Teſtament.

The King now lying at the point of death, made his laſt wil and teſtament, wherin he not onely yelded himſelfe to Almightie God, but alſo toke order, that during the minoritie of his ſonne Prince Edward, his executors ſhuld be counſellors and ayders to him in all things, as well concerning priuate as publike affairs. They wer .xvj. in number, whoſe names were as here foloweth.

His executors.

Thomas Cranmer Archebiſhop of Canterbury.
Thomas Wriothſley Lord Chancellor.
Sir William Paulet knight of the order, lord Saint John, & great maiſter of ẏ houſhold.
Sir Edward Seimer knight of the order, erle of Hertford, & high Chãberlain of England.
Sir John Ruſſell knighte of the order, Lorde Priuie ſeale.
Sir John Dudley knighte of the order, Vicont Liſle, and baron of Malpas, high Admirall of Englande.
Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Durham.
Sir Anthony Brown knight of the order, and maiſter of the horſſe.
Sir Edmund Montacute knight, chiefe Juſtice of the common place.
Sir Thomas Bromeley knighte, one of the Juſtices of the kings benche.
Sir Edward North knighte, Chauncellour of the Augmentation.
Sir William Paget knight of the order.
Sir Anthonie Denny knight.
Sir William Herbert knight.
Sir Edwarde Wotton knighte, Treaſourer of Caleys.
Nicholas Wotton deane of Canterburye and Yorke.

The deceaſſe of king Henry the eyght.

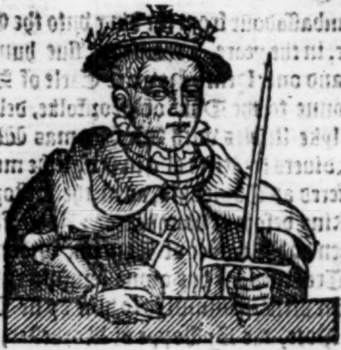
So ſoone as the ſayde noble King had finiſhed his laſte wyll and teſtamente, as afore is ſayde, he ſhortly therupon yelded vp his ſpirite to Almightie

mightie God, departing this world, the xxviij. daye of Ianuarie, in the thirtie and eyghte yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our lord 1546. after the accompt of the churche of England, but after the accompt whiche we follow here in this booke. 1547. begynning our yeare the firſt of Ianuarie. He reigned. xxxvij. yeares. ix. monethes and odde days. His body according to his wil in that behalf, was conueyd to Wyndſore with all funerall pompe, and in the Colledge there enterred.

This noble Prince was eyght fortunate in all his doings, ſo that cõmonly whatſoeuer he attempted, had good ſucceſſe, as well in matters of peace as of warres. Of perſonage hee was tall and mightie, in his latter dayes ſomewhat groſſe, or as we terme it, bourly: in wit & memorie verie perfect: of ſuche maieſtie tempered with humanitie, as beſt became ſo noble & high an eſtate: a great fauorer of learning, as he that was not ignorant of good letters himſelfe, and for his greate magnificence and liberalitie, his renoune was ſpread through the whole world.

Of learned men that lyued in the dayes of this moſte famous prince, we fynde many: as firſt Iohn Colet deane of Paules, and founder of the Schoole there: he was borne in London of honeſt parentes: William Lillie borne in the towne of Odiham in Hampſhire, was the firſt Schoolemaiſter of Paules Schoole after it was erected: Tho. Linacer, or rather Linaker, borne in Derbyſhire, a learned Phyſitian, and well ſeen in the toungs: Iohn Skelton, a pleaſant Poet: Richard Pace that ſucceded Iohn Colet in the roome of Deane of Poules: Iohn Fiſher Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, of whome yee haue herd before: Tho. More born in London, of whom likewiſe mẽtion is made in the life of this kyng: Will. Horman born in Saliſburie, viceprouoſt of Eaton Colledge, a lerned man, as by his workes it appeareth: Iohn Frith borne in London: William Tyndall, of whiche two perſons ye haue hearde lykewyſe in the hiſtorie of this King: Roberte Wakefield excellently ſeene in the toungs: Iohn Raſtell, a citizen and Stacioner of London: Chriſtofer Saint German an excellente Lawyer: Roberte Barnes, of whome alſo wee haue made mention beefore: Syr Thomas Eliot knight: Edward Lee Archebiſhop of Yorke: Iohn Leylande, a diligente ſearcher of Antiquities: Anne Aſkewe wrote certayne treatiſes concernyng hir examinations. Sir Iohn Bourchier knyght Lorde Berners tranſlated the Chronicles of ſir Iohn Froiſſarte out of Frenche into Engliſhe: William Chubbes: Henry Standyſhe, a Frier Minor and biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, wrote agaynſte Eraſmus for his Tranſlation of the newe Teſtament, to his ſmall praiſe as he handled the matter: Thomas ſurnamed Philomelus a Londoner, an excellent Poet: William Grocine verye experte in bothe toungs Greeke and Latine: Thomas Spencer a Carmelite Frier born in Norwich: Henry Bullocke: William Latymer: Young, a Monke of Rameſey: Arnolde of London, wrote certayne collections touchyng hiſtoricall matters: Thomas Lupſet, a Londoner, a learned young man, departyng thys lyfe in the xxxvj. yeare of his age, aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 1532. he wrote ſundry vertuous treatiſes: William Melton Chancellour of Yorke, Iohn Sowle a Carmelite Frier of London, and a Doctour of Diuinitie: Iohn Batemanſon a Chartreux Monke, and Prior of his houſe at London: Richard Whitford: Thomas Attourborne in Norffolke, and fellowe wyth Bilneye in ſufferyng perſecution vnder Cardinall Wolſey: Henry Bradſhawe borne in Cheſter, where hee was profeſſed a blacke Monke, wrote the lyfe of ſaincte Werbourgh, and a certayne Chronicle: Iohn Paulſgraue a Citizen of London wrote Inſtructions for the perfecte vnderſtandyng of the Frenche tong: Iohn Skuyſhe a Cornyſheman wrote certayne abbreuiations of Chronicles, wyth a treatiſe of the warres of Troy: Anthony Fitzherbert a Iudge, wrote an Abridgement of the lawe: Iohn Litleton wrote alſo of the principles of the Lawe: but hee lyued before thys ſeaſon, to wit, in the dayes of

Wilfride Holme wrote a treatiſe of the rebellion in Lincolneſhire, and in the Northe, after the manner of a Dialogue: Iohn Conſtable an excellent Poet and rhetorician: Iohn Hilier: Edwarde Foxe ſtudent in the Kings Colledge in Cambridge, was aduanced to the Biſhoppes ſea of Hereford, and was imployed in dyuers Ambaſſades from Kyng Henry the ſeauenth, both into Germanie and Italy: Iohn Lambert, *alias* Nichols, borne in Norffolke, of whome yee haue hearde in the Hiſtorie of thys Kyng, howe hee ſuffered for the controuerſie of the Sacrament: George Fulberye: Iohn Hoker: Thomas Lanquet wrote an Epitome of Chronicles, & alſo of the winnyng of Bollongne: Iohn Shepre: Leonard Coxe, he wrote dyuers treatiſes, one in Engliſh rhetorike whereof Bale maketh no mention: Thomas Soulmon borne in the yle of Gernſey verie ſtudious in hiſtories, as by his writings & notes it appeareth. Iohn Longlande Biſhoppe of Lyncolne: Maurice Chauncy a chartreux Monke: Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Dureſme, Richard Sampſon: Alban Hill a Welchman an excellent Phyſition: Richard Croke verye experte in the Greeke toung: Robert Whitington borne in Staffordſhire neere to Lichfielde, wrote dyuers Treatiſes for the inſtruction of Grammarians: John Aldrige Biſhop of Carleil: John Ruſſell gathered a Treatiſe intitled *Super iure Cæſaris & Papæ*. he wrote alſo Cōmentaries in *Cantica*: William Roye: Simon Fiſh a Kentiſhman borne, wrote a booke called the Supplication of Beggers: John Powell, and Edwarde Powell Welchemen, wrote againſt Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treaſon in denying the Kings Supremacie in the yeare. 1540. John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouſe Monks in London dyed lykewyſe for treaſon, in the yeare a thouſand fyue hundred thirtie and fyue. John Rickes being an aged man, forſaking the order of a Frier Minor, whyche he had firſt profeſſed, imbraced the Goſpell: George Bulleyn lorde Rocheforde, brother to Queene Anne, wrote dyuers Songs and Sonettes: Frauncis Bigod knyght borne in Yorkſhire, wrote a booke agaynſt the Clergie, entituled *De impropriationibus*, and tranſlated certain books from Latin into Engliſh, he died for rebellion in the yere a thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeuen: Richarde Wyſe: Henry Morley Lorde Morley, wrote diuers treatiſes, as Comedies and tragedies, the lyfe of Sectaries, and certain rithmes: William Thynne reſtored Chaucers workes by his learned and painful corrections: John Smith ſomtime Scholemaiſter of Heyton: Richard Turpine borne of a worſhipfull familie in Englande, & ſeruyng in the garriſon of Caleys, wrote a chronicle of his tyme: he dyed in the yeare a thouſande, fyue hundred fortie and one, and was buryed in Saint Nicholas churche in Caleys. Sir Thomas Wiat knighte, in whoſe prayſe muche myght be ſaid, as wel for his learning as other excellent qualities mete for a man of his calling: he greatly furthered to enriche the Engliſhe tongue: hee wrote diuers matter in Engliſhe meeters, and tranſlated the ſeuen Penitentiall Pſalmes, and as ſome write, the whole Pſalter: hee dyed of the peſtilence in the Weſt countrey, beeing on his iourney into Spayne, whether hee was ſent ambaſſadour from the king vnto the Emperour, in the yeare, a thouſand, fiue hundred fortie and one: Henry Howard Earle of Surrey, ſonne to the Duke of Norffolke, delyted in the lyke ſtudies with Sir Thomas Wyat, wrote diuers treatiſes alſo in Engliſhe metre: he ſuffered at Tower hill, as in the hiſtorie of this King before ye haue hearde: John Fielde a citizen and Lawyer of London, wrote ſundrye Treatiſes, as hys owne aunſweres vnto certaine articles miniſtred to him by ſir Thomas More, the Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, Raſtell and others. When hee was in priſon for religion, he wrote alſo a treatiſe of mans freewill, *de ſeruo hominis arbitrio*, and Collections of the common lawes of the land &c. Triſtram Reuell: Henrye Brinklowe a Merchaunt of London, wrote a lyttle booke, whiche hee publiſhed vnder the name of Roderik Mors, & alſo a cōplaint vpō London &c. Robert Shyngleton, borne of a good family in Lancaſhire wrote a treatiſe of the ſeauen Churches, and other thinges, as of certaine prophecies, for the whiche (as ſome write) he ſuffered at London being conuicte of treaſon in the yeare. 1541. William Parrey a Welcheman, wrote a booke intituled *Speculum Iuuenum*. Of ſtrangers that lyued here in thys kings dayes, and for their workes whiche they wrote were had in eſtimation, theſe we fynd recorded by Maiſter Bale: Bernarde Andreas a Frencheman, borne in Toulouſe, an Auguſtin Frier, and an excellent Poet: Adrian de Caſtello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Thuſcayne, he was commended vnto Kyng Henry the ſeuenth, by the Archbiſhoppe Morton, and thereuppon was fyrſte made Biſhop of Herefords, and after reſigning that ſee, was aduaunced to Bath and Welles. Andreas Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, ſecretarie to the K. wrote dyuers treatiſes: Iames Calco an Italian alſo of Pauia in Lumbardie; by profeſſion a Carmelite Frier, an earneſt defender of the diuorce betwixt the Kyng and the Ladye Katherine Dowager, deſhronying the marryage betwixt them to be in any wyſe lawfull.



Edwar. the ſixt.

King Edvvard proclaymed.

After it had pleaſed Almightie God to call to hys mercye that famous Prince Kyng Henrye the eigthe, the Parliament as yet continuing, and now by his death diſſolued, the executors of the ſayd Kyng, and other of the Nobilitie, aſſembling themſelues togyther, did firſte by ſounde of trumpet in the palace at Weſtminſter, and ſo through London, cauſe his ſonne and heire Prince Edward to be proclaymed king of this realme by the name of Edward the ſixt, King of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faith, and of the churches of Englãd and Irelande the Supreme head, he beyng yet but nyne yeares and odde Monethes of age. Hee was thus proclaymed the .xxviij. of Ianuarie, in the yeare of the worlde. 5513. and after the birth of our Lord. 1547. accordyng to the accompt of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe: but after the accompte of the Church of England, in the yere. 1546. about the xxix. yere of the Emperor Charles the fift, the .xxxiij. of Fraunceis the firſte of that name king of Fraunce, and in the fifthe yeare of the reigne of Mary Queene of Scotland.

1547

The Earle of Hertford choſen protector.

Shortly herevpon the Earle of Hertforde with other of the Lordes reſorted to Hatfield, where the yong King then laye, from whence they conducted him with a great and right honorable companie to the Tower of London. During the tyme of hys aboade there, for the good gouernement of the realme, the honoure and ſuertie of his Maieſties perſon, his Vncle Edward Earle of Hertforde, was by order of the Counſell, and the aſſente of hys Maieſtie, (as one moſte meeteſt to occupye that roomthe) appoynted gouernoure of hys royall perſone, and protectour of his realmes, dominions and ſubiectes, and ſo proclaymed the fyrſte of Februarye by an Heraulte at armes, and ſounde of Trumpette thorough the Citie of London, in the vſuall places thereof, as it was thoughte expediente.

The ſixthe daye of Februarie the Earle of Hertforde Lord Protectour adorned king Edwarde with the order of knighthoode, remaynyng then in the Tower, and therewyth the Kyng ſtanding vp, called for Henry Hubblethorne Lorde Maior of the Citie of London, who commyng before hys preſence, the Kyng toke the ſworde of the Lorde Protectour, and dubbed the ſayd Hubblethorne knight, he being the fyrſt that euer he made.

The .xvij. of Februarie, the Lorde Protectour was created Duke of Somerſet, the erle of Eſſex was created Marques of Northampton. The Lorde Liſle high Admirall of Englande, was created Earle of Warwike, and hygh Chamberlayne of Englande. Sir Thomas Wriotheſley Lorde Chauncellour, was created Erle of Southampton. Syr Thomas Seymer was aduaunced to the honoure of Lorde of Sudley and high Admirall of Englande, whyche office the Earle of Warwike then reſigned. Syr Rychard Riche was made Lorde Riche, & Syr William Willoughby was created Lord Willoughby of Parrham. Sir Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of Butterwike.

The Kyng ry deth through London to VVeſtminſter

The ſame tyme greate preparation was made for the Kynges Coronation, and ſo the foure and twentieth of Februarie next enſewing his maieſtie came from the Tower, and ſo rode thorough London, vnto Weſtminſter, with as greate royaltie, as myght be, the ſtreetes beyng hong, and Pageantes in dyuers places erected, to teſtifye the good willes of the Citizens, reioycing that it had pleaſed God to deale ſo fauourably with the Engliſhe nation to graunt them ſuche a towardly yong Prince to their king and ſoueraigne thus to ſucceede in place of his noble father.

King Edvvard crovvned.

The morrowe after being Shroue Sunday and .xxv. of February, his coronation was ſolemnized in due forme and order, wyth all the royaltie and honoure whyche thervnto appertayned.

The L. Chancellor diſcharged of his roomth.

Shortly after the Coronation, to witte, the ſixte of Marche, the Earle of Southampton, Lorde Chauncellour of Englande, for his too muche repugnancie (as was reported) in matters of counſell, to the reſidue of the Counſellours about the Kyng, was not onely depriued of hys office of Chancellour, but alſo remoued from his place and authoritie in counſell, and the cuſtodie of the greate Seale was taken from him, and deliuered vnto Sir William Paulet Lord Saint Iohn, that was lord great maiſter of the kings houſholde.

And ſhortly after his Coronation, the kinges Maieſtie by the aduice of hys Uncle the Lorde Protectoure and other of hys priuie counſell, myndyng fyrſte of all to ſeeke Gods honour and glorie, and thereupon intending a reformation, did not only ſet forth by certain Commiſſioners, ſundrye Iniunctions for the remouyng of Images out of all Churches, to the ſuppreſſing and auoydyng of Idolatry and ſuperſtition, within his realmes and dominions, but alſo cauſed certayne Homilies or Sermons to bee drawen by ſundrye godly learned men, that the ſame myght bee redde in Churches to the people, whyche were afterwardes by certayne of theſe Commiſſioners, ſent forth as Uiſitours, accompanyed with certayn Preachers throughout the Realm, for the better inſtruction of the people, publiſhed and putte in vſe.

milies.

At Eaſter nexte followyng, he ſette out alſo an order thorough all the Realme, that the Supper of the Lord ſhould be miniſtred to the lay people in both kindes.

he commu- in bothe des.

Theſe things done, the Lorde Protectour and the reſte of the Counſell, calling to mynde the euill dealyng and craftye diſſimulation of the Scottes, concerning the matter of marriage betwixte the Kynges Maieſtye, and the Queene of Scotlande (whyche marryage as ye haue hearde, in the fyue and thirtith yeare of King Henry the eyghte, was by authoritie of Parliamente in Scotlande fully concluded, thought it not to ſtande wyth the Kings honour to be in ſuche maner by them deluded,) and withall conſidering howe greatly it ſhuld tourne to the quietneſſe and ſafetie of bothe Realmes to haue theſe two Princes conioyned in Matrimonie, they dydde deuiſe ſundry wayes and meanes howe the ſame myghte be brought to paſſe, and the rather (as ſome doe write) for that Kyng Henry before his death hadde giuen them in ſpeciall charge by all indeuours to procure that the ſayde marriage myghte take place, but the Lordes of Scotlande were ſo inueygled and corrupted by the French Kyng, and abuſed by Cardinall Beton, Archebiſhoppe of Sainte Andrews, and other of theyr Clergie, that they not onely ſhranke from that whyche they hadde promyſed, but alſo ſought to deſtroye thoſe that fauoured the kyng of Englandes parte: whereuppon a great and puiſſaunt armye was now prepared to paſſe by lande into Scotland: and lykewyſe a Nauie to paſſe by ſea to attende vppon the ſame: Whereof the greate Galeye and foure and twentie tall ſhippes were thoroughly furnyſhed with menne and munitions for the warre, beſides many marchantes ſhippes and other ſmaller veſſelles, which ſerued for cariage of vittailes, and other neceſſities.

Grafton.

But nowe to ſhewe what noble men and other were ordeyned officers, and aſſigned to haue the conduction as well of the armye by lande, as of the fleete by ſea.

Chieftaynes in the armye.

Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that firſte the Duke of Somerſette, Lorde Protectour, toke vpon hym to goe him ſelfe in perſonne, as generall of the whole Armie, and Captayne alſo of the battayle or middle warde, wherein were foure thouſande footemenne. The Marſhall Earle of Warwike appoynted Lorde Lieutenaunt of the ſame army, ledde the forewarde conteyning three thouſande footemenne. The Lord Dacres gouerned in the rerewarde, wherein were other three thouſande footmenne. The Lorde Grey of Wilton was ordeyned hyghe Marſhall of the ſayde armye and Capitayne generall of all the horſemenne, beyng in number ſixe thouſand. Syr Rauffe Sadler knight treaſourer of the Armie. Syr Francis Bryan knight, capitayne of the lyghte horſemenne, in number two thouſande. Syr Rauffe Uane Knight lieutenant of all the men of armes and Dymilaunces. Sir Thomas Darcye Knyght Capitaine of all the Kings Maieſties Penſioners, and men at armes. Sir Rycharde Lee Knight deuiſer of the fortifications. Sir Peter Mewtas Knight Captayne of the Harquebuſiers, whyche were in number ſixe hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa knyght, Captayne of two hundred harquebuſiers on horſbacke. Sir Frãcis Flemmyng Knyght Mayſter of the ordynaunce. Sir George Blaag, and Sir Thomas Holcroft Commiſſioners of the muſters. Edwarde Shelley, the Lorde Greyes lieutenaunt of the men of armes of Bollongne, who was the firſte that gaue the onſet in the day of battayle, and dyed moſte honourablye in the ſame. John Brenne Captayne of the Pioners beeing in number a thouſande foure hundrethe. Thomas Audeley, and Edwarde Chamberlaine Harbengers of the fielde.

The chieftaynes that commaunded in the nauy by Sea were theſe.

The Lorde Edwarde Clinton Admirall of the fleete: Sir William Woodhouſe knight his Uiceadmirall. There were in the army of greate ordeinaunce fifteene peeces, and of cariages nine hundred Cartes, beſide many wagons, whereof the Commiſſarie generall was George Ferrers. Aſſoone as the armye by lande was in a readyneſſe, and ſet forwarde to come to Berwycke at a daye appoynted, the nauye likewiſe tooke the Sea, and by the helpe of Gods good guydyng hadde ſo proſperous ſpeede in their paſſage, that they arryued at Berwycke in tyme conuenient, whyther vpon the thirtiethe of Auguſte being Tueſday, the Lorde Protectour came, and laye in the Caſtell with Sir Nicholas Strelley knight, Captain there.

The nexte daye commaundement was giuen that euery man ſhuld prouide himſelfe for foure dayes victuall to be caried forthe with them in Cartes.

On Thurſedaye the firſte of September the Lorde Protectoure, not wyth manye mo than wyth hys owne bande of horſemen, roade to a Towne ſtandyng on the ſea coaſte, a ſixe miles from Berwicke within Scotlande called Aymouthe, whereat there runneth a riuer into the Sea, which he cauſed to bee ſounded, and fyndyng the ſame well able to ſerue for an Hauen, cauſed afterwards a fortreſſe to bee reiſed there, appoyntyng Thomas Gower, that was Marſhall of Berwike, to bee Capitayne thereof.

On Fridaye, all ſauing the counſell departed the Towne of Berwycke and encamped a two flight ſhootes off, by the Sea ſide, toward Scotlande. And the ſame day the Lord Clinton with his fleete tooke the ſeas from Berwike, to the ende, that in caſe the Winde ſhoulde not ſerue them, to keepe courſe wyth the Armye by lande, yet were it but wyth the dryuing of tides, they might vppon any neede of munition or victualls be ſtill at hand, or not long from them.

The ſame daye the Earle of Warwycke, and Sir Raulfe Sadleler Threaſourer of the armye, came to Berwicke from Newcaſtell, where they had ſtayed till then, for the full diſpatch of the reſte of the army, and the next day the Erle of Warwike encamped in field with the army.

A proclamation.

On whiche day a proclamation with ſound of Trumpette was made by an Herraulte in three ſeuerall places of the camp, ſignifying the cauſe of the comming of the Kynges armye at that preſente into Scotlande, whyche in effect was, to aduertiſe all the Scottiſh nation, that their comming was not to depriue them of their liberties, but to aduaunce the mariage already concluded and agreed vppon betwixte the kings maieſtie of England & their Quene, and no hoſtilitie ment to ſuche as ſhould ſhew themſelues furtherers therof.

The fourthe of September beeing Sundaye, the Lorde Protectoure came from out of the Towne, and the army reiſed, and marched that daye a ſixe miles, and camped by a village called Roſlan in the Barounie of Boukendale.

The order of the armie in marching forwarde.

The order of their Marche was this. Sir Frauncis Brian Capitayne of the light horſemen, with foure hundreth of his bande, ſerued to the ſkowte a mile or two before.

The carriages kept a long by the ſea coaſt, and the men at armes and Dimylances deuided into three troupes, aunſweryng the three wards ridde in araye directly agaynſt the carriages, a two flyghtſhote a ſunder from them. The three foote battayles kepte order in place betwixte them bothe. The fore warde foremoſte, the battaile in the middeſt, and the rereward hindermoſt, eche ward hauing his troup of horſemenne, and garde of ordinaunce, hys ayde of Pyoners, for amendement of wayes, where neede ſhoulde be.

The Peaths.

The fifte of September they marched an 8. miles, till they came to the peathes, a clough or Valley, runnyng for a ſixe myles Weaſte ſtrayght Eaſtewarde, and towarde the Sea a twentye ſcore brode from banke to banke aboue, and a fiue ſcore in the bottome, wherein runnes a little Riuer. Steepe is thys valley on either ſide, and deepe in the bottome. The Scots had caſte Trenches ouerthwarte the ſide wayes on either ſide, in many places, to make the paſſage more cumberſome, but by the Pioners the ſame were ſoone fylled, and the waye made playne, that the armye, carriage, and ordinaunce were quite ſette ouer ſoone after Sunne ſette, and there they pight downe their campe.

Whyleſt the armye was thus paſſyng ouer this comberſome paſſage, an Herraulte was ſente from the Lorde Protectoure, to ſommon a Caſtell, that ſtood at the ende of the ſame valley, a myle from the place, where they paſſed downe towardes the Sea. Matthewe Hume Capitaine thereof, a brothers ſonne of the lord Humes, vppon his ſommons required to ſpeak with the Lorde Protectoure, it was graunted, and hee came, whome the Protectoure handled in ſuche ſorte wyth effectuall wordes puttyng hym in choice wheather hee woulde yeelde, or ſtande to the aduenture, to haue the place won of hym by force, that hee was contented to render all at his graces pleaſure.

And ſo beeing commaunded to goe fetche hys companye out of the houſe, hee wente and broughte them, beeyng in all one and twentye perſones. The Capitayne and ſixe other were ſtaied and commaunded to the keeping of the Marſhall, the reſidue were ſuffered to departe, whither they thought good.

After this ſurrender, my Lorde John Grey brother to the Marques Dorſet, beeyng Capitayne of a greate number of Demylaunces, (as for hys approued worthyneſſe & valiancie right well bee-mought) was appoynted to ſeaze and take poſſeſſion of the houſe.

The ſpoyle was not riche ſure, but of white bread, oten cakes, and Scottiſhe ale indifferente good ſtore, and ſome beſtowed among my lords Souldiers, for ſwordes, bucklers, pikes, pottes, pannes, yarne, linnen, hempe, and heapes of ſuch baggage, whiche the Countrey people there about hadde broughte into that pile, to haue it in more ſuretie, the Souldiers would vnneth ſtoupe to take the ſame vp.

he Caſtell of unglaſſe o- erthrowen.

In the meane tyme, the Lord Protector appoynted the houſe to be ouerthrowen, whiche by the Captayne of the pioners was done, though with ſome trauayle, by reaſon the walles were ſo thicke, & the foundation ſo deepe, and therto ſet vpon ſo craggy a plotte.

Tewſday the ſixth of September, the armye diſlodged, and marched forwarde.

horneton & nderwike.

In the way as they ſhoulde goe, a myle and an halfe from Dunglas Northwarde, were two pyles or holdes, Thornton and Anderwike, ſet both on craggy foūdatiōs, & diuided a ſtones caſt aſunder by a deepe gut, wherein ran a little riuer.

hom Trot- er.

Thorneton belonged to the Lord Hume, and was kepte by one Thom Trotter, who vppon ſommonance giuen to render the houſe, lockt vp a ſixteene poore ſoules, lyke the Souldiers of Dunglas, faſt within the houſe, tooke the keys with him, commaundyng them to defende the place till hys returne, whiche ſhoulde bee on the morrowe, with munition and reliefe: and thys done, he and his prickers prickt (as ſayth maiſter Paten) quite their wayes.

he Lorde of mbleton.

Anderwike pertained to the Lord of Hambleton, and was kepte by his ſon and heire, whome of cuſtome they call the maiſter of Hambleton, and eyghte more Gentlemen for the moſt parte as was reported.

The Lorde Protector at his commyng nye, ſent vnto both theſe places, which vpon ſommonance, refuſing to render, were ſtraight aſſayled.

Thorneton, by batrie of foure great peeces of ordinance, and certayne of Sir Peter Mewtas hackbutters, and Anderwike by a ſorte of the ſame hackbutters, who ſo well beſtirred them, that where theſe keepers had rammed vp theyr outer doores, cloyed and ſtopt their ſtayres within, and kept themſelues for defence of their houſe about the battlementes, the hackbutters gote in, and fyered them vnderneath, whereby beyng greatly troubled with ſmoke, they cryed for mercy, whych the Lord Protector meant to graunt them, but ere the meſſenger came, the hackbutters were gote vp to them, and killed eyghte of them aloft: one lept ouer the walles, and running more than a furlong, after was ſlayne without in a water.

he pile of nderwike urne.

All this while at Thorneton, was the aſſaulte on the Engliſhe parte, and the defence by them within ſtoutely continued, but at length, when they perceyued in what daunger they ſtoode, and how little able they were to helpe themſelues, or to annoy the aſſailants, they plucke in a banner whiche they hadde hung forth, in token of defyance, and put forth a white linnen clout, tyed to a ſtickes ende, crying all with one tune for mercye: but hauyng aunſwere by the whole voyces of the aſſaylers, that they were traytors, and that it was too late, they pluckt in theyr ſticke, and ſette vppe agayne theyr banner of defyance, and ſhotte off, hurled ſtones, and dyd what elſe they could with great courage of theyr ſide, and ſmall hurt of the aſſailants. Wherefore perceyuing that they could not long keepe out, being on the one ſide battred, and myned on the other, kepte in with hackbutters on eache ſide, and ſome of the Engliſhmen beeing gote into the houſe belowe, for they hauing ſhet vp themſelues alſo in the higheſt of their houſe, pluckte in agayne theyr banner, and cryed eftſones for mercy, but being aunſwered generally by the aſſailants that they ſhoulde neuer looke for it, they fell to make theyr petition, that if they ſhoulde needes dye, they myght rather ſuffer by hanging, and ſo reconcile themſelues to God, than to dye in malice, with ſo great daunger of theyr ſoules.

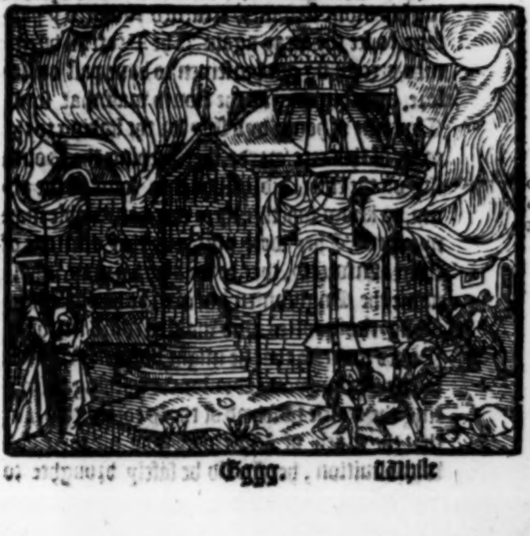
Sir Miles Partrige. Thorneton yeelded.

This ſuite was ſo furthered to the Dukes grace by Sir Myles Partrige, that was there at hand when they made this ſuite, that it was graunted, and they comming forthe, humbled themſelues, and without more hurt, they were but committed to the Prouoſt Marſhall, who kept them for a time, and were after releaſed.

The piles of Thorneton and other defaced.

The houſe was ſhortly after ſo blowen with powder, that more than the one halfe of it, fell ſtraight downe to duſt and rubbiſh, the reſt ſtood all to ſhaken with riftes and chinkes.

Anderwike was alſo burned, and all ye houſes of office, and ſtackes of corne about them both.



While this was in doing, yͤ dukes grace, in turning but about, ſaw the fall of Dunglas, which likewiſe was vndermined, & blowen wͭ powder.

This done, about noone, the army marched, and paſſing by Dunbar, the Caſtell ſente them diuers ſhottes of Artillerie, but all in vayne.

The Scottiſh prickers ſhewed themſelues in the field with proffer of ſkirmiſh, but to no great purpoſe, one of thẽ beeing killed wͭ a ſhot of one of Barteuilles men, an hackbutter on horſeback.

Tantallon.

Linton bridge

Hayles Caſtel.

A ſubtile practiſe of the Scottes.

The army hauing marched yͤ day a ten mile, lodged at nighte nere to Tãtallon, & had a blind alarme. Marching yͤ next morning a .ij. miles, they came to a riuer called Lin, where there is a ſtone bridge, named Lintõ bridge of a towne thereby on the right hand, as yͤ army marched, & ſtãding Eaſtward vpõ the ſame riuer, yͤ horſemẽ & cariages paſt through the water, for it was not very deepe, yͤ footemen ouer the bridge. The paſſage was ſtraight for an army, and therefore yͤ lõger in ſetting ouer. Beyonde this bridge about a myle Weſtward vppon the ſame riuer, on the South ſide, ſtãds a proper Caſtel, called Hayles, perteining to the Erle of Bothwell, but kepte as then by the gouernours appointment, who helde the Erle in priſon. Out of this Caſtell as the L. Protector paſſed forwarde in following the fore warde, there were roundly ſhot off (but withoute hurt) ſixe or ſeauen peeces, the which before that, (though ſome of the armye had bin very nye) yet kepte they all couert. In the meane time, roſe a thicke miſt, which cauſed great diſorder in yͤ rere warde, by reaſon they could not ſee about them. The Erle of Warwike therefore doubting leaſt the enimies, who had bin pricking vp & downe neere to the army, and offered ſkirmiſh the ſame morning, ſhould now by occaſion of the miſt, attempt ſome feate, to the annoyance of the Engliſhmen in their paſſage, his Lordſhippe hymſelfe ſcant with ſixteene horſe (whereof Barteuille, and John de Ribaud Frenchmen, were two: ſeuen or eight light horſemen moe, and the reſt being his owne ſeruants) returned towarde yͤ paſſage, to ſee the array again. The Scottiſh horſemen perceiuing our horſemen to haue paſt on before, and thinking (as the trouth was) that ſome Captaine of honor dyd ſtay for the looking to the order of this rere warde, they keeping the South ſide of the riuer, did call ouer to ſome of the army, to know whether there were any noble man nye there. They were aſkt why they aſkt: one of them aunſwered, that he was ſuch a man, whoſe name the Engliſhmen knew to be honorable among the Scottes, and woulde come in to the Dukes grace, ſo that he might be ſure to come in ſafetie. Some yong Souldyers nothing ſuſpecting the craftie falſehood of the Scottes, told him that the Earle of Warwike was nie there, by whoſe tuition, hee ſhould be ſafely broughte to my L. Protectors preſence, they had cand theyr leſſon, and fell to their practiſe, which was thys: hauyng comen ouer the water, in the way as the Earle ſhoulde paſſe, they had cowched behinde a hillocke, aboute two hundred of their prickers, and had ſente a fortie beſide, to ſearche where my Lorde was, whome when they had found, parte of them prickt very nye, whom tenne or twelue of the Earles ſmall company did boldly encoũter, and droue them welnie home to their ambuſhe, flying perchance not ſo much for feare, as for falſehood, to bring them within their daunger: but hereby enformed that the Earle was ſo nye, they ſent out a bigger number, and kept the reſt more ſecret, vpõ this purpoſe, that they might eyther by a playne onſet diſtreſſe him, or elſe by feyning of flighte, to haue trayned hym within daunger of theyr ambuſh, and thus inſtruct, they came pricking toward his Lordſhip apace, why (quoth he) and will not theſe knaues bee ruled, giue me my ſtaffe, the whiche then with ſo valiante a courage, hee charged at one (as it was thought) Dandy Car, a Captayne among thẽ, that he did not only cõpell Car to turne, & himſelfe chaſed him aboue twelue ſcore togyther al yͤ way at the ſpeare poynte (ſo yͭ if Cars horſe had not bin exceeding good & wyght, his lordſhip had ſurely run hym throgh in this caſe) but alſo with his little band, cauſed all the reſt to flee amayne. After whom as Henry Vane, a gentlemã of yͤ ſaid erles, & one of this cõpanie, did fierſly purſue .iiij. or .v. Scots, ſodenly turned, & ſet vpon him, and though they did not altogether eſcape his hands free, yet by hewyng & mangling his head, body, & many places elſe, they did ſo cruelly intreat him, as if reſkue had not come the ſooner, they had ſlayn him outright. Here was Barteuile run at ſtoeling, & hurt in the buttock & one of yͤ Engliſhmẽ ſlain: Of Scots again, none ſlain, but .iij. taken priſoners, whereof one was Rich. Maxwel, & hurt in the thigh: who had bin long in Englãd not long before, & had receyued ryght many benefites both of the late kings liberality, & of the erle of Warwike, & of many other nobles & gẽtlemẽ in yͤ court beſide. But to cõclude, if the erle of Warwik had not thus valiantly encountred them ere they could haue warned their ambuſhe, howe weakely he was garded, he had bin beſet roũd about by thẽ ere euer he could haue bin aware of thẽ, or reſkued of other: where hereby his Lordſhip vndoubtedly ſhewed his wonted valure, ſaued hys companye, and diſcomfited the enimie. As Barteuille the frenchman that day had right honeſtly ſerued, ſo did the Lords right honorably quite it, for yͤ Erle of Warwike did get him a ſurgeõ, and dreſt he was, ſtreight after leyd and conueid in the Lorde Protectors owne chariot. The reſt that wer hurt, wer here alſo dreſt, Scots & other.

The manly courage of the Earle of Warwike.

Dandy Car.

Henry Vane.

Barteuille hurte.

Richard Maxwell taken.

The armye hauyng marched that ſame daye nine myles; encamped at nyghte by a Towne ſtanding on the Fryth called Lang Nuddrey.

The nexte morning beeyng Thurſeday; the eyghte of September, in tyme of the diſlodging of the Engliſhe Camp, ſigne was made to ſome of the Shippes (whereof the moſt part and chiefeſt lay a tenne or twelue miles in the Forth, beyond vs, ouer againſte Lieth and Edenburgh) that the Lorde Admirall ſhould come a ſhore, to ſpeake with the Lorde Protector.

In the meane time, ſomewhat early, as oure Galley was comming toward vs, about a mile and more beyonde our camp, the Scottes were very buſie, awafting heere a ſhore toward them with a banner of Sainte George that they had, ſo to trayne them to come alande there, but the Earle of Warwike ſone diſappoynted the policie, for making towarde that place where the Lorde Admirall ſhould come a ſhore, the Engliſhmen on the water by the ſighte of his preſence, did ſone diſcerne their friendes from their foes.

The Lord Admirall herevpon came to land, and riding backe with the Earle vnto the Lord Protector, order was taken, that the great Ships ſhoulde remoue from before Lieth, and come to lye before Muſkelburgh and the Scottiſh camp which lay there in field already aſſembled, to reſiſt the Engliſhe power that marched thus towards them.

The ſmaller veſſelles that were vittaylers, were appoynted to lye nearer to the army.

The Lord Admirall heerevpon, being returned to the water, and the armye marching onwarde a mile or two, there appeared aloft on a hill, that lay longwiſe Eaſt, and Weſt, and on the South ſide of them, vppon a ſixe hundred of their horſemen prickers, whereof ſome within a flight ſhote, directly againſte the Engliſhmen, ſhewed themſelues vpon the ſame hill, and more further off.

Towarde theſe, ouer a ſmall bridge that laye ouer a little riuer there, very hardly did ride about a doſen hackbutters on horſebacke, and held them at bay ſo nye to their noſes, that whether it were by the goodneſſe of the ſame hackbutters, or the badneſſe of them, the Scottes dyd not only not come downe to them, but alſo very courteouſly gaue place, and fledde to theyr felowes.

The armye wente on, but ſo muche the ſlowlyer, bycauſe the way was ſomewhat narrowe, by meanes of the Forth on the tone ſyde, and certayne Mariſhes on the other.

The Scottes kept alwayes pace with them, till there were ſhotte off two field peeces twice, wherwith there was a man killed, and the legge of one of their horſes ſtriken off, which cauſed them to withdraw, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſaw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meante to encampe, for there they ſhewed themſelues agayne aloft on the fore remembred hill, ſtanding as it were to viewe and take muſter of the armye: but when the Lorde Gray made towardes them, minding to knowe theyr commiſſion, they wiſely went their way, and woulde not once abyde the reaſoning. Little elſe was done that day, but that George Ferrers, one of the Duke of Somerſettes Gentlemen, and one of the commiſſioners of the cariages in the armye, perceyuing where certayne Scottes were gote into a caue vnder the earth, ſtopping ſome of the ventes, and ſettyng fyre in the other, ſmolthered them to death as was thought it could be none other, by coniecture of the ſmoke breakyng forth at ſome of the other ventes.

Scottes ſmolthered in a caue.

The Englyſhe Shippes alſo takyng theyr leaue from before Lieth, with a ſcore of ſhotte or more, and as they came by ſalutyng the Scottes in theyr Camp alſo, with as manye, came and lay according to appoyntmente.

The armye hauyng marched thys day about a fyue myles, encamped at Salt Preſton by the Forth.

Salt Preſton.

On Friday the ninth of September, the Engliſh army lying in ſight and view of the Scottiſh Camp, that lay two myles or there aboutes from them, hadde the Forth on the North, and the hill laſt remembred on the South, the Weſt ende whereof is called Fauxſide Bray, on the whiche ſtandeth a ſory Caſtell, and halfe a ſcore houſes of lyke worthyneſſe by it, and hadde Weſtwarde before the Engliſhmen, the Scottes lying in campe.

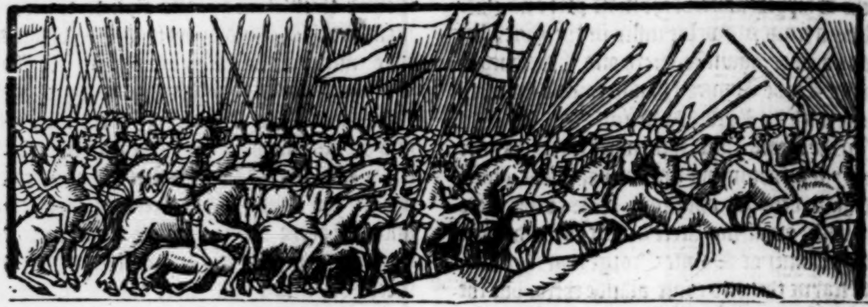
Fauxſide Bray

About a mile from the Engliſh Camp, were the Scottes horſemen very buſie, pranking vp and downe, and fayne woulde haue bin a counſell with the Engliſh mens doyngs, who again, bycauſe the Scottes ſeemed to ſitte to receyue them, dyd dyligently prepare that they myghte ſone goe to them, and therefore kepte within theyr Camp all that day.

The Lord Protector and the Counſel, ſitting in conſultation, the Captaynes and officers prouiding theyr bandes, ſtore of vittayles, and furniture of weapons, for furtherance whereof, oure veſſels of munition and vittayles were heere all ready come to the ſhore. The Scottes continued theyr brauerie on the hill, the whyche the Engliſhmen not beeyng ſo well able to beare, made out a bande of light horſemenne, and a troupe of demelances to backe them: the Engliſhmen and ſtrangers that ſerued among thẽ, gate vppe aloft on the hill, and thereby of euen grounde with the enimie, rode ſtraight towarde them with good ſpeede and order, whome at the firſte, the Scottes did boldly countenãce and abide: but after, when they perceyued that oure men would needes come forward, they began to pricke, and woulde fayne haue bin gone, ere they hadde told their errand, but the Engliſhmen haſted ſo ſpeedily after, that euen ſtreight they were at their elbowes, and dyd ſo ſtoutely then beſturre them, that what in the onſet at the fyrſte, and after in the chaſe, which laſted a three miles welnie to as farre as the furtheſt of their camp, on the South ſide, they had killed of the Scots within a three houres, aboue the number of thirteene hundred, and taken the maiſter of Hume, the Lord Humes ſon and heire, two Prieſts and ſixe Gentlemen, whereof one by Sir Iaques Granado, and all vpon the higheſt and welneere nigheſt of the hill towarde the Scottes, within the full ſight of their whole camp.

The Scot
horſemen
comfited,
put to ſlig

Scottes ſlayne. Priſoners taken.



On the Engliſh parte, one Spaniſh Hackebutter hurt, and takẽ, ſir Rauſe Bulmer knight, Thomas Gower Marſhall of Berwike, & Robert Crouch, all Captaines of ſeuerall bands, of the Engliſhe light horſemen, and men of ryghte good courage, and approued ſeruice, and at thys time diſtreſt by their owne too muche forwardneſſe, and not by the enimies force. To cõclude, of fifteene hundred horſemen for ſkirmiſhe, and fiue C. footemen, to lie cloſe in ambuſhe, and to be ready at neede, which came that morning out of their camp, there turned not home aboue ſeauen C. and diuers of thoſe ſore hurt, and among other, the L. Hume himſelfe, for haſt in the flight, had a fall from his horſe, and burſt ſo the canell bone of his necke, that he was fayne to be caryed ſtraight to Edinburgh, and finally there departed this life of that hurt. Then after this, the L. Protector, and the Earle of Warwike, and other of the counſell, with a ſmall gard, mounting vp the hill, where the ſlaughter had bin made, about halfe a mile Southeaſt from the Scottiſh campe, tooke full viewe thereof, the plotte where they laye, ſo choſen for ſtrengthe, as in all theyr country (ſome thought) not a better, ſaue on the South by a great Mariſh, and on the North by the Forth, whiche ſyde they fenced with two fielde peeces, and certayne hackbuttes a crooke, lying vnder a turfe walle, Edenburgh on the Weſt at their backes, and Eaſtward betweene the Engliſhmen and them ſtrongly defended by the courſe of a riuer called Eſke, running North into the Forth, whiche as it was not very deepe of water, ſo were the bankes of it ſo hygh and ſteepe, as a ſmall ſort of reſiſtants myghte haue bin able to keepe downe a great number of commers vp.

Engliſhmen taken.

The Lorde Hume hurt with a fall in the chaſe.

About a twelueſcore from the Forth, ouer the ſame riuer, is there a ſtone bridge, which they did keepe alſo well garded with ordinance. When the Lord Protector, and the Earle of Warwike had viewed euery thing, as they thoughte expedient, they returned home towards their camp, alongſt before the camp of the enimies, within leſſe than two flighte ſhootes, entring into a lane of thirtie foote broade, fenced on eyther ſide with a wall of turfe, an elle of heigth.

The Scottes did often ſhoote at them in the way as they paſſed thus homewards, withoute hurt, ſauing the killing of an horſe among three hundred, the rider eſcaping elſe harmeles. And as the Dukes grace was paſſed welnie halfe the way homewardes, a Scottiſhe Herrault with a cote of his princes armes vpon him (as the maner is) and with him a Trumpetter, ouertooke them.

The Herraulte declaring his meſſage to the L. Protector, pretẽded to come from the gouernour, to enquire of priſoners taken, and therwith to proffer honeſt conditions of peace, and after he had tolde his tale, thẽ began the Trumpetter, that ſayde, howe hee was ſent from the Earle of Huntley. My L. my maiſter (ſaith he) hath willed me to ſhewe your grace, yͭ bycauſe this matter may bee the ſooner ended, and with leſſe hurt, he will fight with your grace for the whole quarrel, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or elſe hymſelfe alone with your grace man to man. The Lorde Protector hauing kept with him the Lord Lieutenant, had heard them both throughly, and then in anſwering, ſpake ſomwhat with louder voice, than they had done their meſſages, whereupon, they that were the ſtanders by, thinking that his grace would haue it no ſecrete, were ſomewhat the bolder to come neere, the wordes whereof, were vttered ſo expeditely with honor, and ſo honorably with expedition, that the ſtanders by were moued to doubt whether they myght rather note in them the promptneſſe of a ſingular prudencie, or the boldneſſe of a noble courage: and they wer thus. Your gouernour may know, that the ſpeciall cauſe of oure comming hither was not to fight, but for the thing that ſhoulde bee the weale, both of vs and you, for God wee take to recorde, wee minde no more hurte to the Realme of Scotland, than we doe to the Realme of England, and therefore oure quarell beeyng ſo good, we truſt God will proſper vs the better. But as for peace, hee hathe refuſed ſuch conditions at oure handes, as wee will neuer profer agayne: and therefore lette him looke for none, tyll this way we make it: and thou Trumpette, ſaye to thy maiſter, hee ſeemeth to lacke witte ſo to make thys chalenge to me, beyng of ſuch eſtate, by the ſufferance of God, as haue ſo weightie a charge of ſo precious a iewell, the gouernaunce of a Kings perſon, and then the protection of all his Realmes, whereby in thys caſe I haue no power of my ſelfe, which if I had, as I am true Gentleman, it ſhoulde bee the firſte bargayne I would make: but there be a great ſort among vs his equals, to whome he mighte haue made thys chalenge without refuſall. Quoth the Lorde Lieutenant to them both, hee ſheweth his ſmall witte to make this chalenge to my Lordes grace, and hee ſo meane, but if his grace will gyue mee leaue, I ſhall receyue it, and Trumpette bryng me worde thy maſter will ſo do, and thou ſhalte haue of me an hundred Crownes. Nay quoth my Lordes grace, the Earle of Huntley is not meete in eſtate with you my Lord: but Herault ſay to the gouernoure, and hym alſo, that wee haue bin a good ſeaſon in this Countrey, and are heere now, but with a ſober company, and they a great number, and if they will meete vs in field, they ſhall bee ſatiſfyed with fighting ynough, and Herrault bring mee word they will ſo doe, and by my honor I will giue thee a thouſande Crownes. Yee haue a proude ſort among you, but I truſt to ſee youre pryde abated ſhortely, and of the Earle Huntleys too, I wis hee is a glorious yong Gentleman.

This ſayd, the Earle of Warwike continued hys requeſt, that hee myghte receyue this chalenge, but the Lorde Protector would in no wiſe graunte to it.

These meſſengers had their aunſweres, and therewith leaue to depart.

The Scottes in middes of this meſſage, doyng contrary to the order of warre, which as it graunteth ſafetie to Heraults and Trumpetters, to paſſe betwixt army and army, ſo during the tyme of any ſuche meſſage, as this was, hoſtilitie on both partes ought to ceaſſe, but it ſkilled not.

On the morrow after, they had their gunnes taken from them (as ſayth maiſter Paten) and put into theyr handes that coulde vſe them with more good manner.

But nowe concerning the meſſage of ẏ Herrault, it was thought that he was ſent therwith, not for ẏ it was beleeued of them, that it would be accepted, but rather that whileſt he was doing his errand, he might ſurvey the Engliſh power, or elſe for that vppon refuſall of the offer, they myghte vſe the victory (whereof they accompted themſelues aſſured) with more crueltie. Of nothing they doubted more, than leaſt the Engliſhmen woulde haue bin gone backe, and gotten to the water, before they ſhould haue encountred them, and therefore they had appoynted to haue giuen the Engliſh army a camiſado in ẏ night before the day of the battayle: but peraduenture, vnderſtanding that the Engliſhmen had warning of theyr intention, and were prouided for them if they had come, they ſtayed and came not at all.

But in the morning, they were vp very timely, and beeyng quite in order of battayle, they marched ſtraighte towardes the Engliſh Campe, againſt whome then, though they ſaw the Engliſh horſemen ready to make, yet could not bee perſwaded, but that it was for a policie to ſtay them, till the Engliſhe footemen and cariages myghte fully be beſtowed a Shipborde, and that for the ſame purpoſe, the Engliſh Shippes were come backe from before Lyeth.

In the nyghte of this daye, the Dukes grace appoynted that early in the nexte morning, parte of the ordinance ſhoulde bee planted in the lane (whereof mention before is made) vnder the turfe wall, nexte to theyr campe, and ſome alſo to bee ſette vppon the hill nye to Undreſke Churche afore remembred, and thys to the intente wee ſhoulde with oure ſhotte, cauſe them eyther wholly to remoue theyr campe, or elſe muche to annoy them in that place where they lay.

It was not the leaſt of the Engliſhmennes meaning alſo, to winne from them certayne of theyr ordinance, that laye neereſt vnto thys Churche.

And herewith the ſame morning, beeyng the tenth of September, and Saterday, ſomewhat before eyght of the clocke, the Engliſh army diſlodged, and marched ſtreighte towarde the Church of Undreſke, as well for intente to haue

The Lorde ...
...tenantes
...ſwere.

...e Earle of
...arwikes
...queſt and
...allenge, to
...e Earle of
...untley.

The vayne doubt of the Scottes.

Saterday, the tenth of September, the day of the battayle.

meanyngs were the ſame, as for placing their ordinance, and other conſiderations afore remembred.

The Scottes eyther for feare of the Engliſhmens departing, or hope of their ſpoyling, were out of their camp comming toward them, paſſed the riuer, gathered in array, and welneere at this Church, ere the Engliſhmen were halfe way to it, ſo quite diſappoynting the Engliſhmens purpoſe, which at the firſte ſeemed very ſtrange in theyr eyes, as altogither beſide theyr expectatiō, as they that thought they would neuer haue forſaken theyr ſtrengthe, to meete them in the fielde: but after it was knowen that they dyd not only thus purpoſe to do, but alſo to haue aſſayled them in theyr campe, as they lay, if they hadde not bin ſturring the timelyer, and hauyng cauſed all theyr tentes to bee let flatte downe to the grounde, ere they came out, bycauſe none ſhoulde lye lurking behynde them in their camp, and as well the Nobles as other leauyng theyr horſes behynde them, (excepte ſuche as were appoynted to ſerue on horſebacke) marched on with their Souldiers afote.

The Engliſhmenne and Scottes march the one army towards the other.

They came ſpeedily forwardes on both ſides, the one till then no whit aware of the others intente, but the Scottes inuerde with a wonder pace betweene two hillockes, betwixte the Engliſhmenne and the Churche, muſtred ſomewhat brimme, at whome as they ſtayed, the Engliſh galley ſhotte off, and ſlewe the maiſter of Greyme, with a fiue and twentie others neere by him, and therewith ſo ſkarred foure thouſand Iriſhe archers, broughte by the Earle of Arguile, that where (as it was ſayde) they ſhoulde haue bene a wing to the fore warde, they coulde neuer after be made to come forwarde.

The galley.

The Iriſhe archers.

Hereuppon did theyr army haſtily remoue, and from thence declining Southwarde, toke their direct way toward Fauxſide Bray: of this, ſir Rauſe Vane, Lieutenant of all the Engliſhe Horſemen, firſt of al, or with the firſte, noting it, quickly aduertiſed the Lorde Protector, who thereby did redily conceyue their meanyng, whiche was to winne the hill, and thereby the winde and ſunne, the gayne of which three things as is thought whether partie in fight of battayle can hap to obteyne, hathe his force doubled agaynſt his enimie.

In all this enterpriſe, they vſed for haſt ſo little the help of horſe, that they plucked forthe their ordinance by draught of menne, whiche at that preſente began freely to ſhoote off towards the Engliſhe army, whereby it was perceyued, they meant more than a ſkirmiſh. Herewith, euery man began to apply himſelfe in his charge and ductie, whiche he had to doe, and herewith, the Lord Protector, and other of the Counſayle on horſebacke as they were, fell ſtraight in conſultation. The ſharpeneſſe of whoſe circumſpect wiſdomes as it quickly eſpyed out the enimies intentes, ſo dyd it among other thyngs promptly prouide therein remedie, to preuente them (as needefull it was, for the tyme aſked no leyſure.)

Theyr deuiſe was, that the Lorde Grey of Wilton, Marſhall of the armye with his bande of Bulleyners, and with the Lorde Protectors bande, and the Earle of Warwikes, all to the number of eyghteene hundred horſemen, on the lefte hande on the Eaſt halfe, and Sir Rauſe Vane with Sir Thomas Darcy, Captayne of the Pentioners, and menne of armes, and the Lord Fitz waters, with hys band of demilances, all to the number of ſixteene hundred, to bee readye and euen with the Lorde Marſhall, on the Weſt halfe, and thus all theſe togither afore to encounter the enimies afrount, whereby eyther to breake their aray, and that way to weaken their power by diſorder, or at the leaſt, to ſtoppe them of their gate, and force them to ſtay, whyle the fore warde myghte wholly haue the hylles ſide, and the battaile and rerewarde be placed in groundes next that in order, and beſt for aduantage. And after thys, that the ſame horſemen ſhoulde retire vppe to the hilles ſide to come downe in order afreſhe, and infeſt them on bothe ſides, whyleſt the fote battayles ſhoulde occupye them in fyghte afrunt.

The Lorde Greys requeſt to the Lord Protector.

Whiche enterpriſe, though it ſeemed ryghte daungerous to the aſſaylers, yet was it not more wiſely deuiſed by the counſayle, than valiantly and willingly executed of the L. Marſhall and the others, for euen there taking theyr leaues of the Counſaile, the ſayde Lorde Marſhall requiring onely, that if it wente not well with hym, the Dukes grace woulde bee good to his wife and children, hee ſayde hee woulde meete thoſe Scottes, and ſo, with their bandes, the foreſayde Captaynes toke theyr waye, and made toward the enimie.

By thys tyme, were the fore wardes on eyther part aduaunced within two flyghtes ſhotte in ſunder.

The Scottes came on ſo faſt, that it was thoughte of the moſt parte of the Engliſhmen, they were rather Horſemen than footemen.

The Engliſhmen againe were ledde ẏ more with ſpede, to ſhewe that they were as willyng as the Scottes to trie the battell. The maiſter of the ordinance to their great aduauntage, plucht vp the hill at that inſtant certaine peeces, and ſoone after, planted two or three canons of them welnie vppon the top there, whereby hauyng ſo much the help of ẏ hil, he might ouer ẏ Engliſhmens heads ſhoote nyeſt at the enimie. As the

Lord

Lorde Protector had ſo circumſpectly taken order for the aray and ſtacion of the army, and for the execution of euery mans office beſide, he being perfectly appointed in faire armoure, accompanyed onely with Sir Thomas Chaloner Knight, one of the Clearkes of the Kings priuie counſayle, gote hym to the height of the hill, to tarrie by the ordinaunce, where he might beſt ſuruey the whole field, and ſuccour with ayd where moſt hee ſaw neede, and alſo by his preſence to bee a defence to the thing that ſtoode weakeſt in place, and moſt in daunger, the which how much it ſtoode in ſteede, anone yee ſhall heare further. As hee was halfe vp the hill, the Earle of Warwike was ware the enimies were all at a ſuddayne ſtay, and ſtoode ſtill a good while, ſo that it ſeemed to hym that they perceyuing now theyr owne follie in leauing their grounde of aduantage, had no will to come any further forward, but gladly woulde haue bin whence they came. The reaſons were theſe. Firſte bycauſe at that tyme, beſide the full muſter of the Engliſh footemen, of whome they thought there had bin none there in field, but all to haue bin eyther ſhipt or a ſhipping, then they ſawe playne that the Engliſhmen were ſure to haue the gayne of the hill, and they the ground of diſaduantage out of their hold, and put from their hope: and hereto, for that their Herrault gaue the Lord Protector no warning, the whiche by him (if they hadde meante to fight it out) who would not haue preſumed that for the eſtimation of their honoure, they woulde little haue ſtucke to haue ſente, and hee agayne, and it had bin but for his thouſande Crownes, wold right gladly haue brought? wel yet how ſo euer their meaning changed, finally conſidering belike the ſtate they ſtoode in, that as they hadde left their ſtrength to ſoone, ſo nowe to be too late to repent, vpon a change of countenaunce, they made haſtely forwarde againe, and as it ſeemed with no leſſe ſtouteneſſe of courage, thã ſtrongly in order, whoſe maner, armour, weapon, and order in fighte in thoſe dayes and before (though nowe ſomewhat changed as well as among other nations) was as enſueth.

Scottes ay.

The order of the Scottes in battle,

Hackbutters hadde they fewe, and appoynted theyr fyghte moſte commonlye alwayes on foote.

They vſed to come to the field well furniſhed, with iacke & ſkull, dagger, buckler, and ſwordes, all notably brode and thinne, of exceeding good temper, and vniuerſally ſo made to ſlice, as harde it is to deuiſe the better: hereto euery manne hys pike, and a greate kercher wrapped twice or thrice rounde aboute his necke, not for colde, but for cutting.

In their aray towarde the ioyning with the enimie, they thruſt ſo neere in the fore rankes, ſhoulder to ſhoulder, togither with their pikes in both handes, ſtraighte afore them, and their followers in that order ſo hard at theyr backes, laying theyr pikes ouer theyr foregoers ſhoulders, that if they doe aſſaile vndiſſeuered, no force can well withſtand them.

Standyng at defence, they thruſt ſhoulders likewiſe ſo nie togither, the fore rankes welnie to kneeling ſtoupe low before, for their fellowes behynde, holdyng their pikes in bothe handes, and therewith in theyr left theyr bucklers, the one ende of theyr pyke againſte their right foote, the other agaynſte the enimie breſt high, their followers croſſing their pike poyntes with them before, and thus eache with other, ſo nye as place and ſpace will ſuffer, through the whole rankes ſo thicke, that as eaſily ſhall a bare finger pierce through the ſkyn of an angry Hedgehogge, as anye encounter the fronte of theyr pikes.

The Lorde Marſhall notwithſtandyng, whome no daunger detracted from doyng hys enterpriſe, with the companye and order afore appoynted, came full in theyr faces from the hill ſide towardes them.

Herewith waxed it very hote on both ſides, with pitiful cries, horrible rore, and terrible thundering of gunnes, beſyde the daye darkened aboue head, with ſmoke of the artillerie, the ſighte and appearance of the enimie euen at hande before, the daunger of deathe on euerye ſyde elſe, the bullettes, pellettes and arrowes, flying eache where ſo thicke, and ſo vncertainely lyghting, that no where was there anye ſurtie of ſafetie, euery man ſtriken with a dreadfull feare, not ſo muche perchance of deathe, as of hurte, whiche thyngs though they were but certaine to ſome, yet doubted of all, aſſured crueltie at the enimies handes, without hope of mercy, death to flie, and daunger to fight.

The face of the field at the poynt of ioyning.

The whole face of the field on both ſides vpon this poynte of ioyning, both to the eye and to the eare ſo heauie, ſo deadly, lamentable, furious, outragious, terrible, confuſe, and ſo quite agaynſte the quiete nature of man, as if to the nobilitie the regarde of theyr honor and fame, to the Knightes and Captaynes, the eſtimation of theyr worſhippe and honeſtie, and generally to them all, the naturall motion of bounden duetie, theyr owne ſafetie, hope of victorie, and the fauoure of God, that they truſted vppon for the equitie of their quarrell, hadde not bene a more vehemente cauſe of courage, than the daunger of deathe was cauſe of feare, the verye horroure of the thyng hadde bene able to haue made anye man to forgette both proweſſe and policie. But the Lorde Marſhall and the other, with preſent minde and courage warely and quickly continued their courſe towardes them. The enimies were in a fallow field, whereof the fourrowes lay ſidelong toward the Engliſhmẽ, next to whom by the ſide of the ſame fourrowes, and a ſtones caſt from the Scottes, was there a croſſe ditch or ſlough, whiche the Engliſhmen muſt needes paſſe to come to thẽ, wherein many that could not leape ouer, ſtucke faſt, to no ſmall daunger of themſelues, and ſome diſorder of their fellowes.

The order of the Scottiſhe battayles.

The enimie perceyuing the Engliſhmen faſt to approche, diſpoſed themſelues to abide the brunte, and in this order ſtoode ſtill to receyue them.

The Earle of Angus next to the Engliſhmen in the Scottiſhe fore warde, as Captaine of the ſame, with an eight thouſand men, and foure or fiue peeces of ordinance on his right hande, and a foure hundred horſemen on his left.

Behinde hym Weſtwarde, the gouernoure with tenne thouſande Inland men (as they call them) the choyſeſt Souldiers counted of theyr countrey.

The Iriſhe archers on a wing.

And the Earle of Huntley in the rerewarde, welny euẽ with the battaile on the left ſide with eight thouſande. The four thouſand Iriſh archers as a wing to them both, laſt indeede in order, and firſt (as they ſayd) that ranne away.

The battayle and alſo the rerewarde, were garded likewiſe with their ordinance according.

Edwarde Shelley.

The Lord Iohn Grey.

Edward Shelley, Lieutenant vnder yͤ Lorde Grey of his bande of Bulleners, was the fyrſte that paſſed ouer the ſlough. The lord Grey himſelfe next, with the Lord Iohn Grey and others in the foremoſt ranke, and ſo then after two or three rankes of their former bands. But badly yet could they make their raſe, by reaſon the furrowes lay trauers to their courſe. That notwithſtanding, and though alſo they were nothyng likely well to be able thus a front to come within them to doe them hurte, as well bycauſe the Scottiſhmens pikes were as long or longer thã their ſtaues, as alſo for that their horſes were all naked withoute bardes, whereof though there were right many among them, yet not one put on, for as muche as at their comming forthe in the morning, they looked for nothing leſſe than for battayle yͭ day: yet did thoſe worthy Gentlemen, the Lord Grey of Wilton, the Lord Iohn Grey, and maſter Shelley, with the reſidue, ſo valiantly and ſtrongly gyue the charge vppon them, that whether it were by their prowes or power, the left ſide of the enimies that his Lordſhip did ſette vpon (though their order remayned vnbroken) was yet compelled to ſway a good way backe, and giue grounde largely, and all the reſidue of them beſide, to ſtand much amaſed.

Beſide this, as the Engliſhmen were welnie at their enimies, they ſtoode very braue and bragging, ſhaking their pike poyntes, crying, come Lounds, come heere Tikes, come heretikes and ſuch lyke rethorike they vſed, but though ſayth Maiſter Paten, they meant but ſmall humanitie, yet ſhewed they thereby muche ciuilitie, both of faire play, to warne ere they ſtroke, and of formall order, to chide ere they fought.

The Engliſh horſemen repulſed.

The Engliſh Captaines that were behynde, perceyuing at eye, that both by the vneuenneſſe of the ground, by the ſturdy order of the enimie, and for that their fellowes were ſo nie & ſtraight before them, they were not able to any aduauntage to maynteyne this onſet, did therefore according to the deuiſe in that poynte appoynted, turne themſelues, and made a ſofte retire vp towarde the hill agayne, howbeit, to confeſſe the trueth, ſome of the number that knewe not the prepenſed policie of the counſayle in this caſe, made of a ſober aduiſed retire, an haſtie, raſhe and vnaduiſed flight, howbeit, without Captain or ſtandert, and vpon no cauſe of neede, but of a meere vndiſcretion and madnes. A madnes indeede, for firſt the Scottes were not able to purſue, bycauſe they were footemen, and then if they could, what hope by flight ſo farre from home, in their enimies lande, where was no place of refuge.

Gentlemen ſlaine.

The valiant Lord Grey, Edward Shelley, little Preſton, Brampton, and Iernyngham, Bulleners, Ratcliffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, Sir Iohn Cleres ſonne and heire, Rawley a gentleman of ryght cõmendable prowes, Digges of Kent, Ellerker a pencioner, Segraue. Of the duke of Somerſets band Stanley, Woodhouſe, Cooniſbye, Horgil, Norris, Denys, Arthure, and Atkinſon, with other in the foreranke, not beeing able in this earneſte aſſault, both to tende to theyr fyght afore, and to the retire behynde: the Scottes agayne well conſidering hereby how weake they remained, caught courage a freſhe, ran ſharply forward vpon them, and without any mercy, ſlewe the moſt part of them that abode furtheſt in preaſe a. vj. moe of Bulleyners, and other then before are named, in all to the number of xxvi. and moſt part Gentlemen. My lord Grey yet & my L. Iohn Grey, & lykewyſe my L. Edw. Seimer (as ſom egrace was) returned agayne, but neyther all in ſafetie, nor withoute euidente markes they had bin there: for the L. Grey wͭ a pike through the mouth was raſed a long from the tippe of the tong, and thruſt that way very daungerouſly more than two inches within the necke, and the other two had their horſes vnder them with ſwordes ſore wounded. Like as alſo

The Lord Grey hurt.

a little before this onſet, ſir Thomas Darcy vpon his approche to the enimies, was ſtrycken glaunſing wiſe on the ryght ſide, with a bullet of one of their field peeces, and thereby hys bodye bruyſed with the bowing in of his armour, hys ſworde hiltes broken, and the forefinger of hys right hande beaten flat. Euen ſo vpon the parting of this fray, was ſir Arthur Darcy ſlaſht at with ſwordes, and ſo hurt vpon the wedding finger of his right hande alſo, as it was counted for the fyrſt parte of curing to haue it quyte cutte away.

ndrew
mocke.

About the ſame tyme, certaine of the Scottes ranne out haſtily to the Kings Standard of the horſemen (the which ſir Andrewe Flammocke bare) and laying faſt hold vpon the ſtaffe thereof, cryed, a king, a king. That if both his ſtrength, his heart, and his horſe, had not beene good, and herewith ſomewhat ayded at this pinche by ſir Rauſe Coppinger a Pencioner, both he had beene ſlaine, and the Standart loſt, which the Scottes neuertheleſſe held ſo faſt, that they brake and bare away the nether ende of the ſtaffe to the burrell, and intended ſo muche to the gayne of the Standart, that ſir Andrew (as hap was) ſcaped home all ſafe, and elſe without hurt.

Lorde

At this buſineſſe alſo my Lorde Fitzwaters, now Earle of Suſſex, and Lorde Chamberlaine to the Queenes maieſtie, Captaine there of a number of Demilaunces was vnhorſt, but ſoone mounted againe, ſcaped yet in greate daunger, and his horſe all hewen. Hereat further were Caluerley the Standert bearer of the menne at armes, and Clement Paſton a Pencioner, thruſt eche of them into the legge with Pykes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knee, diuerſe other maymed and hurt, and many horſes ſore wounded beſide.

By this time had the Engliſh forwarde accordingly gotten the full vauntage of the hilles ſide, and in reſpect of theyr marche ſtoode ſideling towarde the enimie: who neuertheleſſe were not able in all partes to ſtande full ſquare in array: by reaſon that at the weſt ende of thē vpon their right hande, and towarde the enimie, there was a ſquare plot encloſed with Turfe (as their maner of fencing in thoſe partes, as well as in dyuerſe other is) one corner wherof did let the ſquare of the ſame array.

battaile.

The battaile in good order next them, but ſo as in continuance of array, the former part thereof ſtoode vpon the hilles ſide, the tayle vpon the plaine, and the rerewarde wholy vpon the plaine. So that by the placing and countenaunce of the Engliſh army in this wiſe, they ſhewed themſelues in maner to compaſſe in the Scots battails, that they ſhoulde no waye eſcape them: but how little able they were to do it with power and number, ye may eaſily coniecture.

Thoſe horſemen that were ſo repulſed, and in theyr comming backe vnorderly brake theyr array from the reſidue, ran ſo haſtily through the rankes of the Engliſh forewarde as it ſtoode, that it did both diſorder many, feared many, and was a great encouragement to the enimie.

The preſence of the Erle of Warwik greatly encouraged the ſouldiers.

The worthie Earle of Warwicke, who had the guiding of this forewarde, right valiantly had conducted the ſame to their ſtanding, and there did very nobly encorage and comfort them with ſuch cheerefull wordes, offring to liue and dye among them, that doubtleſſe his preſence, demeaning himſelfe in ſuch manlike ſort, ſtood the whole cōpanie in great ſtead. Neither wanted there the cheerefull diligence of thoſe Captaynes, with whom his honor was furniſhed in that forewarde likewiſe to encourage their bandes. nor the worthie behauiour of other in the battaile and rereward euery one according to his calling, ſhewing ſuch prouſe of his duetie, as the moſt part certainly deſerued to haue their names regiſtred in the Kalender of fame, where no ruſt of cankred obliuion might fret out the remembraunce of their cōmendable demeanours, and therefore if anye among them ſhould haue ſhewed any lack of courage, their diſprayſe had beene the more, ſith by others they ſaw ſuch worthie example giuen. But ſithens there were ſo meny that did wel, and therfore deſeruing a lōger proceſſe to be made of their high valiancies ſhewed in that daungerous ſeruice, than this volume may permit, I will proceede to the battaile.

The Scottes were ſomewhat diſordred with their comming oute aboute the ſlaughter of the Engliſhmē, the which they did ſo earneſtly folow that they tooke not one to mercie. The Dukes grace placing himſelfe (as ye haue heard) on the hill of Fauxſide bray, and therewith perceyuing the great diſorder of the ſtragling horſemen, that had in their retyre broken array, hemmed them in from further ſtraying, whom ſir Rauſe a Vane, and others of the Captaynes, ſoone after wyth great dexteritie brought in good order and array againe, and with all the reſt of the ſtrengthes of the whole armye, by the policie of the Lordes, and diligence of euery Captaine and officer beſide, were ſo fitly and aptly applyed in theyr feat, that where this repulſe giuen by the enimy to the horſmen was doubted of many, to turne to the whole loſſe of the field, the ſame was wrought and aduaunced according as it was deuiſed, to the great certaintie of gaine and victorie. For firſt at this ſlough, where moſt of the horſemen had ſtoode, ſir Peter Mewtas Captaine of all the Hagbutters a foote, did verie valiantly conduct & place a good number of his men, in maner hard at the faces of the enimies, wherunto ſir Peter Gamboa a Spa-

Sir Rauſe a Vane.

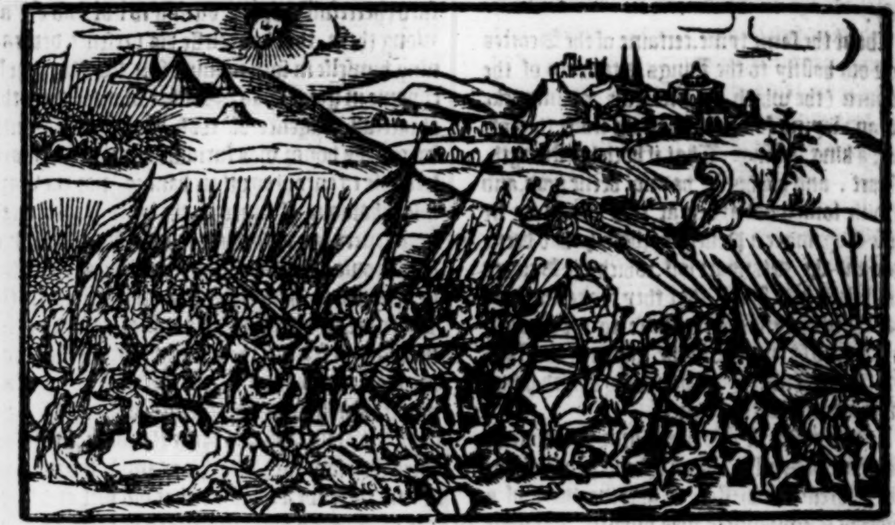
Sir Peter Mewtas.

Sir Peter Gamboa.

The Archers.

The maiſter of the ordinance.

niard, captaine of two hundred Harquebuſiers, Spaniards, and Italians on horſebacke did readily bring his men alſo, who with the hote continuance of theyr ſhot on both partes, did ſo ſtoutly ſtay the enimies, that they coulde not well come further forwarde: then the Archers that marched in array on the right hande of the footemen, and next to the enimies, pricked them ſharpely with arrowes as they ſtoode. Therewith the maiſter of the ordinance, to their great annoyance did gall them with haile ſhotte and other out of the great ordinance, directly from the hill toppe, and certaine other Gunners with their peeces a flanke from the rerewarde, moſte of the Artillerie and miſſiue engines then wholy thus at once, with great puiſſance and vehemencie occupied about them, herewith the full ſight of the Engliſh footmen, all ſhadowed from them before by the horſmen, and duſt rayſed, whom then they were ware in ſuch order to be ſo neare vpon them, and to this the perfect array of the horſmen againe comming couragiouſly to ſet on them a freſh, miſerable men, perceyuing thẽſelues then all too late, howe much too much they had ouerſhot themſelues, began ſodainly to ſhrinke.



The Scottes flie.

Their gouernour and other the principall captaynes that had brought them to the bargaine, tooke their horſes and fled amaine, which other perceyuing, did quickly follow, and with the formoſt their Iriſhmen, and therewith turned al the whole rowte, caſt downe theyr weapons, ranne out of theyr wardes, off with theyr Iackes, and with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race that their gouernour began. The Engliſhe men at the firſt had founde them (as what coulde eſcape ſo many eyes) and ſharpely and quickely with an vniuerſall outcry, they flie, they flie, purſued after in chaſe ſo egrely, and with ſuch fierceneſſe, that they ouertooke many, and ſpared indeed but few, that when they were once turned, it was a wonder to ſee howe ſoone, and in howe ſundrie ſortes they were ſkattered. The place they ſtoode on like a wood of ſtaues ſtrewed on the grounde, as Ruſhes in a Chamber, vnpaſſable (they lay ſo thicke) for either horſe or man. Here at the firſt had they let fall all their pykes.

After that, euery where ſcattred ſwordes, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all things elſe that was of any weight, or might be any let to their courſe, which courſe among them, three wayes ſpecially they made, ſome along the ſands by the Frith towards Lieth, ſome ſtreight toward Edenburgh, whereof parte through the Parke there (in the walles whereof, though they be rounde about of flint ſtone, yet were there many holes alreadie made) and part of them by the hie way that leadeth along by the Abbay of holy Roode houſe: and the reſidue and moſt part of them towardes Daketh, whiche way by meanes of the Mariſh our horſmen were worſt able to follow.

Sundrie ſhiftes, ſome ſhrewde, ſome ſorie, made they in their running, diuerſe of them in theyr courſes, as they were ware they were purſued but of one, woulde ſodainly ſtart backe, and laſh at the legges of the horſe, or foyne him in the belly, and ſometime did they reache at the ryder alſo, whereby Clement Paſton in the arme, and diuerſe in other partes of their bodies otherwiſe in this chaſe were hurt.

The Earle of Angus.

Some other lay flat in a forrow as they were dead, thereby paſt by of the Engliſhmen vntouched, and (as was reported) the Earle of Angus confeſſed he couched in that ſort til his horſe hapt to be brought him. Other ſome were founde to ſtay in the ryuer, cowring downe his bodie vnder the roote of ſome Willow tree, with ſkant his noſe aboue water for breath. Some for lightneſſe caſt away ſhooes and dublets, and ranne in theyr ſhirtes, and ſome were found in this race, all breathleſſe to fall flat downe, and haue runne themſelues to death.

Before this, at the time of the onſet which the Engliſh horſmen gaue, there came Eaſtward fiue hundred of the Scottiſh horſemen vp along this Fauxſide bray, ſtreight vpon the Engliſhe ordinance and cariage. The Lorde Protectour (as ye haue heard) moſt ſpecially for doubt hereof, placing himſelfe by the ſame, cauſed a peece or two to be turned towarde them, with a few ſhots whereof, they were ſone turned alſo and fledde to Daketh. But had they kept on their purpoſe, they were prouided for accordingly. For one parſon Keble a Chaplaine of his graces, & two or three other, by and by diſcharged foure or fiue of the Cartes of munition, and therewith beſtowed pykes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manye as came, ſo that of Carters and other, there were ſome weaponed about a thouſande, whom parſon Keble and the other did very handſomly diſpoſe in array, and made a pretie muſter.

Keeble

To returne now after this notable ſtrewing of their footmens weapons, began a pitifull ſight of the dead corpſes, lying diſperſed abroade, ſome their legges off, ſome but hought, and left lying halfe dead, ſome thruſt quite through the bodie, others their neckes halfe a ſunder, manye theyr heades clouen, with other thouſande kyndes of kylling.

ner of
ughter.

After that, and further in chaſt all for the moſt part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horſmen coulde not well reache them lower with their ſwordes. And thus with bloud and ſlaughter of the enimie, this chaſe was continued fiue miles in length, weſtwarde from the place of their ſtanding, which was in the fallow fields of Vndreſke, vntill Edenbourgh Parke, and well nie to the gates of the towne it ſelfe, and vnto Leith, and in breadth nie foure myles, from the Fyrth ſandes vp toward Daketh Southwards, in all which ſpace, the dead bodies lay as thick as a man may note cattell graſing in a full repleniſhed paſture. The riuer ranne all red with bloud, ſo that in the ſame chaſe were ſlain to the number of tenne thouſande men, ſome ſay about fourteene thouſand.

umber
es ſlain.

To conclude, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of the Engliſhmens number, and ſhortneſſe of the tyme (which was ſcantlie fiue houres, from one till well nie ſixe) the mortalitie was ſo great (as it was thought) the like afore time hath not beene ſeene. One great cauſe why the Engliſh men ſpared ſo fewe of them, was thought to be their tyrannous vow by them made (which the Engliſh men certainly hearde of) that when ſoeuer they fought and ouercame, they woulde kill ſo many, and ſpare ſo fewe: a ſure proufe whereof they plainly had ſhewed at the firſt onſet gyuen, where they killed all, and ſaued not a man that came within their daunger. An other reſpect was, to reuenge their great and cruell tyrannie ſhewed at Paniar hough, where they ſlue the Lorde Euers, whome otherwiſe they might haue taken priſoner and ſaued, and cruelly killed as many elſe of our men as came into their handes. An other occaſion alſo was their armor among them ſo little differing, all clad alike in Iackes couered with white leather, dublets of the ſame, or of Fuſtian, and moſt commonly all white hoſen, not one with eyther Cheyne, brooch, ring, or garment of ſilke, vnleſſe cheynes of Laten drawne foure or fiue tymes along the vpper ſtockes, or to vſe maiſter Patens wordes, the thighes of their hoſen and doublet ſleeues for cutting.

e Earle
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Scottiſh
on.

Paniar hough.

The apparel of the Scottes.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefeſt cauſe that ſo many of their great mē and Gentlemen were killed, and ſo fewe ſaued. The outwarde ſhewe, the reſemblance or ſigne, whereby a ſtraunger myght diſcerne a poore man from a gentleman, was not among them to be ſeene, as for wordes and goodly proffer of great raunſomes, were as ryfe in the mouthes of the one as the other: and it came hereby to paſſe, that after at the examination and counting of the priſoners, there were founde taken aboue twentie of their common Countrey people, to one of theyr Gentlemen, whom no man neede to doubt, the Engliſhmen had rather haue ſpared than the other, if they coulde haue ſeene any difference betweene them in taking. And yet verely conſidering the caſe as it ſtoode, the Engliſhmen ſhewed more grace, and tooke more to mercie, than the reſpects afore mentioned, might ſeeme to haue required. For beſide the Earle of Huntley, who in good armor appoynted lykeſt a Gentleman of any among them, but coulde not then eſcape bycauſe he lacked his horſe, and happened to bee taken by ſir Rauſe a Vane, and beſide the Lorde of Yeſter, Hobby Hambleton captaine of Dunbar, the maiſter of Sanpoole, the Larde of Wymmes taken by Iohn Bren, a brother of the Earle of Caſſels, and beſides one Montrel, taken by Cornelius controller of the ordinaunce in the armie, and one Camals an Iriſhe Gentleman, and beſide many other Scottiſh Gentlemen mo, taken by diuerſe other. The priſoners reckened in the Marſhalles booke were numbred to aboue fiftene hundred.

The Earle of Huntley taken

Other priſoners taked.

The number of the priſoners.

Touching the ſlaughter, ſure they killed not ſo many, as for the tyme and opportunitie, they might, if they had mynded crueltie, for the Lorde Protectour moued with pitie of the ſight of the dead bodyes, and rather glad of victorie than deſirous of ſlaughter, ſoone after (by geſſe) fiue of the clocke, ſtayed his ſtandart of his horſemen at the

The Lord Protector not deſirous of ſlaughter.

Syr Rauſe Sadler.

furtheſt part of theyr Campe weſtwarde, and cauſed the Trumpets to ſound a retreate, whereat alſo ſir Rauſe Sadler Treaſurer (whoſe great diligence at that tyme, and readie forwardneſſe in the chiefeſt of the fray before, did worthily merite no ſmall commendation) cauſed all the footmen to ſtay, and then with muche trauaile and great payne, made them to bee brought in ſome order againe, which was a thing not eaſily done, by reaſon they all as then were ſomewhat buſie in applying theyr Market, the ſpoile of the Scottiſh campe, where was founde good prouiſion of white breade, ale, Otencakes, otemeele, mutton, butter in pottes, cheeſe, and in dyuerſe tents good wine alſo, and in ſome Tents among them was founde ſome ſiluer plate, and Chalices, whiche with good deuotion ye may be ſure, were plucked out of their colde clowtes, and thruſt into theyr warme boſomes.

The ſpoyle of the Scottiſh campe.

The plot of theyr Campe called Edmonſton edge, nie Gilberton a place of the Lord of Brimſtons, halfe a mile beyonde Muſkelbourgh, and foure myles on this ſide Edenbourgh, occupied in largeneſſe with diuerſe Tentes and Tenticles, that ſtoode in ſundrie places out of ſquare, about 2 myles compaſſe, wherein as the Engliſhmen vpon the ſounde of the retreate were ſomewhat aſſembled, they all with a lowde and entyre outcrie and hallowing, in ſigne of gladneſſe and victorie, made an vniuerſall noyſe and ſhowte, the ſhrilneſſe whereof (as after was reported) was heard vntill Edenbourgh. It was a wonder to ſee, but (as they ſay) many handes make lyght worke, howe ſoone the deade bodyes were ſtripped out of theyr Garmentes ſtarke naked, euen from as farre as the chaſe went, vntill the place of the onſet, whereby the perſonages of the enimies myght by the way eaſily bee viewed and conſidered, the which for the talneſſe of theyr ſtature, cleanneſſe of ſkinne, bigneſſe of bone, with due proportion in all partes was ſuche, as the beholders, if they had not ſeene it, woulde not haue beleeued that there had bene ſo many of that ſort in all that Countrey.

A ſhowte in ſigne of victorie.

The feature of the Scottiſh mens perſonages.

Prieſtes or Kirkmen.

Among them lay many Prieſts, & Kirkemen, as they call them, of whom it was bruyted that there was a whole bande of three or foure thouſande, but it was founde afterwardes not to be altogither ſo.

A Baner of a Papiſts deuice.

Among other baners, ſtandarts, and pennons, a banner of white Sarcenet was founde, vnder which it was ſayd theſe Kirkemen came, whereupon was paynted a woman with hir heare about hir ſhoulders, kneeling before a Crucifix, and on hir ryght hande a Churche, after that written in great Romaine letters, *Afflictæ ſponſæ ne obliuiſcaris.*

It was ſayde that this was the Abbot of Dunfermlings Banner; but whether it was his or the Biſhop of Dunkels, the gouernours brother, who (as was ſayde) were both in the field, his meaning was, to ſignifie that the Churche made interceſſion to Chriſt hir husband, not now to forget hir his ſpouſe, being at that tyme afflicted and perſecuted by the Engliſhmen. But whoſe deuiſe ſoeuer it was, it may ſeeme, that thys Church comming thus to battaile, full appoynted with weapon, and garded with ſuche a ſort of Deacons to fight, howſoeuer in painting he had ſet hir out, a man might well thinke, that in condition, he had rather framed hir like a curſt queane, that woulde plucke hir husbands by the pate, except ſhee had hir will, than like a meeke Spouſe, that went about humbly by ſubmiſſion and prayer to deſire hir husbands help, for redreſſe of things amiſſe.

But now to leaue this Prelate with his *afflicte*, and to make an ende with this battayle, there was vpon this Fauxſide bray, a little Caſtell or pyle, which was verie buſie all the tyme of the battayle, as any of the Engliſhmen came nie it, to ſhoote at the, with ſuch artillerie as they had (which was none other than of hand gonnes, and hagbuttes, and of them not a dozen either) little hurt they did, but as they ſaw theyr fellowes in the fielde thus ouercome and beaten away before theyr faces, they plucked in their peeces, and couched themſelues within all muet: but by and by the houſe was ſet on fire, and they for theyr good willes, burnt and ſmothered within.

Thus (ſayth maiſter Paten) through the fauour of Gods bountie, by the valiancie and policie of the Lorde Protector, by the forwarde endeuour of all the Nobles and Counſaile there beſide, and by the willyng diligence of euery Captaine, officer, and true ſubiect elſe, they moſt valiauntly wanne the victorie ouer their enimies, of whom ſuch ſlaughter was made in field as ye haue hearde, amongſt whom (as the priſoners reported) dyed the Lorde Flemming, the Lairde of Loghinwarr, the maiſter of Greym, the maiſter of Arſkyn, the maiſter of Ogleby, the maiſter of Auandale, the maiſter of Rouen, and many other of noble byrth among them, which were of Lordes, Lords ſonnes, and other gentlemen ſlaine aboue .xxvij. hundred, alſo among the priſoners alſo there were many gentlemen, ſpecially of name theſe: the Earle of Huntley Lord Chancellor of the realme, the Lorde of Yeſter, Hob by Hamilton Captaine of Dunbar, the maiſter of Sampoole, the Lorde of Wimmes, and a brother of the Earle of Caſſels. Diuers alſo lay lurking and lying as they had bene dead, & ſtole away in the night al maimed & hurt. Great will of weapon and armour (more was founde than the Engliſhe men vouchſafe to giue caryage for) and yet were there conueyed thence by ſhip into Englande, of Jackes ſpecially and ſwordes, aboue thirtie thouſand.

This night the Engliſhmen with great gladneſſe and thankeſgiuing to God, (as good cauſe they had) about ſeuen of the clocke pitched theyr campe at Edgebuckling bray, beſide Pynkerſclough, and a mile beyonde the place they camped at before.

Nowe after the battaile, among other queſtions, one was moued who killed the firſt man that day in the field, the glorie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would gladly haue had, a gentleman ſure that had ſerued that day right valyauntly: howbeit it was after well tryed, that Cutbert Muſgraue, a Gentleman of the Erle of Warwikes, deſerued the prayſe of killing the firſt enimie that dyed that day, who right hardily ſlue a Gunner at his peece in the Scottes forewarde, ere euer they beganne any whitte to turne.

The next day being Sunday the eleuenth of September, ſomewhat before Noone, the armie remoued, and marching along the Forth ſyde towarde Lieth, about three of the clocke in the after Noone pyght theyr fielde, a pricke ſhotte on this ſyde that Towne on the Southeaſt halfe, ſomwhat ſhadowed from Edenbourgh by a hill; but yet the moſt part of it lay within the full ſight and ſhot of the Caſtel there, and in diſtance ſomwhat aboue a quarter of a myle. The Lorde Marſhall, and the moſt parte of the horſemen, were beſtowed and lodged in the Towne of Lieth. The Dukes grace, the Lorde Lieutenant, and the reſt of the armie in the campe.

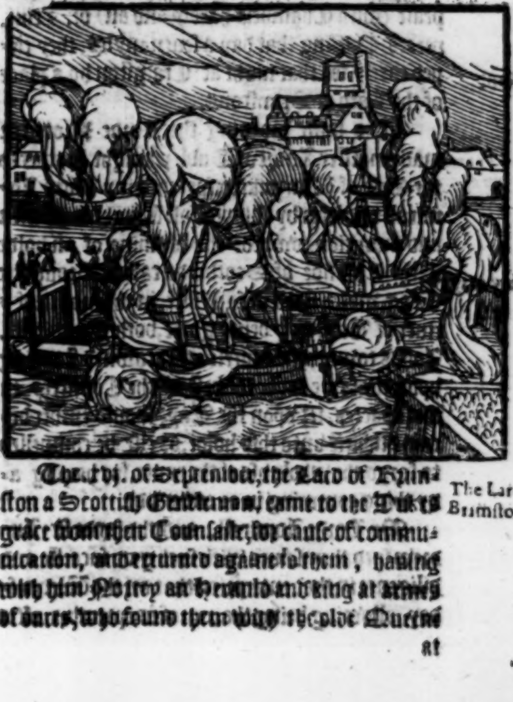
On Tueſday the .xiij. of September, the ſmaller veſſels of the Engliſh fleete burnt Kinghorne, and a Towne or two ſtanding on the North ſhore of the Forth agaynſt Lieth.

In the after noone, the Dukes grace rowed vp the Forth a ſix or ſeuen miles weſtward as it runneth into the land, and tooke in his way an Iland there called S. Coomes Ins, whiche lyeth foure miles beyond Lieth, and a good way nearer the north ſhore than the ſouth, yet not within a mile of the neareſt. It is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an Abbay, but the Monkes were gone: freſh water ynough, and ſtore of Conies, and is ſo naturally ſtrong, that but by one way it can be entred, the plot whereof the Lord Protector conſidering, did quickly caſt to haue it kept, whereby all traffique of Marchandice, all commodities elſe comming by the Forth into theyr lande, and vtterly the whole vſe of the Forth it ſelfe, with all the hauens vpon it, ſhoulde quite bee taken from them.

The next day the Lorde Protector ryding backe againe Eaſtwarde, to view diuerſe things and places, tooke Daketh in his way, where a houſe of George Dowglas did ſtande, and commyng ſomewhat neare it, he ſent Somerſet hys Herauld with a Trumpet to know who kept it, and whether the keepers would hold or yeeld it to his grace: aunſwere was made that there were three ſcore perſons within, whom theyr maiſter lying there Saterday at night after the battaile, did will that they, the houſe, and all that was in it, ſhould be at his graces cōmaundement, wherevpon the chiefeſt came, and in name of all the reſt, humbled himſelfe to the Dukes will.

From thence his grace paſſed to the place where the battaile had beene ſtriken, and ſo by Muſkelbourge returned backe to the campe.

On Thurſday being the .xv. of this Moneth, my Lorde Clinton high Admirall, taking wyth him ẏ galley, whereof Richard Brooke was captaine, & foure or fiue other ſmaller veſſels beſides, all well appoynted with munition and men, rowed vp the Forth a ten myles weſtwarde, to an hauen towne ſtanding on the South ſhore called Blakneſſe, whereat towarde the water ſide is a Caſtell of a pretie ſtrength, as nie wherevnto as the depth of the water would ſuffer, the Scottes for ſafegarde had layde the Mary Willoughbie, and the Anthonie of Newcaſtell, two tall ſhippes, which with extreme iniurie they had ſtollen from the Engliſhmen before time, when no warre was betwixt vs: with theſe lay there alſo an other large veſſell called the Boſſe, and a ſeuen mo, whereof part laden with merchandice. My Lord Clinton and his company with right hardie approche, after a great conflict betwixte the caſtell and his veſſels, by fine force wan from them thoſe three ſhips of name, and burnt all the reſidue before their faces.



The Lard of Brunſton.

The .xvj. of September, the Lard of Brunſton a Scottiſh Gentleman, came to the Dukes grace from their Counſaile, for cauſe of communication, and returned againe to them, hauing with him Norrey an Herauld and king at armes of ours, who found them with the olde Queene at Sterling.

Sir Iohn Luttrell.

On Saterday the .xvij. of Septēber, ſir John Luttrell in the after noone departed towardes S. Coomes Ins, hauing with him an hundred Hacbutters, fiftie Pioners, and two row Barkes wel furniſhed with munition, and .lxx. mariners to remaine there, and keepe that Ile agaynſt the enimies.

S. Coomes Ins kept with a garniſon of Engliſhmen.

In the time whyleſt the armie laye thus in campe betweene Lieth and Edenbourgh, many Lards and Gentlemen came in to the Lord Protector to require his protectiō, the which his grace to whom he thought good did graunt.

The Earle of Bothwell.

This day came the Erle of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing bene kept in priſon by the gouernour, the night after the battayle was ſet at libertie, and comming thus to the Lord Protector, was friendly welcomed and interteyned, and hauing this night ſupped with his grace, hee departed.

Lieth burnt.

Lieth was ſet on fire this Saterday, where it was ment that there ſhould haue beene but one houſe onely burnt, belonging to one Barton that had playde a ſlipper part with the Lorde Protector. But the ſouldiours being ſet a worke to fire that houſe, fired all the reſt. Six great ſhippes alſo that lay in the Hauen, which for age and decay were not ſo apt for vſe, were likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt.

On Sunday, the .xviij. of September, the Lord Protector (for conſiderations mouing him to pitie) hauing all this while ſpared Edēbourgh from hurt, did ſo leaue it, but Lieth and the ſhips burning, ſoone after ſeuen of the clock in the morning, cauſed the campe to diſlodge, and as they were rayſed and on foote, the Caſtell ſhotte off a peale (with Chambers hardly and all) of .xxiiij. peeces. Paſſing that day a ſeuen myles, they cāped early for that night at Crainſton by a place of the Lard of Brimſtons.

The army diſlodgeth.

Crainſton.

The ſame morning the Lorde Protector made maiſter Andrew Dudley knight, brother to the Erle of Warwike, diſpatched my Lord Admirall and him by ſhippes full fraught with men and munition towarde the winning of an holde in the Eaſt ſide of Scotlande called Broughtie Crag, which ſtood in ſuch ſort in the mouth of yͤ riuer of Tay, as yͭ being gottē, both Dundie, S. Johns towne, and diuerſe other townes ſtanding vpon the ſame ryuer the beſt of the Countrey in thoſe partes, ſet vpon the Tay, ſhould eyther become ſubiect vnto this holde, or elſe be compelled to forgo the whole vſe of the ryuer, for hauing any thing comming in or outwarde.

Broughty crag

My Lorde Admirall, and the ſayde ſir Andrew ſped themſelues with ſuch good ſucceſſe and diligence in that enterpriſe, that on the Wedneſday following being the .xxj. of September, after certaine of their ſhot diſcharged agaynſt that caſtell, the ſame was yeelded vnto them, the which ſir Andrew did then enter, and after kept, as captaine to his high prayſe and commendation.

Broughty cr yeelded to th Engliſhmen.

But now to the armie: on Monday the .xix. of September, they marched ten myles, and encamped a little on this ſide a Market towne called Lawder. Here as they were ſetled in theyr lodging, the Herauld Norrey returned from the Scottes Counſaile, with the Lard of Brimſton, and Rore their Herauld, who vpon their ſuyte to the Lord Protector, obteyned that fiue of theyr Counſaile ſhoulde haue his graces ſafeconduct, that at any tyme and place within fiftene dayes, during his aboade in their countrey, or at Berwike, the ſame fiue might come and commune with fiue of the Engliſh counſail touching matters in controuerſie betweene them. Rore the Herauld departed early with his ſafeconduct, the campe rayſed, and that day they went .vij. miles till as farre as Hume Caſtell, where they camped on the weſt ſide of a rockie hil that they cal Hare crag, that ſtandeth about a myle weſtward from the Caſtell.

Lawder.

Hume Caſtel

Here they did ſo much by ſhewing that they ment in deed to winne the Caſtell by force, if otherwiſe they might not haue it, cauſing a certaine number of Hacbutters vpon appoyntment before to beſet the caſtell, and to watch that none ſhould paſſe in or out, that in the ende the Ladye of the houſe, & other that were within in charge with it, yeelded it vp to the Lorde Protectours handes: for the Ladie doubting the loſſe of hir ſonne, that was priſoner with the Engliſhmen, hauing the firſt day beene with the Lorde Protector, and got reſpite till the next day at noone, in the meane time conſulted with hir ſonne, and other hir friendes the keepers of the Caſtell, returned at the tyme appoynted the next day, beeyng the .xxj. of that Moneth, and made ſuyte for a longer reſpite till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith ſafeconduct for Andrew Hume hir ſeconde ſonne, and John Hume Larde of Cowden Knowes, a kinſman of hir huſbands, captaines of this caſtell, to come and ſpeake with his grace, in the meane while. It was graunted hir, wher vpon theſe Captaynes about three of the clocke, came to the lord Protector, and after other couenants (with long debating on both partis) agreed vpon, ſhe and theſe Captaynes concluded to giue their aſſent to render the Caſtell, ſo farre forth as the reſt of the keepers would therewith be contented, for two or three within (ſayd they) were alſo in charge with keeping it as well as they, for knowledge of whoſe mindes the Duke ſent Somerſet his Herauld, with this Ladie to the caſtell vnto them: who, as the Herauld had made them priuie to the Articles, would fain haue had leyſure

Home Caſt beſieged.

for.xxiiij.houres longer, to ſende to theyr Lorde to Edenbourgh, where he lay hurt (as before you haue heard) and in daunger of death, which folowed of the fall that he caught at the Frydayes ſkyrmiſh before the battaile) to knowe his wyll and pleaſure in thys poynt of rendring vp the Caſtell, but being wiſely and ſharply called vpon by the Heraulde, they agreed to the couenants afore by theyr Ladie and Captaynes concluded on. Whereof parte (as the ſequele ſhewed) were theſe, that they ſhoulde depart thence the nexte day in the morning by tenne of the clocke, with bagge and baggage, as muche as they coulde carye, leauing all munition and vittayle behinde them in the Caſtell: howbeit to bee aſſured of them, the Lorde Protectour prouyding eche waye to bee readie for them, cauſed eyght peeces of Ordinaunce fenced wyth Baſkettes of earth, to bee planted on the Southſyde towarde the Caſtell wythin power of batterie, and the Hacbutters to continue theyr watche and warde.

ndiri- the ſur ng of caſtell.

On Thurſday morning being the.xxij. of September, the Lorde Gray was appoynted to receyue the rendring of the caſtel into his handes, and ſir Edwarde Dudley nowe Lorde Dudley, after to be Captaine there. They both departed to it, and at the tyme ſette Andrew Hume, and foure other of yͤ chiefeſt there with him came out, and yeelding the Caſtell, delyuered the keyes to the ſayde Lorde Gray. Hys Lordſhippe cauſing the reſidue to come out then, ſauing ſixe or ſeuen to keepe theyr baggage wythin (who all were in number ſeuentie and eight) entred the ſame wyth maiſter Dudley, and dyuerſe other Gentlemen with him. He founde there indifferent good ſtore of vittayle, and Wine, and of Ordinance two baſtarde Culuerins, one Sacre, alſo three Fauconets of Braſſe, and of Iron eight peeces beſide. The keeping of thys Caſtell my Lorde Graye betakyng vnto ſir Edwarde Dudley accordingly returned to the campe.

L.Gray ech the ſion of Caſtell.

This done, the next day being Fryday, and the.xxiij. of September they diſlodged, and went that morning to Rockeſbourgh, encamping in a great fallow fielde, betwixt Rockeſbourgh and Kelſey, ſtanding Eaſtwarde a quarter of a myle off.

Here at Rockeſbourgh, they beganne to buylde a Forte wythin the compaſſe of an olde ruynous Caſtell, the plot and ſite whereof ſtandeth naturally very ſtrong, vpon a hyll Eaſt and Weſt, of an eight ſcore in length, and three ſcore in breadth, drawing to a narrowneſſe at the Eaſt ende, the whole ground whereof the olde walles did yet enuiron.

tuation kesbourgh.

Beſyde the heigth and hardneſſe to come to, it is ſtrongly fenced on either ſide with the courſe of two greate Ryuers, Tyuet on the Northe, and Twede on the South, both which ioyning ſomewhat nie togyther at the Weſt ende of it, Tyuet by a large compaſſe aboute the fieldes (in the which the Campe lay) at Kelſey doth fall into this Tweede, whiche with greate deapth and ſwiftneſſe runneth from thence Eaſtwarde into the Sea at Berwicke. Ouer this, betwyxte Kelſey and Rockeſbourgh hath there bin a great ſtone Bridge with Arches, the which the Scots in tymes paſte haue all to broken, bycauſe the Engliſhe menne ſhoulde not that waye come to them.

Soone after the Lorde Protectours ſuruey of the plotte, and determination to doe as muche in deed for making it defenſible, as ſhortneſſe of the tyme and ſeaſon of the yeare coulde ſuffer (which was) that one great trench of twentie foote brode with deapth according, and a Wall of like depth, breadth and heigth, ſhoulde bee made a Croſſe wythin the Caſtell from the one ſyde Wall to the other, and a fortie foote from the Weſt ende: and that a lyke Trenche and Wall ſhoulde likewiſe bee caſte a trauerſe within, aboute a coytes caſt from the Eaſt ende, and hereto that the Caſtell walles on either ſyde where need was ſhould bee mended with Turfe, and made wyth loupes, as well for ſhooting directly forwarde, as for flanking at hande: the worke of whiche deuiſe dyd make that beſyde the ſauegard of theſe Trenches and Walles, the Keepers ſhoulde alſo be much defended from the enimies force by both the ende Walles of the Caſtell: the Pioners were ſette a worke, and diligently applyed in the ſame.

The determination in what ſort Rockeſburgh ſhould be fortiſed.

The Larde of Seſſeforth, and manye other Lards and Gentlemen of Tiuidall, & the Mers, hauing come & communed wyth the L. Protectour, and the Counſayle, made an aſſuraunce, or as it were a truce for that daye, tyll the nexte daye at nyght, and on the next day, whyle the aſſurance laſted, theſe Lardes and Gentlemen beeing the chiefeſt in the whole Mers and Tiuidale, came in agayne, whome the Dukes Grace wyth wiſedome and policie wythoute bloudſheddyng did winne then vnto the kings obedience, for the whiche they did willingly then receyue an othe, whoſe names in part enſue.

Scottes that came to the kings obeyſance.

Lardes.

The Larde of Seſſeforth.
The Larde of Fernyhurſt.
The Larde of Greenhead.
The Larde of Hunthill.
The Larde of Hundley.
The Larde of Markeſton by Merſide
The Larde of Boniedworth.

The Larde of Ormeſton.
The Lard of Malleſtaine.
The Lard of Warmeſey.
The Lard of Lynton.
The Lard of Egerſton.
The Lard of Marton.
The Lard of Mowe.
The Lard of Reddell.
The Lard of Reamerſide.

Gentlemen.

George Trombull.
John Hollyburton.
Robert Car of Greyden.
Adam Kyrton.
Andrew Kyrton.
Andrew Meyther.
Sander Spur of Erleſton.
Marke Car of Littleden.
George Car of Faldenſide.
Alexander Makdowell.
Charles Rotherford.
Thomas Car of the yere.
John Car of Meynthorn.
Walter Hollyburton.
Richard Hanganſide.
Andrew Car.
James Dowglas of Cauers.
James Car of Merſington.
George Hoppringle.
William Ormeſton of Endmerden.
John Grimſlow.

Many mo there were beſide, but ouerpaſſed by maiſter Paten, for that they remayned in the regiſter with theſe as he ſayth.

The diligence of the Duke of Somerſet to further the fortification to Rockſbourgh

The Duke of Somerſet tendred the furtherance of the worke ſo much, that he forbare not to lay his owne hande to the Spade and Shouell, thereby to encourage others, ſo as there were but fewe of Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen in the field, but with Spade, Shouel, or Mattock did therein their partes.

The .xxv. of September being Sunday, the Scottes beganne to bring vittayle to the campe, and were ſo well entreated and payed for the ſame, that during the time of the Engliſh mens abode there, they wanted not of the commodities which their countrey could miniſter.

A Scottiſh Herauld.

The .xxviij. of September, a Scottiſh Herauld accompanyed with certayne French men, that were perchaunce more deſirous to marke the armye, than to witte of theyr welfare; came and declared that wythin a ſeuennyght after, theyr Commiſſioners, to whom ſafeconduct had beene graunted, ſhould come and commune with oure Counſaile at Berwike, whoſe comming the erle of Warwike, and ſir Rauſe Sadler with other the Commiſſioners appoynted, did ſo long while there abide: but what the Scottes ment by breaking promiſe, I cannot ſay, howbeit come they did not, and therefore eſcaped not the iuſt note of diſſimulation; howſoeuer elſe they could colour the matter in their owne excuſe.

Creation

The ſame day after noone, the Duke of Somerſet adourned with titles of dignitie diuerſe Lordes, knights, and gentlemen, the names and promotions of whome, maiſter Patin hath ſet downe out of the Heraulds booke, as foloweth.

Banerets.

Sir Rauſe Sadler Treaſurer.
Sir Frances Brian Captayne of the lyght horſemen.
Sir Rauſe a Vane, lieutenant of all the horſmē.

These knights were made Banerets, a dignitie aboue a Knight, and next to a Baron.

Knightes.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton high Marſhall.
The Lorde Edwarde Seymer, the Duke of Somerſets ſonne.
The Lorde Thomas Howarde.
The Lorde Waldike a Cleuelander.
Sir Thomas Dacres.
Sir Edwarde Haſtings.
Sir Edmonde Bridges.
Sir John Thynne.
Sir Myles Partriche.
Sir John Conwey.
Sir Gyles Poole. Sir Rauſe Bagnoll.
Sir Oliuer Laurence.
Sir Henrie Gates.
Sir Thomas Chaloner.
Sir Frances Flemming maiſter of the ordināce.
Sir John Greſham.
Sir William Skipwith.
Sir John Buttes.
Sir George Blaag.
Sir William Fraunces.
Sir Fraunces Knolles.
Sir William Thornburrow.
Sir George Howarde.
Sir James Wilforde.
Sir Rauſe Coppinger.
Sir Thomas Wentworth.
Sir John Meruen.
Sir Nicholas Straunge.
Sir Charles Sturton.
Sir Hugh Aſkue.
Sir Francis Salmyn.
Sir Richarde Tounley.
Sir Marmaduke Coneſtable.
Sir George Audeley.
Sir John Holcroſt.
Sir John Southworth.
Sir Thomas Danby.
Sir John Talbot.
Sir Rowland Clearke.
Sir John Horſley.

Sir John Forſter.
Sir Chriſtofer Dies.
Sir Peter Negro.
Sir Alonzo de Uile.
Sir Henrie Huſſey.
Sir James Granado Brabander.
Sir Walter Bonham.
Sir Robert Brandling Maior of Newcaſtell, and made knight there at the duke of Somerſets returne.

But nowe that Rockeſbourgh was ſufficiently made defenſible (the which to ſee it ſeemed the Duke of Somerſet had vowed before hee woulde thence depart) his grace and the counſall did firſt determine that my Lorde Gray ſhoulde remaine vpon the borders there, as the Kings Lieutenant, and then tooke order for the Fortes: that ſir Andrew Dudley Captayne of Broughtie cragge had left with him two hundred Souldiours of Hacbutters and other, and a ſufficient number of Pioners for his workes: Sir Edwarde Dudley Captaine of Hume Caſtell three ſcore Hacbutters, fortye horſemenne, and a hundred Pioners: Sir Rauſe Bulmer Captaine of Rockeſbourgh three hundred ſouldiours of Hacbutters and other, and two hundred Pioners. As things were thus concluded, and warning giuen ouer night, on the Wedneſday being Michaelmaſſe euen, on the next morowe being Michaelmaſſe day euery man fell to packing apace, and gotte them homewardes, paſſing ouer the Twede there with ſome trouble and daunger alſo, by reaſon of rayne that lately fell before, and had rayſed the ſtreame, which being ſwyft of it ſelfe, and the Channell vneuen in the bottome wyth great ſtones made the paſſage comberſome, ſo that many as well horſemen as footemen were in no ſmall perill as they paſſed through, and one or two drowned, and many caryages ouerthrowne, and in great hazarde of loſing.

The Duke of Somerſet roade ſtreight to Newcaſtell, and thence homewardes. The Earle of Warwike, my Lorde Gray, and Sir Rauſe Sadler, with diuerſe other roade to Berwike, to abide the comming of the Scottiſh commiſſioners.

In the meane tyme of theyr taryng there, the Erle of Warwike made ſixe knightes.

Sir Thomas Neuill the Lorde Neuels brother.
Sir Andrew Dudley.
Sir Anthonie Strelley.
Sir Arthur Manering.
Sir Richard Uerney.
Sir John Berteuille.

After that the Earle of Warwike had taryed for the comming of the Scottes the full tearme of the appoyntment, which was vntill the fourth of October, and perceyued they came not, the next day he departed homewardes.

Here ye haue to vnderſtande alſo, that in part of the meane time whileſt the Duke of Somerſet was in doing of theſe exploytes in Scotlande, as ye haue hearde rehearſed. The Earle of Lenox, and the Lorde Wharton warden of the Weſt Marches with an armie of fiue thouſande men, entred Scotlande on that ſide, and firſt paſſing two myles after a daye and a nyghtes defence they wanne the Church of Annan, tooke ſeuentie and two priſoners keepers of the ſame, burnt the ſpoyle for cumber of cariage, and cauſed the Churche to bee blowne vp with powder, paſſing thence a .xvj. myles within the lande, they wanne the Caſtell of Mylke, the whiche they left furniſhed wyth munition and menne, and ſo returned. But of this ye ſhall finde more in the Hyſtorie of Scotlande, by the ſufferaunce of God, where we entreate of the doings there in this yeare.

An inuaſion made into Scotlande.

Annan church wonne.

The Caſtell of Milke wonne.

Thus much haue I collected out of maiſter Pattens booke, or rather exemplified the ſame, not much digreſſing from his owne wordes, except where I haue beene forced to abridge his worke in places, wiſhing to haue inſerted the whole, if the purpoſe of this volume would haue ſo permitted, as well for the full vnderſtanding of euerie particular poynt, by hym remembred, as alſo for his pleaſant and apt maner of penning the ſame.

Whileſt the Lorde Protectour was abroade thus in warres agaynſt the Scottes, the Lordes of the Counſayle that remayned at home, chiefly by the good and diligent calling on and furtherance of the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and other of the Cleargie, tooke order for the aduauncement of Religion, cauſing the bookes of Homilyes and the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, to be ſet forth and had in Churches.

The Homelies & Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

At the comming backe of the Lorde Protectour from his iourney into Scotlande, the Citizens of London determined to haue receyued him with great tryumphe: but he hearing thereof, forbad them in any wyſe ſo to doe: for (ſayde hee) if any thing hath beene done to the honour of the Realme, it was Gods doyng, and therefore willed them to giue him the prayſe. Neuertheleſſe, the Maior and Aldermen, with certayne of the Commoners in theyr Liueryes with theyr hoodes, hearing of his approche to the Citie, the eight day of October mette him in Fynneſburie fielde, where he tooke eche of them by the hande, and thanked them for theyr good willes.

The Lord Protectors returne.

The Lorde Maior did ryde with him till they came to the pounde in Smithfielde, where hys grace left them, and roade to his houſe of Shene that night, & the next day to the king to Hampton Court.

The fourth day of Nouember began a Parliament, called and holden at Weſtmynſter, which continued till the .xxiiij. of December, next following, and then proroged.

In thys Parliament, all Colleges, Chaunteries, and free Chapels, were gyuen to the king, and the Statute of the ſixe Articles were repealed, wyth dyuerſe other tending to the lyke ende.

Moreouer, during this Parliament, viſiters beeing appoynted to viſite in London, the ſixtenth of Nouember beganne to take downe the Images in Paules Church, and ſhortly after all the Images in euery Churche, not onelye through London, but alſo throughoute the whole Realme, were pulled downe and defaced.

1547
An. reg. 2.

The Lorde Protector and other of the counſaile, conſidering nowe in what ſort they had got footeholde in Scotlande, by reaſon of ſuch Peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did deuiſe for the more ſurettie of thoſe places, which they had alreadie gotte, and the better to bring the reſt of the Countrey vnto reaſon, to haue ſome holdes alſo more within the land, and therefore firſt they cauſed a fort to be buylded at Lowder, where ſir Hugh Willoughbie was appoynted Captayne with a conuenient gariſon of ſouldiours to keepe it.

Lowder fortified.
Sir Hugh Willoughby.

Beſyde this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the Towne of Hadington, wherevpon the Lord Gray Lieutenant of the North partes, with ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir Thomas Holcroft, were appoynted to goe thyther wyth a conuenient number of men of warre and Pioners to ſee that towne fenced with Trenches, Rampires, and Bulwarkes, as ſhoulde ſeeme to his Lordſhippe neceſſarie and behoufull, who therefore entring into Scotlande the eightenth of Aprill, paſſed forth to Hadington, where hee beganne to fortifie, and there remayned to ſee the worke brought to ſome perfection.

Hadington fortified by the lord Gray.

During his abode there, diuerſe exploytes were bothe valiauntly attempted and luckilye atchieued by hys martiall conduct and politique direction, as occaſions offered mighte moue him, the whiche I woulde gladlye haue ſette downe at large, if I coulde haue come to ỹ true vnderſtanding thereof, but ſithe I cannot gette the ſame, in ſuche full manner as I haue wiſhed, that yet whiche I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

The .xxviij. of May, his Lordſhip wanne the Caſtell of Yeſter, after he had beaten it right ſore with terrible batterie of Canon ſhotte for the tyme it laſted, and therewith hauing made a reaſonable breache for the Souldiours to enter, they within yeelded wyth condition to haue their lyues ſaued, which the Lorde Gray was contented to graunt to them all, one onely excepted, who during the ſiege vttered vnſeemely wordes of the king, abuſing his Maieſties name wyth vile and moſt opprobrious tearmes. They all comming forth of the Caſtell in theyr ſhyrtes, humbled themſelues to my Lorde Gray (as became them, and vpon ſtrayte examination who ſhoulde bee the rayler that was excepted oute of the pardon, it was knowne to be one Newton a Scot: But hee to ſaue himſelfe, put it to one Hamilton, and ſo theſe two Gentlemen accuſing one an other, the truth coulde not be decided otherwyſe than by a combate, whiche they requyred, and my Lorde Gray thereunto aſſented, and pronounced iudgement ſo to haue it tryed.

Yeſter Caſte
wonne.

Vlpian Ful
in the Flo
of Fame.

Newton and
Hamilton t
Scottiſh gen-
tlemen a
cuſe ech oth

At the appoynted tyme they entred the Lyſtes, ſette vppe for that purpoſe in the market place of Hadington, without other apparell ſauing their doublets and hoſen, weaponed wyth ſworde, buckler and dagger.

At the firſt entrye into the Lyſtes, Hamilton kneeling downe, made hys heartie prayer to God, that it myght pleaſe him to gyue victorie vnto the truth, wyth ſolemne proteſtation that hee neuer vttered any ſuch wordes of King Edwarde of Englande, as his aduerſarie charged him with. On the other ſyde Newton being troubled (as it ſeemed) wyth his falſe accuſation, argued vnto the beholders hys guiltie conſcience.

A combate
foght betwe
them.

Nowe were the ſticklers in a readineſſe, and the Combattours with theyr weapons drawne fell to it, ſo that betwyxt them were ſtryken ſixe or ſeuen blowes ryght luſtily. But Hamilton being verye fierce and egre, vppon truſte of hys innocencie, conſtrayned Newton to gyue ground almoſt to the ende of the Lyſtes, and if he had dryuen him to the ende in deede, then by the law of Armes he had wonne the victorie. Newton perceyuing himſelfe to bee almoſt at poynt to bee thus ouercome, ſtept forwardes agayne, and gaue Hamilton ſuche a gaſhe on the legge, that he was not able longer to ſtand, but fell therewith downe to the grounde, and then Newton falling on him, incontinently ſlue him wyth a dagger.

Ha milton
vanquiſhed
d ſlaine.

There were Gentlemen preſent that knowing as they tooke it for certaine, howe Newton was the offender (although fortune had fauoured him in the Combate) I woulde gladlye haue

ventured

penſated their ſpites agaynſt him man for man, if it myght haue beene graunted: but he chalenging the lawe of Armes, had it graunted by my Lorde Gray, who gaue him alſo his owne Gowne beſyde hys backe, and a chaine of golde which he then ware.

This was he well rewarded howe ſoeuer he deſerued: But he eſcaped not ſo, for afterwardes as he was ryding betwyxt the borders of bothe the Realmes, he was ſlaine and cut in peeces.

The fourth of June, the Towne of Dowketh was burnt, and the Caſtell wonne by force, where fourteene Scottes were ſlaine, and three hundred taken priſoners, among whome were theſe men of name, the maiſter of Morton, ſonne in law to ſir George Douglas, the Larde of Blengaruie, the Larde of Wederburne, and one Alexander Hume, a man of good reputation among them.

The ſame day the Engliſh horſmen burnt al the Milles round about Edenbourgh, within the compaſſe of ſixe miles on eche ſide the towne.

The .vij. of June they burnt Muſkelbourgh.

Now after that my Lorde Gray had fortifyed Hadington, and furniſhed it with vittayles and munitions ſufficient, the .xij. of June he departed from thence homewardes, leauing there in garniſon about two thouſand footmen, and .v. C. horſmen.

In this meane time, Henrie the French king ſucceding his father Frauncis the firſt (who departed this lyfe the laſt of Marche in the yeare laſt paſt, to wit 1547.) made prouiſion of an army, with a nauy of ſhips and galleys, to paſſe into Scotland, to the ayde of the Queene and other of his faction. And firſt he had ſent thither Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, a Gentleman of good account, to aſſyſt the gouernour wyth hys aduice and counſaile, whiche gouernour deſirous to recouer the Caſtell of Broughtiecragge, and loth to ſee it poſſeſſed by the Engliſh men, rayſed a power of eight thouſande men, and with eight peeces of artillerie came before that Fortreſſe, meaning to winne it by ſiege, but by the valyaunt prowes of Sir Andrewe Dudley, and the hardie manhoode of ſuche Engliſhe Souldiours as ſerued there vnder hym, the Scottes were repulſed and driuen to leuie theyr ſiege with diſhonour.

Yet not thus contented, the Earle of Arguile with an armie of his Iriſh Scots or Hielande men (if I may ſo call them) after this likewiſe came and beſieged the place, but glad to take truce for a time with ſir Andrew. Before the tearme of the ſame truce was expired, there came newe ſuccours to him, and thereupon the Earle in the ende was conſtrayned to leuie his ſiege, and ſuffer the Engliſhmen to become maiſters of a little hill not farre off from the Caſtel, where afterwards they builded a fortreſſe.

But to returne to the French armie whiche was prepared to paſſe into Scotlande, yee ſhall vnderſtande that when theyr Shippes and prouiſions were once readie, and the Captaynes wyth theyr bandes come downe to Breſt in Brytayne, where the Nauie was rigged to receyue them, Monſieur de Deſſe Generall of all the armye reckoned to conteyne a ſeuen or eight thouſand men, embarqued himſelfe with all his people, and ſayled forth on his iourney, tyll they arriued in the Forth and there toke land at Lieth the .xvj. of June.

Monſieur de Deſſe generall of the French armie.

He landeth at Lieth.

Shortly after hauing got their great artillerie on lande, and taken aduiſe with the Lorde Gouernour and other of the Scottiſh Nobilitie whome they founde at Edenbourgh, howe to procede in proſecuting the warre agaynſt the Engliſhe men, it was reſolued that without delay they ſhoulde trie theyr forces aboute the recouering of Hadington, and goe to beſiege that Towne, before they attempted any other exployte.

The French men reſolue to beſiege Hadington.

The gouernour and other of the Scottes Lordes, hauing with them ſeuen or eight hundred light horſemen, offered to goe with them, to the better aduauncing forwarde of that enterpriſe. Hereupon ſetting forwarde, and comming to Muſkelbourgh, the Captaynes wyth a certaine number of horſemen and footemen, as well of Scottes as Frenchmen, were appoynted to goe before to view the ſayde Towne of Hadington.

Upon their approche neare to the towne, there iſſued forth certaine Engliſhmen and Italians, that were of Tiberio's bande, which ſkirmiſhed with them right ſtoutly, till at length the French men and Scots retyred backe to Lauret a little from Muſkelbourgh (where their armie encamped for that night) and the Engliſhmen and Italians returned backe to their fortreſſe.

The next day the Frenchmen and Scottes with their whole power came before Hadington, where they were welcomed with a right ſharpe and hote ſkyrmiſh, in which was ſlaine with an harquebuſe ſhot, one of the Frenche Captaynes called Villeneufue. In the meane time whileſt this ſkirmiſh continued, the Reingraue with his Almaines encamped himſelfe on the one ſide of the towne, where the maiſter of the ordinance in the French armie named Monſieur Duno cauſed trenches to be caſt for the ſafe placing of the artillerie, the Engliſhmē ſtill kept them occupied on eche ſide the towne with ſkyrmiſhing, to the annoyance of the aduerſaries.

The French army commeth before Hadington.

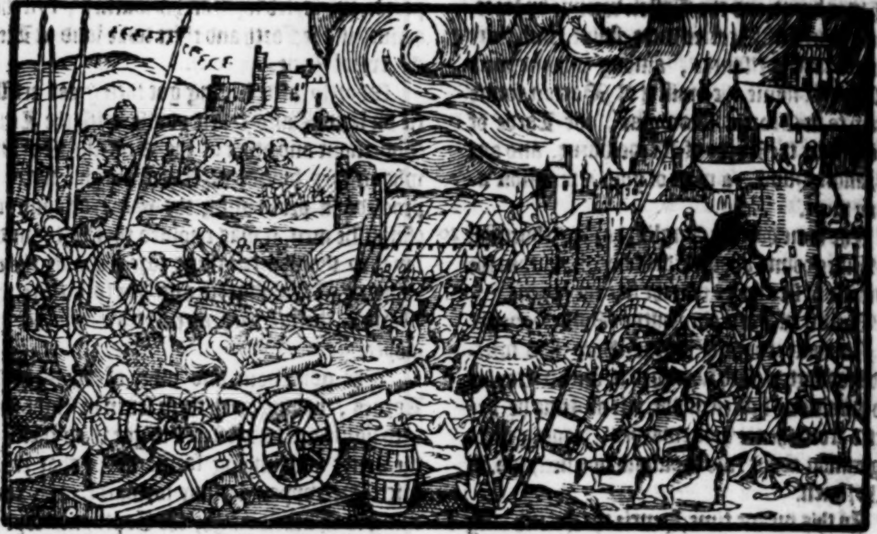
The Reinſgraue.

They plane their artillery.

To conclude, they encamped before the Towne, caſt Trenches, lodged their Ordinance, and layde their ſiege to the moſt aduauntage, ſo farre as they might be ſuffered.

The Earle of Arguile. Monſier de la Chapelle.

Shortly after that this ſiege was planted, there came to the ayde of the French the Earle of Arguyle, with a great number of Iriſh Scottes, and Monſieur de la Chapelle brought an eyght or nine hundred Scottes Pioners, which began a trench on the left hande of the Abbay gate, and likewiſe a trauerſe to couer theyr ſouldiers, that ſhoulde watche and warde, from daunger of the ſhot out of the towne on that ſide.



Piero S hurt.

Hadding battered.

The Engliſhmen with often iſſues gaue their aduerſaries ſmall reſt, procuring many hote ſkirmyſhes as occaſion ſerued. At one of the whiche ſkirmiſhes, Piero Strozzi coronell of three Enſignes of Italians, was ſtriken with a Musket ſhot. Yet Monſieur de Deſſe enforcing the ſiege to the vttermoſt of his power, cauſed one night with helpe of baskets filled with earthe, ſix peeces of artillerie to be planted in batterie faſt at the towne ſide, which at the breake of day began to ſhoote off, and diſcharged that preſent day three hundred and fortie ſhottes. But after they perceyued that they did little hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this battery was layde, the next night the baskets and peeces of artillerie were remoued lower, and not paſt .lx. paces from the ditches of the towne, where the next day two hundred ſhottes were diſcharged agaynſt the rampyre. To conclude, they made ſuch breaches in ſundrie places for eaſie entrie into the towne, that it was greatly marueyled why they durſt not aſſaye to gyue a generall aſſault.

They lodged ſo neare within the verie dytches, that there were deuiſed certaine plummets of Leade tied with cordes to a truncheon of a ſtaffe, lyke to an hande ſtaffe of a flayle, wherewith the ſouldiours that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, ſlue dyuerſe of the Frenchmen being there lodged within their ditches.

The valiencie of the Engliſh men.

Thus notwithſtanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie, had broken downe the fortifications, ſo as the breaches were made verie reaſonable and eaſie for them to enter, yet durſt they not preſume once to giue yͤ aſſault, for the Engliſh men although their powder was ſore ſpent, and that for want of matches they were cōſtrayned to teare their ſhyrts, and vſe the ſame in ſtead of matches, yet they ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant in defending the town thus beaten and made weake on eche hande, that there was no hope left to their aduerſaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one ſide, and .viij. M. Scottes on an other had ſo enuironed it, that the Engliſh men within were driuen to moſt extreme and hard ſhifts, for want of things neceſſarie and requiſite for their maintenance and defence of that Towne. But yet whileſt they remayned thus in ſuche diſtreſſe and neceſſitie of things, two hundred Engliſhmen vnder the conduct of Captain Windham, Warham Sentleger, and John Car of Warke, found meanes one night to paſſe through al the watches, on that ſide where the Scottes lay, and entring the towne, and bringing with them great plentie of powder & other neceſſaries, greatly relieued them within, and ſo encoraged them, that they ſeemed to make ſmall account of their enimies forces. Hereupon within few dayes after, the Scottes (fiue or ſixe C. light horſmen onely excepted) brake vp their campe and returned home. After this my Lorde Gray remayning at Berwike, ment to make a voyage himſelfe in perſon for the reliefe of them that were thus beſieged in Hadington, and now when all things were ſo far in a readineſſe as the next day he ment to haue ſet forward, letters were brought

Succors en tring the towne.

brought that night from the Court, willing him to performe that ſeruice by a deputie, and to ſtay himſelfe till the comming of the Earle of Shrewſburie, who was appoynted with an armie to come verie ſhortly as generall into thoſe parties. My Lord Gray herevpon appoynted in his ſtead, ſir Robert Bowes, and ſir Thomas Palmer to go thither, who comming to Dunglas, left there certaine bandes of footemen, and wyth the horſmen being in number .xiij. hundred, (whereof ſeuen hundred launces were appoynted vnder the charge of ſir Thomas Palmer) they rode forwarde to accompliſhe their enterpriſe: but the French Captaynes hauing knowledge of theyr comming, they prouided the beſt they coulde to repulſe them, appoynting foure Uenlyns or enſignes of Lanſquenets to keepe a ſtanding watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French enſignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bandes were commaunded to take reſt, but yet wyth theyr armour on theyr backes.

Their generall Monſier de Deſſe himſelfe, Monſieur de Mailleraye admirall of their fleete, Monſieur Dandelot Coronell of the Frenche footemen, Piero Strozzi Coronell of the Italians, the Reinſgraue Coronell of the Lanſquenets, and all other the noble men and Captaines of honour among them, were all nyght long in armour, trauayling vp and downe, ſome on horſebacke, and ſome on foote, to viſite the watches and ſkoutes, ſet in places and wayes by the which they ſuſpected that the Engliſhmen ment would come.

The Lorde Hume ryding abroade to learne what he might of the Engliſhmens demeanour, early in the morning returned to the campe, and certified Monſieur de Deſſe, that they were at hande. Herewith were the Scottiſh and French horſemen that kept the ſkout called in, and monſieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battaile of footemen in order, and ſo likewiſe did the Reinſgraue his Almaines.

The Engliſhmen deuided into two bendes, came and ſhewed thẽſelues in ſight of the towne, and charging ſuch Scottes and Frenchmen as came forth to encounter them, gaue them the ouerthrow at two ſeueral charges: but finally preſuming too farre vppon theyr good lucke thus chauncing to them in the beginning, followed in chaſe thoſe that fledde before them, tyll at length they were encloſed, and ſhutte vppe betwixte the Frenche footemen on the one ſyde, and the Almaines on the other. And herewyth the Scottiſhe horſemen vnder the conduct of the Lordes, Humes and Dune, and the Frenche horſemen ledde by Monſieur de Etauges theyr Generall, beyng aſſembled togyther eftſoones, after they had bene ſo repulſed, were now readie to come forwarde againe: and perceyuing theyr footmen ſo to haue enuironed the Engliſhmen, that they were not able to recouer themſelues, nor to get oute of daunger, but by diſordering theyr rankes to take them to flyght, followed amayne, ſo that thoſe which eſcaped the French enemies handes, were taken by the Scottes that purſued them in chaſe, ſo that fewe were ſaued that were not eyther ſlayne or taken. My Lorde Gray loſt .lxxij. great horſes, and an hundred Geldings, with all the men vpon them, armed wyth hys Lordſhippes owne furniture, onelye foure or fiue of his meynie came home, of the whiche Thomas Cornewalleys nowe growne Porter to the Queenes Maieſtie, was one, and Robert Car Eſquier an other, then Page to my ſayde Lorde Gray.

The Engliſh horſemen diſcomfited.

The vnaduiſed raſhneſſe of Sir Thomas Palmer, was thought to bee the chiefe occaſion of this diſtreſſe of thoſe horſemen, who after they had done ſufficiently for that tyme, would needes haue them to giue a new charge, and ſo were diſcomfited.

After this ouerthrow and chaſe of our horſemen, the armie that was leuyed to paſſe into Scotlande was haſted forwarde wyth all ſpeede poſſible, for although before the comming of the Engliſh horſemen, the French, vpon aduertiſement giuen that they ment to come, had plucked backe theyr great artillerie, and ſent the ſame vnto Edenbourgh, keeping onely with them ſixe fielde peeces, and herewyth remoued theyr campe further off from the Towne, yet by foreſtalling vittayles and all other neceſſarie things from them within, they were dryuen to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they muſte of force haue left the town to the enimies if ſome power had not come within a while to remoue the ſiege that lay thus to annoy them.

The French men remoue their campe.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcaſtell, and the Earle of Shrewſburie generall Lieutenaunt of the ſame, was there arryued, they paſſed forwarde to Berwike, and from thence marched ſtreyght towardes Hadington.

The Earle of Shrewſburie generall of the armie.

The number of the Engliſh men and ſtrangers, was reported at the poynt of fifteene thouſande, whereof three. M. were Almaines vnder the conduct of a right worthie and expert chieftaine, named Conrad Phenning, commonly called Cortpeny.

The number of ſouldiers in the ſame army

Conrad Phenning captain of the Almaines.

Beſide this armye by lande, there was alſo furniſhed forth a fleete by ſea, vnder the conduct of the Lorde Clinton high admirall of Englande, and other Captaines of greate experience in affayres and ſeruice by ſea.

This fleet was appoynted ſo to keepe courſe with the army by lande, that the one might bee euer in ſight of the other.

The frenchmẽ diſlodge from before Hadington.

The French army encampeth at Muſkelbourgh.

Monſieur de Deſſe aduertiſed of the comming forward of this armie, durſt not abide their comming, but rayſed his fielde, and retyred wyth his army towarde Edenbourgh, howbeit they were no ſooner diſlodged, but that a great troupe of the Engliſh horſemen were got within ſight of them, and coaſted them all the way as they marched for the ſpace of ſeuen or eight miles, in maner to as farre as Muſkelbourgh, where the French men ſtayed, and encamped in a place choſen forth to their moſt aduauntage.

The Earle of Shrewſburie commeth to Hadington.

The Earle of Shrewſburie, and the Lorde Gray with the armye comming vnto Hadington, were ioyfully receyued of the Captayns and ſouldiours within, where it might appeare howe valiauntly they had defended that towne during the ſiege, being ſo deſtitute of all things neceſſarie for their relief, and the fortifications ſo weake, that if the noble prowes of their worthie Generall ſir James Wilforde, and the incomparable manhoode of the reſt of the Captaynes and ſouldiours had not ſupplyed all other wantes, it was thought impoſſible that they ſhould haue defended the place ſo long a tyme agaynſt ſuch forces as had beene there imployed agaynſte them: but ſuche was the vndaunted valiauncie of that noble crewe and garniſon, that euen the verie enimies themſelues coulde not but yeelde highe commendations to the Captaynes and ſouldiours for the hardie forwardneſſe and manhoode, which at all tymes they had founde and tryed in them at all poyntes of ſeruice, when they came to deale with them: and verily theyr fame deſerueth to be had in memorie for euer, not onely for their worthie atchieued exploytes, done by force of hande, to the beating backe and repulſing of the enimyes, but alſo for theyr pacient ſuſteyning of hunger, thyrſt, continuall watching, nakedneſſe, ſickneſſe, and all other ſuche calamities and miſeries, as want of things neceſſarie for the reliefe and maintenance of mans life is woont to bring, to thoſe that are encloſed in ſuche wiſe by the enimie.

The pacience of the Engliſhe men in ſuſteining all wants of reliefe.

The noble Erle of Shrewſburie coulde not forbeare to ſhed teares to vnderſtande and perceyue that ſuch worthie ſouldiers ſhoulde ſuffer ſuch great diſtreſſe, whoſe valiant hearts coulde not be quailed with any afflictions. Thus with mournfull embracings intermixed with pitifull regardes they met. The Erle entring the towne, furniſhed it with new bandes of men, good ſtore of vittails, munition and all other things conuenient, and as then thought requiſite.

The Earle of Shrewsbu marcheth wardes the enimies.

Thus hauing refreſhed the towne, within two dayes after he paſſed forth towards the enimies, appoynting by the aduiſe of that noble cheiftaine the Lord Gray, certaine bandes of horſemen to keepe themſelues cloſe togither in ambuſh, and to ſend a few to the French campe, to trie if they might train the Frenchmẽ forth of their ſtrength. And as they wiſhed it partly came to paſſe, for diuerſe of their horſmen iſſued forth of their campe, and proffered the ſkirmiſh. The Engliſhmen ſuffred themſelues to be chaſed, til they had got their enimies within daunger of their ambuſh, and then whirling about, gaue them the charge, enforſing them to make their carere backe, with more than an eaſie gallop, ſo that hauing the Frenchmen thus in chaſe, they ſlue and tooke diuerſe, and among the priſoners were two Captaines, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet. The others that eſcaped returned with this loſſe to their campe.

The French men chaſed.

The armie the Scots co to ioyne wi the French

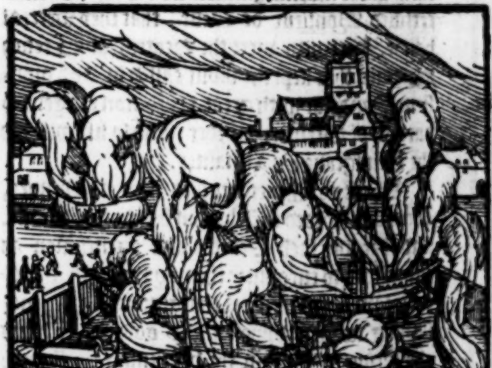
In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, there came to the ayde of the Frenchmen. xiiij. or. xv. thouſande Scottes, accounting herewith the Iriſh Scottes which came with the Erle of Arguile. Theſe Scottes were vneath lodged, when ſodainly the Earle of Shrewſbury and the Lord Gray came with their armie deuided into three battailes of footmen, garded wyth two troupes of horſemen, preſenting themſelues before the faces of theyr enimies in the ſame place, where theyr auantcurrers the day before had ſhewed themſelues to draw forth the French men. Here the armie thus ranged in array of battaile, ſtayed aboue the ſpace of an houre, looking if the enimies durſt haue come forth to haue giuen battaile, but when they perceyued that by no meanes the Frenchmen ment to forſake theyr ſtrength, they returned backe to theyr campe.

The Earle Shrewsburi profereth th enimies ba

The French men durſt come forth their campe

Ships burn

The Engliſh nauie being entred now into the Forth, was not ydle, for comming to Brent Iland they ſet fire on foure ſhips, which they found there, & after paſſing by Lieth ſaluted them within the town with canon ſhot, and after intending to burn S. Minets, were repulſed from thence by the Lord of Dune, and after returned to attende on the armie.



The Earle of Shreweſburie, and my Lorde Gray hauing executed ſo much as theyr Commiſſion woulde beare, and refreſhed Hadington with all things needfull, departed homwardes. And comming to Dunglas, beganne there to buylde a fortreſſe.

The Engliſh Almains as the armie paſſed by Dunbar, burnt the towne.

Theſe Almaines alſo, and certaine bandes of Engliſh men as well horſemen as footmenne, were left at Dunglas till the Forte there begunne was in ſome ſtrength. The Earle of Shreweſburie with the reſt of the armye came backe into England.

he lord Gray
ch againe
Scotland.

My Lorde Gray remayning on the borders Lieutenant of the North partes, after the Earle of Shrewſbury was returned home, aſſembled al the horſemen then lying on the borders, and being backed with the Almaine footemen, entred againe with the ſame horſemen into Scotlande, burning and waſting in the Countreys of Tiuidale, and Liddeſdale, for the ſpace of twentye miles, both houſe, corne, hay, and all other things that came within their reach, and after returned without incounter.

omiſado
en to Ha-
gtone,

The .ix. of October being Tueſday, Monſieur de Deſſe, with his Frenchmen and Almaines, came in the morning long before daye to Hadington, meaning to haue wonne the towne by ſtealth: and verily the enterprice was gouerned in ſuch ſecrete maner, that the Frenchmen had killed the Engliſhe ſkoutes, and were entred the baſe Court, ere anye alarme was rayſed, and hauing ſlayne the watche, ſome of them ranne to a place behynde a Churche, where the Engliſhmen had theyr vittayles and munitions, and ſome thruſt vppe to the Towne Gate, enforcing with great violence to breake it open, crying with noyſe and ſhowtes, victorie, victorie, whereof in deede they accounted themſelues then aſſured: and queſtionleſſe the Engliſhe men beeing thus wakened oute of theyr ſleepes on the ſodain, were in ſome greate diſorder, ſo that manye of them came running forth wythoute eyther armour or apparell, theyr ſhyrtes excepted, and others ranne they wyſte not well whyther, nor where to take heede. But yet as the Frenche men were thronged togyther at the gate to breake it open (a Frenchman as theyr wryters doe report) that ſerued within the towne, but as other ſay Tiberio Captayne of the Italians, with his matche lyght gaue fire to a double Canon, that lay readie bent agaynſt the gate, ſo that the ſame ſhooting off, made ſuch a ſlaye among the French men, that they were glad to giue place, and with ſuche a fearefull crie, that thoſe whiche were behinde, not vnderſtanding what loſſe theyr fellowes before had ſuſteyned, brake their array and fled amaine.

The French men repulſed.

The Engliſhmen herewith paſſed through a priuie Poſterne into the baſe Court, and comming vpon them with theyr Halberds, & blacke Billes, ſlue of them great plentie, and droue the reſt that eſcaped ouer the Wall in ſuch haſt, that happy was he that could tumble ouer firſt. Monſieur de Deſſe yet gathering them togyther again, gaue that morning three ſharpe aſſaultes to the Towne, but was repulſed wyth greate loſſe, for they caryed awaye with them ſyxteene Cartes and Wagons laden wyth hurte perſones and deade Carcaſſes, beſide three hundred that were founde in the baſe Courte, whiche they coulde not come to, after they were beaten oute, to take awaye with them. And thus was Monſieur de Deſſe conſtrayned to returne, repenting himſelfe of that his bold attempted enterprice, hauing loſt no ſmall number of his Frenchmen and Almaines, beeyng ſlaine in the place.

In thys meane time, the Kinges Maieſtie ſummoned his highe Courte of Parliament to be holden vpon prorogation at Weſtminſter the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourtenth of March next enſuyng.

A Parliament.

In the meane tyme, the proceedings for the Scottiſh warres was not forgotten, whereupon in the deepe of the winter, there were cōueyed certaine bandes of the Engliſh Lanſquenets, and ſome number of Engliſhmen, both horſemen and footemen by Sea vnto Broughtiecrag, and paſſing from thence vnto Dundee, a two miles from thence, entred the towne, and began to fortifie it: but ſhortly after by the cōming of ẏ Frēch army with Monſieur de Deſſe, they left it, fyrſt ſpoyling the houſes, and after ſet them on fire at their departure.

Dundie ſpoyled.

The Reinſgraue coronell of the Almains, and monſieur de Etanges, being ſent by M. de Deſſe before, entred Dundee, and lodged within it. Within two dayes after their comming thither, they tooke certain of their bandes, and going forth to view and ſuruey the new fort, which the Engliſh men had begonne to make on the hill, a ſmall diſtance from the Caſtell. But the Engliſh men and their Almaines iſſuing forth agaynſt them, were at their elbowes ere they were halfe wel aduiſed that they were got ſo neare them, whereby being driuen haſtily to retyre, they hardly eſcaped out of daunger, beyng ſo hotely purſued, that if the Reinſgraue had not ſhewed his approued valiancie, guided with no leſſe policie than manhood, the whole troupe had bene (as was thought) vtterly diſtreſſed.

The Reinſ-graue con-ſtrayned to retyre.

In Chriſtmaſſe this yeare the caſtell of Hume was recouered out of the Engliſhmens handes, through treaſon of certaine aſſured Scottes, that vſing to bring vittayles to the Engliſh men that kept it, had marked all the maner of the ſkowtes and watches, with the places of the Wall, where the clime was moſt eaſie. Whereupon in the night ſeaſon, certain of the Scottes ſecretly comming into the ditches, got vp to the heigth of the walles, and entring the place, ſlue and tooke vpon the ſodaine, all that were within it.

1549

An. reg. 3.

The .xvj. of Januarie, ſir Thoms Seymer Baron of Sudley, Lord Admiral, and brother to the duke of Somerſet Lord Protector, was arreſted and ſent to the Tower, and after by authoritie of Parliament he was attainted, & the .xx. of Marche next enſuing, in the thirde yeare of this kings raigne beheaded at Tower hill,

The Maſſe aboliſhed.

Moreouer in this Parliament, the vſe of the Maſſe was clearly prohibited, and a booke for the vniformitie of diuine ſeruice, and right adminiſtration of the Sacraments was ſet forth and eſtabliſhed.

Monſier de Etauges taken priſoner.

Ye haue heard how the French men fortified the towne of Dundee, where Monſieur de Etauges, with his companie of horſemen lying in garniſon chaunced in a ſkyrmiſh to be taken by the Engliſhmen, that lay in Broughty crag, to the great reioyſing of them that tooke hym, and no leſſe griefe of the French and Scots, for the tried valiauncie that was throughly knowen to reſt in him.

Moreouer the Engliſhe men that kept the towne of Hadington all this while againſte the enimies, coulde not come by any vittayles, but onely by a conuey of ſome conuenient power to garde the cariages that brought the ſame from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuey came and paſſed by Dunbar, a ſkyrmiſhe was proffered by the Frenche whiche lay within that caſtell in garniſon, and as ſir James Wilford that was there amongſt other vpõ this occaſion (according to his wonted valiancie) ſhewed himſelfe very forward and egre agaynſt the enimie, he was encloſed by an ambuſh, which the Frenchmen had layd on eche ſide the ſtreete within the towne, that he coulde by no meanes eſcape out of their handes, but hauing his horſe there ſlaine vnder him, was taken priſoner by a Gaſcoigne of the Countrey of Baſque named Pelicque, that wan no ſmal commendation for that his good happe, in taking ſuche a priſoner, whoſe name for his often approued prowes was ſo famous euen among the enimies.

Sir James Wilford ta-ken priſone

Some haue written that hee was taken through default of thoſe that were appoynted to follow him, ſithe he vndertooke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he ſhoulde haue beene aſſyſted, but ſurely thoſe that hadde the charge of this conuey, doubting by aduenturing to farre, to put all in hazarde, thought it wiſedome rather to ſuffer the loſſe of one, than to ieoparde the whole, not perceyuing which way to remedie the matter at that preſent.

Then after ẏ the generall of Hadington was thus taken priſoner, to the great griefe vndoubtedly, not onely of all the garniſon there, but alſo of all ſuch as tendered the aduauncement of the kings Maieſties ſeruice, ſir James Croftes was thought a man moſt meeteſt to ſupplie the place, and therefore by the Lorde Protectour and other of the Counſayle was ordeyned Generall of that Towne of Hadington, and the Garniſon there, in whiche rowmth hee bare himſelfe ſo worthilye, as if I ſhoulde not bee ſuſpected of flatterie, for that hee lyueth yet, and in ſuche credite (as the worlde knoweth) I myght moue my ſelfe matter to ſay rather muche, than ſufficiently ynough, in his due and right deſerued commendation.

Sir James Croftes.

The King by the aduice of his counſayle meaning to proſecute the warres in Scotlande, wyth greate forces reteyned a newe power of Lanſquenets, and other ſtraungers, vnder the conduct of dyuerſe and ſundrie Captaynes: but in the meane tyme the French King meaning to breake wyth the King of Englande, thought to haue ſtolne the Fortreſſe of Bullenberg, ſo that a choſen power of menne of warre, to the number of ſeuen thouſande, vnder the conduction of Monſieur de Chatillon, being ſent downe about that exployte on May day at night came forward with theyr Ladders, and all other furniture meete for the purpoſe, approching about the houre of midnight neare to the Fort, within the which were not at that tyme manye aboue three hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, vnder the gouernement of Sir Nicholas Arnaulte Knight, generall of that peece, a Captayne of greate courage, and no leſſe diligence in hys charge.

Sir Nicholas Arnault cap-taine of Bul-lenberg.

And as it chaunced, there were among the Frenchmen, three or foure Engliſhe men, which hauing matched themſelues in mariage wyth women of that Countrey, after the peace was concluded betwixt Fraunce and England, were diſcharged out of the King of Englandes wages, and remayning with their wiues, gate entertainement among the Frenchmen, and were with Monſieure de Chatillon, nowe comming towardes this enterpriſe: wherevpon one of the ſame Engliſhemen named Carter, that had aforetime giuen intelligence to the ſayde Sir Nicholas of the Frenchemennes doings, ſo farre as hee mighte learne and vnderſtand the ſame, woulde gladly alſo haue aduertiſed hym aforehande of the Frenchmens purpoſe at this time: but Monſieur de Chatillon, kepte the matter ſo ſecrete, that Carter nor anye of the other Engliſhmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forwarde, ſo that Carter coulde not get away from them, till they were approched within leſſe than a quarter of a myle of Bullen Berge, and then ſlipping aſyde from among them, came running ſo faſt as hee mighte towardes the forte, crying bowes, bowes, as lowde as his voyce would ſerue, and ſo gaue the alarme to them within the forte.

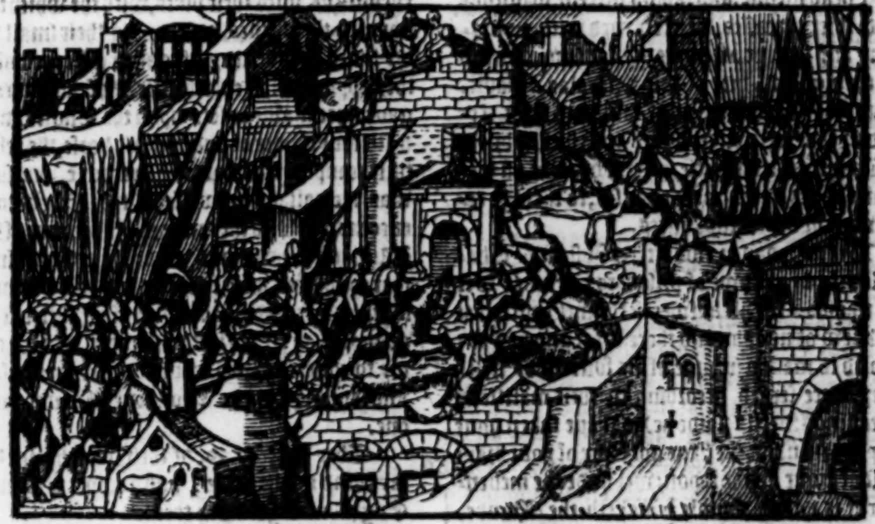
in En- ſmen, ſer- among renchmē.

One of the Souldiers called Morgayne Deaton, that chaunced to be there at hande in ſkoute wyth three or foure other, ſtraight knew hym, and broughte him to the drawe Bridge, where Sir Nicholas Arnault cauſed him to bee drawen vppe betwixt two pikes, vnto whome hee declared howe the Frenchmenne were at hande, meaning to aſſaulte hys forte nowe vpon the ſuddaine, in hope ſo to ſurpriſe it.

Herewith, it needed not to wil Sir Nicholas to haſten him, to cauſe euery man to make readye, and to place themſelues as was thought moſt expediente, and vndoubtedly, the noble courage of that worthy Gentleman was ſuch, that it made, to cauſe euerye Captayne and Souldiour vnder him, to put away all feare, and to haue a regarde to do his duety, in receiuing of the enemies, ſo as it ſeemed they were glad of the occaſion, whereby they might ſhewe proofe of theyr accuſtomed manhode againſt the enemies, ÿ thus came to ſteale on thē without warning, in purpoſe to kill euerye manne that fell into theyr handes, if theyr intention had taken place, makyng nowe ſuche haſt forewarde, that before the Engliſhemenne coulde bee well readye wyth theyr armoure and weapons in theyr appointed places, the Frenchmenne were gotte to the ditches, and appointing a number of their beſte ſouldiers, the moſt part Gentlemen and double payes, with targettes, battayle axes, and piſtolles, to haue the firſte ſkale, ſaluted them within vppon theyr very approche, with ſeauen hundred harquebuze ſhot at the firſt volee.

The Frenchmen aſſaulte Bullogne berg.

The Engliſhmenne by order giuen by Sir Nicholas, kept themſelues cloſe, till the Frenchmen by their ſkaling ladders (which they broughte with them, and had quickly rayſed againſt the walles) beganne to mounte vppe, and entred vpon them, at which inſtant, off went the Flankers.



Thoſe of Sir Nicholas Arnaults Mounte diſcharged very wel at the firſt, but at the ſecond volee, the morters burſt.

Albeit, there were two braſſe peeces, that were planted alofte on the ſame mount, of the whyche the one diſcharged fiue and twentie ſhotte by the maiſter, and the other ſeauen and twenty by his mate.

Sir Nicholas Arnault here beyng accompanyed with hys Captaines and Souldyers aboute hym, ſtoode at defence ſo ſtoutely as was poſſible, doing ſo valiantly, that theyr fame deſerueth to liue for euer.

There were burſt vppon the faces of the enemies (ouer and beſide the ſhotte that was beſtowed amongſt them) in ſmal ſpace, of pikes and blacke billes. The Frenchmen certainely ſtucke to it manfully, and doing what lay in their vttermoſt power to enter the peece, ſtil ſupplied the places of their dead men & wery, with freſhe ſuccours.

Carter that came to bring word of their comming, with a pike in his hande, ſtanding at the place of the Bulwarke where the aſſault was chiefly giuen, fought manfully, and was hurte both in the thigh and arme.

Sir Nicholas Arnault himſelf was alſo hurt with a pike in the noſe, and Captaine Waren ſtanding by him, receiued two ſhottes in his corſelet, hauing twoo or three linkes of his chaine ſtriken into his necke.

Captain Broughton alſo ſhewed himſelf verie valiant: hee hadde ſixteene of his armed men there with him, of whom there was not one that had not his corſelet perced through.

The number of Engliſhmen ſlaine were reconed to bee about fiue and twentie, and hurte eight and fiftie.

The French-men repulſed.

Of Frenchmen many were ſlaine, beſide thoſe ẏ were hurte, & at length hauing continued the aſſault from midnight til ſomewhat after the break of day, they wer forced (with caſting down of ſtones and timber vppon their heades, ſcalding water and handblaſes) to giue ouer, and retiring out of the trenches, they gather togither their dead menne, and lading fifteene waggons with their carcaſſes, they returned without making any further attempte at that time, and ſo by the high valiancie of Sir Nicholas Arnault, with the Captaines and ſouldiers that ſerued in that forte vnder him, and chiefly by the aſſiſtance of almightie god the giuer of all victories, the enemies were repulſed, to the high renowme of the defendauntes.

Within a day or two after, Mõſieur de Chatillon, ſent to knowe of priſoners taken: but Sir Nicholas Arnault anſwered the meſſenger, that he knew of no war, and therefore if any had attempted to make a ſurpriſe of his fortreſſe by ſtelth they were ſerued according to their malitious meanings: verily (ſaide he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got ſome of your braue gilt armour and weapon: wel ſaide the meſſenger, it is not the Cowle ẏ maketh the Munke, neither, is it the braue armour, or weapon that maketh the ſouldier, but ſuche is the fortune of warre, ſometime to gaine and ſometime to loſe. Sir Nicholas made him good cheere, and at his departure gaue him fiftie crownes in rewarde. But concerning the liberalitie of Sir Nicholas I might here ſpeake further thereof, howe bountifully hee rewarded his ſouldiers for their ſeruice and high manhood in defending ſo ſharp an aſſault.

The Lord Co ham deputie of Calais.

The day after the ſame aſſault, there came to Boulogne Berg from Calleis and Guiſnes, by order of the Lord Cobham then Lord deputie of Calais, two hundred ſouldiers one hundred from Calais, vnder the leading of his ſonne ſir William Brooke, now Lord Cobham, and the other hundred from Guiſnes vnder the guiding of Captaine Smith.

Shortly after, by order of the Lord Clinton then gouernour of Boullongne, there were ſent forth the ſaide Sir William Brooke with his hundred, from Bullongne Berg, and Captaine Liton with his hundred, from the baſe towne, and an other Captaine with an other hundred, from one of the other peeces there alſo fiue and twentie horſemen, with certaine cariages to go vnto a wood diſtant frõ Bullongne Berge about two miles, to fetche from thence certaine timber, for the mounting of ẏ great artillerie and other neceſſarie vſes.

Theſe Captaines with their bandes being come almoſt to the Woodſide, met with certain of their ſkoutes that hadde bin ſent forth in the morning, who tolde them, howe they had diſcouered the track of a greate number of horſemen, wherupon the Engliſhmen retired, and herewith ẏ French horſemen brake out of ẏ wood, & following them fel in ſkirmiſh with them. The Engliſhmen caſting themſelues in a ring, kepte the enemies off with their pikes, with the which they impaled themſelues, and hauing their ſmall nũber lyned with ſhot, they ſtil galled ẏ Frenchmen as they approched. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe horſemenne gaue three maine onſets vpon the Engliſhmen, with the number of fiue hundred horſe, the reſt of their companies remaining in troupe, but ſuche was the valiant prowelle of the Engliſhmen encouraged with the comfortable preſence of Sir William Brooke and other their Captaines, that conducted them in ſuch order as ſtoode moſt for their ſafegarde, & therwith vſing ſuch effectuall words as ſerued beſt to purpoſe, that the enemy to conclude, was repulſed diuers being ſlain and amongſt other Monſieur Cauret was one.

They loſt alſo .70. of their great horſes that laye dead in the fielde, and a cornet whiche the Engliſhmen got from them.

There were two thouſande footemen French and Almaynes that folowed alſo, but coulde not reache, for the Engliſhmenne ſtill retiring gotte at length within fauour of the ſhotte of Boullongne Berge, whiche after their enemies once perceiued, they marched by and lefte them.

and ſo marching aboute the forte, returned in vayne, after they once perceyued that the Engliſhmen were ſafely retired within theyr forte.

The Counſell thus perceyuing the Frenche kings purpoſe which he had conceyued to worke ſome notable domage to this realme, as well in ſupport of his frendes in Scotland, as in hope to recouer thoſe peeces which the Engliſhe helde at Bullonge, and in thoſe marches, doubted alſo of ſome inuaſion meant by him to be attempted into this realme, bycauſe of ſuch greate preparation as hee had made, for leuying of his forces both by ſea and land.

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The Counſell therefore made likewiſe prouiſion to bee ready to reſiſt all ſuch attemptes, as any way forth might be made, to the annoyance of the Realme. But as things fell out, the ſame ſtoode in good ſteede, not againſte the forayne enimie, but againſte a number of rebellious ſubiects at home, the whiche forgetting theyr ductie and allegiãce, did as much as in them lay (what ſo euer their pretence was) to bring this noble Realme and their natural countrey vnto deſtruction. But firſt, for that it may appeare, that the Duke of Somerſet, then Protector, and other of the Counſell, did not without good grounde and cauſe mainteyne the warres agaynſt the Scots, I haue thoughte good to ſette downe an Epiſtle exhortatorie, as we fynde the ſame in the greate Chronicle of Richarde Grafton, ſente from the ſayd Protector and Counſell vnto the Scottes, to moue them to haue conſideration of themſelues, and of the ſtate of theyr Countrey, by ioyning in that friendly bonde and vnitie with England, as had bin of the Kings part and hys fathers continually ſoughte, for the benefyte of both Realmes. The Copie of which exhortation here enſueth.

Edward by the grace of God Duke of Somerſet, Erle of Hertford, Viſcount Beauchamp, Lord Seymer, Vncle to the Kinges highneſſe of England, gouernour of his moſt royall perſon, and protector of all his Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, Lieutenant generall of all his maieſties armies, both by lande and Sea, Treaſorer and Earle Marſhall of England, gouernour of the Iſles of Gerneſey and Ierſey, and Knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, with others of the counſayle of the ſayde moſt high & noble Prince Edward, by the grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland King, defender of the faith, and in earth vnder Chriſt the ſupreme head of the Churches of Englande and Irelande. To the nobilitie and counſellors, Gentlemen and Commons, and all other the inhabitants of the Realme of Scotlande, greeting and peace.

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tes.

CONſidering with our ſelues the preſent ſtate of thinges, and weying more deepely the manner and termes wherein you and wee doe ſtande, it maketh vs to marueil, what euill and fatall chance doth ſo diſſeuer your heartes, and maketh them ſo blinde and vnmindfull of youre profit, and ſo ſtill conſtitute and heape to youre ſelues, moſt extreame miſchiefes, the whych wee whome yet will needes haue youre enimies, goe about to take away from you, and perpetually to eaſe you thereof.

And alſo by all reaſon, and order of neceſſitie, it ſhould be rather more conuenient for you, to ſeeke and require moderate agreements of vs, whom God hath hitherto according to our moſt iuſt, true, and godly meanings and intents, proſpered, and ſet forward, with your affliction and miſerie, than yͤ we being ſuperioures in the field, maiſters of a great part of your Realme, ſhould ſeeke vpon you. Yet to the intent that our charitable mindes and brotherly loue, ſhould not ceaſe by all meanes poſſible, to prouoke and call you to youre owne commoditie and profite, euen as the father to the ſonne, or the elder brother to the yonger brother. And as the louing Phiſition would doe to the miſtruſtfull and ignorant pacient, we are content to call and crie vppon you, to looke on your ſtate, to auoyde the greate calamitie that youre Countrey is in, to haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather Countreymen than Conquerors. And if your gouernour or Captaynes ſhall retryne and keepe from you this oure exhortation as heeretofore they haue done our proclamation, tending to the like effect for theyr owne priuate wealth and commoditie, not regarding though you be ſtil in miſerie, ſo they haue profite and gouernaunce ouer you, and ſhall ſtill abuſe you with feigned and forged tales: yet this ſhall bee a witneſſe afore God, and all Chriſtian people, betwixte you and vs, that wee profeſſing the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, according to the doctrine thereof, doe not ceaſſe to call and prouoke you from the effuſion of youre owne bloud, from the deſtruction of the Realme of Scotlande, from perpetuall enmitie and hatred, from the finall deſtruction of youre nation, and from ſeruitude to forrayne nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs; to that whiche youre writers hathe alwayes wiſhed might once come to paſſe. Who that hath redde the ſtories in times paſt, and dothe marke and note the greate battayles foughte betweene England and Scotlande, the incurſions, rodes, and ſpoyles, whiche hathe bin done on both parties: the Realme of Scotlande fyue times wonne by one Kyng of Englande, the Scottiſh kings ſome taken priſoners, ſome ſlayne in battayle, ſome for very ſorow and diſcomfort, vpon loſſe dying and departing the world: and ſhall perceyue agayne, that all nations in the world, that nation onely beſyde Englande, ſpeaketh the ſame language, and as you and wee be annexed and ioyned in one Iſlande, ſo no people are ſo lyke in manners, forme, language, and al conditions as wee are: ſhall not hee thinke it a thing verye vnmeete, vnnaturall, and vnchriſtian, that there ſhoulde bee betwixte vs ſo mortall warre, who in reſpecte of all other nations, bee and ſhoulde bee lyke as two brethren of one Iſland of greate Britaine, and though hee were a ſtraunger to both, what ſhould he thinke more meete, than if it were poſſible one Kyngdome to bee made in rule, whiche is one in language, and to bee deuided in rulers, whiche is all one in Countrey. And for aſmuche as two ſucceſſors cannot concurre and fall into one, by no other manner of meanes, than by marriage, whereby one bloud, one lignage, one parentage is made of two, and an indefenſible right giuē of both to one, without the deſtruction and abolyſhing of eyther. If God ſhoulde graunte that whatſoeuer you woulde wiſhe other than that whyche nowe not by fortune hathe chanced, but by his infinite mercy and moſt inſcrutable prouidence, as carefull for you, he hath gyuen vnto you. The whyche thyng that you ſhoulde alſo thynke to come of hys diſpoſition, and not by blynde fortune, howe vnlyke hathe it bene, and howe ſuddaynely hathe it turned, that the power of G O D myghte bee ſhewed: youre laſt Kyng beeing a Prince of much excellencie and yong, whome you knowe after a promiſe broken contrarye to hys honour and miſfortune by Goddes iuſt iudgemente following vpon it, God eyther by ſorowe or by ſome meanes otherwiſe at hys inſcrutable pleaſure, dyd take away from you, hadde three children, did not almightie God as it were to ſhewe hys will and pleaſure to bee, that the long continued warre and enmitie of both the nations ſhoulde be taken away, and knitte in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two menne childrē of thoſe babes being diſtante the one from the other, and in dyuers places, both as it were at one time, and within the ſpace of foure and twentie houres, leauyng but one mayden childe and Princes.

A matter worthy to be noted.

When the moſt wiſe and victorious Prince late oure Kyng and maiſter, Kyng Henrye the eyght, in other of hys mariages not moſt fortunate, had by his moſt lawfull and moſt vertuous wife, Queene Iane, his other two wiues before that marriage departed thys world, and neuer ſurmiſe nor queſtion made of that mariage, ſith that tyme to thys daye, nor ſo muche as all hyr lyfe tyme, name or motion to or of anye other wife, one Prince of ſo hygh expectation, of ſo great giftes of God, the righte and vndoubted heyre of the Realme of Englande and hys maieſtie onely of male iſſue left behynde hym to ſuccede the imperiall Crowne. If nothing elſe hadde beene done, what can anye wiſe or anye Chriſtian man that thinketh the worlde to bee gouerned by Goddes prouidence and not by fortune, thynke otherwiſe, but that it was Goddes pleaſure it ſhoulde bee ſo, that theſe two Realmes ſhoulde ioyne in marriage, and by a godly Sacramente, make a godly, perpetuall and moſte friendly vnitie and concorde, whereby ſuche benefytes as of vnitie and concorde commeth, maye through his infinite grace come vnto theſe Realmes. Or if anye man of you or of anye other nation doubteth heereof, excepte you looke for miracles to bee done heerin, and yet if you marke all the poſſibilities of the natures of the two Princes, the children alreadye hadde, the doubtfull chance, leaſt eache of them ſhoulde haue a ſonne, or both daughters, or not of meete ages, with other circumſtances both of the partie of this Realme of Englande, and that of Scotlande, whyche hathe not chaunced in eyghte hundred yeares, it muſt needes be reckoned a greate maruell and a miracle. But lette it bee no miracle, ſeeyng that G O D doth not now ſpeake in oracles, as amongſt the Iewes hee dyd: and preſente propheceis nowe adayes bee, but eyther not certayne, or elſe not playne: what more certayntie can bee hadde of Goddes will in thys caſe, than the before rehearſed doth bryng? but if God hymſelfe ſhould ſpeake, what coulde he ſpeake more, than hee ſpeaketh in theſe?

Call you them prouidences or chances, if you bee ſtill afflicted and puniſhed? maye hee not ſaye I of my infinite mercy and loue to youre nation, hadde prouided a righte heyre and a Prince to the one, and a right heyre and Princes to the other, to bee ioyned in my holye lawes, and by the lawe of nature and the worlde to haue made an vnitie, concorde and peace, in the whyche Iſle of bothe the Realmes you refuſed it, you loued better diſſention than vnitie, diſcorde than agreement, warre than peace, hatred than loue and charitie. If you doe then therefore ſmarte for it, whome can you blame, but youre owne election? But bycauſe ſome of thoſe, who make thereunto impedimentes, cannot but confeſſe, that there appeareth Gods prouidence heerein, and opportunitie and occaſion gyuen to vnitie of bothe the Realmes, yet may heereafter ſaye, and heeretofore haue ſayde, that the faulte heerein is, that wee ſeeke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conqueſt: wee woulde not bee friendes but the Lordes. Although oure Proclamation at the laſt warres dothe ynough declare the contrarye, yet heere wee proteſt and declare vnto you and all Chriſtian people, to bee the Kyngs maieſties minde

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gure maiſters, by oure aduiſe and counſel not to conquere, but to haue in amitie, not to winne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to ſpoyle and kyll, but to ſaue and keepe, not to diſſeuer and diuorſe, but to ioyne in marriage, from hygh to lowe both the Realmes, to make of one Iſle one Realme, in loue, amitie, concorde, peace and charitie, whyche if you refuſe, and driue vs to conquere, who is giltie of the bloudſhed? who is the occaſion of the warre? who maketh the battayles, the brennyng of houſes, and the deuaſtation whyche ſhall followe? Can it bee denyed, but that wee haue the great ſeale of Scotlande graunted by the Parliamente of Scotlande, for the mariage whiche ſhoulde bee made, with aſſurances and pledges, vntill the performance? And thus in the time that the late king of moſt famous memorie our ſoueraigne Lorde Kyng Henrye the eyght dyd raigne, and in the tyme of the ſame youre gouernour, who nowe is the Earle of Arreigne, who then being a chiefe doer and labourer therein, for the high and ineſtimable benefyte of that Realme, ſo ſoone as he was by the late Cardinall of Sainte Andrewes and others, with certayn vayne feares and hopes and greedineſſe of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from hys firſte agreemente, and putte all the Realme to the loſſe of ſuche holdes and fortreſſes as are nowe taken from you, and to the loſſe of a foughten fielde, for the whiche wee are ſory, if otherwiſe peace might haue bin concluded, for his owne priuate lucre and retchleſneſſe of that noble Realme. And what ende can you looke for of theſe manner of proceedyngs, but ſuche ſucceſſe as heeretofore hathe bin experimented and aſſayed? we offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, wee ouercome in warre, and offer peace: wee winne holdes, and offer no conqueſt: wee get in youre lande, and offer Englande. What can be more offered and more proffered, than entercourſe of merchandiſes, and enterchange of mariages, the aboliſhing of all ſuche our lawes, as prohibiteth the ſame, or mighte bee impedimente to the mutuall amitie. Wee haue offered not only to leaue the authoritie, name, title, right or chalenge of Conquerour, but to receyue that which is the ſhame of men ouercommed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glory of anye victorye (if any wee haue had, or ſhoulde haue of you) and to take the indifferente olde name of Britaines againe, bycauſe nothing ſhoulde bee lefte on our parte vnoffered, nothing on youre parte vnrefuſed, whereby yee myghte be inexcuſable. And all the worlde myghte teſtifie all other meanes, not beyng able to doe anye thyng, after manye other wayes and remedies attempted, battayle of vs to bee taken as an extreame refuge, to atteyne right and reaſon among Chriſtian men: if anye man maye rightfully make battayle for his eſpouſe and wife. The daughter of Scotlande was by the greate ſeale of Scotlande promiſed to the ſonne and heire of England. If it bee lawfull by Gods lawe to fyght in a good quarrell, and for to make peace, thys is to make an ende of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace: whiche to confirme, wee ſhall fighte, and you to breake, is it not eaſie to diſcerne who hath the better parte? God and the ſworde hath already, & ſhall hereafter, if there be no remedie trie it. Who ſo willeth the mariage to goe forwarde: who ſo mindeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the Realmes: who willeth no conqueſt to bee hadde, but amitie and loue to goe forward, we refuſe no man: let him bring his name and hys pledge of good ſeruice in this quarrell, hee ſhall not onely be receyued to the amitie, but ſhall haue ſufficiente defence agaynſte the aduerſaries, and recompence of hys lyuing, if hee ſuſteyne anye loſſe, wee neyther doe nor intende to putte anye man from hys landes, tacks, or offices, vnleſſe he will needes reſiſt, and ſo compel vs thereunto. What face hath this of conqueſt? we intende not to diſinheritt youre Queene, but to make hir heyres inheritors alſo to Englande, what greater honour can yee ſeeke vnto your Queene, than the marriage offered? what more meeter marriage than thys with the Kynges hyghneſſe of Englande? what more ſure defence in the nonage of youre Queene for the Realme of Scotlande, than to haue Englande youre patrone and garriſon. Wee ſeeke not to take from you youre lawes nor cuſtomes, but wee ſeeke to redreſſe youre oppreſſions, whiche of dyuers yee doe ſuſteyne. In the Realme of Englande, dyuers lawes and cuſtomes be according to the auntient vſage thereof. And lykewiſe France, Normandy and Gaſcoigne hath ſundry kynde of orders: hath all the Realmes and dominions that the Emperour now hathe, one cuſtome and one ſorte of lawes. Theſe vayne feares and fantaſies of expulſion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conqueſt, be driuen into your heads, of thoſe who in deede had rather you were all conquered, ſpoyled, and ſlayne, than they would loſe any poynt of their will, of their deſire of rule, of their eſtimation, whiche they knowe in quietneſſe would bee ſeene what it were, as it were in a calme water. Nowe in this tumulte of diſorder, when the Realme is toſſed vppe and downe with waues and ſurges of battaile, famine, and other miſchiefes which the war bringeth, they thinke they cannot bee eſpyed, but looke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and conſider the ſtate of youre Queene and Realme, you will not keepe hir ſole and vnmaried,

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cled, the whiche were to you greate diſhonor: if you married hir within the Realme, that cannot extinguiſhe the title whyche wee haue to the Crowne of Scotlande. And what diſſention, enuie, grudge, and malice, that ſhall breede among you, is eaſie to perceiue: you will marrie hir out of the Realme, our title remayneth, you be ſubiectes to a forayne Prince of another countrey, and of another language, and vs yee haue youre enimies, euen at youre elbowe, your ſuccours farre off from you: and bee wee not in the bowels nowe of the Realme? haue wee not a greate parte thereof, eyther in ſubiection or in amitie and loue? who ſhall come into youre Realme, but hee ſhall be mette with, and foughte with, if neede be, euen of youre owne nation, who bee faythfull and true to the Realme of Englande in the way of thys moſt godly vnion by mariage. And if anye forayne power, Prince or Potentate, or whoſoeuer bee youre ayder to nouriſhe ſtyll diſcorde, ſende you an armye alſo, howe ſhall they oppreſſe you, fyll youre houſes, waſte youre groundes, ſpende and conſume youre vittayle, holde you in ſubiection, and regarde you as ſlaues, whyche withoute them woulde not lyue, and will take youre Queene to beſtowe as they luſt, and ſpecially if theyr ruler or Kyng (as perchance hee maye bee) in other warres be otherwiſe occupyed, to bee a pray to vs, and a true conqueſt, then it ſhall bee too late to ſaye, wee will haue a mariage, and no conqueſt, wee wiſhe peace and amitie, wee are werie of battayle and miſerie. The ſtubborne ouercomed, muſt ſuffer the victors pleaſure, and pertinacitie will make the victorye more inſolent, whereof you youre ſelfe haue gyuen the cauſe, if they ſende money and Captaynes, but no Souldiers: Firſte if they be Captaynes, who ruleth, and who dothe obey? who ſhall haue the honour of the enterpriſe, and if it bee well atchieued, but whether it bee well atchieued or no, whyche number is that whiche ſhall bee ſlayne? whoſe bloud ſhall bee ſhedde? theyr money peraduenture ſhall bee conſumed, and theyr commaundementes obeyed. But whoſe bodyes ſhall ſmarte for it? whoſe landes ſhall bee waſted? whoſe houſes burned: what Realme made deſolate? Remember what it is to haue a forayne power within you? a ſtrong power of youre enimies vppon you, you as it were the Camp and playne betwixte them to fyght on, and to be troden vpon, both of yͤ victor & of the ouercommed. And imagine you ſee before youre eyes youre wiues and daughters in daunger of wantonneſſe and inſolencie of the Souldyers, the proude lookes of the Captaynes and Souldiers, whome you call to helpe you, the contempte you ſhall bring your nation in, and then take heede leaſt indeede that followe which you feare, that is, that you ſhall bee by them conquered, that yee ſhall bee by them putte from youre holdes, landes, takes, and offices, that youre lawes by them ſhall bee altered, that youre nation ſhall bee by them deſtroyed. Conſider in thys Realme, dyd not the Britaynes call in the Saxons for helpe, and by them were putte out? Where bee the Pictes, once a greate nation betwixte you and vs? howe dyd the nation of Fraunce putte out the Galles out of all France? howe gote the Turke firſte all Grecia, and nowe alate all Hungarie, but beeyng called in for to ayde and helpe. And dyd not the Gothes by like meanes gette all Italy, and the Lombardes one parte thereof nowe called Lombardie? what looke you for more? Needie Souldiers, and hauing theyr weapons in theyr handes, and knowing that you cannot lyue without them, what wyll not they commaunde you to doe? what wyll they not encroche vppon you? what wyll they not thinke they maye doe? and what wyll they thynke that you dare doe? thys forraine helpe is youre confuſion, that ſuccoure is youre detrimente, the victorie ſo had is your ſeruitude: what is then to bee thoughte of loſſe taken with them? the ſtraungers and forrayne Souldyers ſhall oppreſſe you within, our power and ſtrength without, and of youre owne nation, ſo many as loue quietneſſe, godlyneſſe, and wealthe of youre Realme, ſhall helpe alſo to ſcourge and afflicte you. Is it not better to compoſe and acquite all thys calamitie and trouble by marriage, to ende all ſorrowes and battayles by ſuche and ſo honorable a peace? hathe the Emperoure Spayne and Burgundye not by title of marriage? howe holdeth the Frenche Kyng Britayne nowe lately annexed to that Crowne, but by title of marriage? howe hathe all the greate Princes of the worlde happily and with quiet, made of two Kyngdomes one, of dyuers Lordſhippes one: of nations alwayes at warre wyth themſelues, or elſe in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned Kingdome, rule, and dominion, but by that godly, moſt quiet, and moſt amiable compoſition of marriage? Two meanes there is of making one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfect agreemente betwixte two nations, eyther by force and ſuperioritie, whiche is conqueſt, or by equalitie and loue, whyche is by parentage and mariage: you hate the one, that is conqueſt, and by refuſing the other, you enforce vppon you hatred and malice. You will not haue peace, you will not haue aliance, you will not haue concorde: and conqueſt commeth vppon you, whether yee wyll or no. And yet if all things were conſidered, wee feare it wyll appeare that it were better for you to bee conquered of vs, than ſuccoured of ſtraungers, leſſe loſſe to your goodes, leſſe hurt to youre landes, leſſe diſhonour to your Realme, this nation which is one in tong, one in Countrey and birth, hauing ſo little ſufficience to occupie the whole, than other powers come into you, neyther like in language, nor yet like in behauioure, who ſhoulde rule ouer you, and take you to bee but their ſlaues. But wee eftſones and finally declare and proteſt vnto you, that although for the better furtherance of this godly purpoſe, of vniting the Realmes, and for the ſure defence of them whiche fauoure the mariage, we are compelled for the time to keepe holdes, and to make fortifications in your Realm: yet the kings maieſties minde and determinate pleaſure is, without aduice and counſaile to be as before is declared, that where fauour may be ſhewed not to vſe rigour, if by conditions you will receiue this amitie offered, not to followe conqueſt, for we deſire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your gouernour nor your kirkemen, nor thoſe who ſo often hath falſifyed their faithe and promiſe, and by trecherie and falſehod be accuſtomed to prolonge the time, feede you forth with faire wordes, and bring you into the ſnare, from whence they cannot deliuer you. They will peraduenture prouide for themſelues with penſions in ſome other Realme, and ſette Souldyers ſtraungers in your holdes to keepe you in ſubiection, vnder the pretence to defend them againſt vs. But who prouideth penſions for you? how are you defended whē they be fled away? who cõquereth you when the ſtraunge Captaynes haue your holdes? when your land is waſted, and the Realme deſtroyed, and the more part kept from you? who will ſette by the marriage of the Q. to buy a title with the warre of England, to marrie the name, another mightie King holdyng the land? if wee two being made one by amitie, bee moſt able to defende vs againſt all nations, and hauing the ſea for wall, the mutuall loue for garriſon, and God for defence, ſhould make ſo noble and well agreeing Monarchie, that neyther in peace we may be aſhamed, nor in warre afrayde of any worldly or forraine power: why ſhould not you be as deſirous of ẏ ſame, and haue as much cauſe to reioyce at it as we? if this honour of ſo noble a monarchie doe not moue you to take and accept amitie, lette the griefe and the daunger of the aforenamed loſſes feare you to attempte that thing which ſhall diſpleaſe God, encreaſe warre, daunger youre Realme, deſtroy youre land, vndoe youre children, waſt your grounds, deſolate youre Countreys, and bring all Scotlande eyther to famine and miſerie, or to ſubiection and ſeruitude of another nation: we require but youre promiſed Queene, your offered agreement of vnitie, the ioyning of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that hee hath declared to beare to both the nations, hathe offered vnto vs both, and in manner called vs both vnto it, whoſe calling and prouocation wee haue, and will followe to the beſt of our powers, and in his name, and with his ayde, admonition, exhortation, requeſts, and Ambaſſades not being able to doe it, and to finde ſtableneſſe in promiſes, wee ſhall not willing, but conſtreyned purſue the battayle, chaſtiſe the wicked and malitious, by the angrie Angelles of God the fyre and ſworde: wherefore wee require and exhorte you all, who haue loue to the Countrey, pitie of that Realme, a true heart to youre Queene and miſtreſſe, regarde of youre honoures and promiſes made by the greate Seale of Scotlande, and who fauoureth the peace, loue, vnitie, and concorde, and that moſte profytable mariage, to enter and come to vs, and declaryng youre true and godly heartes thereunto, to ayde vs in thys moſt godlye purpoſe and enterpriſe: to be witneſſes of oure doyngs we refuſe no man, Temporall nor Spirituall, Lorde nor Larde, Gentleman nor other, who will ayde this our purpoſe, and miniſh the occaſion of ſlaughter and deſtruction, to whome wee ſhall keepe the promiſes heretofore declared, and further ſee rewarde and recompence made according to the deſerte. And for a more ſure proofe and playner token of the good mynde and will whiche wee beare vnto you, that whyche neuer yet was graunted to Scotlande in any league, truce or peace, betwixt England and Scotlande, bycauſe yee ſhall haue proofe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the Realmes.

The kyngs highneſſe conſidering the multitude of them which is come to his maieſties deuotion, and of them that bee well willers and ayders of this godly enterpriſe, hath by our aduiſe and counſayle graunted, and by theſe preſentes doe graunte, that from henceforth al maner of merchauntes and other Scottiſhmen, who will enter theyr names with one of the wardens of the marches, and there promiſe to take parte with vs in thys beforenamed godlye purpoſe, to hys owne commoditie, and to ſerue all ſuch as be of the ſame agreemente, may lawfully and without anye trouble and vexation, enter into anye porte, creeke or hauen of Englande, and there vſe their traffique of merchandiſe, buy & ſell, bring in the cõmodities of Scotland, & take and carrie forth the commodities of Englãd, as liberally and as freely, and with the ſame & none other cuſtome or paymentes therefore, than Engliſhmen and the kings ſubiectes doth at theſe preſentes, myndyng further vppon the ſucceſſe heereof, to gratifie ſo the furtherers of this moſt godly enterpriſe and vnion, that all the worlde maye bee witneſſe of the great zeale and loue whyche hys hyghneſſe dothe beare towards you and your nation. And all thys, the Kings hyghneſſe, by our aduice and counſayle, hath willed to bee declared vnto you, and gyuen in commaundement vnto vs, and all hys Lieutenants, Wardens, Rulers, and other head officers, miniſters, and ſubiects, to ſee executed and done, according to the true purporte, effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Although this admonition, and wholeſome exhortation mighte haue moued the Scottes to haue regarded their owne eſtate, yet it little auayled, as by the ſequeale it appeared, for hauing both greate promiſes made by the Frenche, and nowe conſidering therewith the hurly burlyes and tumultes that ſprang vp in Englande, they continued in theyr obſtinate purpoſes, not to yeelde vnto ſuche reaſonable motions, as had bin offered if they woulde haue ſhewed themſelues conformable thereto, and not haue ſo ſtubbornely denyed to ſubmitte themſelues to that whych of right they were bound vnto.

A Proclamation for the laying open of incloſures.

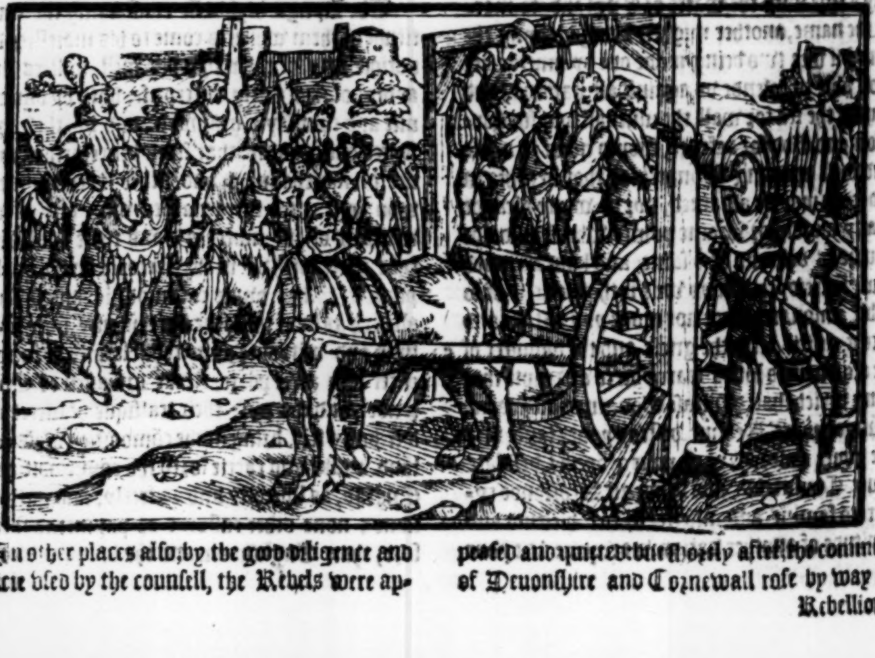
But now to let the Scottes alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed this yeare, to the whole diſappoynting of the plotte layd by the Counſell, for the preſent ſubduing of the Scottes, as it was very lyke that it ſhoulde haue ſo come to paſſe, if none other lette hadde come: ſo it was, that the Kings maieſtie, by the aduiſe hys Vncle the Lord Protector, and other of the Counſell, thought good to ſette forth a Proclamation agaynſt encloſures, and taking in of fieldes and commons, that were accuſtomed to lye open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling neere to yͤ ſame, who had grieuouſlye complayned of Gentlemen and others for taking from them the vſe of thoſe fieldes and commons, and had encloſed them into parkes, and ſeuerall paſtures for their priuate commodities and pleaſures, to the great hinderance and vndoyng of many a poore man.

This Proclamation tending to the benefyte and reliefe of the poore, appoynted that ſuche as hadde incloſed thoſe commons, ſhoulde vppon a payne by a day aſſigned, lay them open agayne: but howe well ſo euer the ſetters forthe of thys Proclamation meante, thinking thereby peraduenture to appeaſe the grudge of the people that found themſelues greeued with ſuche incloſures, yet verily it turned not to the wiſhed effect, but rather miniſtred occaſion of a foule and daungerous diſorder: for where as there were fewe that obeyed the commaundement, the vnaduiſed people preſuming vpō their Proclamation, thinking they ſhoulde be borne out by them that hadde ſet it forth raſhly without order, toke vppon them to redreſſe the matter, and aſſembling thẽſelues in vnlawfull wiſe, choſe to them Captaines and leaders, brake open the encloſures, caſt downe ditches, killed vp the Deare whiche they founde in Parkes, ſpoyled and made hauocke, after the manner of an open Rebellion.

Commotio in Somme- ſetſhire,an other place

Firſte they beganne to play theſe partes in Sommerſetſhire, Buckinghāſhire, Northamptonſhire, Kent, Eſſex and Lincolneſhire.

In Sommerſetſhire, they brake vp certayne Parkes of Sir William Herbert, and the Lorde Sturton, but Sir William Herbert aſſembling a power togither by the Kings commiſſion, ſlew and executed many of thoſe rebellious people.



In other places alſo, by the good diligence and policie vſed by the counſell, the Rebels were appeaſed and quieted: but ſhortly after, the commons of Deuonſhire and Cornewall roſe by way of

Rebellion,

bellion in onſhire.

rebellion, demaunding not onely to haue incloſures layde open, and Parkes diſparked, but alſo through the inſtigation and pricking forward of certaine Popiſhe Prieſtes, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter and ſubtile meanes, firſt vnder Gods name and the Kings, and vnder colour of religion, to perſuade the people to aſſemble in routes, to chuſe Captaynes to guyde them, and finally to bruſt out in open rebellion.

R. Foxe.

he names of e captaines the rebels.

Their chiefe Captaynes were theſe, Humfrey Arundell Eſquire, gouernour of the Mount, Iames Roſogan, Iohn Roſogan, Iohn Payne, Thomas Underhill, Iohn Soleman, and William Segar. Moreouer, of Prieſtes whiche were principall ſtirrers, and ſome of them chiefe gouernours of the Campes, and after executed, there were to the number of eyght, whoſe names we finde to be as follow, Robert Bocham, Iohn Thompſon, Roger Barret, Iohn Wolcock, Willyam Alſa, Iames Mourton, Iohn Barrowe, Richarde Benet, beſides a multitude of other Prieſtes whiche ioyned with them.

he number the rebels Deuonſhire

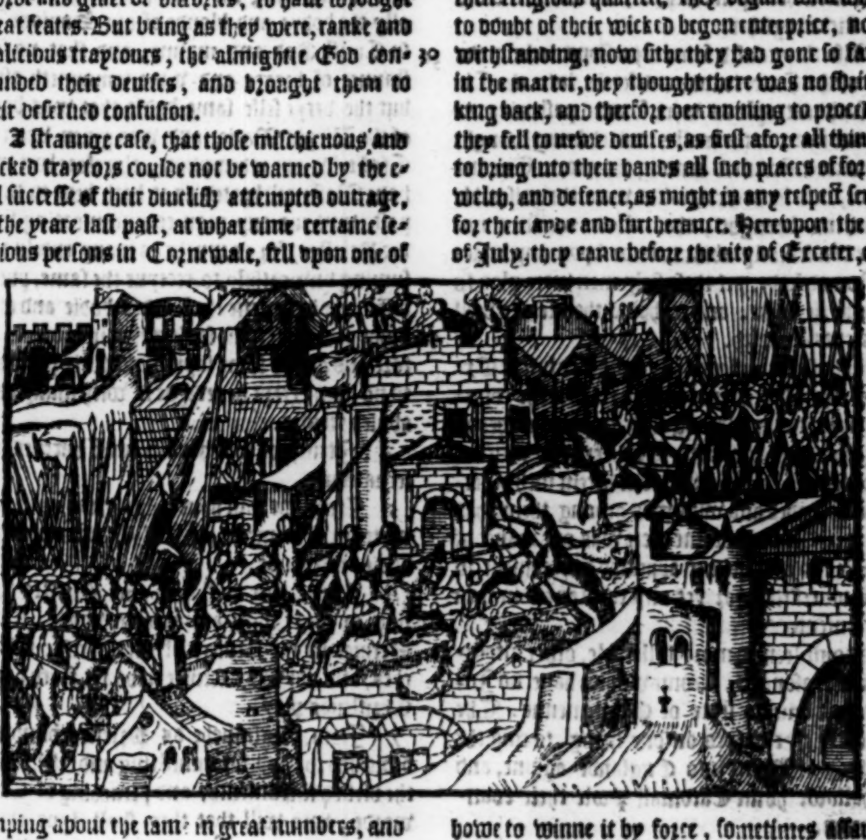
The whole companies of theſe rebels, mounted little leſſe than to the number of tenne thouſand ſtoute and valiant perſonages, able in dede if their cauſe had bene good and fauoured of the Lorde and giuer of victories, to haue wrought great feates. But being as they were, ranke and malicious traytours, the almightie God confounded their deuiſes, and brought them to their deſerued confuſion.

A ſtraunge caſe, that thoſe miſchieuous and wicked traytors coulde not be warned by the euill ſucceſſe of their diueliſh attempted outrage, in the yeare laſt paſt, at what time certaine ſeditious perſons in Cornewale, fell vpon one of the K. commiſſioners named maiſter Body, ſent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like maner as other were ſent the ſame tyme into other ſhires of the Realme, for the which murther a Prieſt being apprehended, arreygned, and condemned, was drawne into Smithfielde, and there hanged and quartered the vij. day of Iuly, in the ſayd laſt yeare before mentioned, to wit. 1548. Other of his cōplices and aſſociates were executed and put to death in diuerſe other parts of the Realme.

Their hope in others tayled them.

Exceter beſieged.

But nowe touching theſe other yͤ roſe in this preſent ſūmer: At yͤ firſt they were in great hope that the other diſordered perſons, that ſtirred in other partes of the Realme, woulde haue ioyned with them, by force to haue diſappoynted and vndone that, which the Prince by law and acte of Parliament, in reformation of religion, had ordeyned and eſtabliſhed: but afterwardes perceyuing howe in moſte places ſuch miſchieuous mutinies and diueliſhe attemptes, as the Commons had begonne, partly by force, and partly by policie were appeaſed, or that their cauſe being but onely about plucking downe of incloſures, and enlarging of Commons, was deuided from theirs, ſo that eyther they woulde not, or coulde not ioyne with them in ayde of their religious quarell, they began ſomewhat to doubt of their wicked begon enterpriſe, notwithſtanding, now ſithe they had gone ſo farre in the matter, they thought there was no ſhrinking back, and therfore determining to procede, they fell to newe deuiſes, as firſt afore all things to bring into their hands all ſuch places of force, welth, and defence, as might in any reſpect ſerue for their ayde and furtherance. Herevpon the ij. of Iuly, they came before the city of Exceter, encamping about the ſame in great numbers, and vſed all wayes and meanes they coulde deuiſe howe to winne it by force, ſometimes aſſaulting it right ſharply, ſomtimes firing the gates,



other whyles vndermyning the walles, and at other times, as occaſions ſerued, procuring ſkirmiſhes.

Finally, nothing was left vndone whiche the enimie coulde imagine to ſerue his purpoſe for the winning of that Citie.

And albeit there wanted not luſtie ſtomacks among the Citizens to withſtande this outwarde force of the enimie, yet in proceſſe of time, ſuch ſcarcitie of breade and vittayles increaſed, that the people waxed weary, and lothe to abyde ſuch extremitie of famine.

The great loialtie of the citizens of Excester.

Howbeit the Magiſtrates (though it greeued them to ſee the multitude of the Citizens in ſuch diſtreſſe) yet hauing a ſpeciall regarde of their dutie towarde the Prince, and loue to the common wealth, left no wayes vnſought to quiet the people, and ſtay them in their dutifull obedience to reſiſte the enimies, ſo that comforting the people with fayre promiſes, and releeuing their neceſſities verye liberally, ſo farre as their power might extende, did in ſuch ſorte vſe the matter, that euery of them within reſolued with one generall conſent to abide the ende, in hope of ſome ſpeedie reliefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was conſumed, the Gouernors of the citie cauſed branne and meale to be moulded vp in cloth, for otherwiſe it wold not ſticke togither.

Alſo they cauſed ſome excurſions to be made out of the Citie, to take and fetche into the Citie ſuche cattayle as were founde paſturing abroade neare to the walles, which being brought in, were diſtributed among the poore. To conclude, into ſuche extremitie were the miſerable Citizens brought, that albeit mannes nature can ſcarcely abide to feede vpon any vnaccuſtomed foode, yet theſe ſely men were glad to eate horſe fleſhe, and to holde themſelues well content therewith.

M. Foxe.

Whyleſt the ſiege thus remained before Exceter, the Rebels ſpoyled and robbed the countrie abroade, and laying their trayterous heads togither, they conſulted vpon certaine articles to be ſent vp to the King, but herein ſuch diuerſitie of heades and wits was among them, that for euery kinde of braine there was one maner of article: ſo that neither appeared any conſent in their diuerſitie, nor yet any conſtancie in their agreement.

Some ſeemed more tollerable, other altogither vnreaſonable. Some woulde haue no Juſtices. Some no ſtate of Gentlemenne. The Prieſtes euer harped on one ſtring, to ring the Biſhop of Rome into Englande againe, and to hallowe home Cardinall Poole their countrieman.

After much a doe, at length a fewe articles were agreed vppon, to bee directed vnto the King, with the names of certayne of their heades ſette thereunto, the copie whereof here enſueth.

The articles of the Commons of Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſent to the King, with aunſweres afterwarde following vnto the ſame.

Sacrament of Baptiſme.

FIrſt, foraſmuch as man, except he be borne of water, and the holy ghoſt, cannot enter into the kingdome of God, and foraſmuche as the gates of heauen be not open without this bleſſed ſacrament of Baptiſme, therefore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this ſacrament at all times of neede, as well on the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.

Confirmation.

2 Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the Biſhop, whenſoeuer we ſhall within the Dioces reſort vnto him.

Conſecrating of the Lordes bodie.

3 Item, foraſmuch as we conſtantly beleeue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration being at Maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is verye really the bodye and bloude of our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt God and manne, and that no ſubſtaunce of breade and wine remayneth after, but the verye ſelfe ſame bodie that was borne of the Virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the Croſſe for our redemption, therefore wee wyll haue Maſſe celebrated as it hath bene in times paſt, without any man communicating with the Prieſtes, for es muche as many rudely preſuming vnworthily to receyue the ſame, put no difference betweene the Lordes bodie and other kinde of meate, ſome ſaying that it is breade before and after: ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except he receyue it, with many other abuſed termes.

Reſeruation of the Lordes bodie conſecrated.

4 Item, we will haue in our Churches, reſeruation.

Holy breade and holy water.

5 Item, we will haue holye breade and holy water in the remembrance of Chriſtes precious bodie and bloude.

6 Item, wee will that oure Prieſtes ſhall ſing or ſaye with an audible voyce, Gods Seruice in the Quiere of the Pariſhe Churches, and not Gods ſeruice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmas play.

The ſingle life of Prieſts.

7 Item, foraſmuche as Prieſtes be menne dedicated to God for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed ſacraments, and preaching of Gods worde, wee will that they ſhall lyue chaſte

without mariage, as Saint Paule did, being the electe and choſen veſſell of God, ſaying vnto all honeſt Prieſtes, bee you followers of me.

he ſixe arti- les to be re- ed.

Item, we will that the vi. Articles whiche our Soueraigne Lorde King Henrie the eyght, ſette forth in his latter dayes, ſhall be vſed and ſo taken as they were at that time.

Item, we pray God ſaue King Edwarde, for we be his both bodie and goodes.

he capitaines ppointed to o against the eonſhire ebels.

For the pacifying of theſe Rebelles, were appoynted by the King and his Counſaile, ſir John Ruſſell knight, Lorde priuie ſeale, the L. Grey of Wilton, Sir Willyam Herbert, after Earle of Penbroke, Sir John Paulet, Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Thomas Speake, and others, with a conuenient power of men of warre both on horſebacke and foote.

traungers.

Amongſt other, there were certaine Straungers that came with my Lorde Grey, as Captaine Germaine an Hennowyer, with a band of horſemen, moſt part Albanoyſes and Italians. Alſo Captaine Paule Baptiſt Spinola, an Italian borne of a noble houſe in Genoa, with a bande of Italian footemen.

beſtes,

proclamatiõ

But now the Lorde priuy ſeale that was ordeyned by the King and his Counſayle, Generall of that armie, vpon his firſt approching towardes them, ſent vnto them the Kings Maieſties Proclamation, the effecte whereof was, that all ſuche perſons as were vnlawfullye aſſembled, and did not within three dayes next after the proclaiming thereof, yeelde and ſubmitte themſelues to the Lorde priuy Seale (the Kings Lieutenaunt) they ſhoulde from thenceforth bee deemed, accepted, and taken for Rebels againſt his royall perſon, and his imperiall crowne and dignitie. And further, the Kings Maieſtie, for a more terrour to the Rebelles, and the encouragement of ſuch other his louing ſubiectes, as ſhoulde helpe and ayde to apprehende anye of the ſayde Rebelles, hee by his ſayde Proclamation, graunted and gaue all the offices, fees, goodes, and poſſeſſions, which the ſayde Rebelles had at and before their apprehenſion.

This Proclamation notwithſtanding, the Rebels continued in their wicked deuiſes and traiterous purpoſes, whereupon yet once againe the Kings maieſtie, for the auoyding of the ſhedding of Chriſtian bloude, ſent vnto them a moſt gentle and louing meſſage in writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their dutifull obedience: but all would not ſerue, nor auaile to moue their obſtinate mindes, to leaue off their deſperate and diueliſh enterpriſe. The meſſage was as followeth.

The Kings' meſſage to the rebelles of Cornewal and Deuonſhire.

Although knowledge hath bene gyuen to vs, and our deareſt vnkle the Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protectour of all our Realmes, Dominions, and ſubiects, and to the reſt of our priuie Counſayle, of diuerſe aſſemblies made by you, whiche ought of dutie to be our louing ſubiectes, againſt all order of lawe, and otherwiſe than euer anye louing or kinde ſubiectes, hath attempted againſt their naturall and liege Soueraygne Lorde: yet we haue thought it meete, at this verye firſte time, not to condemne and reiecte you, as wee might iuſtly doe, but to vſe you as our ſubiects, thinking that the diuell hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Engliſhmen, ſo ſodenly to become enimies to your owne natiue Countrey, of our ſubiects, to make you traytors, or vnder pretence to relieue your ſelues, to deſtroye youre ſelues, youre wiues, children, landes, poſſeſſions, and all other commodities of this your life. This we ſay, that we truſt, that although ye be ignorantly ſeduced, ye will not be vppon knowledge, obſtinate. And though ſome amongſt you (as euer there is ſome Cockle amongſt good corne) forget God, neglect their Prince, eſteeme not the ſtate of the Realme, but as carreleſſe deſperate men delite in ſedicion, tumult, and warres: yet neuertheleſſe the greater part of you will heare the voyce of vs your naturall Prince, and will by wiſedome and counſell bee warned, and ceaſe your euilles in the beginning, whoſe endes will be euen by God almighties order, your owne deſtruction. Wherefore as to you our ſubiectes by ignoraunce ſeduced, we ſpeake and be content to vſe our Princely authoritie like a father to his Children, to admoniſhe you of your faultes, not to puniſhe them, to putte you in remembraunce of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulneſſe.

Diſorder in ſubiectes.

Firſt, your diſorder to ryſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelues againſt our other louing ſubiectes, to arraye your ſelues to the warre, who amongſt you all can aunſwere for the ſame to almightie God, charging you to obeye vs in all things? Or howe can anye Engliſhe good hearte aunſwere vs, oure lawes, and the reſt of oure verye louyng and faythfull ſubiectes, who in deede by their obedience, make our honour, eſtate, and degree.

Abuſing of the Kings name.

Yee vſe oure name in youre writings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelfe, what iniurie herein doe you vs, to call thoſe which loue vs, to your euill purpoſes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your King by his ordinance and prouidence, by our bloude and inheritaunce, by lawfull ſucceſſion, and our Coronation: but not to this ende, as you vſe our name. Wee are your moſte naturall Souereine Lorde and King, Edwarde the ſixth, to rule you, to preſerue you, to ſaue you from all your outwarde enimies, to ſee oure lawes well miniſtred, euerye manne to haue his owne, to ſuppreſſe diſordered people, to correct traitours, theeues, pyrates, robbers, and ſuch lyke, yea, to keepe our Realmes from other Princes, from the malice of the Scottes, of Frenchmenne, of the Biſhoppe of Rome. Thus good ſubiectes, our name is written, thus it is honoured and obeyed, this maieſtie it hathe by Gods ordinaunce, not by mannes. So that of this your offence we cannot wryte to muche. And yet doubt not but this is ynoughe from a Prince to all reaſonable people, from a royall King to all kynde hearted and louyng ſubiectes, from the puiſſant King of Englande, to euery naturall Engliſhe man.

False cauſes.

Your pretence, whiche you ſaye, moueth you to doe thus, and wherewith you ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you is either falſe, or ſo vayne, that we doubt not, that after that ye ſhall hereby vnderſtande the truth thereof, ye will all with one voyce acknowledge your ſelues ignorantly ledde, and by errour ſeduced. And if there be any one that will not, then aſſure you the ſame bee ranke traytours, enimies of oure Crowne, ſedicious people, heretikes, Papiſtes, or ſuch as care not what cauſe they haue to prouoke an inſurrection, ſo they maye doe it, nor in deede can waxe ſo riche with their owne labours, and with peace, as they can doe with ſpoyles, with warres, with robberies, and ſuche lyke, yea, with the ſpoyle of your owne goodes, with the liuing of your labours, the ſweate of your bodies, the foode of youre owne houſholdes, wyues, and Children: Suche they bee, as for a tyme, vſe pleaſaunt perſuaſions to you, and in the ende will cutte your throates for youre owne goodes.

You be borne in hande, that youre children, though neceſſitie chaunce, ſhall not be chriſtened but vpon the holy dayes: howe falſe this is, learne you of vs. Our booke whiche we haue ſet forth by the free conſent of our whole Parliament, in the Engliſhe tongue, teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the firſt leafe, yea, the firſt ſide of the firſt leafe of that parte whiche intreateth of Baptiſme. Good ſubiectes (for to other we ſpeake not) looke and be not deceyued. They whiche haue put this falſe opinion into your eares, they meane not the chriſtening of Children, but the deſtruction of you our chriſtened ſubiectes. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honour is ſo muche, that wee maye not bee founde faultie of one iote or worde: Proue it, if by our lawes you maye not chriſten your children when yee be diſpoſed, vpon neceſſitie, euery daye or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but ſeeing you maye doe it, howe can you beleeue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, whiche moue you to breake your obedience againſt vs, your King, and Souereygne, vpon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſuaſions in ſo euident a matter? Therefore you all whiche will acknowledge vs your Souereigne Lorde, and whiche will heare the voyce of vs your King, maye eaſilye perceyue howe you bee deceyued, and howe ſubtillye traytours and Papiſtes, with their falſehoode ſeeke to atchieue and bring their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe: Euery traytour will be gladde to diſſemble his treaſon, and feede it ſecretelye, euery Papiſt his Poperie, and nouriſhe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our ſubiectes partakers of Treaſon and Poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to bee a common weale and holyneſſe.

Sacrament of the bodie, &c.

And howe are you ſeduced by them, whiche put in youre heades, the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſtes bodie, ſhoulde not differ from other common breade? If our lawes, Proclamations, and Statutes be all to the contrarie, why ſhall anye priuate man perſuade you againſt them? Wee doe our ſelfe in our owne heart, our Counſayle in all their profeſſion, our lawes and Statutes in all purpoſes, our good Subiectes in all our doings moſt highlye eſteeme that Sacrament, and vſe the Communion thereof to our moſte comforte. Wee make ſo muche difference thereof from other common breade, that wee thinke no profite of other breade, but to maintayne our bodies: but this bleſſed breade wee take to bee the verye foode of our ſoules to euerlaſting life. Howe thinke you, good ſubiectes, ſhall not wee being your Prince, your Lorde, your King by Gods appoyntment, with truth more preuayle, than certaine euill perſons with open falſehoode? Shall anye ſeditious perſon perſuade you that the Sacrament is deſpiſed, whiche is by our lawes, by our ſelfe, by our Counſayle, and by all our good ſubiectes eſteemed, vſed, participated, and dailye receyued? If euer ye were ſeduced, if euer deceiued, if euer traitors were beleeued, if euer Papiſtes poyſoned good ſubiectes, it is nowe. It is not the chriſtening of children, nor the reuerence of Sacrament, nor the health of your ſoules that they ſhoote at, good ſubiectes: It is ſedition: It is high treaſon, it is youre deſtruction they ſeeke: howe craftilye, howe piteouſlye, howe cunninglye ſoeuer they doe it, wyth one tale, iudge ye the end which of force muſt come of your purpoſes.

Diſobedience to a king, is diſobedience to almightie God.

Almightie God forbiddeth vpon payne of euerlaſting damnation, diſobedience to vs your King, and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhoulde be ſlowe, woulde God erre? If your offence be towardes God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentaunce? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your payne is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt euident.

Likewiſe are ye euill informed in diuerſe other Articles, as for Confirmation of your Children, for the Maſſe, for the maner of your ſeruice of Mattins and Euenſong. Whatſoeuer is therein ordred, hath bene long debated, and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this Realme concluded, in nothing ſo much labour and tyme ſpent of late tyme, nothing ſo fullye ended.

Seruice in the Engliſh toung.

As for the ſeruice in the Engliſhe tongue hath manifeſt reaſons for it, and yet perchaunce ſeemeth to you a newe ſeruice, and yet in deede is none other but the olde. The ſelfe ſame wordes in Engliſhe whiche were in Latine, ſauing a fewe things taken out, ſo fonde, that it had bene a ſhame to haue hearde them in Engliſhe, as all they can iudge which liſte to report the truth. The difference is, that we meant godlye that you our ſubiectes ſhoulde vnderſtande in Engliſhe, being our naturall Countrie tongue, that whiche was heretofore ſpoken in Latine, then ſeruing only them which vnderſtode Latine, and nowe for all you which be borne Engliſhe. Howe can this with reaſon offende any reaſonable man, that he ſhould vnderſtande what anye other ſayeth, and ſo to conſent with the ſpeaker? If the ſeruice in the Churche were good in Latine, it remayneth good in Engliſhe, for nothing is altered, but to ſpeake with knowledge, that before was ſpoken with ignoraunce, and to let you vnderſtande what is ſayde for you, to the intent ye maye further it with your owne deuotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledge bee worſe than ignoraunce. So that whoſoeuer hath moued you to miſlike this order, can giue you no reaſon, nor aunſwere yours, if ye vnderſtode it. Wherefore you our ſubiectes, remember we ſpeake to you, being ordeyned your Prince and King by almightie God, if anye wyſe we coulde aduaunce Gods honour more than we doe, we woulde doe it, and ſee that ye become ſubiectes to Gods ordinaunce. Obey vs your Prince, and learne of them whiche haue authoritie to teach you, whiche haue power to rule you, and will execute our iuſtice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whoſe fruites be nothing but wilfulneſſe, diſobedience, obſtinacy, and deſtruction of the Realme.

Knowledge is better than ignorance.

The Maſſe.

For the Maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudie nor trauaile hath bene ſpent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to auoyde all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the very vſe as Chriſt left it, as the Apoſtles vſed it, as holy fathers deliuered it: in deede ſomewhat altered from that whiche the Popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And althoughe you may heare the contrarie, of ſome Popiſhe and euill men, yet our Maieſtie, whiche for our honour may not be blemiſhed nor ſtayned, aſſureth you, that they deceyue you, abuſe you, and blow theſe opinions into your heads, for to furniſh their owne purpoſes.

Confirmation of children.

And ſo likewiſe iudge you of Confirmation of Children, and let them anſwere you this one queſtion. Thinke they that a chylde chriſtened is damned, bicauſe he dyeth before Biſhopping? Marke good ſubiectes, what inconuenience hereof commeth. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, & theirs vpō ſhameleſſe errors. To conclude, beſide our gentle maner of information to you, whatſoeuer is conteyned in our booke, eyther for Baptiſme, Sacrament, Maſſe, Confirmation, and Seruice in the Churche, is by Parliament eſtabliſhed, by the whole Clergie agreed, yea by the Biſhops of the Realme deuiſed, and further by Gods worde confirmed. And howe dare you truſt, yea, howe dare you giue eare without trembling, to any ſingular perſon to diſalowe a Parliament? A ſubiect to perſuade againſt our Maieſtie, or any man of his ſingle arrogancie againſt the determination of the Biſhops, and all the Clergie, any inuented argument againſt the worde of God.

But nowe you our ſubiectes, we reſort to a greater matter of youre vnkyndeneſſe, a great vnnaturalneſſe, and ſuche an euill, that if we thought it had not bene begonne of ignoraunce, and continued by perſuaſion of certaine traytours amongſt you, which we thinke fewe in number, but in their doings buſie, we coulde not be perſuaded but to vſe our ſworde, and to doe iuſtice. And as we be ordeyned of God for to redreſſe your errours by auengement. But loue and zeale yet ouercometh our iuſt anger, but howe long that will be, God knoweth, in whoſe hande our heart is, and rather for your owne cauſes, being our chriſtened ſubiectes, we woulde ye were perſuaded than vanquiſhed, taught than ouerthrowne, quietly pacified, than rigorouſly perſecuted.

Sixe articles.

Yee require to haue the Statute of ſixe

Articles reuiued, and knowe you what yee require? Or knowe yee what eaſe yee haue with the loſſe of them? There were lawes made, but quicklye repented, too bloudie they were to bee borne of our people: and yet at the firſt in deede, made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh ſubiectes howe are ye trapped by euill perſons? Wee of pitie, bicauſe they were bloudie, tooke them away, and you nowe of ignoraunce wil aſke them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extende rigour, and gaue vs cauſe to drawe our ſworde verye often. And ſince our mercie mooued vs to wrypte our lawes with milke and equitie, howe bee yee blinded to aſke them in bloude? But leauing this maner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the ſame hath bene adnulled by Parliament with great reioyſe of our ſubiectes, and not nowe to be called in queſtion. And dareth anye of you, with the name of a ſubiect ſtande againſt an Acte of Parliament, a lawe of the Realme? What is our power if lawes ſhoulde be thus neglected? or what is your ſuretie, if lawes be not kept? Aſſure you moſt ſurely that we of no earthly thing vnder the heauen, make ſuch reputation as we doe of this one, to haue our lawes obeyed, and this cauſe of God to be throughlye maintained, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares breadth, nor giue place to any creature liuing. But therein will ſpend our owne royall perſon, our crowne, treaſure, Realme, and all our ſtate, whereof we aſſure you of our high honour. For herein reſteth our honour: herein doe all Kings knowledge vs a King. And ſhall anye one of you dare breath, or think againſt our kingdome and crowne?

The authority of a Parliamẽt

In the ende of this your requeſt (as we be giuen to vnderſtande) ye woulde haue them ſtand in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye knewe what ye ſpake, ye woulde not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer giuen breath to ſuch a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of leſſe authoritie for our age? Be we not your King nowe as wee ſhall be? Shall ye be ſubiectes hereafter, and nowe are ye not? Haue wee not the right wee ſhall haue? If ye woulde ſuſpende and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, yee muſt firſt know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God, we haue youth, and by his ſufferance ſhall haue age. Wee are your rightfull King, your liege Lorde, the ſoueraigne Prince of Englande, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance, not onelye when we ſhall bee one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yeares. We poſſeſſe our crowne, not by yeares, but by the bloude and diſcent from our father King Henrie the eyght. If it be conſidered, they which moue this matter, if they durſt vtter themſelues, woulde denie our kingdome. But our good ſubiectes knowe their Prince, and will encreaſe, not diminiſhe his honour, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledge his kingdome, not deferre it to certaine yeares. All is one, to ſpeake againſt our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. Be wee not your crowned, annoynted, and eſtabliſhed King? Wherin be we of leſſe maieſty, of leſſe authority, or leſſe ſtate, than our progenitors Kings of this Realme? Except your vnkindneſſe, your vnnaturalneſſe will diminiſhe our eſtimation? We haue hitherto ſince the death of our Father, by the good aduiſe and counſayle of our deare and entirely beloued vnkle the Duke of Somerſet, and Gouernour and Protector, kept our eſtate, maintained our Realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enimies. We haue hitherto bene feared and dreade of our enimies, yea of Princes, Kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to any our Progenitours, whiche grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and howe elſe, but by good obedience, good counſayle of our Magiſtrates. By the authoritie of oure kingdome of Englande hitherto hath gained honour during our Reygne: It hath wonne of the enimie, and not loſt. It hath bene maruayled that we of ſo yong yeares, haue reigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And howe chaunceth that you our louing ſubiectes of that our countrie of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, will giue occaſion to ſlaunder this our Realme of Englande, to giue courage to the enimie, to note our Realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a praye to oure olde enimies, to diminiſhe our honour whiche God hath giuen, our father lefte, our good vnkle and Counſayle preſerued vnto vs? What greater euill coulde yee committe, than euen nowe when our forreyne enimie in Scotlande, and vpon the ſea ſeeketh to inuade vs, to doe oure Realme diſhonour, than to ariſe in this maner againſt our lawe, to prouoke our wrathe, to aſke our vengeance, and to giue vs an occaſion to ſpende that force vppon you, which we ment to beſtow vpon our enimies, to begynne to ſlay you with that ſworde, that we drewe forth againſt Scottes, and other enimies. To make a conqueſt of our owne people, whiche otherwiſe ſhould haue bene of the whole Realme of Scotlande.

Thus farre we haue deſcended from our high Maieſtie for loue, to conſider you in your ſimple ignorance, and haue bene content to ſende you an inſtruction like a father, who of iuſtice might haue ſent you your deſtructions like a King to rebelles. And nowe we let you know, that as you ſee our mercie abundantly, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, we ſweare to you by the liuing God, ye ſhall feele the power of the ſame God in our ſworde, which howe mightie it is, no ſubiect knoweth, how puiſſant it is, no priuate man can iudge, howe mortall it is, no Engliſhman dare thinke. But ſurely, ſurely, as your Lorde and Prince, your onely king and maiſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſtriues, and take our mercie without delay, or elſe we will forthwith extende our princely power, and execute our ſharpe ſworde againſt you, as againſt infidels and Turkes, and rather aduenture oure owne royall perſon, ſtate, and power, than the ſame ſhoulde not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certaine which lately did ariſe, as they perceiuing pretended ſome griefes, & yet acknowledging their offences, haue not only moſt humbly their pardon: but feele alſo by oure order, to whom onely all publike order apperteineth, preſent redreſſe of their griefes.

A godly and princely admonition.

In the ende, we admoniſhe you of your duties to God, whome ye ſhall aunſwere in the day of the Lorde, and of your duties towards vs, whome ye ſhall anſwere by our order, and take our mercie whyleſt God ſo encline th vs, leaſt when ye ſhall be conſtrayned to aſke, we ſhall be to much hardened in heart to graunt it you. And where ye ſhall heare nowe of mercie, mercie, and life ye ſhal then heare of iuſtice, iuſtice, and death. Written the viij. of July, in the thirde yeare of our reigne.

Although the Rebels receiued this Princely meſſage, and holeſome admonition from the Kings Maieſtie, yet would they not reforme themſelues, as dutifull ſubiectes ought to haue done, but ſtoode ſtill in their wicked begon rebellion, offering to trie it at the weapons poynt.

There wanted not Prieſtes and other buſie bodies among them, ſuche as by all wayes and meanes poſſible, ſought to kindle the coles of malice and hatred betwixt the King and his ſubiectes, which as the maner is among all the like wicked diſpoſed people, contriued to rayſe and ſtrewe abroade falſe forged tales, and feyned rumours, giuing it oute, that the people ſhoulde be conſtrayned to pay a ratable taſke for their ſheepe and cattayle, and an exciſe for euery thing that they ſhoulde eate or drynke. These and ſuch other ſlaunderous brutes were ſpredde abroade by thoſe children of Beliall, whereby the cankred myndes of the Rebelles, might the more be hardened and made ſtiffe from plying vnto any reaſonable perſuaſion, that might be made to moue them to returne vnto their dutifull obedience, as by the lawes both of God and man they were bounden.

False rumors.

Herevpon when no hope was left to procure them by any quiet meanes to laye downe armes, the Lorde priuie ſeale, and the Lorde Grey, with their forces, although not comparable with the rebels in number, about the latter ende of Julye ſet vpon them, and by great manhoode put them from their grounde, notwithſtanding they fought verye ſtoutlye, and gaue it not ouer for a little: and although they were thus driuen to giue place at this firſt onſet, yet they got togither againe, and abode a newe charge, defending their grounde, and doing what they coulde to beate backe and repulſe thoſe that came to aſſayle them. But neuertheleſſe through the power of the almightie God fauouring the rightfull cauſe, the Rebels were diſtreſſed, and followed in chaſe with great ſlaughter for the ſpace of two miles. This was about the beginning of Auguſt.

The Rebels put from their grounde.

Their chiefe Captaynes, to wit, Humfrey Arundell, Winſlande, Holmes, and Bury, were taken and brought vp to London.

M. Foxe.

The captaines of the rebels, taken.

There were taken alſo other of their Captaines, as Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, W. Segar, Tempſon, & Barret, which two laſt were Prieſts. Alſo Boyer and Henrie Lee, two Maiors, all the which were executed in one place or other, as they had well deſerued. The ſayde Boyer being Maior of Bodmin in Cornwall, as Grafton reporteth, had bene a buſie felowe among the rebels, to ſet them forward in miſchief, howbeit ſome that loued him, ſought to excuſe him, as if he had bene forced hereto againſt his will by the rebels, who would haue killed him, and brent his houſe, if he had not conſented to thẽ. But howſoeuer it was, ſir Anthony Kingſton yͭ was Prouoſt Marſhal in yͤ kings armie vnder yͤ L. priuie ſeale, wrote his letter vnto the ſaid Maior, ſignifying to him, yͭ he and other with him, woulde come and dine with him ſuch a day. The Maior ſeeming to be glad therof, made the beſt puruey ance he could, to receiue them, & at the time apointed, ſir Anthony Kingſton came with his cõpanie, & were right hartily welcomed of the Maior: but before they ſate downe to dinner, calling the Maior aſide, he told him yͭ there muſt be executiõ done in that town, & therfore willed him that a paire of gallowes might be framed & ſet vp wͭ ſpeede, ſo yͭ they might be ready by that time that they ſhould make an end of dinner. The Maior with all diligence cauſed yͤ ſame to be done, ſo that when dinner was ended, ſir Anthonie calling yͤ Maior to him, & aſking him whether yͤ gallowes

Sir Anthonie Kingſton Prouoſt marſhall.

were ſet vp accordinglye as he had willed, the Maior aunſwered, that they were readye. Wherewith ſir Anthonie taking the Maior by the hande, deſired him to bring him to the place where they ſtoode, and comming thither and beholding them, he ſayd to the Maior, thinke you maiſter Maior, ỹ they be ſtrong ynough? Yea ſir, quoth he, that they are. Well then ſayde ſir Anthonie, get you euen vp vnto them, for they are prouided for you. The Maior greatly abaſhed herewith, ſayd, I truſt you meane no ſuch thing to me. Sir ſayde he, there is no remedie, ye haue bene a buſie rebell, and therefore this is appointed for your rewarde, and ſo without reſpite or ſtay there was the Maior hanged.

The Maior of Bodmin hanged.

The ſame time, and neare to the ſame place dwelled a Miller that had bene a great doer in that rebellion, for whome alſo ſir Anthonie Kingſton ſought: but the Myller being thereof warned, called a good tall fellowe that he had to his ſeruant, and ſayde vnto him, I haue buſineſſe to go from home, if any therefore come to aſke for me, ſay that thou art the owner of the Myll and the man for whom they ſhall ſo aſke, and that thou haſt kept this Mill for the ſpace of three yeares, but in no wiſe name me. The ſeruant promiſed his maiſter ſo to doe, and ſhortly after commeth ſir Anthonie Kingſton to the Myllers houſe, and calleth for the Miller, the ſeruant comming forth, aunſwered that he was the Miller. How long, quoth ſir Anthonie, haſt thou kept this Mill? He aunſwered three yeares. Well then ſayd he, come on, thou muſt go with me, and cauſed his men to laye hands on him, and to bring him to the next tree, ſaying to him, thou haſt bene a buſie knaue, and therefore here ſhalt thou hang. Then cried the felowe out, and ſayde that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man. Well then, ſayde ſir Anthonie, thou art a falſe knaue to be in two tales, therfore ſaid he, hang him vp, and ſo incontinentlye hanged he was in deede.

After he was deade, one that was preſent, tolde ſir Anthonie, ſurelye ſir this was but the Myllers man. What then, ſayde he, coulde he euer haue done his maiſter better ſeruice than to hang for him?

Manye other were executed by order of the Martiall lawe, and a great part of the countrie abandoned to the ſpoyle of the ſouldiers, who were not ſlouthfull to gleane what they coulde finde for the time their libertie laſted.

About the ſame time that this rebellion began in the Weſt, the like diſordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, but they were ſpeedilye appeaſed by the Lorde Grey of Wilton, who comming downe that way to ioyne with the Lorde priuie ſeale, chaſed the rebels to their houſes, of whome two hundreth were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders to him deliuered, whereof certaine afterwards were executed.

M. Foxe.

Moreouer, in diuerſe other partes of the Realme, namely in the South and Eaſt partes, did the people, as before ye haue hearde, aſſemble themſelues in rebellious maner, committing many foule diſorders: but yet by good policie and wholeſome perſuaſions they were appeaſed, except in Norfolke, where after there was a rumour ſpred, that the Commons in Kent had throwne downe the ditches and hedges, wherewith certayne paſture groundes were incloſed, and had layde the ſame open, diuerſe ſeditious perſons and buſie fellowes began to complayne that the like had not bene done in Norfolke, and ceaſed not to practiſe howe to rayſe the people to an open rebellion, meaning not onely to laye open Parkes and incloſures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them, to the great daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the common welth. They chiefly declared a ſpitefull rancour and hatred conceyued againſt gentlemen, whome they maliciouſly accuſed of inordinate couetouſneſſe, pryde, rapine, extortion, and oppreſſion, practiſed againſt their tenants, and other, for the whiche they accounted them worthie of all puniſhment.

Common rebellion.

Norfolke.

Herevpon diuerſe of them, namely the inhabitants of Attilborough, and other of their neighbors, conceyuing no ſmall diſpleaſure, for that one Greene of Wilby, had taken in, a percell of the common paſture, as was ſuppoſed, belonging to the towne of Attilborough, and adioyning to the common paſture of Harſham, riotouſlye aſſembled togither, and threwe downe certaine newe diches made by the ſayde Greene, to incloſe in the ſayde percell of commons.

The beginning of the rebellion in Norffolke.

This was done before Midſommer, and ſo it reſted till the vj. of Iuly, at which time there ſhould be a publike play kept at Wimondham, a towne diſtant from Norwich vj. myles, whiche playe had bene accuſtomed yearely to be kept in that town, continuing for the ſpace of one night and one day at the leaſt. Wherevpon the wicked contriuers of this vnhappie rebellion, tooke occaſion, by the aſſembling of ſuch numbers of people as reſorted thither to ſee that playe, to enter further into their wicked enterpriſe, and vppon conference had, they immediately aſſembled at Morley, a mile from Wimondham, & there they caſt downe certaine diches of maiſter Hubbords on the Tueſday, and that night they repayred to Wimondham againe, where they practiſed the like feates. But as yet they tooke no mans goods by violence.

Herevpon one Iohn Flowerdew of Hither-

Iohn Flowerdew.

ſet

ſit Gentleman, finding himſelfe grieued wyth the caſting downe of ſome diches, came vnto ſome of the Rebels, & gaue to them fortie pence to caſt downe the fences of an incloſure belonging to Robert Ket, *alias* Knight, a Tanner of Wymondham (whiche paſture lyeth neare vnto the ſaide Woongt, at Wymondham aforſayde) which they did: and that night conſulting togither, the next morning they toke their iourney to Hetherſet, by the procurement of the ſayde Robert Kit, in reuenge of the diſpleaſure which he had conceyued againſt the ſaid Flowerdew, and ſet them in hande to plucke vp and caſt downe the hedges and diches wherwith certaine paſture groundes belonging to the ſaide Flowerdew were incloſed.

Robert Ket.

Here was ſomewhat a do, for maiſter Flowerdew did what he coulde to haue cauſed them to deſiſt from that attempt, inſomuch that manye ſharpe wordes paſſed betwixt Ket and the ſayd maiſter Flowerdew: but Ket being a man hardie and forwarde to any deſperate attempt that ſhoulde be taken in hande, was ſtreight entred into ſuch eſtimation with the Commons, thus aſſembled togither in rebellious wiſe, that his will was accompliſhed, and ſo thoſe hedges and diches belonging to the paſture goundes of maiſter Flowerdew were throwen downe and made playne.

Ket choſen to be captaine of the rebels.

Herevpon was Ket choſen to be their Captaine and Ringleader, who being reſolued to ſet all on ſixe and ſeauen, willed them to be of good comfort, and to followe him in defence of their common libertie, being readye in the common wealthes cauſe, to hazarde both life and goodes.

Herewith they paſſed the water betwyxte Cringleforde and Eyton, and comming to Bowthorpe, caſt downe certaine hedges and diches in that place, and their number being nowe greatlye encreaſed, they encamped there that night.

Here ſir Edmōd Windam knight, being high ſherife of Norfolk & Suffolk, came & prolaimed them rebels, commaunding them to departe in the Kings Maieſties name, with which proclamation they were greatly offended, and attempted to haue got him into their hands: but he being well horſed, valiantly brake through them that had compaſſed him in, howbeit he eſcaped frō them, and got into Norwich, being not paſt a myle off.

The ſame night there came a great number of lewde people vnto them, as well out of the citie of Norwiche, as out of the countrie, wyth weapon, armor, and artillerie.

The day before that Ket came to this place, a great number of the meaner ſort of the Citizens of Norwiche had throwne downe a quickſette bridge, and filled vp the diches, wherewith the [illegible] Commons were, on the one ſide incloſed, to keepe in the cattayle of the Citizens that had the ſame going before their common Neatherde; and ſo that fence which by good and prouident aduiſe of their forefathers, had bene rayſed and made for the common profite of the whole Citie, was thus by a ſorte of lewde perſons defaced and caſt down at that preſent. And vnneth had they throwne downe the dich in the vpper ende of this paſture, but that a companie of euill diſpoſed perſons ſtale out of the Citie, and got them to Kets campe.

The citizens of Norwich.

The Maior of the Citie named Thomas Codde, aduertiſed hereof, doubting what might followe of this miſchieuous begonne rebellion, thought good to trie if he might perſuade the rebels to giue ouer their trayterous enterpriſes, and therefore taking certayne of the Aldermenne with him, he goeth to Kets campe, vſing what perſwaſions he coulde to reduce them vnto their duetifull obedience, and to departe home to their houſes. But his trauaile was in vaine, and therfore returned backe to the Citie without hope to doe any good with that vnruly route.

Thomas Cod.

After whoſe departure, they conſidering in what daunger they ſtoode to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhoulde ſcatter abroade in ſuch ſort, as till then they had done, ſeeking to waſte and ſpoyle the Countrie about them, without keeping togither in anye warrelike order, thought it ſtoode moſte with their ſuretie to drawe into one place, and to fortifie the ſame for their further ſtrength, and vppon this reſolution, they determine to goe with all ſpeede vnto Mouſeholde, a place as they toke it, mete for their purpoſe, and therefore ſent to the Maior of Norwiche, requeſting him of licence to paſſe through the Citie, bicauſe it was their neareſt way, promiſing not to offer any iniurie or violence to anye perſon, but quictlye to marche through the Citie vnto their place appoynted: but the Maior did not only denie them paſſage, but alſo with ſharpe and bitter ſpeach reprouing their rebellious doings, told them what woulde followe thereof, if they gaue not ouer in time from further proceeding in ſuche wycked attempts.

The rebels requeſt licence to paſſe thorowe Norwich.

The next daye being Thurſdaye, ſir Roger Woodhouſe, with ſeauen or eyght of his houſeholde ſeruauntes, came to them, bringing with him two cartes laden with Beare, and one cart laden with other vittualles, for a recompence whereof, he was ſtripped out of his apparell, had his horſes taken from him, and whatſoeuer elſe he had, the Rebels accounting the ſame a good pray. He himſelfe was cruelly tugged, and caſt into a diche of one Mores of nether Irleham by Heyleſdon bridge, where the ſame daye the Rebels

Sir Roger Woodhouſe.

bels being diſappointed of their purpoſe, to paſſe through Norwich, found meanes to paſſe, and coming to maiſter Corbets houſe of Sprowſton, intended to haue brent the ſame houſe, but yet being perſuaded to ſpare it from fire, they ſpoyled his goodes, defaced a Doue houſe of his, whiche had bene a Chappell, and afterwardes got them to Mouſeholde, and coming to Saint Leonardes hill, on which the Earle of Surrey had built a right ſtately houſe called Mont Surrey, they enkennelled themſelues there on the ſame hill, and in the woodes adioyning that lie on the Weſt and South ſide of the ſame hil, as the commons or paſture called Mouſehold heath lyeth on the Eaſt ſide, which conteyneth foure or fiue miles in length, and three or foure in bredth.

Mont Surrey.

Mouſehol..

They put ſir Roger Woodhouſe and other priſoners, whiche they had caught, in ſtreyte warde within the foreſaid houſe of Mont Surrey, on which they ſeazed, and ſpoyled whatſoeuer they founde within it.

In the meane time, the Maior of Norwich taking aduiſe with his brethren the Aldermen, what was beſt to doe in this caſe, whether preſentlye to iſſue forth, and diſtreſſe the Rebelles nowe in the beginning, leaſt time might giue them meane to increaſe in power: or rather to ſtaye, till they had aduertiſed the Counſell of the whole matter, in the ende they agreed that this laſt aduiſe was moſte ſureſt, and ſo they diſpatched a Poſte with all ſpeede to the Courte.

Beſide this great Campe, as they termed it, at Mouſeholde, there was a leſſer at Ryſing chaſe neare to Linne: but the Rebels there, by yͤ good diligence and circumſpect policy of the Iuſtices and Gentlemen of thoſe parts, were ſpeedilye repreſſed, and driuen from thence. Notwithſtanding afterwardes they aſſembled togither at Watton, and there remayned about a fortnight, ſtopping the paſſages alſo at Thetford, and Brandon ferrie, within nine myles of the ſayde Watton, and at length came and ioined themſelues with theſe other at Mouſehold, by appointment of their generall Captaine, as they tooke him, the foreſaide Robert Ket.

Riſing chaſe.

Watton.

Moreouer, there came flocking from Suffolke and other partes, a great multitude of lewde diſpoſed perſons, rayſed by firing of beacons, and ringing of belles. Alſo a number of raſcals and naughtie lewde perſons, ſtale out of the Citie of Norwich, and went to the campe. And thus being gotte togither in great multitude, they added one wickedneſſe to an other: for to cloake their malicious purpoſe, with a counterfeyt ſhewe of holyneſſe, they cauſe one Conyers Vicar of Saint Martins in Norwich, to ſaye ſeruice morning and euening, to praye to God for proſperous ſpeede in that their vngodly enterpriſe.

Counterfeyt eligion.

Moreouer, they go about to ioyne to their cauſe, diuerſe honeſt men and right commendable for religion, doctrine, vertue, and innocencie of life, amongeſt whome were Robert Watſon a preacher, Thomas Codde Maior of Norwich, and Thomas Aldriche of Mangrene hall. Theſe three, although ſore againſt their willes, were conſtrayned to bee preſent with them in all matters of Counſell, and to take vpon them (as aſſociates with Captaine Ket) the adminiſtratiõ and order of euery thing, whiche happened well for manye, for when eyther Kette himſelfe, or any other of the Captaines, throughe ſetting on of the outragious multitude, purpoſed any miſchiefe (as often it came to paſſe) in one place or other, through their graue aduiſe, and approued induſtrie, their furie was ſundrie times ſtaide and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngraciouſneſſe, woulde diuerſe times grant forth cõmiſſions, abuſing now and then the names of honeſt men thereby, appointing his vnthriftie mates to fetch in vittayles to furniſh their camp withall. The tenor of one of the which commiſſions here enſueth.

We the Kings frendes and Deputies, doe graunt licence to all men, to prouyde and bring into the Campe at Mouſeholde, all maner of cattaile, and prouiſion of vittayles, in what place ſoeuer they may finde the ſame, ſo that no violence or iniurie be done to any honeſt or poore man, commaunding all perſons as they tender the Kings honour and royall Maieſtie, and the reliefe of the Common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernours, and to thoſe whoſe names enſue. Signed *ROBERT KET.*

The forme of a warrant graunted ou by the rebels to take vp vittalles.

Then followed in order a long liſt of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beſide the chiefe Captaines had choſen out of euery hundred two, and there were xxvj. hundreths. By vertue of ſuch cõmiſſions, many that were of good worſhip and credite in the coũtrie, whome the Rebelles in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houſes, and other places where they might be founde, and being brought to the Campe, were committed to priſon.

Gentlemen impriſoned.

Alſo the diches and hedges wherewith the cõmons abrode in the countrie were incloſed, were throwne downe, and many were warned and called forth from ſundrie partes, to come and take part with thẽ in theſe tumultuous vprores: and all theſe things were done, the Maior, maiſter Watſon, and maiſter Aldrich, not only holding their peace and winking thereat, but alſo ſometime after a maner giuing their conſent to the ſame. For to haue reſiſted them had bene but folly, and the way to haue put themſelues in danger of deſtruction, and their countrie too.

The honeſt Citizens of Norwiche in this meane whyle remayned in greate perplexitie, hearing nothing from the King nor his Counſell. They therefore being vncertaine what to doe, abode in the Citie till they might vnderſtande what order it ſhoulde pleaſe the King to take for the quieting of theſe troubles.

The cauſe why the Counſell was thus ſlack in prouiding remedie againſt the Norffolke rebels, was, for that they were buſie in quieting the troubles in the inner parts of the Realme about London, and other places, as before ye haue hearde, by meanes whereof, the power of theſe Norffolke rebelles ſtill encreaſed, ſo that there were aſſembled togither into Kettes campe, to the number of ſixteene thouſande vngracious vnthriftes, who by the aduiſe of their captaynes fortified themſelues, and made prouiſion of artillerie, powder, and other abilements, whiche they fetched out of ſhippes, Gentlemens houſes, and other places where anye was to be founde, and withall ſpoyled the countrie of all the cattayle, riches, and coyne, which they might laye handes on.

The number of the rebels.

But bicauſe many (as in ſuch caſes is euer ſeene) did prouide for themſelues, and hid that which they got, laying it vp for their own ſtore, and brought it not forth to further the common cauſe, Kette and the other gouernours (for ſo woulde they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common conſent it was decreed that a place ſhoulde be appointed, where iudgements might be exerciſed, as in a Iudiciall hal. Whereupon they founde out a great olde Oke, where the ſayde Ket and yͤ other gouernours or Deputies might ſit and place thēſelues to heare and determine ſuche quarrelling matters, as came in queſtion, afore whom ſometime wold aſſemble a great number of yͤ rebels, and exhibite complaints of ſuch diſorders as nowe and then were practiſed among them, and there they wold take order for the redreſſing of ſuch wrongs and iniuries as were attempted, ſo that ſuch greedy vagabondes as were ready to ſpoyle more than ſeemed to ſtande with the pleaſure of the ſayde Gouernors, and further than their Commiſſions woulde beare, were committed to priſon. This Oke they named The tree of Reformation.

Rebels and theeues cãnot kepe togither without miniſtration of iuſtice.

The tree of Reformation.

The Maior, maiſter Aldriche and others, whome they had receyued into the number of their gouernours, woulde oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerſe pithie orations to perſuade the outragious multitude to giue ouer their riotous rapines and ſpoylings.

There were alſo certaine diuines whiche did vſe all wayes poſſible to withdrawe them from their wicked attemptes, and to reduce them to peace and quietneſſe, although this was not done without daunger of their liues. Neuertheleſſe theſe in the daye time vſed to preach in the Churches, and in the night to watche with armour vpon their backes, leauing nothing vndone that might ſeeme to appertaine vnto the dutie of godly and vertuous diuines or faithfull and obedient ſubiects.

Among theſe was Doctor Mathewe Parker, afterward Archbiſhop of Canterburie, whoſe wiſedome, faythfulneſſe and integritie, was moſt apparant.

Doctor Parker.

He comming one day into the Campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after Maior of Norwich, founde them before the tree at Common prayer, the foreremembred Coniers Vicar of Saint Martins in Norwich, ſaying the Letanie. Whereupon Doctor Parker thinking the time to ſerue for his purpoſe, goeth vp into the tree, where he maketh a ſermon, deuiding it into three ſpeciall parts: in the firſt he exhorted them to vſe with moderation thoſe vittailes which they had prouided and brought into their campe, & not riotouſly nor lauiſhly to waſt & conſume the ſame. In the ſeconde, he aduiſed them in no wiſe to ſeeke reuenge of priuate diſpleaſures, and not to chayne or keepe in yrons thoſe perſons which they helde in warde, nor to take any mans life from him. Laſtly, he wiſhed that they ſhoulde haue regarde to themſelues, and leaue off their raſhe begonne enterpriſe, gyuing eare to ſuch Heraultes or other meſſengers as came from the King, and to ſhewe ſuch honour vnto his Maieſtie nowe in his yong and tender yeares, as they might enioy him hereafter, being grown vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladneſſe.

He preacheth to the rebels.

As he was handling this matter, with many good and effectuall reaſons, hauing the auditorie attentiue to his wordes, one lewde fellowe among the reſt, cried out and ſayde, howe long ſhall we ſuffer this hirling Doctor, who being waged by Gentlemen, is come hither with his tongue, which is ſolde and tyed to ſerue their appetite: But for all his prating wordes, let vs bridle them and bring them vnder the orders of our lawe.

Then began the multitude to ſtirre and make a noyſe, threatening the Preacher, ſome of them ſaying, it were well, that for his faire tolde tale we ſhoulde bring him downe with a miſchiefe with arrowes and Iauelings.

The rebels threaten Doctor Parker.

This ſpeache brought Doctor Parker in no ſmall feare, and the more, for that he hearde a noiſe and clattering of weapons vnder him, ſo that

Doctor Parker conueyeth himſelfe from among the rebels

The policie of Doctor Parker to beguile the Rebels.

that he looked for preſent death among them. But herein he was deceyued, for there was not a man that ſtoode next him within the compaſſe of the tree, would him any harme, & immediatly the forſaid vicar of Saint Martins that executed the office of the Miniſter, began with helpe of ſome ſinging men that were preſent, the Canticle *Te deum,* wherewith the vnruly multitude ſeemed partly to quiet themſelues, which occaſion, Doctor Parker perceiuing to ſerue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongſt them, but quietly gotte himſelfe downe from the tree, and with his brother made haſte towardes the citie, but before he came to enter into Pockthorp gate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to queſtion with him aboute his licence, whereby he was authoriſed to preach: but he perceyuing that there was no reaſon to be conceyued of them, ſlipt his wayes, and left his brother to argue the matter with them. Yet the next day he entring into Saint Clements Church, tooke occaſion to expounde ſomewhat oute of one of the Leſſons that was reade that day, concerning theſe wicked hurlyburlies, many of the Rebelles comming about him, but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the ende of his exhortation, although they ſeemed greatly therewith offended. But as he came out of the Church, they followed him, and tolde him that as they vnderſtoode, he had three or foure able Geldings to ſerue the king, and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be readie for them to occupie, but Doctor Parker made them no great aunſwere, but calling to him his horſekeeper, commaunded him to pluck off the ſhoes from ſome of his geldings, and to pare their houes vnto the quicke, and that he ſhoulde annoynt the other with Neruall, as if they had bene lamed with trauaile. The Rebels perceiuing this, when they ſawe the ſame geldings had forth as it had bene to paſture, made no further buſineſſe. Whervpon Doctor Parker ſhortly after, feyning as if he went abroade to walke two myles off from the Citie, at Crinkleforde bridge founde his horſes readye as he had appointed, with his ſeruaunts, and mounting vp, tooke his iourney towardes Cambridge, with as muche ſpeede as was poſſible, eſcaping thither out of all daunger, although by the way they met with and ſawe diuerſe of the rebels playing their parts in their wonted outragious maner. Thus did Doctor Parker eſcape the handes of the wicked rebels, who deſpiſing his wholeſome admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iuſt iudgemẽt proue his wordes to be moſt true.

But in the meane time proceeding from one miſchiefe to another, after they had practiſed to ſpoyle the Gentlemen of the countrie of their goodes, they began to attache their bodies, and by force to bring them into their campe, ſo that ſuch as eſcaped their handes, were glad to flee, and hyde themſelues in woodes and caues, where they might beſt kepe themſelues out of their aduerſaries reache.

The falſifying of the Kings commiſsions.

But to ſpeake of all the horrible practiſes by theſe vngracious people exerciſed, it woulde be to long a proceſſe. What ſhiftes they founde to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the Kings authoritie, it is wonderfull: for where as there were certaine Commiſſions directed vnto diuerſe Gentlemen in the Countrie, to take order for the appeaſing of theſe tumults, they getting the ſame into their handes, tooke vppon them the authoritie committed to the Gentlemen, vnto whome the ſame Commiſſions were ſent, and taking off the ſeales from the other, faſtened the ſame vnto their counterfeyt writings.

The hauocke which the rebels made.

To conclude, they grewe to ſuch vnmeaſurable diſorder, that they woulde not in manye things obey neither their Generall Captaine, nor any of their gouernors, but run headlong into all kinde of miſchiefe, and made ſuch ſpoile of vittayles which they brought out of the coũtrie adioyning vnto their Campe, that within fewe dayes they conſumed beſide a great number of Beefes, xx. thouſande Muttons, alſo Swannes, Geeſe, Hennes, Capons, Duckes, and other fowle ſo manye as they might laye handes vpon. And furthermore they ſpared not to breake into Parkes, and kill what Deare they coulde. Suche hauocke they made of all that came in their waye, and ſuche number of ſheepe ſpecially they brought into their Campe, that a good fat weather was ſolde for a groate.

The outragious dealing againſt Gentlemen.

The woodes, groues, and trees, that were deſtroyed, I paſſe ouer, and make no mencion thereof. Herewith what crueltie was ſhewed by them in fettering and manacling ſuch Gentlemen as they caught, and committed to priſon for ſome miſliking they had conceyued of them, it was a miſerable caſe to beholde. Some there were whome they brought forth, as it had bene to iudgement before the tree of Reformation, there to be tried afore the gouernours, as if they had bene guiltie of ſome heynous and grieuous crime, and when the queſtion was asked of the commons, what ſhould be done with thoſe priſoners, they woulde crie with one voyce, hang them, hang them: and when they were asked why they gaue ſo ſharpe iudgement of thoſe whom they neuer knewe, they woulde roundly aunſwere, that other cryed the ſame crie, and therefore they ment to giue their aſſents with other, although they coulde yeelde no reaſon, but

that

they were Gentlemen, and therfore not worthie to liue.

Whileſt the rebels thus rage abroade in the countrie at Hengham xj. miles from Norwich, ſir Edmond Kneuet knight, with a ſmall companie of his owne menyall ſeruaunts, ſet vpon the night watche of the rebels that were placed there, and brake through, ouerthrowing diuerſe of them, and hauing ſome of his owne men alſo vnhorſed by the Rebels, and in daunger to be hewen in peeces among them, yet he recouered them, and eſcaped their handes through greate manhoode.

After whiche nightes good ſeruice, as they woulde haue it eſteemed, they repayred to their great Captaine Ket, to ſhewe their hurts receyued, and to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they woulde go to ſir Edmonde Kneuets houſe called Buckenham Caſtell, to aſſault it, and to fetche him out of it by force. But it was doubted of ſome, leaſt it were to ſtrong for them, and other feared ſharp ſtripes, if they ſhoulde attempt that exployt, being at the leaſt twelue myles from their mayne Campe, and ſo that enterpriſe went not forwarde, the moſt part thinking it beſt to ſleepe in whole ſkinnes.

There was at London the ſame time, a Citizen of Norwich, one Leonarde Southerton, fledde from thence for feare of his life, whome the Counſell ſent for, to come and ſpeake with them, and being aſked what he knewe touching the ſtate of the Rebels, he declared to them from poynt to poynt the matter of all their outragious procedings: but yet that as he vnderſtoode, there were many among them that would laye aſide their armour, if they might be aſſured of the Kings pardon, and therefore if it might pleaſe the King to ſet forth a proclamation, that all ſuch as woulde depart from the Campe, and be quiet, ſhoulde haue their pardon for all that was paſt, he doubted not but that thoſe routes ſhoulde be diſperſed.

narde Southerton.

His aduiſe was allowed, and thereupon was an Herault ſent with all ſpeede in companie with the ſayde Southerton, vnto Norwich, and comming into the Campe the laſt of July, and ſtanding before the Tree of Reformation, apparayled in his coate of armes, pronounced there afore all the multitude, with loude voyce, a free pardon to all that woulde departe to their homes, and laying aſide their armor, giue ouer their trayterous begonne enterpriſe.

Pardon proclaymed by an herault at armes.

After he had made an ende of his Proclamation, in maner all the multitude cried, God ſaue the King. And many of them falling downe vpon their knees, could not forbeare with teares guſhing from their eyes, but commende the Kings great and vnſpeakable mercie thus frely offered vnto them, which vndoubtedly they had at that time all of them receyued, if the wicked ſpeach of ſome of the raſcall ſort, and namely the traiterous perſwaſions of that wicked caitife Ket himſelfe, had not ſtayd them from their dutifull inclinations.

But after that Ket had with loude voice declared, that Kings and Princes were accuſtomed to graunt pardons to ſuch as are offenders, and not to others, he truſted that he needed not any pardon, ſithe he had done nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true ſubiect, and herewith he beſought them not to forſake him, but to remember their promiſe, ſithe he was readye to ſpende his life in the quarrell.

The Herault hereupon calleth him traytor, & commaunded John Petibone the ſwordbearer of Norwiche, to attache him for treaſon.

Then began a great hurly burly among the multitude, ſo that the Herault perceyuing they beganne to decline from their former purpoſe of receyuing the Kings pardon, departed from them with theſe wordes: all ye that be the kings friends, come away with me. The Maior and maiſter Aldriche, with a great number of other Gentlemen and honeſt yeomen, that were readie to obeye the Kings commaundement followed him.

The Maior being thus returned to the citie, cauſed the gates to be ſhut, and ſuch Gentlemen as had bene committed to priſon within the caſtell, or other places within the Citie, he cauſed to bee ſet at libertie, and with their aduiſe toke order howe the Rebels might be kept out. But as he was buſie about ſuch matters, certaine of the Citizens that fauoured the Rebels, had receyued a great multitude of them into the citie, which put the citizens in ſuch feare, that it was thought the moſt ſafetie for the Gentlemen that had bene nowe releaſed out of priſon, to be ſhut vp againe, leaſt the Rebelles finding them abroade, ſhoulde haue murthered them. Yet after this, when the Rebelles were departed out of the Citie againe, the Maior and Aldermen fell in hande to rampire vp the gates, to plant ordinaunce, and to make all neceſſarie prouiſion that for them was poſſible.

The citizens fauouring the rebels.

At length they fell to ſhooting off their artillerie as well from the Citie as from the Campe, doing their beſt to annoy ech other. But when the Rebelles ſawe that they did litle hurt to the Citie with their great ordinaunce lying vpon the hill, they remoued the ſame downe to the foote of the ſame hill, and from thence beganne to beate the walles. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after they made ſuite for a truce to endure for a time, that they might paſſe to and fro, through the Citie, to fetche in vittayles, wherof ſome want beganne to pinche them in the Campe.

The Maior and Aldermen flatlye denyed their requeſt, profeſſing that they woulde not permit any traytours to haue paſſage through their Citie.

The Rebels ſore kindled in wrath with this aunſwere, and deniall of their ſuite, came running downe from the hil, & aſſaulting the gates, were beaten off with ſhot of arrowes and other weapons, and yet ſuch rage appeared among the Rebelles, that the boyes and yong laddes ſhewed themſelues ſo deſperate, in gathering vp the arrowes, that when they ſawe and felte the ſame ſticking in ſome part of their bodies, they woulde plucke them forth, and deliuered them to their bowe men, that they might beſtowe the ſame againe at the Citizens.

In the meane time whyleſt they were thus buſie vpon one ſide of the Citie, an alarme roſe at the defendaunts backes, crying that the Rebels were entred the Citie on the contrarie ſide, and ſo euery man ſhrinking awaye, and running thither to repulſe the enimie there, that part was left voyde of defendauntes, where the firſt aſſault began, whereof the Rebelles being aduiſed, ruſhed into the riuer that runneth before Biſhops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entred without any great reſiſtance. For all the citizens were withdrawne to their houſes, and other places where they hoped beſt to hide themſelues from the furie of their enimies.

The rebels cõuey artillerie and munition out of the city to their camp.

The Rebelles hauing thus entred the Citie by force, conueyed all the gunnes and artillerie, with other furniture of warre, out of the Citie, into their Campe.

The Herault that was yet abiding in the Citie, to ſee if the Rebelles woulde before the daye prefixed for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their wicked enterpriſe, commeth with the Maior into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come forth and ſtoode about him, he eftſoones gaue commaundement in the kings name, that they ſhoulde laye armes aſide, and gette them home to their houſes; whiche to ſo manye as did, hee pronounced a generall pardon, and to the reſt, extreme puniſhment by death.

The heraults proclamation in Norwich.

The Rebels that ſtoode by and hearde him, when he had once made an ende of his Proclamation, bade him get him thence with a miſchiefe, for it was not his faire offers, nor hys ſweete flattering wordes that ſhoulde beguile them, for they made no account of ſuche maner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, ſhoulde cut off al their ſafetie and hope of preſeruation.

The erroye-
ous retnall of
e rebels to
cepte the
ings pardon.

The Herault perceyuing howe obſtinately they were bent, and ſet on all miſchiefe, and that it was impoſſible to bring them from their outragious treaſon, eyther through feare of puniſhment, or hope of pardon, departed without hauing brought that to paſſe, for which he was ſent.

Immediatly after his departure, the Rebels ſought for Leonarde Southerton, purpoſing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to priſon for accompanying the Herault thitherwardes. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himſelfe from them.

Priſoners committed to warde in mont Surrey.

After this, there were by Kets commaundement apprehended diuerſe perſons, as the Maior, Robert Watſon, William Rogers, John Homerſton, William Brampton, and many other, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to priſon in Mont Surrey.

Kets power increaſeth.

Ket perceyuing wel that he muſt eyther now obteyne a bloudie victorie by force againſt his countrie; or elſe to taſte ſuch an ende as his vngracious attempts did wel deſerue, got togither ſo many wicked perſons as he might procure to come vnto him from eche ſide, with great rewardes and faire promiſes, ſo that it was a ſtraunge matter to conſider what a multitude of vnthriftes and raſcals came to him vpon the ſodaine.

The Citizens of Norwiche yet ſore diſpleaſed, that their Maior being an honeſt man, and one greatlye beloued among them, ſhoulde be impriſoned, and ſo remayne in daunger of life among the Rebelles (for they threatened him ſore, and ieaſting at his name, woulde ſay one to another, let vs all come togither to morow, for wee ſhall ſee a Coddes heade ſolde in the Campe for a penie) whereupon the Citizens fearing leaſt through the malice and rage of the Rebels, their Maior might chaunce to be made awaye among them, procured maiſter Thomas Aldriche (whoſe authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance, who comming to Kette, with ſharpe and bitter wordes reproued him for his cruell dealing, by impriſoning ſo honeſt a man as the Maior was, & withal commaunded him to releaſe him, whiche eyther for ſhame, or rather through feare of a guiltie conſcience that pricked him, he cauſed incontinently to be done, who therevpon might nowe and then go and come at his pleaſure to and fro the Citie, but becauſe hee coulde not ſtill remaine in the Citie, but was conſtreyned to continue for the moſt part in the Campe, he appointed Auguſtine Stewarde to bee his Deputie, who with the aſſiſtaunce of

The Maior of Norwich ſet at libertie.

Auguſtine Stewarde.

Henrie Bacon, and John Atkinſon Sheriſes, gouerned the Citie right orderlye, and kept the moſt part of the Citizens in due obeyſance.

The Counſell aduertiſed nowe vppon the Heraultes returne, that there was no waye to reduce theſe Norffolke rebels vnto quiet, otherwiſe than by force, appoynted the Marques of Northampton with fiftene hundred horſemen, to go downe vnto Norwiche, to ſubdue thoſe ſtubborne traytors that ſo vndutifullye refuſed the kings mercifull pardon, freely offered by his officer at armes and other.

The Lorde Marques of Northampton ſet into Norfolke to repreſſe the rebels.

There went with the Lorde Marques, diuerſe honourable and worſhipfull perſonages, as the Lorde Sheffelde, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthonie Dennie, Sir Henrie Parker, Sir Richarde Southwell, Sir Rafe Sadler, Sir John Clere, Sir Rafe Rowlet, Sir Richarde Lee, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Paſton, Sir Henrie Bedingfielde, Sir John Sulyarde, Sir Willyam Walgraue, Sir John Cuttes, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, Knightes, togither with a great manye of other Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen, and a ſmall band of Italians, vnder the leading of a Captaine named Malateſta.

Norwich ſummoned.

The Lorde Marques being approched within a myle of Norwiche, ſent Sir Gilbert Dethicke knight, nowe Garter, then Norrey, King at armes, vnto the Citie, to ſommon them within to yeelde it into his handes, or vpon refuſall to proclayme war againſt them.

Herevpon Auguſtine Stewarde the Maiors Deputie, ſent to the Maior that was in the Campe with Kette, aduertiſing him what meſſage he had receyued from the Marques.

The Maior ſent worde againe that nothing was more grieuous vnto him, than to ſee into what miſerie the Citie and Countrie about were brought, by the rage of theſe commotions, and declaring in what caſe he ſtoode, being kept by force among the rebels, where as otherwiſe he would according to his dutie, haue come to his honour. But as for the Citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto Auguſtine Stewarde, who ſhoulde be readie to ſurrender it into his Lordſhips hands, and that if Kette woulde giue him leaue, he woulde come himſelfe to his honor, ſubmitting all things wholy to his Lordſhips order and diſpoſition.

This meſſage being brought backe by the ſayde Norrey, Auguſtine Stewarde the Maiors Deputie, with the Sheriſes, and a greate number of the Citizens, came to the Lorde Marques his Campe, and deliuered vp the Sworde to his Lordſhippe, declaring howe the Maior himſelfe woulde gladly haue come, if he coulde haue got from the rebelles, and that although a great route of the lewde Citizens were partakers with the rebels, yet a number of the ſubſtantiall and honeſt Citizens woulde neuer conſent to their wicked doings, but were readye to receyue his Lordſhip into their Citie.

The Lorde Marques giuing good wordes vnto the Citizens, and willing them to bee of good comfort, ſithe hee truſted to appeaſe theſe troubles verye ſhortlye, deliuered the ſworde vnto Sir Richarde Southwell, who bare it before the Lorde Marques as hee paſſed forth towardes the Citie, entring the ſame by Saint Stephens gate.

Sir Richarde Southwell.

And incontinently was proclamation made that they ſhould all reſort into the market place, where they conſulted togither howe they might beſt defende the Citie againſt the enimies, and to repreſſe their furie.

Herevpon was order giuen for the placing of watch and warde about the gates and wals, as might ſeeme expedient.

The Lorde Marques ſupped that night and lodged in the Maiors Deputies houſe, but his Lordſhippe as well as other kepte their armour on their backes all that night, for doubt of ſome ſodeyne aſſault to be made againſt the Citie by the rebels.

The ſtrangers offer ſkirmiſh to the rebels.

Here it chaunced that the Straungers, eyther by appointment or otherwiſe, went forth, and offered ſkirmiſhe to the rebels vpon Magdalen hill.

The Rebelles came forth with their horſemen; but it ſeemed that they were better practiſed to fetch in booties, than to make their maneges or Carrere, and therefore not able to matche the Straungers, whiche being perceyued of their fellowes that were footemen, they putte forth their archers before their horſemen, and ſuche numbers herewith came ſwarming forth of their Campe, meaning to compaſſe in thoſe Straungers, that they perceyuing the maner and purpoſe of the enimies, caſt themſelues in a Ring, and retired backe into the Citie againe.

An Italian hanged.

But they left one of their companie behinde them, a Gentleman that was an Italian, who more valiantly than warily ventured to farre among the enimies, & through euill happe being ouerthrowne beſide his horſe, he was enuironed about with a great multitude of thoſe Rebelles, that tooke him priſoner, and like vyle wretches ſpoyling him of his armour and apparell, hanged him ouer the walles of Mont Surrey. Which acte well ſhewed what curteſie might be looked for, at ſuche cruell traytours handes, that woulde thus vnmercifully put ſuch a Gentleman

man and worthie ſouldier to death, for whoſe raunſome, if they woulde haue demaunded it, they might haue had no ſmall portion of money to haue ſatiſfied their greedie myndes: but it ſeemed that their beaſtlye crueltie had bereft them the remembraunce of all honeſt conſideration and dutifull humanitie.

The Marques of Northampton cauſing (as before ye haue hearde) diligent watch to be kept vpon the walles, and at the gates, appointed the ſame to be viſited right often, that through negligence no miſhap ſhoulde followe.

Sir Edwarde Warner.

Moreouer, beſide the watch at the gates and walles, the reſidue of the ſouldiers making a mightie huge fire in the market place, ſo as all the ſtreetes were full of light, they remayned there all that night in their armour ready vppon any occaſion to reſiſt the enimies if they ſhoulde make anye attempt. Sir Edwarde Warner Marſhall of the fielde gaue the watche worde, Sir Thomas Paſton, Sir John Clere, Sir Willyam Walgraue, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, and Sir Henrie Bedingfelde were appoynted to the defence of other partes of the Citie.

And now when euery thing was thought to be ſafely prouided for, & that the L. Marques & other were layde to take their reſt, the rebels about the middeſt of the night began to ſhoote off their great artillerie towards the Citie ſo thick as was poſſible: but the bullettes paſſed ouer their heades that were lodged in the Citie, without doing any great hurt at all.

The Lorde Marques by reaſon of the often alarmes that were giuen, whileſt the enimies thus ceaſed not to rage with continuall ſhotte of ordinaunce, was called vp by the Marſhall ſir Edwarde Warner, and comming into the market place accompanied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell in counſell wyth them, howe to foreſee that the Citie in ſuche daunger, might be ſafely defended agaynſt the enimies, with ſuch ſmall power as he had there with him.

It was therefore determined, that all the gates whiche were on the contrarye part of the towne from the Rebels campe, and likewyſe the ruinous places of the walles ſhoulde be ramped vp, that if the enimies ſhoulde chaunce to gyue an aſſault to the Citie, they might more eaſilye be repulſed.

But as theſe things were a doing, and almoſt brought to ende, in a maner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabanes, running downe in moſt furious maner to the Citie, and with great ſhoutes and yelling cryes went about to ſet fire on the gates, to clymbe ouer the walles, to paſſe the riuer, and to enter the Citie at ſuche places where the walles were through age decayed and ruinous.

The ſouldiers that were there with the Lorde Marques, did ſhewe their vttermoſt indeuour to beate backe the enimies.

This fight in moſt cruell wyſe continued for the ſpace of three houres without ceaſing, the Rebels forcing themſelues to the vttermoſt of their powers to enter perforce vppon them, and they within the citie ſhewed no leſſe courage to repulſe them backe.

The hardie manhoode of diuerſe Knyghtes, and other men of worſhip, was here right apparant.

The deſperateneſſe of the rebels.

It was ſtraunge to ſee the deſperate boldeneſſe of the Rebels, that when they were thruſt through the bodies or thyghes, and ſome of them houghe ſinnewed, woulde yet ſeeke reuenge in ſtryking at their aduerſaries, when their handes were vnneth able to holde vp their weapon.

The rebels beaten backe.

But ſuch was the valiancie of the Gentlemen and ſouldiers whiche were there wyth the Lorde Marques, that in the ende the enimies which were already entred the Citie, were beaten out againe and driuen backe to their accuſtomed kennell holes with loſſe of three hundred of their numbers.

They within the towne hauing thus repulſed the enimies, and accounting themſelues in more ſafetie than before, for the reſt of the night that yet remayned, which was not much, they gaue themſelues to refreſhe their wearyed bodies with ſome ſleepe.

The next daye, the Lorde Marques was informed by ſome of the Citizens, that there were no ſmall number in Kettes campe that woulde gladlye come from him, if they might bee ſure of their pardon, and that at Pockethorp gate there were foure or fiue thouſand that wyſhed for nothing more, than for pardon, and that if the ſame were offered them, there was no doubt, as they beleeued, but that they woulde ſubmyt themſelues to the Kings mercie.

The Marques was glad to vnderſtande ſo much, and incontinentlye diſpatched Norrey King at armes, with a trumpettor, to aſſure them on the Kings behalfe, that they ſhoulde be pardoned for all offences paſt, and that had bene committed in tyme of this rebellion, if they woulde laye armes aſide.

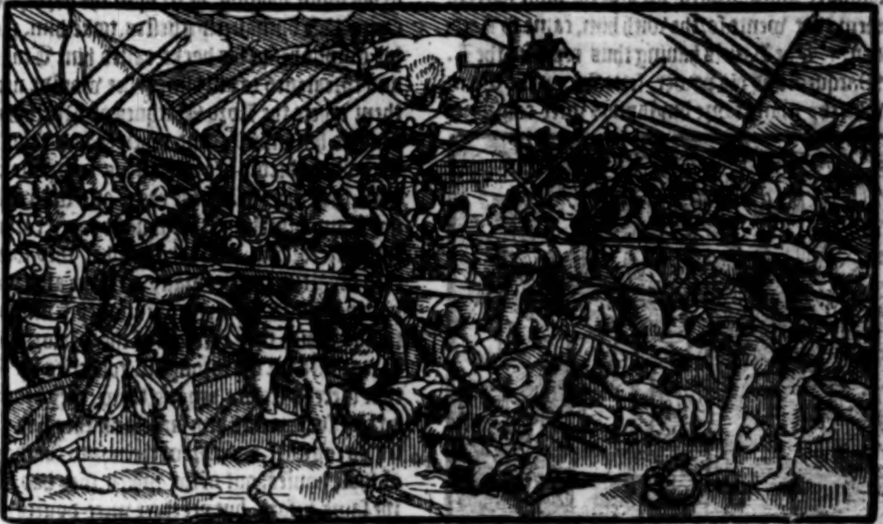
Norrey and the Trumpet comming to the gate, founde not a man there, but the trumpetter ſounding his trumpette, there came running downe from the hill, a great multitude of theſe people, and amongſt other as chiefe, one Flotmã, whome Norrey commaunded to ſtay, whereupon, the ſayde Flotman aſked him what was the matter, and wherefore he hadde called them togither by ſounde of Trumpet: get thy wayes (ſayde he,) and tell thy company from my Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Kings maieſties Lieutenant, that hee commaundeth them to ceaſſe from committing any farther outrage, and if they will (ſayth hee) obey his commaundement, all that is paſt, ſhall bee forgyuen and pardoned, &c.

Flotman hauing heard Norreys declaration, as hee was an outragious and baſe fellow, preſumptuouſly made aunſwere, that hee cared not a pinnes poynte for my Lorde Marques; and withall, lyke a rebellious Traytor, rayled vpon hys Lordſhippe, and mainteyned, that hee and the reſt of the Rebelles, were earneſt defendors of the Kings royall maieſtie, and that they had taken weapon in hande not againſte the Kyng, but in his defence, as in time it ſhoulde appeare, as they that ſought nothing but to mayntayne hys maieſties royall eſtate, the libertie of theyr Countrey, and the ſafetie of the common wealth, &c.

To conclude, hee vtterly refuſed the Kynges pardon, and tolde Norrey certaynely, that they woulde eyther reſtore the common wealth from decay, into the whiche it was fallen, beyng oppreſſed through the couetouſneſſe and tyrannie of Gentlemen, eyther elſe would they like men, dye in the quarrell.

Vnneth had he made an ende of his tale, whẽ ſuddaynely a fearefull alarme, was reyſed throughout the Citie: for whyleſt Flotman was thus in talke with the Kyng of armes at Pockthorpe gate, the Rebelles in a great rage entring the Citie by the Hoſpitall, goe aboute to bring all things to deſtruction, but beeing encountred neere to the Byſhoppes palaice, by the Lorde Marques hys men, there enſued a bloudy conflicte betwixte them, whyche continued long with great ſterneneſſe, and eger reuenge on bothe parties.

The Rebelles enter the Citie



There dyed aboute ſeuen ſcore of the Rebels, and of the Souldyers that ſerued againſte them ſome number, beſide a great multitude that were hurte and wounded on both partes: but the pitifull ſlaughter of the Lorde Sheyfeld, who hauing more regard to his honor than ſafetie of life, deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his noble valiancie, entring amongſt the enimies, as hee foughte right hardily, though not ſo warely as had bene expediente, fell into a ditche as hee was about to turne his Horſe, and herewith beeyng compaſſed about with a number of thoſe horrible traytors, was ſlayne amongſt them, although hee both declared what hee was, and offered largely to the villaynes, if they woulde haue ſaued hys life: but the more noble he ſhewed himſelfe to be, the more were they kindled in outragious furye againſt him, and as he pulled off hys head peece, that it might appeare what he was, a butcherly knaue named Fulques, that by occupation was both a Carpenter and a Butcher, ſlat hym in the head with a clubbe, and ſo moſt wretchedly killed him, a lamentable caſe, that ſo noble a yong Gentleman, endowed with ſo many commendable qualities as were to bee wiſhed in a man of his calling, ſhoulde thus miſerablye ende hys dayes by the handes of ſo vile a villayne.

The Lord Sheffeld killed.

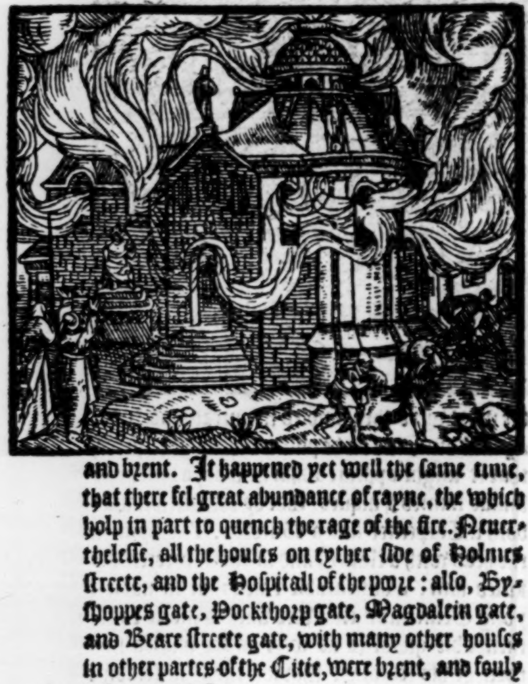
Diuers other Gentlemen and worthy Souldyers, came to the lyke ende among thoſe outragious Rebelles, and amongſt other, Roberte Woluaſton, that was appoynted to keepe the dore of Chriſtes Church, was killed by the ſame Foulkes, that tooke him for Sir Edmond Kniuet, againſt whome the Rebels bare greate malice, for that he ſought to annoy them ſo farre, as by any meanes he might, as partly ye haue heard.

Alex. Neuill.

But the ſlaughter of that noble man the Lord Sheyfeld, ſore diſcouraged the reſidue of yͤ Souldiers that were come with the Lorde Marques.

And on the other parte, the Rebelles were aduanced therby, in greater hope to preuaile againſt them, and thervpō, preaſſed forwarde with ſuch hardineſſe, that they cauſed the Lorde Marques and his people to giue place, and to forſake the Citie, euery man making the beſt ſhift he coulde to ſaue himſelfe: but yet diuers Gentlemē of good accompt and worſhip remayning behind, and abiding the brunte, were taken priſoners, as Sir Thomas Cornewaleys, and others, whome the Rebels afterwards kept in ſtrait durance, till the day came of their ouerthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the Earle of Warwike.

The Lord Marques and the reſidue that eſcaped, made the beſt ſhifte they coulde, to get out of daunger, and at length, hee and the moſt parte of them that wente forthe with him, came to London. The Rebels hauing thus repulſed the L. Marques and his power, ſette fire on the Citie, wherby many fayre buyldyngs were conſumed and brent. It happened yet well the ſame time, that there fel great abundance of rayne, the which holp in part to quench the rage of the fire. Neuertheleſſe, all the houſes on eyther ſide of Holmes ſtreete, and the Hoſpitall of the poore: alſo, Byſhoppes gate, Pockthorp gate, Magdalein gate, and Beare ſtreete gate, with many other houſes in other partes of the Citie, were brent, and fouly defaced with fire.



The Citizēs were brought into ſuch extreame miſerie, that they knew not which way to turne them. Some there were that fled out of the Citie, taking with them their gold, & ſiluer, & ſuch ſhort ware as they might conuey away with them, abandoning wife and children, to reſt at the mercy of yͤ Rebels. Other hid their goodes in welles, priuies, & other ſuch ſecret places out of the way.

The miſer ſtate of Norwiche.

The Rebels entring into the houſes of ſuche as were knowen to be welthy men, ſpoiled & bare away al that might be found of any valew. But to ſpeake of all the cruell partes which they playd, it would be tedious to expreſſe the ſame, their doings were ſo wicked and outragious. Ther was ſhowting, howling and ſinging among thē, weeping, wailing, & crying out of women & children.

To be ſhort, the ſtate of that citie at that preſente was moſt miſerable. The Maiors deputie kepte himſelfe cloſe in his houſe, and might beholde al this miſchiefe and deſtruction of the Citie, but durſt not come abrode, nor goe aboute to ſtay them: at lēgth, a great multitude of the Rebelles that were come downe from their campe, entring by Saint Auſtines gate, came ſtraighte to his houſe, and ſtroue to breake open the dores, but when they coulde not eaſily bring their purpoſe to paſſe that way forthe, they began to fyre the houſe, wherevpon for feare to be brent within his owne lodging, he ſet open the dores, and in came thoſe vnmanerly gueſtes, tooke him, pluckt his gowne beſide his backe, called him Traytor, and threatened to kill him, if hee woulde not tell them where the Lord Marques of Northampton had hid himſelfe, and when he had told them that vndoubtedly hee and all his company were gone, they were in a great rage, and with terrible noyſe and rumbling, they ſought euery corner of the houſe for him, and taking what they founde, they departed, but yet many of them afterwards partly pacified for a peece of money, and other things which they receiued of the Maior, & partly reproued for the wrongfull robberies by ſome that were in credite among them, they brought againe ſuch packes and fardels as they had truſſed vp togither, and threw them into the ſhoppes of thoſe houſes, out of the which they had taken the ſame before, but yet there were dyuers of the Citizens that were ſpoyled of all that they hadde by thoſe Rebels, that entred their houſes vnder a colour to ſeeke for the Marques of Northamptons men. Namely, the houſes of thoſe Citizens that were fled, were ſpoyled and ranſacked moſt miſerably, for they reputed and called them traytors, and enimies to their Kyng and Countrey, that thus had forſakē their houſes & dwellings in time of ſuch neceſſitie: yet many of the Citizens bringing forth bred, beere, and other vittayles vnto the Rebelles to refreſhe them with, ſomewhat calmed their furious rage, and ſo eſcaped their violent handes, although no ſmall number were ſo fleeſed (as before ye haue heard) that they haue liued the worſe for it al the dayes of their life, ſince that time.

But nowe the Rebelles hauing thus gotte poſſeſſion of the Citie, and chaſed awaye the kings people, they take order to haue the gates kepte howerly with watch and warde of the Citizens themſelues, threatning them with moſt ſhamefull deathe if they omitted the ſame.

Theſe vnruly perſons were ſo farre ſtept into all kynde of beaſtly outrage, that when it rayned, they would kenell vp theſelues in the churches, abuſing the place appoynted for the ſeruice and worſhipping of the almightie God, in moſt profane and wicked manner, and neyther prayer nor yet threates of men or women, that aduiſed them to modeſtie, could take place.

The Kinges maieſtie aduertiſed therfore, that there was no way to tame theyr diueliſhe and trayterous outrage, but by force, with the aduiſe of hys counſell, cauſed a power to be put in a readyneſſe, as well of hys owne ſubiectes, as of ſtraungers, namely Lanſquenetz, whyche were come to ſerue hys maieſtie agaynſte the Scottes.

But nowe it was thoughte expediente to vſe theyr ſeruice agaynſte theſe Rebelles, whoſe power and deſperate boldneſſe was ſo farre encreaſed, that withoute a mayne armye, guyded by ſome generall of greate experience, and noble conduct, it would be harde and right daungerous to ſubdue them.

Herevppon, that noble chiefetayne and valiante Earle of Warwike, lately before appoynted to haue gone agaynſte the Scottes and Frenchmen into Scotlande, was called backe, and commaunded to take vppon hym the conduction of thys armye agaynſte the Norffolke Rebelles: for ſuche was the opinion then conceiued of that honorable Earle, for the hyghmanhoode, valiante prowes, and great experience in all warlike enterpriſes, ſufficiently tryed; and knowen to reſt in him, that eyther they muſt be vanquiſhed and ouercome by hym, or by none other.

Erle of
wike ap-
ted to go
t the
folke
lles.

Captayne Kette and hys Rebellious army, hauing ſome aduertiſement by rumors ſpredde, of thys preparation, and commyng of an armye agaynſte them, they were not ſlacke to make themſelues ſtrong, and readye to abyde all the hazard, that fortune of warre myght bryng.

The Earle of Warwike then after that hys men and prouiſions were ready, doth ſette forward, and commeth vnto Cambridge, wher the Lorde Marques of Northampton and other mette hys Lordſhippe.

Erle of
wike
meth to
bridge.

Here alſo dyuers Citizens of Norwiche came to hym, and falling downe vppon theyr knees before hym, beſought him to be good Lord vnto them, and withall, declared theyr miſerable ſtate, great griefe and ſorrowe, whiche they had conceyued for the wretched deſtruction of theyr Countrey, beſeeching hym to haue pitie vppon them, and if in ſuche extremitie of things as had happened vnto their citie, they had through feare or ignorance committed any thing contrarie to their duetifull allegiance, that it might pleaſe his honor to pardon them their offences in ſuche behalf, ſith if any thing were amiſſe on their parts, the ſame came to paſſe ſore againſt their willes, and to their extreame greefe and ſorrow.

The Earle of Warwike tolde them, that hee knew indeede in what daunger they had bin among thoſe vnruly ribauldes, and as for any offence which they had committed, he knew not, for yeelding their Citie ſith matters were growen to ſuche extremitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing they had ouerſhot themſelues, for that in the beginning, they hadde not ſought to repreſſe thoſe tumultes, ſith if they had put themſelues in defence of their Countrey, to reſiſt the Rebelles at the firſt, ſuch miſchiefes as were now growen, myght eaſily haue bin auoided. But neuertheleſſe, vppon this their humble ſubmiſſion, he graunted them all, the kings mercifull pardon, and commaunding them to prouide themſelues of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the army, wearing certaine laces or ribons about their neckes for a difference, that they mighte be knowen from others. There were in this army, vnder the Erle of Warwike, dyuers men of honor and greate worſhip, as Lords, knights, Eſquiers, & Gentlemen in great numbers. Firſt the Lord Marques of Northhampton, and ſundry of them that had bin with him before, deſirous to bee reuenged of his late repulſe, the Lords, Willoughby Powers and Bray, Ambroſe Dudley, ſonne to the ſayde Earle, and at this preſente, worthily adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of Erle of Warwike.

Alſo, Henry Willoughby eſquier, Sir Thomas Treſham, Sir Marmaduke Conneſtable, William Deuerour, ſonne to the Lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Edmonde Kniuet, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Andrewe Flammocke, and diuers other Knightes, Eſquiers & Gentlemen.

The Earle of Warwike, and ſuch as were come with hym to Cambridge, marched dyrectly from thence towardes Norwiche, and came vnto Wimondham the two and twentith of Auguſt, where and by the way, the moſt part of all the Gentlemē of Norffolke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The nexte day betimes, hee ſhewed hymſelfe vpon the playne, betwixte the Citie of Norwich, and Eyton wood, and lodged that night at Intwood, an houſe belonging to Sir Thomas Greſham Knighte, a two myles diſtant from Norwiche.

Heere they reſted that daye and nighte following, not once putting off their armoure, but remayning ſtill in a readyneſſe, if the enimies ſhould haue made any ſoddaine inuaſiõ againſt them.

Norwiche ſummoned.

The Earle of Warwike in the meane tyme, ſent the afore remembred King of armes Norrey, to ſummon the Citie, eyther to open the gates, that he might quietly enter, or elſe to loke for warre at his hands that would then aſſay to winne it by force.

When Kette vnderſtode that the Heraulte was come to the gates, he appointed the Maiors deputy Auguſtine Steward, & Robert Rugge, two of the chiefe Citizens, to goe to him, and to know his errand. They paſſing forth at a poſterne, and hearing his meſſage, made aunſwere, that they were the miſerableſt men that were then lyuing, as they themſelues beleeued, that ſith hauing ſuffered ſuche calamities as they could not but tremble in calling the ſame to remembrance, coulde not nowe haue libertie to declare the loyall duetie whiche they bare and ought to beare to the Kyngs hyghneſſe, ſo that they accompted themſelues moſte vnfortunate, ſith their happe was to liue in that ſeaſon, in which they muſt eyther ieopard loſſe of life, or the eſtimation of their good name, although they truſted the Kinges maieſtie would be gracious Lord vnto them, ſith they had giuen no conſente vnto ſuche wicked Rebellion, as was thus reyſed againſt his highnes, but with loſſe of goodes and perill of life ſo farre as in them lay, hadde done what they coulde to keepe the Citizens in ductifull obedience.

One thing more they woulde humbly deſire of my Lorde of Warwike, that where as there was no ſmal number of Kettes army in the Citie without armour or weapon, and as it ſhould ſeeme yrkeſome and weary of that whyche had bene alreadye done, it mighte pleaſe him once agayne to vouchſafe to offer them the kyngs pardon, and if hee ſhoulde thus doe, they had greate hope that the Rebels woulde gladly accepte it, and ſo the matter mighte bee pacifyed withoute more bloudſhed. Norrey returned to the Earle of Warwike, and declared what aunſwere hee had receyued. The Earle deſirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken vppe, as well for other conſiderations as for feare, leaſt the Gentlemen remayning priſoners with the Rebels, ſhoulde bee vnmercifully murthered by theyr keepers, if they came to the vttermoſt triall of battayle, he reſolued to proue if it woulde thus come to paſſe, and heerevpon was Norrey with a Trumpetter ſent to offer them a generall pardon, who beeing entred the Citie, mette about fortie of the Rebels on Horſebacke, riding two and two togither very pleaſaunte and merrie, and ſo paſſing from Saint Stephens gate vnto Byſhoppes gate, the Trumpetter ſounded hys Trumpette, and with that, a greate multitude of the Rebels came thronging downe togither from the hyll, to whome the Horſemen ſpeedily ryding, commaunded that they ſhould deuide themſelues, and ſtande in order vppon eyther ſyde the way, and as Norrey and the Trumpetter with two of the chiefe Citizens entred betwixte them, they were receyued wyth greate noyſe and clamoure, for euerye of them puttyng off theyr hattes or cappes, cryed God ſaue Kyng Edwarde, God ſaue Kyng Edwarde.

Norrey Kin
of armes, ſen
to offer the
Rebelles
their pardon.

Norrey and the two Citizens highly commendyng them heerein, requeſted them to keepe their place and order wherein they ſtode for a whyle, and then Norrey paſſing forthe aboute two hundred and fiftie paces, came to the toppe of the hyll, and puttyng vppon his coate armoure, ſtayed awhyle, (for Kette was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what manner dyuers tymes ſith fyrſte they hadde taken armes in hande, the Kyngs maieſtie by ſundrye perſons, as well Heraultes as other, hadde ſoughte to reduce them from theyr vnlawfull and rebellious tumultes, vnto theyr former duetie and obedience, and yet neuertheleſſe, they hadde ſhewed themſelues wilfull and ſtubborne, in refuſing hys mercifull pardon freely offered vnto them, and deſpiſed the meſſengers whiche hys grace hadde ſente vnto them to pronounce the ſame, hee wylled them therefore to call themſelues nowe at length to remembraunce, and to beholde the ſtate of the common wealthe whyche they ſo often to no purpoſe had ſtill in theyr mouthes, and neuertheleſſe by them miſerably defaced, and broughte in daunger of vtter ruyne and decay, and heerewith diſcourſing at large of the horrible, wicked, and heynous murthers, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, hee wylled them to conſider into what Sea of miſchiefes they had throwen themſelues, and what puniſhment they oughte to looke for as due to them for the ſame, ſith as well the wrath of God as the Kyngs army was hanging ouer theyr heads, and ready at hande, which they were not able to reſiſt, for his grace hadde reſolued no longer to ſuffer ſo greate and preſumptuous a miſchiefe as thys, to be foſtered in the middle of his Realme, and therefore hadde appoynted the righte honorable Earle of Warwike, a man of noble fame and approued vallancie, to bee hys generall Lieutenante of that hys royall armye, to perſecute them with fyre and ſworde, and not to leaue off, tyll hee hadde vtterly diſperſed and ſcattered that wicked and abhominable aſſemble, and yet ſuch was the exceeding greatneſſe of the Kings bountifull mercy and clemency, that hee that was by hym appoynted to be a reuenger of their heynous treaſons committed agaynſt hys maieſtie if they continued in their obſtinate wilfulneſſe, ſhoulde be alſo the interpretour and miniſter of hys gracious and free pardon, to ſo manye as woulde accept it. Which vnleſſe they now embraced, the ſayd Earle had made a ſolemne vowe, that they ſhould neuer haue it offered to them agayne, but that he would perſecute them till he had puniſhed the whole multitude according to their iuſt deſertes.

Manye that hearde him, hauing due conſideration of their miſerable eſtate, were touched with ſome remorſe of conſcience, fearing at length to taſt the reuenge of ſuche horrible crimes as they hadde bin partakers of, with others in committing the ſame. But the more part findyng themſelues highly offended with his wordes, beganne to iangle (as they had done before vnto other that had bin ſent to offer them pardon) that hee was not the Kings Herraulte, but ſome one made out by the Gentlemen in ſuch a gay coate, patched togither of Veſtmentes and Churche ſtuffe, beeing ſente only to deceyue them, in offering them pardon, which would in proue noughte elſe but halters, and therefore it were well done, to thruſt an arrow into him, or to hang hym vp. Although other ſeemed ductifully to reuerence hym, and dyuers that had ſerued in Scotlande and at Bullongne, remembryng that they hadde ſeene hym there and knewe hym, tolde and perſwaded theyr fellowes, that hee was the Kyngs Herraulte indeede, wherupon, they became more milde, and offered him no further iniurie: but yet they could not be perſwaded that this pardon tended to anye other ende, but to bring them to deſtruction, and that in ſteede of pardon, there was prepared for them nought elſe, but a barrell full of halters.

Suche lewde ſpeeche was amongſt them, ſauoring altogyther of malitious miſtruſt, and wilfull treaſon. Norrey neuertheleſſe departing from thence, accompanyed with Kette, came to another place, where hee made the lyke Proclamation: for the multitude was ſuche, that hee coulde not bee hearde of them all in one place.

Neuyll.

Heere, before he had made an ende of his tale, there was a vile boy (as ſome write) that turned vp his bare tayle to hym, with wordes as vnſeemely, as hys geſture was fylthy: with whych ſpitefull reproch thus ſhewed towards the kings maieſties officer at armes, one which in company of ſome other (that were come ouer the water to viewe thinges) beeyng greatly offended, with an harquebuſe ſhotte ſtrake that vngracious ladde through the body a little aboue the reynes.

Which when ſome of the Rebels had ſeene, a dozen of theyr horſemen came galloppyng out of the wood, crying, we are betrayed, we are betrayed, if you looke not about you: doe you not ſee howe our fellowes are ſlayne with gunnes before your faces? What may we hope if we diſarme our ſelues, that are thus vſed beeing armed? Thys Herraulte goeth about nothing elſe, but to bring vs within daunger of ſome ambuſhe, that the Gentlemen maye kyll and beate vs downe at their pleaſure.

Hereupon, they all ſhranke away, and fled, as they had bin out of theyr wittes: yet did their great Captain Robert Kette, accompany Norrey, meaning as hathe bin ſayd, to haue gone to the Earle of Warwike himſelfe, to haue talked with him: but as hee was almoſt at the foote of the hyll, there came running after him a greate multitude of the Rebels, crying to hym, and aſking him whether he went: we are readye (ſayd they) to take ſuche parte as you doe, be it neuer ſo badde, and if hee woulde goe anye further, they would as they ſayd ſurely followe him.

Kette meante to haue talked with the Earle of Warwike.

Norrey then perceyuing ſuche numbers of people following them, deſired Kette to ſtaye them, who returning backe to them, they were incontinently appeaſed, and ſo they all returned with hym backe to their campe.

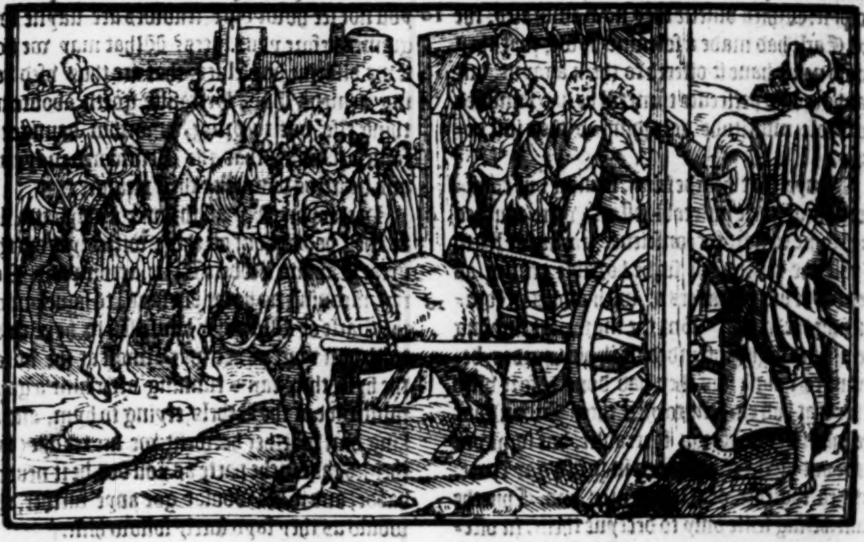
When the Earle of Warwike vnderſtoode that they were thus altogither ſet on miſchiefe, and neither with prayers, proffer of pardon, threatning of puniſhment, nor other meanes they coulde be reduced to quietneſſe, hee determined to procure againſt them by force, and hereuppon, bryngyng his armye vnto Sainte Stephens gate, whiche the Rebels ſtopped vppe with lettyng downe the portculice, he commaunded thoſe that hadde charge of the artillerie, to plant the ſame againſt the gate, and with batterie to breake it open.

Saint Stephens gate.

As theſe things were in hand, he vnderſtoode by Auguſtine Stewarde the Maiors deputie, that there was an other gate on the contrarye ſide of the Citie, called the braſen gate, whyche the Rebelles hadde rammed vppe, but yet not ſo, but that it might bee eaſily broken open.

The braſen gate.

Herewith were the pionors called, and commaunded to breake open that gate alſo, whyche beeyng done, the Souldyers enter by the ſame into the Citie, and ſlewe dyuers of thoſe Rebelles that ſtoode readye to defende and reſiſt theyr entrie.



In the meane time had the gunners alſo broken in ſunder with their ſhotte the portculice, and neere hande the one halfe of the other gate; by the whiche the Marques of Northampton, and Captayne Drurie, *alias* Poignard, that beyng ſente from London, met the Lorde of Warwike by the way, entred with theyr bands and droue backe the Rebels with ſlaughter, that executed.

Shortly after, the carriages belonging to the army, were broughte into the Citie by the ſame gate, and paſſing through the Citie by negligence and want of order giuen to them that attended on the ſame cariage, they kept on forward till they were gote out at Byſhoppes gate towards Mouſholde, whereof the Rebels beyng aduiſed, they came downe, and ſetting vppon the Carters, and other that attended on the cariages, putte them to flighte, and droue away the cartes laden with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bringing the ſame into their Campe, greately reioyſing thereof, bycauſe they hadde no great ſtore of ſuch things among them: but yet Captayne Drury with hys bande commyng in good tyme to the reſcue, recouered ſome of the Cartes from the enimies, not withoute ſome ſlaughter on eyther ſide.

Cartes laden with munition taken by the Rebels.

Moreouer, the enimies as yet being not fully driuen out of the Citie, placed themſelues in croſſe ſtreetes, and were readye to aſſayle the Souldyers as they ſawe theyr aduantage, parte of them ſtanding at Sainte Michaels, parte at Sainte Stephens, and parte at Saint Peters, and ſome of them alſo ſtoode in Wymers ſtreete.

Here they aſſayling ſuch as vnaduiſedly were entred within their daunger, they ſlewe diuers, and among other, three or foure Gentlemen, be-

Gentlemen ſlayne.

were ready there to reſiſt them.

Moreouer, the Maiors deputie cauſed Weſtwike gate to bee ſette open, at the whiche, the Earle of Warwike hymſelfe entring with all his army, and fyndyng in manner no reſiſtāce, came to the market place: where were taken a threeſcore of the Rebelles, the whiche according to the order of martiall lawe were incontinently fore they could be ſuccoured from any part.

The Earle of Warwike aduertiſed hereof, paſſed forth with all his forces to remoue the enimie, and comming to Sainte Andrewe in Iohns ſtreete, was receyued with a ſharp ſtorme of arrowes, but Captayne Drury hys Harquebuſiers, galled them ſo with their ſhotte, that they were gladde to giue place, and ſo fledde amayne.

There were ſlaine a hũdred & thirtie, and dyuers of them ſhrinking aſyde into Churchyards and other places vnder the walles, were taken and executed.

All the reſt gote them vppe to their Camp at Mouſcholde, and ſo the Citie was ridde of them for that tyme.

Then dyd the Earle of Warwike take order for the ſafekeepyng of the Citie, appoyntyng watche and warde to be kept on the walles, and in euery ſtreete.

Alſo that all the gates ſhould be rammed vp, excepte one or two that ſtoode towardes the enimies, at the whiche were planted certaine peeces of the greate artillerie.

But the Rebelles vnderſtandyng that the Earle of Warwike wanted powder and other things apperteynyng to the vſe of the greate ordinance, and with all perceyuing that the Welchemenne whyche were appoynted to the guarde of the ſayde greate peeces of artillerie,

lerie were no greate number, and therfore not able to reſiſt any greate force that ſhould come agaynſte them, they came downe the hyll vpon the ſuddayne as it were, wholly togither in moſt outragious manner, and withall, one Myles, that was a very perfect gunner, and maruellous ſkilfull in the feate of ſhooting of great artillerie, and at that time remaynyng among the Rebels, ſhotte off a peece, and ſlewe one of the Kyngs principall gunners, that was attending vpon thoſe peeces of artillerie, whiche ſtoode thus before the gate, whome when the Rebels perceyued thus to bee ſlayne, they made forwarde with more courage, and gaue ſuche a deſperate onſette vppon them that garded the ſayde artillerie, that theyr ſmall number beyng not able to withſtande theyr aduerſaries greate and huge multitude preſſing in ſuche furious rage vppon them, that they were conſtreyned to flee backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a pray vnto the enimies, who ſeaſing vppon the ſame, conueyed them away with certayne cartes laden with all manner of munitiõ for warres vp to their campe, a matter as was thoughte of no ſmall importance, ſith the enimies therby were furniſhed now with ſuch things whereof before they ſtood moſt in neede, and hauing ſtore thereof, they ſpared not liberally to beſtowe it agaynſt the Citie, beating downe not onely the higheſt toppe of Byſhoppes gate, but alſo a greate parte of the walles on that ſide.

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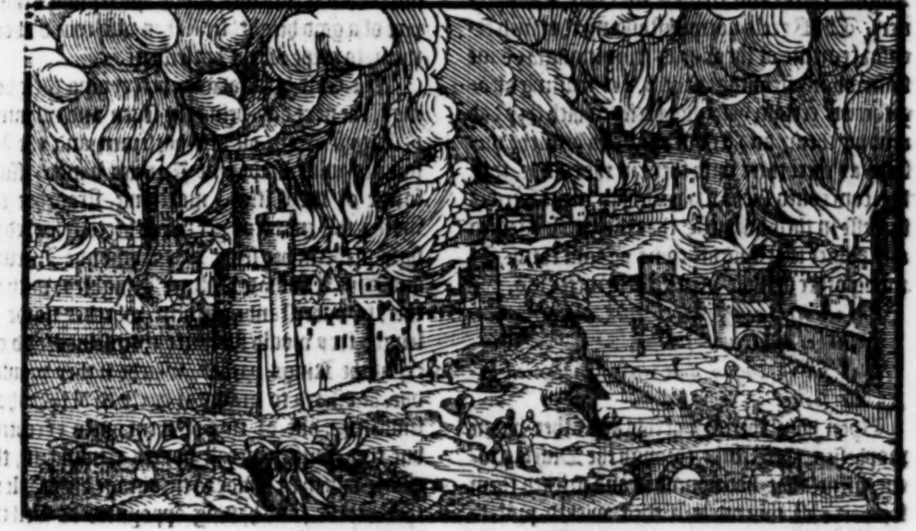
And heere truely the good ſeruice of Captaine Drurie is not to be forgotten, who now as earſt being ready to reuẽge this iniurie, following vpon the enimies, put them to flighte, and recouered muche of that whyche they had taken from the Earles Souldiers.

The Earle of Warwike after this, cutte off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and turnynges of the wayes and ſtreetes dyuers bandes of Souldyers to keepe the paſſages, brake downe the white Friers bridge, and at Byſhoppes gate hee appoynted the Lorde Willoughby with a greate number of Souldyers to defende that parte, and in thys ſorte hee made prouiſion to defende the Citie from the Rebelles, if they ſhoulde attempte to make anye ſurpriſe vppon the ſuddayne.



The next daye yet they paſſing ouer the Riuer, ſette fire on certaine houſes at Conneſforth, brenning the more parte of all the houſes of two pariſhes, and ſo greate was the rage of the fyre, that catching holde vppon an houſe wherein the merchantes of Norwiche vſe to ley vppe ſuche wares and merchandiſe as they conuey to theyr Citie from Yermouth, the ſame houſe with greate ſtore of wheate and other riches, was miſerably conſumed and defaced.

Thus whileſt euery thyng ſeemed to chance and fall out in fauoure of the Rebelles, there were ſome in the Earle of Warwikes armye, that deſpairing of the whole ſucceſſe of theyr iourney, came to the Earle of Warwike, and beganne to perſwade with hym, that ſith the Citie was large, and their companyes ſmall, (for in deede the whole appoynted numbers as yet were not come, neyther of ſtraungers nor Engliſhmen) it was vnpoſſible to defende it agaynſte ſuche an huge multitude as were aſſembled togither in Kettes campe, and therfore beſoughte hym to regarde hys owne ſafetie, to leaue the Citie, and not to hazard all vpon ſuch an vncertayn maine chance. The Erle of Warwike as he was of a noble & inuincible courage, valiante, hardye, and not able to abyde anye

Counſell giuẽ to the Earle of Warwike to abandon the Citie.

The Earles aunſwere.

ſpotte of reprorhe, whereby to loſe the leaſt peece of honor that might be, made this aunſwer: why (ſayth he) and do your heartes fayle you ſo ſoone? or are you ſo madde withall, to thinke that ſo long as any life reſteth in me, that I will conſent to ſuche diſhonour? Should I leaue the Citie? heaping vp to my ſelfe and lykewiſe to you, ſuch ſhame and reprofe, as worthily myghte be reputed an infamy to vs for euer? I will rather ſuffer whatſoeuer eyther fire or ſworde can worke agaynſt mee.

Theſe wordes being vttered with ſuch a courage as was maruellous to conſider, he drew out his ſworde, whiche other of the honorable & worſhipfull that were thẽ preſent likewiſe did, whom he commaunded that each one ſhould kiſſe others ſworde, according to an auntient cuſtome vſed amongſt men of war, in time of great daunger, and herewith they made a ſolemne vowe, binding it with a ſolemne oth, that they ſhould not depart from thẽce, till they had either vanquiſhed the enimies, or loſt their liues in mãful fight, for defence of the kings honour.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Rebels brake into ẏ citie on that ſide, where was no ſuſpitiõ of their entring at all, but being come almoſt to the bridges, they were encountred by the ſouldiers, beaten back, and chaſed by out the ſame way they came. The next day being the .26. of Auguſt, there came to the Erle .1400. Lanſquenetz. The Rebels notwithſtanding that ſuch reenforcemente of the Earles power mighte haue ſomewhat diſcouraged them, yet truſting altogither on certain vain prophecies, which they had among them, and ſet out in verſes by ſuche wiſerts as were there with them in the campe, they had conceyued ſuche a vayne hope of proſperous ſucceſſe in their buſineſſe, that they little eſteemed any power that mighte come againſt them. Among other of thoſe verſes, theſe were two,

The Lancequeniez come to the Earle of Warwike.

The Rebels truſt in vayne prophecies.

The countrey gnuffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubbes and clouted ſhoone,
Shall fill vp Duſsin dale with ſlaughtered bodies ſoone.

Upon hope therefore of this and other vayne propheſies, the Rebels through the Diuels procurement, that had nouriſhed and pricked them forwarde all this while in their wicked proceedings, they determine to remoue thither, to the ende, that they mighte with more ſpeede, make an ende of the matter, before they ſhould be driuen to diſperſe themſelues through famine, for the Earle of Warwike hauing taken order to haue the paſſages ſtopped in ſuch wiſe as no vittayles could eaſily be conueyd to their camp, the want thereof began already to pinch them: hereupon, ſetting fire on their Cabanes, which they hadde reyſed and built heere and there of tymber and buſhes (the ſmoke wherof couered all the groundes about them) they come downe wyth theyr enſignes into the valley called Duſſin dale, where with all ſpeede that might bee, they intrenched themſelues about, and reyſing a rampire of a good height, ſet ſtakes alſo round about them, to keepe off the horſemen.

The Rebels remoue.

The Erle of Warwike perceyuing their doings, the next day being the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt, with all hys horſemen and the Almaines with Captayne Druries bande, iſſued forthe of the Citie, marching ſtraighte towards the enimies: yet before hee approched in ſight of them, hee ſente Sir Edmonde Kneuet, and Sir Thomas Palmer Knightes, with other, to vnderſtande of them, whether nowe at length they would ſubmitte themſelues, and receyue the Kings pardon, whiche if they woulde doe, he offered to graunt it freely to al the whole multitude, one or two of them onely excepted: but they with generall voyces refuſing it, the Earle falleth in hande to encourage his people to the battaile, and hauing appoynted as well the horſemen as footemen in what order they ſhould giue the charge, they paſſe forward in approching the enimies. The Rebels beholdyng them thus to come forwarde, putte themſelues in order of battayle, in ſuch manner, that all the Gentlemen which had bin taken priſoners, and were kepte in irons for ſtarting away, were placed in the fore rãke of their battaile, coupled two & two togither, to ẏ end they might be killed by their own friẽds that came to ſeeke their deliuerance: but as God would haue it yet, ẏ moſt part of thẽ were ſaued. Miles the maiſter gũner amõg ẏ rebels, leuying a peece of ordinance, ſhot it off, & ſtroke him that caried

The Earle of Warwike goeth forth to giue the enemies battaile.

Pardon offered.

carryed the Kings ſtandart in the thigh, and the horſe through the ſhoulder. The Earle of Warwike and others ſore grieued therewith, cauſed a whole volee of theyr artillerie to be ſhot off at the Rebelles, and herewith Captaine Drurie with his owne bande, and the Almaines or Lanſquenets, whether ye lyſt to call them, on foote, getting neare to the enimies, hailſed them with their Harquebuſe ſhot ſo ſharpely, and thruſt forwarde vpon them with their Pykes ſo ſtrongly, that they brake them in ſunder.

The Gentlemen whome (as we haue ſayde) being placed in the foreranke, founde meanes (as good happe was) to ſhrinke a ſide and eſcaped the danger for the more part, although ſome in deed were ſlaine by the Almaines and other that knew not what they were.

The light horſemen of the Kings part herewith gaue in amongſt them ſo roundly, that the Rebels not able to abide theyr valiaunt charge, were eaſily put to flight, and with the formoſte theyr grand Captaine Robert Ket galloped away ſo faſt as his horſe woulde beare him. The horſemen following in chaſe, ſlue them downe on heapes, euer ſtill as they ouertooke them, ſo that the chaſe continuing for the ſpace of three or foure myles, there were ſlaine to the number of three thouſande fiue hundred at the leaſt, beſide a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there eche way forth, as ſeemed beſt to ſerue theyr turne for theyr moſt ſpeedie eſcape oute of daunger: yet one part of them that had not bene aſſayled at the firſt onſet, ſeeing ſuche ſlaughter made of theyr felowes, kept theyr ground by their ordinance, and ſhranke not, determining as men deſperately bent, not to die vnreuenged, but to fight it out to the laſt man. They were ſo encloſed with theyr Cartes, cariages, trenches (which they had caſt) and ſtakes pitched in the grounde to keepe off the force of horſemen, that it woulde haue beene ſomewhat daungerous to haue aſſayled them within their ſtrength: but ſure they were yͤ now they could not eſcape, ſeeing no ſmall part of their whole numbers were cut off and diſtreſſed, and they enuironed on eche ſide, without hope of ſuccour or reliefe of vittayles, which in the end muſt needes haue forced them to come forth of their incloſure to their vndoubted ouerthrow and deſtruction.

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The Earle of Warwike yet pitying theyr caſe, and lothe that the king ſhoulde loſe ſo many ſtowt mens bodies as were there amongſt them, which might do his Maieſtie and their country good ſeruice, if they coulde be reclaymed from this their deſperate folly vnto due obedience, ſendeth Norrey vnto them, offring them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yeeld, if not, he threatned that there ſhoulde not a man of them eſcape the deſerued puniſhment. Their anſwere was, that if they might be aſſured to haue their liues ſaued they coulde bee contented to yeeld, but they could haue no truſt that promiſe ſhould be kept with them, for notwithſtanding all ſuch fayre offers of pardon, they tooke it that there was nothing meant but a ſubtile practiſe to bring them into the handes of their aduerſaries the Gentlemen, that had prepared a barell of ropes and halters, with which they purpoſed to truſſe them vp, and therefore they woulde rather die lyke men, than to be ſtrangled at the wylles and pleaſures of their mortal enimies. The Erle of Warwicke right ſorie to ſee ſuche deſperate myndes among them, ſent to the Citie, and cauſed the moſte part of the footemen which hee had left there to defende the ſame, to come forth nowe in battaile array, that they myght helpe to deſtreſſe thoſe wilfull Rebels that thus obſtinately refuſed the kings pardon, and hauing brought as well them as the Almaines and the horſemen in order of battaile againe, and readie now to ſette vpon the Rebels, he eftſoones ſendeth to them to knowe that if he ſhould come himſelfe and gyue his worde, that they ſhoulde haue their pardon, whether they would receyue it or not. Herevnto they anſwered, that they had ſuch confidence in his honour, that if he woulde ſo doe, they woulde giue credite thereto, and ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie.

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s offred.

Pardon once againe offred.

Incontinently wherevpon he goeth to them, and commaundeth Norrey to read the Kings pardon freely graunted to all that would yeelde, which being read, euery man throweth down his weapon, and with one whole and entier voyce crie, God ſaue king Edward, God ſaue king Edward. And thus through the prudent policie, and fauourable mercie of the Earle of Warwike, a great number of thoſe offenders were preſerued from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

They yeeld to the Earle of Warwike.

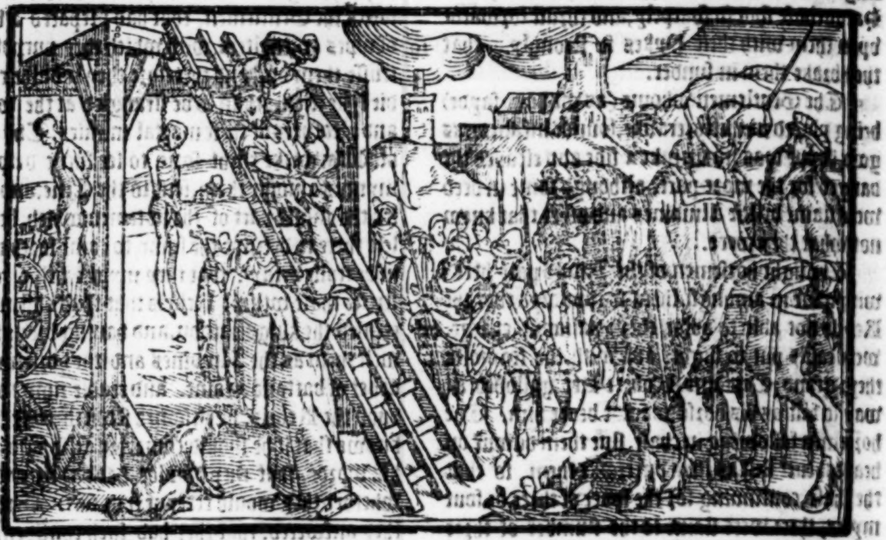
Thus were the Norfolke Rebels ſubdued by the high prowes, wiſedome and policie of the valiant Erle of Warwike, and other the Nobles, gentlemen and faithful ſubiects there in the kings army, but not without loſſe of diuerſe perſonages of great worſhip, beſide other of the meaner ſort, namely maiſter Henrie Willoughby Eſquier, a man ſo welbeloued in his Countrey for his liberalitie in houſekeeping, great curteſie, vpryght dealing, aſſured ſtedfaſtneſſe in friendſhip, and modeſt ſtayedneſſe in behauiour, that the Countreys where his liuings lay, lament the loſſe of ſo worthie a gentleman euen to this day. There dyed alſo   Lucie Eſquier,   Forſter Eſquier, and   Throckmerton of Northamtonſhire, men of no ſmall credite and worſhip in their Countreys.

The battaile being thus ended, all the ſpoyle gotten in the fielde was giuen to ẏ ſouldiers, who ſolde the moſt part thereof openly in the Market place of Norwich.

The nexte day the Erle of Warwyke was aduertiſed, that Ket being crept into a barne, was taken by two ſeruants of one maiſter Richeſſe of Swanington, and brought to the houſe of the ſame Rycheſſe. Hereupon were certaine horſemen ſent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Norwich.

The ſame day examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and ſetters forth of this vnhappie rebellion, and diuerſe being founde guiltie were hanged, and nine of the chiefeſt procurers of all the miſchiefe, Robert

Execution.



Ket, and his brother William onely excepted) were hanged vpon the Oke of reformation, Myles the Gunner, and two of their Prophets being three of that number, Some others of them were drawen, hanged and quartered, and their heades and quarters ſet vp in publike places for a terror to others. But yet the Earle of Warwike ſpared many, where ſome woulde gladly haue perſwaded him, that there myght haue beene a great number more executed, but his Lordſhip perceyuing them importunate in that vncharitable ſute, tolde them (as it were in fauour of life of thoſe ſillie wretches, whoſe miſerable caſe he ſeemed to pitie) that meaſure muſt be vſed in all things and in puniſhing of men by death (ſayth he) we ought alwayes to beware that we paſſe not the ſame. I knowe well that ſuche wicked doings deſerue no ſmall reuenge, and that the offenders are worthie to be moſt ſharpely chaſtiſed. But how farre yet ſhall we goe? ſhall we not at length ſhewe ſome mercie? Is there no place for pardon? what ſhall we than do? ſhall we holde the Plowe our ſelues? play the Carters and labour the ground with our owne handes. Theſe and ſuche lyke wordes taſting altogither of mercie and compaſſion in that noble Erle, did quench the cruell deſire of reuenge in them that were altogither kindled in wrath, and wiſhed nothing more than to ſee the whole multitude executed; but now moued with the Earles wiſe and mercifull anſwere to their rygorous ſute, they became more milde and mercifull towardes the miſerable creatures.

The Earle of Warwike ſheweth mercie.

This alſo is not to be forgotten, that when information was gyuen agaynſt ſome of the rebelles, for that they had beene buſie fellowes, and great doers in tyme of thoſe vprores, ſo as it was thought of ſome, that it ſtoode with good reaſon to haue them puniſhed by death, when the Earle of Warwike vnderſtoode by credible report of Norrey King of Armes, that vpon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the firſt that threw down their weapons, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Kings mercie, the Earle woulde not in any wiſe conſent that they ſhoulde dye, but proteſted frankely that hee woulde keepe promiſe wyth them, and that he woulde bee as good to them as his worde, and ſo they had their lyues ſaued.

The ſame day was order gyuen by the Erle that the bodyes of them that were ſlaine in the fielde ſhould be buried.

The ſlain ca
caſſes buried.

On the Morrow being the xxix. of Auguſt, the Earle of Warwike, with the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Armie, and others in greate numbers both men and women, went to Saint Peters Churche, and there gaue prayſes and thankes to God for the victorie obteyned, and this done, hee with all the armie departed out of the Citie, and returned homwardes wyth high commendation of the Citizens and others that acknowledged the ſayde Earle to be the defender ſauer of theyr lyues, and recouerer of theyr wyues, children, houſes and liuings.

It was afterwarde ordeyned, that the ſame day in the which the Rebels were thus ſubdued, that the Citizens yearely ſhoulde repayre to their Churches, and there to heare ſeruice, and to haue a Sermon made, to the which they ſhoulde come togither, to gyue thankes to God for their deliuerance as that day, and this is obſerued till theſe our times.

Robert Ket and his brother William Ket, were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the Tower, and ſhortly after arraigned of theyr treaſon and founde guiltie, were brought to the Tower agayne, where they continued till the .xxix. of Nouember, on which day they were deliuered to Sir Edmonde Wyndham high Sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, to bee conueyed downe into Norffolke where Robert Ket was hanged in Chaynes vpon the top of Norwich Caſtell, and William Ket his brother on the toppe of Wymondham ſteeple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conſpyred with others to go forwarde with theyr wicked rebellion.

This William Ket (as was thought) had beene ſure of his pardon, if he had not played the trayterous Hypocrite: for, vpon his ſubmiſſion at the firſt to my Lorde Marques of Northampton, at hys comming downe to ſuppreſſe this rebellion, he was ſent to his brother to perſwade him and the reſt to yeelde, and receyue the Kings pardon: but hee (lyke a diſſembling wretche, although he promiſed to my Lorde to doe what hee coulde in that behalfe) vppon hys comming to his brother into the rebels campe, and beholde the greate multitude that were there aboute hym, hee did not onely not diſſwade him and them from theyr trayterous rebellion, but encouraged them to perſiſt and continue in their doyngs, declaring what a ſmall number of Souldiours the Marques brought with him, nothing able to reſyſt ſuche a puyſſaunce as was there aſſembled, ſo that if it had not beene through the wicked perſwaſion of him, and ſome other at that tyme, not onely Robert Ket himſelfe, but alſo all the multitude beſyde, woulde haue ſubmytted themſelues, and receyued the Kings pardon, to the preſeruation of manye a good mans lyfe that after dyed in the quarell.

But nowe to returne ſomewhat backe to the doings in Scotlande, in the meane while that ſuche buſineſſe were in hande here in Englande, ye ſhall vnderſtande that in the beginning of this Sommer, the King by aduiſe of his Counſaile, ſent forth a nauie by Sea towardes Scotlande, the which arriuing in the Forth, and comming before Lieth, ſaluted the town with Canon ſhot, and remayning there a terme of twelue dayes, tooke in the meane tyme the Iſle of Inchkeith, leauing therein foure Enſignes of Engliſhe men, and one of Italians, with certaine Pioners to fortifie the place: but the Frenchmen as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie ye ſhall finde more at large, after the departure of the Engliſh nauie, recouered that Iſle againe out of the Engliſh mennes poſſeſſion, (after they had kept it ſixteene dayes) wyth the ſlaughter of Captaine Cotton theyr Generall, Captayne Appleby, and one Iaſper that was captaine of the Italians, beſide others.

Inskeith taken.

After the recouering of this Iſle, Monſieur de Deſſe, returned into Fraunce, leauing hys charge vnto Monſieur de Thermes lately before there arriued who after the departure of the ſayde Deſſe with a campe volant did what he could to ſtop the Engliſhmen within Hadington fro vytayles. But notwithſtanding the Earle of Rutlande being Lieutenant of the North, did not onely vitayle it, but put the Frenche armye in daunger of an ouerthrowe, as it was thoughte muſte needes haue followed, if they had not with more ſpeede than is vſed in a common marche ſlipt away, after they perceyued the Engliſh armie ſo neare at their elbowes.

Monſieur de Deſe returneth into Fraunce.

The Erle of Rutlande.

Moreouer, beſide theſe inordinate vprores and inſurrections aboue mentioned, aboute the latter end of the ſayde month of July: the ſame yeare which was. 1549) an other like ſturre or commotion beganne at Semer in the north ryding of Yorkeſhyre, and continued in the Eaſt ryding of the ſame, and there ended. The principall doers and rayſers vp, whereof was one William Ombler of Eaſtheſlerton yeoman, and Thomas Dale pariſhe Clearke of Semer, with one Steuenſon of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler, which Steuenſon was a meane or meſſenger betweene the ſayde Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted togyther, and dwelling ſeuen myles one from the other, who at laſt by the trauayle of the ſayde Steuenſon, and their owne euill diſpoſitions inclyned to vngraciouſneſſe and miſchiefe, knowing before one the others mynde by ſecrete conference, were brought to talke togyther on Saint James day Anno. 1549.

M. Foxe.

An other rebellion or tumult begon in Yorkſhire.

The chiefe ſtirrers of this rebellion.

The cauſes mouing them to rayſe this rebellion were theſe, firſt and principally their trayterous heartes, grudging at the Kings moſt godly proceedings, in aduauncing and reforming the true honour of God and his Religion: an other cauſe alſo was for truſting to a blinde and a phantaſticall prophecie, wherewith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame prophecie ſhould ſhortly come to paſſe, by hearing the rebellions of Norfolke, of Deuonſhyre, and other places, the tenour of which prophecie and purpoſe, togither

The cauſes mouing the Yorkſhiremen to rebellion.

A blinde prophecie amōgſt the Northernmen.

gyther of the traytours was, that there ſhould no King raigne in Englande, the Noble men and Gentlemen to be deſtroyed, and the Realme to be ruled by foure gouernours, to be elected and appoynted by the commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, to beginne at the South and North Seas of Englande, ſuppoſing that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Deuonſhire men in the Weſt, meeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane howe to compaſſe this their trayterous, diueliſh deuiſe. And therefore laying their ſtudies togither, howe they might finde oute more companie to ioyne with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and to ſet forward the ſturre, this deuiſe they framed, to ſturre in two places, the one diſtant ſeuen myles from the other, and at the firſt raſhe, to kill and deſtroy ſuch gentlemen and men of ſubſtance about them, as were fauourers of the kings proceedings, or which would reſiſt them. But firſt of al for the more ſpeedie rayſing of men, they deuiſed to burne beacons, and thereby to bring the people togither, as though it were to defende the Sea coaſts, and hauing the ignorant people aſſembled, then to poure out theyr poyſon, firſt beginning with the rudeſt and poreſt ſort, ſuche as they thought were pricked with pouertie, and were vnwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the ſpoyle of riche mens goodes; blaing into theyr heades, that Gods ſeruice was layde aſide, and newe inuentions neyther good nor godly put in place, and ſo feeding them with fayre promiſes, to reduce into the Church againe theyr olde ignorance and Idolatrie, thought by that meanes ſooneſt to allure them to rage and runne, with them in this commotion.

The deuice of the rebels how to compaſſe their purpoſe.

And furthermore, to the intent they woulde giue the more terror to the gentlemen at the firſt riſing, leaſt they ſhuld be reſiſted, they deuiſed that ſome ſhould be murthered in churches, ſome in their houſes, ſome in ſeruing the king in commiſſion, & other as they might be caught, and to picke quarels to thẽ by alteration of ſeruice on the holy dayes: and thus was the platforme caſt of theyr deuice, according as afterwarde by their cõfeſſion at their examinations was teſtified and remayneth in true record. Thus they being togither agreed, Ombler, and Dale, and others, by their ſecret appointment, ſo laboured the matter in the pariſh of Seymer, Wintringham, and the townes about, that they were infected with the poyſon of this confederacie, in ſuch ſort that it was eaſie to vnderſtande whereunto they woulde encline, if a Commotion were begonne, the accompliſhment whereof did ſhortly follow. For although by the wordes of one dronken felow of that conſpiracy named Caluerd, at the Alehouſe in Wintringham, ſome ſuſpition of that rebellion began, to be ſmelled before by the Lord Preſident and gentlemen of thoſe parties, & ſo preuented in that place, where the Rebels thought to beginne, yet they gaue not ouer ſo, but drewe to another place at Seamer by the Sea coaſt, and there by night rode to the Beacon at Staxton, and ſet it on fire, and ſo gathering togither a rude route of raſcals out of the townes neare about, being on a ſhue, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, haſted forthwith with the Rebelles to maiſter Whytes houſe to take him, who notwithſtanding being on horſebacke, minding to haue eſcaped their hands, Dale, Ombler, and the reſt of the Rebels tooke him, and Clopton his wiues brother, one Sauage a Marchant of Yorke, and one Berry ſeruant to ſir Walter Mildmay. Which foure without cauſe or quarell, ſauing to fulfill their ſeditious prophecie in ſome part, and to giue a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murthered, after they had caryed them one mile from Seymer towarde the Wolde, and there after they had ſtripped them of their clothes and purſes, left them naked behind them in the plaine fieldes for Crowes to feede on; vntill Whites wife and Sauages wife then at Seamer, cauſed them to be buryed.

Long it were and tedious to recite what reuell theſe Rebels kept in their raging madneſſe, who raunging about the Countrey from towne to towne, to enlarge their vngracious and rebellious bande, taking thoſe with force which were not willing to go, and leauing in no town where they came any man aboue the age of .xvj. yeares, ſo increaſed their number, that in ſhort time they had gathered three thouſand to fauour their wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered more had not the Lordes goodneſſe through prudent circumſpection of ſome interrupted the courſe of theyr furious beginning. For firſt came the kings gracious and free pardon, diſcharging and pardoning them and the reſt of the Rebelles, of all treaſons, murthers, felonies, and other offences done to his Maieſtie before the .xxj. of Auguſt. Anno. 1549. Whiche pardon althoughe Ombler contemptuouſly reading, perſiſting ſtil in his wilfull obſtinacie, diſſwaded alſo the reſt from the humble accepting of the kings ſo louing and liberall pardon, yet notwithſtanding wyth ſome it did good.

To make ſhorte, it was not long after this, but Ombler as hee was ryding from Towne to Towne, twelue myles from Hummanbie, to charge all the Conſtables and Inhabitaunts where he came, in the Kings name to reſort to Hummanbie: by the way hee was eſpyed, and by the circumſpect diligence of Iohn Worde the yonger, Iames Aſlabey, Rauſe Twinge, and Thomas Conſtable, Gentlemen

men he was had in chaſe, and at laſt by them apprehended, and brought in the nyght in ſure cuſtodie vnto the Citie of Yorke, to anſwere to his demerits.

e ap- the taken.

After whome within ſhort time, Thomas Dale, Henrie Batton, the firſt Chieftaines, and ringleaders of the former Commotion, whiche John Dale, Robert Wright, Williã Peacocke, Weatherell, and Edmonde Buttrie, buſie ſtyrrers in this ſedition, as they trauayled from place to place, to drawe people to theyr faction, were lykewiſe apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully conuicted, and laſtly executed at Yorke the xxj. of September. *Anno. 1549. ex Actis iudicij publici regiſtro exceptis & notatis.*

mes of rebels ta- d execu- Yorke.

Whileſt theſe wicked commotions and tumults through the rage of the vndiſcrete Commons were thus rayſed in ſundrie partes of the Realme, to the great hyndraunce of the common wealth, loſſe and daunger of euerye good and true ſubiect, ſundry wholſome and godly exhortations were publiſhed, to aduertiſe them of their duetie, and to lay before them theyr heynous offences, with the ſequele of the miſchiefes that neceſſarily folowed therof, the which if they ſhoulde conſider togyther, with the puniſhment that hanged ouer their heades, they myght eaſily be brought to repent theyr lewde begonne enterprices, and ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie. Among other of thoſe admonitions, one was penned and ſet forth by ſir John Cheeke, whiche I haue thought good here to inſert, as a neceſſarie diſcourſe for euerie good Engliſh ſubiect.

The hurt of ſedition how grieuous it is to a common wealth, ſet out by ſir Iohn Cheeke Knight. Anno. 1549.

The true ſubiect to the Rebell.

AMong ſo many and notable benefits, wherewith God hath alreadye liberally and plentifully endued vs, there is nothing more beneficiall, than that we haue by his grace, kept vs quiet frõ rebellion at this time. For we ſee ſuch miſeries, hang ouer the whole ſtate of the common welth, through the great miſorder of your ſedition, that it maketh vs much to reioyce, that we haue beene neither partners of your doings, nor conſpirers of your counſayles. For euen as the Lacedemonians for the auoyding of drunkenneſſe, did cauſe their ſonnes to beholde their ſeruants when they were drunke, that by beholding their beaſtlineſſe, they might auoyd the like vice, euen ſo hath God like a mercifull father ſtayed vs from your wickedneſſe, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might iuſtly for offence abhorre you like Rebels, whom elſe by nature we loue like Engliſhmen. And ſo for our ſelues we hau great cauſe to thanke God, by whoſe religion and holy worde dayly taught vs, we learne not only to feare him truly, but alſo to obey our king faithfully, and to ſerue in our owne vocation like ſubiects honeſtly. And as for you, wee haue ſurely iuſt cauſe to lament you as brethren, and yet iuſter cauſe to ryſe againſt you as enimies, and moſt iuſt cauſe to ouerthrow you as rebels. For what hurt could be done either to vs priuately, or to the whole common wealth generally, that is now with miſchief ſo brought in by you, that euen as we ſee now the flame of your rage, ſo ſhall we neceſſarily be conſumed hereafter with the miſerie of the ſame. Wherefore conſider your ſelues with ſome light of vnderſtanding, and marke this grieuous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilely committed, how heynous it muſt needes appeare to you, if ye will reaſonably conſider that whiche for my duties ſake, and my whole Countrys cauſe, I will at this preſent declare vnto you.

Ye which be bounde by Gods worde not to obey for feare lyke men pleaſers, but for conſcience ſake like Chriſtians, haue contrarie to Gods holy will, whoſe offence is euerlaſting death, and contrarie to the godly order of quietneſſe, ſet out to vs in the Kings Maieſties lawes, the breache whereof is not vnknowne to you, taken in hande vncalled of God, vnſent by men, vnfitte by reaſon, to caſte awaye your bounden duetyes of obedience, and to put on you agaynſte the Magiſtrates, Gods office committed to the Magiſtrates, for the reformation of your pretenſed iniuries.

In the which doing ye haue firſt faulted grieuouſly againſt God, next offended vnnaturally our ſoueraigne Lorde, thirdly troubled miſerablie the whole common wealth, vndone cruelly many an honeſt man, and brought in an vtter miſerie both to vs the Kings Subiectes, and to your ſelues being falſe Rebelles: and yet ye pretende that partly for Gods cauſe, and partly for the common welthes ſake, ye do ariſe, when as your ſelues cannot denie, but ye that ſeeke in worde gods cauſe, do breake in deed Gods commaundement, and ye that ſeeke the common wealth, haue deſtroyed the common wealth, and ſo ye marre that ye would make, and break that ye would amend, bycauſe ye neither ſeeke any thing rightly, nor would amend any thing orderly.

He that faulteth, faulteth agaynſt Gods ordinance, who hath forbidden all faultes, and therefore ought againe to be puniſhed by Gods ordinance, who is the reformer of faults. For he ſayth leaue the puniſhment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the Magiſtrate is the ordinaunce of God, appoynted by him with the ſworde of puniſhment, to looke ſtreightly to all euil doers. And therefore that that is done by the Magiſtrate, is done by the ordinance of God, whom the Scripture oftentymes doth call God, bycauſe he hath the execution of Gods office. Howe then do you take in hande to reforme? Be ye kings? By what authoritie? or by what ſucceſſion? Be ye ẏ kings officers? By what commiſſion? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods worde teacheth vs, that no man ſhould take in hand any office, but he that is called of God lyke Aaron. What Moyſes I pray you called you? What Gods Miniſter bade you riſe?

Ye riſe for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offred perſecution for religion, ye ought to flie, ſo Chriſt teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye woulde ſtande in the truth, ye ought to ſuffer like Martyrs, and you woulde ſley like tyrants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and neither will follow the counſaile of Chriſt, nor the conſtancie of Martyrs. Why riſe ye for religion? Haue ye any thing contrary to Gods booke? Yea, haue ye not al things agreeable to Gods worde? But the new is different from the old, and therefore ye will haue the olde. If ye meaſure the olde by truth, ye haue the oldeſt: if ye meaſure the olde by fancie, then it is harde, bycauſe mens fanſies chaungeth, to giue that is olde. Ye will haue the olde ſtill. Will ye haue any older than that as Chriſt left, and his Apoſtles taught, and the firſt Church after Chriſt did vſe? Ye will haue that the Canons doe eſtabliſh. Why that is a great deale yonger than that ye haue, of later tyme, and newlyer inuented. Yet that is it that ye deſire. Why, then ye deſire not the oldeſt. And doe you preferre the Biſhoppes of Rome afore Chriſt, mennes inuention afore Gods law, the newer ſort of worſhip before the older? Ye ſeeke no religion, ye be deceyued; ye ſeeke traditions. They that teach you, blinde you, that ſo inſtruct you, deceyue you. If ye ſeeke what the olde Doctors ſay, yet looke what Chriſt the oldeſt of all ſayth. For he ſayth before Abraham was made, I am. If ye ſeeke the trueſt way, he is the verye truth: if ye ſeeke the readieſt way, he is the verie way: if ye ſeeke euerlaſting life, he is the verye life. What religion would ye haue other nowe, than his religion?

You would haue the Bibles in againe. It is no maruaile, your blinde guides would leade you blind ſtil. Why, be ye Howlets and Backes, that ye cannot looke on the light? Chriſt ſayth to euerie one, ſearch ye the Scriptures, for they beare witneſſe of Chriſt. You ſay pull in the ſcriptures, for we wil haue no knowledge of Chriſt. The Apoſtles of Chriſt wil vs to be ſo readie, ẏ we may be able to giue euerie mā an account of our faith. Ye will vs not once to read the Scriptures, for feare of knowing of our faith. S. Paule prayeth that euerie man may encreaſe in knowledge, yee deſire that our knowledge might decay againe. A true Religion ye ſeeke belike, and worthie to be fought for. For without the ſworde indeede nothing can help it, neither Chriſt, nor truth, nor age can mainteyne it. But why ſhoulde ye not like that which Gods worde eſtabliſheth, the primatiue Church hath authoriſed, the greateſt lerned men of this Realme hath drawen, the whole conſent of the Parliament hath confirmed, the Kings Maieſtie hath ſet forth? Is it not truly ſet out? Can ye deuiſe any truer, than Chriſtes Apoſtles vſed? ye thinke it is not learnedly done, Dare ye Commons take vpon you more learning, than the choſen Biſhops and Clearkes of this Realme haue? Thinke ye follie in it? Ye were wōt to iudge your Parliamēt wiſeſt, & now wil ye ſudainly excell them in wiſedom? Or can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the King, the Parliament, the learned, the wiſe, haue iuſtly approued? Learne, learne, to knowe this one point of Religion, that God will be worſhipped as he hath preſcribed, & not as wee haue deuiſed, and that his will is wholye in his Scriptures, which be full of Gods ſpirite, and profitable to teach the truth, to reproue lyes, to amend faults, to bring one vp in righteouſneſſe, that he that is a Gods man may be perfite and readie to al good workes. What can bee more required to ſerue God withall? And thus muche for Religion Rebels.

The other rable of Norfolke Rebelles, ye pretende a common wealth. How amende ye it, by killing of Gentlemen, by ſpoyling of Gentlemen, by impriſoning of Gentlemen? A marueylous tanned commō welth. Why ſhould ye thus hate them, for their riches or for their rule? Rule they neuer tooke ſo much in hand, as ye doe now. They neuer reſiſted the king, neuer withſtood his counſail, be faithful at this day, when ye be faithleſſe, not onely to the King, whoſe Subiectes ye be, but alſo to your Lordes whoſe tenauntes ye be. Is this your true duetie, in ſome of homage, in moſt of fealtie, in all of allegeance, to leaue your duties, goe backe from your promiſes, fall from your fayth, and contrarie to lawe and truth, to make vnlawfull aſſemblyes, vngodly companies, wicked and deteſtable Campes, to diſobey your betters, & to obey your Tanners, to change your obedience from a King to a Ket, to ſubmit your ſelues to Traytours, and breake your faith to your true King and Lordes? They rule but by lawe, if otherwiſe, the Lawe, the Counſaile, the King, taketh away theyr rule. Ye haue orderly ſought no redreſſe, but yee haue in tyme founde it. In Countreys ſome muſt rule, ſome muſte obey, euerie man may not beare lyke ſtroke, for euerie man is not like wiſe. And they that haue ſeene moſt, and be beſt able to beare it, and of iuſt dealing beſide, be moſt fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderſtand a mans owne griefe, and to know the common wealthes ſore; and therefore not they that know their owne caſe, as euery man doth, but they that vnderſtand the common wealthes ſtate, ought to haue in Countreys, the preferment of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioyned with gouernance, as yee ſee, and like the honour, ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the Kings Maieſtie committed vnto you, it were wel done ye had ruled the Gentlemen, but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinke the Kings Maieſtie fooliſh and vniuſt, that hath giuen certaine rule to them. And ſeeing by the ſcripture, ye ought not to ſpeake euill of any Magiſtrate of the people, why do ye not only ſpeake euil of them whom the kings Maieſtie hath put in office, but alſo iudge euill of the king himſelfe, and thus ſeditiouſly in field, ſtand with your ſword drawen againſt him?

If riches offende you, becauſe ye would haue the like, then thinke that to be no common wealth, but enuie to the common wealth. Enuie it is to appayre another mans eſtate, without the amendment of your owne. And to haue no Gentlemen, becauſe ye be none your ſelues, is to bring downe an eſtate, and to mende none. Woulde ye haue all alike riche? That is the ouerthrow of labour, and vtter decay of worke in this Realme.

For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the ydle ſhall by luſt without right take what him luſt from him, vnder pretence of equalitie wyth hym. This is the bringing in of ydleneſſe, whiche deſtroyeth the common wealth, and not the amendment of labour, that mainteyneth the common wealth. If there ſhoulde be ſuch equalitie, then ye take awaye all hope away from yours, to come to any better eſtate than you nowe leaue them. And as many meane mennes children commeth honeſtlye vp, and is great ſuccour to all theyr ſtocke, ſo ſhoulde none bee hereafter holpen by you, but becauſe yee ſeeke equalitie, whereby all can not bee riche, ye woulde that belyke, whereby euerye man ſhoulde be poore. And thinke beſyde that riches and inheritaunce be Gods prouidence, and geuen to whome of his wiſedome hee thinketh good. To the honeſt for the encreaſe of theyr godlineſſe, to the wicked for the heaping vp of theyr damnation, to the ſimple for a recompence of other lackes, to the wiſe for the greater ſetting out of gods goodneſſe. Why will your wiſedome now ſtop Gods wiſedome, and prouide by youre lawes, that God ſhall not enrich them, whom he hath by prouidence appointed as him liketh? God hath made the poore, and hath made them to bee poore, that he might ſhew his might, and ſet them aloft when he liſteth, for ſuch cauſe as to him ſeemeth, and plucke downe the rich, to this ſtate of pouertie his power, as he diſpoſeth to alter them. Why do not we then being poore beare it wiſely rather than by luſt ſeeke riches vnlawfully, and ſhew our ſelues contented with gods ordinance, which we muſt either willingly obey, and then wee be wiſe, or els we muſt vnprofitably ſtriue withall, and then we be mad? But what meane ye by this equalitie in the common wealth? If one bee wiſer than another, will yee baniſh him, becauſe yee intrude an equalitie of all things? If one bee ſtronger than another, will ye ſlay him becauſe ye ſeeke an equalitie of all things? If one be wel fauoureder than another, will ye puniſh him becauſe ye looke for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better vtterance than another, will ye pull out his tongue to ſaue your equalitie? And if one be richer than another, will ye ſpoyle him to maintaine an equalitie? If one be elder than another, will ye kill him for this equalities ſake? Howe iniurious are ye to God himſelfe, who intendeth to beſtow his giftes as hee himſelfe lyſteth, and yee ſeeke by wicked inſurrections to make him giue them commonly alike to al men, as your vaine fanſie lyketh? Why woulde ye haue an equalitie in ryches, and in other gyftes of God? there is no meane ſought. Either by ambition ye ſeeke Lordlyneſſe much vnfitte for you, or by couetouſneſſe yee bee vnſatiable, a thing likely ynough in ye, or elſe by folly ye bee not content with your eſtate, a fanſie to bee plucked out of you. But and we being wearie of pouertie woulde ſeeke to enriche oure ſelues, wee ſhoulde go a farre other way to worke than this, and ſo ſhoulde wee rightly come to oure deſyre. Doeth not Saint Peter teache vs afore God a right way to honour, to riches, to all neceſſarie and profitable things for vs? He ſayeth, humble your ſelues, that God might exalt you, and caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth, the waye to all good things at Gods hand, is to be humble, and you exalt your ſelues. Ye ſeeke things after ſuch a ſort, as if the ſeruant ſhould anger his maiſter, when he ſeeketh to haue a good turne on him. Ye woulde haue ryches I thinke, at Gods hande who giueth all riches, and yet yee take the waye cleane contrarie to riches. Knowe ye not that he that exalteth himſelfe, God will throwe him downe? Howe can yee get it then, by thus ſetting out your ſelues? Ye ſhoulde ſubmit ye by humilitie one to another, and ye ſet vp your ſelues by arrogancie aboue the Magiſtrates. See herein howe much ye offende God. Remember ye not that if ye come nigh to god, he will come nigh vnto you? If then ye goe from

God, he will go from you. Doth not the Pſalm ſay, he is holy with the holy, and with the wicked man he is frowarde. Euen as he is ordered of men, he will order them againe. If ye woulde follow his will, and obey his commaundements, ye ſhould eate the fruites of the earth, ſayth the Prophet, if not, the ſworde ſhall deuour you. Ye might haue eaten the fruites of this ſeaſonable yeare, if yee had not by diſobedience rebelled againſt God. Now not onely ye cannot eate that which your ſelues did firſt ſow by labor, and now deſtroy by ſedition, but alſo if the kings Maieſties ſworde came not againſt you, as iuſt policie requireth, yet the iuſt vengeaunce of God woulde light among you, as his worde pronounceth, and your cruell wickedneſſe deſerueth.

For what ſoeuer the cauſes bee, that haue moued your wilde affections herein, as they bee vniuſt cauſes, and increaſe your faults much, the thing it ſelfe, the ryſing I meane, muſt needes be wicked and horrible afore God, and the vſurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the ſitting in Gods ſeate of iuſtice, and a proude clymming vp into Gods high throne, muſt needes be not onely curſed newly by him, but alſo hath beene often puniſhed afore of him. And that which is done to Gods officer, God accounteth it done to him. For they deſpiſe not the Miniſter as he ſayth himſelfe, but they deſpiſe him, and that preſumption of challenging Gods ſeat, doth ſhew you to haue beene Luciferous, and ſheweth vs that God will puniſh you like Lucifers. Wherefore rightly looke, as ye duely haue deſerued, either for great vengeance, for your abhominable tranſgreſſion, or elſe earneſtly repent, with vnfeyned mindes, your wicked doings, and either wyth example of death bee content to dehorte other, or elſe by faythfulneſſe of obedience, declare howe great a ſeruice it is to God, to obey your Magiſtrates faythfully, and to ſerue in ſubiection truly.

Well, if ye had not thus grieuouſly offended God, whome ye ought to worſhip, what can ye reaſonably thinke it, to be no fault agaynſt the king, whome ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods worde to obey your King, and is it no breake of ductie to withſtand your King? If the ſeruaunt be bounde to obey his maiſter in the family, is not the ſubiect bound to ſerue the King in his Realme? The childe is bounde to the priuate father, & be we not all bound to the common wealthes father? If we ought to be ſubiect to the King for Gods cauſe, ought we not then I pray you to be faythfully ſubiect to the king? If wee ought dutifully to ſhew all obedience to heathen kings, ſhall we not willingly and truly be ſubiect to Chriſtian kings? If one ought to ſubmit him ſelfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be ſubiect to our king? If the members of our naturall bodie all follow the head, ſhall not the members of the politicall bodie all obey the king? If good maners be content to giue place, the lower to the higher, ſhall not religion teache vs alway to giue place to the higheſt? If true ſubiects will die gladly in the kings ſeruice, ſhould not all ſubiects thinke it dutie to obey the King with iuſt ſeruice? But you haue not onely diſobeyed like ill ſubiects, but alſo taken ſtoutly rule vpon you like wicked Magiſtrates. Ye haue bene called to obedience, by counſaile of priuate men, by the aduiſe of the kings Maieſties Counſaile, by the Kings Maieſties free pardon; but what counſaile taketh place, where ſturdineſſe is lawe, and churliſhe anſwers bee counted wiſedome? Who can perſwade where treaſon is aboue reaſon, and might ruleth ryght, and it is had for lawfull whatſoeuer is luſtfull, and commotioners are better than Commiſſioners, and common wo is named common wealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, diſobeyed his Counſaile, rebelled agaynſt him? And what is the common wealth worth, when the lawe which is indifferent for all men, ſhall be wilfully and ſpitefully broken of headſtrong men, that ſeeke agaynſt lawes to order lawes, that thoſe may take place, not what the conſent of wiſe men hath appoynted, but what the luſte of Rebelles hath determined? What vnthriftineſſe is in yll ſeruaunts, wickedneſſe in vnnaturall children, ſturdineſſe in vnrulye ſubiectes, crueltie in fierce enimies, wilfulneſſe in beaſtly mindes, pryde in diſdainfull heartes, that floweth nowe in you, which haue fledde from houſes to conſpiracies, to encamped robberies, and are better contented to ſuffer famin, colde, trauayle, to glut your luſtes, than to liue in quietneſſe, to ſaue the common wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulneſſe, than wiſedome in dutiefulneſſe, and ſo runne headlong not to the miſchiefe of other, but to the deſtruction of your ſelues, and vndoe by follie that yee intende by miſchiefe, neyther ſeeing howe to remedie that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to ſaue your ſelues from miſerie, which wickedneſſe cannot doe, but honeſtie of obedience muſt frame.

If authoritie woulde ſerue vnder a King, the counſayle haue greateſt authoritie, if wiſedome and grauitie might take place, they bee of moſte experience, if knowledge of the common wealth coulde helpe, they muſt by dayly conference of matters vnderſtande it beſt, yet neither the authoritie that the kings Maieſtie hath giuen them, nor the grauitie which you knowe to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauaill they haue gotten, can moue ye eyther to kepe you in the dutie ye ought to doe, or to auoyde the great diſorder wherein ye be. For where diſobedience is thought ſtoutneſſe, and ſullenneſſe is counted manhoode, and ſtomaking is courage, and prating is iudged wyſedome, and the ciuiſheſt is moſt meete to rule, howe can other iuſt authoritie be obeied, or ſad counſaile be folowed, or good knowledge of matters be hearde, or commaundements of counſailours bee conſidered? And how is the King obeied, whoſe wiſeſt bee withſtanded, the diſobedienteſt obeyed, the high in authoritie not waied, the vnſkilfulleſt made chiefe Captaines, to the nobleſt moſt hurte intended, the braggingeſt brawler to be moſt ſafe. And euen as the viler partes of the bodie, wold contende in knowledge and gouernment with the fiue wittes, ſo doth the lower partes of the common wealth, enterpriſe as highe a matter, to ſtryue agaynſte their duetye of obedyence to the counſaille.

But what talke I of diſobedience ſo quietly, hath not ſuche mad rages runne in youre heades, that forſaking and bruſtyng the quietneſſe of the common peace, ye haue haynouſlye and Traiterouſly encamped your ſelfe in field, and there like a byle in a bodie, hap like a ſinke in a Town, haue gathered togither all the naſtie vagabondes, and ydle loyterers to beare armour againſte him, with whom all godly and good ſubiectes will liue and dye withall. If it be a faulte when two fight togither, and the kings peace broken, & puniſhment to be ſought therefore, can it be but an outragious and a deteſtable miſchiefe, when ſo many Rebelles in number, malicious in minde, miſchieuous in enterpriſe, fight not among themſelues, but againſt al the kings true and obedient ſubiectes, and ſeeke to proue whether rebellion maye beate downe honeſtie, and wickedneſſe may ouercome truth or no? If it be treaſon to ſpeake haynouſlye of the kings maieſtie, who is not hurt therby, and the infamye retourneth to the ſpeaker againe, what kinde of outragious and horrible treaſon is it, to aſſemble in camp an armie againſt him, and ſo not onely intende an ouerthrow to him, and alſo to his common welth, but alſo to caſt him into an infamie, through all outward and ſtrange nations, and perſwade them that he is hated of his people, whom he can not rule, and that they bee no better than villaines, whyche will not wyth good orders bee ruled. What deathe can bee deuiſed cruell ynoughe for thoſe rebelles, who with trouble ſeeketh deathe, and can not quenche the thirſt of their rebellion, but with the bloude of true Subiectes, and hatethe the Kinges mercifull pardon, when they miſerablye haue tranſgreſſed, and in ſuch an outrage of myſchyefe, wyll not by ſtubburneneſſe acknowledge themſelues to haue faulted, but entendeth to ſpoile the common welth with the flame of their treaſon, and as much as lyeth in them, not onely to anoy themſelues, but to deſtroye all other. He that is miſcontented wyth thinges that happen, and bycauſe hee can not beare the miſerie of them, renteth hys heare, and teareth his ſkinne, and mangleth his face, whiche eaſeth not his ſorrowe, but encreaſeth hys miſerie, maye hee not bee iuſtely called madde and fantaſticall, and worthie whoſe wiſedome ſhoulde be ſuſpected? And what ſhall we ſay of them, who beeing in the common wealth, feeling a ſore grieuous vnto thē, and eaſie to haue bin amended, ſought not the remedy, but hathe increaſed the griefe, and like frantick beaſts raging againſt their heade, doth teare & deface as muche as lyeth in them, his whole authoritie in gouernment, and violently taketh to themſelues that rule on them, whiche hee by pollicie hathe graunted vnto other. And who waying well the heauineſſe of the faulte, maye not iuſtelye ſaye and holde, them to bee worſe herein than anye kinde of brute Beaſtes. For wee ſee that the ſheepe wyll obey the Sheepehearde, and the nete bee ruled by the Neteheard, and the horſe will knowe his keeper, and the Dogge will be in awe of his Maiſter, and euery one of them feede there, and of that, as hys keeper and ruler dothe appoint hym, and goeth from thence, and that, as hee is forbidden by his ruler. And yet wee haue not hearde of, that anye hearde or companye of theſe, haue ryſen agaynſte their heardman or gouernour, but bee alwayes contented not onely to obey them, but alſo to ſuffer them to take profite of them. And wee ſee furthermore that all heardes and all ſortes, bee more egre in fierceneſſe agaynſte all kynde of ſtraungers, than they bee againe their owne rulers, and wyll eaſier offende hym who hathe not hurte them, than touche their ruler who ſeeketh profite on them. But yee that oughte to bee gouerned by youre Magiſtrates, as the heardes by the heardeman, and ought to be like ſhepe to your king, who ought to be like a ſhepehearde vnto you, euen in the time when youre profite was ſought, and better redreſſe was entended, than youre vpſtirres and vnquietneſſe coulde obtaine, haue beyonde the crueltie of all beaſts, fouly riſen againſt your ruler, & ſhewed your ſelues worthy to be ordred like beaſtes, who in kynde of obedyence wyll fall from the ſtate of men. A Dogge ſtoupeth when hee hys beaten of his maiſter, not for lacke of ſtomack, but for naturall obedience: you beeing not ſtriken of your head but fauoured, not kept down, but ſuccoured, and remedyed by lawe, haue violentlye agaynſte Lawe, not onely barked like beaſts, but alſo bitten like helhoundes.

What is the miſchiefe of ſedition, eyther not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue not examples aforetimes, both told the ende of rebels, & the wickedneſſe of rebellion it ſelfe? But as for old examples, let them paſſe for a whyle, as things wel to be conſidered, but at this preſent one thing more to be wayed. Loke vpon your ſelues, after ye haue wickedly ſtepte into this horrible kind of treaſon, do ye not ſee how many bottomleſſe whirlepooles of miſchief ye be goulfft withall, and what lothſome kyndes of rebellion ye be fayne to wade thorowe?

Ye haue ſent out in the kings name, againſt the kings will, precepts of all kinds, and without commaundemente, commaunded his ſubiects, and vnrulyly haue ruled, where ye liſted to commaund, thinking your owne fanſies, the kings commaundements, and rebelles luſts in things, to be right gouernement of things, not looking what ſhuld folow by reaſon, but what your ſelues followe by affection. And is it not a daungerous and a cruell kynde of treaſon, to giue out preceptes to the kinges people? There can be no iuſte execution of lawes, reformation of faultes, gyuyng oute of commaundementes, but from the Kyng. For in the Kyng onely is the ryghte hereof, and the authoritie of him deriued by his appointment to his miniſters. Ye hauyng no authoritie of the Kyng, but takyng it of your ſelues, what thynke ye your ſelues to be? Miniſters ye bee none, except ye be the Deuils miniſters, for hee is the authour of ſedition. The Kings Maieſtie intendeth to maynteyne peace, and to oppreſſe warre, ye ſtirre vp vprores of people, hurlyeburlies of vagabundes, routes of robbers, is this any part of the kings miniſterie? If a vacabunde woulde doe what him luſt, and call himſelfe your ſeruaunt, and execute ſuche offices of truſt, whether ye would or no, as ye haue committed to an other mans credit, what wold euery one of you ſay or doe herein? Would ye ſuffer it? Ye wāder out of houſes, ye make euery day newe matters as it pleaſeth you, ye take in hande the execution of thoſe things, God by his word forbidding the ſame, which God hath put the Magiſtrates in truſte withall. What can ye ſaye to this? Is it ſufferable think ye? If ye told a priuate meſſage in an other mans name, can it be but a falſe lye I praye ye? And to tell a fayned meſſage to the common welth, and that from the kyng, can it be honeſt thinke ye? To commaunde is more than to ſpeake, what is it then to commaunde ſo trayterous a lye? This then whiche is in worde a deceytfull lye, and in deed a trayterous fact, noyſome to the common welth, vnhonorable to the Kyng, miſchieuous in you, howe can you otherwyſe iudge of it, but to be an vnhearde of, and notable diſobedience to the king, & therfore by notable example to bee puniſhed, and not wyth gentleneſſe of pardon to be forgiuen.

Ye haue robbed euery honeſt houſe, and ſpoiled them vniuſtly, and pitteouſly wrong pore men being no offenders, to their vtter vndoing, and yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings Lawes. The Kings Maieſties lawe and hys commaundemente is, that euery man ſhoulde ſafely keepe his owne, and vſe it reaſonably to an honeſt gayn of his liuing. Ye violently take and carrie away from men without cauſe, all things wherby they ſhould maynteyn, not onely themſelues, but alſo their familie, and leaue them ſo naked, that they ſhall feele the ſmarte of your curſed enterpriſe, longer thā your own vnnaturall and vngodly ſtomackes would wel vouchſafe. By iuſtice ye ſhoulde neither hurt, nor wrong man, and your pretenſed cauſe of thys monſtrous ſturre, is to encreaſe mennes wealth. And yet howe many, and ſaye truth, haue ye decayed and vndone, by ſpoyling and taking awaye their goods? How ſhould honeſt men liue quietly in the Common welth at any time, if their goods either gotten by their owne labour, or left to them by their frends, ſhall vnlawfully and vnorderly to the feeding of a ſort of rebelles, be ſpoyled and waſted, and vtterly ſcattred abrode? The thing ye take, is not your right, it is an other mans owne. The maner of taking againſt his will, is vnlawfull, & againſt the order of euery good common wealth. The cauſe why ye take it, is miſchieuous and horrible, to fat your ſedition. Ye that take it, be wicked traitors, and cōmon enimies of al good order. If he that deſireth an other mans goodes or cattell doe fault, what dothe he thinke you, whoſe deſire taking followeth, and is ledde to and fro by luſte, as his wicked fanſye voyde of reaſon doth guyde him? He that vſeth not his owne well and charitably, hath muche to anſwere for, and ſhall they be thought not vniuſt, who not onely take away other mens, but alſo miſuſe and waſt the ſame vngodly? They that take things priuyly awaye, and ſteale ſecretely and couertely other mens goodes, be by Lawe iudged worthye deathe. And ſhall they that without ſhame ſpoyle thyngs openly, and bee not afeard by impudēcie to profeſſe their ſpoyle bee thoughte either honeſt creatures to God, or faithful ſubiects to their Kyng, or natural men to their Countrey? If nothing hadde moued you but the example of miſchiefe, and the fowle practiſe of other moued by the ſame, ye ſhoulde yet haue abſteyned from ſo licencious and villanous a ſhewe of robberie, conſydering how manye honeſter there bee, that beyng loth their wickedneſſe ſhoulde be blazed abroade, yet bee founde out by prouidence, and hanged for deſerte. What ſhall we then think or ſay of you? Shall we call you pickers, or hid theeues, nay more than theeues, day theeues, heard ſtealers, ſhire ſpoylers, & vtter deſtroyers of all kinds of families, both among the poore, & alſo among the riche. Let vs yet further ſee, is there no mo thynges, wherein yee haue broken the Kings lawes, and ſo vylie diſobeyed hym, contrarie to your bounden duetie.

Ye haue not onely ſpoyled the Kyngs true ſubiectes of their goodes, but alſo ye haue impriſoned their bodies, which ſhould be at libertie vnder the King, and reſtrayned them of their ſeruice, which by dutie they owe the kyng, and appaired both ſtrength and health, wherewith they liue and ſerue the King. Is there any honeſt thyng more deſired than libertie? ye haue ſhamefully ſpoyled them therof. Is there anye thing more dutifull than to ſerue their Lorde and maiſter? But as that was deſerued of the one parte, ſo was it hindered and ſtopped on your part. For neither can the King be ſerued, nor families kepte, nor the Common wealth loked vnto, where freedome of libertie is ſtopped, and diligence of ſeruice is hindered, and the helpe of ſtrength and health abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage and crueltie, and only in this realme be ſubiect in publike puniſhment, to oure publike gouernour, and neither be touched of headleſſe Captains, nor holden of brainleſſe rebels. For the gouernement of ſo precious a thing, ought to belong vnto the moſt noble ruler, and not iuſtly to be in euery mans power, which is iuſtly euery liuing mans treſure. For what goodes be ſo deare to euerye man, as his owne bodye is, whiche is the true veſſell of the mynde to bee meaſurably kept of euery man, for all exerciſes and ſeruices of the mynde. If ye maye not of your own authoritie, meddle with mēs goods, muche leſſe you may of your owne authoritie take order with mens bodies. For what be goodes in compariſon of helth, libertie & ſtrength, whiche bee all ſettled and faſned in the body. They that ſtrike other, doe greatly offend, and be iuſtly puniſhable. And ſhall they that cruelly and wrongfully tormente mennes bodyes with yrons, and impriſonmentes, be thought not of other, but of them ſelues honeſte, and playne, and true dealyng men? What ſhall we ſay by them who in a priuate buſineſſe, wil let a man to goe hys iourney in the kings high way? Doe they not thinke ye playne wrong? Then in a common cauſe not onely to hynder them, but alſo to deale cruelly with them, and ſhutte them from doyng their ſeruice to the King, and their duetie to the common wealth, is it not bothe diſobedience, crueltie, and miſchiefe thinke ye? What an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt, any iewel appaired, or any eſteemed thing to be decayed? And ſeing no earthly thing a man hath more precious than his bodie, to cauſe it to bee cruelly tormented with yrons, feebled with colde, weakened with ordering, can it be thought any other thing but wrong to the ſufferer, crueltie in the doer, and great diſobedience & tranſgreſſion to the king? Howe then be ye able to defend it? But ſeing ye ſo vnlawfully hurte men, caſte them in priſon, lade them wyth yrons, pyne them with famine, contrary to the rule of nature, contrarye to the Kynges Maieſties Lawes, contrarye to Gods holy ordinaunces, hauing no matter, but pretenced and fayned gloſes, ye be not only diſobedient to the king lyke rebels, but withſtanding the lawe of nature like beaſtes, and ſo worthy to die lyke Dogges, except the kings Maieſtie, without reſpect of your deſeruing, doe mercifully graunt you of his goodneſſe, that as you cannot eſcape by Iuſtice.

Yet ye being not content with this, as ſmall things enterpriſe great matters, and as though ye coulde not ſatiſfye your ſelfe, if yee ſhoulde leaue any miſchiefe vndone, haue ſought bloud with crueltie, & haue ſlayn of ÿ kings true ſubiectes many, thinkyng their murder to be your defence, when as ye haue encreaſed the faulte of your vile Rebellion, wyth the horroure of bloudſhead, and ſo haue burdened miſchiefe, wyth miſchiefe, whyle it come to an importable weight of myſchiefe. What coulde we doe more, in the horribleſt kynde of faultes, to the greateſt tranſgreſſours and offendoures of God and men, than to loke ſtraightly on them by death, and ſo to ridde them out of the common wealth by ſeuere puniſhment, whome ye thought vnworthie to liue among menne for their doings. And thoſe who haue not offended the King, but defended hys Realme, and by obedience of ſeruice, ſoughte to puniſhe the diſobedient, and for ſafegarde of euerie man, putte them ſelues vnder duetie of Law, thoſe haue ye myſerably and cruelly ſlayne, and bathed you in theyr bloud, whoſe doynges ye ſhoulde haue followed, and ſo haue appayred the common welth, both by deſtruction of good men, and alſo by increaſe of rebels. And howe can that common welth by any means endure, wherein euery mā without authoritie, may vnpuniſhed, ſlea whome he liſt, and that in ſuche caſe as thoſe who be ſlaine, ſhewe themſelues moſt noble of courage, and moſt ready to ſerue the king and the common wealth, and thoſe as doe ſlea, be moſt villanous & traiterous rebelles that any common wealth did euer ſuſteyn. For a Citie and a Prouince be not the faire houſes, and the ſtrong walles, nor the defence of anye engin, but the liuing bodies of men, being able in number & ſtrength, to mainteyn themſelues by good order of iuſtice, and to ſerue for all neceſſary & behouable vſes in the cōmon wealth. And when as mans bodie being a parte of the whole cōmon welth, is wrongfully touched any way, & ſpecially by death, then ſuffereth the cōmon welth great iniurie, and that alway ſo much the more, how honeſter and nobler he is, who is iniuriouſly murdered. Howe was the Lord Sheffilde handled among you, a noble gentleman, and of good ſeruice, both fit for coūſel in peace, & for conduict in warre, conſidering either the grauitie of his wiſedome, or the authoritie of his perſon, or his ſeruice to the common welth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of ſuche, or amōg many notably good, his ſingular excellencie, or the fauour ỹ all men bare toward him, being loued of euery man, & hated of no man. Conſidered ye, who ſhould by duetie be the kings ſubiects, either how ye ſhoulde not haue offended the king, or after offence haue required the kings pardon, or not to haue refuſed his goodneſſe offred, or at length to haue yelded to hys mercie, or not to haue ſlain thoſe who came for his ſeruice, or to haue ſpared thoſe, who in dāger offred ranſom. But al theſe things forgotten by rage of rebellion; bycauſe one madneſſe cannot be without infinite vices, ye ſlewe him cruellye, who offered himſelfe manfully, nor woulde not ſpare for raunſome, who was worthy for nobleneſſe, to haue had honour, & hewed him bare, whome ye could not hurt armed, and by ſlauerie ſlewe nobilitie, in deede miſerably, in faſhiō cruelly, in cauſe diuelliſhly. Oh with what cruell ſpite was violently ſundred, ſo noble a body frō ſo godly a mind? Whoſe death muſt rather be reuenged than lamented, whoſe death was no lacke to himſelfe, but to his countrey, whoſe death might euery way bin better borne, than at a rebelles hande. Violence is in all thinges hurtfull, but in life horrible. What ſhould I ſpeak of others in the ſame caſe, diuers and notable, whoſe death for manhood and ſeruice, can wāt no worthy praiſe ſo long as theſe vgly ſtirrers of rebellion can be had in mynd, God hath himſelf ioyned mās bodie and his ſoule togither, not to be departed aſunder, afore he eyther diſſeuer them hymſelfe, or cauſe them to be diſſeuered by his miniſter. And ſhal rebels and heedleſſe camps, being armed againſt God, and in fielde againſt theyr King, thinke it no fault to ſhead bloud of true ſubiects, hauing neither office of God, nor appointment of miniſters, nor iuſt cauſe of rebellion? He that ſtealeth any part of a mans ſubſtance, is worthy to loſe his life. What ſhal we thinke of them, who ſpoyle men of their lyues, for the mayntenāce whereof, not only ſubſtance and riches be ſought for, but also all common welths be deuiſed? No wthen, your own conſciences ſhould be made your iudges and none other ſet to giue ſentence againſt yee, ſeing ye haue bin ſuche bloudſheaders, ſo heynous manquellers, ſo horrible murderers, could ye do any other than playnely confeſſe your foule & wicked rebellion to be greuous againſt god, & traiterous to the king, and hurtfull to the cōmon wealth? So many grieuous faults meetyng togither in one ſinke, might not onely haue diſcoraged, but alſo driuen to deſperation, any other honeſt or indifferent mind. But what fele they, whoſe harts ſo depe miſchief hath hardened, & by vehemencie of affection be made vnſhamefaſt, and ſtop al diſcourſe of reaſon, to let at large the ful ſcope of their vnmeaſurable madneſſe. Priuate mens goods ſemeth litle to your vnſatiable deſires, ye haue waxed greedy now vppon Cities, and haue attempted myghtye ſpoyles, to glut vp and ye could your waſting hunger. Oh howe muche haue they neede of, that will neuer bee contented, and what riches can ſuffiſe any that will attempt high enterpriſes aboue their eſtate? Ye could not mainteyne your campes wyth your priuate goodes, wyth your neyghbours portion, but ye muſt alſo attempt Cities, bicauſe ye ſought great ſpoyles, with other mens loſſes, and had forgotten how ye liued at home honeſtly with your owne, and thought them worthie death that wold diſquiet ye in your houſe, and plucke away that whiche ye by right of lawe thoughte to be your owne. Herein ſee what ye woulde haue done, ſpoyled the Kinges Maieſties Subiectes, weakened the kings ſtrength, ouerthrowne his Townes, taken away his munition, drawne his ſubiectes to like rebellion, yea and as it is among foreyne enimies in ſackyng of Cities, no doubt thereof, ye woulde haue fallen to ſlaughter of menne, rauiſhyng of Wyues, deflouryng of Maydens, choppyng of chyldren, fyeryng of houſes, beatyng downe of ſtretes, ouerthrowyng of altogyther. For what meaſure haue men in the increaſe of madneſſe, when they can not at the beginning ſtay themſelues from fallyng into it. And if the beſetting of one houſe to robbe it, bee iuſtly deemed worthye deathe, what ſhall wee thynke of them that beſiege whole Cities for deſire of ſpoyle? Wee lyue vnder a king to ſerue hym at all tymes, when he ſhall neede our ſtrength, and ſhall ye then not onely withdraw your ſelues, whiche ought as much to be obedient as we be, but alſo violently plucke other away too, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commaundement, all ſubiectes be ſtraightly bound, and by al lawes euery nation is naturally led? The townes be not only the ornament of the realme, but alſo the ſeat of merchauntes, the place of handycrafts, that men ſcattered in villages, and needyng diuers thynges, maye in little roome knowe, where to fynde their lacke. To ouerthrowe them then, is nothyng elſe but to waſte youre owne commodities ſo, that when ye woulde buye a neceſſarie thyng for money, yet coulde not tell where to fynde it. Munition ſerueth the King, not only for the defence of his owne, but alſo for the inuaſion of his enimiſe. And if ye will then ſo ſtraightly deale with him, that ye wyll not lette hym ſo muche as defend his owne, ye offer him double iniurie, both that yee let him from doing any notable fact abroade, and alſo that ye ſuffer not him quietly to enioy his owne at home. But herein hathe notably appeared, what Cities hath faithfully ſerued and ſuffered extreme daunger, not onely of goodes but alſo of famine, and death, rather than to ſuffer the kinges enimies to enter, and what whyte liuered Cities hath not onely not withſtande them, but alſo with ſhame fauored them, and with miſchiefe ayded them. And I woulde I might prayſe herein all Cities alyke, whiche I woulde doe, if all were lyke worthie. For then I might ſhewe more faithe in ſubiectes, than ſtrength in rebels, and teſtifie to menne to come, what a generall faith euery Citie bare to ẏ kings Maieſtie, whoſe age although it were not fitte to rule, yet his ſubiectes heartes were willing to obey, thinking not only of his hope, which all men conceyue hereafter to be in him, but alſo of the iuſte kynde of gouernement, whyche in hys minoritie his Counſaile dothe vſe among them. And heere, howe muche and howe worthily may Exceter be commended, whiche beyng in the middeſt of rebelles, vnuittayled, vnfurniſhed, vnprepared for ſo long a ſiege, did nobly holde oute the continuall and daungerous aſſaulte of the Rebell, for they ſuſteyned the violence of the Rebell, not only when they had plentie inough of vittuall, but alſo eleuen or. xij. dayes after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread, were in courage ſo manfull, and in duetie ſo conſtant, that they thoughte it yet muche better, to dye the extreme death of hunger, ſhewyng truth to their Kyng, and loue to their Countrey, than to gyue anye place to the rebell, and fauoure hym with ayde, although they myght haue done it with their leſſe daunger. Whoſe example if Norwiche hadde followed, and hadde not rather gyuen place to traytor Ket, than to kepe their duetie, & had not ſought more ſafegarde than honeſtie, and priuate hope more than common quietneſſe, they had ended their rebellion ſooner, & eſcaped themſelues better, and ſaued the loſſe of the worthie Lord Sheffielde, in whom [illegible] was more true ſeruice for his lyfe, than in their [illegible] their goodes. And althoughe this can not be ſayd againſt certain honeſt that were amongſt them, whoſe prayſe was the greater, bicauſe they were ſo fewe, yet the greate number was ſuche, that they not only obeyed the Rebell for feare, but alſo followed him for loue, and did ſo traiterouſly order the kings bande vnder my Lord Marqueſſe, that they ſuffred more damage out of their houſes by the Townes men, than they did abroade by the Rebelles. Whoſe faulte as the kings maieſtie may pardon, ſo I would either the example might be forgotten, that no citie might hereafter folowe ẏ like, or the deed be ſo abhorred, that other hereafter would auoyde the lyke ſhame, and lerne to be noble by Exceter, whoſe truth dothe not only deſerue long prayſes, but alſo great rewarde.

Who then that wolde willingly defend ye, can ſay any thing for ye, which haue ſo diuerſly faulted, ſo trayterouſly offended, not onely againſt priuate men ſeuerally, but alſo generally againſt whole townes, and that after ſuch a ſort, as outward enimies full of deadly fende, coulde not more cruelly inuade them. And thus the Kyngs maieſtie diſhonoured, his Counſell diſobeyed, the goodes of the poore ſpoyled, the houſes of the wealthie ſacked, honeſt mennes bodies impriſoned, worthie mennes perſonages ſlayne, Cities beſieged and threatened, and all kynde of things diſordered, can ye without teares and repentaunce heare ſpoken off, whiche without honeſtie and godlineſſe ye practiſed, and not fynde in your heartes nowe to returne to duetie, which by witchcraft of ſedition, were drowned in diſorder? Haue ye not in diſorder firſt greuouſly offended God, next traiterouſly riſen againſt your king, & ſo neither worthie euerlaſting life, as long as ye ſo remain, nor yet ciuill life, being in ſuch a breach of cōmon quietneſſe. If euery one of theſe cannot by themſelues, pluck you backe from this your lewde and outragious enterpriſes, yet let them altogether ſtir ye, or at leaſt be a fearfull example to other, to beware by youre vnmeaſurable folie, how they do ſo far prouoke God, or offende man, and finde by your miſtemper to be themſelues better ordered, and learne ſtill to obeye, bycauſe they woulde not repente, and ſo to liue with honeſtie, that they woulde neither willinglye offend Gods Lawe, nor diſobey mans.

But and ye were ſo muche bleared, that you did thinke impoſſible things, and your reaſon gaue ye agaynſt all reaſon, that ye neyther diſpleaſed God herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye ſo blynde, that ye vnderſtande not youre owne caſe, nor yet your neighbors myſerie, nor the ruine of the whole common wealth, whyche doth neceſſarily folowe your ſo fowle and beaſtly ſedition? Doe yee not ſee howe for the mayntenaunce of theſe vngodly rablementes, not only Cities and Villages, but alſo Shires and Countreys be vtterly deſtroyed? Is not their corne waſted, their cattell fet away, their houſes ryfled, their goodes ſpoyled, and all to feede youre vpriſyng withoute reaſon, and to mayntayn this tumult of rebellion, inuented of the Deuill, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowne by the power of Gods mightie hand? And why ſhould not ſo hurtfull waſtyng and harrying of countreys, be iuſtly puniſhed with greate ſeueritie, ſeing robbing of houſes, and taking of purſes, do by lawe deſerue the extremitie of death? How many ſuffer iniurie when one hundred of a Shire is ſpoyled, and what iniurie thinke ye is done, when not only whole Shires be deſtroyed, but alſo euery quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought vpon vs al pouertie, weakneſſe, and hatred within the realme, and diſcourage, ſhame, and damage without the realme? If ye miſerably entended not only to vndoe other, but alſo to deſtroye your ſelues, and to ouerthrow the whole realme, coulde ye haue taken a readier way to your owne ruine than this is?

And firſt if ye be any thyng reaſonable, little by your reaſon, and way by wiſedome, if not al things, yet your owne caſes, and lerne in the beginning of matters, to foreſee the end, and ſo iudge aduiſedly, or ye enter into any thing haſtily. See ye not this yeare the loſſe of haruest? And think ye, ye can grow to wealth that yere, whẽ ye loſe your thrift & profit? Barnes be poore mens ſtorehouſes, wherin lieth a great part of euery mans owne liuing, his wiues & his childrens liuing, wherewith men mayntayne their families, pay their rẽts, and therfore be always thought moſt rich when they haue beſt croppes. And now when ther is neyther plentie of haye, nor ſufficient of ſtraw, nor corne inough, and that through the greate diſorder of your wicked rebellion, can ye thynke ye do well, when ye vndoe your ſelues, and iudge it a common wealthe, when the commons is deſtroyed, and ſeeke your happe by vnhappineſſe, and eſteeme your owne loſſe, to be your owne forwardnes, and by this iudgement ſhewe your ſelues, how little yee vnderſtande other mennes matters, when ye can ſcarcely conſider the waightieſt of your owne? Hath not the haye this yeare, as it roſe fro the ground, ſo rotted to the grounde againe? and where it was wont by mens ſeaſonable labor to be taken in due time, and then ſerue for the maintenance of horſe and cattell, wherewith we liue, nowe by youre diſordered miſchiefe, hath bene by mens idleneſſe, and vndutifulneſſe, lefte alone vntouched, and ſo neyther ſerueth the poore to make money of, nor any cattell to liue with. The corne was ſowne with labour, and the grounde tilled for it wyth labour, and looked to be brought home againe with labour, and for lacke of honeſt labourers, is loſt on the ground: the owners being loyterers, and ſeeking other mennes, haue loſt their owne, and hoping for mountains, lacked their preſent thrift, neither obteining y they ſought, nor ſeeking that they ought. And howe ſhall men liue when the maintenance of their prouiſion is lacking? For laboring and their old ſtore is waſted by wildnes of ſedition, and ſo neyther ſaue the olde, nor ſaue the newe. Howe can men be fedde then or beaſtes liue, when as ſuch waſtefull negligence is ſo ſeditiouſly vſed, and myſpending the tyme of their profite, in ſhameful diſorder of inobedience, they care not greatly what becomes of their owne, bicauſe they intend to liue by other mens? Hay is gon, corne is waſted, ſtrawe is ſpoyled: what reckening of haruest can ye make, eyther for the ayde of others, or for the reliefe of your ſelues? And thus haue ye brought in one kinde of miſerie, which if ye ſawe before, as ye be lyke to feele after, although ye had hated the common wealth, yet for loue of your ſelues, ye wold haue auoyded the greate enormitie thereof, into the which ye wilfully now haue caſt in your ſelues.

An other no leſſe is, that ſuch plentie of victuall, as was abundantly in euery quarter, for the reliefe of vs all, is nowe all waſtfully and vnthriftfully ſpente, in mayntenyng you vnlawful rebelles, and ſo ſuch diſorderly is conſumed, which with good huſbandrye might long haue endured. For, ſo much as wold haue ſerued a whole yeare at home, with diligent and ſkilfull heed of huſbandrie, that is wilfully waſted in a moneth in the campe, through the rauening ſpoyle of vittaile. For what is vnorderd plentie, but a waſtfull ſpoyle? whereof the inconuenience is ſo great, as ye be worthy to feele, and bringeth in more hardneſſe of liuing, greater dearth of all thing, and occaſioneth manye cauſes of diſeaſes. The price of things muſt needes encreaſe muche, when the number of things waxeth leſſe, and by neceſſitie be enhaunced, and compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in houſe, both to their owne, & alſo to ſtrangers. And where the riche wanteth, what can the poore fynd, who in a common ſcarcitie, liueth moſt ſcarcely, and feeleth quickelieſt the ſharpeneſſe of ſteruing, when euery man for a dearth is hungerbitten, whiche if ye had well remembred before, as ye nowe maye after experience, ye would not I thinke ſo ſtiffeneckedly haue reſiſted, and endaungered your ſelfe in the ſtorme of famine, whereof ye moſt lykely muſt haue the greateſt parte, who ſo ſtubbornly reſiſted, to your owne ſhame and confuſion. Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth, commeth a greate death, for that when men be in great want of meate, for very much abſtinence, they fill their bodies with ill humours, and caſt them from their ſtate of helth, into a ſubiection of ſickneſſe, bycauſe the good bloud in the body is not able to kepe his temper, for the multitude of the yll humours that corrupteth the ſame. And ſo growe greate and deadly plagues, and deſtroye greate numbers of all ſortes, ſparing no kynde that they light on, neyther reſpecting the poore with mercy, nor the ryche with fauour. Can ye therfore thinke herein, when ye ſee decay of vittails, the riche pinche, the poore famiſhe, the folowing of diſeaſes, the greatneſſe of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulneſſe of the fatherleſſe, and all this myſerie to come thorowe your vnnaturall miſbehauior, that ye haue not dangerouſly hurte the commons of your country, with a dolefull and an vncurable wound? Theſe thinges being once felt in the common wealth, as they muſt needes be, euery man ſeeth by and by what foloweth, a greate diminiſhment of the ſtrength of the Realme, when the due number that the realme dothe maynteyne is made leſſe, and thereby we be made rather a praie for our enimies, than a ſafetie for our ſelues.

And howe can there be but a great decay of people at the lengthe, when ſome be ouerthrowen in war, ſome ſuffer for puniſhment, ſome pyne for famine, ſome dye with the camps diet, ſome be conſumed with ſickneſſe. For although ye thynke your ſelues able to matche wyth a fewe vnprepared Gentlemen, and putte them from their houſes, that ye myght gayne the ſpoyle, do ye iudge therfore your ſelues ſtrong inough, not onely to withſtande a Kings power, but alſo to ouerthrowe it? Is it poſſible that ye ſhoulde haue ſo madde a frenſy in your head, that ye ſhoulde thinke the number ye ſee ſo ſtrong, that all ye ſee not, ſhould not be able to preuayle to the contrarie? With what reaſon coulde ye thinke, that if ye bode the hote brunte of battaile, but yee muſte needs feele the ſmart, ſpecially the Kings power comming againſte you, whiche if yee feare not, belyke yee knowe not the force thereof? And ſo muche the greater number is loſt in the Realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommed be parties, although vnlyke, of one Realme: and what loſſe is not onely of eyther ſyde, but of both, that doth playnly redounde to the whole.

Then where ſo great and ſo horrible a fault is committed, as worſe can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withal, ſuche pouertie, ſuche weakneſſe, ſuche diſorder in the common wealth, as no miſchiefe beſide could doe the lyke: Certainly what thinke ye by iuſt reaſon, that all ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed, that ſhall eſcape the ſworde, and not manie for terrour and examples ſake, ſhould bee done to death, who haue bene eyther great doers in ſuche a miſdede, or villanous great counſellers in ſuche an outrage, in which, ſeeing the only remedie for amending wilfull faultes, is iuſtice, and the iuſt puniſhements of ſuch, who ſo horrible deedes good men ought to abhorre for vertues ſake, and ill men may feare to do for puniſhements ſake. And a ſmall matter to do this, which vnpuniſhed, is ſo daungerous, that the ſufferance of one, is the occaſion of the fall of a greate number, and vnchaſtiſement ſuffering one, is a perpetuall example to the whole, inticing them to their owne deſtruction by ſufferance, which otherwiſe would haue auoyded the daunger by fore puniſhment.

And in ſuche a bareyneſſe of vittuall, as muſt needes come after ſo rauening a ſpoyle, it muſt needes be, that ſome though fewe, ſhall be ſo nipte with extremeneſſe of famine, that they ſhall not recouer againe themſelues out of ſo freting a daunger. Who in a generall weakneſſe, where all ſhall be feebled, ſome muſt needes die, and ſo diminiſhe the number, and abate ſuche ſtrength as the realme defendeth it ſelfe withall afore. Which occaſion of death ſo fewe, comming of ſo great a cauſe, if ye ſhuld make iuſt amends for, not of recõpence which ye could not, but of puniſhment which ye ought, how many, howe diuers and how cruel deathes, ought euery one of ye often ſuffer? Howe manye came to the camps from long labour to ſodayne eaſe, and frõ meane fare to ſtroying of vittal, and ſo fell in a maner vnwares, to ſuche a contrary change, that Nature hir ſelfe abyding neuer greate and ſodain changes, cannot beare it without ſome groundes layed of diſeaſes to come, which vncircumſpect men ſhall ſooner feele than thinke of, and then will ſcarcely iudge the cauſe, when they ſhall be vexed wyth the effect. It is little meruayle that Idleneſſe, and meate of an other mannes charge, wyll ſone feede vp and fatte lykely menne: but it is greate marueil if ydleneſſe & other mẽs meate doe not abate the ſame by ſickneſſe again, and ſpecially comming from the one, and going to the other, contrarye in thoſe who violently ſeeke to tourne in a moment, the whole Realme to the contrarye. For while their mynde chaungeth from obedience to vnrulyneſſe, and turneth it ſelfe from honeſtie to wyldeneſſe, and their bodyes goe from labour to idleneſſe, from ſmall fare to ſpoyle of vittaill, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from ſweete houſes to ſtinkyng campes, it muſt needes be by changing of affections, which alter the body, & by vſing of reſt that filleth the body, & glutting of meats whiche weakneth the body, and with cold in the nights which accraſeth the body, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the body, that there folows ſome greuous tempeſt, not only of contagious ſickneſſe, but alſo of preſent death to the body.

The greateſt plague of al is, that vehemencie of plague, whiche naturally foloweth the dint of hunger, which when it entreth once among men, what dartes of pangs, what throwes of paines, what ſhoutes of death doth it caſt out, how many fall, not aſtonyed with the ſtraungeneſſe but feared with the pain, how beateth it downe not only ſmal towns, but alſo great countreys?

This when ye ſee light, firſt on your beaſts, whiche lacketh fodder, and after fall on men, whoſe bodies gapeth for it, and ſee the ſcarceneſſe of men to be, by this your foule enterpriſe, and not only other men touched with plagues, but alſo your owne houſe ſtong with deathe, and the plague alſo ryſed of your riſyng, to ſee your ſelues, cā ye thinke you to be any other but manquellers of other, and murderers of your ſelues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of ſo great a number, as ſhall either by ſworde or puniſhment, famine or ſome plague or peſtilence be conſumed and waſted oute of the Common wealth? And ſeeing he that decayeth the number of Cottages or Plowes in a Towne, ſeemeth to be an enimie to the common wealth, ſhall we not count him, not only an enimie, but alſo a murtherer of his country, who by barbarouſed vnrulyneſſe, cauſeth the vtter ruine and peſtilent deſtruction of ſo manye thouſande men? Graunte this folye then and ouerſight, to be ſuche as worthyly yee maye counte it, and I ſhall goe further in declaryng of other greate inconueniences, whiche your dangerous and furious miſbehauior hath hurtfully brought in, ſeing diuers honeſt and true dealyng men, whoſe lyuing is by their owne prouiſion, ha be come ſo afore hande by tyme, that they haue bene able well, to liue honeſtlye in their houſes, and paye beſide the rentes of their fermes truly, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred inſurrections loſt their goodes, their cattail, their Harneſſe, whiche they had gotten before, and whereby they truſted to liue hereafter, and nowe be brought to this extremitie, that they be not able, as they were wont, without care to liue, and to paye their accuſtomable rent at their due tyme. Whereby they be brought into trouble and vnquietneſſe, not only mourning what they haue loſt by you, but alſo curſing you by whome they haue loſt it, and alſo in daunger of loſing their holdes at their Lordes handes, except by pitie they ſhewe more mercie, than the rigour of the lawe will graunt by Iuſtice. And what a griefe is it to an honeſt man, to labour truely in youth, and to gaine painfully by labour, wherewith to liue honeſtly in age, and ſo hauing gotten in long ſpace, to be ſodainly caught away by the violence of ſedition, which he ought to abhorre by it ſelfe, although no miſchiefe folowed to him thereby? But what greater griefe ought ſeditious rebelles to haue themſelues, who if they be not ſtricken with plaine miſchiefe, yet ought to pine in conſcience, ſeeing with the griefe of their owne mindes, when they ſee honeſt men euen of long ſeaſon plundered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, and who in a good common wealth, ſhoulde for honeſt ſtate proſper, they by the rebels only meanes, be caſt ſo behinde the hande, as they can not recouer eaſily agayne by their owne trauth, that whiche they haue loſt by thoſe traitors miſchief. And if honeſt men ought not ſo to be handled at any mans hande, but only ſtādeth order of a law, how much more ſhuld true and faithfull ſubiects, who deſerue plainly, feele no vnquietneſſe, nor bee vexed with ſedition, who be obediently in ſubiection, but rather ſeeke iuſt amendes at falſe rebelles handes, and by lawe obtaine that they loſt by diſorder, and ſo conſtrayne you to the vttermoſt, to paye the recompence of wrongfull loſſes, becauſe ye were the authors of theſe wrongfull ſpoiles.

Then woulde yee ſone perceyue the common wealthes hurt, not when other felt it who deſerued it not, but when you ſmarted, who cauſed it, and ſtoode not and looked vpon other mens loſſes, which ye might pitie, but tormented with your owne, which ye would lament.

Nowe I am paſt this myſchiefe, whiche yee will not hereafter deny, when ye ſhall praiſe other mennes forſight, rather than your wicked doings, in bewayling the ende of your furie, in whoſe beginnyng ye nowe reioyce. What ſay ye to the number of vagabūds and loytring beggers, whiche after the ouerthrowe of youre Campe, and ſcatteryng of this ſeditious number, wyll ſwarme in euerye corner of the Realme, and not onely lye loytering vnder hedges, but alſo ſtande ſturdily in Cities, and beg holdyng all in one? Nowe, leauyng labour, in whiche they ought liue, and folowyng idleneſſe whiche they ſhould not? For euery man is eaſily and naturally brought from labour to eaſe, from the better to the worſe, from diligence to ſlouthfulneſſe: and after warres it is commonly ſeene, that a greate number of thoſe which went out honeſt, returne home agayne like ruffians, and [illegible] in the warres [illegible] theyr craft [illegible] ſtill toward a day [illegible] quarell [illegible] bloudſheddes too? Doe we not ſee commonly in the ende of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and thoſe to ſtand in the high way to aſke their almes, whom ye be afraid to ſay nay vnto honeſtly, leaſt they take it ſtrayght from you violently; and haue more cauſe to ſuſpect theyr ſtrength, than pitie their neede? Is it not then daylie heard, howe men be not onely robbed, but vtterly ſpoyled, and few may ryde ſafe by the kings way, except they ryde ſtrong, not ſo much for feare of theyr goodes, whyche muſt needes be loſt, but alſo for daunger of their life, which euery man loueth. Worke is vndone at home, and loiterers linger in ſtreetes, lurke in alehouſes, raunge in high waies, valiant beggers play in townes, and yet complayne of neede, whoſe ſtaffe if it bee once hote in their hande, or ſluggiſhneſſe bredde in their boſome, they wyll neuer bee allured to labour agayne, contentyng themſelues better with idle beggery, than with honeſt and profitable labour. And what more noyſome beaſtes bee in a common wealthe? Drones in Hiues ſucke out the honie, a ſmall matter, but yet to bee loked on by good huſbandes. Caterpillers deſtroy the fruite, an hurtfull thing and well ſhifted for, by a diligent ouerſeer. Diuers vermine deſtroy corne, kill Pulleyne, engines and ſnares bee made for them. But what is a loyterer? A ſucker of honie, a ſpoiler of corne, a deſtroier of fruite, nay a waſter of money, a ſpoyler of vittayle, a ſucker of bloude, a breaker of orders, a ſeeker of breakes, a queller of life, a baſiliſke of the common welthe, which by company and ſight, doth poyſon the whole Countrye, and ſtaineth honeſt mindes wyth the infection of hys venyme, and ſo draweth the common wealth to deathe and deſtruction. Suche is the fruites of your labour and trauayle for your pretended common welth; whyche iuſtice would no man ſhould taſte of but your ſelues, that yee might truelye iudge of your owne miſchiefe, and feare other by example from preſumyng the lyke. When wee ſee a greate number of flyes in a yeare, we naturally iudge it like to be a greate plague, and hauing ſo greate a ſwarming of loytering vagabondes, readie to begge and brawle at euery mannes dore, which declare a great inſurrection, can we not looke for a grieuouſer and peſtilenter daunger than the plague is? Who can therfore otherwiſe deeme, but thys one deadly hurt, wherewith the common wealthe of our nation is wounded, beſide all other is ſo peſtilent, that there can bee no more hurtfull thyng in a well gouerned ſtate, nor more [illegible] into all kinde of vice and vnrulyneſſe, and therfore this your ſedition is not onely moſt odious, but alſo moſt horrible, that hath ſpotted the whole countrie, with ſuch a ſtaine of idleneſſe.

There can be no ende of faultes, if a man reherſe all faultes that doe neceſſarily followe this beaſtlye ſlouthfulneſſe. For not onely vagabondes wandryng and ſcatteryng themſelues for idleneſſe, ſhall runne in a mans eyes, but alſo diſorder of euery degree, ſhall enter in into a mans mind, and ſhall behold hereby the common wealthe miſerablye defaced by you, who ſhould as much as other, haue kept your ſelues ſo to poliſh it. Neither be the Magiſtrates duly obeyed, nor the lawes iuſtly feared, nor degrees of men conſidered, nor Maiſters well ſerued, nor Parentes truely reuerenced, nor Lordes remembred of their tenauntes, nor yet either naturall, or ciuill Lawe muche regarded. And it is plainly vnpoſſible that that countrie ſhall well ſtande in gouernement, and the people growe to welth, where order in euery ſtate is not fitly obſerued, and that body can not be wythout muche griefe of inflamation, where any leaſte parte is out of ioynt, or not duely ſette in his owne naturall place. Wherefore order muſte be kept in the common wealthe like healthe in the body, and all the drifte of pollicie loketh to this ende, howe this temper may be ſafely mainteined, without any exceſſe of vnmeaſurableneſſe, either of the one ſide, or of the other. And eaſie ynough it is to keepe the ſame, when it is once brought into the meane, and to holde it in the ſtaye it is founde in, but when it burſteth out once wyth a vehemence, and hathe gotten into an vnruly diſorder, it ſpreadeth ſo faſte, and ouerfloweth all honeſt mennes reſiſtings ſo violently, that it will be harde to recouer the breache of long time againe, except with greate and wiſe counſayle, which no doubt ſhall be in ſeaſon vſed, there be wonderfull remedies ſought therfore. And euen as a man falling, is eaſier holden vp by ſtay, than when he is fallen downe, he is able to riſe againe, ſo is the common welth ſlippyng, by the foreſight of wiſedome, better kept from ruine, than when it is once fallen into any kinde of miſerie, the ſame may bee called againe to the olde and former ſtate. Doe wee not euidently knowe, that a man maye better keepe hys arme or his legge from breakyng or fallyng out of ioynt, afore hurt come to it, than after the hurt, it may ſafely and quietly be healed, and reſtored to the former ſtrengthe and health againe? And nowe thorowe your ſeditious meanes, things that were afore quiet and in good order, lawes feared and obeyed, ſubiectes ruled and kepte in duety, bee all nowe in a greate diſorder, and lyke if it bee not holpen, ſo to growe to wildeneſſe, and a beaſtlineſſe, ſeeing that neyther common dutye can bee kepte, whyche Nature preſcribeth, nor common lawe can be regarded, which pollicie requireth. Howe can yee keepe your owne if yee keepe no order, your wife and children, howe can they bee defended from other mens violence, if yee will in other thynges breake all order? by what reaſon woulde ye be obeyed of yours as ſeruauntes, if ye will not obey the King as Subiectes? howe woulde ye haue others deale orderly with you, if ye will vſe diſorder againſte all others? Seeing then there is ſuch a confuſion nowe of thinges, ſuch a turmoyle of men, ſuch a diſorder of faſhions, who can looke to liue quietly a greate while, who can thinke but that yee haue miſerablye toſſed the common wealth, and ſo vexed all men with diſorder, that the inconuenience hereof, can not onely nip others, but alſo touch you.

But nowe ſee howe that not onely theſe vnlooked for miſchiefes, haue heauilye growne on ye, but alſo thoſe commodities, whyche yee thought to haue holpen your ſelues and others by, bee not onely hindered, but alſo hurte thereby. The Kings Maieſtie by the aduiſe &c. entended a iuſte reformation, of all ſuche thyngs as poore men coulde truly ſhewe themſelues oppreſſed wyth, thinking equalitie of iuſtice, to be the Diademe of hys Kyngdome, and the ſafegarde of his commons. Whiche was not onlye entended by wiſedome, but alſo ſet on wyth ſpeede, and ſo entred into a due conſideryng of all ſtates, that none ſhoulde haue iuſte cauſe to grudge agaynſt the other, whē as euery thing rightfully had, nothing coulde be but vnrightfully grudged at. And this woulde haue bene done, not only with your glad and willing aſſent, but alſo bene done by this daye almoſte thorowout the whole Realme, ſo that quietly it had bene obtayned wythout inconuenience, and ſpeedily without delay. And whatſoeuer had bene done by the Kinges Maieſties authoritie, that woulde by right haue remained for euer, and ſo taken in law, that the contrary partee, neither coulde by iuſtice, neither would by boldeneſſe, haue enterpriſed the breake thereof. But leaſte wicked men ſhoulde be in better caſe than good, they whoſe hartes bee not truely bent to obedience, ſhoulde obtaine at the Kinges hand, that they deſerued not in attempting it, ye haue maruelouſly and worthily hurte your ſelues, and gratiouſly prouided except the kings goodneſſe be more vnto you, than your owne deſertes can claim, that ye be not ſo much worthie as to be benefited in any kind, as ye be worthy to loſe that ye haue on euery ſide. Perhaps ye thought good to be your owne Reformers, being not onely vnnaturally miſtruſting the Kynges pollicy, but alſo cruelly & vnlawfully dealyng with your owne neighbours. Wherein I woulde as ye haue hurt the whole Realme, ſo ye haue nowe enterpriſed a thyng moſte daungerous to your ſelues, and moſte contrarie to that thyng ye pretended. If ye had let thinges alone, & thought good by your ſelues to bee redreſſed, and quietly & lawfully looked for the performaunce of that, the Kinges Maieſtie promiſed reformation, they ſhoulde not haue bene vndone at this time, and in a greate ſorte of honeſt places they bee, yea thoſe countries who for their quietneſſe be moſte worthie to be looked on, ſhould haue bin prouided for at this daye. But this commoditie hath happened by the way, that it is euidently knowne by youre miſchiefe, and others order, who be moſte true to the king, and moſt worthie to be done for, and who be moſte pernitious and traiterous Rebelles. And it is not to bee doubted, but they ſhall be conſidered wyth thankes, and finde iuſte redreſſe without deſerued miſery, and you punyſhed like Rebelles, who might haue had both praiſe and profite like Subiectes. For that as ye haue valiantly done of your ſelues, thinke ye it will ſtande any longer, than men feare your rage, whyche can not endure long, and that ye ſhall not then bide the rigor of the lawe, for your priuate iniuries, as ye vſed the furie of your braynes in other mens oppreſſions? Will men ſuffer wrong at your handes when Lawe can redreſſe, and the right of the common wealthe will maintaine it, and good order in Countreies will beare it? Ye amend faults as yll Surgions heale ſores, whiche when they ſeeme to bee whole aboue, they rankle at the bottome, and ſo bee faine continuallie to bee ſore, or elſe bee mended by newe breaking of the ſkinne. Your redreſſe ſeemeth to you perfit and good, ye haue pulled down ſuch things as ye would, ye thinke now all is well, ye conſider no farther, ye ſeeke not the bottome, yee ſee not the ſore, that yee haue done it by no Lawe, yee haue redreſſed it by no order, what then? If it be none otherwiſe ſearched than by you, it wil not tary long ſo, either it will be after cōtinually as it was afore your comming or elſe it muſte bee when all is done amended by the King.

Thus haue ye bothe lacked in the tyme, and miſſe in the doing, and yet beſides that ye haue done, whiche is by your doing to no purpoſe, ye haue done the things with ſuch inconueniences, as hathe bene both before rehearſed, and ſhall be after declared, that better it hadde bin for you, neuer to haue enioyed the commoditie if there bee any, than to ſuffer the griefes that will enſue, which be very many. In euery quarter ſome men whome ye ſet by will bee loſte, whiche euery one of you if ye haue loue in ye, woulde rather haue lacked the profit of your encloſures, then cauſe ſuch deſtruction of them, as is like by reaſon and iudgement neceſſarilye to followe. What common wealth is it then, to doe ſuche abhomynable enterpryſes after ſo vile a ſorte, that yee hinder the good ye woulde doe, and bring in that hurt yee woulde not, and ſo finde that ye ſeeke not, and followe that ye loſe, and deſtroy your ſelues by folly, rather then yee woulde bee ordered by reaſon, and to haue not ſo muche amended youre olde ſores, as brought in newe plagues whyche ye youre ſelues that deſerue them will lament, and wee whyche haue not deſerued them may curſe you for. For although the Kings Maieſtie &c. intended for youre profites a reformation in his common welthe, yet his pleaſure was not, nor no reaſon gaue it, that euery ſubiecte ſhould buſily intermeddle wyth it of their owne head, but only thoſe whome his counſaile thought moſte meete for ſuch an honeſt purpoſe. The Kyngs Maieſtie &c. hathe godly reformed an vncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the true forme of the firſt Churche that folowed Chriſt, thinking that to bee the truth, not what latter mens fancies haue of themſelues deuiſed, but what ỹ Apoſtles & their felowes had at Chriſtes hand receyued, & willeth the ſame to be knowen and ſet abroade to all his people. Shall euery man now that liſteth and fancieth the truth, take in hande vncalled, to be a Miniſter, and to ſet forthe the ſame, hauyng no authoritie? Naye, though the thyng were very godlye that were done, yet the perſon muſte needes doe ill that enterpriſeth it, bycauſe hee doth a good thyng after an yll ſort, and looketh but on a little part of duetie, conſidering the thyng, and leaueth a great part vnaduiſed, not conſidering the perſon, when as in a well and lawfully done matter, not onely theſe two thinges ought well to bee weighed, but alſo good occaſion of tyme, & reaſonable cauſe of the doing, ought alſo much to be ſet afore euery bodies eies. Now in this your deede, the manner is vngodlye, the thing vnmeaſurable, the cauſe wycked, the perſon ſeditious, the time traiterous, and can ye poſſibly by anye honeſt defence of reaſon, or anye good conſcience religiouſlye grounded, denye that thys malicious and horrible fault, ſo wickedly ſette on, is not onely ſinfull afore God, and traiterous to the King, but alſo deadly and peſtilent to the whole common welth of our Countrie, & ſo not only ouerfloweth vs with the miſery, but alſo ouerwhelmeth you with the rage thereof.

Yet further ſee, and ye be not wearie, with the multitude of miſeries, whiche ye haue merueylouſly moued, what a ſorte ye wilfully do bring on youre ſelues, in ſtirring vp this deteſtable ſedition, and ſo bring your ſelues into a further daunger, if ye vſe your ſelues often thus inobediently. When common order of the lawe can take no place in vnrulye and diſobedient ſubiectes, and all men will of wilfulneſſe reſiſt with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be the beſt iuſtice, then be wiſe Magiſtrates compelled by neceſſitie, to ſeeke an extreme remedye, where meane ſalues helpe not, and bring in the Martiall lawe, where none other will ſerue. Then muſt ye bee contented to byde punyſhement without proceſſe, condemnation without witneſſe, ſuſpition is then taken for iudgement, and diſpleaſure may be the cauſe of your execution, and ſo without fauour ye finde ſtraiteneſſe, which without rule ſeeke violence. Yee thinke it a harde Lawe and vnmercifull. It is ſo in deede, but yet good for a medicine. Deſperate ſickneſſe in phiſicke muſt haue deſperate remedyes, for meane medycines will neuer helpe great griefes. So if yee caſt youre ſelues into ſuche ſharpe diſeaſes, ye muſt needes looke for ſharpe medicines againſt it at youre Phiſitions handes. And worthye ye be to ſuffer the extremitye in a common wealthe, whiche ſeeke to do the extremitie, and by reaſon muſt receiue the like ye offer, and ſo bee contented to abide the ende willingly which ye ſet on the beginning wilfullye. For no greater ſhame can come to the common wealthe, than that thoſe ſubiectes which ſhould be obedient euen without lawe, can not be contented to be ordered by the lawe, & by no meanes kept within their duetie, which [illegible] in their dutie. It is a token that the [illegible] reaſon, when they forſake lawe, & think ſurely by their multitude to finde pardon, which cannot [illegible] by all, or elſe by [illegible] to beare the ſtroke, which can not proſper againſt a King. They muſt needes little conſider themſelues, who bring in this neceſſitie, rather to ſtande to the pleaſure of a mans will, than to abide the reaſon of the Lawe, and to bee commaunded more when an other man liſteth, than when himſelfe ordereth. And this muſte neceſſarily folowe if your rebellion thus continue: and while yee ſeeke to throwe downe the yoke, whiche yee fanſie youre ſelues burdened withall, ye bring your ſelues in a greater bondage, leauyng ſafetie and followyng daunger, and puttyng youre ſelues vnder the Iuſtice of them, whoſe fauour ye might eaſily haue kept, if yee woulde willinglye and ductifullye haue ſerued. Nowe the Gentlemen be more in truſt, becauſe the cōmons bee vntruſty, & they got by ſeruice, which ye loſe by ſtubburneſſe, and therfore muſt needs if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from the King, bicauſe ye would be in leſſe ſubiection to the King, and that as yee will not do of your ſelues, ye muſt be compelled to doe by others, and that yee refuſe to doe willingly, thinke yee muſt be drawne to do the ſame conſtrainedly. Whyche when it commeth to paſſe, as wiſedome ſeeth in your faults that it muſte needes, what gayne yee then, or what profit can ariſe to you by riſing, whyche might haue founde eaſe in ſittyng ſtill? & what ſhall ye be at length the better for this turmoile, which beſide diuers other incōmodities rehearſed, ſhall be thus clogged with the vnſufferable burden of the Martiall law.

Yet there is one thing behynde, whyche mee thinketh your ſelues ſhulde not forget, ſeeing ỹ ye haue giuen the cauſe, ye ſhuld duely looke for the effect. Ye haue ſpoiled, impriſoned, & threatned gentlemē to death, & that with ſuch hatred of minde, as may not well bee borne, the cauſe therof I ſpeake not on, which tried, will happilye be not ſo great: but ſee the thing, let murder aſide, it is the heinouſeſt fault to a priuat man. What coulde more ſpitefully haue bin done againſt thē, thā ye haue vſed, with crueltie? Can this doe any other but breede in their ſtomacks, great grudge of diſpleaſure towarde you, and engender ſuch an hatred as the ſpeaker and the ſufferer, muſte needes beare the ſmart thereof. The Kings beſt kinde of gouernment, is ſo to rule his ſubiects, as a father ordreth his childrē, and beſte life of obedient ſubiectes is one to behaue himſelfe to an other, as though they were brethren vnder the King their father. For loue is not the knotte onely of the common wealth, whereby dyuers partes be perfitly ioyned togither in one pollitike body, but alſo the ſtrength and might of the ſame, gathering togither into a ſmall roome with order, which ſcattered wold elſe breede confuſion and debate. Diſſention we ſee in ſmall houſes, and therby may take example to great cōmon welths, how it not only decayeth them from wealthe, but alſo abateth them from ſtrength. Thinke ſmall examples to take place in greate matters, and the lyke though not ſo greate to follow in them both, and therby learne to iudge of great things vnknowne, by ſmall thynges perceiued. When brethren agree not in a houſe, goeth not the weakeſt to the walles, and wyth whome the father taketh parte wythall, is not hee lykeſt to preuaile? Is it not wiſedome for the yonger brother, after the good will of the parentes, to ſeeke his eldeſt brothers fauoure, who vnder thē is moſte able to do for him? To ſeeke them both wyth honeſtie is wiſedome, to loſe them bothe by ſullenneſſe is madneſſe. Hathe there not ben daily benefites from the Gentlemen to you, in ſome more, and in ſome leſſe, but in none conſidered, which they haue more friendly offered, than you haue gently requited. This muſte ye loſe, when ye will not be thankfull, and learne to gayne newe good wyll by deſert, when yee forſake the olde frendſhippe vnprouoked. And ye muſt thinke that liuing in a common welth togither, one kinde hath neede of an other, and yet a great ſorte of you, more neede of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a great ſorte of you, and though all be partes of one common wealth, yet all be not like worthye partes, but all being vnder obedience, ſome kinde in more ſubiection one way, and ſome kinde in more ſeruice an other way. And ſeing ye be leſſe able by mony & liberalitie, to deſerue good will than other be, & your only kinde of deſert is to ſhew good will, which honeſt men doe well accept as muche worthe as money, haue yee not muche hindered and hurt your ſelfe herein, loſing that one kinde of humanitie whiche yee haue onely lefte, and turning it into crueltie, whiche yee ought moſt to abhorre, not onely bycauſe it is wicked of it ſelfe, but alſo moſt noyſom to you. I can therfore for my part thinke no leſſe herein, if yee folowe your ſtiffeneſſe ſtill, and muſt needes iudge, that ye haue wilfully brought on your ſelues ſuche plagues, as the like could not haue fallen on you but by your ſelues. Seeing then thus many wayes, yee haue hurt the common welth of the whole Countrie within, by deſtruction of ſhires, loſing of harueſt, waſting of vittaile, decaying of manhode, vndoing of farmers, encreaſing of vagabondes, maintainyng of diſorder, hindring of redreſſes, bringing in of Martiall law, and breeding continuall hatred amongs dyuers ſtates: what thinke ye (I pray you) iudge ye not that ye haue committed an odious & deteſtable crime againſt the whole common welth whoſe furderance ye ought to haue tendered by dutie, and not to haue ſought the hurte therof with your owne damage.

Beſides all theſe inwarde griefes, which euerye one ſeuerallye muſte needes feele wyth miſerie, there happneth ſo many outwarde miſchaunces, among ſtraungers to vs wyth diſdayne; that if there were nothing ill within the Realme which we ſhould feele, yet the ſhame which doth touche vs from other Countries, ſhoulde not onely moue, but alſo compell you hartily to forthinke this your rebellious ſedition. For what ſhall ſtraungers thinke, when they ſhall heare of the greate miſorder, which is in this Realme wyth ſuch a confuſion, that no order of lawe can keepe you vnder, but muſt be faine to be beaten downe with a kings power? Shall they not firſt thinke the kings Maieſtie, in whoſe mind God hath powred ſo much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man, eyther for his age to bee little ſet by, or for lack of qualities not to be regarded, or for defaulte of loue to be reſiſted, & no notable grace of god in him conſidered, nor the worthines of his office looked vppon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred? Shall they not next ſuppoſe, ſmall eſtimation to bee giuen to the rulers, to whom vnder the King we owe due obedience, that can not in iuſte and lawfull matters bee hearde, nor men to haue that ryght iudgement of their wiſedome, as their iuſtice in rule, and forſight in counſaile requireth, but rather preferre their owne fanſies beefore others experience, and deeme their owne reaſon to bee common wealthe, and other mennes wiſedome to but dreaming? Shall they not truely ſaye the ſubiects to be more vnfaithfull in diſobedience, than other Subiectes worſe ordered bee, and licence of libertie to make wilde heades wythout order, and that they neyther haue reaſon, that vnderſtande not the miſchiefe of ſedition, nor duetye whyche followe their beaſtlyneſſe, nor loue in them whiche ſo little remember the common welth, nor naturall affection whiche will daily ſeeke their owne deſtruction? Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is caſt into great ſhame by your vnrulineſſe, and the proceedings of the Countrie, bee they neuer ſo godly, ſhall be yll ſpoken off, as vnfitte to bee brought into vſe, and good things hereby that deſerueth praiſe, ſhal bide the rebuke of them that liſte to ſpeake yll, and yll things vntouched ſhall be boldlier mainteined. Nothing maye wyth praiſe be redreſſed, where things be meaſured by chaunſable diſorder, rather than by neceſſarye vſe, and that is thought moſt pollitike, that men will be beſt contented to do, & not that which men ſhoulde be brought vnto by duetie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quenche out of memorie this foule enterpriſe, or gather a good report agayne to this Realme, who haue ſo vilelye wyth reproche ſlaundered the ſame, and dyuerſly diſcredited it among others, and abated the good opinion whiche was had of the iuſte gouernement and wiſe order, vſed heretofore in this noble Realme, which is now moſt grieuous, bicauſe it is now moſte without cauſe.

If this outwarde opinion without further inconuenience were all, yet it might well be borne, and woulde wyth eaſe decaye as it grewe, but it hath not only hurt vs wyth voice, but endaungered vs in deede, and caſt vs a greate deale behinde the hande, where elſe we might haue had a ioyfull foredeale. For that opportunitie of time, whiche ſeldome chaunceth, and is alwayes to bee taken, hath bin by your frowarde meanes loſt this yeare, and ſo vainly ſpent at home for bringing downe of you, whiche ſhoulde elſe profitably haue bin otherwiſe beſtowed, that it hath bene almoſte as great a loſſe to vs abroad, to lacke that we might haue obtained, as it was combraunce at home, to go about the ouerthrowe of you, whoſe ſedition is to be abhorred. And wee might by the conuenientlye haue inuaded ſome, if they woulde not reaſonably haue growen to ſome kind of friendſhip, and alſo defended other which would beſide promiſſe, for times ſake, vniuſtly ſet vpon vs, and eaſilye haue made this ſtormye time a faire yere vnto vs, if our men had bin ſo happy at home, as our likelyhoode abroade was fortunate. But what is it I pray you, either to let ſlip ſuch an occaſion by negligence, or to ſtop it by ſtubburneſſe, which once paſt away, can be by no meanes recouered, no not though with diligence, ye go about to reenforſe yͤ ſame againe.

If ye woulde with wickedneſſe haue forſaken your faith to your naturall Countrey, and haue ſought craftie meanes to haue vtterly betraied it to our common enimies, coulde ye haue had any other ſpeedyer waye than thys is, bothe to make our ſtrengthe weake, and their weakneſſe ſtrong? If ye woulde haue ſought to haue ſpited youre Countrye, and to haue pleaſed youre enemye, and followe their counſaile for our hindraunce, coulde ye haue hadde deuiſed of them, any thing more ſhamefull for vs, and ioyfull to them? If they which lye lyke ſpials, and harken after lykelihoods of things to come, becauſe they declare opportunitie of times to the enemie, are to bee iudged common enemies of the countrie, what ſhall we reaſonably thinke of you, who do not ſecretely bewraie the counſailes of other, but openly betray the common welthe with your owne deedes, and haue as much as lyeth in you, ſought the ouerthrow of it at home, whych if ye had obtained at gods hande, as he neuer aloweth ſo horrible an enterpriſe, how coulde ye haue defended it from the ouerthrowe of other abroad? For is your vnderſtanding of thynges ſo ſmall, that although yee ſee your ſelues not vnfitte, to get the vpper hande of a fewe gentlemen, that ye be able to beate downe afore the Kings power, yee and by chaunce ye were able to doe that, woulde ye iudge your ſelues by ſtrength mightie ynough, to reſiſte the power of outwarde nations, that for praiſe ſake woulde inuade ye? Nay thinke truely with your ſelues, that if ye do ouercom, ye be vnſure both by ſtrength abroade, and diſpleaſure of honeſt men at home, and by the puniſhment of the God aboue. And now ye haue not yet gotten in deede, that youre vaine hope looketh for by fanſie, thinke howe certainelye ye haue wounded the common wealthe wyth a ſore ſtroke, in procuryng our ennimies by oure weakeneſſe to ſeeke victorie, & by our outwarde miſery to ſeeke outwarde glorie, with inward diſhonor, whiche howſoeuer they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered thē victorie, afore they began war, bycauſe ye wold declare to men hereafter, belike, how daungerous it is to make ſturres at home, when they doe not onely make our ſelues weake, but alſo our enemies ſtrong.

Beſide theſe there is another ſorte of men, deſirous of aduantage, and diſdainefull of our wealth, whoſe griefe is moſt our greateſt hap, and be offended with religion, bicauſe they bee drowned in ſuperſtition, men zealed towarde god, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, than they iudge by their meaning, worthier whoſe ignorance ſhould be taken away, than their will ſhoulde be followed, whom we ſhuld more rebuke for their ſtubburneſſe, than deſpiſe for their ignoraunce. Theſe ſeeing ſuperſtition beaten downe, and religion ſet vp, gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kinde, difference made betwene Gods cōmaundements and mans learning, the truth of things ſought out according to Chriſtes inſtitutiō, examples taken of the Primitiue churches vſe, not at the Byſhoppe of Romes ordinance, and true worſhip taught & will worſhip refuſed, do by blindneſſe rebuke that as by truth they ſhould follow, and by affection folow that as by knowledge they ſhuld abhorre, thinking vſage to be truth, and ſcripture to be error, not waying by the word, but miſconſtruing by cuſtome. And now things be chaunged to the better, & religion trulyer appointed, they ſee matters go awry, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioyce in this myſchiefe, as a thyng worthily happened, myſtakyng the cauſe, and ſlaunderyng religion, as though there were no cauſe, why God myght haue puniſhed, if their vſed profeſſiō might ſtill haue takē place. They ſee not that where gods glorie is trulieſt ſette forth, there the deuill is moſt buſie for his parte and laboureth to corrupt by lewdneſſe, that as is gotten out by the truthe, thynkyng that if it were not blemiſhed at the firſte, the reſidue of his falſeheade ſhoulde after leſſe preuayle. So he troubleth by bywayes, that he cannot plainlye withſtande, and vſeth ſubtiltie of Sophiſtrie, where plaine reaſon faileth, and perſwadeth ſimple men that to bee a cauſe, whiche in deede cannot be tried and taken for a cauſe. So hee cauſeth religion, which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cauſe of ſedition, and the doctrine of loue, the ſeede of diſſention, miſtaking the thing, but perſwading mens mindes, & abuſing the plaine meaning of the honeſt, to a wicked end of religions ouerthrow. The huſband man hadde not ſo ſone throwne ſeede in hys ground, but ſteppeth vp the enimie, & he ſoweth cockle too, and maketh men doubt, whether the good huſbande had done well or no, and whether he had ſowne there good ſeede or bad. The fanſifull Iewes in Egipt wold not beleue Ieremie, but thought their plague & their miſery to come by his meanes, and leauing of Idolatrie, to be the cauſe of penury, wherefore by wylfull aduiſe they entended to forſake the Prophetes counſaile, and thought to ſerue God moſt truly, by their rooted and accuſtomed Idolatrie. When the Chriſtian men were perſecuted in the Primitiue church, & daily ſuffered Martyrdome for Chriſtes profeſſion, ſuche faire ſeaſon of weather was for three or foure yere togither, that the heathen iudged therevpon, God to bee delighted with their crueltie, and ſo were perſwaded that wyth the bloude of the Martyrs, they pleaſed God highly. Such fanſies lighted now in Papiſtes, and irreligious mens heades, and ioyne things by chaunce happening togyther, & concludeth the one to bee the cauſe of the other, and then delighteth in true worſhippers hurt, becauſe they iudge curſedly the good to be bad, & therefore reioyſeth in the puniſhment of the godly. For they being fleſhly, iudge by outwarde things and perceiue not the inward, for that they lacke the ſpirit, & ſo iudge amiſſe, not vnderſtandyng God, what diuerſitie hee ſuffereth, to blinde ſtill the wilfull, and howe thorowe all daungers, hee ſaueth his forechoſen. Thus haue ye giuen a large occaſion, to ſtubburne Papiſts both to iudge amiſſe, and alſo to reioyce in this wicked chance, contented with our miſchiefe, not likyng our religion, & thinking god doth puniſhe for this better chaūge, & haue therby an yll opinion of gods holy truth, cōfirmed in thē by no ſure ſcripture, but by following of miſchāce, which they ought to think to come, for the pride & ſtubburneſſe of yͤ people, who doth not accept Gods glorie in good part, nor giue no due praiſe to their Lorde & maker.

What ſhoulde I ſay more? Yee hurt euery way, the daungers be ſo great, and the perils ſo many, which do daily followe youre deuilliſhe enterpriſe, that the more I ſeeke in the matter, the more I continually ſee to ſay. And what words can worthily declare this miſerable beaſtlineſſe of yours, whiche haue entended to deuide the Realme, and arme the one parte for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not onely the healthe, but alſo the ſtrengthe of the realme, ſo is ſedition not only the weakneſſe, but alſo the apoſtume of the realme, whiche when it breaketh inwardelye, putteth the ſtate in greate daunger of recouerye, and corrupteth the whole Common wealthe wyth the rotten furye, that it hathe long putryfied wyth. For it is not in ſedition as in other faultes, whiche being miſchieuous of themſelues, haue ſome notable hurt alwaies faſte adioyned to them, but in this one is there a whole hell of faultes, not ſeuerally ſcattered, but cluſtered on a lumpe togyther, and commyng on ſo thicke, that it is vnpoſſible for a Region armed wyth all kynde of wyſedome, and ſtrengthe thereto, to auoide the daungers that iſſue out thereof. When ſedition once breaketh out, ſee yee not the lawes ouerthrowne, the Magiſtrates deſpyſed, ſpoyling of houſes, murderyng of men, waſtyng of Countryes, encreaſe of dyſorder, diminiſhing of the Realmes ſtrengthe, ſwarmyng of vagabondes, ſcarſitye of labourers, and thoſe miſchiefes all plenteouſly brought in, whyche God is wonte to ſcurge ſeuerely wyth all warre, dearthe, and peſtilence? And ſeeing yee haue theft and murder, plague and famine, confuſion and ydleneſſe linked togither, can yee looke any more miſchiefe in one ſhamefull enterpriſe, than ye euidently ſee to growe herein? As for warre although it be miſerable, yet the one parte getteth ſomewhat, and reioyceth in the ſpoyle, and ſo goeth luſtyer awaye, and either encreaſeth his countrie with riches, or enhaunceth himſelfe wyth glorye, but in ſedition bothe partes loſeth, the ouercommed can not flie, the ouercommer can not ſpoyle, the more the winner winneth, the more hee loſethe, the more that eſcape, the more infamous menne liue, al that is gained, is ſcarcely ſaued, the winning is loſſe, the loſſe is deſtruction, both waſte themſelues, and the whole moſte waſted, the ſtrengthnyng of themſelues the decaye of the Country, the ſtriuing for the victorie, is a pray to the enemie, and ſhortly to ſaye, the helliſhe turmoyle of ſedition, ſo farre paſſeth the common miſerye of warre, as to ſleye hymſelfe is more haynous, than to bee ſlayne of another. O noble peace, what wealth bryngeſt thou in, howe dothe al thynges floriſhe in fielde and in towne, what forwardeneſſe of religion, what encreaſe of lerning, what grauitie in counſaile, what deuiſe of witte, what order of manners, what obedience of Lawes, what reuerence of ſtates, what ſafegard of houſes, what quietneſſe of life, what honor of Countries, what frendſhip of mindes, what honeſtie of pleaſure, haſte thou alwaies mainteined, whoſe happineſſe we knewe not, while nowe we feele the lacke, and ſhall learne by miſerye to vnderſtande plentie, and ſo to auoyde miſchiefe, by the hurte that it bringeth, and learne to ſerue better, where rebellion is once knowne, and ſo to liue truely, & keepe the Kings peace. What good ſtate were ye in afore ye began, not pricked with pouertie, but ſtirred wyth myſchyefe, to ſeeke youre deſtruction, hauing wayes to redreſſe al that was amiſſe. Magiſtrates moſt ready to tender al iuſtice, & pitiful in hearing yͤ poore mens cauſes, which ſought to amende matters more thã you can deuiſe, and were ready to redreſſe them better than ye could imagine, and yet for a headineſſe ye coulde not be contented, but in deſpite of God, who commaundeth obedience, and in contempt of the king, whoſe lawes ſeeketh your wealthe, and to ouerthrow the Countrie, whiche naturally we ſhuld loue, ye woulde proudly riſe, and doe yee wot not what, and amende thinges by rebellion to youre vtter vndoing. What ſtate leaue ye vs in now, beſieged with ennemyes, deuyded at home, made poore wyth ſpoile and loſſe of our Harueſt, vnordered and caſte downe with ſlaughter and hatred, hindered from amendements, by our owne diueliſhe haſte, endaungered wyth ſickneſſes, by reaſon of miſorder, laide open to mens pleaſures, for breaking of the lawes, and feebled to ſuch faintneſſe, that ſcarſely it wil be recouered.

Wherefore for gods ſake haue pitie on your ſelues, conſider how miſerably ye haue ſpoiled, deſtroied, and waſted vs all, and if for deſperatneſſe ye care not for your ſelues, yet remember your wiues, your children, your Countrie, and forſake this rebellion, with humble ſubmiſſion acknowledge your faultes, & tary not the extremitie of the Kings ſword, leaue of with repentance, and turne to your dueties, aſke God forgiueneſſe, ſubmit ye to your King, be contented for a common welth one or two to die, and ye captaines for the reſidue, ſacrifice youre ſelues, ye ſhall ſo beſt attaine the Kings gratious pardon, ſaue the aſſemblie, and helpe the cõmon welth, and declare youre doings to proceede of no ſtubburneſſe, but all this miſchiefe to grow out of ignoraunce, which ſeeing the miſerie, would redreſſe the faulte, and ſo recouer beſt the blot of your diſorder, and ſtay the great miſeries which be like to folow.

Thus if ye doe not, thinke truely with your ſelues, that God is angry with you for youre rebellion, the kings ſworde drawne to defende his countreye, the crye of the poore to God againſt ye, the readineſſe of the honeſt in armor to vanquiſh ye, your death to be at hand, which ye can not eſcape, hauing God againſt ye, as he promiſeth in word, the kings power to ouerthrow ye, gathered in the field, the cõmon welth to beate ye down with ſtripes & with curſſes, yͤ ſhame of your miſchief to blemiſh ye for euer.

Thus far Sir Iohn Cheeke.

During the tyme of theſe commotions and ſturres here within the realme, to the great danger of the eſtate, the french king hauing knowledge thereof, ment not to omitte the oportunitie offred, to recouer out of the Engliſhmens handes thoſe Fortreſſes whiche they helde at Boullongn and in Boullongnoys. Wherupon he gaue ſommonance to the gentlemen & men of armes, and others of his realme, to put them ſelues in order with al their furniture, that they might bee ready to attende him in his armie in Boullongnoys by a day appointed. And about the ſame time, to wit, in the beginning of Auguſt the French king purpoſing to ſurpriſe the Iſles of Gernſey and Ierſey, apoynted certain Galleys and ſhippes of warre to paſſe thither, but being receyued by the king of Englandes Nauie that laye there, and other of the Iland, they were beaten backe and repulſed, with the loſſe of a thouſand men (as ſome write) and ſo were conſtrained to retire without atchieuing their enterpriſe. Credible worde was brought out of Frãce to the L. Protector, that into one towne in one veſſell were brought at the leaſt iij. ſcore gentlemen to bee buryed, and alſo an inhibition giuen out by the Frenche king, not to ſpeake of the euill ſucceſſe of that iourney.

M. Foxe.

In the meane tyme, the French king being come downe to Abuile, departed from thence the. xvj. of Auguſt, and comming vnto Rue, lodged there that night, and the next day came to Monſtreul, where he found the Conneſtable and Monſieur Daumalle.

The nexte daye beyng the eightenth of Auguſt, he came to his army lodged foure leagues on this ſyde Monſtreull at a Village called Neuf caſtell neere to the Foreſt of Ardelo, vppon the way that leadeth to Boullongne.

The ſame daye were certaine Pioners ſent to Pont de Bricque to repaire the Bridge there, and to make the wayes eaſy for the artillerie to paſſe. The nexte daye the ſaide Kyng with his armye paſſed by Boullongne berg, and camped that night on a little hill betwixte that foreſt, and the foreſt of Surene.

In this place he cauſed trenches to be caſt about a plot of ground after the maner of a fortreſſe, within the whiche he left certain bandes of men of warre to bee a ſafegarde to ſuche as ſhuld paſſe to and fro with victuals to furniſh his campe. He ſtayed not there paſt a day and a halfe, but remoued vnto Ardenton, a myle or little more beyonde Marguiſen: From thence he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, ſomewhat more than a myle and a halfe from Hambleteuue. The French K. hauing viewed the Fortes, cauſed. xxv. peeces of artillerie to be planted againſt that forte, whiche was buylte in a place called the Almayne Campe, but the Frenchmen named it le Fort de Selaque, diſtant from Hambleteuue about a quarter of a myle. The artillerie hadde not gone off little more than the ſpace of two houres, but yͤ Charles Sturton capitain of that peece, and George Willoughby, a gentleman aſſociate with him came forth to parley with the Conneſtable, offering to yelde the fort into his handes, vppon condition they myght departe with bagge and baggage. But as they were thus in hande to make their compoſition, the Frenchemen thruſt forward to the rampires, and entred in plumpes into the fortreſſe, ſlewe. lxxx. perſons, and toke the reſte priſoners. There mighte bee in al within that peece. CCxxx. perſons, men and women. This hapned the. xxiiij. of Auguſt, being Bartholmewe daye.

Les Chroniques de A-quitaine.

The fort called the Almayne campe vvon

The caſtell of Hambletew loſte.

Hambleteuue ſommoned.

This done, the King cauſed part of the artillerie to be planted againſt the caſtel of Hambleteuue ſituate at the one ende of the Towne neare to the Sea ſide. Towardes night Monſieure de Vandoſme gaue an approche to the ſaide Caſtell and they within by commaundement of my Lorde Iohn Grey retired to the maine forte to helpe to furniſh the ſame wanting numbers ſufficient to defend it. The next day being the. xxv. of Auguſt the Kyng cauſed approches to be made vnto the greate Fort, and the morrow after, the batterie began moſt furiouſly. The ſame day after diner, the king ſummoned them within to yeld, but the Lord Iohn Gray being generall (althoughe he ſawe howe weake the peece was of it ſelf, and the lacke of ſufficient numbers of men to reſiſt ſuch a puiſſant force (as the french K. had ther with him) wold not yet hearken vnto any talke, nor ſuffer the Herralt to come nere, for that he ſhould not perceiue the weaknes of the pece, and ſo he was cõmaunded to get him thence with ſpeede, or elſe they would cauſe him to be packing ſmally to his eaſe. The French K. ſore offended herewith yͤ his Herault was ſo vncurteouſly vſed, cauſed the batterie to be reenforced with greate diligence, which diſmounting their ordinãce within and beating downe the Rampires, made ſuche breaches, that my Lord John and the Captains within perceyued they were not able by anye meanes to defende the place any longer. Hereupon they offred to render the Fort to the King vpon compoſition, which in the ende fell oute to be thus, that the Souldiours ſhoulde depart with their liues ſaued, and that their generall for honor ſake, ſhoulde haue one horſe to ryde on in his Corſlet without ſworde or dagger, and likewiſe two other Captaynes with him: but as for the other Souldiers, with the women and children, ſhoulde depart a foote in theyr ſhyrtes, leauing all their goodes and ſubſtance behind them.

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d to the
king.

After it was agreed that the Fort ſhould thus be ſurrendered, there entred Monſieur de Caſtillō that was after Admirall of Fraunce, and Monſieur de Deſſe, lately returned oute of Scotlande.

The French Souldiours entring by ſtealth into the Fort by the breaches, committed foule diſorders, not onely in ranſacking the houſes but alſo in ſpoyling the Souldiours by force entreating them in moſt rigorous maner.

The Frenche writers confeſſe, that it was pitie to ſee there poore men and women ſo miſerably handled and abuſed, as they were by the outragious Souldiours that thus entred the Fort, and ſacked all that they coulde lay handes vpon. Monſieur de Deſſe ſaued a great number of women, and yong Maydens from the cruell handes of theyr aduerſaryes, cauſing them to paſſe forth by the breache, and preſented them to the King, who appoynted that they ſhoulde bee conueyed in ſafetie with all that they hadde aboute them, tyll they were gotten oute of daunger.

Monſieur de Chattillon by the Kings commaundement, cauſed all the reſt wythin the fort to come forth, who paſſing three and three in a raunge, came before the king, who ſtoode there to beholde them, with the whole armie placed ſo in order on eyther ſyde the way as they ſhoulde come, that they myght paſſe betwixt their ranks, as it were through a lane. They that came forth in this ſorte, myght bee as the Frenche wryters record, about ſeuen or eight hundred in al, of men and women, whereof there were many hurt and maymed, ſome with halfe a ſhyrte on to couer them, and diuerſe ſtarke naked. My Lord John Gray being mounted on a Curtaile, paſſing by the French King, and ſaluting him, was courteouſly of him embraced.

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Ham-
ne.

The Morrow after was the Fort of Blankneſſe or Blaconneſſe rendred to the French king, with the like conditions as they of Hambleteuue had rendred theirs. This was on the Tueſday the .xxvij. of Auguſt.

The .xxix. of Auguſt, ſir Nicholas Arnault conueying all the Artillerie, Munition, vittailes, and goodes out of Bollongne berg, cauſed fyre to be ſet on that Fort, and retyred wyth all hys Souldiours and other people vnto Bollongne, whereupon ſhortly after the Frenchmen ſeazed vpon the ſayde place of Bollongne berg and kept it.

The French K. leauing Monſieur de Chatillon within Hambleteuue with the olde bandes of the French footemen, returned towardes Bollongne, and approching within a myle and a halfe of the olde Man, ment to builde there a forte on the ſea ſyde, but what through ſuche ſharpe ſkyrmiſhes as the Engliſh men continually were readie to make with his men, and what through the aboundaunce of rayne which fell in that ſeaſon, he was conſtrayned to breake vp his campe, and leauing ſtrong garriſons both of Horſemen and footemen in all thoſe places which hee had in that ſeaſon wonne oute of the Engliſh mens hands, hee returned himſelfe with the Princes of his bloud into France.

In this meane tyme, whyleſt the Frenche King was thus occupyed to vſe the oportunitie of tyme, in recouering of thoſe Fortreſſes in Bollonoys oute of the Engliſhe mennes handes, the Kings Maieſtie, and his Counſayle, were buſie ſtill in quieting his rebellious Subiectes here in Englande, and finally for meane of a full pacification, and to ſette all things in good frame and quiet reſt, the King publiſhed his Graces moſte generall and free pardon to all Rebelles, ſo that they woulde forthwyth vppon publication of the ſame pardon, returne euerye manne to hys houſe and Countrey, whiche they gladly did, and ſo theſe ſeditious and moſte daungerous troubles were brought to ende and pacified.

Grafton.

The counſaile withdraw thẽſelues into priuate conferences.

Nowe after that theſe hurlie burlyes were throughly quieted, manye of the Lordes of the Realme, as well Counſaylours as other, miſlyking the gouernment of the Protectour, beganne to withdrawe themſelues from the Court, and reſorting to London, fell to ſecrete conſultation for redreſſe of things, but namely for the diſplacing of the Lord Protector. And ſodainly vpon what occaſion many marueyled, and fewe knew, euery Lorde and Counſaylor went through the Citie weaponed, and had their ſeruants likewiſe weaponed, attending vpon them in newe liueryes to the great wondering of many. And at the laſt, a great aſſemble of the ſayde Counſaylors was made at the Earle of Warwickes lodging, which was then at Elie place in Holborne, whether all the confederates in this matter came priuily armed, and finally concluded to poſſeſſe the Tower of London, which by the policie of ſir

William Paulet Lord Treaſurer of Englande was peaceably obteyned, and who by order of the ſayde confederates immediately remoued ſir John Markam then lieutenaunt of the tower, and placed in that rowme ſir Leonard Chamberlain. And after that the ſayde Counſaile was broken vp at Elie place, the Erle of Warwike remoued forthwith into the citie of London, and lay in the houſe of one John Yorke a Citizen of London, who was then chiefe maſter of the mynt, kept at Suffolkes place in Southwarke. The Lord protector hearing of the maner of the aſſembly of this counſaile, & of the taking of the tower, which ſeemed to him verie ſtraunge and doubtfull, did preſently the ſayd night remoue from Hampton Court, taking the king with him, vnto the caſtell of Windſor, and there began to fortifie the ſame, & withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman the Lord Ruſſel Lord priuie ſeale, remayning as yet in the weſt countrey, aduertiſing him of theſe troubles as followeth.

The Protector remoueth in haſt with the king to Windſore.

A letter of the Lord Protectors to the Lord Ruſſell Lorde priuie ſeale, concerning troubles working agaynſt him.

M. Foxe.

A letter of the L. Protectors to the Lorde priuie ſeale.

After oure right heartie commendadions to your good Lordſhip: here hath of late ryſen ſuch a conſpiracie againſt the kings Maieſtie and vs, as neuer hath beene ſeene, the which they cannot maintayne, with ſuch vaine letters and falſe tales ſurmiſed, as was neuer ment nor intended on vs. They pretend and ſay, that we haue ſolde Bollongne to the French, and that we do withholde wages from the ſouldiours, and other ſuche tales & letters they do ſpread abrode (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wiſh to liue) the matter now being brought to a maruelous extremitie, ſuch as we woulde neuer haue thought it coulde haue come vnto, eſpecially of thoſe men towards the kings Maieſtie and vs, of whom we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the caſe being as it is, this is to require and pray you, to haſten you hither to the defence of the kings maieſtie, in ſuch force and power as you may, to ſhewe the parte of a true Gentleman, and of a verie friende: the which thing wee truſt God ſhall rewarde, and the Kings Maieſtie in tyme to come, and wee ſhall neuer be vnmindefull of it to. We are ſure you ſhall haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your duetie to the Kings Maieſtie, we require you to make no ſtay, but immediatelye repayre wyth ſuche force as yee haue, to hys highneſſe in his Caſtell of Wyndſore, and cauſe the reſt of ſuche force as yee maye, make to followe you. And ſo wee bidde you ryghte heartily fare well. From Hampton Court, the ſixth of October.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing friend
Edward Somerſet.

An anſwere to the Lord Protectors letter.

To this letter of the Lord Protectors ſent the ſixt of October: the Lord Ruſſell returning anſwere againe vpon the. viij. of the ſayd Moneth, firſt lamenteth the heauie diſſention fallen betweene the Nobilitie and him, which he taketh for ſuch a plague, as a greater coulde not bee ſent of almightie God vpon thys Realme, beeyng the next waye (ſayeth hee) to make vs of Conquerours ſlaues, and like to induce vpon the whole Realme an vniuerſall thraldome and calamitie, vnleſſe the mercifull goodneſſe of the Lorde doe helpe, and ſome wyſe order be taken in ſtaying theſe great extremities. And as touching the Dukes requeſt in his letters, for as much as hee had hearde before of the broyle of the Lords, and feared leaſte ſome conſpiracie hadde beene ment agaynſt the Kings perſon, hee haſted forwarde wyth ſuche companye as he coulde make, for the ſuretie of the King as to hym appertayned. Nowe perceyuing by the Lordes Letters ſent vnto him the ſame ſixth daye of October, theſe tumultes to ryſe vppon priuate cauſes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a conuenient power ſhoulde bee leuyed to be in a readineſſe to withſtande the worſt (what perilles ſoeuer myght enſue) for the preſeruation both of the king and ſtate of the realme from inuaſion of forreine enimyes, and alſo for the ſtaying of bloudſhed, if any ſuch thing ſhould be intruded betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking beſt for the diſcharge of his allegiance, humbly beſeecheth hys grace to haue the ſame alſo in ſpeciall regarde and conſideration, firſt that the Kings Maieſtie be put in no feare, and that if there bee any ſuche thing, wherein he hath giuen iuſt cauſe to them thus to proceede, he will ſo conforme himſelfe, as no ſuch priuate quarels do redounde to the publike diſturbaunce of the Realme: certifying moreouer the Duke, that if it were true whiche hee vnderſtandeth by the Letters of the Lordes, that he ſhoulde ſende about Proclamations and letters for rayſing vp of the Commons, he lyked not the ſame. Notwithſtanding he truſted well, that his wiſedome would take ſuch a way, as no effuſion of bloud ſhould follow.

The effect
the L. Ru
letter anſwe
ting to the
Protector.

And thus much being conteyned in his former letters yͤ. viij. of October, in his next letters again written the. xj. of October, the ſaid Lord Ruſſell reioyſing to heare of the moſte reaſonable offers of the Lorde Protectour made to the Lordes,

The conten
the ſecond
were of the
Ruſſell to
L. Protector.

wryteth

wꝛiteth vnto him & promiſeth to doe, what in the vttermoſt power of him (and likewiſe of ſir W. Herbert ioined togither with him) did lie, to woꝛke ſome honoꝛable reconciliation betwene him and them: ſo as his ſaide offers being accepted and ſatiſfied, ſome good concluſion might enſue, accoꝛding to their good hope and expectation, ſignifying moꝛeouer, that as touching the leuying of men, they had reſolued to haue the ſame in readineſſe for the benefit of the realme, to occurre al inconueniences whatſoeuer, either by foꝛraigne inuaſion oꝛ otherwiſe might happen, and ſo hauing their power at hand to ſhew peace, wherby they might haue the better opoꝛtunitie to be ſolicitoꝛs and a meanes foꝛ this refoꝛmation on both parts &c. And thus much foꝛ the anſwere of the Loꝛde Ruſſell to the Loꝛd Protectoꝛs letters.

good lord
ls ſoli-
peace
the
the lords.

But now to the matter againe of the Loꝛds who togither with the Earle of Warwike (vpon what occaſion God knoweth) being aſſembled at London (as ye haue heard) againſt the loꝛd Protectoꝛ: when the king with his counſaile at Hampton Court heard thereof, firſt Secretarie Peter with the kings meſſage was ſent vnto them, whom the Loꝛds notwithſtanding deteyned ſtill with them, making as yet no anſwer to ý meſſage. Wherevpon the Loꝛd Protectoꝛ wꝛiteth to them in this maner as followeth.

lords of
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A letter of the Lorde Protector to the Counſaile at London.

protectors
r to the
il.

My Loꝛdes we commend vs heartily vnto you. And wheras the kings Maieſtie was infoꝛmed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſoꝛt as you do, and now remaine, and was aduiſed by vs and ſuch other of his counſail, as were then hereabout his perſon, to ſend maiſter Secretarie Peter vnto you with ſuch a meſſage, as whereby might haue inſued ý ſuretie of his maieſties perſon, with preſeruation of his realme and ſubiects, and the quiet both of vs and your ſelues, as maiſter Secretarie can wel declare to you, his maieſtie and we of his counſaile here do not a little merualle, that you ſtay ſtill with you the ſaid maſter Secretarie, and haue not as it were vouchſafed to ſend anſwer to his Maieſtie, neither by him noꝛ yet any other. And foꝛ our ſelues we do much moꝛe maruel and are ſoꝛie, as both we and you haue good cauſe to be, to ſee the maner of your doings bent with foꝛce of violence, to bꝛing the Kings Maieſtie and vs to theſe extremities. Which as we do intende, if you wil take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth binde vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hande, who giueth victoꝛie as it pleaſeth him: ſo if that any reaſonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none hath bin ſignified vnto vs from you, noꝛ we doe not vnderſtande, what you do require oꝛ ſeeke, oꝛ what you do meane) and that you do ſeeke no hurt to the kings Maieſties perſon, as touching all other priuate matters, to auoyde the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, & to preſerue the kings Maieſties perſon, his realme & ſubiects, you ſhall find vs agreeable to any reaſonable conditions that you wil require. Foꝛ we do eſteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme moꝛe then al other woꝛldly things, yea than our own life. Thus praying you to ſend vs your determinate anſwere herin by maiſter Secretarie Peter, oꝛ if you wil not let him go, by this bearer, we beſeech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinat this matter, as may be to Gods honoꝛ, the preſeruation of the king, & the quiet of vs all: which may be, if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt hartily farewel. Fro the kings Maieſties caſtel of Windſoꝛ the .vij. of October. 1459.

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m ſent
the Lordes
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m to do.

Your Lordſhips louing friend
Edward Somerſet.

After the receipt of theſe letters, the loꝛds ſeeming not greatly to regard the offers conteyned therin, perſiſted in their intended purpoſe, and continuing ſtill in London conferred with the Maioꝛ of London and his bꝛethꝛen, firſt willing them to cauſe a good and ſubſtanciall watch by night, and a good ward by day, to be kept foꝛ the ſafegard of the Citie, and the poꝛtes and gates thereof, which was conſented vnto: and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and warde accoꝛdingly.

Then the ſaid loꝛds & counſayloꝛs demaunded of the Loꝛd Maioꝛ and his bꝛethꝛen fiue. C. men to ayde them, to fetch the Loꝛde Protectoꝛ out of Windſoꝛe from the king. But therunto the Maioꝛ anſwered, that he could graunt no ayde without the aſſent of the cōmon counſaile of the citie, wherevpon the next day a common counſail was ſommoned to the Guildhall in London.

But in this meane time the ſaid Loꝛds of the counſaile aſſembled themſelues at the L. Maioꝛs houſe in London, who then was ſir Henry Amcotes Fiſhmonger, and John Yoꝛk, and Richard Turke Sheriffes of the ſaid Citie. And there the ſaid counſaile agreed and publiſhed foꝛthwith a Pꝛoclamation againſt the L. Pꝛotectoꝛ, the effect of which Pꝛoclamation was as followeth.

A proclamatiō publiſhed againſt the lord Protector.

Firſt that the Loꝛde Pꝛotectoꝛ, by his malicious and euill gouernment, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late had happened within the realme.

The loſſe of the kings peeces in France.

That he was ambicious, and ſought his owne gloꝛy, as appeared by his building of moſt ſumptuous and coſtly buildings, & ſpecially in the time of the kings warres, & the kings ſoldiers vnpaid.

That he eſteemed nothing the graue counſaile of the Counſaylers.

That he ſowed ſedition betweene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

That the Nobles aſſembled themſelues togyther at London, for none other purpoſe, but to haue cauſed the Protectour to haue liued within his limits, & to haue put ſuch order for the kings Maieſtie as apperteyned, whatſoeuer the Protectors doings were, which (as they ſayde) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and trayterous.

That the Protector ſlaundered the counſaile to the king, and did that in him lay to cauſe variance betwene the king and his nobles.

That he was a great traytor, and therfore the Lords deſired the Citie and commons to ayd thē to take him from the king. And in witneſſe & teſtimonie of the contents of the ſaid proclamation the Lords ſubſcribed their names and tytles as followeth.

The Lord Riche Lorde Chancellor.

The Lord S. John Lorde great maiſter and preſident of the Counſaile.

The Lord Marques of Northamton.

The erle of Warwike L. great chamberlaine.

The Erle of Arundel Lord Chamberlaine.

The Erle of Shrewſburie.

The Erle of Southamton Wriotheſley.

Sir Tho. Cheyny knight, treaſurer of yͤ kings houſe, and Lord warden of the cinque portes.

Sir John Gage knight, conſtable of yͤ tower.

Sir William Peter knight, Secretarie.

Sir Edward North knight.

Sir Edward Montague chiefe Juſtice of the common place.

Sir Rauſe Sadler.

Sir John Baker.

Sir Edward Wotton.

Doctor Wotton deane of Canterburie.

Sir Richarde Southwell.

After the foreſayd Proclamation was proclaimed, the Lords or the moſt part of them continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhal, during yͤ time that the L. Maior and his brethren ſat in their court or inner chamber, & entred and comuned a long while with thē, and at the laſt the Maior and his brethren came forth vnto the cōmon counſaile, where was read the kings letter ſent vnto the Maior & Citizens, commaunding them to ayd him with a thouſand men, as hath maſter Fox, and to ſend the ſame to his caſtel at Winſore: and to the ſame letter was adioyned the kings hand, & the Lord Protectors. On the other ſide, by the mouth of the Recorder it was requeſted, that the Citizens would graunt their ayd rather vnto the Lords, for that the protector had abuſed both the kings Maieſtie, and the whole Realme, and without that he were taken from the king, and made to vnderſtand his folly, this realme was in a great hazard, and therefore required that the Citizens would willingly aſſiſt to ayde the Lords with fiue hundred men: herevnto was none other anſwere made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that time was a worthie gentleman called maiſter Brooke) ſtill cryed vpon them for anſwere. At the laſt ſtepped vp a wiſe & good Citizen, named (as maiſter Fox ſaith) George Stadlow, and ſayde thus. In this caſe it is good for vs to thinke of things paſt to auoyde the daunger of things to come. I remember ſayth he, in a ſtorie written in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the ſame time the barons (as our lords do now) commaūded ayd of the Maior & Citie of London, & that in a rightfull cauſe for the common weale, which was for the executiō of diuers good lawes, wherevnto the king before had giuen his conſent, & after would not ſuffer them to take place, and the citie did ayd the Lords, & it came to an open battail, wherin the lords preuailed, & toke the king & his ſon priſoners, and vpon certain conditions the lords reſtored again the king & his ſon to their liberties. And among all other cōditions this was one, that the king ſhould not only graunt his pardon to the lords, but alſo to the citizens of Lōdon, which was graunted, yea & the ſame was ratified by act of parliamēt. But what folowed of it? was it forgotten? no ſurely, nor forgiuen during the kings life, the liberties of yͤ citie were takē away, ſtrangers appointed to be our heads & gouernors, the Citizens giuen away body & goods, & frō one perſecution to another, were moſt miſerably afflicted: ſuch it is to enter into yͤ wrath of a prince, as Salomon ſaith, the wrath & indignation of a prince is death. Wherfore foraſmuch as this ayd is required of the kings maieſtie, whoſe voice we ought to herken vnto (for he is our high ſhepherd) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wiſh the lords to be clearly ſhaken off, but yͭ they with vs, & we with them may ioyne in ſuite, and make our moſt humble petition to the kings maieſtie, that it would pleaſe his highneſſe, to heare ſuch complaint againſt the gouernment of the L. Protector as may bee iuſtly alledged and proued. And I doubt not but this matter wil be ſo pacified, that neither ſhall the king, nor yet the lordes haue cauſe to ſeeke for further ayde, neither we to offend any of them both. After this tale the commons ſtayed, and the Lorde Maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterwarde comuned with the Lordes.

The kings letter read to the Citizens.

The ſaying
George S
low.

The Lords ſate the next day in counſaile in the ſterre chamber, and from thence they ſent ſir Philip Hobby with their letters of credence to the kings maieſtie, beſeeching his highneſſe to giue

Sir Philip
Hoby ſent
the king by
the Lordes.

credite to that which the ſayd Philip ſhould declare vnto his Maieſtie in their names: and the king gaue him libertie to ſpeake, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. And truly he did ſo wiſely declare his meſſage, and ſo grauely told his tale in the name of the Lordes, but therwithall ſo vehemently and grieuouſly agaynſt the Protector, who was alſo there preſent by the king, that in the ende, the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kings preſence, and ſhortly was cõmitted to warde in a tower within the caſtell of Windſore, called Beauchamps tower. And ſone after were ſtayed ſir Thomas Smith, ſir Michaell Stanhope, and ſir Iohn Thinne knights, maiſter Whalley, maiſter Fiſher, Woulfe of the priuie Chamber, Grey of Reading, and diuerſe other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord Protector. And the ſame day the Lordes of the counſaile came to Windſore to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conueyed them through the Citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remayned priſoners.

Lord Pro
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Lorde
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wer,

Shortly after the Lordes reſorted to the tower, and there charged the Protector with ſundrie articles, as followeth.

Articles obiected againſt the Lord Protector.

1 *In primis*, You toke vpon you the office of a Protector and gouernor, vpon condition expreſly and ſpecially, that you would doe nothing in the kings affayres publikely or priuately, but by the aſſent of the late kings executors.

2 Alſo you contrarie to the ſayde condition, of your owne authoritie, did ſtay and let iuſtice, and ſubuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commaundements.

3 Alſo you cauſed diuerſe perſons being areſted and impriſoned for treaſon, murder, manſlaughter and felony, to be diſcharged and ſet at large againſt the kings lawes & ſtatutes of this realme.

4 Alſo you haue made and ordeyned lieutenãts for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires, vnder your owne writing and ſeale.

5 Alſo you haue cõmoned with the Ambaſſadors of other realmes, diſcourſing alone with thẽ in the waightie cauſes of this realme.

6 Alſo you haue ſometime rebuked, checked and taunted, as wel priuately as openly, diuerſe of the kings moſt honorable Counſailors, for ſhewing and declaring their aduiſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the kings weightie affaires, ſaying ſomtimes to them, that you neede not to open matters vnto them, and would therfore be otherwiſe aduiſed: and that you woulde if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleaſure.

7 Alſo you had and held againſt the lawe in your owne houſe, a court of Requeſts, and thereby did enforce diuerſe the kings ſubiectes to anſwere for their free holds and goods, and determined the ſame to the ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

8 Alſo you being no officer, without the aduice of the counſaile, or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the offices of the kings gift for mony, and graunted leaſes and wardes of the Kings, and gaue preſentations to the kings benefices & Biſhopriks, hauing no authoritie ſo to do. And further, you did meddle with the ſelling of ỹ kings lands.

9 Alſo you cõmanded multiplication, and alcumiſtrie to be practiſed to abuſe the kings coine.

10 Alſo you cauſed a proclamation to be made concerning incloſures, wherby the cõmon people haue made diuerſe inſurrections, and leuied open warre, and diſtreyned and ſpoyled diuerſe of the kings ſubiects, which Proclamation went forth againſt the will of the whole Counſaile.

11 Alſo you haue cauſed a commiſſion with certain articles therevnto annexed, to be made out concerning incloſures of cõmons, high wayes, decaying of cottages, and diuerſe other things, giuing the Commiſſioners authoritie to heare and determin the ſame cauſes, to the ſubuerſion of the lawes and ſtatutes of this realme: whereby much ſedition, inſurrection, and rebellion hath riſen and growen among the kings ſubiects.

12 Alſo you haue ſuffered the rebels & traytors to aſſemble and to lie in camp and armor againſt the king his nobles and gentlemen, without any ſpeedie ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13 Alſo you did comfort and encourage diuers of the ſayd rebels, by giuing of them diuers ſums of your owne money, and by promiſing to diuers of them, fees, rewards, and ſeruices.

14 Alſo you in fauor of the ſaide rebels, did againſt the lawes, cauſe a proclamatiõ to be made that none of the ſayd rebels and traytors ſhoulde be ſued or vexed by any perſon, for any their offences in the ſayd rebellion, to the cleare ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

15 Alſo you haue ſaid in time of the rebellion, that you liked wel the doings and proceedings of the ſayd rebels and traytors, and ſaid that the couetouſnes of the gentlemẽ gaue occaſion to ỹ cõmon people to riſe: ſaying alſo, that better it is for the cõmons to die, than periſh for lacke of liuing.

16 Alſo you ſaid that the lords of the parliamẽt were loth to incline themſelues to reformation of incloſures and other things: therefore the people had good cauſe to reforme the things themſelues.

17 Alſo you after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by ſuch as did ſuruey Bollongne and the peeces there, would neuer amend the ſame defaults.

18 Alſo you would not ſuffer the peeces beyond the ſeas, called new hauen, and Blackneſſe, to

bee furniſhed with men and vytayles, although you were aduertiſed of the defaultes therein by the Captaines of the ſame peeces and others, and were thereto aduertiſed by the kings Counſaile: whereby the French king beeing the kings open enimie, was encouraged and comforted to winne the ſaid peeces, to the kings great loſſe, and diſhonour of his realme.

19 Alſo you declared and publiſhed vntruly, as well to the kings Maieſtie, as other the yong Lordes attendant vpon his graces perſon, that the Lords of the Counſail at London minded to deſtroy the king, and you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewiſe you required the yong Lordes to put the King in remembrance therof, to the intent to make ſedition and diſcord betwene the king and his Lords.

29 Alſo where the Kings Maieſties priuie Counſaile, of their loue and zeale that they dyd beare vnto the King and his realme, did conſult at London to haue commned with you to the intent to moue you charitably to amend your doings and miſgouernment, you hearing of the ſaid aſſembly, did cauſe to be declared by letters in diuerſe places the ſayd Lordes to be high traytors to the King, to the great diſturbaunce of the Realme.

And thus much for theſe troubles of the Lord Protectour, and Articles agaynſt him obiected, to the ende (as was doubted) that the ſame ſhoulde haue coſt him his life: but ſuch was the pleaſure of almightie God, diſpoſing mennes heartes as ſeemeth to him beſt, that at length, to wit the ſixt of Februarie next, he was deliuered, and the Proclamation before ſet forth agaynſt him reuoked and called in. And thus being againe reſtored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie, he continued therein for the ſpace of two yeares, and two dayes, til new troubles chaunced to him as after ſhall appeare.

But nowe to returne to other doings. Whileſt theſe hurles and tumultes were in hande, to the danger of the whole ſtate, the warres againſt the Scottes were nothing followed, according to the former purpoſed meaning of the Counſaile, ſo that it ſeemed neceſſarie to giue ouer the keeping of Hadington, the ſame beeing in deede more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, ſithe the garniſon there coulde not be vytayled, but with a greate power to conduct the Cariages in ſafetie, the enimies being ſtill readie to take theyr aduauntage to dyſtreſſe them vppon anye oportunitie offred. It was therefore reſolued that the Earle of Rutlande ſhoulde goe thither to ſee the fortifications razed, and to conduct from thence the men and ordinaunce in ſafetie home into Englande.

Hereuppon the ſayde Earle wyth the Almaines and other Souldiours then remaynyng on the borders marched thyther, and cauſed the Bulwarkes, Rampires, and Trenches to be razed and filled flatte with the grounde, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bagge and baggage, returned vnto Berwike without encounter in peaceable and quiet maner.

Hadingto razed.

Shortly after this, the Kings Maieſtie called his high Court of Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter, the .xxiiij. day of Nouember in this thirde yeare of his raigne, and there continued the ſame vntill the firſt daye of Februarie next following, which was in the beginning of the Fourth yeare of his raigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one ſtatute was made for the puniſhmente of Rebelles, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, the which lawe was made by occaſion of the late rebellion that happened in maner through the Realme the yeare paſſed, & was not thought nor ment to haue touched any noble man, ſpecially ſuche as the Duke of Somerſet was, which after (as it ſhal appeare) it did, and by that Statute hee was condemned within two yeares next after.

A Parliame

An Act for v lawfull aſſe blies.

About the ſame tyme, Monſieur de Thermes that ſucceeded Monſieur de Deſſe in gouernment as Generall of the French forces in Scotlande, came before Broughticragge, where he did ſo much by batterie and other kindes of enforcement, that gyuing an aſſault both wyth his Frenchmen and certaine Scots ioyned with him, the .xx. of Februarie, the Fort was entered by fine force, and all wythin it eyther taken or ſlaine. Sir John Lutterell gouernour of that peece, remayned pryſoner amongeſt the Frenchmen.

1550

Anno reg. 4

Moreouer, now after the ende of the Parliament, the Erle of Warwicke hauing then higheſt authoritie, and the reſt of the Lordes of the Counſaile, calling to remembrance howe the laſt yeare in the tyme of rebellion, the French king had entred into Bollonois, and wonne dyuerſe of the Engliſh Fortes there being of great importaunce for defence of the Towne and Countrey, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernement of the Lorde Protectour. And for as much as they well vnderſtode that the Frenche King vppon further practiſe had placed a Captaine called the Reingraue wyth diuerſe regiments of Almaine Lancequenets, and certaine Enſignes of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thouſand at the Towne of Morguiſon, being the mydway betwene Bollongne and Calais, to the great perill and daunger as well of the Countie of Bollonois, as alſo of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the low Countrey.

The king therefore for the defence of the ſayd frontiers, cauſed al the ſtraungers which had ſerued that yeare againſt the rebels, being to the nūber of two. M. to be tranſported ouer ẏ ſea to the marches of Calays. And now at Chriſtmas laſt paſt, by order of the ſaid Erle, and of the counſaylers aforeſaid, Frances Erle of Huntingdon, and ſir Edwarde Haſtings his brother, ſir Iames Croft, ſir Leonard Chamberlaine, and dyuerſe other Captaynes and ſouldiers, to the number of three thouſand, were ſet ouer to the marches of Calais, to ioyne with the ſaid ſtrangers, minding with as cōuenient ſpeed as they might, to remoue the campe, and otherwiſe to annoy the Frenche. But in the meane time through the diligent trauaile of certaine perſons, ſpecially of one Guidotti an Italian, and a Florentine borne, there was a motion made for a treatie to bee had by certaine Commiſſioners, appointed betwixt the Kings of England and France, for the concluſion of ſome peace vpon ſuch reaſonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the preſent time, and to ſtande with the honour and commoditie of both the Princes.

ſſioners to treate peace.

This motion tooke ſuch effect, that about the ſeuenth day of Februarie, certaine Commiſſioners appoynted for this treatie, that is to witte, the Earle of Bedforde, the Lord Paget, ſir William Peter the Kings chiefe Secretarie; and ſir Iohn Maſon, arriued at Calays: By reaſon of whoſe comming, the Earle of Huntingdon, and the armie ſent ouer before for the defence of the frontiers were countermaunded frō any attempt ſo that litle or nothing was done in that voyage, ſauing certaine ſkirmiſhes at diuerſe times, not much materiall to be written of.

These commiſſioners being thus arriued, paſſed from Calais to Bollongne, there to meete with the Cōmiſſioners appoynted for the French king, where as a certaine houſe was newly erected for the ſaid treatie to be had, which was vpon the ſide of Bollongne hauē next to France, where after diuerſe meetings and conferences of the Cōmiſſioners of either partie, a finall peace was at laſt concluded betwixt both the realmes. But chiefly among other things, for the reſtitution of Bollongne & Bollonois vnto the French, which was vpon certaine conditions following.

peace con- ded with

First that the French king ſhould yeelde and pay to the king of England a certaine ſumme of money, and the ſame to bee payde at two payments, as it was then agreed, and for the ſame ſumme the king of Englande ſhoulde render the towne of Bollongne, and all the Fortes thereto adioyning, which he then enioyed, with all ſuche artillerie and munition as was there founde at the taking of the ſame vnto the French king. And for the ſure payment of the ſayde ſummes, the French king ſent into England for hoſtages and pledges, the Countie D'Inguien, Lewes the duke of Vandoſme his brother, the Vidame of Charters, and the duke de Aumale and other. And on S. Markes day next following, being the .xxv. day of Aprill, about .viij. of the clocke in the morning, the Engliſh men did deliuer to the French men the poſſeſſion of Bollongne, and the Caſtels and fortes in the Countie of Bollonois, according to the agreemēts and articles of peace aforementioned. And the fifteenth day next following the Frenche King entred into the ſayd towne of Bollongne with Trumpets blowne, and with al the royall triumph that might be, where he offred one great Image of ſiluer of oure Ladie in the church there, which was called our Ladie church: the whiche Image he had cauſed ſpecially to bee made in the honor of the ſaide Ladie, and cauſed the ſame to be ſet vp in the place where the lyke Image before did ſtande, the which before was taken away by the Engliſh men at the winning of the towne.

Bollongne giuen vp to the French.

He entreth.

The duke of Somerſet deliuered out of the Tower.

Soone after this agreement, bycauſe of ſuſpition of diſpleaſure and hatred that was thought to remaine betwene the Earle of Warwike and the duke of Somerſet, lately before deliuered out of the Tower, a meane was founde that theyr friendſhip ſhould be renued through alliance; and a maryage was concluded betwene the Earle of Warwikes eldeſt ſonne, and the Duke of Somerſets eldeſt daughter, the whiche maryage was ſolemnized at Shene, the King being then preſent.

A mariage.

After the ſolemnitie of this maryage, there appeared outwardlye to the Worlde great loue and friendſhip betweene the Duke and the Earle, but by reaſon of carie tales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit many did verie earneſtly wiſhe loue and amitie to continue betwene them.

1551

An. reg. 5.

Arden murthered.

About this tyme there was at Feuerſham in Kent, a Gentleman named Arden, moſt cruelly murthered and ſlaine by the procurement of hys owne wife. The which murther for the horribleneſſe thereof, although otherwiſe it may ſeeme to bee but a priuate matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to thys hyſtorie, I haue thought good to ſette it forth ſomewhat at large, hauing the inſtructions delyuered to me by them, that haue vſed ſome diligence to gather the true vnderſtanding of the circumſtances.

Thys Arden was a manne of a tall and comelye perſonage, and matched in maryage with a Gentlewoman, yong, tall, and well fauoured of ſhape and countenaunce, who chauncing to fall in familiaritie with one Moſbye a Tayler by occupation, a blacke ſwart man, ſeruaunt to the Lorde North, it happened thys Moſby vpon ſome miſliking to fall out with hir, but ſhe being deſirous to be in fauour with him againe, ſent him a paire of ſiluer Dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the Floure de Lice in Feuerſham. After which he reſorted to hir againe, and oftentymes lay in Ardens houſe, inſomuch that within two yeares after, he obteyned ſuche fauour at hir handes, that he laye wyth hir, or (as they terme it) kept hir, in abuſing hir bodie. And although (as it was ſayde) Maiſter Arden perceyued right well their mutuall familiaritie to be muche greater than theyr honeſtie, yet bycauſe he woulde not offende hir, and ſo loſe the benefite which he hoped to gaine at ſome of hir friendes handes in bearing with hir lewdneſſe, which he might haue loſt, if he ſhould haue fallen out with hir, he was contented to winke at hir filthie diſorder, and both permitted, and alſo inuited Moſby verie often to lodge in his houſe. And thus it continued a good ſpace before anye practiſe was begonne by them agaynſt maiſter Arden. Shee at length inflamed in loue wyth Moſbie, and loathing hir huſbande, wyſhed and after practiſed the meane howe to haſten his ende.

There was a Painter dwelling in Feuerſham, who had ſkill of poyſons (as was reported) ſhee therefore demaunded of him, whether it were true that he had ſuche ſkill in that feate or not, and he denyed not but that he had in deede. Yea, (ſayde ſhe) but I woulde haue ſuche a one made as ſhoulde haue moſt vehement and ſpeedie operation to diſpatche the eater thereof: that can I doe (quoth hee) and forthwith made hir ſuche a one, and willed hir to put it into the bottom of a Porenger, and then after to poure Mylke vpon it, which circumſtance ſhe forgetting, did cleane contrarie, putting in the Mylke firſt, and afterwarde the poyſon.

Now Maiſter Arden purpoſing that daye to ride to Canterburie, his wife brought him hys breakfaſt, whiche was wont to bee mylke and Butter: he hauing receyued a ſpoonefull or two of the Mylke, miſlyked the taſt and colour thereof, and ſayd to his wife, Miſtres Ales what milk haue you giuen me here? wherwithal ſhe tylted it ouer with hir hande, ſaying, I wene nothing can pleaſe you. Then hee tooke horſe and road towardes Canterburie, & by the way fell into extreeme purging vpwards and downwardes, and ſo eſcaped for that time.

After this, his wife fell in acquaintance with one Greene of Feuerſham, ſeruant to ſir Anthony Ager, from which Green maiſter Arden had wreſted a peece of ground on the backſide of the Abbey of Feuerſham, and there had blowes & great threates paſſed betwixt them about that matter. Therefore ſhee knowing that Greene hated hir huſbãd, began to practiſe with him how to make him away, and concluded that if he could get any that wold kil him, he ſhuld haue ten poundes for a reward. This Greene hauing doings for his maſter ſir Anthonie Ager, had occaſion to goe vp to London, where his maiſter then lay, and hauing ſome charge vp with him, deſired one Bradſhaw a Goldſmith of Feuerſham that was his neighbour, to accompanie him to Graueſend, & he wold content him for his paines. This Bradſhaw being a verie honeſt man, was content, and rode with him, & when they came to Rainham down, they chaunced to ſee three or foure ſeruing men, that were comming from Leedes, and therewith Bradſhaw eſpied comming vp the hill from Rocheſter, one Blackwill a terrible cruell ruffian with a ſword and a buckler, and an other with a great ſtaffe on his necke. Then ſayde Bradſhaw to Greene, we are happie that here commeth ſome companie from Leedes, for here commeth vp agaynſt vs as murthering a knaue as any is in Englãd, if it were not for them we might chance hardly to eſcape without loſſe of our money and liues. Yea thought Greene (as he after confeſſed) ſuch a one is for my purpoſe, and therefore aſked, which is he? Yonder is he quoth Bradſhaw, the ſame that hath the ſword and Buckler: his name is blacke Will. Howe knowe you that, ſayde Greene? Bradſhaw aunſwered, I knew him at Bollongne, where we both ſerued, he was a ſouldiour, and I was ſir Richard Caundiſhes man, and there he committed many robberies and heynous murders on ſuch as trauailed betwixt Bollongne and France. By this time the other companie of ſeruing men came to them, & they going all togither, met with black Will and his fellow. The ſeruing men knew black Wil, and ſaluting him, demaunded of him whither he went, he anſwered by his bloud (for his vſe was to ſweare almoſt at euery word) I know not, nor care not, but ſet vp my ſtaffe, and euen as it falleth I goe. If thou (quoth they) wilt go back againe to Graueſend, we will giue thee thy ſupper, by his bloud (ſayd he) I care not, I am cõtent, haue with you, and ſo he returned againe with them. Then black Will tooke acquaintance of Bradſhaw, ſaying felow Bradſhaw how doſt thou? Bradſhaw vnwilling to renue acquaintance, or to haue ought to do with ſo ſhameleſſe a ruffian, ſaid, why do ye know me? yea yͭ I do (quoth he) did not we ſerue in Bollongne togither? But ye muſt pardon me (quoth Bradſhaw) for I haue forgottẽ you. Thẽ Green talked with black Wil, & ſaid, whẽ ye haue ſupped come to my hoſteſſe houſe at ſuch a ſigne, & I wil giue you the Seck & ſuger: by his blud (ſaid he) I thank you, I wil come & take it I warrant you. According to his promiſe he came, and there they made good chere. Thẽ black W. & G. went & talked apart frõ Bradſh. & there cõcluded togither

that

yͭ if he would kill maiſter Ardē, he ſhould haue ten pound for his labour, then he aunſwered, by hys woundes that I wil, if I may knowe him, marie to morrow in Poules I will ſhew him thee ſayd Greene. Then they lefte their talke, and Greene bade hym goe home to his hoſtes houſe.

Then Greene wrote a letter to miſtres Arden, and among other things, put in theſe words, we haue gote a man for our purpoſe, we may thanke my brother Bradſhaw. Now Bradſhaw not knowing any thing of this, toke the letter of him, and in the morning departed home agayne, and deliuered the letter to miſtreſſe Arden, & Greene and blacke Will went vp to London at the tide.

At the time appoynted, Greene ſhewed blacke Will maiſter Arden walking in Poules. Then ſayde blacke Will, what is hee that goeth after him? marie ſayd Greene, one of his men, by hys bloud ſayd blacke Will, I wil kil them both, nay ſaid Greene do not ſo, for he is of counſel with vs in this matter, by his bloud (ſayd he) I care not for that, I will kill them both, nay ſayde Greene, in any wiſe do not ſo. Then blacke Wil thought to haue killed maiſter Arden in Poules Churchyarde, but there were ſo many Gentlemen that accompanyed him to dinner, that he miſſed of his purpoſe. Greene ſhewed all this talke to maiſter Ardens man, whoſe name was Michael, which euer after ſtode in doubt of blacke Will, leaſt hee ſhould kill him. The cauſe that this Michael conſpired with the reſt againſt his maiſter, was, for that it was determined that he ſhould marrie a kinſwoman of Mosbyes. After this, maiſter Arden lay at a certaine Perſonage which he held in London, and therefore his man Michaell and Greene agreed, that blacke Will ſhould come in the night to the perſonage, where he ſhould fynd the dores left open, that hee mighte come in, and murther maiſter Arden. This Michael hauing his maiſter to bed, left open the dores according to yͤ appointment. His maſter then being in bed, aſked him if he had ſhut faſt yͤ dores, and he ſayd yea: but yet afterwards, fearing leaſt black Will woulde kill him as well as his maiſter, after hee was in bed himſelfe, hee roſe agayne and ſhut the dores, bolting them faſt, ſo that black Wil comming thither, and finding the dores ſhutte, departed, being diſappoynted at that time. The nexte day, blacke Wil came to Greene in a great chafe, ſwearing and ſtaring, bycauſe hee was ſo deceyued, and with many terrible othes, threatned to kil maiſter Ardens man firſt, whereſoeuer he met him. No ſaid Greene do not ſo, I will firſt knowe the cauſe of ſhutting the dores. Then Grene met and talked with Ardens man, and aſked of hym, why he did not leaue opē the dores, according to his promiſe. marie ſaid Michael, I will ſhew you the cauſe. My maſter yeſternight did that he neuer did before, for after I was a bedde, he roſe vp, and ſhut the dores, and in the morning rated me, for leauing them vnſhut. And herewith, Greene, & black Wil were pacified. Arden being ready to goe homewards, his maid came to Grene, & ſaid, this night wil my maiſter goe downe, whervpon it was agreed that blacke Will ſhoulde kyll him on Raynam downe. When maiſter Arden came to Rocheſter, his man ſtil fearing yͭ blacke Wil would kil him with his maiſter, pricked his horſe of purpoſe, & made him to hault, to the ende he might protract the time, & tarrie behinde: hys maiſter aſked him why his horſe halted, he ſaid, I know not, wel quoth his maiſter, when ye come at the Smith here before (betwene Rocheſter and the hil foote ouer againſte Chetam) remoue hys ſhoe, and ſearch him, & then come after me. So maiſter Arden rode on, and ere he came at yͤ place where blacke Wil lay in waite for him, there ouertoke him diuers Gentlemē of his aquaintāce, who kept him company, ſo that black Will miſt here alſo of his purpoſe. After yͭ maiſter Ardē was come home, he ſent (as he vſually did) his man to Shepey to ſir Tho. Cheny, then L. Warden of yͤ cinque ports, about certain buſines, and at his cōming away, hee had a letter deliuered, ſent by ſir Tho. Cheny to his maiſter. When hee came home, his miſtres toke the letter, & kept it, willing hir mā to tel his maiſter, that he had a letter deliuered him by ſir Tho. Cheny, & that he had loſt it adding yͭ he thought it beſt, that his maiſter ſhuld goe yͤ next morning to ſir Tho. bycauſe he knew not the matter: he ſaid he would, and therefore he willed his man to be ſturring betimes. In thys meane while, blacke Wil, & one George Shakebag his companyon were kept in a ſtore houſe of ſir Anthony Agers at Preſton, by Greenes appoyntment, and thither came miſtreſſe Arden to ſee him, bringing and feding him meate & drinke many times. He therfore lurking there, and watching ſome opportunitie for his purpoſe, was willed in any wiſe to be vp early in the morning to lie in waite for maiſter Arden in a certayne brome cloſe, betwixte Feuerſham and the Fery, (which cloſe he muſt needes paſſe) and there to do his feate. Now blacke Wil ſtirred in yͤ morning betimes, but hee miſt the way, & taried in a wrōg place. Maiſter Arden and his man comming on their way erely in yͤ morning towards Shornelan, where ſir Tho. Cheyny lay, as they were almoſt come to the brome cloſe, his man alwayes fearing that black Wil would kill him with hys maiſter, feined that he had loſt his purſe, why ſaid his maiſter, thou fooliſh knaue, couldeſt thou not loke to thy purſe but loſe it? what was in it, three pound ſaid he, why then goe thy wayes backe agayne lyke a knaue ſaid his maiſter, and ſeeke it, for being ſo early as it is, there is no man ſtirring, and therfore thou maiſt be ſure to find it, & then come and ouertake me at the Fery: but neuertheleſſe, by reaſon ẏ black Will loſt his way, maiſter Arden eſcaped yet once agayne. At that time, black Will yet thought he ſhould haue bin ſure to haue met him homewardes, but whether that ſome of the L. Wardens men accompanyed him backe to Feuerſham, or ẏ being in doubt, for that it was late, to goe through the broomye cloſe, and therefore tooke another way, black Will was diſappointed then alſo. But now S. Valentines faire being at hand, ẏ conſpirators thought to diſpatch their diueliſh intention at that tyme. Moſby minded to picke ſome quarrell to maiſter Arden at the faire to fight with him, for he ſayde, he could not find in his hart to murther a Gentelmã in that ſort as his wife wiſhed, although ſhe had made a ſolemne promiſe to him, and hee againe to hir to be in all poynts as mã and wife togither, and therevppon, they both receiued the Sacrament one Sonday at London, openly in a Church there. But this deuiſe to fight with hym would not ſerue, for maiſter Arden both thẽ and at other times had bin greatly prouoked by Moſby to fight with him, but hee would not. Nowe Moſby had a ſiſter that dwelt in a tenemente of maſter Ardens, neere to his houſe in Feuerſham, and on the faire euen, blacke Will was ſente for to come thither, and Greene bringing him thyther, met there with miſtres Arden, accompanyed with Michaell hir man, and one of hir maides. There were alſo Moſby & George Shakebag, & there they deuiſed to haue him killed in manner, as afterwards he was, but yet Moſby at the firſt woulde not agree to that cowardly murthering of him, but in a fury flong away, and went vp ẏ Abbey ſtreete toward the flower de luce, the houſe of ẏ aforementioned Adam Foules, where he did oftẽ hoſt: but before he came thither now at this time, a meſſenger ouertooke him, that was ſente from miſtres Arden, deſiring him of all loues, to come backe again, to help to accompliſh the matter hee knewe of: heerevpon, he returned to hir again, & at his comming back, ſhe fel downe vpon hir knees to him, & beſought him to goe through with ẏ matter, as if he loued hir, he would be contẽted to do, ſith as ſhe had diuers times told him, he needed not to doubt, for there was not any ẏ would care for his death, nor make any great inquirie for them that ſhoulde diſpatch him. Thus ſhe being earneſt with him, at length he was cõtented to agree vnto that horrible deuiſe, & therevpon, they conueyd black Will into maiſter Ardens houſe, putting him into a cloſet at ẏ end of his Parloure. Before this, they had ſent out of the houſe all the ſeruants, thoſe excepted which were priuie to the deuiſed murther. Then went Moſby to the dore, and there ſtood in a nighte gowne of ſilke girded about him, and this was betwixte ſixe & ſeuen of the clocke at nighte. Maſter Arden hauing bene at a neighbors houſe of his, named Dumpkin, & hauing cleered certaine reckonings betwixt thẽ, came home, & finding Moſby ſtanding at ẏ dore, asked him if it were ſupper time, I thinke not quoth Moſby, it is not yet ready, then lette vs goe, and play a game at the tables in the meane ſeaſon, ſaid maſter Arden, and ſo they wẽt ſtreight into the Parlor, & as they came by through the hall, his wife was walking there, and maſter Arden ſaid, how nowe miſtres Ales? but ſhee made ſmall aunſwer to him. In the meane time, one cheined the wicket dore of the entrie. When they came into the Parlor, Moſby ſate downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the place where blacke Will ſtoode. Then Michaell maſter Ardens man, ſtoode at his maiſters backe, holding a candell in his hand, to ſhadowe blacke Wil, ẏ Arden might by no meanes perceiue hym comming forth. In their pley, Moſby ſaid thus, (whiche ſeemed to be the watch word for blacke Willes comming forth) nowe may I take you ſir if I will: take me quoth maſter Arden, which way? with that, blacke Will ſtept forth, and caſt a towell aboute his necke, ſo to ſtoppe his breath and ſtrangle him. Then Moſby hauing at hys girdle a preſſing iron of .14. pound weight, ſtroke him on the head wt the ſame, ſo that he fel downe, & gaue a great grone, in ſo much, ẏ they thought hee had bin killed. Then they bare him away, to ley him in ẏ counting houſe, & as they were about to ley him down, the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a great grone, & ſtretched himſelfe, & then black Wil gaue him a great gaſh in ẏ face, and ſo killed him out of hãd, laid him along, toke the money out of his purſe, & the rings from hys fingers, & then cõming out of the counting houſe ſaid, now this feate is done, giue me my money, ſo miſtres Arden gaue him ten ℔. & he comming to Grene, had a horſe of him, & ſo rode his ways. After ẏ black Wil was gone, miſtres Ardẽ came into ẏ counting houſe, & with a knife, gaue hym ſeuẽ or eight pricks into ẏ breſt. Then they made cleen the Parlor, toke a cloute, and wiped where it was bloudy, & ſtrewed agayne ẏ ruſhes ẏ were ſhuffled wt ſtrugling, & caſt the clout with which they wiped ẏ bloud, & the knife that was bloudy, wherewith ſhe had wounded hir huſband, into a tubbe by the welles ſide, wher afterward, both the ſame cloute and knife were founde. Thus thys wicked woman with hir complices, moſt ſhamefully murthered hir owne huſband, who moſt entierly loued hir al his life time. Then ſhe ſente for two Londoners to ſupper, ẏ one named Prune, & the other Cole, ẏ were Groſers, which before the murther was committed, were bidden to ſupper. When they came, ſhe ſaid, I marueill where maſter

ſter Arden is: wel, we wil not tarie for him, come ye and ſitte downe, for he will not be long. Then Moſbyes ſiſter was ſente for, ſhe came and ſate downe, and ſo they were merrie.

After ſupper, miſtres Arden cauſed hir daughter to play on the virginals, they danced, and ſhe with thē, & ſo ſeemed to protract time as it were, til maiſter Arden ſhuld come, & ſhe ſaid, I maruel where he is ſo long, wel, hee will come anone I am ſure, I pray you in the meane while let vs play a game at the tables: but ẏ Londoners ſaid, they muſt goe to their hoſtes houſe, or elſe they ſhuld be ſhut out at dores, & ſo taking their leaue, departed. When they were gone, the ſeruāts that were not priuie to the murther, were ſent abrode into ẏ towne, ſome to ſeeke their maiſter, & ſome of other errands, all ſauing Michael and a maid, Moſbyes ſiſter, and one of miſtreſſe Ardens own daughters. Then they tooke ẏ dead body, & caryed it out to lay it in a fielde next to the Churche yard, & ioyning to his garden wall, through the which he went to ẏ Church. In the meane time it began to ſnow, & when they came to ẏ garden, gate, they remembred that they had forgottē the kay, and one wente in for it, and finding it, at length brought it, opened the gate, and caried the corps into the ſame field, as it were ten paces frō the garden gate, & laid him downe on his backe ſtreight in his night gowne, with his ſlippers on, & betweene one of his ſlippers and his foote, a long ruſh or two remained. When they had thus laid him down, they returned ẏ ſame way they came through the garden into the houſe. They beeyng returned thus backe again into the houſe, ẏ dores were opened, and the ſeruaunts returned home ẏ had bin ſent abrode, and being now very late, ſhe ſent forthe hir folkes againe to make enquirie for him in diuers places, namely amōg the beſt in ẏ towne where he was wont to be, who made anſwere, that they could tel nothing of him. Then ſhe began to make an outcry, and ſaid, neuer womā had ſuch neighbors as I haue, and herewith wepte, in ſo much, that hir neighbors came in, & found hir making great lamentation, pretēding to maruell what was become of hir huſbande, wherupon, the Maior and others, came to make ſearch for him. The faire was wont to bee kepte partly in the towne, & partly in ẏ Abbey, but Arden for his owne priuate lucre & couetous gaine, had this preſēt yere procured it to be wholly kept within the Abbey ground whiche he had purchaſed, and ſo reaping al the gaynes to himſelfe, and bereauing the towne of that portion which was wont to come to the inhabitants, gote manye a bitter curſe. The Maior going about the faire in this ſearch, at length, came to the ground where Arden lay, and as it happened, Prune the groſſer getting ſight of him, firſt ſaid, ſtay, for me thinke I ſee one lye here, and ſo they looking and beholding the body, foūd that it was maiſter Ardē, lying there throughly dead, and vewing diligently the maner of his body and hurtes, founde the ruſhes ſticking in his ſlippers, and marking further, eſpyed certaine footeſteppes, by reaſon of the ſnowe, betwixt the place wher he lay, and ẏ garden dore. Then the Maior cōmanded euery mā to ſtay, & herewith appointed ſome to goe about, and to come in at the inner ſide of the houſe thorough the gardē as the way lay, to ẏ place where maiſter Ardens dead body did lye, who al ẏ way as they came, perceyued footings ſtill before them in the ſnowe, and ſo it appeared playnely, that he was brought alōg that way from the houſe thorough the garden, & ſo into the field wher he lay. Then the Maior and his company ẏ were with him, went into ẏ houſe, and knowing hir euil demeanor in times paſt, examined hir of the matter, but ſhe defyed thē & ſaid, I would you ſhould know I am no ſuch womā. Then they examined hir ſeruants, & in the examination, by reaſon of a peece of his heare and bloud founde nere to ẏ houſe in the way by the which they caried him forth, and likewiſe by ẏ knife with which ſhe had thruſt him into the breſt, and the cloute wherewͭ they wipt the bloud away whiche they found in the tubbe, into the which the ſame were throwē, they al cōfeſſed the matter, & hirſelf beholding hir huſbāds bloud, ſaid, oh the bloud of God help, for this bloud haue I ſhed. Then were they al attached, and committed to priſon, and the Maior wͭ others preſently went to the flower de lice, where they found Moſby in bed, and as they came towards him, they eſpyed his hoſe and purſe ſtayned wͭ ſome of maiſter Ardens bloud, and when he asked what they meant by their comming in ſuch ſort, they ſaid, ſee, here ye may vnderſtande wherefore, by theſe tokens, ſhewing him ẏ bloud on his hoſe and purſe. Then he confeſſed ẏ deed, & ſo he & al the other that had conſpired the murther, were apprehended, & layd in priſon, excepte Grene, black Wil, & the Painter, which Painter and George Shakebag, that was alſo fledde before, were neuer heard of. Shortly were the Seſſions kept at Feuerſham, where all the priſoners were araigned and condemned. And therevpon, being examined whither they had any other cōplices, miſtres Arden accuſed Bradſhaw, vppon occaſion of the letter ſent by Greene frō Grauesend (as before ye haue heard) which wordes hadde none other meaning, but onely by Bradſhawes deſcribing of blacke Willes qualities, Greene iudged him a meete inſtrument for the executiō of their pretended murther: wherevnto notwithſtāding (as Greene confeſſed at his death certaine yeares after) this Bradſhaw was neuer made priuie, howbe it, he was vppon this accuſation of miſtres Arden, immediately ſent for to the Seſſions and indited, and declaration made againſt him, as a procurer of blacke Will to kill maiſter Arden, whiche proceeded wholly by miſunderſtanding of the wordes conteyned in the letter which he brought from Greene. Then hee deſired to talke with the perſons condemned, and his requeſt was graunted: hee therefore demaunded of them if they knew him, or euer had any conuerſation with him, and they all ſaid no. Then the letter being ſhewed and redde, he declared the very trueth of the matter, and vpon what occaſion he tolde Greene of blacke Wil, neuertheleſſe, hee was condemned, and ſuffered. These cōdemned perſons were diuerſly executed in ſundry places, for Michaell maiſter Ardens man was hanged in chaynes at Feuerſham, and one of the maides was brent there, pitifully bewayling hir caſe, and cryed out on hir maſtres that had brought hir to this ende, for the whiche ſhe would neuer forgiue hir. Moſby and his ſiſter were hāged in Smithfielde at London: miſtres Arden was burned at Caunterbury the. 14. of March: Greene came againe certayne yeares after, was apprehended, condemned, and hanged in cheynes in the hygh way betwixt Oſpring and Boughton agaynſte Feuerſham: black Wil was brent on a ſcaffolde at Fliſhing in Zeland: Adam Foule that dwelte at the floure de lice in Feuerſham, was broughte into trouble about this matter, and caried vp to London, with his legges bound vnder the horſe belly, and committed to priſon in the Marſhalſey, for that Moſby was heard to ſay, had it not bin for Adam Foule, I hadde not come to thys trouble, meaning that the bringing of the ſiluer dice for a token to him from miſtres Arden, as ye haue heard, occaſioned him to renue familiaritie with hir againe, but when the matter was throughly ripped vp, and that Moſby had cleered him, proteſting that he was neuer of knowledge in any behalfe to the murther, the mans innocencie preſerued him. This one thing ſeemeth verye ſtraunge and notable, touching maſter Arden, that in the place where he was layd, being dead, all the proportion of his body might be ſeene two yeares after and more, ſo playne as could be, for the graſſe did not growe where his body hadde touched, but betweene his legges, betweene hys armes, and about the holownes of his necke, and roũd about his body, & where his legges, armes, head, or any parte of his body hadde touched, no graſſe growed at all of all that time, ſo that many ſtrangers came in that meane time, beſide the Townesmen, to ſee the print of his body there on the ground in that field, which field he hadde (as ſome haue reported) cruelly taken from a woman, yͭ had bin a widow to one Cooke, and after maried to one Richarde Read a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir huſband the ſayd Read, for they had lōg enioyed it by a leaſſe whyche they had of it for many yeares, not then expired: neuertheleſſe, he got it from them, for the which, yͤ ſaide Reades wife not only exclaymed againſt him, in ſhedding many a ſalte teare, but alſo curſed him moſt bitterly euen to his face, wiſhing many a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the worlde might wonder on hym: which was thought then to come to paſſe, when hee was thus murthered, and lay in that fielde from midnight till the morning, and ſo all that day, being the fayre day till night, all the whyche daye, there were many hundreds of people came wondering aboute hym. And thus farre touching this horrible and haynous murther of maſter Arden. To returne then where we lefte.

A Parliament

About this tyme, the Kyngs maieſtie calling hys hygh Court of Parliamente, helde the ſame at Weſtminſter the three and twentith daye of January, in thys fifth yeare of hys raigne, and there continued it, vntill the fifteenth daye of Aprill, in the ſixth yeare of his ſayd raigne.

In this Parliamente, the Booke of common prayer which in ſome part had bin corrected and amended, was newly confirmed and eſtabliſhed.

The ſweat ſickneſſe.

And in the ende of thys Parliamente, there chanced a great and contagious ſickneſſe to happen in the Realme, whych was called the ſweating ſickneſſe, whereof a great number of people dyed in a ſmall time, namelye, in the Citie of London.

And it ſeemed that God hadde appoynted the ſayde ſicknes onely for the plague of Engliſhmenne, for the moſt that dyed thereof were men, and not women nor children. And ſo it folowed the Engliſhmen, that ſuche Merchants of England as were in Flaunders and Spayne, and other Countreys beyonde the Sea, were viſited therewithall, and none other nation infected therewith.

And it began firſt in Aprill in yͤ North parts, and ſo came through the Realme, and continued vntill September nexte following.

The diſeaſe was ſuddayne and greeuous, ſo that ſome beeyng in perfect health in one houre, were gone and dead within foure houres nexte following. And the ſame being hote and terrible, inforced the people greately to call vppon God, and to doe manye deedes of charitie: but as the diſeaſe ceaſed, ſo the deuotion quickly decayed.

The embaſing of the coyne.

At this time alſo, the Kinges maieſtie, with the aduice of hys priuie Counſaile, and hauyng alſo great conference with merchants and other, perceyuing that by ſuche coynes and copper moneys as hadde bin coyned in the time of the

King his father, and now were commonly currant in the Realme, and in deede a great number of them, not woorthy halfe the value that they were currant at, to the great diſhonour of the Kings maieſties and the Realme, and to the deceit and no little hinderaunce of all the Kynges maieſties good ſubiectes, did nowe purpoſe not onely the abaſing of the ſaid copper moneys, but alſo meant wholy to reduce them into Bullyon, to the intent to deliuer fine and good moneys for them. And therefore in the moneth of Iuly by his graces Proclamation, he abaſed the peece of .xij. pence, commonly called a teſton, vnto nine pence, and the peece of foure pence, vnto three pence. And in Auguſt next following, the peece of nine pence was abaſed to ſixe pence, and the peece of three pence, vnto two pence, and the pennie to an halfe pennie.

The eleuenth daye of October, there was a greate creation of Dukes and Earles, as the L. Marques Dorſet, was created D. of Suffolke, the Earle of Warwike made Duke of Northumberlande, and the Earle of Wilſhire made Marques of Wincheſter and ſir William Harbert, maiſter of ẏ horſe, was made Erle of Penbroke, & diuers Gentlemen were made Knights.

Duke of … erſet a- … e appre- … ed, and … mitted to … Tower.

The ſixtenth day of the ſaide moneth being Friday, the D. of Somerſet was agayne apprehended, and his wife alſo, and committed to the Tower, and with him alſo were committed ſir Michaell Stanhope, ſir Thomas Arondell, Sir Rauf Vane, ſir Miles Partridge, and other, for ſuſpition of treaſon and felonie, whereof they all were ſhortly after indicted, and ſo ſtanding indicted, the ſeconde day of December next following, the ſaid Duke was brought out of ẏ Tower of London, with the axe of the Tower borne before him, with a greate nūber of billes, gleiues, holbards, and pollaxes attending vpon him, and ſo came into Weſtminſter Hall, where was made in the middle of the Hall a new ſcaffolde, where all the Lordes of the Kinges counſell ſate as his iudges, and there was hee araigned and charged with manye articles both of felonie and treaſon. And when after much milde ſpeech, hee had aunſwered not giltie, he in all humble manner put himſelf to be tryed by his peeres, who after long conſultation among themſelues, gaue their verdict, that he was not giltie of the treaſon but of the felonie. The people there preſent, whiche was a great number, hearing the Lords ſay not giltie, whiche was to the treaſon, thinkyng moſt certaynely, that he was cleerely acquited, and chiefly for that, immediately vpon the pronouncing of thoſe words, he that caryed the axe of the Tower departed with the axe, they made ſuch an outcry and ioy, as the lyke hathe not bin heard, which was an euident declaration of their good willes toward him: but neuertheles, he was condemned to the death, whereof ſhortly after he taſted. The felonie that hee was condemned of, was vppon the Statute made the laſt yeare agaynſt Rebellions, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, wherein amongſt other things is one braunche, that whoſoeuer ſhall procure the deathe of anye Counſayler, that euery ſuch attempt or procurement ſhall be felonie. And by force of that Statute, the Duke of Somerſet being accompanyed with certayne other, was charged that he purpoſed and attempted the deathe of the D. of Northumberland, the Lorde Marques, the Lorde of Penbroke, and others of the priuie Counſayle, the which by Statute was felonie.

The Duke of Somerſet cōdemned, returneth to the Tower.

After the D. was thus condemned, hee was againe returned to the Tower, and landed at the Crane of the vintrie, and ſo paſſed through London, where were both exclamations, the one cryed for ioy that hee was acquited, the other cryed out that he was cōdemned. But howſoeuer they cried, he was conueyed to the Tower of London, where hee remained vntill the two and twentith day of Ianuary next following.

The Duke being condemned as is aforeſaid, the people ſpake diuerſly, and murmured againſt the Duke of Northumberlande, and agaynſte ſome other of the Lordes, for the condemnation of the ſaid Duke, and alſo as the common fame wente, the Kinges maieſtie tooke it not in good part: wherefore as well to remoue fonde talke out of mens mouthes, as alſo to recreate and refreſhe the troubled ſpirites of the yong King, it was deuiſed, that the feaſt of Chriſtes natiuitie, commonly called Chriſtmas then at hand, ſhuld be ſolemnely kepte at Greenewiche, with open houſholde and franke reſorte, the Court (whyche is called keping of the Hall) what time of olde ordinarie courſe, there is alwayes one appoynted to make ſport in the Court, called commonly Lord of miſrule, whoſe office is not vnknowē to ſuch as haue bin brought vp in noble mennes houſes, and among greate houſekeepers, whyche vſe liberall feaſting in that ſeaſon. There was therefore by order of the Counſayle, a Gentleman, wiſe and learned, named George Ferrers, appoynted to that office for this yeare: who being of better credite and eſtimation than commonly hys predeceſſors hadde bene before, receyued all hys commiſſions and warrantes, by the name of the maiſter of the Kynges paſtimes, whiche Gentleman ſo well ſupplyed hys office, both in ſhewe of ſundrye ſightes and deuiſes of rare inuention, and in acte of dyuers enterludes, and matters of paſtime, played by perſons, as not onely ſatiſfyed the common ſorte, but alſo were verye well liked and alowed by the Counſayle, and other of ſkill in the lyke paſtimes, but

George Ferrers maiſter of the Kyngs paſtimes.

beſt of all by the yong King himſelfe, as appeared by his princely liberalitie, in rewarding that ſeruice.

1552

This Chriſtmas being thus paſſed and ſpent with muche mirth and paſtime, wherewith the mindes and eares of murmurers were meetely well appeaſed, according to a former determination as the ſequele ſhewed, it was thought now good to proceede to the execution of the iudgement giuen agaynſt the Duke of Somerſette, touching his conuiction and attainder of the felonie aforementioned: wherevpon, the two and twentith day of Ianuary, then next following being Friday, hee was brought out of the Tower, and according to the manner, delyuered to the Shriffes of London, and ſo with a greate company of the garde and other with weapons, was brought vnto the Scaffold where he ſhould ſuffer, without changing eyther voyce or countenance, other than he was accuſtomed to vſe at other times.

The execution of the Duke of Somerſet.

The ſame morning early, the Conneſtables of euery warde in London, (according to a precept directed frõ the Cõſel to yͤ Maior) ſtraightly charged euery houſhold of the ſame Citie, not to depart any of them out of their houſes, before ten of the clocke of that day, meaning thereby to reſtreine yͤ great nũber of people that otherwiſe were like to haue bin at the ſaide execution, notwithſtanding, by ſeauen of the clock, the Tower hill was couered with a great multitude, repayring from al parts of the Citie, as well as out of the ſuburbes, & before eight of the clocke, the D. was brought to the Scaffolde, incloſed with the Kings gard, the Sheriffes officers, the warders of the Tower, and other with halberts, where as hee nothing chaunging neither voice or countenance, but in a manner with the ſame geſture which hee commonly vſed at home, kneelyng downe vpon both his knees, and lifting vppe hys hand, commẽded himſelf vnto God. After he had ended a few ſhorte prayers, ſtanding vp againe, and turning himſelfe toward the Eaſt ſide of the Scaffolde, nothing at all abaſhed as it ſeemed vnto thoſe that ſtoode by, neyther with the ſighte of the axe, neyther yet of the hangman, or of preſent death, but with the like alacritie and cheerefulnes of mind and countenance, as before times he was accuſtomed to heare the cauſes and ſupplications of other, and ſpecially of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certaine fatherly loue to his children, he alwayes ſhewed hymſelfe moſt attentiue) he vttered theſe words to the people.

M. Foxe.

The words of the Duke of Somerſet at his death.

Deerely beloued friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer deathe, albeit that I neuer offended againſt the K. neither by word nor deede, and haue bin alwayes as faithfull & true vnto this realme, as any man hath bin. But for ſo much as I am by law cõdemned to die, I do acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others, to bee ſubiect thereunto. Wherefore to teſtifie mine obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to ſuffer death, wherevnto I willingly offer my ſelfe with moſt hartie thankes vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might through ſuddayne death haue taken away my life, that neyther I ſhoulde haue acknowledged him nor my ſelfe. Moreouer (deerely beloued friends) there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in minde of, as touching Chriſtian religion, which ſo long as I was in authoritie, I alwayes diligently ſette forth, and furthered to my power. Neyther doe I repent me of my doings, but reioyce therein, ſith nowe the ſtate of Chriſtian religion commeth moſt neere vnto the forme & order of the primitiue Church, which thing I eſteeme as a greate benefite giuen of God, both to you and me, moſt hartily exhorting you all, that this whiche is moſt purely ſette forthe vnto you, you will with like thankefulneſſe accept and embrace, and ſette out the ſame in your liuing, whiche thing if you do not, without doubt, greater miſchiefe & calamitie wil folow. When he had ſpokẽ theſe words, ſuddainely there was a great noyſe heard, wherevpon, the people were ſtreight driuen into a great feare, few or none knowing the cauſe, wherefore I thinke it good to write what I ſawe (ſayeth Stowe) concerning that matter.

Great feare among the people.

Stow.

The people of a certaine hamlet whiche were warned to be there by ſeuen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the Lieutenant, nowe came through the poſterne, and perceiuing the D. to be already on the ſcaffolde, the formoſt beganne to run, crying to their fellowes to follow faſt after, which ſodaineſſe of theſe mẽ, being weaponed with billes and halberts, this running cauſed yͤ people which firſt ſaw them, to thinke ſome power had come to haue reſcued the D. from execution, and therefore cried away away, wherevpon, the people ranne, ſome one way ſome another, many fel into the Tower ditche, and they whiche tarried, thought ſome pardon had bin brought, ſome ſaid it thundred, ſome that the grounde moued, but there was no ſuch matter.

Grafton.

The Duke in the meane time ſtanding ſtill, both in the ſame place & mind wherein hee was before, ſhaking his cap which he held in his hãd, made a ſigne vnto yͤ people, yͭ they ſhoulde keepe thẽſelues quiet, whiche thing being done, & ſilẽce obteined, he ſpake to them the ſecõd time in thys manner.

The ſecond ſpeech of the Duke of Somerſet to the people.

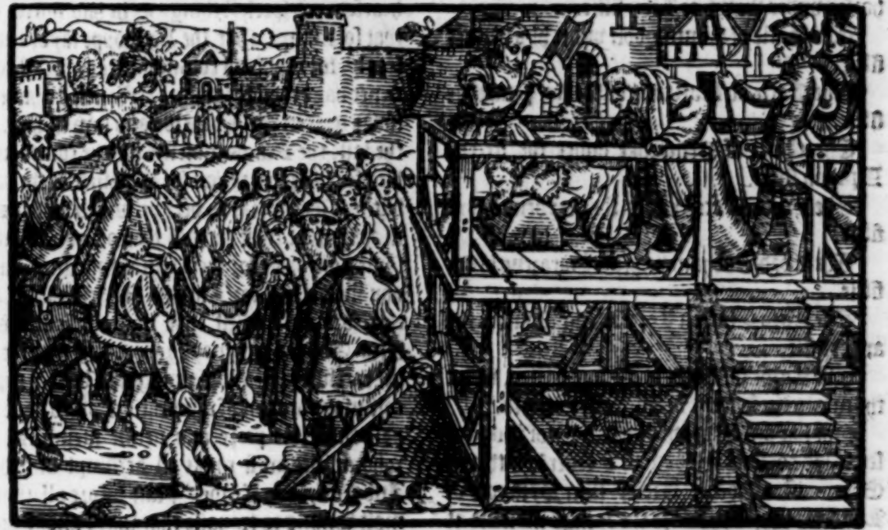
Deerely beloued friẽds, there is no ſuch matter heere in hand as you vaynely hope or beleeue, it ſeemeth thus good vnto almightie God, whoſe ordinance it is meete and neceſſary that we bee all o-all obedience vnto, wherefore I pray you all to bee quiet, and withoute tumulte, for I am euen nowe quiet, and let vs ioyne in prayer vnto the Lorde, for the preſeruation of our noble Kyng, vnto whoſe maieſtie I wiſh continuall healthe, with all felicitie and abundance, and all manner of proſperous ſucceſſe: wherevnto the people cryed out Amen. Moreouer (ſaieth the Duke) I wiſhe vnto all his Counſaylers, the grace and fauoure of God, whereby they maye rule all things vprightly with iuſtice. vnto whome I exhorte you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, the whiche is alſo verye neceſſarye for you, vnder the payne of condemnatiõ, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation and ſafegard of the Kynges maieſtie. And for aſmuch as heeretofore I haue had oftentimes affayres with diuers men, and that it is hard to pleaſe euery man that hath bene offended or iniured by mee, I moſt humbly require and aſke them forgiuenes, but eſpecially, almighty God, whome throughout all my life I haue moſt greeuouſly offended. And vnto all other whatſoeuer they bee that haue offended me, I do with my whole heart forgiue them.

And once agayne deerely beloued in the Lorde, I require that you wyl keepe your ſelues quiet and ſtill, leaſt through youre tumulte, you myghte cauſe mee to haue ſome trouble, whyche in thys caſe woulde nothyng at all profit mee, neyther bee anye pleaſure vnto you: for albeit the ſpirit bee willing and ready, the fleſh is fraile and wauering, and through youre quietneſſe, I ſhall bee muche more the quieter, but if that you fall vnto tumulte, it will bee greate trouble, and no gayne at all vnto you.

Moreouer, I deſire you to beare me witneſſe, that I dye heere in the faythe of Ieſus Chriſte, deſiring you to helpe mee with youre prayers, that I may perſeuer conſtante in the ſame vnto my liues ende.

Then hee turning himſelfe aboute, kneeled downe vppon his knees, vnto whome Doctor Coxe whiche was there preſente, to counſayle and aduertiſe hym, deliuered a certayne ſcroll into hys hande, wherein was conteined a briefe confeſſion vnto God, which being redde, he ſtood vppe agayne on hys feete, without any trouble of mynde as it appeared, and fyrſt bade yͤ Sheriffes farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and certayne other that were on the Scaffold, takyng them all by the hands. Then hee gaue the executioner certayne money, whyche done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe agayne in the ſtrawe, vntyed his ſhirt ſtrings, and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe hys coller round aboute hys necke, and all other things whyche dyd lette and hinder hym. Then hee couering his face wyth hys owne handkerchefe, lifting vppe hys eyes vnto Heauen, where hys onely hope remayned, layde hym ſelfe downe along, and there ſuffered the heauie ſtroke of the axe, whyche diſſeuered the head from his bodye, to the lamentable ſyghte and greefe of thouſandes, that hartily prayſed God for hym, and entierly loued hym.

The death of the Duke of Somerſet.



This Duke was in high fauoure and eſtimation with Kyng Henry the eyght, of whome hee receyued ſundry hygh and great prefermẽts, by reaſon that the ſayde Kyng hadde marryed Ladye Iane hys ſiſter, by whome he hadde iſſue Kyng Edwarde the ſixth.

He was not only courteous, wiſe and gentle, beyng dayly attendante at the Courte, but forward and fortunate in ſeruice abroade, as maye well appeare in his ſundrye voyages, bothe in Fraunce and Scotland.

He was of nature very gentle and pitifull, not blemiſhed by any thing ſo much, as by yͤ death of the Ad-

Admirall his naturall brother, whiche could not haue bin broughte to paſſe in that ſorte, without his conſent.

*An.reg.*6. Sir Rauſe a-Vane and other executed.

The ſixe and twentith of February, ſir Rauſe Auane, and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged on the Tower hil, Sir Michael Stahhope with Sir Thomas Arondell, were beheaded there.

Houſe blowen vp with gunne powder.

The laſt of Aprill, through negligence of the gunnepouder makers, a certayne houſe nere the Tower of London, with thre laſt of powder was blowen vppe and brente, the gunne powder makers beeyng fiftene in number, were all ſlayne.

Muſter of horſemen.

The ſixteenth of May, was goodly muſter of horſemen made before the king, in the Parke at Greenewich, vnder the Kings banner his bande of pentioners, in number.150. euery pẽtioner two great horſes and a gelding, the Lord Bray their Lieutenant.

The Lorde Marques of Wincheſter, hygh treaſorer, vnder his banner the Faulcõ, one hundred men.

The Duke of Northumberlande, great maiſter of the Kyngs houſholde vnder the white Lion and the ragged ſtaffe fiftie.

The Duke of Suffolke vnder the Unicorne in the ſtarre a hundred and ten.

The Earle of Bedford Lord priuie ſeale vnder the goate a hundred.

The Marques of Northamptõ high Chamberlayne vnder the maidenhead a hundred.

The Earle of Warwike, maiſter of the kings horſes vnder the white Lion fiftie.

The Earle of Huntingdon vnder hys banner fiftie.

The Earle of Rutlande vnder the Peacocke fiftie.

The Earle of Pembroke vnder the greene Dragon fiftie.

The Lorde Darcy vnder the maydens bodye fiftie.

The Lord Cobham vnder ẏ Sarazens head, fiftie.

The Lord Clinton Lord Admirall vnder the anker fiftie.

The Lorde Warden of the fiue portes, vnder the roſe in the Sunne beames one hundred.

Grafton.

Not lõg after ẏ death of ẏ ſaid D. of Somerſet, & his cõplices, it chanced ẏ reuerẽd father in God maiſter Doctor Ridley then Byſhoppe of London, to preach before the Kings maieſtie at Weſtminſter. In the whiche ſermon, he made a frutefull and godly exhortation to the rich, to bee mercifull vnto the poore, and alſo to moue ſuche as were in authoritie, to trauayle by ſome charitable way and meane, to comforte and relieue them.

Wherevpon the Kinges maieſtie beeyng a Prince of ſuche towardneſſe and vertue for hys yeares, as England before neuer brought forth, and the ſame alſo being ſo wel retained & brought vp in all godly knowledge, as well by his deere Uncle the late Protector, as alſo by his vertuous and learned ſcholemaiſters, was ſo carefull of the good gouernement of the Realme, and chiefly to do and prefer ſuche things as moſt ſpecially touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderſtanding that a great number of pore people did ſwarme in this Realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, dyd ſuddaynely and of himſelfe ſende to the ſayd Byſhop as ſone as his Sermõ was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that hee had ſpoken with him (and this that I now write was the very report of the ſaid Byſhop Ridley) who according to the kings commaundement, gaue his attendaunce. And ſo ſone as the kings maieſtie was at leaſure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a greate gallerie at Weſtminſter, wherein to his knowledge, and the King alſo told him ſo, there was preſente no moe perſons than they two, and therefore made him ſitte downe in one chaire, and he himſelfe in another, which (as it ſeemed) were before ẏ commyng of the Biſhoppe there purpoſely ſette, and cauſed the Byſhoppe maugre his teeth, to be couered, and then entred communication with hym in thys ſort:

Fyrſt giuing him moſt hartie thankes for his Sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehearſed ſuch ſpeciall things as he had noted, and that ſo manye, that the Byſhoppe ſayd, truely, truely (for that was commonly his othe) I could neuer haue thoughte that excellencie to haue bin in his grace, that I behelde and ſaw in him. At the laſt, the Kings maieſtie muche commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the pore, but my Lorde (ſayth hee) ye willed ſuche as are in authoritie to be carefull thereof, and to deuiſe ſome good order for their reliefe, wherein I thinke you meane me, for I am in hygheſt place, and therefore am the firſt that muſt make aunſwere vnto God for my negligence, if I ſhoulde not bee carefull therein, knowing it to be the expreſſe commaundement of almightie God, to haue cõpaſſion of his poore and needie members, for whome wee muſt make an accompt vnto him. And truely my Lorde, I am before all thyngs moſt willing to trauaile that way, and I doubt nothing of youre long and approued wiſedome and learning, who hauyng ſuche good zeale as wiſheth helpe vnto them, but that alſo, you haue hadde ſome conference with others, what wayes are beſt to bee taken therein, the whych I am deſirous to vnderſtand, and therefore I pray you ſay your minde.

A moſt noble and vertuou ſaying of a Prince.

The Biſhop thinking leaſt of that matter, and being amaſed to heare the wiſedome and earneſt zeale of the King, was (as he ſayde himſelfe) ſo aſtonied, that hee coulde not well tell what to ſaye. But after ſome pauſe, ſayde that as he thought at this preſent for ſome entrance to bee had, it were good to practiſe with the Citie of London, becauſe the number of the poore there are very great, and the Citizens are many and alſo wyſe: And hee doubted not but they were alſo both pitifull & mercifull, as the Maior and his brethren, and other the worſhipfull of the ſayde Citie, and that if it woulde pleaſe the Kings maieſtie to direct his gracious letter vnto the Maior of London, willing him to call vnto him ſuch aſſiſtants as he ſhoulde thinke meete, to conſult of this matter, for ſome order to bee taken therein, hee doubted not but good ſhoulde followe thereof. And he himſelfe promiſed ÿ K. to be one himſelfe that ſhuld earneſtly trauel therin.

The King forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the Biſhop tarie vntill the ſame was written, and his hand and ſignet ſet thereunto, and commaunded the Biſhop not onely to deliuer the ſayde letter himſelfe, but alſo to ſignifie vnto the Maior, that it was the Kings ſpeciall requeſt and expreſſe commaundement, that the Maior ſhoulde therein trauayle, and ſo ſoone as he might conueniently giue him knowledge how farre he had proceeded therein.

The Biſhop was ſo ioyous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had nowe an occaſion to trauayle in that good matter, wherein hee was marueylous zelous, that nothing coulde more haue pleaſed and delighted him: wherefore the ſame night he came to the Maior of London, who then was Sir Richarde Dobbes knight, and deliuered the Kings letter, and ſhewed his meſſage with effect.

King Edwarde the ſixth founder of the hoſpitals in London.

The Maior not onely ioyouſly receyued this letter, but with all ſpeede agreed to ſet forward this matter, for he alſo fauoured it very muche: And the next day being Monday, he deſired the Biſhoppe of London to dine with him, and againſt that time, the Maior promiſed that hee woulde ſende for ſuch men, as he thought meeteſt to talke of this matter, and ſo he did. And ſent firſt for two Aldermen and ſixe Commoners, and afterwarde were appoynted more to the number of xxiiii. And in the ende after ſundrie meetings (for by meane of the good diligence of the Biſhop, it was well followed) they agreed vppon a booke that they had deuiſed, wherein firſt they conſidered of ix. ſpeciall kindes and ſortes of poore people, and thoſe they brought into theſe three degrees.

grees of
ore.

The poore by impotencie.
Poore by caſualtie.
Thriftleſſe poore.

Three degrees of poore.

The poore by impotencie are alſo deuided into three kindes, that is to ſaye:
1 The fatherleſſe or poore mans chylde.
2 The aged, blinde, and lame.
3 The diſeaſed perſon, by Leprie, Dropſie. &c.

The poore by caſualtie are alſo three kyndes, that is to ſaye:
4 The wounded ſouldior.
5 The decayed houſholder.
6 The viſited with greuous diſeaſe.

The thriftleſſe poore are three kyndes, that is to ſaye:
7 The riotour that conſumeth all.
8 The vagabonde that will abide in no place.
9 The ydle perſon, as the ſtrumpet and other.

For theſe ſortes of poore were prouided three ſeuerall houſes: Firſt for the innocent and fatherleſſe, which is the beggers childe, and is in deede ÿ ſeede & breeder of beggerie, they prouided ÿ houſe that was late Gray friers in London, & nowe is called Chriſts hoſpital, where the poore children are trayned in the knowledge of God, and ſome vertuous exerciſe to the ouerthrowe of beggery.

hrites hoſ-
pall.

For the ſeconde degree, is prouided the hoſpitall of S. Thomas in Southwarke, and Saint Bartholomewe in weſt Smithfielde, where are continually at the leaſt, two hundred diſeaſed perſons, which are not onely there lodged and cured, but alſo fed and nouriſhed.

int Thomas
ſpitall.

For the thirde degree, they prouided Bridewell, where the vagabond and ydle ſtrumpets are chaſtiſed & compelled to labor, to the ouerthrowe of the vicious lyfe of ydleneſſe.

idewell.

They prouided alſo for the honeſt decayed houſholder, that he ſhoulde be relieued at home at his houſe, and in the Pariſhe where he dwelled, by a weekely reliefe and penſion. And in like maner they prouided for the Lazer, to keepe him oute of the Citie from clapping of diſhes, and ringing of belles, to the great trouble of the Citizens, and alſo to the daungerous infection of many, that they ſhoulde be relieued at home at their houſes with ſeuerall penſions.

Now after this good order taken, & the citizens by ſuch meanes as was deuiſed, willing to further ÿ ſame, the report thereof was made to ÿ Kings maieſtie, and his grace for the aduauncement hereof, was not onely willing to graunt ſuche as ſhoulde be the miniſters and gouernours of the ſaid houſes, a corporation and authoritie for the gouernement thereof: but alſo required that he might bee accounted as the chiefe founder and patrone thereof. And for the furtherance of the ſayde worke, and continuall maintenaunce of the ſame, he of his meere mercie and goodneſſe graunted, that where before certaine landes were giuen to the maintenaunce of the houſe of the Sauoy, founded by King Henrie the ſeauenth, for the lodging of pilgrimes and ſtraungers, and that the ſame was nowe made but a lodging of loyterers, vagabondes, and ſtrumpets that laye all daye in the fields, and at night were harboured there, the which was rather the mayntenance of beggerie, than the reliefe of the poore, gaue the ſame landes being firſt ſurrendred into his hands by the Maiſter and felowes there, (whiche landes were of the yearely value of ſixe hundreth poundes) vnto the Citie of London, for the maintenaunce of the foundation aforeſayde.

King Edwarde the ſixth founder of the hoſpitals in London.

And for a further reliefe, a petition being made to the Kings maieſtie for a licence to take in mortmayne, or otherwiſe without licence, landes to a certaine yearely value, and a ſpace left in the patent for his Grace to put in what ſumme it woulde pleaſe him, he looking on the voyde place, called for penne and ynke, and with his owne hande wrote this ſumme, in theſe wordes (Foure thouſande markes by yeare) and then ſayde in the hearing of his Counſaile, Lord God I yeelde thee moſt heartie thanks that thou haſt giuen me life thus long, to finiſhe this worke to the glorie of thy name. After whiche foundation eſtabliſhed, he liued not aboue two dayes.

A bleſſed king

By example of whiche acte of this vertuous yong king, ſir William Cheſter Knight and Alderman of London, and Iohn Calthrop Citizen and Draper of the ſayd Citie, at their own proper coſtes and charges made the brickwals and waye on the backeſide that leadeth from the ſayde new hoſpitall, vnto the hoſpitall of Saint Bartholomewes, and alſo couered and vaulted the towne ditch from Alderſgate to Newgate, which before was very noiſome and contagious vnto the ſayde Hoſpitall.

Sir William Cheſter
Iohn Calthrop Draper.

This Hoſpitall being thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richarde Caſtell *alias* Caſteller, ſhomaker dwelling in Weſtminſter, a man of great trauaile and labor in his facultie with his owne handes, and ſuche a one as was named the Cocke of Weſtminſter, for that both Winter and Sommer he was at his worke before foure of the clock in the morning. This man thus truly and painfully laboring for his liuing, God bleſſed and increaſed his labours ſo aboundantly, that he purchaſed landes and tenementes in Weſtminſter, to the yearely value of xliiij. li. And hauing no childe, with the conſent of his wife (who alſo yet liueth, and is a vertuous and good woman) gaue the ſame landes wholye to Chriſtes hoſpitall aforeſayde, to the reliefe of the innocent and fatherleſſe children, and for the ſuccor of the miſerable, ſore and ſicke, harboured in the other hoſpitals about London, whoſe example, God graunt many to followe.

Richard Caſtel ſhoomaker.

About this time there were three notable ſhips ſet forth and furniſhed for the great aduenture of the vnknowne voyage into the Eaſt by ẏ north ſeas. The great doer and encourager of which voiage, was Sebaſtian Caboto an Engliſhman, borne at Briſtow, but was the ſonne of a Genowaies. Theſe ſhips at the laſt arriued in the countrie of Moſcouia, not without great loſſe & danger, & namely of their captaine, who was a worthie & aduenturous gentleman, called ſir Hugh Willoughby knight, who being toſſed and driuen by tempeſt, was at the laſt founde in his ſhip frozen to death and all his people. But now the ſayde voyage and trade is greatly aduaunced, and the merchants aduenturing that waye, are newly by acte of Parliament incorporated and endued with ſundrie priuileges and liberties.

Sebaſtian Caboto.

About the beginning of the moneth of Maye next following, there were three notable mariages concluded, and ſhortlye after ſolemniſed at Durham place.

Three notable mariages.

The firſt was betweene the Lorde Guilforde Dudley the fourth ſonne of the Duke of Northumberlande, and the Ladie Iane eldeſt daughter of Henrie Duke of Suffolke, and the Ladie Frauncis his wife, was the daughter of Marye ſeconde ſiſter to king Henrie the eyght, firſt married to Lewes the Frenche King, and after to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke.

The ſeconde mariage was betweene the Lorde Harbert ſonne and heyre of William Earle of Pembroke, and the Ladie Katherine ſecond daughter of the ſaid Lady Francis, by the ſaid Henrie Duke of Suffolke.

And the thirde was betweene Henrie Lorde Haſtings, ſonne and heyre of Frauncis Earle of Huntington, and Katherine yongeſt daughter of the Duke of Northumberlande, which three mariages were compaſſed and concluded, chiefly vpon purpoſe to chaunge and alter the order of ſucceſſion to the Crowne, made in the tyme of King Henrie the eyght, from the ſaide Kings daughters, Marye and Elizabeth, and to conuey the ſame immediatlye after the death of King Edwarde to the houſe of Suffolke in the right of the ſayde Ladie Fraunces, wherein the ſayde yong King was an earneſt trauayler in the time of his ſickeneſſe, and all for feare that if his ſiſter Marie being next heire to the Crowne, ſhoulde ſucceede, that ſhe woulde ſubuert all his lawes and ſtatutes made concerning religion, whereof he was moſt carefull: for the continuance whereof he ſought to eſtabliſhe a meete order of ſucceſſion by the alliaunce of great houſes by way of mariage, which neuertheleſſe were of no force to ſerue his purpoſe. For tending to the diſheriſon of the rightfull heyres, they proued nothing proſperous to the parties: for two of them were ſoone after made fruſtrate, the one by death, the other by diuorce.

In the meane whyle, the King became euery day more ſicker than other, of a conſumption in his lungs, ſo as there was no hope of his recouerie, wherevppon thoſe that then bare chiefe authoritie in Counſayle, with other Prelates and Nobles of the Realme, called to them diuerſe notable perſons learned as well in Diuinitie, as in the lawes of the lande, namely Biſhops, Iudges, and other, fell to conſultation vpon this ſo weightie caſe, and laſtly concluded vpon the deuiſe of King Edwardes will, to declare the ſayde Ladie Iane eldeſt neece to K. Henrie the eyght, and wife to the ſayde Lorde Gilforde to bee righfull heire in ſucceſſion to the Crowne of Englande, without reſpect had to the ſtatute made in yͤ xxxv. yere of king Henry the eight: the true meaning of which ſtatute they did impugne & ouerthrow by diuerſe ſubtill and ſiniſter conſtructions of the ſame, to diſinherite the ſayde Kings ſiſters, to whome the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of Englande of right appertayned, as well by the common lawes of thys Realme, as alſo by the ſayd ſtatute made in the ſaid xxxv. yere of king Henrie, as aforeſaid. To which new order of ſucceſſion all the ſaid Kings Counſayle, with many Biſhops, Lordes, Doctors and Iudges of the Realme, ſubſcribed their names without refuſall of anye, except ſir Iames Hales knight, one of the Iuſtices of the Common place, who being called to this counſayle, woulde in no wiſe giue his aſſent eyther by worde or writing, as ye ſhall heare more in the hiſtorie of Queene Marie.

e death of
g Edwarde
ſixth.

Nowe when theſe matters were thus concluded, and after confirmed by a number of handes, as aforeſayde, then the noble Prince King Edwarde the ſixth, by long lingring ſickeneſſe and conſumption of his lungs aforeſayde, approched to his death, and departed out of this life the vj. daye of July, in the vij. yeare of his reigne, and xvij. of his age, after he had reygned and nobly gouerned this Realme vj. yeares, v. monethes and eyght dayes. And a little before his departing, lifting vp his eyes to God, he prayed as followeth.

The prayer of King Edwarde the ſixth at his death.

Lord God deliuer me out of this miſerable and wretched life, take me among thy choſen, howbeit not my will, but thy will be done: Lord I committe my ſpirite to thee, oh Lorde thou knoweſt howe happie it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choſens ſake if it be thy will, ſende me life and health that I maye truly ſerue thee. Oh my Lorde bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritance. O Lord God ſaue thy choſen people of Englande. O my Lorde God defend this Realme from papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people maye prayſe thy holy name. And therewithall he ſaid, I am faint, Lorde haue mercie vppon me, and take my ſpirite, and ſo he yeelded vp to God his ghoſt the vj. daye of July, as before is mentioned, whome if it had pleaſed God to haue ſpared with longer life, not vnlyke it was, but he ſhoulde haue ſo gouerned this Engliſhe common welth, that he might haue bene comparable with any of his noble progenitors, ſo that the loſſe of ſo towardly a yong king, greatly diſcomforted the whole Engliſhe nation, that looked for ſuche a reformation in the ſtate of the Common welth at his handes, as was to be wiſhed for of all good ſubiectes, which bredde ſuche a lyking in them towards him, that euen among the very trayterous rebelles, his name yet was had in reuerence, although otherwiſe they neuer ſo muche forgat their dutie both towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder him, through a malicious and moſte wilfull error, as if his tender yeares had not ſufficiently warranted his royall authoritie, but that the ſame had bene vſurped by others againſt his will and pleaſure, and as hee was entirely beloued of his ſubiectes, ſo with the lyke affection he loued them againe. Of nature and diſpoſition meeke, muche enclined to clemencie, euer hauing a regarde to the ſparing of lyfe. There wanted in him no promptneſſe of wit, grauitie of ſentence, ripeneſſe of iudgement, as his age might beare, fauour and loue of religion was in him from his childehoode, his ſkill and knowledge in ſciences, beſide his other excellent vertues, were ſuche, that to them he ſeemed rather borne than brought vppe. It maye ſeeme very ſtraunge, that in his yong yeares (as Maiſter Foxe reporteth of him) hee coulde tell and recite all the portes, hauens, and creekes, not within his owne Realme onelye, but alſo in Scotlande, and likewiſe in Fraunce, what comming in there was, howe the tyde ſerued in euery of them. Moreouer, what burthen, and what wynde ſerued for the comming into

The commendation of King Edwarde.

See M. Foxe vol. 2. pag. 1484.

eche hauen. Alſo of all his Iuſtices, Magiſtrates, Gentlemen that bare anye authoritie within his Realme, he knewe their names, their houſe keeping, their religion, and conuerſation what it was. He had a ſingular re[illegible] iuſtice, a vertue moſte commendable in [illegible] Prince, and chiefly to the diſpatche of poore mens ſuites. He perfectly vnderſtoode the Latine tongue, the French, the Greeke, Italian, and Spaniſhe, neyther was he ignorant (ſayeth Cardanus) in Logicke, in the principles of naturall Philoſophie, or in Muſicke.

To conclude, his towardlyneſſe was ſuche, in all Heroicall vertues, noble gyftes, and markable qualities conuenient for his Princely eſtate, that ſo much was hoped for in his royall perſon (if he had liued till triall might haue bene had of the proofe) as was to be looked for in any one Prince that euer had rule ouer this noble Realme.

Ladie Iane Proclaymed Queene.

But nowe to proceede with the doings that followed. Immediately after the death of this ſo worthie a Prince King Edwarde, the aforeſayde Ladie Iane was proclaymed Queene of this Realme by the ſounde of Trumpet, that is to ſaye, the ninth daye of Iulye, at whiche Proclamation were preſent, the Lordes of the Counſayle, the Maior of London, with other.

The Ladie Marie, a little before lying at Honeſdon in Hartfordſhire, hauing intelligence of the ſtate of the King hir brother, and of the ſecrete practiſe againſt hir: by the aduiſe of hir frendes, with all ſpeede tooke hir iourney towarde hir houſe of Kenningall in Norffolke, entending there to remayne vntill ſhee coulde make hir ſelfe more ſtrong of hir frendes and allies, and withall writeth to the Lordes of the Counſayle in forme as followeth.

A letter of the Ladie Marie ſent to the Lordes of the Counſayle, wherein ſhe claymeth the Crowne now after the deceaſe of hir brother King Edwarde.

My Lordes we greete you well, and haue receiued ſure aduertiſement that our deareſt brother the King our late ſoueraigne Lorde is departed to Gods mercie, whiche newes, howe they be wofull to our heart, he onely knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure wee muſt and doe humblye ſubmitte vs, and all our wylles. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to witte, nowe after his Maieſties departure and death, concerning the Crowne and gouernaunce of this Realme of Englande, with the tytle of Fraunce, and all things thereto belonging that hath bene prouided by acte of Parliament, and the Teſtament and laſt will of our deareſt Father, beſides other circumſtances aduauncing our right, you knowe, the Realme, and the whole worlde knoweth, the rolles and recordes appeare by the authoritie of the King our ſayde father, and the King our ſayde brother, and the ſubiectes of this Realme, ſo that wee verily truſt that there is no true ſubiect that is, can, or woulde pretende to bee ignoraunt thereof, and of our part wee haue our ſelues cauſed, and as God ſhall ayde & ſtrength vs, ſhall cauſe oure right and tytle in this behalfe to be publiſhed and proclaymed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weyghtie a matter ſeemeth ſtraunge, that the dying of oure ſayde brother vppon Thurſdaye at night laſt paſt, wee hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof: yet wee conſider youre wiſedomes and prudence to be ſuch, that hauing eftſoones amongſt you debated, pondered, and well weyghed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your owne eſtate, the Common wealth, and all our honours, wee ſhall and maye conceyue great hope and truſt, with muche aſſurance in your loyaltie & ſeruice, and therefore for the time interprete and take things not to the worſt, and that ye yet will lyke noble men worke the beſt. Neuertheleſſe, wee are not ignoraunt of your conſultations to vndoe the prouiſions made for our preferrement, nor of the great bandes and prouiſions forcible, whereunto ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what ende, God and you knowe, and nature can feare ſome euill. But bee it that ſome conſideration politicke, or whatſoeuer thing elſe hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not, my Lordes, but wee can take all theſe your doings in gracious part, being alſo right readie to remitte and fullye pardon the ſame, with that freelye to eſchewe bloudſhedde and vengeaunce againſt all thoſe that can or will intende the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accepte this grace and vertue in good part, as appertayneth, and that wee ſhall not be inforced to vſe this ſeruice of other oure true ſubiectes and frendes, whiche in this oure iuſt and rightfull caſe, God in whome oure whole affiaunce is, ſhall ſende vs. Wherefore my Lordes, we require you, and charge you, and euerye of you, that euerye of you of youre allegiaunce whiche you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for oure honoure, and the ſuretie of oure Realme, onelye employe your ſelues, and forthwith vpon receypte hereof cauſe our righte and tytle to the Crowne and gouernemente of thys Realme, to bee proclaymed in oure Citie of London, and ſuche other places as to youre wiſedomes ſhall ſeeme good, and as to this caſe appertayneth, not faylyng hereof, as our verie truſt is in you: and thus our letter ſigned with our owne hande ſhal be your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe. Geuen vnder our ſignet at our manour of Keningall the ix. of Iuly.

To this letter of the Ladie Marie, the Lordes of the Counſell anſwered agayne as followeth.

Madame, wee haue receyued your letters the ninth of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed title which you iudge your ſelfe to haue to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and all the Dominions thereto belonging. For aunſwere whereof, this is to aduertiſe you, that foraſmuch as our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Iane, is after the death of our Soueraygne Lorde Edwarde the ſixth, a Prince of moſt noble memory, inueſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſt and right title in the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, not only by good order of old ancient good lawes of this Realme: but alſo by our late ſoueraigne Lordes letters patentes, ſigned with his owne hande, and ſealed with the great ſeale of Englande, in preſence of the moſte part of the Nobles, Counſaylours, Iudges, with diuerſe other graue and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: Wee muſt therefore, as of moſt bounde dutie and allegiaunce, aſſent vnto hir ſayde Grace, and to none other, except we ſhoulde (whiche faithfull ſubiectes cannot) fall into grieuous and vnſpeakeable enormities: wherefore wee can no leſſe doe, but for the quiet both of the Realme, & you alſo, to aduertiſe you, that foraſmuche as the diuorſe made betweene the King of famous memorie King Henrie the eyght, and the Ladie Katherine your mother, was neceſſarie to bee had, both by the euerlaſting lawes of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes, and by the moſt parte of the noble and learned Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſundrie actes of Parliaments, remayning yet in their force, and thereby you iuſtly made illegitimate, and vnheritable to the Crowne Imperiall of thys Realme, and the Rules, Dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame, you wil vpõ iuſt conſideration herof, & of diuers other cauſes lawfull to be alledged for the ſame, and for the iuſt inheritance of the right lyne, and godly orders taken by the late King our Soueraigne Lorde King Edwarde the ſixth, and agreed vpon by the Nobles, and greateſt perſonages aforeſayde, ſurceaſe, by any pretence to vexe and moleſt any of our ſoueraygne Ladie Queene Iane hir ſubiectes from the true fayth and allegiance due vnto hir Grace, aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpecte ſhew your ſelfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhall finde vs all, and ſeuerall, readie to doe you any ſeruice that we with dutie maye, and to be gladde of your quietneſſe, to preſerue the common ſtate of this Realme, wherin you may be otherwiſe grieuous vnto vs, to your ſelfe, and to them. And thus we byd you moſt hartilye well to fare. From the tower of London this ix. of Iuly.

Your Ladyſhippes frendes
ſhewing your ſelfe an obedient ſubiect.

Thomas Canterburie.
The Marques of Wincheſter.
Iohn Bedforde.
Willyam Northampton.
Thomas Ely Chauncelour.
Iohn Northumberlande.
Henrie Suffolke.
Henrie Arundell.
Frauncis Shrewſburie.
Willyam Penbroke.
Cobham.
R. Riche.
Huntington.
Darcie.
Cheyney.
R. Cotton.
Iohn Gates.
Willyam Peter.
Willyam Cecill.
Iohn Cheeke.
Iohn Maſon.
Edwarde North.
Robert Bowes.

All theſe aforeſayde, except onely the Duke of Northumberlande, and ſir Iohn Gates, were eyther by ſpeciall fauour, or ſpeciall or generall pardon, diſcharged for this offence againſt hir committed, after hir comming to bee Queene.

But nowe vpon the receyt of this aunſwere, vnderſtanding by hir frendes that ſhe coulde not lye in ſuertie at Kenningall, being a place open and eaſie to bee approched, remoued from thence vnto hir Caſtell of Fremingham, ſtanding in a woode countrie, and not ſo eaſie to be inuaded by hir enimies.

So ſoone as the Counſell hearde of hir ſodain departure, & cõſidering that all came not to paſſe as they ſuppoſed. They cauſed ſpeedily a power of men to be gathered togither. And firſt they agreed that the Duke of Suffolke father to the newe made Queene, ſhould haue the conduction and leading of the armie. But afterwardes vpon further conſiderations, it was deuiſed that the Duke of Northumberlande ſhoulde haue the charge of this greate enterpriſe, whiche Duke hauing Commiſſion from the whole counſaile, and his warrant vnder the brode ſeale of England, without miſtruſt of that which after fortuned, tooke in hande that vnhappie voyage to his owne deſtruction: as in the hyſtorie of Queene Marie ſhall appeare: ſo that ſetting apart the feare of all perils (whiche in other leſſe caſes he neuer vſed) when all things were in a readineſſe, he being accompanied with no ſmall number of Lordes and Gentlemen, ſet forwarde on his iourney, hauing notwithſtanding hys times preſcribed, and his iourneyes appointed by the Counſayle, to the intent he woulde not ſeeme to doe any thyng but vppon warrant.

The Duke of Northumberlande ſent againſt the Ladie Marie.

And as he was nowe forwarde on his way, what a doe there was, what ſtirring on euerye ſide, what ſending, what ryding and poſting, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what hartburning among the people, what faire pretences outwardly, inwardly what priuie practiſes there were, what ſpeeding and ſending forth ordinance out of the tower, yea, euen the ſame day that Queene Marie at euen was proclaymed Queene, what rumors, and comming downe of ſouldiers as there was from all quarters, a worlde it was to ſee, and a proceſſe to declare, ynough to make (as ſayeth maiſter Foxe) a whole volume, euen as bygge as an Ilias.

The greateſt helpe that made for the Ladie Marie, was the ſhorte iourneyes of the Duke, which by Commiſſion were aſſigned to him before, as aboue is mencioned, and happilye not without the politike forecaſt of ſome in fauour of the Ladie Marie, for the longer the Duke lingered in his voyage, the Ladie Marie the more increaſed in puiſſance, the heartes of the people being mightily bent vnto hir. Wherevpon ſhe in the meane time remayning at Fremingham, a hearing of this preparatiō againſt hir, gathered togither ſuch power of the noblemē and other hir frendes in that countrie, as ſhe coulde get. And firſt of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aide were the Earles of Suſſex, Bathe, and Oxeforde, the Lorde Wentworth, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, Sir Henrie Ierninghan, Sir William Walgraue, with diuerſe other Gentlemen, and Commons of the counties of Norfolke and Suffolke.

Here as maiſter Foxe noteth, the Suffolke men being the firſt that reſorted to hir, promiſed hir their ayde and helpe to the vttermoſt of their powers, ſo that ſhe woulde not go about to alter the religion whiche hir brother had eſtabliſhed, and was nowe vſed and exerciſed through the Realme. To this condicion ſhe agreed, with ſuch promiſe, as no man woulde haue doubted that anye innouation of matters in religion ſhoulde haue followed, by hir ſufferance or procurement during hir reygne: but howe ſoone ſhe forgate that promiſe, it ſhall ſhortlye after appeare.

In this meane ſeaſon, the Lorde Windſor, Sir Edmonde Peckham, ſir Robert Drurie, and Sir Edwarde Haſtings, rayſed the Commons of the ſhire of Buckingham, to whome Sir Iohn Willyams, which afterwarde was Lord Willyams of Thame, and Sir Leonarde Chamberlaine, with the chiefe power of Oxfordſhire. And out of Northhamptonſhire came Sir Thomas Treſham, and a great number of Gentlemen out of diuerſe partes, whoſe names were to long to rehearſe.

Theſe Captaines with their companies being thus aſſembled in warlike maner, marched forwarde towardes Norffolke to the ayde of the Ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more their power encreaſed.

The Lords of the counſel being in this meane whyle at London, after they vnderſtoode howe the better part of the Realme were enclyned, and hearing euery daye newes of great aſſemblies, began to ſuſpect the ſequele of this enterpriſe: ſo that prouiding for their owne ſuretie, without reſpect of the Duke (who nowe was at Burie) they fell to a newe counſayle, and laſtly by aſſent made Proclamation at London in the name of the Ladie Marie, by the name of Marie Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faith, and of the churches of Englande and Irelande ſupreme heade. Of whiche Proclamation, after the Duke of Northumberlande, being then at Burie, was aduertiſed by letters from the Counſayle, he incontinently, according to the newe order receyued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge, and ſuche a ſodayne chaunge of myndes forthwith appeared in his armie, that they whiche late before ſeemed moſt forwarde in that quarrell, beganne firſt to flie from him, and ſo euerye man ſhifting for himſelfe, he that late before was furniſhed of ſuch multitude of ſouldiers, was ſodenly forſaken of all ſauing a fewe, whoſe perils were ioyned with his.

But nowe before I proceede any further in the hiſtorie of Queene Marie, that was nowe receyued & proclaymed Queene, as then to ſucceede hir brother, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the lerned men that wrote and publiſhed any pamphlets or treatiſes in his dayes, as in deede there were many, but for that the more part of them dyed in Queene Maries time, or in the Queenes Maieſties time that nowe is, or elſe are yet liuing, I doe omit thoſe here, meaning to ſpeak of them hereafter, if God ſhall permit, as occaſion may ſerue. For the reſidue that ended their liues in this Kings dayes, theſe I finde: Dauid Clapham a lawyer, and well ſeene in the Latine tongue, wrote ſundrie treatiſes: Robert Talbot a Prebendarie of Norwich, very ſkilfull in antiquities: Edwarde Hall a Counſaylour in the Common lawe, but excellently ſeene in hyſtories, wrote a notable Chronicle of the vnion of the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter: Richarde Tracie of Todington in Gloceſterſhire, an Eſquire, and verye well learned, ſonne to Willyam Tracie: Doctor Ioſeph an excellent Preacher: George Ioye a Bedfordeſhire man, that wrote diuerſe treatiſes concerning Diuinitie, and dyed eyther in the laſt yere of King Edwarde, or in the beginning of Queene Maries reygne, as appeareth by maiſter Bale: Alexander Barkeley a Scotte, a notable Poet, and a good Rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare M.D.LII. Willyam Hugh a Yorkeſhire manne, wrote, beſide other things, a notable treatiſe called the Troubled mans medicine, he deceaſed by the burſting of a veyne, in the yeare M.D.XLIX: Thomas Sterneholde borne in Southampton, turned into Engliſhe meeter xxxvij. Pſalmes choſen forth of Dauids Pſalter. Of ſtraungers that liued & died here in this Kings days, excellently learned, and renoumed for ſuch treatiſes as they publiſhed to the worlde, Martine Bucer and Paulus Fagius are moſt famous.

To ende nowe with this parte of the booke, concerning King Edwarde, I haue thought good to ſet downe *Cardanes* verſes, written as an Epitaph of him, as here followeth.

Carmen Epitaphicum Cardani in obitū Regis Edouardi.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam Regum decus, & Iuuenū flos, ſpesq; bonorū,
Delitiæ ſecli, & gloria gentis erat:
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctæq; Mineruæ:
Floſculus heu miſerè concidit ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpone triſtia fata canet.

Queene Marie.

MArie eldeſt daughter of King Henrie the eyght, by the Ladie Katherine of Spayne, his firſte wife, and ſiſter vnto King Edwarde the ſixth, by the fathers ſide, beganne hir reygne the vj. day of Julye, which daye the King hir brother dyed, and ſhe was proclaymed at London (as is before remembred in the ende of the hiſtorie of King Edwarde the ſixth, the xix. daye of the ſame moneth, in the yeare of our Lorde 1553. After the creation of the worlde 5520. In the xxxv. yeare of Charles the v. Emperour of Almayne. In the vij. yeare of Henrie the ſeconde of that name, king of Fraunce, and in the xj. of Marie Queene of Scotlande.

1553

Quene Marie proclaymed.

The Duke of Northumberland arreſted.

The xx. of July the Duke of Northumberlande being come backe vnto Cambridge, hearde that the Proclamation of Queene Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduertiſed, called for a trumpetter and an Heralt, but none coulde be founde. Whereupon he ryding into the market place with the Maior, and the Lorde Marques of Northampton, made the Proclamation himſelfe, and threwe vp his cappe in token of ioy.

The Lorde Marques after this, wente to Queene Marie, but the Duke, for that he was appoynted generall of the armie, in the quarrell of the Ladie Jane of Suffolke, was by the Maior of Cambridge and a Sergeaunt at armes, arreſted of treaſon, and the xxv. day of the ſayde Moneth, he with Fraunceis Earle of Huntington, John Earle of Warwicke ſonne and heire to the ſayde Duke, and two other of his yonger ſonnes, the Lorde Ambroſe and the Lorde Henrie Dudley, Sir Andrewe Dudley, Sir John Gates Captaine of the Garde to king Edwarde the ſixth, ſir Henrie Gates, brethren, Sir Thomas Palmer, Knightes, and Doctor Sandes, were brought to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they entered within the tower gate, the Earle of Arundell diſcharged the Lord Haſtings, taking him out of the tower with him.

The xxvj. of Julye, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Biſhop of London, the L. Robert Dudley, and Sir Robert Corbet were brought from the Queenes Campe vnto the Tower.

The xxviij. of July, the Duke of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the xxxj. of the ſame Moneth, he was ſet at libertie by the diligent ſuite of the Ladie Fraunceis grace his wife.

Queene Marie commeth to London.

After that Queene Marie was thus with full conſent of the Nobles and Commons of the Realme proclaymed Queene, ſhee being then in Norffolke, at hir Caſtell of Framingham, repayred with all ſpeede to the Citie of London, and the thirde day of the ſayd moneth of Auguſt ſhe came to the ſayde citie, and ſo to the tower, where the Ladie Jane of Suffolke (late afore proclaymed Queene) with hir huſbande the Lorde Guilforde, a little before hir comming, were comitted to warde, and there remained almoſt after fiue monethes. And by the waye, as the Queene thus paſſed, ſhe was ioyfully ſaluted of all the people, without anye miſliking, ſauing that it was much feared of manye, that ſhe woulde alter the religion ſet forth by King Edwarde hir brother, whereof then were giuen iuſt occaſions, bicauſe (notwithſtanding diuers lawes made to the contrarie) ſhee had daylye Maſſe and Latine ſeruice ſayde before hir in the Tower.

Priſoners diſcharged.

At hir entrie into the Tower there were preſented to hir certaine priſoners, namely Thomas Duke of Norffolke, who in the laſt yeare of king Henrie the eyght (as you haue hearde) was ſuppoſed to be attainted of treaſon, but in the Parliament holden in this firſt yeare of Queene Marie, the ſayde ſuppoſed attaindour was by the authoritie and acte of Parliament, for good and apparaunt cauſes alledged in the ſayde acte, declared to be vtterlye fruſtrate and voyde. Alſo Edwarde Courtney ſonne and heyre of Henrie Marques of Exceter, coſin germaine to king Henrie the eyght, and Cuthbert Tunſtall Biſhop of Durham, with other perſons of great calling: but eſpeciallye Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, whome ſhe not onely releaſed of impriſonment, but alſo immediatly aduaunced and preferred to bee Lorde Chaunceler of Englaunde, reſtoring him alſo to his former eſtate and Biſhopricke, and remoued from the ſame one Doctor Poynet, who a little before was placed therein by the gifte of King Edward the ſixth.

Stephen Gardiner made L. Chancelor.

And touching Edwarde Courtney, ſhe not onely aduaunced him to the Earledome of Deuonſhire, but alſo to ſo muche of his fathers poſſeſſions as there remayned in hir handes, whereby it was then thought of many, that ſhe bare affection to him by way of mariage: but it came not ſo to paſſe (for what cauſe I am not able to giue any reaſon) but ſurely the ſubiectes of Englande were moſt deſirous thereof.

ward Court
ey created
rle of De-
onſhire.

Vpon the receyuing of this newe Queene, all the Biſhops which had bene depriued in the time of King Edwarde the ſixth hir brother, for the cauſe of religion, were nowe againe reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and ſuch other as were placed in King Edwarde his time, remoued from their ſeates, and other of contrarie religion placed. Amongſt whome, Edmonde Bonner Doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the ſea of London, and committed priſoner to the Marſhalſee by order of King Edwards Counſayle, was with all fauour reſtored to his libertie and Biſhopricke, maiſter Nicholas Ridley Doctor in Diuinitie, late before aduaunced to the ſame ſea by the ſaide King, was haſtily diſplaced, and committed priſoner to the tower of London. The cauſe why ſuch extremitie was vſed towardes the ſayde Biſhop Ridley, more than to the reſt, was, for that in the time of Ladie Iane, he preached a ſermon at Paules croſſe by the commaundement of King Edwardes Counſayle, wherein he diſſuaded the people, for ſundrie cauſes, from receyuing the Ladie Marie as Queene.

Doctor Borne

The xiij. of Auguſt, Doctor Bonner reſtored nowe to his Biſhopricke againe, appointed one late a chaplaine of his called Doctor Borne, to preach at Paules croſſe, who was then promoted to the Queenes ſeruice, and not long afterwarde was made Biſhop of Bathe, the ſayde Doctor taking occaſion of the Goſpell of that day, ſpake ſomewhat largely in the iuſtifying of Biſhop Bonner being preſent at the Sermon, whiche Biſhop (as the ſayde Preacher then openly ſayde) for a Sermon made vpon the ſame Text, and in the ſame place, the ſame day foure yeares afore paſſed, was moſt vniuſtly caſt into the vile dungeon of the Marſhalſee among theeues, and there kept during the time of king Edwardes reigne. This matter being ſet forth with great vehemencie, ſo muche offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake ſilence, and began to murmure and throng togither, in ſuch ſort as the Maior and Aldermen with other of the wiſer ſort then preſent, feared muche an vprore.

A dagger throwne at the preacher.

During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellowes, threwe a dagger at the Preacher, but who it was, came not to knowledge, by reaſon of which outrage, the Preacher withdrewe himſelfe from the Pulpit, and one maiſter Bradforde at the requeſt of the Preachers brother, and others ſtanding there, tooke the place, and ſpake ſo mildely to the people, that with fewe wordes he appeaſed their furie, and after the ſayde maiſter Bradforde and maiſter Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conueyed the ſayd Preacher into Paules ſchole, and there left him in ſafetie.

The next Sundaye following, for feare of a like tumult or worſe, order was taken, that the Queenes garde ſhoulde be preſent in the place to defende the Preacher with weapons. Wherevpon the wiſer men perceyuing ſuche a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to enſue, by ſuche appearance, of late not accuſtomed, woulde not bee preſent at the Sermon, by reaſon whereof there was left a ſmall auditorie. Wherefore afterwarde there was a commaundement giuen by the Lorde Maior, that the auncients of the companies ſhoulde be preſent at the nexte Sermon in their liueries, and ſo they were, whereby all became quiet.

The Duke of Northumberland arraigned

The xviij. of Auguſt next folowing, the Duke of Northumberlande, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke ſonne and heire to the ſayd Duke, were brought into Weſtminſter hall, and there arreygned of highe treaſon, before Thomas Duke of Norfolke, high Stewarde of Englande.

The Duke of Northumberland at his comming to the barre, vſed great reuerence towardes the Iudges, and proteſting his faith and allegiance to the Queenes maieſtie, whome he confeſſed grieuouſly to haue offended, he ſayde that he ment not to ſpeake any thing in defence of his facte, but woulde firſt vnderſtande the opinion of the Court in two points, firſt whether a man doing any act by authoritie of the Princes counſayle, and by warrant of the great ſeale of Englande, and doing nothing without the ſame, maye be charged with treaſon for anye thing which he might do by warrant therof? Secondly, whether any ſuche perſons as were equallye culpable in that crime, and thoſe by whoſe letters and commaundementes he was directed in all his doings, might be his iudges, or paſſe vpon his triall as his peeres? Wherevnto was anſwered, that as concerning the firſt, the great ſeale (which he layde for his warrant) was not the ſeale of the lawfull queene of the Realme, nor paſſed by authoritie, but the ſeale of an vſurper, and therefore coulde be no warrant to him. As to the ſeconde it was alledged, that if any were as deepely to be touched in that caſe as himſelfe, yet ſo long as no atteyndor were of recorde againſt them, they were neuertheleſſe perſons able in lawe to paſſe vpon any triall, and not to be chalenged therefore, but at the Princes pleaſure.

After whiche aunſwere, the Duke vſing a fewe wordes, declaring his earneſt repentaunce in the caſe, (for he ſawe that to ſtande vpon vttering any reaſonable matter, as might ſeeme, woulde little preuayle) he moued the Duke of Norffolke to bee a meane to the Queene for mercie, & without further anſwere confeſſed the inditement, by whoſe example, the other priſoners arreygned with him, did likewiſe confeſſe the inditementes produced againſt them, and therevpon had iudgement.

The xix. of Auguſt, Sir Andrewe Dudley, Sir Iohn Gates, and Sir Henrie Gates, brethren, and Sir Thomas Palmer, Knightes, were arreygned at Weſtminſter, and confeſſing their inditements, had iudgemẽt which was pronounced by the Marques of Wincheſter high Treaſurer of Englande that ſate that day as chiefe Iuſtice.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded

The xxij. of the ſayde moneth of Auguſt, the ſayde Duke, Sir Iohn Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were executed at the tower hill, and all the reſt ſhortlye after had their pardons graunted by the Queene, who, as it was thought, coulde alſo haue bene contented to haue pardoned the Duke as well as the other, for the ſpeciall fauour that ſhe had borne to him afore time.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie committed to the tower.

Soone after this, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and late before of King Edwards priuie Counſayle, was committed to the tower of London, being charged of treaſon, not onely for giuing aduiſe to the diſhinheriting of Queene Marie: but alſo for ayding the D. of Northumberlande with certayne horſe and men againſt the Queene, in the quarrell of the Ladie Iane of Suffolke.

Queene Marie crowned.

The laſt day of September next following, the Queene paſſed from the tower through the Citie of London vnto Weſtminſter, and the next daye being the firſt of October ſhee was crowned at Weſtminſter, by Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter (for the Archbiſhops of Caunterburie and Yorke were then priſoners in the tower) as before yee haue hearde, at the time of whoſe coronation, there was publiſhed a generall pardon in hir name, being interlaced with ſo manye exceptions, as they that needed the ſame moſt, tooke ſmalleſt benefite thereby. In which were excepted by name no ſmal number, not onely of Biſhops and other of the Clergie, namely the Archbiſhops of Caunterburie and Yorke, the Biſhop of London, but alſo many Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemenne of the laytie, beſide the two chiefe Iuſtices of Englande called Sir Edwarde Mountague, and Sir Roger Cholmeley, and ſome other learned men in the lawe, for counſayling, or at the leaſt conſenting to the depriuation of Queene Marie, and ayding of the foreſayde Duke of Northumberlande, in the pretenſed right of the afore named Ladie Iane, the names of whiche perſons ſo being excepted, I haue omitted for ſhortneſſe ſake.

A pardon with exceptions.

Commiſſioners.

Aſſoone as this pardon was publyſhed, and the ſolemnitie of the feaſt of the Coronation ended, there were certayne Commiſſioners aſſigned to take order with all ſuch perſons as were excepted out of the pardon, and others, to compounde with the Queene for their ſeuerall offences, which Commiſſioners ſate at the Deane of Paules his houſe, at the weſt ende of Paules Church, and there called afore them the ſayde perſons apart, and from ſome, they tooke their fees and offices, graunted before by King Edwarde the ſixth, and yet neuertheleſſe putting them to their fines, and ſome they committed to warde, depriuing them of their ſtates and liuings, ſo that for the time, to thoſe that taſted thereof, it ſeemed verye grieuous. God deliuer vs from incurring the lyke daunger of lawe agayne.

A Parliament.

The v. daye of October next following, the Queene helde hir highe Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, which continued vntill the xxj. day of the ſayde moneth.

Treaſon. Felonie. Premunire.

In the firſt ſeſſion of whiche Parliament, there paſſed no more Actes but one, and that was, to declare Queene Marie lawfull heire in diſcent to the crowne of Englande by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edwarde, and to repeale certaine cauſes of treaſon, felonie, and premunire, contayned in diuerſe former Statutes: the whiche acte of Repeale was, for that Cardinall Poole was eſpeciallye looked for (as after ye ſhall heare) for the reducing of the Church of Englande to the Popes obedience: and to the ende that the ſayde Cardinall nowe called into Englande from Rome, might holde his Courtes Legantine withoute the daunger of the Statutes of the Premunire, made in that caſe, wherevnto Cardinall Wolſey (when he was Legate) had incurred to his no ſmall loſſe, and to the charge of all the Clergie of Englande, for exerciſing the like power: the which acte being once paſſed, forthwith the Queene repayred to the Parliament houſe, and gaue therevnto hir royall aſſent, and then proroged the Parliament vnto the xxiiij. day of the ſayde Moneth.

The Parliament proroged.

In which ſeconde ſeſſion were confirmed and made diuerſe and ſundrie Statutes concerning religion, whereof ſome were reſtored, and other repealed.

It

Sir Iames Hales in trouble for religion.

At this time many were in trouble for religion, and among other, Sir Iames Hales Knight, one of the Iuſtices of the Common place, whiche Iuſtice being called among other by the Counſayle of King Edwarde to ſubſcribe to a deuiſe made for the diſinheriting of Queene Marie, and the Ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, woulde in no wiſe aſſent to the ſame, though moſt of the other did: yet that notwithſtanding, for that he at a quarter Seſſions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the Statutes of King Henry the eyght, and King Edwarde the ſixth, in derogation of the Primacie of the Church of Rome, aboliſhed by King Henrie the eight, he was firſt committed priſoner to the Kings bench, then to the Counter, and laſt to the Fleete, where, whether it were through extreeme feare, or elſe by reaſon of ſuch talke as the warden of the Fleete vſed vnto him, of more trouble like to inſue, if he perſiſted in his opinion (or for what other cauſe, God knoweth) he was ſo moued, troubled, & vexed, that he ſought to ryd himſelfe out of this life, whiche thing he firſt attempted in the Fleete, by wounding himſelfe with a Penknife, well neare to death. Neuertheleſſe afterwarde being recouered of that hurt, he ſeemed to be verye comformable to all the Queenes proceedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his impriſonment, and brought to the Queenes preſence, who gaue him wordes of great comfort: neuertheleſſe his mynde was not quiet (as afterwarde well appeared) for in the end he drowned himſelf in a riuer not half a mile from his dwelling houſe in Kent, the riuer being ſo ſhalow, that he was faine to lye groueling before he coulde diſpatche himſelfe, whoſe death was much lamented. For beſide that he was a man wiſe, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the Realme, he was alſo a good and true miniſter of Iuſtice, whereby he gate him great fauor and eſtimation among all degrees.

He drowneth himſelfe.

A publike diſputation.

During the aforeſayde Parliament, aboute the xviij. daye of October, there was kepte at Paules Church in London, a publike diſputation appoynted by the Queenes commaundement, aboute the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the Aultar, which diſputation continued ſixe dayes, Doctor Weſton then being Prolocutor of the Conuocation, who vſed many vnſeemely checkes and tauntes againſt the one part, to the preiudice of their cauſe. By reaſon whereof, the diſputers neuer reſolued vpon the article proponed, but grewe daily more and more into contention, without any frute of their long conference, and ſo ended this diſputation, with theſe wordes ſpoken by Doctor Weſton Prolocutor: It is not the Queenes pleaſure that we ſhoulde herein ſpende anye longer time, and ye are well ynough, for you haue the word, and we haue the ſworde. But of this matter ye may reade more in the booke of the Monuments of the Church.

Cardinall Pole ſent for home.

At this time was Cardinall Poole ſent for to Rome by the Queene, who was very deſirous of his comming, as well for the cauſes afore declared, as alſo for the great affection that ſhee had to him being hir neere kinſeman, and conſenting with hir in religion.

This meſſage was moſt thankfully receyued at Rome, and order taken to ſende the ſayde Cardinal hither with great expedition: but before his comming, Queene Marie had maried Philip Prince of Spaine, as after ſhall appeare.

The Counſell deuided about the receyuing of the Cardinall.

But here to touche ſomewhat the comming of the ſayde Cardinal. When he was arriued at Caleys, there was conference had amongſt the Counſaylors of the Queene for the maner of his receyuing: ſome woulde haue had him very honorably met and intertayned, as he was in all places where he had before paſſed, not onelye for that he was a Cardinall, and a Legate from the Pope, but alſo for that he was the Queenes neare kinſeman, of the houſe of Clarence. Neuertheleſſe, after much debating, it was thought meeteſt, firſt, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he ſtoode attainted by Parliament, & alſo for that it was doubtfull how, he being ſent frō Rome, ſhould be accepted of the people, who in xxv. yeares before, had not bene muche acquainted with the Pope or his Cardinals, that therefore vntill all things might be put in order for that purpoſe, he ſhoulde come without any great ſolemnitie vnto Lambeth, where in the Archbiſhoppes houſe, his lodging was prepared.

The thirde of Nouember nexte following, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (notwithſtāding that he had once refuſed plainly to ſubſcribe to King Edwardes will, in the diſinheriting of his ſiſter Marie, and alledging many reaſons and arguments for the legittimation of both the Kings ſiſters) was in the Guildhall in London arreygned, and attainted of treaſon, namely for ayding the Duke of Northumberlande with horſe and men againſt the Queene, as aforeſayde: and the ſame time alſo, the Ladie Iane of Suffolke (who for a whyle was called Queene Iane) and the Lorde Guilforde hir huſbande, the Lorde Ambroſe and L. Henrie Dudley ſonnes to the Duke of Northumberlande, were likewiſe arreygned and attainted, and therevpon led backe agayne to the Tower.

Ambaſſadors from the Emperour.

In the beginning of Ianuarie next following, Charles the v. Emperor, ſent into Englande an honorable ambaſſade, amongſt whom was the Conte de Ayguemont Admirall of the low countries, & Charles Conte de la Laing, John de Montmorancie Lorde of Curriers, and the Chauncellour Nigre, with full Commiſſion to conclude a mariage betwene Philip Prince of Spaine his ſonne and heyre, and Queene Marie, as you haue hearde: which ambaſſade tooke ſuche place, that ſhortlye after all things were finiſhed accordinglye. But this mariage was not well thought off by the Commons, nor much better lyked of many of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cauſe of religion, conſpired to rayſe warre, rather than to ſee ſuch chaunge of the ſtate, of the which conſpiracie though there were many confederates, yet the firſte that ſhewed force therein, was one Sir Thomas Wyat a knight in Kent, who in very deede was driuen to preuent the time of the purpoſed enterpriſe by this happe.

Diuerſe of the partakers in this conſpiracie, being withdrawne from London (where they had deuiſed their drift) home into their countries (amongſt whom the ſayd Sir Thomas Wyat was one) it fell out, that whyleſt he was returned into Kẽt, where his lands and liuings chieflye laye, a Gentleman of that ſhire, one to the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat moſt deare, was by the Counſell for other matters committed to the Fleete, whervpon he verily ſuſpecting that his ſecrets were bewrayed, had no other ſhift, as he tooke it, but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices, and herevpon giuing intelligence of his determination to his aſſociates, as well at London, as elſe where, on the Thurſdaye next following, being the xxv. of Januarie, at Maidſtone, being accompanied with maiſter Thomas Jſley, and others, publiſheth a proclamation againſt the Queenes mariage, deſiring all his neyghbours, frendes, and Engliſhmenne to ioyne with him and others, to defend the realme in daunger to be brought in thraldome to ſtrangers, and herewith he getteth him to Rocheſter, & met with ſir George Harper by the way, that was one appoynted afore to ioyne with him in that quarell. They brake vp the bridge at Rocheſter, and fortified the Eaſt part of the town, and ſtayde there, abyding the comming of more ſtrength, and in the meane whyle ſuffered all paſſingers to paſſe quietly through the towne to London, or to the ſea, taking nothing frõ them, but onely their weapon.

Wiat publiſheth a proclamation at Maidſtone.

He commeth to Rocheſter.

Sir George Harper.

In the meane while, ſir Henrie Jſley, Anthony Kneuet eſquire, & his brother William Kneuet were buſy in weſt Kent to raiſe the people there, & likewiſe in Eaſt Kent there were other ẏ were of the ſame confederacie, which ſet forth the like Proclamations at Milton, Aſhforde, and other townes there in that part of the ſhire: and thus in eche part of Kente in a maner was greate ſtirre. But yet ſuch was the diligence and warie circumſpection of John Twyne at that preſent, Maior of Canterburie, for that he miſlyked their diſordered attemptes, that there was not any of that Citie knowne to ſtirre, or goe forth to ioyne themſelues with the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat, or with any other of his confederates, and yet verilye the more part of the people in all other parts of that ſhire, were marueylouſlye affected to the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyats quarell, doubting that which myght followe of the Queenes matching hirſelfe thus with a ſtraunger.

At Milton when a Gentlemanne of thoſe partes named Chriſtopher Roper, went about to reſiſt them that ſet forth this Proclamation, he was taken and conueyed to Rocheſter vnto Maiſter Wyat.

Chriſtopher Roper taken.

Likewiſe Maiſter Tucke and Maiſter Dorrell Juſtices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houſes, and likewiſe brought to Rocheſter where they with the ſayde Roper were kept as priſoners.

Maiſter Dorrel and maiſter Tuck taken.

Sir Thomas Wiat had written vnto Sir Robert Southwel ſherife of Kẽt to moue him in reſpect of the preſeruation of the common welth nowe in daunger to be ouerrunne of ſtrangers, through the pretenſed marriage, if it ſhould go forwarde) to ioyne with him and others, in ſo neceſſarie a cauſe for the diſappoynting of the ſame mariage, and to worke ſo with the Lorde of Burgueuennie, with whome he might doe much, that it might pleaſe him alſo to ioyne with them: but as well the ſayde Sir Robert Southwell, as the ſayde Lorde of Burgueuennie, and one George Clarke aſſembled themſelues with ſuch power as they might make againſt the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat and hys adherentes, and comming to Malling on the Saterday, being the Market daye and xxviij. of Januarie, the ſayde ſir Robert Southwell hauing penned an exhortation to diſſuade the people, and to bring them from hauing any liking to Wiates enterpriſe, dyd reade the ſame openlye vnto all the people there aſſembled, in confuting, reprouing, and refelling the proclamations ſet forth by Sir Thomas Wiat and his adherents.

Sir Thomas Wiat writeth to ſir Robert Southwell.

The ſherife of Kent and the Lorde of Burgueuennie aſſemble a power againſt Wiat.

On the other parte, Sir Henrie Jſley, Anthonie Kneuet, and his brother Willyam Kneuet being at Tunbridge, proclaymed the Sherife, the Lorde of Burgueuennie, and George Clarke Gentlemanne, traytours to God, the Crowne, and the Common wealth, for reyſing the Queenes Subiectes, to defende the moſte wicked and diueliſhe enterpriſe of certayne of the wicked and peruerſe Counſaylors. And this they pronounced in their owne names, and in the names of Sir Thomas Wyat, Sir George Harper, and of all the faithfull Gentlemen of Kent, and truſtie Commons of the ſame.

This done, they marched to Seuennocke, meaning from thence to paſſe to Rocheſter, but in the meane time the foreſayde xxvij. of Januarie, there came from the Queene an Herault, and a trumpettour vnto Sir Thomas Wiat, but he was not ſuffered to paſſe the bridge, and ſo did his meſſage at the bridge end, in ÿ hearing of ſir Thomas Wiat and diuerſe other. The effect of his meſſage was, to offer pardon to ſo many as within xxiiij. houres woulde depart to their houſes, and become quiet ſubiectes.

Herault to Wiat.

Sir Thomas Cheiney Lorde Warden, ſent alſo vnto Wiat, with wordes of contempt and defiance, deſirous in deede to haue bene doyng with him, if he had not miſtruſted his own people which he ſhoulde haue brought againſt him, as thoſe that fauoured ſo greatly Wiats cauſe, that they woulde haue bene lothe to haue ſeene him take anye foyle, and that Sir Thomas Wiat knewe well inough, and therefore deſired nothing more than to haue him come forth, vnderſtanding that he wanted no freindes as well about him, as all other that woulde take in hande to repreſſe him with force gathered in that ſhire.

Lorde
den.

The Lorde of Burgueuennie, the Sheriffe, Warram Sentleger, and diuerſe other Gentlemen that were aſſembled at Malling, laye there within foure myles of Rocheſter Saterday night, and hauing aduertiſement that Sir Henrie Iſley, the two Kneuets, and certaine other, with fiue hundreth Weldiſhe men, being at Seuennocke, ment earely in the morning to march towards Rocheſter for the ayde of Wiat againſt the Duke of Norffolke that was come to Grauesende with fiue hundreth whyte Coates Londoners, and certayne of the garde, and further that the ſayde Sir Henrie Iſley and the Kneuets ment in their waye to burne and ſpoyle the houſe of George Clarke Gentlemanne. They departing with fiue hundreth Gentlemen and yeomen, very earelye that Sunday in the morning marched out in order till they came to Wrotham heath, where they might eaſilye heare the ſounde of their aduerſaries drummes, and therevpon followed after them with all ſpede till they came to a place called Barrowe greene, through which laye the right readie waye from Seuennocke towardes maiſter Clarkes houſe. Here the Lorde of Burgueuennie ſtayed for the comming of his enimies, and vnderſtanding they were at hande, placed his menne in order, thinking to giue or take the ouerthrowe. But they vpon their approche, miſlikyng (as it ſhould ſeeme) the match, ſhranke aſide as ſecretly as they coulde, by a bye way, and were ſo farre gone before the Lorde of Burgueuennie vnderſtode thereof by his eſpials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rocheſter, he was driuen to make ſuch haſte for the ouertaking of them, as diuerſe of his footmen were farre behinde at the onſet giuing.

Weldiſhmen,
is, ſuch as
ell in hte
l of Kent.

Wrothā heath

rrow green.

The firſt ſight that the Lorde of Burgueuennie coulde haue of them, after they forſooke their purpoſed waye, was as they aſcended Wrothams hill, directly vnder Yallam maiſter Peckhams houſe, where they thinking to haue great aduauntage by the winning of the hill, diſplayed their enſignes, thinking they had bene out of daunger, but the Lord of Burgueuennie made ſuch haſte after them, that ouertaking them at a fielde in the pariſhe of Wrotham, a myle diſtant from the very toppe of the hill, called Blacke ſolle fielde, after ſome reſiſtance with ſhotte and arrowes, and profer of onſet made by their horſemen, they were put to flight, and chaſed for the ſpace of foure myles, euen to Hartley wood. Lx. of them were taken priſoners.

Wrotham hil.
Yallam.

Black ſoll field

The ſkirmiſh.

Sir Henrie Iſley fled into Hāpſhire, Anthony Kneuet made ſuch ſhift that he got ÿ night vnto Rocheſter, and the ſame time Sir George Harper departing from Sir Thomas Wiat, & comming to the Duke of Norffolke, ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto his grace, and the Duke receyued him. Which Duke, as before ye haue partly hearde, being ſent with fiue hundreth Londoners, and certaine of the Garde for his better defence, to go againſt the Kentiſhe menne thus aſſembled with Sir Thomas Wiat, was come downe to Grauesende, ſet forth from thence on mondaye the xxix. of Januarie about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towardes Stroude on this ſide of Rocheſter, and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the ſame daye, he arriued at Stroude neare vnto Rocheſter, hauing with him Sir Henrie Jerningham Captayne of the Garde, Sir Edwarde Braye, Sir John Fogge, Knightes, John Couert, Roger Appleton, Eſquires, Maurice Griffith the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certaine of the garde, and others, to the number of two hundreth or thereabout, beſide Bret and other fiue Captaines, who with their bandes taried behinde at Spittell hill neere vnto Stroude, whyleſt the Duke wente to Stroude to ſee the placing of the ordinaunce, whiche being readye charged and bent vnto the towne of Rocheſter, and perceyuing by Sir Thomas Wiat and his

The Duke of Norffolke arriueth at Stroude.

men by hanging out their enſignes, little to regarde him, the Duke commaunded one of the peeces to be fired and ſhotte off into Rocheſter, and as the gunner was firing the peece, ſir Edwarde Brayes eldeſt ſonne came in all haſte to the Duke, and tolde him howe the Londoners woulde betraye him, and herewith turning backe, he might beholde howe Brette and the other Captaines of the white Coates with their handes being vppon the hill, and at his backe, made great and loud ſhouts ſundrie times, crying we are all Engliſh men, we are all Engliſh men, faſhioning themſelues in aray, ready bent with their weapons to ſet vpon the Duke, if hee had made any reſiſtance: whereuppon the Duke commaunded the peeces that were bent againſt Rocheſter, to be turned vpon Bret and his fellowes, but vpon further conſideration the ſhotte was ſpared, and the Dukes grace, with the captaine of the Garde, conſidering with wofull hearts their chiefe ſtrength thus turned againſt them, and being thus enuironned both behinde and before with enimies, ſhifted themſelues away, as did alſo their companie. Sir Thomas Wiat accompanied with two or three, and not many mo, came forth halfe a myle from Rocheſter, to meete Brette and the other Captaynes, amongſt whome was Sir George Harper, notwithſtanding his former ſubmiſſion to the Duke. Their meeting verily ſeemed right ioyfull both in geſture and countenaunce, and therewith hauing ſaluted ech other, they entred altogither into Rocheſter.

The reuolting of the Londoners.

The Lorde of Burgueuennie and the Sherife were greatly abaſhed when they vnderſtode of this miſhappe, for they doubted that ſuch as were euill diſpoſed afore, woulde not be greatly amended thereby.

The ſherife of Kent rideth to the Counſaile

The Sherife being then at Maidſtone, haſted to come to Malling, where the Lorde of Burgueuennie laye, and vppon his comming thither, hee toke aduiſe to ryde in poſte to the Counſayle to knowe their mindes howe they woulde direct them.

Sir Thomas Wiat and his aſſociates were greatly recomforted with this newe ſupply added to their ſtrength, by the reuolting thus of the Londoners, and verilye it bredde no ſmall hope in all their heartes that wiſhed well to his enterpriſe, that he ſhoulde the better attaine vnto the wiſhed ende of his purpoſe. But it pleaſed God otherwiſe, who neuer proſpereth any that attempt ſuch exploits without publike and lawfull authoritie.

In this meane whyle, the Duke of Suffolke being perſuaded to ioine with other in this quarrell, as he that doubted, as no ſmall number of true Engliſh men then did, leaſt the pretenced mariage with the Spaniſhe King, ſhould bring the whole nobilitie and people of this Realme, into bondage and thraldome of Straungers, after he was once aduertiſed that Sir Thomas Wiat had preuented the time of their purpoſed enterpriſe, hee ſecretelye one euening departed from Sheene, and roade with all ſpede into Leyceſter ſhire, where in the towne of Leyceſter and other places, he cauſed proclamation to bee made in ſemblable wyſe as Sir Thomas Wiat had done, againſt the Queenes matche which ſhe ment to make with the ſayd King of Spain: but fewe there were that woulde willingly harken thereto.

The Duke o Suffolke g downe int Leyceſterſh

But nowe ye muſt vnderſtande, that before his comming downe, hee was perſuaded that the Citie of Couentrie woulde be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens being throughly bent in his fauour, in ſo neceſſarie a quarrell, for defence of the Realme againſt Straungers, as they were then perſuaded. But howſoeuer it chaunced, this proued not altogither true, for whether through the miſliking whiche the Citizens had of the matter, or throughe negligence of ſome that were ſente to ſollicite them in the cauſe, or chiefly, as ſhould ſeeme to be moſt true, for that God woulde haue it ſo: When the Duke came with ſixe or ſeauen ſcore horſemen well appointed for the purpoſe, preſenting himſelfe before the Citie, in hope to be receyued, hee was kept oute. For the Citizens through comfort of the Earle of Huntington that was then come downe, ſent by the Queene to ſtaye the Countries from falling to the Duke, and to rayſe a power to apprehende him, had put them ſelues in armor, and made all the prouiſion they coulde to defende the Citie againſte the ſayde Duke. Whereupon perceyuing himſelfe deſtitute of all ſuch ayde as hee loked for among his frends in ẏ two ſhires of Leiceſter & Warwick, he got him to his manour of Aſtley, diſtant from Couentrie fiue myles, where appoynting his companie to diſperſe themſelues, and to make the beſt ſhift eche one for his owne ſafegard that he might, and diſtributing to euerye of them a portion of money, according to their qualities, and his ſtore at that preſent, hee and the Lorde John Grey his brother, beſtowed themſelues in ſecrete places there within Aſtley Parke, but throughe the vntruſtyneſſe of them, to whoſe truſt they did commit themſelues, as hath bene credibilye reported, they were bewrayed to the Earle of Huntington, that then was come to Couentrie, and ſo apprehended they were by the ſayde Earle, and afterwardes brought vp to London.

The citie of Couentrie.

The Duke of Suffolke kep out of Coue trie.

The Duke of Suffolke apprehended.

The Duke had ment at the firſt to haue rid awaye, (as I haue credibilye hearde) if promiſe had bene kept by one of his ſeruaunts, appoynted to come to him to bee his guyde: but when he eyther feygning himſelfe ſicke, or being ſicke in deede, came not, the Duke was conſtrayned to remayne in the Parke there at Aſtley, hoping yet to get awaye after that the ſearche had bene paſſed ouer, and the Countrie once in quiet. Howſoeuer it was, there he was taken, as before is ſayde, togither with his brother the Lord John Grey, but his brother the Lorde Thomas gotte awaye in deede at that time, meaning to haue fledde into Wales, and there to haue got to the ſea ſide, ſo to tranſport himſelfe ouer into Fraunce, or into ſome other forren part: but in the borders of Wales he was likewiſe apprehended through his great miſhappe, and folly of his man that had forgot his Capcaſe wᵗ money behinde in his Chamber one morning at his Inne, and comming for it againe, vppon examination what he ſhoulde be, it was miſtruſted that his maiſter ſhoulde be ſome ſuche man, as he was in deede, and ſo was ſtayde, taken, and brought vp to London, where he ſuffered, as after ſhall appeare.

L.John
taken.

L.Thom
taken.

But nowe to returne vnto Sir Thomas Wiat. After that the Londoners were reuolted to him, as before ye haue hearde, the next daye being Tueſdaye the xxx. of Januarie, hee marched forth with his bandes, and ſixe peeces of ordinance (which they had gotten of the Queenes) beſide their owne, and firſt they came to Cowling caſtell, an holde of the Lorde Cobhams, foure myles diſtant from Rocheſter, and not much out of their waye towards London, whither they were nowe fully determined to go, in hope of frendes whiche they truſted to finde within and about the Citie.

At their comming to Cowling, knowing the Lorde Cobham to bee within the Caſtell, they bent their ordinaunce againſt the gate, breaking it with ſundrie ſhottes, and burning it vp with fire, made a way through it.

The ſaid Lord Cobham defended the place as ſtoutly as he might, hauing but a fewe agaynſt ſo great a number, and ſo little ſtore of munition for his defence, he himſelfe yet diſcharged his gunne at ſuch as approched the gate right hardily, and in that aſſault two of his menne were ſlayne.

After this aſſaulte, and talke had with the Lorde Cobham, Sir Thomas Wiat marched to Grauesende, where he reſted that night.

The next daye he came to Dartforde, with his bandes, and laye there that night, whither came to him Sir Edwarde Haſtings maiſter of the Queenes horſe, and Sir Thomas Cornwalleys knightes, both being of the Queenes priuie Counſayle, and nowe ſent from hir vnto Sir Thomas Wiat to vnderſtand the cauſe of his commotion.

When hee vnderſtoode they were come, hee tooke with him certaine of his bande to the weſt ende of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinaunce, and at the lighting downe of Sir Edward Haſtings and his aſſociate, Sir Thomas Wiat hauing a Partiſan in his hande, aduaunced himſelfe ſomewhat afore ſuch Gentlemen as were with him, traced neare them, to whom the Maiſter of the horſe ſpake in ſubſtaunce as followeth.

The Queenes Maieſtie requireth to vnderſtande the verye cauſe wherefore you haue thus gathered togither in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traytour, and yet in your Proclamations and perſwaſions, you call your ſelfe a true ſubiect, which can not ſtand togither.

I am no traytor, quoth Wiat, and the cauſe wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defende the Realme from daunger of being ouerrunne with ſtraungers, which muſt follow, this mariage taking place.

Why? quoth the Queenes agents, there be no ſtraungers yet come, who eyther for power or number ye neede to ſuſpect. But if this be your onely quarrell, bicauſe ye miſlike the mariage: will ye come to communication touching that caſe, and the Queene of hir gracious goodneſſe is content ye ſhall be hearde.

I yeelde thereto, quoth Sir Thomas Wiat: but for my ſuretie I will rather be truſted than truſt, and therefore demaunded, as ſome haue written, the cuſtodie of the tower, and hir grace within it: Alſo the diſplacing of ſome Counſaylours about hir, and to haue other placed in their roumes.

Wiats re
queſtes,

There was long and ſtoute conference betweene them, inſomuche that the Maiſter of the horſe ſayde, Wiat, before thou ſhalte haue thy trayterous demaunde graunted, thou ſhalt dye, and twentie thouſande with thee: and ſo the ſayde Maiſter of the horſe, and Sir Thomas Cornewalleys perceiuing they coulde not bring him to that poynt they wiſhed, they returned to the Courte, aduertiſing the Queene what they had hearde of him.

The ſame daye being the firſt of Februarie, Proclamation was made in London by an Herault, to ſignifie that the Duke of Suffolkes companie of horſemen were ſcattered, and that he himſelfe and his brethren were fledde. Alſo that Sir Peter Carew, and ſir Gawen Carew Knights, and Willyam Gybbes Eſquire, which being parties to the conſpiracie of the ſaid Duke, with Sir Thomas Wiat and others, were likewiſe fledde. True it was that Sir Peter Carewe perceyuing himſelfe in daunger to be apprehended aboute the xxiij. of Januarie laſt paſt, fledde out of the Realme, and eſcaped into Fraunce, but the other taried behynde and were taken.

The Emperors ambaſſadors flee frõ Wiat.

Moreouer, this firſt daye of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the Emperours ambaſſadors, of whome ye haue hearde before, hearing of Wiats haſtie approching thus towardes London, ſped themſelues away by water, and that with all haſte.

The Queene then lying at hir pallace of Whyte hall beſide Weſtminſter, and hearing of hir enimies ſo neare, was counſayled for hir ſafegarde to take the tower of London, whereunto ſhe would by no meanes be perſwaded. Neuertheleſſe, to make hir ſelfe more ſtronger of frends in the citie, ſo ſoone as the ſayde Ambaſſadours were departed, ſhe came to the Guilde hall in London, againſt which time, order was taken by the Lorde Maior, that the chiefe Citizens in their liueries ſhoulde be there preſent.

After that the Queene had taken hir place in the ſayde hall, and ſilence made, ſhe with verye good countenaunce vttered in effect this oration following.

Queene Maries oration.

I am (quoth ſhee) come vnto you in mine owne perſon, to tell you that which already you doe ſee and knowe, that is, howe trayterouſlye and ſeditiouſlye a number of Kentiſhe rebelles haue aſſembled themſelues togither againſt both vs and you. Their pretence (as they ſayde at the firſt) was onely to reſiſt a mariage determined betweene vs and the Prince of Spaine, to the which pretenced quarell, and to all the reſt of their euill contriued articles yee haue bene made priuie. Sithence which time, wee haue cauſed diuerſe of our priuie Counſayle, to reſort eftſoones to the ſayde Rebelles, and to demaunde of them the cauſe of this their continuance in their ſeditious enterpriſe: By whoſe anſweres made againe to our ſayde Counſayle, it appeared that the marriage is founde to be the leaſt of their quarell. For they nowe ſwaruing from their former articles, haue bewrayed the inwarde treaſon of their hearts, as moſt arrogantly demaunding the poſſeſſion of oure perſon, the keeping of our tower, and not onely the placing and diſplacing of our Counſaylors, but alſo to vſe them and vs at their pleaſures. Nowe louing ſubiectes, what I am, you right well knowe. I am your Queene, to whome at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme, and to the lawes of the ſame, (the ſpouſall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) ye promiſed your allegiaunce and obedience vnto mee, and that I am the right and true inheritour to the Crowne of this Realme of Englande, I not onely take all Chriſtendome to witneſſe, but alſo your actes of Parliament confirming the ſame. My father (as yee all knowe) poſſeſſed the Regall eſtate by right of inheritance, whiche nowe by the ſame right deſcended vnto me. And to him alwayes ye ſhewed your ſelues moſt faithfull and louing ſubiectes, and him obeyed and ſerued as youre liege Lorde and King, and therefore I doubte not but you will ſhewe youre ſelues likewiſe to me his daughter, whiche if you doe, then maye you not ſuffer anye Rebell to vſurpe the gouernance of our perſon, or to occupie our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo preſumptuous a traytour as this Wiat hath ſhewed himſelfe to bee, who muſt certainly, as he hath abuſed my ignorant ſubiectes to bee adherents to his trayterous quarell, ſo doth he entende by colour of the ſame, to ſubdue the lawes to his will, and to giue ſcope to yͤ raſcall and forlorne perſons, to make generall hauocke and ſpoyle of your goodes: and this further I ſay vnto you in the worde of a prince, I cannot tell howe naturallye a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer yͤ mother of anye: but certainly a Prince and Gouernour maye as naturallye and as earneſtlye loue ſubiectes, as the mother doth hir chylde, then aſſure youre ſelues, that I being youre Soueraigne Ladie and Queene, doe as earneſtly and as tenderlye loue and fauour you, and I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartilye and faithfully loue me againe: and ſo ioyning togither in this knotte of loue and concorde, I doubt not, but we togither ſhall bee able to giue theſe Rebels a ſhort & ſpeedie ouerthrow. And as concerning the caſe of my intẽded mariage, agaynſt which they pretende their quarell, yee ſhall vnderſtande that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduice of all oure priuie Counſayle, yea, and by aſſent of thoſe to whome the King my father committed his truſte, who ſo conſidered and wayed the greate commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not only thought it verye honourable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our Realme, and alſo of all oure louing ſubiectes. And as touching my ſelfe, (I aſſure you) I am not ſo deſirous of wedding, neyther ſo preciſe or wedded to my will, that eyther for mine owne pleaſure I will choſe where I lyſte, or elſe ſo amorous, as needes I muſt haue one: for God I thank him (to whome bee the prayſe thereof) I haue hitherto lyued a virgin, and doubt nothing but with Gods grace ſhall as well bee able ſo to liue ſtill. But if, as my progenitors haue don before, it might pleaſe God that I might leaue ſome fruite of my body behinde me, to be your Gouernour, I truſt you would not onelye reioyce thereat, but alſo I knowe it woulde be to your great comfort. And certainly if I eyther did knowe or thinke, that thys maryage ſhoulde eyther turne to the daunger or loſſe of any of you my louing ſubiectes, or to the detriment or empayring of any parte or parcell of the royall eſtate of this realme of Englande, I woulde neuer conſent therevnto, neyther woulde I euer marry while I lyued. And in the worde of a Queene, I promiſe and aſſure you, that if it ſhall not probably appeare before the Nobilitie and commons in the high Courte of Parliament, that this maryage ſhall be for the ſingular benefit and commoditie of all the whole Realme, that then I will abſtayne not onelye from this maryage, but alſo from any other, whereof perill may enſue to this noble Realme. Wherefore nowe as good and faythfull ſubiectes plucke vp your heartes, and like true men ſtande faſt wyth your lawfull Prince agaynſt theſe rebelles both our enimies and yours, and feare them not: for aſſure you that I feare them nothing at all, and I will leaue with you my lorde Howarde, and my Lorde Treaſorer to be your aſſyſtants, with my Lorde Maior, for the defence and ſafegarde of the Citie from ſpoyle and ſaccage, which is onely the ſcope of this rebellious companie.

After this Oration ended, the Citizens ſeeming well ſatiſfied therewith, the Queene with the Lordes of the Counſaile returned to white hall from whence ſhe came, and forthwyth the Lorde William Howarde was aſſociate wyth the Lorde Maior of London, whoſe name was ſir Thomas White, for the protectiō and defence of the Citie, and for more ſuretie as well of hir owne perſon, as alſo of hir Counſaylours and other ſubiectes, ſhee prepared a greate armie to meete wyth the ſayde Rebelles in the fielde, of which armie William Herbert Earle of Pembroke was made generall, which Earle wyth all ſpeede requiſite in ſuch a caſe, prepared all things neceſſarie to ſuch a ſeruice belonging.

The ſame daye ſir Thomas Wyat hauing with him fourtene Enſignes, conteyning aboute foure thouſande men, although they were accoūted to be a farre greater number, marched to Detforde ſtrande, eight myles from Dartforde, and within foure myles of London: where vpon ſuch aduertiſement as hee receyued by ſpyall, of the Queenes being in the Guildhall, and the order of the people to hir wardes, hee remayned that night and the next whole day, dyuerſe of his own companie doubting by his longer tarying there, than in other places, and vpon other preſumptions which they gathered, that he woulde haue paſſed the water into Eſſex.

Wyat ſuffereth his priſoners to go abrode vpon their worde.

His Priſoners Chriſtofor Roper, George Dorrell, and John Tucke, Eſquiers, who were kept ſomewhat ſtrayt, for that they ſeemed ſickly, and finding within the towne no conuenient harborough or attendance, were licenced by ſir Thomas Wyat, vpon promiſe of their worſhips to be true priſoners, to prouide for themſelues out from the towne, where they beſt might: but they breaking promiſe with him, ſought wayes to eſcape, and came no more at him.

Wiat cōmeth into Southwarke.

On the Saterday folowing very early, Wiat marched to Southwarke, where approching the gate at London bridge foote, called to them within to haue it opened, which he found not ſo readie as he looked for.

After hee had beene a little while in Southwarke, and began to trench at the bridge foot, and ſet two peeces of ordinance agaynſt the gate, dyuerſe of his ſouldiors went to Wincheſter place, where one of them (being a gentleman) began to fall to ryfling of things found in the houſe, wherwith ſir Thomas Wyat ſeemed ſo much offended, that he threatned ſore to hang him euen preſently there vpon the wharfe, and ſo as he made others to beleeue he ment to haue done, if Captaine Bret and other had not intreated for him.

The Lord William Howard Lorde Admiral of England, being appointed by the Queenes commiſſion captaine generall with the Lorde Maior ſir Thom. White, watched at the bridge that night with three hundred men, cauſed the draw bridge to be hewen downe into the Thames, made rampires & other fortifications there, fenſing the ſame with great ordinance.

Sir Thomas Wyats deſperate attempt.

Wiat yet aduentured the breaking downe of a wall out of an houſe ioyning to the gate at the bridge foote, whereby he might enter into the leades ouer the gate, came downe into the lodge about .xj. of the clocke in the night, where he found the Porter in a ſlumber, and his wife with other waking, and watching ouer a cole, but beholding Wyat, they began ſodainly to ſtart as greatly amazed. Whiſt quoth Wyat, as you loue your lyues ſit ſtill, you ſhall haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrāt, and ſo were quiet and made no noyſe.

Wyat and a fewe with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on the further ſide whereof, he ſaw the Lord Admirall, the Lorde Maior, ſir Andrew Judde, and one or two other in conſultation for ordering of the bridge, whervnto he gaue diligent heede and eare a good while, and not ſeene.

Wyat and his complyces fall into conſultation.

This done, he returned and ſayde to ſome of his companie, this place ſirs is to hote for vs, and herevpon falling in counſaile what was beſt to doe, ſome gaue aduice that it ſhoulde bee good to returne to Greenwich, and ſo to paſſe the water into Eſſex, whereby theyr companie as they thought, ſhould encreaſe, and then aſſay to enter into London by Algate, and ſome were of opinion, that it were better to goe to Kingſton vpon Thames and ſo further weſt.

Other there were, among the whiche Sir Thomas Wyat himſelfe was chiefe, woulde haue returned into Kent, to meete with the Lord of Burgueuenny, the Lorde Warden, the Sherife, ſir Thomas Moyle, ſir Thomas Kempe, ſir Thomas Finch, and others that were at Rocheſter comming on Wyats backe, with a great companie well appoynted, perſwading hymſelfe (whether truely or not I know not) that he ſhould finde among them mo friendes than enimies, but whether his deſire to returne into Kent grewe vpon hope he had to finde ayde there, or rather to ſhyft himſelfe away, it was doubted of his owne companie, and ſome of them that knew him wel, (except they were much deceyued,) reported not long before theyr execution, that hys deſyre to returne into Kent, was onely to ſhyft hymſelfe ouer the ſea.

The Lorde Warden.

The Lorde Warden being at Rocheſter (as ye haue heard) well furniſhed both with horſe and men, perfitly appoynted to no ſmall number, was willing to haue followed after Wyat, and to haue ſhewed his good will agaynſte him in the Queenes quarell, but yet vpon deliberation had, and aduice taken wyth others that were there with him, he thought good firſt to vnderſtande the Queenes pleaſure, howe to proceede in his dealings, and herevpon he roade poſt to the Queene himſelfe, leauing the Lord of Burgueuenny and the reſt of the gentlemen with his and their bands behind vntill his returne.

Sunday the fourth of Februarie, the Lorde Admirall cauſed a ſtrong ward of three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight of the clock at night, and then for their relief entred the watch of other three hũdred, ſo that the bridge was thus garded both daye and night, with three hundred men in armour.

Wyat at his wittes ende.

It troubled Wyat and all his companie verie ſore, to ſee that London did ſo ſtiffely ſtande and holde out agaynſt them, for in the aſſyſtance which they looked to haue had of that citie, al their hope of proſperous ſpeede conſyſted: but now that they ſaw themſelues greatly diſappoynted therein, they ment yet to ſet all on a hazarde, and ſo the ſixt of Februarie being ſhroue Tueſday, afore ſix of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southwarke, marching directly towardes Kingſtone, tenne myles diſtant from London, ſtanding vpon the Thames, where they arryued about foure of the Clocke in the after Noone, and finding thirtie foote or there aboute of the Bridge taken away, ſauing the Poſtes that were left ſtanding, Wyat practiſed wyth two Mariners to ſwimme ouer, and to conuey a barge to him, which the Mariners through great promiſes of preferment accordingly did, wherein Wiat and certaine with him were conueyed ouer, who in the meane time that the number of the ſouldiours bayted in the towne, cauſed the Bridge to be repayred with ladders, plankes and beames, the ſame being tyed togyther with Ropes and Bordes ſo as by tenne of the clocke in the night, it was in ſuch plight, that both his Ordinaunce, and companyes of men might paſſe ouer wythout perill & ſo about. xj. of the clocke in the ſame night, Wiat with his army paſſing ouer yͤ bridge without eyther reſyſtance or perill, and before it coulde bee once knowne at the Court, marched towardes London, meaning (as ſome haue written) to haue beene at the Court gate before day that morning: neuertheleſſe before hee came within ſixe myles of the Citie, ſtaying vpon a peece of his greate artillerie, whiche was diſmounted by the way, his comming was diſcouered before day, whereby the Earle of Pembroke being Generall of the Queenes armie (as is before ſayde) was with his men in good order of battaile in Saint James fielde beſyde Weſtminſter, two or three houres before Wyat could reache thyther.

Wyat marcheth to Kingſtone.

Wyat repay reth the bri at Kingſto

Graſton.

The Earle o Pembroke ſe teth the ar in order.

The Earle hauing vnderſtanding by hys Eſpyalles, what waye Wyat woulde marche, placed his armie in this order. Firſt, in a fielde on the Weſt ſyde of Saint James were all his menne of Armes, and Demilaunces, ouer agaynſt whome in the Lane next to the Parke, were placed all the lyght Horſemen. All which bandes of Horſemen were vnder the charge of the Lorde Clynton, being Marſhall of the field. The greate Artellerie was planted in the myddeſt and higheſt place of the Cauſey next to the houſe of Saint James, with certaine field peeces lying on the flanke of eche battaile.

After that both the Armyes were in ſight, and that the great artillerie beganne to thunder from eyther ſyde, without harme (as it happened to either of both) Wyat perceyuing that he could not come vp the fore right way withoute greate diſaduauntage, when he was come to the Parke corner, he leauing the Cauſey, ſwarued, and toke the nether way towarde Saint James, whiche being perceyued by the Queenes horſemen, who lay on eyther ſide of him, they gaue a ſodayne charge, and deuided his battaile aſunder hard behinde Wyats Enſignes, whereby ſo many as were not paſſed before with Wyat, were forced to flie backe towardes Brainforde, and certaine of his companie which eſcaped the charge, paſſed by the backeſide of Saint James towardes Weſtmynſter. and from thence to the Courte, and finding the Gates ſhut agaynſt them, ſtayed there a while, and ſhotte off many arrowes into the Wyndowes, and ouer into the Gardeyne, neuertheleſſe withoute anye hurt there that was knowne: wherevpon the ſayde Rebelles ouer whome one Kneuet was Captaine, perceyuing themſelues to be too fewe to doe any great feate there, departed from thence to follow Wyat, who was gone before towardes London, and beeing on theyr way at Charing Croſſe, were there encountered by Sir Henrie Jerningham Captayne of the Queenes Garde, Sir Edwarde Bray maiſter of the Ordinaunce, and ſir Philippe Parys Knightes, which were ſent by the order of the Earle of Pembrooke with a bande of Archers, and certaine fielde peeces for the reſkue of the Court, who encountered the ſayde Rebelles at Charing Croſſe aforeſayde, after they had diſcharged the fielde peeces vppon them, ioyned wyth thoſe Rebelles, halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed, at the puſhe of the Pyke, and verye ſoone diſperſed theyr power, whereof ſome fledde into the Lane towarde Saint Gyles, and ſome on the other ſyde by a Brewhouſe towardes the Thames. In this conflict which was the chiefe tryall of that day, there was not founde ſlayne to the number of twentie of thoſe Rebelles, whiche happened by reaſon that vppon theyr ioyning wyth the Queenes Souldiours, the one parte coulde not bee diſcerned from the other, but onely by the myre and dyrt taken by the way, whiche ſtacke vppon theyr Garments comming in the night: wherefore the cry on the Queenes part that day was. Downe with the Daggle tayles.

kirmiſh at
aring croſſe

But nowe to returne to Wyat of whome ye heard before, howe being come to the Parke corner, and perceyuing the perill apparaunt, if hee ſhoulde haue marched ſtrayght vpon the Earles battayles, which were raunged on eyther ſyde of the Cawſey, did therefore politiquely turne from the great Cawſey, marching along the Wall of the houſe of Saint James towardes London, whiche coulde not haue beene wythout hys no little loſſe of many of his trayne, if thoſe that hadde the charge on that ſyde the field, had beene as forwarde in ſeruice as the Earle with his battaile, and the horſemen afore ſhewed themſelues to be. Neuertheleſſe Wyat following hys purpoſed enterprice, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of greate ayde, marched forward with the ſmall companie that was left hym, as farre as a common Inne called the Bel Sauage, nere to Ludgate, beleeuing to haue founde ſome ready there to haue receyued hym, wherein his hope was much deceyued, fynding the ſayde Gate faſt ſhutte, and ſtrongly garded with a number, as well of moſt honeſt Citizens, as alſo of other bandes of the Queenes aſſured friendes. Whereuppon Wyat who commyng towardes the Citie, made himſelfe ſure of his enterpriſe, now deſperate of the ſame, was faine to turne his face, retyring backe againe to Temple Barre, where he with the reſt of his retinue determyned (as it ſeemed) to trie theyr laſt fortune.

The Earle of Pembrooke (who all this while kept his force togither in the field) hearing of Wiats approche to London, ſent to him an Herauld called Clarenſeaux, with great communication to deſyſt from his rebellious enterprice. Which Herauld did his Meſſage accordingly, albeit that ſome ſayde he promiſed the ſayde Wyat his pardon, which ſhoulde not ſeeme to be true, as well for that the Heraulde had no ſuch Commiſſion, as alſo that it was not like, that the ſayde Wyat being then diſarmed of all his forces, would haue refuſed mercie in ſuch a caſe. For true it is, that he with a verie fewe of his forlorne felowſhippe, not manye aboue the number of one hundred perſones, ſtoode ſtill as menne amazed, at the Gate of the Temple Barre, tyll ſuch tyme as Sir Maurice Barkeley Knight, by chaunce ryding towardes London vpon hys Horſe, wyth footecloth, without any armour, finding the ſayd Wyat there, perſwaded him to repayre to the Court, and to yeelde himſelfe to the Queene, whoſe aduice he followed, and incontinent mounted vppe on the ſayde Sir Maurice Horſe, behinde hym, and ſo roade to the Courte voluntarily, and not forced by anye to yeelde himſelfe Priſoner.

This comming of Wyat to the Court being ſo little looked for, was greate cauſe of reioyce to ſuch as of late before ſtoode in great feare of him. But more than maruayle it was to ſee that daye, the inuincible heart and conſtancie of the Queene hir ſelfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlye more fearefull than men be, ſhewed hirſelfe in that caſe more ſtoute than is credible. For ſhee notwithſtanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to hir that day, neuer abaſhed, in ſo muche that when one or two noble menne beeing hir Captaynes, came wyth all haſte to tell hir (though vntruely) that hir battayles were yeelded to Wyat, ſhee nothing mooued thereat, ſayde it was theyr fonde opinion that durſt not come neare to ſee the tryall, ſaying further, that ſhee hir ſelfe woulde enter the fielde to trye the truth of hir quarell, and to dye wyth them that would ſerue hir, rather than to yeelde one iotte vnto ſuche a Traytour as Wyat was, and prepared hirſelfe accordingly.

Sir Thomas Wiat ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Queene.

The ſtoute courage of Queene Mary.

But by the apprehenſion of Wiat ẏ voyage tooke none effect: for after his cõming to ẏ court he was immediatly committed to the tower. As ſone as the taking of Wyat was knowne, the armie (whereof mention is made before that laye in Saint Iames field) were diſcharged, and euerie manne licenced to depart to his home. And forthwith Proclamation was made, as well in the Citie of London as in the ſuburbes of the ſame, that none vpon paine of death ſhould keepe in his or theyr houſes any of Wyats faction, but ſhould bring them forth immediately before the Lorde Maior and other the Queenes Iuſtices: by reaſon of which Proclamation a great multitude of the ſayd poore caytifs were brought forth, being ſo many in number, that all the priſons in London ſufficed not to receyue them, ſo that for lacke of place, they were faine to beſtowe them in diuerſe Churches of the ſayde Citie: and ſhortly after were ſet vp in London for a terrour to the common ſort, (bycauſe the white coates beeing ſent out of the Citie (as before ye haue heard) reuolted from the Queenes parte, to the ayde of Wyat) twentie payre of Gallowes, on the which were hanged in ſeuerall places to the number of fiftie perſons, which Gallowes remayned ſtanding there a greate part of the Sommer following, to the great griefe of good Citizens, and for example to the Commotioners.

The execution of Ladie Iane and the Lorde Guilforde.

The .xij. day of Februarie next following, the Ladie Iane of Suffolke, and the Lord Guilforde hir huſband, who before (as you haue heard) were attainted of treaſon, the one for the vſurpation of the eſtate royall as Queene, the other as a principall adherent to hir in that caſe, according to the iudgement gyuen agaynſt them, ſuffred execution of death, that is to witte, hee at the Tower hill vpon the Scaffolde, and ſhee within the Tower, whoſe deathes were the rather haſtened, for that the Duke of Suffolke father to this Ladie, had of late (as ye haue hearde) rayſed a newe ſturre and commotion in the Countrey, which was the ſhortening of hir lyfe, who elſe was like ynough to haue beene pardoned.

The wordes of the Ladie Iane at hir death.

This noble yong Ladie endued with ſingular giftes both of learning and knowledge, as pacient and milde as any lambe, came to the place of hir execution, and a little before hir death vttered theſe wordes. Good people I am come hither to die, and by a lawe I am condemned to the ſame. My offence agaynſt the Queenes highneſſe was onely in conſent to the deuice of other, which nowe is deemed treaſon, but it was neuer of my ſeeking, but by counſail ſo thoſe who ſhoulde ſeeme to haue further vnderſtanding of things than I, whiche knewe little of the lawe, and much leſſe of the tytles to the crowne. But touching the procurement and deſire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe waſhe my handes in innocencie thereof before God, and the face of all you (good Chriſtian people) thys daye, and therewith ſhe wrung hir handes, wherein ſhee hadde hir Booke. Then ſayde ſhee, I pray you all good Chriſtian people, to beare me witneſſe that I dye a true Chriſtian woman, and that I looke to be ſaued by none other meanes, but onelye by the mercie of God, in the bloud of hys onelye ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and I confeſſe that when I did knowe the worde of God, I neglected the ſame, and loued my ſelfe and the worlde, and therefore this plague and puniſhment is iuſtly and worthily happened vnto mee for my ſinnes, and yet I thanke God of hys goodneſſe, that hee hath gyuen mee a tyme and reſpyte to repente. And nowe good people, whyle I am aliue, I pray you aſſyſt mee wyth your prayers: and then kneelyng downe, ſhee ſayde the Pſalme of *Miſerere mei Deus*, in Engliſhe, and then ſtoode vppe and gaue hir Mayde (called myſtreſſe Eleyne) hir Gloues and Handkercheffe, and hir Booke ſhee alſo gaue to Maiſter Bruges, then Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and ſo vntyed hir Gowne, and the executioner preſſed to helpe hir off wyth it, but ſhe deſired him to let hir alone, and turned hir towardes hir two Gentlewomen, who helped hir off therewith, and with hir other attyres, and they gaue hir a fayre handkercheffe to put aboute hir eyes: Then the Executioner kneeled downe and aſked hir forgiueneſſe, whome ſhee forgaue moſte willingly, then hee willed hir to ſtande vppon the ſtrawe, which done, ſhe ſaw the blocke, and then ſhee ſayde I praye you diſpatche mee quickly.

Then ſhee kneeled downe, ſaying, will you take it off before I laye mee downe? whereunto the Executioner aunſwered, no Madame: then tyed ſhee Handkercheffe aboute hir eyes, and feeling for the Blocke, ſhee ſayde, where is it, where is it? One of the ſtanders by guyded hir therevnto, and ſhee layde downe hir heade vppon the Blocke, and then ſtretched forth hir bodye and ſayde, Lorde into thy handes I commende my ſpirite, and ſo finiſhed hir lyfe, in thys yeare of our Lorde, one thouſande fiue hundred fiftie and foure, the twelfth daye of Februarie.

The ſame day a little before this yong Ladyes execution, the Lorde Guylforde hir huſbande who was a very comely tall Gentleman, being executed on the ſkaffold at the Tower hill as afore is ſayde, his dead carkaſſe lying in a cart in ſtraw, was again brought into the tower at yͤ ſame inſtant yͭ the lady Iane went to hir death within the Tower, before hir face, whiche miſerable

rable ſight was to hir a double ſorrow and grief.

Thus (as ſayeth Maiſter Foxe) was beheaded the Ladie Jane, and with hir alſo the Lorde Guilford hir huſband, one of the D. of Northūberlandes ſonnes, two innocents in compariſon of them that ſatte vpon them, for they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had wyllingly deuiſed, & by open Proclamation conſented to take from others, and giue to them. And verily howe vnwilling ſhee was to take it vppon hir, there are yet liuing that can teſtifie.

Judge Morgan that gaue the ſentence againſt hir, ſhortly after fell mad, and in hys rauing cryed continnallye to haue the Ladie Jane taken away from him, and ſo ended his life.

ſore.
Duke of
ſtc.

Upon Saterday being the. xvij. of Februarye the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there cōdemned to die by his Peeres, the Earle of Arundell being that day chiefe Judge

Where ſome haue written that hee ſhoulde at his laſte going downe into the Countrey make Proclamation in his daughters name that is not ſo: for where as he ſtoode by in Leiceſter when by his commaundement the Proclamation was there made againſt the Queenes maryage with the Prince of Spain. &c. Maiſter Damport then Maior of that towne ſaide to him: My Lorde I truſt your grace meaneth no hurt to the Queenes Maieſtie, no ſaith he M. Maior laying his hande on his ſword) he that would hir any hurt, I wold this ſword were through his heart, for ſhee is the mercifulleſt prince, as I haue truely founde hir, ẏ euer raigned, in whoſe defence I am and will be readie to die at hir foote.

Jixe.

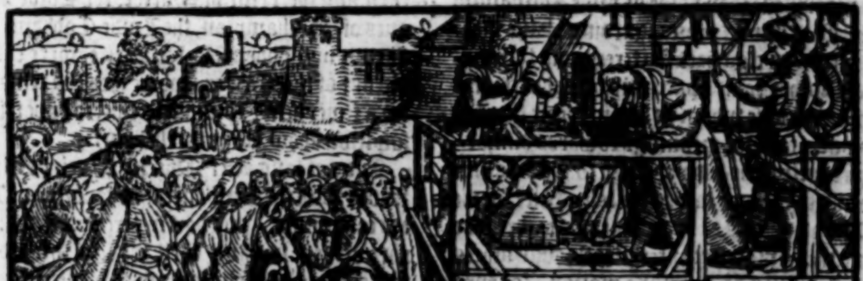
On Monday the. xix. of Februarie, the Lorde Cobhams three ſonnes, and four other mē were brought to Weſtminſter, the yongeſt of the Cobhams, to witte, maiſter Thomas Cobham was condemned with the other four men, but the other two Cobhams came not to the barre.

Uppon the Wedneſday the. xxj. of Februarie the Lord Thomas Gray that had bene taken (as before ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought togither with ſir James Croft through London to the tower, by a number of horſemen.

The Duke of Suffolke beheaded.
Doctor VVeſton.

Upon the Fridaye beeing the. xxiij. of Februarie about. ix. of the clock the duke of Suffolk was broughte forth of the Tower vnto the Scaffolde on the Tower hill, and in his comming thyther, there accompanied him doctor Weſton, as hys ghoſtly father, notwithſtanding as it ſhould ſeme againſt the will of the ſayde Duke, for when the duke went vp to the ſkaffolde, the ſayde Weſton being on his left hand preſſed to go vp with him, the Duke with his hande put him downe againe off the ſtayres, and Weſton taking holde of the duke forced him downe likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſeconde time, the Duke again put him downe. Then Weſton ſaide, that it was the Queenes pleaſure he ſhoulde ſo do: wherwith the duke caſting his handes abroade, aſcended vp the ſkaffold, & pauſed a pretie while after. And then he ſaid: Maſters I haue offended the Queene & hir lawes, & therby am iuſtly condemned to die, & am willing to die, deſiring al men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death maye bee an example to all men, beſeching you al to beare me witneſſe that I die in the faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaued by his blood only (& by none other trumperie,) the which died for me, and for al them that do truly repent, & ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I do repent, deſiring you al to pray to god for me, that when ye ſee my breath depart frō me, you will pray to god that he may receiue my ſoule, & thē he deſired al men to forgiue him, ſaying ẏ the queen had forgiuen him. Then M. Weſton declared wͭ a loud voice, ẏ the Queenes ma. had forgiuē him, thē diuers of the ſtāders by ſaid wͭ audible voice,

The Dukes vvordes to the People.



ſuch forgiueneſſe God ſende thee, meaning Doctor Weſton.

Then the duke kneeled vppon his knees, and ſaide the Pſalme *Miſerere mei Deus*, vnto the end, holding vp his hands, and loking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the Pſalme, he ſaid *In manus tuas domine commendo ſpiritum meum.* Then he aroſe and ſtoode vp, and deliuered his cap and ſkarfe to the executioner, and therwith the executioner kneeled downe, and aſked the Duke forgiueneſſe, and the duke ſaid, God forgiue thee, and I do: and when thou doſt thine office, I pray thee do it quickely, and God haue mercie to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſaid, my Lorde how ſhall I do for the money ẏ you do owe me? And the D. ſaid, alas good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kerchef about his face, and kneled down and ſaid. Our father which art in heauen. &c. vnto the ende, and then he ſaide, Chriſt haue mercie vpon me, and layde down his head on the block, and the executioner toke the Axe, and at the firſte chop ſtroke off his head, & held it vp to the people.

The ende of the Duke of Suffolke.

Suche was the ende of this Duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by byrthe, and of nature to his friende gentle and courteous, more eaſie in deede to be led than was thought expedient, of ſtomacke neuertheleſſe ſtoute and hardie, haſtye and ſoone kindled, but pacified ſtreight againe, and ſorie if in his heate oughte had paſſed him otherwiſe than reaſon might ſeeme to beare, vpright and plaine in his priuate dealings, no diſſembler, nor wel able to beare iniuries, but yet forgiuing and forgetting the ſame, if the partie woulde ſeeme but to acknowledge his fault, and ſeke reconcilement. Bountiful hee was and very liberall, ſomewhat learned himſelfe, and a greate fauorer of thoſe that were learned, ſo that to many he ſhewed himſelf a very *Mecœnas*, no leſſe free ō co uetouſneſſe than voide of pride & diſdainful hautineſſe of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than claw back flatterers: and this vertue hee had, hee coulde patiently heare his faultes told him, by thoſe whom he had in credit for their wiſedome & faithful meanings towards him, although ſomtime he had not ẏ hap to reforme him ſelf therafter. Concerning this laſt offence for the which he died, it is to be ſuppoſed he rather toke in hand that vnlawfull enterprice through others perſwaſion than of his owne motion, for anye malicious ambition in himſelfe.

But nowe to let this duke reſte with God, we will proceed with the ſtorie. The ſame day (or as ſome haue noted the day before) a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came throughe the Citie with their halters about their neckes. They were in * number aboue two hundred.

*The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Vppon the Saterday, the. xxviij. of Februarie, Sir William Sentlow was committed as priſoner to the maſter of the horſe to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeths Gentlemen.

Vpon the Sunday being the. xxv. of Februarie, Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

Gentlemen into Kent to be executed.

Vpon the Tueſday in the ſame weeke being the. xxvij. of Februarie, certaine Gentlemen of Kent were ſente into Kent to bee executed there. Their names were theſe, the twoo Mantelles, two Kneuettes, and Bret: with theſe maiſter Rudſton alſo, and certaine other were condemned and ſhoulde haue beene executed, but they had their pardon.

Execution.

Sir Henrie Jſley knight, Thomas Jſleye his brother, and Walter Manuelle, ſuffred at Maydſton, where Wyat firſt diſplayed hys Baner. Anthonie Kneuet and his brother William Kneuet, with an other of the Mantelles, were executed at Seuenocke: Bret at Rocheſter was hanged in Chaines.

On Saterday the thirde of Marche, Syr Gawen Carewe, and Maiſter Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower, wyth a companie of horſemen.

Lady Elizabeth.

The fifteenth day of March next following, the Ladie Elizabethe the Queens ſiſter, and next heyre to the Crowne, was apprehended at hir Manour of Aſhridge, for ſuſpition of Wyats conſpiracie, and from thence (beeyng that time verie ſicke) with great rigour broughte pryſoner to London.

On the Sunday after beeing the. xvij. of March ſhe was committed to the Tower, where alſo the Lord Courtney Erle of Deuonſhire (of whō before is made mention) was for ẏ like ſuſpition committed priſoner.

On Saterday next following being Eaſter euen, and the. xxiiij. of Marche, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Lorde Cobham, & ſir William Cobham his ſon & heire, were deliuered out of the Tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither vppon ſome ſuſpition about Wyats rebellion.

And not long after, Queene Marie partly offended with the Londoners, as fauorers of Wiats conſpiracie, and partly perceiuing the more part of them nothing well inclined towards hir proceedings in Religion, which turned many of them to loſſe, ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at Oxforde, as it were to gratifie that Citie, which with the vniuerſitie, town and Countrey hadde ſhewed themſelues verye forwarde in hir ſeruice, but ſpeciallye in reſtoring of the Religion called Catholique, for which appointed Parliament there to bee holden, great prouiſion was made, as well by the Queenes officers,

A parliamē ſommoned a Oxford but not holden.

cers, as by the Towneſmen and inhabitauntes of the Countrey rounde about. But the Queenes mynde in thoſe quarters quieted, and the ſame Parliament was holden at Weſtmynſter, in Aprill next following, wherein the Queene proponed two eſpeciall matters, the one for the maryage to bee hadde betweene hir and the Prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the reſtoring agayne of the Popes power and iuriſdiction in Englande. As touching hir mariage, it was with no greate difficultie agreed vpon, but the other requeſt coulde not bee eaſily obteyned.

he Biſhops
anmer, La-
er, & Rid-
y ſent to
forde.

The tenth day of Aprill following, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer once Biſhop of Worceſter, who had beene long priſoner in the tower, were nowe conueyed from thence, and caried to Wyndſore, and afterwarde to the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, there to diſpute with the Diuines and learned men of the contrary opinions.

mmiſsio-
s.

Two dayes after their comming to Oxford, which was the .xij. day of the ſayde moneth, dyuerſe learned men of both the vniuerſities were ſent in commiſſion from the Cõuocation (which during this Parliament was kepte in Paules Churche in London) to diſpute wyth thoſe pryſoners, in certaine Articles of Religion. The names of them that were in Commiſſion were theſe following. Of Oxforde, Doctor Weſton Prolocutor, Cole, Chedſey, Pie, Harpeſfelde, Smith. Of Cambridge, Yong, Seton, Watſon, Atkinſon, Checman, Sedgewike.

The .xiiij. day of Aprill theſe diſputers aſſembled themſelues in Saint Maries Churche, to conuent the three perſones aboue named vpon certaine Articles of Religion, who being brought out of Priſon before them, were ſeuerally one after another examined of theyr opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye may read in the booke of Monuments of the Church, more at large, and there finde the whole proceeding in that matter.

ir Thomas
Wyat ar-
raigned,

Sir Thomas Wyat (of whome mention is made before) was aboute this tyme brought from the Tower to Weſtmynſter, and there arraigned of high treaſon, the Earle of Suſſex, ſir Edwarde Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornewallis, with other being his Iudges.

The effect of whoſe Inditement among other things ſpecially was, that hee the fourtenth day of Februarie laſt before, with force of armed multitude and Enſignes diſplayed, hadde at Braynforde rayſed open warres agaynſt oure ſoueraigne Ladie the Queene, trayterouſly pretending and practiſing to depryue hir of hir Crowne and dignitie, and the queſtion was demaunded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat hee ſtayed, and beſought the Iudges that he might firſt aske a queſtion, before hee aunſwered directly to the poynt, and hee was lycenſed ſo to doe. The queſtion was, that if hee ſhoulde confeſſe himſelfe guiltye, whether the ſame ſhoulde not bee preiudiciall vnto hym, ſo as hee by that confeſſion ſhoulde bee barred from vttering ſuche thinges as hee hadde more to ſay: Whereunto it was anſwered by the Court: Maiſter Wyat (ſay they) yee ſhall haue both leaue and leyſure to ſay what you can. Then my Lordes (quoth he) I muſte confeſſe my ſelfe guiltie, and in the ende the truth of my caſe muſt enforce me. I muſt acknowledge this to be a iuſt plague for my ſinnes, which moſt grieuouſly I therefore haue committed againſt God, who ſuffered me thus brutely and beaſtly to fall into this horrible offence of the law, wherfore al you lords and gentlemen, with other here preſent, note well my wordes, looke and ſee in me the ſame ende, which all other commonly had, which haue attempted lyke enterpriſe from the beginning: for peruſe the Chronicles through, and you ſhall ſee that neuer Rebellion attempted by ſubiectes agaynſt theyr Prince and Countrey, from the begynning did euer proſper, or had better ſucceſſe, except the caſe of King Henrie the fourth, who although he became a Prince, yet in hys acte was but a Rebell, for ſo muſt I call him, and though he preuayled for a tyme, yet was it not long but that his heyres were depryued, and thoſe that had right agayne reſtored to the kingdome and Crowne, and the vſurpation ſo ſharply reuenged afterwarde in his bloud, as it well appeared, that the long delay of Gods vengeaunce was ſupplyed with more grieuous plague in the thirde and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you Gentlemen that bee here preſent, remember and bee taught as well by examples paſt, as alſo by this my preſent infelicitie & moſte wretched caſe. Oh moſt miſerable, miſchieuous, brutiſhe and beaſtlye furious ymaginations of mine. I was perſwaded that by the maryage of the Prince of Spaine, the ſeconde perſon of thys Realme, and next heyre to the Crowne, ſhoulde haue beene in daunger, and that I being a free borne man, ſhould with my Countrey haue beene brought into the bondage and ſeruitude of Aliens and ſtraungers. Which brutiſhe beaſtlye opinion then ſeemed to mee reaſon, and wrought in mee ſuche effectes, that it ledde mee headlong into the practiſe of thys deteſtable cryme of Treaſon. But nowe beeyng better perſwaded, and vnderſtanding the great commoditye and honour whiche the Realme ſhould receyue by this maryage, I ſtande firme and faſt in this opinion, that if it ſhoulde pleaſe the Queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no ſubiect in this lande that ſhoulde more truly and faythfully ſerue hir highneſſe, than I ſhall, nor no ſooner die at hir graces feete in defence of hir quarell, I ſerued hir highneſſe agaynſt the Duke of Northumberlande, as my Lorde of Arundell can witneſſe, my Grandfather ſerued moſte truly hir Graces grandfather, and for his ſake was vpon the racke in the Tower. My father alſo ſerued King Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I alſo ſerued him, and King Edwarde hys ſonne, & in witneſſe of my bloud ſpent in his ſeruice, I carie a maime. I alledge not all this to ſet forth my ſeruice by way of merit, which I cõfeſſe but dutie: but to declare to the whole worlde, that by abuſing my wittes in purſuing my miſaduiſed opinion, I haue not onely ouerthrowne my houſe, and defaced all the well doinges of mee and my Anceſtours (if euer there were anye) but alſo haue bene the cauſe of mine owne death and deſtruction. Neither do I alledge this to iuſtifie my ſelfe in any poynt, neither for an excuſe of mine offence, but moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe to the Queenes Maieſties mercie and pitie, deſiring you my Lorde of Suſſex, and you maiſter Haſtings, with all yͤ reſt of this honorable bench, to bee meanes to the Queenes highneſſe for hir mercie, which is the greateſt treaſure that may be giuen to any Prince from God, ſuch a vertue as God hath appropriate to himſelfe, which if hir highneſſe vouchſafe to extende vnto me, ſhe ſhall beſtow it on him, who ſhall be moſt glad to ſerue truly, and not refuſe to die in hir quarell: for I proteſt before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer ment hurt agaynſt hir highneſſe perſon.

Then ſayde the Queenes attourney, maſter Wyat ye haue great cauſe to be ſorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onely vndone your ſelfe and your houſe, but alſo a number of other gentlemẽ, who being true men might haue ſerued theyr Prince and Countrey: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue beene borne withall the better. But being not ſo contented to ſtay your ſelfe, you haue ſo procured the Duke of Suffolke (a man ſoone trayned to your purpoſe) and his two brethren alſo, by meanes whereof without the Queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble houſe, and yet not ſo ſtayed, your attempt hath reached as in you lay to the ſeconde perſon of the Realme, in whome next to the Queenes highneſſe reſteth all our hope and comfort, whereby hir honour is brought in queſtion, and what daunger will follow, and to what ende it will come God knoweth, of all this you are the authour.

Wyats aunſwere.

Wyat anſwered: as I will not in any thing iuſtifie my ſelfe, ſo I beſeech you, I being in thys wretched eſtate, not to ouercharge mee, nor to make me ſeeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch any perſon by name, but that I haue writte I haue written. Then ſayde the Iudge maiſter Wiat, maiſter Attorney hath well moued you to repent your offences, and we for our partes wiſhe you the ſame.

The Iudge.

Sir Edwarde Haſting.

Then ſayde Sir Edwarde Haſtings maiſter of the Queenes horſe: maiſter Wiat, doe you remember when I and maiſter Cornwallis, were ſent vnto you from the Queenes highneſſe, to demaund the cauſe of your enterpriſe, & what you required: were not theſe your demaundes, that the Queenes grace ſhoulde go to the tower, and there remayne, and you to haue the rule of the tower, and hir perſon with the treaſure in keping, and ſuch of hir counſaile as you woulde require, to be deliuered into your handes, ſaying that you woulde bee truſted and not truſt. Whiche wordes when Wyat had confeſſed, then ſayde the Queenes Solicitor, your preſumption was ouer great, and your attempt in thys caſe hath purchaſed you perpetuall infamie, and ſhall be called Wyats Rebellion, as Watte Tylers was called Watte Tylers Rebellion. Then ſayde the Attourney, Maiſter Wyat were you not priuie to a deuice wherby the Queene ſhould haue bene murthered, in a place where ſhe ſhould walke, I doe not burthen you to confeſſe this, for thus much I muſt ſay on your behalfe, that you miſlyked that deuice: that (ſayd Wyat) was the deuice of William Thomas, whom euer after I abhorred for that cauſe. Then was a letter ſhewed, which Wyat being in Southwarke had written to the duke of Suffolke, that he ſhoulde meete him at Kingſtone bridge, and from thence to accompanie him to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wyat at the firſt did not ſeeme to remember any ſuch letter, but when it was ſhewed him, he confeſſed his hande. Then was it demaunded of him among other things, why he refuſed the Queenes pardon, when it was offred him. My Lordes (quoth he) I confeſſe my fault and offence to be moſt vile & heynous, for the which firſt I aſke God mercye, without the which I cannot chalenge any thing, ſuch is my offence alreadie committed. And therefore I beſeech you to trouble me with no more queſtions, for I haue deliuered al things vnto hir grace in writing. And finally here I muſt confeſſe, that of all the voyages, wherein I haue ſerued, thys was the moſt deſperate, and paynefull iourney that euer I made. And where you aſked why I did not receyue the Queenes pardon, when it was offered vnto mee, Oh vnhappie manne, what ſhall I ſaye, when I was once entered into thys diueliſhe deſperate aduenture, there was no waye but to wade throughe with that I hadde taken in hande,

Maiſter Cordall now ma-
ſter of the
Rolles.

William Thomas.

Wyats confeſſion.

for I had thoughte that other had bin as farre forward as my ſelfe, which I founde farre otherwiſe, ſo that beeing bent to keepe promiſe with all my confederates, none kepte promiſe with me, for I like a Moyle wet through thicke and thinne with this determination, that if I ſhould come to any treatie, I ſhould ſeeme to bewraye all my friends.

But whereto ſhuld I ſpend any more words, I yeld my ſelf wholly vnto the Quenes mercy knowing well that it is onely in hir power to make me (as I haue deſerued) an open example to the worlde with Wat Tyler, or elſe to make me participāt of ẏ pitie whiche ſhe hath extended in as greate crimes as myne, moſte humbly beſeeching you all to be means for me to hir highneſſe for mercy, which is my laſt and onely refuge: the will of God be done on me. Upon this confeſſion, without further trial he receiued the iudgement accuſtomed in caſes of treſon, which was to be hāged, drawn & quartred, and the xj. day of April next folowing, he was brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned of his drawing & hanging, but had his head ſtricken off, and his body cut in foure quarters, & ſet vp in diuers places about the citie, and his head was ſet vpon the gallows at Hay hill beſide Hide Parke.

executiō ir Tho- Wyat.

But here by the way is to be noted, that he being on the ſcaffold ready to ſuffer, declared ẏ the Ladie Elizabeth and ſir Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonſhire, whom he had accuſed before (as it ſemed) were neuer priuie to his doings, as far as he knewe, or was able to charge them.

And when Doctor Weſton, being then his confeſſor told him that he had confeſſed the cōtrary vnto the counſell, he anſwered thus, that I ſayd then, I ſaid, but that which I ſay nowe is true. This was the end of Wiat and hys conſpiracie.

Nicholas ckmor-

The ſeuenteenth day of Aprill nexte folowing, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, was brought from the Tower to Guild Hall in London, and there araigned of high Treaſon, as adherente and principall counſellor to the ſaid Wyat and the D. of Suffolke, and the reſt in the afore remembred conſpiracy againſt the Queene, but he ſo ſtoutly, and therewithall ſo cunningly aunſwered for himſelfe, as well in cleering of his cauſe, as alſo in defendyng and auoyding ſuch pointes of the lawes of the Realme, as were there alleged againſt hym, that the queſt whiche paſſed vppon his life and deathe found him not giltie, with which verdite, the Iudges and Counſellors there preſent were ſo muche offended, that they bounde the Iury in the ſumme of fiue hundred poundes a peece, to appeare before the Counſell in the Starre Chamber, at a day appoynted, and according to their bonde, they appeared there before the ſayd Counſell vpon Wedneſday, beeing the one and twentith of Aprill, and Saint Markes day. From whence after certaine queſtioning, they were committed to priſon, Emanuell Lucar, and maiſter Whetſton to the Tower, and the other to the Fleete.

But nowe for aſmuche as a copy of the order of Sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignment hathe come to my handes, and that the ſame may giue ſome light to the hiſtory of that dangerous rebelliō, I haue thought it not impertinent to inſert the ſame; not wiſhing that it ſhoulde bee offenſiue to any, ſith it is in euery mans libertie, to way his wordes vttered in his owne defence, and likewiſe the doings of the queſte in acquityng hym, as maye ſeeme good to their diſcretions, ſith I haue deliuered the ſame as I haue found it, without preiudicing anye mans opinion, to thinke thereof otherwiſe, than as the cauſe maye moue him.

¶ The order of the araignemente of Sir Nicholas Throckemorton Knight, in the Guild Hall of London the ſeuenteenth day of April, 1554. expreſſed in a Dialogue for the better vnderſtanding of euery mans parte.

The names of the commiſſioners.

Sir Thomas White Knight Lord Maior of London.
The Earle of Shrewſbury.
The Earle of Darby.
Sir Thomas Bromley Knyght Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande.
Sir Nicholas Hare Knyght, Mayſter of the rolles.
Sir Frauncis Englefielde Knight Maiſter of the courte of Wardes and Liberties.
Sir Richarde Southwell Knight, one of the priuie counſell.
Sir Edwarde Walgraue Knight, one of the priuy counſell.
Sir Roger Cholmeley Knight.
Sir Wylliyam Porteman Knyght, one of the Iuſtices of the Kings benche.
Sir Edwarde Saunders Knight, one of the Iuſtices of the common place.

The Queenes learned counſell gaue euidence againſt the priſoner.

Maiſter Stanford. } Sergeants.
Maiſter Dyer. }
Maiſter Edward Griffin attourney generall.

Maiſter Sendall,
Peter Tichbourne, } Clerkes of yͤ Crowne.

Firſte, after Proclamation made, and the commiſſiō red the Lieutenant of the Tower, maſter Tho. Bridges, brought the priſoner to the barre, then ſilence was commaunded, and Sendall ſaid to the priſoner as foloweth.

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton Knight hold vp thy hande, thou art before this time endited of high treaſon. &c. that thou then and there didſt falſly and traiterouſly. &c. conſpire & imagine the death of the Queenes maieſtie. &c. and falſly and trayterouſly didſt leuie warre againſte the Q. within hir Realm. &c. and alſo, thou waſt adherente to the Queenes enimies within hir Realm giuing to them ayde & comfort. &c. and alſo falſly and trayterouſly didſt conſpire and intend to depoſe and depriue the Q. of hir royal eſtate, and ſo finally deſtroy hir. &c. and alſo, thou didſt falſly and traiterouſly deuiſe and conclude to take violently the Tower of Lōdon. &c. of al which treaſons and euery of thē in maner & forme. &c. art thou giltie or not giltie?

Throckmor. May it pleaſe you my Lords and maiſters, which be authoriſed by the Queenes commiſſion to be Iudges this day, to giue me leaue to ſpeake a fewe words, which doth both cōcerne you and me before I aunſwere to the enditement, and not altogithers impertinente to the matter, and then pleade to the enditemente.

Bromley. No, the order is not ſo, you muſt firſt pleade whethether you be giltie or no.

Throckmor. If that be your order and law, iudge accordingly to it.

Hare. You muſt firſte aunſwer to the matter wherwith you are charged, and thē you may talke at your pleaſure.

Throckmor. But things ſpoken out of place, wer as good not ſpoken.

Bromley. Theſe bee but delayes to ſpende time, therfore anſwere as the law willeth you.

Throckmor. My Lords, I pray you make not to muche haſt with me, neither thinke not long for your diner, for my caſe requireth leyſure, & you haue wel dined when you haue done iuſtice truely. (Chriſt ſaid) Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſſe.

Bromley. I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, & care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewsbury. Come you hither to checke vs Throckmorton? wee will not bee ſo vſed, no no, I for my parte haue forborne my breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper to ſerue the Queene.

Throckmor. Yea my good Lord I know it right wel, I meant not to touche your Lordſhip, for youre ſeruice & paines is euidently knowen to al mē.

Southwell. M. Throckmorton, this talke nede not, we know what we haue to doe, & you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter. go to go to

Throckmor. M. Southwel, you miſtake me, I ment not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I truſt you al be well inſtructed in, & ſo I ſatiſfy my ſelfe, ſince I ſhal not ſpeake, thinking you all know what you haue to doe, or ought to know, ſo I will aunſwere to the inditement, and do pleade not giltie to yͤ whole, and to euery part thereof.

Sendall. How wilt thou be tried?

Throckmor. Shal I be tried as I would, or as I ſhuld?

Bromley. You ſhalbe tried as the law wil, and therefore you muſt ſay by God and by yͤ Countrey.

Throckmor. Is that your law for me? it is not as I wold, but ſince you will haue it ſo, I am pleaſed with it, and do deſire to be tried by faithfull iuſt mē, which more feare God than the world.

The names of the Iurours.

Then the Iury was called.

Lucar.	Lowe.
Yong.	Whetſton.
Martyn.	Painter.
Beſwike.	Bankes.
Baſcarfeld	Calthrop.
Kightley.	Cater.

What time the atturney went forthwith to M. Cholmley, and ſhewed him the Sheriffes returne, who being aquainted with yͤ Citizens knowing the corruptions & dexterities of them in ſuch caſes, noted certaine to be chalenged for the Q. (a rare caſe) & the ſame mē being knowē to be ſufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be takē to them, but only for their vpright honeſties, notwithſtanding, the atturney prompting ſergeant Dier, the ſaide ſergeant chalenged one Baron, and another Citizē peremptorily for the Q. Then the priſoner demanded the cauſe of the chalenge, the ſergeante aunſwered, we neede not ſhew you the cauſe of the chalenge for the Q. Then the inqueſt was furniſhed with other honeſt mē, that is to ſay, Whetſtō and Lucar, ſo the priſoner vſed theſe words,

Throckmor. I truſt you haue not prouided for me this day as in times paſt I knew another Gētleman occupying this wofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the Iuſtices vpon ielouſie of the priſoners acquitall, for the goodneſſe of his cauſe, ſaid to another of his companions a iuſtice, when the iury did appeare. I like not this iury for our purpoſe, they ſeeme to be to pitiful and to charitable to condemne yͤ priſoner, no no ſaid yͤ other iudge (viz. Cholmley) I warrāt you, they be picked fellowes for yͤ nonce, he ſhal drink of yͤ ſame cup his felows haue don, I was thē a loker on of yͤ pageāt as others be now here. But now wo is me, I am a player in yͤ woful tragedie. Well, for theſe & ſuch other like yͤ black oxe hath of late trodē on ſome of their feet. But my truſt is, I ſhall not be ſo vſed. Whyleſt this talke was, Cholmeley conſulted with the Atturney aboute the Iury, which the priſoner eſpied, and then ſayde as herre enſueth, Ah ah maiſter Cholmeley, will this foule packing neuer be left.

Why what do I, I pray you, M. Throckmorton, I did nothing, I am ſure, you do picke quarrels to me.

Well maiſter Cholmeley if you do well, it is better for you, God help you.

The Iury then was ſworne, and proclamation made, that whoſoeuer woulde giue euidence againſte Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, ſhoulde come in and be heard, for the priſoner ſtood vpon his deliuerance, where vpon ſergeant Stanford preſented hymſelfe to ſpeake.

And it may pleaſe you maiſter ſergeante and the others my maſters of the Queenes lerned Counſell, like as I was minded to haue ſaide a fewe wordes to the Commiſſioners, if I mighte haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their dueties in this place of iuſtice, and concerning direct indifferency to bee vſed towards me this day: ſo by your patience I do thinke good to ſay ſomewhat to you, and to the reſt of the Queenes learned Counſell, appointed to giue euidence againſte mee. And albeit you and the reſt by order be appointed to gyue euidence againſte me, and enterteyned to ſette forth the depoſitions and matter againſt mee, yet I pray you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am youre Chriſtian brother, neither you ſo charged, but you ought to conſider equitie, nor yet ſo priuiledged, but that you haue a duetie of God appoynted you how you ſhal do youre office, whiche if you excede, wil be greeuouſly required at youre handes, it is lawfull for you to vſe your giftes, whiche I know God hathe largely giuen you, as youre learning, arte, and eloquence, ſo as thereby you do not ſeduce the minds of the ſimple and vnlearned Iury, to credite matters otherwiſe thã they be. For maiſter ſergeant, I knowe howe by perſwaſions, enforcements, preſumptions, applying, implying, inferring, coniecturing, deducing of argumentes, wreſting and exceeding the law, the circumſtances, the depoſitiõs and confeſſions that vnlearned men maye bee inchanted to thinke and iudge thoſe that bee things indifferente, or at the worſt but ouerſights to be great treaſons, ſuch power orators haue, and ſuche ignorance the vnlearned haue. Almighty God by the mouth of his Prophete, doth conclude ſuch aduocates bee curſed, ſpeaking theſe wordes, Curſed bee hee that doth his office craftily, corruptly, and malitiouſly. And conſider alſo, that my bloud ſhal be required at your hands, and puniſhed in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithſtãding, you and the Iuſtices excuſe always ſuch erronious doings, when they be after called in queſtion by the verdict of the twelue men: but I aſſure you, the purgation ſerueth you as it did Pilate, and you waſhe your handes of the bloudſhed, as Pilate did of Chriſts. And now to your matter.

Stanford. And it pleaſe you my Lords, I doubt not to proue euidently and manifeſtly, that Throckmorton is worthely and rightly indicted and araigned of theſe treaſons, and that he was a principall deuiſer, procurer, and contriuer of the late Rebellion, and that Wyat was but his miniſter, how ſay you Throckmorton, dyd not you ſend Winter to Wyat into Kent, and did deuiſe that the Tower of London ſhoulde be taken, with other inſtructions concernyng Wyats ſturre and Rebellion?

Throckmor. May it pleaſe you that I ſhall aunſwer perticularly to the matters obiected againſt me, in aſmuche as my memorie is not good, and the ſame much decayed ſince my greeuous empriſonment, with want of ſleepe, and other diſquietneſſe: I confeſſe I did ſay to Winter that Wyat was deſirous to ſpeake with him, as I vnderſtode.

Stanford. Yea ſir, and you deuiſed togither of the taking of the Tower of London, and of the other great treaſons.

Throckmor. Nor, I did not ſo, proue it.

Stanford. Yes ſir, you met with Winter ſundry times as ſhall appeare, and in ſundry places.

Throckmor. That granted, proueth no ſuch matter as is ſuppoſed in the enditement.

Winters confeſſion redde by Stanford.

Stanford red Winters confeſſion, whyche was of this effect, that Throckmorton mette with Winter one day in Tower ſtreete, and told him, that Sir Thomas Wyat was deſirous to ſpeake with him, and Winter demanded where Wyat was, Throckmorton aunſwered, at his houſe in Kente, not farre from Gillingham, as I heard ſay, where the Shyps lye. Then they parted at that time, and ſhortly after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter says, maiſter Wyat dothe muche miſlike the cõming of the Spanyardes into this Realme, and feareth their ſhort arriuall heere, in aſmuch, as dayly he heareth thereof, dothe ſee dayly diuers of them arriue heere, ſcattered like ſouldyers, and therefore hee thinketh good the Tower of London ſhould be taken by a ſleighte, before the Prince came, leaſt that peece be deliuered to yͤ Spanyards. How ſay you Throckmorton to it. Throckmorton aunſwered. I miſlike it for diuers reſpectes: euen ſo do I ſayde Winter. At another tyme Throckmorton mette me the ſayd Winter in Poules, when hee had ſent one to my houſe to ſeeke me before, and he ſaid to me, you are Admirall of yͤ fleete that now goeth into Spaine,

I

I aunſwered yea, Throckmorton ſaide, when will your ſhippes be ready, I ſaide within tenne dayes, Throckmorton ſayde, I vnderſtand you are appoynted to conduct and carrie the Lorde priuie ſeale into Spayne, and conſidering the daunger of the Frenchmen, which you ſay arme them to the Sea apace, me thinke it well done, you put my ſaide Lorde and his traine on lande in the Weſt Countrey to auoyde all daungers. Throckmorton ſaide alſo, that Wyat changed his purpoſe, for taking the Tower of London, I ſaid I was glad of it, and as for the Frenchmē, I care not muche for them, I will ſo handle the matter, that the Queenes Shippes ſhall bee I warrante you in ſafegard. Another time, I met with M. Throckmorton when I came from the Emperours Ambaſſadors, vnto whome I declared, that the Emperour had ſente mee a fayre cheyne, and ſhewed it vnto Throckmorton, who ſaid, for this cheine you haue ſold your Country, I ſaide it is neyther French K. nor Emperoure that can make me ſell my Countrey, but I will be a true Engliſhmā: thē they parted. This is yͤ ſumme of yͤ talke betwixt Throck. and Winter.

Stanford. Now my maſters of the Iury, you haue heard my ſayings confirmed with Winters confeſſion, how ſay you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you ſhall haue Winter iuſtifie it to your face.

Throckmor. My Lords, ſhal it pleaſe you yͭ I ſhal anſwer.

Bromley. Yea, ſay your mind.

Throckmor. I may truely denye ſome part of this confeſſion, but bycauſe ther is nothing material greatly, I ſuppoſe yͤ whole be true, and what is herein depoſed, ſufficiente to bring me within the cōpas of the enditement?

Stanford. It appeareth yͭ you were of cōſel wͭ Wyat, in aſmuch as you ſente Winter downe to him, who vttered vnto him diuers traiterous deuiſes.

Throckmor. This is but coniectural, yet ſithence you will conſtrue ſo malitiouſly, I will recompte how I ſent Winter to Wyat, and then I pray you of the Iury, iudge better than maiſter Sergeante doth. I met by chance a ſeruant of maiſter Wyats, who demaunded of me for Winter, and ſhewed mee, that his maiſter woulde gladly ſpeake with him, and ſo without any further declaration, deſired me if I met Winter to tel him maſter Wyats mind, and where he was. Thus much for the ſendyng downe of Winter.

Attourney. Yea ſir, but how ſay you to the taking of the Tower of London, which is treaſon?

Throckmor. I aunſwere, though Wyat thought meete to attempte ſo daungerous an enterpriſe and that Winter enformed me of it, you cannot extende Wyats deuiſes to be mine, & to bring me within the compas of treaſon, for what maner of reaſoning or proofe is this, Wyat woulde haue taken the Tower, *Ergo*, Throckmorton is a Traytor. Winter dothe make my purgation in his owne confeſſion, euen now redde as it was by Maiſter Sergeante, though I ſay nothing, for Winter doth auow there, that I did much miſlike it, and bycauſe you ſhal the better vnderſtand that I did alwayes not alow theſe maſter Wyats deuiſes, I had theſe wordes to Winter, whē he enformed me of it, I think M. Wyat would no Engliſhman hurt, & this enterpriſe cannot be done without the hurt and ſlaughter of both parties, for I know him yͭ hath the charge of the peece, and his brother, both men of good ſeruice, the one had in charge a peece of great importance, Bolloyne I meane, which was ſtoutely aſſayled, & notwithſtanding, hee made a good accompt of it for hys time, that like I am ſure hee will doe by this hys charge. Moreouer, to accompte the taking of the Tower, is very dangerous by yͤ law. Theſe were my wordes to Winter. And beſides, it is very vnlike that I of all men woulde confederate in ſuch a matter againſt the Lieutenant of yͤ Tower, whoſe daughter my brother hath maryed, & his houſe and mine alyed togithers by mariage ſundry times within theſe few yeres.

Hare. But how ſay you to this, that Wyat & you had conference togither ſundrye times at Warners houſe, and in other places?

Throckmo This is a very general charge to haue conferēce, but why was it not as lawful for me to cōferre with Wiat, as with you, or any other mā? I then knew no more by Wyat, than by any other, & to proue to talke with Wyat, was lawful and indifferent: the laſt day that I did talke with Wyat, I ſawe my Lord of Arondel, with other noble men and Gentlemen talke with him familiarly in the chamber of preſence.

Hare. But they did not conſpire nor talke of any ſtur againſt the Spanyards as you did pretend, and meante it againſte the Q. for you, Croftes, Rogers, & Warner, did oftentimes deuiſe in Warners houſe aboute youre trayterous purpoſes, or elſe what did you ſo often there?

Throckm I confeſſe I did miſlike the Queenes mariage with Spaine, and alſo yͤ cōming of yͤ Spanyards hither, and then me thought I had reaſon to doe ſo, for I did learne the reaſons of my miſliking of you M. Hare, M. Southwell & others in the Parliament houſe, there I did ſee yͤ whole conſent of yͤ realm againſt it, and I a hearer, but no ſpeaker, did learne my miſliking of thoſe matters, confirmed by many ſundry reaſons amōgſt you: but as concerning any ſturre or vprore againſt the Spanyards, I neuer made any, neyther procured any to be made, and for my much reſort to M. Warners houſe, it was not to conferre with M. Wyat, but to ſhew my friendſhip to my very good L. the Marques of Northampton,

ton, who was lodged ther whẽ he was inlarged.

Did not you Throckmor. tell Winter that Wyat had changed his mind for yͤ taking of the Tower? whereby it appeared euidently that you knew of his doings.

Truely I did not tell him ſo, but I care not greatly to giue you that weapon to play you withal, now let vs ſee what you can make of it.

Yea ſir, that proueth that you were priuie to Wiats mind in al his deuiſes and treaſons, and that there was ſending betwixt you and Wyat from time to time.

What M. ſergeant, doth this proue againſte me, that I knew Wyat did repent him of an euil deuiſed enterpriſe? is it to know Wiats repẽtance ſinne? no, it is but a venial ſinne, if it be any it is not deadly. But where is the meſſenger or meſſage yͭ Wyat ſente to me touching his alteration, & yet it was lawfull ynough for me to heare from Wyat at that time, as frõ any other man, for any acte that I knew he had done.

And it may pleaſe you my Lordes, and you my maiſters of the Iurie, to proue that Throkmertõ is a principall doer in this Rebelliõ, there is yet many other things to be declared, amõgſt other, there is Croftes cõfeſſiõ, who ſayeth, yͭ he and you and your accõplices, did manye times deuiſe aboutes the whole matters, and hee made you priuie to all his determinations, and you ſhewed him that you woulde goe into the Weſt Countrey with the Earle of Deuon. to Sir Peter Caroe, accompanyed with others.

M. Croftes is yet liuing, and is here this day, how hapneth it he is not broughte face to face to iuſtifie this matter, neither hath bin of al this time? wil you knowe yͤ trueth? either he ſayd not ſo, or he wil not abide by it, but honeſtly hath reformed himſelf. And as for knowing his deuiſes, I was ſo well aquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neyther as matter knowen to mee.

But why did you aduiſe Winter to land my Lord priuie ſeale in the Weſt Countrey?

He yͭ told you that my mind was to land him there, doth partly tel you a reaſon why I ſaid ſo, if you would remẽber as well the one as yͤ other, but bycauſe you are ſo forgetfull, I will recite wherefore: In communicatiõ betwixt Winter & me, as he declared to me yͭ the Spanyards prouided to bring their Prince hither, ſo the Frenchmen prepared to interrupte his arriuall, for they began to arme to the ſea, and had already certain Shippes on the Weſt coſt (as he heard) vnto whome I ſaide, that peraduenture not onely the Queenes ſhippes vnder his charge mighte bee in ieoperdy, but alſo my Lorde priuie ſeale, and all hys trayne, the Frenchmen beeing wel prepared to meete with them, and therefore for all euents it were good you ſhould put my ſaid Lord in the Weſt Countrey in caſe you eſpie any ieoperdie: but what doth this proue to yͤ treaſons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reaſons to my talke?

Stanford.

Mary ſir now commeth the proofes of youre treaſons, you ſhal heare what Cutbert Vaughhan ſayth againſt you.

Vaughans confeſsiõ was redde by Stãforde.

Then ſergeant Stanford did reade Vaughhans cõfeſſiõ, tẽding to this effect. That Vaughhan cõming out of Kẽt, met with Throckmor. at M. Warners houſe, who after he had don cõmendatiõs from Wyat to him, deſired to know wher Crofts was, Throckmor. anſwered, either at Arundel houſe wher he lodgeth, or in Poules. Then Vaughan deſired to knowe how thyngs went at London, ſaying. M. Wyat and wee of Kent do much miſlike yͤ mariage with Spaine, & the comming of the Spanyardes for diuers reſpectes, howbeit, if other countries miſlike thẽ as Kẽt doth, they ſhall be but hardly welcome, & ſo they parted. Shortly after, Throckmor. met wᵗ Vaughhan in Powles, vnto whome Throckmor. declared with ſundry circumſtances, that yͤ Weſterne men were in readineſſe to come forwards, & that ſir Peter Caroe had ſent vnto him euen now, & that he had in order a good band of horſemen, & an other of footemen: then Vaughhan demanded what the Erle of Deuon. woulde doe, Throckmor. anſwered he will marre all, for he wil not goe hence, & yet ſir Peter Caroe wold mete him with a band, both of horſemen & footemẽ, by the way at Andeuer for his ſafegard, and alſo he ſhould haue bin well accompanyed from hence with other Gentlemẽ, yet all this wyl not moue him to departe hence. Moreouer, the ſayde erle hath as is ſaid, diſcouered al yͤ whole matter to the Chancellor, or elſe it is comen out by his Taylor, aboute the trimming of a ſhirte of maile, & the making of a cloke. At another time, Vaughan ſaith Throckmor. ſhewed him that he had ſente a poſt to Sir Peter Caroe to come forwarde with as muche ſpeede as might be, & to bring his force with him. And alſo Throckmor. aduiſed Vaughan to will M. Wiat come forward with his power, for nowe was the time, in aſmuch as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were preſented to thẽ. Vaughan ſaid alſo, that Throckmor. and Warner ſhould haue ridden with the ſaid Erle Weſtward. Moreouer, the ſaid Vaughã depoſed, that Throckmor. ſhewed him in talke of the Erle of Pembroke, yͭ the ſaide Earle woulde not fight againſt them, though hee woulde not take their partes. Alſo Vaughan ſaid, that Throckmor. ſhewed hym yͭ he would ride downe into Barkeſhire to ſir Frãcis Englefieldes houſe, there to meete his eldeſt brother, to moue him to take his part. And thys was yͤ ſumme of Cutbert Vaughans cõfeſſion.

Stanford.

How ſay you, doth not heere appeare euident matter to proue you a principall, who not onely gaue order to ſir Peter Caroe & his adherẽts, for their rebellious actes in the Weſt Countrey, but alſo procured Wyat to make his Rebellion, appointing him & the others alſo when they ſhould attempt their enterpriſe, & how they ſhould order their doings from time to time. Beſides all this euident matter, you were ſpecially appoynted to goe away with the Earle of Deuon, as one that would direct all things, and giue order to al mẽ, and therefore Throckmor. ſince this matter is ſo manifeſt, and the euidence ſo apparant, I would aduiſe you to cõfeſſe your fault, and ſubmit your ſelfe to the Queenes mercy.

Bromley. Howe ſay you, will you confeſſe the matter, and it will be beſt for you.

Throckmor. No, I wil neuer accuſe my ſelfe vniuſtly, but in aſmuche as I am come hither to bee tryed, I pray you let me haue the law fauourably.

Attourney. Is it apparant that you lay at London as a factor to giue intelligence as well to them in the Weſt, as to Wyat in Kent.

Throckmor. How proue you that, or who doth accuſe mee but this condemned man.

Attourney. Why will you denie this matter, you ſhall haue Vaughan iuſtifie his whole confeſſion here before your face.

Throckmor. It ſhal not need, I know his vnſhamefaſtnes, he hath aduowed ſome of this vntrue talk before this time to my face, & it is not otherwiſe like, conſidering yͤ price, but he wil do yͤ ſame again.

Attourney. My L. and maiſters, you ſhall haue Vaughan to iuſtifie this heere before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

Throckmor. He that hath ſaid and lyed, will not being in this caſe ſticke to ſweare and lie.

Then was Cutbert Vaughan brought into the open Court.

Hendall. How ſay you Cutbert Vaughan, is this your owne confeſſion, and wil you abide by all that is here written?

Vaughan. Let me ſee it and I will tell you.

Then his confeſſion was ſhewed him.

Attourney. Bycauſe you of yͤ Jury the better may credite him, I pray you my lords let Vaughã be ſworne.

Then was Vaughan ſworne on a booke to ſay nothing but the trueth.

Vaughan. It may pleaſe you my lords and maiſters, I could haue bin well content to haue choſe ſeauen yeres impriſonment, though I had bin a free mã in yͤ law, rather than I would this day haue gyuen euidence againſt ſir Nicholas Throckmor. vnto whome I beare no diſpleaſure: but ſithence I muſt needes confeſſe my knowledge, I muſt confeſſe al yͭ is there written is true, how ſay you M. Throck. was there any diſpleaſure betwene you & me, to moue me to ſay aught againſt you?

Throckmor. No yͭ I know, how ſay you Vaughan, what acquaintance was there betwene you and me, & what letters of credit, or token did you bring me frõ Wiat, or any other to moue me to truſt you.

Vaughan. As for aquaintance, I knew you as I did other Gentlemen, & as for letters, I brought you none other, but cõmendatiõs frõ M. Wiat, as I did to diuers other of his acquaintãce at Lõdon.

Throckmo You might as well forge the cõmendatiõs as the reſt, but if you haue done with Vaughã my lords, I pray you giue mee leaue to aunſweare.

Bromley. Speake and be ſhort.

Throckmo I ſpeake generally to all yͭ be heere preſent, but ſpecially to you of my Jury, touching yͤ credit of Vaughãs depoſitions againſt me, a condemned man: & after to the matter: & note I pray you the circumſtãces, as ſomewhat material to induce yͤ better. Firſt I pray you remẽber yͤ ſmal familiaritie betwixt Vaughan & me, as he hathe auowed before you. And moreouer, to procure credite at my hãd, brought neither letter nor token frõ Wiat, nor frõ any other to me, which he alſo hath confeſſed here: and I will ſuppoſe Vaughã to be in as good condition as any other mã here, that is to ſay, an vncõdemned man, yet I referre it to your good iudgement whether it were lyke yͭ I knowing onely Vaughans perſon from an other mã, & hauing none other acquaintance wͭ him, would ſo frankly diſcouer my mind to him in ſo dangerous a matter. How like I ſay is this whẽ diuers of theſe Gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my very familiars, coulde not depoſe any ſuch matter againſt me, and neuertheles vpon their examinations, haue ſaide what they could. And though I be no wiſe man, I am not ſo raſh to vtter to an vnknowẽ man (for I may call him in compariſon) a matter ſo dangerous for me to ſpeake, & him to heare, but bycauſe my trueth & his falſehood ſhall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconſtancy in vttering this his euidence, and for my better credite, it may pleaſe you M. Southwell, I take you to witnes, whẽ Vaughan firſt iuſtified this his vniuſt accuſation againſt me before the L. Paget, the L. Chamberlaine, you M. Southwell & others, he referred the confirmatiõ of this his ſurmiſed matter, to a letter ſent frõ him to ſir Tho. Wyat, which letter doth neither appeare, nor any teſtimonie of the ſaid M. Wyat againſt mee touching the matter, for I doubte not ſir Tho. Wyat hath bin examined of me, and hathe ſayde what he could directly or indirectly. Alſo Vaughã ſaith, yͭ yong Edw. Wyat could confirme thys matter, as one yͭ knewe this pretended diſcourſe betwixt Vaughã and me, and therupon I made ſute yͭ Edw. Wiat might either be brought face to face to me, or otherwiſe be examined.

Southwel M. Throckmor. you miſtake your matter, for Vaughan ſaid, yͭ Edw. Wyat did know ſome part of the matter, and alſo was priuie of yͤ letter that Vaughan ſent ſir Tho. Wyat.

Throckmo Yea ſir, that was Vaughans laſt ſhift, when

I charged him before yͤ maſter of yͤ horſe, & you wͭ his former allegatiõs touching his witnes, whom when hee eſpyed, woulde not doe ſo lewdly as hee thought, then he uſed this alteration: but where is Edw. Wiats depoſitiõs of any thing againſt me, now it appeareth neither his firſte nor his laſt tale to be true. For you knowe M. Bridges, & ſo doth my L. your brother, that I deſired twice or thrice Ed. Wiat ſhuld be examined, & I am ſure, & moſt aſſured he hathe bin willed to ſay what he could, & here is nothing depoſed by him againſt me, eyther touching any letter or other conference: or where is Vaughãs letter ſent by ſir Tho. Wyat cõcerning my talke?

But now I will ſpeake of Vaughans preſent eſtate in that hee is a condemned man, whoſe teſtimonie is nothing worthe by any lawe, and bycauſe falſe witnes be mentioned in yͤ Goſpel, treating of accuſatiõ, hearke I pray you what S. Jerome ſayeth, expounding yͤ place: it is demaunded why Chriſtes accuſers bee called falſe witneſſes, which did report chriſts words not as he ſpake thẽ, they be falſe witnes ſaith S. Jerome, which do ad, alter, wreſt, double, or do ſpeake for hope to auoid death, or for malice to procure an other mãs death: for al mẽ may eaſily gather he cãnot ſpeake truely of me, or in the caſe of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accuſation. Thus much ſpeaketh S. Jerome of falſe witnes. By the ciuill law there be many exceptiõs to be taken agaynſt ſuch teſtimonies, but bycauſe we be not gouerned by yͤ law, neither I haue my trial by it, it ſhalbe ſuperfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you ſhall heare what your owne lawe doth ſay. There was a ſtatute made in my late ſoueraigne L. and maiſter his time, touching accuſation, and theſe be the words.

Be it enacted, that no perſon nor perſons. &c. ſhalbe indited, araigned, condẽned, or conuicted for any offence of treaſon, petit treaſon, miſpriſion of treaſon, for which yͤ ſame offendor ſhal ſuffer any paynes of death, impriſonment, loſſe or forfeyture of his goodes, lands. &c. vnleſſe the ſame offendor be accuſed by two ſufficient and lawful witneſſes, or ſhall willingly without violẽce confeſſe yͤ ſame. And alſo in the ſixth yere of his raigne, it is thus ratified as enſueth.

That no perſon nor perſons ſhall bee indited, araigned, condemned, conuicted or attainted of the treaſons or offences aforeſaide, or for anye other treaſons that nowe bee, or hereafter ſhall be, vnleſſe the ſame offendor or offendors be thereof accuſed by two lawfull and ſufficient accuſers, whiche at the time of the araignement of the parties ſo accuſed (if they be thẽ liuing) ſhalbe brought in perſon before the ſaid partie accuſed, and auowe and mainteine that they haue to ſay againſte the ſaide partie, to proue him giltie of the treaſons or offence conteined in the byll of inditement layd agaynſt the partie araigned, vnleſſe the ſayd partie araigned ſhalbe willing without violence to confeſſe the ſame.

Heere note I pray you, that oure lawe dothe require two lawfull and ſufficiente accuſers to be brought face to face, and Vaughan is but one, and the ſame moſt vnlawfull and inſufficiente: for who can be more vnlawfull and inſufficient, than a condemned man, and ſuche one as knoweth to accuſe mee is the meane to ſaue his owne lyfe? remember I pray you howe long and how manye times Vaughans execution hathe bin reſpited, and howe often hee hathe bin coniured to accuſe, (whych by Goddes grace hee withſtoode vntill the laſt houre) what time perceyuing there was no way to liue, but to ſpeake againſte mee or ſome other (his former grace beeyng taken away) dyd redeeme his lyfe moſt vniuſtly, and ſhamefully as you ſee.

Hare. Why ſhoulde he accuſe you more than anye other, ſeeyng there was no diſpleaſure betwixte you, if the matter had not bin true.

Throckmor. Bycauſe he muſt eyther ſpeake of ſome man, or ſuffer deathe, and then he did rather chooſe to hurte him he did leaſt know, and ſo loued leaſt, than any other well knowen to him, whome hee loued moſt. But to you of my Jury I ſpeake ſpecially, and therfore I pray you note what I ſay. In a matter of leſſe weight than triall of life and lande, a man may by the law take exceptions to ſuche as be impaneld, to trie the controuerſies betwixt the parties: as for example, a man may chalenge that the Sheriffe is hys enimie, and therefore hathe made a parciall returne, or bycauſe one of the Jury is the Sheriffe my aduerſaries ſeruaunte, and alſo in caſe my aduerſaries villaine or bondman be empanelled, I may lawfully chalenge him, bycauſe the aduerſarie parte hathe power ouer hys villaynes landes and goodes, and hathe the vſe of hys bodye for ſeruile office, muche more I may of ryghte take exception to Vaughans teſtimonie, my lyfe and all that I haue dependyng thereupon, and the ſame Vaughan beeyng more bounde to the Queenes highneſſe, my aduerſarie (that wo is mee therefore) but ſo the lawe dothe here ſo tearme hyr Maieſtie, than anye villayne is to hys Lord, for hir hyghneſſe hathe not onely power ouer hys bodye, lands, and goodes, but ouer his lyfe alſo.

Stamford. Yea, the exceptions are to be taken agaynſte the Jury in that caſe, but not agaynſt the witnes or accuſor, and therefore youre argumente ſerueth little for you.

Throckmor. That is not ſo, for the vſe of the iurie, & the witnes & the effect of their doings doth ſerue me to my purpoſe, as the law ſhal diſcuſſe. And thus I make my cõpariſon. By yͤ ciuill law yͤ Judge doth giue ſentence ſentẽce vpon yͤ depoſitions of the witnes, & by your law, yͤ Iudge doth giue iudgement vpon the verdict of the iury, ſo as yͭ effect is both one to finiſh yͤ matter, trial in law, as wel by yͤ depoſitions of the witnes, as by yͤ Iuries verdit, though they varie in forme & circumſtance, and ſo Vaughans teſtimonie being credited, may be yͤ materiall cauſe of my condẽnation, as yͤ Iury to be induced by his depoſitiõs to ſpeake their verdict, & ſo finally thereupon the Iudge to giue ſentence. Therfore I may vſe yͤ ſame exceptions againſt yͤ iury, or any of thẽ, as yͤ principal mean yͭ ſhal occaſion my condemnation.

Bromley. Why do you denie, that euery part of Vaughãs tale is vntrue?

Attourney. You may ſee he wil denie all, and ſay there was no ſuch communication betwixt them.

Throckmor. I confeſſe ſome part of Vaughans confeſſion to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and ſome part of the matter.

Attourney. So you of the Iury may perceyue the priſoner doth confeſſe ſome thing to be true.

Throckmor. As touching my ſending to ſir Peter Caroe, or his ſending to me, or concerning my aduice to M. Wyat to ſturre or to repaire hither, or touchyng yͤ earle of Deuon. parting hence. & my going wͭ him, & alſo concerning yͤ matter of yͤ Erle of Pẽbroke, I do aduow & ſay that Vaughan hath ſaid vntruely.

Southwell. As for my L. of Pembroke, you neede not excuſe yͤ matter, for he hath ſhewed himſelfe cleere in theſe matters like a noble man, & that we al know.

Hare. Why what was the talke betwixte Vaughan and you ſo long in Poules, if theſe were not ſo, and what meant your oft meetings?

Throckmor. As for our often meetings, they were of no ſet purpoſe, but by chãce, & yet no ofter thã twice. But ſithence you would know what cõmunicatiõ paſſed betwixt vs in Poules Church, I will declare. We talked of the incõmodities of the marriage of the Q. with yͤ Prince of Spaine, & how greeuous yͤ Spanyards would be to vs here. Vaughan ſaid, that it ſhould be very dangerous for any man, that truely profeſſed the Goſpel to liue here, ſuch was yͤ Spanyards crueltie, and eſpecially againſte Chriſtian men: whereunto I anſwered it was yͤ plague of God iuſtly come vppon vs, and now almightie God dealt with vs as he did with yͤ Iſraelites, taking frõ them for their vnthankefulnes theyr godly kings, & did ſend Tirants to raigne ouer them. Euen ſo he handled vs Engliſhmen, whiche hadde a moſt godly & vertuous Prince to raigne ouer vs, my late ſoueraigne L. and M. K. Edwarde, vnder whome we might both ſafely and lawfully profeſſe Gods word, which with our lewd doyngs, demeanour, and liuing, we handled ſo irreuerently, that to whip vs for our faultes, he woulde ſend vs ſtraungers, yea ſuch very tyrants to exerciſe great tyrãnie ouer vs, & did take away yͤ vertuous & faithfull K. from amongſt vs: for euery man of euery eſtate did coulour his naughty affections with a pretẽce of religion, & made the Goſpell a ſtaulking horſe to bring their euil deſires to effect. This was yͤ ſumme of our talke in Poules ſomewhat more dilated.

Stanfo That it may appeare yet more euidently howe Throckmor. was a principal doer & counſellor in this matter, you ſhall heare his owne confeſſion of his own hand writing. The Clearke did begin to reade, Throckmor. deſired M. Stanford to reade it, & the Iury well to marke it. Then M. Stanford did reade the priſoners own cõfeſſion to this effect: that Throckmor. had cõference with Wyat, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the Queenes mariage wͭ the Prince of Spaine, as alſo of Religion, & did particularly confer with euery yͤ forenamed, of yͤ matters aforeſaid. Moreouer, with ſir Tho. Wyat, the priſoner talked of yͤ brute that the Weſterne men ſhould much miſlike yͤ cõming of the Spanyards into this Realme, beeing reported alſo yͭ they intended to interrupt theyr arriual here. And alſo that it was ſaid, that they wer in conſultation about yͤ ſame at Exeter. Wyat alſo did ſay, yͭ ſir Peter Caroe could not bring the ſame matter to good effect, nor there was any man ſo mete to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Deuon. and ſpecially in yͤ Weſt Cõtrey, in aſmuch as they did not draw al by one line. Thẽ Throckmor. aſked how the Kentiſhmen were affected to yͤ Spanyards? Wyat ſaid, the people like them euill ynough, and yͭ appeared now at the comming of yͤ Countie Egmount, for they were ready to ſturre againſte him & his traine, ſuppoſing it had bin the Prince, but ſaid Wyat, ſir Robert Southwel, M. Baker, & M. Moyle, & their affinitie, whiche bee in good credite in ſome places of the ſhire, wil for other malitious reſpects hinder yͤ libertie of their Countrey. Thẽ Throckmor. ſhuld ſay, though I know ther hath bin an vnkindneſſe betwixte M. Southwel & you for a money matter, wherein I trauelled to make you friends, I doubt not, but in ſo honeſt a matter as this is, he will for the ſafegard of his Countrey ioyne with you, and ſo you may bee ſure of the L. Burgainey and his force: then Wiat ſaid, it is for another matter than for money yͭ wee diſagree, wherein he hath handled me & others very doubly & vnneighbourly, howbeit, he can doe no other, neither to me, nor to anye other man, & therefore I forgiue him. Item, with ſir Peter Caroe, Throckmor. had conference touching yͤ impeachment of yͤ landing of the ſaid Prince, & touchyng prouiſion of armour & munitiõ as enſueth, that is to ſay, yͭ ſir Peter Caroe told Throckmor. that he truſted his Countreymen would be true Engliſhmen, & would not agree to let yͤ Spanyards to gouerne thẽ. Item, the ſaid ſir Peter Caroe ſayd, the matter importing yͤ french K. as it did, he thought the french K. would work to hinder yͤ Spanyards cõming hither, with whome the ſaid ſir Peter dyd thinke good to practiſe for armour, munitions and money. Then Throckmor. did aduiſe him to bee beware that he brought any Frenchmen into the realme forceably, in aſmuch as he could as euill abyde yͤ Frenchmen after that ſort as the Spanyards. And alſo Throckmor. thought the Frēch K. vnable to giue aide to vs, by meanes of the great cōſumption in their owne warres. M. Carew ſaid, as touching yͤ bringing in of Frenchmē, he meant it not, for he loued neither partie, but to ſerue his owne Cōtrey, and to help his Cōtrey from bōdage, declaring further to Throckmorton, that he had a ſmall barke of his owne to worke his practiſe by, and ſo he ſaid, that ſhortly he intended to depart to his owne Countrey, to vnderſtand yͤ deuotion of his Countreymen. Item Throckmor. did ſay, he would for his parte hinder yͤ cōming in of the Spanyards as much as he could by perſwaſion. Item to ſir Edward Warner, he had & did bemone his owne eſtate, and the tyrannie of the tyme extended vpon dyuers honeſt perſons for Religion, and wiſhed it were lawfull for all of each Religiō, to liue ſafely according to their conſcience, for the law (*Ex officio*) will be intollerable, & the Cleargies diſcipline now, may rather be reſembled to yͤ Turks tyrannie, than to the teaching of Chriſtian Religion. This was the ſumme of the matter whiche was red in the foreſaid cōfeſſion, as matters moſt greuous againſt yͤ priſoner. Thē Throckmor ſaid, ſithence M. ſergeant you haue red and gathered yͤ place as you think, that maketh moſt againſt me, I pray you take the paynes, & reade further, that hereafter whatſoeuer become of me, my wordes be not peruerted & abuſed to the hurt of ſom others, & eſpecially againſt the great perſonages, of whome I haue bin ſundry times (as appeareth by my anſwers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not caſt only for little fiſhes, but for the great ones, *iuxta adagium*.

It ſhall be but loſſe of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you deſire doth make nothing for you.

And for the better confirmation of al the treaſons obiected againſt the priſoner, and therein to proue him giltie, you of yͤ Jury ſhall heare yͤ D. of Suffolkes depoſitions againſt him, who was a principal, and hath ſuffered accordingly. Thē the ſaid ſergeant red yͤ dukes confeſſion touching yͤ priſoner, amounting to this effect, that the L. Tho. Grey did informe the ſaid Duke, that Sir Nicholas Thockmor. was priuie to the whole deuiſes againſte the Spanyardes, and was one that ſhoulde goe into the Weſt Countrey with the Earle of Deuonſhire.

But what doth the principall author of thys matter ſay againſt me, I meane the L. Thomas Gray who is yet liuing, why is not his depoſitions brought againſt me, for ſo it ought to bee, if he can ſay any thing: will you know the trueth, neyther the L. Tho. Grey hath ſayd, can ſay, or wil ſay any thing againſt me, notwithſtanding yͤ D. his brothers confeſſion & accuſation, who hath affirmed manye other things beſides the trueth. I ſpeake not without certaine knowlege, for yͤ L. Tho. Grey being my priſon fellow, for a ſmall time informed me, yͭ the D. his brother had miſreported him in many things, amongſt others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you M. Southwell, & other the Examinors not long ago, I am ſure if yͤ L. Tho. could or would haue ſaid any thing, it ſhould haue bin here now. And as to yͤ dukes confeſſion, it is not material, for he doth referre the matter to the L. Thomas report, who hath made my purgation.

The attorney. And it pleaſe you my Lordes, and you my maiſters of the Jury, beſides theſe matters touching Wiats Rebellion, ſir Peter Carowes treaſons, & confederating with the D. of Suffolke, and beſides yͤ priſoners conſpiracie with the Earle of Deuon. with Croftes, Rogers, Warner, & ſundry others in ſundrye places, it ſhall manifeſtly appeare vnto you, yͭ Throckmor. did conſpire yͤ Queenes Maieſties death with William Thomas, ſir Nicholas Arnold, & other traitors intending yͤ ſame, which is yͤ greateſt matter of all others, and moſt to be abhorred: and for the proofe hereof, you ſhall heare what Arnold ſayth. Thē was ſir Nicholas Arnolds confeſſion redde, affirming, that Throckmor. ſhewed vnto him, riding betwixt Hinam & Croſſe Laund in Gloceſterſhire, that John Fitz Williams was verye much diſpleaſed with William Thomas.

Thattorney. William Thomas deuiſed, that John Fitz Williās ſhould kyll the Queene, & Throckmor. knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confeſſion.

Throckmor. Firſt I denie that I ſaide anye ſuche thing to M. Arnold, and though he be an honeſt man, he may either forget himſelf, or deuiſe meanes how to vnburthen himſelfe of ſo weightie a matter as this is, for he is charged with the mater as principall, which I did perceiue whē he charged mee with his tale, and therefore I do blame him the leſſe, that he ſeeketh how to diſcharge himſelf, vſing me as a witnes if he coulde ſo transferre the deuiſe to Will. Thomas. But truely, I neuer ſpake anye ſuche wordes vnto him, and for my better declaration, I did ſee John Fitz Williams here euen now, who can teſtifie, that he neuer ſhewed me of any diſpleaſure betwixt them, & as I know nothing of the diſpleaſure betwixt thē, ſo I know nothing of the cauſe: I pray you my Lordes let him bee called to depoſe in thys matter what hee can. Then John Fitz Williams drew to the barre, and preſented himſelfe to depoſe his knowledge in the mater in opē court.

Thattorney. I pray you my Lordes ſuffer him not to be ſworne, neither to ſpeake, we haue nothing to do with him.

Throckmor. Why ſhoulde hee not bee ſuffered to tell truthe? and why bee yee not ſo well contented to heare troth for mee, as vntroth againſte mee?

Hare. Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or cōmaunded you to ſpeake, you are a verye buſie officer.

Throckmor. I called him, and doe humbly deſire that hee may ſpeake, and be heard as well as Vaughan, or elſe I am not indifferently vſed, ſpecially ſeing maiſter Atturney doth ſo preſſe this matter againſt me.

Southwell. Goe youre wayes Fitzwilliams, the Courte hath nothing to doe with you. Peraduenture you woulde not bee ſo readie in a good cauſe.

Then John Fitzwyllyams departed the Courte, and was not ſuffered to ſpeake.

Throckmor. Since this Gentlemans declaration maye not bee admitted, I truſt you of the Jurie can perceyue, it was not for anye thing hee had to ſay againſt me. But contrariwiſe, that it was feared he woulde ſpeake for mee. And nowe to maiſter Arnoldes depoſitions againſt me, I ſay I did not tell him anye ſuch wordes, ſo as if it were material, there is but his yea and my nay. But bicauſe the wordes be not ſore ſtrayned againſt me, I praye you maiſter Atturney why might not I haue tolde maiſter Arnolde, that John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet knowe no cauſe of the anger, it might be vnderſtande, to diſagree oftentimes. Who doth confeſſe that I knowe any thing of William Thomas deuiſe touching the Queenes death? I will aunſwere, no man. For maiſter Arnolde doth mention no worde of that matter, but of the diſpleaſures betwixte them. And to ſpeake that, dothe neyther proue treaſon, nor knowledge of treaſon. Is here all the euidence againſte mee that you haue to bring mee within the compaſſe of the inditement?

Stanforde. Me thinke the matters confeſſed by others againſt you, togither with your owne confeſſion, will weye ſhrewdlye. But howe ſaye you to the riſing in Kent, and to Wiats attempte againſte the Queenes royall perſon at hir Palace?

Bromley. Why doe you not reade Wiats accuſation to him, whiche dothe make him partener to his treaſons.

Southwell. Wiat hath grieuouſlye accuſed you, and in manye thinges that others haue confirmed.

Throckmor. Whatſoeuer Wiat hath ſaide of me in hope of his life, he vnſayde it at his death. For ſince I came into this hall, I hearde one ſaye (but I knowe him not) that Wiat vppon the ſcaffolde didde not onelye purge my Ladie Elizabeth hir Grace, and the Earle of Deuonſhire, but alſo all the Gentlemen in the Tower, ſaying they were all ignoraunt of the ſturre and Commotion. In whiche number I take my ſelfe.

Hare. Notwithſtanding he ſaide, all that hee had written and confeſſed to the Counſayle, was true.

Throckmor. Nay Sir, by your pacience, maiſter Wiat ſayde not ſo, that was maiſter Doctors addicion.

Southwell. It appeareth you haue hadde good intelligence.

Throckmo. Almightie God prouided that reuelation for mee this daye ſince I came hither: for I haue bene in cloſe priſon theſe lviij. dayes, where I hearde nothing but what the Birdes tolde mee, which did flie ouer my heade. And nowe to you of my Jurie I ſpeake ſpeciallye, whome I deſire to marke attentiuely what ſhall be ſayde. I haue bene indited, as it appeareth, and nowe am arreigned of compaſſing the Queenes maieſties death, of leuying warre againſte the Queene, of taking the tower of London, of depoſing and depriuing the Queene of hir Royall eſtate, and finally to deſtroy hir, and of adherence to the Queenes enimies. Of all whiche treaſons, to proue mee guiltie, the Queenes learned Counſayle hath giuen in euidence, theſe pointes materiall: That is to ſaye: for the compaſſing or imagining the Queenes death, and the deſtruction of hir Royall perſon, Sir Nicholas Arnoldes depoſitions, whiche is, that I ſhoulde ſaye to the ſayde Sir Nicholas in Gloceſter ſhire, that maiſter John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas: Whereunto I haue aunſwered, as you haue hearde, bothe denying the matter: and for the proofe on my ſide, doe take exceptions, bicauſe there is no witneſſe but one. And neuertheleſſe, though it were graunted, the depoſitions proue nothing concerning the Queenes death. For leuying of warre againſt the Queene, there is alledged my conference with Sir Thomas Wiat, Sir James Croftes, Sir Edwarde Rogers, Sir Edwarde Warner. Againſte the mariage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spanyardes hither, whiche talke I doe not denie in ſorte as I ſpake it, and ment it: and notwithſtanding the malicious gathering this day of my conference, prooueth yet no leuying of warre. There is alſo alledged for proofe of the ſame Article, ſir James Crofts cōfeſſion, which as you remember, implieth no ſuch thing, but generall talk againſt the mariage with Spaine.

And of my departing Weſtwarde with the Earle of Deuon. which the ſayde James doth not auowe, and therefore I praye you conſider it as not ſpoken. There is alſo for proofe of the ſayde Article, the Duke of Suffolkes confeſſion, with whom I neuer had conference, and therefore he adnouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation in thoſe matters, and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatly materiall in lawe. There is alſo alledged for the further proofe of the ſame Article, and for depoſing and depriuing the Queene of hir Royall eſtate, and for my adhering to the Queenes enimes, Cutbert Vaughans confeſſion, whoſe teſtimonie I haue ſufficientlye diſproued by ſundrie authorities and circumſtances, and principally by your owne lawe, which dothe require two lawfull and ſufficient witneſſes to be brought face to face. Alſo for the taking of the tower of London, there is alledged Winters depoſitions, which vttereth my miſliking, when he vttered vnto mee Sir Thomas Wiats reſolution and deuiſe for attempting of the ſayde peece. And laſt of all, to enforce theſe matters, mine owne confeſſion is engrieued greatly againſt me, wherein there doth appeare neyther treaſon, neyther concelement of treaſon, neyther whiſpering of treaſon, nor procurement of treaſon. And foraſmuch as I am come hither to be tried by the lawe, though my innocencie of all theſe pointes materiall obiected, be apparant to acquite mee, whereunto I doe principallye cleaue, yet I will for your better credit and ſatiſfactions, ſhewe you euidentlye, that if you woulde beleeue all the depoſitions layde againſt me, which I truſt you will not doe, I ought not to bee attainted of the treaſon compriſed within my inditement, conſidering the Statute of repeale the laſt parliament, of all treaſons, other than ſuche as be declared in the xxv. yeare of K. Edward the third, both which ſtatutes, I praye you my Lordes, may be redde here to the enqueſt.

ntley. No, for there ſhall be no bookes brought at your deſire, we know the law ſufficiently without booke.

ckmor. Do you bring me hither to trie mee by the lawe, and will not ſhewe me the lawe? what is your knowledge of the lawe to theſe mens ſatiſfactions, which haue my triall in hande? I pray you my Lordes, and my Lordes all, let the ſtatutes bee redde, as well for the Queene, as for mee.

forde. My Lord chiefe Juſtice can ſhew the lawe, and will, if the Jurie doe doubt of any poynt.

ckmor, You knowe it were indifferent that I ſhould knowe and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, & foraſmuch as the ſtatute is in Engliſhe, men of meaner learning than the Juſtices, can vnderſtande it, or elſe howe ſhoulde we knowe when we offend?

Hare You knowe not what belongeth to youre caſe, and therefore we muſt teach you: it appertaineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neyther wer ſit here to be taught of you, you ſhould haue taken better hede to the law before you had come hither.

Throckmor. Bicauſe I am ignoraunt, I woulde learne, and therefore I haue more neede to ſee the law, and partlye as well for the inſtructions of the Jurie, as for my owne ſatiſfaction, which mee thinke, were for the honor of this preſence. And now if it pleaſe you my Lorde chiefe Juſtice, I do direct my ſpeach ſpecially to you. What time it pleaſed the Queenes maieſtie, to call you to this honourable office, I did learne of a great perſonage of hir highneſſe priuie counſayle, that amongſt other good inſtructions, hir maieſtie charged and enioyned you to miniſter the law & iuſtice indifferently without reſpect of perſons. And notwithſtanding the old error amōgſt you, whiche did not admit any witneſſe to ſpeake, or any other matter to be hearde in the fauor of the aduerſarie, hir maieſtie being partie, hir highnes pleaſure was, that whatſoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the ſubiect, ſhoulde be admitted to be heard. And moreouer, that you ſpecially, and likewiſe all other Juſtices, ſhoulde not perſuade themſelues to ſit in iudgement otherwiſe for hir highneſſe, than for hir ſubiect. Therefore this maner of indifferent proceeding being principally enioined by Gods cōmādement, which I had thought partly to haue remembred you & others here in Cōmiſſion, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue: And the ſame alſo being commanded you by the Queenes owne mouth, me think you ought of right to ſuffer me to haue the ſtatutes red openly, & alſo to reiect nothing yͤ coulde be ſpoken in my defence: and in thus doing you ſhal ſhew your ſelues worthy miniſters, and fit for ſo worthie a miſtreſſe.

Bromley. You miſtake the matter, the Queene ſpake thoſe wordes to maiſter Morgan chiefe Juſtice of the Common place, but you haue no cauſe to complaine, for you haue bene ſuffered to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare. What woulde you doe with the Statute booke? the Jurie doth not require it, they haue hearde the euidence, and they muſt vppon their conſcience trie whether you bee guiltie or no, ſo as the booke needeth not: if they will not credite the euidence ſo apparant, then they know what they haue to doe.

Cholmley. You ought not to haue anye bookes red here at your appointment, for where dothe aryſe anye doubte in the lawe, the Judges ſitte here to informe the Court, and nowe you doe but ſpende time.

Theattorney I pray you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice repeate the euidence for the Queene, and giue the Iurie their charge, for the priſoner will keept you here all day.

Bromley. Howe ſay you, haue you any more to ſaye for your ſelfe?

Throckmor: You ſeeme to giue and offer mee the lawe, but in very dede I haue only the forme & image of the lawe, neuertheleſſe, ſince I cannot be ſuffred to haue the ſtatutes red openly in the booke, I will by your pacience geſſe at them as I may, and I pray you to help me if I miſtake, for it is long ſince I did ſee them. The ſtatute of repeale made the laſt Parliament, hath theſe wordes: Be it enacted by the Queene, that from henceforth none acte, deede, or offence, being by acte of Parliament or ſtatute made treaſon, petit treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, by wordes, writing, printing, ciphering, deedes, or otherwiſe whatſoeuer, ſhall be taken, had, deemed, or adiudged treaſon, petit treaſon, but only ſuch as be declared, or expreſſed to be treaſon, in or by an acte of Parliament made in the xxv. yeare of Edw.iij. touching and concerning treaſons, and the declaration of treaſons, and none other. Here may you ſee this Statute doth referre all the offences aforeſayde, to the Statute of the xxv. of Edw. iij. whiche ſtatute hath theſe wordes touching and concerning the treaſons that I am indited and arreigned of, that is to ſaye: Whoſoeuer with compaſſe or imagine the death of the king, or leuie warre againſt the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enimies within this Realme, or elſewhere, and bee thereof probably attainted by open deede by people of their condicion, ſhall be adiudged a traytor. Now I praye you of my Iurie whiche haue my lyfe in triall, note well what things at this daye bee treaſons, and howe theſe treaſons muſt be tried and decerned, that is to ſaye, by open deede, which the lawes doth at ſome time terme *(ouert acte)* and nowe I aſke notwithſtanding my inditement, which is but matter alledged, where doth appeare the open deede of any compaſſing or imagining the Quenes death, or where doth appeare any open deede of being adherent to the Queenes enimies, giuing to them ayde and comfort, or where doth appeare any open deede of taking the tower of London?

Bromley. Why doe not you of the Queenes learned Counſell aunſwere him. Me thinke, Throckmorton, you neede not to haue the ſtatutes, for you haue them meetely perfectly.

Stanforde: You are deceyued to conclude all treaſons in the ſtatute of the xxv. yeare of Edwarde the thirde, for that ſtatute is but a declaration of certaine treaſons, whiche were treaſons before at the Common lawe. Euen ſo there doth remayne diuerſe other treaſons at this day at the Common lawe, which be expreſſed by that ſtatute, as the Iudges can declare. Neuertheleſſe, there is matter ſufficient alledged and proued againſt you, to bring you within the compaſſe of the ſame Statute.

Throckmo I praye you expreſſe thoſe matters that bring me within the compaſſe of the ſtatute of Edwarde the thirde. For the wordes be theſe: And be thereof attainted by open deede by people of like condicion.

Bromley: Throckmorton, you deceyue your ſelfe, and miſtake theſe wordes, by people of their condicion. For thereby the lawe doth vnderſtande the diſcouering of your treaſons. As for example, Wiat and the other rebelles, attainted for their great treaſons, already declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerſe and ſundrie times you had conference with him and them aboute the treaſon, ſo as Wiat is now one of your condicion, who as all the worlde knoweth, hath committed an open trayterous fact.

Throckmo By your leaue my Lorde, this is a verye ſtraunge and ſingular vnderſtanding. For I ſuppoſe the meaning of the Lawe makers did vnderſtande theſe wordes: By people of their condicion: of the ſtate and condicion of thoſe perſons whiche ſhoulde bee on the Inqueſt to trie the partie arreygned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the bewraying of the offence by another mans act, as you ſay, for what haue I to doe with Wiats actes, that was not nigh him by one hundreth myles?

Thattorne Will you take vppon you to ſkill better of the lawe than the Iudges? I doubt not but you of the Iurie will credite as it becommeth you.

Cholmley, Concerning the true vnderſtanding of theſe words: By people of their condicion, my Lord chiefe Iuſtice here hath declared the truth, for Wiat was one of your condicion, that is to ſay, of your conſpiracie.

Hare You doe not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath bene conference, and ſending betweene Wiat and you, and he and Winter dothe confeſſe the ſame, with others, ſo as it is playne, Wiat may well be called one of youre condicion.

Throckmo Well, ſeeing you my Iudges rule the vnderſtanding of theſe wordes in the Statute, By people of your condicion, thus ſtraungelye againſt mee, I will not ſtande longer vppon them. But where dothe appeare in mee an open deede whereunto the treaſon is ſpeciallye referred?

If

omley: If thre or foure do talke, deviſe, and conſpire togither of a trayterous acte to be done, and afterwardes one of them doth commit treaſon, as Wiat did, then the lawe doth repute them, and everye of them as their actes, ſo as Wiats actes doe implie and argue your open deede, and ſo the lawe doth terme it and take it.

Throckmor: Theſe be marveylous expoſitions, and wonderfull implications, that another mans acte whereof I was not privie, ſhoulde be accounted myne, for Wiat did purge me that I knew nothing of his ſtirre.

Hare. Yea ſir, but you were a principall procurer and contriver of Wiats rebellion, thoughe you were not with him when he made the ſtirre. And as my Lord here hath ſayd, the law always doth adiudge him a traytor, which was privie & doth procure treaſon, or any other man to committe treaſon, or a trayterous acte, as you did Wiat, and others, for ſo the *overt acte* of thoſe whiche did it by your procurement, ſhall in this caſe be accounted your open deede. We have a commō caſe in the lawe if one by procurement ſhoulde diſſeyſe you of your lande, the lawe holdeth us both wrong doers, and giveth remedie as well againſt the one as the other.

Throckmor. For Gods ſake applie not ſuch conſtructions againſt me, & though my preſent eſtate doth not move you, yet it were well you ſhoulde conſider your office, and thinke what meaſure you give to others, you your ſelves I ſay ſhall aſſuredly receyve the ſame agayne. The ſtate of mortall life is ſuch, ỹ men know full little what hangeth over them. I put on within this xij. monethes ſuch a minde, that I moſte wofull wight, was as unlyke to ſtande here, as ſome of you that ſit there. As to your caſe laſt recited, whereby you woulde conclude, I have remembred and learned of you maſter Hare, and you maſter Stanforde in the Parliament houſe, where you did ſit to make lawes, to expounde and explane the ambiguities and doubtes of lawe ſincerely, and that without affections. There I ſay I learned of you and others my maiſters of the lawe this difference betwixt ſuch caſes as you remembred one even nowe, and the ſtatute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the lawe, which ought not to bee violated, that no penall ſtatute may, ought, or ſhoulde be conſtrued, expounded, extended, or wreſted, otherwiſe than the ſimple wordes and nude letter of the ſame ſtatute doth warrant and ſignifie. And amongſt divers good and notable reaſons by you there in the Parliament houſe debated, maiſter ſergeant Stanford, I noted this one, why ỹ ſaid maxime ought to be inviolable: you ſaid conſidering the private affections manye tymes both of Princes & miniſters within this realme, for that they were men, and woulde and coulde erre, it ſhoulde be no ſecuritie, but very daungerous to the ſubiect, to referre the conſtruction and extending of penall ſtatutes, to anye Iudges equitie, as you termed it, which might eyther by feare of the higher powers be ſeduced, or by ignoraunce and follye abuſed. And that is an aunſwere by procurement.

Bromley. Notwithſtanding the principall, as you alledge it, and the preciſeneſſe of your ſticking to the bare wordes of the ſtatute, it doth appeare and remaine of recorde in our learning, that diverſe caſes have bene adiudged treaſon, without the expreſſe words of the ſtatute, as the Queenes learned counſell there can declare.

Chattorney. It doth appeare, the priſoner did not onely intiſe or procure Wiat, Caroe, Rogers, and others, to committe their trayterous actes, and there doth his open factes appeare, whiche Vaughans confeſſion doth witneſſe, but alſo he did mynde ſhortlye after to aſſociate himſelfe with thoſe traytours: for hee minded to have departed with the Earle of Devonſhire Weſtwardes.

Throckmor: My innocencie concerning theſe matters, I truſt, ſufficientlye appeareth by my former aunſweres, notwithſtanding the condempned mans uniuſt accuſation. But becauſe the true underſtanding of the ſtatute is in queſtion, I ſaye Procurement, and ſpecially by words onely, is without the compaſſe of it, and that I doe learne and prove by the principle which I learned of maiſter Stanforde.

Stanforde. Maiſter Throckmorton, you and I maye not agree this day in the underſtanding of the lawe, for I am for the Queene, and you ſpeake for your ſelfe: the Iudges muſt determine the matter.

Bromley. He that doth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am ſure you know well ynough, the lawe doth adiudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer; and in caſe of treaſon, it hath bene alwayes ſo taken and reputed.

Throckmor. I doe and muſt cleave to my innocencie, for I procured no man to committe treaſon, but yet for my learning I deſire to heare ſome caſe ſo ruled when the lawe was as it is nowe. I doe confeſſe it, that at ſuche time there were Statutes provided for the procurer, counſaylour, ayder, abetter, and ſuche lyke, as there were in King Henrie the viij. tyme, you might lawfullye make this cruell conſtruction, and bring the procurer within the compaſſe of the lawe. But theſe Statutes being repealed, you ought not nowe ſo to doe, and as to the principal procurer in fellonie & murther it is not lyke as in treaſon, for the principall and acceſſaries in

Happie for Throckmortō that thoſe ſtatutes ſtoode then repealed.

in felonie and marther be triable and puniſhable by yͤ cōmon law, & ſo in thoſe caſes the Judges may vſe their equitie, extending the determinatiō of the fault as they thinke good: but in treaſon it is otherwiſe, the ſame being limited by ſtatute law, which I ſay and aduow is reſtreyned from any Judges cōſtructiō by yͤ maxime yͭ I recited.

Stanforde: Your Lordſhips do know a caſe in R. 3. time, where yͤ procurer to cōunterfeyt falſe mony, was iudged a traytor, and the law was as it is now.

Hare. Maiſter Sergeaunt doth remember you Throckmorton, of an experience before oure time, that the lawe hath bene ſo taken, and yet the procurer was not expreſſed in the Statute, but the lawe hath ben alwayes ſo taken.

Throckmor: I neuer ſtudied the law, whereof I do much repent mee, yet I remember, whyleſt penall Statutes were talked of in the Parliament houſe, you the learned men of the houſe remembred ſome caſes contrarie to this laſt ſpoken of. And if I miſreport them, I pray you helpe me. In the like caſe you ſpeake of concerning the procurer to counterfeyte falſe money, at one time the procurer was iudged a fellon, and at an other time neither fellon nor traytor, ſo as ſome of your predeceſſours adiudged the procurer no traytour in the ſame caſe, but leaned to their principall, though ſome other extende their conſtructions to large. And here is two caſes with me for one againſt me.

Bromley. Bicauſe you replie ſo ſore vpon the principall, I will remember, where one taking the great ſeale of Englande from one writing, and putting it to another, was adiudged a traytour in Henrie the iiij. tyme, and yet his act was not within the expreſſe wordes of the Statute of Edwarde the third. There be diuerſe other ſuch like caſes that maye be alledged and need were.

Throckmor. I pray you my Lorde chiefe Juſtice, call to your good remembraunce that in the ſelfe ſame caſe of the ſeale, Juſtice Spilman, a graue and well learned man, ſince that time, woulde not cōdemn the offēder, but did reproue that former iudgement by you laſt remēbred, as erronious.

Stanforde. If I had thought you had bene ſo well furniſhed with booke caſes, I woulde haue bene better prouided for you.

Throckmor. I haue nothing but I lerned of you ſpecially M. Sergeant, & of others my maſt ers of yͤ law in the Parliament houſe, & therefore I may ſay with the Prophet (*ſalutem ex inimicis noſtris.*)

Southwell. You haue a very good memorie.

The attorney If the priſoner may auoyde his treaſons after this maner, the Queenes ſuretie ſhall bee in great ieoperdy. For Jack Cade, the black ſmith, and diuerſe other traytors, ſometime alledging the law for them, ſomtime they ment no harme to the king, but againſt his Counſell, as Wiat, the Duke of Suffolke, and theſe did againſt the Spanyardes, when there was no Spanyardes within the realme. The Duke and his brethren did miſtake the lawe, as you doe, yet at length did confeſſe their ignorance and ſubmitted them ſelues. And ſo were you beſt to doe.

Throckmor. As to Cade and the black Smith, I am not ſo well acquainted with their treaſons as you bee, but I haue red in the Chronicle, they were in the fielde with a force againſt the Prince, whereby a manifeſt acte did appeare. As to the Duke of Suffolkes doings, they appertaine not to mee. And though you woulde compare my ſpeache and talke againſt the Spanyardes, to the Dukes actes, who aſſembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much, I am ſorie to engreue any other mans doings, but it ſerueth me for a peece of my defence, and therefore I wiſhe yͭ no man ſhould gather euill of it, God forbid that wordes and acts be thus cōfounded.

Thattorney Sir William Stanley vſed this ſhifte that the priſoner vſeth now, he ſayde he did not leuie warre againſt king Henrie the vij. but ſayde to the Duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he wold aid him with v. C. men, and neuertheleſſe Stanley was for thoſe wordes attainted, who as al yͤ worlde knoweth, had before yͭ time ſerued the King very faithfully and truly.

Throckmor. I pray you maiſter Atturney doe not conclude me by blinde contraries. Whether you alledge Stanleyes caſe trulye or no, I knowe not. But admitte it be as you ſaye, what dothe this proue againſt me? I promiſed no ayde to maiſter Wiat, nor to anye other. The Duke of Buckingham leuied warre agaynſte the King, with whom Stanley was confederate ſo to doe, as you ſaye.

Thattorney. I pray you my Lords that be the Queenes Commiſſioners, ſuffer not the priſoner to vſe the Queenes learned Counſell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knewe any thus ſuffered to talke, as this priſoner is ſuffered, ſome of vs will come no more at the barre, and we be thus handled.

Bromley. Throckmorton you muſt ſuffer the Queenes learned Counſell to ſpeake, or elſe we muſt take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare It is proued that you did talke with Wiat againſt the comming of the Spanyardes, and deuiſed to interrupt their arriuall, and you promiſed to doe what you coulde againſt them, whervpon Wiat being encouraged by you, did leuie a force, and attempted warre againſt the Queenes royall perſon.

Throckmor. It was no treaſon, nor no procurement of treaſon, to talke agaynſte the comming hyther of the Spanyardes, neyther it was treaſon for mee to ſaye, I woulde hynder their commyng hither as muche as I coulde, vnderſtanding me rightly as I meant it, yea though you would extende it to the worſte, it was but wordes, it was not treſon at this day as the law ſtandeth: and as for Wiats doing, they touche me nothing: for at his death when it was no tyme to report vntruly, he purged me.

Bromley. By ſundrye caſes remembred here by the Queenes learned counſell, as you haue hearde, that procurement which did appeare no otherwyſe but by wordes, and thoſe you would make nothing, hath bin of long tyme, and by ſundry well learned men in the Lawes adiudged treaſon. And therefore, youre procurement beeing ſo euidente as it is, we may lawfully ſay it was treaſon, bycauſe Wiat perfourmed a trayterous acte.

Throckmor. As to the ſaid alledged forepreſidents againſt me, I haue recited as many for me, & I would you my L. chief iuſtice ſhuld incline your iudgements rather after the exãple of your honorable predeceſſors, Juſtice Markã, and others, which did eſchewe corrupte iudgementes, iudging directly and ſincerely, after the Law and the principles in the ſame, than after ſuch men as ſwaruing from the truth, the maxime, and the Law, did iudge corruptely, maliciouſly, and affectionately.

Bromley. Juſtice Markham had reſon to warrant his doings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arraigned and ſlaunderouſly accuſed of treaſon for compaſſing & imagining ẏ kings death, he did ſay he would make his ſonne heire of the Crowne, and the merchant meant it of a houſe in Cheapſide at the ſigne of the Crowne, but your caſe is not ſo.

Throckmor. My caſe doeth differ I graunt, but ſpecially bicauſe I haue not ſuche a Judge: yet there is an other cauſe to reſtrain theſe your ſtrange and extraordinarie conſtructions: That is to ſay, a Prouiſo in the latter ende of the ſtatute of Edwarde the thirde, hauyng theſe wordes: Prouided alwayes, if anye other caſe of ſuppoſed Treaſon ſhall chaunce heereafter to come in queſtion or triall before any iuſtice, other than is in the ſayd ſtatute expreſſed, that then the Juſtice ſhall forbeare to adiudge the ſayd caſe, vntill it be ſhewed to the Parliament to trie whether it ſhould be treaſon or felonie. Here you are reſtrained by expreſſe wordes to adiudge any caſe, that is not manifeſtly mentioned before, & vntill it be ſhewed to the Parliament.

Portman. That Prouiſo is vnderſtande of caſes that may come in trial which hath bin in vre, but the law hath alwayes taken the procurer to be a principall offender.

Saunders. The lawe alwayes in caſes of treaſon dothe accompteall principalles and no acceſſaries as in other offences, and therfore a man offending in treaſon, eyther by couert acte or procurement, wherupon an open deede hath enſued, as in this caſe is adiudged by the lawe a principall traytoure.

Throckmor. You adiudge (mee thinke) procurement very hardly, beſydes the principall, and beſides the good Prouiſo, and beſydes the good example of your beſt and moſte godly learned predeceſſors, the Judges of the Realme, as I haue partely declared, and notwithſtandyng thys grieuous racking and extending of this worde Procurement, I am not in the daunger of it, for it doth appere by no depoſition that I procured neyther one or other to attempt any acte.

Stanforde. The Jurie haue to trye whether it bee ſo or no, let it weygh as it will.

Hare. I knowe no meane ſo apparant to trye Procurement as by wordes, and that meane is probable ynoughe agaynſt you, as well by youre owne confeſſion, as by other mennes Depoſitions.

Throckmor. To talke of the Queenes maryage with the Prince of Spayne, and alſo the commyng hyther of the Spanyardes, is not to procure treaſon to be done: for then the whole Parliament houſe, I meane the common houſe didde procure treaſon. But ſince you wyll make no difference betwixte wordes and actes, I praye you remember an Eſtatute made in my late Soueraigne Lorde and maiſters tyme, Kyng Edward the ſixth, whiche apparantly expreſſeth the difference. Theſe bee the wordes: Who ſo euer dothe compaſſe or imagine to depoſe the Kyng of his Royall eſtate by open preaching, expreſſe wordes or ſayings, ſhall for the fyrſt offence loſe and forfayte to the king all his & their goodes and cattailes, and alſo ſhal ſuffer impriſonmente of their bodyes at the Kings will and pleaſure. Whoſoeuer. &c. for the ſecond offence ſhall loſe and forfayte to the Kyng the whole iſſues and profytes of all his or their landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, benefices, Prebendes, and other Spirituall promotions. Who ſoeuer. &c. for the thirde offence, ſhall for terme of lyfe or lyues of ſuche offendour or offendors &c. and ſhall alſo forfeite to the Kyngs Maieſtie, all his or their goodes and cattailes, & ſuffer during his or their liues perpetuall impriſonement of his or their bodies. But whoſoeuer &c. by writing, ciphering, or acte, ſhall for the firſte offence be adiudged a traitour, and ſuffer the paines of deathe. Here you may perceiue howe the whole realme and all your iudgementes haue beefore this vnderſtande wordes and actes, diuerſlye and apparantlye. And therefore the Judgementes of the Parliamente did aſſigne diuerſitie of puniſhmentes; bicauſe they woulde not confounde the true vnderſtanding of wordes and deedes, appointing for compaſſing and imagining by worde, impriſonment: and for compaſſing and imagining by open deede, paines of death.

Bromley. It is agreed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be deemed alwayes traytors, when as a trayterous acte was committed by anye one of the ſame conſpiracie: and there is apparant proofe of youre adhering to Wiat, both by your owne confeſſion and other wayes.

Throckmor. Adhering and procuring bee not all one, for the ſtatute of Edwarde the thirde, doth ſpeake of adhering, but not of procuring, and yet adhering ought not be further extended, than to the Queenes enimies within hir Realme, for ſo the ſtatute doth limit the vnderſtanding. And Wiat was not the Queenes enimie, for hee was not ſo reputed when I talked with him laſt, and our ſpeach implyed no ennimitie, neyther tended to anye treaſon, or procuring of treaſon: and therefore I pray you of the Iurie note, thoughe I argue the lawe, I alledge my innocencie, as the beſt part of my defence.

Hare. Your adhering to the Queenes enimies within the Realme, is euidentlye proued: for Wiat was the Queenes enimie wythin the Realme, as the whole Realme knoweth it, and he hath confeſſed it, both at his arrainement and at his death.

Throckmor. By your leaue, neither Wiat at his arreignment, nor at his death, did confeſſe that he was the Queenes enimie when I talked laſt with him, neyther he was reputed nor taken in xiiij. dayes after, vntill he aſſembled a force in armes, what time I was at your houſe maſter Inglefielde, where I learned the firſt intelligence of Wiats ſtirre. And I aſke you who doth depoſe that there paſſed anye maner of aduertiſement betwixt Wiat and mee after he had diſcouered his doings, and ſhewed himſelfe an enimie? if I had bene ſo diſpoſed, who did let mee that I did not repaire to Wiat, or to ſende to him, or to the Duke of Suffolke eyther, who was in myne owne countrey, and thither I might haue gone and conueyed my ſelfe with him, vnſuſpected for my departing homewards.

Inglefielde. It is true that you were there at my houſe, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of theſe matters.

Bromley. Throckmorton, you confeſſed you talked with Wiat and others againſt the comming of the Spanyardes, and of the taking of the tower of London, whereupon Wiat leuied a force of men againſt the Spanyardes he ſayde, and ſo you ſaye all: but in deede it was againſt the Queene, which he confeſſed at length, therefore Wiats actes doe proue you counſayler and procurer, howſoeuer you woulde auoyde the matter.

Throckmor. Me think you would conclude me with a miſhapen argument in Logicke, and you will giue mee leaue, I will make another.

Stanforde. The Iudges ſit not here to make diſputations, but to declare the law, which hath bene ſufficiently done, if you woulde conſider it.

Hare. You haue hearde reaſon and the lawe, if you will conceyue it.

Throckmor. Oh mercifull God, oh eternall father, which ſeeſt all things, what maner of proceedings are theſe? to what purpoſe ſerueth the ſtatute of repeale the laſt Parliament, where I hearde ſome of you here preſent, and diuerſe other of the Queenes learned counſayle, grieuouſlye inuey againſt the cruell and bloudie lawes of King Henrie the eyght, and againſt ſome lawes made in my late ſoueraigne Lorde and maiſters time, King Edwarde the ſixth, ſome termed them, *Drages lawes*, whiche were written in bloude: ſome ſayde they were more intollerable than any lawes that Dioniſius or any other tyraunt made. In concluſion, as many men, ſo manye bitter termes and names thoſe lawes had. And moreouer, the Preface of the ſame eſtatute doth recite, that for wordes onely, many great perſonages, and others of good behauiour, hath bene moſt cruelly caſt awaye by theſe former ſanguinolent thirſtie lawes, with many other ſuggeſtions for the repeale of the ſame. And now let vs put on indifferent eyes, and throughly conſider with our ſelues, as you the Iudges handle the conſtructions of the Statute of Edwarde the thirde, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much wors caſe now than we were when thoſe cruel lawes yoked vs. Theſe lawes albeit they were grieuous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a lawe after S. Paules deſcription. For thoſe lawes did admoniſh vs, and diſcouer our ſinnes plainly vnto vs, and when a man is warned, hee is halfe armed. Theſe lawes, as they bee handled, be very baytes to catche vs, and onely prepared for the ſame, and no lawes: for at the firſt ſight they aſcertaine vs we be deliuered from our olde bondage, and by the late repeale the laſt Parliament, we liue in more ſecuritie. But when it pleaſeth the higher powers to call any mannes lyfe and ſayings in queſtion, then there be conſtructions, interpretations, and extentions reſerued to the Iuſtices and Iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am nowe, ſhall finde him ſelfe in much worſe caſe than before when thoſe cruell lawes ſtoode in force. Thus our amendement is from Gods bleſſing into the warme

ſunne.

ſinne: but I require you honeſt men whiche are to trie my life, conſider theſe opinions of my life, Judges be rather agreable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godly and beſt learned predeceſſors opinions, repugnant I ſay to the Prouiſo in the Statute of Repeale made in the laſt Parliament.

he attorney. Maiſter Throckmorton quiet your ſelfe, and it ſhall be the better for you.

Throckmor. Maiſter Attorney, I am not ſo vnquiet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maye pleaſe my Lords chiefe Juſtice to repeate the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my aunſweres to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laye againſt me.

omley. Then the chiefe Juſtice remembred particularly all the depoſitions and euidences giuen againſt the priſoner, and eyther for wante of good memorie, or good will, the priſoners aunſweres were in part not recited, whervppon the priſoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the Judges olde memorie with his owne recitall.

ndall. My maiſters of the Jurie, you haue to inquire whether Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, here priſoner at the barre, be guiltie of theſe treaſons, or any of them, whereof he hath bene indited and this daye arreigned, yea or no. And if you finde him guiltie, you ſhall enquire what landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattalles he had at the day of his treaſons committed, or at anye time ſince: and whether hee fledde for the treaſons or no, if you finde him not guiltie.

Haue you ſayde what is to be ſayd?

Throchmor. Yea for this time.

endall. Then I pray you giue me leaue to ſpeake a

Throckmor. fewe words to the Jurie. The weyght and grauitie of my cauſe hath greatly occaſioned me to trouble you here long, & therfore I minde not to intertain you here lõg, with any prolixe oration: you perceyue notwithſtanding this daye great contention betwixt the Judges and the Queenes learned Counſayle on the one partie, and mee the poore and wofull priſoner on the other partie. The triall of our whole controuerſie, the triall of my innocencie, the triall of my lyfe, landes and goodes, and the deſtruction of my poſteritie for euer, doth reſt in your good iudgements. And albeit many this daye haue greatly inueyghed againſt mee, the finall determination thereof is transferred onely to you: howe grieuous and horrible the ſhedding of innocents bloude is in the ſight of almightie God, I truſt you doe remember. Therefore take heede I ſaye for Chriſtes ſake, do not defile your conſciences with ſuch heynous and notable crimes, they bee grieuouſlye and terriblye puniſhed, as in this worlde and vale of miſerie vppon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the worlde to come with euerlaſting fire and damnation: lift vp your minds to God, and care not to muche for the worlde, looke not backe to the fleſhpots of Egypte, whiche will allure you from heauenly reſpectes, to worldlye ſecuritie, and can thereof neyther make you anye ſuretie. Beleeue I pray you, the Queene and hir magiſtrates be more delighted with fauourable equitie, than with raſhe crueltie. And in that you be al Citizens, I wil take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Epheſians, Citizens alſo you be, whome he tooke to recorde that he was pure from ſhedding any bloude, a ſpecial token, a doctrine left for your inſtruction, that euerye of you may waſhe his handes of innocents bloude ſhedde, when you ſhall take your leaue of this wretched worlde: The holy ghoſt be amongſt you.

Sendall. Come hither Sergeaunt, take the Jurye with you, and ſuffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the lawe appointeth, vntill they be agreed vpon their verdit.

Throckmor. It may pleaſe you my Lordes and maiſters which be Commiſſioners, to giue order that no perſon haue acceſſe or conference with the Jurie, neither that any of the Queenes learned Counſayle be ſuffered to repayre to them, or to talke with any of them, vntill they preſent themſelues here in open Court, to publiſh their verdit.

Upon the priſoners ſuite on this behalfe, the Benche gaue order that two ſergeauntes were ſworne to ſuffer no man to repaire to the Jurie, vntill they were agreed.

Then the priſoner was, by commaundement of the Benche withdrawne from the barre, and the Court adiourned vntill three of the clocke at afternoone, at whiche houre the Commiſſioners returned to the Guilde hall, and there did tarie vntill the Jurie were agreed vpon the verdit. And aboute fiue of the clocke, their agreement being aduertiſed to the Commiſſioners, the ſayde priſoner, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was again brought to the barre, where alſo the Jurie did repaire, and being demaunded whether they were agreed vpon their verdit, aunſwered vniuerſally with one voyce, yea. Then it was aſked who ſhoulde ſpeake for them: they aunſwered Whetſton the foreman.

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight, holde vp thy hande.

Then the priſoner did ſo vppon the ſummons.

Sendall. You that bee of the Jurie, looke vppon the priſoner.

The Jurie did as they were enioyned.

Sendall. Howe ſaye you, is Maiſter Throckmorton Knight there priſoner at the barre, guiltie of the treaſons whereof hee hathe bin indited and arraigned in manner and forme, yea or no?

Whetſton, No.

Sendall. Howe ſay you, did he flie vpon them?

Whetſton: No we finde no ſuche thing.

Throckmor. I hadde forgotten to aunſwere that queſtion before: but you haue founde according to truth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderſtande that I came to London, and ſo to the Queenes counſell vnbroughte, when I vnderſtoode they demaunded for mee: and yet I was almoſte an hundred miles hence, where if I had not preſumed vppon my truthe, I coulde haue withdrawen my ſelfe from catching.

Bromley. Howe ſaye you the reſte of yee, is Whetſtons verdict all your verdicts?

The whole Inqueſt anſwered yea.

Bromley. Remember youre ſelues better, haue you conſidered ſubſtancially the whole euidence in forme as it was declared and recited, the matter dothe touche the Queenes highneſſe, and your ſelues alſo, take good heede what you doe.

Whetſton. My Lorde, wee haue throughly conſidered the euidence laide agaynſte the priſoner, and his aunſweres to all theſe matters, and accordingly wee haue founde him not guiltie agreable to all our conſciences.

Bromley. If you haue done well, it is the better for you.

Throckmor. It is better to bee tried, than to liue ſuſpected. Bleſſed be the Lorde God of Iſraell, for he hath viſited and redeemed his people, and hathe raiſed vp a mightie ſaluation for vs in the houſe of his ſeruaunte Dauid. And it maye pleaſe you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, foraſmuche as I haue ben indited and arrained of ſundry treaſons, and haue according to the lawe put my triall to god and my countrey, that is to ſay, to theſe honeſt men whiche haue founde me not guiltie, I humbly beſeeche you to giue me ſuch benefite, acquitall and iudgement, as the lawe in this caſe doth appointe.

When the priſoner had ſaide theſe wordes the Commiſſioners conſulted togither.

Throckmor. Maye it pleaſe you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice to pronounce ſentence for my diſchardge.

Bromley: Where as you doe aſke the benefite that the lawe in ſuche caſe dothe appointe, I will giue it you. viz. That where you haue bene indited of ſundrye highe treaſons, and haue bene here this daye beefore the Queenes Commiſſioners and Iuſtices arreigned of the ſaide treaſons, whereunto you haue pleaded not guyltye, and haue for triall therein putte youre ſelfe on God, and youre countrey, and they haue founde you not guiltie, the Courte doth award that you be clerly diſcharged paying your fees. Notwithſtanding Mayſter Lieutenaunt take hym with you agayne, for there are other matters to chardge hym with.

Throckmo It may pleaſe you my Lords and maſters of ẏ Queenes highnes priuie coũſel, to be on my behalfe humble ſutors to hir Maieſtie, that like as the lawe this daye (God bee praiſed) hathe purged mee of the treaſons wherewith I was moſt dangerouſly charged, ſo it might pleaſe hir excellent maieſtie to purge mee in hir priuate iudgement, and bothe forgyue and forgette my ouer raſhe boldeneſſe, that I vſed in talke of hir highneſſe marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters ſo farre aboue my capacitie, and I very vnable to conſider the grauitie therof, a matter impertinent for mee a priuate perſon to talke of, which did appertain to hir highneſſe priuy coũſel to haue in deliberation, and if it ſhall pleaſe hir highneſſe of hir bountifull liberalitie, to remitte my former ouerſights, I ſhall thinke my ſelfe happye for triall of the daunger that I haue this daye eſcaped, and maye thereby admoniſhe mee to eſchewe thinges aboue my reache, and alſo to inſtructe mee to deale with matters agreable to my vocation, and god ſaue the Queenes Maieſtie and graunte the ſame long to raigne ouer vs, and the ſame Lorde bee praiſed for you the Magiſtrates, beefore whome I haue hadde my triall this daye indifferentlye by the Lawe, and you haue proceeded with mee accordinglye, and the grace of God bee amongſt you nowe and euer.

There was no aunſwere made by any of the benche to the priſoners ſute, but the Attorny did ſpeake theſe wordes.

The attorney And it pleaſe you my Lordes, foraſmuche as it ſeemeth theſe men of the Iurie which haue ſtraungely acquite the priſoner of his treaſons whereof hee was indited, will forthwith departe the Courte, I praye you for the Queene, that they, and euerye of them maye bee bounde in a recognizance of fiue hundrethe pounde a peece to aunſwere to ſuch matters as they ſhall be charged with, in the Queenes behalfe, whenſoeuer they ſhall be chardged or called.

Whetſton I praye you my Lordes bee good vnto vs, and lette vs not bee moleſted for diſchardgyng our conſciences truelye, we bee poore marchentmen, and haue great chardge vpon our handes, and our lyuynges doe depende vppon our trauailes, therefore it maye pleaſe you to appoynte vs a certaine daye for our appearaunce, bycauſe, perhappes elſe ſome of vs maye bee in forreine parties aboute our buſineſſe.

Thus much for Sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement, wherein is to be conſidered, that the repealing of certaine Statutes in the laſt Parliament, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his aduauntage, where as the repealing of the ſame ſtatutes, was ment notwithſtanding for an other purpoſe, as before you haue partly hearde, which ſtatutes, or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue bene ſithence that time againe reuiued, as by the bookes of the ſtatutes it maye better appeare, to the whiche I referre the Reader.

he Lorde
omas Grey
eaded.

The xxvij. of Aprill, the Lorde Thomas Graye, brother to the Duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman, and one that had ſerued right valiantly both in Fraunce and Scotlande, in the dayes of the late kings Henrie and Edwarde.

Upon Saterdaye the xxviij. of Aprill, Sir Iames a Croft, and maiſter Willyam Winter were brought from the tower to the Guilde hall in London, where Sir Iames Crofts was arreygned: but bicauſe the daye was farre ſpent, maiſter Winter was not arraigned, but caried backe againe to the tower with the ſayde Sir Iames a Croft.

illiam Tho
s arreigned
condemned

William Thomas, of whome mencion is made before in the hyſtorie of Sir Thomas Wiat, with certaine other, were arraigned and condemned for the conſpiring of the murther and killing of the Queene vpon the ſodaine, and for that offence, the ſayde Willyam Thomas was the xviij. daye of Maye, drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne.

he Ladie
zabeth de-
ered out of
e tower.

The xix. daye of Maye next following, the Ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to Queene Marie, was deliuered out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtodie of Sir Iohn Williams knight, afterward Lorde Williams of Tame, by whom hir Grace was more courteouſly intreated than ſome woulde haue wiſhed. Wherefore ſhortlye after ſhee was committed to the manour of Woodſtocke, vnder the cuſtodie of Sir Henrie Beningfielde of Oxenboroughe in the countie of Norffolke, knight, at whoſe hands ſhe found not the like curteſie, who (as it is well knowne) vſed his office more like a Iaylor than a Gentleman, and with ſuch rigour as was not meete to be ſhewed to ſuch an eſtate.

r Henrie
ningfielde
ight.

But here is to be noted, not ſo much the vnciuile nature of the man, as the ſingular lenitie and gracious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous Princeſſe, who afterwarde (as ſhall appeare) comming to the poſſeſſion of the Crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time ſo farre from reuenge of iniuries receyued, that whereas diuerſe Princes haue requited muche leſſe offences with loſſe of life, ſhe neuer touched him eyther with daunger of life, eyther loſſe of landes or goodes, nor neuer proceeded further than to diſcharge him of the Court, which many thought was the thing that pleaſed him beſt. At whoſe departing from hir preſence, ſhe vſed onely theſe wordes, or the like in ſenſe: God forgiue you that is paſt, and we doe, and if we haue any priſoner whome we would haue hardly handled and ſtraitly kept, then we will ſende for you.

The xxv. of May, the Earle of Deuonſhire was brought oute of the tower at three of the clocke in the morning, Sir Thomas Treſham knight, and maiſter Chamberlaine of Suffolk, with certaine of the Garde, being appointed to attende him vnto Frodinghey Caſtell in Northamptonſhire, where hee was aſſigned to remayne vnder cuſtodie of the ſaide ſir Thomas Treſham and others.

An.reg.2.

The Lorde
Iohn Grey.

The xj. of Iune, the Lorde Iohn Grey, brother to the late D. of Suffolk, was arreigned at Weſtminſter in the Kings benche, and there condemned: but yet through the painefull trauayle and diligent ſuite of the Ladie Grey hys wife, his pardon was obteyned, & ſo he eſcaped with life, and was at length ſet at libertie, as after it ſhall appeare.

But nowe in this meane while that theſe things thus paſſed here in England, the Prince of Spaine prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had bene ſent the Earle of Bedforde Lorde priuie ſeale, and the Lorde Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerſe noble men and Gentlemen, who arriuing at the Corone in Galicia, were receyued very honourably. And foraſmuch as the Prince was then at Vale Dolido, diſtant from thence neare hande an hundreth leagues, they were deſired to ſtay there for their better eaſe, till hee might haue conuenient opportunitie to repaire thither, which neuertheleſſe he coulde not do ſo ſoone as he pretended to haue deſire thereto, as well by reaſon of the ſickeneſſe of his ſiſter, the Princes Dowager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires. But being at length ridde of ſuche encombers, and come into Galicia, the Engliſhe ambaſſadors mette him at Saint Iames de Compoſtella, and after hee had in preſence of a great number of Noble men and Gentlemen, there ratified the contract, and ſworne to obſerue the couenants, he departed towardes Corone, where within a fewe dayes after hee embarked, and accompanied with the number of Cl. ſayle, directed his courſe towards Englande.

The Lorde Admirall hauing continuallye bene abroade on the ſeas for the ſpace of three monethes or more with a nauie of xxviij. ſhips & other veſſels, accompanied alſo with the Viceadmirall of the lowe Countries, that had vnder his gouernance xviij. ſhippes of the Emperours, met with the ſayde Prince the xix. of Iulye, about

The arriuall of the prince of Spaine.

about the Needles, and from thence accompanied him vnto Southampton where he arriued the morowe after the xx. of Iulye, the Earle of Arundell Lorde Stewarde of the Queenes houſe, being ſent from hir to preſent to him the George, and the Garter of the order (of the which fellowſhip, he was at the laſt Chapiter holden by the Confreers choſen one of the companie) met him vpon the water, and at his comming to lande, preſented the ſayde George and Garter vnto him.

At his landing he was receyued by the Lord Treaſurer, the Biſhop of Lincolne, the Lorde Saint Iohn, and others, by whom he was firſt conueyed to the Church, and from thence to his lodging.

After his landing, the Lorde Chauncellor accompanied with diuerſe Gentlemen, was ſent from the Queene to bidde him welcome on hir behalfe, and ſo was hee viſited by diuerſe noble perſonages whileſt he remayned at Southampton, ſent thither for that purpoſe, and he on the other part, ſent diuerſe of his noble men to viſit hir maieſtie on his behalfe.

Monday the xxiij. of Iuly, he departed from Southampton towardes Wincheſter, whither ſhee was the Saturdaye before remoued from Biſhops Waltham.

He commeth to Winchester

On the way he was accompanied, beſide the Noblemen and Gentlemen of his owne trayne, with the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earles of Arundell, Darbie, Worceter, Bedford, Rutlande, Penbroke, Surrey, the Lordes Clinton, Cobham, Willoughbye, Darcie, Matrauers, Talbot, Strange, Fitzwarren, and North, with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, and their traynes, to the number of two thouſande horſes.

At his comming to the Churche in Wincheſter, the Lorde Chauncelour accompanied with the Biſhops of Dureſme, Elye, London, Lincolne, Chicheſter, and diuerſe other Prelates, were readie to receiue him.

After he had made his prayers, he was conueyed to his lodging prepared for him in the Deanes houſe.

The Queene hir ſelfe was lodged in the Biſhops pallace, whither his highneſſe the next day came, and was receyued by hir in the hall, in moſt courteous and louing maner. And after ſuch ſalutatiōs and talke ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he returned to his lodging, where hee continued all that night, and the next daye being the xxv. of Iuly, the mariage was openly ſolemniſed. At the which were preſent, the Embaſſadors of the Emperour the King of Romaynes, the King of Boheme, of Venice, Florence, Ferrare, and Sauoye, with certaine agents of other ſtates in Italy.

The mariage solemnised.

As for the ſhotte of ordinaunce, the diuerſe kyndes of muſicke, the ſumptuous and coſtlye apparell, trappers, and other furniture, readye prouided againſt the receyuing of him, with other ceremonies vſed aſwell about the mariage, as in other places where he was to be receyued, were ſurely ſuch, and euery thing done in ſuche good order, as better for ſuch a purpoſe, might not lightly be deuiſed.

The names of the Noble men that came ouer from Spaine with the Prince, were as followeth.

The Duke of Alua.
The Duke of Medina celi.
The Admirall of Caſtilla.
The Marques of Bergues.
The Marques of Piſcara.
The Marques of Sarla.
The Marques of Valli.
The Marques of Aguillar.
The Earle of Egmonde.
The Earle of Horne.
The Earle of Feria.
The Earle of Chinchon.
The Earle of Oliuares.
The Earle of Saldana.
The Earle of Modica.
The Earle of Fuenteſalida.
The Earle of Landriano.
The Earle of Caſtellar.
Don Ruigomes.
The Biſhop of Cuenca.
Don Iohn de Benauides. And diuerſe others.

But nowe foraſmuch as ſome woulde happily be deſirous to knowe the conditions of this memorable mariage betwixte theſe two highe Princes, the conſequence whereof might haue proued of ſo great importance, although by the Queenes deceaſe the effect was made voyde, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe articles thereof.

Firſt it was couenanted that he ſhoulde enioye the title and name of King, during the matrimonie, and ſhoulde ayde hir highneſſe being his wife, in the adminiſtration of hir Realmes and dominions: but yet he ſhoulde permit and ſuffer hir to haue the whole diſpoſition of all benefices, and offices, landes, reuenues, & fruites of the ſayde Realmes and dominions, and that the ſame ſhoulde be beſtowed vpon ſuch as were hir naturall borne ſubiectes, and that all matters of the ſayd Realmes and dominions ſhould bee treated and mayned in the ſame tongues, wherein of old they haue ben wont to be treated.

That the Queene by vertue of the ſayde mariage ſhoulde bee admitted into the ſocietie of the Realmes and Dominions of the ſayde Prince of Spaine, as well ſuch as he nowe preſently hath, as ſuche other alſo, as during the matrimonie may come to him.

And for hir dower, in caſe ſhee ouerliued him, ſhe was appointed to receyue yearely three ſcore thouſande pounde, after the value of fortie groates Flemmiſhe money the pounde, to be allotted vpon all the Realmes, landes, and Patrimoniall dominions of his father the Emperour, that is to ſaye, fortie thouſande pounde to be aſſigned vpon the Realmes of Spaine, Caſtile, and Arragon, according to the cuſtome of thoſe Realmes. The other twentie thouſande poundes were appointed vpon the Dukedomes, Earledomes, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Hollande, and other patrimoniall landes and inheritaunce of the ſayde Emperour in the lowe Countries of Germanie, in like maner as the Ladie Margaret of Englande, ſometime wife and widowe of the Lorde Charles, ſometime Duke of Burgongne, had and receyued of the ſame. And if anye parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other landes ſhoulde bee in due forme aſſigned forth for hir to enioy, lying neare to the reſidue of hir dower.

The iſſue that ſhoulde chaunce to come of this mariage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of Englande, and the other Realmes and dominions depending of the ſame, aſwell the males as females, ſhoulde ſucceede in them, according to the lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of the ſame.

And as touching the landes that the ſayde Prince of Spaine ſhall leaue behinde him: firſt there ſhoulde bee reſerued vnto his eldeſt ſonne the Lord Charles of Auſtrich, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heyres of him deſcending, as well females as males, all and ſingular their rights, which to the ſayde Prince doe eyther then, or therafter ſhuld belong, or ſhould at any time be deuolued to him in the Realmes of Spaine, of bothe the Sicilles, in the Dukedome of Millaine, and other landes and dominions in Lumbardie and Italie, whiche neuertheleſſe ſhall be burdened and charged with the foreſayde dower of fortie thouſande pounde. And if it fortuned the ſayde Lorde Charles to die, and the iſſue of his bodie to fayle, then the eldeſt ſonne of this matrimonie ſhould ſucceede, and be admitted vnto the ſayde right, according to the nature, lawes, and cuſtomes of thoſe Realmes and dominions. The ſame eldeſt ſonne ſhoulde alſo ſucceede in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions, and patrimoniall landes belonging vnto the ſayde Emperour father to the ſayde Prince of Spaine, as well in Burgongne, as in the lowe countries, in the Dukedomes of Brabant, Luxinburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Burgongne, Frezland, in the counties of Flaunders, Arthoys, Holland, Zelande, Namure, and the lande beyonde the Iſles, and all other whatſoeuer thereunto belonging.

But if the ſayde Lord Charles, or they that ſhoulde come of him, remayne in life, and that there be any male childe by this matrimonie, the ſayde Lorde Charles and his deſcendentes ſhoulde then bee excluded from the ſayde landes and patrimoniall dominions of the lowe countries, and of Burgongne, and the ſame ſhoulde diſcende vnto the ſayde eldeſt ſonne borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne thereof, as well males as females, a conuenient portion and dowre ſhoulde bee allotted in the Realme of Englande, and Dominions depending of the ſame, and in the ſayde landes and patrimoniall dominions of the lowe countries, and neyther the eldeſt ſonne of this matrimonie, nor the ſonnes begotten in the ſame, ſhould pretende anye right in the Realme of Spaine, or the dominions of the ſame, and reſerued to the ſayde Lorde Charles the infant, otherwiſe than by their fathers and Grandfathers diſpoſition.

Moreouer, if it fortune no iſſue male to bee borne of this matrimonie, but onely females, in that caſe, the eldeſt female ſhoulde with full right ſucceede in the ſayde landes and dominions of the lowe Countries, ſo as neuertheleſſe ſhe being minded to chooſe to huſbande any noble manne not borne in Englande, or in the lowe Countries, without conſent of the ſayde Lorde Charles the infant, in that caſe the right of the ſucceſſion ſhoulde remayne to the ſayde Lorde Charles, in the ſayde dominions of the lowe Countries, Burgongne, and their appurtenances. And yet neuertheleſſe in that caſe, both ſhe and the other daughters alſo deſcending of this matrimonie, ſhall bee indowed of their fathers landes and poſſeſſions aſwell in Spaine, as in the lowe countries.

And for want of the ſayde Lorde Charles, and iſſue of him, and none but daughters remayning of this mariage, the eldeſt daughter in that caſe ſhoulde ſucceede, not onelye in the landes of the lowe Countries, but alſo in the Realmes of Spaine, Englande, and the reſt, after the nature, lawes, and cuſtomes of the ſame.

Herewith was a Prouiſo accorded, that whatſoeuer he or ſhe ſhoulde bee that ſhoulde ſucceede in them, they ſhoulde leaue to euery of the ſayde

Realmes, landes, and Dominions, whole and entire their priuiledges, rightes, and cuſtomes, and gouerne the ſame by the naturall borne of the ſame Realmes, Dominions, and landes.&c.

Finally, that betweene the ſayde Emperor, the Prince and his ſucceſſors, their Realmes, and the ſayde Queene, it was concluded, that from thenceforth there ſhoulde bee an intire and ſincere fraternitie, vnitie, and moſt ſtraite confederacie for euer. &c. ſo as they ſhoulde mutuallye ayde one another in all things, according to the ſtrength, forme, and effecte of the later treatie of a ſtreite amitie, bearing date at Weſtminſter, in the yeare 1542. the declaration of whiche treatie, beareth date at Utreight the xvj. of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1546.

In another treatiſe were theſe articles following compriſed.

Firſt, that the Prince of Spaine ſhoulde not promote, admitte, or receyue to any office, adminiſtration, or benefice in the Realme of Englande, or Dominions to the ſame belonging, any ſtraunger, or perſons not borne vnder the ſubiection of the ſaide Queene.

That he ſhoulde receyue into his houſholde and Courte, Gentlemen and yeomen of the ſayde Realme of Englande, in a conuenient number, eſteeming, interteyning, and nouriſhing them as his proper ſubiectes, and bring none with him in his retinue, that will doe any wrong to the ſubiectes of the ſayde Realme, and if they doe, hee to correcte them with condigne puniſhment, and to ſee them expelled his Courte.

That hee ſhall doe nothing whereby anye thing bee innouated in the ſtate and righte, eyther publicke or priuate, or in the lawes and cuſtomes of the ſayde Realme of Englande, or the dominions therevnto belonging. But ſhall keepe to all eſtates and orders, their rights and priuiledges.

That he ſhall not leade awaye the Queene oute of the borders of hir Graces Realme, vnleſſe ſhe hir ſelfe deſire it, or carie the children that maye bee borne of this matrimonie, out of the ſame realme, vnleſſe it be otherwiſe thought good by the conſent and agreement of the Nobilitie of Englande.

And in caſe no children being left, the ſayde Queene do die before him, he ſhall not chalenge anye righte at all in the ſayde kingdome, but without impediment ſhall permit the ſucceſſion thereof to come vnto them, to whome it ſhall belong, by the right and lawes of the Realme.

Item, that hee ſhall not beare nor carye ouer oute of the ſayde Realme, the iewels and precious things of eſtimation. Neyther ſhall he alienate or doe away any whit of the appurtenances of the ſayde Realme of Englande, or ſuffer anye parte of them to bee vſurped by his ſubiectes, or anye other: But ſhall ſee, that all and ſingular places of the Realme, and ſpecially the fortes and frontiers of the ſame, bee faithfully kept and preſerued to the vſe and profite of the ſayde Realme, and by the naturall borne of the ſame.

He ſhall not ſuffer any ſhyppe, gunnes, ordinaunces whatſoeuer of warre or defence, to be remoued or conueyed out of the ſame realme, but ſhall contrariwiſe cauſe them diligently to be kept, and vewed when neede requireth, and ſhall ſo prouide that the ſame maye be alwayes readye in their ſtrength and force for defence of the Realme.

Item, the Realme of Englande by occaſion of this matrimonie, ſhall not directly nor indirectly bee intangled with the warre that is betweene the Emperour, father to the ſayde Prince of Spayne, and Henrie the Frenche King, but he the ſayde Prince, as muche as in him maye lie, on the behalfe of the ſayde realme of Englande, ſhall ſee the peace betweene the ſayde Realmes of Fraunce and Englande obſerued, and ſhall giue no cauſe of any breach, by which conenant the later treatiſe of a ſtrayte amitie, ſhoulde not bee in anye poynt derogated, but the ſame ſtill to remayne in the former force.&c.

But nowe to returne where wee left. At the time of the ſolemnization of the foreſayde mariage holden at Wincheſter, as before yee haue hearde, the Emperours ambaſſadours beyng preſent, openlye pronounced, that in conſideration of that mariage, the Emperour had giuen and graunted to the ſayde Prince hys ſonne, the Kingdome of Naples, Hieruſalem, with diuerſe other ſeates and ſeigniories.

The ſolemnitie of that marriage ended, the King of Heraultes called Garter, openlye in the Churche, in the preſence of the King, the Queene, the Lordes as well of Englande as Spayne, and all the people being preſente, ſolemnelye proclaymed the Tytle and ſtyle of thoſe two Princes, as followeth.

Philip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of Englande, Fraunce, Naples, Hieruſalem, and Irelande, Defenders of the fayth, Princes of Spayne, and Scicilie, Archedukes of Auſtriche, Dukes of Millayne, Burgundie, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flaunders, and Tyroll. Their title.

The Proclamation being ended, the trumpettes blewe, and the King and the Queene came forthe of the Churche hande in hande, and two ſwordes borne before them, and ſo returned to their pallace.

g Philip
led at
ndſore.

And aſſone as the feaſting and ſolemnitie of the ſaide marriage was ended, the King and Queene departed from Wincheſter, and by eaſie iourneyes came to Windſore caſtell, where the v. of Auguſt being Sundaye, hee was ſtalled according to the order of the Garter, and there kept Saint Georges feaſt himſelfe in hys royall eſtate, and the Earle of Suſſex was alſo the ſame time ſtalled in the order.

The vij. of Auguſte was made a generall huntyng with a toyle rayſed of foure or fiue myles in lengthe, ſo that many a Deare that day was brought to the quarrie.

The xj. of Auguſt they remoued to Richemond, and from thence the xxviij. of the ſame moneth by water they came to London, landing at the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, thorowe which they paſſed both into Southwarke Parke, and ſo to Suffolke place, where they lodged that night, and the next daye being Saterday and the xix. of Auguſt, they being accompanied with a great number of Nobles and gentlemen, roade from thence ouer the bridge, and paſſed thorough London vnto Weſtminſter, the Citie being beautified with faire and ſumptuous pageantes, and hanged with riche and coſtly ſilkes, and clothes of golde and ſiluer, in moſt royall wiſe.

At their paſſing ouer the bridge, there was ſhot ſuch a peale of artillerie off from the tower, as had not bene hearde a greater in many yeares before.

In September, the Duke of Norffolke departed this life at Fremingham caſtell in Norfolke, and there was honourably buried among his anceſtors.

Upon Friday the xxvj. of October, thoſe honeſt men that had bene of maiſter Throckmor. queſt, being in number eyght (for the other foure were deliuered oute of priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelues, and ſaide they had offended like weaklings, not conſidering truth to be truth, but of force for feare ſaid ſo) theſe eyght men I ſay (whereof maſter Emanuell Lucar, and maſter Whetſtone, were chiefe) were called before the Counſell in the ſtarre Chamber, where they affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conſciences, euen as they ſhould aunſwere before God at the day of iudgemēt. Where maſter Lucar ſaid openly before all the Lordes that they had done in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faithfull ſubiectes, and therefore they humbly beſought my L. Chancelor and the other Lords, to be meanes to the King & Queenes Maieſties, that they might be diſcharged and ſet at libertie: and ſaid that they were all contented to ſubmit themſelues to their Maieſties, ſauing preſeruing their truth, conſciences & honeſties.

The Lords taking their words in meruelous euill part, iudged them worthie to paye exceſſiue fines. Some ſayde they were worthie to pay M. li. a peece. Other ſayde that Lucar and Whetſtone were worthie to pay a M. markes a peece, and the reſt v. C. li. a peece. In concluſion, ſentence was giuen by the L. Chauncellour, that they ſhould pay a M. markes a pece, he that payde leaſt, and that they ſhould go to priſon againe, and there remaine till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

The Lorde Iohn Grey ſet at libertie.

The xxx. of October being Tueſdaye, the L. John Grey was deliuered out of the tower, and ſet at libertie.

Vppon Saterdaye the x. of Nouember, the Sheriffes of London had commaundement to take an inuentorie of euery one of their goodes, whiche were of maiſter Throckmortons queſt, and to ſeale vppe their dores, which was done the ſame daye.

Maiſter Whetſtone and maiſter Lucar, and maiſter Kighley, were adiudged to paye two thouſand poundes a peece, & the reſt a M. markes a peece, to be paid within one fortnight after.

M. Foxe.

From this paymente were exempted thoſe foure which confeſſed a fault, and thereupon had ſubmitted themſelues, whoſe names are theſe: maſter Loe, maſter Pointer, maſter Beſwicke, and maſter Cater.

The xij. of Nouember being Mondaye, the Parliament begā at Weſtminſter, to the beginning whereof both the King and Queene roade in their Parliament roabes, hauing two ſwordes borne before them. The Earle of Pembroke bare his ſworde, and the Earle of Weſtmerland bare the Queenes. They had two Cappes of maintenance likewiſe borne before them: whereof the Earle of Arūdell bare the one, and the Earle of Shrewſburie the other. During this Parliament, Cardinall Poole landed at Douer vppon Wedneſday, being the xxj. of Nouember, who being receyued with muche honour in all other countries through which he had paſſed, was receyued here at the firſt, with no great ſhewe, for the cauſes aboue mentioned. The ſame daye on the whiche he arriued, an acte paſſed in the Parliament houſe, for his reſtitution in bloud, vtterly repealing (as falſe and moſt ſlaunderous) yͤ acte made againſt him in K. Hẽrie yͤ viij. his time. And on the next day being Thurſday & the xxij. of Nouember, the King and Queene both came to the Parliament houſe to giue their royall aſſent, and to eſtabliſhe this acte againſt his comming. On Saterday the xxiiij. of Nouember, he came to the Court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging was prepared.

On Wedneſdaye following in the afternoone, he came into the Parliament houſe, being at that preſent kept in the great Chamber of the Courte of Whyte hall, for that the Queene by reaſon of ſickeneſſe was not able to go abroade, (where the King and Queene ſitting vnder the clothe of eſtate, and the Cardinall ſitting on the right hande, with all the other eſtates of the Realme being preſent) and the Knightes and Burgeſſes of the Common houſe being alſo called thither, the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter being Lorde Chauncellour, ſpake in this maner.

The wordes of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

My Lordes of the vpper houſe, and you my maiſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reuerende Father in God, my Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate *à Latere*, come from the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome, as ambaſſadour to the King and Queenes Maieſties, vpon one of the weyghtieſt cauſes that euer happened in this Realme, and which appertayneth to the glorie of God, and your vniuerſall benefite, the which ambaſſade, their Maieſties pleaſure is, to be ſignified vnto you all by his owne mouth, truſting that you will receyue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankfull wiſe, as their Highneſſe haue done, and that you wyll giue attentiue and inclinable eares vnto hys Grace, who is nowe readye to declare the ſame.

Grafton.

So ſoone as the Lord Chancelor had ended his tale, the Cardinall began & made a long and ſolemne oration, the which for ſhortneſſe ſake I haue collected into theſe fewe articles.

The effect of the Cardinals oration.

Firſt hee yeelded moſte heartie thankes to the King and Queene: and next vnto the whole Parliament, that of a man exiled and baniſhed from this Common weale, they had reſtored him agayne to bee a member of the ſame, and to the honour of his houſe and familie, and of a man hauing no place, neyther here nor elſe where, within the Realme, to haue admitted him into a place where to ſpeake, and to bee hearde.

Secondly, that his eſpeciall comming was for the reſtitution of this Realme to the auncicient eſtate, and to declare that the ſea Apoſtolike hath a ſpeciall care of this Realme aboue all other, and chiefly for that this Iſlande firſt of all other prouinces of Europe, receiued the light of Chriſtes religion from the ſea of Rome.

Thirdlye, hee exhorted, that thoughe the realme had ſwarued from the catholike vnitie, ẏ yet being better informed, we ought to returne into the boſome of the Churche, moſte open to receyue all penitents. For the perſuaſion wherof he brought a number of other examples what perill and hurte hath happened vnto them that haue ſwarued and gone from the Churche of Rome, namely Grece and Germanie.

Fourthlye, howe muche wee are bounde to God for the King and Queenes Maieſties, and howe miraculouſlye God had ſaued and defended our Queene from hir enimies in moſt daungerous times, and alſo that hee hath prouided to ioyne with hir in mariage, ſuch a noble Prince as King Philip was, and one of hir owne religion.

Fiftly, he exhorted them all to obedience of theſe two Princes, and to call vppon God for iſſue to be had betweene them, adding that king Philips father the Emperour, had among other Princes trauayled moſt for the reſtitution of the peace and vnitie of the Churche. But as almightie God ſayde vnto Dauid, thoughe hee had a mynde and will to builde his Temple, yet bicauſe he had ſhedde bloude, he ſhoulde not buylde it, but his ſonne Salomon ſhoulde buylde it. And ſo bicauſe the Emperour hathe hadde ſo manye warres, and ſhedde ſo muche bloude, therefore he coulde not attaine to bring perfecte peace to the Churche. But truly (ſayde hee) this gracious Prince King Philippe his ſonne, as I conceyue, is appointed of God to it, conſidering nowe the calling of him to bee ioyned with ſo Catholike a Princeſſe, as is the Queene of this Realme, one without all doubte, ſente likewiſe of God, for the reſtoring of the ſayde Realme to the vnitie of the Churche, from whence it hathe erred and gone aſtraye, as it dothe and maye manifeſtlye appeare.

Sixtlye, hee proteſted that his Commiſſion was not to preiudice anye perſon: for he came not to deſtroye, but to buylde: hee came to reconcile, and not to condemne: hee came not to compell, but to call agayne: hee came not to call anye thing in queſtion alreadye done: but his Commiſſion was of grace and clemencie to all ſuche as woulde receyue it. For touchynge all matters paſte, and done, they ſhoulde bee caſte into the ſea of Forgetfulneſſe, and neuer more to bee thoughte vpon.

Finallye (ſayde hee) the meane whereby to receyue this highe benefite, is firſt to reuoke and repeale all ſuche lawes as are impedimentes, blockes, and barres, to this moſte gracious reconciliation. For like as hee himſelfe hadde no place to ſpeake there before ſuche lawes were abrogated and remoued, as ſtode in hys waye, euen ſo they coulde not receyue the Grace offered frome the ſea Apoſtolicke, vntyll theſe lyke impedimentes of lawes made agaynſt the ſea of Rome, were vtterly aboliſhed and repealed. And ſo in concluſion aduertiſed them, firſte for the glorie of God, and nexte for the conſeruation and ſuretie of the welth, and quietneſſe of the whole Realme, that they ſhoulde earneſtly trauayle therein, and that then he would make them participant of the benefite of his commiſſion.

The nexte day the whole Courte of Parliament drewe out the forme of a ſupplication, and the nexte daye following, when the King and Queene, and the Cardinall, with all the Nobles and Commons were aſſembled agayne in the great chamber of the Whyte hall aforeſayde, the Biſhop of Wincheſter there declared what the Parliament had determined concerning the Cardinals requeſt; and then offered to the King and Queene the ſaid ſupplication, the copie whereof followeth.

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iament.

We the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole bodie of the Realme of Englande and dominions of the ſame, in the name of our ſelues particularly, and alſo of the ſayde bodie vniuerſally, offer thys oure moſt humble ſupplication to youre maieſties, to this ende and effect, that the ſame by youre gracious interceſſion and meane maye be exhibited to the moſt reuerende Father in God the Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy father Pope Iulye the thirde, and the ſea Apoſtolike of Rome: Wherein we doe declare our ſelues verye ſorie & repentant of the long ſchiſme and diſobedience happening in this Realme, and ẏ dominions of the ſame, agaynſte the ſea Apoſtolike, eyther by making, agreeing, or executing of any lawes, ordinaunces or commaundementes againſt the Primacie of the ſame ſea, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking that might impugne or preiudice the ſame. Offering oure ſelues, and promiſing by this our ſupplicatiō, that for a token and knowledge of our ſayde repentance, we be and ſhall be euer readie, vnder, and with the authorities of your maieſties, to the vttermoſte of our power to doe that ſhall lye in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of al the ſaide lawes & ordinances made and enacted to the preiudice of the ſea Apoſtolike, aſwell for our ſelues, as for the whole bodie whome we repreſent. Whereupon moſte humbly wee beſeeche your maieſtie, as perſons vndefiled in offence of his bodie towardes the ſayd ſea, which neuertheleſſe God by his prouidence hath made ſubiect to you, ſo to ſette forthe this our humble ſuite, as we the rather by youre interceſſion, may obtaine from the ſea Apoſtolike by the ſayde moſte reuerende father, as well particularly as generally, Abſolution, Releaſe, and diſcharge from all daungers of ſuche cenſures and ſentences as by the lawes of the Church we be fallen into. And that we may as children repentant, be receyued into the boſome and vnitie of Chriſtes Church, ſo as this noble Realme, with all the members thereof, maye in this vnitie and perfect obedience to the ſea Apoſtolike, and Popes for the time being, ſerue God and your maieſties, to the furtherance and aduauncement of his honor and glorie. Amen.

This ſupplication being firſt openly red, the ſame was by the Chauncelor deliuered to the King and Queene, with petition to them to exhibite the ſame to the Lorde Cardinall. And the King and Queene ryſing out of their ſeates, and doing reuerence to the Cardinall, did deliuer the ſame vnto him.

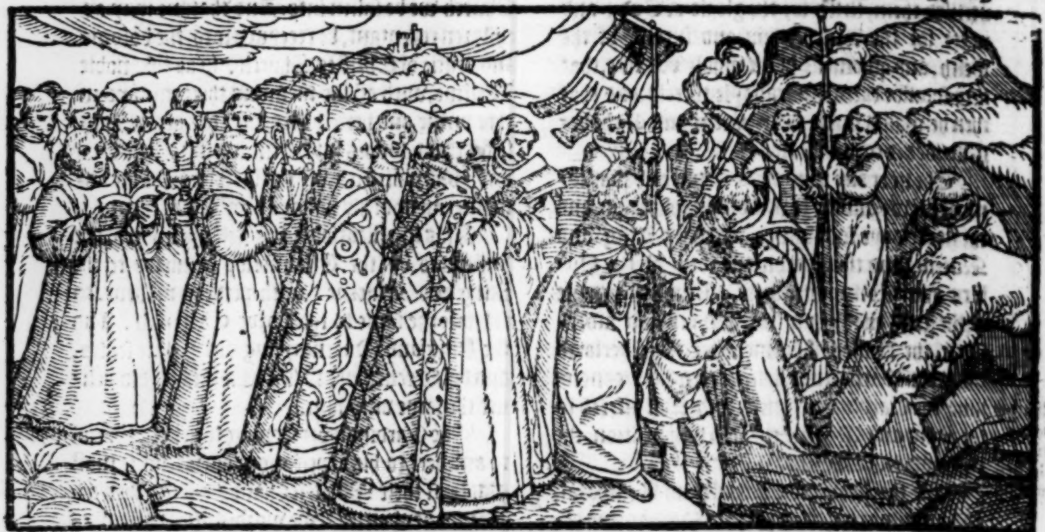
The Cardinall perceyuing the effect thereof to anſwere to his expectation, did receiue it moſt gladly at their Maieſties handes. And then after that hee had in fewe wordes giuen thankes vnto God, and declared what great cauſe hee had to reioyce aboue all others, that his cōming from Rome into Englande, had taken ſuche moſt happie ſucceſſe, then hee cauſed his Commiſſion to be reade (whereby it might appeare he had authoritie from the Pope to abſolue thē) which Commiſſion was verye long and large. And that being done, and all the Parliamente on their knees, this Cardinall, by the Popes authoritie, gaue them abſolution in maner following.

An abſolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole to the Parliament houſe.

Our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt whiche with his moſt precious bloude hath redemed and waſhed vs from all our ſinnes and iniquities, that hee might purchaſe vnto himſelfe a glorious ſpouſe without ſpot or wrinkle, and whome the father hath appointed heade ouer all his Churche: hee by his mercie abſolue you. And wee by the Apoſtolike authoritie giuen vnto vs by the moſte holye Lorde Pope Iulius the thirde (his Vicegerent in earth) doe abſolue and deliuer you, and euery of you, with the whole Realme, and the Dominions thereof, from all hereſie and ſchiſme, and from all and euerye iudgementes, cenſures and paines for that cauſe incurred. And alſo wee doe reſtore you agayne to the vnitie of oure mother the holye Churche, as in oure letters of Commiſſion more plainelye ſhall appeare.

After this generall abſolution receyued, the King and the Queene, and all the Lordes, with the reſt, went into the Kings chappell, and there ſang *Te deum* with great ioy and gladneſſe, for this newe reconciliation.

The reporte of this with great ſpeede flewe to Rome, as well by the French Kings letters, as alſo by the Cardinalles. Whereuppon the



Pope cauſed ſolemne Proceſſions to bee made in Rome, namely one, wherein he himſelfe with all hys Cardinals were preſent, paſſing with as great ſolemnitie and pomp as might be, gyuing thankes to God with greate ioy, for the conuerſion of England to his Churche. At what time alſo, hee not a little commended the diligence of Cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the Kyng and Queene.

And on Chriſtmas euen next following, hee ſet forth by hys Bulles a generall pardon to all ſuche as did reioyce in the ſame reconciliation.

The eyght and twentith of Nouember nexte following, it was commonly reported, that the Queene was quicke with childe, and therefore commaundemente was gyuen by Edmonde Bonner then Byſhoppe of London (and as it was ſayde, not withoute the commaundement of the Counſell) that there ſhoulde bee made in moſt ſolemne manner one generall Proceſſion in London, wherein the Maior, and all the companyes of the Citie were in theyr liueries, at whoſe returne to the Churche of Poules, there was ſong very ſolemnely *Te Deum* for ioy thereof.

The ſecond daye of December beeing Sonday, Cardinall Poole came to Poules Churche in London with great pomp, hauing borne before hym a Croſſe, two pillers, and two pollaxes of ſiluer, and was there ſolemnely receyued by the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, Chancellour of Englande, who mette hym with Proceſſion.

And ſhortly after, Kyng Philippe came from Weſtminſter by lande, beeyng accompanyed with a greate number of hys Nobles.

And the ſame day, the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter preached at Poules Croſſe, in the whyche Sermon hee declared, that the Kyng and Queene hadde reſtored the Pope to hys ryghte of primacie, and that the three eſtates aſſembled in Parliamente, repreſentyng the whole bodye of the Realme, hadde ſubmitted themſelues to hys holyneſſe, and to his ſucceſſors for euer.

And in the ſame alſo, hee greatly prayſed the Cardinall, and ſette forth the paſſing hygh authoritie that hee hadde from the Sea of Rome, with muche other glorious matter, in the commendation of the Churche of Rome, whyche hee called the Sea Apoſtolike.

The Sermon beeyng ended, the Kyng and the Cardinall rydyng togyther, returned to White Hall, and the Kyng hadde his ſworde borne before hym, and the Cardinall had onely hys Croſſe and no more.

The ſeauen and twentith daye of the ſayde moneth, Emanuell Philiberte Earle of Sauoy and Prince of Piemount came into Englande, accompanyed with dyuers other Lordes and Gentlemen ſtraungers, who were receyued at Graues ende by the Earle of Bedforde Lorde priuie ſeale, and conueyd by water through London bridge to White Hall, where the King and Queene the lay, and the ninth of Ianuary next following, yͤ Prince of Orange was in like maner receiued at Graues end, and from thence conueid to the Court, being at White Hall.

Upon Wedneſday the 12. of December, fiue of yͤ eight men which lay in the Fleete, that had paſſed vpō ſir Nicholas Throckmortons triall, were diſcharged & ſet at libertie vpon their fyne paid, which was two C. and twentie ℔. a peece. Tho other three put vp a ſupplicatiō, therin declaring yͭ their goodes did not amount to yͤ ſumme of yͤ which they wer appointed to pay, & ſo vpō yͤ declaration, paying. 60. ℔. a peece, wer deliuered out of priſon, on S. Thomas day before Chriſtmas,

mas, being the one and twentith of December.

The two and twentith of the ſame moneth, the Parliamente (whyche beganne the two and twentith of Nouember before) was diſſolued, wherein among other Actes paſſed there, the ſtatute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for puniſhment of Hereſies were reuiued. But chiefely, the Popes moſt liberall Bull of diſpenſation of Abbey lande was there confirmed, muche to the contentation of manye, who not withoute cauſe, ſuſpected by thys new vnion, to loſe ſome peece of their late purchaſe.

1555

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uered.

Upon Friday the eyghtenth of January, all the Counſell wente vnto the Tower, and there the ſame day diſcharged and ſette at libertie all the priſoners of the Tower, or the more parte of them, namely, the late Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, the Lordes Ambroſe, Roberte and Henrye. Alſo, Sir Andrewe Dudley, Sir James Croftes, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir John Rogers, Sir Nicholas Arnolde, Sir George Harper, Sir Edwarde Warner, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gawen Carewe, William Gibbes Eſquier, Cutbert Vaughan, and dyuers other.

Moreouer aboute thys ſeaſon, dyuers learned men beeyng apprehended, and in priſon for matters of Religion, were broughte before the Byſhoppes of Wincheſter and London, and other the Byſhoppes and Commiſſioners appoynted therefore, who vppon the conſtante ſtandyng of the ſayde learned men in their opinions, whyche they hadde taken vppon them to mainteine, as grounded vppon the true worde of God, as they proteſted, proceeded in iudgemente agaynſte them, and ſo diuers of them were brente at London in Smithfielde, and in dyuers other places, as in the Booke of Monumentes ye may reade.

In February next folowing, Doctor Thirleby Byſhoppe of Ely, and Anthony Lord Montagewe, with a very honorable traine of Gentlemen and others, rode forth of the Citie of London toward Rome as Ambaſſadors, ſente from the King and Queene, to confirme this newe reconciliation to the Pope.

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A yong ſtripling, whoſe name was William Fetherſton, a Millers ſonne, aboute the age of eyghtene yeares, named and bruted himſelfe to bee King Edwarde the ſixth, whereof when the Queene and the counſayle hearde, they cauſed with all diligence enquirie to be made for hym, ſo that hee was apprehended in Southwarke, or as other haue, at Eltham in Kent the tenth of May, & brought before the Counſaile at Hampton Court, and there examined. And it was demaunded of him why hee ſo named himſelfe, to the whyche he counterfeyting a manner of ſimplicitie, or rather frenſie, woulde make no direct aunſwere, but prayed pardon, for hee wiſt not what hee ſayde, affirmyng farther, that hee was counſayled ſo to ſaye, and to take vpon him the name, whereof hee accuſed certayne perſons, but hys talke was not found true, wherefore hee was committed to the Marſhalſea, as a lunatike fole.

And the eyght and twentith daye of May nexte following, the aforeſayde counterfeyte Prince was broughte in a carte from the Marſhalſea through the Citie of London, with a paper ouer hys head, wherein was written, that he named hymſelfe Kyng Edward.

And from thence was conueyd to Weſtminſter, beeyng ledde rounde aboute the Hall, and ſhewed to all the people there: and afterwarde taken out of the Carte and ſtripped, and then whipped rounde aboute the Palace at the ſame Cartes tayle, and withoute more puniſhment, was diſcharged, and ſet at libertie.

But the nexte yeare following, for that hee had ſpredde abroade that King Edwarde was aliue, and that he had ſpoken with him, hee was agayne apprehended, and arraigned of hygh treaſon, whereof beeyng condemned, he ſhortly after was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered the thirtenth of Marche.

The Lorde Courtney goeth ouer into Italy.

About thys tyme, Edward Courtney, Earle of Deuonſhire, of whome before yee haue heard, howe hee was appoynted to remayne at Fodringhey vnder ſafe cuſtody, at length was ſette at libertie, came to the Courte, and gote licence to paſſe the Seas, wente into Italy, where ſhortly after he ſickened, and dyed within fouretene dayes after hys ſickneſſe fyrſte toke hym: he was honorably buryed in Padway.

Thys Courtney was the onely ſonne and heyre of Henrye, Marques of Exeter, Couſin Germayne to King Henrye the eight, as is ſaid before.

For the ſaide King and hee were deſcended of two ſiſters, Elizabeth and Katherine, two of the daughters of Kyng Edwarde the fourth, whych propinquitie of bloud notwithſtandyng, the ſayde Marques, for poyntes of treaſon layde againſt hym, ſuffered at the Tower hil, the thirtith yeare of the raigne of King Henry the eight, to the greate dolours of the moſt of the ſubiectes of thys Realme, who for hys ſundry vertues, bare him greate fauour.

After whoſe death, this yong Gentleman hys ſonne, beeyng yet a childe, was committed priſoner to the Tower, where hee remayned vntyll the beginning of the raigne of thys Queene Mary (as before you haue hearde.)

Thys Gentleman as it appeared, was borne to bee a Priſoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto thirtie, hee hadde ſcarce two yeares libertie, within the whiche time hee dyed, and obteyned quiet, whiche in his life he could neuer haue.

Ambaſſadors ſent to treate a peace betweene the Frenche king and the Emperoure.

In the moneth of May nexte followyng, Cardinall Poole, who hadde bin a great labourer for peace betwene the French Kyng and the Emperour, beeyng accompanyed with Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of Englande, the Earle of Arundell Lorde Stewarde, and the Lorde Paget, were ſent by the Kyng and Queene ouer the Sea to Calais, and from thence went to the Towne of Marke, where they mette with the Ambaſſadours of the Emperoure and the Frenche Kyng.

From the Emperoure were ſente the Byſhoppe of Arras, with other.

From the Frenche King was ſente the Cardinall of Loraine, & the Conneſtable of France.

In thys treatie, Cardinall Poole ſate as preſident and Umpiere in the name of the Queene of England.

This peace was greatly laboured, where at the firſte, there was muche hope, but in the ende nothing was concluded, wherefore the ſeuenteenth day of June, thys aſſembly was diſſolued, and the Engliſh Ambaſſadors returned agayne into Englande.

An. reg. 3.

In the beginning of September. 1555. Kyng Philip went ouer into Flanders to the Emperour hys father.

A greate flood encreaſed by rayne.

And in the moneth of October nexte following, fell ſo greate a rayne, that the abundance thereof cauſed the Thames to ſwell ſo hygh, that for the ſpace of foure or fyue dayes, the Boates and Barges rowed ouer all Sainte Georges fielde, and the water roſe ſo hygh at Weſtminſter, that lykewiſe a boate myghte haue bin rowed from the one ende of the Hall to the other.

Commiſſioners ſent to Oxforde.

About this time, the Byſhoppes of Lincolne, Glouceſter, and Briſtow, were ſent in commiſſion to Oxford by the Popes authoritie, to examine Ridley and Latimer, vpon certayne articles by them Preached, whiche if they woulde not recant, and conſente to the Popes doctrine, then hadde they power to proceede to ſentence agaynſte them as Heretikes, and to committe them ouer to the ſecular power.

Thoſe two Doctors neuertheleſſe ſtoode conſtantly to that whyche they hadde taught, and woulde not reuoke, for whyche cauſe, they were condemned, and after burned in the Towne ditche at Oxforde, the ſixtenth daye of October.

In the tyme of whoſe examination, bycauſe the Byſhoppes aforeſayde declared themſelues to bee the Popes Commiſſioners, neyther Ridley nor Latimer woulde doe them anye reuerence, but kepte theyr cappes on theyr heads, wherefore they were ſharpelye rebuked by the Byſhoppe of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commaunded to take off theyr cappes.

Of theſe menne, and the manner of theyr deathe, yee may reade at large in the Booke of the Monuments of the Churche.

A Parliament.

The one and twentith of October, a Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, in the whyche amongſt other thyngs the Queene beeing perſwaded by the Cardinall (and other of hir Cleargie) that ſhee coulde not proſper, ſo long as ſhee kepte in hir handes any poſſeſſions of the Churche, dyd frankely and freely reſigne and render vnto them all thoſe reuenewes eccleſiaſticall, whych by the authoritie of Parliament, in the tyme of Kyng Henrye, hadde bin annexed to the Crowne, called the fyrſt frutes and tenthes of all Byſhoprickes, benefices, and Eccleſiaſticall promotions. The reſignation whereof, was a greate diminution of the reuenewes of the Crowne.

The death of Stephen Gardner Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Duryng the tyme of this Parliament, Stephen Gardiner Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of Englande, dyed at hys houſe called Wincheſter place, beſyde Saint Marye Oueries in Southwarke, the ninth day of Nouember, whoſe corps was ſhortly after ſolemnely from thence conueyd to hys Churche of Wincheſter, and there buryed.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke

After whoſe deathe, Nicholas Heathe Archebyſhoppe of Yorke, was preferred by the Queene to the office of the Chauncelloure.

1556

In the moneth of Marche nexte following, there was in manner no other talke, but of the greate preparation that was made for the Queenes lying in Childbed, who hadde alreadye taken vppe hir chamber, and ſundry Ladies and Gentlewomen were placed about hir in euerye office of the Court. In ſo muche, that all the Courte was full of Midwiues, Nurſſes, and Rockers, and this talke continued almoſt halfe a yeare, and was affirmed true by ſome of hir Phiſitions, and other perſons about hir. In ſo muche, that dyuers were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary.

And moreouer, commaundemente was gyuen in all Churches for Proceſſion, with ſupplications and prayers to bee made to Almightie God, for hir ſafe deliuerie. Yea and dyuers prayers were ſpecially made for that purpoſe.

A rumor that Queene Mary was deliuere of a Prince.

And the ſayde rumor continued ſo long, that at the laſt, reporte was made, that ſhee was delyuered of a Prince, and for ioye thereof, Belles were rong, and Bonefiers made, not only in the Citie of London, but alſo in ſundrie places of the Realme, but in the ende, all proued cleane contrarie, and the ioy and expectatiō of the people vtterly fruſtrate: for ſhortly it was fully certified (almoſt to all men) that the Queene was as then neyther deliuered of childe, nor after was in hope to haue any.

Of this the people ſpake diuerſly.

Some ſayde, that the rumor of the Queenes conception was ſpredde for a policie.

Some affirmed that ſhe was with childe, but it miſcaried.

Some other ſayd, that ſhee was deceiued by a Timpany, or other lyke diſeaſe, whereby ſhee thoughte ſhee was with childe, and was not. But what the troth was, I referre the reporte thereof to other that know more.

Aboute thys tyme, Brokes Byſhoppe of Glouceſter, was by the Cardinall ſente downe as Commiſſioner from the Pope to Oxforde, there to ſytte vppon the examination of Thomas Cranmer, Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie, in ſuche things as ſhoulde bee layde to hys charge by John Story, and Thomas Martin, Doctors in the lawes, ſent ſpecially in commiſſion from the Queene. At which time, the ſayde Archebyſhoppe makyng lowe obeyſance to them that ſate in the Queenes name, ſhewed no token of reuerence to the Byſhoppe that was the Popes commiſſioner, who neuertheleſſe proceeded againſte hym as Judge, and conuicted hym of Hereſie. According to the whiche ſentence, the one and twentith day of Marche next followyng, hee was diſgraded by Edmonde Bonner and Thomas Thirleby, Byſhoppes of London and Ely, ſente downe for that purpoſe, and hee was burned in the ſame place where Ridley and Latimer before hadde ſuffered.

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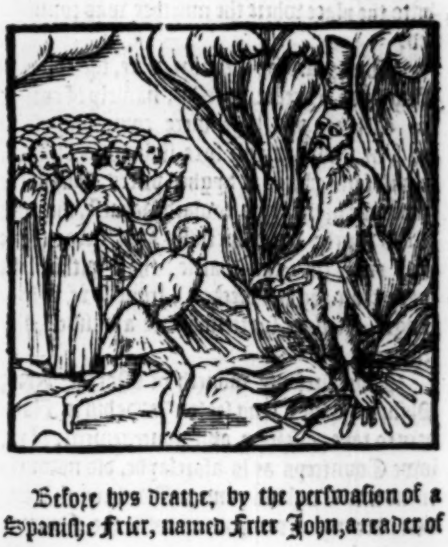


Before hys deathe, by the perſwaſion of a Spaniſhe Frier, named Frier John, a reader of Diuinitie in Oxforde, and by the counſayle of certayne other that putte him in hope of life and pardon, hee ſubſcribed to a recantation, wherein he ſubmitted hymſelfe wholly to the Churche of Rome, and continued in the ſame mind to outwarde appearance, vntill hee was broughte out of priſon, to goe to the fire. Afore whoſe execution, a Sermon was made by Doctor Cole, Deane of Poules, in Saint Maries Churche in Oxforde.

And in the ende of hys Sermon, the ſayde Doctor Cole prayed the people to encline their eares to ſuche things as the ſayde Cranmer woulde declare vnto them by hys owne mouth, for (ſaith hee) hee is a man verye repentaunte, and will heere before you all reuoke hys errors.

Neuertheleſſe, hee dyd cleane contrarye, and with manye teares proteſted that hee had ſubſcribed to the ſayde recantation agaynſte hys conſcience, onely for feare of deathe, and hope of lyfe (whyche ſeemed to bee true) for when hee came to the ſtake, and the fyre kyndled, hee putte hys ryghte hande into the fyre, and helde it there a good ſpace, ſaying, that the ſame hande ſhoulde fyrſte burne, bycauſe it held the penne to ſubſcribe agaynſte hys Lorde God.

Cardinall Poole made Archbyſhop of Canterbury

Immediately after the deathe of the ſayde Byſhoppe Cranmer, Cardinall Poole was made Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburye, who duryng the lyfe of the other, woulde neuer be conſecrated Archebyſhoppe. Who ſo deſireth to ſee more of thys matter, maye ſee the ſame at large in the Booke of the Monumentes of the Churche, where you ſhall alſo fynde that about thys tyme many were in trouble for Religion.

Perſecution for religion.

Newgate ſet on fire.

The eyght and twentith daye of the aforeſayde moneth of Marche, by the negligence of the keepers wayte of the gaole of Newgate in London, who lefte a Candle where a greate deale of Strawe was, the ſame was ſette on fyre, and brente all the tymber worke on the Northe ſyde of the ſayd gate.

A conſpiracy.

The Sommer nexte followyng, was a newe conſpiracie broughte to lyghte, whyche was, to haue raiſed warre in the Realme agaynſt the Queene, for mayntenaunce whereof, theyr fyrſte enterpryſe was to haue robbed the treaſurie of the Queenes Exchequer at Weſtminſter, as it fell out afterwardes in proofe.

The vtterer of whyche conſpiracie was one White, who at the beginning was made priuie to the ſame, wherevpon dyuers of the conſpiracie, namely, Henrye Peckham, Danyell, Dethicke, Vdall, Throckmorton, and Captayne Stanton, were apprehended, and dyuers other fled into Fraunce. Moreouer, Sir Anthony Kingſton knight was accuſed and apprehended for the ſame, and dyed in the way comming to London.

Sir Anthony Kingſton departeth thys lyfe.

Execution.

The eyght and twentith of Aprill, Throckmorton and Richarde Ueale, were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartred.

The nintenth of May, Stanton was likewiſe executed.

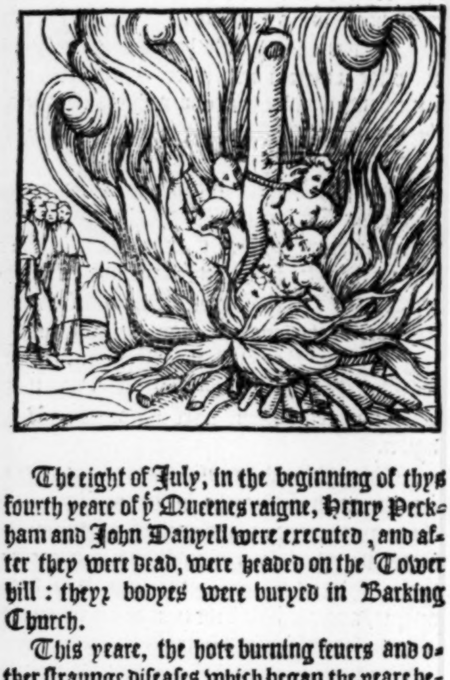
Ro. Greene.

The eyght of June, Roſſey, Dedike and Bedell ſuffered at Tiborne for the ſame offence.

Stow.

The eyghtenth of June, one Sands, yonger ſon to the Lord Sands, was executed at Saint Thomas Waterings, for a robberie committed by him and others to the value of three M. pound.

The ſeuen and twentith of June, eleuen men and two women, were hadde out of Newgate, and in three cartes conueyd to Stratford the bowe, where for Religion, they were brente to aſhes.



An. reg. 4.

Execution.

The eight of July, in the beginning of thys fourth yeare of yͤ Queenes raigne, Henry Peckham and John Danyell were executed, and after they were dead, were headed on the Tower hill: theyr bodyes were buryed in Barking Church.

Great deathe.

This yeare, the hote burning feuers and other ſtraunge diſeaſes which began the yeare before, conſumed much people in all parts of Englande, but namely, of moſt auntient and graue men, ſo that in London, betwene the twentith of October, and the laſt of December, there dyed ſeauen Aldermen, whoſe names were Henrye Heardſon, Sir Richard Dobbes late Maior, ſir William Larſton late Maior, Sir Henrye Hoblethorne late Maior, Sir John Champneis late Maior, Sir John Aileph late Sheriffe, and Sir John Greſſam late Maior.

An Ambaſſ
dor out of Muſcouia.

Aboute this time came to London an Ambaſſador to the Queene from the Emperoure of Cathai, Moſcouia, and Ruſſelande, who was honorably receiued by the Merchants of London, hauing trade in thoſe Countreys, who bare all hys coſtes and charges from the tyme of his entrie into Englande out of Scotlande (for thither by tempeſt of weather he was driuē, and there forced to land.) And after hys meſſage and Ambaſſade done to the Queene, hee departed agayne with three fayre Shyppes from Graueſende into hys Countrey, when hee had remayned heere by the ſpace of two monethes and more.

Alſo aboute thys tyme, the Lorde Sturton, for a verye ſhamefull and wretched murther committed by hym vppon two Gentlemen, the father and the ſonne, of the ſurnames of Hargill, beeyng hys neere neighbors, was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

And although the Queene ſeemed to fauour hym muche, as one profeſſing the Catholyke Religion, yet when ſhee vnderſtode the trueth of hys vile deede, ſhee abhorred hym, and commaunded that hee ſhoulde be vſed accordyng to Juſtice: wherefore ſhortly after, he was brought to Weſtminſter and there araigned and founde giltie, and hadde iudgemente as a murtherer to be hanged.

And for the ſame fact were lykewiſe condemned foure of his ſeruantes, and the ſeconde daye of Marche nexte following, the ſayde Lorde with hys ſayde ſeruauntes, were conueyde by the Queenes guarde from the Tower of London through the Citie, hee hauyng hys armes pinioned at hys backe, and hys legges bounde vnder the Horſe bellie, and ſo caryed to Saliſbury, where the ſixth daye of Marche nexte, hee was hanged in the market place, and his foure ſeruauntes were hanged in the Countrey, neere vnto the place where the murther was committed.

The Lorde Sturton han
ged.

A great dear
and after
great pleaty

Thys yeare for the more parte, there was in Englande a greate dearthe, namely of corne: for Wheate and Rye were commonly ſolde for fyue ſhillings and ſyxe ſhilings a buſſhell, and in ſome places at hygher prices. But in the later ende of the yeare toward Harueſt, the price fell ſo muche, and ſpecially after newe corne was come into the Barne, that within leſſe ſpace than eyghte weekes, from ſyxe Shyllyngs, it fell to ſyxteene pence a buſſhell, and leſſe.

The returne
of K. Philipp
into Englan

Thys preſente moneth of Marche, Kyng Philippe, who a long ſeaſon hadde bin in Flanders to take poſſeſſion and gouernemente of the lowe Countreys as is aforeſayde, did nowe returne into England, and paſſed through London, beeyng accompanyed with the Queene, and diuers nobles of the Realme.

The foure and twentith of April, Thomas Stafford, ſeconde ſonne to the Lord Stafforde with other, to the number of two and thirtie perſons, comming forthe of France by Sea, arriued at Scarbarrough in Yorkeſhire, where they tooke the Caſtell, and helde the ſame two dayes, and then were taken without effuſion of bloud.

The ſayde Stafford and Richard Sanders, otherwiſe called Captayne Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a French man, were ſente vp to London, and there committed to priſon in the Tower.

The ſaid Stafford and four others, were arraigned and condemned, wherevpon, the eyghte and twentith of May, beeyng Fridaye, the ſaid Stafforde was beheaded on the Tower hill, and on the morrowe three of his companye, as Strelley, Bradford, and Proctor, were drawen from the Tower to Tiborne, and there executed.

Their heads were ſette ouer the bridge, and theyr quarters ouer the gates aboute the ſame Citie.

Captaine Sanders had hys pardon, and ſo eſcaped.

The fyrſte of May, Thomas Percye was made Knyghte and after Lorde, and on the next daye hee was created Earle of Northumberlande.

The Queene gaue to him all the landes whych had bin his auncetors remaining at that time in hir handes.

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proclay-
h open
re with the
ch King.

In thys ſeaſon, although the Frenche Kyng (as was ſayd) was verye loth to haue warres wyth Englande, yet the Queene tangling hir ſelfe contrarye to promiſe in hir huſbands quarrell, ſente a defyance to the Frenche Kyng, by Clarenceaux Kyng of armes, who comming to the Citie of Remes where the ſayde King then lay, declared the ſame vnto hym the ſeuenth of June, being the Monday in Whitſon weeke, on the whyche daye, Garter and Norrey Kyng of armes, accompanyed with other Herraultes, and alſo with the Lorde Maior, and certayne of the Aldermen of the Citie of Londō, by ſounde of three Trumpettes, that rode before them, proclaymed open warre agaynſt the ſayde Frenche Kyng, fyrſte in Cheape ſyde, and after in other partes of the Citie, where cuſtomarily ſuche Proclamations are made, the Sheriffes ſtyll ridyng wyth the Herraultes, tyll they hadde made an ende, although the Lorde Maior brake off in Cheape ſyde, and went to Saynte Peters to heare ſeruice, and after to Poules, where according to the vſage then, hee wente a Proceſſion.

Kyng Philippe bycauſe of the warres towardes, betwixte him and the Frenche Kyng, the ſixth of July paſſed ouer to Calais, and ſo into Flaunders, where on that ſyde the Seas hee made greate prouiſion for thoſe warres, at whyche tyme, there was greate talke among the common people, muttering that the Kyng makyng ſmall accompt of the Queene, ſoughte occaſions to be abſent from hir.

Neuertheleſſe, ſhe ſhortly after cauſed an army of a thouſand horſemen, and four thouſande fotemen, with two thouſande pioners, to bee tranſported ouer to hys ayde, vnder the leading of dyuers of the nobilitie, and other valiāt Captaynes, whoſe names partly followe.

The Earle of Pembroke, Captayne generall.

Sir Anthony Browne, Vicount Montagewe, Lieutenaunte generall vnder the ſayde Earle.

The Lorde Grey of Wilton Lorde Marſhall.

The Earle of Rutlande, generall of the horſemen.

The Lorde Clinton, nowe Earle of Lincolne, colonell of the footemen.

The Lorde Ruſſell, nowe Earle of Bedforde.

The Lorde Robert Dudley, now Earle of Leiceſter, maiſter of the ordinance.

The Lord Thomas Howard.

Sir William Weſt, nowe Lorde de la Ware.

Sir Edwarde Windeſore, after Lorde Windeſore.

The Lord Bray.

Sir Edmonde Bridges, Lorde Chandos.

The Lord Ambroſe Dudley, now Earle of Warwike.

The Lord Henry Dudley.

Edward Randoll Eſquier, Sergeant maior.

Maiſter Whiteman, Treaſorer of the armye.

Edward Chamberlayne Eſquier, Captaine of the pioners.

Sir Richard Legh, frenchmaiſter.

John Hiegate Eſquier, Prouoſt Marſhall.

Thomas Heruy Eſquier, Muſter Maiſter.

Sir Peter Carew.

Sir William Courtney.

Sir Giles Strangwiſh.

Sir Tho. Finche. M. of the Camp, & other nobles, Knightes, and Gentlemen of righte approued valiancie, although diuers of them were ſuſpected to be Proteſtantes.

The fiftenth of July, the Lady Anne of Cleue departed thys life at Chelſey, and was honorably buryed at Weſtminſter the fifth of Auguſt, a Lady of righte commendable regarde, courteous, gentle, a good houſekeeper, and verye bountifull to hir ſeruauntes.

The eyghtenth of Auguſt, was a ſolemne obſequie celebrate in the Churche of Sainte Paule in London, for John Kyng of Portingale, who departed thys lyfe in Julye laſt paſt.

The Lorde Treaſorer was chiefe mourner.

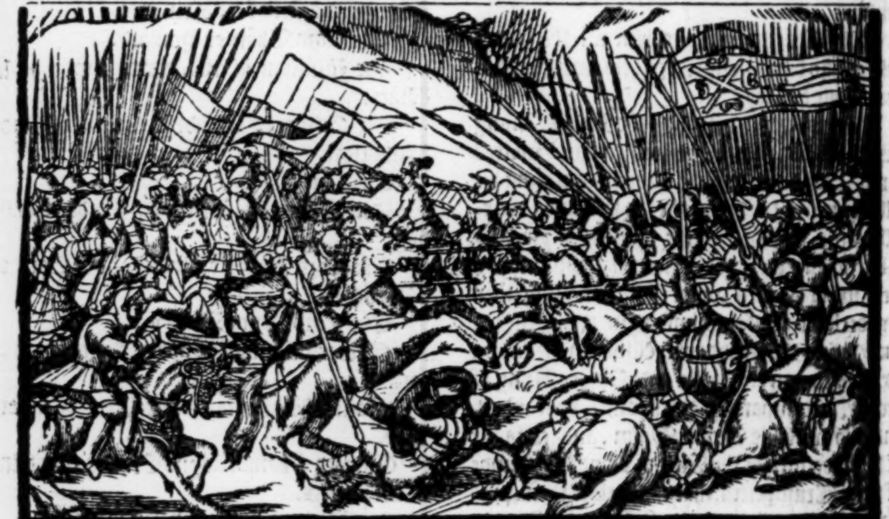
The Queenes army beeyng tranſported ouer to Calais (as before yee haue hearde) marched to ioyne with Kyng Philippes power, the whyche alreadye beeyng aſſembled, hadde inuaded the Frenche confynes, and beeing come before Sainte Quintines, planted a ſtrong ſiege before that Towne, to the reſcue whereof, the Frenche Kyng ſente a greate armye, bothe of horſemenne and footemen, vnder the leadyng of the Conneſtable of Fraunce, whiche armye conſiſted of aboute nyne hundred men at armes, with as manye lyghte horſemen, ſeauen or eight hundred Reiſters, two and twentie enſignes of Lanſquenetz, and ſixteene enſignes of Frenche footemen.

Fifteene or ſixteene thouſand footemē, and a three or four thouſand horſemen.

They hadde alſo wyth them fiftene peeces of greate artillerie, to witte, ſixe double Cannons, foure long culuerings, the reſidue baſterd culueryngs, and other peeces of ſmaller molde.

The Conneſtable thus guarded, vppon S. Laurence daye, whyche is the tenth of Auguſt, approched the Towne, meaning to putte into the ſame ſuccours of more Souldyers, wyth Dandelot the Admirals brother, that was within the Towne not furniſhed with ſuche a garriſon as was thoughte expedient for the defence thereof agaynſte ſuche a power as Kyng Philip hadde prepared againſt it.

The Duke of Sauoy, and other Captaynes of the army that lay at ſiege before the Towne, aduertiſed of the Conneſtables commyng towards them, aſſembled the moſt parte of theyr horſemen togither, and with all ſpeede made towards a paſſage diſtant from the place wher the French army ſtoode houering, aboute a two Engliſhe myles, and beeyng gote ouer, they deuided themſelues into eyghte troupes of horſemē, led by the Erles of Aygmond, Horne, Mauſfield, the Dukes of Brunſwike and others, beeing in all to the number of fyue thouſand menne of armes beſyde the Swart Rutters and lyghte horſemen, whych gaue ſuche a furious and cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen, that they not able to reſiſt the ſame, were altogither defeated, and theyr battayles as well horſemen as footemen putte to flyghte, whereof Kyng Philip hauyng knowledge, purſued them with all his force, in whiche purſute, there were ſlayne of the Frenchmen a greate number, the chiefe whereof were theſe that follow. John of Bourbon Duke of Anghien, the Vicount of Turaine, the eldeſt ſon of Roch du Mayne, the Lorde of Chandenier, with a greate number of other Gentlemen that bare armes in the fielde.



And ther wer takē theſe priſoners following.

Priſoners of name.

The Duke of Montmorencie Coneſtable of Fraunce, hurt with an Harquebuze ſhotte in the haunch.

These nine were Knights of the order.

The Duke of Mountpencer, hurte in the heade.

The Duke of Longueville.

The Marſhall of Saint Andrewes.
The Lorde Lewes, brother to the Duke of Mantoa.
Monſieur de Vaſſe.
The Baron of Curton.
Monſieur de la Roche du Maine.
The Reingraue Coronell of the Almaines.
Morouer the Counte de Roche Foucault.
Monſieur d'Obigny
Monſieur de Meru. Sonnes to the
Monſieur de Montbrun. Coneſtable.
Monſieur de Biron.
Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron.
Monſieur de Saint Heran.

Beſide many other Gentlemen and Captaines of good account and eſtimation. Yet there eſcaped the more part of the French horſemen, and many of theyr footmen with certain of their captains of honor, as the duke of Neuers, the Prince of Conde, brother to the king of Nauerre. The Erle of Montmorencie, eldeſt ſonne to the Coneſtable, the erle of Sancerre, Monſier de Burdillon, and other of the Barons of France.

Within two or three dayes after this ouerthrow, King Philip with the Engliſh armie vnder the gouernment of the Erle of Pembroke, and others, came to the ſiege afore S. Quintines, and ſo was the ſiege greatly reenforced, and on the .xxvij. of Auguſt by the ſpeciall ayde and helpe of the Engliſhmen, the Towne of Saint Quintine was taken. For when the other Souldiours after diuerſe aſſaultes were repulſed and gaue ouer, the Engliſh men of a ſtoute courage gaue a newe onſet, by reaſon whereof the towne was taken. And in rewarde of their well doing, King Phillip graunted them the ſaccage of the ſayde towne. But the Swart Rutters which keepe no rule when they be ſtrongeſt, ſet vpon the Engliſh men, in taking of the ſpoyle, and killed a greate number of them.

This grudge was with much difficultie appeaſed, and men thought that if the Engliſhmen being much fewer in nūber had not bin oppreſſed with the multitude of the other, that it woulde haue growne to a great ſlaughter on both parts.

L.Henrie ley ſlaine.

At the aſſault the Lorde Henrie Dudley, yongeſt ſonne to the Duke of Northumberlande was ſlaine with the ſhotte of a great peece, as he ſtouped vpon his approch to the wall, and ſtayed to rippe his Hoſe ouer the knee, thereby to haue bene the more apt and nymble to the aſſault.

After the winning of this towne, newes in poſt were brought into England to the Queene, who cauſed general Proceſſions to be made, and *Te Deum* to be ſung, giuing all laude and prayſe to almightie God for this great victorie. And in the ſtreetes of euerie Citie and Towne of the Realme were made Bonefires with greate reioyſing: which ſodaine ſhort gladneſſe, turned verie ſhortly after to great long ſorrow. For if ought were woon by the hauing of Saint Quintines, England gat nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onely to King Philip. But the loſſe of Calais, Hammes and Guiſnes, with all the Countrey on that ſide the Sea (which followed ſoone after) was ſuche a buffet to Englande, as happened not in more than an hundred yeare before, and a diſhonor wherewith this realme ſhall be blotted, vntill God ſhall giue power to redub it with ſome like requitall to the French.

Doctor Weſton.

Doctor Weſton being (as you haue heard before) Prolocutor of the Conuocation houſe, was at this time in diſpleaſure with Cardinall Poole, and other Biſhops, bycauſe he was vnwilling to reſigne his Deanerie of Weſtminſter to the Queene, whoſe purpoſe was to place there (as in olde time before) the Religion of Monks, whom in deede he fauoured not, although in all other things he ſtoode with the Church of Rome. Neuertheleſſe, by verye importune ſuyte, or rather compulſion, he with his Colledges reſigned the Deanrie of Weſtminſter. In recōpence whereof he was made Deane of Windſore, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the Cardinall depriued of all his ſpirituall liuings, from whoſe ſentence he appealed to the court of Rome. For the folowing of which appeale he ſought ſecretly to depart the realme. But he was apprehended by the way, and committed to the tower of London, where he remayned priſoner, vntill (by the death of Queene Marie) Queene Elizabeth came to the Crowne, by whome he was ſet at libertie and forthwith fell ſicke and died.

The common talke was, that if hee had not ſo ſodainly dyed, he would haue diſcloſed the purpoſe of the chiefe of the Cleargie, meaning the Cardinall, whiche was to haue taken vp King Henries bodie at Windſore, and to haue burnt it as many thought.

The thirtith of Nouember, being Saint Andrewes day, in the fore noone, the Queene came from Saint Iames to hir palaice at Weſtminſter, where ſhe hearde Maſſe, at the whiche, Sir Thomas Treſham Knight receyued the order of the Croſſe, and was inſtituted Lord of Saint Iohns of Ieruſalem in England.

Calais not furniſhed with a ſufficient nū-ber of men.

At this tyme, although there was open hoſtilitie and warre betwene England and France, yet contrarie to the common cuſtome afore vſed, the towne of Calais and the fortes there aboutes were not ſupplyed with anye newe accrewes of Souldiers, but rather withdrawne from thence, and diſcharged, which negligence was not vnknowne to the enimy, who long before had practiſed the winning of the ſayd towne and country.

The French king therefore being ſharplye nettled with the late loſſe of Saint Quintines, and a great peece of his Countrey adioyning, and deſirous of reuenge, thought it not meete to let ſlip this occaſion, but rather to aduance the ſame with all expedition, according to the plot layd by the Coneſtable afore hande: the king yet neuertheleſſe hauing an armie in a readines (although the Conneſtable were nowe priſoner, and therefore could not be preſent himſelf) to employ wher moſt aduantage ſhould appeare, determined with al ſpeed to put in prouſe the enterprice of Calais, which long and many tymes before was purpoſed vpon, as it was well knowne.

The Duke of Guiſe with a great armie commeth toward Calais.

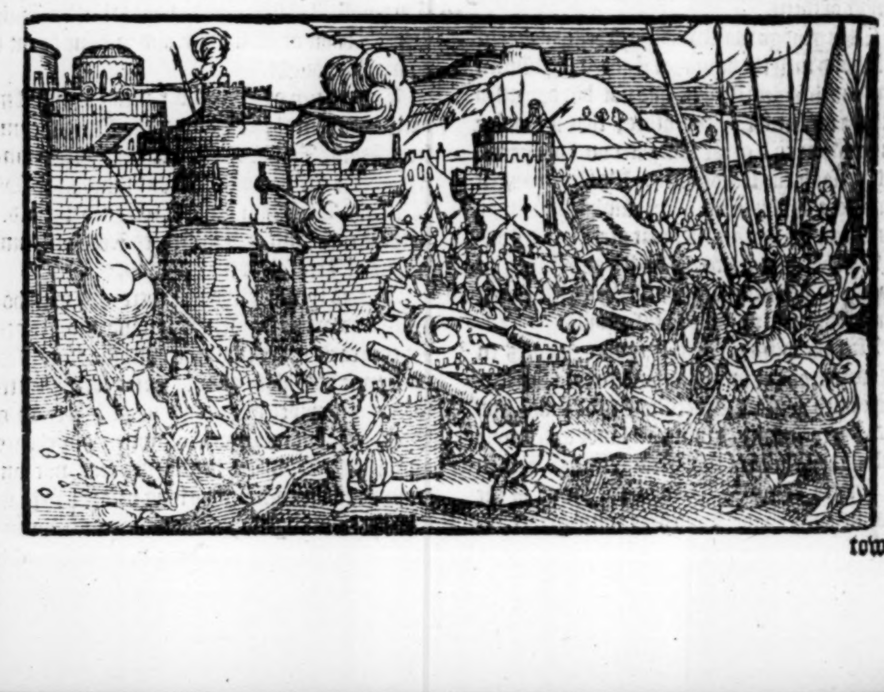
This practiſe was not ſecrete, but that the Deputies of Calais, and Guiſnes had ſome intelligence therof, and infourmed the Queene and her counſaile accordingly, as well by letters, as by ſufficient Meſſengers: for not onely Iohn Hicfield maiſter of the ordinaunce was ſent from thence to giue aduertiſement of the French kings purpoſe, and to haue a ſupplie of things neceſſarie for the mounting of the great Artillerie whereof he had charge, but alſo ſir Rauſe Chamberleyne, Captain of the Caſtell, was likewiſe ſent to giue the like aduertiſement, who returned not paſt two or three dayes before the Duke of Guiſe came thither with the armie. And ſo eyther by wilful negligence, or lacke of credite by the Queenes Counſaile here, this great caſe was ſo ſlenderly regarded, that no prouiſion of defence was made, vntill it was ſomewhat too late.

1558

The Duke of Guiſe beeing generall of the French armie, proceeded in this enterpriſe wyth maruellous ſpeede and no leſſe policie. For approching the Engliſh frontier vnder color to vittaile Bollongne and Arde, hee entred the ſame vpon a ſodaine on Newyeares day, a ſorie little plot of grounde, entrenched at Sandgate, and then deuided his armie into two partes, ſending one part with certaine peeces of great artillerie along the Downes by the ſea ſide towardes Ricebanke: and the other part furniſhed alſo with batterie peeces, marched ſtraight forth to Newnam bridge, meaning to batter theſe two Fortes both at one tyme, which thing he did with ſuch readie diſpatch, that comming thither verie late in the euening, he was Maſter of both by the next morning: where at the firſt ſhot diſcharged at Newnam bridge, the head of the maſter gunner of that peece whoſe name was Horſley was clene ſtriken off. The captain hauing ſent to the lord Deputie of Calais for ſome ſupplie of men was anſwered that if he perceyued the enimies force to be ſuche, whereby his peece ſhoulde growe to be in anye daunger, that then he ſhould choke vp the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calais for defence of the town, where they ſtood in great want of mē alſo, euen to the perill of loſing of the whole if the enimies came forward to beſiege it. Hereupon the captaine within Newnam bridge perceyuing he might haue no ſuccors, retired wᵗ his ſouldiers vnto Calais, in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that the Frenchmen perceiued it not of a pretie while, in ſo much yͭ they ſhot ſtil at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make reſiſtance, & by that time yͭ they were come to Calais, the other part of the French army that went by the ſea ſide wᵗ their batterie, had won Ricebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next day the Frenchmen with fiue double Canons & three Culuerings, began a battrie frō the Sandhilles next Ricebank againſt the curtayne betwixt the water gate, & the ſouldiers priſon on the wal, & continued the ſame by the ſpace of two or three dayes, vntill they had made a little breache next vnto the water gate, which neuertheleſſe was not yet aſſaultable: for yͭ which was broken in the day, was by them within the

Newnam bridge taken by the French

Ricebanke taken by the French.



towne made vp againe in the night ſtronger than before. But the batterie was not begonne there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuſe the Engliſhe, to haue the leſſe regarde to the defence of the Caſtell, which was the weakeſt part of the towne, and the place where they were aſcerteyned by theyr eſpyals to winne an eaſie entrie: ſo that whyle our people trauayled foudly to defende that counterfeyte breache of the towne wall, the Duke had in the meane ſeaſon planted fiftene double Canons agaynſt the Caſtell, which Caſtell beeing conſidered by the rulers of the Towne, to be of no ſuch force as might reſiſt the batterie of the Canon (by reaſon it was olde and without any Rampires) it was deuiſed to make a traine with certaine Barelles of powder to this purpoſe, that when the French men ſhoulde enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the ſaid traine, and blowne vp the keepe, and for that purpoſe left neuer a man within to defende it. But the Frenchmen hauing paſſed through the ditche full of water, and therby with their clothes wringing wette as they paſſed ouer the trayne, they moyſted ſo the powder, that it woulde not take fire when it was giuen, and herevpon the French men eſpying the traine, auoyded the ſame, ſo as that deuiſe came to no purpoſe, and without any reſiſtance they entred the Caſtell, and thought to haue entred the towne by that way. But by the prowes and hardie courage of ſir Anthonie Ager knight, and Marſhal of the towne, with his ſouldiours they were repulſed, and driuen backe again into the Caſtell, and ſo hard followed that oure men forced them to cloſe and ſhutte the Caſtell gate for their ſuretie, leaſt it ſhould haue bene recouered agaynſt them, as it was once attempted by ſir Anthonie Ager, who there with hys ſonne and heyre, and a Purſeuant at Armes called Calais, with diuerſe other, to the number of three or foure ſkore Engliſhmen loſt their lyues.

The ſame night after the recule of the French men, whoſe number ſo encreaſed in the Caſtell, that the towne was not able to reſiſt their force, the Lorde Wentworth beeing Deputie of the Towne, appoynted Nicholas Fellow, *alias* Guines, and Richard Turpine, *alias* Hammes, to go to the Frenche within the Caſtell, to demaunde Parlee, whereunto they aſſented, put forth of the poſterne two French Gentlemen, and in pledge for them receyued into the Caſtell John Hiefield Maiſter of the Ordinance, and Edmonde Hall one of the Coneſtables of the Staple. Herevpon they falling in talke aboute a compoſition: at length after ſome long debating of the matter, they concluded in this ſort. Firſt that the Towne with all the great artillerie, vittayles, and munition, ſhould be freely yeelded to the French king, the lyues of the Inhabitants onely ſaued, to whō ſafe conduct ſhoulde bee graunted to paſſe where they lyſted, ſauing the Lorde Deputie with fiftie ſuch other as the duke ſhould appoynt, to remaine priſoners, and be put to their raunſome.

Calais deliuered to the French.

The next morning, the Frenchmen entred and poſſeſſed the Towne, and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commaunded to leaue theyr houſes, and to goe to certaine places appoynted for them to remain in, til order might be taken for their ſending away.

The places thus appoynted for them to remaine in, were chiefly foure, the two Churches of our Ladie, and Saint Nicholas, the Deputies houſe, and the Staple, where they reſted a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day vntil three of the clock at after noone, without either meat or drinke.

And while they were thus in the Churches, and thoſe other places, the Duke of Guiſe in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a Proclamation, ſtraytly charging all and euery perſon that were Inhabitants of the Towne of Calais, hauing about them any money, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groate, to bring the ſame forthwith, and lay it downe vpon the high Aulters of the ſayde Churches vppon paine of death, bearing them in hand alſo, that they ſhould be ſearched. By reaſon of which Proclamation, there was made a great and ſorrowfull offertorie.

And while they were at this offring within the Churches, the Frenchmen entred into theyr houſes, and ryfled the ſame, where was found ineſtimable ryches and treaſure: but ſpecially of ordinance, armor, and other munition.

About two of the clocke the next day at after Noone, beeing the ſeuenth of Januarie, a greate number of the meaneſt ſort, were ſuffered to paſſe out of the towne in ſafetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scottiſh light horſemen, who vſed the Engliſh men very well and friendly, and after this euery day for the ſpace of three or four days togither, there were ſent away, diuerſe companies of them till all were auoyded those only excepted, that were appoynted to be reſerued for Priſoners, as the Lorde Wentworth, and others.

The garniſon of ſouldiours that were in Calais.

There were in the towne of Calais fiue hundred Engliſh ſouldiours ordinarie, and no mo. And of the towneſmen not fully two hundred fighting mē (a ſmall garniſon for ẏ defence of ſuch a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children, as they were accomted (when they went out of the gate) foure thouſand and two hundred perſons. But the Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calais, ſir Rauf Chāberlaine Captain of the Caſtell, John Harleſton

Captaine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander Captaine of Newnam bridge, Edward Grymſtone the Comptroller, John Rogers Surueyor, with other, to the number of fiftie (as aforeſayde) ſuch as it pleaſed the Duke of Guiſe to appoynt, were ſent priſoners into France.

Thus haue ye heard the diſcourſe of the ouerthrow and loſſe of the towne of Calais, the which enterprice was begonne and ended in leſſe than eight dayes, to the great maruaile of the worlde, that a towne of ſuch ſtrength, and ſo well furniſhed of al things as that was, (ſufficient numbers of men of warre onely excepted) ſhould ſo ſodainly be taken and conquered, but moſt ſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, what time all the Countrey about being Mariſhe grounde, is commonly ouerflowne with water.

The ſayde Towne was wonne from the French king by king Edwarde the thirde, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king, and being in poſſeſſion of the kings of Englande two hundred.xj.yeares, was in the tyme of Philippe and Mary King and Queene of Englande loſt within leſſe than eight dayes, being the moſt notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edwarde aforeſayde, in the.xxj. yeare of his raigne, was faine to continue a ſiege eleuen Monethes and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it coulde not haue come ſo to paſſe, without ſome ſecrete trecherie.

Here is alſo to be noted, that when Queene Mary and hir Counſaile hearde credibly of the French mens ſodaine approch to that towne, ſhe with all ſpeede poſſible (but ſomewhat too late) rayſed a greate power for the reſkue thereof, the which comming to Douer, ſtayed there aboutes till the towne was wonne, either for that theyr whole numbers was not come togyther, or for that there were not Shippes readie ſufficient to paſſe them ouer, although the winde and weather ſerued verie well to haue tranſported them thyther, till the Sunday at night after the Towne was deliuered: for then began a marueylous ſore and rigorous tempeſt, continuing the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes togither, that the like had not beene ſene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore ſome ſayd that yͤ ſame came to paſſe through Nigromancie, and that the Diuell was rayſed vp and become Frenche, the truth whereof is knowne (ſayth maiſter Grafton) to God.

A terrible tempeſt.

Grafton.

True it is that after the ſayde tempeſt beganne, for the time it laſted, no ſhippe coulde well broke the Seas, by reaſon of the outragious ſtormes. And ſuch of the Queenes ſhippes as did then aduenture the paſſage, were ſo ſhaken and torne with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, and not without loſſe of all their tackle and furniture, ſo that if this tempeſtnous weather had not chaunced, it was thought that the army ſhould haue paſſed to haue giuen ſome ſuccors to Guiſnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calais. But if the ſame armie might haue beene readie to haue tranſported ouer in time, before the loſſe of Calais, and whileſt the weather was moſte calme and ſweete, as was poſſible for that tyme of the yeare, the towne might haue beene preſerued, and the other peeces whiche through want of tymely ſuccours came into the enimies poſſeſſion. And thus by negligence of the Counſaile at home, cõſpiracie of traytors elſwhere, force and falſe practiſe of enimies, holpen by the rage of moſte terrible tempeſtes of contrarie windes and weather, thys famous Fort of Calais was brought agayne and left in the hands and poſſeſſion of the French.

So ſoone as this Duke of Guiſe, (contrarie to all expectation) had in ſo fewe dayes gayned this ſtrong towne of Calais (afore thought impregnable) and had put the ſame in ſuch order as beſt ſeemed for his aduauntage, proude of the ſpoyle, and preſſing forwarde vppon his good fortune, without giuing long time to the reſidue of the Captaines of the Fortes there, to breathe vpon their buſineſſe, the.xiij.day of the ſayd Moneth being Thurſday, with all prouiſion requiſite for a ſiege, marched with his armie from Calais, vnto the towne and fort of Guiſnes, fiue myles diſtant from thence. Of which Towne and Caſtell, at the ſame time there was Captaine a valiant Baron of England, called William, Lord Gray of Wilton, who not without cauſe ſuſpecting a ſiege at hande, and knowing the Towne of Guiſnes to be of ſmall force, as being large in compaſſe, without walles or Bulwarkes, cloſed onely with a Trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall, had cauſed all the Inhabitants of the town to auoyde, and ſo many of them as were able to beare armes, he cauſed to retyre into the Caſtell, which was a place well fortified with ſtrong and maſſie Bulwarkes of Bricke, hauing alſo a high and mightie Tower, of great force and ſtrength, called the Keepe.

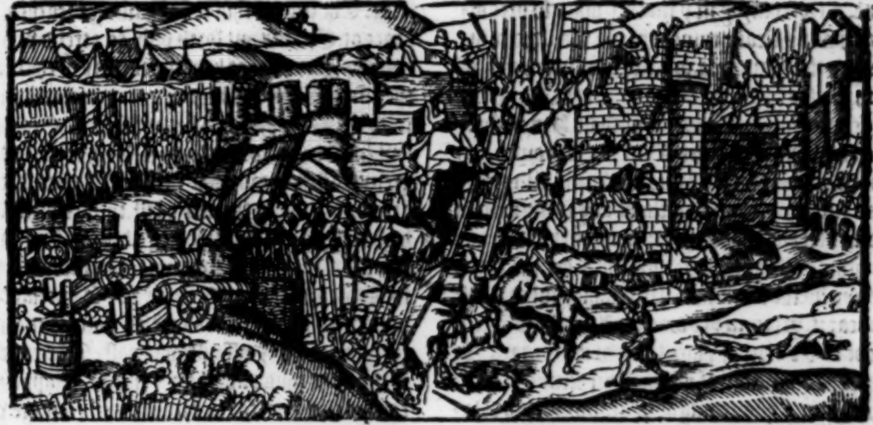
The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more eaſie approche to the Caſtell, who thinking to finde quiet lodging in thoſe vacant houſes, entred the ſame without any feare. And being yͤ night at their reſt (as they thought) a choſen bande of ſouldiours appoynted by the Lorde Gray, iſſued out by a poſterne of the ſayde Caſtell, and ſlue no ſmall number of their ſleepie gueſtes, and the reſt they put out of their new lodgings, and maugre the Duke and all the French power, conſumed all the houſes of the Towne with fire. That notwithſtanding, the ſayd duke with all diligence began his trenches, and albeit the ſhotte of the great artillerie from the Caſtell was terrible, and gaue him great impeachment, yet did he continue his worke without intermiſſion, and for examples ſake wrought in his owne perſon as a common Pioner or labourer. So that within leſſe than three dayes, he brought to the number of .xxxv. batterie peeces, hard to the brim of the Caſtell ditche, to batter the ſame on all ſides, as wel forth right as a croſſe. But his principall batterie, he planted agaynſt the ſtrongeſt Bulwarke of all, called Mary Bulwarke, thinking by gayning of the ſtrõger to come more eaſily by the weaker.

ſtyne.

On Monday morning therefore by the breake of day, they had layde two batteries to the ſayde Bulwark .xiij. Cannons in the one, & nine in the other, with which they plied it ſo well, as that by noone they had not onely diſmounted their counter batterie within, but alſo cleane cut away the hope of Bricke of the whole forefront of theyr Bulwarkes, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crimble away, which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the ſame after noone, ſent fortie or fiftie forlorne Boyes wyth ſwordes and targets to view & aſſay the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not .xxiiij. foote brode, nowe aſſuredly not a dozen, nor in depth aboue a mans knees, wherefore with ſmall adoe they came to the breache, and with as little paine came vp the ſame, the climbe was ſo eaſie, from whence hauing diſcharged certaine Piſtolles vpon the Engliſh men, and receyued a few puſhes of the Pyke, they retyred, and making report of the eaſineſſe of the breache, ſtreight a bande or two of Gaſcoignes (as it was thought) threw themſelues into the ditche, and vp they came. Thẽ a little more earneſtly the Engliſh men leaned to theyr tackling, theyr flankers walked, theyr Pykes, theyr Culuers, their pots of wildfire were lent them, the Harquebuſh ſaluted them, ſo as ioly maiſter Gaſcoigne was ſet down with more haſt than he came vp with good ſpeede, and ſo ended Mondayes worke, ſauing that vpon the retyre from the aſſault, they gaue ſeuen or eight ſuch terrible tyres of batterie, as tooke cleane away from them within, the toppe of theyr Vawmure and Maundes, leauing them all open to the Canons mouth. Whereby ſurely but for night that came on, the Engliſhmen had beene forced to haue abandoned the place.

erie layde
e Mary
arke.

The Gaſcoignes put backe.



At this aſſault was ſlaine of Gentlemen, one captaine Bourne an Engliſhman, verie valiant, alſo a Spaniſh Gentleman, and common ſouldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was alſo ſore hurt at the ſame aſſault, one other Spaniſh Captaine, with diuerſe other, whom for the auoyding of tediouſneſſe I let paſſe.

At night the Lorde Gray came to the Bulwarke, and hauing rendred thankes to God for that dayes good ſucceſſe, did greatly commende them all for theyr manfull defence and valiaunt behauiour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onely thing wherein their ſafetie and good name did reſt.

e Lorde
y cõmen-
o his ſoul-
ers.

The batterie (as before is tolde) hauing layd the Bulwarkes open, they within were enforced for winning of a new Vawmure, to entrench within the Bulwarke ſixe foote deepe, and nine in thickneſſe, which maruelloully did ſtrengthen the peece, the ſame being of no great largeneſſe before.

By the next day beeing Tueſday, they had planted two batteries mo, the one in the Market place of the Towne, to beate a Curteyne of the bodie of the Caſtell, of ſixe Canons, the other vpon the Rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beate the Catte and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one ſide of the Mary bulwark.

This morning they beſtowed moſt in battering at the Flankers, which the day before they had felt, and in deede wanne euerie one from them within, ſauing that of the Catte, which lay high and ſomewhat ſecrete, and an other at the ende of a Bray by the gate on the other ſide of the Bulwarke, all the reſt, as thoſe of the garden Bulwarke which chiefly behelde the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Keepe, were quite bereued them. And beſides the enimie continually interteyned the breach, with. viij. or. ix. tires ẏ hour.

The daunger which my lord Gray eſcaped.

The Swiſſes and Gaſcoigns giue the aſſault.

In the afternoone about the ſame houre, that they made their attempt the day afore, a regimẽt of Swiſſes, with certain bands of Frenchmẽ approched the dike, as if preſently they would haue giuen the aſſault, but there they did ſtay, ſending to the breach only a captain or two, ſeeking therby to haue diſcouered what flankers yet were left to them within, wherin they were preuented, the L. Gray hauing before warned the gũners not to diſcloſe them, but vpon extremity. And thus after an houres play with the harquebuſh only, and a light offer or two of approche, this people retired them, & gaue the Canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within a newe to become moldwarps, & to entrench thẽſelues with all ſpeed poſſible. The morrow being Wedneſday, by the peepe of day, all the batteries began, & without intermiſſion held on till one of the clocke in the after noone, & eſpecially ẏ in ẏ market place ſo preuailed as hauing cleane ruined the old wall, did driue through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth rayſed vpon the ſame, where the L. Gray himſelfe ſitting vpõ a forme, with ſir Henry Palmer, and maiſter Lewes Diue his L. couſin and deputie, made a faire eſcape, the forme being ſtriken a ſunder vnder thẽ without any further harm to any of them, though ſundrie other that day and the other following loſt their liues on the ſame curteyn by the foreſayd battrie, which ful in flank did beat it, wherein yet was his Lordſhips onely abode as his chiefeſt place to view and regard the behauiour and need of all the other limmes, from which alſo a quoite might be throwne into Mary bulwarke. The enimies Canon (as is ſayde) hauing playd thus all the morning, and wel ſearched as they thought euery corner that flankers might lurke in. about the foreſaid houre of one of the clock, the Engliſhmẽ might deſcrie the trench before the breach to be ſtuffed with Enſignes, the L. Gray ſtreight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinently to euery place to ſtand on their gard, encoraging euery man to continue in their wel begon endeuor. A tower ẏ was called Webs tower, & yet ſtãding, which flãked one ſide of the beaten bulwarke, he ſtuffed with. xx. of the beſt ſhot ẘ curriers. Theſe things no ſooner thus ordred, but that. viij. or. ix. enſignes of Swiſſes, & three of Gaſcoignes, do preſent themſelues vpon the counterſcarfe, & without ſtay the Gaſcoignes flew into the ditch, run vp the breach, whom they within receyue with harquebuſh ſhot, but they requite the Engliſhmen againe with two for one. The top of the vawmure or rather trench, the enimie boldly approcheth, the pyke is offred, to hãd blowes it cõmeth. Then the Swiſſe with a ſtately leaſure ſteppeth into the ditche, & cloſe togither marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaſeth, wareth very hote, the breach all couered with the enimies. The ſmall ſhot in Webbes tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine, on the other ſide againe. xx. of the Spaniards on the inſide of the Brayes had laid themſelues cloſe till the heate of the aſſault, & then ſhewing thẽſelues, did no leſſe gall the enimies thã the tower. Thus went it no luſtilier aſſayled thã brauely defended. At laſt after an hours fight & more, the gouernors without, finding the great ſlaughter that theyrs went to, & ſmall auaile, and perceyuing the two litle Caſemates of the tower & Brayes to be the cheifeſt annoyances, did cauſe a retire to be ſounded, & withall three or four of the canõs in ẏ market place, to be turned vpõ Webs tower, ẏ which at two tyres brought cleane downe the ſame vpõ the ſoldiers heads, wherin two or three were ſlain outright, others hurt to death, & who eſcaped beſt, ſo maimed or bruſed, as they wer no more able to ſerue. The enimie this while hauing breathed, & a brace of. C. ſhots put forth only to attend vpõ the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the brays the aſſault of freſh is begon, & their beaten bandes with new companies relieued. The L. Gray alſo ſent into the bulwarke two. C. freſh men. Now grew the fight heauy vpõ the Engliſhmen, al their defence reſting in the pike & bill, their chiefeſt flankers being gone, their places to beſtow ſhot in taken from them, their fire workes in maner ſpent, the Spaniſh ſhot on the other ſide ſo ouerlayd, as not one of them but was eyther ſlain or marred, ere a quarter of ẏ aſſault was paſt. The eaſineſſe of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed companies flew to the breach, and courage was on euerie ſide with them, what hauock they made it is not hard to geſſe. My L. Gray perceyuing the extremitie, ſent to the two forenamed flãkers, that they ſhould no longer ſpare. They ſtreight wẽt off, the ditches and breach being couered with men. Theſe vnlooked for gueſts, made the enimie that was cõming to pauſe, and the other alreadie come to repent their haſt. Three or foure bouts of theſe ſalutations began to cleare well the breach, though the ditch grew the fuller at night. At laſt parted with no great triũph of others winnings, (for as the Engliſhmen within wẽt not ſcotfree) ſo ſurely no ſmall number of their enimies carkaſſes, toke vp their lodgings in the ditch ẏ night.

My L. Gray this night came into the Bulwarke, where after prayſe firſt to God, hee gaue thanks and cõmendations to them all. The ſlain men he cauſed to be buried, the hurt to be remoued and looked vnto, ſawe the breach repayred, enquyred of their lackes, and as he might ſupplyed the ſame. They that were great could not be helped, as cornepowder, fireworks, yea & pikes began to faile vs. The moſt part of the night he here beſtowed, & longer as was thought had taried, had not a ſkaberdleſſe ſword about one of the ſouldiers as he went in the throng and darke amongſt thẽ, thruſt him almoſt through the foote, wherupon he withdrew him to be dreſſed, vſing firſt vnto the ſouldiors an exhortation to acquite themſelues no leſſe valiantly the next day, aſſuring them, that one or two more ſuch bankets as this laſt, gyuen to the enimie, would coole their courages for any mo aſſaultes. This night now, great noiſe & working was heard in the ditch, wherupon the Bulwark once or twiſt was on alarme. At the laſt with Creſſets it was eſpied, that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the ſame was ſeene to bee finiſhed, emptie Caſkes with ropes faſtned togither, & ſawed bordes layd therone. This yet did but put them within, in a certaintie of that which before they accompted of, & ſtood prepared for. To be ſhort, the enimies ſpent all the day till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, & beating at the two laſt flankers, which at length they won frõ them within, & the gunners of either ſlain, wherupon the L. Gray taking counſaile of ſir Henry Palmer, M. Lewes Diue, and Montoragon the leader of the Spaniards, it was reſolued, that there might be order to make a fornacie within the bulwarke, and preſently to withdraw all frõ thence, ſauing a certain for a face and ſtale to til in the enimy, & thẽ to haue blowen it vp whole. In this meane time, the duke of Guiſe hauing giuen order to Mounſ. Dandelot Coronell of the French footmen, ỹ he with his bandes ſhould be in a readineſſe to giue the aſſault when ſigne ſhoulde be giuen, he withdrewe him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainely diſcouer the behauior as wel of his ſouldiors in the aſſault giuing, as alſo of the defendants in anſwering the ſame, and perceyuing not ſo many of the Engliſh part appearing for defence (as he doubted they would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his moſt forwarde Lancequenets ſhoulde mount the breach, to open the firſt paſſage, and that M. Dandelot with his French foote bandes ſhoulde backe them, which order was followed with ſuch hote haſt, and deſperate hardineſſe, that entring a deepe ditch full of water from the bottom, wherof to the top of the breach, in ſome places was well nere fortie foote, wᵗout feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach. And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) bridges made of plankebordes, borne vp with caskes and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to paſſe the ſayd ditch, many of them now at this aſſault, without care of thoſe bridges, plunged into the water, and tooke the next way to come to the aſſault, which hote haſt notwithſtanding, the aſſaylants were at the firſt ſo ſtoutly repulſed and put backe by the defendants, being furniſhed with great ſtore of wildfire, and other fucaſies for the purpoſe, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faſter than they came vp, not without great waſt & ſlaughter of their beſt and moſt forward ſoldiors, to the ſmall comfort of the ſtoute duke, who (as is ſayde before) ſtood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this buſineſſe. Wherefore not enduring this fight any longer, as a man enraged, ran among his men, ſo reprouing ſome, and encouraging other, that the aſſault was ſtreite hote renued, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no leſſe ſtordie obſtinacie and deſperation receyued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcaſſes. This notwithſtanding, the Duke ſtill redoubled his forces with freſh companies, and continued ſo many aſſaults one vpon another, that at the laſt charge, being moſt vehement of all the other, the Engliſh men beyng tyred, and greatly miniſhed in theyr numbers, by ſlaughter and bloudie woundes, were of fine force driuen to auoyd, and ſo after halfe an houres fight, the enimie entred, which when the Lord Gray beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wiſhing of God that ſome ſhot would take him, when one that ſtoode next him, by the ſcarffe ſodainly pulled him downe, otherwiſe the effects had well declared the earneſtneſſe of the prayer: he was not yet vp again when a Canon ſhotte grated vpon the ſame place from whence he fell.

The fight within the Bulwarke yet laſted, to the great ſlaughter of thẽ that defended it. My L. Gray preſently called to maiſter Lewes Diue, & others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was ſuch, that beſides his ſonne maiſter Arthure Gray and the ſaide Lorde Gray, maiſter Lewes Diue, Captaine Bricknell, and halfe a dozen of armed Corſlettes, not a manne elſe did follow him. By this meanes the Engliſhe menne were cleane driuen oute of the Bulwarke, the enimye yet not daring to paſſe the Brayes, gaue them that eſcaped, good leyſure to recouer the gate, where my L. Gray holding the wicket himſelf, receyued them in.

Vppon the takyng of this Bulwarke, the Souldiours of Wheteleys Bulwarke and the baſe Court in diſcomfiture abandoned theyr charges, flying to the Caſtel: ſo that more than the Keepe, and the bodie of the Caſtell, no part was free from the enimie. My Lorde Grey hauing receyued all his, cauſed the Gates to bee rammed vppe.

Thus were the chiefe Bulwarkes and vtter lymmes of the Caſtell of Guiſnes obteyned by the French, on Saint Sebaſtians day, being the xx. of Ianuarie, but yet not without great ex-

L. Gray by miſ-
…e.

French
bridges.

…ſon.

…latine.

Grafton.

penſe of bloud on both ſides: for of the Frenche part there were ſlaine in thoſe aſſaultes aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the Engliſh not many fewer: amongeſt whome the greateſt loſſe light vpon thoſe fewe Spaniards and Wallons that were come to aſſyſt the Engliſhmen at that preſent.

It was nowe night: a Trumpettor came to the ditches ſide in the baſe Court, and ſounded a ſommons, who being called vnto and aſked what he woulde, tolde that hee was ſent to my Lorde Gray by the Duke of Guiſe, with offer of parlee if it woulde be hearkened to. The Souldiers no ſooner hard theſe newes, but forſaking the walles came all in rowte togithers, and confuſedly ſpeaking to their Chieftaine the ſayde Lorde Gray, prayed him to hearken to the Meſſage, and to haue conſideration of theyr lyues, which ſo long as any hope remayned, they willingly had ventured. The Lorde Grayes aunſwere was, that he marueyled, eyther what cauſeleſſe miſtruſt of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what ſodaine vnwonted fayntneſſe of mynde had ſo aſſayled them, as to cauſe them in ſuche diſorder to forſake their places, and leaue the walles naked, hee willed them to returne to the ſame.

My Lorde Gray hereof tooke counſaile. It was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie ſide weyed. The Trumpettor receyuing anſwere, accordingly departed, and without long abode returned again, requyring in the dukes behalfe hoſtages for a truce during the Parlee from vs, he mynding to deliuer the like into the Caſtell. From him in fine Monſieur Deſtrees, & a Gentleman of the kings chamber were ſent in: and maiſter Arthure Gray my Lordes ſonne, and maiſter Lewes Diue, were put out. Monſieur Dandelot in the Brayes receyued them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate Bulwarke, being come vppon naked and newe ſlaine Carkaſſes, ſome of them ſprawling yet and groning vnder their feete, were onely the earth they trode on. So paſſing downe the breach ſomwhat to the eaſe of the former heauie ſight, they ſaw it and the ditche little leſſe fraught with the enimies corpſes. So to the campe they came, and were lodged in the ſayde Dandelots tent.

The next day in the morning, the Lorde Gray was to meete with the Duke abrode, betweene them willingly one houre was ſpent in talking withoute agreement, onely vpon thys poynt, that the Lord Gray would haue his bands depart with Enſignes diſplayed, which woulde not be yeelded vnto: ſo he returned, and the hoſtages alſo therevpon were ſent in. Monſieur Deſtrees not being yet come forth, my Lord was no ſooner entred againe, but that the ſouldiours eftſoones forſaking the walles, willingly to the preſent cutting of all theyr owne throtes, (if Monſieur Deſtrees himſelfe had not beene, with a fewe Captaynes and Gentlemen of the Lorde Grayes owne retinue) came and met him, crying vpon him to haue pitie vpon them. The Lorde Gray herewith ſtayed, and pauſing a while, had this ſpeech. The onely pitie (if fonde I cannot ſay) that I haue of you, hath cauſed me this day to make ſuch offers of cōpoſition, as neyther your honeſties, nor my honour, nor eyther of our duties, in my thought may well beare, which refuſed to take harder to the vtter defaſing of our credites ſince the beſt would blot it. If I woulde, Souldiours, your ſelues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof ſhould turne your weapons vpon me, and ſacrifice ſo heartleſſe a Captaine, rather than to take it as a token of a pitifull Captaine ouer you, and to yeeld thankes for the ſame. We haue begonne as becommed vs, we haue yet helde on as duetie doth binde vs, let vs ende then as honeſt dutie and fame doth wil vs. Neither is there any ſuch extremitie of deſpayre in our caſe, but that we may yet dearely ynough ſell our ſkinnes ere we loſe them. Let vs then eyther march out vnder our Enſignes diſplayed, or elſe herewith die vnder them diſplayed.

The Souldiours herewith in a mutenie flatly anſwered, that they for his vaineglorie woulde not ſell their lyues. The deſperateneſſe of theyr caſe was not vnknowne vnto them (ſayde they) and that theyr lyues in other ſeruice myght yet auaile theyr Prince and Countrey. In this now further to venture, was but like oxen to be thruſt to the Butcher. That his Lordſhip was not to expect any one blow of their handes.

Herewith in haſt came one from Monſieur Deſtrees that ſtoode at the Rampire, aduyſing him to ſende his Souldiours to the walles, otherwiſe that the Swiſſes would aſſuredly enter. So conſtrayned his Lordſhip promiſed them to compounde, and ſo he gat them to the walles. Then my Lord going to counſayle, at length agreed vpon theſe conditions.

Firſt, that the Caſtell with all the furniture therein as well vittayles as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, ſhoulde bee wholy rendred without waſting, hyding or miniſhment thereof.

Secondarily, that the Lorde Gray with all the Captaynes, officers and other, hauing charge there, ſhould remaine priſoners at the dukes pleaſure, to be raunſomed after the maner of warre.

Thirdly, that all the reſt, as well ſouldiers as others, ſhoulde depart with their armors, & baggage, to what parties it ſeemed them beſt, neuertheleſſe to paſſe without ſound of drum or trumpet, or enſigne, and to leaue them behinde.

These Articles ſent by Monſieur Deſtrees to the duke were accepted, and ſo in the after noone, the duke himſelfe came and receyued the keyes of my Lorde Gray, who preſently went out, and was giuẽ to the Marſhall Strozzi, and from him ſold to Monſieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother yͤ Counte de Rochefoucault his handes, and there reſted, till he was redeemed for xxiiij. thouſand Crownes.

The day following, to wit the. xxij. of Ianuarie, all the ſouldiours of the ſayde fortreſſe of Guiſnes, as well Engliſh as ſtraungers, wyth all the reſt of the Inhabitants, and other (excepted the Lorde Gray himſelfe, maiſter Arthure Gray his ſonne, ſir Henrie Palmer Knight, Mondragon Captayne of the Spaniards, and other men of charge reſerued by the compoſition) departed with theyr bagge and baggages from thence towardes Flaunders. At whoſe iſſuing forth, there were eſteemed to the number of eyght or nine hundred able men for the warre, part Engliſh, and part Burgonians. Of Spaniards ſo few were left, as no account is to bee made of them, in maner the whole number of them being ſlaine and ſelling theyr lyues ryght dearely according to the order of good and hardie ſouldiours.

Thus endes this ſiege, wherein for breuityes ſake, we haue left to ſay any thing of the prouiſions that the Lorde Gray made agaynſte the ſame, of the aduertiſements that from tyme to tyme hee ſent to King Philippe and Queene Marie, and of theyr aunſweres, of the ſundrie aduentures which they of Guiſnes had with the enimie during their being about Calays, and of the greate and many booties that were there taken. Onely in a worde or two will I adde what bandes of ſtraungers were within the peece, bycauſe thereof as in an other thing or two, I finde maiſter Grafton in his Chronicle ſpeake at rouers. Firſt came in Mondragon, with two Spaniardes more, verie valiaunt men, whom did follow within a day or two, about foure or fiue and thirtie other Spaniards, all ſhotte, of whiche (as I haue hearde) there went not fiue oute of the Caſtell.

There came one Captaine Deſquie a Burgonian, with two hundred Souldiours, Pykes moſt. This bande was appoynted to the Marie Bulwarke, whoſe Captaine beeing full of the Gowte, and an impotent manne, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the Bulwarke. And ſo of this ynough.

But now after the winning of this Towne and Caſtell, the Duke aduyſing well vppon the place, and conſidering that if it ſhould happen to be regayned by Engliſhe men, what a noyſome neighbour the ſame myght be to Calays, nowe beeing Frenche, and ſpecially what empeachment ſhoulde come thereby for the paſſage thither from Fraunce, conſidering alſo the neare ſtanding thereof to the Frenche Kings Fortreſſe of Arde, ſo that to keepe two Garniſons ſo nigh togither ſhoulde bee but a double charge, and not onely needleſſe, but alſo daungerous for the cauſe afore rehearſed.

Vpon theſe conſiderations (as the Frenche menne wryte) hee tooke order for all the greate Artillerie, vittayles, and other Munition, to bee taken forth, and the Caſtell wyth all the Bulwarckes and other Fortifications there, with all ſpeede to bee razed and throwne downe, and the ſtuffe to be caried away, and employed in other more neceſſarie places.

Hammes Caſtell.

Then reſted nothing within all the Engliſh Pale on that ſyde vnconquered, but the little Caſtell or Pyle called Hammes, whiche though it were but of ſmall force, made by Art and induſtrye of mannes hande, and beeyng altogyther of olde workemanſhippe wythoute Rampyres or Bulwarkes: yet neuertheleſſe, by the naturall ſituation thereof, beeyng on all ſydes enuyroned wyth Fennes and Mariſhe groundes, it coulde not eaſilye bee approched vnto, eyther wyth greate Ordinaunce for the batterie, or elſe wyth any armie to encampe there for a Siege; but hauing one ſtrayte paſſage thereto by a narrowe Cawſey, trauerſed and cutte through in dyuerſe places, wyth deepe Dytches, alwayes full of water, whiche thing beeing well forſeene by Edwarde Lorde Dudley then Captayne there, hauing as good cauſe to ſuſpecte a Siege there, as his neighbours had afore the Frenche mennes comming to Guiſnes, cauſed all the Bridges of the ſayde Cawſey beyng of Woodde to bee broken, to gyue thereby the more empeachmente to the Frenche, if they ſhoulde attempte to approche the ſame as ſhortly after they did, and kepte dyuerſe of the paſſages.

But to delyuer the Duke and his Souldiours from that care, there came to hym glad newes from thoſe that hadde charge to watche the ſayde Cawſey, howe the Captaine hauyng intelligence of the rendring of Guiſnes, ſecretely the ſame nyght, hadde conueyed himſelfe, with his ſmall garniſon by a ſecrete paſſage ouer the Mariſhe into Flaunders: whereby the Duke beeing nowe paſte care of any further Siege to be layde in all that Frontier, tooke order forthwyth to ſeaze the ſayde little Fort into his handes, as it was eaſie to doe, when there was no reſiſtance.

When this peece was once ſeazed by the Frẽch, then remayned there none other place of defence or ſtrength of the Engliſhe on all that ſyde the

Sea, for the ſafegarde of the reſt of the Countrey, whereby the Frenche King became wholly and throughly Lorde and maiſter of all the Engliſhe Pale, for nowe (as yee haue hearde) there was neyther Towne, Caſtell, nor other Fortreſſe, more or leſſe on that ſyde (ſauyng Bootes Bulwarke neare to Graueling, whiche after King Philippe kepte as his) but that it was eyther taken awaye by force, or elſe abandoned, and lefte open to the enimie. And as the Frenche menne wryte) beſyde the great ryches of Golde and Siluer, Coyne, Iewelles, Plate, Wolles, and other Marchandice (which was ineſtimable) there were founde three hundred peeces of Braſſe mounted on Wheeles, and as many peeces of Iron, with ſuche furniture of Powder, Pellettes, Armour, Vyttayles, and other munitons of warre ſcarcely credible.

Thus haue you hearde the whole diſcourſe of the conqueſt of the noble Towne of Calays, with all the Engliſhe Fortreſſes and Countrey adioyning made by the duke of Guiſe, the newes whereof, when they came to the Frenche King, no neede to aſke howe ioyfullye they were receyued, not onely of him and all his Court, but alſo vniuerſally through the whole Realme of Fraunce. For the which victorie, there was (as the maner is) *Te Deum* ſung, and Bonefires made euerie where, as it is woont to bee in caſes of common ioy and gladneſſe, for ſome rare benefite of God, inſomuche that ſhortly vppon the Conqueſt, there was a publike aſſembly at Paris of all the ſtates of Fraunce, who frankely in recompence of the Kings charges employed in winning of Calays, and the places aforeſayde, and for maintenance of his warres to bee continued afterwardes, graunted vnto him three millions of French Crownes, whereof the Cleargie of Fraunce contributed one Million, beſides their Diſmes. And no maruell though the French did highly reioyce at the recouerie of Calays out of the Engliſh mens handes, for it is conſtantly affyrmed of many, that be acquainted with the affayres of Fraunce, that euer ſithence the ſame Towne was fyrſt woonne by Engliſhe menne, in all ſolemne Counſayles aſſembled to treate vppon the ſtate of Fraunce, there was a ſpeciall perſone appoynted to putte them in remembraunce from tyme to tyme of Calays, as it were to be wyſhed that the lyke were vſed in Englande, vntill it were regayned from the French.

Now ſeemed euery day a yeare to the French King, vntill hee perſonally had viſited Calays, and his newe conquered Countrey: wherefore about the ende of Ianuarie hee tooke his voyage thither, accompanied with no ſmall number of his Nobilitie.

And immediately vpon his arriuall there, he peruſed the whole towne, and euery part thereof from place to place, deuyſing with the Duke of Guiſe for the better fortification thereof, what ſhoulde be added to the olde, and what ſhoulde be made new, and what ſhoulde be taken away. And after order taken for that buſineſſe, he placed there a noble man, and no leſſe valiant knight of the order, called Monſieur de Thermes to bee Captaine of the towne, and ſo departed again into Fraunce.

Monſieur de
Thermes
made captai
of Calays.

After the French Kings departure from Calays, hee made greate haſte for the accompliſhment of the maryage, mooued betweene Fraunces his eldeſt ſonne, called the Dolphyn, and Marie Stewarde, daughter and ſole heyre of Iames the fyft late King of Scotlande, which Princeſſe if Scottes had beene faythfull of promiſe (as they ſeldome bee) ſhoulde haue maryed King Edwarde the ſixth. For the breache of which promiſe, beganne all the warre betweene Englande and Scotlande, as you hearde in the latter ende of the lyfe of King Henrie the eight, and in the begynning of King Edwarde the ſixth.

This maryage (ſayth Grafton) though it be not of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that many things were meant thereby, whiche thankes bee to God neuer came to effect. But one ſpeciall poynte was not hydden to the Worlde, that by meane of the ſame the realme of Scotlande ſhoulde for euermore haue remayned as vnited and incorporate to the crowne of Fraunce, and that as the ſonne and heyre of euerie Frenche King doth ſucceede to the inheritaunce and poſſeſſion of a Countrey called the Dolphine, and is therefore called Dolphyn. And like as the Principalitie of Wales apperteyneth to the eldeſt ſonne of Englande, who therefore is called the Prince of Wales: euen ſo the Dolphyn and heyre of Fraunce ſhoulde thereby haue beene King of Scotlande for euermore, whiche name and tytle vppon thys maryage was accordingly giuen to Fraunces, Dolphyn and heyre apparaunt of Fraunce, to bee called Kyng Dolphin. The meanyng whereof was vtterly to exclude for euermore any to be king of Scotland, but onely the eldeſt ſonne of Fraunce.

This memorable mariage was ſolemnized in the Citie of Paris, the foure and twentie day of Aprill, in the yeare of Chriſt. 1558. wyth moſt magnifique pompe and tryumphe, and honoured wyth the preſence of the moſte parte of the Princes, Prelates, Lordes, and Barons of both the Realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this newe aliaunce, which as it was muche

The mariage
of the Queene
of Scots with
the Dolphin.

to the aduauntage and benefite of Fraunce, ſo nothing coulde bee more preiudice, and derogation to the Crowne of Scotlande, as a deuiſe tending to the perpetuall abolition and extinguiſhment of the name and ſtate of kings in that Realme.

In this meane tyme alſo the Queene Dowager of Scotlande, hadde done what in hir lay, to procure the Scottiſhe Nobilitie to make warres agaynſt Englande, but they beeing not wylling thereto, Monſieur Doyſell Coronell of certaine bandes of Frenchmen, came to Aymouth within ſixe myles of Berwike, and fortified that place, making ſundrie roades and inuaſions into Englande, in reuenge whereof the Engliſhe men made the lyke inroades into Scotlande, wherevpon the Scottiſh men in their owne defence (as ſome pretend) were dryuen to haue warres, and therevpon the Earle of Huntley was made Lieutenant of the Scottes borders, who remayning there, by the helpe of the Frenchmen did many diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen. This warre was begunne in the yeare laſt paſt, and ſo continued, during the whiche manye ſkirmyſhes and dyuerſe proper feates of Armes were put in practiſe, betwixt the partyes (as in the Hyſtorie of Scotlande it ſhall by Gods helpe further appeare,) where we ſhall ſpeake of the doyngs in the yeares. 1557. and. 1558.

But nowe to returne to the matter of Englande from whiche I haue in parte digreſſed. The newes of this Conqueſt of Calays were not ſo ioyfully receyued in Fraunce, as they were generallye grieuous and diſpleaſaunt to the whole Realme of Englande: but ſpecially to Queene Marie, who beeing a Princeſſe of hearte and courage, more than commonly is in womankynde, thought hir ſelfe ſo much touched in honour by the loſſe of hir ſayde towne and poſſeſſions on that ſyde the Sea, as ſhee counted hir lyfe yrkeſome, vntyll the ſame were eyther recouered againe, or the loſſe redoubled wyth ſome like victorie agaynſte the French elſewhere.

In reſpect whereof, ſhee ceaſed not to trauaile after wyth King Philippe hir Huſbande, as wyth hir owne priuie Counſayle, and the Lordes of the Realme, whiche waye ſhoulde bee beſt to reuenge this iniurie, and ſpeciallye nowe whyleſt the Frenche King was occupied in warres wyth King Philippe, to endamage ſome of his Countreys by waye of inuaſion, and to ſurpriſe ſome of his Townes vpon the ſodayne. And amongeſt ſundrie deuiſes, none was thought ſo fitte to bee attempted, as an hauen Towne in Brytayne called Breſt, whiche in the tyme of King Richarde the ſeconde was kept and mainteyned with an Engliſhe Garniſon, vntill the ſayde King rendered the ſame to the French King agayne by compoſition.

Breſt in Bry- tayne.

This Towne as well for the conuenient ſituation alwayes readie to receyue freſhe ſuccours and vittayling out of Englande by Sea, as alſo for that it was knowne to the Queene and hir Counſayle at that preſent, not to bee furniſhed with anye Garniſon of Souldiours, ſufficient to repulſe the power of a Prince vpon the ſodayne, was thought to bee the beſt marke to be ſhotte at for the tyme. Wherefore vppon thys caſe well debated, there was immediately order gyuen to Edwarde Lorde Clynton then highe Admyrall of Englande, wyth all expedition to prepare himſelfe wyth all the Queenes Shippes of warre, furniſhed with Souldiours, Munition, and vittayle, to ioyne wyth the Admyrall of King Philippe, who had lyke order from the ſayde King to ioyne wyth the Nauie of Englande for the atchieuing of this enterpriſe.

The Lorde Clynton Admyrall.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of theſe two greate Nauies by Sea, it ſhall not bee impertinent to touch ſome accidents in the meane time by lande.

Whyle King Philippe beeing abſent from the lowe Countrey, was (as you haue hearde) occupyed wyth his warres in Fraunce, Monſieur de Thermes the newe Captaine of Calays, beeing a manne verie expert in the warres (whoſe propertie is neuer to neglect anye tyme of aduauntage) caſte in hys mynde howe during King Philippes abſence, to doe ſome ſingular ſeruice to the Frenche King his maiſter. And eſpying well the negligence of the Flemminges his neighbours, howe little they vnderſtoode the great weakning of theyr Countrey by the loſſe of Calays, and that there was no newe prouiſion made for the defence thereof, more than was before, whyleſt Calays was Engliſhe, by the loſſe whereof, theyr frontyers were nowe become open for the French at all times to enter: He therefore taking out of Calays ſo many of hys Souldiours as myght bee ſpared from thence, adioyning to them all the forces of the French Garniſons in Arthoys, Bollonoys, and Pycardie, whereof togither with the Souldiers of Calays, being to the number of ſeuen hundred footmen, and three hundred lyght horſmen Scottiſh, there were aſſembled fourtene Enſignes of the French footemen .xviij. banlins of Almains, four or fiue. C. men at armes of France, beſide the light horſmen Scottes, amounting in the whole to the number at the leaſt of nine thouſand footemenne, and fiftene hundred horſemen, entred into Flaunders wyth full determination to ſpoyle and waſte all King Philippes Countrey

Monſieur de Thermes captaine of Calays.

along the Sea coaſt, and namely a proper Hauen Towne called Dunkyrke, and with like purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed the towne of Graueling if occaſion woulde ſo ſerue.

This Captayne following his enterpriſe, of a policie paſſing by the towne of Graueling, layd ſiege to a little towne not farre from thence called Berghes, which hee wanne in a ſmall time, and with ſmall reſiſtaunce, leauing the ſaccage of the ſame vnto his Souldiours, where they founde manye good bootyes. And wythoute long ſtaying they marched forth to Dunkyrke aforeſayde, and planting a ſiege in lyke manner there, battered the ſame ſo ſharpely with the Canon, that within leſſe than foure dayes hee became maiſter of the Towne, whiche hee in lyke maner put to the ſacke, where was founde more plentie of ſpoyle and good bootyes, than in any place before, ſo farre forth as the meaneſt ſlaues and lackeyes came away riche. And after ſetting the Towne a fyre (whereby all in the Countrey about were marueylouſly put in feare) and the Frenche ſpreading further abroad, waſted the moſt fruytfull quarter of all that part of Flaunders, euen almoſte vnto Newporte: But yet bycauſe that Monſieur de Thermes fell diſeaſed of the Gowte, the armye wythdrewe and encamped within halfe a myle of Graueling, and for his more eaſe, he hymſelfe laye in Dunkyrke, and in the meane tyme dyuerſe ſkyrmyſhes fell oute betweene the Frenche men, and them of the garniſon within Graueling.

Dunkyrke beſieged, taken, and burnt by the French.

During whiche paſtyme, the Counte de Aygnemount (or as he is commonly called Egmont) Lieutenant Generall for King Philip in the lowe Countrey, wyth all haſt poſſible aſſembled all the power as well of King Philips Garniſons, as alſo of menne of warre in the lowe Countrey, to the number of fourtene or fiftene thouſande footemen, and two or three thouſande horſemen, whereof there were fiftene hundred Swart Rutters, determining ſo to affronte the Frenche, that eyther they ſhoulde paſſe no further into the Countrey, or at the leaſt waye to empeache them from the Siege of Graueling, whereof there was greate apparaunce.

Counte Egmond.

Monſieur de Thermes hearing of thys power aſſembled (though ſcarcely well recouered) made all poſſible haſte towarde Graueling, where hee was no ſooner arryued, but that hee ſawe his enimyes readie raunged in the fielde. By reaſon whereof his ſtudye was nowe nothing elſe but how he myght bring home his armie in ſafetie to Calais.

The Counte de Egmond eſpying the French menne bent to marche away wyth the ſpoyle of the Countrey, caſte betweene them and home, placing his battayles in ſuch order, that the Frenchemen had no way to paſſe, but vppon the Sandes betweene the Towne and the Sea: Where as by good chaunce laye a great fleete of Queene Maryes Shippes of warre, within the daunger of whoſe Gunſhot, the Frenchmen had no ſhyft but to paſſe as their iourney lay. And ſo being forced eyther to famiſh or to fight at diſaduauntage.

Engliſh ſhips annoy the French.

Mounſieur de Thermes wythoute ſtaying any longer, cauſed hys vauntgarte to paſſe ouer the Ryuer ſomewhat neare the Towne, to auoyde the ſhotte of the Engliſhe ſhippes. And ſtaying vpon the further ſide for the reſidue of hys battayles, there came ſuche thicke hayleſhotte of Artillerie oute of the Towne on the one ſyde, and from the Engliſhe Shippes on the other ſyde, that there was a full batterie made vppon the Frenchmen on all ſydes, which they neuertheleſſe abode, without breaking order for the tyme, when ſodainlye appeared before them two great troupes of Horſemen, of fiftene hundred a peece, parte Swart Rutters, and part Burgonians, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue ſtrong charges vpon the French vauntgarde, who being well backed with their other battayles (whereof the moſt part then had paſſed the Riuer) ſtoutly repulſed theſe two firſt troupes, though not without loſſe of many their beſt ſouldiours.

A valiant onſet giuen vpon the Frenchmē by Counte Egmond.

So thus both partyes being at a ſtay, and ſeuered ſomewhat aſunder, the Counte Egmonde hymſelfe wyth eyghtene hundred menne of Armes, and hys foote battayles following, afore the French had well recouered breath, recharged vppon them wyth all his forces togyther, ſo terribly that hee ſhocke all theyr battayle, and the number tooke them to flyght, wythout further tryall. So by that tyme that the footemen on eyther ſide came to the puſhe of the Pyke, the victorie was ſoone had, by reaſon (as the French men reporte) that the Almaynes beaten backe with Artillerie, as well of the towne as of the ſhippes aforeſayd, brake their order, and came not to the ſhocke, whereby the whole charge of the battaile reſted vppon the Frenche bandes onely.

A greate victorie.

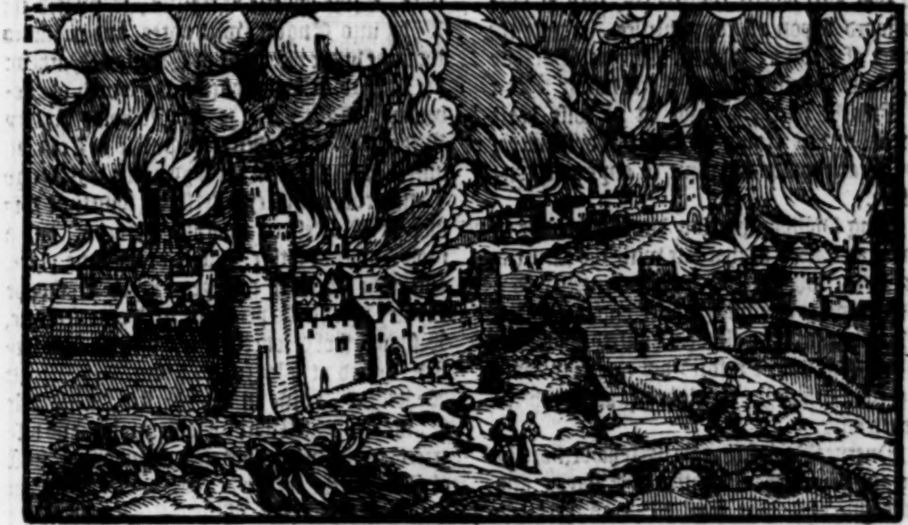
This fielde was foughten the. xiij. of July 1558. vpon the Sea ſandes neare to Graueling, where beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, being eſteemed to the number of fiue thouſand fightingmen, ther were taken priſoners the Marſhal de Thermes Captaine of Calays, Monſieur Senerpont Gouernour of Bollongne, Monſieur Villebou gouernour of Picardie, Monſieur Annebault ſon to the late Admirall Annebault, knight of the order, Mon. de Moruillieres gouernor of Abuile, Monſieur

Priſoners taken.

Monſieur de Chaune gouernour of Corbie, beſide a great number of other Gentlemen, valiant Captaynes and ſouldiours, but ſpecially the bandes of Calais went to wrecke, ſo as very fewe returned home to bring tydings: which gaue ſuch a terrour to the Souldiours remayning in Calais, that it is verilye beleeued, that if the Admiralles of Englande and Flaunders hadde beene preſent there wyth theyr Nauies, as the ſayd other few Ships of England were, and vppon thys ſodaine had attempted Calais, wyth the ayde of the Countie Egmonde hauing his power preſent: the Towne of Calays myghte haue beene recouered agayne wyth as little difficultie, and happily in as ſhorte tyme as it was before gayned by the Duke of Guiſe. But the ſayde Admyrals, (as it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherefore following theyr preſcribed courſe, and ioyning togyther at the place appoynted, ſayled from thence wyth proſperous wynde and weather, and by the .xxix. day of the ſame Moneth, and in the ſayde yeare, wyth ſeuen ſkore Shippes of warre, appeared by the breake of the day before the Hauen of Conqueſt, commonly called Conquet in Brytayne: At whoſe arriuall there (as the maner is) they ſounded theyr Trumpettes, and with a thundering peale of great ordinance, gaue a lowde Salue to the Brytaynes: and by eight of the clocke the ſame morning, maugre al the power of the countrey, being aſſembled there in Armes, with many peeces of great Artillerie, to defende the entrie of their port, the Engliſhmen manning forth their Shipboates, with many valiaunt Captaynes and ſouldiours, recouered landing, and wythin ſhort tyme became maiſters of the ſayde towne of Conquet, which they put to the ſaccage, with a great Abbay, and many pretie Townes and Villages neare there aboutes, where our men found great ſtore of pyllage and good booties.

Conqueſt or Conquet takẽ and burnt.

This done, they marched into the Countrey, and burnt many Villages and houſes, and after withdrewe downe to the Sea ſide, where theyr ſhips lay readie to receyue them.



But the Flemings beeing couetous of the ſpoyle, paſſing further into the lande, before they coulde recouer their Shippes againe, were encountred by the power of the countrey, by whom there were ſlaine of them to the number of foure or fiue hundred.

great ſlaugh of the Fle- ngs.

The Admyralles perceyuing the power of the Countrey greatly to encreaſe, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Eſtampes the Frẽch Kings Lieutenant in Brytayne was very neare comming on, with a greate number of Horſemen and footemen, eſteemed to bee about twentie thouſande (as the Frenchmen themſelues affyrme) thought not beſt to attempt any aſſault agaynſt the Towne of Breſt, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doe ſome further exployte elſewhere, they laye there houering on the coaſt a while to vnderſtande the demeanour of the Brytaynes: but by this tyme there was ſuch numbers of people rayſed in all thoſe parts for defence of the ſame coaſtes, that the Admyralles afterwarde attempting in dyuerſe places to lande theyr menne, and fyndinge eche where more apparaunce of loſſe than of gayne, returned home wythoute atchieuing any further enterpriſe.

1558 An. reg. 6.

In this meane time, while King Philip and the French King, with two moſte puyſſaunt armyes affronted eche other, neare vnto the water of Some, eyther of them being obſtinately bent to driue the other out of the field, for which cauſe they entrenched their campes.

During whiche tyme there was nothyng done betweene them worthie memorie, more than dayly ſkyrmiſhes of no great account. Neuertheleſſe, the Countrey of Fraunce coulde not but ſuſteyne extreeme damage, in ſo long ſuſteyning ſuche a mayne multitude, ſpecially of men of warre, which thoſe two mightie Kings hadde aſſembled. And day by day came freſhe companies to eyther partye, ſo as it was thought a thyng impoſſible that ſuche two Princes beeing ſo neare, coulde departe wythoute ſome cruell bloudye battayle to determine theyr quarelles: But God in whoſe handes are the heartes Kings, (when leaſt hope was) conuerted theyr obſtinate myndes from warre to peace, whiche came chiefely to paſſe by the mediation of the Dutches of Lorraine, who hadde beene a long and earneſt trauayler to that ende, and neuer ceaſſed, vntill by his interceſſion, both the ſayde Kinges appoynted ſpeciall Commiſſioners to treate vppon peace. So that after diuerſe conferences, they at laſte concluded vppon all controuerſies, excepte the matter of Calays, whereof Queene Mary by hir Imbaſſadours requyred reſtitution: But the Frenche partye woulde in no wiſe heare thereof. By reaſon of whiche dyfficultye, thys treatie coulde not come to anye good concluſion.

King Philippe thinking himſelfe bounde in honour to ſtande in that caſe with the Queene hys wyfe, who for hys ſake had entred into a needleſſe warre againſt Fraunce, and thereby loſt hir ſayd towne, with all the Countrey adioyning (as you haue hearde before) did therefore ſtay a long time before hee concluded peace wyth the French king.

Queene Marie ſeeing no likelyhoode, nor hauing any hope of the reſtitution of Calays, and conſidering alſo, that moſt of hir affayres had but hard ſucceſſe, conceyued an inwarde ſorrow of mynde, by reaſon whereof aboute September nexte ſhee fell ſicke of a hote burning Feuer, which ſickneſſe was common that yeare through all the Realme, and conſumed a marueylous number, as well Noble men, as Biſhops, Iudges, Knightes, Gentlemen, and rich farmours: but moſt of the Cleargie, and other auncient and graue perſons. In which while the Queene lay languiſhing of a long ſickeneſſe, and ſo continued vntill the .xvij. of Nouember next betwene the houres of fiue or ſixe in the morning, and then ended hir life in thys worlde, at hir houſe of Saint Iames beſydes Weſtminſter, when ſhe had raigned fiue yeares, foure Monethes, and eleuen dayes, and in the. xliij. yeare of hir bodily age.

The ſame Euening (or as ſome haue written the next day) dyed Cardinall Poole Legate of the Biſhop of Rome, late afore made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, at his houſe ouer againſt Weſtminſter called Lambeth.

The deſcri
tion of Car
dinall Pool

This Cardinall was diſcended of the houſe of Clarence, that is to ſay, one of the yonger ſonnes of Margarett Counteſſe of Saliſburie, daughter of george Duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the fourth.

The death of this ſayde Queene made a marueylous alteration in thys Realme, namely in the caſe of Religion, which like as by the death of King Edwarde the ſixte it ſuffered a chaunge from the eſtabliſhment of his time: ſo by the death of this Queene it returned into the former eſtate againe.

Of ſuch learned men as had written and did liue in hir dayes there were many, of whome no ſmall number ended theyr lyues alſo duryng that ſhorte tyme of hir raigne, ſome by fire, and other in exile. John Rogers borne in Lancaſhire, wrote dyuerſe Treatiſes, tranſlated the Byble into Engliſhe with notes, and publiſhed the ſame vnder the name of Thomas Mathew: hee ſuffered in Smythfielde the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare. 1555: Nicholas Rydley Biſhop firſt of Rocheſter, and after of London, ſuffred at Oxforde in the ſayd yeare. 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leyceſterſhyre, ſometime Biſhop of Worceſter, a notable Preacher, and a moſt reuerende father, ſuffred at the ſame place, and in the ſame day and yeare wyth Byſhoppe Rydley: John Hoper borne in Somerſetſhyre, Biſhop firſt of Glouceſter, and after of Worceſter, ſuffred at Glouceſter. Anno. 1555. John Bradforde, borne in Mancheſter, a notable Towne in Lancaſhire, a ſober, mylde, and diſcreete learned man, ſuffred at London the fyrſt of July in the foreſayde yeare. 1555. Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter borne in the Towne of Saint Edmondes burie in Suffolke, of King Henrie the eightes Counſaile, and in King Edwardes dayes committed to warde within the Tower, releaſed by Queene Marie, made Lorde Chauncellour, and ſo dyed a ſtowte Champion in defence of the Popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the profeſſours of the Goſpell: John Philpot borne in Hamſhyre, ſonne to ſir Peter Philpot Knight, was Archedeacon of Wyncheſter, ended his lyfe by fyre in the yeare aforeſayde. 1555. the .xviij. of December, going then on the. xliiij. yeare of his age: Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghãſhire Archbiſhop of Canterburie, a worthie Prelate, in ſundrie vertues right commendable, ſuffred at Oxforde the .xxj. of Marche. 1556. Richarde Moriſon knight borne in Oxfordſhyre, wrote dyuerſe treatiſes, and deceaſſed at Strauſburge the .xvij. of March 1556.

1556. Iohn Poynet borne in Kent, Biſhoppe of Rocheſter firſt, and after of Wincheſter, deceaſſed likewiſe at Strauſburgh, about the tenth or eleuenth of Auguſt. Anno. 1556. Robert Recorde a Doctor of Phiſick, and an excellent Philoſopher, in Arithmetike, Aſtrologie, Coſmographie, and Geometrie moſte ſkilfull, hee was borne in Wales, diſcended of a good family, and finally departed this lyfe in the dayes of Queene Mary: Baltholmew Traheron diſcended of a worſhipfull houſe in the Weſt partes of Englande, deane of Chicheſter, departed this lyfe in Germanie, where he lyued in exile, aboute the latter ende of Queene Maryes raigne: Cutbert Tunſtall Biſhop firſt of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancaſhire of a right worſhipfull family, excellently learned, as by his workes it may appeare Doctor of both the Lawes, departed this life in the yeare. 1556. Richarde Samſon Byſhop of Couentrie and Lichfielde, wrote certaine Treatiſes, and departed this life Anno. 1555. Lucas Shepharde borne in Colcheſter in Eſſex, an Engliſh Poet: Iane Dudley daughter to Henrie Gray Duke of Suffolke, wrate diuerſe things highlye to hir commendation, of whome ye haue hearde more before here in thys Hyſtorie: William Thomas a Welchman borne, of whome ye haue lykewiſe heard howe he ſuffred for Treaſon, wrote the Hyſtorie of Italie, and other things verie eloquently: Iames Brokes a Doctor of Diuinitie: Iohn Standiſh a Doctor likewiſe of the ſame profeſſion, greate defenders of the Popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth: William Peryne a blacke Frier by profeſſion, and a Doctor alſo of Diuinitie, wrote in defence of the Maſſe, and preached Sermons which were prynted of like ſtuffe: Iohn Barret borne in Lynne, a Doctor of Diuinitie, and ſometyme a Carmelite Frier, but reuolting from the Popes Religion, became an earneſt ſetter forth of the Goſpell, but eftſoones hee fell off, and returned to hys former opinions nowe in the dayes of Queene Marie: Henrie Lorde Stafforde, ſonne to Edwarde Duke of Buckingham, amongſt other things which he wrote, he tranſlated a booke out of the Latine into Engliſh, intituled *Vtriuſq. poteſtatis differentia*, that is, the difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as ſome thinke) was firſt compyled and ſet forth by Edwarde Foxe Biſhop of Hereford: Iohn Hopkins tranſlated dyuerſe Pſalmes of the Pſalter into Engliſh meeter, whiche are to bee founde amongeſt thoſe appoynted to be ſung in Churches.

HONI·SOIT·QVI·MAL·Y·PENCE·
E.
R

Queene Eliza-beth.

When true knowledge was had ẏ Queene Mary was deceaſſed, who left hir life in this worlde the xvij. day of Nouember as is before mẽtioned in the latter ende of hir hyſtorie, in the tyme of a Parliament, the Lordes that were aſſembled in the vpper houſe, being reſolued according to the lawes of the lande, to declare the Ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to the ſayde Queene to be verie true and lawfull heyre to the Crowne of Englande, ſent immediately to the ſpeaker of the Parliament, willing him with the knightes and Burgeſſes of the neather houſe, without delay to repayre vnto them into the vpper houſe, for their aſſents in a caſe of great importaunce: who being come thither, after ſilence made (as the maner is) the Archbiſhop of Yorke Chauncellor of Englande, whoſe name was Nicholas Heth, Doctor in Diuinitie, ſtood vp and pronounced in effect theſe wordes following.

The cauſe of your calling hither at this time, is to ſignifie vnto you, that all the Lordes here preſent are certainly certified, that God this preſent morning hath called to his mercie, our late ſoueraigne Ladie Queene Marie, which happe as it is moſt heauie and grieuous vnto vs, ſo haue we no leſſe cauſe an other way to reioyce, wyth prayſe to almightie God, for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritrice to the crowne of this realme, which is the Ladie Elizabeth, ſecond daughter to our late ſoueraigne Lord of noble memorie King Henrie the eight, and ſiſter to our ſayd late Queene, of whoſe moſt lawfull right and title in the ſucceſſion of the crowne (thankes be to God) wee neede not to doubt. Wherefore the Lordes of this houſe haue determined with your aſſentes and conſents, to paſſe from hence into the Palace, and there to proclaim the ſayde Ladie Elizabeth Queene of thys realme, without further tract of tyme, whereunto the whole houſe anſwered with euident appearaunce of ioy, God ſaue Queene Elizabeth, long may Queene Elizabeth raigne ouer vs: and ſo this preſent Parliament beeing diſſolued by the acte of God, the ſayde Lordes immediately calling vnto them the Kings and Principall Heraulds at Armes, went into the Palayce of Weſtmynſter, and directly before the Hall doore in the fore Noone of the ſame day, after ſeuerall ſoundings of trumpets made, in moſt ſolemne maner proclamed the newe Queene, by thys name and tytle, *Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the fayth, &c.* to the great comfort and reioyſing of the people, as by theyr maners and countenaunces well appeared, after which Proclamation made at Weſtminſter, the ſayde lords to witte the Duke of Norffolke, the Lord Treaſurer, the Erle of Oxforde, and diuerſe other lords and Biſhops, with all ſpeede repayred into the Citie of London, where the lyke proclamation was made in preſence of them, and alſo of the lord Maior and Aldermen in their ſkarlet gownes, at the Croſſe in Cheape, with no leſſe vniuerſall ioy and thanks giuing to God of all the hearers: and ſo our ſayd moſt gracious ſoueraigne Ladie Q. Elizabeth began hir happie raigne ouer this realm of Englande, to the great cõfort and gladneſſe of al eſtates, vpõ the foreſaid. xvij. day of Nouẽber, in the yere after the creation of the world. 5525. after the birth of our ſauiour. 1558. of the Empire of Ferdinando the firſt Emperor of Rome bearing that name, the fyrſte. In the. xij. yere of the raigne of Henrie the ſecond of that name French King, and in the. xvj. yeare of the raigne of Marie Q. of Scotlande.

The Ladie Elizabeth proclaymed Queene.

1558

The Fryday morning being the. xviij. of Nouember, and morrow after the deceaſſe of Q. Marie, Reginalde Poole, Lorde Cardinall, and Archbiſhop of Canterburie departed this life at

The death of Cardinall Poole.

at Lambeth, and was after buryed at Caunterbury in Chriſts Churche there.

eQueenes
ouing frõ
fielde.

On Wedneſday the three and twentith of Nouember, the Queenes maieſtie remoued frõ Hatfielde, vnto the Charter houſe in London, where ſhe lodged in the Lord Northes houſe, in which remouing, and comming thus to the Citie, it mighte well appeare how comfortable hir preſence was to them that went to receyue hir on the way, and likewiſe to yͤ great multitudes of people, that came abrode to ſee hir grace, ſhewing their reioycing hearts in countenance and wordes, with hartie prayers for hir Maieſties proſperous eſtate and preſeruation, whiche no doubt were acceptable to God, as by yͤ ſequeale of things it may certaynely be belieued, ſith hys deuine Maieſtie hathe ſo directed hir doyngs, that if euer the commõ wealth of this land hath flouriſhed, it maye rightly bee ſaide, that in hir moſt happie raigne, it hathe bin moſt flouriſhing, in peace, quietneſſe, and due adminiſtration of iuſtice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, ſo as thoſe whiche cannot contente themſelues with the preſente ſtate of things vnder hir rule, no doubt they are ſuch factious creatures, as wil not reſt ſatiſfyed with anye kynde of gouernemẽt, be it neuer ſo iuſt and commendable, from the which ſort of men, the Lord deliuer hir royal Maieſtie, and all hir true and louing ſubiectes, and preſerue hir in long life to all our comforts, and continue hir in ſuch happie proceedings, as ſhe hath begun to the ende.

On Monday, the eyghte and twentith of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the after noone, hir grace remoueth agayne, and takyng hir Charet, rode from my Lorde Northes houſe alongſt the Barbican, and entring by Criplegate into the Citie, kept along the wall to Byſhoppes gate, and ſo by blanke Chapelton vnto Marke lane.

Hir grace remoueth to the Tower.

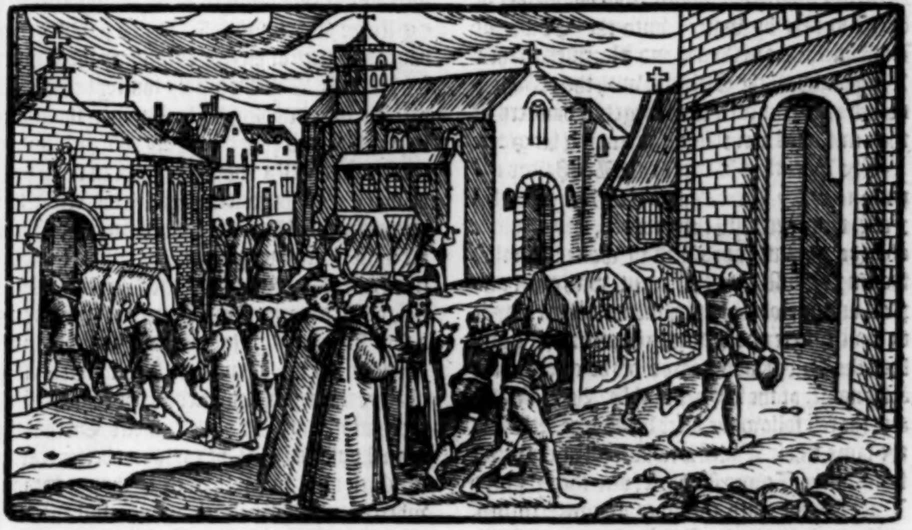
At hir entring into blanke Chapelton, the artillerie in the Tower began to goe off continually, ſhooting for the ſpace almoſt of halfe an houre, but yet had made an ende before hir Maieſtie was aduanced to Berking Churche, and ſo with great ioy and preaſe of people, of whom all the ſtreetes were full as ſhe paſſed, declaring their inward reioycings by geſture, wordes, and countenance, ſhe entred the Tower, where ſhee continued til the fifth of December being Monday, on the whiche daye, ſhe remoued by water vnto Somerſet place in the Strond, where ſhee arriued aboute tenne of the clocke in the forenoone the ſame day.

Hir remouing to Somerſet houſe.

The thirtenth of December beeing Teweſdaye, the corps of Queene Mary was ryghte honorably conueyd from hir manor of Sainte James, vnto the Abbey of Weſtminſter. Hir picture was layd on the coffin, apparelled in hir royall robes, with a Crowne of gold ſette on the head thereof, after a ſolemne manner.

Queene Mary buryed.

In the Abbey was a riche and ſumptuous herſe prepared and ſet vp with waxe, and richely decked with penons, baners, and ſcutchions, of the armes of England and Fraunce, vnder whiche herſe, the corpſe reſted all that nighte, and the next day it was brought into the new Chappell, where King Henry the ſeuenth lyeth, and there in the ſide Chappell it was enterred.



obſequie
or the
peroure.

The four and twentith of December, beeing the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a ſolemne obſequie kepte in the Abbey Churche of Weſtminſter, for Charles the ſeuenth late Emperour, who departed this life in September laſt, the one and twentith of the ſame moneth, in the Monaſterie of Saint Juſtus in Caſtille, being then of age about eyght and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the Empire before hee renounced the ſame a ſixe and thirtie yeares, and hys Kyngdomes of Caſtill, Aragone, Naples, Sicill, and others, aboue fortie yeares.

The deceaſſe of the Queene of Fraunce.

Moreouer in this yeare.1558. there dyed two of the ſaide Emperours ſiſters, that wente wyth him into Spayne, after he had reſigned the Empire, to witte, Queene Leonore, firſt maried vnto Emanuel King of Portingale, and after his deceaſſe, vnto the Frenche King Frances the firſt of that name. She deceaſſed in Februarye laſt paſt. His other ſiſter Mary, Queene of Hūgarie, late regente of the lowe Countreys, deceaſſed on Sainte Lukes day, the eyghtenth of October laſt paſt, and ſo the one preuenting him, the other taried not long after him, in ſo muche, that King Philip dyd celebrate the exequies in the Towne of Bruſſels, of his father the Emperoure, of hys Aunt Mary, Queene of Hungary, and of his wife Mary, Queene of England, in this preſent moneth of December ſubſequently, after the moſt pompous and ſolemne manner.

The deceaſſe of the Queene of Hungarie.

1559

The Letany, The Epiſtle and Goſpell in Engliſhe.

On Sonday the firſt of January, by vertue of the Queenes Proclamation, the Engliſhe Letanie was redde accordingly as was vſed in hir graces Chappell, in Churches through the Citie of London.

And likewiſe, the Epiſtle and Goſpell of the day began to bee redde in the ſame Churches at Maſſe time in the Engliſh tong, by commaundement giuen by the Lord Maior, according to the tenor of the ſame Proclamation, publiſhed the thirtith of the laſt moneth.

On Thurſeday the twelfth of January, the Queenes maieſtie remoued from hir Palace of Weſtminſter by water, vnto the Tower of London, the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their Barge, and all the Citizens, with their Barges decked and trimmed with targets & banners of their miſteries accordingly, attending hir grace.

The Bachelers Barge of the L. Maiors cōpany, to wit, yͤ Mercers, had their Barge with a Foiſt, trimmed with three toppes, and artillerie aborde, galantly appointed to waite vpon thē, ſhooting off luſtily as they went, with great and pleaſaunt melodie of inſtruments, which playde in moſt ſweete and heauenly manner. Hir grace ſhut the Bridge aboute two of the clocke in the after noone, at the ſtill of the ebbe, the L. Maior and the reſt following after hir Barge, attēding the ſame, til hir Maieſtie tooke land at the priuie ſtaire at the Tower Wharfe, and then the ſayd Lorde Maior with the other Barges returned, paſſing through the Bridge againe with the floud, and landed at the Wharfe of the three Cranes in the vintrie.

Vpon Saterday, whiche was the fourtenth day of January, in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1558. about two of the clocke at after noone, the moſt noble and Chriſtian Princeſſe, our moſt dradde ſoueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the faith. &c. marched from the Tower, to paſſe through the Citie of London toward Weſtminſter, richly furniſhed, and moſt honorably accompanyed, as well with Gentlemen, Barons, and other the nobilitie of thys Realme, as alſo with a notable trayne of goodly and beautifull Ladyes, richely appointed. And entring the Citie, was of the people receyued marueillous entierly, as appeared by the aſſembly, prayers, wiſhes, welcommings, cryes, tender wordes, and all other ſignes, whiche argue a wonderfull earneſt loue of moſt obediente ſubiectes toward their ſoueraigne. And on the other ſide, hir grace by holding vp hir hands, and merie countenance to ſuche as ſtoode farre off, and moſt tender and gentle language to thoſe that ſtoode nigh to hir grace, dyd declare hir ſelfe no leſſe thankefully to receiue hir peoples good will, than they louingly offred it vnto hir. To al that wiſhed hir grace well, ſhe gaue heartie thankes, and to ſuch as bade God ſaue hir grace, ſhe ſayd againe God ſaue them al, and thanked thē with all hir heart. So that on either ſide ther was nothing but gladnes, nothing but prayer, nothing but comfort. The Queenes Maieſtie reioyſed marueilouſly to ſee yͭ, ſo exceedingly ſhewed toward hir grace, which al good Princes haue euer deſired, I meane ſo earneſt loue of ſubiectes, ſo euidently declared euē to hir graces owne perſon being caried in yͤ middeſt of thē. The people again were wōderfully rauiſhed wͭ the louing anſwers & geſtures of their princeſſe, like to yͭ which they had before tried at hir firſt cōming to the Tower frō Hatfield. This hir graces louing behauioure preconceiued in yͤ peoples heads, vpon theſe conſiderations was then throughly cōfirmed, and in deede emplanted a wonderful hope in them touching hir worthy gouernement in the reſt of hyr raign. For in al hir paſſage ſhe did not only ſhew hir moſt gracious loue toward the people in generall, but alſo priuatly if yͤ baſer perſonages had either offred hir grace any floures or ſuch like, as a ſignification of their good wil, or moued to hir any ſute, ſhe moſt gently, to yͤ cōmon reioyſing of al yͤ lokers on, & priuat cōfort of yͤ party, ſtaid hir chariot, and heard their requeſts. So that if a man ſhould ſay well, he could not better tearme the Citie of London that time, than a Stage, wherein was ſhewed the wonderfull ſpectacle of a noble hearted princeſſe toward hir moſt louing people, and the peoples exceeding comfort in beholding ſo worthy a ſoueraigne, and hearing ſo princelike a voice, which coulde not but haue ſette the enimie on fire, ſince the vertue is in the enmitie alway cõmforted, much more could not but inflame hir naturall, obedient, and moſt louing people, whoſe weale leaneth only vpõ hir grace, and hir gouernement. Thus therefore the Queenes Maieſtie paſſed from the Tower, tyll ſhee came to Fanchurche, the people on each ſide ioyouſly beholding the viewe of ſo gracious a Lady their Queene, and hir grace no leſſe gladly noting and obſeruing the ſame. Neere vnto Fanchurch was erected a ſcaffold richely furniſhed, whereon ſtoode a noyſe of inſtruments, and a childe in coſtly apparell, whiche was appoynted to welcome the Queenes Maieſtie in the whole Cities behalfe. Againſt which place, whẽ hir grace came, of hir owne will ſhe commaunded the Chariot to bee ſtayde, and that the noyſe might be appeaſed, till the child had vttered hys welcoming Oration, which he ſpake in Engliſh metre as heere followeth.

O pereles ſouerayne Queene, behold what thys thy Towne
thee preſented with, at thy fyrſt entreunce heere:
old with how riche hope ſhe leades thee to thy Crowne,
old with what two gyftes, ſhe comforteth thy cheere.

The fyrſt is bleſſing tongs, which many a welcome ſay,
ch pray thou maiſt do well, which prayſe thee to the Skye,
ch wiſh to thee long lyfe, which bleſſe this happie day,
ch to thy kingdome heapes, all that in tongs can lye.

The ſecond is true heartes, which loue thee from theyr roote,
ſe ſute is triumph now, and ruleth all the game.
ch faithfulnes haue wonne, and all vntruth driuen out,
ch ſkippe for ioy, when as they heare thy happy name.

elcome therefore O Queene, as much as heart can thinke,
come agayne O Queene, as much as tong can tell:
come to ioyous tongs, and hearts that will not ſhrinke,
hee preſerue we pray, and wiſh thee euer well.

At which words of ẏ laſt line, the whole people gaue a great ſhout, wiſhing with one aſſent as the child had ſaid. And the Queenes maieſtie thanked moſt hartily, both the Citie for this hir gentle receyuing at the firſt, and alſo the people for confirming the ſame. Here was noted in the Queenes Maieſties countenance, during the time that the child ſpake, beſides a perpetuall attentiuenes in hir face, a maruellous change in loke, as the childs words touched either hir perſon, or the peoples tongs and hearts. So that ſhe with reioicing viſage did euidently declare that the words toke no leſſe place in hir minde, than they were moſt heartely pronounced by the childe, as from all the heartes of hir moſt heartie Citizens. The ſame verſes were faſtned vp in a table vppon the ſcaffolde, and the latine thereof likewiſe in latine verſes in another table, as heereafter enſueth.

Vrbs tua quæ ingreſſu dederit tibi munera primo,
O Regina parem non habitura, vide.
Ad diadema tuum, te ſpe quàm diuite mittat,
Quæ duo lætitiæ det tibi dona, vide.
Munus habes primũ, linguas bona multa precãtes,
Quæ te quum laudant, tum pia vota ſonant,
Fœlicemq; diem hunc dicunt, tibi ſecula longa
Optant, & quicquid deniq; longa poteſt.
Altera dona feres, vera, & tui amantia corda,
Quorum gens ludum iam regit vna tuum.
In quibus eſt infracta fides, falſumq; peroſa,
Quæq; tuo audito nomine læta ſalit:
Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit vllum,
Quantum lingua poteſt dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguiſq; per omnia lætis
Grata venis: ſaluam te velit eſſe deus.

Now when the child had pronounced his Oration, and the Queenes highnes ſo thankefully had receiued it, ſhe marched forward towarde Gracious ſtreete, where at the vpper ende, before the ſigne of ẏ Egle, the Citie had erected a gorgeous and ſumptuous arke as heere followeth.

A ſtage was made, whiche extended from the one ſide of the ſtreete to the other, richly vawted with battlementes conteining three portes, and ouer the middlemoſt was aduanced three ſeuerall ſtages in degrees.

Vpon the loweſt ſtage was made one ſeate royall, wherein were placed two perſonages, repreſenting King Henry the ſeuenth, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edwarde the fourth, eyther of theſe two Princes ſitting vnder one cloth of eſtate in their ſeates, no otherwiſe deuided, but that the one of them whiche was Kyng Henry the ſeuenth, proceeding out of the houſe of Lancaſter, was encloſed in a red roſe, and the other which was Queene Elizabeth, being heire to the houſe of Yorke, encloſed with a white roſe, eache of them royally crowned, and decently apparelled, as apperteineth to Princes, with Scepters in their handes, and one vaute ſurmounting their heads, wherein aptly were placed two tables, eache conteyning the title of thoſe two Princes. And theſe perſonages were ſo ſet, that the one of them ioyned handes wyth the other, with the ring of Matrimonie perceyued on the finger. Out of the whiche two roſes, ſprang two braunches gathered into one, which were directed vpward to the ſecond ſtage or degree, wherein was placed one, repreſenting the valiaunte and noble Prince Kyng Henrye the eyghte, whiche ſprong out of the former ſtocke, crowned with a Crowne imperiall, and by him ſate one repreſenting the righte worthy Ladye Queene Anne, wife to the ſaid King Henry the eyght, and mother to our moſt ſoueraine Ladye Q. Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with Scepters and diademes, and other furniture due to the ſtate of a King and Queene, and two tables ſurmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

From their ſeate alſo proceeded vpwards one braunche, directed to the thirde and vppermoſt ſtage or degree, wherein likewiſe was planted a ſeate royall, in the which was ſet one, repreſenting the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie Elizabeth, now our moſt dradde ſoueraigne Lady, crowned & apparelled as yͤ other Princes were.

Out of the foreparte of this Pageaunt, was made a ſtanding for a childe, whiche at the Queenes Maieſties comming, declared vnto hir the whole meaning of the ſaide Pageaunt.

The two ſydes of the ſame were filled wyth loude noyſes of muſicke. And all emptie places thereof were furniſhed with ſentences concerning vnitie. And the whole Pageant garniſhed with redde roſes and white. And in the forefront of the ſame Pageaunte, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the ſame, whyche was, The vniting of the two houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke.

This Pageaunte was grounded vppon the Queenes Maieſties name. For like as the long warre betweene the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter then ended, when Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the fourth matched in marriage with Henrye the ſeuenth, heyre to the houſe of Lancaſter: ſo ſince that the Queenes Maieſties name was Elizabeth, and for ſomuch as ſhee is the only heire of Henry the eyght, whyche came of both the houſes, as the knitting vp of cōcord, it was deuiſed, that lyke as Elizabeth was the firſt occaſion of concord, ſo ſhee another Elizabeth, mighte maynteyne the ſame among hyr ſubiects, ſo that vnitie was the ende whereat the whole deuiſe ſhotte, as the Queenes Maieſties name moued the firſt grounde.

This Pageant nowe againſt the Queenes Maieſties comming, was addreſſed with children, repreſenting the forenamed perſonages, with all furniture due vnto the ſetting forthe of ſuch a matter well meante, as the argument declared, coſtly & ſumptuouſly ſette forth, as yͤ beholders can beare witnes. Nowe the Queenes Maieſtie drew neere vnto yͤ ſaid Pageant, & for ſomuch as the noyſe was great, by reaſon of the preaſſe of people, ſo that ſhee coulde ſcarce heare the childe, which did interprete the ſaid Pagēt, and hir Chariot was paſſed ſo farre forwarde, that ſhe could not well view the perſonages repreſenting the Kings and Queenes aboue named: ſhe required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they ſignified, with the ende of vnitie and ground of hir name, according as is before expreſſed. For the ſight whereof, hir grace cauſed hir Chariot to be remoued backe, and yet hardly could ſhe ſee, bycauſe the childrē were ſet ſomewhat with the fartheſt in. But after that hir grace had vnderſtode the meaning thereof, ſhee thanked the Citie, prayſed the faireneſſe of the worke, and promiſed that ſhee would do hyr whole endeuour, for the continuall preſeruation of concord, as the Pageante did importe. The child appoynted in the ſtanding abouenamed, to open the meaning of the ſayde Pageant, ſpake theſe wordes vnto hir grace.

The two Princes that ſitte vnder one cloth of ſtate,
The man in the redde Roſe, the woman in the white:
Henry the ſeuenth, and Queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage, as man and wife vnite.

Both heires to both their blouds, to Lancaſter the kyng,
The Queene to Yorke, in one the two houſes did knitte,
Of whome as heyre to both, Henry the eyght did ſpring,
In whoſe ſeate his true heire thou Queene Elizabeth doſt ſitt

Therefore as ciuill warre, and ſhede of blood did ceaſſe,
When theſe two houſes were vnited into one,
So now that iarre ſhall ſtint, and quietnes encreaſe,
We truſt, O noble Queene, thou wilt be cauſe alone.

The which alſo were written in latin verſes, and both drawen in two tables vppon the forefront of the ſaid Pageant as hereafter foloweth.

Hij quos iungit idem ſolium quos annulus idem:
Hæc albente nitens, ille rubente Roſa:
Septimus Henricus Rex, Regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet Hæredes gentis vterq; ſuæ.
Hæc Eboracenſis, Lancaſtrius ille dederunt
Connubio, è geminis quo foret vna domus.
Excipit hos hæres Henricus copula regum
Octauus, magni Regis imago potens
Regibus hinc ſuccedis auis Regiq́; parenti
Patris iuſta hæres Elizabetha tui.

Sentences placed therein concerning vnitie.

Nullæ concordes animos vires domant.
Qui iuncti terrent, deiuncti timent.
Diſcordes animi ſoluunt, concordes ligant.
Augentur parua pace, magna bello cadunt.
Coniunctæ manus fortius tollunt onus.
Regno pro mœnibus æneis ciuium concordia.
Qui diu pugnant diutius lugent.
Diſsidentes principes ſubditorum lues.
Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datur
Filia concordiæ copia, neptis quies.
Diſſentiens reſpublica hoſtibus patet.
Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.
Regnum diuiſum facilè diſſoluitur.
Ciuitas concors armis fruſtrà tentatur.
Omnium gentium conſenſus firmat fidem. &c.

Theſe verſes and other pretie ſentences were drawen in voide places of this Pageant, all tending to one ende, that quietnes might be mainteyned, and all diſſention diſplaced, and that by the Queenes Maieſtie, heire to agreement, and agreeyng in name with hir, which tofore hadde ioyned thoſe houſes, whiche had bin the occaſion of muche debate and ciuill warre within thys

Realme, as may appeare to ſuche as will ſearch Chronicles, but be not to bee touched heerein, onely declaring hir graces paſſage through the Citie, and what prouiſion the Citie made therefore. And ere the Queenes Maieſtie came within hearing of this Pageant, ſhee ſente certaine as alſo at all the other Pageauntes, to require the people to bee ſilent. For hir Maieſtie was diſpoſed to heare all that ſhoulde bee ſayde vnto hir.

When the Queenes Maieſtie had hearde the childes Oration, and vnderſtoode the meaning of the Pageant at large, ſhe marched forwarde towarde Cornehill, alway receiued with lyke reioycing of the people, and there as hir grace paſſed by the cõduit, which was curiouſly trimmed againſte that time with rich banners adorned, and a noyſe of loude inſtrumentes vpon the toppe thereof, ſhe eſpyed the ſeconde Pageaunt; and bycauſe ſhe feared for the peoples noyſe, that ſhe ſhould not heare the child which did expound the ſame, ſhee enquired what that Pageant was ere that ſhee came to it. And there vnderſtoode, that there was a childe repreſenting hir Maieſties perſon, placed in a ſeate of gouernemente, ſupported by certaine vertues, which ſuppreſſed their contrarie vices vnder their feete, & ſo forth, as in the deſcription of the ſaide Pageaunt ſhall heereafter appeare.

This Pageant ſtanding in the nether ende of Cornehill, was extended from the one ſyde of the ſtreete to the other, and in the ſame Pageant was deuiſed three gates all open, and ouer the middle parte thereof was erected one chaire or ſeate royall, with a cloth of eſtate to yͤ ſame apperteyning, wherein was placed a childe, repreſenting the Queenes highnes, with conſideration had for place conuenient for a table, whiche conteyned hir name and title: and in a comely wreath artificially and well deuiſed, with perfite ſighte and vnderſtandyng to the people.

In the front of the ſame Pageãt was writtẽ the name and title thereof, which is The ſeate of worthy Gouernaunce, which ſeate was made in ſuch artificiall manner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the foreparte ſeemed to haue no ſtay, and therefore of force was ſtayde by liuely perſonages, which perſonages were in number foure, ſtanding and ſtaying the forefront of the ſame ſeate royall, eache hauing hys face to the Queene and people, whereof euerye one had a table to expreſſe theyr effectes, whyche are vertues, namely, Pure Religion, Loue of Subiectes, VViſedome and Iuſtice, which did treade their contrary vices vnder their feete, that is to witte, Pure Religion dyd treade vpon Superſtition and Ignoraunce, Loue of Subiectes, did treade vpon Rebelliõ and Inſolencie, VViſedome did treade vpon Follie and Vaine glory, Iuſtice dyd treade vpon Adulacion and Briberie. Eche of theſe perſonages according to their proper names and properties, had not only their names in playne and perfite writing ſet vppon theyr breaſtes eaſily to bee redde of all, but alſo euerye of them was aptly and properly apparelled, ſo that his apparell and name dyd agree to expreſſe the ſame perſon, that in title he repreſented.

This part of the Pageant was thus appointed and furniſhed.

The two ſydes ouer the two ſide portes had in them placed a noyſe of inſtrumentes, whyche immediately, after the childes ſpeeche, gaue an heauenly melodie.

Vpon the toppe or vppermoſt part of the ſaid Pageant, ſtoode the armes of England, royally portratured with the proper beaſtes to vphold the ſame.

One repreſenting the Queenes highnes, ſate in this ſeate, crowned with an imperial crowne, and before hir ſeate, was a conuenient place appoynted for one childe, which did interprete and apply the ſaid Pageant, as heereafter ſhall be declared. Euery voyde place was furniſhed with proper ſentences, commending the ſeate ſupported by vertues, and defacyng the vices, to the vtter extirpation of Rebellion, and to euerlaſting continuance of quietneſſe and peace. The Queenes Maieſtie approching nigh vnto thys Pageaunte thus beautifyed and furniſhed in all poyntes, cauſed hir Chariot to be drawen nygh thereunto, that hir grace myght heare the childs Oration, which was thys.

While that Religion true, ſhall ignorance ſuppreſſe,
And with hir weightie foote, breake ſuperſtitions head,
Whyle loue of ſubiectes, ſhall Rebellion diſtreſſe,
And with zeale to the Prince, inſolency downe treade.

Whyle Iuſtice, can flattering tongs and briberie deface,
Whyle follie and vaynegloríe to wiſedome yeeld their handes:
So long ſhall gouernement not ſwarue from hir right race,
But wrong decayeth ſtill, and rightwiſenes vp ſtandes.

Now all thy ſubiectes heartes, O Prince of peereleſſe fame,
Do truſt theſe vertues ſhall mainteyne vp thy throne,
And vice be kept downe ſtill, the wicked put to ſhame,
That good with good may ioy, & naught with naught may mone.

Whiche verſes were painted vpon the ryghte ſide of the ſame Pageant, and the latine thereof on yͤ left ſide in another table, which were theſe.

Quæ ſubnixa altè ſolio regina ſuperbo eſt,
Effigiem ſanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam ciuilis amor fulcit, ſapientia firmat,
Iuſticia illuſtrat, Relligióq; beat,
Vana ſuperſtitio & craſſa ignorantia frontis
Preſſæ ſub pura relligione iacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos, animóſq; rebelles
Iuſtus adulantes, Doniuoróſq; terit.

Cùm regit imperium ſapiens, ſine luce ſedebant
Stultitia, atq; huius numen inanis honor.

Beſide theſe verſes, there were placed in euery voyde rome of the Pageant, both in Engliſh and latin, ſuch ſentences, as aduanced the ſeate of gouernaunce vpholden by vertue. The grou͂d of this Pageante was, that lyke as by vertues (whiche doe aboundantly appeare in hir grace) the Queenes Maieſtie was eſtabliſhed in the ſeate of gouernemente: ſo ſhee ſhoulde ſitte faſt in the ſame, ſo long as ſhee embraſed Vertue, and helde vice vnder foote. For if vice once gote vp the head, it woulde put the ſeate of gouernement in perill of falling.

The Queenes Maieſtie when ſhe had heard the childe, and vnderſtoode the Pageant at full, gaue the Citie alſo thankes there, and moſt graciouſly promiſed hir good endeuour for ẏ maintenance of the ſaide vertues, and ſuppreſſion of vices, and ſo marched on, till ſhe came agaynſte the great conduit in Cheape, whiche was beautified with pictures and ſentences accordingly, againſt hir graces comming thither.

Againſt Soper lanes ende was extended fro͂ the one ſide of the ſtreete to the other, a Pageant which had three gates all open. Ouer the midlemoſt whereof were erected three ſeuerall ſtages, whereon ſate eyght children, as heereafter followeth. On the vppermoſt one childe, on ẏ middle three, on the loweſt foure, eache hauing the proper name of the bleſſing, that they did repreſent, written in a table, and placed aboue their heads.

In the forefront of this Pageant, before the children which did repreſent the bleſſings, was a conuenie͂t ſtanding caſt out for a child to ſtand, which did expound the ſayd Pageante vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, as was done in the other tofore. Euery of theſe children were appointed & apparelled, according vnto the bleſſing which hee dyd repreſent. And on the foreparte of the ſayde Pageaunte, was written in faire letters the name of the ſayde Pageant in this manner following.

The eight beatitudes expreſſed in the fifth Chapter of the Goſpell of Sainte Mathew, applyed to oure ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth.

Ouer the two ſide portes was placed a noiſe of inſtruments. And all voyde places in the Pageant were furniſhed with pretie ſayings, commending and touching the meaning of the ſaid Pageaunte, whiche was the promiſes and bleſſings of Almightie God, made to hys people.

Before that the Queenes highnes came vnto this Pageaunte, ſhee required the matter ſomewhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderſtand, what ſhould afterwarde by the child be ſayde vnto hir. Which ſo was, ẏ the Citie had there erected the Pageaunte with eyght children, repreſenting the eyght bleſſings touched in the fifth Chapter of S. Mathewe. Wherof euery one vpon iuſt conſideratio͂s, was applyed vnto hir highneſſe, and that the people thereby putte hir grace in mind, that as hir good doings before had giuen iuſt occaſion, why that theſe bleſſings might fall vpon hir, that ſo if hyr grace did continue in hir goodnes as ſhe had entred, ſhee ſhoulde hope for the fruite of theſe promiſes due vnto the͂, that do exerciſe themſelues in the bleſſings: whiche hir grace heard maruellous graciouſly, and required that the Chariot might be remoued towardes the Pageaunt, that ſhe might perceiue the childs words, which were theſe, the Queenes Maieſtie giuing moſt attentiue eare, and requiring that the peoples noyſe might be ſtayde.

Thou haſt bin eyght times bleſt, O Queene of worthy
By meekenes of thy ſpirit, when care did thee beſette,
By mourning in thy griefe, by mildnes in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirſt, and iuſtice couldſt none gette.

By mercy ſhewed, not felt, by cleanes of thine heart,
By ſeeking peace alwaies, by perſecution wrong.
Therefore truſt thou in God, ſince he hath helpt thy ſmart,
That as his promis is, ſo he will make thee ſtrong.

When theſe words were ſpoken, all the people wiſhed, that as the childe had ſpoken, ſo God woulde ſtrengthen hir grace againſte all hir aduerſaries, whome the Queenes Maieſtie dyd moſt gently thanke for their ſo louing wiſhe. Theſe verſes were painted on the left ſide of the ſayd Pageaunte, and other in latin on the other ſide, which were theſe.

Qui lugent hilares fient, qui mitia geſtant
Pectora, multa ſoli iugera culta metent:
Iuſtitiam eſuriens ſitienſue replebitur: ipſum
Fas homini puro corde videre deum:
Quē alterius miſeret, dominus miſerebitur huius:
Pacificus quiſquis, filius ille Dei eſt:
Propter iuſtitiam quiſquis patietur habetq;
Demiſſam mentem, cælica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi terram, mare, ſidera vouit
Omnipotens, horum quiſque beatus erit.

Beſides theſe, euery voide place in the Pageant was furniſhed with ſentences touchyng the matter and ground of the ſayd Pageaunte. When all that was to be ſayd in this Pageant was ended, the Queenes Maieſtie paſſed on forward in Cheape ſide.

At the Standert in Cheape, which was dreſſed faire againſt the tyme, was placed a noyſe of Trumpettes, with banners and other furniture. The Croſſe lykewiſe was alſo made faire, and well trimmed.

And neere vnto the ſame, vppon the porche of Saint Peters Church dore, ſtoode the Waites of the Citie, which did giue a pleaſaunte noyſe with their inſtrumentes, as the Queenes Maieſtie did paſſe by, whiche on euery ſide caſt hyr countenance, and wiſhed well to all hir moſt louing people. Soone after that hir grace paſſed ẏ Croſſe, ſhe had eſpyed the Pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might ſignifie. And it was tolde hir grace, that there was placed Tyme. Tyme? quoth ſhee, and Tyme hath broughte me hither. And ſo forth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as heereafter ſhall be declared in the deſcription of the Pageant. But in the opening, when hir grace vnderſtoode that the Byble in Engliſhe ſhoulde be deliuered vnto hir by Trueth, which was therin repreſented by a childe: ſhe thanked the Citie for that gift, and ſayd, that ſhe would oftentimes reade ouer that Booke, commaunding Sir John Parrat, one of the Knights which helde vp hir Canapie, to goe before, and to receiue the Booke. But learning that it ſhoulde bee deliuered vnto hir grace downe by a ſilken lace, ſhee cauſed him to ſtay, and ſo paſſed forwarde till ſhee came agaynſte the Aldermen in the high ende of Cheape tofore the little conduite, where the companyes of the Citie ended, which beganne at Fanchurche, and ſtoode along the ſtreetes, one by another encloſed with rayles, hanged with clothes, and themſelues well apparelled with manye riche furres, and their liuery whodes vpon their ſhoulders in comely and ſeemely maner, hauing before them ſundrye perſons well apparelled in ſilkes and chaynes of golde, as wyflers and garders of the ſayde companyes, beſide a number of riche hangings, as well of Tapiſtrie, Arras, clothes of golde, ſiluer, veluet, damaſke, Sattin, and other ſilkes plentifully hanged all the way as the Queenes highneſſe paſſed from the Tower thorough the Citie.

Out at the windowes and penthouſes of euery houſe, did hang a number of riche and coſtly banners and ſtreamers, till hir grace came to the vpper ende of Cheape. And there by appointmente, the ryght worſhipfull Maiſter Ranulph Cholmeley, Recorder of the Citie, preſented to the Queenes Maieſtie a purſe of crymeſon ſattine, richely wroughte with golde, wherein, the Citie gaue vnto the Queenes Maieſtie a thouſande markes in golde, as Maiſter Recorder did declare briefely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, whoſe words tended to this ende, that the Lord Maior his brethren, and communaltie of the Citie, to declare their gladnes and good will towards the Queenes Maieſtie, did preſente hyr grace with that gold, deſiring hir grace to continue their good and gracious Queene, and not to eſteeme the value of the gift, but the mynde of the giuers. The Queenes Maieſtie with both hir handes, tooke the purſe, and aunſwered to him againe marueillous pithily, and ſo pithily, that the ſtanders by, as they embraced entierly hyr gracious aunſweare, ſo they marueiled at the cowching thereof, which was in wordes truely reported theſe. I thanke my Lorde Maior, hys brethren, and you all. And whereas your requeſt is that I ſhould continue youre good Lady and Queene, bee yee enſured, that I will be as good vnto you, as euer Queene was to hir people. No will in mee can lacke, neyther doe I truſt ſhall there lacke any power. And perſwade your ſelues, ẏ for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of you all, I will not ſpare, if neede be, to ſpend my bloud, God thanke you all. Whiche aunſweare of ſo noble an hearted Princes, if it moued a marueilous ſhoute and reioycing, it is nothing to bee marueiled at, ſince both the heartineſſe thereof was ſo wonderfull, and the wordes ſo ioyntly knitte. When hir grace had thus aunſwered the Recorder, ſhee marched towarde the little conduit, where was erected a Pageant with ſquare proportion, ſtanding directly before the ſame conduit, with battlementes accordingly. And in the ſame Pageant was aduaunced two hylles or Mountaynes of conuenient height. The one of them beeing on the North ſyde of the ſame Pageante, was made cragged, barren and ſtonie, in the whiche was erected one tree, artificially made, all withered and dead, with braunches accordingly.

And vnder the ſame tree at the foote thereof, ſate one in homely and rude apparell crokedly, and in mourning maner, hauing ouer hys head in a table, written in Latin and Engliſhe, hys name, whiche was *Ruinoſa Reſpublica*, A decayed common weale.

And vppon the ſame withered tree were fixed certayne Tables, wherein were written proper ſentences, expreſſing the cauſes of the decay of a common weale. The other hill on the South ſyde was made fayre, freſh, greene, and beautifull, the ground thereof full of floures and beautie, and on the ſame was erected alſo one tree, very freſhe and faire, vnder the whyche, ſtoode vpright one freſhe perſonage well apparelled and appoynted, whoſe name alſo was written both in Engliſh and Latin, which was, *Reſpublica bene inſtituta*, a flouriſhing common Weale.

And vpon the ſame tree alſo, were fixed certaine Tables conteyning ſentences, whych expreſſed the cauſes of a flouriſhing common Weale. In the myddle betweene the ſayde hylles, was made artificially one hollow place or caue, or caue, with dore and locke encloſed, out of the which, a little before the Queenes highnes comming thither, iſſued one perſonage, whoſe name was Tyme, apparelled as an old man, with a Sythe in his hande, hauing wings artificially made, leading a perſonage of leſſer ſtature than himſelfe, which was finely and well apparelled, all cladde in white ſylke, and directly ouer hyr head, was ſette hir name and title in latine and Engliſh, *Temporis filia*, the daughter of Tyme. Whiche two ſo appoynted, wente forwarde toward the South ſide of the Pageant. And on hir breſt was written hir proper name, which was *Veritas*, Truth, who helde a Booke in hir hand, vpon the which was written, *Verbum veritatis*, the word of trueth. And out of the South ſyde of the Pageant, was caſt a ſtanding for a child, which ſhoulde interprete the ſame Pageant. Againſte whome, when the Queenes Maieſtie came, he ſpake vnto hir grace theſe words.

This old man with the ſythe, olde father Tyme they call,
And hir his daughter Trueth, which holdeth yonder Booke,
Whome he out of his rocke hath brought forth to vs all,
From whence this many yeares ſhe durſt not once out looke.

The ruthfull wight that ſitteth vnder the barren tree,
Reſembleth to vs the forme, when common weales decay,
But when they be in ſtate triumphant, you may ſee
By him in freſhe attire that ſitteth vnder the baye.

Nowe ſince that Tyme agayne his daughter Trueth hathe
we truſt O worthy Q. thou wilt this trueth embrace, (brought,
And ſince thou vnderſtandſt the good eſtate and naught,
We truſt welth thou wilte plant, and barrennes diſplace.

But for to heale the ſore, and cure that is not ſeene,
Whiche thing the Booke of trueth doth teach in writing playne:
She doth preſent to thee the ſame, O worthy Queene,
For that, that words do flye, but writing doth remayne.

When the childe had thus ended his ſpeeche, hee reached his Booke towardes the Queenes Maieſtie, which a little before, Trueth had lette downe vnto him from the hill, whyche by Sir John Parrat was receiued, and deliuered vnto the Queene. But ſhee as ſoone as ſhe had receyued the Booke, kiſſed it, and with both hir hands helde vp the ſame, and ſo layd it vpon hir breſt, with great thankes to the Citie therefore. And ſo wente forwarde towardes Paules Churchyarde. The former matter whiche was rehearſed vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, was written in two tables, on eyther ſide the Pageant eight verſes, and in the middeſt, theſe in latine.

Ille, vides falcem læua qui ſuſtinet vncam,
Tempus is eſt, cui ſtat filia vera comes
Hanc pater exeſa deductam rupe reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui ſedet à læua cultu male triſtis inepto
Quem duris creſcens cautibus orbis obit,
Nos monet effigie, qua ſit reſpublica quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget
Ille docet iuuenis forma ſpectandus amictu
Scitus, & æterna laurea fronde virens.

The ſentences written in latine and Engliſhe vpon both the trees, declaring the cauſes of both eſtates, were theſe.

Cauſes of a ruinous common weale are theſe.

Want of the feare of God
Diſobedience to rulers
Blindnes of guides
Briberie in Magiſtrates
Rebellion in ſubiects
Ciuill diſagreement
Flattering of Princes
Vnmercifulneſſe in Rulers
Vnthankefulneſſe in Subiects.

Cauſes of a flouriſhing common weale.

Feare of God
A wiſe Prince
Learned Rulers
Obedience to officers
Obedient ſubiects
Louers of the common Weale
Vertue rewarded
Vice chaſtned.

The matter of this Pageaunte dependeth of them that went before. For as the firſt declared hir grace to come out of the houſe of vnitie, the ſecond that ſhe is placed in the ſeate of gouernemente ſtaid with vertues, to the ſuppreſſion of vice, and therefore in the thirde, the eyght bleſſings of almighty God mighte well bee applyed vnto hir: ſo this fourth nowe is, to put hir grace in remembraunce of the ſtate of the common weale, which Time with Trueth his daughter doth reueale, which Trueth alſo hir grace hathe receiued, and therefore cannot but bee mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof.

From thence, the Queenes Maieſtie paſſed towarde Paules Churchyard, and when ſhee came ouer againſte Paules Schoole, a child appoynted by the Scholemaiſter thereof, pronounced a certayne Oration in Latine, and certayne verſes, whiche alſo were there written as followeth.

Philoſophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa preclarè ac ſapienter dicta, hoc poſteris proditum reliquit, Rempublicam illam fæliciſsimam fore, cũ princeps ſophiæ ſtudioſa, virtutibuſq; ornata cōtigerit. Quem ſi vere dixiſſe cenſeamus (vt quidē veriſ-

veriſsime) cur non terra Britannica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atq; letitiam agitaret? immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? quo princeps talis nobis adeſt, qualem priores non viderunt, qualemq; poſteritas haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndiq; fælicisſima. Caſti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ ſunt, vt oratione non egeant. Animi vero tot tantæq;, vt ne verbis quidem exprimi poſsint. Hæc nempe regibus ſummis orta, morum atq; animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Huius pectus Chriſti religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illuſtrabit, clipeoq; iuſtitiæ teget. Hæc literis græcis & latinis eximia, ingenioq; præpollens eſt. Hac imperante pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea ſecula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commoda accepturi Elizabetham Reginam noſtram celeberrimam ab ipſo Chriſto huius regni imperio deſtinatam, honore debito proſequimini. Huius imperiis animo libentiſsimo ſubditi eſtote, voſq; tali principe dignos prebete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus ſed præcibus, Officium præſtare poſſunt, nos Alumni huius ſcholæ ab ipſo Coleto olim Templi Paulini Decano extructæ teneras palmas ad Cælum tendentes Chriſtum Opt. Maxi. præcaturi ſumus vt tuam celſitudinem annos Neſtoreos ſummo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremq; pignoribus charis beatam reddat, Amen.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, letare, reſulta,
Preſto iam vita eſt, præſidiumq; tibi
En tua ſpes venit tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit iam, ſolidam quæ tibi preſtat opem.
Succurretq; tuis rebus quæ peſſum abiere.
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet
Omnia florebunt, redeunt nunc aurea ſecla.
In melius ſurgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam
Cuius in acceſſu commoda tot capies.
Salue igitur dicas, imo de pectore ſummo.
Elizabeth Regni non dubitanda ſalus,
Virgo venit, veni atq; optes comitata deinceps.
Pignoribus charis, leta parens veniat,
Hoc deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui cælum & terram condidit atq; regit.

Which the Queenes Maieſtie moſt attentiuely hearkned vnto. And when the childe had pronounced, he did kiſſe the Oration which hee had there fayre written in Paper, and deliuered it vnto the Queens Maieſtie, which moſt gently receyued the ſame.

And when the Queenes Maieſtie had heard all that was there offred to bee ſpoken, then hir grace marched towarde Ludgate, where ſhee was receyued with a noyſe of Inſtruments, the forefront of the gate beyng finely trimmed vp agaynſt hir Maieſties comming.

From thence by the way as ſhe went downe towarde Fleetbridge, one about hir grace noted the Cities charge, that there was no coſt ſpared. Hir grace anſwered, that ſhee did well conſider the ſame, and that it ſhoulde be remembred. An honourable anſwere, worthie a noble Prince, which may comfort all hir ſubiects, conſidering that there can be no point of gentleneſſe, or obedient loue ſhewed towarde hir grace, which ſhe doth not moſt tenderly accept, and graciouſly wey.

In thys maner, the people on eyther ſyde reioyſing, hir grace went forwarde towarde the Conduyte in Fleetſtreete, where was the fyft and laſte Pageant erected in forme following.

From the Conduyte which was beautified wyth paynting, vnto the Northſyde of the ſtreete, was erected a Stage, embattayled with foure Towers, and in the ſame a ſquare platte ryſing wyth degrees, and vpon the vppermoſt degree was placed a Chayre, or ſeate royall, and behinde the ſame ſeate, in curious artificiall maner was erected a tree of reaſonable heigth, and ſo farre aduaunced aboue the ſeate, as it did well and ſeemely ſhadowe the ſame, without endamaging the ſight of anye part of the Pageant, and the ſame tree was beautified with leaues as greene as Arte coulde deuiſe, being of a conuenient greatneſſe, and conteyning thereupon the fruite of the Date, and on the toppe of the ſame tree in a Table was ſet the name thereof, which was A Palme tree, and in the aforeſayd ſeate or Chayre was placed a ſeemely and meete perſonage richely apparayled in Parliament Robes, with a ſcepter in hir hande, as a Queene, crowned wyth an open Crowne, whoſe name and title was in a Table fixed ouer hir head, in this ſort: Debora the Iudge and reſtorer of the houſe of Iſraell. Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on eyther ſyde were furniſhed with ſixe perſonages, two repreſenting the Nobilitie, two the Clergie, and two the Communaltie. And before theſe perſonages was written in a Table, Debora with hir eſtates, conſulting for the good gouernment of Iſraell. At the feete of theſe, and the loweſt part of the Pageant, was ordeyned a conuenient roome for a childe to open the meaning of the Pageant.

When the Queenes Maieſtie drewe neare vnto thys Pageant, and perceyued, as in the other, the childe readie to ſpeake, hir Grace required ſilence, and commaunded hir Chariot to bee remoued nigher, that ſhee myght plainly heare the childe ſpeake, which ſayde as hereafter followeth.

Iabin of Canaan king had long by force of armes
Oppreſt the Iſraelites, which for Gods people went,
But God mynding at laſt for to redreſſe theyr harmes,
The worthie Debora as iudge among them ſent.

In warre ſhe through Gods ayde, did put hir foes to flight,
And with the dint of ſworde the band of bondage braſt.
In peace ſhe, through Gods ayd, did alway mainteyne right,
And iudged Iſraell till fortie yeares were paſt.

A worthie preſident, O worthie Queene, thou haſt,
A worthie woman iudge, a woman ſent for ſtay.
And that the like to vs endure alway thou mayſt,
Thy louing ſubiects will with true hearts and tongs pray.

Which verſes were written vpon the Pageant, and the ſame in latine alſo.

Quando dei populum Canaan, rex preſsit Iaben,
Mittitur a magno Debora magna deo:
Quæ populum eriperet, ſanctum ſeruaret Iudan,
Milite quæ patrio frangeret hoſtis opes.
Hæc domino mandante deo lectiſsima fecit.
Fœmina, & aduerſos contudit enſe viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello ſtrenua, pace grauis,
Sic, O ſic populum belloq́; & pace guberna,
Debora ſis Anglis Elizabetha tuis.

The voyde places of the Pageant were filled with pretie ſentences concerning the ſame matter. The ground of this laſt Pageant was, that forſomuch as the next Pageant before had ſet before hir graces eyes the flouriſhing and deſolate ſtates of a common weale, ſhee might by this be put in remembrance to conſult for the worthie gouernment of hir people, conſidering God oftentymes ſent women nobly to rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Iſraell in peace the ſpace of .xl. yeares: and that it behoueth both men and women ſo ruling to vſe aduiſe of good counſaile. When the Queenes maieſty had paſſed this pageãt, ſhe marched toward Temple barre. But at S. Dunſtones Church where the children of the Hoſpitall were appointed to ſtand with their gouernors, hir grace perceyuing a childe offred to make an oration vnto hir, ſtayed hir Chariot, and did caſt vp hir eyes to heauen, as who ſhoulde ſay, I here ſee this mercifull worke towarde the poore, whome I muſt in the middeſt of my royaltie needes remember, and ſo turned hir face towarde the childe, which in Latin pronounced an Oration to this effect, That after the Queenes highneſſe had paſſed through the Citie, and had ſeene ſo ſumptuous, riche, and notable ſpectacles of the Citizens, which declared theyr moſt heartie receyuing, and ioyous welcomming of hir grace into the ſame: this one ſpectacle yet reſted, and remayned, which was the euerlaſting ſpectacle of mercie vnto the poore members of Almightie God, furthered by that famous and moſte noble Prince king Henrie the eight hir graces father, erected by the Citie of London, and aduaunced by the moſt godly vertuous and gracious prince King Edwarde the ſixt, hir Graces deare and louing brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the Queenes moſte gracious clemencie, by the which they may not onely bee relieued and helped, but alſo ſtayed and defended, and therefore inceſſantly they woulde pray and crie vnto almightie God, for the long life and raigne of hir highneſſe, with moſt proſperous victorie againſt hir enimies.

The childe after he had ended his Oration, kiſſed the Paper wherein the ſame was written, and reached it to the Queenes Maieſtie, which receyued it graciouſly, both with wordes and countenaunce, declaring hir gracious mynd towarde their reliefe. From thence hir grace came to Templebarre, which was dreſſed finely with the two Images of Gotmagot the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two Gyants, bigge in ſtature, furniſhed accordingly, which helde in theyr handes euen aboue the Gate, a Table, wherein was written in Latin verſes, the effect of all the Pageants which the Citie before had erected, which verſes were theſe.

Ecce ſub aſpectu iam contemplaberis vno
O princeps populi ſola columna tui.
Quicquid in immenſa paſsim perſpexeris vrbe
Quæ cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te ſolio regni donauit auiti,
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppreſsis vitijs, domina virtute, Secundus
Firmauit ſedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni poſuit te parte beatam
Si, qua cæpiſti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, reſpublica lapſo quid eſſet
Quæ florens ſtaret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora, miſſam
Cælitus in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuæ ſpes vnica gentis,
Hæc poſtrema vrbis ſuſcipe vota tuæ.
Viue diu, regnaq́; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi ſpem tueare tui.
Sic o ſic petitur cælum. Sic itur in aſtra
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Which verſes were alſo written in English meter, in a leſſe table as hereafter foloweth.

Beholde here in one view, thou mayſt ſee all that plaine,
O princeſſe to this thy people the onely ſtay:
What echewhere thou haſt ſeene in this wyde towne, againe
This one arche whatſoeuer the reſt conteynd, doth ſay.

The firſt arche as true heyre vnto thy father deere,
Did ſet thee in thy throne where thy grandfather ſat,

he ſeconde did confyrme thy ſeate as Princeſſe here,
ertues now bearing ſway, and vices bet downe flatte.
he thirde, if that thou wouldeſt go on as thou began,
eclared thee to be bleſſed on euery ſyde,
he fourth did open truth, and alſo taught thee when
he common weale ſtoode well, and when it did thence ſlide,
he fifte, as Debora declared thee to be ſent
rom heauen, a long comfort to vs thy ſubiectes all,
herfore go on O Queene, on whome our hope is bent,
nd take with thee this wiſh of thy towne as finall.
iue long, and as long raigne, adorning thy Countrey
ith vertues, and mainteine thy peoples hope of thee,
r thus, thus, heauen is wonne, thus muſt thou pierce the ſkie,
his is by vertue wrought, all other muſt nedes die.

On the Southſide was appoynted by the Citie a noyſe of ſinging children, and one childe richly attyred as a Poet, which gaue the Queenes Maieſtie hir farewell in the name of the whole Citie, by theſe wordes.

t thine entrance firſt O Prince of high renowne,
ou waſt preſented with tongues and heartes for thy fayre,
o now ſith thou muſt nedes depart out of this towne,
his Citie ſendeth thee firme hope and earneſt prayer.
r all men hope in thee, that all vertues ſhall raigne,
r all men hope that thou, none errour wilt ſupport:
r all men hope that thou wilt truth reſtore agayne,
nd mend that is amiſſe, to all good mennes comfort.
nd for this hope they pray, thou mayeſt continue long,
ur Queene amongſt vs here, all vice for to ſupplant,
nd for this hope they pray, that God may make thee ſtrong,
s by his grace puiſſant, ſo in his truth conſtant.
arewell O worthie Queene, and as our hope is ſure,
hat into errours place thou wilt now truth reſtore,
o truſt we that thou wilt our ſoueraigne Queene endure,
nd louing Ladie ſtande, from henceforth euermore.

While theſe wordes were in ſaying, and certaine wiſhes therin repeated for maintenance of truth, and rooting out of errour, ſhe now and then helde vp hir handes to heauenwarde, and willed the people to ſay, Amen.

When the childe had ended, ſhe ſayde, Be ye well aſſured, I will ſtande your good Queene. At which ſaying, hir grace departed forth through Temple Barre toward Weſtminſter, with no leſſe ſhouting and crying of the people, than ſhee entred the citie with a noyſe of ordinance which the Towre ſhot off at hir graces entrance firſt into Towre ſtreete.

The childes ſaying was alſo in latin verſes written in a Table whiche was hanged vppe there.

O regina potens, quum prima vrbem ingredereris
Dona tibi, linguas fidaq́; corda dedit.
Diſcedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena ſpei, votaq́; plena precum.
Quippe tuis ſpes eſt, in te quod prouida virtus
Rexerit, errori nec locus vllus erit.
Quippe tuis ſpes eſt, quod tu verū omne reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac ſpe freti orant, longum vt regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac ſpe freti orant, diuina vt gratia fortem,
Et veræ fidei te velit eſſe baſin.
Iam Regina vale, et ſicut nos ſpes tenet vna,
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit.
Sic quoq́; ſperamus quod eris regina benigna
Nobis per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the Queenes highneſſe paſſed thorow the Citie, which without any forraigne perſon, of it ſelfe beautified it ſelfe, and receyued hir grace at all places as hath beene before mentioned, with moſt tender obedience and loue, due to ſo gracious a Queene and ſoueraigne Lady. And hir grace likewiſe of hir ſide in all hir graces paſſage, ſhewed hirſelfe generally an Image of a worthie Ladie and Gouernour, but priuately theſe eſpeciall poyntes were noted in hir grace, as ſignes of a moſt Princelyke courage, whereby hir louing Subiectes may grounde a ſure hope for the reſt of hir gracious doyngs hereafter.

Certaine notes of the Queenes maieſties great mercie, clemencie, and wiſdom vſed in this paſſage.

About the nether ende of Cornhill towarde Cheape, one of the knightes about hir grace had eſpyed an auncient Citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe, and therewith ſayde thys Gentleman, yonder is an Alderman (for ſo hee tearmed him) which weepeth, and turneth hys face backwarde. How may it bee interpreted that he ſo doth, for ſorowe, or for gladneſſe? The Queenes Maieſtie heard him, and ſayd, I warrant you it is for gladneſſe. A gracious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turn the doubtfull to the beſt. And yet it was well knowen, that as hir grace did confirme the ſame, the parties cheare was moued for verie pure gladneſſe for the ſight of hir Maieſties perſon, at the beholding wherof, he tooke ſuch comfort, that with teares he expreſſed the ſame.

In Cheape ſide hir grace ſmyled, and being thereof demaunded the cauſe, anſwered, for that ſhe heard one ſay, Remember olde king Henrie the eight. A naturall childe, which at the verie remembraunce of hir fathers name tooke ſo great a ioy, that all men may well thinke, that as ſhee reioyced at his name whom this Realme doth holde of ſo worthie memorie: ſo in hir doings ſhe will reſemble the ſame.

When the Cityes charge without partialitie, and onely the Citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, ſhe ſayd it ſhoulde not be forgotten. Which ſaying might moue all naturall Engliſhmen heartily to ſhew due obedience and entierneſſe to theyr ſo good a Queene, which will in no poynt forget any parcell of duetie louingly ſhewed vnto hir.

The aunſwere which hir grace made vnto maſter Recorder of Lōdon, as the hearers know it to be true, and with melting heartes hearde the ſame: ſo may the reader thereof conceyue what kinde of ſtomacke and courage pronounced the ſame.

What more famous thing doe wee read in auncient hiſtories of olde tyme, than that mightie Princes haue gently receyued preſents offered them by baſe and lowe perſonages. If that be to be wondered at (as it is paſſingly) let mee ſee any wryter that in any one Princes life is able to recount ſo many preſidents of this vertue as hir grace ſhewed in that one paſſage through the Citie. How many Noſegayes did hir grace receyue at poore womens handes? how oftentymes ſtayed ſhe hir Chariot, when ſhe ſawe any ſimple body offer to ſpeake to hir grace? A brāch of Roſemary giuen to hir grace with a ſupplication by a poore woman about Fleetbridge, was ſeene in hir chariot til hir grace came to Weſtm. not without the maruellous wondring of ſuch as knew the preſenter, and noted the Queenes moſt gracious receyuing and keeping the ſame.

What hope the poore and nedie may looke for at hir graces hand, ſhe as in all hir iourney continually, ſo in hir harkening to the poore children of Chriſtes hoſpitall with eies caſt vp into heauen, did fully declare, as that neyther the wealthier eſtate coulde ſtande without conſideration had to the pouertie, neyther the pouertie bee duely conſidered, vnleſſe they were remembred, as commended to vs by Gods owne mouth.

As at hir firſt entrance ſhe as it were declared, hir ſelfe prepared to paſſe through a Citie that moſt entierly loued hir, ſo ſhe at hir laſt departing, as it were bound hir ſelfe by promiſſe, to continue good Ladie and gouernour vnto that Citie, whiche by outwarde declaration did open theyr loue, to theyr ſo louing and noble Prince, in ſuch wiſe, as ſhee hir ſelfe wondered thereat.

But bycauſe Princes be ſet in their ſeate by Gods appoynting, and therefore they muſt firſt and chiefly tender the glorie of him, from whom their glorie iſſueth: it is to be noted in hir grace, that forſomuch as God hath ſo wonderfullye placed hir in the ſeate of gouernment ouer this Realme, ſhee in all doings doth ſhewe hir ſelfe moſte myndfull of his goodneſſe and mercye ſhewed vnto hir, and amongeſt all other, two principall ſignes thereof were noted in this paſſage. Firſt in the Tower, where hir Grace before ſhe entred hir Chariot, lyfted vp hir eyes to heauen and ſayde.

O Lorde, almightie and euerlaſting God, I giue thee moſt harty thāks, that thou haſt bin ſo mercifull vnto me, as to ſpare me to beholde this ioyfull day. And I acknowledge that thou haſt delt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou diddeſt with thy true and faythfull ſeruant Daniell thy Prophete, whom thou deliueredſt out of the denne from the crueltie of the greedie and raging Lions: euen ſo was I ouerwhelmed, and onely by thee deliuered. To thee therfore onely be thankes, honor and praiſe, for euer. Amen.

The ſecond was the receyuing of the Bible at the little conduit in Cheape. For when hir Grace had learned that the Byble in Engliſhe ſhould there be offred, ſhe thanked the Citie therfore, promiſed the reading thereof moſt diligently, and incontinent commaunded, that it ſhoulde be brought. At the receypte whereof, how reuerently did ſhe with both hir handes take it, kiſſe it, and lay it vpon hir breaſt? to the great comfort of the lookers on. God will vndoubtedly preſerue ſo worthie a Prince, which at his honor ſo reuerently taketh hir beginning. For this ſaying is true, and written in the Booke of truth. He that firſt ſeeketh the kingdome of god, ſhal haue all other things caſt vnto him.

Nowe therefore all Engliſhe heartes, and hir naturall people muſte nedes prayſe Gods mercie which hath ſent thē ſo worthie a prince, and pray for hir graces long continuaunce amongſt vs.

Hir coronation.

Sunday the. xv. of Ianuarie, hir Maieſtie was with great ſolemnitie crowned at Weſtminſter in the Abbey Church there, by doctor Oglethorpe Biſhop of Carleil. Shee dined in Weſtminſter hall, which was richly hung, and euerie thing ordered in ſuche royall maner as to ſuche a regall and moſt ſolemne feaſt apperteyned.

Sir Edwarde Dimmocke.

In the meane tyme, whileſt hir grace ſat at dinner, ſir Edwarde Dimmocke knight hir Champion by office, came ryding into the Hall in fayre complete armour, mounted on a beautifull Courſer, richly trapped in clothe of Golde, entred the Hall, and in the middeſt thereof caſt downe his gauntlet, wyth offer to fight wyth hym in hir quarell that ſhoulde denye hir to bee the rightuous and lawfull Queene of this Realme. The Queene taking a cuppe of Golde full of Wine, dranke to hym thereof, and ſent it to hym for his fee togither wyth the Couer.

The L. Ma
of London
ſerueth the
Queene of
Ipocraſſe.

And after thys, at the ſeruing vp of the Wafers, the Lorde Maior of London went to the Cupbord, and filling a cup of golde with Ipocraſſe, bare it to the Queene, and kneeling afore hir tooke the aſſay, and ſhee receyuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the Cuppe wyth the couer vnto the ſayde Lorde Maior for his fee, which Cuppe and couer weyed. xvj. ounzes Troy weight.

Finally this feaſt being celebrated with all royall ceremonies, and high ſolemnities, due and in like caſes accuſtomed, tooke ende wyth great ioy and contentation to all the beholders.

Parliament.

Wedneſday the. xxv. of Ianuarie the Parliament began, the Queenes Maieſtie ryding in hir Parliament Robes, from hir Palaice of white Hall, vnto the Abbey Churche of Weſtmynſter, with the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, attending hir likewiſe in theyr Parliament Robes. Doctor Coxe ſometime ſcholemaiſter to King Edwarde the ſixt, and nowe lately returned frō the parties of beyonde the ſeas, where during the dayes of Queene Marie he had liued as a baniſhed man, preached nowe before the eſtates there aſſembled in the beginning of the ſayd Parliament.

Stowe.

he firſt fruits nd tenthes reſtored to the owne.

In this Parliament, the firſt fruits & tenthes were reſtored to the crown, and alſo the ſupreme gouernment ouer the ſtate eccleſiaſticall, which Queene Mary had giuen to the Pope. Likewiſe the booke of common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in our mother tongue was reſtored.

motiō made the Parliament houſe.

Moreouer in the time of this Parliament, a motion was made by the common houſe, that the Queenes Maieſtie might be ſued vnto, to graūt hir graces licence to the ſpeaker, knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, to haue acceſſe vnto hir graces preſence, to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the ſtate of thys hir graces realme. The which petition being mooued to hir grace, ſhe moſt honourably agreed and conſented therevnto, and aſſigned a day of hearing. When the day came, the ſpeaker and common houſe reſorted vnto hir graces palaice at Weſtmynſter, called the white Hall. And in the great Gallerie there, hir grace moſt honourably ſhewed hir ſelfe readie to heare their motion and petition. And when the ſpeaker had ſolemnely and eloquently ſet forth the meſſage (the ſpeciall matter whereof moſt ſpecially was to moue hir grace to mariage,) whereby (to al our comforts) wee might enioy (as Gods pleaſure ſhould be) the royall iſſue of hir bodie to raigne ouer vs. &c.

ft. abr.

The Queenes Maieſtie after a little pauſe, made this anſwere folowing, as nere as I could beare the ſame away, ſayth Grafton.

Queenes ſwere.

As I haue good cauſe, ſo doe I giue to you my heartie thankes for the good zeale and care that you ſeeme to haue as well towarde mee, as to the whole eſtate of your Countrey. Your petition I gather to be grounded on three cauſes, and mine anſwere to the ſame ſhall conſiſt in two partes. And for the firſt I ſay vnto you, that from my yeares of vnderſtanding, knowing my ſelfe a ſeruitour of almightie God, I choſe this kind of life, in which I doe yet liue, as a life moſt acceptable vnto him, wherein I thought I coulde beſt ſerue him, and with moſt quietneſſe doe my duetie vnto him. From which my choiſe, if either ambition of high eſtate offred vnto me by mariages (whereof I haue recordes in this preſence) the diſpleaſure of the Prince, the eſchewing the daunger of mine enimies, or the auoyding the perill of death (whoſe Meſſenger the Princeſſe indignation was no little tyme continually preſent before mine eyes, by whoſe meanes, if I knew or do iuſtly ſuſpect, I will not now vtter them, or if the whole cauſe were my ſiſter hirſelfe, I will not nowe charge the deade) coulde haue drawne or diſſwaded me, I had not nowe remayned in this Virgins eſtate wherein you ſee me. But ſo conſtant haue I alwayes continued in this my determination (that although my wordes and youth may ſeeme to ſome hardly to agree togither) yet it is true, that to this day I ſtande free from any other meaning, that eyther I haue had in tymes paſt, or haue at this preſent. In which ſtate and trade of liuing wherwith I am ſo throughly acquainted, God hath hitherto ſo preſerued mee, and hath ſo watchfull an eye vpon me, and ſo hath guided me and ledde me by the hand, as my full truſt is, he will not ſuffer me to go alone. The maner of your petition I doe lyke, and take in good part, for it is ſimple, and conteyneth no lymitation of place or perſon. If it had beene otherwiſe, I muſt haue miſlyked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great preſumption, being vnfitte and altogither vnmeete, to require them that may commaunde, or thoſe appoynt, whoſe partes are to deſire, or ſuch to binde and limitte, whoſe dueties are to obey: or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your lykings, or to frame my wil to your fancies. A guerdon conſtrayned, and a gift freely giuen can neuer agree. Neuertheleſſe, if any of you be in ſuſpect that whenſoeuer it may pleaſe god to incline my heart to that kinde of life, my meaning is to do or determine any thing wherewith the realme may haue iuſt cauſe to be diſcontented: Put that out of your heades, for I aſſure you (what credence my aſſurance may haue with you I cannot tell, but what credite it ſhall deſerue to haue, the ſequele ſhall declare) I wil neuer in that matter cōclude any thing that ſhall bee preiudiciall vnto the realme: For the weale and good ſafetie whereof, as a good mother of my Countrey, I will neuer ſhonne to ſpende my lyfe. And who ſoeuer my choyſe may lyght vpon, he ſhall be as carefull for the preſeruation of the Realme as you, I will not ſay as my ſelfe: for I cannot ſo certainly promiſe of another, as I doe ſurely knowe of my ſelfe, but as any other can be. And albeit it doth pleaſe almightie God to continue me ſtill in this minde to liue out of the ſtate of mariage, it is not to be feared, but hee will ſo worke in my heart, and in youre wiſedomes, that as good prouiſion may bee made in conuenient tyme, whereby the Realme ſhall not remaine deſtitute of an heyre that may bee a fitte Gouernour, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the Realme than ſuche offpring as may come of mee. For though I bee neuer ſo carefull for your well doings, and mynde euer ſo to be, yet may mine iſſue growe out of kinde, and become vngracious. And for mee it ſhall bee ſufficient, that a Marble ſtone declare that a Queene, hauing raigned ſuche a tyme, lyued and dyed a Virgine. To make an ende, I take your comming to mee in good part, and gyue vnto you eftſoones my heartie thankes, more yet for your zeale, good will, and good meaning, than for your meſſage and petition.

The returne of the Proteſtants from exile.

Many that for feare of perſecution in Queene Maries dayes were fled the Realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, nowe that all perſecution ceaſſed by the gracious clemencie of this noble Princeſſe Queene Elizabeth, they returned with all conuenient ſpeede home into their natiue Countrey, giuing to Almightie God moſt humble thankes for that his mercifull deliuerance, in ſending them a gouernor, that not onely permitted libertie of conſcience, but alſo was readie to aduaunce religion, and command free exerciſe of common prayer, preaching and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, according to the right inſtitution of the primitiue Churches.

One ſet on the Pillorie.

Fryday the .xvij. of Februarie, one of maiſter Hunnings ſeruants, that was alſo one of the takers of freſhe fiſhe for the prouiſion of the Queenes houſe, was ſet on the Pillorie in Cheape ſide in the fiſhe market ouer agaynſt the kings head, hauing a baudrike of Smeltes hanging about his necke with a Paper on his foreheade, written for buying Smelts for .xij. pens the hundred, and ſolde them againe for tenne pens the quarter. He ſtoode ſo likewiſe on the xviij. and .xx. day of the ſame moneth, euerye of thoſe three dayes from .ix. of the clocke vntill twelue. The laſt day he ſhould haue had one of his eares ſlitte, if by great ſuyte made to the Counſayle by the Lorde Maior of London, he hadde not beene pardoned and releaſed oute of priſon.

This penaunce was aſſigned to him by the Queenes owne appoyntment, when to hir Grace his treſpaſſe was reuealed. Whereby ſhe gaue a taſte to the people of a zealous minde to haue iuſtice duely miniſtred, and faultes accordingly puniſhed, namely of thoſe which vnder pretence of hir Graces authoritie ſhoulde goe aboute to wrong and oppreſſe hir louing ſubiects.

Preachers.

This yeare in the Eaſter holidayes, on the Monday preached at the Spittell Doctor Bill, on the Tueſday doctor Coxe, and on the Wedneſday Doctor Horne: the firſt was hir Maieſties Chapleine, the other two had remayned at Geneua, and in other places beyond the ſeas all Queene Maries time.

On low Sunday maiſter Sampſon made the rehearſall Sermon, but when the Lord Maior and Aldermẽ came to their places in Pauls Church yarde, the Pulpet doore was locked, and the key could not bee hearde of, whereupon the Lord Maior ſent for a Smith to open the lock, which was done, and when the Preacher ſhould enter the place, it was founde verie filthie and vncleanly.

Moreouer the Verger that had the cuſtodie of the Key that opened the doore of the place where the Prelates and other vſe to ſtande at the Sermon time would not open the doore, but the Gentlemen with a forme brake it open, and ſo came in to heare the Sermon. This diſorder chaunced by reaſon that ſince Chriſtmaſſe laſt paſt, there was not a ſermon preached at Pauls Croſſe, by reaſon of an inhibition ſent from the Counſaile vnto the Biſhop of London, that he ſhoulde admit no Preacher bycauſe of the controuerſie betwixt the Biſhops and other of the Clergie that were now returned into the realm, from the parties of beyonde the Seas.

A Conference appoynted.

The laſt of Marche the Parliament yet continuing, was a conference begon at Weſtminſter concerning certaine Articles of Religion betwixt the Biſhops and other of the Cleargie, on the one part, and certaine learned preachers of whom ſome had beene in dignitie in the Churche of Englande before that tyme on the other parte, the declaration of the proceeding wherein, and the cauſe of the breaking vp of the ſame conference by default and contempt of certaine Biſhoppes parties of the ſayde conference was publiſhed in a little treatiſe, and imprinted by Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the Queenes maieſtie, as here followeth.

The Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, hauing hearde of diuerſitie of opinions in certaine matters of Religion amongſt ſundrie of hir louing Subiectes, and beeing verie deſyrous to haue the ſame reduced to ſome godly and Chriſtian concorde, thought it beſt by the aduice of the Lordes, and other of hir priuye Counſayle, as well for the ſatiſfaction of perſones doubtfull, as alſo for the knowledge of the verye truth in certayne matter of difference: to haue a conuenient choſen number of the beſte learned of eyther parte, and to conferre togyther theyr opinions and reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable agreement.

And hereuppon by hir Maieſtyes commaundement, certayne of hir priuye Counſayle, declared thys purpoſe to the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke (beyng alſo one of the ſame priuie Counſayle) and requyred him that he woulde imparte the ſame to ſome of the Biſhoppes, and to make choyſe of eight, nine, or tenne of them, and that there ſhoulde bee the lyke number named of the other parte: and further alſo declared to hym (as then was ſuppoſed) what the matters ſhoulde be: And as for the tyme, it was thought meete to bee as ſoone as poſſible myght bee agreed vpon. And then after certaine dayes paſt, it was ſignifyed by the ſayde Archbiſhoppe, that there was appoynted by ſuche of the Byſhoppes to whome hee hadde imparted this matter, eight perſones, that is to ſaye, foure Byſhoppes, and foure Doctours, who were content at the Queenes Maieſties commaundement to ſhewe theyr opinions, and as he tearmed it, render accounte of theyr fayth in thoſe matters whiche were mentioned, and that ſpecially in wryting, although he ſayd they thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute vpon them.

It was hereuppon fullye reſolued by the Queenes Maieſtie, with the aduice aforeſayde, that according to theyr deſyre, it ſhoulde bee in wryting on both partes, for auoyding of muche altercation in wordes, and that the ſayde Byſhoppes ſhoulde, bycauſe they were in authoritie, of degree Superiours, fyrſte declare theyr myndes and opinions to the matter, with theyr reaſons in wryting, and the other number beeing alſo eyght menne of good degree in Schooles, and ſome hauing beene in dignitie in the Churche of Englande, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrarie, ſhoulde the ſame day declare theyr opinions in lyke manner. And ſo eche of them ſhoulde delyuer theyr Wrytings to the other, to be conſydered what were to bee improoued therein, and the ſame to declare agayne in wryting at ſome other conuenient daye, and the lyke order to bee kept in all the reſt of the matters: all this was fully agreed vpon with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſo alſo ſignifyed to both partyes. And immediately hereupon, diuerſe of the Nobilitie and States of the Realme, vnderſtanding that ſuch a meeting and conference ſhoulde bee, and that in certayne matters, whereupon the Courte of Parliament conſequentlye following, ſome lawes myght bee grounded: they made earneſt meanes to hir Maieſtie, that the partyes of thys conference, myghte putte and reade theyr aſſertions in the Engliſhe tongue, and that in the preſence of them of the Nobilitie, and others of the Parliament houſe, for the better ſatiſfaction and inabling of theyr owne Iudgementes, to treate and conclude of ſuch lawes as myght depende hereupon. Thys alſo beeing thought verie reaſonable, was ſignifyed to both partyes, and ſo fully agreed vpon, and the daye appoynted for the firſt meeting to bee the Fryday in the forenoone, being the laſt of Marche at Weſtmynſter Church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the Queenes Maieſties commaundement, the Lordes and others of the priuye Counſayle were preſent, and a great part of the Nobilitie alſo, and notwythſtanding the former order appoynted, and conſented vnto by both partes, yet the Biſhoppe of Wyncheſter and his Colleges, alleging they had myſtaken that theyr aſſertions and reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo onely recyted out of the Booke, ſayde theyr booke was not readie then written, but they were readie to argue and diſpute, and therefore they woulde for that tyme repeate in ſpeache that which they had to ſay to the fyrſt propoſition. This variation from the order, and ſpecially from that whiche themſelues had by the ſayde Archbiſhoppe in wryting before requyred, adding thereto the reaſon of the Apoſtle, that to contende wyth wordes is profitable to nothing, but to ſubuerſion of the hearer, ſeemed to the Queenes Maieſties Counſayle ſomewhat ſtraunge, and yet was it permytted wythoute any greate reprehenſion, bycauſe they excuſed themſelues with miſtaking the order, and agreed that they would not fayle but put it in wryting, & according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part, and ſo the ſayd Biſhop of Wyncheſter and his Colleges appointed Doctor Cole Deane of Paules, to be the vtterer of theyr myndes, who partlye by ſpeache onely, and partlye by reading of authorities written, and at certayne tymes beeyng informed of hys Colleges what to ſaye: made a declaration of theyr meanings, and theyr reaſons to theyr fyrſt propoſition, which beeing ended, they were aſked by the priuie Counſaile, if any of them had any more to be ſayde: and they ſayde no. So as then the other parte was lycenced to ſhewe theyr myndes, which they did according to the firſt order, exhibiting all that whiche they mente to bee propounde in a Booke written, which after a prayer and inuocation made moſt humbly to Almightie God, for the enduing of them wyth hys holy ſpirite, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtande to the Doctrine of the Catholike Church, buylded vpon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Prophetes and the Apoſtles: was diſtinctly read by one Robert Horne Bachelour in Diuinitie, late Deane of Dureſme. And the ſame beeing ended wyth ſome likelyhoode, as it ſeemed that the ſame was muche allowable to the audience: certaine of the Biſhoppes began to ſaye contrarie to their former anſwere, that they had nowe muche more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they myght haue beene well reprehended for ſuch manner of cauillation, yet for auoyding of any miſtaking of orders in thys colloquie or conference, and for that they ſhould vtter all that which they had to ſay: It was both ordered, and thus openlye agreed vppon of both partes in the full audience, that vpon the Monday following, the Biſhops ſhoulde bring theyr myndes and reaſons in wryting to the ſeconde aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they coulde, and firſt reade the ſame, and that done, the other parte ſhoulde bring likewiſe theyrs to the ſame. And being read, eche of them ſhoulde deliuer to other the ſame wrytings. And in the meane tyme the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not onely al that which Doctour Cole had that day vttered: but all ſuche other matters as they anye otherwiſe coulde thinke of for the ſame, and as ſoone as they might poſſible, to ſende the ſame booke touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhoulde receyue of them that wryting which Maiſter Horne had there read that day, and vpon Monday it ſhoulde be agreed what day they ſhoulde exhibite their aunſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both partes aſſented thereto, and the aſſemblie quietly diſmiſſed. And therefore vpon Monday, the like aſſembly beganne againe at the place and houre appoynted, and there vpon what ſiniſter or diſordered meaning is not yet fully knowne (though in ſome part it be vnderſtanded) the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his Colleages, and eſpecially Lyncolne, refuſed to exhibite or reade, according to the former notorious order on Fryday, that whiche they had prepared for the ſeconde aſſertion. And therevpon by the Lorde keeper of the great Seale, they being firſt gentlye and fauourably requyred to keepe the order appoynted: and that taking no place, being ſecondly as it behoued, preſſed with more earneſt requeſt: they neyther regarding the authoritie of that place, nor theyr owne reputation, nor the credite of the cauſe, vtterly refuſed that to doe. And finally being againe particularly euerie of them a parte diſtinctly by name, requyred to vnderſtande theyr opinions therein: they all ſauing one (whiche was the Abbot of Weſtminſter, hauing ſome more conſideration of order and his duetie of obedience than the other) vtterly and plainly denied to haue theyr booke read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other, ſome ſo alſo, ſome other more vndiſcretely and vnreuerently than others. Wherevpon gyuing ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubbornneſſe and ſelfe will, as hath not beene ſeene and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable aſſembly, beeing of the two eſtates of this Realme, the Nobilitie and the Commons, beſides the preſence of the Queenes Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſaile, the ſame aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the Godly and moſt Chriſtian purpoſe of the Queenes Maieſtie made fruſtrate. And afterwarde for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhoppes of Wincheſter and Lyncolne, hauing moſt obſtinately both diſobeyed common authoritie, and varyed manifeſtly from theyr owne order, and ſpecially Lyncolne, who ſhewed more folly than the other: were condignly commytted to the Tower of London, and the reſt (ſauing the Abbot of Weſtmynſter) ſtoode bounde to make dayly their perſonall apparance before the Counſaile, and not to departe the Citie of London and Weſtminſter, vntil further order were takẽ with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

The three propoſitions wherevpon conference was determined to haue bene at VVeſtminſter.

1 It is agaynſt the worde of God, and the cuſtome of the auncient Church, to vſe a tongue vnknowne to the people, in common prayer, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

2 Euerie Church hath authoritie to appoynt, take awaye and chaunge Ceremonies and Eccleſiaſticall rytes, ſo the ſame bee to edification.

3 It cannot bee proued by the worde of God, that ther is in the Maſſe offred vp a ſacrifice propiciatorie for the quicke and the dead.

The names of ſuch as had conference in the propoſitions aforeſayde.

The B. of Wincheſt.	D. Scorie B. of Chich.
The B. of Lichfield.	Doctor Coxe.
The B. of Cheſter.	Maiſter Whitehead.
The B. of Carliel.	Maiſter Grindall.
The B. of Lincolne.	Maiſter Horne.
Doctor Cole.	Maiſter doctor Sandes.
Doctor Harpeſfeld.	Maiſter Geſt.
Doctor Langdall.	Maiſter Aylmer.
Doctor Chedſye.	Maiſter Iuell.

The Byſhops and Doctors ſate on the one ſide of the queere at a table for them prepared, and the other learned men ſate at an other table on the other ſide the ſame queere.

And at yͤ vpper ende thereof at an other table, ſate the Queenes Maieſties Counſell, deſirous to haue ſeene ſome good concluſion of the ſayde conference, although as ye may perceyue by that whiche is aboue recited, it came to ſmall effect.

treatie for
ace.

In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had bin in hande the laſt yeare, firſt at Liſle, and after at the Abbey of Cercamp, a three leagues from Dorlens, betwixt yͤ two kings of Spaine and France, was nowe renued againe, and the Deputies were appoynted to meete at *Chaſteau Cambreſi*, a ſixe leagues diſtant from Cambray.

For the K. of Spayne, the Duke of Alua, the Prince of Orange, the Byſhop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua Earle of Mellito, Monſieur Viglius Zwichem, Knight & preſidente of the priuie Counſell in the low Countreys, who neuertheleſſe came not, bycauſe hee was letted by ſickneſſe.

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eace.

For the French King there came the Cardinall of Lorayne, the Conneſtable, the Marſhall of Saint Andrew, the Byſhop of Orleans, and Claude de Aubeſpine, yͤ ſaid kings Secretarie.

For the Queene of England, the Byſhop of Elie, the Lorde William Howard Baron of Effingham, Lorde Chamberlayne to the ſayde Queene, Doctor Nicholas Wutton, Deane of Caunterbury and Yorke.

For the Duke of Sauoy, there were the Erle of Stropiana; and the preſident of Aſti. And as a meane or mediatrix betwene the parties, there was Chriſtierna Duches of Loraine, with hir ſonne the yong Duke, whiche Duches, as well heere, as before at Cercamp, trauelled moſt earneſtly to doe good betwixte the parties, and to bring them to a finall accord, whoſe endeuours therein was, to the greate good liking and contentation of all the ſaid parties.

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After that this treatie had continued a long time, and nowe reſted nothing to ſtay them frõ concluding a generall peace, but only the article touching Calais, at length that matter was alſo accorded by a ſpeciall treatie, betwixte the Queenes Maieſtie of England, and the French King, Guido Caualcanti a Gentleman of Florence beeing the meane to bring the ſame to effect. The ſubſtaunce of whiche article was, that Calais ſhould reſt in the Frenche mens handes, for the tearme of eyght yeares, and at the end of that tearme, they couenaunted to render yͤ ſame, or elſe for defaulte, to forfeite to the Queenes highneſſe the ſumme of fiue hundred thouſande Crownes, and for ſuretie heereof, to deliuer four hoſtages, ſuch as hir Maieſtie ſhould thinke ſufficient: and in caſe the towne were not deliuered at the ende of the ſayde eyghte yeares, although the money were payde according to the couenauntes, yet notwithſtanding the right and title to the ſaide Towne and Countrey adioyning, ſhould alwayes remayne and be reſerued vnto the Crowne and Realme of England.

It was further concluded alſo, that a peace ſhould be firmed and had betwixt the Realmes of England and Scotland, ſuch fortreſſes to be raſed as had bin built and made by the Scottes and French on the bordures towards Englãd; as Haymouth and others.

Sir Iohn Maſon.

Sir John Maſon Knighte, Secretarie for the Frenche tong, was ſente ouer in poſt wyth inſtructions vnto the Engliſhe commiſſioners, after whoſe comming, within two or three dayes, a generall peace was concluded betwixte all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpoſe omitted.

A generall peace betwixt the Kings of Fraunce and Spayne.

But nowe after the concluſion of this peace, the ſayde Sir John Maſon returned in poſt with the ſame: and ſo thervpon, the ſeauenth of Aprill, the ſayde peace was proclaymed, to wit, betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie on the one part, and the French K. on the other, their Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, and likewiſe betwixte hir ſayde Maieſtie and the King Dolphin and Queene of Scottes his wife, their Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects.

The peace proclaymed.

This Proclamation was made by Garter and Norrey Kinges at armes, accompanyed with three other Herraultes, and fyue Trumpettors, the Lorde Maior of London and the Aldermen in their ſcarlet gownes beeing alſo preſent, and riding in company of the ſaid Herraultes.

Playes and enterludes forbidden for a time.

¶ The ſame time alſo, was another Proclamation made vnder the Queenes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no playes nor enterludes ſhuld be exerciſed, til Alhallowen tide next enſuing.

The Lorde Wentworth arraigned and acquited.

Vppon Saterday the two and twentith of Aprill, the Lorde Wentworth, late Deputie of Calais, was araigned at Weſtminſter, vppon an enditemente of treaſon found agaynſt him, in the late Queene Maries dayes, for the loſſe of Calais, but hee was acquit by his peeres, the Lorde Marques of Northampton ſitting that day as chiefe Steward of Englande, vnder the cloth of eſtate.

A ſubſedie.

The eyghth of May, the Parliamente brake vp, in whiche Parliamente, beſide other thyngs before recited, concluded, and paſſed in the ſame, a ſubſedie was graunted to the Queenes highnes, of two ſhillings eyght pence the pounde of mouable goodes, and foure ſhillings of landes, to bee paide at two ſeuerall paymentes, of euerye perſon Spirituall and temporall, towardes the better furniſhing of hir Maieſtie with money, for the neceſſary charges which ſhe was preſently occaſioned to ſuſteyne, finding the treaſure of the Realme greatly conſumed, and the reuenewes of the Crowne ſore diminiſhed, and the ſame Crowne muche endebted, by taking vp of notable ſummes of money by way of loane vppon intereſt, as well in the dayes of hir brother king Edward, as of hir ſiſter Queene Mary.

The fourtenth of May beeing Whitſonday, the ſeruice in Churches began according to the Booke of common prayer, ſet forthe and eſtabliſhed in this laſt Parliamente, correſpondent to that which was vſed in the dayes of hir brother King Edward.

Stow.
A Muſter at Greenewiche.

Upon Sonday the ſeconde of July, the Citizens of London ſette forthe a muſter before the Queenes Maieſtie at Greenewich in the Parke there, of the number of fourteene hundred men, whereof eyghte hundred were pykes, armed in fine corſelettes, foure. C. ſhot in ſhirtes of male, with Morians, and two hundred halbarders, armed in almayne riuets. Theſe were furniſhed forth by the craftes and companies of the Citie.

To euery hundred, two wifflers were aſſigned, richely appoynted and apparelled for the purpoſe.

There were alſo twelue wardens of the beſt companyes mounted on horſebacke in coates of blacke veluet, to conduct them, with drummes and Phiffes, and ſixe enſignes, all in Jerkins of white Satten of Bridges, cutte and lined with blacke ſercenet, and cappes, hoſen, and ſkarfes according. The Sergeant Maiors, Captayne Conneſtable, and Captayne Sanders, brought them in order before the Queenes preſence, placing them in battaile aray, euen as they ſhould haue fought, ſo as the ſhew was very faire, the Emperours and the Frenche Kings Ambaſſadors being preſent.

Byſhops depriued.

In this moneth alſo, yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtene or fourtene, being called before the Queenes Counſayle, and refuſing to receiue the othe touching hir Maieſties ſupremacie, and other articles, were depriued from their Byſhopricks.

And in like manner, were dyuers Deanes, Archdeacons, perſons, and Vicars, remoued from their benefices, and ſome of them committed to priſon in the Tower, Fleete, Marſhalſea, and Kings benche.

Commiſsioners ſent abrode for eſtabliſhing of Religion.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, were commiſſioners appoynted to viſit in euerye dioceſſe within the Realme, for the eſtabliſhmente of Religion, according to the order appoynted by acte and Statute, paſſed and confirmed in the laſt Parliament.

For London were appointed Sir Richarde Sackuille Knighte, Roberte Horne Doctor of Diuinitie, Doctor Huic a Ciuilian, and maiſter Sauage, who calling before them dyuers perſons of euery pariſh, ſware them to enquire and make preſentment accordingly, vppon certaine iniunctions drawen and deuiſed, for the better accompliſhmente and execution of that which they had in charge.

Religious houſes ſuppreſſed.

Furthermore, about the ſame time, by vertue of an Acte eſtabliſhed in Parliament, all ſuch religious houſes as were againe erected and ſette vppe, were nowe ſuppreſſed, as the Abbeys of Weſtminſter, the houſes of the Nunnes, and brethren of the Sion and Sheene, the blacke Friers of Greenewiche. &c.

Images taken downe.

And on the twelfth of Auguſt being Saterday, the high Aulter in Poules Churche, with the Roode and the Images of Mary and John, ſtanding in the Roode loft, were taken downe, and the Prebendaries and petie Canons commaunded to weare no more their gray Amiſes, and to vſe onely a ſurplice in the ſeruice tyme, and thys was done by commaundemente of Doctor Grindall, newly elect Byſhop of London, Doctor May, then alſo newly ordeyned Deane of Poules, and other the commiſſioners then appoynted.

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Alſo, on the euen of Saint Bartholmew, the daye and morrowe after. &c. were burned in Poules Church yarde, Cheapeſide, and dyuers other places of the Citie of London, all the Roodes and other Images of Churches, and in ſome places, the coapes, veſtmentes, and Alter clothes, Bookes, banners, Sepulchers, and roode loftes, were likewiſe committed to the fyre, and ſo conſumed to aſhes.

An obſequie for the Frenc Kyng.

Upon Friday the eight of September, was kepte in Poules Churche of London, a ſolemne obſequie, for Henrye, the ſeconde of that name, King of Fraunce, who departed this life, about the tenth of July laſt paſt, of a wound receyued the nine and twentith of June, in running at Tilt in a ſolemne Juſtes holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his ſiſter the Lady Margaret of Fraunce, and Philibert, Duke of Sauoy. Hee was ſtriken on the viſer with a lance, as he ran againſt the Counte de Montgomerie: the ſpilts entring by the ſight of his head peece, and piercing through his eye into his head, ſo periſhed his brayne, that there was no meane to ſaue his life.

The obſequie for him was kept in verye ſolemne wiſe, with a rich herſe, made like an imperiall Crowne, ſuſteyned with eyght pillers, and couered with blacke veluet, with a valence fringed with golde, and richly hanged with ſcutchions,

ons, pennons, and banners of the French Kings armes, without any lightes. And on the Beere was layde a riche palle of cloth of golde, with a cote armour of the armes of France, and a creſt, with an Imperiall Crowne, ſtanding vppon the Beere.

Doctor Parker Archebyſhop of Caunterbury elect, Doctor Barlow Byſhop of Chicheſter elect, and Doctor Scory Byſhoppe of Hereford elect, executing at yͤ Dirge of thys euening ſong in Engliſhe, they ſitting in the Biſhop of Londons ſeate, in the vpper queere, in ſurplices, with Doctors hoodes about their ſhoulders.

The chiefe mourner, was the Marques of Wincheſter, Lorde Treaſorer, aſſiſted with tenne other Lordes mourners, with all the Heraltes in blacke, and their coate armours vppermoſt.

On the morrow being Saterday, and ninth of Septẽber, a Sermon was preached by Doctor Scory, in place of Doctor Grindall, Biſhop of London, who being appointed to preach that Sermon, was letted by ſicknes.

After the Sermon, ſixe of the Lords mourners receyued the Communion with the Biſhops, whiche Byſhops were in copes and ſurplices, only at the miniſtration of the ſaid Communion. Whiche beeing finiſhed, there was a greate dinner kepte in the Biſhop of Londons Palace by Poules, where the mourners apparelled them, and ſo ended the ſolemnitie of yͤ ſaid exequies.

The Byſhoppes had blacke gownes gyuen them, and eyght blacke coates a peece, for theyr ſeruauntes, at the Queenes charges.

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lande.

In thys meane time, through cõtrouerſie reyſed betwixte the Scottiſhe nobilitie, and the Queene dowager of Scotland, which chanced, ſpecially about matters of Religion, certayne of the Lordes there minding a reformation therin. And the Queene reſiſting them to hir power, in purpoſe to mainteyne the olde Popiſhe Religion, which ſome name Catholique, diuers companies of Soldyers and men of war, were ſente out of Fraunce into Scotland to ayde the ſayde Queene, where they were placed in dyuers Townes and fortes, to the high diſpleaſure of the more part of the Scottiſhe nobilitie, who lothing to bee oppreſſed with ſtraungers in that ſorte, were forced to ſue vnto the Queene of Englande for ayde, to expell the Frenche, who ſoughte to ſubuerte the auntiente ſtate of that Realme, and to annex the ſame vnto yͤ Crowne of France.

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Their ſute was the better liked of, for that it was doubted leaſt the Frenchmen vnder pretence of bringing an armye into Scotlande to appeaſe the Scottes, might attempt ſome inuaſion heere in Englande, conſidering, that by procurement as was thoughte of the Duke of Guiſe, Uncle to the Queene of Fraunce and Scotlande, a title ſhould ſeeme to be pretended by his neece, the foreſayd Queene, as might bee gathered by manifeſt coniectures, of the vſurping of armes, and ſo forth.

The names of the Lords of Scotlande that made ſute for ayde againſte the Frenchmen at this ſeaſon, were theſe.

The Lords of Scotland that were confederate togyther agaynſt the French.

The Duke of Chateau le reault.
The Earle of Arraine his ſonne.
The Lorde James, Prior of Sainte Andrewe.
The Earle of Arguile.
The Earle of Glencarne.
The Earle of Rothouſe.
The Earle of Southerland.
The Earle of Mounteith.
The Earle of Huntley.
The Earle of Catnes.
The Earle of Errolle.
The Earle Marſhall.
The Earle of Morton.
The Earle of Caſſils.
The Earle of Eglenton.
The Earle of Montros.
The Lord Ruithuen.
The Lord Boyde.
The Lord Ogletree.
The Lord Erſkin.
The Lord Dromond.
The Lord Hume.
The Lord Roſe.
The Lord Chreighton.
The Lord Leuingſton.
The Lord Somerwell.
The maiſter of Lindſey.
The maiſter of Maxwell.

The Queenes Maieſtie with aduice of hyr graces Counſell, conſidering of thys weightie buſines, and withall, foreſeeing the malitious purpoſe of hir aduerſaries, and how the Queene of Scottes was in Fraunce married, and gouerned, ſo as ſhe was not able to vſe the libertie of hir Crowne, dyd thinke it beſt to preuente ſuch miſchiefes as might enſue, if timely remedie were not vſed, to diſplace ſuch daungerous neighbors the Frenchmen, that began to neſtle themſelues thus ſtrongly ſo neere at hande, for no good purpoſe, as eaſily might be geſſed.

The Queenes Maieſtie determineth to aid the Scottes

Heerevppon was a power reyſed and ſente forth, both by Sea and land, the Duke of Norffolke beeing appoynted generall, and ſente into the North, for the direction thereof.

Sir William Winter.

And firſte, maiſter William Winter, appoynted Uice Admirall of the Queenes nauie Northwardes, made ſaile towards Scotlande, and waſting alõgſt the coaſt in Ianuary, came into the Forth, and ſo to the road of Lieth, and there caſt ancre, as well to impeach the landing of ſuche Frenchmen, as might haply be ſente forthe of Fraunce, to the ayde of the Frenche there, againſt the Scottiſh Lordes, named of the congregation, as alſo to kepe them that lay in Inſkeith from vittayles: and likewiſe to ſee, that none of the Frenchmen by water ſhoulde paſſe to or from Lieth, but to watch them ſo, as they ſhoulde not enioy any commoditie that mighte come to eyther place by the ſame water.

The Lorde Grey, generall of the army.

Moreouer, after that the army by lande was come togither into the North partes, and hadde ſoiourned a time at Berwike and thereaboutes, the Lord Grey of Wilton being appoynted generall of the ſaid armye, departed with the ſame out of the boundes of Berwike, and marched to Coldingham, where they encamped that night.

Sir Iames Croft.

Saterday the thirtith of March, Sir Iames Croft, and Sir George Howard departed Berwike to the armye, with all the launces and light horſemen, conteyning ẏ number of twelue hundred and fiftie horſes.

The numbers of horſemen and footemen in the army.

The number of the footemen, amounted to aboue ſixe thouſand in all.

The chiefeſt in charge in this army.

The chiefe gouernoures of which army were theſe.

The Lord Grey of Wilton, Lieutenant generall.

Sir Iames Crofte, aſſiſtant with him in that charge.

The Lord Scrope, Lord Marſhall.

Sir George Howard, generall of the men at armes and demilances.

Maiſter Barnaby Fitz Patricke, hys Lieutenant.

Sir Henry Percy, generall of the light horſemen.

Thomas Hugghens Eſquier, prouoſt Marſhall.

Thomas Gower, maiſter of the ordinance.

Maiſter William Pelham, Captayne of the pioners.

Edward Randol Eſquier, Sergeant maior.

Maiſter Thomas Bourrough.

Maiſter Cutbert Vaughan.

Maiſter Williams, and maiſter Cornewall Corporals.

Dunglas.

This Saterday night, the army encamped at Dunglas, the horſemen lodged in ſundrye Villages neere about.

Sir Iames Croft lay that nighte at Coberſpeth, in the Lard of Whitlayes houſe.

A ſkirmiſh at Dunbar.

Sunday the laſt of March, thẽ army remoued from Dunglas, and marching by Dunbar, there iſſued out of the Towne certayne horſemen and footemen, offering a ſkirmiſh, towards whome, certayne of the Engliſh launces and piſtoliers, with certayne harquebuſiers, made forwardes, but they kepte themſelues within theyr ſtrength, but yet ſome of the Engliſh horſmen approched them ſo neere, that in ſkirmiſh, two of the enimies horſemen, and one footeman were ſlayne.

The Engliſhmen receyued little damage, ſauing that Peter Mance, one of their horſemen, was hurt there.

Linton bridg

This done, the armye marched on to Linton Brigges, where the footemen encamped that night.

The horſemen lay at Hadington, and in diuers other ſmall townes.

Sir Iames Croftes lay at Clarkington, Weſt of Hadington, at the Lard of Cockburnes houſe.

Salt Preſton.

Monday the firſte of Aprill, the Camp remoued from Linton Brigges vnto Salt Preſton, and there encamped.

The Earle of Arraine.

This euening, Sir Iames Croft, with dyuers of the Captaynes in his companye, mette with the Earle of Arrayne, the Lorde Iames, Priour of S. Andrewes, the maiſter of Maxwell, ſir William Kirkaudy, Lard of Grange, and dyuers other of the Scottiſh nobilitie, with three hundred horſe in their trayne.

After they were mette and had ſaluted eache other, they rode altogither vnto Salt Preſton, where at the ende of the towne, my Lord Grey, Lorde Lieutenante mette them, and embraced them, and ſo they lighted from theyr horſes, and entred into communication for the ſpace of an houre, and after toke leaue eache of other, and ſo departed for that night.

The Duke of Chateaule reault.

Tewſday the ſeconde of Aprill, my Lorde Grey, Sir Iames Croft, my Lord Scrope, ſir George Howard, with diuers of the Captaines, rode to Muſkelbourrough Church, & there taried the cõming of the D. of Chateaule reault, for the ſpace of two houres, at length he came, accompanyed with his ſonne, the Earle of Arrayne, the Earles of Arguile, Glencarne, Southerland, Monteith, and Rothus, the L. Iames Prior of Sainte Andrewes, the Lorde Ruythuen, *alias* Riuen, the Lorde Ogiltree, the Lorde Boyd, the maiſter of Maxwel, the Lard of Ormeſton, the maiſter of Lindſey, the Byſhop of Galloway, the Abbot of Saint Colmes Inch, the Abbot of Culros, the Lard of Pettirowe, the Lard of Cunnynghã head, the Lard of Grange, and diuers other. They were a two hundred horſe in trayne.

Upon the Dukes approche, they all lighted on foote, as well on the one part as the other, and after courteous embracings, and gentle ſalutations, they entred into the houſe of one William At-am Atkinſon, neere to Undreſke Church, & ſate there in counſell the ſpace of two houres, and then departed for that night.

The army lay ſtill in Camp at Salt Preſton, frō Monday, till Saterday, Palme Sonday euen.

On Wedneſday, the third of April, my Lord Grey, ſir James Croft, and my Lorde Scrope, Sir George Howard, Sir Henrye Percy, and dyuers other Captaynes and Gentlemen, rode vnto Pinkey, a houſe of yͤ Abbot of Dunfernes, diſtant a mile & an half from yͤ Campe, where yͤ Earle of Arrayne, and the Lorde James Steward, with diuers other noble men of Scotland meeting them, did conduct them into the ſayde houſe, where they had long conference togither, which ended, they went to dinner, and after dinner, they returned with my Lord Lieutenante vnto Salt Preſton, and viewed the Engliſhe Camp.

Thurſdaye the fourth of Aprill, fyue yong Gentlemen, appoynted to paſſe into Englande for pledges, and bound thither by Sea, through contrary windes, were forced to come a land at Salt Pannes.

Theyr names were as followe.

The Lord Claude Hamilton, fourth ſonne to the duke of Chateau le treault, Robert Dowglas, halfe brother to the Lorde James Stewarde, Archebalde Cambell, Lord of Loughennell, George Gream, ſeconde ſonne to the Earle of Monteith, James Coningham, ſonne to the Earle of Glencarne, they were broughte vp to Salt Preſton, and remayned there that nyght.

Saterday the ſixth of Aprill, beeyng Palme Sonday euē, the Camp reyſed from Salt Preſton, and marched forwards.

Halfe a myle frō Leſterike, beneath a cragge, called Arthurs ſeate, the Duke of Chateau le treault, the Erle of Arrayne, the Earle of Arguile, the Lorde James, Prior of Saint Andrewes, and the reſt of the noble men of Scotlande, accompanyed with two hundred Horſemenne, or thereaboutes, and fiue hundred footmen, ſtayed for the comming of the Engliſh army. Whereupon the Lord Grey, Sir James Croft, the L. Scroupe, Sir George Howard, and Sir Henry Percye, repaired to them, and hadde conference there with the Duke, and other of the Scottiſhe Lords that were in hys company.

In the meane while the army ſtayed, but yet at length, the Horſemen, the vantgard and battayle, were commaunded to march forthe, who accordingly paſſing forwarde alongſt by the place where the Duke and Scottiſhe Lordes ſtoode, helde vpon their way, till they approched neere to Leſtericke.

At their commyng thither, Trombull, the Queene regents Trumpet, came to my Lorde Lieutenant, and brought with him a ſafe conduit, giuen vnder hir hand and ſeale, for the ſafe repaire of Sir James Croft, Sir George Howard, and ſixe other to accompany them.

Sir James Croft, and ſir George Howard, went to talke with the Queene.

Whereupon, they preparing themſelues to goe to hir (after they had talked with my Lorde Lieutenant, and the duke of Chateau le treault) they departed towardes Edenburgh, where the ſayde Queene as then lay within the Caſtell.

There went with them maiſter Somerſette, maiſter Pelham, and foure other Gentlemen.

Whileſt they were in conference with the Queene, although an abſtinence of all hoſtilitie by appointmente taken betwixte my Lorde Grey and the ſayd Queene ought to haue ceaſſed, the Frenchmen, to the number of nine hundred, or a thouſande ſhot, backed with fiue hundred corſelettes and pikes, and about fiftie horſemen, were come forth of Lieth, vnder the conduction of Monſieur Doyſell, and the Counte Martigues, coronell of the French footemen.

My Lorde Greys meſſage ſent to the Frenchmen.

My Lord Grey vnderſtanding therof, came vp to the hille, appoynted an officer at armes called Rouge Croſſe, to goe vnto them, wyth commaundement from him, that they ſhould retire their forces forth of the fielde, into yͤ Towne of Lieth: for if it were not for the promiſe which hee hadde made to the Queene Dowager, hee would cauſe them to departe, not much to their eaſe.

The Herrault doyng his meſſage, receyued aunſwer, that they were vpon their maiſter and miſtreſſe grounde, and therfore meante not to remoue from it.

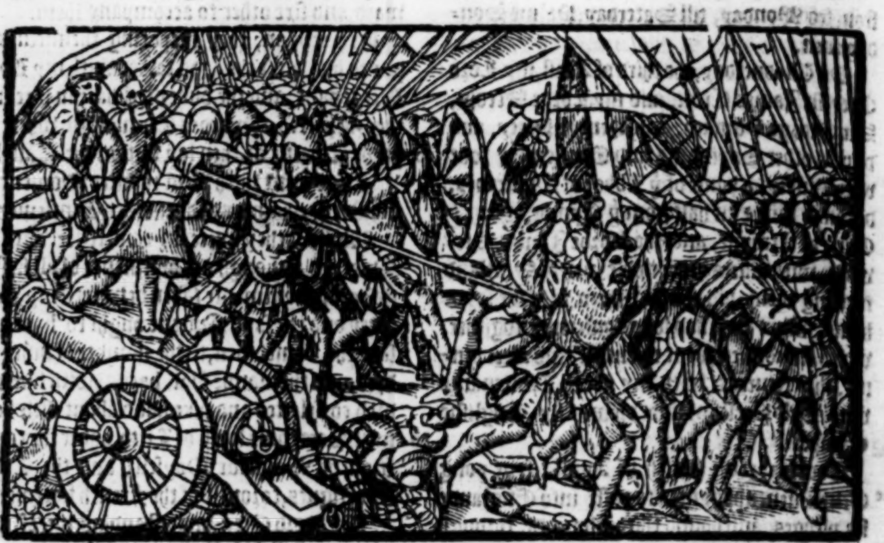
Rouge Croſſe returning with this aunſwer, was ſent agayne from my Lord Lieutenant, to commaunde them eftſoones to goe theyr way backe to Lieth, for if they did not, hee woulde ſurely ſend them away with a miſchiefe. But vnneth had the Herrault done this ſecond meſſage, when the Frenchmen ſtepping forthe, diſcharged a whole volee of their ſhot into the fielde againſt my Lord Grey and his company.

A ſharp and a long ſkirmiſh.

Heerevpon, the Engliſhmen and they fell in ſkirmiſhe, whiche continued for the ſpace of foure houres and more, ſo hote, and earneſtly maynteyned on both partes, that the like hadde not lightly bin ſeene manye a daye before. At length yet, the Engliſhmen droue the Frenche footemen ouer the hill, wanne the cragge from them, and put them from a Chappel, where they had ſtoode a greate while, vſing it for a couerte and ſafegard for them againſt the Engliſhmēs ſhotte.

The Frenchmen repulſed.

Then the enimies that were in Lieth, ſhot off diuers peeces of their greate artillerie out of the Towne againſte the Engliſhmen, who on the other parte broughte forth two fielde peeces, and couered them with a troupe of Horſemen, and hauing planted them to ſome aduantage, diſcharged the ſame among the enimies, who perceiuing that, gaue place, and ſuddaynely, the Engliſhe demilaunces gaue a charge on them, brake in amongſt them, and ſlewe dyuers of them.



To conclude, they were putte from theyr grounde, and forced to retire backe into Lieth, beeing followed welneere to the very gates of that Towne.

Churchyard.

There were ſlayne in thys ſkirmiſhe of the French, about a ſeauen ſcore, and amongſt the twelue men of name, beſide ſome of them that remayned priſoners.

Of the Engliſhmen, there were alſo dyuers ſlayne, and many hurt, but if the grounde hadde bin knowen to the Engliſhmen, and what aduantage was offered to them by that preſumptuous comming of the enimies ſo farre from their hold, it was thoughte, their whole power mighte eaſily haue bin cutte off, and vtterly diſtreſſed.

The Frenchmen driuen into Lieth.

After that this ſkirmiſhe was ended, and the Frenchmen driuen into Lieth, the army encamped at Leſterike.

The ſame day, the Scottiſh hoſtages were embarqued to paſſe into England.

Towardes euening, Sir James Croft, and Sir George Howard, returned from ye Queene regent, after they had ſpente a long time in talke with hir.

Sunday the ſeuenth of Aprill a newe trenche was caſt beſide the cragge, and theron two peeces of ordinance planted.

The ſame day, Sir James Croft, Sir George Howard, and Sir Henry Percy, wente agayn vpon aſſurance, to talke with the Queene Dowager.

Saint Nicholas Steeple.

Monday the eyght of Aprill, the Frenchmen ſhot at the Engliſhe Camp very ſore out of S. Nicholas Steeple, where there were two greate peeces placed for to anoy them, although they did no great hurt, but the ſame nighte, the Engliſhmen caſt a trenche beyond the cragge, and placed in the ſame trench certaine ſmall peeces of artillerie, which went off the next day againſt the enimies, and they likewiſe ſhotte off agayne at the Engliſhmenne, and ſo likewiſe on Wedneſday the tenth of Aprill, on which day, a great part of the carriages for the great ordinance, and dyuers bullets for the ſame, were landed, and muche thereof remoued, and brought to the innermoſt trenche.

Ordinance landed.

Thurſday the eleuenth of Aprill, the greate ordinance was landed, and two peeces thereof mounted into their carriages.

Good Friday.

The twelfth of Aprill, beeing good Friday, a bullet of a great peece of ordinance, being ſhotte out of Lieth earely in the morning, did light in the Camp, and ſlewe three men.

The ſame night, they were anſwered againe with foure or fyue Canons, and demy Canons.

Saterday was ſpente in warding the trenches, and mounting the great artillerie.

Sunday the fourtenth of Aprill, being Eaſter day, the Engliſhmen ſhotte off in the morning all their great ordinance, and the Frenchmenne aunſwered them agayne, and ſo they continued moſt parte of that daye, in ſhooting one at another.

The footemen alſo ſkirmiſhed ſo, that dyuers were hurt on both partes.

The pile of Blackneſſe.

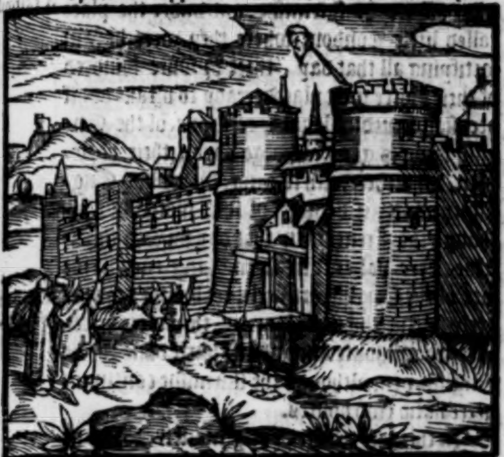
The ſame daye, the pile of Blackneſſe was ſurrendred to maiſter Winter, vpon ſight of the

Canon.

There were within it eyghteene Frenchmen, who were broughte away priſoners, and the houſe deliuered to Maiſter James Hamelton.

French- / ĩ womẽs / ell.

The ſame day, nyne Frenchmen, apparelled like women, came forthe of Lieth, and counterfeiting ſome like demeanor, to ẏ apparel wherein they were diſguiſed, trayned one of the Engliſh ſkoutes within their daunger, whom they tooke, and chopped off his head, which they ſette vpon the toppe of one of their Church ſteeples.



lde Mon- / .

e French- / n winne / trenche.

ſter Bark- / taken pri- / er.

Monday the. 15. of Aprill about noone, there iſſued out of Lieth a fiftie Horſemen, and about fiue hundred harquebuſiers, who making to the new trenches, were vpon the Engliſhmen, that warded in ſuch wiſe vppon the ſuddayne, before they could be brought into any order, that ſo entring the trenches, they ſlewe and wounded no ſmall number, and poſſeſſing the trẽches awhile, ſtopped and cloyed the touch holes of three peeces of the artillerie, tooke maſter Maurice Barkley priſoner, and his enſigne.

Brian Fitz Williams was ſore wounded, and a foule fright there was.

The alarme beeing brought to the Camp, ſir James Croft and other repaired towardes the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing the Frẽchmen to be maſters of one of the trenches, he called to Captayne Vaughan, commaunding hym with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue thoſe that were hardly beſette of the Frenchmen.

e French- / n repulſed.

This was done with great manhood ſhewed by the ſayde Vaughan and others, who entring the trench, repulſed the enimies, and ſlew ſixtene of them there in the trench.

Captayne Somerſet and Captaine Reade with their bands followed them alſo, as they retired, and maiſter Arthur Grey, with certayne of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, ſuddaynely came vpon them, and charging them with greate courage, droue them into the Towne, and made no ſmall ſlaughter of them.

Maiſter Arthur Grey hurt.

In whiche charge, maiſter Arthur Grey was ſhotte through the ſhoulder.

The greate artillerie in Lieth was not idle during this ſkirmiſh, diſcharging to the number of an hundred ſhotte, greately to the annoyance of the Engliſhe, and hinderaunce of the ſeruice, which elſe myghte by them haue bin atchieued.

Thys nyghte, the Engliſhmen drewe backe their ordinaunce whiche the Frenchmen hadde cloyed with nayles and Wyers in the touche holes, but the ſame were planted agayne before day.

Moreouer, oure pioners caſt a newe trenche alongſt by the olde Chappell.

A new ſupply commeth to the army.

Tewſday the ſixtenth of Aprill, a ſupplye of two thouſand and two hundred footemen, came to the Campe, ouer whome were Captaynes, Sir Andrewe Corbet, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Thomas Heſketh, Sir Arthur Mainwering, Sir Laurence Smith, maiſter Fraunces Tunſtall, maiſter Edwarde Littleton, Captayne Caruell, Philippe Sturley, and Dauid Morris.

They were guarded with fyue hundred horſmen, Sir Rauffe Sadler, Sir Frauncis Leeke, Sir John Forſter, and ſir Nicholas Strange, hauing charge to ſee them ſafely conducted, who after they hadde brought them paſt all daunger of enimies, left them in ſafetie by the way, and were come a daye or two before them to the Campe.

An alarme.

Wedneſday the ſeuententh of Aprill, it rayned ſore the more parte of the day, but yet the ſame nighte, maiſter Winter cauſed dyuers of the ſhippe boates, beeing very well manned, to giue a greate alarme at the ſyde of the Towne towardes the water, diſcharging many baſſes & harquebuſſes of croke into the Towne: the alarme was very hote for the ſpace of an houre.

During this buſines, there was a right pittifull crie made by the women and children within the Towne.

Ordinance planted.

The Pioners beeyng applyed in worke to make trenches, Friday all daye, at nyghte, they placed certayne peeces of the ordinaunce in the trenches beſide the Chappell.

Saterday the twentith of Aprill, many peeces were ſhotte off out of the trenches into the Towne.

There iſſued notwithſtanding out at the gates an hundred ſhotte, whyche placed themſelues in the holes of the bankes, to hayle ſuche of the Engliſhmenne, as came forthe to offer the ſkirmiſhe. All thys daye alſo, the Pioners, both Scottes and Engliſh, were occupyed in makyng of a newe trenche neere to the

Towne. Sir Gerneys Clifton, and Captaine Reade with their bands guarded them, and two hundred launces.

The ſame daye, the reſidue of the greate ordinance with armour, was brought a land.

The Byſhop of Valence.

Sunday the one and twentith of Aprill, the Biſhop of Valence named Monluc, accompanyed with Sir Henry Percy, and three hundred light horſemen, came to Leſtericke, the Lord Lieutenant, Sir James Croft, the Lord Scrope, and Sir Rauſe Sadler met him at the further ende of the ward, that was ſet of purpoſe for his entring into the Camp.

After they had receyued him with ſalutations according to the manner, he was conducted by Rouge croſſe the officer of armes, from the Camp vnto Edenburgh, and ſo went vp to the Caſtell to conferre with the Queene Dowager.

A ſkirmiſh.

Hee was no ſooner entred into the Caſtell, but that there iſſued forthe of Lieth the number of two hundred Frenchmen, aboute twelue of the clocke, and beganne a hote ſkirmiſhe, whyche continued two houres, at the whyche, dyuers were ſlayne on both partes.

More ordinance planted.

The ſame night, the Lorde Lieutenant cauſed nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench, ſo that the next day being Monday, the ſame peeces were ſhotte off verye earely, directly towardes the Steeple of Sainte Anthonies Churche, and although thoſe peeces lay a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinãce that lay in the ſame ſteeple, were diſmounted by them, and likewiſe thoſe that lay in the Steeple of S. Nicholas Churche, at the whiche dyuers peeces were leuyed, and within ſixe or ſeauen tire, the peeces that lay in that Steeple were alſo diſplaced, and a gunner ſlayne that ſtode at one of them, the peece and the Gunner comming tumblyng downe both togyther.

The enimies ordinance diſplaced.

In this Churche as was reported their ſtore of vittayles and munition was layd, ſo that batterie was made againſte the ſame all that day, and a greate peece of the Churche wall beaten downe, and the Steeple defaced.

The Byſhoppe of Valence after hee hadde talked with the Queene Dowager, returned to commune with the Lordes of the congregation.

A fort reyſed

Tewſday the three and twentith of Aprill, beeyng Saint Georges day, the pioners Scottiſh and Engliſh, were buſily applyed in worke, about the caſting of trenches, to make a forte, and ſtill the artillerie wente off agaynſte the Towne.

A ſkirmiſh.

Wedneſday the foure and twentith of Aprill, about three of the clocke in the after noone, there iſſued out of Lieth ſeuenteene horſemen, who offered the ſkirmiſhe, and vnder the place called little London, where they were buſy in fortifying all that day, three or foure hundred of their ſhotte were placed, ready to breake out if occaſion ſerued: at length, certayne of the Engliſh launces gaue a charge vppon their horſemen, who therewith retiring, drewe the Engliſhmen within daunger of their ſhotte, but although the Frenchmen that day ſhewed themſelues very valiante in ſkirmiſhing euen in the face of the Engliſh artillerie, yet beeing nowe egrely purſued by thoſe launces, they were forced to retire withoute anye greate hurte done to the Engliſhmen, although the ſkirmiſhe continued neere hand two houres.

The French repulſed.

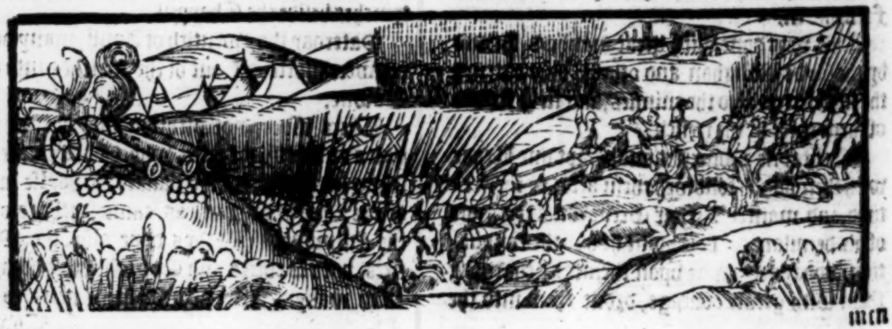
In this laſt charge, yong maiſter Browne was hurt.

Thurſdaye the fiue and twentith of Aprill, the Pioners laboured ſore for the moſt parte of the day, in finiſhing the new fort, named Mont Pellham, to the guarde whereof, Captayne Vaughan was appoynted gouernoure, with twelue hundred ſouldyers.

This forte was reiſed on the South ſyde of the Towne, the plotte whereof was caſt ſquare, with foure bulwarkes at euery corner, & twelue battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the ſame.

Another ſkirmiſhe.

This Thurſday alſo, about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, there iſſued out of Lieth on the Eaſt ſide ſeuentie or eyghtie horſemen, and two hundred harquebuſiers, offering the ſkirmiſhe, towardes whome, certayne of the Engliſh lighte horſemen roundly made, and charging them, droue them backe to their footemen, who with theyr ſhotte, receiued the light horſe-



es Hamil taken pri ner.

men ſo ſharpely, that they were forced to retyre, in which retyre James Hamilton a Scottiſhman was taken priſoner, for the reſkue of whom the horſemen made forwarde agayne, but the enimies ſhotte was ſo hote, that they were not able to recouer him, but yet they ſlue two of the French horſemen in ſight.

During the tyme of thys ſkyrmiſhe, there was great ſhooting off with the great ordinance on both ſides, and much hurt done as well to the Engliſh as French.

This day Captaine Perith, and Captaine Hayes, hauing charge of a troupe of lighte horſemen, vnder ſir Henrie Percie, and the Lard of Grange, were taken priſoners before Dunbarre, and to the number of twentie or thirtie other, were lykewiſe taken or ſlayne the ſame tyme.

he armie re oueth from leſtericke to ed Brays.

The ſame night alſo, two thouſande footemen with the Pioners, were ſent to the other ſide of the towne, beyonde the Canon Mylles, where the Pioners caſt a trench for the ſafe lodging of the armie, which remoued the next day being Fryday, and .xxvj. of Aprill, from Leſtericke downe into the valley by the ſayde Canon Milles, called the red brayes neare to the Riuer ſide on the South part of the towne of Lieth.

As the armie was thus remouing from Leſtericke towardes the ſayde place called the red Brayes, the Frenchmen within Lieth ſhotte off many of theyr great peeces of artillerie, but without doing any great hurte.

kirmiſh.

As the army was encamping, certaine of the enimies horſemen and footemen ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſh Launces, and light horſemen a long tyme: there were two Frenchmen ſlain and their horſes alſo. In tyme of this ſkyrmiſh, two Canons were conueyed and planted in the new trench, which diſcharged diuerſe ſhottes at the enimies.

The planting of the great artillerie.

Saterday the .xxvij. of Aprill, the great Artillerie was planted aloft on the hill aboue the campe within leſſe than a Curriers ſhot of the towne walles, and the Pioners were ſet a worke to caſt newe trenches from the place where the ſame ordinãce was lodged vnto Montpelham, drawing ſo neare vnto Lieth, as the Harquebuſe might reache them that watched and warded within the greene Bulwarke.

There iſſued out of Lieth vnder the weſt Bulwark certaine of the Frenchmen, the which were chaſed into yͤ town by the Lard of Grange and other.

A trench won from the enimies.

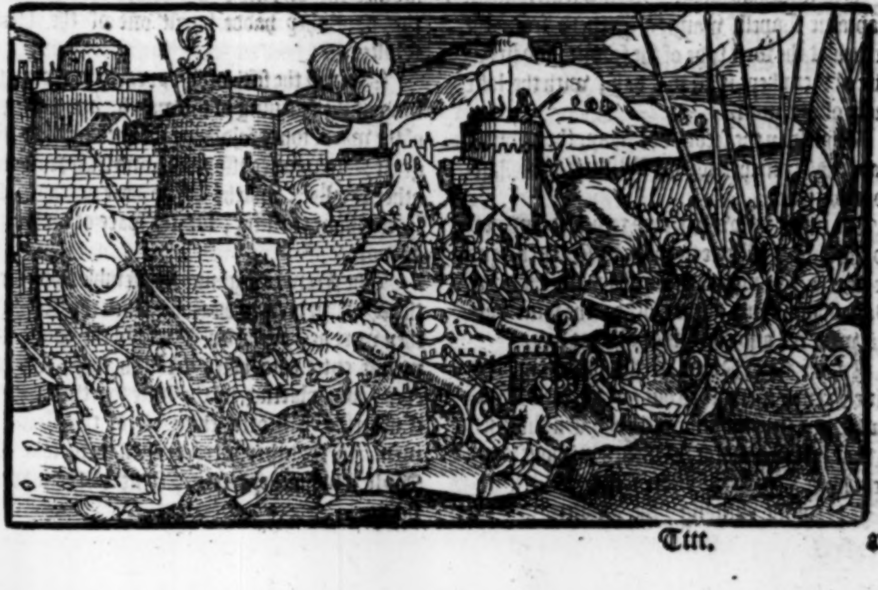
The French kept the ſame day a Trenche, which they had made without the towne, continually ſhooting at the Engliſhmen in the camp, but the ſame night the Engliſhmen wanne that trench from them, ſlue diuerſe of them therein, togither with their ſkoute. And this done, they gaue a great alarme to the towne both by lande and water, the ſhippe boates ſhooting off againſt the towne verie hotely, and they within the towne likewiſe at the Engliſh men. The ſame night was the great ordiance planted, and maiſter Markham hurt.

Great ordinance planted

Sunday the .xxviij. of Aprill, the ſayd great ordinance went off and ſhotte continually the more part of that day. The Biſhop of Valence departed the ſame day towards Berwike, and this night ſir George Howarde, that had bene ſent back to Barwik, to ſignifie to the duke of Norffolk the eſtate of the ſiege, returned with ſir Richard Lee, being conducted with fiue hundred horſmen.

A ſkirmiſhe.

Monday the .xxx. of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in ſhooting off very hotely, & the French likewiſe ſhot off theyrs,



end comming forth of the Towne, ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſh men. This night the Pioners made new Trenches towarde the South Bulwarke.

Tueſday the laſt of Aprill, was ſpent in ſhooting off the great Artillerie into the towne.

A fire in Lieth

About fiue of the clocke in the after noone, a ſodaine fire was rayſed within the towne, which hugely increaſed and continued the moſt part of that night. At the beginning when it firſt appeared, the Engliſh Ordinaunce was ſhot off to the place where the fire was, whiche ſhotte togither with helpe of the winde, that was verie great at that preſent, did maruellouſly augment the ſame fire: yet neuertheleſſe the French at that preſent time offered a ſkirmiſh, and continued the ſame neare hand for the ſpace of two houres, manned theyr walles, and made the beſt prouiſion they might for doubt of ſome aſſault. It was in deed appoynted, that certaine bandes ſhould make an alarme to the Towne, inſomuch that Captaine Vaughan with dyuerſe of the ſouldiours of Montpelham entred the ditch, and approching the Walles, diſcouered the heigth of them, and notwythſtanding that the French did what they coulde to annoy them in the Ditches wyth Currier ſhotte, yet did Captaine Vaughan ſtay in the ditch a pretie while, and retyred with his men without receyuing any great hurt.

Captaine Vaughan.

Maypolles ſet vp in Lieth.

Wedneſday the firſt of May, the Frenche menne ſette vp verie early in the morning theyr Maye Polles in certaine Bulwarkes, and fourtene Enſignes, the whiche beeing diſcouered of them in the Campe, they ſaluted them wyth a peale of great Ordinaunce, and lykewyſe the Frenchmen aunſwered them againe, and ſo continued the moſte parte of that daye.

A trench won from the French.

The ſame day Iohn Brian Lieutenant to Captaine Capell, wanne a Trenche from the French at the weſt ſyde of the towne, and in deſpite of them kept it all that day, with the loſſe onely of one man.

Thurſday the ſeconde of May, the Pioners made the Trenches for the Artillerie to be planted in batterie.

The night following, they remoued and placed the ſame Artillerie in the new Trench, and the next morning being Fryday and thirde of May, about foure of the clocke, the ſame batterie went off, and continued all that day.

In the after Noone of the ſame day, certaine French men iſſued out of the weſt Bulwarke, and ſkyrmiſhing with the Engliſhmen on that ſyde the water, returned without anye great hurt.

The night enſuyng, the Pioners made a new Trenche by the Citadell, wherein they myghte lodge ſome ſhotte, and Captayne Vaughan wyth diuerſe of the bandes in Montpelham, gaue two falſe aſſaultes to the towne, entred the Ditches, and viewed the Flankers, wherevppon the Frenche ſhotte off the ſame Flankers, and manning theyr Walles, ſhotte off two or three Volees of theyr ſmall Artillerie, ſleayng and hurting to the number of twentie of the Engliſhmen. Among other, little Norton loſt hys lyfe that nyght, and ſo at length the reſidue returned.

Captaine Vaughan vieweth the enimies flankers.

Saterday the fourth of May, there were three Enſignes appoynted to garde the newe Trenches, and towardes night when the ward ſhoulde bee relieued, and the watche ſette, the Frenche men that were in the Trenche vnder the Citadell, made a ſally vppon the ſodaine, wherevppon the Engliſhmen that garded the ſayde Trenche, were conſtrayned to abandon a great parte thereof for a tyme, but yet the Engliſhe menne eftſoones takyng courage, layde to them agayne, repulſed them, and draue them backe into theyr owne Trenches, ſlue foure of them in fight, and hurt many other.

The French repulſed.

Whyleſt this was in doing, the French had ſtuffed their Bulwarkes and Rampyres wyth Curriers and Harquebuſiers of Croke, as thicke as was poſſible, which went off withoute ceaſſing, at the Engliſhmen, for the ſpace of an houre and more.

The Engliſhe Artillerie planted in the Trenches did anſwere them againe continually, and the great peeces did muche hurt among them, in ſight of them that watched in the ſame Trenches.

The ſame nyght the Engliſhe men conueyed two Culueringes ouer the water to ſkower the Mylles, and before the breake of the daye they hadde burnt one of the ſame Mylles.

The Mylles burnt.

Sunday the fifth of May, early in the morning at the relieuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure ſoldiours that belonged to the great Ordinaunce iſſued out, and ſet fyre on the other Mylle, whiche burnt verie outragiouſly wythout ceaſſing, for the ſpace of an houre or more.

The Frenche beganne to aſſemble towardes the Myll, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceyued, for ſodaynly the Engliſhe menne cutte two holes through theyr Trenches, and placing in the ſame the two demie Culuerings, ſhotte them off at the Frenchmen, ſo that they were dryuen to forſake the Myll, and in theyr retyre ſome of them were ſlaine.

This day alſo, as foure French Gentlemen came forth to diſcouer the Engliſh Trenches, Captaine Reade commaunded one of his ſouldiours to ſhoote at them, but through myſhap his peece burſt, and a ſhiuer thereof flue oute, and brake the arme of his ſayde captaine.

ptain Rea-
s arme
oken,

Monday the firſt of May, the armie lying quiet all the morning, in the after noone, the Engliſh Ordinance on the further ſide the water, began to ſhoote off agaynſt the enimies very hotely, ſo continuing till night.

This day the Earle of Argyle, and diuerſe other noble men of Scotlande, came to Edenbourgh with two thouſande horſemen and footmen, who ſhewed themſelues in order of a muſter, on the hill vnderneath the Caſtell, which being perceyued of the Frenche within Lieth, they ſhotte off three great peeces of Artillerie at them, but (as God woulde haue it) wythout hurt, for two of the bullets lighted ſhort, and the thirde did fall in a Garden within the towne of Edenbourgh.

e Earle of
gyle.

The night enſuing, the great Ordinance in the Engliſhe mens Trenches and Bulwarkes continued ſhooting on euerie ſide: and herewith commaundement was giuen by the Lord lieutenant, and the Counſaile, that the whole army ſhould be readie armed with their weapon and furniture according, by midnight.

In the morning by two of the clock the .vij. of May being Tuiſday, diuerſe bands paſſed forth towards the towne, & entring the ditches offred the ſkale: other captaines with their men approched the Bulwarkes, & other there were appointed to enter beſide the Mylles.

eaſſaule gi-
en Lieth
l mth. of
y.

Beſyde, the Engliſh bandes commaunded thus to giue the aſſault, there were a thouſande Scottes ioyned with them, whereof fiue C. with captaine Vaughan, & ſuch other captaines as were commaunded to attempt the Bulwark next to Montpelham, & other fiue C. went with ſuch of the Engliſh captains as were commaunded to aſſault the breach beyond the water.

Moreouer, as well the Launces as lyght horſmen, were aſſigned to garde the fields. Sir George Howard with the Launces keeping betwixt the Forte of Montpelham and the Sea Weſtward, and ſir Henrie Percie with the light horſmen, betwixt the campe and the Sea Eaſtward. The reſt of the footemen that went not to the aſſault, were alſo appoynted to garde the trenches and fielde, in ſuch wiſe as was thought expedient, ſo that perfite direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the Lorde Lieutenant, and other of the Counſayle, and vpon warning gyuen by Captaine Randall Sergeant Maior, ſuche as hadde beene commaunded to giue the aſſaulte in theyr ſeuerall appoynted places, preaſſed forwarde wyth courage ynough, and boldly aduentured to climbe the Walles, and enter at the breaches, but yet theyr attempte wanted the wyſhed ſucceſſe: for what through the Frenche mennes policie in ſtopping the currant of the Ryuer that nyght, and other deuyſes for theyr owne ſafegarde, and the annoyance of the aſſaylantes, and what by reaſon of the vnfitneſſe of the Ladders, beeing to ſhorte by two yardes and more, the aſſaylantes were repulſed. For duryng the whole tyme of the aſſaulte, whiche continued for the ſpace of an houre and an halfe, the Frenche ſhotte off theyr Flankers, and mainteyned their ſhot from the walles ſo thicke, that it ſeemed a verie hell for the time.

horſemen
yntecl to
the field.

The Engliſh men repulſed.

They alſo hurled downe ouer the Walles vppon the aſſaylantes heades, greate plentie of ſtones, logges, and mightie peeces of tymber, which did muche hurt to the Engliſh men and Scottes, that forced themſelues to climbe vp. But yet neuertheleſſe, manye there were that entered the Towne in ſundrye places, of the whyche ſome came backe agayne, although others were beaten downe and ſlaine.

To conclude at length all that eſcaped with lyfe, were forced to retyre with the loſſe of ſeuen or eyght ſkore Engliſhmen, ſome haue ſayde two hundred, which were ſlaine outryght, beſyde thoſe that were wounded, being in number at the leaſt two or three hundred, and amongeſt other, there were dyuerſe Capitaynes and Gentlemen that were hurt, as Syr Thomas Heſketh, Maiſter Sutton, Maiſter Newporte, maiſter Conwey, Captaine Wood, Thomas Fitton, with others.

The number ſlaine and hurt at the aſſault.

Vppon the repulſe thus giuen to our men, by the French they aduaunced and ſet vp fourtene Enſignes preſentlye aboute the Towne, and continewed otherwyſe quyet all that daye.

Wedneſdaye the eyght of May in the after Noone, ſir George Howarde, and ſir Richarde Lee departed towardes Barwike wyth certayne Companies of Horſemen for their ſafe conduction.

Thurſday the ninth of May, the Frenchmen wrought verie earneſtly within the towne, to fortifie the neceſſarie places, and repayre the breaches, euen in the face of the Engliſh ordinance, which went off dyuerſe tymes, and dyd them much hurt.

The ſame daye alſo the Frenche hadde manned to the Sea wardes a Boate fraught wyth fyftie Harquebuſiers, meaning to conuey them ouer to Inſketh, but the Engliſhe Shippes diſcouering them, prepared certayne Boates to encounter them, whereof they beyng aware, returned.

A ſupply from Barwike.

Fryday the tenth of May, Maiſter Inglebie, Captaine Pickman, and Captain Browne, came to the Campe from Berwike, with a ſupplie of .450. ſouldiours.

The ſame day aboute tenne of the clocke at night, there chaunced a brawle to fall oute among the Scottes that watched in the trenches neareſt vnto the Towne of Lieth on the Weſt ſide, inſomuch that one of them fell to and killed an other: which diſorder being perceyued of the French within Lieth, they iſſued out and ment to haue vſed the aduantage, but the Engliſh men that watched neare vnto the Scottes ſtayed the fray, and did not onely bring them to quiet, but alſo put the French men to flight.

Sunday the .xij. of May, about midnight the Frenchmen to the number of two hundred ſallied forth of the towne, minding to giue a camiſado to the Engliſhe men that kept watche that night in the trenches at the Weſt ſide of Montpelham, but they were diſcried, and certaine of them killed, and ſo had the repulſe.

Sir Fraunces Leake bringeth a ſupply to the campe.

Wedneſday the .xv. of May, ſir Fraunces Leake, came to the campe with a ſupplie of fiue hundred men from Barwike.

Thurſday the .xvj. of May, towardes night the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred footmen, and .xxx. horſemen, came abroade & ſhewed themſelues very braue, ſkirmiſhing with the Engliſh men at the weſt end of their towne.

A ſkirmiſh.

Tuiſday the .xxi. of May, about .vij. of the clocke at night, there iſſued forth of Lieth ſixe horſemen, and one hundred footmen Harquebuſiers, marching towarde Montpelham to offer ſkirmiſh, wherevpon Captaine Vaughan went forth to them verie orderlye, and ſkyrmiſhed with them a pretie while, and in the meane tyme, off went the greate Ordinance on both ſides. In the end the French men were driuen to retyre into the towne, for the Engliſh men ſhewed themſelues verie egre, and valiantly charged their enimies, put them to retyre, and chaſed them in at theyr gates, to the whiche they followed them right hardily.

The French men chaſed.

The ſame night, maiſter Fraunces Somerſet and other Captaines were appoynted to kepe a Fort buylt aboue the campe, and now finiſhed, tooke name of him being Captaine thereof, and was after called Somerſets Mount.

Somerſets Mount.

The ſame day a ſouldiour of captain Druries band was hanged for going to Edenbourgh, contrarie to a Proclamation, inhibiting any ſouldiour ſo to do without ſpeciall licence.

Sir Peter Carew.

Wedneſday the .xxij. of May, ſir Peter Carew came to the Campe, beeing ſent from the Court.

Thurſday the .xxiiij. of May at ſeuen of the clocke at night, the French ſallied forth to the number of two hundred footmen, and .xx. horſemen at the relief of the warders when the watch ſhoulde be ſet, meaning as it appeared to haue wonne the Trenches from the Engliſhmen, wherevpon a ſore ſkyrmiſhe followed, dyuerſe ſlaine, and many hurt on both partes, yet in the ende the Frenche menne were dryuen home by plaine force. This was at the Weſt ſyde of the towne, where they had fortified towardes the Sea.

An Engliſh hoy taken.

The ſame day the Frenchmen of Dunbarre tooke an Engliſh Hoy laden with double beere, biefe, oxen, and flitches of bakon.

Saterday the .viij. of June, ſir John Neuill with .CCC. men, Captaine Bridges, and captaine Drurie, with other three hundred, ſet from Barwike towards the campe, where they arryued on Monday the .x. of June, on which day the Queene Dowager departed this life.

The Quee Dowager departeth this life.

The .xiij. of June, ſir William Cicill, principal Secretarie to the Queenes Maieſtie, now Lorde Burley and high Treaſorer of England, and Doctor Wotton deane of Canterburie and Yorke came to Barwike, appoynted Commiſſioners on hir ſayde Maieſties behalfe, to treate of an accorde with the Conte de Randon, and the biſhop of Valence, commiſſioners ſent for that purpoſe from the French king, and his wife Marie Queene of Scotland.

The French gather cock to their hin derance

The .xiiij. of June being Fryday, a certaine number of French men came forth of Lieth to gather Cockles on the Sands towards Montpelham, whereof the Engliſhmen perceyuing, ſet vpon them, ſlue .lxx. and tooke .xvj. of them pryſoners.

Sir William Cicil, and doctor Wo came to Edenbourgh.

On Sunday the .xvj. of June, the foreremembred commiſſioners came to Edenbourgh, and as maiſter Secretarie and Doctor Wotton paſſed the Engliſh fortes and campe, they were ſaluted with a gallant peale of the harquebuſiers that ſhot off their harquebuſſes verie liuely.

Monday the .xvij. of June about eight of the clocke, an abſtinence of warre was concluded, warning being giuen by the diſcharging of two peeces of the great artillerie out of the Caſtell, and then the Frenchmen ſhewed and aduaunced themſelues vpon their rampiers.

Saterday the .xxij. of June, the abſtinence was broken of, which till then had beene truely kept and obſerued.

Thurſday the fourth of July, about three of the clock in the after noone, the French came out of Lieth, according to their accuſtomed maner to gather Cockles, wherevpon the Lord Lieutenant being at that preſent in Montpelham, ſent a Drumme vnto Monſieur Dorſell to ſignifie to him that his ſouldiours had gone further without theyr boundes than they might do by the order taken by the Cōmiſſioners of both parts. Doyſell anſwered, that they were no ſouldiours, but poore people which went to gather Cockles for their reliefe and ſuſtenance. The Drumme ſaid, that if they kept not themſelues within their appoynted limits, my Lorde Lieutenant ment to ſend them backe not greatly to their eaſe: whervnto Doyſell replied, that if he ſo did, he woulde do the beſt he could to ayd them. Hereupon the Engliſh horſmen and footmen out of Montpelham gaue a charge vpon them, and ſlue of them to the number of fiftie, and tooke certaine of the reſidue priſoners.

chmen
ooes be a-
s they ga-
d cockles

Friday the ſixt of Iune, about ſix of the clock in the after noone, iſſued out of Lieth. xiiij. horſmē, & an C. footmē, which offred the ſkirmiſh, but vpon the ſhooting of the great artillery frō Mōtpelham, they retired home again into the towne.

tergood
oner.

The night following about. xij. of the clocke, one Scattergood an Engliſhman that was a Gunner, and had feyned himſelfe to flee from the Engliſh campe for manſlaughter into Lieth, and was receyued of the Frenchmen, beleeuing that he had ment no deceyt, came out of the towne, after he had remayned there about ſeuen dayes, in which meane while he had vnderſtoode fully the ſtate of the towne, and now vpon hys returne, made relation thereof as he knew.

Saterday the ſixt of Iune, the Lord Gray L. Lieutenant, maiſter Secretarie Cicill, and ſir Rauſe Sadler, betwixt three and foure of the clocke in the after noone, gaue order that there ſhoulde no peece be ſhotte, nor ſhew of hoſtilitie made till ſeuen of the clocke the ſame night: and herewith ſent ſir Gerueys Clifton vnto all the ſouldiours that warded in the Trenches & Bulwarkes on the weſt ſyde of Lieth, to cōmaunde them to obſerue the like order, and ſir Iohn Neuill was ſent with like commaundement vnto the ſouldiours that lay in Somerſets Mount.

e peace
cluded.

The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being Sunday and. vij. of Iune, ſir Francis Leake, & ſir Gerueys Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were ſent to the towne of Lieth, to ſignifie vnto Monſieur Doyſell, the Biſhop of Amiens, La Broſſe, Martigues, and other the French Lords and Captaines, that they were come thither by commaundement from the Commiſſioners to cauſe the peace alreadie concluded, to bee proclaymed, which accordingly was done in maner as followeth.

e peace pro-
med,

The moſt mightie princeſſe, Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the fayth. &c. and the moſt chriſtian king, Francis, and Marie. by the ſame grace of God king and Queene of Fraunce and Scotland, haue accorded vpon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolably kept, betwixt them, their ſubiects, kingdomes & coūtries, and therefore in their names it is ſtraitly commaunded to all maner of perſons borne vnder their obeyſances, or being in their ſeruice, to forbeare all hoſtilitie either by ſea or land, & to keepe good peace eche wᵗ other frō this time forwards, as they will anſwere thereto at their vttermoſt perils.

Sir Francis Leake, and ſir Gerueys Clifton banketted by M. Doyſel.

Immediatly after this proclamation was ended, ſir Francis Leake, and ſir Gerueys Clifton were brought to Mon. Doyſels lodging, where was prepared for them a great banket of. xxx. or xl. diſhes, and yet not one either of fleſh or fiſhe, ſauing one of the fleſh of a powdred horſe, as a certain perſon hath written that taſted thereof, as he himſelfe auoucheth.

Thus haue I bin more large in this matter concerning the ſiege of Lieth, than maye bee thought peraduenture neceſſarie, ſith the thing is yet freſh in memorie: but bycauſe there came to my handes certaine notes of one or two perſons that were there preſent, and for help of their own memories wrote the ſame, I haue thought it not impertinent to inſert the effect of thē, that the ſame may ſerue to further thoſe that hereafter ſhall write the Hyſtorie of this time more at large, ſith my purpoſe is not to cōtinue the ſame otherwiſe than I finde things noted in the Abridgemēts of Iohn Stow and Richard Grafton, except in ſome recitall of expeditions and iourneis made, as this, and others into Scotland, and that ſame of the right honourable the Earle of Warwike into Normandie, whiche I haue thought good to enlarge, according to ſuch notes as haue come to my hande, beſeeching the readers to accept the ſame in good part: and if any thing be omitted, eyther in this place or any other, yᵗ were as neceſſarie to be ſpoken of, as thoſe poynts which I haue touched, or afterwardes may touch, to impute the fault to the want of good inſtructions, and not to anye negligence or lacke of good will in me to aduaunce euerie mannes worthie doings according to his merites.

The articles of the peace at the ſiege of Lieth.

But nowe concerning the Articles of the peace, being about. xiij. in all, the chiefeſt maye ſeeme to reſt herein, that the French ſouldiours and men of warre ſhould depart out of the realm of Scotlande within a ſhort time limitted. xx. dayes, as *Ludouico Guicciardini* hath noted, ſixe ſcore of them only excepted, as. lx. to abyde in Inſketh, and. lx. in the Caſtell of Dunbarre, they to be anſwered theyr wages at the handes of the Eſtates of Scotlande, and to bee ſubiectes vnto the lawes and ordinaunces of that realme. That the fortifications about Lieth ſhoulde bee razed and demoliſhed, and likewyſe the Fort which had beene buylt and rayſed before the Caſtell of Dunbarre by the French, for a ſtrength thereto. That the Frenchmen ſhould not conuey into Scotland any men of warre, or munitions without conſent of the Parliament aſſembled of the three eſtates of that realm. That the King and Queene of Fraunce and Scotlande, ſhoulde not from thenceforth beare the armes of Englande, ſith the ſame apperteyned only to the Queenes Maieſtie of England, and to none other perſon.

These and other articles were compriſed and eſtabliſhed in the concluſion of thys peace, as well to the honour and ſuertie of the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande, hir Realmes, Dominions, and Subiectes, as alſo for the wealth and preſeruation of the Realme of Scotlande, the Nobles and other Subiectes of that Realme.

See more here of in Scotland.

After that this peace then was fully eſtabliſhed, agreed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were embarked at Lieth in Engliſhe veſſelles, thoſe onely excepted (that were appoynted to remaine as pledges with the Engliſhmen tyll the Shippes came back againe) and a few other that were permitted to paſſe through Englande into their Countrey.

Thus were the French forces remooued out of Scotland, a matter ſo much importing to the confirmation of peace betwixte vs and that Realme, and alſo to the auoyding of further perilles, that this iourney ended with ſo honourable and profitable a peace, concluded by the highe induſtrie and prudente policie of oure Queenes Maieſties Commiſſioners afore mentioned, maye bee accompted one of the moſt neceſſarie expeditions, and moſt beneficiall ſeruices that had beene made and put in practiſe in many yeares before. For the Queenes Maieſtie (as ſome haue truely written) had not onely hir chiefe deſire, by remoouing the French, hir daungerous neighbours, that were about to neſtle themſelues ſo neare hir elbowe, but alſo a perfite peace with the Scottes was thereby procured, lyke to continue many yeares (if the ſayd Scottes ſhall not ſeeke theyr owne woe,) beeing full vnable to aduauntage themſelues by warres agaynſt vs, as to the wyſer and beſte ſorte of them I truſt is not vnknowne.

Churchyard.

But to leaue the further conſideration of the benefite that may growe hereof to this Realme, vnto theyr iudgements that haue ryper heades to vnderſtand the ſame, I will proceede, & herewyth make an ende of this matter, concerning the ſiege of Lieth. After that the French men were departed, and the Fortes about Lieth and Dunbarre razed and demoliſhed, according to the couenants of peace, the Queenes Maieſtie called backe hir armie without reteyning any peece within Scotlande to hir owne vſe. In whiche honourable and vpright dealing, ſhe wanne more fame and eſtimation, than if ſhee had ſeyſed and kept in hir poſſeſſion halfe the realme of Scotland.

Stow.

The Queenes Maieſtie by the aduice of hir moſt honourable Counſaile, meaning to aboliſh all corrupt, baſe, and copper moneys then currant in this realme of Englande, coyned in the tymes and reignes of King Henrie the eight, and King Edwarde the ſixt, to the great hynderaunce and decay of the common wealth of this Realme, and therewith to reſtore vnto all hir ſubiectes fine and pure Sterling moneys, both of Golde and Siluer, to the great honour and benefite of the whole Realme, publiſhed a Proclamation on Michaelmaſſe Euen before Noone, that the Teſton coyned for twelue pens, and in the reigne of King Edwarde embaſed by Proclamation to ſixe pens, ſhoulde nowe forthwith (that of the beſt ſort marked wyth the Portculeis) be currant for foure pens halfepenie: the ſecond marked with the Greyhound for two pens farthing, the third and worſt ſort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor receyued for any value. The grote to be currant for two pens, the former peece of two pens for a pennie. &c.

An. reg. 4.

It was not long after this, but that hir grace reſtoring to hir ſubiects fine ſterling money, called all the ſayde baſe and corrupt coyne into hir Maieſties Mynt, allowyng to them therfore after the rate before mentioned, ſo much of the ſayd fine moneys as they brought in of the ſayde baſe moneys.

1591

Additions to Lanquet.

About the ſame tyme, hir grace alſo fynding this Realme greatlye vnfurniſhed of Armour, Munitions and Powder for the defence thereof in tyme of neceſſitie, did ſo largely and plentifully prepare and cauſe to bee brought into the ſame, ſuch ſufficient furniture of armour and weapons, as Englande hath iuſt cauſe to prayſe and giue thankes to God and hir Maieſtie, for that it is certaine, that the realme was neuer ſo amply ſtored nor prouided of all maner of kindes of conuenient armor and weapons, as it is at this preſent.

The Merchant Taylors free Schoole.

The .xxj. of Marche a notable Grammer ſchole was founded by the maiſter, wardens, and aſſyſtents of the right worſhipfull companie of the marchant Taylors of London, in the Pariſh of S. Laurẽce Pountney in the ſame citie, the right worſhipfull Emanuell Lucar, Robert Roſe, William Merick, John Sparke, and Robert Duckington then beeing maiſter and wardens of that companie.

The

1461

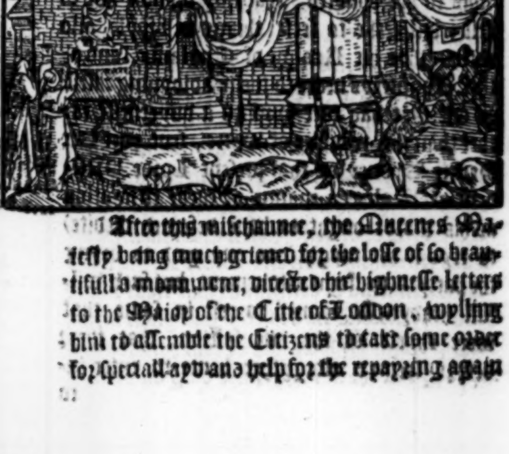
lliam Gef- whipped.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Geffrey whipped, from the Marſhalſey in Southwarke, to Bedlem without Biſhops gate of London, for that hee profeſſed one Iohn Moore to be Chriſt our ſauior, on his heade was ſet a Paper, wherein was written as foloweth, William Geffrey a moſt blaſphemous heretike, denying Chriſt our ſauiour in heauen. The ſayd Geffrey being ſtayed at Bedlem gate, Iohn Moore was brought forth, before whom Williã Geffrey was whipped, till he confeſſed Chriſt to be in heauen. Then the ſayde Iohn Moore being examined, & anſwering ouerthwartly, was commaunded to put off his coate, dublet, and ſhyrt. which he ſeemed to do very willingly, and after being tyed to the Cart, was whipped an Arrowes ſhot from Bedlem, where at the laſt he alſo cõfeſſed Chriſt to be in heauen, and himſelfe to be a ſinfull man: then was Iohn Moore ſent agayn into Bedlem, and William Geffrey to the Marſhalſey, where they had layne priſoners nigh a yeare and a halfe, the one for profeſſing himſelfe to be Chriſt, the other a diſciple of the ſame Chriſt.

le Chriſt pped.

ules ſteeple fire.

On Wedneſday the fourth of Iune, betwene foure and fiue of the clocke in the after noone, the ſteeple of Paules in Lõdon being fiered by lightning, braſt forth as it ſeemed to the beholders, two or three yardes beneath the foot of the croſſe, and from thence burnt downe the ſpheere to the ſtone worke and belles, ſo terribly, that within the ſpace of foure houres the ſame ſteeple with the roofes of the Church, ſo much as was tymber or otherwiſe combuſtible, were conſumed, whiche was a lamentable ſight and pitifull remembrance to the beholders therof.



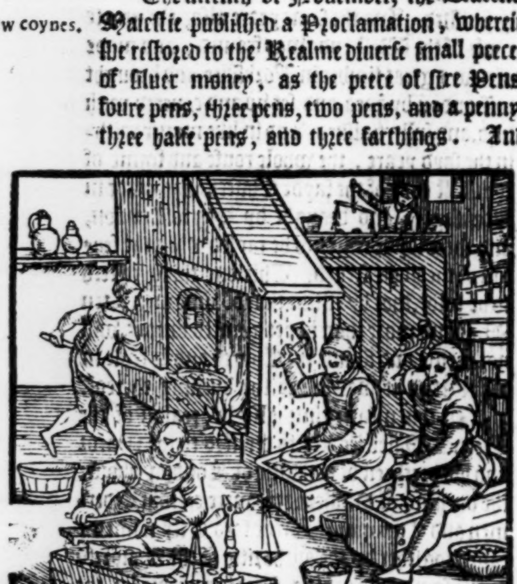
After this miſchaunce, the Queenes Maieſty being much grieued for the loſſe of ſo beautifull a monument, directed hir highneſſe letters to the Maior of the Citie of London, wylling him to aſſemble the Citizens to take ſome order for ſpeciall ayd and help for the repayring agayn of the ſayd monument, and ſhe of hir moſt gracious diſpoſition to giue a comfort vnto other for the furtherance thereof, did preſently giue & deliuer in golde one M. markes, and a warrant for. M. load of tymber, to be taken out of hir maieſties woods or elſwhere, and the citizens of Lõdon granted one beneuolence, and three fifteenes to be forthwith payed, and the Clergie of Englande vnder the Prouince of Canterburie, graunted to giue the .xl. part of the value of their benefices, beeing charged with firſt fruites, and not beeing charged with firſte fruites, to paye the thirtith part. And the Clergie of the dioceſſe of London, graunted to giue the .xxx. part of their benefices being in firſt fruites, and the .xx. part being out of firſt fruites. And immediatly by the commaundement of the Queenes highneſſe, hir priuie counſaile, tooke order that ſix Citizens of London, and two of the Clergie of the church of Paules, had charge and commaundement to ouerſee and ſet forwarde this worke, who made ſuche expedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole Church, that is to ſay, all the foure great rouſes of the ſame were couered with bourdes and leade, after the maner of a falſe rouſe. And the greatneſſe of the worke diſpatched in ſo ſhort tyme coulde ſcarcely bee credited of any, but of ſuch as ſaw and knewe the ſame. And the cauſe of this great haſt was for feare of raine, whiche might haue periſhed the vawtes, to the deſtruction of the whole Churche, and the people that were therein. And before the ſayde yeare was fully ended, all the ſayde Iles of the ſayde Church were made and framed of newe and maine Tymber, and couered with lead and fully finiſhed. And the ſame yeare alſo, the greate rouſe of the Weſt ende was framed, and made of new & great timber in Yorkſhire, and brought to London by Sea, and ſet vp and couered with lead, and fully finiſhed. And in like maner within the ſayd yeare, the whole rouſe and frame of the Eaſt ende of the ſayde Church was made in Yorkſhyre, and brought by Sea to London, and there layde readie to be rayſed when the ſeaſon of the yeare ſerued. This one thing reſteth to be tolde, that by eſtimation of wiſe men, ten M. pound more than is yet graunted vnto it, will not perfite and finiſhe the Church and Steple in ſuch ſort as it was before the burning thereof.

In this meane time alſo by reaſon of the Queenes Maieſties letters directed to the Maior and his brethren of the Citie of London about the burning of Paules there were certain Aldermen and Commoners of the ſaid City named & called together by the authoritie of the Maior, to deuiſe ſome good order & ſpeedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the ſayd Citie whenſoeuer any chaunce of fire hereafter ſhould happen (as God forbyd) wythin the ſayde Citie or liberties thereof. And the perſons ſo called after ſundrie meetings, and with good aduiſement and deliberation, agreed and penned a certaine order for the ſpeedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie knowledge of the place, whereſoeuer the ſame fire ſhould happen to be, and for the ſodain extinguiſhing and ſuppreſſing of the ſame, as alſo for the ſafe keeping of the goodes of ſuche perſons in whoſe houſe any fire ſhould chaunce. Which orders and rules vndoubtedly would be to the great comfort and ſafetie of the Citie and Citizens of the ſame, if they were publiſhed and made knowne in tyme, and executed accordingly. But what ſhould I ſay, I can but lament: not onely for this, but alſo for manye ſuch paynfull and profitable labours, whiche for good gouernment of this Citie had beene taken. And as ſoone as the talking thereof is done and the Bookes framed and delyuered, ſo ſoone is it put in obliuion, and nothing at all thought vppon, vntill an houre after the myſchiefe be paſt: I cannot blame no bodie, but there is a fault in ſome bodie.

This yeare was choſen Lorde Maior of London a worthie Citizen named William Harper, one of the companie of the marchant Taylers. This man wiſhing in his lyfe time to benefite his Countrey, founded a free ſchoole in the Towne of Bedford where he was borne, and nowe lyeth buryed, prouiding a competent ſtipende and lyuing for a Schoole maiſter, there to traine vp and inſtruct children in vertue and learning for euer.

New coynes.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes Maieſtie publiſhed a Proclamation, wherein ſhe reſtored to the Realme diuerſe ſmall peeces of ſiluer money, as the peece of ſixe Pens, foure pens, three pens, two pens, and a penny, three halfe pens, and three farthings. And alſo forbad all foreyne coynes to bee currant within the ſame Realme, as well golde as ſiluer, calling them to hir Maieſties Myntes, except two ſortes of Crownes of Golde, the one the Frenche Crowne, the other the Flemiſhe Crowne.



An. reg. 4.

Monſtrous byrthes.

This yeare in Englande were many monſtrous byrthes: in Marche a Mare brought forth a foale with one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile growing out betwene the two heades. Alſo a Sow farrowed a pig with foure legges, like to the armes of a man childe with handes and fingers. &c.

1562

In Aprill a Sow farrowed a Pigge with two bodies, eight feete, and but one head: many calues and lambes were monſtrous, ſome with collers of ſkinne growing aboute their neckes, like to the double ruffes of ſhyrtes and neckercheffes then vſed.

The. xxiiij. of May, a man chylde was borne at Chicheſter in Suſſex, the heade, armes, and legges whereof, were like a notamie, the breaſt and belly monſtrous bigge from the Nauell as it were a long ſtring hanging: about the necke a great coller of fleſhe and ſkinne growing lyke the ruffe of a ſhyrt or neckerchefe, comming vp aboue the eares pleyting and folding. &c.

The Realme of France being in great trouble aboute this ſeaſon, by the meanes of ciuill diſſentiõ and warres, that roſe betwixt the houſe of Guiſe and other of that faction vpon the one ſide, and the Prince of Condee and other that tooke part with him on the contrary ſide. The Queenes Maieſtie informed how that the duke of Guiſe and hys partakers hauing gotte into theyr poſſeſſion the perſon of the yong King, vnder a pretext of his authoritie, ſought the ſubuerſion of many noble men and good ſubiects of the Crowne of Fraunce, namely ſuch as were knowne or ſuſpected to be zealous for a reformation to bee had in matters of Religion. Hir Maieſtie thereuppon conſidering, that if theyr purpoſe myght bee brought to effect, it was to bee doubted, that they woulde not ſo reſt, but ſeeke to ſette things in broyle alſo within thys hir Realme of Englande, and other Countreys neare to them adioyning: firſt as one that had euer wyſhed a quyetneſſe rather than the troubles of warre, ſent ouer Sir Henrie Sydney at that preſent Lorde Preſident of Wales (a manne of ſuche eſtimation as his worde ought to haue deſerued credite) to trye if hee myght doe any good to bring the partyes to ſome attonement, but ſuch willfull headyneſſe ſeemed to reſt in ſome that were chyefe of the one faction, that theyr deſyre ſeemed altogyther bente to enter in-

Sir Henrie Sydney ſent Ambaſſador into France.

to warres. Hir Maieſtie yet hoping the beſt, appointed to ſend another honorable ambaſſade, which by their wiſedomes & good aduiſe, might perſwade the parties vnto concord, whereby the due authoritie, honor, and dignitie might be reſtored to the King, and euery other degree keepe their roumthes and places as to them apperteyned, but all in vayne: for this motion of a pacification to be hadde, could take no place, neyther might the will of the yong King, or of his timerous mother, as it then ſeemed, bee regarded, otherwiſe than as ſtoode with the pleaſure and appoyntmente of thoſe that were knowen to bee the chiefe authors and furtherers of all thoſe troubles.

ther Am-
de in Iuly.

Whyleſt the Queenes Maieſtie therfore did thus trauell in reſpect of the ſuretie whiche hyr grace bare to hir welbeloued brother the ſayde King, and to the commoditie and quietneſſe of both the factions, an open iniurie was offered to hir maieſtie, ſo as it might appeare, what mindes they bare towards hir, that hadde thus excluded, and refuſed all offers and meanes to growe to ſome good and indifferente concluſion of peace. For whereas manye Merchauntes, as well of London as of Exeter, and other of the Weſt partes of hir Realme were ſoiourning, for cauſe of traffique, in diuers portes and hauens of Britaigne, and hauing diſpatched their buſines, and gote their lading aboorde, their Shippes were readye to hoyſt vp ſayles, and to returne eache one towardes the place from whence he came, they were ſuddaynely arreſted, their goodes ſeaſed vppon, and they themſelues caſt in priſon: and ſome that in reuenge of ſuch offered iniurie attẽpted to make reſiſtance, were cruelly ſlaine, their Shippes conueyd away, their goodes confiſcate, without other pretence, but only that it was ſayd to them, that they were Huguenotes: neyther was thys done by priuate perſons, but by open violence of the gouernours and magiſtrates of thoſe places where the ſame diſorder was executed, ſo that it appeared from whence they had their commiſſion to vſe ſuch wrongful dealing, and how farre the ſame would extende, if they might once haue time and occaſion to accompliſh their purpoſed intentions.

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ondon, Exe-
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uth, ſpoiled
the French
Britayne,
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ly, and nine-
th of Au-
ſt.

Moreouer, when complaynt of ſuch iniuries was made vnto the lawfull magiſtrates there, they founde no redreſſe at all.

For what might the poore Merchaunts profite by their complayntes, when the packets of the Ambaſſadors letters, directed to hir, were taken from the bearer, and no puniſhmente had againſt thoſe that committed ſo vnciuill an outrage: a thing that offended hir Maieſtie ſo much the more, for that as ſhee tooke the matter, there wanted no good will, eyther in the King, or his mother, or in the King of Nauarre, the Kyngs generall Lieutenant, to ſee ſuch a preſumptuous and vnruly part puniſhed of their people, but rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it redreſſed.

etters taken
om the
Queenes Am-
aſſadors ſer-
antes.

Furthermore, it greatly greeued hir, that the yong frẽch King, hir deere brother was brought to ſuche a ſtreighte, that hee was neyther able to defend the libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes, nor to deale vprightly with other Princes and potentates accordingly, as by the boundes of leagues, and couenanted alikes had bin requiſite. Neyther did ſuche diſorder in gouernemente of the Kingdome of Fraunce, touche anye ſo muche and particularly, as the Queenes Maieſtie of England.

The French troubles touch moſt the Q. of Englande.

She therefore lamenting that the King and Queene mother ſhoulde be thus in the handes of them that procured all theſe troubles, and ledde vp and downe at their pleaſures, and driuen to behold the ſpoyle and ſacking of diuers hys Cities, and miſerable ſlaughter of his ſubiectes, and againe, hir grace thinking it expedient to preuent that ſuch as were knowen to beare no good will, eyther to hir or hir Realme, ſhould not get into their poſſeſſions ſuch Townes and hauens as lay againſt yͤ Sea coaſtes of hir ſaid Realm, whereby they ſtuffing the ſame with garriſons and numbers of men of warre, might eaſily vpon occaſions, ſeeke to make inuaſions into this hir ſayd Realme, to the great annoyance of hir, and hir louing ſubiectes, ſhee at the requeſt of the French themſelues, thought it expedient to put in armoure a certaine number of hir ſubiectes, to paſſe ouer into Normandy, vnto ſuche hauens as neere approched to thys hir Realme of Englande, as well for the ſafegarde of the ſame, as alſo for the reliefe and preſeruation of the inhabitantes there, and other that profeſſed the Goſpell, liuing in continuall daunger to be murthered and oppreſſed, and therefore crauing hyr ayde, to ſaue and deliuer them out of the bloudy handes of their cruell aduerſaries, that ſought their haſtie deſtruction.

The chiefe cauſes that moued the Queenes Maieſtie to ſend a power into Fraunce.

For the conduction therefore of ſuche forces as ſhe meante to ſende ouer at that preſent, ſhee ordeyned the Lorde Ambroſe Dudley Earle of Warwike, to be hir principal Lieutenant, Captaine generall, chiefe leader and gouernoure of hir ſayde ſubiectes, that ſhoulde in ſuch wiſe paſſe ouer into Normandy.

Hereupon, the ſayd Earle, the ſeuententh of October, in this fourth yeare of hir Maieſties raigne, toke ſhipping at Portſmouth in the hauen there at one of the clocke in the after noone, being aboorde himſelfe in the Queenes Shippe, called the newe barke, and ſetting forward, ſayled all that after noone, and the night following

The Earle of Warwike ſent into Normandy with an armye.

directly towards Newhauen, but in the morning about eyght of the clocke, when his Lordſhip was within twentie myles of the Towne of Newhauen, the winde ſuddainely chang'd cleane contrary to hys courſe, ſo that being driuen to returne about the next midnight, he arriued in the downes, and there remayned at anker, till about eyght of the clocke in yͤ next morning being Monday, and then was ſet a lande by boate at Sandon Caſtell beſides Deale, and the ſame day at night came to Douer, and there lay till Friday three of the clocke in the after noone, and then taking Shippe agayne, ſayled forth; but finding the winde nothing proſperous for his courſe, after he had layne all that nyghte and day following, toſſing and tumbling on the Seas, he was cõſtreyned to come backe againe, and arriued in the Hauen of Douer, about tenne of the clocke on Saterday at nyghte, and ſo remayned there, till Tewſday next enſuing, three of the clocke in the after noone, and then went to Shipbord againe in the ſayd Shippe, called the new barke, and directing his courſe forward, on Thurſdaye morning aboute eight of the clocke, his Lordſhippe landed at Newhauen, where he was moſt ioyfully receyued with a greate peale of artillerie.

The Earle of Warwike landeth at Newhauen.

The nexte day, being Friday, and thirtith of October, ther came to Newhauē from Dieppe, fiftie light Horſemen Scottes, broughte by one of maiſter Killigrues ſeruauntes.

Light horſemen Scottes.

On Saterday, the laſt of October, the Earle of Warwikes commiſſion was proclaymed in Latine, Engliſh, and French, by Bleumantell, Purciuant at armes; whiche beeing ended, hys Lordſhip went into the Churche, and there Sir Adrian Poynings, Knight Marſhall, gaue him his oth, and then my Lorde gaue the ſayde Sir Adrian his othe, and after him were ſworne Cutbert Vaughan Comptroller. John Fiſher Knight porter, William Bromfield maiſter of the ordinãce, William Robinſon water Baiſife, and Captayne Thomas Wood Clearke of the Counſell.

An oth receyued by the Lord Lieutenant, and other officers.

On Monday, the ſeconde of Nouember, the Earle of Warwike, with the Knight Marſhall, and the Comptroller, rode out of Newhauen to Hauteuille, & ſo towards Moundeuille, accompanyed with all the Horſemen Engliſhe and Scottiſh, and a thouſand footemen.

The Scottiſhmen and Montgomeries band paſſed forth, and ſkirmiſhed with them of Mondeuille, and the Scottes brought away with thē a booty of three hundred Sheepe, but in the morning, they were returned backe agayne by commaundement of the Earle of Warwike.

A skirmiſhe.

Maiſter Comptrollers Souldyers wente as farre as Harflew, and there ſkirmiſhed with thē of that garriſon, but without any hurt to eyther partie.

My Lorde Lieutenante riding all about the hilles, viewed the Countrey, and at nighte returned.

On Wedneſday the fourth of Nouember, a barke of Newhauen, belonging to Frauncis Clearke, broughte into the Hauen of the ſame Towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tunnes of good Gaſcoigne wine, whiche they meante to haue brought to the enimies, but being thus taken as a good priſe, it was diſcharged in Newhauen, & ſtoode the Engliſhmen and other of that towne in good ſteede.

A priſe.

On Friday the ſixth of Nouember, aboute nine of the clock in the morning, a great alarme roſe in the ſayd Towne of Newhauen: for vpon the hilles on the North ſide of the Towne, the Reingraue, and the ſonne of the Vice admirall of Fraunce, ſhewed themſelues, accompanyed with two thouſand footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen. And herewith, the Reingraue ſent a Trumpettor to the Towne, to aduertiſe the L. Lieutenaunte, that he was on the hilles there at hande, and that vnderſtanding his Lordſhippe was come into the Countrey, and entred into Newhauen, if it woulde pleaſe him to promiſe vppon his honor, and by the faith of a Gentleman, that he might come, and returne in ſafetie, he would be glad to come to ſee him, and talke with him. Whervpon, the Lord Lieutenaunt, taking with hym certayne Captaynes and Gentlemen, rode forth of the Towne, and ſente before him Sir Adrian Poinings the Marſhall, with Stephen Medcalfe, hir Maieſties Trumpettor, vnto the Reingraue, who talking wyth him, returned, and mette with the Lord Lieutenant, who therewith paſſed forward, and meeting with the Reingraue, they embraced eache other, and conferred togither as they had occaſion, and the Reingraue tolde the Lorde Lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and ſo with ſuch merrie ſpeech, they communed togithers, and after taking leaue eyther of other, they returned to theyr homes.

An alarme.

Stephen Medcalfe.

The Earle of Warwike and the Reingrau talke togithe

The Countie Montgomerie, and Monſieur Beauboys had ſome talke alſo with the Reingraue, caſting out bitter and ſharp wordes, in reproofe of the Duke of Guiſe, and other that were of his faction.

The Reingraue comming backe to his army the ſame after noone, forraied all the Countrey, and droue away the moſt parte of all the cattayle that they might meete with, and comming to the Churche of Hauteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Montgomeries band lay, they ſkirmiſhed wyth them, and in the ende, Montgomeries Souldiers were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leauing it to the enimies, and comming away, withdrewe the ſame night into Newhauen.

The Almaynes the ſame euening, deuidyng their army into two partes, the one halfe of thē went and lodged at Mondeuille, and the other halfe at Harflew.

e Church
Hauteuille
couered.

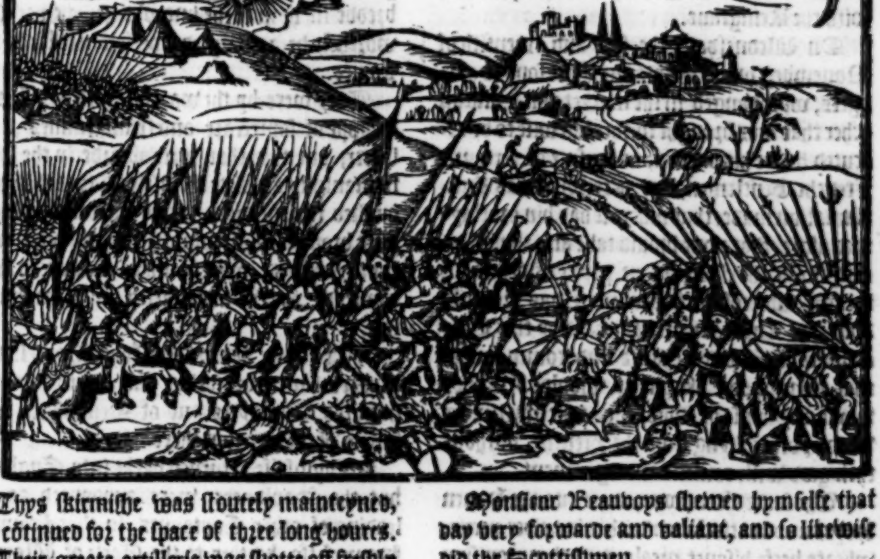
The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the Church of Hauteuille the nyghte before, went thither againe, toke and kepte it againſt the enimies, in like manner as they helde it before.

roclama-
on.

The eleuenth of Nouember, a Proclamation was made in name of the Lorde Lieutenant, by the officer at armes Bleumantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the Souldyers ageynſt the Frenche inhabitauntes of the Towne, and reforming of certayne greeuances, whereof the Frenche had made complaynte, as alſo for theyr comming to Churche to heare common prayer and preaching at due times, for the auoyding of vnlawfull games, whoredome, wicked othes, and other blaſphemies, and lykewiſe concerning dyuers other good orders to bee obſerued, and diſorders to bee eſchued, as was thought neceſſary to giue warning of, with cōdigne paynes appoynted for puniſhemente of thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſſe in the ſame.

On Thurſdaye the twelfth of Nouember, there wente out of the Towne of Newhauen towardes Harflewe, three bandes of Frenchmen, conteyning aboute ſixe hundred footemen, and ſuddaynely they were beſette by the Almaynes and Frenchmen of the garriſon of Harflewe, ſo that the Frenchmen Proteſtantes, were driuen to take a Village called Grauille, where they maynteyned the ſkirmiſhe for the ſpace of two houres, till the Lord Lieutenant hearing of the perill in whiche they ſtoode, ſent forth with the Comptroller, the number of a thouſande footemen, and all the Engliſh and Scottiſhe horſemen, and Monſieur Beauboys, with dyuers frenche horſemen, who comming before Harflewe, fel in ſkirmiſh with the enimies, to whoſe ſuccoure, there iſſued forthe of Harflew a greate number of the Almaynes, both horſemen and footemen, but the Engliſhmen behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, that they beate them out of the fielde, and dryue them in the ende to the very gates of theyr towne.

A ſkirmiſh before Harflewe.



Thys ſkirmiſhe was ſtoutely mainteyned, and cōtinued for the ſpace of three long houres.

Their greate artillerie was ſhotte off freſhly from the walles and bulwarkes.

At length, when the nighte drewe on, the retire was ſounded, and ſo the Engliſhmen came their way backe to Newhauen with honor, hauing loſt not paſt eight of their Souldyers, that were ſlayne, and ſixe other hurt, where as there was one of the enimies Captaynes ſlayne in fighte, with twenty Souldyers, and another of their Captaynes, with diuers other of theyr numbers, greeuouſly wounded.

Monſieur Beauvoys.

Monſieur Beauboys ſhewed hymſelfe that day very forwarde and valiant, and ſo likewiſe did the Scottiſhmen.

The thirtenth of Nouember, a pineſſe of the Frenchmen that belonged to Newhauen, being gone forth the night before, brought into the hauen a Shippe laden with Rochell wines, fiue and twentie tunnes, that was bound to paſſe vp to the enimies, and ſo eſteemed a good priſe.

Priſes taken and brought to Newhauen.

And the fourtenth of Nouember, another Shippe fraught with twentie tunnes of Gaſcoigne wine, was brought in as a priſe, likewiſe taken by a barke of Newhauen, that belonged to a Frenchman, called Jehan de Boys, an earneſt aduerſarie to the Papiſtes.

An. Reg. 5.

A Proclamation.

The ſeuententh of Nouember, a Proclamation was made by Bleumantel, concerning orders taken and paſſed by the Lorde Lieutenant, that no Engliſhman nor Frenchman ſhoulde ſhoote off any harquebuze within the Towne, nor that any Frenchmã, except Monſieur Beauuoys, or Monſieur Bricquemault, or theyr companyes ſhoulde be out of their lodgings after nine of the clocke at nyght till the next morning, on payne of deathe, excepte in caſes of alarmes.

An alarme.

The twentith of Nouember, aboute ſixe of the clocke at nighte, one of the Milles without the gate was ſette on fyre by ſome of the Papiſtes as was thought, whereof roſe a greate alarme.

The thirtenth of Nouember, the Reingraue was ſeene on the North hilles of the Towne, with foureſcore Horſemenne, wherevppon the Scottiſhe Horſemen, and thre bandes of footemen, iſſued out, marching vp towards the ſame hylles, in hope to meete with the enimies, but they were retired towardes Mondeuille, and ſo nothing was done.

It was reported for a certayne truth, that the Duke Daumale was there at that preſente, with the Reingraue.

Execution.

A Proclamation.

On Wedneſday, the fiue and twentith of Nouember, one of Captayne Cockſons Souldyers, was hanged in the market place, and an other that was brought thither likewiſe to be executed hadde his pardon, at the ſute of certayne Frenche Gentlemen, and heerewith was Proclamation made, that where it had bin proclaymed afore, that none ſhould take any thing forcibly from the Frenche on payne of death, for breache whereof, ſuche execution was preſently done, the Lorde Lieutenaunt did by this Proclamation eftſoones charge and commaunde, that none vppon like payne, ſhoulde breake or ſpoyle any houſe or Shippe, or take any timber wood or other thyng from the Frenche, without their good will, conſent and agreement.

Priſes brought to Newhauen.

The ſame after noone, came into the Hauen Hoyes and boates, laden with wine, cider, perrie, wheate, beefe, biſquet, meale, and other prouiſion of vittailes.

Two French Shallops of Newhauen, had taken them beſides Humfleu, and beaten backe a Shallop of the enimies, ſleying ten or twelue Frenchmen that came forth of Humfleu to haue ſuccored the Hoyes.

A ſupplie of ſouldiers out of Eſſex, arriue at Newhauen.

The fiue and twentith of Nouember, there landed at Newhauen ſixe hundred Souldiers Eſſexmẽ, vnder the leadyng of Aurie Darcy, Reignald Hygate, and William Twedie, each of them hauing hys appoynted number of two hundred to his enſigne.

A Proclamation.

Moreouer, where as well diuers prentiſes, as other Engliſhmen, were come ouer, ſith the placing of the garriſon in that Towne of Newhauen, not offering their ſeruice any way, other than by ſtragling abrode to ſeeke pillage, wherby they fell oftentimes into the handes of the enimies, both to the diſhonor of theyr Countrey, and loſſe of their owne lyues, for reformation whereof, Proclamation was made the laſt of Nouember, that all Engliſhmen within the ſayde Towne, aboue the age of ſixteene yeares, and vnder threeſcore, beeyng not reteyned in the Queenes Maieſties pay, ſhoulde at one of the clocke that preſente daye, repaire to the Bulwarke, called the Bulwarke Saint Addreſſez, there to preſente hys name and perſon to the Comptroller, that order myghte bee taken howe to employ thẽ in ſome certayntie of ſeruice, vppon payne to euery one fayling heereof, to ſuffer tenne dayes empriſonmente, and alſo to be baniſhed the Towne.

Sir Iohn Portinarie a Florentine, and an excellent Ingeniare.

The ſame day, the Queenes Shyppe called the Hare, comming from Porteſmouth, arriued at Newhauen, and in hir came Sir John Portinarie, whoſe rype ſkill, deepe iudgemente, and great experience in matters of fortification, had bredde in hym ſuche knowledge, as hee maye worthely be accompted a perfect maiſter in that ſcience.

They were by the way aſſayled by a frenche Shippe of foureſcore and tenne tunnes, and better, but they that were aboorde in the Hare, ſo manfully acquitte themſelues, that they vanquiſhed the enimies, tooke the ſame Shippe, and broughte hyr wyth them, beeyng laden wyth wynes, whyche they meante to haue conueyde to the aduerſaries in ſome garriſon.

Sir Iohn More bringeth a ſupplie of ſouldiours to Newhauen out of Deuonſhire.

The ſame daye, Sir John More landed at Newhauen, bryngyng ouer wyth hym fiue hundred Souldyers out of Deuonſhire, for a ſupply of the garriſon there.

Hee hymſelfe returned backe into England, but the Souldyers were appoynted to the leading of other Captaynes, ſo that Frauncis Somerſette, brother to the Earle of Worceſter, hadde three hundred of them, Oliuer Maners an hundred, and Edwarde Ormeſby the other hundred.

On Tewſday the eyghte of December, Monſieur de Beauuoys, Captayne Frauncis Somerſette, and Captayne Edward Horſey, with diuers other Captaines, officers and Gentlemen, rode to the Reingraue, lying at a fayre houſe not farre from Mondeuille, where they dyned wyth hym, hadde greate and hartie

cheere,

cheare, and after returned agayne to Newhauen.

eſent ſent
he Rein-
e to the
k of War-
e.

The ſame day, the Reingraue ſent for a preſent vnto my Lord of Warwike, a great horſe, very fayre, with ſaddle and bridle, eſteemed to be well worth an hundred poundes.

arde
dley.

Moreouer, the ſame day at nighte, the double Roſe, with certayne other boates and Shallops Frenche, paſſed forthe of the Hauen, Edwarde Dudley, and Captayne John Ward, being aborde in the ſaid double Roſe, with diuers other Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, to the number of an hũdred good Souldyers, who ſayling downe the riuer, landed beſydes Tankeruille, and lay cloſe all that night in the woodde, and in ÿ morning about nine of ÿ clock, Monſieur Benarde, enſigne bearer to the Counte Montgomerie, with ſixe or ſeuen Frenchmen vnarmed, wente to the Caſtell gate, and there fell in talke with Monſieur Dinimer, that was Captayne of that fortreſſe, hauing with him about ten Souldiers, that were appointed to remaine with him vpon the gard of the ſame Caſtell.

he Caſtell
Tanker-
le wonne
the En-
ſhmen,

Whileſt they were thus in talke, the Engliſhmen and other Frenchmen comming forth of the woodde that was there at hand, reared vp their ladders (whiche they had brought with thẽ for that purpoſe) at the breach, which was made the Sommer before by ÿ Duke Daumale, and entring by the ſame, came downe into the baſe Court: which thing, when the Frenche Souldyers that kept talke with them within at the Caſtell gate perceyued, they beganne to laugh, the Captayne of the Caſtell therewith turning hys face, and beholding as good as threeſcore armed men within the Caſtell at his back, he ſuddainely ſayd, *Ha, ie ſuis voſtre,* I am yours Sirs, and ſo yelded with his tenne ſouldyers, and in this ſort was the Caſtell taken, and the Captayne brought priſoner to Newhauen.

On the twelfth of December, at tenne of the clocke in the morning, the Earle of Warwike, Monſieur de Beauoys, and Mõſieur de Bricquemault, with all the Horſemen, and three M. footemen, paſſed forth of Newhauen vnto Harflewe, out of which Towne, there iſſued ſeauen hundred Reiſters, of the retinue of the Counte Reingraue, and three hundred footemen, who fell in ſkirmiſh with the french and Engliſhmen very hotely, but at length the Engliſhmẽ draue them to the very gates of Harflew, and ſlew thẽ euen at the ſame gates, and vpon the walles of the Towne, in ſo muche, that they were conſtreyned to ſhutte theyr gates, and off wente the ordinance from the gates and bulwarkes, diſcharging bullets amongſt the Engliſh Souldiers freely, but yet there were not ſlayne paſt ſeuen of the Engliſh part, albeit diuers were hurte and wounded, and amongſt other, was Monſieur de Beauoys ſhot into the ſide of the necke through hys gorget, and Captayne Antwiſell through the arme.

A ſkirmiſh
before Har-
flewe.
The French-
men beate in-
to Harflewe.

Monſieur Beauvoys, and Captayne Antwiſell hurt.

Moreouer, whereas they carried forth with them foure barrels of gunpouder to mayntaine the ſkirmiſh, through negligence by ſetting fyre in the ſame, there were to the number of twenty greeuouſly brent. Of the enimies were ſlayne that day aboue thirtie, and hurt, aboue fiftie.

Many of their horſes were alſo ſlayne in this ſkirmiſh, which continued aboue three houres.

As the Engliſhmen were returning backe, the Reingraue with two hundred horſes, and a certaine number of footemen, was layd faſt by in an ambuſhe, thinking to haue cut off parte of their menne, but he fayled of his purpoſe, for the Lord Lieutenant marching with his menne in battayle aray, broughte them home in ſafetie, without other impeachment.

The ſeuenteenth of December, the Counte Mountgomerie, and Sir Hugh Paulet, arriued at Newhauen in one of the Queenes Shippes called the Ayde.

A Proclamation.

The nineteenth of December, a Proclamation was made for orders to be obſerued, concerning the embarquing of ſuch ſouldyers, as were licenced to depart by paſſeport or otherwiſe, and likewiſe prohibiting the taking into anye veſſell any drie fiſh, wine, ſugar, or any houſhold ſtuffe, without ſpecial licence of the Lord Lieutenant.

The deathe of the Lorde Grey of Wilton.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Normandye at Newhauen, and thereaboutes, where ÿ noble Erle of Warwike, and other valiant Captaynes were ready to make proofe of their high prowes in time and place as occaſion might ſerue, there ended his life at home, that honorable Baron, and right famous Captayne in his dayes, William Lorde Grey of Wilton, Knighte of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and at that preſente, Gouernour of Berwike, and warden of the Eaſt marches againſt Scotland. He deceaſſed the fyue and twentith of December, this yere 1562. at Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire, then the houſe of Henrye Deny Eſquier, that had maried miſtreſſe Honor Grey, the ſayd Lord Greys only daughter.

The ſixe and twentith of December, the Counte de Montgomerie tooke ſhypping at Newhauen roade, accompanyed with foure hundred harquebuſiers Frenchmen, and ſayled to Dieppe, there to be gouernoure of that towne.

He wente in an Engliſh barke, belonging to Nicholas Malby, Secretary to the Earle of Warwike Lord Lieutenant.

1563

The third of January, a Shallop that was ſent the ſame morning from Newhauen, laden with beere and other vittailes to paſſe vnto

Tankeruille, was aſſayled aboute Harflewe, by a Shallop of Hunfleu, whiche droue the Hoy to the ſhore, ſo as the Engliſhmen forſooke theyr Hoy, and came running to Newhauen, to declare what had happened.

Herevpon, the Lord Lieutenant ſente forthe foure French Shallops by water, and the Horſmen with ſixe hundred footemen paſſed forth by land, and vſed ſuch diligence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were haling by the Hoy towardes Harflewe, and ſkirmiſhing with the Frenchmen, beeing fourescore good Harquebuſiers for the ſpace of a long houre, at length, recouered the Hoy, and tooke three of their Shallops, with their ordinance, which they broughte to Newhauen, with the loſſe of one onely man, an Harquebuſier of Captayne Zouches bande.

A Hoy recouered, which the Frenche had taken.

The fourth of January in the morning, the Engliſhe ſkoute beeing thirtie good Harquebuſiers, were ſette vpon by the enimies, that droue them vnto the very gates.

They ſhot alſo with their Harquebuſies into the Towne, and ouer the Mont Royall, among the Engliſh Souldyers.

They hurt at that preſent three of yͤ ſcoutes, but when they perceyued that the Engliſhmen were in a readineſſe to approche them, they departed, beeing in number three hundred horſemen, and a thouſande footemen, Souldyers of Mondeuille, and Harfleu.

The fifth of January, wer apprehẽded Captayne Blondell, Captaine Moucombell, Monſieur Demainie, and Vitanna with others, for ſome conſpiracie or trayterous practiſe whyche they went about, and had malitiouſly contriued.

The ſame day, Captayne Edward Horſey, with his two hũdred Souldyers, and Captaine Francis Blont, with his hundred, tooke ſhipping at Newhauen road, and ſayled to Dieppe, there to remayne with the Conte Montgomerie, whoſe wyfe the Counteſſe Montgomerie wente alſo with them to hir huſbande the ſame tyme.

On the Saterday following, the twelfth day after Chriſtmas, being the ninth of January, a greate tempeſt of winde and thunder happened in the Towne of Leiceſter, whiche vncouered two and fortie bayes of houſes, and ouerthrewe many, renting and tearing them in peeces, in a ſtrange and maruellous manner.

A great tempeſt in Leiceſter.

The people that were aſſembled that daye in the market place to buy and ſell their vſuall chafer, wares, and commodities, were ſore amazed and aſtonyed with the hidiouſneſſe of that moſt outragious and violent tempeſt.

On Thurſday the fourteenth of January, at one of the clocke in the morning, there iſſued forth of Newhauen threeſcore Horſemen, and a thouſande footemen, all Engliſhmen, and comming to Mondeuille, where the Reingraue lay, gaue to them within an alarme, but neyther the Reiſters, nor the Almayne footemen, nor french that were within that Towne, woulde come forth, and therefore after the Engliſhmen hadde tarried there the ſpace of foure houres, they returned backe againe to Newhauen.

An alarme giuen to Mondeuill

The fifteenth of January, at one of the clocke in the after noone, there iſſued forth of Newhauen threeſcore Horſemen, and fifteene hundred footemen, whiche commyng to Harfleu, gaue a like alarme to that Towne, but none of the garriſon there woulde come forthe, whereupon, the Engliſhmen returned home agayne to Newhauen.

An alarme giuen to H flewe.

The ſixtenth of January, the Caſtell of Tãkeruille was ſurrendred to the Reingraue, after he had layne about it an eyght dayes, with two thouſand Horſemen and footemen.

The Caſtell Tankeruill deliuered to the Reingraue.

It was nowe yeelded by compoſition (after it had bin kept by the ſpace of thirtieeight days) that thoſe within, ſhould depart with bagge and baggages, the galley beeing ſent from Newhauen to fetch them away.

There were no moe within it at that tyme when it was thus deliuered, but Captayne John Warde, Captaine Edward Dudley, and Captayne Saule, hys Lieutenant Riley, with threeſcore and tenne Engliſhe Souldyers, and thirtie French.

The nineteenth of January, there landed at Newhauen Captayne Tremayne, with fiftie Horſemenne, very well appointed, to ſerue the Queenes Maieſtie there.

Tremayne.

The foure and twentith of January, Francis Clearke Frenchman, arriued at Newhauẽ, with two tall Shippes of his owne, right well appoynted for the warres, bringing with hym three rich priſes, valued at aboue fiftie thouſand Crownes, one of them was a mightie greate Hulke, laden with woade and allume.

Francis Clearke.

Priſes taken by him.

The ſixe and twentith of January, Captaine Tremayne with all his Horſemen, and Captayne Clearke with his Scottiſh Horſemen, and ſixe hundred footemen, went forth of Newhauẽ towards Mondeuille, and by the way in a little Village, there was a Frenche Captayne come forthe of Mondeuille, named Monſieur Emerie, hauing with hym thirtie Souldiers, where falling in hande to ſpoyle the ſame Village, the payſants aboute gathered themſelues togyther, and ſet vpon him and his Souldyers: and whileſt they were thus in fighte, the Scottiſh Horſemenne came ſuddaynely vpon them, tooke the ſayde Captayne ſore wounded, ſlewe twelue of hys Souldyers, and tooke fourteene

Captayne Emerie taken by the Scottiſh horſemen.

other of them priſoners, whome with their Captayne wounded as hee was, they broughte home the ſame night vnto Newhauen.

The three and twentith of January, a Proclamation was made for orders to bee obſerued by the Souldyers, and other reſiants within the Towne of Newhauen, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defence againſte the enimies without, as the quiet demeanor of the mẽ of war & inhabitants within.

The fifth of February, two ſhippes of Britons, laden with Gaſcoigne wine, butter, bakon, larde, ſalt, and other vittailes, were brought into Newhauen by a Shallop of Killebeuf, that was reſiant with other Frenchmen in Newhauen, ſeruing againſt the Papiſtes, and had taken thoſe two veſſels, as they were going to vittaile the enimies.

The ſixth of February, three fayre myghtie Shippes of war, belonging to Francis Clearke, brought into Newhauen three rich priſes, laden with ſackes, baſterdes, ſuger, Orenges, graines, and other merchandizes.

This Clearke hadde not bin for the paſt ſixe weekes at this time, and yet he hadde got aboue eightene priſes, wel worth by iuſt valuation, the ſumme of fiftie thouſand poundes.

On Saterday the ſixth of February, a Souldier of Captayne Appleyards band, was executed in the market place, for that contrary to order taken and publiſhed afore that time by Proclamation, he had not only drawen his weapon againſte another Souldiour, but alſo maymed him, and played other lewde partes in contempt of the Lord Lieutenants commaundementes.

There was another alſo condemned to dye, and two others adiudged to loſe their hands, but the Lorde Lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie, graunted to thoſe three his pardon, for theyr paſſed offences.

On Sonday the ſeuenth of February, was Humfleu ſommoned by an Herrault, ſente from the Frenche Admirall, Monſieur de Chatillon.

On Monday the eyght of that moneth, the ſayd Admirall came before Hunflew, with ſixe thouſande Horſemen Reiſters, and other of hys owne retinues, beſide footemen, and a thouſande horſemen of the Countreys thereabout.

And about ſixe of the clocke at nighte, there was a greate peale of ordinance ſhotte off at Newhauen, for a welcome to the ſayde Admirall.

The twelfth of February, the Frenche Galleaſſe of Newhauen paſſing forth, and waſting about Hunflew to ſeeke aduentures, in hope of ſuretie, by reaſon the Lorde Admirall of France lay therby at Touque, road at an anker, whileſt ſome of them that were aboorde in hir, wente a lande to gayne ſomewhat of the enimies, but they within Hunfleu perceyuing this, made out their greate Galeaſſe, with fiftie good Mariners and Souldiers, who comming vpon the Galeaſſe of Newhauen lying at anker, putte hir in great daunger of taking, for there were but fifteene men left aboorde in hir at ẏ preſent, whereof three of them were Engliſhmen, who perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, wayed anker with all ſpeede, and drew towardes the ſhore, to take in the reſt of their company, and getting thẽ aboorde vnto them, they manfully ſtoode to their defence, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuertheleſſe, they ſo behaued themſelues, that continuing in fight aboue a long houre, at lẽgth they ouercame their enimies, ſlew ſeuen of them outright, wounded ſeuen and thirtie, tooke theyr Galeaſſe, and brought hir to Newhauen, wyth thirteene belles, diuers coapes, and Churche ornamentes, Sheepe, and other ſpoyles, whyche they had gote abroade in the Countrey, togither with three and fortie good priſoners, and the artillerie whiche was found aboorde in the foreſaid great Galeaſſe, wherewith ſhee was verye well appoynted and furniſhed.

The greate Galeaſſe of Hunflewe taken.

Of the Frenche Proteſtants, there were but three ſlayne, and ſixe hurt, and one of the three Engliſhmen was alſo hurt.

As it hath bin credibly reported, the Frenche Proteſtants might thanke thoſe three Engliſhmen that were with them in theyr Galeaſſe, for that their good happe, for if they had not manfully ſtoode to it at the firſt, and beſtowed ſuche artillerie as they hadde aboorde with them freſhly againſt the enimies, the Frenche hadde yelded, but by Gods good help, and theyr worthy courage, the victory remayned on theyr ſide.

The fourtenth of February, there came from the Lorde Admirall of Fraunce, lying then at Touque, Monſieur de Rohen, and Monſieur de Grandemont, a Knighte of the order, Monſieur Telegnie, the Admirals ſonne in lawe, and dyuers other Frenche Gentlemen, to conferre with the Lorde Lieutenant, who receyued them ryght gladly, and made them greate cheere.

Noble men ſent from the Admirall of France to the Earle of Warwike.

They remayned in Newhauen till the eyghtenth of February, and then departed, and went to Caen, whither the ſayde Lord Admirall was remoued, and had entred the Towne, and laye within it, preparyng with all ſpeede to beſiege the Caſtell.

The ſame day that the French Lords departed from Newhauẽ towardes Caen, Monſieur Briquemaulte, & ſir Nicholas Throckmorton

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

knight arriued at Newe hauen in one of the Queenes ſhippes called the Ayde.

Caen Caſtell beſieged. The Marques Dalbeuf, brother to the D. of Guiſe.

The Admirall Chatillion being got into the Towne of Caen, kepte the Caſtell beſieged, within the which was encloſed the Marques Dalbeuf.

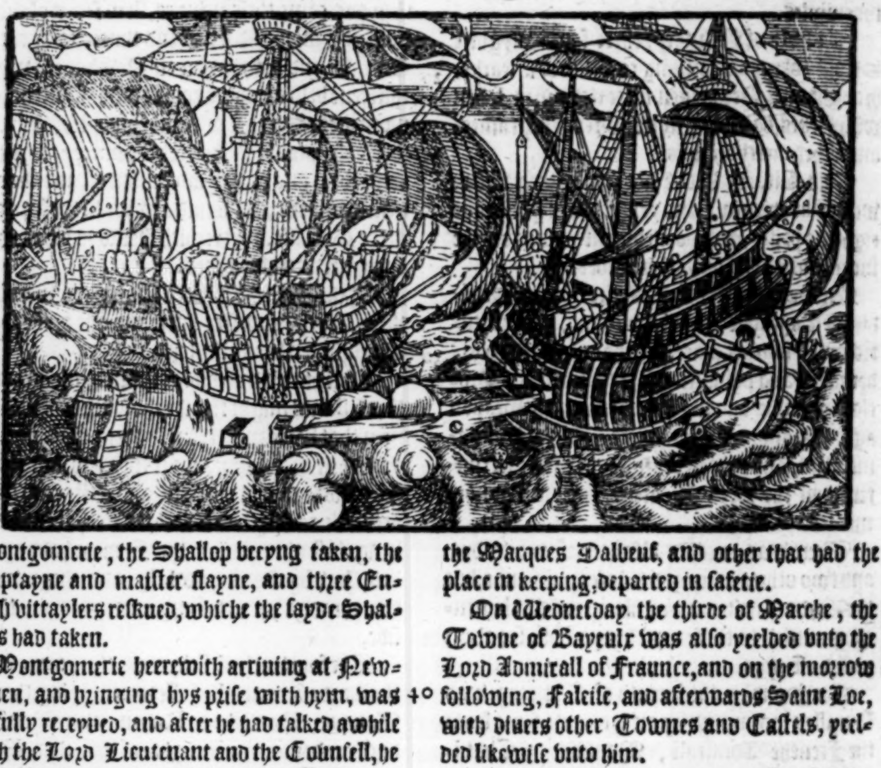
There were ſent to him from Newhauen the xxv. of Februarie, ſeuen Canons, two demye Culuerines, and one minyon.

Ayde ſent to the ſiege of Caen.

On the morrowe following, beeyng Friday, and xxvj. of February, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, Monſieur Bricquemault, and Monſieur Beauuoys, with a thouſand Souldyers Frenche, and as many Engliſh, to witte, Captaine Zouch, Captayn Twedie, Captaine Hygate, each of them with two hundred: Captayne John Warde, Captayne Parkinſon, Captaine Saul, and maiſter Wheler, Captaine Fiſher Lieutenant with his band, eache of them with his hundred, and Captayne Pelham with the laborers, were embarqued in the roade at Newhauen, and ſayled forth towards Caen, to come to the ſiege, which the Admiral of France had layd to the Caſtell there.

The Coun Montgom taketh a fre Shallop.

The ſame day, as the Counte Montgomerie hadde embarqued at the hauen of Dieppe in an Engliſh veſſell, and was comming towards Newhauẽ, there came out from Feſtamp three Shallops, by the appoyntmente of the Reingraue (as was ſayde) whiche made towards Montgomerie, whoſe meaning, when he perceiued, he ſet vpon the ſtrongeſt of the ſame Shallops, ſo that there followed a ſharp conflict betwixte them, but in the ende, the victory fell to Montgomerie, the Shallop beeyng taken, the Captayne and maiſter ſlayne, and three Engliſh vittaylers reſkued, whiche the ſayde Shallops had taken.



Montgomerie goeth to Caen to ſpeake with the Admirall.

Montgomerie heerewith arriuing at Newhauen, and bringing hys priſe with hym, was ioyfully receyued, and after he had talked awhile with the Lord Lieutenant and the Counſell, he went aborde agayne, and ſayled to Caen, there to conferre with the Admirall.

The Caſtell of Caen battered.

The firſt of March in the morning, they beganne to batter the Caſtell of Caen, in ſuche wiſe, that aboute foure of the clocke in the after noone, they within beganne to parley, but it tooke none effect, and then went off the artillerie agayne till night, and in the morning, the batterie eftſoones beganne, and before that two tires of the ſayde artillerie had gone off, they within offered to parley againe, and finally agreed by compoſition to yeelde, and ſo on that Tewſday by tenne of the clocke, the Caſtell was ſurrendred into the hands of the French Admirall, and the Marques Dalbeuf, and other that had the place in keeping, departed in ſafetie.

It is rẽdred to the Admirall.

Bayeulx, Faleyſe, and S. Lo. yeelded the Admirall.

On Wedneſday the thirde of Marche, the Towne of Bayeulx was alſo yeelded vnto the Lord Admirall of Fraunce, and on the morrow following, Falciſe, and afterwards Saint Loe, with diuers other Townes and Caſtels, yeelded likewiſe vnto him.

The tenth of March, the great galley and the Foyſtes were ſent away from Newhauẽ, with a Canon and ſhotte & powder vnto Humfleu, where they mette with Monſieur de Mouy, that came thither with a faire company of horſmen, and dyuers footemen French, and of Engliſhmen, Captayne Tutty with his two hundred, and Captayne Fiſher with his hundred.

The Canon layd to the Caſtell of Hunfleu.

The Canon which came from Newhauen, was immediately planted, and about tenne of the clocke in the forenoone it was ſhotte off, and after it had bin ſixe times diſcharged, they within began to parley, and in the ende, they agreed to yeelde vp yͤ Caſtel vnto Monſieur de Mouy,

It is yeelded.

with condition, that their Souldiers and men of warre might depart only with their rapiers and daggers, leauing all the reſidue of their mouables behinde them. And according to this capitulation, Captayne Lion with his hundred Souldiers, and Captayne Nicholas with hys hundred, and fiftie other Souldyers which were within departed, and left the Caſtel vnto Monſieur de Mouy, whereby hys Souldyers, as wel Engliſhe as others, gayned greatly by the ſpoyle.

proclama-

The twelfth of March, a Proclamation was made in name of the Lord Lieutenant, that no Souldier ſhoulde drawe weapon to doe hurte therewith to anye of the Frenche within the Towne of Newhauen, or limits of the ſame, nor to moleſt them, nor to ſpoyle nor take anye thing violently away from any of them, nor to breake downe their houſes, nor to carrie away their timber, on payne of death.

proclamatiō
the Frenche
ings name.

There was alſo a Proclamation made in name of the King and Admirall, that no Captayne, Burgeſſe, Souldier, Marriner, or other of the French nation within the towne or without, ſhoulde drawe anye weapon, nor pike anye quarrell, nor vſe any iniurious wordes agaynſte anye man, to moue them to wrath, ſpecially, againſt the Engliſhmen, on payne of deathe, nor that any burgeſſe or inhabitant, of what qualitie or condition ſoeuer, except Captaynes, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, receyuing pay, ſhoulde beare any weapon on the like paine.

Adrian
Poynings.

The fiue and twentith of Marche, Sir Adrian Poynings Knight, Marſhal of Newhauen, departed from thence, and returning into England, remayned there ſtill. Whereas Monſieur de Beauvoys, had by the Admirall Chatillions commaundemente, charged by publique Proclamation, all Straungers, forreyners, and Frenche Souldyers, to departe the Towne, by the three and twentith of Marche laſt paſt: and that all other, hauing their wiues, and families, ſhould depart with them, within four dayes after the ſame Proclamation, to giue ayde for the conſeruation and keeping of the Townes of Hunflew, Caen, Bayeux, Falaize, Saint Lo, and other places, lately brought into the obedience of the King, vnder the authoritie of the Prince of Conde, vnder payne for making default, to be taken as good priſoners of warre to thoſe that ſhoulde apprehend them. Proclamation was alſo thereupō made in the Lord Lieutenants name, the ſixe and twentith of Marche, beeing Friday, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull to the Queenes Maieſties ſubiects and friends, to apprehende and take as their good and lawfull priſoners, all ſuche, as contrary to the former Proclamation, ſhoulde remayne in the Towne of Newhauen after fiue of the clocke after noone of the day then nexte following beeing Saterday, (thoſe perſons only excepted) whoſe names had bin preſented and enrolled in billes, remayning with the Lord Lieutenants Secretary.

The Frenche
apointed to
depart out of
Newhauen.

Prouided that no perſon, ſeaſing vppon the body of anye ſuche offendor, ſhould by vertue or colour thereof, ſpoile any of their houſes, meddle with their goodes or mouables, without order and meane of Juſtice vpon payne of death.

On the Sonday yet beeing the eyght and twentith of March, another Proclamation was made, to giue reſpite to the ſaide Straungers, forreyners, and French Souldiers, vntill foure of the clocke in the after noone of the ſame daye.

And further, there was another Proclamation publiſhed thys Sonday, that none ſhoulde ſeaze vppon anye of thoſe Straungers, forreyners, or Frenche Souldyers, by colour of the two former Proclamations, vntill the Lorde Lieutenauntes pleaſure ſhoulde more fully bee knowen therein.

An other proclamation.

The thirtith of Marche beeyng Tewſday, Proclamation was eftſoones made, that where all forreyners, being not any of the Burgeſſes, or proper inhabitauntes of the ſayd Towne of Newhauen, nor of the garriſon or armye of the Engliſhmen in the ſame Towne, had bin warned by ſeuerall Proclamations to departe the Towne, and yet the ſame Proclamations notwithſtanding, a greate number made their abode ſtill in the Towne, in contempte of thoſe Proclamations. The Lord Lieutenant by this Proclamation, gaue full power and authoritie to the ſayde Prouoſt Marſhall of the garriſon of the Engliſhmen in that Towne, to apprehende, and take as good and lawfull priſoners, all ſuche forreyners, as well Souldyers, and Marriners, as other without exception, whyche ſhoulde bee founde in the Towne at anye tyme after fyue of the clocke in the after noone on Saterday then nexte commyng, Monſieur Beauvoys and hys familie, and all Miniſters then beeyng within the Towne, beeyng neuertheleſſe cleerely excepted, and dyuers prouiſions alſo included in this ſelfeſame Proclamation, for the mitigating of extremities, by wrong interpreting thereof, in behalfe of them that were to departe, as alſo that the gayne that ſhoulde come by euery particular priſoner ſo arreſted by the Prouoſt Marſhall, ſhoulde returne to anye of the Queenes Maieſties ſubiectes, by whoſe meane and procuremente, yͤ ſame priſoner was detected, and cauſed to be apprehended.

On Monday the fifth of Aprill, the Reingraue with foure hundred Horſemen, and about fiue hundred footemen, came downe the hill, betwixt Saint Addreſſez and Englefielde, where

Execution.

A Proclamation.

Garter King of armes.

Sir Hugh Paulet knight met with him, by appointment of the L. Lieutenant, accompanyed with .40. horſemen, and a M. Engliſh footmen, & after they had talked togither by the ſpace of an houre, they departed the one from the other, maiſter Paulet returning to Newhauen, and the Reingraue to Mondeuille, the place where he vſually remained. On Eaſter euen, two ſouldyers that had ſerued vnder Captayne Parkinſon, were hanged in the market place of Newhauen, for running away to the Reingraue, and vnto Dieppe. Another alſo that ſerued vnder Captain Tourner, was condemned for the lyke offence, but pardoned, through the great clemency of the L. Lieutenant. The .28. of Aprill, Proclamation was made, yͭ al the Papiſts, and the wiues and children of al them that were departed forth of Newhauē, and made their abode at yͤ preſent in Monſtreuilliers, Harfleu or elſe where abrode in the Countrey, and lykewiſe all other, whome the laſt Proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in any wiſe touched, ſhoulde depart on Saterday then next enſuing, on paine to haue their bodyes arreſted as priſoners, and their goodes to be confiſcate. Other Articles were conteined in the ſame Proclamation, as well for Forreyners that ſhoulde come forth of the Countrey to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanor of the French inhabitants of the Towne, with promiſe of reward to ſuch as ſhould diſcouer and apprehende any eſpiall, either dwelling in the Towne, or cõming and going to or from it. The firſte of May, Garter, principall Kyng of armes, arriued at Newhauen, bringing with him the Garter to yͤ L. Lieutenant, choſen on S. Georges day laſt paſt, to be one of the confreres of that moſt noble and honorable order. The fourth of May, Proclamation was made, that all the Frenche burgeſſes and others, ſhould bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the Towne Hall of Newhauen, whiche commaundemente was incontinently obeyd and accompliſhed.

A Proclamation.

The ſeauenth of May, Proclamation was made, for the auoiding of all ſuch, to whome the former Proclamations hadde in anye wiſe touched, for their departure forthe of the Towne, that they ſhould depart by Tewſday nexte (the miniſters of the Church excepted) and that none ſhould enter into the Towne, of what condition or eſtate ſoeuer he ſhoulde be, without licence of the L. Lieutenant, except he were a Burgeſſe of yͤ towne, & of the number of thoſe yͭ had their names enrolled, as by the rolles laſtly made it myghte appeare, on payne to be apprehended as good and lawfull priſoners. The .xij. of May, it was prohibited by Proclamation to all Burgeſſes, inhabitãts, & other, not to goe vnto Harfleu, or Mõtreuilliers, or elſe where out of ſight of yͤ towne of Newhauen, on payne to be taken as lawful priſoners. The .xv. of May, a Marriner of yͤ great Galley ſuffred in yͤ market place of Newhauē, for robbing and pilfering of ſhips there in the Hauē, and three other that were cõdemned for the like offence, had their pardons.

Execution.

A Proclamation for the auoyding of the Frenche out of Newhauen.

The Engliſhmen for theyr owne ſuretie were forced to double theyr watche nightly.

The ſixtenth of May, Proclamation was made, that all Frenchmenne, beeing within the Towne of Newhauen, otherwiſe called Haure de Grace, as well mē, women, as childrē, ſhould depart the Towne, betwixt that preſent time, & ſixe of the clocke at night on the next day beeing Monday, except Chirurgiens, Apotecaries, Bakers, Bouchers, Smithes, Maſons, Lockſmiths, Carpenters, and other ſuch artificers, vpõ paine to be attached as good and lawful priſoners, and their goodes to bee confiſcate. By the tenor of theſe ſeuerall Proclamations it maye appeare, that the Lorde Lieutenante proceeded nothyng rigorouſly againſt the French, in remouing thē forth of the Towne, although it maye be, that ſome whiche had to deale therein, dealte hardly ynough with them, but in ſuch caſes, there muſt of neceſſitie be ſome diligent heedefulneſſe vſed, for otherwiſe in ſuch packing away ſome might peraduenture carrie with them too muche, and others too little. But howſoeuer this matter was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoide the French out of the towne: for after the Duke of Guiſe was ſlayne before Orleans, and that the parties were agreed, as by the Edict of the pacification publiſhed in March laſt paſt, it may appeare, the whole deuiſes as well of them of the one Religion as the other tended to this ende, how to recouer yͤ towne of Newhauen out of the Engliſhmens handes, eyther by practiſe, or open force, and ſuche intelligence was vſed betwixte the Frenche within that Towne, and the enimies without to bring this to paſſe, that the Engliſh could aſſure them ſelues no more of the one, than of the other, and ſo were driuen for their owne ſafeties, to rydde yͤ Towne of ſo doubtfull partakers. The .xxvij. of May, Proclamatiõ was made, yͭ al maner of furniture & apparel, apperteining to ſhips within yͤ garriſon, hauen, or roade of yͤ towne of Newhauen, ſhuld be brought in, or a note to be giuen therof in writing, to the L. Lieutenant & Cõſel there, before .xij. of the clocke yͤ next day. Saterday the .22. of May, about one of the clocke in the morning, yͤ Reingraue with fiue C. Horſemen, and .22. enſignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Lheure, neere vnto the new fort, which by order of the L. Lieutenant, was lately before begun to be built, ſir John Portinary being chief deuiſer of yͤ fortifications about the ſame. The enimies meaning was, to haue taken the ſame forte by a ſuddayne aſſaulte, but the Engliſh ſkoutes looking wel to their charge, gaue intelligence to the Lorde Lieutenaunte thereof, who incontinently going to the Bulwarke ryall, ſet out by the poſterne Captayne John Warde with his hundred Souldiers, and Captayne Parkinſon with his hundred, to paſſe to the forte, there to bee an ayde and defence to them that lay in the ſame.

alarme uen to the w fort by e Rein- graue.

Aboute three of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue ſuddaynely with hys bandes of Horſemen and footemen, gaue them in the forte an hote alarme, and immediately, the Earle of Warwike gaue in charge to theſe Captaynes: Reade, Appliarde, Tutty, Souche, Antwiſell, Warde, Morton, and Parkinſon, hauing with them a thouſande footemen, and twenty Horſemen, to ſette vpon the enimies in the Village of Lheure, neere adioyning vnto the ſayde newe forte, where the valiante Engliſhe Souldyers ſhewed well the wonted valure of theyr worthy aunceſtors, gyuing ſuche an hardy onſette vpon their aduerſaries, that greater manhoode had not lightly appeared in any encounter, than was vſed by thoſe martiall Captaines, and their warlike bandes at that preſente, to the high honor of their Coũtrey, in ſomuch, that they beate backe their enimies, ſlewe and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beſyde thirtie fayre Horſes, and an enſigne, whiche one Eaſtwike, Lieutenant to Captayne Antwiſell got.

The hardy ſet of the gliſhmen, ade vpon eyr aduer- ries.

Amongſt the numbers of them that were ſlayne, there were found aboue thirtie handſome Gentlemen, and very well appoynted. To conclude, the Engliſhmen behaued themſelues ſo manfully on eache ſide, that by playne force of armes, they droue the enimies quite out of the Village, and after ſet it on fire, bycauſe the enimies ſhoulde not come to encamp therein, as their purpoſe was to haue done at that preſente.

The Almaines t to flight.

The ſixe and twentith of May, the Frenchmen in number about three thouſand Horſemẽ, and footemen, came downe towards the winde milles, neere to the Bulwarke called S. Andreſſez, againſt whome, the Engliſh Horſemen and footemen iſſued forth of the Towne, giuing them a right hote ſkirmiſh, which continued for the ſpace of two houres, in ſo muche, that there were ſlayne of the Frenchmen to the number of two hundred, beſide an hundred and aboue that were hurt.

nother ſkir- ſhe.

On the Engliſhe ſyde that daye were loſt, about a dozen or thirteene perſons, and amongſt other, was Captayne Tremayne ſlayne, and many hurt.

To conclude, the Engliſhmen like hardye and worthy Souldyers, wanne and kepte the fielde, ſo as the Frenchmen in the ende were driuen to retire, and beſide other loſſes whiche they receyued, they hadde aboue fiftie of their horſes killed and hurt.

The Frenchmen driuen to retire.

In this ſkirmiſh, being one of the notableſt ẏ had bin lightly ſeene manye a day before, Captayne Horſey ſhewed worthy proofe of his moſt valiant courage, winning to himſelfe ſuch commendation, as the ſame will not bee forgotten, whileſt anye ſhall remayne aliue that behelde hys manfull dealings, beeing ſuche at that preſente, as deſerue to bee regiſtred in the Booke of Fame, to continue with poſteritie for euer.

Captayne Horſeys valiancy.

On Saterday the fifth of June, at ſeauen of the clocke at nyghte, the Reingraue hauyng layde in the Village of Lheure, an ambuſhe of ſixe hundred Horſemenne, and fifteene hundred footemen, there came downe alſo betweene the Abbey and the Village called Englefield towards the Towne, the number of a thouſande footemen, whiche beganne a very hote ſkirmiſh, firſte at the newe forte, comming euen harde to the ditches, where the Engliſhmen manfully encountred them.

Another ſkirmiſhe.

Herewith alſo, the Reingraue appoynted other to come downe, and approche the Bulwarkes of Sainte Andreſſez, Sainte Francis, and Saint Michell, and to conclude rounde about the Towne, ſo that there were of them the number of ſixe thouſand that were employde in this ſkirmiſhe, whyche was mainteyned ryghte fiercely, for the ſpace of two houres, with ryghte ſharpe and cruell fight, in the ende, the enimies were forced to giue place, with the loſſe of fyue hundred of their men, Almaynes, Frenchmen, Gaſcoignes and Spanyards.

The number which the French loſt in this ſkirmiſh.

The Engliſhmen verily in thys ſeruice ſhewed, that they were nothing degenerated from the auntiente race of theyr noble progenitors.

Beſide thoſe that were ſlayne on the French parte, amongſt whome, was one of their Captaynes of good accompte amongſt them, they tooke alſo Baſſompeere an Almayne, coronell ouer tenne enſignes of footemen.

Baſſompeere.

The preſence of the Lorde Lieutenante was not wanting that daye, both to encourage hys worthy Souldyers, and alſo to ſee them applyed with weapon and munition, ſo as they ſhould not bee vnprouided of anye thyng that was needefull for ſeruice.

Of Engliſhmen there were hurte Captayne Jelbert, and Captayne Pelham, and about fifteene other hurt and ſlayne.

Captayne Jelbert, and Captayne Pelham hurte.

The ſeuenth of June, Captaine Edwarde Dudley arriued at Newhauẽ, with an C. ſouldiers.

Edward Dudley.

The morrowe after, beeing the ſeauenth of June, the firſte Canon ſhotte lighte within the

Towne of Newhauen, neere to the Bulwarke of Saint Andreſſez, ſtriking into yͤ houſe where Captayne Wheler was lodged, which ſhot being brought to my lord of Warwike by Blewmantell, Purſeuant at armes, his honor beholding it, reioyſed thereat, and ſaid, by Gods grace he would aunſwere them againe.

A new ſupply of Berwike Souldyers.

The ninth of June, arriued at Newhauen three Captaynes with their bandes, of an hundred a peece, being of the garniſon of Berwike, to witte, Captayne Tremayne, Captayne Cornewall, and Captayne Carew.

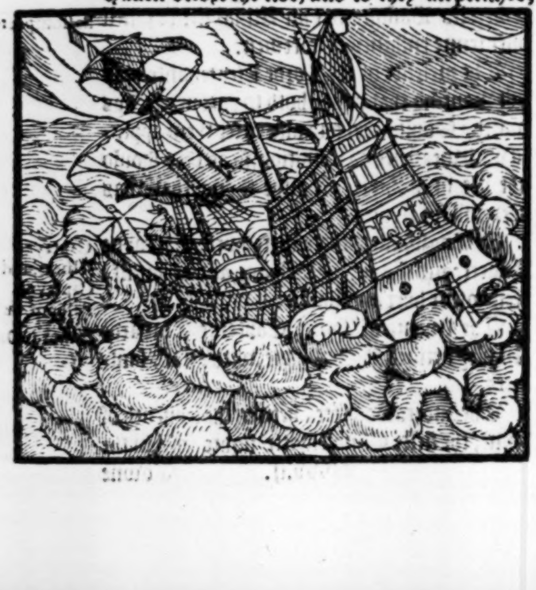
Captayn Randoll.

Edward Randoll alſo landed there the ſame day, appoynted to be Knight Marſhall.

Sir Thomas Finche.

For yee muſt vnderſtande, that Sir Adrian Poynings, being Knight Marſhal, vpon his returne into Englande, was otherwiſe employd, and wente not backe agayne, and then was Sir Thomas Finche of Kent appoynted to goe ouer to ſupply the rowmth of Knight Marſhall, who making hys prouiſion ready, ſent ouer hys brother Eraſmus Finche, to haue charge of hys bande, and his kinſman Thomas Finch, to bee his Prouoſt Marſhall, whileſt hee ſtaying till he hadde euery thing in a readineſſe to paſſe ouer himſelf: at lēgth embarqued in one of yͤ Quenes Maieſties Shippes called the Greyhound, hauing there aborde with hym, beſyde threſcore & ſixe of his own retinue, foureteene other Gentlemen, two of them beeyng brethren to the Lorde Wentworth, James Wentworth, and John Wentworth, with diuers others, who in the whole (accompting the Marriners) amounted to the number of two hundred perſons, and vpwarde: and as they were on the further coaſt towarde Newhauen, they were by contrarye wind and foule weather, driuen backe towarde the coaſt of Englande, and plying towardes Rie, they forced the Captayne of the Shippe, a very cunning Seamā named W. Maline, & alſo the maiſter and marriners, to thruſt into the hauen before the tide, and ſo they all periſhed, ſeuen of the meaner ſorte only excepted, whereof three dyed ſhortly after they came to land.

Sir Thomas Finch drowned.



The dead body of Sir Thomas Finche amongſt other, was caſt a ſhore, and being knowen, was conueyd home to his houſe, and there buryed in his pariſh Churche.

Edward Ra doll.

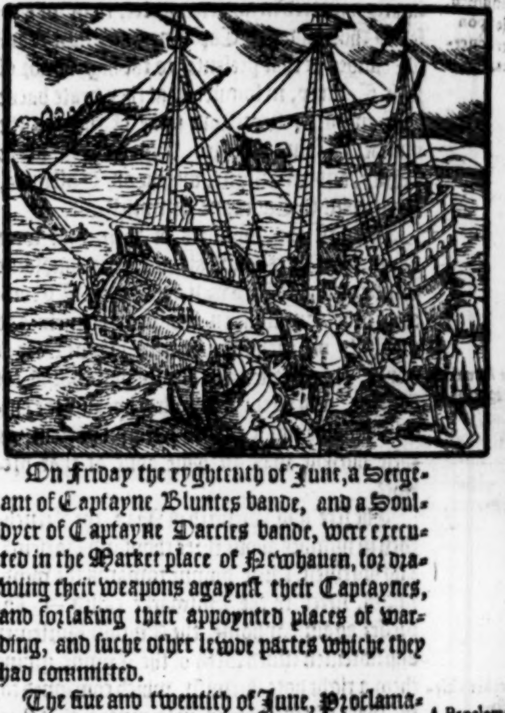
After this miſchance, & loſſe of that worthy Gentleman, the ſayde Edwarde Randoll was appoynted Knight Marſhall, who ordeyned a righte ſufficiente perſonage, Captayne John Shute, to be his prouoſt Marſhall.

A ſupply of Soldyers.

The fiftenth of June, Captayne Richarde Sanders, and Captayne William Saul wyth theyr bandes of an hundred Souldiers a peece, and Captayne Drury, with two hundred, arriued at Newhauen, and the morrowe after, arriued Captayne Robertes with another hundred of Souldiers.

Sir Francis Knolles.

And on the ſeuententh of June, being Thurſday, Sir Fraunces Knolles, Vicechamberlaine of the Queenes Maieſties houſe, landed there, being ſente ouer by hir Maieſtie and hir Counſell, to viewe the ſtate of the Towne.



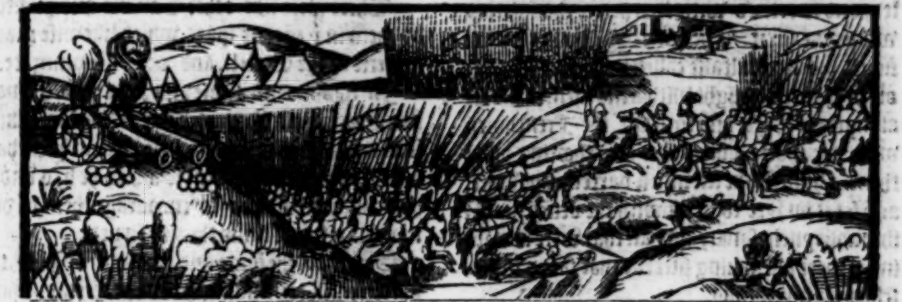
On Friday the eyghteenth of June, a Sergeant of Captayne Bluntes bande, and a Souldyer of Captayne Darcies bande, were executed in the Market place of Newhauen, for drawing their weapons agaynſt their Captaynes, and forſaking their appoynted places of warding, and ſuche other lewde partes whiche they had committed.

A Proclamation.

The fiue and twentith of June, Proclamation was made, that no Souldier of the newe fort ſhould reſort to the Towne of Newhauen, without licence of his Captayne, or ſome of his principall officers, on payne of death, or that any man ſhoulde preſume to paſſe the limits of the ſayd new fort, except vpon occaſion of ſeruice, in company of his Captayne or Lieutenaunt, on like payne, and thys order was taken, bycauſe dyuers ſtragling abroade, had bin taken priſoners, and ſlayne by the enimies, to their owne reproch and hinderance of the Princes ſeruice.

The eyght and twentith of June, the French men came downe to the Village of Lheure, and there very neere to the forte, began to ſkirmiſhe with the Engliſhmen.

There were of them tenne enſignes of fotemen, and two hundred horſemen.



long ſkir-
miſh without
y greate
urt.

This ſkirmiſhe laſted three houres, and yet there were not paſt foure ſlayne.

anons placed
beate the
Towne.

The night following, they placed fiue Cannons betwixte the Towne, and the brickhilles, and likewiſe they placed other peeces of their artillerie at the foreſayd Village of Lheure, ſo that they ſhotte both into the Towne and fort.

The firſt of July, about midnight, they iſſued forthe of their trenches, and ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhe ſkoutes, drone them vnder the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſez, and there perceyuing that the Engliſhmen had a priuie ſallie out, after a long ſkirmiſh, they retired.

They had meante to haue ſet the Milles belonging to the Towne on fyre, but they hadde ſuche play made them, that aboute three of the clocke in the morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Engliſhmen in reſt, hauing done to them little or no hurt at all.

The greate ordinance on both ſides was not idle, whileſt thys ſkirmiſh was in hande.

x hundred
en of North-
folke, and
ree hundred
en of Suf-
folke.

The ſeconde and third of July, there landed nine hundred Souldyers that came forthe of Northfolke and Suffolke, yellowe clokes and blewe clokes, verye well appoynted, hauyng to their Captaynes Ferdinando Liggens, Philip Sturley, John Highfielde, and Edw. Driuer.

Alſo, there came the ſame time fiftie Carpenters, ſixteene Sawyers, and eyght Smithes, to ſerue the Queenes Maieſtie in hir workes.

Moreouer, on the thirde daye of July, aboute tenne of the clocke at night, the Frenche gaue a greate alarme to the towne, beat in the ſkoutes, but incontinently, iſſued forth fiue hundred ſouldiers out at the ſallying place, vnder the greene Bulwarke, and beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and kepte them waking all that nighte.

Captayne
anders hurt

The ſame tyme, Captayne Sanders was hurt with a ſhotte in the legge, wherof he ſhortly after dyed: other loſſe at that time the Engliſhmen receyued not.

The fifth of July, a Proclamatiō was made for Soldyers to reſorte in time of alarmes, vnto that part and quarter, which was aſſigned to their Captaynes, and not to abſente themſelues from their enſignes, whether it were at alarmes, watch, warde, or any other ſeruice.

Ordinance
planted.

The ſixth of July, about three of the clocke in the morning, the enimies planted three Cannons, and three culuerings, diſcharging that morning, to the number of fourescore and tenne ſhottes, but perceiuing they did little hurt, they ſtayed their ſhooting, ſauing that now and then they ſhot into the Bulwarke, and ouer it into yͤ Towne: they alſo leuelled a peece, and ſhot it off towards the new galley, ſlewe therin two men, and hurt three or four other.

The ſame daye, a Cannon and a culuering were ſent forth of the Towne to the new forte.

The ordināce
in the ſteeple
diſmounted.

The .xij. of July, about four of the clocke in the morning, the French layd batterie to yͤ Bulwarke of S. Addreſſez, continuing the ſame all that day. They alſo diſmounted the ſame daye, the ordinance in the ſteeple of Newhauen, and beate downe the great Bell, cleane defacing the Steeple. They diſcharged that day agaynſt the Towne (as was gathered by due eſtimatiō) the number of twelue hundred Cannon ſhotte.

William Robinſon killed.
William
Bromfield
hurt.

The ſame euening, was William Robinſon Eſquier, water Bailife of the Towne of Newhauen ſlayne with a ſhotte, ⁊ William Bromfielde, maiſter of the ordinance, hurte wyth the ſame, and being conueyd ouer into England, he ſhortly after dyed of that hurt.

A new ſupply
of Wilſhire
and Glouceſterſhire men.

The fourtenth of July, Sir Hugh Paulet Knighte landed at Newhauen, bringing wyth him eyght hundred ſouldiers out of Wiltſhire ⁊ Glouceſterſhire. The ſame day came yͤ French men downe to the number of three M. euē hard to the gates of the Town, beating the Engliſhmen out of their trenches, but yet in the ende, they were forced to retire, and of Engliſhmen there were not paſt twentie ſlayne, and aboute an hundred hurte, but the Frenchmenne as was eſteemed, loſt aboue four hundred Horſemenne and footemenne. albeit they tooke from the Engliſhmen at that preſente a culueryng, whiche was ſette forthe to anoy them: but theyr force at that time was ſuche, as they preuayled, and ſo retired with that peece, though they wel payde for it. The ſame day alſo in the after noone, ẏ little Galeaſſe called the Fox, went out of the hauen, fraught with fiftie men, to flanke alongſt the ſhore, and to beate the Frenchmen wyth hir ſhotte, but as ſhee was ſhooting off at them, a linneſtocke fell into a barrell of powder, and ſet it on fyre togither with the veſſel, ſo that ſhe ſuddaynely ſanke, and all that were aborde in hir were loſt, ſauing fifteene that ſaued themſelues by ſwimming.

The Galeaſſe brent.

The Conneſtable of Fraunce commeth to the ſiege.

The one and twentith of July, the Conneſtable of Fraunce, accompanyed with the Marſhals Montmorancy, and Burdillon, and many other Lordes and knightes of the order, came to the Abbey of Grauille, where the Marſhall Briſſac was lodged, who hadde the generall charge in the army, before the comming of the ſayd Conneſtable.

They dyned togither there in the ſayd Briſſacks lodging, and after dynner, they ſate in counſell togither how to proceede in the ſiege.

The Conneſtable ſommoneth the Towne.

Friday the three and twentith of July, the Conneſtable came into the trench that was caſt ouer againſt the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſe, alongſt by the ſea ſide, and ſent his Trumpet to ſommone the Towne.

Sir Hugh Paulet.

The Lord Lieutenant appoynted ſir Hugh Paulet to goe forthe, and make the aunſwer in his name, which was in effect, that ẏ Queenes Maieſtie of Englande had appoynted hym and others to keepe that Towne, and therefore they meante not to deliuer it to anye other perſon, withoute hir graces eſpeciall commaundemente.

In the meane time, there were diuers of the Engliſhe Captaynes and Gentlemen, whyche accompanyed the ſayde Sir Hugh, offered the wine whiche they had brought out of the towne with them in flagons of ſiluer and gilte, vnto ſuche Captaynes and Gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by commaundemente of the Conneſtable, to ſuruey the ſtate of the trenches, and Paliſade, as the French writers themſelues confeſſe.

Captayne Monines. Captayne Leighton.

Amongſt other, there was Captaine Monines Lieutenāt, of one of the enſignes Colonels of Monſieur Dandelot, with whome Captaine Leighton, beeing of acquaintance, hadde ſome talke.

The Engliſhmen and Frenchmen were no ſooner departed, they to their trenches, and the Engliſhmen into the Towne, but that the enimies hauing planted that morning eyght canons in batterie againſt the Caſtell, and ẏ Bulwarke of the hauen, cauſed the ſame to be ſhotte off, continuing the ſame till Wedneſday noone, being the eyght and twentith of July.

The Caſtell battered.

There were ſixe other Canons alſo planted by them in ẏ meane ſpace, which likewiſe made batterie to the Caſtell, and to the Towne gate.

Cutbert Vaughan departeth this life. His worthy prayſe.

In this meane tyme alſo, Cutbert Vaughan Comptroller, departed out of this life, a ſkilfull man of warre, and no leſſe circumſpect than hardy, both to preſerue thoſe which he had vnder his conduction, and to encourage them to doe manfully, when tyme thereto ſerued.

Saterday, the foure and twentith of July, the batterie ſtill continuing as before, certayne peeces were bent alſo to beate a trauerſe the hauen. The Engliſhmen therefore ſetting fyre in two winde Milles, that ſtoode there, abandoned a trench which they kept, and the Paliſade, Captayne Poyet, Lieutenante of an other of the enſignes Colonels of the Frenche footemenne vnder Monſieur Dandelot, entred with his band, and tooke poſſeſſion of a Tower that ſtoode at the ende of the ſaide Paliſad.

The French yet had hote abiding there, notwithſtanding all the diligence and policie whiche they coulde vſe to lodge there in ſafetie.

Richelieu maiſter of the Camp hurt.

Among other, Captayn Richelieu, maiſter of the Campe, was hurte in the ſhoulder with an harquebuſe ſhotte.

The Marſhall Montmorency, cauſed a platforme to be reyſed, ioyning to the Palliſade, where about euening the ſame day, hee planted foure peeces of artillerie.

Monſieur de Eſtree.

On Sonday the fiue and twentith of July, Monſieur de Eſtree, great maiſter of the artillerie, accompanyed with the Seneſhall of Agenoys, vſed all diligence that mighte be, to place the artillerie for batterie, whereunto alſo, Monſieur de Caillac applyed himſelfe by the Conneſtables commaundement, who had compoūded a matter in variance betwixt him, & Monſieur de Eſtree.

Monſieur de Caillac.

Thys Sonday and Monday following, they were very buſie to bring their purpoſe in that behalfe to paſſe, and likewiſe to aduaunce theyr trenche vnto the ſyde of the breache.

The Marſhall de Burdellon.

The Marſhall de Burdelon abode in the trenche there all Sonday, and loſt two of hys Gentlemen.

The Marſhall Montmorency.

The Marſhall Montmorency, accompanyed wyth dyuers Lordes and Knyghtes of the order, remayned all Monday in the trenches, to prepare things ready for the batterie, not without ſome daunger of his perſon, for the ſtones that were beaten with the bullets comming out of the Towne, flew very faſt about his eares, of the which, there was one that lent him a blowe on ẏ ſhoulder, & other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting alſo in other partes of his bodye (if his armour had not defended him the better, hee had not eſcaped withoute further harme.)

The Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Montpencier.

The ſame daye, the Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Montpenſier, came to the Campe, and alighting at the Conneſtables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the Marſhall Montmorency, and to ſupply his roume, whyleſt hee myghte in the meane tyme goe to ſuppe with hys father, and ſo take hys reſt.

Monſieur Deſtrees, and the other that hadde charge aboute the planting and ordering of the artillerie, vſed ſuche diligence, and were ſo earneſtly called vpō and encouraged by the Prince of Conde, continually remayning in the trenches, that on Tewſday in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the Bulwarke of Sainte Addreſſe, and other places.

The Bulwarke of Saint Adreſſe battered.

This was not done without greate daunger of the Pioners and men of warre that garded them, for as the Frenche deſperately made theſe approches, they were made by the Engliſhe gunners, to taſt the bitter fruite that the Cannon and culuerings yeeldeth, but ſuch was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now aſſembled togyther in hope to recouer that Towne (which being poſſeſſed by the Engliſhe, cuttes off all traffique from Rouen and Paris, and ſo cōſequently, from the chiefe partes of the whole Realme of Fraunce) that with theyr generall ayde, and drawing the water downe to the ſea, the mariſhes were made paſſable, and firme ground, whiche to men of great experience, was thought a thing impoſſible. The Caſtell, the walles, and other defences of the Towne, were battered, breaches made, and the trenche whyche before the comming of the Cōneſtable, was but broughte to the poynte ouer agaynſte the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſe, was now within foure dayes aduanced neere hande the ſpace of two myles, vpon the cauſey or breach which was all of ſtone, without anye earth to couer them, ſo that they were driuen to make the beſt ſhift they could, with woolleſackes, ſandebagges, baſkets, & faggots. Yet all this had neuer come to paſſe, nor coulde haue bin wroughte, withoute infinite ſlaughter, and farre more loſſe of French bloud, that neceſſarily ſhould haue bin ſpilt, if yͤ greate mortalitie of peſtilence whiche entred the towne about the beginning of the Sommer, through a malitious infection, had not ſo greately increaſed, that it ſlewe and tooke away dayly greate numbers of men, beſide thoſe that beeyng ſicke thereof, eſcaped with lyfe, but were yet ſo feeble and weake, that they were not able to help themſelues, nor to doe any ſeruice auaylable at all.

The great infection of peſtilence in Newhauen.

Stow. *Additions to Languet.*

There dyed ſo manye dayly through the vehemency of the infection, that the ſtreetes lay euen full of dead corpſes, not able to be remoued, or buryed, by reaſon of the multitude that periſhed. Herewith they were greeuouſly annoyed for want of freſh vittayles, but chiefly, of freſhe waters, which the enimie by long ſiege, had cut off. And nowe the ſhotte of the Cannon, lying within ſix and twenty paces of the Towne, was ſo terrible, as the like had not lightly bene hearde of, and ſundry breaches therewith were already made, namely, two very great and ſaulte for the enimies to enter.

All theſe daungers and miſeries notwithſtanding, the worthy Earle of Warwike with his Captaynes and Souldiers in couragious order ſtoode at thoſe ſeuerall breaches, ready to defende the ſame, if the enimies had preſumed to haue giuen the aſſault, which when the Conneſtable perceyued, he cauſed a Trumpet to ſounde the blaſt of emparley, that talke myght be hadde for the concluding of a compoſition betwixte both the parties.

The high valiancie of the Earle of Warwike.

This offer, conſidering that ſore contagious mortalitie, wherewith the Towne was moſt greeuouſly infeſted, hauing ſo greatly enfeebled the Engliſhe forces within the ſame, was thought not vnmeete to be receyued.

Herevpon, after a ſally made by the Engliſhmen, and a faire ſkirmiſhe betwixt them and the Frenchmen that lay afore yͤ fort de Lheure, on the Tewſday the. xxvij. of July, M. William Pelhā, Captayne of the fort, with another Gentleman, and a Trumpettor, went forth by appoyntment, and was receyued firſt by Monſieur de Loſſes, who brought him to the Marſhall Montmorency, and after by his appoyntment, went with him by the Reingraues campe to the Conneſtable, and till his returne, a truce was accorded on that ſide of the fort.

Captayne Pelham went forth to talke with the Cōmiſsioners.

After that maiſter Pelham had talked a ſpace with the Conneſtable, the matter was putte ouer till the nexte day, and ſo he returned.

The morrowe after beeing Wedneſday, and eyght and twentith of July, the Conneſtable about ſeauen of the clocke, came to the ende of the trenches neare to the Towne; where Sir Maurice Denys, treaſurer of the Towne, Sir Hugh Paulet, Captayne Horſley, Captayne Pelham, Captaine John Shute prouoſt Marſhall, and Nicholas Malby Secretary to my Lord Lieutenant, came forthe, and paſſed ouer the hauen to commune with hym, and during the parley betwixt them, a truce was accorded, and aſſented to, by both parties, the which neuertheleſſe was broken two ſeuerall tymes, thorough the vnruly inſolency of certayne harquebuſiers, and although by the good diligence of the

The Commiſsioners appointed to talke with the Conneſtable.

Captaynes, they wer incontinently quieted and ſtayed.

Additions to Lanquet.
The Earle of Warwike hurt.

Yet the valiaunt Earle of Warwike, ſtanding at a breache in hys hoſen and doublet in ſight of hys enimies, was by a lewde ſouldioure of the Frenche (contrary to the lawe of armes) ſhot through the thigh with an arquebuſade.

The Conneſtable tooke vpon him to be chiefe in authoritie on the French part.

The Conneſtable and the Engliſh commiſſioners appoynted, hadde long conference togither, and before they concluded, the Marſhals Montmorency and Burdeillon (and at length, the Marſhall Briſſac alſo) came to the place where they were thus in parley, but the Conneſtable toke vpon him to haue onely authoritie to accept or refuſe ſuche conditions, as ſhould be offered or agreed vnto by the Engliſh Commiſſioners in this treatie: and ſo at length they paſſed certayne Articles in forme as followeth.

The Articles of the agreemẽt touching ſurrender of Newhauen.

Firſte, that the Earle of Warwike ſhoulde render agayne the Towne of Newhauen, into the handes of the Conneſtable of Fraunce, with all the artillerie and munitions of warre, then beyng in that Towne, and belonging to the French King and his ſubiectes.

Item, that hee ſhould leaue the Shippes that were in the ſayde towne at that preſente, belonging eyther to the King or hys ſubiectes, with all their furniture, and generally, all ſuch merchandiſe and other things, being likewiſe at that preſent within that Towne, as either belonged to the King or his ſubiectes.

Item, for the more ſuretie of the premiſſes, the ſayd Earle ſhould preſently deliuer into the handes of the ſayde Conneſtable, the greate tower of the ſayde hauen, ſo that the Souldyers that were placed therin, enter not into ÿ towne, and that the ſayde Earle of Warwike ſhoulde cauſe the gates there towardes the Towne to be warded, till it were in the poſſeſſion of ÿ ſayd Conneſtable, without planting any enſignes on the ſayde Tower, according vnto the ſayde agreement, and alſo that the ſayde Earle ſhoulde deliuer foure ſuch hoſtages as the ſayde Conneſtable ſhould name.

Item, that the next day, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the ſayd Erle ſhould withdraw his Souldyers whiche are in the forte, to deliuer it immediatly into the handes of the ſayd Conneſtable, or ſuch as ſhould be by hym appoynted to receyue the ſame at the ſayd houre.

Item, that all priſoners that haue bin taken before the ſayde Hauen, ſhoulde bee delyuered on eyther ſide, without paying any raunſome.

Item, that the Conneſtable ſhoulde for hys parte ſuffer the ſaide Earle of Warwike, and all thoſe that are in garriſon in the ſayde Newhauen, to departe with all thyngs whatſoeuer that belonged to the Queene of Englande and hir ſubiectes.

Item, that for the departure as well of the ſayd Earle, as the remouing of hys Souldyers, and other things before rehearſed, ÿ ſayd Conneſtable agreed to gyue them ſix whole dayes, beginning the morrow then next following, to wete, the. xxix. of July, during which ſix dayes, they might ſauely and freely take and carrie away all the ſayde things: and if wynde or foule weather ſhuld hinder, that their paſſage coulde not be made within the ſayde tearme, in this caſe the ſayde Conneſtable ſhould graunte them ſuche further time of delay, as might be thought reaſonable.

Item, the ſayde Conneſtable dyd likewiſe permitte, that all the Shippes and Engliſh veſſels, and all other that ſhoulde be appoynted for the portage and conueying away of the ſayde things, ſhould ſafely and freely paſſe into and fro the ſayde Hauen, without any ſtay or impeachment, eyther by the Frenche army or anye other.

The ſayde foure hoſtages were appoynted to bee maiſter Oliuer Maners, brother to the Earle of Rutlande, Captayne Pelham, Captayne Horſey, and Captayne Leighton.

In witneſſe whereof, the ſayde Lordes, the Conneſtable of Fraunce, and Earle of Warwike, ſigned theſe articles the eyght and twentith of July. Anno. 1563.

Additions to Lanquet.

Thus the Earle of Warwike, as he had during the whole tyme of hys abode there in that Towne of Newhauen, ſhewed himſelfe a right hardy and valiaunt Captayne, ſo nowe in the ende hee proued himſelfe to be both prudent and politike, for by accepting of theſe honorable conditions to goe with all armour, munition, Shippes, goodes, bagge and baggage, in anye wiſe apperteyning, or belonging eyther to the Queenes maieſtie, or to any of hir graces ſubiectes, he ſaued the liues of a great number, which otherwiſe eſcaping the ſcourge of the infectiue plague, muſt needes haue fallen vnder the edge of the ſworde.

The Conneſtable during the tyme of the parley, ſente hys yongeſt ſonne Monſieur de Thorree, to the King and Queene mother, to aduertiſe them of the treatie of this peace, and after it was once concluded and ſigned by the Earle of Warwike, he ſent his eldeſt ſonne the Marſhall Montmorencie, to preſente the ſame vnto them at Criquetot, halfe way betweene Newhauen and Feſcamp, who were right ioyfull of the newes, and the nexte day they came to the Campe, ſhewing greate ſignes of theyr conceyued gladneſſe, for the recouering of that

The French King cõmeth to the Camp before Newhauen.

that Towne thus quite of the Engliſhmens handes.

The Saterday the moſt part of the Engliſh men tooke ſhippe and departed homewardes: for glad might he thinke himſelfe, that could get ſooneſt out of that vnwholſome and moſt vnſauerie ayre. Many ſicke perſons yet were left behinde, impotent and not able to helpe themſelues. The miſerie whereof Edward Randolfe Eſquier high Marſhall of the towne (who was appoynted to tarrie and ſee the vttermoſt of the compoſition accompliſhed) perceyuing, moued with naturall pitie of his Countreymen relinquiſhed without comfort, cauſed the ſayde ſicke perſonnes to be caried abowrde, not ſparing hys ſhoulders, at that tyme feeble and full of the plague, himſelfe and his men ſtill bearing and helping the poore creatures on ſhipborde. A rare fact, worthie rewarde, and no doubt in remembraunce with God, the true recorder of mercifull deſerts.

Thus was the Towne of Newhauen reduced againe into the handes of the French, more vndoubtedly through the extreme mortalitie that ſo outragiouſly afflicted the ſouldiours and men of warre within the ſame, than by the enimyes enforcementes, although the ſame was great, and aduaunced to the vttermoſt of the aduerſaries power.

Beſide the meaner ſort of thoſe that dyed of the peſtilence during the ſiege, theſe I finde noted as chiefe. Cutbert Vaughan Comptroller of the towne, Frauncis Somerſet couſin to the Earle of Worceſter, Iuerie Darcie brother to the Lorde Darcie, John Zouch, brother to the Lorde Zouch, Edwarde Ormeſby, Thomas Drurie, *alias* Poignard, Richard Croker, John Cockſon, Thomas Keniſhe, John Prowde, William Saul, Wilfreid Antwiſell. Beſyde theſe being Captaynes in chiefe dying there in that towne, or elſe ſickning there and dying vpon theyr returne into Englande, there were dyuerſe other gentlemen, and ſuch as had charge, whiche likewiſe ended theyr lyues by force of that cruell and moſte grieuous peſtilent infection.

There were diuerſe alſo that were ſlaine, as well by Canon ſhotte, as otherwiſe in the fielde in ſkirmiſh, as both the Tremaynes brethren of one byrth, Nicholas and Andrew, Captayne Richard Sanders, with maiſter Robynſon, & maiſter Bromfield, of which two before ye haue heard, alſo one Leighton, a Gentleman and diuerſe moe whoſe names I knowe not, worthie neuertheleſſe to be remembred and placed in ranke with ſuch worthie men, as in their countreys cauſe haue loſt theyr liues, and are therefore by Wryters regiſtred to liue by fame for euer.

But now to paſſe to other matters at home.

Stow.

Peſtilence.

As ye haue heard, the plague of Peſtilence being in the towne of Newhauen, through the number of ſouldiours that returned into Englande, the infection thereof ſpread into dyuerſe partes of this realme, but eſpecially the Citie of London was ſo infected, that in the ſame whole yeare, that is to ſay, from the firſt of Ianuarie, 1562. vntill the laſt of December, in 1563. there dyed in the Citie and liberties thereof, conteyning 108. Pariſhes of all diſeaſes, xx. thouſand, three hundred. lxxii. and of the plague being part of the number aforeſayd, ſeuenteene thouſand foure hundred, and foure perſons. And in the out Pariſhes adioyning to the ſame Citie, being xi. Pariſhes dyed of all diſeaſes in the whole yere, three thouſand two hundred. lxxx. and eight perſons, and of them, of the plague two thouſande ſeuen hundred. xxxii. ſo that the whole number of all that dyed of all diſeaſes, as well within the Citie and liberties, as in the out pariſhes, was xxiii thouſand, ſixe hundred and lx. and of them, there died of the plague, twentie thouſand one hundred thirtie and ſixe.

108 Pariſhes in London, beſides.xi. in the Suburbs.

Tempeſt at London.

The eyght of July in the morning, happened a great tempeſt of lightning and thunder, wherethrough a woman and three Kine were ſlaine, in the Couent Gardeyne neare to Charing Croſſe. At the ſame tyme in Eſſex a man was torne all to peeces as he was carying hay, hys Barne was borne downe, and hys Hay burnt: both ſtones and trees were rent in many places.

The Counſell of King Philip at Bruxels commaunded proclamation to be made in Andwarpe and other places, that no Engliſh ſhippe with any clothes, ſhoulde come into any places of theyr lowe Countreys: their colour was (as they ſayd) the daunger of the plague, which was that time in London, & other places of England notwithſtanding they woulde gladly haue got our wolles, but the Queenes Maieſtie through ſuyt of our marchant aduenturers cauſed the woll fleete to be diſcharged, and our cloth fleete was ſent to Emden in Eaſt Frieſelande, about Eaſter next following, in Anno, 1564. Forſomuch as the plague of Peſtilence was ſo hote in the Citie of London, there was no terme kept at Michaelmaſſe, to be ſhort, the poore Citizens of London, were this yeare plagued with a threefolde plague, peſtilence, ſcarcitie of money, and dearth of vittayles, the miſerie wherof were too long here to write, no doubt the poore remember it, the riche by flight into the Countreys, made ſhift for themſelues. &c.

Threefolde plague to the poore Citizens of London.

Earthquake.

An Earthquake was in the Month of September in dyuerſe places of this realme, ſpecially in Lincolne and Northampton ſhires.

After the election of the Maior of London by the counſailes letters, the Q. Maieſties pleaſure was ſignified to ſir Thomas Lodge then Maior, that forſomuch as the plague was ſo great in the Citie, the new Maior elected ſhould kepe no feaſt at the Guildhall, for doubt that through bringing togyther ſuch a multitude, the infection might encreaſe: for that Weeke there died within the Citie and out Pariſhes, more than two thouſande. Wherefore Sir Iohn Whight the new Maior, tooke his othe at yͤ vttermoſt gate of the Tower of London.

An. Reg. 6.
Lightning and thunder.

From the firſt day of December, till the. xij. was ſuch continuall lightning and thunder, eſpecially the ſame. xij. day at night, that the like had not beene ſeene nor heard by any man then lyuing.

In the Moneth of December, was dryuen on the ſhore at Grymſbie in Lyncolnſhyre, a monſtrous fiſhe, in length. xix. yardes, his tayle fifteene foote brode, and ſixe yardes betweene his eyes, twelue men ſtoode vpright in his mouth to get the Oyle.

1564
Terme kept at Hertfort.

For that the plague was not fully ceaſſed in London, Hillarie terme was kept at Hertforde Caſtell beſide Ware.

Grafton.
A peace with Fraunce.

This yeare the. xiij. of Aprill, an honourable and ioyfull peace was concluded, betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie, and the French King, theyr Realmes, Dominions and Subiectes, and the ſame peace was proclaymed with ſounde of Trumpet, before hir Maieſtie in hir Caſtell of Windſore, then being preſent the French Ambaſſadors.

And ſhortly after, the Queenes grace ſent the righte honourable Sir Henrie Carie Lord of Honneſdon, accompanied with the Lorde Strange, beſide diuerſe Knights & Gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the Garter, who finding him at the Citie of Lion, being in thoſe parties in progreſſe, he there preſented vnto him the ſayde noble order, and Garter King at Armes inueſted him therewith, obſeruing the Ceremonies in that behalfe due and requiſite.

The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceaſſed in London, both Eaſter and Midſomer termes were kept at Weſtminſter.

Watch on S. Peters night.

There was on the vigile of S. Peter a watch in the Citie of London, which did onely ſtande in the higheſt ſtreetes of Cheape, Cornhill, and ſo forth to Algate, which watche was to the Commons of the ſame Citie, as chargeable as when in tymes paſt it had beene commendably done.

Ab. Hartw.
The Queenes progreſſe thorow Cābridge

The fift of Auguſt, the Queenes Maieſtie in hir progreſſe, came to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and was of all the Students (being inueſted according to their degrees taken in the ſchooles) honourably and ioyfully receiued in the Kings Colledge, where ſhee did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The dayes of hir abode were paſt in ſcholaſticall exerciſes of Philoſophie, Phiſicke, and Diuinitie, the nightes in Comedies, and Tragedies, ſet forth partly by the whole vniuerſitie, and partly by the ſtudents of the Kings Colledge. At the breaking vp of the Diuinitie act, being on Wedneſday the ninth of Auguſt (on the which day ſhe roade through the towne, and viewed the Colledges, thoſe goodly and auncient monuments of Kings of England hir noble predeceſſors) ſhe made within S. Maries Church a notable Oration in Latin, in the preſence of the whole learned Vniuerſitie, to the ſtudents great comfort. The next day, ſhee went forward on hir progreſſe to Finchinbroke by Huntingdon.

Outcrier and Belman for the day.

The. xxx. day of Auguſt, was enacted by a common counſaile of the Citie of London, that all ſuch Citizens as from thence forth ſhould be conſtreyned to ſell theyr houſholde ſtuffe, leaſes of houſes, or ſuche lyke, ſhoulde firſt cauſe the ſame to be cryed through the Citie by a man with a Bell, and then to be ſolde by the common out cryer appoynted for that purpoſe, and hee to reteyne one farthing vpon the ſhylling for his paynes.

Great floudes in the Thames.

The. xx. of September aroſe great floudes in the Riuer of Thames, where through the marſhes neare adioining were ouerflowed, and many cattell drowned.

Obſequie for Ferdinando the Emperor.

The ſeconde of October in the after noone, & on the morow in the forenoone, was a ſolemne obſequie at Paules church of London, for Ferdinando late Emperour, departed.

Fierie impreſſions.

The ſeuenth day of October at night, from eight of the clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the North partes of the Element, ſeemed to bee couered with flames of fire, proceeding from the Northeaſt, and Northweſt, toward the middeſt of the Firmament, where after it had ſtayed nighe one houre, it deſcended weſt: and all the ſame night (being the next after the chaunge of the Moone) ſeemed nigh as light as it had beene fayre day.

An. reg. 7.
Houſes ſhattered with Gunpowder.

The. xx. of Nouember, in the morning through negligence of a mayden with a candell, the ſnuffe falling in an hundred pounde weight of Gunpowder, three houſes in Bucklerſburie were ſore ſhaken, and the Mayde dyed two dayes after.

The Thames frozen ouer.

The. xxj. of December, began a froſt, which continued ſo extreemly, that on Newyeares euen people went ouer and along the Thames on the Iſe from London bridge to Weſtmynſter, ſome played at the football, as boldly there, as if it had beene on the drie land: diuerſe of the court being then at Weſtminſter, ſhot dayly at pricks ſet vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women, went on the Thames in greater number, than in any ſtreete of the Citie of London. On the thirde day of Ianuarie at night it beganne to thaw, and on the fifth day was no Iſe to bee ſeene betweene London bridge, and Lambeth, whiche ſodaine thawe cauſed greate floods and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houſes, and drowned many people in England: eſpecially in Yorkſhire, Owes bridge was borne away with other.

bridge
downe.

The thirde day of Februarie, Henrie Stuart Lord Darley, about the age of .xix. yeare, eldeſt ſonne to Mathew Earle of Lineux (who went into Scotlande at Whitſuntide before) hauing obteyned licence of the Queenes Maieſtie, toke his iourney towarde Scotlande, accompanied with fiue of his fathers men, where when he came, was honourably receyued, and lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the Sommer folowing, maried Marie Queene of Scotlande.

ie Stuart
ied the Q.
Scottes.

About this time, for the Queenes Maieſtie were choſen and ſent Commiſſioners to Bruges, the Lorde Montacute knight of the honourable order of the Garter, Doctor Wotton one of hir Maieſties honourable Counſaile, doctor Haddon one of the Maiſters of Requeſtes to hir highneſſe, with other, Maiſter Doctor Aubrey was for the marchant aduenturers of England: they came to Bruges in Lent. Anno. 1565. and continued there til Michaelmaſſe folowing, and then was the dyet prolonged till Marche in the yere. 1566. and the Commiſſioners returned into England.

1565

The .xxij. of Aprill, the Ladie Margaret counteſſe of Lineux, was commaunded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where ſhe remayned till the .xxij. of Iune, and then conueyed by Sir Francis Knolles, and the garde to the Tower of London by water.

die Lineux
ſent to the
Tower.

On S. Peters euen at night, was the lyke ſtanding watch in London, as had bene on the ſame night .xij. Monethes paſt.

Watch at mid
ſommer.

The .xvj. of Iuly, about .ix. of the clocke at night, began a tempeſt of lightning and thunder, with ſhowers of hayle, which continued till three of the clocke in the next morning, ſo terrible, that at Chelmeſforde in Eſſex fiue hundred acres of corne was deſtroyed, the Glaſſe windowes on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, and of the Weſt and South ſides of the Church were beaten downe, with alſo the Tyles of their houſes, beſide diuerſe Barnes, Chimneys, and the Battelments of the Church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was done in many other places, as at Leedes, Cranebroke, Douer. &c.

Tempeſt at
Chelmeſford.

Chriſtofor Prince and Margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife, ſiſter to the King of Swethlande, after a long and daungerous iourney, wherein they had trauayled almoſt a .xj. Monethes ſayling from Stockholme, croſſing the Seas ouer into Liſelande, from whence by lande they came aboute by Pollande, Pruſcie, Pomerland, Meckleburge, Friſelande, and ſo to Indwerpe in Brabant, then to Calays, at the laſt in September landed at Douer, and the .xj. day of the ſame they came to London, and were lodged at the Earle of Bedfords place, neare vnto Iuie bridge, where within foure dayes after, that is to ſay, the .xv. of September, ſhe trauayled in childbed, & was deliuered of a man child, which childe the laſt of September was chriſtened in the Queenes Maieſties Chapell of white Hall at Weſtminſter, the Queenes Maieſtie in hir owne perſon being Godmother, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Duke of Norfolke Godfathers: at the Chriſtning the Queene gaue the childe to name *Edwardus Fortunatus*, for that God has ſo graciouſly aſſiſted his mother, in ſo long and daungerous a iourney, and brought hir ſafe to land in that place, which ſhe moſt deſired, and that in ſo ſhort time before hir deliuerance.

The Margraue
or Marques of
Baden.

The .xj. of Nouember, the right honourable, Ambroſe Earle of Warwike, maryed Anne eldeſt daughter to the Earle of Bedforde: for the honour and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodly chalenge was made, and obſerued at Weſtmynſter, at the Tylt, with eche one ſixe courſes: at the Tourney .xij. ſtrokes, wyth the ſword. three puſhes with the punchion ſtaffe: & xij. blowes with the ſworde at Barriers, or. xx. if any were ſo diſpoſed.

Mariage of
the Earle of
Warwike.

At ten of the clocke at night the ſame day, a valiant ſeruiceable man, called Robert Thomas, maiſter Gunner of England, deſirous alſo to honour the feaſt and mariage day in conſideration the ſayde Erle of Warwike was generall of the Ordinaunce within hir Maieſties Realmes and Dominions, made three greate traines of chambers, which terribly yeelded forth the nature of theyr voyce, to the greate aſtoniſhment of dyuerſe, who at the fiering of the seconde was vnhappily ſlaine by a peece of one of the Chambers, to the great ſorow and lamentation of many.

Robert Thomas ſlaine.

The .xxiiij. of December, in the morning, there roſe a great ſtorme and tempeſt of winde, by whoſe rage the Thames and Seas ouerwhelmed many perſons, and the great gates at the Weſt end of S. Paules Church in London, (betweene

Anno. reg. 8.

Poules gate
blowen open.

(betweene the which ſtandeth the braſen piller) were through the force of the winde, then in the weſterne part of the world blowne open.

Order of ſaint Michaell. 1566

In Ianuarie, Monſieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France, was ſent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the.ix. of that name, with the order, who at Windſore was ſtalled in the behalfe of the ſayde French King, with the knighthoode of the moſt honourable order of the Garter, and the.xxiiij. of Ianuarie, in the Chapell of hir Maieſties Palaice of Whitehall, the ſayde Monſieur Rambulet inueſted Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Robert Earle of Leyceſter, with the ſayde order of S. Michael.

The Marques of Baden returneth.

The Marques of Baden, and the Ladie Cicilie his wife, ſiſter to the king of Swethen, who came into this lande in the Moneth of September laſt paſt (as before is declared) being then by the Queenes eſpeciall appoyntment, at their arriuall honourably receyued by the Lorde Cobham, an honourable Baron of this Realme, and the Lady his wife, one of the Queenes maieſties priuie Chamber, now in the Moneth of Aprill, 1566. departed the ſame againe, the Marques a few dayes before his wife, being both conducted by a lyke perſonage the Lord of Aburgueuenny to Douer.

The Burſe in Cornhill.

Certayne houſes in Cornhill, being fyrſt purchaſed by the Citizens of London, were in the Moneth of Februarie cryed by a Belman, and afterwarde ſolde to ſuch perſons as ſhoulde take them downe, and carie them from thence, which was ſo done in the Monethes of Aprill and May next following. And then the ground beeing made playne at the charges alſo of the Citie, poſſeſſion thereof was by certayne Aldermen in the name of the whole Citizens, gyuen to the right worſhipfull ſir Thomas Greſham knight, agent to the Queenes highneſſe, there to buylde a place for Marchantes to aſſemble in, at his owne proper charges, who on the ſeuenth day of Iune layde the firſt ſtone of the foundation (beeing Bricke) and forthwyth the workemenne followed vppon the ſame with ſuch diligence, that by the Moneth of Nouember, in Anno. 1567. the ſame was couered with ſlate.

The Commiſſioners before named, appoynted for the matters of Flaunders, keeping theyr diet at Bruges, agreed to referre the whole matter to the Princes on both ſides, and if they could not agree, then the Marchants to haue.xl. dayes to repayre home with their marchandiſe, and in the meane tyme all things to ſtande as they were then. Our Commiſſioners departed from Bruges about the.xxvj. of Iune.

The Queene progreſſe to Oxforde.

The.xxxj. of Auguſt, the Queenes maieſtie in hir progreſſe came to the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, and was of all the ſtudentes, which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, ſo honourably and ioyfully receiued, as eyther their loyalneſſe towardes the Queenes maieſtie, or the expectation of their friends did require. Concerning orders in diſputation and other Academicall exerciſes, they agreed much with thoſe, which the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge had vſed two yeares before. Comedies alſo and Tragedies were played in Chriſts Church, where the Queenes highneſſe lodged. Among the which the Comedie entituled Palemon & Arcit, made by maiſter Edwardes of the Queenes Chapel, had ſuch tragicall ſucceſſe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fal of a wall and a paire of ſtaires, and great preſſe of the multitude, three men were ſlaine.

Miſfortune Oxforde.

The fifth of September, after diſputations, the Queene at the humble ſuyte of certaine hir Nobilitie, and the king of Spains Ambaſſador, made a briefe Oration in Latin to the Vniuerſitie, but ſo wiſe and pithie, as England may reioyce, that it hath ſo learned a Prince, and the Vniuerſitie may triumph that they haue ſo noble a Patroneſſe.

The. vj. of September, after dinner, hir grace comming from Chriſts church ouer Carfox, and ſo to Saint Maries, the ſcholers ſtanding in order according to theyr degrees euen to the Eaſt gate, certaine Doctours of the vniuerſitie did ride before in their ſkarlet Gownes and hoodes, and maſters of arte in black gownes and hoodes.

The Maior alſo wyth certaine of hys brethren did ryde before hir in ſkarlet, to the ende of Magdalen Bridge, where their liberties ended: but the doctours and maiſters went forwarde ſtill to Shootouer, a mile and more out of Oxforde, bycauſe their liberties extended ſo farre, and there after Orations made, hir highneſſe with thanks to the whole Vniuerſitie, bad them farewell, and rode to Ricote.

Souldiors tranſported into Irelande.

The valiaunt Captaine Edward Randolfe Eſquire, Lieutenaunt of the Ordinaunce, and Colonell of a thouſande footemen, in September laſt paſt, was wyth hys bande embarked at Briſtow, and within fewe dayes after landed at Knockfergus in the North partes of Irelande, and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by whiche paſſeth the Ryuer of Longfoyle, there the ſayde Colonell in ſhorte ſpace fortifyed, to the greate annoyaunce of Shane Oneyle, and by greate foreſyght and experience, garded himſelfe and his charge, till the ſayde Oneyle (to hinder and diſturbe his aboade there) the.xij. of Nouember arriued with a great army of Kerne Galawglaſſes & horſemen, with whom the ſayde Captaine Randall encountered, and him there ſo diſcomfited, as after ẏ conflict he durſt neuer approch the Queens power: and to his perpetuall fame, the ſayde Captaine by reaſon of his bolde and hardie onſet, that day loſt his life.

ng prince Scottes iſtened.

s, Reg. 9.

Charles James, the firſt of that name, ſonne to Henrie Stuart Lorde of Darnley, and Marie, King and Queene of Scottes, was borne in Edenbourgh Caſtell, the.xix.of June laſt paſt, and the.xviij.of December this yeare ſolemnly chriſtened at Sterling, whoſe Godfathers at the Chriſtning were, Charles king of Fraunce, and Philibert duke of Sauoy, and the Queenes Maieſtie of England was the Godmother, who gaue a font of golde curiouſly wrought and enameled, waying.333.ounces, amounting in value to the ſumme of.1043.pounde.xix.ſhillings.

g of Scots urthered. 1567

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart Lorde of Darnley before named King of Scottes, by Scottes in Scotlande was ſhamefully murthered, the reuenge whereof remayneth in the mightie hande of God.

The.xxij.of Februarie, the Ladie Margaret Dowglas Counteſſe of Lineux, mother to the ſayde King of Scottes, was diſcharged out of the Tower of London.

en Alder- ndeceaſſed London.

Within the ſpace of ten Monethes laſt paſt, dyed ſeuen Aldermen of London, the firſt Edwarde Bankes deceaſſed the.ix. of July. Anno 1566. Richarde Chamberlaine late ſherife, ſir Martin Bowes, ſir Richard Mallorie, ſir William Hewet, and ſir Thomas White late Maiors, then Richarde Lambert one of the Sherifes for that yeare, the fourth of Aprill. 1567.

e towne of ſtry burnt ie in thirty res.

The.xxij.of Aprill, by great miſfortune of fire in the towne of Oſſeſtrie in Wales, twelue myles from Shrewſburie, to the number of two hundred houſes, to ſay, ſeuen ſcore within the walles, and three ſcore without in the ſuburbs, beſides cloth, corne, cattell.ꝛc. were conſumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after noone, and ended at foure, to the great maruaile of many, that ſo great a ſpoyle in ſo ſhort a time ſhould happen. Two long ſtreetes with great ryches of that Towne was burnt in Anno 1542. And lykewyſe or worſe in.1564.

ergeants feaſt

The.xxiiij. of Aprill, the Sergeants feaſt was kept at Grays Inne neare vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made ſeuen newe Sergeants of the law.

Milnal in Suf- lke burnt.

The.xvij.of May in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke.viij.miles from Newmarket.37. houſes, beſides Barnes, ſtables, and ſuche lyke were conſumed with fire in the ſpace of two houres.

Shane Oneyle diſcomfited.

Statuta regni Hibernie.

Campion.

Shane Oneyle, who had moſt trayterouſly rebelled agaynſt the Queenes Maieſtie in Irelande, and had done many great outrages in the partes of Vlſter, was this yeare with his great loſſe manfully repelled from the ſiege of Dundalke by the garniſon thereof, and afterwarde through the great valiance, and foreſight of ſir Henrie Sidney knight of the order, and lord deputie of Irelande, he was ſo diſcomfited in ſundrie cõflicts, with the loſſe of three thouſand fiue hundred of his men, that now foreſeeing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a coller about his necke, and diſguiſing himſelfe, to repayre to the Lorde Deputie, and penitently to requyre his pardon to haue his life. But Neyl Mackeuer his Secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, perſwaded him fyrſt to trie and treate the friendſhip of certaine wylde Scottes, that then lay encamped in Clan Iboy, vnder the conducting of Alexander Oge, and Mac Gilliam Buſke, whoſe father and vncle Shane Oneyle had lately killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scottes: neuertheleſſe he wel lyking this perſwaſion, went to the ſayde campe the ſeconde of June, where after a diſſembled entertaynment, and quaffing of Wine, Gilliam Buſke burning with deſire of reuenge for his fathers and vncles death, and miniſtring quarelling talke, iſſued out of the tent, and made a fray vpon Oneyls men, and then gathering togither his Scottes in a throng, ſodainly entred the tent againe, who there with their ſlaughter ſwordes, hewed in peeces Shane Oneyle, his Secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie fewe which eſcaped by flight.

Shane Oneyls ſlaine.

Watch at midſommer.

On Saint Johns euen at nyght, was the lyke ſtanding watche in London, as had beene on Saint Peters euen in the yeare laſte before paſſed.

This yeare the Emperour Maximilian the ſeconde of that name, being elected into the moſt honourable order of the Garter, the right honourable Thomas Erle of Suſſex, ꝛc. knight of the ſame moſt noble order, was appoynted by the Queenes Maieſtie to go vnto the ſayde Emperour, with the ſayde order of the Garter, according to his ſayde election, who being honorably accompanied with the Lorde North, ſir Thomas Mildway knight, Henrie Cobham eſquier, one of the Penſioners, and others, departed from London the.xxv. of June.1567. vnto Douer, and there embarked, landed at Calays, and his trayne at Dunkerke, and ſo paſſed through the low countreys to Andwerpe in Brabant, where hee was honourably receyued by the Engliſhe Marchants and others, and being there went to viſite Madame de Parma, Regent of the ſayde Countreys, then reſident within ẏ ſame towne. And from thence paſſed vnto Coleyn, where as his Lordſhip and traine mounted the Riuer of the Rhine, and by ſundrie continual dayes iourneys, paſſed by the citie of Ments or Magunce, vnto Oppenham, and there taking his way by lande, paſſed through the Countrey by the Cities of Wormes and Spires til he came to Vlmes, ſtanding on the riuer of Danow, where he arriued the .xxj. of Iuly, and the .xxiij. his Lordſhip road in poſt to Auſparge, called in Latine *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, nine Duche miles from Vlmes. From thence hee departed the .xxv. of Iuly, and met with his traine at Donewert, being come thither vpon flottes downe by the ſayd ryuer of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourney by Ingolſtat, Reinſpurg, in Latin *Ratisbona*, by Paſſaw and other townes, till he came to Linz, where his Lordſhip ſtayed the firſt, ſeconde, and thirde of Auguſt, by reaſon of the high waters. And departing from thence the fourth of Auguſt, paſſed by Stoanne, and Cremz, by the ſayde Riuer of Danow, and ſo arriued at the Citie of Vienna the fift of Auguſt in in this foreſayde yeare. 1567. where hee was receyued of the Lorde Smeckonites, hauing twelue horſes readie with theyr foote clothes for his Lordſhip, and the moſt reſpected of his traine, and ſo brought him to the preſence of the Emperour, at that preſent within his Caſtell there in that Citie, by whom hee was right honourably receyued, and afterwarde conducted to his aſſigned lodgings, where as all prouiſion was prepared and made at the Emperors charges. Here his Lordſhip continued till the .xiiij. of Ianuarie.

In which meane time the Emperour very often as tyme ſerued had the ſayde Earle forth with him, vnto ſuch paſtimes of hunting the Hart, Boare, and ſuch lyke, as the plentifulneſſe of that Countrey yeeldeth.

Moreouer, during the time of his Lordſhips abode there at Vienna, Charles Archeduke of Auſtria & Carinth, arriued in that Citie, whom my Lorde went to ſalute.

1568

After this, vppon the Queenes Maieſties letters brought out of Englande by maiſter Henrie Brooke, *alias* Cobham, one of hir Maieſties Gentlemen Pencioners, the ſayde Earle of Suſſex vpon Sunday the fourth of Ianuarie in the after noone, preſented and delyuered vnto the Emperors Maieſtie, in his Chamber of preſence, the habiliments and ornamentes of the moſt noble order of the Garter, ſir Gylbert Dethicke knight, *alias* Garter, principall king of Armes, and officer for the ſayde order, and William Dethick then Rouge Croſſe; alſo officer of Armes, giuing their attendance in theyr coates of Armes. And the Emperor at his inueſture of the ſayde habiliments, gaue vnto the ſayd Garter his ſhort Gowne, and vnder garment, furred throughout with Luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great Chamber, adorned in forme of a Chapell, where as all the other Ceremonies belonging to the ſayd noble order were there obſerued and accompliſhed. And the ſame night the ſayde Earle ſupped with the Emperours Maieſtie, both being in theyr Robes of the ſayd order.

And ſhortly after, his Lordſhip with certain of his cõpanie taking leaue of the Emperor, departed from Vienna the .xiiij. of Ianuarie aforeſayde vnto Newſtat, and ſo through the Countrey of Styre vnto Gratz, the chiefe Citie of Carinthie, where hee tooke alſo leaue of the ſayde Archeduke Charles, and from thence returning paſſed thoſe partes of the Alpes vnto Saltzburgh, where he met with the other part of his trayne, and ſo by continuing iourneys came againe into England vnto the Queenes Maieſtie towardes the latter ende of March.

Stowe:
An. reg. 10.

After a drie Sommer, followed an extreeme ſharpe Winter, namely the latter part thereof, with ſuch great ſcarcitie of fodder and hay, that in diuerſe places the ſame was ſolde by weight, as in Yorkſhyre, and in the Peake of Darbyſhyre, where a ſtone of hay was ſolde for fiue pens. There followed alſo a great death of cattell, namely of horſe and ſheepe.

Grafton.

This yeare in the Moneth of Ianuarie the Queenes Maieſtie ſent into the narrowe Seas three of hir ſhippes, and one barke named the Anthelop, the Swallow, the Ayde, and the Phenix, the which were manned with fiue hundred men. And hir highneſſe appoynted the charge of the ſayde ſhippes and men, to hir truſtie ſeruant William Holſtocke of London eſquire, Comptroller of hir highneſſe ſhippes, who had cõmaundement to ſtay the ſubiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vſed ſuch diligence, as one hauing care to his charge, in garding as well the Frenche as the Engliſhe coaſtes, did the .xj. day of March next folowing meete with a. xj. ſayle of Flemiſhe Hoyes open vpon Bollongne, which came from Roan, and had in them foure hundred and odde Tunnes of Gaſcoigne and French Wines, which they intended to haue caryed into Flaunders: but the ſayde Holſtocke ſtayed all the ſayde. xj. Hoyes, and ſent them to Lõdon, where they made their diſcharge, and the Flemings diſappoynted of thoſe Wines.

Moreouer, the .xxviij. day of the foreſayde Moneth of March, the ſayde William Holſtock ſeruing in the Anthelop (at that preſent Admirall) in his companie, being William Wynter the yonger (at that tyme his Viceadmirall) ſeruing in the Ayde, and Iohn Baſing Captaine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gonarly Captaine of the Phenix met in the narrow ſeas with .xiiij. ſaile of great Hulkes, which were come out of Portugale, & bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall ſalt, and yet had good ſtore of Spaniſh Ryals of plate, & alſo of good ſpices: The which .xiiij. Hulkes did mainteyne their fight for the ſpace of two houres. And after that they did perceyue that they coulde not preuaile, hauing taſted of the ordinance of the M. ſhips, to their great hurt, as well in ſlaughter of their men, as alſo in ſpoile of their ſhips, the ſayd Holſtocke & his companie toke .viij. of the ſayd Hulkes, whereof .vj. were ſent into the Riuer of Thames. And the Admirall, and Viceadmirall of the ſayd Hulkes being two great ſhips (which Holſtocke himſelfe did take) were caried to Harwich, and there diſcharged.

rt.
twin les

The .xxviij. of Marche, through vehement rage and tempeſt of windes, many veſſelles on the Thames, with two Tiltboates before Grauesende, were ſunke and drowned.

chbiſhop of
rk deceaſed

The .xxvj. of June, deceaſſed Thomas Yong Archbiſhop of Yorke, at the Manor of Shefield, and was honorably buried at Yorke.

nſtrous
es.

The .xj. of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bridge, neare vnto Ipſwich .xvij. monſtrous fiſhes, ſome of the conteyning .xxvij. foote in length, the other .xxiiij. or .xxj. foot a peece at the leaſt.

ew conduyt
Walbroke.

At the coſtes and charges of the Citizens of London, a new Conduit was builded at Walbroke corner, neare to Downgate, which was finiſhed in the Moneth of October, the water whereof is conueyed out of the Thames.

An. reg. 11.
1569

Frenchman
nted.

The .xxvij. of Januarie, Philip Meſtrell a Frenchmā, and two Engliſhmen were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartred, who had coyned golde counterfeyt, the Engliſhmen, the one had clipped ſiluer, the other caſt teſtons of Tinne.

uſter of
ncioners.

The .xxviij. of March, the Pencioners well appoynted in armour on horſeback, muſtred before the Queenes maieſtie in Hide Parke beſide Weſtminſter.

Lotterie at
ndon.

A great Lottery being holden at London in Paules Churchyard at the weſt dore, was begun to be drawne the .xj. of Januarie, and continued day and night, till the ſixt of May, wherin the ſayd drawing was fully ended.

rial for dead
pared.

Sir Thomas Roe Lord Maior of London, cauſed to be encloſed with a wall of bricke, nigh one akre of ground, nere vnto Bethlem without Biſhops gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of ſuch Pariſhes in London as lacked conuenient ground within their ſayd Pariſhes.

A ſtanding watch on Saint Johns euen at Mydſommer, and ſir John White Alderman rode the circuyt, as the Lord Maior ſhould haue done.

Ambaſſadours frō Moſcouie,

The .xxvij. of Auguſt, Andrew Gregorevicht Sauin, Ambaſſador from Moſcouie, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and was there receyued by the Lorde Maior of London, the Aldermen and Sherifes in ſkarlet, with the Merchants aduenturers in coates of blacke Veluet, all on horſebacke, who conueyed him riding through the citie to the Moſcouie houſe in Seding lane, there to be lodged.

Terme adiourned.

The plague of peſtilence ſomwhat raigning in the Citie of London, Michaelmas terme was firſt adiourned vnto the third of Nouember, and after vnto Hillarie terme next following.

Duke of Norfolke ſent to the Tower.

The .xj. of October, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke, was brought from Burnam beſide Windſore by lande to Weſtminſter, & from thence by water to the Tower of London priſoner, ſir Henrie Neuill being his keeper.

No Maiors feaſt.

This yeare the Lord Meior of London went by water to Weſtminſter, & there toke his othe, as hath bin accuſtomed, but kept no feaſt at the Guildhall, leaſt through comming togither of ſo great a multitude, infection of the peſtilence might haue increaſed. That weke from the .xxj. vnto the .xxviij. of October, there died in the Citie & out pariſhes of all diſeaſes .157. of the which 51. we accounted to die of the plague.

The Earles of Northumberland & Weſtmerlande rebelled.

On Thurſday the .ix. of Nouember, Thomas Percey Earle of Northumberland, receyued the Queenes Maieſties letters to repaire to the court, and the ſame night other conſpirators perceyuing him to be wauering and vnconſtant of promiſe made to them, cauſed a ſeruant of his, called Beckwith (after he was layd in his bed) to buſtle in, and to knocke at his Chamber dore, willing him in haſt to aryſe, and ſhyft for himſelfe, for that his enimies (whom hee termed to be ſir Oſwold Vlſtrop, and maiſter Vaughan) were about the Parke, and had beſet him wyth numbers of men, whervpon he aroſe, and conueyed himſelfe away to his keepers houſe: in the ſame inſtant they cauſed the Belles of the towne to be rung backewarde, and ſo rayſed as many as they coulde to theyr purpoſe. The next night the Earle departed thence to Branſpithe, where hee mette with Charles Earle of Weſtmerlande, and the other confederates. Then by ſundry Proclamations, they abuſing many of the Queenes ſubiectes, commaunded them in hir highneſſe name, to repayre to them in warlyke maner, for the defence and ſurtie of hir Maieſties perſon, ſometymes affyrmyng theyr doings to bee with the aduice and conſent of the Nobilitie of this Realme, who in dede were wholy bent (as manifeſtly appeared) to ſpende theyr lyues in dutifull obedience, agaynſt them and all other traytors, ſomtymes pretending for conſcience ſake to ſeeke to refourme Religion: ſometimes declaring that they were dryuen to take this matter in hande, leaſt otherwiſe forraine Princes might take it vpon them, to the great perill of this Realme.

Vpon Monday the .xiij. of Nouember, they went to Durham with their Banners diſplayd, and to get the more credite among the fauourers of the olde Romiſh Religion, they had a Croſſe with a Banner of the fiue wounds borne before them, ſometime by olde Norton, ſometime by others.

Rebels rent the Byble.

As ſoone as they entred Durham, they went to the Mynſter, where they tare the Byble, Cōmunion Bookes, and other ſuche as there were. The ſame night they went againe to Branſpithe.

The. xiiij. day of the ſame Moneth, they went to Darington, and there had Maſſe, which the Earles and the reſt heard with ſuch lewde deuotion as they had, then they ſent their horſemen, to gather togither ſuch numbers of men as they could.

The. xv. day the Erles parted: of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, and ſo to Borowbridge, of Weſtmerland to Ripon, and after to Borowbridge, where they both met againe.

An. Reg. 12.

The number of Rebels.

On the. xviij. day they went to Wetherby, and there taryed three or foure dayes, and vpon Clifford More, nigh vnto Bramham more, they muſtered themſelues, at which time they were abont two thouſande horſmen, and fiue thouſand footmen, which was the greateſt number that euer they were. From whence they intended to haue marched towarde Yorke, but theyr myndes being ſodainly altered, they returned.

Bernards Caſtel beſieged.

The. xxiij. of Nouember, they beſieged Bernardes Caſtell, which Caſtell was valiantly defended by ſir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the ſpace of. xj. dayes, and then deliuered with compoſition to depart with armor, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the Queenes Maieſtie cauſed the ſayde Erles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland to be proclaymed traytors, with all their adherents and fauourers, the. xxiiij. of Nouember.

The Earles proclaymed traytours.

The Lorde Scrope warden of the Weſt Marches, calling vnto him the Earle of Cumberlande and other Gentlemen of the Countrey, kept the Citie of Carleil.

The Earle of Suſſex went agaynſt the Rebels.

The Earle of Suſſex the Queenes Lieutenant generall in the North, publiſhed there the like Proclamations (in effect) as had beene publiſhed by hir Maieſtie, agaynſt the ſayd rebels, and alſo ſent out to all ſuche gentlemen as hee knewe to be hir Maieſties louing ſubiects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with ſuch number, of theyr friends, as he was able in fiue dayes to make aboue fiue thouſand horſemen and footemen, and ſo being accompanied with the Earle of Rutland his Lieutenant, the Lorde Hunſdon general of the horſmen, ſir Rauſe Sadler Treaſorer the Lord William Eures, that was after appoynted to lead the rerewarde, and dyuerſe other, that with theyr tenants and ſeruants were come to him, remayning as then within the Citie of Yorke. He ſet forward from thence the fift of December being Sunday, and marched with his power which he had thus got togither towards the enimies.

Sir George Bowes hauing ſurrendred Bernards Caſtell (as before ye haue heard) met the Erle of Suſſex thus marching forward with his armie at Siſay, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton, and reſting two nights there, they marched on to Croftbridge, then to Akle, and ſo to Durham, and after to Newcaſtell, and the. xx. of December they came to Hexam, from whence the Rebels were gone the night before to Naworth, where they counſayled with Edwarde Dakers concerning theyr owne weakneſſe, and alſo howe they were not onely purſued by the Erle of Suſſex and other with him, hauing a power with them of ſeuen thouſand men, being almoſt at theyr heeles, but alſo by the Earle of Warwike, and the Lorde Clynton, high Admyrall of Englande wyth a farre greater armie of. xij. thouſande men, rayſed by the Queenes Maieſties Commiſſions out of the South and middle parties of the realme. In which armie beſide the Erle of Warwike, & Lorde Admirall, chiefe gouernours in the ſame, there was alſo Walter Deuereux Vicounte Hereforde high Marſhall of the field, wyth the Lord Willoughbie of Parrham, Maſter Charles Howarde, nowe Lorde Howarde of Effingham, generall of the horſmen vnder the Erle of Warwike, yong Henrie Knolles eldeſt ſonne to ſir Fraunces Knolles, his Lieutenant, Edw. Horſey Captaine of the Iſle of Wight, wyth fiue hundred Harquebuſiers out of the ſame Iſle, and captaine Leighton with other fiue C. Harquebuſiers Londoners, and many other worthie gentlemen and valiant captaines.

The Earle of Warwike and the Lord Admirall Clintō, ſent agaynſt the rebels.

The comming forward of theſe forces, cauſed the rebels ſo much to quaile in courage, that they durſt not abyde to trie the matter with dint of ſworde. For whereas the Erle of Warwike, and the Lord Admyrall, being aduaunced forwarde to Darington, ment the next day to haue ſent Robert Glouer then Portculeys, and now Somerſet Herault (who in this iourney attended on the Lorde Admyrall, as Norrey king of

Armes

Armies did vpon the Earle of Warwike) vnto the rebels, vpon ſuch meſſages as for the time & ſtate of things was thought conuenient. The ſame night aduertiſements came from the Erle of Suſſex vnto the Erle of Warwik, and to ẏ Lorde Admirall, that the two Earles of Northumberlande, and Weſtmerlande, were fledde, as the truth was they were indede, firſte from Durham, whether the ſaide Glouer ſhould haue bene ſent vnto them, and now vpon the Erle of Suſſex his comming vnto Exham, they ſhrank quite awaye, and fled into Scotlande, without bidding their companie farewel.

Earles of
umber
k West
and fle
Scotland.

The Earle of Warwike and hys power marched on to Durham. But the Earle of Suſſex purſuyng thoſe other Rebelles, that had not meane to flie out of the Realme, apprehended no ſmall number of them at his pleaſure, without finding anye reſyſtaunce among them at al.

1569.

ls execu-
Durhã.

The fourth and fifth of Januarie, did ſuffer at Durham to the number of .lxvj. Coneſtables and other, amongſt whom the Alderman of the towne, and a Prieſte called parſon Plomtree, were the moſt notable. Thē Sir George Bowes being made Marſhall, finding many to be fautors in the foreſaid rebellion, did ſee them executed in diuerſe places of the Countrey.

The .xxi. of Januarie, a Prentiſe of London was hanged on a Gibbet at the north end of Finke lane in London, (to the example of other) for that hee the .xiij. of December had ſtriken his maiſter with a knife, whereof he dyed.

1570.

ard Da-
rebelleth.

About the latter ende of Januarie, Leonarde Dacres of Harleſey began to rebel, in Cumberland, and vpon a ſodaine ſeaſed vpon diuerſe houſes belonging to his nephew the L. Dacres, then in poſſeſſion of the D. of Norfolk, & raiſed a power of his pretended tenauntes and frends to the number of 2000. footemen and 1600. horſe, of whoſe attemptes the Queenes maieſtie being aduertiſed, directed hir letters to the lord Hunneſdon Lord gouernour of Barwike, and Lord Warde of the eaſt Marches foranenſt Scotland, cōmanding him to apprehend ẏ ſaid Leonarde Dacres, wherevpon he taking with him three hundred ſouldiers of Barwike, and Sir John Forſter Lord Warde of the middle Marches, with ſixe hundred horſemen of Northumberlande, and two hundred horſe of Yorkſhire men ſet forward, and comming to Hexam, the xvij. of February, reſted there that night, and ẏ daye following being Sunday, and the nexte night he marched forwarde towards Naworth Caſtel, where Leonarde Dacres being within loked to haue bin beſieged, but perceiuing that ẏ Lorde Hunneſdon toke an other courſe in paſſing by the Caſtel towards Carliſle, he ſent preſently xv. hundred footemen & fiue hundred horſemen to ſtoppe his paſſage ouer a Moſſe which of neceſſitie he muſt paſſe, through the which a great Riuer called Gelte runneth.

e L. Hon-
sdon apoin-
to take him

About nine of the clocke in the morning the rebels were got togither in order of battel, before the Lord Honneſdon could come with his footemen enter the plaine, wherevpon he commaunded the footemen to kepe thēſelues in breath, and willed ſir John Forſter with his Northūberlande horſemenne, as a rereward to back the footemen. This done, he himſelf with his three ſonnes, and an hundred horſemen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the enimies to come ſo faſt forward, that with their arrowes they hurte his Horſe vnder him, and diuerſe other horſes of his troupe, he gaue a ſodain charge vppon them, and by the helpe of God within a ſhorte ſpace ouerthrew al their footemen, of whō were ſlaine betwixt foure & fiue hundred.

George Hen-
ry and Mi-
chael.

But Leonarde Dacres himſelfe with his ſixe hundred horſemen (many of thē being Scottes) eſcaped into Scotland, being chaſed foure miles of the way by the Lord Honneſdon & his ſmall company, and had bin taken, if the Scottes had not the better defended him.

Leonard Da-
cres chased in-
to Scotland.

The Capteines of Barwike, Reade, Yarley Caruille, & Pigel, ſhewed that day good proofe of their ſkilful valiancy, bringing their men forwarde in ſuch good order, that no ſmal feare entred the hartes of the aduerſaries to trie the battaile with them. When they that kept Naworth Caſtel (being about foure hundred men wel appointed) vnderſtoode of the ouerthrow, they abādoned the place and fledde away, whereof the L. Honneſdon being aduertiſed, ſent certaine of his companie to take poſſeſſion thereof, and wente himſelf to Carliſle, where he remained til he had put al the houſes which Leonarde Dacres hadde ſeaſed vppon, into ſafe keeping to the Queenes maieſties vſe, and ſo returned to Barwike, and afterwardes by ſpecial and humble ſute procured pardon for thoſe that eſcaped with life, in conſideration that there were ſo many killed in the ouerthrow.

On good Friday the xxvij. of March Simō Digby of Aſkue, John Fulthorpe of Iſilbecke Eſquires, Robert Peneman of Stokeſly, Tho. Biſhop of Poklinton the yonger, gentlemen, were executed at the place of execution without Yorke, and their foure heades ſet ouer the principal gates of the Citie wͭ iiij. of their quarters, the other of their quarters were ſet vp in diuerſe places of the Countrey.

William Earle of Pembroke, baron of Cardiffe, Knight of the Garter, one of the priuy counſaile, and lord ſteward of the Queenes maieſties houſholde, deceaſed the .xviij. of April, and was buried in S. Paules Church at London.

The Earle of Suſſex inuadeth Scotland.

The Moſse Tower.

The Earle of Suſſex in reuenge of the euill demeanor of the Scottes inhabiting neare to the Engliſh Marches, as well in receiuing and ſuccouring diuerſe of the Engliſhe Rebels, as other naughtye practiſes, aſſembled ſuch forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the .xxvij. of April, and hauing with him the lord Honneſdon gouernour of Barwike, and Lorde Wardeyn of Eaſt Marches, ſir William Drurie Marſhall of the ſaide armie and Towne of Barwike, came to Warke, being twelue miles diſtant from the ſaide towne of Barwike, and then the nexte daye being the .xviij. of the ſame moneth, they entred into Tiuidale in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burnt, ouerthrew, waſted and ſpoyled all the Caſtels, Townes and Villages, as they paſſed, till they came to a Tower called the Moſſe Tower, ſtãding in a mariſh, and belonging to the Lard of Buclewgh, whiche likewiſe was raſed, ouerthrowne and burnt, and ſo marching forward, waſted the whole country before them, till they came to a great towne called Crauling.

Sir Iohn Forſter.

The ſame day ſir John Forſter warden of the middle Marches, with all the garniſon and forces of the ſame, entred likewiſe into Tiuidale at Eſpeſgate, diſtant .xvj. myles from Warke, where in like order they burnt and ſpoyled the Countrey before them, til they came to a Caſtel in the poſſeſſion of the mother of the Larde of Fernihurſt, being parcel of hir ſonnes landes, whiche likewiſe was ouerthrowen, raſed, and burnt, with all other Caſtels, Piles, Townes, and Villages, all alongſt the ſaide Countrey, till they came to Crauling, ioyning there with the Lord Lieutenants power. This town was likewiſe burnt and ſpoyled. Thus they paſſed the riuer of Tiuet, raſing, burning and ſpoyling the Caſtels, Piles, ſtone houſes, townes, & villages alongſt that Riuer, til they came to Jedworth, where they lodged for that nighte, and were of the Magiſtrates of that towne curteouſly receiued, who had made indifferent good prouiſion for the armie, both of vittayles for men, and of hay and prouãder for horſes: whereuppon Proclamation was publikelye made in name of the Lorde Lieutenant, that no Engliſhman vpon paine of death, ſhoulde diſturbe or wrongfully take away any thing from anye of the inhabitants of the ſame towne, without diſburſing readie money therfore: which thing did ſo much content the Scottes, that the next daye the Lard of Seſſord, wardẽ of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principall of hys alyes and kyndred, came in to the Lorde Lieutenant, ſubmitting themſelues to him, and were receiued into aſſurance, for that neyther he nor any of them had at any time receyued the Engliſh Rebelles, neither ayded nor aſſiſted them, neyther yet made any inuaſion into Englande, and whereas ſome of their men, and tenauntes, without their knowledge had treſpaſſed in ſuch behalfe, they were contented to abide and ſtand vnto the Earle of Suſſex his order, for theyr ſayde men and Tenauntes. And hereuppon neither they nor any of theirs receyued any hurte. But by his Lordſhips commaundement were preſerued from ſuſtayning any domage either in bodie or goodes.

The Larde of Seſſord.

The Caſtel Fernihurſt burnt.

Mintoe.

The Scottes Hawike they breach of couenaunt.

The .xix. day, the armie was deuided into two ſeuerall partes, whereof the one paſſing ouer the Riuer of Tiuet, burnte the Caſtell of Fernihurſt, vtterly ſpoyling the ſame, and all other Caſtelles and townes that belonged to the Lards of Fernihurſt, Hunthil, and Bedrell, and ſo paſſed to Myntoe, where both the armyes meeting, ioyned togither againe, being not paſte a foure miles from Howike, whether they marched directly, intending to lodge there that night, bycauſe the Bayliffes of the Towne had offred to receiue the whole armie, and to make prouiſion for the Souldiers of all things neceſſarie, they paying readie money for the ſame, and the inhabitauntes to bee aſſured not to bee hurt in body or goodes, as was promiſed. But the Scottes breaking couenant before the comming thither of the armie, had vncouered theyr houſes, carried the Thatche into the ſtreetes, and there ſette it on fire, and thys done, they ſtedde their wayes with moſte parte of their goodes, ſo that when the armye approched, there was ſuche a thicke ſmoke, that no manne myghte vnneth enter the Towne: and ſo for that night the Souldiers ſuffred greate lacke of vyttayles, lodging, and prouiſion, as well for themſelues, as theyr Horſes: but the fyre whych the Scottes hadde of a malicious purpoſe and ſubtiltye thus begonne, was by the diligent induſtrie of the Engliſhmen ſo encreaſed, that both the Thatche and Tymber of the whole Towne was conſumed to Aſhes, a ſtone houſe pertayning to the Larde of Drumlanerig onely excepted, wherein the Lorde Lieutenaunte laye that night: and bycauſe the ſayde Drumlanerig was a friende aſſured, the ſayde houſe was ſpared, wyth all the goodes and Corne therein, whereof there was greate plentie.

An houſe of th Larde of Buclewes blowen vp with powde called Beauxton.

The .xx. of Aprill, the armie marched towarde a fayre proper houſe, belonging to the Lard of Buclewgh, which was blowen vp with powder and vtterly ruynated. Here the army was againe deuided as before by the ſayde Lorde Lieutenaunt his appointment, and marching by North the Riuer of Tiuet towardes

Englande, they burnt and ſpoyled all ſuch Caſtels, Pyles, Townes and Villages, as were belonging to the ſayde Lardes of Fernyhurſt and Buclewgh their kinſmens, alies, and adherents, and came that night againe to Jedworth, and there lodged.

The. xxj. of Aprill, the armie deuiding it ſelfe againe, the one part vnder the leading of the Marſhall ſir William Drurie, paſſed to the Riuer of Bowbent, and there Tiuidale and Riddeſdale men meeting him, all on both ſides that Ryuer was burnt and ſpoyled. The other part of the armie marching by the Riuer of Caile, waſted and burnt in like maner there, all that was founde on both ſydes that Riuer, belonging wholy to the Larde of Buclewgh, hys kinſmen, alies and adherents.

This done, they returned againe neare to Kelſey, where the Lorde Lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to haue beſieged Hume caſtell, for the accompliſhment whereof, the ſame night the Lorde of Honneſdon, and his companie went to Warke, to bring from thence the day next following the great Artillerie, but bycauſe the caryage horſes were returned to Barwicke, this coulde not be brought to paſſe, and ſo the Lorde Lieutenant with the whole armie returned into England the. xxij. of Aprill, and came that night to Barwike.

In this iourney there were raſed, ouerthrowne and ſpoyled, aboue fiftie Caſtels and Pyles, and more than three hundred townes and vyllages, ſo that there were verie fewe in Tiuidale and thoſe parties there aboutes, which had eyther receyued the Engliſh Rebelles, or by inuaſion endomaged the Engliſhe borders, and good Subiectes inhabiting vpon the ſame, that had left to them eyther Caſtell, Pile or houſe, for themſelues, theyr friendes, or tenaunts, beſide the great loſſe of goodes which were waſted, taken away or conſumed by this armie vnder the Lord Lieutenant.

And in the meane while that hee with hys power thus afflicted the aduerſaryes on that ſyde, the Lorde Scrope Warden of the Weſt Marches, the eyghtenth of Apryll entred Scotlande on that ſyde, wyth ſuche forces as hee had aſſembled, and the firſt nyght they encamped at Egleſham, and in the morning at the diſlodging of the campe, that towne was burnt, and paſſing forwarde through the Countrey, they burnt and ſpoyled dyuerſe other Townes, almoſt tyll they came to Dunfryſe, and hadde dyuerſe conflictes wyth the enimies, gaue them ſundrie ouerthrowes, tooke many of them priſoners, and hauing accompliſhed hys purpoſe, to his highe prayſe and commendation, hys Lordſhippe returned in ſafetie wyth his people into Englande, hauing burnt in that iourney theſe places following, Hoddon: Trailebrow: olde Cockpoole: Sherington: Blackſhawe: Banke ende: Rowell: Logher wood: Bride Kyrke, and others.

During theſe inuaſions thus made into Scotlande in that ſeaſon, the Marches of Englande were ſo ſtrongly garded in all places by the Lorde Eures, Sir George Bowes, and others, that the Scottes durſt not ſo muche as once offer to make anye inuaſion, ſo that in abſence of the armies, there was not ſo much as an houſe burnt, or a Cow driuen out of the Engliſh borders.

The. xxvj. of Aprill, the Earle of Suſſex Lord Lieutenant, accompanyed wyth the foreſayde Lorde of Honneſdon, maiſter Drurie, and dyuerſe other Captaynes and Souldiours, to the number of three thouſande or thereaboutes, ſet from Berwike aboute fiue of the clocke in the after noone towardes Warke, where they arriued aboute nine of the Clocke in the nyght: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane tyme he put things in order neceſſarie for the aſſieging of Hume Caſtell, the winning whereof hys Lordſhippe ſeemed to haue vowed.

Aboute the breake of the day hee ſent forth maiſter Drurie, with certaine horſemen and ſhot before, to enuiron that Caſtell, and to chooſe there ſuch a plot of grounde, where hee myght encampe beſt in ſafetie from the ſhotte of the ſame, which the ſayd maiſter Drurie accordingly perfourmed and there remayned till the comming of the ſayde Lorde Lieutenant with the armie, who ſetting forward the foote bandes, caryage, and Ordinaunce, made haſte to followe, but yet ere hee coulde paſſe the Ryuer of Tweede, and ſette ouer all the men, Ordinaunce and caryage it was almoſt tenne of the clocke. Here at thys Ryuer, the Lorde Lieutenaunt cauſed all the horſemen to ſtay and to take ouer the footmen.

The Marſhall ſent before to Hume caſtell.

This done, with good circumſpection he appoynted the Demilaunces and other horſemen to remayne behinde in the rerewarde, and putte the footemen in the battaile, for the more ſafegarde of themſelues, the Ordinaunce and caryages. Then his Lordſhippe himſelfe wyth his owne Standard, and the Lorde of Honneſdons guydon, marched forwarde towardes Hume Caſtell, commaunding the reſt of the armye wyth the Ordinaunce to followe after, and ſo aboute one of the Clocke in the after Noone, hee came before the Caſtell, out of the whiche the enimyes ſhotte at his Standarde verye hottely, but (God be prayſed) withoute doyng hurt eyther to manne or horſe,

The order taken by the Earle of Suſſex for the ſafetie of the armie.

and encamped vnder a Rocke or cragge (which the Marſhall had poſſeſſed) with his bande of horſemen and certaine footemen, as in a place moſt apt from daunger of ſhotte oute of the Caſtell.

Hume Caſtell beſieged.

Herewith a companie of Curriours and Caliuers were putte forwarde, and appoynted to take an other rocke nearer to the Caſtell, which ſhotte at them in the ſayde Caſtell, and the defendantes within it anſwered them again verie roundly, although without any greate hurt on eyther part.

The Earle of Suſſex vieweth the Caſtell of Hume.

In the meane tyme the Lorde Lieutenant himſelfe, accompanied onely with the Marſhall maiſter Drurie, roade ſundrie tymes rounde about the Caſtell to view and ſuruey the ſame, at whome they within ſhotte verie ſore, both with their great Artillerie and ſmall ſhotte miſſing them yet, as God woulde, though verye narrowly.

About ſixe of the clock in the Euening came the whole battaile, ordinaunce, and caryages, with enſignes ſpred, ſhewing themſelues verie brauely, at whome alſo the Caſtell ſhotte luſtily, but as God woulde haue it, withoute hurting either man or boy. They lodged vnder another Rocke neare adioyning vnto the Lorde Lieutenant vppon the Weſt ſyde, where there were appoynted more ſmall ſhotte to goe to the Trenche, which ſhadowed themſelues vnder the olde walles of the houſes, which the Scots had burnt before the comming of the Engliſhmen, and occupyed them ſo within the ſayde Caſtell, that one of them coulde not ſo ſoone looke out at a loupe, but three or foure were readie to ſalute him: and keeping them in ſuche ſort, that they durſt not well ſhew their heades, the captaine of the Pioners the ſame night by commaundement of the Lorde Lieutenant, rayſed a mount vpon the Northeaſt ſide of the Caſtell, wherupon the peeces of Artillerie might be planted in batterie.

A Mount rayſed.

This worke was ſo well applyed, and with ſo great diligence aduaunced, that by fiue of the clocke in the nexte morning it was finiſhed.

Batterie made agaynſt Hume Caſtell.

The .xxviij. of Aprill, the Marſhall maiſter Drurie verie early road about the Caſtell, to ſuruey and view euery thing: which done, the great Ordinaunce was brought to the appoynted place, and bent agaynſt the Caſtell, to witte, three Canons, and two Faucons. Herewith alſo the Lord Lieutenant cauſed ſommonance to be giuen vnto them within to yeelde. And about ſeuen of the clocke the ſame morning, the whole tyre beganne to goe off, and a greate ſhowte was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendāts, and of al the Countrey neare adioyning. The foreſayde peeces continued ſhooting till two of the clocke in the after noone, diſcharging within that ſpace a three ſcore ſhottes.

During the time of this batterie, there was no great ſtore of ſhotte diſcharged by the greate peeces within the Caſtell, bycauſe their maiſter Gunner within, after he had firſt ſhot of a peece, and done no hurt therewith, as he was aboute to ſhoote againe, the maiſter Gunner of the two Engliſh Faucons hauing eſpied him, tooke hys leuell ſo right, that diſcharging therewith one of the Faucons, he diſplaced the enimies peece, and ſtroke the Gunners legge off, whereby their great ordinance within ceaſſed, which was an happie turne for the Engliſhmen.

The maiſter Gunner within the Caſtell hurt.

The Scots ſu for a reſpite o warre.

About two of the clocke they within ſente forth a Trumpet vnto the Lorde Lieutenant, requiring a reſpite, that they myght talke with the Marſhall maiſter Drurie, and to ſende a Meſſenger to the Lorde Hume theyr maiſter, to knowe hys further pleaſure, for that beeing put in truſt by him with the keeping of that fortreſſe, they could not giue it vp without his conſent. And then vpon the returne of the Meſſenger, they truſted to giue his Lordſhip contented anſwere.

The Captaines within Hum Caſtell.

The Lorde Lieutenant.

The Marſhall maiſter Drurie talked with them twice, and the Lorde Lieutenaunt was contented to graunt vnto William Trotter, and Gylbert Gray the Lorde Humes wiues brother (being principall Captaynes appoynted to the keeping of the ſayde Caſtell) three houres reſpyte, wyth condition, that they ſhould not vſe therein any ſubtiltie, or for the delaying of tyme, ſwearing by his honour, that if they ſo did, hee woulde not depart the fielde tyll hee had wonne it by force: and further, that there ſhoulde not one of them eſcape wyth lyfe.

They being brought in doubt of their owne ſafeties hereby, ſent one in poſte togyther with a ſeruant of maiſter Drurie the Marſhall, vnto the Lorde Hume. And preſently herevpon they ſhewed themſelues vpon the Walles and rampyres of the ſayde Caſtell: But immediately the Lord Lieutenant ſent to them a commaundement, ſtraightly inhibiting them, that not one of them ſhoulde once in paine of death looke ouer the Walles or Rampyres, to the ende to viewe the breache of the batterie, forſomuch as in the tyme of Parley, it was agaynſt the lawe of armes ſo to doe.

But nowe the Meſſenger that was thus ſent to the Lorde Hume, comming to him declared in what caſe hys houſe and people ſtoode, who beeing (as was ſuppoſed) not ſo farre off, but that he might heare howe luſtily the Engliſhe

liſhe Canons did canuas and batter his Humiſhe Caſtell Walles, did nowe agree to meete the Marſhall maiſter Drurie two myles diſtant from the ſayde Caſtell, and there to common further with him in that matter.

Vppon the comming backe of the Meſſenger with thys annſwere, the Lorde Lieutenaunt thought good to ſende the ſayde maiſter Drurie vnto the place appoynted, who comming thither mette with the ſayde Lorde Hume: and after they hadde debated the matter togyther, at length the Lorde Hume was contented that the Caſtell ſhoulde bee ſurrendered into the handes of the Lorde Lieutenaunt, wyth condition that his people therein might depart with lyfe, which the Lorde Lieutenaunt was contented to graunt, ſo that there were no Engliſh men among them.

e Caſtell of
me deli-
red.

Herevpon about eyght of the clocke in the Euening, the gates were opened, & the Keyes delyuered to the Marſhall, who preſented them to the Lorde Lieutenant, and then the Lorde Hunneſdon, the ſayde Marſhall, and dyuerſe other Gentlemen entered into the Caſtell, and toke poſſeſſion thereof in the Queene of Englands name, pulled downe theyr Banner of defiance, and in place thereof ſet vp the Engliſhe Banners, agaynſt all thoſe in Scotlande that would ſay the contrarie.

The Scottes that were within it being in number an hundred three ſcore and eyght perſons, were put out in theyr common wearing apparell, wythout armour, weapon, or anye baggage. They comming to the Lorde Lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horſebacke, preſented themſelues to him, who according to his worde and promiſe of honour, cauſed them to be ſafely conducted through the watch and ſcoutes, to ſuche place as they required.

wo Engliſh
en ſtayed.

Amongeſt them there were two Engliſhe men, the one of them named Hilliarde, the Erle of Northumberlands man, the other was a vagarant perſon, or a rogue, (as wee maye call him) named William God ſaue hir, *alias* Lions, whiche both were caryed to Berwike, and there executed the thirtenth of May next enſuing.

In all this ſiege there were but foure perſons ſlaine on both partes, two Scottes, and two Engliſh men, but there were many hurt as well on the one part as the other.

Captain Wod
and captaine
Pickman.

The Caſtell of Hume being thus wonne, the Lorde Lieutenant the Morow after placed therein to kepe the houſe to the Queenes Maieſties vſe, Captaine Wod, and Captain Pickman, with two hundred ſouldiours. This done, his Lordſhip returned towardes Englande and came backe to Barwike.

During this ſiege there were dyuerſe townes and Villages ſituate within three or foure myles of the campe, ſet on fire by the Engliſhmen, and vtterly ſpoyled.

The Lorde Lieutenant ſicke of an Ague.

The Lorde Lieutenant vpon his returne to Berwike, ſtayed there for a tyme verie euill at eaſe, hauing in trauayle aboute the ſiege taken ſuch colde, as therewith he was brought into an extreeme Ague.

The fourth of May, his Lordſhippe ſente maiſter William Drurie the Marſhall of Berwike, accompanyed with dyuerſe Gentlemen and Captaynes, hauing wyth them aboute two thouſande Souldiours, to take Faſt Caſtell, the whiche vppon the fyrſt ſommonance was delyuered into his handes, who receyuing the Keyes being preſented to hym, entered the holde, and toke poſſeſſion thereof, in the Queenes Maieſties name, and expelling the Scottes, being aboute the number of halfe a ſcore (who according to couenaunt were ſuffered to depart with theyr lyues ſaued) hee put ſeuen, or as ſome haue fourtene Engliſhmen into that Caſtell, which were thought able and number ſufficient ynough to kepe it agaynſt al the power of Scotlande, the ſituation thereof is ſo ſtrong.

Stowe.

In thys meane tyme the troubles increaſing among the Scottes, by reaſon of the murther committed in the perſon of the Earle of Murrey the late gouernour, the Duke of Chaſtellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of three thouſande men, and comming to Lithgo, midway betwyxt Sterling and Edenbourgh, remayned there for a tyme, and afterwardes came to Edenbourgh, in purpoſe to make warre agaynſt the Lordes of the Kings part, who hauing ſent to the Earle of Lenox, then remayning in Englande, earneſtly requeſted him to repayre into Scotlande, whereuppon hee by the Queenes Maieſties licence, toke hys iourney thytherwardes, and came to Barwyke, where hee was alſo viſited wyth ſickeneſſe, and ſo remayned certayne dayes in that Towne: and vnderſtanding that the ſayde Duke of Chaſtelleraultes power was ſuche, that the Lordes of the Kings ſide were not able to come togyther, nor he to goe to them wythoute the Queene of Englandes ayde, hee humblye ſued to hir Maieſtye by letters to haue ſome power by hir appoyntment to conducte hym into Scotlande, and there to ayde hym and the other Lordes of that ſide agaynſt their aduerſaries the Duke and his complices.

Herevpon by hir maieſties commaundement the Erle of Suſſex, as yet not fully recouered of his ſickneſſe, ordeined maiſter William Drurie yͤ Marſhall of Barwike, wͭ ſuch forces as were thought conuenient to go with the ſayd Erle of of Lenox, for the execution of ſuch exploytes in ſeruice as ſeemed moſt expedient. And about the ſame time, to wit the. vj. of May, the L. Scrope Lord warden of the weſt marches made a road into Scotland, encamping the firſt night on the hither ſide of the water of Annan, and the next day marched towards the water of Milke, burning and ſpoyling all on that ſide of Annandale, namely the Lard Johnſons lands, finding ſmal reſiſtaunce, ſauing that the forrey was a little troubled with a fortie or fiftie Scots horſmen, & ſo hauing done his pleaſure, he quietly returned, without receyuing other impeachmēt: notwithſtanding the Lorde Herryes was in Dunfriſe, hauing gathered a gret power in purpoſe to hinder his enterprice.

But now to returne to the Earle of Suſſex, who hauing inſtituted ſir Wil. Drurie generall of thoſe bands that ſhould paſſe with the Erle of Lenox into Scotland: bicauſe ethe gentleman, ſouldior, and ſeueral bands ſhould dutifully obey the ſayd ſir William their new ordeyned generall in all points of warlike order, the ſaid Earle made an Oration in ſuch pithie forme & maner, as throughly expreſſed the whole ſubſtāce of the ſeruice, the vnſuretie of the ſeaſon, the ſtraunge & malicious dealing of diuerſe aduerſaries, which points he ſo cunningly handled, as the excellencie of a perfit orator appeared fully in his ſpeach. At whoſe eloquence the hearer rather ſeemed aſtonied than vnſatiſfied in any point or parcel of thoſe matters: for he opened the very bowels of rebellion, the practiſes of enimies, and ſuborning of traytors, & therefore perſwaded euery honeſt mind to haue a dutiful cōſideration of his prince & country, in the defence and libertie wherof, both life, lands, and goodes, are alwayes to bee offred.

After which Oration, in reſpect of further aduancement as the cuſtom is (for ſeruice paſt, and encouragement to procede in the like worthie doings) he made theſe knights. Sir Wil. Drury, ſir Thomas Maners, ſir George Carie, and ſir Robert Conſtable, and placing the ſayde ſir William Drurie the appoynted Generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chieftaine.

The ſame day being the. xi. of May, diuerſe foote bands with ſhot and armed pykes were ſet forward into Scotlande, with certaine peeces of artillerie, powder, & munition in good quantitie. Firſt captaine Brickwell with his enſignes departed the towne, and then the cōpanies of captaine Read, captaine Caruell, captaine Game, captaine Lamberd; and captaine Erington. Theſe old bands of Barwike conteyned fiue C. ſouldiors. After them followed the companie of ſir Robert Conſtable their ſergeant Maior of three C. ſhot, & the cōpanie of ſir Tho. Maners of two C. ſhot. Laſtly marched forth captaine John Conſtable, and captaine Barwike with two C. armed men. Theſe. xij. C. footmen with fiue enſignes marched that night to Coldinghā.

Alſo for the better aſſurance of couenants and promiſes made on the behalfe of ſuch Lordes of Scotland as had made ſuite for this ayde to bee ſent into their cōtrey for their aſſiſtance againſt them of the contrarie faction, there were certaine hoſtages ſent into England by the ſame Lords, as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing.

Hoſtages de uered by th Scottiſh lo on the king ſyde.

The. xij. of May, they marched forward, and the ſame day ſir William Drurie, the Earle of Lenox, and the other newe made knights, with the horſmen, departed from Barwike, and at the Peeſe neare to Dunglas they ouertooke the footmen, and the ſame night all the horſmen and footmen came and encamped togither at Dunbar, being in al not paſt. xvj. C. men. They had foure fielde peeces with them, and good ſtore of powder.

The horſm and footme encampe a Dunbar.

The next day being the. xiij. of May, and Whitſon euen, they made ſuche ſpeed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the Earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne: the Lordes Rithwen, Lindſey, Symple, Glames, Methuen, Ogiltre, and Catcart, with diuerſe other Gentlemen. Here alſo they vnderſtoode that the duke of Chaſtellerault and hys partakers were departed from Lithquo, whether they were retyred back againe from Edenburgh vpon knowledge had that the Engliſhmen were comming forwards towardes them.

Scottiſh lor of the kings ſyde.

The. xiiij. and. xv. day they lay ſtil in Edenbourgh, and the morrow after being the. xvj. of that Moneth, they marched forwards to Lithgo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they receyued aduertiſements that the ſayde Duke of Chaſtellerault had broken vppe hys campe, after he had vpon his departure from the ſayde Towne of Lithgo attempted the wynning of the Caſtell of Glaſco, and myſſing hys purpoſe there, was dryuen to retyre with diſhonour.

Lithgo.

The next morning being Wedneſday, the armie marched forwarde, and the footemen lay that night at a place called Faukyrke, a ſixe myles from Lithgo, but the Generall with the horſemen road ſix myles further vnto Sterling, where they ſaw the yong King.

Sterling.

The next day the. xviij. of May, ſir Robert Conſtable Sergeant Maior with the reſt of the Captaynes of the twelue hundred Engliſhe footemen, and two hundred Scottes footemen,

the

come to
co.

the which were most part shotte marched a long iourney, and came to lodge that nyght at Glasco, and the Generall sir William Drurie came to them with the Horsemen, and the moste parte of the Noble men of Scotlande, that were on the Kings syde, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with many horsmen and footmen.

The Duke of Chastelleraulte (as you haue hearde) had before this, besieged the Castell that belonged to the king; but hearing of the English armies comming, two dayes before theyr approching thither, hee raysed his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of some of his men.

The xix. of May, sir William Drurie Generall of the Englishe power, beyng determined afore hande on a iourney towardes Dunbarton, sent forth that morning betime certaine vauntcurrours on horsebacke to stay all such as they found vpon the way.

e Generall
th to view
nbreton.

This done, hee tooke with him certaine Gentlemen, and some shotte, and roade forth towardes Dunbreton, to viewe the straytes and situation of that Castell, within the whiche were at that present the Lorde Fleming, that tooke vpon him as Captaine thereof, the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, and other theyr adherents, frendes to the duke of Chastellerault, and enimies to the Lords that were aboute the King.

After Sir William Drury had viewed the Castell, and taken the plotte of the situation thereof, hee sent his Trumpet to knowe who were wythin it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the Castell requyred to knowe, what he was that sent to knowe the same. It was aunswered that it was the Queene of Englandes Generall of hir forces there in Scotlande that made the demaunde: wherevnto aunswere was returned, that they knewe well hee was not so ignoraunt as hee seemed (as in deede hee was not) but that hee did well knowe that this Castell was, and of long time had beene kepte by the Lorde Fleming, and that accordinglye by hym, hys friendes and seruauntes it was nowe maintayned, whiche aunswere beeyng reported to the Generall, hee sente agayne hys Trumpettour, to knowe if the Lorde Fleming woulde come forth and parley vppon assuraunce of honour to returne safely. Wherevnto the Lorde Fleming consented, although not meaning so to doe, but by a subtile practise (as was thought) intended to wynde him wythin daunger: for there were some Harquebusiers secretly couched in couert, wythin whose reache when the Generall was come himselfe alone on horsebacke, moste dishonorablye (his Trumpetter not yet beyng returned) they shotte at hym though great despyte, meanyng to haue kylled hym, without any regarde to the Lawe of Armes, or feare of God, but through the prouidence of the Lorde Almightie that wicked practise missed the pretended effect: for that noble English Knight escaped no bodily hurt, but perceyuing theyr dealings, with a bolde courage he bestowed his pistolles as freely at them as they did theyr harquebusses at him, and so returned to his companie safe agayne in safetie, yelding to God due laude and thankes for his mercifull deliueraunce from such a dangerous practise of his traiterous enemies.

The Lord Fleming is requi red to come to parley with the generall.

The dishonorable dealing of the Lorde Fleming.

Upon a new occasion to haue further the certaintie of that whereof he had some inckling, the xxj. of May, Sir William Drurie accompanyed with the sayde Gentlemen, and horssemen, went agayne towardes Dunbreton, to parley with the Lorde Fleming, vppon hys further request, that hee would meete hym three myles from the sayd castell, wherevpon the sayde Sir William Drurie sent an Englishe man, and a Scottishman to viewe the grounde which should bee appoynted forth for theyr meeting, which they founde to bee so neare to the Castell, as was subiect to all theyr shotte, both great and small, and cleane contrarye to the promises, and so they declared to the Captayne named Iohn Fleming, that was sente forth of the Castell to appoynt the same, howe it was neyther indifferent nor meete for suche a purpose. The captain answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stoode vpon the same, and therefore woulde not hazarde himselfe among horsmen wholy without the daunger of the peece, whereunto the messengers replyed, that the Lorde Fleming for his late euill dealings was not to bee credited in this case, nor there comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the Queene of Englande: and further they sayde, that forsomuch as they had of late dealt so vniustly contrary to promise, the lawe of armes and thereby so greatly cracked their credits, stayned their honesties and honour, they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised ere hee did hazarde himselfe any more within their daunger vpon their slipperie promises, except they would appoint some other place of parley, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers: which woulde not be graunted, and so they departed.

Sir William Drurie goeth again towards Dunbreton.

He sendeth to view the grou͞d wher he shuld meet with the L. Fleming.

Immediatly wherevpon, to shew some peece of their double dealings and vnfaithfull practises towardes the Englishmen, the Scottes within the castell presently sent after the Messengers a Culuering shot for a farewell.

Sir William Drurie then perceyuing that the meaning of the Lord Fleming was not to deale ſimplye in this matter touching a conference to be had betwixt the, returned to Glaſco, where ſir George Carie being marueilouſly inflamed with that vnhoneſt dealing of the Lorde Fleming, made earneſt ſuyte to the Generall, that hee myght ſende to him and offer him the Combate, in tryall of thys quarell, ſith it was more requiſite that a Gentleman ſouldiour ſhoulde ſtande in thoſe queſtions, than a Generall, conſidering his calling and office. The Generall thanked Sir George very courteouſly, but yet ſayde, that it ſtoode him vpon to ſearche out theſe matters to the vttermoſte, (as hee woulde haue done in deede) were not hys Commiſſion and charge (as was well knowne) to bee otherwyſe employed: yet (quoth hee) ſith your ſuyte is ſo reaſonable (and the whole companie and lawe of Armes alloweth of it) I graunt your requeſt, and therein doe as beſt ſhall ſeeme to your byrth and eſtimation.

Sir George Caries ſuyte.

Churchyard.

Hereupon Sir George Carie ſtreight wayes deuiſed a letter of chalenge, and deliuered it to an Heraulde to beare from him vnto the ſayde Lorde Fleming, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

Sir George Caries letter to the Lorde Fleming.

LOrd Fleming, if eyther your byrth or bringing vp, had wrought in you a noble mind or eſtimation of credite, hardly woulde you haue ſo much forgotten and ſtayned your honour, as in a parlee of late with our general you did. At whom vilely and vnhonourably ſhooting, you falſed that aſſurance of warre whiche ſouldiours ſubmit themſelues vnto: and trayned him to your treaſon vnder truſt, a thing heretofore not accuſtomed, nor preſently to bee allowed of. He aſſuredly pretending your owne and your friends good, commoditie to your coũtrey, and quietneſſe to the ſtate, twice abaſed and ſubmitted himſelfe, comming to conferre wyth you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmfull meaning, to thoſe that you profeſſe beſt vnto, and ſelfe wilfull vainglorie, without cauſe why, refuſed that which reaſon and honor commaunded you to haue done? Therefore, bycauſe his calling is preſently with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior, I ſommon you reaſonably to excuſe that fault ſuppoſed to be yours, or elſe to maintayne that trayterous acte, with your perſon agaynſt mine in fight, when, where, or howe you dare. Otherwiſe I will baffull your good name, ſounde wyth the Trumpet your diſhonour, and paynt your picture with the heeles vpwarde, and beare it in deſpite of your ſelfe. In the meane tyme I attende your aunſwere. From Glaſco, the xiiij. of May. 1570.

Subſcribed George Carie.

The Copie of the Lord Flemings anſwere.

GEorge Carie, I haue receyued your brainleſſe letter, making mention of my falſe and treaſonable dealing againſt your Generall, in ſhooting vnder truſt, ſo vilely agaynſt my honor and truth, trayterouſly trayned him vnder my truſt, which is altogither falſe and vntrue. And howbeit your Generall came by the houſe of Dunglas by my appoyntment, which I ſuffered, and I appoynted one place of meeting, ſixe men of either partie which he refuſed, and he departed, and certaine of his companie came bragging vp ÿ riuer ſide towardes the houſe, viewing the ſame, and the ground thereabouts, ſhooting your Harquebuſſes agaynſt the ſame: I coulde doe no leſſe, but preſent you with ſuch as I had. Whereas you wryte of your Generalles calling to be preſently better than mine, and yours not inferiour, when your Generall chalengeth me thereof, I ſhall giue anſwere: And as for you, I will not be inferiour to a better than you, or any Souldiour vnder your Generals charge. Whereas you ſommon mee (as you call it) reaſonably to excuſe that fault ſuppoſed to be mine alone, or elſe to maintayne that trayterous acte with my perſon agaynſt yours: you ſhall wyt, I haue Gentlemen of honour, ſeruant Souldiours to me, as ye are to your Generall, whiche may be your fellowes, ſhall defende the ſame agaynſt you and your falſe and vntrue inuented wryting: and were not the charge I preſent, or how ſoone I can bee relieued of the ſame, I ſhould lowly my perſon to meet you ſixe Engliſh miles from any other perſon. Howbeit ye be but one ſouldiour, aſſure your ſelfe from thys day forth, I will not receyue no ſuch inuented meſſage, for I haue little to doe with Engliſhe men, ye may raile vpon my honorable name as ye pleaſe. You ſhall haue as honorable gentlemē as your ſelfe againſt you fighting. Take this for anſwere.

Iohn Lord Fleming.

LOrde Fleming, often the Flemings after noone aunſweres, ſmelleth more of Wine than witte. But as to that common cryme, the cuſtome of theyr Countrey yeeldeth them part of pardon: ſo your common acquaintaunce with the ſame condition, knowne to bee verye great, ſhall to mee ſomewhat excuſe your witleſſe wryting, wherin firſt you diſalow my right recitall of your trayterous dealing, by tearming it falſe and vntrue: for anſwere, knowe this the truth my penne hath writte, by the witneſſe of a number. And my hande I vowe ſhall mayntayne the ſame before the worlde at all tymes: but you in denying it, haue both falſly and vniuſtly lyed in your throate, and dare neyther defend nor diſproue, that in deedes, which in wordes you haue done. Whereas you write, that our generall paſſed Dunglaſſe, by your appointment whiche you ſuffred, therein you doe manifeſtly ſay vnhonourably and vntruly, for that you had no knowledge of our firſte comming, but ſaluted vs with your ſhotte, and wee lykewiſe ſkirmiſhed with your men euen at their owne ſtrength, vntill we viewed the ground aboute at oure pleaſure. And touchyng the appointment of fire of eyther part, eaſily that may be knowen, to be a playne lye, ſeeing wee hadde neyther parley nor conference with you before, to appoynt place or meeting. But whereas you ſay, you coulde doe no leſſe but preſent vs wyth ſuch as you hadde, therein you confeſſe and acknowledge ŷ diſhonor and treaſon that I charged you withall, taking vppon youre ſelfe that fault, which I ſuppoſed to haue bin of your ſeruaunts, for oure generall retired his company farre from him. And his Trumpet beeing wyth you, approched himſelfe alone to haue parled, when vnder truſt you diſcharged two harguebuſſes agaynſte him: an acte rather ſeemely for a cowardly Traytor, than one that profeſſeth to be a Souldier. Finally, whereas you lette mee witte, that you haue Gentlemen of honor, ſeruaunts, Souldiers to you, that may be my fellowes, whiche ſhoulde defend the challenge that toucheth ſo neere your ſelfe, as with honor you ſhould not haue refuſed it. Firſt, I thinke ſkorne to bee any wayes inferiour to you, though but a Souldier, too honorable a name for you, beeyng better in birth, and vnſteined with reproche as you haue bin. Secondly, I haue more, and as good Gentlemē vnder my conduct, as you haue vnder your charge, which ſhall aunſwer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combate, and will put them to that whyche you dare not doe your ſelfe. But aſſure you, my quarrell ſhall remayne euerlaſting, excepte the proofe of your owne perſon againſte mine maye ende it: and when you ſhall dare come out of youre Crowes neſt, I will be ready to ride an hundred Scottiſh myles, to meete with you in any indifferente place, and vntill that tyme, I ſhall accompte you deuoyde of honeſtie and honor, vnworthy to marche vpon grounde, or to keepe company with men. From Hamilton, the 29. of May. 1570.

Subſcribed George Carey.

Though many wayes were ſoughte by meſſage and otherwiſe, to moue the Captayne ſeeming to defende with battaile the fault and folly committed, yet it wolde not be, for he ſhifted off the matter, ſo as it well appeared, it was but loſt labour further to attempt him therein.

A muſter of Scottiſhmen.

The .xxij. of May the Earle of Lenoux accompanyed with the Erle of Glencarn, the lord Symple, and other his frendes, feudaries, and alies, muſtered on the Moore before the towne of Glaſco, the number of .4000. horſemen and footmen that were there aſſembled to ſerue him, in preſence of Sir William Drury, and other of the Engliſh captayns.

The army goeth towards Hamilton.

The .xxiij. of Maye Sir William Druerye, the Earle of Lenoux, and other the Scottiſhe Lordes, and the whole armie marched towards the Caſtell of Hamilton, and ſending a Trumpettor, and one with hym to parley with the Captaine named Andrew Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with Sir William Drury, and one other Gentleman ſuche as he ſhould thinke good to bryng with him to a place ſomewhat diſtante, as well from the Caſtell as the Campe.

Sir William Drury talketh with the Captayne of Hamilton Caſtel.

Hereupon, Sir William Drury wyth hys ſworde and tergate, and Sir George Carie, with a caſe of piſtolles, wente forthe to the appoynted place, whither the Captayne of the Caſtell alſo with an halbert, and one other with him, hauing likewiſe a caſe of piſtolles, came according to appoyntment, but after they had talked togither, and that the Captayne would not in anye wyſe conſente to deliuer vp the Caſtell, hee with hys aſſociate returned to their holde agayne, and the Engliſhe generall, with Sir George Carie, came backe to the Campe, and thereuppon, the Engliſh ordinance was preſently placed about the Caſtell, and ſhotte very ſore all that nyghte, but did no greate hurte, by reaſon they were but field peeces, and not fitte for batterie.

The Engliſhe ordinance ſhooteth at the Caſtell.

They in the Caſtell likewyſe ſhot verie ſore at the Engliſhmen, but did no great harme, ſauing that there were three of the footmen hurte.

The Ducheſſe of Chaſtelleraault.

In the palaice which was a preatie houſe, the Ducheſſe of Chaſtellerault was at that tyme reſident, to whom Sir William Drury did repaire, offring hir all the courteſy he might, with all that to hir appertayned, willyng hir not to feare any thing, and for hir more aſſurance, he cōmitted hir to the charge of ſir Thomas Maners.

Great ordinance ſent for.

The .xxiiij. of May, the generall gaue ſommonance to the Caſtell, and bycauſe they within ſtoode ſtiffely in deniall, to make ſurrender thereof vnto him, hee was driuen to ſende vnto Striueling for ſome greate peeces of ordinance meete to make batterie.

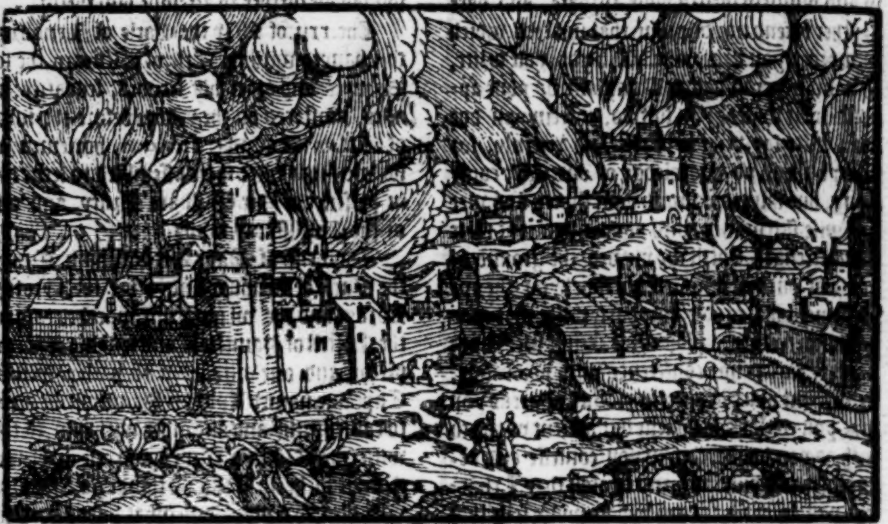
In the meane tyme, the Earles of Lenox

The Earles of Lenox and Morton.

The Abbey of Kilwinnings brent.

and Morton with the Horſemen, and ſome ſhot, marched into the Countrey to a very faire houſe of the Abbot of Kilwinnings neere adioyning, whoſe name was Gawen Hamilton, whyche houſe they brent, and vtterly defaced, ſpoiling it, and raſing it downe to the earth.

They brent and ſpoyled alſo ſeuenteene houſes more, belonging to men of that ſurname, ſituate neere thereaboutes, whereof one belonged to a Larde that had married with the ſiſter of James Hamilton of Bodwry Haugh, whyche ſlew the Regent.



There were alſo brent ſeuen other faire houſes belongyng to others that were not of that ſurname, but yet were of their friendes and alyes.

Moreouer, there were diuers other of their kinred and alies that came in with humble ſubmiſſion, and aſſured themſelues, firmely promiſing from thenceforthe their obedience to the King.

The .xxv. of Maye ſir William Drury the generall, retired his people vppon a policie from the Caſtell, and left it without either watche or warde, for that nyght. The next daye he ſente ſir George Carie to the Caſtel with a trumpetter, to knowe if they within woulde deliuer it vp, before the greate ordinaunce ſhoulde come, which the capitayn vtterly refuſed to do: wherevpon the ſmall ſhotte clapt ſodeynly rounde about the houſe, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culueryng, & a demy culuering came to them from Sterling, the whiche wyth foure of the Engliſh ſmall field peeces, were in yͤ night following planted againſte the Caſtell, and being ſhotte off, a bullet of one of the greate peeces paſſed throughe the walles into the Caſtell.

The Caſtell ſommoned.

The Caſtell of Hamilton battered.

The Caſtell eftſoones ſommoned.

The .xxvij. of May, about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall ſente a Trumpetter to giue ſommonance againe to yͤ Caſtell, to whome the Captayne aunſwered, that he cared not for them, and ſo bade them doe their worſt, for he would not yeeld the place to them at anye hand: wherevppon, immediatly the whole tyre began to play in ſuch ſorte, that within four volees, both ſides of yͤ houſe wer battered through, at the ſight whereof, the Captayne was ſo diſmaid, that forthwith hee cried for parlee, and ſo the ſhotte was ſtayde, and vppon humble ſute, the Captaine was admitted to ſpeake with the generall, and ſo comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeelde: wherevpon, the Prouoſt Marſhall was ſente into the Caſtell to take poſſeſſion thereof. The generall permitted them very courteouſly to depart with their furniture, and other ſuche ſtuffe as they coulde cary wyth them.

The Captaine of the Caſtell demandeth parlee.

There came out of the houſe nine and thirtie perſons one and other, four and thirtie mẽ, three boyes, and two women, and therewith was the Caſtell blowen vp and raſed, and the army lay that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The next day, beeing the eyght and twentith of May, they departed from thence, the Earles of Lennox, Mar, and Glencarne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the Kings parte, taking their leaues, with their company returned to Glaſcow, and ſir George Carie with the Horſemen, came that nighte to Lithquo, where alſo the reſt of the Engliſh forces met.

A Caſtell called Combernawd, belonging to the Lorde Fleming, was yeelded to the generals handes, who vppon bonde of aſſurance that the houſe ſhoulde remayne at the deuotion of the Queene of Englande, was contented to ſpare it from fire and ſpoyle. But this was not the firſte nor laſte courteſie whiche the generall

ſhewed

The Lady of Lilington.

ſhewed in this iourney, vnto ſuche as in any reſpect were thought worthy of his fauour. Amongſt other, the Lady of Liuingtō being great with childe, miſtruſting hirſelfe (or hir huſbands double dealings towards our Cōtrey) in great feare began to flie. But Sir William Drury hearing thereof, ſente hir worde hee came not to make warres with women, but rather to ſhewe pitie to the weake and comfortleſſe, and therevpon, ſhe ſtayed, and had no further harme.

Churchyard.

The Towne of Lieth thretned to bee brent.

The nine and twētith of May, when the army ſhould diſlodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the Prouoſt of the Towne, and commaunded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iuſt puniſhmente and correction thorough the whole towne for treaſon, and vnpardonable offences committed, and declaring that the inhabitantes therof had ſuccoured and ſupported traytors to the realme of England, and lykewyſe to their owne King, contrarye to the leagues and quietneſſe of bothe the Realmes of England and Scotlande (for whiche cauſe he was fully reſolued to ouerthrowe that town and receptacle of traytours) if therfore there were any women in chylde bedde or impotent people within yͤ towne, he gaue warning thus aforehand to conuey them out of it: and herwith alſo cōmanding eche capitayne and ſouldiour vnder his charge to ſee due execution of that whiche he purpoſed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the Prouoſt to appoynt a place conuenient, into the which the goodes of the towne mighte be broughte, to the ende that the ſame ſhoulde neither be ſpoyled by the Engliſh ſouldiors, neither yet conſumed through vehemencie of fyre, but to be preſerued al wholy to yͤ Scottiſh mēs vſe. Further, he granted, that euery noble mans lodging and capitaines houſe ſhoulde be ſaued from fire.

The Earle of Morton, an interceſſor for the Towne of Lithquo.

But nowe the tyme being come for this determined execution, the Earle of Morton, that ſtill accompanied the Engliſhe generall, offred himſelfe as an interceſſor to intreate and ſue for a pardon, bringing afore the generall, a multitude of waylyng people, whoſe mournful and moſt piteous cries, was lamentable and verye importunate.

The generall hearyng theyr requeſts, made anſwere, that for many cauſes the town ought to bee deſtroyed, conſidering howe diuers enimies (whoſe inſolent practiſes were not to be ſuffred) had always there a common reſorte to conferre of their wicked deuyſes: And further (quod he) the curteyſye that is ſhewed to ſuche places of repaire, hathe emboldned the reſte of Scotlande to vſe open violence and ſecrete villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderāce of yͤ weale publique, & breach of good lawes and policies, & therefore it was fit & moſt meete for a warning to thouſands in that caſe of extremitie, to raſe out ſuch monumēts of miſchief.

Lithquo ſpared from deſerued deſtruction.

The Prouoſt and other enter bandes.

But at length, notwithſtanding theſe heauie wordes vttred by ſir William Drury, the people of all ſorts ſo preaſſed about him, & made ſuch pitifull cries and ſorowfull noyſe, with children ſucking of theyr mothers breaſts, that he taking ruth of their miſerable eſtates, at this their lamentable ſuite, & ſpecially at the great inſtance of the Earle of Morton, who came bareheaded to ſpeake for them, the generall was contented to ſaue the towne and people therin, taking good band and aſſurance of the Prouoſt and chiefeſt of the Towne that they ſhuld follow the camp, and at all tymes appeare when they were called for at Berwike, and there to ſubmit themſelues, their towne, and goodes, to the clemencie of the Queenes highneſſe, and to ſuche order as the Earle of Suſſex hir maieſties generall Lieutenant ſhould by hir conſent thinke neceſſarie: to whiche bande and conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was ſlayne, and none ſince inſtituted (to whome they had giuen fayth of allegiance) they confeſſed, that none myghte commaunde them anye way without licence of him, to whom they had made this bande, ſith to him both their promiſe, and obligation was paſſed: And in this ſorte they continued bounde to him for their good behauiours.

The Duke of Chaſtellercaultes palaces brent.

The duke of Chaſtellereaults palace in Lithquo was yet brent and raſed, and marching to another houſe belonging to the ſaid Duke, called Kenile, diſtante from Lithquo about a myle or more, they likewiſe brent the ſame.

Nelthery.

The Lady Seton.

Thus hauing done their pleaſures at Lithquo, and in the Countrey aboute that Towne, they marched from thence to a proper houſe and Caſtell, belonging to the Lorde Seton, called Neithery, whiche the enimies had fortifyed, but yet when the Lady of that houſe came to the generall, and made humble petition on hir knees for his fauor, offering to him the keyes of that place in moſt humble wiſe, ſhe found ſuch courteſie at his handes, that with condition that ſhee and a Baron with hir ſhoulde enter bandes for aſſurance that the Caſtell ſhoulde euer afterwardes remaine at the Queene of Englandes pleaſure, hee toke hir the keyes againe, leauing hir in poſſeſſion of hir houſe and goodes, without doing hir any further diſpleaſure.

Some of the Engliſh army ſpoyled in Edenburgh.

This nighte, the army came to Edenburgh, where certaine of the company that made haſt to get thither ſomewhat before the reſt, receyued ſome diſcourteſie, for they were ſpoyled in the ſtreetes of their furniture, and ſuch other things as they had about them: but when the generall

with

Churchyarde.

Sir Thomas Maners.

with the reſt of the army was come neere to the Towne, and had knowledge of ſuche foule diſorder, he thought not good to enter the Towne, without ſtanding ſo ſure on his guard, that he ſhould not neede to doubt any double dealing, or crooked meaſures: which ſure handling of the matter, did not only ſhew the deuiſer thereof to haue good conduit and experience, but in verye deede auoyded no ſmal inconuenience and miſchiefe, that by the enimies was finely contriued (through a fray to be made in the ſuburbes) ſo that a greate ſlaughter had burſt out ſuddaynely, and no ſmal bloudſhed followed, if God, and good guiding of the people hadde not ſtayed and tourned away that imminent daunger. To bee ſhorte, the generall ſent Sir Thomas Maners with two bandes of Souldyers, vnder one enſigne, to ſeiſe vppon the gates at their firſt arriuall, and ſo the pretenſed conſpiracie was happily preuented: for the reſidue of the power was no ſooner entred the Towne, but that keeping themſelues in order to cleere the ſtreetes, and to commaund the inhabitãts the better, they ſpent that nighte ſtanding on their guard, as the caſe required.

When the morning was come, Sir William Drewry ſmelling out the couert practiſe, and naughty meaning of ſome, demaunded iuſtice and ſtraight puniſhment of ſuch offences and things as he woulde truely lay to the charges of ſome in that Towne: and told them flatly, if remedie were not the ſooner prouided, and ſatiſfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, hee woulde bee quickly reuenged, to the diſpleaſure and ſhame of al the contryuers of that madde and miſcheuous preſumption.

Reſtitution made of things taken away from the ſouldiers.

Heerevpon, not onely ſuche things as hadde bin taken from thoſe few Souldiers which firſt entred the Towne ouer night, were not only reſtored, but diuers malefactors were alſo deliuered to the generall, to bee executed and ordered by hys diſcretion; who ſeeyng theyr ſubmiſſion, mercifully and frankely ſente them away vnto theyr Captaynes, and ſo theſe broyles were pacifyed and thyngs ſette in quiet.

After they had reſted in Edenburgh a two dayes, the fyrſt of Iune they diſlodged.

Seton Caſtell ſpared at the ſute of the Lady.

The generall comming to Seaton, the chiefe Caſtell and houſe of the Lord Seatons, the Lady was ready there alſo to preſente hym the keyes, with like humble ſubmiſſion as before, and therevpon receyued the like fauour for thys houſe, as was ſhewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Hadington.

Anderweeke.

It was determined that the pyle of Anderwecke ſhoulde haue bin ouerthrowen, but vpon ſute and bandes taken of diuers Gentlemen, the place was ſpared, and the offendors receyued to mercy. And ſo the nexte day, the generall wyth the Horſemenne came through to Berwike, a iourney of two and thirtie long myles.

The footebandes lodged the ſame nighte at Coldingham with ſir Robert Coneſtable, who the next day being the third of Iune, came to them to Berwike, and ſo ended this iourney, to the greate commendation of the generall, and Captains: and conſequently to all the gentlemen and ſouldiours that had beene forth in the ſame, as well for the good ſucceſſe whiche it pleaſed God the author of al proſperous euents to graunt to them, as alſo for their dutiful obedience to all warlyke diſcipline, their paynefull trauayles ſuſteyned, their manly forwardneſſe, and ſkilfull practiſe in all martiall policies ſtill ſhewed, as occaſion of ſeruice was anye where offered.

But nowe to returne to the doings at home.

Stowe.

A Bull from Rome, hanged on the Byſhop of Londons gate.

Whileſt this iourney was made as ye haue hearde into Scotlande, the. xxv. of May in the morning was found hanging at the Biſhoppe of Londons palace gate in Paules Churchyard, a Bull whiche lately had bin ſente from Rome, conteyning diuers horrible treaſons againſt the Queenes Maieſtie: for the whyche, one Iohn Felton was ſhortly after apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London.

The Nortons executed.

The. xxviij. of May, Tho. Nortõ, & Chriſtopher Nortõ of Yorkeſhire, being both condẽned of high treaſon, for yͤ late rebellion in yͤ North, were drawen from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered.

Conſpiracy in Norffolke.

A conſpiracie was made by certaine Gentlemen and other in the Countrey of Norffolke, whoſe purpoſe was on Midſomer daye, at Harleſtone faire, with ſounde of Trumpet and drumme, to haue rayſed a number, and then to proclayme their diueliſh pretence againſt ſtrangers and other.

Thys matter was vttered by Thomas Kete, one of the conſpiracy, vnto Iohn Kenſey, who forthwith ſente the ſame Kete wyth a Conſtable to the next Iuſtice, before whome, and other Iuſtices, he opened the whole matter, wherevpon, maiſter Drewghe Drewry immediately apprehended Iohn Throckmorton, and after him many Gentlemẽ of the Citie of Norwiche, and the Countye of Norffolke, who wer all committed to priſon (and at the nexte ſeſſiõs of gaile deliuery at the Caſtell of Norwich, the 17. of Iuly, before ſir Roberte Catlin Knyghte, Lord chief Juſtice, Gilbert Gerard, yͤ Queenes attourney generall, and other Juſtices) tenne of them was indicted of high treaſon, and ſome others of contempt: diuers of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentith of Auguſt, and afterward, three of them were hanged, bowelled and quartred, whiche were John Throckmorton of Norwiche Gentleman, who ſtoode mute at his arraignement: but at the gallowes confeſſed him ſelfe to be the chiefe conſpiratour, and that none had deſerued to die but he, for that he had procured thē. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of Rolſby Gentleman the thirtith of Auguſt. And George Dedman of Cringleford Gentleman, was likewiſe executed the ſecond of September.

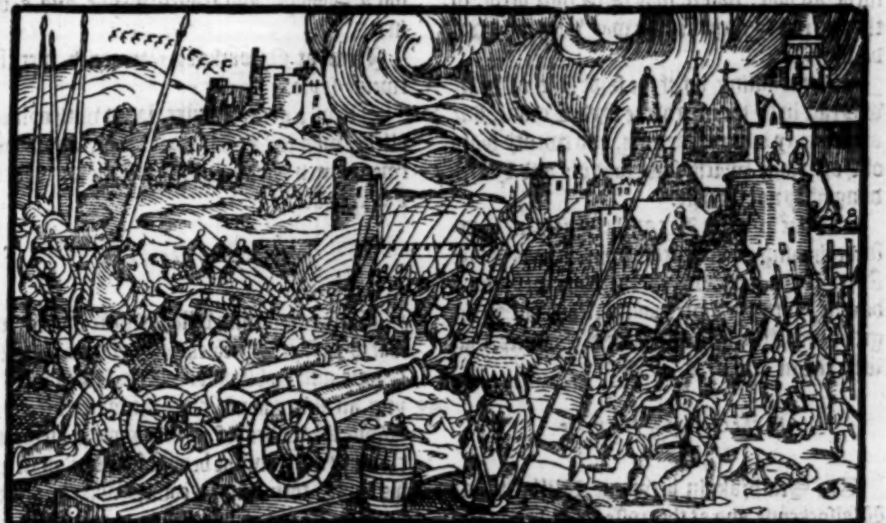
The Duke of Norffolke remoued.

The fourth of Auguſt, the Duke of Northfolke was remoued from the Tower of London to the Charterhouſe, nere vnto Smithfield.

Felton araigned.

The ſame daye was araigned at the Guilde hal of Londō, John Felton, for hanging a Bull at the gate of the Biſhop of Londons palace: And alſo two yong men, for coyning and clipping of coyne, who all were found giltie of high treaſon, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. The eyght of Auguſt, John Felton was drawen frō Newgate into Paules Churchyarde, and there hanged on a gallowes new ſet vp that morning before the Byſhoppes palace gate, and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartred. After this, yͤ ſame morning, the Sheriffes returned to Newgate, and ſo to Tiburne, with two yong men, which were there executed for coyning and clipping, as is aforeſayd.

Felton and others executed.



A iourney into Scotland by the Earle of Suſſex.

The two and twentith of Auguſt, the Earle of Suſſex, Lorde Lieutenante generall for the Queenes Maieſtie in the North, and the Lord Scrope, warden of the Weſt marches, with dyuers others, marched from Carlile with the Queenes army, and force of the North, as well of horſemen as footemen into Scotlande, paſſing ouer the riuers of Eſke, Leuin and Sarke, whiche riuer of Sarke parteth Englande and Scotland, and ſo to Dornocke woodde, belonging to Edward Vrone, the Lord of Bonſhow, and then to Innanne, a ſtrong houſe of the lord Harris, whiche they raſed and ouerthrewe wyth other thereaboutes, from thence to Hodham, which they brente and blewe vp, from thence to Kennell, a towne belonging to the Lord Cowhill, which they brent. From thēce to Domfriſe, whiche they ſacked and ſpoyled of ſuch paltry as the fugitiues hadde left, and alſo raſed and ouerthrew a ſumptuous houſe, belonging to the Q. of Scottes, in the keeping of the Lord Harris: then paſſing the riuer of Lōgher, they brent and ſpoyled Cowhilles and Powtracke, and returned to Domfreys, and ſo to the towne of Bankend, which they brent, with another houſe perteyning to William Maxwell of the Iſles, and ſo to the Caſtell of Carlauoracke, ſtanding in a mariſhe, iuſt to an arme of the Sea, whyche parteth Iunerdal and Galloway: which Caſtel they blew vp, and returned homewarde, tranſporting their ordinance ouer quickeſandes and bogs, where neuer the like was done before, and ſo came to Dornocke wood.

The eyght of Auguſt, they marched towards Carlile, where by the way, they brente and ouerthrewe two houſes, the one being Arthur Greames, alias Carlil, the other Riche George, two notable Theeues. The ſame day at night, after the L. Lieutenāts comming to Carlile, he made Knightes, Sir Edwarde Haſtings, Sir Francis Ruſſell, Sir Valentine Browne, Sir William Hilton, Sir Robert Stapleton, Sir Henry Curwen, Sir Simon Muſgraue.

Knightes made by the Erle of Suſſex.

Thys

This yeare the fifth of October, chaunced a terrible tempeſt of wind and rayne, both by Sea and lande, by meanes whereof, many Shyppes periſhed, and much hurt done in diuers partes of the Realme, as by a little Pamphlet ſette forthe therof by Thomas Knel Miniſter may appear. The effect whereof enſueth.

Bedforde.

Tho: Knel.

Aboute midnighte, the water ouerflowed ſo much, that mē were fayne to forſake theyr beds, and one woman drowned: where alſo were loſt a great number of Sheepe, Oxen, Kine, Horſe, and other Cattell.

Amōgſt other there, one maiſter Cartwright Gentleman, hauing his houſe encloſed round about, the water came in ſo muche, that a Carte beeing laden with thornes, did ſwimme aboute the grounde. Hee loſt by the ſame floud, Sheepe, and other Cattell, to the value of an hundred poundes.

The ſame Gentleman had a cloſe gate by the high wayes ſide, where the water ranne ouer ſo extreamely, that at the fall thereof it made ſuche an hole, that it was fortie foote deepe, ſo that no mā could paſſe that way without great daunger.

To the filling vp of the ſaide hole or pitte, was caſt in by the men of the ſayd Towne, fiue and twenty lodes of faggots, and twenty lodes of Horſedong, whiche ſaide faggots and Horſedong filled not the hole.

Alſo one maiſter Lee at the Friers in Bedforde, hauing a faire yarde, wherein was greate ſtore of elme trees, wherof threſcore wer blowē downe, with the rootes pulled cleane out of the grounde. Alſo, hee had a cloſe of Connies, that were cleane deſtroyed.

In the County of Norffolke.

The Sea brake in betweene Wiſbiche and Walſockenne, and at the croſſe keyes, drowning Tilney, and olde Linne, Sainct Mary Teding, Sainte Mary Tid, Sainte Johns Wawple, Walton and Walſocken, Emney, Jarmans, and Stowe brigge, all beeing the ſpace of tenne myles.

At the croſſe keyes, the good man of the Inne had builte an houſe, with a ſtrong foundation ioyning vnto another houſe, being olde and not ſo ſtrong, wherein were certaine gueſtes, and when the water came in ſo violently, the good man of the houſe, beeing in the ſtronger houſe, called the men out of the olde houſe, and they woulde haue gone downe the ſtaires, but the water was ſo high, that they coulde not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other houſe, where they went thorough, and the laſt man was no ſoner in, but the olde houſe fell downe.

The walles of ẏ houſes were broken downe, and the Horſes that were tyed at the manger (which was made faſt in ẏ groūd) did ſwimme in the water, when the ſtable was cleane carried away, vntill the waters were aſſwaged, and were ſaued aliue, and the people were conſtreyned to gette vppe to the hygheſt partes of the houſe, and to be carried away in boates.

At Yarmouth, a great part of the bridge was caried away.

The houſe vpon the Hauen, called the Hauē houſe, wherein was one Nicholas Joſſellin, the Hauen man, and his ſonne, with all theyr tooles, was carried into the mariſhes, ſixe myles from the Hauen, where it ſtoode vpright, where they continued long tyme, withoute meate or drinke.

Item, at Jermans Brigſtreete, was verye muche hurte done by extreame flouds that were there.

Item, one Thomas Smith of Yarmouth, loſt a Shyppe, and ſeauen menne, and a boy in it.

Item, at Newarke by Yarmouth, were loſt twelue ſayle.

Item, a great Houlke, laden with oyle and pitche, was loſt at Worrey ſande, and aboute twenty men loſt therein, and thirtie ſaued by the Hulke boate.

In the Biſhopricke of Elie.

Theſe towns and villages were ouerflown, that is to ſaye, Wiſbiche, Guyhorne, Parſon Droue, and Hobſhouſe. This Hobſhouſe beyng an almes houſe, (and the water breakyng downe the walles of it) the wynde blewe the cloathes off from the bedde of a poore man and his wyfe, they being a colde, awaked, and ſodenly ſtepte out of hys bedde to reache vp hys cloathes, and ſtepte vppe to the bellie in water, and then hee thinking himſelfe to be in daunger (as hee was indeede) and hee knowing the beſt way to eſcape the daunger of the water, tooke hys wife on hys necke, and carried hir away, and ſo were both ſaued.

Item, in Wiſbiche was a gardē, a Tennice play, and a bowling alley walled aboute wyth bricke (whiche was worth twenty li. by yeare to the owner) was quite deſtroyed by the water.

Lincolneſhire.

Mumby Chappell, the whole Towne was

loſt, except three houſes.

A Shippe was driuen vpon an houſe, the ſailers thinking they had bin vpon a Rocke, committed themſelues to God: and three of the Marriners lept out of the Shippe, and chaunced to take holde on the houſe toppe, and ſo ſaued themſelues: and the wife of the ſame lying in childbed, did climbe vppe into the toppe of the houſe, was alſo ſaued by the Marriners, hir huſband and child being both drowned.

Item, the Church was wholly ouerthrowen except the Steeple.

Betweene Boſton and Newcaſtell, were threeſcore ſea veſſels, as ſmall Ships, Craiers, and ſuche like, loſt vpon the coaſtes of Boſton, Humerſton, marſhe Chappell, Tetney, Stepney, Nercots, Kelby, and Grimſby, where no Shippe can come in without a Pilote, whyche were all loſt, with goodes, corne, and Cattell, with all the ſalte Cotes, where the chiefe and fineſt ſalte was made, were vtterly deſtroyed, to the vtter vndoing of manye a man, and greate lamentation both of olde and yong.

Wentford bridge, being very ſtrong, of eight arches in length, had three of the arches broken, and cleane carried away.

Maiſter Smith at the Swanne there, hadde his houſe (being three ſtories high) ouerflowed vnto the third ſtorie, and the walles of the ſtable were broken downe, and the Horſes tyed to the manger, were all drowned.

Many mē had great loſſe, as wel of Sheepe, Kine, Oxen, great Mares, Coltes of the breede of the greate Horſes, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names of many of them ſhall heere followe.

Maiſter Pellham loſt eleuen hūdred Sheepe at Mumby Chappell.

In Sommercote were loſt fiue. C. Sheepe, that were of the inhabitants there.

Item, betweene Humerſton and Grimſby, were loſt eleuen C. Sheepe of one M. Spēcers, whoſe Shepherde aboute midday, comming to his wife, aſked his dinner, and ſhee beeyng more bolde than mannerly, ſayd, he ſhould haue none of hir, then he chanced to looke toward the marſhes where the Sheepe were, and ſawe the water breake in ſo fiercely, that the Sheepe woulde bee loſt, if they were not broughte from thence, ſayd, that he was not a good Shepherde that would not venture his life for his Sheepe, and ſo went ſtraight to driue them from thēce, both hee and his Sheepe were drowned, and after the water being gone, hee was founde dead, ſtanding vpright in a ditche.

M. Thimbleby loſt two C. & twenty ſheepe.

Maiſter Dymock loſt four hundred ſheepe.

Maiſter Marſh loſt fiue hundred ſheepe.

Maiſter Madiſon loſt a Shippe.

Maiſter William Aſkugh of Kelſey, Sir Hugh Aſkugh, Maiſter Merin, Maiſter Fitz Williams of Maplethorp, loſt by eſtimation twenty thouſand of Cattell, one and other.

Borne was ouerflowed to the midway of the heigth of the Churche.

Steeping was wholly carried away, where was a wayne loade of willow toppes, yͤ body of the waine, with the willowes carried one way, and the axiltree and wheeles another way.

Huntingdonſhire.

In the Towne of Sainte Eues, the water flowed into the towne in ſuche abundance, that it ranne through the Towne and Church, beeing in the myddeſt thereof, hauing aboute the Churchyard a bricke wall of two yards hygh, was ſo ouerflowed, that boates were rowed ouer it, without touching of the ſame.

Item, a little from Huntingdon, were three men riding vpon the cauſey, being then ouerflowed (the water on the cauſey beeyng not deepe, and thinking no daunger therein) chanced to come into a place where the water hadde galled away the earth, and the grauel, were carried away with the water: and willowes growing on both ſides the way, two of thē caughte holde on the willowes, and left their Horſes, and ſaued themſelues, and the third chanced to catch a very little twigge of a willowe betweene hys fingers, hauing very little holde, and forſakyng his Horſe, which was carried a great way from him, had muche paine to keepe his holde on the twigge, and hold his head aboue the water, and his Horſe returning with force agaynſte the ſtreame, came againe vnto him, and vnder him, by which meanes he ſet his feete vpon him, and gate better hold of the willow, and ſo ſaued himſelfe, and the Horſe was immediately carried away, that he neuer ſawe him after.

Item, Holland, Leueringtō, Newton Chappel in the Sea, lōg Stutton, and Holbich, were ouerflowen. And in thys Countrey alſo was great loſſe of Cattell.

Staffordſhire.

In the lowe partes in Moreland, in a little Towne called Cliffeeld, there was a man, hys wife, and a ſucking childe in hir armes ouerwhelmed and ſlayne by the violence of the waters, and of the boyſterous windes.

VVarwickeſhire.

The water called Auen, yͭ paſſeth by yͤ towne called Stratford vpon Auen, did run with ſuch violence, that meeting with the water called the Seuerne, droue it backe tenne miles againſt the courſe, ouerflowing much groūd, and drowning much Cattell.

Buckinghamſhire.

In Newport panell were two houſes ouerthrowen, and in one of them an olde man and an olde woman were ouerwhelmed and ſlayne.

And in the ſame Towne, on the backe ſide of the Sarazens head, the water did ſpring out of the harde grauellie ground, and flowed ſo faſt, that certaine Merchants (ſitting there at dinner) were faine to riſe and departe from thence to ſaue themſelues.

Sir Henry Ley Knight (dwelling at Quarrington) loſt by the flouds the number of three thouſand ſheepe, beſides Horſe and other Cattell, a great number.

Suſſex.

In the Wiſhe at Rie (a place ſo called) the water came in ſo ſuddainely ; and flowed ſo high about midnight, that it was eyght or nine foote high in mens houſes, in ſomuch; that if one William White had not called them vp, ſome of them had like to haue bin drowned, and the ſame William White hauing a boate, fette a greate companie of them out of their Windowes, and carried them to drie land as faſt as he could fetch them, which were in great daunger & feare, and glad to eſcape with their liues.

Moreouer, the water came in ſo vehemently there, that it brake into the mariſhes, and made ſuche way, that where of late yeares, and nowe before this great floud came, a cockeboate could not paſſe in at a lowe water, nowe a fiſherman drawing ſixe foote water and more, may come in at a lowe water, and at a full ſea, the greateſt Shippe the Queenes Maieſtie hath, may come in, and haue good harbrough there. The continuance of the ſame will not only bee profitable to the moſt part of the inhabitants there, but alſo commodious to all the Queenes ſubiectes trauellers by ſea.

And whereas one of the owners of a greate parte of the ſame marſhes hadde certaine polles ſet vp therein (and beeing very meete and in conueniente place of the ſame Marſhe) for the drying of their fiſhing nettes, and receyued money yearely of thoſe that dryed their nettes there ſufficiently ynough: yet he cauſed his ſeruaunte to pull vp the poles, and lay them in an houſe ſtanding in the ſame marſhe: and alſo cōmaunded his ſeruaunt to giue them warning, that they ſhuld no more hang their nettes there, except they woulde come and compound wyth him for it.

And the ſame night (by Gods prouidence) it came ſo to paſſe, that according to hys ſaying (though contrary to his good will and minde) they are not lyke to hang their nettes there any more, bycauſe of the depth of the water is ſo great, and like to continue.

In hope of continuance of the ſame newe opened Hauen, certaine men of the ſame towne haue begunne to builde faire barkes to trauell the Seas, the whiche in continuance of time, will bee a great furtherance to the maintenance of the Queenes nauy.

At the blacke ſhore ende, before the ſayde floud, no boate could paſſe further than the ſhore ende, and nowe a boate that draweth ſixe foote water, may come in at a low water.

Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was, by two foote and more in the Channell.

Kent.

At Prum hill marſhe, four miles from Rie, the water came in ſo outragiouſly, that it brake downe the marſh walles, one maiſter Bury being owner thereof, who loſt by the ſame a thouſande, C. one threeſcore & two of his Sheepe, and it is thought that the mariſhe is neuer lyke to be gotten againe.

Item, at Erith breache, a Marriner riding by the marriſhes, ſeeyng two maydens in the marſhes, and perceyuing the waters breakyng in ſo faſt, that the maydes were not like to eſcape, rode vnto them, and one of them gate vp behynde hym, and the other tooke holde on the Horſe taile, and by that were both ſaued from drowning.

In the ſame marſhe were drowned a greate number of Sheepe.

Item, there in a marſh lād that was ſowen, were two boyes keeping Crowes, in the after noone ſeeing yͤ water breaking in ſo vehemētly, gat them into a Cart that was not farre from them, where they were fayne to tarrie vntill the next tyde, which came in ſo boyſterouſly, that it had like to ouerthrowne both the Cart and the boyes, and the one of them beeing more ſtronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with colde, wet, and feare, dyed, ſo that hee was fayne to lette hym fall from him into the water, when he perceyued that hee was paſt recouerie.

A little from that place were alſo drowned a thouſande of Sheepe, and manye other Cattell.

Eſſex.

From a Towne called Raynam, vnto the Towne named Mauldon, all along by the water ſides were the mariſhes all ouerflowen, where in were a great number of Cattell drowned.

Suffolke.

In Clay were two ſhyppes laden wyth Danſke ware which came to ſhore, but there no mā in thē, nor any man can tell of whence they came.

In Clay, the dwellers there loſt a verye greate parcell of ſalte and herrings barrelled, beeyng houſed in an houſe walled with bricke, three foote thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe.

Alſo, there was loſt much ſaffron grounde, with many other things moe, to the great hinderance of many a man.

Item, in Walderſwicke, Dunwich, & Blaybrooke, was great loſſe of boorde, planke, timber, and ſalte.

Oxforde.

A greate parte of the bridge by Magdalen Colledge, was borne cleane away, and manye trees were turned vp by the roote.

Stowe.
An. reg. 13.

The three and twentith of January, the Queenes Maieſtie, accompanyed with hir Nobilitie, came from hir houſe at the Strand, called Somerſet place, and entred the Citie of Lōdon by Temple Barre, Fleeteſtreete, Cheape, and ſo by the North ſyde of the Burſſe, to Sir Thomas Greſhams in Biſhoppes gate ſtreete, where ſhe dyned.

Royal exchange.

After dynner, hir grace returning through Cornehill, entred the Burſſe on the South ſide, and after hir higneſſe hadde viewed euery parte thereof, aboue grounde, eſpecially the Pawne, whyche was richly furniſhed wyth all ſortes of the fyneſt wares in the Citie, ſhee cauſed the ſame Burſſe, by an Herrault and a Trumpet, to bee proclaymed the Royall exchange, ſo to bee called from thence forthe, and not otherwiſe.

ſtrange kind of earth mouing.

The ſeuenteenth of February, at a place called Kynnaſton, neere Marleche hyll, in the County of Hereforde, was ſeene the grounde to open, and certayne rockes wyth a peece of ground remoued, and wente forward the space of foure dayes, makyng at the fyrſte a terrible noyſe as it went on the earth. it remoued it ſelfe betweene .vj. of the clocke in the euening, & .vij. the nexte morrow forty paces. carrying greate trees and ſheepe coates, ſome ſheepe coates wyth threeſcore ſheepe in them, ſome trees fell into the chinkes, other that grewe on the ſame grounde, growe nowe as firmely on a hill, and ſome that ſtoode Eaſt, ſtande Weſt, and thoſe that ſtoode Weſt, ſtand Eaſt. The depth of the hole where it firſt brake out, is thirtie foote, the breadth of the breach is eyght ſcore yardes, and in length aboue twenty ſcore yardes. It ouerthrewe Kinnaſton Chappell. Alſo two high wayes bee remoued nigh one hundred yardes, with the trees of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is ſixe and twentie acres: and where tillage grounde was, there is paſture lefte in place, and where was paſture, there is tyllage grounde gone vpon it.

The ground as it remoued, draue the earthe before it, and at the lower parte ouerwhelmed the ground, ſo that it is growen to a greate hyll of twelue faddome hyghe. It remoued from Saterday, tyll Monday at nighte following, and ſo ſtayed.

Moreouer this yeare, aboute Candlemas, Sir Thomas Sackuille, Baron of Buckhurſt was ſent in Ambaſſade frō the Queenes Maieſtie to Charles the ninth, Frenche King, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the Emperoure Maximilian, as for other weightie affayres. And as his Ambaſſage was greate, ſo was his charge no leſſe in furniſhing himſelfe and trayne accordingly, beeing both in number and furniture, ſuch in euerye poynte as dyd apperteyne, and hys receyuing and enterteynemente in Fraunce by the Kyng and others, was agreeable thereto, for hee was receyued vppon the coaſt by the gouernoures of the fortifyed Townes ryght honorably, by order from the King.

Among other, the Baron of Bournoiſell was one, who beeyng very well mounted and appoynted, lefte not hys Lordſhippe before hee came to the Courte, and from thence accompanyed hym backe vntill hys embarquemente homewardes.

In the mayne Countreys, he was accompanyed with the gouernoures and Nobles of the places aboute. And in the good Townes where hee paſſed, hee was preſented by the chiefe Magiſtrates, wherein theyr good wylles were to bee thankefully accepted, though hys Lordſhippes rewardes, farre ouer valued theyr preſents.

At his approche neere to Paris, hee was encountred on the way for courteſie ſake, by two Marqueſſes of Trans and Saluces, this beeing of the houſe of Sauoy, and the other of the worthy family of Foix. Theſe wanted not ſuche as accompanyed them, and the ſame riche of the beſt ſorte.

At the L. Ambaſſadors firſt audience, which was at the Caſtell of Madrill, otherwiſe called Boloigne neere Paris (where the King then lay) the Queenes Almayn Coches very brauely furniſhed, were ſente to Paris for him, in one of the whiche, his Lordſhip with the Marques of Trans, rode towardes the Courte, very narrowly eſcaping from a ſhrewde turne and great miſchance, by reaſon the ſame Coche was ouerthrowē by the Dutch Wagoners their negligence, who in a brauery gallopping the fielde, made an ouer ſhort turne, wherewith the Marques was ſore bruiſed.

The Lord Ambaſſador at his arriuall at the place, was right honorably receyued, hee was banquetted by dyuers, and that very ſumptuouſly, whiche by him was not left vnrequited to the vttermoſt, and rather with the better, for his liberalitie among the Frenche was verye large, but hys rewarde at the Kyngs hands was only a chayne, waying a thouſand french Crownes.

At that preſent, there was a great dearth and ſcarcitie of vittailes in Fraunce.

The riuer of Sayne, that runneth through Paris, was not paſſable with veſſels, by reaſon of the greate froſtes, and thereby not onely all kinde of vittayles, but alſo hey and woodde, hard to come by, and not to be hadde, but at exceſſiue priſes, the Countrey thereaboutes hauing before bin ſore harried and ſpoyled by the ciuill tumultes, by reaſon whereof, not only the Lord of Buckhurſt for the ſpace hee remayned there, but alſo Sir Henrye Norrice (nowe Lorde Norrice) and maiſter Frauncis Walſingham, hir Maieſties Ambaſſadors, ligiers ſucceſſiuely, were driuen to an increaſe in expenſes, paying for euerye thing they boughte an hygher price, than ordinarily hadde beene accuſtomed.

After that the Lord Buckhurſt had bin feaſted and banquetted by the Kyng, and other of the Frenche nobilitie, and had accompliſhed the poyntes of hys Ambaſſage, hee tooke leaue of the Kyng, and departed homewardes, arriuing heere in Englande a little before Eaſter.

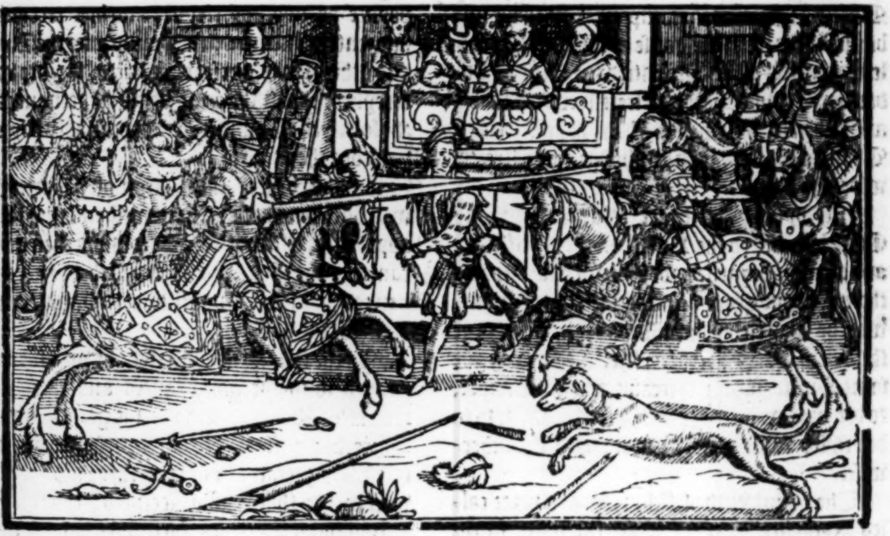
Parliament.

Stow.

The ſeconde of Aprill, a Parliament began at Weſtminſter, wherein was graunted to the Queenes Maieſtie (towarde hir great charges, in repreſſing the late Rebellion in the North, and purſuing the ſayde Rebelles and theyr fautors, whiche were fledde into Scotlande) by the Cleargy, a ſubſidie of ſixe ſhillings in the poũd, and by the Temporaltie two fifteenes, with a ſubſedie of two Shillings and eyght pence in the pounde.

Iuſts at Weſtminſter.

The firſt, ſecond, and third of May, was holden at Weſtminſter before the Queenes Maieſtie, a ſolemne Iuſt at the Tilt, Tourney and Barriers. The challengers were Edward Erle of Oxforde, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Chriſtopher Hatton Eſquier, who all dyd very valiantly, but the chiefe honor was giuen to the Earle of Oxford.



Doctor Story executed.

The fyrſt of Iune, Iohn Story, a Doctor of the Canon lawe, who before hadde bin condemned of hygh Treaſon, was drawen from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, his head was ſette on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the Citie.

A combat appoynted at Tuthil.

The. xviij. of Iune, in Trinitie terme, there was a combat appointed to haue bin foughte for a certaine manour and demaine lands belõging therevnto, in the Iſle of Hartye, adioining to the Iſle of Shepey in Kent, Simon Lowe, and Iohn Kime were plaintifes, & had brought a writ he quarel of ombat ſtayed

a writ of righte againſte Thomas Paramore, who offered to defend his right by battail, wherupon the plaintifes aforeſayde, accepted to aunſwer his challenge, offering lykewiſe to defende their right to the ſame mannor and landes, and to proue by battail, that Paramore had no right nor good title to haue the ſame mannor & lands. Hereupon ẏ ſayd Thomas Paramour brought before the Iudges of the commō pleas at Weſtminſter, one George Thorne, a bigge, broade, ſtrong ſet fellowe, and the playntifes broughte Henry Nayler, maſter of defence, and ſeruaunt to the right honorable the Erle of Leyceſter, a proper ſlender man, and not ſo taule as ẏ other, Thorne caſt downe a gauntlet, whych Nayler tooke vp. Vpon the Sunday before the battaile ſhould be tryed on the next morrow, the matter was ſtayed, and the parties agreed, that Paramour being in poſſeſſion, ſhould haue the lande, and was bound in fiue hundred pounde, to conſider the plaintifes, as vpon hearing the matter, the Iudges ſhould awarde. The Queenes Maieſty was the taker vp of ẏ matter, in this wiſe. It was thought good, that for Paramores aſſuraunce, the order ſhould be kept touching the combate, and that the plaintifes Lowe & Kime, ſhoulde make defaulte of appearaunce, but that yet ſuche as were ſureties for Nayler theyr Champions appearaunce, ſhould bryng him in, and likewiſe thoſe that wer ſureties for Thorne ſhoulde bring in the ſame Thorne, in diſcharge of theyr band, and that the Courte ſhoulde ſitte in Tuthill fieldes, where was prepared one plot of ground, one and twenty yards ſquare, double rayled for the combate, withoute the Weſt ſquare, a ſtage beeyng ſet vp for the Iudges, repreſenting the Court of the common pleas. All the compaſſe without the liſtes, was ſette with ſcaffoldes one aboue another, for people to ſtand and beholde. There were behinde the ſquare where the Iudges ſate, two tentes, the one for Naylor, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning tymely, Nayler aboute ſeauen of the clocke, came through London, appareled in a dublet, and galeygaſcoyne breeches all of Crimoſyn ſatyn, cutte and raſed, a hat of blacke veluet, with a red fether and bande, before him drums and fifes playing: the gauntlet caſt downe by George Thorne, was borne before ẏ ſayd Nayler vpon a ſwords poynt, and hys baſton (a ſtaffe of an elle long, made taper wiſe, tipt with horne) with his ſhielde of hard leather, was borne after him, by Aſkam, a yeoman of ẏ Queenes guarde: hee came into the palace at Weſtminſter, and ſtaying not long before the Hall dore, came backe into the Kinges ſtreete, and ſo along thorough the Sāctuary and Tothill ſtreete into the field, where he ſtayed till paſt nine of the clocke, and then ſir Ierome Bowes brought him to his Tent: Thorne being in the Tent with ſir Henry Cheyney long before. About ten of the clock, the Court of commō pleas remoued, and came to the place prepared, when the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, with two other hys aſſociates were ſet, then Lowe was called ſolemnely to come in, or elſe he to loſe his writ of right. Then after a certayne time, the ſureties of Henry Nailer were called to bring in the ſayde Nayler Champion for Simon Lowe, & ſhortly thereuppon, Sir Ierome Bowes, leadyng Nayler by the hand, entreth with him the liſtes, bringing hym downe that ſquare by which hee entred, beeing on the lefte hande of the Iudges, and ſo about, till he came to the next ſquare, iuſt againſte the Iudges, and there makyng curteſie, firſt with one legge, and then with the other, paſſed forthe till hee came to the myddle of the place, and then made the lyke obeyſaunce, and ſo paſſing tyll they came to the barre, there hee made the lyke curteſie, and hys ſhielde was helde vppe a lofte ouer hys head. Nayler put off hys nether ſtockes, and ſo bare foote and bare legged ſaue hys ſylke ſcauilones to the ankles, and hys doublet ſleeues tyed vp aboue the elbowe, and bare headed, came in as is aforeſayd. Then were the ſureties of George Thorne called to bring in the ſame Thorne, and immediately Sir Henry Cheyney entring at the vpper ende on the right hande of the Iudges, vſed the lyke order in comming aboute by his ſide as Nayler had before on that other ſide, and ſo commyng to the barre with lyke obeyſaunce, helde vp hys ſhielde. Proclamation was made that none ſhoulde touche the barres, nor preſume to come within the ſame, excepte ſuche as were appoynted. After all thys ſolemne order was fyniſhed, the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice rehearſing the manner of bringing the writ of Ryght by Simon Lowe, of the aunſwer made therevnto by Paramour, of the proceeding therein, and howe Paramour had challenged to defende hys righte to the land by battayle, by his champion Thomas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Lowe with hys Champion Henrye Nayler, and then for defaulte in appearaunce in Lowe, hee adiudged the lande to Paramoure, and diſmiſſed the Champions, acquiting the ſureties of their bandes.

Hee alſo willed Henrye Nayler to render agayne to George Thorne his gauntlet, wherunto the ſayd Nayler anſwered, that his Lordſhip might commaund him any thing, but willingly he woulde not render the ſayde gauntlet to Thorne excepte he coulde winne it: and further hee chalenged the ſayde Thorne to playe with hym halfe a ſcore blowes, to ſhewe ſome paſtime

paſtime to the Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and the other there aſſembled, but Thorne aunſwered, that he came to fight, and would not play. Thē the Lorde chiefe Juſtice commending Naylor for his valiant courage, commanded them both quietly to depart the field. &c.

A woman brēt at Maydſton.

The ſixteenth of July, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Heryetteſham, was found culpable of poyſoning the ſaid Thomas Chamber hir huſbande, at the aſſiſes holden at Maideſtone in the County of Kent. For the whyche fact, ſhe (hauing well deſerued) was there brent on the next morrowe.

Duke of Norfolke ſent to the Tower.

The ſeauenth of September, the Duke of Norffolke was remoued from yͤ Charterhouſe, to the Tower of London priſoner.

Biſhop of Salisbury deceaſed.

The two and twētith of September, deceaſſed John Jewell Biſhop of Saliſbury, in hys life a moſt eloquent and diligent Preacher, but a farre more paynefull and ſtudious Writer, as his workes remayning beareth witneſſe, whereby his fame ſhall neuer die.

A Sermon in Paules Church for victory againſt the Turkes.

The ninth of Nouember, a Sermon was Preached in Paules Church at London, by M. William Foulkes of Cambridge, to giue thāks to almighty God for the victorie, whiche of hys mercifull clemencie it had pleaſed him to graūt to the Chriſtians in the Leuant Seas, agaynſt the common enimies of our faith, the Turkes, the ſeauenth of October laſt paſt. His Theame was taken out of the ſixtieth Pſalme of Dauids Pſalter, the fourth verſe.

Contareno.

There were preſente at this Sermon the L. Maior of London ſir William Allin, with the Aldermen and craftes in their liueries, and in yͤ euening, there were bonfiers made through the Citie, with banquetting and great reioycing, as good cauſe there was, for a victorie of ſo greate importance, to the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian common wealth: In the which were taken .130. veſſels, that is .117. Galeys, and .13. Galeots, beſide other veſſels that were bouged, abandoned, and let goe at large abroade in the Seas, as Galeys, Foiſtes, and Galeots, to the number of foureſcore or thereaboutes. And of their Chiefetaynes ſlayne in that bloudy battayle, theſe we find by name as Principall· Haly Baſſa, high Admirall of the whole nauy, Amar Bey, Captayne of the Janiſſaries, Aſſan Bey, the ſonne of Barbaroſſa, with his ſonne, Mehemet Bey, gouernour of Mitilene, Gider Bey, gouernour of Chio, Capſan Bey, gouernour of the Rhodes, Peruis Aga, gouernour of Africa, otherwiſe Mahomeda, Muſtafa Secluby, high Treaſorer, Affis Clucaga, Captayne of Galipoli, Tramontana chiefe Maiſter of the Turkiſhe Emperours owne Galley, Caracoza, and many other, whoſe names were too long to rehearſe: but the whole number that were ſlayne of the Turkes, could not be perfectly knowē, by reaſon that manye were drowned in the Sea, which came not to fight.

Bizari.

Contareno.

Bizari.

Some yet affirme, that there were ſlayne of them in all, to the number of one and twenty thouſande, although other ſpeake but of fifteene thouſande: but Contareno writeth, that there were ſlayne and taken .29990. of whiche number, hee reconeth .3846. to haue remayned priſoners, and among them, were theſe perſons of name, Mahemet Bey, Sainus Bey, and Sirocho Bey.

There eſcaped yet from thys diſcomfiture, Partau, generall of all the menne of warre and Souldyers by lande, Ochiali, Murate Ray, with hys ſonne, and Ali Genoueſe, and wyth them aboute fortie Galeys, Foyſtes, and Fregates.

Moreouer, there were found in the Turkiſh Galeys that came into the handes of the chriſtians .116. double Canons, 265. demy Canons, and ſixteene other great peeces of braſſe: For it is to be remembred, that not only the Turkiſh galeys, but alſo the Chriſtians were throughly armed, furniſhed and appoynted with men, munition, and ordinaunce in euery behalfe.

In Haly Baſſa his galey there were aboorde iij. C. harquebuſſers Janiſſaires, and an hundred archers. In the Galey of Don Giouan Dauſtria chief Admiral of the Chriſtians wer 400. harquebuſſers Spanyards, of the tierze of Sardigna, beſide a great number of Lords and gentlemen, and alſo beſide the rowers, and in euery other galey were .ij. C. fightyng men at the leaſt, beſide the rowers, and in ſome three hundred, and in other foure hundred, according to the moulde of the veſſelles.

The number of the Chriſtian Galeyes and Galiotes, were in all two C. & two, beſyde ſixe great Galeaſſes.

The Turkes had there Galeys, Galiots, and Foiſtes, to yͤ number of two hundred and fiftie, as appereth by the accompt afore made, of thoſe that were taken, abandoned, and eſcaped.

There wer deliuered and ſet at libertie, about twelue thouſand, ſome ſay fourteene thouſande Chriſtian captiues, whom the Turkes kept for ſlaues, & had thē chained there aboord with thē in their Galeys. But this victory was not got without great loſſe of the Chriſtians, for beſide Auguſtine Barbarigo, the principal prouiditore of the Venetians, there dyed ſeuenteene other Gentlemen of Venice, beeing men of good eſtimation, John Cardone, and Bernardine Cardone Spanyardes, Virginio and Oratio Urſini Romayns, Troilo. Sabello, Marco Molino, beſide diuers other nobles and Gentlemen of name, as wel Italians, as Spanyards and Almaynes.

In all, there dyed of the Chriſtians, to the number of ſeauen thouſande ſyxe hundred fiftie and ſixe, beſide thoſe that were hurte, beeing in like number to them that were ſlayne, among the which was Don John de Auſtria, generall of all the Chriſtian army there, Sebaſtian Veniero, the Venetians generall, and the Counte de Santa Fiore, with diuers other.

Moreouer, there were Chriſtian Galeys bouged, three of the Venetiãs, one of the Popes, one belonging to the Duke of Sauoy, and an other to the Knights of Malta. There was one alſo taken and ledde away by Ochiali, and hys company. Suche was the ſucceſſe of this battayle, which continued for ẏ ſpace of ſixe houres, in the ende whereof, the victorye remaynyng with the Chriſtians, cauſed no ſmall reioyſing through all parties of Chriſtendome: for if thys victory hadde bin followed, with hys gracious helpe and aſſiſtance that was the giuer thereof, the proude and loftie horne of the Iſmaelite had bin ſo bruiſed, as peraduenture hys courage woulde haue quailed to putte forthe the ſame ſo ſpeedily as he did, but ſuche is the malice of the time, that the Chriſtians haue more pleaſure to drawe theyr weapons one againſt another, than againſt that common enimie of vs all, who regardeth neyther Proteſtante nor Catholique, (they may be ſure) thoſe of the Greekiſh Church nor others, as if the merciful prouidence of the Lorde of Hoſtes doe not in tyme diſappoynte hys proceedings, it will bee too ſoone perceyued though happily too late to ſtoppe the breache, when the floud hath gote head, and once wonne paſſage through the banke. It were therefore to bee wiſhed of all thoſe that tender the ſuretie of the Chriſtian common wealth, that Princes woulde permitte their ſubiectes to liue in libertie of conſcience, concerning matters of faithe: and that ſubiectes agayne woulde bee ready in ductifull wiſe, to obey their Princes in matters of ciuill gouernemente, ſo that compoundyng their controuerſies among themſelues, wyth tollerable conditions, they myght employ theyr forces againſt the common enimie, to the benefite of the whole Chriſtian worlde, whiche the more is the pitie, they haue ſo long exerciſed one againſt another, to each others deſtruction. And as for matters in variance about Religion, rather to decide the ſame with the word, than with the ſworde, an inſtrumente full vnfitte for that purpoſe, and not lightly vſed nor allowed of by the auntiente fathers in time of the primatiue Church. But ſith this is rather to bee wiſhed than hoped for, by anye apparant lykelyhoode, conſidering the ſtrange contrarietie of humors nowe reigning among men in ſundry partes of Chriſtendome, lette vs leaue the ſucceſſe of oure wiſhe to the pleaſure of God, the author of all good happes, who ruleth the heartes of Princes, and frameth the peoples mindes as ſeemeth beſt to hys diuine prouidence. And withall, lette vs alſo humbly offer to him oure prayers, inſtantly beſeeching him to ſpare vs in mercy, and not to rewarde vs after oure iniquities, but rather by hys omnipotente power, to turne from vs the violence of oure enimyes, in abridging theyr forces, as it maye ſeeme good to hys mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

Earle of Kent.

The thirtith of December, Reynolde Grey was by the Queenes Maieſtie reſtored Earle of Kente.

Sir William Peter deceaſed

The thirteenth of January, deceaſed Sir William Peter Knyghte, who for hys iudgemente and pregnant witte, hadde bin Secretarye, and of priuie Counſayle to foure Kynges and Queenes of thys Realm, and ſeauen times Lorde Embaſſadoure abroade in forraine lãds: hee greately augmented Exceſter Colledge in Oxforde, and alſo builded tenne Almes houſes for the poore in the pariſhe of Ingarſton.

1572

Duke of Norfolke araigned.

The ſixteenth of January, the Lord Thomas Howarde Duke of Northfolke, was arraigned in Weſtminſter Hall, before George Lorde Talbot, Earle of Shrewſburye, hyghe Stewarde of Englande for that daye, and there by hys Peeres founde giltie of hyghe Treaſon, and hadde iudgemente accordinglye.

Mather, Barney, and Rolſe executed.

The eleuenth of Februarye, Kenelme Barney, and Edmonde Mather, were drawen from the Tower of London, and Henry Rolſe from the Malſhalſey in Southwarke, all three to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for Treaſon, Barney and Mather for conſpiracye, and Rolſe for counterfayting of the Queenes Maieſties hande.

Sir William Paulet Lorde Treaſorer deceaſed.

The tenthe of Marche deceaſſed Sir William Paulet Knyghte, Lorde Sainte John, Earle of Wilſhire, Marques of Wincheſter, Knyghte of the honorable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maieſties priuie Coũſell, and Lorde high Treaſorer of Englande, at his mannour of Baſing.

This worthy man was borne in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1483. the fyrſte yeare of Kyng Richarde the thyrde, and lyued aboute the age of fourteſcore and ſeauen yeares, in ſyxe Kynges & Queenes dayes.

He ſerued fiue Kings and Queenes, Henrye the ſeuenth, Henry the eyght, Edwarde the ſixt, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth. All theſe he ſerued faithfully, and of thẽ was greatly fauoured. Himſelfe did ſee the Children of hys Childrens Children, growing to the number of 103. A rare bleſſing giuen by God to men of his calling.

The fyue and twentith and ſixe and twentith of Marche, by the commaundement of the Queenes Maieſtie hir Counſell, the Citizens of London aſſembling at theyr ſeuerall Halles, the Maiſters collected and choſe out the moſt likely and actiue perſons of euery theyr companies, to the number of three thouſande, whome they appoynted to bee pikemen and ſhotte, the pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corſlets and other furniture, according therevnto: the Gunners hadde euery of them hys Calliuer, with the furniture, and Morians on theyr heads.

To theſe were appoynted dyuers valiaunte Captaynes, who to trayne them vppe in warlike feates, muſtered them thrice euery weeke, ſometymes in the artillerie yarde, teachyng the Gunners to handle theyr peeces, ſometimes at the Myles ende, and in Sainte Georges fielde, teaching them to ſkirmiſhe. In the whyche ſkirmiſhing on the Myles ende the tenth of April, one of the Gunners of the Goldſmithes company was ſhotte in the ſyde with a peece of a ſkouring ſticke, left in one of the Caliuers, whereof hee dyed, and was buryed the twelfth of Aprill in Sainte Paules Churchyarde: all the Gunners marchyng from the Miles ende in battell ray, ſhot off theyr Caliuers at his graue.

On May day they muſtred at Greenewiche before the Queenes Maieſtie, where they ſhewed many warlike feates, but were muche hindered by the weather, whyche was all daye ſhowring, they returned that nyght to London, and were diſcharged on the nexte morrowe.

Earles of Eſſex and Lincolne created.

The fourth of May, Walter Deuerour, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and Viſcount of Hereforde, was created Earle of Eſſex. And Edwarde Fines Lord Clinton and Say, high Admirall of Englande, was created Earle of Lincolne.

Barons made.

The eyght of May, the Parliamente beganne at Weſtminſter, and that ſame daye in the Parliamente, by the Queenes Maieſties Writtes, Sir Henry Compton Knight, Lorde of Compton in the hole, Sir Henrye Cheyney Knyght, Lorde of Todington, Sir William Paulet Knyghte of Baſing, and Sir Henrye Norres Knyght, Lorde of Ricote, were called Barons into the higher houſe.

Roages brent through the eare.

In this Parliament, for ſomuch as yͤ whole Realme of Englande was exceedingly peſtered with Roges, Vagabonds, and ſturdy Beggers, by meanes whereof, dayly happened diuers horrible murthers, theftes, and other greate outrages, it was enacted, that all perſons, aboue the age of fourteene yeares, beeyng taken begging, vagrant, and wandring miſorderly, ſhoulde bee apprehended, whipped, and brente through the griſtle of the right eare, with a hote yron of one ynch compas for the firſt time ſo taken.

Martin Bullocke hanged at the well with two buckettes.

The foure and twentith of May, Martin Bullocke was hanged on a Gibbet by the well with two buckets in Biſhoppes gate ſtreete of London, for robbing, and moſt ſhamefully murthering of a Merchant named Arthur Hall, in the Perſonage of S. Martin by the ſaide well.

This Martin had procured the ſaid Arthur Hall, to come to the ſaide Perſonage, to buy of hym certaine plate, but after the ſaid Arthur had wel viewed the ſame, he ſaid, this is none of your plate, it hathe Doctor Gardners marke, and I knowe it to be his: That is true ſaide Martin Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to ſell it. &c. After this talke, whileſt the ſaide Arthur was waying the plate, the ſame Martin fet out of the Kitchen a thicke waſhing beetle, and comming behinde him, ſtrake the ſaid Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the firſt ſtroke, and then ſtrake him againe, and after tooke the ſayde Arthurs dagger, and ſticked him, & with his knife cutte his throte, and after woulde haue truſſed him in a Danſke cheſt, but the ſame was too ſhorte, whereuppon hee tumbled him downe a paire of ſtaires, and after thinking to haue buried him in the ſeller, his legges being broken with the firſt fall, and ſtiffe, he coulde not drawe hym downe the ſeller ſtaires being winding, wherefore he cut off his legges with an hatchet, and in the ende, truſſed him with ſtrawe in a drye fat, and ſaying it was his apparell and Bookes, cauſed the ſame to be caried to the water ſide, and ſo ſhipped to Rie: but as God would haue it, there was ſuſpition gathered againſt the murtherer, whereby hee was examined before Alderman Branche, then one of the Sheriffes of London, but ſo ſmall likelihoode appeared that he ſhoulde be giltie, that there was an honeſt man dwelling in Saint Laurence Pontney, named Roberte Gee a Clothworker, ſuppoſing the offendor to bee cleere in the matter, vndertooke for hys forthe commyng: whereuppon Bullocke beeyng ſuffered to goe at libertie, ſlipte away, fyrſte to Weſtminſter, and there takyng boate, paſſed vppe the Riuer, and commyng a lande beyonde Kyngſton, paſſed forthe, tyll hee came to Okingham, in the foreſt of Windeſore, an eyght myles beyond the Towne of Windeſor: and from thence (what moued hym, I leaue to the ſecret iudgemente of God) hee came backe againe vnto London, lodging at the redde Lion in Holborne.

In the meane time, the foreſayd Gee, vppon knowledge hadde that Bullocke was withdrawen out of the way, was not only hadde in ſome ſuſpition, but alſo committed to warde: albeit ſo as hee hadde libertie to take order to ſende abroade ſuche as ſhoulde make ſute after Bullocke. And amongſt other that went forth, one of hys ſeruauntes was ſent to Rie, whither the drie fatte was conueyd, and comming thither, the ſame drye fat was opened, where the mangled corps of Hall was found, whereby the trouth of the matter came to lighte, and by the good prouidence of God, the reuealer of ſuche euill factes, Bullocke was at the very ſame tyme diſcouered at the place in Holborne aforementioned, and there apprehended, did receyue as ye haue hearde due puniſhmente for hys heynous and moſt wicked offence.

Earle of Lincolne and other Ambaſſiors into Fraunce.

The ſixe and twentith of May, the right honorable Earle of Lincolne departed from London towards France Embaſſador, being accompanied with the L. Dacres, the Lord Riche, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Sands, and the Lorde Clinton, Sir Arthur Chambernowne, Sir Hierome Bowes, and Sir Edward Haſtings Knightes, with diuers other Gentlemen, who taking Shippe at Douer, cut ouer to Bulloine, where they were very honorably receyued, and from thence conueyed by iourneys to Paris, where they were lodged in a houſe of the kyngs, named Le chaſteau de Louure, being attended on of the Kings officers. Fiue dayes after, they went to the King at a houſe called Madrill, where the King with hys two brethren, the Admirall, and the moſt parte of the nobles of Fraunce mette them a diſtance from the place, and brought them into the houſe where they dyned, and remayned tyl Sonday following, from whẽce the King and his nobles, with the nobles of Englande came to Paris: the King, hys two brethren, and our Ambaſſadour, riding in one Couche togither, and the nobles of Englãd and Fraunce beyng ſo placed alſo in Couches, came to the ſayde Caſtell of Louure, and there dyned.

After dynner, the Kyng, oure Ambaſſadoure, with the nobilitie of both Realmes, went to a Churche named Sainte Germaine, where the French Kyng, hys brethren, and nobilitie, heard Euenſong, the noble men of Englande withdrawing them into a Chappell till Euenſong was done, were then fetched thence by the nobles of Fraunce, to the King and hys brethren that awayted theyr commyng, where was confirmed the league (which had bin concluded at Blois the nineteenth of April, deputies being there for the French party, Francis Momorency, Rainold Birago, Sebaſtian de Laubeſpine, and Paule de Foix. And for the Queene of England, Sir Thomas Smyth, and Maiſter Walſingham Embaſſadors.)

League with Fraunce confirmed in Fraunce.

This being done, they departed withoute the walles of Paris, to a gardeine of pleaſure, where they ſupped. After ſupper, the King departed to his place of Madrill, and the Nobles of England to the Caſtell of Loure. On Monday, the Admirall feaſted the Nobles of Englande. On Tewſday, the Duke of Aniou the Kings brother, and on Wedneſday, the Duke of Alanſon, his yonger brother, and ſo paſſed in feaſting and banquetting, with riche giftes on both partes.

On Friday, the Nobles of Englande tooke leaue of the King, and on Sonday came to S. Denis, and after to Boloine, where they tooke Shyppe, and returned into England the fourth of Iuly.

Duke of Norfolke beheaded

The ſeconde of Iune in the morning betweene the houres of ſeauen and eight, Thomas Howard Duke of Northfolke, was beheaded on a Scaffold new ſet vp on the Tower hill.

French Ambaſſadors.

About the ninth of Iune, Francis Duke of Mõtmorency, chiefe marſhal of France, gouernour and Lieutenant of the Iſle of France, generall to Charles the ninth K. of Fraunce, and Paule de Foix of the priuie Counſell to the ſayd King, and Bertrand de Saligners, Lorde de la Mothefenelon, Knightes of the order of Sainte Michaell, Ambaſſadors for the ſame King, arriued at Douer. The. xiiij. day they ſhot London bridge towardes Somerſet houſe at the Strand where they were lodged. The. xv. daye being Sonday, the ſaide Ambaſſadors repaired to the white hall, where they were honorably receiued of the Queenes Maieſtie, with hir nobilitie, and there in hir graces Chappell, about one of the clocke in the after noone, ye articles of treaty, league or confederacy and ſure friendſhippe (concluded at Bloys the. xix. of Aprill as is aforeſhewed) betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie, and the French K. beeing read, the ſame was by hyr Maieſtie and his Ambaſſadors confirmed to be obſerued and kept, without innouation or violation. &c. The reſt of that day, with great parte of the night following, was ſpente in greate triumph, with ſumptuous banquets.

League with France confirmed at Weſtminſter.

Saint Georges feaſt at Windeſore.

The eyghteenth of Iune, the feaſt of Sainte George was holden at Windeſore, where the Frenche Ambaſſadors were royally feaſted, and Fraunces Duke of Mõtmorency, was ſtaulled Knight of the moſt honorable order of the Garter.

The eyghte and twentith daye of Iune, the forenamed Ambaſſadors departed from London towards Fraunce.

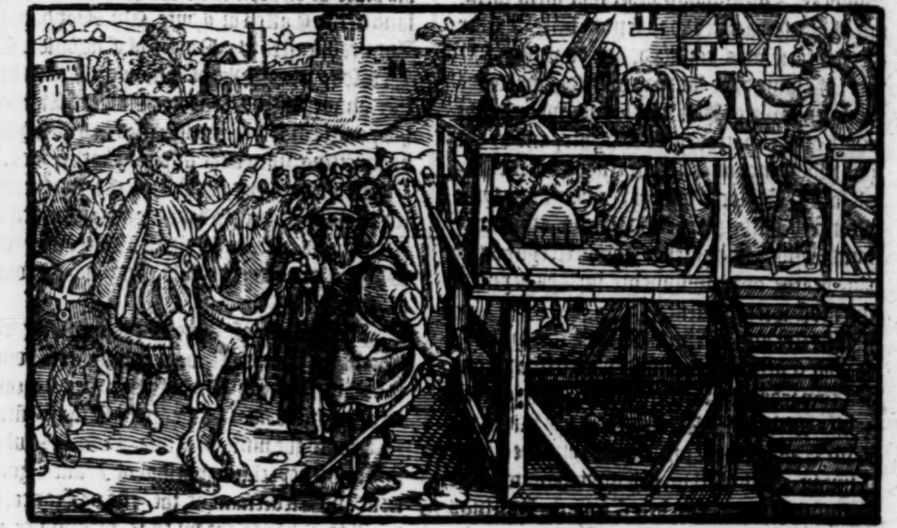
The fourteenth of Iune, Thomas Lorde Wharton deceaſſed in his houſe of Chanõ row at Weſtminſter.

Lord Treaſorer, Lorde priuie ſeale, Lord Chamberlayne, with other officers.

The thirteth day of Iuly, the Queenes Maieſtie at White Hall, made ſir William Cicill Lorde of Burghley, Lord high Treaſorer of England: Lorde William Howard, late Lorde Chamberlaine, Lord priuie ſeale. The Earle of Suſſex, L. Chamberlaine: ſir Thomas Smith, principall Secretary, and Chriſtopher Hatton Eſquier, Captaine of the garde. ⁊c.

Earle of Northumberlande beheaded.

The. xxij. of Auguſt, Thomas Percy, Erle of Northumberland, late of Topclife, who had bene before attainted by Parliamente of hyghe treaſon, as beeing one of the principall conſpiratoures in the late Rebellion, ⁊ nowe brought out of Scotland whether he had fledde, was beheaded at Yorke, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, on a newe Scaffold ſet vp for that purpoſe in the market place.



Engliſhmen ſent to Vlſtar in Irelande.

In thys moneth of Auguſt, Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Queenes Maieſties priuie Counſell, carefully tendering the reformation of Irelande, ſente hys ſonne Thomas Smith Eſquier thither, with a certayne number of Engliſhmenne, to inhabite the Ardes in Vlſter, after the manner of a Colonie vſed by the Romaynes.

An. reg. 51.
A ſtrange Starre appeared.

The. xviij. of Nouember in the mornyng, was ſeene a Starre Northward, very bright ⁊ cleere, in the conſtellation of Caſſiopeia, at the backe of hir Chaire, which with three chiefe fixed ſtarres of the ſaid conſtellation, made a Geometrical figure loſengewiſe, of the learned men called Rombus. This ſtarre in bignes at yͤ firſt appearing, ſeemed bigger than Iupiter, and not much leſſe than Venus, when ſhe ſeemeth greateſt: alſo the ſayde Starre neuer changing hys place, was carried about with the dayly motion of Heauen, as all fixed Starres commonly are, and ſo continued (by little and little to the eye appearing leſſe) for the ſpace of almoſt ſixteene Monethes: at what time it was ſo ſmall, that rather thought by exerciſes of oft viewing moughte imagine the place than any eye could iudge yͤ preſence of the ſame. And one thing is heerein chiefely to bee noted, that (by the ſkyll and conſente of the beſt and moſt experte Mathematicians, whyche obſerued the ſtate, propertie, and other circumſtaunces belongyng to the ſame Starre) it was founde to haue bin in place Celeſtiall, farre aboue the Moone, otherwiſe than euer anye Comete hathe beene ſeene, or naturally can appeare. Therefore it is ſuppoſed, that the ſignification thereof is directed purpoſely and ſpecially to ſome matter, not naturall, but celeſtiall, or rather ſupercaeleſtiall, ſo ſtrange, as from the beginning of the worlde neuer was the like.

Earle of Derby deceaſſed.

The four and twentith of Nouember, Edwarde Earle of Derby, Lorde Stanley, and Strange, of Knocking, Lord and gouernour of the Iſles of Man, Knyghte of the noble order of the Garter, and one of the Queenes Maieſties priuie Counſell, deceaſſed at hys houſe called Latham in Lancaſhire. Hys lyfe and deathe deſeruing commendation, and crauyng memorie to bee imitated, was ſuche as followeth. Hys fidelitie to two Kynges, and two Queenes in daungerous tymes and great Rebellions, in whyche tyme and alwayes as cauſe ſerued, hee was Lieutenaunt of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, and lately offered tenne thouſande menne to the Queenes Maieſtie, of hys owne charge, for the ſuppreſſion of the laſt rebellion. His godly diſpoſition to his tenants, neuer forcing anye ſeruice at theyr handes, but due payment of theyr rent. His liberalitie to ſtrangers, and ſuch as ſhewed themſelues gratefull to him. His famous houſkeeping, and xj. ſcore in checkrol, neuer diſcontinuing the ſpace of twelue yeare. His feeding eſpecially of aged perſons twice a day .lx. and odde, beſides all commers thrice a weeke appoynted for his dealing dayes, and euery good Fryday theſe .xxxv. yeares one with another two thouſande ſeuen hundred, with meate, drinke, money and money worth. There was neuer Gentleman or other, that wayted in his ſeruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwiſe for horſe and man. His yearely porcion for the diſpences of his houſe foure thouſand pounde. His cunning in ſetting bones diſioynted or broke, his chirurgerie and deſire to helpe the poore. His deliuerie of his George and Seale to the Lord Straunge, with exhortation that he might keepe it ſo vnſpotted in fidelitie to his Prince as he had, and his ioy that he dyed in the Queenes fauour. Hys ioyfull partyng this worlde, his taking leaue of all his ſeruantes by ſhaking of handes, and his remembrance to the laſt day.

Hall and Wilkinſon executed.

The .xxviij. of Nouember, Iohn Hall late of Battell in Suſſex Gentleman, and Oſwolde Wilkinſon, late of Yorke, and Gaylour of York Caſtel, (being before arraigned and condemned of treaſon) were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered.

Great froſt & a ſharpe winter.

This yeare a greate and ſharpe froſt almoſt continually laſted, from before the feaſt of all Saintes, till after the feaſt of the Epiphanie of our lord, with ſomtime great and deepe ſnowes, and ſometymes raines, which freeſed as faſt as the ſame fell to the grounde, wherethrough at Wrotham in Kent, and many other places, the armes and boughes of Trees being ouercharged with Ice brake off, and fell from the ſtockes of the ſame Trees. Alſo the wynde contynued North, and Eaſt, till after the Aſcention day, with ſharpe froſtes and ſnowes, whereby followed a late ſpring.

1573

L. priuie ſeale deceaſſed.

The twelfth of Ianuarie, William Lorde Howarde, Baron of Effingham Lorde priuie ſeale, knight of the noble order of the Garter, and one of the priuie Counſaile, deceaſſed at Hampton Court.

Erle of Worceſter ſent into Fraunce.

The .xviij. of Ianuarie, William Lord Somerſet Earle of Worceſter, began his iourney toward Fraunce, to the Chriſtning of the kings daughter there, in ſtead of the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande, who ſent with him a Font of Golde for that purpoſe, weying .326. ounces. The ſayde Earle with many of his companie were robbed vpon the ſea by Pirates of muche of theyr baggage, and three or foure of theyr men ſlaine. In Fraunce he and his trayne were honourablye receyued. At the Chriſtning hee gaue the childe to name Elizabeth. They returned into England the ſixe and twentith of Februarie.

Erle of Worceſter robbed on the ſea.

The narrow ſeas ſcoured.

In the Moneth of Februarie through ſundrie heynous cōplaints brought to the Queenes Maieſtie and hir Counſaile of Pirats that kept the narrow Seas, doing many robberies, as alſo the robbing of the Earle of Worceſter (as is aforeſayde) hir highneſſe, by the aduiſe of hir honourable counſaile, tooke order with the Lord Admirall of England, that he ſhould ſend to the ſeas ſhippes and men to ſcowre the narrow ſeas, and to apprehende ſo many Pyrates ſhippes as might be mette with. And for the better doing thereof, it pleaſed hir Maieſtie to ſende one of hir owne ſhippes, named the Swallowe to bee the Admirall, vnder the charge of William Holſtock of London Eſquire, controller of hir highneſſe ſhippes, who had with him the Gyllian, the Barke Garet, and the Barke of Yarmouth, and three hundred .lx. able Mariners, Gunners, and ſouldiours in the ſayde three ſhips, and one bark which ſcoured the narrow ſea, from the North forelande, as farre Weſtwarde as Falmouth in Cornwall, and tooke .xx. ſhippes and barkes of ſundrie Nations, *videlicet*, Engliſhe, Frenche, and Flemings, (but all Pirates) and in faſhion of warre. He apprehended in thoſe ſhippes and barkes to the number of .ix. hundred men of all nations, and ſent them to warde to Sandwith, Douer, Wight, and Portſmouth, (whereof three of them that robbed the Erle of Worceſter, were ſhortly after executed at Wight.) Alſo the ſayde William Holſtocke did reſcue and take from the aboueſayd Pirates ſhippes, xv. other marchant ſhips laden with marchandiſes, that were theyr pryſes, being of ſundrie Nations, and ſet at libertie the ſaid .xv. Marchant ſhippes and goods: which done, he returned to Porteſmouth, and there ended his voyage in March.

Pirates on the weſt ſeas.

Pirates executed.

A man hanged in S. Georges fielde.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chaynes in S. Georges fielde beyonde Southwarke of London, for murthering the Gaylour of Horſham in the ſame field.

Erle of Kent deceaſed.

The .xvij. of March, deceaſed Reynald Gray of Ruthen, Erle of Kent at Herneſey, and was buryed at Saint Giles without Creplegate. Aboute the ſame tyme dyed Edmonde Lorde Chandos.

George Saunders murthered at Shooters hill.

The .xxv. of Marche being Wedneſday in Eaſter weke, and the feaſt of the Annunciation of our Ladie, George Browne cruelly murthered two honeſt men neare to Shooters hill in

Kent, the one of them was a wealthie Marchant of London named George Saunders, the other John Beane of Wolwich, whiche murther was commytted in manner as followeth.

On Tueſday in Eaſter Weeke (the .xxiiij. of Marche) the ſayde George Browne receyuing ſecrete intelligence by letter from Miſtreſſe Anne Drurie, that Maiſter Saunders ſhoulde lodge the ſame night at the houſe of one Maiſter Barnes in Wolwich, and from thence goe on foote to Saint Mary Cray. The next morning he lay in waite for him by the way, a little from Shooters hill, and there ſlue both him and John Bean ſeruant to maiſter Barnes, but John Bean hauing .x. or .xj. woundes, and being left for dead, by Gods prouidence did reuiue againe, and creeping awaye on all foure, was founde by an olde man and his Maiden, and conueyed to Wolwich, where hee gaue euident markes of the Murtherer.

Immediately vpon the deed doing, Browne ſent Myſtreſſe Drurie worde thereof by Roger Clement (among them called truſtie Roger) hee himſelf repayred forthwith to ẏ court at Greenwich, & anon after him came thither the report of the murther alſo. Then departed he thence vnto London, and came to the houſe of Myſtreſſe Drurie, where though hee ſpake not perſonallye with hir, after conference had with hir ſeruaunt truſtie Roger, ſhe prouided him .xx. pounde that ſame day, for the which ſhe layde certaine plate of hir owne, and of Miſtreſſe Sanders to gage. On the next morning being Thurſday (hauing intelligence that Browne was ſought for) they ſent him ſixe poundes more by the ſame Roger, warning him to ſhift for himſelf by flight, which thing he forſlowed not to doe, neuertheleſſe, the Lordes of the Queenes Maieſties Counſaile, cauſed ſo ſpeedie and narrowe ſearch to bee made for him, that vpon the .xxviij. of the ſame Moneth he was apprehended in a mans houſe of his owne name at Rocheſter, and beeing brought backe againe to the Court, was examined by the Counſaille, vnto whom he confeſſed the deed, as you haue heard, and that hee had oftentymes before pretended and ſought to doe the ſame, by the inſtigation of the ſaid myſtreſſe Drurie, who had promiſed to make a maryage betweene him and myſtreſſe Saunders (whome hee ſeemed to loue exceſſiuely) neuertheles he proteſted (though vntruly) that myſtreſſe Sanders was not priuy nor conſenting therevnto. Vpon his confeſſion he was arraigned at the kings Bench in Weſtminſter Hall the .xviij. of Aprill, where he acknowledged himſelfe guiltie, and was condemned as principall of the murther, according to which ſentence he was executed in Smithfielde, on Monday the .xx. of Aprill: at which time alſo vntruly (as ſhe hirſelfe confeſſed afterward) he laboured by all meanes to cleare miſtreſſe Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him, and then flung himſelfe beſydes the ladder: Hee was after hanged vp in Chaynes neare vnto the place where he had done the fact.

George Brow
hanged in
Smithfield.

In the meane time miſtreſſe Drurie and hir man being examined, as well by their own confeſſions, as by falling out of the matter, and alſo by Brownes appeachment thought culpable, were committed to warde. And after miſtreſſe Saunders being deliuered of childe, and churched, (for at the tyme of hir huſbandes death ſhe looked preſently to lie down) was vpon miſtreſſe Druries mans confeſſion, and other great likelihoodes, likewiſe committed to the Tower, and on Wedneſday the ſixt of May, arraigned with miſtreſſe Drurie at the Guildhall. The effect of whoſe inditement was, that they by a Letter written had beene procurers of the ſayde murther, and knowing the murther done, had by money and otherwyſe relieued the murtherer, wherevnto they pleaded not giltie. Howbeit they were both condemned as acceſſaries to maiſter Sanders death, and executed in Smithfield the .xiij. of May, beeing Wedneſday in the Whitſunweeke, at which time they both confeſſed themſelues guiltie of the fact. Truſtie Roger, myſtreſſe Druries man was arraigned on Fryday the .viij. of May, and being there condemned as acceſſarie, was executed with his miſtreſſe, at the time and place aforeſayd.

Anne Sanders,
Anne Drurie,
& truſtie Roger hanged.

Not long after, Anthonie Browne brother to the forenamed George Browne, was for notable felonies conueyd from Newgate to York, and there hanged.

Anthonye
Browne hanged at Yorke.

The .x. of Aprill ſeuen pyrates, which among other, had beene taken on the North ſeas, were led from Southwarke to Wapping, and fiue of them were there hanged, the other two had theyr pardon at the gallowes.

Pirats hanged
at Wapping.

The .xvij. of Aprill, a Chandlers wife without Aldredes gate of London, who had practiſed hir huſbandes death by poyſoning and other wayes, was ſet on the Pyllorie in Cheape, wyth three other women, who had beene of hir counſayle, two of them were wyth hir there whipped.

Foure women
on the Pillory

Our Queene at the requeſt of hir couſin the yong King of Scottes, appoynted ſr William Drurie knight marſhal of Barwike, to paſſe into Scotland with a thouſande ſouldiours, and fiue hundred Pioners, and alſo certaine peeces of Artillerie, to helpe by ſiege and force of Canon to conſtrayne thoſe that kepte the Caſtell of Edenbourgh agaynſt the ſayde King to yeelde the ſame into his handes.

Here

Herevpon the ſayde ſir William Drurie, hauing with him ſir Frauncis Ruſſell, ſir George Carie, ſir Henrie Lee, maiſter Thomas Cicill, maiſter Michaell Carie, Captaine Brickwell, Captaine Read, Captaine Erington maiſter of the Ordinance and Prouoſt Marſhall, captaine Pickman, captaine Parley, Captaine Game, Captaine Wood, Captaine Caſe, Captayne Strelley, maiſter Thomas Sutton, maiſter Cotton, maiſter Kelway, maiſter Dier, maiſter Tilney, and others, with the number of the ſouldiours and Pioners afore mentioned, paſſed frõ Barwik, and by conuenient iourneys came vnto Lieth, from whence the .xxv. of Aprill all the foote bandes marched to Edenbourgh, at whom were ſhot after they entred the towne, dyuerſe and ſundrie Canon ſhottes out of the Caſtell, which did little harme to any of them (thankes be to God) ſauing that captaine Brickwell was hurt in the face and handes with ſtones rayſed by the ſayde Canon ſhotte. The ſame day the Caſtell was ſommoned by a Meſſenger in maner as followeth.

Sir William Kirkaudie, ſometyme of Graunge, knight, for as muche as the Queenes Maieſtie my ſoueraigne Ladie, vpon the earneſt requeſt of hir deare couſin the King of Scottes your ſoueraigne Lorde, made to hir highneſſe by his Regent, Nobilitie, and ſtates of this realme, after all good meanes vſed to haue reduced you to dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not duly hearkned vnto, to the only hinderance of the vniuerſall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highneſſe Caſtell, meaning as it ſeemeth to reſerue the ſame for a receptacle of forraine forces, to the manifeſt daungers both of this Realme, and of my ſoueraignes, and therefore neceſſarie to remoue ſo perillous a danger to both the realmes: for which conſideration, hir maieſtie hath ſente hir ayde and ſuccours of men, Ordinaunce, and Munition, vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the ſayde Caſtell, to the ſayde Kings vſe and behoofe: and therefore according to hir Maieſties commaundement and Commiſſion, this ſhall be in due maner to warne, require, and ſommon you, that you render and delyuer the ſayde Caſtell, wyth the whole Ordinance, Artillerie, Munitions, Iewels, Houſeholde ſtuffe, and ſuche other implements within the ſame to mee, to the vſe and behoofe of the King your ſoueraigne, and his regent in his name, immediately after this my letter of ſommons or knowledge of the ſame, ſhall come vnto you: which if you obey, as of duetie you ought, then will I in hir Maieſties name interpone my ſelfe to trauaile with the Regent, Counſaile, and Nobilitie here, for the ſafetie of your lyues, &c. Otherwiſe if you continue in your former obſtinacie, abyding the Canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauour: but you and the reſt within that Caſtell to be purſued to the vttermoſt, and holden as enimies to hir maieſtie, your owne ſoueraigne and Countrey. Geuen at Edenburgh by me ſir William Drurie knight, generall of hir Maieſties forces nowe in Scotlande, thys .xxv. of Aprill. 1573.

The Larde of Graunge Captaine of the Caſtell, notwithſtanding this ſommonaunce, refuſed vtterly to yeelde the fortreſſe, who thereupon receyued ſuch aunſwere from the Generall, as ſtoode not greatly to his contentation. Herevpon were the Pioners ſet in hande to caſt Trenches, and to rayſe Mountes in places conuenient to plant the Ordinaunce vpon, as by the draught of the plot therof, and herevnto annexed may appeare.

They within ſpared not to beſtow ſuch ſhot as they had, both great and ſmall, verie roundly, as well at the Pioners as ſouldiours that were appoynted to garde them: inſomuch that dyuerſe were hurt, and ſome ſlaine, before the ſame Trenches and Mountes might bee brought to any perfection, although no diligence was wanting to haſten the ſame.

Amongſt other, one Duberie Lieutenant to Captaine Strelley, was ſtriken with a ſmall ſhot, the firſt day that the ſiege thus began, and dyed of the hurt.

The laſt of Aprill alſo, one maiſter Maunſfield a gentleman, ſeruing vnder captaine Read, was hurt, but yet without daunger of death.

The .viij. of May, maiſter Neuill a Pencioner was alſo hurt.

Thus diuerſe were hurt, and ſome ſlaine, both Engliſhmen and Scottes without, and they within eſcaped not altogither free, eſpecially after that the Trenches and Mountes were brought in ſtate to defende the aſſaylantes, who watching and warding in the trenches, anſwered them within the Caſtell verie roughly. At length the great Ordinance was placed on the Mountes, and in the Trenches, ſo that vpon the .xvij. of May there were .xxx. Canons, ſhotte off, agaynſt the Caſtell, and ſo well beſtowed in batterie at Dauids tower, that by the ruynes thereof then and after the force of the Engliſh Canons was eaſie to conſider.

Dauids tower.

The .xviij. xix. and .xx. of May, the Canons and demie Canons, were not ydle, but the .xxi. the whole batterie beganne on eche ſide the Caſtell, from the Trenches and Mountes verie hotely, and ſtill they within ceaſſed not to make anſwere againe with their artillerie, killing and hurting diuerſe, both Engliſhmen and Scottes, but ſuch was the diligence of the Engliſh Gunners

The batterie begon on eche ſide the caſtel.

ners, encouraged wyth the preſence of the Generall and others, that they diſplaced the Ordinaunce in the Caſtell, and ſtroke one of theyr chiefe Canons iuſt in the mouth, whereby the ſame was broken in peeces, and the ſhyuers ſlue aboute their eares that ſtoode neare it, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhmen reſted the more in quiet continually after, ſo long as the ſiege endured: Albeit with theyr ſmall ſhotte and ſome tyme wyth theyr great, they wythin ſlue and hurt dyuerſe as well Gunners as other of the Engliſhmen and Scottes in the Mountes and Trenches.

Peter Burford and Clement Wood gunners ſlaine.

The. xxvj. of May, the Aſſault was giuen at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre, which by the hardie manhoode of the aſſaylants was wonne, and was no ſooner entred by the Engliſhmen, but that the Generals enſigne was ſhewed and ſpred vpon the front and toppe thereof, to the great diſcomfort of them within the Caſtell.

The Spurre woonne.

In the meane tyme, whyleſt thoſe were appoynted to gyũe the aſſault thus to the Spurre, there were certaine Engliſhe men and Scottes commaunded to make a countenaunce of an aſſault at the Weſt ſyde of the Caſtell, whereby thoſe that aſſaulted the Spurre, myght the more eaſilye obteyne theyr purpoſe, but they raſhlye aduenturing further than they had in commaundement, were beaten backe and repulſed, with twentie and eyght, or thirtie of their companie Scottes and Engliſh, ſlaine and hurte.

A noble courage forgitting his dutie.

Sir Frauncis Ruſſell for diſobeying the generals commaundement, in going to the aſſault at the Spurre, contrarie to his generals will and pleaſure (hauing an eſpeciall care for the ſafetie of his perſon) vpon his returne from that ſeruice was by the Generals commaundement committed to warde.

They within the caſtell demaund parley.

Moreouer the ſame day towardes night, they within the Caſtell by a drumme demaunded parley, which being graunted, with a ſurſeance of all hoſtilitie from that houre (which was about fiue of the clocke in the after noone of that day, being the. xxvj. of May) vnto the. xxviij. day of the ſame Moneth, the Larde of Peterroe was let downe by a rope from the Caſtell: and afterwardes the Larde of Graunge himſelfe, the Captaine of the Caſtell, and Robert Meluin came likewiſe downe to talke with the generall, and ſuch other as were appoynted to accompanie him. Herevpon at length, to witte the ſayd xxviij. of May, the Caſtell was ſurrendred into the handes of Sir William Drurie, Generall of the Engliſh forces there. And ſo it reſted in his poſſeſſion for the tyme, and his Enſigne was ſet vppe, and ſpredde during the ſame time in ſundrie places of the Caſtell, and afterwardes, to the greate honour of England, by him it was delyuered vnto the vſe of the king of Scottes.

Queene Elizabeth a ſaythholder.

The. xvj. of Iune the priſoners were deliuered by the ſayde ſir William Drurie, in preſence of ſundrie Scottes and Engliſhmen vnto the handes of the Regent, and that done, the ſame day the ſayde ſir William Drurie wyth hys power departed homewardes to Barwike.

The names of the priſoners were theſe.

Sir William Kirkaudie Larde of Graunge, and Capitayne of the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.
The Lorde Hume.
The Lord of Ledington, Secretarie.
The Lard of Peterroe, Conſtable of the caſtell.
The Counteſſe of Arguile.
The Ladie of Ledington.
The Ladie of Graunge, with others.

But yet the priuate ſouldiours, and others of the meaner ſort, were ſuffred to depart with bagge and baggage.

Thus by the valiant prowes, and worthie policie of ſir William Drurie, our Queenes Maieſties Generall, and other the Captaines and ſouldiours vnder his charge, was that Caſtell of Edenbourgh wonne (as before yee haue heard) which by the common opinion of men, was eſteemed impregnable, and not to bee taken by force: inſomuche as many thought it tooke the name of the Mayden Caſtell, for that it had not beene wonne at any tyme before, except by famine or practiſe: but ſuche is the force of the Canon in this age, that no Fortreſſe, be it neuer ſo ſtrong, is able of it ſelfe to reſyſt the puyſſaunce thereof, if the ſituation be of that nature, as the grounde aboute it will ſerue to conuey the great artillerie to bee planted in batterie agaynſt it.

Haile in Northamtonſhire.

The ſeuenth of Iune, betwene the houres of one and two of the clocke in the after noone, a great tempeſt of haile and raine hapned at Toceſter in Northamtonſhire, wherethrough ſixe houſes in that towne were borne downe, and fourtene more ſore periſhed with the waters which roſe of that tempeſt: the hailſtones were ſquare, and ſixe ynches about, one childe was there drowned, and many ſheepe with other cattell, which when the water was fallen, many of them were lying on the highe hedges, where the waters had left them.

Thomas Woodhouſe.

The. xvj. of Iune, Thomas Woodhouſe, a Prieſt of Lincolnſhire, who had laine long priſoner in the Fleete, was arraigned in the Guildhall of London, and there condemned of highe treaſon, who had iudgement to bee hanged and

quartered

The names of ſuch Gentlemen and Captaines as had *charge at the ſiege and wynning of Edenburgh* Caſtell. Anno.1573.

SIr VVilliam Drurie generall of hir maieſties forces there.

Sir Frauncis Ruſſel Knight.

Maiſter Henrie Killigrew hir maieſties ambaſſadoure at that preſent in Scotland.

Captaine Reade.

Captaine Erington maiſter of the ordinance and prouoſt Marſhal, by whoſe skilful induſtrie and knowledge got by diligent foremarking the ſtate and manner of that fortreſſe, the enterpriſe was the more ſpedily atchieued.

Captaine Pikeman.

Captaine Gamme.

Captaine VVood.

Captaine Caſe.

Captaine Sturley.

Maiſter Thomas Bartott.

The names of ſuche Gentlemen as went thyther to ſerue of their owne free vvilles.

Sir George Carie Knight.
Sir Henry Lee Knight.
Maiſter Thomas Cecil.
Maiſter Michael Carie.
Maiſter Henry Carie.
Maiſter VVilliam Knolles.
Maiſter Thomas Sutton.
Maiſter Cotton.
Maiſter Kelway.
Maiſter Dier.
Maiſter Tilney.
Maiſter VVilliam Killigrew
Maiſter VVilliam Selby,
and diuerſe other.

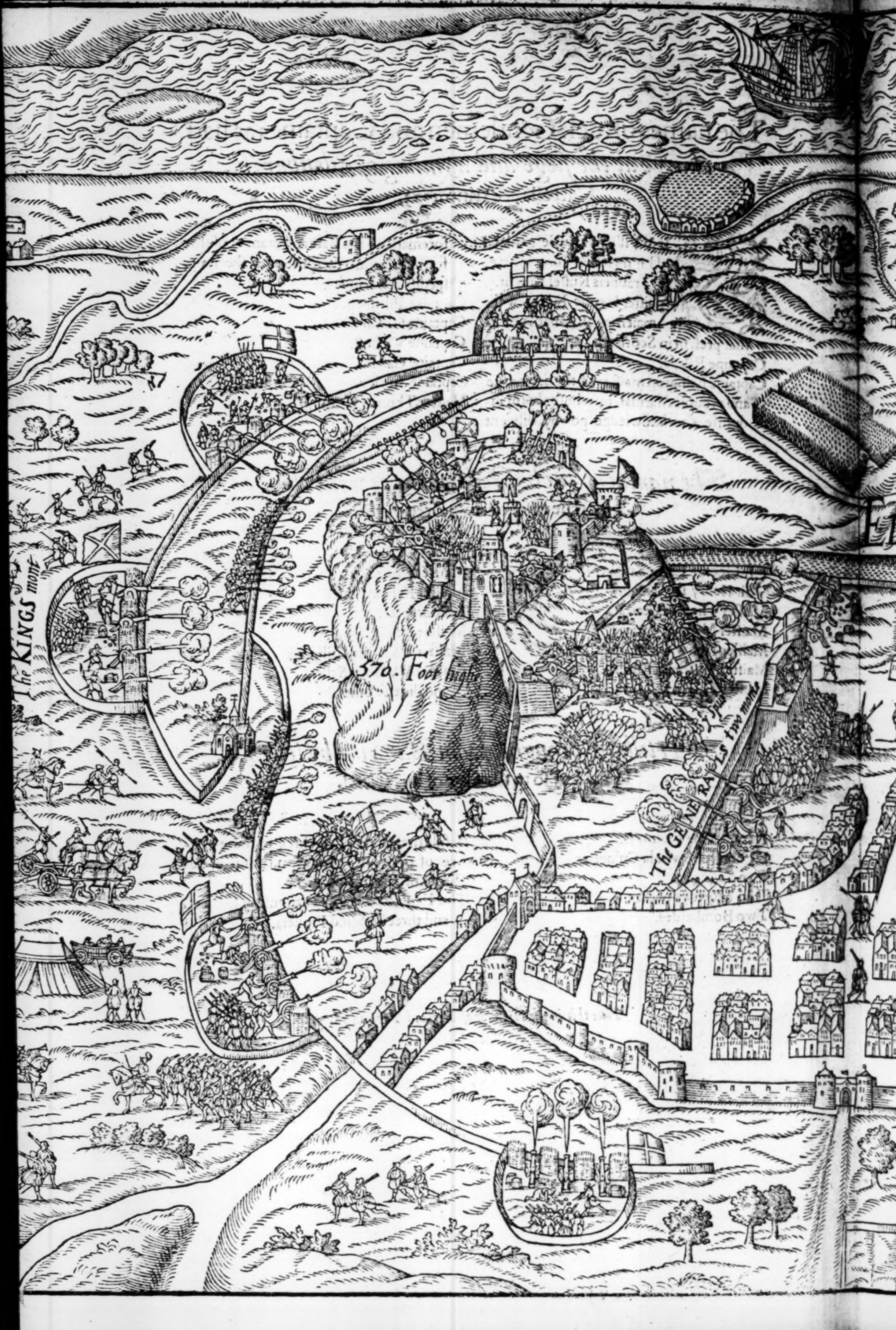
Artillerie brought from Barwike by ſea to Leith, and ſo to the ſiege of this Caſtel.

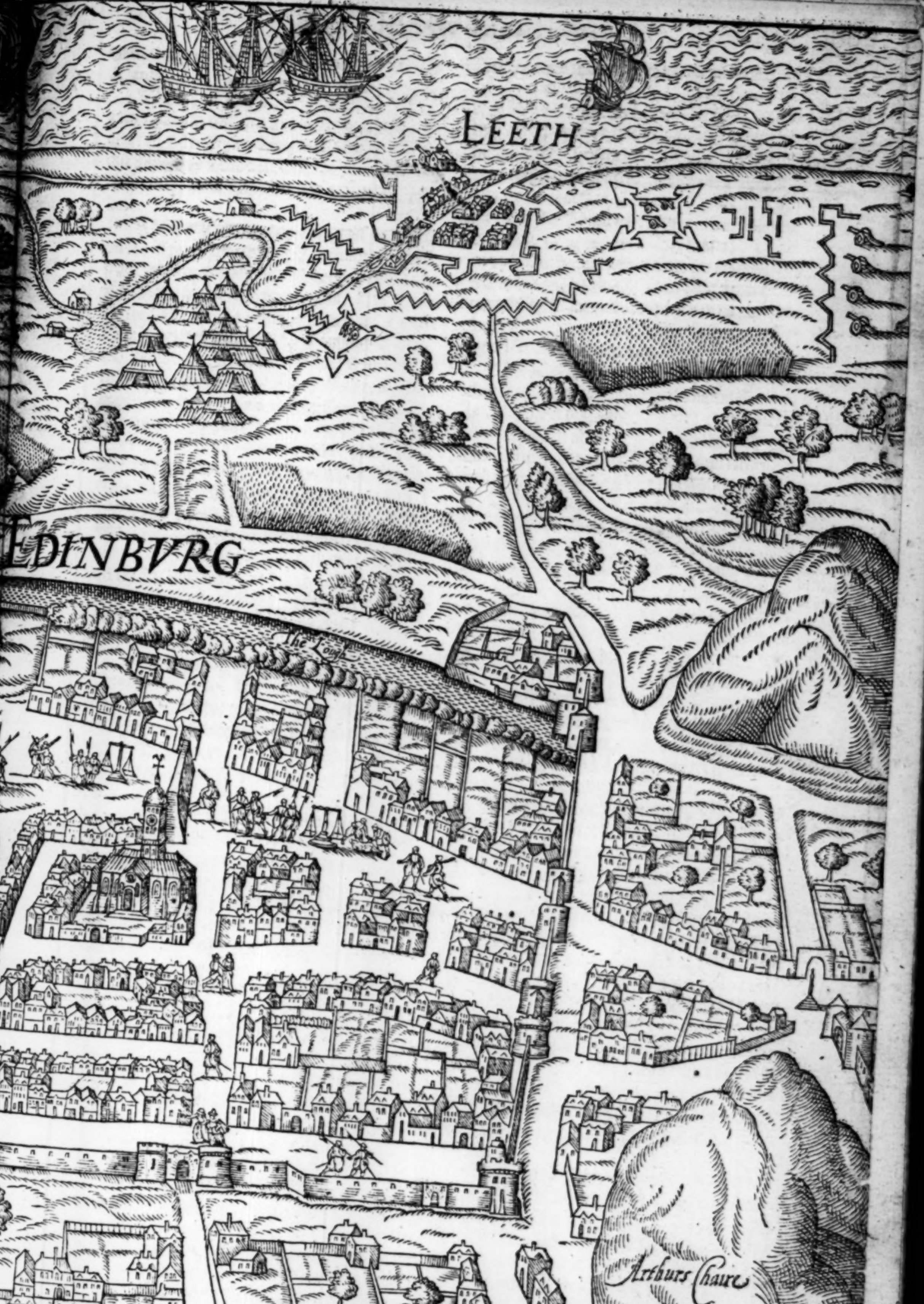
Sixe double Cannons.
Fourteene whole Culuerins.
Two Sacres.
Two Mortuys peeces.
Two Bombardes.

Beſide theſe there were three or foure Peeces of the Scottiſh Kings, and foure or fiue bands of Scottes Souldiers.

The Engliſh power was a thouſand ſouldiers and three hundred Pioners.

Place this in the Hiſtorie of England Page,1868.


The KINGS mont
570. Foot high
The Spur
The GENERALS two mont


LEETH
EDINBVRG
The Lough
Arthurs Chaire
CT

quartered, and was executed at Tiburne the.xix of Iune.

le of Eſſex
d the Lorde
che with o-
erſayled in-
Irelande.

The.xvj. of Auguſt, Walter Erle of Eſſex, accompanyed with the Lorde Riche, and diuerſe other Gentlemen, embarked themſelues in ſeuerall ſhippes at Leirpoole, and the winde ſitting verie well, tooke theyr voyage towardes Irelande.

The Earle after many and great daungers on the Sea, at length wan Copemans Ilande, from whence in a Piniſe of Captaine Perces, he was brought ſafe to Knockfergus. The Lorde Riche with the like daunger landed at Caſtell Killiſe, where being met by Captaine Malbie, maiſter Smith, and maſter Moore Pencioners, was conducted to Inche Abbay maiſter Malbis houſe, where he had in a readineſſe on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horſemen for theyr ſafegarde to Knockfergus, beſide fiftie Kernes which went a foote through the Woods: there was among theſe a thirtie Bowes with a Bagpype, the reſt had Dartes. Sir Bryan Makephelin had preyed the Countrey, and taken away what was to be caryed or dryuen, but on the ſixt of September he came to Knockfergus, to the Earle of Eſſex, and there made his ſubmiſſion: the number of kine were eſteemed thirtie thouſand, beſides ſheepe and ſwine.

After him Ferdorough Macgillaſticke, the blinde Scots ſonne, Roze, Oge, Macwilline did the like, and diuerſe other ſent their Meſſengers to the erle, to ſignifie that they were at his lordſhips diſpoſition, as the Baron of Dongarrowe Condenell, Odonell, and the captaine of Kylulto.

le of Eſſex
ptaine gene-
all of Vlſter
Ireland.

The Erle of Eſſex hauing the Countrey of Clanyboy & other, the Q. Maieſtie of England directed hir letters to the Lorde Deputie of Irelande, willing him to make by Commiſſion the Earle of Eſſex Captaine generall of the Iriſhe Nation in the Prouince of Vlſter, and to deuide the Countrey wonne, Clanyboy and elſe where. &c.

ter Burchet
ounded M.
wkins.

eter Burchet
und to be an
retike.

Peter Burchet abiured his hereſie, and ſubmitted hi[illegible]ſelfe to doe penance.

The.xj. of October, Peter Burchet Gentleman of the middle Temple, with his Dagger ſodainly aſſayled, cruelly wounded, and ment to haue murdered a ſeruiceable Gentleman named Iohn Hawkins eſquire, as he with ſir William Winter, and an other gentlemen, rode towards Weſtminſter, in the highe ſtreete neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London, for which fact the ſayde Burchet beeing apprehended and committed to the Tower, was after examined concerning the fact, who aunſwered that he tooke the ſayde Maiſter Hawkins for an other Gentleman, and being further examined, he was founde to holde certaine erronious opinions, for the which hee was ſent to the Lollards Tower, from thence being called into the conſiſtorie of Poules Church, before the right reuerend father Edwin Biſhop of London, and other, and by them examined, he ſtoode in his opinions, till the ſentence of death, as an heretike was readie to haue beene pronounced agaynſte him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earneſt perſwaſions of dyuerſe learned men, who tooke great paynes in that matter, hee renounced, forſwore, and abiured his opinions for erronious and damnable, promiſing neuer to returne to them, and alſo willingly to do and perfourme all ſuch penance as the Biſhop his Ordinarie ſhould enioyne him.

Peter Burchet killeth his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged.

The.ix. of Nouember, the ſayd Peter Burchet was remoued from the Lollards Tower, to the Tower of London, where on the nexte morrow about noone, whileſt one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doore after him, leauing an other with him called Hugh Longworth, who ſtoode at the Windowe reading in the Bible, the ſayd Burchet walking vp and downe in the Chamber, tooke a Billets ende out of the fire, and knocked the ſayd Longworth on the head, and left not till he had ſtryken him ſtarke deade, for the which on the next morrow he was arraigned and condemned at Weſtminſter, and then returned to Somerſet houſe, where he remayned that night, and on the next morrow being the twelfe of Nouember, he was brought to the Gybet, where after his right hande being ſtriken off, and nayled to the Gibet, he was hanged nigh the place where he wounded maiſter Hawkins.

An. reg. 16.

Dearth without ſcarcitie.

This yeare aboute Lammas, wheate was ſolde at London for three ſhillings the Buſhell, but ſhortly after it was raiſed to foure ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, ſixe ſhillings, and before Chriſtmaſſe to a Noble, and ſeuen ſhillings, whiche ſo continued long after: biefe was ſolde for twentie pens, and two and twenty pens the ſtone, and all other fleſh and white meates at an exceſſiue price, all kinde of ſaltfiſhe verie deare, as fiue hearings two pence. &c. yet greate plentie of freſhe fiſhe, and oft tymes the ſame verie cheape: peaſe at foure ſhillings the buſhell, Otemeale at foure ſhillings eight pens. Bay ſalt at three ſhillings the Buſhell. &c. All this dearth notwithſtanding, (thankes bee gyuen to God) there was no want of any thing to hym that wanted not money.

1574

Prieſts ſaying Maſſe apprehended.

The fourth of Aprill being Palme Sunday there was taken ſaying of Maſſe in the Lorde Morleys houſe within Algate of London, one Albon Dolman Prieſt, and the Ladie Morley with hir children, and diuerſe others were alſo taken hearing of the ſayde Maſſe. There was alſo taken the ſame day and houre for ſaying

Maſſe at the Ladie Gilfordes in Trinitie lane, one Oliuer Heywood Prieſt: and for hearing of the ſayde Maſſe, the ſayde Ladie Gilforde with diuerſe other Gentlewomen. There was alſo taken at the ſame inſtaunt in the Ladie Browns houſe in Cow lane for ſaying Maſſe, one Thomas Heywood Prieſt, and one Iohn Cowper Prieſt, with the Ladie Browne, and diuerſe other were likewiſe taken being hearers of the ſayde Maſſe. All which perſons were for the ſame offences, indicted, conuicted, and had the lawe according to the ſtatute in that caſe prouided. There was alſo founde in their ſeueral Chapels, diuerſe latin bookes, Beades, Images, Palmes, Chalices, Croſſes, veſtmentes, Pixes, Paxes, and ſuch like.

A moonſtrus fiſh (but not ſo monſtrous as ſome reported) for his eies being great, were in his heade and not in his backe.

The.ix. of Iuly at ſix of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet beſides Rameſgate, in the Pariſh of Saint Peter vnder the Cliffe, a monſtrous fiſh or Whale of the Sea did ſhoote himſelfe on ſhore, where for want of water, beating himſelfe on the ſandes, hee dyed about ſixe of the clocke on the next morning, before which tyme he roared, and was heard more than a myle on the lande.

The length of this fiſh was xxij. yardes, the nether iaw.xij.foote the opening, one of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than ſixe horſe in a cart could draw, a man ſtoode vpright in the place from whence the eye was taken, the thickneſſe from the backe whereon he lay, to the toppe of his bellie (which was vpwarde) was fourtene foote, his taile of the ſame breadth: betwene his eies.xij. foote, three men ſtood vpright in his mouth, ſome of the ribbes were ſixe foote long, his tongue was.xv. foote long, his lyuer two Cart load, into his noſtrels any man might haue crept: the oyle being boyled out of the head was Parmaſite, the oyle of his bodie was whytiſh, and ſweete of taſte.

Obſequie at Paules for the French king.

The ſeuenth of Auguſt, a ſolemne Obſequie was kept in Saint Paules Church at London for Charles the ninth King of Fraunce, who deceaſſed on the twentie day of May laſt before paſſed.

Agnes Bridges and Rachell Pinder at Paules croſſe for counterfeiting to be poſſeſſed

The.xv. of Auguſt being Sunday, Agnes Bridges, a Mayde about the age of.xx. yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wenche about eleuen or twelue yeares olde, who both of them had counterfeyted to be poſſeſſed by the Diuell (whereby they had not onely marueylouſly deluded many people, both men and women, but alſo dyuerſe ſuch perſons, as otherwiſe ſeemed to bee of good witte and vnderſtanding) ſtoode before the preacher at Paules Croſſe, where they acknowledged theyr hypocriticall counterfeyting, with penitent behauiours, requyring forgiueneſſe of God and the worlde, and the people to praye for them. Alſo their ſeuerall examinations and confeſſions were there openly read by the Preacher, and afterwardes publiſhed in prynt, for the further poſteritie hereafter to beware of the lyke deceyuers.

A lad of.xvi yeares olde drowned in chanell in London.

The fourth of September in the after noone, ſuch a ſtorme of raine happened at London, as the like of long time coulde not bee remembred, wherethrough the Chanels of the Citie ſodainly ryſing, ranne with ſuch a forceable courſe towardes the common ſhores, that a lad about the age of.xviij.yeres, minding to haue lept ouer the Chanell neare vnto Dowgate, was borne ouer with the ſtreame, and by the ſame caryed frō the Condupt there, towardes the Thames, with ſuch a ſwiftneſſe, that no man with ſtaues or other wayes coulde ſtaye him, tyll hee came agaynſt a Cart wheele that ſtoode in the water gate, afore whiche time hee was drowned and ſtarke dead.

No Maiors feaſt at the Guildhall.

This yeare the Maior of London went by water to Weſtmynſter, and there tooke his othe as hath beene accuſtomed: he kept no feaſt at the Guildhall, although great prouiſion had beene made for that purpoſe, but dyned at his owne houſe with his brethren the Aldermen: the companies dyned at their ſeuerall halles. This was done by appoyntment of the Queenes maieſties Counſaile, to auoyd infection of the plague, like to haue encreaſed by comming togither of ſuch a multitude. This weeke, from the.xxij. vnto the.xxviij. of October, deceaſed in the Citie and liberties, conteyning.Cviij. Pariſhes, of all diſeaſes, one hundred three ſcore and ſixe, of the which number.lxxv. were accounted to die of the plague.

Terme adio ned.

Michaelmaſſe terme, which had beene adiourned by Proclamation, began at Weſtminſter on the ſixt of Nouember.

Two tides i one houre.

The ſame ſixte day in the morning, there happened two great tydes at London, in the ryuer of Thames, the firſt by courſe, the other within one houre after, which ouerflowed the Marſhes with many vaultes and ſellers neare adioyning.

Fierie impreſ ſions maruey lous.

The.xiiij. of Nouember being Sunday, about midnight following, diuerſe ſtraunge impreſſions of fire and ſmoke were ſeene in the ayre to proceede forth of a blacke clowde in the north towardes the South, which ſo continued till the next morning that it was day light.

The next night following, the heauens from all parts did ſeeme to burne marueylous ragingly, and ouer our heades, the flames from the horizon rounde about ryſing did meete, and there double, and roll one in another, as if it had beene in a cleare furneſſe.

An.Reg.17.

The.xviij. day at night, was very ſtormie and tempeſtuous of windes out of the South, I haue not knowne the like out of that quarter) eſpecially after mydnight till the next morning that it was day light. Theſe are to bee receyued as tokens of Gods wrath readie bent agaynſt the worlde for ſinne now abounding, and alſo of his great mercie, who doth onely thus but to ſhewe the rod wherwith we dayly deſerue to be beaten.

This yeare at London after Harueſt, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall, from ſeuen ſhillings to three ſhillings the buſhel, at which price it ſtayed (little or nothing ryſing or falling) all the yeare after: but bay ſalt was rayſed from three ſhillings to foure ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, and ſixe ſhillings the buſhell, the lyke whereof had neuer bene ſeene or heard wythin this Realme.

y ſalt deare.

1575

Flies in Februarie the ather ſtrange.

The.xxiiij.of Februarie, the feaſt of Saint Mathie, on which day the fayre was kept at Teukeſburie, a ſtraunge thing happened there, for after a floud, which was not great, but ſuch as thereby the Medowes neare adioyning were couered with water, in the after noone ther came downe the Ryuer of Seuerne, great numbers of Flies and Betles, ſuch as in Sommer Euenings vſe to ſtryke men in the face, in great heapes, a foote thicke aboue the water, ſo that to credible mens iudgement there were ſeene wythin a payre of Butlengthes of thoſe Flies aboue a hundred quarters. The Milles there aboutes were damned vp with them for the ſpace of foure dayes after, and then were cleanſed by dygging them out with ſhouels: from whence they came is yet vnknowne, for the day was colde and a harde froſt.

Earthquake.

The.xxvj.of Februarie, betweene foure and ſixe of the clocke in the after noone, great Earthquakes hapned in the Cities of Yorke, Worceſter, Glouceſter, Briſtowe, Hereforde, and in the Countreys about, which cauſed the people to runne out of their houſes, for feare they ſhoulde haue fallen on theyr heades. In Teukeſburie, Bredon and other places, the diſhes fell from the Cupbourdes, and the bookes in mens ſtudies from the ſhelues. In Norton Chapell the people being on their knees at Euening prayer, the ground mouing, cauſed them to runne away, in great feare that the dead bodies would haue ryſen, or the Chapell to haue fallen: part of Rithen Caſtell fell downe with certaine bricke Chymneys in gentlemens houſes. The Bell in the ſhire hall at Denbigh, was cauſed to toll twice by ſhaking of the hall. &c.

On Eaſter day, which was the thirde of Aprill, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, was diſcloſed a congregation of Anabaptyſts, Dutchmen, in a houſe without the Barres of Aldgate at London, whereof.xxvij.were taken and ſent to priſon, and foure of them bearing fagots, recanted at Pauls croſſe on the.xv.of May in forme as followeth.

Anabaptiſts bare fagots at Paules croſſe.

Whereas I.I.T.R.H. being ſeduced by the Diuell the ſpirite of errour, and by falſe teachers his Miniſters, haue fallen into certayne moſte deteſtable, and damnable hereſies, namely:

1 *That Chriſt tooke not fleſh of the ſubſtance of the bleſſed virgin Marie.*

2 *That infants of the faithfull ought not to bee baptized.*

3 *That a chriſtian man may not be a Magiſtrate or beare the ſworde or office of auctboritie.*

4 *That it is not lawfull for a Chriſtian to take an othe.*

Now by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned Miniſters of Chriſt his Church: I doe vnderſtande and acknowlege the ſame to be moſt damnable, and deteſtable hereſies, and doe aſke God here before his Church mercie for my ſayde former errors, and do forſake them, recant, and renounce them, and abiure them from the bottom of my heart, profeſſing that I certainly beleeue.

1 *That Chriſt tooke fleſh of the ſubſtance of the bleſſed virgin Marie.*

2 *That infants of the faithful ought to be baptized.*

3 *That a chriſtian man may be a Magiſtrate, or beare the ſworde and office of auctboritie.*

4 *That it is lawfull for a chriſtian man to take an othe.*

And further I confeſſe, that the whole doctrine, and religion eſtabliſhed and publiſhed in this Realme of Englande, as alſo that which is receyued and preached in the Dutche Churche here in this Citie, is ſounde, true and according to the worde of God, whereunto in all things I ſubmit my ſelfe, and wil moſt gladly be a member of the ſayd Dutch Church, from henceforth vtterly abandoning and forſaking all and euery Anabaptiſticall error.

This is my fayth nowe, in the which I doe purpoſe and truſt to ſtande firme and ſtedfaſt vnto the ende, and that I may ſo doe, I beſeech you all to pray with me, and for me, to God the heauenly Father, in the name of his ſonne our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. The like recantation was made by them afterwardes in the Dutche Church.

The.xvij.of May, about mydnight following, the right reuerend father in God Mathew

Archbiſhop of Canterburie deceaſed.

Parker, Doctour of Diuinitie, Archbyſhop of Caunterburie deceaſed at Lambeth, and was there honourably buried, on whoſe Tombe being of blacke Marble, is written this Epitaphe following.

Mathew Parker liued ſoberly and wiſe,
Learned by ſtudie and continuall practiſe,
Louing, true, of life vncontrolde,
The court did foſter him both yong and olde.
Orderly he delt, the right he did defend,
He liued vnto God, to God he made his ende.

Annabaptiſts baniſhed.

The .xxj. of May being Whitſuneuen, one man and ten women Anabaptiſts Dutch, were in the Conſiſtorie of Paules, condemned to bee burnt in Smithfield, but after great paynes taking with them, onely one woman was conuerted, the other were baniſhed the lande.

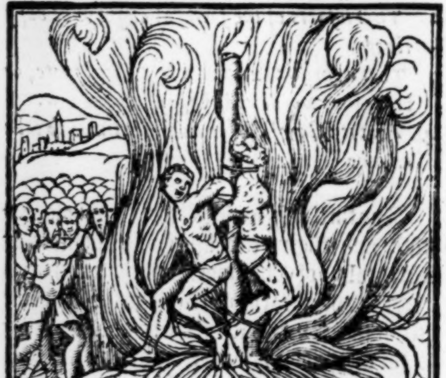
On the firſt of June the nine women being led by the Sherifes officers, the man was tyed to a Cart and whipped, and ſo all conueyed from Newgate to the waters ſide, where they were ſhipped away, neuer to returne againe.

Fiue perſons of the family loue ſtood at Paules croſſe.

The .xij. of June, ſtoode at Paules Croſſe, fiue perſons Engliſhmen, of the ſect tearmed the family of loue, who there confeſſed themſelues vtterly to deteſt as well the Authour of that ſect H. N. as all his damnable errours and hereſies.

Anabaptiſts burnt.

The .xxij. of July, two Dutchmen Anabaptiſts were burnt in Smithfield, who dyed in great horror with roaring and crying.



Thunder and haile.

The .xxx. of July in the after noone, was a great tempeſt of lightning and thunder, wherethrough both men and beaſtes in dyuerſe places were ſtryken dead. Alſo at that tyme fell greate abundance of hayle, whereof the ſtones in many places were founde to be ſixe or ſeuen ynches aboute.

The Glaſſe houſe burnt.

The fourth of September being Sunday, about ſeuen of the clock in the morning, a certain Glaſſehouſe, which ſometyme had bene the croſſed Friers hall, neare to the Tower of London, braſt out on a terrible fire, whereunto the Lorde Maior, Aldermen and Sheriffes, with all expedition repayred, and practiſed there all meanes poſſible, by water buckets, hookes, and otherwiſe to haue quenched it: all which notwithſtanding, whereas the ſame houſe in a ſmall tyme before had conſumed great quantitie of woodde by making of fine drinking glaſſes, now it ſelf hauing within it neare .xl. thouſand billets of wood, was all conſumed to the ſtone walles, which walles greatly defended the fire from ſpreading further, and doing any more harme.

The .xxvj. of September, a Pulters wife in the Pariſh of Chriſtes Church within Newgate of London, was deliuered and brought to bed of foure children at one burthen, all females, or mayden children, which were Chriſtened by the names of Elizabeth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothie, and the ſame day Moneth the mother was buryed, but all the foure Children liuing & in good liking were borne to Church after hir.

On Michaelmaſſe euen at night, the like impreſſions of fire and ſmoke were ſeene in the aire, to flaſh out of the North Eaſt, North & Northweſt, as had beene on the .xxv. of Nouember, laſt before paſſed.

The tenth of October many French and ſome Engliſh men, but all Pirates of the Seas, were arraigned at yͤ admiraltie court in Southwarke, where to the number of .xxij. were condemned, and had ſentence of death pronounced agaynſt them.

The Maior of London went by water to Weſtminſter, and there toke his othe as hath beene accuſtomed, he kept no feaſt at the Guildhall, but dined at his owne houſe with his brethren the Aldermen and other. The companies dyned at theyr ſeuerall Halles. &c. This was done as in the yeare laſt before paſſed, to auoyde the infection of the plague, which might haue encreaſed by comming togyther of greater numbers of people.

That weeke from the .xxij. vnto the .xxviij. of October, deceaſſed in the Citie and libertyes, of all diſeaſes one hundred thirtie and two, of the which nnmber .xxxvj. were accounted to die of the plague.

The next weeke following ending the thirde of Nouember (thankes be giuen to God therefore) there deceaſed of all diſeaſes, but .Cx. and of them of the plague but .xxvj.

An. Reg. 18.
1576

This yeare by reaſon of the troubles in the low Countreys, the Engliſh Marchants ſuſteyned great loſſes dyuerſe wayes, for the men of warre that kept the Seas, aduowing themſelues to bee reteyned with the Prince of Orange, vnder colour to ſearche for theyr aduerſaries goodes, oftentymes bourded the Engliſhe ſhippes as they mette with them on the Seas,

ſmally

finally to the profite of them to whome the ſame ſhippes & goodes appertayned. Some they ſtayed and tooke away with them, and at length there was a generall reſtraynt made by the Prince of Orange, that no Engliſh ſhippes ſhould paſſe to or fro the towne of Andwerpe by the riuer of Scheld, ſuch being arreſted and deteyned at Fliſhing as were comming downe that riuer, and other likewiſe that were bound vp the ſame time towardes Andwerpe. The Engliſh merchants feeling themſelues thus moleſted and damnified at ſundry ſeaſons, exhibited their complaintes to the Queenes Maieſties coũſell, who accordingly dealt frõ time to time with the Prince of Orange and his deputies for redreſſe, but ſpecially now vpõ this general reſtraint: &(although greet difficultie appeared in the mater, aſwell for contenting of the aduenturers of Fliſhyng, as for yͤ there had bene foure ſhippes belonging to the Prince arreſted & ſtayed at Falmouth) at length yet ſuch Engliſh ſhippes as were kept & holden at Fliſhing were releaſſed and ſent home. But not till two of the Engliſh marchantes aduenturers men of good calling and eſtimation (hauing firſt as hath bene ſaide made a certaine maner of proteſte) were faine to enter into bande for the loane of a ſumme of money, and were therewith kepte at Fliſhyng till the contract in that behalf might be performed, wherevpon the Queenes Maieſtie miſliking that hir ſubiectes ſhould be thus hardly dealt with, armed and ſet forth certayne of hir ſhippes, whiche going to the ſeas to ſee that hir ſubiectes might trauerſe the ſame in ſafetie, tooke diuers of the Fliſhingers veſſels and brought thẽ into the Engliſh ſtreames. The Fliſhingers herewith on the other parte, tooke and arreſted other of the Engliſh ſhips, ſo that the troubles ſeemed rather to increaſe than to be in any wiſe appeaſed. Although afterwardes by ſending two and fro, the mater was taken vp, and ſuche order had as was thought to ſtande very well for the ſuertie, commoditie, and good liking of the Engliſh Merchantes.

…ſe foure
…es were
…ed for ſa-
…ction of
…Simons
…e, out of
whiche a
…ſhynger
…tuen cer-
…e tũnes of
…ie wine.

…tine Cal-
…, & Wil-
…n Godard.

But in the meane time and before this could be brought to paſſe through a diſordered mutinie whiche chaunced among the Spaniſhe Souldiers, it ſo fell out, that the States of thoſe lowe countreys agreed with the Prince of Orange, & ſet themſelues wholy agaynſt the Spaniardes, wherevpon the yong Counte de Egmont, the Marques de Hauery entred the towne of Andwerpe with a power of Souldiers for yͤ States, & ment to haue kept that towne againſt the Spaniardes that helde the Caſtell, but they doubting to be encloſed and ſhut vp by ſome ſiege, got moe of their fellowes to them, entred the towne by force, and pitifully killing no ſmall number of people, ſacked the towne, & put aſwel the townesmen as others that were Merchantes reſident there to their ranſomes. Amongſt other our Engliſhmen eſcaped not altogither free, ſo as diuers were ſpoyled of that they had, and the whole nũber put to their ranſome, although vpon the ſending ouer of Doctor Wilſon hir Maieſties Ambaſſadour, ſo much of the raunſom as remayned vnpayde was promiſed to be remitted.

…his was the
…th of No-
…mber.
…o. one and
…er ſlayne,
…wned and
…

Thus were our Merchants euill intreated on ech hand, by reaſon of thoſe ciuill tumultes in the lowe countreys aſwell this yeare as in the former yeares paſt, and ſmall hope would be of better ſucceſſe there, if ſome ende ſhoulde not be had of that ciuill diſſention, whiche hath ſo long continued betwixt the King of Spayne & his ſubiectes in thoſe countreys, not onely to the hinderance of themſelues, but alſo of others that haue to trade among them, ſpecially for traffique ſake and entercourſe of Merchandiſe. But at length they haue compounded their controuerſies, and are growen to a full agreement and perfect concluſion of peace, whiche God graunt may take place ſo effectually, as may turne to the quietneſſe and publique cõmoditie, not onely of thoſe countreys, but of their neighbours, whereby Merchants and paſſengers may in ſuertie paſſe to and fro without diſturbance, ſo as no occaſion be giuẽ of breach of leagues and amities betwixt Princes and Countreys, but that the ſame may be mainteyned to Gods glorie, and the ſuertie of the Chriſtian common wealth.

Walter Deuerour Earle of Eſſex, and Eu Earle Marſhall of Ireland, Knight of the moſte noble order of the Garter, fell ſicke of a looſeneſſe of his body the .xxj. of Auguſt being Fryday, and for the ſpace of .xxij. dayes togither, hee was ſo greeuouſly tormented therewith, that finally on Saturday the .xxij. of September hee departed out of this tranſitorie life, paſſing from hence to the ioyes of heauen, as by his godly ende all that were aboute him haue giuen teſtimonie.

The Earle of Eſſex departeth this lyfe.

The loſſe of this noble man was greatly bemoned, aſwell by the Engliſh, as Iriſh, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the aduauncement of the common wealth whiche appeared in him.

The .x. of Nouember a proclamation was publiſhed for the free traffike of Merchants to be reſtored as had bene accuſtomed in times paſſe betwixte the Kingdomes and Countreys of the Queenes Maieſtie of England and the King of Portingall, whiche traffique had bene diſcontinued by reaſon of certayne ſtayes and arreſtes, made of diuers ſubiectes on bothe partes, with their goodes and ſhippes. But now it was accorded in name of both their Maieſties, that all maner of bothe their ſubiectes of what kingdome or countrey ſo euer they be, from the .xv. day of the ſayde moneth might vſe the like mutuall traffique for marchãdices, and in the ſame places: that is to ſay, hir Maieſties ſubiects in the kingdomes of Portingale, and Algarbia, and in the Iſles of Medera, and Azore: and likewiſe the ſubiectes of the King of Portingale in Englande and Irelande, as they were lawfully accuſtomed before the ſayde arreſtes. This reſtitution of the ſayde traffique to remayne from the ſayde. xv. day of Nouẽber in this yeare. 1576. during the ſpace of three yeares next enſuing. At the end of which terme, if by the ſayde Princes in the meane time it be not otherwiſe prouided for continuance of the ſayd traffique to endure perpetually, no new arreſtes ſhal be made of any things brought into the kingdomes and Iſles aforeſayde, of either of the ſayd Princes during the time of the ſayd. iij. yeares. It was further agreed by the ſaid Princes for the more ſure preſeruation of the amitie & frẽdſhip betwixt them, their ſayd realmes & ſubiectes, that neither of them ſhall receyue any Pirate or rouer into any of the portes or creekes of either of the Realmes, Dominiõs, and Countreys, whiche may or ſhall haue committed any Piracie or robberie vpon eyther of their ſubiects, nor ſhall ſhewe any fauour, giue any ayde or ſuccour, or ſuffer any to be giuen directly or indirectly to the ſayde Rouers or Pirates. Neither ſhall they during the time of the ſayde amitie, in either of their kingdomes or any place of their dominiõs, fauour, entertaine, receiue or reteyne, nor ſuffer to be fauoured, entertayned, receyued, or retained by any of their ſubiects, any rebelles, traytours or fugitiues, ſubiects to either of them.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the Engliſh Hiſtories, noting briefly in theſe later yeares, ſuche things as I finde in the abridgement of Richarde Grafton, and in the Summarie of Iohn Stow, increaſed ſomwhat (as may appeare) in places with ſuch helpes as haue come to my hande, humbly beſeeching the Reader to accept the ſame in good parte, and to pardon me where I haue not ſatiſfied his expectation, ſithe herein I muſt confeſſe, I haue nothing contented my ſelfe, but yet at the requeſt of others haue done what I could and not what I would, for wante of conference with ſuche as might haue furniſhed mee with more large inſtructions, ſuch as had bene neceſſarie for the purpoſe.

But now to obſerue the order which hitherto I haue followed, in mencionyng of ſuch writers of our nation, as liued in the dayes of other Princes, I haue thought good to write alſo the names of ſome of thoſe that haue flouriſhed in the time of the peaceable reigne of our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, whoſe happie ſtate with long life the Lorde mayntеyne. Of whiche wryters as there are many ſome departed and others yet liuing, ſo the greate number of workes, Treatiſes, Poeſies, Tranſlations, and Pamphlets by them publiſhed to the worlde, may fully witneſſe the flouriſhing ſtate of the Muſes in theſe dayes of peace, in the which learning is bothe cheriſhed, and the ſtudious enioye their wiſhed quietneſſe, the better to encourage them to vtter their talentes. Suche therefore as I finde eyther rehearſed by Maiſter Bale, or els otherwiſe ſhall come to my memorie, I meane thus to recorde their names as followeth.

Reginald Poole Cardinall.
Mathew Parkar late Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, doctor of Diuinitie, & a great ſearcher of antiquities, deſeruing well of all thoſe that are ſtudious therein, for the furtherance of whoſe knowledge he reſtored many auncient Monumentes to good perfection, and cauſed ſome to bee publiſhed in Printe, to his highe prayſe and commendation.
Edmond Grindall now Archbiſhop of Cant.
Iames Pilkinton late biſhop of Dureſme.
Myles Couerdale ſometime biſhop of Exceſter.
Iohn White once biſhop of Wincheſter.
Edmond Bonner once biſhop of London, who for his wilfull obſtinacie was empryſoned in the Marſhalſe, where he died.
Raphe Bane once byſhop of Couentrie and Lichfielde.
Iohn Iewell late biſhop of Sarum.
William Barlow late biſhop of Chicheſter.
Robert Horne biſhop of Wincheſter.
Iohn Scory biſhop of Hereford.
Edmonde Freake biſhop of Norwiche.
Iohn Aelmer biſhop of London.
Thomas Cooper biſhop of Lincolne.
Iohn Parkhurſt late biſhop of Norwiche.
Alley late biſhop of Exceſter.
Sir William Cecill Lord Threſourer.
Lorde Wentworth.
Lord Buckhurſt.
Sir Thomas Smith knight.
Sir Anthony Cooke knight.
Sir Thomas Chalenor knight.
Sir Iohn Price knight.
Sir Iohn Conwey Knight.
Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight.
Thomas Hobbey.
William Stanford.
Edmond Ploydon. Robert Brooke.
Iohn Raſtell.
William Fleetewood. Walter Haddon.
Thomas Wilſon, now Embaſſadour for the Queene in the lowe Countreys, who had ſometimes charge of the bryngyng vp of thoſe two worthy impes, Henry Duke of Southfolke,

folke, and Charles his brother, both ſonnes to Charles Brandon ſomtime Duke of Southfolke, whoſe towardneſſe was ſuche as was well worthy of their calling: but it pleaſed God to call them by the ſweate, *Anno.1551.* the elder firſte, and the yonger after: ſo that they bothe died Dukes, whiche I forgate to note in the place where I made mention of the ſame ſickneſſe.

John Man. John Hales.
Thomas Norton.
William Lambert.
John Foxe.
Alexander Nowell.
John Whiteguifte.
Thomas Becon.
William Turner.
Laurence Humfrey.
Dauid Whitehead.
John Bale. John Dee.
Anthony Gylbie.
Chryſtopher Goodman.
William Whittingham.
Roger Aſkam.
John Martine.
Barthelmew Clarke.
George Ackworth.
John Caius, an excellent Phiſition, who founded Caius colledge in Cambridge, or rather by augmenting a hall called Gunhill hall, by a seconde foundation, named it Gunhill and Caius colledge.
Thomas North.
John Marbecke.
Edmond Becke.
John Pullen.
Thomas Phaer.
Roger Hutchinſon.
Thomas Gibſon.
George Conſtantine.
Richarde Cockes.
James Calfhill.
John Willocke.
Thomas Cartwright.
Abraham Hartwell.
Robert Crowley.
John Gough.
Fecknam.
Laurence Tomſon.
Andrew Kingſmill.
John Barthlet. John Harding.
Edward Craddocke.
Thomas Sampſon. Saunders.
Thomas Leuer.
William Fulke. Thomas Hill.
Edward Deering.
John Brydges.
John Ueron.
John More.
Daniell Rogers.
Michaell Rineger.
Peter Morwing.
John Northbrooke.
Anthony Anderſon.
Chryſtopher Carlill.
Thomas Palfryman.
Steuen Bateman.
Thomas Doleman.
John Wolton.
William Whitaker.
Robert Watſon.
Humfrey Llhuid.
Lewes Euans.
John Yong.
John Mardley.
John Plough.
Phillip Nicols.
John Joſſelin.
Arthur Golding.
Edmond Campion.
William Hariſon.
Richard Stanihurſt.
Richard Grafton.
John Stowe.
Alexander Neuill.
Barnabe Googe.
William Pattin.
William Baldwin.
George Ferrers.
Arthur Brooke.
William Barker.
Leonard Digges.
Thomas Digges.
William Cunningham.
William Painter.
Lodowike Llhuid.
Richard Raynolds.
John Raynolds.
Nicholas Whitalke.
John Vowell *alias* Hooker.
Thomas Harman.
Ulpian Fulwell.
James Sandford.
Geffrey Fenton. Thomas Twine.
Thomas Hedley.
William Saliſbury.
John Barret. John Procter.
Richard Candiſh.
Thomas Nicols.
Robert Greene.
Raphe Leuer.
Edward Grant.
John Heywood.
Thomas Drant.
Nicholas Allen Eſſentian.
Thomas Tim.

Thomas Tuſſer.
Thomas Hill.
William Borne.
Leonarde Maſkall.
Thomas Blondeuill.
Richarde Eden.
Edwarde Hake.
Otuell Holinſhed.
John Barſton.
John Harte *alias* Cheſter Heralde.
John Shute Captaine.
Richarde Willies.
George Gaſcon.
George Turberuill.
Thomas Churchyarde.
Thomas Brice.
George Whetſtone.
Nicholas Carre.
John Higgins.
Edmund Bunny.
John Barnarde.
Thomas Newton.
Meridith Hanmer.
John Dauys.
Thomas Vnderdowne.
Richard Robinſon.
William Wolley.
Barnabe Garter.
Abraham Flemming.
Reginalde Scot.
Thomas Stockir.
Henry Dethike.
John Boſwell.
William Beuerley.
Humfrey Bakre.
Dionyſe Graye.
Thomas Biſhop.
George Pettie.
Thomas Gale.
John Hall.
John Studley.
Edmund Tilney.

I haue here (Gentle Reader) diſorderedly ſet downe theſe names, for want of due knowledge how to place them according to their degrees, callings, or worthineſſe, but as they came to memory. Although I allowe not of the wrytings of euery of them, yet bicauſe I haue vndertaken in the former order of my Booke, to Enregiſter the writers in eche age indifferently, I muſt of force ſo ende, and leaue the iudgement of their writings to the diſcrete Readers. I know there are others that haue written very well, but haue ſuppreſſed their names, and therfore cannot blame me, though they be not here enregiſtred: I wiſhe ſuche to go forwarde in well doing, and to remember that vertue cannot alwayes be hidden, but in time their names wilbe remembred among the beſt: that thoſe that are vertuouſly giuen, may by their worthy prayſe be encouraged to follow their ſteppes, and indeuour themſelues according to duety to aduaunce learning, and neceſſary knowledge in their countrey.

FINIS.

A Table ſeruing vnto both parts of the Chronicles of England,

wherein, for thy better inſtruction (gentle Reader,) thou ſhalt vnderſtand, that the firſt number ſignifyeth the page, and the ſecond number, the line of the page, which in ſome places thou ſhalt finde diuided into the lynes of the Columes, and in ſome other, to followe the number of the whole lynes of the page ſome pages are by ouerſight eſcaped faultie, which it may pleaſe thee to correct, and ſo vſe it to thy profite.

AAron and Julius, martyred for ỹ faith of Chriſt. 88.32
Aaron a Jew payd to Henry the thyrde thirtie thouſand markes. 722.90.
Abell hanged for the ſuppremacie 1580.40.
Aborigines, what they ſignifie. 6.101.
Aborigines, that there are any confuted. 5.65.
Abbot of Weſtminſter conſpireth againſt Henry ỹ.4 pag. 1[illegible],col.1.lin. 5. dyeth ſodainly.pa.1129. col.1 li.39
Abbey of Peterburgh & Crowland ſpoyled by King John. 604.73.
Abbeyes and religious houſes founded by King John.606.45.
Abbot of Saint Albons payeth foure ſcore markes to Lewes in ỹ name of homage.610.9.
Abbey of Lucreſſe cōmonly called delacreſſe built by Radulen Erle of Cheſter. 618.12.
Abbots and Priores depriued by Archbyſhop Anſelme, and why. 340.30.
Abbot of Weſtminſter William depoſed for waſting the reuenues of the houſe, and for inconſtancie. 582.90.
Abbots & biſhops of Englande not the Miniſters of God, but of the diuell. 279. 115
Abbot of Hales hanged. pag. 1154.col.1.line.2.
Abbeyes ſearched and ſpoyled by King William. 304.43.
Abbeyes deſtroyed within the lymites of Mercia. 235.81.
Abbey Church of Battell, dedicated to S. Martin 325.36
Abbay of Amphibalus in Wincheſter. 109.6.
Abbeyes let out to ferme. 333.59.
Abingdon battaile, fought betweene the Engliſhmen and Danes with equall victorie. 213.33.
Abingdon battaile, one of the ſoreſt foughten fieldes that had bin hearde of in thoſe dayes. 213.31.
Abingdon abbey buylded, and reſtored. 230.54
Abingdon Abbey finiſhed, and ſet in good order. 234.7.
Aburgaueny Lord committed to the tower. 1510.27. confeſſeth miſpriſion of treaſon. 1519.45.
Abuſes of the .24. gouernours of England. 752.65.
Aburgeny Lord diſtreſſeth the Kentiſhe rebels. 1725.20.
Alclud Citie. 194.62.
Abirnethi, and the peace there concluded. 307.68.
Abuſe in men too ſhamefull, for wearing lōg haires.364.53.
Abſolon a Monke of Canterburie. 382.97.
Acca ſucceedeth Wilfride in the Biſhoprick of Herā. 190 91.
Act againſt fiſhemōgers. 1040 10.b. repealed. 1042.23.a.
Alclud Citie deſtroyed by the Danes.211.54.
Achkelmeſlawe, ſpoyled by the Danes. 244.36.
Acca, daughter to Alla, & ſiſter to Edwine. 155.76.
Acre of land, how many pearches it conteineth.312.101.
Achelnotus, Archbyſhop of Cāterbury. 262.115.
Adelſtan, Byſhop of Shireborne. 206.57.
Adelſtane putteth his Cupbearer to death, for accuſing Edwyn, the kinges brother. 226.9.
Adelſtane leadeth an armie againſt Aulafe, lying nyghe Humber. 226.24.
Adelſtane ſubdueth Northumberland, and ioyneth it to his kingdome. 224.51.
Adelſtane ſonne to King Edward, fleeth the Realme, 224.82.
Adelſtane leadeth an armie againſt the Scottes, & welchmen. 225.20.
Adelſtane inuadeth Scotland with an armie, and waſteth it. 225.67.
Adelſtane offreth his knife to Saint John of Beuerly, and redeemeth it with a large price. 225.64.
Adelſtane repenteth him ſore, of his rigor towards his brother Edwyn. 225.112.
Adelſtane, Byſhop of Shyreburne, departeth this lyfe. 209.72.
Adelſtans ſwoorde reſtored to the ſcabbard by myracle. 226.68.
Adelſtane departeth out of this world. 226.106.
Adelſtane, eldeſt ſonne to King Edward, beginneth hys raygne ouer the moſt part of England. 223.104.
Adelſtane crowned kyng, at Kingſtone vppon Thames. 224.7.
Adelſtane, ſomtime called Gurthrun the Dane, made King of Eaſtangle. 214.96.
Adrian Abbot departeth thys lyfe. 190.116.
Adrian an Italian ſent ambaſſador into Scotland is made biſhop of Hereford, and afterward of Welles, and Cardinal.1436.30.reſtoreth good letters. ibidem.
Adrian Pope, ſendeth Legates into England. 198.63.
Adulf, Byſhop of Myeth. 199.3.
Adelbert ſucceedeth Egbert in the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke. 199.25.
Adrian ſent into England with Archbiſhop Theodore. 178.38.
Adrian ſtayed in Fraunce.178.44.
Adrian made Abbot of the Monaſterie of S. Auguſtines. 178.51.
Adrian Abbot, excellent well learned. 178.85.
Adrian buildeth a wal betweene the Britaines and Scotes. 76.49.
Adrian the Emperour paſſeth ouer into Britaine, and quieteth the Iland. 76.41.
Adelwold fleeth into Northumberland to the Danes. 219.101.
Adelwold entereth the parties of the Eaſt Angles with a nauie of the Danes. 220.19
Adelwold, and many of hys Danes ſlayne. 220.44.
Adelwold brother to King Edward ſurnamed the Elder taketh ỹ towne of Winbourne, & maryeth a Nune.219.94.
Adelme, ſucceedeth Plymord in the Archbyſhoprick of Cāterburie. 224.8.
Adelme Erle moueth a rebellion, againſt Cuthred King of Weſt Saxons. 193.71.
Adelme with his armie of rebelles, diſcomfited, and pardoned. 193.79.
Adelward put to death. 260.43.
Adelwold, King of Suſſex. 176.89.
Adelwold, byſhop of Wincheſter. 234.19.
Adrian refuſeth to be made Archbyſhop of Canterburie 178.8.
Adelſtane, ſonne to king Edward borne. 222.113
Adelſtane ordeyned Byſhop of Saint Germans in Cornwall. 223.56.
Adolfe, Earle of Bulleigne. 225.102.
Adulfe rebelling, is expulſed out of Northumberlande. 224.53.
Adulfe ſucceedeth Edelwald in the kingdome of Eaſtangles. 177.4.
Adnothus ſlaine in battayle, by Godwyn and Edmond the great. 299.28.
Adarſtone a little towne. page. 1415. col.1. line. 37. page. 1416.col.2.line.27.
Aduentrers.1522.5.&.1529.10.&.1531.30.&.34. their ende.1533.
Adelhelme Erle, ſlayne by the Danes. 206.83
Aduerſitie promiſeth more, the proſperitie meaneth to performe. 273.64.
Adam Byſhop of Hereford areſted. 873.53.b. his Oration to the armie. 879.16.b
Adila, ſiſter to king Henrie the firſt marryed to Stephan, Earle of Bloys. 354.113.
Adela, wife to king Richard the firſt forſaken, and ſent home. 475.15.&.491.5.
Adela, daughter to the French King giuen in mariage to Richard ſonne to King Henrie the ſecond. 438.116.
Adam Baneſter hanged. 854.19.a.
Adelme, ordeyned Byſhop of Welles. 223.57.
Adeliza, daughter to Duke William of Normādie. 283.85.
Ada, the ſonne of Ida, created King of Brenicia. 140.59.
Adelicia, daughter to the Duke of Louayne, maryed to king Henrie the firſt. 358.26.
Ackwoorde, looke, Eltworth.
Aetius put to death. 121.63.
Aetius gouernour of Fraunce vnder Honorius the Emperour. 101.47.
Africa alotted vnto Cham. 1.77.
Agricolas gouernment mutch commended. 69.9.
Agricola ſent Lieutenant into Britaine. 68.57.
Agricolas fame groweth by neglecting it. 69.4.
Agricola countermaunded home to Rome by Domitianus. 73.69.
Age of king John. 543.26.
Age of Arthur Duke of Britaine. 543.27.
Ager Anthonie knight is ſlaine fighting valiantly.1771.30
Agilbertus returneth into Fraunce, and is made Byſhop of Paris. 171.74.

Aguell Henrie, drowned in a tempeſt. 411.94.
Agnerus and Hubbo brethren, choſen captaines of ẏ Danes 210.77.
Agnes, daughter to Hugh le Grand, Earle of Paris, maried to Richard the ſeconde Duke of Normandie. 288.116.
Ages of the realme of England as the ſtate thereof was vnder certaine Princes. 237.94.
Agencourt battell. page. 1178 col. 2. line. 14.
Aganippus, one of the Princes of Fraunce, marrieth Cordilla, youngeſt daughter to Leir. 19.113.
Agenois recouered from the Frenche. 876.38.b.
Agatha, daughter to Henrie the Emperour, marryed to Edward, ſonne to king Edmond. 259.34.
Agues hote burning, vexe the people in England. 242.15
Aganippus paſſeth into Britaine with an armie, and reſtoreth Leir to his kingdome. 20.41.
Agelnothus, Abbot of Glaſtenburie. 297.13.
Agathyrſes, otherwiſe called Pictes. 13.89.
Agilbertus Byſhop commeth into England. 171.61.
Ayre appeareth red and burning. 353.29.
Ayre Riuar. page. 1310. col. 2. line. 40.
Aiguillon beſeged by the Frēch men. 928.7.b.
Aimouth fortifyed. 1779.10.
Ayde agaynſt the Turkes and Infidels. 552.70.
Akalon, a riuer in Greece. 11.37.
Alared, murtherer of king Ethelbert, ſlayne. 201.68.
Alrick, ſonne to Herbert, ſlayne. 201.74.
Alured conſtrained by ẏ Danes to flie into the fennes of Somerſetſhire. 214.4.
Alured taking vpon him the habite of a Minſtrell, goeth into the Daniſh cāpe. 214.34.
Alured ſetteth ſodainly vppon the Danes, and ſlayeth them 214.54.
Alfred, ſonne to Egelredus, arriueth in England with a great power to obtayne the crowne. 264.15. & 265.47.
Alureds armie ſlaine by the Poll, nyne ſlayne, and the. x. preſerued. 264.27.
Alureds eyes put out. 264.32. & 265.98.
Alured dyeth. 264.34.
Alureds cruell death, and torments. 266.7.
Alfrike, Archbyſhop of Yorke. 267.1.
Alfred helpeth to expulſe the Danes. 269,20
Alwine or Adwine, Byſhop of Wincheſter, accuſed of incontinencie with Queene Emma, and impriſoned. 269.59.
Alered, Archbyſhop of Yorke, obtaineth pardō for Swaine 270.22.
Algar, ſonne to Earle Leofrike. 272.23.
Algar made Earle of Oxford. 275.6.
Aldred Byſhop of Worceter, ſent for Edward, ſonne to King Edmond Ironſide. 276.1.
Algar baniſhed the Realme. 276.13.
Algar ioyning himſelfe to the Welchmē, inuadeth the Engliſhe borders wyth a nauie. 276.16.
Algar pardoned, and reſtored to his Earldome. 276.58.
Algar ſucceedeth his father in the Earldome of Cheſter, and Mercia. 277.39.
Algar accuſed of treaſon, and agayne exiled the land. 277.41.
Algar returneth into England with a power of men, and recouereth his Earldome by force. 277.50.
Albania lyeth Northward, beyonde Humber. 16.48.
Albion, when this Iland firſt ſo called. 5.45. & 6.30.
Alderman of London ſetteth forth a fleete. 1009.19.b.
Alchfled, daughter to king Oſwy. 172.21.
Alfwen, daughter to Ethelfleda diſinherited. 222.55.
Alexander King of Scotes maryeth the ladye Margaret daughter to Henry the third 727.22.
Alfred ſucceedeth his brother Ecgfride in the kingdome of Northūberland. 185.85.
Alfrid, an excellent Philoſopher. 185.95.
Alfrid departeth this lyfe. 185.114.
Aldiminus, looke Ealdbright.
Allerton caſtle, made playne with the ground. 445.21.
Aluredes diligence, in deuiding the day and night vnto ſeuerall purpoſes. 218.43.
Alureds laſt wil, and the imploying of his goods to godlye purpoſes. 218.55.
Alured obteyneth a part of the kingdome of Mercia. 218.110.
Aldhelme ordeyned Byſhop of Shirebourne. 190.10.
Alrike ſucceedeth his brother Ethelbert in the kingdome of Kent. 191.84.
Alrike ouerthrowen in battaile by the Mercians. 191.91.
Aldwine, Byſhop of Lichfeild. 191.99.
Aldwolfe, Byſhop of Rocheſter. 191.100.
Aleria called Alizc in Burgogne by whom builded. 6.45.
Alſin ſucceedeth Odo in ẏ Archbyſhoprike of Canterburye, and
Aulafe & Godfrey, ſuccede their father Sithrike, in the kingdome of Northumberlande. 224.55.
Aulafe and Godfrey, making warre vppon king Adelſtane are driuen out of their countrey. 224.59.
Altred ſucceeded Molle in the kingdome of Northumberland. 196.30.
Altred expulſed out of his kingdome. 196.31.
Aldulfe, ſonne to Boſa ſlayne. 196.39.
Alfreda prophesieth her mother Quendreds deſtruction. 196.9.
Alfreda profeſſeth hirſelfe a Nunne. 197.15.
Algar falleth in loue with Friſwide, and would rauiſh her. 197.55.
Algar ſuddeinly ſtroken blynde. 198.56.
Alſwold, king of Northumberland. 198.67.
Alfreds treaſon againſt Adelſtane, and his death. 224.13.
Alfreds landes giuen to God, and S. Peter. 224.30.
Alured or Alfrede, ſucceedeth his brother Etheldred in the kingdome of Weſt Saxons, and ouer the more part of England. 211.82.
Alured ſacred king, at Rome by the Pope. 207.28. & 211.92.
Alured goeth with ſpeede forth with an armie againſt the Danes. 212.2.
Alcwine ſent Ambaſſador vnto Charles the great. 195.43.
Alured departeth this lyfe, and is buryed at Wincheſter. 216.104.
Aluredes iſſue. 216.106.
Alured ſendeth preſentes to Rome by way of Deuotion. 217.44.
Alured ſendeth preſentes to the body of S. Thomas in India. 217.45.
Aldegate and Byſhops gate aſſaulted by Baſtard Fauconbridge. page. 1342. col. 1. line. 52.
Alexander king of Scots commeth into England to Wodſtock, and doth homage there to Henry the third. 743.17.
Alwynne, concubine to Kyng Cuate, daughter to Alſelme. 262.81.
Alane Ecle of Britaine, created Earle of Richmonde. 301.44.
Alexander Byſhop of Lincolne, flyeth into Scotland. 303.22.
Alditha daughter to Earle Ormus, marryed to king Aulafe. 227.69.
Aldredus Archbyſhop of Yorke. 222.48.
Albion the Giant arryueth in Britaine. 5.25.
Alchfride, ſonne to Oſwy. 175.55.
Alectus ſlaine, and his armie diſcomfited by the Britaines. 82.20.
Aldroenus aideth the Britaines in great Britaine vpon condition. 102.41.
Alclud citie now decayed, builded. 18.15.
Albion ſlaine by Hercules in Gallia. 16.14.
Alfred, wife to king Edgar, departeth this life. 232.52.
Alfred, daughter to Horgerius Duke of Cornewall a damſell of excellent beautie. 232.57.
Alfred married to Earle Ethelwold. 232.83.
Alfred marryed to king Edgar, after the death of Ethelwold. 232.94.
Aldgitha Queene, ſent away from London to Cheſter. 291.35.
Aldred Archbyſhop of Yorke, ſubmitteth himſelfe to king William. 291.56.
Almaricus a Deacon, betrayeth Canterburie to the Danes. 246.7.
Alda, ſiſter to Uter Pendragon marryed to Conran kyng of Scots. 132.17.
Alexander the. 3. king of Scots doth homage to the king of England. 825. lin. 54.b.
Albion, not ſo called of Albina. 8.70.
Alnewicke caſtle. 324.64.
Allowāce for the king of Scots alwayes, at his comming vnto the Engliſhe court. 518.39.
Almaine Campe a fort yelded to the Frenchmen. 1696.10
Alphonſe Duke of Calabre choſen knight of the garter. 1440.30.
Alexander Byſhop of Lincolne Nephew or ſonne to Roger Byſhop of Saliſburie, committed to priſon. 371.65.
Albericke, made gouernour of Northumberland. 312.47.
Alſtane, Biſhop of Shireburne, a warriour. 203.55.
Aluredes kingdome bounded. 214.110.
Alſwaldes ſonnes myſerably ſlayne. 201.34.
Alfled, daughter to Offa, married to k. Ethelbet. 201.43.

Aldermen ſeuen dyed within.x. monethes, 1837.30.
Albemarle caſtle wonne by the Frenchmen, and ruinated flat to the ground. 524.47.
Albert Duke of Saxon taketh Dam by ſleight. 1438. 10. wynneth the towne of Scluſe. ibidem.
Alfredes deede in procuring king Edwardes death, in no wiſe excuſable. 237.59.
Alpher eaten to death with lice, 237. 46.
Albemarle Wyl. baſtard ſonne to Robert Earle of Northumberland. 326.43.
Aldane Giles, conſecrated Byſhop of Saint Nynian in Scotland. 352.21.
Albaney William Erle of Arundell dyeth. 622.5.
Alaine Duke of Britaine. 372. 10.
Albanact ſlayne. 16.72.
Charles of Alanſon ſlaine at Creſſy. 934. 32. b.
Albemarle caſtle burned. 468. 8.
Albanact, third ſonne to Brute. 16.33.
Alfonſe king of Caſtill requyreth ayde of Henry the third againſt his natural brother Richard king of Almaigne. 747. 58. he is denyed aide as an vnreaſonable requeſt. 747.60.
Alured, ſonne to king Ethelwolfus, ſent to Rome. 207. 26.
Albina, none of Danaus daughters names. 8. 69.
Algar, ſonne to Duke Alfrike, his eyes put out. 240.44.
Allerton caſtle. 436. 28.
Alanſon beſeiged and yelded to Henry the fifth page.1190. col.1.line.25.
Alfrike ſucceedeth his father Alpher in the Dukedome of Mercia, and is afterwarde banniſhed. 238.46.
Alfride Earle, high Admiral of a nauie againſt the Danes. 240.11.
Alfrike turneth from his owne countrey, to the Danes. 240.21.
Alfrikes ſhip taken, and he himſelfe reconciled to king Egelredes fauour. 240.38.
Alſwine, brother to king Egfride ſlaine. 182. 95.
Alfredes horſes wyll not go to the place where king Edward lyeth. 237. 17.
Alfred repenteth herſelfe for murthering king Edward. 237. 23.
Alpher Duke of Mercia, departeth this life. 238.44.
Albinus the famous Clearke, wrote a booke agaynſt the worſhipping of Images. 199. 55.
Alnewike Caſtle beſeiged.pag. 1315.col.1.line.23.
Alchfride, brother in lawe to Peda. 173.29.
Archdeaconries not to be let to ferme. 340.60.
Aldred Archbyſhop of Yorke departeth this life. 300.39.
Albeney William captayne of Rocheſter Caſtle. 592.65.
Albemarle towne beſieged by the Earle of Flaunders, and taken. 429.21.
Aldermen firſt choſen in the citie of London. 479.53.
Arſacide, a wicked generation of Saraſins. 781.76.
Alcoch Iohn Byſhop of Ely foundeth Ieſus Colledge. 1462. 51.
Alban martyred for the faith of Chriſt. 88.2.
Alfred profeſſeth her ſelfe a Nunne. 237.31.
Album monaſterium. 571.41.
Albert de Suma, ſent Legate from the Pope into England. 451.83.
Aluergne Earledome inuaded and waſted by king Henrie the ſecond. 410.41.
Albanye allotted to Albanact, now called Scotlād. 16.44.
Allegations made by the Frech king Phillip to the Popes Legate concerning his ayding of the barons of England againſt king Iohn. 598 83.
Aldwyne, a Monke. 307.103.
Alſwyn, a Monke. 307.103.
Alba Siluius, the eleuēth king of Italy. 17.105.
Albemarle in Normandie taken by king William Rufus. 321.58.
Alectus ſent from Rome to ſubdue Caranſius. 81.87.
Alectus taketh vpō him the gouernmēt of Britaine. 81.96
Alnewike beſieged by the ſcots, but in vaine. 434. 1.
Alnewike battaile, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Scottes. 434. 69.
Alerium Caſtle, deliuered to king Henry the ſecōd. 410.6.
Aldayne Byſhop of Durham. 241. 18.
Alberike Byſhop of Hoſtia, the Popes Legate in England. 371.26.
Alice, eldeſt daughter to Hubert Earle of Morienne, affianced to Iohn, youngeſt ſonne to king Henry the ſecond. 423.58.
Alla, looke Ella.
Aldroenus, king of little Britaine. 102.30.
Alpher, Duke of Mercia, taketh part for the aduauncing of Egelredus to the crowne of England. 235.48.
The Duke of Albanie leuieth a power. 1522. 3.
Aldrede Abbot of Lindeſferne. 219. 41.
Ambition and Simonie in two Monkes reproued by kyng William Rufus. 321.26
Ambaſſadours ſent from the Britaines into little Britaine for ayde. 102.28.
Ambrei, nowe called Saliſburie. 118.36.
Amphitrita, wyfe to Neptune God of the ſeas. 5.20.
Ambaſſadours. pag. 1125. col.2. line. 30. pag.1131. col.1. line.15. page.1135. col.2.line.41. page. 1155. col.1.line.20.
Ambaſſadors ſent by king Iohn to the Pope to ſhewe him of the Rebellion of the nobles. 591.52. They ſhewe their meſſage to the Pope. 591. 100. and receyue anſwere. 592.14. they returne into England. 592.45.
Ambaſſadours ſent againe by king Iohn to the Pope to ſhewe him that the barons reſiſt his order. 592.69.
Ambreſburie Nunrie buylded. 237.30.
Ammianus Marcellinus cyted. 96.94.&.102.74.
Amphibulus, where borne. 27. 108.
Ambaſſadours into Fraunce for peace. 1079. 30. b.
Ambaſſadors ſent into France. 558.6.
Ambaſſadours ſent from Rouen to king Iohn. 559.9.
Ambaſſadour ſent from kyng Iohn to the Emperour. 560. 35.
Ambaſſadours into Germanie for a mariage. 1023. 5. b.
Ambaſſadours from Germanie for king Richardes ſeconde mariage. 1023. 10.b.
Ambaſſadours from the good townes in Flaunders to excuſe them of van Arteneldes death. 927. 18. a.
Ambaſſadours to Fraunce to moue a mariage. 1087. 20. b.
Ambaſſadours of England and Fraunce meete at Balingham. 1083. 23. a.
Ambaſſadours from the Pope to the blacke Prince. 952. 24. a.
Ambaſſadours to Callais.pag. 1265.col.1. line. 57. page. 1269.col.1.line.45.
Ambaſſadours from Fraunce. page. 1168. col.1, line.11. page.1170.col.1, line.2.into Fraunce.pag.1170.col 1 line.30.from Fraunce. pag. 1171. col.1. line. 41. to Fraunce. pag.1186.col.1. line.32.from fraunce. pag. 1202.col.2. line. 16. page. 1203.col.1.line.2. line.41. to the Frenche. pag.1203. col.2.lin.15. from the Duke of Burgongne. page.1345. col.2. line. 58. from Scotland.pag. 1352.col.1.lin.9.
Archbyſhop of Canterbury his Oration. pag. 1168. col.2. lin.11.
Ambaſſadours ſent to forraine Princes. pag. 1125. col. 2. lin.30. ſent from the French king.pa.1131.col.1.lin.15.
Ambaſſadours ſent into Britaine.pa.1135.col 2.lin.41 to the Counceil at Piſa. pag. 1155.col.1.lin.20.
Ammund, a king of the Danes. 212. 19.
Amboys caſtle. pa.1323.col.2. line.50.
Ambaſſadours out of France. 794. 43. a.
Ambaſſadours into Germany. 109. 7. b.
Ambaſſadours into Fraunce. 874. 58. 875. 50. a. 897. 46. b.
Ambaſſadours from Fraunce. 1078. 1. b.
Ambaſſadours from the Pope. 924. 40. a.
Ambaſſadours ſent to the Pope 921. 28. a.
Ambaſſadours from Scotland 890. 38. b.
Ambaſſadours from Fraunce. 897. 40. a.
Ambaſſadours ſent by the king of Scotland into Normandie to king Iohn. 542. 95.
Ambaſſadours not ſuffered to paſſe through England, from Scotland, into Normandie to king Iohn. 543. 5.
Ambaſſadours ſent from king Iohn to the Pope. 583.74.
Amphibalus martired at Redburne for the faith of Chriſt. 50. 53.
Annates forbidden to be paid. 1557. 16.
Ambaſſadours from the Pope. 949. 47. a.
Ambaſſadours to the Duke of Britayne.pag.1407. col. 1. lin.38.lin.51. col.2. lin.11.
Ambaſſadours from the Scottiſhe king to king Iohn. 545. 60.
Ambaſſade ſent by king Iohn to yͤ king of Scots. 549.67.
Ambaſſadours ſent into Scotland by king Iohn. 552.7.
Amboys caſtle aſſured to Theobald Earle of Bloys. 427. 20.
Ambaſſadors ſent to yͤ Pope cōcernyng a peace. 946.20.a.
Ambitious minde of Seuerus the Emperour. 78. 91.
Amphibalus, a zelous Chriſtian in Britayne. 88. 6.
Ambaſſadours into Scotland, 817. 43. b.
Anne ſiſter to Wylliam Duke of Cleue, betrothed to Henry the 8. 1574.26. is recca-

ued with great honor Ead. 46. is maried, vnto the king, 1577. 34. is deuorſed. 1579. 40.
Anguſſel ſlayne. 134. 27.
Anguſſel buried in Scotland. 134. 36.
Anſelme complayneth to the Pope of king William Rufus. 333. 31.
Anſelme ſent for into England out of Normandie. 336. 26
Anſelme reuoked out of exile. 337. 40.
Anſelme denieth to do homage to the king. 338. 27
Anſelme diſobeyeth the kinges letters, concerning Thomas the elect of Yorke. 349. 33.
Anſelme endeth his lyfe. 349. 81.
Anſelme an Italian, borne in Piemont. 349. 84.
Auncient cuſtome of Engliſhe men, was to weare long beardes. 529. 30.
Auelina, daughter to the Earle of Aumarle, married to lord Edmund, ſonne to king Henry the third. 780. 75.
Antigonus, brother to Pandraſus, taken priſoner by Brute. 11. 41.
Angles come ouer out of Germanie into Britaine. 113. 1.
Anteus ſlayne by Hercules in Mauritania. 5. 107.
Antwerpe receaueth the Engliſhe marchantes with proceſſion. 449. 29.
Andrewe nominated Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, is preuented by death. 178. 12.
Angleſey inuaded by the Romanes. 59. 83.
Anthonie Wooduile. pa. 1298 col. 1. lin. 4.
Androgeus Earle of London, diſobeyeth the ſummonance of Caſſibellane. 43. 66.
Andragatius, Admirall of the ſeas perteyning to the Empire. 97. 38.
Andates the Britiſh Goddeſſe of victorie. 64. 47.
Angiers Citie wonne by kyng John. 563. 15. and deſtroyed by him. 563. 19.
Androgeus ſendeth into Frãce for Ceſar, and ioyneth with him agaynſt Caſſibellane. 43. 82.
Androgeus departeth into France with Ceſar. 44. 17.
Auguſtus Ceſar comming towardes Britaine with an armie, turneth another way. 46. 53.
Andredeſwald wood. 194. 12.
Angli, all one people with the Thuringi. 113. 45.
Angli, one of yͤ twelue nations of the Germanes. 113. 40.
Anſwere of Lewir. iii. daughters concerning yͤ loue they bare vnto him. 19. 70.
Anabaptiſtes diſcouered, of whom ſome recanting, beare fagottes. 1871. 54. ſome are whipped and baniſhed, 1872. 12. two are burnt, 1872. 29.
Angleſey yeelded to Julius Agricola. 68. 111.
Angiers receiued by the Britaines. 545. 97
Angleſey woonne by the Romanes. 59. 114
Anne daughter to Ed. 4. married to Thomas lorde Howard. pag. 1356. col. 1. lin. 43.
Anacletus taken priſoner by Brute. 11. 76.
Antony lord Wooduile. 1316. col. 2. lin. 28. Earle Riuers beheaded. pag. 1321. col. 1. lin. 4.
Aulus Didius, looke Didius.
Anion waſted by Queene Elianor. 543. 78.
Antony baſtard of Burgongne. pag. 1317. col. 2. lin. 16. chalenged the lorde Scales. lin. 44.
Angles and their offſpring in Britaine. 113. 29.
Anſwere of yͤ Oracle to Brutes prayer. 12. 67.
Anna ſlayne by Penda, and his armie diſcomfited. 172. 55
Aulafe king of Norway baptiſed, and receiueth the fayth. 241. 7.
Anne ſiſter to vter Pendragon, maried to Loth king of Pictes. 132.
Angleſey Ile ſpoyled by the Frenchemen. 714. 40.
Annius cited. 3. 110. and. 4. 67. and. 5. 6.
Anne wyfe to Richarde. 2. dyeth. 1084. 17. b
Andredeſwold in Suſſex, 125. 60.
Andell riuer in Normandie. 385. 31.
Andreſey Ile. 208. 16.
Auncient lawes of Englande abrogated, and newe inſtituted. 303. 56.
Anaſtaſius Empe. 127. 33.
Antoninus cited. 2. 93.
Andredeſceſter Citie beſieged. 126. 56.
Andredeceſter Citie ouerthrowen. 125. 87. and. 126. 71
Antoninus, ſonne to Seuerus the Empe. looke Baſſianus.
Andredeſley wood, with the length and breadth. 215. 77
Aulafe entring into the Engliſhe campe, is with his armie chaſed, and his men ſlaine. 226. 53.
Aniow inhabitantes take part with king Henry the fyrſt, againſt Robart Duke of Normandie. 344. 22.
Anthony Bek made Patriarch of Hieruſalem. 843. 38. b. contendeth with the Prior of Durham. 844. 1. a.
Andrew Harcley created Earle of Caerlile. 869. 3. a. conſpireth agaynſt the king, and is executed. 871. 55. a.
Andrew Trollop. pag. 1296. col. 1. lin. 33. pag. 1297. col. 1. 27. ſlayne. pag. 1312. col. 1. lin. 38.
Auberoch beſieged by yͤ French men. 927. 53. a.
Aubrey de Veer created Earle of Oxford. 1083. 7. a.
Antony Woduile Lord Riuers brother to Elizabeth, wyfe to Ed. 4. pag. 1360. col. 1. lin. 11. put in ward. pa. 1361 co. 2. li. 3. beheaded at Pomfret. pag. 1362. col. 1. lin. 36
Anſelme made the Popes Legate in England. 355. 37.
Anſwere of an Heathen byſhop concerning heatheniſh religion. 161. 40.
Anſelme reſtored, & returneth into England. 346. 10.
Angoleſme ſurrendred to the Earle of Derby. 927. 55. b recouered. 928. 35. b.
Anne ſiſter to the Emperour commeth to Douer. 1037. 53. b. married to king Ri. the. 2. 1038. 10. a.
Anne of Cleue dyeth. 1769. 4.
Anne wyfe to Ri. the 3. crowned Queene. pa. 1389. col. 1 lin. 1. ſodaynely dyeth. pag. 1411. col. 1. lin. 28.
Anne de la Poole, daughter to John Duke of Suffolke. pa. 1406. col. 2. lin. 44.
Ambreuilliers caſtle taken by the Earle of Saliſburie. pa. 1187. col. 2. lin. 6.
Angiers citie repaired agayne by king John. 564. 10.
Anſelme refuſeth to conſecrate the Byſhops inueſted by the king. 341. 105.
Anſelme out of fauour with king Henri the firſt. 342. 11
Anſelme tranayleth to Rome in defence of his priuiledges agaynſt the king. 342. 27.
Anſelme baniſhed, and his poſſeſſions ſeaſed into the kings handes. 342. 92.
Angleſey Ile. 787. 12. b. won 791. 4. b.
Annius of Viterbo cited. 1. 63. and. 2. 68. and. 2. 89. and. 3 16. and. 3. 46. a.
Anna, ſonne to Enus, ſucceedeth Egricus in the kyngdome of the Eaſtangles. 172. 53.
Anſelme created Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 323. 91.
Andauer. 233. 17
Anandale ſpoyled. 830. 27. b.
Aulafe, a Daniſhe captayne. 244. 113.
Anſelme caſt quite out of king Wylliam Rufus fauour. 330. 42.
Anſelme fleeth out of yͤ realme to Rome. 333. 21.
Anne daughter to Edward the fourth. married to Thomas lord Howard. pag. 1356. col 1. lin. 44.
Anne beame a hill. pag. 1416. col. 2. lin. 57.
Anna, king of the Eaſtangles. 169. 54.
Anatholius, an holy and worthy father. 168. 37.
Angiers taken by Queene Elianor. 543. 82.
Appointing of the Pope, belongeth only to the Emperour. 330. 99.
Appeales to Rome forbidden, and howe ſuch appeales ſhalbe determined. 1559. 53.
A Parre Tho. Knight. 1449. 49.
Appledore caſtle builded. 216. 3.
Appeales or pleas to the Pope, forbidden. 408. 99.
Apleby caſtle taken by yͤ Scots. 433. 113.
Aquitaine reduced to yͤ French pag. 1285. col. 2. lin. 43.
Aquitaine troubled with warre 978. 40. b.
Aques citie beſieged & woonne. 447. 18.
Aquila a Britiſh prophet, what time he wrote. 19. 5.
Aulafe, named by wryters, king of the Iriſhmen, and of many Ilandes. 226. 11.
Aulafe arriueth in the mouth of Humber with a great armie. 226. 16.
Aulafe entreth diſguiſed into the engliſhe campe, to viewe it. 226. 31.
Aulafe diſcouered, and knowen by an engliſhe ſouldier. 226. 40.
Aulafe departeth this life. 227. 74.
Aulafe, ſonne to king Sithrike, taketh vpon him the gouernment of the Northumbers. 227. 75.
Aulafe ſubmitteth him ſelfe to king Edmund. 227. 84.
Aulafe receiueth the Chriſtian faith, and is baptiſed. 227. 94.
Aulafe, and Reynold driuen out of their countreys. 227. 104
Aulafe returneth into Northumberland, and is reſtored 229. 50.
Aulafe expulſed againe, through the Northumbers diſloyaltie. 229. 55.
Auguſtus Ceſar comming the ſecond time into Britaine, is ſtayed by the Britiſh Amballadours. 46. 63.
Auguſtus Ceſar comming the third time into Britaine, is conſtrained to goe agaynſt the Salaſſians. 46. 79
Aurelius Ambroſe, ſecond ſon to Conſtantinus, made king of

of Britaine. 122. 84.
Aurelius Ambroſe, leadeth an armie againſt the Saxons. 122. 93.
Aurelius Ambroſe dieth of poyſon, and is buried at Stonheng. 123.64.
Aurelius Ambroſe dyeth of a wound. 124. 66.
Aulafe made king of ỷ Danes in Northumberland. 127. 52.
Aulafe marcheth with an armie towardes the South partes of England. 227. 57.
Aulafe marieth Alditha, daughter to Earle Ormus. 227. 68.
Audeley Thomas Knight ſpeaker of the Parliament, made Lord Keeper of ỷ great ſeale. 1558. 14. is made hygh Chauncellor of Englande. 1559. 46.
Anſweare of a godly man touching Auguſtine the Monke 151. 52.
Auguſtine requireth iii. things of the Britiſh Churche to be obſerued. 151. 76.
Auguſtine departeth this lyfe, and is buried at Cantorburie. 152.53
Auguſtines prophecie fulfilled. 154. 20.
Auguſtine prophecieth of the affliction of ỷ Britiſh Clergie. 152. 16.
Aurea hiſtoria cited. 137.68.
Aurelius Conanus rebelleth againſt Conſtantinus. 138. 31.
Aurelius Conanus made kyng of Britaine. 139. 38.
Aurelius Conanus impriſoneth his vncle, and ſlaieth his two ſonnes. 139. 51.
Aurelius Conanus dyeth. 139. 55.
Auguſtine and his fellowes ſue to be releaſed of their viage into Britaine. 146.79
Auguſtine made gouernour of thoſe that were ſent with him. 147. 13.
Auguſtine and his company arriue in the Ile of Thanet in Kent. 147. 28.
Auguſtine and his fellowes reputed Nigromancers. 147. 40.
Auguſtine and his fellowes receiued by Ethelbert king of Kent. 147.62.
Auguſtine ordeined Archbiſhop of the engliſhe nation. 148. 66.
Auguſtine calleth a Synode in Britaine. 151.10. and 151.
Auguſtines Oake. 151. 12
Audeley Thomas, lord Audeley Chauncellour, is ordeyned high Steward of England. 1572. 16. and 1582. 13.
Auguſtine an Iriſhman, made byſhop of Waterfoord in Ireland. 442. 76.
Aucthoritie of a Byſhop in reproouing princes. 174.82.
duke of Aubemerle arriueth in Ireland. 1104. 23.b.
Duke of Aumerle Conſtable of England. 1099. 22.a
Auguſta, ſometime the name of London. 104. 32.
Aueſia, or Aeteſia Counteſſe of Warren dyeth. 742. 57.
Aulafe returneth with his people into Norway. 241.11
Aurelius Ambroſe, captayne of the Britaines agaynſt the Saxons. 115. 24.
James Lord Audeleys valiantneſſe. 959.8.b. 961.3.b.
Aulafe ſlayne in Norway. 261. 44.
Hugh Audeley created Earle of Gloceſter. 900.13. b.
Aurelius Ambroſe caried ouer into little Britaine. 110.19
Auncientie of the Chriſtian religion in Britaine declared. 53.29.
Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter Pendragon, returne into great Britaine with an armie. 122. 19.
Archbyſhop of Meſſina ſent legate into England. 745.27
Archbiſhop of Colen ſent Ambaſſadour to Richard elect, king of Almayne. 746.70.
Archbiſhops ſix at one time preſent at the Parliament at London. 746.86.
Arde caſtle built. 1581.2
Arthur, ſonne to Uter Pendragon, beginneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 131. 58.
Arthur ouerthroweth the Saxons in twelue battailes. 131 70.
Armorica, now called Britaine in Fraunce. 35. 21.
Armie ſent into Britaine. 617 22.a. 917.10.b.
Archbyſhops and Byſhops of the Chriſtian religion appoynted in Britaine. 75 9.
Arundell Thomas knight committed to the Towre. 1709 30. is beheaded. 1712. 6.
Articles propounded and concluded vpon, at the Synode of Herford. 179. 97.
Archdeacons ſworne not to fauour maried prieſtes. 347. 88.
Richard Earle of Arundel apprehended. 1093. 26.a. arreyned. 1095. 20.b. cōdemned. 1096.32.a. beheaded. 1096 37 b.
Earle of Artois diſcomfiteth Thengliſhmen in Gaſcoine. 816.43.a.
Arundel caſtle fortified againſt king Henry the fyrſt. 339. 62.
Arthur ſendeth to Howell king of little Brittaine, for ayde agaynſt the Saxons. 132.57
Articles obiected agaynſt king Richard the ſecond. 1111. 34.a.
Armes of London augmented. 1033. 23. a.
Arthur marrieth Guenhera, kinſwoman to Cador Earle of Cornewall. 133. 55.
Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, or Yorke, to haue aucthoritie to place another, the Sea of eyther being voyde. 163.20.
Archby. of Yorke lord Chauncelor. pag. 1362. col. 2. lin. 3. came before day to ỷ queene lin. 22. deliuered her ỷ great Seale. lin. 47. was blamed for deliuerie. pa. 1363. col. 2 lin. 49. taken from him. lin. 50.
Armes of king Wylliam, made ſithence the armes of the crowne of England. 315. 47.
Arthur of Britaine made knight. 546.61.
Arthur fleeth by night from king John. 547.35.
Archbyſhop of Yorke Geffrey, depriued. 548. 113.
Archbyſhop of Yorke Geffrey baniſhed the Court. 549. 14.
Arthur Duke of Britaine doth homage to king John. 549. 30.
Arthur Duke of Britaine proclaimeth him ſelfe Earle of Toriane, and Aniou. 553. 19.
Arthur Duke of Britaine taken priſoner. 554. 1.
Arthurs eyes appoynted by his vncle king John to be put out. 55. 3.
Arthur duke of Britaine dyeth. 555. 61.
Archchbyſhop of Yorke deliuereth Hen. the ſixt. to Ed. the fourth. pag. 1332. col. 2. lin. 28. was ſent priſoner to Guynes. pag. 1345. col. 1. lin.47.
Armie ſent into Gaſcoine. 924 54.a.
Archilochus cited. 2.61.
Ardulf, ſonne to Arnulf, made king of Northumberland. 201. 57.
Archbyſhop of Cantorburie Steuē Langton taketh poſſeſſion of his ſee, and reſtoreth the Monkes of Cantorburie. 581. 71.
Armie of men lodged on Barham downe to reſiſt ſtraungers. 771.44.
Arlet, mother to king Wylliam Conquerour. 323. 32.
Armetrida, wyfe to Hugh Lupus Earle of Cheſter. 323. 59.
Arundel Caſtel beſieged. 373. 23.
Arden murdered. 1703.40.
Armager, looke Aruiragus.
Armie ſent into Gaſcoine. 809 24. b.
Arnold Butlar a valiant captayne. pag. 1413. col. 2. lin. 57.
Arraine Therle gouernour of Scotland. 1589. 50.
Arde aſſaulted by Engliſhmen. pag. 1146. col. 1. lin. 6.
Accorde made betweene kyng Maximianus, and Conan Meridock, Duke of Cornewall. 95. 57.
Archbyſhop of Cantorburie Primate of Ireland. 328. 11.
Archbyſhop of Yorke accurſed with booke, bell, and candle. 748. 18.
Archbyſhop of Cantorburie intitled Legati nati. 401.36
Archbyſhops of Cantorburie, ſpirituall father to the kyng and all his people. 404. 17.
Armeus, one of the names of Danaus. 7.22.
Armes of Uter Pendragon. 127.42.
Articles of peace with the French. pag. 1203. col. 2. lin. 26. pag. 1205. col. 1. lin.30.
Ardulf expulſed out of his eſtate. 201. 80.
Archbyſhops Sees in Britaine in the dayes of Lucius, and theyr precinctes. 75.10.
Arthur, ſonne to Duke Geffray of Britaine, named heire apparant to the crowne of England. 483.99.
Aruiragus dyeth, and is buried at Gloceſter. 52.72.
Arthur paſſeth ouer into Ireland with an armie. 133. 59.
Arthur paſſeth the Seas into Fraunce with an armie. 133.66.
Arthur determineth to make him ſelf Emperour of Rome 133.75.
Arthur landeth at Sandwich, and diſcomfiteth the rebels. 134.18.
Acres Citie beſieged by the Chriſtians. 493.73. ſurrendred into ỷ Chriſtian mens handes. 500. 79.
Archigallo becommeth an vpright prince. 31.70.
Archigallo dyeth, and is buried at Yorke. 31.75
Archbyſhopricke of Yorke, ſubiect to the Archbyſhopricke of Cantorburie. 305. 72.
Archbyſhop of Yorke, acknowledged Primate of all Scotland. 305. 90.
Aruiragus marrieth Geniſſa, daughter to Claudius the Emperour. 51.41.
Aruiragus marriage with Claudius daughter, confuted. 51. 64.

Aruiragus time of gouernmēt diuerſly doubted of. 51. 93.
Aruiragus denyeth his ſubiection to the Romanes. 52. 10
Aruiragus maketh a final peace with the Romanes. 52. 69.
Archbyſhop of Cantorburie fauoureth the Barons part agaynſt kyng John. 594. 55. he is interdicted, & goeth to Rome. 594. 57.
Archigallo, the ſecond ſonne to Morindus, admitted king of Britaine. 30. 102.
Archbyſhops fees of England to be paide at Rome, diminiſhed. 262. 8.
Archbiſhop of Yorke, ought not to crowne the kyng, without licence of the Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 412. 31.
Artificers and other people of Britaine ſent ouer to inhabite in Gallia. 87. 91.
Arthur receiued Lord of Aniou again at Turaine, by ẏ Nobles of the ſame. 542. 28.
Archbyſhops See of Cantorburie remooued to Litchfeeld. 194. 112
Articles agreed vppon at Hatfielde Synode. 182. 116.
Authune, Duke of Suſſex. 184. 41.
Archbyſhopricke of Cantorburie kept voide in the kinges handes. 351. 73
Archbyſhoppes See, reſtored agayne to Cantorburie. 200. 91.
Arnold, brother to Robert de Beleſme, Earle of Shreweſbury. 339. 72.
Arundel executed. 881. 40. a.
Arnold confined for his trayterous demeanour. 340. 17.
Arthur Duke of Britaine committed to the French king. 543. 47.
Ardmach in Ireland, ordeyned an Archbyſhopricke. 386. 32.
Armie ſent into Scotland. 899. 27. a.
Armeny commeth into England. 1051. 13. a.
Armie ſent againſt the Flemmings. 901. 26. b.
Articles by the Duke of Gloceſter agaynſt the Byſhop of Wincheſter. pa. 1228. col. 1 lin. 49.
Anſwere of the byſhop of Wincheſter to the Duke of Gloceſter. pag, 1229. col. 1. lin. 11.
Armies of England & Fraunce approche. 905. 8. a.
Armie ſent into Britaine. 995. 16. b. breaketh vp. 996. 30. a.
Ariſtotle cited. 2. 20. & 5. 47.
Armour and weapons taken from the Engliſhmen. 299. 6.
Armie agaynſt the Saraſins. 1076. 16. b.
Articles againſt the Spencers. 880. 26. b.
Arundel Humfrey Captaine of the rebels in Deuonſhire executed. 1655. 24.
Arthur eldeſt ſonne to Henry the ſeuenth borne. 1428. 40 is maried. 1455. 32. ſent to lye in Wales. 1456. 50. his counſellers. ibidem. dyeth. 1457. 24.
Archenbray battaile fought by Robert eldeſt ſonne to king William, againſt his father. 310. 37.
Arnault Nicholas knight valiantly defendeth Bullenberg. 1640. 54.
Armour, and weapons taken from the Britaines. 49. 83.
Archbyſhop of Yorke Richarde Scrope deuiſed articles againſt Henry the fourth. pag. 1137. col. 1. line. 41. Conſpireth againſt him. pag. 1147. col. 2. lin. beheaded pag. 1148. col. 2. lin. 48.
Armorica, ſubdued by Marimianus. 95. 68.
Armorica, what in the Britiſhe tongue it ſignifieth. 95. 79. & 98. 78.
Richard Erle of Arundel goeth to the ſea. 1073. 25. b.
Army ſent to ayde the Duke of Britain. 1018. 20. b. ſpyeleth Fraunce in paſſing thither. 1019. 6. a. entreth Britaine. 1021. 28. a. returneth into England. 1021. 50. b.
Arthur diſcomfiteth the rebels in another battaile. 134. 56.
Arthur dyeth, and is buried at Glaſtenburie. 134. 64.
Arthurs body found. 134. 70.
Arundel Archbyſhop of Cantorburie condemned and baniſhed. 1095. 10. b.
Arthurs bones, with the length and the bignes therof. 135. 16.
Arthurs bones and his wiues, tranſlated. 135. 49.
John Arundel made Marſhall of England. 1009. 23. a. drowned in the ſea. 1014. 7. b. his exceſſe in apparell. 1015. 36. a.
Arthurs graue no where to be found. 136. 105.
Arthur had ii. wyues. 137. 31.
Richard Erle of Arundel, Admiral, goeth to the ſea. 1057 45. a. ouercommeth the Flemiſhe fleete. 1057. 30. b. waſteth the coaſtes of Flaunders. 1058. 30. a.
Archbyſhop of Yorke in like authoritie in al things to the Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 348. 71.
Archbiſhop of Yorke, bound only to fetch his conſecration and benediction at Cantorburie. 348. 73.
Archbyſhop of Cantorburye threatneth to excōmunicate al thoſe that aſſyſt king John 582. 25.
Aruiragus his politie & courage againſt the Romanes. 50. 69.
Aruiragus putteth the Romanes to flight. 50. 72.
Aruiragus, youngeſt ſonne to Kymbeline, admitted kyng of Britaine. 51. 21.
Jacob Artenels houſe beſet. 926. 45. b. he is ſlaine. 927. 1. a.
Ardune byſhop of Geneua. 423 112.
Arnulfe, or Athelwoolfe, fyrſt byſhop of Caerleil. 362. 83.
Arbogaſtes a Goth, ſlayeth Flauius Victor nobiliſſimus. 97. 98.
Articles agreed vpon quite contrary to the fayth. 199 52.
Arrogancie of byſhops concernyng their places at the table, well requited. 350. 114.
Areani remoued, & what was their office. 105. 57.
Armach, Metropolitane towne of all Ireland, woonne. 448. 74.
Army into Scotland. pa. 1352 col. 2. lin. 20.
Archigallo reſtored to his kingdome. 31. 54.
Armour not to be pledged, nor forfaited. 455. 57.
Archigallo depriued of his kingdome. 31. 5
Artogail, looke Archigallo.
Arde woonne by the Frenchmen. 1007. 15. b.
Aſteley John, a Scriuener, a counſellor to Perkin Warbecke. 1450. 1
Aſwald ſucceedeth Ethelbert in the kingdom of Northumberland. 199. 33.
Aſwald trayterouſly murdered by his owne people. 199. 38
Aſtwood Thomas. 1443. 38.
Aſke Robert hanged in chaines 1570. 20.
Aſhrugge Abbey founded. 782. 4.
Aſkewe Anne arraigned vppon the ſtatute of the ſixe articles and acquitted. 1601. 46.
Reade Richard Alderman of London, being commaunded to goe in the warres, is taken priſoner. 1601. 21.
Aſchdon battel, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Danes. 210. 11
Aſhdon Churche in Eſſex builded. 262. 97.
Aſtoulfe de S. Hillarie, a counſellor, or rather corrupter of Henry, ſonne to king Henry the ſecond. 425. 105.
Aſſemblie of men of warre out of all partes of the Realme, to reſiſt ſtrangers. 771. 35.
Aſclepiodotus beginneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 82. 34.
Aſclepiodotus ſlaine by Coilus of Colcheſter. 82. 64.
Aſſurance of the victorie conſiſteth in ẏ felicitie of the captayne. 84. 2.
Aſhdone battell fought by the Danes agaynſt the Engliſhe men. 255. 77.
Aſclepiodotus Duke of Cornewall, chiefe captayne of a conſpiracie agaynſt the Romanes. 82. 7.
Aſſaracus delivereth places of defence vnto Brute in Greece. 10. 54.
Aſſembly of the ſtates at Northampton. 542. 59.
Aſcalon towne taken by the Engliſhmen. 503. 49.
Aſſerius Meneuenſis, byſhop of Shirebourne. 218. 25.
Aſſemblie of the Prelates at London before king John. 571. 11.
Aſia alotted vnto Sem. 1. 75.
Aſſiſe of bread. 555. 99
Aſhbert murdered young kyng Kenelme. 203. 50.
Athelney, in old time called Edlingſey. 217. 55.
Atonement made betwene king Stephen, and Archbyſhop Theobald of Cantorburie. 383. 3.
Athelſtan, ſecond ſonne to Egbert, ordeyned king of Kent, Suſſex, and Eſſex. 205. 12.
Atlas Maurus, one of Japhets names. 1. 88.
Athelmare confirmed byſhop of Wyncheſter. 725. 1
Athelney fortreſſe in Edelyngſey Ile builded. 214. 74.
At the wall, why ſo called. 174. 11.
At the wall. 173. 33.
Atrius made by Ceſar, Lieutenant of the nauie. 40. 89.
Athelſtan vanquiſheth the Danes by ſea. 207. 8.
Attacotti, a kinde of Scots or Pictes. 104. 7.
Attempt agaynſt ſtrangers Incumbentes. 639. 25.
Athanaſius cited. 94. 44
Earle of Athol taken. 842. 45. a. executed. 843. 37. a.
Earle of Athol ſlayne. 898. 40. b.
Aulus Atticus, a Romane captayne ſlayne. 72. 94.
Aulafe and Ulfus, princes of Swedeners, ouerthrowen by kyng Cnute. 261. 16
Aulafe prince of Sweden, expulſed out of his kingdome. 261. 40.
Auguſtine the Monke ſent into England. 146. 11. and. 146 74.
Auon Riuer. 222. 80.
Auon caſtle builded. 222. 80.

Audley

An Index.

Audley James Lorde warreth on the welchmen. 748.45.
Award.pa.1292.col.1.lin.50.
A water John Maior of Corke hanged. 1454.10.
Aydan ſent into Englande to preach the Goſpel. 168.25.
Aydans aduice concerning the preaching of the Goſpell in Northumberland. 167.107
Ayde from the French king to the Barons agaynſt kyng John. 594.20.
Aydans happie ſucceſſe in preaching the Goſpell. 168.69.
Aydan dyeth, and is buryed in Lindeſfern. 171.19.
Aylewin Earle. 234.23.
Aydan diſagreeth from the new Church of England, touching the obſeruing of Eaſter. 168.30.
Ayre Towne wonne and brent by kyng Johns Souldiers. 584.10.

B.

Barons accurſed agayne by name. 596.72.
Barons ſende to Lewes the French kings ſonne, offring to him the crowne, if he wil ſuccour them againſt kyng John. 597.52.
Barons haue ayde out of Frãce 597.71.
Barons do homage to Lewes the French king ſonne. 599.90.600.16.
Barons make rode vnto Cambridge, and from thence into Northfolke and ſuffolke, robbing Churches, and putting the Townes by the waye to Raunſome. 603.8.
Barons begyn to miſlyke with the matche which they had made with Lewes. 603.70.
Barres William, taken priſoner. 468.36.
Barons refuſe to ſtand to the French kings iudgment, betweene the kyng and them. 764.47.and.765.26.
Baſſianus, eldeſt ſonne to Seuerus the Emperour ſucceedeth him in the kingdome of Britaine. 78.46.
Baſſianus ſlaine. 78.57.
Barons of Wayne, and of the Marches of Britaine, ſubdued by the Engliſhmen. 409.44.
Barons poſſeſſions ſeyſed into king Johns handes, and by him committed to ſtrangers. 596.56.
Baldwin and Aecci, conſecrated Byſhops of the Eaſt Angles 180.58.
Baſſianus put in truſt wyth the Romane armie, looketh negligently to his charge. 80.30
Baſſianus practiſeth with Phiſitions and other, to diſpatch his father. 80.38.
Baldwins Earle his Oration to his ſouldiours. 375.30.
Barons encamped betweene Stanes and Windſore, king John commeth from Windſore to them to talke of ſome agreement. 589.69.
Barons will try their quarell with king John by dint of Sworde. 592.60.
Baſſianus and his brother Geta, rule the Empyre equally together. 81.35.
Baſſianus ſlaying his brother Geta, poſſeſſeth the gouernment of the Empyre alone. 81.40.
Baſſianus ſlayne by one of his owne ſouldiers. 81.41.
Bale cited. 118.38.&.123.73
Badõ hill, ſuppoſed to be blackamore. 128.64.
Baillewile Focelin, accurſed by Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 409.62.
Bale John cited. 4.39.&.4.57 &.5.22.&.6.35.
Baldud well ſeene in the knowledge of Aſtrologie and Necromancie. 19.18.
Baldud, ſonne to Ludhurdibras or Rud, beginneth to reigne ouer Britaine. 19.14.
Barons of England complaine to Henry the thirde of the
Balwin Earle taken priſoner. 376.33.
Barwike caſtle, gaged to the king of England. 439.40.
Baſſet Philip made chiefe Juſtice of England. 759.61.
Barons denounced accurſed by the Popes cõmaundement. 594.69.
Baldwyn Biſhop of Worceſter conſecrated Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 460.17. departeth this lyfe at Tyrus. 497.46
Barrehã downe in Kent where king John aſſembled together his great army to reſiſt the French king. 574.70.
Bakers puniſhed by the tumbrell. 753.58.
Battell betwixt Fiſhes. 658.41.
Bauzan Stephen a captayne ſlayne by the Welchmen. 744.60.
Bardiene, looke Gurguintus.
Bardſey, an Iland in Wales 4.51.
Bale John cited. 1.37.&.1.102.&.2.75.&.2.100.&.4.2.&.4.7.
Edward Balliol reſigneth hys right of Scotland to kyng Edward the third. 955.6.a.
Banerettes made. 1632.10.
Thomas Bradwedin made Archbyſhop of Canterburie 943.55.b.
Barons take armes againſt the Spencers. 858.40.b.
Barons take armes againſt king Edward the ſeconde. 863.1.a. take flight at Burton vpon Trent. 865.30.b. diſcomfited at Borowbridge and taken. 866.26.b. executed. 868.1.b.
John Bal prieſt cõdemned and executed. 1034.50.a.
Barke Ager loſt & recouered againe. 1604.46.
Bardus made king of the Celtes. 3.103.
Charles baſtard ſonne to Henry laſt duke of Somerſet made the kinges chiefe chamberlaine. 1461.30
Batel at S.Omers. 911.1.a
Baniſhing of men in England, when, and by whom ordeyned. 346.39.
Barwike wonne by the Engliſhe. pag.1352.col.2.lin.48.
Bayliffes of Londõ diſcharged of their office, and committed to warde. 565.69.
John Baliol adiudged kyng of Scots. 804.40.a. crowned and doth homage. 805.33.b preſent at the Parliament at Weſtminſter. 809.45.a. ſubmitteth him ſelfe and his Realme to the king of England. 821.45.b. ſent to London. 823.7.b. ſet at libertie and dyeth. 835.33.a.
Edward Baſiol commeth into England. 895.36.a. is crowned king of Scotland. 895.20.b. chaſed thence. ibidem. obteyneth Scotland by helpe of king Edward the third. 896.50.a. doth homage to him. 896.50.b.
The battel of Stoke. 1430.50 the battell of Saint Albin. 1433.50. the battell of Dirnew. 1436.10. the battel of Blacke heath. 1427.20.
Bray Renold. 1427.40.
Battaile on the Sea. 992.23.a.
Baldred ſucceedeth Cuthred in the kingdome of Kent. 205.16.
Baldred chaſed out of his kingdome, 203.59. and. 205.21
Battaile of Aulroy. 969.51.b.
Baſtard Ogle. pag.1313.col.2.lin.50.
Baſtard of Borgongde. pag.1317.col.2.lin.16. chalenged the lord Scales. lin.44.
Barons of Poictow reuolt frõ the French king, and doo homage to king John. 584.32.
William Duke of Bauire bringeth corne into England. 948.10.b.
Bayeulx yeeldeth to Chaſtillion. 1824.38.
Barney Keneline executed for treaſon. 1861.37.
Andrew Barton, a famous Scottiſhe Pirate ſlayne. 1441.56.
Barlow doctor, byſhop of Chicheſter. 1803.8.
Battaile at Muſkelborough. 1624.10.
Barnards caſtle geuen to the Earle of Warwick. 844.37.a.
Baynam Alexander knight. 1450.13.
Battaile of Vernoile. pa.1224 col.1.lin.46. battaile of herrings. pa.1241.co.1.lin.12 at Saint Albons. pag.1287 col.1.lin.57. at Blorhothe. pag.1295.col.2.lin.4. at Northampton. pag.1299. col.1.lin.20. at Wakefeeld. pag.1303.col.2.lin.37. at Mortimers croſſe. pa.1304 col.2.lin.43. at Saint Albons, the ſecond. pag.1305. col.1.lin.30. at Exham. pa.1314.col.2.lin.16.
Burdet knight. pag.1227.col.1.lin.32.lin.56.col.2.lin.10.pag.1237.col.2.lin.30
Barkeley William of Weley atteinted. 1425.43
Baldud flyeth in the ayre. 19.37.
Barkeley Maurice knight. 1450.13.
Battel of Algeberota. 1049.54.b.
Battel of Ratcote bridge. 1067 30.b.
Barbe Noir a Genowey. 909.30.a.
Barnes Wylliam created byſhop of London. 1458.37.
The battel Bolein Maſſe. 1599 40.
Baſtard of Bourbon, Admirall of France. pag.1324.col.1.lin.2.
Battel of S.Luce. 908.40.b.
Bartholomew, byſhop of Exeter ſent Ambaſſadour to the Pope. 406.90.
Battel of Poyters. 957.50.b.
Bats Abbey builded. 195.52.
Bambrough deſtroyed by the Danes. 240.46
Barons of England withdraw them into Wales agaynſt Henry the third. 642.77.
Battaile at Shrowsbery. pag.1139.col.1 lin.13.
Barkalen his fayth. 1244.col.2.lin.50.
Battel of Nauerret. 972.50.a
Battel at Borowbrig. 866.30.b.
Battel at Biland. 870.40.b.
Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders, father in law to Duke Wylliam of Normandy. 285.46.
Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders, aydeth Duke William of Normandy in his conqueſt of England. 285.46.

An Index.

Badges forbidden. 1076.20.a
Barons of the fiue portes. pag. 1120. col 2. lin. 21
Barley Wylliam. 1442. 30. and. 1443.26.
Batel of Banocks Borne. 852 40.b.
Battel of Comeran in Ireland 854.30.a.
Battel of Miton vpon Swale, or ẏ white battel. 857.13.b.
Battel at Halidoun hill. 896. 6.b.
Bath Monaſterie ioyned to the Sea of Bath. 336. 1.
Bonifacius byſhop of Eaſtangles being dead, Biſi ſucceedeth him. 180.48.
Bamborough Caſtle. pag. 1313. col. 2. lin. 30. taken. pag. 1315. col. 1. lin. 38.
Bardus renowmed for inuenting of dities and muſicke. 3. 108.
Baſtardy in king Ed. the. iiii. pag. 1377. col. 1. lin. 40.
Baſreeg, a leader, or king of the Danes. 209.114.
Baſreeg ſlayne. 210.35.
Barnard Hethe. pag. 1305. col 1. lin. 33.
Battel at Dunbar. 820.12.b.
Battel at Neuels croſſe. 939. 14.b.
Bartholoin, captaine of the Baſclenſes. 28.47.
Bamburge caſtle recouered frō the Scots. 397.6.
Battell at Bellegard. 825.30.a
Baſingſtoke. 220.25.
Baſclenſes aſſigned to dwell in Ireland. 28.62.
Bathe beſeiged by the Saxons. 133.20.
Banbourgh caſtle beſieged, & yeelded to king William Rufus. 326.6.
Bale Iohn cited. 53.3.
Baſtard Fauconbridge beheaded. pag. 1344. col. 2 lin. 37
Bamburc caſtle builded. 140. 44.
Barthes, in olde tyme called Bardi. 4.49.
Bardeny Abbey. 189.7.
Baſingwerke Caſtle buylded. 398.2.
Barons ouerthrowen at ẏ battell of Eueſhame. 773.23.
The battell of Saint Quintines. 1768.20.
Baſing battaile, fought by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 210.42.
Battail of Morleis. 919.20.a
Bardi, a ſect of Philoſophers. whence deſcended. 4.1.
Bayliffes names that were firſt appointed to gouerne the citie of London. 479.20.
Battaile at Boſwortha. pag. 1420. col. 2. lin. 36. pag. 1422. col. 1. lin. 57.
Barons haue poſſeſſion of London. 589.22.
Barons write to other of the nobilitie to ioyne with them againſt king Iohn. 589.23.
Bardolph Hugh againſt the creation of Hubert to the Chancelours office. 545.50.
Barton Elizabeth the holye mayd of Kent. 1561.27. her adherentes eadem. 36. her hiſtorie at large. eadem. 42. is executed with her adherents. 1562.24.
Battaile of Agencourt. pag. 1178. col. 2. lin. 14.
Barons of England letters to the Pope. 836.37.b.
Baicux in Normandie taken by kyng Henry the firſt. 344. 14.
Battaile of Otterbourn. 1074. 12.a.
Baynardes Caſtle. pag. 1307. col. 1. lin. 41.
Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders, commeth into Englande. 270.79
Balliolle Bernard, an Engliſhe captaine. 434.27.
Battell of Dunkel or Methſen. 842.40.a
Bayon citie wonne. 447.22.
Barons ſweare to maintayne their quarel againſt kyng Iohn. 586.75.
Barons cal their Armie againſt king Iohn, the army of God and of the holy Church. 588. 90.
Batteyll Abbey builded. 315. 89.
Baldwine Earle of Flaūders, maryeth Ethelſwida, daughter to king Alured. 218.76.
Baſſus, a valiant man of war. 164.22.
Barnes Doctor preacheth againſt Wincheſter. 1577. 40. aſketh the Byſhop forgiuenes in the Pulpet. 1578 10.
Baſſet Philip, L. chiefe Iuſtice. 761.26.
Bayeux taken by Engliſhmen. pag. 1189. col 2. lin 18.
Bath Citie taken and ſacked by the Byſhop of Conſtans. 318.52.
Bardi, and their ſect remaine in Britaine vnto this day. 4. 48.
Baſclenſes with their captaine baniſhed out of Spaine. 28. 50.
Bayon yeelded to the Engliſhmen. 810.57.b.
Bathe made a Byſhops See. 309.65.
Baſtard ſonne of king Richard ſlewe the Vicount of Limoges. 547.48.
Barnes Doctor beareth a fagot. 1536.48.
Baldud falleth, and is torne in peeces. 19.39.
Bathes at the citie of Bathe, made by Necromancie. 19. 20.
Barwicke bridge broken with a flud of water. 547.53.
Bardi, their profeſſion, and orders. 4.9.
Balences, looke Baſclenſes.
Baſels abrogated. 398.17.
Balun Caſtle wonne by the Frenche king. 547.12.
Baliol hugh. 595.67.
Baſcheruille Caſtle burnt. 385 39.
Battell at Halden rigge.
Battell of Creſſy. 932.24.b.
Battell on the Sea. 806.20.b.
Bathe Citie called Caerbran. 19.24.
Bayliffes choſen, and ſet ouer the Citie of London 775.1.
Barnet field. 1333. co. 1. li. 29
Battell of Faukirke. 833.20.a.
Barbe ryuer in Normandie. 385.13.
Banbery fielde. page. 1320. col. 1. lin. 27.
Baldwyn Emperour of Conſtantinople commeth into England. 717.32.
Becket Thomas repenteth him ſelfe of his othe taken to the kyng, & is diſcharged thereof by the Pope. 403.80.
Becket Tho. flying the realme, is brought backe agayne by a contrary winde. 403.100
Becket Thomas accuſed of diſobedience to the king, and his goodes confiſcate to the kinges pleaſure. 403.115.
Becket Thomas driuen to an accompt by the kyng. 404. 37.
Becket Thomas forſaken of the multitude, for feare of the kinges diſpleaſure 404.52.
Becket Thomas appealeth to the Court of Rome, there to be iudged. 405.9.
Becket Thomas forſaken of the byſhops, and accuſed of treaſon and periurie. 405.43.
Becket Thomas refuſed of euery man, is only had in eſtimation, and honoured of the poore 404.54. and 406.8.
Beranburie battel, fought betweene the Britaines & the Saxons. 142.56.
Becket Thomas reſigneth his Archbyſhopricke to ẏ Pope, and receiueth it agayne at his handes. 401.87.
Becket Thomas ſundry wayes incurreth the kinges diſpleaſure. 401.98.
Becket Thomas, requireth the keeping of Rocheſter caſtle, and the Tower of London. 401.99.
Bernred rebelleth agaynſt Ethelbaldus, and ſlayeth hym. 189.70.
Bernred taketh vppon him the kingdome of Mercia. 189. 72.
Bernulf kyng of Mercia, leadeth an armie agaynſt Egbert kyng of Weſt Saxons. 203.31.
Bernulf and his armie diſcomfited by Egbert. 203.39.
Bernulf ſlayne, and his armie diſcomfited by the Eaſt Angles. 203.73.
Bericus a Britaine, perſwadeth Claudius the Emperour to make warre agaynſt the Britaines. 48.61
Beda cited. 167.2. and. 167. 99. and. 168.88. and 180. 90. and 185.50. and. 187. 22.
Belinus, and Brennus, ſonnes to Mulmucius, raigne iointly as kinges in Britaine. 23.80.
Bergion gouerneth Ireland, and the Orkenlis. 5.77.
Beda cited. 4.82.
Becket Thomas beginneth to ſhewe him ſelfe conformable towardes agreement with the kyng. 413.34.
Becket Thomas wylfully perſiſteth in his owne opinion agaynſt the kyng. 413.103
Becket Thomas through meanes made, is reconciled to the king of Englands fauour 414.21.
Becket Thomas returneth into England. 414.80.
Bertwald, Archbyſhop of Canterburie departeth this lyfe. 191.98.
Beda cited. 211.55
Beumount Rafe, Phiſitien to king Henry the ſecond drowned in a tempeſt. 411.96.
Belinus ſeaſeth vpon Brennus dominions in his abſence. 23.103.
Beleſham waſted by the Danes 245.61.
Bertus ſent with an armie into Ireland. 185.11
Bernicia nowe called Northumberland. 164.43
Beatrice, daughter to king Edward, married to king Sithrike. 422.66.
Beatrice poyſoneth her huſband, at her fathers inſtance. 224.86.
Beatrice put to death for poyſoning her huſband. 224. 92.
Becket Thomas Archyſhop of Cantorburie tranſlated. 617.7.
Bertine Churche, endued with great giftes by kyng Adelſtane 225.108.
Beorne ſucceedeth Etwold in the kingdome of Eaſtangles 190.55.
Beuerley Churche & Colledge builded. 186.15.
Beroſus cited. 1.99. and. 2. 85. and 3.13. and. 3.44. and. 3.108.
Bereford battell fought by the Weſt Saxons agaynſt the Mercians.

Mercians. 189.64.
Berkley towne taken, and ſacked by the byſhop of Conſtans. 318.53.
Bedfoord battel fought againſt the Britaines. 142.105.
Bellings gate in London builded. 27.110.
Bellins caſtle, nowe called the Tower of London builded. 28.6.
Belinus departeth this lyfe. 28.11.
Becket Thomas his horſe taile cut of by the inhabitantes of Strowde in Kent. 415.56.
Beautie of the Engliſh boyes whiche were brought to ſell at Rome. 146.27.
Berkamſted. 306.56.
Becket Thomas Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, reputed for a Saint. 449.23
Bertwolf kyng of Mercia, ſucceedeth Wighlafe, and his chaſed out of his countrey by the Danes. 207.109.
Becket Thomas, made Archdeacon of Cantorburie. 393 63.
Beamfeeld caſtle builded. 216. 20.
Beamfield caſtle taken by the Engliſhmen. 216.22.
Bertha daughter to Cheribret king of Fraunce, married to Ethelbert king of Kent vpon condition. 145.102
Bernegus, ordeyned Byſhop of Suſſex. 223.59
Beleſme Robert taken priſoner. 345.77.
Beneticed perſons to returne into the realme within. iiii. monethes. 408.13.
Becket Thomas his kinne, all baniſhed out of the Kyng of Englands dominions. 409. 85.
Becket Thomas departeth frõ the Abbey of Pountney, to the Abbey of Saint Columbes. 409.96.
Becket Thomas, refuſeth to ſtande to the iudgement of the Popes Ambaſſadours. 409.113.
Becket Thomas, committed to the ſafe keeping of the Monkes of Cauntorburie. 416. 15.
Becket Thomas brought by force by Monkes out of hys pallace into the Church. 416 41.
Becket Thomas ſlaine, and his braynes turned out. 416. 100.
Beleſme Robert proclaymed a traytour. 339.69.
Beleſme Robert forſaken of the Welchmen, and baniſhed the realme. 340.16.
Becket Thomas depriued of al his dignities and offices. 403.18.
Becket Thomas promiſeth to obſerue the Kinges lawes without all exception. 403. 32.
Bere Richard Abbot of Glaſtburie Ambaſſadour to the Pope. 1461.20.
Begemini caſtle. 439.115.
Beda cited. 153.74. & 154.22 &. 154.35.
Becket Thomas, his countrey and parentage. 401.39
Beretgiles ſucceedeth Thomas, in the Byſhopricke of the Eaſtangles. 172.47.
Beatrice daughter to Henry the thyrd, borne at Burdeox. 703. 74.
Benſington battayle, fought by Offa againſt Kinewulfe. 197.87.
Beeſton Caſtle founded by Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter. 618.11.
Bedfordſhire waſted by the Danes. 245.71.
Berengaria, daughter to Sanctius king of Nauarre, affianced to King Richard the firſt 491.56. maryed to king Richard the firſt. 493.27.
Beeland Abbey founded. 394. 28.
Bearne Earle, traytrouſlye ſlayne. 270.19.
Belinus, Generall of Caſſibellanes armie againſt the Romanes. 39.15.
Bearn, a Iudge, burnt for hys crueltie. 199.30.
Beda departeth this lyfe. 192. 92.
Berthune, Duke of Suſſex ſlayne. 184.47.
Bartham Antwiſell Knyght ſlayn. pag. 1288. col. 1. lin. 7.
Becket Thomas his complaint to the Pope, of the Kyng 407.8.
Becket Thomas, made keeper of the Citie of Cahors. 399. 39.
Berwike taken by the Scots. 951.20.b. ſurrendred again. 954.52.b.
Bedford towne & Caſtle won. 596.34.
Beertwell Caſtle delyuered to Duke Henrie Fitzempreſſe. 387.116.
Beroſus cited. 4.68. &. 5.53.
Becket Thomas elected and created Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 401.50.
Beleſme Robert Earle of Shrewſburie, rebelleth againſt King Henrie the firſt. 339.55.
Beaner Towne and Fortreſſe builded. 411.53.
Beamdune or Beanton battaile fought by the Weſtſaxons againſt the Britaines. 155. 61.
Becket Thomas his goods and landes, ſeaſed into the kings handes. 407.104.
Beda cited. 113.23. & 114. 49. &. 129.69. &. 129.86. &. 145.50. &. 153.56.
Beda ſent for to the Court of Rome 193.1.
Bearne flyeth into Denmarke to ſeeke reuenge againſt Oſbright. 211.62.
Becket Thomas, made Lorde Chauncellour of Englande. 395.50. & 398.6.
Beuer Caſtle ſurrendred to King Iohn. 595.26.
Beauuoys Byſhop reſtored to libertie. 546.56.
Beda cyted. 154.76. & 156. 39. & 157.13. & 163.28. & 164.10. & 166.74.
Benedict Byſhop, commeth into England with the Archbyſhop Theodore. 178.101
Bergion ſlayne by Hercules in Gallia. 6.18.
Bedforde Caſtle deliuered to the Barons by Williã Beauchampe captayne of ẏ ſame. 588.96.
Becket Thomas, diſguiſed both in name and veſture, flyeth ouer into Flaunders. 406. 29.
Bertus ſlayne by the Pictes. 185.107.
Beda, one of the ſonnes of Port. 130.6.
Belman and outcrier ordeined in London for the ſale of goods. 1834.21.
Benet Monke. 193.9.
Berthfride Earle, a Northumber. 190.67.
Bedford towne beſieged and taken. 368.20.
Beorcham. 291.29.
Bechellouyn, or Bec in Normandie. 346.8.
Beautifull women ſooneſt ſlandred, and ſharpeſt aſſaulted. 137.14.
Bernwine, one of Byſhop Wilfrides Nephewes. 184.61.
Belles knoulle in ſteeples with an earthquake. 408.3.
Becket Thomas, Lord Chauncellour, ſent Ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 398.
Beuerley towne burned. 469. 60.
Beda cited. 192.58.
Iohn lord Beauchamp of Holt, executed.
Beuerſtane. 271. 37.
Bellencumbre caſtle. 390.45.
Beda cited. 38.76.44.19. and 50.18.
Berking Nonrie builded. 181 21.
Becket Thomas his aucthoritie with the Kyng & Realme. 401.43.
Iohn Beaufourt created Marques Dorſet. 1097.30.b
Benefices inhibeted to ſtrangers. 922.4. b.
Beauuoiſin Countie ſpoyled and burnt, by Kyng Henry the ſecond. 399.55.
Thomas Beaufort created Earle of Somerſet. 1090. 45.a.
Walter Bentley knyght, committed to the Tower. 948. 40.a.
Berwick wonne by the Scots. 1007.19.b. and recouered agayne. ibidem.
Berwick caſtle wonne by the Scots. 1011.46.b. recouered agayne by the Earle of Northumberland. 1012. 1.a.
Beauchampe Wylliam Lord, dyeth. 758.110.
Guy Beuchampe, Earle of Warwick dyeth. 854.45.a.
Berwick wonne. 819.10.a. entred by the Scottes. 829. 46.b.
Bedford caſtle beſieged and taken by Henry the third. 625. 20.
Berwick deliuered to king Edward the third. 896.33.a.
Simon Berford knight hanged. 895.13.a.
Berhara downe. 393. 2.
Beuerley Iohn, maiſter to Beda. 192.110.
Berwick fortefied. 850.35.a. betrayed to the Scots. 855 41.b.
Bernard of Neumerch. 318. 67.
Iohn Lord Beaumont becommeth French. 926.18.a
Berwick Caſtle wonne by the Scottes. 1048.1.a. recouered agayne by the Earle of Northumberland. 1048. 20.a.
Beaumaries built. 811.53.b.
Beubrick Archbyſhop of Yorke and Cardinall, dyeth. 1496. 46.
Berkhamſted Caſtle beſieged, is yeelded to Lewes. 609. 49.
Thomas Beauchamp Earle of Warwick made protector. 1016.2.a.
Beche Iohn, Abbot of Colcheſter executed for the ſupremacie. 1574.38.
Berwick beſieged by Edward the .ii. 857.20.a. 896.5.a
Beckets ſwoord. 826.43.b.
Thomas Beauchamp Earle of Warwick dyeth. 980. 34.b.
Bernards Caſtle beſieged and wonne. 1849.
Iohn Lord Beaumont of Henalt. 877.24.a.
Beneuolence demaunded of the Spiritualtie & Temporaltie 1601.1.
Lord Beaumont diſcomfited in Scotland. 854.27.b.
Beatrice Counteſſe of Prouance vniuſt dealinges. 714 106.

Belknap cõpelled to ſubſcribe 1060. 50.b.
Benbꝛidge doctoꝛ, Archbyſhop of Yoꝛke. 1461.3.
Byſhops accurſed, which ayded the Barons agaynſt Kyng Henry the third. 775.26.
Byſhops houſe nigh ẏ Churche in Litchfeeld buylded. 179. 55.
Byſhops noꝛ Abbots to be inueſted by the Kyng, oꝛ any lay man. 346. 14.
Byſhops noꝛ Abbots to be depꝛiued of their conſecration, foꝛ doyng homage to ẏ king. 347. 1.
Byſhop of London Deane to the Archbyſhop of Cantoꝛburie. 349. 1.
Byſhop of Rocheſter, houſhold Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 349. 2.
Byſhops thꝛough all Bꝛitaine foꝛbiddẽ to conſecrate Thomas the elect of Yoꝛke. 349 65.
Byſhops See of Ely erected. 349. 90.
Biham Caſtle holden agaynſt Kyng Henry the third. 618. 35.
Byſhops of Englãd complaine to the Kyng, of the extreame dealyng of the Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 415.18.
Byſhop of Durham made an Earle. 478.67.
Byſhops See erected at Carleil. 362.82.
Byſhops that accurſed Kyng Iohn and the Realme, fledde out of the Realme. 566. 24.
Byſhop of Londons Palace builded. 33.105.
Bigot Hugh fleeth ouer ſea into Fraunce, after the diſcomfiture of Robert Earle of Leyceſter. 432. 71
Byſhop of Saliſburie murdered. pag.1281.col.1.lin.16.
Byſhop of Exceter being blind, ſent in Ambaſſade to Rome. 352. 5.
Bayot Francis knight, eftſones rebelleth. 1569.27.
Biſi, Byſhop of Eaſt Angles. 179.90.
Byſhopꝛickes openly bought and ſold foꝛ money. 330.27.
Byſhops haue none auctoꝛitie to iudge of an Archbyſhops cauſe. 331.53.
Byſhopꝛickes let out to ferme. 333. 60.
Byſhops and Nobilitie foꝛſake Noꝛthumberland. 202.2.
Byſhops and nobilitie of England, enuiyng one another, refuſe to make an Engliſhman their Kyng, and receiue a ſtranger. 291.50.
Bliney Thomas, Bacheler of lawe, bꝛent. 1557.40.
Bigot Hugh, conſpireth againſt king Henry the ſecond. 426. 113.
Byſhops dueties to care foꝛ the health of mens ſoules. 353. 77.
Byſhops See tranſlated from holy Iland, to Cheſter in the Streete. 219. 51.
Byſhop of Carleil bolde and faythfull. pag. 1123.col.1. lin.47. attached. pag. ibidẽ. col.2.lin. 19. dyeth thꝛough greefe of mind. pag.1129. col.1.lin.44.
Byſhops allowed of foꝛ their pompe, & not foꝛ their learnyng. 274. 66.
Byſhops refuſe ſimply to obey the Kinges lawes. 403. 9.
Biham Caſtle yeelded to Kyng Henry the third. 618.66.
Byſhops Sees remoued from leſſe renowmed, to moꝛe famous places. 303.62.
Byſhops See oꝛdeined at Dunwich. 162.60.
Byll agaynſt the Clergie. pag. 1155.col.2.lin.36.
Byll againſt the Clergie. pag. 1168.col.1.lin.48.
Byſhops and Abbots of England, not ẏ miniſters of God, but of the diuell. 279.115.
Bigod Roger, in armes againſt King William Rufus. 318. 57.
Bicknele Iohn knight. 1450. 17.
Biſhops foꝛbidden to be iudges in ſecular cauſes. 198.97.
Byſhops See of Welles tranſlated to Saliſburie. 188.29
Bigod Roger made Erle Marſhall. 715.95.
Byſhops See of Weſt Saxons placed at Wincheſter. 180. 71.
Byſhops take an othe ſimply to obey the Kings lawes. 403. 69.
Byſhop of Beauuoys taken pꝛiſoner. 531.59.
Byſhops ſhꝛinke from the Pope foꝛ money ſake. 740.18.
Bintre William. 1463.2.
Bigot Hugh ſuboꝛned to periure himſelfe. 365.72.
Byſhopꝛicke of London bought 171.78.
Bylney Arthur abiured. 1541.
Byſhopꝛickes vnder the dioces of Cantoꝛburie. 195.10.
Byꝛth of Henry the thyꝛd. 565. 61.
Byſhopꝛickes vnder the dioces of Litchfield. 195.15.
Biligelhage. 276.53.
Bꝛunan bꝛight. 226.27.
Byſhops wyll rather dye then part frõ money. 740.12.22.
Bigot Hugh, Earle of Noꝛfolke, a valiant chiefteine. 367.43.
Bigod William dꝛowned. 357. 112.
Bigod Rafe Knight. 1448.47.
Blaſing ſtarre ſeen, befoꝛe King Edwardes death the confeſſour. 280.39.
Blaſing ſtar appeering, befoꝛe the comming of Duke Williã of Noꝛmandie into England. 284.5.
Blecca, gouernour of Lincolne conuerted to the faythe of Chꝛiſt. 162.67.
Bloud rayneth in the Ile of Wight. 449.62.
Blederike Duke of Coꝛnwall ſlayne. 154.73.
Blaſing ſtar appeering in England. 309.47.
Blackamoꝛe, ſuppoſed to bee Badon hyl. 128.65.
Bleothgent, King of Wales. 297.26.
Blackwell hall in London, ſuppoſed to be buylded foꝛ the temple of peace. 23.30.
Blanke Charters. 1102.20.a. 1103.17.a.
Bluet Robert, made Byſhop of Lincolne. 323.104.
Blaſing ſtar appeereth in England. 182.6.
Blaſing ſtarre appeering, bꝛinging famine among men, & murreyn among cattel. 235. 75.
Charles Earle of Bloys ſlayne at Creſſy. 934.32. b.
Blanch King Iohns Neece pꝛomiſed in marriage to Lewes the French Kings ſon. 548.28.
Blaunche daughter to Henry ẏ fourth marryed to William Duke of Bauer. pag.1134. col.2.lin.48.
Bleugent and Riuall, ſonnes to Griffin, made gouernoꝛs of Wales. 277.76.
Charles de Bloys taken pꝛiſoner. 940.50.b. raunſomed 947. 40. b.
Blind man reſtoꝛed to his ſight by Auguſtine. 151.31.
Bladulfe, bꝛother to Colgerne. 132.49.
Bladulfe ſlayne by the Bꝛytaines. 133.25.
Charles De Bloys wynneth townes in Bꝛitaine. 916. 38.b. ouercome by ẏ Earle of Noꝛthampton. 918.50.b.
Blockhouſes and bulwoꝛkes buylte along the ſea coaſt. 1572.40.
Charles de Bloys ſlaine. 970. 36.b.
Blaſing ſtarre. pag.1133.col. 2.lin.32.
Bloud of Hayles, bꝛought into England. 781.100.
Blanch ſent into Fraũce. 548. 70.
Blewberde a rebel. pag.1278. col.2.lin.56.
Blackney William. 1463.26.
Blunt William Loꝛd Mõtiuy almoſt ſlaine by the mutining ſouldioures at Tourney. 498.10.
Blederike Duke of Coꝛnewall. 154.66.
Blacke Croſſe of Scotlande. 891.47.b.
Blackneſſe yeelded to ẏ French King. 1697.54.
Bloꝛehatha. pag.1295. col.2. lin.4.
Blanche daughter to King Edward the third boꝛne. 915. 16.b.
Blaſing ſtarre. 786.lin.10.a. 854.40.a.
Boniface Archbyſhop of Cantoꝛburie, departeth this lyfe. 782. 35.
Bonifacius Archby. of Mentz repꝛoueth certain offences in Ethelbaldus. 190.9.
Bookes tranſlated out of latine into Engliſhe by King Alured. 217.78.
Boues Hugh dꝛowned together with a great armie of men vpon the ſea as they were cõmyng into England to ayde King Iohn agaynſt the Barons. 593.65.
Bodumni, a people in Bꝛitaine. 49.10.
Bourgh Caſtle taken by the Scots. 433.113.
Boſa oꝛdeined Biſhop of Yoꝛke 182. 14.
Boniface de Sauoy elect Archbyſhop of Cantoꝛburie. 659. 5.
Iames Botiller created Earle of Oꝛmond. 892.14.a.
Bouchier Thomas Archbyſhop of Cantoꝛburie dieth. 1431. 38.
Bouchier Henry Earle of Eſſex. 1447.1.
Bowes Rafe Knight. 1448. 48.
Bohun Iohn, marrieth Margaret, ſiſter to Hugh Lupus Earle of Cheſter. 323 65.
Bohun Randulfe. 323.66.
Humfrey Bohun Earle of Herfoꝛd dyeth. 838.55.a.
Boſwoꝛth feeld. pag.1416. col.2. lin. 56. pag. 1422. col.1.lin. 57.
Bonner doctoꝛ, reſtoꝛed to the Byſhopꝛick of London. 1721 16.
Boallogie ſlayne. 1604.40.
Bokingham Iohn. 1463.25.
Boates might haue ben rowed in Weſtminſter hall. 649.4
Booke of Common pꝛayer coꝛrected. 1708. 24.
Henry Bolinbꝛoke created Erle of Derbie. 1050.5.b.
Boulbeck Iſabel Counteſſe of Oxfoꝛd dyeth. 714.12.
Bouencoꝛt Peter, hanged vpõ deſpite. 502 45
Boucher Thomas Cardinal. 1463.13.
Bohom. pag.1243. col. 2. lin.37. pag.1244. col.2. lin. 16.
Bologne, and Bolognous, ſurrendꝛed

rendred vnto the Frenche King. 1703.50
Bologne beſieged by Henry the ſeuenth. 1439. 41.
John King of Boheme ſlaine at Creſſy. 934.32.b.
Boetius Hector cited. 3.75.
Boun Humfrey, high Conſtable of England. 431.64.
Bond men and women in Suſſex made free. 182.86.
Bolton, Prior of Saint Bartholmew, his madnes. 1531 47.
Boune Henry Earle of Herford. 552.92.
The Lord Boinren, high admirall of France, Ambaſſadour with a trayne of. 1200. 150547.
Boune Henry Earle of Herford deceaſſeth. 618.18.
Bowes Robert knight, fighteth vnfortunately. 1637.8.
Humfrey Bohun Earle of Herford ſlayne. 866.30.b.
Both parties to be heard, before ſentence be geuen. 271. 3.
Boniface Archbyſhop of Cantorburie intronizated. 729. 50.
Wylliã Bohun created Earle of Northampton. 900.13.b
Henry Bolinbroke Earle of Derby married. 1050. 44.b.
Boucher Thomas Knight. 1447.21.
Booke of Common prayer ſet foorth. 1640. 32
Boiac Almiramumoli kyng of the Saraſins. 486. 8.
Bodinus Cited. 1.93. and. 4. 80. and. 4.92.
Boucher John redemed. 1426 15.
Bonnehomme Monkes order, firſt ſeene and eſtabliſhed in England. 782. 5.
Boſeham. 277.100.
Bourne doctor, afterward Byſhop of Bath, is almoſt ſlaine as he preacheth. 1721.40.
Britaine Prouince loſt, and the tribute ceaſeth. 101. 74.
Britaines make ſlaughter of the Scots and Pictes. 101. 88.
Britaine without any certaine gouernour. 102.45.
Britaines ſend into France for ſound preachers againſt Pelagius hereſie. 119.50
Britaines receiue the grace of God offered in Baptiſme. 120.31.
Britaine deliuered from Pelagius hereſie. 119.78. and 121.47.
Britaines aſſiſt Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter Pendragon, agaynſt Vortigernus. 122. 22.
Britaines ouerthrowen by the Saxons at Dyorth. 142. 111.
Britaines ouerthrowen by the Saxons at Fechanley. 143. 21.
Britaine deuided into. vii. or 8. or. 9. kingdoms. 143.66
Britaines weakened through ciuil diſſention. 143.93.
Britaines conſtrained to withdrawe into Wales. 143.98
Britaine deſtroyed by Gurmund pitifully. 144.27.
Britaine deliuered wholy in poſſeſſion to the Saxons. 144.29.
Britaine called by the name of Hengiſtland, or England. 144.33.
Britaines driuen to keepe the poſſeſſion of three prouinces in Britaine only. 145.10
Britaines flie in Armorike Britaine to ſeeke dwellings. 145.34.
Britaines gouerned by three kings or tyrantes. 145.46.
Berennus and his Norwegians put to flight by Guilthdarus kyng of Denmarke. 24.2.
Brennus and his Norwegians arriuing in Albania, are diſcomfited by Belinus. 24.32
Berennus fleeth into Fraunce for ſuccour. 24. 34.
Berennus marrieth the prince of Allobroges Seguinus daughter. 25. 33.
Berennus ſaluted Duke of Allobroges. 25.45.
Berennus returneth with an armie into Britaine. 25.52.
Berennus and Belinus made freendes by interceſſion of their mother. 52.60.
Berennus and Belinus paſſing the ſeas togeather, coquer a great part of Gallia, Italy, and Germany. 25.72.
Britaines fall into ciuile diſcord for the gouernment. 75 115.
Britaines conſpire, and rebel agaynſt the Romanes. 76.29
Britaines eftſoones rebell againſt the Romanes. 76.55.
Britaines beyond Adrians wal, breake through, and ſlay the Romanes. 76.84
Britaines prepare to reſiſt Julius Ceſar. 35.27.
Britaines readie to defend their countrey. 35.80.
Britaines put to flight by the Romanes. 36.78.
Britaines ſend Ambaſſadours vnto Ceſar for peace. 36.86.
Britaines deliuer Hoſtagies vnto Ceſar. 37.17.
Britaines ouerthrowne & chaſed by the Romanes. 38.50.
Britaines ſue the ſeconde time to Ceſar for peace. 38.56.
Britiſh hiſtorie, called alſo the new hiſtorie. 38.72.
Britiſh youth led foorth of the realme by Maximianus. 95. 67.
Britiſh youth after the death of Maximianus, withdraweth into Armorica. 97.17.& 97.84.
Britiſh ſouldiers of great puiſſaunce. 97.26.&.99.37.
Britiſh youth led foorth by ſundry, ouer the ſeas. 99.31.
Britaines ſend to Rome for aid againſt the Scots and Pictes. 100.2.
Britaines chaſed out of Kent by the Saxons. 126.6.
Britaines ouerthrowne by the Saxons in Kent. 126.26.
Britaines fall together by the eares among themſelues. 126.39.
Britaines repulſed by Cerdicus and his people. 126.112
Britaines vnder Nathaliod diſcomfited by the Saxons. 127.84.
Britiſh horſemen, put to flyght by the Romane horſemen. 40.99.
Britaines, what they call a towne. 42.81.
Britaines made tributaries to the Romanes. 43.1.
Britaines ouerthrowne by the Romanes in a valley neere Cantorburie 43.83.
Britaines, at the ſecond time of the Romanes comming, refuſe the Scottiſh mens ayde, and are vanquiſhed. 44.66.
Britaine deuided into ſundrye eſtates. 44.110.
Britaines refuſe to pay their couenanted tribute, to Auguſtus Ceſar. 46.33.
Britaines ſend Ambaſſadours to Auguſtus Ceſar for peace. 46.63.
Britiſh Princes offer preſentes in the Capitoll to ẏ Romane Gods. 47.21.
Britaines refuſe to pay tribute to the Romanes, and make open rebellion againſt them. 47.55.
Britaine afflicted by inuaſion of barbarous nations. 107. 65.
Britaine likely to be vtterly vanquiſhed by the Scottes and Pictes. 111.35.
Britaines come againſt Cenwalch, King of Weſt Saxons with an army. 176.74.
Brute deuideth Britaine betweene his three ſonnes. 16. 35.
Britaine receyueth the fayth of Chriſt. 75.1.
Britaine the firſt of all other regions, that openly receyueth the Goſpell. 75.28.
Britaines expert in Magike. 2.106.
Britaines conſpire to chaſe the Romanes out of the countrey. 82.4.
Bretaimous in Henaud held by Britaines. 87.99.
Britaine taſteth of Diocleſians crueltie againſt Chriſtians. 87.113.
Britaines placed in a parte of Fraunce, by Conſtantinus. 92.65.
Britaine numbred among the Prouinces that ſent to the Sinode of Sardica. 94.44.
Britaine in Fraunce ſubdued by Maximianus. 95.68.
Britaine in Fraunce, to hold of the greater Britaine, and of the Kings thereof for euer. 95. 72.
Britaines refuſe to marry, with the maydens of Fraunce. 95. 84.
Britaines imitate the Romane pleaſures and delicacies. 69. 67.
Britaines which inhabite about Calender Wood, ſet vppon the Romanes, and are vanquiſhed. 70.65.
Britaines gather a new power and receiue a great ouerthrowe at the Romanes handes. 71.46.
Brentford battayle, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Danes. 255.7.
Brightrick ſucceedeth Kenelwoulf in the kingdome of Weſt Saxons. 199.72.
Brightrick departeth this life. 200. 39.
Brightrick poyſoned, as ſome ſuppoſe, 200.42.
Britaines oppreſſed by ẏ Scots and Pictes. 96.60.&.97.20
Britiſh and Celtike language all one. 4.93.
Brightrick King of Weſt Saxons marryeth Ethelburga, daughter to Offa. 195.32.
Britaine left deſolate for lacke of vittaile. 183.72.
Britiſh commons twice vanquiſhed by the Nobilitie. 101.21.
Britaines diſdaine to giue their daughters in marriage to the Pictes. 67.53.
Britaines diſcomfited & ſlayne by the Weſt Saxons. 130. 39.
Britaines ouerthrowne by Wightgar and Stuff. 130. 47.
Brute Greeneſheild bringeth al the realme of Fraunce vnder his ſubiection. 18.37.
Brinus conuerteth the Weſt Saxons to ẏ Chriſtian faith. 168.115.
Britaines ceaſe to reigne in this land. 187.65.
Britaines venquiſhed & chaſed by King Inas. 187.100.
Brute and Corineus, ioyne theyr companyes together, 13.80.
Britaines vanquiſhed & ſlayne by the Engliſhmen. 165.19.
Britaines couenant to finde the Saxons

Saxons prouiſion of vitailes 114.56.
Britaine ſpoyled miſerably by the Saxons from ſea to ſea. 114.66.
Epiford, or Agliſthorpe Battaile againſt the Saxons. 115.76.
Britaines diſcomfited by the Saxons, flye into the mountaines. 117.23.
Britaines ſlayne by treaſon of the Saxons. 118.22.
Britaines ſlaine by the Saxons at a Banket. 118.66.
Brennus and Belinus, ſonnes to Mulmucius, raigne iointly as Kings in Britaine. 23.80.
Brutes prayer before the Oracle. 12.37.
Britaines vanquiſhe not the Saxons, without the ayde of the Scots and Pictes. 129.36.
Britaines vanquiſhed by Kenricus, King of Weſt Saxons and chaſed. 142.53.
Britaines weare houpes of yrõ, in ſteede of chaines of golde. 79.48.
Britaines paint their bodyes with ſundry ſhapes of foules and beaſtes. 79.51.
Britaines hardnes in lodging and diet. 79.68.
Britaines in old time admitted as well women as men to publique gouernment. 61.37.
Broughton Thomas knight a man of no ſmall power and aucthoritie in Lancaſhyre, by deth the Lord Louell. 1448.17. conſpireth againſt ẏ king 1429.42. is ſlaine in battell. 1431.44.
Britaines make no account of Chriſtian religion in ẏ Engliſhmen. 164.11.
Britaines ouerthrowne by Cẽtwyne, King of the Weſt Saxons. 183.
Britaines put to flight by King Iohn. 585.55.
Broughe Hubert Erle of Kent dyeth. 705.32.
Britaines begin a new rebellion againſt Seuerus the Emperour. 80.42.
Brigantes vanquiſhed by the Romanes, and their countrey for the moſt parte ſubdued. 66.70.
Brent Foulkes poyſoned dyeth. 625.50.
Broc Robert accurſed. 417.27.
Brocmale or Brocmael, Earle or Maior of Cheſter. 153.91.
Brandon Charles Eſquier iuſteth. 1466.30. knight & captaine with Syr Henry Guilford of the Souereigne 1475.37. created Viſcount Liſle. 1477.7. created Duke of Suffolke. 1494.28. goeth ouer to ẏ Iuſts held at Paris 1496.12. & acquitteth hymſelfe at them very honorably eadẽ. 42. is ſent into France to reduce the Queene Dowager of France into Englãd. 1497.25. marieth her. eadẽ. 58. forſaketh the Court and why. 1499.39. leadeth an armye into Fraunce. 1526.20. helpeth to appeaſe an inſurrection in Suffolk. 1539.46. choſen knight of thorder of Saint Michaell. 1558.28. ſuppreſſeth with a power the rebellion in Lincolnſhire 1566.1. Godfather to king Edward the ſixt. 1570.41. beſiegeth Bulleyn. 1594.9 dyeth. 1603.10. is praiſed ibidem.
Browne Antony viſcont Montagu ſente Ambaſſadour vnto Rome. 1763.40. is Lieutenant of an armye ſent into France. 1767.19 knight of the garter, is ſent Commiſſioner to Bruges. 1835.26.
Bray Reygnold knyght of the garter dyeth. 1457.10. is praiſed. ibidem.
Robert Brus crowned kyng of Scots. 841.41.b put to flight. 842.40.a. his landes giuen to Engliſhmen. 843.3.a. accurſed. 844.40.b. his ſecond brother hanged. 844.50.b. accurſed. 856.76.a. accurſed again. 858.40.a.
Brute meteth with other Troian Progenies. 13.37.
Britaines conſpire to reiect the Romane bondage. 60.10.
Brian, Nephew to Cadwallo fortifieth the Citie of Excester. 166.47.
Britaines write into Fraunce to Aetius for ayde, but can get none.
Brudus King of Pictes ſlayeth king Ecgfride. 185.28.
Bracelets of golde hung vp in high wayes. 217.
Britaines ſende lamentable requeſt to Rome for ayde againſt the Scots and Pictes 100.25.
Brightwald ſucceedeth Theodore in the Archbyſhop ſea of Cantorburie. 187.29.
Brute found this Iland inhabited. 9.33.
Brute how he came of ẏ Troyans. 9.51.
Brute why ſo named. 9.66.
Brute ſlayeth his father at vnwares. 9.68. & 10.25.
Brute fleeth into Greece. 10.35.
Brutes letter vnto Pandraſus king of Greece. 10.72.
Brute putteth Pandraſus and his armie to flight. 11.34.
Brute marryeth Innogẽ daughter to Pandraſus. 12.9.
Brighthelmeton brent. 1494.17.
Counteſſe of Britaine paſſeth into England. 917.19.a
Britaines refuſe to take Auguſtine for their Archbyſhop. 152.10.
Britaines diſcomfited by Ethelfred at Cheſter. 153.71.
Britaines take part with kyng Henry the firſt againſt Robert Duke of Normandie. 344.22.
Duke of Britaine commeth into England for ayde. 993.40.b. diſappoynted by truce 996.30.a. reſtored to hys Dukedome. 1013.56.a.
Brightnoth, Earle of Eſſex, withſtandeth the diſplaſing of the Monkes. 235.103.
Brightnoth leadyng an armie againſt the Danes, is ſlayne with moſt of his people. 239.53.
Britaines what countreys they inhabited in the dayes of Cadwallo. 158.108.
Brinchilde prince of Henaud, ouerthroweth Brute Greeniſhield, prince of Britaine. 18.42.
Brock Robert, Chaplaine vnto the Kyng, inuenteth Conduite pipes of Leade without ſouder. 1570.40.
Bradſhawe Henry cited. 18.75.
Britaines driuen into deſart places by the Scottes and Pictes. 101.
Brute Greeneſhield ouerthrowen in Henaud by the prince of the Countrey. 18.42.
Brightwald fyrſt Archbyſhop of Cantorburie of the Engliſhe nation. 187.41
Brute conſulteth with the Oracle at Leogitia. 12.31.
Brute and his people departing out of Greece, arriue at Leogitia. 12.29.
Brocmale defender of the Monkes and Prieſtes, fleeth out of the feelde. 154.16.
Brightwoldes viſion, concernyng the ſucceſſion of the crowne of England. 267.91.
Britaines vãquiſhed in a pight feeld by Claudius. 49.72.
Britaine committed to the gouernment of Plautius. 49.85.
Britannicus, ſonne to Claudius the Emperour, ſo ſurnamed. 49.84.
Britaines neyther valiant in warre, neyther faythfull in peace. 50.40.
Britiſh coigne ſtamped, with the Emperour of Romes Image. 50.52.
Britaines acknowledge to hold their kyngdome of the Romanes. 51.43.
Britaintes ſend Ambaſſadors to Seuerus the Emperour, to entreate of peace. 79.26.
Britaine deuided into two Realmes. 31.110.
Britiſh Kynges names whiche raigned from Elidurus, to Lud. 32.65. and. 32.100. and. 33.40.
Brent Fulks taken and baniſhed the Realme. 625.34.
Brutes line ended in Britaine. 22.80.
Britaines ouerthrowen by Cinegilcus Kyng of the Weſt Saxons, at Beaudune. 155.63.
Brute and his company arriue in Afrike. 13.34
Britaine, in the time of the Romanes gouernment here, ful of Fennes and Marriſh ground. 79.40.
Britaines trained to quietnes and ciuilitie. 69.53.
Edward Bruce created king of Ireland. 853.47.a. ſpoyleth the countrey. 855.30.a. is ſlayne. 856.50.a.
Britaine, a citie in France by whom builded. 18.51.
Britaine deuided into foure tongues. 168.90.
Brute cõmaundeth this Iland to be called Britaine, and the inhabitantes, Britaines. 16.27.
Britaines lay ſtales to entrap the Romanes. 79.111
Britaines rebell agaynſt Edwine. 163.45.
Iohn Brimingham created Earle of Louth. 856.29.b.
Brian Stanford Knight. pag. 1416. col. 2. lin. 42.
Britaine in no part free from the Romane power. 69.50.
Bruncham Caſtle wonne by Kyng Iohns ſouldiers, and raſed. 584.7.
Brute his pedegrue. 9.40.
Brute dyeth. 16.52.
Britael, kyng of Demetia. 39.12.
Britaine inhabited before the flood. 1.41.
Bray Reynold knyght, one of the cheefe of the Counſell, cauſeles complained of. 1466.21.
Brute and his Troians departyng from France, arriue in Britaine. 15.34
Duke of Britaine dyeth. 926.7.a.
Brigantes, inhabitantes of Yorkeſhyre. 59.25.
Britaine, howe long after the flood inhabited. 2.1.
Biez, Marſhall of France, entreth Muttrel. 1594.52. commeth before Bulleyne, 1599.30. buildeth a fort neare to Bullogne called Monplaiſir

Momplaiſir.1604.8.doeth much miſchiefe in the Engliſhe pale about Calice.eadem.14.
Broc Ranulph, owner of Hagenet Caſtle. 431.49.
Britiſh tonzue to this day retaineth ſome ſmack of the Greeke. 3. 83.
Brute Greeneſhield, the ſonne of Ebranke, made gouernor of Britaine. 18. 26.
Brute buried at London. 16. 53.
Brecknoc Caſtle deliuered to Prince Edward. 765.49.
Brough Hubert, captaine of the Caſtle of Douer with other, prouide ſhipping agaynſt the Frenche Fleete. 615.41.
Britaines not knowen to the Romanes, til Iulius Ceſars tyme. 34. 102.
Britaigne Richard, knight. 415.62.
Robert Brus, Earle of Carrik dyeth. 840.48.a.
Britiſh commons ryſe agaynſt the nobilitie. 101. 20.
Brutes poſteritie receiueth an vncurable wound. 176.79.
Breton Iohn, byſhop of Hereford, taken priſoner by the Barons. 726.47
Barons deale preſumptuouſly againſt Henry the third.759 70.
Brute and Corineus arriue in Fraunce. 13.84.
Britaines ouerthrowen by the Saxons at the Iſle of Wight 131.48.
Brimefourd. 226. 27.
Brooke Iohn, Lord Cobham. 1447.20.
Briges beſieged by the Welchmen.408. 40.
Broc Randall appoynted ouerſeer of the goodes and landes of the See of Cantorburie. 407.107.
Braybroke Henry, captayne of Mountſorel Caſtle. 612.9
Broc Randulfe, keeper of Saltwood Caſtle. 415.99.
Iohn Breton Lord of Hereford dyeth. 786.56.a.
Britherike going foorth againſt Wylmote with a Fleete, leeſeth the more part of his Shippes by a tempeſt. 244. 99.
Brent Foulkes, captaine of Bedford caſtle ſpoyleth S. Albanes. 611.26.
Brittenden. 220.26.
Brenſe William taken priſoner and put to death. 632.26.
Britaine when firſt called Albion. 5.45.
Brent Foulkes conſpireth againſt king Henry the thirde 624.48.
Bridges borne downe with yce. 324.25.
Britaines put to flight by the Romans, and vtterly diſcomfited. 65.22.
Briſtow taken by Robert Erle of Glouceſter. 368.69.
Britaines reteined Chriſtianitie from the time of the Apoſtles. 151.17.
Britiſh Church differeth from the Romiſh, about the feaſt of Eaſter. 151.23.
Bruydon Monaſterie. 191. 105.
Briſtow Caſtle beſieged. 763. 90.
Breuſe William and hys wyfe and children flye the realme for wordes the Lady Breuſe ſpake of king Iohn. 566.67.
Brabanders, famous in ſkill & practiſe of warre. 445.61.
Brightwoulf King of Mercia, chaſed by the Danes. 206. 113.
Broc Philip, Canon of Bedford, arreigned of murder, & baniſhed the land. 402.47.
Bridges Agnes doth penance for faining to be poſſeſſed by the diuell. 1870.46.
Broc Raynulfe, accurſed by Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 409.79.
Bray wonne. 1528.10.
Briſtow Caſtle fortifyed by the byſhop of Conſtans. 318.55
Brenne Iohn King of Ieruſalem commeth into England. 622.74.
Brian, ſonne to Robert Earle of Glouceſter. 379.37.
Britaine Dukedome obtayned by Guy, ſonne to the viſcount of Touars huſband to Conſtance Arthures mother. 555 84.
Briſtow caſtle builded. 351. 54.
Brecknock battell, fought by the Engliſhmen agaynſt the Welchmen. 324.36.
Brereton captaine of the aduenturers ſlaine. 1531.30.
Breuſe Lady and her ſonne takē and ſent to priſon. 570.15.
Bridgnorth caſtle fortifyed againſt King Henry the firſt. 339.59.
Bryſon Caſtle taken by ẏ Engliſhmen. 524.23.
Brimſbery bridge repayred. 222.5.
Brun hugh Earle of March. 560.14.
Barnes Doctor burnt. 1580. 4.
Britaines ouerthrowne by the Saxons at Bedford. 142. 105.
Briake in Britaine aſſaulted by Engliſhmen. pag.1154.col. 1. lin. 20. taken. col. 2. lin. 2.
Brennus maryeth the Prince of Norway Elſing or Elſings daughter. 23.99.
Brendholme Edmunde put to death. 158.32.
Broc Roger, ſeruant to Archbiſhop Thomas Becket. 406. 29.
Brun Hugh Earle of Marche dyeth. 729.46.
Brecknock in wales takē. 222. 18.
Britaine holdes furniſhed with French ſouldiours. 543.51.
Breſt deliuered to the Duke of Britaine. 1090.2.b.
Britaine the leſſe through ciuil diſſention, of a fruitfull ſoyle, becommeth a wylde deſarte. 410.19.
Braybroke Henry taken priſoner. 624.67.
Bridgewater.pag. 1321.col.1. lin.15.
Brute Greeneſhield dyeth, and is buried at Yorke. 18.60.
Bromierd Philip. 1463.18.
Brigantes reuolt from the Romanes to Venutius. 58.95.
Brute encountred by Giauntes in Britaine. 15.74.
Britaine at the firſt creatiō, was part of the continent. 1.28.
Britaine Britonant. 916.44.b
Duke of Britaine commeth into England. 924.46.a.
Britons brene the town of Plimouth. pag.1140.col.2 lin. 28. woulde haue landed at Dartmouth. pag.1142.col. 1.lin.1.their crueltie.lin.29.
Battell of Graueling.1780.40
Thomas of Brotherton borne. 835.45.b.
Brute ſearcheth this land from one end to another. 15.68.
Bridge of London begun to be made of ſtone. 566.84.
Duke of Britaine dyeth. 916. 7. a.
Brightrick put to death. 260. 44.
Nicholas Brembre executed. 1071.37.b.
Brent Marche. pag.1321.col. 1.lin.14.
Duke of Britaine aydeth Henry Duke of Lancaſter.1105. 12.
Briſtow Caſtle. 371.21.
Bromeley towne. 277.14.
Bricennamere. 222.19.
Britaine waſted by the Conſtable. 993.33.b.
Britaine of the Samothei called firſt Samothea. 2.76.
Breauſe William, his craftie dealing with the Welchmen. 439.103.
Brandon Henry ſonne to Charles Duke of Suffolke by the Frenche Queene created Earle of Lincolne. 1526.13
Britiſh Monkes and Prieſtes ſlaine by Edelfred. 154.10.
Brighthelme ſucceedeth Alfin in the Archbyſhoprick of Cātorburie. 233.82.
Bridgnorth Caſtle ſurrendred to the King. 396.13.
Broughty crag wonne by ẏ Lord Clinton. 1630.17. beſieged in vaine by Monſieur de Chapell. 1635. wonne by Monſieur de Thermes. 1702.
Bulleyne Thomas Knight ſent Ambaſſadour into France. 1506. 26.
Bulleyne Thomas, treaſurer of the kynges houſe, created Viſcont Rochefort. 1536. 19.
Butler Piers created Earle of Oſſory. 1550. 15.
Bulleyne Anne, daughter to the Earle of Wylſhyre, is created Marchioneſſe of Penbrok. 1558.33. goeth to the Kyng to Calice. ead.44. is married to the kyng 1559. 33. is crowned Queene. 1560. 50. is committed to the Tower. 1565. 5. is beheaded, and her ſpeache before. 1565. 18.
Buſſey Roger. 391. 21.
Buſſey Iordaine. 391. 22.
Burthred ſucceedeth Bertwolf in the kyngdome of Mercia, and marrieth Ethelſwida, ſiſter to Ethelwolfus. 207. 110.
Burialles found of late vppon Aſhdone in Eſſex. 256. 1.
Burcher Peter his manifold madneſſe, deſperate deedes, and ſhamefull death. 1869. 44.
Bulgarie, in olde time called Meſia. 103.31
Bunghey Caſtle, made playne with the ground. 445.22.
Buly king of Powſey in Wales 122. 58.
Burthred conſtrained to forſake his countrey, goeth to Rome, and there dyeth. 212. 24.
Bunghey caſtle. 436. 5.
Bury Abbey, ſpoyled by the Danes. 249.75.
Buren Count at the ſiege of Muttrel. 1594.45.
Burthred Kyng of Mercia, expulſed out of his kingdome by the Danes. 218. 89.
Buckinghamſhyre waſted by the Danes. 245.71.
Burnyng feuers reignyng in England. 314.26.
Bunduica, looke Voadicia.
Buckingham Caſtles builded. 221.45.
Burgenild, daughter to Kyng Kenvulf of Mercia. 205. 40.
Bullenberg aſſaulted by Chaſtillion, and valiantly defended. 1640. 40.
Buying and ſelling of men in England prohibited. 341, 34.
Bulmer Wylliam knight. 1448.46.
Philip Duke of Burgoigne, marrieth

marrieth the Earle of Flanders daughter. 976.45.b.
Buckenburne Robert attainted 1425.45.
Duches of Burbon taken priſoner. 979.20.a
Bucke John attainted. 1425.51.
Burwham. 1463.24.
Boyham caſtle wonne. 1529.35.
The Burſe built. 1836.30. proclaimed by Herought & Trumpetter, the Royall Exchange. 1857.44.
Bulles agaynſt breakers of ſtatutes. 1098.1.b
Bullocke Martin hanged. 1862.13.
Robert Burnel biſhop of Bathe 791.58.a.
Barthred Kyng of Mercia, marrieth kyng Ethelwolfus daughter. 206.9.
Burgh Hubert marryed to Margaret the king of Scotlands ſiſter. 619.73.
Burdet. pag. 1381. col. 1. lin. 14.
Bulleyne Thomas, Viſcont Rochefort created Earle of Wylſhyre. 1553.10.
Burton vpon Trent. 583.64.
Bulmer John knight put to death. 1570.10.
Bulleyne beſieged. 1595.8. yeelded. 1796.40.
Bulles from the Pope agaynſt Wicliffe. 1008.20.b.
Burgoigne ſpared for money. 965.49.a.
A Bull from Rome hanged on the byſhop of Londons gate. 1852.27.
Burdiaux yeelded to the Frēch pag. 1285. col. 2. lin. 14.
Burials of traytours and felons permitted. 874.40.a.
Bury Abbay ſpoyled. 885.20.b.
Buſyris ſlayne by Hercules in Egypt. 5.106.
Burgh Hubert created Earle of Kent. 630.103.
Simon Burleis lyfe and execution. 1072.16.a.
Burgh Hubert appoynted warden of the Marches betwixt England and Wales. 551.110.
Brumpton Wylli. of Burford, attainted. 1425.55.
Bulmer Wylliam knyght, diſcomfiteth the Lord Hume. 1487.34.

C.

Caſtles in England commaunded to be raſed. 389.63.
Caſtles ſuffred to ſtand contrarie to couenaunt. 392.59
Cartbridge Caſtle vppon Seuerne builded. 216.75.
Carauſius ſlayeth Baſſianus the King. 78.58.
Carauſius a Britaine getteth together a great armie of Britaines, to expell the Romanes out of Britaine. 78.64.
Cadwallo ſlayne, and his huge armie vanquiſhed. 165.19.
Cadwalloes Image ſet vp for a terrour. 165.26
Cadwallo beginneth to reygne ouer Britaine. 165.81.
Cadwallo vanquiſhed by Edwine, fleeth into Scotlande, Ireland and Armorike Britaine. 166.37.
Cadwallo departeth this lyfe. 167.
Cadwalloes body encloſed in an Image of braſſe, and ſet ouer Ludgate in Londō. 167.41.
Caerlton, now called Glouceſter. 51.53.
Cangi, now the inhabitants of Denbighſhyre in Wales. 54.7.
Cangi, or Denbighſhyre men vanquiſhed by the Romanes. 54.16.
Camulodunum peopled wyth bandes of olde ſouldiers. 54.38.
Camulodunum, where it ſtandeth. 54.49.&.55.15.
Cadwallan Prince of Wales traytrouſly ſlayne. 453.25.
Cadwalline, looke Cadwallo.
Cadwallo, King of Britaynes, rebelleth againſt Edwyne. 163.45.
Crueltie of Cadwallo & Penda in their victorie ouer the Northumbers. 164.1.
Cary caſtle. 368.75.
Cadwallo ſlayeth both yͤ kinges of Northumberland. 164.58
Cadwallo borne to the deſtruction of the Engliſhmē. 164.97.
Camuille Richard, gouernour of Cypres, falleth ſicke and dyeth. 494.28.
Camuille Gerard, depryued of the Sheriſwike of Lincolnſhire. 495.48.&.517.15. arreigned for receyuing of theeues. 517.67.
Caratacus and his power diſcomfited by the Romanes. 56.7.
Caratacus wyfe and daughter taken priſoners by the Romanes. 56.19.
Caratacus deliuered to the Romanes, by Cartemandua Queene of the Brigantes. 56.23.
Cartemandua, Queene of the Brigantes, deliuereth Caratacus to yͤ Romanes. 56.23.
Caratacus greatly renowmed in Italy and at Rome. 56.28
Caratacus Oration to Claudius the Emperour. 56.54.
Caius Trebonius, looke Trebonius.
Caſſibellane, and his Britaines flie from yͤ Romanes. 42.31.
Cadwallader conſtrained to forſake his countrey for want of vitteil. 183.70.
Cadwallader traueileth to Rome, and there dyeth. 183.81.
Camalodunum citie taken. 49.74.
Caerguent, or Wincheſter builded. 19.3.
Caen in Normandy beſieged by Henry the. 5. pag. 1187. col. 2. lin. 41. wonne. pag. 1188. col. 1. lin. 40. Cain caſtle yelded. pag. ibidem. col. 2. lin. 23 peopled with Engliſhe. pag. 1189. col. 2. lin. 28.
Caſtles and Fortreſſes builded in Scotland by yͤ Romanes. 69.95.
Caſtle of Pomfret deliuered to Roger de Lacy Conſtable of Cheſter. 546.12.
Cambrey electe Byſhop taken priſoner by the French. 546.44.
Cambrey elect Byſhop reſtored to libertie. 546.54.
Cantorburie, or Kaerkyn buylded. 19.2.
Careticus or Caretius, made King of Britaine. 143.83.
Cameletum Caſtle, where it ſtoode. 54.64.
Caermalet, looke Cameletum.
Camulodunum miſtaken for Cameletum. 54.68.
Camudolon all one citie wyth Camulodunum. 55.6.
Camulodunum ſuppoſed by ſome to bee Duncaſtre or Pontfret. 55.10.
Caratacus his fame and fortune. 55.27.
Caratacus fortifyeth a place of defence againſt yͤ Romanes. 55.40.
Caius Plautius, looke Plautius.
Cataratacus, ſonne to Cynobellinus vanquiſhed. 49.6.
Catuellani, a people in Brytaine. 49.11.
Calphurnius yͤ Romane Lieutenant, and his armye ſlayne. 76.90.
Campheius Laurence Cardinall Ambaſſadour frō Rome made Byſhop of Lincolne. 1504.23.
Careticus beſieged in Ciceſter, eſcapeth into Wales. 144.26.
Carta de Foreſta confirmed by Henry the third. 626.50.
Captaines names of great fame in the dayes of King Henry the ſecond. 32.
Catharin wyfe to Perkin Warbecke taken. 1450.44.
Catharin daughter to Ferdinande king of Hiſpaine maryed Prince Arthur.. 1455.34. laye with Prince Arthur the night of her mariage. eadem. 1455.58. maryed to Henry the eyght. 1465.7. is crowned Queene. eadē. 44. accuſing the Cardinall appealeth to the Pope. 1552.4. is not called Queene but Princeſſe Dowager. 1559.50. is diuorſed. 1560.40. procureth a curſe againſt the king and realme, and therfore her court is broken. 1561.30. writeth a letter vnto the king. 1564.1. dyeth. eadem. 12.
Careticus departeth this lyfe. 156.81.
Cauſey made through the Fennes, to the Ile of Elye. 779.66.
Cambridge Thomas Clerke, preſent at the murdering of Archbiſhop Thomas Becket 416.95.
Cadwallo becommeth ſole king of the Britaines. 145.50.
Cardinal Somercot an Engliſhe man dyeth. 701.16.
Caſtle, Balon wonne by the Frenche king. 547.12.
Caſtle of Chinon ſurrendred to King John. 547.33.
Carpwald, ſonne to Redwald, beareth only yͤ name of king of the Eaſtangles. 159.16.
Cambridge and Huntington Counties, graunted to Dauid, brother to king Wylliam of Scotland. 427.29
Canne Robert, a Monke of Ciſteaux order. 406.77.
Caerlier, now called Leiceſter, builded. 19.57.
Caligula Emperour of Rome, prepareth an armie to go into Britaine. 47.66.
Caligula ſpoyleth the Ocean. 48.14.
Caligula requireth to haue a triumph for conquering the Oceane, & is denied. 48.28.
Caerbran, now called the citie of Bathe. 19.24
Calice beſieged by Kyng Edward the third. 935.54.b. yeelded to him. 943.21.b
Cardinals ſent to Caleis to intreate of peace. 942.17.b. procure a truice for a yeere. 943.44.a. 945.1.b.
Cador Earle of Cornewall, ſlayeth Cheldrike. 133.28.
Cador reſcueth Howel in Scotland. 133.38.
Carpwald, king of Eaſtangles, receiueth the Chriſtian faith 162.23.
Cantorburie beſieged, betrayed, and ſpoyled by the Danes 246.3.
Cantorbury better peopled thē London. 246.32
Caſſibellane ſubmitteth hym ſelfe to Ceſar. 42.114
Caſſibellane commaunded not to endamage Mandubratius,

us. 43.3.
Caſſibellane fighteth with Ceſar and Androgeus, and is ouerthrowen. 44. 4.
Caſſibellane put to a yeerely tribute. 44.15.
Caſſibellane dyeth. 44.95.
Caſſibellane not brother, but ſonne to Lud. 44. 99.
Carleil repayred and peopled. 322.73.
Carleil caſtle builded. 322.77
Cambridgeſhire mens valiancie agaynſt the Danes. 245. 39.
Caſtles throwen downe by the Kinges commaundement. 395.78.
Cardinals ſent to treate of peace. 813.21.b. geather money. ibidem
Cardigan caſtle wonne by the Welchmen. 408. 40.
Caſſibellane, brother to Lud, admitted kyng of Britaine. 34 16.
Cantorburie citizẽs, buy peace of the Danes for money. 244.115.
Canons regular placed at Carleil. 362. 87.
Cardes, Dice, or tables, forbidden. 466.28.
Catherine, daughter vnto Henry the ſeuenth, borne and dyeth. 1451.56.
Carew John Knight, attendeth on the Archduke vnto the court. 1459.28.
Catigernus, brother to Kyng Vortimer, and Horſus fyght a cumbat, and eyther ſlayeth other. 116.2.
Caen and the caſtle wonne by Chaſtillion. 1824.50.
Caerlud, the name of London. 33.115.
Cadwan prepareth an armie againſt Ethelferd kyng of Northumberland. 156.91.
Cardinall of Tuſculane ſent by the Pope to Kyng John, to take away the interdiction of the Realme. 582.80. he depoſeth the Abbot of Weſtminſter. 582. 90. he calleth a conuocation of the Clergie. 582. 106.
Cardinall leaneth to K. Johns ſide agaynſt the Prelates of England, for the reſtitution of their loſſes. 583.12
Cardinall preſumeth too much vpon his auctoritie. 583. 53. he appoynteth vnmeete men to the Church. 583.58
Cahors citie recouered by the Engliſhmen. 399.36.
Calne, a Manour belongyng to kyng Edward. 235.109. and.136. 20.
Carlile citie, by whom & when builded. 18. 70.
Caerleon citie, nowe called Cheſter, by whom builded. 18.75.
Cardinals ſent from the Pope, to treate of peace. 962.16.a.
Colloſhill in Warwickeſhyre. pag. 1295. col. 1. lin. 22.
Cairleon Ar Wiſke builded. 27.94.
Syr Hugh Caluerleys valiantneſſe. 1008.52.a. 1013. 30.b.
Cane in Normandy taken by kyng Henry the fyrſt. 344. 14.
Calidonians by ambuſhes ſnap vp the Romanes. 80.5.
Calidonians conclude a league with the Romanes. 80. 21.
Carew Gawen Knight rebellyng, is taken. 1727. 58. is ſet at libertie. 1763. 24.
Cobham Lord with his ſonne Syr Wylliam Cobham, deliuered out of the Tower. 1734.41.
Calphurnius remoued from the Lieutenantſhip of Britaine. 77. 8.
Cauſe it moued the Lordes to conſpire agaynſt Kyng John 587.7.and 587.89.
Catching of Fiſhe with nettes taught. 182.71
Caſtles deliuered to the keping of Wylliam Earle of Albemarle, by king John. 596. 47.
Calaice beſieged. 1770.30. is yeelded. 1771. 50.
Cary Henry knight, Lord of Honneſdon, caried the order of the Garter vnto Charles the nienth, the French kyng. 1834. 36. warden of the Eaſt Marches, and gouernour of Barwicke, diſcomfited Leonard Dacres, & his complices. 1841.40.
Cadwallader ſucceedeth his father Cadwallo, in the kyngdome of Britaine. 183. 51
Cardigan, and Carmardyn Townes in reales. pa. 1414 col. 2. lin. 2.
Camelgaret a Welch byſhop, takẽ priſoner by the Danes, and raunſomed. 221. 20.
Cardinall, Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, ſent to the Queene in ſanctuary for her ſecond ſonne. pag. 1367. col. 1. lin. 14.
Carew Peter knyght, conſpireth with the Duke of Suffolke. 1727.53. fleeth beyond the ſeas. ead. 58.
Cauſes why Geffrey Archbyſhop of Yorke was depriued. 549.2.
Caſtleford. pag. 1311. col. 1. lin. 26.
Caſſels in Ireland, ordeyned an Archbyſhopricke. 386. 32.
Carton cited. 266. 7.
Caſtels wonne by the Scottes 855.47.b.
Cantorbury Colledge in Oxford founded. 1003.50.a.
Caſſibellanes dominion where it lay by likelihood. 41. 39.
Caſſibellane made generall of the Britaines agaynſt the Romanes. 41. 46.
Carauſius made kyng of the Britaines. 81.55.
Carauſius ſlayne in the feelde by Alectus. 81. 89.
Cantorburie deſtroyed by the Danes. 206. 113.
Edmund Earle of Cambridge married Iſabel, daughter to the kyng of Spayne. 992. 4. a.
Cardinall of Piergort, trauayleth to make peace. 958. 23.a.
Caſtles deliuered to the keping of Fouks de Brent by kyng.
Caen Abbey in Normandy builded. 315. 91.
Caen wonne by the Engliſhmen. 930. 50.a
Cadwane king of Northwales. 154.67.
Geffrey lord Charmey, diſcomfited at Calais. 944. 30.b. is taken priſoner there 945. 4. a.
Camber, ſecond ſonne to Brute 16.33.
Cambria allotted to Camber, nowe called Wales. 16.40
The Carricke burnt. 1476. 36.
Cay doctor, cited. 2. 76. and 3. 8. and. 3. 94. and. 4. 2. and 4. 47.
Cartimandua, refuſeth her huſband Venucius, and marrieth Vellocatus. 58.82.
Cartimandua deliuered from her enimies by the Romanes 58. 106.
Camulodunum taken by the Britaines, and ſacked. 63. 91.
Caſtalio Balthaſar knight, enſtalled for the Duke of Urbice. 1461.45.
Carleil citie and caſtle taken by the Scottes. 366.68.
Cardinall Gualo cõmeth ouer into England to kyng John. 600. 55. he excommunicateth Lewes the Frẽch kings ſonne by name. 600. 61.
Carleil citie recouered from the Scottes. 397. 3.
Caſtles names geuen by kyng Richard the fyrſt, to his brother John. 475.38.
Carpwald ſlayne by an Ethnicke. 162. 38.
Cauſe why the French Kyng warred agaynſt the Britaines. 562.52.
Caergrant, nowe called Cambridge. 30. 59.
Caſinare Marques of Randealme, Ambaſſadour from the Emperour. 1458. 40.
Cary George, ſonne to the lorde Hunſdõ, made knight. 1846 45. his letter of chalenge to the lord Fleming, with his anſwere, and Syr George his replie. 1848.29.
Caſtle Gaiard beſieged and deliuered to the French king 557.19.
Calice hauen in vayne attempted to be deſtroyed. 1526. 11.
Cartons Chronicle cited. 24. 41. and. 30.48.
Cambridge poſſeſſed by the Danes. 212.38
Cambridge Towne builded. 3047. and 30. 72.
Caſtle of Maydens in Albania builded. 18.13.
Cardiffe caſtle in Wales. 346 18.
Cardinal Gualo. 592. 3.
Chatoau Ualyard beſieged. pag. 1198. col. 2. lin. 45.
Cardinals reuenues in England ſeaſed into the kynges handes. 929.43. a.
Cantorburie the head citie of the kyngdome of Kent. 147. 69.
Caſſander vſurpeth the kyngdome of Macedonie. 29.93
Caſtles fortified by kyng John. 601.25.
Caius Voluſenus, looke Voluſenus.
Calater wood in Scotland. 24.29.
Calphurnius Agricola, ſent Lieutenant into Britaine. 76.74.
Cardiffe caſtle builded. 351. 55.
Caſtle built nygh to Cryde Abbey, called Huberts folly. 632. 21.
Capitoll of Rome ſaued by the noyle of Ganders. 26.66.
Cambridge burned by the Danes. 245. 60.
Caſtle Chinon and Sawmer. 542. 23.
Caſtle and citie of Angiers deliuered to the Duke of Britaine. 542. 27.
The Cardinall of Saint Andrewes impriſoned. 1589. 4. is deliuered out of priſon, and daſheth the mariage betweene Prince Edward, & Marie ẏ Scottiſhe Queene 1591. 55.
Carew, the Baron of Carew ſlayne. 1478.22.
Cauſes which moued Ceſar to make warre on ẏ Britaines. 34. 103.
Cardinall Hiſpanus. 844. 13.b.
Cambridge Uniuerſitie when founded, and by whom. 28.78.
Carewe Nicholas knight, knight of the Garter, maiſter of the kinges houſe beheaded 1571.47. the ſpeache which he vſed at his execution. ſhewed.

An Index.

Caen beſieged and yeelded to the French.pag.1276.col.2 lin.2.
Caſtles wonne by the byſhop of Duriſme. 832.20.a.
Caxton cited. 122.9.
Calice in old tyme called Icius Portus. 35.14.
Caircone caſtle fortified againſt kyng Henry the fyrſt. 339.60.
Caradoc Lancarnanenſis, in what time he liued. 394.46.
Caleis inhabited with Engliſhmen. 943.35.a.
Carow Edmũde knight.1450 41.
Caboto Sebaſtian diſcouereth Moſcouia. 1714.26.
Chateau Galiard caſtle in Normandie, builded. 539.53.
Cambridgſhire annexed to the Sea of Ely. 349.94.
Cateſby Willyam atteinted. 1415.46.
Cantorburie burned with caſuall fire. 191.90.
Candida Caſa, now Whiterne 192.27.
Cauſes which mooued Duke William of Normandie, to allay the cõquering of England. 285.81.
Caleis beſieged by the Duke of Burgoigne. pag.1259.col. 2 lin.15. he breaketh vp hys ſiege.1260.col.1.lin.53.
Caen caſtle repayred. 359.59.
Canutus and Harold, ſonnes to king Swanus of Denmarke, ſent into England with a Nauie. 300.25.
Canutus & Harold with their armie put to flight by kyng William, eſcape to theyr ſhippes. 301.18.
Cauſey made through the fens of the Ile of Ely. 306.101.
Cardinals appoynted to treat of peace. 991.12.b.
Cambrey beſieged by king Edward the third. 904.55.a.
Capitaine Hanſon.pag.1304. col.1.lin.15.beheaded.col.2. lin.13.
Cairbadon, now called the citie of Bathe. 21.97.
Captaines flouriſhing in the dayes of Richard the firſt. 541.53.
Cardinall of Saint Praxede dealeth al for money. 1023. 14.b.
Cardinals come into England to treat of peace. 901.53.b.
Caernaruan burned.810.19.b
Cadſant Ile. 901.23.b.
Cataractone towne. 170.54.
Caerbranke citie, nowe called Yorke, by whom buylded. 18.10.
Canute Prudan, marryeth Githa, daughter to Oſgote Clappa. 268.1.
Carauſius commaunded to bee ſlayne, eſcapeth. 83.19.
Cadwan elected kyng of the Britaines. 156.75.
Carlile beſieged. 853.48.b.
Cenwalch or Chenwald ſucceedeth his father Cinegiſcus in the kingdome of Weſt Saxons. 171.
Cenwalch putteth awaye hys wyfe, & receyueth her againe. 171.44.
Celwalch driuen out of his cõtrey, flieth to the Eaſtangles. 171.46.
Cenwalch receiueth the Chriſtian fayth. 171.53.
Cenwalch recouereth his kingdome. 171.58.
Cedda a vertuous Prieſt, ſent to preach the Goſpell to the Eaſt Saxons. 174.23.
Cedda ordeined Byſhop of the Eaſt Saxons. 174.37.
Cedda borne in Northumberland. 174.103.
Cenwalch king of weſt Saxons, departeth this lyfe.180. 63.
Centwine ſucceedeth Eſcuinus in the kingdome of the weſt Saxons. 180 88.
Celleſtline Abbey in Irelande buylded. 208.203.
Ceolwolfe expulſed his kingdome by Bernwolfe.205.72
Ceorlus, ſucceedeth his kinſmã Wibbas in the kingdome of Mercia. 153.9.
Ceolred, ſonne to king Ethelred. 189.10.
Ceolred ſucceedeth Kenred in the kingdome of Mercia. 189.47.
Coelred dyeth, and is buryed at Litchfield. 189.48.
Ceadwalla entreth Kent wyth a armie, & is put to flight by the Kentiſhmen. 186.64.
Ceadwalla ſucceedeth Centwine in the kingdome of the weſt Saxons. 183.100.
Ceolwolfe ſucceedeth his Nephew Kenelme, in the kyngdome of Mercia. 205.70.
Cerdicus gouerneth the Weſt partes of Britaine as kyng. 127.9.
Cerdicus doeth homage & fealtie vnto K. Arthur. 137.78.
Cedda dyeth in Leſtinghẽ Monaſterie. 175.28.
Cheſhyre waſted by the welchmen. 381.41.
Cerdiceore, ſuppoſed to be Yermouth in Northfolke. 126. 108.
Certiceſtſhore. 130.46.
Ceolwolfe dyeth. 196.11.
Cealtide Synode. 199.11.
Celling William. 1463.11.
Cedferth, Byſhop of Donwich. 195.14.
Cedwallo, looke Cadwallo.
Ceorle Earle. 207.11.
Ceſar cited. 3.49.&.3.62.and 4.77.&.5.62.
Ceowulf departeth this lyfe. 155.43.
Celtica kingdome what countryes in conteined. 1.101.
Cerdicus a Saxon arriueth with a power in Brytaine. 126.103.
Cheſhyre a great part, deſtroyed by Norway Pirates.238 40.
Ceadda ordeined Archbiſhop of Yorke. 177.71.
Ceadda remoued from the ſee of Yorke. 178.69.
Ceadda, made Byſhop of Mercia. 179.47.
Ceadda departeth this lyfe. 179.61.
Ceadda, brother to Cedda, gouerneth Leſtinghem Monaſterie. 175.29.
Ceadwalla baniſhed out of his owne countrey. 184.20.
Ceadwalla returneth with an army into his owne countrey 184.34.
Ceadwalla baptized at Rome, and there dyeth. 185.4.
Ceadwalla voweth vnto God. 184.52.
Ceoluolf, ſucceedeth Oſrick in the kingdome of Northumberland. 190.83.
Ceoluolf renounceth hys kyngdome, and becommeth a Monke. 190.87.
Cedda, and his .iii. brethren all Prieſtes. 175.32.
Cheuling ſucceedeth Kenricus his father in the kyngdome of the weſt Saxons.142.85.
Ceaulinus, looke Chauling.
Cerdicus, beginneth the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons. 127.10.
Cenulfe, ordeyned Byſhop of Dorcheſter. 223.60.
Centwine maketh warre vpon the Britaines, & ouerthroweth them. 183.44.
Cellach, ſecond Biſhop of Mercia. 176.19.
Cenwalch vanquiſhed by Wolſhere, and his countrey ſpoyled. 176.86.
Celricus, or Ceolrick, Nephew to Cheuling reigneth ouer the Weſt Saxons. 145.63.
Celtike and Britiſh language al one. 4.93.
Celby Abbey in Yorkeſhyre buylded. 315.90.
Cewolfe ſucceedeth Burthred in the kingdome of Mercia. 218.95.
Cearlus, K. of Mercia. 162.1.
Ceſar, looke Iulius Ceſar.
Ceouulf, or Ceoloulph begynneth his reigne ouer the weſt Saxons. 152.72.
Certiceſtſhore, called in old time Nazaleoy. 131.18.
Certaine Gentlemen of meane calling, appoynted to gouern the Romane armie in Brytaine.77.12.
Charter of agreement betweene King Henry the ſeconde of England, and Willyam of Scotland. 440.51.
Charter of agreement betweene King Henry the ſeconde of England, and Roderike king of Connagh. 442.11.
Chriſtian blood no dearer to the Pope then the bloud of Infidels. 739.90.
Cheſter beſieged by the Saxons. 153.65.
Charles Earle of Flaunders, murdered traytrouſly by hys owne people. 360.64.
Churches are the Popes to defende, and not to robbe and ſpoyle. 741.68.
Chriſtian religion in Britayne reſtored. 125.48.
Cheſter ſee, remoued to Durham. 241.25.
Children not begotten in lawfull Matrimonie, to bee no heires. 198.103.
Chealred, king of Mercia.187 103.
Chirchedune Adam, ſhamefully whipped about Poicters. 446.72.
Church goods layd out to gage to helpe the Pope with money. 633.20.
Charter of King Williã, graunted to the citie of London. 316.94.
Chiefe Iuſtice wordes agaynſt the clergie. 824.30.a.
Charles the fift Emperour arriueth at Douer. 1509.20. ſeemed not much to delyte in paſtyme. 1509.54. wynneth Cardinall Wolſey by riche rewardes & large promyſes. eadem.30. commeth eftſons into England.1520 20.is Knight of the Garter and ſetteth in his owne ſtall at Windſor. eadem.35. entreth into league with Kyng Henry.eadem.55.
Charles King of Fraunce, ſendeth an erronious booke into England. 199.47.
Chicheſter citie conſumed with fire. 465.35.
Charles Simpler, King of Fraunce, marryeth Egditha, daughter to King Edward. 223.11.
Cheſter citie builded. 58.5. &.73.77.
Chorthmond, ſlayeth Aldred, murderer of King Ethelbert 201.69.
Cheſterfield battaile, fought by the Lord Henry, againſt the Barons. 777.16.
Cheſter citie beſieged by the Danes, and taken. 216.42.
Cheſter citie left by the Danes. 216.47.
Chitrey caſtle burnt. 385.39.
Chalus Cheuerell, beſieged, and taken by King Richarde the

the firſt. 539.88.
Cheſter made a principalitie. 1097.20.b.
Chiſi William hanged for robbing of Pilgrimes. 484.31.
Chaunteries al committed to yͤ kings diſpoſition. 1604.55.
Cheſter citie by whom builded 18.75. and. 18.82.
Cheſter citie repaired by Liel. 18.74.
Cheſter citie builded before Brutes comming into this land. 18.77.
Chriſtes Churche in Cantorburie repayred. 320.67.
Church of England ſore greeued, and bereaued of her wealth. 321.6.
Churchmen of England complaine of kyng Wylliam Rufus to the Pope. 321.11.
Chereburg in Normãdy. 321 73.
Cheſter Wylliam knight, his woorthy woorkes. 1714. 40.
Calthrop John his woorthy woorkes. 1714.40.
Cheeke John knight his booke agaynſt rebellion inſerted. 1677.
Children foure liuing, and in good likyng, borne at one burthen. 1872. 12
Cheyney Henry knyght, is made Lord Cheny of Toddington. 1862. 55.
Chriſterne kyng of Denmarke, commeth into England. 1525.56. returneth. ead. 20.
Charles Earle of Charoloys. pag. 1317. col. 2. lin. 6 married Margaret ſiſter to Edward the fourth pag. 1318. col. 2. lin. 21. Duke of Borgongne. pag. 1318. col. 2. lin. 3.
Charles baſtard of Henry Duke of Somerſet, Lord Herbert, captaine of the rereward, in the voiage to Turwin. 1478. 51.
Cholmeley Roger knight, is one of the kinges Executors. 1611.50. is excepted out of the generall pardons, why. 1722.1.
Charles doctor, counſellor to Prince Arthur; and after Byſhop of Hereford. 1456. 58.
The ſtill Chriſtmas. 1536.28.
The Chappel of our Lady in Weſtminſter Abbey built. 1457.40.
Cheuling, ſonne to Kenricus, kyng of Weſt Saxons. 142 55.
Charles, Baſtard of Henry Duke of Somerſet, created Earle of Worceſter. 1494 31.
Chierburghe yeelded to the French. pag. 1277. col. 1 lin. 16.
Chabor Wylliam, Lord Admirall of France, made knyght of the Garter. 1559.11.
Cheſter citie repayred, fortified, and inlarged. 222.9.
Chriſtin, mother to Edgar Edeling, profeſſeth her ſelfe a Nunne in Scotland. 298. 75.
Chippingnorton by Cotſold. pag. 1306. col. 1. lin. 10.
Charter of kyng Johns ſubmiſſion to the Pope. 576.12.
Channel caſt from Torkſey, to Lincolne. 359. 11.
Chriſte our Sauiour borne. 46 7.
Cherburgh deliuered to the Engliſhmen. 1009. 58. b.
Chinon taken by force of aſſault by the French kyng. 562. 39.
Charles the Emperour marrieth Iſabel daughter to the king of Portingal. 1537. 20.
Chancerie court inſtituted. 303.52.
Charles the nienth, the French kyng, is knight of the Garter. 1834. 36.
Chriſtian fayth receiued by the Engliſhmen. 148. 17
Cheſterby Philip, a knight of Lindeſey, admoniſheth kyng Henry the ſecond of his euill life. 422.21.
Chriſtes Church in Cantorburie, erected, and reſtored. 150 33.
Chartley caſtle founded by Ranulph Earle of Cheſter. 618 11.
Chicheſter made a Byſhoppes See. 309.64.
Churches builded in Northumberland. 168.80.
Church landes to be free from all tributes and ſeruices regall. 207. 39.
Church goodes ſtolen, to be reſtored. 149.33.
Children to be baptiſed with three dippinges into fayre water. 420.101
Children to be baptiſed by any perſon, where danger of death is feared. 420.105.
Charter of king Henry the firſt. 586. 66.
Free Chappels all geuen vnto the kyng. 1634. 8.
Chriſtian religion in Britayne decayeth. 119.21.
Cheyney Frances knight. 1450.18.
Chertiey Abby in Southerie builded. 181.19
Chateau de Leire rendred to the Engliſh. pag. 1234. col. 2. lin. 47.
Charteries taken from yͤ Engliſhe. pag. 1249. col. 1. lin. 24.
Charles the great his ſpeare, ſent to kyng Adelſtane. 227. 20.
Chaunteries all geuen vnto the kyng. 1634. 8.
Charters graunted by Henry the third, are cancelled by hym. 629. 16.
Charterhouſe Monke apprehended at Cambridge. 657. 77.
Charing Croſſe builded. 800. 3. a.
Charles yͤ fifth kyng of France dyeth. 1020. 15. b.
Charles the great, and Offa, reconciled. 195.36.
Charles the. 9. King of Fraunce dyeth, hys obſequies kept. 1870 40.
Chamber John a rebel. 1434. 135. is hanged. 1434.20.
Charles French King. pag. 1412. col. 2. lin. 26.
Chandew a Lorde of Britaine created Earle of Bathe. 1426.35.
Charleton Richard attainted. 1425.42.
Charles the. 8. King of France, maketh warre on Fraunces Duke of Britaine. 1431. deſireth King Henrie to ayde him or to be menter. ibidem. ouerthrowen by the power of Britaine in battaile. 1433. 45. marrieth the heyre of Britaine. 1437.10. redeemeth peace of King Henry the ſeuenth. 1440.10.
Church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter buylded. 75.36.
Church of S. Peter in Cornhill builded. 75.49.
Cheyney John knight ſent into Britaine. 1434.10.
John Lord Chandos ſlayne. 981.1.a.
Chriſtianus, a Byſhop of the Danes. 302.22.
Charles baſtard ſonne to Henry Duke of Somerſet Earle of Worceſter ſent into Frãce in Ambaſſade with a traine of aboue. 400. 1506.23.
John Cheyney condemned. 1097.54.a.
Chriſtopher Urſwide. pag. 1400. col. 1. line. 56. col. 2. lin. 8. pag. 1407. col. 2. lin. 54. pag. 1408. col. 1. lin. 6.
Childe crucifyed by the Jewes at Norwich. 381.11.
Chriſtiãs beheaded by the Saraſins at Acres. 501.26.
Chiorburgh beſieged by the Engliſh. pag. 1192. col. 1. lin. 42 yeelded col. 2. lin. 24.
Cheldrike King of Saxonie, arryueth in Scotland wyth an armie. 132.54.
Cheldrike, diſcomfited and chaſed wyth his armie of Saxons. 132.74.
Charles the fift Emperour dyeth. 1785.58.
Charugage what it is. 549.2.
Church of Paule in London dedicated. 768.27.
Challenge of the Duke of Orliaunce. pa. 1141. col. 2. lin. 1.
Church goods ſold towardes payment of King Richard the firſt his raunſome. 512. 47.
Chippiham battaile, fought betweene the Engliſhmen and Danes wyth equall victory. 212.67.
Cheſter made a Byſhops See. 309.65.
Cheſter citie wonne by yͤ Weſt Saxons. 204.32.
Chipnham. 207.25.
Cham alotted vnto Affrica. 1. 77.
Chriſtians honoured and cheriſhed by Conſtantinus. 91. 90.
Charnelles Hugh knight. 595. 30.
Cheuling departeth into exyle, and there dyeth. 146.59.
Cheſter Abbey builded. 336. 13.
Cheape of things. 900.40 a.
Cheldrike purſued by the Britaines, and ſlayne. 133.39.
Charles the French Kyngs brother marryed to Lady Beatrix. 715.2.
Geffrey Charney taken priſoner in Britain. 919.27.a.
Chicke hatched with foure feete 351.43.
Chicheſter, chiefe citie of the kingdome of the ſouth Saxons. 125 85.
Cyprìotes ſlaundered taken in the feeld by the Engliſhmen, and ſent to Saint Edmondes ſhrine. 492.36.
Cyprietes ſubmit them ſelues to Kyng Richard the firſt. 493.24.
Ciſteaux order charged with paiment towardes the raunſome of king Richard the firſt. 512. 56. refuſe giftes offered by the Emperour. 526.8.
Cirenceſter, nowe called Ciceſter. 144.5.
Ciceſter beſieged by Gurmundus, and taken. 144.11.
Ciuile contention in Kent for the kingdome. 187. 36.
Cirenceſter battaile, fought betweene Penda and Quichelme. 169. 31
Ciceſter caſtle raſed by the freendes of king Henry the third. 611. 68.
Citie of London aſſigned to the cuſtody of the Conſtable of the Tower of Londõ. 74.81.
Cinegiſcus departeth this life, 171.35.
Citizens of London ſerued in the hall at coronation. 1120. col. 1. lin. 32.
Circuites appointed for Juſtices itinerantes. 443.53.
Ciuil diſſention breeding in England againſt king John. 586

586.32.
Cicely Ducheſ of Yorke, mother vnto Edward ẏ fourth, dyeth. 1445. 1.
Ciuiſe Queene. 175. 59.
Citizens of London accurſed by the Pope. 596.74.
Ciuilis ſent into Britaine to rule the Prouinces there. 104.68.
Ciuill warres in Britaine. li. peeres. 22.99.
Ciuil warre in Britaine betweene Conſtantinus, and Mordreds ſonnes. 138.17.
Cicel Wylliam knight, Lorde Burleigh, made Lord Treaſurer of England. 1864.8.
Citie of London payeth to Henry the third for a fine, three thouſand markes. 739.2.
Cinegiſcus ſucceedeth Couulf in the kyngdome of Weſt Saxons. 155. 51.
Cinegiſcus receiueth his ſonne Richelinus, to raigne ioinctly with him in his kingdome 155.57.
Cimbil, brother to Cedda. 175 20.
Cicile ſecond daughter to Edward the fourth. pag. 1356. col. 1. lin. 39. pag. 1413. col. 1. lin. 33.
Cicilie ſiſter to ẏ kyng of Sweden, commeth into England, and is deliuered of a ſonne, called Edwardus Fortunatus. 1835.4. returneth into Sweden. 1836.16.
Citizens of Cantorburie ſlaine in a fraye. 270.95.
Citizens of London are graunted to paſſetolle free through out al England. 628.94.
Citizens of London fined, for ayding king Lewes. 628, 107.
Cingetorix, one of the Kinges of Kent, vanquiſhed, and taken priſoner by the Romans 42.108.
Citizens of Winchester ſerue in the kytchin at King Richard the fyrſt his coronation. 519. 18.
Ciſſa, ſonne to Ella, ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of South Saxons. 130.53
Cinewulfus, looke Kinewulfe.
Citizens of London ſerue in the Butterie, at King Richard the fyrſt his coronation. 519. 14. the wealthieſt caſt into priſon in Windſor caſtle. 774.10. obteyne pardon of the kyng. 774.43. and. 775 63.
Ciuile diſcord among the Britaines for the gouernement. 75.115.
Cipriotes ſlaine lyke beaſtes by the Engliſhmen. 492.32
Cimbeline, looke Kymbeline.
Cinegiſcus receyueth the faith of Chriſte. 169. 5.
Ciuile warres decayeth the force of Britaine. 101.36
Ciſteaux order fyrſt begun. 333 86.
Ciſteaux Abbey founded. 333. 91.
Cimburgh, daughter to Penda, married to Alchfride. 173.31.
Cities, Townes, & Trees, ouerthrowē by wind. 199.63
Cities & townes defaced by ſodaine fire. 196. 21.
Clifford Robert knight, ſent by the rebelles, to the Ducheſſe of Burgogne. 1442. beleeueth Perken to be the Duke of Yorke. ibidem. returneth home, and commeth vnto the kyng. 1443.48.
Lionel Duke of Clarence, marrieth the Duke of Millans daughter. 974.51.b.
The Cleargie complained of in the lower houſe. 1553. 10.
Clothes forbidden by the ſtates of the lowe countreys, to be tranſported thyther out of England. 1833. 35. the mart of them tranſferred vnto Embden ead. 45.
Claudius the Emperour arriueth at Porcheſter in Britaine, and there fighting with the Britaines, is put to the woorſe. 50.57.
Claudius the Emperor driuen backe to his ſhippes by Aruiragus. 50.72
Claudioceſtria, nowe Glouceſter, and why ſo called. 51. 52.
Cleueland waſted by ẏ Scots. 306 116.
Clere Matthew, Sheriffe of Kent. 497. 28.
Clare Richard Earle of Glouceſter dyeth. 800. 60.
Clotenus, kyng of Cornewall. 22.89.
Clothworkers ſtrangers. 900. 43.b.
Cleander ſetteth on the Romane ſouldiers, to cōplaine on Perhennis. 77.34
Cleberie caſtle taken, and deſtroyed. 396.10
Bertram de Cleaquin diſcōfiteth the Engliſhmen. 990. 16.b.
Gilbert de Clare, Earle of Gloceſter dyeth. 815.17.a
Gilbert de Clare, Earle of Glouceſter ſlayne. 852. 55.b.
Clinton Geffrey accuſed of treaſon. 361.75.
Clarenbald, elect Abbot of S. Auguſtines in Cantorburie. 415.77.
Clodius Albinus, appoynted Lieutenāt of Britain. 77.71
Clodius Albinus choſeth forth a great power of Britaines to trāſport ouer into Frāūce. 77.78.
Clodius Albinus encountreth with Seuerus the Emperour in Fraunce, & is ſlayne. 78.7.
Clerke William atteinted. 1425.48.
Clifford Henry knight Earle of Cumberland 1536.17.
The Clergie proud in apparell and licentious in lyfe. 1504. 45.
Clergie denie to graunt a ſubſidie. 823.45.a. they are excluded from the Kings protection. 823.53.b. receyued againe. 824.40.a.
Sir John Clerke ſlain. 1013. 10.a.
Clergie out of order, and full of vnſeemely enormities. 330, 30.
Clun Riuer. 55.62.
Clippers of money puniſhed. 788.47.b.
Clergie denyeth to graunt a ſubſidie. 991.4.b.
Cloaricus, a Mountaine in Wales. 117.56.
Claimes at the Coronation of king Henry the fourth. 1116 46.a.
Chilterne Woods, and countrey. 245.18.
William Clinton created Erle of Huntington. 900.13.b.
Clide riuer. 70.1.
Clergie men, puniſhable before a temperal Judge, for killing the Kings Deere. 442.103.
Clergie men, to be conuented, and puniſhed by a temporall Judge, as wel as the Laytie. 442.110.
Claudianus the Poet cyted. 106.63.
Claudius the Emperour commeth into Britaine. 49.69.
Cluſinm in Italy beſeeged by Brennus & Belinus. 25.80.
The Clergy to bee releaſed of the Premunire, giue the king 100000.li. 1556.32.
Clerkes not ſuffred to come ouer into the Realme, without an othe. 418.27.
Claudius Emperour of Rome, ſendeth an armie into Brytaine. 48.62.
Clokes ſhort, brought to be vſed in England. 471.90.
Clipeſtone. 516.82.
Roger Lord Clifford takē. 790. 30.b.
Cnute ouermatched by King Edmond. 257.1.
Cnute and King Edmond, agree to part the land betweene them. 257.24.
Cnute refuſeth to combat with King Edmond. 257.32.
Cnute concludeth a league and truce with King Edmond vppon conditions. 257.80.
Cnute receyued for abſolute Kyng of all England. 257. 109.
Cnute taketh vppon him the whole rule ouer the realme of England. 258.65.
Canute, looke Cnute.
Cnute ſeeketh occaſions, to ryd himſelfe of ſuch traitours as had betrayed other vnto him. 260.14.
Cnute paſſeth ouer into Denmarke with an army againſt the Vandales. 260.75.
Cnute returneth againe into England. 261.4.
Cnute paſſeth ouer with an armie into Denmark, agaynſt the Swedeners. 261.11.
Cnute with his armie ouerthrowne by the Swedeners 261.13.
Cnute goeth to Rome, to viſite the burialles of Peter and Paule. 261.57.
Cnute dyeth at Shafteburie, and lyeth buryed at Wincheſter. 261.71.
Cnute, the myghtieſt Prince that euer reygned in England. 262.1.
Cnute withdraweth from London into the Jle of Shepie, and there wintereth. 253. 75.
Cnute ordeined King of England at Southampton. 254. 11.
Cnute beſiegeth London, and is repulſed. 254.19.
Cnute and king Edmond Ironſide, trie their right in a combat at the Jle of Olney. 256.59.
Cnute offreth his crowne to S. Edmond. 250.50.
Cnute, a great benefactor to S. Edmond. 250.35.
Cnutes endenour to eſtabliſhe himſelfe in the kingdome of England. 250.33.
Cnute ſetteth his crowne vpon the head of the Image of the crucifix. 262.58.
Cnute ſonne to Swanus, elected to ſucceede in his fathers dominions. 250.3.
Cnutes crueltie againſt ẏ Engliſh pledges. 250.75.
Cnute returneth into England with an armie. 251.78.
Cnutes pride, in commaunding the ſea not to flowe. 262 29.
Cnute conſtrayned to forſake this realme, flyeth into Denmark. 250.69.
Cneus Trebellius, looke Trebellius.
Cnuto, ſonne to Sueno king of Danes, ſent with an army into England againſt K. William. 308.25.
Cnute marryeth Emma, wydow to king Egelredus. 259 47.
Cnutes iſſue. 262.74.
Commiſſioners ſent from the Pope into England. 304. 52.

Contention between the Archbyſhops of Cantorburie and Yorke, for the ſuperioritie. 305.22.
Conſtantinus, ſonne to Cador, beginneth to rule ouer Britaine. 138.3.
Conſtantinus appoynted kyng by Arthur, and crowned. 138.10.
Cornelius Tacitus what tyme he wrote. 58. 36.
Cogidune, a king of the Britaines. 58. 33.
Courtehuſe Robert departeth this lyfe. 362. 115.
Courtehuſe Robert pineth away vpon greefe and diſpleaſure. 363.11.
Copa, a counterfeite Phiſition, poyſoneth Aurelius Ambroſe. 123. 57.
Conran kyng of Scottes, marrieth Alda, ſiſter to Vter Pendragon. 132.17.
Corgh kingdome in Ireland, geuen vnto two Iriſh lordes 450.9.
Combat betweene Arthure, and certayne Giauntes in Fraunce. 133.70.
Continuall victories are a prouocation to manfulneſſe, and contrarywyſe. 375.94.
Chorea Gigantum, otherwyſe called Stonehenge. 129. 32.
Conſtantinus ruled by the vertuous counſell, and admonitions of his mother Helene the Empreſſe. 94.4.
Colcheſter Towne walled by Helene the Empreſſe. 94.9.
Contrarietie among wryters, concernyng the warres betweene the Britaines and Saxons. 125. 13.
Connah countrey, where it lyeth, and the nature thereof. 420.37.
Collections made for the chriſtians in the Eaſt partes, and for maintenance of the warres there, agaynſt the miſcreantes. 409. 20.
Combat fought betweene Henrye of Eſſex, and Robert de Mountfort. 397. 59.
Conditions of agreement, betweene kyng Henry the ſecond, and his ſonnes. 438. 48.
Conſtantius forſaketh Helen, and is conſtrained to marrie Theodora. 89. 30.
Conſtantius and Galerius Maximianus, created Emperours togeather 89.32.
Conſtantius falleth ſicke, and dyeth. 89.75.
Couſtantius ſetteth the crown vppon his ſonne Conſtantinus head. 89 87
Conſtantius policie, to diſcerne true Chriſtians from falſe. 89. 109.
Conſtantinus, ſonne to Conſtantius, crowned, and proclaimed Emperour. 89.87. and 90. 43.
Conſtantinus begotten vpon a Britiſh woman, and borne in Britaine. 90.64.
Conſtantinus created Emperour in Britaine. 90. 66.
Conſtantinus eſcapeth vnto his father in Britaine. 89. 79. and. 90.77.
Conſtantinus for his noble actes atchieued, ſurnamed the great. 90.65.
Conſtantinus hougheth poſt horſes, for feare of purſuing. 90.71.
Conſtantinus requeſted to come into Italy to ſubdue Maxentius. 91.3.
Cōſtantinus marrieth Fauſta, daughter to Maximinianus. 91.7.
Conſtantia, ſiſter to Conſtantinus, married to Licinius. 91 62.
Conſtantinus leadeth an armie into Italie agaynſt Maxentius, and ſlayeth him. 91.70
Cōſtantinus getteth the whole Empire vnder his ſubiection. 91.84.
Conſtantinus kyng of Scots, conſpireth with the Welchmen agaynſt kyng Adelſtane. 225.16.
Conſtantinus and his Scottes ſubdued by kyng Adelſtane. 225.21.
Conſtantinus reſtored to his kyngdome, acknowledgeth to hold the ſame of the kyng of England. 225. 27.
Conſtantinus kyng of Scottes ſlayne. 226. 74.
Conſtantinus arriueth at Totnes in Deuonſhire with an armie. 108.51.
Conſtantinus crowned kyng of great Britaine. 108.69.
Conſtantius, ſonne to king Conſtantinus, made a Monke. 109.6.
Conſtantinus trayterouſly ſlaine by a Pict. 109.9
Conſtantius the Monke, ſonne to Conſtantinus, created kyng of Britayne. 109.58.
Conſtantius the kyng murdered. 109. 96.
Cornelius Tacitus cited. 73. 19.
Coilus, ſonne to Marius, made king of Britaine. 73. 83.
Colcheſter in Eſſex builded. 74.10.
Coilus brought vp among the Romanes at Rome. 73.85.
Coilus dyeth. 74. 15.
Cordilla, youngeſt daughter to Leir, married to Agamippus one of the Princes of France 19.113.
Cordilla, youngeſt daughter to Leir, admitted Queene of Britaine. 20. 67.
Conſtans, ſonne to Conſtantinus, ſhorne a Monke. 98. 34.
Conſtans made partaker of the Empire, with his father Cōſtantinus. 98. 35.
Conſtans ſent into Spayne with an armie. 98. 38
Colman ordeyned Byſhop of Northumbers. 177.8
Colman returneth into Scotland. 177. 25.
Controuerſie about ſhauing Prieſtes crownes & beards. 177. 16.
Coilus ſendeth Ambaſſadours vnto Cōſtantius to conclude peace with him. 88.68
Compromiſe touching poſſeſſions betwixt Richard the firſt, and Philip kyng of Fraunce. 538. 32.
Conſtance ſiſter to king Lewes of Fraunce, married to Euſtace Duke of Normandie. 372.63.
Conſtantinus kyng of Scots, perſwaded to ayde the Britaines agaynſt the Saxons. 120. 10.
Contention betwene the Archbyſhops of Cantorburie and Yorke, about ſetting the kynges crowne vppon his head. 360. 50.
Commotion raiſed by Earle Godwyn, and his adherentes againſt Kyng Edward. 271. 50.
Couentrey Abbey ſpoyled. 380 62.
Coyne in England chaunged. 453.111.
Conſtantius ſent againſt Conſtantinus into Fraunce with an armie. 98.69.
Conſtantinus ſlain in Fraunce. 98.71.
Counſell holden at Oxford. 251.48.
Conſtantius marryeth Helene daughter to Coilus Kyng of Britaine. 88.70.
Commendable proteſtation, & worthy of Chriſtians. 468. 69.
Counterfeiters of Chriſt apprehended and executed. 620.8.
Conſpiracie moued by the Nobilitie of England, agaynſt king Stephan. 367.34.
Counterfeit myracles of the Monkes againſt Prieſts, for their houſes. 235.112.
Courtney Williā Lord Courtney ſon vnto Edward Erle of Deuonſhire. 1450.40.
Courtney William knight. 1450.42.
The Corniſh men rebel. 1446. 5.ar: ouerthrowen at Blackheath. 1447. rebell agayne with Perkin Warbecke. 1449.50. diſſolue their power. 1450.50. are ſore vexed by commiſſioners. 1451.1.
Comete ſeene goyng backward in the firmament. 351.45.
Courtney Williā Lord Courtney and ſonne to the Erle of Deuonſhire marieth Katharin daughter to Edward the fourthe committed to the tower. 1457.30.
Courtney Henry Marques of Exceter commeth wyth a great power againſt the rebels of the North. 1568.14. Lord Steward of England at the arreignment of the Lord Darcy & Huſſey. 1570. 5. is condemned of treaſon. 1572.10. is executed. ibidē.
Courtney Edward Earle of Deuonſhire ſuccoureth Exceſter and is hurt. 1450.40. & 47.
Colonie ſent to inhabite the Ardes in Ireland. 1864.35.
Conanus, looke Aurelius Conanus.
Combat at Weſtmin. 1016. 45.a.
Conſtable Robert Knight put to death. 1570.10.
Combat for land appointed, but not fought, and the manner thereof. 1858.52.
Counterfeyters of the Virgin Mary, and of Mary Magdalen, apprehended and condemned. 620.27.
Cobham William Knight hys proweſſe. 1640.30.
Colledges all geuen vnto the king. 1634.8.
Conſpiracie made by Kineard, againſt Kinewulf. 198.3.
Conrade Emperour. 262.1.
Commons ſubmit themſelues to King Henry the thyrd. 614 63.
Conſtantinus a Britaine choſen Emperour. 98.4.
Copſius made gouernour ouer the Northumbers. 312.17.
Copſius ſlayne by Oſulf. 312. 25.
Contention betweene Thurſtan Abbot of Glaſtenburie, & the Monkes of that houſe. 313. 1.
Cōſtantinus Pagonatus, Emperour. 183.54.
Cornwall Edmund knight ſent into Britaine. 1434.10.
Contibald James Ambaſſador from Maximlian Duke of Burgoine. 1438.45.
Comete appeareth. 739.46.
Comius kept as priſoner by the Britaines, ſet at libertie. 36, 91.
Colcheſter caſtle ſurrendred to Lewes. 610.35.
Coyne of Copper the value imbaſed. 1709.10.
Comius, gouernour of Artois ſent by Ceſar into Britaine. 35.37.

Cornhill miſtaken for Thorney. 75.51.
Contention betwixt the Archbyſhop of Cantorburie & the Earle of Kent. 637.1.
Colcheſter caſtle beſieged and wonne by King John. 598.24.
Conſtance refuſeth her huſband and maryeth a new. 547.41.
Conuocation at Powles. pag. 1155.col 1.lin.12.
Coilus dyeth. 88.72.
Commotion rayſed by Roger Acton. pag. 1166.col.2.lin.34.
Conſpiracie moued by Byſhop Odo, againſt King William Rufus. 318.28.
Couentrie Abbey, by whom buylded. 277.15.
Conyers Roger knight, made captayne of the Tower of Durham. 449.47.
Coleſey taken and ſpoyled by the Danes. 244.35.
Controuerſie betweene the Prieſtes and Monkes ended by Myracles. 236.34.
Conſtantinus deceaſſeth at Nicomedia in Aſia. 94.23.
Corne blaſted and burnt vp by lightning. 270 7.
Colcheſter ſuppoſed to bee in olde tyme Camulodunum. 54.55.&.74.
Coyne throughout the realme, broken or ſlit. 363.112.
Conſpiracie moued by ẏ kings of Scotland and Wales, againſt king Adelſtane. 225.18.
Conan Meridock, made king of Britaine in Fraunce. 95.71.
Conan Meridock ſendeth into great Britaine for wyues for his people. 95.87.
Couetous practiſe of Carauſius to enritche himſelf. 83.4.
Courtehuſe William, ſonne to Duke Robert, made Earle of Flaunders. 360.68.
Courtehuſe William, Earle of Faunders, dyeth of a wound. 361.33.
Contractes without witneſſe concerning mariage, may be denyed. 341.18.
Conſtantius begynneth hys reigne ouer Britaine. 89.5.
Conſtantinus the ſonne of Conſtantius, borne. 89.15.
Conſtantius his birth and Nobilitie. 89.
Conſpiracie of the Britaines to reiect the Romane bondage. 60.10.
Conſtantinus gathereth an armie, and paſſeth ouer into Fraunce therwith. 98.23.
Conſpiracie againſt Elidurus by his brethren. 31.83.
Contention betweene two brethren, Earle Harold, & Earle Toſtie. 278.75.
Counſell holden at Oxford by the Lordes that take parte with King Henrye the thyrd. 610.28.
Cole Moore battaile agaynſt the Saxons. 116.16.
Corineus, captaine of a Troyan offſpring. 13.75.
Corineus & Brute ioyne their companies together. 13.80.
Corineus and Brute arryue in Fraunce. 13.84.
Corineus wreſtleth with Gogmagog. 15.83.
Commiſſioners ſent from the Parliament to king Richard the ſecond. 1113.24.a.
Conſtable John knight. 1448.49.
Collect deuiſed in honour of Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 425 25.
Courtney Walter. 1450.34.
Contention betweene Anſelme Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, and Thomas the electe of Yorke. 348.11.
The Colledge of Jeſus founded. 1462.52.
A Colledge erected at Ipſwich. 1533.54.
Coyne of copper embaſed. 1818.10. called all in. eadem.31.
Coyne forreine all except the Frenche & Flemiſh crownes forbydden. 1816.7.
Coyne new made. 1816.38.
Conſtance mother to Arthur. 543.40.
Conſtance committeth Arthur her ſonne to the truſt of the French King. 543.47.
Coronation of King John. 544.76.
Courtney Edward ſonne to Henry Marques of Exceſter ſet at libertie. 1720. 45. made Earle of Deuonſhire. 1721.1.is committed to the towre. 1734.36. delyuered out of the towre, & committed to the ſure keeping of Sir Thomas Treſham.1755.8. is ſet at libertie, and obteyneth licence to paſſe the ſeas where he dyeth. 1763.30.is deſcribed and his frowarde fortune.ibidem.
Counſell holden at Oxford by the Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 620.2.
Comentarius Alexander a deuine preacher to King John 569.8.his opinions in matters of Religion, and according to the aucthoritie of the Pope in temporall poſſeſſions.569.33.
John Comyn murdred by Robert Brus. 841.43.b
Compton Henry knight made Lord of Comptõ in the Hole. 1862.54.
Conſtances citie wonne by the Frenchmen, and recouered againe. 351.60.
Cono, the Popes Legate in Fraunce. 351.115.
Conſpiratours againſt Kyng William Rufus in ẏ North, ſodeinly ſurpriſed. 329.3.
Coffins of Gold and ſiluer, full of dead mens bones. 327.35
Couragiouſnes of king William Rufus, declared in hys dealing towardes Helias. 329.93.
Commodus, Emperour of Rome. 76.82.
Condhere, ſeruant to Oſwyn, ſlayne. 170.56.
Contention for ſuperioritie betweene Henry Byſhop of Wincheſter Legate, & Theobald archbyſhop of Cãtorburie Primate of Englande. 378.59.
Cornwall giuen to Corineus. 15.98.
Cornelius Tacitus cited. 45.44.&.46.34.&.53.42. and 58.30.
Collingham William a valiant Gentleman of Suſſex & enemie to the Frenchmen. 601.7.
Conſtantinus brother to Aldroenus King of little Brytaine ſent with an armie into Britaine. 102.39.
Conſtance wyfe to Prince Euſtace, ſent home with her dowrie. 388.72.
Colledge of Saint Michael in Cambridge founded. 872.26.a.
Cornelius Tacitus cited. 113.
Cowchete wonne by the Lord Talbot. pag. 1267. col. 2. lin.22.
Couentrey church ioyned to the Sea of Cheſter. 336.3.
Colledge of Fodringey. 1445.5.
Counſell holden at Weſtminſter by Hubert Arcybyſhop of Cantorbury, concerning eccleſiaſticall matters. 549.17.
Colde Winter. 551.65.
Conſtantinus, borne in Bythynia. 88.90.
Congreſhall Lord Congreſhall captaine of Perkin Warbeckes gard. 1441.33.
Conan meridock, Duke of Cornwall. 93.34.
Conſtantinus firſt peopled Armorica with Britaines. 97.8
Conſtantia Poſthumia, wyfe to Gracianus the Emperour. 97.43.
Colledge of Braſen Noſe in Oxford founded. 1463.22.
Cordilla ſlayeth her ſelf. 20.86.
Cogheſhal Rauſe cited. 560.2.
Contention betweene the Byſhops and Monkes of Cantorburie about the Election of an Archbyſhop. 561.84.
Coggeſhall Abbey in Eſſex, founded. 394.27.
Coifi Edwines heathen Byſhop. 161.39.
Corniſhmen ſubdued by Kyng Adelſtane. 226.94.
Corniſhmen rydde quite out of Exeter. 226.98.
Confederates with Henry the ſonne, inuade the dominions of King Henry the.ii. 427.56.
Counſels holden, concerning the reſtitution of ſecular Prieſts to their Colledges, and ẏ remouing of Monkes. 235.108.
Conſtans ſlayne at Vienna by treaſon. 98.81.
Cõſtantinus Copronimos, Emperour. 197.79.
Conuocation at Powles. pag. 1166.col.1.lin.36.
The Colledge of Chriſtes churche in Oxford erected. 1533 54.
Compoſition betwixt Henrye the fourth and hys brother. 630.58.
Couentrey made free of tolle and cuſtome. 277.21.
Conſpiracie moued by Robert Earle of Northumberland, againſt King William Rufus. 325.104.
Coilus Earle of Colcheſter beginneth to rule ouer Brytaine. 88.52.
Conſtantinus the great, hys ſwoorde ſent to Kyng Adelſtane. 227.17.
Confederacie of noble men againſt Henry the.iii.750.50.
Common lawes of the realme, inſtituted. 274.96.
Cowling caſtle aſſaulted.1727 40.
Communication betwixte the French King & Kyng John. 546.70.
Couer few inſtituted. 299.17.
Conſtantinus ſlaine, and buried at Stonhenge. 138.33.
Conſtantinus reprehended for his tyrannie. 138.69.
Cordes Lord Cordes a French man Lieutenant of Picardie aydeth the rebels in Flaunders. 1435. 10. beſiegeth Newport.1436.50.his gredie deſire of Calice. eadem. 20.
Colgrime, looke Colgerne.
Colgerne eſcapeth into Germanie for ayde. 132.
Ingeram Lord Coucy created Earle of Bedford.971.23.a
Compoſition of the Romaines with the Gaules for their libertie. 27.6.
Conan Duke of Britaine, departeth this life. 410.8.
Colwolphus poſſeſſeth part of Mercia by graunt of the Danes. 215.70.
Courſye caſtle taken by Henry the fift. pa.1190.col.1.li.2.
Hugh Courtney Earle of Denonſhire

uonſhire killeth the Frenchmen. 904.15.a.
Conſpiracie againſt Henry the fourth. pag.1126 col.1.lin.5. diſcloſed by the Earle of Rutland. pag. 1127. col.1. lin.1. conſpiracie againe. pag.1134.col.1.lin.8.
Combat fought betweene king Edmond Ironſide, and King Cnute. 256.59.
Conqueſt of Ireland taken in hand by the Engliſhmen. 418.34.
Corniſhmen, a remnant of the old Britaines. 203.11.
Corniſhmen ſubdued by yͤ weſt Saxons. 203.12.
Corbet Richard knight ſent into Britaine. 1434.10.
Cotteſholde ſheepe tranſported into Spayne.pag.1317.col.1.lin.47.
Coronation of King Henry the iiii.proclaymed.1116.40.a.
Conſpiracie againſt King Richard the ſecond. 1091.40.b.detected.1092.5.a.
Combat appoynted at Couentrey. 1100.57.a.
Iane de Courtney maryed to the Earle of Saint Pawle. 1016.11.b.
Colgerne King of Saxons in the North, ouerthrowen by Arthur. 132.30.
Combat at Weſtminſter.1047 56.b.
Cotteſholde. pag. 1320.col.1. lin.1.
Courtney Archbyſhop of Cantorburie in diſpleaſure.1048 15.b.
Councel at Bruſſels.905 40.a
Councel at Willefort.910.12.a
Walter Byſhop of Couentrey impriſoned. 847.30.a.
Court of Chiualrie. 1103.1.b
Counſellers remoued from the King.1070.5.b.
Counſellers committed to priſon. 1070.21.b.
Conſpiracie moued by Robert Earle of Glouceſter, wyth many of the Nobilitie, againſt Kyng Stephan. 368. 57.
Iohn Lord Cobham condemned. 1097.54.a
Commiſſioners from Flaunders reiected. 1040.1.b.
William Courtney Archbiſhop of Cantorburie.1038.21.b.
Iohn Coplād taketh the Scottiſh king.940.4.a.rewarded for the ſame.940.2.b.
Thomas Corbrige made Archbyſhop of Yorke. 835.1.b. dyeth.840.37.a.
Couentrey the Queenes harborow.pag. 1299. col.1.lin. 16.
Commiſſioners for peace mette at Arras. 915.40.b.
Reinald Lord Cobham cōdemned. 1098.11.a.
Cold prophet right ſerued. 1038.40.b.
Coldingham Abbey. 185.70.
Colingborne beheaded. pag. 1406.col.1.lin.10.
Colledges in Oxford founded. 884.47.a.
Coquid Riuer. 241.32.
Colgerne ſlayne by the Brytaines. 133.25.
Cocke broke. pag.1371.col.2. lin.58.
Coyne amended. 789.47.a.
Conſtable of Fraunce his offer to Edward the fourth. pag. 1348.col.2.li.18.
Counteſſe of Oxford pryſoned. pag.1142.col.2.lin.15.
Conquet wonne. pag.1213. col.2.lin.3.
Conſtantine a citizen of London executed. 620.17
Conan duke of Britaine ſeaſeth the citie of Nauntes into his hands. 398.36
Conſpiracie of the Nobles agaynſt Archigallo. 31.4
Colledges al commytted to the kyngs diſpoſition.1604.54
Combat cōcluded to be fought 533.74. it breaketh of agayne.
Corſelles caſtle wonne and raſed. 533.15
Coyne enhaunced. 1537.30
Coilus gouernour of Colcheſter, commeth agaynſt kyng Aſclepiodotus with an army 82.62.
Corfe caſtle. 236.48
Corphes gate. 337.1
Colenille Philip rebelleth againſt king Stephē.393.21
Corinbratus, looke Gurguntus
Controuerſie ariſing betweene king Henry the firſt, & Archbiſhop Anſelme. 338.26
Conſpiracie made by Robert Beleſme Earle of Shrewſbury againſt king Henry the firſt. 339.56
Conſtance Duches of Lanc.dieth. 1084.31.b
Confirmation of charters by Henry the third. 649.62
Corman ſent to preach the goſpell in Northumberlande. 167.77.
Corman returneth, hauyng taken ſmal effect. 167.87
Connach in Ireland, ordeyned an Archbiſhopricke.386.33
Crown intailed vnto the heires of Henrye the fourth. pag. 1125.col.1.lin.40.
Common councell called. pag. 1290.col.2.lin.4.
Councell of Conſtance. pag. 1170.col.2.lin.50.
Combat fought betweene Catigernus and Horſus.116.2
Controuerſies betwit prelates of the church. 725.70
Councel at Stamford. 1080. 1.b.
Commodus enuieth the renowme of Calphurnius. 77 4.
Cobre. 201.51
Commotion at Norwich. pag. 1272.col.1.lin.39.
Edmund Erle of Cornwal dieth. 836.16.a
Commotion begun at Yorke. pag.1319.col.1.lin.21.
Courteney Archbiſhop of Cantorburypurchaſeth Bulles to get money. 1086.40.b.
Colgerne a Saxon commeth ouer into Britaine with a power. 129.57
Carlot queene of France. pag. 1316.col.1.lin.25.
Conſpiracie againſt king Richard the ſecōd. 1091.20.b
Coynes changed. pag. 1161. col.1.lin.23.
Concubines of Ed. iiii. pag. 1375.col.2.lin.30.
Cordilla taken priſoner, & layd in ward. 20.83
Cornwall aſſigned to Theomantius. 34.41
Conſpiracie practiſed agaynſt Cheuling king of Weſtſaxons. 145.56
Coyne altered to the better. 398.16.
Conſpiracie againſt Ethelwolfus, for placing his wife vnder a cloth of eſtate. 207.68
Coyne newe.pag.1316. col.1. lin.3.
Couentree. pag. 1329.col.2. lin.11.
Cōſtantius ſent ouer into Britaine with an army. 88.65
Cromwell Thomas late ſeruant to the Cardinall, is admytted into the kyngs ſeruice. 1554.25. made Maſter of the Rolles. 1563.11. Secretary to the kyng, and maſter of the Rolles, is made Lorde keeper of the Priuie Seale. 1563.20. is created Lord Cromwel. ead. 24. is made general vnder the king ouer al yͤ ſpiritualtie. ead. 26 commaundeth the Pater noſter, the Aue, the Creede, and the ten Commaundementes to be taught in Engliſh. ead. 40. made knight of the Garter. 1570. 28. the perſwader of the ſuppreſſion & pullyng downe of all houſes of religion and Pilgrimages. 1570.24. created Earle of Eſſex, and Lord great chamberlaine of England. 1578. 47. is attainted, and put to death. eadem.27. the prayer pronounced by hym at his death. ibidem. is deſcribed. 1579.20.
Croftes Iames knight arraigned. 1755. ſet at libertie. 1763. is ioined with the lord Gray in the charge of the Lieutenant general of the army before Lith. 1804.20.
Cranmer Thomas the kynges chapleyne, and ambaſſadour to the Pope, made Archbyſhop of Canterbury. 1559.55. diſſolueth by ſentence the mariage betwene the king and Katherine his brothers widow 1560.40. is Godfather to the Lady Elizabeth the kings daughter. 1561
Croker Iohn knight. 1450. 43.
Crida begynner of the kyngdome of Mercee. 143
Criſpine William taken priſoner. 345.27
Creation of Dukes.pag.1170 col.1.lin.26. of Earles. pag. 1199. col.2.lin.7.
Crowland Abbey builded.197 16.
Creation of States.pag.1386 col.2.lin.53.
Croſbyes place. 1379. col.1. lin.27.
Crueltie of Scots. 820.1.a.
Crekenfourd battayle, fought betweene the Britaines and Saxons. 126.4
Cremenſis Iohannes a Legate ſent into England. 359.86
Cremenſis Iohannes extreme agaynſt incontinencie in others, is hym ſelfe taken in bed with a ſtrumpet. 359. 97.
Cremenſis Iohannes defamed getteth hym backe to Rome without effect. 360.3
Crueltie of the Scots towarde the inhabitants of Northumberland. 368.34
Crueltie of the Britaines in the tyme of their victorie. 64. 33.
Crucifix ouerthrowen by thunder and lightnyng. 322.3
Croftes Richard knight, counſeller to prince Arthur. 1456 52.
Creations. pag.1313. col.1. lin.31.
Creyford battayle, looke Crekenfourd.
Creation of Noblemen.1050. 53.a.
Cranmer Thomas Archbiſh. of Canterbury, one of the executours to king Henry the eight.1611.30. is attainted 1723.40. diſputeth openly at Oxford.1735.14. is condemned for hereſie, diſgraded, recanteth, and repenteth, yet is burnt. 1765. 30.
Croftes Iames knight captein of Haddington is commended. 1640.26.
Cranmer Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, godfather to Edward ſonne to Henry the eight. 1570.39
Criſpine William taken priſoner. 356.5
Cruel dealing of the Scots to-

wardes the Engliſhe men. 307.10.
Criſpus brother to the Emperour Claudius. 89.24
Crueltie of Toſtie toward his brother Haroldes ſeruantes. 278.84.
Crimes obiected to the Earle of Northumberland by the Duke of Lancaſter. 1037.50.a.
Croſſing bringeth ſight of Diuils, and driueth them alſo away. 228.
Craumers caſtle beſieged and raſed. 387.51.
Cride Abbey brent by Henry the thyrd. 632.3.
Creation of noble men. 1157.col.2.lin.50.
Creſſenor Thomas. 1443.38.
Crykelade. 220.24.
Crueltie of the Danes exerciſed at Cantorburie. 246.10.
Hugh Creſſinghãs pryde. 829.13.a.
Creation. pag. 1268. col.2. lin.33. pag. 1270. col.1. lin.14. pag. 1286. col.1. lin.10.
Croſſe erected for an enſigne of victorie. 164.111.
Croſſe with a Crucifix ſeene in the ayre. 469.74.
Croſſe whereon Chriſt ſuffred, found out at Jeruſalem, by Helene the Empreſſe. 91.115.
Croſſes of bloud fall from heauen. 200.8.
Crida King of Mercia, dyeth. 145.87.
Creation of Earles by Kyng John. 545.37.
Cridiorus King of Albania. 39.9.
Crouch hauen in Ireland. 419.50.
Cuthred leadeth an armye againſt Ethelbaldus King of Mercia. 193.83.
Cuthred falleth ſicke and dyeth. 193.99.
Cumbra Earle, cruelly put to death. 194.3.
Cutbert aduaunced to the byſhopricke of Lindesferne. 185.35.
Cumberland waſted and ſpoyled by the Engliſhmen. 228.4.
Cumberland giuẽ to ẏ Scots, to hold the ſame by fealtie, of the Kyngs of England. 228.13.
Cuſtome of ſaying prayers at the ſhutting of doores and windowes, begun in England. 298.32.
Cuſtome to rake vp the fire, and to ring curfue in Englande, inſtituted. 299.7.
Cumberland recouered from the Scots. 397.3.
Cumin Robert ſent with an armie againſt the Northren rebels. 299.37.
Cumin Robert and his people ſlayne by the rebelles in the North. 299.65.
Cunidagius and Margan deuide Britaine between them 20.94.
Siger de Curtrey put to death. 903.9.a.
Cunidagius vanquiſheth and ſlayeth his couſin Margan. 21.24.
Cunidagius becommeth ſole ruler of Britaine. 21.33.
Cutha brother to Cheuling, ouerthroweth the Britaines at Bedford. 142.103.
Cuſtome of ẏ Saxons to ſeeke newe habitations. 112.35.
Cunedagius and Margan rebel againſt Cordilla. 20.81.
Cumberland giuen by free graunt to the Scots. 367.10.
Cumbald, Archbyſhop of Yorke 201.58.
Cuſtomes of beſt Churches moſt to be followed. 149.23
Curſon Robert, a man excellently learned, made a Cardinall. 783.
Cuſtome of the Kings of England, to offer their crownes to S. Edmond. 250.53.
Cuneueſhore in Suſſex. 125.58.
Cumberland waſted and deſtroyed by the Engliſhmen. 307.2.
Curcy John, Lord chief Juſtice of Ireland. 448.8.
Cunidagius dyeth, and is buried at Troynouant. 21.39.
Cutwyn ſlayne, and his Engliſhmen chaſed by the Brytaines. 143.19.
Cuneceſter, called alſo Cheſter in the ſtreete. 241.20.
Cumbreſburg Abbey buylded. 172.39.
Curthuze Robert, founder of Newcaſtle. 311.6.
Cutwine, brother to Ceauline, King of Weſt Saxons. 184.7.
Cuthred King of Weſt Saxons 189.62.&.193.41.
Cunburg. 201.41.
Curcy Robert, ſlayne. 367.46.
Curtana the Kings ſworde. 1119.col.2.lin.10.
Curcy John Lord of Vlueſter. 552.55.
Curtayling of horſes forbydden. 198.111.
Curſon Robert Captaine of Guiſnes a eſpie in Flãders. 1457.8. is curſed at Powles eadem.18.
Culpepper Thomas lyueth incontinently with the Queene 1582.32. ſuffereth therfore. 1583.13.
Cuſtome of Wolle rayſed. 826 13.a.

D.

Danes ſweare an othe to depart the countrey, and breake it. 212.44.
Danes ſayling from Warham toward Exceſter, are caſt away at Swanewick. 212.47.
Danes deliuer pledges for performance of Couenantes. 212.56.
Danes march towards Abingdon with an armie. 213.8.
Danes and Engliſhmen, conclude a peace vppon conditions. 213.42.
Danes ſoiourne the winter ſeaſon at London. 213.47.
Danes breake both the peace and their faith together. 213 76.
Danes ſlayne in great number by the Engliſhmen. 214.54.
Danes arriuing in ẏ kingdome of Weſt Saxons are ſlayne by the Deuonſhiremen. 214.61.
Danes chaſed at Edanton by the Engliſhmen, deliuer hoſtages for their departure. 214.86.
Daniſh nobilitie part, baptiſed. 214.99.
Danes winter at Cirenceſter. 215.35.
Danes enter into Eaſt Angle, and deuiding it, begun to inhabite the ſame. 215.41.
Danes beſiege Rocheſter, and are repulſed from thence. 215.47.
Danes ouercome in fight vpon the ſea, by the Engliſhmen. 215.54.
Danes returne out of Fraunce, and arriue in Eaſt Kent. 215 75.
Danes conſtrained to eate their horſes. 216.44.
Danes ouerthrowne and ſlaine by the Londoners. 216.61.
Daniſh ſhippes taken and burnt by the Londoners. 216.79.
Daniſh maigne armie deuided into three partes, and ſent abrode. 216.88.
Danes come oft a land to rob & ſpoyle the Weſt Saxons cõtrey. 216.94.
Danes take halfe the kingdome of Mercia into their owne handes. 218.102.
Danes ſettle themſelues in Northumberland. 219.37.
Danes deſpiſed by the Engliſhmen. 220.15.
Danes ſlayne in Northumberland, and the countrey waſted by the Engliſhmen. 220.53.
Danes ſlayne in huge multitudes in Mercia by the Engliſhmen 220.61.
Danes with a fleete arriue in Wales, and ſpoyle the countrey 221.18.
Danes diſcomfited and chaſed by the Engliſhmen. 221.27.
Dauid Prince of Wales couertly ſhadoweth him vnder the Popes winges by ſubmiſſiõ, to the preiudice of the crowne of England. 706.110.
Dauid Prince of wales procureth Alexander king of Scots to moue war againſt Henry the third thorow his lying & forged tales. 707.25.
Dauid Prince of Wales dieth. 715.26.
Danaus and his genealogie diſcribed. 7.18.
Danaus driuen out of his cõtrey by his brother Egiptus. 7.37.
Danaus with his. 50. daughters arriuing in Greece, obtayneth the kingdome there. 7.43.
Danaus. 50. daughters maryed to Egiptus. 50. ſonnes. 7.64.
Donaus daughters ſlaye theyr huſbandes on the firſt nyght of the wedding. 7.72.
Danaus daughters offered in mariage, and refuſed. 7.99.
Danaus daughters beſtowed in mariage. 7.114.
Danaus ſlayne by Lynceus. 8.26.
Danaus daughters ſhipped without mariners. 8.36.
Danaus daughters arriue in Albion. 8.44.
Danaus daughters names. 8.73.
Dancaſtre or Madam Caiſtre by whom buylded. 17.60.
Danes inuade England on ech ſide, and ſpoyle it. 239.33.
Daniſh armie vanquiſhed, and driuen out of the field by the Engliſhmen. 239.44.
Danegylt, and why ſo called. 239.70.
Danes inuade England, as ſemblably they had done before. 240.4.
Daniſh ſhip taken by the Engliſhmen, and the men ſlayne. 240.32.
Daniſh fleete vanquiſhed, and chaſed by the Engliſhmen. 240.30.
Danes ſtragling, are ouerthrowen and ſlayne by the people of the North partes. 240.59
Danes beſiege London, and are repulſed with diſhonour. 240 64.
Daniſh line, vtterly excluded frõ the crowne of England. 259 75.
Daniſh Nauie and armie ſent home into Denmarke. 259.95.
Danes after King Hardicnutes death, prohibited to raigne in England. 169.3.

Daniſh gariſons expulſed the realme or rather ſlain. 2694
Danes within al the Realme of England murdered in one day and houre. 242.67
Danes in what ſlauerye they kept this Realme, and the people. 243.1
Danes returne with a nauy, and inuade England. 243.38
Danes trucebreakers. 243.74 and. 245.96.
Danes ſet vpon, and ſlayne in great number, by Ulfkellus gouernour of Northfolke. 244.3.
Danes arriue at Sandwiche with a new army. 244.111
Danes returne into Kent, from ſpoyling of moſte places in England. 245.13
Danes arriue at Gipſwich, & inuade the countrey. 245.32
Danes receiue money for peace but yet abſteyne not frõ their wonted crueltie. 245.96
Daniſhe ſhippes retayned to ſerue the king of Englande vpon conditions. 246.65
Danes in great number drowned in the Thames. 247.93
Danes beſiege Londõ, and are ſhamefully repulſed. 247.96 and. 254.19.
Danes driuen out of the fielde, and put to the worſe, by the Engliſhmen at Gillingham. 254.29.
Danes ouerthrowen at Brentford, by the Engliſhe men. 255.7.
Daniſh ſhippes withdrawe to Rocheſter. 255.28
Danes vanquiſhed and put to flight by the Engliſhmen at Oxeford. 255.50
Damieta a citie in Egypt beſieged by the Chriſtians. 617.4.
Damieta wonne by the Chriſtians. 617.58
Dampfront ſurrendred to the French kyng. 558.43
Dauid ap Owen rewarded with the lands of Elleſmare 449.74.
Dauenes James ſlayne by the Saraſins. 503.45
Danes ſoiourne in the Jle of Wight. 241.49
Danes ſayle awaye into Normandie. 241.57
Danes in Cumberlande ouerthrowen, and the countrey waſted by the Engliſh men. 241.60.
Danes chaſed and ſlayne nygh Seuerne, by the Engliſhe men. 221.36
Danes in great penurie in the Jle of Stepen. 221.38
Danes ſayle away out of England, into Jreland. 221.41
Danes put to flight by the citizens of Canterbury. 221.58
Danes ouerthrowen & ſlayne by the Engliſh men, at Tottenhal & Woodfield. 221.65
Dauid king of the Scots & hys armie diſcomfited and put to flight. 370.44.
Danes ſubdued by the Engliſh men, and conſtrayned to receyue the Chriſtian fayth. 227.78.
Dangerous traueilyng in Englande for feare of theeues. 298.22.
Danes and Engliſhe exiles enter into the North partes of Englande with a great armye. 300.25
Danes and Engliſh exiles put to flight, by king William. 301.18.
Danes depart to their ſhippes with booties, before king Williams commynge vnto them. 301.37
Danuille caſtle wonne by kyng Henry the ſecond. 428.85
Dauid, brother to the King of Scottes, commeth to viſite King Henrie the ſeconde of England. 411.100.
Dauid King of Scots, taketh Northumberlande into his poſſeſſion. 376.59.
Dauid De, a Barde. 4.44.
Dauid ap William, a Barde. 4.45.
Dauid Prince of Wales keepeth his brother Griffith in priſon. 659.60. he delyuereth him to Henry the third. 660.61. Dauid commeth to London & doth homage. 660.76.
Danes arriue in England, and are driuen to their ſhippes. 200.
Danes ſent into Englande to viewe the land. 200.24.
Danes too mutch fauoured in England. 231.103.
Danes arriue in Kent with a power, and ſpoyle the Jle of Thanet. 238.33.
Danebault Admirall of France ſore annoyeth the Engliſhe coaſte. 1602. 10. landeth. 2000. men in the Jle of Wight, who are repelled wt ſlaughter. eadem. 50.
Dacres Lorde Dacres of the North his rode into Scotland. 1522.46.
Danebalt Hygh Admyrall of Fraunce is honorably receiued. 1609. is richely rewarded. eadem. 57.
Darus towne, taken by ỹ Engliſhmen. 503.49.
Dauid brother to the Prince of Wales made knight, and rewarded by the kyng, and maryed. 788. 12. a. rebelleth. 790.22.b. taken. 793.18.a beheaded, his head ſet by his brothers. 793.45.b.
Dampfront yeelded to ỹ Engliſh. pag. 1192. col. 2. lin. 38.
Daubeney William beheaded. 1443.38.
Dauid King of Scotland, inuadeth England in the right of Maude the Empreſſe. 366.67.
Dauid King of Scottes raunſomed. 962.5.b.
Damieta loſt to the Sarazens. 622.2.
Darcy Thomas knight of the Garter and Lord Darcy of the army ſent into Hiſpaine. 1469.
Dauid Thomas. pag. 1345. col. 1. lin. 10.
Dacres Leonard rebelleth, is diſcomfited in fight, and fleeth into Scotland. 1841.34.
Danes in Northumberland, dare attempte nothyng againſt the Engliſhmen. 222.65.
Daubeney Giles created Lorde Daubeney. 1426.37. deputie of Calice, and Generall of an armie into Flaunders. 1435.40. diſcomfiteth the power of ỹ Rebels in Flaunders. 1436.30. chief Chamberlaine. 1444.30. General for the King at blacke heath field. 1447.20. dyeth. 1461 30.
Daubeney Bernard a Scot Amballadour from ỹ french King. 1433.5.
Daniell ordeined Byſhop of Wincheſter. 191.7.
Dacres Lord arreigned, and acquited. 1563.26.
Daniſh Pyrats arriue at Sãdwich, and ſpoyle it. 270.26.
Danes ſayle into Flaunders, & there ſell their Engliſh booties. 270.37.
Thomas Dagworth knight diſcomfiteth Frenchmen at Roche Darien. 940.54.b. he is ſlaine. 946.13.a.
Danes arriuing in Englande with an armie againſt Kyng William, depart, purpoſing neuer more to come agayne into England. 309.26.
Daui Hall knight ſlayne. pag. 1304. col. 1. lin. 3.
Dauid Floid taken and beheaded. pag. 1304. col. 2. lin. 57
Danes made tributaries to the Britaines. 24.50.
Dacres Thomas Baſtard hys valiant ſeruice. 1595.30.
Danes vanquiſhed and ſlayne nigh Wincheſter. 208.58.
Darcie Thomas Lord Darcie ſent Cõmiſſioner into Cornwal. 1451.53.
Arnold Dandreghen Marſhall of Fraunce. 915.43.a.
Danes inuade the Weſt partes of this lande, and rob them. 241.36.
Dauid Earle of Huntington ſworne to King John. 542.81. dyeth. 1873
Dauid, brother to the King of Scotland, giuen in hoſtage to King Henry the ſecond of England. 401.80.
Lord Dalbrets ſonne diſcomfiteth the Marſhall of Fraunce 946.10 b.
Daneth Simõ, owner of Danuille caſtle. 468.45.
Danes robbe the Engliſh marchantes. 1086.26.b.
Day John, a Printer. 188.15.
Danaus, looke Elenius.
Robert Dartois made Erle of Richemont. 900.50.a. vanquiſheth the Frenchmen at S. Omers. 910.57.b.
Darcie Lord atteinted. 1570.3. executed. eadem. 24.
Damianus conſecrated Archbyſhop of Cantorbury. 172.75.
Dampfront yeelded to ỹ french pag. 1277. col. 1. lin. 14.
Dale a village. pag. 1413. col. 2. lin. 37. lin. 41.
Sir Thomas Dagworths worthines. 926.10.a.
Damianus and Fugatius, ſent into Britaine. 74.77.
Darby towne wonne from the Danes. 222.20.
Dam Hauen. 578.20.
Dearthe exceeding great in Englande. 749.10. accompanyed with a great death, and ſpecially of poore people. 750.63.
Dearth and death in Englande in the dayes of Richarde the firſt. 541.64. 541.73.
Degſaſtane battaile fought by the Saxons againſt ỹ Scots. 153.37.
Defiance to the Frenche Kyng by Edward the fourth. pag. 1346. col. 2. lin. 38.
Dearth great, and great plentie. 1766.42.
Dudley Guilford maryed vnto the Ladie Jane Gray. 1714.26. is committed to the tower. 1720. 21. is atteinted 1723. 50. is beheaded. 1732.30.
Delapoole William Lord committed to the towre. 1457.34.
Death. 943.37.b. 968.30.a. 971.16.b. 980.30.b. 996.1.b. 1013.54.b. 1076.9.b. 1079.35.a 855.1.b.
Dolphin fiſhe taken at London bridge. 1079.20.b.
Dearth. 1871.9.
Debate betweene Scholers & townes men at Oxford. 948.46.b.
Deuerour Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley and Viſcount Hereford is created Earle of Eſſex. 1862. 45. ſayleth into Jreland with a power, and his actes. 1869.3.
Debate betweene Engliſh and Flemmings. 831.32.a.

Deus Dedit, Archbyſhop of Cantorburie dyeth. 177.59.

Debate betweene Frederike the firſt, and Pope Alexander the third. 410.93.

Dearth of Corne. 797.45.b. 809.38.b.

Death great. 1766.5.

Guiſchard De Eugolſine created Earle of Huntington. 1006.8.b.

Demetia, nowe called Southwales. 27.96.

Deping ſpoyled by Albemarle the Earle. 618.41.

Demiſſeborne battaile fought by the Engliſhmen agaynſt the Britaines. 165.21.

Debate betweene the Dukes of Lancaſtre and Brunſwic. 948.14.a.

Michel Delapoole Chauncelour accuſed. 1054. 25.a. put from his office. 1055. 45.b.

Great Death in London. 1536 16.

Derwent River. 115.74.

Denebertus Byſhop of Worceſter. 195.10.

Dereman, the counterfeyt name of Thomas Becket, when he fled the realme. 426.32.

Dearth of Corne. 1541.50.

Deuill laugheth at Dunſtans baniſhment. 230.100.

Deuereux Walter late Lorde Ferrers atteinted. 1425.40

Dearth of Corne followeth great rayne in ſommer. 383. 99. and 386.18.

Dearth. 1589.30.

Gerard deuiſe againſt Jaques van Arteueld. 926.31.b.

Danes trucebreakers, chaſed away by the Kentiſh men. 208 67.

Danes without reſiſtāce grow into greater power. 209.11

Danes arriue vnder the conduct of Hungar and Hubba. 209.19.

Danes beſieged in Nottinghā, ſue for truce. 209. 103

Danes vanquiſhed by the earle of Barkſhyre, at Egleſielde. 210.3.

Danes put to flight, and chaſed at Aichdon. 210.34

Danes ſoiourne at Redyng with a mighty army. 210. 53.

Danes put to flight, & ſlayne nigh Humber. 210.71

Danes fall into the danger of an ambuſhe, and are ſlayne. 210.89.

Danes remoue from Reding to London. 212.9

Danes lodge in Lindſey at Torkſey. 212. 14

Danes wynter at Ripingdon. 212.16.

Danes power increaſed by. iii. kyngs. 212.18

Danes fetche prayes & booties from the Pictes. 212.35

Daniſh ſhippes taken, and chaſed on the ſea. 212.40

Danes enter the Countrey of the Weſtſaxons. 212.42. and. 212.66.

Danes ſuſteyne great loſſe on the ſea by tempeſt. 212.48

Danes ioyne with the Welchmen agaynſt the Engliſhmen and are vanquiſhed & ſlayne. 204.70.

Danes ouerthrowen agayne by the Engliſh men. 204.76

Danes inuaſion of this lande, was rather to ſpoyle it, then to conquer it. 206. 35

Danes perſecution in England of all other moſt greeuous. 206. 20.

Danes paſſe through the Eaſt partes of Englande, & murder huge numbers of people. 206. 89.

Danes ouercome at Ocley with great ſlaughter. 206.109

Danes vanquiſhed at Pedredeſmouth, with greate triumph. 206.105

Danes arriue at Hampton, and great ſlaughter is made of them. 206.75

Danes ouerthrown by the Engliſhe men at Winleſhore. 207.13.

Danes lodge all wynter in the Jle of Tanet. 207.15

Danes arriue in the Jle of Tanet, and ſpoyle al Eaſt Kent. 208.60.

Danes ſoiourne all the wynter in the Jle of Sheyfield. 207 104.

Damfront wonne by Henrye brother to Kyng William Rufus. 321.101

Danegelt payment in England ceaſſeth. 279.49

Daniel John executed for treaſon. 1766.40

Dauid ſucceſſor to Dubritius in the ſea of Landaffe. 137 110.

Danes vanquiſhed by fight on the ſea, and chaſed. 207.10

Dead bodyes not to be worſhipped vpon raſh deuotion. 341.28.

Deacons to lyue chaſtly. 347. 53.

Deacons commaunded to forſake their wyues. 347.56

Deane of Chicheſter ſent ambaſſadour by the archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 349.27.

Decianus Catus procurator of Britaine. 60.88

Decianus Catus fleeth into Gallia. 63.113.

Deſperate moode of the Britaines after an ouerthrowe. 72.107.

Deus dedit conſecrated Archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 172. 68.

De la Poole John Earle of Lincolne, fleeth into Flaunders. 1429.40. gettinge ayde there, ſayleth into Jrelande, and proclaymeth the counterfeyt Earle of Warwicke kyng. 1430.40. landeth at Fowdrey. eadem. 50 is ſlayne at Stoke. 1430. 43.

De la Poole Edmund Earle of Suffolke, at Blacke heath field. 1447.2

De la Poole Edmund Earle of Suffolke, arraigned for murder, pardoned, fleeth into Flanders, and returneth agayne. 1456.30. fleeth agayne. eadem. 50. returneth againe. 1460.42.

De la Poole Richard brother to the Earle of Suffolke fleeth into Flaunders. 1457.2

Deane Henry Abbot of Langtony Chauncellour of Jreland. 1444.35

Death of Queene Elenor. 559 52.

Death of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. 560.48

Death of Hubert archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 561.45

Henry Earle of Derby goeth agaynſt the Infidels. 1076. 51.b.

Dearth. 943.45.b. 948.2.b. 1076.12.b. 854.10.b.

Henry Earle of Derby created Duke of Hereford. 1097. 30.b.

Dedication feaſtes are reſemblances of Paganiſme. 149. 114.

Dearehurſt nigh Seuern. 256. 21.

Dearth of fodder. 1838.24.

Deſberk, Byſhop of Herham. 198.116.

Dearth. 1869.35.

Michell Delapoole Earle of Suffolke fleeth to Calais. 1066.20.b. attainted. 1071 25.a.

Deuorcement had betweene Kyng John and hys wyfe. 548.15.

Deſcription of Margaret Queene, wyfe to Henry the firſt. pag. 1272. col. 2. lin. 17.

Debate at Oxford ended. 950. 2.a.

De la mere foreſt. 222.4.

Deane Henry remoued frō the See of Saliſburie to Cantorbury. 1455.41.

Dee River. 231.87.

Dermeth, an Jriſh Duke. 328. 26.

Deuill ſeene to fetch Gambals about an heape of money. 279.56.

Denbighſhyremen, in old tyme called Cangi. 54.7.

Deuil appeareth lyke a fryer. pag. 1134. col. 2. lin. 2.

Deſcription of Henry the firſt. pag. 1272. col. 2. lin. 8.

Dee River. 143.51.

Death of Noble men of England. 704.5.

Death in the Engliſhe hoſt in Spaine. 1052.1.b.

Dearth of vittales. pag. 1263. col. 1. lin. 61.

Michell Lord Delapoole created Earle of Suffolke. 1050 10.b.

Diſcorde moued betwixt Sauerye de Mauleon and William Earle of Saliſburye. 624.16.

Diſcord for the election of the Archbyſhop of Cantorbury. 631.33.

Diue William, Conſtable to Robert, Earle of Leyceſter. 436.33.

Diſarde Caſtle taken and deſtroyed. 762.114.

Didius ſent Lieutenant into Britaine. 58.40.

Didius buildeth Caſtles and holdes in Britaine. 58.115.

Dindimus and Uerianiarus two brethren ſlayne by Conſtans. 98.51.

Diſcord falleth out between the Monkes of Norwich, & the Citizens there. 782.42.

Diodorus Siculus cited. 3.18 & 3.86. & 4.7. & 5.10.

Diſſention between king Maximianus, and Conan Duke of Cornwall. 95 49.

Dyorth battaile fought by the Saxons againſt ẏ Britaines 142.110.

Diſagreement among the counſellers, is the vtter ruine of the common wealth of England. 241.78.

Diſcorde bringeth great kingdomes to vtter ruine. 241. 114.

Didanus, father to Friſwide of Oxford. 197.50.

Diſcord falleth out betweene the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and the Byſhop of Durham. 502 1.

Diſcord raiſed betweene Kyng Aſclepiodotus, and Coilus gouernour of Colcheſter. 82 [illegible]6.

Diſcription of Shores wyfe. pag. 1375.

Diſcription of Edward the. iiii. three Concubins. pag. 1375 col. 2 lin. 30.

Diſcription of Lord Haſtinges. pag. 1374. col. 1. lin. 35.

Dionoth Abbot of Bangor Monaſterie. 151.44.

Diſcord ſtill kindling betweene the king and the Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 402.25.

Diſcord betweene Prieſtes and Friers. 963.19.b.

Diſcord betweene the Byſhop of Ely and the Ladye Wake. 963.50.a.

Dirge in Engliſh. 1892.10.

Dinham John Lorde Dinham

high

hygh Treaſurer of England. 1446.58.
Diſagreement among writers, concerning Earle Haroldes arriuall in Ponthieu. 277.88.
Driuingdale. pag. 1311.col.1.lin.38.
Diſſimulation. pag.1295.col.2.lin 51.
Diſorder in the French campe at Creſſy. 933.16.a.
Deuiſion of the offerings giuen to Thomas Becket Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 463.56.
Diſcipline of the Church howe to be practiſed. 149.47.
Digby John knight Lieutenant of the towre. 1453.57.
Walter Diſſe a Frier. 1058.45.
Dion Caſſius cited. 48.51.&80.19.
Diſſention betweene king William Rufus, and Anſelme Archbyſhop of Cantorburye. 330.6.
Diocleſian perſecuteth ẏ Chriſtians in Britaine, and all other places of the world. 75.30.
Diſcordance among writers, touching the death of kyng Edmond Ironſide. 258.41.
Diocleſianus miſtaken for Danaus. 6.110.
Dis one of the names of Samothes. 2.39.
Diepe towne, wonne from the Engliſhmen by the Frenchmen. 527.73.
Deſcription of Richard Duke of Gloceſter. pag. 1357.col.2.lin 35.
Diſagreement among writers, touching the Britiſh kyngs that reigned from Elidurus to Lud. 32.30.
Diſſention in Britaine made many Gouernours. 45.9.
Diuma, firſt Chriſtian Byſhop in the kingdome of Mercia. 170.18.
Diſcorde falleth out betwee[illegible] the Kinges of England [illegible] Fraunce, in their viag[illegible]wardes the holy land. 489.38.
Dionethus, Duke of Cornwal, and gouernour of Byrtaine. 95.88.
Diſputation betweene Chriſtians and Jewes. 335.79.
Drought great. 1580.45.
Dyuelyne citie committed to the keeping of Hugh Lacy. 450.21.
Diſcord in the Engliſhe armie. 990.30.a.
Dinuhoc Caſtle in Cornwall. 128.
Dicalidones, a kind of Pictes. 104.5.
Diſcord betwixt the Cardinall and the Archbyſhop of Cantorbury. 583.62.
Diouionenſis cited. 137.71.
Diuers ſundry reportes of the death of King John. 605.77.
Dearth. 1519.9
Diet at Tours. pag.1269.col.1.lin.34.
Diſcent of the Barons in Brytaine. 113.27.
Diocleſianus and Maximianus, fellowes in the gouernment of the Empire. 83.16.
Diocleſianus and Herculeus Maximianus, renounce the rule of the Empyre. 89.34.
Doll caſtle in Britaine beſieged 309.37.
Douer caſtle beſieged in vayne by Lewes kyng of France. 609.9.
Douer caſtle. 271.76
Dorcheſter ordeyned a Biſhops See. 169.15
Doncaſter towne fortified by the Barons. 510.25
Donebant, looke Dunwallo.
Donwald king of Scottes ſendeth Corman a learned clerk into England. 167.77
Dogges hauen neare to Douer 415.66.
Douer Caſtle deliuered vp to kyng William. 292.37
Douer caſtle deliuered to kyng Stephens wyfe. 369.17
Douer caſtle deliuered to kyng Henry the third. 776.39
Douer caſtle furniſhed with neceſſaries, by kyng John. 600.1.
Douer caſtle valiantly defended agaynſt Lewes, by the captaynes Hubert de Burgh and Gerard de Gotingam, notwithſtanding al his foule and fayre offers made to the ſayd captaynes. 602.66
Douer caſtle confirmed to Philip Earle of Flaunders. 427.13.
Douer Abbey. 393.78
Domitianus elected Emperor of Rome. 73.46
Domitianus enuyeth the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola in Britaine. 73.49
Domitianus Nero Emperour of Rome. [illegible]59.47
William L. Dowglas. 891.7.a.
Doctor Ruſſell biſhop of Lincolne, made Lord Chancelor pag. 1363.col.2.lin.50.
Dorcetſhyre ſpoyled, and waſted by the Danes. 241.46. and.252.10.
Dole citie and caſtle in Britain wonne by kyng Henry the ſecond. 429.50
Dolphine called kyng of Berry. pag.1213.col.2.lin.50
Dowglas Archimbald Earle of Angus, commeth into England. 1532.26
Dowglas Archimbald earle of Angus baniſhed man, maketh a rode into Scotland, and diſcomfiteth a power of Scots. 1559.18
Dowglas Archimbald Earle of Angus, hath a thouſande markes of yearely fee of king Henry the eight, and returneth into Scotland. 1589.36.
Dowglas Margaret Counteſſe of Linoux, ſent to the Tower. 1835.40. is deliuered. 1837.25.
Dowglas Margaret daughter to the Scottiſh queene, committed to the Tower, for marying the Lord Thomas Howard. 1565.2.
Dowyll Walter. pag. 1714. col.2.lin.12.
Doncaſter. pag. 1315.col.1.lin.44. pag.1329.col.1.lin.12.
Dryis or Dryus, eſtabliſhed king of Celtica. 3.36.
Dryus authour of the Philoſophers called Druides. 3.48.
Druides aboade principally in the Ile of Angleſey. 3.56.
Druides charge and authoritie. 3.62.
Druides opinion concerning ẏ ſoules of men. 3.69.
Druides could foretell thinges to come. 3.74.
Druides opinion concerning ẏ immortalitie of the ſoule, and of the one and euerlaſting God. 3.76.
Druides accuſtomed to kil men. 3.86.
Druides ſect condemned and diſſolued in Gallia. 3.91.
Druides ſect aboliſhed here in Britaine, 3.93.
Dragons firie ſeene flying. 200.33.
Danes beyng great Rouers, land in the North partes of England. 202.25.
Danes lande in Northumberland, and obtein a great part thereof without reſiſtance. 202.33.
Danes arriue and make warre on the coaſtes of the lande. 204.52.
Dreme of king Richard the.iii. pag.1417.col.1.lin.1.
Drie Sommer. 876.3.a.
Drury William Marſhal of the towne of Barwicke and alſo of the armie conducted into Scotland by Suſſex is made knight. 1846.44. is ordeyned Generall of an army into Scotland. 1846. efſoones Generall of a power into Scotland, where he beſiegeth the caſtle of Edenborough. 1866.50. winneth it. 1868.30.
Dromond, a great ſhip of the Saraſins, chaſed and bowged by the Engliſhmen. 494.15.
Dreux beſieged and yelded to the Engliſhe. pag. 1213.col.1.lin.9.
Drought. 948.56.a.
Dragons ſeene fighting in the ayre. 642.27.
Drayton in Shropſhire. pag. 1295.col.2.lin.5.
Drax Caſtle wonne. 393.23
Druicourt, otherwiſe called Newcaſtle, beſieged & won, 429.30.
Druides in the Ile of Angleſey againſt the Romanes. 59.101.
Duſtan reuoked, made Byſhop of Worceter and of London. 232.7.
Dunſtan in high fauour wyth King Edgar, ruleth all at his pleaſure. 232.15.
Dunſtan putteth King Edgar to penance, for his youthfull licencouſnes. 233.52.
Dunſtan ſucceedeth Odo in the Archbyſhoprick of Cantorbury. 233.71
Dunſtan denounceth plagues to fal vpon King Egelredus. 238.61.
Dunſtans countrey and parentage. 238.73.
Dunſtan driuen into a frenſie, runneth wildly aboute the fieldes. 238.78.
Dunſtan in his ſleepe, walketh daungerouſly about the top of a Church. 238.85.
Dunſtan reported to haue addicted himſelfe to coniuring, and ſorcerie. 238.99.
Dunſtan aduaunced to the ſeruice of king Adelſtane. 238.105.
Dunſtans harpe ſodeinly playeth a Pſalme alone. 238.108.
Dunſtan accuſed of Necromancie, and baniſhed the Court 238.
Dunſtan ſhorne a Monke. 239.8.
Dunſtans dreame of a Beare that would deuour him. 239.13.
Dunſtan plucketh the deuill by the noſe with a payer of pynſors. 239.19.
Dunſtan preferred for declaring his dreames and viſions. 239.27.
Dunſtan dyeth. 238.67.
Dunſtan ſeeth the deuill dauncing, and wayting at the table. 228.109.& 229.15.
Dunſtan made keeper of Kyng Edredus treaſure. 230.27.
Dunſtan certified by an Angell of King Edredus death. 230.44.
Dunſtan frankly reproueth K. Edwyn, for his ſhamefull abuſing of his body. 230.86.
Dunſtan baniſhed the realme at the ſute of King Edwyns Concubines. 230.98.

Dunwallo mulmucius ſonne to Cloten, getteth the Monarchie of all Britaine. 23. 18.

Dublin citie in Ireland, wonne by the Engliſhmen. 419.9.

Dublin, chiefeſt Citie of al Ireland. 420.50.

Duncane a Scottiſh captaine, waſteth Kendall with an armie. 434.15.

Duetie of a good preacher. 177 72.

Dublyn in Ireland ordeined an Archbyſhoprick. 386.31.

Dunfoader in Scotland. 225. 68.

Duke of Britaine, accoumpted liege man to the Duke of Normandie. 491.20.

Dun Citie in Ireland, taken by John Lord Curcy. 448.10.

Duffuall, a Welch King. 231. 81.

Dunſtan, Abbot of Glaſtenburie. 228.89

Dunſtan, an interpretour of dreames. 229.7.

Duffield Caſtle, deliuered to K. Henry the ſecond. 436.32.

Dublin Citie in Ireland, ſubiect to king Edgar. 235.27.

Durham Church buylded. 241 27.

Dudley John made Knight. 1528. 36, is created Viſcoũt Liſle. 1584. 12. is high Admirall, and paſſeth wyth a mightie fleete into Scotland. 1592.20. is captayne of the foreward of the armie into Scotland. eadem. 8, aſſaulteth the towne of Bullaint. 1596.4. is made deputie of Bulleyne. eadem. 24. his counſell and prudent aduiſe. 1600. 52. entreth the month of June againſt the French fleete with 160. ſaile 1601.4. ſetteth forth to fight with the Frenche fleete, and burneth the Suburbes of Treuport. 1603.43. goeth Ambaſſadour into Fraunce for to conclude peace. 1608. 43. is honorably rewarded of the French king. eadē 57. is one of the kings executors. 1611.36. is created Earle of Warwicke & high Chamberlaine of England. 1614. 16. reſigneth the office of Admyral. eadem. 23. is Lieutenant of the armie at Muſkleborough field. 1651.14. his Vallor. 1618. 20. hys meſſage to the Earle Huntley. 1621.32. goeth agaynſt the rebels in Norfolke. 1667 50. his noble courage. 1671. 56. ouerthroweth the Norfolcian rebels. 1673.50. cōſpireth with other againſt the Protector. 1697.54. hath higheſt auctoritie among the Councell. 1702. 40. is made Duke of Northumberland. 1709.22. goeth againſt Queene Marye. 1718.7. is forſakē of his ſouldiours. eadē. 50 proclaymeth Queene Mary. 1720.40. is arreſted by the Maior of Cambridge eadem. 45 beyng arreigneth, confeſſeth his enditement. 1722. 10. is executed. eadem. 22.

Dudley Ambroſe Lord attaynted. 1723.51. is pardoned, and ſet at libertie. 1763.18. Earle of Warwicke, and generall of the power ſent vnto Normandie and Newhauen. 1817.47. his wiſe valiant demeanor in that iourney ibidem, and many leaues folowing. &c. is choſen knight of the Garter. 1826.35. is Generall ioyntly with the Lord Admirall of an armye ſent into the North agaynſt the rebels. 1840.36

Dunwallo the firſte, crowned king of Britaine. 23.56

Dunwallo dyeth, and is buryed in the Temple of peace in London. 23.67

Dudley John Earle of Warwicke, eldeſt ſonne of John duke of Northumberlande, is attainted. 1721.26

Duke of Gloceſter Protector pag. 1220. col. 1. lin. 33. maryed Jaquet Counteſſe of Heinault, Holland, and Zeland. pag. 1226. col 2. lin. 18 maried Elinor Cobham his paramour. pag. 1227. col. 1. lin. 26.

Diſſention betwixt the duke of Gloceſter, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter. pag. 1227. col. 2 lin. 38, decree by the Coũſell for the pacifying of the quarelles betwixt the duke and the biſhop. pag. 1232. col. 2. lin. 52. diſcharged of Protectorſhip. pag. 1272. col. 2. lin. 48. arreſted. pag. 1273. col. 1. lin. 25. founde dead. eadem. lin. 32. dukes of Gloceſter vnfortunate. lin. 34.

Duke of Yorke Regent of France. pag. 1256. col. 2. lin. 28. pag. 1264. col. 1. lin. 53. claymeth the Crown pag. 1282. col. 2. lin. 29. raiſeth a power. lin. 55. ſubmitteth hym ſelfe, and taketh an othe in Paules church. pag. 1283. col. 2. lin. 26.

Dudley Edmond maſter and Surueior of the forfaytures, 1458.159. a good Lawyer, and writeth a booke, called Arbor Reipublicæ. 1463.20 attainted. 1466.30. beheaded. 1468.20

Durham Frances liueth incontinently with the Queene. 1582.20. is executed. 1583 14.

Duke of Clarence ſent to ayde the duke of Orliance. pag. 1160. col. 2. lin. 40.

Duke of Bedford Regent of France. pag. 1220. col. 1. lin. 31. maryeth the daughter of the Earle of S. Poll. pag. 1250. col. 1. lin. 7. died, and was buryed at Roan. pa. 1256. col. 1.

Dudley Robert Lord committed to the Tower. 1720.7. is ſet at libertie. 1763.19. is maſter of the Ordinance in the iourney of ſaint Auinties. 1767. 30. Earle of Leyceſter, and choſen knyght of the order of S. Michaell. 1836.13.

Dudley Henry Lord attainted. 1723.52. is pardoned, and ſet at libertie. 1763.18. is ſlaine. 1769.46

Duke of Somerſet Regent of Normandie. pag. 1271. col. 1. lin. 36.

Duke of Albany gouernour of Scotland. pag. 1132. col. 1. lin. 2

Dukes depriued of their titles. pag. 1124. col. 2. lin. 1

Duke of Britaine, and other of kyng Johns friendes ouerthrowen. 563.36

Duke of Exceter gouernor to Henry the ſixt. pag. 1220. col. 1. lin. 31.

Dunkirke taken, and burnt. 1780.10.

Durham Colledge conuerted frō ſecular prieſts to monkes 312.60.

Durham beſieged, and yeelded to kyng William Rufus. 320.34.

Dunſtane, when argumentes fayle, obteyneth his wyll by workyng of myracles. 236 36.

Dunſtan propheſieth of the leeſing of anciēt libertie in this realme, vnder king Egelredus. 238.1

Duke of Aumerle accuſed. pag. 1122. col. 1. lin. 49. his anſweare. ibidem.

Dunnyngton Caſtle taken, and raſed to the ground by kyng John. 595.41

Dulcitius ſent into Britaine to Theodoſius. 104.72

Dumber Caſtle rendred to the Scottes, but ſiene won agayne by the Engliſhe men. 820.8.b.

Duchie of Normandie engaged to kyng William Rufus for money. 327.63

Dumber beſieged. 902.6.b

Durham caſtle buylded. 307. 76.

Durham Monaſterie buylded. 307.116.

Dumber burnt. 1593.35

Dunmayles chyldren of Cumberland apprehended, & their eyes put out. 228.8.

Duches of Burgoigne her appeale. pag. 1211. col. 1. lin. 9.

Durham beſieged by Godfrey. 225.51.

Duddi a Captaine ſlayne. 204.64.

Durbritius once biſhop of Caerleon. 132.41

Dudley caſtle. 371.21

Duke of Burgondy murdered. pag. 1202. col. 1. lin. 6.

Duinalde an Iriſh biſhop. 328 26.

Dubritius, or Dubright, firſt biſhop of Lādaffe. 137.103

Dunwich beſieged, & deliuered from the enemyes. 433.71

Duneſtor Caſtle. 368.77.

Duches of Yorke. pag. 1378. col. 1. lin. 9.

Duke of Burgoigne prepared to beſiege Calays. pag. 1258 col. 2. lin. 26.

Dune Ryuer. 123.4

Dumbar Caſtle. 225.83

Dubright, looke Dubritius.

E.

Earle of Bolongne commeth with a great fleete of ſhippes to inuade England, and is repulſed. 410.56.

Eadbald ſucceedeth hys father Ethelbert in the kingdome of Kent. 157.39.

Eadbald refuſeth to be baptiſed, and taketh his mother in lawe to wiſe. 157.48.

Eadbald poſſeſſed with an vncleane ſpirit. 157.61.

Eadbald renounceth Idolatrie and is baptiſed. 158.50.

Eadfride, ſonne to Edwine put to death. 163.62.

Eaufride, ſonne to Edelfride, taketh vppon him the kingdome of Northumberland. 164.43.

Eaufride, baptiſed in Scotland 164.47.

Eaufride falleth backe to Idolatrie. 164.51.

Eaufride with all his armie, ſlayne by Cadwallo. 164.63

Earthquake in Warwickſhyre. 621.68.

Ealdbright, King of South Saxons ſlayne. 187.109.

Eadhidus appoynted gouernor of the Churche of Rypon. 182.33.

Earth ſtrongly mooued by an earthquake at Drenhale. 452.15.

Earthquake, the like hath not been ſeene in England. 461. 77.

Earle of Saliſburie with hys armie inuadeth the coūtreys about London. 596.18.

Eaſterford battaile, fought by certein Northumber rebels againſt K. Edredus. 229.65

Earle of Lincolne proclaymed heire apparant to yͤ Crowne of England. pag. 1406.col. 2.lin.52.
Earle of Northumberlande ſlayne at Sharton field. pag. 1312.1.36.
Earle of Shorwſburye. pag. 1415.col.1.lin.19.
Eaſt Angles inuaded and conquered by Offa. 197.4.
Eardulf Duke, taken, wounded and recouered. 201.24.
Earle of Weſtmerland ſlaine at Sarton. pag.1312.col.1 lin.36.
Earle of Deuonſhyre beheaded. pag.1312.col.1.lin.48.
Earle of Orford and Awbrey Veer executed. pag.1313. col.1.lin.20.
Earconbert ſucceedeth hys father Eadbald in yͤ kingdome of Kent. 169.44.
Eaſter, with the weeke before and after, commaunded to be kept holy.91.94.
Eaſt Saxons eftſoones receiue the Chriſtian fayth.173.63.
Earthquake at S. Albos.724.3.
Eartongatha daughter to Earconbert, profeſſed a Nunne. 169.55.
Eadhidus ordeyned Byſhop of Lindeſey. 182.16.
Earle of Kendal. pag. 1272. col.1.lin.21.29.pag.1284. col.2.lin.58. pag.1285.col. 2. lin.1. page.1298. col.2. lin.46.
Earthquake at London. 716.97.
Earthquake about Bathe and Welles. 128.28.
Eadbertus, one of the Byſhops of the Eaſt Angles. 192.1.
Eata, ordeyned Byſhop of Lindeſſerne. 182.15.
Earthquake generally throughout al England. 309 44.
Cauſled, mother to Elfled departeth this lyfe. 176.3.
Eaſt Angles ſubmit themſelues to the Weſt Saxons. 203.65.
Earle of Huntington Dauid ſworne to King John. 542.81.
Earle of Huntington Dauid ſent into Scotland. 543.7.
Earle Riuers beheaded. pag. 1321.col.1.lin.6.
Earle Riuers landed at Pole. pag.1327.col.2.lin.3.
Eaſtangles poſſeſſed by the Saxons. 131.24.
Earthquake. 1833.57
Eata Riuer. 398.20.
Eadulfus, Archbiſhop of Litchfeilde, adorned with yͤ Pall. 195.7.
Eadulfus Byſhop of Dorcheſter. 195.12.
Eaton Calledge. pag.1344. col.1.lin.53.
Eating of horſes fleſhe forbidden. 198.111.
Eadwynes Cliue battayle, fought by King Molle, agaynſt Earle Oſwin. 195.115.
Earle of Tholouze commeth into England, and rendreth the Citie of Tholouze to Kyng John. 582.55.
Earle of Guiſnes landes waſted by King Johns Souldiers. 584.6.
Earthquake about Huntington towne. 644.12.
Eaubald, Archbyſhop of Yorke 198.70.
Dunſtanborough Caſtle. pag. 1315.col.1.lin.36.
Earthquake. 1871.36.
Earledome of Kent yeelded vp to King William. 292.36.
Eadbald, King of Kent departeth this life. 169.42.
Earthquake maruellous in Northfolke & Suffolke 407.116.
Ealhere Duke. 207.9.
Earthquake. 786.9.a.786.1.b.
Earthquake. 1039.40.b.
Ealhere ſlayne by the Danes. 207.30.
Earthquake in England at the making of the new Foreeſt 313.95.
Eadfride, ſonne to Edwine baptiſed. 161.115.
Earle of Rutland ſlayne. pag. 1304.col.1.lin.16.
Ebrancke ſonne to Mempricius, begynneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 17.94
Ebranke ſendeth his thyrtie daughters into Italy. 17.104.
Ebranke firſt after Brute inuadeth France. 17.110
Ebrankes ſonnes, vnder conduct of Aſſaracus, one of their eldeſt brethren, inuade Germanie. 18.3
Ebrankes ſonnes aided by king Alba of Italy, plant themſelues in Germanie. 17.7
Ebuſa and Occa ſent for to come into Britaine. 114.13.
Ebuſa and Occa arriue in the North, and ſettle themſelues there. 114 18
Ebranke dyeth, and is buryed at Yorke. 18.22
Ecgfride ſendeth an army into Ireland. 185.10.
Ecgfride leadeth an army againſt the Pictes. 185.27
Ecgfride ſlayne, with the moſt part of his army. 155.30
Ecgbert kyng of Northumberland, expelled out of his kyngdome. 219.20
Ecgbert departeth this lyfe. 219.24.
Ecgbert ſucceedeth Rigſig in yͤ kyngdome of Northumberland. 219.34
Ecgfride ſonne to Oſwy, in hoſtage with Queene Cinwiſe. 175.55.
Ecgfride and his armye ouerthrowen in battayle by Edilred. 182.98.
Ecgfride and Edilred made friendes. 182.102
Ecgfride ſucceedeth his father Oſwy in the kyngdome of Northumberland, 179.77
Edbearne Abbey in Lindſey builded. 179.52
Eclipſe of the Sunne. 893.7.b.
Eccleſall in Stafford ſhyre.pa. 1295. col.1.lin.21.
Edgar ſucceedeth his brother in the kyngdome of England 231.20.
Edgar a great fauorer of monkes, and ſtudious of peace. 231.43.
Edgars diligence to preſerue his Realme from inuaſion of ſtrangers. 231.51
Edgar rowed in a Barge by kyngs. 231.89
Edgar a fauorer of the Danes. 231.103.
Edward ſonne to kyng Henry the thyrd, goeth with a power of men againſt the Welchmen. 761.36. breaketh vp the treaſurie of the Temple, for money. 761.91. beſieged in the caſtle of Briſtow, and deliuered. 763.90. eſcapeth out of captiuitie.770 85. and. 772.17. receiueth the Croſſe of the Legate Othobon. 780.16
Edward departeth this lyfe, & is buryed at Weſtminſter. 279.32.
Edwardes maners, and diſpoſition of mynde deſcribed. 279.39.
Edward enſpired with the gyft of prophecie, and of healyng. 279.81.
Edwarde warned of his death before he dyeth. 279.89
Edward canonized for a ſaint, and called Edward the Confeſſor. 179. 97
Edwyn ſucceedeth Edredus in the kingdome of England. 230.62.
Edwyn committeth inceſt with his neere kinſwoman vpon the day of his Coronation. 230. 81.
Edwyn keepeth both mother & daughter to Concubine. 230.90.
Edwyn depoſed, for anguiſh departeth this lyfe. 131.16.
Edward ruled altogether by Normans. 274.44.
Edward gathereth all the Engliſhe lawes into one ſummarie, called yͤ Common lawes 274.88.
Edward, ſonne to King Edmond Ironſide, ſent for into England. 276.3.
Edward ſurnamed the Outlaw ordeined heire apparant to the crowne of England, dyeth. 276.5.
Edmerus, diſciple to Anſelme and in what tyme he liued. 357.42.
Edmerus elected Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes in Scotland. 357.51.
Edmerus receiueth his ſtaffe from an aultar. 357.75.
Edmerus returneth out of Scotland to Canterbury 357.86
Edward, ſonne to King Henrye the thyrde returneth home towardes England from the holy land. 781. 87. holdeth Juſtes and Turneis in Burgongne, and winneth the honour. 782.74.
Editha daughter to kyng Edward, maryed to Sithrike king of Northumbers. 224.48.
Edenborough Abbey in Scotland buylded. 208.22
Edmond kyng of Eaſtangles cruelly ſlayne by the Danes 209.109. and. 211.29
Edgina another daughter of kyng Edwardes, maryed to Lewes king of Aquitayne. 223.29.
Edwarde ſeiſeth the cities of London and Oxford into his handes. 220.68
Edmond kyng of eaſt Angles goeth againſte the Danes with an army. 211.22.
Edmond biſhop of Shirchorne ſlaine. 210.49
Edanton battaile fought by the Engliſhe men againſte the Danes. 214.84
Edward ſonne to kyng Egelredus, ſent into Englande, to trie the peoples conſtancie to his father. 250.17
Edwyn fleeth into Scotland. 298.62.
Edmond ſucceedeth his brother Adelſtane in the gouernment of the moſt part of England. 227.43.
Edmond leadeth an armye agaynſt Aulafe, and encountreth with hym at Leyceſter. 227.60.
Edmondes Lawes founde, and tranſlated into Latine. 228 50.
Edmond miſerably ſlaine by a theefe. 228.61. and. 228 180.
Edmondes death ſignified before hand to Dunſtan. 228.91.
Edward ſonne to king Egelredus, choſen to ſucceede kyng Hardicnute in the kingdome of England. 262.36
Edward commeth into England, with a conuenient traine

of Normans. 268.50

Edgar pretely deceiued of his fleſhly purpoſe, by a Ladye. 233.22.

Edgar put to penance, & kept from the Crowne, for his youthful laſciuiouſnes. 233.52.

Edgar ſacred king at Bath. 233.61.

Edgar terrefied with a dreame reſtoreth the ſpoyle of Glamorgan. 233.98.

Edgar departeth this life, and is buryed at Glaſtenbury. 233.107.

Edgar exceeding beneficial to Monkes. 233.112

Edward ſlayne in battaile by Godfrey and Aulafe. 224.100.

Edredus brother to Edmond, beginneth his reigne ouer the Realme of England. 229 20.

Edredus leadeth an armye againſt the Northumbers, & Scots. 229.40

Edgar Edeling ſayleth into Puglia, with a power of mē. 314.40.

Edgar murdereth Ethelwold, and marieth Alfred his wife. 232.108.

Edelhere ſucceedeth his brother Anna in the kingdome of eaſt Angles. 172.59

Edelhere ſlaine by Oſwy. 172 60. and. 175.67.

Edward commeth into Englande, to viſite king Hardicnute his brother, and Emma his mother. 267.30

Edelburgh profeſſed a Nonne in France. 169.67

Edwyn brother to kyng Edward, drowned by treaſon. 224.72.

Edelinſey Ile, and why ſo called. 214.10

Edwardes iſſue recited. 223. 1.

Edelfert, or Edelfride ſurnamed the wyld, ſucceedeth Ethelricus in the kingdome of Northumberland. 145

Edrick de Streonas treaſon, to diſcomfite the Engliſhmē. 254.51.

Edelwyn duke of eaſt Angles withſtandeth the diſplacyng of the Monkes in eaſt Angle. 235.102

Edeulf biſhop of Faron. 199 14.

Edward eldeſt ſonne to Henry the thyrd, made Duke of Aquitaine. 729.45

Edmond ſecond ſonne to kyng Henry the thyrd, ſurnamed Crouchbacke, marieth Auelina, daughter to the earle of Aumarle. 780.73

Edward putteth away his wife Editha. 272.29

Edmond ſonne to Henrye the thyrd, borne. 712.4

Edward promiſeth to make Duke William of Normandie, his heyre to the kingdom of England.

Edgar Edeling, with his mother and ſiſter fleeing towardes Hungarie, are driuen into Scotland. 298.66

Edward ſendeth forth a mightye hoſte againſt the Danes. 220.58.

Edward ſurnamed the elder, ſonne to king Alured, begynneth his raign ouer the more part of England. 219.79

Edward leadeth an armye againſt Adelwold. 220.30

Edgina, wife or Concubine to king Edward, ſurnamed the Elder. 222.97

Edginaes dreame, and the effect therof. 222.98

Edgina borne but of baſe parentage. 222.106

Edgar Edeling ſent into Scotland with an army, to eſtabliſh his coſin Edgar in the kingdome. 328.76

Edgar Edeling ſerueth the Scots againſt the Engliſh men. 322.47

Edgar Edeling reconcyled to the fauor of king William Rufus. 322.54

Edgar Edeling goeth ouer into Normandie with Duke Robert. 322.67

Edgar of ſmal ſtature, but of great ſtrength. 234.46

Edgar offreth the Combat to the Scottiſh king, they both being alone a hunting. 234 71.

Edgars wyues, and iſſue. 235 5.

Edmond Ironſide and Cnute trie their right in a Combat at the Ile of Olney. 256.59.

Edmond Ironſide and Cnute agree to part the lande betweene them. 257.24

Edgita daughter to king Egelredus, maried to earle Edricus. 244.57

Edgar Edeling and other Engliſh erles, come in ayde of the Danes, againſt the Normans. 300.30

Edgar Edeling eſcapeth into Scotland. 301.21. and. 306 90.

Edgar Edeling depriued of honor, and baniſhed out of Normandy for euer. 321.97

Edwyn brother to king Adelſtane, banniſhed the lande, drowneth hym ſelfe. 225. 91.

Editha made Abbateſſe of Wilton Nonrie. 234.12

Editha daughter to king Edgar, made a Nonne. 233. 14.

Edricke de Streona, procurer of kyng Edmondes death, put to death alſo. 258.22

Edrick de Streona, made Gouernor of Mercia. 258.36 and. 259.10.

Edward ſonne to king Edmōd marieth Agatha, daughter to Henry the Emperor. 259 34.

Edwyn brother to king Edmond, baniſhed the Realme. 258.38. and. 259.12

Edwyn returneth, and is trayterouſly ſlayne. 259.18

Edwyn and Edward ſonnes to king Edmond, baniſhed the land. 259.26

Edwyn ſlaine by his owne ſoldiers. 306.91

Edgar Edeling commeth into England with his mother. 282.59.

Edgar Edeling barred fro the Crown of England, becauſe of his tender yeres. 282.64.

Edmonde Ironſide departeth this life. 257.86

Edmond Ironſide trayterouſly ſlayne at Oxford. 257.111

Edwyn ſonne to king Edmond marieth with Kyng Salomons daughter of Hungary. 259.32.

Edwarde and Edwyn ſonnes to king Edmond, baniſhed the land. 259.26

Edricus ſent with an army, betraieth them vnto the Danes 243.51.

Edred, or Etheldred duke of Mercia, departeth this life. 220.66.

Edward the firſt borne. 654. 76.

Edrick de Streona ſeeketh for king Edmondes fauor, the more eaſily to betray hym. 255.16.

Edwyn earle of Mercia. 284. 25.

Edwyn and Marcharus diſcomfited by the Norwegians neare vnto Yorke. 284. 65.

Ederick de Streona trayterouſly fleeth to the Danes. 252.18.

Edward goeth to the Caſtle of Corfe, to viſite his mother in law, and his brother. 236 52.

Edward ſhamefully murdered by the treaſon of his mother in law. 236.69

Edwardes body buryed without ſolemne funerals. 236. 2.

Edwardes body tranſlated frō Warham to Shafteſburye. 237.39.

Edmond Irōſide offreth peace vnto Cnute, vpon conditiōs. 257.55.

Edmond Ironſide eldeſt ſonne to king Egelredus, proclaymed K. of England. 253.51

Edmond the ſecond ſonne to Henry the third, created duke of Lancaſter. 735.22

Edmond ſonne to H. the iii. openly made Duke of Sicil. 736.49.

Edelwald ſucceedeth Edelhere in the kingdome of eaſt Angles. 177.2

Edward ſonne to Henry the firſt borne. pag. 1285. col. 2. lin. 58. made knight. pag. 1306. col. 1. lin. 1. maried Anne ſecond daughter to Richarde earle of Warwick. pa. 1323 col. 2. lin. 26. taken priſoner. pag. 1339. col. 2. lin. 48.

Edmond, duke of Somerſet ſlayne at S. Albons pa. 1288 col. 1. lin. 1.

Richard Earle of Marche, proclaymed kyng Edward the fourth. pag. 1310, col. 1. lin. 46. crowned. pag. 1313. col. 1 lin. 12. taken priſoner. 1321. col. 1. lin. 41. deliuered. ead. col. 2. lin. 1. fleeth the Realme. pa. 1324. col. 2. lin. 30. iudged a traytor. pa. 1326. col. 2. lin. 19. landed at Norfolke. pa. 1327. col. 1. lin. 11.

Edmond treaſurer of the Colledge of Sariſbury elected and confirmed Archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 637.74

Edward ſonne to Edgar, admitted, and crowned kyng of England. 235.66.

Edward ſonne to H. iii. created Prince of Wales 737.14.

Edredus departeth this lyfe, & is buryed at Wincheſter. 230.19.

Editha, after the death of kyng Sithrik, leadeth a virgins life 225.4.

Editha departeth this life. 225 9.

Edwyn drowned by fortune of the ſeas, & caſt vp in Picardie. 225.100.

Edmerus cited. 351.26.

Edward hath moſt part of the Ile of Britaine at his commaundement. 222.59.

Edward much delyted in repayring Cities, Townes & Caſtles. 222.67.

Edward dyeth at Faringdon, and is buryed at Wincheſter 222 90.

Edward, ſonne to kyng Henry the thyrde, made ruler of the Citie of London. 780.67. ſetteth forwarde in his iourney towardes the holy Land. 781.7. arriueth at Acres with his power. 781.25. wounded and almoſt ſlayne by a Saraſin. 781.45.

Edricus created Erle of Mercia. 244.54.

Edricus maryeth Edgita, daughter to King Egelredus. 244.56.

Edmond ioyneth his power with Earle Uthred, agaynſt Danes. 252.45.
Edenborough Caſtle beſieged 1866. wonne. 1868.30.
Edward marieth Editha, daughter to Earle Godwin. 269.32.
Edward abſteyneth from carnall companying with hys wyfe, and why. 269.37.
Edenbrugh Caſtle buylded. 18.13.
Edenbrugh why ſo called. 18.14.
Edan King of Scots, commeth againſt Edelfert with an armie. 153.35.
Edan put to flight, and hys armie diſcomfited. 153.38.
Edwine delayeth time to become a Chriſtian. 159.115
Edwines ſtrange viſion which appeared unto him. 160.50.
Edwines death compired by Ethelferd & Redwald. 160.31
Edwine conſulteth with hys Nobles touching Chriſtianitie. 161.35.
Edwine and his people, receive the Chriſtian faith. 161.94.
Edgina daughter to King Edward, maryed to Otho the Emperour. 223.20.
Edward falleth in love wyth Edgina, and getteth hir with child. 223.
Edenbrugh Caſtle gaged to the king of England. 439.40.
Edrick Nephewe to Lothaier 186.23.
Edrick ſucceedeth Lothaire in the kingdome of Kent. 186.47.
Edrick ſlayne in civil warre. 186.55.
Edward and Godwyne, beyng readie to ioyne in battaile upon the ſea, are ſevered by a myſt. 273.20.
Edward ſendeth forth a Navie to the ſea againſt Godwyn. 273.5. & 273.39.
Edulfe, ordeined Byſhop of Kirton. 223.58
Edſinus, Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 268.53.
Edbert ſucceedeth Withred in the kingdome of Kent. 191.83.
Edrick de Streona overthrowe in his owne turne. 259.101
Edrick de Streona put to deth for treaſon. 260.4.
Ediluald, Byſhop of Lindeſferne. 192.25.
Editha put away by King Edward, & committed to ſtraite keeping. 272.29.
Edoll, Earle of Glouceſter his valiauncie. 118.31.
Edoll, taketh Hengiſt priſoner, as he was fleeing. 122.
Edmond, eldeſt ſonne to King Egelredus, falleth in love with Sigeferdes wydowe, and maryeth her. 251.68.
Edmond ſeaſeth Sigeferdes poſſeſſions into his handes. 251.74.
Edgar Edeling, Englandes dearling. 306.36.
Edmond Mortimer Earle of March, enimie to Henry the fourth. pa. 1121. col. 1. li. 38. taken priſoner by Owen Glendour. pag. 1134. col. 2. lin. 28. he maryeth the daughter of Owē Glendour. pa. 1135 col. 2. lin. 23. delivered, pag. 1136. col. 2. lin. 58.
Emperour of Conſtantinople came into England. pag. 1132. col. 2. lin. 13.
Edmond Earle of Kent ſent to the ſea. pag. 1154. col. 1. ſlayne. lin. 26.
Edwyn reconciled to king William, beginneth a new rebellion. 306.10.
Edmond Earle of Cambridge returneth from Portingale. 1041.8.a.
Edmond Ironſide, why ſo ſurnamed. 253.85.
Edelbert, Byſhop of Whiterne 199.2.
Edmond the Kinges ſonne created Erle of Cambridge. 968.47.b.
Edward Earle of Warwike ſonne to George Duke of Clarence. pag. 1350. col. 2. lin. 40.
Edward Woodvile knight. pa. 1352. col. 2. lin. 36.
Edward the fifte kept houſe at Ludlowe. pag. 1360. col. 1. lin. 8. came towardes Londō. lin. 7. returned by the Duke of Gloceſter to Northampton pag. 1362. col. 1. lin. 15.
Edward Duke of Buckingham pag. 1360. col. 2. lin. 33. toke part with the Duke of Gloceſter. pa. 1361. col. 1. li. 34. came to Northampton. pag. 1361. col. 1. lin. 30. harniſed in olde Brigandaries. pag. 1374. col. 1. lin. 30. his Oration in the Guild hal. pag. 1380. col. 2. lin. 32.
Edmond Shaa Maior of London. pag. 1363. col. 2. lin. 27 pag. 1376. col. 2. 50.
Edmond Archbyſhop of Canterbury remayneth in voluntary exile at Pontney. 657.1 he dyeth. 657.61.
Edlingſey Abbey buylded. 217.52.
Edmerus cited. 323.100. and 330.52. & 337.98. & 338.17. & 347.58.
Edgina, Abbeſſe of Leoffe Monaſterie. 270.12
Edbert, made King of the Kentiſhmen. 202.61.
Edenbrugh caſtle yeelded. 821.10. b. 901.44. a.
Edward the Kinges ſonne created Prince of Wales. 921.1. a.
Edwins landes given to Alane Earle of Britaine. 301.44.
Edburge, a Nunne. 223.26.
Edmerus cited. 282.110. 283.37.
Edwin ſlayne by the Welchmen. 272.66.
Editha leadeth and endeth her life, in perfect chaſtitie. 272
Edwyne marieth Ethelburga, daughter to Ethelbert. 159.28.
Edmōd ſonne to Richard Erle of Cornwal borne. 729.64.
Edward Woodvile Knight brother to Queene Elizabeth pag. 1402. col. 2. lin 19.
Edward Woodvile and Edward Poinings valiant Eſquiers of Englande. pag. 408. col. 2. lin. 50.
Elizabeth eldeſt daughter unto Edwarde the fourth, kepte in Sherriffehuton Caſtell. 1425.33. conveied to London, ibidem. maryed unto Kinge Henrye the ſeventh. 1426.26. crowned Queene. 1432.34. dyeth. 1457.58. called the good Queene, 1458.10.
Elizabeth late wife to Edward the fourth, deprived of all her landes & poſſeſſions. 1429.46. liveth a wretched lyfe. 1429.3. dieth, and is buried with her husband. ibidem. foundeth the Queenes Colledge in Cambridge. eadem. 10.
Edgecombe Richard Knight Ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 1433.10.
Egremont John Knight Captain of rebels. 1434.50. fleeth into Flaunders. 1435.24.
Edward Sonne to Henry the eyght borne. 1570.30. his godfathers and godmother eadem. 38. receyveth the Admyrall of Fraunce. 1609.35. is adorned with the order of knighthod. 1614.4. is crowned. eadē. 42. his godly and wiſe conference with the Byſhop of London. 1712.30. dyrecteth his letter to the Maior of London, to conſult with his brethren, howe the poore might be beſt releeved 1713.22. foundeth the hoſpitals in London. 1714.10. his ſingular pietie. eadē. 30. dyeth. 1715.56. his prayer at his death. eadem. 5 his commendation. eadē. 20 his Epitaph. 1619.20
Elizabeth daughter to Henry ẏ eyght borne. 1761.7. her Godfather and Godmothers eadem. 15. is committed to the Tower. 1734.30. delivered out of the Tower, and committed to the Lord Williams, and then to ſir Henry Bedyngfield. 1755.33. hir ſingular lenitie and clemencie. ead. 50. is proclaimed Queene. 1784.30. commaundeth the Letanie to be read in Engliſh in churches. 1788.22. and alſo the Epiſtle and Goſpel at Maſſe, eadem. 28. is crowned queene 1796.34. holdeth a Parliament. 1797.10. hath the ſupreme governement in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the firſt fruites and tenthes eſtabliſhed upon her by Parliament. eadem. 26. ſticketh againſt the ſervice of common prayer, and adminiſtration of Sacraments uſed in the tyme of King Edward the ſixt, ibidem. her anſweare unto the ſpeaker & commons moving her to mariage. eadem. 51. her great zeale of Juſtice executed on Hunninges man. 1748.41. commaundeth a conference of learned men to be held upon certaine articles of Religion. 1798.40. concludeth peace with the French king. 1801.50. forbiddeth al enterludes for a time. eadem. 40. levieth a ſubſidie. eadem. 55. depriveth xiii. or xiiii. Byſhops of their ſees. 1802.41. ſendeth Commiſſioners to viſite in every Dioceſſe for eſtabliſhment of reformed Religion. 1802.53. ſendeth power both by ſea & land to beſiege Lyth in Scotland. 1803.52 maketh a verye honorable peace with the Frenchmen & Scottes. 1813.46. calleth in al the baſe money. 1814.31. ſtoreth her ſelfe and the realme with all martial proviſion and furniture. eadem. 40. maketh newe Coynes. 1816.36. forbyddeth al ſortes of forreyne coyne, excepte the French & Flemiſh crownes. eadem. 1. ſendeth an armye into Fraunce, & upon what conſiderations. eadem. 30. maketh peace with ẏ French King. 1834.30. maketh an Oration in Latine in ẏ preſence of the whole Univerſitie of Cambridge. 1834.16. is Godmother in perſon unto the ſonne of the Lady Cecilie ſiſter to the K. of Sweden, & nameth him Edwardus Fortunatus. 1835.22. goeth in Progreſſe to the Univerſitie of Oxford & there maketh an Oration in Latin. 1836.11 is Godmother to Charles James ſonne to the

the king & Queene of Scots and giueth a Font of Golde. 1837.14. ſendeth a nauie to the ſea to ſtay al ſubiectes of the Kings of Spaine. 1838 30. ſendeth an armie into Scotlãd.1842.10.&.1845. 56.and.1853.11. holdeth a Parliament. 1859.17.leuieth a ſubſidie eadem.23. holdeth a Parliament. 1862.5. maketh a league with Charles the French King. 1863. 45.is godmother to his daughter, and giues a Font of Gold.1864.56. ſetteth forth a fleete to ſcoure the narrow ſeas of Pyrotes. 1865.10. ſendeth ayde vnto the Scottiſhe to beſiege the Caſtle of Edenbrough.1866.50.

Edward the ſecond born. 794. 5.a. put in priſon by hys father.841.55.a.made knight 842. 11. a. beginneth to raigne.847.12. a. maryeth the French Kings daughter and doth homage. 847.55.b crowned. 848. 1. a.entreth Scotland.850.31. a.goeth to Paris.852.10.b. entreth Scotland.852. 34. b.meeteth ẏ French K.at Amias. 858.19.a.goeth into Scotland with an army. 870.47. a.put to flight by the Scots. ibidem ſendeth for his wife and ſonne out of Fraunce. 876. 10. a. ſayleth frõ Briſtow into Wales. 879.50.a taken priſoner. 880. 50. b. caryed to Kenelworth. 881. 5.a. depoſed. 881. 27.b.reſigneth the kingdome. 882. 10.b. murdered. 882.45.b.

Edward the blacke Prince borne. 893.31.a. created Duke of Cornewale.900.6. b.generall at the battayle of Creſſy.932.24.b.goeth ouer into Gaſcoine. 950. 32.b. his proceeding in Aquitain. 951. 40. b. inuadeth the French dominions.956 1.a his offer to the French king. 958. 44. a. returneth into England with his priſoners. 961.38.b.maryeth ẏ Counteſſe of Kent.968.15.a.created Duke of Guyen.968.50 b.aydeth the king of Caſtell. 971.50.b.ouerthroweth the Spaniardes at Naueret. 973.20.b.coyneth his plate to pay his ſouldiours. 974. 57.a. requireth a ſubſidie of his ſubiectes. 975. 46. a. ſummoned to appeere at Paris.975.45 b. Iudgement giuen againſt him by the French King. 977. 30. a. troubled with ſickenes.977. 45. b. beſiegeth Limoges. 990. 30.b. returneth into England.991. 34. a. dyeth. 997.5.b.

Edward the firſt raigneth.785. lin. 12. a. proclaimed Kyng. lin.42.a. returneth from the holy land.lin.47.a.commeth to ẏ French court. lin. 18.b. doth homage for his landes in Fraunce to the Frenche king.ibidem. cõmeth to London.lin 40.b. crowned. 59. b.his wiſedome and humilitie.786.lin.16. a. commeth to Cheſter.786.46.a. goeth towarde Wales with an armie.786. 52. b. paſſeth into Fraunce.788.35. b. releaſeth his title to Normandye. ibidem.maketh ſhift for money. 789. 20. b. entreth Wales.791.19.a.paſſeth into Fraunce doth homage for his landes there. 795.52.b. goeth into Aragon.796.10. a.returneth into Englande. 797.55. b. maryeth two of his daughters. 798. 40. b. his mother dyeth. 804. 2.a. he is ſummoned to appeare in the court of Fraunce, pronounced a rebel, condemned to loſe Guien.807.8. a. renounceth the Frenche King. 809. 1. b. entreth Wales. 811.23.a.cõcludeth a leagu with the Earle of Flaunders 816. 31. b. concludeth a league with the Emperour. 817.43.a. paſſeth ouer the mountaines in Scotlande. 822.44.a. paſſeth into Flaũders.828.27.a. returneth into England. 832.23.a. maryeth the French kings ſiſter. 835.48.goeth into Scotlãd. 835.39.b.838.30.a.839. 24. b. endeth his lyfe. 845. 37.a.his corps conueied to Waltham.847.16.a.

Edward the thyrd borne. 851. 54. b. created Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine.869.32.a. is ſent into Fraunce.875. 50.b. made Warden of Englande. 880. 45.a.choſen king.881.20.b 882.20. b. beginneth hys raigne,and is crowned.885. 12.a. in daunger of taking. 891.10.a.maryed.891.20 b. doth homage for Guyen. 892.7.b.goeth ouer ſea lyke a Marchant.893.21.b.entreth Scotland. 897.10.b. goeth to Andwarpe.903.40 a. quartereth the armes of Fraunce and England. 905 45.b. his title to Fraunce. 905. 50. b. returneth into England.907. 6.a. taketh the ſea towarde Flaunders. 908.56.a.ouercommeth the Frenchmen at Scluſe. 909. 1.a.commeth to Gaunt.909 6.b.layeth ſiege to Tourney 910.27.b. goeth thence to Gaunt.912.19.b.paſſeth into Zealand. 912. 26.b. toſt on the ſeas & landeth at the Tour Wharfe. 912. 30. b. offended with the Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 913. 32. a. writeth to the Deane of Powles.913.3.b. hys anſweare to the Emperours motion.914. 52.b. ſendeth ayde into Britaine.916.1.b. arriueth in Britaine.919.9. a. beſiegeth Nauntes. 919. 6.b.returneth into England 920. 26. b. goeth ouer into Flaunders. 926.22. a. kepeth a counſel in his ſhyp at Sluſe.926.1.b. paſſeth into Normandie. 929.50.a. paſſeth the Riuer of Some.932 30.a.comforteth his armye at Creſſy.932. 50.b. beſiegeth Calais.935.54.b. hys pitie toward the poore. 938. 35.a.paſſeth ſecretly to Calaice.944.30.a. fighteth vnder Sir Walter Lord Manyes banner.944.10.b. vanquiſheth the Spaniſh fleete. 945.30.b.inuadeth France. 951. 17. a. goeth towarde Scotland.951.35.b.ſpoiles the ſame.955.20.a. goeth into Fraunce with an armye. 964 40.a.beſiegeth Reimes 964.47.b. draweth toward Paris. 965. 9. b. maketh peace with the Frenchmen. 966.3.b.ſurrendreth his tytle to Fraunce. 966. 52.b. ſendeth ſuccours into Gaſcoyne.978.10.a.dieth 999. 1.b.

Edward the fourth toke an othe at Yorke to obey King Henry the ſixt. pag.1328.col 2. lin.20. proclaymed hymſelfe King. pag. 1329.col.1.lin. 20.prouoketh the Earle of Warwick to fight. col.2. lin. 20.is receiued into London. pag.1332.col.2.lin.21.paſſeth ouer into Fraunce with an armye.pag. 1346. col.2. lin.2.returneth. pag. 1349. col. 1. lin.42.depoſed. pag. 1354. col.2. lin.40. his deſtruction. pag.1356. col.2. lin.22.Oration in his death bed.pag.1357.col.1.lin.6.

Edmond Duke of Somerſet pag.1331.col.2.lin.36. fled pag.1335.col.1. lin.25. beheaded.pag.1340. col.2. lin. 20.

Edmond hampden Knyghte ſlayne. pag. 1339. col. 2. lin.55.

Edmond the great and Godwyn, landing in Somerſetſhyre, ſpoyle the countrey,and returne into Ireland with great booties. 299.25.

Edmond ſurnamed the great ſonne to king Harold. 299. 25.

Editha,daughter to Erle Godwyn,maryed to K. Edward. 269.32.

Edenburgh taken and burnte. 1593.40.

Edwyne reſtored to his kyngdome of Northumberlande. 158.92.

Edward the fifte and his brother murdered. pag. 1391. col.1.lin.6.

Edelred ſucceedeth Lambert in the Archbyſhopricke of Cantorbury. 202.76.

Ediſwald aydeth Penda, againſt his Vncle Oſwye. 175.61.

Edbert, or Ethelbert King of Kent, ouerthrowen in battel, and taken priſoner by Kenulfe. 200. 102. and, 202.63.

Edgecomie Peter, 1450.45.

Edrike Siluaticus, rebelleth againſt King William. 297. 14.

Editha, daughter to king Edward, borne. 222.113.

Edward the fourth borne at Roan. 1268. col. 2. lin. 18.

Edward ſonne to the blacke Prince borne. 971. 13. a.

Ediſwalke ſlayne, and his armie diſcomfited by Ceadwalla. 184. 31.

Edeſſa, a Citie in Meſopotamia. 81. 41.

Edmond ſonne to Henry the thyrde inueſted King of Sicil and Naples. 740. 47.

Edwin Earle, ſubmitteth himſelfe to King William. 291. 59.

Edward Earle of March pag. 1299. col. 1. lin. 1. Duke of Yorke. pa.1304. col. 2. lin. 18. come to London. pag. 1306. col. 2. lin. 26. admitted king. pag. 1307. col. 1. lin. 18.

Edmond Lord Grey of Ruthen. pag. 1299. col. 2. lin. 31.

Edmond Duke of Yorke lieutenant of England. 1103. 51. a.

Ediſwald reigneth in the parties of Deira. 174. 106.

Edwine ſlayne, and his armie beaten downe. 163. 58.

Edith, ſiſter to king Ethelwolfus, profeſſed a Nunne. 208. 5.

Edbert ſet at libertie, and reſtored. 200. 108.

Edmond Courtney knight, and Peter his brother byſhop of Exceter rayſe an armie agaynſt king Richarde the thyrd. pag. 1401. col.2. lin. 50.

Edward inuadeth the kingdom of Eaſt angles with an armie, and ſpoyleth it. 221.81.

Edurus, looke Cridiorus.

Edwin, ſonne to Alla, baniſhed by Ethelferd. 154. 83.

Edelfert and his armie vanquiſhed, and put to flight by the Britaynes. 154. 69.

Edil-

An Index.

Edfred and Egfrid made friendes. 182.102.
Edwyne bringeth the Weſt Saxons vnder his ſubiection. 159.112.
Edward honorably receiued into the Court, by king Hardicnute. 268.92.
Edwulf, king of Kent, chaſed out of his countrey. 203.59.
Edelwin ſlayeth Oſwin. 170.60.
Edericke de Streona. 251.54
Edward ſonne to Henry the ſeuenth Chriſtened. 1454.56.
Edgar Edeling, pardoned, and highly honoured. 307.89.
Edgar Edling, ſubmitteth himſelfe to king William. 291.58.
Ediſwold, looke Molle.
Eden Riuer. 433.112.
Eufled, firſt of the Engliſh Northumbers, baptiſed. 159.104.
Egbert ſucceedeth Ceolwulfe in the kingdome of Northumberland. 194.51.
Egbert and Anguſt king of Pictes, receyue the Britaynes into theyr ſubiection. 194.63.
Egbertes armie for the more part loſt and deſtroyed. 194.66.
Egbert ſuceedeth wilfride the ſecond in the See of Yorke. 192.72.
Egbert king of Northumberland. 192.74.
Egbert Archbiſhop of Yorke receyueth the Pall. 192.77.
Egbert inuadeth Kent with an armie, and bringeth it vnder his ſubiection. 203.58.
Egbert becommeth a Monke. 195.101.
Egelwynus eſcapeth into the Ile of Ely. 306.94.
Egelwynus pyned to death in priſon. 306.108.
Egelredus paſſeth into Normandie, and is there ioyfully receiued by Duke Richard. 249.46.
Egelredus ſent for to returne into England, firſt ſendeth to try the peoples conſtancie. 250.9.
Egelredus departeth this life, and is buried at London. 253.5.
Egelredus iſſue. 253.13.
Egelredus pride, alienateth the hartes of his people from him. 253.26.
Egelredus forſaketh his lawful wife, and keepeth harlottes. 253.35.
Egelſon, Abbot of Saint Auguſtines nigh Cantorburie. 292.19.
Egelſin, and Archbiſhop Stigand, Captaynes of the Kentiſhmen, againſt king William. 292.43.
Egfride driueth Wolfhere out of the poſſeſſion of Lindeſey. 182.18.
Egelredus defileth the Fount at his Baptiſme. 238.9.
Egelredus beaten almoſt to death with Tapers by his mother. 238.18.
Egelredus marrieth Elgina, or Ethelginu, daughter to Earle Egbert. 238.49.
Egditha daughter to king Edward, married to Charles Simplex, king of France. 223.10.
Egbert ſucceedeth Ercombert in the kingdome of Kent. 177.94.
Egleſdon Monaſterie builded. 211.33.
Egleſdon, now called Saint Edmundeſburie. 211.37.
Egbert baniſhed, for coueting the kingdome of Weſt Saxons. 199.99.
Egelredus miſtruſting the faith of his ſubiectes, dareth not encounter with his enemies. 252.37.
Egelredus returneth with an armie into England. 250.29
Egbert inuadeth the kingdome of Mercia, and conquereth it. 203.81.
Egbert inuadeth Northumberland with an armie. 204.12.
Egbert crowned king of al England. 204.38.
Egelredus marieth Emma, ſiſter to Duke Richard of Normandy. 242.43
Egelredus mariage with Emma, turneth to the ſubuerſiõ of the whole Engliſh ſtate. 242.48.
Egbert appointed king of Northumberland, by the Danes. 209.67.
Egfride ordeyned king of eaſt Saxons, in his farther Offas ſteede. 195.67
Egelredus ſicke, at Coſham. 252.10.
Egfride ſhortly takẽ out of this life. 195.93
Egbert returneth into Englãd and is receiued as king of the weſt Saxons. 202.99
Egilbert king of eaſt Angles, ſlaine by treaſon. 194.102
Egbert departeth this lyfe, and is buried at Wincheſter. 205.4
Egletighſton. 214.83
Egelredus not fauoured by Monkes in their writings. 241.106. and. 242.3.
Egelredus Oration vnto his ſoldiers. 248.42
Egbert leadeth an army againſt the Danes, and is by them vanquiſhed. 204.55
Egelfrida firſt wife to king Edgar. 235.5
Egbert king of Mercia, departeth this life. 200.78
Egbert priuie to the murdering of his coſins. 181.2
Egelredus maketh warre againſt the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſpoyleth his Lordſhips. 238.54
Egelredus ſacred kyng by Dũſtan, at Kingſton vpon Thames. 237.113
Egwine a Monke. 189.27
Egelwinus biſhop of Durham flieth into holy Iland. 302.55.
Egwine made biſhop of Worceſter. 189.29
Egwine warned in a viſion, to ſet vp an Image. 189.32.
Egelwine Abbot of Eueſham. 308.31.
Egbert king of Kent departeth this life. 180.98.
Egiptus and his genealogie. 7.23.
Egiptus fifty ſonnes marrye Danus fifty daugters. 7.64.
Egelredus ſucceedeth his brother Edward in the kingdõe of England. 237.68
Egbert Archbiſhop of Yorke, departeth this life. 199.24.
Egelaw heath in the weſt parts 392.6
Egelredus ſendeth ambaſſadors & money to the Danes, to abſtayne from cruel waſting of the countrey. 245.93.
Egricus ſucceedeth Sigibert in the kingdome of eaſt Angles. 172.13
Egricus and Sigibert ſlaine, and their army diſcomfited by Penda. 172.28
Eirine emperor. 202.111
Eirene empreſſe. 199.80
Eiruie Abbey. 192.105
Elgina, or Ethelgina, wyfe to king Egelredus, dyeth. 242.34.
Elphegus Archbiſhop of Cantorbury taken by the Danes. 246.8.
Elienor Queene committed to cloſe priſon. 436.47
Elſaſſe Theodoricke earle of Flaunders. 377.72
Elenor Queene writeth to king Iohn for ayde. 553.26
Elenor Queene dyeth with ſorow. 559.52
Elnothus Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, refuſeth to crowne king Hardecnute. 263.63
Ely church founded, and dedicated. 729.60
Elienor queene ſeeketh meanes how to mainteyne the coniũction betweene her huſbande king Henry the ſecond, and her ſonnes. 426.40. and 426.60.
Elienor Queene offended with her huſband king Henry the ſecond, for keeping of Concubines. 426.63
Elgina mother to king Harold. 264.5.
Elienor Queene ſet at libertie by her ſonne kyng Richard the firſt. 474.55
Ely Abbey builded. 234.20
Eleanor daughter to the earle of Prouance, crowned queene of England. 647.73
Elſtan Duke ſeeth the Deuyl with Dunſtan. 228.107
Elſtanes dreame, and the interpretation thereof. 229.1
Elphegus cruelly murdred by the Danes. 246.38
Elphegus body firſt buryed at London, and afterward tranſlated to Cantorbury. 246.49. and. 262.102.
Eleanor Counteſſe of Pembrooke maryed to Simon Montford. 652.75
Eleanor betaketh her ſelf to the Mantle and the Ring. 653.28.
Eleanor king Iohns mother, much honored, and loued of the Nobilitie. 543.21
Eleanor Queene enuyeth Arthur her nephew. 543.35
Eleanor Queene paſſeth into Normandy. 543.55
Eleanor daughter to king Henry the ſecond, maried to Alfonſe, king of Caſtile. 445.30.
Elſwen, looke Alfwen.
Elianor Queene deliuered of her ſecond ſonne Henry. 395.93.
Elgina, or Ethelginu daughter to earle Egbert, maried to king Egelredus. 238.50
Eldred Duke maryeth Ethelfleda, daughter to king Alured. 215.68
Elidurus againe reſtored to the kingdome of Britaine. 31.81.
Elidurus taken, and committed to priſon. 31.88
Elidurus reſtored the thirde time to the Crowne of Britaine. 32.21
Elidurus dyeth, and is buryed at Caerleil. 32.25
Elrwold ſucceedeth Adulfe in the kingdome of eaſt Angles. 190.52.
Elidurus cauſeth his brother Archigallo to be reſtored agayne to his kingdome. 31.52.
Elanius ſonne of Rimarus, begynneth to rule ouer the Britaines. 29.65
Eldeſt ſonnes of the kynges of Englande, alwayes made Dukes of Normandy. 353.8.
Iohn of Eltham borne. 854.18.a. dyeth. 899.26.b. created earle of Cornwal. 892.

14.a.
Elizabeth Gray widow. pag. 1316 col. li.1.51. maryed to Edward the fourth. eadem. col.2.lin.21. crowned. eadẽ. lin.25.
Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth borne. pag. 1317.col.1.lin.42.
Elidurus ſonne to Morindus, choſen k. of Britaine. 31.16.
Ellendone battaile fought by Egbert, kyng of weſt Saxons, agaynſt Bernulfe kyng of Mercia. 203.36.
Ellerker Raufe knight. 1448. 49.
Elizabeth daughter to k. Ed. the firſt maried. 823.43.b.
Ella kyng of Northumberland dyeth. 145
Eleanor Queene, mother to K. John, trauayleth to procure the Engliſh people to receiue their othe of allegiance, to be true to the kyng. 542.50.
Eleutherius ſent into England 171.82.
Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome, ſendeth godly learned men vnto Britaine. 74.76.
Elianor wife to kyng Edward the firſt dyeth. 799. 27.b.
Elianor daughter to kyng Edward the firſt maried. 806. 17.a.
Ella placed kyng of Northumbers, in Oſbrightes roumth. 209 33.
Ella & Oſbright made friends, go foorth againſt the Danes. 209.38.
Ella and Oſbright ſlayne by the Danes. 209.46.
Ella, King of Seuth Saxons dyeth. 130.52.
Ely Ile, wherof ſo named. 33. 60.
Ely Monaſterie reſtored. 185. 72.
Elfled King Oſwyes daughter profeſſed a Nunne. 175.78.
Elfled dyeth. 176.1.
Elunge or Eiſinge, Prince of Norway. 23.100.
Eliot Thomas cited. 2.96.
Ella, beginner of the kingdome of Deira. 140.16.
Ella, ſonne to Iffus. 140.35.
Ella, ſonne to Hiſtria, beginneth to gouerne Deira. 140. 61.
Eldade, Byſhop of Colcheſter. 123.1.
Ella a Saxon, landeth in Suſſex wyth an armie. 125.56.
Ella maketh himſelfe King of Suſſex. 125.63.
Ella ſendeth into Germanie for ayde agaynſt the Brytaines. 125.103.
Elianor Cobham maryed to Humfrey Duke of Gloc. pag. 1227.col.1.lin.26. accuſed of treaſon pag. 1268. col.1. lin.42. doth penanace. ead. lin.48.
Elizabeth Grey maryed to Edward the fourth. pag. 1379. col.1.lin.19.
Elizabeth Lucy. pag. 1378. col.2.lin.51.
Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth, maryed to Henry the ſeuenth. pa.1356. col.1.lin.38.
Elinor Duches of Guyen, maryed to Henry Fitzempreſſe. 384.60.
Elfleda, or Elfrida, firſt wyfe to King Edward. 223.3.
Elfheagus, Byſhop of Wincheſter. 238 115.
Elianor, daughter to k. Henrie the ſecond borne 401.70.
Eluane and Meduin, two learned Britaines, ſent to Rome. 74.71.
Elizabeth Queene of Caſtill, dyeth. 1459.49.
Elles croft in Yorkeſhyre, and why ſo called. 211.74.
Element appeareth of a ruddie burning colour. 516.9.
Ella ſonne to Ida, ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of Northumberland. 142.86.
Emma ſpoyled of her riches, & baniſhed out of the Realme 266.34.
Emma, reuoked out of Flaunders into England. 266.96.
Empſan Thomas a Monke his obſtinacie. 1580.50.
Emma Queene, and her children ſent ouer into Normanmandie. 248.27.
Emperour Sigiſmond came into Englande. pag. 1183. col.2.lin.57. in league wyth Henry the fift. pag. 1185. col.1.lin.38.
Empire deuided between Conſtantius and Maximianus. 89.36.
Empſon Richard Knight ſuruiour & maſter of forfeiters. 1458.57. attainted. 1466 30. beheaded. 1466 20.
Emma her pedegree, from the Daniſh and Norman lyne. 289.7.
Emperour Otho aydeth Kyng John. 585.40. he is vanquiſhed by the Frenche Kyng. 586.1.
Emperor Otho ſendeth into England to k. John 564.31
Emperour of Conſtantinople commeth into England. 652 58.
Emma called the floure of Normandie, Siſter to Duke Richard, marryed to King Egelredus. 242.35.
Emma, wydow to King Egelredus, marryed to K. Cnute. 259.47.
Emma with her children, fleeth into Normandie. 255.10.
Emma dyeth. 274.10.
Engliſhe men taken pryſoners 812. 53. b. ſlaine by the Scots. 818.16.a. diſcomfited. 829.40.a. ouercome by Scots. 838.30.b.
Engliſhe men ſlaine in Wales. 791.20.b.
Englefield Thomas knyght counſeller to Prince Arthur. 1456.53.
England & Engliſhmẽ whence ſo called. 144.32.
Engliſhe preparation agaynſt the French inuaſion. 1053. 10.b.
Engliſh nation practiſed in warres, goeth commonly away with the victory. 220.8.
Engliſh Nauie hindered by tempeſt. 1008.40.b.
Engliſh coaſt ſpoyled by French men. 1007.20.a
Engliſh men threaten ẏ Pope. 713.85.
Engliſhmen vſed at Rome as Sciſmaticks. 716.24.
Englands miſerie in time of ciuil warre. 388.45.
Engliſh outlawes returne, and make war againſt the Normans. 300.30.
Eumerus a murderer, ſent to ſlay King Edwine. 159.56.
Engliſh ſouldiers driuen out of Meſſina citie. 487.43.
Engliſhe men ouerthrowen by the Scots. 1007.40.b.
Engliſhmen driuen out of Flaunders by Frenche men. 1044. 31.b.
Engliſhmen diſcomfited by the Danes in a foughten fielde. 248.35.
Emma ſtraitly dealt withall, by her ſonne King Edward. 269.49.
Emma accuſed of many matters committed againſt the ſtate of the common wealth. 269.51.
Emma deſpoyled of her goods, accuſed of incontinencie, and impriſoned. 269.57.
Emma purgeth her ſelfe of incontinencie, by the law Ordalium. 269.64.
England made tributarie to the Pope. 575.100
Engliſhmen under King John aſſayle and wynne ẏ Frenche ſhippes before and in the hauen of Dam. 578.46.
Entercourſe of Marchandize between England & France, ſtayed 195.39.
Ende of Brutus line in Brytaine. 22.80.
Engliſhmen diſcomfited by the Conſtable. 993.16.b
Engliſh nation reproued for fornication and licenciouſnes. 190.13.
Engliſhmen and Normans, ouerthrowen by the welchmen. 276.37.
Enuious perſons, readie to forge matters of ſuſpicion. 439.95.
England deuided betweene Harold and Hardicnute. 263. 43.
Engliſhmen for their fonde attempt fouly diſgraced. 731. 37.
Enemyes beaten downe by huſbandmen with clubbes and ſwordes. 614.34.
Engliſhmen ouercome by the Danes, in a ſecond battayle vpon the ſea. 215.57.
Enwoulfe, Earle of Somerſet. 207.67.
Engliſhmen ſlayne and drowned by the Danes at Tanet 207.37.
Engliſhmen, the more they grudge, the more cruelly they are oppreſſed by ẏ Normans. 313.53.
Engliſhmẽ naturally take pleaſure in hunting the Deere. 313.70.
Engliſhmen ſent into Spaine againſt the Saraſins. 636. 50.
Engliſhmen, Spaniardes, and Frenchmen obtaine a great victorie on the Saraſins. 636.56.
Engliſhmen ſlain in great number by the Danes in Oxfordſhyre. 221.8.
England brought into great ruine by ſundrye miſhappes. 242.22.
Engliſhmen chaſed out of the field by the Danes. 211.24.
Engliſhe nauie deſtroyed with tempeſt. 1014.7.b.
England let to ferme. 1102. 30.b.
Engliſhmen ſuffer the heire of their vpper lippes to growe long. 286.30.
Engliſhmen breake their aray to chaſe the Normans, & are ſlayne and ſcattered. 287.17
Engliſh nobilitie ſpoyled, to enritch Normans. 297.36.
Engliſh nobilitie deſpyſed, and glad to imitate the Norman faſhions. 298. 2.
Engliſh men ſone conſtreined to forſake their goods & landes, and to withdrawe them into the Woodes as outlawes. 298.14.
Engliſh nobilitie hated by King William, and the Normans. 298. 56.
Engliſh nobilitie flie the realme for feare and diſdeyne of the Normans. 298. 58.
Engliſh clergie conſiſteth the more part of Prieſts ſonnes. 349.87.
Engliſh boyes ſolde at Rome. 146.20.
Engliſh men haue Angelles faces. 146.51.
Engliſh men receiue the Chriſtian fayth. 148.17.
Engliſh armie ſent for to come into Normandie, is diſcharged vpon condition. 325. 65.

65.
Engliſh men returne out of Walles with diſhonor. 326. 69.
Engliſh men learne to quaffe of the Danes. 231. 110.
Engliſh men learne of the Saxons, a diſordered fierceneſſe of minde. 232. 3.
Engliſh men learne of the Fiemings, a feeble tenderneſſe of body. 232. 3.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes at Maldon. 239. 56.
Engliſh fleete taken by the Danes, and the Londoners ſlayne in great number. 240. 21.
Engliſh Captaynes reuolt to the Danes, and their people are ouerthrowen. 240. 51.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes at Porteſmouth. 206. 83.
Engliſh men chaſed by the Danes at Merſeware. 206. 86.
Engliſh men put to the worſe by the Danes at Carrum. 206. 100.
Engliſh men valiantly acquite thēſelues againſt the Danes. 212. 71.
Engliſh men and Danes conclude a peace vpon conditions 213. 42.
Engliſh Saxons, a people in Germaine. 112. 35.
Engliſh Saxon Kings fetch their Pedegree from Woden 113. 5.
Engliſh men vanquiſhed and ſlayne by the Danes at Reding. 210. 9.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes at Baſing 210.
Engliſh men diſtreſſed by the Danes at Merton. 210. 48.
Engliſh mens power begynneth to decay. 185. 43.
Engliſh men conſtrayned to bye their landes againe of Kyng William. 303. 29.
Engliſh men conſtreined to flee, by the Frenchmen at Albemarle. 524. 43.
Engleſield battell, fought by the Engliſh men agaynſt the Danes. 210. 2.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes at Wilton. 212. 5.
Engliſh power ouerthrowen by the Weltchmen. 272. 63.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes at Yorke. 209. 46.
Engliſh Ambaſſadours not admitted to the Popes preſence without a bribe. 418. 15.
Engliſh outlawes, perpetually pardoned. 307. 65.
Engliſhmen reteined and ſetled in Ireland. 418. 54.
England conquered by the Duke of Normandie vppon that day on which afterward Normandie was ſubdued by the king of England. 345. 84.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Welch rebelles. 744. 68
Engliſh men diſtreſſed by the Welchmen. 638. 50.
Engliſh men compound for peace with the Danes for monie. 240. 74. and. 246. 60.
Ende of the Daniſh Kings in England. 268. 19.
Engliſh armye ſpoyleth Scotland. 940. 31. a.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Britaynes at Hatfield. 163. 57.
Engliſh Gentlemē maynteined by French warres. 1083. 48 b.
Engliſh men agree to ſubmit themſelues to the Danes. 249. 20.
Engliſh ſcoole in Rome. 212. 27.
Encomium Emme, cited. 264. 88.
Engliſh men loſt all in France. pag 1275. col. 2. lin. 14.
England bleſſed with learning and puiſſaunce. 178. 92.
Ercombert, King of Kent departeth this life. 177. 105.
Engliſh men inuade the confines of Caſtill. 1008. 20. a.
England deuided into circuites for Juſtices itinerantes. 443 53.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes, in a cruell battell at Aſhdon. 255. 77.
Engliſh bloode reſtored to the Crowne of England. 259. 78.
Controuerſie betwixt Edward the fourth and the French Kyng. pag. 1348. col. 2 lin. 55.
England ſore peſtred with Flemings. 347. 38.
Engliſh men had in eſtimation for their good ſeruice. 261. 1.
Engliſh bloud mixed with the Danes and the Britaines. 241. 91.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen by the Danes at Scoraſtā. 251 87.
Engliſh men ouerthrowen and put to flight by the Danes, at Wigmere. 245. 38
Engliſhmen diſcouraged by the Welchmen. 611. 32
Engliſhmen vanquiſhed and put to flight by the Danes. 204. 62.
Engliſh army betrayed to the Danes, and chaſed. 243. 58.
Engliſhe men almoſt vtterly ouerthrowen by the Danes 210. 82.
Englande when firſt called by that name. 204. 45
Englande growen to olde and feeble age vnder king Egelredus. 237. 93
Engliſh Nobilitie ſpoyled, purſued, impriſoned, baniſhed, and ſlayne by king William. 306. 84.
Engliſh men geuen to the reading of the holy Scriptures. 192. 61.
England deuided into hūdreds and tithings. 217. 22
Engliſland appoynted the name to the Saxons portion in Britaine. 128. 24
England verye gainful to the See of Rome. 564 90
Encomium Emmæ cited. 257 50. and. 258. 1. and. 259. 87. and. 264. 39.
Engliſh men of whom they learned their exceſſiue gurmandize. 268. 12.
Engliſh nauie loſt, and drowned by a tempeſt. 322. 39
Englande firſt accurſed by the the Pope, and why. 223. 37.
Eowils a Daniſh knig ſlayne 220. 64.
Eopa, looke Copa.
Epte Riuer in Normandy. 385 34.
Epitaph founde within kyng Williams Sepulchre. 316. 69.
Earle of Penbrooke appeaſeth rebellion. 616 91
Earle of Albemarle obtayneth peace with the king. 618. 77
Eriotus the Popes Nuntio departeth home with a flea in his eare. 754. 54
Erick murdred by his owne people, for his ſharpe dealing with them. 221. 97.
Erchenwine firſt king of the eaſt Saxons. 152. 35
Ernulfus ſonne to earle Geffrey Maundeuille, taken, and baniſhed. 380. 72
Erick king of eaſt Angles, conſpireth with others, to make warre againſt king Edward of England. 221. 73
Erickes army vanquiſhed, and put to flight by the Engliſh men. 221. 90
Erocus king of the Almanes. 90. 81.
Earle of Pembrooke vſeth diligence to ſet the realme at libertie from the Frenchmen. 615. 20.
Eric gouernor of Norway, returneth to his ſhippes with great booties. 251. 89
Eric forbydden to ſpoyle the countrey. 252. 2
Erchenwin firſt king of the eaſt Saxons. 131. 35
Erchenwyn ſonne to king Offa. 131. 37.
Erghom John. 1462. 7
Earle of Lincolne Caruer at the Coronation. 1119. col. 2 lin. 14.
Earle of Northumberland high Conſtable. 1119. col. 2. lin. 17.
Earle of Weſtmerland, earle Marſhal of England. 1119 col. 2. lin. 28.
Earle of Warwicke Panter at Coronation. 1119. col. 2. lin 44.
Earle of Arundel chiefe Butlar of England. 1120. col. 2. lin. 23.
Earle of Warwicke gouernor to king Henry the ſixt. pag. 1235. col. 1. lin. 9. Regent of Fraunce. pag. 1262. col. 1 lin. 47. col. 2. lin. 43. dyed at Roan. pag. 1264. col. 1. lin. 2.
Earle of Arūdel ſlaine in france pag. 1253. col. 2. lin. 8.
Ermenfred biſhop of Sion ſent into England in commiſſion from the Pope. 304. 54
Ermenredus brother to kyng Ercombert. 180. 106
Ermingſtreete where it beginneth and endeth. 205. 8.
Earle of Flaunders feaſteth K. Edward the third. 912. 20. b.
Earle of Pearche a French man ſlaine at Lincolne. 613 81.
Erkenwald ordeyned biſhop of the eaſt Saxons. 181. 14
Erpwald, looke Corpwald.
Ecgwine biſhop of Worceſter. 190. 43.
Ermengard Lady, daughter to Richard vicount Beaumeſit maried to William king of Scots. 463. 62
Rauſe Earle of Ewe, taken priſoner at Caen. 930. 55. a
Eſterlings aſſaulted at home in the Stiliard. 1443. 20.
Eſpeke Walter bringeth ẏ order of White Monkes into England. 333. 94.
Eſchequer Court remoued frō Weſtminſter to Northampton. 567. 47
Eſſex deliuered to the Saxons 118. 41.
Eſketel a kyng of the Danes. 212. 19.
Eſſington taken and ſpoyled by the Danes. 244. 36
Eſtric ſiſter to king Cnute, maryed to Richard the thirde duke of Normandie. 289. 22.
Eſcuinus, or Elcuinus, taketh vpon hym the gouernment of the weſt Saxons. 180. 84
Eſcuinus maketh warre vpon Wolfhere, and is put to the worſe. 180. 95.
Eſſex inuaded by the Danes. 216. 31.
Eſtrild, daughter to a certayne

king of Scithia. 17
Eſtrild paramour to Locrinus. 17.22.
Eſtrild maried to Locrinus. 17 25.
Eſſex rebels ſcattered, & ſlayne. 1033.30.a.
Eſcuage graunted to Henry the third. 708.39.
Eſay cited. 389.83.
Eſſex waited by Danes. 240.73.
Eſke Riuer. 76.50.
Eſtates of the Realme aſſembled at Norhãmtõ. 542.60
Eſſex yelded to Adelwold. 220.21.
Eſtoutuill Robert taken priſoner. 345.28.
Eſoder, looke Elidurus.
Eſpeake Walter. 369.61.
Eſcuage payed. 795.57.a.
Eſſex brought vnder ſubiection of the Weſt Saxõs. 203.64
Ethelbaldus ſucceedeth Ceolred in the kingdome of Mercia. 189.50.
Ethelbaldus ſpoyleth Northumberland, and returneth without battell. 189.56.
Ethelbaldus ouercome in battell by Cuthred, King of Weſt Saxons. 189.63. and 193.90.
Ethelbaldus ſlayne at Secandon. 189.67.
Ethelbaldus reproued for fornication & licentiouſnes. 199.
Ethelwitha, wife to King Alured. 216.106.
Ethelfleda ſore handled in the birth of a child, euer after forbeareth to companie with her huſband. 216.114.
Ethelbert putteth away his wife, and marrieth Alfled, daughter to King Offa. 201.43.
Ethelbert ſlayne by his owne ſubiectes. 201.50.
Ethelfledas noble deedes, and valiencie. 222.1.
Ethelfleda departeth this life. 222.36.
Ethelbert, ſonne to Irmenrike ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of Kent. 142.80.
Ethelbert ſucceedeth his brother Edbert in the kingdome of Kent. 191.84.
Ethelwolfus or Ethaulfus ſon to Edbert, beginneth his reigne ouer the Weſt Saxons, 205.101.
Ethelwolfus in orders, and aſſoyled by the Pope. 205.109.
Ethelwolfus maryeth Oſburga, his Butlers daughter. 205.115.
Ethelbert reſtored vnto hys kingdome. 201.19.
Ethelwolfus kingdome deuided, betweene himſelfe and his ſonne. 207.70.
Ethelwolfus, departeth thys lyfe, and is buryed at Wincheſter. 207.92.
Ethelwold falleth in loue with Alfred, and diſcommendeth her beautie to Kyng Edgar 232.67.
Ethelwold marryeth Alfred, daughter to the Duke of Cornwal. 232.83.
Ethelwold, murdered by Kyng Edgar. 232.108.
Ethelred renounceth his kyngdome, and becommeth a Monke. 189.6.
Ethelbert procureth Ethelferd, to make warre vpon the Britaines. 154.54
Ethelreda, profeſſed a Nunne. 185.71.
Ethelfleda, daughter to Alured marryed to Duke Eldred. 215.68.
Ethelbert conſtrained to get hym out of his countrey. 196.43.
Ethelbert, ſucceedeth hys father Ethelbert, in the Kingdome of Eaſt Angles. 196.50.
Ethelbert trayterouſly murdered. 197.1.
Ethelgera, daughter to Kyng Alured. 217.59.
Ethelſwida, daughter to King Alured, marryed to Balduwyne Earle of Flaunders. 218.75.
Ethelſwida, wife to King Burchred, following hir huſband towardes Rome, dyeth at Pauia in Lũbardie. 218.91
Ethelwoulfus aideth Burthred King of Mercia, againſt the Welchmen. 206.6.
Ethelwolfus aduertiſed by two Noble Prelates. 206.56.
Ethelbald, ſhamefully maryeth his fathers wydow. 208.43
Ethelbald departeth this lyfe, and is buryed at Shirebourne. 208.47.
Ethelburga ſiſter to Erkenwald. 181.22.
Ethelbert marryeth Bertha, daughter to Cheribert Kyng of Fraunce. 145 102.
Ethelbert ſubdueth the Saxons from Kent to Humber. 145.98.
Ethelbert or Edelred ſonne to Molle, made king of Northumberlande after Alfed. 196.34.
Ethelburga wyfe to Inas, perſwadeth her huſband to renounce the world. 188.30.
Ethelard couſin to Inas, beginneth to raigne ouer the Weſt Saxons. 191.33.
Ethelard departeth thys lyfe. 191.66.
Ethelfleda gouerneth ỹ kyngdome of Mercia, during her lyfe. 221.
Ethelwolfus victories againſt the Danes. 206.107.
Ethelbert ouerthrowen in battaile, by Ceuling Kyng of Weſt Saxons. 142.95.
Ethelwolfus goeth to Rome, and taketh Alured his ſonne with hym. 207.42.
Ethelwolfus maryeth Iudith daughter to Charles ỹ Bald, Kyng of Fraunce. 207.60.
Ethelbright taketh vpon hym the gouernment of Weſt Sex, Suſſex, Kent, & Eſſex. 208.50.
Ethelbright departeth this life & is buryed at Shirebourne 208.70.
Ethelreda, wyfe to King Egfride, continueth a Virgin. 185.55.
Euſtace ſonne to King Stephan, created Duke of Normandie. 367.108.
Ethelbert conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth. 148.31.
Ethelburga, daughter to Kyng Offa, maryed to Brythtrick Kyng of the Weſt Saxons. 195.32.
Ethelred ſucceedeth Borne in the kingdome of Eaſt Angles. 194.36.
Ethelred and his brother Alured, encounter Inarus Kyng of Danes with an armye. 210.62.
Ethelred or Edilred, ſucceedeth his brother Wolfhere in the kingdome of Mercia. 181.55.
Ethelred inuadeth Kent wyth an armie and ſpoyleth it. 181.62.
Ethelbald, ſonne to Ethelwolfus, beginneth to raigne ouer the South and Weſt Saxons. 208.31.
Ethelbright, ſonne to Erminredus, murdered. 180.105.
Ethelmere, Earle of the Weſt countries, ſubmitteth himſelf and his people to king Swanus of Denmarke. 248.11.
Ethilda daughter to King Edward, maryed to Hugh, ſon to Robert, Earle of Paris. 223.13.
Ethelburga an euyl conditioned woman. 200.46.
Ethelburga fleeth into France and is thruſt into an Abbey. 200.73.
Etherius Archbyſhop of Arles in Fraunce. 148.66.
Edhirick or Erick a Dane, ſucceedeth Gurthrun in the kingdome of the Eaſt Angles. 219.11.
Ethelburga dyeth in great miſerie. 200.77.
Ethelburga daughter to Ethelbert, maryed to Edwyne. 159.28.
Ethelreda departeth this lyfe 185.74.
Ethelwold, made Byſhop of Wincheſter. 232.19.
Ethelwold Earle, ſent by king Edgar, to ſuruey the beautie of Alfred, daughter to the Duke of Cornwal. 232.60.
Ethelricus ſonne to Ida, made Kyng of Northumberlande. 145.73.
Ethelred, brother to Ethelbright, ſucceedeth him in the gouernment of the more part of the Engliſhe people. 208.76.
Ethelred vexed with the inuaſion of the Danes. 208.100
Ethelred fighteth wyth the Danes nyene tymes in one yeere. 208.103.
Ethelwolf, ſonne to Kyng Egbert, leadeth an armie into Kent. 203.55.
Ethelfert ſlaine, and his armie vanquiſhed. 155.30.
Ethelbert, king of Kent dyeth, at is buryed in S. Auguſtines Monaſterie. 157.8.
Ethelbright, ſonne to Ethelwolfus, beginneth to raigne ouer Kent, and Eſſex. 208.35.
Ethelred receyueth a wounde, and therof dyeth 210.92.
Ethelſwida maryed to Burthred, Kyng of Mercia 207.111.
Ethelred and his brother Alured, ayde Burthred Kyng of Mercia againſt the Danes. 209.93.
Euers Rafe knight Warden of the middell Marches ſlaine in a bloudie fight. 1601.4. is commended. eadem. 28.
Eueſhame Abbey builded. 189 28.
Eubald the ſecond ſucceedeth Eubald the firſt in the Archbyſhopprick of Yorke. 202.81.
Euſtace, Earle of Bologne, commeth into Englande to viſite his brother in lawe K. Edward. 270.77.
Euſtace maketh great complaynt to King Edward, againſt the citizens of Cantorburie. 270.105.
Eufled daughter to King Edwine, borne. 159.77.
Eunbert, a ruler among the Giruii. 185.63.
Eureux in Normandie recouered by the Engliſhmen. 521.2.
Euill Princes appoynted to puniſhe the offences of the people. 194.21.
Euil vſage cauſed the Gaſcoynes to rebel. 732.22.
Euguerane Chaſtillone de Creye, taken priſoner. 431.24.
Euſtace de Veſlye ſent into Scotland. 542.71.
Euery man ſhal beare his own burthen. 351.30.
Eueſham battayle, fought by Kyng

King Henry the thyrd and his power againſt the Barons. 773.1.
Ewer of Pearle ſent to Henry the thyrd. 739.37.
Euſtace the Monke taken and beheded by Richard baſtard ſonne to Kyng John. 615.65.
Euſtace the Monke a notable Pyrate. 615.71.
Euil mens good deedes, alwayes euil thought of. 329.30.
Euſtace ſent by King John into Scotland. 543.15.
Euille John, Lord, eſcapeth frõ the battayle of Cheſterfield. 777.20.
Euſtace, Baron of Mawpaſſe 323.46.
Eureur in Normandie taken by the French kyng. 545.90
Eudo Earle, ſubmitteth himſelfe to Duke Geffray of Britaine. 411.79.
Euſtace Duke of Normandie, eſpouſed to Conſtance, ſiſter to Lewes the French Kyng. 372.63.
Euſtace Duke of Normandie, dyeth. 372.65.
Euſtace ſon to King Stephan refuſed of the Byſhops to be crowned Kyng of England. 385.53.
Euſtace ſonne to King Stephan falleth mad, and miſerably endeth hys lyfe. 387.93.
Euſtace, Earle of Bollongne. 319.75.
Euſtace de Ueſey ſlayn wyth a quarel beſydes Caſtle Barnard. 603.33.
Eueſhame Abbey buylded. 277.31.
Eutropius cyted. 82.70.&.89.45.
Euſtace a Monke prouideth ſhipping for the conuayance of ayde to kyng Lewes, out of Fraunce into Englande. 615.8.
Eureux towne in Normandie, taken by the Frenchmen. 515.32.
Euſtace King Stephans ſon, made knight. 383.94.
Euerie kingdome deuided in it ſelfe, can not long ſtand. 257.94.
Europe alotted vnto Japhet. 1.79.
Euil gouernment in England by reaſon of ſtrangers about the king. 746.45.
Eureux in Normandy taken by king Henry the firſt. 344.13
Example notable of a Prince. pag. 1163. col. 1. lin. 50.
Exmew Monke of the chaterhouſe executed. 1563.50.
Exceter beſieged by Humfry Arundel and his adherentes. 1649.37.
Exhamſhire. pag. 1314. col. 2 lin. 12.
Exceſſe in apparel. 1117.6.a.
Exchang of Moneys ordeyned. 924.50.a.
Exceſter beſieged by Perkin Werbec. 1450.2.
Example of a faythfull priſonner. 1014.45.a.
Richard Extons commendation. 1054.15.b.
Exceter taken, and ſpoyled by the Danes. 243.42.
Excommunication. 963.1.b.
Extreeme froſt and ſnow, killing trees, birdes, foules, and fiſhes. 196.3.
Exeter Colledge founded. 892.20.a.
Exceter Citie beſieged. 166.55.
Exceter beſieged by Uaſpaſian. 52.27.
Execution of king Richard the ſeconds friends. 1072.4.a.
Exeter Citie repaired and fortified. 226.99.
Execution of ſouldiers taken in Rocheſter Caſtle by Kyng John. 593.36.
Exeter kept againſt king Stephan, and recouered. 367.44
Exceter citie rebelleth againſt King William. 299.35
Exeter yeelded vnto King William. 299.47.
Exmouth Caſtle aſſaulted by the Danes. 241.65.
Example of rare brotherly loue. 31.52.
Exeter made a Byſhops See. 309.65.
Excheker court inſtituted. 303.50.
Exceter Citie beſieged by the Danes, and deliuered. 216.29.
Eylmer, a Monke of Malmeſburie. 280.41.
Ewe countie in Normandie. 321.71.
Eweline, and Hirilda fall at variance. 43.50.

F.

Falciſe yeeldeth to Chaſtillon. 1824.40.
Fabian Robert. 1463.7.
Faleys beſieged by Henry the fift. pag. 1190. col. 2. lin. 30. rendered to him. pag. 1191. col. 1. lin. 54.
Father of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, onely king. 262.52.
Famine and dearth in the kingdome of South Saxons. 182.57.
Falaiſe yeelded to the French. pag. 1277. col. 1. lin. 4.
Farnham Caſtle raſed by the frendes of Kyng Henry the third. 611.67.
Falayſe towne in Normandye won by the french K. 558.42
Farnham Caſtle builded. 377.53.
Farindon Caſtle builded. 381.18.
Fabian cited. 166.72.
Farribridge. pag. 1310. col. 2 lin. 7.
Falſe proteſtation horribly puniſhed. 274.110.
Fabian cited, 32.96. and. 44 97. and. 74.30. and. 75. 106. and. 93.18.
Fauſta daughter to Maximinianus, married to Conſtantinus. 91.7.
Fabian cited. 93.57. and. 95.41. and 102.50. and. 117.59. and. 125.19.
Ferygndon high Abbot of Reding executed for denying the ſupremacie, 1574.30.
Ferdinande the Emperour dieth, and his Obſequies. 1834.36.
Felton John hãged for hãging vp a Romiſh Bull. 1853.2.
Ferrers George a Burgeſſe of the Parlament houſe arreſted vppon an execution and deliuered by the Parlament 1584.20.
Fredericke the Emperour ſendeth a power to repreſſe the rebellious Flemings. 1431 40.
Fernherſt Caſtle won. 1529.44.
Feſcampe in Normandie. 321.72.
Ferentine John a Leagate frõ the Pope cõmeth into England in viſitation, and ſpedely departeth againe. 563.64.
Feſcampe William. 313.7.
Fert Caſtle burnt. 385.41.
Felix a Burgunian, Byſhop of Dunwich. 30.92.
Fethamley battell, fought by the Saxons, againſt the Britaynes 143.18.
Fetherſton hanged for the ſupremacie. 1580.40.
Feigned friendſhip betweene King Henry the ſecond of Englande and Lewes of Fraunce. 398.69.
Ferdinando Archduke of Auſtrich made Knight of the Garter. 1531.18.
Feuerſhame Abbey builded. 383.46.
Felix Biſhop of the parties of Burgoigne commeth into Britaine. 162.52.
Felix conuerteth the Eaſtangles to the fayth of Chriſt. 162.59.
Felix dieth at Dũwich. 162.61
Ferrers Georg Lord of miſrule in the Court. 1711.45.
Fetherſton William naming himſelfe K. Edward the ſixt, is whipped and, afterward for ſaying king Edward was liuin, gand that he ſpake with him, is hanged. 1763.46.
Sir Rauſe Ferrors accuſed of treaſon. 1022.41.b.
Ferrer and Porrer ſonnes to Gorbedug, beginto reigne ouer Britaine. 22.36.
Ferrer fleeth into Fraunce for aide agaynſt his brother. 22.50.
Ferrer and his people ſlayne. 22 56.
Ferreys William, taken priſoner. 345.27.
Feader a Collectour, ſlayne. 267.24
Ferrers Robert, Earle of Darbie. 435.20.
Ferdomachus, Biſhop of Leyniſter in Ireland. 328.28.
A fyfteen graunted. 1557.30.
Fyſher John Biſhop of Rocheſter is of counſel with the Queene in her matter of diuorce. 1551.6. refuſeth the oth of ſucceſſion. 1563.17. is beheaded. 1563.56. had been elected Cardinal. 1567.3.
Fits Williams William knight Captaine of Guiſnes. 1531.17.
Fits Roy Henry Duke of Richmond, dyeth. 1565.30.
Fits Garett Thomas Lord, rebelleth in Ireland, and committeth great outrages. 1563.17. is taken priſoner. 1564.24. is executed with his fiue Uncles. 1569.5.
Fits Williams Williã knight Treaſurer of the kings houſhold. 1536.1.
Fits Williams William knight landeth with a Nauie at Treyport. 1526.40.
Fines Thomas Lorde Dacres of the South hanged. 1580.35.
Fits Williams William Knyght vice Admiral receyned the Emperour on the Sea. 1509.16.
Fines Lord Clinton Admiral of the Nauie at Muſkleborough field. 1615. his proweſſe at Blackeneſſe. 1629.20. wynneth Broughty crag. 1630.1. Colonel of ẏ footemen in the iourney of Saint Quintins, 1767.26. hygh Admyral goeth forth wyth a great fleete. 1779.26. burneth Conqueſt and other places adioyning. 1781.16. is ſent into the North againſt the rebels with an armie ioyntly with the Earle of Warwicke. 1840.37. is created Earle of Lincolne, 1862.48. goeth Ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 1863.24.
Shelley Edward his Ualor & death. 1624.32.
Fitzwilliams William made knight. 1487.28.

Fitz Iocelyne Reginald, made Byſhop of Bath. 432.54.

Fitz Miles Roger, Earle of Hereford. 396.16.

Fitz Roy Henry baſe ſonne of Henry the eyght created Earle of Notingham and afterward ẏ ſame daye Duke of Richmond and Somerſet. 1526.10.

Fiue ſhillings leuied of euery hyde of land. 535.62.

Iohn Fitz Thomas created Earle of Kildare. 855.54 b

Fitz Iames Richard created Byſhop of London. 1458.38. maketh an Oration conſolatory to the kyng. 1458.36.

Fitz Miles walter, ſucceedeth his brother Roger in the Earldome of Hereford. 396 19.

Fitz Iohn Euſtace, ſlayn. 397 45.

Fitz Scrope Richard inuadeth and ſpoyleth the landes of Edrick Siluaticus. 297.20

Finan ſucceedeth Aydan in the Biſhopricke of Northumberland. 171.20.

Fyue Moones ſeene in Yorkeſhyre 551.56.

Firſt falling out betweene king Henry the ſecond, and Thomas Becket. 400:53.

Firſt inhabitants of Brytayne not certainely knowne. 1.10

Firſt inhabitantes of Brytaine, why called Giantes. 6.80.

Fitz Peter Geffrey made chief Iuſtice of England. 535.90.

Fitz Peter Geffrey created Earle of Eſſex, and gyrded wyth the ſworde of the ſame 545.39.

Firſt battaile betweene the Saxons one againſt another in Britaine. 142.97.

Fitz Peter Geffrey dieth. 582 62. what he was. 582.64.

Fitz Walter Robert appoynted general for the Barons of England agaynſt king Iohn 588.12.

Fitz Walter Robert. 556.57.

Fyre braſteth out of certayne ryftes of the earthe. 362.112.

Fyre ſeene in the ayre. 558.1.

Finchamſteede in Barkeſhyre 329.29.

Fitz Hamon Robert. 334.1.

Fines ſeaſed by Henry the. iii. on his officers for falſhood. 646.38.

Fitz Iohn Euſtace. 369.1.

Fitz Alain William. 369.1.

Fitzvrze Richard, taken priſoner. 376.36.

Fyrſt Mayor of London. 566.92.

Fitziames Byſhop of London dyeth. 1518.45.

Fitz Peter, Geffrey Lord chief Iuſtice of England. 542.18

Fitz Bernard Thomas, accurſed by Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 409.80.

Fitz Urſe Reignold, knight. 415.62.

Fitz Aldeline William, Sewer to king Henry the ſeconde. 419.55.

Fitzbarhard Robert ſent ouer into Ireland. 419. 55.

Fitz Bernhard Robert, made keeper of Waterfoord and Weſſefoord cities in Ireland. 421.42.

Fitz Radulfe William, Lorde Steward of Normandie, interdicted. 508.49.

Fitz Oſbert William, called otherwiſe, William wyth the long beard. 528.100.

Fitz Williams William Erle of Southampton Lord Priuie ſeale dyeth at Newcaſtle in his iourney towardes Scotland yet his ſtandard is borne in the foreward al this iourney. 1595.14

Fitz Williams Williã knight Lord Admyral is created Earle of Southampton. 1571.5.

Fitz Williams William hurt. 1477.35.

Fifteene payed. 786.53.a. 840 30.a.

Flint Caſtle builded. 789.6.a.

Fifteenes graunted. pa.1144. col.1.lin.36. pag.1150.col. 2.lin.28. pag. 1156. col.1. lin.45.

Fitzwaren Lorde Fitzwaren created Erle of Bath. 1565 22.

Fitz Baldrick Hugh, Shyriſe of Yorkeſhyre. 307.99.

Fiſhmongers of Lõdon diſquieted. 1039.24.b.

Fiſh like to a man, taken in the ſea. 559.56

Fiſhes fight vpon the land. 471 101.

Fitzaldelme William ordeyned Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland. 444.76

Fiſhes die in the waters thorowe ſharpnes of a froſte. 447 7.

Fines Ingram Lord. 726.11

Firy impreſſions ſeene in the ayre. 1834.40. and. 1870.46. and. 1872.21.

Finch Thomas knight, Camp maiſter in the iourney of S. Quintines. 1767.58. he appointed to be knight marſhal at Newehauen, is drowned. 1838. 30.

Foqueſolles Seneſchal of Bullogne ſlaine. 1599.17

Foſkew Audrian knight attainted, and executed. 1570.54.

Fore Richard choſen biſhop of Exceter, ſent ambaſſadour into Scotland. 1432.6. ſent ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 1439.35. biſhop of Durhã and owner of Norham caſtle. 1448.21. Ambaſſadour into Scotland. 1449.2. aſſwageth by letters, the diſpleaſure of the Scottiſhe king. 1452.18. is deſired of the Scottes to come and ſpeake with hym. ibidem. is a meane for the mariage of the kyngs daughter vnto the Scot. eadem.55. made Biſhop of Wincheſter. 1455.43.

Fore Richard Biſhop of Wincheſter, one of the priuie Councel to king Henrye the eight. 1464.48

Forthere ſucceedeth Aldhelme in the Biſhopricke of Shireburne. 192.5

Forthere leaueth his Biſhoprik and goeth to Rome. 192.9.

Foure great high wayes in Britaine begun. 23.46

Foure great high wayes in Britaine finiſhed. 24.60

Foſſe way where it beginneth and endeth. 24.66

Fore Iohn cited. 154.56. and. 223.78. and 263.13

Fore Iohn deceyued. 235.52.

Foreſtes and parkes diſparked by king Iohn, to let ẏ game abrode, to deſtroye the corne in the fieldes. 568.44

Fountaine floweth with bloud. 329.40.

Foure and twentye gouernors appoynted in England. 752 45.

Foure ſunnes ſeene in the Element, beſides the naturall Sunne. 942.8

Iohn Fordham Biſhop of Durham fleeth. 1070.36.a

Foulgiers caſtle taken, and vtterly deſtroyed. 409.50

Foure kings in Kent, and their names, at Ceſars commyng 42.97.

Fouke earle of Aniou, returneth out of the holy land. 359.17.

Foukes de Brent aduaunced to mariage, by king Iohn. 596.44.

Fordher a knight ſlaine, attending vppon king Edwine. 159.75.

Focas Emperour. 153.50

Formalis Archbiſhop of Trier dyeth at Northampton. 480 48.

Foreſt Frier hanged, & burnt. 1570. 10.

Fourty thouſand knightes fees and vpward, in Englande. 757.77.

Forth in Scotland, in Britiſh, werd. 140.9

Fornham battaile fought by the Nobles, on the part of Kyng Henry the ſecond, againſt the Nobles on the part of Henry his ſonne. 431.83

Forz William earle of Albemarle moueth ſedition. 618.31.

Forfeyture for killing the kings Deere. 366.7

Fouke earle of Aniou, becommeth friende to kyng Henry the firſt. 356.38

Forz William earle of Albemarle dyeth. 528.44

Foreſtes deuided into foure quarters, to be gouerned by foure Iuſtices. 459.93

Folioth Robert made biſhop of Hereford. 432.57.

Fol[l]ioth Gilbert biſhop of London ſent ambaſſadour into France. 406.43

Follioth Gilbert Biſhoppe of London, ſent Ambaſſadour to the Pope. 406.58.

Foure biſhops onely to goe out of Englãd to the Popes general Councel. 452.40

Fountneyes Abbey founded. 394.27.

Foure Archbiſhopprickes ordeyned in Ireland. 386.31

Fodringhey caſtle taken by the Earle of Albemarle. 618.55

Foreſtes ſeiſed into the kynges handes. 313.73.

Forcers of women to loſe their genitals. 316.44

Foreſtes ordred by kyng Henry the third. 626.70

fougiers taken by the Engliſhe from the Duke of Britaine. pag.1274. col.1.lin. 52.

Floudes great in the Thames. 1834.31.

Lewes Earle of Flanders promiſeth to marye Kyng Edwarde the thirds, daughter. 940.23.b.

Flammocke Thomas a Lawier and Rebel. 1446.15. is put to death. 1447.47.

Flemmings releaſed of dets and interdiction. 912.46.a.

Earle of Flãders areſted. 817.6.a. fleeth into France. 903.20.a.

Lewes Earle of Flaunders ſlayne at Creſſey. 934.32.b.

Flanders interdycted. 908.1.a.

Floudes. 943.34.b. 1084.40.a.

Flemmings dicomfited by the Biſhop of Norwich. 1043.20.a.

Flix by feeding on fruites. 1079.5.b.

Flemmings moue Kyng Edward the third to take vppon hym the title of France. 905.10.b. ſweare fealtie to him. 906.20.b. ayded the Earle of Henault. 909.39.b.

Flauius Victor Nobiliſſimus, aſſiſtant with his Father Maximus in the Empire. 97.63.

97.63.
Flauius Victor Nobiliſſimus ſlayne. 97.96.
Floud ſo great, that a Ladde of eighteene yeares was drowned in a chanel of London. 1870. 6.
Flemmings hope and iolitie in England, layed in the duſt 432.33.
Flixes of blood vexe the people of England. 242. 15.
Flemmings diſcomfited at Cadſant 901.30.b.
Florence of Gold coyned. 922. 23.b. diſanulled. 924 23. a.
Floriacenſis cited. 287.73.
Fleetwood William, Recorder of London. 390.2.
Florye Abbey in France. 232. 26.
Flouddes in England. 547. 51.
Flanders a great part drowned by breaking in of the Sea. 347.16.
Flatterers & currifauourres, ſow ſedition betweene king Henry the ſecond and his ſonne Henry. 423.33.
Flemmings ſent home into theyr owne countrey. 436. 13.
Floudes great dooing much harme in many places which are particularly ſet downe. 1854.1.
Flatterye in fooles wiſely reproued. 262.69.
Flemmings comming ouer into England, haue places appoynted them to inhabite. 347.18.
Flouddes. 796. 48. b. 897. 25. a. 904. 35. a.
Flemmings baniſhed. 841.20. b.
Fraunces of Lutzenburg ſent Ambaſſadour from yͤ french kyng. 1436.55.
Fraunces Duke of Brytaine dyeth. 1434.38.
France interdicted by yͤ Popes Legate. 546.47
Frith John burnt. 1563.41.
Froſt extreame. 1834.55.
Frenchmen diſcomfited at Roche Darien. 941.6.a.
Froſt. 969.42.b.
Freryes ſuppreſſed. 1471.32.
Frenchmen ſpoyle the Weſt countrey. 1018.10.b.
Frenchmen ayde the Scots. 1048.30.b.
Frier Randoll priſoner in the Tower of London. pa.1198 col.1 lin.51.
French ſhippes taken by them of Calais. 1050.20.a.
Froſt extreme. pag.1256.col.2 lin.6. pag.1263. col. 2.lin. 48.
French ſhippes taken. 1056. 21.b.
French fleete diſappoynted by tempeſt. 1057.1.a.
Frier Pynkye Prouinciall of the Auguſtine fryers. pag. 1377.col.1.lin.2. his Sermon eadem.lin.21.
Frenchmen diſcomfited at Caen. 930.50.a.
French army entreth Brytaine 916.6.b.
Fruites of warre. pag.1254. col 1.lin.36.
Friers burned at London. 962 56.a.
Frenchmen diſcomfited by the Archdeacon of Vnfort. 928. 33.b.
Hugh de Freſnes Earle of Lincoln dyeth. 899.35.b.
French king followeth the duke of Lancaſter. 955.40.b.
Frenchmen aſſiſt Duke William of Normandie, in hys conqueſt of England. 285. 51.
Frenchmen ſent to ayde the Scots. 915.40.a.
French armie enter Gaſcoyn. 928.24.a.
Frenchmen diſcomfited at Aubaroch. 927.7.b.
French preparation to inuade England. 1053.39.a.
French men ſlaine at Creſſy. 935.50.a.
French men diſcomfyted by Sir John Harleſton. 1012. 26.b.
French armie aſſembled to raiſe the ſiege at Calais. 941. 40.b.
Frenchmen ſlaine in Brytaine by the Engliſhmen. 916. 45.b.
French king lyeth encamped at Bouins. 912.3.a.
French ſhippes taken by the Engliſh men. 1045.20.b
Froward dealing of the Earles Marſhall and Hereford. 830. 44.a. 830.57.a. 834.a.30.
French men ſlayne in Guyen. 874.26 b. inuade England. 904.4.a.
French Kyng diſſembleth. 543. 100.
French Nauie. 908.44.a
French fleete vanquiſhed by Engliſhe men. 615.58
Froſt of a wonderful continuance. 309.45.
Fraunces the french king takē priſoner. 1533.48. deliuered. 1537. 10. is made knight of the Garter. 1541. 20. ſendeth a defiance vnto the Emperour. 1541. 25. his ſpeache vnto the Emperours Ambaſſadour in a ſolemne aſſembly. 1546. 50. chalendgeth the Emperour to the combat. 1547.50.
Fraunces the french kyng deſireth to meete with Kyng Henry. 1507. 6. meeteth him in the vale of Audrien. 1510 40. commeth to Guiſnes. 1511. 11. Iuſteth. 1511. 14.
Fraunces the French king ſeeketh by all meanes to winne the fauour of Cardinal Wolſey. 1505.30.
Fronto counted equal vnto Cicero in eloquence. 84.47.
Frankners, a people of Germanie. 87.38.
Frederick, Abbot of Saint Albons, chiefe captaine of a conſpiracie againſt Kyng William. 306.39
Fraunces Lorde Louel made Vicount Louel pag. 1387. col.1.lin 1. fled. pag.1422. col.1.
French king maketh warre agaynſt king John. 552. 109.
French king inuadeth Normandie. 545.89.
Fruydbert Byſhop. 193.33.
Fromundham. 252.8.
Froſtes. 560.55.
Frenche frontiers ful of ſouldiours. 907.14.b.
French army. 904.34.b.
French kyngs vniuſt dealyng. 809.12.a.
French kyng defyeth the kyng of England. 977.2.b.
Frideſtane, ordeyned Byſhop of Wincheſter. 223.55.
French kyngs demaunde of kyng John. 546.73.
French kyngs ſiege raiſed by kyng John. 547.23.
French kynges power dryuen out of Mauns by king John 547.25.
Fray in Cantorburie, betweene the Citizens and Euſtace Earle of Bologne. 270.88.
Friſney deliuered to the Engliſhe. pag. 1203. col. 1. lin. 16.
Friſwide virgin, daughter to Didanus. 197.48.
Friſwide purſued to be rauiſhed, fleeth into Oxford and is there reſcued. 197.55.
Frederick Emperour maryeth Iſabel ſiſter to Henry the.iii. Kyng of Englande. 647. 14.
Framelinghā Caſtle in Northfolke. 383.1.
French armie ouerthrowne by the Engliſhmen. 356.11.
Framingham Caſtle rendred to the Danes. 211.27.
Framingham. 431.41.
Framingham Caſtle, made playne with the ground. 445 22.
French men ſent ouer to ayde the Barons agaynſt k. John. 597.71.
Farnham Caſtle wonne by Lewes. 600.78.
Frenchmen ſuppoſing themſelues ſure of England, ſhewe themſelues in their kynde to the Engliſhmen. 601.60.
French kyng prepareth to inuade England at the requeſt of the Popes Legate. 574. 38.
French kyng diſpleaſed for the reconciliation of king John with the Pope. 577.38.
French kyng meaneth to proceede in his iourney agaynſt England, but by the way inuadeth Flaunders. 577.58. 577.68.
Frotto king of Denmarke, receyueth Baptiſme in England. 215.31.
Fraſer Richard taken priſoner and deliuered. 467.38
Freyn, a Dane ſlayne. 210. 37.
Frenchmen begin to ſettle thēſelues in Gallia. 108.73.
Frankners, afterward called Frenchmen. 108.72.
Fraunce ſo called of the Frankners, in olde time Gallia. 108.73.
Fruites of voluptuous luſte. 111.11.
Frea, wife to the ancient prince Woden. 113.10
Fryday, why ſo called. 113.12
Fugatius and Damianus ſent into Britaine. 74.77.
Fulgentius, leader of the Pictes entereth the borders of Brytaine wyth an army. 78. 35.
Furniture in war of the ſauage Britaines. 79.60.
Furnes Thomas deliuered the Citie and Caſtle of Angiers to the Duke of Brytaine. 542.26.
Furius Camillus, reuoked out of exile, and created Dictator. 26.75.
Furius Camillus diſappoynteth the Gaules of theyr payment. 27.25.
Fulco a frenche Prieſt exhorteth Richard the firſt to beſtowe his three daughters in mariage, pride, couetouſnes and lechery. 540.112.
Fulford Thomas knight. 1450 42.
Furſeus, a deuout perſon, commeth into Englande. 172. 36.
Fulgiers William. 554.76

G.

Gaules encounter with the Romanes, and vanquiſh them. 26.18.
Gaules enter into the Citie of Rome. 26.36.
Gaules reuerence the honorable port of the Senatours 26.45.
Gaules ouer couetous for money. 27.15
Gaules ouerthrowen and ſlaine by the Romanes. 27.34

An Index.

Galliot William. 1463.5
Galloway aſſigned to Occa & his Saxons. 123.12
Gaules march from Cluſium towardes Rome. 26 11
Glanuille Rafe an Engliſh Captaine. 434.26
Gawayn buryed in Roſſe in Wales. 136
Gannoc Caſtle taken and deſtroyed. 762.115.
Gallio Rauennas ſent into Britaine with an army agaynſt the Scots & Picts. 100.33
Galloway inuaded by the Engliſhmen. 307.40
Gawayn brother to Mordred ſlaine. 134.20
Gawayn ſuppoſed to be buryed at Douer. 134.33.
Gallus or Wallus brooke in London, nowe called Walbrooke. 82.48
Gaunt Gilbert, taken priſoner by the Danes and Engliſhe exiles. 300.72
Gallowyn, looke Gawayn.
Gannock Caſtle built. 713.114.
Gates John knight hanged. 1722.25.
Gauelforde battaile fought betweene the Deuonſhyre men and the Britaines 204.7
Garret abiured. 1541.36
Galerius Maximianus and Conſtantius created Emperours together 89.32
Gardians appoynted ouer the citie of London. 775.57
Gallia now called Fraunce of the Frankners. 108.73
Gaſcoynes ſubmyt them ſelues to Henry the thyrd. 733.76.
Gaſcoynes diſtreiſe the Welchmen. 793.2.a. Ayde the Engliſh men in France. 811 17.
Galgacus a captaine of the Britaines. 71.51
Garedon Abbey in Leiceſter ſhire founded. 394.29
Gaules purſued, and ſlayne by the Troians. 14.70
Gariſons placed in Wales in ſundry townes and Caſtles. 352.64.
Gaſcoines reuolt to the French king. 975.10.b.
Gagwyne Robert Ambaſſador from the French king. 1436 58.
Gardyner Stephen deliuered out of the Towre, reſtored to his Biſhopricke, and made Lord Chauncellour. 1720. 50. crowneth Queene Mary. 1722 44. his preache in the Parlament houſe. 1760 116. his Sermon of reconciliation to the See of Rome 1762. 54 goeth to Mark to entreate of peace betwene the Emperour & the french king. 1764. 9. dyeth. eadẽ. 26.
Gardyner Stephen Doctour ſucceedeth in Paces roume. 1551.16.
Galiard Caſtle ſurrendred to the Duke of Exceter. pag. 1201.co 2.lin.46.
Gaſcoynes take part with kyng John. 560.20
Gaſcoyn Williã knight. 1448 7.
John of Gaunt borne. 907. 1.a.
Gauntiners war againſt their Earle. 1050.52.b
John of Gaunt maried. 963. 25.b.
Gaſcoigne Sergeant at Lawe. pa.1123.co.2.lin.40.
Geruaſius Dorobernenſis cited 382.10.
Geffray Monmouth deceiued. 141.48.
Geta youngeſt ſonne to Seuerus the Emperour, fighteth with his elder brother Baſſianus, for the kingdome of Britaine. 78.53
Geta ouerthrowen in battaile, and ſlaine. 78.55
Geta and his brother Baſſianus rule the Empire equally together. 81. 35
Geta ſlaine by his brother Baſſianus. 81.39
Geoffray Biſhop of Conſtans taketh armes againſt kyng William Rufus. 318.49
Geffray of Mon. cited. 25.71 and.30.6.
Geolcil a Dane ſlayne. 221. 28.
Geffray of Monmouth cited. 116.47.
Gebmound made Biſhop of Rocheſter in Williams ſteed 182.5.
Geffrey ſonne to kyng Henrye the ſecond, aſſured to the daughter and heyre of Conan, Duke of Britaine. 410 15.
Geffray Duke of Britaine doth homage to his brother Henry earle of Aniou, for the Duchy of Britaine. 411.43
Generon Caſtle burnt with wild fire. 122.32
Plantagenet Geffrey Earle of Aniou, marieth Maude the Empreſſe. 361.16
Geffrey Monmouth cited. 154 75. and. 163.45. and. 165 30. 166.5. and. 167.1.
Gald, looke Galgacus.
Geffray ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, taketh part with his brother Henry, againſt his father. 426.68
Geffray the elect of Lincolne, ſonne to king Henry the ſecond. 433.21
George Duke of Clarence. pag. 1313. maried Iſabel daughter to Richard earle of Warwicke. pag. 1319. co. 1. lin. 18. tooke the ſeas. pa. 1322 col. 2. lin. 46. was brought out of Caleys. eadem. lin. 52 aſſembled a power. pa. 1329 col. 2. lin. 56. recõciled to his brother Edward the fourth pag. 1330. col. 1. lin. 56. diſſembled with Richard Earle of Warwicke. pag. 1330. co. 2. lin. 12. drowned in a Butt of Malmeſey. pag. 1350. col. 1. lin. 54.
Geffray, baſtard ſonne to King Henry the the ſecond elected Archbyſhop of Yorke, and receyueth the Pall. 497. 17. committed to priſon win the caſtle of Douer. 497. 67. ſet at libertie. 498. 4. made Sheriffe of Yorke. 517. 29. loſeth his Archbyſhopricke, and the rule of Yorkeſhyre. 526. 17.
General counſel ſummoned. 712.46.
Gegines or Gigines, what it ſignifieth. 6.86.
Geffray, baſtard ſonne to kyng Henry the ſecond made Byſhop of Lincoln, ſpoyleth the Church, & reſigneth his myter. 447.38. and. 454.45.
Geffray of Monmouth cyted. 15.81. and. 22. 60. and. 23.16. and 24.38.
Geffray, ſonne to King Henry the ſecond dealeth vnfaythfully with his father and brethren. 457. 22. taken priſoner by his brother Richard. 461.95. dyeth at Paris. 463.37.
Geffray of Monmouth cited. 31.110. and. 32.1. and. 32. 110. and. 33.9.
Gerard Thomas burnt. 1580. 59.
Geniſſa, daughter to Claudius the Emperour, marryed to Aruiragus. 51.41.
Geffrey of Monumouth cited 43.48.&.81.58.&.82.66.&. 92.85.
Gentlemen of the priuie chamber remoued. 1507.
Geffrey Biſhop of Conſtancies 308.36.
George Browne knight executed. pa. 1405. col. 2. lin. 3
Gerard departeth this life. 348 12.
Germane leadeth the Britiſhe armie againſt the Saxons. 120.38..
Germane returneth again into Fraunce. 120.75.
Germane being ſent for, commeth agayne into Britaine. 121.29.
Germane returneth into France the ſecond time. 121 49.
Germane departeth this lyfe at Rauenna. 121.56.
Gerent king of Britaines and his armie chaſed by Inas, king of Weſt Saxons.. 187 100.
Germane ſouldiours ſlay their Captaine, and become Rouers in the Coaſtes of Britaine. 71.16.
Geffray Monmouth, in what time he liued. 394.45.
Geffray, fourth ſonne to kyng Henry the ſecond borne. 398 47.
George Lorde Aburgeiney. 1447.17.
Geffrey Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, depatreth priuely out of the realme, & accurſeth al thoſe that gather the payment within his Dioceſſe, demaũded by king John. 564.17.
Geanology of the Earles of Cheſter. 650.48.
Genawe murdred at London, 1013.43.b.
Geffrey ſurnamed the Gramarian. 1462.50.
Gerard, chiefe of the Waldoyes that came ouer into Ireland. 400.19.
Gertrude Marchioneſſe of Exceter atteinted. 1570.52.
Gemeticum Abbey in Normandie. 269.109.
Germane Byſhop of Auxerre, ſent to preache in Britaine. 119 51.
Geneticenſis cited. 264.37.
Gerard receiueth the Pall of the Pope. 342.78.
Geruldine Thomas a Lord and Chauncellour of Ireland receyueth with all honour the counterfeit Earle of Warwicke. 1428.46. ſendeth into England in his quarel with an army of Iriſhe men. 1430.45. is ſlaine. 1431 45.
Gerual. Dorobern. cited. 415. 11.
Geffrey William a counterfeit Chriſt whypped. 1815.1.
Gerald Earle of Kildare deputie of Ireland apprehended. 1444.58. reſtored to his former libertie & honor. 1445. 9.
Gerion ſlayne by Hercules in Spaine. 5.107.
Reinald Earle of Geldre maryeth king Edward the thirdes ſiſter. 895. 13. b. made Duke of Geldre. 903. 55.a. in daunger to be ſlaine by Flemmings. 911.50.a.
Genowayes in Britaine. 917. 20.b. fight with the Engliſh men on the ſea. 917.28.b.
Duke of Gelderland commeth into England. 1080.13.b.
Gerneſey entred by frenchmen. 902.50.b.
Geffrey Archbyſhop of Yorke dyeth in exile. 574.30
Geffrey de Lucignam. 584.40
Geffrey of Monmouth cyted. 122.9.&.134.51. and. 154. 50 pag. 154.75.

Gerarde

Gerard ſimeſter Archbyſhop of of Yorke. 342.1.
Generon, or Guaneren caſtle in Wales buylded. 117.53.& 121.80.
Geniſſes, a people in Brytaine and where they inhabited. 110.48.
Gerarde de Atie taken priſoner by the french kyng. 562.13.
Gentlemen and Noblemens names, which aſſiſted kyng William in the conqueſt of England. 293.61.
Gerneſey inuaded by the french men. 1696.28.
Geffrey ſonne to king Henry the ſecond made knight. 450. 77.
Geffrey Monmouth cited. 183 65.
Gelenor king of Greece driuen out of hys Countrey. 7.42.
George Neuil Archbyſhop of Yorke. pag. 1318.
Geniſſa maketh atonement betweene Aruiragus and the Romanes. 52.33.
Giſors beſieged and yeelded to the Engliſh. pag. 1201. col. 2 lin. 12.
Geinſborough. 249.77.
Gemeticenſis cited. 283.86. & 291.72.& 319.73. and 345.39.
Geffrey Monmouth, conſecrated Byſhop of S. Aſaph.
Gerueys Cliſton knight beheaded. pag. 1340. col. 2. lin. 22
George Douglas Earle of Angus. pag. 1315. col. 1. lin. 26.
Gerbery Caſtle deſtroyed. 399 57.
George ſtanley Lord ſtraunge. pag. 1411. col. 2 lin. 20.
Gylford Richard knight. 1447 20.
Geffrey Gates knight. pag. 1325. col. 1. lin. 40
Gyffard William, made Byſhop of Wincheſter. 337. 43.
Gilbert Skarlock ſlayne. pag. 1288. col. 1. lin. 15.
Gilbert Debenham knyght. pag. 1327. col. 1. lin. 16.
Gildas cyted. 99.103.& 101. 85.& 114.49.
Gillingham battayle, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Danes. 254.29.
Walter Giffard Archbyſhop of Yorke dyeth. 789.35.a.
Gildas cyted. 45.38.& 47.58. and. 50.25. and. 51.88. and 96.21.
Giles Daubeney knyght. pag. 1400. col. 1. lin. 47.
Gyſors beſieged in vaine. 533. 17.
Giffard William depriued, and banniſhed the realme. 342. 10.
Gilla, daughter to Charles Le Simple king of Fraunce, maryed to Rollo, Duke of Normandie. 288.105.
Gilbert Midleton knight. 854 30.b.
Gyffith, a Welch kyng. 231. 81.
Gipſwich ſpoyled by ÿ Danes. 239.56.
Githa, mother to king Harold, eſcapeth from Exeter into Flaunders. 299.50.
Gillomanus kyng of Ireland, and his people diſcomfited. 123.35.
Gillomannus king of Ireland with his armie, diſcomfited and ſlayne. 123.53.
Girmi a people in Englande. 185.65.
Giauntes in Fraunce ſlayne in Combat by Arthur. 133. 70.
Gilbert de Gaunt made Earle of Lincolne. 602.20.
Gilbert Talbot. pa. 1411. col. 2. lin. 4. pa. 1414. col. 2. lin. 35. pag. 1415. col. 1 lin. 18. pag. 1417. col. 2. lin. 23.
Giaunt whence deriued. 6.88.
Giles, Byſhop of Eureux. 421. 78.
Gilbert conſecrated Byſhop of Hereford. 381.83.
Gilbert Fitz Fergus, commeth into England. 445.32.
Gyfford Walter Erle of Buckingham, deceaſeth without heire. 402.11.
Gilbert Byſhop of London, forbydden the vſe of the Sacramentes. 412.38.
Gilbert Byſhop of London, reſtored to the adminiſtration of his office againe. 414.86.
Githa, daughter to Oſgote Clappa, maryed to Canute Prudan. 268.1.
Gildas cited. 123.73.& 129. 12.& 138.38.& 139.59.& 141.17.& 142.25.
Gift of healing the kings euyll, left as an inheritance to the kings of England. 279.86.
Gipſwich, now called Ipſwich. 388.24.
Gipſwich Caſtle beſieged, and taken. 388.16.
Gilbert, murderer of Liulfus. 311.35.
Gilbert ſlaine by Liulfus kinſfolke. 311.68.
Giraldus Cambrenſis cyted. 287.58.
Giraldus Cambrenſis diſproued. 287.64.
Gythrun, looke Gurthrun. 214 107.
Giraldus Cambrenſis cited. 135.20. and. 136.11. and 137.31.
Giſors Caſtle gotten into the kyng of Englandes handes. 400.61.
Giauntes in Britaine. 5.50.
Giauntes, what they ſignifie. 5. 55. and. 6.89.
Gilbert, captaine of Tunbridge Caſtle. 319.52.
Girarde de Sotigam a politick captayne of Douer Caſtle. 609.11.
Girwy Abbey buylded. 178. 106.
Gildas borne. 115.35.
Gionan Villani cited. 9.59.& 27.47.
Gillingham Manour. 301.67.
Gildas cyted.
Gilford. 264.24.
Gillomar, looke Gillomannus.
Gladmore heath by Barnet. pag. 1333. col. 1. lin. 33.
Glaſtirion, a Barde. 443.
Glan Margan in Wales, why ſo called. 21.26.
Duke of Glouceſters iourney to Prutzen. 1079.7.a. made Duke of Ireland. 1082.25.b.
Glanuille Ranulfe, made ruler of Yorkeſhyre. 452.56
Glaſtenburie Monaſterie builded. 188.19.
Glaſiers firſt brought into England. 178.114.
Glouceſter monaſterie deſtroyed by the Danes, and repayred. 222.48.
Glouceſter towne, whence ſo named. 51.55.
Glaſtenburie Abbey finiſhed. 234.6.
Glouernia, now Gloceſter, and why ſo called. 51.53.
Glademouth. 222.83.
Glouceſter Monaſterie of S. Peters, buylded. 222.45.
Glouceſter Citie taken by the Barons. 765.56. wonne by king Henry the thirde, hys faction. 772.38.
Glouceſter Caſtle. 371.20.
Thomas Duke of Glouceſter conſpireth againſt the kyng. 1090.20. b. apprehended & murdred. 1092.30.a.
Glanuille Bartholmew knight 559.71.
Erle of Glouceſter warreth on the Welchmen. 792. 2. a. driuen out of Glamorgan. 810.27.b.
Duke of Glouceſter and hys confederates ryſe againſt the kyng. 1063.6.a.
Gluuy, Duke of Demetia founder of Glouceſter. 51.54.
Glorious Maieſtie of ÿ Engliſh kingdome falleth wyth kyng Edmond Ironſide. 258.54.
Glaſtenburie Abbey erected. 53.18.
Gleuy Riuer. 162.12.
Glaceſter. pag. 1422. col. 1. lin. 26.
Gorbonianus dyeth. 30.55.
Godfrey of Bologne, afterward kyng of Hieruſalem. 270. 78.
Goſpatrick depriued of hys Earledome. 307.69.
Goldenſton Thomas Prior of Chriſtes Churche in Canterburie ſent Ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 1437.30.
Godwyn commeth vp the Thames with his Nauie, & paſſeth throughe London bridge. 273.71.
Godwyn wel friended by the Londoners. 273.68.
Godwyn deliuereth pledges to kyng Edward, for aſſurance of his loyaltie. 273.93.
Godwyn dyeth ſuddeinly at the table. 274.107
Godwyn ſlaundered, bycauſe of his great authoritie in the common wealth. 275.15.
Godwynes iſſue. 275.32.
Gonild, neece to king Swanus baniſhed the Realme. 269 11.
Gouernaunce of the churche of England dependeth chiefely vpon the kings. 223.78
Goda ſiſter to king Edwarde maried to Euſtace Earle of Bologne. 270.82
Godwyn charged with the murder of Alured, purgeth hymſelfe therof. 267.51
Godwyns ritche gyfte giuen to king Hardicnute. 267.63
Godwyn myndeth to mary his daughter to one of king Hardicnutes brethren. 267. 76.
Godwin and king Edward being ready to ioyne in battel vpon the ſea, are ſeuered by a Myſt. 273.20.
Godwin reſtored to his former honor, fauor, & liuyngs. 273 28.
Godwin arriueth with his Nauie at Sandwich. 273.66
Gonorilla Leirs eldeſt doughter maried to Henninus Duke of Cornewal. 19.93.
Gogmagog a grant of great eſtimation in Britaine. 15 82.
Gogmagog ſlaine. 15.90
Godfrey and Aulafe ſuccede their father Sithrike in the kyngdome of Northumberland. 224.55
Godfrey and Aulafe mekynge warre vpon king Adelſtane, are driuen out of their countrey. 224.59
Godfrey father to king Reynold 224.61.
Godfrey inuadeth Northumberland with an army of Scots 225.50.
Goffarius Pictus king of Poicton. 13.87.
Goffarius raiſeth an armye againſt the Troians. 14.23
Goffarius and his army diſcomfited by the Troians. 14. 26.
Goffarius with newe ayde diſtreſſeth the Troians. 14. 48.

Godwyn offended wyth kyng Edward, for too much fauouring ſtraungers. 271.10.
Godwyn ſtandeth ſtoutly in defence of his countreymen of Kent. 271.12.
Godwyn and his ſonnes, refuſe to come to the aſſembly of Lordes at Gloceſter. 271.34.
Godwyn requyreth the Erle of Bologne and other French men and Normans to be delyuered vnto him, whych is denayed. 271.74.
Godwynes army departeth away priuily, and he alſo fleeth away in the night. 271.105.
Godwyn and his ſonnes, flee the Realme. 272.9.
Godbald, kyng of Orkeney ſlayne. 163.60.
Godwyn ſonne to kyng Harold. 299.25.
Goſpel of Saint John, tranſlated into Engliſhe by Beda. 192.99.
Godwyn and Edmond ẏ great landing in Somerſetſhyre, ſpoyle the countrey, and returne into Irelād with great booties. 299.25.
Goſpatrick reconcyled, & made Earle of Northumberland, is ſent againſt the Scottes wyth an armie. 306.118. and.312.31.
Gorbodian, called alſo Gurguſtius. 21.80.
Gothlois, a treacherous Brittiſh captaine. 127.86.
Gouernment of Britaine committed vnto Plautius. 49.85.
Goieth William, dyeth in hys iourney towardes the holye land. 411.56.
Godwyn Earle, captaine of the Engliſhmen againſt ẏ Vandales, and his noble ſeruice. 260.80.
Godwyns treaſon againſt Alured. 264.22.&.265.61.
Godſtow Nunrie beſide Oxford. 472.113.
Godwyn and his ſonnes proclaymed outlawes. 272.21.
Godwyn and his ſonnes, goyng a rouing vpon the coaſtes, take prayes out of Kent and Suſſex. 272.50.
Godrun, a kyng of the Danes. 212.18.
Good lawes put to ſilence among the clinking of armor. 217.14.
Goſpatrickes familie and diſcent. 312..31.
Goſpatricke fleeth into Scotland 298.65.
Gotmandin Gaham, in Yorkeſhyre. 161.91
Goda Earle of Deuonſhyre ſlayne by the Danes. 239.43.
Gourney Hugh reuolteth from king John. 557.25.
Gonnor, married to Richard the ſecond Duke of Normandie 289.3.
Gorolus Duke of Cornwall ſlayne. 128.35.
Gonzaga Ferdenand Ambaſſadour from the Emperour. 1591.20.
Gorbonians eldeſt Son to Porrindus ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of Britaine. 30.30.
Gourin, brother to Duke Rollo of Normandie ſlayn. 288.97.
Gomer obtaineth the kingdome of Italie. 1.98
Godfray of Bullongue elected king of Hieruſalem. 338.64.
Godfray of Bullongue leader of an armie into the holy land. 327.13.
Godaroule Walter defendeth the Caſtle of Hartforde, and at length yeeldeth it vp to Lewes. 609.41.
Godwyn byſhop, taken by the Danes. 246.16
Godwyn, gardian to K. Cnuts children, by Queene Emma 263.52.
Gourney Hugh, owner of Fert Caſtle. 385.40.
Goſpatrick. 278.105.
Gorolus, Duke of Cornwall. 128.34.
Gorloyes, looke Gorolus.
Gouernment of ſpirituall matters, appertaineth to the lawful auctoritie of the temporal prince. 263.14.
Goſeforde towne. 382.108.
Gorbodug dieth and is buried at London. 22.30
Gods face, king William Rufus vſual othe. 332.24.
Godwyn Earle of Kent, ſtandeth agaynſt Harold, for the kingdome of England. 263.35.
Good men meaſure other mens manners by their own. 196.98.
Greene Thomas of Greenes Norton knyght committed to the towre. 1460.21.
Grotes and halfe grotes coined 1459.16.
Griffin and Ryſe Princes of Wales ſubdued. 270.45.
Grotes and halfe grotes fyrſt coyned. 947.7.a.
Greeks and other nations receyued their learning fyrſt from the Celte. 2 66.
Greeke Characters deriued out of the Phenecian letters. 2.60.
Greeke letters firſt brought to Athenes from the Druides. 3.80.
Groſſemond Caſtle in Wales. 643.25.
Grantcheſter decayed, and now a village. 30.89.
Granta the old name of Cambridge. 30.63.
Grantcheſter, ſo called by the Saxons otherwiſe Caergrant. 30.85.
Groſted Robert made biſhop of Lincolne. 647.10.
Granbodian, looke Gorbonianus.
Grantham towne builded. 30.48.
Gray Lord Gray of Wilton, Marſhall of the armie, and generall of the horſmen at Muſkleborough fielde. 1615.20. giueth a valiant charge on the Scottes. 1624.50. is hurt eadem.53. Lieutenant of the North partes, fortifieth Haddington. 1634.40. winneth Yeſter Caſtle. eadem.1. waſteth .xx. miles in Scotland. 1641.31. his great damages ſuſtayned at Haddington Chaſe. 1637.11. goeth agaynſte the Rebels in Deuonſhyre. 1651.14. is Marſhall of the armie in the iourney of S. Quintins. 1767.22. his proweſſe during all the ſiege of Guiſnes, and namely his couragious & vnappaled ſpeech 1776.8. is taken priſoner and payeth for his renſome 22000. Crownes. 1777.4. knyght of the garter, gouernour of Barwicke and warden of the Eaſt Marches, dyeth. 1821.40.
Gray Walter made lord Chãcellor to king John. 567.50.
Gray John biſhop of Norwich, made Lord deputie of Ireland by king John. 570.52.
Gratianus the Emperour ſlain. 96.10.
Gratianus Funarius, father to Valentinus, and grandfather to Gratianus the Emperour 96.86.
Gratianus Funarius, generall of the Romane armie in Britaine. 96.95.
Gratianus Funarius goodes confiſcated. 96.99.
Gratianus the Emperour ſlain by treaſon. 97.55.
Gratianus a Britaine made Emperour, and ſhortly after ſlayne 97.112.
Gratianus maketh himſelf king of Britaine. 99.69.
Gratianus ſlayne by the Britaynes. 99.86.
Gray Thomas Sonne to Thomas Gray the firſt Marques Dorſet is chiefe defendor at the Juſtes held at the marriage of prince Arthur. 1456.26. is ſent with an armie to recouer Guian. 1472.31. behaueth himſelfe very honorably at the Juſtes at Paris. 1496.44. receyueth the Emperour. 1520.10. is made warden of the Eaſt & middle Marches 1522.40. maketh a noble rode into Scotland. eadem.50.
Gray Henry ſonne to Thomas Gray the ſeconde Marques Dorſet is created Duke of Suffolke. 1719.20. is committed to the towre. 1720.10. delyuered. ibidem. rebelleth. 1726.55. is apprehended. ibidem. executed 1733.10. twiſe repelleth his confeſſor from the ſcaffold. ibidẽ. his ſpeache at his death. eadem.24. is deſcribed. 1734.24.
Groſted Robert Byſhop of Lincolne dyeth. 733.83. hys worthye commendations. 733.87.
Gray Thomas Lord rebelling is taken. 1722.10. is beheaded. 1755.10.
Gray of Ruthan Reinold reſtored Earle of Kent. 1861.16 dyeth. 1865.
Grauelene brent by the frenche men. 1021.20.a
Gray Thomas Marques Dorſet r. deceiued. 1426.15. committed to the towre. 1430.28. delyuered againe 1432.30.
Griffin kyng of Wales, ouerthroweth the Engliſh power 272.58.
Gratianus ſent into Britaine with an armie, againſt Guanius and Melga. 56.4.
Griffin ſonne of Leulin Prince of Wales breketh his necke eſcaping out of the towre of London. 611.44.
Gray Leonard Lord Deputie of Ireland committed ẏ towre. 1579.50. executed. 1581.30. is deſcribed. ibidem.
Gray John Lord, his houſe aſſaulted and broken vp by the Londoners. 761.97.
William Grenefeld made Archbyſhop of Yorke. 840.39.a payeth money to the Pope. 843.44.a. dyeth. 852.51.a.
Groſted Robert, Byſhop of Lincolne, what tyme he flouriſhed. 784.54.
Grudging among the people for exceſſiue payments. 267.21.
Gratianus the Emperour ſendeth out a power agaynſt Maximus. 95.109.
Gray John Byſhop of Norwich and Preſident of the councel to kyng John. 561.69. elected Byſhop of Cantorburye. 561.72.
Granzeben mountayne. 71.44
Gray Richard, keeper of Douer caſtle. 765.7.
Griffin ap Rice, inuadeth the kings

An Index.

kings dominions in Wales, and burneth them. 353.34.
Groby Caſtle, deliuered to king Henry the ſecond. 436.35.
Groby Caſtle, made playne wyth the ground. 445.19.
Gregories Dialogues tranſlated into Engliſh. 218.28.
Gregorie, or George, ſent Legate from Pope Adrian into England. 198.64.
Gray Walter Byſhop of Worceſter elect Archbyſhop of Yorke. 594.44.
Gray Jane maryed to the Lord Guilford Dudley. 1714.36 hath the Crowne conueyed vnto her by the wyl of kyng Edward. 1715. 28. is proclaymed Queene. 1716.24 is committed to ward in the Towre. 1720.21. is atteinted. 1723. 50. is beheaded 1732.30. The ſpeache ſhee vſed at her death. eadem. 48.
Grandmeſnil Hugh, waſteth Leiceſter towne, and the countrey adioyning. 318.61
Grapelitum Caſtle won by the french king. 562.50.
Grimbald, gouernour of ẏ new Monaſterie at Wincheſter. 218.39.
Gregorie the Pope ſendeth Auguſtine into Brytaine. 146.11.
Gregorie bewayleth the vnchriſtened ſtate of Britaine. 146.44.
Gregory offreth to come preach in England. 146.67.
Gray Lorde Gray of Wilton Captain of Guiſnes ſleaeth in ſkirmiſhe the Captaine of Arde. 1603.30 Lieutenant of Bologne raceth the fort called Chaſtillions garden. 1609.26.
Gray Richard, Captaine of Douer caſtle, & lord Warden of the Cinque portes. 752.30. diſcharged from his offices. 757.23.
Gray Walter Byſhop of Worcetor, remoued to the See of Yorke. 583.96.
Grenewich. 246.43.
Grauelin fortifyed by ẏ French king. 1045.10.a.
Great number of Chriſtians martyred at Lichfielde. 88.34.
Grand Prior of Fraunce ſlaine comming to Creſſy. 935.10 b.
Grafton a mannor place. pag. 1316. col. 1. lin. 7.
Griffin Rees knyght beheaded and his man hanged & quartered. 1557.42.
Grindal doctor Byſhop of London. 1803.21.
Gray Friers apprehended. pa. 1134. col. 1. lin. 42. executed. pa. ibidem. col. ibid. lin. 50.
col. 2. lin. 13.
Gray John Lorde rebelling is take. 1727.10. is pardoned 1755.20.
Griffin forſaken by hys owne people. 277.70.
Griffin choſen prince of Wales 715.35.
Greekes called Danai of Danaus. 7.49.
Griffins palaice in Rutlande, burned. 277.55.
Griffin ſlayne, and hys head ſent to Earle Harold. 277.73.
Great Orators. pag. 1402. col. 1. lin. 37.
Guendoloena daughter to Corineus Duke of Cornwall. 17.16.
Guendoloena maried to Locrinus. 17.21
Guendoloena forſaken of Locrinus. 17.26
Guendoloena made gouernour of the Realme, during her ſonnes minoritie. 17.41
Gurguintus ſonne to Belinus begynneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 28.17
Gurguintus conſtrayneth the Danes to pay their tribute. 28.39.
Gurguintus ſayleth into Denmarke with an army. 28.36.
Gurguintus encountreth with the Balences, or Baſclenſes vpon the ſea. 28.40.
Gurguintus dieth. 28 76
Guenhera kinſwoman to Cador Earle of Cornwal, maried to king Arthur. 133.55
Guilford Henry Prouoſt Martial of the army ſent into Hiſpaine. 1469. 56. made knight by the king of Caſtil. 1470.33.
Guiſnes beſieged. 1773.30. is yeelded. 1776.40
Gutland ſubdued to the Britaines. 133.64
Gurmo, for Gurmond, & Gurthryd. 219.68
Guido king of Jeruſalem ſore oppreſſed with moſte cruel warre by the Saraſins. 451 21.
Guenhera wife to Arthur, why ſo named 137
Guenhera ſuſpected of incontinencie. 137.11
Guenhera maryed to Mordred in Arthurs abſence. 137.19.
Guenhera rauiſhed by Melua. 137.25.
Guenhera buried with Arthure her huſband. 137.28
Gudwina wife to Earle Leofrike. 277.20
Gudwina rydeth naked thorow Couentrie. 277.24
Guiſnes caſtle. pag. 1297. co. 2 lin. 50. pag. 1298. co. 1. lin. 8.
Guthryd ordeyned king of Northumberland. 219.37.
Gurmo Angilcus ſucceedeth his father Frotto in ẏ kingdome of Denmarke. 215 27.
Guthmund a leader of ẏ Danes 239.55.
Guillomer king of Ireland, arriueth in Scotland with a mighty power to helpe the Scots againſt the Britaines 133.45.
Guillomer vanquiſhed and driuen into Ireland. 133.49
Guy king of Jeruſalem ſweareth fealtie to king Richard the firſt. 492.42 reſigneth his title to Henrye Earle of Champagne. 504.65.
Guilford Edward knight marſhal of Calice, his valor. 1521.46.
Gualo, or Wallo the Popes Legate, accurſeth Lewes the French kings ſonne, and al his adherents. 613.27
Guinderius eldeſt ſonne to Kymbalaine, begynneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 47
Guinderius refuſeth to be in ſubiection to the Romanes. 47.54.
Gurth baniſhed the land. 272 11.
Gumobarins made mayſter of the armorie vnto Conſtantius. 103.45
Gualea, or Guales, Ebrankes eldeſt daughter. 17.103
Guanius king of Hunnes ſlaine in battaile. 108.58
Guitethus king of Venedocia. 39.11.
Guetheline Archbiſhop of London, ſent in ambaſſade into litle Britaine 102. 34
Guinderius putteth the Roman army to the worſe. 50.59
Guinderius ſlaine. 50.69
Guiderius, looke Guinderius.
Guanius and Melga enter into the North partes of Britain and make ſore warre vppon the Britaines. 96.1
Guanius and Melga enter Britaine with an army, and deſtroy it. 99.91
Seneſhal of Guyen taken priſoner by the Engliſh men. 928 36.b.
Gurth brother to king Harold ſlaine. 288.3
Gudench Henry Steward to the Earle of Gloceſter taken priſoner. 779.38
Guthryd appoynted king of Northumberland by a viſion. 219.47
Guthryd departeth this life. 219.62.
Guortimer ſonne to Vortimer. 116.63.
Guortimer dyeth. 116.82
Guiſnes fortified. 1581.8
Guy Earle of Warwicke, what tyme he liued. 227.36.
Guilthdacus driuen by a tempeſt into Northumberland. 24.11.
Guenhera her graue found, and boanes tranſlated. 135. 39
Gundreda Counteſſe of Warwicke, a valiant Lady. 388. 1.
Gurthrun baptized, and named Adelſtan. 214
Gurthrun a Dane, appoynted king ouer both Eaſt Angles, and Eaſt Saxons. 211.46.
Gurth perſwadeth king Harold not to fight hym ſelfe with Duke William of Normandie, for his othes ſake. 286 38.
Gunthildis ſiſter to king Swanus, commeth into England and is baptiſed there. 247 18.
Guyſe John knight. 1450.14
Gundulfe, byſhop of Rocheſter. 328.39.
Gunthildes, ſiſter to king Swanus, with her huſband and Sonne murthered. 247.30.
Guilthdacus king of Denmark ouercommeth Brennus in battile, and taketh his wyfe priſoner. 24.2.
Guildebald Duke of Urbin elected knight of the garter. 1461.34
Guilthdacus departeth into Denmarke, and becommeth tributarie vnto Belinus. 24.52.
Guana riuer in Wales. 117.55
Guintolinus appeaſeth the diſſentions in the Realme. 28.114.
Guintolinus dyeth and is buried at London. 29.5.
Gurguſtus dyeth and is buried at Yorke. 21.81.
Guanius king of the Hunnes 95.106.
Guanius king of the Hunnes, ſent againſt Maximus friendes. 95.109.
Gurdon Adam, taken priſoner and pardoned. 777.2.
Guintolinus, Sonne to Gurguintus admitted king of Britaine. 28.89.
Guyſhard Robert, Duke of Puglia. 346.75.
Gunhardus or Suardus, a great Duke in Fraunce. 2.51.
Guanius and Melga flee out of Britaine into Ireland. 96 7.
Guyon, Father to Duke Rollo of Normandie, ſlayne. 288.97.
Guy or Guido, Earle of Ponthieu. 277.107.
Gualter de Maunt. 270.83.
Gurmundus arriueth in Britaine to ayde the Saxons. 144.3.

144.3.
Gurguſtus Sonne of Rinallon beginneth to reygne in Britaine. 21.72.
Gurden Barthram kyller of king Richard the firſt. 540 37. forgiuen and rewarded. 540.52. cruelly put to death 540.63.
Gutlacke, a man of great vertue and holineſſe. 197.18.
Gurmond called alſo Guthryd. 219.66.
Guorögus gouernor of Kẽt vnder Vortigernus. 113.104
Guintelinus looke Guintolinus.
Gueuhera dyeth in Scotland, and is buried in Angus. 137 45
Guyaes Caſtle taken by Iohn Dancaſter. 946.50.a.
Guillomer vanquiſhed and dooth fealtie to the king of England. 133.62.

H.

Harold ordeyned by kyng Edward to ſucceede him in the kingdome of England. 282. 111.
Harold ſetteth the crowne vpon his own head. 283.2.
Harold ſeeketh to win his peoples fauour by courteſie. 283.12.
Harold denyeth to deliuer the kingdome of Englande vnto Duke William of Normandie. 283.40.
Harold refuſeth to take to wife the dauthter to Duke William of Normandie 283.79
Harold prepareth to withſtand the ſodeyne inuaſion of the Normans. 283.98.
Harold leadeth that nauie againſt Toſtie, which he had prepared againſt the Normans. 284.18
Harold Harfager king of Norway arriueth in Englande with a great Nauie of ſhips. 284.49.
Harold Harfager ſlayne and his armie diſcomfited. 284.90.
Harold leeſeth the hartes of his people in vnequally diuiding the Norwegian ſpoyles amongſt them. 285.24.
Harold hated of the Pope and Cardinals. 285.106.
Harold goeth ouer into Normandie, to viſite his brother and Nephue. 277.86
Harold going vppon the Sea for pleaſure, is driuen vppon the coaſt of Ponthien, and taken priſoner. 377.99
Harold preſented to William Duke of Normandie. 278.9
Harold hyghly welcommed by Duke William of Normandie. 278.9.
Harold accompanyeth Duke William in armes, agaynſt the Britaines. 278.22.
Harold taketh an othe to keepe the Realme of England, to Duke Williams vſe. 278. 31.
Harold haſteth out of the North partes, to encounter with the Normans. 286.18.
Harold ſlaine by a wound in the eye. 287.25.
Harold fleeth to Weſtcheſter, and there becommeth an Ancre. 287.60.
Harold laſt king in England of the Saxon blood 288.6.
Harold a ſcourge to the Welchmen. 288.42.
Harold ſurnamed Harefoote, & why. 263.99.
Harold not ſonne to king Cnute, but to a Shoemaker. 264.3.
Harolds treaſon againſt queen Emma and her children. 264.97.
Harolds counterfeit, letters ſent to Queene Emmas children in Normandie. 264.108.
Harold departeth out of this world. 266.58.
Harold returneth into England 278.46.
Harold ſtriketh his brother Toſtie, in the preſence of the king. 278.79.
Harold ſent againſt the rebellious Northumbers, with an armie. 279.3.
Harold, after the death of king Edward proclaymeth hymſelfe king of England. 282. 104.
Haſting a Dane entreth the Thames with a fleete and is conſtrayned by ſiege. 216.4.
Haſting cauſeth his two ſonnes to be baptiſed. 216.18.
Haſting euer moſt vntrue of woorde and deede. 216.19.
Harold baſe ſonne to king Cnute, ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of England 263.30.
Earle of Harecourt ſlayne at Creſſy. 934.32.b.
Hatfielde battaile fought by the Britaines againſt the Engliſhmen. 163.56.
Hardicnute returneth out of Denmarke into England. 266.80.
Hardicnute proclaymed, and crowned king of England. 266.89.
Haſting fortreſſe builded by the Normans. 286.10
Haſting battaile, fought by the Normans agaynſt the Engliſhmen. 286.56.
Harbert William knyght one of king Henry the eyght his executors. 1611.51. repreſſeth the Rebels in Somerſetſhire 1648.24 maſter of the horſe and created Earle of Pembroke 1709.25. is generall of the armie agaynſt Wiat. 1731.20. is generall of an armie into Fraunce. 1767. 17. Lord Steward of her maieſties houſe dieth. 1841.52
Harold and Canutus Sonnes to king Swanus of Denmarke, ſent into Englande with a Nauie. 300.25.
Harriſon William cited. 81.58 and. 81 92. and. 88.75. and 89.73 and. 99.90.
Harold and Leofwin inuade the ſhires of Somerſet and Durcet, and ſlay the Inhabitants 272.68.
Harolds bodye taken vp and throwen into the Thames. 267.3.
Harald byſhop of Elſham. 195. 13.
Hardiknought looke Hardicnute
Harold king of man, made knight. 715.100.
Harington Iames attaynted. 1425.42.
Haſtings Robert a knyght templer. 400.70.
Har. William. cited. 111.77. and. 115.64. and. 116.94.
Har. William cited. 291.16.
Hartford Caſtle builded 220. 78.
Har. William cited, 180.62. and. 192.96 194.9, and. 194.46. and. 198.62.
Godfray Harecourt fleeth out of Fraunce. 928.58.b.
Hall Iohn executed. 1864.28.
Iohn Haſtings Earle of Penbroke ſlaine. 1075.50.b.
Hay Raulfe, ſent ouer into England with a band of ſouldiours. 433.51.
Harold ſucceedeth his father Godwyn, in the Earledome of Kent. 275.5.
Harold William cyted. 130. 70. and. 131.40. and. 133. 58. and. 137.63. and. 140. 15.
Haruie firſt Byſhop of Ely, there appointed. 349.92.
Haruie tranſlated from Bangor to Ely. 349.93.
Hardicnute dyeth ſuddeinly. 267.112.
Hammes abandoned to the Frenchmen. 1777.20.
Hales Iames knyght hys vndry moleſtations and ende. 1723.
Har. William cited. 121.3. and 125.77. and. 127.30. and 128.40. and. 129.16.
Hayles Abbey founded. 781. 95.
Hayles bloud, brought into England. 781.100
Harold, Generall of kyng Edwardes armie, againſt Algar, and kyng Griffin. 276. 37. and. 277.52.
Haymon Earle of Glouceſter, departeth this life. 399.46.
Hart burning among the Nobilitie. 746.61.
Harold baniſhed the land. 272. 12.
Haroldes landes giuen to Algar. 272.22.
Robert Hal murdered in Weſtminſter church. 1010.12.b
Haco, a Daniſh Earle, arriueth in Enlgand wyth an armie agaynſt King William. 309 26.
Harding Stephen, a Monke of Shireboune. 333.84.
Hafdene, a leader or kyng of the Danes. 209.115.
Halewell Thomas knight. 1450.43.
Harold and Canutus wyth their armie put to flight by king William, eſcape to their ſhippes. 301.18.
Haddington chaſe. 1637.8.
Hayle of the bigneſſe of hennes egges. 556.27.
Halden, a Daniſhe King. 212. 12.
Harriſon William cited. 44. 89. and. 74.23. and. 74. 39.
Hambletew rendered to the french king. 1695.4.
Hamilton Stephan knight put to death. 1570.10.
Sir Iohn Haukewoods praiſe. 1001.33.a.
Harflew wonne by the Engliſh. pag. 1262 col. 1. lin. 2.
Hacun ſet at libertie, and ſent into England. 278.44.
Hatton Chriſtopher made captaine of the Guard. 1864.2
Haddington fortifyed by the Lord Gray. 1634.40. is beſieged by the Frenchmen & valiantly defended. 1635. 43. is deliuered from ſiege by the Earle of Shrewſbury 1637.40. almoſt taken by a Camiſado 1641.42. forſaken by the Engliſhmen and razed. 1702.50.
Harper George knight rebelleth. 1724.44. commeth in and ſubmitteth himſelf vnto ẏ duke of Norfolk. 1725.31. reuolteth againe. 1726.28.
Haſtings Lord created Earle of Huntington. 1553.12.
Hare Nicholas knight committed to the Towre. 1578. 20. and deliuered. ibidem.
Harriſon William cited. 143. 78 and. 148.48. and. 154. 37. and. 156.80. and. 177. 35.
Haſtings Henry a Baron dyeth. 723.22.
Hawes Stephen. 1462.57.
Haghenet Caſtle, taken and burned. 431.48.
Halden and Hungar ſlayne. 214.65.
Willyam of Hatfield ſonne to kyng Edward the thyrde borne. 900.28.a.
Harald

Harald of Denmes ſlaine by the Flemmings. 1043.8.a.
Hampton fortreſſe. 391.32.
Harding John cited. 7.3. and 76.3.
Halden, a Daniſh king, ſlayne. 220.63.
Hariſon William cyted. 229.31. and. 241.89. and. 241.110. and. 266.58.
Hamons hauen, called newe Southampton. 51.9.
Harbaldowne Hoſpital nygh Canterburie, builded. 320.65.
Harold, a Dane ſlayne. 210.37
Harnſey. pag. 1363. col. 2. lin. 31.
Hanibout in Britaine beſieged. 917.8.a.
Harflete in Normandie. 436.85.
Hagulſtald, or Lindeſferne. 182.15.
Hales Church founded and dedicated. 726.66.
Habulacus, one of the Byſhops of the Eaſt Angles. 192.1.
Hamo his policie to ſlay Guinderius. 50.61.
Hardicnute refuſeth to come out of Denmark, to gouerne England. 263.50.
Hay John, knight, taken priſoner 777.29.
Hamilton caſtle yeelded. 1850.35.
Hampton, why ſo called. 51.7.
Hamſhyre waſted by yͤ Danes. 240.73. and. 245.4.
Hamo ſlayne. 50.76.
Halling Caſtle buylded. 299.2
Haſtings the Purciuant. pag. 1573. col. 2. lin. 55.
Haſtings Richard a knight templer. 403.47
Haunſard Gilberd. 777.21
Hacun ſonne to Swaine. 273.94
Harington. pag. 1299. col. 1. lin. 42.
Hangey Caſtle. 386.12
Harding cited. 167.4
Haran, looke Elanius.
Henry the ſecond repēteth hym ſelfe of his ſonne Henryes aduancement. 412.66
Henry the ſecond renounceth his eſtate, and cauſeth his ſonne Henry to be crowned king of England. 412.81
Henry the ſecond falleth ſicke, and maketh his Teſtament. 413.1.
Henry eldeſt ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, geuen to miſorder, and exceſſiue riot. 413.18.
Henry the ſeconde ſubmitteth hym ſelfe ouer lowly to the Archbiſhop Thomas Beckett. 413.51
Henry the ſeconde holdeth the ſtyrop, while Archbiſhop Thomas Becket mounteth on horſebacke. 414.38
Henry the ſeconde refuſeth to kiſſe the Par, with Archbiſhop Thomas Becket. 414.41.
Henry the ſecond his wordes, whiche cauſed Archbiſhop Thomas Becket to be ſlaine 415.38.
Henry the ſecond very ſory for Archbiſhop Thomas Beckets death. 417.41
Henry the ſecond tranſporteth an army into Ireland, to conquer it. 419.40
Henry the ſecond admoniſhed to take regard to the adminiſtration of iuſtice. 421.93
Henry the ſecond admoniſhed by a pale & leane man to amend his life. 421.102
Henry the ſecond admoniſhed to amend his life, by an Iriſh man. 422.19
Henry the ſecond admoniſhed of his euyl lyfe by a knight of Lindſey. 422.21
Henry the firſt ſurnamed Beauclerke, ſucceedeth his brother king William Rufus in the kingdome of England. 336.36.
Henry the firſt ſendeth ambaſſadours into Scotland, to require Maude ſiſter to kyng Edgar, in mariage. 337.76
Henry the firſt taketh vpon hym to nominate Biſhops, and to inueſt them 341.72
Henry the firſt perſwaded to geue ouer his Title, to the inueſture of Biſhops. 343.16.
Henry the firſt ſendeth a power into Normandy, againſt his brother Duke Robert. 343.75.
Henry the firſt paſſeth into Normandie, with a mighty army 344.12.
Henry the firſt haſteth into Normandy with a new ſupply, to purſue Duke Robert his brother. 344.59
Henry the firſt ſaileth ouer into Normandy, to ſet the Countrey in good order. 347.109
Heron Gyles put to deth. 1590.29.
Henry the ſecond purgeth hym ſelfe of the death of Archbiſhop Thomas Becket. 422.64.
Henry the ſecond his promiſes and vowes which he ſware to performe, to the Popes Legates. 422.67
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, taketh an othe to performe the articles wherunto his father was ſworne. 422.115.
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, moueth rebellion againſt his father. 424.58
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, fleeth from his father to the French king. 425.113
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, proclaymed Duke of Normandy. 426.3
Henry the ſecond in ſuch diſtreſſe, that he knoweth not whom to truſt. 462.38
Henry the ſecond reteyneth an army of Brabanders, againſt Henry his ſonne. 426.91
Henry the ſixt proclaymed. pag. 1220. col. 1. lin. 18. homage done to hym by James king of Scottes. pag. 1222. col. 1. lin. 35. crowned at Weſtminſter. pag. 1244. col. 2. lin. 26. goeth with an army into France. pag. 1247. col. 1. lin. 7. crowned in Paris. eadem. lin. 48. returned into England. pag. 1249. col. 2. lin. 32. affied to the Earle of Arminaks daughter. pag. 1269. col. 1. lin. 12. maried Margaret daughter to the king of Cicel. pag. 1270. col. 1. lin. 50. depriued. pag. 1307. col. 1. lin. 12.
Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter Protector. pag. 1220. col. 1. lin. 33. maried Lady Jaquet of Bauiere, Counteſſe of Heynault, Holand, and Zeland. pag. 1226. col. 2. lin. 18 maried Elianor Cobham, which had bene his paramour pag. 1227. col. 1. lin. 26. he ſpoyleth Flanders. pa. 1260 col. 2. lin. 36.
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, his diſſembling with his father and brethren. 457.34.
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, falleth ſicke, and dieth 457.98.
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, his penitent death & burial. 458.10
Henry the ſecond doth homage to the French king. 459.40 and 470.84.
Henry Earle of Richmond, is moued to take on hym the kingdome. pag. 1400. col. 2. lin. 43. ſetting forward toward England, the wynd reſiſteth hym. pag. 1403. col. 2. lin. 58. returneth to Normandy, and ſo againe to Britaine. pag. 1304. col. 2. lin. 9 maketh a league with diuers Lordes. pag. 1405. col. 1. lin. 14. is attainted by Parliament. eadem. col. 2. lin. 13. ambaſſadours ſent to apprehend him. pag. 1407. col. 1. lin. 38. he obtayneth ayd of Charles the French king. pag. 1413. col. 1. lin. 18. ſayleth towards England. pag. 1413. col. 2. lin. 29. arriued at Mylford hauen. eadem. lin. 35. his Oration. pag. 1419. col. 1. lin. 41.
Henry the ſecond taketh vppon hym the Croſſe, to goe to the holy land. 465.76
Henry the ſeconde entreth into France with an army. 468.31. burneth in loue with the Lady Alice his daughter in law 469.40.
Henry the ſecond geueth his ſonnes Gods curſe and his. 471.33. falleth ſicke, and dyeth. 471.57. why called ſhort Mantel 471.89. his iſſue and ſtature. 471.107 his vertues and vices. 472.20.
Helene daughter to king Coilus maried to Conſtantius. 88.70.
Helene, of what callyng or condition by ſome reported to haue been. 89.19.
Helene refuſed by Conſtantius and another maryed. 89.30
Henry ſecond ſonne to Henrye the ſeuenth borne. 1440.b.45. created Duke of Yorke. ibidem. created Prince of Wales and Earle of Cheſter. 1458.a.3. receyueth Philip the Duke of Burgongne. 1459.b.55. is proclaymed king by name of Henry the eyght. 1464.a.1. choſeth graue counſellours. eadem. 36. ratifyeth his fathers pardons. eadem.b.23. promiſeth by proclaymation recompence for al wronges done by the commiſſions of forfeitures, maryeth Katharine his brothers wydowe. 1465.b.6. is crowned. eadem. 42. ordaineth fiftie Speares. 1466.a.43. the firſt time he came at the tylt. 1468.a.40. iuſteth. 1468.b.4. eadem. 31. 1469.a.22. ead. 40. 1475.b.20. 1487.a.48. 1494.b.10. 1496.b.33. 1498.b.12. 1503.b.40 1510.b.40. 1511.b.15. 1520.b.1. 1526.b.40. 1538.b.2. ſendeth ayde into Hiſpaine. 1469.a.1. and. eadem.b.1. giuen to playe at Tenice and Dice, & cuſtomed in gaming. eadem.a.15. ſendeth ayde into Flaunders againſt the Duke of Gelders. 1470.a.50. proclaymeth warres againſt the Frenche king, ſummoneth a Parliament which gaue him two fifteenthes and two diſmes. 1472.a.42. 1472.a.40. ſetteth forth a fleete. eadem.b.6. ſendeth an army into Gaſcoyne eadem.b.31. buildeth a mightie ſhippe. 1476.b.20. calleth a Parliament eadem.b.35. ſendeth an armie into Fraunce. 1478. inuadeth Fraunce in perſon. 1479.a.21. beſiegeth Terwin. 1480.b.60. anſwereth the Scottiſh letters of deſiance.

ſince.1482. a. 50. ouerthroweth the Frenche power. 1484. a. 4. wan Terwyn. 1485.b.1.viſiteth the yong Prince of Caſtill. eadem.50 beſiegeth Tourney.1486.b. 12.winneth Tourney.1487 a.2. placeth a garriſon in Tourney.eadē.a.53. returneth into England. eadem. b.7 receyueth a Cap of maintenance from the Pope. 1494. b. 13. concludeth peace with Fraunce.1594. a.28 lendeth the Emperour money.1499.a.56. wageth the Swiſſers to inuade the Duchie of Milan. eadem.b. 28. ſitteth in iudgement at Weſtminſter hall. 1503. b. 1. maketh a league wyth Frances the Frenche kyng. 150; b.22.rendreth Tourney to the French kyng. ibidem.ann. 1506.b. 10. ſitteth in the Starre chamber 1507. a. 18. meeteth the Frenche king in the vale of Andren.1510.a.40. rydeth to Graueling to the Emperour.1510.a.20. returneth into England. eadem. 56. declared by Bull defender of the fayth.1518.b.6. maketh warres on Fraunce and Scotland.1519.b. 20. maketh league with the Emperour.1520.a.38. boroweth money through out the Realme.1521.a.35.ſendeth an armie into Fraunce. 1522.b. 18. ſendeth an armie into Scotland. 1523. b.50. calleth a Parliament. 1524.a.6.leuieth a ſubſidie eadem.54.ſendeth an armye into Scotland.1525.b.32. ſendeth an army to inuade Fraunce.1526.b. 20. ſendeth Commiſſioners into Ireland to reforme ỷ Countrey.1532.b.34 is offended for the demaund of ſtraunge exactions. 1535. 10. receyueth a roſe of Golde from the Pope.1532.10.ſendeth Ambaſſadours into Denmarke to intreate for the reſtitution of king Chriſtierne 1536. a. 38. maketh peace with the French king eadem 50.maketh peace with Scotland.eadem.b.21. ſweareth amitie with Frances the French kyng during his life. 1537.enhaunceth the value of the coyne.1537.b.30.demaundeth of the Emperour halfe the praye taken at the battaile of Pauy. 1538. b. 50.ſendeth ayde of 240000 li.for the deliuerance of the Pope.1548.a.2. receyueth the order of Saint Michael. 1541. a. 14. proclaymeth warre againſt the Emperor eadem.b.30. ſuſpendeth the warres with the Emperour. 1550.a.55. doubteth whether that his mariage wyth his brothers wydowe were lawful.1551.a.3. ſendeth to al vniuerſities for the reſolution of this doubt. eadem. deſireth of the Court of Rome to haue a Legate ſent to heare the matter. eadem. 36.is cyted before the Legates.eadem. b. 30. appeereth and maketh an Oration. eadem. 38. is offended with the delayes of the Legates. 1552. a. 15. calleth a Parliament. eadem. b. 6. foundeth Chriſtes Churche in Oxford.1554 b.31.commaundeth the Byble to bee tranſlated into Engliſh hath 100000. poundes of the Clergie for pardon of a premunire.1556.a 36. leuieth a fifteenth.1557.b. 30. buyldeth at white Hal and Saint James. eadem. 50. paſſeth ouer the ſeas to meete wyth the French king.1558.a.40 returneth into Englande. 1559.a.30.maryeth the Ladye Anne Bulleyne. eadem. a.4.concludeth peace wyth Scotlande. 1561.b.17. is curſed by the Pope. eadem. 23.calleth a Pariament.eadem.42.ſuppreſſeth the Friers obſeruāts. 1563.b. 3.is aucthoriſed ſupreme head of the Church.eadem. 15. hath the firſt fruites and the tenthes of al ſpiritual lyuinges for euer geuen him. eadem. 20.polleth his head and commaundeth al the Court to do the ſame , and is no longer ſhaued.eadem. 44. ſendeth Commiſſioners to viſite all the Religious houſes.1564. a.27.cauſeth a ſuruey to be taken of al Chanteryes. eadem. 46. calleth a Parliament. eadem.b. 15. hath all Religious houſes of. 300. markes and vnder giuen him eadem.21. maryeth the Ladye Jane Seymer. 1565.a. 48. calleth a Parliament. eadē. 57.publiſheth a booke concerning Religion.eadem. b.10.abrogateth certayn holy dayes. eadē.15.aboliſhed Pilgremages,pulleth downe certaine ſhrines, and ſuppreſſed al Frieries and Nunneries.1571.b.24.ſitteth in iudgement vppon Lambert. eadem.50.fenſeth al the hauens and ſea coaſtes wyth Bulwarkes and blocke houſes.1572.b. 40. calleth a Parliament.eadem.50. cauſeth a general ſuruey to bee made, what able men were in the whole Realme.1573. b.2. ordeyned fiftie Pencioners to attend on his perſon 1574.b.40.maryeth the Ladie of Anne of Cleaue.1577 a.34.calleth a Parliament. 1578. a. 20. diſſolueth the order of the Rodes. eadem. b.10. is diuorſed from the Lady Anne of Cleaue.1579 b. 40. maryeth the Ladye Katharine Howard. 1580. b.40.maketh a progreſſe into the North. 1582. a. 47. fortifyeth Hull.eadem.b.12. calleth a Parliament.1583 a.40.is proclaymed kyng of Ireland. eadem. 3. maketh warre with Scotland.1585 b.52.ſendeth an armie into Scotlande.1595.a. 31. laboureth to match his ſonne to the heire of Scotlande. 1589.a.4 ſweareth a league with the Emperour. 1590. a. 2. marieth the Ladye Katharine Parre. eadem. 17. calleth a Parliament, and leuieth a ſubſidie. eadem. 21. proclaymeth warre againſt the French king. eadem.50. ſendeth ayde vnto the Empeperour. eadem. 58. ſendeth an armie into Scotlande. 1592.a. 10. ſendeth a power to beſiege Mutterell. 1594.b.20. and another to beſiege Bulogne.1595.a.9. paſſeth himſelfe in perſon to the ſiege of Bulogne. eadem a. 53. winneth Bullogne. 1596.a.40. returneth into England.eadem.b.20.reuoketh his armie from Mutterell 1598.b. 40. demaundeth a beneuolence of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie. 1601.a.1.ſendeth an armye into Scotland. 1602.b.35. calleth a Parliament, and leuieth a ſubſidie.1604.b.45. hath al Colledges, Chauntries and Hoſpitals committed to his wil. eadem. 54. maketh an Oration in the Parliament houſe. 1605.a. 12. ſuppreſſeth the Stewes. 1607. a. 12. concludeth peace with the French king 1508.b. 10. is Godfather to the Dolphines daughter. eadem. 20. his great gyftes to the Frenche Ambaſſador. 1609.a.57. commaundeth one thing by letter, and the contrarie by worde of mouth 1609.b 40.maketh his Teſtament, ordayning his Executors to gouerne the realme during the minoritie of hys ſonne.1611.a.44.dyeth. eadē.b.54. is buried at Windſor.1612.a.8.is deſcribed.

Henry Earle of Richmond ſendeth for Edward Earle of Warwicke from Sheriſehuton Caſtle, and puts him priſoner in the towre of London.1425.a.26.

Henry Earle of Richmond ſendeth for Elizabeth eldeſt daughter of king Edward ỷ fourth from Sheriſhuton caſtle, and conueigheth her vnto her mother at London. 1425.33.a.

Henry Earle of Richmonde commeth to London, and is there honorably receyued. 1425.43. offreth vp three ſtanders.ead.54.promiſeth to mary the Ladie Elizabeth. 1425.b.8.is crowned king, and proclaimed Henry the ſeuenth.1425.b. ſummoneth a Parlament, wherin are attainted the chiefeſt ayders of king Richard. 1425.b.36. aduaunceth diuers of his friendes vnto honour.1426. a.30.hath the Crowne confirmed by Parlament to him and his heires.eadem,50. redeemeth his hoſtages left beyond the Seas.eadem.b.34. marieth the Ladie Elizabeth eadem . 28 . firſt ordayned Yeoman of the garde.eadem. 36.borroweth money of the Londoners, and repayeth it 1427.a.40. ſummoneth a Parlament.eadem.51.maketh a progreſſe into the North partes.eadem.b.1. publiſheth a pardon of all crimes.1429.a.32.diſcomfiteth in battaile the Earle of Lincolne and other rebels his Complices. 1431.a.42 holdeth ſolemne proceſſions three dayes for his victorye. eadem.46.taketh truce with the Scottes.1432.a . 20. trauaileth in vayne to make atonement betweene the French king and the Duke of Britayne.eadem.b.40. and 1433.a.10.ſummoneth a Parlament,eadem.b.18.aydeth the Duke of Britayne. 1434.a.7.borroweth money of the Citie of London, and repayeth it.eadem. 54 . rydeth to Yorke to repreſſe a rebellion 1435.a.12.aydeth Maximilian Duke of Burgongne.eadem.b . 30 . is loth the French king ſhould marie the heire of Brytayne 1437.a.18 . ſummoneth a Parlament.eadem.b.22.exacteth great ſummes of money by way of a beneuolence. eadem.40.inuadeth France 1439.a.41.Beſiegeth Bolongne.eadem.b.47.concludeth peace with the French king.1440.a.3.the conditions thereof.eadem.b.3.returneth into England . eadem.25.ſendeth certeyne into Flaunders to learne out the true progenie of the counterfeit treſeit Duke of Yorke. 1442 b.7. ſendeth ſpies into Flaunders to learne the counſels of the conſpirators. 1443. a. 10. forbiddeth Flemiſh wares and traffique with Flemings eadem.b. 3. remoueth the Mart to Calice. eadem. 8. ſendeth an armie into Ireland. 1444.b.31. ſummoneth a Parliament, and leuieth a ſubſidie. 1446.a.30. ſendeth an armie to ſuccor Norham Caſtle, and then inuadeth Scotland. 1448.a.31. releaſeth the reſtraint into Flaunders. 1448.b.20. taketh truce with the king of Scots eadem. 31. buildeth Richmond houſe. 1454. b.20. ſayleth with the Queene vnto Calice. eadem. 24. meeteth with Philippe Duke of Bourgogne. eadem 42. returneth into England. 1455 a.6. concludeth peace with ỹ king of Scottes, betroughthing vnto him his eldeſt daughter, and his eldeſt Son vnto Katheren the daughter of the kyng of Hiſpayne. eadem.b.47. buildeth our Ladie Chappell within Weſtminſter. 1457.b.36. reneweth the olde league & amitie with Maximilian the Emperour. 1558.a.58. ſummoneth a Parlament, and leuieth a ſubſidie. eadem. b. 32. erecteth a Court for the execution of penall ſtatutes. eadem 41. ordeyneth a newe coyne of Siluer. 1559.a.15 willeth by his Teſtament videlicet all money exacted for forfeytures, to be repayed. eadem. 40. reneweth league and amitie with Philippe Duke of Bourgongne. 1460 a.12. publiſheth a generall pardon. 1461.b.23. his charitable deedes. eadem. 26. dieth. ead. 36. is buried. ead. 40. his age and yeares of his reigne. ead. 43. is deſcribed eadem. 48. left great ryches behinde him. 1464.b.1.

Henry Fitzempreſſe proclaimed and crowned king of England. 395.1.

Henry the ſecond borne in Fraunce. 395.2

Henry the ſecond, contrary to his othe, right, law, and equitie, depriueth his brother Geffrey of the Earledome of Anion. 396.65

Henrye de Eſſex, Standerd bearer to the kyng by inheritance. 397.54

Henrye de Eſſex throweth downe his Standerd, and diſhonorably runneth away. 397.55.

Henrye de Eſſex vanquiſhed in a combat by Robert de Mountfort. 397.99.

Henrye de Eſſex pardoned his lyfe, and ſhorne a Monke. 397.62.

Henry the ſecond entreth into Gaſcoigne with an army. 399.5.

Henry the ſecond offereth ayd to the Emperour, againſte the Pope. 410.95

Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, dooth homage to the French king, for the County of Anion. 411.39

Henry Earle of Anion, made Seneſchal of France. 411.41.

Henry eldeſt ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, proclaymed felowe with his father in the kingdome. 412.21

Henry eldeſt ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, crowned kyng of England, by commaundement of his father. 412.26.

Henry the ſeconde ſerueth his ſonne Henry at the table. 412 44.

Henry Fitzempreſſe thought to be baſtard ſonne to king Stephen. 392.14

Henrye Fitzempreſſe appoynted to be ſlaine by treaſon, eſcapeth. 392.76

Henry Fitzempreſſe ſaileth into Normandy, after the treaſon practiſed againſt hym. 393 13.

Henry Fitzempreſſe his puiſſance, and honours. 393.31.

Henry de Bloys, alias de Sully Abbot of Glaſtenbury. 134 46.

Henry the ſecond, why he cauſed king Arthurs graue to be ſearched. 136.1

Hect. Boet. cited. 127.50. and. 128.27. and. 129.66 and. 129.71. and. 129.78.

Hengiſt and Horſus with their army of Saxons arriue in Britaine. 111.66. and. 112 7.

Hengiſt deuiſeth how to plant hymſelfe in Britaine. 112.53.

Hengiſt and Horſus Pedigree to Woden. 113.19.

Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, begynneth new practiſes againſt his father. 446 68.

Henry the ſeconde begynneth wantonly to fancie the Lady Alice his daughter in lawe. 450.82

Henry Fitzempreſſe commeth into England, to ſee his mother. 379.40.

Hercules Lybicus ſonne to Oſyris. 5.96.

Henry Fitzempreſſe returneth agayne into England. 383.54.

Henrye Fitzempreſſe made knight 383.72

Hereford towne ſpoyled and burnt. 276.32

Hereford Minſter ſet on fyre. 276.

Henrye Emperour departeth this lyfe. 360.9

Henry the firſt inuadeth France with an army. 361.26

Hereford ſhyre waſted by Edrik Syluaticus. 297.28

Hereward eſcapeth into the Ile of Ely. 306.93

Hereward fleeth out of the Ile of Ely, into Scotland. 306 105.

Herford ſhyre waſted by the Welchmen. 272.59

Hereford Caſtle. 272.62

Henry the third, ſonne to kyng William, borne in England 299.21.

Henry Earle of Britaine arriueth in England. 633.72

Henry the third marieth the Lady Eleanor. 647.68

Henry the thyrd euil ſpoken of, for louyng ſtrangers. 704 70.

Henry the third goeth toward Scotlande with an army. 708.50.

Henry the thyrd ſweareth againſt the Pope. 73.100.

Heraclius Patriarch of Hieruſalem, commeth into England for aide againſt the Saraſins. 460.54

Heraclius Patriarch of Hieruſalem departeth comfortles, & greatly diſcōtēted in mind. 461.7. his reprochful words vnto king Henry the ſecond. 461.16.

Hercules, why he purſueth his couſins the ſonnes of Neptune. 5.92.

Hercules by Moſes called Labin. 5.103

Hercules ſlayeth Albion and Bergion in Gallia. 6.14

Hercules commeth into Britaine. 6.48

Hercules Promontoriū. 6.56

Hengiſtenton battaile fought by the Engliſh men agaynſt the Danes and Welchmen. 204.74.

Henry the third is a ſtickler betwixt two Earles. 749.73.

Henry the third his halfe brethren depart the Realme priuily. 752.6

Henry the thyrd ſummoneth a Parliament to be holden in the Towre of London, but is refuſed by the Barons. 759 40.

Henry the third, eldeſt ſonne to kyng Iohn, begynneth to reigne. 608.1. he is crowned and annoynted king 608 67.

Henry the third openly charged in Parliament, of many matters. 719.11

Henry the third dryuen to ſel his Plate and Iewels for want of money. 719.52.

Henrye the thyrd taketh vppon him the croſſe. 722.7.

Henry the the third bindeth himſelfe to great inconuenience. 736.60.

Henry the third lieth in waight for mens goodes. 740.72.

Henry the ſecond comming to Canterburie, maketh his prayers to Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 435.66.

Henry Huntington cited. 275.86.

Helene findeth out the Sepulchre of the Lord at Hieruſalem. 91.106.

Helene Empreſſe her three Uncles made Senatours of Rome. 92.75.

Helene the Empreſſe dieth. 94.16.

Henry the firſt loth to incurre the danger of Archbyſhop Anſelmes curſe. 350.56.

Henry the firſt his excuſe, for keeping the Archbyſhopricke of Canterburie in his hands. 351.83.

Henry the firſt inuadeth Wales with a myghty armie. 352.38.

Henrie the firſt goeth ouer with a great power to aide Thobald Erle of Champaigne againſt the Frenchmen. 355.14.

Henry the firſt hurt in battaile againſt the Frenchmen. 355 114.

Henrie the firſt marrieth Adelicia, daughter to the Duke of Louayne. 358.26.

Henrie the firſt and the Realme accurſed by the Pope. 358.35.

Henry made byſhop of Wincheſter. 359.40.

Henry the fourth Emperour. 191.19.

William Earle of Henalt dieth 904.50.b.

William Earle of Henalt defieth the French king. 907.50.b. gathered a power agaynſt the Duke of Normandie. 909.17.b.

Henrie the fifth proclaymed. pag. 1165. col. 2. lin. 1. coronation. lin. 17. ſayled into Fraunce. pag. 1174. col. 2. lin. 23. beſieged Harflue. pag. 1174. col. 2. lin. 38. Harflue yelded. pag. 1176. col. 1. lin. 9. beſieged Touque. pag. 1187. col. 1. lin. 57. beſieged Caene in Normandie. pag. 1187. col. 2. lin. 41. tooke Caene in Normandie. pag. 1188. col. 1. lin. 40.

Henrie Checheley Archbyſhop of Canterburie his Oration. pag.1168.col.2.lin.21.
Herbinger to Earle Euſtace of Bologne, ſlayne at Canterburie. 270.88
Henry Fitzempreſſe returneth into England, once more to trye his fortune for that kingdome. 386.53.
Henrie Fitzempreſſe and king Stephan, conclude an agreement. 387.77.&.389.27.
Henrie the third Emperour, maketh warre vpon Baldwyn, Earle of Flaunders. 270.56.
Henry the fifth tooke the Caſtle of Courſey. pag.1190.col.1 lin.2. beſieged Falcys.col.2. lin.30. married Katharine daughter to the French king pag.1204.col.2.lin.36. receyued into Paris with proceſſion.pag.1210.col.2. lin. 52. Regent of Fraunce. pag. 1211.col.1.li.45. returneth into England.pag.1211.col. 2.lin.38. ſayleth into Fraũce pag.1213.col.1.lin.43. purſueth the Dolphin.pa. 1213. col.2.lin.43. falleth ſicke. pa. 1216.col 2.lin.10. departed this lyfe.pa.1217.co.1.li.32 his commendation. lin.35.
Henry the firſt borne.pag.1214 col.1.lin.53.
Henry ſonne to king William made knight at Weſtminſter. 314.18.
Henry Huntingdon cited.319. 18.and.340.46.
Henrie ſonne to Robert king of Almain, ſlayne at Viterbo in Italie. 781.15.
Henry the third his iſſue, and ſtature of bodie. 783.28.
Hyde of land conteyneth an hundred Acres. 535.68.
Heathe Nicolas Archbyſhop of Yorke made Lord Chauncellour. 1764.33. mooueth the Parlament to proclaime the Lady Elizabeth Queen, after the diſeaſe of her ſiſter. 1784 53. is depriued of his Archbyſhopricke. 1802.42.
Houſes vpon London bridge burnt. 574.24.
Hanging appoynted for theeues 363.107.
Henry Fitzempreſſe marrieth Elianor Duches of Guyen. 384.99.
Helene, a great ſetter foorth of Gods honour, and of the Chriſtian fayth. 91.101.
Herodianus cited. 79.39.and. 79.58.
Henry the third holdeth his Chriſtmas at Oxforde. 618. 30.
Henry Grace de Dieu a ſhippe built. 1476.23.
Duke of Hereforde accuſeth the Duke of Norfolke. 1098 40.b. he is baniſhed. 1101. 7.b. is honorably entertained in Fraunce. 1101.47.b.
Hengiſt returneth into Britaine with a myghtie armie. 117. 70.
Henrie the.ii. licenced to crowne which of his ſonnes he lyſted, kyng of Ireland. 462.16.
Henry Duke of Buckingham a ſetter forward of the falſe deuice of Richard the third now conſpireth againſt hym. pag.1401.col.2.line.6. fleeth.pag.1402.col.1.lin.48. his confederates flee into Britayne to Henry Earle of Richmond.col.2.lin.11. he is betrayed by his falſe ſeruant.pag.1403.col.1. lin. 15. beheaded at Saliſburie. col.2.lin.30.
Herbert Earle ſlayne by the Danes, and his armie chaſed 206.86.
Henninus Duke of Cornwal marrieth Gonorilla, eldeſt daughter to Leir. 19.93.
Henninus Duke of Cornewal, diſcomfited and ſlayne. 20. 55.
Henry Fitzempreſſe departeth ouer Sea to his Father. 381 50.
Hely king of Britaine, and Father to Lud. 33.58.
Henning a Daniſh Captayne. 244.113.
Heraclius Emperour. 165.90
Henry eldeſt ſonne to king Henrie the ſecond committed to Thomas Becket the Archbyſhop to bee brought vp. 401.64.
Henrie the firſt dyeth, and is buryed at Reading. 363.42.
Henrie the firſt his iſſue and qualities. 362.55.
Henry Earle of Champaigne, made king of Ieruſalem. 504.62.
Hereferd Biſhop of Wincheſter ſlaine. 204.65
Helig, what it ſignifieth. 33.70
Henry the ſecond ſendeth ambaſſadours to the Frenche king, not to receiue Thomas Becket Archbiſhop into his Realme. 406.42
Henry the firſt being in danger of drowning, maketh vowes for his ſafetie. 362.60
Henry the thyrd commaundeth the Caſtle of Mountſorel to to be raſed downe to the ground. 614.27
Henry the thyrde ſworne to his Barons. 616.35
Henry youngeſt ſonne to kyng William, beſieged in the caſtle of Mount S. Michael in Normandie. 321.88
Henry reconciled to his brothers William Rufus king of England, and Robert Duke of Normandie. 321.106
Heſtritha ſiſter to king Cnute, maryed to Richard Duke of Normandie. 259.55
Heyre apparant proclaymed. 1050.15.b.
Henry the ſecond ſendeth ambaſſadours to the Pope, to excuſe hym ſelfe, and to accuſe Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 406 55.
Hector Boetius his common fault. 34.67
Hey Caſtle made plaine with the ground. 445.20
Helias captaine of the ſiege before Maus, taken, & brought to king Williã Rufus. 329 82.
Helias by meanes of his bolde words, is ſet at libertie. 329 93.
Henry ſonne to king Dauid of Scotland, ſweareth fealtie to king Stephen of England and is made Earle of Huntington. 367.18
Henry Earle of Huntington, with his army vanquiſhed, and put to flight. 371.1
Herlowin a Noble man of Normandie. 323.31
Henry Duke of Lancaſter dieth 968.22.b.
Henry the third crowned kyng at Weſtminſter. 617.68
Henry Huntington cited. 142. 67. and. 154.77. and. 216 65.
Heuenfield, where Oſwaldes croſſe was erected. 165.22
Henry the third, Emperor. 266 91.
Henry the ſixt Emperour diſſwadeth king Richarde the firſt from making peace with Philip the Frenche king. 527.10.
Henry Plantagenet proclaimed king of England.pag.1119 col.1.lin.12. crowned.pag. 1121.col 1.lin.34. he ſlewe in one battaile with his own handes. xxxvi. perſons. pag. 1140.col.1.lin.1.
Henry the ſecond his large offers to his ſonnes vpon treatiſe of peace. 430.54
Henry the ſixt fled to Berwicke and to Scotland. pa. 1312 col.1.lin.51. pag.1314.col. col.2.lin.27. taken and impriſoned in the Towre. pag. 1315. col.2.20. deliuered. pag.1325.col.1.lin.54.
Henry Bourchier Eale of Eſſex.pag. 1313. col.1. lin. 38.
Henry Duke of Somerſet ſubmytteth hym ſelf to Edward the fourth.pag. 1313.col.2. lin.8. fled to Henry the ſixt. pag.1314.col.1.lin.10.
Hewet Andrew burnt. 1563 1.
Henry the ſixt, his ſpeach of
Henry of Richmont, after Henry the ſeuenth.pa. 1326 col.2.lin.30. ſhewed in London.pag.1332.col.1.lin.28 deliuered to Edwarde the fourth.pag. 1332.col.2.lin. 28. taken priſoner.pa.1335 col.1.lin.45. murdred.pa. 1343.col.2.lin.38.
Henry Percy Earle of Northũberland.pag. 1119.col.2.li. 16.
Henry ſonne to Henry the fourth, created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Cheſter. pag. 1121. col. 2.lin. 35. Duke of Aquitaine. pag. 1125. col. 1. lin. 37. was accuſed to his father. pag. 1159.col. 2.lin.30. came to the Court. lin. 57. his apparell. pag. 1160. col.1. lin.3. was reconciled.
Henry Courtney Earle of Deuonſhyre, couſin germane to the king, created Marques of Exceter. 1526.10
Henry Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord Bardolfe rebel. 1153. col.1. lin.44. beheaded. eadẽ col.2.lin.45
Henry Earle of Northumberland ſlaine at S. Albons.pa. 1288.col.1.lin.4.
Henry ſonne to the Lorde Fitz hugh.pag. 1319.col.2.lin. 12.
Henry Neuille knight, ſonne to the Lord Latimer. pa. 1319 col.2.lin.13.
Henry the thyrd kept out of Douer Caſtle. 764.7 defieth the Barons. 768.25. ouerthrowen by the Barons at Lewes. 769.3. concludeth a peace with the Barons. 769.43. is arayed in the coate armor of the Earle of Leiceſter, at the battaile of Eueſham. 773.7. deliuered out of the handes of his enemyes. 773 78. dyeth, and is buried at Weſtminſter. 783.18
Hẽry Bewfort Biſhop of Wincheſter made Cardinal. pag. 1235. col. 1. lin. 30. went into Boheme. pa.1244.col. 2.lin.17. deceaſed.pa.1274 col.1.lin. 20.
Henry the fourth inuadeth Scotland.pag. 1131.col.2. lin.35.
Henry the fourth entred Wales with an army. pag. 1132. col.2.lin.4. pag.1134.co.2 lin.52. in great danger to haue beene diſtroyed. pag. 1133.col.2 lin. 16.
Hermite Peter of Yorke a man in great eſtimation. 580.31 hanged together with his ſonne, by commaundement of king Iohn. 580.52
Hey honour confirmed to Mathew earle of Bologne. 427 17.

Henry Chicheley Archbiſhop of Cantorbury deceaſſed. pa. 1271. col. 1. lin. 17.
Henry the firſt Emperour. 224 2.
Herrericus nephew to king Edwyn. 183.24
Henry Greene knight beheaded 1106.14.b.
Helatherne battaile againſt Ethelbert. 196.42
Henry of Hereford murdred thorow treaſon of the Welchmē 440.8.
Herford Weſt. pag. 1413. col. 2. lin. 41.
Herbert Biſhop of Thetford, depriued of his Biſhopricke, and why. 325.38
Herſlew beſieged by the french pag. 8275. col. 2. lin. 56. yelded. pag. 1276. col. 1. lin. 10.
Heraclitus appoynted Lieutenant of Britaine. 78.8
Helias de Brantfield, ſent to Rome by king John. 561. 80.
Henricus de Erphordia cited. 75.108.
Herculanilla wife to Claudius the Emperour, forſaken by diuorcement. 51.68
Hector Boetius reproued of errour. 55.17.
Hector Boetius errour, of the Silures and Brigantes. 59. 9.
Herthew Monaſterie. 175.79
Hengiſt beginneth to raygne as abſolute Lorde in Britayne. 118.76.
Herham Abbey ſpoyled. 819. 58.a.
Herts Hal in Orford founded. 882.20.b.
Henalt inuaded by the Duke of Normandie. 908.13.b.
Hengiſt departeth this lyfe by courſe of nature. 126.41.
Henrie the ſecond negligent in ayding the Chriſtians againſt the Saraſins. 473. 17.
Henrie the fourth entered Wales. pag. 1149. col. 2. lin. 37.
Henrie the French king ſlaine. 1802.42.
Henrie the fifth made knyght. 1104. 8. a. impriſoned at Trym. 1106.40.b.
Hereford battaile, fought by Cuthred king of Weſt Saxons, againſt Ethelbaldus king of Mercia. 193.84.
Hereford caſtle. 371.20.
Henrie the ſixt deſcribed. pag. 1272. col. 2. lin. 6. vanquiſhed by the Duke of Yorke at Saint Albons. pag. 1288. col. 1. lin. 56. diſcomfited. pag. 1299. col. 2. lin. 48. taken. lin. 52.
Heron baſtard ſlaine. 1532. 40.
Henrie the thyrde borne. 565. 91.
Hector Boetius cyted. 111.74
Henry Lord Bourcher Earle of Eu. pag. 1299. col. 1. lin. 12
Herene flouriſheth. 21.67.
Hereford Churche endowed with great reuenewes. 195. 51.
Henricus Huntington cyted. 116.52.
Henrie the ſeconde ſurnamed Claudius, Emperour. 254.1
Heming a Dane, baniſhed the Realme. 269.14.
Henrie the firſt taketh example of the Emperour to deale concerning the inueſtitures of Byſhops. 348.36.
Hanſlap, Caſtle taken. 596.28
Hengiſt taken and beheaded. 122.97.
Henry Duke of Somerſet. pag. 1289. col. 1. lin. 48. Captaine of Calais. pa. 1297. co. 2. lin. 37. fled 1300. co. 1. li. 6
Hertfordſhire commons ſworne to the king. 1035.40.b.
Hec. Boet cyted. 137.40.
Henry Pay. pag. 1152. col. 1. lin. 14.
Henrie Earle of Northumland. pag. 1413. col. 2. lin. 2. pag. 1415. col. 2. lin. 26.
Henrie the thyrde feareth the enterditing of the land. 716 42.
Henry the fourthe dyed. pag. 1162. col. 2. li. 3. hys ſtature pag. 1163. col. 2. lin. 5.
Hedgecote fielde. pag. 1320. col. 1. lin. 26.
Hereford recouered, and fortified. 276.48.
Heſding caſtle beſieged. 1522. 53.
Heinous ordinance of the Pope 747.20.
Heron John Banrupt Mercer counſeller to Perkin Warbecke. 1449.57.
Hypermneſtra deteined in priſon by her father Danaus. 7. 89.
Hypermneſtra ſet at libertie by her huſband 8.26.
Hirke or Hericus, made kyng of the Northumbers. 229.56
Hirich deſpoſed frō his kingdōe by ye Northumbers. 229.71.
Hinke Hugh Archbyſhop of Dublin. 1525.28.
Hirilda and Eweline fal at variance. 42.50.
Hirilda ſlayne by Eweline. 43. 59.
Higwald, Byſhop of Lindeſferne. 199.2.
Hith clayned to belong perticularly to ye Seignorie of the See of Cantorburie. 401. 102.
Hydingham Caſtle beſieged & ſurrendred to kyng Lewes. 610.34.
Higenius and Petitur, looke Vigenius and Peredurus. 31.
Hypermneſtra, one of Danaus daughters, ſaueth her huſbandes lyfe. 7.76.
Hilton Rauſe knight ſent into Britaine. 1434.10.
Hillarius Biſhop of Chicheſter, ſent Ambaſſadour to ye Pope 406.59.
Hidingham Caſtle wonne by king John. 598.46.
Hillarius Byſhop of Poictiers cyted. 90.47.
Hylarie Byſhop of Chicheſter. 382.53.
Hyde of land, how many acres it containeth. 312.100
Hilda, Abbeſſe of Whitby departeth this life. 183.21.
Hikenelſtreet, where it beginneth and endeth. 25.13.
Hilda, Abbeſſe of Herthew Monaſterie. 175.80.
Hypres William, regent of Flaunders. 361.47
Hildeltha a Nunne. 181.25.
Higinus cited. 5.17. and 8.73.
Higilbald ſlayne. 181.98.
Hildila a Prieſt. 184.63.
Hiſider, looke Elidurus.
Hopton Walter attainted. 1425.47.
Houſes and buildinges ouerthrowen by an earthquake. 362.102.
Honorius recouereth Britaine. 99.1.
Holme battaile fought wyth equal victorie, betweene the Kentiſhmen and the Danes. 221.52.
Holme battaile, fought by the Citizens of Cantorburie, againſt the Danes. 221.55
Honorius the Emperour ſendeth Conſtantius agaynſt Conſtantinus wyth an armie. 98.69.
Howard William Lord Howard of Effingham, knight of the Garter and late Lord Chamberlain is made Lord priuie Seale. 1864.10. dyeth. 1865.48.
Howard Thomas Lord Howard eldeſt ſonne to Thomas Earle of Surrey inſteth. 1466.28.
Hocehnereton battaile fought by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 221.8.
Hoſe for a king at three ſhillings price. 335.105.
Howel king of litle Britayne. 132.58.
Howel king of litle Britayne commeth ouer to helpe king Arthur. 132.64.
Howel beſieged by the Scottes 133.35.
Hoſtes of men ſeene fighting in the Skie. 325.26.
Honorius Archbyſhop of Cantorburie dyeth. 172.49.
Houndes mad with lying all night in a Church. 328.100
Horſus with a great number of his people, ſlayne by the Brytaynes. 124.23.
Howel king of Wales conſpyreth with the Scots againſt king Adelſtane. 225.17.
Howel ſubdued by king Adelſtane. 225.21.
Howel reſtoared to his kingdom, acknowledgeth to hold the ſame of the king of England. 225.27.
Horreſtians inhabitantes of Angus and Merne. 73.31.
Horreſtians giue hoſtagies to the Romanes for aſſurance of their loyaltie. 73.34.
Horgerius, Duke of Cornwall 232.55.
Horewood. 232.106.
Honours change manners. 412 48.
Howard Edwarde ſon to Thomas Erle of Surrey knight & Lord Admiral inſteth. 1466. 29
Howard Edmond ſonne vnto Thomas Earle of Surrey knight inſteth. 1466.29.
Holſtocke Thomas Controler of her highneſſe ſhips is ſent to the Sea with three ſhips and a Barke to ſtaye the ſubiects of the king of Hiſpaine. 1838.30. his acts in that voiage. ibidem. is eftſons ſent to to the Sea againſt Pirats of whō he taketh. 20. ſaile and reſcueth. 15. merchants ſhippes. 1865.20.
Hoſpitals al committed to the kings diſpoſition. 1604. 55.
Howard Katharin daughter to the Lord Edmond Howard married to the king. 1580. 40. is accuſed of incontinencie. 1582.18. is committed to the towre. 1583.10. is beheadded. eadem. 20.
Howard William Lord attainded of miſpriſion of treaſon. 1583.34.
John Holand created Earle of Huntington. 1074.2.b.
Horne caſtle ouerthrowne. 319. 53.
Thomas Holand created Duke of Surrey 1097.30.b.
Howard John late Duke of Norfolk attainted. 1425.39
Howard Thomas ſonne vnto the ſayde John and Earle of Surrey atteinted. ibidem. deliuered out of the Towre and receyued into ſpecial fauoir. 1435. 4. ſent wyth a power againſt the rebelles in the North. ibidem. hygh Treaſurer of Englād. 1447. 1. ſent with an armie to remoue the ſiege of Northam Caſtle. 1448. 30. entreth Scotland. ibidem. his honorable offer to the Scotiſhe king. eadem. 55. conducted the

the Lady Margaret in Scotland.1458.7. of the Priuie Counſel to Henry the eight. 1464. 49. Godfather to Henry the firſt begotten ſon of Henry the eyght. 1468. 50. Lieutenant of the North partes in the kings abſence leuieth an armie agaynſt the Scot. 1488.5. requeſteth batail of the Scottiſh king eadem.50. diſcomfiteth the Scottiſh power, and ſleaeth the king.1493.40. is created Duke of Northfolke wyth an augmentation of the armes of Scotland.1494. 26. attendeth on yͤ Ladye Maries grace into Fraunce. 1495. 15. forſaketh the Court and why.1499. 37. entreth the citie of London with.1500. armed men. 1502. 40. and the next day with two thouſand.1503.8. dyeth. 1534. 41.

Howard Edmonde ſonne to Thomas the firſt Duke of Norfolke Captaine of the wyng of the auantgard at Flodden field. 1691. 50. felled downe. 1492. 18. knight Maſhal.1503.26.

Edward Howard knight ſonne to Thomas the firſt Duke of Norfolke Lord Admyral taketh the barke of Scotland. 1471. 52. landeth in Britaine. 1474. 50. maketh knightes.1475.20. his noble courage. ibidem. fighteth with the French fleete.1475 56. is drowned.1477.55.

Howard Thomas Lorde Howard eldeſt ſonne of Thomas the firſt Duke of Norfolke taketh Andrew Barton the Lyon of Scotland.1471 52. is Lieutenant of the armie into Biſkaye. 1472.33 hath the whole gouernment therof. 1475. 46. almoſt ſlaine through a mutinye of the ſouldiours. eadem.31. is made Lord Admyral. 1478. 22 is Captaine of the foreward at Floddē field. 1488. 16. his meſſage vnto yͤ Scottiſh king. 1489. 14. hys aduiſe vnto his father. 1490. 30. is created Earle of Surrey.1494.30. attendeth on yͤ Lady Marie into Fraunce 1495.16. receyueth the Admyral of Fraunce with.160 gentlemen. 1505.1. is lyke to ſtabbe the Cardinal in wyth his Dagger.1508.50. made deputie of Irelande. 1508. 13. wynneth Morleys. 1521. 50. leadeth an armie into Fraunce. 1521. is generall Warden of the Marches.2522.40. is Lord Admyral and high Treaſurer of Englande. 1529. 29. inuadeth Scotland wyth an armie.1529.30. his meſſage to the Duke of Albany. 1530.30. is Duke of Norfolke, and commeth wyth an power againſt the rebels in Suffolke.1535. 22. choſen knight of the order of Saint Michael. 1558. 37. ſent Ambaſſadour vnto yͤ French k. & Pope.1560.10. created Lord high Steward of England at the arreignment of the Lord Dacres.1563.26. General of the armie againſt the rebels in the Northe 1568.45. Godfather to Edward the ſixth. 1570.40. inuadeth Scotland with an armie.1595. 30. beſiegeth Mutterel.1594. 20. committed to the Towre.1610. 50. attainted by Parliament 1611.33. his attaintour is reuerſed and he reſtored to hys olde libertie and honour 1720. 36. is made Lorde Steward of Englād.1721. 30. is ſent wyth a power againſt Wiat. 1725.40. his ſouldiours reuolting, is forced to flie.2726. 20. dyeth. 1759.36.

Howard Henry ſonne to Thomas the ſeconde Duke of Norfolke is Marſhal of the armie at Mutterel. 1594. 22. is Lieutenant of Boulogne and fighteth infortunately.1604.36. is attaynted and beheaded.1611.10. is deſcribed. ibidem.

Howard Thomas Duke of Norfolke ſonne to Henry Earle of Surrey is Generall of an armie ſent into Scotland.1803. 53. is choſen knight of the order of S. Michael 1836. is committed to the Towre.1839.18. is remoued from the Towre vnto his houſe at the Charterhouſe.1853. 17. and frō thence againe into yͤ Towre. 1860. 14. is attainted. 1861. is beheaded. 1862. 24.

Homage done by the Earle of Flaunders to k. Iohn for the Earldome of Flaunders. 583.110.

Homage done by the Earle of March and the Earle of Augie to king Iohn at Parthenay. 584.57.

Honorius Archbyſhop of Cantorburie next after Iuſtus. 162.54.

Horſus and Catigernus fight a combate, and eyther ſlaieth an other. 116.2.

Honedon towne or Manour. 484.19.

Homage promiſed to be doone by the king of Scotland to king Iohn. 542.103.

Holland in Lincolneſhyre inuaded and made tributorie to Lewes the French kings ſonne. 602.31.

Hoſteus de Boloinge, a knight Templer. 403.48

Houſes ſhaken with Gunpouder. 1834.50.

Houeden Roger cited.435.23.

Hotſpore Henry Percie. pag. 1136. col.1. lin.39. col.2. lin 52. ſlayne. pag.1140. col.1. lin.4. French Pirats. pag. 1152. col.1. lin.36.

Howard Thomas Lord attainted of treaſon. 1565.58.

Homage done by king Iohn. 548.42.

Homage to king Richard the ſecond renounced.1116. 18. b.

Homage done by the Barons to Lewes the Frenche kings ſonne. 599.90. 600.16.

Homage don at Woodſtocke by the Welchmen to king Iohn 568.53.

Homage done by Alexander king of Scotland to Lewes. 603.25.

Haliwel riuer. 380.33.

Holy Iſland.pa.1313 co.2. lin. 47.

Homage don by the Lords and Barons to king Iohn, 545. 1.

Homage of the Scots, 800. 15.b.822, 20.b.

Homilies ſet foorth.1633. 40.

Hoſtages for the French king. 967.8.a.

Honfleue caſtle wonne by Mouy. 1824.58.

Homage done by king Iohn to the Pope. 576.77.

Hownhil in Staffordſhire.242. 72.

Robert Holand ſlayne.892.40. a.

Iohn Holand created Duke of Exeter. 1097.30.b.

Humfry Lord Stafford of Southwike named Earle of Deuon. pag.1319. col.2. lin.53. beheaded. pag. 1321. col.1. lin.15.

Holy Shepheard. pag. 1247. col.2. lin.57.

Hoſpital of Saint Leonard at Yorke. pag1319. col. 1. lin. 25.

Horne William hanged and quartered. 1580.33.

Hume caſtle won by the Duke of Somerſet.1631. 10. recouered by the Scots.1640. 14.

Hugh Prior of Witham, made Byſhop of Lincolne 462.42

Hugh Lacie ſlayne in Ireland. 462.73.

Hugh Lacie being ſent for by king Henry the ſecond refuſeth to come. 463.29.

Hugh Lacie his diligence to enlarge his poſſeſſions in Ireland. 463.13.

Humber king of Hunnes inuadeth Albania, and ſlayeth Albanact. 16.72.

Humber king of Hunnes diſcōfited and drowned.17.6.

Humber riuer why ſo called. 17.18.

Hubo and Agnerus brethren, choſen Captaynes of the Danes. 210.77

Hugh Erle of Cheſter.336. 12

Hughbright, byſhop of Litchfield. 199.13.

Hugh the Italian cited. 7.2.

Hugh Earle of Shrewſburie ſlayne in the eye. 328.106.

Hunting the Deere in Foreſtes forbidden vpon a great penaltie. 313.75.

Hundreds and Tithings deuyſed in England, and why. 217.22.

Hunwald Earle betrayeth Oſwin. 170.57.

Hugh ſucceedeth Ranulfe his father in the Earldome of Cheſter. 387.106.

Hunting in Chaſes and Foreſtes freely permitted.319. 42.

Hubert Archbyſhop of Canterburie, maketh an Oration. 544.19.

Hugh Earle of Cheſter, conſpireth againſt king Henrie the ſecond. 426.109.

Humilitie declareth the man of God. 151.54.

Huntington and Cambridge Counties graunted to Dauid brother to king William of Scotland.427. 29.

Hugh Byſhop of Durham, appoynted gouernour of the North partes of England. 481.16. deteyned in priſon by the Lord Chauncelour 484.11. depryued of al honour and dignitie. 495. 6.

Huntington Caſtle made playn with the ground. 445.19.

Hundred Tunnes of wine gyuen yearely to the Monkes of Canterburie. 453.9.

Hugh a Norman, baniſhed the Realme. 374.37.

Hunters puniſhed by raunſom or impriſonment. 472.56.

Huſbandmen in England made ſlaues, and toyle for the Danes. 243.

Huual, a Welch king.231. 81.

Hungerford Walter knight is created Lord Hungerford. 1563.55.

Gardener Stephen Byſhop of Wincheſter Ambaſſadour in Fraunce. 1564.20.

Humber in Holderneſſe. pag. 1327. col. 1. lin. 52.

Humfry Bouchear knight ſon to the Lord Barners Hugh Courtney knight. pag. 1336. col. 1. lin. 31.

Hugh Byſhop of Lincolne buried.

ried. 550.42
Hugh biſhop of Lincolne what country man, and his life. 550.45.
Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne admitted a Saint. 551.19
Hugh Earle of March. 553 4.
Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury, elected achbiſhop of Cantorburie. 513. 34. ordeyned Lord chiefe Iuſtice. 513. 45.
Hugh Biſhop of Durham, looſeth the dignitie and title of his Earledome. 519.57
Huntington caſtle ſubdued by king Henry the ſecond. 435 75.
Hue and crie againſt the Barons. 866.7.a
Hubba, or Hubo ſlaine. 212.93
Hungerford Lord executed for Buggerie. 1580.1
Humfrey Stafford knight, with William his brother ſlaine. pag. 1279. col 2. lin. 48.
Hugh Haſtings knight ſlaine. pag. 1304. col. 1. li. 4.
Hunflue taken by the Engliſhe. pag. 1198. col. 2. lin. 14
Humber Riuer. 140.24
Hume caſtle beſeged. 1845.13 yeeld d. 1845.20
Humez Richard, Conſtable to Henry, ſonne to king Henry the ſecond. 436.70
Humfrey ſonne to the Duke of Gloceſter, impriſoned at Trim. 1106.40.b
Hubert Fitz Mathewe ſlaine with a ſtone. 712.30
Hamfrey Stafford. pag. 1422. co. 1. lin. 24.
Hubert Earle of Kent fallen into Henry the third his diſpleaſure. 633.61
Hugh B. of Lincolne canonized a Saint. 617.75
Hugh Archdeacon of Welles, & keper of the great ſeale, made Biſhop of Lincolne. 568.70 conſecrated at Rome by Stephen Archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 569. 1. kyng Iohn ſeiſeth his goods, and reuenues of the Archbiſhopricke. 569 5.
Hubert Archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 542.14
Hubert trauaileth to procure the Engliſh people to receiue their oth of allegiance, to be true to king Iohn. 542.51
Humfreuille Warden of the North partes dyeth. 714. 25.
Humfrey Banneſtar betrayeth his maſter. pag. 1403. co. 1. lin. 15.
Hubert de Burgh a valiant captaine to king Iohn. 562. 21.
Hubert de Burgh taken priſoner by the French king. 562 42.
Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne ſuned to the Pope. 616.70
Hurling tyme. 1030.40.a
Humfrey Duke of Buckingham wounded. pag. 1288 co. 1. lin. 25. pag. 1289. co. 2. lin. 50. ſlaine. pag. 1299. col. 2. lin. 54.
Hugh Earle of Cheſtar deceaſeth. 455.99
Hugh of Mountfort taken priſoner in an ambuſh. 359. 73.
Hugh Earle of Cheſter releaſed out of priſon. 439.21
Hungar and Hubba arriue in England, with an huge army of Danes. 209.20
Huſey Lord attainted. 1570. 24. executed. eadem. 25.
Humfrey Cheyney. pag. 1413 col. 1. lin. 1.
Hull fortified. 1582.13
Hubert Earle of Morienne. 423.58.
Hugh Spencer beheaded at Briſtow. pag. 1129. col. 1. lin. 5.
Hugh Mortimer knight ſlaine. pag. 1304. col. 1. lin. 3
Hugh Conway Eſquire ſent into Britaine. pag. 1400. col. 2 lin. 17.
Hungar and Halden ſlaine. 214 65.
Hubert de Burgh a valiant defender of the caſtle of Douer. 609.10.
Hubert Archbiſhop of Cantorbury made Lord Chauncelour of England. 545.45
Hugh Venables knight. pag. 1295. col. 1. lin. 57.
Hugh de Boues. pag. 563.62
Hugh Earle of Stafford ſlaine at S. Albons. pa. 1288. co. 1. lin. 5.
Humfrey Neuill knight. pag. 1315. col. 1. lin. 6. beheaded ead. lin. 14.
Hun Richard found hanged in the Lollardes Towre. 1496 54.
Huntingdon Henry, in what tyme he liued. 394.44
Hugh, ſonne to Robert Earle of Paris, maryeth Ethilda, daughter to king Edward. 223.13.
Hulcotes Philip. 595.68
Hugh a Norman, conſpireth with the Danes againſt the Engliſh men. 243.44

I.

Iago or Lago, couſine to Gurguſtius, taketh vpon him the gouernment of Britaine. 21.104.
Iames the third king of Scottes ſlayne. 1436. 27.
Iaphet alotted vnto Europ. 1. 79.
Iarrow. 307.108.
Iaphet deuideth Europe amōg his ſonnes. 1.96.
Iacob, a Welch king. 231. 81.
Iames Maior cited. 225.99.
Iames the fourth king of the Scottes ſlayne. 1493. 40.
Iacke Cades rebellion. pag. 1279. col. 1. lin. 53. Cade ſlayne. pag. 1281. col. 2. lin. 3.
Iambert Biſhop, looke Lambert.
Iames Fines Lord Say beheaded. pag. 1280. col. 2. lin. 4.
Iames Cromor knight beheaded. pag. 1283. col. 2. lin. 8.
Iayles opened, and priſoners ſet at libertie. 475. 3.
Iaphet firſt peopled the countries of Europe. 1.95.
Iames the firſt kyng of the Scottes, dyeth. 1596.40.
Iaques Van Herteueld. 902. 37.b.
Iane Heire of Caſtil maried to Philippe Arche duke of Auſtria. 1459. 52.
Iaphet called alſo Iapetus. 1. 86.
Iaminſindil beheaded. pag. 1297. col. 2. lin. 58.
Iaphet dieth in Mauritania. 1. 90.
Saint Iames Manour built. 1557.54.
Iames Twichit Lord Audley. pag. 1295. col. 1. lin. 8. ſlayne. pag. 1295. col. 2. lin. 32.
Iane Lady Valois treateth for peace. 912.16.a.
Iago dieth, and is buried at Yorke. 21.113.
Iames Prince of Scotland ſtayed in England. pag. 1151. col. 1. lin. 14
Iane of the Tower maried to Dauid Bruce. 892.1.a.
Iames king of Scottes murdered. pag. 1262. col. 1. lin. 31.
Iames Tirrel deuiſed the deſtruction of Edw. the fourts children. pag. 1390. col. 1. lin. 55. made knight. pag. 1391. col. 1. lin. 25. beheaded. pag. 1391. col. 2. lin. 3.
Iames the fift king of the Scottes knight of the Garter. 1564.
Iames, a Deacon companion to Paulinus. 162.78.
Iaruman or Iaroman, ſucceedeth Trumhere in the Biſhoprick of Mercia. 178.21.
Iaſpor Earle of Penbroke. pag. 1304. col. 2. lin. 36. pag. 1315. col. 2. lin. 43.
Iaſpor Earle of Penbroke with Henry earl of Richmōte paſſe ouer into Britain. pag 1545. col. 1. lin. 14.
Iames Blunt Captayne of Hames Caſtle. pag. 1409. col. 1. lin. 41. pag. 1411. col. 2. lin. 30.42.48. pag. 1412. co. 1. lin. 12.
Iagged, cut, and laced apparel, forbidden. 466.24.
Iames the fourth king of the Scottes honoreth Perken Warbeck. 1445.36. miſerably waſteth Northumberland. eadem. 40. beſieged Norham Caſtle. 1448.26. his bayne bragges eadem. 40.
Iaſpore Earle of Penbroke. pag. 1414. col. 1. lin. 5. pag. 1417. col. 2. lin. 32.
Iames Harrington knight. pag 1329. col. 1. lin. 14.
Iames butler Earle Ormond and Wilſhire. pag. 1288. col. 1. lin. 26. pag. 1304. col. 1. lin. 38.
Iceni, ſuppoſed to be Northfolke men. 55.12.
Icius portus now called Calice. 35.14.
Ida, beginner of the kingdome of Brenitia. 139.98.
Ida his iſſue recited. 140.47.
Ida king of Northumberland dyeth. 142.72.
Idolatrie defaced in the kingdome of Northumberland. 161.83.
Idle Riuer. 155.34.
Idle battel fought by Redwald agaynſt Ethelbert. 155.34.
Idols vtterly deſtroyed throughout al Kent. 169.46.
Iewes detected of treaſon at London, and ſlayne. 767. 41. ſlayne by the Barons at Wincheſter. 772. 51. ſpoyled and ſlayne at Lincolne. 776.62. defend the wardes of the Tower of London. 778. 36.
Iewel Iohn Byſhop of Saliſburie dyeth. 1860. 17. hys prayſes. ibidem.
Ierneſey inuaded by the French men. 1696.28.
Ieruman ſent to reduce Sighere, and his people to the fayth, which he accompliſheth. 178.20.
Ieruman departeth this lyfe. 179.34.
Ierome Williā burnt. 1580.5.
Iewe, looke Inas.
Ieruſalem, taken by Nabuchodonozor. 21.109
Ieruſalem citie taken by the Saraſins. 464.66.
Iewes outragiouſly dealt withal, and their houſes ſet on fire 477.6. reſtored to peace. 478. 3. deadly hated for their vnmercifull vſurie. 482. 20. commit an horrible fact at Standford in murdering themſelues. 482. 34. ſlayne and expulſed out of Saint Edmonſbury 483.9.
Iewes a great multitude thorough

roughout all England. 450. 60.
Jewes obtaine a place of buriall in euerye quarter where they dwel. 450.66.
Jewes to keepe no armour, but to ſell that which they haue. 455.73.
Jewes conſtrained to abiure Chriſtianitie. 335.35.
Jewes godly anſweare to an vngodly Chriſtian king. 335 61.
Jewes crucifie a child at Norwich. 381.11.
Jewes ſlaine by Mariners in a tumult at Linne. 483.45.
Jewes paye to Henry the. iii. by way of Talladge eyght thouſand markes. 739.5.
Jewels and reliques of the Church of Weſtminſter, engaged to certaine Marchantes for money. 778.86.
Jewes robbed at Oxford. 715 38.
Jew at Tukeſbury falleth into a iaques, and dyeth of his owne folly. 759.5
Jewes ſlaine at London. 800 70.
Jewes accuſed to be purpoſed to crucifie a child, and therfore they are conuicted, and puniſhed. 646.74
Jewes impriſoned. 795.41.b baniſhed. 799.10.a
Jewes conſtrayned to giue the third part of their goodes to Henry the thyrd. 634.16
Jewes accuſed, and executed for crucifying a child at Lincolne. 741.29
Jewes vſed yearely to crucifie a Chriſtian child. 741 49
Jewes taxed, and tormented by king John. 569.50.
Jew had his teeth drawen out, becauſe he would not pay the money he was ſeaſed to pay. 569.59.
Jewes brought into the realme by king William. 316.19
Jenico Dartois. 1103.45.b put in priſon for his faithfulnes. 1109.7.b
Igwane wife to Gorolus duke of Cornwal. 128.33
Igerna, looke Igwarne.
Igwarne maried to king Vter Pendragon. 128.38
Ile of Man ſold. 1083.20.a
Ile of Wight won by the Saxons. 131.49
Ile of Wight giuen to Stuff & Wightgar. 131 51
Ile of Wight men whence deſcended. 113.24
Ile of Thanet ſpoyled by the Danes. 238.34
Ile of Wight cōquered by Ceadwalla. 184.49
Ile of Wight, of al Britaine laſt receyueth the faith. 184 66.
Ile of Lindeſfarne giuen to Aydan for the See of his biſhopricke. 168 27
Ile of Orholme. 433.24
Ile of Oldney. 256.61
Ile of Wight conquered by Wolfhere. 176.88
Ile of Stepen. 221.38
Ile of Huy in Scotlād. 171.22
Ile of Ely taken by the Barons and fortified. 777. 40
Ile of Portland ſubdued, and fenced. 378.113
Ile of Angleſey, a refuge for the Welch Rebels. 328.86
Ile of Angleſey taken by the Engliſh men. 328.92
Ile of Ely ſubmitteth it ſelfe to king Henry the thyrd. 779.57
Ile of Ely beſieged by kyng Johns army, taken, and ſpoyled. 597.20
Iles of Orkeney added to the Romane Empyre. 50.7
Ile of Wight ſubdued to the Romanes. 52.50
Ile of Ely wonne by king William. 306.102
Ile of Wight ſpoyled by Toſtie 234. 15.
Ile of Wight aſſaulted by the the Earle of S. Paule. pag. 1136 co 2. lin. 1. by French men. pa. 1141. co. 1. li. 1. 36
Ivon Fitzwarren. pa. 1119. co. 2. lin. 53.
Iles of Orkeney ſpoyled by Engliſhmen. 1131. col. 2. lin. 28.
Iubal king of Armorica ſlaine. 95.70.
Images commaunded to be ſet vp in England, by the authoritie of a Synode. 189 39
Images, to whom were any ſolemne Pilgrimages, pulled downe. 1571.24
Images taken downe. 1802. 20. and burnt. 30.
Imannentius king of the Troynouants, ſlaine by Caſſibellane. 42.61
Image of our Lady ouerthrowen by thunder and lightnyng. 322.4
Image of the goddeſſe Victoria falleth downe, and turneth her backe. 60.111
Image of the Roode ſpeaketh at Wincheſter. 235.112
Imbert a meſſenger ſlaine by Corineus. 14.19
Images pulled downe. 1634 16.
Images commaunded to be worſhipped. 199.53
Innocentes ouerborne by al men. 112.10
Iniurious dealings of the Romans. 60. 73. and. 60.86. and. 60.90. and. 60.98
Inas fighteth againſt the Mercians with doubtful victory. 187.102.
Inas inuadeth the South Saxons with a mighty army. 187.108.
Inas renounceth his kingdom, goeth to Rome, and there dieth. 188.2
Inhabitants of this land, commaunded to be called Engliſh men. 204.44
Inwer Riuer. 175.70
Inwet battaile fought by Oſwy king of Northumberland againſt Penda king of Mercia. 175.70
Ingwald Biſhop of London. 191.108.
Inſanum Parliamentum holden. 751.11
Iuers, looke Iuars.
Inhabitantes of Lindeſey ſubmyt the ſelues to the Danes, and deliuer pledges. 247. 73.
Inas maketh warre vpon the Britaines. 187.96
Intruſt appeareth treacherie. 7.65.
Indiginæ what they ſignifie. 6. 101.
Inhabitantes of Britaine came firſt out of Gallia. 4.72
Inogen daughter to Pandruſus, maried to Brute. 12.9
Inſurrection in Normandie againſt the Engliſh. pa. 1252 col. 2. lin. 18.
An inſurrection in London againſt ſtraungers. 1499.
Indenture Sertipartite. pag. 1126 col. 2. lin. 3.
Incumbentes ſtraungers greatly miſlyked. 639.18.
Inquiſition of diſturbers of ſtraungers incumbentes. 639.74.
Inſolencie of the Engliſhmen the night before the battaile againſt the Normans at Haſting. 286.72.
Inas ſucceedeth Ceadwallo in the kingdome of Weſt Saxons. 187.57.
Innocent Pope the ſecond eſcapeth into Fraunce, to auoyde the daunger of his enemyes. 362.31.
Iniuriouſnes & in equalitie of the Norman lawes, brought in by kyng Willyam. 303. 67.
Interdiction of the Realme of England releaſed. 585.20.
Joan ſiſter to Henry the thyrde geuen in mariage to Alexander king of Scotland. 619. 72.
John kyng appoynteth that the Engliſhe lawes ſhould bee vſed in Ireland, and ſuch officers as the Engliſhmen haue, ſhoulde rule there. 570 5.
John king returneth out of Ireland into England. 571. 3.
John kyng goeth into Wales with a great Army. 571.33
John king depriued by ý Pope of his kingdome who cauſeth the French kyng to bee hys enemye. 573.2.
John, ſonne to king Henry the ſecond made heyre apparant to his brother kyng Richard the firſt. 496.29. of an ambitious nature. 500. 71. winneth certaine Caſtles frō his brother king Richard the firſt. 509.54.
John Donne knight. pa. 1295. col. 1. lin. 57.
John Logh of the Bothe knight. pag. 1295. col. 2. lin. 54.
John Egerton knight. pag. 1295. col. 2. lin. 54.
John Donne Eſquire. pag. 1295. col. 2. lin. 55.
John Dutton Eſquire. pag. 1295. col. 2. lin. 55.
John Blunt. pag. 1296. col. 1. lin. 35.
John Wenloke knight. pag. 1297. col 2. lin. 3. pa. 1299 col. 1 lin. 20.
John Dynham Eſquyre. pag. 1297. col. 2. lin. 5. pa. 1298. col. 1. lin. 1.
John, ſonne to kyng Henry the ſecond commeth ouer ſecretly into England. 510.8. contented to forſake the French king. 513.99. returneth to the French king, and ſticketh vnto hym. 513 110 proclaimed traytor to the crowne, with his complices. 518.73 ſubmitteth hym ſelfe to king Richard, and is pardoned. 525.12.
Joppa, or Port Iaph taken by the Engliſh men. 503.50
John king loſeth the moſt part of his army, horſes, and cariages, in paſſing the Waſhes of Welleſtreme ſands, where he eſcaped very hardly hym ſelfe. 605.8
John king falleth ſicke of an ague, whereof partly, & partly with a ſurfeit of Peaches, & newe Syder, together with anguiſh of mynde, he dyeth. 605. 21.
John king buried pompouſly in the Cathedral Church at Worceter. 605.109
John king his iſſue he had by his wife Iſabel 606
John king his diſpoſition. 606 16.
John Gray knight ſlaine. 1305 co. 2. lin. 20.
John Mongomerie eſquire beheaded. 1313 co. 1. lin. 29
John Neuil Marques Montacute. 1313. co. 1. lin. 37. Earle of Northumberland. 1315. co. 1. lin. 52. & 1323. co. 2. lin. 10. ſlaine. 1334. co. 2. lin. 54.
John Howard knight. 1313 co. 2. lin. 2.
John Manners eſquire. 1313 co. 2. lin. 50.
John Finderne knight. 1314 co. 2

co.2 lin 26.beheaded.1315 co.1.lin.1.
John Grys beheaded. 1315. co.1.lin 39.
John Coniers knight. 1319. co.2.lin.18.
John Clapp in Eſquire.1320 co.2.lin.16.
John Woodvile knight beheaded. 1321.co.1.lin.6
John Felow beheaded. 1297 co.2.lin.58.
John Guilford. 1298 co.2.lin. 38.
John Vicont Beaumōt. 1299 co.2.lin.22. ſlaine. ead. lin. 58.
John Mortimer knight ſlaine. pa.1304.co.1.lin.3.
John Earle of Oxford. 1323 co.2.lin.18. fled.pa. 1335. co.1.lin.26. kept S.Michaels mount.pa.1345. co.1. lin.56.
John Abbot of Abbingdon ambaſſador into France. 1433 10.
Joſeph Mighel the blacke Smyth. 1446. 17. put to death. 1447. 47
Saint Johns order put downe 1578.10.
John Kempe Archbiſhop of Cantorbury.pa 1286.co.1. lin.15. deceaſed.pa.1290. co.2.lin.23.
John Lord Clifford ſlaine.pa. 1288.co.1.lin.6.
John Benereux ſlain pa. 1288 co.1.lin.11.
John Morgan.pa. 1414 co.1 lin.46.
John Duke of Norfolke.1415 pa.1417.co.1.lin.46. ſlaine pa.1421.co.2.lin.48.
Joan Queene of Scots dyeth. 654.3.
John Forteſcue knight Porter of Calais. pa 1409. co.1. lin.42.
John Sauage a valiant captaine.pa.1413.co.2 lin.14. lin.49. 1416. co.2.lin.41 pa.1417.co.1.lin.25
John Dighton one of the murtherers of king Edwardes children.pa.1390. co.2. lin. 57.
John Cheyney knight. 1400. col.1.lin.48. pa 1406.co.1 lin.49.
John Earle of Lincolne proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne pa.1406.co.2. lin.52.
John Lord Wels. pa. 1402 co 2.lin.18.
John Bourchire knight. pag. 1402.co.2 lin.19.pa.1413 co.1.lin.24.
John Morton Biſhop of Ely. pa.1402.co.2 lin.29. pag. 1407.co.2.lin.51.
John Vere Earle of Oxford ſet at libertie.pa.1409.co.1 lin.37. pa.1411.co.2.lin. 29. pa.1412. co.1.lin.2. pa.1417.co.2.lin. 22.. pa. 1421.co.1.lin.2.
John Earle of Oxford taken, & ſent priſoner to Hames.pag. 1345.co.2.lin.6.
John Midleton knight. 1352. co.2 lin.31.
John Duichfield knight. pag. 1352.co.2.lin.32.
John Elrington knight. pag. 1352.co.2.lin.55.
John the French kings pride. 958.50.a. he is taken priſoner.960.20.a.
John Mathew Sheriffe of London.pa.1363.co.2 lin.28.
John Shaa clerke. pa. 1377. co.1.lin.1. his Sermon.pa. 1379.co 2 lin. 18.
John Marques Dorſet. pag. 1331.co.2.lin 38.ſlayn.pa. 1339.co.2.lin 53.
John duke of Exeter.pa. 1333 co 1.lin. 12. wounded.pa. 1335.co.1.lin.33.
John Longſtrother Prior of S.Johus.1335.co.2.li.10 beheaded pa. 1340.co.2. lin 20.
John Arūdel knight.pa. 1336 co.1.lin.30.
John Dolues knight ſlayne at Tewkeſbury.pa.1339 co.2. lin.55
John Lewknenor knight ſlaine pa.1339.co.2.lin.56
John Soyley knight, L.Chancelor of England. pa. 1119 co.1.lin.39.
John Norbury Eſquire, lorde Treaſurer.pa. 1119. co.1. lin.40.
John Baget knight, diſcloſeth ſecrets.pa.1122.c.1.lin.11
John Hal.pa 1122.c.2.lin.20 condemned,and executed. pa. 1123.c.1.l.31.
John Roch knight. pa.1125.c. 1.lin.6.
John Drapton knight.p.1125 c.1.lin.6.
John Earle of Somerſet. pag. 1119.c.2.l.12.pa.1120. c.2.lin.16.
John Treuenant biſhop of Hereford.pa. 1125. co.2.lin. 30
John Cheyney knight, & John Cheyney Eſquire.pa. 1125 c.2.l.30.
John Trenour Biſhop of S. Diſaph.pa.1125.co.2. lin. 35.
John lord Latimer pa. 1120 c.2.lin.1.
John king entreth into Scotland with an armie to repreſſe the Rebels that went agaynſt the king of Scottes. 573.84.
John king goeth towardes Wales againſt the Welche Rebels, and by the way hangeth the Welch Pledges. 573.104.
John king vppon letters receyued from the king of Scots and from his daughter the Prince of Wales wyfe, breaketh vppe his Armie.574.9.
John king aſſembleth a great armie to reſiſt the French king comming into England. 574.52.
John king ſendeth for the Legate Pandulph. 575.10.
John king deliuereth his crowne to Pandulph the Popes Legate. 575.67.and is reſtored to him agayne. 575.81.
John king maketh him ſelfe vaſſal to the Pope. 575.85.
John king ſweareth togethers with.16.Earls and Barons to ſtand to the iudgement of the Church of Rome. 575. 116.
John king his Charter of ſubmiſſion to the Pope.576.12
John king doth homage to the Pope. 576.77.
John king ſendeth preparation of warres of Shippes and men into Flaunders to aide the Earle of Flaunders agaynſt the French king.578. 8.
John king writeth to the Archbyſhop of Canterburie and other byſhops in baniſhment to returne into England.581. 11.they returne. 581.26
John king kneeleth downe at the Archbyſhop of Canterburies feete and craueth forgeueneſſe at his hands. 581. 32.
John king deſireth to be aſſoyled 581.44. he is aſſoyled. 581.57.
John king ſayleth ouer ſeas into Poictou.581.76.he returneth backe agayne into England. 581.96.
John king commaundeth that the Lawes of king Henrie the firſt his Grandfather ſhould be obſerued in England. 582.5.
John king aſſembleth an armie to goe agaynſt thoſe Lordes that refuſed to goe with him to Poictou.582.18. but the Archbyſhop of Canterburie threatning to excommunicate thoſe that ſhould aſſiſt him, he leaueth of his enterpriſe. 582 25.
John king repenteth of his promiſes made vppon his reconciliation to the Pope. 582.39.
John king commended to the Pope to bee an humble Prince. 583.39.
John king goeth into Fraunce with a great armie.584.20
John kings daughter Jane affied to the Earle of March. 584.62.
John king inuadeth Britaine. 585.43.the Britayns ioyne battaile with him.585.53. and are put to flight.585.55.
John king ſuppoſeth nothing proſpered wel with him ſince he ſubiected him ſelfe to the Church of Rome.586.13.
John king taketh truce with the French king.586.28.
John king returneth into England. 586.31.
John king taketh on him the croſſe, to goe into the holy land. 587.83.
John king prepareth an armie and fortifieth diuers caſtles for his ſaftie againſt his Barons. 588.5.
John king is moued by the Archbyſhop of Canterburie to ſatiſfie the requeſtes of the Barons. 588.22. The king refuſeth ſo to do.588.28 The Barons goe to armour agaynſt him.588.30. he ſendeth to them to knowe their myndes therein. 588.70.
John king left deſolate of friendes. 589.50.
John king ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Barōs.589.26
John king yeeldeth to the Barons, ſubſcribeth, and ſealeth to their Articles concerning the Liberties demaunded. 590 12.
John king his impacient and mad behouiour after his agreement with the Barons 591.3.
John king ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Pope.591.52.
John king ſendeth ouer ſea for Souldiers. 591.64.
John king lyeth in the Ile of Wight obſcurely.591.74. he goeth from place to place vndecently. 591.96.
John king ſendeth Ambaſſadours agayne to the Pope to ſhewe that the Barons refuſe to ſtand to his preſcript. 592.69.
John king goeth into the Ile of Wight. 592.72.
John king beſiegeth the Caſtle of Rocheſter.593.1.it is yelded to the king. 593.19.
John king deuideth his great armie into two parts.595.1 and with the one part he goeth himſelf Northward. 593
John king goeth into Scotland and taketh the Caſtle of Barwicke. 595.61
John the yongeſt ſonne of Henry the ſecond proclaymed king. 542.1.
John king generally receyued as king. 542.76.
John king keepeth his Eaſter at Beaufort in Aniou. 543. 64.
John king girded with the Sworde of the Duchie of S.li.

Nor

Normandie by the handes of the Archbyſhoppe of Rowen. 543.68.
John king inueſted Duke of Normandie. 543.68.
John king taketh his othe in Normandy. 543.72.
John king commeth ouer into England. 544.7.
John king Landed at Horham. 544.8.
John king commeth to London to receiue the crowne. 544.10.
John king brought to Weſtminſter by the Nobilitie and Commons to receyue his Diademe. 544.13.
John king crowned. 544.76.
John king receyueth homage of the Lordes and Barons. 545.1.
John king his anſweare to the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors. 545.72.
John king requireth the kyng of Scotland to meete with him at Nottingham. 545.78
John k. maketh preparation into Normandie. 546.6.
John king paſſeth ouer into Normandie. 546.17.
John king and the French king common perſonally togeather. 546.70.
Joane ſiſter to king John dyed. 447.7.
John king returneth into England 548.15.
John king leuith a ſubſidie. 548.17.
John king goeth to Yorke. 548.18.
John king ſayleth into Normandie. 548.21.
John king doth homage to the French king. 548.47.
John king returneth into England. 548.72.
John king leeſeth the goodwil of his ſubiectes. 548.100.
John king goeth into Normandie. 548.103.
John king diuorced. 548.105.
John king maried to a newe wife. 548.109.
Iſſue king John had by his newe wife. 548.111.
John king returneth into England, and cauſeth his newe wife to be crowned. 549.38.
John king conceyueth diſpleaſure againſt white Monkes 549.43.
John king taketh the white Monkes into fauor. 551.43
John king holdeth his Chriſtmas at Guildford. 551.71.
John king keepeth his Eaſter at Cantorburie. 551.86.
John king & the Queene paſſe into Normandie. 552.16.
John king goeth into Fraunce with the French king. 552.28.
John king returneth out of Fraunce into Normandye. 552.49.
John king commeth vppon his enemyes not looked for, and ſleaeth them. 553.51.
John king writeth ouer into England vnto his barons of hys good ſucceſſe agaynſt his enemies. 554.13.
John king returneth into Englande, and is crowned again at Cantorburie, and ſo paſſeth backe into Normandye. 554.61.
John knig cyted to appeare before the Frenche kyng to anſweare to the death of Arthur Duke of Britayne. 555.90.
John king gyueth himſelf ouer to banquetting and other delightes. 556.40.
John king commeth into England 557.43.
John king accuſeth his nobles of ſlothfulnes in ayding him, and therefore putteth them to their fynes. 557.57.
John king prepareth an armye to goe into Fraunce. 560.64
John king is perſwaded not to goe to the warres. 560.83.
John king chargeth ſome of the Nobilitie with treaſon. 561.15.
John king goeth ouer to Rochel with an armie of men. 562.65.
John king returneth into England. 563.61.
John king repayreth the Citie of Angiers. 564.10
John king writeth to the Pope 564.81.
John king and the Realme accurſed. 566.17.
John king his dealings wyth the Prelacie after the Interdiction pronounced. 566.31.
John king prepareth to beſiege London wherin the Barons dyd lye, who opened ỹ gates and would haue gyuen hym battayle but he retyred back. 598.48.
John king prepareth a Nauie of ſhippes to encounter Lewes the French kings ſonne by ſea, but by Tempeſt hys ſhippes are diſperſed and drowned. 598.60.
John king ſendeth once againe to the Pope. 598.69.
John king his ſouldiers for the moſt part forſake him. 600.70. and goe to Lewes. 600.72.
John king maketh hauocke in the poſſeſſions of his aduerſaries. 604.32.
John king of Fraunce raunſomed. 967.3.a. ſet at libertie. 967.40.b.
John Cornweale knight marieth the kings ſiſter. pa. 1132. col. 1. lin. 26.
John the French king dyeth in England. 969.34.b.
John Olde Caſtle knight accuſed. pa. 1166. col. 1. lin. 50. ſent to the Towre. col. 2. lin. 16. eſcaped thence. lin. 28. ſhyfted for himſelf. pa. 1188. col. 2. lin. 52. taken. pa. 1191 col. 1. lin. 9. executed. lin. 30.
John Duke of Bedford Regent of England. pa. 1186. col. 2. lin. 5.
John Hume Prieſt. pa. 1268. col. 1. lin. 56. col. 2. lin. 13.
John Lord Talbot created erle of Shrowſbury. pa. 1268. col. 2. li. 33. ſlayne. pa. 1285 col. 1. lin. 2. pa. 1299. co. 2. lin. 55.
John Stafford Archbyſhop of Cantorbury. pa. 1271. co. 1. lin. 18. deceaſed. pa. 1286. col. 1. lin. 14.
John Montagew Earle of Saliſbury beheaded at Cireſter pa. 1128. col. lin. 32.
John Holand Erle of Huntington beheaded at Plaſhye. pa. 1128. col. 2. lin. 54.
John Badby brent. pa. 1156. col. 1. lin. 15.
John Prendergeſt ſcoured the ſea. pa. 1156. col. 2. lin. 49. pa. 1160. col. 2. lin. 24.
John Holand of Exceter. pag. 1289, col. 2. lin. 40.
John Neuil knight. pa. 1292. col. 2. lin. 35. wounded and apprehended. pa. 1295. co. 2. lin. 56. ſlayne. pa. 1312. co. 1 lin. 38
John Steward Sherife of Lōdon. pa. 1292. col. 2. lin. 45.
John Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce. pag. 1220. co. 1. lin. 32.
John ſucceedeth Eata, in the Byſhopricke of Hexhā. 186.1.
John remoued from the Byſhopricke of Hexham, to Yorke. 186.5.
John reſigneth his Archbyſhopricke, and dyeth at Beuerley. 186.9.
Joane, daughter to king Henry the ſecond borne. 407.115.
John, afterward king of England, borne. 409.16.
John of Oxford, accurſed by Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 409.78.
Jocelyn Byſhop of Saliſbury, forbydden the vſe of the ſacramentes. 412.39.
Jocelyn Byſhop of Saliſburye reſtored to the adminiſtration of his office agayne. 414.86.
John, Archchanter of S. Peters Churche in Rome ſent into England. 183.13.
John Archchanter dyeth on his way to Romeward. 183.17
John, ſonne to king Henry the ſeconde marryeth Iſabel, daughter to Robert Earle of Glouceſter. 474.34.
John, ſonne to king Henry the ſecond made knight, and ſent into Ireland. 461.55.
John, a Monke of Sagium, ſeconde Byſhop of the Ile of Man. 386.23.
Jordan Captaine. 387.15.
John, youngeſt ſonne to kyng Henry the ſeconde affianced to Alice, eldeſt daughter to Hubert Earle of Morienne. 423.61.
John Byſhop of Welles. 335.116.
John king paſſeth ouer into Ireland. 569.75
Jone la Pucel de Dieu. 1241. col. 2. lin. 7. pa. 1245. col. 1. lin. 46. pa. 1246. col. 1. lin. 30. taken. lin. 47. brent. co. 2 lin. 6.
Journey into the Holy Lande, concluded vpon in the counſel at Clermount. 327.11.
Joſeph of Aramathia commeth into Britaine. 53.1.
Joyſtes of a loft fal downe, as men ſat at Calne Counſell. 236.30.
Joane, daughter to king Henry the ſecond maryed to William king of Sicill. 444.72
John, ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, created King of Ireland. 449.59.
Jollo Gough, a Barde. 4.44.
John Sharpe executed for commotions. pa. 1249. col. 1. lin. 37.
John Buſhy Knight beheaded 1106.14.b.
Jouinius ſent into Britaine to refourme things amiſſe there 103.105.
John Tiptoſt Earle of Worceſter. pa. 1325. col. 2. li. 26. beheaded. lin. 32.
Ipſwich in olde tyme called Gipiwich, looke Gipſwich 388.24.
Irre beſieged by the Byſhop of Norwiche. 1043.34.b. broken vp. 1044.30.a.
Iriſhmen fauourers of the houſe of Yorke. 1428.53.
Iricius made gouernour of Northumberland. 259.10.
Iricius, baniſhed the lande. 260.51.
Irlyng, a Captaine of ỹ Danes 270.31.
Iriſhmen ayde the Welchmen againſt the Engliſhmen. 270.50.
Iriſhe King rebelleth and is taken priſoner. 636.10.
Iriſhe rebels againſt K. John. 569.72.
Iriſhmen doe homage to King John at Dublin. 570.3.
Duke of Ireland deuorced frō his lawful wyfe. 1059.47.b.
Iriſhe men returne home. 1084.

1084.45.b.
Ireland inuaded by Scottes. 853.10.b.856.50.a.
Iriſhmen rebel, and ſlay a great ſort of Engliſhmen. 781.20
Duke of Ireland commeth towarde London with an armie. 1067.20.a. fleeth ouer ſea. 1068. 26. attainted. 1071.25.a. dyeth 108241 b. his bodye brought into England. 1087.14.a.
Iriſhe rebels ouercome. 1103. 42.b.
Ireland inhabited before Bartholoin, by the Hibernenſes. 28.67.
Ireland aſsigned to Bartholoin and his retinue. 28 62.
Iriſh conqueſt taken in hand by the Engliſh men. 418. 34.
Iriſh king ſendeth into England for ayde agaynſt his enemies, and obteyneth it. 418.46.
Ireland the ſooner conquered, by meanes of the many gouernours of it. 420.15.
Iriſh Kings and Princes, ſubmit themſelues, and doo homage to king Henry the ſecond. 420. 28.
Ireland acknowledgeth the Pope, to be the onely and ſoueraygne Lord therof. 420 59.
Iriſh king expulſed out of his countrey, entertayned by the Romans in Britayne. 70. 21.
Irmenrike ſonne to Oth, ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of Kent. 129. 111.
Ireland inuaded and ſpoyled by the Northumbers. 185. 12.
Ireland a great part ſubiect to king Edgar. 235.26.
Icchenfield. 221.20.
Iricius baniſhed the Realme by Cnut. 252.73.
Irmenrike king of Kent departeth this life. 142.78.
Iriſh renenews in king Edward the thirds time. 1085. 1.a.
Iriſh kings ſubmit them to king Richard. 1085. 30.b. made knightes. 1086.50.a.
Iriſhe men ſpoyle the iſle of Fraunce. pag. 1201. col. 1. lin. 17.
Simon Iſlep made Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 943.57. b.
Iſoldun Caſtle, deliuered to Richard the firſt king of England. 528.23.
Iſakius king of Cipres ſubmitteth himſelfe to king Rychard the firſt, and ſweareth fealtie vnto him. 492. 50. and 493. 54.
Iſabel Empreſſe dyeth. 701. 21.
Iſabel daughter to king Edward the thyrd borne. 895. 19.b.
Iſabel daughter to Robert Earle of Glouceſter, married to Iohn king of Ireland 474.35.
Iſle of Elye wonne by Lewes king of Fraunce. 610.40.
Iſeland ſubdued to the Britaynes. 133.64.
Iſakius king of Cypres, ſtealeth away ſecretly, and is taken agayne. 492.77. kept in priſon in fetters of ſiluer. 493.67.
Iſabel Queene married to the Earle of March in France. 617.36.
Iſakios king of Cypres. 491. 85.
Iſabel wife to king Edward the ſecond dieth. 962.58. a.
Iſſue of Henry the fourth. pag. 1162. col. 2. lin. 57.
Simon Iſlep Archbyſhop of Canterbury dieth. 971. 22. b.
Iſabel daughter to king Edward the third maried to the Lord Coucie. 971.18.a.
Iſley Thomas knight rebelleth 1724.32. is taken by the Lord Abergeny. 1725. 20. is executed. 1737.16.
Ithanceſter vppon Pent. 174. 45.
Itingfoord. 220. 51.
Iulius Ceſar his commentaries, agree not with the Britiſh hiſtoriographers in matters of Britayne 35.29.
Iulius Ceſar paſſeth ouer into Britayne with an army. 35. 72.
Iulius Ceſars actes and exploites at his fiſt comming into Britayne. 36. 86.
Iulius Ceſar returneth wyth his armye into Gallia. 38. 69.
Iulius Ceſar prepareth his nauie to paſſe into Britayne 40. 40.
Iulius Ceſar arriueth in Britayne with an army the ſecond time. 40.70.
Iulius Ceſar repayreth his Nauie in Brytayne ſore ſhaken by tempeſt. 41. 10.
Iuries of twlue men, to decide matters in law, inſtituted. 303.84.
Iuries not vſed in England, before the dayes of king William. 304. 14.
Iuries vſual in England, in the dayes of king Egelredus 304. 20.
Iuſtus and Mellitus depart into Fraunce. 158.19.
Iuſtus called home, and reſtoared. 158.57.
Iuſtus made Archbiſhop of Cantorburie. 158.79.
Iulius Ceſar departeth out of Britaine into Gallia. 43.21.
Iulius Ceſar came not among the Northren men. 44.73.
Iuſtus ſent into Britaine. 149.98.
Iuſtus made Byſhop of Rocheſter. 152.29.
Iudges erected. 1071. 3. a. condemned. 1073.4.b. called from exile.
Iuſtes. 1533. 22. and. 1536. 39.
Iuſtice duely adminiſtred, and extortion puniſhed. 231.69.
Iuſtes deuiſed to be holden at Oxford. pag. 1126. co. 1. lin. 49. at Yorke. pa. 1132. co. 1 lin. 20. at London. pa. 1151. col. 2. lin. 30. in Smithfield pag. 1155. col. 2. lin. 15.
Ingethling Abbey buylded where Oſwyn was ſlayne. 170. 62. and. 176.24.
Iulius Claſſicianus, & Paulinus Suetonius, fal at ſquare 65.69.
Iulius Frontinus, Lieutenant of Britayne. 66.79.
Iulius Agricola, looke Agricola.
Iuarus king of Danes arriueth in the mouth of Humber with an armie. 210.59.
Iuarus ſlayne. 210.69
Iuſtes at Windſor. 1103.23. b.
Iulius Solinus Polihiſtor cited. 9.6.
Iudithil a Welch king. 231.81
Iudweal or Ludweal a Welch king.
Iuſtes in Smythfield. 961.56 b 969.4 a.
Iuſtices names, which were appoynted at the deuiſion of the Realme into Circuits. 443.60.
Iudith daughter to Earle Lambert, marryed to Earle Walteof. 308.72.
Iuſtes. 1578.50
Iuſtin a leader of the Danes. 239.55.
Iuſtes. 1506.38.
Iuſtinus Anicius Emperour of the Eaſt. 130.77.
Iulius Ceſar made Conſull and ſent to Gallia. 34.98.
Iuſtes at London by the Maior and his brethren. 963.49 b.
Iulianus Emperour of Rome. 103.1.
Iudith wyfe to Toſtie. 272.15
Iudith daughter to Charles the bald king of Fraunce, married to king Ethelwolfus. 207.60.
Iudith ſhamefully marryed to Ethelbald her ſonne in law. 208.43.
Iuſtices of peace appoynted to be in euery Shyre. 303.47.
Iuſtes. 148747.
Iudges impriſoned. 798.10.a. fined. 840.5.b.
Iuſts in Smithfield. 922.10.a
Iuſtes at Dunſtaple. 917. 1.a.
Iuſtes. 1835.35.
Iuſtes. 1858.29.
Iuſtes. 1561.1.
Iuſtices compelled to renounce pentions. 929.33.a.
Iudge burnt for his crueltie. 199.30.
Iuſtices anſweres to queſtions demaunded. 1061.10.a.
Iulius Ceſar only ſhewed Britayne to the Romanes. 44. 78.
Iuuenal cited. 45.46. and. 51. 92.
Iuan of Wales ſlayne. 1008. 1.a.
Iuſtinianus the thyrd Emperour. 187.60.
Iuſtice accuſed for taking brybes. 724.95.
Iuſtes. 1498.2.
Iuſtes in Smythfield. 1077. 30.a.
Iuſtes at Windſor. 923.10.b.
Iuſtes held. 1468.37.
Iuſtes holden in Tuttel fielde eyght dayes. 648.42.
Iuſtes. 1520.34.
Iuſtes in Fraunce. 1496.5.
Iuſtes. 1577.71.
Iuſtes held. 1466.26.
Iuſtes. 1578.50.
Iulian de Romero is victor in a combat. 1608.26.
Iulius and Aaron martyred for the faith of Chriſt. 88.32
Iuſtes. 1511.20.
Iuſtes. 1504.40.
Iudges and other officers committed to the Towre. 912. 55.b.

K.

Katharin daughter to Edward the fourth, maried to William Earle of Deuonſhyre, godmother to Henry the firſt begotten ſonne of Henry the eight. 1468.50
Katharine youngeſt daughter to Edward the fourth. pag. 1356. c. 1. lin. 45.
Katharine daughter to Henry the third borne. 734.15
Katharine mother to king Henrye the fift, married Owen Teuther. pa. 1261. c. 1. lin. 54.
Kaerkin, or Cantorbury buylded. 19.2
Katigern, looke Katigernus.
Kahames William taketh priſoner king Stephen. 376 32.
Kenric, ſonne to king Cuthred, ſlaine in a tumult. 193.65.
Kenulfe ſucceedeth Egbert in the kingdome of Mercia. 200.80.
Kenulfe inuadeth Kent with a mighty armie, and waſteth it 200.98.

Kenulfes liberalitie towardes churchmen. 201.1
Kenulf departeth this life. 201 8.
Kent gouerned by the Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, and the Abbot of S. Auguſtines, as it were by the chiefe lordes. 292.19.
Kentiſh men aſſemble at Canterbury, determining to fight with king William, in defence of their liberties. 292 32.
Kentiſhmen meete at Swaneſcombe, to attend king Williams commyng. 292 49
Kentiſhmen be the kay of England. 293.27
Kentiſhmens requeſt vnto king William 293.7
Kent onely reteyneth the auncient lawes and liberties of England. 292.38
Kenred ſucceedeth Ethelred in the kingdome of Mercia. 189.11.
Kenred renounceth the worlde, goeth to Rome to be made a Mõke, & there dieth. 189.21
Kenred and Oſricke ſuccede Oſred in the kingdome of Northumberland. 190.76
Kenelworth Caſtle reſigned into the handes of Henrye the third. 751.56
Kent aſſigned in reward to Hengiſt. 113.102.
Kineard confirmed by Kenewulfe. 197.98
Kineard maketh a ſecret conſpiracie againſt Kinewulf. 198 3.
Kent waſted by the Danes. 240 73
Kentiſhmen buy peace for money, of the weſt Saxons. 187.91
Kenricus king of weſt Saxons departeth this life. 142.44
Kentiſhmẽ ſurpriſed and ſlayne by the Danes. 220.42
Kenwolfe and his army ouerthrowen by Offa. 194.93
Kentiſhmen ouerthrowen by Offa at Otford. 194. 88
Kent brought vnder ſubiection of the weſt Saxons. 203.63 and. 205.22.
Kenelme ſucceedeth his father Kenufe in the kingdome of Mercia. 201.10. & 205.38
Kenelme through treaſon pitifully murdred. 205.50
Kenelmes deathe ſignified at Rome myraculouſly. 205. 56.
Kentiſhmen whence deſcended. 113.23.
Kentiſhmen ouerthrowen by the Danes in a battaile at Rocheſter. 241.54
Ket Robert, captaine of the rebels in Norfolke, hanged. 3675.30.
Kendal Iohn Secretary, late Secretary to Richard late Duke of Gloceſter. 1425. 53.
Keyes of al townes and caſtles in Normandie, deliuered to king Henry the firſt. 346.2
Kenighale Robert. 1463.3
Kendal waſted by Duncane, a Scottiſh captaine. 434.15
Kent waſted by Ceadwalla, king of weſt Saxons. 186 73.
Kenet caſtle raſed downe to the ground. 800.75.
Kent deliuered to the Saxons. 118.41
Kemelenc, looke Camblan.
Kenricus ſonne to Cerdicus, arriueth in Britaine, with his father. 126.105
Kenricus diſcomfiteth and ſlayeth Nazaleod and his Britaines. 130.39
Kingeſcliffe battaile againſt Ethelbert. 196.41
Kingdome of eaſt Angles one while ſubiect to one king, one while to another. 197.29
Kings of England why afrayde to enter into Oxford. 197. 61.
Kymbeline ſonne to Theomantius created king of Britaine 45.111.
Kymbeline brought vp at Rome and made knight by Auguſtus Ceſar. 46.1
Kymbelaine gouerneth Britain while Chriſt our ſauiour is borne. 46.6.
Kymbelaine dyeth, and is buried at London. 46.22
Kingdoms vnder king Cnutes dominion. 262.2
Kingdome of England is gods kingdome. 267.100
Kingdomes oftentymes gouerned in quiet ſtate, and good policie by a child. 282. 79
Kings of weſt Saxons wiues, not ſuffered to be called queenes. 200.66
Kyngſton vpon Hul. pa. 1328 co.1.lin.7.
Kyngs College in Cambridge. pa.1344 co.1.lin.54.
Kildare Earle committed to ward. 1508.10.
Kynimacus ſonne to Syſillius beginneth to gouerne Brytaine. 22.6.
Kildare Earle committed to the Towre. 1563.25.
Kinadius, king of Scots, ſweareth to be true to king Edgar. 231.77.
Kimarius, ſonne to Sirilius, beginneth to reigne ouer Britaine. 29.52.
Kinewulfe ſucceedeth Sigibert in the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons. 197.73.
Kinewulfe ouerthrowne in battaile by Offa, king of Mercia. 197.87.
Kinewulfe ſlayne by conſpiracie. 198.23.
Kingdome of Deira begun and bounded. 140.16
Kingdome of Northumberland bounded. 140.28
Kirkſtede Abbey in Yorkſhyre founded. 394.30
Kings Crowne changed for a monkes Cowle. 194.58
Kings of England to haue a proprietie in euery mãs lãds of the realme. 303.32
Kings forbidden to medle with the inueſture of biſhops. 342 42.
Kings hal at Cambridge founded. 1000.28.b
Robert Kilwarby Archbiſhop of Canterbury made Cardinal. 788.40.b
Kings of forraine Countreis viſite England. 969.13.b
Richard Kilminton dieth. 968 35.a.
Iohn Kyrby executed for murdring a Genoway. 1023.24 a.
King Edward the fift murdred. pa.1391.co.1.lin.6.
Kings aiding Caſſibellanus againſt the Romans. 39.8
Kings of Kent put to flight by the Romans. 42.105
Kingdome of Brenitia beginneth. 139.96.
Kings palace at Weſtminſter, defaced and ſpoyled. 779.2
Kingdome of South Saxons ioyned to the kingdome of weſt Saxons. 187.110
reprochful wordes agaynſt hym. 235.3
Kingdome of Eaſtangles ceaſeth. 211.40.
Kingdome of Eaſt Angles ſubdued by king Edward. 221. 101.
Kybius Corinnius Biſhop of Angleſey. 94.55
Kingdome of the South Saxons, and the bounds thereof 125.65.
Kings and great princes of Ireland come and ſubmyt themſelues to king Henry the ſecond. 419.60
Kylwarby Robert made Archbiſhop of Cãterburi. 782.38
Kineard and his conſpiratours ſlaine. 198.56
Kings of England and Scotland made friendes. 708.67
Kingdome of Brenitia builded. 140.6.
Kinton Godfrey conſecrated Archbyſhop of Cantorburye at Rome. 755.17.
King Edward the fifth kept houſe at Ludlow. pa. 1360. col 1. lin. 8. came towarde London. lin. 7. returned by the Duke of Glouceſtar to Northampton. pa. 1362. col.1.lin. 15. came to London pa.1363. col.2. lin.34. conueyed to the Towre. pa. 1370.col.1.lin.37. murdred.
Kinewulf ſlaine. 196.40.
Kinges of England when iuſtly to be to accompted. 231. 94.
King Henry the ſixt proclaymed pag.1220.col.1.lin.19.
Kildare Earle reſtored to his office of lorde Deputie of Ireland. 1525.23.
Kinarde Ferie Caſtle, razed to the very ground. 433.24.
Kingdome of Kent bounded. 119.6.
Kinmarus, looke Kynimacus.
Kings of England and France like pagies, attend vpon the Popes ſtirrop. 401.74.
Kingdome of Weſt Saxons, and the boundes therof. 131. 3. and. 137.79.
Kingdome of Eaſtangles bounded. 126.85.
Kimarus ſlayne by hys owne ſubiectes. 29.57.
Kilkenny William keeper of the great ſeale. 723.3.
Kingdome of Eaſt Saxons bounded. 131.33.
Kynimacus dyeth, and is buried at Yorke. 22.13.
Kingdome of Mercie begun, and bounded. 143.39.
Kirgils, looke Cinegiſcus. 155.
Killingworth Caſtle kept and furniſhed by the Barons. 767. 28. deliuered to Kyng Henry the thyrd. 777.73.
Kyrthling in Eaſtangle. 235. 109.
Kyndwith Caſtle. 214.67.
King Henry the ſixte hys part diſcomfited. pa.1311.col.2. lin. 54. fled to Scotland. pa. 1312.col.1.line.51.
Kyng of Scots ſupported Henry the ſixt. pag. 1312. col.2. lin.32.
King of Churles. 259.21.
Kingdome of Mercia endeth. 218.88.
Kentiſhmen make an hurly burley. pag.1325.col.1.lin.37.
Knightes made if they coulde ſpend. xv. poundes landes. 732.2.and.743.1.
Knightes and men of warre commaunded to cut theyr heares ſhort. 359.81.
Knights of the Bath. pa.1120. col.2.lin.46.
Knightes made. pa.1177.col. 1.lin.13.pag. 1187. col. 2. lin.11.1189.col.2.lin.29. pa.1212.col.1.lin.2.
Knought, ſonne to Swanus, looke Cnute.
Knightes fee, how many acres of land it containeth. 312. 105.
Knightes murtherers of Archbyſhop Thomas Becket, flee after the deede, and their death alſo deſcribed. 417.6.

Knightes made.1846.44.
Knights made. 1853.55.
Sir Robert Knolles winneth Aurer. 962.43.b.
Knights made. 1578.55.
Knights of the Bath.pa. 1387. col.1.lin.14.
Knights of the Bath made. 1560.30.
Knights made. 1528.30.
Knights made. 1521.16.
Robert Knolles ſent into Fraunce with an armie.981 50.a.deſtroyeth the countrey to Paris.991.a.his byrth. 990.55.a.
Knights names that ſlue Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 415.61.
Knyghts made. 1487.27.
Knyghts made.pag.1306.col. 1.lin.1.
Knyghts made.1632.18.and. 1633.50.
Knights made. 1493.49.
Krikelade. 252.29.
Kreekers,ſee aduenturers.

L.

Lacy Roger ſent into Normandie with men of armes. 551. 107.
Lanfranke ſickneth and dyeth. 320.46.
Lanfranke a good huſband to the See of Canterburie. 320.74.
Lawes ordeyned by king William nothing ſo equal nor eaſie to be kept,as the old lawes of England. 303.58.
Lammeth Church fyrſt founded by Baldwyn Archbyſhop of of Canterburie.537.1. raſed by the commaundement of the Pope.577.27. and. 539.30.
Laurence made Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 152.61.
Laurence reproued for that he went about to forſake his flocke. 158.42.
Laurence ſcourged in a viſion. 158.40.
Lacy Hugh confyrmed in al the landes of Meeth. 421.35.
Lacye Hugh made keeper of Dublin citie,and Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland.421.40.
Lanerdyn Buchard expelleth his father out of the Earledome of Vandoſme.432.47
Lawes of king Henry the firſt commaunded by king Iohn to be obſerued in England. 582.5.
Lambert William, tranſlatour of the Saxon lawes into Latine. 188.14.
Lambert elected Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 199.23.
Lago or Iago couſin to Gurguſtius, taketh vpon him the gouernment of Britayn. 21. 104.
Lacy Walter goeth about to take the Lord Curcie priſoner. 552.53.
Lacy Roger Conſtable of Cheſter taken priſoner.556.67.
Lawes of the Realme peruſed and amended. 395.44.
Blanche Duches of Lancaſter dyeth. 981.28.a
Lawes and officers after the Engliſhe manner appoynted to be vſed in Ireland by King Iohn. 570.4.
Langton Stephen choſen Archbyſhop of Cantorbury by the Popes appoyntment. 564. 48.
Iohn Duke of Lancaſtar paſſeth with an armie through Fraunce.994.2.a.returneth into England. 995.12.a
Latter thoughtes, better aduiſed than the firſt. 438.26.
Lacy Roger,Conſtable of Cheſter ſworne to King Iohn. 542.85.
Lacy Roger made gouernour of Pomfret Caſtle. 546.13.
Lacy Roger delyuereth hys ſonne and heyre to K. Iohn as an hoſtage of his loyaltie & faithful obedie͂ce.546.14.
Laurence Archbyſhop of Dublin, ſent Ambaſſadour to K. Henry the ſecond. 441.95.
Labienus, one of the Romane Tribunes ſlayne. 39.23.
Thomas Earle of Lancaſtar taken.866.32.b. executed 867.24.a.
Iohn Duke of Lancaſtar paſſeth into Fraunce with an armie. 979.48.a. ſpoyleth many countreyes in France. 980.32.a.
Langton Thomas Byſhop of Wincheſter dyeth. 1455. 36.
Lanfranke prayſed, for mayntayning Monkes in Cathedral Churches. 320.98
Laton Richard knight ſent into Britaine. 1434.10
Law nor reaſon permit the ſonne to iudge or condemne the father. 405.93.
Earles of Lancaſtar and Lincolne diſcōfited. 810.27.b.
Earle of Lancaſtar ſent into Gaſcoine.815.31.b. putteth the French men to flyght. 815.50.b.dyeth at Bayon. 816.27.a.
Landed men charged with furniture of warre. 925.30.b.
Iohn Duke of Lancaſtar goeth into Scotland.1075. 22.b.
Iohn Duke of Lancaſtar goeth into Spaine with an armye. 1051. 34. a. returneth again. 1052.40.b.his daughter promiſed to the Prince of Spaine.1053.1.a.
Duke of Lancaſter created Duke of Aquitane. 1076. 58. a. his creation reuoked. 1087.1.b.
Duke of Lancaſter accuſed of treaſon. 1004.55.a
Iohn Duke of Lancaſter made Lieutenant of Aquitain. 991. 36. a. maryeth the eldeſt daughter of Peter King of Spaine. 991.55.b.
Laford Caſtle. 605.30.
Duke of Lancaſtar goeth into Aquitaine.1085.24.a. the Gaſcoynes denye to obey him.1085.5.b.
Lambert, alias Iohn Nicholſon, appealeth, and is heard, condemned and burnt,1571 50.
Edmund of Langley created duke of Yorke. 1050. 58.a
Simon Langham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made Cardinal. 975.32.b
Lambert William tranſlated king Edmondes lawes into latine. 228.51
Duke of Lancaſter gouernor of England. 997.44.b
Laughing heard in the Romane Courtes & Theater, no man being there. 60.116
Lancaſter Caſtle deliuered to the Biſhop of Durham. 516 46.
Lancaſter ſword. 1119.co.2 lin.26.
Latimer burned. 1764.54
Henry ſonne to the earle of Lancaſter,created Earle of Derby. 900.13.b
Laabin,one of the names of Hercules. 5.103
Henrye Earle of Lancaſter againſt the Queene. 892.37 a.
Duke of Lancaſter goeth to Scotland to treate of peace 1023.55.b.
Duke of Lancaſter goeth to ſea with a Nauie. 949. 40.b
Lanpeder vaur caſtle buylt.788 13.b. taken by the Welchmen. 791.1.a
Duke of Lancaſter ſent to ayde the king of Nauerre. 955.7. b.
Lawe ſalike.pa.1168.co.2.lin. 30.
Henry Duke of Lancaſter and others, ambaſſadours to the Pope. 948. 29.b
Laurance Bothe Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 1345.co.1.lin 93.
William lorde Latimer dyeth. 840.42.a
Lambert William cited 215.4 and.312.9.
Langley Geffrey Collector in Wales, to Henry the thyrd. 744. 32.
Simon Langham made Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 971. 24.b.
Henry Lacy Earle of Lincolne dyeth. 850.5.a
Henry Duke of Lancaſter claymeth the Crown. 1115.7.b
Lady Spencer committed to warde pa.1145.col 2.lin.4.
Lacie Roger. 318.68.
Henry Duke of Lancaſtar and Heref,ſolicited to be king. 1104.50. b. landeth in Yorkeſhyre.1105.22.b.maketh an othe to the Lordes. 1106.a.5. commeth to K. Richard at Flint 1110.40.a.
Edmund of Langley ſon to Edward the thyrd borne. 916. 54.b.
Duke of Lancaſtar marrieth Katherin Swinford. 1088. 1.a. their children made legitimate by Parliament. 1090.42.a.
Thomas Earle of Lancaſter canonized. 1076.13.a.
Henry Earle of Lancaſtar created Duke of Lancaſtar.947. 36.b.
Lambert, Earle of Lens.308. 73.
Lambert Archbiſhop,defendeth his ryght agaynſt Offa.195. 21.
Iohn Duke of Lancaſtar dieth. 1102.39.a.
Lawe pleaded in Engliſh. 969 34.a.
Lanfrank Abbot of Caen, conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 305.14
Lanfranke in great credite and fauour with the Pope. 305 28.
Lazius Wolfgangus cited. 2. 41. and.3.79.
Lacyes original that were erles of Lincolne. 323. 55
Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublin dyeth. 454.27.
Lambheth. 267.112
Ladyes put out of the Court. 1070. 15.b.
Lambert William cited. 246. 32. and 263.21.
Lacy Iohn Conſtable of Cheſter. 454.32
Duke of Lancaſter geueth ouer the Court.1009.27.a.goeth into Britaine with an army. 1010.1.b.
Lambert Archbiſhop departeth this lyfe. 202.75
Lacy Walter. 308.33.
Lacy walter & Gilbert.369.63
Lame man reſtored to his lyms 121.35
Lacy Walter ſlayne. 371.7
Lady de Breuſe and her ſonne taken by king Iohn 570.15
Laurence a prieſt, felowe with Auguſtine. 148.70
Languale William. 408.51
Lacy Walter. 570.12
Langton. 271.72
Legates to haue nothing to do in England, but required. 356.57.
Lernyng remaynyng amongſt the inhabitantes of the weſt partes

partes of Europe. 362.50
Leyceſter and caſtle wals raſed to the ground. 445.13
Leir demaundeth of his daughters, how wel they loue hym. 19.65.
Leir cated of his maintenance, by his two ſonnes in law. 20 8.
Leir depoſed from the Crowne by his two ſonnes in law. 20 7.
Leir paſſeth ouer into Fraunce for ſuccour, and is there moſt honorably entertayned. 20.24.
Leir reſtored to his kingdome 20.56.
Leir dieth, and is buried at Leiceſter. 20.58
Leolin and his Welchmen begyn to ſturre. 619.10
Leolin prince of Northwales conſpireth againſt the kyng. 622.83.
Legantine power annexed to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury. 401.34
Leiceſter towne in old tyme called Caerleir, builded. 19. 57.
Leir ſonne to Baldud, admytted ruler ouer Britaine. 19 45.
Letters out of Scotland intercepted. 864.36.a.
Leill ſonne of Brute Greeneſheild beginneth to rule in Britayne. 18.63.
Leland cited. 4.49. and. 55. 11.
Leyland John cited. 301. 41. and 301.71.
Leiceſter towne, with the countrey adioyning waſted and ſpoyled by Hugh de Granmeſnil. 318.61.
Lindeſfarne Ile, geuen vnto Aydan, for the See of his Biſhopricke. 168.27.
Lent firſt ordeyned to be kept in England. 169.49.
Lewes his fayre ſo called in deriſion, of the diſcomfiture he had at Lincolne. 614.9.
Lewes ſendeth for ayde into Fraunce. 614.72.
Lewes his wyfe ſendeth ayde into Englande to her husband. 615.1.
Lewes releaſed the title of the kingdome of Englande. 616.10
Lewes aſſoyled by the Popes legate. 616.15.
Lewes ſworne to depart the Realme. 616.24.
Leil leaueth hatred and malice among his ſubiectes. 18. 102.
Leil dieth, and is buried at Carleil. 18.105.
Leirs three daughters names. 19.60.
Lewis king of Fraunce, ſoweth ſedition betweene king Henry the ſecond and his ſonne Henry. 423.23.
Lewis king of Faunce fleeth ſecretly by night from the burning of veruneil. 428.72.
Leofwyne Chaplayne to Walcher byſhop of Durham. 311.31.
Leofricke made Earle of Mercia or of Cheſter. 260.47.
Leofrike beareth great rule vnder king Cnute. 263.2.
Lewis king of Fraunce, commeth ouer into England, to offer to Saint Thomas of Canterburie. 452.68.
Legates from the Pope to king John. 571.46.
Leighton battel, fought by Engliſh men agaynſt the Danes. 221.10.
Lewis king of Aquitayne marrieth Edgina, daugter to king Edward. 223.29.
Leofrike departeth this life. 277.11.
Lewes and al his partakers curſed by the Popes Legate. 610.70.
Lewes ſaileth ouer into France and returneth ſhortly agayne into England. 611.45.
Leyland John, curyous ſearcher of olde antyquities. 34. 64.
Leſtrigo, ſonne to Neptune, king of Italy. 5.82.
Leofwin and Harold, inuade the ſhyres of Somerſet, and Dorcet and ſlay the inhabitantes. 272.68.
Leape of Gogmagog, or leape of Douer. 15.94.
Leopold Duke of Auſtrich, catcheth a fal beſides his horſe and dieth of the hurt. 525. 74.
Legates exactions much miſlyked. 656.82.
Lewes king of Fraunce, deceaſeth. 781.14.
Learned men in king Edward the ſeconds dayes. 884.51.a
Ledes Caſtle beſieged by Edward the ſecond. 861.33. b.
Lenox Earle fleeing into England marrieth the Lady Margret Dowglas 1594. 41.
Leiceſter towne. pag. 1416. col. 1. lin. 18. col. 2. lin. 56. pag. 1423. col. 2. lin. 1. lin. 7.
Leſtinghem Monaſterie founded. 175.2.
League concluded betweene king Arthur of Britaine, and Loth of the Pictes with condition. 132.32.
Lee Riuer deuided into three Chanels. 216.69.
Leighton Thomas knight ſent into Britayne. 1434.10.
Learned men flowriſhing in the dayes of Richard the firſt 541.25.
Learned men in the time of king Henry the eight. 1612.14.
Letters nor commaundements to be brought into yͤ Realme from the Pope, or Thomas Becket Archbyſhop of Canterburye. 408.89.
Legate from the Pope into England. 563.64.
Leutherius Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons. 179.93.
Legate Otho his Cooke ſlayne. 652.27.
Leof Monaſterie builded. 277. 32.
Lee Alane, hanged vppon deſpite. 502.45.
Leopold Duke of Auſtrich, taketh Richard the ſecond priſoner. 506.66.
Legate ſent for into England, to enquire of Archbyſhoppe Thomas Beckets death. 417.69.
Learned men in the time of Henry the ſeuenth. 1462. 1.
Lenox Erle inuadeth Scotland 1633.7.
Leonore Queene of Portingal dieth. 1786.7.
Learned men in the time of king Edward the firſt. 1719. 10.
Leofwin ſlayne, and cut in peeces. 311.79.
Llewellin Prince of Wales inuadeth the Engliſh borders. 638.7.
Lewes battel, fought by the Barons, againſt king Henry the third. 768.36.
Legate Pandulph commeth into England to king John. 575.12. he ſpeaketh to the king. 575.18.
Legate of Rome taketh the Crowne from king John. 575.69. he deliuereth it to the king agayne. 575.81.
Legate Pandolph ſayleth backe out of England into France 577.27.
Lewes the French kings ſonne taketh ſea with all his prouiſion to ayde the Barons, and landeth at Sandwich. 599. 81 he taketh homage of the Barons. 599.90. 600.16.
Lewes Clifford knight bewrayeth his fellownes of wikclifs doctrine. pa. 1135. col. 2. lin. 6.
Letters to the Pope agaynſt preferring ſtrangers to benefices. 921.25.b.
League concluded between the Engliſhmen, and the Danes. 214.106.
Lee riuer. 214.113.
Earle of Leiceſter aydeth the Queene. 877.55 b.
Lewes commeth to London 600.15. he is excommunicated, by Cardinal Gualo. 600 61.
League of agreemēt concluded betweene the Britaines and Saxons vpon conditions. 128.19.
Lewes the Emperour offereth to be a meane for peace. 914. 40.b.
Learned men in king Richard yͤ ſeconds dayes. 1117.20.b
Lewes the Emperour wonne from the king of England. 914.52.a.
Learned men flouriſhing in k. Edward the thirdes dayes 1001.23.b.
Lewes Phiſition to Queene Elizabeth. pag. 1400. col. 1. lin. 28. col. 2. lin. 5.
League renued betwixt England and Flanders. 546.33
Lewes the French king dyeth. 629.29.
Leofrike, brother to king Harold, ſlayne. 288.3.
Learned writers in the tyme Henry the fifth. pag. 1218. col. 2. lin. 32.
Learned mens names, that flouriſhed in the dayes of king Henrie the ſecond. 473.41.
Leoline Prince of Wales. 786. 32. a. requireth hoſtages. ibidem. raiſeth warre agaynſt the king. 786.32. b. maketh ſute for peace. 787. 17. a. marryeth the Earle of Leyceſters daughter. 788. 17. b. rebelleth. 789.10. a. accurſed. 791.12. a. ſlayne. 792. 20. b. his head preſented to the king crowned with Iuie, caryed through Cheapſide, and ſet on the toppe of the Towre at London. 792.50.a
Legate ſent from the Pope into England and not receiued 338.13.
Leyceſter towne and Caſtle taken and burnt. 430.10.
Layborne Robert. 1443.42.
Lewes Letzenbrough Earle of S. Paule. pag. 1346. col. 1. lin. 27.
Learned men in the tyme of Henry the firſt. pag. 1307. col. 2. lin. 6.
Leporius Agricola, Pelagian byſhop in Britaine. 119 36.
Lewes holdeth a counſel at Cambridge. 610.26.
League renued betwixt king John and the French king. 552.39.
Leon Ganer, a Giaunt in Brytayne. 18.78.
Leonel Byſhop of Concordia the Popes Ambaſſadour. 1437.36.
Leogitia called alſo Lergetia. 12.31.
Letters from the kyng to the Pope. pag. 1155. col. 1. lin. 23.
Learned men in the tyme of

Queene Mary of whom many ſuffered for Religion. 1782.20.
Learned men in the tyme of Richard the thyrd.pa. 1424
Learned writers in the tyme of Edward the fourth . pag. 1355.col.1.lin.7.
Leſſey Richard. 1443.42.
Lefwyn Abbot, taken by the Danes. 246.16
Leo Iſaurus Emperour. 191. 39.
Leides Caſtle taken by king Stephan. 371.33.
League betweene England and Flaunders.902. 50.b.
Learned men in king Edward the firſts dayes. 846 30.a.
Leyceſter.pag.1329.col.2. lin. 2.
Lergetia, called alſo Leogitia. 12.31.
Leoffe Monaſterie. 270.13.
Leyland Iohn cited. 134.48.
Lewes Duke of Orleans taken priſoner. 1434.1.
Lewes the ſecond Emperour. 208.39.
Lewes Emperour. 219.81.
Leo the fifth Emperor.115 60
League concluded betweene king Alured, and king Gurthrun. 214.106.
Legate from Rome,pag. 1249. col.1.lin.11.
Leofwin baniſhed the land.272 13.
Lhuyd Humfrey cited . 30.12. and.33.69.and.68.19.
Lhuyd Humfrey cited.87.104
Lhuyd Humfrey cited . 55.5.
Lhuyd Humfrey cited.3 . 56. and.4.50.and.5.43 . and. 27.57.
Lindſey inuaded by the Danes 212.13.
Lindeſſerne Abbey ſpoyled by the Danes. 202.26.
Line of the Norman heyres Male in the Crowne of England endeth. 364.45.
Lincolne towne beſieged by K. Stephan and deliuered.380 80.
Liberties graunted to Churchmen by king Henry ẏ ſecond 446.35.
Liulfus withdraweth himſelfe vnto Durham, and there lyueth. 311.25.
Licenced to depart into Normandie. 499. 80. complayneth to the Pope in vayne. 500. 10. returneth into England with commiſſion from king Richard the firſt. 512.80.
Liberties of Norwich ſeaſed. pag.1272.col.1 lin.46.
Liſieur,won by the French.pa. 1276.col.2.lin 53.
Litle Britaine, which is Armorica in Fraunce. 95.75.
Liberties of London ſeyſed. 1081.10.b. reſtored. 1082. 8.b.
Lilly George cyted. 2.98.
Liberties of Magna Charta, confirmed by Parliament. 779.92.
Liberties of the Citie of London reſtored againe. 739. 67.
Lincolne battaile, fought by Maude the Empreſſe againſt king Stephan. 373. 70.
Librarie in Yorke Minſter, conſumed wyth fyre. 300. 52.
Lynceus ſlayeth his vncle Danaus. 8.26.
Lynceus bringeth the kingdom of Argiues vnder his ſubiection. 8.28.
Light ſhippes firſt inuented in the Britiſh ſeas. 5.28.
Lincolne made a Biſhops See. 309.65.
Liulfus , murthered in hys houſe. 311.36.
Lincolne wonne. 602.29.
Lydford waſted and burnt by the Danes. 241.42
Lilius Giraldus cyted. 6.46.
Liberties of the Citie of London ſeiſed into Henrye the thyrds handes. 738.37.
Licence graunted to al men, to build Caſtles, Towers, or holdes. 366.11
Licinius maryeth Conſtantia, ſiſter to Conſtantinus. 91. 62.
Lynceus ſaued by his wyfe Hyppermneſtra,fleeth into Egypt. 7.78.
Limezun Citie in Cypres, wonne by king Richard the firſt. 492.11.
Lincolne Caſtle builded. 299. 1.
Lionel the kings ſonne Garden of Englande. 926.23.a.
Lieutenantes appoynted ouer euery ſhyre in England.775 9.
Lincolne Citie taken and ſpoyled by certaine outlawes. 776.61.
Lieth beſieged by the Lorde Gray. 1804. 2. the ſundrye exployctes done thereat. ibidem. and many leaues folowing. 1813 . where the towne is ſurrendered and peace made.
Liſtes in Smithfield pa.1317 col.2.lin.50.
Lincolne Iohn author of the inſurrection on yll May day. 1499.50.is hanged. 1503. 30.
Lyndſey burned, and the people ſlayne , by king Egelredus. 250.67.
Liens Caſtle wonne by kyng Iohns ſouldiours. 584.12.
Iohn Litteſter Captaine of the Norfolke rebels. 1031.22. a.executed. 1032.34.a
Limoges taken by the blacke Prince. 991.10.a.
Lith burnt. 1593.20.
Lionel the kings ſonne created Duke of Clarence. 968.47. b.
Licinius choſen fellowe wyth Maximianus in the Empire. 91.51.
Licinius ſent wyth an armie againſt Maximinus , ouerthroweth him. 91.64.
Lychfield , whereof it tooke name. 88.38.
Lyſieur taken by Engliſh. pag. 1189.col.2.lin.21.
Lincolne Church rent from the top downewardes, with an earthquake. 461.84.
Liberalitie, one of the greateſt ornamentes of a Prince. 317.62.
Lincolne Church builded. 162 70.
Earle of Liſle taken priſoner. 927.7.b.
Line and names of the kynges of the ſeuen kingdomes of England. 281.1.
Lylla, ſeruant to king Edwyne, ſlayne. 159.71.
Liuius Gallus, a Romane captaine. 82.23.
Litchfield See, to the Biſhops of Mercia. 179.
Librarie in Yorke erected.192. 84.
Line and original of the Earles of Richmond. 301.69.
Limeryke kingdome in Ireland , geuen to Philip de Breuſe. 450.40.
Liuius Gallus ſlayne in London. 82.44.
Henry Byſhop of Lincolne dyeth. 915.11.b.
Liberties of London ſeyſed. 794.56.a.
Licinius vanquiſhed and put to death by Conſtantinus.91. 81.
Lincolne ſpoyled, ryfled , and ſacked. 614.6.
Lionel ſonne to King Edward the thyrd borne. 903.20.b.
Lyke mayſter , lyke ſeruaunt. 375.10.
Lyndſey, waſted by the Danes. 240.48.
Linne wonne by Lewes power. 602.8.
Lymene riuer in Eaſt Kent. 215.76.
Lynne.pag.1324.col.2.lin.28.
Lichfielde a towne. pag.1415. col.1.28.col.2.lin.57.
Earle of Lile put to flight.925 7.b.
Liberalitie of the Frenche King . pag. 1349. col. 1. lin.30.
Lyndſey ſpoyled by Earle Toſtie. 284.22.
Lyncea, whereof ſo called. 8. 14.
Lindeſſerne Monaſterie.196. 16.
Londoners diſcourteſie towardes the king. 1080. 30. b. commyt a riot in Fleetſtreat 1081. 10. a. preſent the king and queene with rich preſents.1082.36 a.
Louel William holdeth the caſtle of Cary, in the right of Maude the Empreſſe. 368. 75.
Londoners,pardoned for receiuing the Barones, againſt king Henrie the third. 779. 32.
London kept by the Romanes againſt the Britaines. 82. 13.
London recouered from the Romanes by the Britaines. 82.44.
London beſieged, and ſurrendred to the Danes. 253.57.
London beſieged by the Danes, and reſcued. 238.42.
London receiued into the obeyſance of the Danes.256.12.
London a great part burnt,by caſualtie of fire. 238.12.
Londoners ſlayne in great number by the Danes. 240. 20.
Lordes countrey. 176.7.
Loegria bounded. 16.66
Longchampe William his ambition and traine. 494.73 playeth the partes of a right tyrant. 495.18. leeſeth his power Legantine. 496.9. refuſeth to make anſwere to his doings before the Barons, at Reading. 498.23. fleeth into the Towre of Lōdon with his army, and is there beſieged.498.36. depoſed. 499.7. ſeeketh meanes to flee ouer ſea,and is taken in womās apparel. 499 60.
Londoners chaſed and ſlaine at the battaile of Lewes by prince Edward. 768. 71. chaſed and ſpoyled at Croydon. 770.92.
Loches caſtle beſieged & wonne by king Richard the firſt.520 85.
Loches wonne by the French king. 562.12
Longeſpee William Earle of Saliſburye, goeth into the holy land.729.11. is ſlayne by the Saraſins. 723.30.
Louel Fraunces Viſcount Louel 1425.40. departeth out of the Sanctuary at Colcheſter and moued an inſurrection. 1427. 10. miſtruſting his ſoldiers, priuily fleeth into Lancaſhyre,and lurketh there 1428.2.and.14. fleeth into Flaunders. 1429. ſayleth into Ireland 1430.35. landeth in Lancaſhyre. eadem. 50.is ſlaine at Stoke.1431 44.

Locrinus falleth in loue with Eſtrild. 17.14
Locrinus marieth Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus. 17. 21.
Locrinus refuſeth Guendoloena, and marieth Eſtrild. 17 25.
Locrinus ſlaine. 17.30
Locrinus buryed in Troynouāt 17.33.
Lothore king of Kent departeth this life. 186.19
Lothore plagued for conſenting to murder. 186. 30
Londoners receiue honorably Henry Earle of Richmond. 142.50. lend ſixe thouſand markes to king Henry the ſeuenth. 1427.40. lende the king foure thouſand pounde 1434.54. lend the king money. 1435. 33.
Londoners offer the Citie of London, and their ayde to the Barons, againſt king John. 589.2.
Londoners courage againſt K. John. 598.49
Longchampe William made gouernour of the Towre of London, and of thoſe partes. 481.22. inſtituted the popes Legate in England. 494. 71.
Longchampe Oſbert made gouernour of Yorkſhyre. 483. 115.
Londoners put to flight by the Danes. 216 63
Loſaunge Robert Byſhop of Thetfoord, goeth to Rome to do penance. 333.70
London to be gouerned by two Bayliffes. 479.15. diuided into Craftes and felowſhips 479. 42. diuided into Wardes. 479.56
Loyre a Ryuer in Fraunce. 13 84.
Lordane, whereof the worde came, and what it ſignifieth. 243.18.
London encloſed with a wal. 33.92.
Loth king of Pictes, marrieth Anne ſiſter to Vter Pendragon. 132.16
Loth king of Pictes aydeth the Saxons againſt Arthur. 132. 27.
London chiefe citie and Metropolitane of al England. 247 105.
Londoners valiancie in defending their citie agaynſte the Danes. 247.100
Londoners ſubmyt them ſelues to the Danes. 248.39
Londoners through familiaritie with the Danes, become like vnto them. 263.28
Lollius Vrbicus, ſent Lieutenant into Britaine. 76. 57
Lollius appeaſeth the vnquietneſſe of the Britaines. 76.60
Lordes Temporal refuſe to ayd the Pope with money. 632 65.
Longchampe William made biſhop of Ely. 478.13
Lorde Chauncelor of England Prolocutor of the vpper houſe. 354.64
Londoners conſpire to take Maude Empreſſe priſoner. 377.28.
London walled by Helene the Empreſſe. 94.9
Louthian in Scotland waſted by the Engliſh men. 430. 36.
London when, and whence ſo named. 33.115
Lord la Vaal ſlaine at Roche Darien. 941.47.a
London the kings ſpecial chamber. pa. 1381. co. 2. lin. 57
Londoners lend the king mony 1585.40.
L. Lomley Williā put to death. 1570.12.
Lord Maior of London ſerueth Wine to the King, and hath the cup gyuen him. pag. 1120. col. 1. lin. 38.
Lord fits Water appealeth the Duke of Aumerle of treaſon pag. 1122. col. 2. lin. 53.
Lord Morley appealeth the Earle of Sariſbury. pag. 1124. col. 1. lin. 33.
Lordes conſpired againſt king Henry the fourth. pag. 1126 col. 1. lin. 30.
Lorde Cromwel ſlaine. pag. 1335. col. 1. lin. 10.
Lord Say ſlayne. pa. 1335. co. 1. lin. 11.
Lord Wenlooke. pag. 1335. col. 2. lin. 13. ſlayne. pag. 1339. col. 1. lin. 48.
Lord Clifford ſlayne. pag. 1311. col 1. lin. 38.
Lord Dakers ſlayne. pag. 1312 col. 1. lin 38.
Loncaſter William. 475. 55.
Locrinus eldeſt ſonne to Brute. 16. 32.
Lou, or Lupus Hugh, departeth this life. 323.51.
Londoners refuſe to go with king Edward the ſecond. 878. 18. a.
London called firſt Troynouant builded. 16. 18.
Lord Audeley. pag. 1313. col. 2. lin. 1.
Lord Clinton. pag. 1313. col. 2. lin 1.
Lyuel ſlayne. pag. 1314. col. 2. lin. 12.
Lord Roos. pag. 1314. col. 2. lin. 23. beheaded. pag. 1315. col. 1. lin. 1.
Lord Molins. pag. 1314. col. 2. lin. 23. beheaded. pag. 1315. col. 1. lin. 1.
Lord Hungerford. pag. 1314. col. 2. lin. 24. beheaded. pa. 1315. col. 1. lin. 1.
Lord Scrope. pag. 1315. col. 1. lin. 20.
London chiefe Cytie of the kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons. 131. 33.
Lincolne beſieged by Cheldrike. 132.69.
London lendeth money to king Edward the third. 907.5.b.
Lord Scales. pa. 1346. col. 2. lin. 32.
Lewlin Prince of Wales dieth. 656.44.
Londoners of right called Barons. 731.54.
Londoners fauourers of Wiclifs doctrine. 1039.50.a.
London a great part conſumed with fire. 199.66.
Londoners encline to the Nobilitie. 1069.16.a.
London ſharply beſieged by the Danes. 240.64.
Lorde Haſtings. pag. 1321. col. 2. lin. 13.
Lome Geffrey abiured. 1541. 36.
Londoners muſter before the king. 1573. 40.
Lord Bonuille. pag. 1305. col. 2. lin. 7. beheaded. lin. 10.
Lordes deuiſe newe orders of gouerning. 707.60.
London ſometime called Auguſte. 104. 32.
Lord Cobham. pag. 1298. col. 2. lin 38.
Lord Leuel. pag. 1298. col. 2. lin 47.
John Neuil Lord montacute, Marques mountacute. pag. 1315. col. 2. lin 1.
Londoners diſquieted for the election of the Maior. 1046. 30. a.
Louiers beſiged by Engliſhe men. pag. 1193. col. 1. lin. 25. yelded. lin. 38.
Londō appoynted byſhops See of the eaſt Saxons. 181. 15
League betweene Henry the fift, and the Duke of Burgoigne. pag. 1209. col. 2. lin. 3.
Loſecote field. pag. 1322. col. 1. lin. 44.
Lord Duras. pa. 1323. col. 1. lin. 34.
Longeſpee William ſore broſed with iuſting 742.72.
Locrinus taketh vppon him the gouernment of Loegria, or England. 16.61.
Longipee William Earle of Saliſburye baſe brother to king John. 578 14.
Longland Henry byſhop of Lincolne and the Kinges confeſſor putteth a ſcruple into hys conſcience touching hys mariage. 1550.56.
Louel Thomas Knight one of the Priuie counſel to Henry the eyght. 1464.53
London Maior & Sheriffes reduce their tables to a ſober dyet. 1589.40.
Lordes Talbot, Scales, & Hungerford taken by the French. pag. 1242. co. 2. lin. 30.
Lord Talbot releaſed by exchaunge. pag. 1247. co. 2. lin. 54. tooke the Caſtle of Soing pa. 1251. co. 2. li. 31
Saint Loe yeeldeth to Chaſtillion. 1824.40.
Londoners deny to fight againſt the nobilitie. 1064.20.a.
London and Kent aſſigned to Androgeus. 34.41.
London deſtroyed by ye Danes 206.112.
Lother, a Captaine of the Danes. 270.31
The Londoners doe banquet the King and Queene of Hungarie. 1525.12
The Londoners ſend a thouſand ſouldiours into France 1602.48.
The Londoners do muſter and traine ſouldiours. 1862.10.
Londoners glad to agree wyth Richard Earle of Cornwal. 736.50.
Lou, or Lupus Hugh, Earle of Cheſter. 323.26.
Londoricke, looke Roderike, K. of Pictes.
London recouered out of the handes of the Danes. 215. 59.
London the chiefe Citie of Mercia. 215.66.
Lothore ſucceedeth his brother Egbert in the kingdome of Kent. 180.100.
London ſendeth men to the warres. 951.11.a
Logria, alotted to Locrinus, now called England. 16 37
Long ſufferance of euyl, increaſeth boldnes in the auctors. 84.1.
The Londoners cut down and caſt in the encloſures of the common fieldes about the Citie. 1494.50.
Lord Stanley. pa. 1415. col. 1. lin. 32. pag. 1417. col. 2. lin. 30. ioyned with the Earle of Richmond. pag. 1421. col 1. lin. 1. pag. 1423. co. 1. lin. 8.
London great part conſumed with fire. 314.35
Londoners lende the King twentie thouſande pounde. 1521.35.
Long bowes and the vſe of them, firſt brought into England. 316.50.
Rauſi Duke of Loraine ſlayne at Creſſy. 934.32.b.
Londoners ſet forthe a muſter. 1802.17.
Londoners take part with Godwyn, agaynſt king Edward. 273.75.
London mutch harmed by an outragious winde. 322.9.
Lucius the Romane Captayne ouerthrowen by Arthur 133

133.68.
Lollius buildeth another wall beyonde Adrians. 76.63.
Lochdore Caſtle taken. 842. 44.b.
Loughleuen riuer. 70.1.
Lord Fitz Walter. pag.1310. co.2.lin.26 ſlaine.lin.55.
Lucius, ſonne to Coilus, beginneth his reygne ouer Britain 74.25.
Lucius the firſt king that receyued the faith of Jeſus Chriſt into Britayne. 74.47.
Lucius with all his Familie and people baptiſed. 74.78.
Lucius departeth this lyfe. 75.113.
Lud dyeth and is buryed nygh Ludgate. 34.9.
Ludhurdibras or Rud, ſonne to Leill beginneth to reygne ouer Britayne. 18.109.
Lupicinus put from the office of the maſter of the Armory. 103.44.
Lupicinus returneth ouer into Fraunce. 103.54.
Lucy Richard accurſed by Archbyſhop Thomas Becket. 409.61.
Lucy Richard lord gouernour of England. 410.59.
Lucygny Aymerike, and his ſonnes, ſubdued. 411.7.
Ludicenus king of Mercia ſlayne in battaile by the Eaſt Angles. 203.77. and. 205.78.
Lodouicus Pius, Emperour, and king of Fraunce. 205.104.
Lupus Byſhop of Troyes ſent to preach in Britaine. 119.62.
Lupus returneth agayne into Fraunce. 120.75.
Lugge riuer, where Ethelbertes body was buried. 197.28.
Ludhurdibras, or Rud dieth. 19 10.
Ludlow Caſtle wonne by the Earle of Leyceſter. 771.24.
Lucie Richard lord. 391.14.
Luydhard byſhop ſent into England with the lady Bertha. 145.106
Lud ſonne to Hely beginneth to reygne ouer Britaine 33.77
Lucy Hecebert gouernour of Warrham Caſtle. 378.101.
Luſignaue Guy halfe brother to Henry the thyrd commeth into England. 724.40.
Ludlow towne wonne by kyng Stephan. 371.51.
Luttrell Hugh knight. 1450.18.
Lupicinus ſent into Britayne with an armie. 103.21.
Lupe riuer now Lee..216.52.
Lucan cited 4.23 and 40.20.
Ludlow Caſtle. 363.76.
Ludgate bulded. 33.97.
Ludlow ſpoyled. pag.1297.col.2.lin.26.

M.

Malcolme king of Scotland, receiueth the order of knighthoode at the handes of Kyng Henry the ſecond of England. 399.50.
Matthew ſonne to the Earle of Flaunders marryeth the lady Mary Abbeſſe of Ramſey. 400.49.
Mary Abbeſſe, daughter to king Stephan, marryed to Matthew, ſonne to the Earle of Flaunders. 400.50.
Margaret ſiſter to Edward the fourth and late wyfe to Charles Duke of Burgogne a great enemie to Henry the ſeuenth. 1429.10. aydeth the Earle of Lincolne. 1430 35. forgeth a counterfeit Duke of Yorke. 1440. 44.
Maude Empreſſe departeth this lyfe. 410.67.
Maude daughter to Henrie the ſecond marryed to Henrye Duke of Saxonie. 410.86
Maude her iſſue by Henry Duke of Saxonie 410. 89.
Mans nature ambitious, and deſyrous to gouerne. 411.113.
Malebrough Caſtle 438.100
Malaſert Caſtle made playne with the ground. 445. 20.
Marchades, chiefe leader of the Brabanders. 446.2.
Marcharus reconciled to King William, beginneth a newe rebellion. 306.10.
Marcharus eſcapeth into the Jle of Ely. 306.93.
Marcharus eſcapeth out of the Jle of Ely, into Scotland. 306.104.
Maufred ſonne to Fredericke the Emperour proclaymed king of Sicile.
Marriage concluded betwixt Edward ſonne to Henry the thyrd and the king of Spains daughter. 733.19.
Magnus king of Man, made knight. 742.53.
Matrones drowned through their owne vnſkilfulnes in rowing on the water. 614.11.
Maundeuile William Earle of Eſſex, takē priſoner. 380.24
Mallet William, Shyriſe of Yorkeſhyre, taken by the Danes & Engliſh exiles. 300.67
Maude Empreſſe put to flight, her armie diſcomfited. 377.82.
Maude Empreſſe beſieged in Oxford, eſcapeth in the night to Wallingford. 379.26.
Matth. Paris cited. 398.28.
Manſlaughters committed by Prieſtes and men within orders. 402.36
Mat. Paris cited. 403.84. and 403.92.
Marches of Wales quite waſted by long warre. 749.3.
Mariage concluded betwixt the lorde Alexander of Scotlande and the lady Margaret daughter to Henry the thirde. 701.95.
Mayne, harried by Philip King. of Fraunce. 470.30.
Mans citie beſieged, and yeelded to Philip King of Fraunce. 470.31.
Margaret, Admirall to Tancrede, King. of Sicile. 490.61.
Margaret, Wife to Henrie, ſonne to King Henrie the ſecond, crowned Queene of England. 421.83.
Mans citie beſieged, and deliuered. 329.48.
Malcolm, King of Cumberland. 275.65.
Maximus ſucceedeth Gracianus in the Empire. 97.63.
Maximus diſchargeth his Britiſh armie. 97.83.
Marcus Lieutenant of Britaine, proclaimed Emperour. 97.105.
Maude, Daughter to King Henrie the firſt, borne. 339.50.
Marſhall, William, otherwyſe Chepſtow Erle of Stregell proclaymes King John. 542.15.
Maude, Wife to King. Henrie the firſt. departeth this life. 354.101.
Mortimer Hugh, fenceth his caſtle againſt King Henrie the ſecond. 396.8.
Mayor and two Sheriffes graunted to be choſen euery yeare in London. 566.90
Mayor what it ſignifieth. 567 7.
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Emperour. 75.82
Marcus Antonius Emperour. 76 71.
Margadud Kyng of South Wales. 154.66
Maude daughter to king Henry the firſt, affianced to Henry the Emperour. 348.6
Maude daughter to Robert Fitzham, maried to Robert baſe ſonne to king Henry the firſt. 351.51
Maude daughter to king Henrye the firſt, ſent home vnto her huſband the Emperour. 352.82.
Maude Empreſſe married to Geffrey Plantagenet Earle of Aniou. 361.15
Maude Empreſſe forſaken of her huſbande, returneth to her father. 162.22
Maude Empreſſe receyued home agayne of her huſband. 362.28.
Maude ſiſter to king Edgar of Scotland, profeſſed a Nun. 337.71.
Maude maried to king Henry the firſt of England, & crowned queene. 337.90
Maude Empreſſe eſtabliſhed heyre apparant of the crowne of England. 360.17
Margaret Mariſhal created Duches of Norfolke. 1097 30.b.
Maior of the citie of London firſt choſen. 479.64
Maurice Biſhop of London. 336.55.
Mauricius Emperour. 143 86.
Maner of the Britains in their fight. 41.88.
Maximianus ſlayne in Italie, 96.12.
Maude Empreſſe landeth at Porteſmouth in England, and who came with her. 372.81
Maude Empreſſe being at libertie, ſolliciteth her friends in euery place. 373.35
Magnus, Admyral of a Nauie of Rouers, arriueth in the Jle of Angleſey. 328 105
Magnus and his people chaſed and ſlayne by the Engliſhe men 328.113
Maude Empreſſe, beſieged in Arundell caſtle. 373.23.
Margan, and Cunedagius rebell againſt Cordilla. 20.81.
Margan and Cunedagius deuide Britaine betweene them. 20.94.
Margan inuadeth the landes and dominions of Cunedagus with an armie. 21.13.
Margan with his armie diſcomfited and ſlayn. 21.24.
Maeſbell battaile fought againſt the Saxons. 122.94
Marigvane Charles ambaſſadour from the French king. 1436 55.
Martinus Lieutenant of Britaine, defendeth the innocencie of the Britaines, againſt Paulus the Notarie. 94.77.
Martinus the Lieutenāt ſlayeth himſelfe. 95.11.
Maximianus beginneth hys reigne ouer Britayne. 95.34.
Maximianus couſin to the Emperour Conſtantinus ſent for into Britayne from Rome. 93.27.
Maximianus commeth into Britayne and marryeth Octauius daughter. 93.53.
Maſerfield field fought by the Mercians agaynſt the Northumbers. 170.7.

An Index.

Maximinianus goeth about to depoſe his ſonne Maxentius and to take himſelfe the Empire vpon him. 91.11.
Maximinianus ſleeth vnto Conſtantinus into Fraunce 91.30.
Maximinianus practiſeth Cōſtantinus deſtruction. 91.23.
Maximinianus ſleeth from Conſtantinus vnto Marſiles. 91.42.
Maximinianus ſtrangled to death. 91.46.
Maximinus Lieutenant in Britaine vnder Conſtantinus. 92.53
Maurice, ſonne to Conan Meridock, ſent to Rome for Maximianus. 93.37.
Maude Empreſſe diſherited, for marrying out of the Realme. 365.55.
Malcolme Camoir, eſtabliſhed in the Crowne of Scotland. 275.61.
Marſhal Richard dyeth of a fall from his horſe. 701.5.
Manlius, younger brother to Mempricius, rebelleth. 17.72.
Manlius ſlayne. 17.76.
Malcolme commeth into England, to ſee King William Rufus. 324.53
Malcolme inuadeth England with an armie. 324.63.
Malcolme ſlayne. 324.67.
Marcharus or Malcherus, ſonne to Earle Algar, made Earle of Northumberland. 279 25.
Marcharus and Edwyn, diſcomfited by the Norwegians neere to Yorke. 284.65
Marcharus ſubmitteth himſelfe to King William. 291.59.
Malus Catulus Roger, Vice chauncellour, drowned. 522.111.
Mat. Weſtm. reproued of errour. 323.9.
Maude, wyfe to King William, crowned Queene of England. 299.18.
Margaret Counteſſe of Saliſbury attainted. 1570.50.
Marſhall William buryed in the new Temple Church at London. 617.23.
Maſcutius an Archpirate, ſweareth to be true to King Edgar. 231.78.
Ile of Man conquered. 923.10.a.
Malgo, Nephue to Aurelius Canonus, beginneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 141.69.
Malgo renoumed for beautie and courage. 141.74.
Malgo dyeth. 140.90.
Malgo defyled with inceſt and Sodomitrie. 141.84.
Maglocunus, looke Malgo.
Matt. Weſtm. cyted. 143.23. and. 153.17. and. 180.78. and. 192.95 and. 213.62.
Maleſert Caſtle taken. 433.31.
Malorie Auketille. 435.21.
Malcolme King of Scottes, doeth homage to king William of Englande, for the Realme of Scotland. 307.61. and. 322.53.
Malclot. 1038.7.b.
Marleſwyn ſleeth into Scotland. 298.64.
Marſhal William Earle of Pembroke dyeth. 638.3.
Margaret ẏ Scottiſh Queene ſleeth into England with her newe huſband the Earle of Angus. 1498.40. returneth into Scotland. 1503.30.
Maydes drowned, or ſlayne, as they were ſayling into lytle Britaine. 95.104.
Mare Tyrrhenum, taken for Pyrrenium. 13.44.
London Maior keepeth no feaſt at the Guild hal. 1870.21. and. 1872.34.
Magdalen a Prieſt like to king Richard the ſecōd. pa. 1126. col. 1. lin. 36. counterfeited to be K. Richard pag. 1127. col. 1. lin. 19. fleeyng into Scotland, was taken and brought to the Towre of London. pag. 1129. col. 1. lin. 24. beheaded at London. pag. ibidem. col. ibidem. lin. 30.
Margaret daughter to Henry the ſeuenth affied to Iames the fourth king of Scotland. 1456.38 is maryed to the king of Scots. 1458.24.
Martia, wyfe to Guintolinus. 28.99.
Martia gouerneth Britayne in her ſonnes nonage. 29.23.
Martian lawes firſt deuiſed. 29.31.
Mary daughter to Henry the ſeuenth promiſed to Charles king of Caſtill. 1461.10.
Maruey Henry knight & Vice Chamberlaine made Lorde priuie ſeale and Lord Maruey. 1524.15.
Margaret daughter vnto Margaret the Scottiſhe Queene borne. 1498.
Matthew Cardinall of Sion Ambaſſadour from the Emperour. 1499.51
Mandubracius, ſonne to Imanuentius ſleeth to Ceſar for ſuccour. 42.59.
Margaret daughter to the French king affianced to Henry, ſonne to king Henrye the ſecond. 398.21. & 399.71.
Marion Henry Counſellour to Prince Arthur. 1456.56.
Manſwetus the Popes Nuncio ſent to Henry the thyrde. 750.18.
Maruellous tempeſt of wynde on Chriſtmas euen. 199.61.
Mariſhe William conſpireth the kings death. 654.46.
Maior and Aldermen of London, ſworne to be true to king Henry the thyrde. 761.58.
Marſhal William, made Erle of Chepſtow. 475.51.
Madoc of Wales taken priſoner. 811.57.b.
Marble ſtone brought out of Scotland. 822.51.a.
Magna Carta confirmed. 830.50.a 834.30.b.
Maximilian the Emperour elected knight of the Garter. 1837.40.
Magna Carta confirmed. 914.35.b.
Manus Citie and Caſtle taken and throwen downe. 543.58.
Marlbrough Caſtle raſed by the friendes of king Henrie the third. 611.67.
Mathew Gourney. pag. 1124 col. 2. lin. 55.
Maior of London impriſoned. 1081.50.a.
Manner of faſting in the olde tyme. 175.7.
Maldon battayle, fought by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 238.54.
Marſhal William created Erle of Striguile and girded with the Swoorde of the ſame. 545.37.
Maluoyſin Caſtle builded. 326.13.
Marchants ſuſtayne great loſſes. 1872.51.
Machaire Caſtle in Fraunce wonne. 627.10.
Marke Caſtle betrayed and recouered agayne. 1008.2.b.
Earle Marſhall giueth his inheritance to the king. 839.39.a.
Euſtace Marwell reuolteth. 901.13.a.
Marius erecteth a ſtone in token of victorie ouer the Picts. 67.73.
Marius dyeth and is buried at Caerleil. 68.10.
Malcolne king of Cumberland ſweareth to be true to king Edgar. 231.78.
Maundeuile Geffray. 377.42.
Marriage of Prieſtes abſolutely forbidden in England. 340.43.
Marchenelaghe. 29.38.
Earle Marſhal aydeth the Queene. 877.55.b.
Maunt taken by the Engliſh. pag. 1198. col. 2. lin. 10.
Marmion Robert ſlaine. 380.60.
Margerie Iordaine witch. pa. 1268. co. 2. lin. 1.9.
William Marques of Gulike made Earle. 903.50.a.
Maniel Iohn Perſon of Maydſtone. 660.84.
Mategriffon Caſtle in Sicile buylded by king Richard the firſt. 489.17.
Maior and Aldermē of London made knights. 1033.16.a.
Matt. Weſtmin. cited. 131.59 and. 140.54.
Marie, Counteſſe of Perth, drowned by ſhipwracke. 357.107.
Maundeuile William, Earle of Albemarle, dyeth. 480.44
Manſell Iohn chaplein to Henrie the thyrd feaſteth two kings and two Queenes 743.32.
Mary daughter to Henry the ſeuenth married to Lewes the French king. 1495.37. is crowned Queene of Fraunce. 1496.29 married to Charles Duke of Suffolke 1497.58. and. 7.
Manleon Sauary Lieutenant in Guyenne. 619.47.
Malmeſburie Caſtle beſieged and deliuered. 386.65.
Marcharus releaſed out of priſon. 315.17.
Maude the Queene, wife to king William dyeth. 315.92
Marriage concluded betwixt the Prince of Rothſay and the Duke of Suffolkes daughter. pag. 1407. col. 1. lin. 3.
Marcell, or Marcell William, taken and kept priſoner in Wallingford Caſtle. 380.8
Madan ſonne to Locrinus, vndertaketh the gouernment of Britaine. 17.52.
Madan deuoured by wylde beaſtes. 17.57.
Madan Caſter, or Dancaſter builded by Madan. 17.60.
Mariage concluded to be had betweene the French kings ſonne and king Iohns neece 548.27.
Maus deliuered to the Engliſh. pag 1225. col. 2. lin. 21. loſt by the Engliſh. pag. 1238. col. 1. lin. 40. agayne recouered by the Engliſh. pag. 1238. col. 2. lin. 40.
Maximianus perſecuteth the Chriſtians. 95.42.
Maximianus proclaimed Emperour in Britayne. 95.60.
Maximianus goeth ouer into Fraunce with an armie. 95.
Maximilian Duke of Burgoin impriſoned by the Citizens of Bruges. 1435.4. ſubdueth the Rebels. 1438.20. defrauded of the heyre of Britayne. 1439.4.

Maglanus

Maglaunus Duke of Albania, marrieth Regan, ſecond daughter to Leir. 19.96.
Maglaunus Duke of Albania diſcomfited and ſlayne. 20.55.
Maudes Caſtle in Wales. 537.74.
Mary the daughter of Henry the ſecond French Queene and Duches of Suffolke dyeth. 1561.4.
Maximilian the Emperour weareth a croſſe of Saint George. 1484.36.
Maxentius Emperour hated for his tyrannie. 90.93.
Maxentius ſonne to Maximianus Herculeus the Emperour. 91.6.
Margaret counteſſe of Saliſburie executed. 1581.4.
Mandevyle William loſeth his ſtanderd. 610.1.
Mallorie John. 1462.11.
Marſhal Richard Earle of Penbroke ſayleth into Ireland 645.30. is taken priſoner. 645.37. dieth of a wound. 645.48.
Marſhal Gilbert made Earle of Penbroke, and Marſhal of Henry the thyrds houſe. 646 2.
Mancheſter towne repayred. 222.72.
Magna Carta confirmed by Henry the third. 626.50.
Marran Nunrie founded. 726 36.
Maximianns and Diocleſianns, renounce the rule of the Empire. 89.34.
Marſhal William Earle of Penbroke dieth. 617 16.
Matthew, Earle of Bullongne ſlayne. 429.34.
Magus expert in the courſe of the Starres. 2.57.
Makarel Doctor hanged. 1570.36.
Malmeſbury Abbey founded. 190.19.
Monkes of Couentrie diſplaced, and ſecular Canons ſet in their roumthes. 494.89.
Manlius Valens, and his Legion vanquiſhed by the Britanes. 51.50.
Marcharus fleeth into Scotland. 298.62.
Mariſch William executed. 703.76.
Marcus the Lieutenant ſlayne in a tumult. 97.119.
Matthew of Weſtminſtr deceyued. 141.49.
Magiſtrates of the Citie of London depoſed by Henry the third. 621.34.
Margret ſiſter to Edward the fourth. pag. 1317. col. 2. lin. 11.
Maximinus vãquiſhed at Tarſus, and eaten with lice. 91.67.
Mamertinus cited. 33.42.
Mandevile John cited. 227.24.
Margaret counteſſe of Liſle deceaſeth. 730.68.
Malmeſburie buylded. 23.51.
Mauus, looke Aruiragus.
Mackbeth ſlayne. 275.63.
Maldon. 221.2.
Marcellinus cited. 3.80.
Manus deliuered to king John 547.30.
Mary Queene of man. 803.50.b.
Martin de la Mare. pag. 1328 col. 1. lin. 1.
Maſſe abrogated and forbidden. 1640.32. is reſtored. 1722.56. is eftſons abrogated. 1797.27.
Mather Edmond executed for treaſon 1861.37.
Margret ſiſter to Edgar Edeling, married to Malcolme the fourth king of Scottes. 298.74.
Marlebourgh Caſtle beſieged, and rendred to the Biſhop of Durham. 516.42.
Maydes ſent ouer into litle Britayne, for wiues to the inhabitantes. 95.
Malta aſſigned to the knightes of the Rhodes. 1554.58.
Malchus conſecrated Byſhop of Waterfoord in Ireland. 328.35.
Earle of March dieth in France. 967.12.b.
Malmeſburie Caſtle buylded. 371.71.
Manduit Robert drowned. 357.112.
Margret daughter to king Edward the third borne 943.40.a.
Marham Juſtice. 1123. col. 2. lin. 40.
Mary daughter vnto Henry the eight is diſinherited by the will of king Edward 1714.20. her letter vnto the Councell after the diſceaſe of her brother. 1716. their anſwere vnto it. 1717.10. fleeth to the Caſtle of Fremingham whither forces repaire vnto her from all partes. 1717.50. is proclaimed Quene. 1718.40. entering the towre releaſeth dyuers priſoners. 1720.35. reſtoreth to thir ſees all the Biſhoppes depriued in the reigne of King Edward, and remoueth all Biſhoppes made in thoſe dayes. 1721.10. Crowned. 1722 40. publiſheth a pardõ with many exceptions ead. 50. aſſigneth Commiſſioners to take order with men excepted out of the pardon and other. eadem. 10. holdeth a Parliament. eadem. 28. ſendeth for Cardinall Poole. 1723.5. commaundeth a publique deſputation to be holden. eadem. 41. is eſpouſed vnto Philip prince of Hiſpaine. 1724.4. her Oration in the Guildhal. 1728.26. her ſtout courage 1731.40. pardoneth two hundred and twenty rebels. 1734.53. holdeth a Parlament. 1735.4. is maried to Philip prince of Hiſpaine. 1756.55. the conditions of the mariage. eadem. 46. holdeth a Parlament. 1759.34. ſetteth at libertye diuers priſoners in the towre. 1763.17. ſendeth ambaſſadours vnto Rome. 1763.40 holdeth a parliament. 1765 10. releaſeth the firſt fruits and tenthes. 1764.16. conſtantly ſuppoſed to be with child. 1764.40. proclaymeth warre againſt yͤ french king, and ſendeth an armye into France. 1767.40. taketh the loſſe of Calice at the hart. 1782.40. dyeth. eadẽ. 50. is honourably buryed. 1785.22.
Maximus king of Britain, looke Maximianus.
Maude queene ſueth to Maud Empreſſe, to releaſe Kyng Stephen, and is repulſed. 377.4.
Maximianus & Diocleſianus felowes in gouerment of the Empire. 83.16
Marius ſonne to Aruiragus, begynneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 66.108
Maximilian the Emperour dieth. 2506.50
The Mary Roſe drowned. 1602.40.
Maũt citie burnt by king William. 314.47
Maude wife to king Stephen, departeth this lyfe. 386.11
Mary queene of Hungary dieth 1786.11.
Marcus Papyrius ſmiteth a Gual on the head, & is therefore ſlaine. 26.49
Margaret ſiſter to Hugh Lupus Earle of Cheſter, maryed to John Bohun. 323.65
Maudes Caſtle repayred by Henry the third. 638.63
Mauriſhe Geffrey Lord chiefe Juſtice of Ireland. 636.19
Mary the Scottiſh queene maryed vnto Fraunces Dolphin of Fraunce. 1778.51
Mack William a Burgh created Earle of Clarickford 1590.11.
Maxentius the Emperor ſlain by Conſtantinus. 91 70
Margaret Counteſſe of Richmond, her wiſedome in aduiſing her nephewe Henry the eight. 1464.40
Malmeſbury Abbey fleeced of poſſeſſions. 195.28
Marton Colledge founded. 794.53.a
Marſhal William Earle of Pembroke, appoynted gouernor to Henry the third. 609 5.
Magus the ſecond king of Celtica. 2.84
Magi, from whence deriued. 2.104.
Magus, or Magi, what it ſignifieth. 2.108
Martias gouernmẽt commended. 29.40.
Malbanke Pierce, Beron of Nantwich. 323.45
Margaret Counteſſe of Saliſbury, daughter to Edward Duke of Clarence. pa. 1350 col. 2. lin 42.
Marſhal William ſent into Normandy with men of armes. 551.104
Mac Mur principal rebel of Ireland. 1103.57.b. offereth to parlee with the king. 1104.43.a
Mauleon Saucry reuolteth to the French king. 624.41
Mathew Paris cited. 325.74 and. 329.18.
Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis cited. 22.61. and. 28.31 and. 29.78.
Marſhal William Earle of Pembroke vanquiſheth his enemyes. 614.20
Maud Empreſſe confeſſeth her ſelfe to haue bene naught of her body. 392.15
Marcharus impriſoned againe by king William Rufus. 317.36.
Margaret Counteſſe of Richmond and Darby, mother to Henry the ſeuenth. pa. 1326 co. 1. lin. 15.
Mackbeth vſurper of yͤ crowne of Scotland, put to flight by Earle Siward. 275.59
Maſters of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford ſommoned to be at the Parlament. 745.60
Mattheus Weſtmonaſterienſis cited. 240.23. and. 240 35. and. 261.19. and. 284 82.
Mary daughter to Henrye the eight borne. 1498.51
Mart a Celtike word. 4.102
Marianus Scotus cited. 116 53.
Magnus elected king of the Norwegians after the death of king Cnute. 266.76
Margaret Counteſſe of Montfourts valiãtnes. 916.30.a
Myls borne downe with yce. 324.25.
Melun beſieged by the Engliſhe. pag. 1209. col. 2. li. 16. yeelded. pa. 1210. col. 2. li. 6
Memorancie of Fraunce aydeth Owen Glendour. pag. 1149. col. 2. lin. 50.

Meſchines Randulfe, Earle of Cheſter. 323.18
Medwal Henry. 1463.16.
Mekins Richard a boye burnt. 1581.22.
Menlane yeelded to the Engliſhe. pag. 1202. col. 2. lin. 37.
Meaux delivered to the french. pag.1263.col.1.lin 48.
Merton Abbey founded by Gilbert a Norman. 649.16.
Meſſengers from the Frenche king. 873.48.a.
Mercia rebelleth againſt Oſwy. 176.46.
Mercies recouer both theyr confines and libertie. 176.51.
Mercia annexed to kyng Edwardes dominions. 221.105.
Mercie riuer. 222.6.
Meidhamſted Abbey builded. 181.11.
Meidhamſtede, now called Peterborough. 181.11.
Meanuari a people. 182.46.
Men of warre and knightes commaunded to cut theyr hayre ſhort. 359.81.
Mercer a Scot taketh ſhippes from Scarburgh and is taken himſelfe. 1009 9 b.
Meriuale Abbey in Warwikeſhire, founded. 394.29.
Meſſengers from the Pope hanged. 963.17.b.
Simon Mepham made Archbyſhop of Cantorbury. 891.7.b dyeth 896.30.b.
Mercies refuſe to yeelde vnto Cnute. 252.23.
William Melton made Archbyſhop of Yorke. 852.55.a. dyeth.908.11.a.
Marchantes two of the Stillard beare fagottes. 1536.50.
Medulfe a Scot, founder of Malmeſburie Abbey. 191.19.
Mercia kingdome receyueth the fayth of Chriſt. 173.5. and.176.12.
Mercia inuaded by the Danes 212.16.
Men ouerthrowen to the ground wyth an earthquake 408.1.
Merſeware battaile, fought by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 206.85.
Melga and Guanius enter Britaine wyth an army, and deſtroy it from ſide to ſyde. 99.91.
Meſſina Citie, beſieged and wonne by the Engliſhmen. 487.63.
Meamers Thomas Lord Roos created Earle of Rutland. 1536.16.
Meaux beſieged by the Engliſhe. pag.1214.co.1.lin.30 taken. pag.1215. col. 1. lin. 3.
Marchantes ſtraungers reſtrained of making exchange 1556 55.
Mellitus goeth to Rome about buſines concerning the Churche of England. 156.41.
Mellitus baniſhed out of the kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons. 158.8.
Mellitus and Iuſtus depart into Fraunce 158.19.
Mellitus departeth this lyfe. 158.77.
Mercia inuaded and ſpoyled by Adelwold. 220.23.
Mercia robbed and ſpoyled by the Danes. 220.57
Melga and Guanius, enter into the North partes of Britaine, and make ſore war on the Britaines. 96 1.
Melga and Guanius flee out of Britaine into Irelande. 96.7.
Mellitus made Byſhop of London. 152.26.
Mellitus ſent into Brytaine. 149.97.
Mercia and Northumberland withdrawe their obeyſaunce to the Weſt Saxons. 209.1
Meireuent Caſtle wonne by king Iohn. 584.40.
Mat. Weſtm. cyted. 216.62. and.222.39.and.230 3.
Meduin and Eluane, two learned Britaines, ſent to Rome. 74.71.
Megla, one of the ſonnes of Porth. 130.5.
Merſee riuer. 140.34.
Meneuia Citie in Wales, now called Saint Dauid taken. 123.42.
Meatæ, who, and where inhabiting. 80.19.
Rees ap Meredeth condemned and executed. 804.10.a.
Meall Caſtle deliuered to king Henry the ſecond. 401.25.
Merton battayle, fought by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 210.45.
Mercia and myddle angles, two diſtinct kingdomes. 173 16.
Mercia conquered by the weſt Saxons. 203.83.
Melua beſieged in the Mariſhes neere Glaſtenburie. 134 25.
Mempricius eldeſt ſonne to Madan, beginneth to raigne ouer Britaine 17.63.
Mecredeſbourne battayle fought betweene the Brytaynes and Saxons 125.100.
Melga king of Pictes, ſent to ſubdue Maximus friendes. 95.109.
Meſia, now called Bulgarie. 103.31.
Meneuia, nowe called Weſt Wales. 27.106.
Meuricus, looke Aruiragus.
Meaſures and Weightes appoynted in Britayne. 23.63.
Maximus ſlayne at Aquileia. 97.90.
Meſeth one of the names of Samothes. 2.38.
Melkin, a Barde. 4.43.
Merlius both Bardes. 4.42.
Merton. 198.9.
Medeway riuer. 241.53.
Mercie, poſſeſſed by the Saxons. 131.24.
Mercie riuer. 143.49.
Melanthus king of Athens. 15 40.
Mempricius deuoured by wilde beaſtes. 17.87.
Merline, the great Britiſhe Prophet. 127.36.
Meneford. 266.61.
Merchant ſtrangers impriſoned. 765. 15.b.
Melga king of Pictes. 95.107.
Miracle declaring that the Scottes ought to be ſubiect to the kings of England. 225.84.
Milford hauen in Penbrookſhire. 419.42.
Iohn Minſterworth king executed for treaſon. 998. 53. a.
Miles Earle of Hereford, departeth this life. 380.18.
Migrot Peter, beheaded by the Saraſins. 501.33.
Mirabeau Caſtle in Poictou taken. 635.41.
Miles Iohn. 1463.20
Miles Foreſtone of the murderers of King Edward the fourths children. pag. 1390. col. 2. lin. 55. rated at Saint Martins. pag. 1391. col. 2. lin. 1.
Miſerie of England in time of ciuile warre. 388.45.
Miſtle Brokes ſayings, to Porter of Edward the fourth. pag. 1358. col. 1. lin. 45.
Miracle wrought at the election of Robert Duke of Normandie to be King of Hieruſalem. 338.49.
Miracles ſhewed at the burial of King Edward. 236.8.
Middle Angles and Merca two diſtinct kingdomes. 173 16.
Milnal burnt. 1837. 53.
Miracle working not to be bragged of. 150.8.
Miracles wrought at the Martirdome of Saint Alban. 88.22.
Michelney Abbey builded. 227 1.
Middleton Robert. 1425.44.
Miracles wrought at the finding of the holy Croſſe. 92.4. and, 92.9.
Middelton Caſtle builded. 216.6.
Mynes of Gold and ſiluer. 1000.33.b.
Mikilwonton. 195.104.
Miſerable ſtate of this realme vnder the thraldome of the Danes. 243.1.
Michelſbourgh. 228.63.
Middlemore Monke of the Charter houſe executed. 1563.50.
Miracles wrought by the dead and not by the liuing. 246.47.
Midleham Caſtle. pag. 1294. col. 2. lin 56.
Midleham Caſtle. pag. 1321. col. 1. lin. 47.
Monkes and Prieſtes, forſaking their orders for loue of their wiues, to be excommunicate. 340.69.
Monkes not to be Godfathers to any mans childe. 341.9.
Roger Mortimer keepeth feaſt. 789. 14. b. Scapeth out of the Towre. 873. 27. b. created Earle of March. 892. 14. a taken in Notingham Caſtle. 893. 57. b. atteinted 894 12. b. hanged. 895. 1. a his attainder reuoked, 949. 40. a.
Raufe Morthermer made Earle of Glouceſter. 815.23. a. deliuered out of priſon. 827. 40. b.
Morindus, ſonne to Elamius admitted King of Britaine 29.86.
More Thomas Knight Chauncelloure of the Duchie ſent commiſſioner vnto Cambraye. 1552. 55. is ſworne Lorde Chauncelor. 1553.11. geueth vp the Chancellorſhippe. 1558.10. refuſeth to take the othe of ſucceſſion. 1563.18. is beheaded. 1564.6.
Molle ſucceedeth Oſwulphus, in the kingdom of Northumberland. 195.106.
Monkes of Canterburie haue their willes in deſpite of the king, and the Archbiſhop. 539 33.
Monkes remoued out of theyr Monaſteries, and ſecular Prieſtes with their wyues brought in. 235.100.
Monkes mayntayned in their Monaſteries by force of armes. 235.106.
Thomas Mowbrey created Duke of Norfolke. 1097.30.b.
Moreue a noble man of Gaſcoigne. 560.26.
Monkes of Cantorburie choſe their Archbyſhop without knowledge of Kyng Iohn. 561.59.
Mount Alban and the Countrey thereaboutes wonne by king

king John. 563.5.
Monkes of Cantorburye preuayle in their ſute before the Pope againſt the Byſhops. 563.73.
Monkes of Cantorbury baniſhed the Realme by King John, and their goods confiſcate. 564.7.
Morkell, a valiaunt Engliſhe knight. 325 11.
Mordreds two ſonnes ſlayne by Conſtantinus. 138.23.
Mordreds two ſonnes rebel agaynſt Conſtantinus, and are diſcomſited. 138.17.
Moriani arriue in Northumberland with an armie. 29. 111.
Moriani vanquiſhed by the Britaynes and ſlayne. 29. 115.
Moriani what people they ſhould be. 30.6.
Monkes placed agayne in the Church of Couentrye. 535. 18.
Monkes of Chriſtes Church in Cantorburie complayne of their Archbyſhop to the Pope. 535.70.
Montmorancie a Frenchman, taken priſoner. 536.23.
Mordred ſonne to Loth, king of Pictland, rebelleth agaynſt Arthur. 133.73.
Mordred cauſeth himſelfe to be made king. 134.9.
Mordred diſcomfited with his rebels, fleeth into Cornwall. 134.31.
Mordred ſlayne, and his armie diſcomfited. 134.63.
John Earle of Mountfort doth homage to king Edward the thyrde for Britayne. 916. 16.a.
Mortalitie of men and beaſtes in England and Normandie. 325.19.
Monkes what their profeſſion and ſtudie ought to be. 321.45.
Monkes of Durham being a long tyme excommunicated are now at length aſſoyled. 747.40.
Morindus cruell nature. 29. 102.
Morton John Byſhop of Elye ſent for home. 1426. is commended 1431.40. is elected Archbiſhop of Canterburie Cardinall and Chauncellour. ibidem. murmured at 1446.20. dyeth. 1455.35. his iuſt commendations. 1458.21. borne in Dorſetſhire. 1463.10.
Monmouth John Captayne to Henry the thyrdes armie receyueth an ouerthrowe. 644. 44.
Mortalitie ſo great in England that there were ſcarce ſo many hole as ſhould keepe the ſicke. 541.75.
Mount Saint Michaell Caſtle in Normandie, beſieged and releaſed. 321.89.
Modwene, a renowmed virgin in Irelande. 207. 12.
Modwene commeth into England and buildeth two Abbeys. 208.2.
Modwene dyeth and is buried in Andreſey Ile. 208. 14.
Mortalitie great. 1580.43.
Mountioy Caſtle yeelded to the Engliſh. pag.1192, col. 2. lin.34.
Moſt famous learned men to conferre about ẏ kings mariage. 1551. 50. is choſen by the Queene to be of her counſel in the matter of dyuorce. eadem.3. dyeth. 1559 53.
Montfort Henry ſonne to the Earle of Leyceſter purſueth the halfe brethren of Henrie the third. 752. 10. hee beſiegeth them in Bulleyne. 752.17. they paſſe awaye by ſafe conduct of the king of Fraunce. 752.26.
Montioye Lorde is prayſed 1594.30. his Stratageme 1589.32.
William Montagew created Earle of Saliſburye. 900. 13.b.
Morley Lord Morley ſlayne. 1436.28.
A monſtrous kinde of Earth mouing. 1857.47.
Mordack Henrie Abbot of Fountneys, choſen and conſecrated Archbyſhop of York 382.54.
Monkes ſlayne and wounded at the hygh altare. 313. 15.
Monkes driuen out of their Abbeys, and ſecular Prieſts placed in their roumthes. 231.2.
Mowbray Robert, Conſtable of Kinarde Ferie Caſtle, taken priſoner. 433.27.
Mount Sorrel Caſtle. 595. 76.
Money in Ireland made of lyke weyght and fineneſſe to the Engliſh coyne. 570. 57.
Money ſent ouer into Flaunders to pay king Johns Souldiers wages. 583.107
Mountagne Edward knight Lord chiefe Juſtice of the Common place is one of the Executors of Henrie the eyght. 1611.50 is excepted out of the generall pardon, and why. 1722.58.
Mountfoord Simon, goeth ouer into Fraunce, and is receiued into the French kings ſeruice. 776.8.
Mountgomerie Roger, Earle of Shrewſburie in armes agaynſt king William Rufus. 318.64.
All Monaſteries viſyted. 1564 27.
Montmerencie Annas great maſter of the French kings houſe made knight of the Garter. 1559.10.
Montfort Caſtle delyuered to the Engliſhmen. 399.62.
Mountford Simon and his armie diſcomfited by Prince Edward. 772.59. is ſet at libertie and goeth a rouing. 776.6.
Monaſterie of Briege, or Cala in Fraunce. 169.56.
Mountford Simon knight beheaded. 1443.48
Monſtrous Fiſhes. 1834.20. and.1839.27. and. 1870. 17.
The Moſcouite ſendeth an ambaſſadour. 1839.3
Moūtgomery Roger reconciled to the king. 319.36
Monſtrous ſtarre appeareth. 1864.40.
Moumbray Roger conſpireth againſt king Henry the ſecōd. 426.112.
Morton Earledome confirmed to Mathewe Earle of Bologne. 427.16
Monkes of Canterbury complayning of their Archbiſhop Theobald to the Pope, are ſent home with checkes. 383 13.
Mountford Simon made earle of Leiceſter. 654.65
Money graunted towarde the warres in Fraunce. 977. 15.b.
Mortimer Roger Lord Lieutenant in Wales. 745.20
Monaſteries ſuppreſſed. 1802 11.
Mouyng Wood, by the Kentiſh men bearing of boughes in their handes. 292 64
Montgomery caſtle beſieged in vaine by the Welchmen. 631 90.
Merley Robert. 373.73
Moun William keepeth the caſtle of Duneſtor, in the right of Maude the Empreſſe. 368.77.
Monſtrous number of Flyes in February. 1871.18.
Morgan Kidwally learned in the law. 1413.co. 2.lin.11.
Mortimers Croſſe. 1304 co.2 lin.43.
Morgan ap Reuther beheaded. 1304.co.2.lin.57.
Monteiny Arnold a knight ſlain in a Juſtes. 729.50
Monkes of Dunſtable muche hindred by the commyng of the Fryers thither. 757. 14.
Thomas Mowbrey Duke of Norfolk impriſoned at Windſore. 1099.26.a baniſhed. 1101.13.b.
Monkaſter, now called Newcaſtle. 307.100
Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt in an houſe. 186 68.
John Earle of Mountfort taken priſoner by the Frenchmen. 916.25.a
Monkes ſtrange dreame of K. William Rufus death. 334 1.
Morchad king of Ireland frind to king Henry the firſt. 364 22.
Morindus deuoured by a monſter of the ſea. 30. 22
Montargis recouered by the Engliſh. 1247. co.2. lin. 36.
Monthault caſtle taken by Dauid prince of Wales. 712. 35.
Monſtrous fiſh killed at Mortlake. 658.50
Mons in Henaud held by Britaines, and why ſo called. 87 101.
Monſtreaw beſieged and taken by the Engliſh. 1209. co.1. li. 33.
Morgan Thomas. 1345. co.1 lin. 9.
Monſtrous birthes. 1816.7
Montmorency Frances Duke Montmorentiy ambaſſadour from the French king 1863 28. is ſtaulled knight of the Garter. ead.56.
Monaſteries al of three hūdred markes and vnder, geuen to the king. 1564.17. their nūber and value. ead.21
Moſcouia diſcouered. 1714. 26.
Mowbray William ſworne to king John. 542.86
Malcolme king of Scottes aſſiſteth king Henry the ſecond in his iourney and buſineſſe beyond the ſeas. 399.18
Thomas Mowbrey made earle merſhal. 1050.12.b
Morini inhabitants of the Dioces of Terwine in Fraunce 38.78.
More honorable it is to make a king, then to be a king. 225 29.
Montgomery caſtle buylt. 619 33.
Thomas Molineux ſlaine. 1068.3.a
Money clippers executed. 719 42.
Simon L. Montagew vittayleth Burg. 816.50.a
Mont Paladour, or Shafteſbury buylded. 19. 4
Moone turned into a bloudy colour. 354. 98
Monkes licenced to drinke Ale and Wine. 196.17
Mortalitie and dearth in Britaine and Ireland. 177 46

Emery Mountfort taken priſoner. 786.13.b. ſet at libertie 791.6.a.
Mondidier wonne. 1528.10
Monſeur de Vawclere deputy of Calais. 1323.co.1.lin. 11.
Mortimer caſtle. 390.45.
Monoculus king of Limerike in Ireland ſlaine. 450.45
Edmund Mortimer Earle of March dyeth. 1038.12.b
Mountſorel caſtle deliuered to king Henry the ſecond. 436. 35.
Moone ſtrangely eclipſed. 194 69.
Mortimer Iohn knight. 1450 15.
Monkes not knowen in Northumberland. 308.13
Morcuille Hugh knight. 415 61.
William Mountagew Earle of Saliſbury dyeth. 924.21 b.
Monkes of S. Albons kept priſoners by the Popes Legate in England. 745.40
Murder pretended againſt Henry the third. 654.25
Montford Simons commendation. 653.1
Morcade, a Dane, murdered at Oxford. 241.52
The Moſcouite ſendeth an Ambaſſadour. 1766 57.
Lord Mowbrey created Earle of Notingham. 1006.8.b.
Monaſterie of Bangor. 151. 43.
Monkes liuing by the labour of their handes. 153.87.
Mother ſlayeth her ſonne. 22. 70.
Mountſorell Caſtle in Leyceſterſhire, beſieged. 612.6.
Molle, the name of Mulmucius. 23.50
Moneys forbydden. 835.3.
Monadmore battayle fought in Ireland. 386.20.
Moore Thomas knight ſpeaker of the Parliamēt. 1524. 10.
Elinor Mountfort taken priſoner. 786.13.b
Mountfort Caſtle deliuered to the French King. 557.27.
Monſtrous Fyſhe like to a man taken in the Sea. 559.56.
Mountgomerie Caſtle wonne by the Welchmen. 325.97.
Mortalitie and death in Brytaine. 111.19.
Molle reſigneth his kingdome. 196.27.
Moſes cyted. 5.3.
Mortimer Rauſe. 318.68.
Morwith, looke Morindus.
Murtherers of Archbyſhop Thomas Becket, flee after the deede done, and theyr death alſo deſcribed. 417.6.
Murtherers of Archbyſhop Thomas Becket, excommunicated. 418.11
Mules Nicholas Lieutenant in Gaſcoyne vnder Henrye the third. 704.94.
Multitude of gouernours pernitious to a common wealth. 800.17.
Munmouth caſtle taken, and raſed to the ground. 772.68
Murrion of Cattell. 728.48.
Multitude rude, is rather a let then a furtherance to atchieue a victory. 370.16.
Mulbray Robert, taketh armes againſt king William Rufus. 318.50.
Muſgraue Iacke his valiant ſeruice. 1595.30.
Mulbray Robert, created Erle of Northumberland. 312. 48.
Mutterel beſieged. 1594. the ſiege broken vp. 1590.40.
Murder committed at Oxford vppon a woman by a Prieſt. 568.58.
Murther in Weſtmin. Church 1010.12.b.
Murtherers to ſuffer death by hanging. 472.59.
Murtherers of king Conſtantius ſtrangled. 109.98.
Merkam chiefe Iuſtice loſt his office. pag. 1381.col. 1.lin. 16.
A Muſter of Horſemen. 1712. 14.
Mulmucius, looke Dunwallo.
Malmucius lawes. 23.34.
Murcherdach, King of Ireland. 326.70.
Murreine among cattel. 314. 27.
Earle of Murrey taken priſoner. 898.20.b.
Murton Byſhop of Elie committed to warde. pag. 1387. col.1.lin.8.

N.

Nathaliod a Britaine, neyther of ancient houſe, nor of ſkyll in the warres. 127.67
Nathaliod and his army diſcomfited by the Saxons. 127.84
Nazaleod king of Britaines, maketh warre vpon the weſt Saxons. 130.14
Nazaleod with his armye diſcomfited and ſlaine. 130.39
Nazaleod, nowe called Certiceſtihore. 131.18
Nailes wherewith Chriſt was faſtned to the croſſe found, & what was done with them. 91.115. and.92.19.
Nanneus ſent to defend the inuaſion of the Saxons. 105 102.
Nayles ſet in cuppes to meaſure draughtes. 231.112
Nathaliod made general of the Britiſh army againſt yͤ Saxons. 127.67
Names of the Biſhops and Nobilitie preſent at the homage done by the Scottiſh kyng to kyng Iohn. 550.14
Name of this land generally to be called England. 204.45
Names and line of the kings, of the ſeuen kingdomes of England. 281.1
King of Naples diſſwadeth the French king from battaile. 905.18.a.
Nauntes citie deliuered to K. Henry the ſecond. 398.43
Narciſſus ſent into Gallia, to perſwade the ſouldiers to go into Britaine. 48.72
Narciſſus in great credit with Claudius the Emperour. 52 42.
Nambre Earle Henry taken by the French. 546.41.
Nations neare to Britaine, are ſubiect to the Romans. 86 88.
Names of the moſt valiant captaines and ſoldiers, whoſe fame is moſte renoumed for their noble deedes in the holy land, againſt the Saraſins 504.3.
Nauie alway in a readines, to defend the coaſtes from Pyrates. 266.51
Names of Britiſh kings which reigned from Elidurus to Lud. 32.65. and,32.100 and.33.40
King of Nauer commeth into England. 991.41.a
Names of the Peeres ſworne to king Iohn. 542.79
Names of the biſhops preſent at the Coronation of kyng Iohn. 545.10
Names of the nobilitie at the coronation of kyng Iohn. 545.29.
Names of the Biſhops that accurſed king Iohn and the Realme, and afterward fled out of the Realme. 566.24
Names of the ſureties ſworne to keepe the league made betweene king Iohn and Reginald Earle of Bologne. 572.41.
Names of the noblemen that continued vnto king Iohn. 573.50.
Names of Britiſh people which ſubmyt them ſelues to Ceſar 42.74.
Names of foure kings in Kent at Ceſars commyng. 42.97
Nauie ſent out by king Egelredus againſt the Danes. 240.10.
Nauie of Spaniards & French diſcomfited by the Engliſhe men 1020.53.a
Nantes beſieged by the Engliſhmen. 1021.54.a
Names of learned men flouriſhing in the tyme of king Henry the thyrd. 783.64
Names of the Barons that tooke part againſt king Henry the thyrd 726.19
Names of the Barons whiche tooke part with king Henry the thyrd, againſt the other nobles of the Realme. 726 35.
Names of the Lords that banded them ſelues againſt kyng Iohn. 588.45
Nauarre wonne by Ferdinand the kyng of Hiſpaine. 1473 50.
Nauie of Frenchmen. 908.44 a.
Robert de Namur ſerueth king Edward the third. 940.45 b.
Earle of Namur taken by the Scots. 898.50.a
Nauclerus cited. 75.107
Names of writers that liued in king Iohns dayes. 607.36
Names of the Lords that at the firſt went not againſt kyng Iohn, but afterwardes ioyned with the other Barons at London. 589.32
Names of the parties that ſate to make the agreement betwene king Iohn and the Barons. 589.75
Names of thoſe elected to ſee the agreement betweene K. Iohn and his Barons performed. 590.25.
Names of the noble men and captaynes that came from beyond the ſeas to ayde king Iohn againſt the Barons. 592.80
Names of the chiefe priſoners taken by king Iohn in the caſtle of Rocheſter. 593.34
Names of the captaines of that part of the armye that Kyng Iohn left about London, and of the other parte that went with hym Northward. 595 7.14.
Names of the Barons accurſed by the Pope. 596.77
Names of the chiefe captaynes vnder whom ayde came out of Fraunce to the Barons againſt king Iohn. 597.72
Names of the noble men reuolting from king Iohn, to Lewes. 600.34
Names of Caſtles wonne by Lewes. 600.78
Neotus an Abbot, motioner of the founding of the vniuerſitie of Oxford. 217.63
Neuille George Lorde of Burgeyny cōmitted to the towre, but deliuered againe. 1460 20.
New ſupply of Saxons ſent for to come into Britaine. 102. 70.
Neuill Alexander his Heptarchie cited. 205.35
Newmerch and Vernon reſtored

red to the Duke of Normandie. 393.47
Newcaſtle otherwiſe called Drincourt, beſieged, & woon. 429.30.
Newport a litle towne. 1415 co.1.lin.13.
Henry Newarke made archbiſhop of Yorke. 815.32.a. dieth. 835.58.a
Newe mynſter in Wincheſter builded. 217.57
Newgate ſet on fire. 1765.40.
Newe exactions. 1102.52.b.
New hiſtorie which is the Britiſh hiſtorie. 38.72.
Newbourgh. 194.66.
Neuile Edward knight beheaded. 1572.5.
Newton ſlayeth Hamilton in combat. 1634.30.
Alexander Neuil Archbiſhop of Yorke fleeth. 1070. 36.a. attaynted. 1071.25.
New Forreſt made by king William. 313.85.
Newcaſtle towne recouered from the Scottes. 397.6.
Lord Neuil ſent into Britaine 993.7.b.
Guy de Nealle Marſhal of Fraunce ſlayne. 947. 10.b.
Neal Brice taken. 842. 50.a. executed. 843.17.6.
Neuil John knight executed. 1581.2.
Newmarch Caſtle beſieged and deliuered to the Frenchmen 385.20.
Newark. pag.1329. col. 1. lin. 28.
Newbourgh Abbey. founded. 394 28.
Neſle Caſtle yeelded to the Frenchmen. 510.40.
Neuil Rauſe Byſhop of Ciceſter dyeth. 611.42.
Newburge Robert, a man of great honour. 398.32.
Nennius a Britayne cited. 7.14.
Newburie Caſtle wonne by king Stephan. 386.42.
Rauſe Lord Neuil created Earle of Weſtmerland. 1097.30.b.
Neuil Hugh, high Iuſtice of the Forreſtes. 549.44.
Newcaſtle. pag. 1315. col.1. lin.13.
Newcaſtle in olde tyme called Monkaſter. 307.100.
Neomagus a Citie in Britaine by whom builded. 2.95.
Newton Peter knight Counſellour to Prince Arthur. 1456.54.
Newarke Caſtle builded. 371.75.
Newcaſtle taken by the Scots. 366.80.
Newcaſtle vpon Tyne brent by caſual fire. 728.16.
Newarke Caſtle reſtored to the Byſhop of Lincolne. 105.
Newcaſtle towne and Caſtle founded. 311.8.
Neglecting of Iuſtice, is cauſe of greater miſchiefes. 311.82.
Newburne Church. 312.26.
Neuil Rauſe elected Archbyſhop hf Canterburie and the election made voyde by the Pope 637.27.
Neuer as yet any king drowned 329.76. Neuille Alane accurſed by Archbiſhop Thomas Becket. 409.63.
Nennius getteth away Ceſars Swoord in fyght. 39.16.
Nennius dyeth of the hurte which Ceſar gaue him. 39.20.
Neptunus called Nepthuin. 5.4.
Neptunus parentage. 5.5.
Nepthus called king and God of the ſeas. 5.19.
Newburgh brent by Earle John. 538.4.
Nectaridus Earle of the Sea coaſt in Britayne, ſlayne. 103.95.
Neuil Charles Erle of Weſtmerland rebelleth. 1839.38. fleeth into Scotland. 1841.12.
Nicholas Burdet knight. pag. 1227. col.1. lin.32. lin. 56. col 2. lin. 10. pa. 1237 co. 2. lin.30. pag. 1265. col. 1. lin. 25. chiefe Butler of Normandie ſlayne. pag. 1265. col. 1. lin. 54.
Nicaſium recouered by the Engliſhmen. 356.18.
Nichol Robert. 368.78.
Nigellus ſlayne by his brother Sithrike. 223.101.
Nichoſia in Cypres wonne by king Richard the firſt. 493.39.
Nimblenes of the Britiſh Charetmen. 38.6.
Nicholas chaplayne to king Henrie the ſecond. 420.99.
Niomagus, a Citie in Britaine by whom builded. 2.95.
Nidred and Suebhard, vſurpers in the kingdome of Kent. 187.21.
Nichola a Lady keepeth the caſtle of Lincolne and valiantly defendeth it. 612.50.
Nine Riuer. pag.1299. col. 1. lin.41.
Nigel or Neale Baron of Halton. 323.45.
Nigel or Nelle, Byſhop of Elye ſent into exile. 371.77.
Niger cited. 376.45.
Nigel a Monke of Canterburie. 382.96.
Nicephorus cited. 53.19. and. 88.91.
Niger Rauſe. 548.39.
John Northampton Maior of London puniſheth adulterie. 1039.29.a.
The Northren men refuſe to paye a ſubſidie. 1434. ſlea the Earle of Northumberland. eadem. 30. make a rebellion. eadem. 47. are diſcomfited and quieted. 1435.8.
Duke of Normandie commeth into Britayne with a power. 919.23.b.
Northumbers ſubmit themſelues to the Weſt Saxons. 204.18.
Normandie conquered by Geffrey Plantagenet Earle of Aniou. 378.81.
Nouant Caſtle beſieged by king John. 584.43. deliuered to the king. 584.50.
Notingham. pag.1329. col. 1. lin.13.
Norwegian ſhippes depart home with ſorowful tidings. 285 12.
Normans beardes ſhauen, and therefore like Prieſtes. 286.28.
Normans ſmouldred in a ditch by following the chaſe after the Engliſh men. 287.45.
Nobilitie and Byſhoppes of England enuying one another, refuſe to make an Engliſhman their King, and receiue a ſtranger. 291.50.
No bondmen in England, before William the Conquerours comming. 292. 23.
Noble men and Gentlemens names which aſſiſted King William in the conqueſt of England. 293.61.
Normans reſiſted and ſlaine by the Engliſhmen. 298.48.
Notingham Caule builded. 298.80.
Northumberland rebelleth againſt King William. 299.36.
Northumber rebelles vanquiſhed by King William. 299.77.
Norman Gariſon at Yorke, ſlayne by the Danes and Engliſh exiles. 300.61.
North partes of England brought vnto the obeyſance of the Danes and Engliſh exiles. 300.71.
Northumberland and Yorkeſhire waſted by King William. 302.37.
Norman lawes not equal and why. 304.21.
Normans rebel againſt king William, and are ſubdued by an armie of Engliſh men. 307.78.
Northwales conſtrayned to yeeld a yearly tribute to king Adelſtane. 226.86.
Northumberland entirely recouered from the Danes. 228.2.
Northumbers rebel againſt king Edredus, and are ſubdued. 222.39.
Northumbers take an othe to be true vnto king Edredus and breake it. 229.45.
Northumbers diſloyaltie puniſhed with diſtruction of their countrey. 229.
Northumbers ſubmit themſelues, and obtaine pardon for giftes of King Edredus. 229.
Norwich taken and ſpoyled by the Danes. 243.70.
Northfolke waſted by the Danes. 245.52.
Northamton burned by the Danes. 245.73.
Northumbers reuolt to Kyng Swanus, and become his ſubiectes. 247.70.
Northumbers ſubdued by the Danes. 252.76.
Noble men of England ſlayne at the battel of Aſhdon. 255.104.
Norman Earle. put to death 260.41.
Normans that came ouer with Alured, ſlayne by the Pol. 264.27. and. 265.89.
Norwich and the countrey adioyning, robbed by Roger Bygod. 318.57.
No man of ſo euil affection, but ſometime dealeth vprightly. 321.23.
Norman rebels to be reſtored to their landes and liuings in England. 321.78.
Norwegians arriue in Humber with a great power. 284.57.
Norwegian ſouldiour defendeth a bridge agaynſt the whole Engliſh armie 284.75.
Norwegian ſouldiour, which defended the bridge, ſlayne. 284.80.
Norwegian armie dicomfited and ſlayne by the Engliſh men. 284.28.
Normans conſtreyned to depart the Realme, through Earle Godwins procurement. 274.25.
Normens which withdrewe into Scotland out of England, ſlayne. 275.74.
Northumbers rebel agaynſt Toſtie their Earle. 278.97.
Northumbers require to haue a new Earle. 279.12.
Normans conqueſt of England foretold by king Edwerdes viſion. 279.115.
Noe and his familie preſerued from the flood. 1.56.
Noe the onely Monarke of al the world. 1.66.
Noe diuideth the earth betweene his three ſonnes. 1.72.
Norwich beſieged by Kyng Williams power is yeelded

vpon conditions. 308.12.
None to heare Maſſe of a married Prieſt. 309.55.
Noble men ſlayne at the battel of Poytiers. 960.3.b.
Noble men taken priſoners at the battel of Poyiters. 960.17.b.
Nortolke rebels vanquiſhed by their Biſhop. 1032.10.a.
Norris Henry knight made Lord of Ricotte. 1862.57.
Nobilitie declared innocent by ẏ kings proclamatiō. 1066.29.a. come to London with an armie. 1068.30.b. open their griefes to the king. 1069.20.b.
Northumberland Earle committed to warde. 508.34. deliuered agayne, ibidem. 7.
Normandie interdicted. 508.38.
Northumberland, in olde time called Bernicia. 164.43.
Duke of Normandie winneth Townes from the Engliſh men. 928.24.a.
Normandie reduced to the Engliſh ſubiectes. pag. 1202. col. 1. lin. 5.
Norrice Henry executed. 1561 9.
Notingham newe towne and bridge builded. 222.69.
North partes ſpoyled by the Scottes. 1014.1.a
Notingham towne burnt, and the Caſtle beſieged. 388.28.
Noble ofſpring of the Kentiſhe kings decayeth. 202.53.
Northumberland ſpoyled by the Scots. 1047.5.b
Norwich Monaſterie founded. 333.80.
Northumberland and Mercia withdrawe their obeyſance to the Weſt Saxons. 209.1.
Northumberland recouered frō the Scots. 397.5.
Northampton. pa. 1299. col. 1. lin. 47. col. 2. lin. 15. lin. 18.
Notingham Caſtle. pag. 1415 col. 1. lin. 51.
John Northamptō condemned to perpetual priſon. 1047.30.b.
Norwich wonne by Ket. 1662.30.
Noble of gold coyned. 924.23.a.
Northfolke and Suffolke delyuered to the Saxons. 118.45.
Northumberland ſpoyled by the Scots. 1074.34.b.
Noble men indited. 1062.27.a.
Norwiche Caſtle ſurrendred to Lewes. 610.35.
Norwich Caſtle geuē to Hugh Bigot. 427.30.
Notingham towne, wonne by the Danes. 209.97.
Nonnius cited. 4.7.
Northen men ſpoyle Saint Albons. pag. 1306. col. 1. lin. 12.
Noble men ſlaine at Creſſy. 934.32.b. 937.30.a.
Normandy loſt by the Engliſh. pag. 1277. co. 1. lin. 25.
Byſhop of Norwiche dyeth in the Popes Court. 948.44.b.
Noble men famous in Kyng Edward the thirdes dayes. 1001.10.a.
Noble men taken priſoners at Roche Darien. 941.40.a.
Northumberland vnto Tyne, graunted to William, kyng of Scots. 427.26.
Northam Caſtle wonne by the Scots. 1487.50
Noble men of Scotland taken at Neuils Croſſe. 940.10.a.
Normans deadly hated of the Engliſhmen. 313.51.
Normandie raiſed in commotion againſt king Stephan. 367.81.
Nunneries ſuppreſſed. 1471.33.
Normans poſſeſſions confiſcated in England. 706.74.
North Wales & Southwales ioyneth in amitie together to rebel againſt Henrye the third. 744.73.
Northampton towne, beſieged and taken by king Henry the thyrd. 766.35.
W. Northburghs letter deſcribing king Edwarde the. iii. viage. 936.20.b.
Normandy interdited and why. 546.50.
Norham Caſtle buylded. 359 15.
Normandie ſubdued by the K. of England vpon that daye on which England was conquered by the Duke of Normandie. 34.84.
Nouantes, where they inhabited. 59.26
Noble men ſlaine at Roche Darien. 941.47.a.
Nobilitie die. 660.98.
Nobilitie complaine of the Popes collector. 706.36.
Nobilitie of England deſpiſed by the nobles of the Poictouines by reaſon of their coſynage to Henry the thyrde. 750.90.
Normandie inuaded by the French king. 556.50.
Noble men taken priſoners at the ſiege of Lincolne. 613.85.
Norwich Caſtle left for a pray to Lewes. 602.4.
Norwich Citie deliuered to the king. 397.20.
Noe one of the Giantes. 5.55.
Nunnes not to be godmothers to any mans child. 341.10.
Nobles of England do homage to Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond. 412.74.
Nouiomagus a Citie in Britaine, by whom builded. 2.96.
None to beare office in the Court vnleſſe he were learned. 218.12.
Nobilitie conſpire againſt king Henry the thyrd. 630.40.
Normandie inuaded by the French king. 545.89.
Nobilitie of England, ſweareth fealtie to Duke Henrye Fitzempreſſe. 391.96
Norwich Citie aſſaulted and wonne by the confederates againſt king Henrye the ſecond. 433.59.
Noble men dye. 759.15.
Norham Caſtle. 436.28.
Northumbers accuſtomed to ſtirre tumultes and rebellion againſt theyr gouernours. 219.18.
Northumberland inuaded and afflicted by the Engliſhmē. 221.70.
Nobles of Poicteu rebell againſt the Earle Richard, ſonne to King Henry the ſecond. 467.22.
Northumbers vanquiſhed by Offa. 194.90.
Northumberland without king or gouernour. 202.9.
Nothelmus ſucceedeth Tacuinus in the Archbyſhopricke of Cantorburie. 193.29
Nouant Robert, apprehended and committed to priſon. 514.90.
Nouant Hugh Byſhop of Couentrey pardoned by Kyng Richard the firſt. 526.16.
Nouant Robert dyeth in priſon. 526.21.
Norwich Abbey ſet on fire by the Citizens, and burned. 782.46.
Notingham towne taken and burned. 435.38.
Northampton. 542.60.
Norwegians, called by the Engliſh people, by the name of Danes. 215.16.
Northeſt country people called by the Engliſhmē by ẏ name of Danes. 215.15.
Normans vanquiſhed and chaſed by the Engliſhmen. 345 14.
Normandie poſſeſſed by Rollo and his people, and why ſo called. 213.70.
Northampton beſieged by the Barons, but to no effect. 588 92.
Northumberland ſacked, and deuided amongſt the Danes 212.31.
Northwales ſubdued by the Weſt Saxons. 204.31.
Norwich Caſtle. 390.65.
Nobilitie reuolted frō Lewes to Henry the thyrde. 608.26.
Nuſſe beſieged. pag. 1346. co. 2. lin. 30.
Nudigate Monke of the Charterhouſe executed. 1563.50.
Number of Iulius Ceſars ſhippes at his ſeconde comming into Britaine. 40.82.
Nunnes make away their children begot out of wedlocke. 190.21.
Nunnes forbidden to goe on Pilgrimage. 190.29.
Nunnes of Ameſbury diſplaced bycauſe of their incontinent liuing. 447.67.
Nun couſin to Inas. 187.96.
Number of Monkes in the Monaſterie of Bangor. 153 82.

O.

Obrin created Earle of Towmon. 1590.10.
Obeyers of the Popes, or Thomas Beckets Archbyſhop interdiction, to be baniſhed with their linage, and theyr goods confiſcate. 408.104.
Obſeruers and defenders of the auncient cuſtomes of the elders in England, accurſed. 409.56.
Obedience to the Pope throughout the realme, forſworne. 411.2.
Obrin Dunon knight created Berō of Ebranky. 1590.12
Occa and Ebuſa arriue in the North, and ſettle themſelues there. 114.18.
Octauius, Duke of Gewiſſes appoynted gouernour of Britaine vnder Conſtantinus. 92.86.
Octauius maketh himſelfe K. of Britaine. 92.94.
Octauian, looke Octauius.
  Octauius put to the worſe by Treherne, fleeth into Norway for ayde. 93.9.
Octauius dyeth. 92.55.
Occa and Ebuſa ſent for to come into Britaine. 114.13
Occa fleeth to Yorke, and is there beſieged. 123.8.
Occa and his Saxons, appoynted to dwel in Gallowaye. 123.11.
Occa and Oſca taken priſoners 127.49.
Occa and Oſca eſcaping out of priſon, make freſh warre vppon the Britaynes. 128.
Occa and Oſca ſlayne in the field by the Britaynes. 128.46.
Occaſion geuen to the Engliſh men to reuolt from Kyng Lewes and to ſtand to Kyng Henry the third. 609.28.
Ocley battel fought by the Engliſhe

Engliſhe men agaynſt the Danes. 206.109.
Occaſion of the fable of Jupiter helping Hercules from heauen. 6.25.
Occaſion of the Normans title to the Crowne of this Realme. 242.35.
Octa, looke Octa.
Oceane ſpoyled. 48.16.
Odo baniſhed or committed to priſon, for ſuſpition of ſiniſter dealing. 312.68. and. 318.8.
Odo byſhoppe of Bayeux, and Earle of Kent. 312.73.
Odo layd faſt in priſon in Rocheſter Caſtle by his owne confederates. 320.14.
Odo being depriued of al his liuings and dignities in England returneth into Normandie. 320.24.
Odo vſurpeth diuerſe poſſeſſions, belonging to the See of Canterburie. 320.82.
Odocer King of ẏ Heruli vſurpeth the gouernment of Italy. 122.88.
Odo ſent with an army into the North to reuenge Byſhoppe Walchers death. 311.13. and. 312.10.
Oddo made Earle of Deuonſhyre, and Somerſetſhire. 272.27.
Odo conſpireth with Duke Robert, agaynſt Kyng William Rufus. 318.28.
Odo ſubmitteth himſelfe to K. William Rufus. 320.9.
Odo Archbyſhop of Yorke. 227.63.
Odiham Caſtle reſigned to Henry the third. 751.58.
Odo Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 229.27.
Odo releaſed out of priſon. 315 15.
Odiham Caſtle won by Lewes 601.3.
Odomare made Byſhoppe of Wincheſter.
Offa ſonne to Sigerius ſucceedeth Sighard and Seufred in the kingdome of Eaſt Saxons. 190.37.
Offa renounceth his kingdome goeth to Rome and is made a Monke. 190.42.
Offa departeth out of this world. 195.68.
Offeditch caſt, and where it runneth. 195.75.
Offchurch builded. 195.84.
Offa taketh vppon him the kingdome of Mercia. 194.78.
Offa alyeth him ſelfe with forrayne Princes. 195.31.
Offa and Charles the great, reconciled. 195.36.
Offa graunteth the tenthe part of his goodes to the the Church and the poore. 195.50.
Offa trauayleth to Rome, and graunteth Peter pence to the Pope. 195.56.
Offices claymed at Coronation. 1119. col.2. lin.4.
Officers remoued from about king Edward the third. 997.25. a. called agayne. 997.28.b.
Officers made. 1119. col. 1. lin. 19. pag. 1155. col. 2. lin. 31.
Officers appoynted in Scotland. 823.19.a.
Officers remoued. 847 40.a.
Office of an Harrault. pag. 1346. col.2. lin. 56.
Offeld Manour, burnt. 779.41
Offa, ſonne to Sarnot. 131.37
Offers made to the Emperour Henrie the firſt, to keepe king Richard the firſt longer in priſon. 514.39.
Officers changed. 913.10.a.
Ogerſian Gilbert, a knight templer, puniſhed for his falſhoode. 469.66.
Oglethorp Byſhop of Carleile crowneth Queene Elizabeth 1776.36.
Olavus king of Swedeners, looke Aulafe.
Olavus, ſonne to king Harold Harfager of Norway. 285.8.
Oliphant ſent to Henry the third. 739.31.
Oneon executed for denying the kings ſupremacie. 1574.32.
One ſoweth and another reapeth. 349.107.
Oneile Shane rebelleth, is tamed and ſlayne. 1837.58.
One brother helpeth another. 226 4
Onichelinus, looke Rechelinus.
Ouan. 194.65.
Opinions ſundry of the building of Saint Paules Church in London. 150.57.
Opinions concerning the firſt inhabiting of Britayne. 4.70.
Oration of William Earle of Pembroke before the Nobilitie. 608.42.
Ordinances for Fortreſſes appoynted. 536.60.
Orford Caſtle ſurrendred to king Lewes. 610.35.
Order of a Coronation. 475.92.
Ordinances made againſt robberies. 732.8.
Ordouices where they inhabited. 18.87. and, 55.35.
Ordering of Abbeys and Monaſteries in olde tymes. 193.21,
Order of ſucceſſion in the Pictiſh kingdome. 67.58.
Ordouices inuaded and ſlayne. 68,80.
Ordinances for Armour to be had in priuate mens houſes. 454.1 and. 455.34.
Orange Prince commeth into England. 1762.46.
Oration of king Richard the third. pag. 1417. col. 2. lin. 40.
Oration of Henry Earle of Richmond. pag. 1419. col. 1. lin. 41.
Oration of the Duke of Buckingham. pag. 1380. col. 2. lin. 32.
Order of the Britiſh fighting in Charrets. 37.105.
Oration made by Hubert archbyſhop of Cantorbury. 544.19.
Ormus, an Earle. 227.69.
Order of Fryers newe deuiſed called ſacked Fryers. 745.52.
Original and line of the Earles of Richmond. 301.69.
Order of the Engliſh and Norman battailes, in the battail fought at Haſting. 286.59.
Ordalium law, what, and how executed. 269.64.
Orwell. 433.55.
Oration of Henry the fifth. pag. 1186. co.1. lin.48.
Order of the Garter founded. 923.36.a.
Oriall Colledge founded. 884.47.a.
Orliance beſieged by the Engliſhe. pag. 1239. col. 1. lin. 47.
Ordinance for conſecration of Byſhops. 149.53.
Ordmer Duke, father to Queene Egelfrida. 235.7.
Ordinances ſet forth by Kyng Richard the firſt for his fleete to be obſerued in his viage towards the holy land. 484.53.
Ordinances deuiſed to be obſerued in the campes of the kings of England & France in their viage towardes the holy land. 488.16.
Oreford. 431.53.
Orkney Iles recouered by the Britaines. 141.80.
Original of al nations for the moſt part vncertaine. 1.14.
Original of the Philoſophers called Samothei. 2.69.
Original of the Philoſophers called Sarronides. 3.17.
Original of the Philoſophers called Druides. 3.47.
Original of Herauldes, and Heraultrie. 3.113.
Original of the Philoſophers called Bardi. 4.1.
Oronius, a Barde. 4.41.
Oſfride ſonne to Edwine baptiſed. 161.114
Oſfride ſonne to Edwin, ſlaine 163.58.
Oſrike ſonne to Elfricke, taketh vpon hym the kingdome of Deira. 164.38
Oſrike falleth from Chriſte, to his former idolatrie. 164 51.
Oſrike with al his army ſlaine. 164.58.
Oſwald, ſonne to Edelfert, created king of Northumberland. 164 74
Oſwald baptiſed in Scotland. 164.82
Oſwald commeth againſt Cadwallo with an army. 164. 104.
Oſwald ſlaine by Penda. 167 23.
Oſwius ſucceedeth his brother Oſwald in the kingdome of Northumberland. 167.25
Oſwius ſueth to Cadwallo for peace. 167.29
Oſwald zealous to ſet forth the ſincere worde of life, ſendeth into Scotland for preachers 167.67.
Oſwald interpreteth Aydans Sermons to the people in the Saxon tongue. 168.57
Oſwald had in eſtimation among his neyghbours. 168.92.
Oſbright king of Northumbers expulſed his countrey. 209.32.
Oſbright & Ella made friends, go forth againſt the Danes. 209.38.
Oſbright and Ella ſlaine by the Danes. 209.46
Oſbright burnt in the citie of Yorke. 209.62
Oſrec a Dane, looke Baſreeg.
Oſberne a Dane, ſlaine. 210 37.
Oſbright raviſheth the wyfe of one Bearne. 211.60
Oſoulphus ſucceedeth his father Egbert in the kingdom of Northũberland. 195.102
Oſoulphus trayterouſly murdred. 195.103
Oſwyn Earle rebelleth agaynſt king Molle. 195.113
Oſrike a man of great authoritie among the weſt Saxõs. 198.36.
Oſred ſucceedeth Aſwald in the kingdome of Northumberland. 201.16
Oſred expulſed his kingdome. 201.18.
Oſred betrayed & put to death, 201.41.
Oſwald ſucceedeth Ethelbert in the kingdome of Northũberland, and is immediately conſtrayned to forſake his Realme. 201.52
Oſmond a captaine ſlaine. 204 64.
Oſburga wife to king Ethelwolfus. 205.115
Oſberne Pẽtecoſt conſtrained to forſake the land. 274.35
Oſulfe expulſed out of the gouernment of the Northumbers, by Copſius. 312.20.

Oſull ſlayne by a thiefe. 312 29.
Oſtorius Scapula entreth into the Brittiſh campe. 53.89
Oſtorius entreth into the defenced place of the Britains, and diſcomfiteth them. 56. 6.
Oſtorius entreth the Citie of Rome in triumph, for taking Cataracus. 57. 15
Oſtorius dyeth. 57. 78
Oſwaldes liberalitie towardes the poore. 168.102
Oſwald Godfather to Cinegiſcus at his chriſtnyng. 169 9.
Oſwald ſlaine by Penda. 170 8.
Oſwald canonized a Saint, and ſheweth myracles. 170. 21.
Oſwy ſueth to Penda for peace and cannot obtaine it. 175 39.
Oſwy voweth vnto God for victorie. 175.46
Oſwy commeth againſt Penda with an army. 175.51
Oſwy ſickneth, and dyeth. 179 72.
Oſwy brother to Oſwald, ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of Northumberland. 170. 26.
Oſwy and Oſwin begynne to make warre ech againſt other 170.48.
Oſwyn betrayed to Oſwy, and ſlayne. 170.59
Oſwin an humble Kyng. 171 12.
Oſtorius Scapula the new lieutenant of Britaine, & his exploites at his firſt cōmyng thyther. 53.50
Fitz Oſbert accuſeth his brother of treaſon. 529.5
Oſred ſonne to Alfride, ſucceedeth his father in the Kyngdome of Northumberland. 190. 59.
Oſred ſlaine in battaile by his kinſfolkes. 190.73
Oſyris father to Neptune, and Hercules. 5.5.
Oſyris ſlaine by his nephewes 5.96.
Oſrike Kyng of Northumberland. 186.12
Oſtorius M ſonne to the Lieutenant, deſerueth a ciuica corona againſt the Britains. 53. 98.
Oſrick and Kenred ſuccede Oſred in the Kingdome of Northumberland. 190. 76
Oſwald rebelleth againſt Etherlard. 191.44
Oſwald fleeth out of the countrey. 191.49.
Oſberne permitted to take vp vitail for his armie vppon condition to depart the Realme. 302. 26.
Oſmond ſecond Byſhoppe of Saliſburie. 316.47.
Oſleſtrie thriſe burnt within xxx. yeares. 1837.37.
Oſgote Clappa, a Noble Dane. 268. 2.
Oſmear an Engliſh ſouldiour like to king Edmond, ſlayne. 254. 53.
Oſca and Otha, waſt and deſtroy the Weſt partes of Britayne. 124. 59.
Oſca and Otha with their armie diſcomfited. 124. 65.
Oſyris came into Britayne. 9. 1.
Oſberne Uncle to king Swanus of Denmarke ſent with an armie into England. 300 27.
Oſgote Clappa, receyueth his wife, and returneth into Denmarke. 270. 73.
Oſtryda cruelly murdered. 189. 13.
Oſwin partner with Oſwy in the kingdome of Northumberland. 170.42.
Oſwald Byſhop, remoued from Worceter to Yorke. 232. 28.
Oſgote Clappa baniſhed the Realme. 269. 116.
Oſtrydo, wife to Ethelred. 189 8.
Oſtreham. 395.19.
Otho or Othobon Cardinal commeth into England. 651. 40. is highly commended. 651. 55. appeaſeth much controuerſie among the Nobilitie. 651. 63.
Othe made by the Kynges of England and Fraunce. 967. 23.
Othe of obedience. 1103. 10. a.
Othe made by the Welchmen. 788. 4. a.
Othe made by the Scots. 822. 40. b.
Othe miniſtred by the Kentiſh rebels to paſſingers. 1025. 7. b.
Othe of the Kyngs of England and Fraunce. 1089. 26. a.
Othe cōſtreyned, nothing worth in lawe. 283.48.
Othe of a mayde, concernyng the beſtowing of her bodye, without her Parents conſent, is voyde. 283. 52.
Othes diſpenſed withal by the Pope. 396. 62. and. 403, 89.
Othe taken by the Lordes ſpiritual and temporal, to be true to king William and his heires. 314. 21.
Otho elected Emprour. 535. 45.
Otho, ſonne to Maude ſiſter to Kyng Richard the fyrſt made Earle of Yorke, and of Poictou. 490. 45.
Oth, ſonne to Occa, ſucceedeth his father in the kingdome of Kent. 129. 111.
Otho the firſt Emperour marrieth Edgina, daughter to King Edward 223. 20.
Othobon Cardinal ſent Legate from the Pope into England. 774. 57. lodged in the Towre. 778. 30.
Otteford or Okeford battel, fought by the Engliſh men agaynſt the Danes. 255. 50.
Othon, made Cuſtos, or Gardein of the Citie of London. 774. 75.
Othe of the Duke of Burgone to Henry the fift. pag. 1204. col. 1. lin. 36. of the three eſtates of France. pag. 1211 col. 1. lin. 20.
Othe of the Lordes. 1231. col. 2. lin. 16.
Othe of allegiancy taken anew by king Iohn of his ſubiectes 567. 74.
Othe of obedience to king Iohn. 542. 64.
Othe taken by king Iohn in Normandie. 543. 72.
Othe taken by the Byſhoppe of Beauuois. 546. 58.
Othe taken by diuers of the Nobilitie in Fraunce to aſſiſt king Iohn agaynſt the French. 547. 3.
Otha, looke Oſca and Otha.
Otwel, brother to Richard Earle of Cheſter, drowned. 357. 109.
Othe of the kings of England, at their Coronatiō. 476. 35.
Othe exacted of Henry the third and of Edward his ſonne Prince of Wales. 751. 37.
Othobone Cardinal Legate, returneth to Rome. 780. 6. is choſen Pope and named Adrian the fyft. 780. 8.
Othe of Allegeance demaunded by King Iohn of his ſubiects 587. 80.
Otho the Emperour commeth into England to king Iohn. 564. 31.
Otford battel fought by Offa againſt the Kentiſhmen. 194 89.
Otho the ſeconde Emperour. 235. 68.
Outrages committed by the Frenche men that came againſt kyng Iohn vnder Lewes. 601 67.
Ouſe ryuer. 214. 115.
Ouſe ryuer. 284. 59.
Owen Glendoner wyth the Welchmen rebel. pag. 1132 co. 1. lin. 34. pag. 1133. co. 2 lin. 14. 39. pag. 1142. co. 1. lin. 16. his ſonne taken. pag. 1155. co. 2. lin. 57.
Owen ayded the Frenche. pag. 1149. co. 2. lin. 50. ended his lyfe. pag. 1155. col, 2. lin. 20.
Owſe bridge borne away. 1834 13.
Owen Teuther maried Queene Katharine. pag. 1264. co. 2. lin. 4. committed to warde lin. 21. taken and beheaded. pag. 1304 co. 2. lin. 56.
Owin Prince of Wales, ſlaine. 354. 88.
Earle of Oxford dyeth in Fraunce. 967. 12. b
Oxford wonne by the Danes. 247. 81.
Oxfordſhiremen vanquiſhed and ſlaine. 54. 1
Oxenford Iohn, made Byſhop of Chicheſter. 432. 60
Oxford ſtatutes repealed by Act of Parliament. 774. 6.
Oxford Caſtle. 391. 22.
Oxford Schollers make a fray wyth Otho the legates men. 652. 11.
Oxford forſaken of the Schollers. 568. 69.
Oxford Burgeſes require abſolution for hanging three Schollers vniuſtly, they are aſſoyled, and penance inioyned them. 582. 94.
Oxfordſhiremen, a puyſant kind of people. 53. 73.
Oxford beſieged by king Stephen and taken. 379. 6.
Oxford Uniuerſitie founded. 217. 61.
Oxford burned by the Danes. 245. 19.
Oxeholme Ile taken, and poſſeſſed by certaine outlawes and diſhinherited perſons. 776. 58.
Oxe hides payed for a yeerely tribute out of Ireland. 442. 11.
Oxeay walkeline, a valiant knight. 380. 34.

P.

Pal ſent from Rome vnto Rafe Archbiſhop of Cantorbury. 351. 102
Paul the Apoſtle was rounded and ſhauen. 378. 34
Pawlet Amiſe knight. 1450. 16.
Paulus a Notarie ſent ouer into Britaine with commiſſiō. 94. 68.
Paulus called Catera, & why. 94. 73.
Paulus returneth into Italy, & is ſlaine. 95. 16
Parliament. 786. lin. 29. a
Parliamēt at London. 790. 5. b
Parliament at Shrewſbury. 793. 45. b.
Parliament at Acton Burnel. 794. 2. a
Parliament at Berwick. 822 18. b
Parliament at Bury. 823. 19 b.
Parliament at Saliſbury. 824 38. b
Parliament at Yorke. 831. 14.

1.a.
Parliament holden at Oxford. 557.69.
Pawlet William Lord Saint Johns, Lord great maſter, & Preſident of the Counſel, politiquely obtayneth the Towre. 1689.1. is created Marques of Wincheſter 1709.
Paulet William knight, treaſurer of his maieſties houſe, is created Lord S. John. 1572.52.
Palingus Earle, haſbande to Gunthildus, with his wife, and his ſonne, put to death. 247.30.
Pawlet William knight, is made Lord Pawlet of Baſing. 1862.54
Par William knight, created Lord Par. 1572.54
Parliament vnder Henry the fourth. 1119.co.1.lin.34. pa.1121.co.2. lin.22. pa. 1132.co.2.lin.20.pa.1135 co.2. lin. 28. at Couentrie. 1140. co.2.lin.44. at London. 1141.co.1.lin.11. at Couentrie. pa. 1143. co.1. lin.16. pa.1150. co.2.lin. 23. at Gloceſter. pa. 1153 co.1.lin.2. pa. 1155. co.2. lin.34. pa.1161. co. 2.lin. 50.
Parliament by Henry the firſt. pa.1226 co.1.lin.41. pag. 1228.co.1.lin.29.pa 1243 co.2.lin. 42. at Roan. pag. 1245. pa. 1249. co.1.lin. 52. pa.1262. co.1. lin.54 pa. 1271. co.1. lin. 27. at Bury.pa.1273.col.2.li.20. at Leiceſter.pa.1277. co.2. lin.20. pa.1279.co.1.lin. 3. pa. 1288.co.2. lin. 40. at Couentrie.pa.1298.co.1 lin.44. at Weſtminſter. pa. 1300.co.1.lin 30.
Pace Richard doctor dieth mad 1551.20.
Paulet William knight, Controller of the Kyngs houſe, ambaſſadour vnto the french king. 1560
Parker Doctor Archbiſhop of Canterbury.1803.7. dieth 1870. 57. his Epitaph. 1872.5.
Packington Robert murdered. 1570.3.
Parliament holden at Oxforde. 629.5.
Patrike William the elder, conſpyreth agaynſt king Henrye the ſecond. 426. 110.
Paule Earle of Orkney. 285. 9.
Paluel Caſtle taken by the French king 469.10.
Paulme Souday field. pag. 1311.col.2.lin.8.
Paſcy Caſtle beſieged in vayne. 538.7.
Paulinus fleeth into Kent with Ethelburga and her children. 164.19.
Paulinus becommeth Byſhop of Rocheſter. 164. 34.
Palles ſent from the Pope to Paulinus and Honorius. 163.9.
Pariſhes how manye in England. 1524.30.
The Pageantes ſet forth in the Citie of London as Queene Elizabeth went thorough it to her Coronation. 1787.14.
The new Palace before Guiſnes deſcrybed. 1509. 54.
Paulinus licenced to preach the Goſpel in Northumberland. 161.57
Waleran Earle of Saint Paule, marryeth the kings halfe ſiſter. 1016.11.b.
Palladius ſent from Rome to preach in Scotlande. 120.1.
Paulet Amis knight ſent Commiſſioner into Cornwal. 1451.53.
Paulinus Suetonius returneth out of Angleſey to London. 63.116.
Paulinus Suetonius recyueth ayde into Britayne. 64.50.
Paulinus Suetonius gyueth the Britaines an vtter diſcomfiture. 65.22.
Ponthoiſe recouered by the Engliſh.pag. 1263.col. 2. lin.52.got agayne by the French.pag.1265. col.1. lin.41.
Palmer Thomas knight hanged. 1722.25.
Partrich Miles knight committed to the Towre. 1709 31.is hanged.1712.5.
Par William knight Uncle to the Queene created Lord Par of Horton. 1591.52.
Papirio John a Cardinal, ſent Legate into Ireland.386.29
Papirio John receiueth an othe of fidelitie vnto king Stephan. 386.40.
Patrike Earle of Saliſburie, ſlayne by treaſon of the Poictouins. 411.20.
Pal ſent from Rome to Thomas the Archbyſhop elect of Yorke. 348.110.
Pandulph, made Byſhop of Norwitch. 617.26.
Paganel or Paynel, keepeth the Caſtle of Ludlow, in the ryght of Maud the Empres 368.76.
Paris yeelded to the French. pag.1258 col.1.lin.28.
A Parliament. 1708.18.
Parliament when firſt inſtituted and the order thereof. 354.12.
Pal ſent into Britayne vnto Auguſtine. 149.99.
Pawlet William Marques of Wincheſter dyeth. 1861. 46.his prayſes.ibidem.
Pattern of an excellent gouernour. 69.9.
Parliament at Lincoln. 836. 28.a.
Paule Abbot of Saint Albons Nephue to Lanfranke. 320. 69.
Pace Richard ſent to wage the Suiſſes. 1499.28.
Patents reuoked. pag. 1144. col.1.lin.43.
Pandulfe ſent into Fraunce by the Pope to practiſe with the French king for king Johns deſtruction. 573.19.
Parliament at Caerliſle. 844. 41.a.
Parliament at Northampton. 847.35.b.891.45.a.
Parliament of white bandes. 860.30.a.
Pandraſus prepareth an armie agaynſt the Troian offſpring 11.27.
Pandraſus and his armie diſcomfited by Brute. 11.34.
Pandraſus taken priſoner, and his armie ouerthrowen. 12. 4.
Parliament ſommoned at London to be holden. 617.49.
The Paraphraſe of Eraſmus tranſlated and commaunded to be had in al Churches. 1633.40.
Parliament called in king Richards name. 1111.16.a.
Paulinus made Archbyſhop of Yorke. 163.10.
Paulinus Byſhop, ſent vnto Edwine with the Ladie Ethelburga. 159.36.
Americ de Pauie knight Captayne of Calais Caſtle. 943.1.b.ſelleth Calais to the French men. 944.3.a.
Parliament.pag.1166. col. 1. li.28,pa.1168.col.1.lin.54. pag.1186.col.1.lin.46.pag 1213.col.1.li.23.pa.1214. col.1. lin.44.
Par William Marques of Northampton goeth againſt Queene Mary. 1720.40. proclaymeth Queene Mary. ibidem.and goeth and ſubmitteth him ſelfe vnto her grace. ibidem. is attaynted. 1721.25. deliuered out of the Towre: 1734.40. is choſen high Steward of England. 1801.43.
Paulinus Suetonius, and Julius Claſſicianus, fall at ſquare. 65.69.
Paſcentius, ſonne to Uortigernus, returneth into Britaine with an armie. 123.38
Paſcentius with his armie diſcomfited and ſlayne.123.52
Paulinus Byſhop of Rocheſter departeth this life. 170.36.
Parliament called the great Parliament. 1094.50.a.
Pawlet William Lord Saint John knight of the order and great maiſter of yͤ houſhold appoynted by the kings Teſtament to be one of hys ſonnes gouernours. 1611. 58.
Parliament at Northampton. 1023.18.a.
Pageauntes in making. pag. 1371.co.2.lin.53.
Parliament that wrought wonders. 1070.35.b.
Pardons promiſed to ſutch, as wil go into the Holy land, to defend it againſt the Saraſins. 454.98.
Pandraſus king of Greece. 10. 69.
A Parliament at the blacke Friers. 1524.6
Paſcy Caſtle. 445.24.
Paulinus Suetonius ſent Lieutenant into Britain.59. 76.
Paulinus Suetonius winneth the Jle of Angleſey.59.114
Paules Churche in London builded. 33.111.
Parliament at Weſtminſter. pa.1313.co.1.lin.15.
A Parliament. 1634.
Paules ſteeple in London finiſhed. 620.57.
Pace Richard deſcribed.1518. 28.
Pardon. 969.18.a.
Parliament at Cambridge. 1074.22.a.
Paſſelew John. 726.4.
Pauſanias cyted. 4.100. and. 8.1.and 8.74.
Palmer Thomas knight ouerthrowen in fight. 1637.8.
Paulinus ſent into Brytaine. 149.98.
Partholin, looke Bartholoin. 28.
Paul the Apoſtle preacheth to the Britaines. 53.23.
Peterborough in olde tyme called Medeshamſtede.181. 11.
Percie reſtored Earle of Northumberland.pag.1168.col. 1.lin 40.
Peter Pence graunted to the Pope by Offa. 195.64.
Peada murthered through treaſon of his wyfe. 176.41.
Peda or Peada king of Mercia receyueth the Chriſtian faith 173.7.and.173.31.
Peda Baptiſed by Finnan. 173.32.
Peſtilence.1833.1.what number dead thereof in London. eadem. 10. ceaſeth. 1834. 47.
Pedredeſmouth battel, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Danes. 206.105.
Percie Henry the fift Earle of Northum-

Northumberland warden of the Marches conducteth the Ladie Margaret into Scotland, and his magnificence. 1458.10.
Peace taken betweene kyng John and the kyng of France for two yeares. 563.57.
Peredurus and Vigenius conſpire againſt Elidurus. 31.83.
Peredurus & Vigenius reigne ioyntly as Kinges in Brytaine. 31-100.
Earle of Penbroke taken priſoner. 992.10.b.
Penda beſiegeth the Citie of Exceter. 166.55.
Penda taken by Cadwallo, and his armie ouerthrowen. 166 60.
Penda ouerthrown at Heauenfield battaile. 167.19.
Penda maketh warre againſt Oſunus, and is ſlayne himſelfe. 167.33.
Penda commeth againſt Quichelme with an armie. 169.29.
Penda inuadeth Northumberland with an armie. 170.5.
Pertinax ſent Lieutenant into Britaine. 77.51.
Pertinax pacifieth the diſſentious armie in Brytaine. 77.58.
Pertinax ſtriken downe and left for dead by his owne ſouldiours. 77.61.
Pertinax obtaineth to bee diſcharged from the Lieutenantſhip of Britaine. 77.63.
Perhennis, Captaine of the Emperor Commodus gard. 77.9.
Perhennis deliuered to the ſouldiours, and by them put to death. 77.38.
Penda maketh ſharpe warre vpon Cenwalch king of weſt Saxons. 171.42.
Penda maketh ſore warres vpon Egricus King of the eaſt angles. 172.17
Penda ſlaine by Oſwy 172.62
Pentho battaile fought by the Danes againſt the Somerſetſhyre men. 241.70
Pennum battayle fought by Cenwalch againſt the Britaines, where Bruces poſteritie receiueth an vncurable wound. 176.79
Pelagius hereſie preuaileth in Britaine. 119.29
Peter a Monke, felowe with Auguſtine. 148.70
Perſecution for religion. 1763 27. and. 1766.20.
Peter Warbeke called in deriſion, Perkin Warbecke coũterfeit Duke of Yorke. 1441 10. goeth into Portugall, and from thence into Irelād. eadem. 50. is ſent forth by the French Kyng. ibidem. returneth into Flaunders. ibidem. is called the White Roſe. 1442. 8. his true linage is found out. eadem. 10 landeth in Kent, and is repelled with ſlaughter. 1445 30. ſaileth into Ireland, & from thence into Scotland. eadem. 30. maried the daughter of the Earle Huntley. ibidem. his counterfeit pitie 1446. 2. landeth in Cornwal. 1449. 44. beſigeth Exceter. 1450. 1. fleeth and taketh Sanctuarye. eadem. 30. yeeldeth hym ſelfe. 1451 37. maketh an eſcape. 1552 7. is ſet in the ſtockes, and afterward ſtandyng vpon a Scaffold, readeth his confeſſion. ead. 30. corrupteth his keepers. 1453.43. is hanged 1454.7.
Peter Hialas the Spaniſh ambaſſadour vnto the kyng of Scottes. 1449.47. concludeth a truce betweene England and Scotland. eadem. 10.
Penda ſore oppreſſeth Oſwy with warres. 175
Penda and his army ouerthrowen by Oſwy. 175.65
Peace concluded betwene kyng Henry the firſt, & his brother Robert Duke of Normadie, vpon conditions. 339.30
Peace and quietnes bought by the Engliſh men of the Danes, for money. 239.65. & 244 51.
Petroniſſe Counteſſe of Leyceſter, arriueth in England with a power of Flemyngs. 431.52.
Petroniſſe Counteſſe of Leyceſter taken priſoner. 431 93.
Pelham Nicholas knight, valiauntly beateth the landed Frenchmen to their ſhyppes. 1602.20.
Percyes enter in league with Owē Glēdoner. 1137.co.2 lin.3. rayſe their power againſt Henry the fourth. pag. 1137.co.1.lin.30. craue aid of the Scots. 1137.co.1. lin.32. their pretence ibid. co.2.lin. 17. were vanquiſhed at Shrewſbury. 1140 col.1.lin.6.
Peace concluded betwene Cadwan and Ethelfert, vppon conditions. 156.99
Peter king of Caſtil chaſed out of his Realme. 971.48.a. reſtored. 974.8.a. ſlayne by his brother Henry. 974.28.b
Peter pence forbydden in England. 791.56.a
Pendaes godly ſaying, concernyng cold Chriſtians. 173.50.
Peſtilence great at Calice. 1466.54.
Parre William Earle of Eſſex created Marques of Northampton. 1614.15. is ſent with a power againſt Ket. 1663. is diſtreſſed by Ket. 1666.10
Peace betweene Britaine and France. 1021.31.b
Pemſey Caſtle beſieged, and rendred to king William Rufus. 319.57
Percy William knight. 1448.46.
Peſtilence. 1839.12
Penda king of Mercia, ioyneth with the Britaines againſt Edwine. 163.51
Parre William, Lord Parre, created earle of Eſſex. 1591 50.
Percy Thomas knight, put to death. 1570.9
Petro Liene Hugh, a Deacon Cardinal, ſent Legate into England. 442.94
Peake Richard keeper of the citie of Dublin. 454.33
Petrus Cirialis, Lieutenant of the nynth Legion, put to flight. 63.102
Pearch of land, how many foot it conteyneth. 312.103
Peace betwixt king John and Arthur Duke of Britaine. 547.17.
Penenſey towne and Caſtle. 390.79.
Peter firſt Abbot of S. Auguſtines Monaſtery nigh Canterburie. 150.48
Peter of Sauoy made earle of Richmond. 658,115
Peace with the articles concluded betweene king Stephan and Hēry Fitzempreſſe. 389 27.
Penda ſucceedeth Ciarlus in the kingdome of Mercia. 165.41.
Penda an vnmeaſurable hater of Chriſtian religiō 165.63
Pelagius hereſie reuiued in Britaine. 100.37
Pelitus a Wiſard of Spaine. 166.50.
Pembroke ſhire ſpoyled by the Welch men. 749.59.
Penbroke Hal in Cambrige founded. 996.18.b.
Peter Pateſhul a Frier preacheth againſt his order. 1059.1.a. accuſeth his brethren of heynous crimes. 1059.10.b.
Peterborough Abbey eſtabliſhed. 234.9.
Pelagians exiled out of Britayne. 121.34.
Perceual John. 1462.10.
John Earle of Pembroke diſcomfited. 980.43.b. dieth. 996.8.b.
Petroke, Earle of Perch. 398.51.
Peverel William, diſinherited for ſorcerie and wichcraft. 595.96.
Pelagius the heretike, borne in Wales. 118.38.
Pelagius hereſie, what it was. 119.40.
Printers firſt brought into England. 178.114.
Perthelmus, byſhop of Whiterne. 192.26.
John Pecham made Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 788.46.b. dyeth 806.13.a.
Peter Archbyſhoppe of Tarenſaſia. 423.112.
Petilius Cerialis, appoynted Leutenante of Britaine. 66.68.
Pecham Henry executed for treaſon. 1766,40.
Peter bahuchet hanged at Sluce. 909.50.a.
Poter dwelling in Red Croſſe ſtreete. pag. 1358. col. 1. lin.47.
John Pouderhams knauery. 856.33.
Peace concluded betweene King John and the king of France with a maryage and other agreementes 548.27.
Peace concluded betweene the Erle of Flaunders & the French king. 548.77.
Peace concluded vppon conditions betweene Edmond king of England, and Aulafe king of Danes. 227.64.
Periurie neuer left vnpuniſhed. 286.37.
Peter pence firſt payd in England to ẏ Byſhop of Rome. 189.1.
Peter Byſhop of Wincheſter made gouernour to king Henry the third. 617.33.
People at Canterbury tithed by the Danes. 246.22.
Pelagius hereſie renued among the Scots. 163.35.
Henry Lord Percy put to flight by the Scots. 843.10.b.
Peace concluded, betweene King Edward, and Earle Godwin. 273.90.
Peace breakers betweeen king Henry the ſecond and his ſonnes excommunicated. 457.80.
Percie Henry the fourth Earle of Northumberland ſlayne. 1434.40.
The Pencioners muſter in armour before her Maieſtie. 1839.42. A lotterie held. 1839.46.
Percie Henry the firſt Earle of Northumberland Warden of the whole Marches ſueth to be diſcharged of his office 1522. much miſlyked therefore of al men. ibidem.
Peace proclaimed betweene king Henry the third and the Barons. 770.28.

Petitur

Petitur and Higanius, looke Peredurus and Vigenius.
Peace between England and Fraunce. 966.10.b
The Pencioners ordeyned. 1574.40.
Percie Erle of Worceter breaketh the ſtaffe of his office. 1108.13.a.
People in al England numbred 312.79.
Peter Breſſie Captayne of Alnewike Caſtle. pa.1313. col.2.lin.54.pag.1315.col. 1.lin.24.
Percie Thomas made knight, after Lord, and the next daye Earle of Northumberland. 1767.28. rebelleth. 1839. his attemptes there, & afterward fleeth into Scotland. 1841.12. is brought out of Scotland and beheaded. 1865.
Peace concluded betweene William of England, and king Malcolme of Scotland vpon conditions. 307.60.
Peith John. 1447.21.
Pente Riuer. 174.45.
Perkin Werbecke. pag. 1389. col. 2. lin. 42.
Petronius Turpilianus appointed Lieutenant of Britaine. 66.9.
Henry Lord Percy ſent to the Sea. 1058.30.b.
Peace concluded betweene K. William Rufus of England and his brother Duke Robert of Normandie vppon conditions. 321.68. and. 325.85.
Henry Lord Percie created Earle of Northumberland. 1006.8.b.
Peter the Apoſtle ware a ſhauen Crowne. 178.30.
Peredurus reigne and deth, variable among writers. 332.1.
Peace concluded at Stanes betwixt Henry king of England, and Lewes the kings ſonne of Fraunce. 616.46.
Peace with the Scottes. pag. 1249. col. 2. lin. 6.
Peſtilence. pag. 1350. col. 2. lin. 55.
Penius Poſthumus ſlayeth himſelfe. 65.43.
Peter Landeyſe. pag. 1407. col. 2. lin. 12. lin. 20. lin. 50. pag. 1408. col. 1. lin. 50. col. 2. lin. 13. lin. 47.
Pettebam Manour, made ouer to the Church of Canterbury. 327.56.
Peace betweene England and Scotland. 873.30.a.
Pence of the value of two pences coyned. 1459.17.
Petrottus Nicholaus cited. 5.42.
Thomas Percie created Earle of Worceter.. 1097.30.b.
Alice Peters Concubine to king Edward the third. 997 27.a. baniſhed the Realme. 1008.45.a.
Periurie reuenged, by euyl death and affliction. 365.48.
Perambulations of Forreſtes. 834.50.a.
Peter pence in Ireland to be payed to the Pope. 420.112.
Peter Courtney byſhop of Exceter. pa.1402. col.2.lin.15
Penerel William of Nottingham. 369.
Penſey Caſtle deliuered to the king. 397.19.
Pencaire Dauid cited. 7.5.
Earle of Penbroke put to flight by Scots. 845.16.a.
Perdir the wiſehard flouriſheth 21.65.
Penwithſtreete. 241.40.
Peter pence payment confirmed by Ethelwolfus. 207.49.
Periurie horribly puniſhed. 224.20.
Pegnalech Abbey. 177.49.
Peace diſhonorable with the Scots. 891.47.a
Philip K. of France returneth home from the ſiege of Acres 500.113. practiſeth falſhode againſt king Richard the firſt in his abſence in the holy land. 503.5. prouoketh Earle John to forſake his allegeance vnto king Richard the firſt his brother. 509.47. entreth into Normandie with an armie. 510.34.
Philip Prince of Spayne marrieth Queene Mary. 1756.54. his trayne. eadem.12. is made knight of the Garter. 1759.10. goeth to the Parliament houſe in his Roabes 2759.36. goeth into Flaunders vnto his father. 1764. taketh poſſeſſion of the lowe Countreys & then returneth into England. 1766.53. paſſeth into Flaūders. 1767.2. winneth Saint Quintins concludeth peace with the French king. 1801.18.
Philip the Archduke of Auſtrich marrieth the heyre of Hiſpayne. 1459.50. caſt on the coaſt of England by ſtorme and ſaued. ead.1. dieth. 1460.58. is deſcribed. 1460.1.
Philip king of Fraunce in danger of drowning by fal of a bridge vnder him. 527.25.
Philips Dauie knight counſelour to prince Arthur. 1456 52.
Philippes Rouland vicar of Croyden a famous preacher. 1524.44.
Philip Byſhop of Beauoyes taken priſoner. 531.59.
Phightiaid the name of the Pictes, in Britiſh, Scottiſh, and Pictiſh. 68.50.
Philpot Clement put to death. 1580.30.
Philip Earle of Flaunders, taketh vpon him to goe to the holy land. 439.7.
Philip king of Fraunce departeth frō the battaile of Creſſey. 934.20.b.
Philip Duke of Burgongne. pag.1317.col.2.lin.7. dyed. pag.1318.col.1.lin.47.
Philip the French king twice in great daunger of taking by Richard the firſt. 111. almoſt drowned in the riuer of Gethe. 536.12.
Philip king of Fraunce dyeth. 347.106.
Philip the French king dyeth. 623.4.
Philip K. of Fraunce cōmeth to Sangate 942.16.a. ſendeth to king Edward to haue an indifferent place for battaile. 942.58.a. breaketh vp his armie. 942.30.b.
Philip Earle of Flaunders made Erle of Kent. 327.10.
Philip the French king teſteth at king Williams ſickneſſe. 314.54.
Philip de Commins. pa.1323. col.1.lin.22.
Philip Queene of England dyeth. 980.2.a.
Philo cited. 101.78.
Pilgremages aboliſhed. 1571.24.
Piemont the Prince Emanuell Philibert commeth into England. 1762.38. ouerthroweth the French power neare to Saint Quintins. 1768.20. marryeth Margaret the French kings Siſter. 1802.47
Piers of Exton knyght murdered king Richard the ſecond. pag.1129.col.2.lin.54.
Pinder Rachel dooth penance, for fayning to bee poſſeſſed by the diuel. 1870.48
Piers of Gaueſton baniſhed. 841.1.b. called home and made Earle of Cornewale. 847.10.b, marryeth the kings Neece. 847.46.b. baniſhed agayne. 879.20.a. taken and beheaded. 851.20.a
Pirats taken by ſhips of Rie.
Picts, Saxons and Scots inuade the Romane prouince in Britayne. 106,60.
Pictes and Scots vanquiſhed by the Saxons. 112.22.
Picts ouerthrowen betweene Lyene and Cere by the Northumbers. 190.68.
Piers a Legh beheaded. 1108.13.b.
Picts in league with the Engliſh men become Chriſtians. 192.39.
Pilkinton Thomas attaynted 1425.45.
Picts and Scots ſlayne and chaſed out of Britayne. 100,36.
Picts and Scots when firſt they came to inhabite Brytayne. 102.15.
Picts require wyues of the Iriſh Scots. 67.55.
Picts the firſt ſtrangers that came into Brytayne to inhabite next after the Romanes 67.65.
Peuenſſey or Pemſey place in Suſſex, where Duke William of Normādie landeth his armie 285.65.
Pictes inuade Britaine. 67.6.
Pictes deſcended of the nation of the Scithians. 67.6.
Pictes, whereof ſo named. 67.10.
Pictes ſuppoſed to be Agathirſes. 67.17.
Pictes arriue in Irelande to ſeeke ſeates. 67.24.
Pictes depart from Irelande, and arriue in Britaine. 67.39.
Pictes vanquiſhed and ſlayne by the Britaines. 67.45.
Pictes remainder appointed to inhabite Catneſſe in Scotland. 67.49.
Pictes and Scots enter vppon the Britaines and chaſe them out of their townes. 101.6.
Pictes that inhabite the South part of Scotland, brought out of Scithia by Fulgentius. 81.69.
Pictes, by what auncient Romane writer firſt made mention of. 87.107.
Pictes ſo called of painting their bodyes. 13.90.
Pictes and Scots inuade Britaine, and waſt the countrey. 111.27.
Pictes and Scots returne into Britaine by ſea, and inhabite the North partes of the Ile. 100.72.
Pilgrimage in women, a colour to whoredome. 190.30
Pightland in Scotland, ſo called of the Pictes. 13.99.
Pictes ſend ayde to the Brytaines againſt the Romanes. 3945.
Pig brought forth with a face like a man. 351.42.
Praying to Saintes not lyked of. 335.88
Pictes vanquiſhed by king Oſwy. 176.33.
Pictes and Scots driuen out of Britaine, with helpe of the Romanes. 100.6.
Pictes and Scots breake down the wall, and enter againe into Britaine. 100.20.
Pikering towne builded. 32.15.
Pirrhus, ſonne to Achilles. 10.43.

Pirrhus iſſue by Andromache. 10.45.
Pictes deuided into two nations. 104.5.
Pius Antoninus Emperour. 76.57.
Piracie of the Saxons deſcribed. 107.82.
Pinnor, king of Loegria. 22.90.
Peers of the Realme called to a counſell. pag. 1292. col. 1. lin. 2.
Piece of the holy Croſſe, ſent from Rome into Englande. 217.49.
Pictes and Scots ſore diſquiet the Romane ſubiectes in Britaine. 95.17.
Pilgrimage to the Abbey of Burie. 586.45.
Pictouius cited. 5.17.
Plantagenet Arthur created Viſcount Liſle. 1525.50.
Pleſhey Caſtle deliuered to K. Stephan. 380.42.
Edward Plantagenet created Erle of Rutland. 1076.3.b.
Plantagenet Geffray, moueth rebellion againſt kyng Stephan. 367.81.
Plantagenet Geffray put to flight, and many of his people ſlaine. 367.103.
Plantagenet Geffray inuadeth Normandie. 376.54.
Plautius, Pretor of Rome, ſent General of the Romane armie into Britaine. 48.65.
Plautius landeth with his armie in Britaine. 48.95.
Plautius vanquiſheth ẏ Brytaines at his firſt arriual. 49.6.
Plautius triumphed for hys noble actes atchieued in Britaine. 50.13.
Plantagenet William, eldeſt ſonne to king Henrye the ſecond departeth this life. 396.30.
Plantagenet Geffray, beginneth a rebellion againſt hys brother king Henrye the ſecond. 396.34.
Plantagenet Geffray not to bee buryed, tyll his ſonnes had ſworne to performe his laſt wyll and teſtament. 396.51.
Plantagenet Geffray expulſed out of his Earledome of Aniou by his brother Henry the ſecond. 396.67.
Plantagenet Geffray dyeth. 396.75.
Plantagenet Edward Erle of Warwicke is brought openly from ẏ Towre to Poules by land and goeth in proceſſion. 1429.23.
The Pauſgraue of the Rhine commeth into Englande. 1574.18.
Plantagenet Arthur Viſcount Liſle dieth of immoderate ioye. 1584.8.
Plantagenet Edward ſonne and heyre of George Duke of Clarēce kept in Sheriffehuton Caſtle as priſoner, and from thence conueied vnto the Towre of London. 1424 20. arreygned and beheaded. 1454.30.
Plozac Geffray with his ſonne Myles, Ambaſſadours to K. Henry the ſeconde from Hubert Earle of Morienne. 424.25.
Edward Plantagenet created Earle of Rutland. 1050.8.b.
Pleymond made Archbiſhop of Cantorburie. 218.36.
Plantagenet, Geffray, Earle of Aniou departeth this lyfe. 384.10.
Plantagenet Geffray Earle of Aniou his iſſue. 384.16.
Plentie of wealth accompanied with ſtore of ſinnes. 111.1.
Pleymond ſent to Rome with ritch preſentes from the king 223.48.
Placida mother to Valentinyan the Emperour. 121.55.
Pleymond Archbyſhop of Cantorburie. 223.42.
Pleaſance. 1103.1.a.
Pleas of the crowne holden at the towre of London. 705.46.
Plenidius a Barde. 4.41.
Plentie of graine. 797.8.a.
Popes goe out of the ſteppes which Peter trode. 330.109.
Pope to haue nothing to doo in any kingdome, touching temporal liberties. 331.6.
Popes office and duetie, what it is. 331.7.
Popiſh Byſhops cannot keepe their allegiance towardes their Prince, and their obedience to the See of Rome, without their Princes pleaſure. 331.36.
Portes fiue reſiſt the landing of French men comming to ayde Lewes. 615.37.
Pont Meulan ſurpriſed by the French. pag. 1220. col. 2. lin. 34. rendred agayn to the Engliſh. lin. 49.
Popes power baniſhed. 1563. 15. is reſtored agayne. 1761 30. is eftſoones baniſhed. 1797.26.
Poſte comming from the Pope is ſtayed at Douer, 712.54
Popes Nuncio commaūded to depart the Realme. 713.29.
Pope requireth the French king to warre agaynſt England. 714.89.
Pope giueth ſentence with the Monkes of Cantorburie agaynſt the Byſhops. 563.73
Pope nameth Stephan Langton to be Archbiſhop of Canterburie againſt king Iohns appoyntment. 564.48.
Popes anſwere to king Iohns Letter. 565.15.
Pope wryteth to the Byſhops concerning king Iohn and Stephan Langton choſen Archbyſhop of Canterburie and of the Monkes there. 565.98.
Poules doore blowen open. 1835.57.
Pope Alexander the ſecond ſendeth a banner to Duke William of Normandie, at his expedition into England. 285.100.
Pope and Cardinales compared to a ſhaken Reede, which bendeth what way ſoeuer the wynde bloweth. 286.4.
Poole Reynold Cardinal reuoked by Queene Mary. 1723 5. conſultation held how he ſhould be receyued. eadem. 20. his attaindour is reuerſed by Parliament. 1759. 50. commeth into the Parliament houſe Legate from the Pope. 1760.4. the effect of his Oration there. eadem. 37. abſolued the Realme from Schiſme. 1761.30. is receyued into Poules with proceſſion by the Lord Chancellour. 1762. 43. goeth to Marke to conclude a peace betweene the Emperour and the French king. 1764. 6. ſendeth the Byſhop of Glouceſter to ſit in iudgement on Cranmer 1765.20. is arch byſhop of Canterburie. eadem, 30. depriueth Doctor Weſton of al his ſpiritual lyuings for adulterie. 1769. 26 dyeth. 1782.1. his pedegree. ibidem.
Poynings Edward knight ſent with a power into Ireland to ſuppreſſe the fauorers of Perkin Warbecke. 1444.37.
Poynings Edwarde Knight. 1447.20.
Poole Lord Montague committed to the Towre. 1510. 28. reſtored to the kings fauour. 1519.47.
Pope diſpenſeth for the detayning of Abbey landes. 1763.8.
Poules Steeple with a part of the Church burned. 1815. the Church repayred. ibidem
Policie of the Frenche king to weaken Kyng Williams force of England. 310.16.
Pope and Sea of Rome. ſouereygne Lord of Ireland. 420 59.
Pope graunteth the ſouereigntie of Ireland to king Henry the ſecond. 420.87.
Polidore reprooued of errour. 32.45. and. 55.18.
Policie of Lewis the French king to winne Vernueyle. 428.49.
Poynings Edward, knight of the Garter and Controller of the kings houſe ſent with a power agaynſt the Duke of Geldres. 1440.1.
Pope ſweareth by Saint Peter. 592.20.
Popes decree is declared to the Barons. 592.50.
Pope ſendeth to the French king to diſwade hym from helping the Barons againſt king Iohn. 598. 78. The French kings allegations to the Popes Legate. 598.83.
Poyctouins are confederate with the french king againſt the king of Englād. 411.12
Porteſmonth. 551.99.
Popes Legate ſueth for the reſtitutiō of Fulkes de Brent, but obtayneth not. 628.6.
Poynings Thomas knight captayne of Guiſnes. 1594.36. diſcomfiteth the Frenchmen at Baſſe Bulleyne. 1599. is treated Lord Poynings and Leuetenant of Bologne and Bolongnois. 1602.50.4. dieth and his commendations. ibidem.
Poynings Edward knight ſent to the ſiege of Scluſe. 1438. 50. hath the two Caſtles yeelded vnto him eadem. 20.
Pope ſueth to Richard the firſt for the deliuerance of the Biſhop of Beauoyes out of priſon. 432. 35. geueth ouer his ſuite and forſaketh the Byſhop. 532.47.
Porrex and Ferrex ſonnes to Gorbodug, begin to rule ouer Britayne. 22.36.
Pope perſwadeth peace betwixt Rychard the firſt, and and Phillip king of Fraunce 538.43. truce is taken for fiue yeares. 538.77.
Pope exhorteth Criſtians to warre agaynſt the Saracens 630.85.
Popes requeſtes vnreaſonable 632.43.
Pope Innocent requeſteth aide agaynſt the Turkes and infidels. 552. 70.
Pope ſendeth into Fraunce to make a peace betwixt the French king and king Iohn. 556.69.
Poinings Edward knight dieth. 1519.5.
Poyntz Robert knight. 1450.14.
Policie of Conſtantius to diſcerne true Criſtians from falſe. 89.109.
Policie of the Kentiſhmen, to intrap King William, and his armie. 292.53.
Pope requeſteth ayde of king Richard the ſecond. 1011.34.b.

Policie of Duke William of Normandie, to diſorder the Engliſh battayle. 287. 2.
Poyton wonne by the French men. 993. 4. a.
Poynings Edward knight Captaine of Tourney. 1487 1.
King of Portingal marrieth the Duke of Lanc. daughter. 1052. 7. a.
Popes Collations forbidden. 924. 50. a.
Powel hanged for the ſupremacie. 1580. 40.
Policie of Gurmundus to burne Ciceſter. 144. 13.
Policronicon cited. 22. 60. and. 22. 101. and. 24. 40.
Popes Legate graunteth free remiſſion of ſinnes to all the kings ſouldiours. 613. 33.
Polidore Virgil cited. 123. 76. and. 128. 47. and. 129. 19.
Pope writeth to the Kyng agaynſt the Wicleuiſts. 1088 20. b.
Pomfret Caſtle. pag. 1310. col. 2. lin. 25. pag. 1328. col. 2. lin. 45.
Porteſmouth in Suſſex whẽce ſo called. 130. 11.
Poole Richard Knight, kinſman and chiefe Chamberlaine vnto Prince Arthur. 1456. 51.
Poynings Edward Knyght, Captayne of a band called the kings Gard. 1606. co. 2. lin. 41.
Poynings Edward knight, ſent Ambaſſadour vnto Phillip the Archduke. 1442. 17.
Poole Reynald Cardinal attainted. 1570. 53.
Popea daughter to the Earle of Bayeulx, married to Rollo, Duke of Normandie. 288. 107.
Polidore Virgil cited. 99. 81. and, 113. 35. and. 116. 99. and. 120. 67.
Ponte de Larche taken by the French. pag. 1274. col. 2. lin. 26.
Popes decree concerning ſpiritualmens goods. 715. 114.
Popes peace. 835. 6. a. wryteth in defence of ÿ Scots. 835. 53. b. forbiddeth the king to vex thẽ. 836. 38. a.
Poole Henry Lorde Mountague beheaded. 1572. 5.
Poictunius ſubdued by the French. 585. 75.
Pontorſon rendred to the Engliſh. pag. 1236. col. 1. lin. 31.
Ponticus Virunnius cited. 12 43.
Poitiers wonne by Henry Erle of Derby. 939. 1. a.
Porcheſter wonne by the Romans 51. 33.
Polichronicon cited. 223. 62.
Pontfracte Coledge founded. pag. 1152. col 2. lin. 52.
Policletus ſent Commiſſioner into Britaine. 65. 76.
Polidore cited. 321. 30. and. 333. 58.
Ponte de Larch rendred to the Engliſh men. pag. 1193. col. 2. lin. 39.
Polidor Virgil cited. 210. 56. and. 217. 70.
Pouleſworth Abbey builded. 208. 7.
Ponthieu taken by the French King. 977. 30. b.
Pope Adrian, an Engliſhman borne. 396. 61.
Popes diſpenſe with othes, right, law, and equitie. 396. 63.
Pomerey Henry, dieth for griefe and feare. 516. 50.
Policie and Zeale of Germaine to diſcomfit the Saxons. 120. 46.
Polleſworth in Warwikſhyre. 225. 6.
Porthland in deuonſhyre, ſpoyled by the Danes. 238. 37.
Popes power how farre it extendeth. 741. 11.
Policie of the Romans in getting the Ile of Angleſey. 68. 92.
Portes kept for feare of letters of interdiction. 418. 22.
Portemouth diſquieteth the French fleete. 1046. 10. b.
Polidore cited. 228. 49. and. 236. 2. and. 304. 13. and. 315. 10. and. 315. 51.
Policie of Maximianus to intrap Gracianus the Emperour. 97. 36.
Policie of Ethelburga to perſwade her huſband Inas to renounce the world. 188. 43
Porth entreth Britaine at Porteſmouth hauen. 130. 6
Policie of king William, to entrap Engliſh men within his lawes of hunting the Deere. 313. 77.
Polidore Virgil cited. 3. 69. & 4. 83. and. 5. 27. and. 38. 72. and. 55. 8. and. 60. 26
Poyſonyng worthily puniſhed. 224. 92.
Popes Nuntio commeth into England. 1078. 23. b
Poictauins reuolt from Kyng Iohn. 553. 15
Poer Ranulph Sheriffe of Gloceſterſhyre, ſlaine by ÿ Welch men. 456. 77
Pope very liberal of another mans purſe. 736. 74
Powyngs Edward knight, one of the kyngs coũſel. 1464. 55
Popes letters, commaundyng Archbiſhop Thomas Beckets ſuffryng day, to be kept holy. 425. 5
Policie of the Troians agaynſt the Gaules. 14. 56
Polidore cited. 349. 108. and 353. 75. and. 414. 95.
Porrex ſlain by his mother. 22 70.
Pope of Rome an hypocrite, and therfore mens deuotiõs ware cold towards him. 742 33.
Pontieu reſtored to king Edward the third. 912. 3. b
Policie of Maude Empreſſe, to eſcape the ſiege at Oxford. 379. 26.
Polybius cited. 27. 37
Popes Legate gayneth in Englãd twelue thouſand marks 616. 77.
Policie of Aulafe to ſuruey the Engliſh campe. 226. 31
Poicton tooke name of ÿ Picts 13. 96.
Polichronicon cited. 226. 67
Popes authoritie not eſteemed in England. 351. 105
Ponteaudemer caſtle beſieged, and taken. 359. 53
Poore people dye through famyne. 749. 42
Pontoyſe taken by the Engliſh. 1200. co. 2. lin. 40.
Poyron Robert, a knight Templer. 400. 69
Policie of Elgina, to procure the farther loue of K. Cnute. 264. 6.
Prerogatiue of the Engliſh nation in the general Councel. pa. 1186. co. 1 lin. 40.
Progenie of the Weſt Saxon kyngs, endeth in king Edward the Confeſſor. 280. 48
Prieſt ſlayn by a tempeſt before the Altare, at Andeuer. 421 16.
Prouiſiõ made by rate of lands for building of ſhips, and furniſhyng of armour. 244. 82
Preparation of warre made to goe againſt the Scots. 567. 77.
Prayers made vnto God before battaile. 164. 114
Prizes great taken by ſea, of French goodes. 1600. 50
Princes euyl example, geueth occaſion to the ſubiectes to offend. 157. 53
Princes chalenge to thẽſelues the inueſting of Biſhops, & other ſpiritual Miniſters. 341. 93.
Prieſtes diſplaced at Waltham Colledge, and Chanons Regular put in their roumthes. 447. 64.
Praſutagus king of the Iceni, maketh the Emperour of Rome, and two of his owne daughters, his heires. 60. 73
Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, to lyue chaſtly. 347 52.
Prieſtes commaunded to forſake their wyues. 347. 60
Prieſtes that wyl forgo ſeruing at the altare, to remaine with theyr wyues, to be depriued. 347. 73.
Prieſtes and Monkes forſakyng their orders, for loue of theyr wyues, to be excõmunicated. 340. 69. and. 347 78.
Prior of the Charterhouſe at London, executed. 1563. 35
Prelates fined for rebellyng againſt the kyng. 616. 65
Prebendes in the new Monaſterie of Wincheſter, taken from prieſtes, and geuen to vicars. 234
Prieſtes and Churchmen miſerably handled by king Iohn and by al men, without remedie. 566. 48
Prieſtes lackyng to ſay dayly ſeruice in churches. 567. 70
Prieſtes and Canons remoued from old Saliſbury, to new, together with the Byſhops See. 618. 23
Prayers vſed to be ſayd at the ſhuttyng in of doores & windowes. 298. 32
Priuilege of thoſe that tooke vpõ them the croſſe. 599. 38
Prieſtes ſaying Maſſe, apprehended. 1869. 52
Prolocutor of the parlament, & his office. 354. 46
Prior of Lawnd apprehended. pa. 1134. co. 1. lin. 33.
Preſumption of the Cardinal of Tuſculane. 583. 53
Prohibition to goe ouer ſea without the kyngs licence. 324. 30.
Prieſtes and Miniſters to be yearely examined. 198. 84
Prieſtes not to come to the altare bare legged. 198. 92
Prieſtes marryed, not to ſaye maſſe, nor to haue vicars. 347. 91.
Preſumptuous dealing of the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke in ÿ Conuocation houſe. 444. 18.
Prebendes in the new Monaſterie of Wincheſter, taken from Vicars, and geuen to Monkes. 234. 49.
Prieſtes liuing vnchaſtly, to be puniſhed. 361. 63.
Preſumption of the Popes pardons cauſeth many offences. 750. 24.
Prodigal expences of Henry ÿ third. 736. 20.
Prieſtes keeping of women commeth againe into queſtion. 351. 10.
Prieſtes of the prouince of Cantorburie ſuſpended. 717. 105.
Prelates in a great perplexitie. 740. 69.
Prieſtes, looke Secular Prieſtes.
Prieſts deny the Legates requeſt concerning a yearely penſion to be payd to the Pope. 628. 33.

Prories gathered by Gualo of euery Cathedral church and houſe of religion within England. 602.42.
Prieſtes to weare apparrel of one manner of colour. 340. 58.
Prieſtes ſonnes not to ſucceede their fathers in their benefices. 340.67.
Prieſtes to weare broade crownes. 340.72.
Prince of Portingale came into England.pag. 1226. col. 1. lin. 57.
Prieſtes wiues forbidden Chriſtian burial. 627.43.
Prieſtes wiues not to be Churched as other women are. 627.53.
Priſoners ſet at libertie by king William Rufus. 317. 54.
Proclamation made to auoyde ſtraungers. 618.4.
Priſoners throughout al the priſons of London, ſet at libertie by the Citizens of London. 778.54.
Prieſtes conſtrayned by the Pope to forſake their lawfull wiues. 309.51.
Prieſtes offending in Foreſtes to be areſted. 536. 74.
Priſe John cited. 2.105.and. 4.8.and. 4.42. and. 27. 58.
Priuiledges and Freedomes reuoked from Cities, Townes, Biſhops Sees, and Abbeyes. 303. 5. and.304. 46.
The Priour of Beuall, executed. 1563.36.
The Prior of Exham, executed 1563.37.
Priours and Abbots depriued by Archbiſhop Anſelme, and why. 340.30.
Proclamation for Engliſh men to returne from Rome. 1078.12.b.
Prouiſions from Rome made Treaſon. 1076.41.a.
Proteſtantes returne out of exile. 1798.27.
Prince of Wales diſcomfited. 622.60.
Proclamation. pag. 1311. col. 1. lin. 15. co. 2. lin. 4. pag. 1316. col. 1. lin. 7. pag. 1324. col. 1. lin. 59. pag. 1325. col. 2. lin. 16. pag. 1329. col. 2. lin. 34. pag. 1345. col. 2. lin. 38.
Promoters puniſhed. 1465. 30.
Priorie of Saint James in Briſtow builded. 351.55.
Priour John commeth into our Ocean with Galleyes, Foiſtes, and row Galleyes. 1476. 25. is aſſayled in lanke Sable Baye. 1477. 10. landeth in Suſſex. 1478 10.
Proclamation inhibiting mony to be ſent to the Pope. 716. 28.
Prieſtes of Normandie excommunicated by the Popes Legate. 352. 1.
Prouerbe. pag. 1409. col. 2. lin. 52.
Proclamation. pag. 1297. col. 1. lin. 15.
Princeſſe of Wales procureth quietneſſe. 1018.48.a.
Praſutagus, looke Aruiragus.
Promoters highly rewarded. 324. 16.
Preſumptious Prelates. 874. 10. a.
Price John cited. 137. 50.
Prior John eftſons landeth in Suſſex, & is hurt in the eye. 1494. 20.
Prophecies deuiliſh fantaſies. pag. 1350. col. 2. lin. 8.
Proceſſion of a new forme. 1539. 22.
Prenne, looke Edbert, or Ethelbert King of Kent.
Preſton in Auandernes, brent by the Scottes. 870. 8. b.
Priueteſſloud. 194. 15.
Priuiledge graunted to Saynt Cutbertes Shrine. 219. 57.
Prodigious tokens.pag.1302. col. 2. lin. 9.
Prophecie. pag. 1375. col. 1. lin. 8.
Proceſſion at Powles. pag. 1293. col. 2. lin. 19.
Prieſtes vſed for priuie meſſengers.pa. 1330.col. 1. lin. 48.
Prophecie vayne.pag. 1137. col. 1. lin. 16.
Proclamation. 1374. col. 2. lin. 15.
Proclamation. 1386. col. 2. lin 9.
Ptolomei cited. 55. 3.
Puglia. 314.43.
Pulcher Church. 228. 62.
Purueyers puniſhed. 929.12. a.
Puniſhment ceaſeth, but ſinne encreaſeth among the Britaynes. 101.92.
Putta ordeined Biſhop of Rocheſter, after Damianus deceaſe. 178. 80.
Pudſey Hugh Biſhop of Durham, of an old Byſhop made a young Earle. 478. 74.
Putta Byſhop of Rocheſter, fleeth into Mercia, getting his liuing by teaching to ſing 181.73.
Parre Katharen late wife to the Lord Latimer, maried to Henry the eyght. 1590. 17.
Pudſey Henry, ſonne to the Byſhop of Durham. 449. 54.
Puiſſance and price of the Britiſh ſouldiours. 97. 26. and. 99. 11.
Putting to death on the Croſſe forbidden. 92.12.
Pulter Thomas of the County of Kent attaynted.1425.51

Q.

Queene Joan wyfe to Henrie the fourth, impriſoned in Leeds Caſtle. pa. 1198, col.1.lin.49.
Queene Katharin wyfe to Henry the fifth crowned. pag. 1211,col.2.lin.48. ſayled into Fraunce. pag. 1295. col. 1.lin.6.
Queene Katharin wyfe to Henry the fifth deceaſſed. pag. 1261.col.1.lin.51.
Queene Jane wyfe to Henrie the fourth deceaſſed. pag. 1261.col.2.lin.44.
Queene Margaret wyfe to Henrie the ſixt.pag. 1270. col.1.lin.49.deſcribed.pag. 1272.col.1.17. taketh vpon her the gouernment.pag. 1272.col.2. lin.47. fled. pag.1300.col.1.lin.8. had the victorie at Saint Albons pag.1306.col.1.lin.3. returned with her husband and ſonne Northwarde. col.2.lin.14.ſhee with her ſonne goeth into Fraunce pag.1312.col.2.lin. 38. arriued in Scotland.pa.1313 col.2.lin.14.landed at Tynmouth.pag. 1313. col.2. lin.20. tooke Bamborough Caſtle.pa.1314.col.1.li.6. landed at Weymouth. pag. 1332.col.1.lin.1.taken priſoner.pa.1340.col.1.li.56. ranſomed.col.2.line.55.
Queene Carlot of Fraunce. pag.1316.col.1.lin.24.
Queene Elizabeth wyfe to Edward the fourth, tooke ſanctuarie.pag.1325.col. 1. lin.29.there deliuered of a Prince.lin.32. reſtored out to Edward the fourth. pag. 1332.col.2.lin.40.
Quintine a Butchar beheaded.pag.1345.col.1.lin.25.
Queene Elizabeth wyfe to Edward the fourth taketh ſanctuarie.pag.1362. col. 1.lin. 55.her anſwere to the Cardinal. pag. 1367. co.2.li. 13.deliuered her ſon pag.1369.col.2.lin.40.called ſorceres pag. 1372. col. 1.lin.54.deliuereth her fiue daughters to Richard the thyrd.pag.1410.col.1. lin. 57.
Queene Anne crowned. pag. 1389.col.1.lin.1.dyeth ſodaynly.pag.1411.col.1.lin. 28.
Quintus Atrius looke Atrius.
Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune ſlayne. 41.65.
Quichelme, king of the Weſt Saxons, ſendeth a murtherer to ſlaye Kyng Edwyne. 159.51.
Quendred, wyfe to king Offa. 196.101
Quendred daughter to Kenwulfe, kyng of Mercia. 205. 40.
Quendred conſpyreth king Kenelme her brothers death. 205.43.
Quiſquere Robert. 367.45.
Quo Waranto, ordayned. 789. 20. b.
Queenes peace. 808.57.a.
Queene Iſabell goeth into Fraunce.875.10.b. She with her ſonne, go into Henoault.877.30. a. arryue in England.877. 34. b. proclaymeth peace.878.42. a. ſhee commeth to Briſtowe 880.1.a.
Queſt of inquirie appoynted by king John, to make inquiſition what loſſes the Clergye had receyued at his handes. 581.67
Quinburga Edwines firſt wife 162.1.
Queene Iſabel brought to Calays 1089. 30. b. marryed there to king Richard the ſecond. 1090.4.a. crowned at Weſtminſter. 1090.38.a.
Quinci Saer, Earle of Winchester. 612.12.
Quinci Saer Earle of Wincheſter.dyeth. 618.18.
Queenes College in Oxford founded. 980.28.a.
Quinchelme receyueth the Chriſtian fayth and dyeth 169.23.
Quinci Robert, Earle of Lincolne. 456.4.
Queene Philips diligence at Neuil Croſſe. 939.24.b.
Queene of the Welchmen taken priſoner. 222.18.

R.

Richard the firſt, after his exploytes in the holy land atchieued, maketh peace with the Saraſins, and departeth homewarde. 506. 22. the dangers wherein he was vpō the way, in Iſtria. 506.3[illegible] is taken priſoner at Vien[illegible] 506.56. kept priſoner cl[illegible]ly in colde yrons. 506.[illegible] cleered of the death o[illegible] Marques of Mountf[illegible]. 507.21. deliuered pr[illegible] to the Emperour, Hen[illegible] the ſixt. 508 17. put to hi[illegible]ſome by the Emperor. [illegible] 81. hath landes aſſigned [illegible] to him by the Emper[illegible] 512.1. is releaſed out o[illegible] priuitie. 514. 22. an[illegible] 81.[illegible]

81. confirmeth penſions to certaine Princes of the Empyre.515.16. arriueth at Sãdwich, & is receyued with proceſſion. 515.53. is crowned eftſoones at Weſtminſter.519.1. paſſeth ouer ſea, & entreth into Fraunce with an army. 520.70.
Riddle Geffrey drowned. 357 111.
Riuers Richard trauaileth with kyng Henry the firſt, to reſigne his right to the inueſture of Biſhops. 343.7
Richard Archbiſhop of Cantorbury returnyng from Rome, dyeth by the way. 637.22
Richard the firſt beſtoweth his three daughters. 541.16. Pride, to the Templers and Hoſpitallers. 541.17. Couetouſneſſe, to the White Monkes.541.19 Lecherie, to the Prelates of the church 541.22.
Richar caſtle belõgyng to Hugh Mortimer. 771.13
Riuallon dyeth, and is buryed at Yorke. 21.62
Richard the firſt ſetteth forth on his voiage.485.28.receiueth the ſtaffe and Scrippe. 485.30. reproueth the Court of Rome of couetouſnes. 485.70.arriueth at Meſſina.486 76. confeſſeth his filthy forepaſſed lyfe, and becommeth a new man. 490.21. his fleet toward the holy land. 491.58.
Richard Molineux knight. pa. 1295.co.1.lin.58.
Richard Wooduile, Lorde Riuers.1298.co.1.lin.3. taken lin.17. Earle Riuers, and high Conſtable of England. 1316.co.2.lin.26.
Richard earle of Cheſter in his minoritie. 343.67
Richard Percie. 1292. co. 2. lin.20.
Richard Bingham Iuſtice. 1292.co.2.lin. 27.
Richard Earle of Cornwal, goeth into the holy land.758.1 marieth the Lady Sanctia. 705.64.
Riſe ap Griffin rebelling againſt king Henry the ſecond, ſubmytteth hym ſelfe, and is pardoned. 460.43
Euſtace de Ribamõt fighteth with the king. 944.50.b. is taken priſoner. 945.2.a.
Rithwal king of Wales. 297.26.
Richard Earle of Auranges. 323.29.
Riuallon ſonne to Cunidagius, beginneth to raigne ouer Britaine. 21.48
Richard the firſt, why called Cueur de Lyon. 540.84
Richard Prior of Ely, abſolued and reſtored. 346.95
Richard kyng of Almaine his valeantie and iſſue. 781.95
Riches William. 554.71
Richard Duke of Normandie, marieth Heſtritha, ſiſter to K. Cnute. 259.55
Richard the third, duke of Normandie, marieth Eſtric, ſiſter to king Cnute of England. 289.22.
Richard Archdeacon of Poytiers, accurſed by Archbiſh. Thomas Becket. 409.61
Riſe brought to his death by meanes of Harold. 277.81
Richmond houſe buylt. 1454.20.
Richard primate of Ardemach dyeth. 968.35.a
Rippeley George. 1462.3
Riolle beſieged and wonne by the Earle of Derbie. 927.33.b.
Riſe kyng of the Welchmen ſlayne. 324.38
Riſe the laſt king of the Welchmen. 324.41
Rieule a borough in Normandy burnt. 385.49
Richard Tunſtal. 1315. co. 1. lin.8.
Richard Griffith. 1414. co. 1. lin.40.
Rial beſieged by the Earle of Aniou. 874.24.b
Richard the ſecond maried. pa. 1129.co.2.lin.54. brought to the Towre of London. pa. 1130.co.1. lin. 19. buryed at Langley. lin.28
Richelinus ſonne to Cinegiſcus, king of Weſtſaxons.155 58.
Ryuers Baldwin Earle of the Iſle of Wight. 656.26
A Riot vppon the Eaſterlings. 1443.20.
Richard the firſt, ſonne to kyng Henry the ſecond, begynneth his raigne ouer Englande. 474.4. receyued and proclaymed Duke of Normandie. 474.15. crowned at Weſtminſter. 475.92
Rigmanus Phileſius cited. 5.42.
Rippon Abbey burnt. 229.63
Rime againſt Engliſhmẽ. 890 42.b.
Richard the firſt highly offended with the Monkes of Cantorburie. 537.35
Richard Neuile earle of Warwicke. 1311.co.1. lin.1
Riſe ap Griffin king of Wales, dyeth. 534.42
Reinalſe abbey foũded.394.27
Richard Earle of Cornwal ſent into Fraũce with a great nauie of ſhips. 627.2
Rigſig, or Riſige ſucceedeth Egbert in the kingdome of Northumberland. 219.25.
Rigſig departeth this life. 219.33.
Ridel Geffrey Archdeacon of Canterbury, made Biſhop of Ely. 58.
Richard Earle of Cambridge, Henry Scrope, and T. Grey conſpyre againſt Henry the fift, 1172.co.2.lin.39. executed. 1173.co.1.lin.35
Richmond caſtle builded. 301.66.
Riſe, and Griffin Princes of Wales, ſubdued. 270.45.
Rippingdõ in Mercia. 212.16
Richard Clifford Lord Priuie ſeale. 1119.co.1. lin.41
Richard William Doctor of diuinitie. 1443.40.
Richard the elect of Cantorburie, doeth homage, and ſweareth fealtie to king Henry the ſecond. 424.75.
Richard the elect of Canterburie his conſecration diſturbed by Henry, ſonne to King Henrye the ſecond. 425.34.
Richard the elect of Cantorburie trauelleth to the Court of Rome in his owne cauſe. 425.71.
Richard, ſonne to King Henrye the ſecond, taketh part with his brother Henry, againſt his father. 426.67
Rice ap Thomas knight at blackheath fielde. 1447.3.
Riſe ap Griffin Prince of ſouth Wales, ſweareth fealtie to King Henry the ſecond.449.73.
Rimemede, where King Iohn agreed with his Barons. 590.107.
Riche Richard knight created Lord Riche. 1614.24.
Robert Earle of Richemont, dyeth. 919.5.a.
Richard the elect of Cantorburie, conſecrated by the Pope. 433.14.
Richard Earle of Glouceſter, deceaſſeth. 440.18.
Richer de Aquila. 390.78.
Richard the firſt maketh prouiſion to go into the Holye land. 478.31.
Richard King of Almaine, becommeth vtter enemie to the Barons. 766.13. taken priſoner by the Barons.769 4. dyeth at Berkhamſted. 781.93.
Richard the firſt, dyeth of a wounde. 540.68. forgeueth him that wounded him.540.54.rewardeth him.540.56 geueth charge that he be not hurt, but let him go.540.58
Richard Prior of Ely, procureth the erection of the Byſhops See there. 349.99.
Richard Byſhop of London. 350.65.
Richard the firſt wounded in the ſhoulder at the ſiege of Chalus Cheuerel.539.103 maketh his laſt wyl and Teſtament.540. 13. forgiueth and rewardeth his murderer 540.52.
Richard, ſonne to King Henry the ſeconde ſubmitteth himſelfe to his father, and is pardoned. 438.30.
Richard Bourgh. pa.1328, co. 2.lin 4.
Richard Beauchamp ſonne to Lord Beauchamp of Powike pag.1337.col.1.lin.54.
Richard Croftes knight. pag. 1339.col. 2.lin.51.
Richard Gulford Eſquire. pa. 1400.col.1.lin.49.col.2.lin. 34.pag.1401.col.2.lin.52.
Rice ap Thomas. pa.1413. co. 2.lin.13.lin.49.pag.1414. col.1. lin.42. lin.56. col.2. lin.50.pa.1415.co.2. li.15.
Robert Clyfford. pag.1328, co. 2.lin.3.
Richard lord Grey the Queens ſonne. pag.1361.col.2. lin. 47. beheaded at Pomfret. pag. 1362. col.1. lin.36.
Richard Duke of Glouceſter his deſcription. pag. 1357. col.2.li.35. *tooke on him the* gouernance of the yong king Edward the fift.pag. 1362. co.1.lin.14.made Protector pag.1363.col.2.lin.43. his Oration.1364.col.1. lin.12 vſurped the kingdome. pag. 1384.col.2.lin 40.
Richard Ratcliffe knight. pag. 1376.col.2.lin.7.
Richard the third vſurped the Crowne. pag. 1386. col. 1. lin. 1. proclaymed kyng. col.2.lin.9.maketh knightes of the Bathe.pag.1387.col. 1.lin.14.crowned.pa.1389. co.1 lin.1.murdered his Nephewes. pag.1391. col.1. lin.3.put to death the Duke of Buckingham.pag. 1403. col.2.lin.30.made an Oration pag.1417.co.2. lin.41. ſlaine at Boſworth.pa.1422 col.2.lin.30.
Richard the ſeconde reformeth his paſſed trade of liuing to better. 526.1.
Richard Lorde Welles. pag. 1321.co.2.lin.53.toke ſanctuarie.pag.1322.col.1.li.6. was beheaded.col.2.lin 6.
Richard Duke of Glouceſter. pag.1313 col. 1 lin. 33. pa. 1327, col.1. lin.57. enemye to peace. pag. 1348. col.1. lin.40.
Richard Walgraue knight. pag. 1313. col 2.lin.2.
Richard Radcliffe knight. pag. 1390.co.2.lin.4.ſlaine.pag. 1422.col.1.lin.16.
Redcroſſeſtreete. pag. 1358. co.1.lin.47.
Richard Herberte knight. pag. 1319.col. 2.lin. 48. valiant pa.1320.co.2.lin.8. headed. lin.35.
Richard the firſt geueth certain

poſſeſſions to the Church of Rome. 532.80.
Richard tranſlated from the Byſhopricke of London to Canterbury. 351.93.
Richard Prior of Douer, choſen Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 424.63.
Richard Edgecombe knight. pag.1402.co.2.lin.25.
Richard Fox Prieſt Byſhop of Wincheſter. pag. 1409.co.2.lin.29.
Rion wonne by the Frenchmen. 812.7.b.
Rye brent by Frenchmen. 1007.7.a.
Riſe Prince of Wales doeth homage to king Henry the ſeconde and his ſonne. 401.114.
Rice Prince of Wales, with his vncle Owen, rebel againſt ẏ Engliſhmen. 402.9.
Richard, ſonne to king Henrye, the ſecond taketh the Croſſe vpon him to go to the holye Land. 464.73.
Richard, ſonne to king Henry ẏ ſecond entreth vpō the lands of Earle Reymond with an armie.467.44. reuolteth frō his father to ſerue the french King. 469. 29.accurſed by the Popes Legate for raiſing of troubles.469.57.
Richard the ſecond Duke of Normandie, ſonne to William Long eſpee, maryeth Agnes, daughter to Hugh le Grand, Earle of Paris.288.114.
Ricula, ſiſter to king Ethelbert, wyfe to Sledda. 152.34.
Richard, ſonne to k.Henry ẏ firſt drowned. 357.106.
Richard Erle of Cheſter drowned by Shipwracke. 357.108.
Riddle Geffray, the proude Byſhop of Elye, departeth this lyfe. 475.67.
Richall, where Toſtie, and the Norweigians toke land. 284.60.
Richard Archbyſhop of Cantorburie deth. 460.7.
Richard, the third ſonne to king Henry ẏ ſecond borne. 398.5.
Reginald Earle of Bullongne fled out of Fraunce into England to king John. 572,21.
Remfred a Monke. 307.103.
Regan ſecond daughter to Leir, maryed to Maglanus Duke of Albania. 19.96.
Rebellion moued by Henry the ſonne agaynſt his father king Henrie the ſecond. 424.58.
Rebellion in Lincolnſhire.1566 8.appeaſed.10.
Remaline conſecrated biſhop of Hereford. 347.12.
Reliques and Jewels of the Church of Weſtminſter, enguaged to certain merchants for mony. 778.86.
Rebellion in Wales agaynſt K. John. 573.99.
Repentance commeth too late, 225.112.
Rendleſham. 174.09.
Religious men taxed. 571.17.
Reginald Earle of Cornwal, Uncle to king Henrie the ſecond. 431.77.
Reginald Earle of Cornwal dyeth. 440.11,
Rebellion rayſed againſt king Edwin. 231.11.
Rebellion at Yorke.pa. 1319. col.1.lin.41.
Remerius ſonne to Redwald, ſlayne. 155.29.
Reygnold Bray.pag.1400. col.1.lin.39.pag.1398 . col.2. lin.44 lin.50.pag.1399.co.1.lin.49.pa.1413. co.2.lin.16.
Rehald an Earle of the Danes, ſlayne. 221.28.
Releaſe made by king John to the king of Fraunce. 548.65.
Rebellion in Suffolke. 1535.4.
Richard Erle of Cornwal brothe to Henry the third elected Emperour. 743.60.
Richard the elect king of Almaigne taketh his leaue and departeth out of England. 746,93.is crowned king by the biſhop of Colen. 747.50.
Richard king of Almaigne refuſeth to ſweare to the orders taken at the Parliament holden at Oxforde. 756.1.he changeth his mind, & receiueth the othe. 756.33.
Ridley Nicholas doctor biſhop of London a meane for the foundation of the hoſpitals in London.1713.3. is depriued of his Byſhopricke, and cōmitted to the towre, and why.1721.20.diſputeth openly at Oxford. 1735.16.
Richard Duke of Yorke regent of Fraunce.pag.1256.co.2. lin.27 pag.1264.col. 1 .lin. 53.claymeth the crowne.pa. 1282.col,2 lin. 29.rayſeth a power .lin.55 . ſubmitteth himſelfe, and taketh an othe. pag.1283.col.2 lin. 26. accuſeth the Duke of Somerſet.lin 51.imagineth the deſtruction of the Duke of Somerſet.pag.1286.col.1. lin. 54.rayſeth an armye . pag. 1287.co.1.li.37.made protector.pa.1289.col.1.lin.28 diſcharged of protectorſhip. pag.1290.col.1.lin.4.came to London.pag.1292.col.1. lin.2. aſſembleth an armie. pag.1296.col.1.lin.20. fled pag.1297.col 1.lin. 55. atteynted of treaſon.pag.1298 co.1.lin.45.returned to London.pag.1300. co.1.lin.33. ſet himſelfe in the Throne roial lin.49.his bold ſpeech.co. 2.lin 5.his oration. lin. 47. heire apparant.pa.1303.co. 1.li.20.was ſlayne. co.2.lin. 42.
Roger Bullingbrok necromancer.pag.1268.co. 1. lin.57. co.2.lin.10.
Richard Neuel Earle of Warwicke.pa.1286.co.2.lin,13 captaine of Calais.pa.1289 co 1.lin.31, aſſaulted. pag. 1294.co.1.li.3.Admiral.co. 2.li.6.toke a rich prize.li.22 came from Calais with a power.pag.1296.co.1.lin.27. ſailed into Ireland.pa.1298 co.1.lin.30.came to London with a power . pag. 1299.co.1.lin.2. ſent into Fraunce.pag.1316 . co.1. lin.26. offended with Edward the fourth.pag. 1316. co.2.lin.38..tooke the Sea. pag.1322.co.2. lin . 46. was kept out of Calais . lin. 52.landed at Deepe.pag. 1323.co.1.lin.41. at Dartmouth.pag.1324 . co . 1. lin.37. gouernour of the Realme.pag. 1325 . co.2. lin.50.ſlayne. pag . 1334. co.2.lin.51.
Richard Neuel Earle of Saliſburie.pag . 1286. co.2. lin.12 . Lord Chancellor. pag.1289.co.1.lin.28.came to London.pag.1292.co.1. lin 4.pag.1294.co 2 . lin. 47.taken priſoner.pa.1304. co.1.lin.13 . beheaded . co. 2.lin.12.
Riſeley John knight ſent Ambaſſadour vnto Maximilian Duke of Burgoine. 1439.18 . hardly eſcapeth death at Bologne . 1440.40.
Richard the ſecond borne. 971.26.b. created Prince of Wales.997.40. b . beginneth his reigne . 1004. 12.a.is crowned. 1005.30 a. marryeth Anne ſiſter to the Emperour . 1038.10. a.rydeth poſt.1045 . 30.a. goeth with an armie againſt the Scots.1048.42.b. burneth Edenburgh. 1049.30 a.his anſwere to the Parliament.1055.51.a.his affection towardes Delapole. 1057.10. a . at variance with the Nobilitie. 1060. 10.a.his wordes to them. 1065. 52 .b. cauſeth the Nobilitie to be indicted. 1062 27.a. he keepeth the Towre agaynſt them.1069. 33.a.his inconſtancie.1070 1.a.taketh an othe. 1073. 16.b.he demaundeth a queſtion of his Nobles . 1075. 1.a.remoueth his Nobilitie and officers from him.1075 40.a.agreed with his Nobilitie.1075.32. b . offended with the Londoners. 1080.30. b . taketh their liberties from them. 1081. 10. b . commeth through London.1082.36.a. goeth into Ireland.1085.16 . b. returneth into England. 1086.1.b . marryeth the French kings daughter by a Deputie.1088. 3 .b.meeteth the French k. 1089.1. his expences at that enterbewe.1090.1.a.beareth the armes of Saint Edward. 1097.55.b.his ſentence agaynſt the two Dukes at Couentrie.1101.5.b . paſſeth into Ireland. 1103.50. a.returneth into England. 1107.47 . a.ſtealeth from his ſouldiers. 1107.33.b. betaketh himſelfe to his enemies.1109.31.a. commeth to Flint.1109.2.b . committed to the Towre. 1111. 1.a. reſigneth his ryght to ẏ crowne.1113.42. b . the ſame confirmed by Parliament.1114.25.b.publication of his depoſing.1115.5. a. his deſcription. 1116. 40.b.
Rebellion in Somerſetſhyre, but ſone quieted. 1570.51.
The Regent burnt. 1476.36.
Rebellion intended in Norfolke, bewrayed. 1040.37 a.
Rebellion begun at Dertford. 1024.33.a.
Rockeſburgh brent by the Scottes. 1010.40.a.
Rebellion in Ireland. pag. 1275. col.2. lin.1. by Jacke Cade. pag.1279. col.1 lin. 53.
Redvers Baldwin, keepeth Exeter agaynſt King Stephan. 367.44.
Redvers Baldwine, expulſed out of Exeter, and exiled out of the Realme. 367.87.
Redwalg, king of Eaſtangles. 155.5.
Redwald ſetteth vppon Ethelferd ſuddenly with an armie and ſlayeth him. 155.22.
Rebellion moued in Britayne by Ualentinus. 105.17.
Reuenewes of the Churche how they ought to be deuided.

den. 149.8
Reſtitutus, Biſhop of London, goeth ouer to the Synode at Arles. 94.55.
Rebellion mooued by Aurelius Conanus againſt Conſtantius. 138.32.
Rebellion mooued by Mordred againſt King Arthur. 133.73.
Reſtitution appoynted to be made by king John to the Byſhoppes. 583.26.
Rebellion of the Britiſh Commons againſt the Nobilitie. 101.20.
Reading Caſtle deliuered to Duke Henry Fitzempreſſe. 387.116.
Rebellion in Eſſex. 1024.54. b.
Regrating of Wine forbidden. 548.11.
Rebels execute the Lord Chancelor and Treaſurer. 1027.30. a.
Rebellious Britaynes ſubdued by King Henry the ſecond. 410.35.
Reynold ſonne to Gurmo, ſubmitteth himſelfe to king Edmond. 227.84.
Reynold receyueth the Chriſtian fayth, and is baptiſed. 227.94.
Reynold, and Aulafe, driuen out of their countreis. 227.104.
Reginald, Archbyſhop of Coleyn, rayſer of a ſchiſme in Almayne. 409.76.
Redfrid ſent to conduct Archbiſhop Theodore into England. 178.43.
Reaſon nor law, permit the ſonne to iudge or condemne the father. 405.93.
Religious houſes ranſacked by ſouldiours. 612 35.
Reading Abbey founded, and by whom. 363.47.
Reginald Biſhop of Bath, elected Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, and dieth fiftene daies after. 501.62.
Rebellion moued by the Northumbers, agaynſt Toſtie their Earle. 278.97.
Reſtitution made to king John. 548.38.
Remclid or Remeline, ordeined Biſhop of Hereford. 341.76
Remclid reſtoreth his Biſhopricke to king Henry the firſt. 341.84.
Rebellion moued by Earle Oſwin, agaynſt king Molle. 195.113.
Rebellion moued by Duke Wade, againſt king Ardulfe. 201.61.
Rebellion of Berned agaynſt king Ethelbaldus. 189.70.
Rebellion moued by Oſwald agaynſt king Ethelred. 191.44.
Rebellion moued agaynſt Cuthred, king of Weſt Saxons 193.71.
Regiſter of al Cities, Townes, Villages, and Hamlets, Abbeyes, Monaſteries, and Priories, throughout England gathered. 312.80.
Rigmere battayle, looke Wigmere.
Rebels handes chopped of, in token of their rebellious dealing. 300.3.
Rebellion anew begun by the Earles Edwin and Marcharus, agaynſt king William. 306.18.
Rebellion moued by the Dukes of Mercia agaynſt Oſwy. 176.46.
Regent Maiſters of Oxford go barefoote to the Legate. 652 50.
Rebellion moued by certayne of the Engliſh Nobilitie, agaynſt king William. 308.20.
Religion not to be enforced, but to come of goodwil. 148.57.
Reding battayle, fought by the Danes agaynſt the Engliſh men. 210.6.
Remigius Priour of Saint Albons. 480.69.
Renues beſieged by Henry Duke of Lancaſter. 962.46. a.
Rebellion moued by Foukes de Brent and others of the commons. 616.85.
Rebellion moued by diuers of the Nobilitie. 616.100.
Remigius dieth. 323.103.
Reginald Earle of Cornwal. 405.71.
Remigius Biſhop of Dorcheſter, depriued. 305.30.
Remigius reſtored to his Biſhopricke. 305.46.
Rebellion moued by Edrike Siluaticus agaynſt king William. 297.14.
Religious perſons, or Prieſtes not to paſſe the Seas without letters of ſafeconduct. 408.95.
Remorintin Caſtle won by the blacke Prince. 956.40. b.
Rebellion moued by Robert eldeſt ſonne to Kyng William, agaynſt his father. 310.11.
Reguli, or litle kings in Brytayne, and why ſo called. 119 14.
Reginald Peacoke Byſhoppe of Chicheſter abiured. pag. 1291. col. 2. lin. 1.
Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter. 372 91.
Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter his oration to his ſouldiers. 374.29.
Ramſey abbey ſpoyled. 380.47
Rayneth bloud. 21.57
Raulfe conſtrayned to flee into Britaine. 308.40
Raufe Earle of Cambridge cõſpireth againſt king William 308.19.
Raufe Byſhop of Durham, General of an army agaynſt the Scots. 369.71
Rameſes, one of the names of Egyptus. 7.23
Ranulfe Hygden Policronicon cited. 18.80. and. 58.20. & 122.55.
Raufe Ferrers knight. 1125 co.1.lin.6.
Rauenſpurre. 1327.co.1.li.52
Raufe B. of Chicheſter. 328.38.
Ratclife Thom. L. Fitzwaters vnhorſed at Muſkleborough field. 1625.27. knight of yͤ garter, & Earle of Suſſex, caried the Garter vnto Maximilian the Emperour. 1837 42. is Lieutenant general in the North, and leuied a power againſt the rebels. 1840 54. entreth Scotland with an army. 1842.10. ordeineth ſir Wil. Drury General of a power ſent into Scotlande. 1845.58. maketh an Oratiõ vnto the ſouldiers. 1846.26 eftſoones inuadeth Scotland with a power. 1853.11
Randal Edward Serieant maior in yͤ iourney to S. Quintines. 1767.43. Serieant maior in the iourney of Lith. 1804.45. is knight marſhal in the iourney to Newhauen 1838.14. his paſſing pitye ſhewed vnto the impotent ſouldiours at Newhauen. 1833. conducteth a thouſand footmen into Ireland. 1836.44. diſcomfited in fight Shane Oneile, and is hymſelf ſlayne through ouermuch prowesſe. 1837.1
Requeſtes made by the lords of England, to K. John. 587.45. he promiſeth to conſider of their requeſtes. 587.65. & findeth ſureties for perfourmance of the ſame. eadem. 69.
Rebellion in Norfolke pretended, but preuented. 1852.40.
Rebellion in Deuonſhyre and Cornwal, vnder Humfrey Arundel, & others. 1649. their articles. 1650.10. the kings anſweare vnto them. 1651.58. are diſcomfited in fight. 1655.
Rebellion in Norfolk vnder Robert Ket. 1656.10. is ſuppreſſed and quieted. 1673.30.
Reuel Richard of Derbyſhyre attainted. 1425.50
Rebellion in the North. 1839 40. the rebelles executed. 1841.21. and ead. 38. and 1852.34.
Reynolds a brother of Syon executed. 1563.38
Requeſt of the Cõmons againſt king Richard the ſecond. pa. 1123. co.1. lin. 39.
Requeſt of the Earle of Saliſbury. 1124. co.2. lin.48
Rebellion in Weſtmerland raiſed by Nicholas Muſgraue and Thomas Tilby. 1569.10.
Rebellion moued by Mordreds two ſonnes againſt Conſtantinus. 138.17
The Rebellion called the common wealth. 1648.20
Rebellion in Yorkſhyre vnder William Ombler and Dale 1675.30.
Rebellion in Yorkſhyre, & thoſe partes. 1567.14. is quieted 1568.47.
Rebellion in Yorkſhyre. 1581 51.
Raleg William Biſhop of Norwich. 705.77. he is remoued to Wincheſter by the Pope. 705.81. he is kept out of the Citie. eadem. 89. he accurſeth the Citie and Cathedral Church. eadem. 90. he ſtealeth out of the realme into Fraunce. eadem. 100.
Raymond Earle of Barzelone, meeteth with kyng Henry at Blayme. 398
Raymond Earle of Barzelone his daughter offred and affianced to Richard, ſonne to kyng Henry the ſecond. 398 59.
Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter departeth this lyfe. 387.102
Raufe accurſed by the Pope. 358.35.
Raufe departeth this life. 359 35.
Raufe Archdeacon of Landaffe 420.99.
Ranulfe Biſhop of Chicheſter, taketh part with Archbiſhop Anſelme agaynſt king William Rufus. 333.38.
Ranulfe of Cheſter cited. 333 88.
Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter taketh his wyfe the Ducheſſe of Britaine priſoner. 531.15.
Raynulphe Earle of Cheſter & Lincolne dyeth. 640
Ratcliffe John Lord Fitzwater fauoureth Perkin Warbeck 1443.31. is pardoned, but after-

afterward beheaded. eadem. 50.
Ratcliffe Robert fauoreth Perkin Warbecke, and leeſeth his head. 1448.38
Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter, is ſent with an armye into the Holy land, to ayd the Chriſtians. 617.2
Raucin Geffrey owner of Carlbourgh fortreſſe. 453.103
Rauſe Poole Juſtice. pa. 1292 co. 2. lin. 28.
Rauſe Uerney Sheriffe of London. pag. 1292. col. 2. lin. 43.
Rauſe Byſhop of Saliſburye murdred. pag. 1281. co. 1. lin. 16.
Rauſe Stanley. pa. 1304. co. 1. lin. 14. beheaded. co. 2. lin. 13.
Rad Pont beſieged, and wonne 557.9.
Rayneth not in Suſſex, ỷ ſpace of three yeeres. 182
Rauſe Willoughby Eſquyre ſlayne. pag. 1288. co. 1. lin. 16.
Rauſe tranſlated from the Byſhopricke of Rocheſter, to Cantorbury. 351.96
Rauſe goeth to Rome, about the controuerſie betweene hym and Chriſtaine. 355. 43.
Raymond Earle of Tholouſe, marryeth Conſtance Siſter to kyng Lewes of Fraunce. 372.66.
Raucin Geffrey dyeth. 521.64.
Raueſteine Lord Raueſteine reuolteth. 1435.54. Taketh the townes of Ipre and Scluſe, ibidem. ſpoyleth al ſhyppes paſſyng to Antwerp. 1438.1. is forced to yeelde the towne & caſtle of Scluſe. eadem. 15.
Ramſey Abbey buylded. 234 24.
Rafe Earle of Hereford. 271. 32.
Rayer founder of Saint Bartholomewes by Smythfield, and firſt Priour therof. 341 54.
Rauſe Biſhop of Durham commytted to the Towre. 337 52.
Raymond Earle of Prouance dyeth. 714.20
Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter returneth from the Holy lande. 617.60.
Rat Andrew. 1425.55
Raucin Geffrey ſtyrreth a rebellion in Guien. 521.54
Rauſe Percie knight ſubmytted to Edward the fourth. pag. 1313. co. 2. lin. 10. fledde to Henry the ſixt. pa. 1314. col. 1. lin. 12. ſlayne. pag. 1314. co. 2. lin. 1.
Rauſe Gray Captayne of Banborough Caſtle. pag. 1314 co. 1. lin. 8. pag. 1315. co. 1. lin. 7. beheaded. pa. 1315 co. 1. lin. 42.
Ratcliffe John knight. 1448. 50.
Rauſe Collector to king Wylliam Rufus, both malitious and couetous. 330.19
Rauſe breaketh priſon, and eſcapeth out of the Towre. 338. 99.
Raymond Earle of Tholouſe, maryeth with Joan Queene of Sicil, ſiſter to Richarde the firſt. 532.102
Ratcliffe Richarde attaynted. 1425.43.
Ratcliffe Uiſcount Fitzwater, created Earle of Suſſex. 1553.11.
Ratcliffe Robert Lord Fitzwater, created Uiſcount Fitzwater. 1536.18
Rauſe Joſſeline Alderman of London. pag. 1343. co. 1. lin. 32.
Ragman Rowle. 891.57 a.
Rauſe Earle of Weſtmerland. pag. 1119. co. 2. lin. 28.
Randol a Fryer priſoner in the Towre of London. pa, 1198. co. 1. lin. 51.
Rayne. 943.30.b. and. 971 10.b.
Rayneth bloud. 786.6.b
Rayne. 854.9.a. and. 893.10. b. and. 903.50.b
Rayne exceedyng great, & high floudes. 324.18
Ragged Staffe. pa. 1326. co. 1 lin. 57.
Rokeſburgh yeelded to the Engliſh men. 820. 42.b
Rauſes wyfe beſieged in the citie of Norwich, yeeldeth the ſame vpon conditions. 309. 12.
Rome taken by Brennus and Belinus. 25.74.
Romanes encounter with the Gaules, and are vanquiſhed. 26.18.
Rome ſacked by the Gaules. 26.59.
Romanes compound wyth the Gaules for their libertie, with money. 27.6.
Romanes paſſe ouer into Britaine. 35.72.
Romanes diſtreſſed by the Britaynes in the water. 36. 3.
Romanes recouer land, and put the Britaines to flyght. 36.78.
Romane ſhyppes ſore diſtreſſed and diſperſed by a tempeſt. 37.29.
Romanes put to the worſt by the Britaines, are ſuccoured by Ceſar. 38.16.
Romanes ouerthrowne, and chaſed by the Britaines. 39. 60.
Romanes flee to ſea, leauing the ſpoyle and cariage behinde them. 40.9.
Romanes hindered by reaſon of their heauie armour. 41. 74.
Romanes paſſe ouer the Thames on foote. 42.24.
Romane ſouldiers vnwilling to go into Britaine. 48.69.
Romanes put to the worſe by the Britaines, at Porcheſter. 50. 60.
Romanes put to flight by Aruiragus. 50.72.
Romanes fal to intreatie of Concord, and compoſition with the Britaines. 51.39.
Robert Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, baniſhed the realme. 274.27.
Robert Archbyſhop of Cantorburie, comming from Rome, dyeth by the way. 274.30.
Robert Earle of Northumberland, conſpireth againſt King William Rufus. 325. 104.
Robert, with his wife and children, fleeth into Banbourgh Caſtle. 326.7.
Robert taken, and committed to priſon. 326.22.
Robert arriueth at Porteſmouth wyth an armie. 339.
Robertes gentlenes wynneth the peoples heartes. 339. 9.
Robert returneth with contentment into Normandie. 339. 49.
Roger Archbyſhop of Yorke, forbydden the vſe of the Sacramentes. 412.37.
Roger Archbyſhop of Yorke, reſtored to the adminiſtration of hys office agayne. 414. 85.
Roger Archbyſhop of Yorke, ſent Ambaſſadour to ỷ Pope. 406.57.
Roger Byſhop of Worceſter, ſent Ambaſſadour to the Pope. 406.59.
Rockeſborough fortifyed by the Duke of Somerſet. 1631.20.
Robert Brakenbery Knyght, Conſtable of the Towre. pag. 1390. col. 1. lin. 20. pa. 1415. col. 2. lin. 36. pag. 1416. col. 1. lin. 28. ſlayne. pag. 1422. col. 1. lin. 17.
Robert Hilliard. pag. 1321. co. 1. lin. 1.
Robyn of Riddeſdale pa. 1321. col. 1. lin. 2.
Lord Wells ſlayne. pag. 1312. co. 1. lin. 38.
Robert Horne. pag. 1298. co. 2. lin. 38.
Rochfort fortreſſe delyuered to the Engliſhmen. 399. 62.
Robert Earle of Leiceſter, made Lieutenaunt of Normandie. 481. 115. taken priſoner by the Frenchmen. 521. 17.
Roger apprehended and beheaded. 308.50.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter craftily taken at Northampton. 381.36.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter, departeth this lyfe. 381. 57.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter, his Oration to hys ſouldiours. 374.51.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter hys armye vanquiſhed, and hymſelfe taken priſoner. 377 85.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter, exchaunged priſoner for king Stephan. 378.15.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter, maketh a conſpiracie againſt king Stephan, with the Nobilitie and commons. 368.47.
Rouſe John of Warwike cyted. 7.3.
Roe Thomas maketh a newe place of Buriall. 1839. 51.
Robert Earle of Mellent, entreth Normandie wyth fire and ſword. 359.65.
Robert Earle of Mellent, taken priſoner in an ambuſh. 359.72.
Roderike King of Pictes roueth with a fleete vpon the Oceane, and arriueth in Irelande to ſeeke ſeates. 67.23.
Roderike King of Pictes ſlayne, and his armie vanquiſhed. 67.45.
Romane power ſent to ſubdue Ireland. 51.115.
Romanes receyue a great ouerthrowe in Britaine, in the raygne of Domicianus Nero the Emperour. 59.50.
Romanes vanquiſhed and ſlaine at Camulodunum by the Britaines. 63.91.
Romanes driuen out of Spaine by barbarous Nations. 98. 65.
Romanes myndyng to ayde the Britaines no more, byd them farewel. 100.69.
Romanes ſouldiours fall at variance among themſelues. 76.23. and. 77.18.
Romane ſouldiours go to Rome to complaine on Perhennis. 77.20.

Romane ſouldiours ſlaye theyr owne weake fellows 80.9.
Romanes chaſed by the Britaines to the citie of London. 82.13.
Rocheſter beſieged, and deliuered to king William Rufus. 320.21.
Rocheſter Churche aduaunced from foure ſecular Clerkes, to fiftie Monkes. 320.65.
Robert Duke of Normandy, returneth out of the holy Land into his owne countrey 338.34.
Robert choſen king of Hieruſalem, refuſeth it. 338.47.
Robert ſollicited to come into Englande, to clayme the Crowne from his brother, Henrye the firſt. 338.76.
Robert landeth at Southāpton with an armie, agaynſt his brother Kyng William Rufus. 319.61.
Robert ſollicited to come into England with an armie, to obteyne the Crowne from his brother king William Rufus. 318 29.
Roberts power diſcomfited by Kyng William Rufus. 319.69.
Robert leeſeth England by lingring the time. 319.73.
Robert engnageth his Duchie of Normandie, to his brother Kyng Willyam Rufus of England, for money. 327.22. and. 327 63.
Robert Byſhop of Cheſter. 336.5.
Roſamonde, Concubine to Kyng Henrye the ſecond, her paſſing beautie, death and buryal. 472.97
Robert commeth ouer into Englande, with his brother Kyng William Rufus. 321.110
Robert returneth into Normandie in great diſpleaſure. 322.66.
Rouland Lord of Galloway, ſubmitteth himſelfe to king Henry the ſecond and is receyued into fauour. 462.58.
Roderike King of Connagh in Ireland, refuſeth to ſubmit himſelfe to king Henrye the ſecond. 420.31.
Roch Laberie caſtle deliuered to king Henry the ſecond. 410.6.
Robert gatheryng of an armie, to diſpoſſeſſe his father of Normandie. 317.75.
Robert returneth into Normandie, and is made Duke thereof after hys Fathers deceaſe. 317.81.
Robert, why diſinheirited of the Crowne of England. 317.91.
Redwald king of Eaſtangles departeth this life. 159.7.
Redwald baptiſed, but returneth to Idolatry. 162.26.
Redwald at one time, would ſerue both God and the diuel. 162.32.
Roan Caſtle fortified. 359.56.
Robert Earle of Glouceſter fleeth into Fraunce. 371.22.
Roger Byſhop of Saliſbury ſuſpected by king Stephan, and impriſoned. 371.63
Roger Byſhoppe of Saliſburie, pyneth awaye and dieth for ſorrow. 372.5.
Roger Byſhoppe of Saliſburie his firſt begynning and riſing to eſtimation. 372. 18.
Rollo arriueth in England with a great armie. 213.51.
Rollo and his armie diſtreſſed by the Engliſh men. 213.61.
Rollo leaueth Englande, and ſayleth ouer into Fraunce. 213.66.
Rollo or Rou, ſonne to Guyon, a Lorde of Denmarke. 288.87.
Rollo fleing out of Denmarke, is made Duke of Normandie. 288.99.
Rollo marieth Gilla, daughter to Charles Le Symple, king of France. 218.105.
Rollo, after the deceaſe of Gilla, maryeth Popea, daughter to the Earle of Bayeulx. 288.107.
Roches Peter Byſhoppe of Wincheſter dieth. 654.11. his worthy commendation. 654.14
Robert baſe ſonne to Kyng Henrye the firſt maryeth Maude, daughter and heire vnto Robert Fytz Ham. 451.50.
Robert baſe ſonne to Kyng Henrye the firſt. made Earle of Glouceſter. 351.53.
Romanus drowned, in traueiling towards Rome 164.31.
Robert eldeſt ſonne to king William, inuadeth Normandie with an armie, as a rebel agaynſt his father. 310.11.
Roger Archedeacon of Canterbury, conſecrated Archbyſhop of Yorke. 393.
Romanus ordeyned Byſhoppe of Rocheſter. 158.80.
Roberts vndiſcreete liberalitie miſlyked of his ſubiects. 344.1.
Robert commeth ouer into England, to intreat for peace of his brother king Henry. 344 24.
Robert taken priſoner, and his armie ouerthrowen and chaſed. 345.24.
Robert committed to priſon within the Caſtle of Cardiffe in Wales. 346.14.
Robert departeth this life. 346.19.
Robert ſet at libertie, and bound to forſweare the Realme of England and Normandie. 346. 30.
Robert aſſaying to eſcape out of priſon, is taken, and his eies put out. 346.57.
Robert marieth Sibel, ſiſter to the Erle of couuerſans in Puglia. 346.71.
Rockingham in Rutlandſhyre. 331.42.
Rockingham Caſtle. 331 43.
Ronix or Rowen, daughter to Hengiſt. 112.73.
Rowen drinketh waſſail to Kyng Vortigernus. 113.75.
Rowen married to Kyng Vortigernus. 113.94.
Romane Empire inuaded on eche ſyde, by the Barbarous Nations. 103.65.
Robert Earle of Leyceſters armie diſcomfyted, and him ſelfe taken priſoner. 431.93.
Robert and his Father Kyng William made friendes. 310.69.
Robert ſent with an army agaynſt Malcolme king of Scots. 310.75.
Riuall and Blengente. Sonnes to Griffyn, made Gouernours of Wales. 277.76.
Rocheſter Caſtle whereof William de Albeney was Captaine, beſieged by Kyng John. 592 . 95. yeelded to the Kyng. 593.19.
Robert commeth ouer into England to viſite his brother Kyng Henrye. 342.26.
Roger Byſhop of Saliſburie a politike Prelate. 364.39.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter taketh part with Henrye the ſonne, agaynſt King Henrye the ſecond, and is put to flyght. 430.1.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter layeth his hande on his Swoorde, to ſtryke Kyng Henrye the ſecond. 431.18.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter returneth into England with an armie of Flemings. 431.32.
Rocheſter Caſtle wonne by Lewes the Frenche Kyngs Sonne. 600.12.
Rocheſter Caſtle confyrmed to Philip Earle of Flaunders. 427.13.
Robert Duke of Normandie, looke Rollo.
Roger Earle of Clare, denyeth to doo Homage to the Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie for the Caſtle of Tunbridge. 401.103.
Rorborowe Caſtle beſieged. pag. 1302. col . 2. lin. 40.
Roderike King of Vlneſter, ouerthrowen in the field. 448.13.
Robert Vmfreuel knyght, agaynſt the Scottes. pag. 1172. co. 1. lin . 49.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter reſtored to his landes. 444.7.
Robert repenteth him of the releaſyng of the tribute to his brother king Henry. 342.40.
Rocheſter ſpoyled and ſacked by Ethelred. 181.68.
Rowen beſieged by the French Kyng . 558 . 55.
Robert Knoles knight. pag. 1152. co. 2. lin. 23.
Rocheſter Bridge buylded. pag. 1152 . co . 2. lin. 47.
Robert Vmfreuel. knight Vyce Admyrall . pag. 1156. co. 2. lin. 7. mend Market. pag. 1156 . co. 2. lin. 25.
Roger Acton rayſed a commotiō. pa. 1166. co. 2 . li. 34 . was condemned and

and executed. pag. 1167. co.2.lin.24.
Robert Earle Ferrers, reſtored to his landes. 774.39.
Rouen beſieged by the French men, but in vayne. 436.55.
Roger Abbot of Bechellouin choſen Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie, refuſeth it. 424.68.
Rocheſter Caſtle, reſtored to the Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie. 590.100.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter, taken priſoner by the French men. 524.50. ſet at libertie. 524.61.
Robert Byſhoppe of Lincolne, departeth this lyfe. 410.72.
Roger Earle of Hereford, conſpireth agaynſt king William. 308.17.
Roſcarocke Nicholas. 235. 78.
Robert ſendeth to the Frenche king for ayde, agaynſt his brother king William Rufus. 321.61.
Rome Scot graunted to the Pope. 195.63.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter elected Byſhoppe of Saint Andrewes in Scotlande, receyueth orders of prieſthood. 534.50.
Rollo King. 559.47.
Roges appoynted to be burnt thorough the eare. 1862.2.
Rochfort Lord Rochfort executed. 1561.8.
Rothes William general to Arthur of Britayne. 547.14.
Rome buylded. 21.64.
Roger ſonne to Miles, made Earle of Herefoord. 380.21.
Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, goeth to Rome for his Pal. 393.68.
Archbyſhop of Roan ſlayne comming to Creſſey. 935.10.b.
A Roſe of golde ſent from the Pope. 1532.10.
Robert, Abbot of Molmenſe. 333.82.
Robert Earle of Mellent, rebelleth agaynſt king Henry the firſt. 359.50.
Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke dyeth. 456.5.
Rocheſter beſieged by king Egelredus. 238.56.
Roger Chancellour to king Henry the firſt, conſecrated byſhop of Saliſburie. 347.10.
Rood or blacke croſſe. 891. 47.b.
Rotrode, Archbyſhop of Rouen, crowneth Henry, ſon to king Henry the ſecond, Margaret his wyfe. 421. 77.
Roũd table chãber at Windſore built. 922.52.b.
Robert Welles knight. pag. 1321.co.2.lin.49. taken and beheaded. pag.1322. co.1.lin.34.
Rocheſter Caſtle fortified by biſhop Odo. 318.44.
Robert releaſeth the tribute due vnto him out of England. 342.29.
John Romaine made Archbyſhop of Yorke. 794.48. a. dyeth. 815.32.a.
Roxbourgh caſtle guaged to the King of England. 439.40.
Roſſe Lord Roſſe his roade into Scotland. 1522.41.
Rouſſe John. 1462. 14.
Roch Guion yeelded to the Engliſh. pag. 1198. col. 2.lin.39.
Roger Claringdon knight executed. pag. 1134. col. 1. lin. 54.
Rouen alwayes faythful to their Prince. 559.21.
Rome taken and ſacked. 1539.10.
Robert Earle of Leyceſter, releaſed out of priſon. 439.21.
Robert, Archbyſhop of Canterburie, fleeth into Normandie. 269.94.
Romanes vanquiſhed by K. Arthur about Paris. 133 67.
The Romiſh religion reſtored. 1722.55.
Rous John cited. 316. 50.
The Rhodes won. 1524.8.
Rochel won from the Engliſh men. 626.23.
Robert Whitingham knight ſlain. pa.1339. co.2.li.56
Robert Baſſet Alderman of London. pag.1342.co.2. lin.37.
Robert Hulborne beheaded. pag.1319.col.1.lin.50.
Robert Willoughby knight. pag.1402.co.2.lin.21.
Roan beſieged by the Engliſhe. pag. 1194. co.1. lin. 19. yeelded to the Engliſhe. pag.1197.co.1. lin. 57. yeelded to the French pag.1275.co.2.lin.30.
Roches William. 560.13.
Roger Clifford knight executed. pag.1405.co.2.lin.4.
Robert Baythorpe Eſquire, ſlaine. pag.1288. co.1.li. 12.
Roger Vaughan beheaded. pag.1345.co.1.lin.1.
Thomas Roſſelin knight ſlayne. 499.51.a.
Anthonie Earle Riuars. pa. 1351.co. 1.lin. 6.
Robert Chamberlain knight pa. 1327.co.1. lin. 16.
Rouen through famyn is ſurrendred to the French K. 559.33.
Roger Byſhoppe of Worceter. 421. 78.
Rocheſter beſieged by the Danes. 215.47.
Rollo Chriſtined, and called Robert. 288.86.
Robert Horne. pag. 1311. co.1.lin.25. ſlayne. pag. 1312.co.1.lin.38.
Runingſmede or Rinemede betwixt Stanes & Winſore, wher king John toke peace with his Barons. 590.107.
Rufus William, renounceth Archbiſhop Anſelme for his ſubiect. 332.38.
Rufus William his wrath towardes the Byſhoppes which held with Anſelme, pacified with monie. 332.97.
Rufus William reconciled to the Pope. 333.6.
Ruthlan Caſtle builded. 789 6.a. beſieged. 790.52.b
Round Table. 790. 18.b.
Rufus William, ſucceedeth his father king William, in the kingdome of England. 317.1.
Rufus William proclamed king, and Crowned at Weſtminſter. 317.45.
Rufus Williams liberalitie after his Coronation. 317.48.
Rufus William, cannot abide to heare the Pope named. 330.91.
Rutter, what it ſignifieth. 446.10.
Rufus Williams great curteſie, ſhewed to the Engliſhmen. 319.37.
Rufus William, leadeth a mighty army into Kent, agaynſt the rebels there. 319.49.
Rufus William inuadeth Wales with an armye. 326.47.
Rufus William, returneth out of Wales with diſhonour. 326.69
Edward Earle of Rutland, created Duke of Aubemarle. 1097.30.b.
Rufus William wounded at Archenbray battayle. 310 60.
Rumor, but falſe, of ẏ Danes comming into England. 313.111.
Ruſſel John Lorde Ruſſell knight of the order, & Lord Priuie ſeale, is made one of ẏ kings executors. 1611 34. diſcomfiteth in fight the rebels in Deuonſhire. 1655.7. his anſwer to the protectors letter. 1689.10
Riual abbey foũded. 333.96
Rutlãd caſtle builded. 398.2
Rufus William paſſeth ouer with an armie, againſt his brother Robert, Duke of Normandie. 325.46.
Rud, or Ludhurdibras, ſonne to Leil, beginneth to reign ouer Britaine. 18.109.
Rud, or Ludhurdibras dieth. 19.10.
Rumor of the princes death, giueth occaſion of manye conſpiracies & rebellions. 367.32
Rufus William, ſlayne with an arrowe. 334.40.
Rufus William his nature and diſpoſition deſcribed. 334.74.
Rufus William ſuſpected of infidelitie. 335.77.
Rufus William, why ſo ſurnamed. 335.95.
Ruſſel John knight Controller of his Maieſties houſhold, is created Lord Ruſſel. 1572.53.
Rufus William, returneth into England with his brother Robert. 321.109.
Rufus William his raſhe & fooliſh haſtineſſe. 329.56
Rufus William paſſeth ouer into Normandie in haſt, without al company. 329. 77.
Rotheram Thomas Archbyſhop of Yorke, dyeth. 1455.37.
Rufus William giueth himſelf to al ſenſual luſt, and couetouſnes. 320.103.
Rufus William leadeth an armie into Normandye againſt his brother Duke Robert. 321.55.
Ruthal Thomas Doctor one of the kings counſel. 1464 54. named byſhop of Durham. eadem. 22.
Ruſtein a ringleader of rebels taken. 729.42.
Rufus Williams couetouſnes, and ſhameful meanes to get money. 323. 107.
Rufus William, inuadeth Wales with an armie, & returneth without any exployt atchieued. 328.48.
Rufinianus ſent into Brytaine. 149.98.
Rudacus, king of Wales. 22 88.

S.

Saxons in diuers greate companies, come ouer in to Britaine. 131.21
Saxnot, predeceſſor to the Kings of Eaſt Saxons. 131.37
Saxon Kings tributaries to King Arthur. 132.5
Saxons diſcomfited, and driuen out of the Realm by King Arthur. 132.74
Saxons permitted to depart, giue hoſtages vnto the Britaines. 133.5
Saxons driuen by winde a lande, waſt and ſpoyle the Weſt Countrey. 133. line. 16
Saxōs diſcomfited by the Britaines nigh Bath. 133.23
Saxons require ayde of Gurmundus Kyng of the Affricanes, agaynſte the Britaines. 143.101
Saxons fyght againſt the Britaines, as well to deſtroy the faithe of Chriſt, as to poſſeſſe the land. 144.59
Saxons ouerthrowen by the Britaines at Wodeneſbourne. 145 77
Sainte Andrewes Abbey. 406.14
Saint Cayman, a Monke of Ciſteaux order. 406. line. 28
Sainte Cleere Huberte, Conneſtable of Colcheſter ſlayne. 408.43
Saint Peters pence to be gathered and kepte. 409.9
Sainte Clere Hugh, accurſed by the Archbiſhop Thomas Becket. 409. line. 80
Saint Brices day in one houre, all the Danes in the Realme of Englande murthered. 242. 64. and 246.77
Salomon Kyng of little Britaine. 166.14
Sāford Nicholas knighte dyeth. 730.58
Saint Petrokes Abbey in Cornewall ſpoyled by the Danes. 237.36
Saliſburie taken, and riſled by the Danes. 243. line. 61
Saltwood claymed, to belong perticularly to the ſeigniorie of the Sea of Caunterburie. 401. line. 101
Sainte Ordulfes Monaſterie at Eſſingſtock burned by the Danes. 241. line. 45
Saint Edwardes lawes inſtituted. 174.96
Saint Edmondes ditche. 220.32
S. James Cell in Weſtcheſter. 287.62
Samuell, a Monke of S. Albons elected and ſacred Biſhop of Dublin. 326.72
Sainte Walerie in Normandie taken by Kyng William Rufus. 321.57
Saxons ouerthrowen by the Britaines at Derwent Riuer. 115.75
Saxons ouerthrowen by the Britaines, and chaſed into the Ile of Tenet. 116.7
Saxons ouerthrowen by the Britaines at Cole More. 116.16
Saxons beſieged within the Ile of Tenet, ſue to the Britaines for licenſe to depart. 116.39
Saxons take ſhip, and depart into Germanie. 116. line. 45
Saxons cōclude a league with the Scots & Picts, and turne their weapons againſte the Britaines. 117.8
Saxons vanquiſhed by Vortiporus. 141.3
Saxōs ſtirred vp by God, for a ſcourge to the Britaines. 142. 10. and. 143. line. 2
Sainte Aldermes bones taken vp, and ſhrined. 231. line. 8
Sainte Ellutus bell in Glamorgan taken away. 253. 94
Saxon ſchoole in Roome repaired. 207.45
Saint Peters Church at Weremouth burned by the Scottes. 507.7
Saint Paules Church in London burnte to the ground. 314.57
Saint Michaels Abbathy in Normandy. 321.72
Saint Oſwins Church at Tinmouth. 326.20
Sainte Clement Danes Church without Temple barre at London. 267. line. 8
Sainte Maurice banner ſente to King Adelſtane for a preſent. 227.23
Saint Leonards hoſpital in Yorke founded. 334. line. 71
Saint Fridancus Church in the Ile of Angleſey, made a kennel for hoūds 328.97
Saint Martins Churche nigh Ludgate in London builded. 167.49
Sainte Paules counſell, in winning of all ſorts to the faith. 168.1
Saxons flee vnto Badon hill for defence. 128.63
Saxons beſieged in Badon hill by the Britains. 128.72
Sanctuaries reſtrayned frō ſhrowding of Traytors. 1447.10
Saint Edmondes land in Suffolke ſpoyled by the Danes. 249.73
Sainte Friſwides ſteeple in Oxforde burned. 251. line. 61
Saxons ouerthrowen by the Britaines at Maeſbell. 122.94
Saint Mary bow Church roofe in Cheape in London ouerthrowen by a wynde. 322.12
Saint Germeine in Laya Caſtell, yeelded to the Engliſhe, page. 1202. col. 2. line. 32
Saxon bloud ceaſſeth to reigne in Englande. 288. line. 6
Samothes founder of the Kingdome of Celtica. 1. 101. and. 2. 46
Saint Edmondeſburie in olde time called Egleſdon. 211.37
Sainte Edmondeſburie Abbey buylded. 211.34
Sarron third King of the Celtes. 3.2
Saint Johns Churche in Cheſter builded. 277. line. 34
Sainte Werbroughes Church in Cheſter builded. 277.35
Sainte Marye Oueries Church burnt. 574.23
Sacred perſons not to be touched with violente handes. 378.47
Saliſburie John, Chauncellor to Archbiſhoppe Thomas Becket. 416. line. 24
Saffron Walden in Eſſex. 255.78
Sabart Kyng of the Eaſt Saxons, departeth thys life. 157.66
Sabarts ſonnes refuſe to be chriſtened. page. 157. line. 89
Sabartes ſonnes ſlayne, and their army diſcomfited by the Weſt Saxons. 158 28
Sainte Dauid, called in olde tyme Mineuia, taken. 123.42
Sainte Albons battayle foughte, and wonne by the Britaines agaynſte the Saxons. page. 128. line. 48
Saint Oſwils bones trāſlated from Bardona, to Saint Peters in Glouceſter. 222.46
Saint Edmonde fighteth for the wealthe, but not for the ſlaughter of hys people. 249.80
Saliſburie vſe ſeruice in the Churche compiled. 316.48
Saint Peters Minſter in Yorke conſumed wyth fyre. 300.51
Saint Leonardes Hoſpital at Yorke. page. 1319. col. 1. line. 25
Sabart, King of the Eaſt Saxons. 152.31
Samothei, a ſect of Philoſophers, and their originall. 2.69
Sabart Kyng of the Eaſt Saxons, receyueth the fayth of Chriſt. 152.36
Samothea, the firſt peculiar name of Britaine. 2.76
Sainte Albons Abbey repaired. 32[illegible].68
Saint Paules Church in London builded. 150.53
Saint Andrewes Church in Rocheſter builded. 150.62
Saraſins enter Fraunce, and are ouerthrowen. 191.63
Saxons ſue to the Romaines for peace, which is graunted vppon condition. 106.7
Saxons permitted to departe out of Britaine. 106.14
Saxons ſette vpon by an Ambuſhe of Romaines, are all ſlayne. page. 106. line. 33
Saint Audrie of Ely. 185. line. 77
Sainte Andrewes Church in Welles builded. 188. line. 27
Sainte Edmonds Church builded, and Monkes there eſtabliſhed. 250. line. 46
Sainte Quintins wonne. 1769.30
Sainte Mary Hall in Oxforde founded. 854. line. 47.8
Saint Thomas in India. 2:7.45
Saint Agnes Churche in Caunterbury buylded. 158.71

Saint Peters Churche at Yorke erected. 161.102
Saxons to enioy quietely their lands in Britaine. 128.22
Saint Valeries Towne. 285.55
Saliſburie ſteeple ouerthrowẽ by a winde. 322.17
Salike Lawe. page. 1168. col.2.line.31
Sarronides, a kinde of Philoſophers, whence diſcended. 3.17
Earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke takẽ priſoners at Lile. 908.3.b
Samſon Byſhop of Worceters aunſwere, concerning the obedience of the Archbyſhop of Yorke, to the Archbyſhop of Canterburie. 350.18
Saint Michaels College in Cambridge founded. 872.26.a
Salle Roberte Knighte ſlayne by Rebelles. 1031.50.a
Saxõs inuading Britain, are repulſed. 105.93
Sainte Edmondes ditche caſt. 250.42
Saxõs renue their league with the Pictes agaynſt the Britaines. 120.16
Saxons diſcomfyted by the zeale and policie of Germane. 120.46
Sackuill Nigel accurſed. 417.26
Sackuille Tho. Knyghte, is ſent Ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 1857.21
Saleſtine, a Barde. 4.42
Saxons ſente for out of Germany, to aide the Britaines againſte the Scots and Picts. 111.57
Saxons appointed places in Kent to inhabite. 112. line. 19
Saxons come into Britaine to ſeeke new habitations. 112.44
Saxons in the North ſubiect to the Saxon Kings in Kent. 114.24
Saxons arriue, and ſettle in Northumberlande. 114.14
Saxons greate numbers, ſuſpected by the Britaines. 114.31
Saxons miſerably ſpoyle Britaine from ſea to ſea. 114.66
Saxons ouerthrowen in battayle by the Britaines. 115.24
Saxous begin to raigne in Britaine. 118.76
Saxons being Paganes, extinguiſhe the Chriſtian Religion in Britain. 118.22
Saxons, Scottes, and Pictes inuade the Romaine prouince in Britayne. 106.60
Sauoy ſpoyled, and brent by Rebels. 1026.30.b
Saint Martins Churche nigh Caunterburie frequented by Auguſtine, and when builded. 148. line. 23
Saliſburie in olde tyme called Ambrie. 118.36
Saturnalia, feaſtes howe celebrated. 48.77
Saint Cutbert appeareth to King Alured in a viſion. 214.15
Saint Edwards fair holden at Weſtminſter. 719. line. 60
Saint Alban, firſt Martir of this land. 194.105
Sainte Albanes bones taken vp and ſhrined. 194. line. 107
Saint Albanes Monaſterie builded. 194.108
Saint Andrewes Church in the Ile of Andreſey builded. 208.18
Sainte Omer Toſſes, a Knighte Templer. 400. line. 69
Sainte Valerie taken by the Frenche. page. 1250. colum. 1. line. 32 yeelded agayne to the Engliſhe, page. 1251. col. 1. line. 19
Sainte Iohns Hoſpitall nigh Caunterburie builded. 320.64
Saraſins beheaded by K. Richard the firſte at Acres. 501.43. beatẽ backe and repulſed in a conflicte, by King Richarde the firſt. 503.40
Saxton fielde. page. 1311, col.1.line.52
Sanctuary, page. 1364. col.2.line.41.page.1365. col.2.line.19. abuſed, pa. 1366. col.1.line.4.
Saint Martins Sanctuarie. page. 1365. col. 2. line 52
Sapcote William of the Countie of Huntington attainted. 1425.47
Saint Germain Geoffrey attainted. 1415.49
Sauage Iohn Knyghte ſlayne, 1440.35
Leſley Richard. 1443.43
Lorde Saint Iohn taken priſoner. 825.14.b
S. Ambroſe cited. 89.17
Sanders Captaine rebelling with Tho. Stafford is condemned, but pardoned. 1767.26
Sands William Knyghte Treaſourer of Calaice, his vallor 1521.45
Saunders George murthered, and the hiſtorie thereof. 1865.55
Sauage Tho. remoued from the Biſhopprike of London to York. 1455.38
Samſon Doctor Biſhoppe of Chicheſter in the premunire. 1578. 20. pardoned. 1580.47
S. Iohn de Lucy burnte. 1474.34
Sauage Thomas Archbiſhoppe of Yorke dyeth, his cõmendatiõs. 1461.50
Saint Maure William. 1450.45
Sapcots Iohn Knighte. 1450.17
Sandwich ſpoiled by Daniſh Pirates. 270.26
Saint Albõs Abbey ſpoyled. 380.46
Saint Bartholmewes by Smithfild founded. 341. line. 52
Sauill Io. Knight. 4448. line. 50
Sarron fyrſt Auctor of the Philoſophers called Sarronides. 3.17
Saint Auguſtines Monaſterie nigh Caunterbury builded. 150.38
Saint Amphibolus bodye founde out, and tranſlated. 450.69
Samothes called by Moſes Meſech, by others Dis. 2.38
Samothea ſubdued by Albion. 5.34
Sainte Balters Churche deſtroyed. 227.73
Saint Albons towne and monaſterie builded. 88.17
Sandwiche ſpoyled by french. 1290. by Io. Dynham. 1298. taken by Lord Fauconbridge. 1298. kept by Baſtarde Fauconbridge. 1344.10
Sainte Benets Abbey in Norffolk builded. 262.94
Sampſon, Abbot of S. Edmonſburie. 483.11
Salomon King of Hungarie. 259.31
Saliſburie made a Byſhops ſea. 309.65
Sarron buildeth publike places for learning. 3.10
Saint Deniſe in Fraunce rendred to the Engliſhe. page. 1255. col. 1. line. 39
Sandiforde. pa. 1299. 42
Say Wil. eſcapeth from the battaile of Lewes. 770.88
S. Meuces takẽ. 813.10.a
Scots and Picts ſore diſquiet the Romaine ſubiects in Britaine. 95.17
Scottes and Pictes vanquiſhed by the Saxons. 112.22
Scena, ſon to Androgeus Erle of London. 43.80
Scot Iohn Earle of Cheſter poyſoned to death by his wife. 650.20
Scholers of Oxforde withdraw to Northamptõ to ſtudie. 766.67. fight againſt King Henrye the third. 766.69
Scottes vanquiſhed and put to flight by Erle Siward. 275.58
Scottes ſommoned to appeare at Yorke. 832.32.a
Scroope Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, deuiſed articles againſte Henry the. iiij. page. 1137. col. 1. line. 41
Scottes inuade the Engliſh borders. page. 1188. colum. 2. line. 28. reſiſted. line. 30
Scottiſhe title diſcuſſed. 800.47.a
Scottiſh nobilitie ſweare fealtie to the Kyng of England 603.40.a
Scotlãd ſpoyled. 899.30.a
Scotlande inuaded by the Duke of Lãcaſter. 1046.7.b
Scots conclude a league with the French. 815.39.a
Scholemaſter of Paules. page. 1375. col. 1. line. 3
Geffrey Scrope Iuſtice dyeth. 915.11.b
Scots inuade Englande, and beſiege Careleile. 818.26.a. enter Englãd agayne. 819.27.b. ſeeke for peace. 827.25.a
Richarde Scrope put frõ the office of Chancellor. 1040.1.a
Scottiſh Lordes ſubmitte them to King Edwarde the third. 898.27.b
Scottes ſpoyle the North parties. 870.6.b
Scurſa, a Daniſhe Earle ſlayne. 220.64
Sceiton Richard a Tayler, counſellor to Perkin Warbecke. 1449.58
Scots ſpoyle the Northe Countrey. 1022.2.a
Scotte William. 1447. line. 20
Salerne Prince with others commeth to ſee his Maieſtie. 1579.54
Scrope Thomas, alias Radley. 1462.22

William

William Scrope created Erle of Wiltſhire. 1097. 30.b. fleeth to Briſtowe. 1105.12.b. beheaded. 1106 14.b.
Scottes ſpoyle Cumberland. 1649.16.b.
Scottiſhe Kyng ſendeth Ambaſſadors to Kyng John. 545.60
Scory Doctor Biſhop of Hereford. 1803.9
Scots ayde the Britaines againſt the Saxons. 120. line. 10
The Scriptures tranſlated into Engliſh by Tindall, Joy and other forbidden. 1555.1
Scottes brenne in Northumberland. page. 1132. colom. 1. line. 18. ouerthrowen. page. 1135. col. 1. line. 10. 49
Scottes, Picts, and Saxons inuade the Romane prouince in Britaine. 106. 60
Scottes inuade England 853.40.b. 854. 48.a. 858. 4.b. 890.20.a.
Scotlande ſpoyled by the Engliſhmen. 1047.50.a.
Scots make dayly reiſes and inuaſions into England. 368.15
Scottiſh King renounceth his homage. 819.10.b
A Schoole foũded at Bedford. 1816.30
Schoole built by the company of the Merchaunt Taylers. 1814.50
Schoole erected at Cambridge. 30.93
Scotlande reſigned into King Edward the thirds hands. 955.6.a
Scottes inuade England page. 1291. col. 1. line. 1
Scots giue their daughters in marriage to the Pictes vpon condition. 67.57.
Scotland inuaded by the Romaines. 69.87
Scottes inhabiting the furthermoſt parte of Scotlande, diſcouered by the Romaines. 70.10
Scottes and Pictes driuen out of Britaine by the aid of the Romaines 100.6.
Scots and Picts breake downe the wall, and enter again into Britaine. 100.20
Scots and Picts returne into Britaine by ſea, and inhabite the North parts of the Ile. 100.72
Scottes and Picts enter vpon the Britaines, and chaſe them out of theyr Townes. 101.6
Scottes and Picts when firſte they came to inhabite Britaine. 102.15
Scotland interdited. 855. 21.a.
Dauid King of Scottes inuadeth England. 939. 37.a. taken. 940.3.a.
Scottiſh Kings ſubiecte to the Kings of England. 222.62
Scottes ſubdued by Sea and land, by Kyng Adelſtane. 225.69
Scottes take an othe to bee true vnto King Edredus. 229 45
Scottes ſubmit thẽſelues and do homage to King Arthur. 135.52
Scottiſhe King ſendeth Ambaſſadors into Normandye to King John. 542.95
Scottes ſue earneſtly to the Engliſhmenne for peace, and obteyne it. 37.43
Scottes ſubdued by King Adelſtane. 225.21
Scottes acknowledge to holde their Kyngdome of the King of England. 225.27
Scottes get parts of the Engliſh confines within Cumberlande. 225.33
Scottiſhe Kyng came to Kyng John to Lincolne, and there did homage. 550.5
Scottes inuade the Engliſh Frõtiers. 1046.36.b
Scarborough Caſtel deliuered to the King 396. line. 27
Scottes inuade the Engliſhe marches with an armye vnto Carleile. 366.67
Scots inuade the North partes of England with an army. 306.114
Scottiſhe Kings to do homage to the King of England for the Realme of Scotland. 307.62
Scottiſh King refuſeth to come to Kyng John. 545.80
Scots inuade Englande, and are repulſed wyth loſſe of their owne dominions. 396.80
Scottiſh K. Alexander cõpoundeth for peace with K. John. 568. 30. and deliuereth. ij. of his daughters for hoſtage. 568.31
Scottiſhe Ambaſſadoures not ſuffered to paſſe thorough England to King John into Normandye. 543.5
Scottiſhe King promiſeth to doe homage to Kyng John. 542.103
Scottiſh King offereth his ſeruice to Kyng John. 543.1
Scottiſhe K. requireth reſtitution of Northumberlande and Cumberland. 542.93
Scorastan battaile fought by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 251.87
Scottiſhe King returneth home. 550.30
Scottes inuade Northũberland with an armye. 322.24
Scottes ſue for peace and retire. 322.32
Scottes vtterly diſcomfited, ſlayne, or taken by the Engliſhmen. 324. line. 69
Scottes moue warre, and are brought to obediẽce by the Engliſhmen. 261. line. 64
Scottiſhe King doeth homage to Henrye, eldeſt ſonne to King Henry the ſecond. 401.78
Sceorstan battaile fought betweene the Engliſhmen and Danes, wyth equall victorie. 254.41
Scottes eftſoone inuade Northumberlande. 369. line. 41
Scotttes diſcomfited and put to flight. 370.44
Scots breake truce with the Engliſhmen. 310.77
Scotney Walter arraigned and cõdemned. 754. 20. hee is executed at Wincheſter. 754.34
Scottiſh Churche in Ireland diſagreeth in ſome pointes from the Romaine Church. 156.1
Scottiſh K. Alexander goeth through Englande to the ſiege of Douer, and there did homage to Lewes. 603.25
Scots beaten downe and put to flighte by the Engliſhmen, at Alnewike. 434.72
Scotus John murthered by his Schollers in the Abbey of Malmeſburie. 218.34
Scottes repulſed out of Northumberlande, and from the ſiege of Careleile. 428.3
Scottiſhe kings to doe homage and fealtie to the Kings of England, being neceſſarily thereunto required. 440.41
Scottiſh Biſhops renoũce their obedience to the Churche of Englande. 443.9
Scottes ſende aide to the Britaines againſte the Romaines. 39.36
Scottes not once named by the auntient Romane writers. 59.36
Scots from whence they came into Britaine. 108. line. 25
Scots and Picts inuade Britaine, and waſt the Countrey. 111.27
Lamberte Semnell, counterfet Erle of Warwike, is receyued with greate honour in Ireland. 1428. 40. is proclaymed King. 1430. 40. is taken priſoner, and made firſte a tourne broach, and then a Fawkener. 1431.22
Secular Prieſtes ſmally regarded. 234.29
Secular Prieſtes make complaint of the wrong done vnto them. 235.86
Secular prieſtes conſtreyned to auoyd their Colledges, and leaue them to Monkes & Nunnes. 234.31
Secular prieſts with their wiues brought into Monaſteries. 235.100
Secular Prieſts ſute daſhed by the counſell of Wincheſter. 236.9
Seymer Edwarde made Knyghte. 1526.40. is created Viſcunt Beauchamp. 1561.55. is created Earle of Hertford 1571.4. made Lieutenaunte of the Northe partes. 1592. 10. entreth Scotlande wyth an armye commityng greate waſt eadem. 50. hys honorable iourney in Bolognois. 1599.33. entring Scotland with a power, deſtroyeth all the townes in the middell Marches. 1602. 37. eftſoones inuadeth Scotlande, burnyng a greate parte of the Mers and Tiuidale. 1603. 42. ſente ouer wyth a power to wythſtande the enterpriſes of the Frenchmenne in Bolognois. 1607.36. is hyghe Chamberlayne, and one of the execu-

ters of the kings teſtamente, and the gouernors of the yong Kyng. 1611.32. is choſen Lorde Protector of King Edwarde and his dominions. 1614. 50. adorneth King Edward with the order of Knighthoode eadē. 4. is created D. of Somerſet. 1614. 14. inuadeth Scotlande. 1615. 10. his aunſwere to Huntleys chalenge. 1621. 10. ſendeth an Epiſtle exhortatorie vnto the Scottes. 1643. 40. ſetteth foorthe a Proclamation for laying opē of encloſures. 1648. 26. fearing the conſpiracie of the Lordes, remoueth haſtily in the nyghte tyme wyth the yong Kyng to Windſore Caſtell. 1689. 10. his letter to the Lorde priuie ſeale for ayde eadē, 27. hys letter to the Lords aſſembled. 1699. 30. hath a Proclamation publiſhed agaynſte hym eadem. 50. is commytted to Warde in Beauchampe Tower. 1701. 10. is committed to the Tower of London, eadem. 20. hath articles obiected againſte hym, eadem. 28. is reſtored vnto hys libertie, but not his protectorſhippe. 1702. 36. maried hys eldeſt daughter to Warwike hys eldeſt ſonne. 1703. 30. is eftſoones committed to the Tower. 1709. 27. wel beloued of the people eadem. 50. condemned of felonie ibidem, is executed. 1710. 10. the two ſpeaches which he vſed at his death eadem. 54. is deſcribed. 1711.52
Semer Thomas Knight, is created Lorde Semer, and high Admiral. 1614. 20. is atteynted & beheaded. 1640.26
Seneſchalcie of Fraunce, auntiently belongeth to the Earles of Aniou. 411.42
Sea to be paſſed ouer on foote. 353.14
Seuerus the Emperoure ſeeketh the deſtruction of Clodius Albinus, Lieutenant of Britaine. 77.75
Seuerne a Riuer, page. 1414. col.2. line.38. page. 1415. col.2 line.44.
Seuerus the Emperoure diſcended from Androgeus King of Britaine. 78.19
Seuerus the Emperoure beginneth to rule ouer Britaine as King. 78.26
Seuerus leadeth an army of Romaynes and Britaines againſte Fulgentius. 78.28
Seuerus ſlaine by Fulgētius, & buried at Yorke. 78.41
Seuerus the Emperoure prepareth to come into Britaine againſte the enimie. 78.91
Seuerus the Emperoure arriueth in Britain. 79.20
Sebby King of Eaſt Saxons, profeſſeth himſelfe a Monke. 181.32
Sebby dyeth, and is buried in Sainte Paules in London. 181.34
Seruāts to Sigeferd and Morcade, going aboute to reuenge their maſters death, are burnt. 251.58
Seufred and Sigharde, Kings of Eaſt Saxons, depart this life. 190.36
Seille Peter kept in cloſe priſon. 467.35
Sepulchre of the Lorde found out at Ieruſalem, by Helene the Empreſſe. 91.106
Sewfred and Sigharde ſuccede Sebby their father in the Kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons. 181.42
Seuerus Biſhop of Trier commeth ouer with Germane into Britain. 121.27
Seguinus or Seginus Duke of the Allobroges. 24.37
Seuerus the Emperoure maketh manye forreys vpon the Britaines, and returneth alwayes conquerour. 79.94
Seuerus the Emperoure falleth ſicke in Britaine. 80.26
Seuerus dyeth rather through ſorrowe than ſickneſſe. 80.66
Seuerus eyther reſtoreth Adrians wall, or buyldeth another. 81.3
Sempringham William, founder of the order of Sempringham dyeth. 469.63
Senſuall luſt blindeth the vnderſtandyng of the wiſe. 113.61
Selred ſucceedeth Offa in the Kingdome of Eaſt Saxons. 190.47
Secandone battayle foughte by the Mercians againſt their owne Kyng Ethelbaldus. 189.67
Sebby, ſonne to Suward and Sighere, ſucceede Swidhelme in the kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons. 179.3
Senators of Rome ſlayne by the Gaules. 26.54
Seuerus, Lord Steward to Valentinianus the Emperour, ſente to reforme matters in Britaine. 103.101
Sea ceaſſeth ebbing and flowing three monethes. 716.106.
Sergeantes of the lawe created. 1837.50
Seuen Biſhops in Wales 75.20
Sea ſeemeth to burne. 723.47
Sexburga, wife to Cenwalch dyeth. 180.72
Sexvulf conſecrated Biſhop of Mercia. 181.12
Sermon made by Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Cant. 1116.1.8
Seuen articles propoſed to K. Henry the ſeconde to amend. 422.30
Sedrike made a Nunne in France. 169.66
Seuerus Coronell of the footemen, ſente to ayde Nanneus. 105.112
Segburg, daughter to the Kyng of Eaſt angles, wife to Earconberte. 169.53
Segninus Duke of Allobroges dyeth. 25.42
Seianes Horſe, whoſe ryder euer came to ſome euill ende. 202.11
Chriſtofer Seton hanged. 242.46.b
Selwood. 214.80
Seyne the Riuer at Paris froſen. 1858.22
Seintleger Anthonie, deputie of Irelād. 1583.29
Seoleſew Abbey in Suſſex builded. 182.83
Sea of a bloudy coloure. 61.7
Seuerne Riuer. 143.54
Shippe ſeene in the ayre. 734.38
Sandall a Caſtell. page. 1328. col.2. line.43
Shippes of a ſtrange faſhion and molde, driuen by weather into certaine Hauens about Berwik. 735.24
Seuerus returneth again into Fraunce. 121.49
Seuall Archebiſhoppe of Yorke dyeth. 750.70
Sens Citie in Normandy yeelded to Hr.5. pag. 1190. col.1. line.20
Seired, K. of Eaſt Saxons ſlayne. 197.38
Seuerne deuideth Wales from England. 16.42
Sem allotted vnto Aſia. 1.75
Secion cited. 2.70
Seymer Iane married to King Henrye the eyght. 1561. ſhe dyeth. 1570.44
Sheriffes of London, their rente which they pay to the King. 780.110
Robert Sherborne deane of Paules, afterwarde Biſhoppe of Chicheſter, ſent commiſſioner into Cornewall. 1450.54
Sheriffes of the lād greeuouſly puniſhed for their extortion. 411.106
Shippe of fine workemanſhip ſente to King Adelſtane for a preſente. 227.31
Shirburne Richarde Biſhop of Chicheſter prayſed. 1463.26
Shafteſburie, or Mont Paladoure, buylded. 19. line.4
Shippe of greate value, and ritchly fraught, giuen to king Hardicnute. 267.63
Shores wife, page. 1372. col. 2. line. 34. line.44. line.52. deſcribed, ſpoyled of all that ſhee had page. 1375. col.1. line.10. put to pennaunce line. 28. wente on beggyng, page. 1376. col.1. line 20
Shippes of Normandie taken. 676.50.b
Sheriffes of the Shires inſtituted. 303.47
Shippes of England taken 904.24.b
Shippes of Fraunce brēt. 906.30.b
Shirebourne, Caſtel builded. 376.70
Sheriffes fined throughout all Englande. 743.50.
Shires in Englande waſted and deſtroyed by the Danes. 245.80
Shippes taken by the Engliſhmē from the french Kyng, manned and ſent home into Englande laden. 579.2
Sheene the Kinges manoure brente. 1454. line.1

Shrewſburie towne fortified agaynſt King Henry the firſt. 61
Sheepe tranſported intoo Spaine pag. 1317. col. 1 lin. 47.
Sherifhuton a Manour & Caſtell. 1425. 20.b. 34
Shrewſburie. pag. 1414. col. 2. lin. 49. pa. 1415. co. 1. lin. 8. pag. 1415. col. 2. lin. 44.
Sherborne Robert Doctor, Ambaſſadour to the Pope. 1461.20
Sherifes firſt ſworne in London. 566.97
Shene defaced. 1084. 24.b
Shrewſburie parte burnt. 644.69.
Shafteſburie Abbey bilded. 217.58
Shift for money. pa. 1346. col. 1. lin. 40.
Sherifes of London impriſoned. 738.70
Shipwrack. 920.34.b
Shoreham. 544.8
Shrewſburie caſtell. 369.2
Shirewood foreſt. 516.83
Sigibert baptized in Frãce, and brought vppe in the fayth of Chriſt. 171.98
Sigibert foundeth the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge. 171.106.
Sigibert reſigneth hys Kingdome, and becummeth a Monke. 172.12
Sigibert commeth oute of the Monaſterie to go agaynſt Penda. 172.19
Sigibert & Egricus ſlain, and their army diſcomfited by Penda. 172.28
Sigibert profeſſed a monk in Cumbreſburge Abbey 173.40.
Sigibert ſurnamed the little, King of Eaſtſaxons. 173.73.
Sigibert ſonne to Sigebalde, ſucceedeth Sigibert the little in ỹ Kingdome of Eaſtſaxons. 173.76.
Sigibert ſonne too Sigebald, receyueth the chriſtian fayth. 174.9
Sigibert murthered by his kinſmen. 174.52
Sithrike ſlayeth his brother Nigellus. 223.101
Sithrike marrieth Editha, daughter to King Edwarde. 224.49
Sithrike marrieth Beatrice, daughter to King Edward. 224.66
Sithrike poyſoned by hys wife Beatrice. 224.86
Sithrike becõmeth a chriſtian for the loue of Editha. 224.113
Sithrike renounceth chriſtianitie, and miſerably endeth his life. 224.116
Simon Richard a Prieſt, practiſeth to make hys ſcholer King. 1428.10. ſayleth with him into Irelande, where hee bruteth him to bee the Earle of warwike, procureth many friendes in Irelande, England and Flanders. 1429.3. taken priſoner, & committed too perpetuall priſon. 1431.24
Silures prepare too make warre agaynſt the Romaines. 54.28
Silures where they inhabite. 54.60 and. 59.26.
Silures conceyue an extreeme hatred agaynſte the Romains, and why? 57.64.
Sigibert ſucceedeth Cuthred in the Kingdome of the weſtſaxons. 193.105
Sigibert for his crueltie expulſed out of his eſtate. 194.7
Sigibert ſlain by a Swine heard. 194.16
Sinode holden at Hatfield 182.113.
Siwarde reioyceth at the honourable death of hys ſonne. 273.14
Swidhelme dieth. 173.2
Sigiſmonde Emperour came into England. pag. 1183. col. 1. li. 57. in league with Henrie the fifth. pa. 1185. col. 1. lin. 38.
Sixe Articles ordeyned. 1573.1.
Sigeferd a Dane, murthered at Oxford. 248.51
Simon Dunelm. cited, 214.100. and. 216.62. and 220.05. and. 221.54.
Sighelmus Biſhoppe of Shireborne, ſent with preſentes vnto Rome, and into India. 217.45
Siwolfe ſlaine. 208.27
Simonie and ambition in two Monks reproued by King William Rufus. 321.10.
Simon Dunelm. cited. 222.45. and. 139.47.
Sinode holden at Wincheſter. 235.110.
Sinode holden at Calne. 236.21.
Sithrike ſucceedeth his father Guthred in the Kingdome of the Northumbers. 219.71
Siricius Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie. 239.64
Simon Dunelmen. cyted. 291.39. and. 302.69. and 345.89. and. 354.89.
Simon Sudburie made Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 993.13.a
Silueſter Prior of Canterburie depoſed from his priorſhip. 383.28
Simon Dunelm. in what time he liued. 394.44
Simon Dunelmen. cyted. 387.11.
Simon Erle of Northamton. 374.13
Simon Dunelmen. cyted. 258.15. and. 260.32.
Stafford Richarde ſlaine. 1048.55.b
Simon Erle of Aranges, deliuereth Fortreſſes to King Henrie the ſeconde. 399.60.
Siward cauſeth himſelf to be armed before his death. 276.63.
Siwarde Earle of Northumberlande, inuadeth Scotlande with a greate power. 273.56
Siwarde Earle of Northumberland. 271.30
Sinode at Reading. 789.48.a
Sinode at Lambeth. 790.12.a
Sixe Articles repealed. 1634.60.
Simon Mountford Knight, pag. 1298. col. 2. lin. 6. taken at Sandwich. lin. 18. beheaded lin. 32.
Sinode at London. 892.13.b
Singlem, or Sigbelme ſlaine. 236.47
Sighere King of Eaſtſaxons dieth. 187.36
Sigharde and Seawfrede ſucceede Sebby their father in the Kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons. 186.42
Simon Earle of Northampton falleth madde, and miſerably endeth his life. 387.96
Sigibert murdered for obſeruing the commaundements of the goſpell. 174
Sigibert reproued for keping companie with an excommunicate perſon. 174.31
Sigharde and Seuffred, Kings of Eaſtſaxons, departe this life. 190.36
Sign chiefe murtherer of Alwald. 193.49
Simon Dunelmen. cyted. 204.65.
Sinode holden at Herford 179.
Significatiõ of two ſunnes in the ſkie. 541.106
Sigibert, or Sebert, a chriſtian king of the Eaſtangles. 162.42
Siluer mines. 845.20.b
Sidrack, a Daniſh Earle ſlaine. 210.24
Sidrok, a Dane ſlaine. 210 36.
Siſilius brother to Guiguſtius, choſen to the gouernance of Britaine. 21 90.
Sinode holden at Dunſtable. 383.65
Simon Zelotis commeth into Britaine. 53.20
Sighere & his people, reuolt from the Chriſtian fayth. 179.12
Sighere & hys people, reduced too the Chriſtian fayth. 179.23
Simonie conſiſteth as wel in giuing money after promotion receyued, as in brybing afore hande. 336.48.
Sigebertus cited. 117.41
Sicilius, ſonne to Guintolinus, admitted King of Britaine. 39.12
Situations for Churches or Monaſteries, firſt too be conſecrated. 175.14
Sidius Geta his valiancie agaynſt the Britains. 49.34.
Sibell ſiſter to the Erle of Conuerſans in Puglia, maried to Robert Duke of Normandie. 346.22
Singing in Churches firſt vſed in Kent, of all England. 178.76
Singyng in Churches, brought into vſe ouer all England. 180.76
Siſillius, called alſo Siſillus. 21.86
Simon Erle of Huntington dieth. 459.12
Silures vanquiſhed, and brought too the Romaine ſubiection. 66.30
Siege of Badon hill. 115 92.
Siſillius dieth, and is buried at London. 29.49.
Sighere ſon too Sigibert the litle, and Sebby, ſucceede Swidhelme in the Kingdome of the Eaſt-

ſaxons. 179.2
Siſillius dieth, and is buried at Bathe. 21.98
Sizil, called alſo Siſillius. 21.96.
Simon Digby knight. pa. 1416.col.2,lin.42.
Simon Langton made Chauncellour to Lewes 600.39. he is excommunicate by Gualo, wyth booke, bell and Candell. 600.62.
Sitomagus a citie in Britaine, by whome buylded. 2.95
Shireborn made a biſhops ſea. 191.10
Siward dieth. 276.62
Sidonius Appolinaris cited. 107.75
Skirmiſhe betweene Engliſh mẽ and Henoays at Yorke. 890.17.b
Sledda ſecond king of the Eaſt ſaxons. 152.34
Slaughter of Saxons at Badon hill. 129.11
Sleforde Caſtell buylded. 371.75.
Slouth engendreth lecherie. 17.79
Smyth william Doctour preſident of Prince Arthures counſaile, and after Biſhop of Lincolne. 1456 57.
Smith Thomas leadeth a colonie intoo Irelande. 1864.35.
Smith Thomas knight, made principall ſecretary 186.41.
Smith william founded Braſennoſe Colledge in Oxforde. 1463.22
Smithfield a layſtall, and place of execution. 341.56
Snowden Caſtell taken. 793.8.a.
Snow of a maruelous cõtinuance. 270.2
Snowdune. 276.42
Souch John Lorde attainted. 1425.41
Somerſet william Earle of worceſter goeth Ambaſſadour into Fraunce, and is robbed vpon the ſea by Pyrates. 1864.53
Somerſet Charles of the priuie counſaile, and lord Chamberlaine to Henry the eight. 1464.52
Sonnes to the Earle of March taken forth of windſore Caſtell. pag. 1145.col.1.lin.50.
Souldiours called the cõpanions. 968.55.a
South part of ſcotland giuen to the Picts. 81.63
Sorcerie and witchcrafte puniſhed. 395.96
Sobrietie of the Normãs, the night before the battaile againſt the Engliſh men at Haſting. 286.77
Sunnes twaine appeare at one time. 541.89
Southwales ſpoyled by the Danes. 218.69
Southſaxons put too the worſe by the weſtſaxons. 155.49
Southwell Manour, belonging to the Archbiſhop of Yorke. 349.4
Southampton ſpoyled by Frenchmen. 904.20.b
Souldiours put into ſacks and throwne intoo the Thames. 779.11
Souldiours offer themſelues to ſerue king John. 546.22.
Southampton towne ſpoiled by the Danes. 238.35
Somerſetſhire men ouerthrowne by the Danes at Pentho. 241.70
Sodomites accurſed by the decree of weſtmynſter. 341.77
Spiſing beheaded. pa. 1345 col. 1. lin. 22.
The battayle of Spurres 1484.2.
Spirites ſeene in the aire. 556.30.
Spaniardes ouercome the Engliſh nauie. 1010.19.a
Spencer Hugh the elder, created Earle of wincheſter. 869.3.a. hanged. 880.4.a
Spencer Edward lord taken in Britain. 918.45.a
Speares ordeyned, & ſoone diſcnotinued. 1466.43.
Sheffield Edmond knight made Lorde Sheffielde. 1614.27. is ſlain. 1665.47
Spencer Biſhop of Norwich goeth ouer ſea with an army. 1041.44.a. inuadeth Flaunders. 1042.23. b. ouercommeth the Flemings. 1043.20.a. returneth into England. 1045. 50.a.
Lewes of Spaine created Prince. 924.30.a
Spencer Biſhop of Norwich armes. 1043.27.a
Spiritual promotions ſold for what will moſt be giuen. 320.112
Spiritualtie fleeced both in England and Fraunce, to maintayne the warres. 522.16.
Spencer Edwarde Lorde dyeth. 996.6.b
Sporta, daughter to Hubert Erle of Senlis, maried to william Long eſpee. 288.113
Soke of Kirkton in Lindſey, confirmed too Mathew Erle of Bollongne 427.15.
Sophronius pntriarke of Jeruſalem cited. 53.27
Somerſet George knight, his prowes. 1591.46
Southrey brought vnder ſubiection of the weſtſaxons. 203.64
Souldiours arriue at Douer to ayde King John. 592.76.
Sommerton beſieged, and wonne. 189.56
Sorcerie pa. 1268.co.2.li.6
Southwarke nighe London. 271.105
Somerſet ſhire waſted by the Danes. 252.9
Southamton why ſo called. 51.9
Spirituall perſons not to meddle with temporall functions. 340.55
Springs and Iron diſhes appoynted for trauaylers. 162.94
Spencer Hugh Earle of Glouceſter executed. 881 10.a.
Spencer Lord created erle of Glouceſter. 1097.30.b
Spencer Hugh father and ſonne. 852.8.a
Sparcianus cited. 78.9
Spiritualtie reſtrayned. 717.3.
Spaine inuaded by barbarous nations. 98.62
Sparatinum taken by Brute, and his power. 11.50.
Spot Thomas cited, and what time he liued. 293. 47.
Spalding towne giuen too the ſea of Lincolne. 349. 98.
Spiritualtie accuſed of all kinde of diſſoluteneſſe. 402.30.
Spencer Hugh Lord chief Juſtice of England 759. 35. he is diſcharged of his office. 759.60
Spiritualtie miſlyketh of Henrie the thirde for diuerſe cauſes. 747.8
Sparatinum, a towne in Grece. 11.28
Sparatinum beſieged by Pandraſus. 11.63
Spaniſh fleete vanquiſhed by King Edwarde the thirde. 945.30.b
Spencers baniſhment reuoked. 862.34.a. theyr iudgement reuerſed by Parliament. 868.50.b
Spencer John Knight, made Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and keeper of the Tower. 763.69
Stafford Edwarde Duke of Buckingham chiefe chalenger in the Juſtes. 1476.26.
Staforde Humfrey fleeth intoo the Sanctuarie at Colneham. 20. taken oute from thence and executed. ibid.
Stafforde Thomas pardoned. 1428.30
Stephen entreth into ſcotlande with an army, buruing and deſtroyng the ſouth parts of the realm. 368.47.
Statutes of Eltham. 1536 37.
Straunge ſightes in the ayre. 632.32
Straungers preferred in office before Engliſhmen. 642.44.
Stormes and rage of windes ſtirred by the malice of witches, and wicked ſpirites. 119.68
Stafforde Humfrey, and Stafford Thomas, brothers, depart out of the ſanctuary at Colcheſter, and made a rebellion in worceſterſhire. 1427.12
Stafford Humfrey attainted. 1425.48
Stafforde Edward Duke of Buckingham, his coſtly gowne all of goldſmithes worke. 1465.15. is pardoned and releaſed. 1466.36
Stafforde Henrie Lorde, brother too the Duke of Buckingham committed to the Tower. 1462.18
Stafford Edwarde Duke of Buckingham, offended with the enterview betweene the Engliſhe and French kings. 1508. 20. ſtomacketh and ſpeaketh reproachfull wordes by the Cardinall. 1508. ead. 32. is endited of treaſon, and his inditement 1501. 33. is condemned and beheaded. 1516.22

Stewarde

Stewarde Mathew Erle of Lennox goeth intoo ſcotlande. 1846.18
Stafford Thomas taketh the Caſtell of Skarborough. 1767.2. is taken priſoner & executed. ibid.
Stanhop Michael knight committed to the tower. 1709. 30. is beheaded. 1712.6.
Stewarde Henrie Lorde Darley, maryeth Mary the Queene of ſcottes. 1835. 20. is murthered. 1837.
Stanley Edward, knight of the Garter and Earle of Darby dyeth. 1864. 44. his commendations, ibid.
Stratforde Iohn, made Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 896.32. b. writeth to the king. 913.40.a refuſeth too come too the Court. 913. 30. b. dieth. 943.50.b.
Sturton Lord hanged for murther. 1766.20
Strangbow Richard, erle of Struguile, alias Chepſtow, ſent for to be gouernour of the Engliſh men in Irelande. 418.70.
Strangbowe Rycharde, through rebellion and riot, forfeyteth his lands and runneth intoo debt. 418.76.
Strangbow Richarde taketh the ſea, and arryueth in Ireland. 418.96
Strangbow Richard maried to the King of Irelandes daughter. 419.13
Strangbow Richard confined the realme, and his landes forfeyted too the king. 419.19
Strangbow Richard pardoned, reſtored, and ordeyned high ſtewarde of Ireland. 419.31
Stephen leadeth forth an army into the North, againſt the ſcots. 366.71
Stephen ſicke of Litargy, and recouereth. 367.30
Stephen ſaileth into Normandie with a great armye, agaynſte Geffrey Plantagenet, Earle of Aniou. 367.96
Stephen maketh agreement with hys brother Theobald erle of Blois, and with Geffray Plantagenet Earle of Aniou, for yearly pẽſiõs. 367.111
Strabo cited. 4. 7. and. 47. 17.
Storme of hayle verye ſtraunge. 735.73
Starres falling ſtraungely from heauen. 705.50
Stanley william knight, beheaded. 1444.4
Streanſhall nowe called whitby. 179.21
Streaneſhall Monaſterie buylded. 171.82
Statutes of weſtminſter. 1.fol 786.30.a
Statutes of Glouceſter. fol.788.27.b.
Statute of Mortmaine. 789.28.a.
Statutes of weſtminſter. 2.795.2.b.
Statute made by the ſcots in fauour of Englande. 899.56.b.
Statute of apparell. 900. 16.b.
Strawe Iacke executed. 1032.46.b.
Storie Iohn Doctor executed. 1858.54
Strayte dealings with the welſhmen canſeth them to rebell. 744.30
Stephen entreth into Lincolne, with his crowne on his head. 381.71
Stephen and all his dominions interdyted by Theobalde Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 482. 112
Stanhope parke. 890.57.a
Striuelin Caſtell builded. 899.16.b.
Statute agaynſt tranſporting of wolles. 900.40.b
Storme of weather. 966. 44 a.
Straw Iack, alias Iohn Tiler captaine of rebels. 1024.40.b.
Statute of Premunire part repelled. 1722.37
Stirpiney Caſtell burnt. 385.39.
Stephen leadeth an armye into Scotlande, and waſteth the countrey. 371.37
Stephen taken priſoner, and kept at Briſtow, and his armie ouerthrowne. 376.8.
Stephen commaunded too bee kept loaden with Irons. 377 37
Stephen exchaunged priſoner for Robert Erle of Glouceſter. 378.15
Stephen beginneth too incline his minde too peace. 389.8.
Stephen goeth too Douer to meete with the Earle of Flaunders. 393.70
Stephen departeth thys life. 393.78
Stephen ſtature and qualities. 394.10
Stuffe and wightgar, arriue at Certiceſtſhore, & ouerthrow the Britains. 130.44.
Straunge ſightes ſeene aboute the newe Moone. 451.99.
Strife amongeſt the Engliſh ſubiectes on the other ſide of the ſea, concerning king Iohn and Arthur of Britaine. 542. 36.
Straungers put out of office, and Engliſhmen receyued againe. 645.10
Straunge ſightes ſeene in the North. 648 50
Stephen and Duke Fitzempreſſe, fall to an agreement. 387.77. and. 389.27
Stone Abbey buylded. 277 31.
Stamford towne taken by Henrie Fitzempreſſe. 388.11.
Stamford Caſtell beſieged by Henrie Fitzempreſſe. 388.13.
Strowde men in Kent, reprochfully cut off Archbiſhop Thomas Becket his horſe tayle. 415.56
Stuteuile william, hath charge of Northumberland and Cumberlande. 546.9.
Straungers commaunded to depart out of the realm 395.57.
Stephen Earle of Bullongne, comming into Englande, taketh vpon him the gouernment of the Realme. 365.8
Stigande ſucceedeth Robert in the Archbiſhoprike of Canterburie. 274 53.
Stigande an intruder of himſelfe into Biſhoprikes. 274.54
Stigande infamed for ſimonie, and vnlearned. 274.61.
Stafforde Edward Duke of Buckingham, a prince of great towardlineſſe, leuyeth power agaynſte Perkin warbecke. 1450. 10.
Stephen Earle of Bloys, marieth Adila, ſiſter too king Henry the firſt. 354 112.
Stephen Earle of Morton, made Earle of Bollongne. 360.22
Stephen Earle of Bollongne, taketh an othe to be true ſubiect to Maud the Empreſſe. 360.25
Staffordſhire waſted by rebels. 339.73
Stigande a lewde perſon and a naughtie liuer. 291 85.
Stanley Humfrey knight. 1447.4.
Stephen waxeth cruell towardes them that chiefly furthered his title too the crowne. 372.48
Stephẽ woteth not whom to truſt. 372.55
Stephen accuſed in the counſell at wincheſter, for wrongfully impriſoning of the Biſhops. 372 68.
Sterling Caſtell gaged to the King of Englande. 439.41.
Stigande depriued of his Archbiſhoprike, & why? 304.58.
Stigande dieth in priſon at wincheſter. 305.6
Stafford Edwarde, eldeſt ſonne to Edward Duke of Buckingham, reſtored to his name, dignitie and poſſeſſions. 1426.40
Stanley Thomas Lorde Stanley, created Earle of Darby. 1426.34
Strangwers Thomas, knight. 1448.50
Stonhenge vpon the plain of Saliſburie, wherefore there erected. 123.27
Stigande and Abbot Egelſine, captaines of the Kentiſhmen agaynſt K. william. 292.43
Star paſſeth through the Moone. 194.73
Strenwolde ſlaine by the Danes. 239
Stomacking betweene the Clergie of the prouinces of Canterburie & yorke, aboute the Metropolitane prerogatiue. 348.77
Starres ſeene falling from heauen. 325.27
Stigande fleeth into ſcotlande. 303.22
Stephen taketh himſelfe diſhonourably too flight from wilton Nunrie. 380.2.
Stephen Langton Archbiſhop of Canterburie, a moouer of diſſention agaynſt king Iohn. 586. 67.

Stones at Stonehenge ſet out of Ireland. 123.25
Strawes Iacke confeſſion at his death. 1036.30.a
Striuelin Abbay in ſcotlande builded. 208.22
Stanley Edward knight, captaine of the rereward at Floddon fielde. 1149 52. created Lord Monteagle. 1494.35
Stuteſburie, or Sterdeſburie Caſtell, made plain with the ground. 445.20
Straunge wonder of the Moone. 728.14
Starre ſtraungely appearing at the byrth of Edwarde the firſt. 655.2
Stephen Abbot of Glaſtenburie. 135.45
Straunge wonders at the time that the Brytaines reuolted from the Romanes. 60.109
Statute of Premunire ordeyned. 995.50.a
Strife betwixt the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie and York, for carying of their croſſes. 516.104
Stanehorre in the Ile of Tenet. 599.82
State of the Church neglected in Englande. 223.32.
Standforde bridge kept by the Norwegians. 284.72
Statute agaynſt purueyours. 969.23.a
Strenceſhall, or Trentſall Abbey builded. 208.10
Stodham William knight. 595.29.
Strawberries. pag. 1372. col. 1. lin. 29.
Starres plainely ſeene about the ſunne at the Eclipſe. 362.96
Sture, a riuer. 17.31
Straunge wilde beaſtes kept in Woodſtock park. 364.15.
Statutes why ſo called. 354.83.
Stephen Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie dyeth 631.6
Store riuer. 19.58
Strangbow Richarde dyeth. 444.74
Stonie Stratforde. pag. 1416. col. 1. lin 27.
Stillington Doctor. pag. 1349.
Statute for making of clothes. 947.50.a
Steterus King of Albania. 22.91
Stafforde towne. pag. 1415 col. 1. lin. 22.
Stanes. 245.25
Stilico, ſon in law to Honorius. 107.19
Stewes ſuppreſſed. 1067.12.
Stiermarke called Valeria. 105.7
Stow John cited. 560.5
Stuteuile William, made keeper of Topclife Caſtell. 433.35
Sture riuer. 215.53
Stamford. 252.58
Striuelin Caſtell left void 821.50.a. beſieged. 839.45.b.
Stradluid. 276.41
Stephanus cited. 4.7
Sutton Edwarde knight. 1450.16.
Subſidy and foure fiftenes graunted. 1578.40
Subſidie graunted to king Richard the ſecond. 1008 45.a.
Subſidie graunted. 1524.58.
Subſidie. 1604.47
Subſidie. pag. 1226. col. 1. lin. 53. pag. 1234. col. 2. lin. 28.
Suffolke Earle fleeth too Calais, 1066.20.b
Sutton William Doctor, 1443.41.
Sudburie Adam Abbot of Iereueux put too death. 1570.14.
Sens and Monſtreau beſieged and taken. pa. 1209 col. 1. lin. 33.
Surrey Duke Marſhall of Englande. 1099.18.a
Subſidie graunted. 788.23 b. 830.50.b.
Subſidie of wolles. 809.20.b. 903.34 b.
Subſidie. 839.18. b. 869.2. b. 902.44.a. 907.20.a.
Southwark ſpoyled by rebels. 1026.45.a
Subſidie too Henrie the fourth. 1141. col. 1. lin. 23 pag. 1150. col. 2. lin. 33. pag. 1135. col. 1. lin. 22. pag. 1345. col. 2.
Subſidie payed onelye by great men. 1012.15.b
Subſidie of 800000. demaunded. 1524.5
Subſidie. 1858.23
Sullemny Gilbert, drowned in a tempeſt. 411.95
Subſidie money reſtored againe too the owners. 279.59.
Subſidie of woolles. 951.28.b. 969.29.a
Subſidie. 981.44.a. 991.1.b 997.45.a.
Subdeacons to liue chaſtly. 347.53
Subdeacons commaunded too forſake their wiues. 347.56.
Subſidie graunted to king John. 537.68
Subſidie leuied by King John. 548.17
Suſſex waſted by the Danes. 240.73. and 245.4
Sonne puniſhed for the fathers offence. 240.44
Suſſex brought vnder ſubiection of the Weſtſaxons. 203.64
Suffolke ſpoyled by the Danes. 245.53
Suithune, biſhop of Wincheſter. 206.56
Sunne ſuffreth a great Eclipſe. 192.86
Subiectes vntoward too helpe the King with money. 746.30
Suidhelme ſucceedeth Sigibert in the kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons. 174.90
Suidhelme baptiſed by Cedda. 174.96
Suſpition had that the Poictouines ſhould poiſon the Engliſhe Nobilitie. 754.1
Suale riuer. 148.48
Suardus, or Gunhardus, a great Duke in France 22.51.
Sunne eclipſed with a wōderfull tempeſt following. 461.108
Sunne ſtraungely eclipſed. 451.112
Sute of Court, when it was firſt receyued for a law. 742.50
Suetonius cited. 48.55. & 51.61.
Subſidie of two ſhillings of euerie ploughe lande graunted too the King. 617.50.
Sudburie hill. pag. 1337. col. 1. lin. 15.
Subſidie. 1590.21
Subſidie. 1023.37.a
Swaine becommeth a Pirate, and diſhonoureth his noble Progenie by committing robberyes. 273.104.
Swaine vpon remorſe of conſcience, goeth on pilgrimage to Hieruſalem. 273.107.
Swain dieth of a colde by iourneying, but as other ſay, was ſlaine by Saraſins. 273.111
Swarde Martine an Almaine, and Colonell of two thouſand Almains, landeth at Sowdrey. 1430.50. his valour and ſtrength. ibid. is ſlaine. 1431.44.
Swanus returneth againe intoo Englande with a freſh army. 248.26
Swanus by little and little, bringeth the whole realme of England into ſubiection. 248.34
Swanus getteth the whole rule of Englande, and is reputed for king. 249.49
Swanus vſeth his victorie cruelly, not onely agaynſt the laitie, but alſo agaynſt the ſpiritualtie. 249.57
Swithed, or Swithred ſucceedeth Selred in the kingdome of the Eaſtſaxons. 197.40
Swithed the laſt king that particularlye gouerned the Eaſtſaxons. 197.41
Swithed expulſed oute of his Kingdome by Egbert. 197.42
Swanus King of Denmarke landeth in Englande with an armie, and ſpoyleth the Countrey. 243.67.
Swanus returneth wyth his fleete into Denmark. 144 9.
Swanus returneth againe into Englande with a mightie armie. 244.15
Sweating ſickneſſe. 1550.38.
Sweating ſickneſſe perſecuteth Engliſhmen in al Countreys. 1708.30
Swaine baniſhed the land. 272.11.
Swaine putteth away hys lawfull wife, and kepeth Edgina Abbeſſe of the Monaſterie of Leoſſe. 270.12.
Swanus endeth his lyfe with greate yeares in Denmarke. 250.1
Swarde Richarde an outlaw, ſpoyleth the poſſeſſions of the Earle of Cornwall. 644.55
Swaben Duke Henrie came to king John from the Emperor Otho, and returneth againe. 567.40
Swaine, ſonne too Earle Godwin, baniſhed the Realme. 270.10
Swaine returneth and is pardoned. 270.22
Swainwicke 212.50
Swaneſcombe. 292.50
Swedeners, by the Engliſh people, called by the name

name of Danes. 215.15
Swanus departeth againe intoo Denmarke. 246.74.
Swanus returneth intoo Englande with an huge armie, to reuenge his ſiſters death. 247.56
Catherine Swinfordes byrth. 1088.1.a
Sweating ſickneſſe verie mortall. 1426.54. a remedie therefore. 1427.10
Swanus king of Dēmark ſendeth a Nauie intoo England, to recouer his title to the Crowne. 300.24.
Sweating ſickneſſe rageth. 1460.40
Sweating ſickneſſe rageth 1504.5.
Swanus with a ſumme of money payed to him, departeth again into Denmarke. 248.17
Swedeners ouerthrowne by King Cnute in Denmarke. 261.16
Swanus myraculoſly woūded, endeth his lyfe in grieuous tormentes. 249 30.
Swanus beſiegeth Lōdō, and is repulſed. 247.96
Swale riuer. 162.13
Swineſhed Abbey in Lincolnſhire. 605.41

T.

TAle how king Alureds body walked a nights after his death. 218.82
Tale how king Kenelmes death was ſignified at Rome. 205.55
Tacuinus ordeyned Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 191.103.
Tacuinus Archb. of Canterburie dieth. 192.27
Thomas Talbot. 396.58.a
Tancrede concludeth an affinitie and league with King Richarde the firſt. 488.150.
Taluan Earle of Sagium deliuereth certaine Caſtels to King Henrie the ſeconde. 410.3
Tailbourgh fortreſſe ſubdued. 453.90
Tale of a knightes dreame that wore a long heare. 364 72.
Tame foules flie too the woods, and become wild. 314.10.
Tailleur william, a Chronicler of Normandie cyted. 293.60
Tale of a King giuen too Saint Edwarde, by a Pilgrim that came from Ieruſalem. 279.89
Talbot william, defendeth Hereforde in the ryght of Mawd the Empres. 368.74.
Tale of King Arthure, conueyed awaye by Fairies. 136.20
Tale of a Calfe reſtored to lyfe by Saint Germaine. 122.43.
Tallages, and vniuſt impoſtes layde downe. 319.41.
Tankeruile william, chāberleyne and Lieutenant to King Henrie the firſt. 359.70.
Tables, Dice, and Cardes forbidden. 466.28
Taurus nephew too Hanniball. 15.3
Tay riuer. 69.88
Tarapha cited. 1.97
Tancred elected King of Sicill. 480.104
Talbot George Earle of Shrewſburie, and hys ſonne Lord Straunge at Stoke field. 1430.14
Talbot Gilbert Knight, ſent intoo Flaunders. 1435.45.
Tallages of Bridges and Streetes, betwene Englande and Rome diminiſhed. 262.5
Tale howe Dunſtan ſawe the diuell. 228.96
Tale howe Swenus was ſlaine with Saint Edmonds knife. 249 87
Tamer riuer. 241.42
Tate or Tace, looke Ethelburga.
Tamer Riuer, a confine betweene the Engliſhmen and Corniſhmen. 226.103.
Tankeruile yeelded to the Lorde Talbot. pag. 1262. col. 1. lin. 34.
Tamworth towne. 1416.57.
Talbot George Earle of Shrewſburie, and Lord ſtewarde of houſholde to Henrie the eigth. 1464.5
Talbot George Earle of Shrewſburie captaine of the foreward in the wing to Turwin. 1478.36
Talbot Humfrey knight, Marſhall of Calais, ſent into Flaunders. 1435.50
Talbot George Earle of Shrewſbury his faithful diligence in the tyme of the rebellion in the north. 1567.30.
Talbot George Earle of Shrewſburie, Li[illegible]naunt Generall of the north partes. 1522.52
Talbot Gylbert Knight, Ambaſſador to the Pope. 1461.19.
Tankeruile wonne by Edwarde Dudley. 1821.30. recouered by the Reingraue. 1821.18
Table of golde. 850.20.a
Taxe of the Spiritualtie. 799 20.b. 828.a 810.20.a
Tax leuied of the thirtenth part of euery mās goods in Englande by King Iohn. 564.13
Earle of Tankeruile taken priſoner at Caen. 930 55.a.
Tale how the diuel laughed at Dunſtanes baniſhment. 230.100
Tame Robert Knight, 1450.14.
Tadcaſter a town. 1820.40
Tenants not to bee troubled for their Lords debt. 451.26.
Tempeſt great. 1821.47
Tempeſtes and much hurt thereby. 1839
Tearme of Trinitie adiourned by reaſon of the warres. 1601.40
Tempeſt of weather at the battaile of Creſſy. 933 24 b.
Tenham ſpoiled by the erle of Albemarle. 618.40
Templers ſent from Pandolfe the Popes Legate in Fraunce too King Iohn. 574.83
Temple of peace, nowe Blackwell hall in London builded. 23.26
Tacitus cited. 4.77. and 51.26. and. 52.58. and. 65 14.
Tempeſt moſt ſtraunge at London. 635.97
Tenth part of all ſpirituall liuing graunted too the Pope. 628.35
Tempeſt ſore vpon Chriſtmaſſe day, the lyke hath not beene hearde of. 421.9.
Temples builded in Brytain by Cunedagius. 21.40
Temple of Claudius and Victoria builded. 54.45
Tempeſte in Brytayne hurtyng the Romaines. 37.29.
Terre filius, howe to bee vnderſtoode. 6.95
Temples dedicated too Idolles, conuerted too the ſeruice of almightie God. 91.88
Tempeſt. 1833. 26. and 1834.13.
Tempeſt of thunder and lightnings. 726.9
Teuide riuer. 55.63
Tempeſt. 556.29
Tertullian cited. 33.28
Temneſford caſtell builded and deſtroyed. 222.35
Tearmes ordeyned to bee kept foure tymes in a yeare. 303.40
Tenth of all moueable goodes to bee payed, towardes the iourney into the holye lande. 466. 8, and. 481.8.
Tempeſts. 1076.3.b. 1084.35.a.
Tempeſt of wind. 1088.51.a
Tenchard Thomas knight cauſeth the Archduke to ſtay. 1459.17
Terrouan beſieged and won. 937.43.b
Tenantius looke Theomantius.
Theis riuer. 819.56
Tedder Iaſper, Earle of Pembroke created duke of Bedford. 1426.33. vncle to K. Henrie the. vij. ibid. ſent with a power to repreſſe the inſurrection of the Lord Louell and others. 1427.43. the which hee doth with effect. 1428.10. ſent with a power againſt the counterfeit Erle of Warwike 1430. diſcōfiteth the army of the counterfeyte. 1431.30.
Tēplers apprehended. 448 32.a. their lands giuen to the hoſpitalers. 874.26.a
Terme Michaelmaſſe adiourned to yͤ ſixth of Nouember. 1870.37
Tirrell walter eſcapeth away by flight. 334.48
Terme Michaelmas none kept. 1833. 50. Hillarie terme kept at Hertfort caſtell. 1834.26
Tempeſt horrible. 1773.43
Tempeſt. 1835.50. & 1835. 54. and. 1868.42. &. 1870. 58. and. 1871.47.
Terme Michaelmaſſe not kept. 1839.12
Terme begon at Oxford, & adiorned to Weſt. 1504.20
Tempeſt of weather. 794.1 b. 797.56.a. 848.28.a
Tēpeſt of winds. 891.16.b

Tearme adiourned to ſaint Albons. 1591.18
Terwin raſed. 1485.28
Terme adiourued. 1536.17
Tenerchbray Caſtel beſieged. 345.33
Tempeſt Nicholas put to death. 1570.12
Tempeſt of winde and rain doing exceding much hurt. 743.6
Tenth payed. 825.23.b. 810.8.b
Tenour of the profeſſion which the Archbiſhop of yorke maketh too the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 350.72
Tempeſt of horrible thunder and lightning in winter. 365.18
Teſta williã prohibited to gather money. 844.41.a
Teukeſburie 1337.52. field 1338.30.
Teeth fewer than afore time. 945.13.b
Terme kept at yorke ſixe yeares. 840.12.a
Tirrel James Knight, Capitaine of Guiſnes, ſent into Flanders. 1435 47.
Title pretended to ỷ crowne of Englande, by Lewes the French kings ſonne. 599.30.
Tides two at London in one houre. 1870.40
Tirell James knight attainted & beheded 1457.40
Tindall william burned, 1764.26. his byrth and workes. ibid.
Tinmouth. 325.12
Tinmouth Caſtell taken by King william Rufus 326.5
Tillage cõmanded. 1560.1
Tileburg vpon Thames, 174.46.
Tickhill Caſtell fortified agaynſt king Henrie the firſt. 339.62
Title too the Crowne of Fraunce. 905.50.b
Titus Emperor of Rome dieth. 73.44
Tithings and hundreds, firſt deuiſed in England, and why. 217
Tileres Gilbert owner of Danuile Caſtel. 428.88
Tincas king of Babilon. 15.39
Triphon ſlain by Hercules in Egypt. 5.106
Tio Vulſingaceſter. 162.77
Timagines firſt bringeth the Greke letters frõ the Druides to Athens. 3.80
Tiler wat ſlain. 1029.1.a
Timminghã burnt. 227.73
Titus Liuius cited. 27.70
Prior of Tiptre thronged to death. 1090.30.a
Tiltey Abbey founded. 394.25
Tithes too bee payed too Churches in Irelande, 420.108
Tirrell walter a Frenche knight, ſleaeth K. williã with an arrow. 334.39
Tine riuer. 140.8
Tine riuer. 76.50
Tine riuer. 302.61
Tinemouth. 202.45
Theobald Earle of Charters, maketh warres vpõ Haruie de Yuon. 411.60
Theobald Earle of Bloys maketh attonement betwene the kings of England & France. 412.107
Thunder and lightning, continuing. xv. dayes. 641.113.
Theadford towne. 230.9
Three things to bee foreſeene, by them that ſhall giue battaile. 375.70
Thames frozen, ſo that mẽ paſſe ouer on foote, and horſebacke. 383.105
Three knightes templers, receyued and enterteyned by King Henrie the ſeconde. 401.23
Theobalde Archbiſhop of Canterburie, for feare of King Stephen and his ſon fleeth the realme. 386.3
Thorney Abbey eſtablyſhed. 234.9
Thomas depriued of hys Archbiſhopprike, and why 305.29.
Theodore ordeyned Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 178 35.
Thamar, an Engliſhman, ordeined Biſhop of Rocheſter. 170.36
Three knightes templers baniſhed France, for deliuering vp certaine caſtels to king Henrye the ſecond. 401.22
Theft puniſhed. 23.65
Theophilus cited. 2.10. and 4.70.
Thanes, that is to ſay, gentlemen of honor. 272.76
Theomantius yongeſt ſon to Lud, created king of Britaine. 45.90
Theodora, daughter in law to Herculeus Maximianus, maryed to Conſtantius. 89.30
Theobald Erle of Champaigne maketh war vpon the Frenchmen. 354.108
Theodoſius the Emperour ſleaeth Maximianus in Italie. 96.14
Theodoſius ſent into Britayne wyth an armye. 103.110.
Theodoſius putteth the enimies to flight, and reſtoreth the land of Brytain to quietneſſe. 104.37
Theodoſius returneth out of Brytaine to the Emperours Court. 105.79
Theodoſius made maiſter of the horſe. 105.82
Theodoſius called to be aſſociate with Gracianus in the Empire. 105.83
Thomas Chaplayne too King Henrie the firſt, made Archbiſhoppe of yorke. 348.12
Thomas refuſeth to come too Canterburie too bee conſecrated. 348.65
Thomas ſuſpended from exerciſing all paſtorall function. 348.52
Thom. ſon to Samſon Bi. of worceter. 350.21
Thruſtain ſucceedeth Th. in the Archbiſhopprike of yorke. 352.9
Thruſtain contendeth with Raufe Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, aboute the right and title of the Primacie. 352.12
Thom. conſecrated Archb. of yorke. 350.65
Thomas receyueth the pal at yorke. 350.101
Thunnir a cruell murtherer in Kent. 180.102
Thomas Archb. of yorke, departeth out of this trãſitorie life. 341.115
Three Monks come to reſtore religion in Northũberland. 307.95
Thomas Archbiſhoppe of yorke. 336.55
Thomas Chanon of Bayeux, made Archbiſhop of yorke. 305.11
Theodoretus cited. 53.21. and 90.48.
Theis riuer. 128.65
Thurſtane Abbot of Glaſtenburie. 313.1
Thruſtane depriued, for his great diſorder. 313.25
Thurſtane reſtored againe by king Rufus, for money. 313.33
Thanks giuen publikely at Rome for the reconciliatiõ of the Engliſh Churche vntoo the Churche of Rome. 1762.1
Theobald Archb. of Canterburie, departeth ouer ſea without licence of the king. 382.15
Theobald Archb. conſtrayned by the king to depart the realme. 382
Thirlbie Biſhop of Elie, ſent Ambaſſador vntoo Rome. 1763.40
Three horſes ſlaine vnder duke William of Normãdie, in the battaile at Haſting. 287.28
Thomas ſucceedeth Felix in the Biſhopprike of the Eaſtangles. 172.45
Thomas B. of the Eaſtangles dieth. 172.47
Thruſtane created Archebiſhoppe by the Popes owne handes. 355.98
Thruſtane reſtored vntoo his Archbiſhopprike vpon condition. 358.44
Tholous countrey ſpoyled by king Henrie the ſecond. 309.33
Theeues vtterly aboliſhed 162.85.
Theodore Archb. of Canterburie dieth. 187.26
Theobalde Archbiſhop of Canterburie, departeth this life. 401.27
Three circles ſeene aboute the Sunne. 402.14
Theis riuer. 518.31
Thom. ſon to K. Edwarde the third borne. 949.22.a
Theodorus Erle of Flanders going to Ieruſalem cõmitteth his ſon & lands to the cuſtodie of Henrie the ſecond, king of Englande. 397.15
Thom. a Bourgh knight, 1321.56. 1329.16.
Thomas Dimocke knight tooke Sanctuarie. 1322.7. beheaded. col. 2.6.
Thomas de Laund knight taken. 1322.38
Thomas Lorde Stanley. 1222.54.
Thomas Coniers recorder of yorke. 1328.48
Thames ouerfloweth by meanes of great raine, & doth much harme within the citie of Lõdõ. 780.46
Tholous erledom engaged and forfeited to Reimond erle of S. Giles. 398.77
Tholous Earledome giuen in dowery with Conſtance, to Euſtace ſonne to king Stephen. 398.96
Thetforde taken by the Danes

7

Danes. 211.20
Thamworth towne. 222.37
Theodbaldus brother too Egelfred ſlaine. 153.44
Thurſt William Abbot of Fountaines put to death. 1576.13.
Thorſbye John made Archb. of Yorke. 944.1.a
Tilwall towne builded. 222.75.
Three hundred Markes yearely too bee ſent too Rome. 207.55
Thomas Mountgomerie knight pa. 1329. co. 1. li. 17
Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire pag. 1331 co. 2. lin. 38. ſlain. pa. 1339 col. 2. lin. 54.
Theiſedale waſted by the Scottes. 306.115
Thomas Triuet knight ſlaine with a fall. 1074. 44.a.
Thames ſo lowe that men might wade through London bridge. 353.24
Thunder bolt lighteth betwene the kings of England and France as they be talking. 471.11
Throckmortō executed for treaſon. 1766.5
Thankes giuen publikely to God for the battail of Stoke. 1431.45. and for the victorie of the King of Spaine gotten of the Saraſins. 1438.30
Thanes throughly rid out of the Realme of Englande. 316.31
Thomas Neuill Knight Lord Furniual pa. 1119 col. 2. lin. 56.
Thom. Erpingham knight Lord great chamberlain. pa. 1119. col. 2. lin. 34.
Thomas Dimocke champion at Coronation pag. 1120. col. 1. lin. 44.
Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter, pag. 1125. col. 2. li. 34. ſent into Gaſcoin pag. 1130. col. 2. lin. 52.
Thomas Gray knight. pa. 1125. col. 2. lin. 43.
Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolk died at Venice. pa. 1125. co. 2. lin. 53
Thomas Holland Erle of Kent beheaded at Circeter. pag. 1128. col. 2. li. 33
Thomas Rainſton knight taken by French. pa. 1152 col. 1. lin. 43. drowned. pag. ibid. col. 2. lin. 55.
Thomas Beauchamp erle of Warwike. pag. 1119. col. 2. lin. 43.
Thomas erle of Arundell. pag. 1120. col. 1. lin. 23.
Tho. Treſham knight beheaded. pa. 1340. co. 2. li. 21
Thom. Neuill baſtarde ſon to Th. lord Fauconbridge bringeth an armye before Lōdō pa. 1341. col. 1. li. 47
Thomas Rotheram archbiſhop of York. pag. 1345 col. 1. lin. 54.
Thomas Vaughan knight beheaded at Pomfret. pa. 1362. col. 1. lin. 36.
Tho. lord Stanley wounded. pa. 1373. col. 1. lin. 4
Thom. Cooke Alderman pag. 1381. col. 1. lin. 21.
Thomas Fitzwilliam recorder of London. pag. 1383. col. 1. lin. 14.
Thomas Lorde Marques Dorſet the Queenes ſon pag. 1358 col 2. lin. 4
Thom. lord Haward created duke of Norffolke. pa. 1386. col. 1. lin. 54.
Tho. Haward knight created Erle of Surrey. pag. 1386. co. 2. lin. 35. pa. 1415 co 2. li. 27. p. 147. co. 1. li. 28
Thomas Lorde Stanley. pag. 1411. col. 2. lin. 3. pa. 1416. col. 1. lin. 42.
Thom. Seintleger knight, maried the Dutcheſſe of Exceter, executed. pag. 1405. col. 1. lin. 5.
Thomas Rain executed at Exceter. pag. 1405. col. 2 lin. 7.
Tho. Rotheram Archb. of Yorke. pag. 1387. co. 1. li. 7 pag. 1410. col. 2. lin. 48
Thomas Marques Dorſet. 1401 col 2. li. 43. pag. 1402. col. 2. li. 18. pa. 1410 co. 1. li. 36. pag. 14012. co. 2. li 39 p. 1413. co. 1. li 22
Thomas Louell knight pag. 1401. col. 2. lin. 40.
Thomas Southwel prieſt 1268. co. 1. li. 59. co. 2. li. 14
Thomas Kitiel knight. pa. 1276. col 1. lin. 23. beheaded. pa. 135. col. 2. lin. 8.
Tho. Burſtlier Archd. of Cant. pa. 1290 col. 2. lin. 4
Thom. Thorpe lord chiefe baron. pa. 1282. col. 1. li. 27 committed too the tower. 1300. col. 1. li. 26. beheaded pag. 1305.
Th. Neuil knight. pa. 1292 col. 2. lin. 31. wounded and apprehēded. 1295. co. 2. li. 58 ſlain. 1204. col. 1. lin 4
Thomas Dutton. pa. 1295 col. 1. lin. 56.
Thom. Harington knight, pag. 1296. col. 1. li. 1.
Thomas Arundell knight pag. 1402. col. 2. lin. 22.
Thomas Hutton Ambaſſador from king Richard the third into Britain. pa. 1401. col. 1. lin. 8.
Thomas Brandon, pag. 1413. col. 2. lin. 50.
Thom. Bourchier knight, pa. 1415. col. 2. lin. 39. pa. 1416. col. 1. lin. 22.
Thanks publikely giuē to God for the reconciliation of the church of England vnto yͤ Romiſh. 1761.51
Throckmerton Nicholas Knight, arreigned and acquitted. 1737.42. the order of his arraignment ſet forth at large. ibid.
Theodore firſt acknowledged to be primate of all England. 188.18
Throckmertō John executed for a rebell. 1832.8
Th. duke of Clarence ſlain 1012. col. 1. lin. 48.
Thomas lord Scales ſent to conquer Aniou. 1235 col. 1. lin. 21. taken priſoner. 1242. co. 2. li. 39. 1298 col. 2. lin. 44. 55. murdered 1300. col. 1. lin. 29.
Thomas Erle of Saliſburie ſlaine. 1240. col. 1. lin. 5
Thomas Gargraue ſlaine, 1240. col. 1. lin. 7.
Thomas lord Egremonde ſent too Newgate. 1291. col. 1. li. 14. eſcaped. li. 24 bound to the peace. 1292 col. 2. lin. 57. ſlaine, 1299. col. 2. lin. 58.
Thomas Earle of Ormond ſent Ambaſſadour into Fraunce. 1437.30
Theophilactus Biſhop of Tuderto, ſent Legate from Pope Adrian into England. 198.69
Thom. Endoham knight beheaded. 1313. col. 1. li. 27
Thom. Wentworth knight 1314. col. 2. lin. 24. beheaded. 1315. col. 1. lin. 1
Thomas Huſey knight. 1314. col. 2. lin. 26. beheaded. 1315. col. 1. lin. 1.
Thomas Lorde Scales, 1316. col. 2. lin. 29.
Thom. Gray knight, marques Dorſet. 1316. col 2 lin. 29
Thetford ſea remoued too Norwich. 333.78
Thwaites his valor. 1522 30.
Theodore Archb. excellent well learned. 178.85
Theime tol graunted to K. Richard the firſt, 571.52
Thwaites Thom. knight, 1443.38.
Thomas Aparre ſlaine, 1304.5.
Thomas Hoo. Eſquire. 1305.27.b
Thira ſiſter too king Hardicnute. 269.54
Theuet Andrewe cited. 15.2
Thomas William executed 1755.30
Thames frozen. 1834.58
Thomas dieth. 352.5
Thomas reſtored. 305.46
The greater men bee, the more humble they ought to bear thēſelues. 190.62
Things not to be loued for the places ſake, but places for yͤ things ſake. 149.26
Theomantius dyeth, and is buried at London. 45 106
Treaſure in Holt Caſtell, 1108.54.b
Thruſtan made lieutenant of the north parts. 369.22
Thorney, and why ſo called. 73.41
Theeues ordeyned too bee hanged to death. 363.107
Theobalde Abbot of Bechellouin, ſacred Archbiſhop of Canterb. 371.29
Three kindes of people came oute of Germania into Britaine. 103.51
Thomas Robert maiſter Gunner of Englād ſlain, 1835.42. and, 1872.37.
Thankes giuen publikely too God through oute France for the recouerie of Calais. 1778.24
Thanks giuē publikely to god for an ouerthrow giuē to the Turk. 1860.25
Thankes publikely giuen vnto God, and bonfires made for the taking of the French K. 1933.248
Thetford taken and burnt by the Danes. 243.78. and 245.59
Thiſtleworth manor ſpoiled. 766.6
Thorne William cited, and what time hee liued. 299 48.
Thunders. 1046.24.a
Theodoſius the yonger Emperor. 125.51
Thomas Stafforde. 1422 24.
Theodorus Erle of Flanders. 595.33
Theis riuer. 302.68
Theis riuer. 241.32
Thames frozen. 1569.49
Thames frozen yͤ mē paſſe

ouer on horſebacke. 761. 12. and. 780.37.
Toſtie returneth into England with a fleet, againſt his brother King Harold. 284.12
Toſtie chaſed into Scotlād with ſome loſſe of his mē and ſhips. 284.27
Toſty fleeing out of Scotland into Norway, perſwadeth k. Harold Harfager to make a conqueſt of England. 284.35
Toſtie ioyneth his power with the Norwegians, againſt the Engliſhmen. 285.53.
Toſtie ſlaine in battaile. 284.90.
Townes in Fraunce taken by the Engliſh armie. 930.7.a
Tottenhall battaile, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Danes. 211.63
Townes buylded and repayred by K. Edwarde. 222.68.
Townes in Scotland fortifyed by King Edward the thirde. 900.15.a
Townes in Fraunce burned. 904.45.b
Topclife Caſtell fortified. 433.35.
Tower of Lōdon beſieged by the Nobles of the realme. 408.56
Toſtie cruelly murthereth his brother Earle Haroldes ſeruants. 278.84
Toſtie ſayleth ouer intoo Flanders with his wyfe and children. 279.28
Toures a citie in Fraunce, whence ſo named 14.77
Tongues vſed more liberally at bankets than needeth. 234.53
Tower of Lōdō furniſhed with a gariſon. 110.54
Toures a citie in Fraunce builded by Brute. 14.42
Tong a place in Kent. 126. 26.
Tower of London beſieged. 377.41
Tower of London yeelded to Lewes. 601.59
Torkſey chanel caſt. 359.11
Towns drowned by riſing of the Thames. 333.105
Towers and houſes of ſtrength, builded in Wales by K. William Rufus. 328.62
Tower of London compaſſed about wyth newe walles. 529.8
Toſty baniſhed the lande, 272.11.
Togodumnus, ſon to Cynobellinus vanquiſhed. 49.6.
Tonque Caſtell beſieged by Henry ẏ fifth. pa. 1187 col. 1. li. 57. yelded. co. 2. li. 3
Tower of Lōdon deliuered to K. Stephen. 38.401
Textor Rauiſius cyted. 2. 105. and 5.27.
Tourney won by Charles the Emperor. 1518.10
Townes buylded and repayred by Ethelfleda, ſiſter to K. Edward. 222.1
Townes won by ẏ French K. in Normandy. 558.42
Tonſtall doctor maiſter of the Rolles. 1506.10
Tourney promiſed to bee deliuered vnto ẏ French King, and vpon what conditions. 1505.22. deliuered. 1506.10
Tonſtal Cuthbert Biſhop of Dureſme, one of the executors of the will of king Henrie the eight, and of the Counſaylers aſſigned vnto his ſonne. 1611.40.
Townes in Fraunce rendred to the Frenche. pag. 1244. col. 1. lin. 50.
Tunſtall Cuthbert made B. of London. 1518.46
Tonſtall Richarde knight. 1435.30.
Tonneys Iohn. 1461.47
Tunſtall Cuthbert made B. of Dureſme. 1553.41
Toſtie made Erle of Northumberland. 276.74
Townes wonne by Henry Erle of Darby in Gaſcoigne. 938.23.b
Tower of London yeelded to Edwarde the. iiij. pag. 1332. col. 2. lin. 18.
Torkſey in Linſey. 211.14
Tower of London deliuered to Edwarde earle of March. p. 1300. co. 1. li. 11
Townes in Guien reſtored to k. Edw. ẏ iij. 912.55.a
Townes in Normandie yeelded to Henry the fift. pag. 1192. col 1. lin. 8.
Tourney beſieged by king Edwarde the thirde. 910. 27.b. ſiege raſed. 912.9.b
Towns in Gaſcoin won by ẏ erle of Darby. 927.24.b
Townes in Gaſcoin won 809.47.b
Tours. 559.46
Townes won in Gaſcoin. 925.16.b.
Towns in Thiraſſe burnt. 907.53.b.
Towton field. 1311. c. 2. l. 9
Tower of London buylded. 28.8
Tormace, loke Theomantius.
Toucetter towne repayred. 222.81.
Bi. of Tourney, 901.12.b
Trahern one of Helen the Empreſſe vncles, ſent wͭ an army into Brytain againſt Octauius. 92.103
Trahern and his army put to flight and chaſed. 93.3
Traherne ſlaine by treaſon 93.16.
Treacherie of Philip king of Fraunce, towarde Richarde the firſte king of Englande, vpon the way towardes the holy lande. 490.74.
Treaſon practiſed by Alfred, agaynſt king Adelſtane. 224.14
Truce taken betwene king Iohn and the Frenche King for fiftie dayes. 546.27
Trebellius appointed lieutenaunt of Brytayne. 73.71.
Trebellius receyueth the chriſtian religion. 74.64
Treaſon of Edricke de Streona, in fleeing too the Danes. 252.18, and 254.51. and 255.81.
Trumnine ordeyned Paſtour of the Pictes. 182.27.
Troians flocke vnto Brutus in Grece. 10.53
Trimare, a Celtike word. 4.104.
Trebonius gyueth the Brytains an ouerthrow 41.102.
Troinouantes where they inhabited. 42.53
Tracie William Knight. 415.61.
Tracy William Knight, throwne downe too the grounde by Archbiſhop Thomas Becket 416.85
Treaſon of king Harolde, agaynſt Queene Emma and hir children. 164.97
Treaſon of the Welſhmen, againſt their owne prince Gryffin. 277.70
Trebellius Maximus, made lieutenant of Britaine. 66.19
Trebellius Maximus hūbleth himſelf to his ſouldiours. 66.38
Treaſon of the Saxons agaynſt the Brytaynes. 118.22.
Troians beſieged in theyr campe by the Gaules. 14.52.
Treaſon of Offa to intrap Egbert King of Eaſt Angles. 194.100. and. 196 106.
Trinouants ſend Ambaſſadours of ſubmiſſion to Ceſar. 52.57
Trent riuer runneth backwarde. 351.36
Trumhere thirde Biſhop of Mercia. 176.22
Traitors preferred for the puniſhment of the realm and people. 244.73
Tribute payed to K. Henrie the ſeconde for Tholouſe. 424.48
Treaſon in Edricke de Streona iuſtly puniſhed. 260. 4.
Tribute payed by the Engliſhmen too the Danes inhaunced. 242.24
Treſke Caſtel deliuered to king Henrie the ſeconde. 436.30.
Treaſon of Gothlois, a Brittiſh captaine. 127.86
Troinouāt or Troinewith builded. 18.13
Treacherous practiſes of Baſſianus, againſt the emperor Seuerus his father. 80.32. and. 80.62.
Truce taken betwixt king Henrie the thirde, and king Lewes. 610.18
Trenchiule William Lord a man of greate power. 399.12.
Truce taken betwixt king Iohn and the Frenche king. 586.28
Truce concluded betwene K. Edward, and the Danes of Eaſtangle & Northumberland. 220.50
Truce in Britain for three yeares. 919.52.a
Trinitie Church in Irelande made the Metropolitane. 386.38
Treaſure and furniture which K. Richard ẏ firſt demaundeth of Tancrede K. of Sicile. 487.6
Tremarle Thomas knight 1450.16.
Treaty of peace. pag. 1199. col. 2. lin. 29.
Trēchard Thomas knight 1450.41.
Truce betwene Englande and France. 1046.10.a
Trutulenſis hauen. 73.41
Truce with Fraunce for thirtie yeares. 1088.7.b
Trubleuile Henrie a worthie captaine. 653.68

Truce with France. 1074. 7.a
Truce with the Scottes. page. 1317. col. 1. line. 54
Truce for two yeres. 962. 30.a
Truce with Fraunce for foure yeares. 1084. 20.a
Truce betweene Englād & France, and their adherents. 912.34
Robert Triſilian attainted. 1071. 25. a. hanged. 1071.1.b
Truce betwene England and Fraunce. 995. 10. b. 996, 12. a. 997. 3. a. 997. 37.b
Treaſon practiſed againſt Henrye Fitz Empreſſe. 392.76
Truce with Frenchmen. 1047.20.b
Truce for ſixe yeres with Fraunce. page. 1749. col. 1. line. 19
Trow town burned. 468. line. 12
Truce for nine yeres with Scots. 981.3.b
Treſham Thomas knight inſtituted Lord of Saint Johns of Jeruſalem in England. 1769.48
Truce with the Scottes. 1036.50.b
Truce for a time in Britaine. 917.17.a
Truce betwene England and Fraunce. 948.25.b
Treaſon of Earle Edricus. 243.51. and. 244.57. and. 245.9
Treaſon in truſt. 170.59. and. 194.100
Truce with the Scottes. 858.38.a. 899.1.a
Treatie of peace at Arras page. 1254. col. 2. line. 15
Treaſon of Mortimer. 891.2.a
Truce with the Scottes. page. 1406. col. 2, line. 37
Tratie Baſton. 840.26.b
Tumulte rayſed by Londoners. 914.16.a
Tutburie Caſtell deliuered to King Henrye the ſecond. 436.32
Turnamentes forbidden. 858.3.b
Turold Erle ſent againſt the Danes. 240.14
Turneham Stephan cōmitted to priſon. 474.21
Tutburie Caſtell ouerthrowen and defaced. 767.22
Tunbridge Caſtel wrōgfully holden from the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie. 637.4
Turberuils treaſon. 813. 40.b. executed. 814. 30.b
Turneham Roberte. 542. line 22
Tuda dyeth. 177.48
Tunbridge Caſtell to belong to the ſeigniorie of the Sea of Caunterburie. 401.105
Turneys to bee exerciſed in diuers places. 523.5
Tunbridge Caſtel taken. 596.30
Tully cited. 2. 109. and. 3. line. 75
Tuball obteineth ẏ kingdome of Spaine. 1.98
Tuda ordeyned Biſhoppe of Northumberland. 177. line. 38
Tumbert ordeyned Byſhop of Haguſtald. 182.25
Turkell compoundeth to tarrie in Englande, and is reteyned by King Egelredus. 251.6
Turkel ſayleth into Denmarke, to perſwade Cnute to returne into England. 251.20
Turkel maketh an inrode into Englande, and returneth with great booties. 251.68
Turguſius, brother to Gurmundus King of the Africanes. 144.2
Turketell Mirencheued his treaſon, in fleeing to the Danes. 245.45
Turkell maketh himſelfe chiefe Lorde and gouernour of Norffolke and Suffolke. 246.55
Turkell diſcloſeth the vnableneſſe and ſecrets of this Realme to King Swanus. 247.35
Turkell ioyneth in league with King Egelred, againſt the other Danes. 247.45 and. 247.86
Turkell gouernoure of the Daniſh fleete vnder King Swanus. 248.43
Turinus, Nephewe to Brute ſlayne. 14.75
Turneham Robert taken priſoner by the Frenche King. 562.15
Turkell baniſhed the lād. 263.52. and. 269.14
The Turke hathe a notable ouerthrow by ſea. page. 1860
Turkell, a Daniſh Captaine. 244.113
Turſtan a collector ſlaine. 267.24
Turketellus a leader of the Daniſh army againſt King William. 302.23
Turketillus a Daniſhe Earle, ſubdued by Kyng Edwarde. 221.47
Tunbridge Caſtell yelded to Kyng William Rufus. 319.51
Tuke Brian cited. 4.74
Turneham Robert Lieutenante to King John. 560.11
Turkell made gouernour of Eaſt angle. 259.11
Tourney yeelded vnto King Henrye. 1487. 2. ſworne true vnto the K. 1487.22
Twing Robert a knight withſtandeth ſtraungers incumbents. 639.93
Two terrible blaſing Starres appeare. 191.52
Two men burnt to death with lightning at Andeuer. 421.26
Twichet James Lorde Audely Chiefetaine of the Cornishe Rebelles 1447. 10. beheaded. eadem. 43
Tweede Riuer at thys daye deuideth the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland. 428.7
Twing Roberte goeth to Rome for abſolution. 639.112
Twing Roberte reſtored to his patronage of Luthum in Yorkeſhire. 655. line. 57
Twine John, a learned Antiquarie. 1219. 72. hys diligence and wary circumſpection in keeping the Citie of Caunterburie from ioining with Wyat. 1724.62

V.

Variance and debate betwixt the Studēts in Oxforde. 755.63
Valeria, now called Stiermarke. 105.7
Valentinus moueth a rebellion in Britaine. 105. line. 17
Valentia, the prouince in Britaine ſo called. 105. line. 55
Variance beetweene the Scholers of Oxforde, and the towneſmen. 766. line. 64
Valence William, Earle of Pembroke, halfe brother to King Henry the third. 772.23
Valentinianus elected Emperoure, admitteth Valens his brother felowe wyth hym in the Empire. 103.62
Valentinian Emperour k 121.54
Valentinian the Emperor ſlayne. 121.62
Valence William Earle of Pembroke. 749. 60. greate variaunce betwixte hym and other Earles. 749.67. he calleth the Earle of Leyceſter traytor. 749.71
Variance betwixt the Biſhoppe of Durham, and Earle Patricke, for the newe building of Berwike bridge. 547.56
Valiant courage of a Romaine enſigne bearer. 36.46
Valuation of euery mans ſubſtance made. 312.82
Vannes won by the Engliſhmen. 919.2.b
Philip de Valois ẏ French dyeth. 945.11.b
Variance beetweene the Duke of Lane, and Erle of Arundell. 1084.3.b
Variance betwixt Henrye the thirde, and his Barons. 640.33
Vandales chaſed & ſlayne by the Engliſhmen. 260. line. 84
Valdoys derogate from the grace of the ſacraments. 400.33
Valdoys condemned, and ſterued to death. 400.37
Variance beetweene the Goldſmithes and taylers within the Citie of London. 780.21
Valentinianus, brother to Gratianus the Emperour. 96.15
Valentinianus chaſed into Slauonie, and put in daunger by Maximus. 97.66
Valdoys, certaine Dutchmen, come ouer into Englande with ſtrange opinions. 400.3
Vauconuillers Caſtel beſieged, and taken by the Engliſhe. page. 1021. col. 1. line. 58
Vale Rial Abbey builded. 793.17.b
Valdoys their opinions, whiche they defended. 400.23
Vandoſme towne taken by the Engliſhmen. 432. line. 46
Vane Rauſe knyght committed to ẏ tower. 1709. 31. as hanged. 1712.5
Vdall William Knyghte, counſellor to Prince Arthur. 1456.53
Vecturiones, a kynde of Picts.

Picts. 104.16
Verolanium a towne, and where ſituate. 64.22
Veuxin in Normādy waſted 385.32
Vernueill beſieged by the French King, taken, and burnt. 428.15
Vernueill beſieged by the French King, but not taken, as ſome write. 429. line. 18
Verianianus and Dindimus, two brethren ſlain by Conſtans. 98.51
Vernon Warren, Baron of Shipbroke. 323.47
Veer Alberike Earle. 372. line. 69
Veer Alberike ſlayne in a tumult at London. 377. line. 103
Vernon towne and Caſtel taken by the frenchmen. 385.51
Vernon and Newmerche reſtored to the Duke of Normandie. 393.47
Veſie William, an engliſh Captaine. 434.26
Vecta, ſonne to Woden. 113.17
Veſpaſian ſente into Britaine with an army. 52.12
Veſpaſian repulſed from Sandwiche, landeth at Totnes. 52.27
Veſpaſian, partner wyth Claudius in ẏ gouernement of Britaine. 52 59
Venutius ruler of the Brigants, marrieth Queene Cartimandua. 58.70
Vellocatus married Qu. Cartimandua. 58.82
Venutius becommeth enimie to the Romaines. 58.86
Venutius kepeth his kingdome in deſpite of the Romaines. 58.106
Verannius Lieutenant of Britaine. 59.57
Verannius detected of manifeſt ambition. 59.62
Vere John, Earle of Oxforde ſente againſte the counterfete Earle of Warwik. 1430.1. at black heath field. 1447.1. Lord Stewarde of Englande on the arraignemente of Edward Earle of Warwike. 1454.32
Vernon and Maunt takē by the engliſh. page. 1198 col.2. line. 10
Verrine Captayn of Bologne. 1596.50
Vectius Volanus, Lieutenant of Britain. 66.46
Veſpaſian Emperoure of Rome. 66,63
Veſpaſian Emperour dyeth. 73.44
Robert Veer Erle of Oxford, created Marqueſſe of Deuelin. 1050.4.b
Vernuel in Perche taken by the Duke of Lancaſter. 955 37.b
Vepount Robert. 595.71
Robert Veer created D. of Ireland. 1054 29.a
Verdict, and what it ſignifyeth. 304.6
Vertuous zeale of Alured, to bring his people to an honeſt trade of life. 218.8
Vernon Henrye Knighte. 1450.15
Vere Henry Conſtable of Giſors. 464.25
Vlfines dominion, or Vlfines. 126.92
William Vfford Earle of Suffolk dyeth. 1038.47.a
Roberte Vfforde created Earle of Suffolke. 906. 13.b
John Vfforde made Archbiſhop of Caunterburie. 943.53. b. dyed. ibidem.
Vffa beginner of ẏ kingdome of Eaſt angles. 126.84
Vimer kyng of Northwales, ſubdued by king Adelſtane. 225.22
Vimer reſtored to hys kingdome, acknowledgeth to holde it of kyng Adelſtane, and his ſucceſſors. 225.25
Vigenius and Peredurus conſpire againſt Elidurus. 31.83
Vigenius and Peredurus raigne ioyntly as Kings in Britaine. 31.100
Viſion appeareth vnto K. Alured, and his mother. 214.14
Viniano Cardinal, Popes Legate in Ireland. 448. line. 24
Vicount of Melune a French man, lying ſicke at London whereof hee died, diſcouereth to certaine Engliſhe Barons the purpoſe of Lewes againſt them. 603.39
Villages drowned and deſtroyed in Englande by riſing of the Sea. 251. line. 40
Vikillus, or Wilſketell gouernoure of Northfolke. 243.75
Vikillus leadeth an army againſt the Danes, and is vanquiſhed. 245 35
Vigferd, Biſhop of Shirbourne ſlayne. 204.66
Villanous and ſhamefull abuſes of the Romains towards Queene Voadicia, & others in Britaine. 64 77
Viſion ſeene by Richarde Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, whereof he dyed. 460.12
Viſion of King Edward, touching the ſtate of this Realme after his death. 279.100
Vices of ſundry nations, learned by the Engliſhmen. 232.1
Vipet a Saxon Captaine ſlayne. 126.30
Sir John de Viēne Captaine of Calais. 938.28.a
Vites or Iutes come ouer out of Germanie into Britaine. 112.82
Vidues Robert. 1463.1
Viſion of Brightwold, cōcerning the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of England 267.91
Vitailes great plenty ſēt into Fraunce to Henry the third. 704.55
The Vicar of Chiſleworth executed. 1563.39
Vies builded. 23.51
Vies Caſtell builded. 371. line. 70
Vliſſes came into Britain 9.2
Vlfridus, ſonne to Penda ſucceedeth his father in the Kingdome of Mercia. 167.35
Vlfus and Aulafus, princes of Swedeners, ouerthrowen by King Cnute. 261.16
Vlfe, Biſhop of Lincolne, departeth the Realme. 274.35
Vlpius Marcellus ſente Lieutenante into Britaine. 76.92
Vlpius Marcellus his diligence, moderation in ſleepe, and temperance in dyet. 76.92
Vmfreuille Odonet, an Engliſhe Captaine. 434. line. 27
Vnlearned men preferred 1117.20.a
Vniuerſitie of Oxforde founded. 217.61
Vniuerſitie of Cambridge more auntiente than of Oxford. 217.61
Vnthankefull attemptes requited with ſorrowe. 429.40
Vnlawful marriages forbidden, and commaunded to be broken. 149.34
Vnnaturalneſſe of Leirs two eldeſt daughters towards him. 20.12
Vniuerſitie Colledge in Oxford founded. 312.58
Vnwone Biſhop of Ligor. 199.15
Vniuerſall murreyne of Cattaile through out al England. 361.76
Vnguſt King of Pictes, and Egberte King of Northumberlande, receyue the Britains ſubiection. 194.63
Vniuerſitie of Cambrige founded. 171.106
Vortiporus, ſonne to Aurelius Conanus, created King of Britaine. 139.57 and. 140.65
Vortiporus vanquiſheth the Saxons in battayle. 141.3
Vortiporus dieth without iſſue. 141.15
Voluſenus ſent ouer into Britaine to view it. 35.6
Vortigernus committeth inceſt wyth hys owne daughter. 122.39
Vortigernus depoſed, and his heardman made K. 122. 52
Vortigernus and his Caſtell brent with fire from Heauen. 122.65
Voluſenus returneth out of Britaine with anſwere. 35.63
Voadicia wife to Praſutagus, abuſed and beaten by the Romain ſouldyers. 60.80
Voadicia made generall of the Britiſhe armye againſte the Romaines. 61.47
Voadicias exhortation to hir Souldyers. 61.68
Voadicias perſonage and attire. 61.54
Voadicias prayer. 63.33
Vortigernus a deepe diſſembler. 110.22
Vortigernus choſen king of Britaine. 110.34
Vortigernus Earle or Duke of the Geniſſes. 110.48
Vortigernus, an amorous Knight of faire Ladyes. 112.77
Vortigernus forſaketh his wife, and marrieth Rowen. 113.91
Vortigernus depriued of his Kingdome. 114.46
Vortimer, ſonne to Vortigernus, Crowned K. of Britaine. 114.47
Vortimer giueth the Saxons ſundry ouerthrows 115.73

Vortimer poyſoned. 116. line. 32
Vortimer reſtoreth ẏ chriſtian Religion, decayed by the Saxons. 117.41
Vortigrraus reſtored to the Kingdome of Britaine. 117.47
Vortigernus taken priſoner by Hengiſt. 118.38
Vortigernus ſet at libertie. 118.48
Vortigernus brent togyther wyth hys Caſtell with wild fire. 122.32
Voadicia dyeth. 65.35
Vortigerus, looke Vortigernus.
Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie among the Britaines. 109.52
Vortigernus, why he procured Conſtantius the Monke to bee made K. 109.60
Vortigernus ruleth ẏ lād of Britaine vnder Conſtantius at his pleaſure. 109.80
Vortigernus ſubtile dealing to get the peoples fauour. 109.101
Voice of the people, the voice of God. 331.72
Vproare in London againſt the Venicians. 1290. col. 1. line. 19
Vrbane, conſecrated Byſhop of Glamorgan. 347. line. 14
Vrſula, daughter to Dionethus Duke of Cornewall. 95.97
Vrſula taken and ſlayne as ſhe was ſayling into little Britaine. 95.106
Vrſwike Chriſtopher the Kings Chaplaine, ſente Ambaſſador into Frāce. 1432.2. ſent thither Ambaſſador again. 1438.10. ſente Ambaſſador into Naples. 1440.30. kings Almoner, eadem, ſente Ambaſſador vnto Maximilian the King of the Romaines. 1459.18
Vſurers called Caorſini excommunicated. 647. line. 44
Vſurers come from Rome into England. 651.23
Vſurers the Popes Merchants. 725.50
Vter Pendragon, ſente with a power into Ireland. 123.30
Vter Pendragon ſente with an armye againſte Gillomanius. 123.50
Vter Pendragon and Aurelius Ambroſe, returne into great Britain with an armye. 122.19
Vnſeaſonable weather. 552.83
Vthred Earle. 241. 29. and 252.45.
Vter Pendragon carried ouer into little Britain. 110.19
Vthred ſubmitteth himſelfe, & deliuereth pledges to Cnute. 252.68
Vthred taken, and put to death. 252.71
Vthreds landes giuen to Iricius. 252.71
Vter Pendragon, brother to Aurelius Ambroſe, made King of Britaine. 127.32
Vter Pendragon, why ſo called. 127.36
Vter Pendragon falleth in loue with Igwarne, wife to Gorolus, Duke of Cornewall. 128.32
Vter Pendragon ſlayeth Gorolus D. of Cornewall. 128.35
Vter Pendragon marrieth Igwarne, ſometyme wife to the D. of Cornewall. 128.38
Vter Pendragon dyeth of poyſon. 129.18
Vther, a Daniſhe Earle ſlayne. 221.64
Vulfhere King of Mercia, ſelleth the Biſhoprike of London. 171.77

VV.

VVauerley. 445.7
Warning of ſeauen dayes giuen to Ceadda before hys death. 179.61
Wade Duke rebelleth againſt King Ardulfe, and is chaſed out of the field. 201.61
Walley battaile fought by King Ardulfe, againſte Duke Wade, and his cōfederates. 201.64
Wales harrowed by King Egberte, from Eaſt to weſt. 211.18
Wales reduced into forme of good order. 277.84
Walaſco a Frier, ſent frō the Pope into England. 757.30
Warlamcheſter now called Sainte Albons. 88. line. 16
Warlamcheſter deſtroyed. 55.20
Wall builded the thirde time of turfes, betweene the Britaines & Scots. 100.18
Wall builded the fourthe tyme of ſtone ouerthwart the Ilande, betweene the Britaynes and Scottes. 100.53
Wales ſubdued by Kyng William, and the Princes do him homage. 310. line. 8
Warine Earle of Shrewſburie, appointed gouernour of the marches of Wales. 359.6
Walles of the Citie of Lōdon repaired, and turrets builte at the coſtes of the Citie, by the commaundements of Henry the third. 747.16
Wales furniſheth Englād with horſes and Cattel. 748.57
Wallingford Caſtel beſieged. 375.47
Waltham Caſtel builded. 377.52
Walter Biſhop of Worceſter dyeth. 775.41
Wardens of the cinque portes reconciled to K. Henry the third. 776.18
Wallingford taken by the Danes. 244.34
Waſſaile, what it ſignifyeth. 113.81
Warres left vnto Kenulf, as it were by ſucceſſion. 200.96
Wake Baldwine taken priſoner. 777.29
Waterforde in Irelande made a Biſhoppes Sea. 328.5
Walkeline made Byſhop of Wincheſter. 305.12
Walcher Biſhop of Durham ſlayne in a tumult. 311.15. and 311.72
Walcher Biſhop of Durham, made gouernoure of Northumberlande. 312.44
Walter Biſhoppe of Wincheſter dyeth. 723.25
Warram Caſtell. 368.78
Walton Caſtell. 369.1
Walkeline yeeldeth the Caſtell of Douer. 369. line. 16
Warre betwixt brethren, cannot bee mainteyned without reproch. 344.56
Warlewaſt William hys replye vnto Pope Paſcall. 342.52
Warlewaſt ſente to Rome in Ambaſſage to ẏ Pope. 343.23
Walter Biſhoppe of Alba, bringeth the Pall to Anſelme the Archbiſhoppe. 333.5
Waterforde Citie in Ireland, wonne by the Engliſhmen. 419.18
Walton Caſtell made playne with the ground. 445.19
Walkhein, Biſhop of Wincheſter. 320.94
Walſtod, Biſhop of Hereford. 192.16
Walton. 431.40
Walwine, looke Gawain.
Walthcof ſonne to Siwarde, made Earle of Northumberlande. 307. line. 71
Walthcof ioyneth in conſpiracie againſte K. William, and bewrayeth it. 308.22.
Waltcof beheded at Wincheſter. 308.54
Walthā abbey by whome founded. 288.32
Waltcof marrieth Iudith neece to Kyng William. 308.72
Waltcofes iſſue and honors. 309.1
Walter Huberte Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 523. line. 19
Waltham Colledge altered hys Prieſts to Chanons regular. 447.66
VValdene Earle, looke VValteof.
VValdene Caſtel deliuered to King Stephen. 380.41
VVallingforde newe Caſtell, ouer againſt the old Caſtell builded. 381.29
VVaterforde Citie giuen to Robert de Poer. 459. line. 18
VValthir Biſhop of Durham. 307.112
VValter Biſhop of Hereford ſubmitteth hymſelfe to King VVilliam. 291. line. 57
VValter Archbiſhoppe of Yorke dyeth. 759.48
VVarham Caſtell beſieged and rendred vp. 378. line. 98
VVarrham VVilliam, Doctor of the Lawes, ſente Ambaſſador vnto Philip the Archeduke. 1443.18. his Oration vnto the Archduke, eadem. 30. Biſhoppe of London. 1455.40. is created Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie. 1458.35. is of the counſell to king Henry the eyght, and Lorde Chauncellor. 1464.47. Crowneth Henry the eyght and Queene Katherine. 1465. 46. is Godfather to Henry the firſte begotten ſonne of Henry the eyght. 1468.48

his oration in the Parliament houſe.1472.44 giueth vp his office of Chancellorſhippe, and why. 1497.33. withdraweth himſelfe from the Courte, and why.1499. line. 23

Wallop John Knighte burneth. 21. Townes and Villages in Normandie. 1494.44

Woulſton John, Counſellor to Prince Arthur. 1456.55

Watkins Richard Herauld of armes attainted. 1425.50

Watche kept on Sainte Peters eue.1838.50.and 1839.45. and. 1837. 35. & 1839.58

Walter Herbert knight page.1413.col.1.line.55. col.2.line.5.page.1414. col. 1.line. 26. line. 42. line. 55. page.1415. col. 2.line.15

Walter Hungerforde Knighte.page.1415.col. 2. line. 40. page. 1416. col.1.line. 22

Walter Lorde Ferrers of Chartley ſlayn.page. 1422.col.1.line.15

Welchmen acknowlege to holde their kingdome of the Engliſhmen. 225. line. 27

Weetermore in Scotland. 225.68

Werlewod. 232.105

Webbeley Caſtel. 371.20

Weſt Countreys ſubmitte themſelues to Cnute. 252.20

Weſtminſter Towne, and pariſh Church ſpoiled. 778.115

Welchmenne conſpire with the Scots againſte King Adelſtane. 225.18

Welchmen ſubdued by King Adelſtane. 225.21

Welchmēs preſumptuous fierceneſſe tamed by the Flemings. 347.42

Weſtwod or Leſnes Abbey founded. 447.8

Welche Kings ſubmitte themſelues to King Edgar. 231.80

Welchmen inuade and waſt the Engliſh Marches. 352.33

Welchmen truſt more to the aduautage of places, than to theyr owne ſtrength. 352.40

Welchmen ſlayne and taken by the Engliſhmen in greate numbers. 352.52

Werſtan ordeyned Byſhoppe of Shireburne. 223.57

Weſtminſter Hall founded. 329.9

Weſtminſter Hal ſhould haue bin larger. 329.14

Well floweth with bloud at Finchamſteede. 329. line. 40

Weſſeforde Citie gyuen to Williā Fitz Adelme. 450.17

Welchmen waſt Cheſſhire, and are diſtreſſed. 381.41

Weſtminſter little Hall conſumed with fyre.761. line. 15

Welchmen rebell, and are inuaded. 397.35

Welchmen ſubmit thēſelues to the King, and are pardoned. 397.74

Weſtminſter new church begun to be builded.617. line. 56

Weights and meaſures ordered after one vniforme order, throughout all England. 534.53

Welchmē not to paſſe armed ouer Offacs ditch. 288.63

Welchwomen permitted to ioyne in marriage with Engliſhmen. 288. line. 71

Welchmen rebell, and do diuers diſpleaſures on the Marches. 401.8

Welchmenne ſpoyle the marches, and hardly obteyne pardon of the K. for their rebellion.408.5

welchmen generally ſeuerely puniſhed for their Rebellion. 408.27

Welche rebels ouerthrowen, and vſed very cruelly. 328.92

Welchmen ſo tamed, that they dare not ſhew theyr faces. 329.3

Welchmen ouerthrowen at Brecknocke by the Engliſhmen. 324.36

Welchmenne tamed, and broughte to obedience. 324.49

Welchmenne inuade the Engliſhe marches, and deſtroy the Countreys. 325.90

Wexford Citie in Irelād. 421.31

Welchmenne wrongfully accuſed of Rebellion, detect Earle Godwin of a commotion. 271.39

Welchmen rebell, and ouercome the Engliſhe power. 372.58

Weſton Doctor vnwilling to reſigne the Deanery of Weſtminſter. 1769. 16.is depriued of all his liuings for adulterie, ibidem, appealeth to Rome, & for that cauſe attempting priuily to depart out of yͤ Realme is committed to priſon, and deliuered by Qu. Elizabeth, and dyeth, ibidem.

Welche Kings ſubiect to the Kings of Englande. 222.61

Welche tong, the incorrupted ſpeech of the antient Britaines. 4.98

Welchmen ioyne wyth the Danes againſte the Engliſhmen, and are vāquiſhed and ſlayne. 204. line. 71

Weſtminſter church finiſhed. 794.50.b

Welchmē rebell.796.5.b diſcomfited. 797.1.b

Welchmen fice. 619.28

Werefridus, Biſhop of Worceſter. 218.26

Welchmē are the verye Britaines indeede. 131. line. 68

Wentworth Lorde arraigned and acquitted. 1801.43

Wedneſday why ſo called. 113.9

Wenlock Abbey builded. 277.31

weigiſtus, ſonne to Wecta.113.18

Welchmen guard Jaques Arteueld. 926.27.b

weſtminſter Church builded. 150.69

weſtminſter Monaſtery erected. 150.76

Weſt Saxons conuerted to the Chriſtian faythe. 168.113

Wellehare battayle fought in Northumberlād. 201.73

Welchmen ſtill readye to moue rebellion againſte the Engliſhmen. 203.14

Welchmen being vanquiſhed, will not ſeeme to be ſubdued. 203.16

Weſtmaria, nowe called Weſtmerland. 68.2

Weſtminſter Church royally repayred. 279.34

Welchmen conſtreyned to agree, to pay their auntient tribute. 277.67

Weſton Doctor prolocutor of the Conuocation. 1723.47

Weſtminſter palaice built 1557.50

Welchmen diſcomfyted. page.1320. col. 1. line.11. ſlayne. col.2.line. 27

Werd, the name of yͤ forth in Scotland. 140.9

Weſt ſaxe deuided into fyue dioceſſes. 223.45

Weſt Saxons kingdome deuided into two Byſhopprickes. 191.5

Welchman hanged for treaſon. 821.46.a

Weremouth taken by the Scottes. 307.6

weſtminſter Sanctuarye. page.1365.col.2. line. 52

welchmen rebell 810.14.b empriſoned.812.13.a

Welchmen moue warre, and are ſubdued by the Engliſhmen, and theyr Princes brought to cōfuſion. 270.44

Whitby in olde tyme called Streaneſhall.175.82

Weſtmer, looke Marius.

whitby Abbey builded. 183.30

Whirlepoles fyſhes takē. 1557.47

Simon Biſhoppe of Whiterne conſecrated.852.3.b

Whiting Richard Abbot of Glaſtenburie hanged for the ſupremacie. 1574.35

White Swanne, Queene Margarets cogniſance page.1295.col.1.line. 14

Whitland bay.page. 1297. col.2.line. 45

Whiterne in olde tyme called Candida Caſa. 192.27

Whitby Abbey builded. 308.1

Wharton Thomas knight Lord Warden of the Weſt marches. 1595.40

William Lorde Barkley created Earle of Nottingham page. 1386.col. 2.line.57

William Gateſby knight page. 1390. col. 2. line.5. beheaded pag.1422.col. 1.line.19

William Slaughtar, one of yͤ murtherers of Edward the fourthes children page. 1390. col. 2. line. 47

Williā Barkeley Knight. page.1402.col.2.line. 23

William Brandon knight page.1402. col. 2.line.24 ſlayne page. 1421. col.2. line. 13

William Stanley knight page.1411. col. 2. line.3. page.1415.col.2. line.23. page.1417.colum.2.line. 36.

William Conquerour entreth into London, not without bloudſhed. 291. line. 68
William Conquerour receyued into London withoute reſiſtance. 291. line. 73
Williã Conquerour crowned King of Englande. 291.80
William Conquerour taketh an othe to defende holy Church. 291.91
Fi z Oſberne williã made Earle of Hereford. 297. line. 4
William Conquerour returneth into Normandie, taking with him the chiefeſt of the nobilitie of England. 297.6
William Duke of Normandye, a baſtarde. 282. line. 98
William Duke of Normandye, maketh clayme to the Crowne of England. 282.100
William Duke of Normandy, requireth by hys ambaſſadors to haue the Realme of England deliuered vnto him. 283.28
William Duke of Normandy, requireth Kyng Harrolde to take hys daughter to wife according to promiſe. 283.70
William Duke of Normandye, maketh preparation to inuade England. 285.36
William Duke of Normandies armye, of what people it conſiſted. 285. line. 61
William Duke of Normandy arriueth at Peneneſſey in Suſſex with an army. 285.65
William ſucceedeth Walcher in the Biſhopricke of Durham. 312.57
William Conquerour goeth ouer into Normandy with an huge maſſe of money. 314.50
William Conquerour falleth ſicke in Normandy. 314.52
William Conquerour inuadeth Fraunce wyth a great army. 314.71
William Conquerour departeth thys lyfe. 315. B
William, ſonne to Kyng Henry the firſte created D. of Normandy. 353.5
William a Monke gouerneth the Sea of Sainte Andrews, & ſpoyleth the Church. 357.67
William Duke of Normandye drowned by Shipwracke. 357.105
William Paruus cited. 394.34. and. 453.64
William Malmeſburie, in what time hee liued. 394.43
William Rheuellenſis, in what time he liued. 394. line. 47
Wilherd Archbiſhoppe of Northumberlande expulſed. 219.23
Wilhere Archbiſhop reſtored. 219.26
Witingham. 219.46
William Walmeſburie cited. 219.71
Winbourne towne taken. 219.95
Wighiham Towne buylded. 221.1
William Duke of Normandye, commeth ouer into Englande to viſite his nephewe Kyng Edward. 273.114
William Byſhop of London departeth yͤ Realm. 274.34
Wilfrid made Biſhop of Northumberlande. 177. line. 51
Wighart ſente to Rome to bee created Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury. 177.109
Wighart dieth at Rome of the peſtilence. 178.3
Wilfrid reſtored to the Sea of Yorke. 178.69
Wiremouth Abbey builded. 178.104
Wire riuer. 178.105
William made Byſhop of Rocheſter, in the place of Putta. 182.2
William forſaketh yͤ ſea of Rocheſter, conſtreyned through pouertie. 182.4
Wilfrid Biſhop of Northumberlande baniſhed. 182.10
Wilfrid after his returne from Rome, preacheth the Goſpell to the South Saxons. 182.40
Wiat Thomas Knyght Rebelleth. 1724. 17. the diſcourſe of hys whole life manye leaues following, is diſtreſſed in fyghte. 1731.10. commeth in and ſubmitteth hymſelfe vnto the Queene, eadem. 30. is arraigned. 1735.35. is executed. 1737. line. 10
William Lord Haſtings and Chamberlaine. pa. 1360. col. 2. line. 34. kepte Shores wife. page. 1372 col. 2. li. 51. his ſayings to a Prieſte. page. 1373. col. 2. line. 40. to a Purſiuant. col. 1. line. 21. beheaded. line. 30. his deſcription. page. 1374. co. 1. line. 35
William White Sheriffe of London. 1363.28
Willoughby Roberte L. Brooke, lord Steward of yͤ Kings houſe. 1450. line. 21
Wiat Henry Knighte, one of the kings priuie counſell. 1464.54
Willoughby William Knight, is created Lorde Willoughby. 1614.25
William Malmeſburie cited. 136.36. & 140.37. & 146.23. & 154.76. & 180. line. 81
Wilkareſdowne. 170.53
Wini Byſhop commeth into England. 171.69
Wini expulſed from the Eaſt Saxons, byeth the Byſhopricke of Londõ. 171.78
Windeſor Caſtell. 326.36
William Earle of Ewe, becommeth Kyng William Rufus man. 326.39
William Duke of Normãdies pedegree, from Rollo fyrſte Duke of Normandye. 288.87
William long eſpee, ſonne to Duke Rollo of Normandye, marrieth Sporta, daughter to Hubert Earle of Senlis. 288.112
William Duke of Normandye Conquerour, baſe ſonne to Roberte the ſixth, beginneth hys raigne ouer Englande. 291.3
William Malmeſburie cited. 291.38. & 291.47. & 301.28
White Monkes fyrſte inſtituted. 333.86
White Mõkes brought into England. 333.93
Wightgar and Stuffe arriue at Certiceſſhore, and ouerthrow the Britaines. 130.44
Witgareſbridge in the Ile of Wight. 131.48
Winter cold and ſharpe. 1865
William Conquerour ſweareth to obſerue K. Edwards lawes. 306.61
William Byſhoppe of Durham, exiled the lande. 320.37
William Biſhop of Durham reſtored, dieth. 320.39
William Malmeſburie dyeth. 136.114
William D. of Normandies one foote ſlippeth, the other ſticketh faſt in the ſande, at his comming a land with his army in England. 285.69
William Witteleſey Archbiſhop of Caunterburye dyeth. 995.17.a
Willoughby Robert Lord Brooke, generall of the army into Britain. 1434. line. 10
William ſucceedeth Raufe in the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury. 359.38
Winchcomb Church builded. 200.105
Winchcomb Abbey founded. 201.5
Wilſhire waſted by the Danes. 245.77. & 252.10
Winchester wonne by the Danes. 247.81
William of Malmeſburie cited. 19.25. & 97.6. & 116. line. 52
William of Malmeſburie confuted. 19.28
Windham John Knyght and beheaded. 1457.46
Wicklifes doctrine mainteyned. page. 1155. col. 1. line. 43. his bookes condemned. line. 55
William de la Pole Erle of Suffolke. page. 1269. col. 1. line. 36. col. 2. line. 6.25.40. page. 1271. col. 2. line. 16. Duke of Suffolke. page. 1273. col. 2. line. 57. a exclamation againſt him. page. 1277. col. 2. line 6. ſent to the Tower. pa. 1278. col. 2. line. 47. deliuered. line. 49. baniſhed. page. 1279. col. 1. line. 21. beheaded. line. 28
Wilfride a virgin, taken out of a Nunrie, and defloured by King Edgar. 233.11
Wigmere battell foughte by the Danes againſt the Engliſhmen. 245.35
Wilſon Doctor in the premunire. 1578. 21. pardoned. 1581.48
William King of Scottes conſpireth with Henrye the ſonne, againſte Kyng Henrye the ſecond. 426. 108. he entreth Cumberlãd, and beſiegeth Carleill. 427.67. & 433.107. inuadeth Northumberlãd, and burneth and ſpoyleth the Countrey. 430.28
William Fitz Oſbert with the long-bearde, is

conuicted before the B. of Caunterbury. 529.80 hee appeareth, and is diſmiſſed quietly. 529. 66. he is newly attached and eſcapeth into ſaint Mary Bowe Churche, keepeth it by force, is forced out by fire. 529. 105. he is wounded with a knife. 529. 116. he is araigned in the Tower, cõdemned, drawen, and executed. 530.4

William Tirell eſquier beheaded page. 1313. col. 1. line. 28

William Neuill Lorde Fawconbridge Earle of Kente page. 1313. col 1. line. 40

William Tailbois Erle of Kyme page. 1315. col. 1. line. 6. beheaded. li. 12

William Lord Herberte Erle of Pẽbroke page. 1315. col. 1. line. 54. page. 1319. col. 2. line. 35. beheded pag. 1320. col. 2. li. 35

Wilford James knight valiauntlye defendeth Hadington. 1638. 20. is taken priſoner. 1640.3

William, ſonne to Kyng Stephan, conſidered of in the agreemente betweene his father, and Henrye Fitz Empreſſe. 389.45

Wilfrid Biſhop of Hexham dyeth. 190.105

Wilfrid the ſecond ſucceedeth John in the Archbiſhoprik of Yorke 190.109 .

Wilmote, a noble man of Suſſex baniſhed, lyeth rouing vppon the coaſtes. 244

William Earle of Mortaigne, wilfully baniſheth himſelfe the lande 343.49

Wiſbaſdowne battaile foughte betweene the Saxons one with another. 142.95

William K. of Scottes, marrieth the Lorde Ermengarde, daughter to Richard Vicoũt Beaumount. 463.62

William Conqueroure hath not ſo much ground as to bury him in, without doing iniurie to another. 315.103

William Conqueroures iſſue. 315.111

William Biſhop of London, obteyneth the firſte Charter for the Citie of London. 316.25

William Conqueroures Sepulchre opened, with the length and bignes of his body. 316.61

William Rufus, ſecond ſonne to King William, looke Rufus William.

Wilnotus empriſoned againe by K. William Rufus. 317.37

Williã Biſhop of Durham. 318.60

William King of Scots commeth into Englãd, and doth homage to Hẽry the ſecond. 408.68. he goeth ouer into Normandye with K. Henrye the ſecond. 408.82

William ſucceedeth hys father Patrike in the Earledome of Saliſburie. 411,23

William King of Scots taken priſoner. 435.1. is releaſed out of priſon. 439.20. he commeth to a Parliamente to Northhampton. 443.22

William Earle of Arundell dyeth. 445.6

Wincheſter beſieged by the Romaines. 51,34

William King of Sicile departeth this life. 486. line. 102

Willoughby Roberte knight conueyd the Erle of Warwike frõ Sheriffehuton, to the tower of London. 1425.20

William Conqueroure being ridde of one vexation, is alwayes troubled with an other. 307. line. 20

Willoughby Roberte created Lorde Brooke. 1426.38

Winleſhore battell foughte by the Engliſhmen againſt yͤ Danes. 207.13

Wincheſter Citie deſtroyed by the Danes. 208.55

Winborne Abbey. 211.14

Wilton battaile foughte by the Danes againſte the Engliſhmen. 212,2

Winfrid B. of Mercia 179.94

Wincheſter Churche builded. 180.70

Winfrid depoſed for diſobedience. 181.8

William Cotton ſlayne. page. 1288. col. 1. line. 13

Wibbas or Wipha, ſucceedeth his father Crida in the Kingdome of Mercia. 145.88

William Conqueroure inuadeth Scotland with a mighty army. 307.38

Wimond a Monke, firſte Byſhoppe of the Ile of Man, had his eyes put out. 386.6

William Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, complayned of to the Pope, and depoſed. 382.38

Wiues to be kept according to the lawes of holy Church. 420.110

William ſonne to King Stephan, departeth this life. 399.44

Williã Wicwan made Archbiſhop of York. 789. 36. a. dyeth. 794. 48. a

Windſor Caſtell beſieged by the Barons. 603.19. they raiſe theyr Campe ſecretely in the nyghte. 604.46

William Duke of Normandie promiſeth hys daughter in marriage to Earle Harold. 278.40

William erle of Northfolke breaketh his legge with a fall from hys Horſe. 393.3

William Duke of Normandyes backe peece of his armour put on before by chance. 286.83

William King of Scots commeth to viſit Kyng Henrye the ſeconde of England. 411.99

William King of Scots and Dauid his brother, do homage to Henry, ſon to King Henrye the ſecond. 412.75

William Stãley knight page. 1321. col. 1. line. 55

Wigmore Caſtell beſieged, and wonne by the Barons. 765.37

William Wilford toke Shippes on the coaſtes of Britaine. page. 1140. col. 2. line. 34

William Sautre brente in Smithfield. page. 1132 col. 2. line. 30

Wilton Nunrie fortifyed in ſteed of a Caſtell. 379.69

Wil. Argentine Knight page. 1119. col. 2. line. 46

William Venoure. page 1120. col. 2. line. 17

William Erle of Pembroke perſwadeth the nobilitie againſt Lewes and to take parte wyth Henry the third. 608.60

William wyth the long berd maketh an oration to the people. 529.34

William Conqueroure leadeth a mighty armye into Wales. 310.7

William Conqueroure leadeth an army againſt his eldeſt ſonne Roberte in Normandy. 310.34. he is vnhorſed by his ſonne Roberte, and is by hym eftſoones horſed againe 310. 45. they are made friends. 310.69

William long ſcoured the ſeas. pa. 1156. col. 2. lin. 50

wiſe ſaying of a worthye Prince. page. 1256. col. 1. line. 46

Wales deuided frõ the other partes of Britaine by Seuerne. 75.22

Wall builded or reſtored betwene the Britaines & Scots by Seuerus. 81.3

Walbroke in London, why ſo called. 82.50

Wichwood beſide Stony Stratford. page. 1316. col. 1. line. 46

Whitlandbay. page. 1323. col. 1. line. 30

Wilton Abbey buylded. 226.116

Wilfride Biſhop of Worceſter. 192.20

Wiccies prouince, nowe Worceſter. 192.19

Wincheſter made a Biſhops Sea. 191.8

Withred departeth thys life. 191.81

Wiſe mẽ deſerue as much praiſe for their counſell, as ſtoute warrioures for their valiancie. 84.50

Wilfride reſtored to Northumberland. 186.3

Withred ſon to Egberte made K. of Kent. 187.10

Wil. Conqueroure returneth out of Normandye into England, 297.32. hee leadeth an army againſte yͤ Citie of Exeter. 299.41 he leadeth an army into the Northe againſte the Danes, and Engliſhe exiles. 301.2

Wincigi an army of ſtrangers, departe out of England. 215.37

Winchelſey town ſpoyled by the rage of the Sea. 723.53

Robert winchelſey made Archbiſhop of Canterburie. 806.13. a. his obſtinacie againſt the King. 822. 20. b. accuſed to the Pope 841.28. b. dyeth. 852. 43. a

William Conquerour repenteth hym of his crueltie towardes the Engliſhmen. 315.20

Winchcombe Steeple &
Church

Church throwne downe by thunder and lyghtning. 322.1

whitlaſe king of Mercia, chaſed out of his eſtate. 203.82.

whitlaſe reſtored too hys kingdome. 204.2

windſore caſtell committed to the keeping of ſtraungers. 763.11

william Conquerour proteſteth, that hee came too the rule of Englande by mere conqueſt. 303.26

william Malmeſb. cyted. 329.42. and. 345.70. and 345.80. and. 362.89.

wibreth Archb. of Rauēna ſet vp Pope by Henrie the Emperour againſt Urbane. 330.96

william ſon to king Stephen, conſtrayned to ſurrender to K. Henry the ſecond ſuch landes as he held of the demain of the crowne. 397.17

william of Malmeſb. cited. 118.50. and, 125.9. and 129.26. and. 134.34.

wiptiſh fielde fought betweene the Britains and Saxons. 126,25

winchelſey won by force, by prince Edward. 776.44

winghā Henrie elected B. of wincheſter. 755.87

william ſon to K. Henrie the firſt borne. 341.62

william erle of Mortaigne taken priſoner. 345.26

william ſonne too Robert duke of Normandie, erle of Flaunders. 346.76

william conſecrated B. of wincheſter. 347.10

wil. witleſey made Archb. of Canterburie. 975.34.b

wight ſpoyled by Frenche men. 1007.10.a

wincheſter caſtell razed by the friends of K. Henrie the thirde. 611.68

wicleuiſts rage againſt the Friers Auguſtins. 1059. 30.8.

wiremouth Abbey buylded. 163.8

windſore caſtell repayred. 963.34.b.

winchelſey burnt by french men. 965.40.a

wicleuiſts write agaynſte the Cleargie. 1086.17.a

william wickham Biſhop of wincheſter made chancellour. 1075.38.a

wilton woon and rifled by the Danes. 243.59

wingfields letters conteyning the blacke Princes iourney. 952.1.b

wicleuiſtes increaſe. 1075. 50.a. 1088.44.a.

wiſbeche people periſhe by rage of water. 649.34

whitſand beſides Canterburie. 225.98

wilton Towne ſet on fire. 379.75.

wichport ſpoyled by the Danes. 239.39. &. 241.39

wilton Nūrie buylded, & richly endowed. 234.16

winds. 968.34.b. 1076.5.b

wil. Zouch ſlaine. 1288.11

winchelſey burnt by the French men. 1021.12.b

wicliffes Iohn opinions. 998.30.b. 1023.57.a.

williā Parre kni. 1329.14

wil. L. Haſtings. 1340.20

william de Valence Earle of Pēbroke dieth. 815.35

wigmore towne repayred. 222.82.

william Mandeuile executed for cōſpiracie. 1249.36

willoughbie Henry knight ſent into Flāders. 1435.48

winter ſharpe. 1153.33

wincheſter or Caerguent builded. 19.8

wimundham Priory founded. 705

wimundham. 445.8

winnebert, murtherer of K. Ethelbert. 196.113

wigmore Caſtell ſurrendred to the king. 396.13

william Malmeſb. cyted. 223.61 and. 264.74.

william Neuil Lord Fauconbridge. 1311.25

wil. Marleb cited. 305.69

wilnotus releaſed oute of priſon. 315.17

wilnotus ſon to erle Godwin. 273.94

william Cateſby. 1371.57

wine good cheape. 1058.40

william duke of Normandies pedegrue, and title to the crowne of Englande. 282,91.

wincheſter won by ſurrender, and ſpoyled by the Barons. 772.49

williā Zouch made Archbiſhop of york. 908.13.a dieth. 945.58.b

wickliffes doctrine. 1038. 19.b.

william Neuill L. Fauconbridge. 1297.12. 1307. 22.

wye riuer. 270.52

wilkā Lucre knight ſlain. 1300.1.

wincheſter caſtel beſieged. 377.60.

windſore fortreſſe. 391.12

williā Trowtbeck knight. pag. 1295. col. 2. lin. 54.

william Peche. 1298.38

wye riuer. 297.29

windſore. 278.76

william Butley ſpeaker of the Parliament. 1271.55

william wickham Biſhop of wincheſter. 1144.3

william a Parre ſlaine. 1304.5.

wil Coruin ſlaine. 1288.13

wil. Parre knight. 1125.35

wil. Hoſey eſquier. 1288.56

wil. Malm. cited. 364.72

wilkinſon Oſwalde executed. 1864.40

VVinardus Biſhoppe of Hereforde. 195.12

VVorceſter Citie taken, and ſacked by the Barons. 765.54

VVorceter Citie almoſt wholy conſumed wyth fire. 552.25

VVorceter citie and caſtel beſieged, and deliuered. 318.73.

women deſirous too haue their beautye blaſed. 232. 101.

VVorceter citie taken and cōſumed with fire. 384.19

VVolſtane kepeth his biſhoprike, by working a myracle. 309.70

VVolſtans Croſier ſtaffe myraculouſly ſticketh faſt in Sainte Edwardes tombe. 309.75

VVorceter caſtell beſieged and deliuered. 384.20

VVoodſtock manor builded. 364.13

VVorldly pleaſures turne too naught in a moment. 188.62.

VVorceter Citie and the Countrey burnt, and ſacked, for ſleaing K. Hardicnuts collectors. 267.16

VVool ſtaple remoued frō Flaunders intoo Englande. 941.27.a

VVomen prophecie of the Romaines expulſing out of Britaine. 61.12

VVorſhipping of Images refuſed by the Princes and biſhops in Englande. 199.58

VVolſtane Archbiſhop of yorke. 227.6

VVolſtane impriſoned for being of counſaile with his countrymens reuolting from K. Edredus. 229.77. and why otherwiſe. 230.7

VVolſtane ſet at libertie, and pardoned. 130.3

VVodneſburie battayle fought betweene the weſt Saxons and Mercians. 187.104.

VVoduile Edward Lord VVoduile, aydeth the duke of Brytaine with foure. C. men withoute the kings conſent. 1413. 34. hath almoſt all hys men ſlaine. ead. 56.

VVoolfes payed to King Edgar for a yearely trybute. 232

VVolueſey caſtell won by Lewes. 601.3

VVolſtane Biſhoppe of VVorceſter, ſubmitteth himſelfe to King VVilliam. 291.56

VVodens pedegrue deriued from Adam. 282.29

VVoden an ancient prince of the Saxons. 143.5

VVoden falſly reputed a God. 113.8

VVodens children & their poſteritie. 159.100

VVolfhere king of Mercia departeth this lyfe. 181.44.

VVomen with childe how to bee ordred concerning Churchrites. 149.71

wolſey Cardinall thought to be author of the kings doubt of the lawfulneſſe of his mariage. 1551.1 is diſpleaſed with the Emperor and why. 1551. 7. ſitteth in iudgemēt vpon the kings mariage. 1551. 24. offended wyth the Kings liking of the Ladie Anne Bolongne, laboreth to ſtay ſentence 1552.21. is in diſpleaſure with the king, eadem. 43. hath the great ſeale takē from him. ead. 20. is condemned in a Premunire. ead. 30. is depriued of the Biſhoprike of Dureſme and the Abbey of Saint Albons, & all his goods. ead. 40. is ſent downe into his Dioceſſe of york. 1554.20. writeth too the King for his Pall and Miter. 1555.8. is arreſted. ead. 24. dieth. ead. 46 is deſcribed. 1556.1

VVodeneſdie. 145.57

VVodeneſborne battaile, fought by the Britaines agaynſte the Saxons. 145.77.

Thomas of VVodſtocke created Earle of Buckingham. 1006.8.b

woods in Wales cutte downe. 811.53.a
Thomas of Woodſtocke created Earle of Buckingham. 1050.2.b
Wooll ſtaple remoued to Calais. 969.12.a
Wooddes cut downe in Angleſey. 60.1
Woodfield battaile, fought by the Engliſhmen againſt the Danes.221.66
Wolde William prior of Birlington putte too death. 1570.15
Woolſtaple at Sandwich. 799.4 a
Wonwaldremere.201.35
Worthie anſwere of Hẽrie the thirde to the Popes Nuncio. 713.74
Wonden, people called by the Engliſhmen, by yͤ name of Danes.215.16
Worſeley william deane of Poules traitor.1443.42
woodhouſe Thomas executed. 1869.54
Worceter Abbey buylded. 277.31
Worlde drowned by the great deluge. 1.53
wolfhere brother to Peada, made king of Mercia. 176.47
Wolfgangus Lazius cited. 105.92
Wonders. 968.10.a
Wolſey Thomas, the kings Almoner.1479.7. taketh the oth of the Citizens of Tourney for the king. 1479. 21. conſecrated Biſhop of Lincolne. 1494.36. borne at Ipſwich and deſcribed. ibid.conſecrated Archbiſhop of yorke. 1496. 50. choſen Cardinall. 1497. 19.is made Lord chancelor.ead.42. hath his Cardinals Hat brought too London with great tryumph.ead.53. calleth too accountes all thoſe that hadde medled with the kings money. 1498. 27. executeth iuſtice very ſeuerely.ead.34.conceiueth a grudge agaynſt Frances the Frenche king. 1499.1.obteyneth the biſhoprike of Bath. 1504. 50. obteyneth a gainfull court of Legate to be erected.1504.30. hurteth all the Cleargie with his ill example of pride. ead. 45.his exceſſiue pride.ea. 52. and. 1505.1. hath a thouſande Markes of yearely penſion of the Frenche king. 1505. 40. his pompe.1510.22. hath great authoritie and credite committed vnto him by the Engliſh & French kings. 1510.30. goeth to Calais to parle with the French Ambaſſadours. 1516.55. goeth to Bruges the Emperour comming a mile oute of the towne to meete him.1517 27.carieth the great ſeale with him beyonde the ſeas.ead.3.maketh meanes to the Pope. 1518. 20.giueth a generall diſpenſation for eating of white meates one Lent. 1519.40. his pompe and pride. 1520.3.and ead.22 is made B.of Durham. 1524. 11. reſigneth the biſhoprike of Bath. ead. 11.laboureth tooth and nayle to get a great ſubſidie graunted. 1524. 40. remoueth the conuocatiõ from Poules too Weſtminſter.1524.32. woulde haue viſited the Friers Obſeruantes, but they withſtood him. 1533.40. erecteth two Colledges. ead.56. ſuppreſſeth ſmall Monaſteries. 1534. 41. deuiſeth ſtraunge Commiſſions.ead.41.altereth the ſtate of the Kings houſe. 1526. 24. goeth Ambaſſador into France with a thouſand two hũdred horſes.1539.16.deuiſeth a newe forme of Letanie 1529.22
Women vnwilling to agree 943.53.a.
wolney foure Miles from warwike. 1321.40
wodens iſſue. 282.6
wreſtling betweene Londoners and men of Weſtminſter. 620.60
wriotheſley Thomas lord wriotheſley, made Lord Chancellour and knight of the Garter. 1610.38. one of the Kings executors. 1611.55. is created Earle of Southamton. 1614. 15. depriued of the Chauncellorſhip and authoritie in the Counſail. ead.47.
writers in the time of Hẽrie the fifth.1218.co.2.32
wolles ſtayed. 809.17.b
wraw John captain of the Suffolke rebels.1030.40
wreckes pardoned by king Richard the firſt. 489.77
wriotheſley Tho. knight, Secretarie created Lord wriotheſley of Tribefield. 1591.54
wraw John prieſt executed. 1038.30.b
writers in the time of Hẽrie the fourth. 1163.39
writers that liued in king Johns dayes. 607.36
wolſtane biſhop of worceſter dieth. 336.5
Edmonde of woodſtocke borne.836.22.a, Earle of Kent. 861.3.b. is condemned of Treaſon. 893 23.b.beheaded. 893.20.a
wulhard Earle ouerthroweth the Danes wyth an armye at Hampton. 206.77.
Wulferth, looke Wimer.

Y.

Y In auncient time had the ſound of v, and i. 9.91.
yarde meaſure ordeyned in Englande through all places. 337.56
yewan king of Northumberland. 22.92
yll May day. 1511.1
yeomen of the Garde inſtituted. 1426.40
yong Thomas Archbiſhop of yorke dieth. 1839 23.
yorkeſwolde ſpoyled by the Scottes. 871.4.a
yorke Monaſterie buylded. 307.16
yorke citie by whom builded. 18.10
yorkeſhyre men rebell againſt the Romains, and are appeaſed. 54.25
yorke Citizens put to their fine for ſleaing the Jewes 483.80.
yorke william Biſhop of Sariſburie dieth.742.45
yorkeſhire and Northumberlande, waſted by king william. 302.37
yong men ſet vp in dignitie, eaſilye forget themſelues. 412.56
yorkeſhire ſubdued to Lewes. 602.35
yorke beſieged by the Saxons and reſcued. 127.47
york beſieged by king Arthure. 132.47
yorkeſhire waſted by the Danes.209.41.and. 240. 49.
yorke burnt by the Danes. 209.61.
yorke conquered by King Reynolde. 213.102
yong beautifull boyes and wenches, ſolde for money into Denmarke. 275.42
yorke Caſtell buylded. 299.1.
yorke great part conſumed with fire, and by what meanes. 300.50
yorke beſieged, and deliuered too King william. 301.30.
ypres william Generall of Queene Mawdes armie agaynſt Mawde Empreſſe. 377.65
ypres william Earle of Kent, conſtrained to forſake the realme. 395.73
ypres william Earle of Kent his Countrey and progenie. 377.66
Iſabell Dutches of yorke dieth. 1084.40.b
yuon Haruey, delivereth certaine Caſtels into the handes of King Henrie the ſeconde. 411.54
yureceſter Richard Archdeacon of Poicters, made Biſhop of wincheſter. 432.55.
yuri taken by the Engliſh. 1198.50.
yuell a towne. 1336.14

Z.

Zeno Emperor. 122.87
Zeale of the Northũbers in aduauncing the chriſtian faith.168.76.

FINIS.

Faultes and ouerſightes eſcaped in the printing of the firſt part of the *Engliſh Hiſtorie before the Conqueſt.*

Firſt in the Catalogue of the Authours, whom I haue in the collection of the ſame hyſtorie chiefly followed, I forgot John Brend, who wrote the expedition intoo Scotlande, 1544. Thomas Churchyard, Ulpian, Fulwell, Thomas Knell, Polibius, Nicholaus Perotus, Hadrianus Berlandus, and ſuch other.

Iehan de Brugue, not Bauge, a Frenchman.

Pa. 1. col. 1. lin. 52. for Noe, read Noah

Pa. 2. col. 1 lin. 9. for Hebr, read Heber

Eadem col. 1. lin. 18. for acceſſerit, read acceſſerint.

Ead. col. 2. lin. 58. for than, read there.

Pag. 4. col. 2. lin. 7. for diſenſing, read deciſing or diſcuſſing.

Pa. 5. co. 1. li. 10. for of him, read to him

Ead. col. 1. lin. 37. for reſtance, read reſiſtance.

Eadem col. 1. lin. 54. for Neroſus, read Beroſus in the mergent.

Eadem col. 1. line. 11. for amphitrita, read amphitrite.

Pag. 11. col. 1. lin. 50. for preaſing, read preſſing.

Pag. 13. col. 1. lin. 21. for cuſe, read caſe.

Pa. 15. col. 1. lin. 35. for Totneſſe, read Dodoneſſe.

Ead. col. 1. lin. 38. for captiuitie of Babilon, read bondage of Pharao.

Pa. 16 col. 2. li. 46 for. 1874. read. 2874

Pag. 18. col. 1. lin. 8. for Ebracus, read Ebrancus.

Ea. co. 1. l. 13. for Guilles, read Gaules

Eadem col. 1 lin. 41. for Henand, read Henault.

Ead. col. 1. lin. 50. for loyne, read Loire

Ead. col 2. li. 29. for built by P. Oſtor. read built, as by P. Oſtorius.

Pag. 20. co. 1. lin. 48. for inheritor, read inheritance.

Ead. col. 2. lin. 28 for there, read that.

Pa. 24. co. 2. lin. 55. for Northeaſt, read Northweſt.

Pag. 27. col. 1. lin. 4. for thoſe, read they

Pag. 33. col. 1. li. 8. for who, read whom

Pag. 41. col. 2. lin. 5. for theſe two cohorts yet, read the Britains therfore

Pag. 42. col. 1. lin. 1. for aduentured too fight, read aduentured not to fight.

Pag. 47. col. 1. line. 28. for earing, read earings.

Ead. col. 2. lin 38. for 79. read 793.

Pag. 50. col. 1 lin. 5. for. 79. read. 795.

Pag. 51. col. 1. lin. 1. the three firſt lines are in the foot of the page before.

Pa. 54. col. 1. lin. 5. for reformable, read conformable.

Ead col. 1. lin. 13. for ſhorter they, read ſhorter before they.

Pag. 56 col. 2. lin. 39. for captaine, read captiue.

Pag. 75 col. 2. lin. 51. for ſure, read ſithe

p. 79. c. 2. l. 8. for marres, read mariſhes

Pa. 80. co. 2. l. 30. for veſtros, read veſtras

Pag. 104. co. 1. lin. 25. for Rextacheſter read Reptaceſter.

Pa. 106. col 1. lin. 15. for ſo to returne, read and ſo to returne.

Pa. 133. col. 1. li. 45. for Howell king of Britaine, read Howell king of little Britaine.

Pag. 144 col. 1. lin. 27. for Chicheſter, read Ciceſter.

Pa. 145 co. 2. li. 17. for ſlept, read ſtept

Pag. 148. col. 2. line. 40. for or, read for

Pag. 153. co. 2. li 50. for feaſt, read faſt

Pag. 180. co. 2. li. 47. for which were the ſonnes, read which was the ſonne.

Pa. 183. co. 2. li. 9. for but, read but three

Pa. 184 co. 2. lin. 26. Stanford bridge, adde thereto theſe wordes, after called battaile bridge in yorkeſhire.

Page 202. co. 2. line 52. for 80. read. 801

Eadem, line 53. for Eirine or Hierine not Emperor, but Empreſſe.

Page 227. col. 2. line 60. for but by hir meanes, read by whoſe meanes.

Page 209. col. 2 line. 50. for dEmonde, read Edmond.

Page 218. col. 2. line 40. for ſtate with their, read ſtate but with their.

Pa. 220. col. 1. li. for Eſſer, read Eſſex

Pa. 221. col. 2. li. 10. for eche read euery

Pag. 223. col. 2. line. 50. Math. weſtm. affirmeth that Frithſtan was ordeined to the ſea of Wincheſter, Atheline to Shireborn, Eadulf to Welles werſtan to Crida, and Herſtan to Cornwal. And further ẏ to Dorcheſter one Kenulfe was ordeyned, and Berthegus to Cieſter: which ſeuen Biſhops were conſecrated all in one day at Canterburie, by the Archbiſhop Plegmond.

Page 255. col. 2. line 14. for Cumelorn, read Culene.

Page 238. col. 1. line 50. for Ethelginn read Ethelgina.

Ead col. 2. line 35. for recouering hys diſeaſe, read recouering of that hys diſeaſe.

Pa. 241 col. 2. li. 26. for caſe, read cauſe

Pa. 245. col 2. line 54. for reteyne, read receyue.

Pa. 249. col. 2. line 7. for 114. read 1014 and likewiſe in the mergent of both the colums, for. 114. read 1014. and for 115. 1015.

Page 252. col. 2. line 12. for 116. read 1015. and likewiſe in the mergent.

Pag. 260. col. 2. line. 32. for very, read verify.

Page 267. col. 2. line 14. for mailes, read nailes.

Pag. 269. co. 2. lin. 38. for ſore read ſo.

Faults and ouerſights eſcaped *in the printing of this ſecond volume* of the Hiſtorie of Englande.

PAge. 291. col. 2. line laſt, for and rulers, read the rulers.

Page 298. col. 2. line. 37. for willing read vnwilling.

Page 304. col. 2. line laſt, for returne, read remoue.

Pag. 305. col. 1. line 2. for his, read this

Page. 307. col. 1 line 53. for fierceneſſe, read ſucceſſe.

Ead. col. 2. line 24. for choſe, read vſed.

Pag. 317. col. 2. line 29. for his, read this

Page 319 col. 1. line 58. at the firſt at all, put out at the firſt.

Page 321. col. 1. line 37. for reproche, read approche.

Page 326. col. 1. line 2. for his complices, read the Erles complices.

Page 330. col. 1. line 52. for it was, read they were.

Page 355. col. 2. line 30. for Rheynes, read Reimes.

page 363. col 1. li. 6. for a ſharper head, read a leſſer or ſmaller head.

page 367. col 2. line. 24. for aboute the lord Geffrey, read by the L. Geffrey

page 386. co. 1. ouer againſt the laſt line the yeares are too bee placed thus. Anno reg. 18. 1153. for the yeare of our Lorde.

page 398. col. 2. ouer agaynſte the laſt line, in the mergent, for Anno reg. 6 read Anno reg. 5.

page 399. although it be wrongly nūbred. 380. col. 2. ouer againſt the. 50. line, in the mergent, for 0911. read 1160.

page 400. col. 2. in the mergent ouer againſt the 37. line, for Anno reg. 17. read Anno reg. 7

page 401. although wrongly numbred 401. col. 1. in the mergent ouer againſt the 45. line, for Anno reg. 6. read 8.

page 403. col. 2 line 26. for with the cōcluſion, read according to the concluſion.

The ſame page and columne, line 29. for when, read where.

page 404 col 2 line 4. for baſtard ſonne, put out baſtard.

page 407 col. 2. in the mergent ouer againſt the 55. line, place. Anno reg. 11

page 408. col. 2. in the mergent ouer againſt the 24. line, note Anno reg. 12. and ouer againſt the. 26. line 1166. for the yeare of our Lorde.

page 435. col. 1. line 40 and 41. for Robert Ferrers Earle of Derby read Robert Erle Ferrers.

page 473. col. 2 The firſt worde of the ſeconde Epitaph, for Tumuli, read Tumulum. In the ſeconde verſe of the ſame, for ſufficerit, read ſufficerat

pa. 485. col. 1. line. 33. for Vizeley, read Vezelay.

page 487. col. 2. line 31. for away of battaile, read array of battaile.

page. 492. col. 1. line 3. as hee vttered, put out as.

page 497. col. 1. line 51. for prepared, read preferred.

The ſame page, col. 2. line 40. for Byſhop, read Biſhops.

page 511. col. 1. line 19. for and, read he.

Faultes eſcaped.

page 511.co.2.line 37.and 38.for partly that, read partly for that.
page 512.co.1.line 10, for with the precinct, read within the precinct.
Ead.col.1.line 54.in ſtead of, for being, read from being.
page 521 col.2.line 52.and 53.for the other rebels, read the other rebeil.
page 536.col.1.line 31.for of Fraunce, read in Fraunce.
The ſame page, col.2. line 34. for waſt and veniſon, read vert and veniſon.
page 537 co.2.line laſt ſaue one, for and ſeuen C. read beſide ſeuen C.
page 538.col.1. line 1.for all the while, read all this while.
pa.552.co.1.line 26.for Liſle Donely, read Liſle Dandeli.
page 562.col.1.line 3.in the meane time that theſe, put out that.
page eadem, col. 2. line 33. for Butignan, read Luſignan.
page 572.col. 2. line 30. put out vnto him alſo.
pa.576.co.1.li.28.for matriæ, read matri
page 585.col.1.line 6.for Biſhop, read Biſhops.
page 599.col.1. line 46. for Buncham, read Drincham.
page.605.col.1.line 38.for ſeuen, reade ſeuentene.
page ead.col.2.line 6. for about read about him.
page 606.col.2 li.37.for Knateſburgh, read Knareſburgh.
page.606.col.1.line 1.put out in Staffordſhire.
page 609.col.2. line 44.for Godardule, read Godaruile.
page 616.col.2.line 24.for felicitie, read hoſtilitie.
The ſame page and co.ouer againſt the 23.line, write in the mergent.1218.
page 923 col.1.line. 37. for their liberties read the liberties.
page.627.col.1. line. 12. for Louguile, read Longuile.
pa.629.co.1.l.43.for remoue, read renue
pa.645.co.2.li.46.put out worthie to be
page 646.co.2.lin. 57. for he, read they.
page 650.col 2.line 49.for Meſthems, read Meſcheins.
page651.co.1.lin. 10 for firſt, read fift.
p.656.c.1.l 39 for the.xiiij.read yͤ xxiiij
Ea col.1.li.57.for canons, read chanõs
page 658.col.2.lin.36. from theſe, read from thence.
pa.670.wrong folied 700.col.2.line 44. for and others, read as others.
page 715.col.2.lin.10.for charges, read Churches.
pa.729 c.1.li.25.for arras read Artois.
page 733.col.2.line 15.for two.s.of ſiluer, read two.s of ſiluer by the day.
pa.761.col.2.l 52.for theſe, read thence
page 768.col.1. line 19. for Monthenisey read Montchenſie.
pag.770.col.2.li.58.for to make againſt them, read to make warre againſt thẽ
pag.773.co.1 li.43. for Richard Southweil, read Robert Southwell.
page 781 col.1.line. 50. for the prince, read that prince.
page 786, col.2.in the mergent ouer againſt the.27. line, for Mountfort, read Leyceſter.
Pag.788.col 2.in the mergent ouer againſt the.42. line, for Yorke, reade Canterburie.
Pa 789.co.1.lin.28. and made knight, put it out.
Page 790.col.2.line 31.the ſaid Lord, put out ſayd.
Pa.796.co.1.in yͤ mergent oueragainſt the 24.line, for Briſtow faire, reade Boſton faire.
Pa.808.c.1.l 27.he there, put out there
Ead.col.1.line 36. for ceaſſe, read ſeiſe
Ea.c.2.l 9.for Turnim, read Turnin
Eadem, col.2.line 15. for all, read that
Ead col.2.line 33.for and other, reade and the other.
Pa.823.c.1. in the mergẽt oueragainſt yͤ.20.l.for K.John, read K.Edward
Page 840, col.1.line 52. for contemptu, read comitatu.
The ſame page and columne, line 58. for mercariis, read mercatis.
Pa.843.c.1.l.5.for Hẽry, read Hũfrey
Page 844.col.1.line 5.for accuſed, read accurſed.
Pa. 845 col.1.line 24.for might come, read might not come.
Pa.847.c.2.li.15. for lord chamberlain of the realme, read Lord Chamberlaine of his houſe.
Pa.858.c.1.l.14.for high chamberlein of Englande, read high chamberleyn of the kings houſe.
P.873.c.1.li.28.for Hẽry read Heruy
Page 891.col 1. line 20. for Earle of Marche, read Earle Marſhall.
Page 895 co.2.li.15. for Eleanor, read Elizabeth.
P.897.c.2.l.8.for ſcepter, read charter
Ead col.1.lin.11. for kings, read king
Page 905.col.2.line 2.for Bethon, read Bethuine.
Page 909.col.1.line 5.for Peter, adde thereto, or rather as ſome bookes haue, Nichol Bahuchet
Page 912.co.2.line 50, for the towne, read the tower.
Page 917.for Counteſſe of Richmond read of Mõtfort, for as I take it ſhe was not counteſſe til after that time.
Page 923 col.1. line 1. and ſo the diametre or compaſſe, read thus: and ſo the diametre, that is the ſpace ouerthwart the circle or compaſſe.
The ſame page, col.2.line 58. for Henrie duke of Lancaſter, reade Henrie Earle of Lancaſter, for he was not created duke till the.27.yeare of king Edwarde the thirdes raigne as appeareth.
Page 937. col.2. line firſt, for Earle of Norffolke, read Earles of Norffolk and warwike, for ſo hath one copie of Robert Aueſbury, although as I take it, there was no Earle of Norfolke at that ſeaſon.
Page.962.col.1 line 48 for Richmont read Montfort.
Page 967.col.2.line 13. and 14.for ſteward of England, read ſtewarde of the kings houſe.
P.969.co.1.li.31.to the ſea, put out to.
Page 990. in the mergent, for ſir Simon Minſterworth, read ſir John Minſterworth.
Page 1004.col.1.li 56.for Bond, read Baude.
Pa.1006.co.1.line 10. for benedicat de read benedicat te.
p.1010.c.1.l.33.for abroad read abourd
Pag.1012.col.2.line 27.for partakers read partaker.
Pa.1049.c.2.line 1 for Hartelle, read Hartecelle, for ſo hath Froiſſart.
Pa.1051.col.2.li.11.for Yoi, read Yuo.
Ea.co.2.li.47.for Deberoux read Deueroux.
Pa.1073.c.2.li.28 for erle, read erles.
Ea.c.2.li.2.for returned, read reformed
Pag.1097.co.2.lin.29.and.30.for earle of Marſhal the duke, read erle marſhall duke.
Page 1098.col.1.lin.30. for Edmonde read Edward.
Pa. 1108.col.2.lin.55. Holt caſtell put in the mergent, I take it not to bee Holt caſtell, but rather Beeſton, as by the circumſtances of the ſituation it ſhould appeare.
Page 1110.col.2. line 10. for comming read communing.
Pa.1117.col.1.li.8.for his, read theirs
Page 1124, col.1. line 58.for following in this wiſe, read in this wiſe following.
p.1138.c.2.l.13.for Brone read Brone
Page 1139.col.2.line 24.for ſir Blunt read ſir walter Blunt.
Page 1147. col. 2. line 1. for townes, read as of the townes.
Page 1150.col.1.line.17.for he ſhould, read they ſhould.
Page 1153. col. 1. line firſt vnder the picture, for his kings, read this kings
Page 1156.col.2.li.32.for Augus, read Angus, and ſo in other places where ye finde the u for the n.
Page 1158.col.1. line. 17. for caſteau Chinou, read chaſteau Chinon.
Page 1174. co.2. li.31. for nor, read or
Page 1180.co.2.line 23.for diuine perſecution, read permiſſion.
Page 1187.col.2 line 13.for Kirkeley, read Kikeley, or Kighley.
Pa.1205.c.2.l.27.for xl.M.read lx.M
Page 1212.co 2 line 26.for which was read which were.
Page 1214.col.1. line 37.and 38. for la Marche, read le Marche.
Page.1218.co.1.line 30. for 38.read 36
Page 1236.col.1.line 48. At the ſame time, put out the period before at, and make it a comma, and the capitall A would be a ſmall a.
Page 1249.col 2.li. 18, for Motaigne read Mortaigne.
Page 1254.col 2.line 1. for this indubitate, read the indubitate.
The ſame page and columne, lin.30.for Neures, read Neuers.
Page 1262.col.2.line 56.ſent the Lord Fauconbridge, read ſent the Lorde Talbot, with the L.Faucenbridge.

Page

Faultes eſcaped.

Page 1265 col.1 line 24 for Captain, rede Captaines. The ſame page col.2 line 14 for taking, rede take.

Page 1258 col.2 line 19 for Fraunciſ Surevmes, rede Francois de Surienne.

Page 1258 col.2 line 27 but ſlenderly manned, adde tooke reſolution to attempt the gaining therof in this order.

Page 1268 although wrongly noted 1276 col.2 line 13 for by them, rede by him.

Page 1275 co.2 line 37 for deuiſe, rede deuice.

Page 1277 wrongly marked 1269 col. 2 line 14 for aduancers, reade aduancer.

Page 1280 col. 1 line 18 put out and other places.

Page 1290 col. 2 line 24 for Burſlicer, reade Burcheir.

Page 1295 col. 1 line 27 of the Duke put out of.

Page 1297 col. 1 line firſt, all things, adde to all things.

Page 1305 col. 1 line 48 for priches, reade prickers.

Page 1310 col. 2 line 31 for of the army, reade of the ſame.

Page 1317 col. 1 line 43 for King the ſeuenth, rede King Henry the ſeuenth.

Page 1319 colum.1 line 3 for with hir perſon, rede with the perſon of the eldeſt.

Page 1335 col. 1 line 16 and in ſkirmiſhing put out and.

Page 1340 col. 2 line 20 for Louſtrother, reade Longſtrother.

Page 1344 col. 1 lin. 7 for reademption rede readeption.

Page 1345 col. 1 line 54 for Bathe, reade Booth.

Page 1348 colum.1 line 30 for Lorde Haward, read Howard, and ſo in other places.

Page 1381 col. 1 in the margente ouer againſte thẽ 14 line, note, this was Thomas Burdet of Arrowe in the Countie of Warwike eſquier, who ſuffered about the .xvij. yeare of K. Edwarde the fourth, and no Citizen of Lõdon, as ſome haue wrõgly enterlined this place.

Page 1426 colum.2 line 9 for in this time, reade in the time. The ſame page & colum line 28 for did, rede he did.

Page 1429 col. 1 line 38 and ſhortly after hee went, put it out, and the three next lines, for Prince Arthur was not borne till September, in ẏ third yere of his fathers raigne, as after it appeareth.

Page 1435 col.1 line 22 for lend rede lewde. The ſame page and colum in the Margent, ouer againſte the eight and twentith line, write the yeare of the K. thus. Anno Regni.5

Page 1436 col.2 line 24. for helding reade heading.

Page 1437 col.1 line 2 for with good, reade with his good.

Page 1440 col. 2 line 44 the birthe of King Henry the eyght there noted, ſhould haue bin placed before the Kings going to Bollongne.

Page 1442 wher Anno Regni is placed ouer againſte the 37 line of the firſte colum, it ought to be ouer againſt the ſeauenth line of the ſame page and colum.

Page 1454 col.1 line 43 for woulde make, reade would not make.

Page 1457 col. 1 lin 12 for went, rede and therevpon to goe. The ſame page col 2 line 51, The yeare of our Lord 1502 is to be referred to their accompte that begin the yeare the 25. of March.

Page 1465 col. 2 line 49 for after with, reade after which.

Page 1472 col. 2 line 18 for Haward reade Howard, and ſo in all other places.

Page 1477 col. 1. line 4 for trapped, reape grapled. The ſame page & ſecond col. ſir Edwarde, adde Howard.

Page 1484 col. 1 line 3 nexte vnder the picture, for thoſe, reade for whẽ thoſe.

Page 1495 col. 1 line 38 for two and thirtie Crownes, reade 32000 crownes.

Page 1504 col. 2 line 5 for Campeis reade Campeius.

Page 1510 col 2 line 58 for aunſwers reade aunſwerers.

Page 1515 col.2 lin 36. for the dukes wordes, rede the Monkes wordes.

Page 1522 col.2 line 18 and in October, put out and.

Page 1527 col. 2 line 34 and 35. for fiue hundred, reade two or three hundred.

Page 1529 col 1 lin.17 their hauntes rede their hands.

Page 1540 though wrõg noted 1548 colum.1 line 1 for Cardinals, reade Cardinall.

Page 1542 col. 1 line 5 beſiething, reade beſiech. The ſame page col. 2 line 29 is of, rede is one of.

Page 1544 col. 2 line 51 no lenger, put out no.

Page 1567 col.1 line 41 for Rebells, rede Rebellious.

Page 1590 col.1 line 15 for Townon reade Towmond. The ſame page and col. line 12 for Clauríckforde, reade Clanrickard.

Page 1591 col. 2 line 23 for Juano, reade Ariano.

Page 1594 col. 1 line 16 for Lanreſton, reade Laureſton. The ſame page and col. line 30 for Minecs, reade Mineis. The ſame Page and colum line 45 for Mary, rede Margaret.

In the regiſter of their names that were made Knights at Leith anno 1544 for Sir John Cleere, reade Sir Thomas Cleere.

Page 1601. col. 2 line 2 for Halidon rigge, reade Panner Hugh, and likewiſe in the Margent.

Page 1648 col. 1 line 34, by the aduice his Uncle, reade by the aduice of his Uncle.

Page 1656 col. 1 line 52. Ye ſhal here note for the further vnderſtãding of the ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion in Deuonſhire, that there were diuers ſkirmiſhes and encounters betwixte the Kings army, vnder the Lord priuie ſeale, and the ſaid Rebelles, as fyrſte at Honington bridge, before the comming of the Lord Grey of Wilton, and after his comming at a place called Grendones Mille in Woodbury pariſh, and then at Cliſt, where amongſt other, ſir William Fraunceis ſeruing verye forwardlye againſte the Rebels, caught ſuche hurtes that he dyed therof ſhortly after. When the Rebels had bene here repulſed, and put to flighte, the Lord priuie ſeale with the armye remoued firſt to Topeſham, where they buried Sir William Francis, and the nexte day, being the ſyxth of Auguſt, they came to Exceter, where they encamped without the walles, and immediately thither came the Maiſter of the Horſes, Sir William Herbert with a thouſand Welchmẽ. They remayned heere at Exeter about a twelue dayes, and hauing ſette things there in ſome order, they marched forthe towardes Sampford Courtney, and at their comming thither, found a great number of the Rebelles there aſſembled, and wilfully bente to trie their quarrell by hazard of battel, ſo that no ſmall number of them were there ſlayne and taken, the reſt fledde, after whome were ſent to purſue them, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Gawen Carewe, and others, who ouertaking them at kings Weſton, eaſily ouerthrewe them, and thys was the laſt fyght whiche was had againſt the Rebels of Deuonſhire and Cornewall. The number of them that were ſlayne in this Rebellion in thoſe ſeuerall places aforeſpecifyed, was eſteemed to bee about a three thouſand perſons.

Page 1677 col. 1 line 7 for whyche reade with.

Page 1714 col. 2 line 38 for Ladye Francis his wife, was the daughter, reade that was daughter.

Page 1726 col. 2 put this note in the Margent ouer againſt the .51. line. Nicholas Laurẽce (as ſome write) but for the more perfect knowlege hereof, and of ſome other thynges likewiſe by Gods helpe, I truſt to get ſuche inſtructions, and deliuer the ſame vnto thoſe that ſhall ſet forthe the nexte Summarie or abridge-

Faultes eſcaped.

bridgement of the Engliſh chronicles, as maye herein better ſatiſfie the reader.

Page 1734. col. 2. line 6 for ſir John Rogers, read ſir Edward Rogers.

Page 1749. col. 1. line 23. by procurement, read by my procurement.

Page 1751. put in the mergent ouer againſte the 31 line. Burdet no marchant, but an Eſquier in the countie of warwike, although ſome that printed ſir Thomas Moores hyſtorie of Edwarde the fifth, haue gloſed it with a wrong parentiſis.

Page 1766. col. 2. line. 16. and 17. for Hargill, read Hartgill.

Page 1775. col. 2. line 31. for grated, read grayſed.

Page 1789. col. 2. lin. 56. for preſſa, read preſſæ, in ſome copies it is amended

Page 1827 col. 1. lin. 16. put out Morton, for he was not in that ſkirmiſh. The horſemen were of Nicholas Tremaynes band, whoſe lieutenant Nicholas Erington was ſhotte through the bodie, and three of hys companie were ſlaine. Moreouer it is not to be forgotten, that captaine Read had the general conduct of the field that morning, who ſhewed ſuch prouf of his approued forwardneſſe, as it well appeared the erle of warwike vſed good iudgemente in making choiſe of him and others for the execution of that enterprice.

Page 1836. col. 2. line 52. for Longfoille read Loughfoille.

Page 1841. col. 2. for George, Henrie, and Michaell, read Henrie, John, and Michaell.

Page 1842. col. 1. line 5. for xxvij. read xvij.

Page 1843. col. 1. line 10. for Tinidale men, read Tindall men.

Page 1865. col. 2. li. 7. for. xij. yere, read xlij. yeares.

Page 1867. col. 2. line 46. for Canons read battring peeces.

Page 1873. col. 1. line. 5. for the Marques, reade and the Marques.

Page 1876 col. 1. line 5. for Thomas Biſhop, read John Biſhop.

Theſe and diuerſe other ouerſightes and faultes, gentle reader I truſt thou doeſt conſider may eaſily eſcape in ſo large a volume as this, and therefore beſeech thee of pardon, and that it may pleaſe thee to correct the ſame, as in reading it may fortune thee too meete with them, or any other the like.

For the Table, this I haue to aduertiſe the Reader, that as it was gathered by ſundrie perſons, ſo is there ſome diſorder in the placing thereof, which leyſure would not permit to diſpoſe ſo as wee coulde haue wiſhed, by reaſon of the printers haſt.

And where as in the pictures of battails, ther are in ſundrie places gunnes before the inuention of that kind of engine, whereby the reader may eſteeme ſome error, and deſirous peraduenture to know when they came firſt in vſe, he ſhal vnderſtand that we read not of any to bee put in practiſe, till the yeare 1380, in the warres betwixt the Venetians and Genoweys, at Chiozza.

FINIS.